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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

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... from a Pompeian wall-painting.

See page 34 ff.

ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
READER IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY TO THE UNIVERSITY
OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME I

ZEUS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY

χώ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει

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Ζεγς, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν,—εἰ τόδ' λγ-
τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,
τοῦτό νιν προσεννέπω—
οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι
πάντ' ἐπισταθμώμενος
πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν
ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος
χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

AISCHYLOS *Agamemnon* 160 ff.

TO

MY WIFE

PREFACE

MORE than eighty years have elapsed since the last comprehensive monograph on Zeus was written, a couple of octavo volumes by T. B. Émeric-David issued at Paris in 1833. In the interval much water has gone under the classical mill. Indeed the stream flows from remoter ranges and some of its springs rise from greater depths than our grandfathers guessed. Nowadays we dare not claim to understand the religions of Greece and Rome without an adequate knowledge of contiguous countries and at least an inkling of prehistoric antecedents. In both directions pioneer work of inestimable value has been accomplished. The discoveries of Rawlinson and Layard in Babylonia, of Lepsius and Mariette in Egypt, of Humann and Winckler in Asia Minor—to mention but a few of many honoured names—have enormously increased our area of interest. Again, Schliemann and Dr Dörpfeld, Prof. Halbherr and Sir Arthur Evans, Piette and the Abbé Breuil, have opened to us vista beyond vista into the long-forgotten past. We realise now that Mycenaean and 'Minoan' and even Magdalenian culture has many a lesson for the student of historical times. But above all a new spirit has little by little taken possession of archaeological research. Under the universal sway of modern science accuracy of observation and strictness of method are expected not only of the philological scholar but of any and every investigator in the classical field.

Changed conditions have brought with them a great influx of material, much of which bears directly on the main topic of this book. Important sites where Zeus was worshipped have been identified and examined. His caves on Mount Dikte and Mount Ide, his precinct on the summit of Mount Lykaion, his magnificent altar on the Pergamene Akropolis, his temples at Olympia and Athens and many another cult-centre, have been planned and published with the minutest care. Inscriptions too are discovered almost daily, and not a few of them commemorate local varieties of

this ubiquitous deity—now thirty or forty questions scratched on slips of lead and addressed to his oracle at Dodona, now a contract for the building of his temple at Lebadeia, now again a list of his priests at Korykos, odd details of his rites at Iasos, a hymn sung in his service at Palaikastro, and votive offerings to him from half the towns of Greece. Such information, fresh and relevant accumulates apace. Moreover, those who can neither dig nor travel carry on the quest at home. Year in, year out, the universities of Europe and America pour forth a never-ending flood of dissertations and programmes, pamphlets and articles, devoted to the solution of particular problems in ancient religion; and a large proportion of these is more or less intimately concerned with Zeus.

To cope with an output so vast and so varied would be beyond the strength of any man, were it not for the fact that intensive study follows hard upon the heels of discovery. On many aspects of what K. Schenkl called *die Zeusreligion* standard books have long since been penned by well-qualified hands. And more than one admirable summary of results is already before the public. Greek and Latin literature has been ransacked by writers galore, who have sketched the conceptions of Zeus to be found more especially in the poets and the philosophers: it would be tedious to enumerate names. Others again have dealt with the worship of Zeus as it affected a particular area: recent examples are Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* (Doberan 1901) and E. Neustadt *De Iove Cretico* (Berlin 1906). Yet others have written on some specialised form of Zeus: C. J. Schmitthenner *De Iove Hammone* (Weilburg 1840), H. D. Muller *Ueber den Zeus Lykaios* (Gottingen 1851), and A. H. Kan *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu* (Groningen 1901) will serve as specimens of the class. Notable attempts have been made to cover parts of the subject on more general lines. Inscriptions about Zeus are grouped together by W. Dittenberger *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. 2 Leipzig 1898, 1900, 1901), C. Michel *Recueil d'inscriptions grecques* (Paris 1900, 1912), and H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* (Berlin 1892, 1902, 1906, 1914). Descriptions of Zeus in Greek and Latin poetry are analysed by C. F. H. Bruchmann *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* (Leipzig 1893) and J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* (Leipzig 1902). The festivals of Zeus in Athens and elsewhere are discussed by A. Mommsen *Feste der Stadt Athen* (Leipzig 1898) and, with greater circumspection, by M. P. Nilsson *Griechische Feste von religioser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* (Leipzig 1906).

The monuments too have received their fair share of attention. Statues and statuettes, reliefs, vase-paintings, coins, and gems are collected and considered *in primis* by J. Overbeck *Griechische Kunstmythologie* (Besonderer Theil i. 1 Zeus Leipzig 1871 with Atlas 1872, 1873)—a book that is a model of archaeological erudition. Further, every worker on this or kindred themes must be indebted to the *Répertoires* of S. Reinach, whose labours have now reduced chaos to cosmos, not merely in the reproduction of previously known sculptures and vases, but also in the publication of much unpublished material. For surveys of the whole subject we turn to the handbooks. And here again good work has been done. C. Robert's revision of L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie* (Theogonie und Goetter Berlin 1894) deals with Zeus in a clear conspectus of 45 pages. O. Gruppe, the greatest mythologist of modern times, compresses the Father of gods and men into 22 of his well-packed pages (*Griechische Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* München 1897, 1906). Probably English readers will derive most benefit from the lucid chapters of Dr L. R. Farnell, who in his *Cults of the Greek States* (Oxford 1896, 1896, 1907, 1907, 1909) spends 144 pages in discussing 'Zeus,' 'The Cult-monuments of Zeus,' and 'The Ideal Type of Zeus' with a wealth of learning and aesthetic appreciation that leaves little to seek. Other treatments of the topic are no doubt already being designed for two at least of the three huge dictionaries now approaching completion. The *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* edited by C. Daremberg and E. Saglio (Paris 1877–) has given some account of Zeus in its article on 'Jupiter' (vol. iii pp. 691—708 by E. P[ottier], pp. 708—713 by P. Perdrizet). But W. H. Roscher's *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* (Leipzig 1884–), though it includes an excellent article on 'Iuppiter' by Aust (vol. ii pp. 618—762), is not likely to reach 'Zeus' for some years to come. And the great syndicate of scholars who are re-writing Pauly's *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (Stuttgart 1894–) have not yet got as far as 'Iuppiter,' let alone 'Zeus.'

The present volume is the first of two in which I have endeavoured to trace the development and influence of Zeus. It would seem that the Greeks, starting from a sense of frank childish wonder, not unmixed with fear, at the sight of the animate sky, mounted by slow degrees of enlightenment to a recognition of the physical, intellectual, and moral supremacy of the sky-god. Dion

Chrysostomos in a memorable sentence declared Zeus to be 'the giver of all good things, the Father, the Saviour, the Keeper of mankind.' On the lower levels and slopes of this splendid spiritual ascent the Greeks found themselves at one with the beliefs of many surrounding peoples, so that a fusion of the Hellenic Zeus with this or that barbaric counterpart often came about. On the higher ground of philosophy and poetry they joined hands with a later age and pressed on towards our own conceptions of Deity. I have therefore felt bound to take into account not only the numerous adaptations of Levantine syncretism but also sundry points of contact between Hellenism and Christianity. It is obvious that the limits of such an enquiry are to a certain extent arbitrary. I shall expect to be told by some that I have gone too far afield, by others that I have failed to note many side-lights from adjacent regions. Very possibly both criticisms are true.

Indeed, given the subject, it is not altogether easy to determine the best method of handling it. As a matter of fact I have tried more ways than one. In the *Classical Review* for 1903 and 1904 I published a series of six papers on 'Zeus, Jupiter and the Oak,' which aimed at summarising the Greek and Roman evidence that might be adduced in support of Sir James G. Frazer's Arician hypothesis. Satisfied that the evidence was much stronger than I had at first supposed, I next attempted, rashly enough, to pursue the same theme into the Celtic, the Germanic, and the Letto-Slavonic areas. With that intent I wrote another series of eight articles on 'The European Sky-God,' which appeared in *Folk-Lore* between the years 1904 and 1907. Of these articles the first three restated, with some modifications, the results obtained on Graeco-Italic ground; and the remaining five were devoted to a survey of analogous phenomena among the Insular Celts. I had meant to go further along the same road. But at this point Dr Farnell in the friendliest fashion put a spoke in my wheel by convincing me that the unity of an ancient god consisted less in his nature than in his name. Thereupon I decided to abandon my search for 'The European Sky-God'; and I did so the more readily because I had felt with increasing pressure the difficulty of discussing customs and myths without a real knowledge of the languages in which they were recorded. After some hesitation I resolved to start afresh on narrower lines, restricting enquiry to the single case of Zeus and marking out my province as explained in the previous paragraph. Even so the subject has proved to be almost too wide.

I incline to think that a full treatment of any of the greater Greek divinities, such a treatment as must ultimately be accorded to them all, properly demands the co-ordinated efforts of several workers.

Be that as it may, in this instalment of my book I have traced the evolution of Zeus from Sky to Sky-god and have sought to determine the relations in which he stood to the solar, lunar, and stellar cults of the Mediterranean basin. I need not here anticipate my conclusions, since the volume opens with a Table of Contents and closes with a summary of results. But I would warn my readers that the story runs on from Volume I to Volume II, and that the second half of it is, for the history of religion in general, the more important. Zeus god of the Bright Sky is also Zeus god of the Dark Sky; and it is in this capacity, as lord of the drenching rain-storm, that he fertilises his consort the earth-goddess and becomes the Father of a divine Son, whose worship with its rites of regeneration and its promise of immortality taught that men might in mystic union be identified with their god, and thus in thousands of wistful hearts throughout the Hellenic world awakened longings that could be satisfied only by the coming of the very Christ.

To some it may be a surprise that I have not made more use of ethnology as a master-key wherewith to unlock the complex chambers of Greek religion. I am far from underestimating the value of that great science, and I can well imagine that the mythology of the future may be based on ethnological data. But, if so, it will be based on the data of future ethnology. For at present ethnologists are still at sixes and sevens with regard to the racial stratification of ancient Greece. Such a survey as K. Penka's *Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands* (Hildburghausen 1911) shows that progress is being made; but it also shows the danger of premature constructions. Hypotheses that stand to-day may be upset to-morrow; and to build an edifice on foundations so insecure would be seriously to imperil its stability. I shall therefore be content if certain ethnological conclusions can be drawn, as I believe they can, from the materials here collected, materials that have been arranged on other principles. Again, I may be taxed with an undue neglect of anthropological parallels. In defence I might plead both lack of knowledge and lack of space. But, to be honest, I am not always satisfied that similarity of performance implies similarity of purpose, and I hold that analogies taken from a contiguous area are much more likely to be helpful than analogies

gathered, sometimes on doubtful authority, from the ends of the habitable earth.

Mention must here be made of sundry minor points in method and arrangement. I have as far as possible refrained from mottling my text with Greek and Latin words, and have relegated the necessary quotations to foot-notes, which can be 'skipped' by the expeditious. The perennial problem of orthography I have solved along arbitrary, but I trust consistent, lines. My plan is to transliterate all Greek names (Aischylos, Phoinike, etc.) except those that have been so far Englished as to possess forms differing not only from the Greek but also from the Latin (Homer and Aristotle, the Achaeans and Thessaly). Greek words and phrases cited in the text are further italicised and accentuated. References in the foot-notes have the author's name transliterated, but the title of his work given in Latin to suit prevailing custom, unless that title includes the name of a Greek deity (*e.g.* Aisch. *P.v.*, Plout. *v. Aem. Paul.*, but Kallim. *h. Zeus*, Orph. *h. Dem. Eleus.*). To facilitate occasional usage I have provided two Indexes at the end of Volume I, the first dealing in detail with Persons, Places, and Festivals, the second more summarily with Subjects and Authorities. On the other hand, considerations of space have led me to reserve the Appendixes to the end of Volume II. I may add that the manuscript of that volume is already far advanced: its publication will not, I hope, be unduly delayed.

There remains the pleasant task of thanking those that have in a variety of ways helped towards the making of this book. It was Sir James G. Frazer who first advised me to put together in permanent form the materials that I had collected: he has seen about a third of the present volume, and, though well aware that I differ from him on certain vital issues, he has with characteristic generosity more than once encouraged me to persist in my undertaking. I am conscious that I owe much also, both directly and indirectly, to Dr O. Gruppe, who in his *Handbuch* and elsewhere has set up a standard of thoroughness that must for many a long day be kept in view by all writers on the subject of classical religion. Prof. G. Murray, with proofs of his own on hand, has yet given time to reading mine and has sent me a flight of pencilled *marginalia*, which I have been glad here and there to incorporate. Most of this book has been perused, either in manuscript or in slip, by Miss J. E. Harrison, to whose wide range and quick synthetic powers I am indebted for several valuable suggestions: I am the

more anxious to acknowledge this debt because on matters of the deepest import we do not see eye to eye. Other helpful criticisms have reached me from my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris, whose studies of 'Dioscurism' have obvious bearings on certain aspects of Zeus, and from Mr F. M. Cornford, especially in connexion with Dionysiac drama, a subject which he has made peculiarly his own.

Life in Cambridge has indeed afforded me, not merely ready access to a great Library, but—what is better still—ready access to many personal friends both able and willing to enlighten ignorance. On questions of etymology I have time after time trespassed on the scanty leisure of Dr P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, or all too rarely had the benefit of a flying visit from the Rev. Dr J. H. Moulton, Greenwood Professor of Hellenistic Greek and Indo-European Philology in the Manchester University. Prof. E. J. Rapson has answered various queries with regard to Sanskrit myths and has furnished me with a detailed note on the Vedic Dyaus. One who deals with the syncretistic worships of the nearer East must perforce make excursions into the religions of Egypt, Babylonia, Syria and Asia Minor. In things Egyptian I have consulted Mr F. W. Green, Mr H. R. Hall, and Mrs C. H. W. Johns. For Mesopotamian cult and custom I have gone to my friend and former colleague Dr C. H. W. Johns, Master of St Catharine's College. Semitic puzzles have been made plain to me, partly in long-suffering talks and partly on learned post-cards (that boon of modern University life), by the Rev. Prof. R. H. Kennett of Queens' College, by Profs. A. A. Bevan and F. C. Burkitt of Trinity College, by Mr N. McLean of Christ's College, and by Mr S. A. Cook of Gonville and Caius College: to each and all of them I tender my cordial thanks.

In a book of this character, with its constant appeal to the monuments, textual illustration is not a luxury but a necessity. And here again many friends have laid me under lasting obligations. Photographs of unpublished scenes or objects have been sent to me by Mr K. Kourouniotes, Dr C. G. Seligmann, Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, Mr P. N. Ure, Mr A. J. B. Wace, and by my brother Dr A. R. Cook. Mr A. H. Smith, Keeper of Greek and Roman Antiquities in the British Museum, has allowed me to have photographs and drawings made of numerous art-treasures in gold and silver, bronze, marble, and terra cotta: not a few of them are figured here for the first time. I am specially indebted to Mr H. B. Walters, Assistant-Keeper of the same collection, who

has compared the drawings of vases with the vases themselves, and to Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke, who has verified illustrations and references for me in the Reading Room. In the Department of Coins and Medals Mr G. F. Hill and the late Mr W. Wroth likewise gave me valuable help, partly by discussing various numismatic problems, and partly by supplying me with scores of casts taken from the coins under their charge. Mr F. H. Marshall, formerly of the British Museum, has sent me impressions of gems in the Gold Room, and Monsieur E. Babelon has furnished me with the cast of an unpublished coin in the Paris cabinet. Permission to have drawings made from objects in their possession was granted to me by Mr R. M. Dawkins, Mr F. W. Green, and Dr W. H. D. Rouse; permission to reproduce blocks, by Messrs F. Bruckmann and Co., Monsieur l'Abbé H. Breuil, and Sir William M. Ramsay. Mr J. R. McClean, who was always eager to put his magnificent collection of Greek coins at the service of classical scholarship, generously allowed me to anticipate his *Catalogue* by figuring several of his most interesting specimens, and but a few weeks before his death contributed a large sum towards the better illustration of this work. Another liberal donation to the same object, enhanced by a letter of rare kindness, has reached me from my friend and fellow-lecturer the Rev. Dr A. Wright, Vice-President of Queens' College.

Of the subjects represented in my first volume thirteen coins and one relief were drawn for me by the late Mr F. Anderson, official draughtsman to the British Museum. But the main bulk of the drawings has been made by an equally gifted artist, Miss E. N. Talbot of Saint Rhadegund's House, Cambridge. To her scrupulous exactitude and unremitting industry I am indebted for no fewer than three hundred and twenty-five of my cuts, including the two coloured designs and the restorations attempted in plates vi, xv, xxiii, and xl. Nor must I omit to thank another craftsman of first rate ability, Mr W. H. Hayles of the Cavendish Laboratory, who visited more than one museum on my behalf and, though working against time and not always in ideal conditions, produced a series of exceptionally good photographs.

The Syndics of the University Press by undertaking financial responsibility for the whole work have shouldered a heavy burden with little or no hope of ultimate remuneration. Apart from their timely assistance this book would have remained a pile of musty manuscript. Moreover, at every stage of its production I have

met with unwearied courtesy and consideration from the Manager and Staff of the Pitt Press. In particular I wish to express my obligation to Mr N. Mason, whose resourceful skill has frequently surmounted obstacles in the way of satisfactory illustration, and to Mr W. H. Swift, whose vigilance and accuracy in proof-reading have been to me a perpetual marvel.

Finally, my wife has devoted many hours to the monotonous work of Index-making. I am glad to think that in consequence of her labours this volume will be decidedly more useful than it could otherwise have been.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.
22 *July* 1914.

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ABBREVIATIONS

This List of Abbreviations has been drawn up in accordance with two principles. On the one hand, the names of Authors have not been shortened, save by the omission of their initials. On the other hand, the titles of Books and Periodicals have been cut down, but not—it is hoped—beyond the limits of recognizability.

The customary abbreviations of classical writers and their works (for which see *supra* p. xiv) are not here included.

Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe = *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* München 1835— .

Abh. d. berl. Akad. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* Philosophisch-historische Classe Berlin 1804— .

Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* Historisch-philologische Klasse Göttingen 1838— .

Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* Leipzig 1850— .

Amelung-*Sculpt. Vatic.* = W. Amelung *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* i ii Berlin 1903, 1908.

Am. Journ. Arch. = *American Journal of Archaeology* Baltimore 1885— , Second Series Norwood, Mass. 1897— .

Ann. Arch. Anthr. = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* Liverpool 1908— .

Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. = *The Annual of the British School at Athens* London 1894–5— .

Ann. d. Inst. = *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.

Anson *Num. Gr.* = L. Anson *Numismata Graeca* Plates and Index London 1910, Text i—v London 1911—1914.

Ant. Denkm. = *Antike Denkmaeler* herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut Berlin 1886— .

Ant. du Bosph. Cimm. = *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage* i ii St.-Pétersbourg 1854 with Atlas of pls.

Ant. Münz. Berlin = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* i—iii Berlin 1888—1894.

Ant. Skulpt. Berlin = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der pergamenischen Fundstücke* Berlin 1891.

Arch. Anz. See *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.*

Arch.-ep. Mitth. = *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* Wien 1877—1897 Register Wien 1902.

Arch. Zeit. = *Archäologische Zeitung* herausgegeben vom Archäologischen Institut des Deutschen Reichs Berlin 1843—1885.

'Αρχ. 'Εφ. See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.

Archiv f. Rel. = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* Leipzig 1898— .

Ath. Mitth. = *Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Institut: athenische Abtheilung* Athen 1876— .

Babelon *Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon *Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1897.

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* E. Babelon *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* I Théorie et doctrine i Paris 1901, II Description historique i ii Paris 1907, 1910 with Atlas of pls.

Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* = E. Babelon *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires* i ii Paris 1885, 1886.

Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon et J. A. Blanchet *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1895.

Bartoli—Bellori *Admir. Rom. ant.* = *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturae vestigia*, a Petro Sancti Bartolo delineata incisa. Notis Jo. Petri Bellorii illustrata. Romae 1693.

Baumeister *Denkm.* = A. Baumeister *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums zur Erläuterung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer in Religion, Kunst und Sitte* i—iii München und Leipzig 1885—1888.

Bekker *anecd.* = I. Bekker *Anecdota Graeca* i—iii Berolini 1814—1821.

Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* Philologisch-historische Classe Leipzig 1848— .

Berl. philol. Woch. = *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* Berlin 1885— .

Boetticher *Baumkultus* = C. Boetticher *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen nach den gottesdienstlichen Gebräuchen und den überlieferten Bildwerken dargestellt* Berlin 1856.

Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* = É. Boisacq *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes* Heidelberg et Paris 1907— .

Boissonade *anecd.* = J. F. Boissonade *Anecdota Graeca* i—v Parisiis 1829—1833.

Bonner Jahrbücher = *Bonner Jahrbücher* (Continuation of the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*) Bonn 1895— .

Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1899.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Byz. Coins = W. Wroth *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* i ii London 1908.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* London 1873— .

Italy 1873 by R. S. Poole; *Sicily* 1876 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner, R. S. Poole; *The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, &c.* 1877 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner; *Seleucid Kings of Syria* 1878 by P. Gardner; *Macedonia, Etc.* 1879 by B. V. Head; *The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* 1883 by R. S. Poole; *Thessaly to Aetolia* 1883 by P. Gardner; *Central Greece* 1884 by B. V. Head; *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* 1886 by P. Gardner; *Crete and the Aegean Islands* 1886 by W. Wroth; *Peloponnesus* 1887 by P. Gardner; *Attica—Megaris—Aegina* 1888 by B. V. Head; *Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, Etc.* 1889 by B. V. Head; *Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosporus* 1889 by W. Wroth; *Alexandria and the Nomes* 1892 by R. S. Poole; *Ionia* 1892 by B. V. Head; *Mysia* 1892 by W. Wroth; *Troas, Aeolis, and Lesbos* 1894 by W. Wroth; *Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c.* 1897 by B. V. Head; *Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia* 1897 by G. F. Hill; *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* 1899 by W. Wroth; *Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* 1900 by G. F. Hill; *Lydia* 1901 by B. V. Head; *Parthia* 1903 by W. Wroth; *Cyprus* 1904 by G. F. Hill; *Phrygia* 1906 by B. V. Head; *Phoenicia* 1910 by G. F. Hill; *Palestine* 1914 by G. F. Hill.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum* (*Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities.*) London 1888.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery = F. H. Marshall *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1911.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions = H. A. Grueber *Roman Medallions in the British Museum* London 1874.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins = H. A. Grueber *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* i—iii London 1910.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* i—iii London 1892—1904.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1903.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases = *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* London 1893— .

i. 2 *Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery* 1912 by H. B. Walters; ii *Black-figured Vases* 1893 by H. B. Walters; iii *Vases of the Finest Period* 1896 by C. H. Smith; iv *Vases of the Latest Period* 1896 by H. B. Walters.

Brit. Mus. Guide Gk. Rom. Life = *British Museum. Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life.* London 1908.

Brit. Mus. Marbles = *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum; with engravings* Parts i—xi London 1812—1861.

Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* = C. F. H. Bruchmann *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* Lipsiae 1893.

Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* = *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* unter Leitung von H. Brunn herausgegeben von F. Bruckmann 1. Serie (Tafeln 1—500) München 1888—1900; Brunn—Bruckmann's *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* fortgeführt und mit erläuternden Texten versehen von P. Arndt i (Tafeln 501—550) München 1902, ii (Tafeln 551—600) München 1906, iii (Tafeln 601—650) München 1912, iv (Tafeln 651—) München —.

Bull. Arch. Nap. = *Bullettino archeologico Napoletano* i—vi Napoli 1843—1848, Nuova Serie i—viii Napoli 1853—1863.

Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma = *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale* Roma 1872—1876 continued as *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* Roma 1877— .

Bull. Corr. Hell. = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* Paris 1877— .

Bull. d. Inst. = *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.

Carelli *Num. It. vet.* = Francisci Carellii *Numorum Italiae veteris tabulas CCII.* edidit Cœlestinus Cavedonius. Accesserunt Francisci Carellii numorum quos ipse collegit descriptio F. M. Avellinii in eam adnotationes. Lipsiae 1850.

Carter *Epith. deor.* = J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* . Lipsiae 1902.

Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* = *Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne* par le C^te^ F. de Clarac Texte i—vi Paris 1841—1853 Planches i—vi Paris 1826—1853.

Class. Philol. = *Classical Philology* Chicago 1906— .

Class. Quart. = *The Classical Quarterly* London 1907— .

Class. Rev. = *The Classical Review* London 1887— .

Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] = H. Cohen *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain communément appelées médailles impériales* Deuxième édition i—viii Paris 1880—1892.

Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* = M. Collignon *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* i—ii Paris 1892, 1897.

Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* = M. Collignon et L. Couve *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* Paris 1902, Index 1903, Table de Concordance 1904, Planches 1904.

Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* von

F. Bechtel, A. Bezzenberger, F. Blass, H. Collitz, W. Deecke, A. Fick, G. Hinrichs, R. Meister. Herausgegeben von H. Collitz. Göttingen 1884— .

Com. Rom. frag. = *Comicorum Romanorum praeter Plautum et Syri quae feruntur sententias Fragmenta* tertiis curis recognovit Otto Ribbeck Lipsiae 1898.

Compte-rendu St. Pét. = *Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique* avec un Atlas St. Pétersbourg 1859—1881.

Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres = *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année* Paris 1859— .

Corp. inscr. Att. = *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*

i Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno vetustiores ed. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i] Berolini 1873.

ii Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora ed. U. Koehler [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii] 1—3 Berolini 1877, 1883, 1888 4 Indices comp. J. Kirchner Berolini 1893.

iii Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii] 1—2 Berolini 1878, 1882.

iv. 1. 1—3 Supplementa voluminis primi comp. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i Supplementa] Berolini 1877, 1887, 1891.

iv. 2 Supplementa voluminis alterius comp. U. Koehler, Indices conf. J. Kirchner [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii. 5] Berolini 1895.

Appendix continens defixionum tabellas in Attica regione repertas, ed. R. Wuensch [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii. 3] Berolini 1897.

Corp. inscr. Gr. = A. Boeckh *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* i—iv Berolini 1828, 1843, 1853, 1856. Indices comp. H. Roehl Berolini 1877.

Corp. inscr. Gr. sept. = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis*

i Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* vii] Berolini 1892.

iii. 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 1] Berolini 1897.

Corp. inscr. Lat. = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*

i Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1863. Voluminis primi editio secunda: pars 1 cura Th. Mommsen, W. Henzen, C. Huelsen Berolini 1893. Tabulae lithographae, ed. F. Ritschelius Berolini 1862.

ii Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1869. Supplementum Berolini 1892.

iii Inscriptiones Asiae, provinciarum Europae Graecarum, Illyrici Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1873. Supplementi fasc. 1—5 Berolini 1889, 1891, 1893, 1902.

iv Inscriptiones parietariae Pompeianae Herculanenses Stabianae, ed. C. Zangemeister Berolini 1871. Supplementi pars 1—2 Berolini 1898, 1909.

v. 1—2 Inscriptiones Galliae Cisalpinae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1872, 1877.

vi. 1—5 Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae, coll. E. Bormann, G. Henzen, C. Huelsen, I. B. de Rossi Berolini 1876, 1882, 1886, 1894, 1902, 1885.

vii Inscriptiones Britanniae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1873.

viii Inscriptiones Africae Latinae, coll. G. Wilmanns Berolini 1881. Supplementi pars 1—3 Berolini 1891, 1894, 1904.

ix Inscriptiones Calabriae, Apuliae, Samnii, Sabinorum, Piceni Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.

x Inscriptiones Bruttiorum, Lucaniae, Campaniae, Siciliae, Sardiniae Latinae, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1883.

xi. 1—2. 1 Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae, ed. E. Bormann Berolini 1888, 1901.

xii Inscriptiones Galliae Narbonensis Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld Berolini 1888.

xiii. 1. 1—2, 2. 1—2, 3. 1—2 Inscriptiones trium Galliarum et Germaniarum Latinae, ed. O. Hirschfeld, C. Zangemeister, Th. Mommsen, A. Domaszewski, O. Bohn, Aem. Espérandieu Berolini 1899, 1904, 1905, 1907, 1901, 1906.

xiv Inscriptiones Latii veteris Latinae, ed. H. Dessau Berolini 1887.

xv. 1—2. 1 Inscriptiones urbis Romae Latinae. Instrumentum domesticum, ed. H. Dressel Berolini 1891, 1899.

Corp. inscr. Sem. = *Corpus inscriptionum Semiticarum* ab Academia Inscriptionum et Litterarum Humaniorum conditum atque digestum. Pars I— Tom. i— Parisiis 1881— .

Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* = E. Cougny *Epigrammatum Anthologia Palatina cum Planudeis et Appendice Nova* iii Appendix Nova Parisiis 1890.

Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* = J. A. Cramer *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecarum Oxoniensium* i—iv Oxonii 1835—1837.

Cramer *anecd. Paris.* = J. A. Cramer *Anecdota Graeca e codd. manuscriptis Bibliothecae Regiae Parisiensis* i—iv Oxonii 1839—1841.

Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* = *Dictionnaire des Antiquités grecques et romaines* d'après les textes et les monuments...ouvrage rédigé par une société d'écrivains spéciaux, d'archéologues et de professeurs sous la direction de Mm. Ch. Daremberg et Edm. Saglio i— Paris 1877— .

Δελτ. Ἀρχ. = Δελτίον Ἀρχαιολογικὸν ἐκδιδόμενον ὑπὸ τοῦ γενικοῦ ἐφόρου Π. Καββαδία ἐν Ἀθήναις 1885— .

Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien = *Denkschriften der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften.* Philosophisch-historische Classe. Wien 1850— .

De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* = *Collection de Clercq. Catalogue* publié par les soins de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres et sous la direction de Mm. de Vogüé, E. Babelon, E. Pottier. Tome iii *Les Bronzes* par A. de Ridder Paris 1905.

De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* = *Catalogue des Vases Peints de la Bibliothèque Nationale* par A. de Ridder i ii Paris 1901, 1902.

Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = H. Dessau *Inscriptiones Latinae selectae* i, ii. 1, ii. 2, iii. 1 Berolini 1892, 1902, 1906, 1914.

De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* = M. W. de Visser *De Graecorum diis non referentibus speciem humanam* Lugduni-Batavorum 1900.

De Vit *Lat. Lex.* = *Totius Latinitatis Lexicon* opera et studio Aegidii Forcellini lucubratum et in hac editione post tertiam auctam et emendatam a Josepho Furlanetto... novo ordine digestum amplissime auctum atque emendatum cura et studio Doct. Vincentii de-Vit... i—vi Prati 1858—1879.

De Vit *Onomasticon* = *Totius Latinitatis Onomasticon* opera et studio Doct. Vincentii de-Vit lucubratum i—iv Prati 1859—1887.

Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* = *Orientis Graeci inscriptiones selectae.* Supplementum Sylloges inscriptionum Graecarum, ed. Wilhelmus Dittenberger i ii Lipsiae 1903, 1905.

Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*^{2} = *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum*, iterum ed. Guilelmus Dittenberger i—iii Lipsiae 1898, 1900, 1901.

Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* = C. du Fresne Du Cange *Glossarium mediae et infimae Latinitatis.* Editio nova a Léopold Favre i—x Niort 1883—1887.

Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*^{2} = *Handbuch der Architektur.* Unter Mitwirkung von J. Durm und H. Ende herausgegeben von E. Schmitt. Zweiter Teil: Die Baustile. 2 Band: *Die Baukunst der Etrusker.* Die Baukunst der Römer. Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart 1905.

Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*^{2,3} = *Handbuch der Architektur.* Unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von J. Durm, H. Ende, E. Schmitt und H. Wagner. Zweiter Theil: Die Baustile. 1 Band: *Die Baukunst der Griechen.* Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Darmstadt 1892, Dritte Auflage. Leipzig 1910.

Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*^{2} = *Handbuch der Architektur.* Unter Mitwirkung von J. Durm und H. Ende herausgegeben von E. Schmitt. Zweiter Teil: Die Baustile. 2 Band: Die Baukunst der Etrusker. *Die Baukunst der Römer.* Von J. Durm. Zweite Auflage. Stuttgart 1905.

Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*^{2} = *Doctrina numorum veterum* conscripta a Iosepho Eckhel i Vindobonae 1792, ii—viii Editio secunda Vindobonae 1839, 1828, Addenda ad Eckhelii *Doctrinam numorum veterum* ex eiusdem autographo postumo Vindobonae 1826.

Einzelaufnahmen = *Photographische Einzelaufnahmen antiker Sculpturen* Serien zur Vorbereitung eines Corpus Statuarum Unter Mitwirkung von Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Paul Arndt und Walther Amelung München 1893— Register zu Serie 1—5 Bearbeitet von Georg Lippold München 1911.

'Εφ. 'Αρχ. = 'Εφημερὶς 'Αρχαιολογικὴ ἐκδιδομένη ὑπὸ τῆς ἐν 'Αθήναις 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρείας ἐν 'Αθήναις 1837—1843, 1852—1860, 1862, 1883—1909 continued as 'Αρχαιολογικὴ 'Εφημερὶς ἐκδιδομένη ὑπὸ τῆς 'Αρχαιολογικῆς 'Εταιρείας 'Αθήνησι 1910—

Ephem. epigr. = *Ephemeris epigraphica,* Corporis inscriptionum Latinarum supplementum, edita jussu Instituti archaeologici Romani Romae 1872—

Epic. Gr. frag. = *Epicorum Graecorum Fragmenta.* Collegit disposuit commentarium criticum adiecit Godofredus Kinkel i Lipsiae 1877.

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* = L. R. Farnell *The Cults of the Greek States* i—v Oxford 1896—1909.

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ii. Topographie & Architecture. Relevés et Restaurations par M. Albert Tournaire. Fasc. 1. Paris 1902.

iii. Épigraphie. Texte. Fasc. 1 par M. Émile Bourguet Paris 1910, 1911, Fasc. 2 par M. G. Colin Paris 1909, 1911, 1912, 1913, Fasc. 3 par M. G. Colin Paris 1911.

iv. Monuments Figurés—Sculpture. Texte par M. Th. Homolle Fasc. 1 Paris 1909, Planches Fasc. 2 Paris 1905, 1906.

v. Monuments Figurés—Petits Bronzes, Terres Cuites, Antiquités Diverses. Texte par M. P. Perdrizet Fasc. 1—3 Paris 1906, 1908, 1908, Planches Fasc. 1—3 Paris 1905, 1905, 1909.

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Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* = *Die antiken Gemmen* Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum von Adolf Furtwängler i Tafeln ii Beschreibung und Erklärung der Tafeln iii Geschichte der Steinschneidekunst im klassischen Altertum Leipzig Berlin 1900.

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Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* = *La Collection Sabouroff* Monuments de l'art grec publiés par Adolphe Furtwængler i ii Berlin 1883—1887.

Furtwängler *Statuencopien* = *Ueber Statuenkopieen im Alterthum* von Adolf Furtwängler. Erster Theil (Aus den Abhandlungen der k. bayer. Akademie der Wiss. I. Cl. XX. Bd. III. Abth.). München 1896.

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Gött. gel. Anz. = *Göttingische gelehrte Anzeigen* Göttingen 1753—

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Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* = *Inscriptiones antiquae totius orbis Romani* in absolutissimum corpus redactae olim auspiciis Iosephi Scaligeri et Marci Velseri industria autem et diligentia Iani Gruteri: nunc curis secundis ejusdem Gruteri et notis Marquardi Gudii emendatae et tabulis aeneis a Boissardo confectis illustratae; denuo cura viri summi Ioannis Georgii Graevii recensitae i—iv Amstelaedami 1707.

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Head *Coins of the Ancients* = *Synopsis of the Contents of the British Museum. Depart-*

ment of Coins and Medals. A Guide to the principal gold and silver Coins of the Ancients, from circ. B.C. 700 to A.D. 1. by Barclay V. Head Second edition London 1881.

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Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* = *Guide to the Public Collections of Classical Antiquities in Rome* by Wolfgang Helbig translated from the German by James F. and Findlay Muirhead i ii Leipsic 1895, 1896.

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Hermes = *Hermes* Zeitschrift für classische Philologie Berlin 1866— .

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Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* = *Die Vasensammlungen des Museo Nazionale zu Neapel* beschrieben von H. Heydemann Berlin 1872.

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i Italy, Sicily, Macedon, Thrace, and Thessaly.

ii North Western Greece, Central Greece, Southern Greece, and Asia Minor.

iii Further Asia, Northern Africa, Western Europe.

Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.*[1,2] = *Choix de Monnaies grecques* du cabinet de F. Imhoof-Blumer Winterthur 1871, *Choix de Monnaies grecques* de la collection de F. Imhoof-Blumer Deuxième édition. Paris-Leipzig 1883.

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i Inscriptiones Laconiae et Messeniae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* v. 1 ed. W. Kolbe Berolini 1913.

ii Inscriptiones Arcadiae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* v. 2] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1913.

Inscr. Gr. Deli = *Inscriptiones Deli* editae consilio et auctoritate Academiae inscriptionum et humaniorum litterarum Franco-Gallicae.

ii Inscriptiones Deli liberae. Tabulae archontum, tabulae hieropoeorum ann. 314—250 [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xi. 2] ed. F. Dürrbach Berolini 1912.

iii Inscriptiones Deli liberae. Tabulae hieropoeorum ann. 250—166, leges, pactiones [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xi. 3] ed. F. Dürrbach.

iv Inscriptiones Deli liberae. Decreta, foedera, catalogi, dedicationes, varia [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xi. 4] ed. P. Roussel Berolini 1914.

Inscr. Gr. ins. = *Inscriptiones Graecae insularum maris Aegaei*

i Inscriptiones Rhodi Chalces Carpathi cum Saro Casi [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 1] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1895.

ii Inscriptiones Lesbi Nesi Tenedi [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 2] ed. W. Paton Berolini 1899.

iii Inscriptiones Symes Teuthussae Teli Nisyri Astypalaeae Anaphes Therae et Therasiae Pholegandri Meli Cimoli [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 3] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1898. Supplementa ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1904.

v Inscriptiones Cycladum [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 5] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Pars prior: Inscriptiones Cycladum praeter Tenum Berolini 1903. Pars altera: Inscriptiones Teni insulae et totius fasciculi indices Berolini 1909.

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viii Inscriptiones insularum maris Thracici [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 8] ed. C. Fredrich Berolini 1909.

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i Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* vii] ed. W. Dittenberger Berolini 1892.

iii. 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 1] ed. W. Dittenberger Berolini 1897.

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Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. = *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* mit dem Beiblatt Archäologischer Anzeiger Berlin 1886—

Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl. = *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (Continued as the *Bonner Jahrbücher*) Bonn 1842—1894.

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Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* Wien 1898

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Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* = *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* edidit Georgius Kaibel Berolini 1878.

Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* = *Ausgewählte römische Medaillons der kaiserlichen Münzensammlung in Wien* aus dem Illustrationsmaterial der Bände i—xi des Jahrbuches der Kunstsammlungen des a. h. Kaiserhauses neu herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kubitschek Wien 1909.

Laborde *Vases Lamberg* = A. de La Borde *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg* i ii Paris 1813—1824, 1824—1828.

La Grande Encyclopédie = *La Grande Encyclopédie* Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts par une société de savants et de gens de lettres... i—xxxi Paris s.a.

Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* = R. Lanzone *Dizionario di Mitologia Egiziana* i Testo ii Tavole Torino 1881.

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Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* = Ph. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* II. Partie : Inscriptions grecques et latines. ii. 2 Mégaride et Péloponnèse. 3. Béotie, Phocide, Étolie, Acarnanie, Épire, Thessalie, Macédoine, Thrace, Colonies du Pont-Euxine. 4. Iles. (Transcription and Commentary by P. Foucart) Paris 1847—1876.

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Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* = *Élite des monuments céramographiques* Matériaux pour l'histoire des religions et des mœurs de l'antiquité rassemblés et commentés par Ch. Lenormant et J. de Witte. Texte et Planches i—iv Paris 1844—1861.

Leroux *Cat. Vases de Madrid* = *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée Archéologique de Madrid* (Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi Fascicule xvi) par G. Leroux Bordeaux 1912.

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Luynes *Descr. de vases peints* = *Description de quelques vases peints, étrusques, italiotes, siciliens et grecs,* par H. D. de Luynes,... Paris 1840.

Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* = *K. K. Oesterreich. Museum für Kunst und Industrie. Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im K. K. Oesterreich. Museum. Katalog und historische Einleitung* von Karl Masner. Wien 1892.

Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* = *Antike Bildwerke in Rom mit Ausschluss der grösseren Sammlungen* beschrieben von Friedrich Matz, nach des Verfassers Tode weitergeführt und herausgegeben von F. von Duhn i—iii Leipzig 1881—1882.

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Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* = *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques* par Charles Michel Paris 1900, Supplément—Fascicule i Paris 1912.

Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* = *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* pubblicati per cura di Luigi Adriano Milani i—iii Firenze 1899 1901, 1902, 1905.

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i Karte der milesischen Halbinsel (1 : 50 000) mit erläuterndem Text von Paul Wilski Berlin 1906.

ii Das Rathaus von Milet von Hubert Knackfuss mit Beiträgen von Carl Fredrich, Theodor Wiegand, Hermann Winnefeld Berlin 1908.

iii Das Delphinion in Milet von Georg Kawerau und Albert Rehm unter Mitwirkung von Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, Mark Lidzbarski, Theodor Wiegand, Erich Ziebarth Berlin 1914.

iii. 1 Der Latmos von Theodor Wiegand unter Mitwirkung von Konrad Boese, Hippolyte Delehaye, Hubert Knackfuss, Friedrich Krischen, Karl Lyncker, Walther von Marées, Oskar Wulff Berlin 1913.

Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* = *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation.* Ouvrage servant de catalogue à plus de vingt mille empreintes en soufre prises sur les pièces originales, par T. E. Mionnet i—vi Paris 1806—1813 vii Recueil des planches Paris 1808, Seconde édition Paris 1837, Supplément i—ix Paris 1819—1839.

Mnemosyne = *Mnemosyne* Tijdschrift voor classieke Litteratuur Leyden 1852— .

Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* = *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, geordnet nach attischem Kalender, von August Mommsen. Umarbeitung der 1864 erschienenen Heortologie. Leipzig 1898.

Mon. Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. = *Monumenti Annali e Bullettini pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* nel 1854 Roma, nel 1855 Gotha-Lipsia.

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Mon. Piot = *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* Paris 1894— .

Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* = *Thesaurus Morellianus*, sive Familiarum Romanarum numismata omnia, Diligentissime undique conquisita, ad ipsorum nummorum fidem accuratissime delineata, & juxta ordinem Fulvii Ursini & Caroli Patini disposita, a Celeberrimo Antiquario Andrea Morellio. Accedunt nummi miscellanei, Urbis Romae, Hispanici, & Goltziani dubiae fidei omnes. Nunc primum edidit et Commentario perpetuo illustravit Sigebertus Havercampus i ii Amstelaedami 1734.

Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* = *Thesauri Morelliani* tomus primus (secundus, tertius), Sive Christ. Schlegelii, Sigeb. Haverkampi, & Antonii Francisci Gorii Commentaria In XII. Priorum Imperatorum Romanorum numismata aurea, argentea, & aerea, Cujuscunque Moduli, diligentissime conquisita, & ad ipsos Nummos accuratissime delineata, a Celeberrimo Antiquario Andrea Morellio...Cum Praefatione Petri Weselingii i—iii Amstelaedami 1752.

Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* = *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* nach der Auswahl und Anordnung von C. O. Müller. Zweite Bearbeitung durch Friedrich Wieseler. i ii Göttingen 1854—1856.

Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* = *Antike Denkmäler zur griechischen Götterlehre.* Zusammengestellt von C. O. Müller und F. Wieseler. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe von Konrad Wernicke. Denkmäler der alten Kunst von C. O. Müller und F. Wieseler. Teil II. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe. Lieferung i—iii Text und Tafeln Leipzig 1899, 1900, 1903.

Mus. Capit. Cat. Sculpt. See Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome.*

Mus. Etr. Gregor. = *Museum Etruscum Gregorianum* Musei Etrusci quod Gregorius XVI pon. max. in aedibus Vaticanis constituit monimenta linearis picturae exemplis expressa et in utilitatem studiosorum antiquitatum et bonarum artium publici iuris facta i ii ex aedibus Vaticanis 1842.

Musée Belge = *Le Musée Belge* Revue de philologie classique Louvain 1897—

Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe = *Nachrichten von der Georg-Augusts-Universität und der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* Göttingen 1856— , *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität* Göttingen 1864— , *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.* Philologisch-historische Klasse Berlin 1906— .

Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum = *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik* (Continuation of the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*) Leipzig 1898— .

Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* = *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Supplément* par Georges Nicole...avec une Préface de Maxime Collignon... Paris 1911 with an Atlas of pls.

Nilsson *Gr. Feste* = *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* untersucht von Martin P. Nilsson Leipzig 1906.

Not. Scavi = *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, comunicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei per ordine di S. E. il Ministro della pubb. Istruzione Roma 1876— .

Nouv. Ann. = *Nouvelles Annales publiées par la section française de l'Institut archéologique* i ii Paris 1836, 1839 with Atlas of pls. (facsimile-reproduction 1905).

Num. Chron. = *The Numismatic Chronicle* London 1839— , *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society* London 1843— , New Series London 1861— , Third Series London 1881— , Fourth Series London 1901— .

Num. Zeitschr. = *Numismatische Zeitschrift* Wien 1869— .

Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* = *Kypros The Bible and Homer.* Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times. Elucidated by the Author's own Researches and Excavations during twelve years' work in Cyprus. By Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. i Text ii Plates London 1893.

Olympia = *Olympia* Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung im Auftrage des königlich preussischen Ministers der geistlichen Unterrichts- und Medicinal-angelegenheiten herausgegeben von Ernst Curtius und Friedrich Adler.

i Topographie und Geschichte von Olympia von Friedrich Adler, Ernst Curtius, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Paul Graef, Joseph Partsch, Rudolf Weil. Textband zur Mappe mit den Karten und Plänen Berlin 1897.

ii Die Baudenkmäler von Olympia bearbeitet von Friedrich Adler, Richard Borrmann, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Friedrich Graeber, Paul Graef. Textband Tafelband i ii Berlin 1892—1896.

iii Die Bildwerke in Stein und Thon bearbeitet von Georg Treu. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1894—1897.

iv Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia bearbeitet von Adolf Furtwängler. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1890.

v Die Inschriften von Olympia bearbeitet von Wilhelm Dittenberger und Karl Purgold. Berlin 1896.

Or. Lit. = *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* Berlin 1898— .

Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanae antiquitatis disciplinam accommodata ac magnarum collectionum supplementa complura emendationesque exhibens.* Cum ineditis Io. Casp. Hagenbuchii suisque adnotationibus edidit Io. Casp. Orellius. Insunt lapides Helvetiae omnes. Accedunt praeter Fogginii kalendaria antiqua, Hagenbuchii, Maffeii, Ernestii, Reiskii, Seguierii, Steinbruechelii epistolae aliquot epigraphicae nunc primum editae. i ii Turici 1828.

Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanae antiquitatis disciplinam accommodata.* Volumen tertium collectionis Orellianae supplementa emendationesque exhibens edidit Guilielmus Henzen. Accedunt Indices rerum ac notarum quae in tribus voluminibus inveniuntur. Turici 1856.

Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* = *Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke der alten Kunst*, bearbeitet von Dr. Johannes Overbeck. Erster Band. Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis. Braunschweig 1853 with an Atlas of pls.

Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* = *Griechische Kunstmythologie* von J. Overbeck. Zweiter Band (Besonderer Theil). Erster Band. Erstes Buch: Zeus Leipzig 1871, Zweiter Band. Zweites, drittes und viertes Buch: Hera, Poseidon, Demeter und Kora Leipzig 1873—1878, Dritter Band. Fünftes Buch: Apollon Leipzig 1889. Atlas der griechischen Kunstmythologie herausgegeben von Johannes Overbeck Lieferung i—v: Tafel 1—26 Leipzig 1872—1888.

Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*^{4} = *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* von J. Overbeck. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. i ii Leipzig 1893, 1894.

Overbeck *Schriftquellen* = *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen*. Gesammelt von J. Overbeck. Leipzig 1868.

Pauly *Real-Enc.* = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung*. Von...und dem Herausgeber August Pauly. i (Zweite völlig umgearbeitete Auflage) Stuttgart 1864, 1866 ii—vi Stuttgart 1842—1852.

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* = Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* Neue Bearbeitung unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa i— Stuttgart 1894— , Supplement i— Stuttgart 1903— .

Pellegrini *Cat. vas. ant. dipint. Bologna* = *Museo Civico di Bologna. Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti delle collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria* descritti dal Dott. Giuseppe Pellegrini...Edito per cura del Comune di Bologna. Bologna 1900.

Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* = *Museo Civico di Bologna. Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle necropoli Felsinee* descritti da Giuseppe Pellegrini. Edito per cura del Comune di Bologna. Bologna 1912.

Pergamon = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Altertümer von Pergamon* herausgegeben im Auftrage des königlich preuszischen Ministers der geistlichen und Unterrichtsangelegenheiten Berlin 1885— .

i Stadt und Landschaft von Alexander Conze, Otto Berlet, Alfred Philippson, Carl Schuchhardt, Friedrich Gräber mit Beiträgen von Johannes Mordtmann, Kurt Regling, Paul Schazmann, August Senz, Adam Zippelius. Text 1—3 with Atlas of pls. 1912—1913.

ii Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros von Richard Bohn mit einem Beitrage von Hans Droysen. Text with Atlas of pls. 1885.

iii, 1 Der grosze Altar. Der obere Markt. Von Jakob Schrammen. Text with Atlas of pls. 1906.

iii, 2 Die Friese des groszen Altars von Hermann Winnefeld. Text with Atlas of pls. 1910.

iv Die Theater-Terrasse von Richard Bohn. Text with Atlas of pls. 1896.

v, 2 Das Traianeum von Hermann Stiller mit einem Beitrage von Otto Raschdorff. Text with Atlas of pls. 1895.

vii Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs von Franz Winter mit einem Beitrage von Jakob Schrammen. Text 1—2 with Atlas of pls. 1908.

viii, 1 Die Inschriften von Pergamon unter Mitwirkung von Ernst Fabricius und Carl Schuchhardt herausgegeben von Max Fränkel. 1—2. 1890, 1895.

Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* = *Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*...par Georges Perrot... et Charles Chipiez... i— Paris 1881— .

i L'Égypte 1881, ii Chaldée et Assyrie 1884, iii Phénicie—Cypre 1885, iv Judée —Sardaigne—Syrie—Cappadoce 1887, v Perse—Phrygie—Lydie et Carie—Lycie 1890, vi La Grèce primitive: l'art Mycénien 1894, vii La Grèce de l'épopée—La Grèce archaïque: le temple 1898, viii La Grèce archaïque: la sculpture 1903, ix La Grèce archaïque: la glyptique—la numismatique—la peinture—la céramique 1911, x La Grèce archaïque: la céramique d'Athènes 1914.

Philologus = *Philologus.* Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum. Stolberg 1846, Göttingen 1847— , Neue Folge Göttingen 1889— , Leipzig 1897— .

Poet. Lat. min. = *Poetae Latini minores.* Recensuit et emendavit Aemilius Baehrens i—vi Lipsiae 1879—1886.

Poet. lyr. Gr. = *Poetae lyrici Graeci.* Recensuit Theodorus Bergk. Editionis quartae i—iii Lipsiae 1878—1882.

Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* = *Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite* par E. Pottier. Études sur l'histoire de la peinture et du dessin dans l'antiquité. i Les origines, ii L'école ionienne, iii L'école attique Paris 1896, 1899, 1906.

Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. = Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρίας Athens 1872— .

Preller *Röm. Myth.*[3, 2] = *Römische Mythologie* von L. Preller Berlin 1858, Zweite Auflage von R. Köhler Berlin 1865.

Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] = *Römische Mythologie* von L. Preller. Dritte Auflage von H. Jordan i ii Berlin 1881, 1883.

Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* = *Griechische Mythologie* von L. Preller. Erster Band. Theogonie und Goetter. Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von Carl Robert. Berlin 1894.

Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache* von Prof. Dr. Walther Prellwitz...2. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen 1905.

Priene = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Priene* Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895—1898, von Theodor Wiegand und Hans Schrader unter Mitwirkung von G. Kummer, W. Wilberg, H. Winnefeld, R. Zahn. Berlin 1904.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* = *Lexicon universae rei numariae veterum et praecipue Graecorum ac Romanorum* cum observationibus antiquariis geographicis chronologicis historicis criticis et passim cum explicatione monogrammatum edidit Io. Christophorus Rasche. i—xi (Tomi i—vi, 1) Lipsiae 1785—1795, Supplementorum i—iii (Tomi vi, 2—vii, 2) Lipsiae 1802—1805.

Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* = *Antiquités Nationales. Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* par Salomon Reinach ...Paris (1895).

Reinach *Pierres Gravées* = *Bibliothèque des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Pierres gravées* des collections Marlborough et d'Orléans, des recueils d'Eckhel, Gori, Levesque de Gravelle, Mariette, Millin, Stosch réunies et rééditées avec un texte nouveau par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1895.

Reinach *Rép. Art. Quat.* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de l'art quaternaire* Paris 1913.

Reinach *Rép. Peintures* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la renaissance* (1280—1580) i—iii Paris 1905, 1907, 1910.

Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de Reliefs Grecs et Romains* i Les ensembles, ii Afrique—Îles Britanniques, iii Italie—Suisse Paris 1909, 1912, 1912.

Reinach *Rép. Stat.* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de la statuaire grecque et romaine* i Clarac de poche, contenant les bas-reliefs de l'ancien fonds du Louvre et les Statues antiques du *Musée de sculpture* de Clarac, avec une introduction, des notices et un index. ii Sept mille statues antiques, réunies pour la première fois, avec des notices et des index. iii Deux mille six cent quarante statues antiques, reunies pour la première fois, avec des notices et les index des trois tomes. iv Quatre mille statues antiques avec des notices et les index des quatre tomes. Paris 1897, 1897—1898, 1904, 1910.

Reinach *Rép. Vases* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire des vases peints grecs et étrusques* i Peintures de vases gravées dans l'*Atlas* et le *Compte-rendu* de St.-Pétersbourg, les *Monumenti, Annali et Memorie* de l'Institut de Rome, l'*Archaeologische Zeitung*, le *Bullettino Napolitano*, le *Bullettino Italiano*, l'*Éphéméris* (1883—1894), le *Museo Italiano*, avec des notices explicatives et bibliographiques. ii Peintures de vases gravées dans les recueils de Millingen (*Coghill*), Gerhard (*Auserl. Vasenbilder*), Laborde, Luynes, Roulez, Schulz (*Amazonenvase*), Tischbein (Tomes i—vi) avec des

notices explicatives et bibliographiques, une bibliographie de la céramique grecque et étrusque, et un index des tomes i et ii. Paris 1899, 1900.

Reinach *Vases Ant.* = *Bibliothèque des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Peintures de vases antiques* recueillies par Millin (1808) et Millingen (1813) publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1891.

Rendiconti d. Linnei = *Rendiconti della reale accademia dei Lincei* Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1892— .

Rev. Arch. = *Revue archéologique* Paris 1844— , Nouvelle série Paris 1860— , Troisième série Paris 1883— , Quatrième série Paris 1903— .

Rev. Belge de Num. = *Revue belge de numismatique* (Continuation of the *Revue de la numismatique belge* Bruxelles 1841—1874) Bruxelles 1875— .

Rev. Ét. Gr. = *Revue des études grecques* Paris 1888— .

Rev. Num. = *Revue numismatique* (Continuation of the *Revue de la numismatique françoise* Blois 1836—1837) Blois 1838— , Nouvelle série Paris 1856— , Troisième série Paris 1883— , Quatrième série Paris 1897— .

Rev. Philol. = *Revue de philologie, de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* Paris 1845—1847, Nouvelle série Paris 1877— .

Rhein. Mus. = *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie, Geschichte und griechische Philosophie* Bonn 1827— , *Rheinisches Museum für Philologie* Bonn 1832— , Neue Folge Frankfurt am Main 1842— .

Robert *Sark.-Reliefs* = *Die antiken Sarkophag-Reliefs* im Auftrage des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts mit Benutzung der Vorarbeiten von Friedrich Matz herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Carl Robert. Zweiter Band: Mythologische Cyklen Berlin 1890. Dritter Band: Einzelmythen. Erste Abtheilung: Actaeon—Hercules Berlin 1897, Zweite Abtheilung: Hippolytos—Meleagros Berlin 1904.

Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* = *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy.* Part I The Archaic Inscriptions and the Greek Alphabet. Edited for the Syndics of the University Press by E. S. Roberts...Cambridge 1887.

Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* = *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy.* Part II The Inscriptions of Attica. Edited by E. S. Roberts...and E. A. Gardner...Cambridge 1905.

Robinson *Cat. Vases Boston* = E. Robinson *Catalogue of Greek, Etruscan and Roman Vases* Cambridge, U.S.A. 1893.

Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* = *Inscriptiones Graecae antiquissimae praeter Atticas in Attica repertas.* Consilio et auctoritate Academiae Litterarum Regiae Borussicae edidit Hermannus Roehl Berolini 1882.

Rohde *Psyche*[2] = *Psyche* Seelencult und Unsterblichkeitsglaube der Griechen. Von Erwin Rohde. Freiburg i. B. und Leipzig 1894, Zweite Auflage. i ii Tübingen und Leipzig 1897, Dritte Auflage. i ii Tübingen und Leipzig 1903.

Röm. Mitth. = *Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: roemische Abtheilung* Rom 1886— .

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* = *Ausführliches Lexikon der griechischen und römischen Mythologie* im Verein mit...herausgegeben von W. H. Roscher i— Leipzig 1884–1890— .

Roulez *Vases de Leide* = *Choix de vases peints du Musée d'Antiquités de Leide*; publiés et commentés par J. Roulez...Gand 1854.

Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* = *Herculanum et Pompéi* Recueil général des peintures, bronzes, mosaïques, etc. découverts jusqu'à ce jour, et reproduits d'après *Le antichita di Ercolano, Il Museo Borbonico* et tous les ouvrages analogues augmenté de sujets inédits gravés au trait sur cuivre par H. Roux aîné Et accompagné d'un Texte explicatif par M. L. Barré i—viii Paris 1870—1872.

Samhon *Monn. ant. It.* = *Bibliothèque du "Musée." Les monnaies antiques de l'Italie* par Arthur Samhon i Étrurie—Ombrie—Picenum—Samnium—Campanie Fascicule 1—5 Paris 1903—1904.

Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* = *Anecdota varia Graeca et Latina.* Ediderunt Rud. Schoell et Guil. Studemund. i Anecdota varia Graeca musica metrica grammatica.

Edidit Guilelmus Studemund. ii Procli commentariorum in Rempublicam Platonis partes ineditae. Edidit Rudolfus Schoell. Berolini 1886.

Schrader *Reallex.* = *Reallexikon der indogermanischen Altertumskunde.* Grundzüge einer Kultur- und Völkergeschichte Alteuropas von O. Schrader. Strassburg 1901.

Sieveking—Hackl *Vasensamml. München* = *Die königliche Vasensammlung zu München* herausgegeben von Johannes Sieveking und Rudolf Hackl. i Die älteren nichtattischen Vasen. Text von R. Hackl. München 1912.

Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin = *Sitzungsberichte der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften (zu Berlin)* (Continuation of the *Monatsberichte der Königlichen Preuss. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu Berlin* Berlin 1854—) Berlin 1882— .

Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien Phil.-hist. Classe = *Sitzungsberichte der Philosophisch-historischen Classe (Klasse) der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* Wien 1848— .

Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Sitzungsberichte der königl. bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* München 1861— , *Sitzungsberichte der philosophisch-philologischen und (der) historischen Classe (Klasse) der k. b. Akademie der Wissenschaften zu München* München 1878— .

Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* = *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology.* Edited by William Smith... i—iii London 1853, 1854, 1856.

Smith *Dict. Geogr.* = *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Geography.* Edited by William Smith... i ii London 1854, 1857.

Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* = *A Dictionary of Christian Antiquities* comprising the history, institutions, and antiquities of the Christian Church, from the time of the Apostles to the age of Charlemagne. By various writers, edited by Sir William Smith...& Samuel Cheetham...Fifth impression. i ii London 1908.

Smith—Marindin *Class. Dict.* = *A Classical Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography, Mythology, and Geography* based on the larger dictionaries by the late Sir William Smith... Revised throughout and in part rewritten by G. E. Marindin... London 1899.

Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* = *A Dictionary of Christian Biography, Literature, Sects and Doctrines*; being a continuation of 'The Dictionary of the Bible.' Edited by William Smith... and Henry Wace... i—iv London 1877, 1880, 1882, 1887.

Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* = *A Dictionary of Greek and Roman Antiquities.* Edited by William Smith... William Wayte... G. E. Marindin.... Third edition, revised and enlarged. i ii London 1890, 1891.

Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* = *Le pitture murali campane scoverte negli anni 1867–79* descritte da Antonio Sogliano. Supplemento all' opera dell' Helbig "Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens, Leipzig 1868." Napoli 1879.

Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[3] = *Guide illustré* 2[de] édition corrigée et augmentée. *Marbres et Bronzes du Musée National* par V. Staïs... 1[er] volume Athènes 1910.

Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* = *Die Vasen-Sammlung der kaiserlichen Ermitage* i ii St. Petersburg 1869.

Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* = Θησαυρὸς τῆς Ἑλληνικῆς γλώσσης. *Thesaurus Graecae linguae*, ab Henrico Stephano constructus. Post editionem Anglicam novis additamentis auctum, ordineque alphabetico digestum tertio ediderunt Carolus Benedictus Hase,... Guilielmus Dindorfius et Ludovicus Dindorfius... i—viii Parisiis (1831—1865).

Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* = *A Dictionary of Roman Coins, republican and imperial*: commenced by the late Seth William Stevenson...revised, in part, by C. Roach Smith...and completed by Frederic W. Madden... London 1889.

Stuart-Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* = *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Museo Capitolino.* By members of the British School at Rome, edited by H. Stuart Jones...with Atlas of pls. Oxford 1912.

Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* = *Das athener Nationalmuseum* phototypische Wiedergabe

seiner Schätze mit erläuterndem Text von J. N. Svoronos...Deutsche Ausgabe besorgt von Dr W. Barth Heft i—xxiv Athen 1903—1912.

Thes. Ling. Lat. = *Thesaurus linguae Latinae* editus auctoritate et consilio Academiarum quinque Germanicarum Berolinensis Gottingensis Lipsiensis Monacensis Vindobonensis i— . Lipsiae 1900— . Index librorum scriptorum inscriptionum ex quibus exempla adferantur. Lipsiae 1904. Supplementum: nomina propria Latina. Lipsiae 1909— .

The Year's Work in Class. Stud. = *The Year's Work in Classical Studies 1906*— London 1907— .

Tiryns = *Kaiserlich deutsches archaeologisches Institut in Athen. Tiryns.* Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen des Instituts.

i 1. Die Hera von Tiryns, von August Frickenhaus. 2. Die 'geometrische' Nekropole, von Walter Müller und Franz Oelmann. Athen 1912.

ii Die Fresken des Palastes von Gerhart Rodenwaldt mit Beiträgen von Rudolf Hackl and Noel Heaton. Athen 1912.

Vasos griegos Madrid = Francisco Alvarez-Ossorio *Vasos griegos etruscos é italo-griegos que se conservan en el Museo Arqueologico Nacional* Madrid 1910.

Verh. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz = *Verhandlungen der vierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Görlitz* vom 2. bis 5. Oktober 1889. Leipzig 1890.

Villoison *anecd.* = *Anecdota Graeca* E Regia Parisiensi; & e Veneta S. Marci Bibliothecis deprompta Edidit Johannes Baptista Caspar d'Ansse de Villoison... i ii Venetiis 1781.

Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* = Œuvres de Ennius Quirinus Visconti. *Musée Pie-Clémentin* i—vii Milan 1818—1822, *Monumens du Musée Chiaramonti*, décrits et expliqués par Philippe Aurèle Visconti et Joseph Guattani, Servant de suite et de complément au Musée Pie-Clémentin, traduit de l'italien par A. F. Sergent-Marceau Milan 1822.

Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* = *Die antiken Terrakotten* im Auftrag des archäologischen Instituts des deutschen Reichs herausgegeben von Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz. Band iv, 1 *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit* bearbeitet von Hermann von Rohden unter Mitwirkung von Hermann Winnefeld. Text und Tafeln. Berlin und Stuttgart 1911.

Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* = E. von Sacken *Die antiken Bronzen des k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinetes in Wien* Wien 1871.

Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* = *Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* (*Fondation Piot*). *Recueil général des monnaies grecques d'Asie Mineure* commencé par feu W. H. Waddington...continué et complété par E. Babelon... Th. Reinach... Tome premier. Premier fascicule: Pont et Paphlagonie. Paris 1904. Deuxième fascicule: Bithynie (jusqu'à Juliopolis). Paris 1908. Troisième fascicule: Nicée et Nicomédie. Paris 1910.

Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* = *Lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* von Dr. Alois Walde... Heidelberg 1906.

Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* = *Alte Denkmäler* erklärt von F. G. Welcker.

i Die Giebelgruppen und andre Griechische Gruppen und Statuen. Göttingen 1849.

ii Basreliefe und geschnittne Steine. Göttingen 1850.

iii Griechische Vasengemälde. Göttingen 1851.

iv Wandgemälde. Mit einer Abhandlung über Wandmalerei und Tafelmalerei. Göttingen 1861.

v Statuen, Basreliefe und Vasengemälde. Göttingen 1864.

Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* = *Griechische Götterlehre* von F. G. Welcker i—iii Göttingen 1857, 1860, 1863.

Wide *Lakon. Kulte* = *Lakonische Kulte* dargestellt von Sam Wide Leipzig 1893.

Wien. Vorlegebl. = *Vorlegeblätter für archaeologische Übungen* Serie i—viii herausgegeben von A. Conze Wien 1869—1876, Serie A—E herausgegeben von O. Benndorf Wien 1879—1886, Serie 1888, 1889, 1890/91 herausgegeben von O. Benndorf Wien 1889, 1890, 1891.

Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* = *Exempla inscriptionum Latinarum* in usum praecipue Academicum composuit Gustavus Wilmanns. i ii Berolini 1873.

Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin = *Festgedanken an Winckelmann* von Eduard Gerhard Berlin 1841, *Zweites— Programm zum berliner Winckelmannsfest* Berlin 1842— , *Antikenkranz zum neunten— berliner Winckelmannsfest* Berlin 1849— , *Zwolftes Programm der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin zum Gedächtnisstag Winckelmanns* Berlin 1852, *Vierzehntes— Programm zum Winckelmannsfest der archäologischen Gesellschaft zu Berlin* Berlin 1854— .

Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle = *Erstes* (—*Dreizehntes*) *hallesches* (*hallisches*) *Winckelmannsprogramm*...von Heinrich Heydemann. Halle a/S. 1876—1888, *Vierzehntes* (—*Postumes vierundzwanzigstes*) *hallisches Winckelmannsprogramm*...von Carl Robert. Halle 1890—1903.

Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* = *Grossh. Vereinigte Sammlungen zu Karlsruhe. Beschreibung der Vasensammlung* von Hermann Winnefeld Karlsruhe 1887.

Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* = *Die antiken Terrakotten* im Auftrag des archäologischen Instituts des deutschen Reichs herausgegeben von Reinhard Kekulé von Stradonitz. Band iii, i *Die Typen der figürlichen Terrakotten* bearbeitet von Franz Winter. i ii Berlin und Stuttgart 1903.

Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* = *Religion und Kultus der Römer* (*Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft* herausgegeben von Dr. Iwan von Müller v. Band, 4. Abteilung) von Dr. Georg Wissowa...München 1902, Zweite Auflage München 1912.

Zeitschr. f. Num. = *Zeitschrift für Numismatik* Berlin 1874— .

CHAPTER I

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE BRIGHT SKY.

§ 1. *Zeus and the Daylight.*

(a) Zeus the Sky.

THE supreme deity of the ancient Greeks, during their historical period at least, was Zeus. His name, referable to a root that means 'to shine,' may be rendered 'the Bright One[1].' And, since a whole series of related words in the various languages of the Indo-Europaean family is used to denote 'day' or 'sky[2],' it can be safely inferred that Zeus was called 'the Bright One' as being the god of the bright or day-light sky[3]. Indeed a presumption

[1] K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1897 i. 204, 210, 263, 276 f., 307, 527, 797, 1906 ii. 1. 133 f., *id. Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 312, Schrader *Reallex.* p. 670, H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 506. The Greek *Zεύς* and the Old Indian *Dyaús* represent an Indo-Europaean **dĭēu-s* from the root *dĭ*: *dīē*: *deia*, 'to shine.'

[2] This series as collected by Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb. s.vv.* deus, dies, and Hirt *op. cit.* ii. 734 f. includes the following forms: Greek *ἔνδιος* 'at mid-day,' *εὐδία* 'clear sky'; Latin *sub dīvo* 'under the open sky,' *dies* 'day'; Welsh *diw dyw dydd* 'day,' Breton *dez* 'day,' Cornish *det* 'day,' Irish *indiu* 'to-day'; Gothic *sin-teins* 'daily'; Lithuanian *dienà* 'day,' Slavonic *dĭni* 'day'; Albanian *dit-* 'day'; Armenian *tiv* 'day'; Old Indian *divá* 'on the day,' *divám*, 'day, sky.'

[3] Two misleading explanations may here be noted. (1) E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 182, 220 holds that *Zεύς* denotes properly the 'hurler' or 'discharger' of rays (cp. H. Grassmann *Wörterbuch zum Rig-veda* Leipzig 1873—1875 p. 600 *s.v.* div.) and infers that he must have been the lightning-god, not as is commonly supposed the god of bright day-light. But the frequent use of the word *dyaus* in the *Rig-veda* for 'sky' or 'day' (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 21, P. von Bradke *Dyâus Asura* Halle 1885 p. 110) and the existence of the forms recorded in the foregoing note are conclusive in favour of the common view.

(2) Frazer *Golden Bough*[1] ii. 369, *ib.*[2] iii. 456 f., suggested that Zeus was named 'Bright' as being the oak-god, *i.e.* god of the tree whose wood was used in fire-making. Against this view I protested in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 372, as did Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1100 n. 2. And Frazer *op. cit.*[3] ii. 358 n. 1 admits that he 'was disposed to set aside much too summarily what may be called the meteorological side of Zeus and Jupiter,' though he still regards the oak-tree as the primary, not a secondary, element in their composite nature (*ib.* ii. 373 ff.). I now hold, and shall hope in vol. ii of the present work to show, that the oak was originally the tree of the earth-mother rather than the tree of the sky-father, and that the latter acquired it in the first instance through association with the former.

is raised that Zeus was at first conceived, not in anthropomorphic fashion as the bright sky-god, but simply as the bright sky itself. True, the Greeks at the time when their literature begins had advanced far beyond this primitive view. Zeus in the *Iliad* is already the potent, if not omnipotent, ruler of the gods, the description of whose nod is said to have inspired Pheidias' masterpiece at Olympia[1]:

> So spake the son of Kronos and thereto
> Nodded with darkling brow[2]: the lordly locks,

[1] Strab. 354, Val. Max. 3. 7. *ext.* 4, Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 383 Reiske, Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 13. 23, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff., cp. Polyb. 30. 10. 6, Plout. *v. Aem. Paul.* 28.

[2] *κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι.* 'Blue' here implies 'black' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling. s.vv. κυάνεος* and its compounds)—a confusion characteristic of early thought and as such well known to anthropologists. A seated figure of Zeus from a sixth-century *pôros* pediment, now in the Akropolis Museum at Athens, has undeniably black hair, eyebrows, and beard (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 97 ff. pl. 8, 1—2).

It is probable that Pheidias' chryselephantine Zeus and its copies had hair and beard of gold; for Lucian makes Zeus complain that a couple of his curls, weighing six minas apiece, were cut off and stolen from Pisa by burglars (Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 25), and Pausanias states that Theokosmos of Megara, helped by Pheidias, made for the Megarian *Olympieion* a statue of Zeus, which had *πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ* (Paus. 1. 40. 4). But it would be rash to infer from this that the god was essentially fair-haired. The Minoans of Knossos made ivory statuettes of athletes with hair of gilded bronze (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 72 f. pls. 2 f.). Were they blondes? Herodes Attikos erected a chryselephantine statue of Poseidon in the Isthmian temple (Paus. 2. 1. 7 f.). But Poseidon was not xanthotrichous.

A terra-cotta head of Zeus found at Olympia and dating from the first quarter of the fifth century B.C. bears traces of a blackish brown varnish on the hair, on the forehead, and round the eyes: this was either a protective coating (G. Treu in *Olympia* iii. 35 f. pl. 7, 4 and fig. 37), or more probably a lustre intended to imitate the effect of bronze (A. Furtwängler *Die Bronzefunde aus Olympia* Berlin 1879 p. 90, W. Deonna *Les statues de terre cuite dans l'antiquité: Sicile* etc. Paris 1908 p. 25 f.). The terra-cottas from Smyrna that show Zeus or Zeus Sarapis with gilded head and hair (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* C 445, cp. D 392, S. Reinach *Esquisses archéologiques* Paris 1888 p. 223 f.) may denote a similar attempt to copy gilt bronze. A terra-cotta head of Zeus, found by Lord Savile at Lanuvium and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, came probably from a pediment of the third century B.C. (W. Deonna *op. cit.* p. 138): it shows traces of red in the hair and beard; but here we have to reckon with the conventional colouring of architecture (A. Furtwängler *Aegina* München 1906 i. 304 ff.).

Greek vase-painters, bound by their artistic traditions, commonly of course represent Zeus with black hair, but occasionally give him a grey beard or white hair (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 29).

Not till Roman times do we get a demonstrably light-haired Zeus. On wall-paintings from the Villa Farnesina (*Gaz. Arch.* 1883 viii. 99 f. pl. 15 Zeus with the attributes of Dionysos, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 320, *Mon. d. Inst.* xii. pl. 7, 5, P. Girard *La Peinture Antique* Paris 1891 p. 309 fig. 188, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 246 no. 1083) and from Pompeii (listed in Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 30 ff., Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 19 ff., Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pls. 11, 46, 2, etc.) his hair varies from dark to light. A wall-painting of the Hadrianic age from Eleusis shows him enthroned with a Nike in his right hand, a sceptre in his left: his head is unfortunately mutilated, but

Ambrosial, on his immortal head
Shook—at their shaking all Olympos quaked[1].

Nevertheless, although Zeus as conceived by the Homeric minstrel is fully anthropomorphic, certain traces of the earlier conception persisted even into post-Homeric times[2]. The evidence is linguistic rather than literary. I shall begin by passing it in review.

Closely akin to the substantive *Zeús* is the adjective *díos,* which denotes properly 'of' or 'belonging to Zeus[3].' This meaning it actually bears in Attic drama[4]. But how comes it that in the much earlier Homeric poems it has the force of 'bright' or 'glorious' without any such restriction to the property of a personal Zeus[5]? Probably because the word was formed before Zeus became a personality, when as yet he was *the* Zeus, the radiant sky credited with an impersonal life of its own. *Díos* in fact meant at first 'of' or 'belonging to the bright sky'; and a vestige of its primary meaning is to be found in the frequent Homeric phrases 'the *bright* upper air[6]' and 'the *bright* dawn[7].' The transition from brightness in this sense to glory or splendour in general is not hard to follow. Further, when Zeus came to be regarded as an individual sky-god, the way was open for *díos,* 'of the bright sky,' to take on the more personal meaning, 'of the

enough remains to prove that the beard, like the body, was red-brown in colour shaded with black (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888 p. 77 ff. pl. 5).

[1] *Il.* 1. 528 ff., cp. 8. 199 (of Hera). For a similar explanation of earthquakes in modern Greece see *infra* ch. ii. § 5.

[2] Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 100 contrasts Zeus the personal sky-god with Iupiter the actual sky (cp. W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 128, 141). But the contrast was neither originally nor finally valid: at the first both Zeus and Iupiter were the sky; at the last both were the sky-god.

[3] Brugmann *Grundriss* etc.[2] ii. 1. 187 ('himmlisch'), *id. Kurze vergl. Gram.* etc. pp. 99 ('himmlisch'), 360 ('göttlich'), L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 175 f. ('von Zeus herrührend, Zeus angehörend,' dann allgemeiner 'himmlisch, göttlich, herrlich' oder ähnlich), Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 117 ('göttlich'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 189 f. ('divin'), treat δῖος as *δι̯ϝ̆ιος from Δι̯ϝ̆-, 'Zeus.'

[4] *E.g.* Aisch. *P. v.* 619 *βούλευμα μὲν τὸ Δῖον, Ἡφαίστου δὲ χείρ,* Eur. *Ion* 1144 *ἀνάθημα Δίου παιδός.*

[5] According to H. Eheling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 310 f. Homer has δῖος in the sense 'bright' or 'glorious' of goddesses (but not gods, though in *h. Dion.* 2 *δῖον γένος* is Dionysos son of Zeus, and in *Il.* 17. 582 Zenodotos wrote δῖος Ἄρης), nymphs, men and women, peoples and places, divine horses, rivers and mountain-peaks, land and sea.

[6] *Il.* 16. 365, *h. Dem.* 70 *αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης, Od.* 19. 540 *ἐς αἰθέρα δῖαν,* cp. Emped. *frag.* 109, 2 Diels *αἰθέρα δῖον,* Aisch. *P. v.* 88 *ὦ δῖος αἰθήρ,* Orph. *frag.* 53. 1 Abel *αἰθέρι δίῳ,* 167, 1 *αἰθέρα δῖον.*

[7] *Il.* 24. 417 *ἠὼς ὅτε δῖα φανήῃ, ib.* 9. 240, 662, 11. 723, 18. 255, *Od.* 9. 151, 306, 436, 11. 375, 12. 7, 16. 368, 19. 50, 342 *ἠῶ δῖαν.*

god Zeus.' Thus, on the assumption that Zeus began life as *the* Zeus, both Homeric and Attic usages are satisfactorily explained[1]. We note in passing that in north-eastern Phrygia Zeus was worshipped as Zeus *Dfos*[2], a double appellation which recalls the *Dea Dia* of the Romans, and very possibly attests the survival among the Thraco-Phrygian folk of an early, not to say primitive, Zeus.

Another adjective *éndios* occurs in epic verse with the meaning 'in broad day-light' or 'at mid-day[3].' For example, Nestor in the *Iliad* describes an expedition in which he had once taken part:

> At mid-day (*éndioi*) came we to the sacred stream
> Alpheios[4].

Eidothea too in the *Odyssey* tells Menelaos the habits of her father Proteus:

> What time the Sun bestrides mid heaven, there comes
> Shoreward the unerring Ancient of the Sea[5].

And fifty lines further on her word is made good:

> At mid-day (*éndios*) came the Ancient from the sea[6].

[1] Another possible, but—as it seems to me—less probable, explanation would be to say that Δῖος meant originally 'of Zeus,' *i.e.* of the personal Zeus, and that its meaning had been widened and weakened by epic usage till δῖος came to signify merely 'divine,' while yet Attic poetry retained the primary force of the word Δῖος, 'of Zeus.' That different dialects should be at different stages in the evolution of the meaning of a given word, and even that the early poetry of one dialect should give only the later meaning while the later poetry of another dialect gave only the early meaning, is certainly thinkable. But the hypothesis set forth in the text involves fewer assumptions.

[2] A. Körte in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 409 f. publishes (after G. Radet 'En Phrygie' in the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* Paris 1895 vi. 425—594) a limestone altar at Eskischehir in the Kütschük-Han inscribed Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ | Σόλων ἱερὸς κα τὰ ἐπιταγὴν Δ[ι] ἰ Δίω εὐχήν. ☩ | κὲ ἑαυτῷ ζῶν. On the upper part of the altar are two bunches of grapes; on the base, a plough of a kind still much used in Anatolia. Körte observes that the quantity of ι in Διοσ is doubtful, and suggests that we have here perhaps 'den uralten Himmelsgott *Δίος*' (an ancient nominative assumed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 43, 70 f. to account for Διόσθυος, Δίος Κόρινθος, nu-*dius* tertius, *Dius* fidius, Διάλλος). This, however, is highly precarious. I prefer to write Δῖος with Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 275, who notes that Solon, servitor of Zeus Δῖος, discharged a vow to his god and by the same act of devotion made a tomb for himself.

[3] So Souid. *s.v.* ἔνδιος, Hesych. *s.vv.* ἔνδια, ἔνδιος, ἐνδίοις, *et. mag.* p. 339, 1, *et. Gud.* p. 186, 39, Orion p. 60, 4, Apollon. *lex. Hom. s.v.* ἔνδειος, Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 200, 7 f.

[4] *Il.* 11. 726 with Eustath. *in Il.* p. 881, 5 κατὰ μεσημβρίαν: schol. V. *ad loc.* says διὰ δειλίαν.

[5] *Od.* 4. 400 f.

[6] *Ib.* 450 with scholl. V.B.E. ἔνδιος· μεσημβρινός.

Similarly Souidas cites the following couplet, perhaps by Kallimachos:

> So, while mid-day (*éndios*) endured and earth grew hot,
> More brilliant than crystal shone the sky[1].

From this adjective are derived verbs meaning 'to take a mid-day siesta[2],' 'to live in the open air[3],' 'to grow up into the air[4].' But the adjective itself must have meant originally 'in the Zeus' or 'in the bright sky[5],' thence passing into the sense 'in broad daylight,' 'at mid-day[6].'

Lastly, there is the adjective *eúdios* 'with a clear sky, tranquil[7],' the substantive *eudía* 'a clear sky, calm weather[8],' and the verbs *eudiân, eudiázesthai* 'to be serene[9].' These all spring from the same root as *díos, éndios*[10], and alike bear witness to the fact that

[1] Souid. *s.v.* ἔνδιος = Kallim. *frag. an.* 24 Schneider. Hellenistic poets affected the word, *e.g.* Kallim. *h. Dem.* 39 ποτὶ τῶνδιον with schol. *περὶ τὸ μεσημβρινόν, id. frag.* 124 Schneider ἴδεος ἐνδίοιο, *id. Hekale frag.* pap. col. iv, 2 ἀλλ' ἤ νὺξ ἦ ἔνδιος ἦ ἔσετ' ἦμαρ, Ap. Rhod. 1. 603 ἐς ἔνδιον with schol. *μέχρι μεσημβρίας, id.* 4. 1310 f. ἔνδιον ἦμαρ ἔην, *περὶ δ' ὀξύνται θέρον αὐγαὶ | ἠελίου Λιβύην*, Theokr. 16. 95 *ποιμένας ἐνδίους* with schol. vet. *κατὰ τὴν μεσημβρίαν* and gloss M. δειλινούς (imitated by Antiphilos in *Anth. Pal.* 9. 71), Arat. *phaen.* 498 *πέντε μὲν ἔνδια στρέφεται καθ' ὑπέρτερα γαίης* with schol. *τὸ δὲ ἔνδια ἡμερινά, ὑψηλὰ ὑπὲρ γῆν, παρὰ τὸν ἔνδιον καιρὸν τὸν μεσημβρινόν, ib.* 954 f. *καὶ βόες ἤδη τοι πάρος ὕδατος ἐνδίοιο | οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδόντες ἀπ' αἰθέρος ὡσφρήσαντο* with schol. *τὸ δὲ ὕδατος ἐνδίοιο ἤγουν μεσημβρινοῦ καὶ οὐρανίου.*

[2] Ἐνδιάζειν: Plout. *symp.* 8. 6. 5, *v. Rom.* 4, *v. Lucull.* 16. Cp. Hesych. *ἐνδιῶνται· μεσημβριάζουσιν.*

[3] Ἐνδιᾶν: Theokr. 16. 38, 22. 44, *Anth. Pal.* 5. 291. 6 Agathias. The verb came to mean simply 'to dwell': *Anth. Pal.* 2. 122 Christoderos, *ib.* 4. 4. 10 Agathias, *ib.* 5. 269. 10 Paulus Silentiarius. The (Alexandrine?) author of the Homeric *h. Sel.* says of the full moon 6 *ἀκτῖνες δ' ἐνδιάονται*, which E. E. Sikes *ad loc.* would render: 'are as bright as day.'

[4] Ἐνδιοῦν: *Tab. Heracl.* 1. 120 f. *ταῦτα δὲ πάντα* (*sc. τὰ δένδρα*) *πεφυτευμένα παρ-ἐξόντι καὶ ἐνδε|διωκότα*, which G. Kaibel in the *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* p. 174 renders 'arbores quae in aerem succreverunt.'

[5] Ἔνδιος is related to *ἐν Διΐ* as is *ἐννύχιος* to *ἐν νυκτί* or *ἐνάλιος* to *ἐν ἁλί*: see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 423, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 142, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 250.

W. Prellwitz *Eine griechische und eine lateinische Etymologie* Bartenstein 1895 p. 8 notes that ἔνδῐος is for *ἐνδἰΓιος* and ἔνδῑος for *ἔνδιϜος*, both being derived from *ἐν Δϝί*, 'im Zeus, im lichten Tage.'

[6] Cp. *Od.* 8. 449 *αὐτόδιφρ*, 'straightway,' lit. 'on the self-same day' (so Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 66, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 103, on the analogy of *αὐτῆμαρ*).

[7] *E.g.* Arat. *phaen.* 823 *εὐδίου...ἤματος, Geopon.* 18. 3. 6 *ἡμέρας εὐδίου*, Orph. *h. Aith.* 5. 6 *λίτομαί σε* (*sc.* Aither) *κεκραμένον εὔδιον εἶναι, id. h. Hel.* 8. 13 f. *ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ, | εὐδιε, πασιφαές* of the sun, Arat. *phaen.* 784 *εὐδιόν κ' εἴη* of the moon, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 80. 3 *παναιγλήεντα καὶ εὔδιον* of a space cleared for a sun-dial.

[8] *E.g.* Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 37 f. *εὐδίαν ὄπασσεν | ἐκ χειμῶνος*, Theophr. *caus. pl.* 3. 23. 5 *ἐὰν γὰρ εὐδίαι καὶ τὰ νότια ἐνισχύωσι.*

[9] *E.g.* Arat. *phaen.* 899 *πάντῃ Διὸς εὐδιόωντος* with schol. *εὐδίας οὔσης*, Plut. *Aratus*, 370 D *βίος, ἀσαλεύτῳ ἡσυχίᾳ εὐδιαζόμενος.*

[10] Prellwitz *op. cit.* p. 162, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 393.

Zeus once signified the animate sky. It is interesting to observe that the tenth-century scholar, who compiled the great Greek lexikon known as the *Etymologicum Magnum*, seems to have had an inkling of the truth; for in discussing the words *eúdios* and *eudía* he suggests as a possible derivation—'or because *Zeús* denotes "the sky" also'.

When the pre-anthropomorphic conception of Zeus had developed into the anthropomorphic, the natural tendency would be to forget the former in the latter. We can hardly expect, therefore, to find in extant Greek literature the name *Zeús* used as a simple equivalent of 'the sky.' Still, there are occasional passages of a more or less colloquial sort, in which the ancient usage may be detected. Thus Aristophanes in his comedy *Friends of the Frying-pan* makes one of the characters exclaim:

> And how should Plouton bear the name he does bear,
> Had he not got the best of it? I'll explain.
> The things of earth surpass the things of Zeus.
> When you are weighing, 'tis the laden pan
> Seeks earth, the empty one goes up towards Zeus[2].

The remark gains in point, if we may suppose that 'towards Zeus' was a popular expression for 'sky-wards[3].' It certainly appears to be used in that sense by Euripides: he has in his *Kyklops* the following conversation between Polyphemos, who has returned home unexpectedly, and the Chorus of Satyrs, who are caught idling and so face their ferocious master with hanging heads:

> *Kyklops.* Look up, not down.
> *Chorus.* There! We are staring up towards Zeus himself:
> I see the stars; I see Orion too[4].

Plutarch, again, quotes a witty epigram on Lysippos' statue of Alexander the Great with its characteristic upturned gaze:

> The man of bronze who looks to Zeus
> Says (so I should opine)—

[1] *Et. mag.* p. 389, 35 ἢ ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς σημαίνει καὶ τὸν οὐρανόν, cp. *ib.* p. 409, 6 (Ζεὺς σημαίνει) τὸν θεὸν ἢ τὸν οὐρανόν. So Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 176 p. 183, 9 ff. Wünsch Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ...ὥστε διοσημεία τὸ τοῦ ἀέρος σημεῖον, ὥσπερ εὐδιον τὸ πρᾶον καὶ γαληνὸν τοῦ ἀέρος καλεῖται σχῆμα, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 881, 9 ἔνδιοι. ἴσως δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν ὑγρὸν Δία, ὅ ἐστιν ἀέρα, Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 1. 375 καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἠρέμησεν εὔδιος σὺν αἰθέρι. On the equation of *Zeús* with *aḗr* see further *infra* p. 30.

[2] Aristoph. *Tagenistae frag.* 1. 1—5 Meineke *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 121. 18 (ed. Gaisford iii. 417): the last clause is ὅταν γὰρ ἱστῇς, τοῦ ταλάντου τὸ ῥέπον | κάτω βαδίζει, τὸ δὲ κενὸν πρὸς τὸν Δία.

[3] For a Latin parallel see Ap. *met.* 10. 21 (cod. Laur. 54. 24) dentes ad Iovem elevans (of an ass looking up).

[4] Eur. *Cycl.* 211 ff. ΚΥ. βλέπετ' ἄνω καὶ μὴ κάτω. | ΧΟ. ἰδού, πρὸς αὐτὸν τὸν Δί' ἀνακεκύφαμεν, | καὶ τἄστρα καὶ τὸν Ὠρίωνα δέρκομαι.

'This earth I keep for my own use;
The sky, Zeus, is for thine[1].'

With these passages of comedy and quasi-comedy should be compared certain others of more serious tone, in which the poet says 'the rays of Zeus' or 'the light of Zeus' where we should say 'the light of day.' The *Iliad* thus describes the crash of a battle between Argives and Trojans:

The din of both
Rose to the upper sky and the rays of Zeus[2].

Hekabe in the tragedy that Euripides named after her speaks of her dead son Polydoros as—

No longer in the light of Zeus[3].

In the same poet's *Iphigeneia at Aulis* the heroine, when she departs to her death, bids adieu to the day-light:

O lamp of day
And light of Zeus,
Another life,
Another lot
Henceforth be mine.
Loved light, farewell[4].

In such passages it is difficult to determine whether Zeus is conceived as anthropomorphic, or not. Anthropomorphism is, however, apparent in the *Rhesos*, where Euripides writes not only 'the light of the god[5]' but also 'Zeus god of Light[6].'

[1] Plout. *de Alex. magn.* 1. 9, 2. 2 (=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 53) *αὐδασοῦντι δ' ἔοικεν ὁ χάλκεος εἰς Δία λεύσσων· | 'γᾶν ὑπ' ἐμοὶ τίθεμαι, Ζεῦ, σὺ δ' Ὄλυμπον ἔχε.'*

[2] *Il.* 13. 837 *ἠχὴ δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἵκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς αὐγάς.* Schol. B. *Διὸς γὰρ αὐγὰς λέγει τὸν οὐρανόν.* Schol. V. *τὸν οὐρανόν· δι' αἰθέρος οὐρανὸν ἦκεν* (*Il.* 2. 458). So schol. T., adding *οἱ δὲ "Διός" τοῦ ἡλίου, Πλατωνικῶς.* Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 962, 64 f. *Διὸς αὐγάς, ἃ ἐστιν ἡλίου κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς* and *et. mag.* p. 409, 9 which quotes the line as proof that *Ζεύς* sometimes means 'the sun.' Hesych. *Διὸς αὐγάς· τῆς ἡμέρας τὸ φῶς. τὸν αἰθέρα.* The phrase recurs in a Greek metrical inscription found at Ostia (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 940 [*ἐν αἰθέ*]*ρι καὶ Διὸς αὐγαῖς*).

[3] Eur. *Hec.* 707 *οὐκέτ' ὄντα Διὸς ἐν φάει.*

[4] *Id. I.A.* 1505 ff. *ὦ ἰώ, | λαμπαδοῦχος ἀμέρα | Διός τε φέγγος, κ.τ.λ.*

[5] *Id. Rhes.* 331 *τοὐπιὸν σέλας θεοῦ* = 'to-morrow.'

[6] *Id. ib.* 355 *Ζεὺς ὁ Φαναῖος.* Perhaps we should rather render 'He that Appeareth': cp. *ib.* 370 *φάνηθι.* The same title was borne by Apollon in Chios (Hesych. *s.v.* Φαναίος), and is thus explained by Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 17. 34: *Φαναῖον* (MSS. *Φανεὸν*) *ἐπειδὴ φαίνεται νέος,* quia sol cotidie renovat sese. Cornut. *theol.* 32 p. 67, 3 f. Lang has (Ἀπόλλωνα) *Φαναῖον ἀπὸ τοῦ δηλοῦσθαι δι' αὐτοῦ τὰ ὄντα καὶ φωτίζεσθαι τὸν κόσμον.* But, as applied to the Chian Apollon, and presumably also to Zeus, the epithet was at first a mere *ἐθνικόν*, 'the god of Phanai'; for Strab. 645 in describing Chios mentions Φάναι, *λιμὴν βαθύς, καὶ νεὼς Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ ἄλσος φοινίκων,* though Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φάναι says *ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Χίου, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖθεν ἀναφανῆναι τῇ Λητοῖ τὴν Δῆλον. οἱ οἰκήτορες Φαναῖοι κ.τ.λ.* The port and promontory are referred to by other writers (Aristoph. *av.* 1094 with schol.,

For fifteen hundred years and more, in fact till the decay of paganism, the anthropomorphic conception of Zeus held the field. Yet the older view was never very far below the surface, and from time to time, as we shall see, it cropped up in a variety of ways. Even in the extreme decadence of Greek letters there was a scholastic resuscitation of it. Thus, the original Zeus was simply the radiant day-light Sky. With the rise of anthropomorphism this belief was obscured and overlaid. The Zeus of Hesiodic mythology is described as grandson of an older god *Ouranós*, the starry midnight 'Sky[1].' In Hellenic times the two Spartan kings were respectively priests of Zeus *Lakedaímon* and Zeus *Ouránios* ('of the Sky[2]'). In the Hellenistic age the latter title was much used by the poets[3]: it afforded a point of contact between the Greek Zeus and the Semitic *Ba'al-šamin*, 'Lord of Heaven[4].' Finally, Byzantine learning spoke of Zeus *ouranós*, Zeus the 'sky[5],' a title which in letter, though not in spirit, recalled the primary idea of the animate Sky.

Thouk. 8. 24, Ptolem. 5. 2 p. 323, 19, Liv. 36. 43, 44. 28, 45. 10, Verg. *georg.* 2. 98 with Serv. *ad loc.*).

Orphic writers occasionally gave the name Zeus to their first-born deity Φάνης (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* p. 380=Orph. *frag.* 48 Abel Πρωτόγονον ἀνυμνεῖ καὶ Δία καλεῖ πάντων διατάκτορα, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 9. 1 f.=Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 23=Orph. *frag.* 123 Abel Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο κ.τ.λ.: see O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2260), whose own name was explained sometimes as referring to Light (Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 74 Dindorf, Suid. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς 7 φῶς) or to Day (Theon Smyrn. *expos. rerum mathemat. ad legendum Platonem utilium* p. 105=Orph. *frag.* 171 Abel Φανῆ τε μέγαν καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν), but usually as a description of the Sun (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 13, Diod. 1. 11, Iambl. *theol. arith.* p. 60: see E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 106 n. 4, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2255 f.). On a relief at Modena representing Phanes with a thunderbolt in his right hand see R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 399 ff. fig. 47.

[1] The relation of Ouranos to Gaia, and of both to Zeus, will be considered later.

[2] Hdt. 6. 56. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 3 cites *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1241, 8 ff. [ἀγω]νοθέτης | [τῶν] μεγάλων Οὐ[ρα|νίω]ν, no. 1258, 6 ff. [ἐ]ερεὺς γε[νόμενος?] | Διὸς Οὐρ[ανίου], no. 1276, 9 f. ἱερεὺς | Οὐρανίων, Lebas-Foucart *Peloponnèse* no. 179 a, 3 f. νεικήσαντα τραγωδοὺς Οὐραν|ιάδα γ' (=*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1420, cp. nos. 1421, 11 f., 1429, 4 f., 1473, 1, 1719, 6), *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1424, 1 ff. τῶν μεγίστων Οὐρανίων | Σε-βαστείων Νερουανιδεί|ων.

[3] Kallim. *h. Zeus* 55, *cp.* 52. 3 Wilamowitz, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 352. 4 (Leonidas Alex.), *Anth. Plan.* 293. 3, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 618. 21, Eratosth. *epist. ad Ptolem.* 15 Hiller, Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 4, 24. 279, 25. 348, 27. 76, 31. 97, 43. 174 f., 47. 694 f. (cp. 46. 39 Ζηνὸς ἑπουρανίοιο)—collected by Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 136. So Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 25.

[4] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (a). See also C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* Paris 1903 v. 66 ff.

[5] Tzetz. *antehom.* 208 Ζηνὸς φραδμοσύνῃσιν ἓν οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, *Hom.* 171 f. Ζεὺς δὲ τότ' οὐρανὸς ἀργυφέας νεφέλας στυφελίζων | βρόντα χωόμενος, *alleg. Od.* 6. 198 ἐπεὶ καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ οὐρανὸς καὶ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς τυγχάνει, 9. 81 Διὸς ὄμβρους (leg. ὄμβρος) ἀέξει δε, τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νῦν λέγει, 12. 25 f. αἱ δὲ Πλειάδες σφῶν πατρὶ Διί, τῷ οὐρανῷ δε, | φέρουσιν, 102 Ζεὺς ὥσεν ἄνεμον ζωήν, ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐνθάδε, cp. 9. 78 Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνέσχομεν, τῷ οὐρανίῳ ὕψει.

(b) The Transition from Sky to Sky-god.

The precise steps by which men advanced from a belief in Zeus the Sky to a belief in Zeus the Sky-god are hidden from us in the penumbra of a prehistoric past. The utmost that we can hope is to detect here and there survivals in language or custom or myth, which may enable us to divine as through gaps in a mist the track once travelled by early thought[1]. In such circumstances to attempt anything like a detailed survey or reconstruction of the route would be manifestly impossible. Nevertheless the shift from Sky to Sky-god was a momentous fact, a fact which modified the whole course of Greek religion, and its ultimate consequence was nothing less than the rise of faith in a personal God, the Ruler and Father of all. In view of this great issue we may well strain our backward gaze beyond the point of clear vision and even acquiesce in sundry tentative hypotheses, if they help us to retrace in imagination the initial stages of the journey. I shall make bold, therefore, to surmise that in Greece, as elsewhere, religion effected its upward progress along the following lines.

When those who first used the word *Zeús* went out into the world and looked abroad, they found themselves over-arched by the blue and brilliant sky, a luminous Something fraught with incalculable possibilities of weal or woe. It cheered them with its steady sunshine. It scared them with its flickering fires. It fanned their cheeks with cool breezes, or set all knees a-tremble with reverberating thunder. It mystified them with its birds winging their way in ominous silence or talking secrets in an unknown tongue. It paraded before men's eyes a splendid succession of celestial phenomena, and underwent for all to see the daily miracle of darkness and dawn. Inevitably, perhaps instinctively, they would regard it with awe—that primitive blend of religious feelings[2]—and would go on to conciliate it by any means in their power. This is the stage of mental and moral development attributed by Herodotos to the ancient Persians. 'I am aware,' he says[3], 'that the Persians practise the following customs. They

[1] The only writer, so far as I know, who has recognised and done justice to this blank stretch in our knowledge of Zeus is Gruppe in his masterly handbook (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 753 'die Entstehung der Vorstellung von den einzelnen Göttern das dunkelste Gebiet der gesamten griechischen Religionsgeschichte ist,' p. 1102 'Zwischen dem Uranos und dem historischen Zeus liegen tiefe Klüfte, die wir in Gedanken zwar leicht überspringen können, aber nicht überspringen dürfen').

[2] R. R. Marett *The Threshold of Religion* London 1909 p. 13 ('Pre-Animistic Religion' in *Folk-Lore* 1900 xi. 168), W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 171 ff. 'Die präanimistische Hypothese.'

[3] Hdt. i. 131. The passage is paraphrased also in Strab. 732.

are not in the habit of erecting images, temples, or altars; indeed, they charge those who do so with folly, because—I suppose—they do not, like the Greeks, hold the gods to be of human shape. Their practice is to climb the highest mountains and sacrifice to Zeus, by which name they call the whole circle of the sky[1]. They sacrifice also to the sun and moon, the earth, fire and water, and the winds. These, and these alone, are the original objects of their worship.' The same stage of belief has left many traces of itself in the Latin language and literature[2]. To quote but a single example, a popular line of Ennius ran:

Look at yonder Brilliance o'er us, whom the world invokes as Jove[3].

There can be little doubt that in this expressive sentence the poet has caught and fixed for us the religious thought of the

[1] Hdt. 1. 131 *οἱ δὲ νομίζουσι Διὶ μὲν ἐπὶ τὰ ὑψηλότατα τῶν οὀρέων ἀναβαίνοντες θυσίας ἔρδειν, τὸν κύκλον πάντα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ Δία καλέοντας.*

My friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton, our greatest authority on early Persian beliefs, in a very striking paper 'Syncretism in Religion as illustrated in the History of Parsism' (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 89 ff.) observes *à propos* of this passage: "It is generally assumed that he [*i.e.* Herodotos] calls the supreme deity 'Zeus' merely from his Greek instinct. But it is at least possible that he heard in Persia a name for the sky-god which sounded so much like 'Zeus,' being in fact the same word, that he really believed they used the familiar name. (The suggestion occurred to me [J.H.M.] independently, but it was anticipated by Spiegel, *Eran. Alt.* ii. 190.) This incidentally explains why the name Ὡρομάσδης (Auramazda) does not appear in Greek writers until another century has passed. In *Yt.* iii. 13 (a metrical passage, presumably ancient) we find *patat dyaoš...Anrō Mainyuš*, 'Angra fell *from heaven*': see Bartholomae, s.v. *dyav.* Since *Dyaus* survives in the Veda as a divine name as well as a common noun—just as *dies* and *Diespiter* in Latin—it is antecedently probable that the Iranians still worshipped the ancestral deity by his old name." Prof. Moulton further writes to me (June 23, 1911) that Herodotos 'is entirely right, as usual: his general picture of Persian religion agrees most subtly with what we should reconstruct on other evidence as the religion of the people *before* Zarathushtra's reform began to affect them. It is pure Aryan nature-worship—and probably pure Indogermanic ditto—, prior alike to the reform of Z. on the one side and the Babylonian contamination that produced Mithraism on the other.'

Auramazda appears in later Greek authors as Ζεὺς μέγιστος (Xen. *Cyr.* 5. 1. 29, cp. pseudo-Kallisthen. 1. 40) or Ζεὺς βασιλεύς (Xen. *Cyr.* 3. 3. 21, 7. 5. 57, *anab.* 3. 1. 12, 6. 1. 22, Arrian. 4. 20. 3 *ἐπὶ τοῖσδε ἀνατεῖναι Δαρεῖον ἐς τὸν οὐρανὸν τὰς χεῖρας καὶ εὔξασθαι ὧδε· Ἀλλ' ὦ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ, ὅτῳ ἐπιτέτραπται νέμειν τὰ βασιλέων πράγματα ἐν ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ.* = Souid. *s.v.* Ἀλέξανδρος) or Ζεὺς καὶ Ὡρομάσδης (Aristot. *frag.* 8 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. *proœm.* 8) or Ζεὺς Ὡρομάσδης (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 735 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383, 41 f. *πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς | Ὡρομάσδου θρόνους*, 54 *Διός τε Ὡρομάσδου κ.τ.λ.*). Cp. Agathias *hist.* 2. 24 *τὸ μὲν γὰρ παλαιὸν Δία τε καὶ Κρόνον καὶ τούτους δὴ ἅπαντας τοὺς παρ' Ἕλλησι θρυλλουμένους ἐτίμων (sc. οἱ Πέρσαι) θεούς, πλήν γε ὅτι δὴ αὐτοῖς ἡ προσηγορία οὐχ ὁμοίως ἐσώζετο, ἀλλὰ Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία τυχὸν Σάνδην τε τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ Ἀναΐτιδα τὴν Ἀφροδίτην καὶ ἄλλως τοὺς ἄλλους ἐκάλουν.*

[2] I have collected the evidence in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 260 ff.

[3] Ennius *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 4 and 65 aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem.

Italians in its transitional phase. Behind him is the divine Sky, in front the Sky-god Iupiter.

Now an animate Sky, even if credited with certain personal qualities, does not necessarily become an anthropomorphic Sky-god. It may even develop in the opposite direction. Xenophanes of Kolophon in the sixth century B.C. appears to have based his reformed theology directly on the ancient Greek conception of Zeus. As Aristotle puts it, he 'looked upon the whole sky and declared that the One exists, to wit God[1].' To this cosmic Unity 'equal on all sides[2]' Xenophanes, again in all probability following the lead of early religious thought, ascribed various personal powers:

> As a whole he sees, as a whole he thinks, and as a whole he hears[3].

But the poet explicitly repudiates anthropomorphism:

> One God there is, greatest among gods and men,
> Like to mortals neither in form nor yet in thought[4].

We have therefore, it would seem, still to determine the circumstances that occasioned the rise of the anthropomorphic view. In plain words, we must answer the question: How came the Greeks in general to think of Zeus, not as the blue sky, but as a sceptred king dwelling in it?

To solve this problem we turn our attention once more to the primitive idea of a living Sky. One point about it, and that the most important of all for practical folk, we have thus far omitted to mention. Vegetable life, and therefore animal life, and therefore human life, plainly depends upon the weather, that is upon the condition of the Sky[5]. Hence unsophisticated man seeks to

[1] Aristot. *met.* 1. 5. 986 b 21 ff. Ξενοφάνης δὲ...εἰς τὸν ὅλον οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέψας τὸ ὂν εἶναί φησι τὸν θεόν. J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 prefers to translate: 'Xenophanes...said, *with reference to the whole universe*, that the One was God.' But this, I believe, misses the point. Xenophanes, like Pythagoras and many another reformer, starts with a revival of half-forgotten beliefs.

[2] H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[2] Berlin 1906 i. 41, 6 παντα χόθεν ὅμοιον.

[3] Xenophan. *frag.* 24 Diels *ap.* Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 144 οὖλος ὁρᾷ, οὖλος δὲ νοεῖ, οὖλος δέ τ' ἀκούει, Diog. Laert. 9. 19. Cp. the Homeric εὐρύοπα Ζεύς and the Hesiodic πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας (*o. d.* 267).

[4] Xenophan. *frag.* 23 Diels *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 399, 14 ff. Stahlin, cp. *frag.* 10 ff. Diels.

[5] The Greeks persistently attempted to connect Ζεύς, Ζῆνα, etc. with ζῆν. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1101 n. justly remarks that their attempts, though etymologically mistaken, have a certain value as throwing light on their conception of the god. He distinguishes: (1) Zeus as the only living son of Kronos (*et. mag.* p. 408, 55 f., cp. *et. Gud.* p. 230, 16 f.); (2) Zeus as the world-soul (Cornut. *theol.* 2 p. 3, 3 ff. Lang; *et. mag.* p. 408, 52 f.); (3) Zeus as the cause of life to all that live (Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 13 ff. Apul. *de mund.* 37, Chrysippos *infra* p. 29 n. 4, Cornut. *theol.* 2 p. 3, 6 Lang, Diog.

control its sunshine, its winds, above all its fructifying showers by a sheer assertion of his own will-power expressed in the naïve arts of magic[1]. Modern investigators have shown how great was the *rôle* of the magician, especially of the public magician, in early society. And not the least of Dr J. G. Frazer's services to anthropology has been his detailed proof 'that in many parts of the world the king is the lineal successor of the old magician or medicine-man[2].' 'For sorcerers,' he urges, 'are found in every savage tribe known to us; and among the lowest savages...they are the only professional class that exists. As time goes on, and the process of differentiation continues, the order of medicine-men is itself subdivided into such classes as the healers of disease, the makers of rain, and so forth; while the most powerful member of the order wins for himself a position as chief and gradually develops into a sacred king, his old magical functions falling more and more into the background and being exchanged for priestly or even divine duties, in proportion as magic is slowly ousted by religion[3].' But if so, it becomes highly probable, nay practically certain, that the real prototype of the heavenly weather-king was the earthly weather-king, and that Zeus was represented with thunderbolt and sceptre just because these were the customary attributes of the magician and monarch.

So Zeus, in a sense, copied Salmoneus. But it remains to ask what led the community side by side with their Salmoneus to postulate a Salmoneus-like Zeus. I incline to the following explanation as possible and even probable. With the age-long growth of intelligence it gradually dawned upon men that the magician, when he caused a storm, did not actually make it himself by virtue of his own will-power but rather imitated it by his torches, rattling chariot, etc., and so coaxed it into coming

Laert. 7. 147, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 6 (i. 9 Dindorf), *et. mag.* p. 408, 54, *et. Gud.* p. 230, 18 f., schol. *Il.* 15. 188 f., cp. Athen. 289 A, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 11 ff.); (4) Zeus as life-giving breath, *i.e.* ζῆν + ἄω (*et. mag.* p. 408, 57 f.).

[1] On 'will-power' as a rough equivalent of the *mana* of the Pacific and the *orenda* of the Iroquois see R. R. Marett *The Threshold of Religion* London 1909 p. 99, cp. pp. 115—141.

Even sophisticated man has his moments of *hyperboulia*. When I hit a ball too far at lawn-tennis, I ejaculate 'Don't go out!' and while speaking feel as if my voice actually controlled the ball's flight. Or again, I find myself rising on tip-toe to make a ball, already in mid air, clear the net. What is this but rudimentary magic?

In *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 278 f. I attempted to show that magic, whether 'mimetic' or 'sympathetic,' ultimately depends upon a primitive conception of extended personality—a failure to distinguish aright the *I* from the *not-I*.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 371, cp. i. 215, 245, and especially 332 ff.

[3] *Id. ib.* i. 420 f.

about. If, then, the magician or king imitated a storm made by Zeus, how did Zeus make it? The spirit of enquiry was awake (with the Greeks it awoke early), and the obvious answer was that Zeus must be a Master-image, a King supreme, beyond the clouds. Doubtless, said nascent reflexion, Zeus makes his thunder in heaven much as our magician-king makes it upon earth, only on a grander, more sonorous scale. But observe: if this was indeed the sequence of thought, then the change from Sky to Sky-god was occasioned not by any despair of magic[1]—for people might well come to believe that Zeus the Sky-god made thunderstorms and yet not cease believing that the magician-king could produce the like—but rather by the discovery that magic, whether effective or not, was a matter of imitation. In short, the transition from Sky to Sky-god was a result, perhaps the first result, of conscious reflexion upon the *modus operandi* of primitive magic.

On this showing the cult of an anthropomorphic Zeus was the outcome of a long evolution comprising three well-marked stages, in which the feelings, the will, and the intellect played successively the principal part. First in order of development came emotion—the awe felt by early man as he regarded the live azure above him, potent to bliss or blight. Feeling in turn called forth will, when the community was parched with drought and the magician by his own passionate self-projection made the rushing rain-storm to satisfy the thirst of man and beast. Later, much later, intellect was brought to bear upon the process, distinguishing the imitation from the thing imitated and expressing heaven in terms of earth.

[1] Dr Frazer in a memorable chapter (*op. cit.* i. 220—243) argues that, when little by little the essential futility of magic was discovered, the shrewder intelligences casting about for an explanation of its failures would ascribe them to the more powerful magic of great invisible beings—the gods—and thus would escape from the 'troubled sea of doubt and uncertainty' into the 'quiet haven' of religion. Magic, he conjectures, everywhere came first, religion second, the latter being directly due to the unmasking of the former.

The eloquence with which Dr Frazer has stated his case is only less admirable than his learning. But for all that I believe him to be wrong. The baffled magician would most plausibly account for his failure by attributing it to the counter-charms of some rival practitioner on earth, say a neighbouring chief, or else to the machinations of a ghost, say a dead ancestor of his own. Why should he—how could he—assume a sky-god, unless the sky was already regarded as a divine Potency? And, if this was the case, then religion was not subsequent to magic, but either prior to it or coeval with it. No doubt, as Dr Frazer himself remarks (*ib.* i. 223), much turns upon our exact definition of religion. But personally I should not refuse the term 'religious' to the attitude of reverential fear with which I suppose early man to have approached the animate Sky. Indeed, it would not be absurd to maintain that this pre-anthropomorphic conception was in some respects higher, because more true, than later anthropomorphism. After all, 'God is not a man,' and early thought could hardly be drawn nearer to the idea of the Infinite than by contemplating the endless blue of Heaven.

Thus a movement, which began on the plane of feeling, passed upwards through that of volition, and ended by evoking all the powers of the human soul.

Incidentally we have arrived at another conclusion, deserving of a moment's emphasis. We have, if I may use the phrase, ventured to analyse the divinity of Zeus. This analysis, tentative (be it remembered) and provisional in character, has detected two distinct elements, both of a primitive sort,—on the one hand the vast mysterious impersonal life of the blue sky, on the other the clear-cut form and fashion of the weather-ruling king. To speak with logical precision, though in such a matter logic was at best implicit, the primeval sanctity of the sky gave the content, the equipment of the magician-turned-king gave the form, of the resultant sky-god Zeus[1].

(c) Zeus *Amários*.

The transition from the day-light Sky to the day-light Sky-god is perhaps best exemplified by the Latin terms *dies*, 'day,' and *Diespiter*, 'Day-father.' The vocative case of *Diespiter* came to be used as a new nominative, the more familiar *Iupiter*[2].

[1] An objection must here be met. It may be argued that, if my view were true, the Homeric Zeus ought to be recognisable as a magician, whereas notoriously magic is scarce in Homer and never associated with the Homeric Zeus.

To this I should reply (1) that the Homeric poems as we have them bear ample traces of earlier expurgation affecting many savage practices (see the convincing chapter of Prof. G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*[2] Oxford 1911 pp. 141—166), and (2) that such expurgation has in point of fact failed precisely where failure might have been expected, *viz.* in eliminating the pre-Homeric 'fixed epithets' of Zeus. These are simply redolent of the magician. Zeus is often *Κρόνου πάις ἀγκυλομήτεω*, 'son of the wizard Kronos.' He is himself *μητίετα*, a 'mage' rather than a 'sage.' The word *μητιόεις* is used thrice, in *h. Ap.* 344 and *h. Hest.* 5 of Zeus (so Hes. *o. d.* 51, *theog.* 457, Moiro *ap.* Athen. 491 B), in *Od.* 4. 227 of magic herbs prepared by the daughter of Zeus. Again, Zeus alone is *ἄφθιτα μήδεα εἰδώς* (*Il.* 24. 88, *h. Aphr.* 43, Hes. *theog.* 545, 550, 561, *frag.* 35, 2 Flach), cp. the names of the sorceresses Medeia, Agamede, Perimede, Mestra. Thirty-six times in the *Il.* and *Od.* he is described as *νεφεληγερέτα*, a transparent synonym of 'rain-maker.' And what of his constant appellation *αἰγίοχος*? The *αἰγίς*, when shaken, produced a thunderstorm (*Il.* 17. 593 ff., cp. 4. 166 ff.), and Virgil at least seems to have regarded it as part of the rain-maker's paraphernalia (*Aen.* 8. 352 ff. Arcades ipsum | credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem | aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret, cp. Sil. It. 12. 719 ff.). It was presumably as a magical means of securing fertility that at Athens the priestess brought the sacred *αἰγίς* to newly-wedded wives (Souid. *s.v.* *αἰγίς*). Further, Zeus causes an earthquake by nodding his head and shaking his hair (*supra* p. 2 f.)—a procedure that savours strongly of the magician's art. Lastly, the frequent mention of the *βουλή* or *βουλαί* of Zeus (from *Il.* 1. 5 *Διὸς δ' ἐτελείετο βουλή* onwards: see H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 236) gains fresh meaning, if seen to imply the will-power characteristic of the magician-king.

[2] F. Stolz *Historische Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache* Leipzig 1894 i. 1. 305,

But, confining our attention to the Greek area, we may further illustrate the same change.

Macrobius states that 'the Cretans call the day *Zeús*'[1]—a startling, but by no means incredible, assertion. Unfortunately he does not go on to tell us whether this usage was restricted to any particular tribe or town in Crete. That island was a meeting-place of the nations. Already in Homeric times its population included Achaeans, Eteo-Cretans, Cydonians, Dorians and Pelasgians[2]; and to choose between these, and perhaps others, is a precarious undertaking. Nevertheless the dialect of Crete as a whole throughout the classical period was undoubtedly Doric, and we are therefore free to contend that in some variety of Cretan Doric the word *Zeús* had retained its primitive meaning.

This contention gains in probability from Prof. R. C. Bosanquet's discovery at Palaikastro in eastern Crete of a late Doric hymn to Zeus *Diktaíos*[3]. The hymn appears to have been written down about the year 200 A.D.; but its wording is perhaps five centuries older[4], and its refrain preserves what I venture to regard as a survival of the original conception of Zeus:—

Hail, greatest Lad of Kronos' line[5],
Almighty Brilliance, who art here
Leading thy followers divine:
To Dikte come for the new year
And dance with joy this dance of mine[6].

W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* Oxford 1894 p. 389, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 313.

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 15. 14 Cretenses Δία *τὴν ἡμέραν* vocant.

[2] *Od.* 19. 175 ff.

[3] *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 339 ff.

[4] G. Murray, *ib.* xv. 364 f.

[5] With κοῦρε...Κρόνιε cp. Aisch. *P. v.* 577 f. ὦ Κρόνιε | παῖ, Pind. *Ol.* 2. 22 ὦ Κρόνιε παῖ Ῥέας. For κοῦρος = παῖς see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1895 A.

[6] ἰώ, | μέγιστε κοῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι, | Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνος, | βέβακες | δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος· | Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἔρ-|πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾷ.

Two copies of the hymn are engraved on the back and face of the same stone. The back, which contains a text full of blunders, nowhere preserves the termination of the word γάνος. The face has in line 2 ΠΑΤΙΚΡΑΤΕϹ ΓΑΝΟϹ altered into ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕϹ ΓΑΝΟΥϹ, and in line 20 ΠΑΝΚΡΑΤΕϹ ΓΑΝΟΥϹ. This suggests an attempt to make sense of an old defective copy, and on reading it I conjectured (see *Trinity College Lecture Room* paper of Nov. 4, 1910) that the original phrase was παγκρατὲς γάνος, cp. Enn. *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 4 aspice hoc sublime candens, quem invocant omnes Iovem (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 261). Prof. G. Murray printed παγκρατὲς γάνους in his restored text and translated it 'Lord of all that is wet and gleaming.' He now (Aug. 15, 1911) writes to me *à propos* of γάνος: 'I think it a very probable suggestion but do not on the whole think there is sufficient reason for altering the text.' He adds that in a letter to himself Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff had independently made the same correction.

A possible but by no means certain parallel to this survival occurs in the *Tabula Edaliensis*, a Cypriote inscription, which thrice uses the word *zân* in the sense of 'time[1].' Dr Hoffmann suggests that this word is related to the Sanskrit *dyâus*, 'day,' and to the Latin *dies*, 'day,'—in fact is akin to the name *Zeús*[2]. Some such primitive usage, we may suppose, underlies and explains the Homeric and Hesiodic belief that 'days are from Zeus[3].'

Far more advanced was the cult of Zeus *Amários*, whose name appears to denote Zeus 'of the Day-light' (*amára*)[4]. According to Strabon, the Achaeans of the northern Peloponnese, like the Ionians before them, were wont to assemble for deliberation and the transaction of common business at a place called the *Amárion*[5]: this was a grove sacred to Zeus in the territory of Aigion[6]. Hence, when about the year 230 B.C. the town of Orchomenos in Arkadia joined the Achaean League, it was agreed that the Achaean magistrates at Aigion and the Orchomenian magistrates at Orchomenos should swear to the terms of a treaty by Zeus *Amários*, Athena *Amaría*, Aphrodite and all the gods[7]. And, when in 217 B.C. Aratos the Achaean general had settled certain serious disputes at Megalopolis, the terms of the settlement were engraved

[1] W. Deecke 'Die griechisch-kyprischen Inschriften' in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 27 ff. no. 60, 10, 23, 28 *ὕϝατς ζᾶν*.

[2] O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 68 ff. no. 135, 10, 23, 28 *ὑϝαῖς ζᾶν*. *Id. ib.* i. 71 f. rejects Meister's view that *ζάν* = epic *δήν* and translates 'für alle Zeit,' taking *ὑϝ-αῖς* = *ἐπὶ ἀεί* (*αῖς* accus. for **αἴϝς* cp. Indian *âyus* 'life-time') and *ζᾶν* as akin to *djâus*, *dies*, *diu*. But all this is very doubtful, as Hoffmann himself (*ib.* p. 228) admits. C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston etc. 1910 p. 182 n. says: '*ζαν* is possibly connected with *ζήω* and *ζώω*, *live*, on the basis of a third by-form *ζᾱ-*.'

[3] *Od.* 14. 93 *νύκτες τε καὶ ἡμέραι ἐκ Διός εἰσιν*, Hes. *o. d.* 765 *ἤματα δ' ἐκ Διόθεν*, *ib.* 769 *αἵδε γὰρ ἡμέραι εἰσὶ Διὸς πάρα μητιόεντος*. Cp. *Il.* 2. 134 *ἐννέα δὴ βεβάασι Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί*. This last line supports the contention of W. Prellwitz *Eine griechische und eine lateinische Etymologie* Bartenstein 1895 p. 1 ff. that *ἐνιαυτός* is strictly the day on which the year starts again 'in the same' (*ἐνὶ αὐτῷ*) position as before, and that it was originally an appellation of *Ζεύς* = *diēs* (*ib.* p. 8).

[4] P. Foucart 'Fragment inédit d'un décret de la ligue achéenne' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 N.S. xxxii. 2. 96—103 first propounded the explanation, now commonly accepted, of *Ἀμάριος* as 'le dieu de l'atmosphère lumineuse' (*ib.* p. 100). *Ἀμάρα* = *ἡμέρα* is found in Locrian inscriptions (Collitz-Bechtel *op. cit.* nos. 1478, 42, 1479, 5, cp. 1478, 33), and *πενταμαριτεύων* in a Delphian inscription (*ib.* no. 2561, D 16, = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438, 183). *Ἀμάριος* = *ἡμέριος* may well have been in use on the other side of the Corinthian Gulf also.

G. Kramer on Strab. 389 and F. Hultsch on Polyb. 2. 39. 6 (*praef.* p. lv) hold that the name was *Ἀμάριος* = *Ὁμάριος*, cp. *ἁμαρτῆ* = *ὁμαρτῆ*. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 3, following Collitz and Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* p. 500 n. 1, takes *Ἀμάριος* = *Ὁμάριος*.

[5] Strab. 385. MSS. *Αἰνάριον* or *Ἀρνάριον*. Koraes cj. *Ὁμάριον*, Kramer *Ἀμάριον*, Foucart *Ἀμάριον*.

[6] Strab. 387. MSS. and cjj. as before.

[7] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 229 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 199.

on a tablet and set up beside an altar of Hestia in the *Amárion*[1]. This is in all probability the spot described by Pausanias in the following extract: 'Near the sea at Aigion is a sanctuary of Aphrodite, after that one of Poseidon, one of Kore Demeter's daughter, and in the fourth place one to Zeus *Homagýrios*. Here there are statues of Zeus, Aphrodite and Athena. Zeus was surnamed *Homagýrios*, "the Assembler," because on this spot Agamemnon gathered together the chief men of Hellas to consult how they should make war on the kingdom of Priam.... Adjoining the sanctuary to Zeus *Homagýrios* is one of Demeter *Panachaiá*, "goddess of all the Achaeans[2]."' Zeus *Amários* was on this showing one with Zeus *Homagýrios*; and it is possible that the former title was, owing to the influence of the latter, popularly changed into *Homários*, which might be understood as 'the Joiner-together[3].' However that may be, it is clear that from Aigion the cult made its way to Magna Graecia, where Kroton, Sybaris and Kaulonia, in avowed imitation of the Achaeans, erected a common temple to Zeus *Amários*[4].

How this Zeus 'of the Day-light' was conceived by his worshippers, can be inferred from representations of him on coins of the Achaean League. A unique silver *statér* of Aeginetic standard, probably struck at Aigion about 367—362 B.C., has for its reverse type an enthroned Zeus, who holds an eagle in his right hand and rests on a sceptre with his left (fig. 1)[5]. Bronze coins of the League, as reconstituted in 281 B.C., exhibit on the obverse side a standing figure of Zeus: he is naked and supports on his right hand a winged Nike, who offers him a wreath, while he leans

[1] Polyb. 5. 93. 10. MSS. 'Ομαρίῳ. Foucart restored 'Αμαρίῳ, cp. J. L. Strachan-Davidson *Selections from Polybius* Oxford 1888 p. 145. On the connexion of Hestia with Zeus, see *infra* ch. iii § 1 (*a*) ix (*a*).

[2] Paus. 7. 24. 2 f. O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1741 would distinguish between the 'Αμάριον and the precinct of Zeus 'Ομαγύριος; but Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 162 identifies them.

[3] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] p. 370 thinks that 'Ομαγύριος is a corruption of 'Αμάριος; but this is not necessary. 'Ομάριος (Polyb. 2. 39. 6 with *codd. omarion sic* A *ómorion* C, 5. 93. 10) suggests comparison with Hesych. *ὁμαρές· ὁμοῦ. συμφώνως.* Those that take it to be the original form will quote Steph. Byz. 'Ομάριον· πόλις Θετταλίας. *Θεόπομπος Φιλιππικῶν εἰκοστῷ δευτέρῳ. ἐν ταύτῃ τιμᾶται Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ. τὸ ἐθνικὸν* 'Ομάριοι, 'Ομαρεύς.

[4] Polyb. 2. 39. 6. The MSS. vary: *omarion sic* A. *ómorion* C. Foucart restored 'Αμαρίου.

[5] W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1902 ii. 324 ff. pl. 16. 4, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 73 ff. pl. 5, 38, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 416 ('the reverse type of Zeus seems to have been suggested by the seated Zeus on the early Arcadian coins.' Cp. *infra* ch. i § 3 (b)). The coin is now in the British Museum.

with his left hand on a long sceptre (fig. 2)[1]. The later silver coins, from some date earlier than 330 B.C., show a laureate head of Zeus as their obverse (fig. 3), a wreath of bay as their reverse design[2]. Such representations drop no hint of Zeus as a day-light deity. The physical aspect of the god had long been forgotten, or at most survived in a cult-title of dubious significance.

Fig. 1.

Fig. 2.

Fig. 3.

(d) Zeus *Panámaros, Panémeros, Panemérios.*

Near the Carian town of Stratonikeia was a village called Panamara, situated on the mountain now known as *Baïaca.* Here in 1886 MM. G. Deschamps and G. Cousin discovered the precinct of the Carian god Zeus *Panámaros* and over four hundred inscriptions relating to his cult[3]. It is probable that the name *Panámaros*, which appears more than once without that of Zeus[4], was originally a local epithet denoting the deity who dwelt at Panamara[5]. If so, it is useless to speculate on the real meaning of the word. But when the district was subjected to Hellenic influence—Stratonikeia, we know, was a Macedonian colony[6]—the local divinity by an instructive series of changes became Zeus *Panámaros*[7], Zeus

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 113, 162, 219, Münztaf. 2, 17 and 17 *a*, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 94 pl. 9, 18, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 417 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 12 ff. pl. 2, 15—20, pl. 3, 1—14. I figure pl. 3, 7.

[2] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 97 f., 105, Münztaf. 1, 29, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1—23, pl. 2, 1—14, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 417, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1906 xx. 286 f. pl. 14, 1.

[3] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 373 ff., 1888 xii. 82 ff., 249 ff., 479 ff., 1891 xv. 169 ff., 1904 xxviii. 20 ff., 238 ff. See further the article by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1491—1497, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 27—31.

[4] Πανάμαρος without Ζεύς occurs in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 85 no. 9, 11, *ib.* p. 86 no. 10, 15, *ib.* p. 88 no. 11, 5. Πανάμορος (*sic*) was one of the Carian Kouretes along with Λάβραυδος and Ιδάλαξος or Σπάλαξος (*et. mag.* p. 389, 55 ff.).

[5] So Höfer *loc. cit.* 1492 f., Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 31 n. 6. On A. Dieterich's conjectural **Amaros* ~ *Amara* see Append. B Egypt.

[6] Strab. 660, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Στρατονίκεια.

[7] Ζεὺς Πανάμαρος, sometimes Ζεὺς ὁ Πανάμαρος or ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Πανάμαρος, is the common form of his name in the inscriptions (Höfer *loc. cit.* 1492, 1 ff.).

Panémeros[1], Zeus *Panemérios*[2]. The unintelligible Carian name was thus Hellenised into a cult-title that suited the Greek conception of Zeus. *Panámaros* to Greek ears would mean the god 'of the live-long Day' (*panámeros*, *panémeros*, *panemérios*)[3].

Imperial coins of Stratonikeia, both in silver and in bronze (fig. 4), exhibit a bearded horseman, who carries a long sceptre over his left shoulder and apparently a *phiále* in his right hand[4]. On one specimen in the British Museum (fig. 5)[5], probably struck in Hadrian's time, this equestrian figure is radiate. Dr B. V. Head

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

conjectures that it is not the emperor, but Zeus *Panámaros* conceived as a solar deity[6]. The identification of the rider as Zeus might be supported by the fact that some imperial bronze coins of Stratonikeia have as their reverse type Zeus enthroned with a sceptre in one hand, a *phiále* in the other (fig. 6)[7]. And the radiate crown would be appropriate to Zeus 'of the live-long Day,' whether he was regarded as a sun-god or not.

The precinct found by MM. Deschamps and Cousin occupied the summit of a steep hill furrowed by ravines. It contained

[1] Ζεὺς Πανήμερος is found in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 97 no. 12, *ib.* p. 98 no. 16, *ib.* p. 101 no. 21, *ib.* p. 487 nos. 63, 65, 66, *ib.* p. 488 nos. 72, 75, 78 ff.

[2] Ζεὺς Πανημέριος or Ζεὺς ὁ Πανημέριος or ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Πανημέριος, more rarely Πανημέριος Ζεύς, occurs in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2715[a], *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 29 no. 41, *ib.* p. 376, 1888 xii. 488 nos. 68, 69, 70, *ib.* p. 489 no. 101, *ib.* p. 490 nos. 105, 109, 1890 xiv. 371, Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 518. Cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 834. 1 Ὑψιστε Πανημερίῳ.

[3] Hesych. *πανάμερος· δι' ὅλης ἡμέρας*, Phot. *lex. πανάμερον· δι' ὅλης τῆς ἡμέρας*, Aisch. *P.v.* 1024 *ἄκλητος ἑρπων δαιταλεὺς πανήμερος*, *Il.* i. 472 *οἱ δὲ πανημέριοι μολπῇ θεὸν ἱλάσκοντο*, *alib.* Not the god 'of the Day-light' (E. Meyer), nor the god 'of the luminous atmosphere' (P. Foucart), nor merely 'a divinity of the light' (L. R. Farnell): see Höfer *loc. cit.* 1493.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria etc. pp. lxxi f. 151 pl. 24, 1, p. 153 pl. 24, 4, p. 154 pl. 24, 5, pp. 156, 158 pl. 24, 10. I figure a specimen in my collection.

[5] *Ib.* pp. lxxii, 153 pl. 24, 4.

[6] *Ib.* p. lxxii. Mr G. F. Hill kindly informs me (Aug. 11, 1910) that he too takes the rider to be Zeus.

[7] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 316 no. 87[a] (Hadrian), *id. Gr. Münzen* p. 200 no. 625 (Hadrian), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria etc. p. 159 pl. 24, 11 (Severus Alexander).

three temples, that of Zeus *Panámaros*, that of Hera *Teleía*[1], and a building called the *Komýrion*, the name of which recalls the title of Zeus *Kómyros* at Halikarnassos[2]. Corresponding with the two temples of Zeus and the one of Hera were three public festivals, the Panamareia, the Komyria, and the Heraia.

The principal festival of the place was the Panamareia, an annual affair, which at first lasted for ten days[3] and later for a whole month[4]. It began with a procession from the precinct at Panamara to the council-chamber at Stratonikeia[5]. And, since the ten days of the festival were known as the 'Sojourn' (*epidemía*) of the god[6], it has been concluded that the image of Zeus paid an actual visit to the neighbouring town. This visit appears to be identical with the 'Entry of the horse' mentioned in a local inscription[7], so that Dr Höfer is doubtless right in regarding the rider on the coins of Stratonikeia as Zeus entering the town on horseback[8]. His entry was the signal for a great outburst of rejoicing. Citizens and strangers alike received at the hands of the priests *largesse* of oil for gymnastic contests and baths, besides perfume, corn, meat, and money. The merry-making was kept up day and night during the 'Sojourn' of the god[9].

[1] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 389 no. 5, 1 f. Διὶ Πανα|μάρῳ καὶ | Ἥρᾳ Τελείᾳ, 1888 xii. 256 no. 36, 2 f. [Διὶ] Πανα|μάρῳ | [κ]αὶ Ἥρᾳ Τελίᾳ (*sic*), 1891 xv. 426 no. 8 Ἥρας Τε|λίας (*sic*).

[2] Lyk. *Al.* 459 (Aias) *καταίθων θύσθλα* Κωμύρῳ with schol. *ad loc.* Κωμύρῳ *τῷ* Διί· Κώμυρος *γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν* Ἁλικαρνάσῳ *τιμᾶται*. At Panamara Κομύριον, Κομύρια always have the *o* short. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 28 n. 1 cp. Zeus Κυμύριος at Bargylia in Karia (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 39 no. 62).

[3] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 12 f. *τὰς τῆς ἑορτῆς τῶν* Παναμαρείων [ἡ|μέρ]ας δέκα, 385 no. 3, 12 f., 1891 xv. 192 no. 136, 6 f. Cp. 1891 xv. 198 no. 140, 14 f. *ἀπὸ τῆ[ς] | εἰκάδος μέχρι τῆς τριακάδος*.

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 204 no. 144, 16 ff. *ηὔξη|[σ]αν πρῶτοι τὰς* [τῶ]ν [Παν]αμα-[ρίω]ν *τῆς ἑ* [ο]ρτῆς *ἡμέρας* [δέκα ἕως] τ[ρ]ιάκοντα(?), 191 no. 135, 5 f. *τὰς τῆς ἱερομηνείας το*[ῦ] | *θεοῦ ἡμέρας πάσας*.

[5] Here Zeus Πανάμαρος and other deities had statues (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 85 no. 9, 10 f. *ἀγά(λ)ματα θεῶν* Παναμάρου, Ἑκά[τ]ης, Ἀρτέμιδος, Ἀσκληπιοῦ, Ὑγείας, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2715*a* 2 ff. [Διὸς τοῦ Π]ανημε[ρίου καὶ Ἑκ]άτης...*καθίδρυται δὲ ἐν τῷ σεβαστῷ βουλευτηρίῳ τῶν προειρημένω*[ν *θεῶν*]). Stratonikeia was under the special protection of Zeus Πανάμαρος and Hekate (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1494 f.).

[6] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 198 no. 140, 16 f. *παντὶ τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς ἐπιδημίας* | *τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1904 xxviii. 238 no. 42, 7 *τῆς ἐπιδημίας οὔσης*.

[7] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 204 no. 144, 15 ff. *ἐγυ*[*μνα*]*σιάρχησαν καὶ* | *ἐν τῇ τοῦ ἵππου εἰσό*[*δ*]*ῳ τὸ* [*β'*, *καὶ*] *ηὔξη*[*σ*]*αν πρῶτοι τὰς* [*τῶ*]*ν* [*Παν*]*αμα*[*ρίω*]*ν τῆς ἑ*[*ο*]*ρτῆς ἡμέρας κ.τ.λ.* (*supra* p. 10[5] n. 4).

[8] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1494.

[9] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 376 no. 1, 24 ff., 380 no. 2, 12 ff., 385 no. 3, 12 ff., 1888 xii. 102 no. 22, 13 ff., 250 n. 2, 1891 xv. 186 no. 130*a*, 25 ff., 188 no. 131, 8 ff., 198 no. 140, 12 ff.

The Komyria lasted for two days only[1] and involved certain mysteries[2]. Since the inscriptions speak of the 'Ascent' (*ánodos* or *anábasis*) of the god in this connexion[3], MM. Deschamps and Cousin infer that the Komyria was essentially the return-journey of Zeus from Stratonikeia to Panamara[4]. Mr M. P. Nilsson, however, points out that the 'Ascent' is said to take place *in* the sanctuary, not *to* it, and conjectures that Zeus then paid a visit to his wife[5]. Probably we should do well to combine these views and hold that the 'Ascent' of the god from Stratonikeia to Panamara culminated in the sanctuary on the mountain-top, where Zeus was annually married to his bride. On this occasion the men were entertained by the priest in the *Komýrion* and the women separately in the sanctuary[6]. Wine was served out in abundance—no distinction being made between citizens, Romans, foreigners, and slaves. Money-gifts and portions of sacrificial meat were likewise distributed with a lavish hand. Booths were erected for the accommodation of the celebrants. Sirup and wine were even provided by the road-side for old and young[7]. And the horse that had served the god, presumably in the procession, was duly dedicated to him[8]. In short, the whole account, so far as it can be reconstructed from the inscriptions, reads like that of a joyous wedding *cortège*.

The Heraia was another important festival involving a long programme of games[9], religious shows[10], and mystic rites[11]. It seems to have been celebrated yearly and on a grander scale once every four years[12]. The *rendez-vous* was the temple of Hera. The

[1] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 19 f., 385 no. 3, 34 f.

[2] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 16 f., 385 no. 3, 26 f., cp. the *μυσταγωγός* mentioned in 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 B, 11 ff., 188 no. 131, 13.

[3] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 384, 10 *τῆ ἀνόδω τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A, 15 f. *ἐν τῆ ἀνόδω τῆ ἐν τῶ ἱερῶι*, 188 no. 131, 5 [*ἐν τῆ ἀν*]*όδω τῆ ἐν τῶ ἱερῶι*, 203 no. 144, 10 [*ἐν*] *τῆ ἀναβάσει τ*[*οῦ θ*]*εοῦ*.

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 178. So O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1495.

[5] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 29.

[6] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 385 no. 3, 28 ff., 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A, 12 ff., 1904 xxviii. 24 no. 2, 6 ff.

[7] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 17 ff., 385 no. 3, 30 ff., 1904 xxviii. 24 no. 2, 6 ff., 247 no. 57, 8 ff.

[8] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 f. = 1904 xxviii. 247 no. 57, 11 *ἀνέθηκαν δὲ καὶ τὸν ἵππον τῶ θεῶ τὸν ὑπηρετ*[*ικόν*].

[9] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 = 200 no. 141, 8 ff. *γ*[*υμνασιαρ*] *χήσαντες κ*[*αὶ*] *ἡμέρας κβ' ἐκ νυκτὸς ις νύκτ*[*α ἐν ἀμφοτέρ*]*οις τοῖς γυμνασίοις κ*(*αὶ*) *ἐν τῶ ἱερῶ περιπολιτ*ω.

[10] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173 = 204 no. 145, 4 f. *θεω*[*ρί*]*ας δὲ ποιήσας πυλιτελεστάτας | καὶ καλλίστας*.

[11] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 *ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις δὲ καὶ ἑορτῆ τῶν Ἡρέων*. cp. 1894 xxviii. 241 no. 48, 6 [....]*ου Μυωνίδου μυσταγωγο*[*ῦντος*].

[12] This is deduced by M. P. Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 28 from the fact that the inscriptions employ two distinct *formulae*, *viz.* *ἱερεὺς* (*ἱερατεύσας, κ.τ.λ.*) *ἐν Ἡραίοις* and *ἱερεὺς* (*ἱερατεύσας, κ.τ.λ.*) *ἐν Ἡραίοις κατὰ πενταετηρίδα*.

priest and priestess invited all the women, whether bond or free, and gave them a banquet with plenty of wine and a present of money for each guest[1]. They also furnished a repast for the men[2]. It is at first sight puzzling to find this apparent duplication of the Komyria. But, if—as we shall later see reason to suppose[3]—Zeus was not originally the consort of Hera, it is likely enough that he had his own marriage-feast to attend and she hers[4]. At Panamara, even when Zeus was paired with Hera, the two celebrations were on the foregoing hypothesis kept up side by side. This bizarre arrangement had its practical advantages, and it obviously made a powerful appeal to the appetites of the mob.

The priest and priestess who presided over these wholesale entertainments were acting not merely as public host and hostess but as the visible representatives of the god and goddess. Their inauguration was a function lasting four days and involving gymnasiarchal duties, in particular the distribution of oil for the gymnasia and the baths[5]. It is called the 'reception of the crown[6]' or 'reception of the god[7]'; and the officials themselves are described as 'receiving the crown of the god[8]' or 'receiving the god[9].' The termination of their office, the tenure of which was annual[10], is correspondingly called the 'putting off of the crowns[11].' Not improbably these persons wore a golden crown decorated with a small image of their deity. Crowns of the sort are mentioned in literature[12] and figured both on coins of Tarsos[13] and on portrait-heads from Ephesos[14] and elsewhere[15].

[1] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 376 no. 1, 32 ff., 1891 xv. 182 no. 123, 5 ff., 198 no. 140, 24 ff., 200 no. 141, 7 f., 204 no. 145, 3 ff., 1894 xxviii. 40 no. 23 B, 1 ff.

[2] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 174 *ἑστιάσαντες ἐν τοῖς Ἡραίοις πάντας βουλευτὰς καὶ πολίτας.*

[3] *Infra* ch. iii.

[4] The evidence of the published inscriptions suggests, but does not prove, that the Heraia at Panamara was a marriage-feast. Such was in all probability the character of the Heraia at Argos (*infra* ch. iii).

[5] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 377.

[6] *ἡ παράληψις τοῦ στεφάνου*: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173, 186 no. 130 A, 18 f., 198 no. 140, 11 f., 1904 xxviii. 37 no. 21, 8 f.

[7] *(ἡ) παράληψις τοῦ θεοῦ*: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 173, 191 no. 135, 5, 192 no. 136, 7 f., 1904 xxviii. 243 no. 51, 6 f.

[8] *παραλαμβάνοντες...τὸν στέφανον τοῦ θεοῦ*: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 375 no. 1, 9 ff., 384 no. 3, 7 f.

[9] *παραλαμβάνων τὸν θεόν*: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 380 no. 2, 11.

[10] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 169.

[11] *ἡ ἀπόθεσις τῶν στεφάνων*: *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 102 no. 22, 15 f., 1891 xv. 173.

[12] Suet. *v. Domit.* 4, Tertull. *de cor. mil.* 13, Athen. 211 B.

[13] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. pp. 198, 208 pl. 36, 11, p. 220 pl. 37, 8, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 180 f. pl. 13, 21, G. F. Hill 'Priester-Diademe' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 247 f. fig. 135.

[14] G. F. Hill *ib.* p. 245 ff. pl. 8.

[15] Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1523 and 1525 fig. 1986 (a priest of Bellona);

One odd rite deserves to be noticed. Many of the inscriptions found at *Baïaca* record the dedication of human hair[1]. The custom was for the dedicator to erect, either inside the temple of Zeus or outside it in the sacred precinct, a small *stéle* of stone containing the tress or tresses in a cavity sometimes closed by a thin marble lid (fig. 7)[2]. Those that could not afford such a *stéle* would make a hole in the stone wall, or even in the corner of another man's slab, and inscribe their names beside it. MM. Deschamps and Cousin point out that the dedicants were invariably men—not a single woman's name occurs[3]; that the dedication was always made to Zeus, never to Hera; that the occasion is sometimes specified as the Komyria and the place once at least as the *Komýrion*—the Heraia and the *Heraîon* are not mentioned at all; that slaves were allowed to participate in this act of devotion; and that the act itself might be repeatedly performed by the same person[4]. These scholars suggest that the votive hair may have been offered by those who were initiated into the mysteries of the Komyria[5].

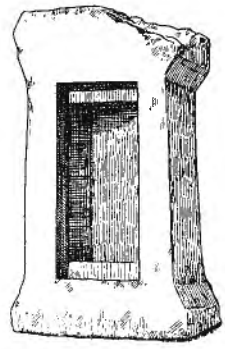


Fig. 7.

If we may judge from analogous customs existing here and there throughout the Greek world[6], the rite was probably connected

Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 151 f. no. 221 = A. J. B. Wace in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 94 f. ('a priest of the cult of one of the later Diadochi') = Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 475 ff. no. 275 pl. 63; Helbig *op. cit.* i. 309 f. no. 425 (an *archigallus*); D. Simonsen *Skulpturer og Indskrifter fra Palmyra i Ny-Carlsberg Glyptothek* Kjobenhavn 1889 p. 16 f. pl. 7 f.

[1] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 487 ff. nos. 60—120.

[2] *Ib.* p. 480.

[3] The conjecture of Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 280 f. is, therefore, in part mistaken.

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 486.

[5] *Ib.* p. 487.

[6] *Ib.* pp. 481—484, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1358, 1362, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 534 f., iii. 279 ff., iv. 128, *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 28 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 913 f. The fullest collection of evidence from the Greek area is that of W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 pp. 240—245. See too G. A. Wilken 'Ueber das Haaropfer und einige andere Trauergebräuche bei den Völkern Indonesien's' in the *Revue Coloniale Internationale* 1886 iii. 225 ff., 1887 iv. 353 ff.

Dr Wilken explained the rite as a substitute for human sacrifice, the hair being deemed the seat of the soul. Dr Frazer suggests that the gift of hair was tantamount to a gift of virility or fertility. Dr Rouse regards hair-offering as a 'practice connected with puberty.' Dr Gruppe concludes that the rite was originally 'vorzugsweise eine Initiationszeremonie.'

I incline to think that we have in this custom the relics of a puberty-rite once

with marriage or with arrival at a marriageable age. As such it

widespread throughout Greece, and that further proof of the practice may be found in the terms *κόρος, κόρη* for 'young man, young woman,' literally 'shaveling' (*κείρω*, 'I shave'). My friend Dr Giles kindly informs me that this derivation is quite possible, and that the words in question should be grouped as follows: *κόρος*, Ionic *κοῦρος*, Doric *κῶρος*, etc. <*κόρ-Fο-ς*; *κόρη*, Ionic *κούρη*, Doric *κώρα*, etc. <*κόρ-Fα* (Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 143 no. 373 *τᾶι ΚόρFαι*) and *κουρεύς* 'barber' <*κορσ-εύς* (Hesych. *s.v.*); *κουρά* 'hair-cutting' 'tress' <**κορσ-ά*. He refers me to F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1888 xxix. 128 f., who conjectures that *κορά* (*κείρω*) became *κουρά* by analogy with *κουρεύς*<*κορσεύς*. That this whole series of words was interrelated had already been guessed by the ancients: see *et. mag.* p. 534, 4 ff. *κουρά· ἀπὸ τοῦ κείρω κέκαρμαι κορὰ καὶ κουρά. κούρη…ἢ παρὰ τὸ κείρω, τὸ κουρεύω, κόρη καὶ κούρη κ.τ.λ.*, *ib.* p. 533, 57 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ ὁ ξυρῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ γένειον (*sc.* *κοῦρος*). So *ib.* p. 529, 36 f., *et. Gud.* pp. 338, 8 f., 341, 40 ff.

The foregoing derivation strongly supports Miss J. E. Harrison's contention that the Κουρῆτες were the young initiates of the tribe (see her cogent article in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 308—338). Archemachos of Euboia *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 315 f. Müller) *ap.* Strab. 465 states that the Kouretes of Chalkis *ὄπισθεν κομῶντας γενέσθαι, τὰ δ' ἔμπροσθεν κείρεσθαι, διὸ καὶ Κουρῆτας ἀπὸ τῆς κουρᾶς κληθῆναι.* This may be a speculation based on the *Ἄβαντες…ὄπισθεν κομόωντες* (*Il.* 2. 542). But it was certainly believed in the fifth century B.C. that the *Κουρῆτες* got their name from their peculiar *coiffure*: Aisch. *frag.* 313 Nauck² *χλιδῶν τε πλόκαμος ὥστε παρθένοις ἁβραῖς· | σθεν καλεῖν Κουρῆτα λαὸν ἥνεσαν*, Agathon *Thyestes frag.* 3 Nauck² *κόμας ἐκειράμεσθα μάρτυρας τρυφῆς, | ἣ που ποθεινὸν χρῆμα παιζούσῃ φρενί. | ἐπώνυμον γοῦν εὐθὺς ἔσχομεν κλέος, | Κούρητες εἶναι, κουρίμου χάριν τριχός.* Cp. *et. mag.* p. 534, 14 ff. *Κουρῆτες…ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς κορᾶς, παρὰ τὸ μὴ κείρεσθαι=et. Gud.* p. 342, 1 ff., Hesych. *s.v. Κουρῆτες…διὰ τὸ κουρικῶς ἀναδεδέσθαι τὰς κόμας*, Eudok. *viol.* 518 *εἰ δέ τινες τῶν Ἑλλήνων οὐκ ἦσαν καρηκομόωντες, παρεσημειώσατο αὐτοὺς ἡ ἱστορία, Κουρῆτας αὐτοὺς ὀνομάζεσθαι λέγουσα κ.τ.λ.*=Eustath. *in Il.* p. 165, 8 ff.

At Athens the third day of the Apatouria was called *κουρεῶτις*—say the lexicographers —not merely because the *κοῦροι* and *κοῦραι* were then enrolled on their phratry-lists (Souid. *s.v.* *Ἀπατούρια*), but also because on that day children's hair was cut and dedicated to Artemis (Hesych. *s.v.* *κουρεῶτις*) or the *κοῦροι* had their hair cut and were enrolled in their phratries (Souid. *s.v.* *κουρεῶτις*). The sacrifice offered for those of full age (*εἰς ἡλικίαν προελθόντων*) was termed *κούρειον* in the case of the boys, *γαμηλία* in that of the girls (Poll. 8. 107). These terms point to an original puberty-rite of hair-clipping. Further, Miss Harrison notes that the Athenian *ἔφηβοι* presented Herakles with a big cup of wine (*οἰνιστήρια*) and then clipped their hair (Athen. 494 F, Hesych. *s.v.* *οἰνιστήρια*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *οἰν[α]στήρια*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 907, 19, Favorin. *lex.* p. 469, 20 f.; cp. Poll. 3. 52, 6. 22, who connects the rite with the Apatouria).

The exact character of such tonsures can seldom be determined. Yet there is a certain amount of monumental evidence available. In Minoan art youthful figures, both male and female, often have a single curl hanging over the forehead (*e.g. Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 56 f. fig. 17, *Mon. d. Linc.* 1908 xix. 15 ff. pl. 1 f.): was this the *χλιδῶν πλόκαμος* of the Kouretes? The *ὄπισθεν κομόωντες* appear on an archaic sherd from Aigina, which shows a man's head beardless and bald on top, but with bushy hair behind tied in a bunch on the neck (F. Dümmler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 20 f. pl. 2, 3), and also on certain oblong plates of gold found at Corinth, which represent Theseus slaying the Minotaur and Ariadne standing at his back, both figures being bald on top, but long-haired behind (A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 p. 106 ff. pl. 8, 2—7): this was known as the *Θησῆς κουρά*, since Theseus at Delphoi shaved the front of his head only (Plout. *v. Thes.* 5, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 165, 7 f.). The head of a Lapith from the west pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia has a smooth surface reserved in the hair above the middle of the forehead (*Olympia* iii. 83 fig. 136): G. Treu *ib.* assumes an

tends to confirm our conjecture that the Komyria was the marriage-feast of Zeus[1].

It is probable that the crowds which in Roman times thronged the precinct looked upon the *Komýria* as the 'Hair'-festival; for the published dedications, sixty or so in number, regularly describe the votive hair as *kóme* or *kómai*. This appears to be another case of an obvious Greek meaning thrust upon an unobvious Carian term. It is thus comparable with the name of Zeus *Panámaros* himself[2].

§ 2. *Zeus and the Burning Sky.*

(a) *Aithér* as the abode of Zeus.

As a bright sky-god Zeus lived in the *aithér* or 'burning sky[3].' Homer and Theognis speak of him as 'dwelling in *aithér*[4].' And a notable line in the *Iliad* says:

> Zeus' portion was
> Broad heaven in the *aithér* and the clouds[5].

Hence, when he punished Hera, he hung her up 'in the *aithér* and

upright tongue attached to a fillet (cp. a *stele* in the Naples collection figured by Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 256, the Lapiths on a vase published by H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 pl. 3, 1, etc.), but admits that there is no trace of the fillet. On the shaved moustache of the Spartans as a tribal mark see *infra* ch. i § 3 (f).

The relation of Καιρός to this group of words is dealt with in Append. A.

[1] In *Anth. Pal.* 6. 242 Krinagoras records the dedication of his brother's first beard τελείῳ | Ζηνὶ καὶ ὠδίνων μειλίχῳ Ἀρτέμιδι. Dr Rouse *op. cit.* p. 241 says: 'Agamemnon in perplexity tore out handfuls of hair as an offering to Zeus' (*Il.* 10. 15 f. πολλὰς ἐκ κεφαλῆς προθελύμνους ἔλκετο χαίτας | ὑψόθ' ἐόντι Διΐ). But this strange couplet has been variously interpreted. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 786, 46 ff. presses the preceding metaphor to mean that, just as Zeus thundered, rained, and snowed, so Agamemnon groaned, shed tears, and scattered his hairs broadcast! Probably the whole passage is due to some bombastic rhapsode, who was trying to outdo the more commonplace phrase Διὶ χεῖρας ἀνασχεῖν (W. Leaf *ad loc.*).

[2] *Supra* p. 18. A puzzling epithet, perhaps another example of the same inter-linguistic phenomenon, is that given in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 186 no. 130 A. 1 [Διὶ Π]ανημέρῳ Ἀργούρου καὶ Η[ρα]. MM. Deschamps and Cousin take Ἀργούρου to be an indeclinable divine title, which has given rise to such personal names as *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 487 no. 60 (Panamara) Ἐπαφρᾶ [κ]όμη Ἀρ[γ]υροῦ, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 12 no. 6, 5 f. (Lagina) ἱέρεια ἡ γυνὴ α[ὐ]τοῦ | Ἀρτέμεις Ἀργούρου Κ(ωρα)ζ(ις), *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8753 (Pergamon) Ἀρ[γ]υροῦ. But to Greek ears Ἀργούρου spelled 'Silver,' and silver was the metal specially assigned to Zeus by the Byzantines (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) on Iupiter *Dolichenus*).

[3] L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 91, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 15, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 23.

[4] *Il.* 2. 412, 4. 166, *Od.* 15. 523, Theogn. 757 αἰθέρι ναίων.

[5] *Il.* 15. 192 Ζεὺς δ' ἔλαχ' οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἐν αἰθέρι καὶ νεφέλῃσιν. See *infra* ch. ii § 6.

the clouds[1].' On one occasion he sent a portent to the Achaeans 'out of *aithér*[2],' on another he helped Hektor 'from *aithér*[3],' on another he came near to flinging Hypnos 'from *aithér*' into the sea[4]. Euripides in his *Melanippe the Wise* made one of the characters cry:

I swear by holy *aithér*, home of Zeus[5].

Aristophanes after the manner of a caricaturist slightly distorts the phrase and ridicules the poet for saying '*aithér*, room of Zeus[6].' Again in his *Chrysippos* Euripides wrote an invocation of earth and sky beginning—

Mightiest Earth and *aithér* of Zeus[7]—

and in another fragment described Perseus as—

The Gorgon-slayer that winged his way to the holy *aithér* of Zeus[8].

The Latin poets followed suit and used the borrowed word *aether* to denote the habitual abode of Iupiter[9].

(b) Zeus *Aithérios*, Zeus *Aithrios*.

Writers of both nationalities call Zeus (Iupiter) *aithérios* (*aetherius*), 'god of the burning sky[10]'—an epithet which gains importance from the fact that it was a cult-title possibly in Arkadia[11] and certainly in Lesbos. A decree found at *Chalakais*, on the site of the ancient town Hiera, records the sacred offices held by a certain Bresos, among them the priesthood of Zeus *Aithérios*[12]. Aristotle in his treatise *On the Universe* links with *Aithérios* the epithet *Aithrios*, 'god of the Bright Sky[13].' This too

[1] *Il.* 15. 18 ff. [2] *Il.* 11. 54. [3] *Il.* 15. 610 interpol. [4] *Il.* 14. 258.

[5] Eur. *Melanippe frag.* 487 Nauck[2] ὄμνυμι δ' ἱερὸν αἰθέρ', οἴκησιν Διός.

[6] Aristoph. *thesm.* 272 quotes the line correctly, but *ran.* 100 and 311 substitutes αἰθέρα, Διὸς δωμάτιον, which reduces the sublime to the ridiculous.

[7] Eur. *Chrys. frag.* 839 Nauck[2], quoted *infra* ch. ii. § 9 (e) ii. For the combination cp. *frag.* 1023 Nauck[2] Αἰθέρα καὶ Γαῖαν πάντων γενέτειραν ἀείδω.

[8] Eur. *frag.* 985 Nauck[2].

[9] *E.g.* Verg. *Aen.* 12. 140 f., Ov. *fast.* 2. 131, Val. Flacc. 2. 117 ff., Sil. It. 15. 363 f., Stat. *Theb.* 5. 177 f.

[10] *Anth. Pal.* 9. 453. 1 Meleagros, Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 267 (*ib.* 312 ἠέριος), 18. 263, Mousaios 8, Loukian. *philopatr.* 4, Theod. Prodr. *ep.* 2. 3 (not. et extr. viii. 2 p. 184), Anon. Ambr. 19 (Schöll-Studemund *anecd.* i. 265), Schol. B. L. *Il.* 15. 610. Cp. Niket. Eug. 5. 108 Boissonade Ζεῦ...αἰθερόκρατορ.

Ov. *Ibis* 476, Lucan. 5. 96, Stat. *silv.* 3. 1. 108, *Theb.* 1. 704, 11. 207, *Ach.* 2. 53, *Ilias Latina* 536 (Bährens *Poetae Latini minores* iii. 34), Priscian. 1. 126 (Bährens *op. cit.* v. 269).

[11] Ampel. 9 cited *infra* p. 27 n. 3.

[12] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 484, 9 f. ὄντα Δίος | Αἰθερίῳ...(? εἶρεα), O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1893 ii. 119 f. no. 168.

[13] Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 17 καὶ αἰθριος καὶ αἰθέριος.

was a cult-title at Priene in Karia. A small marble altar found there and dating from the first century of our era or later is inscribed :

Διὸς	Of Zeus
Αἰθρίου	*Aithrios*[1].

Another altar of similar *provenance*, period, and size is adorned with a bay-wreath, beneath which is the inscription:

Θεμιστοκλῆς	Themistokles
Μενάνδρου	son of Menandros
Διὶ Αἰθρίωι	to Zeus *Aithrios*
εὐχήν	(in fulfilment of) a vow[2].

(c) Zeus identified with *Aithér* (sometimes with *Aér*) in Philosophy and Poetry.

Lying at the back of such usages is the half-forgotten belief that *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky,' itself is Zeus[3]. Zoïsm[4] dies hard; and this belief can be traced here and there throughout the whole range of Greek literature. In particular, it has left its impress on philosophy and poetry.

Pherekydes of Syros, one of the earliest writers of Greek prose, has preserved for us some exceedingly primitive notions with regard to Zeus, or *Zâs* as he terms him. Of these I shall have more to say: for the moment we are concerned with the tradition that by Zeus Pherekydes understood *aithér*, 'the burning sky,' or *ignis*, 'fire[5].' He may doubtless have given some such

[1] F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Inschriften von Priene* Berlin 1906 no. 184.

[2] *Id. ib.* no. 185.

[3] As Zeus 'Αμάριος presupposed ἀμάρα = Ζεύς, so Zeus Αἰθέριος presupposes αἰθήρ = Ζεύς. Hes. *theog.* 124 (Cornut. *theol.* 17 p. 28, 6 f. Lang) makes Aither the brother of Hemera, as does Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 9, 2 Schmidt (Dies and Aether), cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 44. Aither and Hemera appear fighting side by side on the frieze of the great Pergamene altar to Zeus: see *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 10, *Pergamon* iii. 2. 31 ff. Atlas pl. 6. In Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 f. Aether is father of an Arcadian Iupiter, cp. Ampel. 9 Ioves fuere tres. primus in Arcadia, Aetheris filius, cui etiam Aetherius cognomen fuit: hic primum Solem procreavit, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 67 p. 121, 25 f. Wünsch ἑπτὰ Ἡρακλεῖς γενέσθαι, πρῶτον Διὸς τοῦ Αἰθέρος, *ib.* 4. 71 p. 122, 22 ff. τρεῖς Δίας εἶναι βούλονται, ἕνα μὲν Αἰθέρος, τὸν δὲ ἕτερον ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. Pan was the son of Oinoë by Aither (Pind. *ap.* Maxim. Holobol. *in Syringem* p. 112 b 15 f. Dübner, Araithos *frag.* 5 *ap.* schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 36 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Müller: cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1390 n. 5), or of Oineïs by Aither (schol. Theokr. 1. 121) or by Zeus (Aristippos *frag.* 2 *ap.* schol. Theokr. 1. 3 and Eudok. *viol.* 747 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Müller).

[4] By zoïsm I mean what Mr J. S. Stuart-Glennie means by 'zoönism' and Mr R. R. Marett by 'animatism'—the primitive view that things in general, including inanimates, possess a mysterious life of their own.

[5] Hermias *irrisio gentilium philosophorum* 12 = 11. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini

interpretation of his own cosmological myth. But the tradition that he actually did so is late, and so mixed up with Stoic phraseology that it would be unsafe to build upon it[1].

Whatever Thales of Miletos meant by his statements that 'all things are full of gods[2]' and that even inanimates, to judge from the load-stone and amber, have life[3], it is at least clear that his teaching was in a sense zoïstic. It is therefore of interest to find that Herakleitos, the greatest of his followers, uses the expression '*Aithrios* Zeus' as a direct equivalent of 'the Bright Sky.' In a fragment preserved by Strabon he writes:

> The limits of Morning and Evening are the Bear,
> and over against the Bear is the boundary of *Aithrios* Zeus[4].

Nay more, may we not venture to assert that Herakleitos' cardinal doctrine of the universe as an Ever-living Fire[5] is but a refinement upon the primitive conception of Zeus the Burning Sky? For not only does the philosopher speak of his elemental Fire as *Keraunós*, 'the Thunderbolt[6],' a word peculiarly appropriate to Zeus[7], but he actually applies to it the name *Zén* or Zeus[8]. The author of the pseudo-Hippocratean work *On Diet* borrows both

1879 p. 654, 7 ff. Φερεκύδης μὲν ἀρχὰς εἶναι λέγων Ζῆνα καὶ Χθονίην καὶ Κρόνον· Ζῆνα μὲν τὸν αἰθέρα, Χθονίην δὲ τὴν γῆν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν χρόνον· ὁ μὲν αἰθὴρ τὸ ποιοῦν, ἡ δὲ γῆ τὸ πάσχον, ὁ δὲ χρόνος ἐν ᾧ τὰ γινόμενα, Probus *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31 p. 355 Lion Pherecydes... Ζῆνα, inquit, καὶ Χθόν<α> καὶ Κρόνον, ignem ac terram <ac> tempus significans; et esse aethera, qui regat terram, qua regatur tempus, in quo universa pars moderetur.

[1] This was seen by E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 91 n. 3.

[2] Aristot. *de anima* 1. 5. 411 a 8, Plat. *legg.* 899 B, Diog. Laert. 1. 27, Aët. 1. 7. 11.

[3] Diog. Laert. 1. 24, Aristot. *de anima* 1. 2. 405 a 20 f.

[4] Herakl. *ap.* Strab. 3 ἀντίον τῆς ἄρκτου οὖρος αἰθρίου Διός=*frag.* 30 Bywater, 120 Diels. On the interpretation of these words consult E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 46 n. 1, who renders 'the sphere of bright Zeus,' and J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 136 n. 23, who says: 'It seems to me to be simply the clear noon-day sky, put for μεσημβρία.'

[5] Πῦρ ἀείζωον Herakl. *frag.* 20 Bywater, 30 Diels.

[6] Herakl. *ap.* Hippolyt. *ref. haer.* 9. 10 πάντα οἰακίζει κεραυνός=*frag.* 28 Bywater, 64 Diels, cp. Kleanth. *h. Zeus* 10 πυρόεντ' ἀειζώοντα κεραυνόν, Philodem. περὶ εὐσεβείας 6ᵇ p. 70 Gomperz κεραυνὸς π<άντ' οἰακ>ίζει.

[7] *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (*a*) i.

[8] Herakl. *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 404, 1 Stählin (Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 42) ἓν τὸ σοφὸν μοῦνον λέγεσθαι οὐκ ἐθέλει καὶ ἐθέλει Ζηνὸς ὄνομα=*frag.* 65 Bywater, 32 Diels. Schuster punctuates after μοῦνον (*Rhein. Mus.* 1854 ix. 345), Cron after ἐθέλει (*Philologus* N.F. 1889 i. 208 ff.). Bernays transposes ἐθέλει καὶ οὐκ ἐθέλει (*Rhein. Mus.* 1854 ix. 256 f.). ὄνομα vulg. οὔνομα Bywater with Euseb. cod. D. οὐνόματι Mullach.

Probably Ζηνός, for Διός, in order to suggest a connexion with ζῆν, 'to live' (*supra* p. 11 n. 5).

That Herakleitos called his first principle Zeus, appears also from Chrysipp. *ap.* Philodem. περὶ εὐσεβείας 14 p. 81 Gomperz τὸν Πόλεμον καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν αὐτὸν εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ Ἡράκλειτον λέγειν, Clem. Al. *paed.* 1. 5 p. 103, 6 Stählin τοιαύτην τινὰ παίζειν παιδιὰν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ Δία Ἡράκλειτος λέγει.

the style and the tenets of the enigmatic Herakleitos, when he declares:

> All things are the same and not the same:
> light is the same as Zen, darkness as Aïdes,
> light is the same as Aïdes, darkness as Zen[1].

The Stoics, whose physical theories were profoundly influenced by those of Herakleitos, held that matter alone has real existence. But matter is not inert and dead. It can act as well as be acted upon, thanks to a certain tension or elasticity (*tónos*), which is found to a greater or less degree in all matter. This tension is described by a variety of names, among them those of Constructive Fire[2], *Aithér*[3], and Zeus[4]. Krates, a distinguished Greek grammarian who was also a Stoic philosopher[5], held that Aratos of Soloi, who began his astronomical poem the *Phaenomena* with a famous invocation of Zeus, was in reality invoking the sky[6]: he

[1] Hippokr. *de victu* 1. 5 (vi. 476 Littré = i. 633 Kühn) *πάντα ταὐτὰ καὶ οὐ τὰ αὐτά· φάος Ζηνί, σκότος Ἀΐδῃ, φάος Ἀΐδῃ, σκότος Ζηνί.*

[2] *Πῦρ τεχνικόν* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 25. 5 p. 213, 15 ff. Wachsmuth, *ib.* 1. 26. 1[i] p. 219, 12 f. Wachsmuth = Zenon *frag.* 71 Pearson; *ib.* 1. 1. 29[b] p. 37, 20 ff. Wachsmuth, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14. p. 393, 1 ff. Stählin, Diog. Laert. 7. 156, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 57 ignem... artificiosum, cp. *ib.* 3. 37 naturae...artificiose ambulantis, *Acad.* 1. 39 ignem, Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 2 cuius (ignis) instar vult esse naturam Zeno = Zenon *frag.* 46 Pearson.

Again, Zenon spoke of God as the Fiery Mind of the Universe (Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 29[b] p. 35, 9 Wachsmuth) or as Fire (August. *adv. Acad.* 3. 17. 38) = Zenon *frag.* 42 Pearson.

[3] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 36 Zeno...aethera deum dicit, *Acad.* 2. 126 Zenoni et reliquis fere Stoicis aether videtur summus deus, Minuc. Fel. 19. 10 Cleanthes...modo aethera... deum disseruit. Zenon...aethera interim...vult omnium esse principium, Tert. *adv. Marcion.* 1. 13 deos pronuntiaverunt...ut Zeno aerem et aetherem = Zenon *frag.* 41 Pearson; Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 37 Cleanthes...ardorem, qui aether nominatur, certissimum deum iudicat, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 5 Cleanthes et Anaximenes aethera dicunt esse summum deum = Kleanthes *frag.* 15 Pearson; Chrysippos *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 39 deum dicit esse...aethera. Cp. Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 29[b] p. 38, 2 f. Wachsmuth *ἀνωτάτω δὲ πάντων νοῦν ἐναιθέριον εἶναι θεόν.*

[4] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 36 neque enim Iovem, neque Iunonem, neque Vestam, neque quemquam, qui ita appellatur, in deorum habet numero (*sc.* Zeno), sed rebus inanimis atque mutis per quandam significationem haec docet tributa nomina = Zenon *frag.* 110 Pearson; Minuc. Fel. 19. 10 Zenon...interpretando Iunonem aëra, Iovem caelum, Neptunum mare, ignem esse Vulcanum et ceteros similiter deos elementa esse monstrando = Zenon *frag.* 111 Pearson; Chrysippos *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 12 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 546 b 24 f. *Δία δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα*; Diog. Laert. 7. 147 *Δία μὲν γάρ φασι δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν, Ἀθηνᾶν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς αἰθέρα διάτασιν,...Ἥραν δὲ κατὰ τὴν εἰς ἀέρα, καὶ Ἥφαιστον κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸ τεχνικὸν πῦρ, κ.τ.λ.*; Chrysippos *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 26 p. 31, 11 ff. Wachsmuth *Ζεὺς μὲν οὖν φαίνεται ὠνόμασθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ πᾶσι δεδωκέναι τὸ ζῆν. Δία δὲ αὐτὸν λέγουσιν, ὅτι πάντων ἐστὶν αἴτιος καὶ δι' αὐτὸν πάντα*; Chrysippos *ap.* Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 40 aethera esse eum, quem homines Iovem appellarent, etc.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* Κράτης ii. 395 a 14 ff. Bernhardy.

[6] Krates *ap.* schol. Caes. Germ. *Arateа* p. 379, 11 ff. Eyssenhardt. The same interpretation is put upon the phrase by Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 15, *in somn. Scip.* 1. 17. 14.

added that it was reasonable to invoke the *aér* and *aithér*, since in them were the stars: Homer—he said—had called the sky Zeus[1], as had Aratos elsewhere[2]; Hesiod[3] and Philemon[4] had used the same word of the *aér*. Other rationalists propounded similar explanations[5]; for allegory is ever popular with those who have outgrown their creeds. Thus what had once been a piece of genuine folk-belief was first taken up into a philosophical system by Herakleitos, then pressed into the service of various Stoic speculations, and finally treated as a commonplace by allegorists and eclectics.

The comedians of course lost no opportunity of deriding such vagaries. Philemon, the first representative of the New Attic Comedy, is known to have penned a play called *The Philosophers* in which he made mock of Zenon the Stoic[6]. When, therefore, we find that the prologue to one of his other comedies was spoken by a personage named *Aér* and identified with Zeus, we may fairly suspect a travesty of Stoic teaching. The personage in question announces himself as follows:

> One who knows everybody and everything
> That every one did, does, or ever will do,
> And yet no god, and yet no man, am I.
> Air, if you please, or Zeus if you prefer it!
> For, like a god, I'm everywhere at once,
> I'm here in Athens, at Patras, in Sicily,
> In every state and every house, indeed
> In each man Jack of you. Air's everywhere
> And, being everywhere, knows everything[7]!

[1] *Il.* 19. 357.

[2] Arat. *phaen.* 223 f. αὐτὰρ ὁ Ἵππος | ἐν Διὸς εἰλεῖται, 275 ἤτοι γὰρ καὶ Ζηνὶ παρατρέχει αἰόλος Ὄρνις with schol.

[3] Hes. *o.d.* 267, cp. schol. Arat. *phaen.* 1 p. 49, 24 Bekker.

[4] Philemon *frag. incert.* 2. 4 Meineke: *infra* p. 30.

[5] *E.g.* schol. *Il.* 15. 21 A.D., 188 B. L., Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 22 p. 80, 15 ff. Wünsch, *ib.* 4. 34 p. 91, 18 ff., Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 10. 27. Herakleitos, a late Stoic, in his *quaest. Hom.* pp. 23, 14 ff., 35, 11 ff., 37, 1 f., 38, 1, 52, 19 ff., 57, 16 ff., 60, 7 ff., 62, 3 ff., 64, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. also equates Zeus with *αἰθήρ*.

A last echo of Herakleitos the Ionian is audible in Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 21 p. 80, 4 τὸν δὲ Δία τὸ πῦρ, Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 33, 12 ff. Lang ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἰθὴρ καὶ τὸ διαυγὲς καὶ καθαρὸν πῦρ Ζεύς ἐστι κ.τ.λ., Tert. *adv. Marcion.* 1. 13 vulgaris superstitio...figurans Iovem in substantiam fervidam et Iunonem eius in aeriam, etc.

[6] Diog. Laert. 7. 27, Clem. Al. *strom.* 2. 20 p. 179, 8 ff. Stählin, Souid. *s.v.* Ζήνων i. 726 a 10 Bernhardy = Philemon *Philosophi frag.* (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 29 f. Meineke).

[7] Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 32 p. 39, 9 ff. Wachsmuth, *Vita Arati* ii. 438, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 380, 1 ff. Eyssenhardt, *et. mag.* p. 389, 38 ff. where Πλάτων is a mistake for Φιλήμων = Philemon *frag. incert.* 2 Meineke.

With this identification of Zeus and Ἀήρ cp. Krates *supra* p. 29, Chrysippos *ap.* Philodem. περὶ εὐσεβείας 13 = H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 546 b 36 ff. Δία μὲν εἶναι τὸν περὶ τὴν γῆν ἀέρα, τὸν δὲ σκοτεινὸν Ἅιδην, τὸν δὲ διὰ τῆς γῆς καὶ θαλάττης Ποσειδῶ, Lyd. *de mens.*

Another philosopher, who availed himself of the belief that the fiery sky is Zeus, was Empedokles of Agrigentum. This remarkable thinker recognised four elements or 'roots' of things, *viz.* Fire, Air, Earth, and Water, particles of which were combined and separated by the moving forces of Friendship and Enmity. In the extant fragments of his poem *On Evolution* he clothes his ideas in mythological language, speaking of the elements as Zeus, Here, Aïdoneus, and Nestis respectively, and of the moving forces as Aphrodite (Kypris) and Ares (Eris). Thus he writes:

> For first hear thou the four roots of all things:
> Bright Zeus, life-bringing Here, Aïdoneus,
> And Nestis, whose tears flow as a fount for men[1].

The author of the compilation *On the Dogmas of the Philosophers*, a work wrongly ascribed to Plutarch[2], quotes the second line as commencing with the words 'Zeus *Aithér*' instead of 'Zeus *argés*,' *i.e.* 'Zeus *the Burning Sky*' instead of 'Zeus *the Brilliant*.' But that is perhaps an emendation on the part of a copyist familiar with Stoic phraseology and ignorant of the poet's vocabulary[3]. The word *argés* means 'bright' or 'brilliant' and is used by Homer five times of the thunderbolt hurled by Zeus[4], once of the shining

4. 176 p. 183, 9 Wünsch Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ ἀὴρ κατὰ τοὺς φυσικοὺς λέγεται κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 1. 12 p. 6, 25 Διὸς ἦτοι ἀέρος.

Diogenes of Apollonia, a belated follower of Anaximenes, likewise equated Zeus with Ἀήρ: Philodem. περὶ εὐσεβείας 6ᵇ=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 536 b 2 ff. Διογένης ἐπαινεῖ τὸν Ὅμηρον, ὡς οὐ μυθικῶς ἀλλ' ἀληθῶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ θείου διειλεγμένον. τὸν ἀέρα γὰρ αὐτὸν Δία νομίζειν φησίν, ἐπειδὴ πᾶν εἰδέναι τὸν Δία λέγει.

The same equation is found many centuries later in Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 6. 132 πάντα τὰ δένδρα γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἤγουν ἀὴρ ἐκτρέφει, 8. 76 Ζεὺς δὲ ἀήρ τις κ.τ.λ.

[1] Empedokl. *frag.* 6 Diels τέσσαρα γὰρ πάντων ῥιζώματα πρῶτον ἄκουε· | Ζεὺς ἀργὴς Ἥρη τε φερέσβιος ἠδ' Ἀιδωνεύς | Νῆστίς θ', ἣ δακρύοις τέγγει κρούνωμα βρότειον.

[2] See *e.g.* W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 391.

[3] Plout. *de plac. phil.* 1. 3. 20 Ζεὺς αἰθὴρ MSS. The passage is cited from Plutarch by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 14. 14. 6, where the MSS. have ἀρῆς. Heraklcitos the Stoic in his exposition of the line (*quaest. Hom.* p. 38, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn.) says Ζῆνα μὲν εἶπε τὸν αἰθέρα. But there is no doubt that ἀργής is the true reading: see H. Diels *Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* Berolini 1901 p. 108. With the pseudo-Plutarch's comment Δία μὲν γὰρ λέγει τὴν ζέσιν καὶ τὸν αἰθέρα cp. the erroneous derivation of Ζεύς from ζέω in *et. mag.* p. 409, 4 f., *et. Gud.* p. 230, 30, Clem. Rom. *hom.* 4. 24 (ii. 173 Migne). 6. 7 (ii. 201 Migne), Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 6 p. 7 Schwartz and 22 p. 26 Schwartz, Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31 p. 351, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 47, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30 flagrantem vi flammea atque ardoris inextinguibili vastitate, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 a fervore caelestis ignis, Myth. Vat. 1. 105 Iovem...id est ignem; unde et Ζεὺς (quod est *vita* sive *calor*) dicitur, *ib.* 3. 3. 1 Iovem...id est ignem...Graece Iuppiter Ζεὺς dicitur, quod Latine *calor* sive *vita* interpretatur, quod videlicet hoc elementum caleat; et quod igni vitali, ut Heraclitus vult, omnia sint animata. See also *supra* p. 30 n. 5.

[4] *Il.* 8. 133, *Od.* 5. 128, 131, 7. 249, 12. 387. Cp. ἀργικέραυνε of Zeus in *Il.* 19. 121, 20. 16, 22. 178.

raiment worn by Helen[1], and twice in a slightly different form of white glistening fat[2]. From the same root springs the word *argós*, 'bright, glittering, shimmering[3],'—a fact which raises the question, In what relation did Zeus stand to the various mythical persons named *Árgos*[4]? This complicated problem, which in one shape or another has exercised the minds of mythologists for the last seventy years[5], has been recently attacked with the utmost care by Dr K. Wernicke[6] and Dr O. Jessen[7]. They arrive at substantially identical results, *viz.* (1) that the numerous personages named *Árgos* are, for the purposes of serious investigation, reducible to two—the eponymous hero of the town Argos and the sleepless watcher of Io; (2) that these two were originally one and the same; and (3) that the ultimate *Árgos* was a sky-god, 'a sort of Zeus' says Dr Wernicke[8], 'essentially similar to Zeus' as Dr Jessen puts it[9]. If this be so, it is permissible to regard *Árgos* 'the Glittering' as another name of *Zeús* 'the Bright One[10],' and we obtain confirmation of our view that Empedokles, when he spoke of Fire as Zeus *argés*, Zeus 'the Brilliant,' was utilising a popular and originally zoïstic conception of the bright sky-god.

Euripides sometimes identifies Zeus with the burning sky. He says, for example:

> But *Aithér* is thy father, maid,
> Whose name on earth is Zeus[11].

Or again:

> Thou seest yon boundless *aithér* overhead
> Clasping the earth in close and soft embrace?
> That deem thou Zen, that reckon thou thy god[12].

[1] *Il.* 3. 419.

[2] *Il.* 11. 818, 21. 127.

[3] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 49 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 43 f.

[4] Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31 p. 351 Lion already connects Zeus ἀργής with Ἄργος. See further *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix.

[5] T. Panofka *Argos Panoptes* Berlin 1838 pp. 1—47 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1837 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 81—125) was the first to deal in detail with the subject.

[6] In Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 790—798 (1896).

[7] In Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1540—1550 (1902).

[8] Wernicke *loc. cit.* p. 798, 24 f. 'eine Art von Zeus.'

[9] Jessen *loc. cit.* p. 1549, 42 ff. 'ein Gott Argos Panoptes (*Maass, Götting. Gel. Anz.* 1889, 2, 808), dem Wesen nach nicht verschieden von Zeus Panoptes bezw. Helios Panoptes.'

[10] I called attention to this equation in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82 n. 3, cp. *ib.* p. 75, and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 265.

[11] Eur. *frag. incert.* 877 Nauck[2] ἀλλ' *αἰθὴρ τίκτει σε, κόρα,* | *Ζεὺς ὃς ἀνθρώποις ὀνομάζεται.*

[12] Eur. *frag. incert.* 941 Nauck[2] *ὁρᾷς τὸν ὑψοῦ τόνδ' ἄπειρον αἰθέρα* | *καὶ γῆν πέριξ ἔχοντ' ὑγραῖς ἐν ἀγκάλαις;* | *τοῦτον νόμιζε Ζῆνα, τόνδ' ἡγοῦ θεόν.* Cp. Euripides' prayer to *αἰθήρ* in Aristoph. *ran.* 892.

It is usual to suppose that in such passages Euripides was writing as a disciple of Anaxagoras. But, though Euripides was certainly influenced by Anaxagoras[1], and though Anaxagoras in his cosmogony derived the world from the reciprocal action of a rare warm bright dry principle termed *aithér* and a dense cold dark moist principle termed *aér*[2], yet inasmuch as the philosopher nowhere calls his *aithér* by the name of Zeus, his influence on the poet is not here to be traced. Nor yet can these Euripidean passages be ascribed to Orphic teaching. For the Orphic Zeus was pantheistic and only identified with *aithér* in the same sense as he is identified with all the other elements of Nature[3]. Thus Aischylos in his *Heliades* writes probably under Orphic influence:

> Zeus is the *aithér*, Zeus the earth, and Zeus the sky,
> Zeus the whole world and aught there is above it[4].

Orphic poems describe *aithér* as the 'unerring kingly ear' of Zeus[5], or as 'holding the ever tireless might of Zeus' high palace[6]'; but a direct identification of Zeus with *aithér* is attributed to Orpheus only by Ioannes Diakonos, a late and untrustworthy author[7]. What then was the source of Euripides' teaching in the matter? Possibly Herakleitos' use of '*Aithrios* Zeus' for 'the Bright Sky[8]'; but possibly also the old zoïstic conception that lay at the base of all these philosophical superstructures.

(d) Zeus as god of the Blue Sky in Hellenistic Art.

Pompeian wall-paintings have preserved to us certain Hellenistic[9] types of Zeus conceived as god of the blue sky. He is characterised as such by the simplest of means. Either he wears a blue *nimbus* round his head, or he has a blue globe at his feet, or he is wrapped about with a blue mantle.

[1] See P. Decharme 'Euripide et Anaxagore' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 ii. 234 ff.

[2] E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 354 ff.

[3] Orph. *frag.* 123, 10 ff. Abel πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἦμαρ, ... πάντα γὰρ ἐν Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ τάδε σώματι κεῖται.

[4] Aisch. *Heliades frag.* 70 Nauck[2] Ζεύς ἐστιν αἰθήρ, Ζεὺς δὲ γῆ, Ζεὺς δ' οὐρανός, Ζεύς τοι τὰ πάντα χὤτι τῶνδ' ὑπέρτερον.

[5] Orph. *frag.* 123, 19 ff. Abel.

[6] Orph. *h. Aith.* 5. 1 Abel.

[7] Io. Diak. *in* Hes. *theog.* 950 = Orph. *frag.* 161 f. Abel.

[8] *Supra* p. 28. For the influence of Herakleitos on Euripides see A. E. Haigh *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* Oxford 1896 pp. 234, 272.

[9] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 190.

i. *The Blue Nimbus.*

In a painting from the *Casa del naviglio* (pl. i. and Frontispiece)[1], now unfortunately much faded, a fine triangular composition of Zeus enthroned is seen against a red background. The god's right hand, raised to his head, betokens thoughtful care. His left hand holds a long sceptre. His flowing locks are circled by a blue *nimbus*[2]. Wrapped about his knees is a mantle, which varies in hue from light blue to light violet. His sandalled feet are placed on a footstool, beside which is perched his eagle, heedfully turning its head towards its master. The throne has for arm-rests two small eagles, and is covered with green drapery. Immediately behind it rises a pillar rectangular in section and yellowish grey in colour, the sacred stone of Zeus. We have thus in juxtaposition the earliest and the latest embodiment of the sky-god, the rude aniconic pillar of immemorial sanctity and the fully anthropomorphic figure of the Olympian ruler deep in the meditations of Providence[3].

The same striking combination occurs on a well-mouth of Luna marble in the Naples Museum (pl. ii.)[4]. Here too we see Zeus seated in a pensive attitude, his right hand supporting his head, his left placed as though it held a sceptre. There is again a pillar

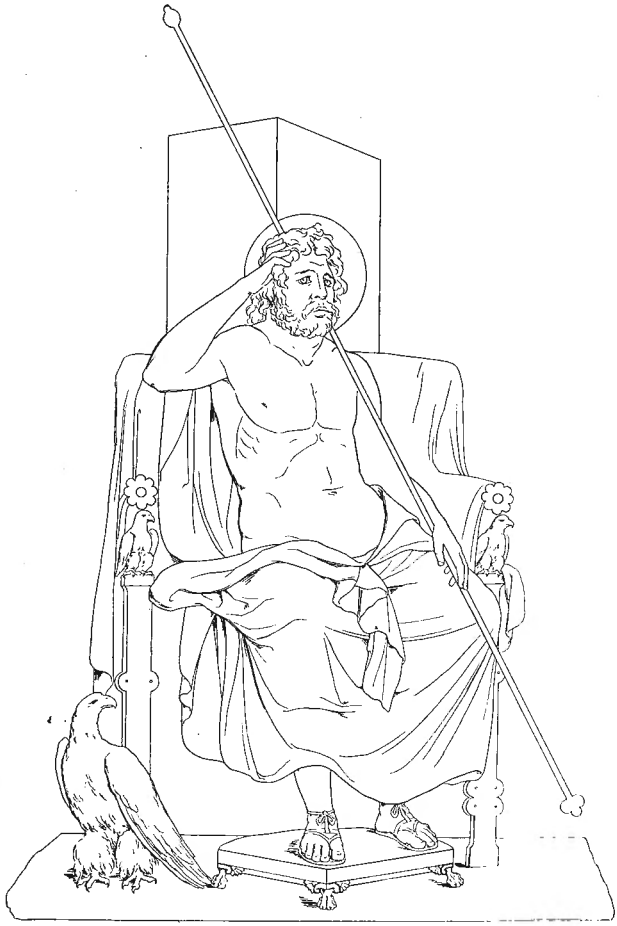
[1] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 30 f. no. 101. Uncoloured drawings in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1830 vi pl. 52, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 88. E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 11, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 1, 39, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 48 f. pl. 4, 11 (with the fullest bibliography), *alib.*

My pl. i is a reproduction of Zahn's drawing on a smaller scale. My Frontispiece is a restoration of the painting based, partly on the full notes as to colouring given by Zahn, partly on a study of the much better preserved paintings from the same *atrium* (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 50 no. 175, p. 98 no. 392, cp. p. 47 no. 162), especially of the wonderful enthroned Dionysos (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 1).

[2] L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 13 f. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.).

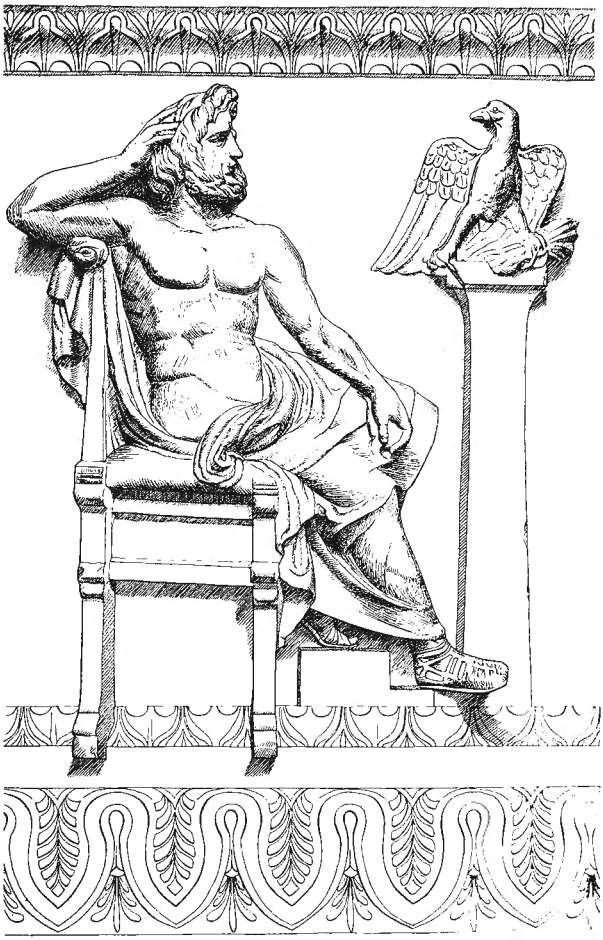
[3] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 190 compares the thoughtful attitude of Zeus on the Naples well-mouth (*infra* n. 4) and on a medallion of Lucius Verus (*infra* ch. i § 5 (b)). Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 48 f. objects that in the Pompeian painting the arm of Zeus is not supported on the back of the throne, but raised to his head in a Roman gesture of 'meditative care' (*sinnende Fürsorge*) like that of Securitas on imperial coins (*e.g.* Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 80 pl. 67, 362: list in Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 333—402, Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 726—728) or that of Minerva in the pediment of the Capitoline temple (Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 43, 52 pl. 5, 1, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 3, 20, Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*[2] p. 102 f. figs. 112 f.). For more pronounced, but less dignified, gestures of the sort see C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 47 f.

[4] *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 94 f. no. 289, figured in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 49. Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 3, 16. My pl. ii is a drawing from the cast at Cambridge.



Zeus in a wall-painting from the *Casa del Naviglio*.

See page 34 ff.



Zeus on a well-mouth at Naples.

See page 34 ff.

beside him: on it rests his eagle, the lightning-bearer, turning towards him and spreading its wings for instant flight.

Both designs are clearly variations (the one chromatic, the other plastic) of a common original by some sculptor of repute, who—to judge from the abundant but not as yet exaggerated locks of the god, his earnest deep-set eyes, his broad athletic shoulders, the naturalistic gesture of his right hand, and the multi-facial character of the whole work—may well have been Lysippos. The Italian *provenance* of the wall-painting and the well-mouth suggest that this Lysippean masterpiece was executed for some city in Italy. Our only further clue is the presence of the pillar as an essential feature of the composition. Now pillar-cults of Zeus lasting on into the classical period are of extreme rarity. There was, however, one such cult, of which I shall have more to say[1], at Tarentum in south Italy. If it could be shown that Lysippos made an image of the Tarentine pillar-Zeus, it would be reasonable to regard that image as the prototype of our later figures. At this point Pliny may be brought forward as a witness. *A propos* of colossal statues he says: 'Yet another is that at Tarentum, made by Lysippos, forty cubits in height. It is noteworthy because the weight is so nicely balanced that, though it can be moved by the hand—so they state—, yet it is not overthrown by any gale. The artist himself is said to have provided against this by placing a pillar a little way off on the side where it was most necessary to break the violence of the wind[2].' Lucilius[3] and Strabon[4] mention that the statue in question represented Zeus and was set in a large open market-place. Whether it was seated we are not definitely told and cannot certainly infer[5]. On the one hand, its great height and carefully calculated balance suggest a standing figure (cp. fig. 8)[6]. On the other hand, Lysippos'

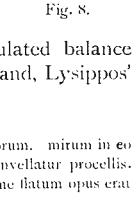


Fig. 8.

[1] *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ).

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 40 talis et Tarenti factus a Lysippo, XL cubitorum. mirum in eo quod manu, ut ferunt, mobilis ea ratio libramenti est, ut nullis convellatur procellis. id quidem providisse et artifex dicitur modico intervallo, unde maxime flatum opus erat frangi, opposita columna.

[3] Lucil. *frag.* 380 Baehrens *ap.* Non. Marc. *s.v.* 'cubitus' p. 296. 14 ff. Lindsay Lysippi Iuppiter ista | transibit quadraginta cubita altu' Tarento.

[4] Strab. 278 ἔχει δὲ (*sc.* Tarentum) γυμνάσιόν τε κάλλιστον καὶ ἀγορὰν εὐμεγέθη, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἵδρυται κολοσσὸς χαλκοῦς, μέγιστος μετὰ τὸν Ῥοδίων.

[5] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 57.

[6] Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 58 pl. 5, 11, a brown paste of late Roman work at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 122 no. 2042 pl. 24) shows Zeus leaning his left arm on a pillar and holding a *phiale* in his right hand. Upon

intention may well have been to eclipse the Olympian Zeus of Pheidias by a seated colossus of yet vaster bulk. Moreover, both Strabon[1] and Pliny[2] speak in the next breath of another colossal bronze made by Lysippos for the Tarentines: this represented Herakles without weapons, seated and resting his head on his left hand[3]—a fitting pendant to a Zeus in the Pompeian pose. Pliny's curious remark about the weight being moveable by hand might refer to some accessory such as the eagle of Zeus[4]; and his idea that the pillar set up beside the statue was intended to break the force of the wind is due to an obvious misunderstanding of the sacred stone. In short, the evidence that our painting and bas-relief presuppose Lysippos' famous work, though not conclusive, is fairly strong.

In this connexion it should be observed that Apulian vases—Tarentine vases, as Prof. Furtwängler called them on the ground that they were much used, if not manufactured, at Tarentum[5],—more than once represent an ancient cult of Zeus by means of a simple pillar closely resembling that of the Pompeian painting or that of the Neapolitan relief. Thus a vase in the Louvre (fig. 9)[6] depicts Hippodameia offering a *phiále* to her father Oinomaos, who is about to pour a libation over a primitive squared pillar before starting on the fateful race with Pelops. An *amphora* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (pl. iii.)[7], has the same scene with

the pillar is perched his eagle. In the field to right and left of his head are a star (sun?) and a crescent moon. The god is flanked by two smaller figures of the Dioskouroi, each with lance in hand and star on head. This design probably represents a definite cult-group *e.g.* at Tarentum, where the worship of the pillar-Zeus may have been combined with that of the Dioskouroi. If Lysippos' colossal Zeus (*supra* p. 35) was a standing, not a seated, figure, the Berlin paste perhaps gives us some idea of it.

[1] Strab. 278. [2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 40.

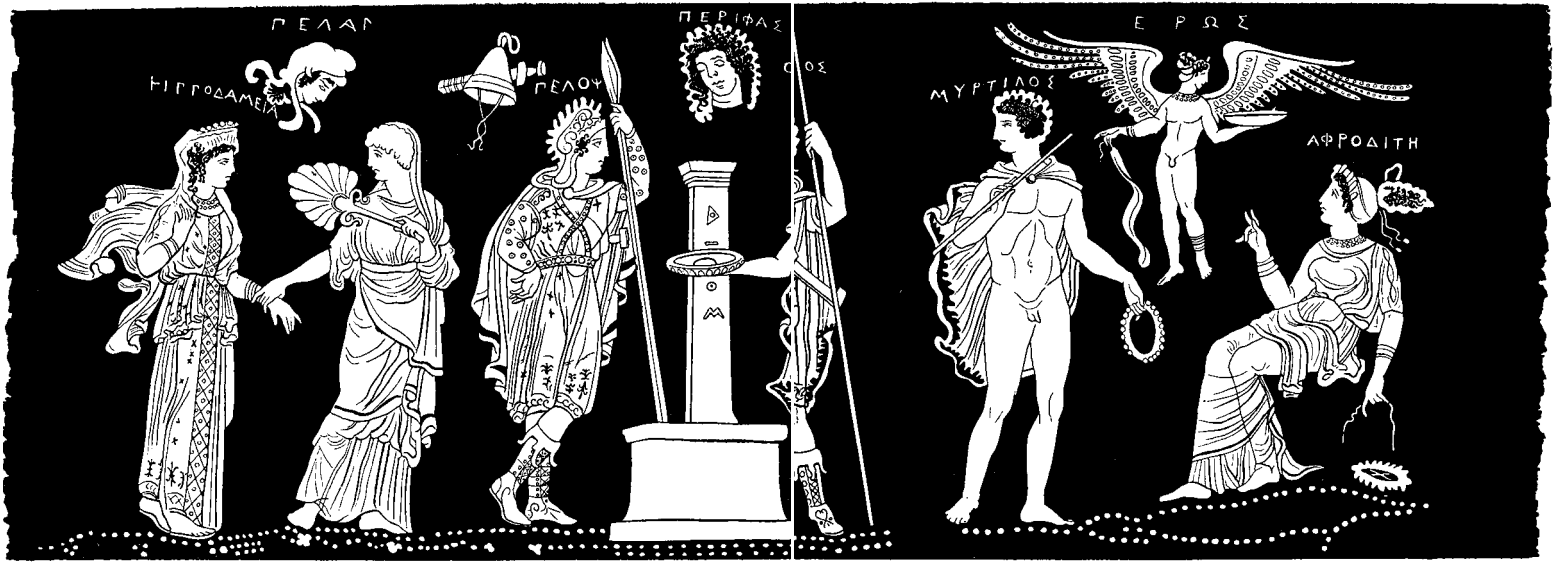
[3] Niketas Choniates *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 5 p. 859 f. Bekker. The type is reproduced on an ivory casket (*s.* ix—x): see A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. königl. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1902 pp. 435—442, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 122, 216.

[4] Cp. what he says about the stag of Kanachos' Apollon in *nat. hist.* 34. 75.

[5] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 109 f., Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 47, ii. 107 (giving both appellations), 139 (reverting to the older nomenclature). See further H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 486.

[6] *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 44 f. pl. 54, 2.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 164 f. no. F 331, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1840 xii. 171 ff. pls. N, O, *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 42 ff. pl. 54, 1, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 271 f. fig. 1. These illustrations being inexact, I have had a fresh drawing made. My friend Mr H. B. Walters in a letter dated May 15, 1911 writes—'The following parts of the principal subject are restored: *Oinomaos* from waist to knees and left side of chlamys. *Myrtilos* all except head and shoulders, right hand and part of left arm. *Aphrodite* lower part of right leg and knee with drapery. There are also bits of restored paint along the lines of fracture. All the rest is quite trustworthy, except that I am a little bit doubtful about the ΔΙΟΣ inscription. The Δ is certainly genuine, but the other letters look suspicious, especially the Σ.'



Pillar-cult of Zeus o[*t*]*ora* from Ruvo.

See page 36 ff.

further details and names. In the centre a four-sided pillar with splayed foot and moulded top bears the inscription *Diós*, '(the pillar) of Zeus[1].' It rises above, and probably out of, an altar,

Fig. 9.

over which Oinomaos, faced by Pelops, is in act to pour his libation. The king is flanked by Myrtilos, his faithless charioteer; the claimant, by Hippodameia, whom an older woman—possibly

[1] ΔΙΟΣ here is commonly supposed to mean '(the altar) of Zeus.' Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 5 f. fig. 1 objects that in this case the word would have been written on the blank side of the altar, and prefers to supply Διὸς (*ἄγαλμα* or *ἕδος*). If, however, the pillar actually rises out of the altar (as does the female herm on the Dareios-vase: Furtwängler-Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 148 pl. 88), the distinction ceases to be important; the altar is virtually the base of the pillar.

An interesting parallel is furnished by a series of bronze weights found at Olympia—the very spot represented on the vase (*Olympia* v. 801—824). They are shaped like an altar of one, two, three, or four steps, and are regularly inscribed ΔΙΟΣ, sometimes ΔΙΟΣ ΙΕΡΩΝ, or with the addition of a cult-title ΔΙΟΡ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΩ, ΔΙΟΡ ΟΛΥΝΠΙΩ, ΔΙΟΣ ΚΑΛ(*λνίκου*? Miss J. E. Harrison), ΔΙΟΣ ΚΛΑ(*δέου*? cp. Paus. 5. 10. 7. H. B. Walters in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 361 no. 3008, followed by E. Michon in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 552 n. 50, suggests Κλαρίου). Some of them are further decorated with a thunderbolt, or with an eagle attacking a snake. If these weights really represent an altar and not merely—as is possible—a pile of smaller weights, that altar was presumably the great altar of Zeus, which is known to have been a stepped structure formed from the ashes of the thighs of the victims sacrificed to Zeus (Paus. 5. 13. 8 ff.). Fig. 10 is a specimen inscribed ΔΙΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 49 no. 327).

Copper coins of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck under Domitian, show a flaming rectangular altar inscribed ΔΙΟC | ΑΓΟ|ΡΑΙ ΟΥ (Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 48, f.

her mother[1]—leads forward by the wrist. Aphrodite and Eros appropriately complete the group. On the wall in the background hangs a white *pilos* with a sword, and to either side of it two human heads—one that of a young man named *Pelág(on)*[2] wearing a Phrygian cap with lappets, the other that of a youth called *Periphas*: these are the heads of former suitors vanquished and slain by Oinomaos.

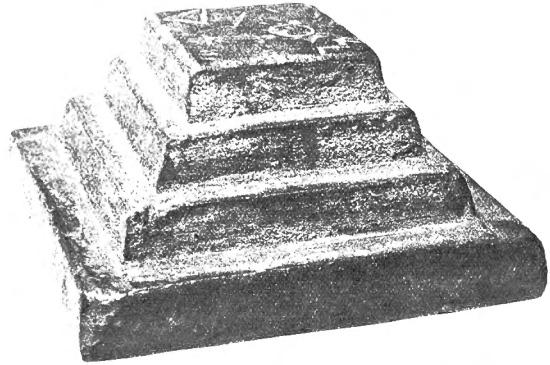


Fig. 10.

Other vases, which repeat the scene with variations, show a more developed form of the pillar-Zeus. A *kratér* with medallion handles from Apulia, likewise in the British Museum (pl. iv, 1)[3], again illustrates the compact of Oinomaos with Pelops before the altar of Zeus. Here too the central figures are flanked by Myrtilos and Hippodameia[4]; the former bears armour, the latter a bridal torch.

iii. pl. 21, 21, cp. ii. 502 iii. pl. 26, 26; Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Mnn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 406 pl. 67, 16). Others, struck under Trajan, have a large altar ready laid with wood: there is a door in the front of the altar and beneath it the word ΔΙΟC (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 247). Others again, under Antoninus Pius, have a flaming altar inscribed ΔΙ ΟC with ΑΙΤΑΙΟΥ in the exergue (Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *op. cit.* i. 407 pl. 68, 3).

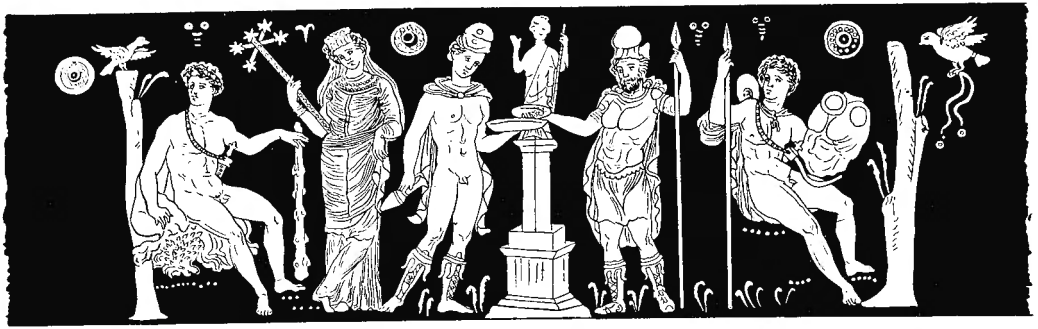
Early altars were often inscribed with the name of the deity in the genitive case (E. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1681).

[1] Not Peitho, as I suggested in *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 272 (following P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 776), for she is white-haired. H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 163 rightly says Sterope.

[2] Paus. 6. 21. 11.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 132 ff. no. F 278, *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi. 145 ff. pls. 8—10, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 272 fig. 2. My pl. iv, 1 and 2, are from a fresh drawing of the vase.

[4] Not Aphrodite, as S. Reinach supposes (*Rép. Vases* i. 495).

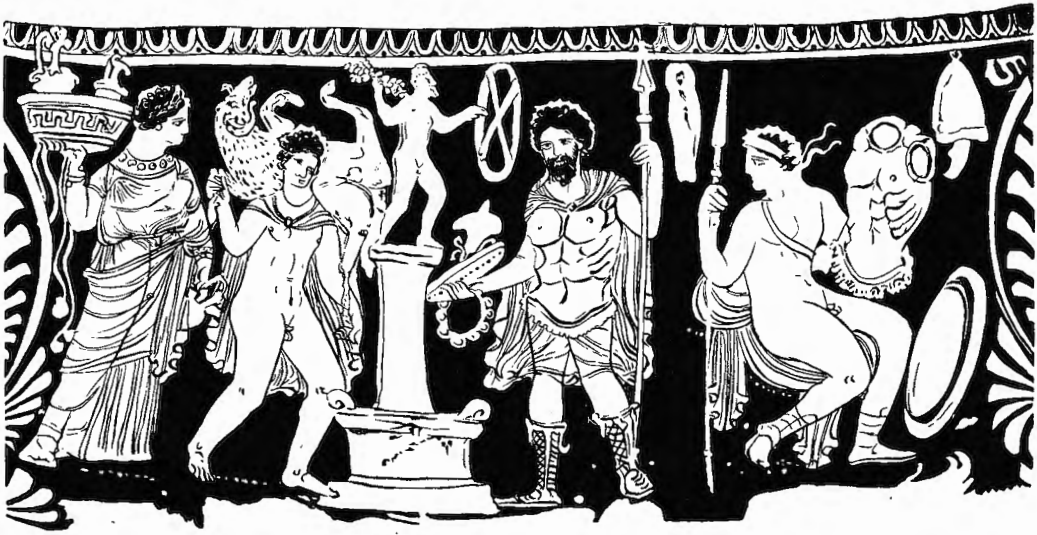


1. Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *kratér* from Apulia (obverse).

See page 38 f.

2. Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *kratér* from Apulia (reverse).

See page 39 *n.* 2.



Pillar-cult of Zeus on a *kratér* from Lecce (the 'Cawdor vase').

See page 39.

Herakles is present as founder of the Olympic games. The *Áltis* or 'Grove' is indicated by a couple of tree-stumps to right and left, while the two doves hovering above them are probably the equivalent of Aphrodite and Eros in the last design[1]. It will be noticed that the four-sided pillar with its altar-base is now topped by a statue of Zeus, who stands clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, his left hand leaning on a sceptre, his right raised as if to hurl a bolt[2]. A second *kratér* of the same sort, found in 1790 near Lecce and known as the 'Cawdor vase' because purchased for a thousand guineas by Lord Cawdor, is now in the Soane Museum at 13 Lincoln's Inn Fields. It exhibits a somewhat later moment—the sacrifice by Oinomaos (pl. v)[3]. Pelops and Hippodameia have started. But the king still stands at the altar, holding a *phiále*, a wreath and a flower in his right hand, a spear in his left, while a youth (Myrtilos ?) brings up a ram for the sacrifice. On the right of this group sits a retainer with armour; on the left a female figure wearing diadem, ear-ring, and necklace (Sterope ?) approaches with a basket, a fillet, and three *epichýseis*. The altar is horned, and above it rises a pillar with moulded top, on which is placed a small undraped image of Zeus advancing with uplifted bolt. Between Zeus and Oinomaos a small prophylactic wheel is seen suspended[4].

Similarly on a Campanian *amphora* from Capua, now at Dresden, Orestes stabs Aigisthos in the presence of Elektra (fig. 11)[5]. Aigisthos has apparently fled for refuge to an altar-base of Zeus[6],

[1] In *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 272 I accepted Minervini's contention (*Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi. 148 f.) that these doves should be identified with those of the Dodonaean Zeus, who spoke his oracles διασσῶν ἐκ πελειάδων (Soph. *Trach.* 172 with schol. *ad loc.*). But, though Aphrodite's doves are ultimately comparable with those of Zeus, we must not suppose any such recondite significance here.

[2] The opposite side of the same vase, which depicts the capture of Troy, shows *inter alia* Neoptolemos stabbing Priamos as he clings to a very similar pillar-altar of Zeus (pl. iv, 2): *infra* n. 6.

[3] J. B. Passeri *Picturae Etruscorum in Vasculis* Rome 1775 iii pl. 282 ff., H. Moses *A Collection of Vases*... London 1814 pl. 23, J. Britton *The Union of Architecture, Sculpture, and Painting*... London 1827 p. 51 Title-page fig. 1, 6, *A general description of Sir John Soane's Museum* London 1876 p. 5 fig., T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1853* Phil.-hist. Classe pls. 1, 2 no. 5, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St Pét.* 1863 p. 268 n. 1, 1868 p. 169, A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1864 xxii Anz. p. 165*, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 6, 208 f., 602, A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 481.

My illustration of the top register (7¾ inches high) was drawn over photographic blue-prints taken by Mr W. E. Gray of Bayswater.

[4] On these prophylactic wheels see *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (ε).

[5] G. Treu in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 90, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 969.

[6] The scene as conceived by the vase-painter differs from the literary tradition (cp.

whose archaic statue holding thunderbolt and eagle surmounts a pillar on the right[1]. Before it upon the wall hangs a shield.

Fig. 11.

These vases prove that the pillar-cult of Zeus as conceived in south Italy passed from the aniconic to the iconic stage without discarding the primitive pillar. They thus afford a fair parallel to the painting from Pompeii, though there we have Zeus *by* the pillar and here Zeus *on* the pillar.

It remains to speak of the blue *nimbus*. Despite the express denial of L. Stephani[2], there is something to be urged for the view put forward by E. G. Schulz, that painters varied the colour of the *nimbus* in accordance with the character of the god they portrayed, and that a blue *nimbus* in particular suited Zeus as representative of the *aithér*[3]. It is—I would rather say—a naïve device for depicting Zeus as a dweller in the blue sky, and is therefore no less suitable to other denizens of Olympos[4].

Christian art retained the symbol with a like significance. A fourth century painting from the top of an *arcosolium* in the Roman Catacombs shows Elias ascending to heaven in his chariot of fire. The saint

however Eur. *El.* 839 ff.): it was perhaps inspired by the death of Priamos at the altar of Zeus *Herkeios* (*supra* p. 39 n. 2).

[1] A milder type of pillar-Zeus, with *phiále* in right hand and sceptre in left, occurs on a *kratér* from Gnathia, now at Bonn (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (ζ)).

[2] L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 96 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 456).

[3] *Bull. d. Inst.* 1841 p. 103 'Tra le altre divinità è specialmente il Giove quasi sempre fregiato di quest' ornamento, al quale come ad una divinità universale e rappresentante l' etere viene per lo più attribuito il nimbo azzurro. Così lo vediamo tra altri esempj in un dipinto del Museo borbonico ed in un altro esistente nel cavedio della casa delle Baccanti,' with n. 'Mus. borb. vi, t. 52.'

On the meaning of gold, silver, red, green, and black *nimbi* in later art see Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 91 f.

[4] Blue *nimbi* are attached to the following deities: Aphrodite (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* nos. 1182, 291, 317), Apollon (Helbig nos. 1892, 232, 4, Sogliano *Pitt. mur.*

has a blue *nimbus* about his beardless head and obviously perpetuates the type of Helios[1]. An interesting miniature on linen of about the same date comes from a priestly mitre found at Panopolis (*Achmim*). On it we see Christ as a youthful brown-haired figure, standing in a blue robe trimmed with carmine and holding a cross in his right hand: he too has a blue *nimbus* round his head[2]. A *clavus* of polychrome wool-work, found on the same site but in a Byzantine grave of the sixth century or thereabout, represents a white-robed saint between two trees: his left hand holds a staff, and his head is circled by a blue *nimbus*[3]. The magnificent mosaic on the triumphal arch of S. Paolo *fuori le mura* at Rome, which was designed in the middle of the fifth century but has undergone substantial restorations, culminates in the bust of Our Lord wearing a golden radiate *nimbus* rimmed with dark blue[4].

ii. *The Blue Globe.*

The blue *nimbus* marked Zeus as a dweller in the blue sky. More intimate is the connexion denoted by another symbol in the repertory of the Pompeian artist, the blue *orbis*[5] or globe.

Camp. no. 164?), Demeter (Helbig no. 176 'bläulich'), Dionysos (Helbig no. 388), Helios (Sogliano no. 164?), Hypnos (Helbig no. 974 'bläulich, zackig'), Kirke (Helbig no. 1329), Leda (Helbig no. 143), Selene (Sogliano no. 457 'azzurognolo'), young god with white or golden star above him (Helbig nos. 964, 971), young radiate god (Helbig no. 969, Sogliano no. 458, cp. Helbig no. 965 youth with blue radiate crown and white star above), mountain-nymphs (Helbig no. 971), wood-nymph (Sogliano no. 119), radiate female figure with bat's wings (Sogliano no. 499) or bird's wings (Sogliano no. 500). See also Stephani *op. cit.* pp. 19, 22, 23, 47, 49, 65.

[1] J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 160, 2, *infra* ch. i § 5 (f).

[2] Forrer *Reallex.* p. 485 fig. 401.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 939 pl. 292, 1.

[4] G. B. de Rossi *Musaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo xv* Roma 1899 pl. 13, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 328 pl. 3 (after de Rossi), W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 311. On the blue *nimbus* in Christian art see further O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 682.

[5] The word is found in the description of a silver statue of Iupiter *Victor*, which stood on the Capitol of Cirta: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 6981 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4921[a] (Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2736) SYNOPSIS | IOVIS · VICTOR · ARGENTEVS IN KAPITOLIO · HABENS · IN · CAPITE · CO|RONAM · ARGENTEAM · QVERQVEAM | FOLIOR · XXV ϕ IN QVA · GLANDES · S · XV · FE|RENS · IN MANV · DEXTRA · ORBEM · ARGEN|TEVM · ET VICTORIA · PALMAM · FERENTEM | [*spinar?*] · XX · ET CORONAM ϕ FOLIOR · XXXX · | [*in manu*] SINISTRA · HASTAM · ARG · TENENS.... Cp., however, Amm. Marc. 21. 14. 1 *sphaeram* quam ipse (*sc.* Constantius ii) dextera manu gestabat, 25. 10. 2 Maximiani statua Caesaris...amisit repente *sphaeram* aeream formatam in speciem poli quam gestabat. Souid. *s.v.* Ἰουστινιανός also uses the term σφαῖρα (*infra* p. 52 n. 4).

This occurs in a painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri* (pl. vi)[1]. Against a red ground we see Zeus seated on a throne, which is draped in shimmering blue. Its arm-rests, of which one is visible, are supported by carved eagles. A violet-blue mantle with gold-embroidered border covers the lower part of his figure. The right hand resting on his knee holds a thunderbolt; the left is raised and leans on a sceptre banded with gold. Before him is his eagle looking up to him in an attitude of attention. Behind hovers Nike in a light violet *chitón*, with a green veil over her left arm, placing a golden bay-wreath on the head of the god. Beside him is a blue globe on a square base.

An engraved chalcedony of imperial date, now in the Berlin collection (fig. 12)[2], repeats the *motif* with slight variations. The right foot, not the left, is advanced, and the globe is omitted, perhaps to leave room for the inscription.

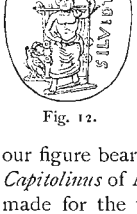


Fig. 12.

With regard to this interesting composition two questions may be mooted. What were its antecedents? And what were its consequents?

The facing type is certainly suggestive of a cult-statue; and we observe, to begin with, that our figure bears a more than superficial resemblance to the Iupiter *Capitolinus* of Apollonios, a chryselephantine copy of Pheidias' Zeus made for the temple dedicated by Q. Lutatius Catulus in 69 B.C.[3] The main features of Apollonios' Iupiter were recovered by A. Michaelis from a torso at Naples and from sundry early drawings by Heemskerck, Giuliano da Sangallo, and dal Pozzo[4]. The right hand probably held a sceptre, but not high enough for the upper arm to assume a horizontal position. The left hand was lowered and probably grasped a thunderbolt. The right foot was thrust forward till it projected horizontally beyond the footstool of the

[1] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 31 no. 102, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 346 no. 1461, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente* etc. iii pl. 14 (coloured, but including Zahn's restoration of the head and wings of Nike), V. Duruy *History of Rome* English ed. London 1884 ii pl. 10 (coloured). Uncoloured drawings in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 39, E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 14, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Atlas pl. 1, 40 (after Braun).

My pl. vi is a reduced copy of Zahn's colour-plate with a fresh restoration of Nike's head and wings.

[2] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 108 f. no. 2306 pl. 21, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 49 pl. 4, 12.

[3] H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 25 n. 24, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 125, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1534, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 61 f., *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 431.

[4] A. Michaelis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 192 ff.

Zeus in a wall-painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri*.

See page 42 ff.

Zeus enthroned on the *ara Capitolina*.

See page 43.

throne. The left foot was drawn back till it rested only on its toes. The *himátion* covered the top half of the god's left arm, and the end of it hung down between his knees. Now all, or almost all, these traits are to be found in an extant relief, the consideration of which would have materially strengthened Michaelis' case—I mean the principal face of the so-called *ara Capitolina*. This beautiful monument represents on its four sides scenes from the life of Zeus, and has by way of climax Zeus enthroned among the other denizens of Olympos (pl. vii)[1]. The form of the god is precisely that described by Michaelis, except for the unimportant circumstance that the sculptor has here chosen to bring forward the left rather than the right foot. The comparatively low position of the arm holding the sceptre, the somewhat unusual arrangement of a thunderbolt grasped by the left hand, the feet thrust forward and drawn back respectively, the *himátion* swathing the whole of the upper arm—all these characteristics are present, together with a head of would-be fifth-century type admirably suited to a copy of the Olympian Zeus[2]. I take it, therefore, that the seated Zeus of the *ara Capitolina* is on the whole our best evidence for the aspect of Apollonios' Iupiter *Capitolinus*[3]. If this be so, it becomes probable that the latter, like the former, had a large globe placed on the left hand side of his throne.

Next we have to compare the type of Zeus attested by the Pompeian wall-painting and the intaglio at Berlin with that of Iupiter *Capitolinus* thus determined. The two types have undoubtedly much in common. Both show a seated Zeus half-draped in a *himátion*, holding a sceptre in his raised, a thunderbolt in his lowered hand. The pose of the feet and legs is similar, not to say identical; and the Pompeian Zeus at least agrees with the

[1] Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 379 f. no. 515, Friederichs-Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 815 f. no. 2142, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 170, 175 ff., Hera pp. 129, 137 ff., Atlas pl. 1, 49 (Zeus only), E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 pl. 5, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 2139 fig. 2397.

[2] The substitution of a fillet for a wreath is noteworthy, since Petillius Capitolinus was accused of carrying off the wreath of Iupiter *Capitolinus* (Acron and Porphyrion *ad* Hor. *sat.* 1. 4. 94). This accusation was a time-honoured joke (Plaut. *Men.* 941, *Trin.* 83 ff.).

[3] The colossal statue of Nerva seated as Iupiter in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 217 no. 303) looks like an adaptation of the same type, as Miss M. M. Hardie of Newnham College pointed out to me. But both arms with the mantle covering the left shoulder are restorations by Cavaceppi, and the lower half belongs to another seated male figure. A similar adaptation of the type may be seen in the Berlin 'Trajan' (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 144 no. 354), a seated emperor of the first century A.D. (head not belonging; arms, feet, etc. much restored). Cp. also the Augustus of Ankyra (*Gaz. Arch.* 1881—1882 vii. 73 ff. pl. 13).

Iupiter *Capitolinus* in the fall of its drapery between the knees as also in the presence of the big globe to the left of the throne. Nevertheless close inspection reveals important points of difference. The wall-painting and the intaglio give Zeus a fourth-century, not a fifth-century, head. They place the thunderbolt in his right hand, the sceptre in his left, not *vice versa*. They raise the hand leaning on the sceptre till the upper arm is horizontal. Consequently they dispense, either wholly or in part, with the covering of the arm. Lastly, they introduce an entirely new feature, Nike appearing behind the throne and wreathing the head of the god. These similarities and differences can be readily explained, if we suppose that the wall-painting and the intaglio have preserved to us a later modification of the type of Iupiter *Capitolinus*. We know that Catulus' temple was burnt by the Vitelliani or their opponents in the eventful year 69 A.D.[1] And we know that Pompeii was destroyed by the eruption of Mount Vesuvius in 79 A.D. It is reasonable to conjecture that the new statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus* necessitated by the disaster of 69 would be during the first decade of its existence a favourite theme with the painters of the day. On this showing we may well believe that the Pompeian painting represents the cult-statue of Jupiter *Capitolinus* in the temple which Vespasian began to build in 70 A.D.[2] Confirmation of the surmise is not far to seek. The reverse of a copper coin struck by Vespasian shows the façade of the new building (fig. 13)[3]. Between its central columns is seen a statue of Iupiter seated in exactly the same pose and holding exactly the same attributes as in the Pompeian painting. The globe at the side and the Victory behind are omitted on account of the small scale of the design. But that they were present in the temple itself can hardly be doubted[4].

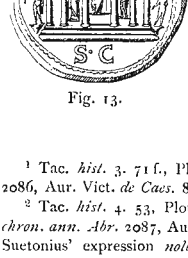


Fig. 13.

[1] Tac. *hist.* 3. 71 f., Plout. *v. Public.* 15, Suet. *Vitell.* 15, Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2086, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 8. 5, 9. 7, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 217 A (i. 380 Bekker).

[2] Tac. *hist.* 4. 53, Plout. *v. Public.* 15, Suet. *Vesp.* 8, Dion Cass. 66. 10, Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2087, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 9. 7, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 217 A (i. 380 Bekker). Suetonius' expression *nolle deos mutari veterem formam* is satisfied by the general resemblance of the Vespasianic Iupiter to his predecessor.

[3] Drawn from a specimen in my possession. See further T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 6 ff. no. 3 (pl.), Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 314 pl. 13, 23, 375 f. pl. 10, 9, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 405 f.

[4] The Victory may have stood on a column behind the throne of Iupiter. Cp. *e.g.* copper coins of Ptolemais in Phoinike struck by Septimius Severus etc., which show Nike

Vespasian's building did not last for long. Another great conflagration occurred in 80 A.D. and burnt it to the ground[1]. It was rebuilt by Titus and Domitian[2], and, thus restored, had a longer lease of life. Despite some damage done by lightning and fire in the reign of Commodus[3], it remained substantially the same building till the fall of the western empire[4]. To determine the type of Domitian's Iupiter is not easy, since the silver coin that expressly commemorates the rebuilding is undecisive[5], while the ordinary issues of this emperor in silver[6] and copper[7] may have been influenced by Vespasian's coin.

However, it is probable that succeeding centuries saw sundry minor changes introduced. Thus there is reason to think that the globe, originally at the left side of the throne, came to be held in the god's right hand. A coin of Neapolis in Samaria, struck by Caracalla, shows Iupiter *Capitolinus* on a throne facing us.

Fig. 14.

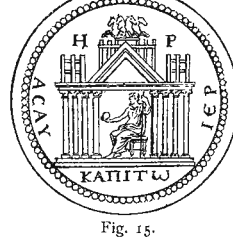


Fig. 15.

He holds a globe in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left, and is flanked by Iuno and Minerva (fig. 14)[8]. Similarly coins of Capitolias, a town near Gadara founded in the reign of Nerva or Trajan[9], have the same deity enthroned in an octostyle temple,

on a column behind Tyche, crowning her with a wreath in a tetrastyle temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 133 pl. 16, 15, p. 135 ff. pl. 17, 4, 9).

[1] Dion Cass. 66. 24 κατέκαυσεν.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2059, 11 ff. (=*acta Fratrum Arvalium* for Dec. 7, 80 A.D.), Plout. *v. Public.* 15, Suet. *Domit.* 5, Eutrop. 7. 23. 5, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 11. 4, Chronogr. ann. 354 p. 646 Mommsen (*Chron. min.* i. 117 Frick).

[3] Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2201.

[4] Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1533.

[5] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] vi. 377 f., Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 170 fig.

[6] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 432 pl. 9, 1.

[7] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 455 pl. 14, 14 first brass; *id. ib.* ii. 467 pl. 17, 25 second brass.

[8] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 257 pl. 13, 5.

[9] Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1529.

the gable of which supports a solar chariot. Iupiter again holds a sceptre in his left hand, a globe in his right (fig. 15)[1]. It seems likely that in the Capitoline temple at Rome Victory still held her wreath over the head of the god; for not only do coins of Antoninus Pius and others show the emperor seated on a curule chair with a globe in one hand and a sceptre in the other[2], but such coins sometimes add a Victory hovering behind him with a wreath in her outstretched hand (fig. 16)[3]. Gold coins of the later Roman emperors frequently exhibit a design of kindred origin. For example, Valentinianus i and his son sit side by side holding a starry globe between them, while Victory with spread wings is seen in the background behind their throne (fig. 17)[4].

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

These representations imply on the one hand that the emperor has stepped into the shoes of Iupiter, on the other hand that his duties descend in unbroken succession from occupant to occupant of the imperial seat. Both conceptions could be further illustrated from Roman coinage. Frequently from the time of Commodus to that of Diocletian we find Iupiter delegating the globe to his human representative (fig. 18)[5]. Sometimes, as in the case of

[1] H. Norisius *Chronologica* (*Opera omnia: tomus secundus*) Veronae 1729 p. 338 fig., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 329, Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 341, Suppl. i. 1626. The specimen here figured after Norisius is a copper coin of Alexander Severus inscribed ΚΑΠΙΤΩ(λιέων) ΙΕΡ(ᾶς) ΑC(ύλου) ΑΥ(τονόμου) ΗΡ (= the date, reckoned from 97/98 A.D.). The British Museum possesses a very similar specimen, but in poor preservation.

[2] K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 p. 49.

[3] Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 1300. The illustration is from a first brass of Antoninus Pius in my collection. TR POT XV COS IIII and S C.

[4] From a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. See Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] viii. 93 no. 43, Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 867. VICTORIA AVGG and TR • OB •

[5] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1464, Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49. The illustration is from a coin of Probus in my collection. IOVI CONSERVAT(*ori*) and VXXT.

Trajan and Hadrian, it is the emperor who passes on the symbol to his successor (fig. 19)[1].

Fig. 18.

Fig. 19.

Yet another modification of the same cult-statue produced the type of Iupiter enthroned with his left foot planted on the globe. This may be seen from sundry late sarcophagus-reliefs supposed to portray the birth of Apollon[2]. The best-preserved of them is that of a sarcophagus-lid in the Villa Borghese. The central scene (fig. 20)[3], with which alone we are here concerned, shows Iupiter enthroned in heaven. Once more he sits facing us, with a sceptre in his raised left and a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand[4]. But this time the globe is transferred from his left side to a new position beneath his left foot. On either side of him are a boy and a girl interpreted as the youthful Apollon and Artemis[5]. They in turn are flanked by Iuno with her sceptre and Minerva with her helmet and spear. In short, we have before us the heavenly region represented by the three Capitoline deities and their new *protégés*.

That the Iupiter of this relief is in truth only a variation of the Vespasianic type, appears from a curious circumstance noted by

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 15, 1464, Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49. The illustration is from a coin of Hadrian in my collection. DAC • PARTHIC[O P • M • TR • P] • COS P P and S • C.

[2] Raoul Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 401 ff. pl. 74, 1 and 2 (birth and death of an Eleusinian mystic), H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 21 f. pl. 16, 1—4 (the story of Eros and Psyche), C. Robert in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 460—464, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v. 220 n. 6, *id. Sark.-Relfs.* iii. 1. 39 ff. pl. 6—7, 33, 33*a* (scenes relating to the birth of Apollon). Robert's view is accepted by Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 145 f. no. 921 and, in part at least, by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 368—370 Atlas pl. 3, 18, K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 108, B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1975 f., H. Steuding *ib.* ii. 2091, 2118.

[3] Redrawn from *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii pl. 16, 3 with the help of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Atlas pl. 3, 18. The lines of restoration are taken from Eichler's drawing in C. Robert *Sark.-Relfs.* iii. 1. 40 fig. 33.

[4] The thunderbolt is due to the restorer (Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 41), but is probably correct.

[5] Large parts of the Artemis are modern, *viz.* the head, the left fore-arm with its *pyxis*, the right fore-arm, the left leg, and the right foot.

Zoega. He states that on the background (between the head of the supposed Artemis and that of Iupiter) were still to be seen the

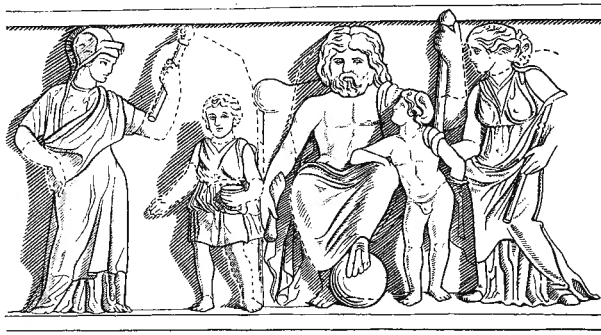


Fig. 20.

shoulder and bare right arm of some formerly existing figure[1]. These were subsequently chipped away by the zealous restorer. But

Fig. 21.

very fortunately the missing figure can be determined by means of a *replica* in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 21)[2], which exhibits Victory

[1] Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 42.

[2] Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 401 ff. pl. 74, 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 172, Hera p. 131 Atlas pl. 10, 23. A drawing by Eichler is given in Robert *op. cit.* iii. 1. 42.

holding a shield above Iupiter and the globe—later transformed into a vase—resting on a high base to the left of Iuno[1]. It would thus seem that the Iupiter *Capitolinus* of the Borghese relief presupposes a statue with Victory behind and a pedestalled globe at its side. That *Vorbild* can hardly have been other than the cult-image of Vespasian's temple.

The god enthroned with the globe as his footstool was a type readily adopted by Christian art. A gilded glass of the fourth century, found in one of the Roman catacombs (fig. 22)[2], shows a beardless figure of Our Lord (CRISTVS) seated with his foot on a

Fig. 22.

starry globe. He takes a scroll from its case at his side and instructs S. Stephen (ISTEFANVS). The Godhead with a *nimbus* in the background, who raises his hands to bless both Master and disciple, recalls the Victory appearing behind Valentinianus i and his son.

[1] Robert in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 463 f. and in his *Sark.-Relfs.* iii. 1. 42 f. condemns the whole work as a forgery, arguing that it was made about 1615 A.D. in free imitation of the Borghese relief. But in view of what is said by Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 401 f. further investigation seems desirable. In any case the Capitoline *replica* may fairly be used (Robert uses it so himself) as evidence of the original aspect of the Borghese composition.

[2] F. Buonarruoti *Osservazioni sopra alcuni frammenti di vasi antichi di vetro* Firenze 1716 p. 110 ff. pl. 17, 1. DIGNITAS AMICORVM VIVAS CVM TVIS FELICITER.

A somewhat similar type, that of the Father or the Son seated on a large globe, occurs in church-mosaics of the fourth, fifth

Fig. 23.

and sixth centuries[1]. For example, the right lateral apse in the Mausoleo di S. Costanza near the Via Nomentana at Rome—a work

Fig. 24.

[1] J. Ciampinus *Vetera Monimenta* Romæ 1747 i. 271 fl. pl. 77 (S. Agatha in Subura = *S. Agata dei Goti* at Rome, 460—468 A.D.), ii. 72 f. pl. 19 (S. Vitalis = *S. Vitale* at

dated by de Rossi shortly after 360 A.D.—shows God the Father, not only with a blue *nimbus* and a blue robe, but also seated on a blue globe, as he presents the scroll of the law to Moses (fig. 23)[1]. Similarly the apse of the church of S. Teodoro at the foot of the Palatine—*circ.* 600 A.D.—has God the Son seated on a blue globe spangled with gold stars between St Peter, who presents S. Teodoro, and St Paul presenting another saint hard to identify (fig. 24)[2]. This type too in all probability derives from a pagan prototype[3]. Silver and copper coins of Ouranopolis, a town founded by Alexarchos, brother of Kassandros, on the peninsula of Akte, represent Aphrodite *Ourania* seated on a globe (fig. 25)[4]. On autonomous copper coins of Klazomenai the philosopher Anaxagoras is seen sitting on a globe (fig. 26)[5]: on an imperial copper of the same town he holds a small globe in his extended right hand, while he sets his left foot on a *cippus*[6]. A silver coin of Domitia Longina, wife of the emperor Domitian, shows a child seated on a globe and surrounded by seven stars (fig. 27)[7]. The child has been identified as the empress' son, who was born in 73 A.D. and died young[8]. He is here represented as the infant Zeus of Crete. A Cretan copper, struck under Trajan, has the

Fig. 25.

Fig. 26.

Ravenna, 547 A.D.), ii. 101 ff. pl. 28 (S. Laurentius in Agro Verano = *S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*, 578—590 A.D.).

On the relation of the globe to the rainbow in early mediaeval art see O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 672.

[1] G. B. de Rossi *Musaici cristiani e saggi dei pavimenti delle chiese di Roma anteriori al secolo xv* Roma 1899 pl. 3.

[2] *Id. ib.* pl. 17.

[3] Demetrios Poliorketes was represented on the *proskênion* of the theatre at Athens *ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκουμένης ὀχούμενος* (Douris *frag.* 31 = *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 477 Müller *ap.* Athen. 536 A, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 570, 9 f.). This, however, does not imply that Demetrios was seated on a globe (Sittl *op. cit.* p. 44), but that he was upborne by an anthropomorphic figure of *Oikouméne*: cp. the relief by Archelaos (*infra* ch. i § 5 (b)), the *gemma Augustea* at Vienna (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 56, ii. 257), and above all the great Paris cameo (*Id. ib.* i pl. 60, ii. 269).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedon etc. p. 133 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 206. I figure a specimen in my possession.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 28 pl. 7, 4, J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 118 Münztaf. 2, 2.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 33 pl. 7, 9, Bernoulli *op. cit.* i. 118 Münztaf. 2, 3.

[7] Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 341. My illustration is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum.

[8] Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1513 f.

same *motif* (fig. 28)[1]: Zeus as a child sits on the globe with a goat at his side and seven stars above his head. The idea was popularised by coins of Antoninus Pius (fig. 29)[2] and Commodus, on which occurs the fine figure of Italia enthroned on a starry globe as mistress of the world.

The symbol of the globe was still further Christianised, when Valentinianus I added a cross on the top of it[3]. In this form it occurs on the coins of many of the later Roman emperors[4]. An obvious exception is afforded by Julian the Apostate, who sub-

Fig. 27.

Fig. 28.

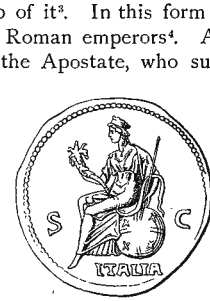


Fig. 29.

stituted a small figure of Victory for the cross[5]. The *globus cruciger*, or globe and cross, is again a constant emblem of Christian sovereignty on Byzantine coins[6]. As the 'orb' of mediaeval and modern *regalia* it has survived to our own times[7].

We have now passed in review the different conditions under which the globe is associated with Zeus. It remains to ask what was the origin of the symbol, and what was its significance.

Its origin appears to have been twofold. On the one hand, the

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 330 Münztaf. 5, 2, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 348 pl. 35, 1.

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1002 f., Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 488 fig. The illustration is from a first brass of Antoninus Pius in my collection.

[3] Sittl *op. cit.* p. 49 f. states that Constantine had already placed the Christian monogram upon the globe (but Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vii. 231 no. 14 was struck after his death). On coins of Nepotianus (350 A.D.) etc. we see Roma enthroned holding a globe surmounted by the monogram (Cohen *op. cit.*[2] viii. 2 no. 2 fig., W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archaeology* New York 1901 p. 241 fig. 82, *a*, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 153).

[4] A list is given by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1464. Cp. Souid. *s.v.* 'Ιουστινιανός·...καὶ ἔστησε τὴν ἑαυτοῦ εἰκόνα ἐπὶ κίονος ἔφιππον· καὶ τῇ μὲν ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ φέρει σφαῖραν, ἐμπεπηγότος σταυροῦ ἐν αὐτῇ, ὑποσημαίνοντος ὡς διὰ τῆς εἰς τὸν σταυρὸν πίστεως τῆς γῆς ἐγκρατὴς γέγονε. σφαῖρα μὲν γὰρ ἡ γῆ διὰ τὸ σφαιροειδὲς τοῦ αὐτῆς σχήματος, πίστις δὲ ὁ σταυρὸς διὰ τὸν ἐν αὐτῷ σαρκὶ προσηλωθέντα θεόν.

[5] Rasche *loc. cit.*

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Byz. Coins* ii. 654 *s.v.* 'Globus.'

[7] Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ed. 1886 vi. 111 *s.v.* 'palla' cites from Gotefridus Viterbiensis the couplet—Aureus ille Globus Pomum vel Palla vocatur, | Quando coronatur, Palla ferenda datur.

type of the infant Zeus seated on a globe surrounded by stars is of Greek extraction. On the other hand, most of the representations considered above can be legitimately derived from the cult-statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, which had at its left side a ball resting on a pedestal or pillar. This was a definitely Roman adjunct: it had no counterpart in the temple of Zeus at Olympia.

Enquiry might be pushed further. The temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus* was, as is well known, essentially an Etruscan building. Now a ball resting on a pedestal or pillar occurs in Etruscan art sometimes as a grave-*stéle*[1], sometimes as a sacred land-mark or boundary-stone[2]. Such monuments varied much in shape and size. A fine example from Orvieto, now in the Museum at Florence, consists of a rectangular moulded base topped by a spheroidal black stone (fig. 30)[3]. Another, in the Orvieto Museum, is a cone of tufa hollow inside, and bears an inscription (*Tinia Tinscvil*) which connects it with *Tinia*, the Etruscan Iupiter (fig. 31)[4]. Are we then to infer that in the *cella* of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, side by side with the most august statue in Rome, there was a grave-*stéle* or a boundary stone? The fact is luckily beyond question[5]. When the foundations of the temple were first laid by Tarquinius Priscus, the god Terminus —otherwise known as Iupiter *Terminus*—was already in possession of the site and resisted the process of exauguration. Hence the ancient boundary-stone that passed as his image was allowed to remain in close proximity[6] to the statue of Iupiter *Capitolinus*. Moreover, a small opening was contrived in the roof above it, since sacrifices to Terminus had to take place in the open air. Lactantius asserts that the rude stone worshipped as Terminus

[1] Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*[2] p. 128 fig. 141, Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* pp. 141 n. 5, 402, 405. These balls on pillars were originally *Grabphalli* (Forrer *Reallex.* p. 297): see A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 6 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde* Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 104 f.

[2] Raoul Rochette *op. cit.* p. 404 f. pl. 75 (a funeral urn in the museum at Volterra): G. Körte *I Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche* Berlino 1890 ii. 1. 97 pl. 38, 3 describes and figures the object on the pillar as 'un vaso tondo.' Cp. the stone balls on our lodge-gates (see, however, S. Baring-Gould *Strange Survivals*[3] London 1905 p. 53).

[3] L. A. Milani in the *Rendiconti della Reale Accademia dei Lincei.* Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1900 ix. 295 fig. 4, *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* Firenze 1902 i. 60 f. fig. 226.

A similar *Grabaufsatz* from Orvieto, now at Berlin, is an elliptical block of polished serpentine resting on a moulded base of trachyte (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 481 no. 1244 fig.).

[4] Milani *locc. citt.* ix. 293 fig. 3 cp. *ib.* p. 294 'un cono tufaceo vuoto internamente,' i. 60 f. fig. 227. Cp. J. Six 'Der Agyieus des Mys' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 340 ff.

[5] The evidence is collected by Preller-Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 255 f., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 124 f., C. Hülsen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1532.

[6] Dion. Hal. 3. 69 πλησίον τοῦ ἕδους.

was that which Saturn was said to have swallowed in place of Iupiter[1]. This confusion suggests that Terminus' stone had a round top to it[2]—as was in fact the case, if I am right in my conjecture with regard to the globe of Iupiter *Capitolinus*.

Fig. 30.

But, it will be asked, if this globe was originally the stone of Terminus, how came it to be regarded as a symbol of the sky? Partly, I suppose, because it was a round object standing under the clear sky; but partly also because a globe on a pillar was used by Greek astronomers as a model of the sky[3]. Thus imperial

[1] Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 20.

[2] In Roman art the stone of Kronos is figured as a half-egg on the top of a short pillar (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (d)).

[3] See F. Hultsch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1853 f.

copper coins of Samos figure Pythagoras seated or standing before a globe, which rests on a pillar, and pointing to it with a rod[1].

Fig. 31.

Enthroned as master in the realm of knowledge with a long sceptre in his left hand and a *himátion* loosely wrapped about him

[1] L. Bürchner in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1882 ix. 121 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia pp. 373, 376, 381, 390, 392, pl. 37, 14, J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 75 Münztaf. 1, 21 and 23.

he is, as J. J. Bernoulli points out, a decidedly Zeus-like personage (fig. 32)[1]. Similar in pose and pretension is the figure of Hipparchos on imperial coppers of Nikaia in Bithynia[2]. And analogous scenes could be cited from Roman mosaics[3].

Fig. 32.

Fig. 33.

Lastly—to pass from the origin to the significance of the symbol—we observe that the globe is coloured blue in the Pompeian painting[4], blue[5] or blue-green[6] in the Roman mosaics. Obviously therefore it signifies the sky rather than the earth, a conclusion confirmed by the fact that it came to be banded with the astronomical zones (figs. 25, 27), or quartered into *templa* and spangled with stars (figs. 22, 24, 29, 33[7]).

iii. *The Blue Mantle.*

A third method of characterising Zeus as god of the blue sky may perhaps be detected in the practice of giving him a blue or bluish mantle.

Zeus with the blue *nimbus* had his knees enveloped in a *himátion* of gleaming violet lined with blue[8]. Zeus with the blue globe wore a violet-blue cloak with a blue gold-embroidered border and sat on a throne mantled in greenish blue[9]. A decorative panel

[1] Bernoulli *op. cit.* i. 75 'in zeusartiger Haltung' Münztaf. 1, 21.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. p. 167 pl. 33, 9, Bernoulli *op. cit.* i Münztaf. 2, 15, ii. 186.

[3] *E.g.* one from Pompeii now at Naples, and another from Sarsina now in the Villa Albani (Bernoulli *op. cit.* ii 34 ff. figs. 3 f.). One at Brading in the Isle of Wight is published in the *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 1880—81 p. 138 f. with pl.

[4] *Supra* p. 42. Several other paintings of the same *provenance* represent a globe among the attributes of Zeus (eagle, thunderbolt, sceptre, wreath, mask of Zeus): see Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 31 f. nos. 105, 106, 108—112, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 19 no. 72.

[5] *Supra* p. 51, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 329 (*S. Agata dei Goti*).

[6] J. Ciampinus *Vetera Monimenta* Romæ 1747 ii. 101 ff. pl. 28 (*S. Lorenzo fuori le mura*).

[7] From a third brass of Constantine the Great (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vii. 231 f.) in my collection. The globe, with three stars above it, rests on an altar inscribed VOTIS XX (*votis vicennalibus*). The legend is BEATA TRANQVILLITAS. In the exergue STR (*signata Treveris*) is the mint-mark of money struck at Trèves. See further Stevenson-Smith-Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 125.

[8] *Supra* p. 34.

[9] *Supra* p. 42.

with black ground from the *Casa dei bronzi* shows him clad in a sky-blue wrap and sitting on a seat which is draped in reddish brown[1]. An important painting of the *hieròs gámos* from the *Casa del poeta tragico* represents Zeus seated on a rock with a light violet robe hanging like a veil over his hair and thrown loosely round his shoulders, back, and legs[2]. Again, a picture of Zeus drawing lots has him enthroned with a peacock-blue *himátion* about his knees[3]. The splendid wall-painting of a youthful fair-haired Zeus found in the *Casa dei Vettii* similarly shows the god with a peacock-blue *himátion* round his legs[4]. Other Pompeian examples portray him seated, his legs wrapped in a red mantle with a blue[5] or green[6] border. A painting from Herculaneum gives him a whitish *nimbus* and drapes him from the waist downwards in a reddish *himátion*; but it is to be observed that here Zeus is represented as reclining among the clouds with a rainbow arched above him and a background of blue sky[7]. Finally, in a fresco of the Hadrianic age, found at Eleusis, he is once more seen on a throne, his legs swathed in a violet-blue *himátion* edged with green[8].

It would seem, then, that Hellenistic art normally depicted Zeus as wearing a mantle of violet-blue. And this in all probability corresponded with cult-practice. Alexander the Great is known to have worn a purple cloak, when he masqueraded as Zeus *Ámmon*[9]. Anaxenor, a famous musician of Magnesia on the Maiandros in the days of M. Antonius the triumvir, was clad in purple by his fellow-countrymen as priest of Zeus *Sosípolis*[10]. And

[1] So Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente* etc. ii pl. 54 (coloured). According to Helbig *Wandgemälde* etc. p. 31 no. 103, his garment is reddish and his seat covered with a blue robe.

[2] Helbig *op. cit.* p. 33 f. no. 114, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) iii.

[3] Sogliano *op. cit.* p. 19 f. no. 73, *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 35 pl. 4.

[4] So A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 263 f. fig. 11 ('le gambe coperte di mantello paonazzo'). A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 23 had stated that the robe was red with a blue border ('in veste rossa con margine turchino'). A fine, though uncoloured, photographic reproduction is given by Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 46, 2. See further J. Six in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 155.

[5] Sogliano *op. cit.* p. 21 no. 75.

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 20 no. 74.

[7] Helbig *op. cit.* p. 32 f. no. 113, H. Roux-M. L. Barré *Herculanum et Pompéi* Paris 1870 ii. 184 f. pl. 54, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 289 no. 1259.

[8] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1888 pl. 5, *supra* p. 2 n. 2, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 528 says: 'le bas du corps couvert d'un himation bleu.'

[9] Ephippos *ap.* Athen. 537 E Ἔφιππος δέ φησιν ὡς Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας ἐφόρει ἐν τοῖς δείπνοις, ὁτὲ μὲν τὴν τοῦ Ἄμμωνος πορφυρίδα καὶ περισχιδεῖς καὶ κέρατα καθάπερ ὁ θεός, ὁτὲ δὲ κ.τ.λ.

[10] Strab. 648, *infra* p. 58 n. 6.

a Roman dedication to Iupiter *Purpurio* may be taken to imply that the god wore a purple garb[1].

The first and most obvious explanation of this conventional colouring is the fact that Zeus was king of all and, as such, would of course wear the purple or blue of royalty. If we pursue the enquiry and ask *why* royal robes were blue or purple, we enter the region of conjecture. In its origin perhaps the usage was prophylactic, red (*i.e.* blood-colour)[2] passing into purple, and purple into blue.

But, whatever the ultimate significance, it is probable that by Hellenistic times, if not earlier, a fresh meaning had been read into the ancient custom, the purple or blue robe of Zeus and of his earthly representative being interpreted as a symbol of the sky[3]. Hence in both cases it came to be spangled with golden stars. At Elis the god Sosipolis was painted as a boy clad in a starry *chlamýs*[4]. His name recalls the Zeus *Sosípolis* of Magnesia on the Maiandros[5], who is known to have had a sacred purple robe[6]. It is highly probable that these two divinities were alike related to the Cretan Zeus[7]. Again, Demetrios Poliorketes, who posed as Zeus[8], had a dark-tinted *chlamýs* inwoven with stars of gold and with the twelve signs of the zodiac[9]. Scipio, when he triumphed in 201 B.C., was 'dressed according to ancestral custom

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 424 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3040 (found at Rome near the Monte Testaccio):

LICINIA LICINIA OCTAVIA
QVINTA PVRPVRIS SATVRNIN
(A thunderbolt) (Three female figures standing) (A *patera*)
IOVI · OPTIMO · MAXIMO
PVRPVRIONI

It is commonly assumed that Iupiter *Purpurio* took his name from one of the three dedicants, Licinia Purpuris (Preller-Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 208 n. 1): it should be further assumed that the god was clad in purple.

[2] See my note in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii p. xliv f., W. Headlam *ib.* 1906 xxvi. 268 ff., F. von Duhn 'Rot und Tot' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 1 ff.

[3] This conception is illustrated with a wealth of examples from ancient, mediaeval, and modern life by Dr R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910, to whose diligent collection of materials I am much indebted, though I cannot always agree with his conclusions.

[4] Paus. 6. 25. 4, cp. 6. 20. 2 ff.

[5] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 553, 48, 51 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 892.

[6] Anaxenor the *kithara*-player of Magnesia as a token of high honour was painted in the purple robe of Zeus Σωσίπολις (Strab. 648), *supra* p. 57.

[7] See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 142, p. 1526 n. 6.

[8] Plout. *v. Demetr.* 10, 42, Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 54. 6 p. 42, 24 ff. Stählin. See *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 302 f.

[9] Douris *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 477) *ap.* Athen. 535 F, Plout. *v. Demetr.* 41.

in a purple garment with golden stars woven into it[1]'; and, as triumphing general, he would be clad in the *tunica palmata* and the *toga picta* of Iupiter[2]. Nero after his Greek agonistic successes entered Rome in the triumphal car of Augustus, wearing a purple robe and a *chlamýs* sprinkled with golden stars[3]. These are but a few out of many who in their day, as victorious kings or kingly victors, aped the style and claimed the honours of the sky-god. Martianus Capella in his high-flown way tells how Iupiter himself, when assuming his robes of state, 'over a garment of glittering white drew a glassy vesture, which, dotted here and there with starry eyes, shone with quick quivering fires[4].'

In this connexion we may notice a representation of the sky, which appears repeatedly in Roman art[5], but has been traced back to a Hellenistic source[6]. The half-length figure of a bearded man is seen holding a mantle arched above his head. E. Q. Visconti[7] proposed to name him 'le Ciel,' *i.e. Caelus*, the Latin rendering of the Greek *Ouranós*; and this proposal has been universally adopted, for the mantle-bearer, though never accompanied by an inscription, clearly symbolises the sky. He is, as Prof. von Duhn observes, a Zeus-like figure[8]. Indeed, the Roman writers from Ennius downwards make Caelus first the grandfather and then the father of Iupiter[9]. Nay more, oriental, especially Syrian[10], worshippers identified him with Iupiter himself[11]. Hence his type affected that

[1] Appian. *Pun.* 66.

[2] Liv. 10. 7. 10, Suet. *Aug.* 94, Iuv. 10. 38 f., Ael. Lamprid. *Alexander Severus* 40. 8, Iul. Capitol. *Gordiani tres* 4. 4, Vopisc. *Probus* 7. 7. 4 f., Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 10. 27. See further Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 197 ff.

[3] Suet. *Ner.* 25. Dion Cass. 63. 20 calls it ἁλουργίδα χρυσόπαστον, which—as J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. 10. 38 points out—is the phrase used by Plout. *v. Aem. Paul.* 34 of the triumphal robe.

[4] Mart. Cap. 66 dehinc vesti admodum candidae obducit amictus hyalinos, quos stellantibus oculis interstinctos crebri vibratus ignium luminabant.

[5] O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 85 n. 28 and in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1849 p. 63 ff., Matz-Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* ii. 185 no. 2711, 429 f. no. 3315 f., 445 ff. no. 3341, iii. 4 f. no. 3449, R. von Schneider in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1895 xviii. 185 f.

[6] H. Dressel *Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir* Berlin 1906 pp. 25—31 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1906) makes it highly probable that the superb portrait of Alexander the Great on the obverse of a gold medallion found in Egypt (*ib.* p. 9 f. pl. 2, C), though executed in the third century A.D., reproduces with fidelity a cameo of the Hellenistic age. If so, then, as Eisler *op. cit.* i. 65 points out, the sky-god in the centre of Alexander's shield is our earliest monumental evidence of the type.

[7] Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 159 f.

[8] Matz-Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 5.

[9] G. Wissowa in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1276 f.

[10] F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 696 f.

[11] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 81 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3949 OPTVMVS · MAXIMVS ·

of Iupiter, who on the column of Trajan appears as a half-length figure with arched mantle launching a thunderbolt against the Dacians (fig. 34)[1]—a design destined to influence both Raphael[2] and Michelangelo[3].

By a curious duplication, not to say triplication, Caelus with his mantle spread above him is seen immediately beneath the throne of Iupiter on a sarcophagus at Amalfi (fig. 35)[4] and on another in the Villa Medici at Rome[5]. This conception too was taken over by Christian art[6]. The famous sarcophagus of Iunius Bassus, a prefect of Rome who died in 359 A.D., shows the same

Fig. 34.

personification of the sky supporting, not Iupiter with a thunderbolt enthroned between Iuno and Minerva or between Sol and Luna, but Christ with a roll enthroned between Saint Peter and Saint Paul (fig. 36)[7]. Another fourth-century sarcophagus in the

CAELVS • AETERNVS • IVP[*pi*]|TER • IVNONI • REGINAE • | MINERVAE • IVSSVS • LIBEN[*s*] | DEDIT • PRO • SALVTEM • SVAM | M • MODIVS • AGATHO • ET • PR[*o*] | FAVSTI • PATRONI • HOMINIS • [*s*]|ET • HELPIDIS • SVAES • CVM • S[*uis*]. Dessau, however, reads *optumus maximus* .. | *Caelus aeternus*, *Iupp*[*i*]|*ter*, and thinks that *optumus maximus* was a later addition intended to be taken with *Iuppiter*. He interprets [*s*] as *s*[*ancti*?]. See further Cumont *Textes et mons. de Mithra* ii. 104, 233 ff.

[1] C. Cichorius *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule* Berlin 1896 ii. 116 f. pl. 19.

[2] A. P. Oppé *Raphael* London 1909 pl. 174, 2 'The third day' and pl. 182, 1 'God appearing to Isaac' in the Loggia of the Vatican.

[3] G. S. Davies *Michelangelo* London 1909 pl. 36 'The separation of land and sea' and pl. 37 'The creation of Adam' in the Sistine Chapel at Rome.

[4] M. Camera *Istoria della città e costiera di Amalfi* Napoli 1836 p. 40 ff. pl. 3 (poor), E. Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke* München Stuttgard & Tübingen 1828—1844 p. 371 pl. 118 (Caelus with a rayed crown rises from the sea, adjoining which is the figure of Mother Earth.)

[5] O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1849 Phil.-hist. Classe pl. 4, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 11, 3, Robert *Sark.-Relfs.* ii. 13 ff. pl. 5, 11 and 11', Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1625 f. figs. 10 and 10 *a*.

[6] See O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 85 n. 28 and F. Piper *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 ii. 44 ff.

[7] The sarcophagus stands now in the crypt of the Vatican and in such a position that

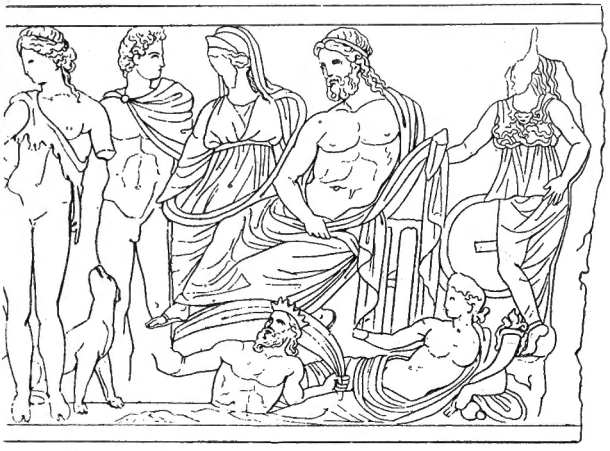


Fig. 35.

Fig. 36.

it cannot be well photographed. Illustrations of the whole front side are given *e.g.* by A. Bosio *Roma Sotterranea* Roma 1632 p. 45 (good), G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sagre* Roma 1737 i. 35 ff. pl. 15 (fair), E. Pistolesi *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* Roma 1829—1838 ii pl. 19, E. Guhl und J. Caspar *Denkmäler der Kunst* etc. Stuttgart 1851 ii. 56 f. pl. 36, 8, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archæology* New York 1901 p. 262 fig. 100, K. Woermann *Geschichte der Kunst* Leipzig and Vienna 1905 ii. 58 pl. 10, and of the

Lateran Museum repeats the type[1], which was probably a stock-pattern. A last trace of it may be detected in a painting at Lucca by Fra Bartolommeo. God the Father, enthroned in heaven, uplifts his right hand in blessing and holds in his left an open book inscribed A Ω. Beneath his feet is a small cherub over-arched by drapery[2].

Fig. 37.

Fig. 38.

That such drapery really represents the sky may be proved by the fact that on a coin commemorating the *consecratio* or apotheosis of the elder Faustina (fig. 37)[3] the empress, carried up to heaven by the eagle of Jupiter, has the same wind-blown mantle spangled with stars. Again, the drapery held by Caelus in a relief at Berlin (fig. 38)[4] is not merely an arc, but almost a complete circle enclosing other concentric circles—an obvious symbol of the sky.

central group in the upper register by F. Münter *Sinnbilder und Kunstvorstellungen der Alten Christen* Altona 1825 ii. 85, A. N. Didron *Iconographie chrétienne* Paris 1843 p. 256.

[1] W. Lowrie *op. cit.* p. 266 f. fig. 102.

[2] S. Reinach *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la renaissance* Paris 1905 i. 606, 1.

[3] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 427 no. 185 fig. My illustration is from a cast of a specimen in the British Museum.

[4] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 364 f. no. 900, a fragmentary relief of white Italian marble. The subject is uncertain: two female figures approach Iupiter, and one of them clasps his knees (in supplication?); the god is seated on the top of a square pillar, Caelus appearing below his footstool.

§ 3. *Zeus* Lýkaios.

(a) Wolf-god or Light-god?

On the summit of Mount Lykaion in Arkadia was a far-famed cult of Zeus *Lýkaios*. Tradition said that *Lykáon*, son of Pelasgos, had founded the town of *Lykósoura* high up on the slopes of the mountain, had given to Zeus the surname of *Lýkaios*, and had instituted the festival called *Lýkaia*[1]. On the significance of this group of names scholars are by no means agreed. Some take them to be pre-Greek or non-Greek[2]. Thus Fick maintains that they represent a Hittite tribe to be identified with the Lycaonians and Lycians of Asia Minor[3], while Bérard argues for a Phoenician cult comparable with that of Baal[4]. Most critics, noting the essentially Greek aspect of the names in question, are content to seek an explanation in the language of Greece. But even here opinions are divided. Some, starting from the undeniable fact that the wolf (*lýkos*) plays a part in the local myths[5], hold that Zeus *Lýkaios* was in some sense a 'Wolf-god[6].' This view, however, is open to a grave objection. The word *Lýkaios* cannot

[1] Paus. 8. 2. 1, Aristot. *frag.* 594 Rose *ap.* schol. Aristeid. p. 323, 12 f. Dindorf, schol. Eur. *Or.* 1647, *marm. Par. ep.* 17 p. 8 Jacoby, Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 205.

[2] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2173.

[3] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 92, 132.

[4] V. Bérard *De l'origine des cultes arcadiens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* Paris 1894 lxvii) pp. 48—93. Cp. also J. A. Hartung *Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen* Leipzig 1865—1866 iii. 6, 26 ff., W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904—1905 ii. 342, 346.

[5] *Infra* pp. 70 ff., 77 ff.

[6] F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 76 f. Λύκαιος = Λυκόεργος, *Lupercus*, 'Protector against the Wolf.' J. A. Hartung *op. cit.* iii. 6, 27 n. 45 Λυκαῖος, 'Wolf-god,' the wolf (λύκος connected with Λύσσα) denoting fierceness. O. Jahn 'Über Lykoreus' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* 1847 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 423 drew a parallel between Zeus Λύκαιος of Mt. Lykaion and Zeus Λυκώρειος of Mt. Parnassos (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυκώρεια), pointing out that in the myths of both localities the 'wolf' symbolises the exiled founder of the cult. W. Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* i. 21 ff. and W. H. Roscher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 705 follow O. Jahn. O. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 805 likewise takes Zeus Λύκαιος to be Zeus god of 'wolves' *i.e.* exiles (*ib.* p. 918 n. 7). H. D. Müller *Ueber den Zeus Lykaios* Göttingen 1851 p. 13 ff. and in his *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1857—1861 ii. 78 ff. Λυκαῖος, 'Wolf-god,' the wolf being a symbol of his chthonian character (*ib.* p. 93 f.). V. Jurgiewicz *De Jove Lycæo* Odessæ 1859 pp. 1—32 reaches the same conclusions as H. D. Müller, adding Slavonic and Germanic parallels (*ib.* p. 19 ff.).

Others with more circumspection abandon the slippery path of symbolism. W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] ii. 336 ff. explains the Λύκαια as a solstice-festival involving a procession of 'Harvest-wolves' (cp. the *Hirpi Sorani*). W. Robertson Smith in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[9] Edinburgh 1886 xxi. 136 *s.v.* 'Sacrifice,' *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 366 n. 5, regards Zeus Λύκαιος as the god

be derived from *lýkos*: it must be an adjective formed from a substantive *lýke*[1]. But there is in Greek no such word as **lýke*, 'wolf'; and, if there were, it would mean 'a she-wolf[2],' whereas the myths of Mount Lykaion mention none but he-wolves. Far more probable is the theory of those who understand *Lýkaios* as 'god of Light[3].' The word *lýke* is quoted by Macrobius as an old Greek word for 'day-break[4],' and its compound *amphi-lýke* is used in the *Iliad* of 'twi-light[5].' They belong to a well-known family of words with

of a totemic Wolf-clan. L. R. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 41 is disposed to accept his theory. J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 7 (iv. 386) says: 'The connexion of Lycaean Zeus with wolves is too firmly established to allow us seriously to doubt that he is the wolf-god.' C. W. Vollgraff *De Ovidi mythopoeia* Berolini 1901 pp. 5—36 holds that the ritual of Zeus Λύκαιος and the myth of Λυκάων presuppose the Arcadian cult of a sacred wolf, to which human victims were offered.

[1] Adjectives in -αιος naturally derive from α- stems. The only exceptions are words like ὁδαῖος, νησαῖος, κηπαῖος, which have been formed on the analogy of ἀγοραῖος etc. and so go back to locatives in -αι (K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[3] München 1900 p. 181: see also F. Bechtel in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 507 no. 5295 and O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen* Göttingen 1906 p. 173 f.). But Λύκαιος, even if we write it as Λυκαῖος, can hardly be thus explained as a locatival formation.

[2] 'A she-wolf' is regularly λύκαινα (cp. κάπραινα), never *λύκη. See W. Pape *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der griechischen Sprache, zur Übersicht der Wortbildung nach den Endsylben* Berlin 1836 p. 36. Lyk. *Al.* 481 Λυκαινομόρφων Νυκτίμου κρεανόμων is criticized as a gross blunder by Tzetzes *ad loc.* ὁ τράγος (*sic*) κακῶς ἔφη· λυκομόρφων γὰρ ὤφειλεν εἰπεῖν· οὐ γὰρ λύκαιναι, ἀλλὰ λύκοι γεγόνασιν οἱ Λυκάονος παῖδες κατὰ τοῦτον.

[3] C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 326 ff., *id. Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 290 f., J. F. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 180 ff., Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 161 f., K. Schwenck *Die Mythologie der Griechen* Frankfurt a/M. 1843 p. 19, *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1839 vi. 541 f., Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 210, L.-F. A. Maury *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique* Paris 1857—1859 i. 58 ff., L. Preller in Pauly *Real-Enc.* iv. 589, P. Welzel *De Iove et Pane dis Arcadicis* Vratislaviae 1879 pp. 4, 22 ('luce enim clarius est Iovem Ἀμάριον eundem esse ac Diespitrem et Λυκαῖον eundem ac Lucetium' cp. Macrob. *Sat.* i. 15. 14), Preller-Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 127. E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1892 i. 61 (followed by C. Albers *De diis in locis editis cultis apud Graecos* Zutphaniae 1901 p. 33 f.) argues that 'ein in Wolfsgestalt verehrter Gott zum Lichtgott Zeus geworden ist,' but that the names Λύκαιος, Λυκάων, etc. 'sind Ableitungen von dem verschollenen nomen λυκα (λυκη) "Licht (Tag?)," und haben mit λυκο-s...nichts zu thun.' The latest and most efficient champion of the 'light'-theory is H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 177—216, who holds that Λύκος was an ancient god of light replaced by Zeus Λυκαῖος and Apollon Λύκειος or Λύκιος.

[4] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 17. 37 ff. prisci Graecorum primam lucem, quae praecedit solis exortus, λύκην appellaverunt ἀπὸ τοῦ λευκοῦ. id temporis hodieque λυκόφως cognominant. Etc.

[5] *Il.* 7. 433 ἦμος δ' οὔτ' ἄρ πω ἠώς, ἔτι δ' ἀμφιλύκη νύξ with schol. A. D. V. τὸ καλούμενον λυκόφως, τὸ πρὸς ὄρθρον. τουτέστιν ὁ βαθὺς ὄρθρος, παρὰ τὴν λύκην (λύγην D. V.), ὅ ἐστι σκοτίαν (σκίαν V.), οἱονεὶ λυκόφως τι ὄν, τὸ μὴ καθαρὸν φῶς ἀλλ' ἔτι σκοτῶδες, schol. T. παρὰ τὴν λύγην, ὅ ἐστι σκιάν· καὶ λυκόφως τὸ μεταξὺ σκότους καὶ φωτός, and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 689, 15 ff. τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν ἰδιωτικώτερον λεγόμενον λυκόφως, adding derivations from λύγη 'darkness' and λυκέη 'a wolf-skin' as also *ib.* p. 809, 40 ff.

numerous relatives in both Greek and Latin[1]. Indeed, our word 'light' is of kindred origin.

But etymology, unless supported by ritual and myth, can afford no certain clue to the nature of an ancient deity. Fortunately in the present case that support is forthcoming. Zeus *Lýkaios* was sometimes at least conceived as a sky-god, for his priest acted as rain-maker to the district[2]. Again, Achaios the tragedian, a younger contemporary of Sophokles, appears to have spoken of Zeus *Lýkaios* as 'starry-eyed' (*astérŏpos*)[3]. An epithet of similar formation and of the same meaning (*asterōpós*) is used by Euripides of the *aithér* or 'burning sky' in connexion with Zeus[4]. This suggests that Zeus *Lýkaios* was a god of the *aithér*. Indeed, Creuzer long since pointed out that Zeus *Lýkaios* is none other than the Arcadian Zeus[5], whom Cicero and Ampelius describe as the son of *Aether*[6]. H. Usener further observes that, just as a Boeotian myth makes Lykos succeed his brother Nykteus on the throne[7], so the Arcadian myth makes Lykaon succeeded by his son Nyktimos, the inference being that both pairs of names denote the alternation of 'daylight' (*lyk-*) and 'darkness' (*nykt-*)[8]. If Zeus *Lýkaios* was thus a god of daylight, certain statements made by Pausanias *à propos* of his cult gain a fresh significance. *Lykósoura* founded by *Lykáon* was 'the first city that ever the sun beheld'[9].

[1] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 266, 275 cites for the stronger form of the root the Latin *lūx, lūceo, lūna*, for the weaker the Greek ἀμφιλύκη, λυκάβας 'year' (lit. 'light-circuit': Fick in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1894 clvi. 240 cp. Hesych. ἄβα· τροχός), λυκαυγής 'twi-light,' λυκόφως 'twi-light,' λύχνος 'lamp,' etc. See further L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 519 ff., who adds λυκοψία 'twi-light,' and Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb. s.v.* lūceo p. 349 f., who connects λύγδος 'white marble' with the same group of words.

[2] *Infra* p. 76.

[3] Achaios *Azanes frag.* 2 Nauck[2] *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 383 τῆς ἀστερόπου (MSS. ἀστεροποῦ) Ζηνὸς θυσίας, cp. F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1841 iii. 963. Arcad. p. 67, 13 Barker vouches for the accent ἀστέροπος: the analogy of χαροπός, 'bright-eyed,' suggests ἀστεροπός, cp. ἀστερωπός.

W. H. Roscher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 705 supposes that ἀστέροπος denotes 'the god of lightning' (ἀστραπή, ἀστεροπή).

[4] Eur. *Ion* 1078 f. Διὸς ἀστερωπὸς | ἀνεχόρευσεν αἰθήρ, cp. Kritias *Sisyphus frag.* 1, 33 Nauck[2] *ap.* Plout. *de plac. philos.* 1. 6 and Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 54 τό τ' ἀστερωπὸν οὐρανοῦ σέλας (so Plout., δέμας Sext.).

[5] F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 74 f.

[6] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Ampel. 9. Cp. *supra* p. 27 n. 3.

[7] *Infra* ch. i § 7 (d).

[8] H. Usener *Götternamen* p. 199. The myths are collected and analysed in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2169 ff., 2183 ff., iii. 492 ff., 498 f. W. H. Roscher *Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 140 ff. regards Nykteus and Lykos as personifications of the Evening- and the Morning-star: he is followed by Wörner in the *Lex. Myth.* iii. 496 f.

[9] Paus. 8. 38. 1.

On the very top of Mount *Lýkaion* was a mound of earth, known as the altar of Zeus *Lýkaios*, from which the greater part of the Peloponnese was visible: before the altar stood two columns bearing gilded eagles and 'facing the sun-rise[1].' Finally, Pausanias says: 'Of the wonderful things to be seen on Mount *Lýkaion* the most wonderful is this. There is a precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios* on the mountain, and no man is allowed to enter it. Should any one disregard the rule and enter, he cannot possibly live longer than a year. It was said too that within the precinct all things, both beasts and men, alike cast no shadow. Consequently, when a beast takes refuge in the precinct, the hunter will not break in along with it, but waits outside and looking at the beast sees no shadow cast by it. Now at Syene on the frontier of Aithiopia, so long as the sun is in the sign of Cancer, shadows are cast neither by trees nor by animals; but in the precinct on Mount *Lýkaion* there is the same lack of shadows at all times and seasons[2].' This marvel, which is attested by other grave and respectable authors[3], though sceptics were not wanting[4], probably hangs together with the Pythagorean belief that 'the souls of the dead cast no shadow and do not wink[5].' The shadowless creature would on this showing be the man or beast already devoted to death. Dr Frazer, commenting on the passage quoted above from Pausanias, writes: 'Untutored people often regard the shadow as a vital part of a man and its loss as fatal. This belief is still current in Greece. It is thought that to give stability to a new building the life of an animal or a man is necessary. Hence an animal is killed and its blood allowed to flow on the foundation stone, or the builder secretly measures a man's shadow and buries the measure under the foundation stone, or the foundation stone is laid upon a man's shadow. It is supposed that the man will die within a year—obviously because his shadow is believed to be buried under the

[1] Paus. 8. 38. 7, cp. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 152 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* and *ad Nem.* 10. 87, Polyb. 4. 33. 2, and *infra* p. 83 f. L.-F. A. Maury *Religions de la Grèce* i. 59, following K. O. Müller *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 290 f. and W. Bäumlein in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1839 vi. 1193, inferred that Zeus Λυκαῖος was a solar god. But K. Schwenck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1839 vi. 541 f. already urged that he was a light-god rather than a sun-god.

[2] Paus. 8. 38. 6.

[3] Theopompos *ap.* Polyb. 16. 12. 7 quoted below, schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 13 *πᾶν ζῷον εἰσιὸν ἐκεῖ* (*sc.* to the birth-place of Zeus on the mountain in Parrhasia) *μεμολυσμένον ἄγονον ἐγίγνετο καὶ σκιὰν τὸ σῶμα αὐτοῦ οὐκέτι ἐποίει.*

[4] Polyb. 16. 12. 7, Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 39.

[5] Plout. *ib.* On shadowless ghosts see J. von Negelein in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1902 v. 18 ff.

building[1].' Trespassers on the precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios* not only lost their shadows, but were actually put to death[2]. Plutarch states that such persons were called 'deer' (*élaphoi*)[3], that if they had entered the precinct voluntarily they were stoned to death, and that if they had entered it through ignorance they were sent away to Eleutherai[4]. But, if the ultimate explanation of the shadowless precinct on Mount *Lýkaion* lies in the connexion once thought to exist between shadow and soul, it by no means follows that this was the explanation given by Greeks of the classical period. They may well have forgotten the real meaning of a belief to which they still clung and have attributed it to some irrelevant cause. That is what in point of fact they did. Polybios the historian, who as a native of Megalopolis would take a personal interest in matters Arcadian, writes as follows anent certain Carian superstitions: 'It appears to me that such tales are only fit to amuse children, when they transgress not merely the limits of probability but those of possibility as well. For instance, to assert that some bodies when placed in light cast no shadow argues a state of extreme obtuseness. Yet Theopompos has done this; for he declares that those who enter the holy precinct of Zeus in Arkadia cast no shadow, which is on a par with the statements that I mentioned just now[5].' Theopompos, then, the historian of Chios, explained the miracle of Mount *Lýkaion* by saying that beasts and men on the summit cast no shadow because they were there 'placed in light[6].' This can only mean that a divine light encircled the mountain-top and made all shadows impossible. Mount *Lýkaion*, in fact, resembled

[1] J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 6 (iv. 384), citing B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 196 f. See also *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) vi. The way for this explanation was prepared by Plout. *loc. cit.*, F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1850 iii. 161, E. L. Rochholz *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit* Berlin 1867 i. 119, H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1869 ii. 96 f. On the identification of soul with shadow see further E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 430 f., cp. 85 f., W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 ff., 84 ff.

[2] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 1, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 91, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 381, 16 ff. Eyssenhardt, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1, 2. 4.

[3] They may have been dressed as deer before being chased or killed. To the examples of human ἔλαφοι that I collected in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. should be added the stag-mummers of Syracuse (schol. Theokr. *π. τῆς εὑρέσεως τῶν βουκολικῶν* p. 5, 7 ff. Ahrens) and the man disguised as a stag, slain and eaten, in an epic fragment dealing with Dionysos (F. G. Kenyon in H. van Herwerden's *Album Gratulatorium* Trajecti ad Rhenum 1902 p. 137 ff. and A. Ludwich in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 3, 1903 p. 27 ff.).

[4] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 39.

[5] Polyb. 16. 12. 6 ff.

[6] *Id.* 16. 12. 7 *ἐν φωτὶ τιθέμενα.*

Olympos as described in the *Odyssey*[1], and was itself called Olympos. Pausanias says: 'They speak of it also as Olympos, while others of the Arcadians name it the Sacred Peak[2].' This Olympic glory, though not, as Theopompos presumably held and as Roscher[3] certainly holds, the true explanation of the shadowless precinct, would be in thorough keeping with the character of Zeus *Lýkaios* as a god of light.

(b) Peloponnesian coin-types of Zeus *Lýkaios*.

It is almost certainly Zeus *Lýkaios* whose figure appears on the federal silver coinage of Arkadia throughout the greater part of the fifth century B.C.[4] These coins bear on their reverse side the legend *Arkadikón*, more or less abbreviated, and appear to have been struck by the Heraeans as presidents of the national Arcadian games held on Mount *Lýkaion*[5]. Early specimens show Zeus seated on a throne with a *himátion* wrapped about his waist: he holds a sceptre in one hand, and over the other flies an eagle (figs. 39, 40)[6]. On later specimens the back of the throne terminates in a swan's neck (figs. 41, 42)[7], and the eagle occasionally flies *towards* Zeus (fig. 43)[8]. Sometimes a thunderbolt is held on the lap of the god (figs. 43, 44)[9]. Sometimes, but rarely, he is repre-

[1] *Od.* 6. 41 ff. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1550, 63 *αἰγλήεντα γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ καὶ μεστὰ αἴθρης καὶ νεφέλαις ἀσκίαστα.*

[2] Paus. 8. 38. 2. An Arcadian Olympos is mentioned by schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598, cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 352, Hyg. *fab.* 225 p. 132 f. Schmidt. Roscher (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 706) and Mackrodt (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 848, 24 f.) understand Apollod. 2. 5. 8 *τὸ λεγόμενον ὄρος Ὄλυμπον* of Mount *Lýkaion*, cp. Pedias. 21.

[3] W. H. Roscher 'Die Schattenlosigkeit des Zeus-abatons auf dem Lykaion' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 701—709.

[4] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 447 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 843 ff. pl. 38, 8—18, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 169 ff. pl. 31, 11—24, pl. 32, 1—9, P. Gardner *Types of Gr. Coins* pl. 3, 15, 16, 43, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 26 f., 155, Münztaf. 2, 1—3. Cp. *infra* p. 90.

[5] This was first shown by Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 196.

[6] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 843 ff. pl. 38, 8, 9, 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 169 f. pl. 31, 11—15, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pl. 3, 43. I figure two specimens from my collection.

[7] Fig. 41 is from a specimen in the British Museum, fig. 42 from another in my collection.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 171 f. pl. 31, 23 (fig. 43), pl. 32, 3, Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.* (1871) pl. 2, 76, *id.* in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 291 pl. 7, 3 and 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Münztaf. 2, 2 *a*.

[9] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 845 ff. pl. 38, 13 describes a specimen in the Luynes collection on which Zeus holds corn-ears (fig. 44). I take the object in his right hand to be a thunderbolt, as did F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 290 pl. 7, 2.

sented as standing with *himátion*, sceptre and eagle (fig. 45)[1]. After the victory of Epameinondas at Leuktra in 371 B.C. the Arcadian League was reconstituted and issued coins with the types of Zeus

Fig. 39.

Fig. 40.

Fig. 41.

Fig. 42.

Fig. 43.

Fig. 44.

Fig. 45.

Lýkaios and Pan *Lýkaios*[2]. The obverse design of the silver *statér* (fig. 46) is a magnificent head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath: the reverse (figs. 47, 48) is Pan seated on a rock, over which he has

Fig. 46.

Fig. 47.

Fig. 48.

Fig. 49.

spread his cloak; he is human except for his horns and holds in his right hand a throwing-stick (*lagobólon*), while a pipe (*sýrinx*) lies at his feet. The rock is inscribed *Oly-* (ΟΛΥ) or *Olym-* (ΟΛΥΜ)[3], and in one die (fig. 49) *Chari-* (ΧΑΡΙ)[4]. There can be no doubt that the laureate head is that of Zeus *Lýkaios*. It used to

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 169 pl. 31, 10 (fig. 45), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 849 f. pl. 38, 18. F. Imhoof-Blumer publishes a similar specimen in his *Choix de monn. gr.* 1871 pl. 2, 79 and in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 292 pl. 7, 7.

[2] On Pan Λύκαιος see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2168, 20 ff., iii. 1350 f.

[3] Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 444 f., 450, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus pp. lix. 173. pl. 32, 10, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pl. 8, 32 and 37, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 93, 105 f., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 72 f., pl. 5, 37. Figs. 46—47 and fig. 48 are drawn from two specimens in the British Museum.

[4] F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 128 n. 3, *ib.* 1876 iii. 288 f. pl. 7, 1 (in the Hague collection), cp. *ib.* 1875 ii. 6, 139 ff., 246 ff., and in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1884 xvi. 264 pl. 5, 7 (at Klagenfurt, from the same die). I figure the latter specimen.

be commonly supposed that the rock inscribed *Oly-* or *Olym-* was the Arcadian Olympos, *i.e.* Mount *Lýkaion*. Prof. Brunn alone maintained that the inscription was the signature of the die-engraver[1]. Since the publication of the specimens reading *Chari-* Brunn's view has met with almost universal acceptance[2]. Recently, however, Dr Head has suggested that *Olym-* and *Chari-* may be abbreviated names of festivals for which the coins were issued[3]. Still, the old view is not definitely disproved. It remains possible that the name of the mountain, placed on the coin for purposes of identification[4], was afterwards replaced by the name of a self-satisfied engraver.

(c) Human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios*.

Across the brightness of Mount Lykaion we have already seen one cloudlet pass. Such was its awful sanctity that the wilful intruder upon the holy ground was doomed to die, while even the unintentional trespasser must needs be banished. But those who knew more intimately the ritual of the mountain-top were aware that a gloom far deeper than this habitually hung about it. There is indeed a persistent rumour of human sacrifice in connexion with the cult. For the said ghastly tradition Platon is at once our earliest and our most explicit authority. Sokrates in the *Republic* remarks that at the sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios* he who tasted the one human entrail, which was cut up and mixed with the entrails of other victims, was believed to become a wolf[5]. The author of the Platonic *Minos* implies that human sacrifice occurred on Mount Lykaion[6]; Theophrastos—as quoted by Porphyrios and Eusebios—states that it was offered at the festival of the Lykaia[7]. Pausanias

[1] H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1859 ii. 437.

[2] *E.g.* F. Imhoof-Blumer *locc. citt.*, Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 373.

[3] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 445 cp. ΟΛΥΝΠΙΚΟΝ on coins of Elis, and suggests the 104th Olympiad celebrated by the Arcadians in 364 B.C. He interprets ΧΑΡΙ of the Charisia or Charitesia, festivals of the Charites, and notes that Charisios was the founder of Charisiai in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 3. 4).

[4] Cp. ΠΕΙΩΝ on a coin of Ephesos figured *infra* ch. i § 5 (b). It should also be noticed that the reverse-type of a unique tetradrachm of Messana, now at Berlin, shows a similar figure of Pan, with his *lagobólon* and a hare (symbol of the city): the god is seated on a rock, over which he has thrown his fawn-skin, and by him is the inscription ΠΑΝ (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 130 f. pl. 8, 15). If ΠΑΝ describes Pan, presumably ΟΛΥΜ may describe Olympos.

[5] Plat. *rep.* 565 D, cp. Polyb. 7. 13. 7, Isid. *origg.* 8. 9. 5.

[6] Plat. *Min.* 315 C.

[7] Theophr. *ap.* Porphyr. *de abst.* 2. 27 and Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 10. But see *infra* p. 76 n. 3.

veils the ugly fact by a decent circumlocution: 'On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is and has been from the beginning[1].'

The concurrent testimony of these writers may be held to prove that Zeus *Lýkaios* was indeed served with human flesh, but it hardly enables us to determine how long this hideous custom survived. Theophrastos, who succeeded Aristoteles as head of the Peripatetic school in 322 B.C., says—'up to the present time'; and he is in general a trustworthy witness. But whether we can infer from the guarded language of Pausanias that five centuries later, in the reign of the refined and philosophical Marcus Aurelius, the same gruesome rite was still kept up seems to me at least very questionable[2]. It would of course be talked about for many generations after it had been as an actual practice mitigated, superseded, or simply discontinued.

We should like to know more of the cannibal who was turned into a wolf. And here fortunately further evidence is forthcoming. We have in fact three parallel accounts, which deserve to be studied side by side. They unfold a most remarkable sequel:

PLINY *nat. hist.* 8. 81—82.	SAINT AUGUSTINE *de civ. Dei* 18. 17.	PAUSANIAS 6. 8. 2.
'Euanthes, who holds a high place among the authors of Greece, reports the following tradition as derived from Arcadian writings. A man belonging to a clan descended from a certain Anthos is chosen by lot and led to a particular pool in that locality. Here he hangs his clothes on an oak-tree, swims across, and goes off into desert places, where he is transformed into a wolf and for nine years associates with	'To prove this, Varro narrates other equally incredible tales—that of the notorious magician Kirke, who likewise changed the comrades of Odysseus into animals, and that of the Arcadians, who were taken by lot, went across a particular pool, and there turning into wolves lived with beasts like themselves in the desert places of that locality. But, if they did not feed on human flesh, then	

[1] Paus. 8. 38. 7 trans. J. G. Frazer.

[2] From Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 82 Scopas qui Olympionicas scripsit narrat Demaenetum Parrhasium in sacrificio, quod Arcades Iovi Lycaeo humana *etiamtum* hostia faciebant, immolati pueri exta degustasse etc. (*infra* p. 72 n. 3) E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle 1892 i. 53 n. 1 infers that the human sacrifice, still kept up in the days of Demainetos, had been already abandoned when the *Olympionicae* was written.

PLINY *nat. hist.* 8. 81—82.	SAINT AUGUSTINE *de civ. Dei* 18. 17.	PAUSANIAS 6. 8. 2.
other wolves of the same sort. If during this time he has abstained from attacking men, he returns to the same pool and, having swum across it, gets back his shape looking nine years older than before. The story adds that he resumes the same clothing. The lengths to which Greek credulity will run are really amazing. Any falsehood, however outrageous, has its due attestation.	after nine years had gone by they swam once more across the same pool and were transformed into men again.	
Again, Skopas, writer of a work on *Olympic Victors*, relates that Demainetos the Parrhasian at a human sacrifice, which the Arcadians were even in his day making to Zeus *Lýkaios*, tasted the entrails of the boy that had been immolated and thereupon turned into a wolf; but that in the tenth year he was restored to athletics, came back, and won a victory in the boxing-match at Olympia.'	In conclusion he has actually mentioned by name a certain Demainetos, asserting that he, having tasted the sacrifice of an immolated boy, which the Arcadians were wont to make to their god *Lýkaios*, was thereupon changed into a wolf; and that in the tenth year he was restored to his own form, practised boxing, and won in a match at Olympia.'	'As to a certain boxer named Damarchos, a Parrhasian of Arkadia by race, I was not prepared to believe—with the exception of his victory at Olympia—the story told by sundry braggarts. For they say that he changed from a man into a wolf at the sacrifice of Zeus *Lýkaios*, and that in the tenth year afterwards he became a man again.'

Pliny and Saint Augustine are obviously drawing from the same well, *viz.* Varro[1]. Only, whereas Pliny cites Varro's sources without Varro's name, Saint Augustine cites Varro's name without Varro's sources. The sources in question are both satisfactory for our purpose—the ascertaining of popular belief. Euanthes was an author of repute, and moreover bore a name which is known to have occurred in Arkadia[2]: he professedly follows Arcadian writers. Skopas[3] was probably wrong about the victor's name;

[1] Varro *de gente populi Romani frag.* 17 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 233 f. Peter).

[2] Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 357 no. 1247 *B* 3 cp. 20.

C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 11 no. 33 would read *Neanthes* for *Euanthes*. But see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 846.

[3] C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 407 suggests that Pausanias derived the story of

for Pausanias read and copied the actual inscription on the man's statue-base[1]. But whether the name was Demainetos or Damarchos makes no difference to us: the story told of him is identical.

Varro's statement, as evidenced by the foregoing extracts, is twofold. It contains on the one hand Euanthes' general account of the Arcadian custom, on the other Skopas' particular exemplification of it. Comparing the two, we at once detect a discrepancy. Both agree that a man became a wolf for a period of nine years, after which he returned to human shape. But, whereas Euanthes speaks of him as having been chosen by lot, Skopas describes him as having tasted the entrails of an immolated boy. This discrepancy would indeed vanish altogether, if we assumed that the method of selection indicated by Platon in a passage already quoted—'he who tasted the one human entrail,' etc.—might be viewed as a kind of cleromancy or sortition. But it is better to suppose that the casting of lots was a later and more civilised substitute for the arbitrament of the cannibal feast.

Be that as it may, Euanthes has preserved various details of primitive import. He tells us that those who thus cast lots among themselves (and therefore, presumably, those who at an earlier date gathered about the banquet of human flesh) belonged to a clan descended from a certain Anthos. Now H. W. Stoll[2] and J. Töpffer[3] have pointed out that the names *Ánthos, Ánthas, Ánthes,Ántheus* were given in sundry parts of the Greek world to mythical figures of a common type—the handsome youth who comes early to a cruel death just because he personifies the short-lived vegetation of the year[4]. One of these 'Flower'-heroes, Anthas or

Damarchos from Euanoridas of Elis, whose 'Ολυμπιονῖκαι he had just mentioned (Paus. 6. 8. 1). Müller further conjectures that in Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 82 we should read *itaque Euanoridas qui Olympionicas scripsit* (MSS. *item* or *ita* or *itaque copas*, whence Jan cj. *Scopas*, Schwartz in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 896 *Harpocras*, Gelenius *Agriopas*). But again see Jacoby in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 845, and cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* index to 8 *Euanthe apoca* or *apocha* (so MSS.: *Scopa* Jan, *Agriopa* Gelenius, *Agrippa* vulg.) *qui* 'Ολυμπιονίκας. Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 13 f. pushes Müller's speculation one stage further and proposes to identify Euanthes with Euanoridas, whom he calls 'Euanoridas-Euagriopas-Euanthes Agrippa'!

[1] Paus. 6. 8. 2. Both Δαμαίνετος (Collitz-Bechtel *op. cit.* i. 352 no. 1231 *B* 26, 38, *C* 42) and Δάμαρχος (*ib.* i. 341 no. 1189 *A minor* 15, 358 no. 1246 *D* 4) are Arcadian names.

[2] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 369 f.

[3] J. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2358.

[4] Thus Anthos, son of Hippodameia and Autonoos the ruler of a neglected and therefore barren land, was attacked and eaten by his father's horses, which he had driven from their scanty pasture: he was transformed by Zeus and Apollon into the bird ἄνθος, and as such still retains his hostility to horses (Ant. Lib. 7: see also D'Arcy W.

Anthes, the son of Poseidon, was driven out of Troizen and founded Halikarnassos[1]. His descendants the Antheadai[2] formed a priestly clan which, as we happen to know from an inscription found at Halikarnassos[3], managed the cult of Poseidon in that city for over five hundred years. Poseidon was worshipped at the mother-city Troizen as Poseidon *Phytálmios*[4], so that the functions of the Antheadai were almost certainly concerned with the propagation of vegetable life[5]. Arguing from analogy, I conclude that in Arkadia likewise the descendants of Anthos were a priestly clan charged with the upkeep of vegetation in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Lýkaios*[6].

That the 'Flower'-hero might be associated with Zeus no less than with Poseidon we see from an inscription of Roman date found at Athens[7]. It is a list of persons combining to build a gymnasium 'for Zeus *Keraiós* and Anthas.' Mr J. G. C. Anderson, who published this inscription with a careful commentary, remarked that many of the contributing members bore Boeotian names. He therefore proposed to identify Zeus *Keraiós* with Zeus *Ámmon* of Thebes[8] and to regard Anthas either as a separate personage, the

Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 33). Anthos, eponym of Anthedon or Anthedonia the old name of Kalaureia, was lost as a child but found again by his brother Hyperes acting as cup-bearer to Akastos or Adrastos at Pherai (Mnasigeiton *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 19). Anthes, son of Poseidon and eponym of Anthana, was slain by Kleomenes, brother of Leonidas, who flayed him and wrote on his skin *τοὺς χρησμοὺς τηρεῖσθαι* (Philostephanos *frag.* 8 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ανθάνα: but see C. Müller's note in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 30). Antheias, son of Eumelos, was killed by falling from the car of Triptolemos (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (β)). Antheus, son of Antenor, was a beautiful youth loved by Deïphobos and Alexandros, but accidentally struck and slain by the latter (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 132). Antheus, a prince of Halikarnassos, served as a hostage under Phobios, ruler of Miletos: Kleoboia or Philaichme, wife of Phobios, loved him and, unable to compass her desires, asked him to recover a tame partridge or a golden trinket for her from a deep well, and while he was doing it dropped a heavy stone on the top of him (Parthen. *narr. am.* 14).

[1] Strab. 374, 656, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αλικαρνασσός.

[2] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αθῆναι.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2655, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 608, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 877.

[4] Paus. 2. 32. 8, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 98 no. 18: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2490. The inscription from Halikarnassos records the priests *τοῦ* Ιο[*σειδῶ*]|*νος τοῦ καταδρυθέντος ὑπὸ τῶν τὴν ἀποικ*[*αν ἐκ*]|Τροι(*ζ*)*ῆνος ἀγαγόντων* Ποσειδῶνι *καὶ* 'Απόλλ(ω)[*νι*].

[5] See J. Töpffer in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2358 ff.

[6] On Zeus Λύκαιος with corn-ears see *supra* p. 68 n. 9.

[7] *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 106 ff. no. 1 *Συνθύται οἱ κατασκευάσαντες τὸ γυ*|*μάσιον Διὶ Κεραιῷ καὶ* "Ανθῳ· *κ.τ.λ.*

[8] Paus. 9. 16. 1, cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 833. 1 "Αμμωνος *κεραιοῖο* (Alexandreia), no. 835. 5 "Αμμωνος *κεραοῦ* (Beirût), Phaistos *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 28 Ζεὺς Λιβύης Αμμων *κερατηφόρε.*

eponym of Anthedon in Boiotia[1], or more probably as a cult-title of Zeus comparable with that of Zeus *Anthaleús*, who is mentioned in a sacrificial calendar from the Epakria district[2]. The cult would thus be one of a Zeus presiding over animal and vegetable fertility, a god presumably worshipped by a guild of farmers. Mr Anderson's conclusion is sound, though his premises are shaky. I doubt whether Zeus *Keraiós* is a mere synonym of Zeus *Ammon*. His 'horns' may be those of a bull, not a ram. In that case he resembled Zeus *Ólbios*, a god of fertility who in northern Greece had bovine horns[3], or Zeus *Xénios* (?) of Kypros, to whom the horned *Kerástai* were wont to sacrifice strangers till Aphrodite, offended at their savagery, changed them all into bullocks[4]. Again, O. Höfer objects that, if Anthas had been merely a cult-epithet, we should have expected a repetition of the name Zeus before it[5]. But this objection only brings into clearer light the indisputable fact that in Attike the hero Anthas stood in intimate relation to Zeus. Anthos occupied a like position on Mount Lykaion.

Now Anthos, son of Autonoos and Hippodameia, deprived his father's horses of their pasture and was therefore devoured by them[6]—a fate recalling that of Lykourgos, king of the Thracian Edonoi, who in order that his land might not remain barren was taken by his subjects to Mount Pangaion and there destroyed by horses[7]. That a similar end overtook Anthos on Mount Lykaion is at least a permissible conjecture; for the charred bones found nowadays on the summit of this mountain[8] are said by the peasants to be 'the bones of men whom the ancients caused to be here trampled to death by horses, as corn is trodden by horses on a threshing-floor[9].'

Conjecture apart, there is good reason to think that in time of

[1] He is called Anthas (Paus. 9. 22. 5, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ανθηδών), Anthios (schol. *Il.* 2. 508, Eustath. *in Il.* 271, 13 ff.), Anthedon (Steph. Byz. and Eustath. *locc. citt.*), and Anthes (Herakleid. Pont. *ap.* Plout. *de musica* 3); for all these local heroes are obviously one and the same.

[2] *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 210, J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26, 47 .....φ κριὸς Δ[ι]. Διὶ 'Ανθαλεῖ οἷς Δ[ι], ἱερώσυνα [ ].

[3] *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (ζ).

[4] Ov. *met.* 10. 220 ff., Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 10. 6, *infra loc. cit.*

[5] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2491.

[6] *Supra* p. 73 n. 4.

[7] Apollod. 3. 5. 1, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 312 f. Other examples of men done to death by horses with a like intent are cited in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 388 n. 92. See further S. Reinach 'Hippolyte' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1907 x. 47–60 = *Bibl. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 54–67.

[8] *Infra* p. 82.

[9] J. G. Frazer on Paus. 8. 38. 2 (iv. 382).

drought Zeus *Lýkaios* was placated with the sacrifice of a boy. Theophrastos indeed is reported to have said that this took place 'at the Lykaia'[1]—an expression which, strictly taken, denotes the regular festival celebrated probably at the beginning of May[2]. But the context of that very passage implies that human sacrifice, at least as exemplified by the cults of the Arcadian Zeus and the Carthaginian Kronos, was not a rite recurring at stated intervals but the last resort of a starving populace, practised only when crops failed and famine was imminent[3]. Even then the responsible clan devolved its blood-guiltiness upon a single man, who expiated his crime by disappearing from the neighbourhood. He hung his clothes upon a certain oak, swam across an adjoining pool, and was lost to sight in the wilderness beyond. What happened to him there nobody knew. It was whispered that he became a were-wolf.

The same combination of drought, oak-tree, and water occurs again in Pausanias' account of rain-magic on Mount Lykaion. It appears that, when the ground was parched and the trees blasted by the heat, the priest of Zeus *Lýkaios* took the branch of an oak-tree, stirred with it the water of the spring Hagno, and so caused the long-desired shower to fall[4]. It can hardly be doubted that the oak-tree and the pool of the one case are the oak-tree and the spring of the other. If so, we have every right to say that

[1] *Supra* p. 70 n. 7.

[2] P. Welzel *De Iove et Pane dis Arcadicis* Vratislaviae 1879 p. 23 n. 5 on the strength of Xen. 1. 2. 10 *ἐνταῦθ'* (at Peltai) *ἔμειναν ἡμέρας τρεῖς· ἐν αἷς Ξενίας ὁ Ἀρκὰς τὰ Λύκαια ἔθυσε καὶ ἀγῶνα ἔθηκε· τὰ δὲ ἆθλα ἦσαν στλεγγίδες χρυσαῖ· ἐθεώρει δὲ τὸν ἀγῶνα καὶ Κῦρος.* See also Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 20 f.

[3] Theophrast. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 27 *ἀπ' ἀρχῆς μὲν γὰρ αἱ τῶν καρπῶν ἐγίνοντο τοῖς θεοῖς θυσίαι· χρόνῳ δὲ τῆς ὀσιότητος ἡμῶν ἐξαμελησάντων, ἐπεὶ καὶ τῶν καρπῶν ἐσπάνισαν καὶ διὰ τὴν τῆς νομίμου τροφῆς ἔνδειαν εἰς τὸ σαρκοφαγεῖν ἀλλήλων ὥρμησαν, τότε μετὰ πολλῶν λιτῶν ἱκετεύοντες τὸ δαιμόνιον σφῶν αὐτῶν ἀπήρξαντο τοῖς θεοῖς πρῶτον, οὐ μόνον ὅτι κάλλιστον ἐνῆν αὐτοῖς καὶ τοῦτο τοῖς θεοῖς καθοσιοῦντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πέρα τῶν καλλίστων προσεπιλαμβάνοντες τοῦ γένους· ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οὐκ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ μόνον τοῖς Δυκαίοις οὐδ' ἐν Καρχηδόνι τῷ Κρόνῳ κοινῇ πάντες ἀνθρωποθυτοῦσιν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ περίοδον, τῆς τοῦ νομίμου χάριν μνήμης, ἐμφύλιον αἷμα ῥαίνουσι πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς, καίπερ τῆς παρ' αὐτοῖς ὁσίας ἐξειργούσης τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖς περιῤῥαντηρίοις <καὶ> κηρύγματι, εἴ τις αἵματος ἀνθρωπείου μεταίτιος.* The excerpt in Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 10 agrees with this *verbatim*, but is shorter, including only *ἀφ' οὗ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν... ...πρὸς τοὺς βωμούς.* The words *τοῖς Δυκαίοις* are, I think, either a loose expression for 'in the rites of Zeus *Lýkaios*' or—less probably—a blunder for *τῷ Δυκαίῳ Διί*, due to haste and inattention on the part of Porphyrios, who did not realise that *τῷ Δυκαίῳ Διί* is needed to balance *τῷ Κρόνῳ* and that both together are contrasted as extraordinary sacrifices with the ordinary ritual described in the words *κατὰ περίοδον κ.τ.λ.* On the other hand M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1503 f. holds that the words *κατὰ περίοδον* are corrupt and have expelled the name of some locality.

[4] *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (a) iii.

an oak-tree sacred to Zeus *Lýkaios* grew beside the spring Hagno. The primitive cults of Greece, as of other lands, constantly associated a holy tree with a holy well.

The simple folk of Arkadia were acorn-eaters[1]. Pelasgos, their first king,—says Pausanias[2]—'introduced as food the fruit of oak-trees, not of all oaks, but only the acorns of the *phegós* oak. Since his time some of the people have adhered so closely to this diet that even the Pythian priestess, in forbidding the Lacedaemonians to touch the land of the Arcadians, spoke the following verses:—

> There are many acorn-eating men in Arcadia
> Who will prevent you; though I do not grudge it you.'

Plutarch goes further and declares that there was 'a certain kinship' between the Arcadians and the oak-tree: they believed that they were the first of men to spring from the ground, just as it was the first of trees[3]. But the relation of the oak to Zeus on the one hand and to his devotees on the other is a subject to which we shall have to return. For the present I pass on, noting merely that the existence of a clan whose business it was to promote vegetation at an ancient centre of oak-worship, if viewed in connexion with this alleged 'kinship' between the worshippers and the tree, is a phenomenon curiously suggestive of totemism.

A rite so unusual and impressive as the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion had of course its explanatory myth. I quote again the garrulous but profoundly interesting Pausanias. From Pelasgos, introducer of the acorn-diet, he slips on to Pelasgos' son Lykaon, who gave to Zeus the surname *Lýkaios* and founded the Lycaean games. 'In my opinion,' he continues, 'Lycaon was contemporary with Cecrops, king of Athens, but the two were not equally sage in the matter of religion. For Cecrops was the first who gave to Zeus the surname of Supreme, and he refused to sacrifice anything that had life; but he burned on the altar the

[1] Hdt. 1. 66, Paus. 8. 1. 6, 8. 42. 6, Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 39, Plout. *v. Coriol.* 3, Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 25 (citing Alkaios *frag.* 91 Bergk[4] *Ἀρκαδες ἔσσαν βαλανηφάγοι*), Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 7 p. 320 Kayser, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 287, Galen. *de alimentorum facultatibus* 2. 38 (vi. 621 Kühn), cp. *de probis pravisque alimentorum sucis* 4 (vi. 778 Kühn). See further P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Wurzen 1891 i. 34 ff. Acorns figure frequently on coins of Mantineia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 184 f. pl. 34. 19—22, 24—28).

[2] Paus. 8. 1. 6 trans. J. G. Frazer.

[3] Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 92 *ἡ παλαιὸν ἀπ' Ἀρκάδων τὸ ἔθος, οἷς ἐστί τις συγγένεια πρὸς τὴν δρῦν; πρῶτοι γὰρ ἀνθρώπων γεγονέναι δοκοῦσιν ἐκ γῆς, ὥσπερ ἡ δρῦς τῶν φυτῶν.* That this 'kinship' with the oak was no mere metaphor appears from Lykophron's mention of the Arcadians as *ἐγγόνων δρυός* (*Al.* 480: Tzetz. *ad loc.* has *ἐκγόνων δρυός*) and the myth of Arkas and the oak-nymph Chrysopeleia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185).

national cakes which the Athenians to this day call *pélanoi*. Whereas Lycaon brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the altar; and they say that immediately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf. For my own part I believe the tale: it has been handed down among the Arcadians from antiquity, and probability is in its favour. For the men of that time, by reason of their righteousness and piety, were guests of the gods, and sat with them at table; the gods openly visited the good with honour, and the bad with their displeasure. Indeed men were raised to the rank of gods in those days, and are worshipped down to the present time....But in the present age, when wickedness is growing to such a height, and spreading over every land and every city, men are changed into gods no more, save in the hollow rhetoric which flattery addresses to power; and the wrath of the gods at the wicked is reserved for a distant future when they shall have gone hence. In the long course of the ages, many events in the past and not a few in the present have been brought into general discredit by persons who build a superstructure of falsehood on a foundation of truth. For example, they say that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh he remains a beast for ever[1].'

The myth of Lykaon has come down to us through various channels with a corresponding variety of detail. A useful conspectus is drawn up by O. Gruppe[2], from which it appears that the sacrifice was offered either by Lykaon himself (this was the common tale)[3] or by his sons[4] (a variant meant to save the face of Lykaon). The victim is described occasionally as a guest of Lykaon[5], or a Molossian hostage[6], more often as a child[7] of the

[1] Paus. 8. 2. 2—6.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 920 n. 4.

[3] It went back to Hesiod (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 27, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 302, 18 f. Cp. Hes. *frag.* 136 Flach).

[4] Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Hyg. *fab.* 176, Nikolaos Damask. *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 378 Müller), Souid. *s.v.* Λυκάων, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481, pseudo-Hekat. *frag.* 375 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 31 Müller) *ap.* Natal. Com. 9. 9.

[5] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 2. 60.

[6] Ov. *met.* 1. 226 f.

[7] Paus. 8. 2. 3 *βρέφος*...*ἀνθρώπου*, Nikol. Dam. and Souid. *locc. citt. θύσαντές τινα παῖδα.*

neighbourhood[1], more often still as Lykaon's son[2] Nyktimos[3] or grandson Arkas[4]. The child was according to one account sacrificed on the altar of Zeus[5], but according to the usual version dished up for his consumption at table[6]. Punishment for this impious act fell on Lykaon, who was transformed into a wolf[7], or struck by lightning[8], or had his house struck by lightning while he himself became a wolf[9]. Some said that his sons suffered with him, all alike being killed by lightning[10], or that they were killed by lightning and he changed into a wolf[11]; some even said that the sons were punished as guilty and not the father[12]. Many added that the flood followed in consequence of the crime[13].

These rillets of tradition cross and recross one another with such complexity that it is difficult to map them or to make out which after all is the main stream. Nevertheless it seems certain that many, if not most, of them derive from distant sources of genuine folk-lore. Probably we shall not be far wrong, if—anticipating the results of a later section—we attempt to rewrite the story thus. Lykaon, king of the country and representative of Zeus *Lýkaios*, was as such held responsible for the weather and the crops[14]. If the land were distressed with drought, the king, in accordance with primitive custom[15], must be put to death, passing on his divine rights and duties to a less impotent successor. In course of time this stern rule was modified[16]. The king might

[1] Apollod. 3. 8. 1 ἕνα τῶν ἐπιχωρίων παῖδα, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 481 ἐπιχώριον παῖδα, pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.* ἕνα τῶν ἐγχωρίων παιδαρίων.

[2] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 41, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 24.

[3] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 36. 5 p. 27, 19 ff. Stählin, Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 20 ff., schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481.

[4] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 89.

[5] Paus. 8. 2. 3.

[6] Zeus had come in the guise of a working-man (Apollod. 3. 8. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 481, pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.*) or stranger (Nikol. Dam. and Souid. *locc. citt.*).

[7] Paus. 8. 2. 3, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 731, Myth. Vat. 1. 17, 2. 60.

[8] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 41.

[9] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 8, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 89, Ov. *met.* 1. 230 ff., Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 11. 128.

[10] Apollod. 3. 81, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 481. The youngest, Nyktimos, escaped, for Ge held up her hands, clasped the right hand of Zeus, and assuaged his anger.

[11] Hyg. *fab.* 176.

[12] Nikol. Dam. and Souid. *locc. citt.*, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 481. A second version given by schol. Lyk. *ib.* states that Zeus destroyed the sons of Lykaon with lightning till Ge stretched forth her hand and interceded for them, and that he turned some of them into wolves (cp. pseudo-Hekat. *loc. cit.*).

[13] Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 481, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 41, Myth. Vat. 1. 189.

[14] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] i. 154 ff., [3]The Magic Art i. 396 ff.

[15] *Id. ib.*[2] i. 158 f., [3]The Magic Art i. 352 ff.

[16] *Id. ib.*[2] ii. 55 f., [3]The Dying God p. 160 ff. See also *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 392 ff.

sacrifice his son, or grandson, or the son of one of his subjects, or even, by a further relaxation, a stranger from afar in lieu of his own life. He thus discharged his original debt; but only to incur another of equal magnitude. For by slaying his son or grandson or subject he would render himself liable to the early law of bloodshed[1]. If a man slew a member of an alien tribe or city, he must either be slain himself in return or else pay a sufficient blood-price. But if he slew a member of his own tribe or city, no blood-price was allowed: he must be put to death, or—it was the only possible alternative—flee into perpetual exile. The king, therefore, taken in this dilemma, sought to escape by the expedient of the common feast, which enabled him to share his guilt with others. The feasters in turn transferred it to a single member of the 'Flower'-clan. And he had forthwith to pay the penalty otherwise incumbent on the king; he had, that is, either to die the death or to flee the country.

It would seem, then, that the myth of Lykaon has in effect preserved the first stages of a custom whose final form is given in the statements of Skopas and Euanthes. Not often does an aetiological myth supply so satisfactory an *aition*. Viewing the story as a whole, we cannot but feel that the connexion of Zeus *Lýkaios* with the light sky is a more fundamental feature of it than the transformation of his worshippers into wolves. He as god of the light sky normally bestowed the sunshine and ripened the crops. They on certain rare and exceptional occasions incurred bloodguiltiness in his service and had to disappear. They might be killed, or they might be exiled. Some of our authorities declare that Zeus struck them with lightning—an appropriate end for worshippers of a sky-god[2]. Others state that they became were-wolves—again an appropriate fate for exiles and vagabonds[3]. This belief in were-wolves, which has from time immemorial prevailed throughout Europe[4] and is even now to be traced in

[1] H. E. Seebohm *On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society* London 1895 p. 41 ff. ('The Liability for Bloodshed'). Moreover, 'the sanctity of the stranger-guest, who as early as Homer and probably much earlier was placed under the protection of Zeus, was almost as great as the sanctity of the kinsman's life, and to slay him was a religious sin, for which, according to one legend, Heracles was sold into slavery to Omphale' (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 73 with note d).

[2] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 385 f., 1905 xvi. 324 f.

[3] See the facts collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 918 n. 7.

Note also that, according to Macrīzī *De valle Hadhramaut* Bonn 1866 p. 19 f. (quoted by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 88, R. Campbell Thompson *Semitic Magic* London 1908 p. 57 n. 1), the Ṣei'ar in Hadramaut can change to were-wolves in time of drought.

[4] Recent monographs on the subject are S. Baring-Gould *The Book of Were-Wolves*

Arkadia[1], naturally attached itself to the rite of eating human flesh[2]. And lycanthropy often involved metamorphosis for a given term of years, after which the were-wolf returned to human shape[3]. But nowhere else, so far as I am aware, did this superstition stand in any special relation to the cult of Zeus. I conclude, therefore, that Zeus *Lýkaios* was not essentially, but only as it were by accident, a 'Wolf'-god. His original character was that of a 'Light'-god controlling the sunshine, the rain, and the crops.

(d) The Precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*.

In 1903 Mr K. Kourouniotes trenched the altar and laid bare the precinct of Zeus *Lýkaios*. I will here summarise the results of the excavation[4].

The top of Mount Lykaion (fig. 50)[5] has three crests—*Stepháni*, the highest point (about 4615 ft above sea-level); *Áe Liás*, somewhat lower (about 4550 ft); and *Diaphórti*, on which is a ruined tower, probably Turkish in origin. It is with *Áe Liás* that we are concerned. This summit takes its name from Saint Elias[6], whose little chapel stands on the south-east edge of a small level space adjoining the crest on its south side. The level is known locally as *Tabérna* from a shop, which was once established here to supply necessaries for the saint's festival.

London 1865, W. Hertz *Der Werwolf* Stuttgart 1862, W. Fischer *Dämonische Wesen, Vampir u. Werwolf, in Geschichte und Sage* (*Aberglaube aller Zeiten* iii) Stuttgart 1906. See also R. Leubuscher *Dissertatio de Lycanthropia Medio aevo* Berlin 1850, F. G. Welcker 'Lykanthropie ein Aberglaube und eine Krankheit' in his *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1850 iii. 157—184, W. H. Roscher 'Das von der "Kynanthropie" handelnde Fragment des Marcellus von Side' in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 1—92.

[1] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 240. On the were-wolf in modern Greece generally consult N. G. Polites *περὶ Λυκοκανθάρων* in the journal *Πανδώρα* 1866 xvi. 453 f., *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 67 ff., and *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 1240 ff., where a full bibliography is given.

[2] Hertz *op. cit.* p. 39 (quoted by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 920 n. 3) adduces Indian and German examples of men transformed into beasts after tasting human flesh.

[3] *E.g.* S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* pp. 58 (Ireland: seven years), 59 ('Ossyrian' *sic*: seven years), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 55 (Normandy: seven years, sometimes three).

[4] K. Kourouniotes in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 pp. 153—214. See also F. H. Marshall in the *Class. Rev.* 1905 xix. 280 f. Kourouniotes has further excavated the hippodrome etc. on Mt Lykaion (*Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ.* 1909 pp. 185—200 with figs., cp. *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 417).

[5] From a photograph kindly sent to me by Mr Kourouniotes, through whose generosity I am enabled also to make use of the unpublished photograph (pl. viii) and the illustrations in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. loc. cit.*

[6] *Ἁγ Λιᾶς* = *Ἅγιος Ἠλίας*.

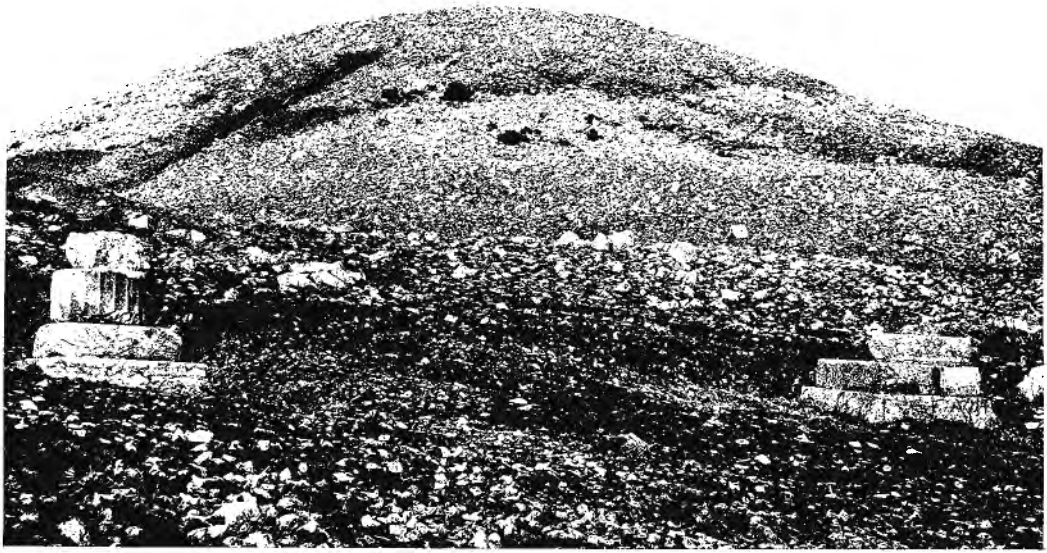
The altar of Zeus forms the apex of *Áe Liâs*. It is circular in shape and flat like a threshing-floor, measuring 97 ft 6 ins. across. It is composed mainly of the remains of sacrifices, the rock being covered to a depth of 5 ft with a layer of ashes etc. In this layer are numerous bones, mostly those of small animals, but also of oxen and pigs: no human bones were recognised. All the bones had been burnt. Among the débris are large charred stones at

Fig. 50.

irregular intervals, lying singly or gathered together in small heaps. These served to prevent the ashes from being blown away from the exposed and wind-swept height[1]. Small fragments of *phiálai* and *skýphoi* dating from the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. were found in the sacrificial stratum, also two small *kotylískoi*, sundry portions of lamps, chips of roof-tiles—one inscribed $\frac{\text{AP}}{\text{OEI}}$ in lettering of the

[1] Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 240 in Laciniae Iunonis ara sub diu sita cinerem inmobilem esse perflantibus undique procellis (quoted by Kourouniotes) and the evidence collected *infra* p. 103 nn. 1—4, with regard to the summits of Olympos, Kyllene, and Athos.

Proof of the sanctity attaching to ashes has come to light at Orchomenos in Boiotia. Inside the houses of the second pre-Mycenaean stratum H. Bulle found numerous *βόθροι*, carefully lined with yellow clay. These pits were circular in plan and U-shaped in vertical section. They were for the most part filled with ashes, which appear to have been kept for religious reasons (H. Bulle *Orchomenos* München 1907 i. 25 ff.).



The summit of Mount Lykaion. In the foreground are the bases of the two eagle-bearing columns of Zeus.

See page 83 f., *cp. page* 81 *n.* 5.

fourth century—and an almost shapeless terra cotta bird. The metal finds included a silver coin of Aigina (*c.* 500 B.C.), two small tripods of beaten bronze, and an iron knife—altogether a meagre and disappointing collection.

The precinct, which occupies the level called *Tabérna*, is approximately 180 ft broad by 400 ft long. It is marked out by a line of unworked stones, a boundary that men or beasts could easily cross[1]. The earth here is blackish, but has no bones in it. Kourouniotes believes that the discoloration is due to the blood of animals slain as it were on the *próthysis* before they were burnt on the altar. Perhaps a geologist or an analytical chemist could supply a less gruesome explanation. In the soil of the precinct were found fragments of roof-tiles, part of an iron chain, a large key, a greave decorated with swans and serpents in relief and inscribed ΒΝΔΑΣΑΝΒ... ...ΑΙΑ⊗ΑΝΑΙ[2], a bronze statuette-base, and two bronze statuettes. One of these was a beardless Hermes (*c.* 490—470 B.C.) in *chitonískos*, *chlamýs*, *pílos*, and winged boots; the other a later figure, probably of the same god, with *chlamýs* and *pétasos*[3].

A little lower down than the eastern limit of the precinct Kontopoulos had discovered in 1897 two large bases about 23 ft apart, undoubtedly those of the two eagle-bearing columns mentioned by Pausanias[4]. In a gully north-east of the summit he had found also one marble drum from a Doric column of twenty flutes, and had erected it on the southern base (pl. viii)[5]. Kourouniotes continued the search, and was rewarded for his pains. He obtained other blocks belonging to the bases, which were thus proved to have resembled the three-stepped statue-bases of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. The columns themselves were still standing in Pausanias' day, but the gilded eagles had gone[6]. Kourouniotes accounts for their disappearance as follows. He points out that in the market-place at Megalopolis Pausanias saw an enclosure of stones and a sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios* containing altars, two tables, and two eagles[7]; and he suggests that these

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 159 f. fig. 1.

[2] Kourouniotes restores [Εὐτ]ελίδας ἀνέ[θηκε τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ καὶ τ]ᾷ Ἀθάνᾳ.

[3] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 pls. 9—10.

[4] *Supra* p. 66 n. 1.

[5] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 173 f. fig. 7, cp. pl. 8, 1.

[6] Paus. 8. 38. 7 *πρὸ δὲ τοῦ βωμοῦ κίονες δύο ὡς ἐπὶ ἀνίσχοντα ἐστήκασιν ἥλιον, ἀετοὶ δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς ἐπίχρυσοι τά γε ἔτι παλαιότερα ἐπεποίηντο.*

[7] Paus. 8. 30. 2 *περίβολος δέ ἐστιν ἐν ταύτῃ λίθων καὶ ἱερὸν Λυκαίου Διός, ἔσοδος δὲ ἐς αὐτὸ οὐκ ἔστι· τὰ γὰρ ἐντός ἐστι δὴ σύνοπτα, βωμοί τέ εἰσι τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ τράπεζαι δύο καὶ ἀετοὶ ταῖς τραπέζαις ἴσοι.*

eagles had been carried off from the precinct on Mount Lykaion. However that may be, digging close to the northern base on the mountain side, Kourouniotes came upon an interesting series of bronze statuettes illustrative of the cult[1].

The earliest of them, which he refers to the seventh century B.C., is a clumsy figure of Zeus with short legs and long body. The god stands erect. His raised right hand grasps a thunderbolt, his outstretched left has an eagle perched upon it (fig. 51)[2].

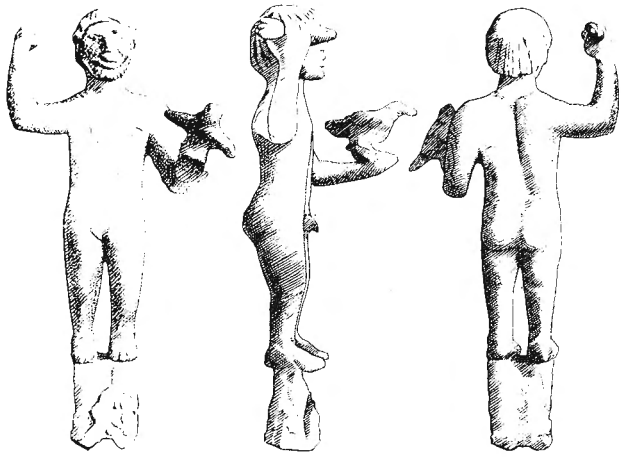


Fig. 51.

The second statuette shows Zeus striding forward with uplifted right hand and extended left. In the former there was once a bolt, in the latter perhaps an eagle (fig. 52)[3]. Similar statuettes, which

[1] In addition to the bronzes here described there were found two figures of Hermes, showing traces of Polykleitos' style (*Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 200 ff. figs. 20–22), another in the attitude of a runner (*ib.* p. 206 fig. 24), a coiled snake with two heads (*ib.* p. 211 figs. 27), and a votive dress (*ib.* p. 212 fig. 28). The fact that at least three, probably four, statuettes of Hermes were found in or near the precinct requires explanation. Was there a cult of Hermes on the spot? For the dedication of one deity in the temple of another see the careful collection of facts in W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 391 ff. But as Miss Harrison has pointed out to me, T. Zielinski in the *Ausg. z. Kl.* 1906 xiii. 321 ff., ix. 25 ff. shows that the Hermes of the Hermetic worship may come to Kyrene from Arkadia. The remaining finds included ten engraved rings, one of bronze, the rest of iron.

[2] *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1904 p. 181 f. figs. 8–10.

[3] *Ib.* p. 185 fig. 11.

Fig. 52.

Fig. 53.

Fig. 54.

exemplify a type current about 480 B.C.[1], have been found at Olympia (fig. 53)[2] and at Dodona (fig. 54)[3].

Thirdly (fig. 55)[4] we have Zeus seated squarely on a throne, which is now lost. His hair is long and falls over his back; his beard is pointed; and his lips are drawn up in the usual archaic expression. He wears a *chitón* with short sleeves, and a *himátion* draped under his right arm and over his left shoulder. His feet, which are bare, rest on a footstool. Both arms are bent at the elbow, and both hands hold attributes. In the left is the lower

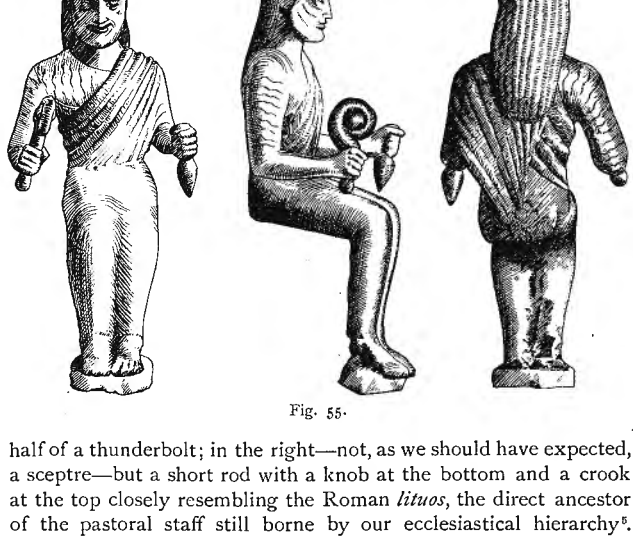


Fig. 55.

half of a thunderbolt; in the right—not, as we should have expected, a sceptre—but a short rod with a knob at the bottom and a crook at the top closely resembling the Roman *lituos*, the direct ancestor of the pastoral staff still borne by our ecclesiastical hierarchy[5].

[1] See the discussion by Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 149—152 pl. 10, 1.

[2] *Olympia* iv. 18 f. nos. 43—45 pl. 7, 43, 45, pl. 8, 44. See *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (a).

[3] C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 pl. 12, 4, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 362 no. 31. The finest specimen of this type is at Berlin: R. Kekulé von Stradonitz and H. Winnefeld *Bronzen aus Dodona in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1909 pl. 1, A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 30.

[4] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 187 f. figs. 12—14, A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 170 f.

[5] On the derivation of the pastoral staff from the *lituos* see the Rev. H. T. Armfield in Smith-Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1565 ff.

Kourouniotes reminds us that, according to tradition[1], Euandros, son of Hermes, led a colony from Pallantion in Arkadia into Italy, where he built a town Pallantion on the Palatine, and introduced the cult of Pan *Lýkaios* and the festival of the Lykaia, later known as the Lupercalia. This tradition points to an early connexion between Arkadia and Italy; and it is open to us to believe that the use of the *lituos* came to the latter from the former. But what exactly was the *lituos*? In shape it differs but little from that of the ordinary crooked stick carried by old-fashioned Greeks[2]. Monsieur H. Thédenat, after a review of the evidence, concludes—on the strength of a note by Servius[3]—that the augur's *lituos* may have been a royal sceptre[4]. This conclusion is borne out by the Hittite rock-carvings of Boghaz-Keui (*c.* 1271 B.C.), where the priestly king carries a large reversed *lituos*[5]. I would venture one step further and suggest that the *lituos* is ultimately the conventionalised branch of a sacred tree[6]. If Zeus *Lýkaios* bears a *lituos*, it is because his sceptre, so to speak, was an oak-branch. His priest—we have seen—took an oak-branch in hand, when he acted as rain-maker on Mount Lykaion[7]. But, whether the *lituos* represents an original branch or not, it certainly serves as a quasi-sceptre. For this statuette (*c.* 550—500 B.C.) can hardly be dissociated from the fifth-century coinage of Arkadia, which—we have said[8]—shows Zeus *Lýkaios* seated on a throne with a sceptre in his hand. In all probability both the statuette and the coins represent the cult image of the god[9].

[1] Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 839 ff.

[2] E. Saglio in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 639 ff. A black-figured *amphora* shows Zeus enthroned with a crooked stick as sceptre (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 48, 2, 2*b*).

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 187 *lituum*, id est regium baculum, in quo potestas esset dirimendarum litium.

[4] H. Thédenat in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1277 f. L. Siret in *L'Anthropologie* 1910 xxi. 303 would connect it with neolithic axe-handles: he sees in its form and theirs the arm of a cuttle-fish!

[5] J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 217, 229 pls. 68, 71.

[6] Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 345 derives *lituus*, Gothic *liþus*, Old High German *lid*, 'limb,' from a root **lei-t-*, 'to crook or bend,' which with another determinative gives the Old Icelandic *limr*, 'limb,' *lim*, 'branch,' and the Anglo-Saxon *lim*, 'limb, branch.'

On the royal sceptre as a conventionalised tree see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 370 ff.

[7] *Supra* p. 65; *infra* ch. ii § 9 (a) iii.

[8] *Supra* p. 68. Specimens were found by Kourouniotes on Mt Lykaion.

[9] The *lituos* is not elsewhere known as an attribute of Zeus. A bronze statuette found at Olympia shows him holding in his left hand a broken object, which ends below in a stud or knob. This Furtwängler *Olympia* iv. 17 pl. 7, 40, 40*a* took to be the handle of a sword: Kourouniotes would restore it as a *lituos* (so also Stais *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 289 f. no. 6163).

A fourth figure, more clumsy in style, gives us Zeus standing on a square base. He is clothed in a long *himation*. In his clenched right hand he holds the remains of a thunderbolt; in his clenched left, no attribute at all (fig. 56)[1].

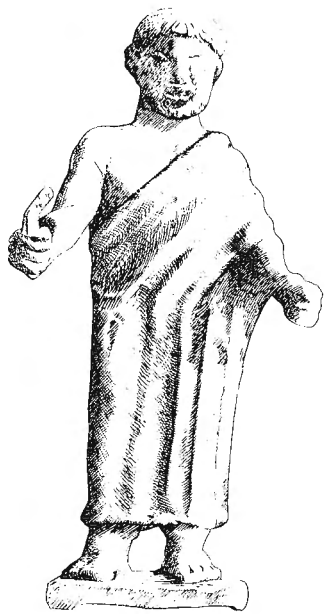


Fig. 56.

A few other fragments—a right hand grasping part of a bolt[2], the fore-part of a right foot[3], and an eagle with spread wings (fig. 57 *a*, *b*)[4] possibly belong to a larger statue, or statues, of Zeus, and may be assigned to the early fifth century[5].

[1] Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 193 fig. 15.
[2] *Ib.* p. 194 fig. 17.
[3] *Ib.* p. 194 fig. 16.
[4] *Ib.* p. 195 f. figs. 18—19.
[5] It may here be mentioned that the British Museum possesses a silver ingot, said to have been found in Sicily, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣΛΥΚΑ on one side, ΤΡΥΓΟΝ on the other, and was doubtless dedicated to Zeus *Lýkaios* by one Trygon (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gk. Rom. Life* 1908 p. 37 f. no. 70, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 597). The romance imagined by Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 513 is baseless.

Fig. 57 *a*.

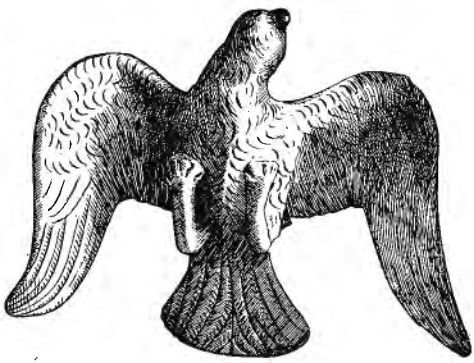


Fig. 57 *b*.

(e) The Cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* at Kyrene.

The cult of Zeus *Lýkaios* spread from Arkadia to Kyrene. There appears, indeed, to have been some ancestral link between these two places; for more than once Arcadians were called in to settle with authority political disputes that had arisen at Kyrene[1].

[1] Hdt. 4. 161 (Demonax of Mantineia, shortly after 550 B.C.), Polyb. 10. 22. 2 f. and Plout. *v. Philopoim.* 1 (Ekdemos and Demophanes, or Megalophanes, of Megalopolis, in the third century B.C.). See also *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 42 n. 1.

Herodotos relates that the Persian army, on its return from the capture of Barke (512 B.C.), encamped upon the 'hill of Zeus *Lýkaios*' near Kyrene[1]. This certainly implies a Cyrenaic cult of that deity. Moreover, Ludvig Müller pointed out that the figure of Zeus *Lýkaios* on the early silver coins of Arkadia (fig. 43)[2] is reproduced on a gold *statér* of Kyrene (fig. 58)[3]. Here too we see the god enthroned towards the left with a sceptre in his right hand, while an eagle flies directly towards him. Other specimens of the Cyrenaic *statér* vary, as did the Arcadian coins, only with more freedom, the position of the eagle, which sometimes flies before Zeus with a snake in its talons[4], sometimes rests on the

Fig. 58.

Fig. 59.

Fig. 60.

Fig. 61.

Fig. 62.

Fig. 63.

right hand of the god[5], sometimes perches behind him on a stem or branch curved like a *lituos* (figs. 59, 60)[6], and sometimes is absent altogether[7]. The remarkable adjunct of the eagle on a *lituos*-shaped branch cannot, so far as I know, be precisely paralleled.

[1] Hdt. 4. 203.

[2] Cp. *supra* p. 68 f.

[3] L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhague 1860 i. 48 no. 184 fig. 184, *ib.* p. 67.

[4] *Id. ib.* i. 49 no. 188, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 568 (cp. *ib.* pl. 92, 2).

[5] L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 no. 190, Supplément p. 9 pl. 1, 190, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 95 no. 717, *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 104 no. 801 pl. 10.

[6] L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 nos. 185—187 fig. 185 (my fig. 59). Fig. 60 is from a specimen in the British Museum.

In the *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 104 no. 799 pl. 10 the eagle appears to be seated on a rock. Cp. *O'Hagan Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 79 no. 786 (?).

[7] L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 49 no. 189 fig. 189.

An eagle above and in contact with a transverse *lituos* is said to occur on a late bronze coin of Panormos (fig. 61)[1]. But a better analogy is afforded by the eagle on a pine-tree before the seated figure of Zeus *Aitnaîos*, which appears on a unique tetradrachm of Aitne (fig. 62)[2], or by the eagle on a crooked bough, probably representing the oaks of Zeus *Strátios*, which is found on imperial bronze coins of Amaseia (fig. 63)[3]. In view of the fact that the eagle and the *lituos* were both attributes of Zeus at the precinct on Mount Lykaion[4] the combination of the two furnishes an additional reason for believing that the throned Zeus of Kyrene was indeed Zeus *Lýkaios*[5].

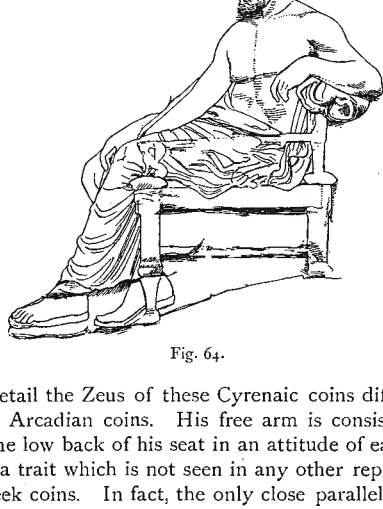


Fig. 64.

In one detail the Zeus of these Cyrenaic coins differs from the Zeus of the Arcadian coins. His free arm is consistently shown resting on the low back of his seat in an attitude of easy indolence. Now this is a trait which is not seen in any other representation of Zeus on Greek coins. In fact, the only close parallel to it[6] in the whole range of ancient Zeus-types is the careless and yet majestic

[1] P. Paruta *Sicilia Numismatica* Lugduni Batavorum 1723 pl. 3, 23.

[2] *Infra* Append. B Sicily.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. 8 pl. 1, 15; 11 pl. 2, 7 (=my fig. 63) Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 35 pl. 5, 11; 40 pl. 6, 5. On the oaks of Zeus Στράτιος see *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 f., 372 fig. 5, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 296, 306 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 83 ff.

[5] Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 729, *ib.*[2] p. 869 says 'Zeus Ammon'—a curious blunder.

[6] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 161.

pose of Zeus in the Parthenon frieze (fig. 64)[1]. It is, therefore, highly probable that the cult-statue of Zeus *Lýkaios* existing at Kyrene in the period to which the gold coins belong was the work, if not of Pheidias himself, at least of some sculptor much under his influence. If further evidence be required, one may point to the fact that in a temple of Helios and Selene at Byzantion there was preserved as late as the eleventh century a white marble statue of Zeus ascribed to Pheidias, of which we are told that it 'seemed to be seated on a sofa[2].' Whether the product of Pheidiac art or not, Zeus at Kyrene reclined on his throne in an attitude of unusual repose. This, if I am not mistaken, earned for him the curious *sobriquet* of *Elinýmenos*[3], Zeus 'Taking his *Siesta*[4].'

(f) Zeus *Lýkaios* on a Spartan ('Cyrenaic') *Kýlix*.

F. Studniczka[5] in dealing with the cults of Kyrene observed that a seated Zeus on a 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix* in the Louvre (fig. 65)[6] bore a striking resemblance to the seated Zeus of the Arcadian coins, and proposed to identify the former with the latter as Zeus *Lýkaios*. And such he may well be. For the force of Studniczka's comparison is in no way weakened by Mr J. P. Droop's discovery that the original home of 'Cyrenaic' ware was not Kyrene but Sparta[7]. From Mount Lykaion to the Eurotas valley was no far

[1] A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pl. 34, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909 pl. 127, 30. Cp. Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 29 pl. 10 no. 6 after Bartoli-Bellori *Admir. Rom. ant.* pl. 27.

[2] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 c (i. 567 Bekker) *αὐτοῦ δὲ πρὸς γῆν ἣν βρέτας Διὸς ἐκ λευκοῦ λίθου, ἔργον Φειδίου, ἱζάνον τῷ δοκεῖν ἐπὶ κλίνης.*

[3] Hesych. *Ἐλινύμενος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ.*

[4] Hesych. *ἐλινύων· ἀναπαυόμενος.* L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 67 f. regards the *lituos*-shaped branch of the Cyrenaic coins as a vine-shoot, and conjectures that Zeus *Ἐλινύμενος* meant not only 'le dieu qui repose' but also the god 'of the Vine-shoot' (*et. mag.* p. 330, 39 f. *ἐλινός·...τὸν κλάδον τῆς ἀμπέλου*). But the epithet is obviously a participle.

[5] F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 14 f.

[6] Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 529, *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 63 no. E 668, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 p. 237 ff. pl. 12, 3.

[7] *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 2, 44 ff. See also R. M. Dawkins in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 322 f. and in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1908* p. 17, A. J. B. Wace *ib. 1909* p. 48 f. W. Klein *Euphronios*[2] Wien 1886 p. 77 had previously conjectured that the 'Cyrenaic' vases were made in Lakonike.

The subject cannot here be discussed in detail. But we must bear in mind that Sparta, as the mother of Thera, was the grandmother of Kyrene. It would not therefore be surprising to find that a ware originating in Sparta was made at Kyrene also. And this seems on the whole to be the simplest assumption in the case of the Arkesilas-*kýlix* (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 98 ff. no. 189). See J. R. Wheeler *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* New York etc. 1909 p. 468 n. 1.

cry; and, if Alkman the great lyric poet of Sparta composed a hymn to Zeus *Lýkaios*[1], the Spartan potters very possibly represented the same deity on their cups. The Louvre *kýlix* is on this showing the artistic counterpart of Alkman's poem. Zeus, wearing a *chitón* and tightly swathed in an ornamental *himátion*, is seated on his altar—a large stepped structure of stone blocks[2]—, while his eagle wings its way directly towards him. The god's long hair hangs over his back, and his upper lip is shaved in genuine Spartan style[3].

Fig. 65.

Another 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix*, now in the Royal Museum at Cassel, shows a male figure enthroned in conversation with Hermes (fig. 66)[4]. It is at first sight tempting to regard this too as a representation of Zeus *Lýkaios*, in whose precinct sundry statuettes of Hermes were

[1] Alkman *frag.* 1 ff. Bergk[4]. Himer. *or.* 5. 3 (Alkman) ἐτύγχανε μὲν διὰ τῆς Σπάρτης εἰς Διὸς Λυκαίου κομίζων ἄσματα, κ.τ.λ.

[2] See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 40 f.

[3] W. Ridgeway in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 p. 305.

[4] *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii Arch. Anz. p. 189 f. figs. 2—3.

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.

found[1]. But the bird behind the throne is, as J. Boehlau remarked[2], merely put in to fill up the blank space and cannot pass muster as the eagle of Zeus. Moreover the vase is not to be dissociated from two others of the same sort. One of these, a *kýlix* in the Munich collection, again depicts a male figure on a lion-legged throne, conversing with similar gestures. His interlocutor is a female figure, conceived on a smaller scale and enthroned over against him. The supports of the larger throne are in the shapes of a tree and an animal—species difficult to determine (fig. 67)[3]. The second vase, a fragmentary *kýlix* in the British Museum, once more shows a man on a lion-footed throne. Before him stands a woman, who raises her left hand with a gesture of reverence and in her right hand presents a pomegranate (fig. 68)[4]. This last vase fortunately enables us to fix the character of the other two; for its resemblance to the contemporary funereal reliefs of Lakonike[5] is quite unmistakeable. Indeed, further inspection reveals numerous points of contact between all three vases and the reliefs in question. I conclude, therefore, that what the reliefs were in sculpture the vases were in ceramic art—a memorial of the divinised dead. This satisfactorily accounts for the enthronement

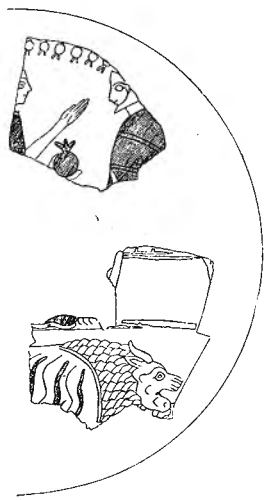


Fig. 68.

[1] *Supra* p. 83.

[2] *Jahrb.* etc. *loc. cit.*

[3] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 229 f. no. 737, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 13, 5, F. Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 8 fig. 3.

This vase is commonly thought to represent a *genre* scene—a man talking with a woman. But on 'Cyrenaic' ware religious or mythological types predominate (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 341), and we may fairly suspect a deeper meaning. Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 23 suggests Apollon with the Hesperid Kyrene.

The animal supporting the throne has been variously interpreted as a hare (O. Jahn *loc. cit.*) or a dog (A. Dumont—E. Pottier *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1884 i. 302, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 434).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 51 no. B 6 (Apollon? and Kyrene), Studniczka *op. cit.* p. 23 fig. 18 (Apollon or Aristaios? or Battos?? and Kyrene) and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1729 (Battos and Kyrene).

[5] The best collection of facts concerning these reliefs is that given by M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 102 ff.

of the man and the woman, for the presence of Hermes the 'Conductor of Souls,' for the reverential attitude of the worshipper, and for her gift of a pomegranate. Finally, just as the funereal

Fig. 69.

reliefs tended towards simplification of type[1], so a 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix* in the National Museum at Athens reduces the whole scene of the enthroned dead to a mere head and shoulders (fig. 69)[2].

(g) Zeus-like deities in wolf-skin garb.

A small bronze statuette, found in the Rhine-district and procured by F. G. Welcker for the Museum of National Antiquities at Bonn, was believed by J. Overbeck to represent Zeus *Lýkaios*. The god stands erect holding a deep bowl or pot in his outstretched right hand and leaning with his raised left hand on some object now lost. He is clad over head, shoulders, and back in a wolf-skin, the fore-paws of which have been cut off, sewn on inside, and

[1] M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 107 f.

[2] J. P. Droop in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 176 ff. figs. 1 *b*—4.

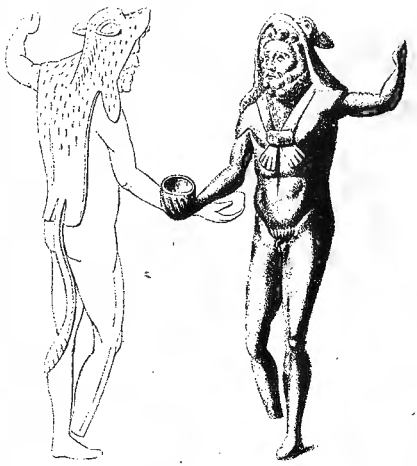


Fig. 70.

Fig. 71.

Fig. 72.

Fig. 73.

knotted round the wearer's neck (fig. 70)[1]. It will not be denied that this interesting bronze shows a Zeus-like god wearing a wolf-skin. But we shall not venture to describe him as Zeus *Lýkaios*. For there is neither literary nor epigraphic evidence to prove that the Arcadian Zeus travelled as far north as he did south. And, even if that had been the case, his cult-type was widely different from this. Rather we shall agree with S. Reinach[2], who ranges the Bonn statuette[3] along with a whole series of bronzes representing the Gallo-Roman *Dis pater*, the ancestor—Caesar tells us[4]—of all the Gauls. Such figures regularly hold a bowl in one hand and rest the other on a long-handled mallet. Many of them also wear a wolf-skin hood (fig. 71)[5], though the nature of the skin is seldom so clearly marked as in this example. Reinach himself suggests that the Gaulish mallet-god may have got his wolf-skin from some Greek identification of him with the Arcadian Zeus *Lýkaios*[6]. But it must not be forgotten that in Etruscan tomb-paintings at Orvieto (fig. 72)[7] and Corneto (fig. 73)[8] Hades likewise is coifed in a wolf-skin[9]; and from the Etruscan Hades to the Gallo-Roman *Dis pater* there is but a short step.

[1] J. Overbeck in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1851 xvii. 69—74 pl. 2, *id. Katalog der königl. preuss. rhein. Mus. vaterländ. Alterthümer* Bonn 1851 p. 98 no. 5, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 266 f. Overbeck is followed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 8.

[2] Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* pp. 137—185. [3] *Id. ib.* p. 181.

[4] Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 18.

[5] Drawn from a cast of the bronze found at Saint-Paul-Trois-Châteaux (Drôme) and now in the Museum at Avignon (Reinach *op. cit.* p. 141 no. 146, *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 no. 8). Another fine specimen from Vienne (Isère) is in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 142 no. 788, *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 178 pl. 26).

[6] Reinach *op. cit.* p. 141 n. 2, cp. p. 162 n. 8.

[7] G. Conestabile *Pitture murali e suppellettili etrusche scoperte presso Orvieto nel* 1863 *da Domen. Golini* Firenze 1865 pl. 11, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1807 f.

[8] *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 15 and 15 *a*, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 27, C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1805.

[9] W. H. Roscher in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 44 f., 60 f. compares Lykas the hero of Temesa, who was 'horribly black' and wore a wolf-skin (Paus. 6. 6. 11) and Lykos the hero of Athens, who had the form of a wolf (Eratosth. *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* δεκάζων, *alib.*), arguing that in Greece as elsewhere 'die Todtengeister Wolfsgestalt annehmen.' A gold pendant seal of the sixth century B.C. from Kypros shows a male figure with the head and tail of a wolf thrusting a sword through a panther or lion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. jewellery* p. 167 no. 1599 fig. 49 pl. 26). Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 80 n. 1 recognises as Thanatos a winged youth with a wolf-skin or dog-skin cap, who carries off a girl on an Attic statuette-vase belonging to the end of the fifth century B.C. (*Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 381 ff. pl. 12). A beardless head wearing a wolf-skin occurs on a copper coin of Sinope (H. Dressel in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 218 pl. 5, 6, Waddington-Babelon-Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 196 pl. 26, 15); but this, to judge from a copper coin of Amisos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. xvi, 20 pl. 4, 3, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 497 (Amazon Lykastia?), Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 46 pl. 3, 20), is probably female. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* interprets

§ 4. *Zeus and Olympos.*

(a) The cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos.

Ólympos was an ancient, perhaps a pre-Greek[1], name for a whole series of mountains in Greece and Asia Minor. Of the Arcadian Olympos I have already spoken. Lakonike had its Olympos near the town of Sellasia[2]. Pisa in Elis was situated between two mountains named Ossa and Olympos[3], homonyms of the greater Ossa and Olympos in Thessaly and Makedonia. A mountain near Laurion in Attike is still called Olympos[4], as is another and loftier height near Eretria in Euboia[5], and a third in Skyros[6]. A mountain-village in Karpathos bears the same name[7]. The Mysian Olympos is a mountain-chain forming the boundary between Bithynia and Mysia. It was sometimes confused with Mount Ide: indeed four peaks of Mount Ide opposite to the town of Antandros bore the name Olympos[8]. There was another Olympos in Galatia[9], unless we should identify it with the Mysian range, another in Lydia[10], another in Lykia[11], yet another in Kilikia[12]. Lesbos too had its Mount Olympos[13], and Kypros had two heights that bore that name[14]. Finally Panchaia, the fabulous island of Euhemeros, had an Olympos of its own[15].

the head on the Amisos coin as that of Perseus wearing the cap of Hades, and similarly explains the wolf-skin or dog-skin cap of Athena in the Villa Albani (Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 46 no. 781, Brunn-Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 226) and on two Roman monuments found near Trèves (F. Hettner *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* Trier 1893 p. 20 f. no. 27 d, p. 40 f. no. 55). Cp. also the antefixes from Ruvo (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 8, *b*, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 225 ff.) and Tarentum (British Museum, Terracotta Room, case 43—uncatalogued) showing the Gorgon's head in a skin cap. For a late (*s.* xii?) relief of a man with a wolf's or dog's head see O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 160 fig. 92.

[1] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 77, 127, 164 suggests that it may have been a Phrygian name. *Id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 prefers to regard it as 'Pelasgian.'

[2] Polyb. 2. 65. 8 f., 66. 8 and 10, 69. 3, 5. 24. 9.

[3] Strab. 356, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 409, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598.

[4] K. Baedeker *Greece* Leipsic 1889 p. 131.

[5] K. Baedeker *op. cit.* p. 202, J. Murray *Greece* London 1900 pp. 702, 734.

[6] *General-Karte von Griechenland* Wien 1885 pl. 5.

[7] R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 188 ff.

[8] Strab. 470, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 27, 44 f.

[9] Polyb. 21. 37. 9, Liv. 38. 18 ff., Val. Max. 6. 1. 2 *ext.*, Flor. 1. 27. 5, Oros. 4. 20. 25, Amm. Marc. 26. 9. 2, Sex. Ruf. 11.

[10] Athen. 38 F, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 118, Val. Max. 1. 7. 4 *ext.*

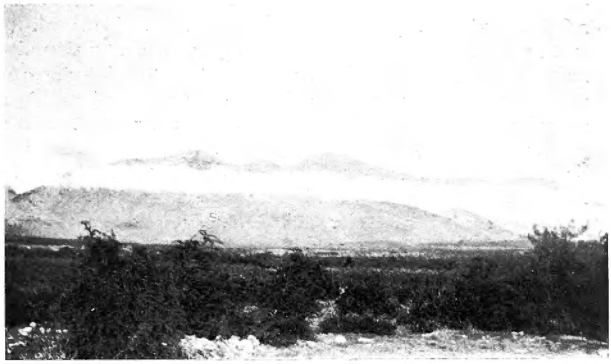
[11] Strab. 666, Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 31, Phot. *bibl.* p. 298 b 23 f. Bekker. See further De Vit *Onomasticon* iv. 796 f.

[12] Strab. 671, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 598.

[13] Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 140.

[14] Strab. 682 f., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 27, 40 f.

[15] Diod. 5. 44.

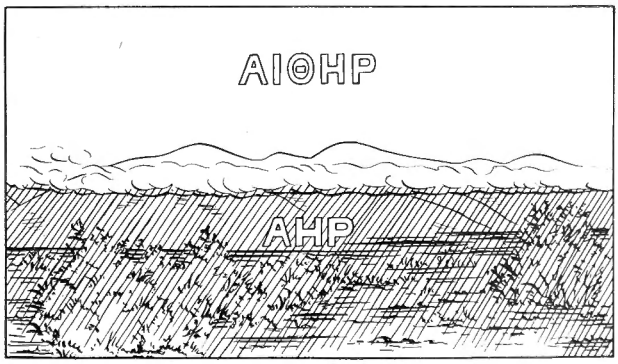


1

Mount Olympos (the Homeric μακρὸς Ὄλυμπος) from the port of Litokhoro.

[This photograph was taken by Mr A. J. B. Wace about 7.30 o'clock on an August morning, when there was still a little snow on the summit.]

See page 101.



2

Diagram showing Mount Olympos rising through the *aér* into the *aithér*.

See page 101 ff.

Of all these mountains the most important, from a religious and mythological point of view, is the great Macedonian ridge that culminates in a peak still known as *Élymbo*[1]. Soaring to a height of 9,754 feet above sea-level, it affords a wide panorama: the eye travels south to Mount Parnassos, south-west to the range of Pindos, north to the confines of Makedonia, east to Mount Athos and the sea beyond[2]. Equally striking is the view of the mountain from below[3]. Dr Holland, who saw it from *Litókhoro*, writes: 'We had not before been aware of the extreme vicinity of the town to the base of Olympus; but when leaving it...and accidentally looking back, we saw through an opening in the fog, a faint outline of vast precipices, seeming almost to overhang the place; and so aerial in their aspect, that for a few minutes we doubted whether it might not be a delusion to the eye. The fog, however, dispersed yet more on this side, and partial openings were made; through which, as through arches, we saw the sunbeams resting on the snowy summits of Olympus[4].' Dr Holland adds that these summits 'rose into a dark blue sky, far above the belt of clouds and mist that hung upon the sides of the mountain.'

The ancients were much impressed by the fact that Olympos rears its crest above the rain-clouds[5]. They fancied that birds could not fly over it[6], and that at such an altitude the air was too thin to support human life[7]. In short, Olympos penetrated the *aér* or 'moist sky' and reached the *aithér* or 'burning sky' (pl. ix 1, 2)[8]. It was in the Greek sense of the term an 'aetherial'

[1] E. Dodwell *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* London 1819 ii. 106, W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1835 iii. 342, 349, 407, A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* p. 77.

The same form of the name *Élymbo* or *Élymbos* is given by the modern Greeks to the mountains in Attike and Euboia (*supra* p. 100 nn. 4, 5).

[2] L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860 p. 135.

[3] E. Dodwell *Views in Greece* London 1821 ii. 105 has a coloured plate of *Élymbo* as seen from the south between Larissa and Baba. The views given in most books of travel and topography are very inadequate. Heuzey devotes a large illustrated volume to the mountain, but provides no picture of it at all!

[4] H. Holland *Travels in the Ionian Isles*, Etc. London 1815 p. 302.

[5] Plout. *frag.* 96 Dübner *ap.* Philop. *in* Aristot. *met.* 1 p. 82, Lucan. 2. 271, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 262, Claud. *de cons. Mall. Theod.* 206 ff., Vib. Seq. p. 31 Oberlin, Aug. *de Genesi ad litt. imperf.* 1. 14, *de Genesi ad litt.* 3. 2, *de civ. Dei* 15. 27.

[6] Apul. *de deo Socr.* p. 138 Oudendorp, Aug. *de Genesi locc. citt.*, cp. Mart. Cap. 149.

[7] Aug. *de Genesi ad litt.* 3. 2.

[8] The schol. A. T. *Il.* 8. 13 gives the diagram here reproduced (fig. 74).

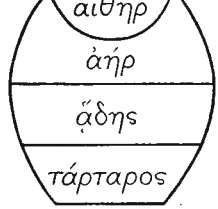


Fig. 74.

height[1], and therefore formed a fitting abode for Zeus the 'aetherial' god[2]. It is sometimes stated[3] that the only evidence of a Zeus-cult on Mount Olympos is the name of the town *Díon*[4] at its foot. But that is a mistake. Maximus Tyrius informs us that 'in primitive times men dedicated to Zeus likewise, in place of statues, the tops of mountains, Olympos and Ide and any other mountain that nears the sky[5].' An anonymous Latin mythographer records an actual cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos[6]. And sundry details concerning it are mentioned by Solinus, Plutarch and Augustine. On the summit of the mountain there was an altar to Zeus, and it was believed that offerings left upon it would not be affected by

[1] Cp. *aetherius* used of *Olympus* by Verg. *Aen.* 8. 319, 10. 621, 11. 867, Mart. *ep.* 9. 3. 3.

[2] *Supra* p. 26.

[3] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 51.

[4] At Δῖον Archelaos king of Makedonia established a festival of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (Diod. 17. 16, Arrian. 1. 11. 1, Ulp. *in* Dem. *de fals. leg.* p. 242, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δῖον, Dion Chrys. *or.* 2 p. 73 Reiske), which was celebrated also by Philippos ii (Dem. *de fals. leg.* 192, Diod. 16. 55, Dion Chrys. *or.* 2 p. 73 Reiske), and by Alexandros iii (Diod. 17. 16, cp. Arrian. 1. 11. 1), who intended to rebuild the temple there (Diod. 18. 4). The existing temple was pillaged by a band of Aetolians under Skopas in the reign of Philippos v (Polyb. 4. 62, 5. 9). In 169 B.C. the Romans under the consul Philippus treated the temple with greater respect (Liv. 44. 7). Later a Roman colony was founded at *Dium* (Ptolem. 3. 13. 15, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 35); and coins struck there in imperial times show Zeus standing with *phiále*, sceptre, and eagle (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 71, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 349 f. cp. 351, Suppl. ii. 605 ff.), with a snake erect before him (fig. 84) or on either side of him (Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 350, Suppl. ii. 607), with thunderbolt and sceptre (*id. ib.* Suppl. ii. 606), standing in a distyle temple (*id. ib.* iii. 349 f., Suppl. ii. 606). The snakes occur also with the figure of Athena (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 71, Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 350, Suppl. ii. 605 f., 608). L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 268 identify the site of the temple of Zeus at Dion with that of the church of *Haghia-Paraskévi*.

[5] Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 1 Dübner ἐπεφήμισαν δὲ καὶ Διὶ ἀγάλματα οἱ πρῶτοι ἄνθρωποι κορυφὰς ὀρῶν, Ὄλυμπον καὶ Ἴδην καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο ὄρος πλησιάζει τῷ οὐρανῷ, cp. Loukian. *de sacr.* 10.

We must distinguish from this dedication of a mountain to a definite deity the old and originally zoïstic belief that the mountain had a divine life of its own: Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 405 f. Reiske πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πενίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τέχνης ὄρη θεοὺς ἐπονομάζουσι, Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner ὄρος Καππαδόκαις καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὅρκος καὶ ἄγαλμα, cp. the ἄγαλμα of Mount Argaios on coins of Kaisareia in Kappadokia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia etc. p. xxxviii ff., G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 167 ff., 216). On the later personification of mountains in general see A. Gerber *Die Berge in der Poesie und Kunst der Alten* München 1882, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1059 n. 2, and on that of the Mysian Olympos in particular, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 859 f. Fig. 75 shows Mt Sipylos on a copper coin of Magnesia ad Sipylum in my collection (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 141 f.): the type is probably derived from that of Zeus (see *ib.* p. 139 f. pl. 16, 2 f.).

Fig. 75.

[6] Myth. Vat. 1. 192 Iovis Olympici, id est caelestis; qui dictus Olympicus ab Olympo monte, ubi colebatur, et poetae pro caelo ponere solent; est enim mirae altitudinis.

wind or weather, but would be found again after a year's interval precisely as they had been left[1]. Every year victims were led in procession up the mountain-side, and those who led them, on reaching the top, found intact certain letters formed in the ashes on the occasion of their last visit[2]. The same beliefs attached to Mount Kyllene in Arkadia[3] and to Mount Athos in Chalkidike[4]. The Zeus-cult of Mount Olympos has even survived, in a modified form, to the present day. On the highest peak of the mountain is a small chapel of Saint Elias, built of rude stones collected on the spot. To it once a year go the monks from the monastery of Saint Dionysios in the ravine of *Litókhoro*. Their procession starts at night by torch-light, and they say a mass in the chapel on the summit[5]. Here, as elsewhere[6], Zeus himself has been replaced by Saint Elias. But his eagle still haunts the height, at least in the popular imagination. A folk-song heard by Mr J. S. Stuart-Glennie, when ascending from the pass of Petra, makes Olympos exclaim:

[1] Solin. 8. 6 ara est in cacumine Iovi dicata, cuius altaribus si qua de extis inferuntur, nec difflantur ventosis spiritibus nec pluviis diluuntur, sed volvente anno cuiusmodi relicta fuerint eiusmodi reperiuntur: et omnibus tempestatibus a corruptelis aurarum vindicatur quidquid ibi semel est deo consecratum. After *consecratum* codd. A. P., two good manuscripts, insert *litterae in cinere scriptae usque ad* (*ad usque* P.) *alteram anni ceri-moniam permanent*. Th. Mommsen does not admit this addition into his text (Berolini 1864); but at least it agrees with the authorities cited *infra* n. 2. See further *supra* p. 82 n. 1.

[2] Plout. *frag.* 96 Dübner *ap.* Philop. *in* Aristot. *met.* 1 p. 82 τὰ γὰρ ὑψηλότατα τῶν ὀρῶν ὑπερνεφῆ τέ ἐστι καὶ ὑπερήνεμα. τέφραν γὰρ ἔν τισι τούτων ἀποθέμενοί τινες ἢ καὶ ἐκ θυσιῶν τῶν ἐν ἐκείνοις γενομένων ἀπολελοιπότες, μετὰ πλείστους ἐνιαυτοὺς περιεργασάμενοι, κειμένην εὗρον αὐτὴν οὕτως ὡς ἔθεσαν. καὶ ἐν Κυλλήνῃ δέ φασιν (Ἀρκαδίας δ' ὄρος) βληθεῖσαν, μήτε ὑπὸ πνευμάτων διεσκεδασμένην. ἱστορεῖ δὲ Πλούταρχος καὶ γράμματα μεῖναι εἰς ἑτέραν τῶν ἱερείων ἀνάβασιν ἐκ τῆς προτέρας ἐν τῷ Ὀλύμπῳ τῷ Μακεδονικῷ, Aug. *de Genesi ad litt. imperf.* 1. 14 in illo autem neque nubes concrescere asseruntur neque aliquid procellosum existere, quippe ubi ventus adeo nullus est, ut in vertice Olympi montis, qui spatia huius humidi aeris excedere dicitur, quaedam literae in pulvere solere fieri perhibeantur et post annum integrae atque illaesae inveniri ab iis qui solemniter memoratum montem ascendebant.

Probably omens were drawn not only from the flame and the smoke of the sacrifice (L.-F. A. Maury *Religions de la Grèce* Paris 1857 ii. 444 ff.), but also from the accidental arrangement of the ashes on the altar. It was customary to leave these undisturbed from one sacrifice to the next (Pers. *sat.* 6. 44 f., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 240).

[3] Plout. *loc. cit.*, Gemin. *elem. astr.* 1. 14 (the thigh-pieces and ashes of the yearly sacrifice to Hermes on the top of Mount Kyllene are found undisturbed by those who take part in the next year's procession, because the summit is cloudless and windless).

[4] Solin. 11. 33 (Mount Athos is believed to be too high for rain to fall on its summit, because the altars there have none of their ashes washed away and lose nothing of their bulk).

[5] H. Holland *Travels in the Ionian Isles*, Etc. p. 303, L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* pp. 135, 138.

[6] *Infra* ch. i § 5 (f).

I seventy mountain-summits have, and two-and-sixty fountains;
To every bush an Armatole, to every branch a Klephtë.
And perched upon my highest peak there sits a mighty eagle;
A mirror, in his talon grasped, he holds on high exalted,
And in it he his charms admires, and on his beauty gazes![1]

(b) Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus on Mount Olympos.

The Zeus of Olympos was associated with other mountain powers. Such were the Muses, whose name—as Prof. J. Wackernagel has shown—is most simply derived from *mont-* 'mountain[2].' According to the orthodox tradition, the Muses were daughters of Zeus[3], the Zeus of Olympos[4], by Mnemosyne[5]; but variants are not wanting[6], and it is permissible to suppose that in the far past Zeus had as his consort the *Moúsa* or 'Mountain'-mother, whose pipes and timbrels were borne by a band of inspired female followers. Zeus, says Ovid[7], took the form of a shepherd when he met Mnemosyne—a tale which recalls that of Attis and Kybele; indeed hundreds of terra-cottas representing Attis as a shepherd

[1] L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 i. 51 f.

The mirror probably stands for the sun. The eagle's test of its genuine offspring was that it should look straight at the sun (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 6 collects the evidence, from Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 34. 620 a 1 ff. onwards); and certain philosophers, very possibly following popular belief, conceived the sun to be a sort of mirror (so Philolaos the Pythagorean in Stob. *ecl. phys.* 1. 25. 3 d Wachsmuth and in Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 20 *ἐσοπτροειδές*; Empedokles *frag.* 44 Diels *ap.* Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 12, cp. Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 20 and *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 8. 10).

[2] J. Wackernagel in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 571—574, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 393.

This derivation (which occurred independently to Dr Giles, to myself, and doubtless to others also) is supported by the fact that all the most important cult-centres of the Muses were on mountains or hills. O. Bie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3239 ff. shows that their worship originated on Olympos and spread thence to Helikon (Strab. 471, Paus. 9. 29. 1—4), Delphoi, Athens, etc. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1077 n., though not accepting the derivation from **μοντ-* 'mountain,' cites in its support Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 17, 16 Lang *ἐν δὲ τοῖς ὄρεσί φασι χορεύειν, κ.τ.λ.* Cp. also Hes. *theog.* 54 *Μνημοσύνη γουνοῖσιν Ἐλευθήρος μεδέουσα* with schol.

[3] Already in the Homeric poems they are *κοῦραι Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο* (*Il.* 2. 598), *κοῦραι Κρονίδεω Διός* (*h. Sel.* 2), *κοῦραι Διός, ἀγλαὰ τέκνα* (Hom. *ep.* 4. 8), *Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο | θυγατέρες* (*Il.* 2. 491 f.), *Διὸς θυγάτηρ μεγάλοιο* (*h. met. th.* 2), *Διὸς πάις* (*Od.* 8. 488).

[4] *Ὀλυμπιάδες* (*Il.* 2. 491 and Zenodot. in *Il.* 2. 484), *Ὀλύμπια δώματ' ἔχουσαι* (*Il.* 2. 484, 11. 218, 14. 508, 16. 112).

[5] First in Hes. *theog.* 915 ff., *h. Herm.* 429 f., Eumelos *frag.* 16 Kinkel *Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐννέα κοῦραι ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 2 p. 430, 9 f. Stählin, *alib.*

[6] See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1075 n. 2.

[7] It was as a shepherd that Zeus wooed Mnemosyne (Ov. *met.* 6. 114, Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 14 (ii. 184 Migne)), with whom he passed nine nights (Hes. *theog.* 56 f. with schol., Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 17, 20 ff. Lang, Nonn. *Dion.* 31. 168 ff.).

were found by Monsieur P. Perdrizet at Amphipolis[1]. Again, not only in the Muse-mother Mnemosyne, but also in the prominence originally accorded to *one* of the Muses, Kalliope[2] or Thaleia[3], we may detect a trace of the ancient goddess, whose glory had paled before the rising light of Zeus. Kalliope was said by some to have borne children to Zeus[4]. And as to Thaleia we have evidence both monumental and literary. A red-figured vase-painting from Nola

Fig. 76.

[1] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 534, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2906 f.

[2] O. Bie in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3243 notes that in Hes. *theog.* 79 Kalliope is *προφερεστάτη...ἁπασέων*, and that on the François-vase (600—550 B.C.) she is distinguished from the other Muses by her full-face position and her *syrinx* (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 5 pl. 1—2 ΚΑΛΙΟΠΕ). She is not named by Homer (*h. Hel.* 1 f. is late), though Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 10, 9 f. and 161, 32 ff. cp. *Il.* 1. 604 *ὁπὶ καλῇ*.

[3] *Infra* p. 105 f.

[4] Strab. 472, *infra* p. 106.

formerly in the Hamilton collection (fig. 76)[1] shows Zeus as a mighty eagle in a blaze of celestial splendour carrying Thaleia from earth to heaven. The maiden has been playing at ball and picking flowers on a mountain-side. The mountain is indicated by the little Satyr on high ground. To the right are the ball and the basket of Thaleia; to the left, the flowers and the altar of Zeus, too near to which she had ventured. The myth, as preserved for us by Clement of Rome[2], Rufinus[3], and Servius[4], makes this Thaleia a nymph of Mount Aitne in Sicily, whom Zeus in the form of a vulture (or eagle?) wooed and won. He subsequently entrusted her to the earth-goddess, in whose domain she brought forth the twin Palikoi. In all probability Thaleia the mountain-nymph is only the romanticised Sicilian form of Thaleia the mountain-muse; and, if so, her story hints at a relationship between Zeus and the Muses other than that of the Homeric and Hesiodic tradition.

Thaleia the muse became by Apollon mother of the Korybantes[5]. Another account made their parents Zeus and Kalliope, and explained that the Korybantes were one with the mystic Kabeiroi[6]. Others declared that Korybas, eponym of the Korybantes, was a son of Iasion by Kybele[7], the Asiatic mountain-goddess. Others again—for the theme had many variations[8]—spoke of the

[1] Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 90 ff. pl. 26, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 31 ff. pl. 16, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 401 f., 418 f. Atlas pl. 6, 6, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 64 f. pl. 6, 3.

[2] Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Ἐρσαίου νύμφῃ, γενόμενος γύψ, ἐξ ἧς οἱ ἐν Σικελίᾳ πάλαι σοφοί. Ἐρσαίου has been amended into Αἰτναίᾳ (Valckenaer) or Αἴτνῃ (Migne) or Ἡφαίστου (Bloch) or Ἐρσαίᾳ (Lévy); πάλαι σοφοί, into Παλικοί.

[3] Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 Thaliam Aetnam nympham mutatus in vulturem, ex qua nascuntur apud Siciliam Palisci.

[4] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 9. 584 Aetnam nympham [vel ut quidam volunt Thaliam] Iuppiter cum vitiasset et fecisset gravidam, timens Iunonem, secundum alios ipsam puellam, Terrae commendavit, et illic enixa est. Etc. Interp. Serv. *ib.* alii dicunt Iovem hunc Palicum propter Iunonis iracundiam in aquilam commutasse. On the frequent confusion of eagles and vultures see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 3 f.

For Zeus ~ Thaleia see further Aisch. *Aetnaeae frag.* 6 f. Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 17, 24, and Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παλική; and for Zeus ~ Aitne, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 12. 156, Myth. Vat. 1. 190, 2. 45. The best account of the Palikoi is that by L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1281—1295.

[5] Apollod. 1. 3. 4, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 78.

[6] Strab. 472.

[7] Diod. 5. 49, cp. interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 111.

[8] The Korybantes were sons of Kronos and Rhea (Strab. 472 ἔτι δὲ Κρόνου τινὲς <καὶ Ῥέας>: the last two words have been expelled by τοὺς Κορύβαντας repeated from the line below. Cp. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 558 ἦσαν δὲ τῆς Ῥέας παῖδες = Souid. *s.v.* Κορύβαντες), sons of Apollon and Rhytia (Pherekyd. *ap.* Strab. 472: see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 127), sons of Helios and Athena (a Rhodian version *ap.* Strab. 472), sons of Sokos and Kombe (Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 135 ff.). Korybas was the son of Kore without a father (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 111).

Korybantes as the first men, who had sprung from the ground in the shape of trees[1]. It all comes to the same thing. The Korybantes were akin to the great mountain-goddess or earth-mother, whom they served with wild enthusiastic rites. Their name, if I am not mistaken, is derived from **korybé* the Macedonian form of *koryphé*, 'a mountain-peak,' and means the 'Peak'-men[2]. In Roman times, if not earlier, the Korybantes were connected with Mount Olympos. According to Clement of Alexandreia[3], they were three brothers, two of whom slew the third, wrapped his head in a crimson cloak[4], decked it with a wreath and buried it, bearing it on a bronze shield to the foot of Olympos. Bloodshed and burial were the essential features of their mysteries[5]. The priests of the mystics, who were known as *Anaktotelestai*[6] or 'initiates of the Kings[7],' forbade wild celery (*sélinon*) with its roots to be placed on the table, believing it to be sprung from the blood of the slain Korybas[8]. Further, these Korybantes—says Clement—were called Kabeiroi; and the story told of them was that the two fratricides took up the basket containing the member of Dionysos and brought it to Etruria[9], where they lived in exile teaching the Etruscans to worship the

[1] *Frag. adesp.* 84 Bergk[4] (33 Hiller), 6 f. *ap.* Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 97 Miller ἢ Φρύγιοι Κορύβαντες, | οὓς Ἅλιος πρώτους ἐπείδεν δενδροφυεῖς ἀναβλαστόντας. Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 25 f. Γηγενέες Κορύβαντες ὁμήλυδες, ὧν ποτε Ῥείῃ | ἐκ χθονὸς αὐτοτέλεστος ἀνεβλάστησε γενέθλη.

[2] Dr Giles, whom I consulted on the matter, writes (July 15, 1911): Κορύβαντες 'might as you say be Macedonian. The formation is odd. It looks like a participle from κορύφαμι—not κορυφάω—if, as Hoffmann argues, Macedonian was a kind of Aeolic.'

A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1858 vii. 241 ff. derived Κορύβαντες from κορυφή, 'crown of the head,' and rendered the word: 'im wirbel sich drehend,' 'taumelnd,' 'in orbem saltantes' (cp. Κύρβας, κύρβεις). He is followed by O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1607. Gruppe too (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 257 n. 12, p. 899 n. 1) favours the connexion of Κορύβας with κορυφή, but appears to interpret the name of a 'peaked' head-dress. He compares the alternative form Κύρβας (Soph. *frag.* 778 Nauck[2], Kallim. *h. Zeus* 46, Lyk. *Al.* 78, Strab. 472, Orph. *h. Koryb.* 39. 2, Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 35, Souid. *s.v.* Κύρβας, Hesych. *s.v.* Κύρβαντες, *et. mag.* p. 547, 39 ff.) with κυρβασία (used of a cock's crest, the upright tiara of the Persian king, the conical cap of the Salii, etc.: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 2137 A—C).

[3] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 19. 1—4 p. 15, 1 ff. Stählin. Cp. the abbreviated accounts in Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19, Firm. Mat. 11.

[4] So the Korybantes found the infant Bacchos, left as a horned child among the rocks, πορφυρέῳ κεκαλυμμένον οἴνοπι πέπλῳ (Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 139).

[5] Orph. *h. Koryb.* 39. 6 φοίνιον, αἱμαχθέντα κασιγνήτων ὑπὸ δισσῶν.

[6] Hesych. ἀνακτοτελευταί (leg. ἀνακτοτελέσται)· οἱ τὰς τελευτὰς (leg. τελετὰς) ἐπιτελοῦντες τῶν ἱερῶν (? leg. τῶν Καβείρων or τῶν ἱερῶν <ἀνάκτων>).

[7] Orph. *h. Koryb.* 39. 1 βασιλῆα μέγιστον, 5 ἄνακτα. On the Ἄνακες, Ἀνακοί, Ἄνακτες see O. Jessen in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2033 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 718 F.

[8] The wreath of σέλινον worn by the Nemean and Isthmian victors perhaps originally marked them out as re-incarnations of the dead—a point to which I must return.

[9] See further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1621 f.

basket and its contents[1]. Note that the dead Kabeiros is here termed Dionysos and that a portion of him is kept in a basket to serve as a nucleus of fresh life.

Firmicus Maternus adds that the slain brother 'consecrated beneath the roots of Mount Olympos' was 'the Kabeiros to whom the inhabitants of Thessalonike used to make supplication with blood-stained mouth and blood-stained hands[2].' This Kabeiros is known to us from coins (figs. 77, 78)[3] as a young man with a

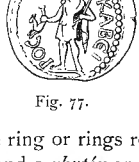


Fig. 77.

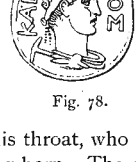


Fig. 78.

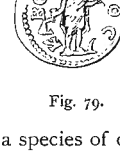


Fig. 79.

large ring or rings round his throat, who holds a species of double-axe and a *rhytón* or drinking-horn. The *rhytón* ends in the forepart of a goat[4]—a fact which leads us to conjecture that it was a *cornu copiae*, like the horn of Amaltheia[5]. Indeed, a horn or horns must have been part of the ritual furniture of the cult; for some coins show the Kabeiros with a horn apparently planted in the ground beside him (fig. 79)[6], others with a horn erect on a base to the right and a flaming altar to the left (fig. 80)[7], others again with a pair of horns set in bases on either hand (fig. 81)[8]. The double-axe, the

[1] When the usurper Amphitres was besieging the sons of Leodamas at Assesos, ἀφικνοῦνται νεανίσκοι, Τόττης καὶ Ὄνυης, ἐκ Φρυγίας, ἱερὰ ἔχοντες Καβείρων ἐν κίστει κεκαλυμμένα, taught the people their rites and helped them to rout the besiegers: see Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 54 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 388 f. Müller).

[2] Firm. Mat. 11.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 113 fig., pp. 114, 121 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 368 f., 373 ff., pl. 25, 5; Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2534 fig. 1, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 770 fig. 911 (Nero as Kabeiros).

[4] T. Panofka *Die griechischen Trinkhörner und ihre Verzierungen* Berlin 1851 p. 1 pl. 1, 2.

[5] On the horn of plenty held, not only by Amaltheia, but also by Hades, Ge, the chthonian Hermes, the Horai, the Hesperides, the Naiades, river-gods, Eniautos, the Agathos Daimon, Tyche, Sosipolis, etc., see K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1721 ff.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 114 no. 54. Cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 375 Gordianus iii.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 123 Maximinus, p. 125 Gordianus iii, p. 129 Salonina, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 374 Maximus, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Paeonia etc. ii. 152 Maximinus fig., 154 Gordianus iii. I figure an uncatalogued specimen (Iulia Mamaea) in the British Museum.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 121 Caracalla, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 373 Elagabalus, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Paeonia etc. ii. 152 f. Maximinus.

horns, the goat, the feast of raw flesh, all suggest a religious context resembling that of the Cretan Kouretes.

Fig. 80.

Fig. 81.

Elsewhere too the Kabeiroi were marked by the same characteristics. One of Strabon's sources, after identifying the Korybantes, children of Zeus by Kalliope, with the Kabeiroi, states that the latter departed to Samothrace, previously called Melite, and adds that their doings were of a mystical nature[1]. The names borne by the Samothracian Kabeiroi—Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos—are probably to be connected with a word for 'axe'[2]. An amulet found at Vindonissa (*Windisch*) represents the head of a double-axe or hammer inscribed with these three names reduced in each case to the significant abbreviation AXI (fig. 82)[3]. The initiates wore purple waist-bands[4] and rings of iron and gold[5]. Statius definitely compares the sacred dances of the Samothracians to those of the Kouretes[6]. A relief of imperial date from Hierapolis in Phrygia, now at Berlin (fig. 83)[7], shows three youths advancing side by side: they have bushy hair, a thick ring round the neck, a loin-cloth about the waist, and a heavy double-axe or hammer resting on the right shoulder; part of a fourth youth is visible beside them. O. Kern

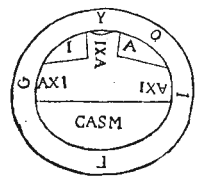


Fig. 82.

[1] Strab. 472. See further R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei.* Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1909 xii. 635 ff. summarised by R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 575 f.

[2] So at least I have argued in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194, *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

[3] Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 440, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 742, Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 759 fig. 900. Besides the threefold AXI (= *Axierus, Axiocersa, Axiocersus*) the amulet is inscribed CASM (= *Casmilus*) and, in scattered letters, ΥΓΙΕΙΑ (Ὑγίεια). T. Mommsen in the *Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 1854 x. 115 no. 30 says: 'vide ne lusus magis quam fraus subsit huic Cabirorum enumerationi.'

[4] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 917 cod. Paris.

[5] Lucr. 6. 1044, Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 23, Isid. *orig.* 19. 32. 5.

[6] Stat. *Ach.* 1. 831 f. (2. 157 f.).

[7] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 386 f. no. 953, inscribed .....s Φιλούμενος and ἀππᾶς.

in 1900 recognised these youths as the Kabeiroi wearing their Samothracian rings: their loin-cloths too are clearly the Samothracian bands. Kern further adduced another relief, which he had seen in 1893 at *Üzümlü*, a village near Magnesia on the Maiandros: this represented four nude males, each carrying a hammer on the right shoulder and moving to the left, led by a fifth, draped and hammerless[1]. A. Conze[2] and O. Puchstein[3] have made it probable that yet another Kabeiros swinging a double-axe or hammer is to be seen in the nude bearded god attacking a bovine giant on the southern frieze of the great Pergamene altar[4]. At Pergamon, as Puchstein observes, the Kabeiroi were said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus[5]. Their general resemblance to the Cretan Kouretes is, in fact, beyond dispute; and we are free to contend that in the district of Olympos the Korybantes and Kabeiroi were essentially Curetic.

Fig. 83.

Their cult was flourishing in the third Christian century. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, was as a youth of fifteen initiated for forty days on Mount Olympos by seven hierophants into certain obscure mysteries[6]. In this home of the gods he was taught the meaning of musical notes and sounds. He had a vision of tree-trunks and herbs of divine potency. He witnessed the

[1] O. Kern in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 158 f. He cp. the coins of Thessalonike, a bronze at Rumeli-Hissar, and the frieze of the Pergamene altar.

[2] A. Conze in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1881 p. 275.

[3] O. Puchstein *ib.* 1889 p. 330 f.

[4] *Pergamon* iii. 2. 20 f. fig. 1, 148 f., pl. 3, *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 7, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 277.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538, 17 ff., *infra* Append. B Mysia.

[6] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Septembris vii. 222 ('Confessio S. Cypriani' 1—2) *ἐγενόμην καὶ ἐν τῷ* Ὀλυμπίῳ *ὄρει, τῶν θεῶν ὡς λέγουσιν οἰκητηρίῳ, καὶ ἐμυήθην ἤχους ὁμιλιῶν* (leg. *ὁμιλίαν*) *καὶ ψόφων διήγησιν. εἶδον ἐκεῖ φαντάζοντα πρέμνα καὶ πόας ἐνεργεῖν δοκούσας θεῶν ἐπισκοπαῖς. εἶδον ἐκεῖ ὡρῶν διαδοχάς, πνευμάτων ὑπαλλασσόντων, καὶ ἡμερῶν διαφορότητα ὑπό τινων ἐνεργειῶν ἐναντίων συνισταμένων. εἶδον ἐκεῖ χοροὺς δαιμόνων ὑμνούντων καὶ ἄλλων πολεμούντων καὶ ἑτέρων ἐνεδρευόντων, ἀπατώντων, συγχεόντων, καὶ ἑκάστου θεοῦ καὶ θεᾶς ἐθεασάμην ἐκεῖ τὴν φάλαγγα, μείνας αὐτόθι ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα· ὀπόθεν ὡς ἐκ βασιλείων ἀποστέλλονται τὰ πνεύματα, ἐνεργεῖν ἕκαστον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ γῇ καὶ ἐν πᾶσι τοῖς ἔθνεσι. καὶ ἐσιτούμην ἀκρόδρυα μόνον μετὰ δύσιν ἡλίου, καὶ δὴ ὧν ἔτι ἐτῶν πεντεκαίδεκα ἐμυούμην τὴν ἑκάστου αὐτῶν ἐνέργειαν ὑπὸ τῶν ἑπτὰ ἱεροφαντῶν· λίαν γὰρ οἱ ἐμοὶ γονεῖς ἔσπευδόν με ἐπιγνῶναι τὰ γῆς, ἀέρος καὶ θαλάσσης, οὐ μόνον τὰ κατὰ φύσιν φθορᾶς καὶ γενέσεως ποῶν καὶ πρέμνων καὶ σομάτων* (leg. *σωμάτων*), *ἀλλὰ καὶ <τὰς> ἐν πᾶσιν αὐτοῖς ἐνεργείας, ἃς ὁ ἄρχων τοῦ αἰῶνος τούτου ἐνετύπωσεν, ἐναντιούμενος πρὸς τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ διατύπωσιν.*

succession of seasons and the difference of days, the changing spirits that caused the former and the opposing influences that determined the latter. He beheld choruses of *daímones* chanting, warring, lying in ambush, deceiving and confounding each other. He saw too the phalanx of each several god and goddess. After sundown he fed on fruits (not meat). And, generally speaking, he was initiated into the decay and birth of herbs, trees, and bodies. It is altogether a singular recital, but we can hardly be wrong in supposing that these were puberty-rites, Corybantic or Cabiric in character[1].

It would seem, then, that from first to last certain orgiastic quasi-Dionysiac elements appear in the cults of Olympos, and it is highly probable that throughout the worship of Zeus was affected by them. In early days the Muses were to Zeus what the mountain-roaming Maenads were to Dionysos. This explains Hesychios' statement that the Macedonians called the Muses *thoúrides*[2]—a name elsewhere given to the Maenads[3]. Eustathios' assertion that the Muses, like the Maenads, were nurses to Dionysos[4] may be a Byzantine blunder[5]; but the very possibility of such blundering proves the similarity of Muse and Maenad. At Dodona[6],

[1] L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 i. 349 ff. argues that the reference is to Orphic rites in the neighbourhood of Olympos. Orphic admixture is indeed likely enough. Orpheus, himself the son of one of the Muses, played for them on Olympos (Eur. *Bacch.* 560 ff.), there taught Midas (Konon *narr.* 1), and there according to many met his death (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 7) and was buried (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 9. 1 f. Damagetos, cp. Apollod. 1. 3. 2): see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1082 f. L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 270 f. identify Orpheus' tomb with a tumulus near the village of *Karitza*.

[2] Hesych. *θούριδες· νύμφαι. μοῦσαι. Μακεδόνες.*

[3] O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen*, Göttingen 1906 p. 97 n. 132 argues that *θούριδες* is a Thessalian or Macedonian form of *θεωρίδες* (Hesych. *θεωρίδες· αἱ περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον βάκχαι*, cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 261 and probably Soph. *frag.* 698 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 592 B).

[4] Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1816, 4 ff. *λέγονται δέ, φασι, καὶ Μοῦσαι Διονύσου τροφοί, νύμφαι τινὲς οὖσαι καὶ αὐταί, ὡς καὶ παρὰ Λυκόφρονι εὕρηται.*

[5] Yet Dionysos was often associated with the Muses: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 76 n. 9, 213 f., 245 n. 6, 743 n. 3, 829 n. 3, 1427 n. 7, 1435 n. 1.

[6] Six nymphs of Dodona, identified with the Hyades and named Kisseis, Nysa, Erato, Eriphia, Bromie, Polyhymno, or Arsinoe, Ambrosie, Bromie, Kisseis, Koronis, were by some apparently regarded as the nurses of Zeus (Hyg. *fab.* 182), though others explained that Zeus had given them Dionysos to tend (Pherekyd. *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 84 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 18. 486, Myth. Vat. 1. 120, *alib.*). See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 825 n. 4: 'Die Hyaden sind Erzieherinnen des Bakchos...; in verschollenen dodonaiischen Legenden vielleicht auch des Zeus, wie ihre Gleichsetzung mit den Dodonides...und der N. der Hyade Dione nahelegen.'

Strab. 329 relates on the authority of Souidas the historian (=Kineas *fr.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 463 Müller)) that the cult of the Dodonaean Zeus came originally from the Pelasgian district about Skotoussa, that most of the women of Skotoussa followed along with it, and that the priestesses of Dodona were descended from them.

at Tegea[1], at Megalopolis[2], on Mount Ide near Gortyna[3], on Mount Ide in Phrygia[4], on Mount Arkton near Kyzikos[5], Zeus had his troop of nursing nymphs. Why not on the slopes of Mount Olympos? In late times the Dionysiac connexion was intensified. Korybantes and Kabeiroi came to the fore; and certain shrewd persons recorded their conviction that the original Kabeiroi had been two in number—Zeus the elder and Dionysos the younger[6].

[1] The altar of Athena Ἀλέα at Tegea, made by Melampous, was decorated with figures of Rhea and the nymph Oinoe holding the infant Zeus, flanked by two groups—Glauke, Neda, Theisoa, Anthrakia on the one side; Ide, Hagno, Alkinoe, Phrixa on the other. Near it were statues of the Muses and Mnemosyne (Paus. 8. 47. 3).

[2] In the precinct of the Great Goddesses at Megalopolis on a table set before Herakles the Idaean Daktylos were represented not only two Horai, Pan, and Apollon, but also Neda holding the infant Zeus, Anthrakia another Arcadian nymph with a torch, Hagno with *hydría* and *phiále*, Anchiroe and Myrtoessa with *hydríai* from which water was flowing. Within the same precinct was a temple of Zeus *Philios*. The statue, by Polykleitos of Argos, represented Zeus in the guise of Dionysos: he was shod with buskins, and held a cup in one hand, a *thýrsos* with an eagle perched upon it in the other (Paus. 8. 31. 4).

[3] *Et. mag.* p. 227, 39 f. Γεραιστιάδες· οὕτω νύμφαι καλοῦνται ἐν Γορτύνῃ τῆς Κρήτης, ὅτι τὸν Δία τρέφουσαι ἐγέραιρον. Cp. *ib.* p. 227, 44 f. Γεραίστιον· χωρίον τῆς Ἀρκαδίας, παρὰ τὸ γέρας· ὅτι τιμιόν ἐστι διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖ τὸν Δία σπαργανωθῆναι. An inscription found at Phaleron records a dedication Ἑστίᾳ, Κηφισ|ῷ, Ἀπόλλωνι | Πυθίῳ, Λητοῖ, | Ἀρτέμιδι Λοχ|ίᾳ, Ἰλειθυί|ᾳ, Ἀχ|ελῴῳ, Καλλι|ρόῃ, Γεραιστ|αῖς Νύμφαι|ς γενεθλί|αις, Ῥαψοῖ (B. Staes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909 p. 244 ff. fig. 1, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 493 ff. pls. 181 f.).

Helike and Kynosoura, two Cretan nymphs, nursed the infant Zeus. He, when pursued by Kronos, changed them into bears and himself into a snake. Hence the constellations Ursa Maior, Ursa Minor, and Serpens (schol. Q. *Od.* 5. 272, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 46, *alib.*: see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1985, ii. 1706). Arat. *phaen.* 26 ff. and Aglaosthenes *Naxiaca frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 293 Müller) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 2, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 2, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 382, 9 ff. Eyssenhardt connect both Helike and Kynosoura with the Cretan Ide.

Melisseus or Melissos, king of Crete, was father of the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide (Apollod. 1. 1. 6, Zenob. 2. 48, Orph. *frag.* 109 Abel *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 148, cp. Plout. *symp.* 3. 9. 2, and Hyg. *fab.* 182 Idothea Amalthea Adrastea), or Adrasteia and Kynosoura (schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 342), or Amaltheia and Melissa (Didymos *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22), who reared the new-born Zeus on the milk of a goat accustomed to bearing twins (Parmeniskos *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13).

[4] Charax *frag.* 2 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 637 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. s.vv. Ἀδράστεια and Ἴδη connects Melissos, Adrasteia and Ide with the Phrygian Mt Ide: cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 133 ff., Diod. 17. 7, Plout. *de fluv.* 13. 3, and see further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 104.

[5] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 936 (cp. 1. 941 cod. Paris.) Ἄρκτον (leg. Ἄρκτων ὄρος)...ἐπειδή φασι τὰς τροφοὺς τοῦ Διὸς ἐκεῖ διατριβούσας εἰς ἄρκτους μεταβληθῆναι.

F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 221 in this connexion remarks that both Adrasteia (Ap. Rhod. 1. 1116 πεδίον Νηπήιων Ἀδρηστείης) and Kynosoura (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3679, 5 a society of Βάκχοι Κυνοσουρεῖται at Kyzikos) appear to have been local goddesses. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 942 n. 8.

[6] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 917 cod. Paris. οἱ δέ φασι δύο πρότερον εἶναι τοὺς Καβείρους, Δία τε πρεσβύτερον καὶ Διόνυσον νεώτερον. So also *et. mag.* p. 482, 31 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 289, 25 ff. Cp. the notion that Dionysos, a king of Asia, was the son of Kabeiros (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 58, Ampel. 9. 11, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 51 p. 107, 9 f. Wünsch). The Dionysiac character of the Kabeiros *e.g.* at Thebes is well attested (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2536 ff.).

If the Zeus worshipped at Dion was thus Dionysiac in character, akin to the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*[1], we can understand why he has the snake as his attribute (fig. 84)[2]: the slain Korybas became a snake[3], and snakes were all-important in the mysteries of *Sabázios*[4]. Twelve miles south of Dion was a town, which the *Tabula Peutingeriana* calls *Sabatium*[5], *i.e. Sabázion*, a cult-centre of *Sabázios*[6]. It may even be suggested that the monastery of Saint Dionysios, from which starts the modern counterpart of the ancient procession to the altar of Zeus[7], has in the name of its patron saint preserved a last echo of the Dionysiac cult.

Fig. 84.

Whether these Dionysiac traits in the worship of Zeus were original and essential, or whether they are to be explained as merely the result of contamination with an alien cult, is a large problem that still awaits solution. It will be convenient to deal with it, not at the present stage of our argument, *à propos* of Olympos, but in a later chapter, when we shall be taking a more comprehensive survey of the relation of Zeus to Dionysos.

(c) Development in the meaning of *Ólympos*. Zeus *Olýmpios*.

In the Homeric, the Hesiodic, and the Orphic poems Olympos, the seat of the gods, is to be identified with the Macedonian mountain; and the same identification holds good for the Alexandrine epic of Apollonios Rhodios[8]. The poet of the *Odyssey* describes Olympos in a passage of surpassing beauty:

[1] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 232 ff.

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 350 and Suppl. ii. 607 records a small copper of Gallienus with Zeus standing between two snakes. The specimen figured is in the Leake collection (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 46 Gallienus).

[3] Orph. *h. Koryb.* 7 f. Διοῦς ὃς γνώμῃσιν ἐνήλλαξας δέμας ἀγνόν, | θηρότυπον θέμενος μορφὴν δνοφεροῖο δράκοντος.

[4] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 252 ff.

[5] F. C. de Scheyb *Tabula Itineraria Peutingeriana* Lipsiae 1824 segm. 7 b, K. Miller *Weltkarte des Castorius genannt die Peutinger'sche Tafel* Ravensburg 1888 segm. 8, 1.

[6] L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860 p. 100.

[7] *Supra* p. 103.

[8] The evidence is collected and considered by Mackrodt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 849 ff. He holds that only in two Homeric passages (*Il.* 8. 18—27 and *Od.* 6. 41—46) does the later conception of Ὄλυμπος as 'heaven' or 'sky' occur. But, to my thinking, even in these passages the mountain is meant. In *Il.* 8. 18 ff. Zeus boasts that if he let down a golden rope from heaven and all the other gods and goddesses hung on to it, they could not pull him down from heaven *to the plain*, but he could pull them up, land and sea and all, bind the rope *about a peak of Olympos* and let them dangle there. Whatever

So spake bright-eyed Athena and withdrew
To Olympos, where men say the gods' sure seat
Stands firm for ever: neither wind can shake,
Nor rain can wet, nor snow come nigh the same.
Cloudless the brilliance that is there outspread
And white the glitter that is over all.
Therein blest gods have joyance all their days[1].

This is the literary echo of the folk-belief that attributed a windless, cloudless *aithér* to the mountain-top[2]. Homeric and Hesiodic poetry spoke of 'the palace of Zeus,' sometimes 'the palace of Zeus with its floor of bronze,' as built by Hephaistos upon Olympos[3]. And here too we may detect the creed of the country-side. For L. Heuzey, writing in 1860 of the villagers from the neighbourhood of Olympos, says[4]: 'If you tell them that you have ascended the highest peaks, they always ask—"Well, what did you find there?" Some of them described me a mysterious palace adorned with columns of white marble, adding that these had been seen long ago by a shepherd, but that they would not be seen now-a-days. Others spoke to me of a huge circus in which the ancients held their games. The Klephts too have always attributed marvellous virtues to the fresh air of Olympos, its snows, and its icy mountain-springs. It figures in their songs as a paradise, whither they go to recover from the contests of the plain below: here the body gets stronger, wounds heal themselves, and limbs grow lithe for fresh fighting. Throughout the rest of Greece a magic potency attaches to the following words:

From Olympos, the summit,
From the three peaks of Heaven,
Where are the Fates of Fates,
May my own Fate
Hearken and come![5]

may be the precise picture here intended, the phrases *πεδίονδε* and *περὶ ῥίον Οὐλύμποιο* surely prove that the poet is contrasting the gods on the plain with Zeus on the mountain. As to *Od.* 6. 41 ff., cited on p. 114, the absence of wind, rain, snow, and cloud, there described as characteristic of Olympos, agrees well with Greek beliefs about the mountain-top (*supra* p. 102 f.), while the presence of 'bright sky' and 'white glitter' is no less suitable; indeed *αἴγλη* recalls *αἰγλῆεις*, which Mackrodt takes to be an epithet of the earthly mountain in *Il.* 1. 532, 13. 243, *Od.* 20. 103.

[1] *Od.* 6. 41 ff.

[2] *Supra* p. 101 ff.

[3] *Il.* 1. 425 f., 531 ff., 566 ff., 11. 75 ff., 20. 4 ff., 21. 438, 505, Hes. *sc. Her.* 471.

[4] L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860 p. 138 f., N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 97 no. 173, ii. 777. My friend Mr A. J. B. Wace, when at Salonika, was told by a man from the neighbourhood of Olympos that somewhere on the mountain there are said to be the remains of a temple with columns.

[5] Ἀπὸ τὸν Ὄλυμπον τὸν κόρυμβον, | τὰ τρία ἄκρα τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, | ὅπου αἱ Μοῖραι τῶν Μοιρῶν, | καὶ ἡ ἐδική μου Μοίρα | ἂς ἀκούσῃ καὶ ἂς ἔλθῃ! B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 219 n. 1 would read Πτὸν for Ἀπὸ τὸν, τ' οὐρανοῦ for τοῦ

By the fourth, and even by the fifth, century before our era the word *Ólympos* had acquired a further significance. It meant no longer the mere mountain, but the 'sky' above it. Thus Sophokles in his *Antigone* makes Kreon, when at Thebes, swear 'by yon Olympos[1],' and Euripides in his *Andromeda* makes the heroine apostrophise Night as follows:

> O holy Night,
> How long the course thou drivest,
> Charioting the starry ridges
> Of holy *aithér*
> Through dread Olympos[2].

Both poets contrast Olympos in the sense of 'sky' with 'earth[3].' The same usage is found in prose. The author of the Platonic *Epinomis* speaks of the visible heaven as 'the *kósmos* or Olympos or sky, whichever you choose to call it[4],' while the author of the Aristotelian treatise *On the Universe* declares that God 'being pure has his station above in a pure place, even that which we truly name *ouranós*, since it is the "boundary" (*hóros*) of things "above" (*áno*), and *Ólympos* as "wholly-shining" (*holo-lampés*) and separate from all such darkness and disorderly movement as arises among us by means of storm and stress of winds[5].'

The change in meaning from Olympos the 'mountain' to Olympos the 'sky' would readily follow from the belief that the mountain rose into the *aithér*. And for the prevalence of this belief there is abundant evidence[6]. It is even probable that in ancient days the inhabitants of the district actually spoke of the

Οὐρανοῦ, Μοῖρα for Μοίρα. N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1874 ii. 228 gives κ' ἡ for καὶ ἡ. J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 128 prints the third line as ὅπου ἡ Μοίραις τῶν Μοιρῶν. He justly draws attention to the ancient word κόρυμβον, citing variants with κόλυμβον (a dialect form, or else a corruption due to assonance with Ὄλυμπον) and Κόροιβον (for which he proposes κόρυβον). The word κόρυμβος is akin to κορυφή, which was used of Olympos (*e.g. Il.* 1. 499, Aristoph. *nub.* 270) and gave rise to its Κορύβαντες (*supra* p. 107).

[1] Soph. *Ant.* 758, cp. *Ai.* 1389.

[2] Eur. *Andromeda frag.* 114 Nauck[2].

[3] Soph. *O. C.* 1653 ff., *Rhizotomi frag.* 492 Nauck[2]; Eur. *Phoen.* 1184.

[4] Plat. *epinom.* 977 B.

[5] Aristot. *de mundo* 6. 400a 6 ff. This impossible derivation of Ὄλυμπος from ὀλο-λαμπής is given also by Plout. *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 22. 2 p. 198, 11 f. Wachsmuth. *et. mag.* p. 623, 8 f., *et. Gud.* p. 426, 25 f., schol. D. *Il.* 1. 18, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 38, 38, 694, 51 f., *in Od.* p. 1389, 57 f., Io. Diak. in Bandin. *anecd.* p. 155 and Psell. *epase.* p. 171 (both cited by Boissonade in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1902 c), Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 268; from ὀλό-λαμπος by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 27, 34 ff., Tzetz. *exeg. in Il.* p. 81, 26 f. Hermann, Priscian. *part.* p. 507, 10 ff. Keil; from ὅλος λαμπρός by interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 268, 10. 1. It was revived by G. Curtius *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[5] Leipzig 1875 p. 266.

[6] *Supra* p. 101 f.

summit of Mount Olympos as 'heaven[1].' Modern peasants call it 'the three peaks of Heaven[2].' And a primitive notion that has left traces of itself in almost every country of Europe regards a mountain as the natural abode of souls[3].

Mount Ide in the Troad, which also bore the name of Olympos[4], was likewise supposed to rise into the *aithér*. Aischylos in his *Niobe* mentions Tantalos and his family as—

> near akin to gods
> And nigh to Zen, men who on Ide's height
> Have built an altar of Ancestral Zeus
> In *aithér* and still vaunt the blood divine[5].

Fig. 86.

Zeus was worshipped under the title *Olýmpios* not only at the foot of the Macedonian Mount Olympos[6], at Pisa near the Elean Olympos[7], and on the slopes of the Mysian Olympos[8], but also far

[1] Solin. 8. 5 primum excellenti vertice tantus attollitur, ut summa eius caelum accolae vocent, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 262 Olympi ardua. quod caelum dixere ideo, quia apex eius omnibus invisibilis est, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1550, 51 f. *οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ φασὶ καὶ ἐπουράνιον καλεῖσθαι τὴν τοῦ Μακεδονικοῦ Ὀλύμπου κορυφήν.* The combination of *οὐρανός* and *Ὄλυμπος* occurs in *Il.* 1. 497, 5. 750, 8. 394, 16. 364, 19. 128.

Fig. 85.

[2] *Supra* p. 114.

[3] The latest (1912) article on the subject is E. Mogk 'Bergkult' in Hoops *Reallex.* p. 255 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 100 n. 8.

[5] Aisch. *Niobe frag.* 162 Nauck[2].

[6] *Supra* p. 102 n. 4.

[7] As lord of Olympia and patron of the famous Olympian games (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 844).

[8] Mnaseas *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 20. 234. A copper coin of Prousa ad Olympum (at Berlin), struck in the reign of Commodus, has for its reverse type a bearded god reclining on the Mysian Olympos (fig. 85). He has a mantle wrapped about his legs, and his left arm rests on the rock. Trees and a gorge with a

and wide throughout the Greek area (fig. 86)[1], even where there was no mountain with which his cult could be associated[2].

§ 5. *The Mountain-cults of Zeus.*

(a) Chronological Development of the Mountain-cults.

The mountain-cults of Zeus may be grouped roughly in chronological order according as they centred round (1) a simple altar, (2) an altar with a statue of the god, (3) an altar with a statue enclosed in a temple[3].

Examples of the earliest type occur in several Greek myths. Deukalion, for instance, according to one version of his legend, was borne safely over the waters of the flood to a mountain-height above Argos and in gratitude for his escape built upon it an altar to Zeus *Aphésios*[4]. Althaimenes, who fled from Crete to Rhodes lest he should unwittingly become the slayer of his father Katreus, put in to shore at a place which in memory of his former home he named Kretenia: on climbing Mount Atabyrion he got a distant view of Crete and, thinking still of Cretan cults, there set up an altar to Zeus *Atabýrios*[5]. Herakles, after sacking Oichalia and carrying off Iole the daughter of king Eurytos, went to Mount Kenaion the north-western promontory of Euboia, and there dedicated altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus *Patrôios*[6]. On Mount Helikon, near the spring Hippokrene, Zeus *Helikónios* had an altar, round which the Muses were believed to dance[7]. On the peak of Mount Ide called Gargaros there was an altar and a precinct of Zeus *Idaîos*, where Hektor was wont to sacrifice[8]. Mount Arachnaion in Argolis had altars of Zeus and Hera[9]. The singular ritual of Mount

river flowing to the right show the nature of the mountain-side. This god has been taken to be Zeus (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 155, 161, Münztaf. 2, 16, Müller-Wieseler-Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 89 pl. 9, 5, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 80). But Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 82 f. no. 144 pl. 6, 16 regards him as the mountain-god Olympos. *Infra* p. 124. Another coin of the same town has a seated Zeus inscribed ΠΡΟΥCΑЄΙC ΔΙΑ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 444).

[1] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1345 (a rock-cut inscription of the third century B.C. in the precinct of Artemidoros at Thera: see F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 89 ff.) Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ. | ἀετὸν ὑψιπετῆ Διὸς ἄγγελον Ἀρτεμίδωρος | ἀέναον πόλει εἶσε καὶ ἀθανάτοισι θεοῖσι. | ἄφθιτοι, ἀθάνατοι καὶ ἀγήραοι ἀέναοί τε | βωμοί, ὅσσοις ἱερεὺς τέμενος κτίσεν Ἀρτεμίδωρος.

[2] See the list given in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 840—847, cp. Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* i. 155 f.

[3] The evidence is collected in Append. B, where the arrangement of it is topographical.

[4] *Ib.* Phliasia. [5] *Ib.* Rhodes. [6] *Ib.* Euboia.
[7] *Ib.* Boiotia. [8] *Ib.* Troas. [9] *Ib.* Argolis.

Kithairon, which will claim our attention later, involved the erection on the mountain-top of temporary wooden altars destined for the bonfires of Zeus *Kithairónios*[1]. High up on the Cretan Mount Ide was a permanent rock-cut altar of Zeus *Idaîos*[2]. Thus with some variety of detail, according to local circumstances, the primitive cult of Zeus required an altar on the summit or as near it as might be.

Even where that cult was celebrated

> On a tall mountain, citied to the top,
> Crowded with culture!

hieratic conservatism was apt to maintain the open-air altar. A case in point is furnished by Pergamon. The Akropolis of that marvellous city crowns a hill that rises a thousand feet above sea-level and commands a view of unequalled beauty over the valleys of Teuthrania. Thanks to the excavations begun by A. Conze and K. Humann on behalf of the Prussian government in 1878, a fairly accurate picture may be drawn of Pergamon in its glory, as it was when Pliny called it 'by far the most famous town in the province of Asia[3].' The silhouette of the city seen from below against the sunrise (pl. x)[4] shows the sky-line cut by two magnificent temples. In the centre rises the Doric fane of Athena *Poliás* or *Nikephóros*, a building of greyish trachyte, flanked on its northern and eastern sides by a two-storeyed *stoá* or 'colonnade.' Immediately behind the northern *stoá* are the halls in which the Pergamene Library was lodged. Further north, and therefore in our illustration more to the left, stands out the huge temple of the deified Trajan, a sumptuous Corinthian pile of white marble, surrounded on three sides by airy colonnades. Athena, then, had her temple, and Trajan had his. But Zeus[5] was content with the altar that smokes

[1] Append. B Boiotia.

[2] *Ib.* Crete.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 126. The most convenient summary of what is known about Pergamon is still that contained in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1206—1227 (history, topography, and architecture by E. Fabricius), *ib.* 1227—1287 (art by A. Trendelenburg). But the great Berlin publication (*Altertümer von Pergamon*, here cited as *Pergamon*) is slowly approaching completion: two volumes have already been devoted to the altar built by Eumenes ii (197—159 B.C.), *viz. Pergamon* iii. 1. 1—128 (*Der grosze Altar. Der obere Markt.* Berlin 1906) with an Atlas of 34 plates, by J. Schrammen; *Pergamon* iii. 2. 1—250 (*Die Friese des groszen Altars* Berlin 1910) with an Atlas of 36 plates, by H. Winnefeld.

[4] Based on the Berlin panorama by A. Kips and M. Koch (Baumeister *Denkm.* ii pl. 36), which in turn utilised the drawing by R. Bohn in *Die Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen zu Pergamon* Berlin 1888 iii pl. 2. See also E. Pontremoli and M. Collignon *Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole* Paris 1900.

[5] J. Schrammen in *Pergamon* iii. 1. 82 points out that the name of the deity to whom

Pergamon, showing the great altar of Zeus.

See page 118 ff.

on the terrace adjoining the Akropolis. True, it was an altar on a colossal scale (fig. 87)[1]. A substructure, measuring about 100 feet

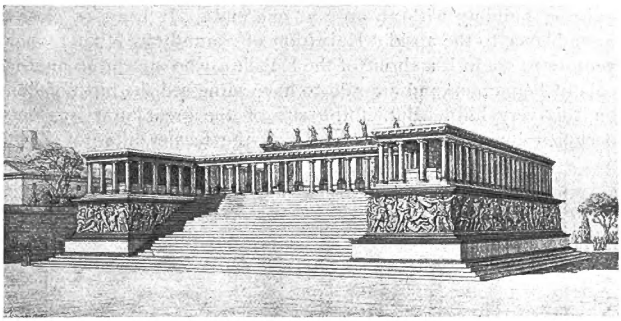


Fig. 87.

square by about 18 feet in height, was mounted by means of a broad staircase and adorned all round with a frieze, which represented in high relief the battle of the Gods and the Giants. The substructure was topped by an Ionic colonnade, the back wall of which was decorated with a smaller frieze depicting scenes from the mythical history of the town. Above all rose the actual altar of burnt offering, which, to judge from our only representation of it, a Pergamene coin struck by Septimius Severus (fig. 88)[2], was protected by a soaring baldachin; the adjoining colonnades were surmounted by statues of deities, and the flight of steps was

Fig. 88.

the great altar was dedicated is not attested by the extant blocks of the votive inscription. M. Fränkel in *Pergamon* viii no. 69 supposes that the altar was that of Zeus and Athena *Nikephóros*; A. Brückner in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 218 ff., that it was dedicated to all the gods. But it is commonly regarded as the altar of Zeus alone.

[1] *Pergamon* iii. 1 pl. 19. Ground-plan *ib.* pl. 15. Elevation of west side *ib.* pl. 18.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 152 pl. 30, 7. That this coin shows the great altar was first recognised by A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 823 ff. figs. and in the *Rev. Num.* 1902 p. 234 ff. See also *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii Arch. Anz. p. 12 fig., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1902 vi. 461, *Pergamon* iii. 1. 4 f. fig., 65 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 536.

flanked by two figures of humped bulls on large pedestals. The whole complex of marble was reckoned one of the wonders of the world[1]. Built into and concealed by its foundations was a previously existing building with an apse at one end[2]. It bears so close a resemblance to the apsidal Kabeirion of Samothrace[3] that I would venture to see in it a shrine of the Kabeiroi, who appear on another coin of Pergamon[4] and are said to have witnessed the birth of Zeus on this very hill[5]. But, if the site of the great altar was once occupied by a Kabeirion, where was the former altar of Zeus?

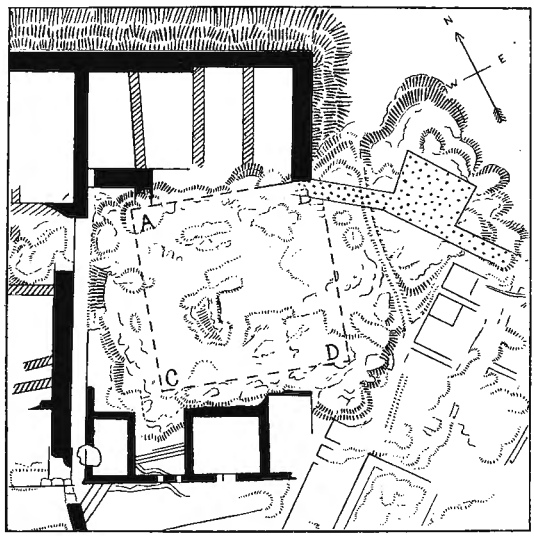


Fig. 89.

Just where we should have expected it to be—higher up, on the actual summit. J. Schrammen observes that the extreme point still shows traces of a square structure (fig. 89)[6], and acutely

[1] Ampel. 8. 14.

[2] *Pergamon* iii. 1. 83 ff. figs. Atlas pl. 2.

[3] A. Conze—A. Hauser—G. Niemann *Archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* Wien 1875 p. 45 ff. figs. 15—29 pls. 11—52, 69 f., A. Conze—A. Hauser—O. Benndorf *Neue archaeologische Untersuchungen auf Samothrake* Wien 1880 p. 19 ff. figs. 4—8 pls. 2—16, Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[2] pp. 195, 231, *ib.*[3] p. 424.

[4] *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 120 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 536.

[5] *Supra* p. 110 n. 5.

[6] *Pergamon* iii. 1. 74 f. fig.

conjectures that the altar of Zeus mentioned by Pausanias was not the gorgeous monument of Eumenes ii but this more homely place of sacrifice[1]. If so, it was impressive from its sheer simplicity. Like the altar of Zeus *Olýmpios* in the Altis at Olympia, it was a mere heap of ashes, consisting entirely of the calcined thighs of victims sacrificed to Zeus[2].

The dedication of an altar with neither temple nor statue of the god is characteristic of the early so-called aniconic stage of Greek religion. But it must not be supposed that the absence of a visible representation of Zeus was due merely to the backward state of sculptural art at the time when the cult in question was founded. Rather it must be traced back to the primitive conception of Zeus as the Bright Sky, alive and potent, but not as yet anthropomorphic[3], and therefore not as yet represented by a statue.

With the change to anthropomorphism came the introduction of statues into the mountain-cults of Zeus. Where there had been an altar and nothing more, there was now, if the cult moved with the times, an altar and a statue of the god standing beside it. Thus on the top of Mount Hymettos there was an altar and statue of Zeus *Hymēttios*[4]. On Mount Parnes Zeus was worshipped under several names: as *Ómbrios* and *Apémios* he received sacrifices on one altar, as *Semaléos* on another; and, apparently beside this latter, was a bronze statue of Zeus *Parnēthios*[5]. Mount Laphystion, near Orchomenos in Boiotia, had a precinct and a stone statue of Zeus *Laphýstios*: tradition told how king Athamas was here on the point of sacrificing his own son and daughter, Phrixos and Helle, when in the nick of time Zeus sent the ram with the golden fleece to aid their escape[6]. The summit of Mount Athos was sacred to Zeus *Athōios*, who had there one or more altars and a (bronze?) statue[7]. Doubtless too the statue of Zeus *Aitnaîos* on Mount Aitne[8], that of the Chaeronean Zeus on the crag called Petrachos[9], and that of Zeus *Anchésmios* on Mount Anchesmos near Athens[10] had altars of their own.

A third and final stage in the evolution of the cult was reached, when the figure of the god came to be suitably housed in a temple. But this was an innovation not brought about all at once. Zeus *Ithomátas*, for example, was worshipped on the top of Mount Ithome

[1] *Id. ib.*

[2] Append. B Mysia. On altars made of ashes see E. Reisch in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1668 f., J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 8 (iii. 556 f.).

[3] *Supra* p. 1 ff.

[4] Append. B Attike.

[5] *Ib.*

[6] *Ib.* Boiotia.

[7] *Ib.* Makedonia.

[8] *Ib.* Sicily.

[9] *Ib.* Boiotia.

[10] *Ib.* Attike.

in Messene; but the statue of the god, made by the famous Argive sculptor Hageladas, was kept in the house of a priest annually appointed for the purpose[1]. At last Zeus was installed in a house of his own. And splendid indeed must have been the effect of a Greek temple with its ivory-white columns and its richly-coloured entablature seen against the dazzling blue of a southern sky. Hardly less beautiful would it appear when its marbles glimmering in the moonlight contrasted with the mysterious shadows of its colonnade[2]. The first temple built upon a height for Zeus of which we have any record is the temple of Zeus *Polieús* constructed by Phalaris in the first half of the sixth century on the Akropolis of Akragas some 1200 feet above sea-level. Polyainos[3] tells the following tale with regard to its foundation:

'Phalaris was a contractor of Akragas. The citizens of that town desired to make a temple of Zeus *Polieús* at a cost of 200 talents on their Akropolis: the site was rocky, the foundation very solid, and moreover it would be the right thing to establish the god on the highest available point. So Phalaris tendered an offer that, if he were appointed as overseer of the work, he would use the best craftsmen, furnish materials without extravagance, and provide satisfactory sureties for the funds. The people, considering that his life as a contractor had given him experience in such matters, entrusted him with the task. On receipt of the public moneys, he hired many strangers, purchased many prisoners, and brought up to the Akropolis plenty of materials—stones, timber, and iron. While the foundations were being dug, however, he sent down a crier with this proclamation: "Whosoever will denounce those persons that have stolen stone and iron from the Akropolis shall receive such and such a reward." The people were angered at the theft of the materials. "Well then," said Phalaris, "suffer me to fence in the Akropolis." The city granted him permission to fence it in and to raise a circuit-wall. Hereupon he freed the prisoners and armed them with his stones, axes, and double-axes. He made his attack during the festival of the Thesmophoria, slew most of the citizens, secured the women and children, and thus became tyrant of Akragas.'

Again, on the summit of the Larisa or Akropolis of Argos, a rocky cone rising abruptly from the plain to a height of 950 feet, there was a cult of Zeus *Larisaîos*. Pausanias, who visited the spot

[1] Append. B Messene.

[2] Time has broken and defaced all existing Greek temples. Among the least imperfect are the 'Theseum' at Athens, a temple of unknown dedication at Segesta, the temple of 'Concordia' at Girgenti. But though these have preserved the form, they have lost the colour, of a Doric structure. Nor is there to be seen any really accurate model or even complete picture, say of the Parthenon, showing its shapes as they were, optical corrections and all, and its colouring as it probably was. Doubtless some details would be conjectural, but the facts are so far certain that an attempt at adequate representation might be, and ought to be, made.

[3] Polyain. 5. 1. 1. See further Append. B Sicily. The site of the temple is shown in W. Wilkins *The Antiquities of Magna Graecia* Cambridge 1807 Agrigentum pl. 1 view, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1189 f. plan.

in the second century of our era, says that the temple of Zeus *Larisaîos* had no roof and that his statue, made of wood, was no longer standing on its base[1]. This implies that the temple was then a ruin; but when it was first founded is not known. Mount *Sagmatas*, the ancient Mount Hypatos, is a bold, rocky eminence above Glisas in Boiotia, attaining a height of 2434 feet. 'From the summit,' says Dr Frazer, 'the view is extensive and fine, embracing the great expanse of the Copaic plain (a lake no longer), the dark blue water of the deep lake of Hylica environed by barren and rugged mountains, the Euboean sea, and on the horizon the peaks of Parnassus, Helicon, and Cithaeron[2].' Upon the flat top of this mountain Pausanias found a cult-statue and temple of Zeus *Hýpatos*[3]; but again we cannot tell the date of its foundation. The same is true of the temple of Zeus *Akraîos* on the Pindos range between Thessalia and Epeiros[4], of the temple of Zeus *Kásios* built by the descendants of the Dioskouroi on Mount Kasion in Egypt[5], and of the temple dedicated to Zeus *Kásios* at Kasiope in Korkyra[6]. Probably they were all comparatively recent. The temple of Zeus *Solymeús* on Mount Solymos in Pisidia does not appear to have been a very ancient structure[7]. And in several cases it is clear that the primitive altar of Zeus received the additional glory of a temple at a much later date. Althaimenes, we saw, set up a simple altar to Zeus *Atabýrios* on the Rhodian Mount Atabyrion: but Mr C. Torr notes that the temple-walls and precinct-wall of Zeus are still to be seen on the mountain 4070 feet above the sea[8]. Herakles, we said, dedicated altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus *Patrôios* on the headland of Mount Kenaion: but Seneca in his tragedy *Herakles on Oite* writes—

> Here on a soaring rock no cloud may strike
> Shines the old temple of Kenaian Zeus[9].

The precinct of Zeus *Kýnthios* and Athena *Kynthía* on the top of Mount Kynthos in Delos included a small temple, the position of which can still be traced; but this is expressly said by M. Lebègue to be of late date[10].

[1] Append. B Argolis. [2] J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 19. 3 (v. 61 f.).
[3] Append. B Boiotia. [4] *Ib.* Thessalia. [5] *Ib.* Aigyptos.
[6] *Ib.* Korkyra. [7] *Ib.* Pisidia. [8] *Ib.* Rhodes.
[9] *Ib.* Boiotia. Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 786 f. hic rupe celsa nulla quam nubes ferit annosa fulgent templa Cenaei Iovis. Mr G. A. Papabasileiou, who most courteously travelled from Chalkis to the Kenaion promontory on my behalf, reports (Oct. 17, 1911) that at Dion in a spot named after a church of Saint Konstantinos he could trace the foundations of a temple and fair-sized precinct with a circular base of three steps at the east end. These remains he took to be those of a temple and altar of Zeus built in historic times on the site consecrated by Herakles.
[10] Append. B Delos.

(b) The Mountain as the Throne of Zeus.

The mountain sacred to Zeus was sometimes regarded as his seat or throne. Coins of Gomphoi or Philippopolis from about 350 B.C. onwards show Zeus *Akraîos* seated on a rock and holding a sceptre in his right hand (fig. 90)[1]: in place of the rock, which must represent Mount Pindos, later specimens substitute a throne (figs. 91, 92)[2]. Again, coins of Kyrrhos in Syria struck by Trajan and

Fig. 90.

Fig. 91.

Fig. 92.

other emperors have Zeus *Kataibátes* sitting on a rock with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle[3]: the rock is presumably some neighbouring height. Similarly a coin of Ankyra in Galatia struck by Antoninus Pius represents Zeus, with a sceptre in his right hand and a Victory in his left, seated on a rock[4]: Ankyra too was situated in a mountainous district. We have already noted an imperial coin of Prousa in Bithynia, which shows Zeus or a Zeus-like mountain-god reclining on the summit of the Mysian Olympos (fig. 85)[5].

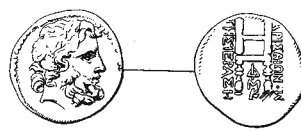


Fig. 93.

I add a few other numismatic examples, the interpretation of which is more doubtful. Copper coins of Larisa on the Orontes, struck in the first century B.C., have the head of Zeus as their obverse and the throne of Zeus as their reverse type (fig. 93)[6]. This perhaps implies that a neighbouring height was regarded as

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 19 pl. 3, 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 295. Append. B Thessalia.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 19 (I figure no. 3) pl. 3, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 450, Head *loc. cit.* Fig. 92 is an unpublished variety (with the Thessalian form ΓΟΜΦΙΤΟΥΝ) in my collection.

[3] *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii.

[4] Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 663, iii. 252.

[5] *Supra* p. 116 n. 8.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia etc. p. 264 pl. 31, 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 782.

Hydría from Ruvo: Zeus on the mountain-top witnesses the judgment of Paris.

See page 125 f.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 30 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

the god's seat. Similarly the throne and thunderbolt of Zeus on coppers of Olba in Kilikia, struck probably at the end of the first century B.C. (fig. 94)[1] and the beginning of the first century A.D. (fig. 95)[2], may mean that *Uzundja-Burdj*, 'Tall Castle' (3800 ft.

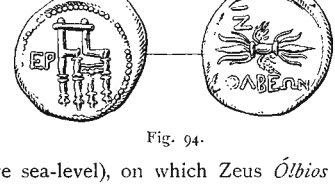


Fig. 94.

Fig. 95.

above sea-level), on which Zeus *Ólbios* had his *hierón*[3], was conceived as his sacred seat, though here an allusion to an actual throne occupied by the priestly king[4] is equally possible.

Vase-painters of the fourth century B.C. sometimes represent Zeus seated or reclining on a mountain in the upper register of their design. Thus a fine *hydría* from Ruvo, painted in the style of the potter Meidias[5] and now preserved at Karlsruhe[6], introduces the god as part of a Polygnotan background to a familiar scene—the judgment of Paris (pl. xi)[7]. In the midst sits Paris himself, here as often named Alexandros. As a Phrygian he wears a rich Oriental costume; but as a shepherd he carries a short thick staff and is accompanied by his dog. He turns to speak with Hermes, who has brought the three goddesses to Mount Ide. The laurels and the rocky ground mark the mountain-side. Aphrodite,

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. pp. lii f., 119 pl. 21, 7, *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1885 xii. 369 (from the same die), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 726.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. 124 pl. 22, 7, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 727, G. F. Hill in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1899 xix. 189 f. no. 3 γ (no. 3 β has throne turned to left), Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 137 f. nos. 1354 f. pl. 26. The legend of the specimen here figured is ΔΥΝΑΣΤΟ[Υ] ΟΛΒΕ[ΩΝ] ΤΗΣ ΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΚΕΝΝΑΤ | ΚΑΙ·ΛΑΛΑΣΣΕΩΝ ←ΙΑ(=ἔτους ια').

[3] J. T. Bent in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 220 ff., R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm 'Reisen in Kilikien' (cited *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (ζ)).

[4] *Infra ib.*

[5] G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Geneva 1908 pp. 65–69 pl. 2, 2.

[6] Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259.

[7] Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 141 ff. pl. 30.

In sarcophagus-reliefs etc. representing the judgment of Paris this seated Zeus is sometimes transformed into a seated mountain-god: see Robert *Sark.-Reliefs* ii. 11 ff. pl. 4, 10, 10', 10" (Villa Pamfili) = *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 3, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 214 ff. pl. H, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* p. 240 f. pl. 11, 5, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1624 fig. 9, 9a; Robert *op. cit.* ii. 18 pl. 5, 12 (Palestrina); cp. Robert *op. cit.* ii. 17 fig. (Villa Ludovisi) = *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 29, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 84 ff., Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* p. 238 ff. pl. 11, 12.

confident of success, is seated quietly behind Hermes. She rests one hand on a sceptre, the other on a little Eros, whose brother she has already sent forward to whisper seductive words in the ear of the judge. Above her we see Eutychia, the goddess of good luck, and an attendant maiden preparing wreaths for the coming victory. In front of Paris, but wholly disregarded by him, stands Athena—a majestic figure closely resembling the Parthenos of Pheidias. Hardly less majestic, and not a whit more successful in attracting the notice of Paris, is Hera, who draws near on the left supported by her maid Klymene. In the background appears Eris, who first brought about the strife and now would watch its *dénouement*. On the right Helios drives up his four-horse chariot from behind the mountain, recalling an analogous figure in the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. On the left sits Zeus, leaning on the rocky slope. He wears a laurel-wreath in his hair and a *himátion* wrapped about his knees. His right hand holds a sceptre; his left, a winged thunderbolt. Helios and Zeus give the setting of the scene in time and place[1]. For Ide is the home of Zeus *Idaîos*[2]. Moreover, it was in obedience to the bidding of Zeus that Hermes brought the goddesses before Paris[3].

Equally essential is the relation of Zeus to the main design in the case of the Poniatowski vase—a great Apulian *kratér* with medallion handles, which was found near Bari and is now in the Vatican collection[4]. Its obverse (fig. 96) shows Triptolemos on his winged car drawn by two serpents. He is wreathed with myrtle, and holds in his left hand a sceptre and a bunch of corn. One of his serpents is feeding from a *phiále* held by a seated goddess, possibly one of the Horai. The other turns towards a standing goddess, almost certainly Demeter, who holds a wheel-torch under her left arm and is offering more corn to Triptolemos. Behind her at a lower level stands another goddess, probably Hekate, bearing a lighted torch. Above and beyond these figures rises a mountain, indicated by broken dotted lines, upon which we see two goddesses and higher up two gods. The goddesses cannot be identified with

[1] Cp. the vase at St Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807) figured in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3 f., *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 11, 1.

[2] Append. B Troas.

[3] *Kypria ap.* Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 17 Kinkel), Loukian. *dial. deor.* 20. 1, 7, 8, Kolouth. *rapt. Hel.* 69 ff., Ov. *her.* 16. 71, Apul. *met.* 10. 30 and 33.

[4] A. L. Millin *Peintures de vases antiques* Paris 1810 ii pl. 31 f. = Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 60 ff. pl. 31 f., Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 22 ff. pl. 11 f., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 177 ff. pl. 63, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora p. 552 ff. Atlas pl. 16, 15, *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (β).

certainty, but are in all probability meant for Aphrodite and Peitho[1]. The gods are Hermes and Zeus. Hermes has his usual attributes, and, with one foot raised on the rocky ground, balances the similarly posed figure of Peitho. Zeus, crowned with laurel, reclines on the mountain-top. He has a *himátion* folded about his legs, shoes on his feet, a bracelet on his left arm, and an eagle-sceptre in his left hand. The moment depicted seems to be this. Zeus has

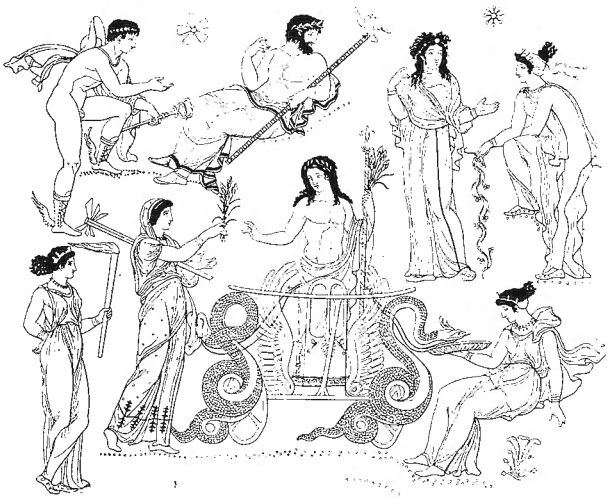


Fig. 96.

sent Hermes to bring back Persephone from the Underworld[2]. Demeter—her wrath thereby appeased—is instructing Triptolemos in the art of agriculture and sending him forth on his mission of

[1] The identification of the goddesses on this vase has been much canvassed: see Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 552—562. I have relied on another Apulian vase, now at St Petersburg (*infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (*β*)), which represents the same scene in a very similar fashion and fortunately supplies us with the inscribed names ΤΡΙΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ (in serpent-car), ΔΗΜΗΤΗΡ (on the left filling a *phiále* for him), ΚΩΡΑΙ (further to the left, one standing, the other seated), ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΗ (on the right at a higher level, seated), ΠΕΙΘΩ (further to the right, standing beside Aphrodite with knee raised on rock), ΝΕΙΛΟΣ (river at foot of main design).

[2] *H. Dem.* 334 ff., *alib.* (see R. Foerster *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* Stuttgart 1874 pp. 29—98 'Der Mythus in der Dichtkunst').

civilisation. On this showing the mountain upon which Zeus reclines is the Macedonian Olympos[1].

An Apulian *pélike* from Ruvo, now at Naples[2], has on one side a design (pl. xii)[3], the background of which somewhat closely resembles that of the vase just described. The scene is laid on a mountain near the Phrygian Kelainai, where Marsyas the flute-playing Silenos was defeated and flayed by Apollon[4]. In the centre of the composition sits Apollon, wreathed with laurel and wearing a *himátion* drawn up over the back of his head. He is already victorious, and a winged Nike is presenting him with the victor's fillet, but his fingers still play with the four chords of his lyre. Below him on a spotted skin sits the defeated Silenos. His skin flute-case lies behind on the ground. He holds the flutes in his left hand and leans his head on his right in deep dejection. And no wonder. For of the three Muses, who are present as judges of his skill[5], one, though she has flutes herself, stands spell-bound listening to Apollon's strains, another is seated harp in hand chanting the victor's praises to the delight of a pet-dog from Malta, while the third has risen from her judgment-seat and is reading out of a roll the fearful penalty prescribed for the vanquished. Behind her a girl is already bringing up a basket with flowers and a fillet, as though for a sacrifice. Marsyas himself will be the victim. On the mountain-top are three seated deities; but not one of them is likely to help. Zeus naturally sympathises with his son, Artemis with her brother. Aphrodite, who scoffed at the effects of flute-playing[6], is unconcernedly holding a *phiále* to serve as a divining-glass for Eros[7]. Still less does the she-goat cropping its food in the corner take thought for Marsyas' fate. Confining our attention to Zeus, we note that his connexion with the tragedy is but slight. He is here mainly[8] as the divine dweller on the

[1] *H. Dem.* 331, 341, 449, 484.

[2] Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 529 ff. no. 3231.

[3] A. Michaelis *Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas auf einer Vase aus Ruvo* Greifswald 1864 pl. 2, 3, and more accurately in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii pl. 17, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 439 ff. Atlas pl. 25, 4.

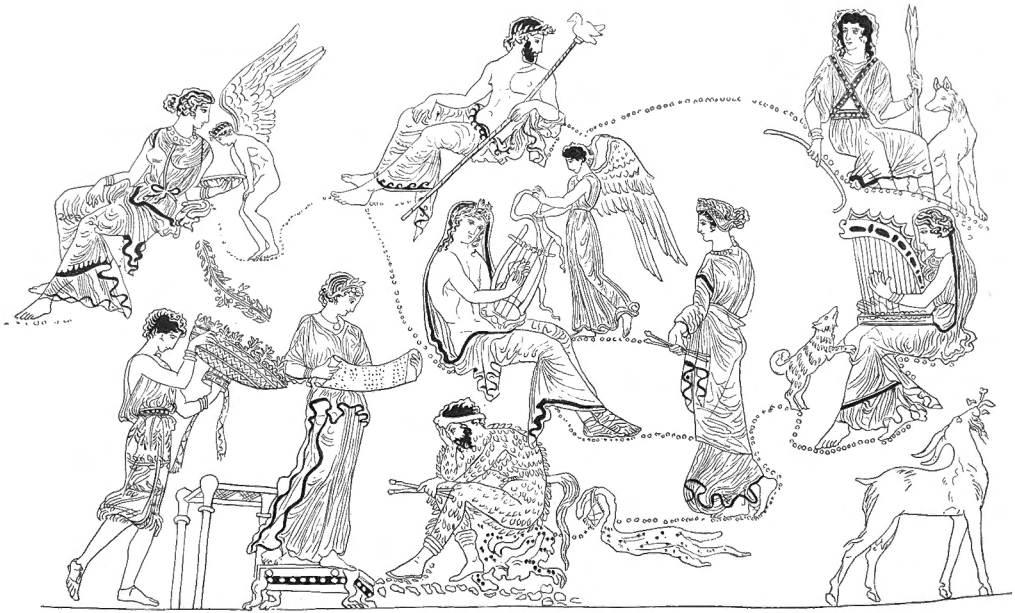
[4] O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2441 ff.

[5] O. Jessen *ib.* ii. 2442.

[6] Hyg. *fab.* 165.

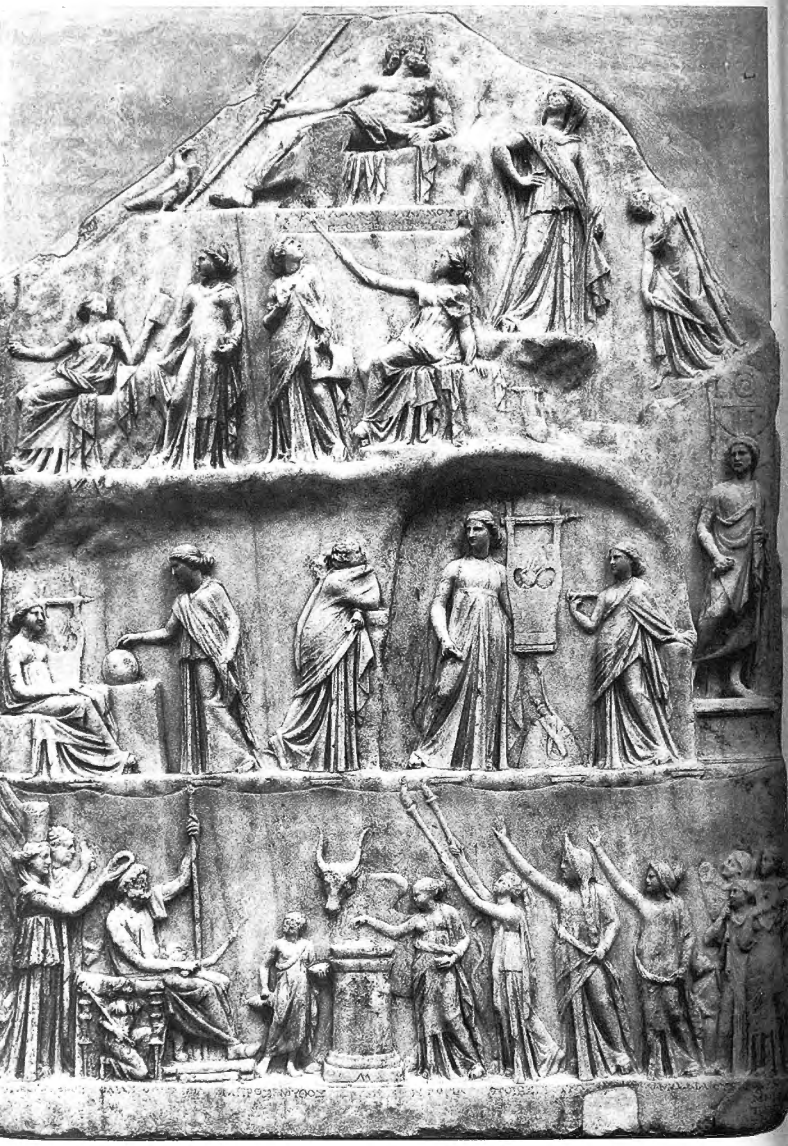
[7] A. Michaelis *Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas* etc. p. 13 f., *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 46, and Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 431, 442 argue that Aphrodite, in whose cult the flute was used, is present on the side of Marsyas. If so, she is strangely apathetic: cp. other vase-paintings of the same scene in Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii pl. 64, the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii pl. 5, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 433 no. 12 Atlas pl. 25, 3.

[8] Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 441 holds that Zeus is present as witness of things in general and of his son's victory in particular.



Pelike from Ruvo: Zeus on the mountain-top witnesses the defeat of Marsyas.

See page 128 f., *cp. page* 133.



Relief signed by Archelaos of Priene.

See page 129 ff.

heights above Kelainai, and he adopts the attitude now familiar to us as that of the mountain-god.

This type of Zeus reclining occurs again on a relief signed by Archelaos son of Apollonios, a native of Priene[1]. That well-known work of art, referable to the end of the third century B.C., was found near Bovillae about 1650 A.D. and is now in the British Museum (pl. xiii)[2]. Its subject is usually described as the apotheosis of Homer. Before us rises a steep mountain-side, at the foot of which *Hómeros* is seen enthroned. He holds a roll in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. His throne is supported by two kneeling female figures inscribed *Iliás* and *Odýsseia*: the former carries a sheathed sword, the latter holds up the stern-ornament of a ship. In front of Homer's footstool lies another roll with a mouse at one end of it, a frog (?) at the other, to indicate the *Battle of the Frogs and Mice*. Behind the poet stands a woman named *Oikouméne*, 'The World,' who is holding a wreath above his head, and a man, named *Chrónos*, 'Time,' who is uplifting a roll in either hand. Since in features and hair these two figures (fig. 97) resemble Ptolemy iv Philopator and his wife Arsinoe, it has been conjectured that we have here the king and queen of Alexandreia portrayed as allegorical personages[3]. Before the poet is a lighted altar inscribed ΛΛ, behind which stands a humped bull. The sacrificial attendant with jug and bowl is *Mýthos*. *Historía* strews incense on the altar, *Poíesis* holds up two flaming torches, while *Tragodía*, *Komodía*, a smaller figure named *Phýsis*, 'Nature,' and a group of *Areté*, 'Virtue,' *Mnéme*, 'Memory,' *Pístis*, 'Faith,' and *Sophía*, 'Wisdom,'

[1] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1295.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 244 ff. no. 2191 fig. 30, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 112 fig. 118, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 674 ff. fig. 354, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 463 ff. fig. 226, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3266 ff. For further details and divergent theories see the monographs of G. Cuper *Apotheosis Homeri* Amsterdam 1683, Schott *Explication nouvelle de l'Apothéose d'Homère* etc. Amsterdam 1714, E. Braun *Apotheose des Homer* Leipsic 1848, A. Kortegarn *De tabula Archelai* Bonn 1862, C. Watzinger *Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxiii) Berlin 1903, and the other authorities cited by A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 253 f.

[3] C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 17 ff. figs. 8—9, following and improving upon the identifications proposed by S. Sharpe, *viz.* Ptolemy vi Philometor and his mother Kleopatra. Both E. Braun and Sir C. T. Newton remarked a family likeness between the head of Χρόνος and those of the later Ptolemies. F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii. 85 f. fig. 28 (=Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* pl. H, 13, cp. *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1904 iv 307 ff. pl. 15, 11) proposes a fresh identification based on the coin-portraits of the Syrian king Alexandros i Balas and his wife Kleopatra. The alleged likeness is to me, I confess, hardly convincing. Mr A. H. Smith, however, whom I consulted by letter, kindly writes (Oct. 17, 1911): 'I think Hauser has a better case than Watzinger. His coin is surprisingly like. But I gather, from what Hauser says, that the other version of the coin rather shook his own faith.'

draw near with gestures of acclamation. The whole scene takes place in front of a curtained colonnade. Above it stands Apollon in a cave with a *kithára* in his hand and an *omphalós* at his feet: against the *omphalós* lean the bow and quiver of the god, and one of the Muses[1] raising a roll stands before him. To the right of the cave and immediately in front of a large tripod with domed cover is the statue of a man holding a roll, which statue—as Goethe was the first to suggest—probably represents a poet[2] who has won

Fig. 97.

a tripod in some poetical contest[3] and has celebrated the event by dedicating this votive relief. To the left of the cave and above it, winding up the mountain-height, are the eight remaining Muses,

[1] This figure has often been called the Pythian priestess. Her true character was determined by S. Reinach, and replicas were cited by W. Amelung: see C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 6.

[2] Others have interpreted the figure as Homer, Hesiod, Orpheus. But, had a famous poet of ancient date been meant, his name—as in the case of ΟΜΗΡΟΣ—would have been inscribed below him. The existing head is a restoration.

[3] C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 21 cp. Paus. 9. 31. 3. Brückner *ib.* cites a yet closer parallel, *viz.* an inscribed slab from Teos (middle of 2nd cent. B.C.), now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, which concludes a decree in honour of the flute-player Kraton thus: *παραπλησίως δὲ καὶ ἐν ταῖς θέαις καὶ ἐν ταῖς πομπαῖς παρὰ τὸν ἀνδριάντα τὸν Κράτωνος, τὸν ἐν τῷ θεάτρῳ τριπο|δά τε καὶ θυμιατήριον κ.τ.λ.* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3068, 22 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1016, 22 ff.).

arranged in typical attitudes and furnished with conventional attributes. Higher still, and on a larger scale than the Muses, is their mother Mnemosyne[1]. All these lead upwards to Zeus himself (fig. 98), who is seated or reclining on the mountain-top with a *himátion* wrapped about his legs, a sceptre in his right hand, and an eagle at his feet.

The significance of the whole design is tolerably clear. The ideal poet, inspired by Apollon and the Muses, ultimately derives his message from their omnipotent sire; he delivers to mankind the oracles of Zeus. Nay more, in a sense he *is* Zeus. Enthroned as a divine king on earth he is a human counterpart of the divine king enthroned in heaven[2], heaven being located on the summit of

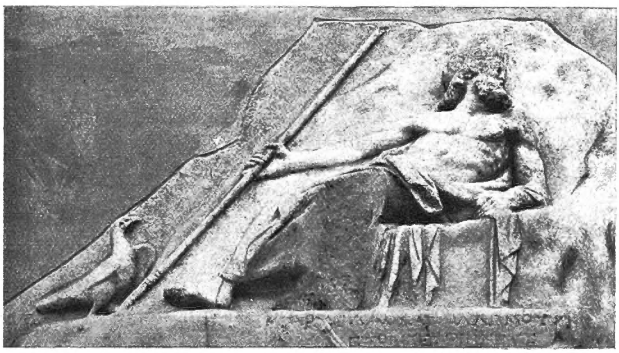


Fig. 98.

the mountain. Nor was this a mere fancy-flight of Hellenistic imagination. It was, as we shall see in due course, a religious conviction inseparably bound up with immemorial Hellenic customs.

But the relief before us has a special as well as a general significance. C. Watzinger, who follows W. Amelung in ascribing the types of Apollon and the Muses to Philiskos of Rhodes[3], and further attempts to explain the reclining Zeus as a Rhodian development of an originally Dionysiac *motif*[4], suggests the following possibilities. Apollonios Rhodios, or some other epic poet

This identification, first proposed by G. Cuper in 1683, is now commonly accepted.

C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 17 justly says: 'In zeusähnlicher Haltung sitzt Homer,' and *ib.* p. 20 calls attention to the actual cult of Homer established at Alexandreia by Ptolemy iv Philopator (Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 22) and existing also at Smyrna (Strab. 646).

[3] C. Watzinger *op. cit.* p. 4 ff.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 14 ff.

of the Rhodian school, was successful in a poetical contest, held at Alexandreia on behalf of Apollon and the Muses[1]. He commemorated his victory by dedicating in a temple at Rhodes a votive relief made for him by Archelaos of Priene, a sculptor belonging to the Rhodian school of art. The locality of the contest thus accounts for the portraits of Ptolemy iv and Arsinoe, for the divine honours paid to Homer[2], and for the emphasis laid on Apollon and the Muses, while the nationality of the poet and the artistic traditions of the sculptor explain the adoption of Philiskos' types. Zeus, himself of a Rhodian type, is Zeus *Atabýrios* reclining on the highest peak of the island[3]. He was worshipped also on the akropolis of Rhodes, as was Apollon, in whose sanctuary Philiskos' group presumably stood.

Watzinger's reconstruction of the circumstances is attractive and hangs well together. But it is beset by uncertainties. We do not *know* that these types of Apollon and the Muses were those devised by Philiskos[4], or that the *motif* of a reclining Zeus originated in Rhodes. The former is at most a probable guess; the latter is at most an improbable guess. Again, we do not *know* that Archelaos the sculptor belonged to the Rhodian school of sculpture, or that the supposed poet belonged to the Rhodian school of poetry, or that the contest took place at Alexandreia, or that it had anything to do with the cult of Apollon and the Muses. In short, the whole explanation is hypothetical. And other hypotheses are equally possible. For example, it might be maintained that an epic poet of the Alexandrine school won a prize-tripod[5] at the Panionia, the great festival of Poseidon *Helikónios* held in the territory of Priene[6]. He naturally got a local sculptor to carve his votive tablet. The sculptor of course introduced Homer as the prototype of all epic poets, paid the customary compliment to the king and queen of his patron's town, and—possibly prompted by the epithet *Helikónios*—represented Mount Helikon with Zeus *Helikónios*[7] on its summit and the Muses descending its side. The Muses suggested Apollon, and, at the expense of topographical accuracy, Mount Helikon is merged in another height of the same range and reveals Apollon, *omphalós* and all, standing in his Delphic cave[8].

[1] Vitr. 7 *praef.* 4.
[2] *Supra* p. 131 n. 2.
[3] Append. B Rhodes.
[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 34 f.
[5] Bronze tripods were given as prizes at the games of Apollon Τριόπιος (Hdt. 1. 144).
[6] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 74 ff.
[7] Append. B Boiotia.
[8] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 248: 'It has been generally supposed that the rocky terraces on which the Muses appear in this relief represent

But guess-work is fatally facile. It will be more profitable to notice a point which, so far as I am aware, has escaped the observation of Watzinger and his predecessors—the extraordinary similarity of the Archelaos relief to the Marsyas vase from Ruvo. In both the artist has portrayed success in a contest of poetry or music. In both we see a mountain-side with Apollon half way up it playing the *kithára* or lyre. In both there are the Muses arranged at different levels on the slope—one holding two flutes, another seated to play the *kithára* or harp, a third standing with a roll in her hand. Lastly, in both the mountain is topped by a strikingly similar figure of Zeus. I would infer that Archelaos was indebted for his design, or at least for essential elements of his design,—not indeed to vase-painters of the fourth century B.C.—but to contemporary fresco-painters, who like their humbler brethren of the potter's trade were still at work under the far-reaching influence of Polygnotos[1].

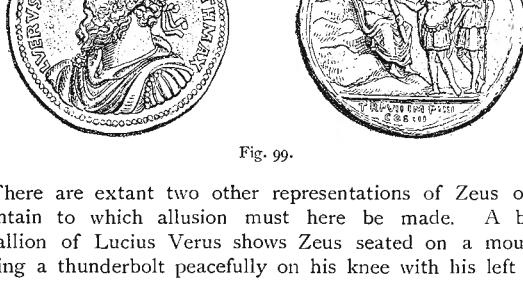


Fig. 99.

There are extant two other representations of Zeus on the mountain to which allusion must here be made. A bronze medallion of Lucius Verus shows Zeus seated on a mountain, holding a thunderbolt peacefully on his knee with his left hand, while his right arm leaning on the mountain-top supports his head. The emperor in military costume and himself crowned by

Parnassus, and in this case the cave within which Apollo is standing would be the Corycian cave on that mountain.' Not necessarily: it might be the actual *μαντεῖον* at Delphoi, which is described as *ἄντρον* (Strab. 419, Eur. *Phoin.* 232 cp. *I.T.* 1245 ff.: A. P. Oppé in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1904 xxiv. 214 ff. has not said the last word on the subject).

[1] Thus in the case of the art-type of Zeus reclining on a mountain-top the vase-paintings appear to form a link between some lost fresco of Polygnotos in the fifth century B.C. and the relief of Archelaos in the third. Later (ch. iii § 1 (a) iii) we shall see, in the case of the art-type of Zeus seated on a rock with Hera standing before him, how the vase-paintings bridge the interval between a Selinuntine metope of the fifth century B.C. and a Pompeian fresco of the first century A.D.

an armed figure of Roma is offering to the god a small wreath-bearing Nike (fig. 99)[1]. The inscriptions on this medallion[2] prove that it was struck in the year 167 A.D. and commemorates the victories won for Verus in the east by his stern lieutenant Avidius Cassius. Not improbably the artist hinted at the name of the actual victor by depicting the emperor making his presentation to the mountain-god Zeus *Kásios*[3]. Lastly, a bronze coin of Ephesos, struck under Antoninus Pius, represents Zeus seated on a throne, which is set upon the flat summit of a mountain. Beneath this mountain lies another mountain-god holding a horn of plenty and inscribed *Peíon*. Over his head descends a shower from the raised right hand of Zeus, while the left hand of that deity supports a thunderbolt. At the foot of the mountain on which Zeus sits enthroned is a temple; at the back of the same mountain, a three-storeyed building; and in the distance, perched upon rocks, appear two similar buildings and a clump of cypress-trees between them (fig. 100)[4]. There can be no doubt that Zeus is here represented as enthroned on Mount Koressos, a height which dominates the whole valley of Ephesos and looks down on its neighbour Mount Peion.

Fig. 100.

The foregoing examples of a mountain conceived as the throne of Zeus must not be attributed to any original effort of imagination on the part of the Hellenistic artist. Behind the die-sinker and the sculptor lay popular belief and long-standing ritual practice. Those who in ancient days visited Argos to see the famous statue of Hera, made by Polykleitos of ivory and gold, found the goddess in her temple seated on her throne. In one hand she carried a pomegranate, in the other a sceptre; and about both of them stories were told. The story about the pomegranate was mystic in character and too sacred to be rashly bruited abroad. That about the sceptre aimed at explaining the odd fact that a cuckoo was perched on the tip of it, and was as follows. When Zeus was in love with the maiden Hera, he transformed himself into a cuckoo, was caught and petted

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 156, 161, 190 Münztaf. 2, 32, Frœhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 90 fig., *supra* p. 34 n. 3.

[2] Obv. L VERVS AVG ARM PARTH MAX, Rev. TR • P • VII IMP IIII COS III (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 197 no. 291). Cp. *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1906 vi. 101 no. 3 a tooled specimen in the Hunter collection.

[3] Append. B Syria.

[4] *Ib.* Lydia.

by her, and so gained his desires. The scene of this idyll was Mount *Kokkýgion*, or the 'Cuckoo' Mount, near Hermione, on the top of which there was a sanctuary of Zeus, while on the top of the neighbouring Mount Pron was a corresponding sanctuary of Hera. Now the older name of Mount Kokkygion was *Thórnax* or *Thrónax*, which means the 'Throne[1].' It seems, therefore, highly probable that this mountain was regarded by the Greeks as the throne of Zeus. Indeed, it is possible that an actual throne, reputed to be that of Zeus, was visible on the mountain. When Pythagoras made a pilgrimage to Crete, he entered the cave near the top of Mount Ide wearing black wool, stayed there according

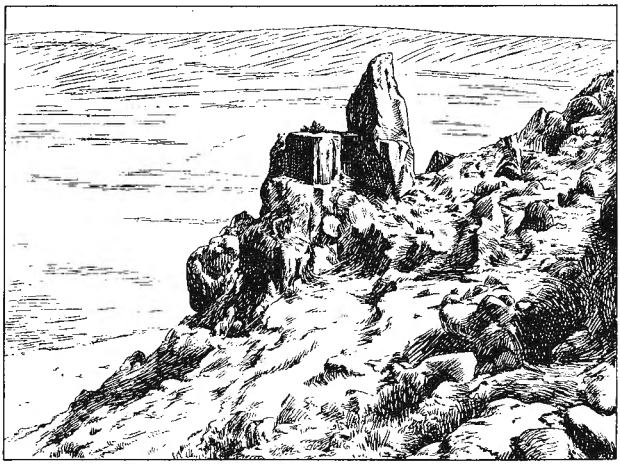


Fig. 101.

to custom thrice nine days and, among other ritual acts, inspected the throne which was strewn for Zeus once a year[2]. It is noticeable, too, that Pergamon, whose altar to Zeus we have already considered, is described in *The Revelation of S. John the divine* as the place 'where Satan's throne is[3].'

It is not, then, to be wondered at, if the Greeks brought into connexion with their Zeus a remarkable series of cult-monuments scattered up and down the mainland of Asia Minor, the islands of the Archipelago, and even Greece itself. Throughout these districts the tops of mountains and hills have been by some unknown people

[1] Append. B Argolis. [2] *Ib.* Crete. [3] *Ib.* Mysia.

at some unknown date—possibly by the Hittites in the fourteenth and following centuries B.C.—adorned with thrones, large or small, cut out in the living rock. H. Gelzer records a 'throne of Nahat' on a mountain in Armenia[1]. Near Ikonion in Lykaonia F. Sarre climbed an isolated rocky mound named *Tuzuk-Dagh*, some 150 feet above the level of the plain, and found on the summit a rock-cut seat or throne with traces of steps leading up to it[2]. On the *Kara-Dagh* or 'Black Mountain,' an outlying ridge of Tauros, is an isolated hill the *Kizil-Dagh*, which rises sharply from the plain to a height of about 360 feet. Here in 1907 Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay and Miss G. Bell found 'a pinnacle of rock forty feet high, roughly carved into the shape of a seat or throne with high back' (fig. 101)...'On the throne is incised a figure of the god, sitting, holding a sceptre in the left hand and a cup in the right[3].' Prof. A. H. Sayce regards the seated figure as that of a king and interprets the Hittite inscription that accompanies it as the royal name Tarkyanas (fig. 102)[4]. Dr J. Garstang accepts this reading as against Prof. Ramsay's Tarkuattes, but adds: 'it is conceivable that we have here a representation of the deity called by a name which was that used also by the priest[5].' The priestly king thus postulated was doubtless the dynast of Barata at the mountain-foot[6]. Rock-cut thrones have been repeatedly seen in Phrygia by A. Körte[7]. The rock-cut

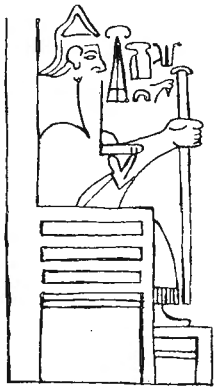


Fig. 102.

[1] *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1896 xlviii. 115. Gelzer cites from the Armenian version of Faustus of Byzantion 5. 25 the following statement about the Greek anchorite Epiphanios: 'Und er sass auf dem grossen Berge an der Stätte der Götzen, welche sie Thron der Nahat nennen.'

[2] *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1896 xix. 34.

[3] W. M. Ramsay *Luke the Physician* London 1908 p. 160 pl. 16.

[4] A. H. Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1909 xxxi. 83 ff. pl. 7, 1.

[5] J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 176 ff.

[6] A copper of Barata struck by Otacilia Severa shows Tyche with *kálathos*, branch (?) and *cornu copiae* seated on a rock, a river-god at her feet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. 2 pl. 1, 3). Another noteworthy coin-type of the same town is a standing Zeus, who rests on a sceptre and holds a *phiále* or globe, with an eagle beside him (*ib.* p. xix). Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 713. Is Tyche enthroned on a rock the successor of a pre-Greek mountain-mother?

[7] W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 31.

altars of Kybele discovered by Prof. Sir W. M. Ramsay on the plateau of *Doghanlu*, the Phrygian town of Midas, resemble thrones at least as much as altars[1]. The most striking example of these rock-cut thrones is, however, one on Mount Sipylos in Lydia. Pausanias, a native of the locality, calls it the 'throne of Pelops[2].' And Dr Frazer in his commentary describes the scenery as follows[3]: 'On the south side of the fertile valley of the Hermus, Mount Sipylus (*Manissa-dagh*) towers up abruptly, like an immense wall of rock. Its sides are very precipitous, indeed almost perpendicular. The city of Magnesia, the modern *Manissa*, lies immediately at its foot. About four miles east of Magnesia the mountain wall of rock is cleft, right down to the level of the Hermus valley, by a narrow ravine or cañon, which pierces deep into the bowels of the mountain. It is called by the Turks the *Yarik Kaya* or "rifted rock." The cañon is only about 100 feet wide; its sides are sheer walls of rock, about 500 feet high; there is a magnificent echo in it. A small stream flows through the bottom; it is probably the Achelous of Homer (*Iliad*, xxiv. 616). It is plain that the ravine has been scooped out in the course of ages by the stream wearing away the limestone rock; but it would naturally be regarded by the ancients as the result of a great earthquake, such as are common in this district. On the western edge of the cañon, half-way up the mountain-wall of Sipylus, there shoots up a remarkable crag, which stands out by itself from the mountain-side. On one side it is possible from its summit to drop a stone 900 feet sheer into the cañon; on all other sides it rises with a perpendicular face 100 feet from the mountain. Even to reach the foot of this crag from the plain, stout limbs and a steady head are needful; for the ancient mule-path, partly hewn out of the rock, partly supported on walls on the edge of precipices, has mostly disappeared; and there is nothing for it but to cling as best you can to the bushes and the projections of the rock. In this way you at last reach the foot of the cliff, the sheer face of which seems to bar all further advance. However, on the western side of the crag there is a cleft or "chimney" (*cheminée*), as they would call it in Switzerland, which leads up to the top, otherwise quite unapproachable, of the crag. In antiquity there seems to have been a staircase in the "chimney." The first few steps of it may be seen under the bushes with which the rocky fissure is overgrown. The upper surface of the crag, reached

[1] Perrot-Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 148 ff. figs. 102—104, W. M. Ramsay in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 13 f. figs. 4 f., 42 fig. 9, pl. 21 B. On the thrones of Kybele and the Korybantes see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 4.

[2] Append. B Lydia.

[3] J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 7 (iii. 552 f.).

through this cleft, is nowhere level; on the contrary, it slopes like the roof of a house and is indeed so steep that to climb up it is difficult. There are, however, twenty or thirty foundations of houses cut in the rock and rising one above the other like the steps of an immense staircase. Also there are seven or eight bell-shaped cisterns.

The ancient settlement on the summit of this remarkable crag would seem to be that to which classical writers gave the name of Tantalis or the city of Tantalus. They affirmed, indeed, that the

Fig. 103.

city had disappeared into a chasm produced by an earthquake; but probably the immense ravine beneath suggested the idea of the earthquake, and popular mythology completed the legend by asserting that the old city had been hurled down into its depths. See Pausanias, vii. 24. 13; Pliny, *Nat. Hist.* ii. 205, v. 117; Aristides, *Orat.* xv. vol. i. p. 371 *sq.*, ed. Dindorf; cp. Strabo, i. p. 58.

On the very topmost pinnacle of the crag there is a square cutting in the rock, resembling the seat of a large armchair, with back and sides complete. It is about 5 feet wide, 3 feet from front to back, and 3 feet high at the back. The back of the seat (as it may be called) is simply the top of the precipice, which falls straight down into the ravine, a sheer drop of 900 feet. Across the ravine soars the arid rocky wall of Sipylus. On the other side the eye

ranges over the valley of the Hermus, stretched like a map at one's feet. There seems to be little doubt that this remarkable rock-cut seat, perched on the pinnacle of the dizzy crag, is no other than the "throne of Pelops" mentioned by Pausanias in the present passage. What the original intention of the cutting may have been, is a different question. Professor W. M. Ramsay thinks it was probably an altar on which offerings were laid.'

C. Humann, who discovered this throne in the year 1880, gives a most graphic account of his experiences in reaching it; and I am indebted to his article for the accompanying sketch (fig. 103)[1]. W. Reichel adds the suggestion that the houses built on the upper part of the peak belonged in reality to a colony of priests, whose duty it was to serve the god represented by the throne above them. He also conjectures that this god was Apollon or some other form of the sun-god, if not *Hýpsistos* himself, and that the name of Pelops became attached to the throne as did that of Danaos to the throne of Apollon *Lýkios* at Argos, or that of Midas to the throne at Delphoi[2]. Reichel holds that in all these cases the empty throne was by rights the throne of a god, which came to be regarded wrongly as the throne of a by-gone king. Its transference from a god to a king is—I would point out—much facilitated, if we may suppose that the king was viewed as the god incarnate. And in the case before us there are good reasons for suspecting that Pelops was regarded as in some sense a human Zeus[3]. Thus a rocky seat connected by the Greek inhabitants of Magnesia with Zeus, the chief Magnesian god[4], would readily come to be called the 'throne of Pelops.' This does not of course preclude the possibility that the original possessor of the throne was neither Pelops, nor Zeus, but some other pre-Greek occupant such as Plastene, Mother of the Gods, whose primitive rock-cut image is still to be seen in its niche on the mountain-side 300 feet above the plain[5].

[1] C. Humann 'Die Tantalosburg im Sipylos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 22—41. The measurements of the throne, as given by him, are: height above sea-level 350^{m} or 1120 feet, length 1.55^{m}, depth 1.30^{m}, height 1.20^{m}.

[2] W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* p. 32 f. For the throne of Danaos in the temple of Apollon *Lýkios* at Argos (Paus. 2. 19. 5) see *ib.* p. 18, and for that of Midas at Delphoi (Hdt. 1. 14) *ib.* p. 17.

[3] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 271 ff., *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 398 ff. See further an important chapter on the origin of the Olympic games by Mr F. M. Cornford in Miss J. E. Harrison's latest book *Themis* (ch. vii).

[4] W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 56: 'on the autonomous coins of Magnesia Zeus is the most characteristic type.' Cp. Append. B Lydia.

[5] W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 33 ff., C. Humann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 26 ff. with map and pl. 1, 2, J. G. Frazer on Paus. 5. 13. 7 (iii. 553 f.).

However that may be, the Greeks do seem to have associated these rock-cut thrones with Zeus. High up on the south-eastern slope of Mount Koressos at Ephesos is another example of them. At the top of a precipitous cliff two steps are hewn out, which give access to a large oblong seat with end-pieces or arms and a high vertical back. In the angle made by this seat and its back another

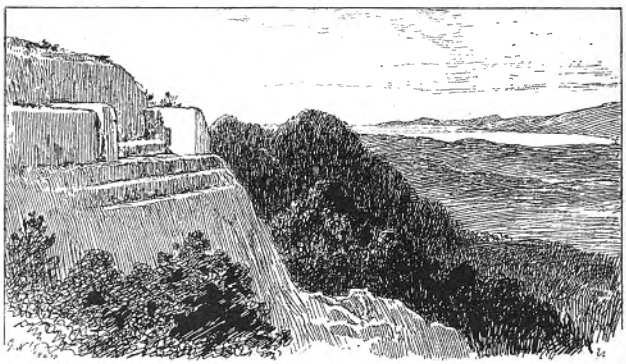


Fig. 104.

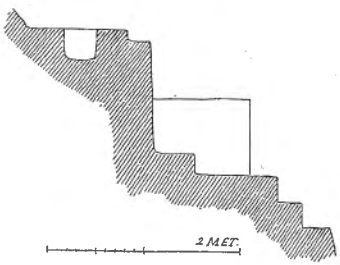


Fig. 105.

step is contrived, standing on which a man can easily reach a hole, presumably a receptacle for offerings, excavated behind the back in a second and higher horizontal surface. The whole arrangement is clearly seen in a sketch and section by Niemann (figs. 104—105)[1]. There is no traditional name attached to this throne; nor is there

[1] From O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 p. 56 f. figs. 19, 20.

any inscription showing to what deity it was dedicated. Nevertheless, in view of the fact that the coin of Antoninus Pius cited above (fig. 100) actually represents Zeus enthroned upon Mount Koressos, it will hardly be denied that the Ephesians must have deemed this rock-cut seat the throne of Zeus. Whether the throne itself was the work of a Hellenic or of a pre-Hellenic population remains, as before, an open question. Possibly it had once belonged to the Amazonian mother-goddess, who continued to be worshipped at Ephesos as Artemis *Protothronie*, 'She of the First Throne[1].'

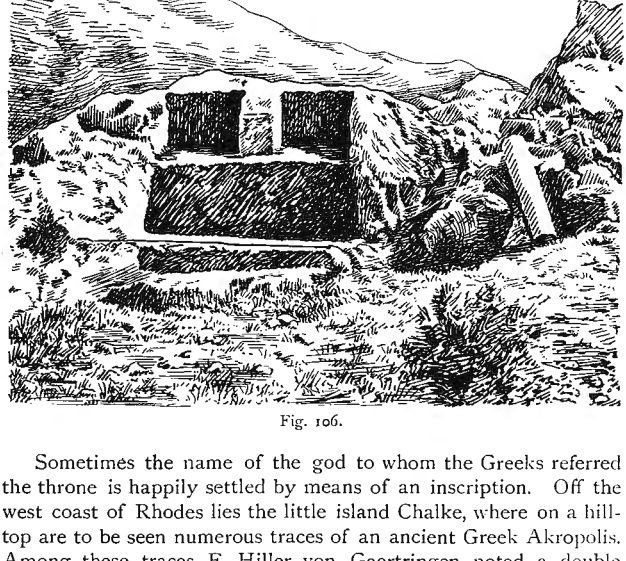


Fig. 106.

Sometimes the name of the god to whom the Greeks referred the throne is happily settled by means of an inscription. Off the west coast of Rhodes lies the little island Chalke, where on a hill-top are to be seen numerous traces of an ancient Greek Akropolis. Among these traces F. Hiller von Gaertringen noted a double rock-cut throne (fig. 106)[2]. A single step leads up to two seats with a common arm between them. The seats exhibit a circular smoothing or polish; and on their front surface in late and rude characters is an inscription recording the names of Zeus and

[1] Paus. 10. 38. 6 *ὑπὲρ τοῦ βωμοῦ τῆς Πρωτοθρονίης καλουμένης Ἀρτέμιδος*, cp. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 228 *πρωτόθρονε*.

[2] *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1895 xviii. 3 f. fig. 2. The dimensions are: width about 1.30^{m}, height 0.95^{m} (= back 0.40^{m} + seat 0.55^{m}), depth of seat 0.55^{m}, height of step 0.14^{m}.

Hekate[1]. In Rhodes itself, not far from Lartos, there is a rock-cut throne some nine or ten feet above the road-way: over against this throne, on the opposite side of the road, is an inscription carved on the face of a steep rock, eighteen feet or so above the ground, in letters not later than the third century B.C.; the inscription is a votive couplet dedicating a tablet (now lost) to Hekate[2]. Again it must be considered doubtful whether Zeus and Hekate were the original occupants of these thrones.

That doubt hardly arises in connexion with a remarkable series of rock-cuttings accompanied by inscriptions found at Thera in 1896[3]. At the south-eastern end of the ridge on which the town of Thera stood, and fully 1000 feet above sea-level, are the ruins of a very ancient building in polygonal masonry, possibly a *herôion* of the eponym Theras[4]. Below the floor of this building, and therefore older yet, is a group of inscriptions graved on the underlying rock[5]. Three of them give the name *Zeús*[6], two *Kourés*[7], one both *Zeús* and *Kourés*[8], the rest *Apóllon*[9], *Boreaîos*[10] *i.e.* Zeus *Boreaîos*, *Deúteros*[11], *Dióskouroi*[12], *Khíron*[13], *Lokhaía Damía*[14], *Háidas* or *Potidâs*[15], *Pelórios*[16] and *Polieús*[17] *i.e.* Zeus (?) *Pelórios* and Zeus *Polieús*. Out-

[1] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 958 Διός. Ἑκάτη[ς].

[2] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 914 Εὐξάμενος ἱερᾶι Σωτείρᾳ τόνδε ἀν[έθηκα] | τὸμ πίνακα Εὐ[ή]κῳ Φωσφόρῳ Ἐννοδ[ίᾳ]. Wilamowitz cj. Ἐννόδιος.

[3] F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1899—1904 i. 283 ff., iii. 62 ff. with figs. and pls.

[4] *Id. ib.* i. 284.

[5] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 350—363, *ib.* iii Suppl. nos. 1307—1309, Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 167 ff. nos. 4407—4720.

[6] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 351 Ζεύς, 352 Ζεύ[ς], 353 Ζεύ[ς] = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4708—4710.

[7] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 354 Ϙορέ̂ς, 355 Ϙορέ̂ς = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4711 f.

[8] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 350 Ζεὺς τὸς με- near the figure of a small ladder and Ϙορέ̂ς by the rock-cutting = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4707 a (where it is suggested that τοσμε.. probably belongs to a different inscription), 4707 b. Possibly we should read Ζεὺς τοῦ Σμε(ρ)[δίου] or the like.

[9] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 356 Ἀπόλων = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4713.

[10] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 357 Βορεαῖος (*sc.* ἄνεμος) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4714 (*sc.* βωμός). I prefer to supply Ζεύς, since Zeus Βόρειος occurs in Kilikia (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1896 vi Abh. p. 102 n. 182).

[11] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 358 and Suppl. Δεϙτερος (by mistake for Δεύτερος) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4715. On the significance of this name see *infra* p. 144 n. 9.

[12] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* no. 359 Διόσϙοροι = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4716.

[13] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 360 Κ*hí*ρων = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4717.

[14] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 361 Λοκαία Δαμία = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4718.

[15] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 362 - - δας (perhaps [Ηάι]δας or [Ποτι]δᾶς) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4719.

[16] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 366 and Suppl. no. 1309 (Π)ε(λ)ώ(ρ)ιος = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4724.

[17] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 363 and Suppl. Ηολι(ε)ύς (the first three letters alone certain) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4720.

side the ancient building, but close to it, are other similar inscriptions naming a variety of gods—*Apollón*[1], *Ártamis*[2], *Athanaía*[3], *Bîris*[4], *Erinýes*[5], *Gâ*[6], *Hermâs*[7], *Koúra*[8], *Kháriles*[9], and perhaps *Théro*[10]. In this miscellaneous company Zeus or some epithet of Zeus is of frequent occurrence. We find *Zeús* in letters of the seventh century together with lines of uncertain meaning (fig. 107)[11], *Hikésios i.e.* Zeus *Hikésios* in sixth-century script[12], *Zeús* again from the beginning of the fifth century onwards[13], perhaps *Zeùs Polieús* or *Zeùs Patrôios*[14] and certainly *Stoichaîos i.e.* Zeus *Stoichaîos* in the fifth century[15],

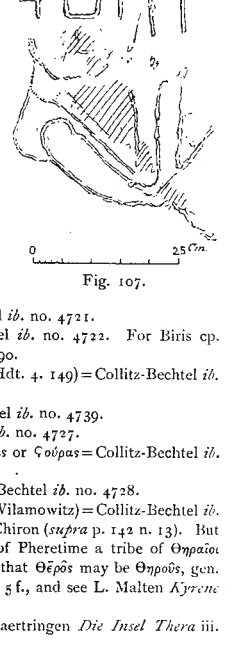


Fig. 107.

[1] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 372 'Από|λλ|ωνο|ς Μαλε|άτα Χαιριπ|πιδᾶν = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4737.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 373 'Αρτάμι | τος = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4738.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 364 'Αθαναίας = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4721.

[4] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 365 Βῖρ[ι]ς - - = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4722. For Biris cp. Paus. 3. 19. 3 and see Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 490.

[5] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 367 'Ερι[νύ]ες (so Kern, cp. Hdt. 4. 149) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4725.

[6] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 374 Γᾶς | ἱαρόν = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4739.

[7] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 370 Ηερμᾶς = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4727.

[8] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 371 and Suppl. no. 1311 ϛόρας or ϛούρας = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4728.

[9] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1312 Κάριτες = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4728.

[10] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 369 Φερετίμας and Θῆρός (so Wilamowitz) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4726. Θηρός, gen. of Θήρ, would refer to the 'Beast' Chiron (*supra* p. 142 n. 13). But F. Hiller von Gaertringen *ad loc.* notes that in the reign of Pheretime a tribe of Θηραῖοι was established at Kyrene (Hdt. 4. 161). This suggests that Θῆρός may be Θηρούς, gen. of Θηρώ, an eponymous nymph (cp. Paus. 3. 19. 8, 9. 40. 5 f., and see L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 76).

[11] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1313, F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* iii. 63 f. fig. 45.

[12] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 402 [Η]ικέσιος, 403 Ικέ[σιος], 404 Ικέσ[ιος] = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4731—4733.

[13] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 401 [Ζ]εὺς Τύχωνος and later 399 Ζεὶς | ['Α]γασικλεῦς, 400 Suppl. nos. 1315 'Εχεκράτ(ε)υ[ς] | Ζε[ύ]ς, 1317 Ζε(ὐ)ς | τ[ῶ]ν περ[ὶ Α]άκιον, 1318 Ζεὺς | τῶν περὶ 'Ολ[υμ]|πιόδωρον = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* nos. 4730, 4753. Cp. *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 425 Ζεν̣ὸ[ς] = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4734.

[14] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 375 Ζηνὸ[ς] | Π[ολιέος] or Π[ατρώιου] (the initial Π alone was engraved and possibly represents the name of a dedicant) = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4740 a.

[15] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 376 Στοιχαίου = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4740 b. Cp. Bekker *anecd.* ii. 790, 26 ff. Στεφάνου. Στοιχεῖον εἴρηται, ὡς μὲν Πίνδαρος ὁ γραμματικός, ἀπὸ Στοίχου τινός, ἑνὸς τῶν αὐτοχθόνων 'Αθηναίων· ὡς δὲ ἕνιοι, ἀπὸ τοῦ δι' αὐτῶν τοὺς ἀριθμοὺς τυποῦσθαι· στοῖχος γὰρ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ὁ ἀριθμός. τοιγαροῦν Σικυώνιοι κατὰ φυλὰς ἑαυτοὺς τάξαντες καὶ ἀριθμήσαντες, Διὸς Στοιχέως ἱερὸν ἱδρύσαντο; Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iv. 320, 28 reads Διὸς Στοιχαδέως and Villoison *anecd.* ii. 187, 11 Διὸς Στοιχείου.

lastly *Melíchios* in the fourth[1] and *Zeùs Melíchios* in the fourth or third century[2]. Beside most of these inscriptions, both within and without the old building, certain small sinkings, round, square, or irregularly shaped, and hardly more than a foot in length and breadth, are made in the rock. These look as though they had been intended to receive altars or dedications of some sort, or perhaps, as F. Hiller von Gaertringen suggests, to serve instead of altars themselves[3]. P. Wolters, however, describes them as 'seat-shaped cuttings' (*sitzartigen Einarbeitungen*)[4], and W. Reichel goes so far as to call them 'rock-thrones' (*Felsthrone*)[5]. The principal deities worshipped at an early date in this '*agorá* of the gods[6]' were clearly Zeus and Koures. Not improbably—as E. Maass has argued[7]—*Kourés* was a cult-epithet of Zeus himself[8]. If so, the Curetic cult of Thera was analogous to the Curetic cult of Crete[9]. In this connexion a dedication of hair to the Dymanian nymphs is noteworthy[10]. Moreover, it can hardly be accidental that the same site was later occupied by the Gymnasium of the *épheboi*[11]. It is likely too that the cult stood in some relation to the adjoining grotto, where warm currents of moist air issue from two holes in the rock-wall and an intermittent roar—perhaps that of the sea far below—can be faintly heard. The explorers' workmen would not risk sleeping in the cave. If it was to the Kouretes of Thera what the Dictaean and Idaean caves were to the Kouretes of Crete[12], we may legitimately suspect that it once contained a throne of Zeus.

[1] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 406 *εὐστὰ* | Μηλίχ[ος] = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4752. On *εὐστόν* see L. Ziehen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 267 ff.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1316 Ζεὺς Μηλί|χιος τῶν | περὶ Πολύ|ξενο|ν.

[3] F. Hiller von Gaertringen on *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 350—363.

[4] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 255.

[5] W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 31.

[6] On the deities named in the rock-inscriptions of Thera see F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die archaische Kultur der Insel Thera* Berlin 1897 p. 17 ff. and *Die Insel Thera* i. 149 ff., iii. 63 f.

[7] E. Maass in *Hermes* 1890 xxv. 406 n., taking Κουρής to be for Κουροτρόφος (which is improbable) and comparing Apollon Κουρέας of Teos (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 445 Ἀπόλλωνος | Κουρέου | Πολλιδῶν | καὶ [Φ]αινιαδῶν, cp. Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 807 = *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880 iv. 168).

[8] Cp. *supra* pp. 15, 104 ff.

[9] H. Usener in F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* i. 149 n. 34 compared the *κουρής* of Thera with the *πρωτοκούρης* of Ephesos and most ingeniously suggested that the enigmatic personage Δεύτερος may have been the 'second' in command of a band of human *κουρῆτες*. I incline, however, to think that Δεύτερος means 're-born' (*δευτερόποτμος*) and is an epithet of Κουρής, the youthful Zeus.

[10] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 377 [Δ](υ)(μ)άν(ω)ν | [Νύμ]φαι | κό(μ)(α)ι...β' = Collitz-Bechtel *ib.* no. 4741. See F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* i. 284.

[11] *Id. ib.* i. 33 f., 289 ff., iii. 115 ff.

[12] Append. B Crete.

Between Megara and Eleusis lies the mountain-range of Kerata. The highest of its four peaks (1527 ft)—as Prof. A. Milchhöfer first noted[1]—is thought by the peasants of Megara to have been the spot whence Xerxes on his throne watched the battle of Salamis. Since the site agrees with Akestodoros' description[2], W. Reichel twice visited it in order to verify Milchhöfer's report. At the south-east corner of the little plateau that crowns the topmost peak he found an isolated rock partially hewn into the shape of a seat with rounded back and projecting footstool (fig. 108)[3]. The seat commands a wide view, but is so placed that one sitting on it would face north and look directly away from Salamis! Reichel concludes that it is a very ancient

Fig. 108.

mountain-throne, to which in popular belief the story of Xerxes has become attached[4].

In an angle of the Mouseion Hill at Athens there are no less than seven such seats (figs. 109–110)[5]. Carefully cut in the rock along one side of a platform or terrace, with a single step in front of them, they give the impression of being a row of seats

[1] See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Göttercultе* Wien 1897 p. 21.

[2] Akestodoros (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 464 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *v. Them.* 13 *ἐν μεθορίῳ τῆς Μεγαρίδος ὑπὲρ τῶν καλουμένων Κεράτων.*

[3] W. Reichel 'Ein angeblicher Thron des Xerxes' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 63–65 with fig. (sketched by E. Gilliéron from a photograph).

[4] The actual throne was a golden chair (Akestodoros *loc. cit.*) with silver feet, preserved on the Akropolis at Athens (Dem. *in Timocr.* 129 with schol.) in the Parthenon (Harpokr. *s.v. ἀργυρόπους δίφρος*).

[5] E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 19 f. description, plan, and section; pl. 6. 4 view.

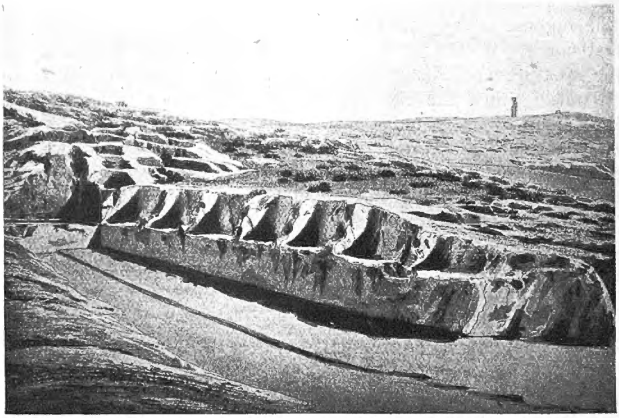


Fig. 109.

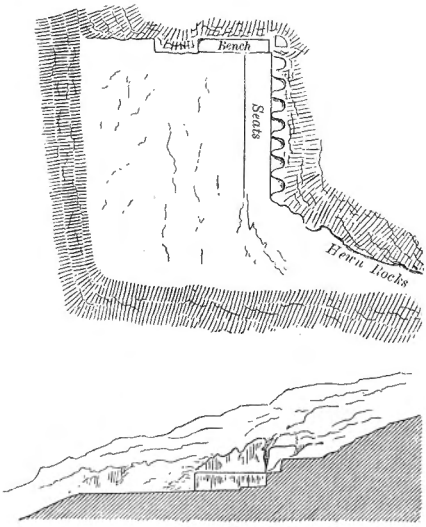


Fig. 110.

for judges or the like, forerunners perhaps of the Council on the Areiopagos. They are about two hundred yards from the rock-cut niche in the Pnyx where Zeus *Hýpsistos* was worshipped[1]. It seems possible, therefore, that we have here an open-air tribunal at which decisions were delivered under the inspiration of Zeus. In fact, I incline to identify the seven seats with the so-called 'Seats of Zeus,' the place at Athens where, according to old tradition, Athena when she contended with Poseidon for possession of the Akropolis, begged Zeus to give his vote for her, promising on her part to sacrifice the first victim on the altar of Zeus *Polieús*[2].

Fig. 111.

At Phalasarna in western Crete three sandstone thrones are hewn in the lower slopes of a coast-hill near the necropolis. The best-preserved of them was described by R. Pashley in 1837 as 'a great chair—cut out of the solid rock: the height of the arms above the seat is two feet eleven inches; and its other dimensions are in proportion[3].' But the most interesting feature of this throne, the pillar carved on the inner surface of its back, was first observed and drawn by L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis in 1901 (figs. 111,

[1] *Infra* Append. B.

[2] Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί, Souid. *s.v.* Διὸς ψῆφος, Kratin. *Archilochi frags.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 18 f. Meineke).

[3] R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge and London 1837 ii. 64 fig. Cp. T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 ii. 234 f. fig. ('the monolith bema of Phalasarna'!).

112)[1]. If we may press the analogy of other Cretan pillar-cults, the divine occupant of the throne was either Rhea[2] or Zeus[3].

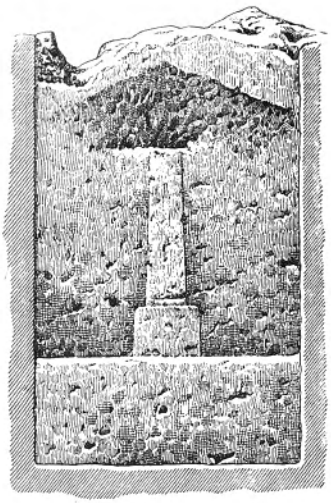


Fig. 112.

(c) The Mountain as the Birth-place of Zeus.

The Zeus-legends that clung about the mountain-tops related to the birth or infancy of the god, his marriage-unions, his sons, and his death.

[1] L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1901 xi. 363 ff. figs. 60—61; plan *ib.* p. 349 f. fig. 47. Cp. F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 85 fig. 20.

[2] A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 165 ff. L. Savignoni and G. de Sanctis *loc. cit.* p. 366 f. cite Paus. 2. 4. 7 (on the way up the Akrokorinthos) Μητρὸς θεῶν ναός ἐστι καὶ στήλη καὶ θρόνος· λίθων καὶ αὐτὴ καὶ ὁ θρόνος.

[3] A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* pp. 163 ff., 170 ff. Cp. *infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ) and, for the association of a pillar with the throne of Zeus, *supra* p. 34 f.

Recently A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xliv. 341 ff. has drawn attention to Hesych. Ἑλλά· καθέδρα. Ἀάκωνες. καὶ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ. He points out that ἕλλα (for *ἕδλα, as *sella* for **sedla*) is 'ein uraltes Wort,' which survived in Laconian till late times, cp. Hesych. κασέ(λλα· καθέδρα, and suggests that Dodona was called Ἕλλα as being the 'Seat' or 'Throne' of Zeus. In support of this view he

Zeus *Kretagenés*[1] (figs. 113, 114, 115) or *Kretogenés*[2] was 'Born in Crete,' his birth being located first in a cave of Mount Dikte[3] (on

Fig. 113.

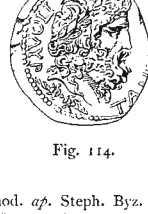


Fig. 114.

Fig. 115.

might have cited Simmias Rhod. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη·...Ἠηνὸς ἔδος Κρονίδαο μάκαιρ' ὑπεδέξατο Δωδώ, Aisch. *P.v.* 830 f. τὴν αἰπύνωτόν τ' ἀμφὶ Δωδώνην, ἵνα | μαντεῖα θᾶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διός, cp. Hes. *frag.* 192 Flach *ap.* Strab. 327 Δωδώνην φηγόν τε, Πελασγῶν ἔδρανον, ἦεν, Ephoros *frag.* 54 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 247 f. Müller) *ap.* Strab. 327 Πελασγῶν ἵδρυμα, Skymn. Chi. *per.* 450 ἵδρυμ'...Πελασγικόν. But??

[1] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 194 no. 45 pl. 18. 2 a copper of Hierapytna struck by Augustus (Gotha) with head of Zeus to right wearing fillet and legend ΤΑΝ ΚΡΗΤΑΓΕΝΗ|Σ ΙΕΡΑ (fig. 113), *ib.* i. 284 no. 52 pl. 26, 30 a copper of Polyrhenion struck by Augustus (Paris) with laureate head of Zeus to right, thunderbolt below, and legend ΤΑΝ Κ[ΡΗΤΑΓΕ]ΝΗΣ ΠΟΛΤΡ (fig. 114), *ib.* i. 342 no. 45 pl. 33, 10 a copper of Crete *in genere* struck by Titus (Paris and Vienna) with a nude Zeus erect, thunderbolt in raised right hand, *chlamys* round left arm, surrounded by seven stars and legend ΖΕΤΣ ΚΡΗ|ΤΑΓΕΝΗΣ (fig. 115), Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 469, 475, 479, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 107, 216 Münztaf. 1, 38, 3, 19, cp. Svoronos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1893 p. 203 f. pl. 1, 8; Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 394 (cp. no. 406) Mylasa = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 472, 10 ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κρηταγ[έ]νους καὶ Κουρήτων, cp. W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 395; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάζα·...ἐκλήθη δὲ καὶ Μίνῳα, ὅτι Μίνως σὺν τοῖς ἀδελφοῖς Αἰακῷ καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυϊ ἰὼν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ταύτην ἐκάλεσεν. ἔνθεν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Κρηταίου Διὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς εἶναι, ὃν καὶ καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐκάλουν Μαρνᾶν, ἑρμηνευόμενον Κρηταγενῆ. τὰς παρθένους γὰρ οὕτω Κρῆτες προσαγορεύουσι Μαρνάν (*μαρνάνς* cj. M. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1863 xii. 220), Marcus Diaconus *v. Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis* 64 (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1874 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 199, 22 ff.) ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ναοὶ εἰδώλων δημόσιοι ὀκτώ, τοῦ τε Ἡλίου καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον ἱερωῖον καὶ τῆς (Ἡρῷον καὶ τὸ τῆς M. Haupt) Τύχης τῆς πόλεως, ὃ ἐκάλουν τύχεον (Τυχαῖον M. Haupt), καὶ τὸ Μαρνεῖον, ὃ ἔλεγον εἶναι τοῦ κρίτα. γένους. (Κρηταγενοῦς M. Haupt) Διός, ὃ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἐνδοξότερον πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἀπανταχοῦ with a Latin version by Gentianus Hervetus in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Februarius iii. 655 Erant autem in ciuitate simulacrorum publica templa octo: nempe Solis, et Veneris, et Apollinis, et Proserpinae, et Hecates, et quod dicebatur Hierion seu sacerdotum, et Fortunae ciuitatis, quod vocabant Tycheon, et Marnion, quod dicebant esse Critæ generis (*Cretagenis* Henschen) Iouis: quod existimabant esse gloriosius omnibus templis, quæ sunt vbique. The context enables us to form some idea of the character, ritual, and temple of Marnas (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (g)). See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1422, W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 2379, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1673 n. 1.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2554, 176 ff. (oath between Latos and Olous) ὀμν[ύ]ω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ τὸν Δῆα τὸν Κρητογενία καὶ τὰν Ἥραν κ.τ.λ. = Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 333 ff. no. 5075, 73.

[3] Append. B Crete.

which he is said to have built a city[1]) and, later[2], in a cave high up on the side of Mount Ide[3]. Both districts had strange stories to tell of the way in which the divine child had been nurtured by doves

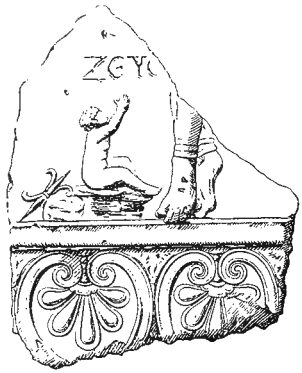


Fig. 116.

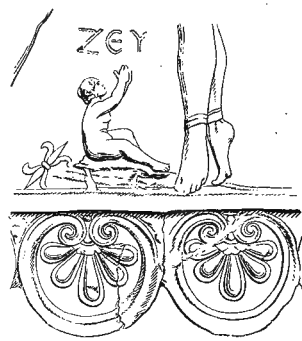


Fig. 117.

or bees, a goat or a pig, while Kouretes and Korybantes clashed their weapons to drown his infant cries (figs. 116, 117)[4]. But Lydia

[1] Diod. 5. 70 *ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτόν φασι πρῶτον πόλιν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν· ἧς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἕρματα τῶν θεμελίων.* Sir Arthur Evans identifies this city with the extensive prehistoric ruins at *Goulàs* (see his 'Goulàs: The City of Zeus' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1895—1896 ii. 169 ff.; cp., however, the more thorough investigations of J. Demargne in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 222, 1901 xxv. 282 ff., 1903 xxvii. 206 ff., and of A. J. Reinach in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 404 f.).

[2] There is evidence that the cult of the Dictaean cave was in time superseded by that of the Idaean cave. 'With very rare and sporadic exceptions, the Dictaean antiquities do not come down lower than the Geometric period, *i.e.*, probably the opening of the eighth century B.C.' (D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 115). Further, a treaty between Lyttos and Olous (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 549 *b*, 5 = Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147 *b*, 5) makes the Lyttians swear by *Τῆνα Βιδάταν*, 'Zeus of Ide,' while another inscription (*ib.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f.) mentions a temple of Zeus *τῶ Βιδατάω* on the frontier of Priansos: Lyttos and Priansos are so near to Mt Dikte that, had the Dictaean cult still been flourishing, Zeus would presumably have been invoked as *Δικταῖος*, not *Βιδάτας* (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 349).

[3] Append. B Crete.

[4] Von Rohden-Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 8 f., following E. Braun (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 17, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1840 xii. 141 ff. pl. K), distinguish two types of terra-cotta reliefs: (1) the Caeretan type shows the infant Zeus in the arms of a female seated on a throne with two Kouretes to right and left; the best example is in the Ny Carlsberg collection (*Ant. Terrakotten* pl. 10). (2) The Roman type, referable to the Augustan age, shows the infant Zeus seated on a rock and introduces a third Koures; the best

was prepared to dispute with Crete the honour of having been his birth-place[1]: Mount Sipylos[2], Mount Tmolos (fig. 118)[3], and Mount Messogis (figs. 119, 121)[4] were in that respect rivals of Dikte

Fig. 118.

Fig. 119.

Fig. 120.

Fig. 121.

Fig. 122.

and Ide. It is probable that the legends of Zeus' birth and infancy were localised on the mountains of Phrygia also; for coins of Akmoneia (figs. 122, 123)[5], Apameia (fig. 124)[6], Laodikeia on the

example is in the British Museum (*Ant. Terrakotten* pl. 25, cp. pl. 135 a variant of the second century in the Louvre).

I figure two specimens of the second type: (*a*) fig. 116 (after O. Benndorf in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 151 f. fig. 38) a fragment of terra-cotta, the design of which differs in some respects from that of the reliefs enumerated by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 336 f. Atlas pl. 4, 4: the infant is named ΖΕΥC and is seated on a rock with a wingless thunderbolt behind him.—(*b*) Fig. 117 the corresponding part of the above-mentioned relief from Cervetri (?) acquired by the British Museum in 1891 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 379 no. D 501 pl. 39, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Romans* London 1911 p. 136 pl. 58): the inscription is here ΖΕΥ[C].

[1] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 71 p. 123, 12 ff. Wünsch.

[2] Append. B Lydia. [3] *Ib.*

[4] *Ib.* The coin of Tralleis here figured for the first time (fig. 119) is at Paris (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 471 no. 715): I am indebted to M. Babelon for the cast from which my illustration was made. ...ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ and ΔΙΟCΓΟΝΑΙ.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xxiv, 20 pl. 4, 4 a copper struck by Trebonianus Gallus ΑΚΜ Ο ΝΕΩΝ, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 663 (fig. 122). F. Lenormant *Monnaies et médailles* Paris 1883 p. 181 fig., E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4, 4 (fig. 123) a bronze medallion of Gordianus iii showing Rhea with her foot raised on a rock.

[6] Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 238 no. 268 and 239 no. 270, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. xl, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 667, Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 16 f.

Lykos (fig. 129)[1], and Synnada (fig. 120)[2], represent Zeus as a babe nursed by Rhea with the goat beside him and the Kouretes grouped around[3]. To judge from a coin of Maionia (fig. 125)[4], a similar

Fig. 123.

Fig. 124.

Fig. 125.

Fig. 126.

Fig. 127.

tale was told of some mountain in the volcanic region known as Katakekaumene. And an almost identical type occurring at

pl. 3. 33. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 335 f. Münztaf. 5, 6, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1625 fig. 6, W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 432 pl. 1, 5 copper struck by Traianus Decius and Valerianus (Paris). In F. Wieseler's drawing of the latter, here reproduced from Roscher *loc. cit.*, the head and shield of the third Koures are barely distinguishable above the child's nurse: ΠΑΡΑ · ΑΥΡ · ΕΡΜΟΥ ΠΑΝΗΓΥΡΙΑΡΧΟΥ and ΑΠΑΜΕΩΝ.

[1] Mionnet *Descr. de m'd. ant.* iv. 330 nos. 781, 782, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 336, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 290 pl. 9, 19. W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* ii. 432 f. pl. 1, 3: a copper struck by Caracalla (Venice, *ahlb.*) showing a similar group with three Kouretes, an eagle above, the *genius* of the town with a steering-paddle, and two river-gods, the Kapros and the Lykos.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. c, 396 no. 25 drawn from a cast: CVNNA ΔЄΩN, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 494 Maximus pl. 57, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 686.

[3] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 160 notes that, according to the author of the Sibylline books, the new-born Zeus was entrusted to three Cretans to be reared in Phrygia (*orac. Sib.* 3. 138 ff. Geffcken).

[4] *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 49 A. 2 with *Ann. d. Inst.* 1833 v. 114, 125 ff., *ib.* 1840 xii. 143, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 337 Münztaf. 5. 8 a copper struck by Caracalla (in the Fontana cabinet at Triest): ЄΠΙΗΡΑΚΛЄΙΔΟΥΒ · ΣЄΥΣΑΡΧΑΤΟΓΑ CTCΦ ΜΑΙΟΝΩΝ = *ἐπὶ Ἡρακλείδου β'. Ζευξ. ἄρχ. α' τὸ γ'α' στεφ. Μαιόνων.*

Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (figs. 126[1], 127[2]) may have reference to the Corycian Cave in Mount Korykos[3]. It is not, however, certain that the child seated on a throne and surrounded by dancing Kouretes is Zeus, at least in the ordinary acceptation of that name. It may be that the Greeks would rather have termed him Dionysos; for a coin of the Ionian Magnesia (fig. 128)[4] shows

Fig. 128.

Fig. 129.

the same childish figure seated in like manner on a princely seat with a covered basket and snake visible beneath it[5]. But we have not yet exhausted the list of mountains where Zeus was said to

[1] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 484 no. 13 pl. 18, 21 a copper struck by Caracalla ϹЄΛЄVΚЄ ΩΝ ‖ ΤΩΝ | ΠΡΟ[C] ΚΑ|ΛVΚ·.

[2] Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* v. 260 no. 911, A. von Rauch in the *Berliner Blätter für Münz-Siegel und Wappenkunde* 1870 v. 23 pl. 56, 31, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 337 a copper struck by Macrinus (von Rauch) ϹЄΛЄΥ[ΚЄΩΝ] | ΤΩΝ ΠΡΟϹ · ΤΩ · [ΚΑΛΥΚΑΔΝΩ]. For other specimens see W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1895 xv. 103 no. 24 pl. 5, 16, G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 90 f. pl. 2, 18 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. 134 pl. 24, 2. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 484 n. 2 pl. 18, 22; and for a copper of similar design struck by Severus Alexander, E. Babelon *Inventaire de la collection Waddington* Paris 1898 no. 4467 pl. 11, 11.

[3] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 327 f., 1393.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 121 no. 315 pl. 8, 33 a copper struck by Caracalla (Paris) with legend ЄΠΙ Γ · Μ · ΑVΡ · VΛΛΟV · ЄΠΙΚΡΑΤΟΥϹ · and ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ.

[5] Cp. Imhoof-Blumer *ib.* p. 120 ff. no. 314 pl. 8, 34, no. 316 pl. 8, 32, no. 317, no. 318 pl. 8, 31, no. 318 a.

An ivory relief in the Milan Museum (*Arch. Zeit.* 1846 iv. 217 ff. pl. 38, *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 320 fig. 5) shows the child Dionysos seated on a stool in front of a rocky cave flanked by Kouretes and Maenads.

Another relief (E. Gerhard *Antike Bildwerke* München Stuttgard & Tübingen 1828—1844 p. 348 pl. 104, 1), said to be in the Vatican (but see F. Matz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 100 n. 3), represents him seated on a shield, while Kouretes clash their weapons about him: to the right a snake crawls out of a half-open basket on the lid of which a goat-footed Pan is stamping; beyond Pan is a shaggy Silenos.

have been born. Pergamon[1] certainly, and possibly Mount Ide in the Troad[2], were of the number. Among the Greek islands Naxos had its own story of the birth of Zeus[3], connected perhaps with Mount Drios[4]. Kronos was said to have swallowed the stone that Rhea gave him instead of Zeus at Chaironeia in Boiotia, on a rocky height called Petrachos[5]: Thebes too claimed to be the birth-place of Zeus[6] and could point to a place that took its name from the event[7]. In Messenia local piety declared that Zeus had been, if not born, at least brought up by the nymphs upon the summit of Mount Ithome[8]. But of all the non-Cretan districts Arkadia had established the strongest claim to be considered the cradle of Zeus[9]: here on Mount Thaumasion Kronos had swallowed the stone[10], and here on Mount Lykaion Zeus was born[11] and reared[12].

(d) The Mountain as the Marriage-place of Zeus.

The union of Zeus with Hera was likewise referred by the Greeks to a variety of mountain-tops. The *Iliad* in a passage of more than usual beauty describes how the two slept together on a peak of the Trojan Ide:

> So Kronos' son, and clasped his bride to his breast.
> Beneath them Earth divine made grass to grow
> New-nurtured, and the dewy lotus-bloom,
> Crocus and hyacinth, thick and soft withal,
> Which raised them from the ground. Thereon they lay,
> And o'er them spread a cloud magnificent
> And golden: glittering dew-drops from it fell.
> Thus slumbered still the Sire on Gargaros' height,
> Vanquished by sleep and love, his wife in his arms[13].

[1] Append. B Mysia.

[2] Prop. 3. 1. 27 Idaeum Simoenta Iovis cunabula parvi—if that is the right reading of the line, and if Propertius is not guilty of confusing Mt Ide in the Troad with Mt Ide in Crete.

[3] Aglaosthenes *Naxiaca frags.* 1, 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 293 Müller).

[4] *Infra* p. 163 ff., Append. B Naxos.

[5] *Ib.* Boiotia.

[6] Lyk. *Al.* 1194 with schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*

[7] Aristodemos *ap.* schol. *Il.* 13. 1, cp. Paus. 9. 18. 5.

[8] Append. B Messene.

[9] See *e.g.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 1 p. 20, 30 ff. Stählin, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Ampel. 9. 1.

[10] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Θαυμάσιον, Paus. 8. 36. 2 f.

[11] Kallim. *h. Zeus* 4 ff., Strab. 348, Paus. 8. 36. 3. Zeus was washed at his birth in the cold waters of the river Lousios (Paus. 8. 28. 2), and swaddled at Geraistion (*et. mag.* p. 227, 44 f.).

[12] Paus. 8. 38. 2 f.

[13] *Il.* 14. 346 ff., cp. Petron. *sat.* 127. 9.

Mount Taygeton as seen from Sparta.
[Mount Taleton is the highest point towards the southern (left-hand) end of the range.]

See page 155 f.

Others named Mount Oche in Euboia, Mount Kithairon in Boiotia, Mount Kokkygion in Argolis, as the scene where Zeus took Hera for his bride[1]. It was said too that Zeus met Semele on Mount Sipylos[2], that he consorted with Leto in a shady nook and natural bower on Mount Kithairon[3], that he seduced Kallisto in the neighbourhood of Mount Lykaion[4], that he carried off Europe to his cave in Mount Dikte[5]. He formed *liaisons*, moreover, with more than one mountain-goddess or mountain-nymph. Mount Agdos, a rocky summit of Galatia, bore to him a bisexual child Agdistis, about whom one of the wildest and most archaic of all Greek tales was told[6]. According to the Orphic cosmogony, the original rulers of 'snowy Olympos' were Ophion and the Oceanid Eurynome: the former gave place to Kronos, the latter to Rhea, who in their turn were eclipsed by Zeus[7]. But Eurynome became by Zeus the mother of the Charites[8] and of Asopos the river-god[9]. Again, the ancient systematisers of mythology, who recognised five different Athenas, distinguished one as the daughter of Zeus and Koryphe, adding that this, the fourth, Athena was identical with the inventress of four-horse chariots, whom the Arcadians called Koria[10]. Pausanias speaks of the Arcadian temple of Athena *Koría* as standing on the *koryphé* or 'peak' of a mountain[11]. It is, therefore, practically certain that in Arkadia Zeus was paired with a mountain-goddess or mountain-nymph named Koryphe. Another of his amours was with Taygete, Atlas' daughter[12], of whom was born Lakedaimon, the eponym of the Lacedaemonians[13]. But Taygete was herself the eponym of Mount Taygeton[14], the fine range which stretches some seventy miles from Belbina to Tainaron and culminates in Mount Taleton (7902 feet) above Sparta (pl. xiv). Colonel Mure says of this majestic mountain-mass: 'Whether from

[1] Append. B Euboia, Boiotia, Argolis.

[2] *Ib.* Lydia.

[3] Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 1. 3.

[4] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 1. 8, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 91.

[5] Append. B Crete.

[6] *Ib.* Galatia.

[7] Ap. Rhod. 1. 503 ff., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1191 ff., schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 247.

[8] Hes. *theog.* 907, Paus. 9. 35. 5, Orph. *h. Char.* 60. 1 ff.

[9] Apollod. 3. 12. 6.

[10] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59; cp. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 1 f. Stählin, who states that the fourth Athena was the daughter of Zeus and derived her Messenian title of Κορυφασία from her mother.

[11] Paus. 8. 21. 4.

[12] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 53.

[13] Hellanikos *frag.* 56 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 52 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 18. 486, Apollod. 3. 10. 3, pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 23, Paus. 3. 1. 2, Hyg. *fab.* 155, Myth. Vat. 1. 234.

[14] Paus. 3. 1. 2.

its real height, from the grandeur of its outline, or the abruptness of its rise from the plain, (it) created in my mind a stronger impression of stupendous bulk and loftiness than any mountain I have seen in Greece, or perhaps in any other part of Europe[1].' Here surely was a mountain-bride worthy of Zeus himself. Pelasgos, the forefather of the Pelasgians, was, according to one account, the son of Zeus by Larissa[2], whose name repeatedly occurs as that of a Pelasgian burgh or rock-fortress[3]. And lastly a Sicilian myth told how Aitne, the name-sake of Mount Aitne, had been embraced by Zeus and then, through fear of Hera, hidden away in the Earth till she bore twin sons, the Palikoi, whose strange volcanic springs still interest travellers that visit the *Lago dei Palici* near the town of *Palagonia*[4].

Mountain-eponyms were either female or male. Zeus not only consorted with the former, but also became the father of the latter. Thus Gargaros[5], Geraistos[6], Olympos (?)[7], Solymos[8], Tainaros[9], were all regarded as his sons. Atlas, the supporter of the sky, who as early as the middle of the fifth century B.C. was identified with a great mountain in north-western Africa[10], was, according to one genealogy, the son of Zeus[11]. A daughter of Atlas[12] named Plouto[13] bore to the same god Tantalos, whose name was given to

[1] W. Mure *Journal of a Tour in Greece* Edinburgh and London 1842 ii. 221.

[2] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 624: cp. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23, who makes Tityos the son of Zeus *ex Larisse...Orchomeni*, unless we should read *ex* (*E*)*lar*[*iss*]*e*, as O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 940 suggests on the strength of Pherekydes *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 71 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 761 = Eudok. *viol.* 338 and Apollod. 1. 4. 1, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1581, 56 ff.

[3] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 Index p. 165 *s.vv.* Λάρισα, Λαρισαῖαι πέτραι.

[4] Append. B Sicily.

[5] *Ib.* Troas.

[6] *Ib.* Euboia.

[7] De-Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 729 without citing his source. If this was the epigram in Oros. 4. 1. 14 *pater optime Olympi*, it is far from convincing, since *Olympus* may be merely a poetic term for the gods collectively (see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 857).

[8] Append. B Pisidia.

[9] *Ib.* Lakonike.

[10] Hdt. 4. 184: see also Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2119.

[11] Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23.

[12] Myth. Vat. 1. 204, cp. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 and 23. In Hyg. *fab.* 155 Tantalus ex Plutone *Himantis* filia R. Unger cj. *Atlantis*, B. Stark *Mimantis*. The father of Plouto is Tmolos in schol. Eur. *Or.* 5, Tzetz. *chil.* 5. 444 ff., *Mantiss. proverb.* 2. 94, Kronos in schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 41.

[13] Asklepiades of Tragilos *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 305 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 11. 582, Paus. 2. 22. 3, Ant. Lib. 36, Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 145 ff., 7. 119, 48. 729 ff., Apostol. 16. 16, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ταντάλου τάλαντα, Souid. *s.v.* τὰ Ταντάλου ταλαντίζεται, schol. Eur. *Or.* 345, Hyg. *fab.* 82, 155. Her name is otherwise given as Plute (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23), Plota (Natalis Comes *mytholog.* 6. 8 p. 337, cp. 335, ed. Patav. 1616), Plutis (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21), or Plotis (Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 436).

a mountain in Lesbos[1] and whose town was situated on an almost inaccessible crag of Mount Sipylos[2].

The remarkable tradition, current in the vicinity of Mount Olympos, that heaven and earth once met upon the summit will be discussed in another connexion.

(e) The Mountain as the Burial-place of Zeus.

The Cretans declared that Zeus was a prince, who had been ripped up by a wild boar and buried in Crete,—an assertion which is supposed to have earned for them their traditional reputation as liars[3]. Numerous writers of Hellenistic and Byzantine times mention the tomb of Zeus as an object of interest in Crete[4], though they do not agree as to its exact locality. Ennius[5] places it at Knossos, Varro[6] and Porphyrios[7] on Mount Ide, Nonnos[8] on the top of Mount Dikte. Conceivably more districts than one had a local legend of Zeus dead and buried on a mountain. His tomb

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάνταλος, cp. *s.v.* Πόλιον.

[2] *Supra* p. 137 ff.

[3] My friend Dr J. Rendel Harris 'The Cretans always Liars' in the *Expositor* 1906 pp. 305—317 cites from the *Gannat Busamé* or 'Garden of Delights' (a Nestorian commentary on Scripture full of extracts from Theodore of Mopsuestia etc.) the following note on Acts 17. 28: '"In Him we live and move and have our being." The Cretans used to say of Zeus, that he was a prince and was ripped up by a wild boar, and he was buried: and lo! his grave is with us. Accordingly Minos, the son of Zeus, made over him a panegyric and in it he said: "A grave have fashioned for thee, O holy and high One, the lying Kretans, who are all the time liars, evil beasts, idle bellies; but thou diest not, for to eternity thou livest, and standest; for in thee we live and move and have our being".' Dr Rendel Harris suggests that the panegyric in question may be the poem by Epimenides on Minos and Rhadamanthys (Diog. Laert. 1. 112) and cp. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f. Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο | Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο. σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες· ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί. Another explanation of the proverb is given in Athenodoros of Eretria *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 345 Müller): cp. also Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 88 Dindorf.

[4] Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f. with schol., Enn. *saer. hist. ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11, *oracl. Sibyll. ib.*, Varr. *ap.* Solin. 11. 7, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53, Diod. 3. 61, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 275. 6 Gaetulicus, Lucan. 8. 872, Mela 2. 112, Stat. *Theb.* 1. 278 f., Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 27, Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 45, *de sacrif.* 10, *philopatr.* 10, *philopseud.* 3, *Timon* 6, Theophil. *ad Autol.* 1. 10, 2. 3, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 4 p. 28, 7 ff. Stählin, Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 4 p. 74 Kayser, Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 21. 8, Cypr. *de idol. van.* 1, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14, 4. 25, Firm. Mat. 7. 6, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 180, Epiphan. *adv. haer.* 1. 3, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23, Chrysost. *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3, Paulin. Nol. 19. 86 (lxi. 515 Migne), Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1028 Migne), Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 114 ff., Sedulius Scotus *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3, Souid. *s.v.* Ἤϊκος, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 D (i. 29 Bekker).

[5] Enn. *saer. hist. ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11.

[6] Varr. *ap.* Solin. 11. 7.

[7] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17, Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 10. 342.

[8] Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 114 ff.

appears to have been marked by a stone[1], and to have borne an inscription, which is variously recorded[2]. In the first century of our era Pomponius Mela says that the tomb with its inscribed name affords 'hardly a clear trace of Zeus who is there buried[3].' But a thousand years later Michael Psellos notes the legend as still living, and relates that the Cretans show a hill or cairn above the grave of Zeus[4]. Buondelmonti, who visited Mount Juktas in 1415, speaks of a cave on the right hand side of a road leading thither and states that at the upper end of the cave is the tomb of Zeus bearing an illegible inscription[5]. Belon in 1555 reports that the sepulchre of Jupiter as described by the ancients is yet to be seen on the mountain of the Sphagiotes[6]. Modern travellers have the same tale to tell. When R. Pashley visited Crete in 1834, he stayed at Arkhanes on the eastern side of Mount Juktas. 'I was

[1] Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 45.

[2] Enn. *loc. cit.* ΖΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ, Chrysost. *loc. cit.* *ἐνταῦθα Ζὰν κεῖται ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι*, Porph. *loc. cit.* ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩι ΔΙΙ followed by an epigram beginning *ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζὰν ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν* (Kyrill. cites it with *μέγας* for *θανὼν*), schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 *Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος* with the first word obliterated through age, Kedren. *loc. cit.* *ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Ιῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς* (Souid. reads *Πῆκος*).

[3] Mel. 2. 112.

[4] Psell. *ἀναγωγὴ εἰς τὸν Τάνταλον* cited by J. Meursius *Creta* p. 81 : *τοῦ δὲ* (*sc.* *Διὸς*) *τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δεικνύουσι κολωνόν.* The passage is printed in Tzetzes' *Allegoriae Iliadis* etc. ed. J. F. Boissonade Lutetiae 1851 p. 348.

[5] É. Legrand *Description des îles de l'Archipel par Christophe Buondelmonti* Paris 1897 i. 148 f. = Christophorus Bondelmontius *descriptio Cretae* : 'Versus autem trionem per tria miliaria iuxta viam euntem ad montem Jurte (*Iucte* Legrand) ad dexteram spileum in saxo parvo ore est, cuius longitudo XLII, latitudo vero IV passuum, in cuius capite sepulcrum Iovis maximi est cum litteris deletis. Haec autem spelunca in durissimo silice fabricata sine aliqua figura; super eundem tumulum, magna circum ædificia quasi per quartum in circuitu unius miliaris hodie per totum campum frumentum et prata crescunt. Post hæc ecce ad meridiem viam capiendo ad montem hodie Jurtam (*Iuctam* Legrand) devenitur per periculosissimam viam. Hic mons a longe faciei effigiem habet, in cuius fronte templum Iovis usque ad fundamenta deletum invenitur; in naso tres ecclesiæ sunt congestæ, scilicet Salvatoris, Pandon Aghion, id est ecclesia *Omnium Sanctorum*, et Sancti Georgii. Versus austrum, prope Ideum montem, ubi est barba, sub monte atro, Tegrinnum castrum inexpugnabile videtur, et prope ipsum est rus Sancti Blasii amplissimum. Ab alia parte, versus orientem, planus est bachi fertilissimus Archanes nomine, in quo plura et ampla rura manent. Versus trionem, in radicibus montis huius monasterium Dominarum existit.' *Id. ib.* i. 20 f. = Christophorus Bondelmontius *περὶ τῶν νήσων* II *Ἀποθανὼν δὲ* (*sc.* *ὁ Ζεύς*) *τέθαπται τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐγγὺς τοῦ φρουρίου τοῦ καλουμένου Ἀθλακρα, εἰ καὶ ἐν οὐρανῷ λέγεται αὐτὸ εἶναι ἀποθεωθέν. Ἐν ταύτῃ τῇ νήσῳ καὶ ὄρος ἐστὶ τῷ Διΐ τούτῳ ὁμώνυμον, περὶ δὲ τοὺς πρόποδας αὐτοῦ πρὸς τὸ ἀρκτικώτερον, ὡς ὁ Πτολεμαῖος διαλαμβάνει, σπήλαιον χερσὶ κατεσκευασμένον εὑρίσκεται, λευκὸν διώλου, τεσσαράκοντα πήχεων τὸ μῆκος, καὶ τὸ πλάτος τεσσάρων, στόμα ἔχον στενόν. Ἐν γοῦν τῇ κεφαλῇ τούτου τάφον Διὸς τοῦ μεγάλου, ἀπό τινος ἐγκεκολαμμένου ἐν αὐτῷ ἐπιγράμματος, ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου ἤδη ἐφθαρμένου, ἔγνωμεν εἶναι.* Ἐκτὸς δὲ τοῦ σπηλαίου *οἰκοδομαὶ τοῦ ἱεροῦ μέγισται καταφαίνονται.*

[6] P. Belon *Observations sur Plusieurs Singularités* Paris 1555 i cap. 17 p. 31 cited by N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 ii. 778.

of course anxious,' he says[1], 'to hear something of the sepulchre of Zeus; but it was in vain that I inquired of my host...for any cave on the mountain. He knew of nothing of the kind; and all that I could learn from him was that, about a mile off, there is a fountain with an inscription on it. When I had thus failed in obtaining any information about the cave, I said, rather meaning to tell him an old story, than supposing that I should learn any thing, that one Zeus, a god of the Hellenes, was said to have been buried there; and that it was his tomb that I wished to see[2]. I had

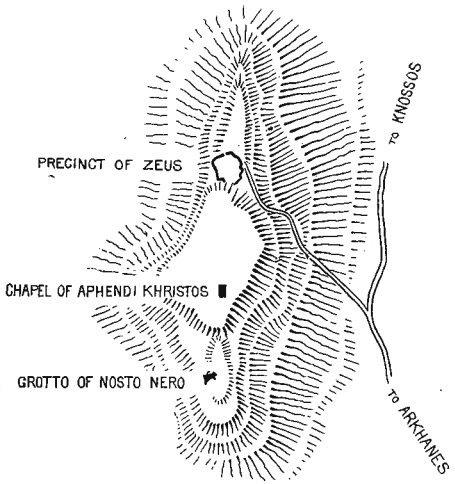


Fig. 130.

pronounced the very name by which a place on the summit of the mountain is known to all the people in the neighbourhood, although only a few shepherds have ever seen it. My host had never heard it called by any other name than the tomb of Zeus, and therefore had not understood me at first, when I inquired after a cave.... I found, as a guide up the mountain, a shepherd, who had become acquainted with the tomb of Zeus in tending his flock. A good hour was spent in reaching the summit, towards the northern

[1] R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge 1837 i. 211 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* i. 211 n. 2 says: 'Τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μνημεῖον, or τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μνῆμα, were my words.' N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 97 no. 174 gives the name in actual use as 's τοῦ Δία τὸ μνῆμα.

extremity of which I observed foundations of the massive walls of a building the length of which was about eighty feet. Within this space is an aperture in the ground, which may perhaps once have led into a moderate-sized cave; but, whatever may have been its former size, it is now so filled up, that a man cannot stand in it, and its diameter is not above eight or ten feet.'

In 1899 Mr A. Taramelli published a sketch-plan of Mount Juktas (fig. 130)[1], marking a grotto near its southern summit and the precinct-wall on its northern summit. The grotto is a natural cavern facing west and known as the *Nostò Neró*. It is about six metres from front to back and has two small fissures running left and right into the rock (fig. 131)[2]. The earth on the floor of the

Fig. 131.

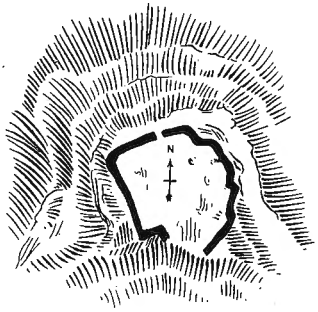


Fig. 132.

cavern, perhaps a metre in depth, has yielded terra cotta figures of animals and fragments of pottery[3]. The precinct-wall forms an irregular square of 'Cyclopean' masonry (fig. 132)[4]. On the north, where it rises to an average height of three metres and at a few points to five metres (fig. 133)[5], there seems to have been a gateway.

[1] A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 350 fig. 23.

[2] *Id. ib.* 1899 ix. 357 fig. 27.

[3] My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet writes (June 9, 1911): 'There is a cave on Mt Juktas, a long narrow cleft, into which I have crawled and in which I have found Hellenic pottery. It is on the left of the present path from Arkhanais to the peak on which Evans has begun to explore a Minoan sanctuary. There was a monastery of some importance on the peak in Buondelmonti's time; he obtained a manuscript from it. See Legrand's edition of B. (preface, I think)' [É. Legrand *op. cit.* p. xxv *Anno Domini* M.CCCC.XV, V *mensis septembris, ego presbyter Christoforus de Bondelmontibus de Florentia emi hunc librum in monte Iucta in monasterio S. Salvatoris insule Cretæ, hyperperis* XI.].

[4] A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 353 ff. fig. 25.

[5] *Id. ib.* 1899 ix. 353 fig. 24.

To the south the wall abuts on a rocky elevation, which forms the highest peak of the mountain and shows clear traces of artificial cutting. Mr Taramelli, who notes 'scanty traces of a building in the middle of this precinct[1],' inclines to regard it as a stronghold. He found in it much broken pottery of various dates, including pieces of Minoan *pithoi*.

This account is confirmed by Sir Arthur Evans, who was told by Dr J. Hazzidakis, president of the Cretan Syllogos at Kandia and now ephor of antiquities, that the remains on the top of Mount Juktas are still known to the country folk as *Mnêma toû Ziá*, 'the Tomb of Zeus[2].' Sir Arthur Evans himself explored the summit

Fig. 133.

twice, and says[3]: 'All that is not precipitous of the highest point of the ridge of Júktas is enclosed by a "Cyclopean" wall of large roughly oblong blocks, and within this enclosure, especially towards the summit, the ground is strewn with pottery dating from Mycenaean to Roman times, and including a large number of small cups of pale clay exactly resembling those which occur in votive deposits of Mycenaean date in the caves of Dikta and of Ida, also intimately connected with the cult of the Cretan Zeus. No remains of buildings are visible in this inner area, which tends to show that the

[1] *Id. ib.* 1899 ix. 355 'dalle scarse traccie di un edificio sorgente nel centro di questo recincto si può pensar ad un *temenos* fortificato, dove, in caso di pericolo, fosse possibile agli abitanti del piano di rifugiarsi e difendere le provviste ed i tesori del tempio,' etc.

[2] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 121 n. 8.

[3] *Ib.* 1901 xxi. 121 f.

primitive enclosure was the temenos of a sanctuary, rather than a walled city. On the uppermost platform of rock, however, are remains of a building constructed with large mortarless blocks of which the ground-plan of part of two small chambers can be roughly traced. A little further on the ridge is the small church of Aphendi Kristos [*sic*], or the Lord Christ, a name which in Crete clings in an especial way to the ancient sanctuaries of Zeus[1] and marks here in a conspicuous manner the diverted but abiding sanctity of the spot. Popular tradition, the existing cult, and the archaeological traces point alike to the fact that there was here a "holy sepulchre" of remote antiquity.'

Mount Juktas is not the only Cretan locality that claims connexion with Zeus. A. Soutzo[2], writing in 1829, states that a village situated at the foot of Mount Ide is called *Zoúlakkon*[3], 'the Valley of Zeus,' and records the local tradition that the god, when he came to visit the summits of Ide, used to descend here. Soutzo adds that the inhabitants of the country still invoke Zeus by using the ejaculation 'Hear me, god *Zônos*[4]!' This is confirmed

[1] Sir Arthur Evans adds in a footnote: 'See *Academy*, June 20, 1896, p. 513. The eastern and western ranges of Dikta, the sites respectively of the Temple and Cave of Zeus, are known as the Aphendi Vouno, from Αὐθέντης Χριστός, or "Christ the Lord." A votive deposit, apparently connected with some Zeus cult, on a peak of Lasethi is also known as Aphendi Christos. It is, perhaps, worth noting in this connexion that at "Minôan" Gaza Zeus Krêtagenês was known as Marnas, a form of the Syrian word for "Lord."' B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 27 thinks it possible that Ἐφέντη-βουνό, the local name for a high peak in the easternmost part of Crete (eparchy Siteia), has reference to a former cult of Zeus, and *ib.* n. 4 cites Ἀφέντης as the name of a summit in the eparchy of Lasithi. These are the 'eastern and western ranges' mentioned by Sir Arthur Evans.

[2] A. Soutzo *Histoire de la révolution grecque* Paris 1829 p. 158 'D'après une tradition orale des Crétois, Jupiter avait coutume d'y descendre lorsqu'il venait visiter les sommets de l'Ida: c'est pour cette raison qu'on le nomme Ζούλακκον, "vallée de Jupiter," et, ce qui n'est pas moins curieux, les indigènes du pays conservent encore l'invocation suivante de leurs ancêtres, corrompue par le temps 'Ηκοῦτέ μου Ζῶνε θεέ! "Exauce-moi Jupiter!"' cited by N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 41 n. 1, Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 ii. 778, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 27, R. Rodd *The Customs and Lore of Modern Greece* London 1892 p. 132 n. 1, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 74.

[3] With Ζούλακκον B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 27 n. 5 compares Ζουτουλάκο (another name of the same village in the eparchy Mylopotamo), Ζοῦ (in Siteia), Ζῆντα (in Arkadia). The last of these has, he considers, most claim to be connected with Zeus.

I have failed to find either Ζούλακκον or Ζουτουλάκο on the Admiralty Chart of western Crete. There is, however, a *Zutulana* in Mylopotamo, the position of which is approximately 24°. 50′ E. by 35°. 18′ N. Is this a third name of the same place? The German reduction of Capt. Spratt's map (*Die Insel Candia oder Creta*) marks Zutulako about 1½ miles S.W. of Axos.

On Mt Kentro in the eparchy Amario is a field called Ζοῦ κάμπος (N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 98 no. 174).

[4] With 'Ηκοῦτέ μου Ζῶνε θεέ C. Wachsmuth cp. the Albanian oath *πεφ τένε ζόνε*, 'By

by A. Papadakes, who in 1879 reports that at Anogeia[1] in Mylopotamo there is a place named *Zoû tò lákko* after the tomb of Zeus. The dwellers in the district, if troubled or displeased at what they hear, will sometimes throw up their hands and cry 'Hear me, god *Zônos*!' or 'Hear me for the sake of God's seat!' or 'for the sake of God's throne[2]!' I. D. Kondylakes in 1896 gives their exclamation in the form 'God *Zânos*[3]!'

If these names are indeed to be connected with that of Zeus, they must be regarded as masculine forms corresponding with the feminine *Dióne*[4]. In that case we should obtain a Greek parallel to the Latin *Dianus, Diana.*

(f) Zeus as a Mountain-god superseded by Saint Elias.

Apart from the tomb of Zeus in Crete, the surviving traces of these mountain-cults in the place-names of modern Greece are few in number.

In the centre of Naxos rises a conical mountain, 3737 feet in height, from the summit of which it is possible to count some twenty-two islands and to see on the horizon the mountain-chains of Asia Minor[5]. This peak, known as *Drîos* in ancient times[6], now bears the name Zia[7] or Dia[8]—a name which connects it not only

our Lord,' or περ τε 'νξόνε, 'By the Lord, by God' (*Das alte Griechenland im neuen* Bonn 1864 p. 50, J. G. von Hahn *Albanesische Studien* Jena 1854 ii. 106, iii. 37).

The expressions θεὲ τῆς Κρήτης or ὦ θεὲ τῆς Κρήτης or γιὰ τὸ θεὸ τῆς Κρήτης, often used at Arachova on Mt Parnassos and elsewhere in the sense of 'Tell that to the marines!,' are explained by B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 28 as a survival from the days when the Christians ridiculed the Cretan belief in a buried Zeus (Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43 καταγελῶμεν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυται).

[1] Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informs me that Anogeia 'is the nearest village to the Idaean Cave. It lies very high on Ida, and the natives, shepherds and snow-carriers, are different from their neighbours in dress, customs, etc.'

[2] Ἤκοῦτε μου, Ζῶνε θεέ, or Ἤκοῦτε μου γιὰ τὰ θρονία τοῦ θεοῦ or γιὰ τὸ θρόνος τοῦ θεοῦ (N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 97 f. no. 174, ii. 777 f.).

[3] I. D. Kondylakes in the Athenian journal Ἐστία June 26, 1896, quoted by N. G. Polites *loc. cit.*

[4] Zeus is paired with Dione at Dodona, and the oath περ τένε ξόνε is described as Albanian (*supra* p. 162 n. 4). The geographical coincidence is noteworthy.

My friend Mr R. M. Dawkins kindly tells me that *à priori* he would have expected the name Ζεύς to survive in modern Greek as Διάς. The acc. Δία would normally become Δία or Δίαν, pronounced Διά or Διάν, whence a new nom. Διάς with gen. Διά would be formed.

[5] Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 406.

[6] Diod. 5. 51. See further A. Meliarakes Κυκλαδικά Athens 1874 p. 18 n. 51.

[7] Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 298.

[8] *Ib.* v. 1709.

with *Dîa* or *Día*, the early name of Naxos[1], but also with that of Zeus[2]. Mr J. T. Bent describes the mountain as follows[3]. 'Its slopes,' he says, 'are rugged and covered with the holly oak (*Ilex aquifolium*), with the prickly leaves of which the peasants feed their cattle. We first climbed up to a steep cave, which goes deep into the heart of the mountain: at its entrance is an altar called the "church of Zia," where a priest goes once a year in the summer time and holds a liturgy for the mountain shepherds; around it are a few incense pots and bits of wood which have been sacred pictures in days gone by. At this altar a shepherd is accustomed to swear to his innocence if another charges him with having stolen a sheep or a goat. An oath by the altar of Zia is held very sacred by the mountaineers, and is an earnest of innocence. It is curious still to find the actual word [*Zeùs*] existing in this form.... The old myth related how the king of the gods was brought from his birthplace in Crete to Naxos, where he was brought up[4]...is it not highly probable that this is the cave in which Zeus was supposed to have spent his youth? It runs a very long way into the rock, and we had it lighted up for us by brushwood, but it contains nothing remarkable, save a spring of hot water, which in ancient times may have given rise to superstition.' Upon the northern slope of the mountain, beside a spring on the road towards Philoti, is a rough rock inscribed:

ΟΡΟΣ ΔΙΟΣΜΗΛΩΣΙΟΥ	Boundary of Zeus *Melósios*[5].

The title *Melósios* is usually taken to denote 'Guardian of sheep' (*mêla*)[6]. It might, however, signify 'Clad in a sheep-skin' (*melotê*); in which case the cult probably resembled that of Zeus *Aktaios* on

[1] Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 298, after L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart and Tübingen 1840 i. 43.

[2] Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc. loc. cit.* admits that Δία must be related to δῖος (on which see *supra* p. 3 f.).

[3] J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 354 f.

[4] Zeus in the form of an eagle came from Crete to Naxos, where he was nurtured. On reaching manhood he became king of the gods. When he set out from Naxos to attack the Titans, he offered sacrifice and received a good omen from an eagle, which appeared bringing him thunderbolts. He placed the bird among the stars (Aglaosthenes *Naxiaca frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 303 Müller) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 30, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 411, 19 ff. Lyssenhardt, Lact. *div. inst.* i. 11, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 16).

[5] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2418. J. T. Bent *loc. cit.* read the last word as ΜΙΛΗΣΙΟΥ and translates 'the mountain of Milesian Jupiter'! Cp. a conical stone at Korkyra inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΜΙΛΗΣΙΟΥ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1870 = Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 100 no. 3215). There was also a precinct Διὸς Ὀλυμπί[ου] in Naxos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2417).

[6] O. Hofer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2649.

Mount Pelion. Perhaps in the service for shepherds held once a year in the summer we may venture to find the continuation of a rite comparable with the procession of men clad in sheep-skins, which once a year in the summer ascended Mount Pelion[1].

Mount Zia in Naxos is sometimes called Ozia. This recalls Ozea, the modern name of Mount Parnes, which in classical times had more than one cult of Zeus upon it[2]. But the history of these names needs further investigation.

More certainly connected with Zeus is *Día* or *Dîa*, an island off the north coast of Crete, which has preserved its name in the forms *Día* and *Standía*[3]. Not far to the west of this island is Cape *Día*, the *Dion ákron* of Ptolemaios[4], adjoining the now ruined town of *Dion*[5].

Lastly, a rock off the coast of Kephalonia is called *Días*. In view of the famous cult of Zeus on the neighbouring Mount Ainos[6] the name is significant. Nowadays there is a monastery on *Días*; but it may have replaced a pagan sanctuary, and there are remains of an ancient building on the spot[7].

All told, these are but trifling relics of a once ubiquitous worship; and their very paucity demands an explanation. The recorded mountain-cults of Zeus number nearly one hundred. What—it may fairly be asked—has become of all the rest? The Nereids and Charon are still familiar figures in the imagination of the modern Greek peasant. Why has Zeus vanished from the land, leaving scarce a trace behind him? Fully to answer this question would be to survey afresh the whole field of Hellenic decadence. I must not attempt such a task even in barest outline, but content myself with indicating a few salient features of a region long since measured and charted by others.

Albrecht Dieterich in a brilliant essay published some years after his death[8] sought to prove that the worship of the Olympians was shaken, if not overthrown, by the combined attack of three great movements. The first was what he terms a revolution from above—the rationalism of Greek philosophic thought, originating in the higher *strata* of society (a Thales here, a Kritias there) and gradually working its way downwards through the masses. The

[1] *Infra* ch. 1 § 6 (f) vm. [2] Append. B Attike.
[3] Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 298. Στανδία = ἐς τὰν Δίαν.
[4] Ptol. 3. 17. 7.
[5] Euseb. *praep. ev.* 5. 31. 2, Plm. *nat. hist.* 4. 59.
[6] Append. B Kephallenia.
[7] B. Schmidt *op. cit.* 1. 28.
[8] A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 449–539 'Der Untergang der antiken Religion.'

second was a revolution from beneath—the spiritual unrest and upheaval of the lower orders, which found expression in many an upward effort, the passionate cult of Dionysos with its rites of death and rebirth, the pure precepts of Orpheus bringing hopes of a bright hereafter, the Pythagorean *propaganda* eager to explain the true course of human life, the sacramental mysteries claiming to guard men's souls through the grave itself. Thirdly there was a revolution from without—the influx of foreign faiths from Egypt Syria, Asia Minor, Persia, which in bewildering succession poured into the Mediterranean area till Mithraism, modified into the solar monotheism of Aurelian, seemed like to merge all other creeds in that of *Sol Invictus*, 'the Unconquered Sun.' These were indeed Titanic forces. But Zeus, who had vanquished the Titans, somehow still held his own. Philosophers, elaborating the presuppositions of popular belief, found it convenient to give the name of Zeus to their ultimate principle or at least to one of their cosmic elements[1]. Again, points of contact between the Orpheo-Dionysiac rites and the religion of Zeus were not wanting. If Orpheus was priest of Dionysos, and if Dionysos was son of Zeus, a *modus vivendi* was after all not impossible[2]. Further, the importers of strange cults from the east inevitably began by identifying their unfamiliar sanctities with the familiar gods and goddesses of Greece, and in an age of syncretism soon obtained recognition for various types of solar Zeus[3]. In short, the Hellenic sky-god, thanks to his own all-embracing character, was not readily submerged by the rising waters of rationalism, mysticism, and orientalism.

The revolution from above, the revolution from beneath, the revolution from without, had alike ended in something of a compromise. Then for the first time—and here I desert the lead of Dieterich[4]—came a revolution from within. It was in its essence a movement of great simplicity, nothing more than the response of human hearts to the call of Jesus Christ. Nothing more, but also nothing less. And that call, once heard, left no room for compromise. 'They forsook all,'—we read—'and followed him.'

Had they but continued as they began, the victory was already assured. There is a sound of coming triumph in the words

[1] *Supra* p. 27 ff. [2] *Supra* pp. 104 ff., 153, *alib.* [3] *Infra* p. 186 ff.

[4] Dieterich *op. cit.* p. 480 says 'Die Revolution von *unten* ist zugleich aber auch eine Revolution von *innen*.' That is in a sense true; and accordingly we find the nearest approaches to Christianity neither in the rationalism of Greece nor in the orientalism of Rome, but in the heart-felt aspirations of Orphic and Dionysiac devotees. It was by no accident that the art of the Catacombs repeated again and again the figure of Orpheus, or that the literature of the dark ages described the tragedy of Calvary in language borrowed from the *Bacchants* of Euripides.

of Paul: 'The weapons of our warfare are not of the flesh, but mighty before God to the casting down of strong holds.' His converts should have gone on conquering and to conquer. But, alas for champions who knew not of what Spirit they were. Fain to reinforce that Spirit's sword, they turned aside to the old armoury of argument, altercation, and abuse. Pagan attacks were met by Christian counter-attacks, and the apologists with all their merits were in some cases men mainly remarkable for their erudition. As the new religion spread, matters were equalised externally and more than equalised: the persecuted became the persecutors. Gratian urged on by the influence of Ambrose began to plunder heathen temples for the benefit of Christian priests. Theodosios prohibited under the severest penalties the perpetuation of pagan worship. Justinian carried on and completed the outward victory. But meantime those who thus tried to secure an intellectual and temporal ascendancy were shrewd enough to perceive that the scathing periods of church-fathers[1] and even imperial mandates of extermination were powerless to suppress the long-standing rites of paganism. They concluded that definite substitutes must be found for the discredited objects of popular cult. And found they were. Indeed, it is not too much to say that in the fourth century of our era a momentous transformation was already in progress, by which Christian saints gradually usurped the position of pagan gods and demigods.

How far this process of substitution was due to deliberate policy and official action on the part of church or state, is a question hotly disputed, and in the comparative dearth of contemporary evidence[2] hard to decide. *À priori* arguments of course are not wanting. On the one hand the great majority of Christians then, as now, were 'corrupted from the simplicity and the purity that is toward Christ.' Such persons presumably followed the dictates of worldly wisdom[3]. On the other hand we have also to reckon with a cause less conspicuous than ecclesiastical interference, but

[1] The Christian apologists largely ignored the small fry of Greek mythology and saved their finest scorn for the inconsistencies and immoralities of Zeus: see *e.g.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 36. 5—2. 37. 4 p. 27, 19 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20—23, Firm. Mat. 12. 1—9, Rufin. *recogn.* 10. 20—23, Aug. *epist.* 5, *de civ. Dei* 4. 25, *alib.*

[2] See, however, Beda *hist. eccles.* 1. 30, Ioul. *epist.* 78 Hertlein, Leo Magnus *serm.* 8. 9—cited by Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 4 ff. Add cod. Theod. 16. 10. 3.

[3] An instructive case is the proposed rebuilding of the Marneion at Gaza as a Christian church with the old pagan ground-plan: *συνεβούλευον οὖν τινες κτισθῆναι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ εἰδωλείου* (Marcus Diaconus *v. Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis* 75)—a course eventually disallowed (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (g)).

even more potent—the incalculable force of old associations. These affected at once places, circumstances, and names. Men would resort to the familiar cult-centre and expect the new occupant of the shrine to bestow the customary blessing. Again, folk-tales, even if raised to the rank of myths by the sanction of literature, would readily attach themselves afresh to new heroes, provided that these in their doings and sufferings bore some resemblance to the old. Especially would Christian saints whose names happened to be derived from those of heathen deities tend to acquire powers and prerogatives properly belonging to the said deities. In these and other such ways the old order changed; or rather, the old order did not change, but at most submitted to a new nomenclature. Causation apart, the practical result was this: the old gods and goddesses, the old heroes and heroines, often with their precincts, their temples, and their very statues[1], were re-christened and re-consecrated in the service of the new religion[2]. For a second time and in a subtler sense *Graecia capta ferum victorem cepit.*

A few typical cases will be in point. At Byzantion the pagan twins Kastor and Polydeukes had been wont to cure the sick by means of incubation. The Christian twins Kosmas and Damianos followed suit, doing the same thing at the same place; indeed, unconverted Greeks are reported to have called them Kastor and Polydeukes and to have been solemnly rebuked by them for the very pardonable misnomer. These Christian Dioskouroi, like their pagan predecessors, appeared to persons imploring their aid as

[1] Examples are collected by L. Friedländer *Erinnerungen, Reden und Studien* Strassburg 1905 i. 370 ff., who *inter alia* cites from E. Müntz *Histoire de l'art pendant la renaissance* 1889 i. 21 a mediaeval misinterpretation of Iupiter with his eagle as John the Evangelist.

[2] A general treatment of the subject will be found in F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1847—1851, V. Schultze *Geschichte des Untergangs des griechisch-römischen Heidentums* Jena 1887—1892, T. Trede *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche* Gotha 1889—1891, id. *Bilder aus dem religiösen und sittlichen Volksleben Süditaliens* Gotha 1909, F. v. Arneth *Das classische Heidentum und die christliche Religion* Wien 1895, E. Lucius *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche* (a posthumous work ed. by G. Anrich) Tübingen 1904, W. Soltau *Das Fortleben des Heidentums in der altchristlichen Kirche* Berlin 1906, A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 449—539 'Der Untergang der antiken Religion.' Recent French and English books bearing on the same theme are H. Delehaye *Les Légendes Hagiographiques*[2] Bruxelles 1906, *Les légendes grecques des saints militaires* Paris 1909, T. R. Glover *The Conflict of Religions in the Early Roman Empire*[4] London 1910, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910, Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910. A survey of articles etc. dealing with special points is given by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 302—320 'Das Fortleben des Heidentums im Christentum.'

horsemen, and even as stars[1]. Other cases are recorded by Ioannes Malalas[2]. After telling how the Argonauts founded at Kyzikos a temple of Rhea Mother of the gods, which the emperor Zenon transformed into a church of Mary Mother of God, he continues: 'The Argonauts...were next attacked by Amykos, and fearing his might took refuge in a certain bay thickly covered with wildwood. Here they saw in a vision a man of dreadful aspect with wings as of an eagle on his shoulders, a spirit who came to them from the sky and announced that they should conquer Amykos. So they took heart and attacked him. Having conquered him they showed their gratitude by founding a sanctuary on the spot where they had beheld the vision and erecting there a statue of the spirit seen by them. They called the place or the sanctuary itself *Sosthénes*, because they had fled thither and been saved; and the place still bears the name. When Byzantion had become the seat of empire, Constantine the Great saw this sanctuary, in fact he left home in order to restore it. Being now a Christian, he observed the statue standing there on its pillar and remarked that from the Christian point of view it looked like an angel in the garb of a monk. Awed by the place and its fane, he went to sleep there after praying that he might learn what angelic spirit the statue represented. He was told in a vision the name of the spirit, offered prayer towards the east, and called the place of prayer, or the locality, by the name of the holy archangel Michael.' Again, one of the principal deities of Byzantion was, as we might have expected, Poseidon[3]. The emperor Justinian selected a spot on the Golden Horn and there built a church to Saint Priskos and Saint Nikolaos, laying the foundations of it actually in the water[4]. Similarly at the entrance to the harbour of Mykonos—another centre of Poseidon-worship[5]—stands a shrine of Saint Nikolaos, who calms the waves[6]. It may be supposed that in these and many other places the saint has succeeded to the god, but the continuity of the mariner's cult remains unbroken. 'There is no vessel, great or small, upon

[1] L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 pp. 68—79, J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 pp. 53 f., 100.

[2] Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 78 f. Dindorf. E. Maass 'Boreas und Michael' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 117 ff. argues that Σωσθένης was a cult-epithet of Boreas, denoting the 'Fresh' north wind.

[3] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 138, 223, 1138 n. 2.

[4] Procop. *de aedificiis* 1. 6 (iii. 193 Dindorf). The house of Basilides, a *quaestor* of Justinian, was also turned into a church of St Nikolaos (Codinus *de aedificiis Constantinopolitanis* 62 B), who was in fact titular saint of four churches at Byzantion (C. d. F. Ducange *Constantinopolis Christiana* 4. 6. 67—70 p. 130 ed. Paris. 1680).

[5] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 615, 5 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 5 ff.

[6] N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 58 n. 4.

Greek waters,'—says Mr G. F. Abbott—'which has not the saint's icon in its stern, with an ever-burning lamp in front of it, or a small silver-plated picture of the saint attached to its mast. In time of storm and stress it is the name of St Nicholas that instinctively rises to the lips of the Greek mariner, and to him candles are promised, and vows registered. He is to the modern sailor all that Poseidon was to his ancestors[1].'

As in cult, so in legend pagan elements are still to be traced. Saint Niketas has a cavern with a painted roof by way of a chapel near Cape Sudsuro in south-eastern Crete. Four or five centuries ago, says local tradition, a girl was carried off from the chapel by a Barbary corsair but miraculously restored on the anniversary of her captivity by Saint Niketas. He flies through the air on a white-winged horse, and marks on the rock still show where the horse alighted. Captain T. A. B. Spratt, who visited the chapel, mindful of Pegasos and Hippokrene, justly concludes that the saint is 'a sort of Bellerophon[2].' Again, many well-known figures in classical mythology are said to have been saved from the sea by riding on the back of a dolphin (Arion, Eikadios, Enalos, Koiranos, Phalanthos, Taras, Theseus, etc.): others had their corpses brought ashore by a dolphin, which itself expired on reaching land (so with minor variations in the case of Palaimon or Melikertes, Dionysios and Hermias of Iasos, Hesiod, and an anonymous boy at Naupaktos). Both incidents reappear in the records of the hagiographers. Saints Martinianos of Kaisareia, Kallistratos of Carthage, Basileios the younger of Constantinople, were each rescued from a watery grave by a couple of dolphins; and the corpse of Saint Loukianos of Antioch was brought ashore by a gigantic dolphin, which breathed its last on the sand[3]. Or again,—to take an example that will appeal to students of Homer—'Saint Elias had been a sailor, but left the sea repenting of the evil life he had led. Others say he left because of the hardships he had suffered. He determined to go where it was not known what the sea or boats were. Shouldering an oar, he went on asking people what it was. When he came to the top of a hill he was told it was wood. He saw that they

[1] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 241. See also B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 37, N. G. Polites *op. cit.* i. 57 ff., D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 306.

[2] T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 343 ff., N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 111 f. no. 199, ii. 798 f., Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 349 and in her *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 27 f.

[3] The evidence is collected and discussed by K. Klement *Arion* Wien 1898 pp. 1—64 and H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 138—180.

had never seen boats or the sea, and he stayed on the hilltops[1].' Who fails to recognize Odysseus[2]?

Sometimes the shift from heathen deity to Christian saint is barely disguised by a slight deflection of the ancient name; sometimes it dispenses with any disguise at all. At Athens the Tritopatreis were superseded by the Trinity[3]. Dionysos lives on in the person of Saint Dionysios, to whom his cult[4] and myth[5]

[1] Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 356 n. 1 after N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 116 no. 207, ii. 801 f. My friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse in *The Cambridge Review* 1905—1906 xxvii. 414 tells how he heard the same tale from an old Coan skipper:—'"Ah well," says Giorgis, "'tis a poor trade this, as the holy Elias found." "What was that?" I asked. "The prophet Elias," quoth he, "was a fisherman; he had bad weather, terrific storms, so that he became afraid of the sea. Well, so he left his nets and his boat on the shore, and put an oar over his shoulder, and took the hills. On the way, who should he see but a man. 'A good hour to you,' says he. 'Welcome,' says the man. 'What's this, can you tell me?' says St Elias. 'That?' says the man, 'Why that's an oar.' Eh, on he goes till he meets another man. 'A good hour to you,' says St Elias. 'You are welcome,' says the man. 'What's this?' says St Elias. 'Why, that's an oar, to be sure,' says the man. On he goes again, until he comes to the very top of the mountain, and there he sees another man. 'Can you tell me what this is?' asks St Elias. 'That?' says the man, 'Why, that's a stick.' 'Good!' says St Elias, 'this is the place for me, here I abide.' He plants his oar in the ground, and that is why his chapels are all built on the hill tops."'

[2] *Od.* 11. 119ff., 23. 266ff. [3] A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 131 f.

[4] The ancient deme of Ikaria is habitually called by the peasants *Dionyso*—a clear trace of the god Dionysos. When Chandler visited the place in 1766, its church was sacred to St Dionysios, presumably Dionysios the Areopagite (C. D. Buck in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1886—1890 v. 47 ff.: see also Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 15 f.).

Mr J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 43 says: 'It is perhaps noteworthy too that in Athens the road which skirts the south side of the Acropolis and the theatre of Dionysus is now called the street of S. Dionysius the Areopagite. I was once corrected by a Greek of average education for speaking of the theatre of Dionysus instead of ascribing it to his saintly namesake.'

[5] Prof. C. Siegel of Hamburg at Kokkino in Boiotia in 1846 heard the following folk-tale:—'When Dionysios was still a child, he travelled through Hellas on his way to Naxia. But, since the road was long, he got tired and sat on a stone to rest. As he sat there looking in front of him, he saw a little plant spring from the ground at his feet, and thought it so pretty that he at once resolved to take it with him and plant it. He pulled it up and went off with it. But the sun was so hot that he feared it might wither before he reached Naxia. Thereupon he found a bird's leg, stuck the plant in it, and went on. However, in his holy hand the plant grew so fast that it soon came out at both ends of the bone. Again he feared it might wither, and thought what he could do to prevent it. He found a lion's leg, which was bigger than the bird's leg, and stuck the bird's leg with the plant into the lion's leg. But the plant soon grew out of the lion's leg also. Then he found an ass's leg, which was still bigger than the lion's leg, and stuck the plant with the bird's leg and the lion's leg into the ass's leg, and so came to Naxia. When he wanted to plant the plant, he found its roots twined fast about the bird's leg, the lion's leg, and the ass's leg. As he could not pull the roots out without hurting them, he planted the plant just as it was. It sprang up quickly and to his delight bore the finest of grapes. Of these he at once made wine for the first time and gave it to men to drink. But now what wonders followed! When men drank of it, at

have inevitably passed. Saint Merkourios, who nowadays cures ear-ache in Samos[1], is described by Malalas in terms of Mercurius —as a divine messenger commissioned to slay the emperor Julian[2]. Another Latin deity first canonised in Italy and then naturalised in Greece is Venus, who is known as Saint Venere in western Albania and as the Holy Mother Venere among the Vlachs of Pindos[3]. The myth of Hippolytos is told afresh of his Christian name-sake[4], while his consort the virgin goddess has handed over her festival to the Virgin of the victorious faith[5]. Even gender proved no bar to such reformations. Saint Artemidos in Keos is the protector of ailing children, being—as Mr J. T. Bent was the first to observe—credited with the attributes of Artemis[6].

first they sang like birds. When they drank deeper, they became strong as lions. When they drank deeper still, they resembled asses.' The tale is published in translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 74 ff. no. 76, N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 43 f., H. Carnoy in *La Tradition* 1887 i. 89. For parallels see O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* Leipzig and Berlin 1907 i. 308 f. Cp. also C. Wachsmuth *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* Bonn 1864 p. 24 f., and Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906 —1907 xiii. 350 ff. and in *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 16 f., who concludes that the Dionysios in question was the monk of Meteora of the twelfth century because —according to N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις i. 98 f. no. 175, ii. 778 ff.—the saint was journeying to Naxos from Mt Olympos.

[1] Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 32, citing Σαμιακά p. 6 n. (*a*).

[2] Io. Malal. *chron.* 13 p. 333 f. Dindorf ἐν αὐτῇ δὲ τῇ νυκτὶ εἶδεν ἐν ὁράματι καὶ ὁ ὁσιώτατος ἐπίσκοπος Βασίλειος ὁ Καισαρείας Καππαδοκίας τοὺς οὐρανοὺς ἠνεῳγμένους καὶ τὸν σωτῆρα Χριστὸν ἐπὶ θρόνου καθήμενον καὶ εἰπόντα κραυγῇ, Μερκούριε, ἀπελθὼν φόνευσον Ἰουλιανὸν τὸν βασιλέα τὸν κατὰ τῶν Χριστιανῶν. ὁ δὲ ἅγιος Μερκούριος ἐστὼς ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου ἐφόρει θώρακα σιδηροῦν ἀποστίλβοντα· καὶ ἀκούσας τὴν κέλευσιν ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο. καὶ πάλιν εὑρέθη ἑστὼς ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ κυρίου καὶ ἔκραξεν, Ἰουλιανὸς ὁ βασιλεὺς σφαγεὶς ἀπέθανεν, ὡς ἐκέλευσας, κύριε. καὶ πτοηθεὶς ἐκ τῆς κραυγῆς ὁ ἐπίσκοπος Βασίλειος διεπνίσθη τεταραγμένος.

[3] Miss M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 33 f.

[4] S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 56 f., who gives references to earlier writers on the subject.

[5] J. Rendel Harris *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae* London 1901 p. 102, *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 368 f.

The ground-plan of the precinct at Lousoi in Arkadia published by W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm (*Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv. 26 f. fig. 16, cp. *ib.* p. 23 fig. 13 section and p. 32 fig. 19 view) shows in direct superposition: (1) the temple of Artemis Ἡμέρα, (2) a Byzantine church, (3) a chapel of the Panagia built *c.* 1850.

[6] J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 457: 'In Keos St Artemidos is the patron of these weaklings, and the church dedicated to him is some little way from the town on the hillslopes; thither a mother will take a child afflicted by any mysterious wasting, "struck by the Nereids," as they say. She then strips off its clothes and puts on new ones, blessed by the priest, leaving the old ones as a perquisite to the Church; and then if perchance the child grows strong she will thank St Artemidos for the blessing he has vouchsafed, unconscious that by so doing she is perpetuating the archaic worship of Artemis, to whom in classical times were attached the epithets παιδότροφος, κουρότροφος, φιλομείραξ [*leg.* παιδοτρόφος, κουροτρόφος, φιλομεῖραξ]; and now the Ionian idea of the

Kistophóros from Eleusis, known as Saint Demetra.

See page 173 *n.* 1.

Similarly Demeter changed her sex, but retained her sanctity, in the cult of Saint Demetrios[1]; Eileithyia in that of Saint

fructifying and nourishing properties of the Ephesian Artemis has been transferred to her Christian namesake. We found traces of the worship of Artemis having existed in Keos along with that of Apollo in ancient times, for Barba Manthos had a little image of the Ephesian Artemis in his collection, which he had found in a temple at Karthaia.' See further J. T. Bent in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885–6 xv. 392, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* p. 44, Miss M. Hamilton *Incubation* London 1906 p. 174, in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 352, and in *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 17 f.

[1] At Eleusis the cult of Demeter was hard to kill, as will be admitted in view of the following facts. In the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge is the upper half of a colossal *κιστοφόρος* in Pentelic marble, referable to the fourth or third cent. B.C. (pl. xv). It was found at Eleusis in 1801 by E. D. Clarke and J. M. Cripps 'on the side of the road, immediately before entering the village, and in the midst of a heap of dung, buried as high as the neck, a little beyond the farther extremity of the pavement of the *Temple*. Yet even this degrading situation had not been assigned to it wholly independent of its antient history. The inhabitants of the small village which is now situate among the ruins of *Æleusis* still regarded this *Statue* with a very high degree of superstitious veneration. They attributed to its presence the fertility of their land; and it was for this reason that they heaped around it the manure intended for their fields. They believed that the loss of it would he followed by no less a calamity than the failure of their annual harvests; and they pointed to the *ears of bearded wheat*, among the sculptured ornaments upon the head of the figure, as a never-failing indication of the produce of the soil' (E. D. Clarke *Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa*[4] London 1818 vi. 601). 'The Eleusinians, whose superstitions[b] [[b]It was their custom to burn a lamp before it, upon festival days.] respecting it were so great that Dr. Chandler paid a large sum for permission to dig near it, relate, that as often as foreigners came to remove the statue, some disaster ensued. They believed that the arm of any person who offered to touch it with violence, would drop off; and said, that once being taken from her station by the French, she returned back in the night to her former situation' (E. D. Clarke *Greek Marbles brought from the shores of the Euxine, Archipelago, and Mediterranean*, etc. Cambridge 1809 p. 32 f.). On the evening preceding the removal of the statue an ox, loosed from its yoke, butted with its horns against the marble and then ran off, bellowing, into the plain of Eleusis. This roused all the terrors of the peasantry, whose scruples were not removed till the priest of Eleusis arrayed in his vestments struck the first blow with a pickaxe. Even then the people maintained that no ship would ever get safe to port with the statue on board. Curiously enough the *Princessa*, a merchantman conveying it home from Smyrna, was wrecked and lost near Beachy Head, though the statue itself was recovered. As to the notion that the absence of the statue would cause the crops to fail, E. D. Clarke adds: 'The first year after the departure of the Goddess, their corn proved very abundant, and they were in constant expectation that Ceres would return. The next year, however, was not so favourable; and they begin to fear she has deserted them.' He justly cp. Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 114 Cerere violata, omnes cultus fructusque Cereris in his locis interiisse arbitrantur (*id. ib.* p. 35 ff.). The statue—on which see also A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 242 ff.—has been called successively Demeter, a *κανηφόρος*, a *καλαθηφόρος*, and more accurately a *κιστοφόρος*. Lenormant states that the inhabitants of Eleusis spoke of it as Ἁγία Δήμητρα and, in order to secure good harvests, used to present it with garlands of flowers (F. Lenormant *Monographie de la voie sacrée éleusinienne* Paris 1864 i. 398 n.). In 1860, when he undertook his excavations at Eleusis, he made careful enquiries concerning this Ἁγία Δήμητρα—a saint unknown to the calendar. An Albanian *papas* or priest, who was said to be

114 years old and was certainly a centenarian, told him the tale here summarised (*id. ib.* i. 399 ff. n.):—

'St Dhimitra was a charitable old woman, who lived at Athens. She had a daughter of wondrous beauty: none so fair had been seen since mistress Aphrodite (Κυρὰ Φροδίτη). One day as the girl was combing her hair, which was golden in colour and reached to the ground, a Turkish *aga* from the neighbourhood of Souli saw her and fell in love with her. He was a wicked man and a magician. When she rejected his advances, he resolved to carry her off to his *harem*. So one Christmas night, while Dhimitra was at church, the *aga* burst open the house-door, seized the maiden, and despite her cries of distress rode off with her on his horse. The horse was a marvellous creature: it was black with fiery nostrils, and could in a single bound spring from east to west. In a few moments it carried the ravisher and his victim into the mountains of Epeiros. Dhimitra on her return from church was broken-hearted at the loss of her daughter. She asked the neighbours, who, dreading Turkish vengeance, dared not tell what they knew. She questioned the Tree that grew in front of the house, but the Tree could give no information. She enquired of the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, but all in vain. At last the Stork that nested on the roof of her house said: "We have long been living side by side. You are as old as I am, and have always been kind to me. Once you helped me to drive off a bird of prey, which wanted to steal my little ones. So I will tell you what has happened. A Turk on a black horse has carried off your daughter towards the west. Come, I will help you look for her." They set out together over the snowy mountains. But those whom they met by the way either mocked at them or gave no answer to their questions. Dhimitra wept and wailed, and men—since they do not care for sorrow—closed their doors against her. On reaching Lepsina (Eleusis) she fell, overcome with fatigue; indeed she would have died, had not Marigo, wife of Nicolas the *khodja-bachi* or headman of the village, seen her by the road-side and taken her in. In return for the hospitality of Nicolas and Marigo, Dhimitra blessed their fields and made them fruitful. Nicolas' son, the smartest *pallikar* in the district, pursued the quest, on condition that he might wed the stolen girl. Accompanied by the faithful Stork, he walked for many days, and one night in the heart of the mountains found forty dragons watching a great cauldron, which was boiling on a fire. He lifted the cauldron with one hand, lighted a torch at the fire, and replaced the pot. The dragons, astonished at his strength, took him with them to help in getting possession of a maiden kept by a magician in a very high tower. Nicolas' son drove nails into the tower, climbed up withdrawing the nails after him lest the dragons should follow, and squeezed through a narrow window at the top. He then told the dragons to do the same. This gave him time to kill them one by one as they entered and to throw their bodies down on the other side of the tower, where there was a large court-yard and a magnificent garden and castle. He afterwards went down into the tower and found Dhimitra's daughter. While he was making love to her, the *aga* fell upon him, and they wrestled together. The *aga* transformed himself into a lion, a serpent, a bird of prey, a flame, and in these various disguises struggled for three days, till at last he slew and quartered the young *pallikar*. He then forced the daughter of Dhimitra to yield to his desires, though he had hitherto respected her virginity. But in the night the Stork flew off, fetched a magic herb, and rubbed it on the lips of the dead youth; whereupon he came to life again, and attacked the *aga* with greater fury than before. He invoked the aid of the Panaghia, vowing that, if successful, he would become a monk in the monastery of Phaneromeni (in Salamis). He thus prevailed and overthrew his adversary. The Stork pecked out the *aga's* eyes and also a white hair from his black top-knot—the hair on which the magician's life depended. The *pallikar* brought the girl back to Lepsina just at the beginning of spring, when the flowers first appear: he then became a monk in accordance with his vow. St Dhimitra with her daughter quitted the place, and no one knows where they have gone; but ever since, thanks to her benediction, the fields of Lepsina have been fertile.'

Eleutherios[1]. Sometimes the actual name of the deity was dropped, but the cult-title preserved and the distinctive characteristics that went with it assigned to the Christian homonym. Thus H. Usener has made it probable that behind Saint Pelagia lurks the goddess Aphrodite *Pelagía*[2], behind Saint Tychon the god Hermes *Týchon*

This folk-tale has been impugned by J. Psichari *Études de philologie néo-grecque* Paris 1892 p. lxxxix, but is justly vindicated by L. M. J. Garnett *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 ii. 171 ff., 451 ff. and J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 79 ff. N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 46 ff. cites as partial parallels J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 33 ff. no. 68 and 112 ff. no. 97. It would seem, then, that the rape of Persephone by Hades (transformed under Ottoman misrule into a Turkish *aga*), the wanderings and woes of Demeter, the hospitality of Metaneira and Keleos (here Marigo and Nicolas: the latter name—as Lenormant remarks—has in Albanian the diminutive *Kolïo*), and the travels of Keleos' son Triptolemos, all survive in the long-lived memory of the people.

Lenormant *op. cit.* i. 402 n. supposes that a shift of sex has taken place in the legend of St Demetrios, a young man who on account of his good looks was carried off by a *tchiftlik-bachi* named *Kara-Scheïtân* ('Black Devil') and done to death for refusing his infamous desires. The cult of this saint originated near Jannina. J. G. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 6 records G. B. Grundy's conjecture that the church of St Demetrios or Demetrion about a mile to the north of Kriekouki in Boiotia occupies the site of a sanctuary of Demeter mentioned by Hdt. 9. 57, 62, 65 and Plout. *v. Aristid.* 11. Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 350 = *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 13 f. writes: 'St Demetrios is the popular patron of Greek husbandmen and shepherds, and the protector of agriculture in general. The functions of the Earth-Mother are perpetuated in him, and his festival in October [Oct. 26], just before sowing-time, has great importance in the land of peasant-farmers. All over the country, at Eleusis as in every other district, his churches are found.' Miss Hamilton does not, however, consider it proved 'that St Demetrios was given to the new converts as representative of the banished Demeter.' But, whether this is a case of ecclesiastical policy or not, J. T. Bent is at least justified in asserting that 'the attributes of Demeter have been transferred to St Demetrios' (*The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885–6 xv. 392). The same writer elsewhere observes: 'Demeter, in the present order of things, is also represented by a man, St Demetrius, who in certain places is the special protector of flocks, herds, and husbandmen, and in this capacity is called "of the dry land" (Στεριανὸς), as opposed to St Nicholas, the saint of the sea' (*The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 339): cp. J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* pp. 43 f., 79.

[1] The old metropolitan church of Athens is called not only after the Panagia Gorgoepekoos (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (α)) but also after St Eleutherios, a saint invoked by women in childbirth (ἐλευθερώνει ταὶς γυναῖκες, they say). The church stands on ground once occupied by a cult of Eileithyia (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1586, cp. Paus. 1. 18. 5). Popular etymology transformed Εἰλείθυια, Ἐλείθυια into Ἐλεύθυια, Ἐλευθία, Ἐλευθιώ etc. (Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2102 f.), whence the transition to Ἐλευθέριος was simple: see B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 38 n. 7 and especially K. Michel and A. Struck in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 314 ff. In Crete too Eileithyia has been succeeded by St Eleutherios (E. Bybilakis *Neugriechisches Leben* Berlin 1840 p. 2). Indeed, the same thing has happened throughout the archipelago (J. T. Bent in *The Journal of the Anthropological Institute* 1885–6 xv. 392). See further Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 18 f.

[2] H. Usener *Legenden der heiligen Pelagia* Bonn 1879 p. iv ff. (supplemented by F. C. Burkitt in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 1910 xi. 61 ff. and E. Maas 'Aphrodite und die heilige Pelagia' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1910 xxv

or Aphroditos *Týchon*[1]; and Dr J. Rendel Harris has shown some reason for believing that Saint George himself is but Zeus *Georgós* in a thin disguise[2].

457 ff.) argues that the cult of Aphrodite in the Levant produced a whole crop of saints. These include among others of like origin (1) Pelagia nicknamed Margarito, a dancer of Antioch, who being converted by Bishop Nonnos donned male attire and lived for three years on the Mount of Olives as the monk Pelagios. Festival Oct. 8. (2) Margarita, who fled from her bridal chamber in male costume to become the monk Pelagius. On account of her blameless conduct she was made prior of a nunnery; but, when the nuns' female porter was found to be with child, the prior was accused and driven out. She now retired to a cave and led the hard life of a hermit. Shortly before her death, however, she avowed her sex, thereby proving her innocence, and was thenceforth known as St Reparata. The legend probably belongs to the Maronite monastery of Kanobin on Mt Lebanon. On Oct. 8 the Romish church worships a St Reparata, a virgin of Kaisareia in Palestine, of whom it is said that, when she was beheaded by Decius, her soul flew up to heaven in the form of a white dove. (3) Porphyria, a prostitute of Tyre, who became the nun Pelagia. (4) Pelagia, a virgin of Antioch, who finding her house surrounded by troops dressed herself as a bride and committed suicide probably by leaping from the roof. Festival, according to the Roman calendar June 9; according to the Greek *synaxária* June 9, June 10, or more often Oct. 8. (5) Pelagia of Tarsos, who was betrothed to a son of Diocletian, but became a Christian and was baptised by Klinon. The news of her baptism caused the young man to kill himself; whereupon Pelagia, after refusing to marry his father, was done to death in the jaws of a red-hot bronze bull. Festival May 4, May 5, Oct. 7, or more commonly Oct. 8.

For Πελαγία as an epithet of Aphrodite see Artemid. *oneir.* 2. 37 Ἀφροδίτη ἡ πελαγία, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 117, 21 Wünsch πελαγία δὲ ἡ Ἀφροδίτη, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3066 (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3179) Veneri Pelagiae. For *Porphyria*, Anakr. *frag.* 2, 3 Bergk[4] πορφυρέη τ' Ἀφροδίτη, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 720 Venus... dicitur...et Purpurissa. For Μαργαριτώ, *Margarita*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 116 divus Iulius thoracem quem Veneri Genetrici in templo eius dicavit ex Britannicis margaritis factum voluerit intellegi (cp. *id.* 37. 11). The shift from Πελαγία to Πελάγιος suggests the shift from Ἀφροδίτη to Ἀφρόδιτος and the cult of the masculine Venus, on whom see K. Tümpel in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2794 f. and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1359 n. 3.

[1] H. Usener *Der heilige Tychon* Leipzig and Berlin 1907. St Tychon was bishop of Amathous in Kypros. The central incident in his career is the following. He was present, when certain vine-dressers were pruning vines at a place called Ampelon. Taking one of the withered branches rejected by them, he prayed that it might have ἱκμάδα ζωῆς, εὐφορίαν καρπῶν, σταφυλῆς ἡδύτητα καὶ πρώιμον βλάστησιν. He then planted it with his own hands and bade the vine-dressers witness the result. It sprang up to be a memorial of him; and on his festival, June 16, when grapes are not yet fit to eat, the vine of St Tychon bears clusters that are either ripe or rapidly ripening. Indeed, when laid on the holy table and distributed to the communicants, they at once become dark and sweet, though a moment before they may have been light and bitter.

Usener detects as the *heidnische Unterlage* of this saint the minor Dionysiac divinity Τύχων, sometimes identified with Hermes (O. Kern *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander* Berlin 1900 p. 136 no. 203 Ἑρμῆς εἰμὶ Τύχων κ.τ.λ., Clem. Al. *protr.* 10. 102. 1 p. 73, 17 Stählin τὸν Τύχωνα Ἑρμῆν—so Meursius for MSS. τυφῶνα, cp. Theognostos in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 33, 31 Τύχων Τύχωνος· ὁ Ἑρμῆς, Hesych. Τύχων· ἔνιοι τὸν Ἑρμῆν, ἄλλοι δὲ τὸν περὶ τὴν Ἀφροδίτην), sometimes with Aphroditos (Papadopulos-Kerameus *Lexicon Sabbaiticum* St Petersburg 1892 p. 3, 19 Ἀπολλοφάνης Κρησίν· Ἀσκληπιὸς Κύνειος, Ἀφρόδιτος Τύχων).

[2] Zeus Γεωργός was worshipped at Athens on Maimakterion 20 with bake-meats and a dish of mingled grain (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 77, 12 ff. Μαιμακτηριῶνος Διὶ Γεωργῷ κ' πόπανον | χοινικιαῖον ὀρθόνφαλον δωδεκόνφαλον, | ναστὸν χοινικιαῖον ἐπιπεπλασμένον,|

Cases of this kind could be multiplied without much difficulty. But the facts are sufficiently notorious. Confining our attention to the mountain-cults of Zeus, we note that as a rule they were transferred to Saint Elias. The precise extent to which this was done on Greek soil will be seen from the map accompanying Appendix B. Inspection shows that Saint Elias has succeeded to

παγκαρπίαν νηφάλιον). His import was obviously agricultural, and his festival fell in the season of sowing: see Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 115.

St George too is an agricultural power. F. C. H. L. Pouqueville *Voyage de la Grèce*[2] Paris 1827 vi. 142 f. says: 'saint Georges protège les laboureurs et les moissons.' G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 44 quotes a folk-song from Sochos, in which St George carries 'wheat and barley, and grains of pearl,' and is asked to 'Give to the bride chestnuts and to the groom walnuts.' J. Rendel Harris *The Annotators of the Codex Bezae* London 1901 p. 83 shows that in south Italy St George 'is the protector of cattle' with an 'agricultural and pastoral value,' and *op. cit.* p. 100 f. cites from Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] i. 209 ff. [*ib.*[3] The Magic Art ii. 75 f., cp. 79 for a Russian parallel] evidence that in Carinthia and among the gypsies of Transylvania and Roumania the chief figure on the festival of St George (April 23) is a 'Green George' clad in leaves and blossoms, who is carried in procession along with a tree, or officiates beside a young willow tree set up in the ground, and is finally ducked in person or in effigy with the express intention of securing rain and food for the cattle.

Dr Rendel Harris can therefore urge similarity of name and similarity of function in favour of his proposed identification. Yet we must not jump to hasty conclusions with Mr J. O'Neill, who in his book *The Night of the Gods* London 1893 i. 198 wrote: 'Of course we have...a supreme antique origin for St George's Day in the Athenian pagan calendar which put the feast of Zeus Geôrgos [*sic*] in the month of Mêmaktêrion [*sic*] (Nov.-Dec.).' Dr Rendel Harris *op. cit.* p. 100 does not thus blink the difficulty: 'the confirmation is lacking of a connexion between Zeus Georgos and April 23rd, the inscription being incomplete, and we must leave this part of the problem unsolved, merely remarking that on the Latin side of the house the date in question is that of the Vinalia, which can be demonstrated to be sacred to Jupiter.'

Further evidence is, however, available. The chief centre of the cult of St George was Lydda or *Diόspolis*—the 'city of Zeus'—in Samaria. Here he was born; here, after his martyrdom at Nikomedeia, he was buried; and here a church was subsequently erected in his honour (E. Robinson *Biblical Researches in Palestine* etc. London 1841 iii. 51). The saint stood in some relation to a sacred pillar. According to the Greek *menaia* as reported in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Aprilis iii. 142, when the church at Ramleh was being built, a pious widow wished to contribute a column. She had bought it and conveyed it as far as the coast, when the prefect or curator Palatinus refused her gift and would not transport it by sea with the other columns. Hereupon the widow besought St George, who appeared and, after writing on the marble with his finger 'Let this column of the widow occupy the second place on the right hand side of the church,' helped her to fling it into the sea. Next day it was found lying in the mouth of the harbour, having reached its destination before all the other columns, to the amazement of Palatinus, who acknowledged his error. Arculfus *de locis sanctis* 3. 4, a work written down by Adamnan *c.* 688 A.D. and translated by J. R. Macpherson (*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society* London 1895 iii. 1 ff.), states that in a house at Diospolis there was a 'marble column of George the Confessor, to which, during a time of persecution, he was bound while he was scourged, and on which his likeness is impressed.' An unbeliever, mounted on horseback and instigated by the Devil, struck with his lance at the saint's likeness. The head of the lance penetrated the marble as if it were mere snow and could not be withdrawn; its shaft was broken against the outside. The horse too fell dead on the

Zeus at many, not to say most, of the important cult-centres both on the mainland (Mount Olympos, Mount Lykaion, Mount Arachnaion, Mount Taleton, etc.) and in the archipelago (Mount Kenaion, Mount Oche, Mount Kynados, etc.).

Mr N. G. Polites in a valuable monograph on the sun in modern Greek folk-tales has argued that Saint Elias represents, not only the mountain-Zeus, but Helios as well[1]. There is, to

pavement, where the bloodmarks from its haunch were still to be seen. Its rider put out his hands to the marble column and his fingers stuck fast in it. He was released by prayer and penitence; but his finger-prints remained, and Arculfus had seen them. Again, a layman on horseback, before starting on an expedition, vowed that, if he returned in safety, he would present St George with his horse. He did return in safety, and tried to cheat the saint by depositing 20 *solidi* of gold as the price of his horse; but he found that the horse remained rooted to the spot. A second time he tried, depositing 30 *solidi*, with the same result. Four times he mounted and dismounted, till 60 *solidi* lay before the column. At last he offered the saint the 60 *solidi* and the horse; after which he departed with joy. It seems probable that the column represented St George as a horseman armed with a lance, and by no means impossible that it portrayed his triumph over the dragon; for as early as 346 A.D. an inscription from Ezr'a or Edhr'a in southern Syria speaks of him as τοῦ καλλινίκου ἁγίου μάρτυρος Γεωργίου (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8627, 7), and, when the race of the Bagratides ascended the throne of Georgia towards the end of the sixth century, one of the devices that they emblazoned on their arms was that of St George slaying the dragon (Rev. S. C. Malan *A Short History of the Georgian Church* London 1866 p. 15 n. 10, p. 28 n. 19): see the Rev. G. T. Stokes in Smith-Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 646. If the column at Diospolis was of this type, it must have resembled the 'Jupiter-columns' of Germany, Belgium and France, which are commonly surmounted by a sky-god, probably *Ziu*, conceived as a warlike Iupiter on horse-back spearing a serpent-legged giant (E. Wagner 'Neptun im Gigantenkampf auf römischen Monumenten' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 36 ff., F. Hettner 'Juppitersäulen' *ib.* 1885 iv. 365 ff., Haug 'Die Wochengöttersteine' *ib.* 1890 ix. 17 ff., *id.* 'Die Viergöttersteine' *ib.* 1891 x. 9 ff., 125 ff., 295 ff., A. Prost 'Les travaux consacrés au groupe de l'Anguipède et du Cavalier jusqu'en 1891' in the *Mémoires de la Société des Antiquaires de France* 1891 pp. 15—54, Friedhof *Die sogen. Gigantensäulen* (Beilage zum *Jahresbericht des Lyzeums* Metz 1892), G. A. Müller *Die Reitergruppe auf den römisch-germanischen Giganten-Säulen* Strassburg and Bühl 1894, A. Riese 'Über die sogen. Juppitersäulen' in the *Jahrbuch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 1900 xii. 324 ff., Forrer *Reallex.* p. 389 f. *s.v.* 'Jupitersäulen,' and especially F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910). However that may be, the legend of St George and the dragon suggests comparison with that of Zeus and Typhoeus, and furnishes a fresh *point d'appui* for the conjecture that St George is a modification of Zeus *Georgós*.

I may here note one or two recent works bearing on the subject. The monograph by E. Siecke *Drachenkämpfe: Untersuchungen zur indogermanischen Sagenkunde* Leipzig 1907 must be used with the greatest caution (see R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 561 ff.). C. S. Hulst *St. George of Cappadocia in Legend and History* London 1909 is chiefly of value for its list of monuments (pp. 135—149) and bibliography (pp. 150—156). J. F. Campbell *The Celtic Dragon Myth* with additions by G. Henderson Edinburgh 1911 includes many Celtic folk-tales. The most important contribution of late years is that of Dr J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God pp. 105—112 'The Slaughter of the Dragon' (a suggested reconciliation of the totemic with the cosmological interpretation).

[1] N. G. Polites 'Ὁ Ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις μύθους Athens 1882 p. 45 ff., cp. Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 19 ff. Others too have held that St Elias is the successor of Helios (*e.g.* T. Trede *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche*

begin with, the obvious fact that *Elías* or *Helías* and *Hélios* sound much alike—a fact expressly noted by Sedulius, a Christian poet writing *c.* 430 A.D.[1] Again, Christian art in the fourth century

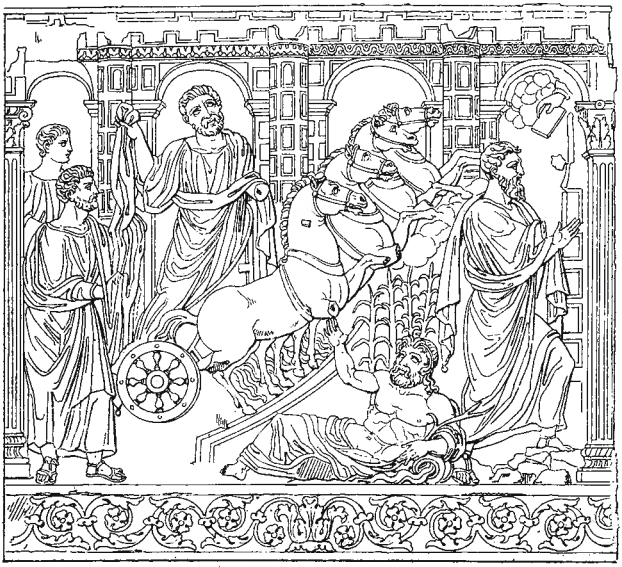


Fig. 134.

portrayed the translation of Saint Elias under the type of Helios driving his chariot up the sky (fig. 134)[2]. When in the course of

Gotha 1889 i. 315, cp. ii. 143, G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 240 f., Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 19 ff.), but without advancing any fresh arguments in support of that view.

[1] Sedul. *carm. pasch.* i. 168 ff. (after describing the translation of Elijah) quam bene fulminei praelucens semita caeli | convenit Heliae, merito qui et nomine fulgens | aethere dignus erat: nam, si sermonis Achivi | una per accentum mutetur litera, Sol est. On the forms Ἠλίας, Ἡλεΐας, Ἠλίας, Ἡλείας see Grimm-Thayer *Gk-Eng. Lex. of the New Test. s.v.* Ἠλίας.

[2] F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1847—1851 i. 1. 75 f. 2. 504 f. (a sarcophagus in St Peter's at Rome = G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiterj di Roma* Rome 1737 i pl. 29; another in the Louvre at Paris = Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 227 fig. 356 = my fig. 134, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 117; a third at Milan = G. Allegranza *Spiegazione e reflessioni...sopra alcuni sacri monumenti antichi di Milano* Milano 1757 pl. 5), G. Bottari *op. cit.* Rome 1746 ii pl. 52 (sarcophagus),

the same century Chrysostom declared that poets and painters had borrowed their conception of Helios' car from the scriptural account of the prophet Elias[1], his blunder was not unnatural. Finally, rites that are probably derived from a primitive sun-worship are still celebrated in honour of Saint Elias. On July 20—a day described in the Greek calendar as that of 'The fiery ascent to heaven of the holy and glorious prophet Helias the Thesbite[2]'—pious folk toil up to the topmost peak of Mount Taygeton, now known as *Hágios Elías* or *Hagioliás*. Here, when it gets dusk, they kindle numerous bonfires and throw plenty of incense on to them as an offering to Saint Elias. The dwellers of the district, especially those inhabiting the village of Kardamyle, as soon as they see the blaze on the mountain-top, set light to heaps of hay and straw, and keep the day by dancing round or leaping over them. This custom takes the place of the midsummer fires kindled elsewhere in Greece, and indeed throughout Europe, on June 24, the festival of Saint John the Baptist[3]. Miss M. Hamilton notes 'that the ikon of St Elias in the shrine on the top of Taygetos bears the inscription, "The Prophet of the Sun[4]."'

The foregoing arguments may be held to prove that in the fourth century and later Saint Elias was sometimes viewed as the Christian counterpart of Helios. But they do not suffice to prove that Saint Elias is worshipped on mountain-tops in virtue of his equation with that deity. For of all the heights on which Saint Elias has a chapel, and they are very numerous, the only one possessing a definite tradition of Helios-cult is Mount Taleton in Lakonike, where horses used to be sacrificed to the sun[5]. On the

pl. 70 (wall-painting), W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archæology* New York 1901 p. 258 fig. 97 (fourth century sarcophagus in the Lateran Museum at Rome), L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 222 f. (wall-paintings of the fourth century=J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 160, 2 and pl. 230, 2). Cp. a rough *εἰκών* in the little church of St Elias on the summit of the pass between Livadia and St Luke's monastery (Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 354 and in *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 21).

[1] Io. Chrys. *ὁμιλ. γ΄ εἰς Ἡλ.* 27 cited by N. G. Polites. The statement of E. Burnouf *La science des religions* Paris 1872 p. 266 ff. that in early Christian art, *e.g.* in the sixth century mosaic of St Apollinaris at Ravenna, Elias and Moses flanking the cross represent the sun (ἥλιος) and the moon (Skt *más*), is rashly accepted by Polites, but must be regarded as quite chimerical.

[2] N. Nilles *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* Œniponte 1896 i. 218 *Ἡ πυρφόρος ἀνάβασις εἰς οὐρανοὺς τοῦ ἁγίου ἐνδόξου προφήτου Ἠλίου τοῦ Θεσβίτου.*

[3] N. G. Polites *Ὁ Ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις μύθους* Athens 1882 p. 45 f.

[4] Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* p. 21 *Ὁ προφήτης τοῦ Ἠλίου* (*sic*), citing *Ἀγιε Θέρος, Δημοτικὰ Τραγούδια*, p. 11.

[5] Append. B Lakonike. A text which appears to have escaped notice in this connexion is Fest. p. 181 *a* 2 ff. Müller multis autem gentibus equum hostiarum numero haberi

other hand, a fair number of the heights in question, including Mount Taleton, were well known as centres of Zeus-worship. It appears, therefore, that on the mountains Saint Elias is the successor of Zeus rather than of Helios[1].

But we have yet to ask why the mountain-Zeus was replaced by this saint in particular[2]. Probably, in the first instance, the memorable scene on Mount Carmel, where Elijah prevailed over the priests of Baal[3], impressed the popular mind with a vivid picture of the prophet as a mountain-power. The still more majestic scene of Elijah on Mount Horeb[4] doubtless deepened the same impression. And the final appearance of Elijah on the Mount of Transfiguration[5] would give a Christian sanction to the Jewish tradition. Again, Elijah, like Zeus, controlled atmospheric

testimonio sunt Lacedaemoni, qui in monte Taygeto equum ventis immolant, ibidemque adolent, ut eorum flatu cinis eius per finis quam latissime differatur. et Sallentini, apud quos Menzanae Iovi dicatus vivos conicitur in ignem, et Rhodi, qui quod annis (*quotannis* Lindemann) quadrigas soli consecratas in mare iaciunt, quod is tali curriculo fertur circumvehi mundum. This passage not only gives us fresh and interesting information with regard to the burnt-sacrifice of a horse on Mt Taygeton, but also compares it with the burning of a live horse for Iupiter *Menzana* by the Sallentini. Now these Sallentini were Messapians (K. Penka *Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands* Hildburghausen 1911 p. 35) or, more exactly, a Cretan colony settled in south Italy by Idomeneus of Lyttos (Strab. 282, Varro *ap.* Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31 p. 352 f. Lion and Fest. p. 329*a* 32 ff. Müller, Paul. ex Fest. p. 328 Müller, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 400 f.). I should conjecture that their Iupiter *Menzana* (perhaps = *Montanus*, cp. *mentum*, *mentula*, etc. as related to *mons*) was a mountain-god closely akin to the Cretan Zeus, whose solar character is shown by his cult-title Ταλαός, Ταλλαῖος (*infra* ch. i § 6 (h) v). On this showing the horse burnt on Mt Taygeton was originally a sacrifice to Zeus Ταλετίτας (Append. B Lakonike), a Cretan solar Zeus. The Rhodians' annual rite of flinging a solar team into the sea can be paralleled from Illyricum : nonnulli Saturno, cum suos devoraret, pro Neptuno equum oblatum devorandum tradunt, unde Illyricos quotannis ritu sacrorum equum solere aquis immergere : hoc autem ideo, quod Saturnus humoris totius et frigoris deus sit (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 12), vel quod equuleus, ut putant, loci eius supposititus Saturno fuerit, quem pro Neptuno devoraret ;...cui ob hoc in Illyrico quaternos equos iaciebant nono quoque anno in mare (Paul. ex Fest. p. 101 Müller : see G. Wentzel in *Philologus* 1891 l. 389).

[1] Zeus was in Hellenistic times not infrequently identified with Helios, especially with the solar Sarapis and Mithras (*infra* p. 186 ff.). But it is reasonable to suppose that the early Christians would have based their substitution of St Elias for Zeus on some universally recognised characteristic rather than on some exceptional aspect of the latter. Besides, we have no cause to think that Zeus Helios was worshipped on mountains.

[2] We cannot here assume any verbal confusion. Of Zeus Ἐλιεύς nothing is known beyond Hesych. Ἐλιεύς· Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις.

[3] 1 Kings 18. 18—40. Mount Carmel 'became known as Mount St Elias, and behind the high altar in the chapel is shown the grotto in which St Elias is said to have dwelt. Pilgrimages to this place have always been made, and on return home pilgrims would in many cases piously erect a local Carmel, dedicating the chapel to the saint' (Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 355).

[4] 1 Kings 19. 8—18.

[5] Matthew 17. 1 ff., Mark 9. 2 ff., Luke 9. 28 ff.

phenomena. 'He prayed fervently that it might not rain; and it rained not on the earth for three years and six months. And he prayed again; and the heaven gave rain, and the earth brought forth her fruit[1].' On the former occasion 'the heaven was shut up[2].' On the latter, as a Greek liturgy has it, 'Elias by his fasting opened the heavens[3].' Carmel was connected with 'clouds and wind, and...a great rain[4];' Horeb, with 'a great and strong wind[5]': even on the Mount of Transfiguration 'there came a cloud overshadowing them[6].' During the time of drought Elijah was fed by ravens[7], as Zeus was fed by doves[8]. Lastly, Elijah, like Zeus, was associated with various manifestations of celestial brightness. On Carmel 'the fire of the Lord fell[9].' Horeb witnessed 'after the earthquake a fire; but the Lord was not in the fire: and after the fire a still small voice[10].' Twice Elijah, from the hill-top on which he dwelt, called down fire from heaven and destroyed the troops of Ahaziah king of Israel[11]. When the end came, 'there appeared a chariot of fire, and horses of fire,...and Elijah went up by a whirlwind into heaven[12].' Such an one fitly shared in the glory of the Transfiguration. And such an one, we may add, was not unsuitably substituted by the Christian church for the Greek sky-god Zeus.

'This hilltop saint,' says Miss M. Hamilton[13], 'is believed by the peasants to be lord of sunshine, rain, and thunder. In several ways these powers are indicated in his worship; the site of his chapels is the place where the sun shines longest from its rising to its setting, and where rain is first seen and felt....On the island of Kastellorizo[14]...the festival of St. Elias is celebrated by the

[1] James 5. 17 f., cp. 1 Kings 17. 1, 18. 1—46.

[2] Luke 4. 25.

[3] N. Nilles *Kalendarium manuale utriusque ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis* Œniponte 1881 ii. 105 'Ηλίας νηστεύσας οὐρανοὺς ἀπέκλεισε.

[4] 1 Kings 18. 45.

[5] 1 Kings 19. 11.

[6] Mark 9. 7.

[7] 1 Kings 17. 3—6. St Elias has a raven as one of his attributes, and is invoked against drought (D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 71 f.).

[8] *Od.* 12. 62 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.* and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1712, 35 ff., Moiro *ap.* Athen. 491 B. See *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185 f.

[9] 1 Kings 18. 38.

[10] 1 Kings 19. 12.

[11] 2 Kings 1. 9 ff., cp. Luke 9. 54.

[12] 2 Kings 2. 11. The attribute of St Elias at Naples, *viz.* a wheel (T. Trede *Das Heidentum in der römischen Kirche* Gotha 1890 ii. 143), presumably refers to the chariot of fire.

[13] Miss M. Hamilton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 353 f.

[14] 'Εστία 1889 p. 63 cited by Miss M. Hamilton *ib.*

performance of a rain-charm wrought through the imitative magic of vicarious drenching. In the morning all the children throw each other into the sea, and later on old men and young join with them, until no person clad in dry clothes can walk through the streets with impunity. Those who resist are dealt with by strong fishermen. This compulsory bathing continues till Vespers, and then the bells call the drenched multitudes to church. The town itself looks as if a heavy rain-storm had fallen. And then the dwellers on that island, where drought causes the greatest suffering, pray to St. Elias for a good wet season.'

At Constantinople and in its vicinity people think that thunder is caused by the prophet Elias speeding across the sky on his chariot—a relic of the belief, which in the middle ages was common throughout Greece, that thunder was due to God or Saint Elias pursuing a dragon in heaven. Another relic of the same belief is the frequent phrase: 'The lightning is chasing the snakes[1].' A manuscript at the monastery of Leimon in Lesbos records the following conversation between Epiphanios and Andreas with regard to Byzantine notions on the subject:

Epiphanios. Do they speak truly who declare that the prophet Elias is in his chariot thundering and lightening among the clouds, and that he is pursuing a dragon?

Andreas. Far from it. To accept such a statement on mere hearsay is utter folly. Men bereft of sense have concocted the tale out of their own imagination, as also the story that Christ made sparrows out of clay in the sight of the Jews, threw them into the air, and away they flew, or that he turned snow into flour. Those stories are false, and so is this, and all the extravagant doctrines forged by heretics.... Elias, then, did not go up to heaven (far from it!), nor does he sit on a chariot; but he has power over the rain, and can ask God that in time of drought he will give rain to the earth.... As to the fact that lightning burns a dragon, I have no doubts. The thing is true. Only, the hurler of the lightning is not Saint Elias but the angel of the Lord appointed for the purpose. A dragon is produced thus: the Devil observes etc.[2]

Saint Elias has taken the place of the thunder-god not only in Greece but throughout a wide area of Europe and even of Asia. A folk-tale from Bukowina in Austria makes Saint Elias steal thunder and lightning from the Devil, who had misused them[3]. Another from the same place, current also in Hungary, tells how

[1] N. G. Polites Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι (extract from Παρνασσός) Athens 1880 p. 4 ff., where further evidence bearing on the phrase ἡ ἀστραπὴ κυνηγᾷ τὰ 'φίδια is collected.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 7 f. and earlier in his Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 23 f. (after D. A. M. Charikles in Σμύρνη Aug. 6, 1871), J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 87.

[3] O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* Leipzig and Berlin 1907 i. 139.

Elias drove all evil spirits out of heaven by causing thunder, lightning, and a torrent of rain for forty days and nights[1]. In a Rumanian tale Judas steals the sun and moon from heaven, while Petrus is asleep: Elias offers to vanquish him, is armed with lightning and thunder, and succeeds in binding him to a column with iron fetters[2]. In Servian songs Elias is expressly called *gromovnik Iliya*, the 'thunderer Elias': he controls lightning, thunder, and the clouds of heaven[3]. According to Mr W. R. S. Ralston, 'The Servians say that at the division of the world Ilya received the thunder and lightning as his share, and that the crash and blaze of the storm are signs of his contest with the devil. Wherefore the faithful ought not to cross themselves when the thunder peals, lest the evil one should take refuge from the heavenly weapons behind the protecting cross. The Bulgarians say that forked lightning is the lance of Ilya who is chasing the Lamia fiend: summer lightning is due to the sheen of that lance, or to the fire issuing from the nostrils of his celestial steeds. The white clouds of summer are named by them his heavenly sheep, and they say that he compels the spirits of dead Gypsies to form pellets of snow—by men styled hail—with which he scourges in summer the fields of sinners[4].' Mr Ralston further shows that Elias has inherited the attributes of the old Slavonic thunder-god Perun. The Russians hold that 'the Prophet Ilya thunders across the sky in a flaming car, and smites the clouds with the darts of the lightning. In the Vladimir Government he is said "to destroy devils with stone arrows"..... On his day the peasants everywhere expect thunder and rain, and in some places they set out rye and oats on their gates, and ask their clergy to laud the name of Ilya, that he may bless their cornfields with plenteousness. There are districts, also, in which the people go to church in a body on Ilya's day, and after the service is over they kill and roast a beast which has been purchased at the expense of the community. Its flesh is cut up into small pieces and sold, the money paid for it going to the church. To stay away from this ceremony, or not to purchase a piece of the meat, would be considered a great sin; to mow or make hay on that day would be to incur a terrible risk, for Ilya might smite the field with the thunder, or burn up the crop with the lightning. In the old Novgorod there used to be two churches, the one dedicated to "Ilya the Wet," the other to "Ilya the Dry."

[1] O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* i. 133 f.
[2] *Id. ib.* i. 145.
[3] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 173.
[4] W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 339.

To these a cross-bearing procession was made when a change in the weather was desired: to the former in times of drought, to the latter when injury was being done to the crops by rain. Diseases being considered to be evil spirits, invalids used to pray to the thunder-god for relief. And so, at the present day, a *zagovor* or spell against the Siberian cattle-plague entreats the "Holy Prophet of God Ilya" to send "thirty angels in golden array, with bows and with arrows" to destroy it[1].' Similarly J. Grimm argued that Saint Elias had stepped into the shoes, not only of the Slavonic

Fig. 135.

Perun, Perkun, but also of the Germanic thunder-god Thor or Donar. As Thor overcame the Midhgardh-serpent and yet, touched by its venomous breath, sank dead upon the ground, so in the ninth-century Bavarian poem *Muspilli* Eliah does indeed destroy Antichrist, but in the act himself receives a deadly wound[2]. 'The comparison,' says Grimm, 'becomes still more suggestive by the fact that even half-christian races in the Caucasus worship *Elias*

[1] W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 337 ff., cp. his earlier work *The Songs of the Russian People*[2] London 1872 p. 246 f., where however the date of Ilya's festival should be given as July 20, not July 29.

[2] J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 173 f., cp. *ib.* 810 ff., 1341, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* trans. B. J. Vos Boston and London 1902 p. 130 f.

as a god of thunder. The Ossetes think a man lucky who is *struck by lightning*, they believe *Ilia* has taken him to himself; survivors raise a cry of joy, and sing and dance around the body, the people flock together, form a ring for dancing, and sing: *O Ellai, Ellai*, eldaer tchoppei! (O Elias, Elias, lord of the rocky summits). By the cairn over the grave they set up a long pole supporting the skin of a black he-goat, which is their usual manner of sacrificing to Elias....They implore Elias to make their fields fruitful, and keep the *hail* away from them[1]. Olearius already had put it upon record, that the Circassians on the Caspian sacrificed a goat on *Elias's day*, and stretched the skin on a pole with prayers (fig. 135)[2]. Even the Muhammadans, in praying that a thunder-storm may be averted, name the name of *Ilya*[3].'

In view of the wide popularity of Saint Elias both within and without the confines of Greece, it is not surprising that the very name of Zeus has been erased from the memory of the people or at most drags on a hole-and-corner existence in out-of-the-way islands.

§ 6. *Zeus in relation to the Sun.*

(a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Sun.

That Zeus as god of the bright sky was essentially connected with the sun is *à priori* probable enough. But in the domain of religion *à priori* argumentation is apt to be misleading; and, owing to the notorious vagaries of solar mythology, it must be rigorously excluded from the present section of our subject.

Philosophical writers of Hellenistic and Byzantine times definitely identify Zeus with the sun. Thus Cornificius Longus, a grammarian of the Augustan age, said that, when Homer spoke of Zeus visiting the Aithiopes, he really meant the sun[4]. Diogenes Laertios about the year 200 A.D. commemorates the death of Thales in the following epigram:

> Thales the sage once watched the racers' strife
> When thou, O Zeus the Sun, didst snatch his life
> Hence to the very heaven: I praise thee, for
> Grown old on earth he saw the stars no more[5].

[1] H. J. von Klaproth *Reise in den Kaukasus* etc. Halle und Berlin 1814 ii. 606, 601.

[2] G. A. Erman *Archiv für wissenschaftliche Kunde von Russland* Berlin 1841 p. 429. [Cp. *Voyages...faits en Muscovie, Tartarie et Perse Par le Sr. Adam Olearius* traduits...et augmentez Par le Sr. De Wicquefort Amsterdam 1727 i. 1083—1084, where an illustration of the 'Sacrifices des Tartares Circassiens' (my fig. 135) is given.]

[3] A. Olearius *Reisebeschreibung* 1647 p. 522 f.

[4] Cornific. *frag.* 6 Funaioli *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 f.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* 7. 85. 1 ἥλιε Ζεῦ, cp. Diog. Laert. 1. 39.

A century later Arnobius describes the identification of Zeus with the sun as a tenet of the philosophers[1]. The emperor Julian, a neo-Platonist of the Syrian school, who wrote his remarkable oration in praise of *The Sovereign Sun* for the Saturnalia of 361 A.D., is a case in point[2]. He notes that the Cypriote priests had common altars and common precincts for the Sun and for Zeus[3]; nay more, that Apollon himself had declared—

Zeus, Hades, Helios Sarapis—one[4].

About 400 A.D. Macrobius, an equally enthusiastic advocate of solar cult, devotes a whole chapter to proving that Zeus must be the sun[5]. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian in his work on the Roman calendar, which was written in the early part of the sixth century, repeatedly takes that view[6]. And Eustathios, archbishop of Thessalonike, who lived during the latter half of the twelfth century, does the same in his learned commentary on the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*[7]. These authors and others like them attempt to justify their opinion by citing certain passages from Homer[8], Hesiod[9], Orpheus[10], Pherekydes[11], Sophokles[12], and Platon[13]. But it is obvious that speculations of this sort, whether ancient or modern, deserve no credence whatever unless they are supported by evidence of actual cult.

[1] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30.

[2] See Ioul. *or.* 4. 136 A, 143 D, 144 C, 149 B and C.

[3] *Id. ib.* 135 D, 143 D.

[4] *Id. ib.* 135 D f. εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιός ἐστι Σάραπις. Cp. the Orphic verse εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Ἀΐδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος (*frag.* 7, 1 Abel *ap.* Ioustin. *cohort.* 15 and *frag.* 169 Abel *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 18).

[5] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 ff.

[6] Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 10 p. 45, 20 f. Wünsch, *ib.* p. 47, 8 and 10 f., 4. 3 p. 67, 3 f. and 10.

[7] Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 40, 29, 128, 14 ff., 728, 16, *id. in Od.* pp. 1387, 26, 1713, 14 f., 1726, 61 f.

[8] *Il.* 1. 423 ff. (the visit of Zeus, escorted by the other gods, to the Aithiopes) is interpreted in this sense by Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 23. 1 f., *somn. Scip.* 2. 10. 10 f., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 128, 14 ff. *Il.* 13. 837 ἴκετ' αἰθέρα καὶ Διὸς αὐγάς (on which see *supra* p. 7 n. 2) is similarly understood by *et. mag.* p. 409, 9: cp. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix. *Il.* 2. 134 Διὸς μεγάλου ἐνιαυτοί has schol. B. L. Διὸς δὲ τοῦ ἡλίου ἡ τοῦ διερχομένου χρόνου, schol. T. τοῦ ἡλίου ἢ τοῦ χρόνου.

[9] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 23. 9 explains Hes. *o. d.* 267 πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας (*infra* p. 196 n. 6) by *Il.* 3. 277 Ἠέλιός θ' ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις: cp. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix.

[10] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 23. 22 cites Orph. *frag.* 235 Abel, of which the last couplet runs: ἀγλαὲ Ζεῦ Διόνυσε, πάτερ πόντου, πάτερ αἴης, | Ἥλιε παγγενέτωρ, πανταίολε, χρυσεοφεγγές. Cp. *infra* p. 197 n. 2 f.

[11] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 3 p. 67, 3 f. Wünsch τῷ Διί—καὶ γὰρ Ἥλιος αὐτὸς κατὰ Φερεκύδην.

[12] Soph. *frag.* 1017 Nauck²: see *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix.

[13] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 30, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 23. 5, Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1713, 14 f., 1726, 61 f., schol. *Od.* 12. 62 cite Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεύς, ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα.

And, even if such evidence is forthcoming, we must not at once conclude that Zeus was a sun-god in his own right. It may be merely a case of international worship, the syncretistic identification of Zeus with a foreign solar deity.

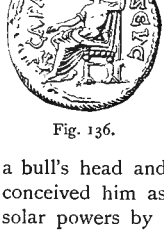


Fig. 136.

For instance, among the religious phenomena of the Hellenistic age few are more remarkable than the vogue of Sarapis or Serapis. This deity, whatever his origin[1], was regarded by Egyptians of the Ptolemaic period as the Apis of Osiris (*Ásár-Ḥápi*), a human mummy with a bull's head and the sun's disk between his horns[2]. The Greeks conceived him as a chthonian Zeus[3] (fig. 136)[4] and indicated his solar powers by means of a rayed crown (fig. 137)[5]. All round

[1] In recent years there has been much discussion as to the origin of Sarapis (see *e.g.* the *résumés* of Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 611 ff. and of R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 579 n. 1). Three possible views have been mooted: (1) that Sarapis was from the first an Egyptian deity, who arose from the fusion of Osiris with the Apis of *Se-n-hapi*, the 'Place of Apis,' near Memphis. This is held to explain not merely the compound names Ὀσόραπις, Ὀσέραπις, Ὀσίραπις, etc. (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1576 n. 1), but also the tradition that the statue of Sarapis was brought to Alexandreia from Sinope (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 28 f., Tac. *hist.* 4. 83 f.), since *Se-n-hapi* was known to the Greeks as Σινώπιον (Dionys. *per.* 254 f. Μακηδόνιον πτολίεθρον, | ἔνθα Σινωπίταο Διὸς μεγάλοιο μέλαθρον with Eustath. *ad loc.* Σινωπίτης δὲ Ζεὺς ἢ ὁ Μεμφίτης· Σινώπιον γὰρ ὄρος Μέμφιδος· ἢ ἀπὸ Σινώπης τῆς Ποντικῆς, κ.τ.λ.). So A. Bouché-Leclercq in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1902 xlvi. 1 ff., I. Lévy *ib.* 1909 lx. 285 ff., 1910 lxi. 162 ff., G. Lafaye in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1248 ff.

(2) That Sarapis was originally the Babylonian god Ea, whose cult-title *šar apsî*, 'King of the Ocean, King of the Deep Sea,' became by a series of normal changes *šar apsi*, **šar aps*, **šar apš*, **šar apis*. Sarapis is first mentioned in connexion with Babylon (Plout. *v. Alex.* 73, 76, Arrian. 7. 26. 2). His ancient cult at Sinope may go back to an early Assyrian occupation of the town. His worship was introduced into Egypt by Ptolemy i Soter, who deliberately identified him with Osiris-Apis. This arrangement of the facts explains *inter alia* the relation of Sarapis to Iao, whose name is the final form of the Babylonian Ea (*Eau* or *Eaú*, later *Iau* or *Iaú*). So C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 338—364, cp. A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 159 ff.

(3) That Sarapis was a barbaric Europaean deity known to the Macedonians and by them equated with the Babylonian god (evidence discussed in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 352 ff.).

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 195 ff. with figs., P. D. Scott-Moncrieff in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 87, C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 345 f., *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) i.

[3] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 28 τοῦ Πλουτωνος, Tac. *hist.* 4. 83 Iovis Ditis; Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4391 Lambaisa in Numidia (Iovis Plutonis Serapis sacer).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 369 pl. 39, 4 a copper of imperial date struck at Tripolis in Lydia: ΣΕVC CAPATTIC wearing a *modius* on his head and extending his right hand over Kerberos at his feet. A similar figure and legend appear on coppers of Alexandreia struck by Vespasian, both as a seated and as a standing type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 31).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 173 no. 939. Height 2½ inches. Restored: left fore-

the Mediterranean are found frequent dedications to 'Zeus the Sun, the mighty Sarapis[1],' or simply to 'Zeus the Sun, Sarapis[2].'

Fig. 137.

arm, right hand, sceptre, and chair. We may assume that the eagle at his left side was originally balanced by a Kerberos at his right side.

Examples of Sarapis with a rayed crown, including a marble bust, lamps, gems, coins, etc., are collected by L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 42 ff. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.).

[1] Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σαράπιδι *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii nos. 4683 Alexandreia, 4713 Djebel-Dokhan, 4713*e* Djebel-Fateereh, 4713*f* (= Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 678) Djebel-Fateereh, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 114 Mytilene, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* nos. 914—916 Ostia, 1023—1024 Rome, 1030—1031 Rome, 1127 Praeneste, cp. 1084 Rome.

So Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4395 Lutri in Crete (Iovi Soli optimo maximo Sarapidi), 4396 Rome (I. o. m. Soli Sarapidi).

[2] Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπιδι: *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2716 Stratonikeia (Ἡλίῳ Διὶ Σεράπει), iii nos. 4042 Ankyra in Galatia (Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Σαράπιδι), 4262 Sidyma in Lykia (Διὶ Ἡλίῳ

A papyrus of the second century A.D. found at Oxyrhynchos preserves the following question addressed to his oracle:

To Zeus the Sun, the mighty Serapis, and to the gods that share his temple. Nike asks whether it is expedient for her to buy from Tasarapion her slave Sarapion also called Gaion. Grant me this[1].

The so-called Anastasy papyrus in the British Museum, a book of magical *formulae* written probably in the fourth century A.D.[2], equates Zeus the Sun not only with Sarapis but also with the ancient Indo-Iranian god Mithras[3], who under Chaldean influence came to be regarded as the sun[4], commencing one of its mystic sentences with the words:

I invoke thee, O Zeus the Sun, Mithras, Sarapis, the Unconquered, etc.[5]

Σεράπιδι), *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2244 Auximum in Picenum (Iovi Soli Serapi Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Σεράπιδι).

So Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4398 Apulum in Dacia (Sarapidi Iovi Soli), 4399 Rome (Sol. Serapi Iovi). Cp. *ib.* no. 4397 Sassoferrati in Umbria (Iovi Soli invicto Sarapidi).

[1] A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1911 viii. 250 no. 1149 Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγάλῳ Σερά[π]δι κ.τ.λ., cp. *ib.* viii. 249 f. no. 1148.

[2] F. G. Kenyon *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* Oxford 1899 p. 116.

[3] Dr J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 36 f. 'An extremely important Aryan god whose province came very near that of Dyauš was Mithra (Skt. *Mitra*, Av. *Miθra* etc.). He seems to have belonged to the upper air rather than to the sun. Prof. E. V. Arnold says there is little support in the Veda for the solar connexion, unless it be in hymns which compare Agni to Mitra. Nor is the Avestan *yazata* decisively sun-like. His name has no very convincing cognates in Indo-European languages, and we are rather tempted to speculate on a prehistoric link between the Aryans and Babylon, or some source influenced by Babylon. The "firmament" of the first chapter of Genesis was very prominent in early Semitic mythology; and it is remarkable that the Assyrian *mețru*, "rain," comes so near to Mithra's name*. [*I owe this to my colleague Prof. H. W. Hogg. See further p. 47 below. J. H. M.] If this is his origin, we get a remarkable basis for the Avestan use of the word to denote a *contract*, as also for the fact that the deity is in the Avesta patron of Truth, and in the Veda of Friendship. He is "the Mediator" between heaven and earth, as the firmament was by its position, both in nature and in mythology: an easy corollary is his function of regulating the relations of man and man.'

F. Cumont *Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 1 ff. is still content to regard Mithra as an Indo-Iranian god of light ('Beide Religionen erblicken in ihm eine Lichtgottheit, welche zugleich mit dem Himmel angerufen wird, der dort Varuna, hier Ahura heisst' etc.).

The now famous cuneiform records of Kappadokia show that Mitra, Varuna, Indra, and Nasatya were already worshipped by the Mitani, an Indo-Iranian people dwelling next to the Hittites in the north of Mesopotamia, as far back as *c.* the fourteenth century B.C. (E. Meyer 'Das erste Auftreten der Arier in der Geschichte' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1908 p. 14 ff. and in his *Geschichte des Altertums* Stuttgart 1907 i. 2[2]. 579, 829, 837).

[4] F. Cumont in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3056 ff. Dr J. H. Moulton *op. cit.* p. 35: 'Mithra...is sufficiently solar to give his name to the Sun in modern Persian (*Mihr*).'

[5] C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* Wien 1888 p. 103, 5 f. επικαλουμαι σε ζευ • ηλιε • μιθρα • σα|ραπι • ανικητε κ.τ.λ.

Cp. F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles

Philon of Byblos, who flourished *c.* 100 A.D., wrote what purported to be a translation of an ancient Phoenician history by a certain Sanchouniathon of Berytos[1]. An extract from the translation preserved by Eusebios states :

The descendants of these men (Aion and Protogonos) were called Genos and Genea, and dwelt in Phoinike. When a drought befell, they stretched their hands to heaven towards the sun; for he was the one god that they worshipped as lord of heaven, calling him *Beelsámen*, which signifies 'Lord of Heaven' among the Phoenicians or 'Zeus' among the Greeks[2].

Fig. 138.

Zeus is here the Greek equivalent of the Phoenician *Ba'al-šamin*, 'Lord of Heaven,' who was honoured not only in Phoinike and its colonies but throughout the whole of Syria[3], and was sometimes at least conceived as a sun-god[4]. It is he who appears on a fine bronze disk at Brussels published by Monsieur F. Cumont (fig. 138)[5].

1896 ii. 134 no. 256 a Mithraic relief at Dorstadt (figured *ib.* ii. 307 f. no. 191) inscribed Io(vi) S(oli) invi(cto) | deo genitori | r(upe) n(ato) etc., *ib.* ii. 140 no. 319 Dalmatia? D(eo) S(oli) I(ovi?) o(ptimo?) m(aximo?) | aeterno | etc., *ib.* ii. 174 no. 556 Rome I(ovi?) S(oli?) I(nvicto?) P(raestantissimo?) d(eo?) M(agno?) | etc.

[1] Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 350—409, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 764.

[2] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 f. Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 7.

[3] F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2839 f., W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 26.

[4] C. J. M. de Vogüé *Inscriptions sémitiques* Paris 1868 p. 19 no. 16 a bilingual inscription in Aramaic and Greek from Palmyra, בע[ל] ש[מין] being rendered by [τοῦ Θ]εοῦ.

[5] F. Cumont in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 291—295.

The mask of Zeus wearing an oak-wreath is seen between the spread wings of an eagle, which stoops its head and grips with its talons a snake coiled in a circle. The tail of the reptile, first seized by its jaws and then passed round its neck, symbolises both the universe and eternity[1], and attests the character of the Syrian Zeus.

At Tripolis in Phoinike the local *Ba'al* was Hellenised as a celestial and probably solar Zeus *Hágios*. Coins of imperial date show a square-topped and sometimes battlemented structure with a radiate bust of the god in a pediment and a lighted altar below

Fig. 139.

Fig. 140.

between figures representing the sun and moon (figs. 139, 140)[2]. This is perhaps a great altar of semi-oriental form, comparable with the Persian fire-altars[3].

[1] Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 1 *αἰῶνα...γράψαι βουλόμενοι ὄφιν ζωγραφοῦσιν ἔχοντα τὴν οὐρὰν ὑπὸ τὸ λοιπὸν σῶμα κρυπτομένην*, *ib.* 1. 2 *κόσμον βουλόμενοι γράψαι ὄφιν ζωγραφοῦσι τὴν ἑαυτοῦ ἐσθίοντα οὐράν*, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 12 hinc et Phoenices in sacris imaginem eius exprimentes draconem finxerunt in orbem redactum caudamque suam devorantem, ut appareat mundum et ex se ipso ali et in se revolvi, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 4 p. 39, 1 ff. Wünsch *ἐνιαυτὸς...κύκλος γάρ ἐστιν ἐφ' ἑαυτὸν εἱλούμενος...ὅθεν καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι καθ' ἱερὸν λόγον δράκοντα οὐροβόρον ταῖς πυραμίσιν ἐγγλύφουσιν*, Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 1 Saturnum...draconem etiam flammivomum, qui caudae suae ultima devorat, in dextra tenentem inducunt—collected by Cumont, who cites also a Mithraic relief showing a bearded serpent of this sort with rays on its head and a crescent on its tail (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 208 no. 25 fig. 36). The same idea recurs in the magical *papyri*: G. Parthey *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri* Berlin 1866 p. 124 pap. 1, 145 f. *κύκλῳ δὲ αὐτοῦ δράκοντα | οὐροβόρον* in a charm *πρὸς ἥλιον*, C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 39 pap. Lond. 121, 596 f. *ὁ δρακων | ουροβορος* = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 102 f. no. 121, 586 f. in a charm *πρὸς δαίμονας, πρὸς φαντάσματα, πρὸς πᾶσαν νόσον καὶ πάθος*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xiii tab. Berol. 1 *a* 7 *ἀκρουροβόρη* with R. Wünsch's n. *ib.* p. xx *b*.

Fig. 141.

Many illustrations may be found in the Abraxas-gems published by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 227 ff. pl. 48 ff., *e.g.* p. 230 pl. 50 no. 8 (my fig. 141) after Chifflet, obviously a solar talisman.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxxii 214 ff. pls. 27, 14, 17, 28, 3, 4, 43, 11 (my fig. 140), 12 (my fig. 139), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 262 pl. 76, 30.

[3] Sir Cecil Smith *ib.* p. cxxii n. 2. See, however, G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 62 n. 28.

Again, a series of inscriptions from Trachonitis establishes the cult of a deity, whose full title was 'Zeus the unconquered Sun, the god Aumos[1].' Thus a stone over the door of a cell in the monastery of *Deir el Leben* records the following act of piety:

Of Zeus the unconquered Sun, the god Aumos. The enclosure of the court was founded by Kassios Malichathos of the village of Reimea and by Paulos Maximinos of the village of Faithful Mardochoi[2].

Fig. 142.

Passing from Palestine to Asia Minor, we still find local sun-gods identified with Zeus. A sample will serve. A *stêle* from Maionia (*Menneh*) now at Koloe (*Koula*) associates the radiate bust of a Lydian sun-god, here called Zeus *Masphalatenós*, with that of the moon-god Men (fig. 142)[3].

[1] Ζεὺς ἀνίκητος Ἥλιος θεὸς Αὔμος Lebas-Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. nos. 2392—2395 Deir-el-Lében, 2441 Aerita, 2455 Agraina, 2390? Merdocha.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4590 Διὸς ἀνικήτου Ἡλίου θεοῦ Αυ[δί]ου, where for Αυ[δί]ου we must read Αὔμου (Lebas-Waddington *op. cit.* no. 2394, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2164).

[3] Lebas-Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 117 f. pl. 136, 1. The inscription (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3439) runs: *κατὰ τὴν τῶν θεῶν ἐπιτα|γὴν ἱερὸς δοῦμος εὐχὴν* | Διὶ Μασφαλατηνῷ *καὶ* Μηνὶ Τιάμου Μηνὶ Τυράννῳ | *ἐκέλευσεν τηρεῖσθαι ἀπὸ ἡμερῶν θ. εἴ τις δὲ τούτων ἀπειθήσι, ἀναγνώσεται* | *τὰς δυνάμις τοῦ Διός. ἐπιμεληταμένου* Διωνυσίου | Διοδώρου καὶ Ἑρμογένους Βαλερίου, *ἔτους συζ'* | *μ(ηνὸς)* Δύστρου. Cp. Lebas-Reinach *ib.* p. 118 pl. 136, 2.

At Baluklaou, a day's ride south from Lystra, W. M. Calder and Sir W. M. Ramsay found a dedication of the first century A.D., which associates Ἑρμῆν | Μέγιστον with Διὶ

Obviously these and other such identifications[1] do not suffice to prove that Zeus himself, the Greek Zeus, was essentially solar in character. At most they show that his attributes permitted of his being identified roughly and for practical purposes with a variety of barbaric sun-gods. The only example of Zeus being worshipped as the Sun on Greek soil is to be found at *Kastri*, on the site of Arkesine, in Amorgos, where a very early rock-cut in-

Fig. 143.

scription reads (fig. 143):

Ζεὺς	*Zeus*
Ἅλ[ιο]ς	*the Sun*[2].

If the second word has been rightly deciphered by Monsieur Dubois[3], we are driven to conclude that at least as early as the fifth century B.C. the inhabitants of Amorgos recognised a solar Zeus. This isolated case must then be due, as Dr Farnell saw, to 'some peculiar

[Ἅλ*ιῳ*] and so illustrates Acts 14. 12 Barnabas=Zeus, Paul=Hermes (*The Times* Nov. 11, 1909, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1910 xiv. 102).

[1] Zeus *Ádados* (Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*), Zeus *Dolichaîos* (Iupiter *Dolichenus*), Zeus *Talaiós*, *Tallaîos*, *Talettitas*, Zeus *Ammon*, Zeus *Askraîos*, etc. will be separately considered in later sections.

A seated Zeus radiate occurs on silver coins of Antialkidas (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 25 f. pl. 7, 9, 14) and Hermaios (*ib.* p. 62 pl. 15, 1, 2, 3, 5) and on copper coins of Manes (*ib.* p. 70 pl. 16, 9) and Spalirises (*ib.* p. 101 pl. 22, 2); a standing Zeus radiate on silver coins of Heliokles (*ib.* p. 21 pl. 7, 3; p. 23 pl. 7, 5 f.), Azes (*ib.* p. 73 pl. 17, 8—11), Spalahores with Vonones (*ib.* p. 98 pl. 21, 7 f.), Spalagadames with Vonones (*ib.* p. 99 pl. 21, 10), and Spalirises (*ib.* p. 100 pl. 22, 1). The majority of these are described as laureate, not radiate, by Prof. P. Gardner *locc. citt.*: he admits, however, that pl. 17, 8 Azes and pl. 22, 2 Spalirises are radiate, and such may well be the character of them all.

Iupiter Capitolinus has a rayed crown on a terra cotta lamp from Herculaneum now at Naples (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1792 viii (Le Lucerne ed i Candelabri d'Ercolano) 1 f. pl.). Doubtful examples of a radiate Iupiter in wallpaintings are Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 22 no. 67 Atlas pl. 2=Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 189 *μ* Atlas pl. 1, 42, and E. Gerhard *Hyperboreisch-Römische Studien für Archäologie* Berlin 1833 p. 106=L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* p. 14 no. 3. *Denarii* of the *gens Egnatia* show a distyle temple in which are two standing deities, Iupiter with sceptre and radiate head, and Libertas; above the former is a thunderbolt, above the latter a Phrygian cap (so Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 474 f. fig. after Cavedoni, cp. H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 399 n. 3, 400 pl. 42, 16: on the temple of Iupiter Libertas see H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 167).

[2] H. Roehl *Imagines inscriptionum Græcarum antiquissimarum*[2] Berolini 1898 p. 55 no. 28, E. S. Roberts *An Introduction to Greek Epigraphy* Cambridge 1887 i. 191 no. 160 f.

[3] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 191.

local syncretism or foreign influences[1].' But unfortunately it is far from certain that Monsieur Dubois' restoration of the second line is sound. Monsieur Delamarre, who has recently edited the inscription for the Berlin *Corpus*, argues from the analogy of dedications in Thera that we need rather the name of the dedicator in the genitive case[2]. And, if that be so, the inscription is no longer in point.

(b) Cult-epithets of Zeus that may be solar.

But, if it must be admitted that the Greeks did not directly identify Zeus their sky-god with the sun, it can hardly be denied that indirectly Zeus was connected with solar phenomena. Some of his cult-epithets are suggestive of such a connexion. Thus at Chios Zeus was entitled *Aithíops*, 'He of the Burning Face[3],' a name elsewhere given to a son of Hephaistos, eponym of Aithiopia[4], and to one of the horses of the Sun[5]. Conceivably, however, Zeus may have been termed *Aithíops* in his character of *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky[6],' rather than in any solar capacity. Again, at Thorikos on the south-east coast of Attike, an unworked block of stone has been found bearing the inscription[7]:

Ὅρος	Boundary
ἱεροῦ	of the precinct
Διὸς	of Zeus
Αὐαντῆ-	*Auanté-*
ρος	*r.*

This Zeus *Auantér*, 'the Scorcher,' is explained by Mr N. G. Polites as the god of summer heat[8]—a conception which might refer to the glowing sky in general, but with more probability attaches to the sun in particular.

[1] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 44.

[2] J. Delamarre in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 87, citing *ib.* iii nos. 400 ff.

[3] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 537, cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1385, 62.

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 187.

[5] Hyg. *fab.* 183 Aethiops quasi flammeus est, concoquit fruges...huic rei auctor est Eumelus Corinthius. M. Schmidt reads *Aethops*, a conjecture based on the fact that Eur. *frag.* 896 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 465 B and *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 883, 62 called one of the Sun's horses Αἴθοψι in the lines Βακχίου φιλανθέμου | Αἴθοπα πεπαίνοντ' ὀρχάτους ὀπωρινούς, | ἐξ οὗ βροτοὶ καλοῦσιν οἶνον αἴθοπα. Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 29. 301 αἴθοπος Ἠελίοιο μεσημβρίζουσαν ἰμάσθλην.

[6] *Supra* p. 27 ff.

[7] Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 140 f. in letters of the fourth century B.C. ΑΥΑΝΤΗΡΟΣ is a blunder for ΑΥΑΝΤΗΡΟΣ.

[8] N. G. Polites 'Ζεὺς Αὐαντήρ' in Ἑστία 1890 no. 41 (see *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 443, Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2264) derives Αὐαντήρ from the same root as αὐαίνω, 'I scorch' or 'parch,' cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 194 τὸν Αὐαίνου λίθον.

(c) The Sun as the Eye of Zeus.

Fortunately evidence of a less equivocal nature is to hand. There is reason to think that the Greeks, like various other peoples[1], at one time regarded the sun and moon as the eyes of the animate sky[2]. The sun especially was the eye of *Aithér*, 'the Burning Sky[3],' and might therefore be called the eye of Zeus. Euripides in his tragedy *The Mysians* spoke of Zeus as 'sun-eyed[4].' A magical hymn preserved in a papyrus of the Berlin Museum addresses the sun-god thus:

> Sun famed-for-steeds, Zeus' earth-embracing eye,
> All-bright, high-travelling, fallen-from-Zeus, heaven-ranging[6].

And Macrobius states that 'antiquity calls the sun the eye of Zeus[6].' The phrase seems to have been current in the jargon of later oracles also—witness sundry responses of Apollon first published by N. Piccolos[7]. The god bade one Poplas attain his ends—

> Praying the ageless eye of all-seeing Zeus[8].

On another occasion he advised the same man to propitiate—

> The brilliant eye of Zeus, giver of life[9].

[1] See *e.g.* E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 350 ff., J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 702 f., 1888 iv. 1500, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 7, 81, E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 298 f., H. Oldenberg *La religion du Veda* Paris 1903 pp. 40, 158.

[2] N. G. Polites Ὁ Ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις μύθους Athens 1882 p. 33 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 380.

[3] Aristoph. *nub.* 285 f. ὄμμα γὰρ αἰθέρος ἀκάματον σελαγεῖται | μαρμαρέαις ἐν αὐγαῖς with schol. *ad loc.* and Souid. *s.v.* ὄμμα γὰρ αἰθέρος. Cp. Soph. *Ant.* 102 f. χρυσέας | ἀμέρας βλέφαρον, 879 f. τόδε λαμπάδος ἱερὸν | ὄμμα, Eur. *I. T.* 194 f. ἱερὸν...ὄμμ' αὐγᾶς | ἅλιος, Ov. *met.* 4. 228 mundi oculus, Mart. Cap. 185 mundanusque oculus, Georg. Pisid. *hexaemeron* 218 τὸ κοινὸν ὄμμα τὴν πανοπτρίαν κόρην.

[4] Eur. *frag.* p. 531 Nauck[2] *ap.* Philodem. περὶ εὐσεβείας 50 p. 22 Gomperz <Εὐριπί> δης δ' ἐν Μυ<σοῖς καὶ>τὸν Δία καὶ <οὐρανὸ>ν ἡλιωπὸν (*sc.* λέγει).

[5] *H. mag.* 2. 13 (Abel *Orphica* p. 288) ἠέλιε κλυτόπωλε, Διὸς γαήοχον (γαιήοχου cj. Schenkl) ὄμμα.

[6] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 12 solem Iovis oculum appellat antiquitas. Whether Hes. *o. d.* 267 πάντα ἰδὼν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντα νοήσας can be referred to the sun, is doubtful: cp. Soph. *O. C.* 704 f. ὁ γὰρ αἰὲν ὁρῶν κύκλος | λεύσσει νιν Μορίου Διός, *supra* p. 187 n. 9. To judge from Hesych. ὥσπερ οὐφθαλμὸς Διός· ὡς ἀστραπή, 'the eye of Zeus' was an expression used also of lightning; on which conception see *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) vi, (g) xx. (γ), ch. ii § 1.

[7] N. Piccolos *Supplément à l'Anthologie Grecque* Paris 1853 p. 183 ff.

[8] Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 152. 2 λισσομένῳ Ζηνὸς πανδερκέος ἄφθιτον ὄμμα.

[9] *Id. ib.* 6. 153. 1 ἱλάσκου Ζηνὸς βιοδώτορος ἀγλαὸν ὄμμα.

And again he announced to a second worshipper, Stratonikos by name:

> Thou still hast long to live; but reverence
> The eye of life-giving Zeus with offerings meet[1].

An Orphic hymn, after identifying Zeus with various parts of the cosmic whole—the sun and moon included, goes on to say more expressly:

> As eyes he has the sun and the shining moon[2].

Another Orphic hymn likewise describes the sun as at once the eye of the world and Zeus:

> Immortal Zeus,
> Clear-skied, all-radiant, circling eye of the world[3].

In a somewhat similar vein Nonnos of Panopolis in Egypt, a poet who wrote about the year 400 A.D., makes Dionysos address to the sun-god of Tyre a remarkable hymn, in which that divinity is saluted not only as 'Sun' and 'all-bright eye of *Aithér*,' but also by a fusion of religious ideas as 'the Assyrian Zeus' and 'the cloudless Zeus of Egypt[4].'

It may be added that the Greeks of the Peloponnese still speak of the sun as 'God's eye[5],' and that the Albanians swear by the eye of the sun or of the star[6].

(d) The Sun as a Wheel.

i. The Solar Wheel in Greece.

Another conception of the sun that has left its mark upon Greek mythology and religion is that of a revolving wheel[7].

[1] Cougny *ib.* 6. 154. 1 f. ἀλλὰ *σεβάζου* | ζωοδότου Διὸς ὄμμα θυηπολίαις ἀγανῆσιν.

[2] Orph. *frag.* 123, 6 Abel Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη, *ib.* 18 ὄμματα δ' ἠέλιος καὶ παμφανόωσα σελήνη.

[3] Orph. *h. Hel.* 8. 13 f. ἀθάνατε Ζεῦ, | εὐδιε, πασιφαές, κόσμου τὸ περίδρομον ὄμμα. Cp. *supra* p. 187 n. 10.

[4] Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 370 Ἠέλιε... 379 παμφαὲς αἰθέρος ὄμμα... 393 Ἀσσύριος Ζεύς... 399 εἴτε Σάραπις ἔφυς, Αἰγύπτιος ἀνέφελος Ζεύς. Count de Marcellus *ad loc.* cp. Mart. Cap. 185 ff., where Philologia addresses the sun-god in an equally syncretistic strain.

[5] N. G. Polites *op. cit.* p. 33.

[6] J. G. von Hahn *Albanesische Studien* Jena 1854 ii. 106.

[7] For this conception among other peoples see J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 701 f., iv. 1499 f., H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 7 ff., 136 ff., 1885 i. 179 ff., 364 ff., ii. 16 ff., 167 ff., A. Bertrand *La religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 185 ff., J. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures 1886*[3] London 1898 p. 450 ff., *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 58, W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-wheel* London 1896, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 656 f.

Euripides the poet-philosopher is represented by Aristophanes as declaring that *Aithér* at the creation devised—

> The eye to mimic the wheel of the sun[1].

Again, Aristophanes, who makes fun of everybody including himself, in his comedy *Daidalos* seems to have shown the sun as a wheel spinning in the air, and puts into the mouth of one of his characters the illusion-destroying couplet:

> Stage-carpenter, when you want to send the wheel
> Spinning aloft, say, 'Hail, thou light of the sun[2]!'

The conception of a solar wheel is, however, seldom expressed in extant Greek literature. For the most part it has been obscured by progressive civilisation and lies half-hidden beneath later accretions. For all that, it can be detected by patient search as the ultimate explanation of not a few myths, ritual objects, and divine *insignia*.

(*a*) Ixion.

I begin with the myths—and *in primis* that of Ixion, a personage of paramount importance for the proper understanding of early Greek beliefs. The orthodox tale with regard to him is told succinctly by the scholiast on Euripides: 'Ixion was a Lapith by race, and married Dia the daughter of Eïoneus. He plotted against his father-in-law, when he came to fetch the bridal gifts. He dug a pit in his house, filled it with fire, and flung Eïoneus into it. Wherefore he incurred the wrath of heaven. But Zeus took pity on Ixion and received him and let him be in his own holy place, giving him a share of immortality too. He in his wantonness saw Hera and was enamoured of her. She, not brooking his mad desires, told Zeus. Whereupon Zeus was wrathful and, wishing to learn whether the thing was true, made a cloud (*nephéle*) in the likeness of Hera. Ixion on seeing it thought it to be Hera and lay with it and begat a child of double nature, part man, part horse, wherefrom the rest of the Kentauroi are sprung. But Zeus in anger bound Ixion to a winged wheel and sent him spinning through the air. Ixion under the lash repeats the words: "We must honour our benefactors." Some say that Zeus hurled him into Tartaros. Others, again, that the wheel was made of fire[3].'

[1] Aristoph. *thesm.* 17. In Soph. *Ant.* 1065 *τρόχους ἁμιλληθρας ἡλίου* all the MSS. have *τροχούς*, 'wheels'; but Jebb rightly accepts Erfurdt's cj. *τρόχους*, 'courses.'

[2] Aristoph. *Daedalus frag.* 234 Dindorf *ap.* Erotian. p. 42 Klein *ὁ μηχανοποιός, ὁπότε βούλει τὸν τροχὸν | ἐᾶν* (*ἐλᾶν* cj. Bergk, *ἑλκειν* Cobet) *ἀνεκάς, λέγε, χαῖρε φέγγος ἡλίου.*

[3] Schol. A. C. M. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185. The ultimate source of the *scholion* appears to be Pherekydes *frag.* 103 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 96 f. Müller).

To Ixion and his offence we must return at a later stage of our argument: it is the peculiar character of his punishment that is here in point. Since Theodor Panofka first discussed the matter in 1853[1], it has been commonly agreed that Ixion bound to his blazing wheel and sent spinning through the upper air or under the nether gloom must be the sun-god and no other[2]. Hence his constant association with fire: he was called the son of *Phlegýas*, the 'Flaming,' by Euripides[3], the son of *Aíthon*, the 'Glowing,' by Pherekydes[4]; and it was by means of a fiery pit thinly covered with logs and dust that he entrapped and slew Eïoneus the father of Dia[5].

Moreover, Ixion's wheel as represented in Greek, Etruscan, and Roman work is possibly solar. At least, its claims to be regarded as solar are deserving of further investigation. The extant representations include the following:

A brown chalcedony scarab from the Castellani collection, now in the British Museum, shows Ixion as a nude bearded figure, whose hands are bound to the rim of a large wheel. Between the spokes is the Etruscan inscription *Ichsiun*. This gem (fig. 144)[6] may be assigned to the second half of the fifth century.

Fig. 144.

Contemporary with it, if not somewhat earlier (about 450—440 B.C.), is a red-figured *kántharos* of fine style, likewise in our national collection. Its reverse design (fig. 145)[7] depicts the preparations for the punishment of Ixion. The culprit, held fast by Ares and Hermes, stands before the throne of Hera, while Athena[8] brings up a four-spoked wheel fitted with a pair of wings.

[1] T. Panofka 'Zufluchtsgottheiten' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1853* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 285 ff.

[2] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 770. L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 i. 299 ff. holds that the myth of Ixion is essentially akin to German folk-tales of elves appearing in the form of a fiery wheel, which creaks, pipes, screams etc. But such tales are themselves meteorological in origin (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 62).

[3] Eur. *Ixion frag.* 424 Nauck[2]. Strab. 442 makes him the brother of Phlegyas.

[4] Pherekyd. *loc. cit.* Αἴτωνος, which Müller corrected into Αἴθωνος.

[5] Pherekyd. *ib.*

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* pp. 22, 68 no. 334 pl. E, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 18, 10, ii. 87.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 143 f. no. E 155. The most satisfactory interpretation of the vase as a whole is that propounded by Sir Cecil Smith in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 277—280. I have borrowed his fig. *b*, which is more accurate than Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 pl. 40, 1, being based on a tracing by Mr F. Anderson.

[8] *Infra* p. 231 n. 8.

A great Apulian *amphora* with volute handles, found at Ruvo and now preserved in the Hermitage at St Petersburg, has for its obverse decoration a pair of contrasted scenes. The body of the vase shows Hades enthroned in his palace between Persephone and Hermes. Grouped near by are Apollon and Artemis on the one side, Aphrodite, Eros and Pan on the other. And below are six of the Danaïdes with their water-pots[1]. The neck (fig. 146)[2] gives us the upper, not the under, world. Here in the centre we see Ixion, clothed indeed, but fast fettered to a triple wheel, from whose outer

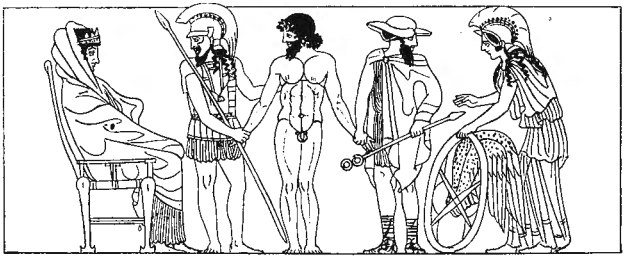


Fig. 145.

rim rays dart forth in all directions. On the right Hephaistos[3] leans against a tree-trunk, still holding the hammer with which he has riveted the fetters. On the left a winged Erinys[4] with snakes in her hair is engaged in turning the wheel. Two other figures complete the scene—Iris[5] the counterpart of Hermes, and Zeus[6] the counterpart of Hades. Iris with wings and a *caduceus* occupies the

[1] *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (γ), where the bibliography of the vase is given.

[2] Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* pl. 45.

[3] 'Le *Charon* grec' (Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* p. 179 n. 3), 'Éaque (?)' (Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 355)!

[4] 'Iris (?) ou Érinys (?)' (Reinach *loc. cit.*)!

[5] 'Érinys' (Reinach *ib.*)!

[6] '*Aiacos*' (Raoul-Rochette *loc. cit.*), 'Hadès (?)' (Reinach *loc. cit.*). But these suggestions miss the intended contrast between the Upper- and the Under-world. Apulian vases that have the Under-world on the body normally have the Upper-world on the neck, either on the obverse or on the reverse side. Thus Karlsruhe 388 (Reinach *op. cit.* i. 108) has obverse Helios in his *quadriga* (*ib.* i. 258). Munich 849 (*ib.* i. 258) has obverse Helios and Eos in *quadrigae* conducted across the sea by Phosphoros (Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 51). Naples 3222 (Reinach *op. cit.* i. 167) has reverse Helios in his *quadriga*, Selene on horseback, and Eros between them, crossing the sea (*ib.* i. 312). St Petersburg 426 (*ib.* i. 479) has obverse Eros in a *quadriga*—presumably the sun's chariot (*ib.*). In fact, the only exception among the large-sized Under-world

Fig. 146.

extreme right; Zeus enthroned and holding his eagle-sceptre, the extreme left.

A Campanian *amphora* from Cumae, now at Berlin, has another striking representation of the scene as its principal design (pl. xvi)[1]. The figures composing it have been first drawn in accordance with the usual technique of the vase-painter and subsequently coloured in more or less natural tints—the result being a polychrome decoration suggestive of fresco-work. Raised aloft in mid air is Ixion. He is naked and bound, spread-eagle fashion, to the four spokes of a double wheel. His bonds are so many serpents; and two of them, twining about his legs and body, raise their heads to bite him on the shoulders. The rims of his wheel, which are painted a whitish yellow, a bright and a dark red, send forth red tongues of flame; these, however, do not radiate light outwards, but heat inwards, and so add to the anguish of the sufferer. Immediately beneath him a winged Erinys rises from the ground with snaky hair and uplifted torch. Ixion's wheel is turned by a couple of winged female figures, who have been interpreted as Nephelai[2]. Hephaistos, having completed his ghastly work, stands back to survey it, cap on head and hammer in hand. He is balanced by a second spectator, Hermes, who turns his back upon the scene but, fascinated by it in spite of himself, glances upwards in the direction of Ixion.

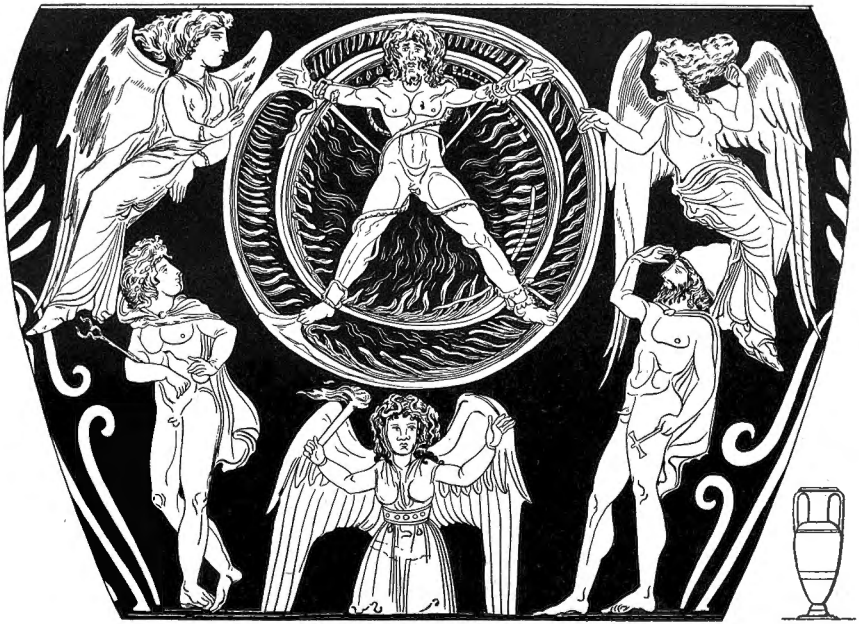
A wall-painting, which still adorns a dining-room in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii, provides us with yet another type (fig. 147)[3]. The artist, realising that the agony of Ixion must be suggested to the mind rather than presented to the eye, has given us but a glimpse of the hero fastened face downwards on a mighty eight-spoked wheel. Behind him stands the grim figure of Hephaistos, who lays his left hand on the wheel and with his right is about to grasp a spoke and set it in motion. His anvil, hammer and pincers are near him on the ground. At this supreme moment, when the torture is on the point of commencing, Hermes the mandatory of

vases is Naples Santangelo 709 (*ib.* i. 455), which has obverse a female head in a floral device, reverse a horse attacked by griffins.

[1] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 840 f. no. 3023. The best reproduction is that by A. Kluegmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 93—98 pl. I—K (badly copied in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 767 fig. 821 and Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 769 f.).

[2] Nephelai (Kluegmann after Helbig *loc. cit.*, Furtwängler *loc. cit.*, Baumeister *loc. cit.*, Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 182), Erinyes (P. Weizsäcker *ib.* ii. 771), Nikai (Reinach *op. cit.* i. 330).

[3] Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 39 Text p. 49 ff. For other reproductions see A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 296 ff. pl. 9 and G. Patroni in *Arte Italiana decorativa e industriale* ix. '24 pl. 13.



Amphora from Cumae: Ixion on his wheel.

See page 202.

Zeus[1] arrests the wheel and looks round to see if there is any sign of relenting on the face of Hera. Hera, however, is already enjoying her anticipated triumph and, prompted by Iris[2] at her elbow, hardens her heart: the dread sentence will be duly carried out. In the foreground sits a swathed figure, who turns with an imploring look and gesture, not indeed towards Hera—that would be useless,

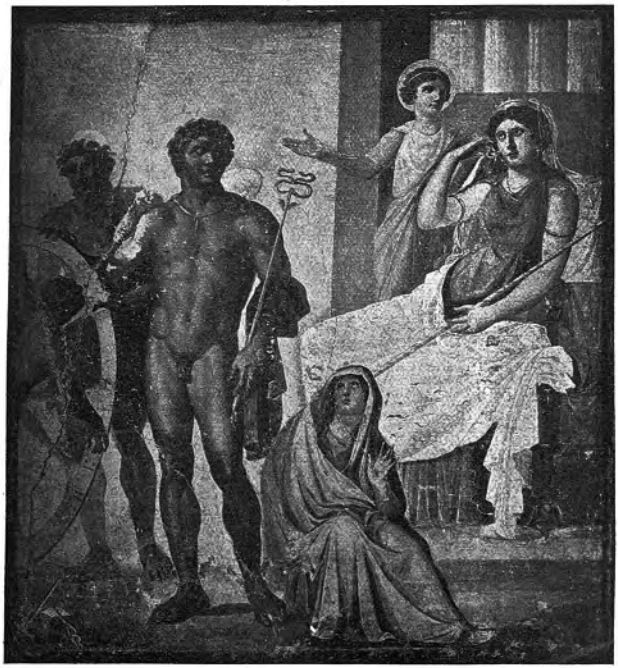


Fig. 147.

—but towards the more sympathetic Hermes. She has been justly regarded as Nephele[3] interceding for her lover. The whole picture

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 62.

[2] Iris is neatly characterised by the *nimbus* round her head.

[3] See Herrmann *loc. cit.*, who successfully disposes of the rival interpretations—Erinys or Nemesis (Herrlich), the mother of Ixion (Sogliano), 'a personification of the spirit of one who has died' (Mau). Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 182 argued that she must be Nephele on account of her swathed form.

is finely conceived and almost certainly repeats a Greek *motif*. Indeed, we have seen the same *dramatis personae* in the vase-paintings already reviewed—Hera seated on her throne, Iris standing with raised right hand, Hephaistos with his hammer beside the wheel, Hermes with his *caduceus* glancing round, and even Nephele, though here by a fine original touch she is represented as doing her best to avert, not to forward, the punishment of Ixion. It seems possible to go one step further and to determine the date of the Greek prototype. Here much help is afforded by the style of Hermes, its most prominent figure. He might well be a bronze statue by Lysippos. The proportions of head, trunk, and legs, the pose of the feet, the attitude of the head turned away from the leg that bears the weight, would all support this contention. And the resemblance of the whole figure to the Lansdowne Herakles, pointed out by G. Rodenwaldt[1], would go to confirm it, if—as Prof. P. Gardner has urged[2]—the Herakles is essentially Lysippian in character. On this showing we may conclude that the Pompeian picture had as its direct ancestor a Greek fresco dating from the age of Alexander the Great.

An Etruscan mirror recently acquired by the British Museum and hitherto unpublished[3] (pl. xvii) figures Ixion bound to a great winged wheel in the early 'running' attitude[4], which here denotes rapid revolution. He is nude except for the fillet about his hair and the bands that fasten him to the eight-spoked wheel. The flower twice introduced between adjacent spokes serves as a stop-gap and has no special significance. The mirror is referred by Mr H. B. Walters to the third or possibly to the fourth century B.C. The ivy-wreath and the rendering of hands, feet, etc. suffice to prove that it is archaistic, not archaic.

Finally, a Roman sarcophagus, found in a brick sepulchral monument behind the second mile-stone on the *Via Appia Nuova* and now in the *Galleria dei Candelabri* of the Vatican, has its right end decorated with reliefs symbolic of the Under-world (fig. 148)[5].

[1] G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 178.

[2] P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 128 ff., 1905 xxv. 240, 256. The attribution of this type to Lysippos was first suggested by A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 451. B. Graef in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 189 ff. referred it to Skopas; Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 296 ff., to Skopas in his first or Polyclitan period; A. Kalkmann *Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1893 p. 60 n. 3, to Polykleitos himself.

[3] Exhibited now in Case C of the Bronze Room at the British Museum.

[4] See E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien* München 1909 pp. 249—398.

[5] *Wien. Vorlegebl.* B pl. 11, 3 *c*, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 282 ff. no. 399.

Etruscan mirror: Ixion on his wheel.

See page 204.

Sisyphos raises the stone above his head. Tantalos lifts the water towards his mouth. And between them Ixion revolves on a strong seven-spoked wheel, his attitude recalling the earlier representation of him on the Etruscan mirror (pl. xvii).

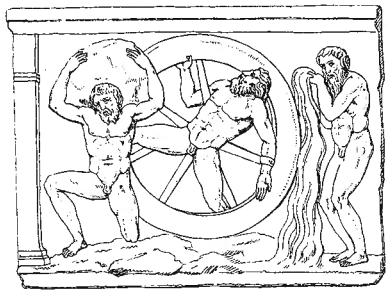


Fig. 148.

It remains to enquire how far the foregoing figures bear out the suggestion that Ixion's wheel was solar. A wheel, a winged wheel a wheel darting rays outward, a wheel flaming inwards and bound about with snakes—all these are beyond question conceivable ways

Fig. 149.

of depicting the sun. For example, the Egyptians used to place a winged solar disk flanked by two *uraeus*-snakes over the gateway of every temple-court (fig. 149)[1]. This custom was explained by

[1] On the origin of the winged disk see S. Reinach 'Aetos Prométheus' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 59—81 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 68—91, *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (ε); and on its development Count Goblet d'Alviella *Recherches sur l'histoire du globe ailé hors de l'Égypte* Bruxelles 1888 (extr. from the *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* iii Série 1888 xvi. 623 ff. no. 12). Cp. also Stevenson 'The Feather and the Wing in Mythology' in *Oriental Studies* (Oriental Club of Philadelphia) Boston 1894 pp. 236—239. In Egypt the winged disk is found as early as the sixth dynasty, *e.g.* on a triumphal *stèle* of Pepi i in *Wadi-Maghara* (Sinai) published by J. de Morgan *Recherches sur les origines de l'Égypte* Paris 1896 i. 235 fig. 596. I figure a fine eighteenth-dynasty example from the door to the chapel of Thothmes i at *Deir el Bahri*, drawn by R. E. F. Paget for A. Wiedemann *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1897 p. 75 fig. 14. The wings are probably those of the falcon (*falco peregrinus*), not the sparrow-hawk: see G. Bénédite in the *Mon. Piot* 1909 xvii. 5 ff.

means of the following myth[1]. Ḥeru-behuṭet[2], the Horos of Edfû, when he fought the enemies of his father Râ, changed himself into a winged disk of many colours. As such he flew up to the sun, sighted his foes, and started in pursuit. He took with him Nekhebet the goddess of the South and Uatchit the goddess of the North in the form of two snakes that they might destroy the adversaries. Having gained the day, Ḥeru-behuṭet was thenceforward called 'the Darter of Rays who emergeth from the horizon'; and Râ ordained that the winged solar disk should be set over every sacred spot for the banishing of evil.

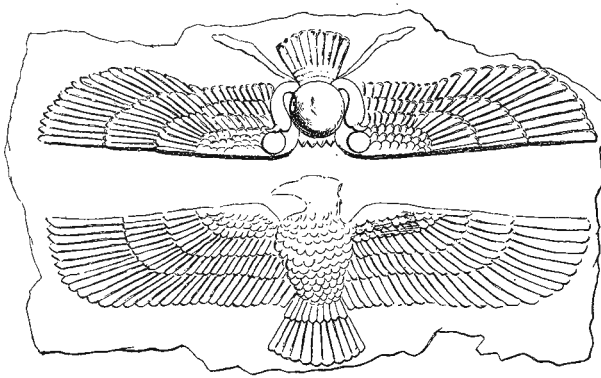


Fig. 150.

The winged disk is found also, with slight modifications, in Phoinike, where it was similarly used to consecrate the lintels of temple-buildings[3]. An interesting example, discovered by E. Renan[4]

[1] The text was published by É. Naville *Textes relatifs au mythe d'Horus dans le temple d'Edfou* Genève 1870 pls. 12—19. It is translated into German by H. Brugsch in the *Abh. d. gött. Akad. 1869* Phil.-hist. Classe xiv. 173—236, and into English by A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. Cp. also E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 483, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 10 fig. 8.

[2] The precise form and significance of the name borne by the solar disk is disputed: see A. Erman in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1882 xx. 8, Le Page Renouf in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1886 viii. 143, A. Wiedemann *ib.* 1895 xvii. 196 ff.

[3] Count Goblet d'Alviella *op. cit.* p. 5 ff.

[4] E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 68 ff. Atlas pl. 9, V. Bérard *De l'origine des cultes arcadiens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* Paris 1894 lxvii) p. 89, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 159 fig. 11.

at *Aïn el-Hayât*, the 'Fountain of the Serpents,' is confronted by an eagle with spread pinions (fig. 150). This arrangement suggests that the solar disk was regarded as a sort of bird[1].

Without attempting to trace in detail the further fortunes of the winged disk—a task which has been undertaken by Count Goblet d'Alviella[2]—we may glance for a moment at its oriental analogue. The symbol has two main varieties in Mesopotamian art. One is a disk, sometimes transformed into a rosette or a wheel, with open wings and a fan-shaped tail: this disk is surmounted by a scroll resembling a pair of inverted volutes, from which depend two undulating streamers (fig. 151)[3]. The other shows a half-length human figure emerging from its centre: the

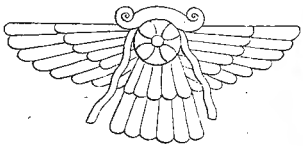


Fig. 151.

Fig. 152.

tail serves him for a kilt, and the scroll appears on either side of his head (fig. 152)[4]. This is the well-known sign of Ashur (Zeus *Assýrios*)[5], patron god of the city Ashur and head of the Assyrian pantheon. On sculptured slabs and cylinders it is commonly seen hovering above the king or priest. And, mounted on a pole, it was actually borne as a sacred standard into battle[6].

From Assyria both varieties of winged disk passed into Persia. The first lost its scroll, but retained its two undulating appendages.

[1] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (e).

[2] Count Goblet d'Alviella *op. cit.* p. 8 ff. I have followed this lucid and well-informed writer in the main lines of his classification.

[3] A. H. Layard *The Monuments of Nineveh* First Series London 1849 pl. 6.

[4] *Id. ib.* First Series pl. 13.

[5] Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 393, *supra* p. 197 n. 4.

[6] M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 194 n. 1 cites a description of this symbol given in a text of Sennacherib (Meissner—Rost *Bauinschriften Sanherib's* p. 94). While not committing himself to the view that Ashur was ever a nature-god, Dr Jastrow concludes (*op. cit.* p. 195 f.): 'it we are to assume that Ashur personified originally some natural power, the symbol of the winged disc lends a strong presumption in favor of supposing him to have been some phase of the sun.

The second with equally little alteration served as the emblem of Auramazda (Zeus Oromasdes)[1]. He appears in the reliefs of

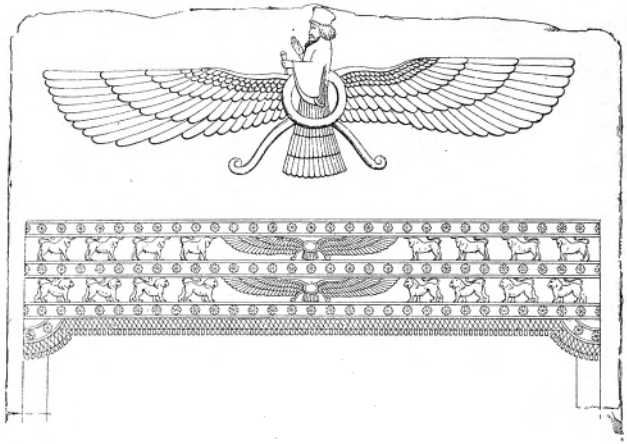


Fig. 153.

Persepolis encircled by the same solar[2] ring, which is winged and furnished with the like appendages: his royal robe (*kándys*), as before, passes into the tail-feathers[3]. A specimen figured by F. Lajard illustrates both types at once, the latter being superposed on the former (fig. 153)[4]. Cilician coins struck by the Persian satrap Tiribazos (386—380 B.C.) show the same deity Auramazda rising from a similar ring or wheel: he holds a wreath in one hand, a lotus-flower in the other (fig. 154)[5].

Fig. 154.

[1] *Supra* p. 10 n. 1.

[2] Sepulchral reliefs from Persepolis give the symbol a *lunar* significance, the crescent moon being inscribed in the ring (see G. Hüsing 'Iranischer Mondkult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1901 iv. 349—357).

[3] G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 577, cp. 681.

[4] F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1837 pp. 156 f.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. Issos p. 90 pl. 15, 3; Mallos p. cxxii (cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 537 pl. 59, 15); Soloi p. 148 pl. 26, 2; Tarsos p. 164 pl. 29, 1. I have figured the coin of Tarsos. Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 722, 724, 728, 730.

Sir G. Rawlinson[1] and Monsieur J. Menant[2] have argued that the winged disk of Mesopotamia had its prototype in a sacred bird. And it is certainly possible to arrange an evolutionary series of extant forms, if we may assume the successive loss of head, legs, and tail (fig. 155)[3]. But it is doubtful whether such a series affords the best explanation of the scrolls and curvilinear appendages noticed above. These suggest rather a combination of snake-forms with bird-forms, as was demonstrably the case in Egyptian art.

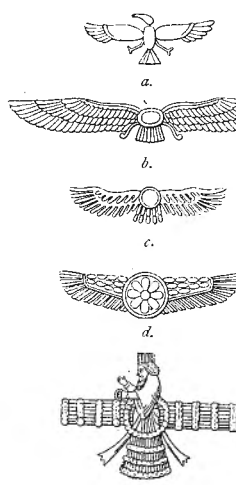


Fig. 155.

However that may be, the various types of solar disk do make it possible to believe that Ixion's wheel stood for the sun. And this possibility is raised to a probability, when we take into account certain other features of his myth to be discussed later and certain other myths to be considered almost immediately.

Assuming, then, that Ixion's wheel in some sense stood for the sun, we have yet to explain the peculiar use that is made of it in the myth. A mortal man, raised to the abode of Zeus and gifted with immortality, aspires to the hand of Hera. He expiates his sacrilege by being bound to a solar wheel, on which he is both lashed with a whip and burnt with fire. Prof. G. Lafaye has recently argued that the punishment meted out to Ixion was but the mythological echo of a punishment actually inflicted on delinquents[4]. The culprit was stretched upon a wheel and, while it revolved, was flogged, burnt, and on occasion beheaded. This

[1] Sir G. Rawlinson *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World* London 1862—1867 ii. 235.

[2] J. Menant *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie* Paris 1883—1886 ii. 17.

[3] Fig. 155 contains five of the symbols collected by F. Lajard in the *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 13, *viz.* (*a*) = no. 1 from the cylinder figured *ib.* no. 34, (*b*) = no. 8 from a relief at Persepolis (?) *supra* fig. 153, (*c*) = no. 2 from a cylinder (?), cp. *ib.* no. 26, (*d*) = no. 9 from a cylinder formerly owned by Lajard, (*e*) = no. 5 from a relief at *Naksch-i-Roustam*. See further *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 13 ff.

[4] G. Lafaye in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 896 *s.v.* 'rota.'

mode of torture, which can be traced back to the fifth[1] and even to the sixth century B.C.[2], is often mentioned by Hellenic and Hellenistic writers. Aristophanes, for example, in his *Peace* makes the chorus curse any man that seeks war for his personal profit:

> May he be stretched and flogged upon the wheel[3].

Similarly in the romance of Achilleus Tatios the ill-starred Leukippe, brought to bay by her tyrannical master, defies him in the following terms: 'Order up your tortures. Bid him bring a wheel. Here are my hands; let him stretch them out. Bid him bring whips too. Here is my back; let him lay on. Bid him fetch fire. Here is my body, ready to be burnt. Bid him bring a sword as well. Here is my throat; let him cut it! Behold a novel sight—a single woman pitted against your whole array of tortures and triumphant over all[4]!' Later, her lover Kleitophon finds himself in an equally sensational plight: 'I, as a condemned criminal, was to be tortured that they might discover whether Melitte had been privy to the murder. Already I was bound, stripped of my clothing, and hoisted up by nooses. Some were fetching whips, others fire and a wheel. Kleinias with a groan was calling upon the gods, when lo, the priest of Artemis, wreathed with bay, was seen approaching.' Etc.[5] The verb commonly used of this torture, *trochízein*, 'to punish on the wheel,' is employed by the epigrammatist Asklepiades in an allusion to Ixion[6]; and the emperor Elagabalos, who bound parasites to a water-wheel, spoke of them as 'Ixions of the stream[7].' Torture by the wheel, regarded by the Romans as a specially Greek institution[8], is well known in connexion with Christian martyrdoms and mediaeval punishments. The final relic of it—the 'Catharine wheel' of our November fireworks—by a curious reversion, or rather by an interesting survival, still brings before us, if we have eyes to see it, the blazing wheel of Ixion.

But, while fully admitting Prof. Lafaye's contention that the

[1] Antiph. *or.* 1. 20.

[2] Anakreon *frag.* 21, 9 Bergk[4] *ap.* Athen. 534 A.

[3] Aristoph. *pax* 452.

[4] Ach. Tat. 6. 20.

[5] *Id.* 7. 12, cp. Chariton *de Chaerea et Callirrhoe* 3. 4, 3. 9.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* 5. 180. 3 f. οὐ τροχιεῖ τις | τὸν Λαπίθην;

[7] Ael. Lamprid. *Heliog.* 24. 5 Ixiones amnicos (so Hirschfeld for MSS. Ixionios amicos).

[8] Apul. *met.* 3. 9 nec mora cum ritu Graeciensi ignis et rota, tum omne flagrorum genus inferuntur, 10. 10 nec rota vel eculeus more Graecorum tormentis eius apparata iam deerant sed offirmatus mira praesumptione nullis verberibus ac ne ipso quidem succumbit igni. Plaut. *cist.* 206 ff. is probably based on a Greek original. And in Cic. *Tusc.* 5. 9. 24 *rotam* is glossed by the word *Graecos*.

wheel of the mythical Ixion was the torture-wheel of real life, I would urge that we have not thus got to the bottom of the matter. Why were men burnt upon a revolving wheel? Why on a engine of this particular shape? Why not tied to a stake, or cross-bar, or triangles, for instance? Because—I venture to reply—this form of punishment, like so many others (impaling, hanging, crucifixion, perhaps even ordinary flogging), originated in the service of religion, or at least in a definitely religious idea. And the idea in the present case was that the victim represented the sun. The mythical Ixion, if I am not mistaken, typifies a whole series of human Ixions, who in bygone ages were done to death as effete embodiments of the sun-god. Evidence in support of this view will be forthcoming in subsequent sections.

(β) Triptolemos.

Triptolemos is first mentioned in the Homeric *Hymn to Demeter*, a poem referable to the seventh century B.C., as one of the 'kings' or chiefs at Eleusis, whom Demeter instructed in mystic rites for the fertility of the soil[1]. Apart from the fact that his name thrice heads the list, there is nothing to distinguish him from the other chieftains of the place—Diokles or Dioklos, Dolichos, Eumolpos, Keleos, Polyxeinos. The position of divine nurseling and favourite is reserved for Demophon, son of Keleos and Metaneira. But in course of time Triptolemos appears to have usurped the place of Demophon. His story is thus told by Apollodoros[2]: 'Metaneira the wife of Keleos had a child, whom Demeter took and reared. Wishing to make the babe immortal, she put it down every night in fire and so took off its covering of mortal flesh. Demophon—for that was the child's name—grew so fast by day that Metaneira kept watch, found him plunged in fire, and shrieked aloud. Consequently the babe was destroyed by the fire[3], and the goddess revealed herself. But for Triptolemos, the elder of Metaneira's children, she made a chariot-seat (*díphros*) of winged snakes. She gave him grain, and he, soaring aloft through the sky, sowed the whole world with it.' Others make Triptolemos the son of Eleusis[4],

[1] *H. Dem.* 474 ff., cp. 153 ff.

[2] Apollod. 1. 5. 1—2.

[3] In the *h. Dem.* 250 ff. (cp. Ov. *fast.* 4. 555 ff.) the child is not destroyed by the fire, but only robbed of immortality through his mother's interruption of the rite—a ceremony of purification (F. B. Jevons *An Introduction to the History of Religion* London 1896 p. 365, E. E. Sikes on *h. Dem.* 239) and initiation (W. R. Halliday in the *Class. Rev.* 1911 xxv. 8 ff.).

[4] Panyasis *frag.* 24 Kinkel *ap.* Apollod. 1. 5. 2.

or of Eleusius by Hioma[1], or of Eleusinus by Cathonea[2] or Cyntania[3]—variants which attest his connexion with Eleusis. The hero Eleusis was said by some to be the son of Hermes by Daeira, daughter of Okeanos[4]; and it is noteworthy that another account represented Triptolemos as the child of Okeanos and Ge[5]. Verses ascribed to Orpheus asserted that Eubouleus and Triptolemos were sons of Dysaules, and that Demeter, as a reward for information given her about her daughter, entrusted them with grain to sow[6]. Dysaules, Triptolemos, and Eubouleus were reckoned by the Orphists among the 'earth-born' dwellers of Eleusis[7]. Choirilos, an early tragedian of Athens, took Triptolemos to be the son of Raros[8]. Others made him the son of Rar[9], or the son of Keleos son of Raros[10]—names which point to the Rarian Plain near Eleusis. One late writer, doubtless by a mere confusion, has him as the son of Icarus (*sic*), eponym of the Attic deme Ikaria[11]. But in the time of Pausanias there was only one real rival to the Athenian tradition, namely that of the Argives, who maintained that Trochilos, a priest of the mysteries, had fled from Argos to Attike and had become by an Eleusinian wife the father of two sons—Eubouleus and Triptolemos[12].

In this tangle of names Aristophanes found ample material for a parody of the divine pedigree[13]. But it will be observed that, so far as Triptolemos is concerned, all roads lead to Eleusis. His cult left traces of itself from Syracuse to Gordyene, from Scythia to Egypt; but all such traces are compatible with the belief that Eleusis was its prime centre[14]. It is, therefore, to Attic art that we naturally turn for further light on the wheeled seat of Triptolemos[15].

[1] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 382.
[2] Hyg. *fab.* 147.
[3] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 19.
[4] Paus. 1. 38. 7.
[5] Mousaios p. 222 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 1. 14. 3, Pherekyd. *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 72 Müller) *ap.* Apollod. 1. 5. 2.
[6] Orph. *frag.* 217 Abel *ap.* Paus. 1. 14. 3.
[7] Orph. *frag.* 215 Abel *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 20. 2 p. 15, 27 ff. Stählin.
[8] Choirilos *Alope frag.* 1 Nauck[2] *ap.* Paus. 1. 14. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* 'Ρᾶρος.
[9] Phot. *lex. s.v.* 'Ράρ.
[10] Souid. *s.v.* 'Ραριάς.
[11] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 19.
[12] Paus. 1. 14. 2.
[13] Aristoph. *Ach.* 47 ff.
[14] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1173 n. 5.
[15] The vases, sculptures, wall-paintings, coins, and gems, illustrating the myth of Triptolemos have been collected and studied by Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 217 ff. pls. 41—46, *id. Ueber den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Berlin 1865 ii Beilage A (*Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 ii. 370 ff., 415 ff.), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 97 ff. pls. 46—48, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 82 ff., 1862 pp. 32, 58, 1873 p. 115 n. 1, C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig

Vase-illustrations of the sixth century differ in some respects from those of the fifth, and again from those of the fourth. Sixth century vases, of which some seven are known, show Triptolemos as a bearded man holding a bunch of corn and sitting on a wheeled seat. The seat is a more or less simple affair, and is arranged in profile towards the right. Hence one wheel only is visible. This

Fig. 156.

has four spokes and sometimes rests on the ground, sometimes rises into the air (fig. 156)[1]. Wings and snakes are wholly absent[2].

1870, *id. Supplement zu den Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1872, and above all by that master of detailed investigation Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora pp. 530—589 Münztaf. 9, Gemmentaf. 4, Atlas pls. 14—16.

[1] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pl. 44, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pl. 67, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 1, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 33, 7 f. This black-figured *amphora*, once in the Fontana collection at Trieste, is now at Berlin.

[2] A black-figured *lêkythos* from Boiotia now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 308 no. 967) shows Triptolemos with a sceptre in a car winged and drawn by a snake. This vase is presumably a belated example of the black-figure technique like the pseudo-archaic Panathenaic prize-jars, on which the columns of Athena are sometimes surmounted by a small representation of Triptolemos holding corn-ears in

Further, there is a remarkable similarity between the equipment of Triptolemos and that of Dionysos. A small *amphora*, formerly in the collection of M. Lenormant, has Triptolemos with corn-ears and sceptre on its obverse, Dionysos with *kántharos* and vine-branches on its reverse, side. Both are seated in the same attitude on approximately similar thrones, and are obviously travelling across the world to dispense their respective bounties of corn and wine (fig. 157 *a* and *b*)[1]. Another *amphora*, which passed from the

Fig. 157 *a*.

Fig. 157 *b*.

collection of Viscount Beugnot into the Musée Vivenel at Compiègne, represents Triptolemos conducted by Hermes on one side, Dionysos conducted by Seilenos on the other. Triptolemos has corn-stalks; Dionysos, a *kántharos* and a vine with grape-branches. Their travelling seats are similar, but not identical; for that of Dionysos has old-fashioned spokes[2] and is fitted with wings

a winged car drawn by snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 277 ff. nos. B 603, B 604, B 607, B 608).

[1] Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pl. 49 A, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 5 *a* and 5 *b*. C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1870 p. 8 takes the figure with the *kántharos* and vine-branches to be Ikarios, not Dionysos. The hero favoured by Dionysos would then balance the hero favoured by Demeter.

[2] On these see A. C. Haddon *The Study of Man* London and New York 1898 p. 161 ff. ('The Evolution of the Cart') and H. L. Lorimer 'The Country Cart of Ancient Greece' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 132 ff.

Fig. 158 *a*.

Fig. 158 *b*.

(fig. 158 *a* and *b*)[1]. *À propos* of this resemblance between Triptolemos and Dionysos we must here notice a red-figured *kýlix* from Vulci, now at Berlin (fig. 159)[2]. Dionysos is again seen sitting on

Fig. 159.

a winged and wheeled seat. As on the Lenormant and Beugnot vases, he is wreathed, wears a *chitón* and a *himátion*, and carries a *kántharos*. Only, in place of a vine he grasps a double axe, the 'ox-slaughtering servitor of king Dionysos,' as Simonides termed it[3].

[1] Gerhard *op. cit.* i pl. 41, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii pls. 48 f., Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 4, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 32, 4—6. For Strube's view see *supra* p. 214 n. 1.

[2] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 548 no. 2273, Gerhard *op. cit.* i pl. 57, 1 f., Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* i pl. 38, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 38, 8 f. The inscription according to Furtwängler, reads ΚΕΦΙ · ΤΟϟΚΑ · Οϟ, *i.e.* perhaps Κηφί[σ]ιος κα[λ]ός, not—as had been previously supposed—Ἥφαιστος καλός. The god with a double axe on a mule escorted by a Satyr and two Maenads in Laborde *Vases Lamberg* i pl. 43 (=Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iii pl. 263) is probably Hephaistos rather than Dionysos, cp. Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* iv pl. 38 (=Inghirami *op. cit.* iii pl. 265, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* i pl. 43).

[3] Simonid. *frag.* 172 Bergk[4] *ap.* Athen. 84 c f. For further evidence connecting Dionysos with the double axe see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

Furtwängler *loc. cit.* takes this axe-bearing figure to be Triptolemos, not Dionysos,—a most improbable view, though accepted by Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 38.

Triptolemos and Dionysos dispensing their several bounties of corn and wine from a two-wheeled throne suggest comparison with a spring custom observed at *Kostí* in northern Thrace. 'A man, called the χώχωστος or κουκηρὸς, dressed in sheep or goat

Passing from the sixth century to the fifth, or at least from black-figured to red-figured vases, we find Triptolemos invariably depicted as a beardless youth, not a bearded man. His seat is always winged and sometimes, especially on the later[1] vases, furnished with snakes. In the great majority of cases the scene represented is that of Triptolemos starting on his long journey. Demeter for

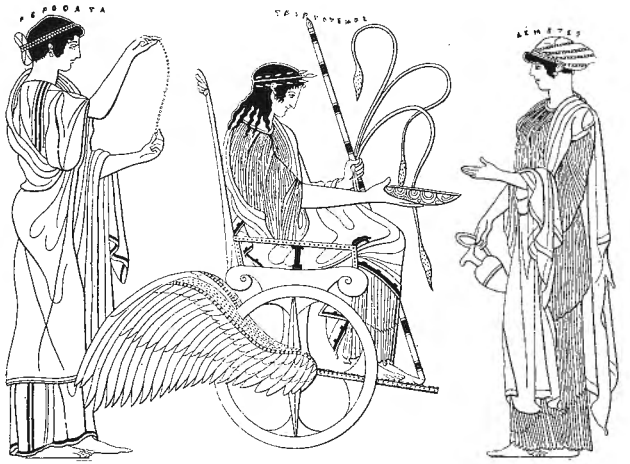


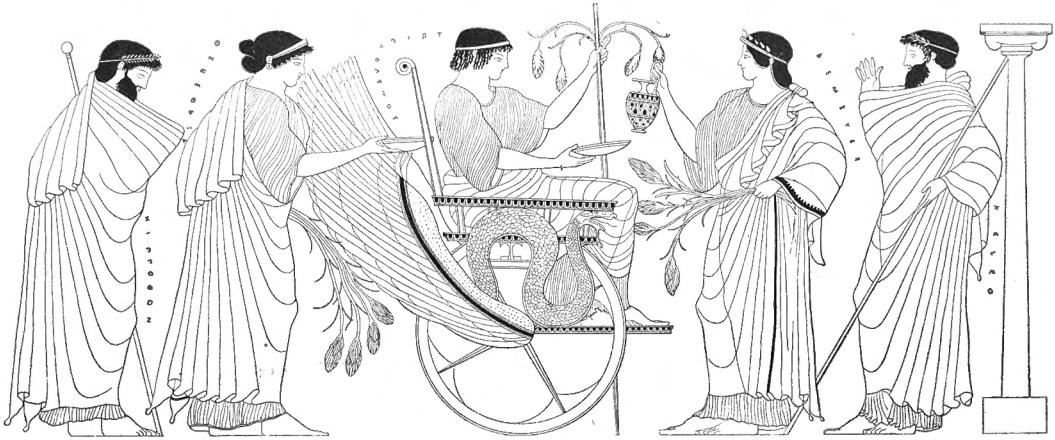
Fig. 161.

the most part fills him a *phiále,* that he may pour a libation before he goes. Two vases, out of many, will serve as illustrations. A

skins, wearing a mask and with bells round his neck, and in his hand a broom of the kind used for sweeping out ovens, goes round collecting food and presents. He is addressed as king and escorted with music. With him is a boy carrying a wooden bottle and a cup, who gives wine to each householder, receiving in return a gift. They are accompanied by boys dressed as girls. The king then mounts a two-wheeled cart and is drawn to the church. Here two bands are formed of married and unmarried men respectively, and each tries to make the king throw upon themselves the seed which he holds in his hands. This he finally casts on the ground in front of the church. He is then thrown into the river, stripped of his skin clothes (ὀλόγυμνος), and then resumes his usual dress' (R. M. Dawkins in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1906 xxvi. 201 f.).

[1] Cp. an electrum *statér* of Kyzikos *c.* 450—400 B.C., which shows the hero with his corn-ears drawn by two winged snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysie p. 26 pl. 6, 9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1425 f. pl. 175, 1, W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 53 f. no. 16 pl. 1, 17). I figure a specimen in the M^c^Clean collection, Cambridge (fig. 160).

Fig. 160.



Kratér from Agrigentum: Triptolemos.

See page 218.

Fourth-century vase-paintings of Triptolemos may be subdivided into an earlier and a later group. The earlier group, comprising two specimens referable to the first half of the century,

Fig. 162.

represents the initiation of Herakles, or of Herakles and the Dioskouroi, either into the lesser mysteries at Agra[1] or Melite[2], or

Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 15, 21, Reinach *op. cit.* i. 398, 1 ff. Overbeck *ib.* p. 540 n. d. and p. 587 compares a late jasper at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 131 f. no. 2913 pl. 25), on which Triptolemos appears in a chariot drawn by two winged snakes and surrounded by enormous grains of corn. For similar coin-types see Overbeck *ib.* p. 584 f. Münztaf. 9, 4—6, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria pp. 49, 71, 82, 120, 148, 163, 264 pl. 2, nos. 408, 582, 1332 (Alexandreia), *ib.* Pontus etc. pp. 156, 158 pl. 32, 11 (Nikaia), *ib.* Lydia p. 260 pl. 27, 4 (Sardeis), *ib.* Lycaonia etc. p. 195 f. (Tarsos).

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄγρα καὶ Ἄγραι. The schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1013 states that the μικρὰ μυστήρια were devised by the Athenians in order to provide for the initiation of Herakles, who as a stranger could not otherwise have been initiated, but does not mention Agra.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 501.

(more probably) into the greater mysteries at Eleusis[1]. A *pelike* from Kertsch, now at St Petersburg (fig. 163)[2], shows Demeter seated in the centre with Persephone standing beside her. The former has a high head-dress and a sceptre; the latter leans on a column and holds a long torch. Between them stands the youthful Ploutos with a horn of plenty. To the left we see Aphrodite, Eros, and a male figure holding two torches—probably Eumolpos rather than a mere *daidoûchos*; to the right, a seated female figure, whom we cannot identify with any assurance, and Dionysos

Fig. 163.

characterised by his ivy-wreath and his *thýrsos*. In the background, on the left, Herakles approaches. He carries his club in his right hand, but as an initiate wears a myrtle-wreath and holds in his left hand a *bácchos* or bundle of sacred boughs[3]. Above all—like the

[1] Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Diod. 4. 25, cp. Soranos *v. Hippocratis* (iii. 853 Kühn), *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 434, 7 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 224. 7 f. Xen. *Hell.* 6. 3. 6 λέγεται μὲν Τριπτόλεμος ὁ ἡμέτερος πρόγονος τὰ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ἄρρητα ἱερὰ πρώτοις ξένοις δεῖξαι Ἡρακλεῖ τε τῷ ὑμετέρῳ ἀρχηγέτῃ καὶ Διοσκούροιν τοῖν ὑμετέροιν πολίταιν, καὶ τοῦ Δήμητρος δὲ καρποῦ εἰς πρώτην τὴν Πελοπόννησον σπέρμα δωρήσασθαι is spoken by Kallias ὁ δαδοῦχος to the Spartans and probably refers to Eleusis. See further A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2185 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 411 f., 415, and *infra* ch. i § 6 (f) ix.

[2] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* p. 322 ff. no. 1792, *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 73 ff. Atlas pl. 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 18, 18.

[3] Schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 408, Eudok. *viol.* 215, Souid. *s.v.* βάκχος, Bekker *anecd.* i. 224, 32 f., *et. mag.* p. 185, 13 f., Hesych. *s.v.* βάκχος, Favorin. *lex.* p. 349, 17 ff. The

sun-god in the sky—hovers Triptolemos on his winged car. A bell-*kratér* from Santa Agata de' Goti, now in the British Museum (fig. 164)[1], again depicts Demeter seated and Persephone standing beside her—the one with a sceptre, the other with a torch. Triptolemos on his wheeled seat, which is fitted with large wings and snakes, faces towards and converses with Demeter. To this Eleusinian company two *daidoûchoi* (perhaps we may venture to regard them as Eubouleus and Eumolpos) are about to introduce Herakles and the Dioskouroi. Herakles has his club;

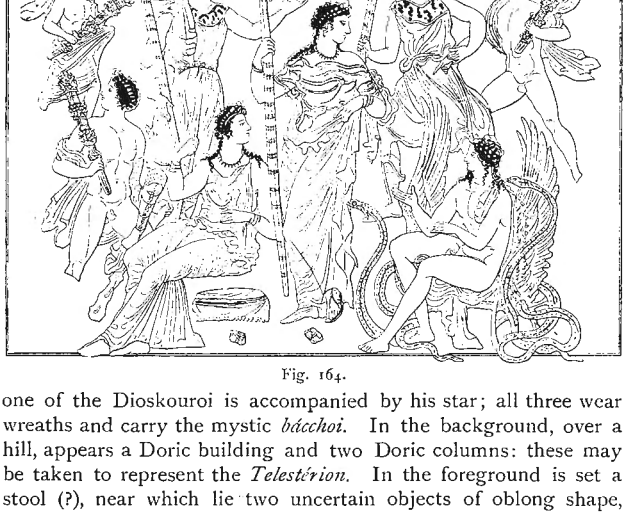


Fig. 164.

one of the Dioskouroi is accompanied by his star; all three wear wreaths and carry the mystic *bácchoi*. In the background, over a hill, appears a Doric building and two Doric columns: these may be taken to represent the *Telestérion*. In the foreground is set a stool (?), near which lie two uncertain objects of oblong shape, possibly tablets (?) required by the initiates.

The later group of fourth-century vases is decorated with a scene probably drawn from the theatre, not the *Telestérion*, though

βάκχος appears on silver (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica, etc. p. 29 pl. 8, 3, p. 73 pl. 13, 6) and copper coins of Athens (*ib.* p. 23 pl. 6, 14 f., pp. 81, 91 pl. 15, 17), and on copper coins of Eleusis (*ib.* p. 112 ff. pl. 20, 1—4). It is also carved on the frieze of the small Propylaea (Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[2] p. 118 coloured plate) and on that of the great altar at Eleusis (Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. ant.* ii. 561 fig. 2633), as well as on that of the altar from the *Eleusínion* at Athens (*ib.* ii. 570 fig. 2638).

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 45 f. no. F 68, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii. 180 f. pl. 63 A, E. Gerhard *Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 pl. 71, 1, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 18, 19.

attempts to connect it with the *Triptolemos* of Sophokles have failed for lack of evidence[1]. These vases, of which four are known[2], regularly exhibit the departure of Triptolemos, though with considerable variations and innovations as to the surrounding figures, landscape, etc. A common feature is their treatment of the hero's wheeled seat, which in three out of the four cases has become a chariot facing us full-front and drawn by two monstrous snakes. As the snakes increase in size, the wings diminish[3] and on two of the vases are absent altogether. One of these, an Apulian *amphora* from the Pizzati collection now at St Petersburg, is here reproduced (pl. xix)[4]. It shows Demeter, as on the earlier red-figured vases, filling the *phiále* of Triptolemos, who richly clad in a stage costume stands erect in his chariot. A trait new to the vase-painters is that two ears of corn are visible in his hair, which is confined by a white band[5]. Close to Demeter and Triptolemos are two Horai appropriately holding corn-stalks. The background is occupied by figures frequent on Apulian vases and of no special significance here, *viz.* a group of Aphrodite, Eros, and Peitho on the right, and Pan with his *sýrinx* leaning against a tree-trunk on the left. In the foreground flows a river inscribed *Neîlos*, 'the Nile.' The locality is further indicated perhaps by the flora, certainly by the fauna. Lotiform plants are growing on the river-bank, and a lynx-cat with a bird in its mouth is decidedly reminiscent of Egypt[6].

With the St Petersburg *amphora* F. Matz[7] and O. Kern[8] justly compare two other monuments that exhibit Triptolemos in an Egyptian setting—the *tazza Farnese* of the Naples Museum, a magnificent sardonyx cup probably fashioned at Alexandreia in the Ptolemaic period[9], and the Petrossa cup of the Vienna collection, a gold *phiále* of later, clumsier workmanship found in 1837 by a

[1] See Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 552.

[2] (1) Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 557 f. no. 3245, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 16, 16. (2) *Supra* p. 126 n. 4. (3) Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 19 ff. no. 690, C. Strube *Supplement zu den Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1872 pl. 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 16, 14 and pl. 13, 15. (4) Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 162 ff. no. 350, *id. Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 54 ff. Atlas pl. 4 f., Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 551 f. Atlas pl. 16, 13, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. liii fig. 10, *supra* p. 127 n. 1.

[3] *Supra* p. 126 fig. 96.

[4] *Supra* n. 2 no. (4).

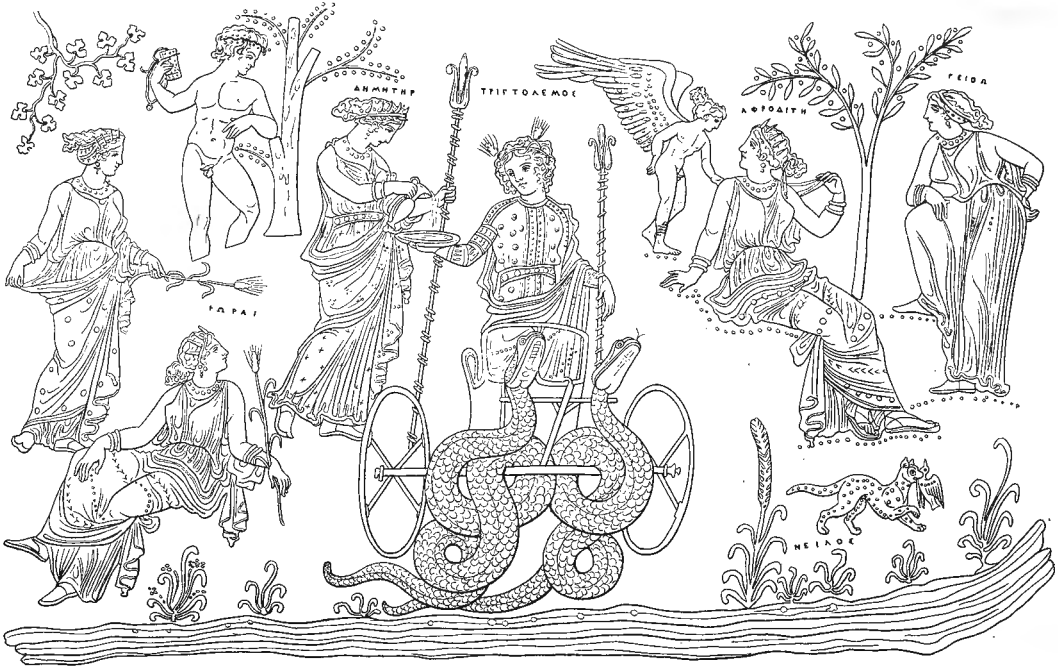
[5] Cp. the head of Triptolemos on an 'Underworld' vase at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 273 ff. no. 849, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 48 pl. 10).

[6] O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 p. 71 ff.

[7] F. Matz 'Goldschale von Pietraossa' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxix. 136.

[8] O. Kern 'De Triptolemo aratore' in the *Genethliacon Gottingense* Halis Saxonum 1888 p. 103 f.

[9] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pls. 54—55, ii. 253—256.



Amphora from Ruvo: Triptolemos.

See page 222, cp. page 127 n. 1.

Kratér from Cumae: Triptolemos.

See page 223.

peasant between Jassy and Bucharest[1]. Both these cups associate Triptolemos with Isis and the Nile-god, the inference being that on Egyptian soil the Greek agricultural hero was identified with Osiris.

On the *tazza Farnese* Triptolemos has not only a bag of seed on his left arm, but a plough-pole and yoke in one hand, a ploughshare in the other. On the Petrossa *phiále* he holds a couple of ploughs. O. Kern[2] argues that all the evidence, whether literary[3] or monumental[4], connecting Triptolemos with the plough is comparatively late, in fact that he first became a ploughman in the Alexandrine age owing to his identification with Osiris, who was regarded by the Greeks and Romans as the inventor of the plough[5]. This view has, however, been successfully refuted by O. Rubensohn[6], who points out that in genuinely Egyptian sources Osiris is never conceived as a ploughman, so that in Hellenistic times he must have got the plough from Triptolemos, rather than Triptolemos from him. Moreover, Rubensohn is able to adduce two vases of the pre-Hellenistic period, on which Triptolemos is definitely associated with a plough. One is a bell-*kratér* of Attic make, which may be dated about 450 B.C. It was found at Cumae and is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris. On it we see (pl. xx)[7] Triptolemos, who has had his lesson in ploughing from Demeter and is about to start on his tour of instruction. He is in the act of mounting his winged seat, the high back of which terminates in a griffin's head. He takes with him his sceptre and a bunch of corn, but turns for a final word of advice or farewell to Persephone, who carries two torches, and her mother, who still holds the plough[8]. The other vase cited by Rubensohn is a *skýphos*

[1] F. Matz *loc. cit.* pp. 135—137 pl. 52.

[2] O. Kern *loc. cit.* pp. 102—105.

[3] Varro *fragg.* 77, 78 Funaioli *ap.* interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 19, Ov. *fast.* 4. 559 f., Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 199, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 59. 4 ff. (Makedonios), cp. Souid. *s.v.* Ῥαριάς.

[4] Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 588 f. Gemmentaf. 4, 15—16, 18 (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 316 no. 8630 pl. 61, p. 248 no. 6747 pl. 48), *id. ib.* p. 625 f. Atlas pl. 17, 24 (Mazzara sarcophagus).

[5] Philostephanos περὶ εὑρημάτων *frag.* 28 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 32 f. Müller) *ap.* interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 19, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 147, Prob. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 19, Myth. Vat. 3. 7. 1, cp. what is said of Horos by Nigidius *ap.* interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 19.

[6] O. Rubensohn 'Triptolemos als Pflüger' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 59—71.

[7] De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 315 f. no. 424, Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* iii. 112 f., 183 f. pl. 64, Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 518 ff., 538 f. Atlas pl. 15, 13.

[8] So Gerhard, Lenormant and de Witte, Rubensohn, de Ridder. Overbeck thought that the holder of the torches was meant for Demeter, the holder of the plough for Persephone. But cp. Souid. *s.v.* Ῥαριάς·...ἡ Δημήτηρ τὸν ἀπόγονον Ῥάρου Τριπτόλεμον

of Boeotian fabric at Berlin, referable to the fifth century or at latest to the early decades of the fourth century B.C. Triptolemos here (fig. 165)[1] holds the plough himself, while Demeter presents him with the corn-stalks and Persephone, as before, carries a couple of torches[2]. The *skýphos* thus forms a pendant to the *kratér*. On the *kratér* the goddess grasped the plough, her *protégé* the corn. On the *skýphos* their positions are precisely reversed. But it can hardly be doubted that both vases alike represent Triptolemos about to start on his mission. The winged car is absent from the *skýphos*, either because this vase depicts a slightly earlier moment

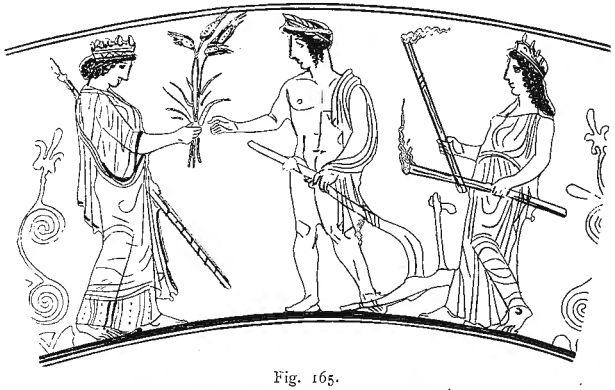


Fig. 165.

than the other, or perhaps merely by way of simplifying a somewhat ambitious design.

However that may be, it is plain that Triptolemos' association with the plough is not only Hellenistic, but Hellenic too. We need not, therefore, hesitate to accept the derivation of his name put forward by Agallis of Korkyra in the third century B.C.[3] *Triptólemos* is indeed the hero of the 'thrice-ploughed' (*trípolos*) field[4]. And Dr P. Giles has argued from the form of his name

ἐδίδαξε τὴν τοῦ σίτου γεωργίαν· παρέσχε δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἅρμα πτηνῶν δρακόντων, εἰς ὃ ἐποχούμενος ὁ Τριπτόλεμος περιήει πᾶσαν τὴν γῆν, διδάσκων τὴν τοῦ σίτου γεωργίαν—a passage well illustrated by our vase.

[1] *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 67 ff. pl. 7.

[2] The mother is clearly distinguished from the daughter by her sceptre, her more imposing head-dress, her richer clothing, and her more matronal form.

[3] Schol. *Il.* 18. 483 τρίπολον δὲ τὴν ἄρουραν φησιν ἐπεὶ Τριπτόλεμος πρῶτος ἔσπειρε σῖτον, ὃν βασιλέα φησίν. *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (δ).

[4] Cp. Plout. *contug. praecept.* 42 Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι· πρῶτον ἐπὶ

with its *-pt-*, not *-p-*, that his worship came to Eleusis along with improved methods of cultivation from the fertile plains of northern Greece[1].

If such be the name and nature of Triptolemos, what are we to make of his wheeled seat? I believe it to have been simply an early expression to denote the sun. Just as Herakles, when he crossed the sea, voyaged in the solar cup lent him by Okeanos or Nereus or Helios himself[2], so Triptolemos, when he crosses the earth, travels on the solar wheel received at the hand of Demeter. It will be observed that this explanation of the myth squares well with its progressive representation. The earliest vase-paintings showed Triptolemos sitting on a one-wheeled seat. This we naturally took to be a two-wheeled seat seen in profile[3]. But I now suggest that it arose from a yet earlier religious conception, that of the hero sitting on the single solar wheel. A possible survival of this conception occurs in the *Astronomica* of Hyginus, where we read that Triptolemos 'is said to have been the first of all to use a single wheel, that so he might avoid delay on his journey[4].' It is noteworthy, too, that in the Argive tradition[5] the father of Triptolemos was *Trochílos*, 'he of the Wheel' (*trochós*), the inventor—

Σκίρῳ τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα· δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ῥαρίᾳ· τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν τὸν καλούμενον Βουζύγιον. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει with the remarks of O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1215 ff. *s.v.* Ἄροτοι ἱεροί.

[1] P. Giles in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 1908* p. 16.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 468 n. 6.

[3] *Supra* p. 213.

[4] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14 qui primus omnium una rota dicitur usus, ne cursu moraretur. J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 416 n. 3 calls attention to a passage in the *Rig-veda* i. 164, 2, which describes the solar chariot 'of the single wheel' drawn by 'the single horse' of seven-fold name.

This raises a suspicion that more than one mythical charioteer, who lost a wheel and thereby came to grief, was originally a solar hero. Myrtilos, the charioteer of Oinomaos, who compassed his master's death by inserting a linch-pin of wax, or by not inserting a linch-pin at all, and was subsequently thrown out of Pelops' car into the sea near Geraistos, is a figure comparable with Phaethon; indeed, according to one version he was the son of the Danaïd Phaethousa (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 752, schol. Eur. *Or.* 998): on Apulian vases he often has as his attribute a wheel (Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 128, 3, 140, 2, 290) or a couple of wheels (*ib.* i. 167, Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 524 f. no. 3227). In a parallel myth (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 270 f.) from Thrace Dryas, like Oinomaos, is killed through the removal of his linch-pins (Parthen. *narr. am.* 6, cp. Konon *narr.* 10).

K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3318, 3320, Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2261 has drawn up a list of handsome young charioteers, who came to an untimely end. He regards them all as various forms of the solar hero common to the coast-districts of the eastern Aegean. They include the following names—Apsyrtos, Atymnos, Killas, Malaos, Myrtilos, Phaethon, Tenages. To these we may add Sphairos, a suggestive name given by the Troezenians to Killas (Paus. 5. 10. 7), and the great Troezenian hero Hippolytos himself, not to mention his *alter ego* Virbius.

[5] *Supra* p. 212.

some said—of the first chariot[1]. But the word *trochílos* means also 'a wren.' And it can hardly be fortuitous that the Athenians made Triptolemos the son of *Keleós*, the 'Green Woodpecker,' while the Argives made him the son of *Trochílos*, the 'Wren.' Conceivably both birds were bound to a wheel, like the *ýnx*, and used as a solar charm[2]. But, to return from fancy to fact, red-figured as distinct from black-figured vases added wings and snakes to

Fig. 166.

Triptolemos' seat[3]. In this again it followed the example of the solar vehicle; for a whole series of black-figured Attic vases at Cambridge[4], Paris[5], Berlin[6], Vienna[7], Athens[8], Boston[9], represents

[1] Tertull. *de spectac.* 9. [2] The matter is discussed *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (ε).

[3] *Supra* p. 217. The snakes themselves are not winged till the second century B.C. (Apollod. 1. 5. 2 δίφρον...πτηνῶν δρακόντων). The earliest extant monuments that so represent them are of Roman date (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 554 Atlas pl. 16, 11, 12: *infra* p. 248 n. 7). See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 807 n. 2.

[4] E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 52 no. 100 fig. The reproduction in E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pl. 1, 5 after Stackelberg *Gräber der Hellenen* pl. 15, 5, and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1995 from the same source, is inadequate. I figure the central portion of the scene *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) xii.

[5] De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 128 f. no. 220, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 386 f. pl. 115. This vase has four unwinged in place of two winged horses.

[6] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 421 no. 1983, unpublished.

[7] Laborde *Vases Lamberg* ii Frontispiece, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 387 f. pl. 116, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 211, 1.

[8] L. Savignoni in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 265 ff. pl. 9.

[9] Robinson *Cat. Vases Boston* no. 335.

Helios rising as a draped male figure standing between (*i.e.* on a car drawn by) two winged horses, the solar disk being visible over his head. The Berlin vase joins to the disk a couple of serpentiform appendages, thereby recalling the winged and snaky disks of Egyptian and Assyrian art[1]. Indeed, a late bas-relief in black stone brought by E. Renan from Gharfin near Gábeil, the ancient Byblos, shows Triptolemos, who stands in a car drawn by two snakes and scatters grain, within a *naïskos* actually decorated with the Egyptian disk (fig. 166)[2]. This, however,—as F. Lenormant was careful to point out—may be a matter of mere decoration. The crescent moon associated with the hero suggests rather that Triptolemos was here identified with the Phrygian god Men[3], as elsewhere with the Egyptian Osiris[4], the Lydian Tylos[5], and the Cilician *Ba'al-tarz*[6]. Finally, the corn-ears borne along on Triptolemos' wheeled seat are comparable with the corn-ears attached to the *triskelés* on the coins of Panormos, etc.[7]—a symbol which, as we shall see, was solar in origin and, moreover, equipped with both wings and snakes.

In the foregoing section we have traced the gradual development of Triptolemos' snake-drawn chariot from the simple solar wheel. This derivation is emphatically confirmed by the myth of Antheias, as told in Pausanias' account of Patrai:

'Those who relate the earliest traditions of Patrai declare that Eumelos, a native of the soil, was the first to dwell in the land as king over a few people. When Triptolemos came from Attike, Eumelos received cultivated crops and, being taught to build a city, named it Aroe after the tilling of the ground. They say that once, when Triptolemos had fallen asleep, Antheias the son of Eumelos was minded to yoke the snakes to the chariot of Triptolemos and to try his own hand at sowing. But fate overtook him and he fell out of the chariot. Thereupon Triptolemos and Eumelos founded a city in common and called it Antheia after the name of Eumelos' son[8].'

Antheias falling off the car of Triptolemos is, as O. Gruppe

[1] *Supra* p. 205 ff.

[2] F. Lenormant 'Triptolème en Syrie' with fig. in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 97—100.

[3] So O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 61 n. 1. Lenormant had thought of Amynos and Magos οἳ κατέδειξαν κώμας καὶ πολίσματα (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller)).

[4] *Supra* p. 222 f.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. cxiii, 260 pl. 27, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 657, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 79 pl. 10, 114, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 585.

[6] M. Mayer in the *Verhandlungen der* XL *Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner* Görlitz 1889 p. 338 cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1173 n. 5.

[7] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (d) v.

[8] Paus. 7. 18. 2—3.

observes[1], 'a genuine variant of the Phaethon legend,' and supports our contention that Triptolemos' car was of solar origin.

Triptolemos was said to have received his car from Demeter[2]—a statement which cannot be traced back beyond the second century B.C.[3] It must, however, have been commonly accepted in Roman times, for a cameo at Paris (fig. 167)[4] shows Claudius and Messalina in the guise of Triptolemos and Demeter; the former scatters the grain from his *paludamentum*, the latter leans forward with corn-ears and poppies in her left hand, a roll in her right.

Fig. 167.

Moreover, later literature makes Demeter travel in a snake-drawn chariot when in search of her daughter Persephone. In this way

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 544 n. 5.

Possibly Demeter Ποτηριοφόρος of Antheia (Athen. 460 D) was a figure analogous to the drink-bearing Demeter of the Triptolemos vases (*supra* p. 217 f.).

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 807 n. 2.

[3] Apollod. 1. 5. 2 is our earliest authority.

[4] Babelon *Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 144 f. no. 276 Album pl. 30. Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 92 f. pl. 69, 380 identify the divinised pair as Germanicus and Agrippina, arguing that Germanicus appears again as a Roman Triptolemos on the silver *patera* from Aquileia at Vienna (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 4, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 78—84). In the middle ages this cameo was thought to represent the triumph of Joseph in Egypt!

she approached Eleusis[1], and in this way she quitted it again[2]. Art follows suit. Demeter in her snake-chariot appears first on Roman *denarii* of the moneyer M. Volteius about the year 88 B.C.[3], then on those of C. Vibius Pansa in 43 B.C.[4], and not infrequently on late Greek coins[5]. Occasionally she holds corn-ears and a sceptre[6], or a poppy-head and a sceptre[7], more often a couple of torches (fig. 168)[8], rarely corn-ears and torches too[9]. The scene of her quest was common on *sarcophagi* of Roman date;

Fig. 168.

[1] Ov. *met.* 5. 642 ff., *fast.* 4. 497 f. In Orph. *h. Dem. Eleus.* 40. 14 f. Demeter Ἐλευσινία has a snaky chariot.

[2] Ov. *fast.* 4. 561 f. In Ov. *met.* 8. 794 ff. Ceres sends an Oread in her snake-chariot to fetch Fames from Scythia. But the mode of conveyance may be a touch due to Ovid himself.

[3] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 566 no. 3.

[4] *Id. ib.* ii. 545 f. no. 17.

[5] See Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 502 f., 660 f. Münztaf. 8, 38—40, 9, 17—21.

[6] So on late bronze coins of Athens (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 90 pl. 15, 15, p. 91 pl. 15, 17, cp. p. 89). The earlier bronze coins of Eleusis, which are said to represent 'Demeter or Triptolemos seated l. in winged car drawn by two serpents, and holding in r. two ears of corn' (*ib.* Attica etc. p. 112 pl. 20, 1), show Triptolemos rather than Demeter (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 581 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 391: yet see E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 289 ff.).

[7] So on an imperial coin of Nikomedeia in Bithynia (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 81 no. 135).

[8] So on imperial coins of Thessalonike (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 117), Hadrianopolis in Thrace (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 661), Kretia-Flaviopolis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. p. 137 pl. 29, 4, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 334 no. 8 pl. 54, 2, 338 no. 30), Nikaia in Bithynia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Erythrai in Ionia (*id. ib.*, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 117 no. 296 pl. 13, 19), Magnesia ad Maeandrum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 165 pl. 19, 8), the Ionian League (*ib.* Ionia p. 16), Kyzikos (*ib.* Mysia p. 47 pl. 12, 12), Ankyra in Galatia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 661 Münztaf. 9, 21), Amorion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 54), Brouzos (*ib.* Phrygia p. 114 pl. 14, 6, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 394 no. 69 = *Choix de monn. gr.* 1871 pl. 5, 187), Hierapolis in Phrygia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Pessinous (*id. ib.* Münztaf. 9, 20, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 229 f. no. 762 = *id.* and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 73 no. 31 pl. 12), Apollonis in Lydia (Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 548), Gordus-Iulia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 96 pl. 10, 6), Magnesia ad Sipylum (*ib.* Lydia p. 152), Maionia (*ib.* Lydia p. 134 pl. 14, 8), Nysa (*ib.* Lydia p. 178, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660 Münztaf. 9, 17), Sardeis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 254), Stratonikeia (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 660), Kelenderis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. 58 pl. 10, 14, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 351 no. 19), Korakesion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. xxxv n. 6).

The goddess has one torch only on imperial coins of Kretia-Flaviopolis (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 337 no. 25 pl. 54, 10), Claudio-Seleucia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 254).

[9] So on imperial coins of Hyrkanis (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 125 pl. 13, 6), Sardeis (*ib.* Lydia p. 273).

and here she is seen holding a torch and drawn by two monstrous snakes usually winged near the chariot-wheels[1], or in more agitated guise holding two torches and drawn by snakes winged at the neck[2]. *Sarcophagi* of the former type show the snake's tail twined about the hub of the wheel, which takes the form of a lion's head (fig. 169)[3]. This detail perhaps points to the solar character of the vehicle in question[4]. For Greeks and Romans alike, therein agreeing with the Egyptians[5] and the nations of the

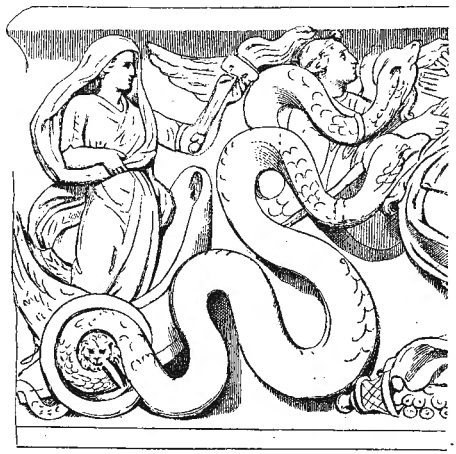


Fig. 169.

nearer east[6], looked upon the lion as an animal full of inward fire and essentially akin to the sun[7]. The lion on Roman military

[1] Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 612 f. Atlas pl. 17, 1, 3 = R. Foerster in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 72 ff. pl. EF 1, 2.

[2] Overbeck *op. cit.* pp. 624 f., 642 Atlas pl. 17, 7, 9, 22, 24, cp. *ib.* 20, 21.

[3] Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 17, 3.

[4] Against this explanation is the apparent presence of a leonine head on the hub of Hades' chariot-wheel (*Ann. d. Inst. loc. cit.* pl. EF 1—it is not clearly seen in Overbeck *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 17, 1). Yet Hades too may well have been credited with a fiery, if not with a solar (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 176), car.

[5] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 14, 359 ff. See Plout. *symp.* 4. 5. 2, Ail. *de nat. an.* 5. 39, 12. 7, Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 17, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16 f., Mart. Cap. 183.

[6] F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 201 f., 268, F. Cumont in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3041, A. Jeremias *ib.* iii. 255.

[7] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 1. 13, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16, Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 13.

standards was interpreted as a solar emblem[1]. The Mithraic sun-god was figured with a lion's face[2]. The sign Leo was called 'the house of the sun[3],' and—be it noted—the sun was in Leo when Persephone was carried off[4]. What is perhaps more to the point, it was Helios that took pity on Demeter and told her where her daughter was to be sought[5]. Did he not also lend her his chariot for the search[6]?

Other deities too on occasion appear in a like conveyance. Dionysos, according to certain ceramic artists of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C., roamed the world *ἅ la* Triptolemos on a wheeled and winged seat[7]. And even Athena is represented, on a red-figured *pyxís* of fine style at Copenhagen, as drawn in a chariot by yoked snakes to the judgment of Paris[8].

[1] Lyd. *de mens.* 1. 22 p. 12, 15 Wünsch.

[2] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 720 = Myth. Vat. 2. 19, Tertull. *adv. Marc.* 1. 13, Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16.

[3] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 16, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 33.

[4] Schol. Arat. *phaen.* 150. [5] *H. Dem.* 62 ff.

[6] In *h. Dem. loc. cit.* 63, 88 Helios has a chariot drawn by horses. So has the questing Demeter on many *sarcophagi* (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 627 ff. Atlas pl. 17, 4, 8, 10, 11, 17, 18, 19, 23). But another line of tradition gave Helios a snake-drawn chariot: see *infra* ch. i § 6 (d) i (γ, δ).

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 130, 538 n. 2, 546, 1138 n. 2, 1145, 1149, 1167 n. 1 suggests that Helios was often associated in cult with Demeter. But of this I find no convincing proof.

[7] *Supra* p. 214 ff.

[8] A. Conze *Heroen- und Göttergestalten der griechischen Kunst* pl. 102, 1, A. Dumont—J. Chaplain—E. Pottier *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1888 i. 368 f. pl. 10 = Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1617 f. fig. 7. Hera's chariot on this vase is drawn by four horses; that of Aphrodite by two Erotes. Probably the artist gave Athena a team of snakes because the snake was associated with her on the Akropolis at Athens: cp. also the cults of Athene Παρεία on the road from Sparta to Arkadia (Paus. 3. 20. 8), of Athena Τγεία at Acharnai (Paus. 1. 31. 6) and Athens (Paus. 1. 23. 4 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*), and the word δράκαινα used of Athena in Orph. *h. Ath.* 32. 11.

Athena is not normally connected with the solar wheel. In a vase-painting already described (*supra* p. 199) she brings up the winged wheel of Ixion and may perhaps be regarded as Athena Ἐργάνη later replaced by Hephaistos (*supra* p. 200 ff.). Certain small silver coins of Lampsakos (fig. 170) have as their reverse type a head of Athena, whose helmet is marked with a wheel (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 80 no. 21. The specimen figured is from my collection): cp. a silver obol of Massalia *c.* 500 B.C. with obv. archaic head wearing a helmet on which is a wheel, rev. a four-spoked wheel (E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 12, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 520 pl. 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 6), and a barbarised copy of it—both found at Morella in Spain (E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *loc. cit.*, H. de la Tour *op. cit.* no. 524 pl. 2, R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 81 figs. 154, 155 pl. 7). A. de Ridder *Collection de Clercq* Paris 1905 iii (Les Bronzes) 206 f. no. 296 pl. 48 publishes a bronze statuette of Athena holding lance and owl. The crest of her helmet is supported by 'une rouelle,' as on Panathenaic amphoras found in Kyrenaike (*ib.* p. 203; but see G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 46 ff.).

Fig. 170.

In this connexion we must take account of a unique silver *drachmé* or quarter-shekel, which has been for many years in the British Museum[1] (pl. xxi and fig. 171 *a*, *b*)[2]. It is struck on the Phoenician standard[3]. The obverse shows a bearded head in three-quarter position (not double-struck) facing towards the right and wearing a crested Corinthian helmet with a bay-wreath upon it. The reverse has a square incuse surrounded by a spiral border, within which we see a bearded divinity enthroned. He wears a long garment, which covers his right arm and extends to his feet. He is seated on a winged and wheeled seat: the wing is archaic in type and rises high behind his back; the wheel has six spokes and an inner ring round its axle. The god has an eagle (or hawk?)[4] on his outstretched left hand. Before him in the lower right hand corner of the square is an ugly bearded head. In the field above the seated deity are the Phoenician letters 𐤉𐤄𐤅, that is, *YHW*[5].

a *b*

Fig. 171.

The credit of being the first to decipher and to interpret aright the inscription belongs to Monsieur C. Clermont-Ganneau. As far back as 1880 he suggested to Prof. P. Gardner and Dr B. V. Head that it was the triliteral form of the divine name Jehovah; and in

[1] Taylor Combe *Veterum populorum et regum numi qui in Museo Britannico adservantur* London 1814 p. 242 no. 5 pl. 13, 12, H. de Luynes *Essai sur la Numismatique des Satrapies et de la Phénicie sous les rois Achaménides* Paris 1846 p. 29 no. 1 pl. 4, C. D. Ginsburg in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1881* London p. 19 ('Jehu in his carriage...the name Jehu in the old Hebrew characters exactly resembling the letters on the Moabite stone, only in fact more perfectly written'), A. Neubauer in the *Revue des Études juives* 1881 ii. 290 cp. *ib.* 154, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. lxvi fig. 30, J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 229 no. 43, *ib.* 1878 xviii. 123 ff. no. 3 pl. 6, 8 (Obv. the Syrian god Hadran, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 109 Mamertini no 2 ΑΔΡΑΝΟΥ [and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 405]. Rev. *Jahu*=the Chaldaean god Iao, cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 111, 1 ff. Wünsch), E. J. Pilcher in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archeology* 1908 xxx. 45 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. Blanchet in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1908 xii. 276 f., A. W. Hands in the *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 121 ff. fig. 1, G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1909* p. 53, R. Weil in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1910 xxviii. 28—34 (the Hellenising of Semitic cults in Syria begau before the expeditions of Alexander the Great), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 655 f. pl. 124, 5.

[2] Pl. xxi is an enlarged photograph of a cast of the reverse.

[3] It weighs 50·7 grains (3·3 grammes), and is therefore somewhat lighter than the average quarter-shekel. It is a well-preserved specimen.

[4] The hird is described as a hawk by Taylor Combe, J. P. Six, and E. Babelon (with a query).

[5] See *e.g.* the comparative tables of Phoenician, Egyptian Aramaic, Old Hebrew, etc., forms given by J. Euting *Tabula scripturae Hebraicae* Argentorati 1882, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 714 pl. 202.

Quarter-shekel of Gaza showing the Hebrew Godhead as a solar Zeus.

See page 232 ff.

1892, when lecturing at the *Collège de France* he treated it as such[1]. Dr Ginsburg's rival attempt to read it as the name of Jehu, king of Israel, makes shipwreck—as A. Neubauer was prompt to point out—on the chronology, the coin being nearly five centuries later than Jehu's reign[2]. There can, in fact, be little doubt that we have here a gentile representation of the Hebrew Godhead.

Now a bearded god enthroned with an eagle on his hand is a common art-type of Zeus. And it will be remembered that in 168 B.C. Antiochus iv Epiphanes transformed the temple at Jerusalem into a temple of Zeus *Olýmpios* and the temple on Mount Gerizim into a temple of Zeus *Xénios*[3] or *Hellénios*[4]. Further, the winged wheel is, as we have seen, solar in its origin. It follows that the coin represents Jehovah under the guise of a solar Zeus[5].

This conclusion is confirmed by the fact that *Iáo*—the form usually taken by Jehovah's name in magical texts of the Hellenistic age[6]—was equated sometimes with Zeus, sometimes with Helios. A papyrus at Berlin, acquired by Lepsius at Thebes in Egypt and published by Parthey in 1866, records an incantation, which begins by summoning Apollon in company with Paian to quit Parnassos and Pytho, and then continues in a quasi-Semitic strain:

> Come, foremost angel of great Zeus *Iáo*,
> And thou too, Michael, who holdest heaven,
> And, Gabriel, thou the archangel, from Olympos[7].

The Anastasy papyrus of the British Museum, published by Wessely in 1888, includes among other magical *formulae* the following prose invocation: 'I summon thee the ruler of the gods—Zeus, Zeus,

[1] In the Judaeo-Aramaean *papyri* recently found at Elephantine (*Assouan*) the name of Jehovah is similarly triliteral (A. H. Sayce and A. E. Cowley *Aramaic Papyri discovered at Assuan* London 1906 p. 37 n. on pap. B, 4, E. Sachau *Aramäische Papyrus und Ostraka aus...Elephantine* Leipzig 1911 p. 277 Index).

[2] C. D. Ginsburg and A. Neubauer *locc. citt.*

[3] 2 Maccab. 6. 1 f., Euseb. *chron.* ann. Abr. 1850 (*v. l.* 1848) ii. 126 f. Schoene.

[4] Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 12. 5. 5, Zonar. 4. 19 (i. 317 Dindorf). See Append. B Samaria.

[5] Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 67 states that in the convent church of Kaisariani on Mt. Hymettos 'the winged fiery wheel is a throne for the Divine feet of Almighty God.'

[6] W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 179—254, G. A. Deissmann *Bibelstudien* Marburg 1895 pp. 1—20, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 3 ff. This is not, of course, necessarily inconsistent with the view that Iao is the final form of the Babylonian god Ea (see C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 358 ff., *supra* p. 188 n. 1).

[7] G. Parthey *Zwei griechische Zauberpapyri des Berliner Museums* Berlin 1866 p. 128. Pap. 1. 300 ἄγγελε πρωτεύων (so Kirchhoff for MS. πρωτευου *sic*) Ζηνὸς μεγάλοιο Ἰάω· κ.τ.λ. Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 198 observes that ἄγγελε here refers to Apollon, the theme of the preceding lines. Zeus is identified with Jehovah, and Apollon his mouthpiece with the angel of Jehovah.

that thunderest on high, king Adonaï, lord Iaoouee[1].' Apollon *Klários*, whose ancient oracle near Kolophon in Asia Minor enjoyed a new lease of life in Roman times[2], was once questioned concerning the nature of the dread mysterious Iao[3]. His answer has—thanks to Macrobius—been preserved:

> They that know mysteries should conceal the same.
> But, if thy sense be small and weak thy wit,
> Mark as the greatest of all gods Iao—
> In winter Hades, Zeus when spring begins,
> Helios o' the summer, autumn's soft Iao[4].

[1] C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 115 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 483 ff. *ἐπικαλοῦμαί σε τὸν δυνάστην τῶν θεῶν, ὑψιβρεμέτα Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, τύραννε Ἀδωναΐ* (so Buresch for MS. *αδαιναι sic*), *κύριε Ἰαωουηε* (*sic*) = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 80 no. 46, 469 ff.

[2] K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 38 ff.

[3] Hardly less remarkable was the response given by Apollon *Klários* touching his own godhead (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 140, cp. the Tübingen *Χρησμοὶ τῶν Ἑλληνικῶν θεῶν* in Buresch *op. cit.* p. 97 f.; Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 7). The two oracles are confused in Kedren. *hist. comp.* 41 c f. (i. 73 f. Bekker).

[4] *Oracl.* (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 135) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 19 ff. Macrobius introduces the oracle as follows: *εἷς Ζεύς, εἷς Ἅιδης, εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος.* huius versus auctoritas fundatur oraculo Apollinis Clarii, in quo aliud quoque nomen soli adicitur, qui in isdem sacris versibus inter cetera vocatur Ἰάω. Clearly, then, the autumn-god of the oracle must be some form of Dionysos. Hence for the concluding words *ἁβρὸν Ἰάω* C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* p. 461 ingeniously conjectured *ἁβρὸν Ἄδωνιν* and L. Jan *ad loc.* yet more ingeniously *ἁβρὸν Ἴακχον*. Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 215 quotes in support of Jan's emendation a gem inscribed ΙΑΩ ΙΑ Η ΑΒΡΑ ΙΑΧΗ ΙΩ ΦΩΞ ΑΩ, which he renders: 'Iao, Ia, der volle Jubelruf, Io, Licht, AO.' But Buresch *op. cit.* p. 52 f. surmises that the gem should be read ΙΑΩ ΙΑΗ ΑΒΡΑΣΑΞ ΗΙΩ etc.; in which case Baudissin's argument collapses. Indeed, Baudissin now (*Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 124) supports Lobeck's conjecture. Buresch himself *op. cit.* p. 49 and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 4 defend the text *ἁβρὸν Ἰάω*, on the ground that the epithet *ἁβρὸν* suffices to describe the Dionysiac character of the Jewish deity.

This identification of Jehovah with Dionysos is later than the identification with Zeus. In fact it seems possible to trace the steps by which the transition was effected. On the Phoenician coin under discussion Jehovah appears as a solar Zeus (*supra* p. 232 f.). To Antiochos Epiphanes he was Zeus *Olýmpios*, *Xénios*, *Hellénios* (*supra* p. 233). Varro, perhaps following Poseidonios, equated him with Iupiter *Capitolinus* (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1603 n. 4, quoting Reitzenstein *Zwei religionsgesch. Fr.* p. 78 n.). The first hint of the new comparison occurs in the age of Tiberius (Val. Max. 1. 3. 3 Cn. Cornelius Hispalus...Iudaeos, qui *Sabazi* Iovis cultu Romanos inficere mores conati erant, repetere domos suas coegit). After this we find successive identifications with Bacchos (Plout. *symp.* 4. 6. 2), Liber pater (Tac. *hist.* 5. 5), Dionysos (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 111, 7 ff. Wünsch).

The connexion of Jehovah with Helios may have been facilitated by the belief that *Iáo* meant 'Light' (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 25 ff. Wünsch *ὁ δὲ Ῥωμαῖος Βάρρων περὶ αὐτοῦ διαλαβών φησι παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἐν τοῖς μυστικοῖς αὐτὸν λέγεσθαι Ἰάω ἀντὶ τοῦ φῶς νοητὸν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ, ὥς φησιν Ἐρέννιος*, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 169 A (i. 296 Bekker) *ὅτι Ηαω παρὰ Χαλδαίοις ἑρμηνεύεται φῶς νοητὸν τῇ Φοινίκων γλώσσῃ* where for Ηαω Baudissin rightly read Ἰάω). The gem cited above has *φῶξ* for *φῶς*, as another gem gives *Μίθραξ* for *Μίθρας* (Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* i. 215). The Anastasy papyrus invokes *φωσφόρ' Ἰάω* (C. Wessely *op. cit.* Brit. Mus. pap. 46.

Iao is here expressly identified with both Zeus and Helios. These identifications might be illustrated by some of the bizarre devices to be seen on Gnostic amulets. For example, an onyx published by Spon (fig. 172)[1] represents a youthful, beardless Zeus enthroned with sceptre, thunderbolt, and eagle, the legend on the back being *Iao Sabao(th)*[2].

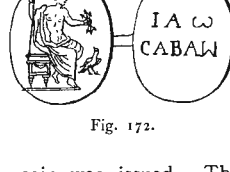


Fig. 172.

The Phœnician quarter-shekel—to judge from its weight, style, and fabric—was struck about 350 B.C., and therefore furnishes our earliest evidence of Jehovah conceived by the gentiles as Zeus. Unfortunately we do not know where the coin was issued. The eminent numismatist J. P. Six ascribed it, along with a series of somewhat similar pieces, to Gaza *Minóa* in southern Palestine[3]. If this attribution is sound—and it has been widely accepted[4],—I would suggest that the helmeted head with a bay-wreath on the obverse is that of Minos the eponymous founder, who figures as a helmeted warrior holding the branch of a sacred bay-tree on later coins of the town (fig. 174)[5]. The grotesque face or mask on the

179 f. = F. G. Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 70 no. 46, 175 f.) and δέσποτ' Ἰάω φωσφόρε (Wessely *ib.* 46. 304 f. = Kenyon *ib.* i. 74 no. 46, 300 f.) : see H. van Herwerden in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1888 xvi. 323 f. Finally, in the Gnostic gospel *Pistis Sophia* 26, 34, 193, 322 we get *Ieû* (who is distinguished from three several divine powers named *Iaô*: see Baudissin *op. cit.* i. 186) described as the 'ἐπίσκοπος of Light,' cp. the prayers *ib.* 357 ἀπέραντον Light: αεηιουω, ἴαω, αωΐ, ωΐα...Ιεου, Σαβαωθ, 375 ἀπέραντον Light: ἴαω ἴουω· ἴαω· αωΐ· ωΐα...ἰαΐ· ἴαΐ. The ultimate source of these conceptions is, doubtless, 'the glory of the LORD' familiar to us from the Old Testament (B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 94 f.).

[1] J. Spon *Miscellanea eruditæ antiquitatis* Lugduni 1685 p. 297 f. 'Amuleta' no. 14, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 232 pl. 50, 34.

[2] Another gem given by Montfaucon *op. cit.* 1725 Suppl. i. 242 pl. 52, 4 = fig. 173 bears no inscription, but exhibits the same latter-day syncretism. It shows Zeus enthroned with a sceptre (?) in his hand amid a group of signs apparently representing the heavenly bodies—a winged globe, the moon, the evening star, the constellation Cancer, and other symbols of more doubtful meaning. For Babylonian and Greek ideas were freely blended in an omnicredulous age.

Fig. 173.

[3] J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 229 f., cp. *ib.* 1878 xviii. 125 'dans le sud de la cinquième satrapie.'

[4] *E.g.* by Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 805, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 655 f. pl. 124, 5.

[5] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 449, 451, Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. ii. 1196, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 805, inscr. ΜΕΙΝΩ. K. B. Stark *Gaza und die philistäische Küste* Jena 1852 p. 580 ff. regards the alleged connexion of Minos with Gaza as 'eine gelehrte Sagenbildung aus römischer Zeit'; but he is over-sceptical.

reverse is probably, as E. Babelon surmised, that of Bes[1]; and the bust of Bes too is a known type on autonomous silver coins of Gaza[2]. Further, there was at Gaza an image of Io the moon-goddess with a cow beside it[3]. And Iao, the supposed sun-god, was early represented as a golden calf[4]. Is it not permissible to think that the inhabitants of Gaza imported the cult of the Jewish deity as a pendant to that of their own Io? Certainly their Cretan ancestors had worshipped the sun and the moon as a bull and a cow respectively[5]. Nor need we be surprised at their

Fig. 174.

Fig. 175.

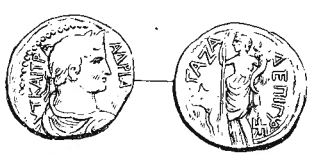


Fig. 176.

Fig. 177.

borrowing the type of Triptolemos' throne, wheeled and winged. Triptolemos, according to Argive tradition, was the son of *Trochílos*, the 'Wheel'-man[6]; and Trochilos in turn was the son of *Kallithéa*[7], another name of Io[8]. Moreover, Triptolemos is said to have gone eastwards in quest of Io, taking with him a company of Argives, who founded Tarsos in Kilikia[9], Ione[10] or Iopolis on Mount Silpion

[1] E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. lxvi. E. J. Pilcher's contention (*supra* p. 232 n. 1) that this is the promontory near Tripolis called *τὸ τοῦ Θεοῦ πρόσωπον* (Strab. 754, 755, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 914) or *Theuprosopon* (Mela 1. 67) is ingenious, but unconvincing.

[2] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 657 ff. pl. 124, 8 f., 18 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 805.

[3] Steph. Byz. *s. vv.* Γάζα, Ἰόνιον, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 92. On imperial coins of Gaza representing ЄIΩ (fig. 175) see Eckhel *op. cit.* iii. 449 ff., Rasche *op. cit.* iii. 1331 ff., Suppl. ii. 1198 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 805, Stark *op. cit.* p. 585 ff. These coins (figs. 176, 177) often show the Tyche of Gaza with a bull or cow or cow's head at her feet (Eckhel *ib.* iii. 450, Rasche *ib.* iii. 1333 f., Suppl. ii. 1199 f., Head *ib.*, Stark *ib.* p. 585 f. pl. 1, 4)—a type inspired, as Eckhel pointed out, by the image of Io.

[4] B. Stade *op. cit.* p. 120 f.

[5] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xi.

[6] *Supra* pp. 212, 225 f.

[7] Schol. Arat. *phaen.* 161.

[8] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii.

[9] Strab. 673, 750.

[10] Liban. *or.* 11. 44 ff. (i. 451 ff. Foerster), cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰώνη. Liban. *or.* ii. 51

in Syria[1]—better known as Antiocheia on the Orontes[2]—, and even settled in Gordyene beyond the Tigris[3]. If Triptolemos followed Io thus far afield, he may well have pursued her to Gaza[4].

(i. 453 Foerster) states that Triptolemos founded at Ione a sanctuary of Zeus *Νέμειος*, whom the inhabitants after learning agriculture called Zeus *Ἐπικάρπιος*.

[1] Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 ff. Dindorf, *Chron. Paschale* i. 74 ff. Dindorf, cp. Io. Antioch. *frag.* 6. 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 544 Müller), Kedren. *hist. comp.* 20 D ff. (i. 37 f. Bekker), Souid. *s.v.* *Ἰώ*, Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 387, 22 ff. The narrative of Ioannes Malalas, our fullest source, is as follows:—In the days of Pikos Zeus a certain man named Inachos, of the tribe of Japheth, arose in the west. He was the first king over the land of Argos, where he founded a town and named it Iopolis; for he worshipped the moon, and *Ἰό* is a mystic name by which the Argives have known the moon from that day to this (*infra*, ch. i § 6 (g) viii). Inachos, then, built a temple to the moon with a bronze *stele* inscribed *Ἰὼ μάκαιρα λαμπαδηφόρε*. His wife Melia bore him two sons, Kasos and Belos, and a fair daughter called Io after the moon. Pikos Zeus, king of the west, sent and carried off Io, by whom he became the father of Libye. Io, in shame and anger, fled to Egypt and stayed there; but on learning that Hermes, son of Pikos Zeus, ruled over Egypt she was afraid and went on to Mt. Silpion in Syria, the site of the later town of Antiocheia. According to Theophilos, Io died in Syria; according to others, in Egypt. Inachos meantime sent her brothers and kinsfolk in search of her under the guidance of Triptolemos. The men from Iopolis in Argos heard that she had died in Syria. So they went and sojourned there awhile, knocking at the door of each house and saying *Ψυχὴ Ἰοῦς σωζέσθω*. But, when they had a vision of a heifer that spoke with human voice and said to them *Ἐνταῦθά εἰμι ἐγὼ ἡ Ἰώ*, they decided to stop where they were on Mt. Silpion, arguing that Io must be buried on that very mountain. They therefore founded a sanctuary for her there and a town for themselves, named Iopolis. They are in fact still called Ionitai by the Syrians of the district. And to this day the Syrians of Antiocheia, in memory of the search-party of Argives sent out to find Io, year by year at the self-same season knock on the doors of the Hellenes. The reason why these Argives took up their abode in Syria was because Inachos had bidden them either return with his daughter to Argos, or not return at all. So the Ionitai aforesaid founded a sanctuary of Kronos on Mt. Silpion. The sources other than Malalas give no important variants (*ἱερὸν Κρονίωνος* for *ἱερὸν Κρόνου* *Chron. Paschale*: *κρούοντες εἰς τὰς ἀλλήλων θύρας κατ' ἔτος ἔλεγον Ἰὼ Ἰώ* Souid.).

In this, as in other Levantine stories of Io, we may suppose that the Argive heroine was but the Greek equivalent of a foreign deity. In Egypt she was identified with Isis, cow-goddess and moon-goddess (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii); in Syria, with Astarte, whose art-type with bovine horns and lunar disk was determined by that of Isis (E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 652). Cp. Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 569 Müller) *Ἀστάρτη δὲ ἡ μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς Δημαροῦς καὶ Ἄδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν ἐβασίλευσεν τῆς χώρας Κρόνου γνώμῃ. ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου· περιοστοῦσα δὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην κ.τ.λ.* (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (b)). The *θυροκοπία* of the Antiochenes probably implies a ritual search for Astarte as a goddess of fertility annually lost and found (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 970 n. 8, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) i). The Babylonian form of this incident was the well-known 'descent of Ishtar,' daughter of the moon-god Sin, into the nether world (M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 563 ff.).

[2] Strab. 750.

[3] Strab. 747, 750, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Γορδυαῖα* (from Gordys, son of Triptolemos). Cp. the supposed image of Io with budding horns at Nineveh (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 1. 19 p. 19 Kayser).

Others told how Inachos sent out Kyrnos (not Triptolemos), who founded Kyrnos in Karia (Diod. 5. 60), and Lyrkos, son of Phoroneus, who settled at Kaunos in Karia (Parthen. *narr. am.* 1. 1 ff. = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 313 f. Müller).

[4] That the influence of Triptolemos was felt at Gaza might be inferred from the fact

(γ) Kirke.

Another mythological personage that travelled in the sun's wheeled chariot was Kirke, the first mistress of magic. In the *Argonautica* of Valerius Flaccus she is carried off from Kolchis by a team of winged snakes[1], and Aphrodite, personating Kirke, is believed to have returned thither in the same equipage[2]. O. Gruppe thinks that this trait was borrowed by the poet from the myth of Medeia[3]; and that is certainly a possibility to be reckoned with[4]. At the same time it must be remembered that Kirke was the daughter of Helios and as such might well claim to use the solar car. Apollonios of Rhodes had in fact described how Helios once took her in his own car from east to west, from Kolchis to Etruria[5]; and Apollonios, according to a Greek commentator, was but following the still earlier narrative of Hesiod[6]. So that, whether Valerius Flaccus was or was not the first to mention Kirke's team of snakes, Kirke riding in the solar chariot is a much older conception. Conformably with it the author of the Orphic *Argonautiká* invests her with a solar halo:

> Straightway a maiden met them face to face,
> The sister of Aietes great of soul,
> Daughter of Helios—Kirke was the name
> Asterope her mother and far-seen
> Hyperion gave her. Swift to the ship she came,
> And all men marvelled as they looked upon her;
> For from her head floated the locks of hair
> Like glittering sunbeams and her fair face shone,
> Yea, gleamed as with a gust of flaming fire[7].

In a Pompeian wall-painting Kirke's head is surrounded by a circular blue *nimbus*[8]. But a Roman lamp and a contorniate medal

that Dagon the chief god of the Philistines is described as Zeus *Arótrios* in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) ὁ δὲ Δαγών, ἐπειδὴ εὗρε σῖτον καὶ ἄροτρον, ἐκλήθη Ζεὺς Ἀρότριος, cp. *ib.* 14 (iii. 567) Δαγών, ὅς ἐστι Σίτων with F. Cumont's note in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1985 f.

[1] Val. Flacc. 7. 120 ut aligeri Circen rapuere dracones.

[2] *Id.* 7. 217 ff. o tandem, vix tandem reddita Circe | dura tuis, quae te biiugis serpentibus egit | hinc fuga?

[3] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 544 n. 5.

[4] Cp. Val. Flacc. 1. 224 aligeris secat anguibus auras (5. 453) of Medeia. For the supposed influence of the Medeia-myth on the Kirke-myth see further K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1194, 38 ff., 1202, 51 ff.

[5] Ap. Rhod. 3. 309 ff.

[6] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 311 = Hes. *frag.* 195 Flach. K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1200 denies it.

[7] Orph. *Arg.* 1214—1221. In Ap. Rhod. 4. 725 ff. Kirke recognizes Medeia by her possession of a similar halo: πᾶσα γὰρ Ἠελίου γενεὴ ἁρίδηλος ἰδέσθαι | ἦεν, ἐπεὶ βλεφάρων ἀποτηλόθι μαρμαρυγῇσιν | οἷόν τε χρυσέην ἀντώπιον ἴεσαν αἴγλην.

[8] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 293 no. 1329, F. Mazois *Les ruines de Pompéi* Paris

show her wearing a rayed crown[1], the proper attribute of a solar power, whose island-home is placed by Homer precisely at the sunrise[2].

That Kirke was in some sense solar is further shown by the parallels to her myth which can be adduced from various quarters. Thus in the Celtic area we have many accounts of the Otherworld-visit. These fall into two well-defined groups. On the one hand, in such tales as *The Voyage of Bran*, *The Adventures of Connla*, *Oisin*, *The Sick-bed of Cuchulain*, and *Laegaire mac Crimthainn* the hero crosses the sea to an Elysian island, where he mates with a divine queen and so becomes its king. On the other hand, in such tales as *The Adventures of Cormac*, *The Adventures of Tadg*, and *The Bailé an Scáil* he is entertained, but not married, by the queen, and receives at her hands a magic cup, after which he returns home in safety. Intermediate between the two groups is *The Voyage of Mael-Duin*, where we get at once the marriage, the entertainment, and the safe return. I have discussed these tales elsewhere[3] and here would merely point out that the goddess-queen inhabiting with her maidens the Otherworld island is regularly solar[4]. Indeed, in the story of *Laegaire mac Crimthainn* she bears the appropriate name *Deorgreine*, 'Tear of the Sun.' J. G. von Hahn compared the Kirke-myth with a modern Greek folk-tale from Wilza in Çagori, in which a princess living with her maidens in an island mates with a prince described as 'sprung from the sun' and subsequently tries to kill him through the machinations of an iron dervish[5]. But the closest parallel[6] to the Homeric story is cited by

1824 ii. 85 pl. 43, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1859 iii pl. 44, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 784 Atlas pl. 32, 11, R. Engelmann *Bilder-Atlas zum Homer* Leipzig 1889 *Od.* pl. 9, 47.

[1] *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii pl. 194 figs. 4 and 3, J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* London 1882 p. 77 f. pl. 24*a*, *b*, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1197—1199 figs. 3, 4.

[2] *Od.* 12. 3 f. νῆσόν τ' Αἰαίην, ὅθι τ' Ἠοῦς ἠριγενείης | οἰκία καὶ χοροὶ εἰσι καὶ ἀντολαὶ Ἠελίοιο.

[3] In *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 141—173. The latest writer on the Celtic island-Elysium is the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 385 ff.

[4] *Folk-Lore loc. cit.* p. 156 ff. For a criticism of my view see G. L. Gomme *Folklore as an historical science* London 1908 p. 106 ff.

[5] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 79 ff. no. 4, ii. 186 ff. In another Greek folk-tale, translated by E. M. Geldart *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece* London 1884 p. 22 ff. 'My lady Sea' (Thera) from the original text in the journal Παρνασσός, the prince marries a beautiful maiden whose sire is the Sun and whose mother is the Sea. On children of the Sun in Greek folk-lore see N. G. Polites Ὁ Ἥλιος κατὰ τοὺς δημώδεις μύθους Athens 1882 p. 24 f.

[6] For Indian parallels see G. Gerland *Altgriechische Märchen in der Odysee* Magdeburg 1869 p. 35 f., E. Rohde *Der griechische Roman und seine Vorläufer* Leipzig 1876 p. 173 n. 2; for a Mongolian parallel, F. Bender *Die märchenhaften Bestandtheile der*

Miss J. E. Harrison[1] and K. Seeliger[2] from *The Thousand and One Nights, viz. The Tale of King Bedr Bâsim*[3]. I quote Miss Harrison's summary of it:

'King Bedr Bâsim, like Odysseus, is seeking to return to his kingdom. He is shipwrecked, and escapes on a plank to [a tongue of land jutting out into the deep, on which is a white city with high walls and towers]; he desires to go up to it. But as he tries to approach, "there came to him mules and asses and horses, numerous as the grains of sand, and they began to strike him and prevent him from going up from the sea to the land." Later on a sheykh, who plays the part of Hermes, tells him that this is the city of the Enchanters, wherein dwells Queen Lab, an enchantress, who is like to a she-devil. A curious, and, I think, significant fact is, that the [Old] Persian word "lab" means sun[4]. We remember that Circe was daughter of Helios. The conceptions of magic and sun-worship seem to have been closely interwoven, and this seems the more natural if the Greek myth were of Eastern origin. The sheykh tells Bedr Bâsim that the strange mules and horses and asses are the lovers of this wicked witch. With each of them she abides forty days, and after that enchants them into beast-shapes. Queen Lab sees Bedr Bâsim, and falls in love with him. He goes up to her castle, but after some suspicious experiences begins to fear that his appointed day is drawing nigh. [He has seen a white she-bird consorting with a black bird beneath a tree full of birds, and has learnt that this was Queen Lab with one of her many lovers.] His friend the sheykh gives him a magic "saweek." This "saweek," which he is to give to the queen in place of her own magic potion, is the meal of parched barley made into a sort of gruel—thick, but not too thick to drink—a curious parallel to the "mess of cheese and barley meal and yellow honey mixed with Pramnian wine." Queen Lab fares worse for her evil deeds than did Circe. Bedr Bâsim gives her the "saweek," and commands her to become a dappled mule. He then puts a bridle in her mouth and rides her forth from the city, and the sheykh thus addresses her:—"May God, whose name be exalted, abase thee by affliction."'

The name *Kírke* denotes a 'Hawk' (*kírkos*)[5]. But this does not militate against our solar interpretation of the myth. For not only in Vedic mythology is Sūrya, the sun, sometimes conceived as a bird[6], but Mithraic worshippers spoke of Helios as a hawk[7]. In

homer. Gedichte Darmstadt 1878 p. 22 ff.; on both, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 708 n. 2. Cp. also the tales noted by the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *op. cit.* p. 385 f.

[1] J. E. Harrison *op. cit.* p. 86 f. [2] K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1195 f.

[3] Nights 751 ff. ed. Captain Sir R. F. Burton. The name *Badr Bâsim* means 'Full moon smiling.'

[4] So Burton; but Profs. E. G. Browne, A. A. Bevan, and J. H. Moulton, to whom I have applied, all view the statement with the greatest suspicion. The last-named wittily declares that *lab* is 'moonshine'!

[5] This rather obvious derivation has, I find, been anticipated by C. de Kay *Bird Gods* New York 1898 p. 164, of whose ornithological interpretations ('Æêtes'=eagle, 'Oulixes'=owl, etc.) the less said, the better.

[6] A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 pp. 31, 152, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 pp. 45, 49, 113, 123 f., 140, 164.

[7] Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16 τὸν δὲ Ἥλιον σαῦρον, λέοντα, δράκοντα, ἱέρακα with the preceding context.

Egypt too the hawk was sacred to the sun[1], or to Horos, Râ, Osiris, Seker, and other solar deities[2]: it was here regarded as the only bird that could look with unflinching gaze at the sun[3], being itself filled with sunlight[4] and essentially akin to fire[5]. These beliefs certainly found an echo in Greek literature[6]; and they may serve to explain the frequent association of the hawk with Apollon[7]. To Homer the hawk was the 'swift messenger of Apollon[8],' who himself on occasion took its form[9]. Aristophanes implies that Apollon was sometimes represented with a hawk on his head or on his hand[10]. The mythographers told how Apollon had transformed Daidalion son of the Morning Star into a hawk[11]. And later writers agreed that the hawk was the sacred bird of Apollon[12] or of Helios Apollon[13]. All this goes to make it probable that *Kírke* was originally a solar power conceived as a 'Hawk.' A relic of her ornithomorphic state may perhaps be traced in the curious Homeric description of her as a 'dread goddess endowed with human speech[14].' Had she been purely anthropomorphic, the phrase would have been superfluous, not to say impertinent. Given that her name betokened her nature, the explanation is not only pardonable, but necessary. Again, it might fairly be urged that the Italian myth of Kirke's love for Picus[15] becomes more intelligible if the

[1] Porph. *de abst.* 4. 9, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 12. 2.

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 372, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 7, 10, 22, 187. See Ail. *de nat. an.* 7. 9, 10. 14, 12. 4 (Horos); Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 51 (Osiris); Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 48 (Kneph).

[3] Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14.

[4] Porph. *de abst.* 4. 9 *ἐν οἷς τὸ ἡλιακὸν κατοικεῖν πεπιστεύκασι φῶς.*

[5] Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 24.

[6] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (e).

[7] Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14 expressly equates Horos the hawk-god with Apollon.

[8] *Od.* 15. 526 *κίρκος, Ἀπόλλωνος ταχὺς ἄγγελος.*

[9] *Il.* 15. 237 *ἴρηκι ἐοικώς.*

[10] Aristoph. *av.* 516, schol. *ad loc.*

[11] Ov. *met.* 11. 339 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 200, *infra* ch. i § 6 (e).

[12] Porph. *de abst.* 3. 5, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1014, 22.

[13] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 87, 6 *ἱέραξ δὲ ἱέρωται Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλλωνι κ.τ.λ.*

[14] *Od.* 10. 136, 11. 8, 12. 150 *δεινὴ θεὸς αὐδήεσσα.* The same expression is used of Kalypso (Od. 12. 449), who in various respects is the doublet of Kirke (O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 940 ff.) and may well have borrowed an epithet belonging to her. Similarly of the horse Xanthos, gifted with human speech, we read: *Il.* 19. 407 *αὐδήεντα δ' ἔθηκε θεὰ λευκώλενος Ἥρη.* Conversely Leukothea, *ἡ πρὶν μὲν ἦην βροτὸς αὐδήεσσα* (*Od.* 5. 334), dives into the sea *αἰθυίῃ εἰκυῖα* (*ib.* 353, cp. 337).

[15] K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1202, 22 ff. collects the evidence. Πικόλοος, the giant who fled to Kirke's isle and was there slain by Helios—the plant *μῶλυ* springing from his blood—(Alexandros of Paphos *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1658, 49 ff.), is possibly related to the Lithuanian deity *Pikùlas* or *Pikullos* (H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 98).

former was, like the latter, a humanised bird. And the parallel of the 'Speaking Bird,' which in a Sicilian folk-tale turned men into statues[1], is at least worth noting.

The exact species of the *kírkos* cannot be determined from the casual notices of it found in ancient authors[2]. But the same word is used by the modern Greeks[3] of the gyr-falcon (*falco gyrfalco* Linnæus), a bird so called from its wheeling flight. Now there was another word *kírkos* in ancient Greek, which was akin to the Latin *circus*, *circulus*, and meant 'circle[4].' It is, therefore, tempting to suppose with A. Kuhn[5] that the bird *kírkos* derived its name from the circularity of its motion. Circular motion would make it all the more appropriate as a symbol of the sun. Still, in view of the enormous number of purely onomatopoeic bird-names, it is safer to assume[6] that *kírkos* the 'hawk' was so called on account of the shrill cry *kirk! kirk!* with which it wheels its flight[7]. If so, any connexion with *kírkos* a 'circle' must be due to popular misconception[8].

J. F. Cerquand long since surmised that Kirke's name was related to *circus*, a 'circle'; but he regarded Kirke as a moon-goddess and Odysseus as a sun-god[9]. Obviously, however, the connexion with *circus* would suit a sun-goddess as well as, if not

[1] Append. F.

[2] D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 83 f.

Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 5, 4. 58 distinguishes the *κίρκη* from the *κίρκος*, as does Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1262, 50 ff., *id. in Od.* p. 1613, 65 f. But one author is late, the other later.

[3] N. Contopoulos *Greek-English Lexicon*[5] Athens 1903 p. 320.

[4] L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 409, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 224, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 458, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 122.

[5] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 144 n. 1. See also L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 93.

[6] So Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 458, cp. p. 440 f. *s.v.* *κέρκαξ*. See also Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 1126, 46 ff., 1262, 59 ff., *in Od.* p. 1734, 21 ff.

[7] L. Hopf *op. cit.* p. 93.

[8] Since this paragraph was written A. Fick has discussed the word *κίρκος* in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xliv. 345 ff. He rejects the rendering 'der Kreisende' and inclines to the onomatopoeic explanation 'der Kreischer.' He adds, however, a third possibility, that the bird was so called from its 'crooked' claws, cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 337 *γαμψοὺς οἰωνούς* for *γαμψώνυχας*, Paul. ex Fest. p. 88 Müller *falcones*... a similitudine falcis, Hesych. *ἅρπη· εἶδος ὀρνέου. καὶ δρέπανον...ἢ ἰκτῖνον Κρῆτες*. After this he gives free rein to his fancies. *Κίρκη Αἰαίη* is the goddess of the circular or rather semicircular path described by Eos and Helios in the course of the year. She is inconstant, because the point at which Eos rises is always shifting. As mistress of the zodiac she is surrounded by the lion (summer), the swine (winter: *ὗς* suggests *ὗει*), the wolf (*λύκος* plays on *λύκη*, *λυκάβας*). Her four maidens are the four Seasons. Etc. etc.

[9] J. F. Cerquand *Études de Mythologie grecque. Ulysse et Circé. Les Sirènes.* Paris 1873 pp. 28 ff., 67 ff. So too R. Brown *The Myth of Kirkê* (reviewed by H. Bradley in *The Academy* 1884 xxv. 40 f.). W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 15, 99, 144 likewise derives *Κίρκη* from *κίρκος* = the moon's disk.

better than, a moon-goddess[1]. Moreover, it is easy to imagine more ways than one in which a circle might be fittingly attributed to a solar Kirke. She was a 'Hawk,' and the hawk may have been fastened *ἴυγξ*-like to a solar wheel[2]. She was a magician, and magicians have always dealt in magic circles[3]. But above all she was a goddess comparable with the island-queen of Celtic myths[4], and Celtic myths—especially in their Welsh form—spoke of the island-palace as the 'Revolving Castle[5].' In that castle was a mystic vessel, the pagan original of the Holy Grail. And it is to be noticed that the heroes best qualified to seek the Grail on the one hand are the chief representatives of the 'Table Round,' and on the other stand in intimate relation to the hawk[6]. Thus Arthur's favourite knight was *Gwalchmei*, the 'Hawk of May,' whose brother, even stronger than himself, was *Gwalchaved*, the 'Hawk of Summer.' The latter is better known to us as Galahad; the former, as Gawain —a name which Sir John Rhŷs derives from *Gwalch-gwyn*, the 'White Hawk,' or *Gwalch-hevin*, the 'Summer Hawk[7].' Now in the myth of Kirke it is easy to recognize the mystic vessel and the human Hawk. But can we also detect any trait to correspond with the 'Revolving Castle' or the 'Table Round'? In short, has the notion of circularity left any mark upon it? Not, I think, on Greek soil, real or imaginary. But it is to Italy rather than to Greece that we should look for correspondence with Celtic myth; and the Italian Kirke seems to have dwelt on a circular island. In the territory of the *Volsci*—whose name may be akin to that of the *Welsh*[8]

[1] Io. Antioch. *frag.* 24. 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 551 Müller) Καλυψὼ καὶ Κίρκη Ἡλίου καὶ Σελήνης ἦσαν ἱέρειαι is indecisive.

[2] *Supra* p. 226, *infra* p. 253 ff. Cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 14 (the leg-bone of a hawk attracts gold) ἴυγγι ἀπορρήτῳ τινι.

[3] A wall-painting from the *Casa dei Dioscuri* at Pompeii shows a peasant consulting a sorceress, who is seated in the middle of a circular base, holding her wand and presenting him with a cup (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 392 f. no. 1565, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1500 fig. 4781). This sorceress has been sometimes identified with Kirke (*e.g.* Smith—Marindin *Class. Dict.* p. 233), but the identification is precarious.

Supra p. 239.

[5] J. Rhŷs *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891 pp. 116, 302 f., 325, 392, A. C. L. Brown 'Iwain' in *Studies and Notes in Philology and Literature* (Harvard University) 1903 viii. 53, 56, C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 pp. 319 n. 3, 366 ff., J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Perceval* London 1909 ii. 266 n. 1.

[6] *Peredur Paladr-hir*, the 'Spearman of the Long Shaft' (Sir Percivale), is not so related to the hawk. But then Miss J. L. Weston *The Legend of Sir Perceval* London 1906 i. 171 f., 1909 ii. 301, 305 ff. proves that Perceval was not the original hero of the Grail.

[7] J. Rhŷs *op. cit.* pp. 13 f., 166 ff., C. Squire *op. cit.* p. 369.

[8] F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 420 compares *welsch* with the Celtic tribal name *Volcae*. So do W. W. Skeat *A concise Etymological Dictionary of the English Language* new ed. Oxford 1901 p. 599 *s.v.*

and consequently denote a 'Hawk' tribe[1]—was the coast town of *Cercei*, later called *Circei* (the modern *Circelli*), at the foot of the *Cerceius* or *Circeius mons* (*Monte Circello*). This calcareous and cavernous mountain was originally an island; and here the myth of *Kirke*, the 'Hawk,' was localised[2], where her image was said to catch the first rays of the rising sun[3]. Nonnos makes her as the mother of the Italian Faunus inhabit—

Deep-shaded circles of a rocky home[4].

He is presumably referring to *Monte Circello* and, if I mistake not, intentionally hinting at its circularity.

On the whole I am disposed to conclude that Kirke began life as a solar hawk, that originally and in Greece she had nothing to do with Revolving Castles or Tables Round, but that later and in Italy[5], under the influence of folk-etymology, she may have been brought into connexion with Celtic ideas of the solar circle.

(δ) Medeia.

We come now to Medeia, the niece or, according to some, the sister of Kirke[6]. As grand-daughter of Helios she too could summon the solar chariot at need. Diodoros[7] relates that Medeia, when she fled from Kolchis with the Argonauts, put in to Iolkos and there plotted the death of king Pelias. She made a hollow image of Artemis, stuffed it with all sorts of charms, and passed herself off as a priestess of the goddess. She declared that Artemis had come from the country of the Hyperboreoi, travelling through the air in a car drawn by serpents and seeking the world over for the most pious of kings, in order that she might establish her cult with him and bless him with renewed youth. As proof of her

'Walnut,' J. Rhŷs *op. cit.* p. 13 n. 1, and A. Nutt in *Folk-Lore* 1910 xxi. 233 n. 3. The Volcae were a tribe of southern Gaul (Tolosa, Nemausus, etc.). ? Cp. Volci in Etruria and Volcei in Lucania. On *Volsci* (for **Volc-sci*) corresponding with the Celtic *Volcae* see H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 164, cp. *ib.* 127, 169.

[1] See J. Rhŷs *op. cit.* p. 13.

[2] K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1201 f., C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2565 ff.

[3] Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1705, 31 f. *ὑψηλοῦ φασὶν ὄντος τοῦ Κιρκαίου Ἥλιος ἐκ νυκτὸς ἐπιλάμπει τὸ τῆς Κίρκης ξόανον.*

[4] Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 332 *ᾤκεε πετραίοιο βαθύσκια κύκλα μελάθρου.*

[5] Near Luna in northern Etruria was an *ἄκρον Σελήνης* (Ptol. 3. 1. 4). W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 15 identifies this with the *Σεληναῖον ὄρος*, on which were shown the mortars used by Medeia and Kirke for pounding their charms (schol. Theokr. 2. 15). This supports a lunar rather than a solar connexion.

[6] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2482.

[7] Diod. 4. 51 f.

words, Medeia changed her own looks from those of an old woman to those of a maid, and further by means of her enchantments caused the alleged serpents to appear in visible form. The king, convinced of her powers, bade his daughters do whatever she commanded. Medeia came by night to the palace and ordered them to boil the body of their sleeping father in a caldron. When they demurred, she took an old ram, bred in the house, cut it limb from limb, boiled its body, and by her magic art produced out of the caldron the figure of a lamb. The maidens, thus persuaded, slew their father, whom Medeia cut up and boiled. She then sent them up to the palace-roof with torches, saying that she must offer a prayer to Selene. The torches served as a fire-signal to the Argonauts, who were lying in wait outside the city. They at once attacked it, overcame all resistance, and secured the palace. In this romantic narrative Diodoros is following the *Argonautai* or *Argonautika* of Dionysios Skytobrachion, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century B.C.[1] The snaky chariot is here that of Artemis the moon-goddess, as on a copper coin of Aureliopolis in Lydia, struck under Commodus, which shows Artemis with a crescent moon on her head in a chariot drawn by two serpents[2]. But Artemis, thinly disguised as Hekate[3], is in this story made the mother of Medeia and daughter of Helios. The serpent-chariot, therefore, may have been either solar or lunar in its origin.

Ovid, after recounting the murder of Pelias, adds that Medeia would have had to pay the penalty of her crime, had she not forthwith mounted into the air on her winged snakes[4] and made her way by a devious track to Corinth. His version of her escape seems modelled on the common account of her disappearance from Corinth, not without some admixture of Triptolemos' tour.

As to what happened at Corinth, various tales were told[5]. According to our oldest authority, Eumelos[6], whose *Korinthiaka* was composed about 740 B.C., Helios had by Antiope two sons, Aloeus and Aietes: Helios gave Arkadia to the former, Corinth to

[1] Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 929 ff.

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1350, viii. 713, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 659.

[3] Diod. 4. 45 Ἑκάτην...φιλοκύνηγον...ἀνθρώπους ἀντὶ τῶν θηρίων κατατοξεύειν...ἔπειτ' Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν ἱδρυσαμένην καὶ τοὺς καταπλέοντας ξένους θύεσθαι τῇ θεῷ καταδείξασαν ἐπ' ὠμότητι διονομασθῆναι. Medeia herself was said to have founded a sanctuary of Artemis on one of the islands in the Adriatic, whither Iason had sailed *viâ* the river Istros! (Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 105).

[4] Ov. *met.* 7. 350 f. quod nisi pennatis serpentibus isset in auras | non exempla foret poenae. fugit alta etc.

[5] These are collected and discussed by K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2492 ff.

[6] Eumel. *frag.* 2, 3, 4 Kinkel.

the latter. But Aietes, dissatisfied with his portion, went off to Kolchis, leaving Bounos[1], a son of Hermes by Alkidameia, as regent on behalf of himself and his descendants. On the death of Bounos, Epopeus, son of Aloeus, succeeded to the throne. Marathon, son of Epopeus, fled to Attike to escape the lawless violence of his father, and, when Epopeus died, divided the kingdom between his own two sons, Sikyon and Korinthos. Korinthos leaving no issue,

Fig. 178.

the Corinthians sent to Iolkos for Medeia, daughter of Aietes, to come and reign over them. Iason was king in virtue of his wife's descent. The children born to them Medeia hid in the sanctuary of Hera, thinking to make them immortal. In this she failed. Iason detected her action and would not forgive it, but sailed away to Iolkos. So Medeia too took her departure and left the kingdom to Sisyphos.

[1] The eponymous founder of the sanctuary of Hera Βουναία (Paus. 2. 4. 7), 'of the Hill' (βουνός), = Hera 'Ακραία (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193).

This genealogy throws some light on early Corinthian religion; for it enables us to see that the kings of Corinth were regarded as near akin to Zeus, or perhaps even as successive incarnations of him. Korinthos, the eponym of the town,—who must be carefully distinguished from Korinthos, the personification of the town[1],—is represented on a bronze mirror, found at Corinth and now in the Louvre, as a majestic Zeus-like man seated on a throne and holding a sceptre. A *himátion* is wrapped about him, and Leukas the Corinthian colony is in the act of placing a wreath upon his head (fig. 178)[2]. This Korinthos, according to Eumelos, was the son of Marathon. But Pausanias, who cites the Eumelian pedigree, begins by the following naïve admission: 'That Korinthos was the son of Zeus has never yet, to my knowledge, been seriously asserted by anybody *except by most of the Corinthians themselves*[3].' The claim of the Corinthians was indeed so well known to the Greeks in general that it passed into the proverb 'Korinthos son of Zeus' used in cases of wearisome iteration[4]. If then the Corinthian populace regarded Korinthos, son of Marathon, as the son of Zeus, it is not unlikely that Marathon was held to be an embodiment of Zeus. Indeed, a scholiast on Aristophanes—if the text of his *schólion* is sound—declares: 'This "Korinthos son of Zeus" was the son of Zeus a king of Corinth[5].' Again, Marathon in his turn was the son of Epopeus; and an epic poet, probably of the seventh century B.C., informs us that Epopeus had the same wife as Zeus[6]. It would seem then that, when Medeia came to Corinth, the kings of the town had for three successive generations (Epopeus, Marathon, Korinthos) stood in a relation of peculiar intimacy to Zeus. What

[1] The former is masculine (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1381 f.), the latter feminine (Athen. 201 D).

[2] A. Dumont in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* No. 2 1873 p. 23 ff. pl. 3, K. D. Mylonas in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1873 p. 440 ff. pl. 64, *id.* Ἑλληνικὰ κάτοπτρα Athens 1876 p. 17 ff. pl. A', 3, V. Duruy *History of Greece* English ed. London 1892 ii. 130 n. 1 fig.

[3] Paus. 2. 1. 1.

[4] Pind. *Nem.* 7. 155 with schol., Aristoph. *ran.* 439 with schol., *eccl.* 828 with schol., *frag.* 434 Dindorf, Plat. *Euthyd.* 292 E with schol., Ephor. *frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 237 Müller), Liban. *ep.* 565, Theodoros Hyrtakenos in Boissonade *anecd.* ii. 433, 2 f., Zenob. 3. 21, Makar. 7. 46, Apostol. 6. 17, 12. 30, Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς Κόρινθος, Phot. *lex. s.vv.* ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, Πυθώδε ὁδός, ὑπέρου περιτροπή, Souid. *s.vv.* Διὸς Κόρινθος, ὁ Διὸς Κόρινθος, ὑπέρου περιτροπή. On the attempts made by the later grammarians to explain this proverb see Appendix C.

[5] Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 439 ὁ δὲ Διὸς Κόρινθος παῖς Διὸς βασιλέως Κορίνθου. Unfortunately the text is not free from suspicion. Cod. V omits the word βασιλέως; and F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.* would read βασιλεύς. Blaydes' emendation may be right, for another *schólion* on the same passage has ὁ δὲ Διὸς Κόρινθος παῖς Διὸς βασιλεὺς Κορίνθου.

[6] *Infra* ch. i. § 7 (d).

now of Medeia herself? 'Zeus,' says the old scholiast on Pindar, 'was enamoured of her there; but Medeia would not hearken to him, as she would fain avoid the wrath of Hera[1].' Curiously enough the love of Zeus for Medeia was balanced by the love of Hera for Iason[2]. Analogous cases[3], to be considered later, suggest that this reciprocity implies the Zeus-hood, so to speak, of Iason[4] and the Hera-hood of Medeia.

Thus the myth of Medeia as told by Eumelos serves to connect the earliest dynasty of Corinth with Zeus; but it does not help us to decide whether the serpent-chariot was of solar or lunar origin. On this point Euripides is the first to satisfy our curiosity. His Medeia, when about to be banished from Corinth by king Kreon, makes her escape to Athens in the car of Helios—a device somewhat unfairly criticised by Aristotle[5]. Ere she goes, she flings the following defiance at her husband:

> Cease this essay. If thou wouldst aught of me,
> Say what thou wilt: thine hand shall touch me never.
> Such chariot hath my father's sire, the Sun,
> Given me, a defence from foeman's hand[6].

Euripides does not, indeed, definitely state that the Sun's chariot was drawn by serpents. But later writers are unanimous. Medeia, say they, received from the Sun a chariot of winged snakes and on this fled through the air from Corinth to Athens[7]. That her

[1] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74 *g* ἐκεῖ δὲ αὐτῆς ὁ Ζεὺς ἠράσθη, οὐκ ἐπείθετο δὲ ἡ Μήδεια τὸν τῆς Ἥρας ἐκκλίνουσα χόλον· κ.τ.λ.

[2] *Od.* 12. 72 ἀλλ' Ἥρη παρέπεμψεν, ἐπεὶ φίλος ἦεν Ἰήσων, Ap. Rhod. 3. 66 ἔτι καὶ πρὶν ἐμοὶ (*sc.* Hera) μέγα φίλατ' Ἰήσων, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 156 *b* ὅτι δὲ εὑπρεπὴς ἦν ὁ Ἰάσων, δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ τὴν Ἥραν κατά τινας αὐτῷ ἐπιμανῆναι,—cited by K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 68.

[3] See *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 378.

[4] For Διομήδης as the alleged older name of Iason see K. Seeliger *op. cit.* ii. 64 and C. von Holzinger on Lyk. *Al.* 632.

[5] Aristot. *poet.* 15. 1454 b 1 f., with the comment of A. E. Haigh *The Tragic Drama of the Greeks* Oxford 1896 p. 289. See, however, E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 143 ff.

[6] Eur. *Med.* 1319 ff. trans. A. S. Way.

[7] Dikaiarch. *hyp.* Eur. *Med.* ἐπὶ ἅρματος δρακόντων πτερωτῶν, ὁ παρ' Ἡλίου ἔλαβεν, ἔποχος γενομένη κ.τ.λ., Apollod. 1. 9. 28 λαβοῦσα παρὰ Ἡλίου ἅρμα πτηνῶν δρακόντων ἐπὶ τούτου φεύγουσα κ.τ.λ., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 175 (p. 83 Scheer) ἐφ' ἅρματος δρακόντων πτερωτῶν [τῶν παρὰ Ἡλίου ληφθέντων ins. Müller, om. Scheer] εἰς Ἀθήνας ἀποδημεῖ.

Cp. Ov. *met.* 7. 398 f. hinc Titaniacis (=Solis) ablata draconibus intrat | Palladias arces, Val. Flacc. 5. 453 aligeris aut quae secet anguibus auras. Hor. *epod.* 3. 14 serpente fugit alite uses the singular, and is followed by Myth. Vat. 1. 25 and 2. 138 alato serpente aufugit. The schol. Eur. *Med.* 1320 says vaguely ὀχουμένη δρακοντίνοις ἅρμασι.

In Sen. *Med.* 1031 ff. squamosa gemini colla serpentes iugo | submissa praebent. recipe iam gnatos parens. | ego inter auras aliti curru vehar we have a description of the older type of solar vehicle, in which the chariot is winged, not the snakes (*supra* p. 226 n. 3.)

peculiar conveyance was long felt to be of a specially fiery sort, may be gathered from a high-faluting description of it by Dracontius, who wrote at the close of the fifth century A.D.:

> Then came the snakes
> Raising their combs aloft and viperous throats
> Scaly; and lo, their crested crowns shot flame.
> The chariot was a torch, sulphur the yoke,
> The pole bitumen; cypress was the wheel;
> Yea, poison made that bridle-bit compact,
> And lead that axle, stolen from five tombs[1].

In art, as in literature, Medeia escapes from Corinth on a serpent-chariot. Roman *sarcophagi*, which date from the second century of our era, represent her mounting a car drawn from left to right by two winged snakes of monstrous size[2]. In her right hand she grasps a short sword. Over her left shoulder hangs the body of one of her children. The leg or legs of the other child are seen projecting from the car. Of this type there are two varieties. In the first, of which but a single specimen is known, Medeia has a comparatively quiet attitude[3]. In the second, of which there are seven examples, she adopts a more tragic and pathetic pose, raising her sword aloft and turning her head as if to mark Iason's futile pursuit (fig. 179)[4]. There can be little doubt that this sarcophagus-type was based on the tradition of earlier paintings. In fact, almost identical with it is the scene as shown on an *amphora* from Canosa now at

Fig. 179.

[1] Dracont. *carm. prof.* 10. 556 ff. (*Poet. Lat. Min.* v. 212 Baehrens).

[2] The *sarcophagi* are collected, figured, and discussed by Robert *Sark.-Relfs* ii. 205 ff. pls. 62—65. See also K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2508—2511.

[3] Robert *op. cit.* ii. 205 pl. 62 no. 193, a fragment formerly at Florence in the Palazzo Martelli. Robert notes that the purse in Medeia's right hand is due to a mistake of the draughtsman or of the restorer—it should be a sword—, and that the scalloped side of the chariot probably implies a misunderstanding of the second dead child's leg. The attempt to distinguish the male snake (bearded and crested) from the female is likewise a suspicious trait.

[4] *Id. ib.* ii. 213 f. pl. 64 no. 200, formerly at Rome in possession of an engineer named Cantoni; now in the Berlin Museum. This sarcophagus was found in 1887 near the Porta S. Lorenzo. See further the monograph by L. von Urlichs *Ein Medea-Sarkophag* Würzburg 1888 pp. 1—22 pl.

Naples (fig. 180)[1]. Medeia on a car drawn by two snakes, which are not winged, holds the reins in her left hand and one end of a fluttering sail-like *himátion* in her right. She turns her face towards Iason, who pursues her hotly on horseback. He is accompanied by a couple of followers, probably the Dioskouroi, for one of them wears a *pílos* and above them we see two stars. Of the children, one lies dead upon the ground, fallen on his face beside the fatal sword; the other, dead also, is with Medeia in the car; the back of his head and one arm being visible beside her. In front of and facing Medeia stands Erinys, a *nimbus* round her head; she holds a sword in one hand, a torch in the other. Lastly, on the extreme right Selene rides her horse: she too has her head circled with a *nimbus*, which is painted red-brown and yellow. She is present possibly as a goddess of magic, who might naturally be associated with Medeia[2], but more probably to furnish a variation on the hackneyed sun-and-moon theme, Selene on the lunar horse forming

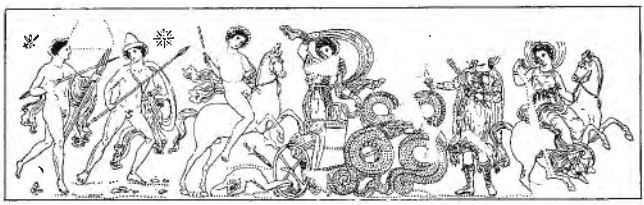


Fig. 180.

a pendant to Medeia on the solar car. There is every reason to think with L. von Urlichs[3] and C. Robert[4] that the above-mentioned *sarcophagi*—and this *amphora* cannot be separated from them—present us with a scene ultimately derived from Euripides' play. Mr J. H. Huddilston[5] says with justice: 'I know of no monuments of ancient art that grasp the spirit of a Greek tragedy more effectually than the Medeia sarcophagi. The strange and secret power of the sorceress hovers over and pervades the whole. The dreadful vengeance exacted by the slighted queen is shown in the most graphic manner. Standing before the Berlin replica, which is the best preserved and most beautiful of all the sculptures, one cannot

[1] Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 506 ff. no. 3221, O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxv. 62 ff. pl. 224, 1, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 402, 2.

[2] *Supra* p. 245.

[3] L. von Urlichs *op. cit.* p. 13 ff.

[4] Robert *op. cit.* ii. 205, cp. K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2511.

[5] J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 19.

but feel that he is face to face with a marvellous illustration of the great tragedy. The marble all but breathes; the dragons of Medeia's chariot may be heard to hiss.'

Euripides was not the last to compose a drama about Medeia; and it is in all probability a post-Euripidean play that is illustrated by another Apulian vase, the famous Medeia-*kratér* of Munich[1]. This magnificent example of later ceramic art has for its principal theme a representation of the vengeance taken by Medeia on Iason, who in her despite contracted wedlock with king Kreon's daughter (pl. xxii)[2]. In the centre of the scene rises the royal palace containing a throne surmounted by two eagles and a pair of circular shields slung from the roof. The king's daughter Kreonteia[3] (*Kreonteía*) has just received from Medeia the fatal gift of a poisoned crown[4]. The casket in which it came stands open on the ground before her. But the poison is potent and is already doing its deadly work. The princess falls in her agony across the throne. Her father ([*Kré*]*on*), dazed with grief, drops his eagle-tipped sceptre, and with one hand clutches at his grey locks, while he supports her prostrate form with the other. From right and left two figures hasten to the rescue. Kreon's son (*Hippótes*)[5] is first to arrive and vainly attempts to pluck the crown from his sister's head. The queen too (*Merópe*)[6] hurriedly approaches with gestures of grief and alarm. Behind her are an old *paidagogós* and a young handmaid; the former cautiously advancing, the latter disposed to pull him back. Behind Hippotes is an elderly veiled woman, evidently the princess's nurse, who hastens to escape from the horrible sight.

[1] C. Robert *Bild und Lied* Berlin 1881 p. 37 ff. and J. H. Huddilston *op. cit.* p. 145 ff. hold that this vase was intended to illustrate the *Medeia* of Euripides, and that the points in which its design differs from the subject as conceived by Euripides are to be regarded as natural and legitimate additions or subtractions on the part of the painter. A. Furtwängler in his *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 164 ff. refutes their view and concludes that the vase echoes the work of some unknown poet.

[2] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 260 ff. no. 810, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 161—166 pl. 90 (which supersedes all previous reproductions). The vase was found in a tomb near Canosa, Sept. 16, 1813.

[3] Κρεοντεία is her name, not an abbreviation of Κρεοντεία (παῖς), nor of Κρεόντεια (ἀνάκτορα), nor yet the title of a drama comparable with Οἰδιπόδεια, Ὀρέστεια, etc. Other sources name her Γλαύκη (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1676 no. 4) or Κρέουσα (*ib.* ii. 1426 f. no. 3). In Euripides she is nameless.

[4] Hyg. *fab.* 25 coronam ex venenis fecit auream eamque muneri filios suos iussit novercae dare.

[5] The name Hippotes is attested by Diod. 4. 55, schol. Eur. *Med.* 20, Hyg. *fab.* 27, though none of these authors describes him as playing the part here assigned to him.

[6] The painter of this vase is our sole authority for Merope as the mother of Iason's bride, though elsewhere she is mentioned as the wife of Sisyphos or as the wife of Polybos (Roscher *Lex Myth.* ii. 2838 f.).

Meantime still greater horrors are in progress before the palace. Medeia (*Médeia*), wearing a Phrygian cap and an embroidered oriental costume, has grasped by the hair one of her two boys and is about to run him through with a sword, in spite of the fact that the little fellow has taken refuge on a square altar[1]. He is making desperate efforts to reach his father (*Iáson*), who with spear and sword, followed by an armed retainer, is hurrying towards him—but just too late to prevent the murder. Another retainer behind Medeia's back safeguards the second boy, who otherwise would share his brother's fate[2]. Between Iason and Medeia is the chariot drawn by two monstrous snakes, which will carry her beyond reach of his vengeance. In it stands her charioteer, a sinister-looking youth with snakes in his hair and torches in his hands. His name *Oîstros* shows that the artist, doubtless copying the dramatist[3], conceived him as a personification of Medeia's frenzy, past, present, and future[4]. Standing on a rocky eminence at the extreme right and pointing with a significant gesture to the over-turned bridal bath[5] and the whole tragic scene before him is a kingly figure draped in a costume resembling that of Medeia. The inscription *eídolon Aétou*, the 'ghost of Aetes,' suggests that in the play Medeia's father, who during his lifetime had done his best to thwart her marriage, appeared after his death to point the moral. If so, he probably spoke from the *theologeîon*, a raised platform here indicated by the rock. Finally, in the background by way of contrast with all the human action and passion we get the tranquil forms of the gods—Herakles and Athena on one side, the Dioskouroi on the other. Their domain is bounded by a pair of Corinthian columns supporting votive tripods, perhaps a hint that the whole painting was inspired by a successful play.

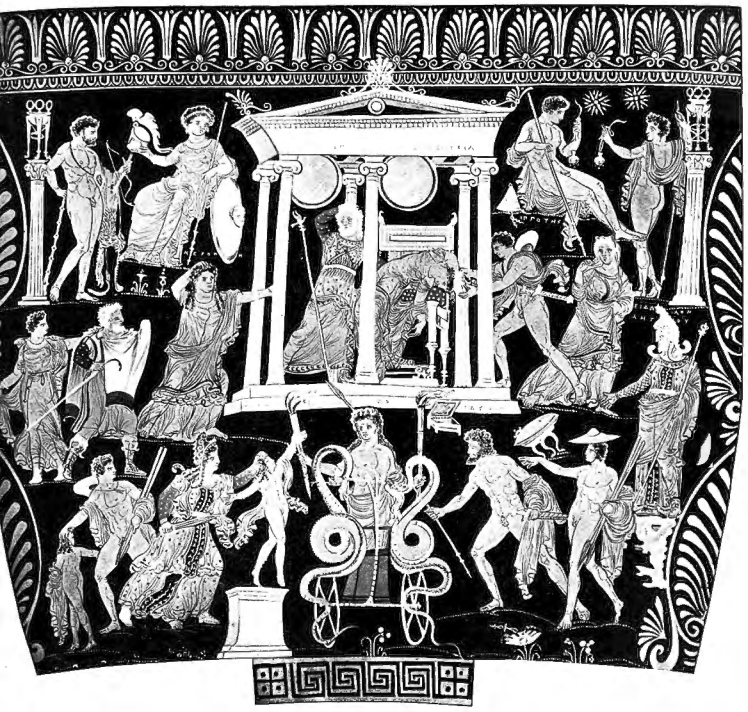
[1] J. H. Huddilston *op. cit.* p. 149 inclines to think that Medeia has lifted the boy on to the altar in order to slay him there. That is certainly a possible interpretation.

[2] Cp. Diod. 4. 54 *πλὴν γὰρ ἑνὸς τοῦ διαφυγόντος τοὺς ἄλλους υἱοὺς ἀποσφάξαι.*

[3] Poll. 4. 142 includes *Οἶστρος* among a list of *ἔκσκευα πρόσωπα* (along with *Δίκη*, *Θάνατος*, *Ἐρινύς*, *Λύσσα*, *Ὕβρις* etc.). See also E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 147 ff.

[4] This figure is usually taken to represent the mad rage that drove Medeia to commit the desperate deed. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii 165 f. prefers to regard it as the embodiment of Medeia's remorse, at least of the torments that await her as a murderess of her own child. He holds that, whereas Euripides had allowed his Medeia to escape, exulting and unpunished, the later dramatist thus hinted at repentance to come. Furtwängler may well be right; but it must be remembered that, from a Greek point of view, the infatuation that instigates to the deed and the punisbment that avenges it are one and the same. See *e.g.* K. Wernicke in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1898 *s.v.* Ate, 'Personification der Unheil bringenden Verblendung, ebenso aber auch eines durch diese herbeigeführten Frevels und des ihm als Strafe folgenden Unheils.'

[5] Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 163 n. 1.



Kratér from Canosa: the vengeance of Medeia.

See page 251 f.

From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 90 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.)

(ε) Iynx.

When the Argonauts first came to Kolchis, Aphrodite helped Iason to win Medeia by means of an *ἴυνξ* or 'wry-neck' fastened to a magic wheel. Pindar describes the incident in a noteworthy passage:

> Kyprogeneia, queen of the quick shaft,
> Down from Olympos brought
> The wriggling wry-neck bound beyond escape—
> The mad bird—to a wheel of four-spoked shape,
> And then first gave it unto men and taught
> The proper craft
> To the son of Aison, that he might be wise
> With all the wisdom of her sorceries
> And thereby steal Medeia's shame
> Of her own parents,—yea, the very name
> Of Hellas her desire
> With Peitho's whip should spin her heart on fire[1].

We are nowhere told that this *ἴυνξ*-wheel stood for the sun. But that it did, is—I think—a possible, even a probable, inference from the following facts. To begin with, the heroes had after a long series of adventures reached their goal—Aia, the land of the sunrise[2], ruled by Aietes the offspring of Helios,—and more than one event that befell them in this locality is susceptible of a solar interpretation. Again, Aphrodite is stated to have brought the *ἴυνξ*-wheel 'from Olympos,' an obvious source for celestial magic[3]. In his description of the bird on the wheel Pindar uses a peculiar, indeed barely logical, phrase, to which only one precise parallel

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 213 ff. It should be noticed that there is a certain parallelism between the beginning and the end of this extract. As Iason spins the magic *ἴυνξ*-wheel, so Peitho with her whip spins the heart of Medeia (*ποθεινὰ δ'* Ἑλλὰς *αὐτάν* | *ἐν φρασὶ καιομέναν* | *δονέοι μάστιγι* Πειθοῦς). One form of magic wheel is said to have resembled a whip-top (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1139 *ῥόμβος δέ ἐστι τροχίσκος ὃν στρέφουσι ἱμᾶσι τύπτοντες, καὶ οὕτω κτύπον ἀποτελοῦσιν*, *id. ib.* 4. 144 citing Eupolis *Baptae frag.* 15 Meineke *ὦ ῥόμβοισι μαστίξας ἐμέ*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 42 ff. *τροχίσκον δηλοῖ τὸν καὶ ῥόμβον καλούμενον, ὃν τύπτοντες ἱμᾶσι καὶ στρέφοντες ἐποίουν δινεῖσθαι καὶ ψόφον ἀποτελεῖν*, *et. mag.* p. 706, 29 ff. *ἔστι δὲ τροχίσκος, ὃν τύπτοντες ἱμᾶσι καὶ στρέφοντες ποιοῦσι περιδονεῖσθαι καὶ ψόφον ἀποτελεῖν*): see P. C. Lévesque in *Histoire et mémoires de l'institut royal de France, classe d'hist. et de litt. anc.* Paris 1818 iii. 5 ff., who argues that the *ῥόμβος* 'avoit le plus souvent la forme du jouet nommé parmi nous *sabot* ou *toupie*,' and O. Jahn in the *Berichte sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 p. 257. A vase representing such a top is figured by G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1154 fig. 3087.

[2] See J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 919 f., 942 f.

[3] Prof. J. B. Bury in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 157 ff. argues that the *ἴυγξ* was originally a moon-charm or invocation of the moon-goddess Ἰώ. But it is very doubtful whether Io was *ab initio* a moon-goddess (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii), and quite impossible to connect her name with *ἴυγξ* (*ἰύζω*). See also the criticisms of D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 73.

could be quoted; and that occurs in the same poet's previous description of Ixion[1]. But Ixion's four-spoked wheel, as I have already pointed out[2], probably represented the sun. It may, therefore, fairly be surmised that the four-spoked *ἴυνξ*-wheel also was a mimic sun. We have in fact definite evidence that on the shores of the Euxine Sea the sun was conceived as a four-spoked wheel. Coins of Mesembria in Thrace *c.* 450–350 B.C. have the name of the town (ΜΕΤΑ or ΜΕΣΗ) inscribed between the four spokes of a wheel, which is surrounded by rays diverging from its rim (fig. 181)[3]. This, as Dr B. V. Head observes, is the radiate wheel of the midday

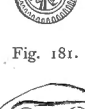


Fig. 181.

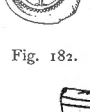


Fig. 182.

Fig. 183.

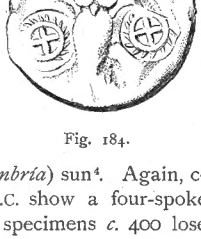


Fig. 184.

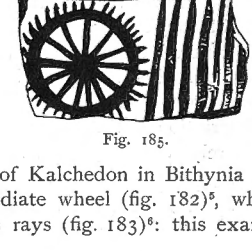


Fig. 185.

(*mesembría*) sun[4]. Again, coins of Kalchedon in Bithynia *c.* 480–400 B.C. show a four-spoked radiate wheel (fig. 182)[5], which on other specimens *c.* 400 loses its rays (fig. 183)[6]: this example is

[1] Cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 214 *ποικίλαν ἴυγγα τετρά|κναμον* (462 B.C.) with *Pyth.* 2. 40 *τὸν δὲ τετρά|κναμον ἔπραξε δεσμόν* (475? B.C.). B. L. Gildersleeve's remark—'It was poetic justice to bind Ixion to his own iynx wheel'—is ingenious, but misleading.

[2] *Supra* p. 205 ff.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 132, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 421 pl. 28, 8. I figure a specimen in my collection.

[4] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 278, following P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. p. 124 pl. 27, 1 (my fig. 182), 2, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 290 pl. 45, 9—13, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1493 ff. pl. 181, 7—9, 10?, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. pl. 20, 1114 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 511.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. p. 124 pl. 27, 3 (my fig. 183), Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 290 f. pl. 45, 14, 15?, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1495 f. pl. 181, 12, 13?, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. pl. 20, 1116, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 511.

instructive for the light that it sheds on a numerous series of wheel-types in the coinage of Greece and Italy[1]. The toothed or radiate wheel is found once more as a countermark on a coin of Populonia in Etruria (fig. 184)[2]. It is also known as a *motif* on

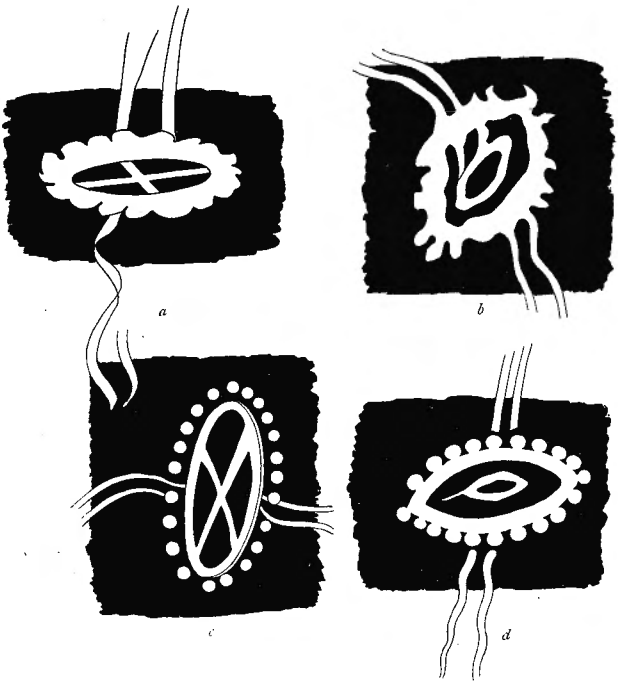


Fig. 186.

'Dipylon' pottery (fig. 185)[3], where again it may well have denoted the sun.

The magic wheel as seen on Greek vase-paintings (fig. 186)[4] has

[1] See Appendix D.

[2] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 55 pl. 74, 2.

[3] F. Poulsen *Dipylongräber und Dipylonvasen* p. 117. I figure a sherd from Delos after F. Poulsen and C. Dugas in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 371 fig. 29.

[4] (*a*) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 136 ff. no. F 279 an Apulian *kratêr*. (*b*) *Ib.* iv. 186 f. no. F 399 an Apulian *lêkythos*. (*c*) *Ib.* iv. 180 no. F 373 pl. 12, 1 an Apulian *prôchoos*, Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* iii pl. 1, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* London

likewise a jagged or more probably a pearled edge. This little object was strung on a double cord passing through its centre and was set spinning with a jerk[1]: made of glittering bronze[2] and rotating rapidly on its axis, it would provide the magician with a very passable imitation of the sun (fig. 187).

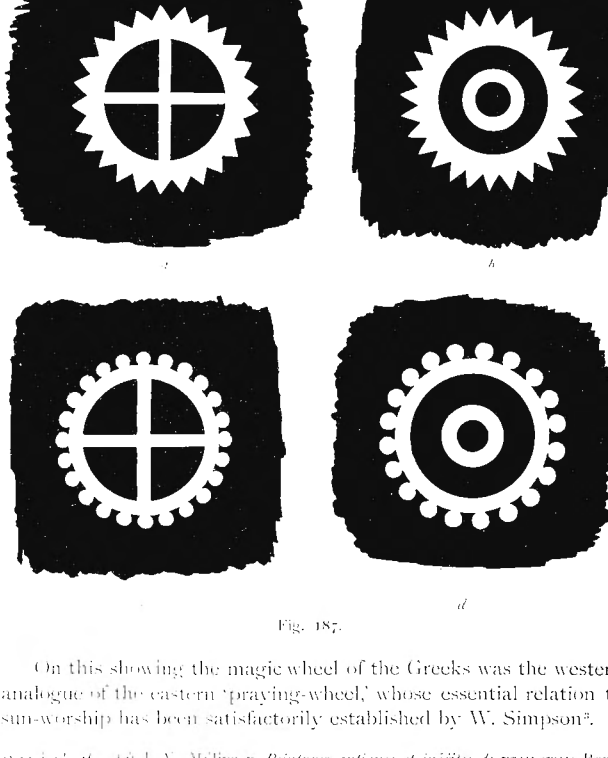


Fig. 187.

On this showing the magic wheel of the Greeks was the western analogue of the eastern 'praying-wheel,' whose essential relation to sun-worship has been satisfactorily established by W. Simpson[3].

1822 i pl. 16. (c) J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 pl. 45 an Apulian *crater*.

For other varieties see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 164 ff. no. F 331 = *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 42 f. pl. 54, 1 an Apulian *oinochoe*, *ib.* iv. 110 no. F 223 pl. 9, 1 a Campanian *hydria*.

[1] E. Saglio in Daremberg - Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 863 f.

[2] Theokr. 2. 30.

[3] W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel* London 1896 *passim*.

It remains to ask why a wry-neck was attached to the solar wheel. And here we are naturally reduced to mere conjecture. Two main reasons suggest themselves. On the one hand, the bird can and does twist its head round in a most surprising fashion: hence its names *wry-neck* or *writhe-neck* in our own country, *Drehhals* or *Wendehals* in Germany, *torcol, tourlicou, tourne tête*, etc., in France, *torcicollo* in Italy, *capu tortu* in Sicily[1]. This odd faculty of rotary movement may well have been thought to quicken or intensify the rotation of the solar wheel. On the other hand, the wry-neck breeds in the hole of a tree and, if disturbed, utters a peculiar hissing noise calculated to make the observer believe that its hole is tenanted by a snake[2]: this reason, added to the mobility of its neck and tongue, has earned for it the sobriquet of *snake-bird* in Sussex, Hampshire, and Somerset, *Natterwendel* in Switzerland, *Nattervogel* in Germany, *cô de couleuvre* in the department of Meuse[3]. Now the solar wheel, as we have had occasion to note more than once[4], tends to be represented with the wings of a bird and a couple of snakes. The wry-neck, combining as it did the qualities of both bird and snake, was a most desirable appendage.

Alexandrine wits were busied over the task of providing the wry-neck with a suitable myth. According to Zenodotos, Iynx was called by some Mintha, being a Naiad nymph whose mother was Peitho[5]. Kallimachos in his work *On Birds* made Iynx a daughter of Echo, who by her spells attracted Zeus to Io and suffered the feathery change at the hands of Hera[6]. Nikandros told how Pieros, king of Pieria, had nine daughters, who vied with the nine Muses in dance and song. A contest was arranged on

[1] C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 103, E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 66 f.

[2] J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 178 pl. 53, W. P. Pycraft *A Book of Birds* London 1908 p. 109 pl. 23, 6. Cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 2. 12. 504 a 12 ff. (ἡ ἴυγξ) ἔχει...τὴν γλῶτταν ὁμοίαν τοῖς ὄφεσιν...ἔτι δὲ περιστρέφει τὸν τράχηλον εἰς τοὐπίσω τοῦ λοιποῦ σώματος ἠρεμοῦντος, καθάπερ οἱ ὄφεις, Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 256 iynx...linguam serpentium similem in magnam longitudinem porrigit.

[3] C. Swainson and E. Rolland *locc. citt.*

[4] *Supra* pp. 205 ff., 227, 228 ff., 248 f.

[5] Zenod. *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v. μίνθα.* Menthe or Minthe was beloved by Hades and, when maltreated by Persephone or Demeter, was changed by him into the herb 'mint' (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2801, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 852).

[6] Kallim. *περὶ ὀρνέων frag.* 100[c], 8 Schneider *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 17, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 56, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 310, Nikephoros Gregoras *in* Synes. *περὶ ἐνυπνίων* p. 360 Petavius, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ἴυγξ, Souid. *lex. s.v.* Ἴυγξ. In schol. Theokr. *loc. cit.* H. L. Ahrens restores *φαρμακεύειν δὲ τὸν Δία <ἐπὶ Ἰοῖ>, ὅπως ἂν αὐτῇ μιχθῇ*, O. Schneider *ὅπως ἂν αὖ τῇ <Ἰοῖ> μιχθῇ*. In Phot. and Souid. *locc. citt.* we should probably read *ἀπωρνιθώθη* for *ἀπελιθώθη* (G. Bernhardy cj. *ἀπωρνεώθη*, cp. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 310).

Mount Helikon. The mortals, vanquished by the immortals, were transformed into birds; and the *ἴυνξ* was one of these[1].

But the earlier unsophisticated view saw in the wry-neck merely a bird appropriate to the solar wheel, and useful therefore as a fertility-charm. This explains its connexion with Dionysos, who bore the titles *Iyngíes* and *Iýngyi*[2]. Finally, the fertility-charm, as so often happens, dwindled into a love-charm, and the *ἴυνξ* or *ἴυνξ*-wheel was associated with the deities of soft emotion—Aphrodite and Eros, Himeros and Peitho[3].

If the *ἴυνξ*-wheel was indeed a representation of the sun, we might reasonably expect to find it in the *entourage* of Apollon. For this god, though not himself primarily or originally solar, can be shown to have absorbed into his cult certain features of early sun-magic[4]. In point of fact there is some ground for thinking that the *ἴυνξ* was admitted into the Apolline cult at Delphoi. That past master in magic Apollonios of Tyana, when wishing to prove that the Delphic god did not disdain wealth and luxury, remarked that at Pytho Apollon had required temple after temple, each greater than its predecessor, and added that 'from one of them he is said to have hung golden *ἴυνγες* which echoed the persuasive notes of siren voices[5].' This obscure passage has been brought into connexion with another equally obscure. Pausanias, *à propos* of the third or bronze temple at Delphoi, states: 'I do not believe that the temple was a work of Hephaestus, nor the story about the golden songstresses which the poet Pindar mentions in speaking of this particular temple:—

> And from above the gable
> Sang charmers all of gold.

Here, it seems to me, Pindar merely imitated the Sirens in Homer[6].'

[1] Nikandros *ap.* Ant. Lib. 9.

[2] Hesych. 'Ιυγγίης· ὁ Διόνυσος and 'Ιύγγυϊ· ὁ Διόνυσος. M. Schmidt suggests 'Ιυγκτής 'quasi *ejulator*' in both cases.

The names *κίναιδος* (schol. Theokr. 2. 17), *κιναίδιον* (schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 494 E, Phot. *lex. s.v.* 'Ιυγξ, Hesych. *s.vv.* *ἴυγξ*, *κιναίδιον*, Souid. *s.v.* 'Ιυγξ), and *σεισοπυγίς* (Souid. *s.v.* *ἴυγξ*, schol. Theokr. 2. 17, schol. Aristeid. iii. 307 Dindorf, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 310, *et. Gud.* p. 285, 12, cp. p. 625, 53 f., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* *ἴυγξ*) imply that the wry-neck was confused with the wag-tail, but afford no proof of 'phallic symbolism' (D'Arcy W. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 71).

[3] E. Saglio *op. cit.* iv. 864, R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 772 f.

[4] See the excellent discussion by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 136 ff., especially pp. 143, 285.

[5] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 6. 11 p. 221, 32 ff. Kayser *ἐνὸς δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ χρυσᾶς ἴυγγας ἀνάψαι λέγεται Σειρήνων τινὰ ἐπεχούσας* (leg. *ἐπηχούσας*) *πειθώ.*

Prof. G. Murray thinks that *ἐπεχούσας* might be rendered '*exerting* a kind of Siren persuasion,' but himself suggests *ἐπιχεούσας*, '*shedding* a kind of Siren spell.'

[6] Paus. 10. 5. 12 trans. J. G. Frazer. The fragment of Pindar is here cited in the

Now Monsieur S. Reinach in an ingenious and penetrating article has argued that the early Greeks, conforming to a custom widespread throughout western Europe, sought to protect their temples against lightning by means of an eagle, the lightning-bird *par excellence*, bound and fastened to a post in either pediment: the pediment in fact thence derived its name *aetós, aétoma*[1]. I would suggest that on or in both pediments of the primitive temple at Delphoi was another bird bound and fastened with like intent—the *ἴυνξ* on its wheel (later replaced by a simple *ἴυνξ*-wheel), which secured the protecting presence of the sun itself. This suggestion may be reinforced by two lines of argument. On the one hand, when we come to deal with the solar disk, we shall find that the pediment of a sacred edifice was the favourite place for that symbol[2]. On the other hand, Apulian vases often depict a pair of four-spoked wheels hanging from the roof of a temple[3] or palace[4] or chieftain's hut[5]. These wheels are commonly supposed to be chariot wheels[6]. But, although in heroic days the wheels of a chariot when not in use might doubtless be taken off and kept separately[7], we should hardly imagine that they were habitually

following form: *χρύσεαι δ' ἐξ ὑπερέτου* (or *ὑπαρέτου*) *ἄεισον κηλήμονες*. But Galen. *in* Hippocrat. *de articulis* 3. 23 (xviii. 1. 519 Kühn) has *καὶ ὁ Πίνδαρός φησιν ἐν ταῖς Πλειάσιν* (leg. *τοῖς παιᾶσι*) · *χρύσεα δ' ὀξύπτερα αἰετοῦ ἄεισον κηλῆδόνες*. Hence Schneidewin proposed *ἐξ ὑπὲρ αἰετοῦ*, Bergk *ἐξύπερθ' αἰετοῦ*, Casaubon *κηληδόνες*. Of recent editors C. A. M. Fennell *frag.* 30 prints *Χρύσιαι δ' ἐξ ὑπερῴου | ἄεισον Κηληδόνες*, W. Christ *frag.* 53 *Χρύσεαι δ' ἐξύπερθ' αἰετοῦ | ἄεισον Κηληδόνες*, O. Schroeder *frag.* 53 *χρύσεαι δ' ἐξύπερθ' αἰετοῦ ἄεισον κηληδόνες*. The fragment is referred to by Athen. 290 E *τῶν παρὰ Πινδάρῳ Κηληδόνων, αἳ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ταῖς Σειρῆσι τοὺς ἀκροωμένους ἐποίουν ἐπιλανθανομένους τῶν προφῶν διὰ τὴν ἡδονὴν ἀφαυαίνεσθαι*. The passage from Athenaeus in turn is alluded to by Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1689, 33 f., 1709, 58 ff.

[1] S. Reinach 'Aetos Prométheus' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 59 ff. = *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1908 iii. 68 ff., cp. J. E. Harrison 'Prométhée et le culte du pilier' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 429 ff. and 'Bird and Pillar Worship' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 159.

[2] *Infra* p. 292 ff.

[3] The temple of Apollon at Delphoi (O. Jahn *Vasenbilder* Hamburg 1839 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, K. Boetticher *Der Omphalos des Zeus zu Delphi* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin*) Berlin 1859 pl. 1; and perhaps Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 351). The temple of Hera at Thebes (?) (*Id. ib.* i. 161, 4).

[4] The palace of Hades (*Id. ib.* i. 258, 4 = *infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (γ), i. 355 = *supra* p. 200, i. 455, 1). The palace of Lykourgos at Nemea (*Id. ib.* i. 235).

[5] The hut of Achilles (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1908 xii. 406 ff. pl. 19).

[6] Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 210 n. 2, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 805 n. 1. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 176 I adopted this explanation myself, but took the chariot in question to be that of the sun. I was, as I now see, half-wrong, half-right.

[7] *Il.* 5. 722 f. "Ἥβη δ' ἀμφ' ὀχέεσσι θοῶς βάλε καμπύλα κίκλα, | χάλκεα ὀκτάκνημα, σιδηρέῳ ἄξονι ἀμφίς. The chariot itself, as distinct from the wheels, was put on a stand and carefully covered with a cloth (*Il.* 8. 441, cp. *ib.* 2. 777 f.). Before the wheels were removed the chariot might he set atilt against the front wall of the building (*Il.* 8. 435, *Od.* 4. 42).

hung from the ceiling of a palace, still less from that of a temple[1]. And why—we may pertinently ask—is the rest of the supposed chariot never shown[2]? A wheel can perhaps serve on occasion as a tachygraphic sign for a chariot[3]. But the painters of these great Apulian vases would surely sometimes have represented the vehicle

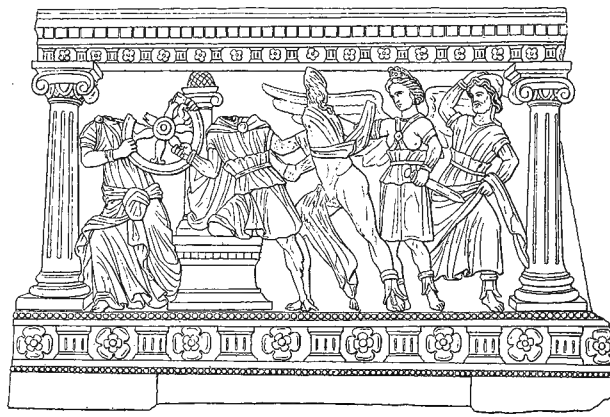


Fig. 188.

as a whole had that been their meaning. It is therefore permissible to conclude that the wheels depending from the roof of temple and palace are rather to be interpreted as magic wheels of a

[1] Raoul-Rochette *loc. cit.* adduces Paus. 2. 14. 4 *τοῦ δὲ Ἀνακτόρου καλουμένου πρὸς τῷ ὀρόφῳ Πέλοπος ἅρμα λέγουσιν ἀνακεῖσθαι.* But J. G. Frazer translates: 'On the roof of what is called the Anactorum stands a chariot which they say is the chariot of Pelops.' And, if the *Ἀνάκτορον* at Keleai resembled that at Eleusis (cp. Paus. 2. 14. 1), this may well be right.

[2] On an Apulian *amphora* from Ruvo at St. Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 215 ff. no. 422 and in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 267 n. 4, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 11 f., *Ann. d. Inst.* 1849 xxi. 240 ff., Overbeck *Gall. her: Bildw.* i. 472 ff. Atlas pl. 20, 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 138, 3, 139), which shows the ransoming of Hektor's body (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 246), a chariot is apparently suspended in the background along with a pair of greaves, a shield, and a *pîlos*; but, though the scene is probably laid before Achilles' hut, there is no indication of architecture.

[3] *E.g.* the wheel of Myrtilos, on which however see *supra* p. 225 n. 4, or the wheel in the exergue of a Syracusan coin signed by Euainetos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily pp. 166, 173, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 63, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 175), or the wheel held by a reclining female figure named *Via Traiana* on coins Trajan (Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 1116, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 858 fig.), or that held by a figure commemorating the Circus-games of 121 A.D. on a medallion and coins of Hadrian (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 16 no. 56 pl. 144, 5, Rasche *op. cit.* i. 648 ff. Suppl. i. 691 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *op. cit.* p. 46 f. fig.).

prophylactic sort, in a word as *ίynges*. However that may be, the Delphic *ίynx* is evidenced by other works of art. A series of Etruscan funerary reliefs at Florence, Volterra, etc., represents the death of Neoptolemos[1]. A *cista* in the Museum at Volterra (fig. 188)[2] will serve as an example. The hero, suddenly attacked by Orestes, has fled for refuge to the altar in front of the Delphic temple[3], and, in order to put himself still more effectually under the protection of the god, clasps with uplifted hand a six-spoked

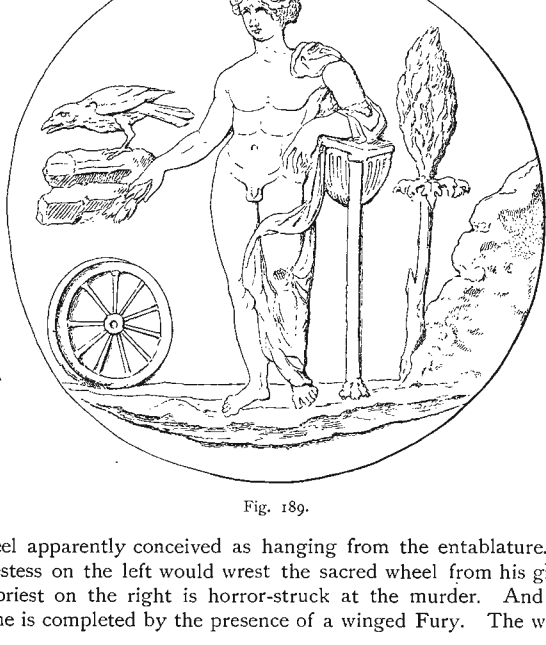


Fig. 189.

wheel apparently conceived as hanging from the entablature. A priestess on the left would wrest the sacred wheel from his grasp. A priest on the right is horror-struck at the murder. And the scene is completed by the presence of a winged Fury. The wheel,

[1] A list of these reliefs is drawn up by Raoul-Rochette *op. cit.* p. 209, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* p. 746 f. pl. 30, 15, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 176, and above all by Körte *Rilievi delle Urne Etrusche* 1890 ii. pl. 53 ff.

[2] Körte *op. cit.* ii pl. 54, 4.

[3] Cp. the scene of the tragedy as depicted on an Apulian *amphora* in the Jatta collection (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1868 xl. 235 ff. pl. E = Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1009 fig. 1215 = Roscher *Lex Myth.* iii. 175—176 fig. 5).

with which alone we are concerned, has been very variously interpreted[1]. It is—I submit—none other than the Delphic *ynx*. That this symbol should be found so far west as Etruria need not surprise us. We have here again to reckon with the possibility of Celtic influence. A silver disk forming part of a hoard unearthed in 1836 at Notre-Dame d'Alençon near Brissac (Maine-et-Loire) and later acquired by the Louvre brings the wheel—presumably the Gallic solar wheel[2]—into close relation with Apollon (fig. 189)[3].

Philostratos, who in his *Life of Apollonios* spoke of the golden *ynges* that hung from the Delphic temple as 'echoing the persuasive notes of siren voices[4],' records an interesting parallel from the far east. In describing the palace of the king of Babylon he mentions 'a hall, whose ceiling was vaulted like a sky and roofed with sapphire, a stone of the bluest and most heavenly colour. Images of the gods whom they worship are set up above, and appear as golden figures emerging from the upper air. Here the king passes judgment; and *ynges* of gold are hung from the roof, four in number, assuring him of divine Necessity and bidding him not to be uplifted above mankind. These the Magians declare that they themselves attune, repairing to the palace, and they call them the voices of the gods[5].' We should, I think, attempt to elucidate Philostratos' account in the light of a stone tablet found by the veteran explorer Mr Hormuzd Rassam at Abû-Habbah, the site of the old Babylonian city Sippar (fig. 190)[6]. This monument, which is now in the British Museum, is officially described as follows:

[1] Körte *op. cit.* ii. 130 argues that the figure holding the wheel must be Myrtilos, not Neoptolemos at all, because in one example (pl. 56, 8) four horses are present. But the horses may quite well be those of Neoptolemos or Orestes, or may even represent the race-course at Delphoi, where Orestes according to the feigned tale (Soph. *El.* 681 ff.) was killed by his own restive team. The pillar in the background of our illustration is equally indecisive: it stands, I think, for the Delphic *omphalós*, though it might perhaps be explained as the goal-post of Oinomaos' race. Our real and conclusive reason for regarding the scene as the death of Neoptolemos, not Myrtilos, is that the former was notoriously slain at the altar of Apollon (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 172), while the latter was no less notoriously flung into the sea by Pelops (*ib.* ii. 3315 ff.).

[2] *Infra* p. 288 f.

[3] F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 107, 261 ff., 362 pl. 20, 5.

[4] *Supra* p. 258 n. 5.

[5] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* i. 25 p. 29, 1 ff. Kayser...δικάζει μὲν δὴ ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐνταῦθα, χρυσαῖ δὲ ἴυγγες ἀποκρέμανται τοῦ ὀρόφου τέτταρες τὴν Ἀδράστειαν αὐτῷ παρεγγυῶσαι καὶ τὸ μὴ ὑπὲρ τοὺς ἀνθρώπους αἴρεσθαι. ταύτας οἱ μάγοι αὐτοί φασιν ἁρμόττεσθαι φοιτῶντες ἐς τὰ βασίλεια, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὰς θεῶν γλώττας.

[6] T. G. Pinches in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1885 viii 164 ff., C. J. Ball *Light from the East* London 1899 pp. 155—157, L. W. King *Babylonian Religion and Mythology* London 1899 p. 19, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilisation* London 1901 p. 657.

'Tablet sculptured with a scene representing the worship of the Sun-god in the Temple of Sippar, and inscribed with a record of the restoration of the temple by *Nabu-pal-idinna*, king of Babylonia, about B.C. 870. In the upper part of the tablet the Sun-god is seen seated within a shrine upon a throne, the sides of which are sculptured with figures of mythical beings in relief; in his right hand he holds a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun's orbit, or eternity. Above his head are the three symbols of the Moon and the Sun and the planet Venus. The roof of the shrine is supported by a column in the form of a palm-trunk. Before the shrine upon an altar or table stands the disk of the sun, which is held in position by means of ropes tightly drawn in the hands of two divine beings who form part of the celestial canopy. Approaching the disk are three human figures; the first of these is the high priest of the Sun-god, who is leading by the hand the king to do worship to the symbol of the solar

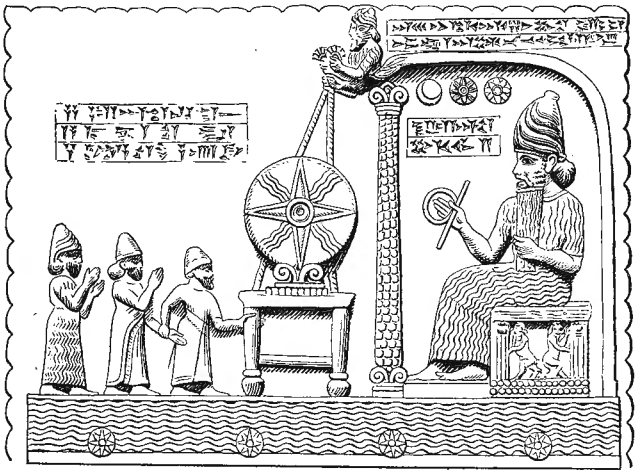


Fig. 190.

deity, and the last figure is either an attendant priest or a royal minister. The shrine of the god stands upon the Celestial Ocean, and the four small disks upon which it rests seem to indicate the four cardinal points. The text describes the restoration of the Temple of the Sun-god by two kings called *Simmash-Shikhu* (about B.C. 1050) and *E-ulbar-shakin-shum* (about B.C. 1020). It then goes on to say that Nabû-pal-idinna, king of Babylonia, found and restored the ancient image of the Sun-god and the sculptures of the temple, which had been overthrown by the enemies of the country....He also beautified the ancient figure of the Sun-god with gold and lapis-lazuli....This tablet was made by Nabû-pal-idinna in the ninth century before Christ, but he probably copied the sculptured scene at the top from a relief of a very much older period[1].'

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge *British Museum. A Guide to the Babylonian and Assyrian Antiquities* London 1900 p. 128 f. pl. 22 no. 91,000.

Comparing now the tablet with the words of Philostratos, we note that it exhibits a throne-room with a ceiling vaulted like the sky, from which emerge certain divine figures. It also mentions lapis-lazuli and gold, thereby recalling the sapphire vault and golden images of the Greek author. Above all, the solar disk suspended by cords and the emblems of sun, moon, and star seen beneath the ceiling are analogous to the four *ýnges* said to have been hung from the roof. I shall venture to conclude that Philostratos was not talking at random, but was describing an actual chamber in the Babylonian palace, such as we know to have been constructed by various grandees from that day to this[1]. Golden disks representing the principal heavenly bodies there dangled from a mimic sky. That of the sun, upheld by two genii of gold, announced by its mobility and resonance the divine will. Indeed, all alike were known as 'the voices of the gods.'

We have thus won our way to an explanation, which further clears up the only difficulty remaining with regard to the Delphic *ýnges*. They—we argued—were wheels on or in the pediments of the early temple at Delphoi. Now if, as Philostratos says[2], these golden *ýnges* 'echoed the persuasive notes of siren voices' (literally, 'echoed a certain persuasion of Sirens'), and if, as Pindar says[3], 'from above the gable sang charmers all of gold,' we may suppose that the Delphic wheels were suspended from the hands of siren-like figures placed upon the roof much as we see the solar disk suspended on the Babylonian tablet.

That the *ýnx* as a bird was sacred among the ancient Babylonians and Persians has been inferred by Dr L. Hopf[4] and Prof. D'Arcy Thompson[5]. This inference, so far as it is based on the Philostratos-passage above discussed, is obviously precarious. Marinos, it is true, states that Proklos was familiar with Chaldean rites 'and by moving a certain *ýnx* in the correct manner caused a rain-fall and freed Attike from a destructive drought[6].' But that this charm was strictly Chaldean, may well be doubted. And, even if it was, the wheel rather than the bird is probably meant[7]. The

[1] See R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 614 n. 1.

[2] *Supra* p. 258 n. 5. [3] *Supra* p. 258 n. 6.

[4] L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 144.

[5] D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 72.

[6] Marin. *v. Procl.* 28 ὄμβρους τε ἐκίνησεν, ἰυγγά τινα προσφόρως κινήσας, καὶ αὐχμῶν ἐξαισίων τὴν Ἀττικὴν ἠλευθέρωσεν. Cp. Proklos *in* Plat. *Crat.* p. 33, 14 f. Pasquali τοιοῦτον δή τι νοεῖν ἔμοιγε δοκεῖ καὶ τὸ διαπόρθμιον ὄνομα τῶν ἰύγγων, ὃ πάσας ἀνέχειν λέγεται τὰς πηγάς, and see further G. Kroll *De oraculis Chaldaicis* Vratislaviae 1894 pp. 39—44.

[7] Yet L. Hopf *loc. cit.* notes that near Radolfszell on the Bodensee wry-necks are called 'Rain-birds' (*Regenvögele*).

same consideration disposes of an allusion to the *ýnx* in a supposititious fragment of Zoroastres[1]. The Rev. W. Houghton, who has minutely studied the birds of the Assyrian monuments and records, discusses no fewer than fifty-seven species; but the wry-neck is not among them[2]. Clearly, then, we cannot without further proof assert that the wry-neck was a sacred bird in Babylonia and Persia. At most we might maintain that the bird-like solar wheel or disk or ring of Assyrian and Persian art[3] originated in the custom of binding a bird, some bird, not necessarily the wry-neck, upon a revolving wheel to serve as an imitative sun-charm.

(ζ) Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, Fortuna.

The *ýnx*-wheels suspended at Delphoi suggest comparison with other temple-wheels. Aristotle in his treatise on *Mechanics* alludes to certain revolving wheels of bronze and iron as dedicated in sanctuaries[4]. Dionysios the Thracian (*c.* 170–90 B.C.) wrote a book on the symbolism of wheels; and Clement of Alexandreia cites from it a passage in which mention is made of 'the wheel that turns in the precincts of the gods, being derived from the Egyptians[5].' Plutarch too has a reference to these Egyptian wheels. By way of explaining Numa's precept that men should turn round when they pay adoration to the gods, he remarks: 'The turning round of the worshippers is said to be an imitation of the rotatory movement of the world. But the meaning would rather seem to be as follows. Since temples face the east, the worshipper has his back to the sun-rise. He here changes his position and turns round towards the (sun-) god, completing the circle, and with it his prayer, by means of both deities (*i.e.* by turning from the sun-god to the god of the temple again). Unless indeed the Egyptian wheels have a hidden significance and this change of position in like manner teaches us that, inasmuch as no mortal matter stands still, it is right to accept with contentment whatever turns and twists God gives our life[6].' Still more explicit is Heron, an Alexandrine mathematician of the third century B.C., who twice describes the wheels in question. 'In the sanctuaries of the Egyptians,' he says,

[1] Pseudo-Zoroastres *frag.* 54 Cory[2] νοούμεναι ἴυγγες πατρόθεν νοέουσι καὶ αὐταί· | βουλαῖς ἀφθέγκτοισι κινούμεναι ὥστε νοῆσαι.

[2] W. Houghton in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1885 viii. 42—142.

[3] *Supra* p. 207 ff.

[4] Aristot. *mech.* 1. 848a 24 f.

[5] Dion. Thrax *ap.* Clem. Al. *str.* 5. 45. 4 p. 356, 9 ff. Stählin.

[6] Plout. *v. Num.* 14.

'by the door-posts are bronze wheels that can be made to revolve, so that those who enter may turn them about, because bronze is believed to exercise a purificatory influence. There are sprinklers too so that those who enter may sprinkle themselves.' Heron proposes to make a wheel, which, if turned round, shall emit water for the sprinkling[1]. Again, another of his problems is the 'construction of a treasury provided with a revolving wheel of bronze, termed a purifier; for this those who come into the sanctuaries are accustomed to turn round.' Heron's idea is to decorate the treasury with a bird, which, as often as the wheel is turned, shall turn itself about and whistle[2]. The first of these passages is accompanied by a diagram of the wheel, or rather disk, which is thin, solid, and vertical. In the second the wheel is thin and vertical, with six spokes.

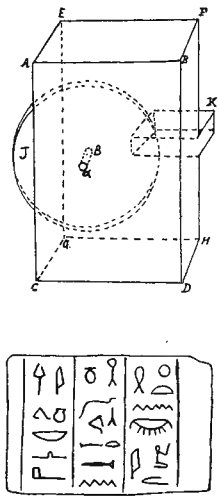


Fig. 191.

In 1900 Prof. A. Erman drew the attention of Egyptologists to these alleged Egyptian wheels[3], and with excellent result; for the next year Prof. F. W. von Bissing published a wheel of the sort that he had procured at Thebes (fig. 191)[4]. It is a copper disk revolving on an iron pin in such a way as to project from a copper box once sunk in a wall or gate-post. The box bears an inscription hard to decipher, but apparently referring to the wheel as a 'golden ring (*or* disk)': hence the discoverer infers that the wheel was formerly gilded.

Whether these wheels were Egyptian in origin or imported into Egypt from some foreign religious system, is a further question. Prof. W. M. Flinders Petrie surmised that Buddhist missionaries in the time of Asoka must have found their way to the valley of the Nile; and Mr W. Simpson, who has done so much for the

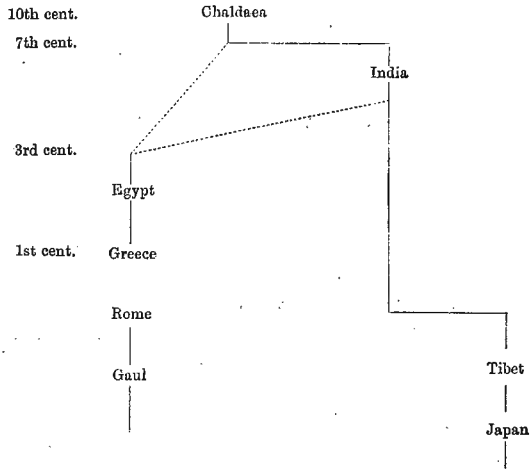
[1] Heron Al. *pneumatica* 1. 32 p. 148 Schmidt. On the purificatory powers of bronze see the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 14 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* 2. 32 p. 298 Schmidt.

[3] A. Erman 'Kupferringe an Tempelthoren' in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1900 xxxviii. 53 f.

[4] F. W. v. Bissing 'Zu Ermans Aufsatz "Kupferringe an Tempelthoren"' *ib.* 1901 xxxix. 144 f. with fig.

elucidation of ritual wheels, inclines to accept that view[1]. Count Goblet d'Alviella suggests the following lines of transmission[2]:



None of these authors call in question Plutarch's statement that the Greeks derived their temple-wheels from Egypt. J. Capart, however, thinks that the current may have set the other way, the custom being introduced into Egypt by the Greeks[3]. Decisive considerations are not as yet to hand. But, whatever the precise lineage of these Graeco-Egyptian temple-wheels may have been, it can hardly be doubted that they were akin to the 'wheel of Fortune'—a common sight in mediaeval churches, where it was made of wood, hung up to the roof, worked with a rope, and regarded as an infallible oracle[4]. Indeed, it seems probable that the automatic gypsy-wheel of our railway platforms is a degenerate descendant of the same respectable stock.

[1] W. Simpson 'The Buddhist Praying Wheel' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1898 pp. 873—875.

[2] Goblet d'Alviella 'Un curieux problème de transmission symbolique.—Les roues liturgiques de l'ancienne Égypte' in the *Bulletins de l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* iii Série 1898 xxvi. 439—462 and in his *Croyances, Rites, Institutions* Paris 1911 i. 25—40.

[3] J. Capart in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1901 xxxix. 145 f.

[4] H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 142 ff. Such wheels are still, or at least were recently, to be found in some continental churches (W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-Wheel* London 1896 p. 229 n. 1).

The wheel as a cult-utensil gave rise to the wheel as a divine attribute. Fortune's wheel is often mentioned in Latin literature from the time of Cicero onwards[1], but is comparatively seldom seen on the monuments[2]. An example or two from imperial coin-types will serve to illustrate the conception[3]. Thus a coin of Elagabalos shows Fortuna with a rudder in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, seated on a throne beneath which is a four-spoked wheel (fig. 192)[4]. On another of Gordianus Pius the

Fig. 192.

Fig. 193.

Fig. 194.

throne has almost vanished and we have Fortuna *Redux* seated apparently upon a mere wheel (fig. 193)[5]. On a third of Gallienus her attributes have passed by a somewhat cynical transition to Indulgentia Augusti, who stands leaning on a short column and holding a rod in her right hand (fig. 194)[6].

[1] Cic. *in Pis.* 22, Tib. 1. 5. 70, Tac. *dial. de or.* 23, Fronto *de orat.* p. 157 Naber, Amm. Marc. 26. 8. 13, 31. 1. 1, Boeth. *de cons. phil.* 2 *pr.* 1, 2 *pr.* 2, cp. Sen. *Agam.* 711 f. So Hor. *od.* 3. 10. 10 ne currente retro funis eat rota, according to Acron and Comm. Cruq. *ad loc.*; but see W. Hirschfelder's note on the passage. Later references are collected by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 866 ff., iv. 1567 f.

[2] Fortuna standing—a bronze statuette (K. Friederichs *Berlins antike Bildwerke* Düsseldorf 1871 ii. 424 no. 1978 cited in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1506). Fortuna, with rudder in right hand and *cornu copiae* in left, seated over a wheel—a brown paste at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 87 no. 1510 pl. 16; *id. Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 27, 61, ii. 137). Fortuna standing with rudder and *cornu copiae* in her hands and a wheel at her feet—two gems (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 197 pl. 89 nos. 16, 17 after A. Gorlay. Modern work?). Cp. Fatum personified as a female standing with left foot raised on a six-spoked wheel and body inclined in the act of writing (*Fata Scribunda*)—a grave-relief (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1445 after Zoega *Bassirilievi* i pl. 15).

[3] The coin-types of Fortuna are most fully listed by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 1135—1179, Suppl. ii. 1089—1110. I figure three specimens from the Cambridge collection.

[4] Cohen *Mon. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 338 no. 147. A similar design is found on the reverse of a bronze medallion of Albinus (W. Kubitschek *Ausgewählte römische Medaillons der kaiserlichen Münzensammlung in Wien* Wien 1909 p. 8 no. 71 pl. 5, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 73 nos. 1, 2 pl. 92, 1—3).

[5] Cohen *op. cit.*[2] v. 31 no. 98. *Id. ib.* no. 96 (the same type in gold) is well figured in the Sale Catalogue of M. le Vicomte de Ponton d'Amécourt *Monnaies d'or romaines et byzantines* Paris 1887 p. 71 no. 481 pl. 18. Mr F. W. Lincoln has a fine specimen of it. A very similar reverse occurs on coppers of the same emperor (Cohen *ib.* nos. 99, 100).

[6] Cohen *op. cit.*[2] v. 337 no. 331. On a bronze medallion of Gallienus Fortuna *Redux* is standing with a rudder in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, and a wheel at her feet (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 107 no. 8 pl. 113, 9).

The wheel of Nemesis, on the other hand, though rarely alluded to in literature[1], is common enough in art[2]. A marble relief, found in the Peiraieus and now in the Louvre (fig. 195)[3], represents the goddess as winged and standing on the back of a naked man. In her left hand she holds a measuring rod; beneath her right is a large four-spoked wheel. Beside her a bearded snake raises its head. This sinister figure occupies the interior of a little chapel and is accompanied by the following epigram:

I am—you see—the Nemesis of men,
Well-winged, immortal, dwelling in the sky.
I flit throughout the world exultingly
And have all mortal tribes within my ken.
Artemidoros, proud and wise—I trow—,
Wrought me in stone and duly paid his vow.

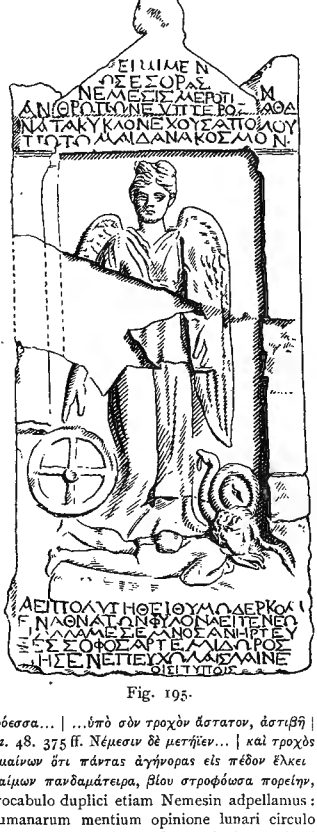


Fig. 195.

[1] Mesomedes *h. Nemes.* 1 ff. *Νέμεσι πτερόεσσα...* | *...ὑπὸ σὸν τροχὸν ἄστατον, ἀστιβῆ* | *χαροπὰ μερόπων στρέφεται τύχα*, Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 375 ff. *Νέμεσιν δὲ μετήϊεν...* | *καὶ τροχὸς αὐτοκύλιστος ἔην παρὰ ποσσὶν ἀνάσσης,* | *σημαίνων ὅτι πάντας ἀγήνορας εἰς πέδον ἕλκει ὑψόθεν εἰλυφόωσα δίκης ποινήτορι κύκλῳ,* | *δαίμων παυδαμάτειρα, βίου στροφόωσα πορείην*, Amm. Marc. 14. 11. 25 f. Adrastia...quam vocabulo duplici etiam Nemesin adpellamus: ius quoddam sublime numinis efficacis, humanarum mentium opinione lunari circulo superpositum...pinnas autem ideo illi fabulosa vetustas aptavit, ut adesse velocitate volucri cunctis existimetur, et praetendere gubernaculum dedit, eique subdidit rotam, ut universitatem regere per elementa discurrens omnia non ignoretur, Claud. *de bello Getico* 631 f. sed dea, quae nimiis obstat Rhamnusia votis, | ingemuit flexitque rotam.

[2] O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 144 f., 156 ff., and in greater detail H. Posnansky *Nemesis und Adrasteia* (*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen* v. 2) Breslau 1890 pp. 109 ff.

[3] P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 600 pl. 15, J. Delamarre in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1894 xviii. 266—270. Cp. the coins of Alexandreia and the statuettes from Memphis(?) and Sebennytos(?) discussed by P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 248—274 pl. 1 f.

A limestone relief in the museum at Gizeh (fig. 196)[1] shows Nemesis in the act of flitting through the world. The sculptor has made a clumsy attempt to combine three different modes of progression—wings spread for flight, limbs in the attitude of running,

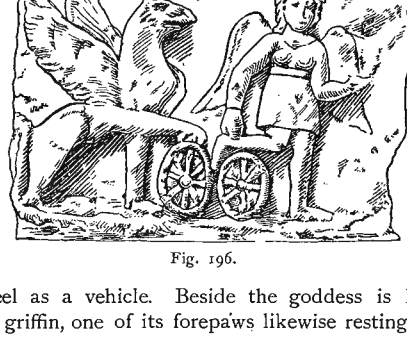


Fig. 196.

and a wheel as a vehicle. Beside the goddess is her familiar animal, the griffin, one of its forepaws likewise resting on a wheel. Griffin and wheel are frequently associated with Nemesis on coins and gems[2]. An interesting development of the type occurs at Smyrna, where there was an ancient cult of two wingless Nemeseis[3]. On the reverse of a coin struck by Commodus (fig. 197)[4] we have a corresponding duplication of attributes; the two Nemeseis are drawn by a pair of griffins in a two-wheeled car. The wheel has become a chariot. The same thing has happened on a red jasper in the British Museum (fig. 198)[5]. A winged Nemesis holding her robe with her right hand and an apple-branch in her left is standing in a car drawn by a large snake. The transformation of the wheel into a chariot

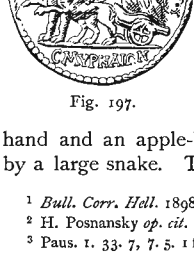


Fig. 197.

[1] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 601 pl. 16, 1.

[2] H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 131 ff. pl. 1.

[3] Paus. 1. 33. 7, 7. 5. 1 ff., 9. 35. 6, A. Boeckh on *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii nos. 2663, 3148, 3163, 3193, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 61—67, O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 121 f.

[4] H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 136 pl. 1, 2.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 138 no. 1141, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 166 pl. 1, 40. Posnansky would here recognize 'eine Verschmelzung der Nemesis mit Hygieia.' This is hardly necessary. Nemesis had a bearded snake on the Peiraieus relief (*supra* p. 269); and Zeus, according to one version, wooed her in the form of a snake (schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 2 p. 308, 13 Stählin cited *infra* p. 279 n. 4).

even led to the total disappearance of the former. On a small prase at Berlin the goddess with a wreath or branch in her left hand and a measuring-rod in her right is drawn by a couple of snakes in a car, the wheels of which are not visible at all[1].

Fig. 198.

Isis too was occasionally represented with a wheel[2]. A billon statuette found in France and formerly in the Charvet collection[3] shows the goddess fairly laden with attributes. On her wings are the busts of Sun and Moon. In her left hand she holds a twofold *cornu copiae*; in her right a rudder, corn-ears, fruit, and a purse. Round her right arm coils a snake; and at her feet is a wheel with projecting hub. Again, on an engraved cornelian[4] she is recognisable by her characteristic head-dress. A snake in her right hand is feeding out of a *phiále* in her left; and at her feet, as before, is the wheel.

It is supposed that Isis borrowed her wheel from Nemesis[5], and that Nemesis in turn borrowed it from Fortuna[6]. These borrowings would be facilitated by the general resemblance subsisting between the deities in question.

Fortuna is commonly regarded as the goddess of luck or destiny[7], and such she undoubtedly became. But that this was her original character can be maintained only by those who are prepared to leave many features of her cult unexplained. Mr Warde Fowler in his admirable book on *The Roman Festivals* hinted that Fortuna might be ranked among 'deities of the earth, or vegetation, or generation[8],' being 'perhaps not only a prophetess as regards the children, but also of the good luck of the mother in

[1] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 115 no. 2451 pl. 22, O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 164. Furtwängler, however, regarded this gem as figuring Nike with wreath and staff standing behind a round altar on the forepart of a ship (?).

[2] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1551, ii. 544, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1040 n. 6.

[3] *Catalogue de la vente Charvet* Paris 1883 p. 171 f. no. 1831, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 263 no. 7, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1551, ii. 546.

[4] A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 i. 88 no. 350 pl. 79. The bibliography of this gem is given by W. Drexler in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 127 f.

[5] For Ἶσις Νέμεσις see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 544 f., iii. 140 f., H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 57, 123, 167. We have also to reckon with an Ἶσις Τύχη, *Isis Tyche* or *Isityche* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1530 ff., 1549 ff., ii. 545 f.). Cp. P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 256 ff.

[6] For Νέμεσις in relation to Τύχη or *Fortuna* see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 135 ff., H. Posnansky *op. cit.* pp. 38 n. 1, 52 ff., 166.

[7] Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] ii. 179 ff., R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1503 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 206 ff.

[8] W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 67, cp. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 235, 245 n. 30.

childbirth[1].' This suggestion was published in 1899; and in 1900 Prof. J. B. Carter considered the problem of Fortuna's origin 'unsolved as yet[2].' Nevertheless in 1905 I felt justified in urging that she was at the first no mere personification of luck, but rather a great goddess of fertility[3]. And that is still my conviction, based on a variety of accepted facts—the derivation of her name from the root of *ferre*, 'to bear[4],' the agricultural and horticultural character of her reduplicated self Fors Fortuna[5], her own intimate association with the Mater Matuta[6], her worship by women under the titles *Virgo* or *Virginalis*[7], *Muliebris*[8], *Virilis*[9], *Mammosa*[10], by man as *Barbata*[11], her cult at Praeneste as *Primigenia*[12], at Rome as *Viscata*[13], her tutelage of latrines[14], her attributes the *cornu copiae*[15], the *modius* or grain-measure[16], and the ears of wheat[17]. The transition of meaning from fertility to luck, and from luck to destiny, is not hard to follow.

Némesis is popularly conceived as an embodiment of divine indignation or vengeance, her name being explained as the verbal substantive from *némo*, 'I impute[18].' H. Usener regarded her as

[1] W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* p. 167, cp. *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* pp. 297, 310 n. 15.

[2] J. B. Carter 'The Cognomina of the Goddess "Fortuna"' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 60.

[3] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 285 n. 4.

[4] Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 239 *s.vv.* 'fors,' 'fortūna,' etc.

[5] Wissowa *op. cit.* p. 206 f.

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 207.

[7] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1519.

[8] *Ib.* 1519 f., W. Otto in *Philologus* 1905 lxiv. 193 ff.

[9] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1518 f.

[10] *Ib.* 1520. J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 62 n. 1 suggests that this epithet 'was probably merely the popular name for a statue with many breasts, very likely a statue of the Ephesian Diana.' But??

[11] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1519. J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 66: 'Whether the cognomen arose out of a popular epithet applied to a bearded statue of an effeminate god or hero (possibly Dionysius [*sic*] or Sardanapalus), which, by a mistake in the gender, was called '*Fortuna with a beard*,' we cannot decide.' Again??

[12] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1541 ff., cp. 1516 f., J. B. Carter *op. cit.* p. 66 ff., *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 420 f., 1904 xviii. 362, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 280 f., 296 f.

[13] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1515, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 421, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 285.

[14] Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 51. 1 p. 39, 15 ff. Stählin. D. Vaglieri has recently found in the barracks of the *vigiles* at Ostia a well-preserved latrine with two dedications to Fortuna *Sancta* (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1911* p. 11): see *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 209 ff.

[15] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1503 ff.

[16] *Ib.* 1506.

[17] *Ib.* 1506.

[18] H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 1 ff., O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 117 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 315 f.

the personification of distributive rather than retributive fate, connecting the name with *némo*, 'I assign[1].' In so doing he revived an etymology already current in Graeco-Roman times[2]. There are, however, grave objections to any such abstract interpretation. The cult of abstractions was comparatively late. The cult of Nemesis was comparatively early. Thus at Rhamnous it was flourishing in the fifth century B.C.[3], and at Smyrna in the sixth[4]. Moreover, the attributes of the goddess at Rhamnous and her twin statues at Smyrna do not suggest a transparent personification of the sort required by these hypotheses. There is more to be said for O. Gruppe's view that Nemesis was an earth-goddess, essentially 'wroth' (*nemesízomai*) with those who annually oppressed her, but willing at the same time to give them oracles[5]. Nevertheless this explanation too has its weak spot. We must not derive *Némesis* from *nemesízomai*, but *nemesízomai* from *némesis*. Thus *Némesis* will not mean 'wroth,' but 'wrath.' In short, we are once more involved in the difficulty of supposing that Nemesis was a personification.

In seeking an escape from this *impasse* we should, I think, start from the analogy of Lachesis. As *Láchesis* was a goddess of the lot (*lacheîn*, 'to get by lot,' *láchos*, 'lot'), so *Némesis* was a goddess of the greenwood (*némo*, 'I pasture,' *némos*, 'glade')—a patroness of animal and vegetable life. As such she would correspond with *Nemetona*, a Diana-like deity of the Celts (Celtic *nemeton*, 'sacred wood')[6]. Indeed, she would be the Greek counterpart of the Italian Diana *Nemorensis* (*Nemus*, 'the Glade'). This is no merely speculative philological equation, but a fact borne out by a comparison of cult with cult. Diana *Nemorensis* as a woodland goddess had

[1] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 371.

[2] Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 b 12 f. Νέμεσιν δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἑκάστῳ διανεμήσεως, Cornut. *theol.* 13 p. 13, 17 f. Lang Νέμεσις δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς νεμήσεως προσηγόρευται—διαιρεῖ γὰρ τὸ ἐπιβάλλον ἑκάστῳ.

[3] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 124 ff.

[4] *Ib.* iii. 121 ff.

[5] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 45 n. 8, 1086 n. 2, cp. 45 n. 9.

[6] On Nemetona see M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 166 f., A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1904 ii. 713. She is compared with Diana by A. Bacmeister *Keltische Briefe* ed. O. Keller Strassburg 1874 p. 47.

The word *nemeton* appears in place-names such as *Augustonemetum*, Δρυνέμετον, *Medionemetum*, etc. See Holder *op. cit.* ii. 712, who cites also from the *Cartulaire de Quimperlé* a. 1031 silva quae vocatur Nemet. Hence the Old Irish *nemed*, 'sacred grove, sanctuary,' the Old Frankish *nimid*, 'sacred place in the wood,' and other related words (Holder *loc. cit.*, L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 275 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 309, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 409 f., M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 171 *s.vv.* 'Nemetes,' 'Nemetiales').

both beasts and trees in her charge. On the one hand, many bronze statuettes from her precinct at Nemi represent her as a huntress[1], and two bronze figures of hinds were found at the entrance of her temple[2]. On the other hand, Grattius in his poem on hunting describes as follows the huntsman's festival: 'In the glades beneath the sky we fashion cross-road altars: we set up split torches at Diana's woodland rite: the puppies are wreathed with their wonted adornment: and in the midmost part of the glade men lay their very weapons upon flowers, weapons that are idle during these rites and the festal time of peace. Then comes the cask: the cakes that smoke on their green tray are brought forward, the kid with horns just budding from his gentle brow, and the apples still hanging on their boughs, after the manner of the lustral rite, whereby our whole company purifies itself for the goddess and praises her for the year's capture[3].' It is a legitimate inference from this passage that apple-branches played an important part in the ritual of Diana *Nemorensis*[4]. A. Furtwängler has acutely recognised the goddess on a whole series of Italian gems and pastes[5]. The specimen here figured exhibits her as a draped female standing by a wreathed altar with a stag at her side; she holds an apple-branch in her right hand, a bowl of apples in her left (fig. 199)[6]. Furtwängler was at first disposed to identify the goddess on this and other examples of the type with Nemesis—an identification justified in one case at least, where she is lifting her hand towards her chin in the regular Nemesis-attitude (fig. 200)[7]. This raises the question whether we have here Nemesis contaminated with Diana *Nemorensis*, or whether Nemesis in her own right could have apple-branch and stag. Pausanias'

Fig. 199.

[1] G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. 34 f. nos. 614, 616—632.

[2] *Id.* p. 35 nos. 633, 634. [3] Gratt. *cynegi.* 483 ff.

[4] I have discussed the matter further in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 445 f. Note that a votive offering in the form of an apple made of terra cotta was found by Lord Savile in Diana's precinct at Nemi: G. H. Wallis *op. cit.* p. 15 no. 69.

[5] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pls. 20, 66; 22, 18, 26, 30, 32, ii. 101, 108 f., iii. 231, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 37 no. 379 pl. 7, p. 59 f. nos. 856–861 pl. 11.

[6] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 18, ii. 108, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 37 no. 379 pl. 7. The gem is a cornelian scarab of the later elongated shape.

[7] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 59 f. no. 858 pl. 11. This is a green paste banded with blue and white.

1

1^a

1^b

2^a

2^b

Nem[illegible]nou:

1. Restoration of the cult-st[illegible]
1^a, 1^b. Extant fragment of [illegible]
2^a, 2^b. *Statér* of Kypros: [illegible]roid; rev. Nemesis standing.

See pages 275, 281.

account of Nemesis at Rhamnous enables us to decide in favour of the latter alternative: 'On the head of the goddess is a crown decorated with stags and small figures of Victory; in her left hand she carries an apple-branch, and in her right a bowl, on which are wrought Aithiopes (pl. xxiii, 1)[1].' Thus Nemesis at Rhamnous had the same insignia as Diana at Nemi, to wit, an apple-branch[2] and stags; and presumably for the same reason, because the Greek, like the Italian, goddess was a woodland[3] power controlling both vegetable and animal life. After this we are not surprised to find that Nemesis was in Roman times identified with Artemis or Diana[4]. Of their identification we have both literary and monumental evidence. A metrical inscription found in 1607 on the Appian Road and commemorating the munificence of Herodes Attikos invokes Nemesis in the following hexameter line:

Fig. 200.

Thou too that watchest the works of men, Rhamnusian *Oûpis*[5].

Oûpis, as Dr Farnell remarks[6], 'was an ancient and half-forgotten name of Artemis...resuscitated by later poetry' and interpreted by the Greeks as the 'Watcher' (*opízesthai*). The cult-image at Rhamnous is described by Pomponius Mela as 'Pheidias' *Nemesis*[7]' and by Julius Solinus as 'Pheidias' statue of *Diana*[8]'! Adjoining the amphitheatre at Aquincum (*Alt-Ofen*) in Lower Pannonia was a chapel to Nemesis. Here a dedication 'To the

[1] Paus. 1. 33. 3. Pl. xxiii, 1 is a restoration of the statue based on the extant fragment of the head (1[a] and 1[b], *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 264 f. no. 460) and on the coin described *infra* p. 281. See further O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 147—155 with fig. 2.

[2] Nemesis lifting her drapery in one hand and holding an apple-branch in the other occurs on Graeco-Roman gems (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 138 nos. 1140—1142, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 161 f., 166 pl. 1 figs. 23, 24, 27, 40). Quasi-autonomous bronze coins of Smyrna show a somewhat similar figure lifting her drapery in one hand and holding a filleted branch in the other: she is recognized as Nemesis by H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 133 pl. 1 fig. 21, but is called Demeter (?) by B. V. Head *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 249 pl. 26, 6.

Mr F. M. Cornford points out to me (May 10, 1911) that, according to Hes. *o. d.* 223 cp. 215 f., Nemesis was of the same family as the apple-guarding Hesperides.

[3] Diana was often paired with Silvanus (*e.g.* Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 3266—3268: see further A. v. Premerstein in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 409). So on occasion was Nemesis (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3747 [a, b]).

[4] See A. v. Premerstein *loc. cit.* p. 407 ff., who has collected most of the relevant facts.

[5] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 ii 2 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 263. 2 ἤ τ' ἐπὶ ἔργα βροτῶν ὁράᾳς, Ῥαμνουσιὰς Οὖπι.

[6] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 488.

[7] Mel. 2. 3. 46 Rhamnus parva, inlustris tamen, quod in ea fanum est Amphiarai et Phidiaca Nemesis.

[8] Solin. 7. 26 Ramne quoque, in qua Amphiarai fanum et Phidiacae signum Dianae.

goddess 'Diana Nemesis Augusta' came to light, dated in the year 259 A.D.[1] Similarly at Carnuntum (*Petronell*) in Upper Pannonia the amphitheatre had attached to it a sanctuary of Nemesis, the excavation of which in modern times has led to some remarkable finds[2]. In the apse of the building, on an inscribed base, stood the statue of Nemesis herself (fig. 203)[3]. The goddess conforms to the late Roman type of Artemis or Diana. She is dressed in a short *chitón*, which leaves the right breast bare, and an outer garment worn like a girdle round the upper part of her figure and falling over her left arm. On her head is a crescent moon with a small disk above it. On her feet are high hunting-boots. She has a winged griffin on one side, a wheel on the other. Her right hand holds both a rudder and a whip; her left hand, a sheathed sword[4]. Close to her and sheltered by the same apse stood a second statue, that of Commodus, on a base which was inscribed in the year 184 A.D. but was subsequently, owing to the official condemnation of the emperor's memory, turned with its face to the wall. The statue seems to have represented Commodus as Iupiter with an eagle at his feet[5]. If he was king, Nemesis was queen; for a neighbouring altar erected in 199 A.D., was inscribed as 'Sacred to Nemesis the

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 10440 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3742.

[2] *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 205 ff. (C. Tragau), 228 ff. (J. Zingerle), 236 ff. (E. Bormann).

[3] *Ib.* p. 210 fig. 19.

[4] The nearest parallel to this statue with its complex symbolism is a relief dedicated to Nemesis *Regina* found at Andautonia in Upper Pannonia and now in the Agram Museum (*ib.* p. 229 f. fig. 35 *a*). Cp. also a sarcophagus from Teurnia in Noricum (*Philologus* 1894 liii. 408).

[5] *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 211, 237 ff., 243 f. Coins of Commodus show not only IVPPITER CONSERVATOR protecting the emperor (fig. 201), but also the emperor himself

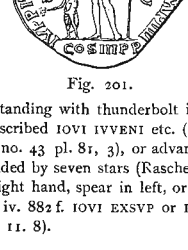


Fig. 201.

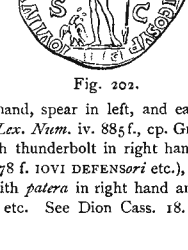


Fig. 202.

as Jupiter standing with thunderbolt in right hand, spear in left, and eagle at his feet (fig. 202) inscribed IOVI IVVENI etc. (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 885 f., cp. Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 56 no. 43 pl. 81, 3), or advancing with thunderbolt in right hand and spear in left, surrounded by seven stars (Rasche *ib.* iv. 878 f. IOVI DEFENS*ori* etc.), or seated with branch in right hand, spear in left, or again with *patera* in right hand and eagle at his feet (*id. ib.* iv. 882 f. IOVI EXSVP or EXSVPER etc. See Dion Cass. 18. 15, Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 11. 8).

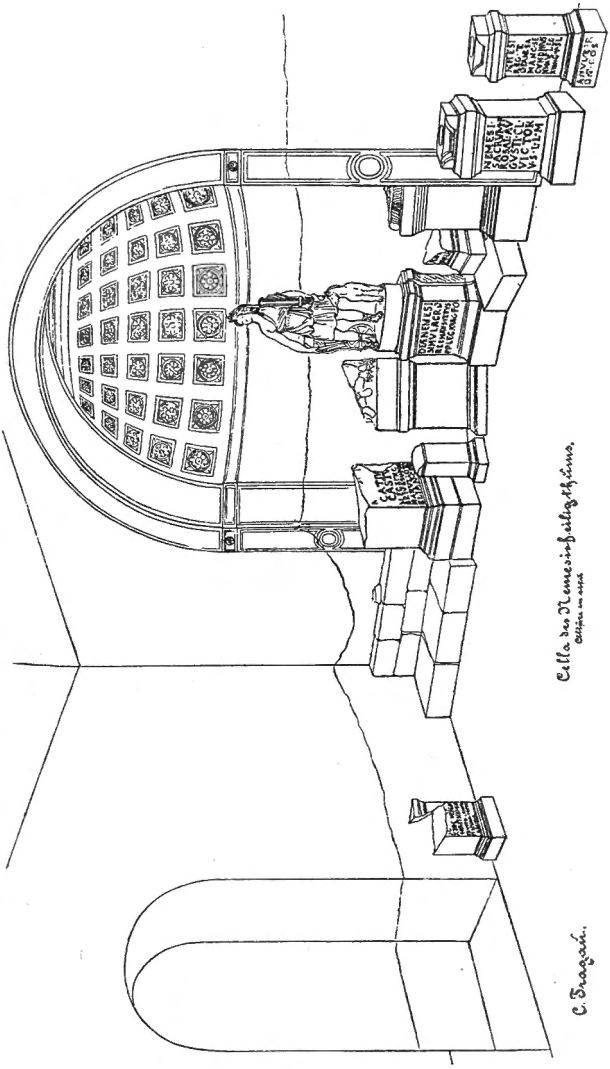


Fig. 203.

Queen and Diana[1].' It thus appears that at Carnuntum the consort of this Diana-like Nemesis was a human Jupiter—a fact to be borne in mind when we are comparing the cult of Nemesis with that of Diana *Nemorensis*. It may be objected that the cult of Nemesis at Carnuntum was late, that emperor-worship was ubiquitous, and that therefore the combination of the former with the latter was accidental and of no special significance. But the same combination occurs elsewhere and has antecedents that deserve investigation. A copper coin of Akmoneia in Phrygia (fig. 204)[2] shows the emperor Septimius Severus galloping towards a mountain. He holds a whip in his right hand, and before him flies an eagle apparently grasping a thunderbolt. On the mountain are two female figures in the attitude of Nemesis; at its base is a recumbent youth, naked to the waist, who is probably meant for the local river-god. The interpretation of this scene is difficult and in some points doubtful; but at least it is clear that the emperor, regarded as Zeus, was at Akmoneia brought into connexion with the Nemeseis. Confirmation is afforded by a somewhat analogous coin-type of Smyrna. Pausanias *à propos* of the Smyrnaeans writes[3]: 'The present city was founded by Alexander, son of Philip, in consequence of a vision which he had in a dream. They say he had been hunting on Mount Pagus, and when the chase was over he came to a sanctuary of the Nemeses, and there he lighted on a spring and a plane-tree before the sanctuary, the tree overhanging the water. As he slept under the plane-tree the Nemeses, they say, appeared to him, and bade him found a city there and transfer to it the Smyrnaeans from the old town. So the Smyrnaeans sent envoys to Clarus to inquire about the matter, and the god answered them :—

Fig. 204.

> Thrice blest, yea four times, shall they be
> Who shall inhabit Pagus beyond the sacred Meles.

So they willingly removed, and they now believe in two Nemeses instead of one.' Copper coins of Smyrna struck by Marcus Aurelius[4] and Philippus Senior (fig. 205)[5] represent this vision of

[1] *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1897 xx. 241 f. *Nemesi Reg(inae) et Dean(a)e sa(crum)* etc.

[2] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 391 f. no. 50 pl. G, 24 (Vienna). Cp. similar coins, but without the eagle, struck under Volusianus (Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 392 no. 51 pl. G, 25, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 21 pl. 4, 6).

[3] Paus. 7. 5. 1 ff. trans. J. G. Frazer.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 279.

[5] *Ib.* p. 296 pl. 29, 16, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 171 f. pl. 6, 14.

Alexander. The king, a recumbent youth naked to the waist, is sleeping beneath a plane-tree, at the foot of which is a *bucranium.* Beside him lie his shield, spear, and greave. Beyond him stand the two Nemeseis holding a bridle and a cubit-rule respectively, and making their customary gesture. The significance of this gesture has been much discussed[1]. I take it to have been originally that of a bride, comparable with Hera's handling of her veil[2]. The goddess, in short, needed a partner; and Alexander, whom Apelles painted at Ephesos with a thunderbolt in his hand[3], may have passed muster as her divine consort. This is of course mere surmise. But, if we follow the figure of Nemesis back into the past as far as we are able, we still find her paired with Zeus, not to say with a human Zeus. For the *Kypria,* an early epic of uncertain authorship, told how 'Zeus king of the gods' became by her the father of the Dioskouroi and of Helene[4]. Moreover, since the Dioskouroi and

Fig. 205.

[1] C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 120, 301, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 146.

[2] *Infra* ch. iii.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 92, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 404 n. 1.

[4] *Cypria frag.* 5 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 5 p. 22, 22 ff. Stählin and *frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* Athen. 334 B—D. According to *frag.* 6, Nemesis, when pursued by Zeus, fled across sea and land transforming herself into a fish and other animals to escape his embraces. Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1321, 38 f. λέγων διὰ τοῦ ποιήσαντος τὰ Κύπρια ὅτι Διοσκούρους καὶ Ἑλένην ἡ Νέμεσις ἔτεκεν, ἣ διωκομένη, φησίν, ὑπὸ Διὸς μετεμορφοῦτο. O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 119 thinks that the end of the story as told in the *Cypria* is preserved for us by Apollod. 3. 10. 7 λέγουσι δὲ ἔνιοι Νεμέσεως Ἑλένην εἶναι καὶ Διός. ταύτην γὰρ τὴν Διὸς φεύγουσαν συνουσίαν εἰς χῆνα τὴν μορφὴν μεταβαλεῖν, ὁμοιωθέντα δὲ καὶ Δία κύκνῳ συνελθεῖν· τὴν δὲ ᾠὸν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἀποτεκεῖν, τοῦτο δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἅλσεσιν (ἅλσεσιν *excerpt. Sabb.*, ἕλεσιν cj. Preller cp. Ptol. Heph. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 149 b 5, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 88, δάσεσιν cj. Bekker) εὑρόντα τινὰ ποιμένα Λήδᾳ κομίσαντα δοῦναι, τὴν δὲ καταθεμένην εἰς λάρνακα φυλάσσειν, καὶ χρόνῳ καθήκοντι γεννηθεῖσαν Ἑλένην ὡς ἐξ αὐτῆς θυγατέρα τρέφειν. If so, the myth was not yet localised: ἅλσεσιν (=*νέμεσιν*) may have been suggested by Νέμεσις, as ἕλεσιν by Ἑλένη. Others (U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorf in *Hermes* 1883 xviii. 262 n. 1, R. Kekulé *Festschrift zur Feier des fünfzigjährigen Bestehens des archäolog. Instituts zu Rom* Bonn 1879 p. 9, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 17) suppose that the final scene of the *Cypria* was laid at Rhamnous.

The love of Zeus for Nemesis is variously told. Almost all accounts agree that Zeus took the form of a swan (Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne), however, has Νεμέσει τῇ τοῦ Θεστίου, τῇ καὶ Λήδᾳ νομισθείσῃ, κύκνος ἢ χὴν γενόμενος κ.τ.λ. = *infra* ch. i § 8 (d) and schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 2 p. 308, 13 Stählin says δράκων· ἐπὶ Νέμεσιν = *supra* p. 270 n. 5). Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 8 adds that Zeus as a swan was fleeing from Aphrodite as an eagle. Nemesis was secured in the form of a goose (Apollod. 3. 10. 7, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 88) or of a woman (Isokrat. 10 *Helene* 59, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 8).

A red-figured *kratêr* from Gnathia, now at Bonn (fig. 206), shows the egg deposited on an altar in the precinct of a pillar-Zeus (*supra* p. 40 n. 1), where Leda—originally a

Helene are elsewhere termed the children of Tyndareos[1], it seems reasonable to conjecture that the original consort of Nemesis was a king who bore the part of Zeus. Be that as it may, Nemesis was already associated with Zeus in epic times[2]. The myth was localised at Rhamnous by the comedian Kratinos in his *Nemesis*[3]; and it is a curious coincidence, if no more, that the same poet in

Fig. 206.

the same play spoke of Perikles as a human Zeus[4]. The fact that this myth first emerges in the *Kypria* recalls a famous *statér* of

doublet of Nemesis—discovers it with a gesture of surprise. To the right stand the Dioskouroi, brothers of the unborn Helene; to the left, Tyndareos, reputed father of all three. See further R. Kekulé *Ueber ein griechisches Vasengemälde im akademischen Kunstmuseum zu Bonn* Bonn 1879 pp. 1—26 with figs. and pl.

[1] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1158 ff.

[2] Were Zeus Νέμειος and Νεμέα (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) viii) originally an analogous pair of woodland deities?

[3] Kratinos *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 25 and schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 405, 9 ff. Eyssenhardt, cp. schol. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 232: see A. Meineke *Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 81, H. Posnansky *op. cit.* p. 16 ff.

[4] Kratinos *Nemesis frag.* 10 *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 3 μόλ', ὦ Ζεῦ ξένιε καὶ μακάριε (*v.l.* κάριε, Meineke cj. καραιέ, Sintenis cj. Καραῖε: Append. B).

Kypros (pl. xxiii, 2)[1], which has Zeus enthroned as its obverse, Nemesis standing as its reverse type. In the former J. P. Six detected a modification of the masterpiece at Olympia; in the latter, a copy of the cult-statue at Rhamnous. The god has a *phiále* (?) in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. The goddess is wearing a head-dress, which may no doubt be a mere wreath but is possibly[2] the Rhamnusian crown of stags and small Victories. The *fibula* on her right shoulder is decorated with the head of a griffin, her favourite animal. In her lowered left hand she holds the apple-branch[3]; in her extended right, a *phiále* with a *thymiatérion* beneath it.

The final proof that Nemesis was near akin to Diana *Nemorensis* may be found in a consideration of the term *Nemesiaci*. Commodianus, a Christian poet of the fifth[4] century, describes the devotees of Diana as *Nemesiaci*[5] or 'followers of Nemesis'—a

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. lxxiv f. 43 pl. 8, 7, J. P. Six 'Aphrodité-Némésis' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 89—102 pl. 5 (enlarged photograph), *id.* in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1883 i. 287 ff. no. 24 pl. 6, 13, *id.* in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 144 n. 1, *id.* in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 130, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 170 pl. 10, 27, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 741. Besides the specimen in the British Museum, there is said to be one in the collection of the late W. H. Waddington at Paris (J. P. Six in *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1883 i. 288). The legend on the reverse was read by J. P. Six (*Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1886 xiv. 144 and *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 130) βασιλέος Τιμοχάριος. G. F. Hill (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. lxxiv f.) prefers Τι · μο · χα · ρη · ſο · σε (cp. βασιλῆος etc.) and dates the coin *c.* 385 B.C. (*ib.* p. 43 Paphos no. 45).

[2] G. F. Hill *ib.* p. lxxv.

[3] G. F. Hill *ib.* p. 43 'a branch (of apple).' J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 90 n. 3 says: 'Sur le statère les feuilles et les fleurs font penser à ceux du grenadier.' For μῆλον = 'pomegranate' see *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (λ).

[4] See the *Class. Quart.* 1911 v. 268.

[5] Commod. *instructiones* i. 19 an acrostic NEMESIACIS VANIS—

N on ignominium est uirum seduci prudentem
E t colere tale⟨a⟩m aut Dianam dicere lignum?
M ane ebrio, crudo, perituro creditis uno,
E x arte qui fincte loquitur quod illi uidetur;
S euere ⟨diuinum⟩ dum agit, sibi uiscera pascit.
I ncopriat ciues unus detestabilis omnes
A dplicuitque sibi similis collegio facto,
C um quibus historiam fingit, ut deum adornet.
I pse sibi nescit diuinare, ceteris audet.
S uccollat, quando libet, eum, et quando, deponit;
V ertitur a se⟨se⟩ rotans cum ligno bifurci,
A c si putes illum adflatum numine ligni.
N on deos uos colitis, quos isti false prophetant:
I psos sacerdotes colitis in uano timentes.
S ed si corde uiges, fuge iam sacraria mortis.

I print the poem as it stands in the latest edition, that of B. Dombart (*Corpus scriptorum*

metathesis of names intelligible on the assumption that the Diana in question was Diana *Vemorensis*. That assumption is borne out by the wording of the poem:

> Is it not infamous that a prudent man
> Should be seduced to worship a cut branch[1]
> Or call a log[2] Diana? Ye believe
> One drunk at dawn, full-fed, and doomed to die[3],
> Who speaks just what he thinks with feigned art
> And, whilst he plays the god[4] full solemnly,
> Feeds his own entrails[5]. Thus abominable,
> He fouls his fellow-citizens wholesale,
> Gathers a brotherhood akin to himself
> And with them feigns a tale to adorn the god.
> He knows not how his own fate to foretell[6],
> Yet dares to do the like for other folk,—
> Shoulders the god at times, at times just drops him.
> He turns himself about revolving still
> With a two-pronged stick, till you might think he were
> Inspired by the godhead of the same[7].

ecclesiasticorum Latinorum xv) Vindobonae 1887 p. 24 f. The chief variants are mentioned in the following notes.

[1] The manuscript reading in the first line is *uirum* C. A. edd. antt., *uirium* B. A *marg.*, and in the second line *talem* C. B. A. edd. antt. Two brilliant emendations have been proposed. E. Ludwig in the Teubner text (1878) adopts his own cj. Non ignominium est Virbium seduci prudentem | et colere talem aut Dianam dicere lignum? and comments (p. xxxiv): hoc l. nomen proprium desiderari ex uerbis hisce 'colere talem aut Dianam dicere lignum' adparet; neque uero deae nemoris numen quodlibet coniungi potest, sed solus deus nemoris ac uenationis Dianae similis uel eiusdem deae sacerdos, quem esse *Virbium*, antiquissimum Regem Nemorensem ac sacerdotem Dianae in nemore Ariciensi cultae, codicum scriptura probatur. B. Dombart keeps *uirum*, which has the support of C (cod. Cheltenhamensis, s. xi) our best MS., and very ingeniously cj. *taleam*, 'a cut bough' or 'branch.' In favour of retaining *talem* is Commod. *instr.* 1. 14. 6 non te pudet, stulte, tales adorare tabellas? 1. 17. 12 sed stipem ut tollant ingenia talia quaerunt, 1. 18. 18 gestabant enim, et aruit tale sigillum, 2. 17. 1 ff. CHRISTIANVM TALEM ESSE. The word is, in fact, something of a mannerism in this poet.

[2] B. Dombart cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11 coluisse...lignum †Carios† (so MSS., but the text has been corrected to *Icarios* by the aid of Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 46. 3 p. 35, 17 f. Stählin and Strab. 639) pro Diana indolatum.

[3] Dombart *ad loc.*: '*perituros* ideo dicitur sacerdos Dianae Aricinae, quia cogebatur cum eo certamen singulare inire, qui locum eius petebat.'

[4] F. Oehler (ed. 1847), content to follow the MSS. (*dū* C. *dum* B.A. edd. antt.), prints: Seuere dum agit. E. Ludwig cj. Seuere deum agit. B. Dombart, after Hanssen's cj. *d(iuin)um*, reads: Seuere (divinum) dum agit. We are not elsewhere definitely told that the priest of Diana acted the part of a god; but cp. 14 ipsos sacerdotes colitis.

[5] The MSS. have *poscit* (so C. A.: *pŏscit* B.) which gives a possible sense—'begs entrails for himself.' But all the editors adopt the reading *pascit*: this probably means 'feeds his own entrails, gorges himself' (cp. 3 crudo).

[6] Since every moment he is liable to be attacked by his would-be successor (cp. 3 perituro).

[7] The poet appears to mean that the priest of Diana held a forked stick, like a dowser's divining-rod, and spun himself round as though inspired by the movement of

These are no gods ye worship : false the claim
Their priests put forward. 'Tis the priests themselves
Ye worship with vain fears. Nay, if thou art wise,
Flee even now the sanctuaries of death[1].

A decree of Honorius and Theodosius, dated 412 A.D., after providing for the recall of runaway slaves, deals with several societies and sects among which runaway slaves might be sought. One such sect is that of the *Nemesiaci* or fanatic followers of Nemesis[2]. They are mentioned again, and for the last time, about the middle of the fifth century by Maximus, bishop of Turin, who in one of his sermons gives an interesting account of their rustic cult and crazy priest (*Dianaticus*)[3].

Dr Farnell has argued that Nemesis was from the first no

his stick. 'Nearly all dowsers assert that when the rod moves in their hands...they experience a peculiar sensation, which some describe as felt in the limbs like the tingling of an electric shock, others as a shivering or trembling, and others as an unpleasant sensation in the epigastric region. With all there is more or less of a convulsive spasm, sometimes of a violent character' (Sir W. F. Barrett in the *Proceedings of the Society for Psychical Research* xv. 299 cited by F. W. H. Myers *Human Personality* London 1904 i. 481). This seems to be the first explicit mention of the dowser's rod. But I have elsewhere suggested that it was the origin of the Pythagorean γ (*Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 375 f.).

For similar *θεοφορούμενοι* see J. E. B. Mayor on Juv. 4. 123.

[1] The phrase *sacraria mortis* would be especially appropriate to such a cult as that of Diana Nemorensis, whose priest was ever the murderer of his predecessor.

[2] *Cod. Theod.* 14. 7. 2 collegiatos et vitutiarios et Nemesiacos signiferos cantabrarios et singularum urbium corporatos simili forma praecipimus revocari. quibus etiam supplicandi inhibendam facultatem esse censuimus, ne originem (quod fieri non potest) commutare ulla iussio videatur; ac si forte per sacram auctoritatem cognoscitur aliqui liberatus, cessante beneficio ad originem revertatur. dat. vi kalend. Decembr. Rav. Honor. ix et Theod. v AA. Coss.

It will be remembered that the *rex Nemorensis* was regularly a runaway slave (Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 16).

[3] Maximus Taurinensis *serm.* 101 (lvii. 734 Migne) nihil ibi liberum est a scelere, ubi totum versatur in scelere. cum cellam ingressus fueris, reperies in ea pallentes cespites mortuosque carbones, dignum sacrificium daemonis, cum mortuo numini rebus mortuis supplicatur. et si ad agrum processeris, cernis aras ligneas et simulacra lapidea, congruens ministerium, ubi diis insensibilibus aris putrescentibus ministratur. cum maturius vigilaveris et videris saucium vino rusticum, scire debes quoniam, sicut dicunt, aut Dianaticus aut aruspex est; insanum enim numen amentem solet habere pontificem; talis enim sacerdos parat se vino ad plagas deae suae, ut dum est ebrius poenam suam ipse non sentiat. hoc autem non solum de temperantia, sed et de arte faciunt, ut minus vulnera sua doleant, dum vini ebrietate iactantur. vanus plane vates est, qui putat crudelitate astruere pietatem. quam misericors in alienos deos ille qui in suos est pontifices tam cruentus! nam ut paulisper describamus habitum vatis huiusce: est ei adulterinis criniculis hirsutum caput, nuda habens pectora, pallio crura semicincta, et more gladiatorum paratus ad pugnam ferrum gestat in manibus, nisi quod gladiatore peior est, quia ille adversus alterum dimicare cogitur, iste contra se pugnare compellitur. ille aliena petit viscera, iste propria membra dilaniat, et, si dici potest, ad crudelitatem illum lanista, istum numen hortatur.

vague personification of a moralising sort, but a definite figure of ancient religion. Her name—he thinks—was a title given at Rhamnous to a goddess of birth and death resembling Artemis, and at Smyrna to two goddesses (originally to one goddess) of vegetation resembling Aphrodite. He holds that the appellative, if Homeric or post-Homeric in date, marked 'the goddess who feels righteous indignation at evil acts and evil words,' if pre-Homeric, 'denoted distribution of any lot, the lot of life to which

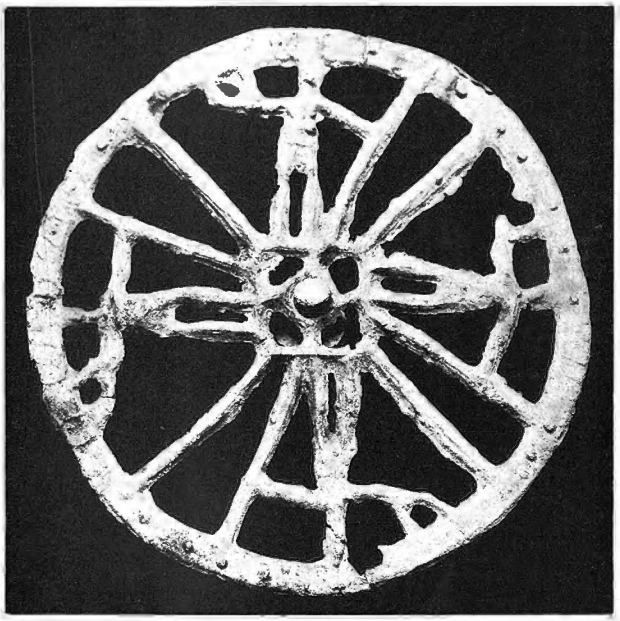


Fig 207.

each is born[1].' I agree with this able scholar in thinking that Nemesis was a substantial deity of early date akin to Artemis, if not also to Aphrodite; but for that very reason I cannot be content to saddle her with a cult-title denoting either 'indignation' or 'distribution.' The cult of -ations and -utions is late, not early. I incline to believe that *Némesis*, a concrete 'goddess of the

[1] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 487—498.

Greenwood' (*némos*), became a goddess of vengeance simply through an illogical but almost inevitable confusion with the abstract substantive *némesis* meaning 'righteous wrath.' *Némesis* and *némesis*, so far as etymology is concerned, were doubtless sprung from the same parent stem, but in point of usage they belonged to widely divergent branches of it. In the apple-bough held by Nemesis at Rhamnous, perhaps too in the plane-tree before the sanctuary of the Nemeseis at Smyrna, we may detect a last trace of the original character of the woodland goddess.

Returning now to the main topic of the present section—the ritual wheels of Isis, Nemesis, Tyche, and Fortuna—we have yet to notice one extant specimen of a different but analogous sort. It is a wheel of cast lead from the Millingen collection in the British Museum (fig. 207), which was in all probability used for purposes of divination. It revolves upon a central pin, and has four spokes radiating from the angles of an inner square. Between every pair of adjacent spokes is a standing male figure, who holds a wreath in his right hand, a spear or sceptre in his left[1]. Round the rim are Roman numerals (VI VII etc.) and groups of letters. Some of these are to me illegible; but over the figure uppermost in my illustration can be clearly seen PREPE, presumably the Greek *prépei*, 'it is fitting,'—a word appropriate to the diviner's art[2].

It is probable, though not quite certain[3], that all such wheels of Fortune were once intended to figure forth the sun. For—apart from the fact that the sun was sometimes, as we have seen, conceived as a wheel by the Greeks—there is the noteworthy circumstance that the dedication-day of the temple of Fors Fortuna was June 24[4], the summer solstice[5]. Moreover, on the third Sunday in June, which would correspond approximately with Midsummer Day, at Douai a large wheel called the *roue de fortune* used to be carried in procession before a wicker-work giant known

[1] Mr F. H. Marshall in a note dated May 4, 1911 compares the magical disk published by R. Wünsch *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft vi) Berlin 1905 p. 45 ff. pl. 2, figs. 8 f.—a convex plate of bronze fitted with a swing handle and engraved with concentric circles and two series of *radii*, between which are numerous Greek and Egyptian characters and cabalistic signs. 'The figure with parted arms on the Pergamon disk recalls,' says Mr Marshall, 'those on the lead disk.'

[2] M. Bréal in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1908 xxi. 113 ff. argues that the use of *πρέπει*, 'il convient,' explains the second element in *θεοπρόπιον*, 'oracle' (yet see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 182, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 339).

[3] W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 161, 169 f. adopts an attitude of cautious reserve.

[4] R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1501.

[5] H. Gaidoz justly emphasised this fact: see W. Warde Fowler *op. cit.* p. 169 f.

as *le grand Gayant* and other figures termed *les enfants de Gayant*[1]. This enables us to bring the wheel of Fortune into connexion with a whole series of customs observed by the peasants of central Europe. Dr Frazer has shown that at Midsummer a blazing wheel is trundled down hill[2]; burning disks or wheels are flung into the air[3]; a tar-barrel is kindled and swung round a pole[4]; and fresh fire is made by rotating a wheel on a wooden axle[5]. A clue to the meaning of these rites is furnished by G. Durandus in his account of the feast of Saint John the Baptist (Midsummer Day)[6]:

'At this festival three special rites are performed. For in some districts on the eve of the feast men and boys, in accordance with ancient custom, collect bones and certain other unclean things, and burn them together, so that a smoke rises from them into the air. Moreover, they bring brands or torches, and with them go the round of the fields. There is a third rite too; for they roll a wheel. Those who burn the unclean things and make the smoke rise aloft derive this practice from the heathen. For in ancient days dragons, stirred to lust at this time of year on account of the heat, used to fly through the air and often let fall their seed into wells and springs. Thus the waters were infected; and the year was then deadly by reason of the corruption of the air and the waters, for whosoever drank of them died or suffered some grave disorder. Philosophers, remarking this, bade fire be made frequently and everywhere round wells and springs, and any unclean things likely to cause an unclean smoke be burnt there; for they were aware that dragons could be put to flight by a smoke of that sort. And, since such things took place especially at this time of year, the custom is still kept up by some. For dragons are actual animals, as it says in the psalm "Praise the Lord from the earth, Ye dragons," not *thracones*, that is passages of the earth, as some have asserted. These animals fly in the air, swim in the waters, and walk through the earth. They cannot abide anything unclean and flee before a stinking smoke, like elephants before the grunting of swine. There is another reason why the bones of animals are burnt, to wit in memory of the fact that the bones of John the Baptist were burnt by the heathen in the city of Sebaste. Or this may refer to the New Testament; for the boys cast away and burn what is old to signify that, when the new law comes, the Old Testament must cease; for it is said "Ye shall not eat the oldest of the old, and when the new comes in ye shall cast out the old." Brands too or blazing torches are brought and fires are made, which signify Saint John, who "was a burning and a shining light," the forerunner who came before "the true light, even the light which lighteth every man that cometh into

[1] H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 32 ff. These wicker giants may be descended from the Druid divinities, whose colossal images of wicker-work are described by Caesar *de bell. Gall.* 6. 16.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] iii. 268 f., 271, 273.

[3] *Id. ib.* iii. 270 f., 273, 278.

[4] *Id. ib.* iii. 272.

[5] *Id. ib.* iii. 276 f.

[6] G. Durandus *Rationale divinorum officiorum* Lugduni 1612 lib. 7 cap. 14 no. 10 ff. This important book was first printed at Mentz in 1459.

the world." As it is said in John vi, He is a burning light, shining before the Lord, who hath prepared a way for the Lord in the wilderness. In some places a wheel is rolled, to signify that just as the sun comes to the highest parts of its circle and can get no higher but then descends in the circle, so too the glory of John, who was thought to be the Christ, descends, according to the witness that he himself bore when he said "He must increase, but I must decrease." And some say that this was said because the days then begin to decrease and at the nativity of Christ to increase. But as to their decreasing before the feast of Saint John and increasing before the birthday of Our Lord, this we must understand of their nativity in the mother, that is to say, of the time when each was conceived; because John was conceived when the days were decreasing, as in September, Christ when they were increasing, as in April. Or take it of the death of each; for the body of Christ was uplifted on the cross, whereas the body of John was cut short by being beheaded.'

From this singular medley of superstition and piety, which agrees with the accounts given by other mediaeval Latinists and can be traced back to the twelfth century[1], one fact stands out clearly. The Midsummer wheel represented the sun. Dr Frazer, after recording in detail a large number of examples, concludes as follows[2]: 'The best general explanation of these European fire-festivals seems to be the one given by Mannhardt, namely, that they are sun-charms or magical ceremonies intended to ensure a proper supply of sunshine for men, animals, and plants....This view of the festivals is supported by various arguments drawn partly from the rites themselves, partly from the influence which they are believed to exert upon the weather and on vegetation. For example, the custom of rolling a burning wheel down a hill-side, which is often observed at these times, seems a very natural imitation of the sun's course in the sky, and the imitation is especially appropriate on Midsummer Day when the sun's annual declension begins. Not less graphic is the mimicry of his apparent revolution by swinging a burning tar-barrel round a pole. The custom of throwing blazing discs, shaped like suns, into the air is probably also a piece of imitative magic. In these, as in so many cases, the magic force is supposed to take effect through mimicry or sympathy; by imitating the desired result you actually

[1] John Beleth, a Parisian divine, who wrote his *Summa de divinis officiis* about 1162 A.D., appears to have been the immediate source of G. Durandus; for the extract, which J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass ii. 620 f. gives from Beleth *Summa* Dillingen 1572 cap. 137 fol. 256, agrees substantially, in part even verbally, with the corresponding sections of Durandus *Rationale*, which was written in 1286 A.D. Very similar again is cod. Harleian. 2345 art. 100 cited by J. Brand *Popular Antiquities* rev. Sir H. Ellis London 1849 i. 298 n. 1 and more fully by J. M. Kemble *The Saxons in England*[2] London 1876 i. 361 f. See further E. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks* Gütersloh 1886 p. 47 ff., W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 509, Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] iii. 267.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] iii. 300 f.

produce it; by counterfeiting the sun's progress through the heavens you really help the luminary to pursue his celestial journey with punctuality and despatch. The name "fire of heaven," by which the midsummer fire is sometimes popularly known[1], clearly indicates a consciousness of the connection between the earthly and the heavenly flame.'

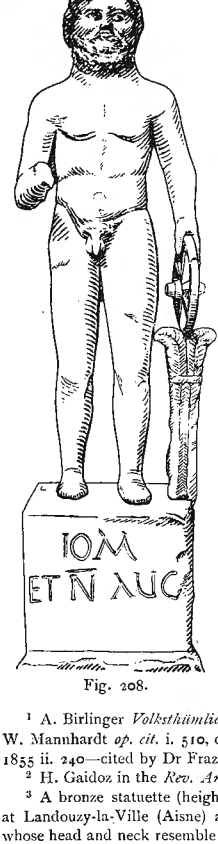


Fig. 208.

ii. Zeus and the Solar Wheel.

But—it may be objected—although it is certain, or almost certain, that the wheel in such ceremonies stands for the sun, what reason is there to suppose that the solar wheel was in any special way connected with Zeus? That is a question to which a full and complete answer can be returned only when we shall have discussed further the relation of Ixion to Zeus. Meantime it may be shown that Iupiter on Celtic soil and Zeus among the Greeks were somehow associated with the wheel.

A Celtic god, whose solar character was determined by Monsieur H. Gaidoz, is represented as holding a wheel on his shoulder[2]. He is sometimes equated with the Roman Iupiter, and then holds the wheel either on a support beside him (fig. 208)[3] or on the ground at his feet

[1] A. Birlinger *Volksthümliches aus Schwaben* Freiburg im Breisgau 1861 ii. 57, 97, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.* i. 510, cp. F. Panzer *Beitrag zur deutschen Mythologie* München 1855 ii. 240—cited by Dr Frazer.

[2] H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 7 ff. figs. 1—5.

[3] A bronze statuette (height ·227 m.) originally silvered over. It was found in 1872 at Landouzy-la-Ville (Aisne) and is now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. The god, whose head and neck resemble Hercules rather than Iupiter, held in his right hand some attribute now lost: this may have been a thunderbolt (so A. Héron de Villefosse, comparing fig. 209) or some object with a long staff-like handle (so S. Reinach, noting a possible trace of it on the upper surface of the base). The left hand holds a six-spoked wheel resting on the capital of a pilaster. The base is inscribed IOM | ET N AVG *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *et n(umini) Aug(usti)*. See further A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 1 ff. fig. 1 pl. 1, Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 31 ff. no. 4.

(fig. 209)[1]. Altars dedicated to Iupiter and marked with one or more wheels, a wheel and a thunderbolt, a wheel between two thunderbolts, etc., are not uncommon in the Celtic area[2] and attest the widespread worship of the same solar deity.

In Greece the evidence is literary, not monumental. Lykophron the pedant, who *c.* 274 B.C. composed his outrageously obscure tragedy the *Alexandra*, included in it the following comparatively lucid lines:

> Howbeit one there is, who past all hope
> Helpeth us friendly, he the Oak-tree-god
> *Promantheùs Aithiops Gyrápsios* called[3].

Fig. 209.

A colossal stone statue found in 1876 at Séguret (Vaucluse) and now in the Museum at Avignon shows Iupiter in Roman military costume. His lowered right hand grasps a ten-spoked wheel resting on a support. Beside his left foot is his eagle, behind which a snake issues from a tree-trunk (*Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 11 f. pl. 1).

[1] A bronze statuette (height ·14 m.) found in 1774 at Le Châtelet near Saint-Dizier (Haute-Marne) and now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. The god holds a thunderbolt in his raised right hand, a six-spoked wheel in his lowered left. On a brass hoop, which passes over his right shoulder and through a handle affixed to his back, are slung nine S-shaped pendants of bronze. See further A. Héron de Villefosse *loc. cit.* i. 3 ff. fig. 2, Reinach *op. cit.* p. 33 ff. no. 5, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'Archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 466 fig. 196.

An altar from Vaison shows Iuno with *patera* and peacock, Iupiter in military costume with a thunderbolt in his right hand, a wheel in his left, and an eagle at his feet (*Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 5 f., 1884 ii. 12).

On an altar from Theley in the Museum at Trèves a youthful deity with cloak and crown held an object now lost in his right hand, and raises a six-spoked wheel like a shield in his left hand: a smallish bird is perched at his feet (*Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 10 f. fig. 7 after F. Hettner 'Juppiter mit dem Rad' in the *Westdeutsche Monatsschrift* 1884 iii. 27—30).

With the foregoing monuments Reinach *op. cit.* p. 35 compares two others not definitely identified with Iupiter: (1) A bronze statuette found at Hartsbourg, formerly Saturbourgh, shows the Germanic god Chrodo (? cp. M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 142 *s.v.* 'Chrodebertus') standing on a fish: he holds a six-spoked wheel in his uplifted left hand, a basket of fruit and flowers in his lowered right (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 261 pl. 56, 3 after H. C. Henninius, cp. M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1481). (2) On the marvellous silver bowl found at Gundestrup in Jutland a bearded and partly bald or tonsured god raises both hands and thereby eclipses half of a many-spoked wheel, which is apparently turned by a beardless male figure in a horned helmet (S. Müller 'Det store solukar fra Gundestrup i Jytland' in the *Nordiske Fortidsminder* 1892 pl. 5, A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 368 f. fig. 58).

[2] To the lists in the *Rev. Arch.* 1881 i. 5 ff., *ib.* 1884 ii. 13 f., Reinach *op. cit.* p. 35, J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 467 f. add now J. Curle *A Roman Frontier Post and its People* Glasgow 1911 p. 334 f. fig. 49 an earthenware mould showing Iupiter with helmet, shield, club, and eight-spoked wheel.

[3] Lyk. *Al.* 535 ff. ἀλλ' ἔστι γάρ τις, ἔστι καὶ παρ' ἐλπίδα | ἡμῖν ἀρωγὸς πρευμενὴς ὁ Δρύμιος | δαίμων Προμαν θεὺς Αἰθίοψ Γυράψιος.

Isaac Tzetzes in his twelfth-century commentary on Lykophron's work informs us that the deity here in question was Zeus, and adds that he was named 'the Oak-tree-god' in Pamphylia, *Promantheûs* at Thourioi, *Aithíops* and *Gyrápsios* in Chios[1]. Not much is known about the Zeus-cults of Chios[2]; but there are traces of solar deities in the myths of the island[3], and the name *Aithíops* or *Aîthops*, 'He of the Burning Face,' is applied elsewhere to one of the sun-god's horses[4]. It is, therefore, not unreasonable to suppose that *Aithíops Gyrápsios* denoted Zeus in his solar aspect. But *Gyrápsios* means 'He of the Round Wheel[5],' so that the Chian Zeus is here described as 'He of the Burning Face, He of the Round Wheel' —a combination of epithets that may fairly be referred to the conception of the sun as a glowing wheel. Nevertheless it would be unwise to infer from this passage an early cult of a solar Zeus in Chios. Lykophron, writing in the third century B.C., not improbably found the local worship influenced by that of some Asiatic sun-god. After all, it is but a few miles from Chios to the coast of Asia Minor, where Zeus-cults in general tended to take on a solar character[6]. And the title *Gyrápsios* has the air of being a late and erudite compound rather than an early and popular formation.

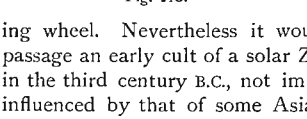


Fig. 210.

[1] Tzetz. *ad loc.* Δρύμνιος ὁ Ζεὺς ἤτοι δαίμων οὕτω παρὰ Παμφυλίοις, Προμανθεὺς δὲ παρὰ Θουρίοις, Αἰθίοψ δὲ καὶ Γυράψιος παρὰ Χίοις.

[2] Zeus Ἔφιπνος (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἔφιπνος) has been regarded as a god who presided over ovens (ἰπνός): see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2853, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 932 n. 3, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 379 f. There were also cults of Zeus Μειλίχιος (*Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 223) and Zeus Παρῷος (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 571, 35); and Zeus Πελινναῖος was worshipped on Mt. Pelinnaion (Append. B Chios).

[3] According to Ion of Chios *ap.* Paus. 7. 4. 8, Oinopion came from Crete to Chios with his sons, including Τάλως (cp. Τάλως *infra* ch. i § 6 (h)). Orion, when blinded by Oinopion, recovered his eyesight by walking eastwards through the sea in such a way as to face the rays of the rising sun (Pherekyd. *ap.* Apollod. 1. 4. 3; Hes. *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 32, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34, schol. Nik. *ther.* 15, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 331; Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 10. 763).

[4] *Supra* p. 195 n. 5, *infra* p. 337 n. 3.

[5] J. Potter on Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 536 'qui formae est orbicularis, et circularem motum circa terram nostram quolibet die et anno peragit.' The epithet is compounded of γυρός, 'round,' and ἀψίς, 'the felloe of a wheel,' which (as I pointed out in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 419) is used of the wheel of the Sun's chariot (Eur. *Phaethon frag.* 779, 2 f. Nauck[2] ἀψῖδα σὴν | κάτω διήσει, *Ion* 87 f. τὴν ἡμερίαν | ἀψῖδα) or of the curved course described by the Sun (Archestratos *frag.* 33 Brandt *ap.* Athen. 326 B ὅταν Φαέθων πυμάτην ἀψῖδα διφρεύῃ).

[6] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 273 f.

iii. Zeus and the Solar Disk.

Closely akin to the wheel is its genetic precursor[1] the disk. 'The Paiones,' says Maximus Tyrius, 'worship Helios, and the Paeonian image of Helios is a small disk on the top of a long pole[2].' With this ritual object I have elsewhere[3] compared the sceptre surmounted by a circle held by Aphrodite *Ouranía* on coins of Ouranopolis in Makedonia[4] (fig. 210) and the *kopó* or olive-wood staff topped by a bronze ball representing the sun in the Boeotian Daphnephoria[5]. But indeed the same conception could be traced much further afield: it accounts satisfactorily, as I shall hope to show on another occasion, for the various forms taken by Maypoles and 'Celtic' crosses throughout Europe.

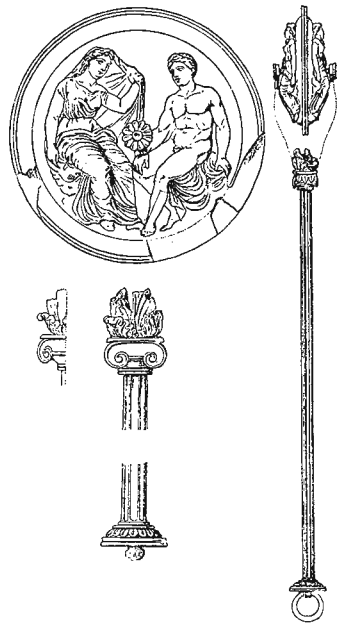


Fig. 211.

Confining our attention to Greece, we note that a revolving disk of bronze, originally mounted on a long columnar handle, was

[1] On the evolution of the wheel from the disk see A. C. Haddon *The Study of Man* London 1898 p. 168 ff., cp. Schrader *Reallex.* p. 929 ff., H. Hirt *Die Indo-germanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 354 f., M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Vienna and Leipzig 1909 ii. 475 ff. N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 3. 37 f. rightly assumes the sequence ○ ⊙ ⊕ *i.e.* the pictograph of the sun, the solar disk, the solar wheel.

[2] Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner Παίονες σέβουσι μὲν Ἥλιον, ἄγαλμα δὲ Ἡλίου Παιονικὸν δίσκος βραχὺς ὑπὲρ μακροῦ ξύλου.

[3] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 410 n. 221.

[4] Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 1, 102, pl. 2, 122 f., 126, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 133 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 206. I figure a fine specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

[5] Prokl. *chrestomath.* 25 p. 352 f. Gaisford *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 321 a 34 ff., schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* p. 298, 29 ff. Stählin, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 409 ff.

found at Corinth and is now in the Berlin Museum. It is decorated on both sides with a love-scene in relief (fig. 211)[1]. A very similar disk, likewise found at Corinth, is in the Louvre[2]. Almost the only difference between the two is that on the Paris specimen the young man and the maiden have each a *thýrsos* in hand. The fact that both disks hail from Corinth, where Helios and Aphrodite held the citadel in succession[3] and were worshipped in the same temple[4], is suggestive of solar magic. Nor need the intrusion of a Dionysiac *motif* make difficulties. A well-known Orphic verse identified Dionysos with Helios[5]. However, the exact purpose to which these implements were put, and indeed the precise name by which they were called, escapes us.

Sometimes the solar disk was affixed to buildings by way of prophylaxis[6]. O. Benndorf has shown that the earliest Greek *akrotéria* were developments from the ornamented end of the ridge-pole and consequently were circular or nearly circular in form[7]. He further observes that they were patterned in a variety of ways. The oldest example known to us, that of the Heraion at Olympia (*c.* 700—650 B.C.), is a great disk of terra cotta measuring some seven and a half feet in diameter. Its interior is strengthened with spoke-shaped ribs. Its exterior is painted with concentric zones and has a radiate rim[8]. Another *akrotérion* from the same precinct was the golden *phiále* with a relief of Medousa, which the Lacedaemonians and their allies set up over the temple of Zeus after the battle of Tanagra (457 B.C.)[9]. In other cases too the disk of terra cotta or marble bore an apotropaeic face[10]. Thus an Apulian *kratér* in the Louvre shows both gables of a richly decorated

[1] A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 119 f. no. 17, *id. Ant. Gemmen* ii. 122.

[2] *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1900 xv Arch. Anz. p. 157 no. 111, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 864 fig. 5942.

[3] Paus. 2. 4. 6.

[4] *Id.* 2. 5. 1. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 132 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 187 n. 4.

[6] Northern parallels are not wanting: see S. Baring-Gould *Strange Survivals* London 1905 pp. 36—61 'On Gables' with frontisp. and figs. 2—13.

[7] O. Benndorf 'Über den Ursprung der Giebelakroterien' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 1—51, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 602 f.

[8] A. Boetticher *Olympia: das Fest und seine Stätte*[2] Berlin 1886 p. 201 ff. fig. 44 and pl. 4, R. Borrmann in *Olympia* ii. 190 ff. col. pl. 115, cp. *ib.* pls. 84 f. and 129, A. Marquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 238 ff.

[9] *Olympia* v. 370 ff. no. 253, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 125 f. no. 93. Paus. 5. 10. 4 cites the inscription *ναὸς μὲν φιάλαν χρυσέαν ἔχει* κ.τ.λ. but describes it as being *ἐπὶ τῷ δοπίδι*. Benndorf *loc. cit.* p. 8 cp. Paus. 6. 19. 13 *δοπὶς ὑπὲρ τοῦ δεσποῦ* of the Megarian treasury at Olympia.

[10] Benndorf *loc. cit.* p. 10 f., cp. *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 5. 7 f. pls. 53, 53 A (antefixes from Thermos).

building surmounted by a round *Gorgóneion* (fig. 212)[1]. Finally, two Doric temples of a late date near the monastery of *Kourno* on the Taygeton promontory have *akrotéria* shaped like a ring with an inner wheel or rosette[2]. Now all these forms are intelligible as variations of the solar disk; and that they really symbolised the sun may be inferred from the fact that in Roman times they were often replaced by the four-horse chariot of the sun-god himself[3].

Again, when we remember the Egyptian custom of putting the solar disk with its *uraeus*-snakes over every sacred doorway[4], we

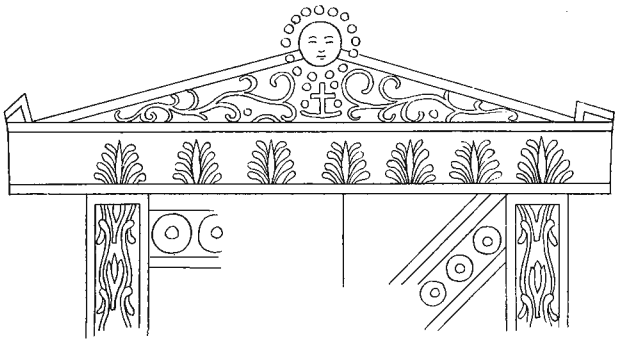


Fig. 212.

shall be emboldened to assign a solar origin to the *phiále* or circular shield so frequently found in representations of classical pediments. This *phiále* or shield is at first flanked by a couple of snakes (fig. 213)[5]. But the snakes gradually degenerate into

[1] O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 212 f. pl. L, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 741 f. pl. 30, 8, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 189 f. pl. 71.

[2] Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 139 f. pls. ii—2, ii—5, 3, ii—7, ii—11, 5.

[3] Prop. 2. 31. 11, Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 16, 35. 157, Plout. *v. Poplic.* 13, Fest. p. 274*b* 9 ff. Müller. Cp. T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 6 ff. no. 3, p. 12 ff. no. 4, p. 35 ff. no. 8, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 170 f., Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 45 fig. 82, Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 102 ff. figs. 112—115, *supra* p. 45 fig. 15.

Occasionally the *quadriga* of the sun-god occupies the pediment: so on a bronze-relief of Zeus *Sabázios* in his shrine (*infra* p. 392 n. 1).

[4] *Supra* p. 205 f.

[5] Roulez *Vases de Leide* p. 79 ff. pl. 19. Cp. an Apulian *amphora* at Naples, on which the pediment of Hades' palace has a *Gorgóneion* between two fish-tailed monsters (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 510 ff. no. 3222, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1927 fig. 2042 A).

Early Greek architects commonly filled the angles of their pediments with the tails of snaky or fishy figures, and their example was followed far and wide (see *e.g.* A. Foucher

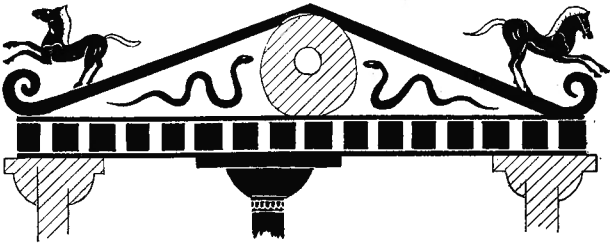


Fig. 213.

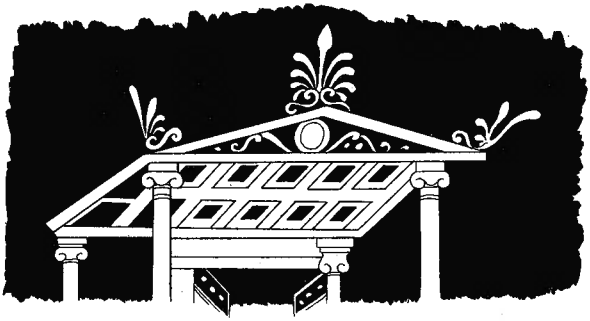


Fig. 214.

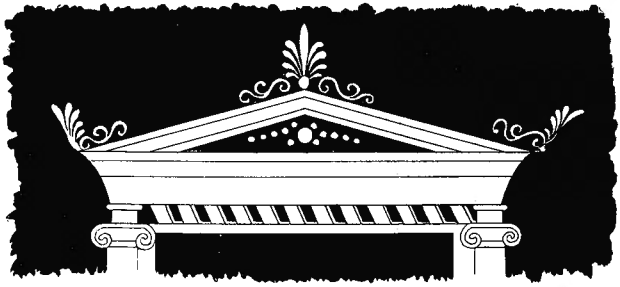


Fig. 215.

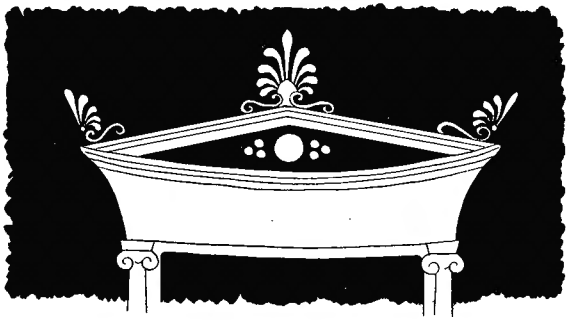


Fig. 216.

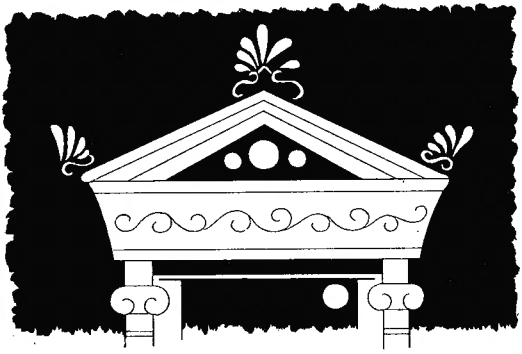


Fig. 217.

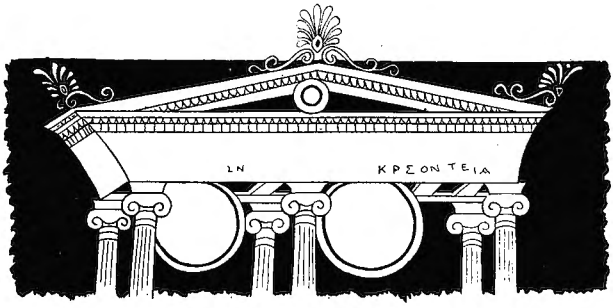


Fig. 218.

a mere pattern (figs. 214—217)[1], and end by vanishing altogether (fig. 218)[2].

Whether the disks or shields suspended in temples[3] and palaces[4] were ever regarded as *apotrópaia*, we do not know. But at least they afford a close parallel to the wheels hung in like positions, which we took to be *ỳnges*[5].

Fig. 219.

On an early silver coin of the Thraco-Macedonian region a disk is borne through the sky by a winged and long-haired figure in the attitude of *Knielauf*[6] or speedy flight (fig. 219)[7]. This figure is best interpreted as that of the local sun-god[8]. Its nearest

L'Art gréco-bouddhique du Gandhâra Paris 1905 p. 241 ff. figs. 119—123, 125). I surmise that this practice originated in the representation of a solar disk with a snake on either side of it. Artistic convenience may have dictated that the snakes should turn towards the disk, not away from it. But the device was from the first intended to serve a practical purpose, that of safe-guarding the edifice.

[1] Fig. 214 is from an Apulian *pélike* at Naples, which depicts the rape of the *Palládion* from the temple of Athena (Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 529 ff. no. 3231, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xxx. 246 ff. pl. M).

Fig. 215 is from an Apulian *kratér* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 142 f. no. F 284, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 41 ff. pls. 19, 20).

Fig. 216 is from an Apulian *kálpis* at Cambridge (E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 83 no. 247 pl. 39).

Fig. 217 is from another Apulian *kratér* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 143 f. no. F 286 unpublished: cp. an Apulian *hydría ib.* iv. 174 no. F 351 unpublished).

[2] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 161 ff. pl. 90 the 'Medeia-vase' at Munich, on which see *supra* p. 251 f. Many other examples could be cited, *e.g.* Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i pl. 10, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 27, *Bullettino Italiano* 1862 i pl. 7, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iv pl. 27.

In numismatic art too a similar sequence of types could be made out: a good collection of materials is in Anson *Num. Gr.* v pls. 4—13, cp. Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 128, 458, 485, 526 f., etc.

The pediment of the Ionic *própylon* at Magnesia was ornamented with a round shield (*Magnesia am Maeander* p. 133 with p. 127 fig. 133).

[3] *E.g. Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 251 ff. Atlas pl. 6, 5 (temple of Apollon at Delphoi), *supra* p. 40 fig. 11 (precinct of Zeus at Mykenai).

[4] *E.g.* Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii pl. 90 (palace of Kreon at Corinth), *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9 (palace of Hades).

[5] *Supra* p. 259 ff.

[6] E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf und die Darstellung des Laufens und Fliegens in der älteren griechischen Kunst' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien* München 1909 pp. 249—397.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 136 fig., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1257 f. pl. 59, 6. B. V. Head's suggestion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. pp. xix f., xxv ff.; but see *Hist. num.*[2] p. 203) that the object carried by the running figure may be ⊙, the initial of the town Therma, is most improbable (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 106 ff.). E. Babelon *loc. cit.* describes it as 'une couronne': but this is ruled out by the central dot.

A silver coin at Paris nearly related to the foregoing shows a similar figure clad in a long *chitôn* (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 1255 ff. pl. 59, 5).

[8] So P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 58.

analogue occurs on silver coins of Mallos in Kilikia *c.* 425—385 B.C. (fig. 220)[1]. Here we see a beardless god, draped from the waist downwards, winging his way in hot haste and holding in both hands a disk, on which is an eight-rayed star. Two details deserve attention. The spiral on the top of the god's head recalls the similar adornment of other winged figures[2] and is suggestive of a feather head-dress[3]: as such it would point us towards Crete and north Africa. The god's skirt too might be compared with those of the young men on the Haghia Triada sarcophagus[4]. Now Talos the sun-god appears on coins of Phaistos as a beardless youth, winged and hastening along with a round stone in either hand[5]. And the Minotaur, another solar personage, is a very similar figure on coins of Knossos[6]. I should conjecture, therefore, that the disk-bearing god on the coins of Mallos is a solar deity akin to the Cretan Talos or Minotaur. Fortunately it seems possible to trace his type back to earlier forms. A *statér* at Berlin shows him with Janiform

Fig. 220.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. pp. cxx, 97 f. pl. 16, 8—13, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 467 pl. 18, 2, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 873 ff. pls. 137, 21—23, 138, 1 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 723.

[2] Cp. the *coiffure* of the winged goddess on certain silver pieces originally attributed by Imhoof-Blumer to Mallos (*Monn. gr.* p. 356 f.), but now to Aphrodisias in Kilikia (*Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 435 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 717), though Babelon adheres to the former attribution (*op. cit.* ii. 1. 557 f. pl. 25, 7, 9); that of the Sphinx on 'Minoan' ivories etc. (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 833 f. figs. 416—418, E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 xx. 119 f.), a gold plate from Kypros (*Rev. Arch.* 1897 ii. 333), electrum coins of Chios (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 189 ff. pl. 8, 6), and certain early vase-fabrics ((1) Rhodian *pínakes*—De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 30 no. 73 pl. 2, *id. ib.* i. 30 f. no. 74, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 75 fig. 2, *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxx. 38 fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 413, 1: (2) 'Cyrenaic' *kýlix*—Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 528 no. E 664, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 62, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 12, 4 and pl. 13, 6, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 435, 4 and 12: (3) the 'François'-vase—Furtwängler-Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 59 pl. 13); that of the Seiren (H. Thiersch "*Tyrrhenische*" *Amphoren* Leipzig 1899 p. 97, G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 107 ff. figs. 38 f., p. 124 fig. 49, p. 145 ff. figs. 69 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 623 f. figs. 16 f.) and Griffin (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1751, 1752 fig., 1753, 1761 fig., 1767, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 7 pl. 3, 1) in archaic art. On 'Cyrenaic' *kýlikes* not only Nike (?) but also the cavalier, whom she attends, is similarly plumed (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 528 f. no. E 665, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série p. 62 f., *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix pl. 13, 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 435, 9; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 49 no. B 1, *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 217 pl. 13, 2).

[3] See G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 76 and the reff. cited *ib.* n. 1, to which add O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 385, H. R. Hall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 119—123.

[4] *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (*β*).

[5] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h).

[6] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xv.

head, holding a disk which is not stellate[1]. A *statér* in the Hunter collection gives him four wings and a plain disk (fig. 221)[2]. Another in the same cabinet makes him both Janiform and four-winged, placing beneath him the front part of a man-headed bull (fig. 222)[3]. Yet another from the same collection adds a bull's head facing us upon the disk (fig. 223)[4]. It may fairly be claimed that these coins

Fig. 221.

Fig. 222.

Fig. 223.

go some way towards connecting the Cilician god with the Minotaur. F. Imhoof-Blumer would see in him Kronos[5], whose head he identified on a later silver coin of Mallos[6]. And certainly this explanation suits the bull's head borne by the Janiform figure; for Kronos appears elsewhere with that attribute[7]. But we need not therefore disallow the comparison with Talos and the Minotaur. Kronos is essentially connected with both[8]. Perhaps we may venture to regard the older disk-bearer as a solar Kronos, the younger as a solar Zeus. Further, it has been argued by J. N. Svoronos[9] that Mallos in Kilikia was a colony of Malla in Crete, where the principal cult was that of Zeus *Monnítios*[10]. If Svoronos is right, we are justified in pressing the analogy of the Cretan solar deities.

[1] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 467 no. 2 pl. 18, 3, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 2. 871 f. no. 1391 fig.

[2] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 13, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 873 f. pl. 137, 20 cp. 19.

[3] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 11, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 872.

[4] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 536 pl. 59, 12, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 869 ff. pl. 137, 16 f. See also F. Gerhard *Über die Kunst der Phönicier* Berlin 1848 p. 31 pl. 3, 23.

[5] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 467.

[6] F. Imhoof-Blumer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1572 cp. 1553 figs. 4 f., *id. Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 468 f. pl. 18, 6.

[7] On an octagonal altar found at Havange in 1825 and now in the museum at Metz (P. C. Robert *Épigraphie gallo-romaine de la Moselle* Paris 1873—1888 p. 37 ff. pls. 2, 2; 3, 4—10, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 172 fig. 2403).

[8] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1505 f., *infra* ch. i § 6 (h) ii.

[9] J. N. Svoronos 'Die Münztypen der Stadt Mallos in Kilikien' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1888 xvi. 219 ff., *id. Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 241.

[10] Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 350 ff. no. 5100, 18 f. *οἱ μὲν Λύττι[οι ἐν Μάλ]λαι ἐπὶ Μοννιτί(ωι), ib.* iii. 2. 413 no. 5184, 14 *ἀναθήσομεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ Ζηνὸς τῶ Μοννιτίω.* Coins of Malla in the third or second century B.C. have obv. head of Zeus bearded and laureate, rev. eagle, thunderbolt (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 240 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 472).

Hellenistic literature once or twice connects Zeus with the solar disk. Lykophron describes how the body of Aias, cast up on the beach, will be parched by 'the ray of Seirios' and hidden in the sea-weed by Thetis—

> Helper of *Dískos*, mightiest power, *Kynaitheús*[1].

The scholiast states that the word *Seírios*, which properly denotes the Dog-star, is here used improperly of the sun; that *Dískos* means Zeus, who was so called in memory of the *dískos* or stone swallowed in his stead by Kronos; and that *Kynaitheús* was a cult-title of Zeus in Arkadia[2]. The scholiast's comment is repeated by Tzetzes[3] and apparently postulates a solar Zeus known as *Dískos*. This squares with Nonnos' hymn to the sun, in which the poet invokes that luminary not only as the Assyrian and Egyptian 'Zeus[4],' but also as—

> Driving around all heaven with fiery disk[5].

Finally, it may be suspected that, when Mithraic (?) sun-worshippers spoke of the *Dískos* as 'Father' and 'god[6],' they were not independent of the same religious conception.

iv. The Lycian Symbol.

Lycian coins of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. are characterised by a symbol, which might be called indifferently a wheel or a disk. It consists of a central ring or circle, from which radiates a

[1] Lyk. *Al.* 397 *ἀκτὶς Σειρία*, 400 *Δίσκου μεγίστου τάρροθος Κυναιθέως*.

[2] Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 397 ff. *Σείριος* is used of the sun by Archil. *frag.* 58 Hiller *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 3. 10. 2 and *ap.* Hesych. *s.v. Σειρίου κυνὸς δίκην*, cp. Hesych. *s.v. σείριος· ὁ ἥλιος. καὶ ὁ τοῦ κυνὸς ἀστήρ*, Orph. *Arg.* 120 f. *σείριος...ἡέλιος*, Souid. *s.v. σείρ, σειρός· ὁ ἥλιος* and *Σείριον· τὸν Κύνα· ὀπὲ δὲ καὶ τὸν ἥλιον*. See further L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 49 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 407. *Κυναιθεύς* is understood by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 197 as an epithet of Zeus in the Dog-days, cp. C. von Holzinger on Lyk. *Al.* 400. Paus. 5. 22. 1, 8. 19. 1 describes a statue of Zeus dedicated at Olympia by the *Κυναιθαεῖς* of Arkadia as holding a thunderbolt in either hand—which hardly supports the connexion with the Dog-star (see, however, Paus. 8. 19. 2 f.).

[3] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 397, 400.

[4] *Supra* p. 197.

[5] Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 371 *ἱππεύων ἑλικηδὸν ὅλον πόλον αἴθοπι δίσκῳ*.

[6] A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 6, 9 ff. *ὄψει γὰρ ἐκείνης τῆς ἡμέρας καὶ τῆς ὥρας θείαν θέσιν, τοὺς πολεύοντας ἀναβαίνοντας εἰς οὐρανὸν θεούς, ἄλλους δὲ καταβαίνοντας, ἡ δὲ πορεία τῶν ὁρωμένων θεῶν διὰ τοῦ δίσκου, πατρός μου, θεοῦ, φανήσεται· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέμου· ὄψει γὰρ ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ὡς αὐλὸν κρεμάμενον, κ.τ.λ., ib.* p. 8, 9 ff. *σύρισον δὶς καὶ πόππυσον δὶς καὶ εὐθέως ὄψει ἀπὸ τοῦ δίσκου ἀστέρας προσερχομένους πενταδακτυλιαίους πλείστους καὶ πιπλῶντας ὅλον τὸν ἀέρα· σὺ δὲ πάλιν λέγε· σιγή, σιγή· καὶ τοῦ δίσκου ἀνοιγέντος ὄψει ἄπειρον κύκλωμα καὶ θύρας πυρίνας ἀποκεκλεισμένας*.

variable number of lines curving either to the left or to the right, but never straight. Of these lines there are usually three[1] (fig. 224), sometimes four[2] (fig. 225), occasionally two[3] (fig. 226), and in a single exceptional case but one[4] (fig. 227). The symbol in question

Fig. 224.

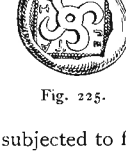


Fig. 225.

Fig. 226.

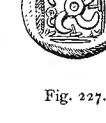


Fig. 227.

is now and again subjected to further complications. An example in the Paris collection[5] (fig. 228) has the ring with three radiating lines mounted on a round shield or disk from behind which appear four similar lines curving alternately to left and right. Or, again,

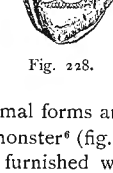


Fig. 228.

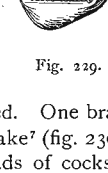


Fig. 229.

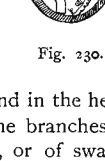


Fig. 230.

animal forms are introduced. One branch may end in the head of a monster[6] (fig. 229), or snake[7] (fig. 230); or all the branches may be furnished with the heads of cocks[8] (fig. 231), or of swans or

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. pp. xxvii f. 6 ff. pls. 2 ff., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 493 ff., 509 ff., pls. 21, 20 ff., 22, 1 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 688 ff.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 18 ff. pl. 5, 4 ff., p. 25 pl. 6, 13.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 23 pl. 6, 7, p. 24 pl. 6, 8, 9, 11, p. 26 pl. 6, 16, p. 28 pl. 7, 10, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 225 f. pl. 95, 12 ff., 303 f. pl. 101, 18. Sometimes this type appears as S with an appendage like a handle affixed to its centre (*id. ib.* ii. 2. 201 f. pl. 93, 13 f.).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 25 pl. 6, 13. The supposed hook (ἄρπη) on a silver coin of Arpi in Apulia (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 112 pl. 93, 8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 130, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 44, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 13, 759) closely resembles this form of the Lycian symbol.

[5] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 501 ff. pl. 22, 17.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 12 pl. 3, 14, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 233 f. pl. 96, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 690.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 18 pl. 5, 3, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 690 ('serpent').

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 9 pl. 3, 1—4, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 497 ff., pl. 22, 8—10, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 689 f.

ducks[1] (fig. 232). On occasion an owl occupies the central ring[2] (fig. 233). But on the Lycian series the radiating lines are never modified into human legs. The significance of this symbol has been frequently debated. Monsieur Babelon, after passing in

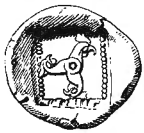


Fig. 231.

Fig. 232.

Fig. 233.

review the various hypotheses that have been put forward, concludes in favour of the solar explanation advanced by L. Müller and Mr E. Thomas[3]. L. Müller, comparing analogous symbols throughout the west of Europe[4], and Mr Thomas, doing the same for India and the east[5], arrived independently at substantially similar results. Both regard the Lycian sign and its parallels as representations of the sun. Mr Thomas sums up in the following sentence: 'As far as I have been able to trace or connect the various manifestations of this emblem, they one and all resolve themselves into the primitive conception of solar motion, which was intuitively associated with the rolling or wheel-like projection of the sun through the upper or visible arc of the heavens, as understood and accepted in the crude astronomy of the ancients[6].' This verdict, for Lykia at least, is confirmed by the fact that on Lycian coinage after the time of Alexander the Great the radiate head of Helios is a constant type[7]. But, when we seek to define the deity to whom the Lycian wheel originally belonged, we are deserted by the evidence. The conjecture of C. von Paucker[8] and E. Curtius[9], that it marked the worship of a three-fold Zeus, is disposed of by the examples with one, two, and four branches.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. pl. 44, 5, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 nos. 476, 532, pls. 12, 11, 15, 5, *id. Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 227 f. pl. 95, 16, 235 ff. pl. 96, 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 690 ('cygnets').

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 23 pl. 6, 6, pl. 44, 9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 510, ii. 2. 275 ff. pl. 99, 24 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 691.

[3] E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. xc f.

[4] L. Müller *La croix gammée* Copenhagen 1877.

[5] E. Thomas 'The Indian Swastika and its western Counterparts' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 18—48. See also P. Gardner 'Ares as a Sun-god' *ib.* 1880 xx. 49—61.

[6] E. Thomas *ib.* 1880 xx. 19.

[7] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 482.

[8] *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 ix. 380.

[9] *Ib.* 1855 xiii. 11, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 510 f.

There is more to be said for Monsieur Babelon's view that it was the symbol of a national god of light, who perhaps originated in Crete, perhaps came from the east[1], but in any case at a later date entered the Greek pantheon and was assimilated to Apollon, being famed throughout the classical world as Apollon *Lýkios*[2].

v. The Lycian Symbol and the Kyklops.

This, however, is to leave unsolved the problem—who or what was the national light-god before the advent of the Greek Apollon? I am disposed to think that he was, or became, the monstrous form known to the Greeks as the Kyklops[3]. Objections will at once occur to readers familiar with the *Odyssey* and its myth of Polyphemos. How is the plural Kyklopes to be reduced to a singular Kyklops? What had the Kyklopes who kept sheep on the mountains of Sicily, or for that matter the Kyklopes who worked at the underground smithy of Hephaistos, to do with a sun-god? How are we to bridge the distance from Magna Graecia in the west to Lykia in the east? And by what process did a solar wheel develop into a ferocious giant? These are questions that must be answered, if my hypothesis is to be regarded as tenable at all.

To begin with, then, Hellanikos asserts that 'the Kyklopes derived their name from one Kyklops, son of Ouranos[4].' It follows that his readers in the fifth century B.C. knew of certain Kyklopes, different from the Kyklopes of the Homeric tradition, inasmuch as they were named after a single Kyklops, who passed as being the son of 'the Sky.' This sky-connexion is elsewhere insisted on. The scholiast on Aristeides the rhetorician writes: 'They say that there are three kinds of Kyklopes, those in the *Odyssey*, who are Sicilian; the Cheirogastores; and the so-called Sky-dwellers[5].'

[1] N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 3. 52 ff. supposes that this symbol, as emblem of the solar god Sandas, Sandes, Sandon, travelled across Asia from the west to the farthest east. But he adduces no valid evidence of its connexion with Sandas.

[2] Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 482, 509.

[3] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 326 f.

[4] Hellanik. *frag.* 176 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 69 Müller) *ap.* schol. Hes. *theog.* 139 Ἑλλανικὸς δὲ τοὺς Κύκλωπας ὀνομάζεσθαι ἀπὸ Κύκλωπος υἱοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, οὐ περὶ τῶν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ Κυκλώπων λέγει.

[5] Schol. Aristeid. p. 408, 26 ff. Dindorf τρία γὰρ γένη φασὶν εἶναι Κυκλώπων, τοὺς κατὰ τὸν Ὀδυσσέα, Σικελοὺς ὄντας, καὶ τοὺς Χειρογάστορας, καὶ τοὺς καλουμένους Οὐρανίους. M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 110 f. thinks that the scholiast drew his information from Hellanikos, because the schol. Hes. *theog.* 139 after the passage quoted in n. 3 immediately continues Κυκλώπων γὰρ γένη τρία· Κύκλωπες οἱ τὴν Μυκήνην, τειχίσαντες, καὶ οἱ περὶ τὸν Πολύφημον, καὶ αὐτοὶ οἱ θεοί. But it is far from clear that this last sentence was taken from Hellanikos: C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 69 does not include it in the excerpt.

Nor can we dismiss this as the figment of a late grammarian; for Hesiod[1], perhaps a thousand years earlier, had spoken of the Kyklopes as *Ouranídai*, 'sons of the Sky,' and Zenon the Stoic *c.* 300 B.C. gave a physical explanation of the name[2].

Again, there is reason to connect the Kyklopes with Lykia. The seven Kyklopes, who built the great walls of Tiryns for king Proitos, were brought over for the purpose from Lykia[3]. Thus, whereas Theophrastos declared that towers were invented by the Tirynthians, Aristotle referred their invention to the Kyklopes[4]. Towers to the modern ear are not suggestive of a sky-god; but we must bear in mind Pindar's mysterious statement that the souls of the righteous—

travel the road of Zeus to Kronos' tower[5],

and also the names applied by the Pythagoreans to the central fire of the universe, *viz.* 'the tower of Zan,' 'the watch-tower of Zan,' 'the house of Zeus[6].' A revolving tower, as we have seen[7], was a Celtic conception of the Otherworld. Some such belief may underlie the reputation, which the Kyklopes enjoyed in ancient times[8], of being master-builders. We still speak of 'Cyclopean' masonry.

Next we have to consider the possibility of deriving the one-eyed giant of Sicily from the solar wheel of Lycia in point of actual shape. The Lycian symbol appears to have developed in two very different directions. On the one hand, by the beginning of the fourth century B.C. it had become reduced to a simpler combination of lines[9]. The central circle had dwindled to a dot, from which

[1] Hes. *theog.* 502 Οὐρανίδας.

[2] Zen. *frag.* 116 Pearson *ap.* schol. Hes. *theog.* 139 παῖδας δέ *φησιν αὐτοὺς τοῦ* Οὐρανοῦ *ἐπειδὴ πάντα ταῦτα τὰ πάθη περὶ τὸν οὐρανόν εἰσι.* The reference is to the names Βρόντης, Στερόπης, Ἄργης, which Zenon may have found in Hes. *theog.* 140.

[3] Apollod. 2. 2. 1, Strab. 372 (cited also by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 30 f., *in Od.* p. 1622, 53 f.). Cp. schol. Eur. *Or.* 965.

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 195.

[5] Pind. *Ol.* 2. 70 *ἕτειλαν Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν.* The context is Pythagorean (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 104, 106, 123).

[6] Aristot. *de caelo* 2. 13. 293 b 3 f. *ὃ Διὸς φυλακὴν ὀνομάζουσι, τὸ ταύτην ἔχον τὴν χώραν πῦρ,* Simplic. *ad loc.* = Aristot. *frag.* 199 Rose *οἱ μὲν Ζανὸς* (Ζηνὸς Diels) *πύργον αὐτὸ καλοῦσιν, ὡς αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς Πυθαγορικοῖς ἱστόρησεν, οἱ δὲ Διὸς φυλακήν, ὡς ἐν τούτοις, οἱ δὲ Διὸς θρόνον, ὡς ἄλλοι φασίν,* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 106, 21 ff. Diehl (cp. i. 199, 2 ff.) *καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι δὲ Ζανὸς πύργον ἢ Ζανὸς φυλακὴν ἀπεκάλουν τὸ μέσον,* Philolaos *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 22. 1[d] p. 196, 18 ff. Wachsmuth Φιλόλαος *πῦρ ἐν μέσῳ περὶ τὸ κέντρον, ὅπερ ἑστίαν τοῦ παντὸς καλεῖ καὶ Διὸς οἶκον καὶ μητέρα θεῶν, βωμόν τε καὶ συνοχὴν καὶ μέτρον φύσεως.*

[7] *Supra* p. 243.

[8] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1687 ff. Note Sen. *Thy.* 407 f. Cyclopum sacras | turres.

[9] The change is already noticeable on a coin of the Lycian dynast *Thibδ.*. (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 211 f. pl. 94, 12).

radiated three curved lines or crescents. This form occurs at Olba in Kilikia[1] (fig. 234); at Thebe in Mysia[2]; at Abydos[3], Birytos[4], and Rhoiteion[5] in the Troad; in Makedonia[6]; at Argos[7]; and at Megara[8]. On the other hand, the tendency towards theriomorphism and anthropomorphism was also at work.

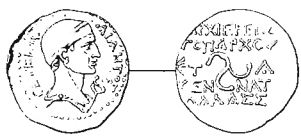


Fig. 234.

The addition, already observed, of animal heads to the component members of the symbol[9] was but the commencement of changes, which were carried further in neighbouring lands. Thus the silver coins of Aspendos in Pamphylia from about 500 B.C. onwards are characterised by three human legs, turned either to the right or to the left, but radiating from a common centre and so constituting a genuine *triskelés*[10]. Sometimes this *triskelés* is centred about a small four-spoked wheel[11] (fig. 235). Occasionally it is superposed on a lion[12] (fig. 236) or an eagle[13] (fig. 237). But usually it consists of three human legs

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. pp. liii, 119 pl. 21, 8 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 727, on bronze coins of Aias, son of Teukros, high-priest of Zeus Ὄλβιος, *c.* 10—14 A.D.; and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins ib.* p. 124 pl. 22, 7, Head *loc. cit.*, on bronze coins of M. Antonius Polemo, high-priest, *c.* 17—36 A.D. G. F. Hill in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins ib.* p. liii notes 'that the triskeles occurs as a rock-cut symbol at various places in this district.' See further *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (ζ).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 179, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 538 ('three crescents united') on a bronze coin of the fourth century B.C.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 2 pl. 1, 8 on a silver coin *c.* 411—387 B.C.: the three curves radiating from a common centre are inscribed in a circle.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. pp. xlv, 41 pl. 8, 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 542, on a bronze coin *c.* 300 B.C.: the three curves are enclosed by a circle.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. xxxi f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 548, on a unique silver coin *c.* 350—300 B.C.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 9 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 234 ('crescent-rayed star'), on silver coins *c.* 185—168 B.C.: in the centre of a round Macedonian shield is a wheel-like ornament of six or four crescents radiating from a central dot and enclosed by a circle. See P. Gardner 'Ares as a Sun-god' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 49 ff.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 140 on a silver coin of the fourth century B.C.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica p. 118 pl. 21, 2 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 393, on silver coins of the fourth century B.C.: five or three crescents radiating from a central dot and enclosed by a circle.

[9] *Supra* p. 300 f.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. pp. lxxii f., 93 ff. pl. 19 ff., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 524 ff. pl. 23, 11—21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 699 f.

[11] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 525 ff. pl. 23, 12; 527 f. pl. 23, 16.

[12] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. 94 pl. 19, 6, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 529 ff. pl. 23, 20 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 699.

[13] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 507 pl. 58, 1, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 529 f. no. 868. On the three-legged crow of Chinese legend and the eight-handed (=many-handed) crow of

and nothing more. The same design recurs at Selge[1], Etenna[2], and Adada[3] in Pisidia; at Hierapytna[4] in Crete; in Melos[5], at Athens[6],

Fig. 235.

Fig. 236.

Fig. 237.

in Aigina[7], at Phlious[8]; at Syracuse[9]; at Kaulonia[10] and Terina[11] in Bruttium; at Suessa Aurunca[12] in Latium; and probably elsewhere too[13] (fig. 238). Some of these examples exhibit a well-marked central disk; for instance, a recently discovered silver coin of Melos[14] *c.* 500—450 B.C. (fig. 239), a *unicum* of Aigina *c.* 480 B.C.[15], or certain

Kojiki and Nihongi tradition see N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 51 fig. 40, 63.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. pp. cxv f. 258 f. pl. 39, 10—13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 711.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. cxix, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 708.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. p. cxvii pl. 30. 2 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 705.

[4] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 188 pl. 17, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 468.

[5] *Infra* n. 14.

[6] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 717 f. pl. 33, 10 ff. notes other examples of the *triskelés* occurring at Athens, on lead tokens and small bronze counters. On the pre-Solonian silver coinage it is inscribed in a circle.

[7] *Infra* n. 15.

[8] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 718, 811 ff. pl. 33, 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 408.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 191 ff., *ib.* Corinth etc. p. 98 f. pl. 25, 5—9, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 180 f. G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 152 f. suggests that the *triskelés*, which appears first on the coins of Agathokles, from 317 B.C. onwards, was originally his private signet, adopted at a later date, perhaps by the Romans, as the emblem of all Sicily. Cp. Hill *ib.* p. 152 ff. fig. 44 pl. 11, 8, 9 and 14, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 191, 351 f., 401 ff., 414, 427, ii. 7 (no. 175), 66, 277 f., 499, 539. A. Allienus, proconsul in Sicily in 48 B.C., struck a *denarius*, which shows Trinacrus, son of Neptunus, holding the *triskelés* in his hand: see Hill *op. cit.* p. 224 f. pl. 15, 5, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 137 f., ii. 13.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 336, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 157 pl. 111, 30.

[11] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 393, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 99 pl. 179. 35 f. (symbol).

[12] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 123, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 17 pl. 64, 7 (symbol).

[13] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 57 *aes grave* of uncertain provenience, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 23 pl. 45, 4.

[14] From the specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge: obv. pomegranate; rev. *triskelés* with central disk in dotted circle ΛΛΛΙ [..]. See R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1909 xii. 192 ff. pl. 5, 11 and pl. 6, 25, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 892.

[15] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 136 pl. 24, 8, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 657 ff., 813 ff. pl. 30, 20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 397, 408. Babelon and Head following J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1888 viii. 97 regard the coin as proof of an alliance between Aigina and Phlious.

scarce specimens of pre-Solonian coinage at Athens[1]. The Thraco-Macedonian tribe of Derrones added palmettes between the legs[2] (fig. 240). The Pisidians of Selge[3] (fig. 241) and the Lucanians of

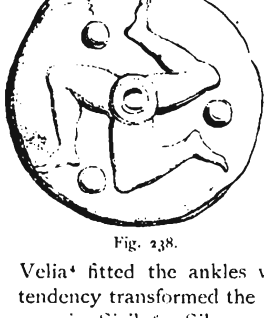


Fig. 238.

Fig. 239.

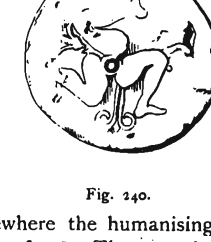


Fig. 240.

Velia[4] fitted the ankles with wings. Elsewhere the humanising tendency transformed the central disk into a face[5]. That was the case in Sicily[6]. Silver and copper coins of Agathokles, issued

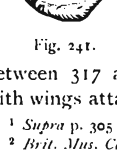


Fig. 241.

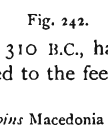


Fig. 242.

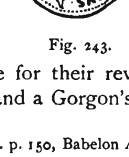


Fig. 243.

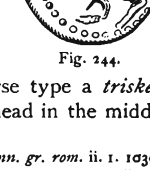


Fig. 244.

between 317 and 310 B.C., have for their reverse type a *triskelés* with wings attached to the feet and a Gorgon's head in the middle[7]

[1] *Supra* p. 305 n. 6.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 150, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1039 ff. pl. 44. 6—9, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 202. I figure the specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia etc. pp. lxxiii, 263 pl. 40, 12.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 314 f., Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 74 pl. 139, 42 (symbol).

[5] At Istros in Lower Moesia occurs the strange type of two young male heads in juxtaposition, one of the two being upside down (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 25 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 274). Head *ib.*[1] p. 235 held that this design 'probably refers to the cult of the Dioskuri, which was very prevalent on the coasts of the Euxine,' but *ib.*[2] p. 274 suggests that it 'may be meant for the rising and the setting sun-god' and compares 'the rayless Helios on the early coins of Rhodes.' Since other coins of Istros show a four-spoked wheel (Append. D), I would rather conjecture that the two heads in question are a naive attempt to represent the face of the sun-god in actual rotation.

[6] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 192 a bronze coin of M. Antonius showing as symbol a *triskelés*, the central dot of which is marked like a face: the coin is of Sicilian mintage.

[7] G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* p. 155 pl. 11, 10 (my fig. 242), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 193.

(fig. 242). On an *aureus* struck by the Roman moneyer L. Aquillius Florus in 20 B.C. to commemorate the Sicilian exploits of M'. Aquillius eighty years earlier there is a similar device, but the winged *Gorgóneion* is larger[1] (fig. 243). Bronze coins of Panormos from 254 B.C. onwards adopted the same combination of *triskelés* and *aigís*: moreover, they complicated it still further by the introduction of three ears of barley between the revolving legs[2] (fig. 244). The design recurs on late copper coins of Iaita[3]; and on the *denarii* struck in Sicily by L. Cornelius Lentulus Crus and C. Claudius Marcellus, the consuls of 49 B.C., who fled from Rome at the approach of Caesar[4] (fig. 245). From a numismatic point of view, therefore, Mr G. F. Hill is justified in describing this 'contamination' of the *triskelés* with the *Gorgóneion* as 'of Agathoclean origin[5].' But it would be interesting to know whether the combined device was invented by Agathokles himself, or borrowed from elsewhere. It may be surmised that Agathokles, who was a soldier rather than an artist, saw it first on the shields of some of his numerous foreign mercenaries. For, not only was the simple *triskelés* a frequent emblem on shields[6], but Dioskourides, an Alexandrine epigrammatist of the third century B.C., represents a Cretan warrior as dedicating a shield that was adorned with precisely this combination of *triskelés* and *Gorgóneion*:

Fig. 245.

> Not vain, methinks, the blazon that Polyllos' son doth please,
> Hyllos, who bears his buckler as a mighty man from Crete.
> The Gorgon that turns men to stone and eke the triple knees
> He bade them paint: you'll find them there, saying to all they meet—
> 'Look not thou down on me, my foe; that look of thine will freeze'
> Or 'Flee the man who runs apace with these his threefold feet[7].'

However that may be, it is practically certain that the central face was originally not that of the winged and snaky-tressed Gorgon, but that of the sun-god pure and simple—witness a Punic *stéle*, dating from about the time of Iuba, which was found in 1823 near

[1] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 214, 218, ii. 71.

[2] G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 207 ff., pl. 14, 17, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily pp. 122, 125, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 163. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 128. *Supra* p. 227.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 85, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 191 pl. 14, 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 148.

[4] G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 224 pl. 15, 4, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 350, 425.

[5] G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 208.

[6] P. Hartwig in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 341 n. 1 writes: 'The triskeles is very often used as the device on shields on black-figured vases (cf. [K. W. Goettling *Commentatio de crure albo in clipeis vasorum Graecorum* Jenae 1855]); more rarely on red-figured (cf. *El. Céram.* i. 9, where it is painted black, as here).' See further H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 198 f.

[7] *Anth. Pal.* 6. 126.

Vacca (*Bedja*) or Sicca Venerea (*Kef*) in Tunis and is now in the museum at Lyon. This stone was erected as a votive offering to *Ba'al-ḥammân*, the principal Punic deity of north Africa, who, though the word *ḥammân* probably does not mean 'Fiery[1],' appears to have been a sky-god or sun-god of some sort[2]. W. Gesenius[3] translated the accompanying inscription as follows:

> To Lord Baal the Sun-god, king eternal,
> who hath heard the words of Hicmath-
> o and of thy servant Hicembal the governor...

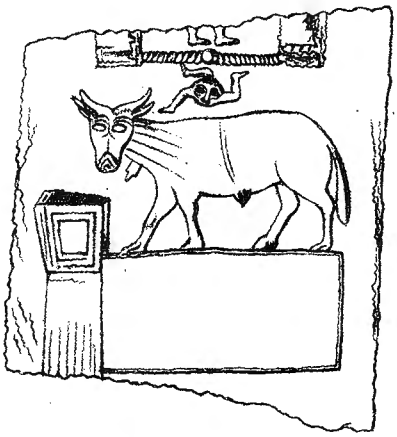


Fig. 246.

Baal had blessed the cattle of this Hiempsal (so his name should be written), governor of a Numidian province. Hiempsal, therefore, by way of a thank-offering caused a representation of himself to be carved (fig. 246) with a cow standing beneath it. The intervening symbol, which for us has the main interest, Gesenius does not attempt to elucidate. But it may fairly be regarded as a sign and token of Baal himself, the sky-god or sun-god, and cited in support of the contention that the *triskelés* had a solar significance. The same explanation probably applies to a very similar *triskelés*

[1] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (f) i (γ).

[2] Cp. G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 155, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 291 'einer Form des Sonnenba'als,' *id. ib.* i. 2869 ff.

[3] W. Gesenius *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta* Lipsiae 1837 p. 204 ff., pl. 23.

found on copper coins of Ebora Cerialis, one of the chief towns of the Turduli in Hispania Baetica[1] (figs. 247—248); for the district,

Fig. 247.

Fig. 248.

according to M. Agrippa and M. Varro[2], was over-run by Carthaginians, who would presumably bring the cult of their Punic Baal with them.

vi. The Kyklops of the East and the Kyklops of the West.

Taking into account these zoömorphic transformations of the solar wheel, I shall venture to propound a fresh classification of the Kyklopes in Greek mythology. Let us distinguish the Kyklopes of the eastern Mediterranean (including the Aegaean) from those of the western Mediterranean (especially Sicily). What is common to the two groups, what in fact enables them to be considered species of a single genus, is the central disk representing the actual orb of the sun: hence the appropriate name for both was *Kýklops*, 'the Round One,' or more exactly, 'He of the Round Aspect.'

The eastern Kyklopes were called also *Cheirogástores*[3] or *Gasterócheires*[4], that is, 'Arm-bellies' or 'Belly-arms,' in connexion with Lykia and Tiryns; *Encheirogástores* or *Engastrócheires*[5], that

[1] A. Heiss *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* Paris 1870 p. 322 ff. pl. 47 Turduli 3, 4, 5, 10. I reproduce no. 3 with a Celtiberian legend to be transliterated IBOVRI-R (genitive of *Ebora*) and no. 10 with a Latin legend read by Heiss (EB)ORENTI(N)*orum*. See also G. D. de Lorichs *Recherches numismatiques concernant principalement les médailles celtibériennes* Paris 1852 pl. 76, 12.

[2] *Ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 8.

[3] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 30 f., apparently quoting Strabon either from memory or in a text different from ours. A comparison of schol. Aristeid. with schol. Hes. (*supra* p. 302 n. 4) shows that the Kyklopes who built Mykenai were sometimes at least known as *Cheirogástores*.

[4] Strab. 372 and *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1622, 53 f.

[5] Deiochos *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 17 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 989 mentions certain Thessalian ἐγχειρογάστορας (vulg.) or ἐγγαστρόχειρας (cod. Paris.). The scholiast identifies them with the Γηγενέες of Ap. Rhod. *loc. cit.*, monstrous forms with six arms,

is, 'Bellies-in-arms' or 'Arms-in-bellies,' in connexion with Thessaly, Kyzikos, Thrace, Euboia, and Mykenai. Such names would be not unsuitably given to giants, who represented in anthropomorphic guise the solar symbol with its central ring and radiating members.

A distant echo of this mythopoeic stage may be heard in Platon's *Symposium*[1], where Aristophanes, as usual half in jest and half in earnest, makes a speech in praise of Love and in the course of it describes humanity as it was in the remote past:

'Our nature long ago was not what it is now, but otherwise. In the first place, mankind was divided into three sexes. It comprised not only the present two, male and female, but a third as well, which was a compound of them both. The name of this third sex still survives, though it has itself become extinct. In those early times the androgynous was at once a name and a species, being a blend of male and female in one common nature; whereas now-a-days it is merely a name given by way of reproach. Then again, every man's shape was rounded throughout, his back and sides being in the form of a circle[2]. He had four arms, and as many legs as arms, and two faces on a round neck, resembling each other in every respect. On his two faces, which looked opposite ways, he had a single head with four ears. Moreover, he had two sets of generative organs, and everything else to match. He walked upright, as he does still, in whichever of the two directions he pleased. When he started to run fast, he looked like tumblers who bring their legs round so as to point upwards and tumble along in a circle: just in the same way did the men of those days move rapidly along in a circle, resting their weight on their limbs, which were eight in number. The reason why the sexes numbered three may be put thus. The male was originally the offspring of the sun; the female, of the earth; the common sex, of the moon, for the moon too shares the nature of both. They and their mode of progression were alike circular because they resembled their parents. So it came to pass that in point of power and strength

two attached to their shoulders and four to their ribs (*id.* 944 ff.), who dwelt about the Ἄρκτων ὄρος, a mountainous island in the Propontis, and, coming from their mountain, essayed to block the Χυτὸς λιμήν at Kyzikos with rocks and so secure the Argonauts. The scholiast adds that Polygnostos (vulg.) or Polygnotos (cod. Paris.) in his work *On Kyzikos* rationalised them into pirates, but that tradition made them the offspring of the Nemean lion. According to the latter part of schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 the walls of Mykenai were built by Kyklopes called ἐγχειρογάστορες, who were said to have made the thunderbolt for Zeus. Other *scholia* on the same verse derive the Kyklopes, who came to aid Proitos, from Kouretis (= Euboia) and ultimately from Thrace, where there was a tribe of Kyklopes with an eponymous king Kyklops. See further G. Knaack 'Encheirogastores' in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 292 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 441 f.

[1] Plat. *symp.* 189 D—190 C.

[2] *Id. ib.* 189 E ὅλον ἦν ἑκάστου τοῦ ἀνθρώπου τὸ εἶδος στρογγύλον, νῶτον καὶ πλευρὰς κύκλῳ ἔχον. That is, every man had the shape of two men joined back to back, so that his body was cylindrical, being circular in horizontal section. The words can hardly be taken to mean that his body was a sphere or disk. Cp. *Tim.* 44 D—E, 73 C—D, where he contrasts the globular (περιφερής) brain in its spherical (σφαιροειδής) cranium with the cylindrical (στρογγύλος καὶ προμήκης) spinal marrow in its vertebral column, and my comment in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 138 f.

they were terrible; and in their pride they attacked the gods. Indeed, what Homer says of Ephialtes and Otos refers in reality to these; I mean, that they attempted to scale the sky, intending to make an assault upon the gods.'

Aristophanes goes on to tell how Zeus frustrated their efforts and punished their pride by cutting them in halves like so many eggs. Ever since that fell catastrophe man has gone about the world in search of his other half. And, if Zeus hears much more of his insolence, he will cut him in halves again, so that in future he will go hopping on a single leg! This interesting recital, despite the humorous turn given to its *dénouement*, is evidently based on the serious beliefs of the past. When Platon speaks of a third sex compounded of the other two, he has in mind the 'whole-natured types' of Empedokles[1], that is to say, types neither male nor female, but both. And, when Platon relates his human Catherine-wheels to the sun, the earth, and the moon, he recalls the same philosopher-poet's expression 'the swift limbs of the Sun[2].' But he is also throughout thinking of Pherekydes' twin Moliones[3] and of the Orphic Phanes, first-born of the gods, a strange bi-sexual being[4], perhaps two-bodied[5], certainly four-eyed[6], and commonly identified with the sun[7]. According to one account, Phanes had the heads of rams, bulls, a snake, and a lion[8], together with golden wings[9]: according to another, golden wings on his shoulders, heads of bulls attached to his sides, and on his head a monstrous snake resembling all manner of wild beasts[10]. This composite conception suggests comparison with the various theriomorphic and anthropomorphic modifications of the Lycian solar wheel[11].

In the western Mediterranean anthropomorphism went a step further. We hear of no *Cheirogástores* with multiple limbs. The

[1] Emped. *frag.* 62, 4 Diels *οὐλοφυεῖς...τύποι.*

[2] *Id. frag.* 27, 1 Diels *Ἡελίοιο...ὠκέα γυῖα.*

[3] Append. F (*ι*).

[4] Orph. *frag.* 62 Abel *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 429, 28 ff. Diehl (cp. *ib.* i. 450, 22 ff.) and Lact. *div. inst.* 4. 8, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 30. With Plat. *symp.* 191 B cp. the Orphic texts cited by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 491 f.

[5] In Orph. *frag.* 36 Abel *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* p. 387 *θεὸς ἀσώματος* was corrected to *θεὸς δισώματος* by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 486 n.: see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2251 f.

[6] Orph. *frag.* 64 Abel *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 135 *τετράσιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρώμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.* Lobeck *op. cit.* i. 491 remarks that the same verse was used to describe Argos by the author of the *Aigimios* (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1116). Is it accidental that *Φάνης* and *Ἄργος* are names of similar meaning? See further *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) ix.

[7] *Supra* p. 7 n. 6.

[8] Orph. *frag.* 63 Abel.

[9] Orph. *frag.* 65 Abel.

[10] Orph. *frag.* 36 Abel.

[11] *Supra* pp. 299 ff., 304 ff.

Kyklopes of Sicily and Italy had originally one large circular eye in the middle of the forehead[1] (fig. 249)[2]. This is throughout the prevailing type of the Kyklops in Greek and Latin literature. But with vase-paintings, wall-paintings, engraved gems, bas-reliefs and sculpture in the round the case was different. Here a growing sense of artistic fitness prescribed, first that the Kyklops should have his normal eyes, whether shut or open, as well as his abnormal eye[3], and last that his abnormal eye should dwindle away into nothing, leaving him two-eyed like other folk[4]. Thus it comes about that Servius in the fourth century A.D. can write: 'Many say that Polyphemos had one eye, others that he had two, others

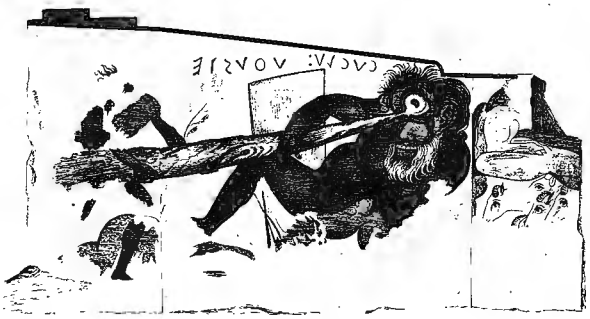


Fig. 249.

again that he had three; but the whole tale is a make-belief[5].' Virgil, in the passage on which Servius was commenting, adheres to the original conception of the western Kyklops and speaks of his eye as—

[1] In the case of Polyphemos this is implied by *Od.* 9. 333, 383, 387, 394, 397, 453, 503, 516, 525, and stated in Kratin. *Odysses frag.* 14 Meineke, Eur. *Cycl.* 77, Lyk. *Al.* 659 f. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, Theokr. 6. 22, 36, 11. 33, 53, Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 18. 2, *Anth. Pal.* 14. 132. 2, 7, Ov. *met.* 13. 772 f. The Homeric Kyklopes in general had one eye, according to Strab. 21. The Kyklopes of Aitne are one-eyed in Eur. *Cycl.* 21 f.; those of Lipara in Kallim. *h. Artem.* 52 f.; Brontes, Steropes, and Arges in Hes. *theog.* 144 f. Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1392, 36 ff., 1622, 39 ff. inclines to regard Polyphemos as *ἑτερόφθαλμον*, not *μονόφθαλμον*; cp. Guido de Columna (1287 A.D.), who in his account of the Trojan war gives Polyphemos two eyes and makes Odysseus pluck out one of them (W. Grimm in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 27).

[2] *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 15, 7, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 41 f., 74 a wall-painting in an Etruscan tomb at Corneto.

[3] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588, ii. 1685, iii. 2703 ff., 2711 f.

[4] Roscher *ib.* ii. 1685, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1695.

[5] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 636, Myth. Vat. 2. 174.

> Huge, lurking there alone 'neath his fell brow,
> Like to some Argive shield or torch Phoebean[1].

This last line draws from Servius the just remark that the one simile refers to the size (and shape), the other to the glow, of Polyphemos' eye: the 'Argive shield' was circular, and the 'torch Phoebean' must be either the moon or the sun[2]. Parmenides in one of his fragments mentions 'the round-eyed (literally *kýklops*) moon[3].' But it is more probable that Virgil is comparing the eye of the Kyklops with the sun. Ovid does so expressly in the *Metamorphoses*, where Polyphemos defends his claim to good looks in the following lines:

> One only eye my midmost forehead bears,
> But like a mighty shield. Yea, all these things
> Yon sun beholds, and with one only orb[4].

Of course no simile or collection of similes can prove that the Kyklops' eye stands for the sun in heaven. But we have seen that according to one version, which can be traced back to Hesiod, the Kyklopes were known as 'children of the Sky[5]'; that, in the words of Hellanikos, they 'derived their name from one Kyklops, whose father was the Sky[6]'; and that the Greeks regarded the sun as the eye of the animate sky[7]. A presumption is thus raised that we are on the right track in investigating the story of the Kyklops as though it were a nature-myth and in identifying the round eye, from which he took his name, with the shining orb of the sun[8].

The distinction that I have drawn between the many-armed Kyklopes of the east and the one-eyed Kyklopes of the west

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 3. 636 f.

[2] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 637.

[3] Parm. *frag.* 10, 4 Diels ἔργα τε κύκλωπος πεύσῃ περίφοιτα σελήνης.

[4] Ov. *met.* 13. 851 ff.

[5] *Supra* p. 303. [6] *Supra* p. 302. [7] *Supra* p. 196 f.

[8] L. Frobenius *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes* Berlin 1904 i. 367—412, after a wide survey of analogous myths all the world over, comes to the conclusion that the man-eating ogre (or ogress), who lives in a cave and is a famous builder, must be regarded as a star if he has one eye, as a constellation if he has many heads and arms: he is attacked by the solar hero or sun-god, who wrests from him the means of making fire. On this showing Odysseus would be the sun-god and Polyphemos a star! W. Schwartz *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 169 ff. argues that one-eyed beings such as the Kyklopes are storm-powers, their fiery eye denoting the lightning (see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (b)). W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1689, 59 ff. suggests that the one eye of the Kyklops refers to the crater of Mt. Aitne, and V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* Paris 1903 ii. 130 has given a similar volcanic explanation: cp. R. Browning *Paracelsus* sc. 5 'groups | Of young volcanos come up, cyclops-like, | Staring together with their eyes on flame.' I follow W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 27 and A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 63.

corresponds fairly well with a difference indicated in Hesiod's *Theogony*. The poet, enumerating the children of Earth (*Gaîa*) and Sky (*Ouranós*), writes :

> She brought forth too Kyklopes proud of heart,
> Brontes and Steropes and strong-souled Arges,
> Who gave the thunder and wrought the bolt of Zeus.
> They verily in all else were like the gods,
> But had one eye amid their forehead set.
> [Kyklopes were they named by reason of
> A round eye, one, upon their forehead set.]
> Power, violence, and guile were in their deeds.
> Others again from Earth and Sky were sprung,
> Three sons of size and strength, not to be named,
> Kottos, Briareos, Gyes, prideful brood.
> A hundred arms were waving from their shoulders,
> All unapproachable, and fifty heads
> Grew from the shoulders on each stalwart neck.
> Monstrous their power, strong to match their size[1].

The one-eyed Kyklopes are here mentioned side by side with certain many-armed giants of the self-same parentage. If we may regard these *Hekatóncheires*[2] as analogous to the *Cheirogástores*, Hesiod's division is just that between the Kyklopes of west and east.

Nor need we be surprised to find the sun conceived in two forms so widely different by people residing within the same area of civilisation. A useful parallel is afforded by the religion of ancient Egypt. The oldest group of Egyptian deities was headed by a divine pair named Nu and Nut, god and goddess respectively of the watery mass of the sky. The pyramid text of Pepi i addresses 'Nut, in whose head appear two eyes[3]'—presumably the sun and moon. Similarly a late papyrus in the British Museum[4] makes Nu speak of his Eye in terms which can only refer to the sun[5]. Again, when the attributes of Nu were transferred to the god Rā[6], the Eye of Rā was identified with a variety of solar

[1] Hes. *theog.* 139 ff.

[2] Ἑκατόγχειρες Apollod. 1. 1. 1, Palaiph. 19 (20), Eudok. *viol.* 221, *et. mag.* p. 213, 14 f., *ib.* p. 327, 41, Plout. *de amic. mult.* 1. cp. *v. Marcell.* 17. Briareos is *ἑκατόγχειρος* in *Il.* 1. 402, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 123, 42. Gyas is *centimanus* in Hor. *od.* 2. 17. 14, 3. 4. 69, Ov. *am.* 2. 1. 12, *trist.* 4. 7. 18, as is Typhoeus in Ov. *met.* 3. 303: cp. Boeth. *de inst. arithmet.* 1. 19 p. 40, 26 Friedlein, and Pompon. *digest.* 1. 2. 2. 36 (*Centemmanus* as nick-name of Appius Claudius Caecus).

[3] Pap. 10, 188, written for Nes-Amsu, or Nes-Min, priest of Panopolis, *c.* 312 B.C.

[4] E. A. Wallis Budge *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* London 1911 i. 156.

[5] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 298 f., 306.

[6] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 135. According to G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 88 n. 1 the name *Râ* 'means the *sun*, and nothing more.'

powers[1]. Rā himself was fused with the Theban deity Ȧmen, and a hymn written in the time of the twentieth or twenty-first dynasty for the great resultant god Ȧmen-Rā says:

'Thou art the beautiful Prince, who risest like the sun with the White Crown, and thou art the lord of radiant light and the creator of brilliant rays.... Thy flame maketh thine enemies to fall, and thine Eye overthroweth the *Sebâu* fiends[2].'

Rā was likewise fused with Tem the local sun-god of Ȧnnu, that is On or Heliopolis, thus forming the double god Rā-Tem[3]: accordingly we hear of the Eye of Tem as another designation of the sun[4]. Lastly, Rā was fused with Horos[5] (*Ḥeru*), who was regarded as the Face (*Ḥer* or *Ḥrâ*) of heaven, and said to have two eyes, the sun being the right eye, and the moon the left[6]. But these numerous descriptions of the sun as the eye of this, that, or the other deity by no means prevented the Egyptians from depicting it in curiously incongruous ways. For example, Ȧmen-ḥetep iv or Amenophis iv, the *Hôros* of Manethon, about the year 1430 B.C., despite the first element in his own name, cut himself off from the old capital Thebes and the Theban cult of Ȧmen. He adopted a new name, Khut-en-Ȧten, and founded a new capital, Khut-Ȧten, some two hundred miles south of Cairo on the east bank of the Nile: the site of his foundation is now marked by the Arab villages of Haggi Ḳandîl and Tell el-'Amarna. Khut-en-Ȧten means the 'Spirit' or 'Glory of Ȧten'; and Khut-Ȧten, the 'Horizon of Ȧten.' This Ȧten was a very old Egyptian deity, whose original home was near Ȧnnu or Heliopolis. 'Ȧten,' says Dr Wallis Budge, 'was the physical body of the Sun[7].' And monuments of Khut-en-Ȧten often show the king, with or without his family, illuminated by the sun's rays[8]. In these representations the rays

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 422 f. Meḥ-urt, *ib.* i. 365 Hathor, *ib.* i. 446 Bast, *ib.* i. 517 Sekhet. *Id. Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* i. 144, 346, ii. 172, 203, 277, 328.

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 8.

[3] E. A. Wallis Budge *ib.* i. 330, ii. 87.

[4] E. A. Wallis Budge *ib.* i. 158, 305, 446 identified with Bast.

[5] G. Maspero *op. cit.* pp. 100, 137.

[6] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* i. 467, cp. *ib.* i. 109, 165, 202, 248, 363, 457, *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* ii. 386 Index *s.v.* 'Eye of Horus,' G. Maspero *op. cit.* pp. 88, 92.

[7] E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 iv. 119, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 73.

[8] E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 120, 127, 133, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 70, 73, 74, 77.

of Åten are made to terminate in human hands (fig. 250)[1], which sometimes hold emblems of life and sovereignty in their grasp[2].

Such solar symbols are, indeed, deep-seated in human nature, and, like many other natural phenomena, contrive to coexist in spite of obvious inconsistencies. A Greek of the classical period at least might speak of the sun as a revolving wheel and yet credit tales of the *Kyklopes* and the *Cheirogástores*, though logically the former should have forced him to identify the disk with the eye of a giant and the latter should have called up the image of a monster's circling hands. Of course, the further we are removed

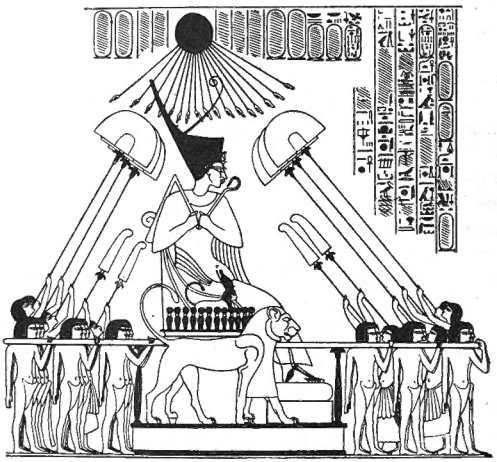


Fig. 250.

from the exclusiveness of primitive religion, the easier it is to hold simultaneously ideas that in their origin were incompatible. For, as belief wanes, convictions become views, and views pass into a

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 133 Khut-en-Åten on a portable throne, fanned by attendants, beneath the rays of Åten, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 74.

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* iv. 121, 123, *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 81, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith p. 63, G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 pp. 322, 328.

An Assyrian obelisk shows two hands issuing from a solar disk, the right hand open, the left holding a bow (Count Goblet d'Alviella *The Migration of Symbols* London 1894 p. 26, after G. Rawlinson *The Five Great Monarchies of the Ancient Eastern World*[4] London 1879 ii. 233).

mere succession of pictures or metaphors. A *fin-de-siècle* poet opens his *Sunset in the City* with the lines—

> Above the town a monstrous wheel is turning,
> With glowing spokes of red,
> Low in the west its fiery axle burning[1]—

but at a distance of half a dozen pages changes the scene—

> The sun has shut his golden eye
> And gone to sleep beneath the sky[2]—

while elsewhere in the same little volume he prefers to speak of the sunbeams as—

> the curious fingers of the day[3].

vii. The Kyklops and Zeus.

But, to return to the Greeks, we have next to enquire in what relation the Kyklopes, whether eastern or western, stood towards Zeus. So far as the eastern Kyklopes are concerned, the evidence is of the scantiest. The scholiast on Euripides, probably confusing the many-armed with the one-eyed Kyklopes, states that the former, the *Encheirogástores*, fashioned the thunderbolt for Zeus[4]. And the Platonic Aristophanes in his whimsical narrative tells how certain wheel-shaped and quasi-human beings, who might have been, but are not, called *Cheirogástores*, made an attack upon Zeus and the other gods[5]. Clearly no conclusion can be based on such premises. At most it may be said in quite general terms that the *Cheirogástores* belong to the same category as the *Titânes*. They are, that is, elder and unsuccessful rivals of Zeus.

In dealing with their western compeers, the Kyklopes *par excellence*, we are on firmer ground. Hesiod speaks of the Kyklopes that made the thunder and the thunder-bolt for Zeus as 'like the gods[6].' And the names that he gives them[7]—*Bróntes*, *Steróp*es, *Árges*—are all but identical with sundry titles of Zeus, namely

[1] R. Le Gallienne *English Poems*[4] London 1895 p. 89.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 83.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 18. Mr Owen Seaman in *The Battle of the Bays* London 1896 p. 39 has an altogether delightful parody entitled 'An Ode to Spring in the Metropolis. (After R. Le G.),' in which occurs the following allusion to our metaphor: 'And O the sun! | See, see, he shakes | His big red hands at me in wanton fun! | A glorious image that! it might be Blake's, | Or even Crackanthorpe's!'

[4] Schol. Eur. *Or.* 965, *supra* p. 309 n. 5.

[5] *Supra* p. 310 f.

[6] *Supra* p. 314.

[7] *Ibid.*

Brontôn, 'the Thundering[1],' *steropegerḗta*, 'the lightning-gatherer[2],' *argés*, 'the brilliant[3].' Again, the Kyklopes not only made the thunder and lightning of Zeus, but could on occasion wield his weapons on their own behalf. The late epic of Nonnos describes in bombastic style how *Argílipos*, *Steróp*es, and *Bróntes* fought on the side of the gods against the Indians:

> The stout Kyklopes circled round the foe,
> Helpers of Zeus. Above that murky throng
> Argilipos was flashing as he swung
> A radiant brand and, armed with chthonian bolt
> Fire-tipped, took torches for the fray. Thereat
> Quaked the dark Indians, mazed at such a flame
> That matched the fiery whirl-wind from the sky.
> He, blazing, led the way: 'gainst hostile heads
> Sparks from his earth-born thunderbolt were shot.
> Ash spears he beat and many a blade, that Kyklops,
> Swaying his hot shafts and his burning pike,
> A brand his dart, and, man on man destroying,
> Still scorched the Indians with his archer flame.
> [Not one Salmoneus only he convicted
> Of bastard bolts, not one god's-enemy
> Alone he slew, nor only one Euadne
> Made moan for Kapaneus extinguished there.]
> Steropes next had armed him and was wielding
> A mimic blaze, a gleam that echoed back
> The lightning of the sky, both flash and fade,
> Sprung into being from the western flame,
> Seed of Sicilian fire and glowing hearth.
> A cloud-like robe he wore, within whose fold
> He hid his sheen and then the same revealed
> With double quivering, like the light of heaven;
> For lightning's gleam now goes, now comes again.
> Then Brontes went a-warring and beat out
> A song sonorous, while he bellowed back
> The clappings of the thunder and with spray
> Unwonted, made of earth-born snow, shed water
> False-fashioned, little-lasting, from the sky—
> He and his drops, a bastard, cloudless Zeus.
> But Zeus the Father marked the Kyklops aping
> His own fell din and laughed amid his clouds[4].

On terra-cotta brasiers of Hellenistic date there is often stamped a grotesque bearded head, sometimes wearing a pointed cap and

[1] *Infra* ch. ii § 4 (d).

[2] *Infra* ch. ii § 3.

[3] *Supra* p. 31.

[4] Nonn. *Dion.* 28. 172—201, cp. *ib.* 14. 52—60 where *Bróntes*, *Steróp*es, and *Árges* are named among other Kyklopes opposed to the Indians. For the Kyklops' imitation of Zeus' thunder see Eur. *Cycl.* 327 f.

accompanied by a thunderbolt or thunderbolts[1] (figs. 251—253). W. H. Roscher[2] follows A. Furtwängler in regarding this type as that of the Kyklops. If they are right—and Furtwängler's arguments are plausible[3]—, we have here monumental evidence of the Kyklops conceived as the owner of the thunderbolt.

Again, a connexion of some sort between the Kyklops and Zeus is implied by the myth of Geraistos. Minos, after the death of Androgeos went to war with Athens, the direct or indirect cause of his bereavement. When the war dragged on and he failed to capture the town, he prayed to Zeus that he might be avenged on the Athenians. Thereupon famine and pestilence befell them, and, at the advice of an ancient oracle, they first slew the daughters of the Lacedaemonian Hyakinthos on the tomb of Geraistos the

Fig. 251.

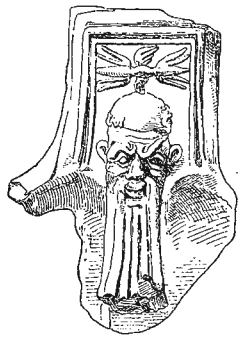


Fig. 252.

Fig. 253.

Kyklops (or the son of the Kyklops). This proved unavailing; and they had in the end to listen to Minos' demand of seven youths and seven maidens as food for the Minotaur[4]. But Geraistos, the eponym of the village and promontory in Euboia[5], who is presumably to be identified with the Geraistos of the Athenian myth, is said to have been the son of Zeus[6]. Thus either Geraistos the

[1] A. Conze 'Griechische Kohlenbecken' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v. 118 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* pp. xix. 68 no. A 448.

[2] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1681, 1685.

[3] A. Furtwängler 'Die Köpfe der griechischen Kohlenbecken' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 110 ff.

[4] Apollod. 3. 15. 8 *ἐπὶ τὸν Γεραίστου τοῦ Κύκλωπος τάφον κατέσφαξαν*, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λουσία, Harpokr. and Souid. *s.v.* Τακινθίδες, Hyg. *fab.* 238.

[5] *Supra* p. 156 n. 6, Append. B Euboia.

[6] Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Γεραιστός, Ταίναρος.

Kyklops was the son of Zeus; or Geraistos was, according to some, the son of the Kyklops, according to others, the son of Zeus. Both inferences presuppose that the Kyklops was somehow related to Zeus.

Lastly, T. Panofka[1] and W. Grimm[2] long since pointed out that the three-eyed Kyklops of Sicily bears a striking resemblance to an extremely archaic statue of Zeus with three eyes seen by Pausanias on the Argive Larisa[3]. M. Mayer[4] arrived independently at a similar conclusion. He holds that the original Kyklops was one with the three-eyed Zeus of Argos, who in turn is strictly comparable with other three-eyed figures in Greek mythology in particular with the three-eyed Argos *Panóptes*[5], with the three-eyed guide of the Herakleidai[6], and with the various heroes named Triops or Triopas[7]. On this showing, then, the three-eyed Kyklops is but another form of the three-eyed Zeus. When, however, M. Mayer over the section of his work devoted to this question prints the words 'Zeus Kyklops[8],' he is going too far. Polyphemos, it is true, boasts that the Kyklopes care nothing for Zeus, deeming themselves superior to the gods, and that he, the speaker, would not refrain from laying hands on Odysseus through any fear of incurring Zeus' enmity[9]. But nowhere in Greek literature do we get a definite identification of the Kyklops with Zeus. The nearest approach to it is Nonnos' description of the Kyklops Brontes as 'a bastard Zeus[10].' Rather, we must suppose that the Kyklops was originally a sky-god like Zeus, his round eye being the sun and his weapon the thunderbolt. He was, in fact, analogous to, but not identical with, the Hellenic god.

It is not at present possible to determine the race to which this

[1] T. Panofka *Archäologischer Commentar zu Pausanias Buch II. Kap. 24* p. 30 f.

[2] W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 28.

[3] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75 f., 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 288 f., Append. B Argolis.

[4] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* Berlin 1887 p. 110 ff.

[5] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75, 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 287.

[6] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 87, 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 289 f.

[7] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 75 ff., 325, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 288 f.

[8] M. Mayer *op. cit.* pp. 113, 115.

[9] *Od.* 9. 275 ff. Dr W. W. Merry *ad loc.*, taking a hint from the scholiast, observes: 'This is inconsistent with what the Cyclopes acknowledged about the power of Zeus, inf. 410; and with Polyphemus' boast that Poseidon was his father.' D. Muelder 'Das Kyklopengedicht der Odysee' in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 431 ff. draws attention to the similar inconsistencies of *Od.* 9. 107, 111, 358. Eur. *Cycl.* 320 f. Ζηνὸς δ' ἐγὼ κεραυνὸν οὐ φρίσσω, ξένε, | οὐδ' οἶδ' ὅ τι Ζεύς ἐστ' ἐμοῦ κρείσσων θεός is following the Homeric passage.

[10] *Supra* p. 318.

one-eyed sun-god properly belonged[1]. Precisely similar figures are to be met with in Celtic[2] and Germanic[3] mythology—a fact which is suggestive of a remote origin in the past. Moreover, in the Celtic area at least the one-eyed giant is regularly black-skinned[4]. Does this point to his connexion with a melanochrous race?

viii. The Blinding of the Kyklops' Eye.

Polyphemos' claim that the Kyklopes were 'much superior' to the gods has in one respect been substantiated. For Zeus, as we have seen, lives no longer in the mind of the modern peasant, whereas far and wide through southern and central Europe folk-tales still tell the old story of the Kyklops and his lawless deeds. In Appendix E I have collected a number of such tales, and shall here say something by way of comment upon them.

A constant feature of the Kyklops-*Märchen* is the boring out of the giant's eye by means of a red-hot stake. This incident is repeated in a variety of slightly differing forms: we hear of a sharp

[1] According to the schol. Eur. *Or.* 965 the Kyklopes, a Thracian tribe (cp. Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 121) named after its king Kyklops, were driven from their land by war and settled in various parts, most of them in Kouretis: from Kouretis they came to help Proitos and built the walls of Tiryns for him, those of Argos for Akrisios. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1132 note d identified this Kouretis with Euboia, where there are other traces of the Kyklopes (*supra* p. 319 f., Istros *ap.* schol. *Il.* 10. 439). Maass in *Hermes* 1889 xxiv. 644 f. thinks that colonists from Chalkis in Euboia brought the Kyklops-myth to Chalkidike, arguing that the mother of Polyphemos, *viz.* Thoösa daughter of Phorkys (*Od.* 1. 71 f.), who according to one account seems to have lived on the coast of Euboia (Lyk. *Al.* 376 *Φόρκυνος οἰκητήριον*), was a nymph of Mt. Athos (*Θόωσα* from **Θόως* = *Ἄθως*). W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1689, 47 ff. further observes that the Sicilian Kyklopes are located in the Chalcidian colonies Naxos and Leontinoi (Strab. 20, Eustath. *in Od.* pp. 1618, 2, 1644, 42). But these combinations, however ingenious, are altogether too speculative.

Timaios *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 200 Müller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 220, 5 f. states that Galatia took its name from Galates, son of Kyklops and Galatia. Appian. *Illyr.* 1 says that Polyphemos the Kyklops had by Galateia three sons, Keltos, Illyrios, and Galas, who ruled over the Keltai, Illyrioi and Galatai respectively.

Io. Malal. *chron.* 5 p. 114 Dindorf asserts that Sikanos, king of Sicily, had three sons, Kyklops, Antiphantes (*sic*), and Polyphemos, who divided the land between them.

[2] *E.g.* Balor (H. D'Arbois de Jubainville *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 p. 208 ff., J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* Boston 1894 p. 283 ff., C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London, Glasgow and Dublin 1905 pp. 48 f., 112 f., 238 f., J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 pp. 59, 89), Searbhan Lochlannach (*Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 438 ff.), or the giants and ogres of France (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 37, 272, 295, 434 f., 1905 ii. 125).

[3] E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 Index p. 312 *s.v.* Einäugigkeit, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1888 iv. 1440.

[4] Append. E. J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 516 n. 2 speaks of 'sooty Cyclops' on the strength of Kallim. *h. Artem.* 66 ff.

red-hot pole (Athens), of a sharp piece of wood (Servia), of red-hot spits (France, Abruzzo, Zakynthos, Kappodokia, Kypros, Sindbad), of a red-hot iron (Harz Mountains, Finland), of a red-hot poker (Erice), of a red-hot knife (Oghuzians), of a stabbing in the eye (Carelia, Yorkshire), or of a molten mass poured in the eyes (Dolopathos, Roumania, Esthonia).

The oldest obtainable version of the story is of course the Kyklops-myth of the *Odyssey*, which in its present shape must be placed at least as early as the year 800 B.C.[1] and in its original form goes back doubtless some centuries further. D. Muelder, after a minute and painstaking criticism of the myth, sets aside all later accretions and interpolations and prints what he conceives to have been the primitive Kyklops-poem[2]. In this the episode of the red-hot stake is of fundamental importance. The passage, as reconstituted by Muelder, runs thus:

> This to my thinking seemed the best advice.
> Beside the fold the Kyklops' great club lay
> Of olive-wood yet green, which he had felled
> To bear when dry. We, looking on the same,
> Likened its size to the mast of a black ship,
> Some merchantman broad-beamed and twenty-oared
> That gets to harbour far across the main,
> So huge its length, so huge its girth to view.
> Therefrom I, standing close, cut off a fathom,
> Gave to my men, and bade them fine it down.
> They smoothed it: I stood by and pointed it,
> And took and turned it in the blazing fire.
> Then 'neath the heap of embers I thrust in
> The bar to heat it; and my comrades all
> I heartened, lest in terror they should fail me.
> But, when the olive-bar was like to catch,
> Green as it was, and glowed with dreadful light,
> I fetched it from the fire, while they stood round.
> And some god breathed great courage into us.
> They took the olive-bar, so sharp at the point,
> And full in his eyeball plunged it. I uplifted
> Twirled it above, as a man drills with a drill
> A timber for ship-building, while below
> His fellows spin their strap and hold amain
> Its either end, and still the drill runs on.
> Just so we took the fiery-pointed bar,
> And twirled it in his eye: the blood flowed round
> Its hot end, and the blast singed all about
> His lids and eyebrows, as the ball was burnt

[1] A. and M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque*[2] Paris 1896 i. 402, W. Chris *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1908 i. 62.

[2] D. Muelder 'Das Kyklopengedicht der Odysee' in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 414—45

Till even its roots were crackling in the fire.
And, as a man that is a coppersmith
Dips a great axe or adze all hissing hot
In water cold to temper it, for this
Is the strength of steel, so hissed the Kyklops' eye
About that bar of olive; and he groaned
A ghastly groan—yea, round us rang the rock—
And we in a panic fled, while he from his eye
Plucked out the bar bedabbled with much blood[1].

Now, if we have been right in supposing, with W. Grimm and A. Kuhn[2], that the single eye of the Kyklops was an early representation of the sun in the sky, it remains to enquire what was the original significance of this rather gruesome scene? Why should the hero thrust a sharp stake into the solar eye? And why is that stake regularly described as being red-hot?

ix. Prometheus' Theft of Fire.

An answer to these questions would hardly have been forthcoming—since even in the *Odyssey* the incident has been already worked over and incorporated into a wonder-voyage—had it not been for the fortunate preservation of a more or less parallel myth, that of Prometheus. He is said to have stolen fire from Zeus 'in a hollow fennel-stalk[3]'—an expression cleared up by J. T. Bent, who, writing of the Greek islands, says: 'One can understand the idea well: a peasant to-day who wishes to carry a light from one house to another will put it into one of these reeds to prevent its being blown out[4].' As to the manner in which Prometheus obtained the

[1] *Od.* 9. 318—328, 375—397.

[2] *Supra* pp. 313 n. 8, 320, *infra* ch. i § 6 (h) i.

[3] Hes. *theog.* 565 ff., *o. d.* 50 ff. *ἐν κοίλῳ νάρθηκι*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 178 ignem...adservare ferula Prometheus, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15 devenit ad Iovis ignem; quo deminuto et in ferulam conjecto, etc., *fab.* 144 Prometheus in ferula detulit in terras, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 42 ferula ignem de caelo subripuisse, Acron *in* Hor. *od.* 2. 13. 37 raptor per ferulam ignis divini.

[4] J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 365. *Id. ib.*: 'In Lesbos this reed is still called *νάρθηκα* (*νάρθηξ*).' *Id.* in the *Journ. Anthrop. Inst.* 1885—6 xv. 401 (in Karpathos) 'If a woman wishes to carry a light from one house to the other she puts it into a reed, which here alone have I heard termed *ναρθηκα* or *ναρθηξ*, the same word and the same use for the reed which mythology teaches us Prometheus employed when he brought down fire from heaven.' The same custom is found in Kypros, according to Sittl on Hes. *theog.* 567, cited by E. E. Sikes in his ed. of Aisch. *P. v.* p. xvii n. 1, where a further reference is given to Miss M. H. Kingsley *Travels in West Africa* London 1897 p. 600: 'In most domesticated tribes, like the Effiks or the Igalwa, if they are going out to their plantation, they will enclose a live stick in a hollow piece of a certain sort of wood, which has a lining of its interior pith left in it, and they will carry this "fire box" with them.' The schol. Hes. *theog.* 565 and Proklos *in* Hes. *o. d.* 52 observe that the *νάρθηξ*, having a soft pith, will keep a fire smouldering within it; and Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 126 says that

stolen fire, different accounts were current in antiquity. Aischylos possibly, and Accius certainly, represented the fire as stolen from Mount Mosychlos, a wooded volcano in Lemnos now submerged by the sea[1]. Platon supposes that Prometheus stole it from 'the common abode of Athena and Hephaistos[2],' in fact from the celestial Erechtheion, where presumably, as in its terrestrial counterpart, a perpetual fire was kept burning. Platon, however, is philosophising, and an obviously older explanation is given by Servius[3]:

'It is said that Prometheus, when he had made mankind, ascended by the help of Minerva into the sky, and, applying a small torch to the wheel of the sun, stole fire, which he showed to men.'

An anonymous mythographer of the ninth or tenth century, plausibly identified by Angelo Mai with a certain Leontius mentioned in J. Brassicanus' commentary on Petronius[4], expands this meagre statement:

'Prometheus was helped by Minerva; and about him the following tale is composed. Prometheus made man out of clay, and moulded him without life or feelings. Minerva, admiring Prometheus' handywork, promised him whatever heavenly gift he would to help him with his work. He said that he did not know at all what good things there were in heaven, but asked whether it was possible for the goddess to raise him to the gods above, in order that he might see with his own eyes and choose what suited his work. So Minerva placed him on her shield and took him to the sky. When he saw there the heavenly bodies animated and invigorated by their flaming heat, he secretly applied a reed to the wheel of Phoebus and stole the fire, which he applied to the breast of man, thereby making his body alive[5].'

Egyptian *ferulae* are best for the purpose. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 260, who notes that Bent is mistaken in calling the *νάρθηξ* or 'giant fennel' a reed.

[1] Aisch. *frag.* 193 Nauck[2] and Acc. 532 ff. Ribbeck[3] p. 237 *ap.* Cic. *Tusc.* 2. 23. Cp. Hellanikos *frag.* 112 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 60 Müller) *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 227. On the submerged volcano see R. C. Jebb's ed.[2] of Soph. *Phil.* p. 243 ff.

[2] Plat. *Prot.* 321 D—E. Hephaistos in Loukian. *Prom.* 5 says to Prometheus: *τὸ πῦρ ὑφελόμενος ψυχράν μοι τὴν κάμινον ἀπολέλοιπας.* Cp. Ibyk. *frag.* 25 Bergk[4], Soph. *frag.* 335 Nauck[2], etc. *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 6. 51 prefaced by *τὸν Προμηθέα κλέψαι τὸ πῦρ Ἡφαίστῳ κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 42 Prometheus, [Iapeti et Clymenes filius,] post factos a se homines dicitur auxilio Minervae caelum ascendisse: et adhibita facula ad rotam Solis ignem furatus, quem hominibus indicavit. The same statement in almost the same words occurs in Myth. Vat. 2. 64, and is quoted from Servius in Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 10.

[4] See G. H. Bode *Scriptores rerum mythicarum Latini tres Romae nuper reperti* Cellis 1834 pp. x f., xx f.

[5] Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 9 clanculum ferulam rotae Phoebi applicans, but later *ib.* a sole faculam accendit. This version of the myth, which occurs with some slight variations also in Myth. Vat. 2. 63 Phoebiacis rotis applicans faculam, can be traced back to Fulgent. 2. 9 clam ferulam Phoebiacis adplicans rotis, *i.e.* to a date *c.* 480—550 A.D. For the reed cp. a Zakynthian tale *infra* ch. ii. § 3 (c).

x. The Fire-drill in relation to Prometheus, the Kyklops, and Zeus.

A. Kuhn in his remarkable study on *The Descent of Fire* has made it probable, not to say certain, that this myth of Prometheus thrusting a torch into the solar wheel rests upon the actual custom of obtaining fire by the use of a fire-drill[1]. If so, Diodoros was not far wrong when he wrote:

'Prometheus son of Iapetos is said by some mythographers to have stolen fire from the gods and given it to men; but in truth he was the inventor of the fire-sticks, from which fire is kindled[2].'

The fire-drill, an instrument employed by primitive or backward tribes all the world over[3], consists essentially of two sticks, the one vertical, the other horizontal. The former is commonly made of harder wood and regarded as male, the latter of softer wood and regarded as female, the production of fire between them being spoken of as a sexual act. The Rev. J. G. Wood states that the fire-drill may be seen any day in South Africa:

'The operator lays one stick on the ground, and holds it down with his feet, while he places the pointed end of the other stick upon it. This second stick is mostly of harder wood than the first. He then twirls the upright stick between his palms, pressing it slightly downwards, and in a short time he works a small conical hole. Presently, the sides of the hole begin to darken, and a quantity of fine dust falls into it. By the continuous friction so much heat is evolved that the sides of the hole become black, the dust becomes red hot, and, when blown upon, bursts into an evanescent flame. A little fine and very dry grass is then carefully laid upon it, and the blowing continued until the grass takes fire. It is then covered with small dry sticks, and those again with larger, until a good fire is made[4].'

My illustration (fig. 254) shows a couple of fire-sticks of this sort obtained for me from a Mutoro of Central Africa by my brother-in-law the Rev. H. E. Maddox: three holes have already been drilled in the under stick and a fourth has been commenced. Sometimes the

[1] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 pp. 18 ff., 35.

[2] Diod. 5. 67.

[3] On the fire-drill see E. B. Tylor *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*[3] London 1878 p. 238 ff. More recent literature on the subject is cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*[2]: The Magic Art ii. 207 ff. (ch. xv 'The Fire-Drill'). Add the illustrated chapters of N. Joly *Man before Metals*[2] London 1883 p. 188 ff., J. G. Wood *Man and his Handiwork* London 1886 p. 415 ff., M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 1 ff. and the monographs of M. Planck *Die Feuerzeuge der Griechen und Römer* Stuttgart 1884, G. Sarauw *Le feu et son emploi dans le Nord de l'Europe aux temps préhistoriques et protohistoriques* Gent 1907 (extr. from the Annales du xx. Congrès archéol. et histor. de Belgique i. 196—226).

[4] Rev. J. G. Wood *op. cit.* p. 415.

upper stick is made to rotate by means of a cord or strap. Thus the Rev. J. Stevenson describes the Brahman's method of getting fire from wood:

'It consists in drilling one piece of arańi-wood into another by pulling a string tied to it with a jerk with the one hand, while the other is slackened, and so on alternately till the wood takes fire. The fire is received on cotton or flax held in the hand of an assistant Brahman[1].'

This type of fire-drill has survived as a toy among the Swiss in the canton of Neuchatel[2], and as an implement of every-day use among the Eskimo and the inhabitants of the Aleutian Isles (fig. 255)[3]. Further modifications are occasionally introduced, such as the employment of a bow instead of a strap, or the weighting of the

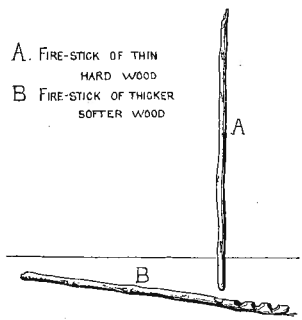


Fig. 254.

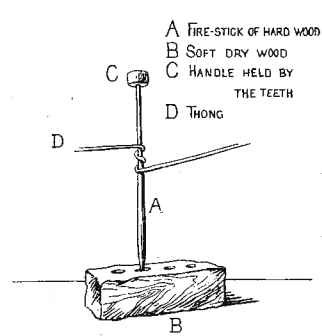


Fig. 255.

spindle with a heavy disk: the former may be seen in a Dacotah fire-drill (fig. 256)[4], the latter in an ingenious self-winding apparatus used by the Iroquois Indians (fig. 257)[5]. This Iroquois drill bears some resemblance to an eye pierced with a stake. And primitive folk are quick to catch at quasi-human features. Thus Dr Frazer reports that the fire-boards of the Chuckchees in the north-east extremity of Asia

[1] J. Stevenson *Translation of the Sanhitá of the Sáma Veda* London 1842 p. vii f. Cp. W. Crooke *Things Indian* London 1906 p. 209 on the fire-drill as used by the Brahman fire-priests or *Agnihotri*. A full account of their procedure is given by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 248 ff.

[2] J. Romilly Allen 'Need-Fire' in *The Illustrated Archæologist* 1894—1895 ii. 77 f. figs. 1, 2.

[3] E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*[3] p. 242 fig. 25 from an example in the Edinburgh Industrial Museum, N. Joly *op. cit.*[3] p. 193 fig. 69.

[4] J. G. Wood *op. cit.* p. 419, cp. E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*[3] p. 243.

[5] J. G. Wood *op. cit.* pp. 420, 422, cp. E. B. Tylor *op. cit.*[3] p. 244 f.

'are roughly carved in human form and personified, almost deified, as the supernatural guardians of the reindeer. The holes made by drilling in the board are deemed the eyes of the figure and the squeaking noise produced by the friction of the fire-drill in the hole is thought to be its voice. At every sacrifice the mouth of the figure is greased with tallow or with the marrow of bones[1].'

Now, if uncivilised people can regard the fire-stick in its hole as turned about in the eye of a voracious and supernatural herdsman, who squeaks at the process, it becomes—I think—credible that the myth of Odysseus plunging his heated bar into the Kyklops' eye originated in a primitive story concerning the discovery of the same simple utensil. Is it a mere coincidence that the Homeric episode culminates in a simile drawn from a strap-drill[2]?

On this showing the hero of the Kyklops-adventure must have been originally a divine or semi-divine figure comparable with that

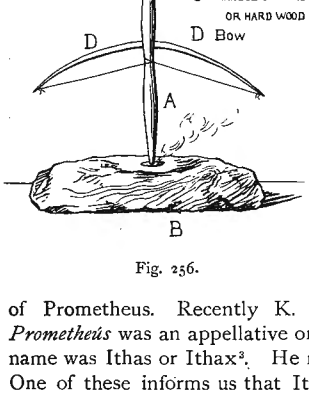


Fig. 256.

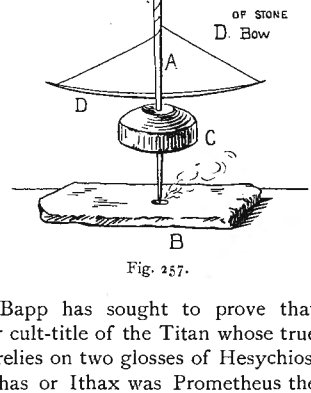


Fig. 257.

of Prometheus. Recently K. Bapp has sought to prove that *Prometheús* was an appellative or cult-title of the Titan whose true name was Ithas or Ithax[3]. He relies on two glosses of Hesychios. One of these informs us that Ithas or Ithax was Prometheus the herald of the Titans[4]. The other enables us to connect the name with a verb meaning 'to be heated' (*ithaínesthai*)[5]. The root of this verb is *idh-*, the weak grade of *aidh-* from which *aítho*, 'I burn,'

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 225.

[2] *Supra* p. 322. Nonnos unconsciously hit the mark, when he described the Kyklops' blaze as 'Seed of Sicilian fire and glowing hearth' (*supra* p. 318).

[3] K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3034.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰθάς· ὁ τῶν Τιτάνων κήρυξ Προμηθεύς. τινὲς Ἰθάξ.

[5] Hesych. *s.v.* ἰθαίνεσθαι· θερμαίνεσθαι, cp. *s.v.* ἰθαίνειν· εὐφρονεῖν and ἰθαρός, 'pure, clear.'

aithḗr, 'the burning sky,' etc. are formed[1]. It thus appears that Prometheus was essentially a 'Fire'-god—a conclusion that suits well his relations to Hephaistos and the Kabeiroi[2]. But his name Ithax can hardly be dissociated from Ithake[3], the home of Odysseus *Ithakḗsios* or *Íthakos*[4]. In short, I suspect that behind Odysseus the hero stands an older and more divine personage akin to Prometheus the fire-god. It is surely significant that Odysseus, when pressed by Penelope on his return to declare his lineage, gives himself out as the grandson of the Cretan Minos and says *totidem verbis*:

My famous name is Aithon[5].

Further, I would suggest that this is the reason why the art-type of Odysseus, *e.g.* on coppers of Ithake (fig. 258)[6], is indistinguishable

Fig. 258.

Fig. 259.

Fig. 260.

from the art-type of Hephaistos, *e.g.* on coppers of Methana (fig. 259)[7], and virtually identical with that of the bearded Kabeiros[8], *e.g.* on coppers of Birytos (fig. 260)[9].

[1] On this point our philological authorities are unanimous: see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 47 and Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 194 *s.v.* *lθαρός*, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 23 *s.vv.* *αἰθήρ*, *αἴθω*.

Hyg. *fab.* 31 gives the name of Prometheus' eagle as Aithon (cp. *Il.* 15. 690).

[2] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3040 f.

[3] Akousileos *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 103 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 17. 207 states that Ithake was named after Ithakos—Πτερελάου παῖδες Ἴθακος καὶ Νήριτος, ἀπὸ Διὸς ἔχοντες τὸ γένος, ᾤκουν τὴν Κεφαληνίαν. κ.τ.λ. Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 307, 8, *in Od.* p. 1815, 44 ff., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰθάκη, *et. mag.* p. 470, 7 f.

[4] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰθάκη...Ἴθακος Ὀδυσσεὺς ὁμοφώνως τῷ οἰκιστῇ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 307, 9 f. So Eur. *Cycl.* 103 Ἴθακος Ὀδυσσεύς, cp. Aristoph. *vesp.* 185 Ἴθακος Ἀποδρασιπτόλιδος.

[5] *Od.* 19. 183 ἐμοὶ δ' ὄνομα κλυτὸν Αἴθων, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 432 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1861, 36 ff. F. F. Zielinski in *Philologus* 1891 l. 146 ff. argues that Odysseus assumed the name *Αἴθων* because his mother Antikleia, daughter of Autolykos and Mestra (Ov. *met.* 8. 738), was granddaughter of Mestra's father Aithon (Nik. *ap.* Ant. Lib. 17) son of Helios (Souid. *s.v.* *Αἴθων*): see Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1106. It has been conjectured that Achaios' satyric drama *Aithon* (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 747 ff. Nauck[2]) had reference to Odysseus: but?

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 105 f. pl. 21, 8, 9, 11, 13 (my fig. 258), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 428.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 163 pl. 30, 10, 11 (my fig. 259), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 442.

[8] A votive vase from the Theban Kabeirion is inscribed Ὀλυσσεῖδας Καβίροι (*Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 399).

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 40 f. pl. 8. 4 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 542. I figure a specimen in my collection. See also Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 680.

Other points of resemblance between the hero of the Kyklops-tale, Prometheus, and

The Sanskrit word for 'fire-drill' is *pramantha*, and persistent attempts have been made to bring the name *Prometheús* into connexion with it[1]. Strictly speaking, however, we cannot regard *Prometheús* as the phonetic equivalent of *pramantha*[2]; and it is only by invoking the uncertain aid of popular etymology that we are enabled to set the two side by side[3]. On the other hand, it is highly probable[4] that *pramantha* the 'fire-drill' does explain

the Kabeiros are not lacking. Several versions of the Kyklops-tale make the giant give the hero a ring that binds him to the spot etc. (Append. E Abruzzo, Dolopathos, Oghuzians, Roumania). Zeus, when he fastened Prometheus to Mt. Kaukasos, swore never to release him from his chains; but, on being warned by Prometheus not to marry Tethys, lest he should beget a son to dethrone him as he had himself dethroned Kronos, he did out of gratitude release Prometheus, and, to keep his oath, gave him a ring to wear fashioned out of his chains, in which was set a stone from Mt. Kaukasos (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 42, cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15, Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 2, Isidor. *orig.* 19. 32. 1). Aisch. *frags.* 202, 235 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 674 D appears to have given Prometheus a garland instead of a ring. An Etruscan mirror shows him wearing a willow(?)-wreath and presented by Herakles and Kastor with two rings (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 131 pl. 138, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3094 f. fig. 5 b). On the rings of the Kabeiroi see *supra* p. 108 f.

Again, Prometheus, like the Kabeiros (*supra* p. 108 ff.), was an axe-bearer (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (η)); and K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3041 acutely compares Axiothea the name of his wife (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1283) with the Cabiric names Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos (*supra* p. 109). Odysseus' wife too is famous for her ordeal of the 'axes' (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194, *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (χ)).

[1] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[1] Gütersloh 1858 p. 17, *ib.*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 18, A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1860 ix. 189 f., cp. *ib.* 1857 vi. 104, A. Kaegi *The Rigveda* trans. R. Arrowsmith Boston 1886 p. 132 n. 121, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 pp. 107, 168.

Miss J. E. Harrison has kindly drawn my attention to W. Schultz 'Das Hakenkreuz als Grundzeichen des westsemitischen Alphabets' in *Memnon* 1909 iii. 175 ff. This ingenious, but over-venturesome, writer attempts to connect Prometheus as inventor of the fire-drill with Prometheus as inventor of the alphabet, the link being the *swastika*.

[2] J. Schmidt *Zur Geschichte des indogermanischen Vocalismus* Weimar 1871 i. 118, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 91.

[3] *E.g.* by assuming that Prometheus' name was originally Προμανθεύς or *Προμενθεύς, 'He of the fire-drill,' and that it was distorted into Προμηθεύς to suit the supposed connexion with προμήθεια, 'fore-thought.'

[4] *Pramantha*, the 'fire-drill,' can hardly be separated from *Pramanthu*, the younger brother of *Manthu* and son of *Vira-vrata*, the son of *Madhu* and *Sumanas* (Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary* new ed. Oxford 1899 pp. 685, 1006), who is mentioned in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa*. My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson writes to me: 'The names Manthu and Pramanthu occur in a long genealogy of one Priyavrata, a kingly sage, but none of their achievements are recorded. It is quite possible that they may occur elsewhere in the Purāṇas, but at present I have failed to find them mentioned anywhere else. They belong to a class not of deities, but of mighty men of old who as kings and priests became almost gods on earth.' It is certainly tempting to suppose that the brothers *Pramanthu* and *Manthu* correspond with the brothers *Prometheús* and *Epimetheús*; but evidence is lacking.

Promantheús, a title under which Zeus was worshipped at Thourioi[1]. Lykophron mentions him in juxtaposition with Zeus *Aithlops Gyrápsios* of Chios[2]—a combination that strengthens his claim to be considered a god 'of the Fire-drill.' Dr Frazer has cited examples from south-west Africa (the Herero) and north-east Asia (the Koryaks and Chuckchees) of the male fire-stick or fire-board being identified with an ancestor, addressed as 'Father,' and venerated as the supernatural guardian of the hearth and home[3]. He has further suggested a like origin for the association of Iupiter with Vesta in Italian religion[4]. It is not, therefore, difficult to believe that at Thourioi, a Greek colony in south Italy, analogous ideas expressed themselves in a cult of Zeus[5].

xi. The Solar Wheel combined with Animals.

From the vantage-ground gained in preceding sections we can explain a whole series of bronzes found by Messrs Saltzmann and Biliotti at Kameiros and now in the British Museum. The graves

[1] *Supra* p. 289 f. A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1857 vi. 103 connected Προμανθεύς with *μανθάνω* and A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[1] Gütersloh 1858 p. 17, *ib.*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 18, associated both words with *pramantha*.

K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3034 f., following Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 97, would read Προμηθεύς for Προμανθεύς in Lyk. *Al.* 537 and recognise a Zeus Προμηθεύς at Thourioi. But the 'early variant' on which he relies is merely a bad reading in Tzetzes' note *ad loc.* (*προμαθεύς*: ed. Müller i. 97 f., 674 'fors. rectius'), not even recorded by E. Scheer (ii. 191).

[2] *Supra* p. 289 f.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 222 ff.

[4] *Id. ib.* ii. 227 ff. On the similar coupling of Zeus ~ Hestia see *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) ix (α). Note also the Pythagorean identification of the *ἑστία τοῦ παντός* with the *Διὸς οἶκος* (*supra* p. 303 n. 6).

[5] The name Προμανθεύς recalls Ῥαδάμανθυς (Aeolic Βραδάμανθυς for *Fραδάμανθυς*), which might be explained as the 'Rod-twirler,' a compound of the digammated root of *ῥᾴδαμνος*, *ῥᾰ́διξ*, *rādius*, *rādix* (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 563, iv. 471 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 393 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 513 f.) and of the root that appears in Sanskrit as *manth* or *manth*, 'to stir or whirl about' (Sir M. Monier-Williams *op. cit.* p. 777). A. Kuhn in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1855 iv. 90, 123 f. long since anticipated this derivation, but took the Rod-twirler ('*Gertenschwinger*') to be Rhadamanthys as judge of the dead. Certainly in that capacity he had a *ῥάβδος* (Plat. *Gorg.* 526 c) or *σκῆπτρον* (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 i 47); and Miss J. E. Harrison reminds me of Pind. *Ol.* 9. 33 *οὐδ' Αἴδας ἀκινήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον* (see her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 45). Yet the second element in Rhadamanthys' name suits my interpretation better. If he was thus connected with the fire-drill, we can understand his genealogy as set forth by Kinaithon *frag.* 1 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 8. 53. 5 <*ὡς*> Ῥαδάμανθυς *μὲν* Ἡφαίστου, Ἡφαιστος *δὲ* *εἰη* Τάλω, Τάλων *δὲ* *εἶναι* Κρητὸς *παῖδα*. But further evidence *deest*.

from which these little objects came contained geometric pottery of the eighth and seventh centuries B.C. The bronzes themselves are in the form of a wheel with four, six, seven, eight, or nine spokes, from the centre of which rises a shaft supporting either a duck (fig. 263)[1] or the heads of two animals *adossés*. The animals thus combined are mostly goats (figs. 261, 262)[2], but cows[3], rams[4], and asses (?)[5] also occur. In one case (fig. 261)[6] the wheel has become a square base, but remains four-spoked. In another the central shaft terminates in a mere loop, no animals being added to it[7]. In yet another we have a rude human figure winged and mounted on

Fig. 261. Fig. 262. Fig. 263.

a similar wheel[8]. Since the principal cult of the early Rhodians was that of Helios[9], it can hardly be doubted that the wheel represents the sun. And it is reasonable to conjecture that the

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 12 nos. 158—160, cp. p. 13 no. 174 and *Olympia* iv. 36 no. 210b pl. 13 (bird on wheel-base), *ib.* p. 61 no. 420 pl. 24 (cock on wheel-base).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 12 f. nos. 161—166, cp. *Olympia* iv. 36 no. 206 pl. 13 (stag on wheel-base).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 13 nos. 168 f.

[4] *Ib.* p. 13 no. 170, cp. *Olympia* iv. 66 no. 477 pl. 25 (two rams back-to-back).

[5] *Ib.* p. 13 no. 167.

[6] *Ib.* p. 12 no. 161.

[7] *Ib.* p. 13 no. 175.

[8] *Ib.* p. 11 no. 136.

[9] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 265 ff.

animals placed upon the solar wheel are in some sense devoted to Helios[1]. If so, the absence of horses is noteworthy[2].

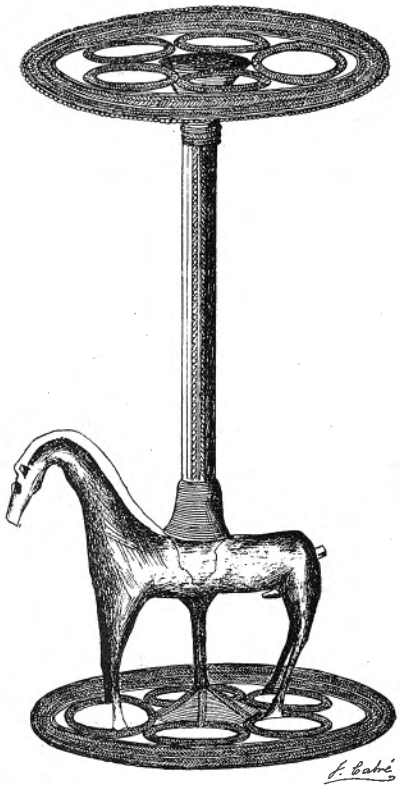


Fig. 264.

An early colony of the Rhodians was Rhode, the modern *Rosas*, in the north-east corner of Spain. It was founded, according to

[1] J. Déchelette 'Le culte du soleil aux temps préhistoriques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 305 ff., ii. 94 ff. and *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 413 ff. claims to have discovered dozens of swans or ducks associated with the solar wheel in the art of the bronze age throughout Europe.

[2] *Supra* p. 180 n. 5.

Strabon[1], many years before the establishment of the Olympic festival (776 B.C.). In its neighbourhood therefore we might look to find a parallel for the Rhodian bronzes. In point of fact it was near Calaceite in the province of Teruel that a farm-labourer in 1903 discovered, along with a bronze cuirass and two iron swords, the remarkable bronze here shown (fig. 264)[2]. It is a horse which stands on a wheel and bears on its back a column topped by a similar wheel, the whole being some 20 cm. in height. Column and wheels alike are decorated with *guilloche*-patterns. The former has a bell-shaped capital and base; the latter have smaller wheels serving as spokes. The body of the horse is connected with the wheel-base by means of a stay or support with spreading foot. This Iberian bronze may be referred to the 'Dipylon' or 'Villanova' period of the Early Iron Age, *i.e.* approximately to the same date as the Rhodian bronzes. Like them it represents an animal on the solar wheel, or rather in between a pair of solar wheels. We are well on the road towards the conception of the solar chariot.

xii. The Solar Chariot.

The transition from solar wheel to solar chariot was perhaps facilitated by a half-forgotten belief that the sun itself was a horse. That belief meets us in the mythologies of various Indo-Europaean peoples[3] and very possibly underlies the Greek practice of offering horses to Helios[4]. When the growth of anthromorphism made men no longer content to regard the sun either as a wheel or as a horse, it needed no great effort of imagination to combine both ideas and henceforward to believe in the driver of a celestial chariot[5].

[1] Strab. 654.

[2] J. Cabré 'Objetos ibéricos de Calaceite' in the *Boletin de la Real Academia de Buenas Letras de Barcelona* 1908 p. 400 pl., *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 320 f. fig. 10, *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 294 f. fig. 7 (from a photograph of the bronze as pieced together in the Louvre. Its discoverer, believing it to be of gold, had broken it into fragments; but fortunately J. Cabré had seen it while yet entire).

[3] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 51 ff., A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1998 f., A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 31, H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 pp. 38, 64 ff., 300, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 41, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1905 ii. 203, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 59, 94, 293, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 105.

[4] *Supra* p. 180 n. 5.

[5] A. Kuhn *op. cit.*[2] p. 51 ff., A. Rapp *loc. cit.*, J. Déchelette in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 307 ff. and *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 413 ff.

The conception of Helios as a rider on horse-back is not Greek (*pace* Rapp *loc. cit.* p. 1999), but hails from Asia Minor (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 381 n. 13 and p. 1532

Evidence of the combination has been found here and there in Greek art. A silver band from a prehistoric grave at *Chalandriani*

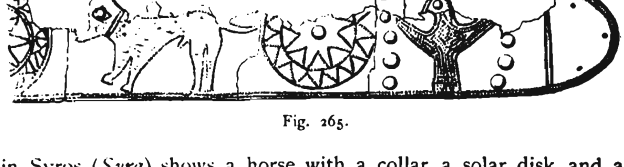


Fig. 265.

in Syros (*Syra*) shows a horse with a collar, a solar disk, and a bird-like human figure (?) side by side (fig. 265)[1]. Monsieur J. Déchelette claims that this is the pre-Mycenaean prototype of

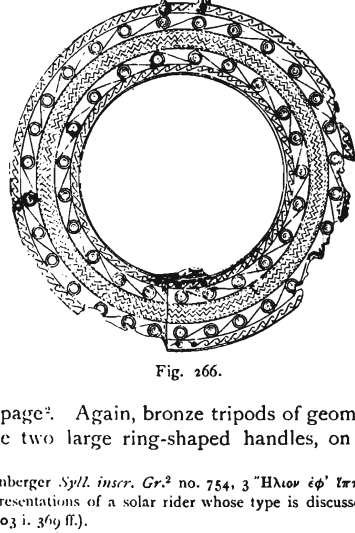


Fig. 266.

the solar equipage[2]. Again, bronze tripods of geometric style from Olympia have two large ring-shaped handles, on which is set a

n. 4 quotes Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 754, 3 Ἥλιον ἐφ' ἵππῳ at Pergamon and the numerous representations of a solar rider whose type is discussed by R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 369 ff.).

[1] Ch. Tsountas in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1899 p. 123 f. pl. 10, 1.

[2] J. Déchelette *loc. cit.*, comparing the famous Trundholm chariot (S. Müller *Urgeschichte Europas* Strassburg 1905 col. pl. 2, M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 476 f. fig. 206) and its Irish counterparts (R. A. Smith in the *Proceedings of the Society of Antiquaries of London* 1903 6—13 figs. 5—7).

horse (fig. 266)[1], more rarely a bird[2] or bull's head[3] or lion[4]. Since the Delphic tripod is sometimes treated as a winged vehicle bearing Apollon across the sea[5], it is conceivable that tripod-handles were assimilated to the sun. But neither of the band from Syros nor of the handles from Olympia can we say that they *must* be solar; they may be merely decorative. More to the point is the earliest type of Helios as a charioteer on Attic black-figured vases[6] (figs. 267, 268)[7]. The god emerges from the sea with a team of two or four horses. But the only wheel visible is the disk above his head; and his horses turned inwards or outwards, as the

Fig. 267.

Fig. 268.

case may be, recall in effect the back-to-back arrangement of the Rhodian bronzes (figs. 261, 262)[8].

[1] A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 72 ff. *e.g.* no. 574 pl. 30, no. 607 pl. 33, no. 624 pl. 30, no. 640 pl. 30, and the restorations pl. 34, c, d, e. I figure pl. 33, a.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 73 no. 539 pl. 27, p. 79 no. 573 pl. 28 (two birds), p. 93 no. 638 pl. 29, and the restoration pl. 34, b.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 79 no. 572 pl. 29, cp. no. 576 fig.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 93 no. 641 pl. 30.

[5] On a red-figured *hydria* in the Vatican (*Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 46, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1832 iv. 333 ff., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 20 ff. pl. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 63, 360 Atlas pl. 20, 12, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 315 fig. 370, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 102 fig. 108, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1235 n. 2). Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* ii. 20 n. 10 cite a winged tripod from a coin of Agrigentum (G. L. Castelli Prince of Torremuzza *Siciliæ populorum et urbium, regum quoque et tyrannorum veteres nummi* Palermo 1781 pl. 7, 17).

[6] *Supra* p. 226 f.

[7] Fig. 104 = *supra* p. 226 n. 4: fig. 105 = *ib.* n. 5.

[8] Doubtless the grouping of the horses is primarily due to the fact that the artist could not as yet correctly foreshorten his chariot: cp. the metopes from temple C at Selinous (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 483 ff. fig. 245, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und*

Later this type of Helios and his chariot came to be enclosed in the solar disk. A fine example is furnished by a silver-gilt plaque found in a tomb at Elis and acquired in 1906 by the British Museum (pl. xxiv, 1)[1]. Its embossed design shows Helios with radiate head driving his horses up from the sea. His cloak is fastened with a big circular stud. A curved exergual line represents the horizon, and two plunging dolphins the sea. Nothing of the chariot is visible. But the whole disk with its shining concave surface and its divergent lines suggests the on-coming sun in a marvellously successful manner. A crescent of bronze (pl. xxiv, 2)[2] likewise embossed with acanthus-leaves, lotus-work, and two large lilies, equally well suggests the quiet moon. This latter plaque was found in another tomb at Elis along with a whole series of *phálara* or 'horse-trappings'; and such no doubt was the character of our solar disk also. Mr F. H. Marshall dates them all *c.* 300 B.C. These *phálara*, as L. Stephani pointed out, had an apotropaeic value[3]. Indeed, they have it still. My brother-in-law Mr C. H. C. Visick, who owns a good collection of modern horse-amulets ('horses' money'), informs me that most of them are demonstrably derivatives of the sun or moon.

On a red-figured *kratér* from Apulia now at Vienna (fig. 269)[4] the complete chariot appears surrounded by a rayed disk. The oval shape of this disk was determined by the turn of the horses to right and left, and can hardly have been meant to reproduce the optical illusion of the sun's orb flattened on the horizon. An interesting reminiscence of the solar wheel is the *swastika* on the

röm. Sculpt. pl. 287 *a*); many black-figured vases (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pls. 1; 2, 62; 2, 106, 6, P. Gardner *Cat. Vases Oxford* p. 6, no. 190 pl. 1, E. A. Gardner *Cat. Vases Cambridge* p. 28 no. 53 pl. 15, Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 23 f. no. 220 fig. 14, p. 25 no. 223, p. 29 f. no. 235, p. 30 f. no. 237 pl. 4, Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 167 f. no. 889 pl. 8, *alib.*); bronze plates from Athens (A. G. Bather in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892—3 xiii. 257 f. pl. 8), Eleutherai (*id. ib.* p. 255 pl. 9, 2), Dodona (C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 36 pl. 19, 1, 2, 4), Olympia (A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 104 f. no. 706 pl. 39). But the Rhodian bronzes too were presumably meant to represent a pair of animals apiece.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 239 no. 2108 pl. 40, F. H. Marshall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 160 fig. 13. Diameter 6·2 cm. Mr Marshall remarks that an exactly similar disk was published by L. Pollak *Klassisch-antike Goldschmiedearbeiten in Besitze Sr. Excellenz A. J. von Nelidow* Leipzig 1903 no. 533 pl. 20.

[2] F. H. Marshall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 159 fig. 12. Width 11·5 cm.

[3] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 164 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 2—6, 8. Cp. O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 42 n. 48.

[4] T. Panofka 'Helios Atabyrios' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 305 ff. pl. 20, 1, 2, F. G. Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 66 ('Helios steigt während eines Gewitters, das durch den Blitz angedeutet ist, empor'), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 368, 3, A. Bertrand *La religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 171 f. fig. 28.

1

2

Phálara from tombs at Elis:

1. Helios rising, on a silver-gilt disk.
2. Lily-work etc., on a bronze crescent.

See page 336.

driver's breast[1]. The addition of a thunderbolt to the left of the disk requires explanation[2]. At first sight it is tempting to interpret the scene as that of Phaethon in his father's chariot struck by the bolt of Zeus. But, as T. Panofka long ago observed, this would ill suit the peaceful pose of the charioteer, who extends his hand in

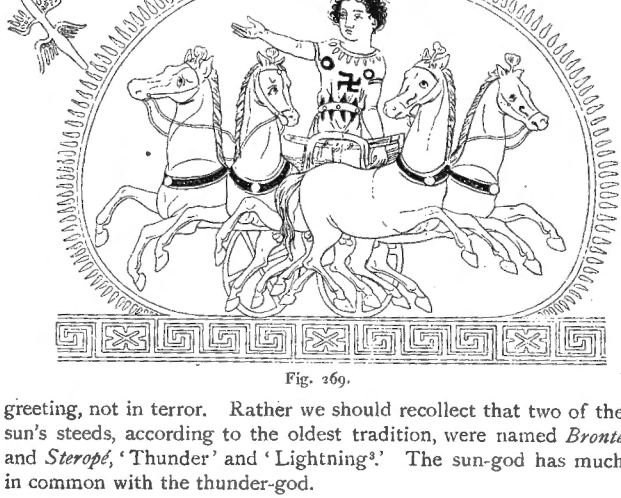


Fig. 269.

greeting, not in terror. Rather we should recollect that two of the sun's steeds, according to the oldest tradition, were named *Bronté* and *Steropé*, 'Thunder' and 'Lightning[3].' The sun-god has much in common with the thunder-god.

[1] On the derivation of the *swastika* from the solar wheel see T. Wilson *The Swastika* Washington 1896 *passim* (bibliography pp. 984—996) and recently J. Déchelette in the *Rev. Arch.* 1909 i. 314 ff. and *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 453 ff.

Miss J. E. Harrison kindly sends me the following criticism: 'I am open to conviction, but I cannot help thinking that the *swastika* precedes the solar wheel and simply represents the four points of the compass in motion. The four points seem to influence tribal arrangements among very primitive people at early stages—see Durkheim et Mauss *Année Sociologique* 1902 p. 1 and 34.'

[2] Panofka *loc. cit.* p. 305 f. cp. a vase from Apulia of like design and style then in the Betti collection at Naples.

[3] The sun's horses bear the following names:

Eumelos *ap.* Hyg. *fab.* 183	Eous	Aethops	Bronte	Sterope
Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 3 a	Χρόνος	Αἰθώ	Ἀστραπή	Βροντή
Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 3 b	Ἀάμπων	Φαέθων		
Schol. Soph. *El.* 825	Φαέθων			
Ov. *met.* 2. 153 f., cp. Hyg. *fab.* 183	Pyrois	Eous	Aethon	Phlegon
Mart. *ep.* 8. 21. 7, cp. 3. 67. 5	Xanthus	Aethon		
Fulgent. *myth.* 1. 11	Erythraeus	Actaeon	Lampos	Philogaeus
Homerus (!) *ap.* Hyg. *fab.* 183	Abraxas	Soter	Bel	Iao

Zeus too was sometimes conceived as driving a chariot[1]. But his chariot, in the Greek area at least[2], is regularly connected with storm[3], not sunshine[4]. It cannot, therefore, be maintained that Zeus the charioteer was directly identified with the sun.

xiii. The Solar Wreath.

The first of May is kept as a day of jest and jollity by the modern Greeks. Parties go to picnic in plains and meadows, returning with sprays of the fragrant *protomaïá*. The young folk make wreaths of flowers and corn. These must be left hanging over the door of the house till May-day comes round again. They are then replaced by next year's garlands, and the withered relics are burnt[5]. I figure (pl. xxv) a wreath of the sort, which I obtained in 1901 at Eleusis, where it was hanging over the door of an inn. The inn-keeper told me that such wreaths are thrown on to the bonfire of Saint John the Baptist (June 24), and that the master of the house is expected to jump over the flames[6]. We have already

[1] First in *Il.* 8. 438 ff. Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ Ἴδηθεν ἐύτροχον ἅρμα καὶ ἵππους | Οὔλυμπον δ' ἐδίωκε κ.τ.λ., cp. Tib. 4. 1. 130 f. This conception is utilised by Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E ὁ μὲν δὴ μέγας ἡγεμὼν ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς ἐλαύνων πτηνὸν ἅρμα πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος κ.τ.λ.

[2] The Persians, who called the whole circle of the sky 'Zeus' (*supra* p. 10 n. 1), had a chariot sacred to him. When Xerxes' army was on the march, this chariot went immediately in front of Xerxes himself (cp. Longin. *de sublim.* 3. 2 τὰ τοῦ Λεοντίνου Γοργίου γελᾶται γράφοντος Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς); it was drawn by eight white horses, and their driver followed them on foot, since no man might ascend the chariot-throne (Hdt. 7. 40, cp. 7. 55, 8. 115). When Kyros the elder went in procession from his palace, first came four fine bulls for sacrifice to Zeus etc.; then horses for sacrifice to the Sun; next a white chariot with a golden yoke, adorned with garlands, sacred to Zeus; after that the white chariot of the Sun similarly adorned; then a third chariot, the horses of which were spread with scarlet cloths; behind it a fire on a great hearth or portable altar; and lastly Kyros himself in his chariot (Xen. *Cyr.* 8. 3. 11 ff.). In the time of Alexander the Great it was the custom of the Persian kings to set out in procession at sunrise: first went the sacred eternal fire borne on silver altars; then the Magi chanting; after them 365 youths in scarlet cloaks; next a chariot sacred to Zeus, drawn by white horses and followed by a magnificent horse called the horse of the Sun—the leading horses being decked with gold rods and white cloths (Curt. 3. 3. 9 ff.). The sumptuous chariot of Dareios iii is well shown in the great mosaic from Pompeii (F. Winter *Das Alexandermosaik aus Pompeji* Strassburg 1909 col. pl. 1, J. Overbeck—A. Mau *Pompeji*[4] Leipzig 1884 p. 613 ff. with col. pl.). Note that the chariot of Zeus is throughout distinguished from the chariot of the Sun.

[3] *Infra* ch. ii § 4 (c).

[4] A copper coin of Alexandreia struck by Trajan has for reverse type Zeus *Ámmon* in a chariot drawn by two rams (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria pp. xl, 49 no. 405, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 862). This may be solar (*infra* ch. i § 6 (f) i).

[5] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 46, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 35, Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 163 ff.

[6] See further Miss M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 157 ff.

May-garland of flowers and corn from Eleusis.

See page 338.

seen that Saint John's bonfire was in all probability a sun-charm[1]. If so, the wreath burnt upon it may well have represented the sun itself—another case of the solar *apotrópaion* being fixed above the lintel[2].

Analogous customs are, of course, common throughout Europe. Here in Cambridge the children are out early on the first of May begging all and sundry to 'Remember the May Lady.' They carry garlands, which vary much in shape. The most complete form that I have come across consisted in two hoops set at right angles to each other and decorated with a branch of may: from the point of intersection dangled a doll (fig. 270, *a*). Other forms in use are a single hoop of flowers or coloured tags with crossed strings and a doll in the centre (fig. 270, *b*), a hoop without the cross and doll (fig. 270, *c*), a cross and doll without the hoop (fig. 270, *d*), a mere cross without hoop or doll (fig. 270, *e*). All alike are dubbed 'the May Lady.' The several shapes attest a progressive degradation (globe, wheel, hoop) and ultimate confusion with a different type (cross). Is it rash to conjecture that the May-garland once stood for the sun[3], the doll in the flowery hoop being an effigy of the earth-goddess[4] blossoming beneath his rays?

The wreath of *protomaïá* hung over the doorway in modern Greece had its ancient counterpart in the *eiresióne*. This is commonly described as a branch of olive (or bay) twined with wool and decked with fruits etc., which was paraded from house to house, hung over the lintel for a twelvemonth, and ultimately burnt[5]. But it is noticeable that the same name was given to 'a wreath of flowers[6]'—a May-garland rather than a May-pole. The festivals with which the *eiresióne* was connected are the Panathenaia, the Pyanepsia and the Thargelia, *i.e.* festivals of the greater city deities. But E. Pfuhl[7] and A. Dieterich[8] have shown that the private rite attracted to and absorbed by these public festivals was performed—as the scholiast on Aristophanes affirms—for

[1] *Supra* p. 286 ff. [2] *Supra* pp. 205 ff., 292 ff.

[3] The first of the shapes here shown (fig. 270, *a*) can hardly be separated from that of the intersecting hoops which topped the May-pole, and these appear to have represented the sun (*supra* p. 291).

[4] Cp. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xviii (the garland of *Hellotís*).

[5] Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 393—397, S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 497 f. fig. 2616, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2135 f.

[6] Schol. Aristoph. *Plut.* 1054 ἐλαΐνον κλάδον ἢ στέφανον ἐξ ἀνθέων ἢ κλάδων πεπλησμένων (cod. Θ.), στέφανον, κλάδον ἐλαίας (cod. Dorv.). Alkiphr. *ep.* 3. 37 εἰρεσιώνην ἐξ ἀνθῶν πλέξασα κ.τ.λ., cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 316. 9 f. καὶ γάρ μ' Εὐμ[όλπιοιο] θυηπόλοι, εἰρεσιώνην | [τε]ύξαντες, [μεγάλην ὤπ]ασαν εὐκλεΐην.

[7] E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 pp. 86—88.

[8] A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 338 n. 2.

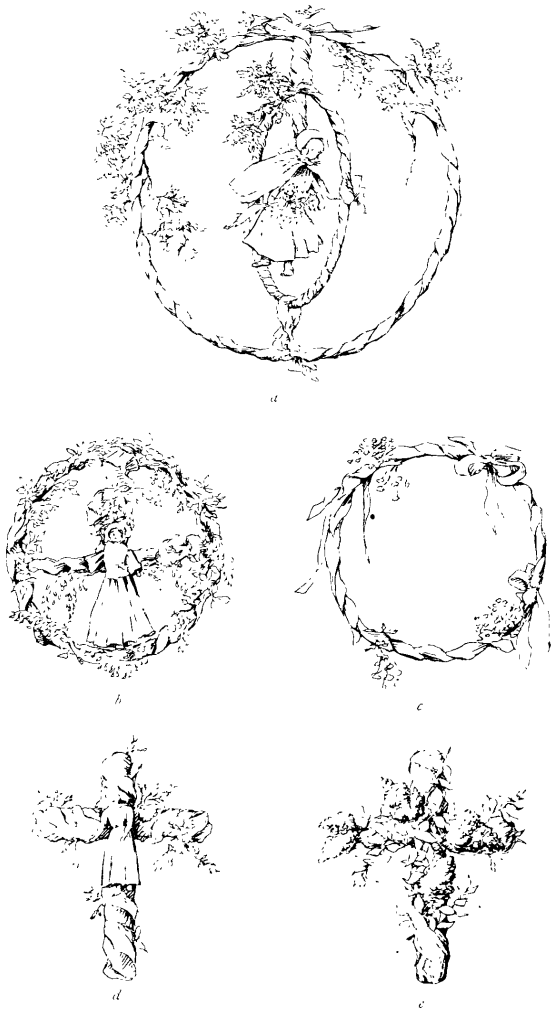


Fig. 270.

Helios and the Horai[1]. It is, therefore, open to us to maintain that of old, as to-day, the worthy Greek householder hung over his doorway a solar wreath destined to be burnt as a sun-charm on the midsummer fire.

(e) The Sun as the Bird of Zeus.

In Egypt the sky-god Horos was early confused with the sun-god Râ[2]. 'One by one all the functions of Râ,' says Prof. Maspero, 'had been usurped by Horus, and all the designations of Horus had been appropriated by Râ[3].' Thus the sparrow-hawk,—or, as Monsieur G. Bénédite has recently contended[4], the falcon—which was originally conceived as the embodiment of Horos[5], came to be regarded as the symbol of Râ[6], or in other words was transferred from the sky to the sun[7], and was further developed into the phoenix[8], whose solar connexions are notorious[9]. Moreover, the Horos of Edfû (Ḥeru-beḥuṭet) was known far and wide as the winged solar disk[10]. Now Aischylos in his *Suppliants*, a play dealing with a Graeco-Libyan myth[11], makes Danaos, the twin-brother of Aigyptos, say to his daughters—

Call now likewise on yonder bird of Zeus.

[1] Schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 729, *Plut.* 1054, Souid. *s.v.* *εἰρεσιώνη*, cp. Theophrast. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 7.

[2] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 146, K. Sethe *Zur altägyptischen Sage vom Sonnenauge* Leipzig 1912 p. 5 f.

[3] G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 100.

[4] G. Bénédite in the *Mon. Piot.* 1909 xvii. 5 ff.

[5] G. Maspero *op. cit.*[4] p. 86, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 466.

[6] G. Maspero *op. cit.*[4] p. 100, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 322, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 22.

[7] So in the *Veda* the eagle is connected primarily with Indra the thunder-god (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 152), but secondarily with Sūrya the sun, which is not only compared with a flying eagle, but directly called an eagle (*id. ib.* p. 31).

[8] G. Maspero *op. cit.*[4] p. 136 n. 5, cp. Hdt. 2. 73 (of the phoenix) *τὰ μὲν αὐτοῦ χρυσόκομα τῶν πτερῶν τὰ δὲ ἐρυθρὰ ἐς τὰ μάλιστα· αἰετῷ περιήγησιν ὁμοιότατος καὶ τὸ μέγαθος*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 3 aquilae narratur magnitudine, auri fulgore circa colla, cetero purpureus, caeruleam roseis caudam pinnis distinguentibus, cristis fauces caputque plumeo apice honestari, Solin. 33. 11 (copies Pliny). Others (H. Brugsch *Nouvelles recherches sur la division de l'année* p. 49 f., A. Wiedemann 'Die Phönixsage im alten Ägypten' in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1878 xvi. 89—106, *id. Herodots zweites Buch* p. 314 ff., A. Erman *op. cit.* p. 23) derive the phoenix from the heron (*bennu*) of Heliopolis. As represented in Egyptian (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 198 ff. pl. 70, 1—3), classical and post-classical art (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3465 ff.), the phoenix is more like a heron than a sparrow-hawk, but does not closely resemble either. Türk in Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 3450 is content to describe it as 'ein Wundervogel.'

[9] D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 182 ff.

[10] *Supra* p. 205 ff.

[11] *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (*a*).

The Danaïdes do so in the words—

Lo, thus we call on the saving rays of the sun[1].

This invocation of the sun as the 'bird of Zeus' is probably a deliberate Egyptism on Aischylos' part, and must not in itself be taken to prove that the Greeks entertained the same idea. There are, however, certain beliefs and practices current in ancient Greece which become more intelligible on the assumption that the sun was once viewed as a bird.

The Orphists, jealous guardians of antiquated ideas, opened their *Rhapsodic Theogony* with a somewhat similar invocation:

Sun that soarest aloft on golden wings[2].

The solar wheel upon which Ixion was bound is not unfrequently figured with wings[3]; and the solar chariot that took Triptolemos across the world is winged likewise[4]. A bird was on occasion affixed to the *ynx*-wheel[5]. The Lycian symbol is sometimes furnished with bird-heads[6]. The *triskelés* is superposed on a bird[7], or itself fitted with wings[8]. And the Greeks were familiar with a variety of winged solar deities[9].

Apart from these examples of the winged sun, several myths merit attention. That of Kirke, as we have seen, presupposes the belief in a solar hawk[10]. Ovid tells how Daidalion, grieving for the death of his daughter Chione, flung himself from the summit of Parnassos and, as he fell, was transformed by Apollon into a hawk[11]. Hyginus adds that *daedalio* means 'a hawk[12].' More probably the name is a mere patronymic, the 'son of Daidalos[13]'; for parallels occur in various versions of the Daidalos-myth. According to Athenian tradition, Talos son of Daidalos' sister was hurled from the Akropolis and in mid air changed by Athena into a partridge[14]. But Talos is definitely identified by Hesychios with the sun[15]. It would seem, then, that behind the stories of Daidalion,

[1] Aisch. *suppl.* 212 f. ΔΑ. καὶ Ζηνὸς ὄρνιν τόνδε νῦν κικλήσκετε. | ΧΟ. καλοῦμεν αὐγὰς ἡλίου σωτηρίους. The cj. ἶνιν for ὄρνιν is improbable.

[2] Orph. *frag.* 49, 3 Abel *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 72 f. Dindorf = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 57 A—B (i. 101 f. Bekker) Ἥλιε, χρυσέῃσιν ἀειρόμενε πτερύγεσσι. Cp. Orph. *frag.* 65, Abel (of Phanes) χρυσείαις πτερύγεσσι φορεύμενος ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα.

[3] *Supra* p. 198 ff.

[4] *Supra* pp. 213 n. 2, 217 ff.

[5] *Supra* pp. 253, 257.

[6] *Supra* p. 300 f.

[7] *Supra* p. 304.

[8] *Supra* p. 306 f.

[9] *Supra* p. 296 ff.

[10] *Supra* p. 240 ff.

[11] Ov. *met.* 11. 291 ff., cp. Hyg. *fab.* 200, Paus. 8. 4. 6. *Supra* p. 241.

[12] Hyg. *loc. cit.*

[13] Ov. *met.* 11. 271 ff., 294 ff. makes Daidalion son of the Morning Star (*Lucifer*).

[14] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h) iv.

[15] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h) i.

turned into a hawk and of Daidalos' nephew Talos turned into a partridge lay the old conception of the solar bird. Again, in another version, which has been traced back to the *Cretans* of Euripides[1], Daidalos imprisoned in the Labyrinth made wings for himself and his son Ikaros: Daidalos got safely away, but Ikaros soaring too high had his wings melted off by the sun and fell into the sea. Many mythologists, arguing from the analogy of Phaethon etc., have concluded that Ikaros was the sun conceived as falling from the height of heaven[2]. If this conclusion, which squares well with the foregoing account of Talos, is valid, we have once more the sun represented by a bird-like figure. A folk-tale from Zakynthos, in which B. Schmidt recognised certain traits of the Ikaros-myth[3], is here to the point:

'In the time of the Hellenes there once lived a king, who was the strongest man of his day; and the three hairs on his breast were so long that you could take them and twist them twice round your hand[4]. Another king once declared war against him, and on a certain month the fighting began. At first the other king was victorious; but afterwards the strong king with his army beat the enemy and pursued them to their town. He would there and then have destroyed them all, had they not given 400,000 dollars to his wife, who betrayed him and cut off his three hairs. This made him the weakest of all men. The enemy then took him prisoner, bound him, shut him up in a fortress, and gave him only an ounce of bread and an ounce of water a day. However, his hairs soon began to grow again. So Captain Thirteen—that was his name—and thirteen of his companions were flung by the enemy into a pit. As he was the last to be flung in, he fell on the top of his companions and escaped death. But his enemies then covered the pit with a mountain. On the second day

[1] C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2001, G. Knaack in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 598 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 525 f.

[2] *E.g.* Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 180 and the author of the latest monograph on the subject R. Holland *Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros* (Abh. zu dem Ber. der Thomasschule) Leipzig 1902—both cited and criticised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 523 f., who adheres to his opinion that 'Ikaros...ist der im Laufe des April und im Anfang Mai in der Sonnennähe verschwindende Orion' (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 946) or perhaps, like Phaethon (*ib.* pp. 42, 336, 960), the Morning Star (*ib.* pp. 960, 1310). But the analogy of Talos, whom Gruppe admits to have been the sun (*ib.* p. 1310 'Ein Helios war ursprünglich der kretische Talos'), makes strongly for the solar view.

[3] B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 91 ff. Märchen no. 11 Ὁ καπετάνος Δεκατρεῖς with nn. *ib.* p. 229, J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 11. 4 (v. 47, where for 'a sea-devil clawed him with a thirteen-pronged fork' read 'the god of the sea struck him with a three-pronged fork'), J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 75 f.

[4] B. Schmidt *op. cit.* p. 229 and *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 206 n. 2 cp. a tale from Syra in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 279 ff. and another from Kypros in A. A. Sakellarios Τὰ Κυπριακά Athens 1855 no. 8, in both of which the hero's strength is vested in three golden hairs on the top of his head. So in a tale from Epeiros (J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 215 ff.). See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] iii. 358 f., 390 f., *ib.*[3] Taboo p. 263 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 882, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3262 ff.

after he was thrown into the pit he found a dead bird somewhere. He stuck its wings on to his hands and flew up. He knocked his head on the mountain and sent it spinning up to the sun. He then flew further afield and soared high into the air. But a rain-storm came on and softened the clay, with which he had stuck the feathers on. So Captain Thirteen fell into the sea. Out came the sea-god[1] and with his three-pronged fork gave him such a blow that the sea turned red with his blood, and changed him into a big fish, a dolphin. He told him too that he could never change back again till he found a girl willing to marry him. Now the sea in which the dolphin lived was of such a sort that no ship entering it could get out again. It so happened that a king and his daughter came that way. They got in easily enough but couldn't get out again; and so fearful a storm overtook them that their ship broke up. Nobody was saved but the princess and the king; for the dolphin took them both on his back to a small island, and then set them ashore on the coast they had come from. The princess resolved to wed the dolphin, and, to get him up to her castle, had a big canal dug from the sea to it. When all was ready for the wedding, the dolphin shook off his skin and changed into a young man of gigantic strength and great beauty. He married the princess, and they lived happily ever after—but we here more happily still.'

This tale combines the characteristics of Ikaros with those of Pterelaos, the Taphian hero whose life depended on a golden hair. Amphitryon and his allies could not capture Taphos till Komaitho the daughter of Pterelaos, in love with the hostile chief, plucked or cut the fateful hair from her father's head[2]. O. Gruppe[3] infers from the name *Pterélaos* that a bird played an important part in the Taphian legend[4], and justly compares the Megarian myth of Nisos and Skylla, which not only contained the same episode of the purple or golden life-lock but also involved the metamorphosis of the father into a sea-eagle and of the faithless daughter into a heron[5].

Ikaros' tomb was shown on a headland of Ikaria, the island west of Samos[6]. Daidalion and Talos were both precipitated from a rocky eminence. And the story of Skylla was associated with the point Skyllaion near Hermione[7]. This recurrence of a headland suggests comparison with the ritual of the Leucadian promontory. The 'White Rock,' as Homer calls it[8], is a cliff that

[1] ὁ δαίμονας τῆς θάλασσας.

[2] Apollod. 2. 4. 7, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 932, Dion Chrys. *or.* 64 p. 341 Reiske, Ov. *ibis* 361 f.

[3] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1412 n. 6.

[4] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3266 conjectures that Pterelaos was changed into a *κρέξ*, Komaitho into an *αἴθυια* (so M. Mayer in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 489), its natural enemy (Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 5). But this is hardly to be got out of Souid. *s.v. κρέκα· τὴν τρίχα. πορφυρέην ἤμησε κρέκα*, which may refer to Nisos and Skylla.

[5] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 425 ff.

[6] Paus. 9. 11. 5.

[7] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 426.

[8] *Od.* 24. 11 Λευκάδα πέτρην.

rises on one side perpendicularly from the sea to a height of at least 200 ft and has on its summit remains of the temple of Apollon *Leukátas*. Once a year at the festival of Apollon the Leucadians, to avert evil, flung a criminal from the top of their cliff. Wings of all sorts and birds were attached to him in order to lighten his 'leap'; and many persons in small boats waited down below to pick him up and, if possible, get him in safety beyond the boundary[1]. Dr Frazer regards 'these humane precautions' as probably 'a mitigation of an earlier custom of flinging the scapegoat into the sea to drown[2].' But this hardly explains the peculiar feather-garb, which surely implies that the victim was a quasi-bird like Ikaros. It is significant that the eponym Leukadios was the son of Ikarios[3]. Further, the Leucadian 'leap' was persistently connected with Sappho's love for Phaon[4], the favourite of Aphrodite, who was said to have founded a temple for his goddess on the Leucadian rock[5]. But *Pháon*, as K. O. Müller pointed out[6], is simply a doublet of *Phaéthon*, 'the Shining One.' There is, therefore, much to be said for the view recently advanced by A. Fick[7] that the Leucadian 'leap' was the ritual of a solar festival[8], that

[1] Strab. 452. Cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* Λευκάτης· σκόπελος τῆς Ἠπείρου, ἀφ' οὗ ῥίπτουσιν αὐτοὺς εἰς τὸ πέλαγος οἱ ἱερεῖς (so MS., Schleusner cj. ἐρασταί)· κ.τ.λ.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] iii. 126 and on Paus. 10. 32. 6 (v. 401). Cp. C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* Oxford 1830 i. 260 f.

[3] *Alcmaeonis frag.* 5 Kinkel and Ephoros *frag.* 57 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 248 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 452, cp. *ib.* 461, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 52. This Ikarios is called Ikaros by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 293, 12 f., schol. B. L. *Il.* 2. 581, schol. Eur. *Or.* 457.

[4] Menand. *Leucadia frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 158 f. Meineke) *ap.* Strab. 452 and Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 279, Turpilius (*Com. Rom. frag.* p. 113 ff. Ribbeck) *ap.* Serv. *loc. cit.*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Λευκάτης. See further J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2272 ff.

Others declared that the 'leap' had first been taken by Kephalos son of Deïoneus out of love for Pterelas (Strab. 452, cp. *ib.* 461), or by Leukates to escape the love of Apollon (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 279).

Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 153 a 7 ff. Bekker gives a long list of lovers who had leapt from the rock, commencing with Aphrodite herself. She thereby got rid of her love for Adonis: ζητούσης δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν λέγεται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὡς μάντις ὢν ἐγνώκει διότι ὁ Ζεὺς ἀεὶ ἐρῶν Ἥρας ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκαθέζετο καὶ ἀνεπαύετο τοῦ ἔρωτος!

[5] Serv. *loc. cit.*

[6] K. O. Müller *Dorier*[2] i. 233, *id. Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[4] i. 292 f. On φάειν, φαέθειν see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 348 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 482.

[7] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 137 ff., *id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 43. Fick ascribes this cult of the sun-bird to the Leleges. His notion that 'Πτερέλας ist der "auf Flügeln Daherfahrende," von πτέρον [*sic*] und ἔλα treiben, fahren gebildet' (*Vorgr. Ortsn.* p. 138) ignores the forms Πτερέλαος, Πτερέλεως: the second element in the word is certainly λαός, λεώς (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3264).

[8] On a copper of Nikopolis in Epeiros (?), struck by Trajan, Apollon *Leukites* (ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ ΛΕΥΚΑΤΗΣ) is shown, a nude figure on a pedestal with volutes: he

Ikaros, Nisos, Pterelaos are so many mythical expressions of one belief, and that all alike imply the primitive conception of the sun as a bird.

(f) The Sun and the Ram.

i. The Ram and the Sun in Egypt. Zeus *Ammon*.

(*a*) Khnemu and Amen.

Another animal that came to be associated with the sun in Egypt was the ram. Khnemu, the great god of Elephantine[1], was represented originally as a ram[2], but in historical times generally as a ram-headed human figure. From the beginning of the New Kingdom (*s.* xvi B.C.) onwards he was fused with the sun-god Râ and worshipped throughout southern Egypt as Khnemu-Râ, a ram-headed deity often depicted as wearing the solar disk[3]. Râ himself was on occasion addressed as a ram, to judge from one of *The Seventy-five Praises of Râ* found at Thebes on the walls of royal tombs of the nineteenth and twentieth dynasties:

'Praise be to thee, o Râ, exalted power. Thou raisest thy head, and thou makest bold thy brow, thou ram, mightiest of created things[4].'

At Herakleoupolis (*Henen-su*) Khnemu was equated with the local solar god Ḥer-shef, who not only receives many of the titles of Râ but is also represented with a ram's head[5]. At Mendes too Khnemu

has a quiver and holds a bow in his lowered left hand, a torch in his extended right (J. Friedländer in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 103 pl. 23, 21, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 141, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 321). The torch suggests that the cult was solar.

[1] Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egis.* p. 956 ff. pl. 336 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1250 ff., K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2349 ff.

[2] This is inferred from the hieroglyphic form of his name (Sethe *loc. cit.* p. 2350).

[3] A. Wiedemann *Religion of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1897 p. 128, E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 51 ff., Drexler *loc. cit.* p. 1252 f., Sethe *loc. cit.* p. 2351.

A coin of the Hypselite nome, struck under Hadrian, shows Isis holding in her hand a ram with a disk on its head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 363), *i.e.* Khnemu-Râ in the form of a ram (cp. Sethe *ib.*).

[4] E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 342.

[5] *Id. ib.* ii. 58 ff., Drexler *loc. cit.* i. 1848 ff. and ii. 1252, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1271 f. Cp. Ariston Alex. *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 324 f. Müller) *ap.* Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 37 Ἀρίστων τοίνυν ὁ γεγραφὼς Ἀθηναίων ἀποικίαν ἐπιστολῆ τινι Ἀλεξάρχου περιέπεσεν, ἐν ᾗ Διὸς ἱστορεῖται καὶ Ἶσιδος υἱὸς ὢν ὁ Διόνυσος ὑπὸ Αἰγυπτίων, οὐκ Ὄσιρις, ἀλλὰ Ἄρσαφὴς (ἐν τῷ ἄλφα γράμματι) λέγεσθαι, δηλοῦντος τὸ ἀνδρεῖον τοῦ ὀνόματος. ἐμφαίνει δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμαῖος, ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ Περὶ τῶν Αἰγυπτίων· Ὀμβρίμον γάρ φησι μεθερμηνευόμενον εἶναι τὸν Ὄσιριν (Hermaios in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 427 Müller).

A magnificent gold statuette of Ḥer-shef with a ram's head was found by Prof. Flinders Petrie at Herakleoupolis: it dates from the twenty-fifth dynasty, *s.* viii B.C. (*Man* 1904,

was identified with another local form of Râ, namely *Ba-neb-Ṭeṭṭu*, 'the Ram, lord of *Ṭeṭṭu*[1].'

Âmen, the provincial god of Thebes[2], who rose with the rise of Theban power till as Âmen-Râ he became 'King of the Gods' of all Egypt[3], was another ram-divinity. He was figured sometimes as a ram, more often as a ram-headed or ram-horned god wearing the solar disk. But, whereas the ram of Khnemu belonged to a very ancient Libyan species with goat-like horns projecting horizontally from its head, the ram of Âmen, like the rams of 'Minoan' art, had horns curving sharply downwards[4]—a fact of which we are reminded by the 'ammonites' of our geologists. In the time of the eighteenth dynasty (*s.* xvi B.C.) Khnemu acquired the horns of Âmen in addition to his own[5], while *en revanche* Âmen acquired those of Khnemu and was even represented as a ram of the Khnemu-species[6].

(β) Âmen and Zeus *Thebaieús*.

Herodotos, who speaks of Âmen-Râ more than once as the Theban Zeus[7], reports a remarkable myth concerning him:

'All who have a temple of Zeus *Thebaieús* or belong to the Theban nome abstain from sheep and sacrifice goats....But those who possess a temple of Mendes or belong to the Mendesian nome abstain from goats[8] and sacrifice sheep. The Thebans, then, and those who on their account abstain from sheep explain that this custom of theirs arose in the following way. Herakles was very eager to set eyes on Zeus, and Zeus did not wish to be seen by him. At

p. 113 ff. pl. H, W. M. Flinders Petrie *The Arts and Crafts of Ancient Egypt* Edinburgh & London 1909 p. 94 fig. 107).

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 64 ff., 353 f., A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 205 f.

[2] Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 29 ff. pl. 18 ff., E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 283 ff., R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1853 ff.

[3] R. Pietschmann *ib.* i. 1874 *s.v.* 'Amonrasonther.'

[4] O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 p. 309 ff., who holds that the tradition of Herakles importing sheep from north Africa into Greece (Palaiph. 18 (19), Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 1. 6) corresponds with a cultural fact.

[5] K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2350. Cp. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 12. 1 *κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἐλεφαντίνην πόλιν τετίμηται ἄγαλμα, πεπλασμένον μέν, ἀλλ' ἀνδρείκελον καὶ καθήμενον, κυανοῦν τε τὴν χροιάν, κεφαλὴν δὲ κριοῦ κεκτημένον, καὶ βασίλειον, κέρατα τράγεια ἔχον, οἷς ἔπεστι κύκλος δισκοειδής. κάθηται δὲ παρακειμένου κεραμέου ἀγγείου, ἐφ' οὗ ἄνθρωπον ἀναπλάσσειν* (see Lanzone *op. cit.* pl. 336, 3). *δηλοῖ δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τοῦ κριοῦ πρόσωπον ἔχειν καὶ αἰγὸς κέρατα τὴν ἐν κριῷ σύνοδον ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης· τὸ δὲ ἐκ κυανοῦ χρῶμα, ὅτι ὑδραγωγὸς ἐν συνόδῳ ἡ σελήνη.*

[6] R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1855, A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 118 f.

[7] Hdt. 1. 182, 2. 42, 2. 54, 4. 181, cp. Eudok. *viol.* 75 *τοῦ Θηβαίου Διός.*

[8] On the goat-cult of Mendes see Pind. *frag.* 201 Christ with n., Hdt. 2. 46, Plout. *Gryll.* 5, Souid. *s.v.* *Μένδην.*

last, when Herakles was importunate, Zeus thought of this device. He flayed a ram, cut off its head, donned the skin, held the head in front of him, and so showed himself to Herakles. From this circumstance the Egyptians make the statue of Zeus ram-faced; and the Ammonians have got it from the Egyptians, since they are settlers of the Egyptians and Ethiopians and speak a *patois* of both languages. In my opinion, the Ammonians took their name too from the same event, *Amoûn* being the Egyptian term for Zeus. The Thebans for the reason I have stated do not sacrifice rams but treat them as sacred. However, once a year, on the festival of Zeus, they, like their god, cut up and flay a ram; they thus clothe the statue of Zeus and then bring before it another statue, that of Herakles. When they have so done, all who are round about the temple beat themselves in mourning for the ram and then bury it in a sacred sarcophagus[1].'

The rite implied by this myth has not hitherto been found represented on the monuments[2]. But it is by no means improbable that Âmen-Râ (Zeus *Thebaieús*) was annually confronted with Shu (Herakles), who is often called 'the son of Râ[3]' and as god of the atmosphere 'draws the air before Râ[4],' 'brings the sweet breath of life to the nose of Osiris[5],' etc. The great hymn to Âmen-Râ in the Oasis of El-Charge even identifies that god with 'the soul of Shu[6].'

(γ) Âmen and Zeus *Ámmon*.

Herodotos, therefore, did not hesitate to identify the Greek Zeus with Âmen-Râ, the Theban ram-god and sun-god. Doubtless, when Lucian in the second century of our era makes *Mômos*, the

[1] Hdt. 2. 42, cp. 4. 181. Zeus Θηβαιεύς had a human consort, who slept in his temple (Hdt. 1. 182): she was a woman chosen for good looks and good birth; and she gave her favours to whom she would till she was past the age for child-bearing, when lamentation was made for her and she was bestowed upon a husband (Strab. 816). The journey of Zeus to Aithiopia (*Il.* 1. 423 f.) and his union with Hera (*supra* p. 154 ff.) were localised at Thebes. Every year the shrine of Zeus was taken across the river into Libye, returning after certain days, as though the god had come from Aithiopia; and on the occasion of great public festivals two shrines, presumably for Zeus and Hera, were carried up a mountain, which was strown by the priests with all kinds of flowers (Diod. 1. 97, schol. *Il.* 1. 425). Thebes had a temple dedicated to the parents of Zeus and Hera; and two golden shrines of Zeus, the larger of which belonged to Zeus the sky-god, the smaller to Ammon the former king and father of the people (Diod. 1. 15). On account of this popular cult Thebes came to be called Διόσπολις or Διόσπολις μεγάλη (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1144 f.).

On the connexion between *Ámmon* and Herakles see Arrian. 3. 3. 1, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 11, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 196, Vopisc. *Aur.* 22 ff. (the name Heraclammon), and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1506 n. 1.

[2] H. Brugsch cited by H. Stein on Hdt. 2. 42.

[3] Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 1163 f.

[4] E. Naville *Book of the Dead.* ch. 55 and 38 B, 1. For these and the following references I am indebted to Roeder in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 571.

[5] Pap. Salt. 825, Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 1167 pl. 386, 4.

[6] H. Brugsch *Reise nach der grossen Oase El Khargeh in der Libyschen Wüste* Leipzig 1878, pl. 15, 5.

god of 'Mockery,' ask Zeus how he can permit ram's horns to be affixed to him and makes Zeus apologise for the disgrace[1], Greek refinement had come to despise these barbaric identifications. But in earlier days and with simpler folk it was not so. The Greeks in general delighted to trace an analogy, sometimes quite unessential, not to say far-fetched, between their own deities and those of the foreigners among whom they were sojourning. It was a cheer to meet a familiar face in a strange country, even if the garb was outlandish and some of the accessories novel. If the Egyptian Ἀmen

Fig. 271.

was 'King of the Gods,' pious Greeks would regard him as their own Zeus and would readily discover further points of resemblance[2]. In fact, they would be glad to worship him under his new-found

[1] Loukian. *deor. concil.* 10 f.

[2] A. Wiedemann *op. cit.* p. 118 remarks that Ἀmen-Râ 'was sometimes coloured blue, probably because that was the colour of the heavens in which he ruled as Sun god' (*ib.* n. 3 'Amen is coloured green in the tomb of Seti I'). If so, we may cp. the blue *nimbus*, globe, and mantle of Zeus (*supra* p. 33 ff.). But Khnemu was coloured blue as a water-god or Nile-god (*supra* p. 347 n. 5, K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2351). The two alleged reasons are not necessarily incompatible: Homer speaks of the Nile as διιπετέος ποταμοῖο (*Od.* 4. 477 with schol.).

aspect as Zeus *Ámmon*[1]. They did not indeed represent him as a ram or even give him a ram's head; for the whole trend of Greek religious art was away from theriomorphism. But they hinted at the animal-conception by adding to the divine head ram's ears and downward-curving horns. The Naples bust (fig. 271)[2], which goes back to a fifth-century original of quasi-Pheidiac type[3] perhaps existent once at Kyrene[4], shows how far they succeeded in combining the infra-human with the supra-human, the ram with Zeus.

So Zeus through contact with Âmen became Zeus *Ámmon*. Where the change first took place, we cannot with certainty determine. It may have been at Thebes, the original *nidus* of the Âmen-cult; for Herodotos definitely states that the Ammonians got their worship from that of Zeus *Thebaieús*[5]. On the other hand, the fact that he calls the Theban god Zeus *Thebaieús* rather than Zeus *Ámmon* makes it more probable that we should look away from Thebes to the *Ammóneion*—the remote Oasis of Siwah, where the Theban Pharaohs planted their favourite religion[6] in a spot destined to become famous throughout the ancient world. Hence the cult radiated, perhaps southwards to Meroe, where the oracular *Ámmon* is known to have been worshipped[7], certainly northwards to Kyrene, where Zeus was honoured under a variety of titles[8] and *Ámmon* came to be reckoned as a patron-god[9].

There is, further, some little uncertainty as to the date at which

[1] On the various forms of this name see R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1853 f.

[2] *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 84 no. 267, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 193 pl. H, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 278 Atlas pl. 3, 3, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 37 pl. 3, 9 a herm of Greek marble—height $0{\cdot}43^{m}$.

[3] A. Furtwängler 'Ueber Statuenkopieen im Alterthum' in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1897* Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 563—565.

[4] F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 83.

[5] Hdt. 4. 181.

[6] G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 552.

[7] *Infra* p. 376 n. 3. Cp. Metrod. Perieget. *ap.* Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 479 (text reconstituted by E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 213 f.) Ammonis templum Iovis inter Aethiopes Eudios (*ἐνδίους*, 'southern')—sunt enim et qui Pseudoaethiopae vocantur—et Libyas ultimos.

[8] Zeus 'Ελινύμενος (*supra* p. 92), Λύκαιος (*supra* p. 89 ff.), Σωτήρ (R. Murdoch Smith—E. A. Porcher *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* London 1864 p. 113 inscr. no. 11). Euphemos too, a figure intimately connected with Kyrene, recalls the Zeus Εὔφημος of Lesbos (Hesych. Εὔφημος· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λέσβῳ, cp. Εὐφάμιος· ὁ Ζεύς) and the Zeus Φήμιος of Erythrai (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 600, 26 f. Ζηνὸς | [Φη]μίου καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς Φημίας).

[9] In Plat. *polit.* 257 B Theodoros of Kyrene (*id. Theaet.* 143 C—D) says *εὖ γε νὴ τὸν ἡμέτερον θεόν, ὦ Σώκρατες, τὸν "Αμμωνα.* See L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 118 n. 6. R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856 cp. Synes. 4. 167, where Kyrenaike is called *ἡ "Αμμωνος γῆ.*

this Egyptising Zeus arose. At Kyrene his head first appears on silver coins about the year 500 B.C.[1] The cult seems to have spread as early as the sixth century to Lakonike[2]. A herm of bluish marble found beneath the mediaeval fortress *Passava*, the ancient Las, near Gythion shows a pillar surmounted by a simple ram's head (fig. 272)[3]. Whether this is, as Miss Harrison has suggested to me, an indigenous ram-god[4], or whether it should rather be classed as a theriomorphic *Ámmon*, we have at present no means of deciding. At Gythion itself Pausanias found a sanctuary of *Ámmon* along with Apollon *Kárneios*, a bronze statue of Asklepios, a spring of the same god, a holy sanctuary of Demeter, and a statue of Poseidon *Gaiaóchos*[5]. *Ámmon* was here in excellent company, Apollon *Kárneios*, Demeter, and Poseidon *Gaiaóchos* being old and honoured deities of the land[6]; besides, he was appropriately placed next to Apollon *Kárneios*, whose cult-title marks him as an ancient ram-god[7], and to Asklepios, who stood beside him at

Fig. 272.

[1] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1359 ff. pl. 64, 16 f., 20—23, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 567 pl. 92, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 866 ff.

[2] Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 264 'nicht vor 600 v. Chr.,' Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1558 'vielleicht schon im VI. Jahrhundert.'

[3] B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 21—24 fig. 1. Height ·57 m. The pillar ends below in a tenon. The shaft is square in section, slightly tapering, and somewhat rounded in front. About 18·5 cm. below the chin is a shallow hole perhaps meant for an inset *phallós*, unless this was the navel and the *phallós* was added lower down.

[4] See S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Der vor-dorische Widdergott Christiania 1910.

[5] Paus. 3. 21. 8.

[6] Wide *op. cit.* p. 263.

[7] S. Wide in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 961 ff. and O. Höfer *ib.* 964 ff. Hesych. *s.vv.* κάρ·... *πρόβατον*, κάρα·...Ἴωνες τὰ *πρόβατα*, Καρνεῖος· ἐπίθετον Ἀπόλλωνος· ἴσως ἀπὸ Κάρνου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Εὐρώπης, κάρνος·...*βόσκημα*, *πρόβατον*, καρνοστάσιον· ὅπου τὸ κάρνον ἵσταται. The whole group of words is ultimately connected with *kéras*, 'horn,' the *kárnos* being the 'horned' sheep (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 361, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 216 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 414, 437 ff., 498 f.) : κριός, 'ram,' is referable to the same root (L. Meyer *op. cit.* ii. 408 f., Prellwitz *op. cit.* p. 245, Boisacq *op. cit*, p. 519). At Sparta *Karneiós* surnamed *Oiketas* (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1446) was worshipped before the return of the Herakleidai, having a shrine in the house of Krios, son of Theokles, a sooth-sayer (Paus. 3. 13. 3). Apollon *Kárneios* was worshipped by all the Dorians from the time of Karnos an Akarnanian, who was inspired with the gift of sooth-saying by Apollon (*id.* 3. 13. 4, schol. vet. Theokr. 5. 83). A countryman, who claims to be beloved by Apollon, is feeding a fine ram for him against

Kyrene also[1]. At Sparta there was another sanctuary of *Ammon* concerning which Pausanias remarks:

'From the earliest times the oracle in Libye is known to have been consulted by the Lacedaemonians more frequently than by the rest of the Hellenes. It is said that when Lysandros was besieging Aphytis in Pallene, *Ammon* appeared to him by night and foretold that it would be better for him and for Lakedaimon to desist from the war with the Aphytaeans. So Lysandros raised the siege and induced the Lacedaemonians to revere the god more than ever; and the Aphytaeans are not a whit behind the Ammonian Libyans in their respect for *Ammon*[2].'

Certainly Aphytis possessed an oracle of *Ammon*[3], whose head appears as the principal type on its coinage from 424 B.C. onwards[4]. Lysandros himself had a brother named Libys after a Libyan king, who was a friend of the family[5]. And, when Lysandros found it expedient to be absent awhile from Sparta, he obtained permission to go on a pilgrimage to Libye[6]. He even attempted to bribe the oracle of *Ammon* in the Oasis, hoping to obtain its support for certain revolutionary measures that he was contemplating; but the god sent emissaries to accuse him before the Spartans. On his acquittal the Libyans withdrew, protesting that, when, in accordance with an ancient oracle, Lacedaemonians came to settle in Libye, Libyan justice would be found superior to that of Sparta[7]. The Spartans, apparently, were in the habit of consulting various oracles, that of *Ammon* among them, on matters of importance[8]; and it was said that the oracle of *Ammon* preferred the laconic brevity of the Spartans to the elaborate ritual of the other Greeks[9]. Another town that had established relations with the Oasis as early as the first half of the fifth century was Thebes. Pausanias speaks of a temple of *Ammon* as built there, and adds:

'The image was dedicated by Pindar: it is a work of Kalamis. Pindar also sent a hymn in honour of *Ammon* to the Ammonians in Libye. This hymn was still to be seen in my time on a triangular slab beside the altar which Ptolemaios, son of Lagos, dedicated to *Ammon*[10].'

the festival of the Karneia (Theokr. 5. 83). Altogether, the ram-connexion is well-established.

See further S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Der vor-dorische Widdergott Christiania 1910 pp. 1—24.

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1558 n. 5, citing J. Zingerle in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 79.

[2] Paus. 3. 18. 3, cp. Plout. *v. Lys.* 20.

[3] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αφύτη ἡ 'Αφυτις.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 61, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 209 f.

[5] Diod. 14. 13.

[6] Plout. *v. Lys.* 20.

[7] Plout. *v. Lys.* 25 (after Ephoros), Diod. 14. 13, cp. Cic. *de div.* 1. 96.

[8] Cic. *de div.* 1. 95.

[9] Plat. *Alcib. ii.* 149 B.

[10] Paus. 9. 16. 1.

A brief fragment of it containing the invocation—

Ámmon, lord of Olympos,—

is quoted by a Greek commentator on the Pythian odes[1]. Perhaps, as O. Gruppe supposes[2], a belief that Thebes in Boiotia was connected with Thebes in Egypt may have led the inhabitants of the one to honour with a temple the chief divinity of the other.

Having thus secured a firm footing on Greek soil, the cult of Zeus *Ámmon* continued for some centuries to flourish[3], though it never spread much further afield[4]. Its most brilliant episode was undoubtedly the visit of Alexander the Great to the Oasis, when the victor was recognised by the god as his very son. This was indeed a memorable moment. No other mortal could claim the allegiance of Europe, Asia, and Africa. No other god united in himself the ideals of the same three continents. The former did well to seek the sanction of the latter when inaugurating for the first time in history a world-wide empire. But the climax marked by Alexander's visit was followed by a decline protracted throughout the Graeco-Roman age[5]. Strabon in the time of Augustus already speaks of the oracle as fallen into much contempt and in fact as well nigh forgotten[6].

(δ) Ba'al-ḥammân and Zeus *Ámmon*.

In the last paragraph I described Zeus *Ámmon* as at once European, Asiatic, and African. The description stands in need of further proof; for hitherto we have considered the god only as a blend of the Greek Zeus with the Egyptian Àmen. It is, however, certain that his cult was not altogether free from Semitic influence.

This appears *in primis* from the fact that, whereas Greek writers invariably call him Zeus *Ámmon*, Latin authorities commonly speak of Iupiter *Hammon*. The aspirate has come to him through confusion with Ba'al-ḥammân, a Phoenician deity greatly

[1] Pind. *frag.* 36 Schröder Ἄμμων Ὀλύμπου δέσποτα *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 89. On another possible fragment of the hymn see *infra* p. 366 f.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1559.

[3] See the list of cult-centres in G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in he *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1862* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 154–156, and coins in Head *Hist. zum.*[2] p. 963 Index.

[4] Latin inscriptions rarely mention the god: Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4424 (from a quarry near Syene) I. o. m. Hammoni Chnubidi, | Iunoni Reginae, quor. sub | tutela hic nons est, etc., 4425 (Carnuntum) I. o. m. | Ammoni etc., 4426 (Rome) Iovi | Hammoni | t Silvano | etc., 4427 (Carthage) Iovi Hammoni | barbaro Silvano | etc.

[5] See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1560 n. 1.

[6] Strab. 813.

venerated along the north coast of Africa[1]. The meaning of *Ba'al-ḥammân* is disputed: some Semitic scholars translate 'Fiery Lord[2]' or 'Lord of Heat[3]'; but the more probable rendering is 'Lord of the Stone Pillars[4].' In any case the name not unnaturally modified that of Âmen or Zeus *Ámmon*. Nor was the borrowing all on one side. If Ba'al-ḥammân lent his initial *H* to Zeus *Ámmon*, Zeus *Ámmon* lent his horns to Ba'al-ḥammân. In 1879 Prof. Berger published a short series of monuments which represent Ba'al-ḥammân with undeniable ram's-horns[5]. A Cypriote terra cotta formerly in the Albert Barre collection portrays him enthroned, his hands resting on a couple of rams (pl. xxvi, 1)[6]. A leaden plate found in the Baths of Iuba ii at Caesarea Iol (*Cherchel*) in Mauretania shows his head four times repeated (pl. xxvi, 2)[7]. At Carthage, where the ram is his constant attribute[8], he was associated with Tanit[9], a north-African form of the great Phoenician mother-goddess Astarte[10]. As chief god and goddess of the district they are the central ornament of a silver band, probably once a priestly diadem, found in a tomb near Batna in Algeria (pl. xxvi, 3)[11]. The bust of Tanit with a mural crown and that of Ba'al-ḥammân with ram's-horns are placed on either side of a star (sun?) and flanked by the serpents of Esmun twisted round a pair of pillars to right and left: beyond these are the figures of a goat and a ram ridden by two Erotes, and a further succession of religious symbols with which we are not here concerned. Again, Count Baudissin[12] cites an inscription from Mauretania Caesariensis, in which Tanit, there called Panthea, is invoked as 'partner in the rites of the horned

[1] E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 291, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856.

[2] So E. Meyer *loc. cit.* (but see *infra* n. 4), F. Baethgen *Beiträge zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Berlin 1888 p. 27 f., Wolf—Baudissin in J. J. Herzog *Realencyklopädie für protestantische Theologie und Kirche*[3] Leipzig 1897 ii. 331.

[3] So H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 230 n. 3.

[4] So P. Berger in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 140, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2869 f., R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1856 and in his *Geschichte der Phönizier* Berlin 1889 p. 212 f.

[5] P. Berger 'La Trinité Carthaginoise' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 133 ff., 222 ff., 1880 vi. 18 ff., 164 ff.

[6] *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 138 f. fig.

[7] *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 137 f. fig.

[8] *Id. ib.* 1879 v. 222 ff.

[9] E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 291 and 2871.

[10] On Tanit and Astarte see W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 181, 267 ff.

[11] P. Berger *loc. cit.* 1879 v. 133 ff. pl. 21 (opposite to p. 222), W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* pp. 269, 285 pl. 6.

[12] *Id. ib.* p. 273.

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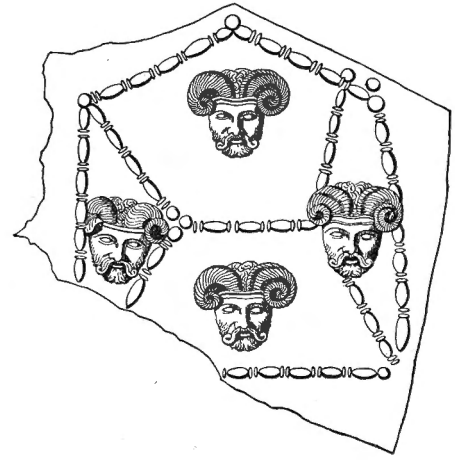

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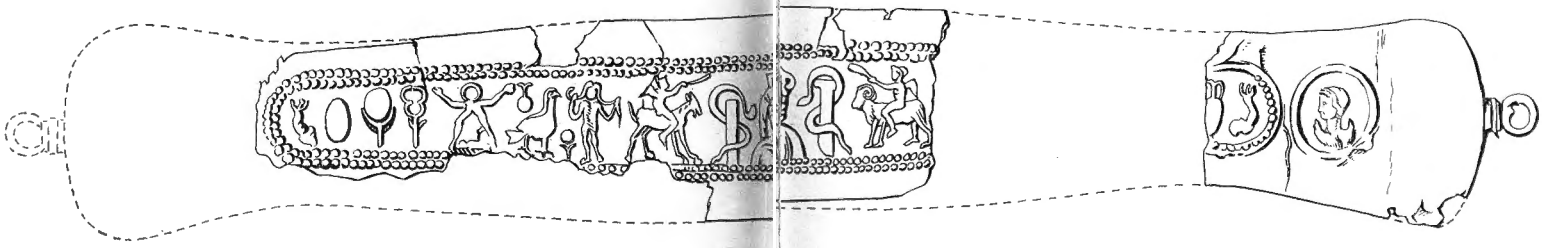


1. Ba'al-ḥammân enthroned, a terra-cot[illegible]os.
2. Heads of Ba'al-ḥammân (Iupiter [illegible]eaden plate from Caesarea Iol.
3. A silver diadem from Batna in [illegible]Ba'al-ḥammân, Tanit, etc.

See page 354.

Thunderer...Iuppiter Hammon[1].' Ba'al-ḥammân was in fact completely assimilated to Zeus *Ámmon*.

Semitic influence penetrated to the *Ammóneion* itself. Of its ritual in the fourth century B.C. a twofold account has come down to us:

DIODOROS 17. 50.

'The image of the god is surrounded with emeralds and certain other objects, and has a method of divination quite peculiar to itself. It is taken round on a golden boat by eighty priests. They carry the god on their shoulders, proceeding mechanically in whatever direction the will of the god leads their steps. Together with them follows a crowd of girls and women, singing paeans all along the road and chanting traditional hymns to the god[2].'

CURTIUS 4. 7. 23 f.

'That which is worshipped as a god has not the same shape as artists have commonly given to deities. It looks most like an *omphalós* set with emerald and gems. When a response is desired, the priests bear this deity on a golden boat, many silver saucers hanging on either side of the boat. Women and girls follow them, raising an artless chant in accordance with traditional custom, whereby they think that Zeus will be propitiated and deliver a true oracle[3].'

Both of these statements were doubtless drawn from the lost work of Kallisthenes, Aristotle's kinsman, who himself took part in Alexander's expedition. H. Meltzer[4] by a detailed study of discrepancies has made it probable that the Roman writer is more accurate than the Greek: thus, whereas Diodoros uses the vague term 'image' (*xóanon*), Curtius describes the cult-object as most nearly resembling an *omphalós*. Meltzer would see in it the *baítylos* or *baitýlion* of Ba'al-ḥammân, a sacred stone, half-fetich,

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 9018 = F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1895 i. 121 no. 253 [Pan]thea cornigeri sacris adiuncta Tonantis, | [q]uae Libycis Maurisque simul venerabilis oris | [his] etiam colitur te[rr]is, quam Iuppiter Hammon | [inter] utrumque lat[us] m[e]diam cum Dite severo | [dext]er sede tegit: etc. Tanit as Virgo Caelestis is at once Iuno and Ceres, and so is placed between Iupiter and Dis. See Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.* p. 314 n. 8.

[2] Diod. 17. 50 *τὸ δὲ τοῦ θεοῦ ξόανον ἐκ σμαράγδων καί τινων ἄλλων περιέχεται καὶ τὴν μαντείαν ἰδιάζουσαν παντελῶς ποιεῖται. ἐπὶ νεὼς γὰρ περιφέρεται χρυσῆς ὑπὸ ἱερέων ὀγδοήκοντα· οὗτοι δ' ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων φέροντες τὸν θεὸν προάγουσιν αὐτομάτως, ὅπου ποτ' ἂν ἄγῃ* (sic codd. F. L., ceteri *ἄγοι*) *τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ νεῦμα τὴν πορείαν. συνακολουθεῖ δὲ πλῆθος παρθένων καὶ γυναικῶν παιᾶνας ᾀδόντων* (sic libri: Wesseling cj. *ᾄδουσῶν*, L. Dindorf *ᾄδον*?) *κατὰ πᾶσαν τὴν ὁδὸν καὶ πατρίῳ καθυμνούντων* (sic libri: Wesseling cj. *καθυμνουσῶν*, L. Dindorf *καθυμνοῦν*?) *ᾠδῇ τὸν θεόν.*

[3] Curt. 4. 7. 23 f. id quod pro deo colitur non eandem effigiem habet quam vulgo diis artifices accomodaverunt: umbilico maxime similis est habitus, smaragdo et gemmis coagmentatus. hunc, quum responsum petitur, navigio aurato gestant sacerdotes, multis argenteis pateris ab utroque navigii latere pendentibus. sequuntur matronae virginesque patrio more inconditum quoddam carmen canentes, quo propitiari Iovem credunt ut certum edat oraculum.

[4] H. Meltzer 'Der Fetisch im Heiligtum des Zeus Ammon' in *Philologus* 1904 lxiii. 186—223.

half-idol, mid-way between the aniconic block and the anthropomorphic statue. He reminds us that Ba'al-ḥammân appears to have taken his name from such sacred stones, and notes that the Cypriote Aphrodite was likewise 'worshipped in the form of an *omphalós*[1].'

I am disposed to accept Meltzer's conclusion and to support it by two further considerations. In the first place, Ba'al-ḥammân was akin to the Baal of Tyre, better known as Melqarth or the Tyrian Herakles[2]. If, therefore, the Tyrian Herakles can be shown to have had a cult-object similar to the emerald-set *omphálós* of Zeus *Ámmon*, it will—in view of the rarity of such objects—become highly probable that the example in the Oasis belonged by rights to Ba'al-ḥammân and that its usage attests his influence on the cult of Zeus *Ámmon*. Now Theophrastos *à propos* of emeralds has the following paragraph:

'This stone is scarce and of no great size,—unless we are to believe the records concerning the kings of Egypt. Certain writers declare that the king of Babylon once sent to Egypt as a gift an emerald four cubits in length and three in breadth, and that in the sanctuary of Zeus too there were dedicated four obelisks of emerald forty cubits long and from four to two cubits broad. This is what the writers in question assert. Of the so-called Bactrian emeralds the one at Tyre is the largest. It is a good-sized *stéle* in the sanctuary of Herakles, —unless indeed it is of pseudo-emerald, for that species too is to be found.' Etc. etc.[3]

This passage proves that the Tyrian Herakles had an *ágalma* of emerald. It is, I suspect, represented on imperial coins of Tyre, which show a portable shrine containing a sacred stone shaped much like an *omphalós* (fig. 273)[4]. However that may be, our passage further indicates that such emerald-blocks had reached Egypt and that obelisks[5] of the sort were to be seen there in a precinct of Zeus, *i.e.* of Ámen-Râ. Since

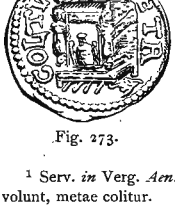


Fig. 273.

[1] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 720 apud Cyprios Venus in modum umbilici vel, ut quidam volunt, metae colitur.

[2] Ba'al-ḥammân is himself called Herakles in Polyb. 7. 9. 2 (W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* p. 285). A bronze statuette at Vienna shows Zeus *Ámmon* holding the club of Herakles (Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* ii no. 7, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 12 no. 4): see also *supra* p. 348 n. 1.

[3] Theophr. *lap.* 24 f., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 f.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 283 no. 435 Gordianus iii, p. 290 nos. 471 f. Valerianus Senior pl. 34, 14. Mr G. F. Hill *ib.* p. cxl suggests that the type 'may perhaps...be connected with Astarte.'

[5] Theophr. *lap.* 24 *ἀνακεῖσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ὀβελίσκους σμαράγδου τέτταρας, μῆκος μὲν τεσσαράκοντα πηχῶν, εὖρος δὲ τῇ μὲν τέτταρας, τῇ δὲ δύο.* But

Âmen-Râ in the tomb of Seti i was himself coloured green[1], it is clear that the choice of emeralds was deliberate. Certain magical virtues belonging to this stone[2] were connected by Theophrastos with the fact that it is coloured like water[3]; and it was probably this resemblance to the watery sky that made it appropriate to the service of Zeus *Ámmon*[4]. Perhaps it was as the son of *Ámmon* that Alexander the Great had his portrait engraved by Pyrgoteles on an emerald[5].

In the second place, the method of divination practised at the *Ammóneion* was not, as Diodoros and Curtius thought, unique. At Ba'albek the image of Zeus *Ádados*[6] and at Bambyke that of a Zeus-like Apollon[7] indicated the divine will in the selfsame manner. Both these cults were Syrian, and we may fairly infer that the usage of the Oasis was Semitic too.

Yet, while admitting H. Meltzer's contention that the *omphalós* of Zeus *Ámmon* was Semitic, I would point out that the golden boat on which it journeyed is hardly to be explained by oriental

Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 74 et fuisse apud eos in Iovis delubro *obeliscum e quattuor smaragdis* quadraginta cubitorum longitudine, latitudine vero in parte quattuor, in parte duorum is much more credible.

[1] *Supra* p. 132 n. 2.

[2] The term *σμάραγδος*, strictly used, denotes a crystalline green quartz: it was, however, loosely applied to other green stones (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 394, cp. 388).

[3] Theophr. *lap.* 4 and 23, cp. Timoth. *Pers.* 32 f., Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 178 ff.

[4] Similarly the non-crystalline green quartz (*ὁ χλωρὸς ἴασπις*) known to us as 'plasma' or 'plasma di smeraldo' would conciliate the gods and secure a plenteous rain-fall (Orph. *lith.* 267 ff.). It was credited also with medicinal powers, especially if engraved with the Khnemu-snake (Galen. *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 9. 2. 19 (xii. 207 Kühn)): many 'Gnostic' examples are extant (Furtwängler *op. cit.* iii. 388, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1258).

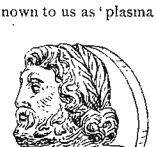


Fig. 274.

'Plasma' was occasionally used for the figure of Zeus enthroned (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 111 no. 2355 pl. 22, p. 266 no. 7134) or for that of Asklepios enthroned as Zeus (*id. ib.* p. 111 no. 2356, T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 289 pl. 1, 10). I append a laureate head of Zeus carved in high relief out of 'plasma,' from a ring in my possession (fig. 274, enlarged $\frac{3}{1}$): the stone is good work of Roman date.

Plat. *Phaed.* 110 D describes *σάρδιά τε καὶ ἰάσπιδας καὶ σμαράγδους καὶ πάντα τὰ τοιαῦτα* as fragments of the earth's true surface, which have slipped from the *aithér* into the *aér*—a notion probably based upon folk-belief. Cp. Ex. 24. 10, Ezek. 1. 26, 10. 1, Rev. 4. 3.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 8.

[6] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (*a*).

[7] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (*δ*).

ideas of a cosmic ship[1], but is simply the Egyptian solar barque. *Ámmon* was identified with 'the setting sun of Libya'[2]; and the Egyptians believed that the sun-god, after travelling all day in his morning barque, at night-fall reached the Mountains of the West, where he was received by the goddess of the West and entered his evening barque to begin his nightly voyage through the Underworld[3]. Sesoösis, *i.e.* Sesostris (Rameses ii), is even said to have dedicated in the temple of Âmen-Râ at Thebes a boat of cedar wood, 280 cubits in length, gilded without and silvered within[4]. If, then, we assume a combination of the Semitic *omphalós* with the Egyptian boat, the whole ritual becomes intelligible[5].

(ε) Zeus *Ámmon* and the Snake.

Ámmon was said to have transformed himself into a snake in order to win his bride[6]; and snakes at Kyrene were called by the

[1] See R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 576 n. 4, 622, 725 ff.

[2] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 21. 19 Ammonem, quem deum solem occidentem Libyes existimant.

[3] A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 11: cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 34.

There are but few certain traces of the solar barque in Greek literature or art. The Pythagorean ὀλκάς was cosmic, not solar (Philolaos *frag.* 12 Diels). Herakleitos described sun and moon as *σκαφοειδεῖς...τοῖς σχήμασι* (Aët. 2. 22. 2, 24. 3, 27. 2, 28. 6, 29. 3 = H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[2] Berlin 1906 i. 59, 4 ff.). An Apulian *krater* from Basilicata, now in the Louvre, shows Helios and Selene in a four-horse chariot, which rises out of a boat: on the left Phosphoros (?) acts as leader; on the right a Koures brandishes his sword (E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 p. 8 f. pl. 3, 3 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1838* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 383 ff.), Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 67—71 pl. 10, 1, A. M. Migliarini in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 97 ff. pl. F, 3, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 384 ff. pl. 114, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 291, 1, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 335 fig. 8).

The solar cup in which Herakles crossed Okeanos (Athen. 469 C—470 D: a black-figured vase in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1902 xvii. 107 ff. pl. 5; the red-figured Vatican *kylix* in E. Gerhard *op. cit.* p. 9 pl. 1, 4 and *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 84 ff. pl. 109, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 59, 6) is, however, comparable with the cup-shaped boats of Assyrian art (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 435 n. 4).

[4] Diod. 1. 57.

[5] Monsieur É. Naville, the distinguished Egyptologist, has recently ('Le dieu de l'oasis de Jupiter Ammon' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1906 pp. 25—32) suggested that the schist palettes referred by him to the first three dynasties, which are often shaped like shields and have on one side a nearly central circular sinking, were intended to serve as base for a precious stone or perhaps a piece of metal or wood representing the *omphalós* or boss of the shield and worshipped as 'le dieu ombilic.' This somewhat *bizarre* view must be left for other Egyptologists to criticise. But it can hardly claim the support of Curt. 4. 7. 23 umbilico maxime similis; for Curtius' *umbilicus* is presumably a translation of Kallisthenes' ὀμφαλός, and ὀμφαλός would not convey to any classical reader the idea of 'shield-boss' unless there were an express allusion to a shield in the immediate context (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 2002 C—D).

[6] *Anth. Pal.* 9. 241. 1 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike) *βουκόλος ἔπλεο,* [illegible]

name of *Ámmon*[1]. The association of the god with this reptile was probably due not so much to Semitic as to Egyptian influences.

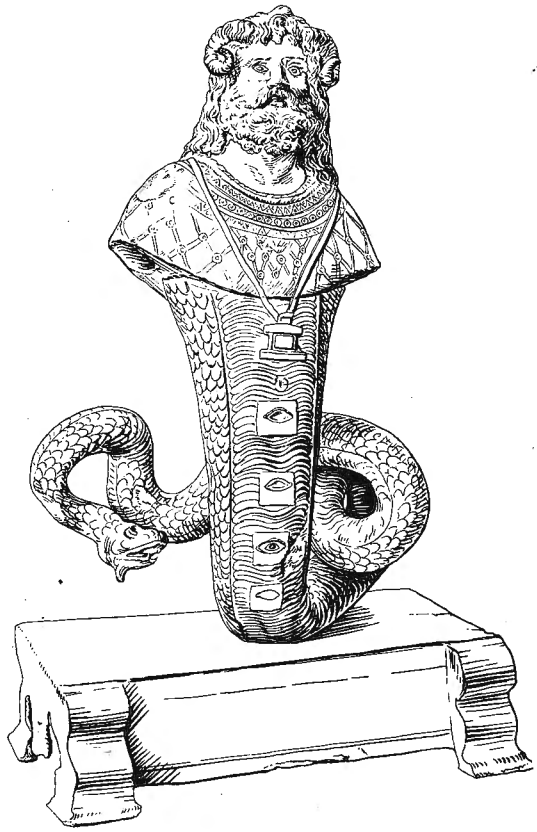


Fig. 275.

Ποσειδάων δὲ καβάλλης, | κύκνος Ζεύς, Ἄμμων δ' ὠμφιβόητος ὄφις— | χοὶ μὲν ἐπ' ἠιθέας, σὺ δὲ παιδικός—ὄφρα λάθοιτε· κ.τ.λ. This has been explained as a reference to the story of Alexander's parentage (Plout. *v. Alex.* 2 f. ὤφθη δέ ποτε καὶ δράκων κοιμωμένης ζῃῆς Ὀλυμπιάδος παρεκτεταμένος τῷ σώματι· κ.τ.λ., Apollin. Sid. *carm.* 2. 80 draconigenae... hosti, and especially Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 217. 27 f. οὐδ' αὖ Μακηδὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀλέξανδρος | ὃν τίκτεν Ἄμμων θέμενος εἰς ὄφιν μορφήν ;) : see H. Stadtmüller *ad loc.*

[1] Hesych. Ἀμμών (Ἀμμώνια cj. Boeckh)· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν ἀγομένη. καὶ ὄφεις. Κυρηναῖοι.

True, we have already seen the snakes of Esmun, the Punic Asklepios[1], brought into connexion with the horned Ba'al-ḥammân[2]; we cannot, therefore, exclude the possibility that the snake of Zeus *Ámmon* owed something to the Semites.

But snakes undoubtedly played a large part in Egyptian religion[3]. Of the *vipera cerastes*, which has been found at Thebes in mummified form[4], Herodotos writes:

'In the neighbourhood of Thebes there are sacred snakes, which do no harm to man. They are small of size and have two horns springing from the top of the head. When they die, they are buried in the sanctuary of Zeus; for they are deemed sacred to this god[5].'

It is very possible, then, that the snake of Âmen, the Theban Zeus, was transferred to Zeus *Ámmon*[6].

Again, Isis and Sarapis were often represented as a pair of human-headed *uraeus*-snakes or asps[7]. Sarapis alone appears in the same shape on imperial coins of Alexandreia[8]. A handsome bronze formerly in the Demetriou collection and now at Athens (fig. 275)[9] shows a Sarapis of this sort equipped with the horns of *Ámmon*[10]. The god raises himself from an oblong base perhaps meant for his *kiste* or sacred 'chest[11].' On his head are traces of the usual *kálathos* or *modius*. Over his shoulders is a cape incised with a net-work pattern, probably a form of *agrenón*. Round his neck hangs an amulet shaped like a small shrine. The arms are missing. The body is that of a scaly asp, adorned in front with

[1] At Kyrene (*supra* p. 351 f.) and at Gythion (*supra* p. 351) *Ámmon* was linked with Asklepios: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1558 n. 5. Cp. the pantheistic type figured *infra* p. 361.

[2] *Supra* p. 354.

[3] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 376 f.

[4] H. Brugsch cited by H. Stein on Hdt. 2. 74.

[5] Hdt. 2. 74.

[6] Ptolemaios *ap.* Arrian. 3. 3. 5 states that two snakes guided the army of Alexander the Great across the desert towards the *Ammóneion*.

[7] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 536 ff. fig., H. P. Weitz *ib.* iv. 378 fig. 10.

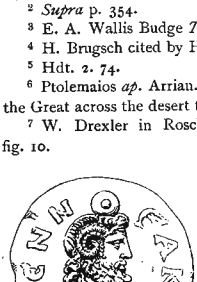


Fig. 276.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 88 no. 745 Hadrian pl. 14, p. 130 nos. 1103 f. Antoninus Pius, cp. no. 1105 pl. 14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 472 no. 489 Antoninus Pius pl. 88, 13.

[9] P. Kabbadias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1893 p. 187 ff. pl. 12, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 no. 1.

[10] P. Kabbadias and S. Reinach *locc. citt.* prefer to describe him as Zeus *Ámmon*.

[11] Cp. fig. 276 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 88 no. 677 Hadrian pl. 1 (bust of Zeus *Ámmon* with a solar disk on his head, the whole set on an oblong base box dotted to indicate an inscription).

four inlaid eyes and ending in a bearded snake's-head. The aesthetic effect of this complex whole is surprisingly good. If man and beast are to be blended at all, the Greek method of representing a snake's body with a human head was infinitely preferable to the Egyptian method of representing a snake's head with a human body.

Fig. 277.

But syncretism went further even than this. The pantheistic type of Sarapis, as it is commonly called[1], or the pantheistic type of *Ámmon*, as P. Kabbadias would term it[2], appears on gems[3] and coins of imperial date. For example, a coin of Alexandreia struck by Hadrian (fig. 277)[4] represents Zeus with the rays of Helios, the *modius* of Sarapis (Zeus Helios Sarapis[5]), the horizontal ram's-horns of Khnemu, the spiral ram's-horn of *Ámmon*, the *cornu copiae* of Neilos, and the trident of Poseidon combined with the serpent-staff of Asklepios[6].

(ζ) Zeus of the Oasis a Graeco-Libyan god.

Stripping off these later accretions and subtracting also the earlier Semitic traits, we are left with the Greek Zeus and the Egyptian Âmen-Râ, who at some period prior to the fifth century B.C. and probably in the Oasis of Siwah coalesced into the sun-god Zeus *Ámmon*. But we have yet to ask how Zeus found his way into the Oasis, and what was the original aspect of his worship in that isolated spot.

Here we must take account of a startling hypothesis put forward in 1871 by J. Overbeck[7]. That admirable scholar argues at length[8]

[1] H. P. Weitz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 379 ff.

[2] P. Kabbadias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1893 p. 189.

[3] List by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 94 n. 9. Add *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 144 no. 1212, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 122 nos. 2630—2636 pl. 24, 2639 f. pl. 24.

[4] Fig. 4=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 88 no. 744 pl. 15, cp. *ib.* p. 130 no. 1102 Antoninus Pius pl. 15, p. 168 no. 1362 Lucius Verus pl. 15, p. 251 no. 1945 Philippus i pl. 15.

[5] *Supra* p. 188 ff.

[6] Cp. the cult of Ζεὺς Ἥλιος Σωτήρ (G. Plaumann *Ptolemais in Oberägypten* (Leipz. hist. Abh. xviii) Leipzig 1910 p. 89, R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 581).

[7] On the controversy, to which this hypothesis gave rise, see H. Meltzer in *Philologus* 1904 lxiii. 213 f.

[8] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* p. 273 ff.

in support of the view that Zeus *Ammon* was essentially a Greek god[1], whose cult had spread from Europe to Africa, not *vice versâ*. His conclusion rests largely on the alleged fact that Amen was never represented by the Egyptians as ram-headed. But that fact we now know to be no fact. Overbeck was misled by G. Parthey[2]; and Lepsius was able to prove that such representations occur as far back as the reign of Seti i (*c.* 1300 B.C.)[3]. This blunder has unfortunately blinded the eyes of subsequent critics to the force of other arguments adduced by Overbeck. He justly lays stress on the early appearance of Zeus *Ammon* among the accepted gods of Greece and on the wide popularity that in course of time he achieved. Of what really barbaric god could it be shown, for example, that he was portrayed for cult-purposes by Kalamis[4] and other fifth-century artists[5], or that he was honoured with public rites at Athens in 333 B.C.[6]? In view of these circumstances it is worth while to enquire whether after all there was not some long-standing affinity between the Zeus of the Oasis and the Zeus of continental Greece.

Now it is a well-established fact that during the nineteenth dynasty Egypt was twice attacked by a combination of northern tribes. Rameses ii *c.* 1300 B.C. had to fight the Hittites (*Kheta*) and their allies, who included Lycians (*Luka*), Dardanians (*Dardenui*), Mysians (*Masa*), Maeonians? (*Maunna*?), or Ionians? (*Yaunna*?), Pedasians (*Pidasa*), and Cilicians (*Qalaqiša*)[7]. Again, in the reign of Merenptah *c.* 1250 B.C. Egypt was invaded by Achaeans (*Âqaiwaaša*), Tyrsenians (*Thuirša*), Sardinians? or Sardians? (*Šardina*), Sagalassians (*Šakalaša*), and Libyans (*Labû*)[8]. Similarly during the twentieth dynasty Rameses iii between 1200

[1] In Souid. *s.v.* "Αμμων· ὄνομα θεοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ Küster would read Λιβυκοῦ (cp. Dionys. *per.* 212 with Eustath. *ad loc.* τέμενος Λιβυκοῖο θεοῦ, Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 392 Λίβυς κεκλημένος Ἄμμων, Eudok. *viol.* 75 "Αμμων Λιβυκός ἐστι θεὸς κ.τ.λ., Prop. 4. 1. 103, Ov. *ibis* 313) or else understand Ἑλληνικοῦ as ἐθνικοῦ, 'gentile': see G. Bernhardy *ad loc.* The latter is the right alternative.

[2] G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1862* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 137 f.

[3] C. R. Lepsius in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Altertumskunde* 1877 xv. 81 ff.

[4] Paus. 9. 16. 1 (at Thebes in Boiotia) οὐ πόρρω δέ ἐστι ναὸς Ἄμμωνος, καὶ τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀνέθηκε μὲν Πίνδαρος, Καλάμιδος δέ ἐστιν ἔργον.

[5] A. Furtwängler in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1897* Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 563—565.

[6] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 580, 14 ff., 27 ff., no. 606, 19, no. 620, 32 f.

[7] See H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 171 f., G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 389 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 vi. 33 ff., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 343 ff., W. W. How and J. Wells *A Commentary on Herodotus* Oxford 1912 i. 420 f.

[8] H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 172 ff., G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 430 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* vi. 36 f.

and 1150 B.C. witnessed yet another attempted invasion by northerners, among whom were Philistines (*Pulusatha*), Siculo-Pelasgians? (*Zakkala*), Oaxians? (*Waašaša*), Teucrians (*Tákarai*), and Danaans (*Daânàu, Danauna*)[1]. Several of these identifications are doubtful; but that Egypt was thus repeatedly exposed to a general movement of Mediterranean peoples, many of whom were forefathers of the historical Greeks, is fortunately beyond all question. Prof. Flinders Petrie would even carry back the said Graeco-Libyan league well into the third millennium B.C.[2] This extreme view must be left for Egyptologists to criticise. But on the strength of the ascertained facts I have elsewhere suggested that the invaders may have planted in the Oasis a cult of their sky-god Zeus, who at some later date was fused firstly with the Theban Âmen-Râ and secondly with the Punic Ba'al-ḥammân[3]. If so, we should expect to find that the cult of Zeus in the *Ammóneion* resembled the most archaic cults of the same god on Greek soil, *e.g.* that of Zeus *Náios* at Dodona. Was this actually the case?

The Zeus of the Oasis is by Nonnos termed Zeus *Asbýstes* after the Asbystai, a Libyan tribe occupying the *Hinterland* of Kyrene, and under that denomination is compared with the Zeus of Dodona:

> Lo, Zeus *Asbystes'* new-found answering voice
> The thirsty sands oracular sent forth
> To the Chaonian dove[4].

The same comparison of the Libyan with the Dodonaean Zeus was made some 850 years earlier by Herodotos, who not only declares that—

> 'The oracular usage of Thebes in Egypt and the oracular usage of Dodona in point of fact resemble one another[5]'

—but also reports at first hand with every appearance of fidelity the local myths of both cult-centres:

> 'This is the tale that the Egyptians tell concerning the oracles of Hellas and Libye. The priests of Zeus *Thebaieús* stated that two priestesses were

[1] H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 175 ff., G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 459 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* vi. 37 f.

[2] W. M. Flinders Petrie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 271—277. The sherds of Middle 'Minoan' and Late 'Minoan' ware found by him in the Fayum (*ib.* pl. 14) are not necessarily the deposit of hostile invasions; they may surely be due to peaceful trading.

[3] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 403 f., cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 295.

[4] Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 292 ff. καὶ Διὸς Ἀσβύσταο νέην ἀντίρροπον ὀμφὴν | Χαονίῃ βοόωσι πελειάδι διψάδες ἄμμοι | μαντιπόλοι (*v.l.* μαντιπόλῳ), cp. 13. 370 ff. καὶ Διὸς Ἀσβύσταο μεσημβρίζοντας ἐναύλους, | μαντιπόλου κερόεντος, ὅπῃ ποτὲ πολλάκις Ἄμμων | ἀρνειοῦ τριέλικτον ἔχων ὑδαλμα κεραίης | ὀμφαίοις στομάτεσσιν ἐθέσπισεν Ἑσπέριος Ζεύς.

[5] Hdt. 2. 58.

carried off from Thebes by Phoenicians, that one of them—so they had heard—was sold into Libye, the other into Hellas, and that these women were the original founders of the oracles among the aforesaid peoples. When I asked them of the evidence on which this definite statement was based, they said in reply that a great hue and cry had been made by them for these women, and that they had been unable to find them, but that they had subsequently learnt about them just what they told me. The foregoing account, then, I heard from the priests at Thebes. The following is the statement made by the prophetesses at Dodona. Two black doves started to fly from Thebes in Egypt. One came to Libye, the other to Dodona, where it settled on an oak and announced with human voice that on that very spot must be established an oracle of Zeus. Deeming this a divine injunction, they had acted accordingly. They say that the dove which went to Libye bade the Libyans make an oracle of *Ammon*, and that too belongs to Zeus. This was the tale told by the priestesses of Dodona, the eldest of whom was named Promeneia, the next Timarete, the youngest Nikandra; and the other Dodonaeans dwelling about the sanctuary agreed with them[1].'

Herodotos, who—if any man—was acquainted with the facts, clearly believed that the cult of the Oasis and the cult of Dodona were akin. Two priestesses according to the Egyptian version, two doves according to the Greek version, had simultaneously founded the twin oracles of Zeus. This testimony on the part of one who had himself visited both Thebes and Dodona is not lightly to be set aside or explained away as a case of Aigypto-mania.

The same story with some interesting differences of detail occurs in later writers. Thus Silius Italicus in the first century of our era relates that Hannibal after the capture of Saguntum sent Bostar to enquire of *Ammon* what the issue of the war would be, and that Bostar on reaching the Oasis was welcomed by the Libyan Arisbas:

> 'These shady woods and tree-tops heaven-high,
> Groves trodden by the foot of Iupiter,
> Worship with prayer, friend Bostar. All the world
> Knows of his bounty, how he sent twin doves
> To settle in mid Thebes. Whereof the one
> That winged her way to the Chaonian coasts
> Fills with her fateful coo Dodona's oak.
> The other, wafted o'er Carpathian waves,
> With the same snowy pinions crossed to Libye
> And founded this our fane—Cythereia's bird.
> Here, where ye see an altar and dense groves,
> She chose a ram (I tell the miracle)
> And perched betwixt the horns of his fleecy head
> Chanted her answers to Marmaric tribes.
> Then on a sudden sprang to sight a wood,

[1] Hdt. 2. 54—55.

A grove of ancient timber, and the oaks
That now touch stars came from that primal day.
Hence our forefathers feared ; for lo, the tree
Hath deity and is served with altar-flames[1].'

It will be noticed that Silius is not simply paraphrasing Herodotos. He makes the doves start from Thebes in Greece, not from Thebes in Egypt, as is clear from his reference to the Carpathian sea, and he adds the episode of the dove settling on the ram. The latter feature, if not the former, reappears in the learned *schólia* on Servius[2] and points to the existence of a non-Herodotean tradition[3]. Silius' statement about the ancient grove and the oak-tree with altars burning before it is of considerable moment, because—if true—it goes far towards proving the essential similarity of the Dodonaean and the Libyan cults. We cannot, I think, reject the statement on the ground of botanical improbability. Authorities both ancient and modern mention several species of oak as growing in north Africa[4]; and Pliny even states that in the neighbourhood of Thebes at a distance of 300 stades from the Nile was a wooded tract with springs of its own (an oasis ?) producing oaks, olives, etc.[5] Again, *Ámmon* appears to have had a sacred grove on the shores of the Syrtis[6]; and various writers attest the existence in

[1] Sil. It. 3. 675—691. The concluding lines (688 ff.) run : mox subitum nemus atque annoso robore lucus | exiluit, qualesque premunt nunc sidera quercus | a prima venere die : prisco inde pavore | arbor numen habet coliturque tepentibus aris. Cp. *ib.* 10 f. corniger Hammon | fatidico pandit venientia saecula luco, 666 f. lucos nemorosaque regna | cornigeri Iovis.

[2] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466 Iuppiter quondam Hebae (*leg.* Thebae) filiae tribuit duas columbas humanam vocem edentes, quarum altera provolavit in Dodonae glandiferam silvam Epiri, ibique consedit in arbore altissima, praecepitque ei qui tum eam succidebat, ut ab sacrata quercu ferrum sacrilegum submoveret : ibi oraculum Iovis constitutum est, in quo sunt vasa aenea, quae uno tactu universa solebant sonare. altera autem columba pervenit in Libyam, et ibi consedit super caput arietis, praecepitque ut Iovis Ammonis oraculum constitueretur.

[3] L. Beger *Thesaurus Brandenburgicus selectus* Coloniae Marchicae 1696 iii. 221 (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 28 f. pl. 10 no. 4, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 771, 8) published a bronze at Berlin, which according to him represents the dove on the head of the Ammonian ram. More probably it is a variation of the type of an eagle on a ram's head (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 494 no. 1252 fig., Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 771, 7).

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 32 (parva aquifolia ilex=*quercus coccifera* Linn.) ; *La Grande Encyclopédie* x. 1065 b, 1066 a, b (*qu. ballota* Desf., *qu. suber* Linn., *qu. Mirbeckii* Durieu).

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 63 circa Thebas haec, ubi et quercus et persea et oliva, CCC a Nilo stadiis, silvestri tractu et suis fontibus riguo.

[6] Skyl. *per.* 109 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 85 Müller) *ἐν δὲ τῷ κοιλοτάτῳ τῆς Σύρτιδος (ἐν τῷ μυχῷ) Φιλαίνου βωμοί, ἐπίνιον ἄμμουνες· ἄλοῦς (leg. ἐπίνειον, Ἄμμωνος ἄλσος) τῆς Σύρτιδος.* The great *Ammóneion* is loosely connected with the Syrtis by Lucan. 4. 673, 10. 38, Prudent. *apoth.* 443.

the *Ammóneion* of an oracular grove without specifying oak-trees[1]. Finally, Clement of Alexandreia and Eusebios allude to an ancient oracular oak as worshipped amid the desert sands[2]. This can be none other than the oak of *Ámmon*[3]. I conclude, therefore, that Silius' statement is not to be dismissed as a mere poetic fiction, but to be accepted as a fact.'

If Zeus had an oak-cult of immemorial antiquity in the *Ammóneion*, we might reasonably expect that it would figure in the earliest traditions of the Libyan tribes. Now the Oases of the eastern Sahara were occupied in classical times by the Garamantes[4], whose eponym was Garamas—also called Amphithemis—the son of Apollon by Akakallis daughter of Minos[5]. Of the Garamantes in general it is recorded that they were pious folk, who had a temple or temples established in their midst[6]; but of Garamas in particular we fortunately possess an older and more definite account. A lyrical fragment[7] attributed by Schneidewin to Pindar and recognised by Bergk as coming from the *Hymn to Zeus Ámmon*[8] declares that in the beginning men sprang from Mother

[1] Curt. 4. 7. 20 incolae nemoris, quos Hammonios vocant, dispersis tuguriis habitant: medium nemus pro arce habent, etc., *ib.* 22 est et aliud Hammonis nemus: etc., Lucan. 9. 522 ff. esse locis superos testatur silva per omnem | sola virens Libyen...solus nemus abstulit Hammon. | silvarum fons causa loco, etc., Sil. It. 1. 414 tu quoque fatidicis Garamanticus accola lucis | etc., Stat. *Theb.* 8. 201 quin et cornigeri vatis nemus atque Molossi | quercus anhela Iovis, Avien. *descr. orb. terr.* 317 mugit arenosis nemus illic. denique lucis.

[2] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 11. 1 p. 10, 22 ff. Stählin γεράνδρυον δὲ ψάμμοις ἐρήμαις τετιμημένον (τετηρημένον cj. Mayor) καὶ τὸ αὐτόθι μαντεῖον αὐτῇ δρυὶ μεμαρασμένον μύθοις γεγηρακόσι καταλείψατε = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 1.

On a double bust of Zeus *Ámmon* and Sarapis (?) with oak-wreath and *kálathos* see Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 320, 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 289.

[3] This important piece of evidence was clearly pointed out by E. H. Toelken in his notes to H. von Minutoli *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon* Berlin 1824 p. 377 f. by C. J. Schmitthenner *De Jove Hammone* Weilburgi 1840 p. 30 n. 2, and independently of them by me in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 403 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 295; but it appears to have escaped the notice of all recent writers on the cult of *Ámmon*.

[4] H. Dessau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 751 f. They hold the oracle of Zeus *Ámmon* in Lucan. 9. 511 ff., Sil. It. 1. 414, 3. 10, 14. 440, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 21. 5.

[5] Ap. Rhod. 4. 1483 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 209, Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 48, 21 ff. Schmidt, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 198. Cp. Agroitas *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) *ap.* Herodian. περὶ μον. λέξ. p. 11, 19 ff. Dindorf.

[6] Agroitas *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 295 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1492 (ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς παρ' αὐτοῖς scholia vulgata, καὶ ναοὶ ἐν αὐτοῖς ὕδρυνται cod. Paris.).

[7] *Frag. adesp.* 84 Bergk[4] (33 Hiller), 12 f. *ap.* Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 97 Miller φαντὶ δὲ πρωτόγονον Γαράμαντα | Λίβυες αὐχμηρῶν πεδίων ἀναδύντα γλυκείας Διὸς ἀπάρξασθαι βαλάνου. This is Bergk's restoration of the MS. Λίβες δὲ Τάρβαντα φασὶ πρωτόγονον αὐχμηρῶν ἀναδύντα πεδίῳ, γλυκείας ἀπάρξασθαι Διὸς βαλάνου. Hiller reverts to Schneidewin's cj. Ἰάρβαντα. But T. Zielinski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 42 n. 1 gives reasons for preferring Bergk's emendation.

[8] *Supra* p. 352 f.

Earth, though it is hard to discover who was the first of her sons. After naming in true Pindaric fashion various possible claimants our fragment proceeds:

> The Libyans say that first-born Garamas
> Rose from parched plains and made his offering
> Of Zeus' sweet acorn.

May we not venture to see in these lines another confirmation of Silius' statements concerning the oaks of the Oasis?

Again, the fauna as well as the flora of the two oracular centres was alike. Birds, according to Aristophanes, were an essential feature of both[1]. The doves of Dodona are sufficiently notorious[2]. But, as we have already seen, the sister oracle in the Oasis was likewise founded by a dove from Thebes. Moreover, Semiramis is said to have learnt her destiny from *Ámmon*[3] and to have fulfilled it by becoming a dove[4]. Finally, small wild doves are numerous in the Oasis nowadays[5].

The institution of both oracles was also connected with a shepherd. Proxenos, a contemporary of king Pyrrhos, in his *History of Epeiros* wrote[6]:

'A shepherd feeding his sheep in the marshes of Dodona stole the finest of his neighbour's flocks and kept it penned in his own fold. The story goes that the owner sought among the shepherds for the stolen sheep, and, when he could not find them, asked the god who the thief was. They say that the oak then for the first time uttered a voice and said—"The youngest of thy followers." He put the oracle to the proof, and found them with the shepherd who had but recently begun to feed his flock in that district. Shepherds go by the name of followers. The thief was called Mandylas[7]. It is said that he, angered against the oak, wished to cut it down by night; but that a dove showed itself from the trunk and bade him desist from so doing. He in fear gave up the attempt and no longer laid hands on this sacred tree. The Epeirotes, however, were wroth with him for his rash deed.' Etc.[8]

Similarly with regard to the Oasis Leon of Pella, a contemporary

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 716 *ἐσμὲν δ' ὑμῖν Ἄμμων...Δωδώνη.* Alexander the Great was guided to the oracle of *Ámmon* by two or more ravens (Aristoboulos *ap.* Arrian. 3. 3. 6; Kallisthenes *ap.* Plout. *v. Alex.* 27, Strab. 814; Diod. 17. 49, Curt. 4. 7. 15, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 211).

[2] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 185 f.

[3] Diod. 2. 14.

[4] *Id.* 2. 20.

[5] G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*[2] Bremen 1882 ii. 115 ff., 121 mentions that the Fountain of the Sun is known locally as *Ain el hammam*, which he renders 'the Doves' Bath.' But this appears to be a mistranslation: *infra* p. 382.

[6] Proxenos *Epirotica frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 462 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 14. 327.

[7] Μανδύλας Q. Μαρδύλας V. Μανδρεύλας cj. C. Müller.

[8] The concluding sentence *ὅθεν καὶ λαβόντας δίκην ταύτην εἰσπράξασθαι τῆς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ ὑπομονῆς* (*ἐπιμονῆς* cod. Barnes.) *τὸν μάντιν προάγει* stands in need of emendation.

of Alexander the Great, in his treatise *On the gods of Egy* observed[1]:

'When Dionysos ruled over Egypt and all its borders and was said to hav been the original inventor of everything, a certain Hammon came from Afric and brought him a vast flock of sheep, partly to secure his favour and partly t win the credit of having invented something himself. In return for this presen Dionysos is said to have granted him a domain over against the Egyptian Thebes: and those who make effigies of Hammon furnish him with a horne head in order that men may remember how he was the first to discover sheep.' Etc.

It was probably this Hellenistic romance which led Pausanias to remark: '*Ammon* derived his name from the shepherd who founded the sanctuary[2].' Nor must we forget the tradition noticed above which makes the foundress dove settle on the head of a ram[3].

Both sites possessed a miraculous spring. Pliny observes:

'At Dodona the spring of Zeus is cold and puts out torches that are plunged in it, but kindles such as are put out and brought near to it. It always fails at midday, wherefore they call it the Resting Water; but it soon increases till it is full at midnight, from which time onwards it again gradually fails[4]....The pool of Zeus *Hammon*, cold by day, is hot by night[5].'

Many other writers from Herodotos to Eustathios describe this pool as 'the Fountain of the Sun' and assert that throughout the morning it grows cooler and cooler till at midday it is quite cold, but that as the day declines it gains in warmth becoming tepid at sundown and fairly bubbling with heat at midnight[6]. The current explanation of the phenomenon was that by night the sun went below the earth and there boiled the water—a view which Lucretius is at pains to disprove[7].

[1] Leon περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 332 Müller) *ap.* Hyg *poet. astr.* 2. 20. The sequel is quoted *infra* p. 373 n. 9.

[2] Paus. 4. 23. 10. So in Byzantine times Eudok. *viol.* 75, Eustath. *in* Dionys *per.* 211.

[3] Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 166 f. suggested rather vaguely that the ram-symbolism properly belonging to some old Greek cult led to the confusion of a Greek with a Egyptian ram-god. It is by no means unlikely that the ram was sacred to a Graeco-Libyan Zeus before this god came to be identified with Âmen-Râ. But the indications recorde in the text do not suffice to prove it.

[4] So Mela 2. 43, Solin. 7. 2, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 21. 5, Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 9 22 ff. Cp. Ov. *met.* 15. 311 f. The interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 466 states that th spring flowed from the roots of a huge oak and itself gave oracles by means of murmuring sound.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 228, cp. 5. 31.

[6] Hdt. 4. 181, Lucr. 6. 848 ff., Ov. *met.* 15. 308 ff., Diod. 17. 50, Val. Max. 15. 3 *ext.*, Curt. 4. 7. 22, Mela 1. 39, Sil. It. 3. 669 ff., Arrian. 3. 4. 2, Solin. 27. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 21. 5, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 211. Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. locum quendam in quo aries terram pede suo scalpsit, e quo loco fons manavit.

[7] Lucr. *loc. cit.*

In short, it appears that the whole apparatus of the oracle at Dodona—its grove, its oak of special sanctity, its doves, its holy well—was to be matched in the Oasis of *Ámmon*. Strabon adds that both oracles gave their responses in the self-same manner, 'not by means of words, but by certain tokens' such as the flight of doves[1].

Nor was the character of Zeus himself different at the two cult-centres. Zeus *Náios* of Dodona was essentially a god 'of Streaming Water[2]': the oracular spring—we are told—burst from the very roots of his famous oak[3]. So with Zeus *Ámmon*. The close connexion between his cult and water comes out clearly in Diodoros' description of the Oasis[4]:

'The Ammonians dwell in villages, but have in the midst of their territory an *akrópolis* secured by a threefold wall. Its first rampart encloses a palace of the ancient rulers; the second, the womens' court, the apartments of the children, wives, and kinsfolk[5], together with guard-houses, and besides the precinct of the god and the sacred spring, which is used to purify all that is offered to him; the third includes the quarters of the king's body-guard and their guard-houses. Outside the *akrópolis* at no great distance is built a second temple of *Ámmon* shaded by many large trees. Near this temple is a fountain, which on account of its peculiar character is called the Fountain of the Sun.' Etc.

The same association of the desert-god with water occurs in a tale for which our earliest authority is Hermippos the pupil of Kallimachos (*c.* 250 B.C.)[6]. When Dionysos in the course of his

[1] Strab. 329 *frag.* 1 οὐ διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ διά τινων συμβόλων, cp. 814 οὐχ ὥσπερ ἐν Δελφοῖς καὶ Βραγχίδαις τὰς ἀποθεσπίσεις διὰ λόγων, ἀλλὰ νεύμασι καὶ συμβόλοις τὸ πλέον, ὡς καὶ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ· ἢ καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων. To the same effect Eudok. *viol.* 75 οὗ τινος αἱ μαντεῖαι διὰ συμβόλων γίνονται, ἤτοι διὰ σχημάτων τινῶν καὶ κατανεύσεων καὶ ἀνανεύσεων = Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 211. See also Hdt. 2. 58 cited *supra* p. 363.

Yet Zeus *Náios* and Zeus *Ámmon* both gave oracles in verse. For those of the former see Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 175 f.; for those of the latter, Cougny *ib.* 6. 179 and G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1862* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 143.

[2] Schol. *Il.* 16. 233 ὁ δὲ Δωδωναῖος καὶ Νάιος· ὑδρηλὰ γὰρ τὰ ἐκεῖ χωρία. Cp. Ναΐα spring at Teuthrone in Lakonike (Paus. 3. 25. 4). Other cognates are νάω, νᾶμα, νασμός, ναρός, Νηρεύς, Νηιάς, etc. (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 230 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 306 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 415). See further *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 178 f. and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 368 n. 4.

[4] Diod. 17. 50. This and the parallel passage in Curt. 4. 7. 20—22 are derived from the same source, presumably Kallisthenes.

[5] Diod. *loc. cit.* συγγενῶν: Curt. *loc. cit.* pellicibus. Curtius has again (*supra* p. 355) reserved a detail dropped by Diodoros.

[6] Hermippos *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20. Nigidius *ap.* schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 401, 6 ff. Eyssenhardt, Amp. 2, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 476, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 196, schol. Lucan. 4. 672.

triumphal progress came into Africa, he was overtaken by thirst in the desert and like to perish with all his host. A ram appeared to them in their extremity and having led them safely to a plentiful pool in the Oasis there vanished[1]. Dionysos founded on the spot a temple of Zeus *Ámmon*, and set the helpful ram among the stars, ordaining that when the sun was in Aries all things should revive with the fresh life of spring. In this connexion it should be observed that from Berytos in the east to Pompeii in the west *Ámmon*-masks were used as fountain-mouths[2].

Finally, as Zeus *Náios* was paired with Dione, so Zeus *Ámmon* had a female partner worshipped at Olympia as Hera *Ammonía*[3] and associated with him on certain extant gems (fig. 278)[4]. Or, it

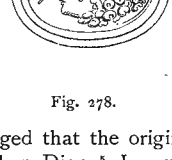


Fig. 278.

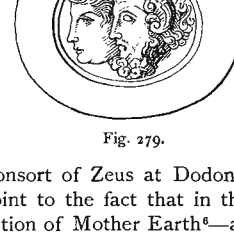


Fig. 279.

be urged that the original consort of Zeus at Dodona was Ge rather than Dione[5], I would point to the fact that in the Libyan Oasis too we have found a tradition of Mother Earth[6]—a tradition the more noteworthy because in purely Egyptian religion the earth-deity was not a goddess, but a god.

The conclusion to which the evidence here adduced appears to

[1] The ram was presumably Zeus himself in animal form. Another late aetiological tale told how the gods, when attacked by Typhoeus, fled in a panic to Egypt and disguised themselves as animals, Zeus becoming a ram, etc. (Ov. *met.* 5. 327 f., Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 5. 5, Myth. Vat. 1. 86, cp. Apollod. 1. 6. 3, Diod. 1. 86, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 72, Loukian. *de sacrif.* 14, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 28).

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4535 (Berytos)=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 317, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 277, 285.

[3] Paus. 5. 15. 11 with J. G. Frazer's n. *ad loc.* (iii. 584). On the association of Zeus with Hera at Thebes in Egypt see *supra* p. 348 n. 1.

[4] I figure a garnet in the Berlin collection: the original is inscribed ΛΙ⊃Λ in careless lettering (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 73 no. 1121 pl. 14, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 40 pl. 5, 65 omitting inscr., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 301 Gemmentaf. 4, 13). Cp. also a prase at Florence (fig. 279), on which the female head has no *stephánē* and is rather Dionysiac in character (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. Gemmentaf. 4, 11). The existence of double busts representing Zeus *Ámmon* and Hera *Ammonía* is more problematic (*id. ib.* p. 288 f.).

[5] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 179 f.

[6] *Supra* p. 366 f.

point is that the cult of Zeus in the Oasis was, as Herodotos declared, really akin to the cult of Zeus at Dodona. I submit that it was a relic of an early Graeco-Libyan occupation of north Africa[1].

(η) The youthful *Ámmon*.

On gold, silver (figs. 280—283), and copper coins of Kyrene struck *c.* 431—285 B.C. we have not only a bearded but also a beardless

Fig. 280.

Fig. 281.

Fig. 282.

Fig. 283.

Fig. 284.

Fig. 285.

type of *Ámmon*[2]. The same mature and youthful heads with a downward-curving ram's-horn appear on electrum *héktai* of Lesbos *c.* 440—350 B.C.[3], on coppers of Aphytis *c.* 424—358 B.C.[4], on silver

[1] The myth of Danaos and the Danaïdes belongs to the same Graeco-Libyan *stratum* (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (d) ii (*a*)). Diod. 17. 50 states that the precinct of Zeus *Ammon* was founded by Danaos (*τὸ μὲν οὖν τέμενος φασὶν ἱδρύσασθαι Δαναὸν τὸν Αἰγύπτιον*).

[2] Bearded: Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 53 pl. 26, 44 (=my fig. 280), *id. Hist. num.*[2] pp. 865, 869 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 570 pl. 92, 7 f., 572, 574 pl. 92, 16. Fig. 281 is from a specimen in the McClean collection, fig. 282 from another in the Leake collection, at Cambridge (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 African Greece p. 2).

Beardless: Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 69 pl. 35, 40 (=my fig. 283), *id. Hist. num.*[2] pp. 865, 869, 871 fig. 388, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii 569 ff. pl. 92, 6, 10—12.

[3] Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 161 pl. 32, 26, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1219 f. pl. 160, 15.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 167 pl. 34, 21 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1227 f. pl. 161, 30 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 210, 559.

All these heads have in front a curious set of upstanding curls (?), perhaps derived from an Egyptian head-dress misunderstood (cp. the coin of Kyrene discussed by C. Müller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhague 1860 i. 85, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 295 Münztaf. 4, 16).

[4] Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia etc. p. 61, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 297 Münztaf. 4, 20 f.

Beardless: Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. iii. 47 no. 319, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 210.

(figs. 284, 285) and copper coins of Tenos from the fourth to the second century B.C.[1], and on coppers of Mytilene in the second and first centuries B.C.[2] Similarly in the west on silver coins of Metapontum *c.* 400—350 B.C. both types occur (fig. 286)[3], and on silver coins of Nuceria Alfaterna after *c.* 308 B.C. the younger without the older head[4].

Fig. 286.

The identification of this youthful figure is a matter of some difficulty. The general trend of fourth-century religious art is doubtless towards juvenile forms. But the usual succession of bearded and beardless types hardly accounts for the simultaneous recognition of a senior with a junior *Ammon*. The latter must be either a different god from the former, or at least a distinct phase of his personality. Among names suggested are Aristaios[5] and Apollon *Karneîos*[6]. Aristaios was worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia[7] and bears a name which appears to have been a cult-title of Zeus[8]; he was also an important figure in the mythological history of Kyrene[9], and he not improbably passed for a shepherd-god[10]. But we have not the least

[1] Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. 127, 129, 131 pl. 28, 10—15, 29, 2 f., 11, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 297 Münztaf. 4, 22, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 492 f.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 128 ff. pl. 28, 16—20, 29, 1, 8 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 212 f. pl. 44, 4 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 493.

[2] Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 194 ff. pl. 38, 14, 16, 18, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 317, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 562.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. p. 193 f. pl. 38, 9—12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 316, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 562.

[3] Bearded: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 258, Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 81 pl. 153, 96—98, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 138 pl. 104, 24.

Beardless: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 258, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 91, Carelli *op. cit.* p. 81 pl. 153, 99—103, Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 138 pl. 104, 13, 25—27. The specimen illustrated (fig. 286) is in the British Museum and shows a ram's ear as well as a ram's horn.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 121, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 45 pl. 3, 15, Carelli *op. cit.* p. 31 f. pl. 86, 1—5, Garrucci p. 97 pl. 90, 1—3.

[5] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 865 Kyrene ('perhaps...Aristaeos').

[6] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 77 Metapontum ('possibly Apollo Karneios').

[7] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* i. 14 huic opinioni Pindarus [*frag.* 251 (*Poet. lyr. Gr.* i. 461 Bergk[4])] refragatur, qui eum ait de Caea insula in Arcadiam migrasse, ibique vitam coluisse. nam apud Arcadas pro Iove colitur, quod primus ostenderit, qualiter apes debeant reparari. See further Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 251 ff.

[8] Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 112 ff. Ζῆνα καὶ ἀγὸν Ἀπόλλων' | ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις, ἄγ|χιστον ὀπάονα μήλων, | 'Αγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, | τοῖς δ' Ἀρισταῖον καλεῖν with schol. *ad loc.* ἱστέον ὅτι τὸν Ἀρισταῖον διὰ τὸ τὴν κτηνοτροφίαν καὶ κυνηγεσίαν εὑρηκέναι Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, Διὰ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα προσηγόρευον. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 856 says: 'Die Wortstellung ist chiastisch. Ἀγρεύς und Νόμιος sind Beinamen des Apollon...A[ristaios] des Zeus.'

[9] L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 *passim.*

[10] *Supra* n. 8 ὀπάονα μήλων. F. Studniczka *Kyrene* Leipzig 1890 p. 105 f. translates

reason to suppose that he was himself ever regarded as a ram or represented with ram's horns. There is more to be said for the proposed identification of the youthful horned head with that of Apollon *Karneîos*. This deity too was worshipped as Zeus at Argos[1]; moreover, he was essentially a ram-god[2], and one who, as we have already seen[3], was associated at Gythion with Zeus *Ámmon*. Nevertheless a comparison of the towns issuing coins of the youthful *Ámmon* type[4] with the known cult-centres of Apollon *Karneîos*[5] is disappointing. Kyrene is the only name common to the two lists.

L. Müller in his great work on the coinage of north Africa was the first to set this question on a more satisfactory basis by adducing the available literary evidence[6]. He pointed out that Zeus *Ámmon* was connected with Dionysos, partly by certain tales recorded above—how the former brought sheep to the latter[7], how the latter founded the temple of the former[8]—but partly also by the definite belief that Dionysos was the son of *Ámmon* and horned like his father[9]. Hence L. Müller[10] and subsequently L. Stephani[11] did not hesitate to identify the youthful *Ámmon* of the coins with the Libyan Dionysos[12]. By way of confirmation they note that on the coins of Aphytis, Ténos, and Mytilene the reverse type is

the οἰοπόλος δαί|μων of Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 49 f. as 'a sheep-pasturing god' and identifies him with Aristaios. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 489 cites from J. R. Pacho *Relation d'un Voyage dans la Marmarique, la Cyrénaique*, etc. Paris 1827—1829 pl. 51 a Cyrenaic tomb-painting, which shows Aristaios with a ram on his back, a *pedum* in his hand, surrounded by sheep and encircled by fish.

[1] Theopomp. *frag.* 171 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 307) *ap.* schol. vet. Theokr. 5. 83 ὅτι τὸν αὐτὸν (*sc.* Κάρνειον Ἀπόλλωνα) καὶ Δία καὶ Ἡγήτορα καλοῦσιν Ἀργεῖοι, διὰ τὸ κἀκεῖνον ἡγήσασθαι τοῦ στρατοῦ. Perhaps, however, Theopompos merely meant that at Argos Apollon bore the title Ἀγήτωρ (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 41) as Zeus did at Sparta (Wide *Lakon. Kulte* pp. 1, 13).

[2] *Supra* p. 351 n. 7.

[3] *Supra* p. 351.

[4] *Supra* p. 371 f.

[5] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 55 f.

[6] L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhague 1860 i. 101 ff.

[7] *Supra* p. 367 f.

[8] *Supra* p. 369 f.

[9] Diod. 3. 73 εἰσὶ δ' οἱ μυθολογοῦντες αὐτῷ (*sc.* τῷ Ἄμμωνι) πρὸς ἀλήθειαν γενέσθαι καθ' ἑκάτερον μέρος τῶν κροτάφων κεράτια· διὸ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, υἱὸν αὐτοῦ γεγονότα, τὴν ὁμοίαν ἔχειν πρόσοψιν, καὶ τοῖς ἐπιγινομένοις τῶν ἀνθρώπων παραδεδόσθαι τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον γεγονότα κερατίαν. Cp. Leon περὶ τῶν κατ' Αἴγυπτον θεῶν *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 332 Müller) *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20 qui autem Libero factum voluerunt adsignare, quod non petierit ab Hammone, sed ultro ad eum sit adductum, simulacra illa cornuta faciunt et arietem memoriae causa inter sidera fixum dicunt. The context is given *supra* p. 368.

[10] L. Müller *loc. cit.*

[11] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 76 ff.

[12] The first to suggest Dionysos was Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iv. 118; and his suggestion has been widely accepted (see L. Müller *op. cit.* i. 102 f.).

commonly Dionysiac—a *kántharos*, a bunch of grapes, a herm of Dionysos. But this is an argument on which it is easy to lay too much stress.

Stephani further drew attention to a series of double busts which combine the head of *Ámmon* with that of a more or less certain Dionysos[1]. Sometimes a bearded head with ram's horns is joined to a bearded and hornless head[2]. Where the latter is wreathed with vine-leaves[3] or ivy-leaves[4], it undoubtedly represents Dionysos. Where the wreath is absent[5], we cannot feel the same assurance. Again, a bearded head with ram's horns is joined to a beardless head with short bovine horns[6]. Here opinion is divided, some supposing that *Ámmon* is combined with a semi-bovine Dionysos[7], others that he is linked to a second water-god, the Libyan Triton[8]. Exceptional is a double bust in the Vatican, which yokes two youthful heads, one having ram's horns and a slight beard, the other small bovine horns[9]. Stephani concludes that the artist wished to unite the Libyan with the Greek Dionysos[10]; Overbeck, that the head with ram's horns is more probably a portrait in the guise of *Ámmon*[11]. Another isolated example is a double herm of *Ámmon* and a satyr at Berlin, surmounted by a capital in the form of a *kálathos*[12]. On the whole, a survey of these double busts makes it clear that *Ámmon* stood in close relation to the Dionysiac circle.

Finally, Stephani published an Apulian bell-*kratér* at Saint

[1] L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 77 f.

[2] (1) Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 657 no. 523 pl. 70. (2) *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 49, E. Braun in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 186 ff. pl. I, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 285 f. Atlas pl. 3, 11. (3) S. Maffei *Museum Veronense* Verona 1749 p. 93 no. 3. (4) *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1792 viii. (Le Lucerne ed i Candelabri d' Ercolano) 313 pl. 70, Roux-Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii Bronzes 3e Série p. 4 f. pl. 3.

[3] Amelung *loc. cit.*

[4] Maffei *loc. cit.*

[5] *Mon. d. Inst.*, *Ann. d. Inst.*, Overbeck *locc. citt.* In *Antichità di Ercolano*, Roux—Barré *locc. citt.* the head of *Ámmon* has a wreath of ivy and flowers, the other head a diadem.

[6] (1) Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* v pl. A, 3. (2) Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 287 f. no. 37. (3) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 38 Atlas pl. 3, 12. (4) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 39. (5) *Id. ib.* p. 288 no. 40.

[7] So *e.g.* J. de Witte in *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xxx. 82, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 78.

[8] So *e.g.* K. Bötticher *Nachtrag zum Verzeichniss der Bildhauerwerke in Berlin* 1867 no. 985 ff., especially no. 988.

[9] E. Pistolesi—C. Guerra *Il Vaticano descritto ed illustrato* Roma 1829—1838 vi pl. 103, E. Platner—C. Bunsen—E. Gerhard—W. Röstell *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* Stuttgart und Tübingen 1834 ii. 2. 281 no. 33, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 289 f.

[10] L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 77 f.

[11] Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 289 f., quoting Pistolesi's interpretation 'Lisimaco.'

[12] Overbeck *ib.* p. 288.

Petersburg, on which is a scene of considerable interest (fig. 287)[1]. A youthful god with ram's horns stands leaning on a pillar, a bay-branch in his left hand. He is conversing with a matronly female figure seated before him. Behind him Pan with goat's horns holds a larger branch of bay with leaves and berries. He is balanced by a second female figure raising a *phiále*. The sanctity of the place is shown by the *bucranium* and fillet hung in the background, by the incense-burner visible between the two principal persons, and perhaps by the sprigs of bay etc. in the foreground. Stephani, followed by S. Reinach, suggests that we have here the horned Dionysos of Libye[2] promising pardon

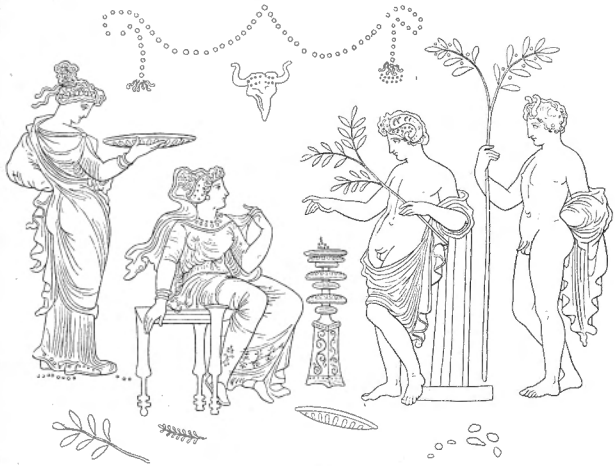


Fig. 287.

[1] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 380 ff. no. 880, *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 79 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 2 and 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 13, 1 f.

[2] This identification is confirmed by an unpublished Apulian jug at St Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 28 f. no. 1119, though F. Wieseler in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1892 p. 226 f. says Apollon *Karneîos*), which represents a definitely Dionysiac scene. In the centre sits a young man (Dionysos) with ram's horns, originally painted yellow, on his head: he wears an upper garment, which has slipped on to his lap, and yellow shoes. In his right hand he holds a cup, in his left a lyre, both partly yellow. Before him stands a woman (Ariadne?) in *chitón* and *himátion*, who offers him a bunch of grapes with her left hand, a white wreath with her right: her arm-bands and necklaces are yellow. Behind Dionysos stands a second woman leaning on a pillar, which is yellow in part. She wears a *chitón*, a small fluttering garment, shoes, arm-bands and necklaces, and holds in her right hand an *alábastron* (?). At her back is a fillet; and in the field are four partly yellow rosettes.

to Rhea[1]. If so, the scene is presumably laid in the *Ammóneion*. The bay-branches suggest that the Apulian artist based his conception of this far off spot on the more familiar oracle of the Delphic Apollon. But it may be remarked that the elder *Ámmon* wears a bay-wreath on coins of Kyrene, Tenos, and Metapontum, as does his younger counterpart on coins of Metapontum and Tenos. We are not, therefore, forced to assume a confusion or contamination of cults.

In view of the foregoing evidence it would, I think, be unsafe to conclude that the connexion between Zeus *Ámmon* and Dionysos was essentially late. Herodotos[2] states that at Meroë, where Zeus (*Ámmon*[3]) had an oracle, the only gods worshipped were Zeus and Dionysos. And the coins at least suffice to prove the existence of a youthful *Ámmon* as early as the fifth century B.C.

(θ) The Oasis of Siwah.

The last glimpse that we get of the *Ammóneion* in classical times is a sad one. Athanasios states that in 356 A.D. many elderly bishops of the Egyptian church were driven out by Georgios the Arian persecutor; those from Libye were banished to the Great Oasis, those from the Thebaïd to the Ammonian district[4]. After this, darkness descends and shuts out the view.

From the fourth to the eighteenth century we know nothing of the *Ammóneion* beyond a few casual and partly fantastic references

[1] According to the romantic version of Diod. 3. 71—73, Rhea and Kronos took with them the Titans and attacked *Ámmon*, who thereupon fled to Crete and, having married Krete the daughter of one of the reigning Kouretes, became lord of the district. Meantime Kronos and Rhea had usurped the realm of *Ámmon*. But Dionysos, helped by the Amazons and Athena, vanquished the Titans and reinstated his father. He took the usurpers captive, but promised them forgiveness and exhorted them to be reconciled with him. Rhea loyally accepted his overtures: Kronos was insincere. After this, Dionysos founded the oracle of *Ámmon*, and made the child Zeus king of Egypt. Etc., etc.

[2] Hdt. 2. 29. We must, however, remember that Dionysos may mean Osiris (*id.* 2. 42, 144).

[3] Cp. Hdt. 2. 42 Ἄμουν γὰρ Αἰγύπτιοι καλέουσι τὸν Δία, Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 186 (of Meroë) delubrum Hammonis et ibi religiosum et toto tractu sacella.

[4] Athanas. *ad imp. Const. apol.* 32 (i. 316 f. ed. Bened.) οἱ δὲ θαυμαστοὶ πλέον τι τῆς σῆς προστάξεως τολμῶντες ὑπὲρ τρεῖς ἐπαρχίας εἰς ἐρήμους καὶ ἀήθεις καὶ φοβεροὺς τόπους ἐξώρισαν γέροντας ἀνθρώπους καὶ πολυετεῖς ἐπισκόπους. οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς Λιβύης εἰς τὴν μεγάλην Ὄασιν, οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς Θηβαΐδος εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακὴν τῆς Λιβύης ἀπεστάλησαν, *hist. Arian. ad Monachos* 72 (i. 387 ed. Bened.) καὶ ἐξώρισαν μὲν ἐπισκόπους γηράσαντας ἐν τῷ κλήρῳ καὶ πολυετεῖς ἐν τῇ ἐπισκοπῇ ἀπὸ Ἀλεξάνδρου ὄντας τοῦ ἐπισκόπου, Ἀμμώνιον μὲν καὶ Ἑρμῆν καὶ Ἀνάγαμφον καὶ Μάρκον εἰς τὴν ἄνω Ὄασιν, Μοῦιν δὲ καὶ Ψενόσιριν καὶ Νειλάμμωνα καὶ Ἠλήνην καὶ Μάρκον καὶ Ἀθηνόδωρον εἰς τὴν Ἀμμωνιακήν, δι' οὐδὲν ἕτερον ἢ ἵνα διὰ τῶν ἐρήμων διερχόμενοι τελευτήσωσι, cp. *apol. de fuga sua* 6 f., Sokr. *hist. eccl.* 2. 28, Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 2. 14.

in Arabic geographers[1]. The Arabs obtained possession of Egypt and presumably of the Oases also in the seventh century. A certain king Kofthim—we are told—built two towns in remote Oases and equipped them with palaces, fountains, pools, brazen pillars and magic idols: the traveller who set eyes upon the idols stood rooted to the spot until he died, unless one of the natives released him by blowing in his face[2]. Another king Ssa, son of Assad, established a town in a distant Oasis (probably that of *Ammon*), which was attacked in 708 A.D. by Musa, son of Nosseir. Musa marched his troops for seven days through the desert, but found the town protected by walls and gates of brass. He made a futile attempt to take it, and was forced to retire with heavy losses[3]. In 943—944 A.D. the king of the Oases was Abdelmelik Ben Meruan, of the Lewatah tribe, who had several thousand riders under his command. Seven years later the king of the Nubians came, explored the Oases, and carried off many prisoners. The devastation must have been great; for Edrisi, the *Geographus Nubiensis*, says that in his day (*s.* xii) the small Oases had no inhabitants, though water, trees, and ruined buildings were still to be seen[4]. It was otherwise with the Oasis of Santariah or Siwah, which in Edrisi's time was occupied by Mohammedans with a resident *Imam*[5]. Abulfeda (1273—1331 A.D.) describes the Oases with their palm-groves and springs as islands in the sand[6]. Makrisi (1364—1441 A.D.) has more to say:

'The town Santariah forms part of the Oases and was built by Minakiush, one of the old Coptic Kings, founder of the town Achmîm.... He built it (Santariah) in the form of a square of white stone. In each wall there was a gate, from which a street led to the opposite wall. Each of these streets had gates right and left, leading to streets that traversed the town. In the middle of the town was a circus surrounded by seven rows of steps and crowned by a cupola of laquered wood resting on costly marble columns. In the middle of the circus rose a marble tower supporting a statue of black granite, which every day turned on its axis, following precisely the course of the sun. Under the dome on every side figures were suspended, which whistled and spoke in diverse languages. On the highest step of the circus the king took his place, and beside him his sons, his kinsfolk, and the princes. On the second step sat the high priests and the viziers; on the third, the commanders of the army; on

[1] These were collected by Langlès 'Mémoire sur les oases d'après les auteurs arabes' in F. C. Hornemann *Voyages dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique* Paris 1802 Appendice no. 2, and are conveniently summarised by G. Parthey 'Das Orakel und die Oase des Ammon' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1862* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 172 f.

[2] Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 364, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

[3] Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 368, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

[4] Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 350, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

[5] Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 398, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

[6] Abulfeda *descr. Aeg.* p. 4 Michaelis, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 172.

the fourth, philosophers, astronomers, physicians, and masters of learning; on the fifth, builders; on the sixth, foremen of guilds; and lastly on the seventh, the bulk of the commoners. Each class was bidden "to look upon those only that were below it, not those that were above it, for they would never be on an equality with their betters." This rule was an education in itself. The wife of Minakiush slew him with a knife: so he died after a reign of sixty years[1].'

Makrisi further tells at third hand how the officer of a certain *Emir* saw in the country of the Oases an orange-tree, which every year bore 14,000 ripe fruit[2]. The Oasis of Santariah or Siwah was in his own day inhabited by 600 Berbers, who spoke a dialect akin to Zialah or Zenatah and suffered much from fevers and evil spirits[3]. Leo Africanus (*c.* 1517 A.D.) speaks of the Oases as a district situated to the west of Egypt in the Libyan desert. The district comprised three fortresses, numerous houses, fruitful fields and dates in great abundance. Its inhabitants were almost wholly black, very rich, and remarkably avaricious[4].

The first Europaean to reach the Oasis of Siwah in modern times and to recognise in it the long-lost *Ammóneion* was the English traveller W. G. Browne, who left Alexandria with a caravan of Arab traders on February 24, 1792, and, following much the same route as Alexander the Great, entered Siwah on March 9. Here he stayed four days, making geographical, ethnographical, and archaeological notes[5]. A few years later came the German F. C. Hornemann, who, obtaining a permit from General Bonaparte then in Egypt, joined a large company of pilgrims returning from Mecca *viâ* Cairo to the west of Africa and spent eight days in Siwah, September 22—29, 1798. His observations confirmed those of Browne[6]. The French were next in the field. The incautious and ill-starred engineer Boutin or Butin towards the middle of 1819[7], and the more careful and successful traveller Caillaud at

[1] G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* Bielefeld und Leipzig 1904 p. 79 f.

[2] Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 390, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173.

[3] Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 384, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173.

[4] Langlès *op. cit.* ii. 354, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173. Wansleben, who visited Egypt in 1664, 1672, and 1673 A.D., praised the dates of Siba as the best (S. Ideler in the *Fundgruben des Orients* Wien 1814 iv. 401, Parthey *op. cit.* p. 173).

[5] W. G. Browne *Travels in Africa, Egypt and Syria, from the year 1792 to 1798* London 1799. There is also a German translation (Leipzig und Gera 1800).

[6] *Fr. Hornemanns Tagebuch seiner Reise von Cairo nach Murzuck, der Hauptstadt des Königreichs Fessan in Afrika in den Jahren 1797 und 1798*, aus der deutschen Handschrift desselben herausgegeben von Carl König, Weimar 1802. Hornemann himself, having been commissioned to explore north Africa by the London Association for promoting the Discovery of the Interior Parts of Africa, continued his route westwards from Siwah and never returned home. But his letters were forwarded to England by Bonaparte. The minute-book of the African Association containing an account of them formed part of the Leake collection and is now preserved at Cambridge.

[7] Parthey *op. cit.* p. 177. Boutin took with him a portable boat, in which to navigate

its close[1], both reached their distant goal. Others followed suit, among whom may be specially mentioned the Prussian general H. von Minutoli and his party (1820)[2], the Englishmen G. A. Hoskins (1835)[3] and Bayle St John (1847)[4], the Scot J. Hamilton (1853)[5], and the German G. Rohlfs (1869, 1874)[6]. But the journey even now-a-days is seldom undertaken[7]: the desert is a serious deterrent[8], and the inhabitants have no great love for strangers[9].

the mysterious Lake Arashieh; but the inhabitants of Siwah burnt his boat, and did their best to rob and murder the explorer—a fate that ultimately overtook him in the mountains of Syria.

[1] F. Cailliaud *Voyage à Méroé, au Fleuve Blanc, au-delà de Fâzoql dans le midi du Royaume de Sennâr, à Syouah et dans cinq autres Oasis, fait dans les années 1819, 1820, 1821 et 1822* Paris 1826 i. 86—122. Cp. Jomard *Voyage à l'Oasis du Syouah, d'après les matériaux recueillis par M. le chevalier Drovetti et par M. Frédéric Cailliaud, pendant leurs voyages dans cette Oasis, en 1819 et en 1821* Paris 1823.

[2] H. von Minutoli *Reise zum Tempel des Jupiter Ammon in der libyschen Wüste und nach Ober-Aegypten in den Jahren 1820 und 1821*, herausgegeben von Dr E. H. Toelken, Berlin 1824, with an Atlas of 38 plates and a map.

[3] G. A. Hoskins *Visit to the Great Oasis of the Libyan Desert* London 1837.

[4] Bayle St. John *Adventures in the Libyan Desert and the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1849.

[5] J. Hamilton *Wanderings in North-Africa* London 1856.

[6] G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien* [1] Bremen 1871 [2] Bremen 1882 [3] Norden 1885 in two vols., *id. Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* Cassel 1875, W. Jordan *Physische Geographie und Meteorologie der libyschen Wüste*, nach Beobachtungen, ausgeführt im Winter 1873–74 auf der Rohlfs'schen Expedition, Cassel 1876.

[7] L. Robecchi-Bricchetti (1886) 'Notizie sull' oasi di Siuwah' in the *Archivio per Antropologia e la Etnologia* 1887 xvii, *id.* 'Un' Escursione attraverso il deserto Libico all' Oasi di Siuva 1886' in the *Bollettino della Società Geografica Italiana* 3. Série. 2. 1889 pp. 388—399, 468—488 (cp. *Bulletin de la Société Khédiviale de Géographie* 3. Série. 1888—89 pp. 83—118), *id. All' oasi di Giove Ammone, viaggio* Milan 1900.

H. Burchardt (1893) 'Über den Besuch der Oase Siwah im Februar d. J.' in the *Verhandl. der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* xx. 387 f.

W. Jennings-Bramley (1896) 'A Journey to Siwa in September and October 1896' in the *Geographical Journal* London 1897 x. 597—608.

C. von Grünau (1898) 'Bericht über meine Reise nach Siwah' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1899 xxxiv. 271—280. Cp. the *Am. journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 515.

A. Silva White (1898) *From Sphinx to Oracle. Through the Libyan Desert to the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1899.

G. Steindorff (1899—1900) 'Vorläufiger Bericht über seine im Winter 1899/1900 nach der Oase Siwe und nach Nubien unternommenen Reisen' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1900 pp. 209—239, *id.* 'Eine archäologische Reise durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase Siwe' in *Petermanns Geogr. Mitteilungen* 1904 Heft viii with a map by Dr B. Hassenstein, *id. Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* Bielefeld und Leipzig 1904 (with full bibliography *ib.* p. 156 f.).

[8] Archonides or Andron of Argos, a man who all his life ate plenty of dry salt food without feeling thirsty or drinking, travelled twice to the Oasis of *Ámmon* on a diet of dry meal; and Magon of Carthage did so thrice (Aristot. *frag.* 99 Rose 1494 a 7 ff.). Their 'record' remains unbroken!

[9] A certain Mr Blunt, who came to Siwah disguised as an Arab, was detected and

The situation of Siwah was determined by Browne, Cailliaud, and W. Jordan. It lies 29° 12′ north of the equator by 25° 30′ east of Greenwich[1], and—as Rohlfs has pointed out—forms part of the vast depression, which runs without a break from the Greater Syrtis to Egypt[2]. According to W. Jordan's reckoning, the Oasis is actually 29 metres below the level of the Mediterranean[3]. Aristotle, indeed, shrewdly conjectured that the Ammonian district and other low-lying patches were due to the gradual evaporation of an arm of the sea[4]. Similarly Eratosthenes in his *Geography* remarked that the precinct of *Ammon* and the route leading to it were strewn with shells and a deposit of salt[5]: he even hazarded the guess that this remote oracle acquired its fame at the time when

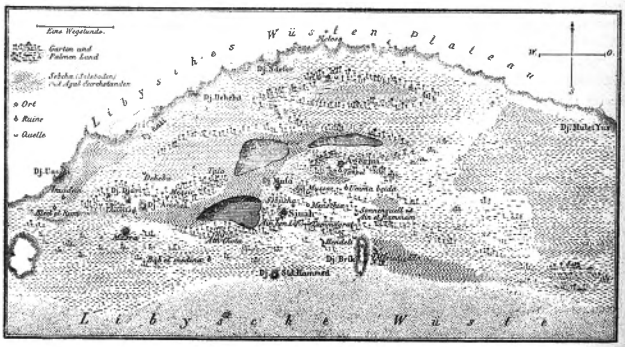


Fig. 288.

it was an accessible coast-town[6]! In point of fact the Oasis is dotted with lagoons (*sebcha*), which overflow in winter and, partially drying up in summer, leave an incrustation of salt several inches thick. In early days special sanctity attached to this pure

had to flee for dear life: his camp was plundered and his tent was burnt (G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* p. 3 f.).

[1] G. Rohlfs *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* p. 185 gives the position as determined by W. Jordan at 29° 12′ north of the equator by 25° 30′ east of Greenwich. Browne had fixed it at 29° 12′ and some seconds north of the equator by 24° 54′ east of Greenwich. Cailliaud had made the longitude 23° 38′ 0″ east of Paris (=25° 58′ 13″ east of Greenwich).

[2] G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*[2] ii. 113.

[3] G. Rohlfs *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* p. 185. Rohlfs' earlier calculation showed a mean depth of 52 metres (*Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*[2] ii. 113).

[4] Aristot. *meteor.* i. 14. 352 b 30 ff.

[5] Eratosthenes *ap.* Strab. 49.

[6] Eratosthenes *ap.* Strab. 50.

white salt: it was dug up in large crystals, packed in palm-baskets, and taken by certain priests of *Ammon* to Egypt as a gift for the Persian king or other favoured individual, being in request for sacrificial purposes[1]. It is still an article of export. As to the shells mentioned by Eratosthenes, G. Rohlfs found and figured a variety of fossils, including astroite, ostracite, etc.[2] He also obtained from a running ditch near Siwah a number of small fish, which K. A. Zittel identifies with the *Cyprinodon dispar* discovered by Desor in the artesian wells of Algeria and regards as a relic of the primeval Sahara-lake[3].

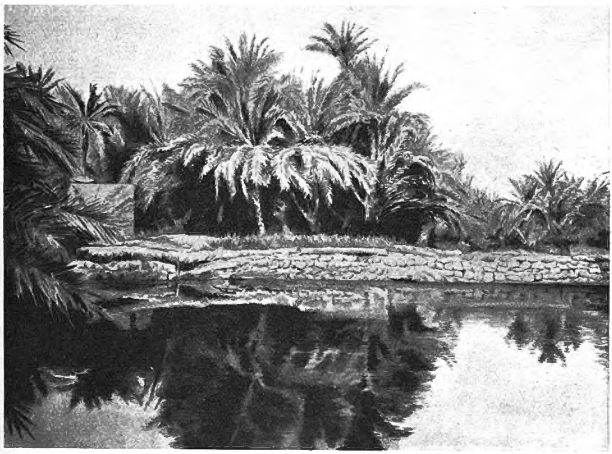


Fig. 289.

Despite the saline character of its soil, the Oasis can boast more than thirty springs of fresh water. Of these the most famous, though no longer the most copious, is *Ain el hammam* (fig. 289)[4]

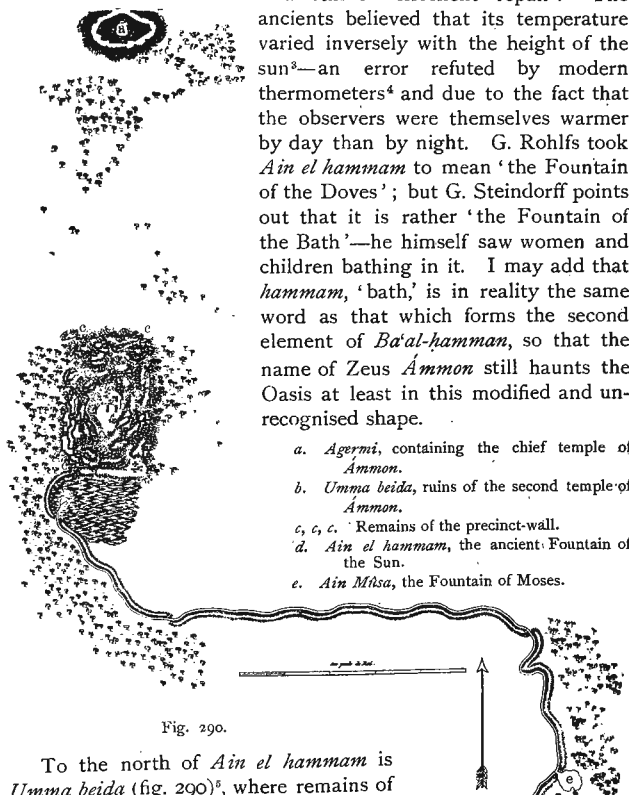
[1] Arrian 3. 4. 5 f., *itin. Alex.* 52 p. 160 Müller, Deinon *Persica frag.* 15 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 92 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 67 A—B, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1500, 2. On *sal Hammoniacus* see further Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 78 f., Ov. *medic. fac. fem.* 94, Colum. 6. 17. 7, Cels. *de med.* 6. 6. 39. The name has passed into the modern pharmacopœia as 'sal ammoniac,' '*Salmiak*,' etc. G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*[2] ii. 121 pl. 4, 2 describes and illustrates a salt-crystal from the Oasis.

[2] *Id. ib.* pls. 3 f.

[3] G. Rohlfs *Drei Monate in der libyschen Wüste* p. 187 n. 1.

[4] G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* pp. 58 fig. 43, 62, 101 f.

traditionally identified with the Fountain of the Sun[1]. It measures about 110 paces in circumference, and is enclosed by an early wall still in excellent repair[2]. The ancients believed that its temperature varied inversely with the height of the sun[3]—an error refuted by modern thermometers[4] and due to the fact that the observers were themselves warmer by day than by night. G. Rohlfs took *Ain el hammam* to mean 'the Fountain of the Doves'; but G. Steindorff points out that it is rather 'the Fountain of the Bath'—he himself saw women and children bathing in it. I may add that *hammam*, 'bath,' is in reality the same word as that which forms the second element of *Ba'al-ḥamman*, so that the name of Zeus *Ámmon* still haunts the Oasis at least in this modified and unrecognised shape.



a. *Agermi*, containing the chief temple of *Ámmon*.
b. *Umma beida*, ruins of the second temple of *Ámmon*.
c, c, c. Remains of the precinct-wall.
d. *Ain el hammam*, the ancient Fountain of the Sun.
e. *Ain Mûsa*, the Fountain of Moses.

Fig. 290.

To the north of *Ain el hammam* is *Umma beida* (fig. 290)[5], where remains of

[1] *Supra* p. 368 f.
[2] G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*[2] ii. 115.
[3] *Supra* p. 368.
[4] The temperature of the water is constant—84° Fahrenheit (Bayle St John), 85° Fahrenheit (J. Hamilton), 29° Centigrade (G. Rohlfs, whose observations were taken at all times of day and night, and G. Steindorff, who made repeated experiments always with the same result).
[5] H. von Minutoli *Reise* etc. p. 372 Atlas pl. 6, 1: *a*=the village *Agermi*, *b*=the

the second or smaller temple of *Ammon*[1] are still to be seen. It is, however, falling more and more into decay. W. G. Browne (1792) saw five of its roofing stones yet in position and one on the ground. He gives the inside dimensions of the building as 32 ft long by 15 ft broad. F. C. Hornemann (1798) estimates the length roughly at 10 to 12 paces, the whole breadth at about 24 ft. But it is to H. von Minutoli (1820) that we owe the first detailed description of the temple[2]. It appears from his account that the precinct, 70 paces long by 66 wide, was surrounded by a wall, of which the great corner-stones were *in situ*. Within this wall were traces of other walls—direction and purpose

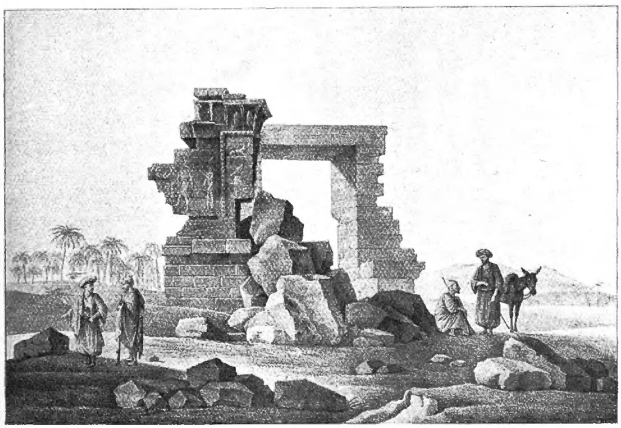


Fig. 291.

uncertain. In the middle of the precinct rose a mass of limestone rock, artificially shaped to serve as a platform or stylobate some 8 ft high. The temple itself was built of limestone blocks, large and small, bonded with mortar. Orientated north and south, it comprised two parts—a *prónaos* and a *naós*. On the north the extant portion of the *prónaos*-wall was not quite 9½ ft in length, and the larger of its side-walls was of about the same size. The temple-doorway was still standing. Minutoli sketched it from the

ruins *Umma beida*, *c* = remains of the precinct-wall, *d* = the Fountain of the Sun, *e* = another spring connected with it and forming a marsh to the south of the ruins.

[1] *Supra* p. 369.

[2] H. von Minutoli *op. cit.* p. 95 ff.

north-east (fig. 291)[1] and from the south with the village *Agermi* in the distance (fig. 292)[2]: he also had copies made of its reliefs, which represent *Ammon* in Egyptian form (fig. 293)[3]. In addition to this main doorway the *pronaos*, to judge from the gaps in its walls, had two side-entrances opposite to each other. The walls of the *naos* to east and west were still 15½ ft long, 4⅜ ft thick, and over 19 ft high[4]. The south wall had completely disappeared, so that the original length of the structure could not be determined. Three of the huge roofing stones, 5 ft broad by 3 ft thick, still spanned the entire breadth of the building (24¼ ft): of

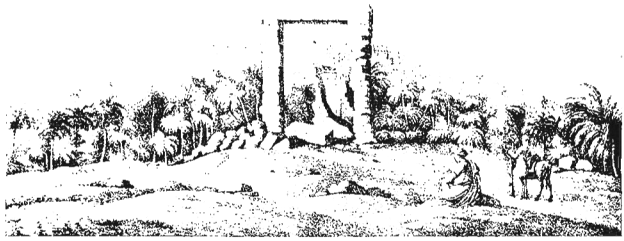


Fig. 292.

the five seen by Browne two had been overthrown through an earthquake in 1808[5]. The whole temple was covered, inside and outside, with reliefs and hieroglyphs. On the exterior and on the larger figures of the interior all traces of colour had vanished. Elsewhere the prevailing green and blue was fairly well preserved. Near the main entry was a ruined vault, which, Minutoli thought, might perhaps have belonged to a secret passage giving access to

[1] H. von Minutoli *op. cit.* Atlas pl. 7, 1.

[2] *Id. ib.* Atlas pl. 7, 2—taken from the hill *Gebel Drara-Enbrik*, where the quarries are situated.

[3] *Id. ib.* Atlas pl. 10, 2=designs on the left of the main entry (pl. 7, 1).

[4] Hornemann put the height at 27 ft: probably, as E. H. Toelken suggests, this included the stylobate of rock.

[5] Cailliaud dates the earthquake in 1811.

the inner shrine. His guides spoke of an underground way from the temple to a hill full of catacombs just beyond the Fountain of the Sun. But the vault could not be explored without pumping apparatus.

G. Rohlfs[1] in 1869 found nothing of the precinct-wall left save the huge blocks forming its south-east angle. He reports that 'the upper part of the limestone rock, either by art or by nature, exhibits great blocks of alabaster, in which are curiously crystallized rosettes in many cases a foot in diameter.' The precise orientation of the temple was 348° with a deviation of 15°. No

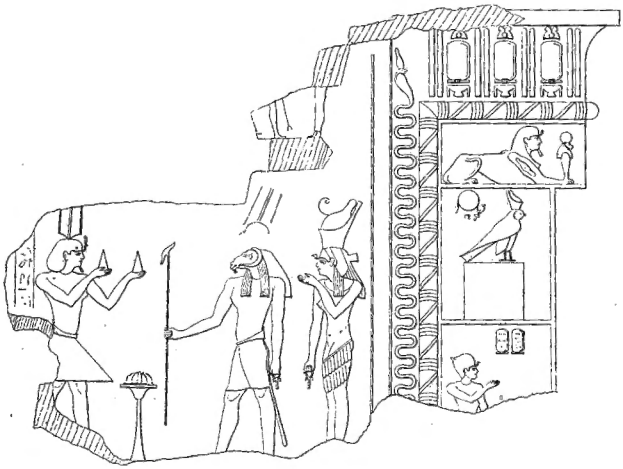


Fig. 293.

subterranean corridors are now to be seen, though the people talk of secret passages to Agermi and Siwah. Rohlfs further notes that the doorway seen by H. von Minutoli (1820) and by Bayle St John (1847), and with it the whole *prónaos*, have gone. He found, however, the side-walls of the *naós* standing to a height of about 25 ft and separated by a space of 16 ft. The extant walls were 14 and 10 ft long respectively, and were roofed in by three colossal monoliths, which on their under surface showed well-preserved eagles (*sic*) with outspread wings. Two roof-stones lay on the ground and fragments of perhaps two others. The outside of the *naós* appeared never to have had any hieroglyphs on it; and

[1] G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*[2] ii. 128 ff.

its reliefs were wholly weather-worn. But the inside still exhibited on the east wall 53 columns of hieroglyphs, of which the middle 47 were complete, and on the west wall 52, with 49 complete. The small blocks of the lower courses and the large blocks of the upper courses were alike covered with them. Below and above them were symbolic designs, between which in many places the original colouring, especially green and blue, could be seen. The best-preserved figure was that of the horned *Ámmon* seated at the south end of the temple to receive the homage of human figures with the heads of jackal and sparrow-hawk. Within the temple was a great block of marble, which on all four sides showed a large human head with ram's horns: this may have been the base on which stood the statue of Zeus *Ámmon*. The head, a hideous fright of twice life-size, doubtless had reference to him[1]. Rohlfs was told by the natives that the temple had been built by *Iskender* (Alexander), the founder of *Skendria* (Alexandreia)[2].

Thirty years later (1899) G. Steindorff[3] was still able to do good service by making an accurate survey of the rapidly dwindling ruin and a transcript of its hieroglyphs. The west side-wall of the inner chamber has now collapsed, and with it the last of the roof-blocks have fallen. These blocks, of which several strew the ground, were decorated on their under surface with two rows of *uraeus*-snakes and vultures, representing Uatchit the goddess of the North and Nekhebet the goddess of the South[4]: the reliefs were enclosed by three bands of inscriptions dealing with the erection of the temple. The east side-wall, though damaged at the top, is standing to a height of 6.12 m. It consists of 26 limestone blocks, which attain a maximum length of 7 m. Its upper part had originally an ornamental frieze, sparrow-hawks sheltering the king's name with their wings, and below a series of sacrificial scenes in which the ruler of the Oasis also took part. Beneath these comes a lengthy ritual text in 51 columns. It speaks of the princely builder of the temple as 'the chief of the foreigners, Un-Amon, the blessed, the son of Nefret-ronpet.' Under the ritual text are reliefs in three registers. The highest tier shows a ram-headed Egyptian deity enthroned beneath a canopy. He has the horns of both Khnemu and Âmen[5], the double plumes, the

[1] G. Rohlfs *ib.*[2] ii. 105 f. R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1858 points out that *Ámmon* is often figured in Egyptian art with four ram's heads.

[2] *Id. ib.*[2] ii. 107.

[3] G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* pp. 60, 62, 118, 119—121 with figs. 69, 70, 71, 72.

[4] Cp. *supra* p. 206.

[5] *Supra* p. 347.

solar disk and *uraeus* on his head. In his right hand he holds a sceptre, in his left the symbol of life, which he extends to a man kneeling before him. The deity is 'Âmen-Râ, the lord of the councillors[1], the great god, who dwells in the Oasis.' His suppliant, Un-Amon, has an ostrich-feather upright on his brow, therein resembling the Timihû or Libyans as depicted in Egyptian art[2]. Behind Âmen-Râ stands his wife Mut, the 'Mother'-goddess, wearing the united crowns of the South and the North. Behind Un-Amon are seen several other deities including the human-headed Âmen-Râ of Thebes (Zeus *Thebaieús*)[3] and his consort Mut. The next tier of reliefs shows a god with the head of a sparrow-hawk, Shu (Herakles)[4] representing the dry atmosphere and his wife the lion-headed Tefnut representing the moisture of the sky, Set (Typhon), the earth-god Seb with his wife the sky-goddess Nut, and another goddess whose name is lost. The lowest tier figures Horos with the head of a sparrow-hawk, Uatchit and Nekhebet, and the ram-headed Khnemu of Elephantine. Steindorff notes that Un-Amon appears to have built this temple in the reign of Neḫtaṛheb (Nektanebes), a king of the thirtieth dynasty, who reigned 378—361 B.C., and points out that it was therefore standing in all its glory at the time of Alexander's visit.

The chief temple of *Ámmon* was however that situated on the Akropolis of the Ammonians, now known as *Agermi*[5]. This limestone hill has on its summit an open *piazza* surrounded by houses, in one of which lives the *sheikh*, the richest man of the whole Oasis. H. von Minutoli caught a glimpse of the temple wall, which crowns the precipitous northern side of the hill, but was prevented from entering the place and did not discover its true character. J. Hamilton made his way into the building, and was the first to report that it is an Egyptian temple with *prónaos* and *naós* complete. He also found near by an ancient well some 50 ft deep. A more detailed account of this temple was given by G. Rohlfs, who recognised in it the great temple of Ammon. He had many obstacles to overcome. Grime, smoke and darkness combined to make investigation difficult. And, worse still, the temple had been largely filled in and blocked by the houses of a crowded modern population. Nevertheless this indefatigable explorer contrived to make out the main outlines of the ancient structure. Its

[1] This title marks Âmen-Râ as a giver of oracles.

[2] C. R. Lepsius *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1846—1856 vi pl. 136, G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 pp. 220 fig. (cp. *ib.* p. 430), 767 fig.

[3] *Supra* p. 347 f. [4] *Supra* p. 348.

[5] This identification was first made by the French consul-general Drovetty in 1820.

prónaos, now roofless, is a chamber 15 ft long by 10 ft broad, with a single great doorway as the main entry on the south side (fig. 294). No hieroglyphs were here to be seen. On the north two large doors of Egyptian design 18 ft high lead into the *naós*. This measures 24 ft long by 18 ft broad and is 18 ft in height. In

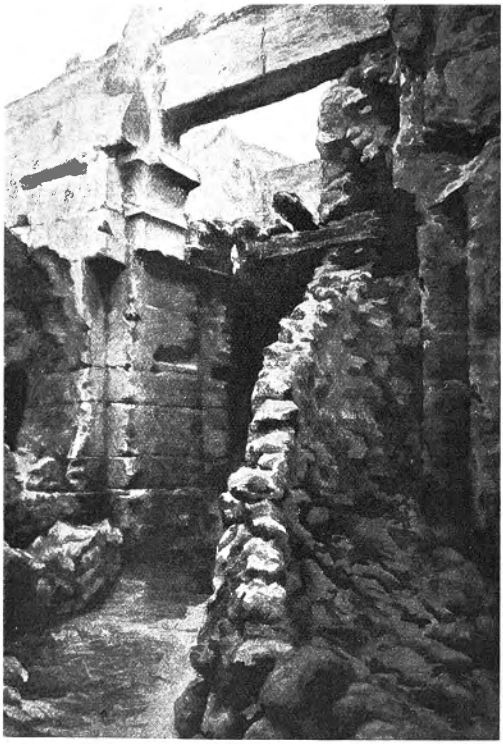


Fig. 294.

it Rohlfs found numerous hieroglyphs and reliefs. With the help of several candles he copied some of them and in due time submitted them to the Egyptologist H. Brugsch. Brugsch reported 'that the texts are written in old Egyptian script, that they refer to a series of male deities which, to judge from their extant crowns,

represent Ámmon and the ram-headed Harschaf the Arsaphes of the Greeks, and lastly that the texts contained speeches of those deities addressing a god named Urtestu that is Lord of the nations. This appellative proves that the king was not a native but must have belonged to a foreign dynasty.' Here again more exact results were obtained by Steindorff[1]. The reliefs are accompanied by inscriptions of the fourth century B.C. On one side of the *naós* stands Set-erdaïs, 'chief of the foreigners, the son of the chief of the foreigners, Retneb,' and pays homage to a row of deities with Ámen himself at their head. The chief, whose figure is much damaged, wears the costume of an Egyptian king but, like the light-skinned Libyans mentioned above, has an ostrich-plume in his hair. On the other side of the *naós* a similar scene shows the real Pharaoh making an offering to the gods. He wears the crown of Lower Egypt; and the name inscribed in his cartouche may be completed as *Khnemma-Re*, the first name of Akoris or Hakoris, a king of the twenty-ninth dynasty, who reigned at Mendes 396—383 B.C. and succeeded in freeing his realm from the Persian yoke. Whether he actually built this temple or merely redecorated it, can hardly be decided.

Rohlfs also discovered in the thickness of the inner long wall on the east side a secret passage 2 ft broad leading to a great spring on the south side of the *piazza*. This spring filled a deep and roomy cutting in the rock. Looking down into it, he could see just above the level of the water a small platform on which the priests' passage ended. To the south of the temple he found a great wall of colossal blocks, but was unable to trace it far. Outside *Agermi* on the south-west are other remains of walls, perhaps those of an outer precinct. The net result of these discoveries was fully to confirm the accuracy of the description cited above from Diodoros[2].

About a furlong to the south of *Agermi* Rohlfs detected the ruins of a Greek temple lying east and west. Its outline could be made out by means of blocks projecting from the soil; but of the upper part of the structure nothing was to be seen beyond the shafts of two fluted columns. The *débris* formed a mound 18 paces long by 14 broad.

Some twelve kilometers to the east of *Agermi* Steindorff[3] found the remains of another building known as *Qasr el-Ghashashâm*.

[1] G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* pp. 60, 118 with figs. 67, 68 (here reproduced as fig. 294).

[2] *Supra* p. 369.

[3] G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* p. 125 f. with fig. 78.

A single wall faced with limestone blocks is *in situ*. But a lintel decorated with the winged solar disk and a few lengths of dentils suffice to prove that here stood a Graeco-Egyptian temple. An adjacent mound yielded Greek sherds and copper coins, while away to the east stretch the relics of a once flourishing Greek community.

Lastly[1], at a distance of 1½ hours to the south-west of Siwah, on the edge of the oasis and the sand dunes, Rohlfs discovered a mound 12 ft square on which are sundry limestone blocks. The name *Bab el medina*, 'the Town-gate,' suggests that here once stood a triumphal arch. A marble ram (fig. 295)[2] obtained from

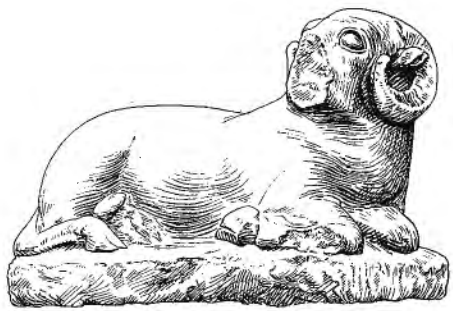


Fig. 295.

this remote spot was brought back in triumph to the Berlin Museum.

ii. The Ram and the Sun in Phrygia. Zeus *Sabázios*.

Another cult in which the ram played an important part was that of the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*.

The extant representations of this deity have been carefully collected and discussed first by C. Blinkenberg and subsequently by Eisele. The latter concludes that, though they may all belong to the Roman imperial age, yet in most cases they imply an older Phrygian type, probably that of some famous cult-image[3]. The

[1] The ruins of *Bled el rum* in the extreme west of the oasis, regarded by W. G. Browne as a Doric temple (!) and first recognised by Bayle St John as a copy of the temple at *Umma beida*, are described by G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*[2] ii. 92 f. and by G. Steindorff *Durch die Libysche Wüste zur Amonsoase* p. 126 f. with figs. 79, 80, 81.

[2] G. Rohlfs *Von Tripolis nach Alexandrien*[2] i. Frontisp. and ii. 137, cp. 106.

[3] Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 242 ff.

series includes bronze votive hands, which sometimes bear the name of *Sabázios*[1] or Zeus *Sabázios*[2], and sometimes represent him seated or standing with his feet on a ram's head (fig. 296)[3]; a few bronze statuettes, which portray him in similar attitudes on the same support (fig. 297)[4]; and a couple of bronze reliefs,

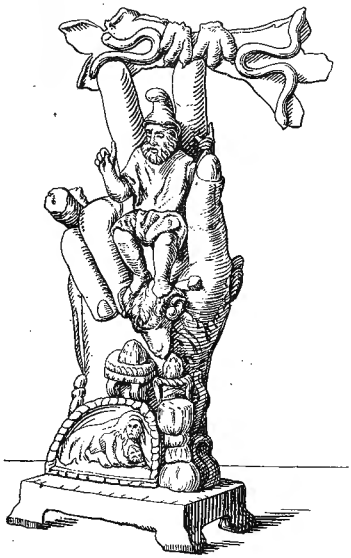


Fig. 296.

Fig. 297.

possibly breastplates worn by priests of *Sabázios*[5], which figure him standing amid a crowd of attributes with his right foot

[1] *E.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 159 f. no. 874 CABAZI[Ω] on a specimen from Lord Londesborough's collection.

[2] *E.g. ib.* p. 377 no. 3216 ΔICABAZIΩ on a specimen from Asia Minor.

[3] *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1767 v (Bronzi i) p. xxxvii, *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1868 xvi pl. 9, 1, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 477 no. 2, an example from Resina. The god wears a Phrygian cap and raises both hands in the attitude of the *benedictio Latina*. For other examples see Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 246 ff.

[4] Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 248 (especially the bronze from Amiens published in the *Rev. Arch.* 1894 ii. 373 f., Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 478 no. 3, and its fellow in Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 289 no. 674 fig. = my fig. 297).

[5] Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 248.

on the ram's head (pl. xxvii). The persistence of the ram as a footstool is most noteworthy. In the art of the Babylonians, Hittites, etc., a god standing on an animal is commonly explained as a superposition of the later on the earlier form of the same divine being. Similarly I should conjecture that the Phrygian *Sabazios* was originally conceived as a ram and remained essentially a ram-god.

But, just as the Egyptian ram-god *Amun* had sacred snakes, and was said to have become a snake to win his bride[a], so the Phrygian ram-god *Sabazios* had sacred puff adders[b] and was himself said to have taken their form for the like purpose. Both animal's figure in his myth, which has come down to us with some rhetorical embellishment in the pages of Clement and other apologists[c]. Their accounts, printed in full below, may be thus

[a] O. Rubensohn *Die Tempel von Abusir* Berlin and Leipzig 1904 p. 90 ff. pl. 2 [illegible] of [illegible] the Nationalmuseet at Copenhagen. In the centre stands *Sabazios* wearing Phrygian costume. His right hand holds a pine-cone; his left, a sceptre tipped with a crescent moon. His right foot rests on a ram's head. Round him are numerous attributes etc., including the thunderbolt and eagle of Zeus. All these are placed in a Bacchic temple, the pediment of which contains the sun-god's chariot between two stars. The upper angles of the plate are occupied by the Dioskouroi with their horses.

[b] See H. Prinz in the *Arch. Anz.* 1910 xxxv. 167 f.

[c] *Supra* p. 358 n. 6.

[a] Diod. 3. 71. 2 f. ἀνὴρ δ' γενόμενος (sc. Aischines) τῇ μητρὶ τελούσῃ τὰς βίβλους ἀνεγίγνωσκεν καὶ τἄλλα συνετέλουν, τὴν μὲν νύκτα νεβρίζων καὶ κρατηρίζων, καὶ καθαίρων τοὺς τελουμένους κἀπομάττων τῷ πηλῷ καὶ τοῖς πιτύροις, καὶ ἀνιστὰς ἀπὸ τοῦ καθαίρεσθαι κελεύειν λέγειν "ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον," ἐπὶ τῷ μηδένα πώποτε τηλικοῦτ' ἄλλον ἀναπεφάνθαι θεόν, ἐν δὲ ταῖς ἡμέραις τοὺς καλοὺς θιάσους ἄγων διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν, τοὺς στεφανουμένους τε ὁμοίως καὶ τὴν λύκην, τοὺς ὄφεις τοὺς παρείας θλίβων καὶ ὑπὲρ τῆς κεφαλῆς αἴρων, καὶ βάκχοις οἷος πάσαι, καὶ ἐπορχούμενος ὑπὸ ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς. ἔξαρχος καὶ προσαγορευόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν τελουμένων. a variant in Harpokr. *s.v.* κιττοφόρος and in schol. Plato, is adopted by Daubé and others) καὶ λικνοφόρος καὶ τοιαῦθ' ὑπὸ τῶν γηραλέων παραγόμενος κόπων, αὐτὸν λικνίσαντα τῶν ἔνθυρα καὶ στρεπτοὺς καὶ νεήλατα, ἐφ' οἷς τίς οὐκ ἂν ἐξ ἀθρόως αὐτὸν ὠδαιμονίσειε καὶ τὴν αὐτοῦ τύχην; On this passage see Eisele *Jb. f. cl. Ph.* 1891 p. 241 ff. and for the letters ep. Theophr. *char.* 16 καὶ ἐὰν ὕδῃ ὄφιν ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, ἐὰν παύσαν. Σαβάζιον καλεῖν, ἐὰν δὲ ἱερεῖον, ἑστανῶται ἡμῖν αὐθὶς ἱδρύσασθαι, Artemid. *oneir.* 2. 12 καὶ ὅταν πίστακον ὄφιν ἀναλώσας σημαίνει, οἷς ἐστιν ἱερός. εἰσὶ δὲ οἵδε· Ζεὺς Σαβάζιος. Ἥλιος. Δηοῦς καὶ Κόρη, Ἑκάτη, Ἀσκληπιός, Ἥρωες,...δρύναι δὲ καὶ πρίναι καὶ φοιτάλη πασαὶ πάντες (cf. 4. 56).

[b] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 15. 1 p. 13, 2 ff. Stählin Δηοῦς δὲ μυστήρια [καὶ] Διὸς πρὸς μητρὸς Δήμητρα ἀρρήτοις τε ἁπλοκαὶ καὶ ὠδαῖς ταῖς οἷόν τι φῶ λοιπόν, μητρὸς ἢ γυναικὸς) τῆς Διονυσ. ἧς δὲ χεὶρ Βλαύτη προπαγμονηθῆναι λέγεται, ... καὶ ἱκετηρίαι Διὸς καὶ πόμα χολῆς καὶ κεφάλωσις καὶ ἀμηχανηγίαι· ταῦτα οἱ Φρύγες τελίσκουσιν Ἄττιδι καὶ Κυβέλῃ καὶ Κορυβάντων ἐπιδειξάτω δ' ἐκ ἅρα ἀποσπάσας ὁ Ζεὺς τοῦ κριοῦ τοὺς διδύμους φέρων ἐν μέσοις ὠρυΐν τοῦ κόλπου τῆς Δηοῦς. τιμωρίαν ψευδῆ τῆς βιαίας συμπλοκῆς ἐκτινυόων, ὡς ἔφασαν δῆτα ἐκτικεν. τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μυήσεως ταύτης ἐκ περιουσίας παρατεθέντα οἶδ' ὅτι κατήκει γέλωτα καὶ μὴ γελασάντων ἡμῶν διὰ τοὺς ἐλέγχους· "ἔκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκεφορφόρησα· ὑπὸ τῶν παστῶν ὑπέδυν." ταῦτα οὐχ ὕβρει τὰ σύμβολα; ὦ χλιαὶ τὰ μυστήρια· τί δ' εἰ καὶ τὰ ἐπίλοιπα προσθείην· κυεῖ μὲν ἡ Δημήτηρ, ἀνατρέφεται δὲ ἡ Κόρη, μίγνυται δ' αὖθις ὁ γεννήσας οὕτωσι Ζεὺς τῇ Φερεφάττῃ, τῇ ἰδίᾳ θυγατρί, μετὰ τὴν

Zeus *Sabázios* on a bronze relief at Copenhagen.

See page 392 n. 1.

summarised:—Zeus, desiring to consort with his own mother Deo or Demeter, turned himself into a bull and so compassed his end.

μητέρα τὴν Δηώ, ἐκλαθόμενος τοῦ προτέρου μύσους [πατὴρ καὶ φθορεὺς κόρης ὁ Ζεύς] καὶ μίγνυται δράκων γενόμενος, ὃς ἦν, ἐλεγχθείς. Σαβαζίων γοῦν μυστηρίων σύμβολον τοῖς μυουμένοις·ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός· δράκων δέ ἐστιν οὗτος, διελκόμενος τοῦ κόλπου τῶν τελουμένων, ἔλεγχος ἀκρασίας Διός. κνεῖ καὶ ἡ Φερέφαττα παῖδα ταυρόμορφον· ἀμέλει, φησί τις ποιητὴς εἰδωλικός,

ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ πατὴρ ταύρου δράκων.
ἐν ὄρει τὸ κρύφιον, βουκόλος, τὸ κέντρον (*κέντριον*? Dieterich),

βουκολικόν, οἶμαι, κέντρον τὸν νάρθηκα ἐπικαλῶν, ὃν δὴ ἀναστέφουσιν οἱ βάκχοι.

Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20 f. erat nobis consilium praeterire, praetervehi illa etiam mysteria, quibus Phrygia initiatur atque omnis gens illa, nisi nomen interpositum his Iovis prohiberet nos strictim iniurias eius ignominiasque transire...quondam Diespiter, inquiunt, cum in Cererem (*inicere* codd.: *inire* Scaliger) suam matrem libidinibus improbis atque inconcessis cupiditatibus aestuaret, (nam genetrix haec Iovis regionis eius ab accolis traditur) neque tamen auderet id quod procaci appetitione conceperat apertissima vi petere, ingeniosas comminiscitur captiones, quibus nihil tale metuentem castitate imminueret genetricem: fit ex deo taurus et sub pecoris specie subsessoris animum atque audaciam celans in securam et nesciam repentina immittitur vi furens, agit incestius (v. l. *incestus*) res suas et prodita per libidinem fraude intellectus et cognitus evolat: ardescit furiis atque indignationibus mater, spumat; anhelat, exaestuat, nec fremitum continere tempestatemque irarum valens ex continua passione Brimo (*primo* codd.) deinceps ut appellaretur adsumpsit, neque alia cordi est res ei, quam ut (*quin* codd.) audaciam filii poenis quibus potis est persequatur. Iuppiter satagit fractus metu nec quibus remediis leniat violatae animos reperit. fundit preces et supplicat: obstructae sunt dolentes (v. l. *dolentis*) aures. adlegatur deorum universus ordo: nullius auctoritas tanta est ut audiatur; ad postremum filius vias satisfactionis inquirens comminiscitur remedium tale. arietem nobilem bene grandibus cum testiculis deligit, exsecat hos ipse et lanato exuit ex folliculi tegmine. accedens maerens et summissus ad matrem et, tamquam ipse sententia condemnasset se sua, in gremium proiicit et facit (*iacit* codd.) hos eius. virilitate pignoris visa sumit animum mitiorem et concepti fetus revocatur ad curam: parit mensem post decimum luculenti filiam corporis, quam aetas mortalium consequens modo Liberam, modo Proserpinam nuncupavit. quam cum verveceus (*virviriceus* codd.) Iuppiter bene validam, floridam et suci esse conspiceret plenioris, oblitus paulo ante quid malorum et sceleris esset adgressus et temeritatis quantum, redit ad priores actus, et quia nefarium videbatur satis patrem cum filia comminus uxoria coniugatione misceri, in draconis terribilem formam migrat, ingentibus spiris pavefactam colligat virginem et sub obtentu fero mollissimis ludit atque adulatur amplexibus. fit ut et ipsa de semine fortissimi compleatur Iovis, sed non eadem condicione qua mater: nam illa filiam reddidit liniamentis descriptam suis, at ex partu virginis tauri species (*specie* codd.) fusa, Iovialis monumenta pellaciae. auctorem aliquis desiderabit rei: tum illum citabimus Tarentinum notumque senarium, quem antiquitas canit dicens: *taurus draconem genuit, et taurum draco.* ipsa novissime sacra et ritus initiationis ipsius, quibus Sebadiis nomen est, testimonio esse poterunt veritati, in quibus aureus coluber in sinum demittitur (*dimittitur* codd.) consecratis et eximitur rursus ab inferioribus partibus atque imis. *Id. ib.* 5. 37 Iuppiter, inquit, in taurum versus concubitum matris suae Cereris adpetivit: ut expositum supra est, nominibus his tellus et labens pluvia nuncupatur. legem allegoricam video tenebrosis ambiguitatibus explicatam. irata Ceres est et exarsit et arietis proles pro poena atque ultione suscepit. hoc iterum video communibus in proloquiis promptum; nam et ira et testes, satisfactio, suis in moribus et condicionibus dicta sunt. quid ergo hic accidit, ut ab Iove, qui pluvia, et ab Cerere, quae appellata est terra, res transiret ad verum Iovem atque ad rerum simplicissimam dictionem?

Firm. Mat. 10 Sebazium colentes Iovem anguem, cum initiant (v. l. *initiantur*), per

Deo in fierce anger took the title *Brimó*, 'the Wrathful,' and would not be appeased till Zeus came before her in a mood of mock-repentance, pretended to have made a eunuch of himself, and in proof of his words flung the severed parts into her lap. In reality they were those of a fine ram, which he had gelded. The issue of his union with Deo was Kore or Pherephatta, with whom he again had intercourse under the form of a monstrous snake. This time the offspring was shaped like a bull. Hence the well-known line:

Bull begat Snake, Snake begat Bull.

Hence too the practice of those who were initiated into the rites of Zeus *Sabázios* by passing a golden adder through their bosoms and out below.

In this crude, not to say repulsive, tale we have beyond a doubt the aetiological myth of the *Sabázios*-cult. The devotees of the great mother-goddess sacrificed to her their own virility or, failing that, the virility of a ram[1]. Why they did so, we do not know for certain. Dr Farnell[2] suggests that they wished to assimilate themselves to her and took this desperate way of becoming feminine, or at least non-masculine. But this explanation hardly fits all the facts[3]. More probably the worshippers sought to increase the

sinum ducunt, *id.* 26. 1 sequitur adhuc aliud symbolum, quod pro magno miserorum hominum credulis auribus traditur: *ταῦρος δράκοντος καὶ ταύρου δράκων* (*δράκων ταύρου* Wower) *πατήρ*.

[1] H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 192: 'Diese Erzählung sieht aus wie das *αἴτιον* für Ablösung der Selbstentmannung durch ein Widderopfer (*criobolium*?).' So too Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[2] p. 224 n. 1.

[2] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 300 f. (of the Γάλλοι): 'Even the self-mutilation necessary for the attainment of the status of the eunuch-priest may have arisen from the ecstatic craving to assimilate oneself to the goddess and to charge oneself with her power, the female dress being thereupon assumed to complete the transformation.' Cp. also W. Leonhard *Hettiter und Amazonen* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 131 ff.

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1545 n. 5 is content to explain the rite as primarily 'eine Poenitenz' and cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 7 mammas sibi demetit Galli filia pellicis, *ib.* 5. 13 quid admiserat Gallus, quid pellicis filia, ut ille se viro, haec mammarum honestate privaret? But this aetiological tale is equally intelligible on Farnell's showing (assimilation to the Amazonian goddess). Nor can we lay stress on the view of the Naassenes (Ophites) that the emasculated Attis symbolises the soul freed from sensuality (Hippolyt. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 99 Miller). Other practices of the Γάλλοι Gruppe regards as vices arising 'aus den niedrigsten Motiven.' Yet even these might be covered by Farnell's charitable hypothesis.

E.g. the deposition of the *genitalia* in the 'chambers' of Rhea *Lobríne* (schol. Nik. *alex.* 8 *Λοβρίνης θαλάμαι* (*θαλάμοι codd.*)· *τόποι ἱεροὶ ὑπόγειοι, ἀνακείμενοι τῇ Ῥέᾳ, ὅπου ἐκτεμνόμενοι τὰ μήδεα κατετίθεντο οἱ τῷ Ἄττει καὶ τῇ Ῥέᾳ λατρεύοντες. εἰσὶ δὲ τὰ Λόβρινα ὄρη Φρυγίας ἢ τόπος Κυζίκου· κ.τ.λ.*). On Mt. Lobrinon see F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 219. Apparently the relics were buried in the ground and *stêlai*,

fertilising powers of their goddess by thus thrusting upon her their own fertility. As Dr Frazer[1] has argued *à propos* of eunuch priests in the service of Asiatic goddesses generally,—'These feminine deities required to receive from their male ministers, who personated the divine lovers, the means of discharging their beneficent functions: they had themselves to be impregnated by the life-giving energy before they could transmit it to the world.' Further reflexion will, I think, show that herein lies the true explanation of the Phrygian rite. *Sabázios*-mystics referred their action to the example of the god—'this wether-sheep Zeus' (*verveceus Iuppiter*), as Arnobius contemptuously calls him[2]. Nay more, they were believed to have borrowed his name and to have been dubbed *Saboí* because he was *Sabós*[3]. It is therefore hard to resist the

possibly of phallic form, erected over them: this I infer from Hesych. θαλάμαι· στῆλαι ἐπικείμεναι τοῖς αἰδοίοις τῶν ἀποκόπων. See further the passages quoted by Hepding *op. cit.* p. 164. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1545 f. justly observes that such practices attest 'die alte Vorstellung von der Ehe mit der Göttin.'

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[2] p. 224.

[2] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 21 cited *supra* p. 392 n. 5 *med.*

A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 414 gives an interesting parallel from the legend of Ahalyâ in the *Râmâyaṇam*: 'It is said in this passage that the god Indras was one day condemned to lose his testicles by the malediction of the rishis Gâutamas, with whose wife, Ahalyâ, he had committed adultery. The gods, moved to pity, took the testicles of a ram and gave them to Indras, who was therefore called Meshâṇḍas; on this account, says the Râmâyaṇam, the Pitaras feed on wethers, and not on rams, in funeral oblations.' Indras is himself called a ram in a Vedic hymn (*Rig-veda* 1. 51. 1 cited *ib.* i. 403).

[3] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαβοὺς καὶ Σαβὰς καὶ Σαβαζίους· τοὺς βακχεύοντας τῷ Σαβαζίῳ· τὸ γὰρ σαβάζειν τῷ θεῷ τοῦτο· ὑπὸ δέ τινων ὁ Διόνυσος Σαβὸς καλεῖται, Harpokr. *s.v.* Σαβοί· Δημοσθένης ὑπὲρ Κτησιφῶντος (Dem. *de cor.* 260 εὐοῖ σαβοῖ). οἱ μὲν Σαβοὺς λέγεσθαι τοὺς τελουμένους τῷ Σαβαζίῳ, τουτέστι τῷ Διονύσῳ, καθάπερ τοὺς τῷ Βάκχῳ Βάκχους. τὸν δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι Σαβάζιον καὶ Διόνυσόν φασιν ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀμφίθεος δευτέρῳ περὶ Ἡρακλείας (Nymphis *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 14 Müller)). οὕτω δέ φασι καὶ τοὺς Ἕλληνάς τινες τοὺς Βάκχους Σαβοὺς καλεῖν. Μνασέας δὲ ὁ Παταρεὺς υἱὸν εἶναί φησι τοῦ Διονύσου Σαβάζιον (*frag.* 36 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 155 Müller)), Souid. *s.v.* Σαβάζιος· ὁ αὐτός ἐστι τῷ Διονύσῳ. ἔτυχε δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας ταύτης παρὰ τὸν γινόμενον περὶ αὐτὸν θειασμόν. τὸ γὰρ εὐάζειν οἱ βάρβαροι σαβάζειν φασίν. ὅθεν καὶ τῶν Ἑλλήνων τινὲς ἀκολουθοῦντες τὸν εὐασμὸν σαβασμὸν λέγουσιν· ἔνθεν Σαβάζιος ὁ Διόνυσος. Σάβους ἔλεγον καὶ τοὺς ἀφιερωμένους αὐτῷ τόπους καὶ τοὺς Βάκχους αὐτοῦ (cp. *et. mag.* p. 707, 14 ff., schol. Aristoph. *av.* 874 and *vesp.* 9), Hesych. *s.v.* Σαβάζιος· ἐπώνυμον Διονύσου. οἱ δὲ υἱὸν Διονύσου· καὶ Σάβον ἐνίοτε καλοῦσιν αὐτόν. Φρὺξ δὲ ὁ Σαβάζιος, *id. s.v.* σάβοι· βακχεία, *id. s.v.* εὔσαμα·...καὶ σαβαῖοι (σάβαι· οἱ Voss) βακχεύοντες, Orph. *h. Hipp.* 1 f. Ἵππαν κικλήσκω, Βάκχου τροφόν, εὐάδα κούρην, | μυστιπόλον, τελετῆσιν ἀγαλλομένην Σάβου ἀγνοῦ, Plout. *symp.* 4. 6. 2 οἶμαι δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν Σαββάτων ἑορτὴν μὴ παντάπασιν ἀπροσδιόνυσον εἶναι. Σάββους γὰρ καὶ νῦν ἔτι πολλοὶ τοὺς Βάκχους καλοῦσι καὶ ταύτην ἀφιᾶσι τὴν φωνὴν ὅταν ὀργιάζωσι τῷ θεῷ, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1431, 45 f. ἡ Ῥέα. ἣ φασιν ὁ κατεχόμενος ἢ καὶ ἄλλῳ δαίμονι καταχρηστικῶς, κύβηβος ἐλέγετο. ὁ καὶ σάβος καὶ σαβάζιος καὶ βάκχος καὶ βαβάκτης καὶ βάβαξ κ.τ.λ.

It is obvious that such passages would lend themselves indifferently to two opposite views: (*a*) that the *Saboí* were called after *Sabós*, (*b*) that *Sabós* was called after the

conviction that the initiate actually posed as the divine consort of the mother-goddess. Nevertheless, as A. Dieterich has pointed out[1], the culminating rite of *Sabázios* was a sacred marriage in which the god, represented by the golden adder, was drawn through the bosom of his worshipper; and here the worshipper, whether man or woman, is conceived as female, being none other than the bride of the god. We have, then, in this difficult and complex cult to reckon with the amazing fact that the mystic was identified first with the god, and then with the goddess! Two ways of escape from this improbable situation present themselves. Either we must fall back after all on Dr Farnell's explanation; or—and this I should prefer—we must assume that in course of time, perhaps with the shift from mother-kin to father-kin, the ritual had altered. The old rite, in which the initiate played the part of the god, was indeed retained, at least in a mitigated form; but its meaning was forgotten[2], and it was supplemented by a new rite, in which the initiate played the part of the goddess.

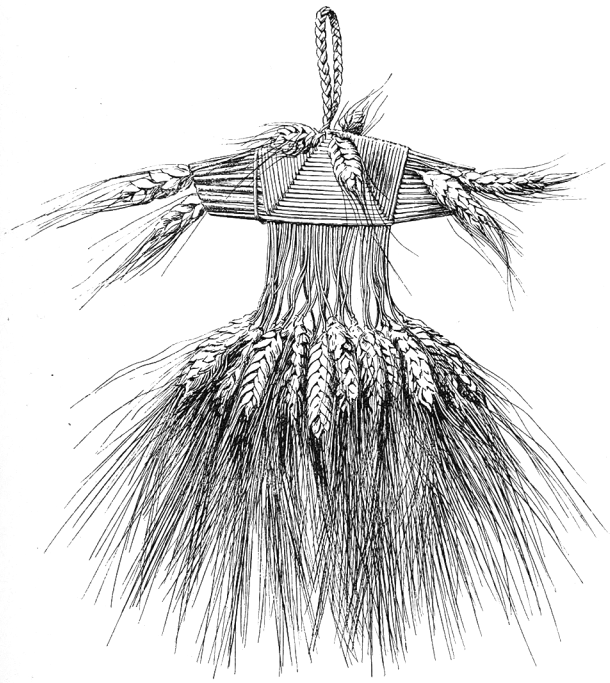
That development of some sort had taken place within the cult seems clear. Originally, as we have said, *Sabázios* appears to have been a ram-god. But in later times it was the snake not the ram that characterised him in the eyes of the multitude. Agreeably with this, the ram figures in the relations of Zeus *Sabázios* to the older goddess Deo or Demeter, the snake in his relations to the younger goddess Kore or Pherephatta. Behind both goddesses looms the venerable form of the earth-mother, from whom they were alike differentiated. For most scholars will certainly accept the well-considered verdict of Dr Farnell, who insists that in Demeter and Kore 'the single personality of the earth-goddess is dualized into

Saboi. Broadly speaking, we may say that the former is the ancient and the latter the modern interpretation.

[1] A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 38 f. (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 98 f.), *id. Mutter Erde* Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 110 ff., *id. Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 123 ff.: 'Der Ritus der durch den Schoss des Mysten gezogenen Schlange kann gar nichts anderes bedeuten sollen als die geschlechtliche Vereinigung des Gottes mit dem Einzuweihenden. Dem Sinne des rituellen Symbols ist es kein Anstoss, dass das Bild real unvorstellbar wird, wenn der Myste ein Mann ist. Dem Gotte gegenüber sind sie weiblich, wie das bei analogen Bräuchen gerade auch in jener späten Zeit die Gnostiker deutlich aussprechen. Der Gott ist immer das Männliche gegenüber dem Menschen, der sich ihm leiblich eint, mag man nun die ψυχή als weiblich in Auffassung und Deutung des Rituals ausdrücklich gemeint haben oder nicht.'

On the snake as phallic see F. L. W. Schwartz *Die altgriechische Schlangengottheiten*[2] Berlin 1897 p. 31, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 866 n. 1, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 123 n. 4. J. Maehly *Die Schlange im Mythus und Cultus der classischen Völker* Basel 1867 p. 26 misses the point.

[2] See Varro *ap.* Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 24, Lucr. 2. 614 ff.



A Corn-maiden from Lesbos.

See page 397 *n.* 4.

two' distinct and clearly correlated personalities[1],' 'pre-Homeric offshoots of Gaia[2].' He further notes the significant fact that Demeter was often worshipped without her daughter, Kore rarely without her mother[3]. It is therefore permissible to suggest that there was a time when the Phrygian cult recognised one goddess not two, the earth-mother rather than the corn-mother and corn-daughter. Whatever the origin of the corn-daughter[4], she may well have been later than the earliest form of the said cult.

I am therefore emboldened to hazard the provisional guess that *ab initio* the Phrygians worshipped a fertilising sky-father and a fertilised earth-mother; that originally and for long the goddess was of more importance than the god, being duplicated for the sake of fuller recognition; but that ultimately their positions came

[1] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 114.

[2] *Id. ib.* iii. 119.

[3] *Id. ib.* iii. 117.

[4] Dr F. B. Jevons in his able book *An Introduction to the History of Religion* London 1896 p. 364 f. suggested that in the primitive rites of Eleusis a sheaf of ripe corn was dressed up as an old woman (cp. *h. Dem.* 101 γρηΐ παλαιγενέϊ ἐναλίγκιος of Demeter) and preserved from harvest to seed-time as the Corn-mother, and that the green blade or young plant when it appeared above ground was known as the Corn-maiden. He argued *ib.* p. 239 that rites appropriate to Kore were celebrated in the spring, rites appropriate to Demeter later in the year. Dr J. G. Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 216 f. advocates a similar view: 'It is probable, therefore, that Demeter and Proserpine, those stately and beautiful figures of Greek mythology, grew out of the same simple beliefs and practices which still prevail among our modern peasantry, and that they were represented by rude dolls made out of the yellow sheaves on many a harvest-field long before their breathing images were wrought in bronze and marble by the master hands of Phidias and Praxiteles. A reminiscence of that olden time—a scent, so to say, of the harvest-field—lingered to the last in the title of the Maiden (*Kore*) by which Proserpine was commonly known. Thus if the prototype of Demeter is the Corn-mother of Germany, the prototype of Proserpine is the harvest-Maiden, which, autumn after autumn, is still made from the last sheaf on the Braes of Balquhidder. Indeed if we knew more about the peasant-farmers of ancient Greece we should probably find that even in classical times they continued annually to fashion their Corn-mothers (Demeters) and Maidens (Proserpines) out of the ripe corn on the harvest-fields.'

These opinions gain much in probability from a discovery made by my friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse, who obtained in Lesbos an actual Corn-maiden of strikingly human shape. By his kind permission I have had a drawing (pl. xxviii) made from the original, now deposited by the Folk-Lore Society in the ethnographical collection at Cambridge. Dr Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 147 pl. 1 writes: 'The *first ears* are plaited into a curious shape; they call it *ψάθα*, or "mat," and no one could (or would) tell me any more about it. But its shape strikes me as very odd, and it bears no small resemblance to a human figure in a cloak, with arms outstretched....In some of them the neck is adorned with a necklace of beads. I saw these in all parts of Lesbos, always with the same shape; and also on the mainland of Greece, where they called it *σιτάρι* ("corn"). Is it fanciful to imagine that this is really a corn-baby? It ought, however, to be made of the last sheaf, not the first.' The scruple here expressed by Dr Rouse is surely of little import. If Kore was the *young* corn as distinguished from the old corn, her puppet might well be made of the first ears.

to be equalised or even reversed. Certain wiseacres in antiquity, venturing to expound the true inwards of the *Sabázios*-mysteries, asserted that Zeus was the rain and Demeter the earth[1]. Arnobius takes them to task; but perhaps they were not after all so utterly misguided. Whether the bull-shaped offspring of the sky-father and the earth-mother was from the first a sharer in their cult is a question that may for the moment be postponed. There is no *à priori* reason to doubt it.

The Sabazian myth has much in common with Orphic tradition. For Orpheus too represented Zeus as united successively with his mother Rhea or Demeter and his daughter Phersephone or Kore. Rhea, to avoid him, turned into a snake. Thereupon he became another snake, and twined about her with the so-called Heraclean knot, which is symbolised by the *caduceus* of Hermes. Rhea bore to him Phersephone, a horned child with four eyes, two in their normal position, two on the forehead, and an extra face on the back of her neck. Zeus, again taking the form of a snake, consorted with his own monstrous progeny. The child born of this second union was Dionysos[2], *i.e.* the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus[3]. Nonnos in Orphic vein describes him as a horned infant, who mounted the throne of Zeus himself and sat there grasping the thunderbolt in his tiny hand. But Hera soon roused the Titans to smear their faces with gypsum and to attack him as he was looking in a mirror. In his efforts to escape he took the forms of a youthful Zeus brandishing the *aigís*, an aged Kronos dropping rain, a babe of shifting shape, a wildly excited youth (*koûros*), a lion, a horse, a horned snake, a tiger, and a bull; in which final disguise he was cut to pieces by the knives of the Titans[4]. Elsewhere the same poet makes Dionysos himself recall his former exaltation:

> 'Grant to my love one grace, o Phrygian Zeus.
> Rhea my nurse told me while yet a child
> How Zagreus—Dionysos long ago—
> Once lisped thy name, and lo, thou gavest him

[1] *Supra* p. 392 n. 5 *sub fin.*

[2] Orph. *frag.* 41 Abel *ap.* Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 20 p. 22 f. Schwartz, cp. Orph. *frag.* 47 Abel *ap.* Athenag. *op. cit.* 32 p. 42 Schwartz and Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 6.

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* Ζαγρεύς, *et. mag.* p. 406, 46 f. For a full collection of authorities see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 547 ff.

[4] Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 155 ff. Orphic influence again underlies Nonnos's statement (*Dion.* 7. 309 ff.) that Zeus, when he wooed and won Semele at Thebes, became successively a human form with bull's horns, a lion, a leopard, and a snake. The *ménagerie* was simultaneous, not successive, in the case of the Orphic Phanes, who combined in his own person the heads of rams, bulls, a snake and a lion (*supra* p. 92).

> The lightning, thine own fiery shaft, and with it
> The roaring thunder and the rushing drops.
> So, still a babe, he was a second Zeus
> And sent the rain-storm[1].'

With the details of this myth and their ritual implications we are not here concerned. But in passing we note one point of importance: Dionysos was conceived as in some sense Zeus reborn[2]. This squares with the *Sabázios*-myth, in which the tauriform offspring of Kore duplicated the tauriform Zeus.

It would seem, then, that the myth of the Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios* and the myth of the Orphic Zeus were closely related but not identical. Reciprocal influence between the kindred cults is probable enough; and a certain assimilation to that of Attis will not be denied[3]. But, broadly speaking, we may claim that the parallelism of the Phrygian and Orphic traditions is best explained on the assumption that both alike were rooted in the religion of the old Thraco-Phrygian stock. Nor need we hesitate to describe the early Thraco-Phrygian god as Zeus, provided that we recognise once more the Dionysiac character of his cult. For we have already found evidence in north-eastern Phrygia of a very primitive

[1] *Id. ib.* 10. 292 ff., cp. 39. 71 ff.

[2] This made it easy for the systematisers to identify Dionysos, son of Zeus by Phersephone, with *Sabázios*: Diod. 4. 4 *μυθολογοῦσι δέ τινες καὶ ἕτερον Διόνυσον γεγονέναι πολὺ τοῖς χρόνοις προτεροῦντα τούτου. φασὶ γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Φερσεφόνης Διόνυσον γενέσθαι τὸν ὑπό τινων Σαβάζιον ὀνομαζόμενον, οὗ τήν τε γένεσιν καὶ τὰς θυσίας καὶ τιμὰς νυκτερινὰς καὶ κρυφίους παρεισάγουσι διὰ τὴν αἰσχύνην τὴν ἐκ τῆς συνουσίας ἐπακολουθοῦσαν. λέγουσι δ' αὐτὸν ἀγχινοίᾳ διενεγκεῖν, καὶ πρῶτον ἐπιχειρῆσαι βοῦς ζευγνύειν καὶ διὰ τούτων τὸν σπόρον τῶν καρπῶν ἐπιτελεῖν· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ καὶ κερατίαν αὐτὸν παρεισάγουσι*, cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 51 p. 106, 21 ff. Wünsch.

[3] Farnell *Cults of Gk States* v. 185, Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 261 f.

Attis is identified with the Phrygian Zeus by Psell. *περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν δικῶν* p. 109 Boissonade *ἔστι γὰρ ὁ μὲν ἄττις* (Dem. *de cor.* 260) *τῇ φρυγίᾳ γλώσσῃ ὁ Ζεύς, τὸ δὲ ὖῆς εὐκτικὸν ἐστι, τὸ δὲ σάβα ἐθνικόν· ὡς τὴν ὅλην εὐχὴν τοιαύτην εἶναι· "ὖες ὦ ζεῦ σαβάζιε ὖὶς."* Similarly Arrian. *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 592 Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 565, 4 ff. *ἐνταῦθα δὲ χρήσιμον καὶ τὸ τοῦ Ἀρριανοῦ εἰπόντος ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς ὅτι ἀνιόντες εἰς τὰ ἄκρα τῶν ὀρῶν Βιθυνοὶ ἐκάλουν Πάπαν τὸν Δία καὶ Ἄττιν τὸν αὐτόν.* The statement that Attis was called *Πάπας* is borne out by Diod. 3. 58 *τὸν προσαγορευόμενον μὲν Ἄττιν ὕστερον δ' ἐπικληθέντα Πάπαν*, Hippolyt. *ref. haeres.* 5. 9 p. 118 f., Miller *Ἄττι· σὲ καὶ|λοῦσι ...* | *οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν κ.τ.λ.*, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 766 (Aquileia) *Atte Papa* etc.: see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2180, H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 112 n. 5. That the Phrygian Zeus too was Πάπας appears from inscriptions: *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 260 no. 12 near Nakoleia *Διὶ Παπᾷ | εὐχήν*, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3817 *Πα|πίᾳ Διὶ Σωτῆ|ρι εὐχὴν καὶ | Ἡρακλῆ Ἀνικ|ήτ[ῳ]*.

In the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 I drew attention to these equations, and suggested that *Ἄττις* and *Πάπας* alike meant 'Father,' the one being related to *ἄττα*, the other to *πάππα*. The Phrygian Zeus *Brontôn* was entitled *Πατήρ* (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 f., *infra* ch. ii § 4 (d)). See further Hepding *op. cit.* p. 187 f.

Zeus, whose Dionysiac nature was clear from his altar adorned with two grape-bunches and a plough[1]. Moreover, the name *Sabázios* is, as all admit, a mere ethnic[2]. The *Sáboi* are called by Eustathios Thracians[3], by Stephanos Phrygians[4]. Their god *Sábos* or *Sabázios* was a Thraco-Phrygian Zeus, whose *avatar* was a Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos.

Finally Zeus *Sabázios* came to be identified with the sun[5]. An inscription from Nikopolis in Moesia records a dedication to 'Zeus Helios the Mighty Lord, the Holy Sebazios[6].' And in Thrace on the hill Zilmissos there was a circular hypaethral temple of *Sol Liber Sebadius*, the Dionysiac form of the same deity[7].

[1] *Supra* p. 4. Note also Hesych. *s.v.* Βαγαῖος·...ἢ Ζεὺς Φρύγιος. P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 81 'von *baga, gr. φᾶγος' showed that this epithet implied an early 'Oak'-god: cp. *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79.

[2] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 65 f. 'Σάος oder Σάον Berg auf Samothrake, Σάος und Σαόννησος die Insel selbst. Der thrakisch-phrygische Gott, der von den Griechen meist Σάβος, Σαβάζιος genannt wurde, hiess eigentlich Σάρος Σαράδιος, was aus der phrygischen Inschrift von Blaundos Διὶ Σααζίωι [Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 236, 243 fig. 2] und σανάδαι,' σαῦδοι Hesych, wie nach Amerias die Silenen bei den Makedonen hiessen, zweifellos, erwiesen wird. Σάβοι, richtiger demnach σάροι "hiessen auch seine (des Gottes) Heiligthümer und die Geweiheten" [Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 701 n. 1]. Damit ist der Sinn der Namen Σάος, Σαό-ννησος völlig aufgehellt; auch die thrakischen Σάϊοι, mit denen Archilochos zu kämpfen hatte, mögen nach dem Gotte Σάϊος benannt sein,' *id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 46 f. 'Auf die thrakische Herkunft des Dionysos-Dienstes weisen Namen und Beinamen des Gottes. Διόνυσος ist bloss gräzisiert, die richtige Form ist Δευ- Δεο-. Diese finden wir in Δενάδαι· οἱ Σάιοι ὑπ' Ἰλλυρίων Hesych...die Δενάδαι, Verehrer des Gottes Δευ-, hiessen bei den Illyriern die thrakischen Diener des Gottes *Savos*. Von den Thrakern überkamen zunächst die Makedonen den Dienst des *Savos*, *Savadios*; darauf zielt die Glosse Hesychs σανᾶδαι, σαῦδοι· Ἀμερίας τοὺς σειληνοὺς οὕτω καλεῖσθαί φησιν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. Die richtige Form wird wohl σανάδοι sein.' O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 6 (cp. p. 97 f.): 'Die Σανάδαι lassen sich nicht trennen von dem Namen des thrakisch-phrygischen Gottes Σανάζιος (inschriftlich), Σαβάζιος, *Sabadios*, der als Vegetationsgott dem Dionysos am nächsten stand und gleich diesem durch orgiastische Feste gefeiert wurde (Strabo x 471).'

[3] Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 1069 ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ἔθνος Θρᾳκικὸν Σάβοι, ὅπερ τοὺς Βάκχους δηλοῖ Φρυγίᾳ διαλέκτῳ.

[4] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάβοι· ἔθνος Φρυγίας. λέγονται καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ Βάκχοι παρὰ Φρυξί.

[5] P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 101 holds that *Sabázios* as a sun-god was the Phrygian counterpart of Men the moon-god, with whom he was certainly brought into connexion (see Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 262 and especially Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 41, 10 f. Diehl παρειλήφαμεν καὶ παρὰ Φρυξὶ Μῆνα Σαβάζιον ὑμνούμενον [καὶ] ἐν μέσαις ταῖς τοῦ Σαβαζίου τελεταῖς). But Eisele *loc. cit.* p. 255 views the solar aspect of *Sabázios* as due to Orphic influence in the case of the Thracian cult and perhaps to late solar monotheism in the case of the Moesian inscription.

[6] *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 241 no. 6 an altar from Nikopolis (*Jeni-Nikup*) inscribed [υἱῷ θεᾶς] Ἰδείας μεγάλης [μητρ]ο[ς] Διὶ Ἡλίῳ μεγά[λῳ κυρί]ῳ Σεβαζίῳ ἁγ[ίῳ]. For the cult-title Ἁγίῳ cp. the solar Zeus Ἅγιος at Tripolis (*supra* p. 192).

[7] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 18. 1 item in Thracia eundem haberi solem atque Liberum accipimus, quem illi Sebadium nuncupantes magnifica religione celebrant, ut Alexander

If the foregoing considerations are well founded, it follows that there was no small resemblance between Zeus *Ámmon* and Zeus *Sabázios*. In both cases a ram-god developed into a sun-god. In both the deity became a snake. The Libyan Zeus had his sacred oak[1]: the Phrygian Zeus as *Bagaîos* was an oak-god[2]. Zeus *Ámmon* had a goddess to wife, possibly Mother Earth herself[3], and begat a youthful *Ámmon* most probably identified with the Libyan Dionysos[4]. Zeus *Sabázios* consorted with Demeter and Kore, perhaps before them with the earth-mother, and likewise begat a Phrygian Dionysos.

Now there are strong reasons for believing that the Graeco-Libyans were near akin to the Thraco-Phrygians, and that both sets of tribes had relatives among the early Cretans[5]. It is therefore of interest to find in Crete, the half-way house between them, sundry traces of the same worship. We do not, it is true, get here any 'Minoan' evidence of Zeus as a ram-god, unless indeed we may see with Sir Arthur Evans in a clay sealing from the palace at Knossos (fig. 298)[6] the infant Zeus nursed by a horned sheep. But observe that in Crete the ram gave place to other animals of a like significance, especially to the *agrimi* or wild-goat and to the bull[7].

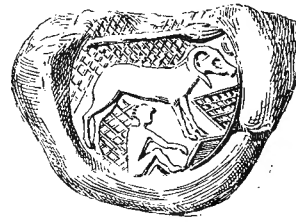


Fig. 298.

scribit: eique deo in colle Zilmisso aedes dicata est specie rotunda, cuius medium interpatet tectum. rotunditas aedis monstrat huiusce sideris speciem: summoque tecto lumen admittitur, ut appareat solem cuncta vertice summo lustrare lucis inmissu, et quia oriente eo universa patefiunt. Perhaps we may compare the story of Perdikkas in Hdt. 8. 137 f. W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 lx. 358 derived *Zilmissos* from ξîλα, 'wine' (Hesych. *s.v.* ζîλαι· ὁ οἶνος παρὰ Θρᾳξί with M. Schmidt's note *ad loc.*).

[1] *Supra* p. 364 ff.

[2] *Supra* p. 400 n. 1.

[3] *Supra* p. 370.

[4] *Supra* p. 371 ff.

[5] The evidence is persuasively marshalled by Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 372 ff. ('Crete the Meeting-point of Thraco-Phrygian and Libyan Elements'). For a review of recent research in the same direction see K. Penka *Die vorhellenische Bevölkerung Griechenlands* Hildburghausen 1911.

[6] A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 129 fig. 17 and in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 88 fig. 60. The sealing is enlarged (⅔).

[7] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xvi.

At Gortyna there appears to have been an annual festival (Τίσυροι), in which Zeus as a Satyr (Τίσυρος) consorted with the earth-goddess Europe (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xviii). Now, according to Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 1 prooem., Laconum lingua Tityrus dicitur aries

The well-known fragment of Euripides' *Cretans*[1] suffices to prove that the mysteries of Zeus *Idaîos*, the mountain-mother, and Zagreus were already connected with that island in the fifth century B.C. Not improbably they had been celebrated there from time immemorial. Silver coins of Priansos in Crete from *c.* 430 B.C. onwards represent a goddess enthroned beneath a palm-tree, who caresses with her hand the head of a great snake (fig. 299)[2]. F. Lenormant[3], Prof. P. Gardner[4] and Mr W. Wroth[5] have made out a strong case for regarding this goddess as Persephone the mother of Zagreus. J. N. Svoronos would see in her Hygieia[6]. Dr B. V. Head cautiously observes: 'The goddess fondling the serpent may be Persephone approached by Zeus in the likeness of a serpent..., or possibly Hygieia[7].' Whatever her name, she could doubtless claim kinship with the snake-goddess of Knossos, Gournia, and Palaikastro[8]. Other silver coins, probably struck at

Fig. 299.

Fig. 300.

Fig. 301.

Gortyna between 66 and 31 B.C., belong to the large series of *kistophóroi*. This quasi-federal currency had on its obverse side

maior qui gregem anteire consuevit: sicut etiam in comoediis invenitur. And *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1388 n. 8 thinks that this use of τίτυρος came to Sparta from Crete. It is therefore just possible that at Gortyna Zeus was originally a ram-god. But?

The head of Zeus *Ammon*, both bearded and beardless, occurs on coins of the Cretan towns Arkadia *c.* 300 B.C. (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 26 f. pl. 2, 16—21, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 12 pl. 3, 7 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 170, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 458) and Knossos *c.* 200—100 B.C. (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 78 f. pl. 6, 24, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 23 pl. 6, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 176 pl. 41, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 462).

[1] Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck[2].

[2] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 295 f. pl. 28, 21—23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 73 pl. 18, 6 (=my fig. 299), 7, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 476.

[3] F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 24.

[4] P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 162 pl. 9, 5.

[5] W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. xxxii f., cp. *Journ. Stud.* 1884 v. 87 f.

[6] J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.*

[7] Head *loc. cit.*

[8] The examples of a 'Minoan' snake-goddess are listed by H. Prinz in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 157 f.

an ivy-wreath enclosing a *kíste* with half-open lid, from which a snake creeps out, and on its reverse two snakes twisted together with a bow-case between them. The Cretan modification of the latter type introduces Zeus with thunderbolt and eagle in place of the bow-case (fig. 300)[1].

The early Cretans are known to have carried their civilisation westwards as far as Sicily and south Italy. They took with them their cult of a god identified with Zeus[2]. For this among other reasons[3] we may accept Eckhel's[4] interpretation of a type occurring on certain small fifth-century silver coins of Selinous (fig. 301)[5]: Persephone seated on a rock, as befits the daughter of a mountain-mother, coquets with Zeus, who approaches her as a bearded snake. The same type is found on a small silver coin of Segesta[6]. No wonder Orphic and Pythagorean doctrines received so ready a welcome in Magna Graecia. It was their old, though not their oldest, home.

iii. The Golden or Purple Ram of the Etruscans and Italians.

Etruscan books declared that a ram born of a remarkable or unusual colour portended universal prosperity to the emperor[7]. Tarquitius, who translated into Latin an Etruscan collection of omens, wrote: 'If a sheep or ram be sprinkled with purple or golden colour, it increases plenty and great prosperity for the prince of the order and clan; the clan continues to have illustrious descendants and becomes more flourishing in them[8].' Hence

[1] J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 334 pl. 32, 1 (Naples), Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 479, 535.

[2] *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ).

[3] See Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter-Kora p. 668 f. Münztaf. 9, 27 *a*, *b*.

[4] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] i. 240 f.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 142, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 218 pl. 16, 2, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 86 pl. 6, 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 169. I figure a specimen in my collection.

[6] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 166, citing G. Tropea *Numismatica Siciliota del Mus. Mandralisca in Cefalù* 1901 p. 29 no. 5. Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 260 notes a similar type at Gela; but his reference to Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* i. 236 is mistaken. Cp. also *denarii* of C. Memmius *c.* 60 B.C., on which Ceres appears enthroned with three corn-ears in her right hand, a torch in her left, and a snake at her feet (Babelon *Moun. rép. rom.* ii. 218 fig.)—a type revived in imperial times (Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 696).

[7] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 4. 43, Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 7. 2.

[8] Macrob. *loc. cit.* Rheginos *ap.* Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 468 f. cites from Isigonos (*frag.* 5 Westermann) the statement that sheep have wool of a golden colour.

Virgil in his famous fourth *Eclogue*, anticipating the dawn of a brighter age, says:

> Nor wool shall learn its parti-coloured lies;
> But in the meadows of himself the ram
> Shall change his fleece for sweetly-blushing purple
> Or saffron stain, and of its own accord
> Scarlet shall clothe the lambs what time they graze[1].

One of the omens portending the accession of Diadumenus was that twelve purple sheep, one of them parti-coloured, were born on his father's estate[2].

In the folk-tale of *Cupid and Psyche* the second task imposed on the unhappy Psyche is thus described by Apuleius[3]:

'Just as Aurora drove up, Venus called Psyche, and began: "Do you see that wood, all along the banks of the river that flows past, with its lower waters falling into the fountain close by us? There are sheep there with gleaming fleeces that grow with the colour of gold, grazing and wandering about, with no one looking after them. Seek out one tuft from all that growth of costly fleece, any way you like, and bring it to me: that is my command." Psyche went off with a will, not however with the intention of doing as she was bid, but to seek rest in her misfortunes by hurling herself from the cliff over the stream. But the green reed by the river, the nursling of soft music, was divinely inspired by the gentle rustling of the balmy breeze, and gave its oracle forth. "O Psyche, exercised by great and numerous woes, pollute not my sacred waters by thy most wretched death, nor yet approach the formidable sheep on yonder bank. For they are wont to become heated from the raging sunshine and rush about madly and savagely, bringing death to mortals in their fury, with their sharp horns and stony foreheads and, sometimes too, envenomed teeth. But when midday has assuaged the heat of the sun, and the cattle have settled down to rest in the cool that comes up from the river, thou canst hide thyself beneath that giant plane-tree, which drinks from the same current as [illegible] and then, when the sheep have passed from their first fury and are relieved of mental tension, strike the foliage of the neighbouring wood: there thou shalt find the golden wool, which is everywhere clinging and cleaving to the under-growth." So spake the reed, so frankly and humanely, and taught poor Psyche the way of health, though her sickness was unto death. She did not fail to put in practice the instruction she had received through her hearing, and of which she had no cause to repent. She was careful in everything, and, by an easy exercise of petty theft, she filled her bosom with the soft yellow gold, and brought it back to Venus.'

Fulgentius, writing about the year 500 A.D., describes these sheep with golden fleece as 'the flocks of the Sun[4].' And he is probably right; for their fury varied, as Apuleius says, with the heat of that luminary. Psyche finding the fleece of gold adhering

[1] Verg. *ecl.* 4. 42 ff.
[2] Ael. Lampr. *Ant. Diadum.* 4. 5, cp. *ib.* 3. 3 quasi sidereus et caelestis emicuit.
[3] Apul. *met.* 6. 11—13 trans. F. D. Byrne.
[4] Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 6 p. 718 van Staveren.

to the tree-stems near the big plane-tree will—I suspect—prove to be a doublet of Iason finding the fleece of gold hung on an oak-tree in the grove of Ares[1].

iv. The Golden or Purple Lamb of Atreus.

Analogous beliefs in Greece appear to connect the purple or golden ram not only with the prosperity of the ruler but also with the sun. A Greek commentator on the *Iliad* tells the following tale:

'Atreus, son of Pelops and king of the Peloponnese, once vowed that he would sacrifice to Artemis the fairest offspring of his flocks. But, when a golden lamb was born to him, he repented of his vow and kept the lamb shut up in a chest. Proud of his treasure he used boastful language in the market-place. Thyestes, vexed at this, made love to Aërope and induced her to give him the treasure. Having secured it he told his brother that he had no right to boast in that way, and asserted in the hearing of the multitude that the man who had the golden lamb ought to have the kingdom. When Atreus had agreed to this, Zeus sent Hermes and bade him make a compact about the kingdom, informing him that he was about to cause the sun to travel backwards. Atreus made the compact, and the sun set in the east. Wherefore, inasmuch as heaven had borne witness to the avarice of Thyestes, Atreus received the kingdom and drove Thyestes into banishment[2].'

This tale was celebrated in antiquity. It can be traced back to the *Alkmaionis*[3], an Argive epic probably written in the sixth century B.C. And Euripides, who took a special interest in primitive religious ideas, has repeated allusions to it[4]. The myth has come down to us with the usual number of slight variations[5],

[1] Apollod. 1. 9. 6.

[2] Schol. *Il.* 2. 106 (codd. A. D.), cp. schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 (codd. A. C. Fl. 33).

[3] *Alcmaeon. frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 997: see T. Voigt *De Atr. et Thyest. fab.* p. 26 ff.

[4] Eur. *I. T.* 811 ff., *Or.* 995 ff., *El.* 700 ff.

[5] The lamb was brought to Argos by Ant[ops?] (*Alcmaeon. frag.* 6) or Hermes (Eur. *Or.* 995 ff.) or Pan (Eur. *El.* 700 ff.); or was found in the flocks of Atreus through the wrath of Hermes, who wished to avenge the murder of his son Myrtilos (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., *ib.* 990 A. B. I. C., *ib.* 995 A. B. M. I., *ib.* 998 A. B. M. I., Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 433 ff.), or through the wrath of Artemis (Pherekydes *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 997 A. B. I.); or was simply born in the flocks of Atreus (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Fl. 33. A, schol. *Il.* 2. 106 A. D.). The sun and the Pleiads reversed their usual course for a single day (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., *ib.* 998 A. B. M. I., Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 444 ff.) or permanently (Plat. *politic.* 268 E—269 A). The myth is sometimes combined with that of Thyestes' feast (Eur. *Or.* 1607 f., schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Gu. I., Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 447 ff.), sometimes not (Eur. *I. T.* 811 ff., *El.* 700 ff., schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 Fl. 33, *ib.* 990, 995, 997, 998, schol. *Il.* 2. 106). One account makes Atreus strangle the golden lamb that appeared and then keep it in a box (Apollod. *epit.* 2. 10 f., Apollonios *ap.* Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 436 ff.); another makes him sacrifice to Artemis the flesh of the golden lamb born in his flocks, but save its fleece (schol. Eur. *Or.* 812 C.; cp. *ib.* Fl. 33).

among which the most interesting are perhaps Simonides' statement that Atreus' golden lamb was purple[1], and Seneca's mention of a ram, not a lamb:

> Pelops' high steading hath a noble beast,
> A magic ram, leader of that rich flock.
> Over and o'er its body hangs the hair,
> One wave of gold; and from its back new kings
> Tantalean their golden sceptres bear.
> Its owner reigns—the whole line's fortune follows it.
> Safely it grazes in a place apart,
> A thing of sanctity shut in by stone[2].

Atreus' golden lamb was regarded by some ancient writers as a silver bowl or cup enriched with a gold lamb in the centre of it[3].

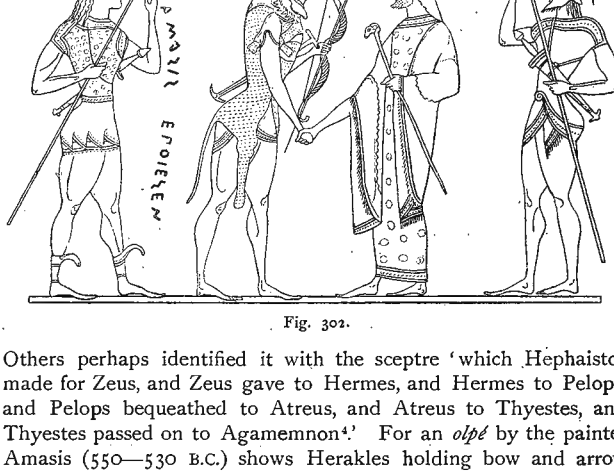


Fig. 302.

Others perhaps identified it with the sceptre 'which Hephaistos made for Zeus, and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops, and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, and Thyestes passed on to Agamemnon[4].' For an *olpé* by the painter Amasis (550—530 B.C.) shows Herakles holding bow and arrow in his left hand and extending his right towards a king, whose

[1] Simonid. *frag.* 200 A Bergk[4] *ap.* Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 430 f. Bergk *ad loc.* cites Schneidewin's opinion that Tzetzes is importing into the story of Atreus a statement that Simonides really made about the Colchian fleece (see *infra* p. 419 n. 4).

[2] Sen. *Thyest.* 225 ff.

[3] Herodoros of Herakleia *frag.* 61 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 41 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 231c φιάλη, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 868, 49 f. φιάλιον, *ib.* p. 1319, 47 f. ποτήριον. For royal gold cups adorned with special animal forms see *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 168 n. 3.

[4] Paus. 9. 40. 11, on which see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 371.

sceptre ends in a ram's head (fig. 302)[1]. This may be interpreted as Herakles with Eurystheus, whose successor was Atreus of the golden lamb.

But such *regalia* cannot explain the myth; at most they presuppose it. It seems certain that the golden lamb (or ram) belongs to a very ancient *stratum* of Greek religion. And in view of the ram-Zeus, whom we have found among the Graeco-Libyans and Thraco-Phrygians, I shall venture to suggest that the golden lamb was a theriomorphic epiphany of Zeus, the forefather of the Pelopidai. This might account for the repeated mention of a ram in connexion with the family. Pausanias, when describing the route from Mykenai to Argos, says:

'We come to the grave of Thyestes on the right. Over the grave is the stone figure of a ram, because Thyestes obtained the golden lamb, after he had committed adultery with his brother's wife[2].'

A little further on he speaks of Thyestes' tomb as 'the Rams[3]' in the plural. At Olympia the annual magistrates used to slay a victim into a pit for Pelops, the father of Atreus and Thyestes, and the victim was a black ram, the neck of which was given to the 'woodman' of Zeus[4]. Pelops himself had won the kingdom from Oinomaos, king of Pisa, whose practice it was to sacrifice a ram to Zeus before starting on the chariot-race with the competitor for the hand of his daughter Hippodameia[5]. The scene is

[1] *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1889 pl. 4.

Note that a ram's head was a frequent design on thrones, *e.g.* that of Zeus on the *kratêr* of the Villa Papa Giulio and on the Madrid *puteal* (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii (η)), or that of Damasistrate on her *stêle* (Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 124 f. no. 743, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 401 no. 3).

[2] Paus. 2. 18. 1. On ancient Phrygian and modern Armenian tombs marked by stone rams see J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

[3] Paus. 2. 18. 3.

[4] Paus. 5. 13. 2 f.

Cp. the black sheep, male and female, slain into a pit by Odysseus for Teiresias etc. (*Od.* 10. 516 ff., 11. 23 ff.): Polygnotos in the Cnidian *Lésche* at Delphi represented the victims as black rams (Paus. 10. 29. 1); a vase at Paris shows a black-striped sheep and a ram's head by the mouth of the pit (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 300 pl. 60, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 126, 1 f., Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 671 f. fig. 10). So at Lebadeia a ram was sacrificed over a pit for Agamedes (Paus. 9. 39. 6). Those who consulted the oracle of Kalchas on a hill called Drion in Daunia sacrificed to him a black ram and slept on its skin (Strab. 284). Near the foot of the same hill was a sanctuary of Podaleirios (Strab. *ib.*) and his tomb: Daunians who slept there on sheep-skins received oracles in dreams (Lyk. *Al.* 1050 ff., Timaios *frag.* 15 *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1050). At the sanctuary of Amphiaraos near Oropos enquirers slew a ram and likewise slept on its skin (Paus. 1. 34. 5). The nymph Albunea had a dream-oracle near Tibur: those who consulted it slept on the skins of slain sheep (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 81 ff.). See further Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 55 on a similar practice at Hierapolis, and Hieron. *comm. in Ies.* 65 (xxiv. 657 Migne) on incubation in the cult of Aesculapius.

[5] Diod. 4. 73.

represented on a vase from Ruvo (fig. 303)[1]. Pelops in Phrygian attire clasps the hand of Hippodameia over a flaming altar. By the bride stands her father Oinomaos in full armour. Behind him a wreathed attendant, perhaps Myrtilos, brings the ram for the sacrifice: the wheel at his feet is a short-hand indication of the approaching chariot-race. The Fury on the right and Aphrodite with Eros on the left suggest the two alternatives of death or victory. A fine polychrome vase from S. Agata de' Goti, now in the Naples collection, depicts the scene as viewed a few moments later (fig. 304)[2]. Pelops and Hippodameia, already mounted on the four-horse car, are glancing backwards at Oinomaos, who,

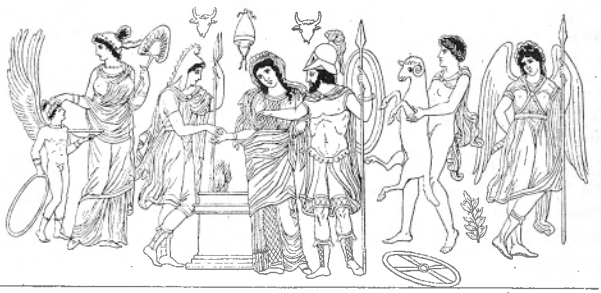


Fig. 303.

helped by a couple of wreathed attendants, is about to sacrifice the ram at an altar burning before a high pedestalled statue of Artemis. The goddess carries in either hand a bow and a *phiále*; her head-dress is topped by three letters, which yield no intelligible sense. Behind the ram is a youthful, but unnamed, spectator with two spears and a shield; he too is wreathed and sits upon his *chlamýs*. In the upper register Myrtilos, wearing a wreath and the long *chitón* of a charioteer, brings up the four-horse car of Oinomaos. The statue of Artemis is flanked by the figures of Poseidon and Athena, the remaining corner being filled in by a group of Zeus with the boy Ganymedes, hoop and hoop-stick in hand, and a daintily-dressed Aphrodite. P. Weizsäcker suggests that the attitude of Zeus, who turns his back upon the sacrifice, is

[1] *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 298 ff. pl. Q—R. See also Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 290, 3, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 777 f. fig. 4.

[2] *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 49 ff. pl. 55. See also Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 379, 1, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 779 f. fig. 5.

meant to imply that the god will not hear the prayer of Oinomaos[1]. If so, the artist is guilty of some confusion; for the statue before which the offering is about to be made is certainly not a Zeus, but an archaic Artemis. However, other representations of the same scene—and they are fairly common—consistently show the pillar or statue in the central position to be that of Zeus[2]; and this agrees with the literary tradition[3].

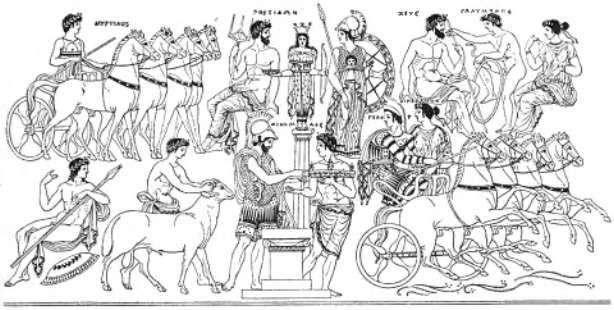


Fig. 304.

In the myth of Atreus possession of the golden lamb and control of the sun's course were alike accepted as proofs of fitness to reign. Hence I formerly conjectured that the golden lamb symbolised the sun itself[4]. This, however, is an ill-supported guess: solar symbolism was at best a secondary development of the myth, not its primary meaning.

v. The Cattle of the Sun.

In Homeric times the Sun-god was looked upon as the owner of cattle both great and small. He had seven herds of oxen and seven fair flocks of sheep in the island of Thrinakie. In each herd

[1] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 777.

[2] *Supra* p. 36 ff. pls. iii, iv, 1, v.

[3] Diod. 4. 73. On the Argive identification of Apollon *Kárneios* with Zeus see *supra* p. 373 n. 1.

[4] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 184, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 271.

Later rationalists explained away the golden lamb and the reversal of the sun's course by saying that Thyestes discovered the constellation of Aries and that Atreus pointed out the difference between the real and apparent motions of the heavenly bodies: see Eur. *frag.* 861 Nauck[2] *ap.* Achill. Stat. *isag. in Arat. phaen.* 123 E, Polyb. *ap.* Strab. 23, Loukian. *de astrolog.* 12. Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 470 takes Hermes to be the planet Mercury and Artemis to be the moon.

or flock were fifty oxen or sheep, as the case might be. They were not subject to birth or death; and they were tended by Phaethousa and Lampetie, two nymphs, whom Neaira bore to the Sun-god himself[1]. Apollonios Rhodios describes Phaethousa as shepherding the sheep with a silver staff in her hand, while Lampetie kept the oxen with a crook of shining mountain-bronze: the oxen themselves were milk-white with golden horns[2]. Aristotle gave what the Greeks called a 'physical' explanation of this myth, referring the 350 (= 7 × 50) oxen to the days of the lunar year[3]: the scholiast on the *Odyssey* grasps at the clue and surmises that the 350 (= 7 × 50) sheep in like manner denote the corresponding nights[4]. F. G. Welcker half a century since defended and reinforced this view[5]. But are we prepared to interpret in the same way the oxen of the Sun-god, which the giant Alkyoneus drove from Erytheia[6] and kept at Phlegrai on the Thracian Isthmos[7]? And what of the cattle lifted by Hermes, which, according to one account, belonged to the Sun[8]? It is surely of more moment to observe that, even in historical times, actual flocks and herds were kept for the Sun-god in various parts of Greece. There were cattle of the Sun at Gortyna in Crete[9]. The Homeric hymn to the Pythian Apollon, which cannot be later than the year 586 B.C. and may be much older[10], relates that certain Cretans—

> Passing Lakonis reached the sea-girt town
> And fields of the Sun that brings delight to men,
> Even Tainaron, where the deep-fleeced sheep are fed
> Of the kingly Sun and range a lovely land[11].

Lastly, at Apollonia in Illyria the Sun-god had flocks about which we are better informed. Herodotos[12] in one of his delightful digressions gives us the following narrative:

[1] *Od.* 12. 127 ff., 261 ff.

[2] Ap. Rhod. 4. 962 ff.

[3] Aristot. *frag.* 167 Rose *ap.* schol. *Od.* 12. 129, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1717, 32 ff. So too Loukian. *de astrolog.* 22.

[4] Schol. *Od.* 12. 129.

[5] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 405 f.

[6] Apollod. 1. 6. 1.

[7] Pind. *Isth.* 5 (6). 32 f., schol. *ad loc.* On the myth of Alkyoneus with the cattle of Helios as a parallel to that of Herakles with the cattle of Geryoneus see C. Robert in *Hermes* xix. 473 ff., M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 172 ff., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1581 f.

[8] Schol. Dionys. Thrac. *gramm.* 2 in Bekker *anecd.* ii. 752, 12 ff.

[9] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 60.

[10] T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes *The Homeric Hymns* London 1904 p. 67.

[11] *H. Ap.* 232 ff.

[12] Hdt. 9. 93 f. and *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1717, 45 f. Konon the mythographer, who

'At this same Apollonia are sheep sacred to the sun. By day they feed beside a river, which flows from Mount Lakmon through the district of Apollonia and enters the sea near the harbour of Orikos. But by night they are guarded by certain chosen men, the richest and noblest of the citizens, each guardian keeping watch for a twelvemonth. For the Apolloniates set great store by these sheep in consequence of an oracle. And the flock is folded in a cave at a distance from the town. Here then on the occasion of which I speak this man Euenios, chosen for the post, was mounting guard. One night he fell asleep while on duty; and wolves, creeping past into the cave, destroyed some sixty of the sheep. He, when he saw what had happened, kept his counsel and told no man, intending to buy other sheep and substitute them. However, the Apolloniates discovered the facts, and, on ascertaining what had occurred, brought him before a tribunal and condemned him to forfeit his eyesight, since he had slept at his post. But, as soon as they had blinded Euenios, their sheep ceased to have lambs and their land no longer bore crops as before. Responses were given them both at Dodona and at Delphoi, when they enquired of the priests the reason of their present misfortune, to the effect that they had sinned in depriving of his eyesight Euenios, the guardian of the sacred sheep, for that they (the gods) had sent the wolves, and now would not desist from avenging him till the citizens had paid for their misdeeds whatever penalty he himself chose and deemed right; but that, if this were duly done, the gods on their part would bestow upon Euenios a gift that would make many a man call him blessed. These were the oracles delivered to the Apolloniates. They kept strict silence about the matter, and entrusted the management of it to certain citizens, who acted in the following way. When Euenios was sitting on his seat, they came and sat beside him. They began to talk of one thing and another, and at last fell to sympathising with his calamity. Thus taking him in, they asked what penalty he would choose, supposing the Apolloniates were minded to promise reparation for their misdeeds. He, not having heard the terms of the oracle, made the following choice: if they would give him fields that belonged to such and such citizens—and here he named those whom he thought to possess the two finest plots in Apollonia—and in addition a house, which he knew to be the best in the town, why, once possessed of those, he said, he would have no grievance left and would be well content with that as a penalty. So he said his say, and the men sitting beside him replied: "Euenios the Apolloniates hereby pay you this as a penalty for the blinding of your eyes, in accordance with oracles that they have received." At this he was much put out, realising the whole plot, and how he had been deceived: but they bought the property from its owners and gave him what he had chosen. And from that time onwards he had prophetic powers implanted in him, so that his fame spread far and wide[1].'

The story of Euenios, who kept the sheep of the Sun-god in a cave and was blinded for losing them by sleeping at his post, bears a superficial resemblance to the myth of Polyphemos. But

lived in the time of Julius Caesar and dedicated his work to Archelaos, king of Kappadokia, told the same story, except that he spoke of Εὐήνιος as Πειθήνιος (Konon *narr.* 30 *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 136 a 6 ff. Bekker).

[1] Hdt. 9. 95 states that Deïphonos, the son of this Euenios, was seer of the Greek fleet before the battle of Mykale (479 B.C.), but adds, on hear-say, that the former was a pretender who travelled through Greece usurping the name and fame of the latter.

the inference that I wish to draw from it is this. If, about the year 500 B.C., the inhabitants of Apollonia jealously guarded a flock of sheep under the belief that they belonged to the Sun-god and ensured the fertility of their own flocks and fields, it seems highly probable that the myth of the golden lamb presupposes a similar custom in the heroic age. The luck of the Pelopidai depended on the safe-guarding of a particular sheep, believed to be —if I am right in my surmise—not merely the property, but the visible embodiment, of Zeus.

vi. The Golden Lamb in a folk-tale from Epeiros.

This connexion between the golden lamb and Zeus goes far towards explaining a remarkable folk-tale heard by Dr J. G. von Hahn at Kapéssovo, a village in the district of Zagóri to the north-east of Jánnina in Epeiros[1]:—

'There was once a king, who had three sons and great riches; and, before he died, he divided his substance among his sons. The two elder sons lived a merry life, year in year out, squandering and scattering their father's treasures till there was nothing left and they were reduced to poverty. The youngest on the other hand kept house with his share, took a wife, and had by her a most beautiful daughter. When she grew up, he built for her a big underground palace, and killed the architect who had built it. Then he shut up his daughter in it, and sent heralds throughout the world to announce that, whosoever could succeed in finding the king's daughter, should have her to wife; but that, if he failed to find her, he must be put to death. So many young men came to essay the adventure. But all their efforts were in vain: they could not find the princess, and they lost their heads.

After many had already met their deaths, there came one young man, as clever as he was handsome, bent on pursuing the quest. He went therefore to a herdsman and begged him to hide him in a sheep-skin with a golden fleece and to bring him in this disguise before the king. The shepherd agreed to do so, took a sheep-skin which had a golden fleece, sewed up the fellow inside it, gave him also food and drink and sheep's-droppings, and so brought him before the king. The king, on seeing the golden lamb, asked the herdsman: "Have you got that lamb for sale?" But the herdsman rejoined: "No, sire, not for sale; but, if it takes your fancy, I will gladly do you a service and lend it you without pay for three days. But you must then give it back to me."

The king promised to do so, and repaired with the lamb to his daughter. Having led it into his castle and through many chambers, he came to a door and cried: "Open, Tartara Martara of the earth[2]!" Thereupon the door flew

[1] The modern Greek text is printed from J. G. von Hahn's manuscripts by J. Pio ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ *Contes populaires grecs* Copenhague 1879 p. 52 ff. There is a German translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 124 ff.

[2] Ἀνοίξ'τε τάρταρα μάρταρα τῆς γῆς! For the phrase Τάρταρα τῆς γῆς cp. A. Passow

open of itself; and, after they had gone through many more chambers, they came to a second door. Here the king again cried: "Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" Then the door flew open of itself; and they came to the room, where the princess lived. Its floor, walls, and ceiling were of solid silver. The king, when he had greeted the princess, gave her the lamb. She was delighted with it: she stroked it and fondled it and played with it. But when, shortly afterwards, the lamb eased itself, the princess said to the king: "Father, the lamb has eased itself!" And he replied: "It is just a lamb, why should it not?" Then he left the lamb with the princess and went his way.

During the night the young fellow drew off the skin. And the princess, seeing that he was so handsome, fell in love with him and asked: "Why did you hide in the skin and come here?" He replied: "When I saw that so many failed to find you and lost their lives, I contrived this trick and came to you." Then the princess exclaimed: "Ah, you have done well! But you must know that, even if you have found me here, your wager is not yet won. For then my father changes me and my maidens into ducks and asks you: 'Which of these ducks is the princess?' But I will turn my head round and plume my feathers with my beak, so that you can recognise me."

When they had prattled away for three days together, the herdsman came back to the king and demanded his lamb. And the king went to his daughter to fetch it. She was woe-begone at her sporting with the lamb being so soon over. But the king said: "I cannot leave it with you, for it is only lent." He took it away and returned it to the herdsman.

The young fellow now pulled off the skin, went to the king and said: "Sire, I can find your daughter." The king, seeing the handsome lad, answered him: "I'm sorry for your youth, my boy. This adventure has already cost so many their lives, and it will be the death of you too." "I stand by my word, sir king; I will either find her or lose my head." So saying, he went in front of the king, and the king followed him till they came to the great door. Then said the young man to the king: "Speak three words, and it opens." And the king made answer: "What words are they? Shall I say: Lock, Lock, Lock?" "No," cried he, "say: Open, Tartara Martara of the earth!" The king did so, and the door opened. They went in, and the king bit his moustache for anger. Then they came to the second door, where the same thing happened over again. They entered, and found the princess.

Next the king said: "Well done, you have found the princess. But now I am going to turn her and her maidens into ducks; and, if you can guess which of them all is my daughter, then you shall have her to wife." And without more ado the king changed all the maidens into ducks, brought them before the young man, and said to him: "Now show me, which is my daughter." Then the princess, as she had agreed to do, plumed her wings with her beak; and the young man answered: "The one yonder, pluming her wings, is the princess." There was then no help for it; the king had to give her to him for a wife, and he lived with her in grandeur and in happiness.'

Popularia carmina Græciæ recentioris Lipsiae 1860 no. 368. 1 Κάτω στὰ Τάρταρα τῆς γῆς, *κάτω στὸν κάτω κόσμο*, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 98. The same word Τάρταρα survives in Rhodes as a name for the deepest part of Hades (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* i. 235 citing Benetoklis in the Ἐφημερὶς τῶν Φιλομαθῶν 1860 p. 1257). Μάρταρα is a meaningless jingle formed on the analogy of Τάρταρα (J. Pio *op. cit.* p. 238).

Dr J. G. von Hahn points out—and indeed it is sufficiently obvious—that the folk-tale recalls the myth of Danaë[1]. It is instructive to summarise the two in parallel columns :—

The myth of Danaë.	*The folk-tale from Epeiros.*
Akrisios, king of Argos, kept his daughter Danaë shut up in an underground chamber of bronze.	A certain king kept his daughter shut up in an underground chamber of silver.
Despite the king's precautions, Zeus visited her in a shower of gold, and became by her the father of Perseus.	Despite the king's precautions, a young man visited her in the fleece of a golden lamb, and won her for his wife.
The king enclosed Danaë and Perseus in a chest, and flung them into the sea.	

A comparison of the myth, localised at Argos, dated in the reign of king Akrisios, and throughout marked by definite names, with the folk-tale, which, like so many *Märchen*, is placeless, timeless, nameless, shows at once that the former is more developed than the latter. In particular, the whole episode of Danaë and Perseus in the chest, which forms so striking a feature of the myth, is a sequel added to the original tale. It re-appears in quite a different connexion in another folk-tale from the same village of Kapéssovo[2]. But the first part of the Danaë-myth is strictly parallel to the first folk-tale, and the gold-showering Zeus of the one is comparable with the golden lamb of the other. This variation is intelligible, if, as I have supposed, the golden lamb of Atreus and Thyestes was the epiphany of Zeus himself.

vii. The Golden or Purple Ram of Phrixos.

The golden lamb of the Pelopidai, with its relations to Zeus on the one hand and to the sun on the other, can hardly be discussed without reference to the golden ram of Phrixos and Helle. The myth in question has come down to us through a large number of channels, good, bad, and indifferent[3]. The oldest version

[1] J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* ii. 206. Other resemblances to the Danaë-myth are noted *ib.* ii. 201, 310 f.

[2] Ὁ μισὸς ἄθρωπος, 'The Half-man': text in J. Pio ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ p. 21 ff., German translation in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* i. 102 ff. The princess, her child, and the Half-man, who is suspected of being its father, are enclosed together in an iron vessel with a lid and sent adrift on the sea, but are rescued by magic means. The situation is that described by von Hahn as the '*Danaë-formula*' and illustrated by him from Walachian and Italian tales (see J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 49).

[3] The evidence, literary and monumental, is put together by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1929—1933, K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 669—675, 2028—2029, Türk *ib.* iii. 2458—2467.

accessible in its entirety is that of Sophokles, who told the tale in the following form[1]. Athamas had two children, Phrixos and Helle, by the goddess Nephele. Afterwards he deserted her and took to him a mortal woman in her stead. Nephele out of jealousy flew up to the sky, and punished him by sending a drought upon his realm. Envoys dispatched to consult the Pythian Apollon were bribed by the step-mother to bring back word that the drought could be stayed only if Athamas sacrificed Phrixos and Helle. Athamas, on hearing this, sent to fetch his children from the flocks, when a ram speaking with human voice warned them of their danger. They fled with the ram. Helle, in crossing the strait at Abydos, fell from the ram and was drowned in the sea, called after her *Hellespontos*, 'Helle's sea.' But Phrixos, riding on the ram, got safely to the country of the Kolchoi. Here he sacrificed the ram, which by the agency of the gods had become golden-fleeced, to Ares or to Hermes. Phrixos settled in these parts, which in memory of him were named *Phrygia*, 'Phrixos' land.' Meantime Nephele proceeded to avenge her children. Athamas in his turn, garlanded like a victim, was led out to be sacrificed at the altar of Zeus. But in the nick of time Herakles appeared and rescued him.

In Sophokles' version the step-mother is anonymous. But names were easy to supply. Pindar called her Demodike, Hippias Gorgopis, and Pherekydes of Leros Themisto[2]. More popular, however, than any of these was Ino, the daughter of Kadmos and Harmonia, king and queen of Thebes. Her story was linked with that of Athamas at least as early as the fifth century B.C.[3] The resultant myth is thus set out by Apollodoros[4]:

'Of the sons of Aiolos Athamas, ruler of Boiotia, became by Nephele the father of two children, Phrixos a boy and Helle a girl. Again he married Ino, of whom were born to him Learchos and Melikertes. Ino, plotting against the

[1] Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 257, Apostol. 11. 58, Eudok. *viol.* 28, cp. schol. Aisch. *Pers.* 70.

[2] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 288. For the MSS. Δημωτικήν (Δημοτικήν Gott.) A. Boeckh *ad loc.* (=Pind. *frag.* 49 Christ, 49 Schroeder) restores Δημοδίκην, cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20 Crethea autem habuisse Demodicen uxorem, quam alii Biadicen dixerunt. On the name Γοργῶπις (Hippias *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 62 Müller)) see E. Wilisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* 1. 1727 f. Θεμιστώ (Pherekyd. *frag.* 52 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 86 Müller)) occurs in several versions of the myth (as first wife in Herodoros *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1144, Athen. 560 D, as second wife in Eur. *ap.* Hyg. *fab.* 4, Hyg. *fab.* 1, as third wife in Apollod. 1. 9. 2, Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 302 ff.).

[3] Hdt. 7. 197, Eur. *ap.* Hyg. *fab.* 4, Eur. (?) *frag.* 399 Nauck[2] *ap.* Plout. *de sera num. vind.* 11.

[4] Apollod. 1. 9. 1 f. An almost identical account is given by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 22, Zenob. 4. 38, Eudok. *viol.* 342, 478, Hyg. *fab.* 2 f. Ap. Rhod. 2. 654 ff., 1143 ff. utilises the same version. Eudok. *viol.* 954 blends this with the Sophoclean form of the myth.

children of Nephele, persuaded the women to parch the wheat. They took it without the knowledge of the men and did so. The earth receiving wheat that was parched failed to give her yearly crops. Consequently Athamas sent to Delphoi to ask how he could be rid of this barrenness. But Ino induced the messengers whom he had sent to declare that, according to the oracle, the curse upon the crops would be removed, if Phrixos were sacrificed to Zeus. Athamas, hearing this, was compelled by the inhabitants of the land to obey, and set Phrixos beside the altar. But Nephele caught him up along with her daughter, and, having obtained from Hermes a ram with a golden fleece, gave it to them. Carried by the ram through the sky, they traversed land and sea. But, when they were over the sea that lies between Sigeion and the Cherronesos, Helle slipped off into the deep; and, as she perished there, the sea was called Hellespontos after her. Phrixos came to the Kolchoi, whose king was Aietes, son of the Sun-god and of Perseïs, and brother of Kirke and Pasiphaë the wife of Minos. Aietes welcomed him and gave him Chalkiope, one of his daughters. Phrixos slew the ram with the golden fleece as a sacrifice to Zeus *Phýxios* and gave its skin to Aietes: he nailed it round an oak-tree in a grove of Ares. Phrixos moreover had by Chalkiope the following children, Argos, Melas, Phrontis, and Kytisoros. At a later date Athamas, owing to the wrath of Hera, was deprived of his children by Ino also. For he himself went mad and shot Learchos, while Ino flung herself and Melikertes with her into the sea. Driven out of Boiotia, Athamas enquired of the god where he should dwell. The oracle replied that he should dwell wherever he was entertained as a guest by wild beasts. So he travelled through much country, till he fell in with wolves dividing sheep among themselves: they, when they caught sight of him, left their shares and fled. Athamas settled there, called the land Athamantia after his own name, married Themisto, the daughter of Hypseus, and begat Leukon, Erythrios, Schoineus, and Ptoös.'

The myth of the golden ram was connected with two cult-centres of Zeus *Laphýstios*, one at Halos in Thessaly[1], the other near Orchomenos in Boiotia[2]. In both localities there was an Athamantine Plain[3]; and it is reasonable to assume that a Thessalian tribe, of whom Athamas was the eponymous king, had migrated into Boiotia[4], and that there the story of Athamas had been blended with that of the Boeotian heroine Ino. Another cult-centre brought into connexion with the same myth was in the territory of the Moschoi, at the eastern end of the Black Sea, where Strabon records a sanctuary of Leukothea (that is, Ino) founded by Phrixos and possessing an oracle once wealthy but plundered by Pharnakes and Mithridates: there, he says, no ram is offered in sacrifice[5]. Tacitus adds that the neighbouring tribes

[1] Append. B Thessalia.

[2] Append. B Boiotia.

[3] Ap. Rhod. 2. 516 *ἀμ πεδίον Φθίης Ἀθαμάντιον* with schol. *ad loc. ἐν Ἄλῳ* and *et. mag.* p. 24, 10 ff.: Paus. 9. 24. 1 *ἐξ Ἀκραιφνίου δὲ ἰόντι εὐθεῖαν ἐπὶ λίμνην τὴν Κηφισίδα... πεδίον καλούμενόν ἐστιν Ἀθαμάντιον.*

[4] Cp. Paus. 9. 34. 6 f.

[5] Strab. 498.

of Hiberi and Albani regarded themselves as descended from Iason and his Thessalians[1].

But, without attempting to determine the ethnology of this myth, for which task the data available are hardly sufficient, we may at least note that the golden ram has something to do with Zeus. Athamas is about to sacrifice Phrixos to Zeus, when the ram appears and carries him in safety through the air to a land in the far north-east[2]. Much the same thing happened to Iphigeneia, when she was on the point of being sacrificed to Artemis at Aulis[3]: the goddess suddenly substituted for her a stag, according to the usual tradition, or a bear[4], or a bull[5], or an old woman[6], and carried off the intended victim in a cloud to be her own priestess among the Tauroi. Now these animals, the stag, the bear, the bull, are precisely those that were regarded as most sacred to Artemis herself[7]. It is therefore highly probable that the golden ram was the sacred animal—whatever that implies—of Zeus *Laphýstios*. This accounts for the belief, current in the vicinity of the Boeotian Mount Laphystion, that it was Zeus who sent the ram with the golden fleece[8]. The commonly received version of the myth makes Phrixos sacrifice the ram that has saved him to Zeus *Phýxios*, 'the god of escape[9].' Hyginus says simply 'to Zeus,' and adds that the hero 'fastened the skin in the temple[10],' that is, in the temple of Zeus[11]. The Latin commentary on the *Aratea* of Germanicus Caesar states that Phrixos 'sacrificed the ram, and dedicated its golden fleece to Zeus[12].' Finally, we are told by Apollonios that Aietes would not have received Phrixos in his halls, had not Zeus himself sent Hermes from heaven to prepare the way before him[13]. Clearly Zeus had his share in the action throughout[14].

[1] Tac. *ann.* 6. 34. Iust. 42. 2. 12. [2] *Supra* p. 415 f.

[3] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 298 ff.

[4] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 183, cp. schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 645.

[5] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 183, Ant. Lib. 27. [6] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 183, 194.

[7] Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1436 f. *Hirschkuh*, 1434 Bärin, 1399 f. Ταυροπόλος, Ταυρώ.

[8] Paus. 9. 34. 5, cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 1.

[9] Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 22, Ap. Rhod. 2. 1150 with schol., 4. 119, Eudok. *viol.* 342, 478, 954, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 428, Eratosth. *ap.* schol. Arat. *phaen.* 225.

[10] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20. [11] Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2462.

[12] Schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 401, 1 ff. Eyssenhardt. [13] Ap. Rhod. 3. 584 ff.

[14] Other deities involved are Ares, Hermes, and Poseidon. The fleece was hung on an oak in the grove of Ares (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 22, Val. Flacc. 5. 228 ff., cp. 1. 528 f., Ap. Rhod. 2. 1147 f., Hyg. *fab.* 188) or in the temple of Ares (Hyg. *fab.* 3, Myth. Vat. 1. 23, 2. 134). Hermes supplied the ram (Apollod. 1. 9. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 22), or gilded its fleece (Ap. Rhod. 2. 1146 f. with schol.): it was sacrificed to Zeus

But, while recognising that the golden ram was intimately related to Zeus, we have yet to ask—what was the significance of the ram itself? In ancient times this question called forth an amazing crop of rationalistic replies, stupid, stupider, and stupidest[1]. The only one worth weighing at all is that put forward by Strabon, who, in his account of Kolchis, writes as follows of the Soanes, a tribe inhabiting the heights of Mount Kaukasos above Dioskourias:

'In their country, so it is said, the torrents bring down gold, which is caught by the barbarians in vats pierced with holes and on fleecy skins; from which practice arose the myth of the golden fleece[2].'

But religion in general, and mythology in particular, has suffered much at the hands of would-be rationalists. The only really reasonable method of solving such problems is to abjure ingenious guesses, get back to the earliest ascertainable form of the myth and seek to understand it in comparison with other analogous myths. Now the earliest ascertainable form of the myth in question is that utilised by Sophokles. In his version Phrixos and Helle were with the flocks of Athamas, when they were warned

Φόξιος at his bidding (Ap. Rhod. 4. 119 ff.), or to Ares or Hermes (Sophoclean version: *supra* p. 156, cp. Eudok. *viol.* 954): Phrixos was brought home to Athamas by Hermes (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20). The ram was the offspring of Poseidon and Theophane (Hyg. *fab.* 3, 188), daughter of Bisaltis; when she was besieged by a multitude of suitors, he carried her off to the island of Crumissa, changed her into a sheep, himself into a ram (cp. Ov. *met.* 6. 117, Paus. 8. 8. 2, and see further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon pp. 344—347), the inhabitants of Crumissa into flocks, the suitors into wolves, and consorted with her in animal form (Hyg. *fab.* 188): he also rescued and had intercourse with Helle (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2028).

[1] Dionysios of Mytilene, an Alexandrine grammarian of the second century B.C., in his mythological novel *The Argonauts* represented the 'Ram' as a *paidagogós* named *Kriós*, who warned Phrixos of Ino's plot (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 256, 2. 1144, 4. 177, Eudok. *viol.* 262, cp. Palaiph. 30, Apostol. 11. 58, Eudok. *viol.* 342, 954). When Phrixos was captured by the Kolchoi, Krios was sacrificed to the gods, and his skin, in accordance with an old custom, was nailed to the temple: Aietes, being warned by an oracle that he would perish as soon as strangers landed and carried off the skin of Krios, built a wall about the precinct, established a guard there, and covered the skin with gold to make it seem worth guarding (Diod. 4. 47). Others preferred to suppose that the ram was the figure-head of Phrixos' ship, and that Helle, while suffering from seasickness, leaned overboard and fell into the sea! (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 256, Diod. 4. 47, Eudok. *viol.* 954). This must surely have been the theme of some farcical performance such as the *Athamas*, a satyric play by Xenokles (Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 8), or the pantomimes written about the flight of Phrixos and Helle etc. (Loukian. *de saltat.* 42, 67). Further choice samples may be found in Eudok. *viol.* 262: the golden fleece was a treatise on alchemy written on skins, or, according to Charax of Pergamon *frag.* 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 639 Müller), a hand-book on the art of writing with gold ink bound in parchment (cp. Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 689). See further Souid. *s.v.* δέρας, anon. *de incredib.* 3 p. 321 f. Westermann, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1877, 5 f.

[2] Strab. 499, cited by Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 689. My friend and colleague Prof. W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 p. 70 finds this explanation 'extremely plausible.' 'Plausible,' yes; probable, no.

and rescued by the miraculous ram[1]. In fact, the golden, or subsequently gilded, ram was found among the flocks of Athamas, just as the golden lamb was found among the flocks of Atreus[2]. Another point of resemblance between the two is that Simonides, who spoke of Atreus' golden lamb as purple[3], spoke also of Athamas' golden ram as white, and again as purple[4]. I am therefore disposed to see in the golden ram of Athamas, as in the golden lamb of Atreus, a theriomorphic epiphany of Zeus. This, in fact, is definitely stated by the first Vatican mythographer, who says that Pelias sent Iason to Kolchis 'in order that he might fetch thence the golden fleece *in which Zeus climbed the sky*[5].' The words that I have italicised are indeed, as G. H. Bode observes, foreign to the usual tradition[6]; but they are not on that account open to suspicion, and they must be accepted as a record of the belief that the golden ram, when he ascended the sky, was none other than Zeus in animal form.

Again we may suspect a solar interpretation as a secondary development of the myth. Thus the analogy between Helle, who fell from the golden ram into the Hellespont, and Phaethon, who fell from the sun's chariot into the river Eridanos[7], becomes intelligible. And the elevation of the ram to a position among the signs of the zodiac[8] is seen to be appropriate. It is noticeable that the constellation of Aries 'rules the season of the year when wheat is sown' or 'when all things are born anew[9].' Medeia the grand-daughter of the Sun-god, naturally chose a ram for her experiment in rejuvenation[10].

[1] *Supra* p. 415. [2] *Supra* p. 405 n. 5. [3] *Supra* p. 406.

[4] Simonid. *frag.* 21 Bergk *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 177, cp. schol. Eur. *Med.* 5 *πάγχρυσον δέρας· τὸ δέρμα. τοῦτο οἱ μὲν ὁλόχρυσον εἶναί φασιν, οἱ δὲ πορφυροῦν. καὶ Σιμωνίδης δὲ ἐν τῷ εἰς τὸν Ποσειδῶνα ὕμνῳ ἀπὸ τῶν ἐν τῇ θαλάττῃ πορφυρῶν κεχρῶσθαι αὐτὸ λέγει*, Eudok. *viol.* 262.

[5] Myth. Vat. 1. 24 ob hanc causam eum Colchos misit, ut inde detulisset pellem auream, in qua Iuppiter in caelum ascendit.

[6] G. H. Bode *Scriptores rerum mythicarum* etc. Cellis 1834 ii. 12 *ad loc.*

[7] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2175 ff.

[8] Hes. and Pherekyd. *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 19, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20, cp. schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 400, 16 ff. Eyssenhardt.

[9] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 20 arietis ipsius effigiem ab Nube (*ab Iove* Scheffer) inter sidera constitutam habere tempus anni quo frumentum seritur, ideo quod hortum (*quod id Ino tostum* Muncker) severit ante, quae maxime fugae fuit caussa.

According to Hermippos *ap.* Hyg. *loc. cit.*, the constellation is the ram that once led the army of Liber, when perishing of thirst in Africa, to the spring of Iupiter Hammon. Liber 'arietem inter sidera figuravit ita ut, cum sol in eius foret signo, omnia nascentia recrearentur, quae veris tempore confiunt, hac re maxime quod illius fuga Liberi recreavit exercitum.'

[10] *Supra* p. 245. In *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 325 n. 1 I have compared this incident with the boiling of Pelops in a caldron. Again, *ἡ Θέτις εἰς λέβητα ὕδατος ζέοντα ἐνέβαλε τοὺς*

viii. Zeus *Aktaîos* or *Akraîos* and his Fleeces.

But, if the myth of the golden lamb and that of the golden ram imply animal epiphanies of Zeus, we are encouraged to look round for further evidence of him as a ram-god in the actual rites of the Greek area.

And here we must first turn our attention to Mount Pelion in Magnesia. On the summit of this mountain there was a sanctuary of Zeus *Aktaîos*, to which once a year a peculiar procession wended its way. When the dog-star rose and the heat was at its greatest, the priest of Zeus chose out the chief men of the district, being careful to select only those that were in the prime of life. They proceeded to make the ascent of the mountain, clad in fleeces that were thick and fresh[1]. Why they did so, they probably could not have explained. Dikaiarchos, the disciple of Aristotle, thought that they wore the skins as a protection against catching cold on the mountain heights[2]. But it is certain that the details of the rite were determined by religious, not hygienic, considerations. I would suggest that those who took part in the procession were originally endeavouring to assimilate themselves to Zeus the ram-god[3]. Zeus scaled the sky as a ram with a golden fleece, and his worshippers put on thick new fleeces when they mounted to his abode. If I am

ἐκ Πηλέως γενομένους αὐτῇ παῖδας, βουλομένη εἰδέναι, εἰ θνητοί εἰσιν (*Aegim. frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 816). Lastly, a dedication found at *El-Burdj* below *Kala'at-Jendal* on the east slope of Mt Hermon runs: ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοκράτορος | Τραϊανοῦ Νέρουα Σεβαστοῦ | υἱὸς Σεβαστὸς Γερμανικοῦ | Δακικὸς Μενέας Βεελιάβου | τοῦ Βεελιάβου πατρὸς Ν[ε]ιρελρου, τοῦ ἀποθεωθέντος | ἐν τῷ λέβητι δι' οὗ αἱ ὁρταὶ ἄγων[ται, ἐπίσκοπος πάντων τῶν ἐν]θάδε γεγονότων ἔργων κατ' εὐ[σεβείας ἀνέθηκεν θεᾶ Λευκο]θέα Σεγείρων ♀ (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1898 ii. 74 f., 1901 iv. 250 sees in this a survival of human sacrifice: C. Fossey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 303—309 thinks that ἀποθεοῦν means merely 'enterrer' and that the ashes of Neteiras were 'déposées dans un vase sacré': Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 611 follows Fossey, but refers δι' οὗ κ.τ.λ. to the man, not to the caldron). These passages might be used to support the conclusions of Mr F. M. Cornford, who detects in the Pelops-myth the ritual of a New Birth (J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 243 ff.).

[1] Append. B. A possible parallel to this rite in the Naxian cult of Zeus Μηλώσιος ('Clad in a sheep-skin'?) has been already noted (*supra* p. 164 f.). Mr A. J. B. Wace in his interesting account of 'The Mayday Festival on Pelion' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 244—249) observes that the γέρος or 'old man,' who is killed and brought to life again, wears a black sheep-skin mask. Mr Wace (*ib.* p. 251) holds that this character 'is in all probability the representative of Dionysos, of whose worship...these festivals are to be regarded as a survival.'

[2] Dikaiarch. 2. 8 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 107 Müller).

[3] Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 148 thinks that the fleeces were worn on the mountain in order to imitate, and thus produce, the fleecy rain-clouds for which the country-side was thirsting. If so, cp. the means by which the rain-maker elsewhere assimilates himself to rain (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 260 f., 269 f.) and the use of a fleece in the modified rain-charm (?) of Judges 6. 36—40. But Gilbert's whole explanation of the rite is precarious.

right in holding further that the golden ram came to symbolise the sun, it is easy to see why the procession made the ascent of the mountain at the hottest season of the year.

The Zeus of Mount Pelion was honoured, not only as *Aktaîos* 'He of the Point,' but also as *Akraîos*, 'He of the Summit.' It appears from an inscription that white victims without blemish were sacrificed to him as *Akraîos*, and further that their skins were sold on the sixteenth day of the month Artemision by sundry important officials including his priest[1]. The sixteenth of Artemision, according to the Attic calendar, would be the sixteenth of Mounichion[2]. Hence we might look to find fresh light on the cult of Zeus *Akraîos* from ceremonies observed in Attike on Mounichion the sixteenth. It is therefore of interest to remark that the day was considered as in some respects critical for the sun and moon. Cakes called *amphiphôntes* were then brought to the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounichía*[3] and to the shrines of Hekate at the cross-roads[4]. They were called *amphiphôntes*, 'shining on both sides,' because they were made when the sun and moon were both shining in the morning[5], moon-set being, so to speak, caught up by sun-rise and the sky lit with a two-fold illumination[6]. Apollodoros preferred to derive the name from the fact that the cakes, which were made of cheese[7], had small torches stuck in them round about and kindled for the occasion[8]—a custom surviving still in the becandled loaves of the Greek Church[9]. The festival of Artemis *Mounichía* was so far analogous to that of Artemis *Brauronía* that A. Mommsen treats the two as one and the same[10]. It is, then, noteworthy that at the Brauronian celebration girls between

[1] Append. B.

[2] H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 114 *s.v.* 'Αρτεμισιών.

[3] Souid. *s.v.* ἀνάστατοι, Poll. 6. 75.

[4] Philochoros *ap.* Athen. 645 A, Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 95, 1 ff. The last-named authority states that they were sent to Hekate when the moon was full, cp. Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 7 τὴν δὲ ἕκτην ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Μουνυχιῶνος 'Αρτέμιδι καθιέρωσαν, ἐν ᾗ τοῖς Ἕλλησι περὶ Σαλαμῖνα νικῶσιν ἐπέλαμψεν ἡ θεὸς πανσέληνος.

[5] Souid. *s.vv.* ἀμφιφῶντες, ἀνάστατοι, Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 12.

[6] Philochoros *ap.* Athen. 645 A.

[7] Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 14.

[8] Souid. *s.vv.* ἀμφιφῶντες, ἀνάστατοι, cp. Pausanias *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 12 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* ἀμφιφῶν, *et. mag.* p. 95, 1, Poll. 6. 75.

[9] Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1062, citing Goetz *de Pistrin. Vet.* p. 317. S. Xanthoudides in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 20 ff. fig. 6 describes and illustrates the loaves decked with seven lighted candles (and sometimes, like the ancient κέρνος or κέρχνος, furnished with receptacles for corn, wine, and oil), which are blessed by the priest as first-fruits of the earth in the 'Αρτοκλασία of the Orthodox Greek Church.

[10] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 453 ff.

the ages of five and ten, selected for the purpose, acted as bears before the goddess and in that capacity wore saffron robes[1]. For we are thus enabled to complete the correspondence of the Attic with the Thessalian cults. The parallel traits are as follows:—

THESSALY *Ram-cult.*	ATTIKE *Bear-cult.*
Zeus, once regarded as himself a ram, wears the golden fleece belonging to the ram.	Artemis, once regarded as herself a bear[2], is called *Chitóne* or 'She who wears the *chitón*[3].'
Men clad in new fleeces honour Zeus with a procession. The skins of white victims (rams?) slain for Zeus are sold on Artemision the sixteenth.	Girls clad in saffron robes honour Artemis with a mimicry of bears. The festival takes place apparently on Mounichion the sixteenth.
Solar significance probable.	Lunar significance probable.

On this showing the saffron robes of Artemis' devotees would hold to the cult of the moon-goddess the same relation that the new fleeces of Zeus' worshippers held to the cult of the sun-god. It seems possible that in both cases the colour of the ritual-garb was determined by the colour of the celestial body. However, other views are tenable[4], and the point cannot be pressed.

ix. Zeus *Meilíchios*, Zeus *Ktésios*, and the Fleece of Zeus.

The skin of a victim sacrificed to Zeus was used by the Greeks in various purificatory rites. Individuals, who wished to be purified, stood upon it supporting themselves on their left foot only[5]. When a multitude or a locality was to be cleansed, it is more probable that the skin was carried round in procession[6]. This was done towards the close of the month Maimakterion, the victim having been slain for Zeus *Meilíchios*[7]. Further, the skins of

[1] Aristoph. *Lys.* 645 with schol., Souid. *s.v.* ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίοις.

[2] Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 402 ff., Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 284, iv. 224, and especially Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 434 ff. See also Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 942 n. 8 *sub fin.*

[3] Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1401 f., Farnell *op. cit.* ii. 444, 568.

[4] See *e.g.* Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 44 n. 4.

[5] Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς κώδιον, cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 7, 18 f., Souid. *s.v.* Διὸς κώδιον.

[6] So P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1084 (relying on Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1935, 8 ff.), E. Pfuhl *de Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 93 n. 7.

[7] Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1935, 8 ff. καὶ οἱ τὸ διοπομπεῖν δὲ ἑρμηνεύοντές φασιν ὅτι δῖον ἐκάλουν κώδιον ἱερεῖου τιθέντος (leg. τυθέντος) Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ ἐν τοῖς καθαρμοῖς φθίνοντος Μαιμακτηριῶνος μηνός, ὅτε ἤγοντο τὰ πομπαῖα. καὶ καθαρμῶν ἐκβολαὶ εἰς τὰς τριόδους ἐγίνοντο. εἶχον δὲ μετὰ χεῖρας πομπόν· ὅπερ ἦν, φασί, κηρύκιον, σέβας Ἑρμοῦ. καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τοιούτου πομποῦ καὶ τοῦ ῥηθέντος δῖον τὸ διοπομπεῖν. καὶ τοῦτο μὲν οὕτως ἐξ ἱστορίας· ἄλλως δὲ κοινότερον διοπομπεῖν καὶ ἀποδιοπομπεῖν ἐφαίνετο τὸ Διὸς Ἀλεξικάκου ἐπικλήσει ἐκπέμπειν τὰ φαῦλα.

animals sacrificed to Zeus *Meilíchios* and to Zeus *Ktésios* were kept and used by those who marshalled the procession of the Skirophoria, by the torch-bearer at Eleusis, and by others who directed rites of purification[1]. It follows that this purificatory skin, though used in a variety of ceremonies, was in every case the skin of a victim sacrificed to Zeus[2]. Moreover, it was regularly called the 'fleece of Zeus' or the 'Zeus-fleece[3].' These names may be taken to imply that Zeus was originally believed to be, not merely the god to whom as to an owner the fleece belonged, but the very animal from which the fleece was stripped. Hence to stand upon the fleece, or to have the fleece carried round one, was to claim identification with the deity and consequent freedom from guilt. The same idea may underlie the old Roman custom that a man who had unwittingly perpetrated a homicide must take his stand upon a ram[4]. The Romans themselves derived their custom from that of the Athenians[5].

A few representations of the 'fleece of Zeus' have come down to us in Greek vase-paintings and Roman reliefs. A red-figured *hydría* in the Lambert collection (fig. 305)[6] shows a scene of initiation, probably at Eleusis. In the centre a nude youth crouches beside a large shallow bowl with his left foot on a spotted object. This object is plausibly regarded by F. Lenormant[7] and J. de Witte[8]

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Διὸς κώδιον. οὗ τὸ ἱερεῖον Διὶ τέθυται· θύουσί τε τῷ τε Μειλιχίῳ καὶ τῷ Κτησίῳ Διί. τὰ δὲ κώδια τούτων φυλάσσουσι, Δία (δῖα J. E. Harrison, Διὸς T. Gaisford) προσαγορεύοντες. χρῶνται δ' αὐτοῖς οἵ τε Σκιροφορίων τὴν πομπὴν στέλλοντες καὶ ὁ δᾳδοῦχος ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι καὶ ἄλλοι τινες ὑποστορνύντες αὐτὰ τοῖς ποσὶ τῶν ἐναγῶν.

[2] I cannot, therefore, but regard as somewhat misleading Miss J. E. Harrison's statement (*Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 24): 'this fleece was by no means confined to the ritual of Zeus.' Indeed, I dissent wholly from her view (*ib.* p. 23) that the Διάσια of Zeus Μειλίχιος and the Δῖον or Διὸς κώδιον of Zeus Μειλίχιος and Zeus Κτήσιος had originally nothing whatever to do with Zeus, but are rather to be referred to the root that appears in Latin as *dīro-* (Greek *δῖσο- δῖο-) and denote consequently a 'festival of curses' with its associated 'rites of placation and purgation.' True, we cannot derive Διάσια from Διός; but we can and ought to derive it from Δῖος, the adjective meaning 'of' or 'belonging to Zeus' (*supra* p. 3 n. 3). I would explain in the same way the Δῖα of Teos (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1318, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 33) and the Πάνδια of Athens (Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πάνδια, Bekker *anecd.* i. 292, 10 f., Harpokr. *s.v.* Πάνδεια, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 432 f.). The termination of the word Διά-σια may be due, as my friend Dr P. Giles suggests, to the analogy of Διονύσια, Γενέσια, Νεκύσια, Νεμέσια, etc.

[3] Διὸς κώδιον or Δῖον κώδιον. The latter phrase gave rise to the verbs διοπομπεῖν, ἀποδιοπομπεῖν (*supra* p. 422 n. 7), 'to send away evil by means of the Zeus-fleece': see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1528 D—1529 A, i. 2. 1420 D—1421 C.

[4] Cic. *top.* 64, Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 4. 43, *georg.* 3. 387.

[5] Cincius *ap.* Fest. p. 347 *b* 2 ff. Müller, cp. *ib.* p. 351 *a* 8 ff.

[6] Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 265 fig. 2450 (E. Pottier).

[7] F. Lenormant in the *Contemporary Review* 1880 ii. 137.

[8] J. de Witte *Description des collections d'antiquités conservées à l'Hôtel Lambert* Paris 1886 p. 68 pl. 22.

as the skin of the sacrificed ram. Behind the youth are three women holding torches and a *plemochóe* (a top-shaped vase used for libations in the Eleusinian ritual[1]); before him are two others

Fig. 305.

with uncertain objects in their hands, a pot on a brazier and a pitcher in a high receptacle. Another red-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (fig. 306)[2] has a somewhat similar

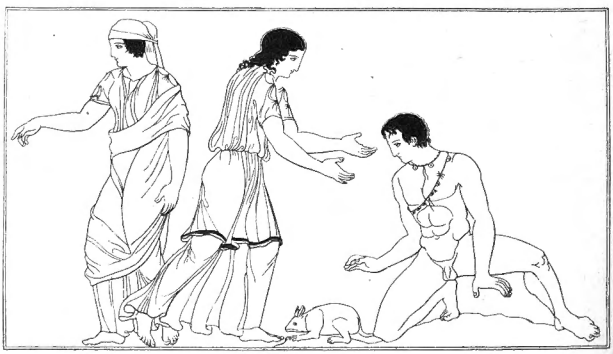


Fig. 306.

design. A nude youth, wearing a string of amulets, kneels upon his right knee and seems about to catch a mouse in the presence of two women. Monsieur S. Reinach[3] has suggested that we have here a fragmentary scene resembling that of the Lambert *hydrta*, *i.e.* the purification of an *éphebos* before the Eleusinia by means of the 'fleece of Zeus.' Since, however, the mouse figured among

[1] C. Michel in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 509 f. fig. 5708.

[2] Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 42 ff. pl. 17, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 117 pl. 387, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 353 ff. pl. 107 (=my fig. 306).

[3] Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 297, 2.

the attributes of Zeus *Sabázios*[1], I would rather suppose the scene taken from the mysteries of that god[2]. Nor do I feel at all confident that the line upon which the youth kneels is meant for the contour of a fleece[3].

The Roman evidence is less shaky. Terra-cotta reliefs of the Augustan age exhibit the initiation of Herakles into the Eleusinian

Fig. 307.

mysteries as a pair of pendant panels[4]. In one we have the assembled deities. Demeter is seated on a *kíste*, which is covered with a fleece[5]: round the goddess and her seat twines the sacred snake. Behind her stands Kore; before her, Iakchos[6] in fringed *chitón* and *nebrís*, leaning upon his leafy *bácchos*[7] and caressing the snake (fig. 307)[8]. In the other panel we have the purification of Herakles.

[1] *Supra* p. 391 f. pl. xxvii.

[2] Σαβάζιος was sometimes confused with the *κύριος Σαβαώθ* (*supra* p. 234 n. 4: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 231 and especially Eisele *ib.* iv. 263 f.): hence presumably the cult-title *μεγά[λῳ κυρί]ῳ Σεβαζίῳ ἁγ[ίῳ]* (*supra* p. 400 n. 6).

My friend and colleague Prof. R. H. Kennett *The Composition of the Book of Isaiah* (The Schweich Lectures 1909) London 1910 p. 61 suggests that ritual mouse-eating (Isa. 66. 17) was a heathen practice introduced into Jewish worship, in the days of Menelaus, perhaps from the Greek area. Possibly it was derived from the *Sabázios*-mysteries of Asia Minor.

[3] I have reproduced the line as it appears in Lenormant—de Witte *loc. cit.*; but Tischbein and Inghirami *locc. citt.* show a mere ground-line.

[4] Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 7 f., 261 f. pls. 45 f.

[5] F. Hauser in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 288 n. 1 cp. *h. Dem.* 195 f. *πρὶν γ' ὅτε δὴ οἱ ἔθηκεν Ἰάμβη κέδν' εἰδυῖα | πηκτὸν ἕδος, καθύπερθε δ' ἐπ' ἀργύφεον βάλε κῶας.*

[6] So Hauser *ib.* p. 289.

[7] *Supra* p. 220 n. 3.

[8] I figure the example in the Louvre no. 4154 after G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in*

He sits on a stone seat spread with a skin, which in the most authoritative examples of the type appears as a lion-skin[1]. At his feet is a ram's head, representing—as F. Hauser has pointed out—the 'fleece of Zeus[2],' and recalling—as we may add—the Sabazian foot-stool[3]. The hero holds a torch in his left hand. Above his bowed and veiled head a priestess raises the *líknon*. A priest bears

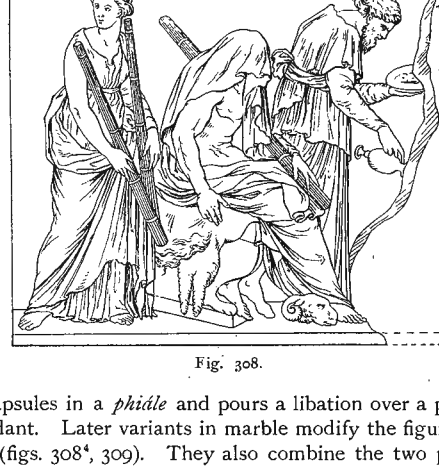


Fig. 308.

poppy-capsules in a *phiále* and pours a libation over a pig held by an attendant. Later variants in marble modify the figures to right and left (figs. 308[4], 309). They also combine the two panels in a

plastica Roma 1842 p. 70 ff. pl. 17, reversing his design in accordance with the photograph published by Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8 fig. 9. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter-Kora pp. 510, 564, 579 Atlas pl. 16, 10 and F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1070 fig. 1311 perpetuate Campana's error. The lower part of Kore belongs to another relief of the same type; and the middle part of her is a faulty modern restoration. The best specimen, that in the *Museo delle Terme* at Rome no. 4358 (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* pl. 45), is unfortunately defective as regards Demeter's seat.

[1] G. E. Rizzo in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 121 ff. claims this skin as the Διὸς κώδιον. But see F. Hauser *ib.* p. 287 f.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 288, cp. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 547.

[3] *Supra* p. 391 f.

[4] Here again the best specimen in terra-cotta, that of the *Museo delle Terme* no. 4357 (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* pl. 46), fails us at the critical point—the ram's head. Indeed, all terra-cotta examples are fragmentary. I have therefore figured a marble relief at Naples (*Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 167 no. 568), of post-Augustan date, perhaps part of a sarcophagus-front, which was published in reverse by G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 ii pl. 104 and with extensive modern restorations in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1829 v pl. 23, *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1879 pl. 4—5, 2 (see Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8 n. 1 *bis*, G. E. Rizzo in the

single frieze of ample dimensions. This is the case with an urn of Greek marble found in 1878 near the Porta Maggiore at Rome and perhaps derived from the *columbarium* of the *gens Statilia*[1]. But the finest example of the frieze is the front of a splendid sarcophagus of Pentelic marble found in 1903 at Torre Nova on the *via Labicana* (fig. 309)[2]. With regard to the prototype of the whole series, H. von Rohden and H. Winnefeld assume a date not earlier than the second century B.C.[3], while Schreiber[4], Pringsheim[5] and others argue that it represented the Alexandrine rather than the Attic Eleusinia[6]. Recently, however, J. N. Svoronos has made a most ingenious attempt to prove that the Torre Nova sarcophagus

Fig. 309.

together with certain Athenian reliefs, coins, etc. preserves the types of the Eleusinian triad (Demeter, Kore, Iakchos) designed by Praxiteles for the *Iakcheîon* at Athens[7].

Röm. Mitth. 1910 xxv. 103 ff. figs. 5 f., and J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1911 p. 44 fig. 2).

[1] Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 261 ff. no. 1108, first published by Countess E. Caetani-Lovatelli in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1879 vii. 5 ff. = *ead. Antichi monumenti illustrati* Roma 1889 p. 23 ff. See also G. E. Rizzo in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 106, 130 fig. 9, pl. 7, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 546 ff. figs. 153—155, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1911 p. 44 fig. 3.

[2] G. E. Rizzo in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 89—167 pls. 2—5, F. Hauser *ib.* pp. 273—292, J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1911 p. 42 ff. fig. 1.

[3] Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 8.

[4] Schreiber in the *Verh. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz* 1889 p. 310.

[5] Pringsheim *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Cults* p. 9 ff. The vertical plume of wheat-ears worn by Demeter resembles the head-dress of Isis; and the flowery fillet of the priest is quasi-Egyptian: etc.

[6] See, however, G. E. Rizzo *loc. cit.* p. 140 ff.

[7] J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1911 pp. 39—52.

Analogous customs are still observed here and there on Greek soil. Sir Arthur Evans in his remarkable account of a pillar-shrine at Tekekiöi, a Turkish village between Skopia and Istib in Makedonia, says: 'The floor is strewn with the fleeces of sacrificed rams[1].' And Dr W. H. D. Rouse, describing another Moslem shrine on the highest point of the citadel at Mytilene, notes: 'They keep *sheepskins* here, and the worshippers *wrap themselves in these* when they pray[2].' He justly suggests comparison with the 'fleece of Zeus.'

It will be seen that these scattered indications of a divine ram in the cults of Zeus *Meilíchios*, Zeus *Ktésios*, etc. fit on to and corroborate the evidence already adduced of a Graeco-Libyan[3] and Thraco-Phrygian Zeus[4], who appeared sometimes as a ram, sometimes as a snake. For both Zeus *Meilíchios* and Zeus *Ktésios* were likewise anguiform, as we shall have occasion to note when we come to discuss their cults. Moreover, just as Zeus *Ámmon*[5] and Zeus *Sabázios*[6] had a secondary Dionysiac form, so Zeus *Meilíchios* was replaced in Naxos by Dionysos *Meilíchios*[7].

x. The Significance of the Ram in the cults of Zeus.

We have now passed in review the various cults in which Zeus appears as a ram-god, and it is time to draw conclusions. From the welter of detail and local divergence two or three facts of constant import emerge. In the first place it is clear that over a wide area of the ancient world, from Meroe in the south to Moesia in the north, Zeus was intimately associated with the ram: the Graeco-Libyan Zeus *Ámmon*, the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios*, the Thessalian Zeus *Laphýstios*, the Zeus *Aktaîos* or *Akraîos* of Mount Pelion, the Zeus *Meilíchios* and the Zeus *Ktésios* of Athens, are cases in point. Secondly, it would seem that in the long run most of these cults took on a solar character; but that

[1] A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 200—204 figs. 69 f.
[2] W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 151.
[3] *Supra* p. 358 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 390 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 371 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 395 n. 3, p. 398 ff.
[7] Andriskos *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 304 Müller) and Aglaosthenes *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 78 c, Plout. *v. Ant.* 24, *de esu carn.* i. 2, *quaestt. conviv.* i. 1. 3, *non posse suav. vivi sec. Epic.* 22, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 18 f., F. Creuzer *Meletemata e disciplina antiquitatis* Lipsiae 1817 p. 22, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 268, 276, 282.

this aspect of them was usually late[1], seldom early[2], and never original. Thirdly, it will not be denied that there was a well-marked tendency for the ram-Zeus to mate with the earth-mother and to beget a son in his own likeness—a god commonly known as Dionysos.

These are the broad facts; and they do not countenance the idea that the ram was a solar animal[3] and on that account associated with Zeus. Rather it was the principal beast of a pastoral population, an obvious embodiment of procreative power[4], and as such

[1] *E.g.* the cult of Zeus Helios *Sebázios* belongs to Roman times (*supra* pp. 390, 400).

[2] Zeus was already identified with Âmen-Râ in the sixth century B.C. (*supra* p. 350 f.).

[3] K. Schwenck *Etymologische mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 41, A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 400 ff.

The curious statement that the ram sleeps on its left side from the autumnal to the vernal equinox, but on its right side during the other half of the year (Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 18, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 18, Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 1, cp. Plout. *terrestr. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 21), at most proves that a bond of sympathy was believed to unite the earthly ram with its heavenly counterpart, the constellation Aries.

[4] To the Greeks, as to others, the ram was *von Haus aus* a fertilising force. On the amatory propensities of the creature see Aristot. *hist. an.* 6. 19. 573 b 17 ff., Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 1. 17, 2. 2. 13 f., Colum. *de re rust.* 7. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 188. A strip of ram's skin was used in a love charm (Plin. *nat. hist.* 30. 141); ram's wool, as an aid in child-birth (*id. ib.* 20. 6) and female disorders (*id. ib.* 29. 32). A ram was said to have been enamoured of Glauke a Chian citharist (Theophr. *ap.* schol. Theokr. 4. 31, Ail. *de nat. an.* 1. 6, 5. 29, 8. 11, *var. hist.* 9. 39, Plout. *terrestr. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 18, Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 51). The tomb of Laïs at Corinth was surmounted by a lioness standing over a prostrate ram (Paus. 2. 2. 4, cp. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 19 pl. E, 73—76, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 92 pl. 23, 11, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 405). The same idea probably underlies the wide-spread use of the ram as a decoration of tombs in general (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 187). Its employment for fountain-jets etc. (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 138, cp. *supra* p. 370) is of like significance: the spring at the monastery of Kaisariani on Mt Hymettos, which has been identified with the Κυλλοῦ Πήρα of the ancients (Souid. *s.vv.* Κυλλός, Κυλλοῦ Πήραν, Hesych. *s.vv.* Κίλλεια, κύλλου πήρα, Phot. *lex. s.vv.* Κιλλεία, Κύλλου πήραν, Makar. 5. 41, Append. prov. 3. 52, Ov. *ars am.* 3. 687 ff.), still gushes out through an old ram's head of marble and as of yore is believed to aid conception, pregnancy, and delivery (L. Ross *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 220—222, Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 151 f.).

Hence the ram was associated with the deities of generation, Hermes, Aphrodite, Dionysos, Attis, etc. The evidence, literary and monumental, has been collected by E. Gerhard 'Widdergottheiten' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 149—160 pl. 15, 1—7, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869 pp. 18—139 Atlas pl. 1, 13, 15, S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* i. Der vor-dorische Widdergott Christiania 1910 pp. 1—24.

Conclusive is the fact that the *phallós* itself is sometimes made to terminate in a ram's head. So with a bronze pendant representing Hermes found at Herculaneum (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1771 vi (De' Bronzi di Ercolano ii) p. 389 ff. pl. 96, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* viii Musée Secret p. 197 ff. pl. 46) and a bronze statuette of the pantheistic Khnemu at Marseilles (G. Maspero *Catalogue du musée égyptien de Marseille* p. 131 no. 562, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1257).

This combination of ram with snake in the cults of Zeus (*supra* pp. 358 ff., 390 ff.,

associated both with the fertilising sky-god[1] and with the all-generating sun[2]. The ram thus supplied the *tertium comparationis*, which on occasion served to bring together the Hellenic Zeus and the barbaric sun god.

Nor need we hesitate to admit that the Greeks themselves, quite apart from foreign influence, regarded the ram as a possible manifestation of Zeus. Theriomorphic epiphanies of this god are of frequent occurrence in mythology. And the myths, though manipulated as so much artistic material by the poets of a literary age, indubitably attest the serious beliefs of the past. We are therefore well within our rights in maintaining that the golden lamb of Atreus and the golden ram of Phrixos were but animal forms of Zeus.

(g) The Sun and the Bull.

i. The Bull and the Sun in Egypt.

As Zeus was related to the ram, so or nearly so was he related to the bull. There is indeed a curious parallelism between the two animal-cults, which must have existed side by side from a remote Indo-European past[3]. Shepherds and neatherds expressed their religious beliefs in closely analogous forms, of which many similar traces have survived in ancient literature and art. It is therefore both desirable and possible in dealing with Zeus and the bull to adhere to the same lines that we followed in dealing with Zeus and the ram. As before, we shall begin by noticing certain Egyptian, and therefore non-Indo-European, cults, which were at an early

[1] 428 is likewise appropriate to a fertilising god (*supra* p. 396 n. 1). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 ii. 210 ff. and in his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 58 ff. regards Zagreus as a horned serpent and compares him with the horned serpent that occurs repeatedly on monuments of the continental Celts (*id. Bronzes Figurés* p. 195 ff.). The Celtic serpent is regularly ram-headed. Hence a more certain classical parallel is a broken limestone pillar, found at the village of *ès τὰ Φίχθια* near Mykenai, round which twines a raised band, probably meant for a serpent, ending in a ram's head: a mutilated inscription of the fourth century B.C. mentions Ἑκάτη and Φερσεφόνη (*Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 141 ff.; Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 187 wrongly speaks of *two* ram's-heads). F. Baumgarten, who first published the pillar, cp. a bronze *cadueus* with ram's-heads instead of snake's-heads (Müller Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 255 pl. 30, 337*c*).

[2] *Supra* ch. ii § 8 and § 9.

[3] Brachmann *Lyth. ausv.* p. 144 ff. *s.vv.* γενετήρ, γενέτης, γενέτωρ, γεννητής, γεννῶν, γονάων, ζωογόνος, πατρογενέτωρ, πατήρ, πρωπάτωρ, τεκνοποιός, τοκεύς, τρέφων, τροφεύς, φρασίγονος, κ.τ.λ.

[4] O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* trans. F. B. Jevons London 1890 p. 358. *Id. Reallex.* pp. 708, 917. H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905—1907 i. 283 ff., ii. 646 f., S. Müller *Urgeschichte Europas* Strassburg 1905 pp. 24, 102, M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien u. Leipzig 1909 i. 565 ff.

date more or less assimilated by the Greeks. As before, we shall end by showing that the Greeks themselves had inherited from their own Indo-Europaean ancestors ideas so similar that they were readily fused with those of surrounding foreigners.

We begin, then, with Egypt. Here from a remote past bulls and cows had been regarded as objects of peculiar veneration. Evidence of their divinity is forthcoming even in the predynastic age[1]. The two most famous bulls of Egypt were *Ur-mer* at Heliopolis and *Hāp* at Memphis. The Greeks, who transliterated these names as *Mneûis* and *Âpis* respectively, describe the former as sacred to the Sun, the latter as sacred to the Moon[2]. Mnevis was the biggest of bulls: he was jet-black, for exposure to the sun blackens the body: the hairs of his tail and of his whole body stood erect, unlike those of other bulls, just as the sun runs counter to the sky: his testicles were very large, since desire is aroused by heat, and the sun is said to engender nature[3]. His cult was established by king Kaiechos of the second dynasty, according to Manethon[4], and lasted on into Ptolemaic times, as appears from the Rosetta stone[5]. After death he was identified with Osiris as *Osiri-Ur-mer*, the Greek *Osorómneuis* or *Osórmneuis*[6]. Egyptian monuments represent him as a bull with the solar disk and the *uraeus* between his horns[7], or as a human figure with a bull's head[8]. Of myths connected with him we know little. Indeed, Ammianus Marcellinus remarks that 'nothing worth mentioning is said of him[9].' Aelian, however, relates that a certain Bokchoris, king of Lower Egypt, who had a reputation for justice and piety that he did not deserve, being minded to annoy the Egyptians, brought in a wild bull to fight with Mnevis. Both bellowed, and the wild bull charged, but, missing his aim, struck his horn into the trunk of a *persea*-tree, where Mnevis gored him to death. Bokchoris

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 24 f., *A History of Egypt* London 1902 i. 84 no. 32124 flint cow's head, *ib.* i. 185, 187 Hathor-heads on green slate relief, *Man* 1902 p. 17 pl. B, 8—16 bull-heads as amulets.

[2] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 11, Porphyrios *ap.* Eus. *praep. ev.* 3. 13. 1 f., Souid. *s.v.* Ἅπιδες, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7.

[3] Porphyrios *ap.* Eus. *praep. ev.* 3. 13. 1, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 33.

[4] Maneth. *frag.* 8, cp. 9 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 542 ff. Müller).

[5] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4697, 31 f. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 90, 31 f. Cp. Dittenberger *ib.* 56, 9.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii. 304. See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3081 f. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 33 describes Mnevis as 'sacred to Osiris.'

[7] Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pl. 55, 2.

[8] *Id. ib.* pl. 55, 3. On Greek and Roman representations of Mnevis see W. Drexler *loc. cit.*

[9] Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7.

thereupon did reverence to the victor, but he had earned for himself the hatred of the Egyptians. And—to conclude in the words of Aelian—'if any one thinks it a scandal to drop from a zoölogical discussion into an occasional folk-tale, he is a fool[1].'

Apis too (fig. 310)[2] had to be black beyond other bulls[3]. He was moreover distinguished by as many as twenty-nine bodily marks[4], of which a few are reported by classical authors. Thus Herodotos[5] states that Apis had a white triangle on his forehead[6], a beetle under his tongue[7], an eagle on his back, and double hairs in his tail[8]. Various marks brought him into connexion with the sun and moon. Since he was sacred to the moon rather than the sun[9], this twofold characterisation might have been thought superfluous. But some persons regarded Mnevis as the father of Apis[10]. And Porphyrios explains that, as the moon gets her light from the sun, so Apis must needs have the tokens of both luminaries: the sun, he adds, is evidenced by the blackness of the bull's body and by the beetle under his tongue, the moon by the halved and the gibbous signs[11]. Others say that the most important mark of all

Fig. 310.

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 11. *Id. ib.* 12. 3 (cp. Maneth. *frag.* 65 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 592 f. Müller) and G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 246 n. 5) states that in the reign of this Bokchoris a monstrous lamb with two heads, four horns, eight legs and two tails spoke in human speech and predicted that Upper and Lower Egypt would be disgraced by the rule of a stranger.

[2] Drawn from a bronze statuette in the possession of Mr F. W. Green. Total height $3\frac{1}{16}$ inches.

[3] Porphyrios *ap.* Eus. *praep. ev.* 3. 13. 2, cp. Hdt. 3. 28, Strab. 807.

[4] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

[5] Hdt. 3. 28.

[6] For λευκὸν *τετράγωνον* of the MSS. we should read, with Stein, λευκόν *τι τρίγωνον*. The description of the historian is thus brought into agreement with extant figures of Apis: see Stein *ad loc.* Strab. 807 says merely διάλευκος *τὸ μέτωπον*.

[7] For *ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ γλώσσῃ κάνθαρον* of the MSS. we should read, with Jablonski and Stein, *ὑπὸ δὲ κ.τ.λ.*: cp. Porphyrios *ap.* Eus. *praep. ev.* 3. 13. 2 *ὁ ὑπὸ τὴν γλῶτταν κάνθαρος*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 184 nodus sub lingua quem cantharum appellant.

[8] Mela 1. 9 cauda linguaque dissimilis aliorum, Souid. *s.v.* "Απιδες·...*σημεῖον ἔχοντες περὶ τὴν οὐρὰν καὶ τὴν γλῶσσαν*. Larcher cites from schol. Ptolem. *tetrabibl.* p. 2 the statement that a cow's tail waxes and wanes with the moon: cp. *supra* p. 429 n. 3 of the ram.

[9] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 20 bos Apis in civitate Memphi *solis* instar excipitur is a partial and misleading assertion. See *supra* p. 431 n. 2. But cp. *infra* p. 435 f. Kyrillos *in Oseam* 5. 8 f. (cp. 10. 5) states that the Egyptians regarded Apis as *σελήνης μὲν τέκνον, ἡλίου δὲ ἔκγονον*.

[10] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 33.

[11] Porphyrios *ap.* Eus. *praep. ev.* 3. 13. 2, Kyrillos *in Oseam* 5. 8 f.

was a white crescent on his right side, which denoted the moon[1]. Apis was the calf of a cow not suffered again to conceive offspring[2]. It was believed that this cow had been impregnated by a ray of light from heaven[3], or, according to some, from the moon[4]. When a new Apis was discovered, the Egyptians put on their best clothes and fell to feasting[5]; for his appearance portended good crops and other blessings[6]. Aelian states that honours were heaped upon the lucky man in whose herd he had been born. Sacred scribes with hereditary knowledge of the requisite signs came to test his credentials. A special house was built for him in accordance with the most ancient prescriptions of Hermes (that is, Thoth), a house facing the sun-rise and large enough to contain stores of milk, on which for four months he was reared. After that time, he was, during the rise of a new moon, taken by the sacred scribes and prophets, in a barge yearly adorned for this purpose, to Memphis[7]. Diodoros gives a somewhat different account of what took place. According to him, the Apis-calf was first brought to Neiloupolis, where he was kept for forty days. During this period, but never afterwards, women came into his presence and exposed their persons before him. Then he was put on board a barge with a gilded cabin and conveyed as a god to the precinct of Hephaistos (that is, Ptaḥ) at Memphis[8]. Once at Memphis, he was maintained in the lap of luxury[9]. His stall had a window in it, through which strangers could see him. But, since they desired a better view, the Egyptians had arranged an adjoining court-yard, into which he was driven on stated occasions. The court-yard contained another stall for his mother. The shrine of Apis stood beside the large and wealthy temple of Hephaistos (Ptaḥ). The latter had a *drómos* or 'approach,' in which stood a colossus made of a single block of stone. Here bulls, bred for the purpose, were pitted against each other, a prize being awarded to the victorious bull[10]. Apis had his own well and spring of drinking water, for

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 184, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 17, Myth. Vat. 1. 79, cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 43 τοῖς τῆς σελήνης σχήμασιν ἔοικε πολλὰ τοῦ Ἄπιδος, περιμελαινομένου τὰ λαμπρὰ τοῖς σκιεροῖς.

[2] Hdt. 3. 28.

[3] Hdt. 3. 28, Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Mela 1. 9.

[4] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 43, Souid. *s.v.* Ἄπιδες.

[5] Hdt. 3. 27, cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

[6] Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 6.

[7] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10.

[8] Diod. 1. 85 ὁρῶσιν αὐτὸν αἱ γυναῖκες κατὰ πρόσωπον ἱστάμεναι καὶ δεικνύουσιν ἀνασυρόμεναι τὰ ἑαυτῶν γεννητικὰ μόρια. The passage is quoted by Eus. *praep. ev.* 2. 1. 50.

[9] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10, Diod. 1. 84.

[10] Strab. 807. A description of the court-yard built for Apis by Psammetichos is given in Hdt. 2. 153.

attendants and priests declared that Nile-water was too fattening. He had also a seraglio of fine cows[1]. Once a year a cow, distinguished by a special set of signs, was exhibited before him: tradition said that she was always found and destroyed on the self-same day[2]. During one week in the year Apis' birthday was celebrated: a gold and a silver bowl were sunk in the Nile at a place in Memphis called from its configuration *Phiala*, 'the Saucer'; and the crocodiles of the river harmed no one till noon on the day following the birthday week[3]. The *stele* of Palermo records the first celebration of another festival, the 'Running round of Apis,' but gives us no indication as to its character[4]. Omens and oracles were drawn from the bodily movements of Apis[5]. When he licked the *himation* of Eudoxos the Cnidian, the priests averred that the astronomer would be famous but short-lived[6]. When he turned away from Germanicus Caesar, who was offering him food, that meant that Germanicus was a doomed man[7]. Apis had two chapels called bridal-chambers: if he entered the one, it was a good sign; if the other, mischief was brewing[8]. He was attended by choirs of boys, who sang his praises and then, suddenly becoming possessed, would burst out into predictions of the future[9]. Omens were also drawn from the first words heard on quitting his sanctuary[10]. Thus Apis lived for the mystic number of five times five years[11]. After his allotted span, the priests drowned him in their sacred spring, and mourned with shorn heads till they found his successor[12]. Large sums of money were spent on his obsequies[13]; his burial place was kept a profound secret[14]; and all Egypt lamented his

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10. Diod. 1. 84.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 186. Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7. Solin. 32. 20.

[3] Plin. *nat. h.* 8. 185. Solin. 32. 21. Amm. Marc. 22. 15. 17. According to Timaios the mathematician, *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 55, Phiala was the source of the Nile.

[4] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Nile and the Egyptian Resurrection* London and New York 1911 1. 398.

[5] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Th.* 5. 3. 478 motu corporis sui. cp. Claud. *de quart. cons. Hon.* 576 cui nassis admugit cornibus Apis.

[6] Favorinus Arelatensis *ferr.* 16 (*Orig. hist. Gr.* iii. 579 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 90.

[7] Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 185. Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 8. Solin. 32. 19.

[8] Plin. *l. c. cit.*, Amm. Marc. *l. c. cit.*, Solin. *loc. cit.*

[9] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10. Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 185. Solin. 32. 20. Myth. Vat. 1. 79.

[10] Paus. 7. 22. 3 f.

[11] Plin. *l. c.* Censor. 14. See, however, R. Pietschmann in Pauly Wissowa *Real-Enc.* 1. 2808.

[12] Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 184. Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7. Solin. 32. 18. Myth. Vat. 1. 79.

[13] Diod. 1. 84 f.

[14] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6; but see Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 5. Hdt. 3. 29 λάθρη Καμβύσεω is indecisive. On the Apis-tombs of the Σαράπιον (Strab. 807) of Saḳḳâra see A. Mariette *Le Sérapéum de Memphis* Paris 1857 rev. by G. Maspero 1882 or the brief accounts in

death[1]. So the cult of Apis went on from the days of Menes (*Mnṯ*)[2], the first king of the first dynasty, to the downfall of paganism[3]. Apis was commonly[4] identified with Osiris[5]. Most of the priests taught that the former must be regarded as a comely image of the soul of the latter[6]. More exactly, on the death of Osiris his soul passed into Apis and was re-incarnated in the succession of bulls that bore that name. Others said that, when Osiris was slain by Typhon, Isis gathered up his remains and deposited them in a wooden cow (*boûs*) wrapped about with fine linen (*býssos*), from which fact the town of *Boúsiris* was supposed to have drawn its name[7]. Osiris-Apis (*Ȧsâr-Ḥâpi*) under the name of Sarapis was worshipped far and wide throughout the countries bordering on the Mediterranean during the Hellenistic age[8], till Tertullian exclaimed indignantly: 'It is not Egypt nowadays, no, nor Greece, but the whole world that swears by this African!'[9] He was regarded as lord of the underworld, an Egyptian Hades[10]. But his powers were not merely chthonian, as appears from the fact that he was frequently identified with Zeus and with Helios[11]. This last identification squares with the opinion of those who assert that Apis, if we could but recover the Egyptian conception of him and get rid of the comparatively recent classical tradition, would prove to have been a solar before he became a lunar deity. That is the view of O. Gruppe[12], of E. Meyer, and of W. H. Roscher[13], who all lay stress on the disk

G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1910 p. 501 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 350 f.

[1] Diod. 1. 85, Loukian. *de sacrif.* 15, *de dea Syr.* 6, Tib. 1. 7. 28, Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 7, Solin. 32. 18, Myth. Vat. 1. 79.

[2] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10. The Apis-cult, like the Mnevis-cult, was founded by king Kaiechos of the second dynasty, according to Manethon (*supra* p. 431 n. 4).

[3] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 351.

[4] Apis was also compared with Horos, whom the Egyptians deemed the cause of good crops and prosperous seasons; and the diverse colouring of Apis was taken to symbolise the diverse crops (Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 10).

[5] Strab. 807.

[6] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 29, cp. *ib.* 20, 43. At Memphis Apis was regarded as the 'second life of Ptaḥ' (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 350).

[7] Diod. 1. 85.

[8] *Supra* p. 188 ff.

[9] Tertull. *ad nat.* 2. 8.

[10] C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1803 f.

[11] *Supra* p. 188 ff.

[12] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1572 n. 9: 'Nun ist dies allerdings eine Neuerung; der altägyptische Apis trägt zwischen den Hörnern die Sonne und scheint dieser geweiht gewesen zu sein.'

[13] E. Meyer and W. H. Roscher in *Lex. Myth.* i. 420: 'Daher hat auch Apis (wie übrigens alle Stiergottheiten Ägyptens) eine solare Natur; als Symbol wird ihm der Sonnendiskus zwischen die Hörner gesetzt. [Die Scheibe zwischen zwei Hörnern ist in Ägypten immer die Sonne, nie der Mond.]'

that is seen between the horns of Apis in extant Egyptian representations[1] as symbolising the sun, not the moon. The matter is one for Egyptologists to decide.

At Hermonthis, eight miles to the south-west of Thebes, Strabon records a cult of Apollon and of Zeus, adding: 'Here too an ox is kept[2].' Macrobius, after mentioning Mnevis and Apis as proofs that in Egypt the sun was represented by a bull, continues: 'At the town of Hermunthis they worship a bull, which is consecrated to the sun in the magnificent temple of Apollo. They call it Bacis (*v.l.* Bacchis). It is distinguished by certain miraculous signs which suit its solar character. For it changes its colour every hour, so they declare; and the hairs, they say, with which it is covered, grow the opposite way to those of all other beasts, so that it is regarded as

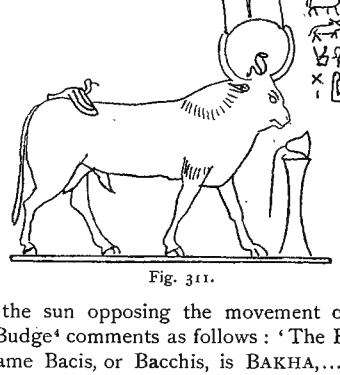


Fig. 311.

an image of the sun opposing the movement of the universe[3].' E. A. Wallis Budge[4] comments as follows: 'The Egyptian equivalent of the name Bacis, or Bacchis, is BAKHA,...and this bull is

[1] A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 23 fig. 31, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 420 fig., H. Stein on Hdt. 3. 28 fig.

[2] Strab. 817.

[3] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 21. 20 f. (*Bacin* most MSS. *bachin* cod. A. *Bacchin* cod. 'Angl.'). The expression (*ib.* 21) *imago solis in adversam mundi partem nitentis* is rightly explained by L. Jan *ad loc.* with the help of Macrob. *comm. in somn. Scip.* 18 as an allusion to the difference between the real and the apparent movement of the heavenly bodies. E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* ii. 352 says: 'an image of the sun *shining* on the other side of the world, i.e., the Underworld.' But *nitentis* is the participle of *niti*, not *nitere*.

[4] E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 352 f. W. Spiegelberg, however, in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1901 i. 339 ff. infers from the names Πετεβοῦχ(ις), Παβοῦχις (Πιβοῦχις, Πιβόχις), Πβοῦκις, Πετοσορβοῦχις that there was a god Βοῦχις, and publishes a mummy-ticket (*s.* i or ii A.D.), now at Strassburg, which directs that the body of one Thaesis be sent to Hermonthis and there deposited εἰς τὸ Βούχιν (=Βουχεῖον) | Ψενευνῆρι πασταφόρου | τοῦ θεοῦ ζωοῦ Βοῦχιν (*sic*). Hence in Macrob. *loc. cit.* he cj. *Bucin*.

styled the "living soul of Rā,"...and the "bull of the Mountain of the Sunrise (Bakhau), and the lion of the Mountain of the Sunset." He wears between his horns a disk, from which rise plumes, and a uraeus;' on his forequarters is a peculiar growth of hair, and 'over his hindquarters...a vulture with outspread wings (fig. 311)[1].'

The Egyptians worshipped a black bull called *Ónouphis* at a place whose name was too awkward for Aelian[2] to transliterate. He tells us, however, that this bull was the largest of bulls, that its peculiarity was the unique direction taken by its hairs, and that it was fed on Median grass. E. A. Wallis Budge identifies it with the bull of Hermonthis, and thinks that *Ónouphis* 'is probably a corruption of some Egyptian name of Osiris Un-nefer[3].'

At Momemphis, in the Delta, there was a cult of Aphrodite (*Hathor*) and a sacred cow[4]. Aphroditopolis, in the Heptanomis, on the east side of the Nile, was originally called *Depêhet*, that is, the 'Cow's head[5]': its inhabitants kept a sacred white cow[6]. Many other Egyptian towns, both in the Delta and outside it, kept a sacred bull or cow, as the case might be[7].

ii. Zeus, Io, and Epaphos.

Now the Greeks at an early date came into contact with all this Egyptian zoölatry and were much impressed by the cattle sacred to the sun and moon.

Herodotos, the first student of comparative religion, boldly identifies Dionysos with Osiris[8] and asserts that the so-called Orphic and Bacchic rites were in reality Egyptian and Pythagorean[9]. Whatever the precise value of such generalisations may be, we can at least infer that there were substantial points of agreement between the Dionysiac religion and its Egyptian counterpart[10]. Among these would be (as the whole of the present section attests) the worship of a great fertilising bull, which tended to

[1] Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 201 f. pl. 70, 4, cp. K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2802 f. Coins of the Hermonthite nome show the bull Bakis butting; or, a bearded god with *himátion* and sceptre, who holds on his extended left hand a small figure of the bull Bakis butting (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 363).

[2] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 11.

[3] E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 352.

[4] Strab. 803.

[5] R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2793.

[6] Strab. 809. [7] Strab. 803. [8] *Supra* p. 376 n. 2.

[9] Hdt. 2. 81 τοῖσι Ὀρφικοῖσι καλεομένοισι καὶ Βακχικοῖσι, ἐοῦσι δὲ Αἰγυπτίοισι καὶ Πυθαγορείοισι.

[10] See *e.g.* Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35 with the judicious remarks of P. D. Scott-Moncrieff in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 87 f. and the more hazardous speculations of Miss G. Davis in *The Classical Association of Ireland: Proceedings for 1911–12* p. 13 ff.

acquire solar powers. It is, therefore, allowable to conjecture that the obscure and presumably non-Greek[1] name *Bákchos* was in fact borrowed[2] from that of the Egyptian bull *Bakha*[3]. The name thus taken over, say by the Libyo-Greeks, appears to have passed into Crete[4] and Asia Minor[5], thence finding its way into Europaean Greece[6]. Hesychios' statement that *bákchos* was a Phoenician word for 'lamentation' is hardly more than an etymological guess[7].

Less problematic is another and a better-known case—that of Apis. The Greeks named him *Épaphos*[8] and brought him into connexion with their own mythology[9], declaring that he was the son of Io by Zeus, who impregnated her by a touch[10] at Kanobos. The story is summarised by Aischylos in the earliest of his extant plays, the *Suppliants*, where the fifty daughters of Danaos fleeing from the fifty sons of Aigyptos seek the protection of Pelasgos, king of Argos, on the ground of kinship. The passage was thus rendered by Prof. L. Campbell:

Chorus. 'Tis said that in this Argive land erewhile
Io was doorkeeper of Hera's Fane.
King. Certes she was; strong Rumour makes us know.
Is't said that Zeus to mortal maid came near?
Cho. Yea, and that Hera knew, and would prevent.
King. How ended such a high-enkindled feud?
Cho. Your goddess turned the woman to a cow.
King. But was the hornèd heifer safe from Zeus?
Cho. He took the likeness of a leaping bull.
King. What then contrived the mighty Queen of Heaven?

[1] L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 78 'Etymologisch nicht verständlich.' See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1417 f.

[2] The loan would be facilitated not only by the bovine form of the god and his fertilising function, but also by his snake and his sacred mountain.

[3] My suggestion has, I find, been anticipated by F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 203 ('*Bacis*, worin vielleicht bedeutende Spuren liegen des Einflusses Aegyptischer Vorstellungen auf die Bacchische Religion der Griechen,' cp. *ib.* 1842 iii. 641 n. 2).

[4] Eur. *Cret. frag.* 472, 14 f. Nauck[2] *κουρήτων | βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὀσιωθείς.*

[5] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 300 n. 73. [6] Cp. Gruppe *loc. cit.*

[7] Hesych. *βάκχον· κλαυθμόν. Φοίνικες.* Cp. the Hebrew *bāk(h)a*, 'he wept.' But it seems more probable that the name Βάκχος hails from north Africa like Βόκχορις = *Bukunirînif* king of Lower Egypt (*supra* p. 431), Βόκχος or *Bocchus* king of Mauretania (*infra* p. 502), etc.

[8] Hdt. 2. 38, 2. 153, 3. 28.

[9] See J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2708 f.

[10] Aisch. *P.v.* 849 *ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγὼν μόνον*, *suppl.* 18 f. *ἐξ ἐπαφῆς κἀξ ἐπιπνοίας | Διός*, 45 f. *ἐξ ἐπιπνοίας | Ζηνὸς ἔφαψιν*, 1066 *χειρὶ παιωνίᾳ κατασχεθών*, Apollod. 2. 1. 3 *ἁψάμενος*, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 284 ff. *ἀκηρασίων ὅτι κόλπων | Ἰναχίης δαμάλης ἐπαφήσατο θείοις ἀκοίτης | χερσὶν ἐρωμανέεσσι*, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 678 *ὁ Ζεὺς ἐπαφησάμενος τῆς Ἰοῦς* (B.C.M. I.), *ἀπὸ γὰρ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἐπαφῆς πρὸς Ἰὼ Ἔπαφος ἐγένετο* (Gu.), Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Alex.* 630 *ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς ἐπαφῆς.*

Cho. She set a sleepless watch, with myriad eyes.
King. What all-seeing herdman of one heifer? Say.
Cho. Argus, the child of Earth,—whom Hermes slew.
King. What framed she more for the poor cow's annoy?
Cho. A goading gad-fly, giving her no rest.
King. 'Tis called the "breese" by neighbours of the Nile.
Cho. This drave her, banished, on a distant course.
King. Your tale fits smoothly with the truths I know.
Cho. Canopus and then Memphis saw her come.
* * * * *
Cho. Zeus with a finger-touch begat a child.
King. How then was named the heifer's birth divine?
Cho. Named from the touch that gat him, Epaphus.
* * * * *
Cho. Libya that holds a wide extent of earth.
King. What other child of hers hast thou in mind?
Cho. Bel, with two sons, sire of my father here.
King. Of thrilling moment is this name. Declare it.
Cho. Danaüs, whose brother fifty sons begat.
King. His name, too, let thy liberal words reveal.
Cho. Ægyptus. Now thou knowest my primal race.
Act therefore as toward Argive visitants.
King. In truth ye seem to me to be of kin
Ancestrally to Argos[1].

This version of the myth involves a sort of thrust and parry between Zeus and Hera, which appealed to the dramatic instinct of Aischylos and is well expressed in the rapid exchange of his short, sharp, single lines. Zeus deals the first blow by falling in love with Hera's priestess, Io. Hera thwarts Zeus by changing Io into a cow. Zeus outwits Hera, becoming a bull to prosecute his amour. Hera, not yet vanquished, sets Argos *Panóptes*, the 'All-seeing,' to guard the cow. Hermes, presumably at Zeus' bidding, slays Argos. Hera, as a last resource, drives the cow by means of a gad-fly to the furthest limits of the world. Even at the furthest limits of the world Zeus touches her and gains his end. Thus the omnipotence of Zeus is vindicated: play-wright, performers, and audience return home well-content.

Not so we. Aischylos' plot is obviously put together out of old, indeed primitive, materials. And we are, for the moment, mainly interested in recovering the original form of the story. This may be, probably is, a task beyond our powers. Nevertheless it will not do to neglect divergent accounts that have reached us from other sources. They may at least help towards the reconstruction of an earlier version.

[1] Aisch. *suppl.* 291—325 trans. L. Campbell, cp. *P.v.* 846 ff., Bakchyl. 18 *Io*, Eur. *Phoen.* 676 ff., Apollod. 2. 1. 3 f., Hyg. *fab.* 145, 149, 155, 275, Ov. *met.* 1. 748 ff., *alib.*

More than one writer, for example, assumes that Io was changed into a cow by Zeus, not by Hera. According to Apollodoros[1], who in his great 'Library' of Greek myths has preserved, so to speak, a *variorum* edition of this tale, Zeus attempted to divert Hera's suspicions from his own intrigue with Io by transforming the latter into a white[2] cow and swearing that he had never had intercourse with her[3]. Hera thereupon asked Zeus to make her a present of the cow and stationed Argos *Panóptes* as its guardian. Argos bound the cow to the olive-tree[4] that was in the sacred grove of the Mycenaeans[5]. Zeus bade Hermes steal the cow. *Hiérax*[6], the 'Hawk,' revealed the design[7]. And Hermes,

[1] Apollod. 2. 1. 3.

[2] Cp. Ov. *met.* 1. 610 f. inque uitentem | Inachidos uultus mutauerat ille iuuencam, Iuv. 6. 526 si candida iusserit Io, Val. Flacc. 4. 380 verbere candentes quotiens exhorruit armos.

[3] Hence the belief that lovers might perjure themselves with impunity (Hes. *frag.* 5 Flach *ap.* Apollod. 2. 1. 3, schol. Plat. *symp.* 183 B, Hesych. *s.v.* 'Αφροδίσιος ὅρκος, cp. Kallim. *ep.* 27. 3 f. Wilamowitz = Stob. *flor.* 28. 3 (ed. Gaisford i. 383)).

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 239 Argis olea etiamnum durare dicitur, ad quam Io in tauram mutatam Argus alligauerit. This olive-tree is shown on a black-figured *amphora* at Munich (Sieveking—Hackl *Vasensamml. München* i. 58 ff. no. 585 fig. 69 pl. 21, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 474, T. Panofka 'Argos Panoptes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1837* Phil.-hist. Classe pl. 5), a red-figured *amphora* of the Coghill collection (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 466 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 4, 1), a *stámnos* from Caere now at Vienna (Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 52 no. 338, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 477 f., *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 pl. I—K, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 314, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 279 f.), a green jasper of which a replica in paste was in the Stosch collection (fig. 312, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 483 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 3, 1), a wall-painting from the *Casa di Meleagro* at Pompeii (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 470 f., Panofka *op. cit.* pl. 1, 6).

Fig. 312.

[5] Soph. *El.* 4 f. τὸ γὰρ παλαιὸν Ἄργος οὐπόθεις τόδε, | τῆς οἰστροπλῆγος ἄλσος Ἰνάχου κόρης.

[6] Cp. Poll. 4. 78 Ἱεράκιον δὲ (μέλος) τὸ Ἀργολικόν, ὃ ταῖς ἀνθεσφόροις ἐν Ἥρας ἐπῳδοῦσιν.

[7] Two other birds were brought into connexion with the myth. (1) *Ýnx* the 'wryneck,' daughter of Echo or Peitho, sacred to Nike and Aphrodite, by magic means inspired Zeus with love for Io, and was punished by Hera, who transformed her into a stone (Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ἴυγξ) or into a wry-neck (Kallim. *frag.* 100c. 8 Schneider *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 17, cp. schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 56). (2) When Argos was slain, Hera transformed him into a peacock (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 102, anon. *miscell.* 6 in Myth. Graec. ed. Westermann p. 347, Nonn. *Dion.* 12. 70 f., Mart. 14. 85. 1 f., Myth. Vat. 1. 18, 2. 5, 2. 89) or decorated the tail of her peacock with his eyes (Ov. *met.* 1. 722 f.), or the peacock sprang from his blood (Mosch. 2. 58 ff.) or was sent up by the Earth where he fell (Opp. *de auc.* 1. 24). The peacock appears on the gem mentioned above (n. 4), cp. Boetticher *Baumkultus* fig. 35 and the peacocks kept in the temple of Hera at Samos (Antiphanes *Homopatrii ap.* Athen. 655 B, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1035, 47 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia pp. 369—372, 386, 390 f. pl. 36, 11, 13, 37, 15, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 606). At the Argive Heraion Hadrian dedicated a peacock of gold and shining stones (Paus. 2.

when he could not be hidden, slew Argos with a stone[1]. Hera then sent the gad-fly to drive the cow far away. The cow, after traversing the Ionian Gulf, Illyria, Mount Haimos, the Bosporos, Skythia, Kimmeria etc., at length reached Egypt, where it recovered human form and gave birth to Epaphos on the banks of the Nile.

Again, opinions differed as to the colour of the cow. Souidas identifies Isis with 'Io, whom Zeus carried off from (the town of) Argos and, fearing Hera, changed now into a white, now into a black, and now into a violet cow[2].' Moschos, a bucolic poet of the third century B.C., adorns the golden basket of his Europe with a device representing Io as a golden cow[3]. And Virgil arms Turnus, king of the Rutuli, with a shield on which was a golden cow likewise denoting Io[4].

iii. Priests and Priestesses with Animal Names.

But, whether Io was transformed into a cow by Hera or by Zeus, and whether the colour of the said cow was white or black or violet or golden, are, after all, questions of minor importance. What we want to know is the original relation subsisting between the principal figures of the myth, Zeus, Hera, Argos, Io, and the significance of the bull and the cow in regard to each.

Io, the *kleidoûchos* or 'key-keeper' of Hera, was changed by her goddess into a cow. This, the Aeschylean form of the myth, suggests, if I am not mistaken, that the priestesses of the Argive Hera were known as 'cows.' Examples of priests and priestesses bearing animal titles are fairly frequent. Dionysos often had a bovine character, and Dionysiac mysteries were celebrated by a class of priests called 'cow-herds[5].' Their name presupposes that

17. 6, *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) viii (β and γ)) and an antefix of terra-cotta found by Finlay was painted to imitate the tail of a peacock (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 169). Sir Charles Waldstein *The Argive Heraeum* Boston and New York 1902—1905 i. 24, 64 f., states that General Gordon of Cairness in 1831 found there the tail of a peacock in white marble. *Id. ib.* ii. 205 f. pl. 77, 46—48 publishes some votive bronze cocks (? peacocks) that he discovered on the same site.

[1] So *et. mag.* p. 136, 52. According to the usual version, Hermes approached Argos as a herdsman playing on his pan-pipes, charmed him to sleep with music and his magic wand (Ov. *met.* 1. 671 ff., Val. Flacc. 4. 384 ff.), and then slew him by cutting his throat with the *hárpe* (Ov. *met.* 1. 717 f., Lucan. 9. 663 f., Val. Flacc. 4. 390), or by putting out his eyes with it (Myth. Vat. 3. 9. 3) or with his wand (Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 25 ff.).

[2] Souid. *s.v.* Ἰσις· ...ποτὲ μὲν εἰς λευκὴν βοῦν, ποτὲ δὲ εἰς μέλαιναν, ποτὲ δὲ ἰάζουσαν (probably to suit the name Ἰώ).

[3] Mosch. 2. 44 f.

[4] Verg. *Aen.* 7. 789 ff.

[5] The evidence is cited by Rohde *Psyche*[2] p. 15 n. 3 and more fully by O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1013—1017. The latter concludes: 'Βουκόλοι are sacred officials in the service of Dionysos. Their name refers to the bovine form under which

the god, or his worshippers[1], or both, were 'cows.' Similarly Poseidon was sometimes a bull-god, and the young men who served as his cup-bearers at an Ephesian feast were 'bulls[2].' A sanctuary of Artemis *Poló*, 'the Colt,' constructed *c.* 200—150 B.C., has recently come to light in Thasos[3]. A Laconian inscription commemorates an 'Aurelia Epaphro, who was colt of the two most holy deities, Demeter and Kore[4].' In a rite at some unspecified place, probably in Lakonike or Messene, two girls were called 'the colts of the Leukippides[5].' And the term 'sacred colt' was applied to a priest or priestess in Ptolemaic Egypt[6]. Among the Iobacchoi of Athens officials appointed by the priests to act as 'chuckers-out' were named 'horses[7].' At the Peiraieus one Chryseros, a man of humble estate, was 'horse' for the *orgeônai* or 'worshippers' of Euporia *Beléla*, *Oraía*, Aphrodite, and the Syrian goddess[8]. The girls who, clad in saffron robes, joined in the ritual of Artemis *Brauronía* were 'bears[9].' Those

their god was originally worshipped. They are found occasionally in other cults too, *e.g.* in Crete in the cult of the chthonian Zagreus and the Kouretes and in the service of Hekate. An *ἀρχιβουκόλος* of Apollon *Smínthios* in mythical times is mentioned by Polemon *frag.* 31 Preller.'

[1] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3605, 32 f. Bunarbashi *τάς τε βοῦς καὶ | τοὺς βουκόλους* was thus interpreted by R. Schöll *Satura philologa in hon. H. Sauppii* p. 177 and A. Dieterich *De hymnis Orphicis* Marburg 1891 p. 5 (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 71 f.). They were probably mistaken: see M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 485. O. Kern, however, in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1014 infers the existence of human *βόες* from that of the priestly *βουκόλοι*. See also *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (ζ) on children called *βόες* at Hierapolis Bambyke.

[2] Amerias *ap.* Athen. 425 c *ταῦροι*. Cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 129 f.

[3] T. Macridy 'Un hieron d'Artemis Πωλώ à Thasos' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 1—19 pls. 1—4 with inscr. no. 2 *Φίλων Φανόλεω | τὴν ἑαυτοῦ γυναῖκα | Κόδιν Διονυσοδώρου | Ἀρτέμιδι Πωλοῖ* and no. 3 *Ἀντιφῶν Εὐρυμενίδου | τὴν αὐτοῦ μητέρα | Ἀρὴν Νέωνος Ἀρτέμιδι Πωλοῖ ‖ Φιλίσκος Πολυχάρμου | Ῥόδιος ἐποίησεν.*

[4] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1449. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* pp. 79 n. 1, 179, 331 regards this *πῶλος* as a priestess or attendant of the goddesses.

[5] Hesych. *s.v.* πωλία· *χαλκοῦν πῆγμά τι. φέρει δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων τὰς τῶν Λευκιππίδων πώλους. δύο δὲ εἶναι παρθένους φασίν.* The first part of this notice remains enigmatic. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 331 f. conjectures that the Leukippides themselves were once conceived as *πῶλοι*, and compares the description of the Dioskouroi at the close of Eur. *Antiope* (*Hermathena* 1891 p. 47, *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 242): *λευκὼ δὲ πῶλω τὼ Διὸς κεκλημένοι | τιμὰς μεγίστας ἔξετ' ἐν Κάδμου πόλει.* Cp. also Hesych. *s.v.* πῶλος· *ἑταῖρα. πώλους γὰρ αὐτὰς ἔλεγον, οἷον Ἀφροδίτης. πώλους τοὺς νέους, καὶ τὰς νέας, καὶ παρθένους* with J. Alberti *ad loc.*

[6] See G. A. Gerhard in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 520—523.

[7] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 737, 144 f. *ἵπποι*, J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. no. 46, 144 f. The inscription is referred by E. Maass and W. Dittenberger to a date shortly before 178 A.D.

[8] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 739, 17 f. *ἵππος*, who dates the inscription between 200 and 211 A.D.

[9] *Supra* p. 421 f.

who were initiated into the *leontiká* or 'leonine' mysteries of Mithras adopted a variety of animal disguises and animal names. The men were called 'lions,' the women 'lionesses,' the attendants 'ravens.' The fathers were 'eagles' and 'hawks[1].' The 'doves' at Dodona were by many of the ancients held to be priestesses[2]. The *histiátores* or 'entertainers' of Artemis *Ephesía*, who observed rules of ceremonial purity for a year, were called by the citizens *essénes*[3], a title that properly denotes 'king bees[4].' Aischylos in his *Priestesses* spoke of the 'bee-keepers,' who opened the temple-gates of Artemis[5]. The priestesses of Demeter were known as 'bees[6].' So too were women initiated into her mysteries[7]. Pindar

[1] Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16 ὡς τοὺς μὲν μετέχοντας τῶν αὐτῶν ὀργίων μύστας λέοντας καλεῖν, τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ὑαίνας (Felicianus cj. λεαίνας), τοὺς δὲ ὑπηρετοῦντας κόρακας. ἐπί τε τῶν πατέρων...ἀετοὶ γὰρ καὶ ἱέρακες οὗτοι προσαγορεύονται. ὅ τε τὰ λεοντικὰ παραλαμβάνων περιτίθεται παντοδαπὰς ζῴων μορφάς. See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 117 f., and especially F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1899 i. 314 ff., 1896 ii. 535 Index, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 138 ff., and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3062, who cites much additional evidence from inscriptions etc. and arranges the initiates from lowest to highest in the following order: *corax, gryphus, miles; leo, Perses, heliodromus; pater; pater patrum* or *pater patratus*. A relief from Konjica in Bosnia shows a Mithraic communion attended by a *corax*, a *Perses*, a *miles*, and a *leo*: the first and the last of these wear masks representing a raven's head and a lion's head (F. Cumont *Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] p. 139, pl. 3, 7, Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1949 fig. 5087).

[2] Hdt. 2. 55—57, Strab. 7 *frag.* 1 p. 73 Kramer, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1760, 43 f., Paus. 10. 12. 10, schol. Soph. *Trach.* 172. But the evidence is far from conclusive. Herodotos offers it only as his personal opinion that the πελειάδες were barbarian women who chattered like doves; Strabon remarks that in the language of the Molottians and Thesprotians old women were called *πέλιαι*, old men *πέλιοι*, and surmises that the πελειάδες were three old women; Eustathios quotes Strabon's view; Pausanias has τὰς Πελειάδας...λέγουσι...ᾄσαι γυναικῶν πρώτας κ.τ.λ.; and the scholiast on Sophokles prefixes a vague οἱ δὲ οὕτω.

[3] Paus. 8. 13. 1, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 175, 6 f. [θύειν δὲ καὶ εὐ]αγγέλια τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τοὺς ἐσσῆνας κ.τ.λ., no. 548, 8 f. ἐπικληρῶσαι δὲ | αὐτὸν τοὺς ἐσσῆνας εἰς φυλὴν καὶ χιλιαστὺν κ.τ.λ., J. T. Wood *Discoveries at Ephesus* London 1877 Append. 4. 2 ἐσσηνεύσας ἀγνῶς καὶ εὐσεβῶς, cp. E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 85 Oxford 1890 nos. 447, 448, 451, 457, 467, 578 *c.*

[4] Souid. *s.v. ἐσσῆν, et. mag.* p. 383, 30 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 213, 6 ff.

[5] Aisch. *hierae frag.* 87 Nauck[2] εὐφαμεῖτε μελισσονόμοι δόμων Ἀρτέμιδος πέλας οἴγειν. See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 12.

[6] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 106 c μελίσσας δὲ τὰς ἱερείας, κυρίως μὲν τὰς τῆς Δήμητρος, καταχρηστικῶς δὲ καὶ τὰς πάσας, διὰ τὸ τοῦ ζῴου καθαρόν, Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18 καὶ τὰς Δήμητρος ἱερείας ὡς τῆς χθονίας θεᾶς μύστιδας μελίσσας οἱ παλαιοὶ ἐκάλουν αὐτήν τε τὴν Κόρην μελιτώδη, Theokr. 15. 94 μελιτῶδες with schol. *ad loc.* μελιτώδη δὲ τὴν Περσεφόνην φησὶ κατ' ἀντίφρασιν, ὡς καὶ Κόρην· <ἡ> διὰ τὸ τὰς ἱερείας αὐτῆς καὶ τῆς Δήμητρος μελίσσας λέγεσθαι.

[7] Hesych. *s.v. μέλισσαι· αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος μύστιδες*, Kallim. *h. Ap.* 110 f. Δηοῖ δ' οὐκ ἀπὸ παντὸς ὕδευς φορέουσι μέλισσαι, | ἀλλ' ἥτις καθαρή τε καὶ ἀχράαντος ἀνέρπει κ.τ.λ., Pind. *frag.* 158 Christ (158 Schroeder) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 106 a τὰς περὶ τὰ θεῖα καὶ μυστικὰ μελίσσας καὶ ἐτέρωθι· ταῖς ἱεραῖς μελίσσαις τέρπεται.

alludes to the Pythian priestess as a 'Delphic bee[1].' And, lastly, the chief-priestesses of the Great Mother (Kybele) were still being called 'bees' at the commencement of our era[2]. Such titles imply that the deity worshipped was originally believed to appear in animal form, and that the worshipper, from motives that cannot readily be proved and must not hastily be assumed, pretends to be the animal in question.

iv. Hera and the Cow.

Now Hera had much to do with cows. The word *boôpis*, which strictly signifies 'cow-eyed, cow-faced, of cowlike aspect,' had already in Homeric days come to be used as a complimentary epithet meaning 'large-eyed, fine-eyed' applicable to nymphs[3] and even to mortal women[4]. But it is noticeable that fourteen times in the *Iliad*—for the word is never found in the *Odyssey*—occurs the phrase 'cow-eyed lady Hera[5].' This stereotyped description always occupies the second half of the hexameter line, and is in fact a tag from a pre-Homeric system of versification, in which it formed a complete dactylic line[6]. It is, therefore, a reasonable conjecture that *boôpis* as an epithet of Hera had come down to the epic minstrel from a distant past, when it was used in the sense of 'cow-eyed' or 'cow-faced' and presupposed the primitive conception of Hera as a cow[7].

Traces of the same conception appear at the principal cult-centres of the goddess. Thus at Samos her image, to judge from coin-types of imperial date (figs. 313[8], 314[9]), was a dressed up wooden

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 105 f. χρησμὸς ὥρθωσεν μελίσσας | Δελφίδος αὐτομάτῳ κελάδῳ with schol. *ad loc.* See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 4 f.

[2] Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 Melissam vero a patre primam sacerdotem Matri Magnae constitutam, unde adhuc eiusdem Matris antistites Melissae nuncupantur. Lactantius is quoting from a commentary on Pindar written by Didymos, who lived in the second half of the first century B.C. and in the beginning of the first century A.D. (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 445). See further *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 3, W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* Berolini 1893 p. 91 f.

[3] *Il.* 18. 40 Ἀλίη τε βοῶπις the Nereid. In the late Homeric hymn 31. 2 the mother of Helios is Εὐρυφάεσσα βοῶπις.

[4] *Il.* 3. 144 Klymene, 7. 10 Phylomedousa. On βοῶπις in the sense of 'large-eyed' see a recent article by A. Reichel in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 9—12.

[5] *Il.* 1. 551, 568, 4. 50, 8. 471, 14. 159, 222, 263, 15. 34, 49, 16. 439, 18. 239, 357, 360, 20. 309 βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη.

[6] W. Christ *Metrik der Griechen und Römer*[2] Leipzig 1879 p. 158, O. Riemann and M. Dufour *Traité de Rythmique et de Métrique grecques* Paris 1893 p. 34 ff.

[7] For the analogous case of θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη see *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h). ii (λ).

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 393 no. 375 Gallienus (wrongly described—'serpent' coiled round modius of Hera').

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 381 pl. 37, 6 Gordianus Pius (wrongly described—

post with a pair of cow's horns attached near the top of it. Hera, in fact, bore some resemblance to the horned Astarte of the Semites[1]. And her originally bovine character doubtless facilitated the later identification of her with Isis[2]—witness the Ovidian story that, when the gods fled before Typhoeus into Egypt[3], Hera became a snow-white cow[4]. Again, the great Argive Heraion was situated at the foot of a mountain (1744 ft in height), which in ancient times was called *Eúboia* and is still known as *Evvia*[5]. Pausanias was told that the neighbouring river Asterion had three daughters *Eúboia*, *Prósymna*, and *Akraía*, that they were the nurses of Hera[6], and that the ground about the Heraion, the district below it, and the mountain opposite to it were named after them[7]. Dr Farnell, however, points out[8] that *Prósymna*, 'She to

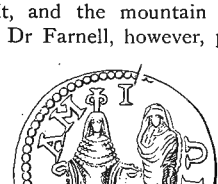


Fig. 313.

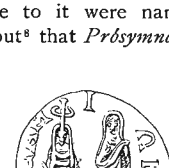


Fig. 314.

whom the hymn is raised[9],' and *Akraía*, 'She who is worshipped on the summit[10],' were two cult-titles of Hera in the Argolid, and

'modius, round which serpent twines'). The notion that Hera's head is surmounted by a snake seems to be based on a few examples (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 380 pl. 37, 5, Iulia Mamaea), which show one horn pointing up and the other down—as on coins of Lappa (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 211 f. pl. 19, 28—36). It must, however, be admitted that the head-gear of the Samian Hera is very variously represented on the coins (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 15 Münztaf. 1, a—g).

[1] W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 310, S. R. Driver *Modern Research as illustrating the Bible* (The Schweich Lectures 1908) London 1909 p. 58 fig.

[2] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 513 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 370 n. 1.

[4] Ov. *met.* 5. 330 nivea Saturnia vacca (latuit).

[5] Paus. 2. 17. 1 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

[6] Plout. *symp.* 3. 9. 2 makes Εὔβοια the sole nurse of Hera, cp. *et. mag.* p. 388, 54 ff.

[7] Paus. 2. 17. 1. On Prosymna see further A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 118—120.

[8] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 182.

[9] Strab. 373 *ταύτῃ δ' ὅμορος Πρόσυ<μνά ἐστι,>καὶ αὕτη ἱερὸν ἔχουσα* Ἥρας, Plout. *de fluv.* 18. 3 *κεῖνται δὲ πολλοί* (*sc.* stones like beryls, which turn black when the man holding them is about to forswear himself) *ἐν τῷ τεμένει τῆς Προσυμναίας* Ἥρας, *καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Τιμόθεος ἐν τοῖς Ἀργολικοῖς* (*Frag. hist. gr.* iv. 522 Müller), Stat. *Theb.* 1. 383 celsae Iunonia templa Prosymnae with Lact. Plac. *ad loc.* Prosymna civitas est, ubi colitur Iuno.

[10] Paus. 2. 24. 1 states that on the way up to the akropolis of Argos there was a

suggests that *Eúboia*, 'She who is rich in oxen,' was a third. *Neméa*, a few miles away from the Heraion, was said by some to have taken its name from the cattle sacred to Hera, which were there 'herded' by Argos[1]. The first systematic exploration of Tiryns and Mykenai yielded an extraordinary number of small terra-cotta cows, as many as 700 being found on the akropolis of the latter town alone[2]. These Schliemann took to be figurines of Hera herself in the form of a cow, Hera *boôpis*[3]; but more critical investigators regard them as votive substitutes for actual cattle[4]. Sir Charles Waldstein, on the site of the Heraion, discovered some interesting examples of bronze cows, one of which, as Mr D. G. Hogarth observed, shows markings indicative of a sacrificial fillet[5]. In Seneca's *Agamemnon*[6] the chorus, consisting of Mycenaean women, chant to their goddess Hera:

> At thy fane the bull's white wife
> Falls, who never in her life
> Knew the plough nor on her neck
> Bore the yoke that leaves the fleck.

At Argos the festival of Hera was known as the *Héraia* or *Hekatómbaia* or as 'The Shield from Argos[7].' The first name explains itself. The last refers to the fact that, at the accompanying athletic contest, the prize was a bronze shield[8]. The festival was

sanctuary of Hera *Ἀκραία*, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* *Ἀκρία*. On the cult of Hera *Ἀκραία* at and near Corinth, and also on the Bosporos, see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 128 n. 8, 183 n. 7, thinks that the Corinthian cult was modelled on the Argive.

[1] Schol. Pind. *Nem.* argum. 3 p. 425 Böckh, cp. *et. mag.* p. 176, 35 ff., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 3.

[2] H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 73 f.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 19 ff.

[4] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 819.

[5] C. Waldstein *The Argive Heraeum* Boston and New York 1905 ii. 201 ff. pl. 75, 23—27.

[6] Sen. *Ag.* 364 ff. In Kos a choice heifer was sacrificed to Hera *Ἀργεία*, *Ἐλεία*, *Βασίλεια* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 617, 5 f.).

[7] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 42 ff.

[8] Pind. *Ol.* 7. 83 *ὅ τ' ἐν Ἄργει χαλκὸς ἔγνω νιν.* The schol. vet. *ad loc.* 152 a explains that the prizes were not bronze in the mass, but tripods, cauldrons, shields, and bowls. *Id. ib.* 152 b says simply: 'the bronze that is given at Argos as a prize to the victor.' *Id. ib.* 152 c: 'The prize was a bronze shield, and the wreaths were of myrtle.' *Id. ib.* 152 d: 'Bronze is given as the prize, because Archinos king of Argos, who first established a contest, being appointed to look after the supply of arms, made the award of armour from his store.' Polyain. 3. 8 states that Archinos was put over the armoury at a time when the Argives were arming: he offered a fresh weapon to each citizen, receiving in exchange the old weapons, so as to dedicate them to the gods; but, having collected all the old without supplying the new, he armed a mob of mercenaries, aliens, etc. and so became tyrant of Argos. If this is rightly referred (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 541) to the period of the Chremonidean War (266—263 B.C.), it is clear that the scholiast on

called *Hekatómbaia* because it included a great procession headed by a hundred oxen, which were killed, cut up, and distributed to all the citizens[1]. Was it as devotees of Hera *Argeía* that the Coan women, when Herakles left Kos, 'wore horns'[2]?

v. Kleobis and Biton.

Further details concerning the Argive cult may be gathered from Herodotos' tale of Kleobis and Biton[3]. These were two Argive youths of exceptional strength. When Hera's festival came on, their mother had to be drawn in a car to the temple. But the oxen did not arrive in time from the field. So the young men harnessed themselves to the car and drew their mother five and forty furlongs to the temple. The Argives stood round about and congratulated them on their strength, the women complimenting the mother on her sons. She, over-joyed, stood before the statue of the goddess and prayed her to grant the lads, who had shown her such honour, that which was best for man to obtain. After this prayer, when they had sacrificed and feasted, the young men were put to sleep in the temple itself and never woke again. The Argives had statues of them made and dedicated at Delphoi on account of their valour[4].

Herodotos' account is supplemented in some points by that of others, for the story was a favourite one with ancient writers. Thus we learn that the mother's name was Kydippe[5] or Theano[6]; that she was priestess of the Argive Hera[7]; that it was not lawful

Pindar is guilty of an anachronism. See further Pind. *Nem.* 10. 40 f. *ἀγών τοι χάλκεος | δᾶμον ὀτρύνει ποτὶ βουθυσίαν Ἥρας ἀέθλων τε κρίσιν* with schol. vet. *ad loc.* *χάλκεον δέ φησι τὸν ἀγῶνα, ἤτοι ὅτι ἰσχυρός ἐστιν, ἢ ὅτι χαλκοῦν ὅπλον τὸ ἔπαθλον* and the passages cited *infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) viii (γ).

[1] Schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 152 d. M. P. Nilsson cp. Parthen. *narr. am.* 13. 3 (the story of Harpalyke). The festival is called Ἑκατόμβαια in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1715, 4, Ἑκατομβοῖα in the *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1367, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1515 b 8 (*ib.* a 9 Ἑκοτονβοῖα *sic*).

[2] Ov. *met.* 7. 363 f.

[3] Hdt. 1. 31.

[4] The French excavators of Delphoi found to the west of the Athenian Treasury two nude male figures which, as Homolle at once conjectured (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 445—462 pls. 18—21, cp. *Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 1. 5—18 pls. 1 f.) and as A. von Premerstein subsequently proved (*Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 41—49 ff.), are the very statues mentioned by Herodotos. On them see further Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l' Art* viii. 452 ff. pls. 9 f. fig. 226.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18. 2 with arg., Souid. *s.v.* Κροῖσος, Philarg. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 532 (*v.l.* Chryside).

[6] Souid. *s.v.* Κροῖσος.

[7] Plout. *consol. ad Apoll.* 14, Loukian. *Charon* 10, arg. *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18, Palaiph. 50 (51), Eudok. *viol.* 435[c], Souid. *s.v.* Κροῖσος, Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 113, Serv. and Philarg. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 532, Myth. Vat. 1. 29, 2. 66.

for her to go to the temple except on an ox-car[1] drawn by white oxen[2]; that, if she had not performed the rite to time, she would have been put to death[3]. Kleobis and Biton, otherwise called Kleops and Bitias[4], when no oxen could be had because a plague had killed them all[5], are said to have stripped off their clothes, anointed themselves with oil, and stooped their necks to the yoke[6]. After sacrificing at the temple they drank[7] and feasted with their mother[8] before going to sleep. In another version they bring the car and their mother safely home, and then worn out with fatigue succumb to their fatal sleep, while Kydippe, having learnt wisdom from their example, puts herself to death[9].

A second tale of Biton's prowess was told in verse by Lykeas, an antiquary of Argos[10]. It was to the effect that once, when the Argives were driving certain beasts to Nemea in order to sacrifice to Zeus, Biton full of vigour and strength caught up a bull and carried it himself. A statue of him bearing the bull was set up at

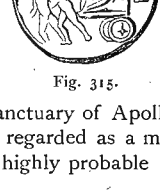


Fig. 315.

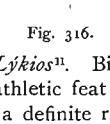


Fig. 316.

Argos in the sanctuary of Apollon *Lýkios*[11]. Biton's exploit has commonly been regarded as a mere athletic feat; but, as we shall see later[12], it is highly probable that a definite ritual practice lay behind it.

Returning to the joint performance of the two brothers, we note that at Argos opposite the sanctuary of Zeus *Némeios* there was a stone relief of Kleobis and Biton in the act of drawing their mother to the Heraion[13]. An imperial Argive coin, now in the Berlin collection (fig. 315)[14], shows the scene and may perhaps be

[1] Philarg. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 532, cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 532, Myth. Vat. 1. 29, 2. 66.

[2] Palaiph. 50 (51), Eudok. *viol.* 435[c]. Plout. *consol. ad Apoll.* 14 wrongly says 'mules.'

[3] Hyg. *fab.* 254. Cp. Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 9 ne in sacris piaculum committeret.

[4] Hyg. *fab.* 254.

[5] Serv. and Philarg. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 532, Myth. Vat. 1. 29, 2. 66.

[6] Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 113.

[7] Plout. *v. Sol.* 27.

[8] Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 113.

[9] Hyg. *fab.* 254.

[10] Paus. 1. 13. 8 f.

[11] Paus. 2. 19. 5.

[12] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xvi.

[13] Paus. 2. 20. 3.

[14] *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 98 pl. 23.

considered a copy of this relief[1]. An ancient glass-paste, however, also at Berlin (fig. 316)[2], differs from it in several points. The eighteenth column of the temple erected at Kyzikos to Apollonis, wife of Attalos i and mother of four sons distinguished for their filial affection[3], was adorned with reliefs of Kleobis and Biton[4]; but how the subject was treated we do not know. The only representation of importance that has survived to modern times is carved on a sarcophagus in the library of S. Marco at Venice (fig. 317)[5]. The scene, enclosed by a grove of oak-trees, falls into four divisions. On the left Kydippe, erect in her car, is apparently drawn by two diminutive oxen, while Kleobis and Biton grasp the pole. The moment depicted is that of their arrival at the Heraion, as is clear from the rising rocky ground and the position of the

Fig. 317.

human and animal figures. In the centre stands the temple with four Corinthian columns spirally fluted: the pediment is decorated with a basket of fruit and a couple of snakes. Before the temple Kydippe raises two torches in an attitude of prayer. In front of her, face downwards on the ground, lie the two boys asleep, if not already dead. The third division represents a goddess, probably Selene, whose two-horse chariot is escorted, not as usual by Hesperos or the Dioskouroi, but by Kleobis and Biton. This implies that the Argive Hera was conceived by the artist of the sarcophagus as a moon-goddess, who took with her through the midnight sky the

[1] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 37 pl. K, 34, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 193 fig. 32, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 440.

[2] *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 98 pl. 23, 9.

[3] Polyb. 22. 20. 1 ff.

[4] *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18.

[5] H. Dütschke 'Kleobis und Biton' in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 153–167 pl. 2.

souls of the two lads. On the right we see them reunited to their mother in heaven[1].

vi. Trophonios and Agamedes.

Another celebrated example of euthanasia, coupled with this by the author of the Platonic *Axiochos*[2], by Plutarch[3], and by Cicero[4], was that of Trophonios and Agamedes. The Platonist tells us that, after building the precinct of the god at Pytho, they went to sleep and never rose again. Plutarch, or rather Pindar[5] from whom Plutarch got his information, states that Agamedes and Trophonios, having built the temple at Delphoi, asked Apollon for their reward. He promised to give it to them on the seventh, or, as Cicero has it, on the third day from that time. Meanwhile he bade them feast. They did his bidding, and on the fateful night went to sleep, but woke no more. Philosophers and moralists of course made capital of such stories. But to the dry critic there is something decidedly sinister about the plot. The heroes are first feasted, not to say fattened, in a temple, afterwards put to sleep there, and then—found dead next morning. The Homeric *Hymn to Apollon*, our earliest[6] source for the tradition, asserts that Phoibos Apollon himself laid the foundations of his Pythian fane both broad and long; that on these Trophonios and Agamedes, the sons of Erginos, loved by the deathless gods, placed a threshold of stone; and that the building was finished by throngs of men with wrought stones to be a minstrels' theme for ever[7]. Taken in connexion with the Platonic and Pindaric story, this narrative has to my ear very much the sound of a foundation-sacrifice, such as are still in a modified form practised by Greek builders[8]. True,

[1] This relief was correctly interpreted by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 36 pl. 13 nos. 22—24 (after Beger *Spicilegium ant.*) i. 146, 149), though I do not know whether he had any ground for saying: 'Other Authors relate the Story, that the two Brothers finding the Oxen did not draw the Chariot fast enough, placed themselves in the Yoke, and drew their Mother.'

[2] Plat. *Axioch.* 367 c.

[3] Plout. *consol. ad Apoll.* 14.

[4] Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 114.

[5] Pind. *frag.* 3 Christ (3 Schroeder), cp. *frag.* 2 *ap.* schol. Loukian. *dial. mort.* 10 p. 255, 23 ff. Rabe.

[6] Unless priority can be claimed for the *Telegonia* of Eugammon (*Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 57 Kinkel), which does not, however, appear to have dealt with the Delphic myth (O. Kern, in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 720).

[7] *H. Ap.* 294—299. See further Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δελφοί, Paus. 9. 37. 5, 10. 5. 13.

[8] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 195 ff., G. Georgeakis and L. Pineau *Le Folk-Lore de Lesbos* (Littératures populaires de toutes les nations xxxi) Paris 1894 p. 346 f., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 89, L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 i. 70 ff., 390 f., J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 264 ff., *supra* p. 66 f.

Agamedes and Trophonios are described by the Homeric poet as 'loved by the deathless gods.' But we do not forget Menander's significant line:

Whom the gods love, dies young[1].

The same euphemistic meaning probably attaches to the peaceful end of Kleobis and Biton. But we need not pursue the subject further, as we are at present concerned to show that Hera was essentially connected with cows. Her Homeric epithet 'cow-eyed[2],' her legendary transformation into a snow-white cow[3], her image with cow's horns at Samos[4], her probable cult-title 'She who is rich in oxen[5],' her sacred herd at Nemea[6], her numerous votive cattle[7], the white cow[8] or the choice heifer offered to her in sacrifice[9], the Argive festival of the hundred oxen[10], the white steers that drew her priestess to the Heraion[11], amount to a conclusive proof that Hera had much to do with cattle, and furnish some support for my conjecture[12] that in Io, the priestess changed by the goddess into a cow, we should recognise an attendant of the animal deity called by her animal name[13].

vii. The Proitides.

Confirmation of this view may be sought in the myth of the Proitides or daughters of Proitos, king of Tiryns and the surrounding district. A. Rapp in a careful discussion of their myth has shown that the troubles which befell them were, in different versions, ascribed to Dionysos, to Aphrodite, and to Hera[14]. Confining our attention to the Argive goddess, we find that Akousilaos, the logographer of Argos in Boiotia, who lived in the second half of the sixth century B.C. and provided a mythological quarry for Pindar[15], associated the Proitides with Hera. They went mad, he

[1] Menand. *dis exapaton frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 105 Meineke).
[2] *Supra* p. 444. [3] *Supra* p. 445. [4] *Supra* p. 444 f.
[5] *Supra* p. 445 f. [6] *Supra* p. 446. [7] *Supra* p. 446.
[8] *Supra* p. 446. [9] *Supra* p. 446 n. 6. [10] *Supra* p. 446 ff.
[11] *Supra* p. 447 f. [12] *Supra* p. 441 ff.
[13] Is this the ultimate significance of Kleobis and Biton acting as oxen to draw the car of the priestess? The schol. Bernens. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 532, who drew from the stores of the fifth-century writers Titus Gallus, Gaudentius, and Junius Philargyrius (M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 91), says: Sacerdotes Junonis id est Cleobis et Biton currus sollemnibus sacris deducere solebant, verum deficientibus bobus etiam collo sacra portasse dicuntur. Junonis sacris animalia defecerunt, id est, aut Romanorum expleta sunt funera quos illa persecuta est, aut restituta sunt sacra, quae infesta Junone defecerant. It would perhaps be rash to infer from this muddle-headed notice that Kleobis and Biton were themselves priests or priestly attendants.
[14] A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3001 ff.
[15] A. and M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Paris 1890 ii. 539 f.

said, 'because they made light of Hera's wooden statue[1].' Pherekydes of Leros, another logographer, who *c.* 450 B.C. wrote a work on mythology resembling that of Akousilaos but ampler in scope[2], agreed in this matter with his predecessor[3]:

'Melampous, the son of Amythaon, effected many miracles by means of his seer-craft, but his most famous exploit was this. Lysippe and Iphianassa, the daughters of Proitos, king of Argos, had owing to youthful imprudence[4] sinned against Hera. They had gone into the temple of the goddess and derided it, saying that their father's house was a wealthier place. For this they were driven mad[5]. But Melampous came and promised to cure them completely, if he received a reward worthy of his cure. For the disease had now lasted ten years and brought pain not only upon the maidens themselves, but also upon their parents. Proitos offered Melampous a share of his kingdom and whichever of the daughters he desired to wed. So Melampous, by means of supplications and sacrifices, appeased the wrath of Hera and healed their disease. He received in marriage Iphianassa, obtaining her as the reward[6] of his cure.'

We hear no more of the Proitides and Hera till Roman times. Then, fortunately for our understanding of the myth, Virgil had occasion to compare Pasiphae with the Proitides:

> Ah, luckless maid, what madness seized thee? Once
> Did Proitos' daughters fill with lowings false
> The fields; yet none pursued so base a love
> For cattle, though she had feared for her neck the plough
> And oft-times sought on her smooth brow the horns[7].

The Latin commentators explain that the daughters of Proitos had boasted themselves to be more beautiful than Hera[8], or had entered her temple in a solemn service and preferred themselves to her[9], or, being her priestesses, had stolen gold from her raiment and used it for their own purposes[10]. In consequence of this

[1] Akousilaos *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 102 Müller) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 2. 2.

[2] A. and M. Croiset *op. cit.* ii. 548 f.

[3] Pherekyd. *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 74 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 15. 225. Cp. Bakchyl. 10. 43 ff.

[4] διὰ τὴν ἐκ νεότητος (διὰ τὴν ἀκμαιότητος cod. V.) ἀνεπιλογιστίαν. Müller *ad loc.* thinks that the Proitides contrasted their own beauty with the ugliness of Hera's χόανοι.

[5] For the manuscript reading καὶ διὰ τοῦτο μάντις ὢν παραγενόμενος ὁ Μελάμπους κ.τ.λ. I have, with W. Dindorf, accepted P. Buttmann's brilliant emendation μανεισῶν.

[6] ἔδνον αὐτὴν τῶν ἰατρειῶν καρπωσάμενος. If the text is sound, ἔδνον is used incorrectly for μισθόν.

[7] Verg. *ecl.* 6. 47—51.

[8] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 48, Myth. Vat. 1. 85.

[9] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 453 hae enim feruntur sollemniter templum Iunonis intrasse et se praetulisse deae. This is repeated almost word for word in Myth. Vat. 2. 68.

[10] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 48 vel, ut quidam volunt, cum essent antistites, ausae sunt vesti eius aurum detractum in usum suum convertere.

offence Hera[1] sent upon them the delusion that they were cows: they dashed off into the woods and even bellowed aloud[2], till Melampous cured them and married one of them, receiving along with her part of king Proitos' domains[3].

Here, then, is a further trace of the attendants or priestesses of the Argive Hera being called 'cows.' In 1894 I ventured on the general statement that within the bounds of Hellenic mythology animal-metamorphosis commonly points to a preceding animal-cult[4]. I am now disposed to add the surmise that in some cases at least, those of Io and the Proitides among them, animal-metamorphosis implies an animal-priesthood, in which the priest or priestess is supposed to be the animal specially connected with his or her divinity[5].

viii. Hera and Io.

It is usually assumed without any attempt at proof that Io was a hypostasis or by-form of Hera[6]. This somewhat vague and shadowy conception may pass muster, if by it we mean that the priestess of Hera was originally regarded as Hera incarnate. Io *Kallithýessa*, to give her the full title recorded by Hesychios[7], of which sundry variants are extant elsewhere[8], is consistently

[1] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 220 says: furore immisso a *Venere*.

[2] Cp. Bakchyl. 10. 56 *σμερδαλέαν φωνὰν ἰεῖσαι.*;

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 48, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 220, 3. 453, Myth. Vat. 1. 85, 2. 68. Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 453 speaks of actual metamorphosis: Iuno in iuvencas vertit puellas.

[4] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 160.

[5] P. Friedländer *Argolica* Berlin 1905 p. 36 has already conjectured that Tiryntian girls were the *βόες* of Hera just as Athenian girls were the *ἄρκτοι* of Artemis.

[6] So Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1893 vii. 76, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 182, 200, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 797, E. E. Sikes on Aisch. *P.v.* 561, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 183, 460, 466, 469, 505 n. 2, 1127, 1325 n. 4.

[7] Hesych. *s.v.* 'Ιὼ καλλιθύεσσα· καλλιθύεσσα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ πρώτη ἱέρεια τῆς 'Αθηνᾶς. J. Scaliger's correction of the last word to "Ηρας (*ἐν* "Αργει "Ηρας Knaack) has won universal acceptance, cp. Aisch. *suppl.* 291 f., Apollod. 2. 1. 3, anon. *de incredib.* 15 p. 324 Westermann.

[8] Καλλιθύη (*Phoronis frag.* 4 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 164. 2 p. 102,23 ff. Stählin Καλλιθύη κλειδοῦχος 'Ολυμπιάδος βασιλείης, | "Ηρης 'Αργείης, ἣ στέμμασι καὶ θυσάνοισι | πρώτη ἐκόσμησε<ν> περὶ κίονα μακρὸν ἀνάσσης, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 145 *Callirhoe* for which Knaack cj. *Callithoe*), Καλλίθυια (Plout. *ap.* Eus. *praep. ev.* 3. 8. 1 λέγεται δὲ Πείρας ὁ πρῶτος 'Αργολίδος "Ηρας ἱερὸν εἰσάμενος τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατέρα Καλλίθυιαν ἱέρειαν καταστήσας, ἐκ τῶν περὶ Τίρυνθα δένδρων ὄγχνην τεμὼν εὐκτέανον (so the MSS.: εὐκέατον cj. Kaibel) "Ηρας ἄγαλμα μορφῶσαι κ.τ.λ., with which cp. Paus. 2. 17. 5 *παρὰ δὲ αὐτήν ἐστιν ἐπὶ κίονος ἄγαλμα "Ηρας ἀρχαῖον. τὸ δὲ ἀρχαιότατον πεποίηται μὲν ἐξ ἀχράδος, ἀνετέθη δὲ ἐς Τίρυνθα ὑπὸ Πειράσου τοῦ "Αργου, Τίρυνθα δὲ ἀνελόντες 'Αργεῖοι κομίζουσιν ἐς τὸ 'Ηραῖον·*

described in all our sources as the priestess of Hera, never as a goddess in her own right. Still, that she was in some sense divine, appears from several considerations. Her second name *Kallithýessa* has the ring of a genuine cult-title. The learned Lykophron calls her *boôpis*, as though she were Hera[1]. And she was in Alexandrine times commonly identified with Isis[2], the Egyptian cow-goddess[3]. She was thus at once a priestess and a goddess, human yet divine, a state of affairs best explained on the assumption that the deity was embodied in the ministrant.

The equation of Io with Isis, originally suggested by the cow-form common to them both[4], and doubtless helped by the jingle of their names, seems to have led to a further identification of Io with the moon. For Isis, as queen of heaven and wife of the Hellenistic divinity Zeus the Sun, Sarapis[5], was by the later Greeks regarded as the Egyptian counterpart of Hera[6], Zeus and Isis being sun-god and moon-goddess respectively[7]. Hence Io, once identified with Isis, must be the moon as well. Indeed, Greek and Byzantine writers from the second century of our era onwards assert that *Ió* in the Argive dialect denoted the 'moon[8]'—an assertion of very doubtful validity.

δ δὴ καὶ αὐτὸς εἶδον, καθήμενον ἄγαλμα οὐ μέγα and Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 51 Βαλλαχράδας ἑαυτοὺς Ἀργείων παῖδες ἐν ἑορτῇ τινι παίζοντες ἀποκαλοῦσιν κ.τ.λ. The same form of the name appears also in Synkell. *chron.* 149 D (i. 283 Dindorf), Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 376), Καλλαίθυια (Aristeid. περὶ ῥητορικῆς 6 Canter (ii. 3 Dindorf) with schol. Aristeid. p. 361 Dindorf), Καλλιθέα (schol. Arat. *phaen.* 161).

A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 19 ff. follows Wilamowitz in restoring Καλλιθύη as the original name. Combining the fragment of Plutarch with that of the *Phoronis*, he argues that Kallithya was priestess of Hera at Tiryns (where he has identified her primitive temple and even the precise site of her 'long column' and 'seated image' on the floor-level of the ancient *mégaron*), but that Io was priestess of Hera Προσυμναία at Argos. This distinction is more ingenious than convincing. It assumes that, when Καλλίθυια (Synkell. *loc. cit.*) or Καλλιθέα (schol. Arat. *loc. cit.*) is described as priestess ἐν Ἄργει, the reference is to Tiryns, and that the epic fragment Ἰὼ καλλιθύεσσα (adj.) rests on a mere confusion.

[1] Lyk. *Al.* 1292. Yet see *supra* p. 444 n. 3 and n. 4.

[2] Apollod. 2. 1. 3, Diod. 1. 24, *et. mag.* p. 476, 50 ff., Souid. *s.v.* Ἶσις, Myth. Vat. 1. 18, *alib.* See W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 439 ff., *supra* p. 237 n. 1 (where the identification of Io with Astarte also is noted).

[3] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 362 f.

[4] The comparison is at least as old as Hdt. 2. 41.

[5] *Supra* p. 189.

[6] *Supra* p. 445 n. 2.

[7] On the Hellenistic Zeus Ἥλιος see *supra* p. 186 ff. Isis was to the Greeks, though probably not to the Egyptians, a moon-goddess identified with Σελήνη: see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 437 ff.

[8] Herodian. περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας 12 (i. 347, 30 f. Lentz) Ἰώ ἤτοι σελήνη· ἰὼ γὰρ ἡ σελήνη κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀργείων διάλεκτον, Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 Dindorf οἱ γὰρ Ἀργεῖοι μυστικῶς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς σελήνης τὸ ἀπόκρυφον Ἰὼ λέγουσιν ἕως ἄρτι. The same

In modern times various arguments have been adduced to connect both Io and Hera with the moon. L. Ross pointed to a Coptic word *ioh* meaning 'moon,' and thought that Io was a moon-goddess corresponding with Ioh a moon-god[1]. W. H. Roscher believes that Hera was essentially a lunar divinity, and rests his belief on three main grounds—the similarity subsisting between Hera and Iuno, whom he views as a moon-goddess; the fact that Hera was a patron of women, marriage, child-birth, etc.; and analogies that can be made out between Hera and other lunar deities such as Artemis, Hekate, Selene[2]. O. Gruppe[3] holds that in the seventh century B.C. oriental influence transformed the Argive cow-goddess, whom he calls Hera-Io, into a moon-goddess. The result, he supposes, was twofold. On the one hand, the wanderings of Io were perhaps compared with the apparently erratic course of the lunar goddess[4], the horns of the cow being identified with the horns of the moon[5]. On the other hand, the moon-goddess came to be described as *boôpis*[6], like the Argive Hera, and was sometimes represented as actually bovine[7], or horned[8],

statement is made by Io. Antioch. *frag.* 6. 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 544 Müller), Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 92, *Chron. Paschale* i. 74 Dindorf, Kedren. *hist. comp.* (i. 37 Bekker), Souid. *s.v.* Ἰώ, Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 387, 22 ff., *supra* p. 237 n. 1.

[1] L. Ross *Italiker und Gräken* p. 84, cited by R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 269.

[2] W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875, and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2075, 2087 ff. The unsatisfactory nature of these arguments is pointed out by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 180 f.

[3] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 184.

[4] *E.g.* Gruppe quotes Verg. *Aen.* 1. 742 errantem lunam.

[5] Lact. *div. inst.* i. 21 Lunae taurus mactatur, quia similiter habet cornua.

[6] Nonn. *Dion.* 17. 240, 32. 95 *βοώπιδος*...Σελήνης, 11. 185 *ταυρώπιδι Μήνῃ*, 44. 217 *ταυρῶπις*...Μήνη, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 10 p. 44, 9 Wünsch, where Σελήνη is described in an oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 193) as *ταυρῶπις*, = Porphyr. *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 23. 7, *h. mag. in Sel.* 16 Abel *ταυρῶπι*...*ταυροκάρανε*, 17 *ὄμμα δέ τοι ταυρωπὸν ἔχεις*, 32 *ταυρῶπις, κερόεσσα*, Synes. *hymn.* 5. 22 *ὰ ταυρῶπις μήνα*, Maximus *περὶ καταρχῶν* 50 *κεραῆς ταυρώπιδος* and 509 *ταυρῶπις ἄνασσα* of the moon. Hera is *ταυρῶπις* in Nonn. *Dion.* 47. 711 (so Hecker for *γλαυκώπιδος*), *Anth. Pal.* 9. 189. 1; Io in Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 69.

[7] Porphyr. *de antr. nymph.* 18 *ταῦρος μὲν σελήνη καὶ ὕψωμα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος*, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 720 Luna vero, quia propius taurum coercet adducitque, ideo vacca [luna] figurata est, Nonn. *Dion.* 23. 309 *ταυροφυὴς κερόεσσα βοῶν ἐλάτειρα Σελήνη*. In Loukian. *philops.* 14 the moon brought down by magic appears first in the form of a woman, then in that of a fine cow (*βοῦς ἐγένετο πάγκαλος*), and lastly in that of a puppy.

[8] Paus. 6. 24. 6 saw in the market-place of Elis stone statues of Helios and Selene, the former with rays on his head, the latter with horns. Selene in the poets is *ἀμφίκερως, δίκερως, εὐκέραος, ἡύκερως, κεραή, κερασφόρος, κερατῶπις, κεραώψ, κερόεσσα, ταυρόκερως, ὑψίκερως, χρυσόκερως*, as Luna is *bicornis*: see Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 204 ff., Carter *Epith. deor.* p. 62.

or riding on a steer[1], or at least drawn in a chariot by white steers or cows[2].

Whether Io or Hera had anything to do with the moon before this oriental influence began to operate, is a difficult question. E. Siecke has attempted to bring the story of Io into line with sundry other moon-myths, which he refers to a common Indo-Europaean stock[3]. But, if we abandon the argument from analogy, and confine ourselves to definite literary tradition relating to Argos and the Argive cult, we cannot satisfactorily prove either that Io or that Hera was originally connected with the moon. At most we can put together the following indications. The Argives in historical times associated the cult of Hera with that of Zeus *Némeios*[4]. Nemea, however, was not, as we should have expected, the daughter of Zeus and Hera, but the daughter of Selene and Zeus[5]. Again, whereas Hesiod spoke of the famous Nemean lion—

> Whom Hera reared, the noble wife of Zeus,
> And placed on Nemea's knees, a bane to men[6],—

Hyginus says 'the Nemean lion, whom the Moon had reared[7].' Epimenides, in a passage quoted by Aelian, wrote:

> For I too am a child of the fair-tressed Moon,
> Who with dread shudder cast the monstrous lion
> At Nemea, bearing him for lady Hera[8].

[1] Ach. Tat. 1. 4 *εἶδον ἐγώ ποτ' ἐπὶ ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Σελήνην*, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 720 mire autem cornua posuit, ut Lunam manifestius posset exprimere, non animal (*sc.* taurum), quo illa vehi figuratur. Cp. W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3137 with figs. 9 and 11.

[2] For evidence, literary and monumental, see W. H. Roscher *ib.* ii. 3137.

[3] E. Siecke *Beiträge zur genaueren Erkenntnis der Mondgottheit bei den Griechen* Berlin 1885 p. 4 ff., *Die Liebesgeschichte des Himmels* Strassburg 1892 pp. 83, 104, 118. So too F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 189 f., though he subsequently modified his opinion in his *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 209 n. 3. Cp. also A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 264.

[4] Paus. 2. 24. 2, 4. 27. 6, cp. 2. 20. 3, schol. Soph. *El.* 6, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 291, 13 *ἡ πόλις ἡ Ἀργείων | χρυσῷ στεφάνῳ | καὶ θεω(ρ)οδοκίᾳ τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Νεμείου καὶ | τῆς Ἥρας τῆς Ἀργείας* = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1312, Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 1730 a, *supra* p. 236 n. 10.

[5] Schol. Pind. *Nem.* p. 425 Boeckh. Zeus and Nemea appear together on the Archemoros-vase (Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv pl. 371). See further Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 115 f.

[6] Hes. *theog.* 328 f. *γουνοῖσιν κατένασσε Νεμείης, πῆμ' ἀνθρώποις.* The line was perhaps applied to Alkibiades, whom Aristophanes (*ran.* 1431 ff.) calls a lion, after his Nemean victory (Paus. 1. 22. 6 f.); for Aglaophon (Plout. *v. Alcib.* 16 says Aristophon) painted a picture in which *Νεμέα ἦν καθημένη καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν γονάτων αὐτῆς Ἀλκιβιάδης* (Athen. 534 D).

[7] Hyg. *fab.* 30 leonem Nemeum, quem Luna nutrierat.

[8] Epimen. *frag.* 5 Kern *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7.

Anaxagoras told the same tale[1], and others followed suit[2], so that the lion came to be called the offspring of the Moon[3]. These references certainly lead us to suppose that from the time of Epimenides, that is to say from about 625 B.C.[4], the Argive Hera was closely connected, if not identified, with the Moon. More than that it would be unsafe to maintain.

ix. Zeus and Argos.

It may next be shown that, what Io was to Hera, Argos was to Zeus.

The ancient systematisers of mythology recognized a variety of Dionysoi. One of these is described by Diodoros as having been the son of Zeus by Io, as having reigned over Egypt, and as having discovered the mysteries[5]. Now in the Dionysiac mysteries, as celebrated in Asia Minor, Crete, Thebes, etc., certain priests were termed *boukóloi* or 'cow-herds,' presumably because they tended their god conceived as in bovine form or ministered to the worshippers who adopted his animal name[6]. The important inscription, which has preserved for us the regulations of the *ióbakchoi*, an Athenian sect worshipping the Dionysiac divinity *Ióbakchos*[7],

[1] Anaxag. *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 498.

[2] Herodor. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 30 Müller) *ap.* Tatian. *ap.* Iust. Mart. p. 267, Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 24, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Απέσας, Nigidius *ap.* schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 393, 20 ff. Eyssenhardt.

[3] Euphorion *frag.* 47 Meineke *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 5. 3. 3 Μήνης παῖδα χάρωνα, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 295 Lunae filius et invulnerabilis dictus est, cp. Sen. *Herc. fur.* 83 sublimis alias Luna concipiat feras, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 58 leonem de his polis ortum etc. According to Demodokos *ap.* Plout. *de fluv.* 18. 4 Mt Apaisanton (in Argolis) used to be called Mt Selenaion. For Hera, wishing to punish Herakles, got Selene to help her. Selene, using magic spells, filled a basket with foam, out of which a huge lion was born. Iris bound him with her own girdles and brought him down to Mt Opheltion. He tore and slew a shepherd of the district named Apaisantos. Hence Providence ordained that the place should be called Apaisantos after his victim.

[4] H. Demoulin *Épiménide de Crète* Bruxelles 1901 p. 136.

[5] Diod. 3. 74. In Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 58 (Dionysum) quartum Iove et Luna, cui sacra Orphica putantur confici we should perhaps read *Semela* for *Luna* and, with Moser *ad loc.*, suppose a confusion between Semele and Selene: cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 51 p. 107, 10 f. Wünsch (Διόνυσος) τέταρτος ὁ Διὸς καὶ Σεμέλης κ.τ.λ., Ampel. 9. 11 (Liber) quartus ex Saturnio et Semela. In Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 13. 18 τίς γὰρ ἡ τοῦτον (*sc.* Διόνυσον) γεννήσασα, εἴτε Σελήνη τις λέγοιτο εἴτε Περσεφόνη; G. Dindorf prints Σεμέλη, the emendation of Cuperus *Numism.* p. 255, but Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1133 defends Σελήνη, comparing Ulpian. *in Mid.* p. 174 ἔνιοι δὲ παῖδα Σελήνης τὸν Διόνυσον. Plout. *de Is. et Osir.* 37 cites a letter of Alexarchos ἐν ᾗ Διὸς ἱστορεῖται καὶ Ἰσιδος υἱὸς ὢν ὁ Διόνυσος κ.τ.λ.

[6] *Supra* p. 441 f.

[7] Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰόβακχος· ὁ Διόνυσος, ἀπὸ τῆς βακχείας, Maximus περὶ καταρχῶν 496 σφαλλόμενοι δώροισι χοροιμανέος Ἰοβάκχου. That the ἰόβακχοι acted the part of Ἰόβακχος, appears probable from *Anth. Plan.* 4. 289. 1 ff. αὐτὸν ὁρᾶν Ἰόβακχον ἐδόξαμεν, ἡνίκα κ.τ.λ....φεῦ θείης ἀνδρὸς ὑποκρισίης.

mentions a priestly personage called the *boukolikós*[1]. His name is placed next to that of Dionysos, whose connexion with the bull is indicated by the bull's head carved above the Dionysiac symbols at the top of the inscribed column[2]. The derivation of the name *Ióbakchos* is unknown[3]. But Diodoros' statement that Io was the mother of Dionysos makes it probable that some ancient mythologists, no doubt wrongly, deduced it from Io and Bakchos. However that may be, we are, I think, justified in inferring, from the analogy of the Dionysiac *boukólos* tending the Dionysiac bull, that Argos, who as *boukólos* tended the 'cow' Io, was but the mythical prototype of a priest tending an actual or nominal cow.

But, if Argos was human, he was also divine. We have already seen that his name *Árgos* 'the Glittering' is comparable with that of *Zeús* 'the Bright One' and marks him as 'a sort of Zeus[4].' A mortal Zeus, however; for his grave was shown at Argos[5], where he had a precinct and a sacred wood impiously burnt by Kleomenes[6]. He resembled Zeus in nature as well as in name. Zeus, says Aischylos, became a bull to consort with Io[7]. Argos too was not only regarded as a fertilising power[8], but also connected by his exploits with cattle. Being of exceptional strength, he slew a bull that was laying waste Arkadia and himself put on its hide; he withstood and killed a Satyr, who was oppressing the Arcadians and taking away their herds; he managed to destroy Echidna, child of Tartaros and Ge, who seized passers by and carried them off, by waiting till she fell asleep; and, lastly, he avenged the murder of Apis by doing to death those who were guilty of it[9]. If

[1] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 737, 123 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1564, 123 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 239 no. 91, 123.

[2] See S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 249, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 234, J. E. Harrison *Primitive Athens* Cambridge 1906 p. 90 fig.

[3] Bentley on Hor. *sat.* 1. 3. 7 *Io Bacche*, cp. Eur. *Bacch.* 576 ff. ΔΙ. *ἰώ*, | *κλύετ' ἐμᾶς κλύετ' αὐδᾶς*, | *ἰὼ Βάκχαι, ἰὼ Βάκχαι*, derives the name from the initial exclamation. And there is much to be said in favour of this view. But was *ἰώ* merely an exclamation, or rather the broken down form of some old cult-title?

[4] *Supra* p. 32.

[5] Paus. 2. 22. 5.

[6] Hdt. 6. 78 ff., Paus. 2. 20. 7, 3. 4. 1.

[7] *Supra* p. 438 f.

[8] Argos introduced agriculture into the Argive land: he sent for wheat from Libye and founded a sanctuary of Demeter Αἰβυσσα at a spot called Charadra in Argos (Polemon *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 119 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristeid. p. 321 f. Dindorf). Kekrops, or some one else, sent Argos to Libye and Sicily for the wheat that grew there unrecognised, after which Triptolemos was the first to plough and sow (Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 32). Apis removed from Argos to Egypt, sent cattle to the king in Argos, and taught him how to sow: he, having yoked (*ζεύξας*) the cows for that purpose, dedicated a sanctuary to Hera (*sc.* Ζευξιδία), and, when the corn shot up and flourished (*ἀνθεῖν*), called it the flowers (*ἄνθεα*) of Hera (*et. mag.* p. 409, 28 ff.). In the reign of Argos, son of Apis, Greece imported seeds and began to till the fields and raise crops (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 6).

[9] Apollod. 2. 1. 2.

Argos was not, like Zeus, a bull, at least he wore a bull's hide. And this was no unimportant detail of his myth: Apollonios Rhodios in his account of the Argonauts tells how—

> Argos, Arestor's son, from foot to shoulder
> Had girt a bull's hide black with shaggy hair[1].

And Hyginus describes the same hero as 'an Argive clad in a hairy bull's hide[2].' On the strength of this hide Miss Harrison, following an acute conjecture of H. D. Müller, suggested 'that Argos Panoptes is the real husband of Io, Argos who wore the bull-skin..., who when he joins the Argonautic expedition still trails it behind him..., who is the bull-god[3].' But we are never told by any ancient authority that Argos was either a bull or a god[4]. It seems wiser, therefore, to suppose that he wore the bull-skin in order to assimilate himself to the Argive bull-god Zeus[5]. On this showing Argos was to Zeus very much what Io was to Hera.

Again, as Io bore the further title *Kallithýessa*, so Argos was also *Panóptes*. *Kallithýessa*, 'She of the fair sacrifices,' was probably a cult-title of Hera[6]. *Panóptes*, 'He who sees all,' occurs repeatedly in the poets as a title of Zeus[7], a fact which supports

[1] Ap. Rhod. i. 324 f.

[2] Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 48, 4 Schmidt. Cp. Aristoph. *eccl.* 79 f. *νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρ' ἐπιτήδειός γ' ἂν ἦν | τὴν τοῦ Πανόπτου διφθέραν ἐνημμένος*, Dionysios (Skytobrachion) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1116 *βύρσαν αὐτὸν ἠμφιέσθαι φησί.*

[3] Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1893 vii. 76, after H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme*, Göttingen 1861 ii. 273 ff. Miss Harrison has recently somewhat shifted her view-point and writes to me as follows (June 14, 1912): 'I now absolutely hold your position that Argos was a celebrant—only I go much further in thinking, not that Argos was the god, but that the god Argos arose out of the worshipper.'

[4] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 6 states that Argos after his death began to be regarded as a god, being honoured with a temple and sacrifices: while he was reigning (as king at Argos), these divine honours were paid to a certain private man named Homogyros, who had first yoked oxen to the plough, and had been struck by lightning.

[5] Cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120 f. On a *kratér* from Ruvo, belonging to the Jatta collection, Argos is clad in a bull's hide (fig. 318 from *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 59, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii pl. 101, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 274, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 111, 4); but Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 593 n. 189 points out that on other vases he wears other hides, the artistic being less conservative than the literary tradition.

The Jatta *kratér* shows a well-marked tendency to duplicate its figures. In the lower register the Satyr on the left is balanced by the Satyr on the right. In the upper register Eros and Aphrodite on the left are mirrored by almost identical forms (Peitho? and Pothos? according to S. Reinach) on the right. Zeus seated on the mountain next to Hera similarly corresponds with Argos seated on the mountain near to Io. The latter couple is the bovine counterpart of the former—witness the bull's hide of Argos, the cow's horns and cow's ear of Io.

[6] *Supra* p. 453 f.

[7] Aisch. *Eum.* 1045 *Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτας* (so Musgrave for MSS. *Ζεὺς παντόπτας*), Orph.

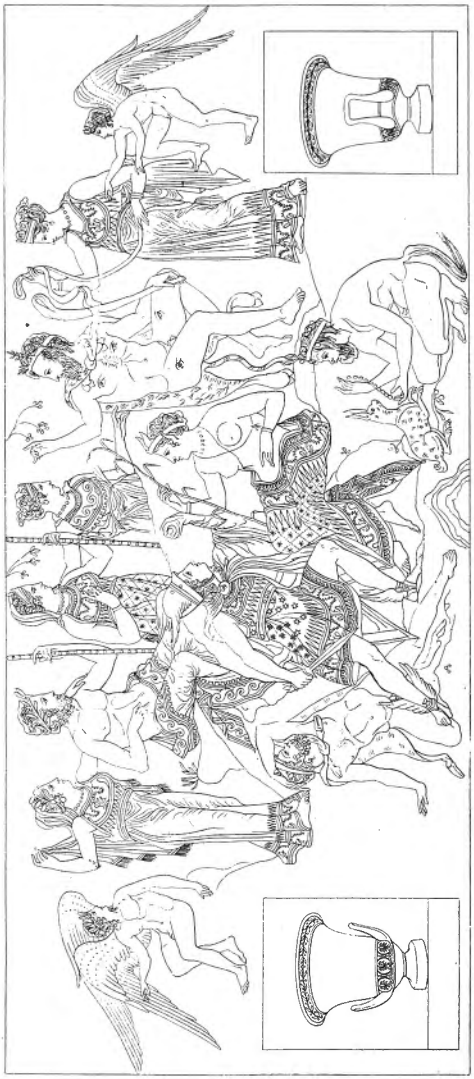


Fig. 318.

my contention that Argos was akin to Zeus. Hesychios, in one of his brief but illuminating glosses, observes: '*Panóptes*, "many-eyed," Zeus, the Achaeans[1].' This I take to mean that the Achaeans (and the ruling house at Argos in heroic days was Achaean) recognised a Zeus *Panóptes*, whom they identified with the many-eyed Argos. A remarkable confirmation of Hesychios' words has recently come to light. Built into a Byzantine wall below the terrace of Apollon *Pýthios* at Argos, W. Vollgraff has found a small altar of greyish limestone inscribed in lettering of the third century—ΔΙϜΟΣΠΑΝΟΠΤΑ, 'Of Zeus the All-seeing[2].'

The title *Panóptes* is also used of the sun. Aischylos makes his Prometheus, bound fast to the mountain-peak and left alone, exclaim:

> On the all-seeing (*panópten*) circle of the sun
> I call[3].

And Byzantine writers more than once apply the same epithet to the sun[4]. Hence it might appear that both Argos *Panóptes* and Zeus *Panóptes* had or came to have a solar character. An anonymous commentator on the *Phainomena* of Aratos remarks that the poet wrote—

> And all the roads are full of Zeus[5]—

'because even the poets call Zeus all-seeing (*panópten*) everywhere: "O Zeus all-seeing (*panópta*)" and "Sun, who observest all things[6]."' Since the commentator in question has just been discoursing on the view of those who identify Zeus with the sun[7], it is obvious

frag. 71 Abel Ζεὺς ὁ πανόπτης, cp. Aisch. *suppl.* 139 πατὴρ ὁ παντόπτας, Soph. *O.C.* 1085 f. παντ|όπτα Ζεῦ, schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 435 καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ παντεπόπτης λέγεται.

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* πανόπτης· πολυόφθαλμος. Ζεύς. Ἀχαιοί. Urlichs' cj. Ἀχαιός (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 758 Nauck[2]) and Nauck's cj. Αἰσχύλος (*ib.*) are unconvincing. Cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* πανόπτης Ζεύς· πολυόφθαλμος with S. A. Naber *ad loc.*, Souid. *s.v.* πανόπτης· πολυόφθαλμος.

[2] W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 445 f.

[3] Aisch. *P.v.* 91 καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου καλῶ. Cp. Aisch. Προμ. λυόμ. *frag.* 192 Nauck[2] *ap.* Strab. 33 ὁ παντόπτας Ἥλιος.

[4] Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 1. 306 γῆν, οὐρανὸν μαρτύρομαι, καὶ ἥλιον πανόπτην, Manuel Philes *vatic.* 33. 1 τοῦ πανόπτου φωσφόρου.

[5] Arat. *phaen.* 2.

[6] D. Petavius *Uranologion* Paris 1630 p. 275 C ὅτι καὶ οἱ ποιηταὶ πανόπτην καλοῦσι παντοχοῦ. ὦ Ζεῦς (*sic*) πανόπτα. καὶ· ἥλιος, ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς. A. Meineke *Vind. Aristoph.* Lipsiae 1865 p. 8 would read πανόπτην καλοῦσιν· 'ὦ Ζεῦ πανόπτα καὶ κατόπτα παντοχοῦ' καὶ 'ἥλιος ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς,' supposing that the first quotation is the Euripidean tag parodied in Aristoph. *Ach.* 435 ὦ Ζεῦ διόπτα καὶ κατόπτα παντοχοῦ. See *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 847 Nauck[2].

[7] D. Petavius *op. cit.* p. 274 A—B οἱ δὲ Δία τὸν ἥλιον νοήσαντες, λέγουσιν, ὅτι καὶ Σοφοκλῆς Δία τὸν ἥλιον καλεῖ λέγων·—ἡελίοιο κτείρειε ἐμέ· | Οἱ σοφοὶ λέγουσι γεννητὴν θεῶν, | Πατέρα πάντων (Nauck *op. cit.*[2] p. 355 f. reads Ἥλι', οἰκτίροις ἐμέ, | ≺ὃν≻ οἱ

that he interprets the title of Zeus *Panóptes* in a solar sense. Again, according to Pherekydes, Hera gave Argos an extra eye in the back of his head[1]. And the ancient statue of Zeus on the Argive Larisa was likewise three-eyed, having the third eye on its forehead[2]. Argos *Panóptes* and the Argive Zeus were on this account compared by M. Mayer[3] with the three-eyed Kyklops, whose abnormal eye not improbably denoted the sun[4]. In this connexion, however, it must be borne in mind that Empedokles speaks of Zeus *argés*, 'the brilliant[5]'; that Hesiod names one of the Kyklopes *Árges*[6]; and that the same Kyklops is sometimes called, not *Árges*, but *Árgos*[7]. These titles, no doubt, ultimately refer to the brilliant sky-god, but as manifested in the burning *aithér* or the blazing thunderbolt rather than in the shining sun.

The author of the Hesiodic poem *Aigímios* associated the story of Argos and Io with Euboia, and derived the name of the island from the cow into which the latter was transformed[8]. He represented Argos as four-eyed in a line borrowed by an Orphic writer to describe Phanes[9]. Strabon too mentions a cavern called The Cow's Crib on the east shore of Euboia, adding that Io was said to have given birth to Epaphos there and that the island drew its name from the fact[10]. The *Etymologicum Magnum* states that Euboia was so called 'because, when Isis was turned into a cow, Earth sent up much grass thitherwards...or because Io became a right beautiful cow and lived there[11].' If Zeus changed Io into a *white* cow[12], it was perhaps because 'in Euboia almost all the cattle are born white, so much so indeed that the poets used to call Euboia *argíboios*[13],' "the land of white cattle." *Árgoura* in Euboia, where Hermes was believed to have killed *Panóptes*[14], was doubtless connected by the populace with *Árgos* the 'watcher' (*oûros*). These witnesses suffice to prove that Euboia had an Io-myth analogous to that of the Argolid[15].

σοφοὶ λέγουσι γενητὴν θεῶν | <καὶ> πατέρα πάντων). καὶ ἔννοιαν τῆς δόξης ταύτης φασὶν ἔχειν τὸν ποιητήν, ὅταν λέγῃ· Ἠχὴ δ' ἀμφοτέρων ἵκετ' αἰθέρα, καὶ Διὸς αὐγάς· καὶ τὸ, Ἡέλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς, καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις.

[1] Pherekyd. *frag.* 22 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 74 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1123.

[2] Paus. 2. 24. 3.

[3] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 110 ff. *Supra* p. 320.

[4] *Supra* pp. 313, 323. [5] *Supra* p. 31 f. [6] *Supra* p. 317.

[7] Schol. Aisch. *P.v.* 351, schol. Eur. *Alc.* 5. *Supra* p. 32 n. 4.

[8] *Aigim. frag.* 3 Kinkel *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αβαντίς, cp. Herodian. i. 104 Lentz.

[9] *Supra* p. 311 n. 6. [10] Strab. 445 Βοὸς αὐλή. [11] *Et. mag.* p. 389, 2 ff.

[12] Apollod. 2. 1. 3. *Supra* p. 440 n. 2.

[13] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 36. [14] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* "Αργουρα.

[15] On the relation of the Euboean to the Argive myth see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1130 n. 9, cp. 968 n. 2.

Coins of Euboia from the earliest times exhibit a variety of bovine types[1], the interpretation of which is doubtful[2]. None of them can be proved to have any connexion with the cult of Zeus or Argos, Hera or Io. Still, the ox-head bound with a fillet, which appears at Eretria (?) (fig. 319)[3], Histiaia[4], and Karystos[5], is best explained as a religious type; and it is not unreasonable to conjecture that the allusion is to the cult of Hera[6], who perhaps, as at Argos[7], bore the title *Εὐβοία*[8]. The head of Hera, likewise bound with a fillet and often mounted on the capital of an Ionic column, is found on coppers of Chalkis from *c.* 369 B.C. onwards[9], and an inscribed figure of the goddess sitting on a conical stone with *phiále* and filleted sceptre occurs on a copper of the same town struck by Septimius Severus[10]. At Histiaia 'rich in grape-clusters[11]'

Fig. 319.

Fig. 320.

the bull stands before a vine (fig. 320)[12], and we legitimately suspect a Dionysiac meaning.

From Euboia it is but a step to Thespiai, where a boundary-

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 94 ff. pl. 17 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 42 ff. pl. 33, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 677 f., 685 ff. pl. 31 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 355 ff.

[2] Prof. W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 pp. 5, 313, 322 holds that the bovine types of Euboia point to the ox as the original monetary unit. This view, which has been severely criticised by Mr G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 23 ff., does not to my thinking necessarily conflict with the religious interpretation put upon the same types by Dr B. V. Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 357, 361 and others: cp. *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (α).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 95 f. pl. 17, 5—8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 42.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 128 pl. 24, 8, p. 135 pl. 24, 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 48 f. pl. 33, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 364.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 102 f. pl. 18, 13, 19, 3.

[6] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 357: 'The Bull or Cow is possibly connected with the cult of Hera,' etc.

[7] *Supra* p. 445 f.

[8] See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 417 n. 3.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece pp. lx f., 112 f. pl. 20, 15, p. 115 f. pl. 21, 5 f., cp. p. 117 pl. 21, 9—11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 45 f., cp. p. 46 pl. 33, 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 359.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 118 pl. 21, 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 360.

[11] *Il.* 2. 537 πολυστάφυλον θ' Ἱστίαιαν.

[12] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 125 f. pl. 24, 1, 2, 5, *Hunter Cat. Coins* p. 48 ff. pl. 33, 14, 16, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 364.

stone (fig. 321)[1] has come to light inscribed in late characters—ΘΕΟΥ | ΤΑΥΡΟΥ, 'Of the god Bull[2].' It has been conjectured that this god was the bovine Dionysos[3], but definite proof is lacking.

Fig. 321.

x. The Myth of Pasiphae.

Turning next to Crete, we may find the counterpart of Io and Epaphos in Pasiphae and the Minotaur.

Two principal versions of their story are extant. Apollodoros[4], after telling how Zeus for love of Europe became a bull and carried her off across the sea to Crete, how there she bore him three sons, Minos, Sarpedon, and Rhadamanthys, how Asterion, ruler of Crete, reared the lads, how they, when they were full-grown, quarrelled and scattered, Sarpedon to Lykia, Rhadamanthys to Boiotia, while Minos, staying in Crete, married Pasiphae, daughter of Helios by Perseis, continues his narrative as follows:

'Now Asterion died childless, and Minos desired to become king of Crete, but was prevented. However, he asserted that he had received the kingdom from the gods, and by way of proof declared that whatever he prayed for would be vouchsafed to him. So he sacrificed to Poseidon and prayed that a bull might be sent up from the deep, promising that he would offer it in sacrifice when it appeared. Thereupon Poseidon heard him and sent up a magnificent bull; and Minos received the kingdom. But the bull he dispatched to join his herds and sacrificed another. He was the first to establish maritime sway and became lord of well nigh all the islands. But Poseidon, wroth with him because he had not slain the bull, maddened it and caused Pasiphae to hanker after it. She, being enamoured of the bull, asked help of Daidalos, a master-craftsman who had fled from Athens by reason of a manslaughter. He made a wooden cow on wheels, hollowed it out inside, flayed a cow, sewed the hide round about his handiwork, placed it in the meadow where the bull was wont to pasture, and put Pasiphae within it (fig. 322)[5]. The bull came and consorted

[1] Drawn from a photograph of the stone kindly taken for me in the Museum at Thebes by Mr P. N. Ure.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1787.

[3] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 76 n. 8, p. 1425 n. 4.

[4] Apollod. 3. 1. 1 ff., cp. Diod. 4. 77, Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 473 ff.

[5] A wall-painting in a room of the *Casa dei Vettii* at Pompeii (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 38 Text p. 47 f. fig. 11), forming part of the same mural decoration with

with it as though it were a real cow. Pasiphae then bore Asterios, who is called *Minótauros* (fig. 323)[1]. His face was the face of a bull (*taûros*), but

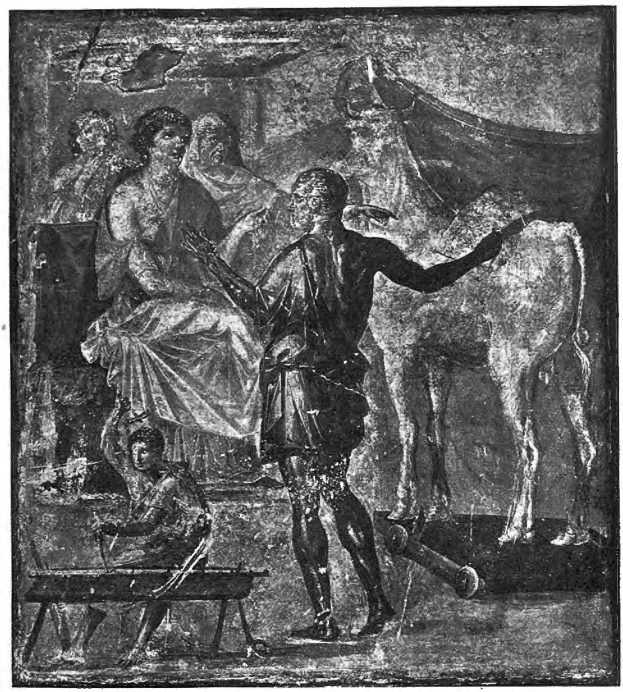


Fig. 322.

the painting of Ixion already figured (*supra* p. 203). The scene is laid in Daidalos' workshop, where an assistant is busy at the carpenter's bench. Daidalos lifts the lid from his wooden cow and explains its mechanism to Pasiphae, who holds two golden rings—perhaps the price of his handiwork. Behind Pasiphae stand an old nurse and a younger maid. The painting is further discussed by A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 49 ff., A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 293 ff., and P. Herrmann *loc. cit.*

[1] A late red-figured *kýlix* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 623 f. no. 1066) published by F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 33—37 pls. 3—5 as having (*a*) an inner design of Persephone with Zagreus on her knee, (*b*) two outer designs of omophagy—a Maenad holding a severed human leg between two Satyrs, and a Maenad with a severed human arm similarly placed. Lenormant's interpretation of (*a*), though accepted at least in part by De Ridder *loc. cit.*, must rest upon the assumed connexion

the remaining parts were those of a man. Minos in accordance with certain oracles shut him up in the Labyrinth and guarded him there. The Labyrinth

Fig. 323.

between (*a*) and (*b*). But Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 349 justly objects that 'in late r. f. kylikes such a relation of subject between the exterior and interior is rare; the usual practice being to have in the interior a definite subject, and to leave the exterior for meaningless athlete subjects or Bacchic subjects, as here; if these exterior scenes have any mythical significance, it is to the Pentheus rather than to the Zagreus legend. In any case the epithets *ταυρόκερως*, &c., applied to Dionysos are not sufficient to warrant us in identifying a definite Minotaur type with Zagreus; especially as on the one other distinct Zagreus scene (Müller—Wieseler, *Denkm.* ii. No. 413; see Heydemann, *Dionysos-Geburt*, p. 55) [cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 188 no. E 246 the *hydria* under discussion] he is represented as an ordinary human child.' In common, therefore, with Sir Cecil Smith and others (T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1837 Anz. p. 22*, E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1847 p. 121, J. de Witte in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 Anz. p. 213*, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 148) I take the scene here figured to be Pasiphae with the infant Minotaur. The basket and goose merely indicate the *gynaikonîtis*.

was the one made by Daidalos, a building which by means of intricate windings led astray those that would escape from it.'

The other version of the myth connects the bull with Zeus, not Poseidon. The first Vatican mythographer tells it thus[1]:

'Minos, the son of Zeus and Europe, once drew near to the altars to sacrifice to his father, and prayed the godhead to furnish him with a victim worthy of his own altars. Then on a sudden appeared a bull of dazzling whiteness (*nimio candore perfusus*). Minos, lost in admiration of it, forgot his vow and chose rather to take it as chief of his herd. The story goes that Pasiphae was fired with actual love for it. Zeus, therefore, being scorned by his son, and indignant at such treatment, drove the bull mad. It proceeded to lay waste, not only the fields, but even the walls of the Cretans. Herakles, sent by Eurystheus, proved to be more than a match for it and brought it vanquished to Argos. There it was dedicated by Eurystheus to Hera. But Hera, loathing the gift because it redounded to the glory of Herakles, drove the bull into Attike, where it was called the bull of Marathon and subsequently slain by Theseus, son of Aigeus (fig. 324)[2].'

Fig. 324.

Both Apollodoros and the Vatican mythographer are evidently concerned to present the reader with a consecutive and consistent story. The myth, as they relate it, is composite. I do not propose to discuss in detail its several parts, but rather to call attention to the fact that, taken as a whole, it bears a strong resemblance to two types of Greek tales, represented respectively by the golden lamb or ram and by the white cow that we have already considered.

xi. The Bull and the Sun in Crete.

The golden lamb found among the flocks of Atreus and the golden ram found among the flocks of Athamas we regarded as a divine beast, the animal form of Zeus, which by a secondary development came to symbolise the sun[3]. The lamb of Atreus was for Simonides purple, the ram of Athamas purple or white[4].

[1] Myth. Vat. 1. 47. The same version is found in Myth. Vat. 2. 120, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 5. 431.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica p. 106, E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 398 f. fig., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 145 f. pl. DD, 7 f., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 322 fig. 79. The coin has been thought to represent a dedication by the township of Marathon on the *akrópolis* at Athens (Paus. 1. 27. 10 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*): but this notion is disproved by the extant fragment of the group (O. Benndorf 'Stiertorso der Akropolis' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 191 ff.), which agrees with the scene on a red-figured *kýlix* at Florence (L. A. Milani in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* iii. 239 pl. 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 529).

[3] *Supra* pp. 405, 409, 419 f.

[4] *Supra* pp. 406, 419.

I would venture to offer the same explanation of the dazzling white bull that shone conspicuous in the herd of Minos[1]. Ovid, thinking perhaps of the marks that characterised the Apis-bull[2], says of it:

> Beneath the shady vales of wooded Ide
> Was once a white bull, glory of the herd,
> Signed with a line of black between the horns:
> That its one fleck; the rest was milk to see[3].

As in Egypt[4], so in Crete, the fertilising bull was in the long run identified with the sun. Apollodoros states that *Tálos* or *Talôs*, the man of bronze, about whom we shall have more to say[5], was by some called *Taûros*[6]. But *Tálos* or *Talôs* means 'the sun[7],' and *Taûros* means 'a bull.' It follows that some who wrote on Cretan mythology spoke of the Sun as the 'Bull.' Presumably, therefore, the Cretans, or at least certain Cretans, conceived him to be a bull. But, more than this, another lexicographer expressly asserts that the Cretans called the sun the 'Adiounian bull' on the ground that, when he changed the site of his city, he led the way in the likeness of a bull[8].

A similar story is told of Ilos, son of Tros, who came to Phrygia, won a wrestling-match arranged by the king, and received as his prize fifty boys and fifty girls. The king, in accordance with an oracle, gave him also a dappled or variegated cow with instructions that wherever it lay down he should found a city. The cow went before him to the hill of the Phrygian Ate and there lay down. So Ilos founded his city and called it Ilion[9]. Or, as another authority told the tale, when Ilos (whose name appeared to mean 'Cow-herd[10]') was feeding his cattle in Mysia, Apollon gave him an oracle to the effect that he should found a city wherever he saw one of his cows fall: one of them leapt away, and

[1] *Supra* p. 467. [2] *Supra* p. 432 f.
[3] Ov. *ars am.* i. 289 ff. [4] *Supra* p. 430 ff. [5] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (h).
[6] Apollod. 1. 9. 26. The editors print ὁ Τάλως, but the name was also accented Ταλῶς: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1794 D.
[7] Hesych. *s.v.* ταλῶς· ὁ ἥλιος. So M. Schmidt: J. Alberti prints Τάλως.
[8] Συναγωγὴ λέξεων χρησίμων κ.τ.λ. in Bekker *anecd.* i. 344, 10 ff. 'Αδιούνιος ταῦρος· ὁ ἥλιος ὑπὸ τῶν Κρητῶν οὕτω λέγεται. φασὶ γὰρ τὴν πόλιν μετοικίζοντα ταύρῳ προσεικασθέντα προηγεῖσθαι. H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 18 *s.v.* ἀδιούνιος ταῦρος says: 'Adiectivum non expedio.' But may it not be a dialect-form from Ἄδωνις, whose name often appears on Etruscan mirrors as *Atunis* (*e.g.* Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii pls. 111, 114—116, v pls. 24—28) or *Atuns* (*ib.* pl. 23)? On the Cretan Zeus as a sort of Adonis see *supra* p. 157 n. 3.
[9] Apollod. 3. 12. 3, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 29.
[10] The real origin of the name is uncertain; but the Greeks probably connected with ἴλη, 'herd' (see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 121).

he followed it till it bent its legs and fell down on the site of Ilion[1]. This cow was probably divine; for in Phrygia[2], as elsewhere in ancient times[3], to kill a plough-ox was a capital offence[4]. A third story of like character tells how Kadmos, in obedience to a Delphic oracle, followed a cow belonging to Pelagon, son of Amphidamas, and on the spot where it lay down founded the city of Thebes; but of this I must speak more in detail in a later section[5].

xii. The Cow and the Moon in Crete.

If the brilliant bull in the herd of king Minos had thus come to symbolise the sun, we can discover a meaning in another story told of the same monarch. Apollodoros[6] says of Glaukos, son of Minos:

'Glaukos, while still an infant, was pursuing a mouse[7] when he fell into a jar of honey and was drowned. After his disappearance Minos had search made for him everywhere and consulted the oracles about the right way to find him.

[1] Δήσσης ὁ Λαμψακηνός *ap.* schol. vet. and *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 29 Ἄτης ἀπ' ἄκρων βουπλανοκτίστων λόφων.

[2] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34 Φρύγες δὲ ἐὰν παρ' αὐτοῖς τις ἀροτῆρα ἀποκτείνῃ βοῦν, ἡ ζημία θάνατος αὐτῷ, Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 128 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 461 Müller) ἐὰν δέ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς (the Phrygians) γεωργικὸν βοῦν ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ σκεῦος τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν κλέψῃ, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσι.

[3] Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 5. 4 ab hoc (*sc.* bove) antiqui manus ita abstineri voluerunt, ut capite sanxerint, siquis occidisset. qua in re testis Attice, testis Peloponnesos. nam ab hoc pecore Athenis Buzuges nobilitatus, Argis Homogyros (*supra* p. 459 n. 4), Colum. *de re rust.* 6 *praef.* cuius (*sc.* bovis) tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio ut tam capitale esset bovem necasse quam civem.

[4] Cp. the *βουφόνια* at Athens (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii), the sacrifice of a calf dressed in buskins to Dionysos Ἀνθρωποφορβαίστης in Tenedos (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34), and analogous rites (W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 304 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 327 ff.). Prometheus was said to have been the first to kill an ox (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 209): see Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3055.

[5] *Infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xviii.

[6] Apollod. 3. 3. 1, cp. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 811, Aristeid. *or.* 46. 307 (ii. 398 Dindorf) with schol. Aristeid. p. 728, 29 ff. Dindorf.

[7] For *μῦν*, which is supported by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 811, A. Westermann, after Commelin, reads *μυῖαν*, 'a fly,' cp. *Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 152 Müller *μυῖαν*.

The first part of the story implies the custom of preserving the dead in honey (W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* Berolini 1893 p. 128 ff.) and burying him in a *pithos* (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 816 n. 5). Glaukos' pursuit of the 'fly' may be based on the art-type of Hermes evoking the dead from a burial-jar, while a soul in the form of a bee (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 801 n. 6) hovers above it: the type is best represented by gems (figs. 325, 326 = Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 252 f. pl. 30, 333, 332, cp. *ib.* 332[a]). See further Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 43 f.

Fig. 325.

Fig. 326.

The Kouretes told him that he had in his herds a three-coloured cow[1], and that the man who could offer the best similitude for the colour of this cow would also give him back his son alive. So the seers were called together, and Polyidos, son of Koiranos, likened the colour of the cow to the fruit of a bramble. He was therefore compelled to search for the boy, and by some prophetic art he found him.'

With the rest of the story we are not here concerned. It is, however, worth while to compare the opening of the tale as told by Hyginus[2]:

'Glaukos, son of Minos and Pasiphae, while playing at ball, fell into a big jar full of honey. His parents sought him and enquired of Apollon about the boy. To them Apollon made answer: "A portent has been born to you, and whoever can explain it will restore to you your boy." Minos, having listened to the oracle, began to enquire of his people what this portent might be. They said that a calf had been born, which thrice in the day, once every four hours, changed its colour, being first white, then ruddy, and lastly black. Minos, therefore, called his augurs together to explain the portent. When they were at a loss to do so, Polyidos, son of Koiranos, showed[3] that it was like a mulberry-tree; for the mulberry is first white, then red, and, when fully ripe, black. Then said Minos to him: "The answer of Apollon requires that you should restore to me my boy."'

It will be observed that, according to Apollodoros (and Tzetzes bears him out[4]), the task set to test the powers of the seer was, not to explain the significance of the three-coloured cow, but to find a suitable comparison for its colours. The cow did not signify a bramble-bush or a mulberry-tree, but in aspect or colour they might be taken to resemble it. Now a common folk-lore explanation of the moon's spots is that they are a thorn-bush carried by the man-in-the-moon[5]. It might therefore be maintained that the bramble-bush or mulberry-tree was a possible description of the moon. And, if so, then the three-coloured cow, or calf that changed its colour three times a day, was merely another way of describing the moon. I am the more disposed to advance this view because Io, who was so often identified with the moon[6], became according to one account now a white cow, now a black, now a violet[7], and because Bacis or Bacchis the sacred bull at

[1] Apollod. 3. 3. 1 *τριχρώματον...βοῦν*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 811 *ἡ τρίχρωμος τοῦ Μίνωος βοῦς ἡ ἐν τοῖς ἀγροῖς*, schol. Aristeid. p. 728, 31 Dindorf *βοῦν τρίχρονον* (*τρίχρωμον* Oxon.).

[2] Hyg. *fab.* 136.

[3] The text is uncertain. M. Schmidt prints: qui cum non invenirent, Polyidus Coerani filius †Bizanti monstrum demonstravit, eum †arbori moro similem esse; nam etc. T. Muncker cj. *rubi* moro, M. Schmidt cj. *colore* moro.

[4] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 811 *ἔτι δὲ καὶ ἀναστήσειν αὐτὸν ὃς εἴπῃ τίνι ὁμοία ἐστὶν ἡ τρίχρωμος τοῦ Μίνωος βοῦς κ.τ.λ.*

[5] See *e.g.* J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 717 ff.; P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 11 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 454 ff.

[7] *Supra* p. 441.

Hermonthis, which is known to have been consecrated to the sun, was said to change its colour every hour[1].

A 'Caeretan' *hydría* in the Louvre (fig. 327)[2] represents Zeus as a three-coloured bull bearing Europe across the sea to Minos'

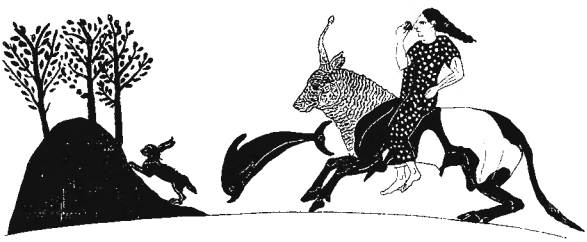


Fig. 327.

isle; but the coloration is here a matter of Ionian technique, not of Cretan mythology.

xiii. The Sacred Cattle of Gortyna.

Further evidence of the Cretan cult of a solar bull and a lunar cow is forthcoming at Gortyna and at Knossos. A Cretan name for the Gortynians was *Kartemnídes*[3], which in all probability means 'Cow-men' or 'Cow-herds,' since the Cretans said *kárten* for 'cow' and Gortynians *kartaîpos* for 'ox' or 'bull[4].' Special

[1] *Supra* p. 436.

[2] Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 535 f. no. E 696, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 65, *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 254, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 77, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 210 ff., Reinach *Rép. vases* i. 162, 1 f.

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* Καρτεμνίδες· οἱ Γορτύνιοι. Κρῆτες.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* κάρτην· τὴν βοῦν Κρῆτες. καὶ τὸν οἰκέτην οἱ αὐτοί. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* hazards the suggestion that we should read οἰκιστὴν and explain it of an eponymous founder Κάρτυν = Γόρτυν. I. Voss *Catull.* p. 203 would correct Κρημνία in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γόρτυν to Καρτεμνία: he cites Strab. 478 to prove that Gortyna lay 'in a plain' and could not therefore be called 'Precipitous.' J. Alberti on Hesych. *loc. cit.* quotes from Soping a comparison with the first element in *Carthago* and the story of the bull's hide (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1013, Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 426): this of course assumes a folk-etymology for *Carthago* as well as for the *Byrsa*.

I would rather suppose a connexion with τὰ καρταίποδα, which occurs in the laws of Gortyna to denote 'oxen' (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1333 iv. 35 f. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 265 no. 4991 iv. 35 f. τὰ πρόβατα καὶ καρτα[ί]ποδα. cp. *ib.* iii. 2. 282 no. 4998 i. 12 ff. αἰ δέ κα σῦς καρταῖπος παρώσει ἢ κατασκέν̣η, τόν τε σῦν ἐπὶ τῷ πάσστᾳ ἥμην ὧ κ' ᾖ τὸ καρταῖπος κ.τ.λ.) and, in an all but identical form, was used by Pindar of 'a bull' (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 81 καρταίποδ' with schol. *ad loc.* καρταίποδα τὸν ταῦρον. οὕτω Δελφοὶ ἰδίως ἐκάλουν). Dedications to the Kouretes as guardians of kine (Κούρησι τοῖς πρὸ καρταιπόδων) have been found by Prof. De Sanctis at *Hagia Barbara* (G. De Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1907 xviii. 346 f.) and at Pluti near Gortyna (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 353).

herds of cattle belonging to the sun used to be kept at Gortyna[1]; and Virgil represents Pasiphae's bull, whose solar character we have already considered[2], as lying beneath an evergreen oak or following the Gortynian cows[3]. Bronze coins of Gortyna show Zeus as a bull galloping across the sea, which is suggested by a couple of dolphins[4], or carrying Europe on his back (fig. 328)[5]: in both cases a surrounding circle of rays stamps him as a god of light.

Fig. 328.

xiv. The Labyrinth at Knossos.

At Knossos[6] was the Labyrinth built by Daidalos for the safe-keeping of the Minotaur[7]. Diodoros[8] and Pliny[9] state that it was an imitation of the yet more famous Egyptian Labyrinth. Mr H. R. Hall describes the latter building as follows: 'It was a great temple, with magnificent pillared halls, side-chambers, and out-buildings, erected by the greatest pharaoh of the Twelfth Dynasty, Amenemhat III (circa 2200 B.C.), immediately in front of his pyramid at Hawara: there is no doubt that it was the funerary temple of the pyramid, erected by the king for the due performance of the funeral rites after his death[10].' Classical writers had a more or less confused idea of the purpose served by the building.

[1] *Supra* p. 410 n. 9. [2] *Supra* p. 467 f. [3] Verg. *ecl.* 6. 53 ff.

[4] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 174 f. pl. 16, 4 and 5, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 15 pl. 11, 14.

[5] J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 173 pl. 15, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 45, pl. 11, 11, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 462 Münztaf. 6, 11. I figure from my collection a similar coin of Knossos, struck in alliance with Gortyna (cp. J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 81 pl. 7, 11—14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 22 pl. 6, 2 f.).

[6] Some late writers (Claud. *de sext. cons. Hon. Aug.* 634, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 122 C (i. 215 Bekker)) place the Cretan Labyrinth at Gortyna.

[7] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1778 ff.

[8] Diod. 1. 61 and 97. [9] Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 84 ff.

[10] H. R. Hall 'The Two Labyrinths' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 328. Prof. Flinders Petrie investigated the site of the Egyptian Labyrinth in 1888 with meagre results (W. M. Flinders Petrie *Hawara, Biahmu, and Arsinoe* London 1889 pp. 4—8 pl. 25 map of neighbourhood with conjectural ground-plan). In 1911 he was more successful, and at a depth of from 20 to 25 feet recovered the upper parts of half a dozen statues of the gods of the twelfth dynasty, especially of Sebek the crocodile-god, who seems to have been the principal deity of the precinct; he also found in the *débris* of the brick core of the pyramid traces of the 21 chapels for the Egyptian nomes, *e.g.* two large shrines of red granite each containing two life-size figures of Amenemhat iii, besides many fragmentary wall-sculptures, including one which shows the king seated between goddesses holding fish, and another in which he is kneeling in a boat and opening the shrine of a holy tree (W. M. Flinders Petrie in *Records of the Past* 1911 x. 303—315 with figs., *id.*—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* London 1912 pp. 28—35 with restored plan of western half of Labyrinth and pls. 23—32). Prof. J. L. Myres in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1910 iii. 134—136 has a restoration of the Labyrinth based on the description of Herodotos.

Herodotos speaks of its twelve courts as a memorial of the dodecarchy[1]. Strabon calls it 'a vast palace composed of as many palaces as there were formerly nomes,' and states that the nomes were accustomed to assemble in their respective courts 'with their own priests and priestesses for sacrifice, oblation, and judicial award on matters of importance[2].' Diodoros thinks it the 'tomb' of the king who built it[3], as does Manethon[4]. Pliny says: 'Different

Fig. 329.

interpretations are put upon the construction of this edifice. Demoteles takes it to have been the palace of Moteris; Lykeas, the tomb of Moiris. Most authorities suppose that it was reared as a building sacred to the Sun, and such is the common belief[5].'

With regard to the Cretan Labyrinth too very various opinions have been advanced[6]. Nowadays most scholars hold that Sir

[1] Hdt. 2. 148. [2] Strab. 811. [3] Diod. 1. 61.

[4] Maneth. *frags.* 34—36 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 560 Müller).

[5] Demoteles *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 386 Müller) and Lykeas Naukratites *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 441 Müller) *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 84.

[6] See Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1778—1783.

Arthur Evans was justified in identifying it with the complex palace that he excavated at Knossos. And this view can certainly claim the support not only of such writers as Diodoros and Pliny, who suppose a Cretan imitation of an Egyptian building[1], but also of the Attic painters of red-figured vases, who represent Theseus as dragging the Minotaur forth from an edifice with a *façade* of Doric (fig. 329)[2] or Ionic columns[3]. Nevertheless, to admit that Attic painters *c.* 450—430 B.C. regarded the Labyrinth as a sort of palace is not necessarily to assert that such was its original character. The red-figured vases in every case show to the right

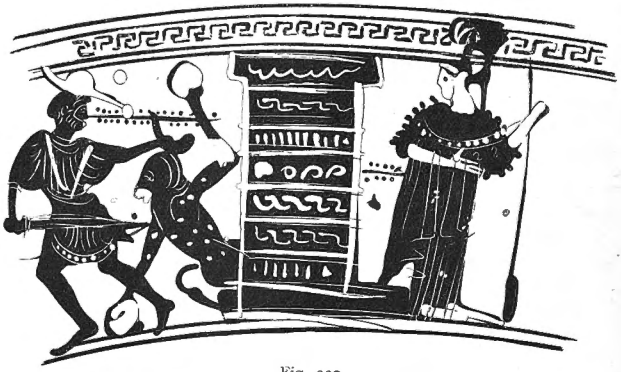


Fig. 330.

of the colonnade a broad band decorated with *swastika*-patterns checker-work; and it is from behind this band that the body of

[1] Diod. 1. 61, 1. 97, Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 84—86. The earliest writer that speaks of it as a building is Apollod. 3. 1. 4 (οἴκημα καμπαῖς πολυπλόκοις πλανῶν τὴν ἔξοδον). But Pherekydes *frag.* 106 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 97 Müller) appears to have mentioned the lintel of its door (τὸν ζυγὸν τῆς (τὸν?) ἄνω θύρας).

[2] (1) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 111 f. no. E 84 a *kýlix* from Vulci, of which the interior is reproduced in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 57 pl. 10, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. cxv fig. 25, Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 49 ff. fig. 22, and the central scene in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 883 fig. 4315.

(2) C. Torr *Harrow School Museum. Catalogue of the classical antiquities from the collection of the late Sir Gardner Wilkinson* Harrow 1887 p. 18 no. 52 a *kýlix* from Nola, of which a small illustration is given by E. Strong in the *Burlington Fine Arts Club. Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art, 1903* London 1904 p. 114 no. I 60 pl. 97, and two photographs of the interior and exterior by P. Wolters in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1907 p. 118 f. pl. 1.

[3] *Vasos griegos Madrid* pp. 76 f., 119 no. 11, 265 pl. 33, Leroux *Cat. Vases de Madrid* p. 110 ff. no. 196 pls. 25—28 a *kýlix* signed by the artist Aison, first published by E. Bethe in the *Ant. Denkm.* ii pl. 1, cp. Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 48 fig. 21, 50 and *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1730 (central scene).

the Minotaur emerges. E. Braun long ago suggested that the patterned space stands for the Labyrinth[1]. And P. Wolters has recently proved that the further back we trace the whole design, the more important becomes this particular feature of it[2]. On a black-figured *lékythos* from Vari (fig. 330)[3] the Minotaur, grasping a couple of stones, is haled out from behind a *stéle* or broad column covered with maeanders etc. The Labyrinth is here no palace;

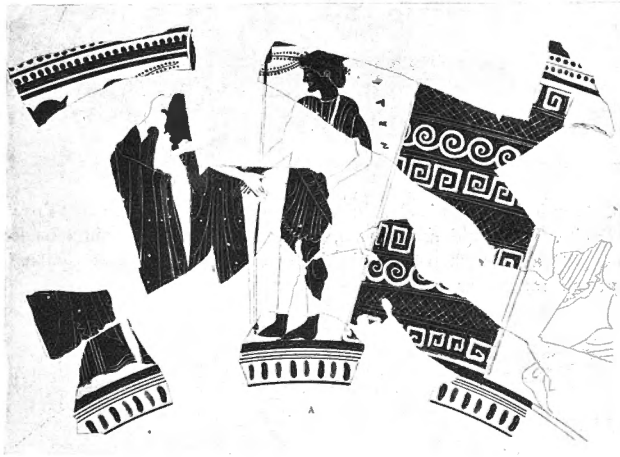


Fig. 331.

it can hardly be termed a building at all. On a black-figured *skýphos* from the akropolis at Athens (fig. 331)[4] the resemblance

[1] E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1846 p. 106. G. W. Elderkin 'Maeander or Labyrinth' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1910 xiv. 185—190 still thinks that the band is the *anta* of a wall and that its patterns are mere filling, though he admits that 'An exact parallel to the vertical stripe...is not at hand.' His notion that Aison on the Madrid *kýlix* was copying the north porch of the Erechtheion with its *βωμὸς τοῦ θυηχοῦ* is surely far-fetched. A better copy of the Erechtheion, olive-tree and all, is Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 223 ff. pl. 67.

[2] P. Wolters *loc. cit.* pp. 113—132 'Darstellungen des Labyrinths.'

[3] Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 283 f. no. 878, P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 122 f. pl. 2.

[4] Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 142 f. no. 1280 pl. 73, A, P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 123 pl. 3, a fragmentary *skýphos* from the Persian *débris* showing Theseus beside the Labyrinth, greeted by Athena in the presence of three other figures: the inscription is meaningless.

With this vase cp. Graef *op. cit.* p. 147 no. 1314 pl. 76, P. Wolters *loc. cit.* p. 124,

to a stone structure is still more remote[1], the Labyrinth appearing merely as a patterned oblong side by side with the *dramatis personae*. Wolters concludes that the black-figured vases presuppose a primitive composition, in which the action portrayed was accompanied by a ground-plan of the scene. He finds a parallel in the Etruscan *oinochóe* from Tragliatella (fig. 332)[2], on which

Fig. 332.

O. Benndorf[3] recognised soldiers engaged in the game of 'Troy' (*Truia*). It would seem, then, that Attic tradition points backwards to a time when the Labyrinth was depicted, not as a palace, but as a maeander or *swastika*-pattern.

Fig. 333.

Fig. 334.

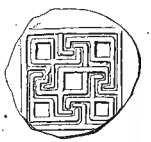


Fig. 335.

The same result is reached on Cretan soil. Coins of Knossos from *c.* 500 B.C. onwards represent the Labyrinth by a *swastika* or by some derivative of the *swastika*[4]. The pattern develops in two directions. On the one hand, the *swastika* together with its four

two fragments of a *skýphos* showing (obverse) Theseus beside the Labyrinth and another figure; (reverse) perhaps the same design. The Labyrinth, to judge from Graef's plate, tapers towards the top like an *omphalós* (?).

[1] B. Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 143 contends that the black-figured vases aim at representing 'ein turmartiges Bauwerk' with a labyrinthine ground-plan, and ingeniously compares the *thólos* at Epidauros.

[2] W. Deecke in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881 liii. 160—168 pl. L—M, W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1881 p. 65 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 118 fig. 15, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 345.

[3] O. Benndorf in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 cxxiii. 3. Helbig *loc. cit.* p. 67 had already thought of the same explanation.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Crete* p. 18 ff. pls. 4 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 173 ff. pl. 40, 20—24, 41, 2, 3, 5, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1331 ff. pl. 62, 21 f., J. N. Svoronos

incuse corners (figs. 333, 334) passes into a framework enclosing a square (fig. 335), and its central star (sun?) is replaced by a human (fig. 336) or bovine head (fig. 337) or whole figure (fig. 338)[1]. On

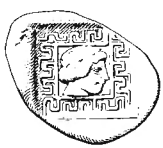


Fig. 336.

Fig. 337.

Fig. 338.

the other hand, the *swastika* apart from its incuse corners (figs. 339, 340, 341) becomes a maze, which is first square (fig. 342) and then circular (fig. 343) but retains at least a trace of its original form to

Fig. 339.

Fig. 340.

Fig. 341.

Fig. 342.

Fig. 343.

the last. Thanks to Sir Arthur Evans, we now know that this Labyrinth-design was already familiar to the Cnossians of the Bronze Age. In one of the corridors of the second palace at Knossos 'the fallen plaster...showed the remains of an elaborate series of mazes[2],' based on the *motif* of the *swastika*[3].

Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 65 ff. pls. 4 ff. and in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 199 ff. nos. 13—21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 460 ff., Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 13, 764—771, 14, 773—806.

[1] Cp. Roman mosaics, which represent the slaying of the Minotaur within a large framework of maeander-pattern (see Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 303 f. and for further bibliography P. Gauckler in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 2101 notes 17 and 18 fig. 5240).

[2] A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 103.

[3] *Id. ib.* viii. 104 fig. 62. Cp. *ib.* p. 103 f.: 'A simple key or maeander pattern

The *swastika* as a representation of the Labyrinth can perhaps be traced further afield. At Gaza the god Marnas, otherwise called Zeus *Kretagenés*[1], had a circular temple surrounded by concentric colonnades, which appears to have borne some resemblance to the Cretan Labyrinth[2]. If so, it becomes possible that the Phoenician letter *mem* on autonomous coppers of Gaza (fig. 344)[3] was not merely the initial of Marnas[4], but also a quasi-*swastika* like the Labyrinth-devices on coins of Knossos[5].

However that may be, it seems certain that both Attic and Cretan art presuppose the *swastika* as the earliest ascertainable form of the Labyrinth. That much-disputed symbol has a voluminous literature of its own[6], and critics are not yet unanimous as to its ultimate significance. But among recent investigators there

Fig. 344.

is something like a *consensus* in favour of the view that it was a stylised representation of the revolving sun[7]. On this showing,

appears on some of the sealings found by Mr. Hogarth at Zakro [*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 88 no. 133 pl. 10]. A still earlier example of the same class occurred in a magazine of the Earlier Palace together with fine "Middle Minoan" pottery on the East slope.'

[1] *Supra* p. 149. See now G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age* London 1912 p. 14 ff. (extr. from the *Proc. Brit. Acad.* v).

[2] *Infra* ch. ii § 9 (g). The old ground-plan came near to being retained, when the edifice was rebuilt as a Christian church (*supra* p. 167 n. 3). Mazes still survive in the flooring of continental churches (*infra* p. 485 f.).

F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 210 pl. 11, 2: cp. *supra* p. 236 figs. 175—177.

[4] F. De Saulcy *op. cit.* p. 210, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 805. Cp. Damaskios *dubit. et solut.* 262 (p. 127 f. Ruelle) *ὡς παρὰ μὲν Αἰγυπτίοις τὸ τὲτ ὀνομαζόμενον, ὅ ἐστιν εὐθεῖα ὀρθὴ μία καὶ τρεῖς πλάγιοι ἐπ' αὐτῆς, ἥ τε κορυφαία καὶ δύο μετ' αὐτήν, καὶ ἔτι παρὰ Ἡλιουπολίταις ἄλλο τι, καὶ παρὰ Γαζαίοις ἄλλο τοῦ Διός*—which shows that this symbol was deemed sacred to Zeus.

[5] This suggestion was first made by Sir Arthur Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 88 f.

[6] To the bibliography of the *swastika* given by T. Wilson (*supra* p. 337 n. 1) add Z. Nuttall *The Fundamental Principles of Old and New World Civilizations* Cambridge Mass. 1901 (Archaeological and Ethnological Papers of the Peabody Museum, Harvard University, vol. ii) pp. 1—602.

[7] So *e.g.* Count Goblet d'Alviella *The Migration of Symbols* p. 50, A. C. Haddon *Evolution in Art* London 1895 p. 282 ff., A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 140 ff. J. Décbelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 453 ff. Cp. *supra* pp. 301, 336 f.

the original Cnossian Labyrinth was not the great palace unearthed by Sir Arthur Evans, at least was not the whole of that palace, but was a structure which somehow lent itself to an imitation of the sun's movements in the sky.

But how are we to conceive of such a structure? Probably it was an *orchéstra* or 'arena' intended for the performance of a mimetic dance. Perhaps even it was marked out with mazy lines to aid the intricate evolutions of the dancers—a practice undoubtedly known to the later Greeks[1]. If, therefore, we are to identify the Labyrinth with any structure so far found, I should suppose that it was the paved rectangular space near the north-west corner of the Cnossian palace. This space, discovered by Sir Arthur Evans[2] in 1901 and by him dubbed 'the Theatral Area,' is an

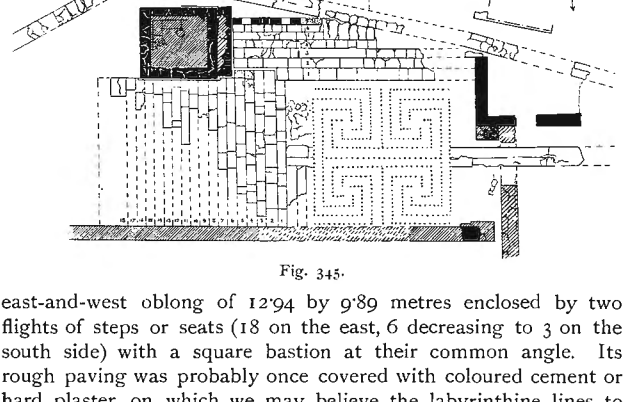


Fig. 345.

east-and-west oblong of 12·94 by 9·89 metres enclosed by two flights of steps or seats (18 on the east, 6 decreasing to 3 on the south side) with a square bastion at their common angle. Its rough paving was probably once covered with coloured cement or hard plaster, on which we may believe the labyrinthine lines to have been set out more or less as in the foregoing ground-plan[3].

[1] Hesych. γραμμαί· ἐν τῇ ὀρχήστρᾳ ἦσαν, ὡς τὸν χορὸν ἐν στοίχῳ ἱστασθαι. See A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*[2] Oxford 1898 p. 137.

[2] A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 99—112 fig. 68 plan and section, fig. 69 view.

[3] I have here combined a plan of the 'Theatral Area' (based on that of A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 103 fig. 68) with the labyrinth-pattern of the wall-painting (*supra* p. 477 n. 2 f.). But, of course, other arrangements are equally possible.

' A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* London 1907 p. 313 notes 'a square figure with nine small holes incised on a step of the theatre.' He suggests that it was 'a Mycenaean game' and compares 'similar figures cut by idle people on the pavements of the basilicas in the Roman Forum.'

The Cnossian *orchéstra* bears no slight resemblance to the oblong theatre at Thorikos (fig. 346)[1]. Since Thorikos was once a flourishing 'Minoan' settlement, it might be suggested that the peculiar form of its theatre was a heritage from early times. Perhaps we may venture even a step further and recognise certain analogies between the Cretan Labyrinth and the ordinary Attic theatre. If the former was occupied by dancers arranged as a *swastika*, the latter had regularly its 'square chorus[2].' If a 'clew' was needed in the one[3], a rope-dance (*kórdax*) was executed in the other[4]. Ariadne, as the mythographers put it, when deserted by Theseus was taken up by Dionysos. Prof. R. C. Bosanquet points out to me that even in Roman times the *orchéstra* of the theatre at Athens was laid out as a *swastika*-mosaic (pl. xxix)[5]. There was in

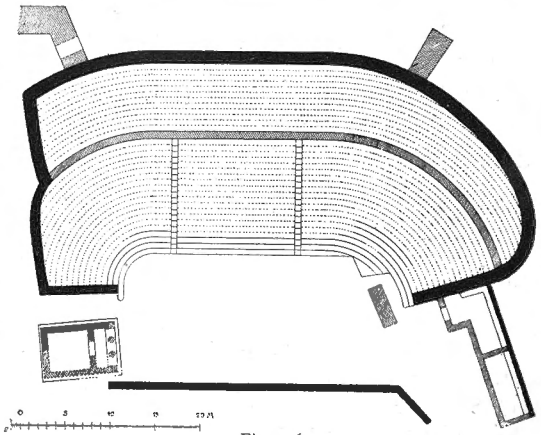


Fig. 346.

fact some excuse for Conrad von Querfurt, who, writing from Sicily in 1194 A.D., tells his old friend the prior of Hildesheim how

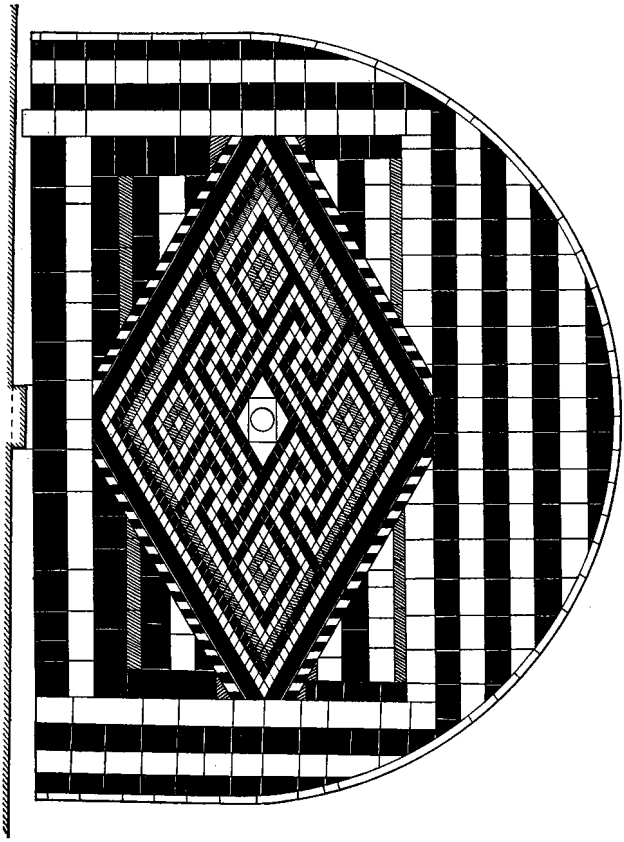
[1] W. Miller in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1885—1886 iv. 1—34, W. Doerpfeld and E. Reisch *Das griechische Theater* Athens 1896 p. 110 fig. 43, A. Marquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 338 fig. 372, Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[3] p. 465 fig. 419, A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 194 fig. 221.

[2] On the τετράγωνος χορός of tragic, comic, and satyric plays, and its relation to the κύκλιος χορός of dithyramb, see *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 376.

[3] Diels in Pallat *De fabula Ariadnaea* Berolini 1891 interprets the clew as a rope-dance (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 254, 603 n. 7).

[4] I have discussed a 'Minoan' precursor of the κόρδαξ in *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 101 f.

[5] The plan here given (very slightly restored) is based on Mr A. M. Poynter's careful survey of the existing remains (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 176—179 pl. 15).



The *swastika*-mosaic in the theatre at Athens.

See page 480.

charmed he had been to find at Taormina the Labyrinth of the Minotaur![1]

The solution of the Labyrinth-problem[2] here advanced is borne out by a thrice-familiar passage in the *Iliad*. Daidalos, we read,

> once wrought in Knosos broad
> A dancing-ground for fair-haired Ariadne[3].

The scholiast explains that Theseus, having escaped from the Labyrinth by means of Ariadne's clew, with the youths and maidens whom he had rescued 'wove a circling dance for the gods that resembled his own entrance into and exit from the Labyrinth, Daidalos showing them how to dance it[4]. Eustathios[5] adds that this was the first occasion on which men and women danced together, that Sophokles had alluded to 'the dances of Knossos[6],' and that old-fashioned folk in his own day, sailors especially, danced a certain dance with many twists and turns in it meant to recall the windings of the Labyrinth. Lucian too specifies as Cretan dance-themes 'Europe, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne, Phaidra, Androgeos, Daidalos, Ikaros, Glaukos, the seer-craft of Polyeidos, and Talos the bronze sentinel of Crete[7].'

The Labyrinth-dance was not confined to Crete. Plutarch in his *Life of Theseus*[8] writes:

'Sailing away from Crete, he put in at Delos. Here he sacrificed to the god, dedicated the image of Aphrodite that he had received from Ariadne, and in company with the young men danced a dance, which, they say, is still kept up by the Delians. It imitates the circuits and exits of the Labyrinth by means of a certain measure that involves turnings and re-turnings. This type of dance, as Dikaiarchos shows, is called the Crane by the Delians[9]. Theseus danced it

[1] D. Comparetti *Vergil in the Middle Ages* trans. E. F. M. Benecke London 1895 p. 257 f.

[2] Sir Arthur Evans *loc. cit.* p. 111 concludes 'that this first of theatres, the Stepped Area with its dancing ground, supplies a material foundation for the Homeric tradition of the famous "choros" [*Il.* 18. 591 ff.].' But he does not expressly identify the said 'Area' with the Labyrinth of mythology. Indeed, he cannot, because he regards the whole palace as the Labyrinth (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 33). To me it seems more probable that the Labyrinth proper was the dancing-ground made by Daidalos, and that the close relation of this dancing-ground to the palace at Knossos led the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C., if not much earlier, to view the Labyrinth erroneously as a palace.

[3] *Il.* 18. 591 f.

[4] Schol. A.B. *Il.* 18. 590.

[5] Eustath. in *Il.* p. 1166, 17 ff.

[6] Soph. *Ai.* 700.

[7] Loukian. *de salt.* 49.

[8] Plout. *v. Thes.* 21.

[9] The γέρανος (Loukian. *de salt.* 34) is described by Poll. 4. 101 *τὴν δὲ γέρανον κατὰ πλῆθος ὠρχοῦντο, ἕκαστος ὑφ' ἑκάστῳ κατὰ στοῖχον, τὰ ἄκρα ἑκατέρωθεν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἐχόντων* κ.τ.λ. and in more general terms by Kallim. *h. Del.* 312 f. *πότνια, σὸν περὶ βωμὸν ἐγειρομένου κιθαρισμοῦ | κύκλιον ὠρχήσαντο* κ.τ.λ. On the *kratêr* of Klitias and

round the *keratón*[1] altar, so named because it consists of horns (*kérata*) all taken from the left side. They state also that he instituted a contest in Delos and therein was the first to award a palm to the victors.'

Again, the game of 'Troy[2],' which the Etruscan potter repre-

Ergotimos, Attic work of *c.* 600—550 B.C., Theseus, lyre in hand, is leading the dance, which consists of seven youths and seven maidens: they have just landed from their ship (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 60 f. pl. 13).

I have elsewhere (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 186 f.) pointed out that this curious combination of bull and crane recurs in the Celtic area. On an altar found at Paris in 1710, beneath the apse of Notre-Dame, four sculptured panels show (*a*) Iupiter (IOVIS) with sceptre and eagle, (*b*) Volcanus (VOLCANVS) with tongs, (*c*) a bearded god (ESVS) felling a willow-tree with uplifted axe, (*d*) a great bull wearing a long saddle-cloth or *dorsuale*. On his head and back are three cranes visible against the foliage of the willow. The inscription above is TARVOS • TRIGARANVS, 'the Bull with the Three Cranes' (see A. Bertrand *La Religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 351 f. fig. 50 and especially S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 233 ff. figs. 1—4). On another altar found near Trèves in 1895 the three sculptured faces show (*a*) Mercurius with *caduceus*, purse, etc. and his consort (Rosmerta?) standing on either side of an altar. A small animal (goat? ram?) is between the feet of Mercurius. Beneath runs the incomplete inscription $\frac{\text{NDVS MEDIOM •}}{\text{MERCVRIO V • VS}}$ (*b*) the lower portion of a small draped female figure, (*c*) a beardless (?) wood-cutter cleaving or splitting a tree, probably meant for a willow. High up on the tree are a bull's head to the left and three large birds with long beaks to the right (Bertrand *op. cit.* p. 352 f. fig. 51, Reinach *op. cit.* i. 234 ff. figs. 5 f.). H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1603 cp. the stout shepherd Garanus (Verrius Flaccus *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 203) or Recaranus (Aur. Vict. *orig. gent. Rom.* 8, where Steuding ingeniously cj. *Trigaranus*), who slew Cacus the thief of Geryones' oxen.

It may also be remarked that a Japanese crest has three storks or cranes grouped together on the solar disk (N. Gordon Munro in the *Transactions of the Asiatic Society of Japan* 1911 xxxviii. 3. 64 pl. 20, 22, cp. 21).

[1] The form *κερατών* is found also in a Delian inscription (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 588, 172). Plout. *terr. an aquat. anim. sint callidiora* 35 regards the *κεράτινος βωμός* of Delos as one of the seven wonders of the world (so anon. *de incred.* 2, Mart. *lib. spec.* 1. 4) and states that it was made of right horns only, without glue or bonding of any sort. Anon. *de incred.* 2 says that it was composed of the right horns of victims offered to the god on a single day. Kallim. *h. Ap.* 61 ff. asserts that the four-year-old Apollon built it with the horns of goats shot by Artemis on Mt Kynthos. It is also mentioned by Ov. *her.* 21. 99. The existing remains are described by T. Homolle 'L'autel des cornes à Délos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 417 ff. pls. 17 ff., Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[2] p. 230 figs. 152 f., L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2468. They include a long narrow temple measuring 67·20 by 8·86 metres. This is divided into three parts. First comes a *πρόναος* with four Doric columns. Then, an elongated *ναός*, the centre of which forms a sunk oblong space. This is separated from the third and innermost portion of the edifice by two pairs of Doric half-columns forming three intercolumniations: the middle opening has on either side of it a pilaster, the capital of which is the forepart of a kneeling bull. Lastly, there is an inner *ναός*, oblong in shape, where once stood the famous horn-altar. It is noteworthy also that a colonnade 125 metres in length, which runs along the northern side of the precinct, has its triglyphs decorated with bulls' heads. Examples of the forepart of a bull used as an architectural member are collected by A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 263 f.

[2] G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 899 f. Cp. also Hesych. *s.v.* *Μαίανδρος*·...*καὶ εἶδος ἱππασίας παρὰ ἱπποδαμάσταις.*

sented as a maze[1] and Virgil expressly compares with the Cretan Labyrinth[2], was said to have been first introduced into Latium by Ascanius and his Trojans[3]. This tradition, if sound, points to the former existence of a labyrinthine dance in Asia Minor. It may, therefore, be worth while to suggest that the Labyrinth-pattern, which occurs on coins of Priene[4], Magnesia on the Maiandros[5], Tripolis[6], and Apameia[7], was not originally a graphic sign for the 'meandering' river, but an ancient religious symbol akin to, if not identical with, that which represented the Labyrinth at Knossos. Thus the humped bull within the Labyrinth on coins of the Cretan colony[8] Magnesia, *c.* 350—190 B.C. (fig. 347)[9], would be comparable with the Minotaur[10], while the *swastika* beneath the feet of Apollon on the later tetradrachms (fig. 348)[11] suggests a solar interpretation. If we were better acquainted with the history of 'Minoan' migrations, it might be possible to trace the route by which the Labyrinth-dance and the Labyrinth-pattern passed from east to west[12].

Fig. 347.

Miss Harrison in a letter to me dated June 14, 1912 makes the interesting suggestion that the Τρωικὸν πήδημα of Neoptolemos at Delphoi (Eur. *Andr.* 1139) may stand in some relation to the game of 'Troy.' This strikes me as not impossible, since we have already found Neoptolemos grasping the solar wheel in the same sanctuary (*supra* p. 261). Yet I should hardly agree with Miss Harrison that 'the usual aetiology is sheer nonsense': cp. schol. Eur. *Andr.* 1139 τὸ Τρωικὸν πήδημα· ὁποῖον ἐν τῇ Τροίᾳ ἐπήδησεν ὁ Ἀχιλλεύς. οἱ γὰρ συντετραχότες τὰ Τρωικὰ φασὶν ὡς τόπος ἐστὶν ἐν Τροίᾳ καλούμενος Ἀχιλλέως πήδημα, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τῆς νεὼς ἐπήδησεν. οὗτως δὲ φασὶ βίᾳ ἥλατο ὡς καὶ ὕδωρ ἀναδοθῆναι. Here at least is a *bona fide* piece of folk-lore.

[1] *Supra* p. 476 fig. 332. [2] Verg. *Aen.* 5. 588 ff. [3] *Id. ib.* 5. 596 ff.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 229 ff. pl. 24, 3—6, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 358, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 590 f.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 158 ff. pl. 18, 1—11, 19, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 346 f. pl. 51, 3 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 582 fig. 296.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 364 pl. 38, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 661.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. 74 f., 85, 92 f. pl. 10, 2—5, 8—10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 478 f. pl. 56, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 666.

[8] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 584: see Roscher *Lex Myth.* ii. 1997 f.

[9] I figure a copper in my collection.

[10] The Cretan bull, *ab initio* a fertilising agent, would readily become a bovine river-god, his *swastika* being re-interpreted as the sinuous line of the river.

[11] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 162 pl. 18, 9 (=my fig. 348), 10, 11.

Prof. R. C. Bosanquet draws my attention to the fact that in the temple of Apollon at Didyma the marble roof of a stair-case known as the Λαβύρινθος (B. Haussoullier in the *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1905 xxix. 264 ff.) had a carved and painted *swastika*-pattern (T. Wiegand 'Sechster vorläufiger Bericht über Ausgrabungen in Milet und Didyma' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1908* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 35, 'Siebenter...Bericht' *ib. 1911* p. 49 f. fig. 16).

[12] The Labyrinths of the Kyklopes in the caves near Nauplia (Strab. 369 ἐφεξῆς δὲ τῇ Ναυπλίᾳ τὰ σπήλαια καὶ οἱ ἐν αὐτοῖς οἰκοδομητοὶ λαβύρινθοι, Κυκλώπεια δ' ὀνομάζουσιν), the Labyrinth in Samos made by Theodoros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 83), the Labyrinth in

In Italy they gained a firm footing, as we may infer not only from the literary allusions to the game of 'Troy[1],' but also from the many Roman mosaics that represent Theseus and his foe in a labyrinthine frame[2].

Fig. 348.

Finally the Labyrinth was taken over from paganism by Christianity. At Orléansville in Algeria the Christian *basilica*, founded in 324 A.D., had among other mosaics a Labyrinth, the centre of which was occupied by the words SANCTA ECCLESIA repeated in a complicated form[3]. One of the state robes of the Christian emperors prior to the ninth

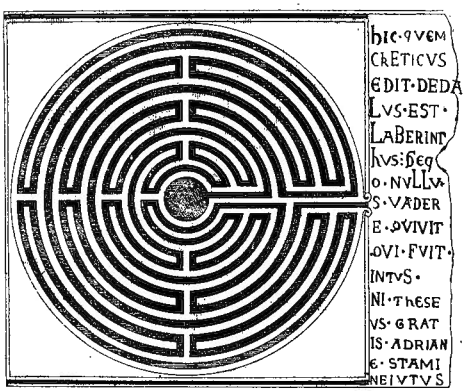


Fig. 349.

century was coloured a fiery red and adorned with a Labyrinth of gold and pearls, in which was a Minotaur of emerald holding a finger to his lips[4]. A picture by Bartolommeo Veneto (1502—1530),

Lemnos (?) with its 150 columns attributed to Smilis Rhoikos and Theodoros (*id. ib.* 36. 90, where Hirt's cj. *Samius* for codd. *Lemnius* certainly suits the clause: architecti fecere Zmilis et Rhoecus et Theodorus *indigenae*), the amazing Labyrinth at Clusium constructed as a tomb for himself by Porsenna (*id. ib.* 36. 91—93 citing Varro, cp. Isid. *orig.* 15. 2. 36: see Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*[2] p. 140 ff.), were all buildings and merely attest the fact that the name attached itself to any complicated structure.

[1] *Supra* p. 476.

[2] *Supra* p. 477 n. 1.

[3] F. Prévost in the *Rev. Arch.* 1847—1848 ii. 664, 800 ff. pl. 78.

[4] A. F. Ozanam *Documents inédits pour servir à l'Histoire Littéraire de l'Italie* Paris 1850 pp. 92, 178 citing the *Graphia aureae urbis Romae* (cod. Laurent. plut. lxxxix *inferno.* 41): *De diarodino imperatoris et laberintho aureo facto in eo.* Unde diarodino utitur ad imitandum divini ignis effigiem, qui semper ad alta extollitur, et quia per sanguinem

now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, represents an unknown man wearing a Labyrinth of the sort on his breast[1]. A small Labyrinth (19½ inches across) still exists incised upon a porch pier of Lucca cathedral (fig. 349)[2]. The central group of Theseus and the Minotaur has all but vanished under the pressure of countless tracing fingers, but the adjoining inscription attests the designer's meaning. Similar examples are, or were, in the church of S. Michele at Pavia (*s.* xi), at Aix in Provence, on the walls of Poitiers cathedral. Labyrinths of larger size are not very

Fig. 350.

uncommon in continental churches[3]. A fine specimen, composed of grey and white marble, decorates the middle of the nave in

Romani subjugaverunt orbem terrarum. Habeat et in diarodino laberinthum fabrefactum ex auro et margaritis, in quo sit Minotaurus digitum ad os tenens ex smaragdo factus, quia sicut non valet quis laberinthum scrutare, ita non debet consilium dominatoris propalare. I am indebted for this and for several of the following references to a valuable article by the Rev. E. Trollope on 'Notices of Ancient and Mediæval Labyrinths' in *The Archaeological Journal* 1858 xv. 216—235.

[1] F. R. Earp *A descriptive Catalogue of the Pictures in the Fitzwilliam Museum* Cambridge 1902 p. 14 f. no. 133 fig. Mr A. S. F. Gow, Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, kindly drew my attention to this interesting picture.

[2] J. Durand in Didron *Annales Archéologiques* Paris 1857 xvii. 124 f. with pl. The inscription runs: hic quem Creticus edit Dedalus est laberinthus, | de quo nullus vadere quivit qui fuit intus, | ni Theseus gratis Adriane (*sic*) stamine iutus. The *façade* of the cathedral dates from 1204.

[3] W. Meyer 'Ein Labyrinth mit Versen' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1882 ii. 267—300 enumerates nine examples (*ib.* p. 283 ff. Chartres, Poitiers, St Quentin, Amiens 1288 A.D., Arras, St Omer, Sens, Reims *c.* 1300 A.D., Bayeux in *s.* xiv) and brings them into connexion with Labyrinths drawn in mediaeval manuscripts. E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 p. 88 ff. ('Kirchen-Labyrinthe') figures four (Sens, St Omer, St Quentin, Bayeux) after E. Bosc *Dictionnaire raisonné d'Architecture* Paris 1879.

Chartres cathedral (fig. 350)[1]. It measures 30 feet in diameter, and its winding path is 668 feet long. The centre was formerly adorned with a representation of Theseus and the Minotaur. Such a maze was called in the middle ages *domus Dedali* or *maison Dedalu* or even, as in the inscription at Amiens, *Maison de Dalus*. But new uses were found for the old design. Towards the close of the Crusades men who had broken vows of pilgrimage to the Holy Land did penance by treading these tortuous *chemins de Jerusalem* until they reached the central space, often termed *le ciel*. Later the same Labyrinths were used as a means of penance for sins of omission and commission in general.

In Great Britain mosaic mazes are exceptional and late[2], but turf-cut mazes fairly common and early[3]. They are mostly

Fig. 351.

situated close to a church or chapel, so that not impossibly they served a penitential purpose. One at Alkborough in Lincolnshire, 44 feet across, even resembles in design (fig. 351)[4] the Labyrinth of Lucca cathedral. After the Reformation ecclesiastical mazes were converted into pleasure-grounds. Aubrey states that before

[1] E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 221 fig. 3 (from E. Wallet *Description d'une Crypte et d'un Pavé mosaïque de l'ancienne église de St. Bertin à Saint-Omer* Douai 1843 p. 97).

[2] *E.g.* there is one inside the west door of Ely cathedral; but it is of quite recent date (1870).

[3] The best collection of facts is contained in a paper by the Rev. F. G. Walker on 'Comberton Maze and the origin of Mazes' (read before the Cambridge Antiquarian Society, February 8, 1909, but as yet unprinted). Mr Walker *op. cit.* p. 17 ff. notes the proximity of many English mazes to Roman remains and argues that some of them may have been originally cut in Roman times.

[4] E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 224 f. fig. 5.

the civil wars there were many mazes in England, and that the young people used on festivals to dance upon them, or, as the term was, to tread them[1]. Stukeley in 1724 writes:

'The lovers of antiquity, especially of the inferior class, always speak of 'em with great pleasure, and as if there were somthing extraordinary in the thing, tho' they cannot tell what.... what generally appears at present is no more than a circular work made of banks of earth in the fashion of a maze or labyrinth, and the boys to this day divert themselves with running in it one after another, which leads them by many windings quite thro' and back again[2].'

A century later T. Wright observes:

'At the maze (called there *mazles*) at Comberton, in Cambridgeshire, it has been a custom, from time immemorial, among the villagers, to hold a feast every three years about the time of Easter[3].'

This maze, which has recently been restored by the Rev. F. G. Walker, was almost identical in type with one at Wing in Rutlandshire[4]. When transformed into the play-ground of the village school, it

Fig. 352.

was in danger of extinction; but I have repeatedly seen the school-children in single file tread the nearly obliterated windings. Antiquarians, monkish or otherwise, appear to have assumed the

[1] J. Aubrey *Natural History and Antiquities of Surrey* v. 80, cp. *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme* 1686—87 (London 1881) p. 71.

[2] W. Stukeley *Itinerarium Curiosum* London 1724 p. 91 ff.

[3] T. Wright *The History and Topography of the County of Essex* London 1835 ii. 124 n. The Rev. F. G. Walker *op. cit.* p. 20 says of the Comberton Maze: 'It used, in bygone days, to be recut every three years at Easter time, when the men who cut it had a feast.'

[4] E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 232.

Roman lineage of these turf-mazes; for in England they are commonly called 'Troy-town' and in Wales *Caerdroia*, 'Troy-walls[1].' Another name for them is 'Julian's Bowers,' or in northern dialect 'Jullinbores[2].' Stukeley[3] even proposed to connect this name with that of Iulus[4]!

Similar mazes are reported from various parts of northern Europe. In Norway and Sweden they are constructed of stones and known as *Trojin*, *Trojeborg*, *Trojenborg*, *Tröborg*[5]. A maze some 18 metres wide at Wisby on the island of Gothland (fig. 352)[6] is, as Dr E. Krause points out, curiously like the circular Labyrinth

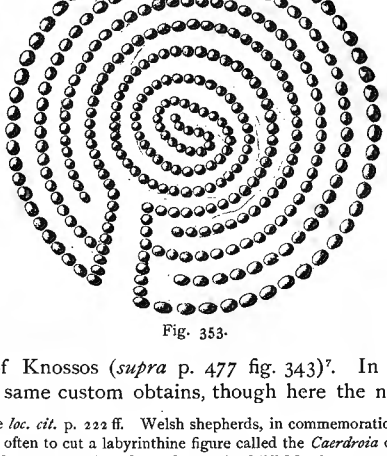


Fig. 353.

on a coin of Knossos (*supra* p. 477 fig. 343)[7]. In Finland and Lapland the same custom obtains, though here the name most in

[1] E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 222 ff. Welsh shepherds, in commemoration of their Trojan descent (!), used often to cut a labyrinthine figure called the *Caerdroia* on the turf, as the herdsmen upon the grassy plains of Burgh and Rockliff Marshes near the Solway Sands in Cumberland still cut a labyrinthine figure termed the 'Walls of Troy' (W. H. M. in *Notes and Queries* Second Series v. 211 ff.). In Scotland too the 'Walls of Troy' are popular with children, who trace them on the sea-sand or scribble them on their slates (E. Trollope *loc. cit.* p. 233).

[2] A. H. Allcroft *Earthwork of England* London 1908 p. 602 n. 2. On the variants 'Gelyan-bower,' 'Gillimber,' 'Jilling-bo'or,' 'Jul-Laber' see J. Wright *The English Dialect Dictionary* London 1902 iii. 389.

[3] W. Stukeley *loc. cit.*

[4] *Supra* p. 483.

[5] On Hallands Väderö, an island in the Kattegat, a maze of stones is called *Trelleborg* (*i.e. Trolleborg*, the 'Giants' Castle').

[6] E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 p. 4 fig. 1, p. 184 fig. 23.

[7] It is, I suppose, possible that a Cnossian tetradrachm might find its way northwards along a trade-route (cp. the map in R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 pl. 1) and so furnish the prototype of this design.

use is *Babylon*[1]. I append an example about 12 ft across observed and drawn by E. von Baer in 1838, when he was weather-bound at Vier, a small uninhabited island in the Gulf of Finland (fig. 353)[2]. Iceland too has analogous Labyrinths made of stones or earth, the native name for which is *Völundarhus*, 'Weland's House.'

It would seem then that in Great Britain, Scandinavia, the north-east of Russia, and Iceland rough mazes of unknown antiquity exist, which conform to the same general pattern as that of the Cretan Labyrinth. The first to grasp the full significance of this curious fact was Dr E. Krause. In a very noteworthy monograph devoted to the subject and in a subsequent appendix to the same[3] he endeavoured to show that the maze of the countryside was no imitation of the classical Labyrinth, but that rather the classical Labyrinth was an imitation of it. Maze and Labyrinth alike were survivals of a remote past and were originally used for the purposes of a mimetic solar rite[4]. Pliny believed that the Cretan Labyrinth was a copy of the Egyptian, and contrasted the intricate handiwork

[1] Dr J. R. Aspelin of Helsingfors (quoted by E. Krause *op. cit.* p. 19) notes other names: 'In den Kirchspielen Kemi und Jio, unweit von Torneo, werden die Steinsetzungen *Jatulintarha* (Riesenhage) genannt, von Jio bis Alt-Karleby *Pietar-inleikki* (St. Peterspiel). Die schwedischen Bauern zwischen Alt-Karleby und Christianstadt nennen sie *Jungfrudans* (Jungferntanz). Zwischen Christianstadt und Abo werden sie *Nunnantarha* (Nonnenhage) genannt, in dem schwedischen Archipel von Abo und am Aland *Trojenborg* und *Rundborg*, in der schwedischen Gegend von Helsingfors wieder *Jungfrudans* und ausserdem Zerstörung Jerusalems, Stadt Ninive, Jericho u. s. w. Mehr östlich bis in die Gegend von Wiborg findet man die Benennungen *Jätinkatu* (Riesenstrasse), *Kivitarha* (Steinhage) und Lissabon.'

[2] E. Krause *op. cit.* p. 13 ff. fig. 2.

[3] E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 pp. 1—300, *id. Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezeugt durch den Krug von Tragliatella* (*Nachtrag zu den Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*) Glogau 1893 pp. 1—48.

[4] Thus far at least we may frankly accept Dr Krause's results, without necessarily endorsing his conclusions as to the precise character of the rite involved. He holds that the original Labyrinth-dance represented the rescue of the sun-goddess from the castle of a wintry demon. Corresponding with this northern spring-rite was a northern spring-myth, in which the solar heroine (Freya, Brunhild, etc.) was freed from the prison of a superhuman builder or smith. Among Indians, Persians, and Southern Slavs the baleful power was a three-headed monster named Druho, Druja or Draogha, Trojanu. Dr Krause argues (*Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* pp. ix f., 109 ff., 277 ff., *Nachtrag* p. 41 ff.) that the whole story of the Trojan War presupposes this northern myth, with Helene for solar heroine. He thinks (*Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* p. 10 ff.) that the names of Troy-town, *Trojaburg*, etc., are not due to a diffused tradition of the Homeric Troy, but to the existence of a Germanic word *Troie*, 'fortress, doublet, dance' (root-meaning: 'Umwallung, Umhüllung, Umkreisung'). And he attempts (*ib.* p. 48 ff., *Nachtrag* p. 46 ff.) to connect the Labyrinth-design with the cup-marks and concentric circles of the neolithic age.

These speculations, which are set forth with much learning and ingenuity, are for the most part well worth weighing; but I confess that, with sundry notable exceptions, they impress me as being more plausible than convincing.

of Daidalos with the paltry representations of it to be seen in mosaic-floors 'or' (he added contemptuously) 'with the games of children in the country, which enclose a walk of several thousand paces within a narrow strip[1].' How little he realised that the country maze was the original, of which Daidalos' masterpiece was but an artistic elaboration!

Another point to be noticed is this. In Italy and France, where ecclesiastical Labyrinths abound, no rustic mazes are now to be seen. Conversely in Great Britain, Scandinavia, Finland, Lapland, Iceland, where rustic mazes are numerous, no ecclesiastical Labyrinths occur. Hence we infer that in southern Europe the rustic maze was pressed into the service of the church, while in western and north-western Europe it remained as a relic of paganism.

Further, it can hardly be accidental that the distribution of mazes and Labyrinths corresponds so closely with that of the megalithic monuments of Europe[2]. This suggests that the original maze-makers were akin to, or even identical with, the unknown builders of cromlechs, menhirs, and avenues.

In conclusion, it is clear that the Labyrinth, once the *orchéstra* of a solar dance, has throughout mediaeval and modern times been subjected to a slow process of degradation. The final stage was reached, when the maze of the village-green was superseded by the 'Labyrinth,' the 'Dædal,' and the 'Wilderness'—topiary puzzles of a purely secular sort.

From Knossos to Hampton Court may be a far cry; but it will be admitted that in the chain connecting them hardly a link is missing.

xv. The Minotaur.

Our enquiries into Cretan religion have hitherto led us towards two conclusions. On the one hand, in Cretan myth the sun was conceived as a bull[3]. On the other hand, in Cretan ritual the Labyrinth was an *orchéstra* of solar pattern presumably made for a mimetic dance[4].

In view of these results it would seem highly probable that the

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 85 hinc (*sc.* from the Egyptian Labyrinth) utique sumpsisse Daedalum exemplar eius labyrinthi, quem fecit in Creta, non est dubium, sed centensimam tantum portionem eius imitatum, quae itinerum ambages occursusque ac recursus inexplicabiles continet, non—ut in pavimentis *puerorumve ludicris campestribus videmus—brevi lacinia milia passuum plura ambulationis continentem*, sed crebris foribus inditis ad fallendos occursus redeundumque in errores eosdem.

[2] J. Fergusson *Rude Stone Monuments* London 1872 pl. 1 publishes a useful 'Map, designed to illustrate the distribution of Dolmens, and probable lines of the migrations of the Dolmen builders.'

[3] *Supra* p. 467 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 472 ff.

dancer imitating the sun masqueraded in the Labyrinth as a bull. That, if I mistake not, is the true explanation of Pasiphae's child, the Minotaur. He was the crown-prince of Knossos in ritual attire, and his bull-mask proclaimed his solar character[1]. Why the crown-prince rather than the king should have discharged this duty[2], and why every ninth year he required a tale of human victims[3], are points for later consideration. Here I am concerned to note merely his probable relation to the sun and to the dance.

Dr J. G. Frazer[4], after discussing the dance of the youths and maidens at Knossos in connexion with Labyrinths old and new, pens the following paragraph, with which I find myself largely in agreement[5]:

'A dance or game which has thus spread over Europe and survived in a fashion to modern times must have been very popular, and bearing in mind how often with the decay of old faiths the serious rites and pageants of grown people have degenerated into the sports of children, we may reasonably ask whether Ariadne's Dance or the Game of Troy may not have had its origin in religious ritual. The ancients connected it with Cnossus and the Minotaur. Now we have seen reason to hold, with many other scholars, that Cnossus was the seat of a great worship of the sun, and that the Minotaur was a representation or embodiment of the sun-god. May not, then, Ariadne's dance have been an imitation of the sun's course in the sky? and may not its intention have been, by means of sympathetic magic, to aid the great luminary to run his race on high? We have seen that during an eclipse of the sun the Chilcotin Indians walk in a circle, leaning on staves, apparently to assist the labouring orb. In Egypt also the king, who embodied the sun-god, seems to have solemnly walked round the walls of a temple for the sake of helping the sun on his way. If there is any truth in this conjecture, it would seem to follow that the sinuous lines of the Labyrinth which the dancers followed in their evolutions may have represented the ecliptic, the sun's apparent annual path in the sky. It is some confirmation of this view that on coins of Cnossus the sun or a star appears in

[1] In 1890 Miss J. E. Harrison wrote: 'It seems possible that the man-bull form of the Minotaur may have been suggested by the necessities of a mimetic dance, the part of Minotaur being taken by a man with a bull-head mask' (*Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. cxxvii). This view I supported and sought to strengthen in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 124 n. 247. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410 f. I went further and conjectured that, since the Cretans conceived of the sun as a bull, Minos as sun-king wore a bull-mask, and that this ritual costume gave rise to the legend of the Minotaur. In *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 272 I shifted my ground and, for reasons which will subsequently appear, contended that the Minotaur was, not Minos himself, but Minos' son in the ritual disguise of the solar bull. See also G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*[2] Oxford 1911 pp. 156—158.

[2] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 392 f.

[3] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 411, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 77, cp. *ib.*[3] The Magic Art i. 312.

[5] I had almost completed my own account of the Labyrinth before reading Dr Frazer's important and helpful chapter. We have approached the matter from different angles, he dealing with the octennial tenure of the kingship, I with the solar bull; but at this point our results approximate.

the middle of the Labyrinth, the place which on other coins is occupied by the Minotaur.'

From the concluding sentences of this paragraph I should dissent. The fact that the earliest known form of the Labyrinth is a derivative of the *swastika* leads us to believe that the dance represented the revolving sun rather than the ecliptic. But that the Minotaur, like the Chilcotin Indians walking in a circle and leaning on their staves, was engaged in a piece of mimetic ritual seems to me highly probable. I would interpret in this sense an unpublished *statér* of Knossos in the McClean collection at Cambridge (fig. 354). This interesting coin has for its reverse design a Labyrinth clearly based on the *swastika*-pattern, and for its obverse a Minotaur of unique type. He has a bull's head and tail; but from under his mask—for such it must be—hang two unmistakeable tresses of human hair, and as he hastens along he leans upon a staff. A figure better adapted to express the solar dance it would be hard to imagine.

Such a dance doubtless served to promote the year's vegetation; and it has been argued with much probability by E. Neustadt[1] that the crown of Theseus or Ariadne was originally a flowery crown comparable with the May-garland. Bakchylides speaks of the

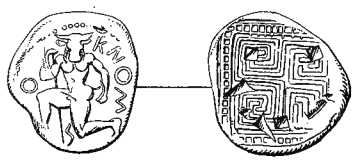


Fig. 354.

former as 'dark with roses[2]'; Timachidas, of the latter as made from the 'Theseus-flower[3].' The wreath in question, whether his or hers, was transformed into a constellation at a later date when magic had yielded to science. Yet even then tradition did not forget that a shining crown of some sort was connected with the Labyrinth. According to Epimenides, Theseus after slaying the Minotaur escaped from the Labyrinth by virtue of a glittering crown, which Dionysos had given to Ariadne. This crown, formed by Hephaistos of fiery gold and Indian gems, made light for the hero in the dark maze: it was afterwards placed by Dionysos among the stars[4].

[1] E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 p. 29 ff.

[2] Bakchyl. 16. 116.

[3] Timachidas *ap.* Athen. 684 F.

[4] Epimenides *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 5 and Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 5, cp. Paus. 5. 19. 1. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 603 n. 3 and n. 6.

Again, the Minotaur was also called *Astérios*[1] or *Asteríon*[2], 'the Starry.' A red-figured *amphora* from Nola, now in the Vatican collection[3], shows Theseus slaying him in the presence of Ariadne, who holds a crown, and Minos, who holds a sceptre: the Minotaur's body is bespangled with many stars, and in this some have seen an allusion to his name[4]. But that is improbable; for on other

Fig. 355.

vases he is flecked or patched with queer-looking marks merely to denote that he has a bull's pelt (fig. 355)[5]. A red-figured *kýlix* by

[1] Apollod. 3. 1. 4, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 653, 1299, 1301, cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 222 ff., 546 ff., 40. 284 ff. (Asterios, son of Minos by Androgeneia).

[2] Paus. 2. 31. 1. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 makes Asterion the son of Iupiter by Idea (= Idaia), wife of Minos.

[3] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 36 f. pl. 160, *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 57, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 307 no. 80, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 81, 10.

[4] So Schirmer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 657, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1785, J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115.

[5] L. Stephani *Der Kampf zwischen Theseus und Minotauros* Leipzig 1842 p. 82 pl. 3 (black-figured Minotaur flecked with white), p. 83 pl. 8 (black-figured Minotaur with spots, mostly T-shaped, of white), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 105 no. B 148 (black-figured Minotaur stippled with hair), etc.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases iii. 111 f. no. E 84 (red-figured Minotaur, covered with brown

Douris, found at Vulci and now in the British Museum, sprinkles him with eyes like those of Argos, another bovine personage (fig. 356)[1]. More to the point, perhaps, are the silver coins of Knossos

Fig. 356.

from *c.* 500 B.C. onwards: these represent him surrounded with a row of dots, which may or may not be meant for stars[2]. Clearer, though still not quite convincing, is a Corinthian *pinax* of

strokes to indicate hair), Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 367 f. no. 1173 (red-figured Minotaur 'tacheté de points'), etc.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 73 f. no. E 48, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 153 pl. 234, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1789 fig. 1873, A. S. Murray *Designs from Greek Vases in the British Museum* London 1894 p. 24 no. 29 pl. 8, E. Pottier *Douris* Paris 1905 p. 75 ff. fig. 11, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 118, W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*[2] Wien 1887 p. 158 no. 16, C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1859. Mr H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 73 notes: 'the mask of the Minotaur is edged with a triple wavy black line at the neck, and shaded with light brown strokes.... His body and limbs are thickly overspread with dotted circles, like the eyes of Argus. The division between this skin and the surface of the hands and feet is marked by fine brown lines.'

[2] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 65 f. pl. 4, 23 ff.,

the early sixth century B.C., which was found at Pente Skouphia in 1879 and is now in the Berlin Museum (fig. 357)[1]: on this he appears in the centre of four unmistakeable stars, which are hardly to be regarded as mere filling. It would, however, be hasty to conclude that the Minotaur was a nocturnal rather than a diurnal power. The terms *astér* and *ástron* were applicable to the sun[2] and moon[3] as well as to the stars, so that we should be justified in explaining the title *Astérios*, *Asterion* as 'god of all the Celestial Lights.'

Fig. 357.

As to the Minotaur-dance, we have already seen that Cretan dance-themes included 'Europe, Pasiphae, both the Bulls, the Labyrinth, Ariadne,' etc.[4] These, doubtless, were late pantomimic

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1331 ff. pl. 62, 21 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 18 pl. 4, 7 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 460.

J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115 connects the star, often found as a monetary type at Knossos (*e.g.* figs. 358, 359 from small silver and copper coins in my collection), with the Minotaur's name Ἀστερίων.

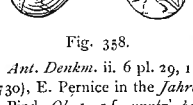


Fig. 358.

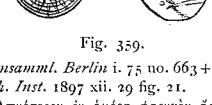


Fig. 359.

[1] *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 6 pl. 29, 14 (= Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 75 no. 663 + i. 77 no. 730), E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 29 fig. 21.

[2] Pind. *Ol.* 1. 5 f. μηκέτ' ἀελίου σκόπει | ἄλλο θαλπνότερον ἐν ἀμέρᾳ φαεννὸν ἄστρον κ.τ.λ., *frag. paean.* 9. 1 ff. Schroeder (*frag.* 107. 1 f. Christ) ἀκτὶς ἀελίου...| ἄστρον ὑπέρτατον | ἐν ἀμέρᾳ | κλεπτόμενον. The schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 1. 6 says: κακῶς εἶπεν ἄστρον. ...ὁ δὲ ἥλιος ἀστήρ.

[3] Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 390 πρέσβιστον ἄστρων, νυκτὸς ὀφθαλμός, πρέπει, *frag.* 170. 2 Nauck[2] οὔτ' ἀστερωπὸν ὄμμα (codd. ἀστέρων στόμα, corr. Bentley) Λητῴας κόρης.

[4] *Supra* p. 481.

performances, but it is likely enough that their *motifs* were traditional. A black-figured *hydría* in the British Museum, on which are seen three Minotaurs running towards the right with arms akimbo (pl. xxx)[1], has possibly preserved a reminiscence of such dances. It is also noteworthy that a black-figured *lékythos* at Athens, which represents Theseus slaying the Minotaur in the presence of two females, gives the monster a bull's tail but a human head[2].

My notion that the Minotaur was a Cnossian prince masquerading as a bull receives no slight support from Diodoros[3]. After speaking of the Egyptian Labyrinth built by king Mendes or Marros and its Cretan copy made by Daidalos for Minos, the historian goes on to remark that five generations later there came to the throne of Egypt a certain Keten, identified by the Greeks with Proteus[4], a contemporary of the Trojan War. This Keten was said to have been a shape-shifter, who took the form now of an animal, now of a tree, now again of fire or the like. The priests declared that he was enabled to do so by his knowledge of astrology, and that the practice having become traditional with Egyptian kings gave rise to Greek tales of shape-shifting. 'For,' continues Diodoros, 'it was customary with the rulers of Egypt to put about their heads the foreparts of lions, bulls, and snakes, as tokens of their rule. They had upon their heads now trees, now fire, and sometimes many fragrant odours; by which means they both arrayed themselves in fine style and struck superstitious terror into others.' The researches of Messieurs Maspero and Moret have proved that the Egyptian king and queen did actually figure as god and goddess in certain solemn rites, when masked men and women played the parts of animal-headed deities[5]. I suggest that the Cnossian prince did much the same.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 179 no. B 308. Cp. the impression of an Elamite cylinder figured by M. J. Lagrange *La Crète ancienne* Paris 1908 p. 84 f. fig. 66 *a* after F. V. Scheil in the *Mémoires de la délégation en Perse* viii. 10 f. fig. 21.

[2] Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 189 no. 949. W. Meyer in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1882 ii. 281 notes that in the middle ages the Minotaur was commonly represented as 'oben Mensch, unten Stier.'

[3] Diod. 1. 61 f. My attention was first directed to this important passage by Dr J. G. Frazer (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410 n. 3). Mr A. Lang in *Folk-Lore* 1910 xxi. 145 dismisses it as 'a mere ætiological myth to explain the Odyssean story of Proteus.'

[4] Cp. Hdt. 2. 112 ff. Keten appears to have been the first king of the twentieth dynasty, Set-nekht or Nekht-Set, the father of Rameses iii.

[5] See Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 172 ff., *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 133 f., *ib.*[3] The Dying God p. 70 ff.

Hydria in the British Museum : Minotaur-dance (?).

See page 496.

xvi. 'Minoan' Bull-fights.

Few features of the 'Minoan' civilisation are more striking than its devotion to the bull-ring. Statuettes, reliefs, paintings, and seal-stones make it abundantly clear that toreadors, male and female, played an important part in the life of their people. The evidence, which comes to us from Crete, Mykenai, Tiryns, Vaphio, Orchomenos, Athens, etc., has been recently classified and discussed by A. Reichel[1]. This careful investigator thinks that the sport originated in Crete, and distinguishes three stages in its evolution. Its earliest form was the capture of a bull by one or more unarmed men, who clung tenaciously to its horns[2]. Out of this developed the favourite 'Minoan' display, an acrobatic performance calling for the utmost nerve and dexterity. It comprised various feats, of which the most popular was the following. The athlete rushed towards the charging bull, grasped it by the horns, turned a somersault over its head, and letting go with his hands was shot over its back into safety[3]. Many centuries later a less hazardous form of bull-baiting is found in the Thessalian *taurokathápsia*[4]. The toreador on horseback pursued the bull till it was exhausted, and

[1] A. Reichel 'Die Stierspiele in der kretisch-mykenischen Cultur' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1909 xxxiv. 85—99 with figs. and pl.

[2] Two terra-cotta figures of the 'Early Minoan' period found by Xanthoudides at Koumasa near Gortyna (A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and Their Builders* London 1907 p. 219 fig. 99, A. Reichel *loc. cit.* p. 93 nos. 18 and 19 = fig. 11).

With these may be compared the capture of the big bull by a posse of men in Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pl. 206.

[3] A. Reichel *loc. cit.* pp. 85—88 nos. 1—6.

[4] The literary and monumental evidence of the *ταυροκαθάψια* is collected by J. Baunack in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1883 xxxviii. 297 ff., M. Mayer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 72—81 (cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 127 ff.), M. N. Tod in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 50—56, and É. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 50—52.

Fig. 360.

Fifth-century coins of Larissa have obv. a Thessalian youth, who grasps a plunging bull by the horns, and rev. a bridled and galloping horse (fig. 360 from a specimen in my collection, cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1013 ff. pl. 43, 8—12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 25 ff. pls. 4, 12 f., 5, 1—4). Since a fourth-century drachm of the same town shows obv. a mounted Thessalian galloping, and rev. a bull in full flight (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 29 pl. 5, 13), it seems probable that on all these coins of Larissa we should combine the two types and recognise scenes from the *ταυροκαθάψια* (G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 99 pl. 3, 10, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 298 f.). Similar scenes occur on coins of Krannon, the Perrhaiboi, Pharkadon, Pherai, Skotoussa, and Trikke (see Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 1021 f. pl. 43, 16; 1023 ff. pl. 43, 17—20; 1029 ff. pl. 43, 25; 1031 f. pl. 43, 29; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 16 pl. 2, 11 f.; p. 39 pl. 8, 7; p. 42 pl. 9, 1 f.; p. 46 pl. 10, 1—3; p. 51 f. pl. 11, 5—7 and 12).

then leaping upon it twisted its horns and broke its neck. Clearly the Thessalian sport, in which the hunter is mounted and the bull is killed, cannot be identified with the Cretan sport, in which the athlete is on foot and the bull is not killed. If the two are related at all, the one must be viewed as a modification of the other. The *taurokathápsia*, introduced into Italy by Iulius Caesar, appealed to the sensation-loving Romans, and ultimately gave rise to the bull-fights of Spain and France.

Reichel further suggests that in 'Minoan' times this bull-grappling had some religious significance; but he does not venture to determine the cult with which it was connected or the meaning that attached to it.

As to the *taurokathápsia*, it has been commonly—though not universally[1]—regarded as a rite in the cult of Poseidon[2]. But so far as Thessaly is concerned there is not a particle of evidence[3], and in the case of other districts the attribution is at best conjectural[4]. Even if definite proof were forthcoming that in the Roman period this Thessalian sport was held to be an appanage of Poseidon, we could not with any assurance argue back from Thessaly to Crete across a gap of fifteen hundred years. It is surely safer to assume that the Cretan bull-sports stood in some relation to the Cretan bull-god, who at Knossos was represented by the Minotaur. On this showing we might look to find the bull-grasping feat associated with the Labyrinth. In point of fact, we do so

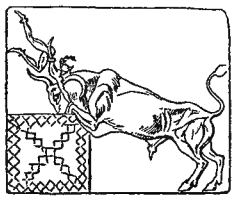


Fig. 361.

[1] F. Bechtel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 p. 34 ff. views the *taurokathápsia* as a rite properly belonging to the cult of Zeus Πολιεύς. F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 326 referred it 'auf die solarischen und Cerealischen Religionen.'

In an inscription from Larissa (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 528) a bull-fight takes place for Zeus Ἐλευθέριος; but É. Cahen justly remarks that it is only one item of an extensive programme (Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 52).

[2] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 675, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 570 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 25. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 80: 'Es ist einleuchtend, dass die eventuelle Verbindung mit dem Kult des Stier-Poseidon erst sekundär sein kann; für diesen Gott passten sie aber vor anderen.'

[3] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 80 f. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 25: 'We have the evidence of Artemidorus that the ταυροκαθάψια...was consecrated to the festival of Poseidon at Larissa,...at Eleusis,...and at Ephesos' is inexact, as a reference to the citation (*ib.* iv. 95) of Artemid. *oneir.* i. 8 will show. Artemidoros does not mention Poseidon at all.

Note, however, that on the coins of Krannon mentioned *supra* p. 497 n. 4 the fore-part of the horse or the butting bull is accompanied by a trident.

[4] Nilsson *loc. cit.*, P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 108.

find it. A banded agate in Sir Arthur Evans' collection (fig. 361)[1] represents an athlete in the act of turning his somersault over the horns of a mighty bull, which partly conceals and partly is concealed by a patterned square. This square bears to the whole design the same relation as the patterned oblong to the slaughter of the Minotaur on the vases already discussed (figs. 329—331). In short, it depicts the Labyrinth as the scene of the action[2].

The essential feature of the 'Minoan' sport appears to have been the grasping of the bull's horn or horns. Now the same trait is found in the oldest art-types of one Thessalian and three Cretan myths, that of Iason grappling the Colchian bulls[3], that of Herakles capturing the Cretan bull[4], that of Theseus slaying the Minotaur (cp. figs. 329, 330)[5], and that of Europe borne off by the bovine Zeus (cp. pl. xxxii, fig. 411)[6]. It is perhaps permissible to suggest that behind these art-types lurks a traditional pose of the bull-grasper. Iason and Herakles seizing the bull by the horn or twisting a rope about its hind legs vividly recall the bull-captors of the Vaphio cups. Theseus gripping the Minotaur by the horn or locked with him in a deadly wrestling-bout is a figure curiously reminiscent of the 'Minoan' cow-boy. Europe, who on the later monuments slips off the bull's back and hovers or floats beside him still clinging to his horn (cp. fig. 414), in effect reverts to the airy performance of the 'Minoan' cow-girl. Such resemblances may of course be fortuitous; but, given the Thessalian and Cretan connexion, they may be vestigial.

In any case it seems probable that the religious value of the original bull-sports lay in the athlete's contact with the horn of a sacred bull. A clue to the meaning of such contact is,

[1] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 9, ii. 26 figured to a scale of $\frac{2}{1}$, A. Reichel *loc. cit.* p. 87 f. fig. 4. Reichel points out that Furtwängler erroneously described the man as about to cut the throat of the bull. But Reichel himself apparently shares Furtwängler's view that the bull is drinking out of a big trough!

[2] It may be objected that the Labyrinth at Knossos was ill-adapted for a bull-ring (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 110). But Sir Arthur Evans' intaglio is said to have come from Priene, where we have already found the Labyrinth-pattern occurring as a coin-type (*supra* p. 483). Possibly the allusion is to some Labyrinth other than that of Knossos.

[3] K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 79 ff., H. Heydemann *Iason in Kolchis* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1886).

[4] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2201. Cp. Theseus and the Marathonian bull on a red-figured *kylix* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 123 no. E 105), which shows the hero holding a club in his right hand and grasping the bull's horn with his left.

[5] A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 106 ff. pl. 8, 3 (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 463 f. pl. 15, 3), Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3007 fig. 2.

[6] J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1296 f. Literary references to Europe as holding the horn are collected by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 124 n. 11.

I think, afforded by a lenticular sardonyx found at Orvieto (fig. 362)[1], which represents a man grasping by the horn a couple of bulls or bull-like figures. The vessels carried in the hands of these quasi-bulls and the trees (palms?) between which they are standing justify the conjecture that they are engaged in some fertility-rite. The bull—let us suppose—is a beast pre-eminently charged with fertilising force[2]. Its force is gathered up and culminates in its horn[3], bovine horns being sometimes a synonym of strength[4]. Any one who grasps the bull's horn *ipso facto* obtains a share in its peculiar power.

Fig. 362.

At Laussel near Marquay (Dordogne) Dr Lalanne has recently discovered what we may venture to regard as a prehistoric prototype of such rites[5]. On limestone blocks inside a rock-shelter a man of slender waist and three steatopygous women are carved with all the marvellous realism of palaeolithic art[6]. The man is an archer in the act of drawing his bow. Of the women one places her left hand on the lower portion of her body and holds a bison's horn in her right (fig. 363). This may of course be a graphic hint of the eating and drinking that resulted from a successful chase. But it is highly probable that the use of a drinking-horn presupposes the magical efficacy of the horn as such[7]. And it is at least possible that we have here part of the cave-dwellers' ritual—the right hand raised to grasp the fertilising horn, the left lowered in a gesture familiar to us from representations of the oriental mother-goddess.

This explanation throws light on sundry other obscure points in Cretan mythology and ritual. To begin with, Monsieur R. Dussaud rightly insists that the bull was not the only animal

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120 fig. 14 after O. Rossbach in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 195 ff. pl. G-H, 8.

[2] *Infra* p. 514 ff.

[3] Cp. Eur. *Bacch.* 743 ταῦροι δ' ὑβρισταὶ κεἰς κέρας θυμούμενοι with Sir John Sandys' n. *ad loc.*, Oppian. *cyneg.* 4. 33 οὐκ ἔλαφος κεράεσσι θρασύς, κεράεσσι δὲ ταῦρος, Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 48 ὑπὸ θυμοῦ τεθηγμένον ταῦρον καὶ ὑβρίζοντα ἐς κέρας.

[4] B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 121 (citing Num. 23. 22, 24. 8), G. B. Gray *A critical and exegetical Commentary on Numbers* Edinburgh 1903 p. 354 f., and especially I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451 ff.

[5] G. Lalanne in *L'Anthropologie* 1912 xxiii. 129 ff. figs. 1 ff., *The Illustrated London News* July 13, 1912 cxli. 56 with 3 figs., H. G. Spearing *The Childhood of Art* London 1912 p. 505 f. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for calling my attention to this interesting discovery and for suggesting that it may furnish a prototype of the rites in question.

[6] The figures are *c.* 18 inches high, and the relief *c.* 2 inches deep. That of the woman here shown is polished, except the head, and there are traces of red paint.

[7] See the facts collected by I. Scheftelowitz in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 483 ff.

used in these ceremonial games[1]. 'Minoan' seal-stones show gymnasts treating the *agrimi* or Cretan wild-goat in the self-same manner[2]; and Sir Arthur Evans has suggested 'that this animal was sacred to the indigenous "Zeus" at an earlier period than the bull[3].' If goat and bull were thus alternatives, the fertilising force which resided in the horn of the latter should be found in the horn of the former also. And it is. Few symbols of ancient religion have lasted longer or been more widely accepted than the horn of Amaltheia, the *cornu copiae* from which all good things flow. This is usually described in literature as the horn of the goat, which

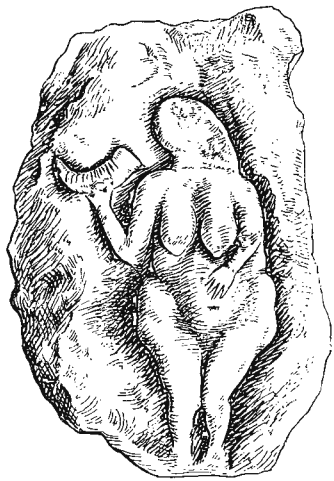


Fig. 363.

nourished Zeus as an infant in Crete, Amaltheia being either the nymph owning the goat or the goat itself[4]. But in art, as Philemon remarks, it is 'a cow's horn[5].' Of countless illustrations I figure (pl. xxxi) one—an Athenian bell-*kratér* in the Hope collection at Deepdene[6], which represents Herakles in Olympos feasting on the

[1] R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 255 figs. 185 f.

[2] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 843 fig. 426, 5 and 13, 848, 852.

[3] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 182.

[4] See K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1721.

[5] Philem. *pterygium frag.* 1, 1 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 20 Meineke) τὸ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας δοκεῖς εἶναι κέρας | οἷον γράφουσιν οἱ γραφεῖς κέρας βοός;

[6] The vase will be included in the forthcoming *Catalogue* by my friend Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, to whose kindness I am indebted for the photograph here redrawn. Previous

dainties contained in the *cornu copiae* of Zeus. Pherekydes, the earliest writer to give us an explicit account of this horn, says:

'Amaltheia was a daughter of Haimonios and had a bull's horn. This had the power of providing whatever one liked to eat or drink without stint or effort[1].'

The name Haimonios takes us to Thessaly[2], where the 'Minoan' bull-sports were modified into the *taurokathápsia*. If my explanation is sound, the said sports from first to last were designed to promote fertility by bringing the youthful gymnasts into direct contact with the horns of the fertilising bull[3].

The same religious idea finds expression in the cult of Dionysos. This deity at an early stage of his development was identified with both bull[4] and goat[5], and, even when he had become fully anthropomorphic, he was apt to maintain a close connexion with the sacred animal[6]. Thus on coins of Mauretania struck at Siga by Bocchus iii (50 ?—33 B.C.) we see Dionysos with a *thýrsos* in his right hand and a bunch of grapes beside it: he is holding by one horn a diminutive bull (fig. 364)[7]. Here and there his worshippers put themselves

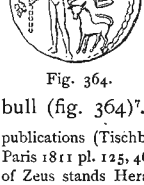


Fig. 364.

publications (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* iv pl. 25, A. L. Millin *Galerie mythologique* Paris 1811 pl. 125, 467, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 327, 2) are inadequate. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Hera (Reinach *loc. cit.* suggests 'Hébé (?)': Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 305 f. had thought of Persephone behind a seated Plouton).

With the whole scene cp. a *kálpis* from Ruvo at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 280 f. no. 2408, A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 p. 201 ff. pl. GH, Reinach *op. cit.* i. 323, 1), which shows Herakles holding the *cornu copiae* and seated before a standing Zeus (Michaelis *loc. cit.* suggests Plouton?).

[1] Pherekyd. *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 82 Müller) *ap.* schol. Soph. *Trach.* arg. Ἀμάλθεια ἦν Αἱμονίου θυγάτηρ· ἡ κέρας εἶχε ταύρου. τοῦτο δέ, ὡς Φερεκύδης φησί, δύναμιν εἶχε τοιαύτην ὥστε βρωτὸν ἢ ποτὸν ὅπερ ἂν εὔξαιτό τις παρέχειν ἄφθονόν τε καὶ ἄπονον after Apollod. 2. 7. 5 (see Jebb's ed. of Soph. *Trach.* p. 3).

A later version made the horn of plenty that which Herakles broke off from the tauriform Acheloios (Ov. *met.* 9. 85 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 31, Philostr. min. *imagg.* 4. 3). Various harmonists stated that Acheloios' horn was the horn of Amaltheia (Diod. 4. 35, Strab. 458, Dion. Chrys. *or.* 63 p. 327 Reiske), or that Acheloios had presented Herakles with Amaltheia's horn as ransom for his own (Zenob. 2. 48, schol. *Il.* 21. 194, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 50).

[2] O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2220, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 341 n. 3.

[3] For the transference of quality from the horns to that which touches them cp. the belief that seed-corn, if it fell on the horns of ploughing oxen, would produce hard (*i.e.* horny) grain (Theophr. *de caus. plant.* 4. 12. 13, Plout. *symp.* 7. 2. 1, *Geopon.* 2. 19. 4).

[4] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1425 n. 4 collects the evidence and adds a brief bibliography. See also Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 126.

[5] Gruppe *op. cit.* pp. 822 n. 3 ff., 1428 n. 9 ff., Farnell *op. cit.* v. 127, 165 f.

[6] Mithras in the great Mithraic myth rides the bull, grasping it by the horns, to which he clings even when thrown off the creature's back (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 169 f., 305, *id. Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 120 f. pl. 3, 6).

[7] L. Müller *Numismatique de l'Ancienne Afrique* Copenhague 1862 iii. 97 ff. no. 9

Bell-*krater* at Deepdene: Herakles in Olympos taking fruit from the *cornu copiae* of Zeus.

See page 501 f.

in contact with the bull by methods resembling those of the 'Minoan' athletes. Of Kynaitha in Arkadia Pausanias writes:

'There is here a sanctuary of Dionysos, and in winter a festival is held, at which men anoint themselves with oil, pick out a bull from a herd of cattle—whichever bull the god puts it into their head to take,—lift it up and carry it to the sanctuary. Such is their mode of sacrifice[1].'

Again, near Nysa in Lydia was a village called Acharaka, which had a grove and temple of Plouton and Kore. Above the grove was Charon's Cave, where cures were wrought by incubation etc.[2] The god is represented on imperial copper coins as Zeus *Ploutodótes* (fig. 365)[3], 'Giver of Wealth'[4]; and it will be observed that this title, of which *Ploúton*[5] is but a shorter

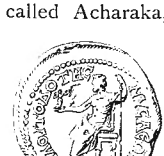


Fig. 365.

fig. 9, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 888. The obverse of this coin has a bearded male head, which, according to Müller, represents a personification of the people. Perhaps we may conclude that Dionysos and his bull were vitally connected with the full-grown manhood of the people as a whole.

Dionysos holds up a spirally twisted horn, probably meant for a *cornu copiae*, on a black-figured *pínax* from Marathon (*Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 400 pl. 3 f., Farnell *op. cit.* v. 245 pl. 35), with which cp. a black-figured *kýlix* by Nikosthenes (*Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 251 pl. 16, 1 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 462, 1 f.: Dionysos seated to right holding horn with dancing Maenad and Silenos on either hand), a black-figured *psyktér* at Deepdene (Dionysos seated to right holding horn between two dancing Maenads), and another black-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* v pl. 22, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 340, 1): see further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1867 p. 180 f. Coins of Nysa in Lydia show a *cornu copiae* filled with corn-ears, poppy, and grape-bunches: a child, seated on it, raises one of the bunches and is commonly regarded as Dionysos (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Geneva and Leipzig 1897 p. 108 f., Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 552; but in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 179 pl. 20, 8 Dr B. V. Head identifies the child as Ploutos).

[1] Paus. 8. 19. 2. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 108 f. compares this lifting of the live bull *en route* for sacrifice with the exploit of Biton (Paus. 2. 19. 5, *supra* p. 448) and the order of Menelaos (Eur. *Hel.* 1559 ff.), but distingnishes it from the raising of oxen already struck that their blood might flow over the altar etc. (*αἴρεσθαι τοὺς βοῦς*): the former was an exceptional, the latter a normal usage.

[2] Strab. 649, cp. 579, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 1153. A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1880 ii. 373 n. 1: 'Arundell et Pococke ont retrouvé le souvenir vague d'une grotte insondable et quelques vestiges de l'oracle près d'Akkeuy ou Akchay, nom dans lequel on reconnaît encore celui d'Acharaca.'

[3] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 178 no. 2 pl. 6, 9 (Domitian), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. lxxxiii, 175 pl. 20, 1 (Nero), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 654: ΠΛΟΥΤΟ-ΔΟΤΗC NVCAEΩN.

[4] Other examples of the title are collected by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2567 f. Cp. also Men Πλουτοδώτης (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 389 pl. 1) and Apollon πλουτοδοτήρ (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 525. 17).

[5] Cp. Loukian. *Timon* 21 ὁ Πλούτων...ἅτε πλουτοδότης καὶ μεγαλόδωρος καὶ αὐτὸς ὢν· δῆλοῖ γοῦν καὶ τῷ ὀνόματι, Orph. *h. Plout.* 18. 4 f. Πλούτων...| πλουτοδοτῶν γενεὴν βροτέην καρποῖς ἐναυτῶν.

equivalent[1], was common to Zeus[2] and to Dionysos[3]. Strabon ends his account of the cult as follows:

'A yearly festival is held at Acharaka...on which occasion about the hour of noon the young men from the gymnasium, stripped and anointed with oil, take up a bull and carry it with speed to the Cave. When they let it go, it advances a little way, falls over, and dies[4].'

This strange procession is illustrated (fig. 366)[5] by a copper coin of Nysa struck by Maximus. Six naked youths carry on their shoulders a humped bull of gigantic size. In front of them marches a naked flute-player, who (so far as I can judge from a careful inspection of the original) is linked to the bull's horn by means of a wavy line perhaps representing a fillet. Thus all who took part in the rite were brought into immediate contact with the sacred animal.

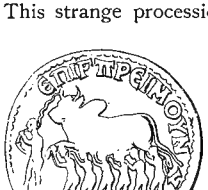


Fig. 366.

The festival (*panégyris*) was doubtless shared by other cities in the valley of the Maiandros[6]. I am therefore inclined to surmise that a second illustration of it is to be found on a copper of Magnesia struck under Caracalla (fig. 367)[7]. A young man is seen holding by the halter a humped bull, which goes before him but collapses at the entrance of a cavern. These two remarkable coin-types in fact give the beginning and the end of the procession described by Strabon.

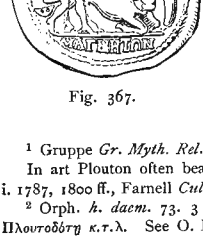


Fig. 367.

Somewhat similar to the Arcadian and Lydian rites is the scene depicted on a red-figured vase formerly in the Hamilton

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1066 n. 15.

In art Plouton often bears the *cornu copiae*: see C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1787, 1800 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 286 pl. 32, *a*.

[2] Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 3 f. Ζῆνα μέγαν... | πλουτοδότην, Loukian. *Cronosol.* 14 Διὶ Πλουτοδότῃ κ.τ.λ. See O. Höfer in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1894 cxlix. 262 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1579, iii. 2567, who notes that Nysa was a colony of Sparta (Strab. 650), where there was a temple of Zeus Πλούσιος (Paus. 3. 19. 7).

[3] *Carm. pop.* 4. 2 Hiller Σεμελήϊ' Ἰακχε πλουτοδότα.

[4] Strab. 650.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. lxxxiii, 181 pl. 20, 10, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 654.

[6] So Dr B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. lxxxiii.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 166 pl. 19, 10. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 583 describes the type as 'Herdsman (Eurytion?) driving bull into cavern'—a very improbable suggestion.

collection (fig. 368)[1]. Three young athletes, having deposited their clothing on a pillar in the gymnasium, are about to hoist the bull

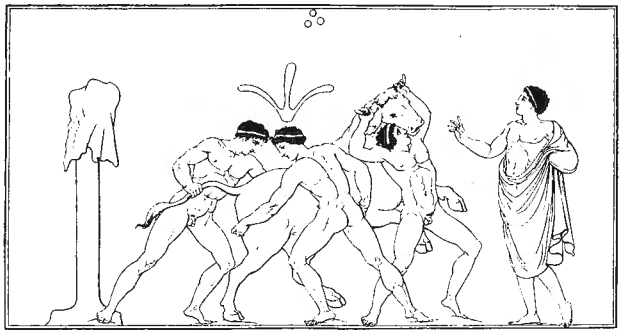


Fig. 368.

on to their backs in the presence of an official. We cannot of course determine either the locality or the cult; but the Greeks

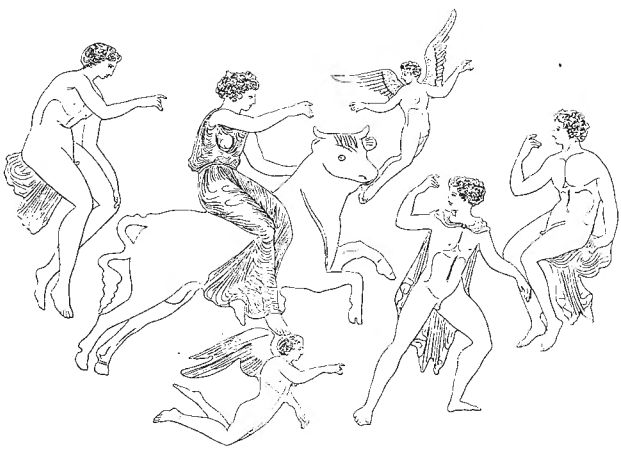


Fig. 369.

[1] Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 18 ff. pl. 3, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 49 pl. 24, Lenormant —de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 187 pl. 69, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 293, 4.

would probably have called the men *keratesseîs* or *keraelkeîs*[1]. They are in any case the successors of the 'Minoan' bull-grapplers.

I end with an amusing, if not instructive, example of type-fusion. A red-figured vase at Saint Petersburg (fig. 369)[2] shows not only Europe on the bull escorted by two Erotes, but also three *koûroi*—perhaps we should say *kourêtes*,—who with unmistakeable gestures beckon her on towards their home in Crete.

xvii. Ritual Horns.

Sir Arthur Evans in his pioneer-work (1901) on the 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult[3]' was the first to discuss comprehensively

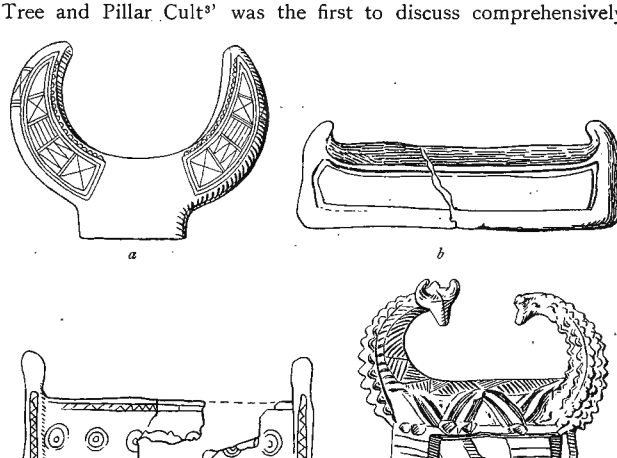


Fig. 370.

the ritual horns, which in 'Minoan' cult-scenes are set in various positions of importance—at the foot of a sacred tree, on the top of an altar, as the socket of a double axe, at the base of a column, along a precinct-wall, etc. He regarded them as 'a more or less

[1] Hesych. *κερατεσσεῖς· οἱ τοὺς ταύρους ἕλκοντες ἀπὸ τῶν κεράτων. καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ κεραελκεῖς.* Cp. *Il.* 20. 403 f. *ὡς ὅτε ταῦρος | ἤρυγεν ἑλκόμενος Ἑλικώνιον ἀμφὶ ἄνακτα, | κούρων ἑλκόντων· γάνυται δέ τε τοῖς ἐνοσίχθων.*

[2] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 385 f. no. 884 and in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 149 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 4 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 24, 1 f. The bull is here painted white, like the flesh of Europe. For a Dionysiac variation of the scene see Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 50 pl. 12.

[3] A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 135 ff.

conventionalised article of ritual furniture derived from the actual horns of the sacrificial oxen' and strictly comparable with the Semitic 'horns of the altar[1].'

During the last decade other archaeologists have accepted and extended this comparison. R. Paribeni, for instance, has proved (1904) that the 'Minoan' horns present a striking analogy to the terra-cotta or stone crescents (*Mondsichel, Mondbilder, croissants*) of the late bronze age and early iron age found in the pile-dwellings of Switzerland, Savoy, Lower Austria, Hungary, and Italy[2]. These vary in shape according to their antiquity. At first they have a heavy altar-like base; but in process of time they develope four feet and then tend to become theriomorphic, the tips of the horns

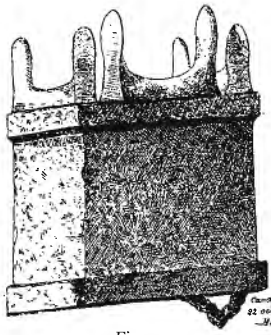
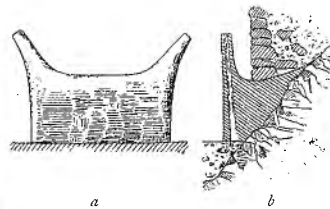


Fig. 371.



a *b*

Fig. 372.

being themselves decorated with the heads of horned beasts—bulls, rams, and stags (figs. 370, *a*—*d*)[3].

Recently (1910) Monsieur J. Déchelette has further compared

[1] *Id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 137 f.

[2] R. Paribeni 'Corni di consecrazione nella prima età del ferro europea' in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* Third Series 1904 xxx. 304—310 figs. 1—7.

[3] M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 503 ff. pl. 16, 1—6, *id. Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 564, 568 fig. 252, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 488 *s.vv.* 'Mond und Mondbilder' figs. 405—408, J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 354—357 figs. a—h, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 472—479 fig. 199, 1—3, A. Mosso *The Dawn of Mediterranean civilisation* London 1910 pp. 343—345.

Fig. 370, *a* is a crescent of red sandstone (in part restored) from a station on the Ebersberg, now in the Zürich Museum; fig. 370, *b*, from the lake-dwelling at Le Saut in Savoy; fig. 370, *c*, from the nekropolis of Golasecca in north Italy; fig. 370, *d*, a terra-cotta from a *tumulus* of the early iron age at Oedenburg in Hungary. W. M. Flinders Petrie—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* London 1912 p. 23 pl. 7, 13 publish a black pottery cow's horn tipped with a cow's head from a predynastic grave at *El Gerzeh*.

the Cretan type of horned altar (fig. 371)[1] with one found at Oficio near Almeria in the south of Spain. Here Monsieur L. Siret in a deposit dating from the beginning of the bronze age came upon an altar-shaped structure of earth built against a wall and surmounted by ritual horns (fig. 372, *a*, *b*)[2].

It appears, then, that ritual horns were used at an early date, not only in Crete, but also in various countries to the east, north, and west of the Mediterranean basin. If, however, we would ascertain the original significance of the custom, we must, I think, turn our attention towards the south; for here only can we hope to

Fig. 373.

find outlying regions that have not been repeatedly swept by the ebb and flow of advanced civilisations.

My brother Dr A. R. Cook, on returning from a visit (1905—1906) to the Dinka tribes of the White Nile, informed me that the boys there make small models of cows out of mud. He brought back a specimen (fig. 373), which though only three inches in length shows well the humped back, large horns, and slit ears characteristic of the native cattle. He also reported that outside the hut of every chief is a big heap of mud roughly shaped like a bull and known

[1] M. J. Lagrange *La Crète ancienne* Paris 1908 p. 83 fig. 62 (about $\frac{1}{8}$) a votive altar in red baked clay with horns painted white and remains of a metal tenon beneath, found at Knossos in the treasury of the serpent-goddess and now preserved in the Museum at Kandia.

[2] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 80 f. fig. 25.

as such. These heaps have a pair of bullock's horns stuck into them and a cattle rope attached to them. I figure one that my brother photographed at Sheik Agoit's, not far from Bor, which has bullock's horns at one end, goat's horns at the other, and consequently a pair of ropes (fig. 374).

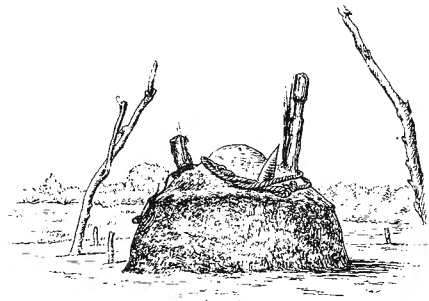


Fig. 374.

Dr C. G. Seligmann in letters dated March 15 and March 22, 1911, very kindly supplies me with further information about these singular structures and allows me to publish two examples that he photographed in the Tain villages near Bor (figs. 375, 376). The

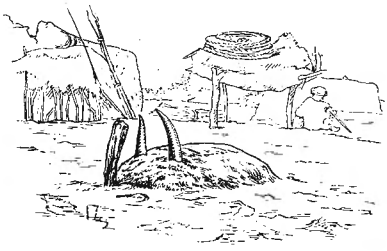


Fig. 375.

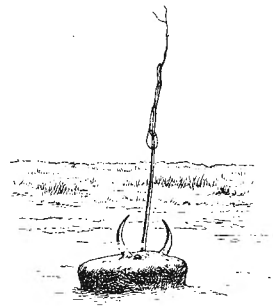


Fig. 376.

erection is, he says, a form of shrine known as *bŏor* made for the spirit (*atiep*) of an ancestor to inhabit. I quote from Dr Seligmann's note-book[1]:

[1] See now his article in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 710.

'Several generations ago one Nyet founded a village which, as is usual with the Dinka, is called after him; his companions, who were for the most part his relatives and descendants, used his name as their clan name, *i.e.* they call themselves *golonyet*, "(men of the) Clan Nyet." At the present day men of this clan inhabit the villages of Arek and Meden. Der the late head of Arek village moved to this site some forty years ago soon after the death of Anet, who with his followers lived near the Alliab boundary at a place called Unedol.

Directly the houses were built Der erected a shrine for the *atiep* of Anet to live in "just as a house"; for the spirit knows of the wanderings of its people and moves with them. This was done at the instance of a *tiet*, who said that, if this were not done, Der and his children would sicken and perhaps die. The shrine itself consists of a mound of mud at one end of which are fixed the horns of a bullock. In front of this end of the mound there is one of the pickets to which cattle are commonly tethered*. [*In shape the whole thing presents a certain resemblance to a bullock sunk in the earth so that only its back projects; but I could not learn that this resemblance was intentional, though a Dinka whom I met at Omdurman, where he had lived for a long time, told me that in his country mud representations of cattle were erected over the graves of powerful men.] The bullock providing the horns was sacrificed by Der who explained aloud that he was making a place for the *atiep* of his father Anet. The bullock was killed by plunging a spear into its heart.

Concerning this sacrifice Mr Shaw states that the eldest son should give the first thrust and that altogether five thrusts are given by the sons. If there be only one son of the dead man, paternal first cousins would give the additional thrusts. As the bullock lies moribund on the ground, its throat is cut and the blood collected in a pot, cooked over the fire, poured into gourds and eaten by the clansmen among whom the meat is distributed. Small pieces of all the organs and parts of the animal are reserved and scattered on the ground for the spirits of the dead.

At every new moon some *dura*[1], a few drops of new milk, and a little butter are placed upon the shrine at sunset. The shrine is repaired whenever necessary without sacrifice or any ceremony.

Shrines of this kind (*bŭor*) are found in all the Tain and at least in some of the Bor villages; but usually these do not resemble the back of a bullock, the mud being built into a more or less circular mound flattened above. A stick or young sapling 6 or 8 feet tall is thrust into the ground near the horns and a cattle rope is hung to this. Among the Tain Dinka the sons of a dead man will procure a bullock and build a *bŭor* whenever possible; the widow makes the mud mound, and into this the sons stick the horns of the bullock. This is done not only to propitiate the spirit of the deceased, but, as Mr Shaw informs me, as a resting-place for his spirit (*atiep*); and in one case he has seen a mat spread over the *bŭor* during the heat of the day in order to provide shade for the *atiep*.'

The evidence here cited points to the following conclusion. Among the Dinka a shrine originally representing a mud bullock and viewed as the abode of a paternal spirit has developed into a horned altar, on which food etc. is placed. I suggest that a similar evolution lies behind the use of horned altars in the Mediterranean

[1] [*Dhurra*, 'millet.' A.R.C.]

area. Of course in classical times, though the term 'horned altar' survived[1], its origin had been long forgotten. The object itself had commonly passed into alien and almost unrecognisable forms.

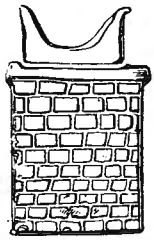


Fig. 377.

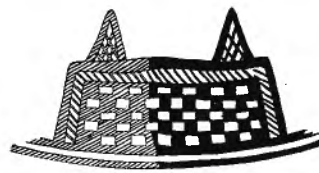


Fig. 378.

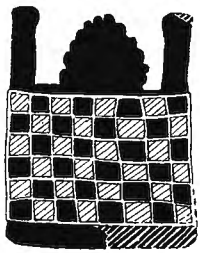


Fig. 379.

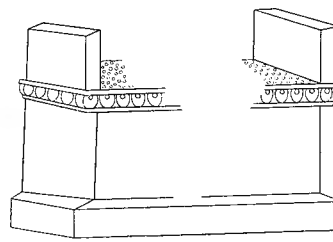


Fig. 380.

Thus the ritual horns of 'Minoan' art (fig. 377)[2] were stylised into mere cones by the 'Dipylon' painter (fig. 378)[3] and finally

[1] *Anth. Pal.* 6. 10. 3 (Antipatros on an altar dedicated to Athena by Seleukos) *βωμόν τοι κεραοῦχον ἐδείματο τόνδε Σέλευκος.* There may be a special point in the epithet *κεραοῦχον*; for Seleukos himself was horned, cp. Appian. *Syr.* 57 *καὶ τὸ σῶμα ὄντι εὐρώστῳ τε καὶ μεγάλῳ καὶ ταῦρον ἄγριον ἐν* 'Αλεξάνδρου *θυσίᾳ ποτὲ ἐκθορόντα τῶν δεσμῶν ὑποστάντι μόνῳ καὶ ταῖς χερσὶ μόναις κατειργασμένῳ προστιθέασιν ἐς τοὺς ἀνδριάντας ἐπὶ τῷδε κέρατα.* Coins give him the horn of a bull (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 3 pl. 1, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 11 pl. 63, 20), or add the horn and ear of a bull to his helmet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 4 pl. 1, 11 ff.), or even make his horses and elephants horned (*ib.* p. 3 ff. pl. 1, 6 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 756 ff.). E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 351 n. 65 cites also Nonn. *Dion.* 44. 97 ff. *εὐκεράῳ παρὰ βωμῷ | θῆλυν ὄιν κερδεντι συνέμπορον ἄρσενι ταύρῳ, | ἧχι Διὸς πέλεν ἄλσος ὀρειάδος ἔμπλεον ὕλης, | Ζηνὶ καὶ* 'Αδρυάδεσσι *μίαν ξύνωσε θυηλὴν | Κάδμος* 'Αγηνορίδης. Cp. the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iv. 971, 7 ff.

[2] Part of relief on a steatite *pyxis* from Knossos (A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 101 ff. fig. 2).

[3] Detail of 'Dipylon' vase from the site of the Kynosarges gymnasium at Athens (J. P. Droop in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 81 ff. fig. 2 *b*). Mr Droop

transformed into spit-rests (*krateutaí*)[1], andirons, or altar-fenders by successive generations of practical folk (figs. 379[2], 380[3]).

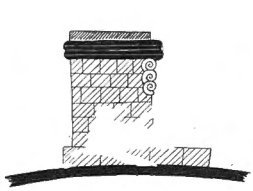


Fig. 381.

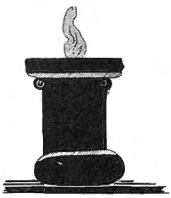


Fig. 382.

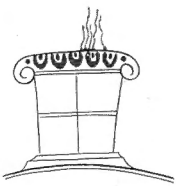


Fig. 383.

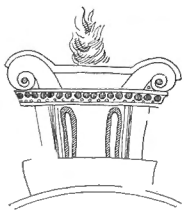


Fig. 384.

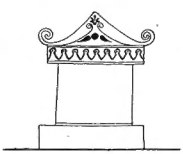


Fig. 385.

Fig. 386.

writes: 'The temptation is strong to see in the table and triangle a horned altar, but the hatched triangle is frequently used to fill vacant spaces, and appears for that purpose on this very vase, while the band of chequers lower down, makes it doubtful if the table had any more significance.' Miss Harrison *Themis* p. 76 ff. fig. 10 *b* has, however, gone far towards proving that the scene represented two rain-makers working their rattles before a sacred shield placed on an altar. If so, the interpretation of the triangles as horns becomes highly probable.

[1] Terra-cotta spit-rests from Thessaly of neolithic date have been described and figured by Ch. Tsountas Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου Athens 1908 p. 222 ff. fig. 120 f. pl. 30, 1, 2; p. 345 f. figs. 276 f., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 43 fig. 19; pp. 60 f., 73; p. 85. For bronze examples of the Hallstatt period, decorated with horned ox-heads etc. at either end, see M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 443 fig. 137, p. 501 f. fig. 165.

[2] Detail of black-figured *pyxís*-lid or *kýlix*-lid found at Cuma in 1908 (E. Gabrici in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 124 ff. pl. 5), to which Miss Harrison kindly drew my attention.

[3] Detail of an Apulian *amphora* from Ruvo (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 517 f. no. 3223, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 43, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 198 ff., O. Jahn *ib.* 1848 xx. 204 ff., Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 735 f. Atlas pl. 30, 4, J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 127 ff. fig. 18). Archaic altars of this type have been found in south Italy and Sicily, *e.g.* the great ash-altar of Demeter at Selinous (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempeln in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 p. 84, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 94 f. fig. 30).

Similarly ram's horns affixed to an altar (fig. 381)[1] became volutes curving either downwards (figs. 382[2], 383[3], 384[4]) or upwards (fig. 385)[5]; and these volutes in turn were combined with a simple (fig. 385) or more elaborate pediment (fig. 386)[6] and treated as architectural *akrotéria*. The climax of magnificence is reached in the Ludovisi altar, which has both sculptured fenders and upturned decorative volutes[7]. The fenders, as viewed from the side, still bear some faint resemblance to the 'Minoan' altar-horns.

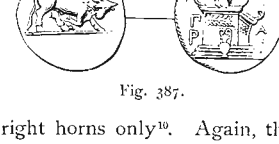


Fig. 387.

Here and there religious conservatism retained clearer traces of the old usage. The *keratón* at Delos was, according to Kallimachos, constructed by Apollon from the horns of the goats shot by Artemis on Mount Kynthos[8]; according to Plutarch, from left horns[9] or from right horns only[10]. Again, the Kabeiros of Thessalonike had a horn, which was either planted in the ground beside him[11] or fixed on a base resembling an altar[12].

[1] From a 'Caeretan' *hydría* at Vienna (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 255 ff. pl. 51). Cp. W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 478 on the horns of sheep figured upon the *cippi* of Tanit.

[2] From a late black-figured *amphora* at Berlin (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 5 f. pl. 241, 3 f.).

[3] From a red-figured *kántharos* by Nikosthenes at Boston (*Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1890—1891 pl. 7, 2).

[4] From a red-figured *kýlix* by Hieron at Heidelberg (*Wien. Vorlegebl.* C pl. 2).

[5] From a red-figured *kálpis* formerly in the Canino collection (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 96 ff. pl. 28).

Cp. the great altar of Demeter at Pergamon (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 374 ff. fig. 7 and pl. 18) with its finely carved upstanding 'horn' (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 71 fig. 14), and the still greater altar built by Hermokreon at Parion in Mysia (Strab. 487, 588, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 355, 15 f.) which appears on coppers of the town *c.* 350—300 B.C. or later (fig. 113: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 97 ff. pl. 21, 10—13, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 250 nos. 114—116, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 531).

[6] From a red-figured *kýlix* by Hieron at Berlin (*Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 4).

[7] F. Studniczka *loc. cit.* p. 76 f. figs. 16—17.

[8] Kallim. *h. Ap.* 60 ff. [9] Plout. *v. Thes.* 21.

[10] Plout. *de sollert. an.* 35.

[11] *Supra* p. 108 fig. 79.

[12] *Supra* p. 108 f. figs. 80, 81.

Cp. the single horns of stone found in a neolithic pillar-precinct at Terlizzi in Apulia (A. Mosso and F. Samarelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1910 p. 116 ff.), the single horns of earthenware found in several Sicilian burying-grounds or settlements—Castelluccio, Monteracello, etc.—of the chalcolithic age (Orsi 'Necropoli e Stationi Sicule di transizione' in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* Third Series 1907 xxxiii. 92 ff.), and the single horns of earthenware found in a bronze-age sanctuary of the early Siculans at Cannatello near Girgenti (A. Mosso in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1907 xviii. 573 ff., T. E. Peet *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* Oxford 1909 p. 451 ff. fig. 250).

The closest parallel to the Dinka bull-shrine is, however, to be sought, not in any artistic modification of the horned altar, but in an artless custom of the country-side. Antigonos of Karystos, *c.* 250 B.C. writes:

'In Egypt if you bury the ox in certain places, so that only its horns project above the ground, and then saw these off, they say that bees fly out; for the ox putrefies and is resolved into bees[1].'

This curious method of obtaining a swarm is often mentioned by classical authors, and lingered on through mediaeval times well into the sixteenth century[2]. The fullest account of it is given by Florentinus[3], who begins by naming his authorities:

'Iobas king of the Libyans states that bees must be made in a wooden coffer; Demokritos and Varro in the Roman tongue state that they should be made in a house, which is even better.'

Then follows the *recipe* for making them. A fat bullock, thirty months old, is confined in a narrow chamber measuring ten cubits every way and pierced by a door and four windows. He is then beaten till bones and flesh alike are crushed, though blood must not be drawn. Next, every aperture in his body is stuffed up with pitched rags, and he is laid on a heap of thyme. The door and windows are plastered up with mud so as to exclude light and air. After three weeks the chamber is thrown open, but care must be taken not to admit a strong wind. When aired enough, the relics are fastened up as before and left for ten days longer. On the eleventh day clusters of bees will be found, while of the bullock nothing remains but horns, bones, and hair. 'King' bees come from the spinal marrow, or better still from the brain; ordinary bees from the flesh. The main idea of this singular superstition is that the life of the bull passed into that of the bees[4]. As Ovid puts it,—

One life thus slain begat a thousand lives[5].

The buried bull or bull-shrine, if we may so describe it, was in fact the centre of a vital force, which radiated outwards especially through the head and horns. If, as I am contending, some such custom is really presupposed by the horned altar of the Mediterranean peoples, we can understand why the suppliant clung to its horns[6]

[1] Antig. *hist. mir.* 19.

[2] W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 19—28, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 8—10.

[3] *Geopon.* 15. 2. 21 ff.

[4] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 9 f.

[5] Ov. *fast.* 1. 380 mille animas una necata dedit.

[6] 1 Kings 1. 50, 51, 2. 28.

or offered sacrifice[1] and prayer[2] holding it as by a handle. He was thereby himself filled with the life of the divine beast. Moreover, the frequent practice of affixing a *bucranium* to the altar or carving *bucrania* upon it[3] is seen to be highly appropriate, if not actually reminiscent of its origin.

Fig. 388.

The foregoing method of procuring bees from a bull was believed by the ancients to have come from Egypt or Libye. We may therefore venture to compare with it a remarkable scene depicted in the Egyptian *Book of the Dead* (fig. 388)[4]. According to Dr Budge, Hathor the cow-goddess of the Underworld looks out through a clump of papyrus-plants from the funeral mountain, at the foot of which is the tomb. Now it is highly probable that such vignettes were originally inspired by actual custom. And Mr F. W. Green kindly informs me that at *Deir el Bahri* the relative positions of Hathor-shrine, mountain, and tombs agree well with those here represented[5]. The divine cow buried in the earth, but yet looking forth upon the world and by her own peculiar virtue causing fresh vegetation to spring up, thus furnishes an exalted parallel to the humbler rite of the buried bull and its resultant swarms.

[1] Varr. *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 2. 8 inde Varro Divinarum libro quinto dicit aras primum asas dictas, quod esset necessarium a sacrificantibus eas teneri: ansis autem teneri solere vasa quis dubitet? Cp. interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 219. Varro's etymology is of course faulty, but his facts are sound.

[2] Verg. *Aen.* 6. 124 talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat (cp. 4. 219, 12. 201) with Serv. *ad loc.* rogabant enim deos ararum ansas tenentes. For other examples see the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii. 386, 7 ff.

[3] E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 351.

[4] E. A. Wallis Budge *Facsimile of the Papyrus of Ani*[2] London 1894 pl. 37, *id. The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 430 pl. 18, cp. Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pp. 896, 898 f. pls. 321, 1, 323.

[5] Mr H. R. Hall points out to me that Mr Somers Clarke (*Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1905 xxvii. 179) has explained the pyramidal tomb-chapel in the vignette as copied from a pyramid at *Deir el Bahri*, which was especially connected with Hathor-worship, and the hills as being the cliffs of the same locality.

To the same cycle of ideas belongs the Mithraic sacrifice of a bull (fig. 389, 390)[1]. Mithras—whose myth has been largely

Fig. 389.

[1] Figs. 389 and 390 are the front and back of a Mithraic altar-piece found in 1826 in the Heidenfeld near Heddernheim and now preserved in the Museum at Wiesbaden (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 362 ff. fig. 248 pls. 7 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3050 ff. figs. 6 f., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1950 fig. 5088, *id. Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 pl. 3, 1).

Fig. 389 = *Front.* (*a*) In a recess representing the cave Mithras slays the bull, accompanied by dog with collar and crow perched on fluttering mantle. A scorpion nips the testicles of the bull. A snake would drink from a *kratér* placed below the bull's belly and guarded by a lion. To right and left are Cautes and Cautopates with raised and lowered torches—a duplication of Mithras himself (Dionys. Areop. *epist.* 7 *τοῦ τριπλασίου Μίθρου*). Behind Cautes is a tree with a snake coiled round it. (*b*) Above the cave are the twelve signs of the zodiac, from Aries to Pisces. (*c*) In the spandrels Mithras in oriental dress and Phrygian cap shoots an arrow towards another personage

Fig. 390.

wearing Phrygian cap and kneeling in front of rock. (*d*) Higher up an oblong space shows four scenes separated by three cypresses: Mithras appearing out of the foliage of a tree (cypress?); Mithras dragging the bull by its hind legs, while a snake threatens its muzzle; Mithras extending his hand towards the radiate crown on the head of Sol (hands broken); Sol with radiate *nimbus* (traces visible) kneeling before Mithras (body restored). (*e*) The top member of the frame has three cypresses enclosing two scenes: Sol standing in his chariot (horses and rocks restored) extends his hand to Mithras, who is about to mount the chariot; Luna reclining in her chariot is drawn by two horses down a rocky slope. (*f*) The angles of the frame contain medallions of four wind-gods—winged heads, of which three at least are bearded and one, if not more, ejects a cone of wind from his lips. (*g*) Below the upper and above the lower medallions are the four seasons: on the left above, Spring with rose-wreaths in hair and round neck; on the right above, Summer with band round brow; on the right below, Autumn with wreath of corn (?) and flowers and fruit in bosom (?); on the left below, Winter with covered head. (*h*) Between Winter and Spring are two scenes: below, a bearded figure resting on rocks (Oceanus?); above, a bearded figure with *chlamys* on left arm and elongated object (stick? sword? thunderbolt?) in right hand advancing towards rock or shapeless person (Iupiter and Giant?). Between Summer and Autumn are two more scenes:

reconstructed from his monuments[1]—was bidden by the raven, messenger of the Sun, to slay the great bull that had escaped from his cave. Reluctantly he went in pursuit and caught the bull just as it re-entered the cave. Closing its nostrils with his left hand, with his right he plunged a knife deep into its flank. Thereupon wonders ensued. Fresh forms of life sprang from the body of the dying beast. Corn arose from its spinal marrow—witness the bunch of corn-ears at the end of its tail. A vine grew from its blood. The one plant furnished the mystics with bread, the other with wine. In vain did the emissaries of darkness, the scorpion, the ant, and the snake, attack the moribund monster, fastening on its genitals or seeking to drain its blood. The seed of the bull, collected and purified by the Moon, begat all manner of serviceable creatures; and its soul, guarded by Mithras' faithful hound, ascended to heaven, where under the name of Silvanus it became the protector of all flocks and herds. In short, the death of the bull meant new life to the world at large[2].

Before passing from the present section we must face one outstanding difficulty. We have been maintaining that the horned altar of the Mediterranean originated as the shrine of a buried beast. It may be objected that, on this showing, the altar—hardly to be distinguished from the divinity dwelling in it—was at one time the actual object of cult.

That is a conclusion from which in fact we must not shrink.

above, Mithras as a child emerging from rock (hands lost); below, Mithras as a youth advancing to seize the branches of a bush, of which the lower part is seen.

Fig. 390 = *Back*. (*a*) In the recess representing the cave the bull lies dead. Behind it stand two figures—on the left Mithras in oriental dress and Phrygian cap holding a horn, on the right Sol with long hair, *chlamýs*, belt, etc. carrying a whip. Sol holds out a big bunch of grapes to Mithras, who raises his hand in admiration. Between them a Phrygian cap, surrounded by a circlet with seven rays (in part restored), rests on a pole. To right and left of the bull are two children in oriental dress and Phrygian caps bearing baskets of fruit (the child on the left almost entirely modern). (*b*) Above the cave is a scene now much damaged. In the centre a male figure, probably Silvanus, stands erect (lower half can be traced); and about him are grouped, from left to right, various animals—boar, hound, horse (hoof and part of leg visible), sheep (?), hound, hound, hound, bull.

This relief was originally so mounted as to turn about in its three-sided frame on two iron pivots. Hence the absence of decoration on the back of the frame.

[1] F. Cumont *Textes et monuments* etc. i. 159 ff., in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3050 ff., in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1953, *Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] p. 118 ff.

[2] Cp. Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18 *σελήνην τε οὖσαν γενέσεως προστάτιδα μέλισσαν ἐκάλουν ἄλλως τε< καὶ >ἐπεὶ ταῦρος μὲν σελήνη καὶ ὕψωμα σελήνης ὁ ταῦρος, βουγενεῖς δ' αἱ μέλισσαι. καὶ ψυχαὶ δ' εἰς γένεσιν ἰοῦσαι βουγενεῖς, καὶ βουκλόπος θεὸς ὁ τὴν γένεσιν λεληθότως ἀκούων.* The parallelism between the procreation of bees from a bull and the Mithraic myth is here distinctly recognised.

W. Robertson Smith[1] long since pointed out that in the Semitic area 'the sacred stone is altar and idol in one,' citing *inter alia* Porphyrios' strange account of the worship at Dûmat:

'The Dumatenes in Arabia used every year to sacrifice a boy and to bury him beneath an altar, which they treat as an image[2].'

Even more explicit is the divinity of the altar in the cult of certain Syrian gods. A long day's march west of Aleppo rises a bare and almost conical mountain known to the Greeks as Koryphe[3] and to the modern inhabitants as *Djebel Shêkh Berekât*. On the summit is a levelled precinct *c.* 68 metres square, enclosing the tomb of the Mohammedan saint who has dispossessed the former occupants of the site. The walls of the precinct bear on their outer surface dedicatory inscriptions, nine of which, ranging in date from *c.* 70 to *c.* 120 A.D., were copied by an American archaeological expedition in 1899—1900[4]. The votive *formula* is:

'To Zeus *Mádbachos* and to Selamanes, gods of the country[5].'

Already in 1897 Prof. C. Clermont-Ganneau[6], though hampered by inexact transcripts, had with the utmost acumen divined the true meaning of both names. He compared Selamanes with the Assyrian god Šalmânu and the Phoenician Šlmn, the 'Peaceful or Peace-bringing One[7].' And he suggested that *Mádbachos*, if that were the right spelling, might be connected with the Aramaic *madbah*, 'altar[8].' He even ventured to add that, if so, Zeus *Mádbachos* would be the Syrian equivalent of a Greek Zeus *Bomós*, a god identified with his own altar. Three years later this hypothetical deity was actually found. A day's journey south of

[1] W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 205.

[2] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 56 καὶ Δουματηνοὶ δὲ τῆς Ἀραβίας κατ' ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔθυον παῖδα, ὃν ὑπὸ βωμὸν ἔθαπτον, ᾧ χρῶνται ὡς ξοάνῳ. Perhaps we may cp. Paus. 2. 32. 7 (between Troizen and Hermione) πέτρα Θησέως ὀνομαζομένη, μεταβαλοῦσα καὶ αὐτὴ τὸ ὄνομα ἀνελομένου Θησέως ὑπ' αὐτῇ κρηπῖδας τὰς Αἰγέως καὶ ξίφος· πρότερον δὲ βωμὸς ἑκαλεῖτο Σθενίου Διός.

[3] Theodoret. *relig. hist.* 4 (lxxxii. 1340 Migne).

[4] H. C. Butler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 434 f., W. K. Prentice *ib.* 1902 vi. 27 f. and more fully in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 91—120 with ground-plan, figs., etc.

[5] Διὶ Μαδβάχῳ καὶ Σελαμάνει, πατρώοις θεοῖς (so inscrr. nos. 1, 2: nos. 5, 7, 8 have θεοῖς πατρώοις: nos. 3, 4? omit θεοῖς: no. 9 omits both θεοῖς and πατρώοις).

[6] C. Clermont-Ganneau *Études d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1897 ii. 35—54 especially p. 49 n. 2, *id. Recueil d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1901 iv. 164 f.

[7] So too G. Hoffmann in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* xi. 246, E. Littmann *ap.* W. K. Prentice in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 117 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 641.

[8] So too E. Littmann *ap.* W. K. Prentice *loc. cit.* p. 118, M. Lidzbarski in the *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* 1908 ii. 81, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 639, L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1909* p. 61, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 723 n. 7.

Djebel Shêkh Berekât is a place called *Burdj Bâḳirḥā*, situated at the northern end of *Djebel Bârîshā*. Here was once a fine Roman temple, built in the time of the Antonines; and a few paces to the east of it are the foundations of a very ancient altar. Temple and altar were enclosed by a precinct-wall, now almost wholly destroyed. On the lintel of the precinct-door Dr E. Littmann deciphered a dedication to Zeus *Bomós*[1], the god whose existence was postulated by Prof. Clermont-Ganneau.

Zeus *Bomós*, no doubt, was the Grecised form of a Syrian god. But the Hellenic Zeus too was here and there believed to inhabit a hewn slab or pillar of stone, *e.g.* at Sikyon, in Arkadia, at Tarentum[2]. The Frontispiece of this volume will serve to show

[1] Διὶ Βωμῷ μεγάλῳ ἐπηκόῳ Ἀπολλώνιος καὶ Ἀπολλοφάνης καὶ Χαλβίων οἱ Μαρίωνος τὸν πυλῶνα ἀνέστησαν ἔτους | ἀπὸ ἐποικίου μείθου ἔτους θσ', Γορπιαίου (W. K. Prentice in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 118).

[2] In dealing with aniconic representations of Zeus as a stone we must carefully distinguish artificial from natural forms. This distinction is not well observed by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 3 ff. or even by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 102 ff., though it is rightly emphasised by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 206 f.

The statement of Maximus Tyrius that the earliest men dedicated mountain-tops—Olympos, Ide, etc.—as ἀγάλματα to Zeus (*supra* p. 102 n. 5) may be an erroneous inference from the fact that Zeus was worshipped on such high-places, or a generalisation from the case of Mt Argaios (*ib.*). There is, however, good evidence for the identification of natural stones, probably meteorites, with Zeus: *e.g.* the stone near Gythion called Zeus Καππώτας (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (f)); the stone at Delphoi said to have been swallowed by Kronos in place of Zeus (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (d)); the stone of Elagabalos, the god of Emesa in Syria, who was regarded as a solar Zeus or Iupiter (*infra* ch. ii § 10 (c)).

Among artificially-shaped stones we may notice several types—the pillar, the pyramid, the pyramid on a pillar, the *omphalós*.

Zeus is represented on Apulian vases by a pillar pure and simple (*supra* p. 36 fig. 9), or by a pillar inscribed ΔΙΟΣ (*supra* p. 36 ff. pl. iii). This presumably had behind it long-standing local tradition; for it is known that Zeus Καταιβάτης had a pillar-cult at Tarentum in very early times (*infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ)). Cp. also an Apulian bell-*krater* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 42 no. F 62) on which is a stepped *stêle* bearing the inscription ΤΕΡΜΩΝ, *i.e.* Zeus Τέρμων as the equivalent of Iupiter *Terminus* (Plout. *v. Num.* 16 with Plat. *leg.* 842 E f., Dem. *de Halonnes.* 39 f. = *Anth. Pal.* 9. 786).

Zeus Μειλίχιος at Sikyon was a mere pyramid (Paus. 2. 9. 6 ἔστι δὲ Διὸς Μειλίχιος καὶ Ἄρτεμις ὀνομαζομένη Πατρῴα, σὺν τέχνῃ πεποιημένα οὐδεμιᾷ· πυραμὶς δὲ ὁ Μειλίχιος, ἡ δὲ κίονί ἐστιν εἰκασμένη): cp. the conical stone inscribed ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΗΛΩΣΙΟΥ at Korkyra (*supra* p. 164 n. 5) and the bronze pyramids of Iupiter *Dolichenus* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (θ)).

Zeus Στορπαῖος (A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1906 p. 63 f. fig., K. A. Rhomaios *ib.* 1911 p. 150 fig. 1, *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (ε)), Zeus Ἡάσιος (K. A. Rhomaios *loc. cit.* p. 152 fig. 7), and Zeus Πατρῷος (*id. ib.* p. 153 fig. 9) were, like other Arcadian deities, represented at Tegea by small pyramids surmounting four-sided pillars of Doliana marble: these pillars are inscribed ΔΙΟΣΣΤ|ΟΡΠΑΟ, ΔΙΟΣ ΠΑ | ΣΙΟ, and ΑΝΤΙΟ | ΧΟCΚΑ | ΔΑΜΟ|CΤΡΑΤΟC | ΔΙΙΠΑ | ΤΡΩ |Ω

how such beliefs lingered on into our own era. Behind the god as portrayed by latter-day Pompeian art still stands the squared block from which in a sense he has emerged. That block was once his vehicle, his seat, his abode, for all practical purposes his embodiment. As time went on, the sacred stone was differentiated into a variety of distinct forms, to each of which was assigned its separate use. It did duty as the god's altar[1]. It was modified into his throne[2]. It survived as a perch for his eagle[3], or as a pedestal for his statue[4]. But from first to last it was, strictly interpreted, the place where Zeus was to be found rather than the very Zeus himself. The distinction might indeed be overlooked by the vulgar; but it was vital to the progress of religion.

xviii. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete.

If the bull that consorted with Pasiphae stood for the sun, Pasiphae herself, concealed in her wooden cow[5], stood for the moon. Plutarch[6] informs us that at Thalamai—a frontier town between Messene and Lakonike—there was a sanctuary and oracle of

in lettering of the fifth century B.C., of the third or perhaps late fourth century B.C., and of the end of the second century A.D., respectively. A triple iconic herm at Tegea is inscribed ΖΕΥΣ ‖ ΠΟΣΕΙ ¦ ΔΑΝ ‖ ΔΑΜ[Α] ¦ ΤΗΡ in lettering of the first century A.D. (*id. ib.* p. 156 f. fig. 12). The pyramid-on-pillar is obviously tantamount to the iconic herm.

In the east we find omphaloid stones regarded as Zeus: *e.g.* the *omphalós* of Zeus Κάσιος at Seleukeia Pieria (Append. B Syria); that of Zeus (?) at Chalkis sub Libano (Append. B Syria); that of Zeus Ἄμμων, the Semitic character of which has been already discussed (*supra* p. 355 ff.).

It would seem, then, that the genuinely Greek forms of aniconic Zeus included (*a*) natural stones such as meteorites, and (*b*) artificially-shaped stones of certain definite types—the pillar, the pyramid, and a combination of the two.

[1] E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1642. An instructive case is that of Zeus Καταιβάτης at Tarentum (*infra* ch. ii § 3 (a) ii (δ)).

[2] See W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Göttercultc* Wien 1897 pp. 38—50 ('Altäre als Throne'). Cp. Iupiter seated on a pillar (*supra* p. 62 fig. 38) and Zeus Λύκαιος seated on his altar (*supra* p. 93 fig. 65). A comic scene depicted on a bell-*krατήρ* from Apulia (L. Stephani *Pararga archaeologica* St Petersburg 1851—1876 no. 18, F. Wieseler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 379 ff. pl. N, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 302, 2, W. Reichel *op. cit.* p. 42 fig. 12) shows Zeus sitting on his altar and threatening with uplifted bolt Herakles, who stands before him greedily eating the fruit that he ought to be presenting—a painful contrast to the pious personage, who is pouring a libation on the altar to the right.

[3] *Supra* p. 34 f. pl. ii (well-mouth at Naples), p. 35 n. 6 fig. 8 (paste at Berlin), pp. 66, 83 pl. viii (pillars on Mt Lykaion).

[4] *E.g. supra* p. 38 f. pl. iv, 1, p. 39 n. 2 pl. iv, 2 (Apulian vase in British Museum), p. 39 pl. v (Apulian vase in Soane Museum), p. 39 f. fig. 11 (Campanian vase at Dresden), p. 279 n. 4 fig. 206 (red-figured vase at Bonn).

[5] *Supra* p. 464 f.

[6] Plout. *v. Agid.* 9.

Pasiphaa, whom some took to be a daughter of Atlas and mother by Zeus of Ammon, while others identified her with Kasandra the daughter of Priam who had died there and been called *Pasipháa*, 'She that gives light to all,' because she gave to all her oracular responses[1]. Plutarch adds that, according to Phylarchos[2], Daphne the daughter of Amyklas when fleeing from the embraces of Apollon was changed into a laurel (*dáphne*) and received the gift of prophecy: it is implied, though not stated, that *Pasipháa* was an epithet of the illuminating Daphne. Pausanias still further complicates the case by speaking of the oracle as that of Ino[3]. It seems clear that the Laconian Pasiphaa was an ancient oracular goddess, whose nature had been so far forgotten that it had become possible to identify her with a variety of better-known mythological characters. Fortunately for our understanding of the facts Pausanias, an honest eye-witness, goes on to describe the sacred precinct:

'Two bronze statues stand there in the open air, one of them a statue of Pasiphae[4], the other of Helios: the statue in the temple itself could not be seen clearly owing to its wreaths, but this too is said to be of bronze. There is also a sacred spring of water that is sweet to drink. Pasiphae is not a local deity of Thalamai but an epithet of Selene[5].'

This is in all probability the truth of the matter. The statues of Pasiphae and Helios were statues of the moon-goddess and the sun-god[6]. When, therefore, in the Cretan myth, the 'bull of dazzling whiteness[7]' approached Pasiphae in her cow, we are justified in supposing a union between the sun and the moon.

Behind the myth, as is so often the case, we may detect a ritual performance, in which the Cnossian queen actually placed within a wooden cow was symbolically married to a bull representing the sun-god[8]. We know, at least, that in the territory of the Cnossians,

[1] By means of incubation (Plout. *v. Cleom.* 7, Cic. *de divin.* 1. 96). See further Tert. *de anim.* 46, Aristox. Tarent. *frag.* 76 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 288 Müller) *ap.* Apollon. Dysk. *hist. mir.* 49.

[2] Phylarch. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 342 Müller), cp. Parthen. *narr. am.* 15 lemma.

[3] Paus. 3. 26. 1, where for 'Ινοῦς Wolff *de novissima oraculorum aetate* p. 31 ff. would read 'Ιοῦς.

[4] The manuscript reading Παφίης...Παφίη was corrected by Camerarius to Πασιφάης... Πασιφάη. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 156 n. 6 defends the old reading on the ground that Pasiphae of Thalamai was a lunar Aphrodite, cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 117, 12 f. Wünsch καλεῖται δὲ (ἡ 'Αφροδίτη) πολλαχοῦ καὶ Πασιφάη, ἡ πᾶσιν ἐπαφιεῖσα τὴν ἡδονήν, Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 133 Κυθήρᾳ Πασιφαέσσῃ κ.τ.λ.

[5] Paus. 3. 26. 1.

[6] Cp. Maximus περὶ καταρχῶν 146 πασιφαὴς...πανδία Σελήνη, Orph. *h. Hel.* 8. 14 (Ηλιε) εὔδιε, πασιφαές, κόσμου τὸ περίδρομον ὄμμα. See H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 57 f.

[7] *Supra* p. 467.

[8] This view, which I put forward in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412, was adopted in 1905 by Dr J. G. Frazer (*Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 175). In 1911, however, Dr Frazer

near the river Theren, there was in historical times a sanctuary, at which once a year the people of the district assembled to offer a solemn sacrifice and to celebrate with ancient mimetic rites the marriage of two divinities then described as Zeus and Hera[1]. I would suggest that the later union of Zeus with Hera[2] had here taken the place of an earlier ceremony, the ritual pairing of the solar bull with the lunar cow.

That a queen should submit to being enclosed in a wooden cow will not surprise those who are familiar with primitive religious rites. In view of the similarity existing between Cretan and Egyptian bull-worship it is to be noted that the queens of Egypt were sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi, being thus made one with Hathor the cow-goddess[3]. Herodotos[4], for example, describes how Mykerinos (*Men-kau-Râ*), a king of the fourth dynasty, when his daughter, an only child, died, buried her in a hollow wooden cow. This cow stood, or rather knelt, in a decorated chamber of the royal palace at Sais, its head and neck thickly plated with gold, and the rest of its body covered with a scarlet cloak. Between its horns was a golden disk to imitate the sun; and once a year, when the Egyptians made mourning for a certain god, presumably Osiris, the cow was brought out into the light, for the princess on her death-bed had besought her father that once a year she might look upon the sun. Whether the 'Minoans' ever assimilated their dead rulers to bulls and cows we do not know, though it has been conjectured by Mr B. Staes that the splendid silver cow's head with golden horns and a gold-plated rosette between them, found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai, was originally affixed to the exterior surface of a wooden coffin[5].

In various parts of the world it has been held that the stars are the children of the sun and moon[6]. This view perhaps obtained in

improved upon it by pointing out that Pasiphae was not, as I had described her, the representative of 'a sky-goddess or sun-goddess,' but rather, as others had seen, the representative of the moon (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 71 n. 2).

[1] Diod. 5. 72. [2] *Infra* ch. iii § 1.

[3] Cp. R. Lepsius *Die Chronologie der Ægypter* Berlin 1849 i. 309 n. 3.

[4] Hdt. 2. 129 ff.

[5] B. Staes Περὶ τῆς χρήσεως Μυκηναϊκῶν τινων κοσμημάτων in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1907 pp. 31—60 fig. 12.

[6] E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[5] London 1891 i. 356 (the Mintira of the Malay Peninsula, the Ho of Chota-Nagpore in north east India), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 10 (Tréguier). My friend the Rev. J. Roscoe informs me that a similar belief occurs among the Baganda of central Africa. W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3198 cites further parallels from A. Schleicher in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1853 xi. 99, T. Waitz—G. Gerland *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1872 vi. 266, W. Mannhardt in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1875 vii. 303.

Crete; for the Minotaur, offspring of the solar bull and the lunar cow, was—as we have said[1]—named *Astérios* or *Asterion*, 'the Starry.'

Dr J. G. Frazer, following K. Hoeck[2] and W. H. Roscher[3], holds that the same custom of sun-and-moon marriage is attested on the one hand by the myth of Zeus and Europe, on the other by that of Minos and Britomartis or Diktynna:

'The moon rising from the sea was the fair maiden Europa coming across the heaving billows from the far eastern land of Phoenicia, borne or pursued by her suitor the solar bull. The moon setting in the western waves was the coy Britomartis or Dictynna, who plunged into the sea to escape the warm embrace of her lover Minos, himself the sun. The story how the drowning maiden was drawn up in a fisherman's net may well be, as some have thought, the explanation given by a simple seafaring folk of the moon's reappearance from the sea in the east after she had sunk into it in the west[4].'

But here, as it seems to me, more caution is needed. I do not deny that ultimately both Europe and Diktynna came to be regarded as moon-goddesses—the former through the influence of Phoenician religion, the latter by assimilation to the lunar aspect of Artemis. But I do deny that originally and essentially either Europe or Diktynna stood for the moon. The matter is one that in this connexion must be further investigated.

Europe bore to Zeus a son Dodon[5] or Dodonos[6], the eponym of Dodona. This implies that there was a recognised similarity between the cults of Crete and Epeiros, Zeus and Europe being the Cretan equivalents of Zeus *Nάios* and his Dodonaean partner[7]. If so, Europe was at first a great earth-mother, who sent up vegetation from her home in the ground[8]. Strong support for this view is to be found in the fact that at Lebadeiā in Boiotia those who went down into the oracular cave sacrificed not only to Trophonios and his sons, but also to Apollon, Kronos, Zeus

[1] *Supra* p. 493 ff.

[2] K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1823 i. 90 ff., *ib.* 1828 ii. 170.

[3] W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* (Studien zur griechischen Mythologie und Kulturgeschichte vom vergleichenden Standpunkte iv). Leipzig 1890 pp. 45 f., 116 ff., 128 ff.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 73.

[5] Akestodoros (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 463 f. Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη.

[6] Schol. T. V. *Il.* 16. 233.

[7] This was seen by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1287 f.; but this scholar went off on a wrong track, when he detected at Dodona the cult of a divine pair Εὐρύοπα and Εὐρώπη.

[8] Paus. 10. 12. 10 (in the chant of the Dodonaean priestesses) Γᾶ καρποὺς ἀνίει, διὸ κλήιζετε ματέρα Γαῖαν, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 179 f.

Dr L. R. Farnell likewise concludes that Europe was 'the Cretan earth-goddess' (*Cults of Gk. States* ii. 479), 'the Eteocretan earth-goddess' (*ib.* ii. 632), later assimilated to Astarte.

Basileús, Hera *Heniόche*, 'and to Demeter, whom they surname *Europe*, declaring that she is the nurse of Trophonios[1].'

Moreover, the little that we know of Europe's own cult fully bears out her chthonian and vegetative character. She had a festival in Crete, the Hellotia, at which a garland of myrtle, twenty cubits in circumference, was carried in procession. It was said to contain the bones of Europe, and like Europe herself was called *Hellotís*[2]. This enormous wreath was clearly some sort of May-garland, probably, as Dr M. P. Nilsson conjectures, with a puppet inside it[3]. Now we have already seen that in Greece such garlands are burnt on the Midsummer bonfire[4]. It is therefore noteworthy that at Corinth, where the same festival was attached to the cult of Athena, tradition tells of a fire on to which a certain Hellotis flung herself and her little sister Chryse[5].

[1] Paus. 9. 39. 5 *Δήμητρι ἣν ἐπονομάζοντες Εὐρώπην τοῦ Τροφωνίου φασὶν εἶναι τροφόν.*

[2] Athen. 678 A—B *Σέλευκος δὲ ἐν ταῖς Γλώσσαις ἑλλωτίδα καλεῖσθαί φησι τὸν ἐκ μυρρίνης πλεκόμενον στέφανον, ὄντα τὴν περίμετρον πηχῶν εἴκοσι, πομπεύειν τε ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἑλλωτίων ἑορτῇ. φασὶ δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τὰ τῆς Εὐρώπης ὀστᾶ κομίζεσθαι, ἣν ἐκάλουν Ἑλλωτίδα. ἄγεσθαι δὲ καὶ ἐν Κορίνθῳ τὰ Ἑλλώτια.* Cp. Hesych. *s.vv.* Ἑλλώτια, *ἑλλωτίς.*

[3] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 96 remarks that this can hardly be a case of actual bones carried in procession, and suggests that originally a puppet or *χόανον* called Hellotis was concealed in the wreath, which was later regarded as the relic of a dead heroine.

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 479 'as the Cretan god dies, so his spouse, the earth-goddess, dies, for we hear of the funeral rites of Europa in the Corinthian festival of Ἑλλώτια.' More exactly, 'in the *Cretan* festival of Ἑλλώτια, which was celebrated also at Corinth.'

F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1971 'In Gortyn feierte man unter dem Namen Hellotia der Europe ein Totenfest.' This unduly emphasises the funereal character of the rite, which in all probability involved not merely the death but also the rebirth of the vegetation-goddess, laughter as well as tears.

The only other references to a definite cult of Europe in Crete are Dictys Cretensis 1. 2 ad eos re cognita omnes ex origine Europae, quae in ea insula summa religione colitur, confluunt benigneque salutatos in templum deducunt. ibi multarum hostiarum more patris immolatione celebrata exhibitisque epulis large magnificeque eos habuere. itemque insecutis diebus reges Graeciae, et si ea quae exhibebantur magnifice cum laetitia suscipiebant tamen multo magis templi eius magnifica pulchritudine pretiosaque extructione operum afficiebantur, inspicientes repetentesque memoria singula quae ex Sidone a Phoenice patre eius atque nobilibus matronis transmissa magno tum decori erant, Solin. 11. 9 Gortynam amnis Lenaeus praeterfluit, quo Europam tauri dorso Gortynii ferunt vectitatam. iidem Gortynii et Adymnum colunt Europae fratrem: ita enim memorant. videtur hic et occurrit, sed die iam vesperato augustiore se facie visendum offerens (see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2261).

[4] *Supra* p. 338 ff.

[5] The schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 56 gives various *αἴτια* for the Hellotia of Athena *Hellotís*. Of these the oldest and most reliable (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 96) is the following: *Τιμάνδρου θυγατέρες τέσσαρες Κορίνθιαι· Ἑλλωτίς, Εὐρυτιώνη, Χρυσῆ, Κοτυτώ. ἁλούσης τῆς πόλεως τὴν νέαν τὴν Χρυσῆν ἡ Ἑλλωτὶς ἁρπάσασα εἰσῆλθεν εἰς τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ἔνθα περικατάληπτος γενομένη ἔρριψεν ἑαυτὴν εἰς τὸ πῦρ. καθάρσια οὖν ἄγεται τῇ θεῷ, ἅτινα οἱ μετὰ ταῦτα Ἀλήτου <...?...> Ἑλλώτια καλοῦσιν.* Cp. *et. mag.* p. 332, 43 ff.

Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 95 infers that a large puppet called Hellotis was burnt (or two large puppets, Hellotis and Eurytione) together with a small puppet called Chryse, and points

Europe, then, was a Cretan earth-goddess responsible for the vegetation of the year. Viewing her as such, we begin to understand better both her monuments and her myth. Artists innumerable represented her (pl. XXXII)[1] as she rode upon the divine bull, clinging with one hand to his fertilising horn and holding in the other a flower, symbol of her own fertility. Theophrastos and later writers averred[2] that Zeus took her to wife on or under an evergreen plane tree near Gortyna[3]: the exceptional foliage of the tree was attributed to the fecundity of the goddess.

[1] For a description of the rite at the Boeotian Daidala. He also notes the addition of fir-cones to the Paralian Artemis (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1399 f.), in whose cult the fir-cone is replaced by a May-pole (Nilsson *Gr. rel.* ii. 21).

[2] The cult of Athena Ἕλωτις at Marathon, mentioned by the schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 56 (ii. 2. 200 Abel), *Nem.* p. 332, 48 f., is attested by the calendar of the Attic Tetrapolis (L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 49 no. 26 B. 34 ff., 41 f., 50 f., 53).

[3] Of many possible illustrations (listed by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* Sect. 7, 9, 11. Atlas pl. 3. 1870–1871 p. 181 ff. Atlas pl. 5. O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* with 10 plates Wien 1870. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth. Zeus* pp. 420–465 Münztaf. 6. 1–11, Gemmentaf. 5. 6–8. Atlas pl. 6. 7–22. pl. 7. 1–9. 22 ff. J. Escher-Bärkli in Pauly–Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1296–1298) I figure but two: the Europe-*kylix* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 63 no. 208). This is overpicture, painted by an Attic artist *c.* 470 B.C., was found in 1811 A.D. still lying on a stone table in the *opisthódomos* of the temple of Aphaia in Aigina. Here, as A. Furtwängler remarks, it may have been used for pouring a libation when Pindar's ode to the goddess (Paus. 2. 30. 3) was performed. O. Jahn published it in colour (*Die Entführung der Europa* p. 44 f. pl. 7. Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 428 ff. Atlas pl. 6. 19). Since his day the vase has suffered some further damage: the bracelet on Europe's right arm has disappeared; her golden flower is hardly to be traced; her right foot has gone; so have her golden earring and the golden ball-hanging from her hair; the inscription ΤΕΥΣ is reduced to Υ. What is left has been carefully redrawn by K. Reichhold for A. Furtwängler (*Aegina* Munich 1906 Text p. 498 f. fig. 406. F. Hauser in *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 283 ff. pl. 114, 1). I have had Jahn's colour-plate copied with the insertion of various details—the inner markings of the bull, etc.—first brought to light by Furtwängler and Reichhold.

The bull is black for aesthetic rather than religious reasons, and I doubt whether any mythological meaning attaches to the golden birds with which Europe's *péplos* is adorned. The sea is simply omitted (contrast *infra* figs. 405, 414).

[4] H. Prinz in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1910 xxv. 169 n. 2 hints that the key to the myth of Europe is furnished by certain Hittite cylinders, on which we see *e.g.* (*a*) a nude goddess holding a festoon as she stands on a recumbent bull with birds, hares, and a lion grouped around and a worshipper kneeling on either side of her (W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 27 fig. 34); (*b*) a nude goddess holding a festoon as she stands on a recumbent bull, the halter of which is in the hands of a god grasping a club and a crook and treading upon mountain-tops (W. H. Ward *Cylinders and other ancient seals in the Library of J. Pierpont Morgan* New York 1909 pl. 31. 237). The latter design suggests that the bull belonged to the god, not to the goddess.

[5] Prof. R. C. Bosanquet tells me, on the authority of F. Halbherr, that a single specimen of the evergreen plane is still growing in a village near Gortyna.

[6] Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 9. 3 ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ λέγεται πλάτανόν τινα εἶναι ἐν τῇ Γορτυνίᾳ πρὸς πηγῇ τινι, ἣ οὐ φυλλοβολεῖ. μυθολογοῦσι δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ (sic codd., ὑπὸ cj. Hemsterhuis) ταύτῃ ὁμίχῃ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ὁ Ζεὺς· τὰς δὲ ἄλλησιον πάσας φυλλοβολεῖν...Λέγεται δὲ καὶ ἐν

526[2]

Zeus and Europe
on a white-ground *kýlix* at Munich.

See page 526 *n.* 1.

Coins of Gortyna from *c.* 430 B.C. onwards show a goddess seated in a tree, one of the most charmingly picturesque figures to be found in the whole field of ancient numismatics. Most scholars have concluded, and concluded rightly, that this can be none other than Europe, the bride of Zeus[1]. She is, however, seated not

Κύπρῳ πλάτανος εἶναι τοιαύτη, Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 7. 6 itaque Cretae ad Cortyniam dicitur platanus esse, quae folia hieme non amittat, itemque in Cypro, ut Theophrastus ait, una, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 11 est Gortynae in insula Creta iuxta fontem platanus una insignis utriusque linguae monimentis, numquam folia dimittens, statimque ei Graeciae fabulositas superfuit Iovem sub ea cum Europa concubuisse, ceu vero non alia eiusdem generis esset in Cypro. This last passage is quite misconceived by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1290: 'Auf Kypros endlich war die Vermählung des Zeus mit E. lokalisiert (Plin. n. h. XII 11), und führte Zeus den Beinamen Εἴληπι (= 'Ελλώτιος ? Hesych.).' As to Hesych. Εἰλήπι· Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ, Favorin. *lex.* p. 574, 48 f. Εἰλήπιος Ζεύς, ἐν Κύπρῳ, *quot capita tot sententiae*: see J. Alberti and M. Schmidt on the Hesychian gloss, also O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 112.

Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Εὐρώπη τῇ Φοίνικος διὰ ταύρου συνῆλθεν (*sc.* ὁ Ζεύς) stands alone. Whether it preserves an older form of the myth, or is due to the analogy of the Pasiphae-story, can hardly be determined.

[1] So *e.g.* W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. xxxiv, 37 ff., P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165, G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 184 ff. (Europa?), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 466 f. Mr G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 163 says cautiously 'the Cretan goddess seated in her tree.'

The chief dissentient is Mr J. N. Svoronos, who in the *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894 p. 113 ff. argues that the coins in question illustrate a myth preserved by Kallim. *h. Artem.* 189 ff. Britomartis, a Gortynian nymph in the train of Artemis, was loved by Minos, and, being pursued by her lover, took refuge λασίῃσιν ὑπὸ δρυσί. When after a nine months' chase he was about to seize her, she plunged from a height into the sea; and, being caught by the nets of the fishermen, was thenceforward called Diktyna, while the height was named Mt Dikte. The latter part of this tale is aetiological and late. Mr Svoronos thinks that the earlier version of it can be restored from the coin-types: Minos, taking upon him the form of an eagle, wooed and won his oak-nymph in a Cretan oak. This reconstruction is supported by two main considerations. On the one hand, Mr Svoronos regards Minos as a hypostasis of the Cretan Zeus, citing Echemenes *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 403 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 601 E 'Εχεμένης γοῦν ἐν τοῖς Κρητικοῖς οὐ τὸν Δία φησὶν ἁρπάσαι τὸν Γανυμήδην ἀλλὰ Μίνωα. On the other hand, Mr Svoronos believes that the tree on the coins is an oak; and here he is able to adduce the opinion not only of numismatists such as Prof. P. Gardner (*Types of Gk. Coins* p. 166 'serrated leaves as of oak') and Messrs F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller (*Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 63 'Der Baum sieht mehr einer Eiche als einer Platane ähnlich'), but also of Mr Spyridion Miliarakis, Professor of Botany at Athens, who states that 'les feuilles des arbres...qui sont les mieux représentées de toutes, ainsi que tout le reste, laissent reconnaître facilement à toute personne qui connaît les arbres de la Grèce, que ce n'est pas un platane, mais bien un chêne (δρῦς).'

Mr Svoronos' view is attractive. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 404 f. I accepted it and argued further in its support. But I now believe that I was mistaken: (*a*) It is more likely that the coins of Gortyna would represent the famous union of Zeus with Europe, which took place under a neighbouring plane-tree, than the comparatively obscure pursuit of Britomartis by Minos, which—so far as our literary evidence goes—was connected with places remote from Gortyna and was never consummated in a marriage-union at all. (*b*) The supposed metamorphosis of Minos into an eagle is a matter of pure conjecture,

in a plane-tree, but on the crown of a pollard willow. The long serrated leaves (fig. 393), the small burgeoning catkins (fig. 396), the well-marked hollow in the bole (figs. 391 ff.), above all the

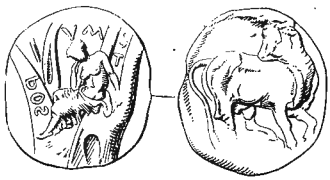


Fig. 391.

Fig. 392.

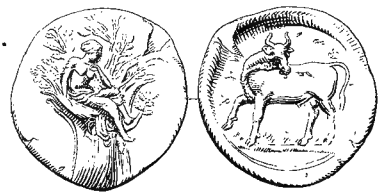


Fig. 393.

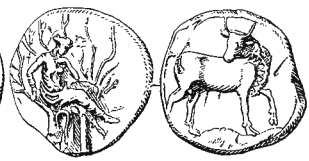


Fig. 394.

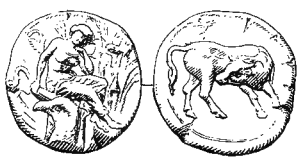


Fig. 395.

Fig. 396.

shock-head of slender shoots (fig. 394), which in some cases have obviously been lopped (figs. 397, 398), all go to confirm this identification[1].

being nowhere mentioned by any classical author. (*c*) Well-preserved specimens of the coin, *e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 38 pl. 9, 5 (my fig. 393), certainly show serrated leaves; but serrated leaves need not be oak-leaves.

[1] Since this paragraph was written, Mr E. J. Seltman informs me that he has always regarded the tree as an ancient willow. In such a matter the opinion of an experienced numismatist is worth more than that of a botanist. A botanical friend, whom I consulted, declared that the tree most nearly resembled a tree-fern!

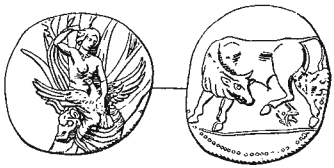


Fig. 397.

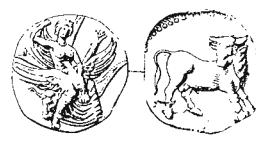


Fig. 398.

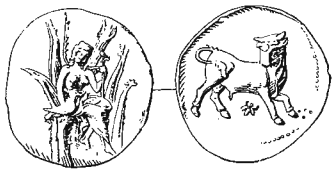


Fig. 399.

Fig. 400.

Doubtless the local die-sinker knew what he was about, and gave Europe the willow that belonged to her. Yet we need not tax Theophrastos, who spoke of a plane, with blundering. Both trees grow in damp marshy soil[1] and probably flourished side by side at Gortyna. A similar variation occurs in the case of another Cretan Zeus-cult; for, whereas Theophrastos mentions a fruitful poplar growing in the mouth of the Idaean Cave[2], Pliny apparently regards it as a willow[3]. There was in fact special cause to connect Zeus with the willow in the neighbourhood of Gortyna. On Mount Ide he had been nursed by Helike[4], whose name denoted

[1] Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 4. 2, cp. 3. 13. 7.

[2] Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4, cp. 2. 2. 10, Append. B Crete.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110, Append. B Crete.

[4] *Supra* p. 112 n. 3. Another account stated that Zeus was reared by the daughters of Olenos, two nymphs called Aiga and Helike; and that these persons respectively gave their names to Olenos in Aulis, Aiga in Haimonia, and Helike in the Peloponnese (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13: see B. Bunte *ad loc.*). E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 p. 21 f. holds that this Helike was in Arkadia. But more probably Olenos, Aiga, and Helike were the eponyms of Olenos or Olene, Aiga or Aigai, and Helike in Achaia. An autonomous copper struck at Aigion in the same district shows (fig. 401) Zeus as an infant suckled by the she-goat Amaltheia between two trees with an eagle above him (Overbeck *Gr. Kunst-myth.* Zeus p. 327 f. Münztaf. 5, 1, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 85 f. pl. R, 14, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 58 f. pl. 5, 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 413): cp. Strab. 387 ἡ δ' Αἰγὰ (καὶ γὰρ οὕτω λέγουσι τὰς Αἰγὰς) νῦν μὲν οὐκ οἰκεῖται, τὴν δὲ πόλιν ἔχουσιν Αἰγιεῖς. Αἴγιον δὲ ἱκανῶς οἰκεῖται· ἱστοροῦσι δ' ἐνταῦθα τὸν Δία ὑπ' αἰγὸς ἀνατραφῆναι, καθάπερ φησὶ καὶ Ἄρατος· αἶξ ἱερή, τὴν μέν τε λόγος Διὶ μαζὸν ἐπισχεῖν· ἐπιλέγει δὲ καὶ ὅτι

Fig. 401.

'Willow[1].' And a nurseling of the willow might naturally be mated with a willow-bride. If Europe was indeed a willow-goddess, she probably patronised basket-work; and the flower-basket that she herself bears is a significant attribute[2]. The Greek painter is

'Ωλενίην δέ μιν αἶγα Διὸς καλέουσ' ὑποφῆται· δηλῶν τὸν τόπον, διότι πλησίον 'Ωλένη, abridged by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 292, 10 ff.

According to Hyg. *fab.* 139, Amaltheia as nurse of the infant Zeus in Crete hung his cradle on a tree, in order that he might not be found in heaven or on earth or in the sea, and, to prevent his cries from being heard, bade the young Kouretes clash their small bronze shields and spears round the tree. Unfortunately we are not told whether the tree in question was a willow. In a Czekh tale the nymph of a willow-tree married a mortal and bore him children. One day the willow was cut down and the nymph died. But a cradle fashioned out of its wood had the power of lulling her babe to sleep (W. R. S. Ralston in the *Contemporary Review* 1878 i. 525, Mrs J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 62). A Japanese tale likewise tells how Higo, the nymph of a willow-tree, weds Heitaro, a young farmer, and bears him a child Chiyodō, but vanishes when her tree is cut down (R. Gordon Smith *Ancient Tales and Folklore of Japan* London 1908 p. 12 ff., F. Hadland Davis *Myths & Legends of Japan* London 1912 p. 177 ff.).

[1] Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 13. 7 καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ περὶ 'Αρκαδίαν οὐκ ἰτέαν ἀλλὰ ἑλικὴν τὸ δένδρον· οἴονται δέ, ὥσπερ ἐλέχθη, καὶ καρπὸν ἔχειν αὐτὴν γόνιμον.

[2] O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 23 acutely surmised that Europe's basket was not a mere piece of prettiness but 'vielmehr ein Attribut von tieferer Bedeutung.' In addition to the *amphora* at St Petersburg and the passage from Moschos, he was able to cite from the Waldeck collection at Arolsen a copper of Tyre struck by Gallienus, on the reverse of which appears Europe with her basket (fig. 402). He noted also that a copper struck by Valerian with the same type had been sold at Berlin in 1845. An example of this latter coin now in the British Museum is, however, thus described by Mr G. F. Hill: 'Europa, wearing long chiton and himation, standing to front, holding in l. a vase, r. hand on breast; on l., approaching her out of the water, forepart of a bull; above it, the Ambrosial Rocks with olive-tree between them; below, murex-shell; in field r., ЄV|PΩ|ΠH; inscr. COL TV RO MET' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxlii, 290 pl. 34, 13).

Fig. 402.

Fig. 403.

Possibly the flower-basket of Europe was derived from a custom akin to the 'gardens of Adonis.' Mosch. 1. 37 (cp. 1. 61) speaks of the former as χρύσεον τάλαρον; Theokr. 15. 113 f., of the latter as ἁπαλοὶ κᾶποι πεφυλαγμένοι ἐν ταλαρίσκοις | ἀργυρέοις. The Cretan Zeus was akin to Adonis (*supra* p. 157 n. 3, *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xxi).

The wicker basket on coins of Kibyra in Phrygia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xlviii. 135 ff. pls. 16, 9, 17, 5—7, 18, 1 f., 4, 8 f., 51, 3 f.) may have the same significance. I figure two specimens from my collection, a quasi-autonomous copper from the time of M. Aurelius (fig. 403) and a copper struck by Trajan Decius (fig. 404).

Fig. 404.

Certain silver coins of Gortyna *c.* 200—67 B.C. have obv. head of Zeus, rev. Athena holding Nike etc. or Apollon seated on a rock. Both these reverse types are inscribed ΓΟΡΤΥΝΙΩΝ ΘΙΒΟΣ. The word ΘΙΒΟΣ has been taken for a dialect form of τύπος (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1873 xiii. 112; cp. *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 381), or for a magistrate's name (J. N. Svoronos

careful to put it in her hand even when she is crossing the sea on the bull's back (fig. 405)[1]. The Hellenistic poet devotes twenty-six lines to an elaborate description of it[2]. Is it over-rash to

Fig. 405.

conjecture that the very name *Európe* or *Európeia* was a cult-title rightly or wrongly taken to mean the goddess 'of Flourishing Willow-withies[3]'?

Numismatique de la Crète ancienne Macon 1890 i. 177 pl. 16, 14 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 467). But the name occurs nowhere else, and no other magistrate ever inscribed his name on coins of Gortyna. Hence it is tempting to regard ΘΙΒΟΣ as a term connected with some religious festival. If so, Europe's basket may give us the clue: cp. Hesych. *s.vv. θίβη· πλεκτόν τι κιβωτοειδές, ὡς γλωσσοκομεῖον, θίβωνος· κιβωτός. Κύπριοι.* On this group of words see H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 370 Append. 1904 p. 102.

[1] A red-figured *amphora* of archaising style from the Campana collection, now at St Petersburg (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 241 f. no. 1637 and in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 pp. 107, 118 f., Atlas pl. 5, 1—3, O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 22 f.).

[2] Mosch. 2. 37—62.

[3] The name *Εὐρώπη* has been regarded by recent writers (1) as Pelasgian and therefore un-Greek (A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 21): (2) as Phoenician and akin to the Semitic *ereb*, 'western' (H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum* Lugduni Batavorum 1902 p. 950), cp. Hesych, *s.vv. Εὐρώπη· χώρα τῆς δύσεως. ἢ σκοτεινή* and *εὐρωπόν· σκοτεινόν. πλατύ* and see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 252 Europa, die 'finstere,' 867 von Europa, wahrscheinlich der 'Verfinsterten': (3), as a Greek compound of *εὐρύς* and *ὀπ*, 'eye,' equivalent in meaning to *Εὐρυόπη* (J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1287).

None of these solutions is altogether satisfactory. I assume that *Εὐρώπη*, whatever its real origin, was at one time understood or misunderstood by the Greeks as the feminine of *εὐ-ρωπος*, a compound of *εὖ* and *ῥῶπες*, 'willow-withies,' cp. *εὐ-ριπος* from *εὖ* + *ῥιπή*.

However that may be, it seems clear that the Gortynian coins represent Europe as a willow goddess. At first she sits pensively in her bare tree, leaning her head on one hand (figs. 391, 392)[1]. Then, as the branches begin to leaf, by a subtle change of gesture she raises her head and fingers her fine-spun *chitón* (figs. 393[2], 394[2]). Next a strange thing happens. The lines of the tree-trunk shape themselves afresh, and there comes into sight the head of a mighty eagle, betokening the presence of Zeus (fig. 395)[4]. At his advent the tree bursts into bloom. He is on the branch now, an eagle still, but small enough not to scare Europe, who is once more sunk in a reverie heedless of his approach (fig. 396)[5]. A moment later, and the great bird with a glorious spread of wings is in full possession of his lover. With one hand she clasps him to her; with the other she raises her drapery to form a bridal veil (figs. 397[6], 398[7]). As the consort of Zeus she is henceforward a second Hera. Enthroned on the tree-trunk with the eagle at her side, she borrows the *stephánе* and the cuckoo-sceptre of the Argive goddess (fig. 399)[8]. Hera herself did not disdain the title *Europíа*[9].

Sundry details of this remarkable series have yet to be explained. The reverse of every coin shows the divine bull now moving across a grassy plain (fig. 393), now treading on rough ground (fig. 394), now again accompanied by a fly (figs. 392, 397, 399). The fly is hardly to be viewed as a meaningless adjunct. Remembering the gad-fly that pursued the heifer Io[10] and the bees that were believed to issue from the buried bull[11], we might even suppose that the fly was an emanation of Zeus himself[12].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 39 pl. 10, 4 (my fig. 391), J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 161 pl. 13, 4 (Paris), 5 (Munich). Fig. 392 is from a specimen in my collection.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 38 pl. 9, 5, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 162 pl. 13, 9, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 20, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 405 fig. 1.

[3] In my collection. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 164 pl. 14, 3 (Loebbecke) is from the same dies.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 38 pl. 9, 9, O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 26 pl. 9, *f*, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 32 pl. 41, 186.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 39 pl. 10, 5, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 166 pl. 14, 16, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 19.

[6] From a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 40 pl. 10, 8, Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 168 pl. 15, 7.

[8] Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 166 pl. 14, 17 (Imhoof-Blumer), cp. *ib.* pl. 14, 18, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 405 fig. 2 (British Museum), P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 18 (Paris).

[9] Hesych. Εὐρωπία· ἡ Ηρα.

[10] *Supra* p. 439 ff. If Zeus accompanied Io on her wanderings (Souid. *s.v.* Ἰοῦς), it may be conjectured that the famous οἶστρος (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 266) was but Zeus in the shape of a gad-fly. Another possible case of the soul as a fly is noted *supra* p. 469 n. 7.

[11] *Supra* p. 514.

[12] Ants, bees, butterflies etc. were often regarded as the soul in insect form (Gruppe

The coins that represent the eagle in Europe's lap often add a bull's head apparently affixed to the trunk of the willow (figs. 397, 398). An interesting parallel is here provided by the Trèves altar, which likewise seems to portray a bull's head high up on a willow-tree[1]. Probably the head of the fertilising bull was hung on the trunk to ensure its continued fertility, just as the whole bull was suspended and slain on Athena's olive at Ilion (fig. 406)[2]. An odd custom perhaps susceptible of the same explanation is mentioned by Apollonios of Rhodes, who tells how the Argonauts landed on the Circaean Plain :

Fig. 406.

> And here there grew
> Many wild oaks and willows in a row
> On whose high tops were corpses hung by ropes
> Fast-bound. For still the Colchians may not burn
> Dead men with fire, nor lay them in the ground
> And pile a mound above them, but must wrap
> In untanned ox-hides and without their town
> Hang them on trees. Howbeit earth obtains
> An equal share with sky, for in the earth
> Their women-folk they bury. Such their rule[3].

Gr. Myth. Rel. p. 800 ff.). If Zeus became an ant in Thessaly (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 6 p. 30, 1 ff. Stählin *τί δὲ πάλιν Θετταλοί; μύρμηκας ἱστοροῦνται σέβειν, ἐπεὶ τὸν Δία μεμαθήκασιν ὁμοιωθέντα μύρμηκι τῇ* Κλήτορος *θυγατρὶ Εὐρυμεδούσῃ μιγῆναι καὶ* Μυρμιδόνα *γεννῆσαι* with schol. *ad loc.*, Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) *Εὐρυμεδούσῃ τῇ* Ἀχελῴου, *μύρμηξ γενόμενος, ἐξ ἧς* Μυρμιδών, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 26 versus...in formiculam parvulam, ut Clitoris videlicet filiam Myrmidonis redderet apud Thessalos matrem, Isid. *orig.* 9. 2. 75 Eratosthenes autem dicit Myrmidonas a Myrmidone duce Iovis et Eurymedusae filio. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 7 Eratosthenes dicit Myrmidonas dictos a rege Myrmidono (*leg.* Myrmidone) Iovis et Eurymedonae (*leg.* Eurymedusae) filio, interp. Serv. *ib.* a rege Myrmidono (*leg.* Myrmidone) Iovis et Eurimedontis (*leg.* Eurymedusae) filio), he may have become a fly in Crete. He would thus have been the Cretan (? cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 79) equivalent of the Philistine god worshipped at Ekron as *Ba'al Zebub*, a name translated by the LXX Βάαλ Μυῖα *θεός* and best understood of a zoömorphic deity (S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 346 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3301 ff.). On Zeus Ἀπόμυιος see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (*β*).

[1] *Supra* p. 481 n. 9.

[2] H. von Fritze in W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 ii. 491 pl. 63, 68 f., 514—516, A. Brückner *ib.* ii. 563—566, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 235, P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig und Berlin 1910 p. 124 f., J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 164 f. I figure a specimen in my collection.

H. von Fritze *op. cit.* ii. 514 holds that, since inscriptions of Ilion mention *ἡ βοῦς*, the animal hung in the tree must be a cow. But on the coins it is a bull, and it is rightly so described by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas etc. pp. 64, 66 ff. pls. 12, 10, 13, 5.

[3] Ap. Rhod. 3. 200—209 *ἔνθα δὲ πολλαὶ | ἐξείης πρόμαλοί τε καὶ ἰτέαι ἐκπεφύασιν, τῶν καὶ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτων νέκυες σειρῇσι κρέμανται | δέσμιοι. εἰσέτι νῦν γὰρ ἄγος Κόλχοισιν ὄρωρεν | ἀνέρας οἰχομένους πυρὶ καιέμεν· οὐ δ' ἐνὶ γαίῃ | ἔστι θέμις στείλαντας ὕπερθ' ἐπὶ*

Was the intention here to communicate the life of the dead to the tree, or the life of the tree to the dead?

The oldest specimens of the Gortynian coins (figs. 391, 392) bear the enigmatic legend *Tísyroi* (ƧOϘVMƧT) partly on, partly off the tree. The word appears to be a dialect form of *Títyroi*; and it has been suggested that Tityros was the name of a Cretan township[1]. But our evidence for such a town is of the flimsiest[2]. Besides, in Greek numismatics the name of the issuing state is regularly expressed in the genitive, not the nominative, case[3]. I would therefore submit that *Títyroi* here, as elsewhere, denotes 'Satyrs[4].' The earliest mention of these woodland spirits makes them akin to the Kouretes[5] —a point insisted on by Strabon[6]; and it is on record that the Kouretes clashed their weapons round the tree in which the cradle of Zeus was hung[7]. Not improbably, then, the *Títyroi* or 'Satyrs' danced round the tree in which Zeus met Europe. Indeed, I would venture to explain the coin-legend by assuming that at Gortyna a yearly festival known as the *Títyroi* was held[8], at which a Satyric

σῆμα χέεσθαι· | ἀλλ' ἐν ἀδεψήτοισι κατειλύσαντε βοείαις | δενδρέων ἐξάπτειν ἑκὰς ἄστεος. ἠέρι δ' ἴσην | καὶ χθὼν ἐμμορεν αἶσαν, ἐπεὶ χθονὶ ταρχύουσιν | θηλυτέρας· ἡ γάρ τε δίκη θεσμοῖο τέτυκται. On this see Nymphodoros *frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 380 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 202 *τὰ τῶν ἀρσένων σώματα οὐ θέμις Κόλχοις οὔτε καίειν οὔτε θάπτειν· βυρσαῖς δὲ νεαραῖς εἱλοῦντες ἐκρέμων τῶν ἀρσένων τὰ σώματα, τὰ δὲ θήλεα τῇ γῇ ἐδίδοσαν, ὥς φησι Νυμφόδωρος, ᾧ ἠκολούθησε* (ᾧ δοκεῖ οὗτος ἠκολουθηκέναι cod. Paris.). *σέβονται δὲ μάλιστα οὐρανὸν καὶ γῆν.*

[1] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 466.

[2] Schol. Theokr. 3. 2 *ὄνομα κύριον ὁ Τίτυρος, τινὲς* [*δὲ*] *φασίν, ὡς τὸ Σιληνὸς ὁ Σικελιώτης. ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς τράγους· ἕτεροι τοὺς Σατύρους· ἔνιοι ὄνομα πόλεως Κρήτης· ἄλλοι δὲ τοὺς προσπόλους τῶν θεῶν· τινὲς δὲ καὶ κάλαμον. οὐκ ἔστι δὲ ἄλλο ἢ ὄνομα αἰτόλου τινός.* There was a Mt. Tityros near Kydonia (Strab. 479 *τῆς μέντοι Κυδωνίας ὄρος ἐστὶ Τίτυρος, ἐν ᾧ ἱερόν ἐστιν, οὐ Δικταῖον, ἀλλὰ Δικτύνναιον,* Phrantzes *chron.* 1. 34 p. 102 Bekker *τὰ δὲ ὄρη τὰ ἐγγὺς αὐτῆς* (*sc.* Κυδωνίας) *τὰ ὑψηλὰ Τίτυρος καλοῦνται*).

[3] Mr G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 181 puts the matter thus: 'In addition to the use of the genitive and the adjective, there is a rare use of the nominative case. Most of the names in the nominative found on pre-imperial coins seem to be descriptive of types; but such an inscription as ΑΘΕ Ο ΔΕΜΟΣ (*Ἀθηναίων ὁ δῆμος*) is an undoubted instance of the use of the nominative in place of the ordinary genitive.' He does not cite any example strictly parallel to *Τίσυροι*.

[4] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 462 f., cp. I. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 746 f.

According to F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 31 ff., *Σά-τυροι* and *Τί-τυροι* are genuine Greek words from the root *τῦ*, 'to swell,' seen in *τύλος*, *τύμβος*, *τυρός*, *ταῦρος*, etc. The first element in *Σάτυρος* reappears in *σάθη*, *σάβιττος*, *σάραβος*, etc. and may be an old word for *phallós*. *Τίτυρος* shows intensive reduplication (cp. *Τιτυός*) with poetic lengthening.

[5] Hes. *frag.* 129 Flach *ap.* Strab. 471. See also Prokl. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 89.

[6] Strab. 466. [7] *Supra* p. 529 n. 4.

[8] Mr W. Wroth, with whom I once had the advantage of discussing these coins, approved of my suggestion. For the form of the festival-name cp. the *Κισσοτόμοι* at Phlious (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 39 f.) or such expressions as *τραγῳδοῖς καινοῖς* (Dem. *de cor.*

drama set forth the union of the sky-god Zeus with the earth-goddess Europe. The part of Zeus would be played by one of the Satyrs—if, at least, we may argue from the analogous myth of Antiope, who was wooed by Zeus in the form of a Satyr[1].

The purpose of this mimetic rite would presumably be to promote fertility. The marriage of the earth-goddess in her willow would entail a prosperous year for the whole neighbourhood. Somewhat analogous in its conception is a marble relief of the first century A.D. found at Loukou near Astros in Thyreatis and now at Athens (fig. 407)[2]. A matronly figure sits on a throne, which is adorned with a Sphinx and bears the inscription *Epíktesis*, 'Increase.' Before her on a base is a statue of *Euthenía*, 'Fertility[3],' holding a basket of fruit. Behind this goddess rises a smooth Doric pillar, on the top of which stands another goddess in the guise of Artemis *Agrotéra*[4], who uplifts her hand[5] close to the branch of a leafy tree. The tree is insufficiently characterised: E. Gerhard took it to be a plane[6], J. N. Svoronos an olive[7]; most critics are content to call it *a* tree. Its stem is hidden by the pillar. A fillet hangs from one of its boughs. A snake too, now barely discernible, winds from behind the base of *Euthenía* over the tree-trunk down towards the *phiále* resting on the lap of *Epíktesis*. In the field beside the tree, and in all probability referring to the goddess on the pillar, is the inscription *Teleté*, 'Initiation.' It is,

116), gladiatoribus (Cic. *Phil.* 1. 36). Numismatic parallels are ΔΙΟC ΓΟΝΑΙ (*supra* p. 151 fig. 119) and ЄΙΟVC ΓΑΜΟΙ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. cxlvi, 348 pl. 36, 8) at Tralleis attached to 'scenes in certain religious mysteries connected with the Io legend' (B. V. Head *ib.* p. cxlvi), perhaps also ΟΡΤΥΓΟΘΗΡΑ at Tarsos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. lxxxvi f., 182 f. pl. 33, 7) as the name of a 'quail-hunt' in the cult of Sandas or Herakles (see Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] pp. 85, 99 n. 2).

[1] *Infra* ch. i § 7 (d). Another version made Zeus consort with Antiope in the form of a bull (*ib.*).

[2] E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 132—134 pl. C, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 98, 542 fig. 48, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 725 no. 1847, H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1902 xxvii. 265 f., H. Schrader in the *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lx. 5, 33 n. 7, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 239 n. 1390, Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1498, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 336—340 pl. 55.

[3] Poll. 1. 240 *εἰ δὲ δένδρον,...εὐθηνοῦν,...* · *καὶ δένδρου...εὐθηνία.*

[4] Cretan coins struck by Domitian show not only a *caduceus* between two *cornua copiae* inscribed ЄΥΘΗΝΙΑ | ΣЄΒΑΣΤΗ (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 343 pl. 33, 15 f.), but also ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ | ΣЄΒΑΣΤΗ (*infra* p. 542 n. 1): see F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 143 f.

[5] The gesture of the goddess is similar to that of the tree-nymph in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1839 xii pl. 8, Boetticher *Baumkultus* fig. 33.

[6] E. Gerhard *loc. cit.* p. 133 'forse un platano.'

[7] Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 337 'wahrscheinlich ein Ölbaum.'

I think, the inscription that affords the best clue to the meaning of the whole scene. Dionysos had by the Naiad Nikaia a son Satyros[1] and a daughter Telete[2]. If the former represents the male, the latter stands for the female element in the cult—a *koúre* of

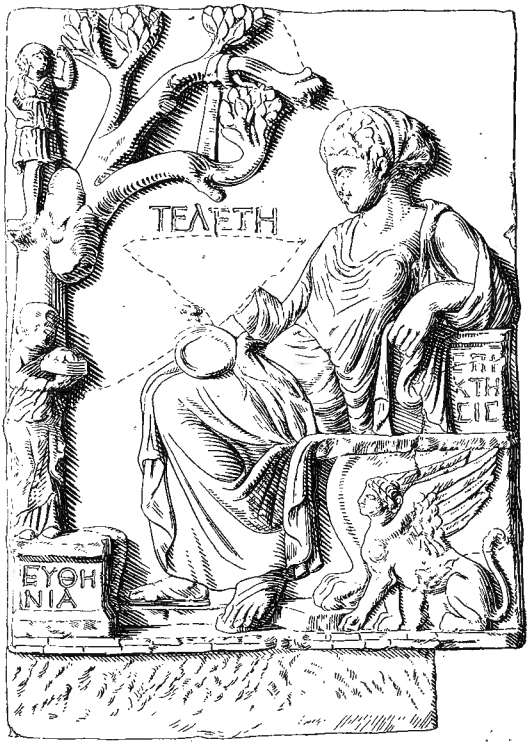


Fig. 407.

Dionysos' train[3]. As a personification of the initiatory rite she is closely associated with Orpheus. On Helikon, the 'Mount of

[1] Memnon 41. 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 547 Müller).

[2] Nonn. *Dion.* 16. 399 ff. *ἐκ δὲ γάμου Βρομίοιο θεόσσυτος ἤνθεε κούρη, | ἣν Τελετὴν ὀνόμηνεν ἀεὶ χαίρουσαν ἑορταῖς, | κούρην νυκτιχόρευτον, ἐφεσπομένην Διονύσῳ, | τερπομένην κροτάλοισι καὶ ἀμφιπλήγι βοείῃ.*

[3] *Id. ib.*

Willows[1] (?),' Pausanias saw a statue of Orpheus with Telete at his side[2]. And in Polygnotos' great fresco of the Underworld at Delphoi Orpheus was painted leaning against a willow and touching its branches with his hand[3], just as Telete in this relief stands beside the tree close up against its foliage. Both he and she derived fertility from contact with the sacred tree. The relief from Loukou was probably set up over the grave of an Orphic votary. The Sphinx spells Chios; and J. N. Svoronos cites an example of the rare name Epiktesis from a Chian inscription[4]. We may therefore unreservedly accept the view propounded by this acute scholar, that the dead woman, thanks to her well-omened name, was conceived henceforward as a new heroine of 'Increase' to be reverenced along with the older goddess of 'Fertility[5].'

Details apart, it is abundantly clear that Europe was at first an earth-goddess worshipped at Gortyna in a sacred tree. For all that, there is good reason to think that she ultimately came to be regarded as the moon. Her mother was *Teléphassa*[6], the 'Far-shining,' or, according to another and probably older account, *Argiópe*[7], the 'Bright-eyed,' both names being possible appellations of a moon-goddess. *Európe* herself bore an equivocal title, which to ancient[8], as to modern[9], speculation would readily suggest the 'Broad-eyed' moon. W. H. Roscher compares it with that of *Euryphaéssa*, the 'Broad-shining' mother of Selene[10]. He also points out that Europe riding a white bull[11] resembles Selene riding

[1] Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 243 (after A. Fick and F. Solmsen) cp. *Viminalis*. But see now Bölte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1.

[2] Paus. 9. 30. 4. [3] Paus. 10. 30. 6.

[4] G. I. Zolotas in 'Αθηνᾶ xx. 353 ΕΠΙΚΤΗΣΙΣ ΤΟΙΣ ΕΑΥ[ΤΗΣ] ΥΙΟΙΣ κ.τ.λ.

[5] Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 339 f.

[6] Τηλεφάασσα (Mosch. 2. 40 ff.), Τηλέφασσα (Apollod. 3. 1. 1, 3. 4. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Θάσος), Τηλεφάη (schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 28, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δάρδανος), Τηλέφη (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 5).

[7] Pherekyd. *frag.* 40 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 83 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1185, Hyg. *fab.* 6, 178, 179, cp. Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 289 where L. reads *Agriopes*.

[8] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 141, 25 ff. cp. εὐρύοπα Ζεύς with "Ηρα βοῶπις and with Εὐρώπη, but offers as alternative renderings 'large-eyed' and 'loud-voiced.' *Id. ib.* p. 955, 19 f. cp. 'Εριῶπις with βοῶπις and with Εὐρώπη.

[9] *Supra* p. 531 n. 3.

[10] W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 95, 128 f. and in the *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3192. Euryphaessa was, however, the mother of Helios, not of Selene (*h. Hel.* 2).

[11] Phrynichos *frag.* 16 Nauck[2] *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1430, 63 f. καὶ ταῦρος ἀργιμήτης ἤγουν λευκός, φασί, παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ ὁ διακομίσας τὴν Εὐρώπην. Hesych. ἀργιμήτας ταῦρος· ταχύμητις. ἢ λευκὸς παραγώγως. λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ διακομίσαντος τὴν Εὐρώπην. A. Nauck cj. ἀργιμέτωπος, cp. Mosch. 2. 85 κύκλος δ' ἀργύφεος μέσσῳ μάρμαιρε μετώπῳ, Ach. Tat. 2. 15 εἰ δ' ὁ μῦθος Εὐρώπης ἀληθής, Διὶ γύπτιον βοῦν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμιμήσατο.

on a bull or drawn in a chariot by white bulls or cows[1], and that Europe[2], like Selene[3], was regarded as a huntress. His argument will appeal to the eye, if we compare the common Greek type of Europe with certain Roman types of Selene (fig. 408)[4], of Artemis *Tauropólos* (fig. 409)[5], and of Nike riding on the lunar Apis (fig. 410)[6].

Fig. 408.

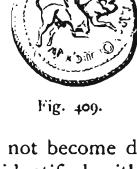


Fig. 409.

Fig. 410.

Europe, however, does not become demonstrably lunar till she reaches Phoinike[7] and is identified with Astarte. The most important piece of evidence is a passage in the treatise *On the Syrian Goddess*:

'There is another large temple in Phoinike, at Sidon. The Sidonians call it the temple of Astarte, and Astarte I take to be Selenaia. But, as one of the priests informed me, it is the temple of Europe the sister of Kadmos. She was the daughter of king Agenor, and after her disappearance the Phoenicians honoured her with the temple and told a pious tale about her to the effect that Zeus, desirous of her beauty, took the form of a bull and carried her off, bearing

[1] *Supra* p. 456.

[2] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 33, Poll. 5. 39, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 35, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 414, 5 ff. Eyssenhardt.

[3] W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 92 ff., *id. Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 32 f., and in the *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3168 f.

[4] From a *denarius* of L. Valerius Acisculus (46—45 B.C.) in my collection: obv. ACISCVLVS Filleted head of Apollo as Sol with star above it and hatchet behind it in border of dots; rev. [L. VALERIVS] Luna with crescent-shaped veil riding ox towards the right. The types are so interpreted by W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 169—171, pl. 3, 6, *id. Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 42 with fig. on p. 37, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3137 with fig. Other explanations in Babelon *Mon. rép. rom.* ii. 515, 519 figs. and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins*, Rep. i. 534 f. n. 2 pl. 53, 1—3.

Cp. Ach. Tat. 1. 4. τοιαύτην εἶδον ἐγὼ ποτ' ἐπὶ ταύρῳ γεγραμμένην Σελήνην.

[5] From a copper of Amphipolis, struck by Tiberius, in my collection: ΑΜΦΙΠΟΛΙΤΩΝ, cp. Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 615 pl. 11, 22—23, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 545, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. pp. 50, 52 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 278 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 216 f. See further K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1399 f.

[6] From a gem in P. D. Lippert *Daktyl.* Scrin. 3 no. 61 (Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 125 pl. 16, 176a).

[7] On Europe in Phoinike see J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1291, who rejects the combinations of Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 251 ff.

her to Crete. The rest of the Phoenicians gave me the same story—and indeed the coinage in use at Sidon shows Europe seated on the bull Zeus,—but they do not allow that the temple is that of Europe[1].'

Coppers of Sidon from *c.* 174 B.C. onwards exhibit the type in question (fig. 411)[2], but in no way confirm the identification of Europe with the moon[3]. A later rationalising account in Ioannes Malalas states that at Tyre the rape of Europe was commemorated in the evening, which would at least suit a lunar connexion:

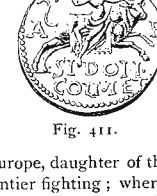


Fig. 411.

'Tauros king of Crete attacked the city of Tyre and, after winning a sea-fight, captured it in the evening. He spoiled the place and took many prisoners, among them Europe, daughter of the king Agenor. Agenor and his sons were away on the frontier fighting; wherefore Tauros king of Crete made a sudden attack by sea. To this day the Tyrians commemorate that evening calling it *Kakè Opsinè*, "Evil Gloaming." Tauros carried off Europe to his own country, and, since she was a virgin and comely withal, took her to wife. Moreover, he called those parts Europe after her[4].'

Again, Phoenician and lunar elements are discernible in the myth that associates Europe with the founding of Thebes[5]. The scholiast on the *Iliad*[6], who cites as his sources the *Boiotiaka* of Hellanikos[7] and the *Bibliotheke* of Apollodoros[8], tells the tale as follows:

'Boiotia used to be called Aonia from the Aones, who dwelt there. Its name was changed to Boiotia, according to some, by reason of Boiotos the son of Poseidon and Arne, according to others, by reason of the cow driven by Kadmos at the bidding of the Pythian oracle. For, when Europe, the daughter of Phoinix, was carried off from Sidon by Zeus, Kadmos her brother was sent by her father in quest of her. Having failed to find her, he repaired to Delphoi to consult the god. The god bade him trouble no more about Europe but take as

[1] Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 4.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. cvii f. and p. 316 Index. I figure the reverse of a copper, struck by Elagabalos, in my collection: A P | SI DON | COLMET = *Aurelia Pia* | *Sidon* | *Colonia Metropolis*. This coin ingeniously suggests that the bull is about to cross the sea by putting a short ground-line beneath his hind-legs.

[3] K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1823 i. 93. 96 interprets the crescent-shaped veil of Europe as a lunar trait. But see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 125 f. *Id. ib.* p. 105 notes also that the comparison of the bull's horns with the horns of the moon, though emphasised in literature (Mosch. 2. 87 f., Ach. Tat. 2. 15), is never brought out in art.

[4] Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 30 f. Dindorf.

[5] On the connexion of Europe with Kadmos see O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 824 ff., C. W. Vollgraff *De Ovidi mythopoeia* Berolini 1901 pp. 61—80, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 537 f.

[6] Schol. *Il.* 2. 494.

[7] Hellanik. *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 46 f. Müller).

[8] Apollod. 3. 4. 1 f.

his guide a cow and found a city wherever this cow, tired with the way, lay on its right side. On receipt of this oracle he pursued his course through Phokis. He next fell in with a cow among the herds of Pelagon and followed after her as she went. She, passing throughout Boiotia, tired and lay down on the spot where Thebes is now. Kadmos, wishing to sacrifice the cow to Athena, sent some of his men to fetch lustral water from the spring of Ares. But the snake that guarded the spring and was said to be the child of Ares slew most of those whom he sent. Kadmos in anger killed the snake and, at Athena's suggestion, sowed its teeth. From them sprang the earth-born ones. Ares was enraged at this and about to destroy Kadmos, when Zeus prevented him. Zeus gave him to wife Harmonia, the daughter of Ares and Aphrodite, but first bade him in return for having destroyed the snake serve for a year[1]; the Muses were to sing at his wedding, and each of the gods to bestow a gift upon Harmonia.'

The whole story gains immensely in coherence and significance, if we assume that the guiding cow was none other than Europe in animal form. The lost sister is thus recovered at the last, and the Pythian oracle is vindicated from the charge of irrelevance. Besides, it was, to say the least of it, appropriate that Zeus as a bull should mate with Europe as a cow. If that be so, some further details of the story are of interest. Pausanias, reporting the local Theban tradition, states 'that this cow was purchased from the cowherds of Pelagon, and that on each of the cow's flanks was a white mark like the circle of the moon, when it is full[2].' Pausanias adds that the place, where the cow sank down exhausted, was still shown, that there was an open-air altar on the spot and an image of Athena dedicated by Kadmos, and that this Athena bore the Phoenician title *Ónga*[3]. A scholiast on Euripides[4] gives what purports to be the actual oracle delivered to Kadmos[5]:

> Kadmos, Agenor's son, mark well my word.
> At daybreak rise, quit Pytho the divine,
> And clad as thou art wont, with oaken spear
> In hand, fare forth through Phlegyai and Phokis
> Until thou reach the cowherd and the cows
> Of Pelagon Fate's nurseling. Then draw nigh,
> And take the lowing cow whose either flank

[1] Cp. Apollod. 3. 4. 2 Κάδμος δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν ἔκτεινεν ἀΐδιον (Ἄρεος υἱὸν Hercher; ἀνδρῶν Sevinus) ἐνιαυτὸν ἐθήτευσεν Ἄρει· ἦν δὲ ὁ ἐνιαυτὸς τότε ὀκτὼ ἔτη.

[2] Paus. 9. 12. 1. Two Egyptising altars of Roman date, formerly in the Towneley collection and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Marbles* x pls. 51, 52, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 390 ff. nos. 2494, 2495, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 482 nos. 1—4, 5—8), represent a bull with a six-rayed star and another with a crescent moon on his flank. A relief in a tomb of the Roman period at *Kom el Chougafa* shows the Pharaoh offering incense (?) to a statue of Apis, who has a crescent on his side (F. W. von Bissing *Les Bas-reliefs de Kom el Chougafa* Munich 1901 pl. 9 Text p. 7).

[3] Paus. 9. 12. 2. On the site and significance of this cult see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 48 f.

[4] Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638.

[5] Nonn. *Dion.* 4. 293 ff. is another attempt to hitch the supposed oracle into verse.

Hath a white mark round as the rounded moon:
Follow her guidance on thy trodden track.
Yea, and a token plain will I declare
Such as thou canst not miss. When first the horn
Of the ranging cow is lowered and her knee
Sinks on the grassy plain, then do thou straightway
Offer her with pure hand and heart to Earth
The dark-leaved and, thine offering complete,
Upon the hill-top build a broad-wayed town,
Sending the War-god's guardian fierce to Hades.
And famous among men shall be thy name,
Blest Kadmos, who hast won a deathless bride.

This cow, which was believed to have given its name to Boiotia[1] and to the Boeotian mountain Thourion[2], is connected by Prof. von Baudissin with the Phoenician moon-goddess on account of its moon-like marks[3]. The connexion is probable enough, and, if (as I have suggested) the cow was Europe, my original contention that Europe became a moon-goddess owing to Phoenician influence is established.

Dr Frazer's other example of sun-and-moon marriage was that of Minos with Britomartis or Diktynna[4]. But again I must insist that neither Diktynna nor Britomartis was originally lunar. Diktynna was a Cretan form of the mountain-mother[5], whose name probably hangs together with that of Mount Dikte or Dikton[6]. Coins of the province struck by Trajan represent her seated on her rocks between a couple of Kouretes as nurse of the infant Zeus (fig. 412)[7]. Here, as

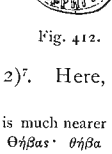


Fig. 412.

[1] *Supra* p. 539, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638.

[2] Plout. *v. Sull.* 17 *θὼρ γὰρ οἱ Φοίνικες τὴν βοῦν καλοῦσι.* This is much nearer the mark than the statement of schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 638 *ὠκοδόμησε τὰς Θήβας· θήβα γὰρ Συριστὶ λέγεται ἡ βοῦς*, cp. *et. mag.* p. 450, 41 f. A 'cow' is in Syriac *tôrĕthâ*, Aramaic *tôr*, Hebrew *šor*, which point to an original Semitic form *ṯaurŭ*: the word appears to have been borrowed by the Semites from the Indo-European area, rather than *vice versa* (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 616 f.: but see H. Möller *Vergleichendes indogermanisch-semitisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1911 p. 255 f.).

[3] W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 273.

[4] *Supra* p. 524.

[5] Eur. *I. T.* 126 *Δίκτυννʼ οὐρεία.* Cult on Mt Tityros or Diktynnaion (Strab. 479 cited *supra* p. 534 n. 2, cp. Hdt. 3. 59, Ptol. 3. 15. 5 with C. Müller *ad loc.*, Dionys. *per.* 118 ff., *Anth. Plan.* 258. 1 ff., Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 30 p. 342 Kayser, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 59, Mela 2. 113, Solin. 11. 6, Mart. Cap. 659, Anon. Ravennas 5. 21 p. 398, 3 Pinder—Parthey).

[6] See K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1371, O. Jessen *ib.* v. 587. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 41 f. observes that *Δίκτυννα* is the feminine form of *Δίκτυς*, as *Δίκτη* of **Δίκτος*. In Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 171 the eponymous nymph of Mt Dikte is named *Dicte*; but the interp. Serv. *ib.* tells of her the tale that is elsewhere told of Britomartis.

[7] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i pl. 33, 23 (my

elsewhere[1], she is assimilated to the huntress Artemis—an assimilation which in literature can be traced back to the time of Euripides[2]. Britomartis too, a goddess closely related to Diktynna[3], was readily equated with Artemis[4]. A silver coin of Chersonesos to the north of the Dikte range has for its obverse a noble head of Zeus wearing a bay-wreath and for its reverse a goddess sitting on a decorated throne with a hind erect upon her outstretched palm (fig. 413)[5]. There can be little doubt that the die-sinker has

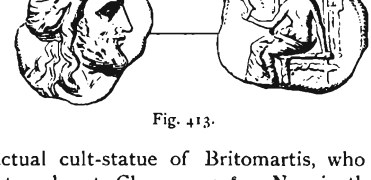


Fig. 413.

copied the actual cult-statue of Britomartis, who is known to have had a temple at Chersonesos[6]. Nor is the combination of Zeus with Britomartis meaningless: the two were linked

fig. 412) and 24, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 3 pl. 1, 9, Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 384, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 142 ff. pl. 9, 8.

[1] A copper of Domitian shows ΔΙΚΤΥΝΝΑ | ΣΕΒΑΣΤΗ as Artemis the huntress with bow and hound (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 343 pl. 33, 17, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 479).

[2] Eur. *I. T.* 126 *ὦ παὶ τᾶς Λατοῦς, Δίκτυνν' οὐρεία*, Aristoph. *ran.* 1359 f. *ἅμα δὲ Δίκτυννα παῖς Ἄρτεμις καλὰ | τὰς κυνίσκας ἔχουσ' ἐλθέτω κ.τ.λ.*

[3] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1370 ff., K. Tümpel *ib.* iii. 880 f., 929, O. Jessen *ib.* v. 585 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 476, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 254 f.

If we may trust Solin. 11. 8 Cretes Dianam religiosissime venerantur, Britomartem gentiliter nominantes, quod sermone nostro sonat virginem dulcem (cp. Hesych. *βριτύ· γλυκύ.* Κρῆτες repeated in Favorin. *lex.* p. 391, 11; Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάζα *'...τὰς παρθένους γὰρ οὕτω Κρῆτες προσαγορεύουσι μαρνάνς, supra* p. 149 n. 1), Βριτόμαρτις was probably a cult-epithet of Diktynna.

[4] Schol. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 190 *Βριτόμαρτις ὄνομα κύριον τῆς νύμφης, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ ἡ Ἄρτεμις ἐν Κρήτῃ Βριτόμαρτις τιμᾶται, ὡς Διογενιανός*, Hesych. *Βριτόμαρτις· ἐν Κρήτῃ ἡ Ἄρτεμις.* In Delos the festival of Britomartis followed immediately upon that of Artemis (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 209 citing *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 23 line 186 *Ἀρτεμισίοις Βριταμαρτίοις*).

[5] Drawn from a specimen in my collection. The only other specimen of this fine coin known to me is that in the British Museum, which owing to its poor state of preservation was wrongly described by W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1895 xv. 96 f. pl. 5, 11. Mr E. J. Seltman, from whom I procured my coin, points out that 'The seated Artemis with the deer on her hand forms an interesting pendant to the standing Apollo with the deer by Canachus' (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 75, *alib.*; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 197 ff. pl. 22, 9 f.).

[6] Strab. 479 *Λύττου δέ...ἐπίνειόν ἐστιν ἡ λεγομένη Χερρόνησος, ἐν ᾗ τὸ τῆς Βριτομάρτεως ἱερόν.* According to Solin. 11, 8 aedem numinis (*sc.* Britomartis) praeterquam nudus vestigia nullus licito ingreditur. ea aedes ostentat manus Daedali.

together at least in one remarkable tradition[1]. When Artemis came to be regarded as a moon-goddess[2], the way was open for Diktynna on the one hand[3], Britomartis on the other[4], to be identified with the moon[5]. But it must be observed that this identification was not made till Roman times; and even then no hint is dropped that the consort of Diktynna or Britomartis was solar. It is, therefore, highly precarious to quote the myth of Minos and Britomartis or Diktynna as a case of sun-and-moon marriage.

xix. Zeus and the Bovine Figures of Cretan Mythology.

In the last section we considered the myth of Pasiphae at Knossos and the myth of Europe at Gortyna. Both were found to involve the agency of a great fertilising bull. But here their resemblance ended; for, whereas the story of the bull and Pasiphae pointed to the annual celebration of a sun-and-moon marriage at Knossos, the story of the bull and Europe pointed rather to the annual celebration of a sky-and-earth marriage at Gortyna. It remains to ask what was the relation of Zeus to the bovine figures of both myths.

The Cnossian myth dealt with a solar bull, a lunar cow, and their offspring the semi-bovine Minotaur, whose astral character was indicated by his name *Astérios* or *Asterîon*. We have here evidence of a religious complex, forming an independent whole and apparently of great antiquity. Aegean place-names suggest that this cult of sun, moon, and stars was not confined to Crete, but extended to other islands[6]. Its connexion with Zeus, however, is

[1] Neanthes of Kyzikos *frag.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 8 Müller) *ap.* Favorin. *lex.* p. 391, 7 ff. and *et. mag.* p. 214, 26 ff. Νεάνθης ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ Περὶ τελετῶν φησι χρησμὸν Διὶ δοθῆναι, ὅτι ὁ ἐκ τῆς μήτρας τῆς Ἑκάτης γεννησόμενος μεταστήσει τῆς βασιλείας αὐτόν· γεννώσης δὲ τῆς Ἑκάτης, τὰς συμπαρούσας κόρας τῇ λεχοῖ ἀναβοῆσαι βρίτον, τοῦτ' ἔστιν ἀγαθόν· παρὰ τοῦτο δὲ ἐπίφθεγμα ὠνομάσθαι τὴν θεόν. Zeus is here apparently the father of Britomartis by Hekate.

[2] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 457—461, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1354, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1297 n. 2.

[3] Cornut. *theol.* 34 p. 71, 5 ff. Lang ἡ δ' Ἄρτεμις φωσφόρος μὲν ἐπωνομάσθη διὰ τὸ καὶ αὐτὴ σέλας βάλλειν καὶ φωτίζειν ποσῶς τὸ περιέχον, ὁπόταν μάλιστα πανσέληνος ᾖ. δίκτυννα δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ βάλλειν τὰς ἀκτῖνας—δίκειν γὰρ τὸ βάλλειν—κ.τ.λ., Verg. *Ciris* 305 Dictynnam dixere tuo (*sc.* o Britomarti) de nomine lunam, Paul. ex Fest. p. 72 Müller Dictynna Diana, quam esse lunam putabant, dicta, quod fulgore suo noctu omnia ostendat (cp. H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 342 and in his *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 42).

[4] Verg. *Ciris* 305 cited *supra* n. 3.

[5] W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 116 ff.

[6] (1) Hesych. Ἀστερίη· ἡ Κρήτη καὶ ἡ Δῆλος οὕτως ἐκαλοῦντο. (2) Asteria as a former name of Delos (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1780 f.: add schol. Ap. Rhod. 1.

late and superficial. Pasiphae's bull according to certain Roman mythographers was sent by Zeus[1], according to Christian writers of the fourth and subsequent centuries was Zeus himself[2]. But no ancient authority, either classical or post-classical, can be cited in support of the view that the Minotaur was Zeus incarnate[3].

On the other hand, from Hesiodic[4] and even Homeric[5] times onward Zeus figured as the partner of Europe. The bull that bore her from Phoinike to Crete, though sometimes said to have been sent by Zeus[6], is usually described as the god himself in animal shape[7]. In short, Zeus as a bull is an integral part of the Europe-myth. But here the moon was a much later accretion[8], and the sun a mere afterthought, perhaps not even that[9].

307, Verg. *culex* 15, Solin. 11. 19) was derived from the Titaness Asteria or Asterie, whose tale was variously told. To escape wedlock with Zeus, she flung herself into the sea like a star (Kallim. *h. Del.* 36 ff.) or a quail (Apollod. 1. 4. 1). She scorned the advances of Zeus, and he, to punish her, changed her into a quail and cast her into the sea, where she became *Ortygia*, the 'Quail'-island, later called Delos (Hyg. *fab.* 53, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 4. 796, cp. schol. Lyk. *Al.* 401, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73, Myth. Vat. 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8. 3). She was ravished by Zeus, who took the form of an eagle (Ov. *met.* 6. 108). She was wooed by Poseidon, not Zeus (Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 124 f., 33. 336 ff., 42. 410). Zeus became a quail to consort with her sister Leto (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* arg. p. 297 Boeckh) or changed Leto into a quail (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 72). Asteria bore to Zeus Hekate (Mousaios *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 467, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 46) and the Phoenician Herakles (Eudoxos of Knidos *ap.* Athen. 392 D, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 42). Others connected the name Asteria with the cult of Apollon (Solin. 11. 19). (3) Asteria was an old name of Rhodes (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 132). (4) The Ἀστερίου νῆσος off Lade contained a tomb of Asterios, son of Anax son of Ge, with a corpse ten cubits long (Paus. 1. 35. 6). (5) Hesych. Ἀστέριοι· οἱ πρῶτοι τὴν Τένεδον κατοικήσαντες. (6) Ἀστερίς, the island near Ithake, was later known as Ἀστερία (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1787).

[1] *Supra* p. 467.

[2] Epiphanios *ancoratus* 105, Nonn. *narr. ad Gregorii invect.* 1. 91 p. 158 = A. Westermann *Scriptores poeticae historiae Graeci* Brunsvigae 1843 p. 369, 1, schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 49. 3 p. 312, 15 Stählin. Cp. the statements that Pasiphaa, daughter of Atlas, bore Ammon to Zeus (*supra* p. 521 f.) and that Idaia, wife of Minos, bore Asterion to the same god (*supra* p. 493 n. 2).

[3] This view I rashly advanced in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410, cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 272. It is, I now think, untenable.

[4] Hes. *frag.* 209 Flach and Bakchyl. *frag.* 47 Jebb *ap.* schol. *Il.* 12. 292.

[5] *Il.* 14. 321 f.

[6] Akousilaos *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 102 Müller) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 5. 7, cp. schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 395, 24 ff. Eyssenhardt. See further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 87 f.

[7] Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1410 ff., Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1295 f.

[8] *Supra* p. 537 ff.

[9] The circle of rays surrounding the bull (*supra* p. 472 fig. 328) and Europe (*supra* p. 529 fig. 400) on coppers of Gortyna is possibly solar (cp. J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 118); but, since it occurs also on other coins of the same town with types of an eagle grasping a snake (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 174 pl. 16, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 44 pl. 11, 10) or a naked male figure with shield and spear (Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 175 f. pl. 16, 8, 9, 10,

The conclusion to which these facts point is tolerably clear. At Knossos, where sun, moon and stars were essential, Zeus was not. At Gortyna, where Zeus was essential, sun, moon and stars were not. It follows that at Knossos and Gortyna Zeus had originally nothing to do with sun, moon and stars. Those writers that distinguish a Cretan solar Zeus from the ordinary Hellenic sky-god[1] must look elsewhere for arguments. The Gortynian Zeus was indeed, like Apollon at Athens, called *Hekatómbaios*; but he shared that title with the Arcadian Zeus[2]. And the oxen slain on his altar need not imply that he was solar. They would be equally appropriate to any fertilising god[3].

It remains, of course, both possible and probable that sooner or later the Zeus of Gortyna took on a solar complexion. If Europe under Phoenician influence became the moon[4], there was every inducement for Zeus to become the sun. Now Byzantine scholars actually mention a Gortynian cult of Zeus *Astérios*[5]. There is therefore much to be said for Dr Farnell's conjecture that Zeus

12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 44 pl. 11, 9), I should prefer to regard it as a glory suitable to any divine personage. It is hardly to be classed as a 'purely decorative border' (G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 158).

[1] *E.g.* Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 459: 'die Zeusmythologie von zwei völlig verschiedenen Ausgangspunkten sich entwickelt hat, indem der kretische Zeus, Zeus Kronion, ein durchaus anderer ist als der Zeus Pelasgikos der Achaeer: ist jener ein Sonnengott, so ist dieser ein Himmelsgott,' cp. *ib.* 293 'Die Geburt des Zeus auf Kreta ist ein feststehendes Dogma des hellenischen Glaubens und der hier geborene Sonnen-Zeus ist ein völlig anderer als der hellenische Himmelszeus,' *alib.*

[2] Hesych. Ἑκατόμβαιος· ὁ Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις· καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Γορτύνῃ καὶ παρ' Ἀρκάσι καὶ Κρησίν.

[3] That Zeus at Gortyna was a rain-god appears from Kallim. *frag.* 100[f] no. 37 = Antig. *hist. mir.* 163 καὶ περὶ τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ὑδατίου, οὗ οἱ ὑπερκαθίζοντες, ὅταν ὑετὸς ᾖ, διατελοῦσιν ἄβροχοι, παραδεδόσθαι δὲ τοῖς Κρησίν, ἀπ' ἐκείνου λούσασθαι τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπὸ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς μίξεως, Sotion *frag.* 4 p. 183 Westermann ἐν Κρήτῃ ὀχετός ὕδατός ἐστιν, ὃν οἱ διαβαίνοντες ὄντος τοῦ Διὸς ἄβροχοι διαβαίνουσιν ἐφ' ὅσον ἐν τῷ ὀχετῷ εἰσιν.

[4] *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 537 ff.

[5] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 124 A (i. 217 Bekker) αὐτὸς δὲ ὁ Μενέλαος ἅμα τοῖς συγγενέσιν εὐθὺς ἐπὶ Κρήτην ἀπέπλει ὡς Ἀστερίῳ Διὶ ἐν Γορτύνῃ πόλει θυσιάσων, Io. Malal. *chron.* 5 p. 94 Dindorf ἐν τῷ δὲ διάγειν τὸν Μενέλαον ἐπὶ τὴν Κρήτην θυσιάζοντα Διὶ Ἀστερίῳ καὶ τῇ Εὐρώπῃ ἐν τῇ Γορτύνῃ πόλει συνέβη κ.τ.λ., Tzetz. *antehom.* 99 ff. ὃς Μενέλαος τοῦο δεδεγμένος ἀγλαὰ δῶρα | ἔπλεεν ἐς Κρήτην, Διὶ εἴο προπάτορι ῥέξων | Ἀστερίῳ, βασιλῆι Κρητάων περ ἐόντι. | οἱ πρὶν γάρ τε Δίας πάντας κάλεον βασιλῆας, | οὔνεκά μιν καλὸς Διὸς ἀστὴρ σκήπτρον ὀπάζει, | ἔξοχα δ' αὖ μοίρῃσι παραὶ Νεμέοιο λέοντος, | ἐν πέμπτῃ δὲ μάλιστα· τὸ γὰρ βασιλεύτατον ἄλλων, | ἠελίοιο Ζῆνα παρ' ἀκτίνεσσι φαείνειν, *chil.* 1. 473 ff. Μίνως ὁ Κρὴς ὑπῆρχε παῖς Διὸς τοῦ Ἀστερίου· | τοὺς βασιλεῖς δ' ἀνέκαθε Δίας ἐκάλουν πάντας, | ὡς τοῦ ἀστέρος τοῦ Διός, ἐν λεονταίαις μοίραις | ὡροδρομοῦντος καὶ καλῶς κειμένου γενεθλίοις, | ἐργαζομένου βασιλεῖς καὶ στεμματηφοροῦντας. | τοῦ Ἀστερίου τοιγαροῦν Διὸς θανόντος τοῦδε, | ὁ Μίνως κ.τ.λ., *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1301 οὗτος δὲ ὁ Λυκόφρων τὸν Ἀστέριον λέγει Δία πατέρα εἶναι τοῦ Σαρπηδόνος, Μίνωος καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυος.

Astérios was a sun-god of Phoenician character[1]. Only, we must suppose that this solarisation of the Gortynian Zeus took place at a comparatively early date. The relevant facts are these. The Cnossian Minotaur, who in some sense represented the sun-god[2], was called *Astérios* or *Asterion*[3]. At Gortyna too the sun-god must have been worshipped; for here he had herds of cattle[4].

Fig. 414.

Hesiod, Bakchylides and others state that Zeus, having consorted with Europe, bestowed her upon the Cretan king *Asterion*[5] or

[1] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 44, citing the opinion of W. Robertson Smith (*Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 292) that Zeus Ἀστέριος was the male counterpart of Astarte.

[2] *Supra* p. 490 ff.

[3] *Supra* pp. 492, 495.

[4] *Supra* pp. 410 n. 9, 471 n. 4.

[5] Hes. *frag.* 209 Flach and Bakchyl. *frag.* 47 Jebb *ap.* schol. *Il.* 12. 292, Apollod. 3. 1. 2 (*supra* p. 464), Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 353 ff., 2. 693 ff., *et. mag.* p. 588, 24 ff.

Astérios[1] or *Asteros*[2], who married her and, being childless himself, reared the children that she bore to Zeus. Finally, Tzetzes asserts that Sarpedon, Minos, and Rhadamanthys, these very fosterlings, were the sons of Zeus *Astérios*[3]. It looks as though the contamination of the Gortynian Zeus with the solar cycle had begun as early as *c.* 700 B.C. At what date king *Asterion* or *Astérios* developed into Zeus *Astérios*, it is hard to say. A red-figured *amphora* and red-figured fish-plates at Saint Petersburg show Europe on the bull approaching Crete, where she is met by a Zeus-like king, presumably *Asterion* or *Astérios*. He advances to greet her sceptre in hand (fig. 405)[4], or awaits on his throne the arrival of her *cortège*, the coming marriage being indicated by the presence of two Erotes (fig. 414)[5]. Perhaps the shift from king *Astérios* to Zeus *Astérios* was the work of the Hellenistic age—an age notoriously marked by recrudescence of the early belief in the essential divinity of kings[6].

But by Hellenistic times *Astérios* had ceased to connote 'Solar.' To the average understanding the word now meant 'Starry' and nothing else. Hence Zeus was brought into more definite relation to the starry sky. Silver coins of Crete struck by Nero show Zeus with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre in the other, surrounded by seven stars (fig. 415)[7]. A copper struck by Titus represents Zeus *Kretagenés* amid the same group of stars in the act of hurling his bolt (fig. 115)[8]. On another copper struck by Trajan the infant Zeus is seated on a globe with a goat beside him and the stars above (fig. 28)[9]. Nor was the connexion between the god and the king forgotten. We have already compared the last-named coin-type with that on which Domitian's infant son appears sitting on a globe and flanked by the stars (fig. 27)[10]. Similarly silver coins of

[1] Diod. 4. 60, Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 222 ff., 35. 384 ff., 37. 46 ff., 81 ff., 724 ff., 40. 284 ff., Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 570, cp. *ib.* 572.

[2] Lyk. *Al.* 1301 'Αστέρῳ (Herwerden cj. 'Αστερίῳ, Wilamowitz cj. 'Αστέρι; but see C. von Holzinger *ad loc.*). Cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 12, who calls him Xanthus.

[3] Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 473, *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1301 (*supra* p. 545 n. 5).

[4] *Supra* p. 531.

[5] A fish-plate found at Elteghen in 1879 (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1880 p. 105 ff. with fig.). Cp. three very similar plates from Great Blisnitza previously published (*id. ib.* 1866 p. 79 ff. pl. 3, 1 and 2, *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 379 f. no. 1915, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 365 Atlas pl. 6, 20 *a*, *b*, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 21, 22, 5, 6).

[6] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 278, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 303.

[7] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 165 pl. 40, 2, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 340 no. 34 (Vienna) pl. 32, 22 (= my fig. 415), cp. *ib.* no. 35 pl. 32, 21 on which Zeus wears a *himátion* and an eagle is added in the field.

[8] *Supra* p. 149. [9] *Supra* p. 52. [10] *Supra* p. 51 f.

Crete struck under Caligula and Claudius have a head of Augustus with radiate crown (fig. 416)[1], or Augustus radiate with sceptre and *phiále* sitting on a curule chair (fig. 417)[2] or on a car drawn by four elephants (fig. 418)[3], in each case encircled by the same seven stars. The emperor poses as the Cretan Zeus[4].

Fig. 415.

Fig. 416.

What was this group of seven stars? Dr B. V. Head, who formerly[5] left them nameless, now[6] follows J. N. Svoronos[7] in identifying them with the *septem triones*[8], the 'seven stars' *par excellence*, best known to us as the Great Bear. They are in fact sometimes (fig. 418) grouped about the divinised emperor in ap-

Fig. 417.

Fig. 418.

proximately the same position as on a modern star-map, four of them forming an irregular square and three a broken line. This constellation was called *Helíke* and connected with the Cretan nurse of Zeus[9]. Popular fancy may have traced in it some

[1] Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 335 pl. 32, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 1 pl. 1, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 164 pl. 40, 1.

[2] Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 334 pl. 32, 2, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 1 pl. 1, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 479.

[3] Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 335 f. pl. 32, 3 and 8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 1 pl. 1, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 164, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 479.

[4] Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 384 'perhaps in the character of Zeus Kretagenes.'

[5] *Id. ib.*[1] p. 384.

[6] *Id. ib.*[2] p. 479.

[7] J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115 f.

[8] So already Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 629, ix. 78 f., x. 48.

[9] Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2858 ff., who attributes the connexion to Epimenides.

resemblance to a 'Willow' or a 'Willow'-leaf[1]. If so, the sacred tree of Europe attained a scientific euthanasia in the text-books of Hellenistic astronomy, as did the bull of Zeus, which was likewise placed among the stars to be the constellation Taurus[2].

xx. The Bull and the Sun in Syria.

(*a*) Zeus *Ádados* and Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*.

The bull appears as a sacred animal in connexion with the sky-gods of Syria also. And here again the cults in question took on a solar character and were ultimately fused with that of Zeus or Iupiter.

This was the case with Adad or Hadad, 'king of the gods[3]' and consort of Atargatis. Since a common designation of Adad describes him as a deity of the west or Amurru[4], it has been conjectured that he was originally a god of the Amorites, imported into the Euphrates-valley by an Amoritish wave of migration. However that may be, his worship, widely spread in Palestine and Syria[5], had reached Greece before the close of the second century B.C.—witness a series of inscriptions found by the French in Delos[6]. From these it appears that a certain Achaios son of Apollonios, a native of Hieropolis resident among the Delians, dedicated a temple etc. 'to Adatos and Atargatis the gods of his fatherland' and was elected, presumably by his fellow-countrymen, to serve as priest thereof for the year 137–136 B.C.[7]. Repairs of the sanctuary

[1] The Chinese regard as a Willow-leaf the stars δ, ε, ξ, ω, θ, ρ, η, ς of the constellation Hydra (G. Schlegel *Uranographie chinoise* The Hague 1875 cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 337–340).

[2] Eur. *Phrixus frag.* 820 Nauck[2] *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 14, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21, cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 31 Dindorf, Nonn. *Dion.* 33. 287, German. *Arat.* 536 ff. Others took the constellation to be Pasiphae's bull or the Marathonian bull (schol. Arat. *phaen.* 167), or Io the cow (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21). It is probable too, though not certain, that the same constellation was sometimes regarded as the bull-form of Dionysos (A. W. Curtius *Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 6 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 825 n. 3 and p. 943 n. 2).

[3] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 31 Ἄδωδος βασιλεὺς θεῶν.

[4] *Mar-Tu*, the ideographic form of *Amurru*. See further A. T. Clay *Amurru, the Home of the Northern Semites* Philadelphia 1909 p. 77 ff.

[5] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1987 ff., ii. 1179 ff., A. Jeremias *ib.* iv. 19 ff., R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2157 ff., M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 156 ff., *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 117 ff.

[6] A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 479 ff., G. Doublet *ib.* 1892 xvi. 161.

[7] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 495 f. no. 12, 5 f. Ἀδάτωι καὶ Ἀταρ|γάτει θεοῖς πατρίοις.

were carried out in the priesthood of Seleukos son of Zenodoros, another Hieropolitan[1]. A third priest, the son of one Apollonides, hailed from the same town[2]. But after a time the little Syrian community had perforce to content itself with Athenian priests[3], and was so far Hellenised as to acquiesce in a dedication 'to Zeus *Addados*[4].' The cult was now strengthened by the addition of the ever-popular Asklepios[5] and the identification of Atargatis with Aphrodite *Hagnê*[6], who however seems gradually to have ousted Adad from his place of honour[7].

The worship of Adad continued to spread westward, but from a second centre of diffusion and with a slightly different complexion. At *Ba'albek*, an old town[8] between the ranges of Libanos and Antilibanos, the Syrian god was so far solar that, when in the age of the Diadochoi Greek settlers occupied the site, they identified him with their own Helios and named the town Heliopolis. This name, which survived an influx of Roman colonists probably in the time of Augustus[9], enabled the priests of the Egyptian Heliopolis to claim that the Syrian cult was a mere off-shoot of their own[10]. But there is no doubt that they were wrong: the Heliopolitan god was essentially a Grecised form of the Syrian Adad. If colonists

[1] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 496 no. 13.

[2] *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 14.

[3] *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 15, 498 nos. 16 and 17.

[4] *Ib.* 1892 xvi. 161 [ὁ δεῖνα] | ['Απολλ]ωνίου(?) | Διὶ Ἀδάδωι | [χαρ]ιστήριον, cp. *ib.* 1882 vi. 502 f. no. 25, 2 ff. Διὶ τῶι πάντων κρατοῦντι | καὶ Μητρὶ Μεγάλητι τῆι πάντων | κρατούσητι.

[5] *Ib.* 1882 vi. 498 no. 16, 5 f. Ἀδάδωι καὶ Ἀταρ|γάτει καὶ Ἀσκληπίωι.

[6] *Ib.* 1882 vi. 497 no. 15, 3 f. Ἁγνῆ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀταργάτει καὶ Ἀδάδου, 498 f. no. 18, 1 f. Ἀταργάτει | [Ἁγ]νεῖ θεῷ, 499 no. 19, 1 Ἁγνῆι θεῶι Ἀταρ[γάτει], 500 ff. no. 24, 3 τῷ Ἡλίῳ καὶ τῆ Ἁγνῆ θεᾶ, 9 τῆ Ἁγνῆ θεᾶ (where Adad is assimilated to Helios).

[7] A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 487.

[8] The name *Ba'albek* means 'Lord of the Beka,' *i.e.* of the fertile valley between Libanos and Antilibanos. My friend Prof. F. C. Burkitt kindly informs me that the word *Beka* itself is of unknown significance. He adds that the name *Ba'albek* occurs *c.* 400 A.D. in the 'Exploits of Mar Rabbûla' p. 196, last line (*infra* p. 555), and even before 340 A.D. in Eusebios *Theophania* 2. 14—a work extant only in the ancient Syriac translation (Brit. Mus. Add. 12150: the MS. is dated 411 A.D.). The passage in question, containing the earliest mention of *Ba'albek*, is thus translated by S. Lee (*Eusebius Bishop of Cæsarea on the Theophania* Cambridge 1843 p. 74): 'And, that such were the things which they did, when assimilating themselves to their Deities, we can readily shew from this, that the Phenicians our neighbours, as we ourselves have seen, are busied with these things, even now, in Baalbeck; the ancient injurious excesses and corrupting paths of vice, being persevered in there, even to this time; so, that the women there enter not into the bands of lawful marriage, until they have been first corrupted in a way contrary to law, and have been made to partake in the lawless services of the mysteries of Venus.' Cp. *infra* p. 554 n. 4.

[9] O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 4, cp. Kornemann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 552.

[10] *Infra* pp. 552, 572 ff.

came from Rome to *Ba'albek*, Adad found his way from *Ba'albek* to Rome. In the grove of Furrina on the east side of the Ianiculum several foreign deities were worshipped. Here an altar has recently come to light bearing the three-fold inscription 'to the god *Ádados*,' 'to the god *Ádados* of Libanos[1],' and 'to the god *Ádados* of the Mountain-top[2].' These titles perhaps indicate the growing tendency to equate Adad with Zeus the mountain-god rather than with Helios. Indeed, the Romans in general spoke of him as Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*. Antoninus Pius (138–161 A.D.) began[3] and his successors down to Caracalla (211–217 A.D.) helped to complete on the akropolis of *Ba'albek* a sumptuous complex of buildings, which included temples of Iupiter and Bacchus. Of these we shall have more to say. For the moment we are concerned to note that, starting from this great cult-centre, the worship of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* travelled far afield. He is mentioned, for example, in inscriptions from Athens[4], from Aquincum[5] Carnuntum[6] and Siscia[7] in Pannonia, from the Latovici on the borders of Venetia[8], from Puteoli[9], the Portus Romanus[10] and Rome itself[11], from

[1] A Phoenician dedication 'to the Baal of Libanon, his Lord' has been found in Kypros (*Corp. inscr. Sem.* no. 5, W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 37, 66).

[2] P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 p. 144 ff., C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'Archéologie Orientale* Paris 1907 viii. 51, R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2161, 2163. The altar is of white marble, 0·55 m. high: the inscription on its front is unfinished—ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑ|ΔΩ ΑΝΕΘΗ (*sic*); that on the right reads ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑΔΩ | (a carved *patera*) | ΛΙΒΑΝΕΩΤΗ; that on the left ΘΕΩ ΑΔΑΔΩ | (a carved ewer) | ΑΚΡΟΡΕΙΤΗ.

[3] Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 280 Dindorf Ἥλιος Ἀντωνῖνος Πίος...ὅστις ἔκτισεν ἐν Ἡλιουπόλει τῆς Φοινίκης τοῦ Λιβάνου ναὸν τῷ Διὶ μέγαν, ἕνα καὶ αὐτὸν ὄντα τῶν θεαμάτων.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 7280 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4284 [I. o.] m. et Ve|neri et | Mercurio | Heliupoli[t]anis.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3462 (cp. iii Suppl. no. 13366) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4297 I. o. m. | Dulceno | Heliopolitan.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11139, 11138 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4285 [I.] o. m. H., | Veneri | Victrici, 4286 I. o. m. | Heliopoli'tano.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3955 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4293 I. o. m. | Heliopolitano.

[8] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3908 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4296 I. o. m. D. | et I. o. m. H.

[9] *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1898 ii. 374 no. 2 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4289 [ex] iussu I. o. m. Heliopolitan[i], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 1578 (cp. *ib.* no. 1579) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4290 ex iusso I. o. m. He[l]io|politani (cp. *ib.* no. 4291).

[10] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 24 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4294 I. o. m. | Angelo | Heliop. See *infra* p. 567 n. 5.

[11] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 420, 423, 422, 421 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 398 I. o. m. | Heliopolitano | Κομμόδῳ | ἀνδρὶ βα[σι]λικ[ωτάτῳ] | ἀσπιστῇ [τῆς] | οἰκου-μ[ένης]. | Imp. Caes. M. Aur. Commodo | Antonino Pio [Felici Aug.] | Sarm. Germanic[o], 4287 (altar shewing relief of a goddess with mural crown, who holds rudder

Massilia[1] and Nemausus[2] in Gaul, even from Magna in Britain (*i.e.* Carvoran on the wall built by Hadrian)[3].

As to the character and ritual of the cult thus propagated an interesting account is given by Macrobius[4] (*c.* 400 A.D.):

'The Assyrians too worship the sun under the name of Iupiter, Zeus *Heliopolites* as they call him, with important rites in the city of Heliopolis. The image of the god was taken from a town in Egypt[6], which is likewise named Heliopolis, in the days of Senemuris or Senepos king of the Egyptians, and was conveyed to its destination first by Opias, legate of Deleboris king of the Assyrians, and by Egyptian priests, the chief of whom was Partemetis. After being kept for long by the Assyrians, it subsequently reached Heliopolis. Why this was done, and how, starting from Egypt, it came to be where it now is, an object worshipped with Assyrian rather than Egyptian rites, I refrain from saying, since it has nothing to do with the matter in hand. But that this divinity is at once Iupiter and the sun is manifest both from the nature of its ritual and from its outward appearance. It is in fact a golden statue of beardless aspect, standing like a charioteer with a whip in its raised right hand, a thunderbolt and corn-ears in its left—attributes which all indicate the combined power of Iupiter and the sun.

'In the cult attaching to this temple divination is a strong point; and divination is regarded as the prerogative of Apollon, who is to be identified with the sun. The image of the god of Heliopolis is carried on a litter resembling those used for the images of the gods at the procession of the Circus Games. It is usually borne by the chief men of the district. They shave their heads, purify themselves by a prolonged period of chastity, and are moved by the divine spirit, carrying the litter not according to their own inclination but where the god impels them to go[5]; just as at Antium we see the images of the *Fortunae* move forwards to deliver their responses. Persons at a distance also consult this god, sending documents folded and sealed: he replies in order to the contents about which they express a wish to consult him. Thus, when the emperor Trajan was going to lead an army from that district into Parthia, certain friends of his, devout men whose faith in this deity was based on convincing proofs, advised him to consult the oracle about the issue of his enterprise. Acting with Roman prudence, he first tested its trustworthiness, to make sure that human guile had no hand in the matter. He began by sending a sealed letter, to which he desired a written reply. The god bade paper be brought,

in right hand, *cornu copiae* in left, and stands between two lions) I. o. m. H. | conservatori | imperii | d. n. Gordiani | Pii fel. invicti Aug., 4292 I. o. m. H. Aug. | sacr., Genio Forinarum | et cultoribus huius | loci, 2546 I. o. m. Heliopolitano. Of these inscriptions the first three probably came from the sanctuary on the Ianiculum (*supra* p. 551).

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 404 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4295 Iovi o. m. H. prop. (*Propitio*? Froehner, *Propitio*? vel *Propagatori*? Hirschfeld).

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 3072 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4288 I. o. m. Héliopolitán. | et Nemauso (on the left of this stone is the relief described and figured *infra* p. 569 f.; on the right a shield and a dagger? are carved; on the base is a sacred *cista*).

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 752 I. o. m. | Helio|poli[t?], cp. *ib.* no. 753 I. o. m. [D.]|H.

[4] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. 10—20.

[5] Cp. Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 5.

[6] Cp. *supra* p. 357.

sealed, and sent off, with nothing written on it. The priests, ignorant of the real circumstances of the correspondence, were fairly amazed at this action. Trajan, on receiving his answer, was deeply impressed; for he himself had sent a blank sheet to the god. He then wrote and sealed another letter, in which he asked whether he would return to Rome when the war was over. The god thereupon ordered that a centurion's vine-staff, one of the offerings dedicated in his temple, should be brought, broken into bits, wrapped in a handkerchief, and taken to him forthwith. The issue of the thing became clear when Trajan died and his bones were brought back to Rome. For the appearance of his remains was indicated by the broken pieces, and the time of his approaching death by the fact that it was a vine[1].

'To prevent my argument from ranging through a whole list of divinities, I will explain what the Assyrians believe concerning the power of the sun. They have given the name *Adad* to the god[2] whom they venerate as highest and greatest. The name is interpreted to mean "One One[3]." Him therefore they adore as a god mighty above all others. But with him they associate a goddess called Adargatis[4]. To these two they ascribe all power over the universe, understanding them to be the sun and the earth. They do not mark the subdivision of their power into this, that, and the other sphere by means of numerous names, but prefer to show forth the manifold glory of the double deity by the attributes with which they are adorned. These attributes of themselves proclaim a solar character. The image of Adad is seen conspicuous with rays slanting downwards, which shows that the force of the sky consists in the sunbeams sent down to the earth. The image of Adargatis is conspicuous with rays turned upwards, to show that whatever the earth produces springs from the force of the beams sent up on high[5]. Beneath this same image are the forms of lions, showing that it stands for the earth; just as the Phrygians represent the Mother of the gods, that is the earth, carried by lions.'

It might be inferred from Macrobius' account that the deities worshipped at *Ba'albek* were Adad and Atargatis. It is, however,

[1] That is, the centurion's vine showed that Trajan would die in the course of the campaign (117 A.D.), it being a mark of military authority.

[2] Clearly Zeus *Helioupolites* is meant: see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1987, 41 ff.

[3] Opinions are divided as to the value of this interpretation (W. Drexler *ib.* i. 1987 f., E. Meyer *ib.* i. 2900 f.). My friend, the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns, Master of St Catharine's College, Cambridge, informs me that Macrobius, who is taking *Adad* to be a reduplicated form of *edu*, the Assyrian, Syriac, and Hebrew word for 'one,' is certainly wrong. The name must be connected with the verb *adadu*, which had two distinct meanings, *viz.* (1) 'to be sharp, keen, pointed,' and (2) 'to love.' If we associate *Adad* with the first *adadu*, the reference may be to his piercing weapon, the thunderbolt; if with the second *adadu*, we may compare the forms *addu*, *daddu*, and such names as David and Dido, which properly denote 'the Beloved One.' R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2157 says: 'Der Charakter des Gottes berechtigt die Annäherung mit dem arabischen *hadda*, "zerbrechen, krachen."' See further A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 23.

[4] On Atargatis see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1896, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 650 ff.

[5] Bundles of rays resembling wings start from the shoulders of various Assyrian deities, *e.g.* Šamaš the sun-god (Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 181 f. pl. 84, 3—7, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 656, M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 100 pl. 48 ff. nos. 170 ff.).

probable that another Syrian god, Seimios by name, received joint honours with them; for inscriptions attest a Heliopolitan triad Latinised as Iupiter, Venus, and Mercurius[1].

Ba'albek, the seat of this remarkable cult, has seen many changes. Of its Syrian, Greek, and Roman phases we have already spoken. It remains to sketch its subsequent history and to indicate the present condition of its ruins.

Heliopolis was for long a battle-ground of paganism and Christianity. Of this great struggle we get but intermittent glimpses. In 297 A.D. Gelasinos the mime[2] was suddenly converted while in the very act of parodying the Christian rite of baptism: he at once made a profession of his faith, and was thereupon dragged out of the theatre by the enraged audience and stoned to death[3]. Later, Constantine the Great (306–337 A.D.) destroyed the temple of Aphrodite, instituted a Christian church in its stead, and abolished by law the ancient local custom of prostitution before and even after wedlock[4]. The pagans were furious and retaliated by prostituting the Christian virgins and heaping upon them the most infamous tortures[5]. About the same time the people seized the deacon Kyrillos, who had defaced many of their idols, did him to death and—if we may believe Theodoret—ripped him up and got their teeth into his liver[6].

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 7280 (Athens) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4284 [I. o.] m. et Ve|neri et | Mercurio | Heliopoli|[t]anis Q. Te|dius Maxi|mus v. l. a. (*sic*), A. von Domaszewski in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1897 xvi Korrespondenzblatt p. 172 (near Seligenstadt) I. [o.] m. | Helio[p]olita|no, V[e]neri f|elici, Merc|urio [A]ug., M. | Iulius Marci | fil. Fa[bi]a Ruf|us Papinianus | Sentius Gemel|lus do[m]o Beryt. | praef. coh....A[q]uit. | castris E..id. Em[ili]an[o] ⟨ī⟩ et Aqu[ili]n[o cos.] (= 249 A.D.), v. s. s. l. m., P. Perdrizet in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 131 (cp. P. Ronzevalle *ib.* 1900 p. 255) I. o. m. H. | Veneri Me[rcurio] | M. Sentius Em[.....] | M. Sentis ex [respon|so] divi M. B. (= *Megrin Balmarcodis*), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11139 [I.] o. m. H., | Veneri | Victrici, | M. Titius | Heliodorus | Aug. col. | Kar. (= *augustalis* or *augur coloniae Karnunti*), v. s. | sacerdotib. Vibio | Crescente et Heren. | Nigriniano, *ib.* iii Suppl. no. 11140 [Iovi optimo maximo Heliopolitano et Vene]ri victrici sacr. | [pro salute imp. Caesaris M. Aureli Antonini Com]modi Augusti | .....sac(erdotibus)..... See now R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 54.

[2] On the ugly connotation of the words *μῦμος*, *μιμάς* in the Hellenistic east see I. Bloch *Die Prostitution* Berlin 1912 i 597.

[3] *Chron. Pasch.* p. 513 Dindorf. See further the Rev. G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 617.

[4] Euseb. *v. Constantin.* 3. 58 (cp. *supra* p. 550 n. 8), Sokr. *hist. eccl.* 1. 18. On this custom consult E. S. Hartland 'Concerning the rite at the temple of Mylitta' in the *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 189—204, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 366 n. 2, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[2] p. 32 f.

[5] Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 10, cp. Greg. Naz. *invectiva adv. Iulian.* 1. 86 f. (Migne xxxv. 616), Nikephor. 10. 9 (Migne cxlvi. 464 f.), Abulpharag. *hist. comp. dynast.* p. 75.

[6] Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 3. 7.

Heathenism was for a while triumphant[1]. But in 379 A.D. Theodosios finally demolished[2] the great temple of Zeus and built a Christian church upon its site[3]. Even so religious rioting was not ended. About 400 A.D. Rabbûla, the future bishop of Edessa, went with his friend Eusebios to *Ba'albek* 'in order to obtain the crown of martyrdom by raising a disturbance in the great Temple —somewhat after the fashion of the late Mr Kensit. But the crown of martyrdom was not destined for Rabbûla, and the two enthusiasts only succeeded in getting themselves thrown down the temple steps[4].' According to Michael the Syrian, the 'great and famous idol' of *Ba'albek* was still to be seen in the time of Justin ii (565–578 A.D.)[5].

Ba'albek passed into Mohammedan hands in 634 A.D., and was subject to Arab rule till 1517, when the Turks gained possession of Syria. The akropolis with its ruined temples was early transformed into a strong citadel, the *Ḳala'a*, which still stands much as it stood at the close of the thirteenth century with walls and towers, ports and loop-holes, in a wonderful state of preservation[6].

'No ruins of antiquity,' says Mr W. B. Donne, 'have attracted more attention than those of Heliopolis, or been more frequently or accurately measured and described. They were visited by

[1] *Id. ib.* 4. 22.

[2] It had been already overthrown by earthquakes (O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 138, *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 5).

[3] Io. Malal. *chron.* 13 p. 344 Dindorf *τοὺς δὲ ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων πάντας κατέστρεψεν ἕως ἐδάφους ὁ αὐτὸς Θεοδόσιος βασιλεύς. κατέλυσε δὲ καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον τὸ λεγόμενον τρίλιθον, καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανοῖς*, *Chron. Pasch.* p. 561 Dindorf *Κωνσταντῖνος ὁ ἀοίδιμος βασιλεύσας τὰ ἱερὰ μόνον ἔκλεισεν καὶ τοὺς ναοὺς τῶν Ἑλλήνων· οὗτος Θεοδόσιος καὶ κατέλυσεν, καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν Ἡλιουπόλεως τὸ τοῦ Βαλανίου τὸ μέγα καὶ περιβόητον* [*καὶ*] *τὸ τρίλιθον* (*infra* p. 562 f.), *καὶ ἐποίησεν αὐτὸ ἐκκλησίαν Χριστιανῶν.*

Various attempts have been made to connect the word *Βαλανίου* with the name *Ba'al* (see the note by J. Markland in Dindorf's ed. of the *Chronicon Paschale* ii. 394 ff., M. A. Levy *Phönizische Studien* Breslau 1856 i. 32 n. 1, and F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 p. 203). But Prof. F. C. Burkitt and Mr N. McLean both assure me that they are highly improbable, and independently suggest that we have here the Greek *βαλανεῖον*, which appears in Syriac as *balānā* (cp. S. A. Cook *A Glossary of the Aramaic Inscriptions* Cambridge 1898 p. 30). This is the more likely because in Christian times one of the lustration-basins in the precinct at *Ba'albek* was actually transformed into a swimming-bath (*infra* p. 559 n. 3).

[4] F. C. Burkitt *Early Eastern Christianity* London 1904 p. 50, citing J. J. Overbeck *S. Ephraemi Syri, Rabulae Episcopi Edesseni, Balaei aliorumque opera selecta* Oxford 1865 p. 196 'Exploits of Mar Rabbûla.'

[5] Michael the Syrian trans. J. B. Chabot ii. 262 f., cited by R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 Add. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 51.

[6] For further details of successive changes made in mediaeval times see O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 99—101, *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 5 f.

Thevet in 1550; by Pococke in 1739–40; by Maundrell in 1745; by Wood and Dawkins in 1751; by Volney in 1785; and by many subsequent travellers, including the Duke of Ragusa, in 1834[1].[2] Nevertheless, despite the good work done by these explorers[2], several problems still awaited solution. Fortunately a visit of the German emperor and empress on Nov. 1, 1898, led to a further and in many respects final exploration of the site (1900–1904) by O. Puchstein and a band of able associates. The results obtained by them[3] may be here summarised.

The *Propylaion*[4] in accordance with an ancient oriental scheme consisted of two towers united by a colonnade, and was approached by a broad flight of steps. The steps have disappeared; but much of the two-storeyed towers and at least the bases of the twelve columns remain, three of these bearing Latin inscriptions, which tell how Longinus, a life-guard of the first Parthian legion, and Septimius, an imperial freedman, in gratitude for the safety of Caracalla adorned their capitals with a sheathing of gilded bronze[5].

Immediately behind the *Propylaion* lies a hexagonal court, once surrounded by columns, of which scanty traces are left[6]. The

[1] W. B. Donne in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1037.

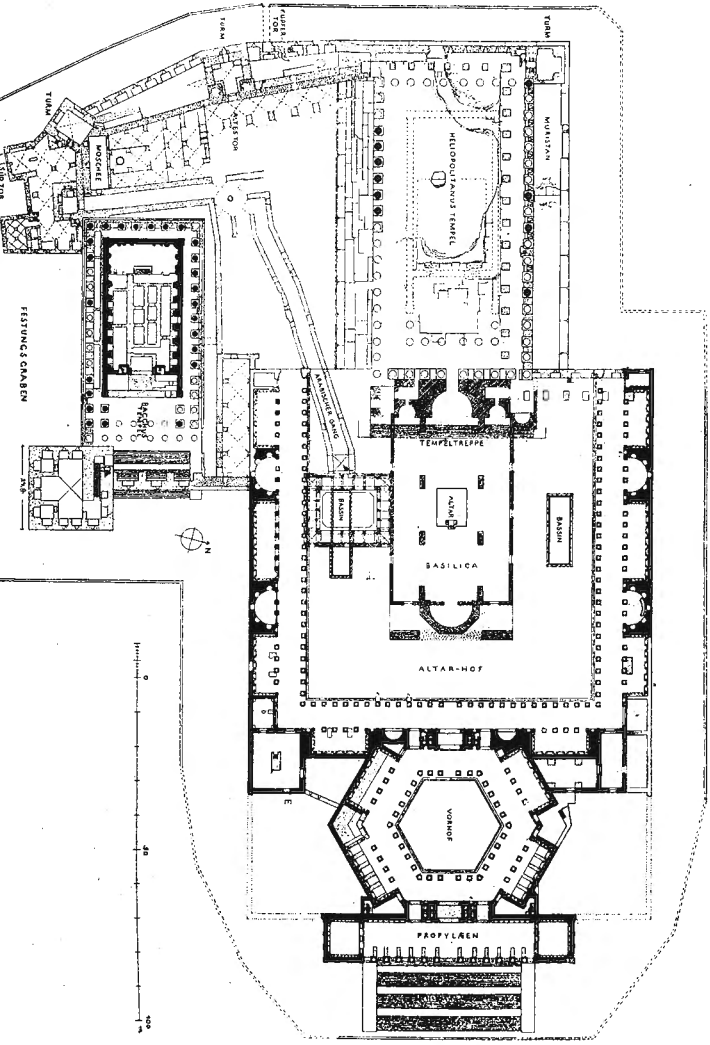
[2] See especially R. Pococke *A description of the East, and some other countries* London 1743 ii. 106—113, R. Wood *The ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* London 1757 with 46 pls., C. F. Volney *Travels through Syria and Egypt, in the years 1783, 1784, and 1785* (English ed.) London 1787 ii. 232—248 with a plan and view, L. F. Cassas *Voyage pittoresque de la Syrie, de la Phoenicie, de la Palestine, et de la basse Aegypte* Paris 1799 (an 7) ii pls. 1, 3, 4, 15, 16, 17, 27, 28, 29, 30, 34, 47, 54, 56, 57, H. Frauberger *Die Akropolis von Baalbek* Frankfurt a. M. 1892 with 10 figs., 20 photographic pls., a plan, and a restoration.

[3] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 133—160 with figs. 1—9 and pls. 4—7, *id. ib.* 1902 xvii. 87—124 with 3 figs. and pls. 4—9, *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 pp. 1—40 with figs. 1—12, *id. Guide de Ba'albek* Berlin 1906 with figs. and plans, O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek*: 30 Ansichten der deutschen Ausgrabungen Berlin 1910.

[4] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 88 f., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 8 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 3, 4, 5.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 138 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4283 [I. o.] m. diis Heliupol. pro sal. | [et] victoriis d. n. Antonini Pii fel. Aug. et Iuliae Aug. matris d. n. cast. senat. patr., Aur. Ant. Longinus specul. leg. i | [Ant]onin[anae capita columnarum] dua aerea auro inluminata sua pecunia ex voto l. a. s. On these two inscriptions see O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 154 n. 11. *Id. ib.* 1902 xvii. 89 publishes the third inscription: [I. o.] m. pro sal[ute] d. [n.] imp. Antonin[i Pii Felicis....] | [....Sep]timi[us..]bas Aug. lib. caput columnae aeneum auro inl[uminat]um votum sua pecunia l. [a. s.].

[6] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 139 f., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 11 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 6, 7.


TURM
JUPITER TOR
TURM
TURM
MUSEUM
HELIOPOLITANUS TEMPEL
MUSEUM
FESTUNGS GRABEN
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ALTAR
BASSIN
BASILICA
ALTAR-HOF
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PROPYLÄEN
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Fig. 419.

original intention of this court[1] is not known. Certain Heliopolitan coins struck by Philippus Senior and his wife Otacilia (figs. 420[2], 421[3], 422[4]) have been thought to represent a cypress-tree seen through the central gate-way of the *Propylaion*[5]. If that were so, we might reasonably conjecture that the hexagonal court enclosed a sacred cypress-tree or cypress-grove. But the best-preserved specimens of these coins fully confirm the view[6]

Fig. 420.

Fig. 421.

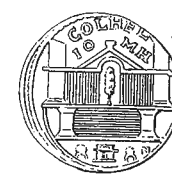


Fig. 422.

advocated by Monsieur R. Dussaud[7] that we have here a corn-ear (cp. *infra* fig. 427) rather than a cypress-tree. The god within held

[1] It was, perhaps in the fourth century A.D., transformed into a Christian church and roofed over for the purpose, its walls being then first pierced with windows (O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 12).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxxvii, 292 pl. 36, 6 Philippus Senior, with legend COLIVLAVGFE | IO MH | COL HEL, *Coloniae Iuliae Augustae Felicis* (*Iovi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano*) *Coloniae Heliopoleos*. *Ib.* p. 293 Otacilia, with the same legend. Cp. F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 pp. 12 f., 403 Philippus Senior, 14 Otacilia.

[3] F. De Saulcy *op. cit.* p. 12 f. pl. 1, 5 Philippus Senior, with legend COLHEL | IO MH. *Ib.* p. 14 Otacilia, with the same legend.

[4] F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 97 ff., 360 pl. 6, 5 Philippus Senior (Paris), with legend COLHEL | IO MH. Cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 221 no. 6 Philippus Senior.

[5] The tree is described as a cypress by Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 93, Suppl. ii. 1344 f., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 335, F. Lajard *op. cit.* p. 97 ff., F. De Saulcy *op. cit.* pp. 12 ff., 403. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* v. 302 no. 123 wrongly took it to be a cedar. A cypress is the central object on other coppers of Heliopolis, which show two naked athletes seated on rocks and supporting an agonistic urn above it (F. Lajard *op. cit.* p. 100 Valerian, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 295 pl. 36, 12 Gallienus).

Cypress-trees are not often associated with Zeus. But the temple of Zeus *Némeios* at Nemea stood in a cypress-grove (Paus. 2. 15. 2) and the shrines used by the mystics of Zeus *Idaîos* in Crete were roofed with cypress-wood (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck[2]): cp. the coin of Ephesos (*supra* p. 134 fig. 100) and Hermippos *frag.* 24 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 42 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 10 ἀπείχοντο δὲ (*sc.* οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι) καὶ σοροῦ κυπαρισσίνης διὰ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἐντεῦθεν πεποιῆσθαι, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 155 κυπαρισσίνην δὲ μὴ δεῖν κατασκευάζεσθαι σορὸν (leg. σορὸν) ὑπαγορεύει διὰ τὸ κυπαρίσσινον γεγονέναι τὸ τοῦ Διὸς σκῆπτρον ἢ δι' ἄλλον τινὰ μυστικὸν λόγον.

[6] T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 123 fig. 34.

[7] R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 92 ff.

corn-ears in his hand. Is it possible that his fore-court contained a patch of sacred corn[1]?

Beyond the hexagon was a large square court[2] with Corinthian porticoes on three sides of it, but never finished on the fourth. The bases and capitals of the columns were of limestone; their shafts of red Egyptian granite—monoliths 7·08 metres in height and finely polished. Numerous fragments of the richly decorated entablature still strew the ground. This court was flanked by apsidal niches and rectangular recesses; and beneath the floor was a vaulted *souterrain*. In the middle of the court was the great altar of burnt offering, now sunk in the floor of the later Christian *basilica*[3]. To right and left of the altar was an oblong reservoir for lustration-water, adorned with a mosaic floor, above which rose a circular baldachin presumably covering a fountain-statue. The whole court,

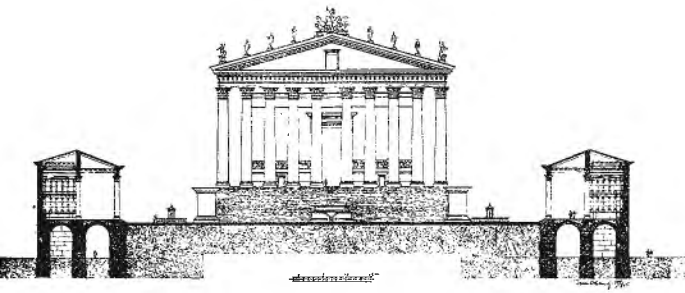


Fig. 423.

as inscriptions attest, was set out with bronze portraits of the imperial family (Sabina the daughter of Marcus Aurelius, Septimius Severus, Gordian, etc.) and of other prominent persons (such as the officer Velius Rufus), all dedicated by colonists in Heliopolis.

[1] Cp. the rites of Adonis as described by the schol. Theokr. 15. 112 *εἰώθασι γὰρ ἐν τοῖς Ἀδωνίοις πυροὺς καὶ κριθὰς σπείρειν ἔν τισι προαστείοις* (*προαστρίοις* G. Hermann, *γαστρίοις* Bast) *καὶ τοὺς φυτευθέντας κήπους Ἀδωνείους προσαγορεύειν*. The *Ἀγρούνηρος ἢ Ἀγρότης* of Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) appears to be Adad viewed as an agricultural god (R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 56).

[2] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1901 xvi. 135 ff., 140 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 14 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 8—13, 14*a*, 15.

[3] The *basilica* was in all probability the church built by Theodosios (*supra* p. 555). It was originally entered at the eastern end, therein resembling the temple of Zeus, which it was designed to supersede. At some later date its entrance was shifted to the western end, that it might conform to the usual arrangement of a Christian church, while the southern lustration-reservoir was modified into a *piscina* or swimming-bath connected with it (*supra* p. 555 n. 3).

At the western end of the altar-court rose the temple of Zeus[1] (fig. 423). An imposing stylobate, some 7 metres higher than the level of the court, was mounted by means of a broad flight of steps. The temple-platform, exclusive of the steps, measured 47·70 metres

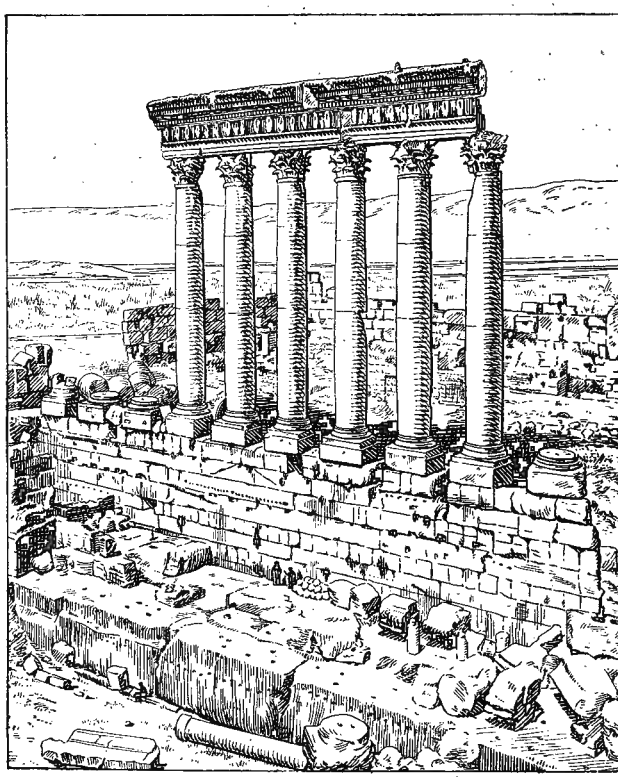


Fig. 424.

in width by 87·75 metres in length. Round it stood a single row of unfluted Corinthian columns. Ten of these were visible at either end and nineteen down each of the long sides. Six of them on the

[1] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 91 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 21 f., O. Puchstein & T. von Lupke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 14*b*, 16, 17.

south still carry their entablature (fig. 424)[1]. The *naós* itself, except for sundry patches of a cement-paving, has entirely disappeared. And its foundation-walls are so imperfectly preserved that at present

Fig. 425.

Fig. 426.

Fig. 427.

it has not been found possible to reconstruct the complete ground-plan with certainty. It is, however, clear that the temple was pseudodipteral, *i.e.* that in lieu of an inner row of columns it had

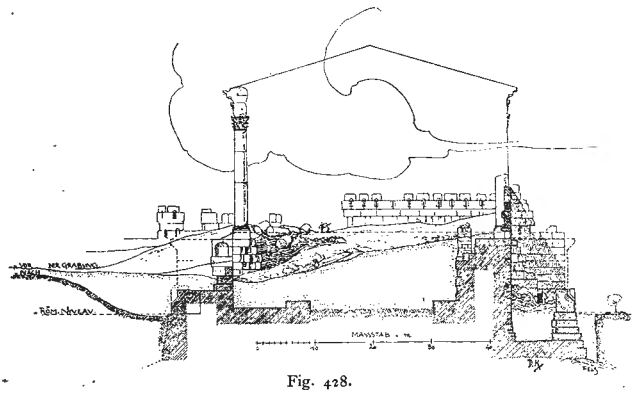


Fig. 428.

a very broad *pterón* or ambulatory. The whole building is shown in perspective on coins of Septimius Severus, his wife Iulia Domna, Caracalla, Philippus Senior, and Otacilia (figs. 425[2], 426[3], 427[4]). It

[1] O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *op. cit.* pl. 17. In the background appears the snow-capped range of Libanos; in the foreground, the lowest course of the temple-terrace—gigantic blocks $4{\cdot}12^{m}$ high, $3{\cdot}12^{m}$ thick, and $9{\cdot}50^{m}$ long.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxxvii, 290 pl. 36, 2 Septimius Severus, with legend IOMH | COLHEL, *Iovi Optimo Maximo Heliopolitano* | *Coloniae Heliopoleos*. *Ib.* p. 291 Iulia Domna, 293 Philippus Senior, with the same legend.

[3] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 8 f. pl. 1, 3 Septimius Severus; p. 9 Iulia Domna, p. 10 Caracalla, p. 14 Otacilia, all with the same legend.

[4] R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 94 f. fig. 23.

was supported on three sides—north, west, and south—by a terrace[1] consisting of a huge outer wall and a filling of massive stones. The construction of this outer wall was no light task, even for the all-daring engineers of Rome. A strong foundation of headers and stretchers was topped by a *podium* of colossal blocks. The lowest visible course was designed to exhibit a moulded base, though the

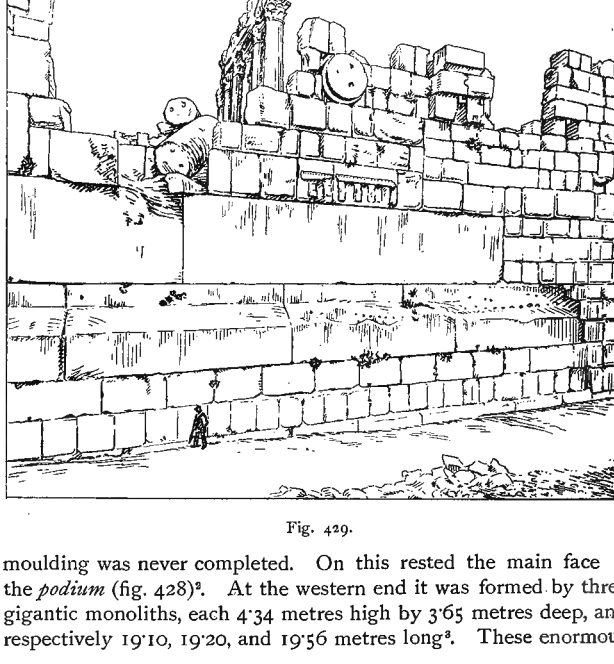


Fig. 429.

moulding was never completed. On this rested the main face the *podium* (fig. 428)[2]. At the western end it was formed by three gigantic monoliths, each 4·34 metres high by 3·65 metres deep, and respectively 19·10, 19·20, and 19·56 metres long[3]. These enormous

[1] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 91 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 pp. 23 f., 34 f., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 17, 27, 28.

[2] Fig. 428 is reproduced from a drawing by D. Krencker in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 93. It shows a section through the temple of Zeus from north to south. The extant portions of the terrace-wall to right (N.) and left (S.) of the temple are hatched; the original profile of the terrace is indicated by a dotted line.

[3] The dimensions are given by Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 9 as 4[m] high and 19·45[m], 19·21[m], 19·52[m] long.

blocks were fitted together with astonishing precision (fig. 429)[1], and, as R. Wood pointed out[2], earned for the temple that towered above them the popular name of the *Trílithon*[3]. The unknown architect dreamed of employing an even vaster block; for in the neighbouring quarry lies half-finished a stone, which measures at one end some 4·30, at the other some 5·30, metres square and

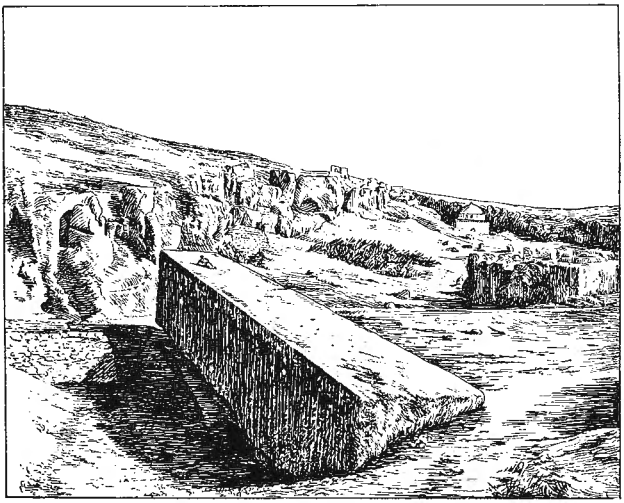


Fig. 430.

attains a length of 21·72 metres (fig. 430)[4]. Greeks and Romans alike seem to have argued that, the greater the god, the more grandiose must be his dwelling place[5]. And Zeus as lord of all

[1] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii pl. 6.

[2] R. Wood *The ruins of Balbec, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* London 1757 p. 12.

[3] *Supra* p. 555 n. 3. A parallel is furnished by the fourth temple of Apollon at Delphoi, that built by Trophonios and Agamedes (Paus. 10. 5. 13), which was called *τὸ ἄδυτον ἐκ πέντε λίθων* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δελφοί). It was the temple of epic times, the λάϊνος οὐδός (*Il.* 9. 404 f., *Od.* 8. 79 ff.), and its foundations are expressly said to have been 'broad and very long' (*h. Ap.* 294 ff.).

[4] O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pl. 28. Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 9 f. figs. 4 f. states that it measures 21·35[m] in length, 4·33[m] and 4·40[m] in height and breadth, and gives details as to the method of quarrying. The big stone, which would have weighed over 1200 tons, is locally known as the *Ḥadšar el ḥibla* (O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 6 f.).

[5] On colossal statues etc. as a means of literally 'magnifying' the god see *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 270 f.

demanded a supreme effort. But here, as in the case of the abandoned temple at Agrigentum[1], men were attempting

'The high that proved too high, the heroic for earth too hard.'

Adjoining the great temple of Zeus was a second sacred edifice (fig. 431)[2], smaller indeed but throughout more richly decorated and now standing in a far better state of preservation. Approached by a fine flight of 33 steps and raised on a stylobate 4·75 metres high, it is a peripteral temple with eight Corinthian columns on the short and fifteen on the long sides. These columns are unfluted, but those of the *prónaos* and the engaged columns of the interior are fluted. The roof of the *pterón*, the door-way of the *naós*, the inner surface of the walls, are all exquisite examples of Roman architecture. But perhaps the most interesting feature is an *ádyton*

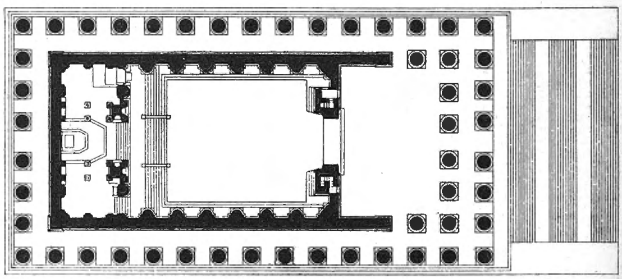


Fig. 431.

at the west end of the building. Nine steps led up to the chancel, which was divided by half-columns into a central sanctuary and two wings. On the right a door gave access to a crypt, consisting of two vaulted chambers, below the *ádyton*-floor. On the left seven stairs led up to a side-chamber, in which stood a table for offerings. In the middle, between the half-columns, a broader flight of seven steps formed the approach to an elaborate baldachin, beneath which, protected by screens, stood the actual cult-image. But of what deity? Since the door-way has on the under surface of its lintel an eagle grasping a winged *caduceus* between garland-bearing Erotes (fig. 432)[3], it used to be assumed that this was the temple of Zeus.

[1] Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[3] p. 401 ff. figs. 369—372.

[2] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 94 ff., *id. Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 29 ff., O. Puchstein & T. von Lüpke *Ba'albek* Berlin 1910 pls. 18—26.

[3] R. Wood *The ruins of Balbek, otherwise Heliopolis in Coelosyria* London 1757 pl. 34, E, H. Frauberger *Die Akropolis von Baalbek* Frankfurt a. M. 1892 pl. 16.

the larger building being then regarded as that of Helios. But the coins figured above[1] make it certain that the larger building was the temple of Zeus; and the relief of the eagle carrying a *caduceus*, which occurs on other Syrian lintels, *viz.* on two of the precinct-gates of Baitokaike (*Ḥôṣn Suleimân*)[2], is in all probability an apotropaeic sign combining the solar eagle[3] with the *caduceus* of Hermes the gate-keeper. Better evidence is to be found in other parts of the temple-sculpture. The door-frame is embellished with bunches of corn and poppies and a string of vine-leaves and ivy. Low down on the left may be seen the infant Dionysos suckled by a nymph, with Pan, Satyrs, and Bacchants arranged above him; on the right, Erotes hard at work vintaging. The *prónaos* has also

Fig. 432.

an unfinished frieze, which represents a procession of twelve persons, headed by Nike, leading an ox and a fat-tailed sheep to sacrifice at an altar: of these persons one carries a roll of carpet, another a basket, a third a *kíste*. More convincing still is the adornment of the *ádyton*. One of the landings leading up to it is decorated with three dancing Bacchants. The baldachin on either side of the steps had reliefs, which can still be in part at least made out. On

[1] *Supra* p. 561 figs. 425—427.

[2] R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1897 i. 328, P. Perdrizet in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 132 = *Revue des études anciennes* (Annales de la Faculté des lettres de Bordeaux) 1901 iii. 258 ff.,—cited by O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 98 n. 4.

Zeus Βαιτοκαίκης (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4474, 20 Διὸς Βαιτοκαίκης) or Βαιτοκαικεύς (*ib.* no. 4475, 1 θεῷ Βαιτοχειχεῖ) was the Grecised form of the Baal worshipped at Baitokaike near Apameia on the Orontes. The property and privileges granted to his temple by one of the kings named Antiochos were increased by Augustus and confirmed (between 253 and 259 A.D.) by Valerian, his son Gallienus, and his grandson Saloninus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4474 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 184 and p. 972, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 262). The inhabitants of Baitokaike described themselves as οἱ κάτοχοι ('tenants'?) ἀγίου Οὐρανίου Διός (*ib.*). See further F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2779.

[3] Cp. for a Phoenician example *supra* p. 206 fig. 150.

the left Dionysos leans against a vine with Ariadne beside him and his *thíasos* grouped around. On the right the same deity as a child is seated on a pantheress, danced about by Bacchants and Maenads. It can hardly be doubted that the temple as a whole was that of Dionysos, who at Heliopolis as elsewhere was worshipped side by side with Zeus.

We have yet to notice a remarkable and much-canvassed coin-type of Philippus Senior (figs. 433[1], 434[2]). On a rocky eminence covered with shrubs rises a large temple with a flight of many steps leading up to it, and what looks like a terrace-wall beside it. Between the steps and the temple is an altar, and near by stands a vase. The precinct-wall encloses a considerable space to the left of the temple; and in the field beyond this space is a *caduceus*. Now the Germans have shown that the temple of Dionysos was later than the temple of Zeus and belonged to the same period

Fig. 433.

Fig. 434.

as the *Propýlaion*, which they hold to have been constructed *c.* 200 A.D.[3] Since, however, the capitals of the *Propýlaion* were still being decorated in the reign of Caracalla (211–217 A.D.)[4], it is very possible that the new buildings were not finished till the time of Philippus Senior (244–249 A.D.). If so, it is open to us to suppose that certain coins issued by this emperor—himself an Arab of Trachonitis[5]—represented the akropolis as it looked before the recent building-operations[6], whilst others struck in the names of the emperor and his wife displayed the new *Propýlaion* in all its

[1] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 13 pl. 1, 4, with legend COLIVLAVG | FELHEL (cp. *supra* p. 558 n. 2).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 293 no. 18 (vase in precinct, *caduceus* in field) pl. 36, 7, cp. p. 293 no. 19 (vase in field, *caduceus* in precinct).

[3] O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 33.

[4] *Supra* p. 556.

[5] Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 28. 1 Arabs Thraconites, cp. Zonar. *epit. hist.* 12. 19 ὥρμητο δ' ἐκ Βόστρων.

[6] Another possible explanation of the type would be to say that the die-sinker, in order to simplify his design, bodily omitted the *Propýlaion* and the temple of Dionysos.

glory[1]. On this showing the temple here figured is that of Zeus[2]. To him belong the altar and the vase of purification, which were perpetuated on a grander scale by the altar of burnt offering and the lustration-basins of the later court[3]. The *caduceus* is the symbol of Hermes, who watched over the portals of the precinct[4] and was closely associated in worship with Zeus himself[5].

(β) Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull.

Thus far we have not found the Heliopolitan god associated with bulls. But copies of his cult-image, recognised in recent years, make it certain that he stood with a bull on either hand[6]. Of these copies the more important may be passed in review[7].

A *stéle* of local limestone, discovered in 1900 at *Deir el-Qala'a* by Prof. S. Ronzevalle of Beirut University, has a countersunk relief representing a god erect between two bulls (fig. 435)[8]. The dedication [I] O M H fixes the type as that of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*[9]. Moreover, the figure, though defaced, bears out in the main the description cited from Macrobius[10]. It is, in fact, a beardless

[1] *Supra* p. 558 figs. 420—422.

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 93 (cp. Suppl. ii. 1345) assumes that it is a temple of Hermes. T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 126 ff. fig. 35 contends that it is the smaller temple, *i.e.* that which we now know to have been the temple of Dionysos. O. Puchstein *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 3 describes it as an unknown temple, possibly situated on the neighbouring height of Sheik Abdallah.

W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 293 is content to regard it as the temple of Zeus. To this identification it might be objected that the akropolis is not really so high as the coin suggests. But the patriotic artist would tend to exaggerate its height, just as the patriotic poet calls the 'waterless' Anapos *μέγαν ῥόον* (Theokr. i. 68 with schol. *ad loc.* *Ἄναπος δὲ εἴρηται ὁ ἄνευ πόσεως ὢν καὶ βληχρὸν ἔχων ὕδωρ*!). Besides, Adad was a mountain-god (*supra* p. 551).

[3] *Supra* p. 559.

[4] Cp. *supra* p. 565.

[5] *Supra* p. 554. This association perhaps has some bearing on the remarkable title *Angelus* given to Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* (*supra* p. 551 n. 10). The remarks of G. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 134 ff., of G. Wolff in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxv. 55, and of E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2189, are hardly adequate.

[6] Cp. the great altar of Zeus at Pergamon (*supra* p. 119 f. fig. 88).

[7] For a full list see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 347 ff., ii. 91 ff., 1905 i. 161 ff. = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903—1905 pp. 29 ff., 67 ff., 117 ff.

[8] Height 0·93m. S. Ronzevalle 'Notice sur un bas-relief représentant le simulacre du Jupiter Heliopolitanus' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 pp. 437—482, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 348, 355 f. fig. 14 (an independent sketch marking the disk on the god's chest, etc.) = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 38 f. fig. 14. The inscription in letters of the third century runs : [I.]o. m. H. | M. Pultius Felicianus | et? | M. Pultius Ti[be]rinus | fili]us. The *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 14392*a* reads *Pullius* for *Pultius*.

[9] Cp. *supra* p. 561 figs. 425—427.

[10] *Supra* p. 552.

charioteer with a whip in his raised right hand. He wears, however, a *kálathos* or 'basket' on his head, adorned with two tiers of ovate-lanceolate leaves. Two long tresses of hair fall over his shoulders.

Fig. 435.

A disk is suspended round his neck. The upper part of his body appears to be covered with scales. The lower part is encased in a sheath, which is carved with panels containing flowers of three or four petals apiece[1].

Another limestone *stéle*, found in 1752 in the basin of the famous fountain at Nîmes and now preserved in the Maison-Carrée, bears in front a joint-dedication to Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and Nemausus[2]. The latter god is symbolised on the right side of the stone by an oval shield and a *carnix* or Gallic trumpet. The former is represented on the left by his cult-image (fig. 436)[3]. On his head, which is beardless and faces the spectator, rests the *kálathos*, decorated with leaves and a string of jewels (?)[4]. His right hand clasps a whip, his left a bunch of corn. A collar of some sort hangs about his neck, and there are traces of two busts below it. The compartments of the sheath are filled with flowers of four and six petals each: one of these flowers is seen in profile

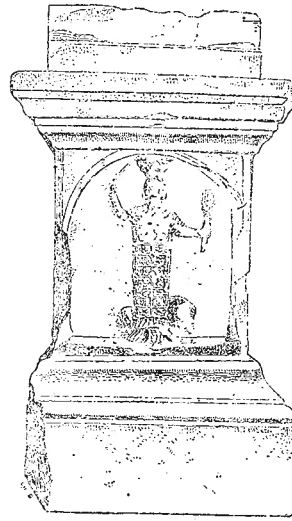


Fig. 436.

[1] Another limestone *stéle* from the same district repeats this design (S. Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* p. 454, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 348, 356, 359 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 39, 42). It is badly preserved, but retains in the left hand a fragment of the bunch of corn, and perhaps of the thunderbolt too, mentioned by Macrobius (so Dussaud *locc. citt.*: Ronzevalle saw in it a fir-cone partially sunk in an oval support).

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 3072 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4288 I. o. m. Héliopolitán. | et Nemauso | C. Iulius Tib. fil. Fab. | Tiberinus p. p., domo | Beryto, vótum solvit (*supra* p. 552 n. 2) in letters belonging to the end of the second century. Cp. the inscription on the *stéle* from Beirut (*supra* p. 567 n. 8). The dedicators of the two monuments were obviously related to one another.

[3] Height of *stéle* 0·90m. F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1876 ii. 78 ff. pl. 21 published the left-hand relief, but made serious mistakes about it, supposing that the god was bearded, that his head was in profile to the right, that he was accompanied by one lion instead of two bulls, etc. These blunders were suspected by Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* p. 444 f. and F. Studniczka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1884 viii. 61. But for the first really accurate description of the *stéle* we are indebted to R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 347, 353—355 fig. 13 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 36—38 fig. 13.

[4] Pliny in his list of precious stones includes 'Adad's kidney,' 'Adad's eye,' and

on its stalk. On the sides of the case are two thunderbolts. And to right and left of the god are the remains of his bulls.

A third *stéle*, found at *'Ain-Djouch*, a well-pool to the east of *Ba'albek* and published by O. Puchstein in 1902 (fig. 437)[1], again shows the god standing with uplifted lash between two bulls, Immediately in front of him is a herm, attesting his intimate connexion with Hermes[2]. To right and left of the monument is a bull with a winged thunderbolt above it. Adad[3], Zeus, and Iupiter could alike claim to be storm-gods.

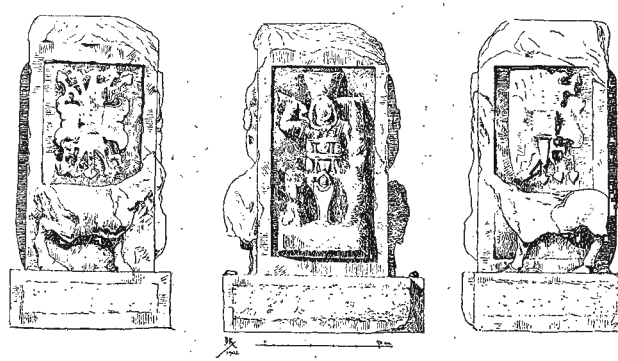


Fig. 437.

Somewhat more elaborate is a *stéle* of white marble, which came to light at Marseille in 1838 and is now in the Musée Calvet at Avignon (pl. xxxiii)[4]. Round the neck of the god is a pendant

'Adad's finger' (*nat. hist.* 37. 186 Adadu nephros sive renes, eiusdem oculus, digitus; deus et hic colitur a Syris).

[1] O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 102 f. fig., *id.*, *Führer durch die Ruinen von Ba'albek* Berlin 1905 p. 12 f. fig. 4.

[2] Several little lead figures found by the peasants in this locality likewise represent the Heliopolitan Zeus with Hermes, also Dionysos, and Helios or his Syrian counterpart (O. Puchstein in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 102).

[3] *Supra* p. 553 n. 3, *infra* p. 576 ff.

[4] Height 0·55^{m}. H. Bazin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1886 ii. 257 ff. pl. 26 published the relief as a Roman copy of Artemis *Diktynna*. P. Wolters in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1896 vi. 65 ff. fig. 14 was the first to detect in it Zeus Ἡλιοπολίτης. But R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 347, 350—353 fig. 11 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 30, 33—36 has contributed most to our understanding of its details. He points out that the neck-ornament is not composed of two dolphins (so Bondurand in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 p. 863), but of the solar disk with two *uraeus*-snakes; that the herm does not rest on the lion's head and cannot therefore be the female consort of the god (so W. Gurlitt in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1891 xiv. 123), but is rather to be identified with some such god as *Ba'al-Marqod*, 'Lord of the Dance'

Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* on a marble *stéle* from Marseille.

See page 570 ff.

composed of the solar disk with two *uraeus*-snakes. In the centre of his body-sheath appears a beardless herm wearing a *kálathos*; and below, a lion's head representing the *djinn*[1], who bore the Grecised name *Gennaîos*[2]. Of the six busts visible on either side of the herm, the upper two are Helios with a *nimbus* and Selene with a crescent, then a deity with a *kálathos* and a nude Hermes (?),

(*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4536 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 835 Βαλμαρκώθ, κοίρανε κώμων, cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 317*a*), Latinised as Iupiter *Balmarcodes* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4327 Iovi Balmarcodi, 4328 I. o. m. Balmarcodi), who is known to have been called Κύριος Γενναῖος, *Gennaeus Dominus* (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2834 f., vii. 1174, *infra* n. 2); and that the lower part of the relief closely resembles the base of a marble statuette from Byblos, now in the American College at Beirut, which shows the two bulls, the lion's head, and three busts above it (Herakles?; a goddess? with veil; a goddess?).

[1] On *djinn* > Γενναῖος see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 374 n. 4, 381 n. 2 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 57 n. 4, p. 64 n. 2, cp. *ib.* 1905 p. 85 f.

[2] There was a lion-shaped image of Γενναῖος in the temple of Zeus at Heliopolis (Damaskios *v. Isidor. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 348 b 4 f. Bekker *τὸν δὲ Γενναῖον Ἡλιουπολῖται τιμῶσιν ἐν Διὸς ἱδρυσάμενοι μορφήν τινα λέοντος. Infra* ch. ii § 10 (a)). *Ba'al-Marqod* at *Deir el-Qala'a* was entitled Κύριος Γενναῖος (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 589 [Κυ]ρίωι [Γ]ε[ν]ναίῳ Βαλ|μαρκῶδι | *τῷ καὶ* Μη|γρίν, κα[τ]ὰ | κέλευσι[ν] | *θεοῦ* Ἀ|ρεμθη|νοῦ Μάξιμος | *εὐχαριστ|ῶν ἀνέ|θηκα*) or *Gennaeus Dominus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 6673 Gen(naeo) Dom[ino] | Balmarc[odi] | C. Vinni[..]). A Palmyrene god, presumably Malakbel (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 374 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 57), is called Θεὸς Γεννέας (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 637 Θεῷ Γενν[έᾳ Πατρῴῳ Μαζαββάναι | *καὶ* Μᾶρκος *υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἀνέθηκαν* | *ἔτους ζφ', μηνὸς Δύστρου i.e.* in March 196 A.D.). At *Kefr-Nebo*, twelve or thirteen hours' ride from Aleppo, is a dedication of an oil-mill etc. to a triad of gods including one simply described as Λέων (V. Chapot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 181 ff. no. 26 Σειμίῳ *καὶ Συμβετύλῳ καὶ Λέοντι θεοῖς πατρῴοις τὸ* | ἐλαιο[τ]ρόπιον *σὺν κατασκευῇ πάσῃ κ.τ.λ.*—dated in the year 223 A.D.) and an inscription at Ny-Carlsberg of uncertain *provenance* (Leontopolis? cp. Strab. 812, Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7; or Heliopolis??) mentions the sanctuary of a god bearing the same name (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 732 Βασιλεῖ Πτολεμαίωι | *θεῶι* Ἐπιφανεῖ *καὶ* Εὐχαρί|στωι *καὶ βασιλίσσηι* Κλεο|πάτραι Ἀπολλώνιος Ἀν|τιπάτρου, γραμματεὺς | Ὀρνυμένους, *ὁ καὶ τὸ ἱ|ερὸν τοῦ Λέοντος καὶ* | *τἄλλα τὰ προσκύροντα* | *τῶι ἱερῶι ἱδρυμένος ὑ|πὲρ αὐτῶν*—to be dated after 193/2 B.C but before 187/6 B.C.).

These leonine gods were solar (R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 pp. 85 f., 91 f.), and G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 59 pl. 3, 8 has recognised as Γενναῖος the lion that appears on coins of Berytos with a radiate head under Valerian (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1514, iv. 1570, cp. 1580) and with a globe on his head under Gallienus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. xlviii f., lix, 92 pl. 11, 6 = my fig. 438). A similar significance probably attached to the lion's head with a ball, often radiate, emerging from its brow on early electrum coins struck in the time of Alyattes?, 610—561 B.C. (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 82 ff., 90 ff. pls. 1, 32—51, 2, 52—73, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. xix, 1—4 pl. 1, 1—10, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 35 ff., 50 f. pl. 2, 4—16, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 644 f.): fig. 439 is from a specimen in my collection.

Fig. 438.

Fig. 439.

lastly a helmeted figure (Ares?) and a bearded god (Herakles?). The sides of the sheath are adorned with disks.

Minor works of art repeat the type with variations[1]. The bronze statuettes in particular add Egyptising details, which recall the belief that the cult-image at Heliopolis came from Egypt[2].

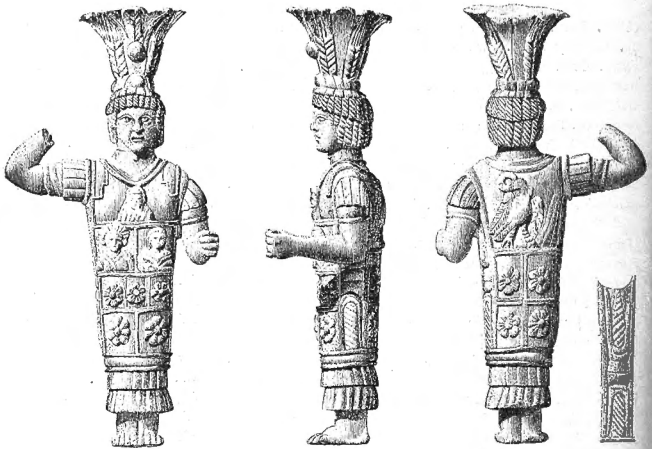


Fig. 440.

A bronze in the Joanneum at Graz (fig. 440)[3] has the *kálathos* ornamented with a globe and corn-ears. The wig and the small false beard beneath the chin[4] are decidedly Egyptian in character.

Fig. 441.

[1] For the coins (Neapolis in Samaria, Eleutheropolis and Nikopolis in Iudaea, Dion in Dekapolis) and gems see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 349, ii. 91 n. 4 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903—1905 pp. 32, 67 n. 4. Of the coins listed by him the most interesting is that of Dion figured *infra* p. 590. Among the gems note a red jasper from the Montlezun collection at Paris, published by F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1849 pl. 14 G, 5 (fig. 441: enlarged $\frac{2}{1}$), which surrounds the god's head with a radiate *nimbus*.

[2] *Supra* p. 550 n. 10 P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 ii. 399—401 'Sur l'origine égyptienne de Jupiter Héliopolitain' argues in favour of accepting Macrobius' assertion. S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 402—420 discusses the statue of an empress (?) as Isis or Isis-Tyche found at *Ba'albek*.

[3] W. Gurlitt in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1891 xiv. 120 ff., from whose article I have taken the cuts representing the front, side, and back of the statuette; Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. nos. 4, 5.

[4] R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 356 ff. fig. 15 = *id. Notes de mythologie*

The sheath is figured in front with three busts, Kronos[1] above, Helios and Selene beneath; at the back with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak. Below the busts and the eagle are rosettes

Fig. 442 *a*.

Fig. 442 *b*.

of six or seven petals apiece. And on either side of the sheath is a thunderbolt.

syrienne Paris 1903 p. 39 ff. fig. 15 raises needless doubts (P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 401).

[1] So R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 358 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 41. W. Gurlitt *loc. cit.* p. 124 had suggested *Caelus*.

A bronze from the Hamilton collection, now in the British Museum (fig. 442 *a*, *b*)[1], has again an Egyptian-looking wig, and a lotos-flower on the *kálathos*. Besides the usual busts etc. there is an eagle with spread wings on the back and a thunderbolt below each arm.

The finest examples of this type are two bronzes in the de Clercq collection at Paris, both obtained at Tortosa in 1868. One (fig. 443 *a*, *b*)[2] shows the god wearing not only an Egyptian wig but

Fig. 443 *a*.

Fig. 443 *b*.

also a rudimentary *pschent* like that often worn by Horos. Beneath his chin is a short tenon for the attachment of a false beard. The

[1] Published as 'The Ephesian Artemis' in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 183 no. 1010 pl. 27, but correctly labelled in the show-case. Cp. P. Perdrizet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 399—401 fig. 1.

[2] De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 143 ff. no. 218 pls. 35, 1, 36, 2 f., R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 127 fig. 32.

Very similar is a bronze statuette from *Kefr Djezzin* near Byblos, which formerly belonged to J. Loeytved of Beirut and is now in the Berlin collection (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1905 vi. 78—81, 118 f. pl. 1, R. Dussaud *op. cit.* p. 125 ff. fig. 31 = my fig. 444). This too has Egyptising hair, a *pschent*, a small false beard, and numerous busts. J. Rouvier detected traces of gilding upon it.

whole *coiffure* is, in fact, Egyptian. The busts etc. on the sheath are exceptionally well preserved. In front at the top are Helios (?) and Selene, the former without rays round his head, the latter with a crescent between her breasts. Next come Kronos with his bill-hook and Zeus with his sceptre (?), Ares with helmet and lance, Aphrodite with sceptre and four-rayed star. Then follows a central panel showing Hermes in his winged *pétasos*. To right and left of him is a star with eight rays; and below him are two lion-heads. The sides of the figure are occupied by a couple of large winged thunderbolts. At the back between the shoulders is an eagle with spread wings grasping another bolt. Below this, two winged snakes knotted together and supporting or surrounding the solar disk. Finally, a series of five more busts—Poseidon with a trident; Demeter veiled and

Fig. 444.

Fig. 445 *a*.

Fig. 445 *b*.

sceptred; Athena with *aigís*, helmet, and lance; Artemis with quiver; Herakles with lion-skin and club.

The second statuette is simpler (fig. 445 *a*, *b*)[1]. The beardless head wears a bay-wreath and is surmounted by a *kálathos*, on which are leaves or possibly rays in low relief. The breast has a single bust, that of a rayed Helios; the back, an eagle with spread wings holding a bolt. Beneath the arms are two wingless bolts. The rest of the sheathing is covered with disks that have a central boss. The bronze is broken off below.

It is noticeable that no bulls are figured on any of these statuettes. But it has been conjectured that bulls were originally associated with them[2]; and the conjecture is confirmed by the fact that together with each of the Tortosa figures was found a bronze bull[3].

(γ) Adad or Ramman and the Bull.

Adad was connected with the bull long before he became known throughout the Greek and Roman world as the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis. In the Babylonian and Assyrian religion Adad was also called *Ramman*[4], an epithet which, being the participle of the verb *ramánu*, 'to bellow or roar,' denotes properly 'the Bellowing or Roaring One.' Now Ramman is commonly represented on the cylinders as standing on the back of a bull (fig. 446)[5] or as planting one foot on a bull. It may,

[1] De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 145 f. no. 219 pls. 35, 2, 36, 4, R. Dussaud *op. cit.* p. 128 fig. 33.

[2] This was the view of W. Gurlitt *loc. cit.* p. 125 n. 9 and of F. Studniczka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1884 viii. 61.

[3] De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 252 f. no. 363 (found with statuette no. 218: head turned slightly to right), *id. ib.* p. 252 no. 362 (found with statuette no. 219: head turned slightly to left, and tufts of hair between the horns forming a sort of rosette).

[4] On the admitted identity of Adad and Ramman see *e.g.* A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 19 ff., R. Dussaud in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2157 ff., M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 156 f., *id. Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1905 i. 146 ff., *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 117 ff., G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 658 n. 5.

It remains, however, possible that Adad and Ramman were at first locally distinct forms of the sky-god, Adad hailing from the west-country *Amurrû* (*supra* p. 549 n. 4) and Ramman perhaps from Arabia (A. Jeremias *loc. cit.* p. 25). But?

[5] The bull is sometimes winged, as in the rock-cut relief at Maltai (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 48 fig. 5), sometimes unwinged, as on the *stéle* of Esarhaddon (680–669 B.C.) from Sinjerli in north-west Syria now at Berlin (von Luschan *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* Berlin 1893 i. 11—43 pl. 1).

I figure a cylinder of sapphirine chalcedony from the ruins of Babylon, now in the

therefore[1], fairly be inferred that Adad, otherwise styled Ramman, —the Rimmon[2] or Hadadrimmon[3] of the Old Testament,—was essentially related to the bull[4]. And, since a Susian deity obviously akin to Ramman is represented with bovine horns projecting from his head (fig. 447)[5], it is probable that Adad or Ramman himself was sometimes at least conceived as a bull[6].

But why was Adad regarded as a bull? The answer to this question depends of course upon the functions ascribed to the god. That he was a sky-god of some sort is certain. He was often associated with the great astrological triad Sin, Šamaš, and Ištar.

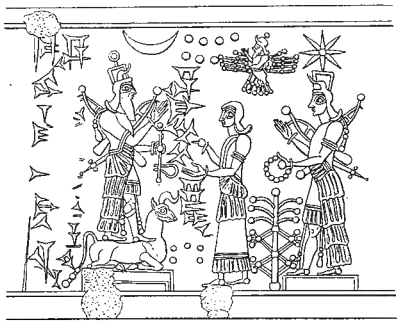


Fig. 446.

Sin was undeniably a moon-god and Šamaš a sun-god, while Ištar had come to be identified with the planet Venus. Adad—to judge from his names *Ramman*, 'the Bellower,' *Birku*, 'the Lightning,' and from his attribute the thunderbolt—was most unmistakably a storm-god. He is, however, constantly coupled with

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1849 pl. 4, 11, W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 8 fig. 6), on which Ramman has a horned head-dress and stands upon a reclining bull with Ištar before him and a worshipper between them.

[1] *Supra* p. 392.

[2] 2 Kings 5. 18.

[3] Zech. 12. 11.

[4] My friend the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns kindly tells me that the association of *Ramman* with the bull may involve a word-play, since *rimu*, 'a bull,' was popularly taken to mean 'the bellower, the roarer.'

[5] A. H. Layard *The Monuments of Nineveh* First Series London 1849 pl. 65.

[6] I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 456 ff.

Šamaš[1], and Macrobius unhesitatingly identifies him with the sun[2]. Probably, then, Adad or Ramman was a storm-god, who in process of time was associated with Šamaš and ultimately viewed as himself also a sun-god. This aspect of his nature came more and more into prominence, till in the Graeco-Roman period he was worshipped throughout the Mediterranean fringe as the solar Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis. These two conceptions of storm-god and sun-god, which to our way of thinking seem so diametrically opposed, are

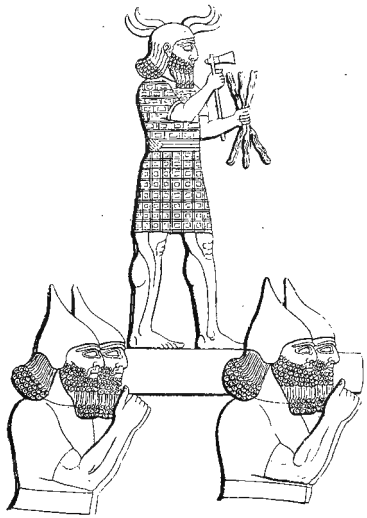


Fig. 447.

in point of fact by no means incompatible[3]. 'In many mythologies,' says Dr Jastrow, 'the sun and lightning are regarded as correlated forces. At all events, the frequent association of Shamash and

[1] M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 157 f., *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1905 i. 137, 148, *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 83.

[2] *Supra* p. 552 f. It is noticeable that Delian inscriptions associate Helios (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 501 no. 24, 3) as well as Zeus Ἀδαδος (*supra* p. 549 f.) with Atargatis.

[3] *Supra* pp. 196 n. 6, 313 n. 8. Empedokles held that lightning consisted of sun-rays caught in the clouds (Aristot. *meteor.* 2. 9. 369 b 12 f.): see E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 158 n. 4, O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 621 f.

Ramman cannot have been accidental. This double nature of Ramman—as a solar deity representing some particular phase of the sun that escapes us and as a storm-god—still peers through the inscription...from the Cassite period where Ramman is called "the lord of justice,"—an attribute peculiar to the sun-god; but in Assyria his rôle as the thunder- and storm-god overshadows any other attributes that he may have had[1].' Such being the character of Adad or Ramman, it may be conjectured that the bull was considered a fitting vehicle for him, partly perhaps because its bellowing resembled the sound of thunder, but mainly because its generative powers recalled the fertilising effects of rain and sun.

Nor is this conjecture wholly unsupported by evidence. 'Ramman,' according to G. Maspero, 'embraced within him the elements of many very ancient genii, all of whom had been set over the atmosphere, and the phenomena which are daily displayed in it—wind, rain, and thunder. These genii...are usually represented as enormous birds flocking on their swift wings from below the horizon, and breathing flame or torrents of water upon the countries over which they hovered. The most terrible of them was Zu, who presided over tempests: he gathered the clouds together, causing them to burst in torrents of rain or hail; he let loose the winds and lightnings, and nothing remained standing where he had passed....Zu had as son a vigorous bull, which, pasturing in the meadows, scattered abundance and fertility around him[2].' Monsieur Maspero is here paraphrasing a Babylonian litany, which prescribes certain rites to be performed with an actual bull taken to represent a divine bull 'child of the god Zû[3].' This divine bull is described in the text as follows: 'The great bull, the noble bull that wanders over shining pasture-ground has come to the fields bringing abundance. O planter of the corn, who dost bless the land with richest plenty, my pure hands have made their offering before thee[4].' Prof. Jensen connects this bull with the constellation Taurus[5]. But in any case it is invoked as a bringer of fertility.

The same group of ideas—storm-god, sun-god, fertilising bull—

[1] M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 160, *id. Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1905 i. 150.

[2] G. Maspero *op. cit.* p. 658 f.

[3] E. T. Harper 'Die babylonischen Legenden von Etana, Zu, Adapa und Dibbarra' in the *Beiträge zur Assyriologie* Leipzig 1894 ii. 416 f. See also A. Jeremias *Die babylonisch-assyrischen Vorstellungen vom Leben nach dem Tode* Leipzig 1897 p. 73 f, P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 91 ff. The text is IV R 23 no. 1.

[4] E. T. Harper *loc. cit.* p. 417.

[5] P. Jensen *op. cit.* p. 93.

gathers about another Mesopotamian deity. En-lil[1] or Ellil, the Sumerian god of Nippur, bore a name which meant 'Lord of the Storm.' He was also addressed as the 'Great Mountain.' His temple at Nippur was known as E-Kur, the 'Mountain-House'—a term which became the general name for a sanctuary. And his consort Nin-lil, 'Lady of the Storm,' was described as Nin-khar-sag, 'Lady of the High Mountain.' Hence it has been inferred that he came into the Euphrates valley from the mountainous region lying to the east or north-east (Elam). On entering the fertile plain, where agriculture owed so much to the sweeping rain-storm, he readily acquired the character of a god who fostered vegetation:

> O Enlil, Councillor, who can grasp thy power?
> Endowed with strength, lord of the harvest lands!
> Created in the mountains, lord of the grain fields!
> Ruler of great strength, father Enlil!
> The powerful chief of the gods art thou,
> The great creator and sustainer of life[2]!

Ninib, the ancient sun-god of Nippur, was affiliated to En-lil, and the two exercised a reciprocal influence over each other. Thus Ninib took on the traits of the storm-god, and En-lil became solar. In this double capacity En-lil was conceived as a mighty ox or bull with glittering horns. 'An entire series of hymns and lamentations,' writes Dr Jastrow[3], 'is recognised as addressed to Enlil from the opening words "the Bull to his sanctuary," where the bull designates Enlil[4]. In a fragment of a hymn, Enlil is described as

> Crouching in the lands like a sturdy mountain bull,
> Whose horns shine like the brilliance of the sun,
> Full of splendour like Venus of the heavens[5].

In another composition the refrain reads, "A sturdy bull art thou." When we see votive offerings with the figure of a bull, or representations of a crouching bull with a human face[6], we are tempted to assert that they are symbols of Enlil; and if this be so, further

[1] On En-lil see M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 52 ff., *id. Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1905 i. 52 ff., and especially *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 pp. 18 ff., 67 ff. (after A. T. Clay 'Ellil, the god of Nippur' in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* xxiii. 269—279).

[2] *Cuneiform Texts* xv pl. 11 trans. M. Jastrow.

[3] M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 74 f.

[4] Langdon *Sumerian and Babylonian Psalms* no. 10, cp. pp. 85, 127, 277, etc.

[5] H. C. Rawlinson *A Selection from the Miscellaneous Inscriptions of Western Asia* London 1891 iv[2] pl. 27, no. 2, Langdon *op. cit.* no. 18.

[6] See L. Heuzey *Catalogue des Antiquités Chaldéennes* p. 269.

traces of the association between the god and the animal may be seen both in the colossal bulls which form a feature of Assyrian art and were placed at the entrance to temples and palaces, and in the bull as the decoration of columns in the architecture of the Persian period[1].'

With the bulls of En-lil Dr Jastrow further compares the golden calf made by Aaron at the foot of Mount Sinai[2] and the golden calves set up at Bethel and at Dan by Jeroboam[3]. The use of gold for these images was perhaps symbolic of the fiery deity whom they represented[4]. A magnificent thunderbolt of wood thickly overlaid with pure gold, and manifestly broken off from a cult-statue of Adad, has been found near his temple at Ashur[5]. And on the Berlin bronze of the Heliopolitan god[6] J. Rouvier detected traces of gilding[7].

The foregoing facts may serve to throw light on a dark passage in the magical papyrus at Paris:

'Zeus went up into the mountain with a golden calf and a silver knife. To all he gave a share. To Amara alone he gave none, but said: "Let go that which thou hast, and then thou shalt receive—*psinother nopsither thernopsi*[8]."'

A. Dieterich[9] supposed that this ascent of the mountain was a ceremony in the cult of Zeus *Panámaros*[10], whose consort might have borne the uncompounded name *Amára*. E. Riess[11] suggests that Amara was an otherwise unknown Egyptian deity[12]. I would rather infer from the mention of the golden calf and the mountain

[1] *E.g.* Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ii. 280 f., 334 ff.; v. 486 ff.

[2] Ex. 32. 1 ff.

[3] 1 Kings 12. 28 ff. See further the learned dissertation of S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1793 i. 339—375 ('De aureis Aaronis et Ieroboami Vitulis').

[4] Cf. *infra* ch. i § 6 (g) xx (*θ*), ch. ii § 3 (c) iii, ch. ii § 3 (c) iv (*ε*).

[5] W. Andrae *Der Anu-Adad-Tempel in Assur* Leipzig 1909 p. 77 f. pl. 34.

[6] *Supra* p. 574 n. 2.

[7] R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 125.

[8] C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 41 pap. Par. 825 ff. *ἀνέβη Ζεὺς εἰς ἔρος (=ὄρος) χρυσοῦν μόσχον ἔχων | καὶ μάχαιραν ἀργυρέαν· πᾶσιν μέρος ἐπέδωκεν· Ἀμάρᾳ μόνου οὐκ ἔδωκεν, εἶπεν | δὲ "ἐξάφες ὃ ἔχεις, καὶ τότε λήψει ψινωθερ | νοψιθερ θερνωψι."* The cabalistic *formula* with which this extract ends is found again in the Gnostic *Pistis Sophia* p. 375 Schwartze *ψινωθερ θερωψιν ωψιθερ* spoken by Jesus to His Father (F. Granger in the *Class. Rev.* 1912 xxvi. 191).

[9] A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 20 f., 220 f., *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 501.

[10] *Supra* p. 21.

[11] E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1726.

[12] *Id. ib.* cites *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4908 (Philai) Ἀμαρίων | μῖμος. For a gilded cow in an Egyptian rite see Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 39 *οἱ ἱερεῖς ἄλλα τε ὀρῶσι σκυθρωπὰ καὶ βοῦν διάχρυσον ἱματίῳ μέλανι βυσσίνῳ περιβάλλοντες ἐπὶ πένθει τῆς θεοῦ δεικνύουσι (βοῦν γὰρ Ἶσιδος εἰκόνα καὶ γῆν νομίζουσιν) ἐπὶ τέτταρας ἡμέρας ἀπὸ τῆς ἐβδόμης ἐπὶ δέκα ἐξῆς.*

that we have here to do with a Grecised form of Adad, god of the Amorites. It may even be that the mysterious Amara was their mountain-goddess[1].

(δ) Zeus (Adad) and Hera (Atargatis) at Hierapolis.

From Heliopolis in Koile Syria we pass northwards to Hierapolis in Kyrrhestike. This was an ancient Syrian town, originally called Mabog[2], but better known as Bambyke. Its name was changed to Hierapolis by Seleukos Nikator, the founder of the Syrian dynasty[3]. The town was celebrated for its cult of the Syrian goddess Atargatis[4] or Derketo[5], whom the Greeks identified with Rhea[6] or Aphrodite[7] or the Assyrian Hera[8].

A valuable account of her temple and cult is given by the pseudo-Lucian in an Ionic treatise *On the Syrian goddess*. The temple stood on a hill in the middle of the town, surrounded by two walls, one old, one recent. The *Propýlaia*, or gateways of the precinct, faced the north and were some two hundred yards in length[9]. The temple itself was an Ionic building raised twelve feet above the ground and so turned as to look towards the sunrise. The golden doors of its *prónaos* gave access to a *naós* gilded throughout and fragrant with the perfumes of Arabia. Within this nave a short flight of steps led up to a *thálamos* or inner chamber, which was not closed by doors but visible to all, though only certain priests might enter it[10]. Our author describes its contents in detail[11]:

'Here are seated the cult-statues, to wit Hera and Zeus, whom they call by a different name. Both are of gold, and both are seated; but Hera is carried

[1] Mr S. A. Cook, Fellow of Gonville and Caius College, Cambridge, and Lecturer in Hebrew and Syriac, in a letter to me dated Nov. 21, 1911, hit upon the same solution, but only to reject it: 'Then the idea of the mountain-god suggested the Amurru, lord of the mountain, who is a storm- and thunder-god of the Ramman type. But his wife would be Ashirta, an Astarte figure, and it is a wild guess that a feminine of Amurru has been artificially formed here!'

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 81. [3] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 2. [4] Strab. 748.

[5] Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 14, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 81. *Derketo* is the Syrian *Tar'ata*, an abbreviation of *Atargatis*, the Syrian *'Atar'ata* (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 240).

[6] Loukian. *op. cit.* 15, cp. 32, Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 11 ff. Lang.

[7] Plout. *v. Crass.* 17, *supra* p. 550.

[8] Loukian. *op. cit.* 1. The author of the *de dea Syria* throughout speaks of the goddess as Hera. Cp. Plout. *v. Crass.* 17.

[9] Loukian. *ib.* 28 *μέγαθος ὅσον τε ἑκατὸν ὀργυιέων*. Presumably *μέγαθος* here means *μῆκος*, though the editors of Lucian take it to mean *ὕψος*, and certainly *ib.* 30 it bears the latter sense.

[10] Cp. the internal arrangement of the temple of Dionysos at *Ba'albek* (*supra* p. 564).

[11] Loukian. *ib.* 31 ff.

by lions, while her partner is sitting upon bulls. Indeed, the statue of Zeus looks like Zeus in every respect, head, clothing, and throne: you could not, even perversely, compare him to another. But Hera, when you come to look at her, will be found to exhibit a variety of forms. The general effect is certainly that of Hera; but she has borrowed particular traits from a variety of goddesses —Athena, Aphrodite, Selene, Rhea, Artemis, Nemesis, and the Moirai. In one hand she holds a sceptre, in the other a spindle; on her head she wears rays and a tower; and < she has too >[1] a decorated band (*kestós*), with which they adorn none save the goddess of Heaven. Without she is covered with more gold and precious stones of very great value, some of which are white, others watery, many the colour of wine, many the colour of fire. Besides, there are many sardonyxes, jacinths, and emeralds[2], brought by men of Egypt, India, Aithiopia, Media, Armenia, and Babylonia. But a point more worthy of attention is this: on her head she wears a stone called *lychnís*, which derives its name (the "lamp"-stone) from its nature[3]. By night there shines from it a broad beam of light, and beneath it the whole nave is lit up as it were with lamps. By day its radiance is feeble, but it has a very fiery appearance. There is another remarkable thing about this image (*xóanon*): if you stand opposite and look at it, it looks at you; as you shift your ground, its look follows you; and, if another looks at it from a different position, it has the same effect upon him as well. Between these two figures stands another golden image (*xóanon*) in no way resembling the rest. It has no shape of its own, but bears the forms of the other deities. The Assyrians themselves call it a sign: they have given it no special name, indeed they do not even speak of its origin and form. Some ascribe it to Dionysos, others to Deukalion, others again to Semiramis; for on the top of it there is perched a golden dove, on account of which they say that it is the sign of Semiramis[4].

[1] Loukian. *ib.* 32 *καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ ἀκτῖνάς τε φορέει καὶ πύργον, καὶ <ἔχει καὶ> κεστὸν τῷ μούνῃ τὴν Οὐρανίην κοσμέουσι.* So I would restore the passage, which, as printed by Dindorf and others, would imply that she wore the *kestós* on her head.

[2] Not, of course, the true emerald, which is found only in America, but the green quartz known as the peridot or false emerald (E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1467 f., *supra* p. 357 n. 2).

[3] On this stone see further E. Babelon *loc. cit.* p. 1465. It was found in the Indian river Hydaspes to the sound of flutes while the moon was waxing (Plout. *de flum.* 1. 2). The chalcedony, which resembled it, came from the land of the Libyan Nasamones, where it was said to spring from a divine shower and was found by the reflected light of the full moon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 104, Isid. *orig.* 16. 14. 5, cp. Strab. 830, 835).

[4] The story of the mythical, as distinct from the historical, Semiramis is first found in Ktesias:—Near Askalon was a large lake full of fish, by the side of which Derketo had a precinct. She was represented with the face of a woman and the body of a fish. The tale told to explain her double form was as follows. She had fallen in love with a handsome Syrian youth who sacrificed to her. She bore him a daughter, and then, out of shame, made away with her lover, exposed the child in a rocky desert, and flung herself into the lake. The babe, nurtured by doves on milk and cheese, was discovered by the herdsmen and brought up by Simmas, a man set over the royal herds, who called her *Semiramis* after the Syrian word for 'doves' (Ktesias *ap.* Diod. 2. 4, Tzetz. *chil.* 9. 502 ff., Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 30 p. 40 Schwartz, Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 14, Hesych. *s.v.* Σεμίραμις). At the close of her life Semiramis changed herself into a dove and flew off with a number of other birds (Ktesias *ap.* Diod. 2. 20, Loukian. *loc. cit.*, Ov. *met.* 4. 47 f., *supra* p. 367). Both accounts add that the Syrians or Assyrians pay divine honours to doves (cp. Xen. *an.* 1. 4. 9, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 9 p. 30, 11 ff. Stählin,

Twice every year it journeys to the sea to get the water that I mentioned[1].'

It appears, then, that the *thálamos* at Hierapolis contained a statue of Atargatis carried by lions[2], a statue of her partner (resembling Zeus) seated on bulls[3], and between them an aniconic 'sign' surmounted by a dove[4]. It can hardly be doubted that here, as at Heliopolis[5], the partner of Atargatis was Adad identified with Zeus. The similarity of the two cult-centres, which may well presuppose—as J. Garstang holds—a common Hittite nucleus[6], comes out clearly in connexion with their oracular practices. The

Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 11 ff. Lang, Philon *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 8. 14. 64 with Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 804, Tib. 1. 7. 17 f.).

A related myth is the following. Certain fish found a great egg in the river Euphrates. They rolled it ashore. A dove, or doves, sat on it and hatched out Venus the Syrian goddess. She besought Iupiter to put the fish among the signs of the zodiac. And the Syrians still abstain from eating these fish, and regard doves as divine (Nigidius *ap.* schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 402, 12 ff. Eyssenhardt, Hyg. *fab.* 197, Ampel. 2. 12). The fish in question were really Venus and Cupido, who, scared by the sudden appearance of Typho, had flung themselves into the Euphrates and taken the form of fish (Diognetos of Erythrai *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 30, cp. Myth. Vat. 1. 86).

According to R. Azarias *Meor Enajim* 21 and R. David Ganz *Chronologia* ann. 1958, Semiramis and all the kings of Assyria had the dove as their military standard—a doubtful assertion (S. Bochart *Hierozoïcon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 528—533).

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 694 conjectures that doves were associated with Semiramis for two reasons. On the one hand, Semiramis was assimilated to Ištar, and the dove was sacred to that goddess. On the other hand, the Assyrian word for dove (*Summatu*) was not very unlike the Assyrian name of Semiramis (*Šammuramat*).

[1] This refers to a myth and a rite described by the pseudo-Lucian *ib.* 12 f. Beneath the temple at Hierapolis was a small hole, through which the flood had run off. Hence Deukalion built altars and a temple of Hera over it, and introduced a custom kept up in memory of the event. Twice a year water was brought from the sea by the priests and a multitude of people from Syria, Arabia, and the region beyond the Euphrates. The water was poured out in the temple and ran off through the small hole beneath it. See further *infra* p. 591 n. 3.

[2] Imperial bronze coins of Hierapolis show Atargatis in three attitudes: (1) wearing a turreted head-dress, *chitôn*, and *péplos*; holding two ears of corn in her left hand, a *tympanum* in her right; and seated on a throne with a lion couching at either side of it (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 144 pl. 17, 14): (2) in the same pose, but holding a *tympanum* in her left hand and resting her right elbow on the throne (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 145 pl. 17, 17, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 138 f. pl. 71, 22, cp. *ib.* iii. 139 pl. 71, 24): (3) with turreted head-dress, *chitôn*, and *péplos*, holding a sceptre in her right hand, a *tympanum* in her left, and seated on the back of a lion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 144 pl. 17, 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 139 pl. 71, 25, cp. *ib.* iii. 140). Cp. J. Garstang *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 20 ff. with Frontisp. figs. 1—8.

[3] S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 i. 31 argues that we must not press the text of Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 31 ἄμφω ἕζονται· ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Ἥρην λέοντες φορέουσι, ὁ δὲ ταύροισι ἐπέζηται to mean that Zeus and Hera were literally seated on their sacred beasts: rather they were flanked by them. So also R. Dussaud *ib.* 1904 ii. 242 n. 1 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 98 n. 1.

[4] Cp. *infra* p. 586 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 553.

[6] This is the thesis of J. Garstang *op. cit.* pp. viii, 11 f., 17 n. 49, 27, 70 n. 48.

pseudo-Lucian, having described the statues of the inner shrine, goes on to say that in the main body of the temple, on the left hand side, there was set a vacant throne of the Sun and next to it a clothed and bearded image (*xóanon*) of Apollon. *À propos* of this last divinity he continues[1]:

'When he is minded to deliver an oracle, he first stirs in his seat, and the priests at once lift him up. If they do not, he sweats and stirs again more decidedly. When they stoop and carry him, he drives them on, whirling them round in every direction and leaping from one to another. At last the chief-priest meets him and asks him questions concerning all things. He, if he refuses to do aught, retreats backwards, if he approves of aught, drives his bearers forwards like a charioteer. So they gather their oracles and do nothing either of religious or of private import without him.'

This image of Apollon in the nave must be carefully distinguished from the image of Zeus seated on bulls in the inner place. Macrobius[2] describes the former in terms that preclude identification with the latter:

'The natives of Hieropolis, Assyrians by race, comprise all the powers and virtues of the sun under the form of a single bearded image, which they call Apollo. His face is represented as having a pointed beard; and a basket (*calathus*) projects above his head. His image is adorned with a breast-plate. The right hand holds erect a spear, and on it stands a small statuette of Victory. The left stretches out a flower. A Gorgon-headed *aegis* fringed with snakes passes over his shoulders and clothes his shoulder-blades. The eagles beside him look as if they were flying. Before his feet is a female form, to right and left of which are statues of women: these are surrounded by the twisted coil of a snake. The beard below his chin signifies that rays are shot downwards on to the earth. The golden basket rising aloft indicates the apex of the upper air, from which the sun is supposed to derive its substance. The representation of a spear and a breast-plate adds a resemblance to Mars, whom I shall subsequently prove to be one with the sun. The Victory testifies that all things are subject to the power of this luminary. The flower bears witness to the bloom of those things that are sown, generated, cherished, nurtured, and matured by the said deity. The female form stands for the earth, on which the sun is shining from above: the other two statues of women enclosed in their circle signify matter and nature regarded as fellow-servants. The snake shows the sinuous course of the luminary. The eagles, whose swift flight is high over all else, point to the altitude of the sun. A Gorgon-vest is added because Minerva, whom tradition takes to be the rightful owner of this garb, is the virtue of the sun. Porphyrius too asserts that Minerva is the sun's virtue, which furnishes the minds of men with wisdom. Indeed that is why this goddess is said to have sprung from the head of Iupiter, in other words, to have arisen in the topmost portion of the upper air, where the sun originated.'

But, though we cannot equate the male statue of the inner sanctum with that of the nave, it is possible that after all they were effigies of the same god. When the pseudo-Lucian, who identified the inner statue with Zeus, says that 'you could not, even

[1] Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 36, cp. *ib.* 10.

[2] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 17. 66 ff.

perversely, compare him to another[1],' he is perhaps combating the opinion of some one who identified him as a solar power with Apollon[2]. And, when Macrobius describes the statue that he terms Apollo, it must be admitted that the details (the *kálathos*, the Victory, the *aigís*, the eagles) are suggestive rather of Zeus. Besides, the mode of divination attributed by the pseudo-Lucian to this Apollon appears to be identical with that attributed by Macrobius to the Zeus of Heliopolis[3].

Fig. 448.

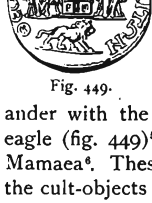


Fig. 449.

But, whatever may be thought of the statue that both the pseudo-Lucian and Macrobius call Apollon, it seems clear enough that the principal deities at Hierapolis were Atargatis (Hera) and Adad (Zeus) with the 'sign' surmounted by a dove between them. This arrangement is confirmed by the coin-types of Hierapolis. A silver coin of Caracalla shows a god with *kálathos* and sceptre seated on or between two bulls and a goddess with the same attributes and a spindle (?) seated on or between two lions. The two deities are grouped on either side of a small gabled structure, in which is an object resembling a military standard and on which rests a dove (?). Beneath all is an eagle (fig. 448)[4]. The same design occurs on a bronze coin of Severus Alexander with the legend 'gods of Syria' and a lion in place of the eagle (fig. 449)[5], a variation repeated on a bronze coin of Iulia Mamaea[6]. These remarkable coins represent, unless I am mistaken, the cult-objects of the inner sanctuary at Hierapolis. We see before us not only Atargatis with her lions and her partner with his bulls, but also between them the mysterious 'sign' described by the

[1] *Supra* p. 583.

[2] On coins of Tarsos from Hadrian to Gallienus appears a cult-image of Apollon holding two wolves by the fore-legs and standing on an *omphalós*, which is sometimes flanked by two recumbent bulls (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 171—174 pl. 13, 4–7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 202, p. 203 pl. 36, 4, p. 208, p. 224, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 551 pl. 60, 15, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 733)—a trait that he has in common with the Zeus of Heliopolis and the Zeus of Hierapolis.

[3] *Supra* p. 552.

[4] J. Pellerin *Mélange de diverses médailles pour servir de supplément aux recueils des médailles de rois et de villes, qui ont été imprimés en 1762 et 1763* Paris 1765 i. 189 pl. 8, 12, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 296, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 759 no. 772.

[5] F. Neumann *Populorum et regum nummi veteres inediti* Vienna 1783 ii. 74 ff. pl. 3, 2, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 284 ff., Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 759 nos. 773 f. pl. 14, 7, J. Garstang *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 pp. 22 ff., 70 f. Frontisp. fig. 1 and p. 70 fig. 7.

[6] Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 759 f. no. 775.

pseudo-Lucian. We can now for the first time realise how accurate and trustworthy his description is. 'It has no shape of its own, but bears the forms of the other deities[1].' This sceptre or standard is neither anthropomorphic nor theriomorphic, but the four medallions, if such they are, that are hung upon it may well have borne the effigies of the temple-deities. Again, 'on the top of it there is perched a golden dove[2].' The word used here for the 'top' (*koryphé*) is the word applied in late Greek to the apex of a triangle[3]. Hence the coin, which shows a bird sitting on the pediment of the *aedicula*, aptly illustrates the text. On the whole it seems probable that a royal sceptre or standard, enclosed in a shrine of its own, was the central object of worship[4]. In which connexion it must be observed that a series of silver coins, bearing in Aramaic letters the name *Abd-Hadad* and representations of Atargatis, has been ascribed to a sacerdotal dynasty at Hierapolis *c.* 332 B.C.[5]. This attribution squares with my contention that Atargatis at Hierapolis was associated with Adad, and that the sceptre or standard of a divine king figured prominently in the same cult. A further allusion to the cult may be detected in two small bronze coins of the town, which exhibit respectively a humped bull with a crescent above it[6] and a lion in a laurel-wreath inscribed 'of the Syrian goddess[7].'

In Roman times her temple was plundered by Crassus, who spent many days making an inventory of its treasures 'with scales and balances[8].' But with regard to the decline and fall of the cult no details are on record.

The old name of the town, Mabog or Mambog[9], which had

[1] *Supra* p. 583. The exact words are: τὸ δὲ μορφὴν μὲν ἰδίην οὐκ ἔχει, φορέει δὲ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν εἴδεα. [2] *Supra* p. 583: ἐπὶ τῇ κορυφῇ αὐτοῦ περιστερὴ χρυσέη ἐπέστηκε.

[3] *E.g.* Polyb. 1. 42. 3, 2. 14. 8.

[4] See now J. Garstang *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 pp. 23 ff., 73 n. 45, who cj. that this cult-object was originally a pillar-altar with a pigeon or dove upon it (like those represented in the Hittite sculptures of Fraktin and Yarre: *ib.* fig. 4, *id. The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 150 pl. 47; J. W. Crowfoot in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 40 ff. fig. 4), later conventionalised into a Roman standard in an *aedicula* (σημεῖον = *signum*, as Prof. R. C. Bosanquet suggested).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. liii.

[6] *Ib.* pp. liv, 138 pl. 17, 8 (struck in the time of Antoninus Pius).

[7] *Ib.* pp. liv, 142 pl. 17, 11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 138, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 138 pl. 17, 7 (a silver coin of Hierapolis *c.* 331 B.C. inscribed in Aramaic letters with the name of Alexander: the reverse type is a lion walking towards a bird perched on a flower).

[8] Plout. *v. Crass.* 17.

[9] V. W. Yorke in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 316 no. 22 publishes an inscription found by him at Perre (*Perrin*), which speaks of a certain Μαμ|βογέω. He suggests that Mabug or Mambug became in Greek Βαμβύκη. D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 196 likewise posits Mambog as the original form.

doubtless always been current among the native Syrians, reasserted itself in post-classical days[1], and the place is still called Mumbij[2]. Its ruins were discovered in 1699 by the Rev. H. Maundrell, who writes as follows of 'Bambych[3]':

'This place has no remnants of its ancient greatness but its walls, which may be traced all round, and cannot be less than three miles in compass. Several fragments of them remain on the east side, especially at the east gate; and another piece of eighty yards long, with towers of large square stone extremely well built. On the north side I found a stone with the busts of a man and woman, large as the life; and, under, two eagles carved on it. Not far from it, on the side of a large well, was fixed a stone with three figures carved on it, in basso relievo. They were two syrens, which, twining their fishy tails together, made a seat, on which was placed, sitting, a naked woman, her arms and the syrens' on each side mutually entwined. On the west side is a deep pit of about one hundred yards diameter. It was low, and had no water in it, and seemed to have had great buildings all round it, with the pillars and ruins of which it is now in part filled up, but not so much but that there was still water in it. Here are a multitude of subterraneous aqueducts brought to this city, the people attested no fewer than fifty. You can ride nowhere about the city without seeing them.'

R. Pococke in 1745 gives a more detailed account of his visit to 'Bambouch[4].' After describing the walls, gates, water-channel, etc. he continues:

'At the west part of the town there is a dry bason, which seemed to have been triangular; it is close to the town wall: At one corner of it there is a ruined building, which seems to have extended into the bason, and probably was designed in order to behold with greater conveniency some religious ceremonies or public sports. This may be the lake where they had sacred fishes that were tame. About two hundred paces within the east gate there is a raised ground, on which probably stood the temple of the Syrian goddess Atargatis.... I conjectured it to be about two hundred feet in front. It is probable that this is the high ground from which they threw people headlong in their religious ceremonies, and sometimes even their own children, though they must inevitably perish. I observed a low wall running from it to the gate, so that probably it had such a grand avenue as the temple at Gerrhæ; and the enclosure of the city is irregular in this part, as if some ground had been taken in after the building of the walls to make that grand entrance; it is probable that all the space north of the temple belonged to it. A court is mentioned to the north of the temple, and a tower likewise before the temple, which was built on a terrace twelve feet high. If this tower was on the high ground I mentioned, the temple must have been west of it, of which I could see no remains; it possibly might

[1] The mediaeval variants are collected by E. B. James in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 1064.

[2] D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* p. 183 ff.

[3] *Early Travels in Palestine* ed. by T. Wright London 1848 p. 507.

[4] R. Pococke *A Description of the East, and Some other Countries* London 1745 ii. 1. 166 f. He notes 'that Hierapolis in Asia minor has much the same name, being called Pambouk Calasi [The cotton castle].' See further D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* p. 196.

have been where there are now some ruins of a large building, which seems to have been a church with a tower; to the west of which there are some ruinous arches, which might be part of a portico.'

In 1850 Lieut.-Col. Chesney[1] included 'Munbedj or Bambuche' in the report of his great expedition: within the city he noticed—

'four large cisterns, a fine sarcophagus, and, among other ancient remains, the scattered ruins of an acropolis, and those of two temples. Of the smaller, the enclosure and portions of seven columns remain; but it seems to possess little interest, compared with the larger, which may have been that of...the Syrian Atargatis....Amongst the remains of the latter are some fragments of massive architecture, not unlike the Egyptian, and 11 arches form one side of a square paved court, over which are scattered the shafts of columns and capitals displaying the lotus.'

Nowadays even these scanty relics of the great temple have disappeared. Dr D. G. Hogarth and Mr R. Norton in 1908 were unable to locate it. Dr Hogarth says[2]:

'As a result of the Circassian occupation almost all the standing remains of antiquity, noticed by travellers from Maundrell to Chesney, have disappeared. I failed to find any traces of the Theatre, the Stadium, or the two Temples. Indeed the only obvious pre-Islamic structures *in situ* are firstly, the walls of the outer *enceinte*, evidently of late construction, to judge by tombstones used therein and lately extracted by the Circassians...: these walls are banked up with silt and overgrown with grass. Secondly, scanty remains of a stepped quay-wall or revetment, with water-stairs at intervals, which surrounds a large pool, some three acres in area, in the centre of the western half of the site[3]....These remains extend all along the western bank and are visible also on the southern, but are obliterated elsewhere. The pool is said to be perennial and of some depth in the centre, and it can hardly be other than the [sacred lake mentioned by the pseudo-Lucian]. I cannot say if its depth be really above 200 cubits, as the treatise alleges; but the altar in the middle, to which the votaries used to swim, has disappeared....Just before the [modern town] is reached, the ground rises abruptly to a plateau, and probably here was an inner wall, making a smaller and earlier *enceinte* round the great Temple and its immediate precinct. The position of the Temple may have been more or less where the large mosque, built about thirty years ago, now stands; but no confirmatory indications are visible. The whole eastern half of the site right up to the eastern wall, which has been greatly quarried of late, is occupied by the houses, courtyards, and gardens of modern Mumbij. In the east centre the ground rises to a low hill on which some of the better Circassian houses are built. If this were not the site of the Temple, it was probably an Acropolis. It is not quite so near the Sacred Lake as the mosque site[4].'

[1] Lieut.-Colonel Chesney *The Expedition for the Survey of the Rivers Euphrates and Tigris* London 1850 i. 420 f.

[2] D. G. Hogarth *loc. cit.* pp. 187, 189.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 188 fig. 1.

[4] Dr Hogarth notes further a much defaced limestone lion near the south-east angle of the wall (*ib.* p. 188 fig. 2); four terra-cotta heads of a goddess who, to judge from the most complete specimen, was represented as clasping her breasts (*ib.* p. 190 fig. 3); sixteen inscriptions; etc.

(ε) Zeus (Adad) at Dion, Rhosos, etc.

Heliopolis and Hierapolis were not the only towns in which the Syrian Zeus was worshipped as a bull-god[1]. To Dion, near Pella in Koile Syria, belongs a copper coin of Geta, showing a god who stands erect with a couple of humped bulls recumbent at his feet. He wears a *chitón* and a *himátion*. On his head, which is horned, is a *kálathos*. His right hand grasps a sceptre tipped by an eagle: on his left rests a Victory holding a wreath (fig. 450)[2]. A copper of Rhosos on the Gulf of Issos likewise represents a horned deity, who stands on a base between two reclining bulls: from his head rises a *crux ansata*; his right hand grasps a thunderbolt, his left an ear of corn (?); and on either side of him are the caps of the *Dióskouroi* (fig. 451)[3]. Gabala, a Syrian coast-town between Laodikeia and Paltos, worshipped a similar deity[4]. And a unique

Fig. 450.

Fig. 451.

Fig. 452.

silver tetradrachm of Antiochos xii, now in the Dresden cabinet, attests the same cult. It has for a reverse type a bearded god standing on a base of two steps between a couple of recumbent bulls. He wears a pointed head-dress, a long *chitón* with a broad knotted belt, and a *himátion* buckled round his neck. Both hands are extended, and the left holds a two-leaved ear of corn (fig. 452)[5].

[1] The deity represented on coins of Neapolis in Samaria (F. de Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 250 f. nos. 5—7 and perhaps p. 255 f. nos. 1—3, F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1837 pl. 3 B, 3 and 4), Eleutheropolis (*id. ib.* p. 243 no. 2) and Nikopolis in Iudaea (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1901 p. 13 f.) is the Zeus of Heliopolis (*supra* p. 572 n. 1).

[2] F. de Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 383 pl. 19, 9 ΔΕΙΗΝ|ΩΝ | ΣΕΗ (in the year 268 of the Pompeian era = 204 A.D.), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxxxv, 303 pl. 38, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 787.

[3] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 440 no. 8, *Choix de monn. gr.*[1,2] pl. 7, 223, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 782.

[4] F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 170 n. 9, citing A. L. Millin *Nouv. gall. myth.* p. 89 pl. 14 no. 16 and F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus* Paris 1837 pl. 5, 5 (where, however, the bulls appear as horses).

[5] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 437 no. 121 pl. H, 15, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. clxxiii fig. 39, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1890 x. 327 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 772.

(ζ) Characteristics of the Syrian Zeus (Adad).

As at Heliopolis[1], so at Hierapolis and elsewhere the bulls associated with Adad (Zeus) marked him as a god of thunder and fertility. The Rhosian coin, which represents him with a thunderbolt and a *crux ansata*, indicates both aspects of his being. At Hierapolis the latter was the more prominent, to judge from the local myth[2] and ritual[3]. He was here a fitting partner of Atargatis (Hera), a

[1] *Supra* p. 576 ff.

[2] According to Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 17 ff., the temple at Hierapolis was rebuilt by Stratonike [the second wife of Seleukos i Nikator], who was afterwards married to her step-son [Antiochos i Soter]. Stratonike was bidden by Hera in a dream to raise to her the temple at Hierapolis. The king [Seleukos] sent her thither under the charge of his friend Kombabos, a very handsome youth. Kombabos, fearing the result of this commission, mutilated himself, put his *αἰδοῖα* in a small jar along with myrrh, honey, and other perfumes, sealed it and gave it to the king as a priceless treasure to be kept against his return. The king set another seal upon it and entrusted it to his stewards. When Stratonike had been three years building the temple, Hera, angry at the delay, struck her with a passion for Kombabos. At first she concealed her feelings; but at last she made herself drunk and confessed her love. Kombabos rejected her overtures. She then threatened to lay violent hands upon herself. Whereupon he told her of his mutilation and so cured her madness. But she still loved him and enjoyed his company. Meantime the king sent for Kombabos. (Some say falsely that Stratonike accused Kombabos to him of attempting her honour: cp. the tales of Sthenoboia and Phaidra.) Kombabos was imprisoned, arraigned, and condemned to death. He then called for his treasure, broke the seal, and proved his innocence by exhibiting the contents. The king, convinced, promised to put his accusers to death, to bestow upon him much gold and silver, Assyrian raiment, and royal horses, and to grant him the right to approach himself unannounced 'even'—said he—'*ἢν γυναικὶ ἅμα εὐνάζωμαι.*' Kombabos finished the temple and in future dwelt there. A bronze statue of him by Hermokles of Rhodes, which stands in the temple, shows a feminine form in masculine attire; for such was his aspect. But a stranger woman, who once came to a festival, fell in love with him and, on discovering his condition, slew herself; so he, discouraged at it, changed his practice and put on a woman's dress. His friends showed their sympathy with him by mutilating themselves and sharing his mode of life. (Others tell a sacred tale to the effect that Hera loved Kombabos and, to prevent him from being lonely, sent upon his friends this desire for self-mutilation.)

In this myth Kombabos is obviously a Syrian parallel to Attis, who, according to one version (Prudent. *peristeph.* 10. 196 ff.), unmanned himself to escape the embraces of Kybebe: cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1542 n. 3. Hera, *i.e.* Atargatis, here corresponds with Kybebe. The transference of the tale from the goddess Hera to the mortal Stratonike perhaps implies that the Syrian queen played the part of the goddess. Those who identified Atargatis with Rhea ascribed the foundation of her temple and cult to Attis (Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 15).

[3] The statements of the pseudo-Lucian with regard to the ritual at Hierapolis may here be summarised:

In this *Propýlaia* stand two *φαλλοί*, dedicated by Dionysos to his step-mother Hera, and reaching to a height of thirty fathoms. Twice a year a man climbs up one of them and spends seven days on the top. Most persons say that he associates up there with the gods, invoking their blessing upon the whole of Syria, and that the gods, since he is near them, hear his prayers. Others connect the custom with Deukalion's flood, when men, to escape the water, climbed mountains and high trees [cp. *supra* p. 584 n. 1]. Lucian compares rather the *νευρόσπαστα* of the Greeks, small wooden men with large *αἰδοῖα*

goddess whom the Greeks described as 'Nature or the Cause that made out of moisture the first principles and seeds of

seated on the φαλλοί raised for Dionysos, and notes that on the right of the temple at Hierapolis is seated a small bronze figure of a man with a large αἰδοῖον. However that may be, the Syrian climbs his φαλλός, as an Arab or an Egyptian climbs a date-palm. On the top he erects a hut and receives offerings. A man standing below shouts up the name of each donor. He, up aloft, invokes a blessing upon the latter and, during his prayer, beats a vessel of bronze, which makes a great clanging reverberation. He keeps a sleepless vigil; for, should he sleep, a scorpion would climb up and attack him (*ib.* 16 and 28 f.). [In the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 13—16 R. Hartmann attempts to show that a bronze statuette at Stuttgart represents this φαλλοβάτης—an improbable view. The νευρόσπαστα in question may, I think, be illustrated from a black-figured *hydria* at Florence published by H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 95 no. 50 (Preuss in the *Archiv für Anthropologie* N.F. 1903 i. 129 ff. figs., A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde* Leipzig and Berlin 1905 p. 107 ff. figs.) and Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 78 ff. figs. 262 *a*, 262 *b*: cp. Hdt. 2. 48, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 12, 36. F. Cumont —E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la petite Arménie* ii. 337 figure cylinders of enamelled terra cotta, *c.* ·50^{m} high, found at Erzingiân and thought by the Turks to be φαλλοί used in the cult of the Syrian goddess. On the beaten gong see the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 5—28.]

Outside the temple is a large bronze altar and countless bronze statues of kings and priests, including Semiramis, who claimed divine honours, Helene, Hekabe, Andromache, Paris, Hektor, Achilles, Nireus son of Aglaïa, Philomele and Prokne as women, Tereus as a bird, Semiramis again, Kombabos, Stratonike, Alexander, Sardanapallos. In the courtyard great bulls, horses, eagles, bears, and lions roam about: they are all sacred and harm no man (*ib.* 39—41).

Numerous priests slay victims, or hear libations, or are 'fire-bearers,' or wait beside the altar: more than 300 of them come to the sacrifice. All wear white garments and a felt cap, except the chief priest, who alone wears a purple robe and a golden tiara. Besides, there are other sacred persons—flute-players, pipers, eunuchs and frenzied women (who dote upon them: *ib.* 22). All come to the sacrifice, which takes place twice a day. During the sacrifice to Zeus they keep silence; during that to Hera they sing, play the flute, and shake rattles (*ib.* 42—44).

Near the temple is a lake containing sacred fish of various kinds. The large ones have separate names and come when called. One of them is decked with gold, having a golden object attached to his fin. The lake is said to be over 200 fathoms in depth. In the midst of it is a stone altar, thought by many to be floating on the water. It is always wreathed and perfumed: many persons under a vow swim to it daily and bring the wreaths. Important festivals are held here, known as 'Descents to the Lake,' because all the deities come down to the lake. Hera arrives first to save the fish; for, if Zeus saw them before her, they would all perish. He too comes to look at them; but she blocks the way and implores him to depart. On the occasion of their greatest festivals [cp. *supra* p. 584 n. 1] they go down to the sea. Each man returns bearing a vessel of water sealed with wax. A sacred 'cock,' living on the lake, receives the vessels, inspects their seals, and earns many *mnaî* for himself by unfastening them. The men then take the vessels to the temple, pour their libations, offer sacrifices, and so return home (*ib.* 45—48).

The greatest festival known to the writer is, however, celebrated at the beginning of spring and named the 'Pyre' or the 'Torch.' They cut down great trees and erect them in the courtyard. On these they hang live goats, sheep, etc. together with birds, garments, and objects in gold or silver. When all is ready, they bear the deities round the trees, which they fire and consume on the spot. This festival is attended by a multitude from Syria and the surrounding districts: all who come bring with them their own deities and images of the same. On certain specified days the crowd assembles in the

all things' and again as 'her who gave mankind their earliest knowledge of all that is good for them[1].'

(η) *Ba'al-tars* and Zeus *Térsios*.

Akin to the Syrian Adad, though not identical with him, was a god worshipped since Hittite times in Kilikia and the

precinct, but outside the temple: here many eunuchs and sacred men perform their orgies, cutting their fore-arms and striking each other on the back. Many, standing by, play the flute; many beat drums; others sing inspired and holy songs. On these days too, while the eunuchs are raising their din, madness falls on many a young man, who flings aside his garments and with a great cry rushes into the midst of them. He seizes a sword; for there are swords in plenty placed there on purpose. With this he mutilates himself and runs through the town holding in his hands the parts that he has cut off. When he has flung them away into a house, he receives from that house feminine attire and a woman's ornaments (*ib.* 49—51).

A dead eunuch is buried in a peculiar fashion. His comrades carry him out to the suburbs, set him down on the bier, cast stones over him, and return. They may not enter the temple-precinct for the next seven days. If any of them sees a corpse, he does not enter the precinct that day, but purifies himself on the morrow and enters it. If one of their own household has died, they wait thirty days, shave their heads, and then enter. The beasts that they sacrifice are oxen both male and female, goats, and sheep. Swine only they deem unclean and neither sacrifice nor eat: others, however, deem them not unclean but sacred. They regard the dove as an object of the greatest sanctity: they will not even touch it; or, if they do so by accident, they are unclean throughout that day. Hence doves dwell with them, enter their houses, and feed for the most part on the ground (*ib.* 52—54).

When a man goes to Hierapolis to attend a festival, on first entering the town he shaves his head and eyebrows and then sacrifices a sheep. Most of it he cuts up and eats, but the fleece he lays on the ground. Kneeling upon it, he draws the feet and head of the beast over his own head; and at the same time offering prayer he asks the deity to accept his present sacrifice and promises a greater one in future. After that he wreathes his own head and the heads of all those that have come on the same errand with him. From the moment when he quits his own country for the journey he must use cold water both for bathing and for drinking and must always sleep on the ground, it being forbidden to mount upon a bed till he has reached his home again. In Hierapolis he is received by a host whom he does not know. Certain hosts are there assigned to each town, the office being hereditary. Those that discharge it are called by the Assyrians 'teachers,' since they explain the rites to their guests. They do not offer sacrifice in the sanctuary itself; but, having brought the victim to the altar and poured a libation over it, they lead it home alive, and, on reaching every man his own dwelling, sacrifice it and pray. Another sacrifice is performed thus: they wreathe the victims and cast them alive from the *Propýlaia*, the victims being killed by the fall. Some even cast their own children down hence, but not as they do the beasts: they put them in a sack and lower them by hand, jeering at them the while and declaring that they are not children, but oxen [cp. *supra* p. 442 nn. 1, 2]. They are all tattooed, some on the wrist, others on the neck. Just as at Troizen lads and lasses must not wed till they have shorn their hair for Hippolytos, so at Hierapolis young men offer the first hairs of their beards, while girls leave a sacred tress uncut from their birth onwards. On reaching the sanctuary they cut the hair and, placing it in vessels of silver or often of gold, nail it to the temple-wall and inscribe it with their names [cp. *supra* p. 23 ff.] (*ib.* 55—60).

[1] Plout. *v. Crass.* 17.

neighbouring districts. His rock-cut effigy (fig. 453)[1] is still to be

Fig. 453.

[1] L. Messerschmidt *Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum* Berlin 1900 p. 30 f. pl. 34, *id. ib.* Berlin 1906 pp. 4—7 (cp. a second relief near Ibrîz, which appears to be an exact duplicate of the first: *id. ib.* Berlin 1906 p. 19 f.), E. J. Davis 'On a New Hamathite Inscription at Ibreez' in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1876 iv. 336—346, *id. Life in Asiatic Turkey* London 1879 pp. 245—260, W. M. Ramsay 'Basrelief of Ibriz' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 203—208 pl. 13, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 723—729 fig. 354, W. M. Ramsay—D. G. Hogarth 'Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia' in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* 1903 xiv. 77 ff., 85 f. pls. 3, 4, A. H. Sayce in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1906 xxviii. 133 f. with pl., W. M. Ramsay *Pauline and other Studies* London 1906 p. 172 f., *id. Luke the Physician* London 1908 pp. 171—179 pl. 21, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[2] pp. 93—

seen at Ivrîz, where a singularly fertile glen runs far into the northern flank of Mount Tauros. Prof. J. Garstang describes the scene in graphic language:

'At the foot of the rock a stream of water, clear and cool, bursts out in tremendous volume, and, supplemented by other similar sources, becomes in a hundred yards a raging and impassable torrent, roaring with a wonderful noise as it foams and leaps over the rocks in its course. Before joining the main stream of the valley it washes at a bend the foot of a bare rock, upon which from the opposite side there may be seen the famous sculptures, the most striking of all known Hittite works, and one of the most imposing monuments of the ancient East.

The treatment of these sculptures is all in relief. In composition there are two persons represented: the Peasant-god, a gigantic figure fourteen feet in height, distinguished by the bunches of grapes and bearded wheat which he holds, and the King-priest, an heroic figure eight feet in height, facing towards the god, with clasped hands raised in adoration or thanksgiving for his bounty.

The god is clad in the short tunic, short-sleeved vest, pointed cap, and shoes with turned-up toes, characteristic of the godlike figures on all Hittite sculptures. But here the sculptor has elaborated his theme, and has worked into it ideas or conceptions which we may reasonably suspect were derived ultimately from the East through the intermediary of Cilicia. The figure is squat and stolid, and the face almost Semitic.... Perhaps the most peculiar and Oriental detail is to be found in the horns which decorate the helmet, of which four pairs are visible. In front of the right foot is the suggestion of a bolted implement, possibly a plough....

There are three short inscriptions accompanying these figures. In that which is carved before the face of the god, Professors Sayce and Jensen both find the name of Sandes in the first line (the W-like sign below the divided oval that signifies divinity). In the next line, as in the overlap of the first and second lines of inscription behind the king, we find the same name (read Ayminyas) as ...in the inscriptions of Bor and of Bulghar-Madên. This point is of importance in considering the history of the Hittite peoples when, as it seems, the central authority was no longer at Boghaz-Keui. For the date of these sculptures, if only from their close analogy in treatment to those of Sakje-Geuzi, may be put down to the tenth or ninth century B.C. It would seem indeed that we are here drawn into relation with the kingdom of (Greater) Cilicia, which, with Tyana probably as capital, took the place of the Hatti-state within the Halys, as the dominant Hittite state at the beginning of the first millennium B.C.'

Sandas was clearly a god of fertility[1]. The bovine horns on his tiara, the grape-bunches and corn-ears in his hands, the plough(?) at his feet, all point in that direction. At Tarsos in the fourth century B.C., while retaining his old attributes the grapes and the corn, he acquired the characteristics of Zeus. On silver coins

97, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 330 f. fig. 2, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 191—195 pl. 57 (from a cast at Berlin).

[1] So *e.g.* J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.*, E. Meyer *Geschichte des Alterthums* Stuttgart 1909 i. 2². 641 ff.

struck in Kilikia by the satrap Datames, 378—374 B.C. (figs. 454, 455)[1], he appears under the name *Ba'al-tars* enthroned with an eagle-sceptre in his right hand, a corn-ear and a bunch of grapes in his left: beside him is an incense-burner, and beneath his throne a variable symbol—a pomegranate-flower, a bull's head, the fore-

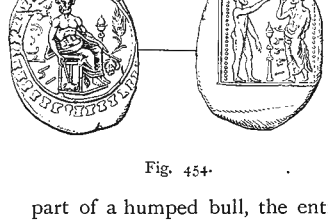


Fig. 454.

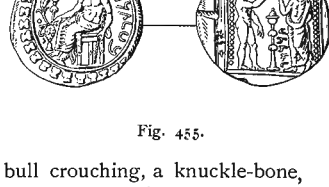


Fig. 455.

part of a humped bull, the entire bull crouching, a knuckle-bone, a lion, a bird. The whole design is surrounded by a circle with projections like battlements, probably meant for the town-wall. Silver coins issued by Mazaios[2] as satrap of Kilikia, 361—334 B.C.[3], and Trans-Euphratesia, 351—334 B.C. (figs. 456, 457)[4], together with

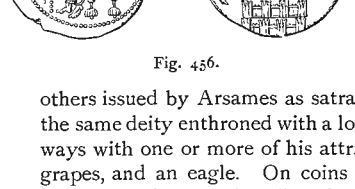


Fig. 456.

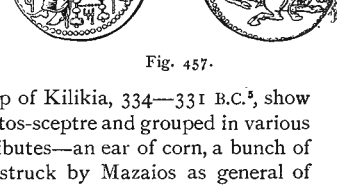


Fig. 457.

others issued by Arsames as satrap of Kilikia, 334—331 B.C.[5], show the same deity enthroned with a lotos-sceptre and grouped in various ways with one or more of his attributes—an ear of corn, a bunch of grapes, and an eagle. On coins struck by Mazaios as general of Dareios in Syria and at Babylon, 334—331 B.C.[6], and as governor

[1] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 409 ff. pl. 109, 4—10, 12—15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 167 f. pl. 29, 11—15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 547, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 730 f. fig. 322. Fig. 454 is from a specimen in my collection; fig. 455 = Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 413 f. pl. 109, 14.

[2] For the coinage of Mazaios etc. I follow the classification recently proposed by Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 443 ff.

[3] *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 445 ff. pl. 111, 14—20, pl. 112, 1—8.

[4] *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 451 ff. pl. 112, 12—20, 22, pl. 113, 1 f., 5—11. I figure two specimens in my collection.

[5] *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 461 ff. pl. 113, 13—18, pl. 114, 1—3.

[6] *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 471 ff. pl. 114, 15—20.

of Babylon under Alexander the Great, 331—328 B.C.[1], *Ba'al-tars* loses his distinctive attributes altogether. And on later pieces struck by the generals of Alexander, *e.g.* by Seleukos in 321–316 and 312—306 B.C. (fig. 458)[2], he drops not only his attributes but

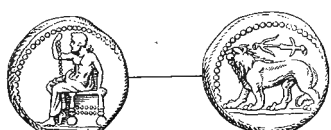


Fig. 458.

also his title *Ba'al-tars* and appears as a purely Hellenic Zeus. In the third century B.C. he was known at Tarsos as Zeus *Tersios*[3].

The identification of Sandas with Zeus was due partly to the fact that Sandas was the chief god of the district[4] and partly to the

[1] *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 475 ff. pl. 114, 21 f.

[2] *Id. ib.* ii. 2. 481 ff. pl. 115, 3—5, 7 f., 10 f., 14—17, 21—25. I figure a specimen in my collection.

[3] Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 867 Ἐρατοσθένης δέ φησι τὴν κλῆσιν τῇ πόλει εἶναι ἀπὸ Διὸς Τερσίου τοῖς ἐκεῖ καλουμένου. οἱ δέ φασι Τερσὸν ταπρῶτα διὰ τοῦ ε στοιχείου ὀνομασθῆναι τὴν πόλιν, διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐκεῖ πρώτους συναγαγόντας καρπὸν χλωρὸν τερσῆναι, ὅ ἐστι ξηρᾶναι, καὶ εἰς χειμῶνος ἀποθέσθαι τροφήν. Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ταρσός.

Among the commonest types of the later copper coins of Tarsos is that of Zeus enthroned (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. 177, 181 ff., 190, 192 pls. 32, 12, 33, 4—9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548 f. pl. 60, 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 732 f.).

[4] Another Cilician god, Olymbros, who passed as being the brother of Sandas (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄδανα·...ἔστι δὲ ὁ Ἄδανος Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ παῖς, καὶ Ὄστασος καὶ Σάνδης καὶ Κρόνος καὶ Ῥέα καὶ Ἰαπετὸς καὶ Ὀλυμβρος), was worshipped by natives of Anazarbos as Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 991 a small marble *stele* found on the Esquiline Διὶ Ὀλυβρί(ῳ) or Ὀλύβρι | τοῦ Κιλίκων | ἔθνους τῆς | λ(αμπροτάτης) μ(ητροπόλεως) Ἀναζαρ|βέων Αὐρ(ήλιος) | Μᾶρκος στάτωρ | εὐχῆς χάριν). High up in an almost inaccessible cave on the mountain behind Anazarbos (*Anavarza*) is another dedication to Zeus (E. L. Hicks in the *Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 238 no. 4 Διὶ καὶ Ἥρᾳ Γαμηλίᾳ καὶ | Ἄρει θεοῖς πολιούχοις | Ῥηγεῖνα Ἀσκληπιάδου | σκηπτροφοροῦσα ἱερὰ ὑπὲρ | τῆς πόλεώς [τε] καὶ τῆς | βουλῆς, ἐπὶ ἱερέως θεῶν | Ἀγρέων Σείτου Ταυρίσκου· | ἔτους βορ = 153 A.D. or possibly 192 A.D.). And the θεὸς Καταιβάτης is coupled with Persephone in an inscription on the 'tomb of the eunuch' (R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm *Reisen in Kilikien* Wien 1896 p. 38 no. 94 D). An imperial copper of Anazarbos struck by Claudius (?) has a bust of Zeus, laureate, placed in front of a rock crowned with a fortress (fig. 459 = Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 349 no. 10 pl. F, 20: on this fortress see V. Langlois 'Anazarbe et ses environs' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1856 xiii. 361—370 pl. 290 f.). Other Zeus-types occur on the coinage of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. cvi, 31, 34 pls. 5, 10, 6, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 527, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 716 f. I figure an unpublished specimen

Fig. 459.

fact that Zeus too was a giver of fertility[1]. But this identification[2] though favoured by the satraps and generals, did not adequately express the popular conception of Sandas, whose prototype in the Hittite religion appears to have been the son-god rather than the father-god[3]. Hence side by side with Zeus, the supreme dispenser of all things good, the Tarsians worshipped Herakles, the more human and approachable averter of all things evil. The coins struck by Datames, which represented *Ba'al-tars* as a Zeus-like deity seated on a throne, supplement this obverse type by a reverse of exceptional interest (figs. 454, 455). Within a square frame surmounted by antefixes etc. and probably intended for a sacred edifice are two male figures with an incense-burner between them.

in my collection (fig. 460): obv. [ΚΑΙΣΑΡΕΩΝ 𐤁?] | ΑΝΑΖΑΡΒΩ head of Zeus, laureate, to right; rev. ЄΤΟΥC | ΒΑΡ (=132=113/114 A.D.) head of Tyche, veiled and turreted); and it would seem reasonable to conclude that on the akropolis

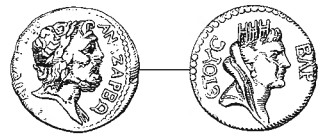


Fig. 460.

of Anazarbos there was an important cult of Zeus, who had here dispossessed Olymbros. See further A. von Domaszewski '*Ζεὺς Ὀλύμβριος*' in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1911 pp. 10—12.

[1] A coin of Titiopolis in Kilikia, struck by Hadrian, shows Zeus with sceptre and *cornu copiae* (fig. 461 =W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1900 xx. 293 no. 29 pl. 14, 10, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 494, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 734)—an attribute which he there shares with the local Tyche (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 231 pl. 38, 7): cp. *supra* p. 501 f. pl. xxxi, Zeus on a copper of the Italian Lokroi enthroned with a sceptre in his left hand and a *cornu copiae* behind him (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 369, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 161 pl. 113, 13), an archaistic Iupiter bearing a *patera* in his right hand, a *cornu copiae* in his left, on a base at Berlin which probably dates from the reign of Commodus and is inscribed I. o. m. | summo | exsuper[an]tissim[o] (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz 'Über das Relief mit der Inschrift *C. I. L.* vi. 426' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1901 p. 387 ff., F. Cumont in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 323 ff., A. v. Domaszewski *ib.* 1911 xiv. 313, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 32 no. 2), another archaising Iupiter, with *kálathos* on head, *patera* in left hand, over which hovers a butterfly, and *cornu copiae* in right, on an engraved gem at St Petersburg (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. 150, *ib.* 1877, p. 100, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 134 no. 3 pl. 123, cp. *ib.* p. 124 no. 3 pl. 120), and a stone statuette from Frangissa in Kypros showing Ba'al-ḥammân between two rams with a *cornu copiae* in his left hand (Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 474 pl. 191, 4, cp. *supra* p. 354 pl. xxvi, 1).

Fig. 461.

[2] If Sandas at Ivriz had corn-ears, grapes and a plough (*supra* p. 594 f.), Zeus had corn-ears at Heliopolis (*supra* pp. 552, 558 f., 569, 572), grapes and a plough in Phrygia (*supra* pp. 4 n. 2, 399 f.).

[3] J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 195, 238, 240, 378 f.

On the right stands Datames himself in *chitón* and *himátion* raising his hand with a gesture of adoration. On the left is the nude form of Herakles with arm outstretched towards the satrap. Before Datames is his name in Aramaic lettering—*Tddnzv*[1]. Behind Herakles on certain specimens (fig. 455) room is found for a second Aramaic word—*ana*[2]. Now it has been universally supposed that *Ana* must be the name of the naked god, and attempts have been made to connect him with the Assyrian *Anu*[3]. But I am informed by my friends Prof. R. H. Kennett, Prof. F. C. Burkitt, and Mr N. McLean, that *ana* is ordinary Aramaic for 'I (am),' and that 'I am Datames' would have been the normal commencement of a royal or quasi-royal proclamation. I would therefore suggest that this much-disputed[4] type simply represents Datames announcing himself as a worshipper of Herakles (Sandas).

Sandas as figured on coins of Tarsos from about 164 B.C.

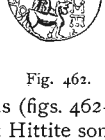


Fig. 462.

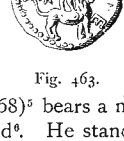


Fig. 463.

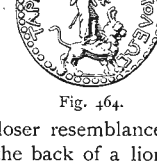


Fig. 464.

onwards (figs. 462—468)[5] bears a much closer resemblance to the ancient Hittite son-god[6]. He stands on the back of a lion, which

[1] I have to thank my friend Mr N. McLean, Lecturer in Aramaic to the University of Cambridge, for examining a number of these coins and deciphering their legend. Mr McLean tells me that it might possibly be read as *Tdnmu*, but that there is in Aramaic no such use of a sonant *n* as would justify the transcription *Tadgmu* (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 731).

[2] This word is placed either in the narrow space at the back of Herakles' knee (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 413 f. pl. 109, 13 and 15) or outside the frame behind Herakles (*id. ib.* pl. 109, 14=my fig. 455).

[3] E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 pp. clvi—clix, *id. Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 413 ff., G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. lxxx, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 731.

[4] P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 171 pl. 10, 29 regards as plausible an interpretation put forward by Honoré d'Albert, duc de Luynes *Numismatique des satrapies et de la Phénicie* Paris 1846 p. 20, *viz.* that Sardanapalos represented by the Greek artist as an effeminate Zeus or Dionysos is here snapping his fingers (Athen. 530 A ff.) at Herakles, who exhorts him to better things! But such moralising is, as Prof. Gardner admits, 'a rare or unprecedented occurrence among Greek coins.' Frankly, it is unthinkable.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. 178 f., 186, 206 pls. 32, 13—16, 33, 1, 34, 2, 36, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548 pl. 60, 11, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 732 f., P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 206 pl. 13, 20.

[6] In the rock-carvings of Iasily Kaya near Boghaz-Keui the Hittite son-god stands on the back of a lioness (or panther—if the animal is really turned as in Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 637 fig. 313; for the panther, as opposed to the lion, in early art is

is both winged and horned. He is draped and wears a tall head-dress. He carries bow-case and sword, and grasps a double-axe in his left hand. Occasionally also, as befits a god of fertility, he holds a branch[1] or flower (fig. 463)[2] or wreath (fig. 464)[3]. He thus differs widely from the Grecised representation of him as Herakles. Indeed, we should not know him for the same deity, were it not that he is sometimes nude (fig. 463)[4] and always stretches forth his right hand in what is clearly a characteristic gesture[5].

Certain coins struck at Tarsos by the Seleucid kings of Syria from Alexandros i Balas (150—146 B.C.) to Antiochos ix Kyzikenos (113—95 B.C.) show Sandas between two small cones or altars on

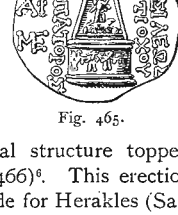


Fig. 465.

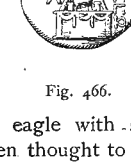


Fig. 466.

a pyramidal structure topped by an eagle with spread wings (figs. 465, 466)[6]. This erection has been thought to represent the 'Pyre' made for Herakles (Sandas) at the Tarsian festival of *Pyrá*[7].

normally represented with his head full-face, not in profile: see E. Pottier 'Histoire d'une bête' in the *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 1910 p. 419, H. G. Spearing *The Childhood of Art* London 1912 p. 138 ff.). He wears a short tunic, shoes with upturned toes, and a conical fluted hat. He grasps a staff in his outstretched right hand and a double-axe in his left, while a short dagger hangs by his belt (J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 222 f. pl. 65, cp. p. 228 f. pl. 71; bibliography *ib.* p. 396).

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 179 pl. 32, 16.

[2] *Ib.* p. 179 pl. 33, 1 (flower with three petals), Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 70 pl. 12, 7 (=my fig. 463).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 178 pl. 32, 14, p. 186 pl. 34, 2, p. 206 pl. 36, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548 pl. 60, 11, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 70 f. pl. 12, 8, 9.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 179 pl. 33, 1, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 70 pl. 12, 7.

[5] I take this gesture to be expressive of power. In the Old Testament a 'stretched out arm' is constantly found with that connotation (Ex. 6. 6, Deut. 4. 34, 5. 15, 7. 19, 9. 29, 11. 2, 1 Kings 8. 42, 2 Kings 17. 36, *alib.*).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 180 f. pl. 33, 2, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 72 pl. 28, 8, p. 78 pl. 21, 6, p. 89 pl. 24, 3, p. 112, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 732 f., P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 206 pl. 14, 17, Anson *Num. Gr.* v pl. 2, 50 f., 53—55.

[7] So *e.g.* P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 206, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 733 ('probably the pyre' etc.). Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc.

Dion Chrysostomos, the only author who mentions this pyre, does so in an address to the inhabitants of Tarsos[1]:

'What think you? If, as we may well suppose and as men declare, founders —be they heroes or gods—often visit the states that they have founded, though none can see them, at sacrifices and certain public festivals; if, then, your own first founder Herakles were to come here, say during the Pyre, which you make for him so handsomely,—think you he would be best pleased at hearing that the city has got this reputation?'

Dr Frazer has conjectured that 'at this festival, as at the festival of Melcarth, the god was burned in effigy on his own pyre[2].' That may have been so: but no ancient writer actually states that a god was burnt in effigy at Melqart's festival[3], and as to Tarsos—

Fig. 467.

Fig. 468.

Dion's words rather imply that the deity was not visible at all. In any case the erection of the Tarsian coins can hardly be identified with the pyre of Herakles. To begin with, specimens struck by Marcus Aurelius (fig. 467)[4], Tranquillina (fig. 468)[5], etc.[6] show the supposed pyre covered by an elaborate baldachin as if it were a permanent structure.

p. lxxxvi speaks with more reserve ('either a permanent monument, or the pyre' etc.). Mr G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 548 apparently rejects the identification with Herakles' pyre ('Monument...surmounted by pyramidal structure,' etc.).

[1] Dion. Chrys. *or.* 33 p. 23 f. Reiske *τί ἂν οἴεσθε, εἰ καθάπερ εἰκὸς ἐστι καὶ φασὶ τοὺς οἰκιστὰς ἥρωας ἢ θεοὺς πολλάκις ἐπιστρέφεσθαι τὰς αὐτῶν πόλεις τοῖς ἄλλοις ὄντας ἀφανεῖς ἔν τε θυσίαις καὶ τισιν ἑορταῖς δημοτελέσιν, ἔπειθ' ὁ ἀρχηγὸς ὑμῶν Ἡρακλῆς παραγένοιτο ἤτοι Πυρᾶς οὔσης ἣν πάνυ καλὴν αὐτῷ ποιεῖτε <ἢ.....>, σφόδρα γε ἂν αὐτὸν ἡσθῆναι τοιαύτης ἀκούσαντα φωνῆς;* Reiske prefers to eject *ἤτοι* as an intrusion from some *schólion*.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[2] p. 99.

[3] *Id. ib.* pp. 84—90 'raises a strong presumption, though it cannot be said to amount to a proof, that a practice of burning a deity, and especially Melcarth, in effigy or in the person of a human representative, was observed at an annual festival in Tyre and its colonies.'

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 190 pl. 34, 10.

[5] *Ib.* p. 221 pl. 37, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 555 pl. 60, 18. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 224 no. 305 Trajan Decius, p. 225 no. 310 Herennius Etruscus.

Again, the eagle on its apex resembles the eagle on the pyramidal roof above the stone of Zeus *Kásios* at Seleukeia Pieria[1]. Finally, the whole Tarsian structure is quite unlike any other pyres figured on Greek or Roman money[2], but both in form and in decoration so strikingly similar to the pyramids of Iupiter *Dolichenus*[3] that we are fully justified in explaining it by the help of their analogy.

If Sandas at Tarsos had among his attributes both grape-bunches and a pyramid topped by an eagle, we may perhaps venture to connect his name with another Cilician coin-type (figs. 469—474)[4], in which appears a pyramid flanked by two birds or

Fig. 469.

Fig. 470.

Fig. 471.

Fig. 472.

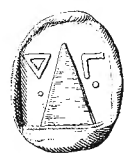


Fig. 473.

Fig. 474.

by two grape-bunches[5]. Certain examples of this coinage (fig. 472) exhibit on the pyramid a symbol resembling the three-petalled flower sometimes held by Sandas[6].

[1] Append. B Syria.

[2] For the pyre of Zeus *Strátios* as shown on coins of Amaseia see the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79 f., *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 296, 306 f. (add now Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* pp. 27, 32, 35 f., 38 ff. pls. 4, 22, 5, 12—14, 26, 6, 1—4, 7—10, 12 f.): the only hint of a pyramidal top is on a specimen struck by Caracalla (*ib.* p. 39 pl. 6, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 11 pl. 2, 4). Roman CONSECRATIO-pyres (listed by Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 806—809, vii. 1067 f., Suppl. ii. 17 f.) are regularly staged towers, not pyramids.

[3] *Infra* p. 615 ff.

[4] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 869 f. pl. 137, 12—14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. cxvii ff., 96 pl. 16, 1—4, Anson *Num. Gr.* v pl. 4, 120—123, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 717. The attribution of these anepigraphic coins is doubtful. Most numismatists now assign them to Mallos, but on inadequate grounds—see Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 435 f., who proposes Aphrodisias and is followed by Head *loc. cit.*

[5] On the evolution of these birds and grape-bunches from mere granulated patches see the careful note of Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. cxix.

[6] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 869 f. pl. 137, 14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 96 pl. 16, 3, Anson *Num. Gr.* v pl. 4, 122, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 717. Cp. the plant-sign discussed by Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 215 f. ('Catalogue of Hieroglyphic Signs' no. 92).

The significance of the pyramid as a cult-object is uncertain. I am disposed to think that, like the Babylonian *zikkurat* or 'high'-place[1], it was the conventionalised form of a mountain[2], originally viewed as the dwelling-place of the deity. Sandas' prototype, the son-god of Boghazkeui, stands on the back of a lioness, which itself is standing on a mountain-range[3]. Sandas' own effigy is carved on the rock-walls of Ivrîz at the foot of Mount Tauros[4]. Such a god might be suitably represented in relief on a stone pyramid at Tarsos.

Fig. 475.

It is possible, though not certain, that Sandas was sometimes called Di-Sandas[5], the prefix serving to emphasise his relation to Zeus. If so, a parallel might be sought among such compound names of deities as Dio-Pan[6], Zeno-Poseidon[7], etc.[8]

[1] M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria*, New York and London 1911 p. 282 ff.

[2] A coin of Kaisareia in Kappadokia, struck in 113 A.D., shows a pyramid (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 581 no. 3), which is perhaps equivalent to the type of Mount Argaios on other coins of the same town (*ib.* ii. 581 ff. pl. 62, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. xxxvii ff., 45 ff. pl. 8 ff.). [3] *Infra* p. 604 f. [4] *Supra* p. 594 f.

[5] Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 509 Hercules cognomento Desanaus in Phoenice clarus habetur, unde ad nostram usque memoriam a Cappadocibus et Heliensibus (*v. ll.* Heliniensibus, Aliensibus) Desanaus (Wernicke cj. Desandus) dicitur, Synkell. *chron.* 153 D (i. 290 Dindorf) Ἡρακλέα τινές φασιν ἐν Φοινίκῃ γνωρίζεσθαι Δισανδὰν ἐπιλεγόμενον, ὡς καὶ μέχρι νῦν ὑπὸ Καππαδόκων καὶ Ἰλίων (Movers cj. Δυδῶν, Ahrens Κιλίκων), Euseb. *chron.* vers. Armen. (ii. 28 Schöne) Hercules in Phoenice cognoscebatur Desandas appellatus: quique hactenus quidem a Cappadocibus et Heliensibus (ita) nuncupatur.

F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 460 suggested that in Synkell. *loc. cit.* Δισανδὰν was a false reading for Σάνδαν due to dittography (ΔΙ = the ΑΙ of γνωρίζεσθαι). But his suggestion is unconvincing.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4538 (a rock-cut inscription from the grotto of Pan at *Bâniâs*, the ancient Kaisareia Paneas) = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 343 τήνδε θεὰν (perhaps Echo) ἀνέθηκε φιλευήχῳ Διόπανι | Οὐίκτωρ ἀρητὴρ Λυσιμάχοιο γόνος.

[7] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 278, and especially W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1224—1230.

[8] H. Usener in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 315 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1093.

In conclusion it may be pointed out that Sandas, though essentially a god of fertility, was also in Hellenistic times connected with the sun[1]. The eagle on his pyramid was presumably solar, for, as Monsieur R. Dussaud has proved, the king of birds had constantly this significance in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age[2]. To cite but one example: a bronze brought from Nizib by Monsieur L. de Contenson (fig. 475)[3] shows a splendid eagle on a discoid base, which bears the name *Hélios* and probably represents a sacred stone, perhaps that of Emesa[4]. Again, the eight-rayed star that appears on the coins besides the flower-holding Sandas[5] may also fairly be reckoned as a solar symbol.

(*θ*) Zeus *Dolichaîos* and Iupiter *Dolichenus*.

Zeus *Dolichaîos*[6] or *Dolochenós*[7], better known as Iupiter *Dolichenus*[8], furnishes another example of a Hittite god surviving into the Graeco-Roman age. He seems to have been originally akin to, or even one with, the Hittite father-god[9], though—as we shall see—he bears some resemblance to the Hittite son-god also. In the central scene of the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui (fig. 476)[10]

[1] Various scholars from F. Creuzer (*Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 490, 634) to W. Wright (*The Empire of the Hittites*[2] London 1886 pp. 181, 186 n. 1) have held that Sandas was from the first a sun-god (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 330).

[2] R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 134 ff.=*id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 15—23 ('L'aigle symbole du dieu solaire'), *supra* pp. 191 fig. 138, 206 fig. 150, 305 fig. 237, 341 n. 7, p. 565 fig. 432.

[3] R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 141 f. fig. 9=*id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 22 f. fig. 9. The bronze, inclusive of the base, is 0·10^{m} high.

[4] *Id. ib.* Additions et Corrections p. (67).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 179 pl. 33, 1, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 70 pl. 12, 7 (=my fig. 463).

[6] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δολιχή. [7] *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1891 xiv. 37.

[8] The most complete monograph on Iupiter *Dolichenus* is A. H. Kan *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu* Groningae 1901 pp. 1—109. See also Custos Seidl 'Über den Dolichenus-Cult' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 xii. 4—90 pls. 1—6, *id. ib.* xiii. 233—260 pls. 1 f., suppl. pl. 1 f., E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1191 ff., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f., S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 329—332, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1276—1281, and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1583 n. 3.

[9] Kan *op. cit.* p. 2 ff. 'Iupiter autem Dolichenus idem est ac deus summus Hittitarum.' Etc.

[10] L. Messerschmidt *Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum* Berlin 1900 p. 21 ff. pl. 27, B, pl. 29, 9—11, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 214 pl. 65 f. with bibliography *ib.* p. 396. The central scene appears to represent the union of the Hittite father-god at the head of the left-hand procession with the Hittite mother-god and her son at the head of the right-hand procession. The father-god, who stands on the bowed heads of two attendants, wears a high head-dress, a short tunic, and shoes with upturned toes. He carries a mace in his right hand and an emblem of uncertain significance

the father-deity has at his side a bull[1], which as his *alter ego* wears

Fig. 476.

the same high head-dress as he does. On a Hittite cylinder at Berlin[2] the same god wears a horned cap and holds his bull by

(supposed to be a combination of the split oval or sign of divinity with the trident-fork that symbolises lightning) in his left. The handle of a short sword is seen at his waist; and beside him appears the fore-part of a bull wearing a high head-dress like his own.

[1] J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 215 and in *The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 10 n. 30 takes this animal to be a goat. But??

[2] F. Lajard *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en orient et en occident* Paris 1847 pl. 35, 2, H. Winckler in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1896 iv. 18 f. (who reads the Babylonian inscription on this Hittite seal as 'Ach-li-ib-sar, servant of the god Tishub'), W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 18 f. fig. 20, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 f. fig. 15. The king

a leash. On another cylinder in the collection of J. Pierpont Morgan (fig. 503)[1] he again holds the crouched bull by a leash, and on it stands a nude festoon-bearing goddess, the prototype of Europe[2]. Finally, on another Hittite cylinder in the British Museum (fig. 477)[3] the god is seen standing, like Ramman[4], on the bull's back.

In classical times this long-lived deity drew his cult-epithet from Doliche, a little town[5] in the Syrian district of Kommagene, on the road from Germanikeia to Zeugma. The rocky hill, on which his temple once stood, is still called Tell Dülük and is now crowned by the small chapel of a Mohammedan saint, the successor of *Dolichenus* himself[6]. Strangely enough the monuments illus-

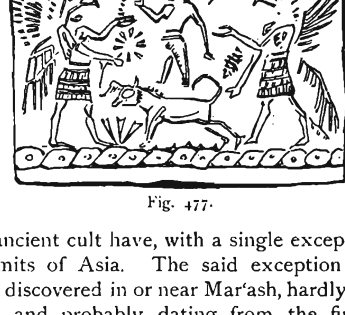


Fig. 477.

trative of the ancient cult have, with a single exception, been found outside the limits of Asia. The said exception (fig. 478)[7] is a limestone *stèle* discovered in or near Mar'ash, hardly a day's journey from Doliche, and probably dating from the first century B.C. It represents in an architectural frame-work the god standing upright on a small bull, which appears to be moving from left to right. He is a bearded figure, whose raised right hand held some attribute now broken off, in all probability a double axe, and whose left hand grasps a thunderbolt. He is clad in Persian costume,

accompanied by the divine attendant (*sukallu*) stands before the god, who carries a bundle of weapons. In the field is a star (or sun) and the Egyptian *crux ansata*.

[1] W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 103 pl. 51, no. 186, *infra* p. 644.

[2] So H. Prinz in the *Mitth. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 169 n. 2 (*supra* p. 526 n. 2).

[3] Published by W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 21 fig. 23.

[4] *Supra* p. 577 fig. 446.

[5] Theodoret. *hist. eccl.* 5. 4.

[6] K. Humann and O. Puchstein *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* Berlin 1890 p. 400.

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 399 fig. 58, Kan *op. cit.* p. 35 no. 1.

wearing boots, hose, a short *chitón* with a broad belt, and a *kándys* or cloak, which is fastened round his neck and is blown back by the wind.

Syrian troops—and, to a less extent, Syrian merchants, slaves and freedmen—carried the cult of this obscure divinity far and wide through the Roman world[1]. It is attested by a numerous series of inscriptions[2] dating from *c.* 130 to *c.* 265 A.D., that is, from the time of Hadrian to the time of Gallienus[3]. They are most in evidence during the reigns of Commodus (180—192 A.D.), Septimius

Fig. 478.

Severus (193—211 A.D.), Caracalla (211—217 A.D.), and Alexander Severus (222—235 A.D.)[4]. Commodus was an enthusiastic votary of such deities as Isis and Mithras[5]. Septimius Severus was much under the influence of Iulia Domna, his Syrian wife. Caracalla, their son, himself visited Syria in 215 A.D. Alexander Severus had spent his childhood in Syria as priest of the sun-god Elagabalos[6], and was, owing to the designs of Artaxerxes king of Persia,

[1] Kan *op. cit.* p. 11 ff., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1276 f.

[2] They are collected and arranged in geographical order by Kan *op. cit.* pp. 34—109. A good selection of them is given by Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4296—4324.

[3] Kan *op. cit.* pp. 16—19, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1276—1278.

[4] Kan *op. cit.* p. 17 f., F. Cumont *loc. cit.* pp. 1276, 1278.

[5] Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 9. 4 and 6.

[6] Herodian. 5. 3. 3 f.

forced to watch the province with anxious interest[1]. No wonder that under these emperors with their Syrian connexion the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus* became popular.

At Rome he had two sanctuaries, one on the Esquiline, the other on the Aventine. A couple of marble tablets, found in 1734 on the Esquiline near the Tropaea Marii, record that in the reign of Commodus the chapel of Iupiter *Dolichenus* was, at the bidding of the god, enlarged by a certain D. Iunius Pacatus and his son Alexander, and further that on August 1, 191 A.D. soldiers belonging to the second cohort of the Guards presented the god with a tetrastyle dining-room (*tetrastylum*), a fountain (*nymphaeum*), a bowl with a small column, an altar with a small marble column, another small column, a little wheel (*orbiculus*) with a small column, and decorated the whole chapel[2]. On the Aventine too there was a *Dolocenum*, which was still standing in the fourth century[3], though no dedications to the god of so late a date are recorded. It adjoined the sites of S. Alessio and S. Sabina, as is clear from several inscriptions found there[4]. One of these throws some light on the nature of the cult. It runs as follows[5]:

Good Luck[6].

In accordance with a behest of Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, the Eternal, to him who is the Preserver of the Whole Sky, a Godhead Pre-eminent, a Provider Invincible[7], *L. Tettius Hermes, a Roman knight, a candidate*[8] *and patron of this place, to secure the safety of himself, of Aurelia Restituta his wife,*

[1] Dion Cass. 80. 4. 1 f.

[2] *Corp. insc. Lat.* vi no. 414*a*, 414*b* = Kan *op. cit.* p. 65 f. no. 64*a*, 64*b* = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4315[a], 4315[b], H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 356 f. Other inscriptions which may be referred to this cult-centre are listed by Kan *op. cit.* p. 66 ff. nos. 65—74.

[3] The *Notitia regionum urbis xiv* (written between 334 and 357 A.D.) and the *Curiosum urbis regionum xiv* (written between 357 and 403? A.D.) both say: Regio xiii Aventinus continet...Dolocenum (H. Jordan *op. cit.* Berlin 1871 ii. 561 f.). Their archetype was written between 312 and 315 A.D. (*id. ib.* ii. 540).

[4] Kan *op. cit.* p. 70 ff. nos. 75—81, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 167 f. n. 43.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 406, 30758 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 70 f. no. 75 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 92, 3 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4316.

[6] Cp. W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i. 436 ff. The Latin B · F (*bona fortuna*) corresponds with the Greek ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ as a preliminary formula for the sake of an auspicious beginning: see Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 467, 4316.

[7] b. f. | ex praecepto I. o. m. D. aeterni, conservatori totius poli et numini praestantisso (*sic*) exhibitori invicto, etc. On the epithet *aeterni* see F. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1902 xxvi. 8.

[8] The term *kandidatus* here and in similar inscriptions (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1466 f.) implies, not merely the ritual use of white clothing (T. Mommsen on *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 406—413 and in the *Ephem. epigr.* iv. 532), but also that a complete analogy existed between the election of public priests and that of magistrates (F. Cumont *loc. cit.* p. 10 f.).

of Tettia Pannuchia his daughter, of his household, of Aurelius Lampadius his well-loved brother, and the safety of the priests, the candidates, and the worshippers of this place, presented and dedicated the marble tablet with the proscaenium[1] *and columns.*

Those, whom Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, has chosen to serve him: M. Aurelius Oenopio Onesimus (by the sign of Acacius) notary, and Septimius Antonius (by the sign of Olympius) father[2]*, candidates, patrons, well-loved brothers and most honoured colleagues; Aurelius Magnesius, Aurelius Serapiacus, Antonius Marianus, M. Iulius Florentinus, chief persons*[3] *of this place; and Aurelius Severus the veteran, curator of the temple; and Aurelius Antiochus, priest; Geminus Felix and Vibius Eutychianus, litter-bearers of the god*[4]*; Co . . . . . centianus*

From this it appears that at Rome Iupiter *Dolichenus* was regarded as a sky-god ('Preserver of the Whole Sky'), whose principal priests—like the high officials of the Eleusinian mysteries[5]—exchanged their old names for new and sacred titles. The title 'Provider Invincible' suggests that he was, on the one hand, a god who fertilised the earth for the benefit of men, on the other hand, a being comparable with various semi-barbaric deities described by the Greeks as 'Zeus the Unconquered Sun[6].' It was probably as a solar power that he ordered the erection of a statue of Apollo in his precinct[7]; for two inscriptions found at Rome link his name in close and yet closer connexion with that of the sun-god. One[8] is a dedication—

To Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest, the Eternal, and to the Sun, the Worthy, the Pre-eminent—

the other[9] a similar dedication—

To Iupiter Dolichenus, the Best, the Sun Pre-eminent, and to Iuno the Holy Mistress, the Castors and Apollo the Preservers.

[1] The word *proscaenium* is used of a *façade* or porch in front of the temple (De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'proscenium' § 3).

[2] An inscription on a statue of Apollo, now at Charlottenhof near Potsdam but doubtless derived from the precinct of Iupiter *Dolichenus* on the Aventine, mentions the same two persons by their ritual names only: ex prae|cepto | I. o. m. D. | per | Acaci|um notari|um | et | Olympi|um | patrem, | Antonii Mariani pater et filius | simulacrum Apollinis | statuerunt (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 408, 30759=Kan *op. cit.* p. 72 no. 78 =Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 92, 1=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4318). The title *pater* in both inscriptions means *pater sacerdotum*.

[3] principe(s) | huius loci. Cp. the *principes sacerdotum* of the Jews (De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'princeps' § 22).

[4] lecticari dei. This implies that the image of the god was sometimes paraded in a litter or *ferculum* (Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 824).

[5] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 382 f.

[6] *Supra* pp. 190, 193.

[7] *Supra* n. 2.

[8] *Corp. insc. Lat.* vi no. 412=Kan *op. cit.* p. 69 no. 72=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4319: I. o. m. a. D. et | Soli digno pres., | etc. This should be read *Iovi optimo maximo aeterno* (rather than *Augusto*) *Dolicheno et Soli digno prestantissimo*, etc. Cp. Kan *op. cit.* p. 76 no. 88 I. o. m. D. | et Soli | sacrum.

[9] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 413=Kan *op. cit.* p. 68 f. no. 71=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.*

The first inscription couples, the second to all appearance identifies, Iupiter *Dolichenus* with the Sun. If he, like other Syrian gods[1], was regarded by the Romans as a solar power[2], we can understand a curious third-century relief found at Rome near the *Scala santa* in 1885 (fig. 479)[3]. It was dedicated by M. Ulpius Chresimus, priest of Iupiter *Dolichenus*, not, as we should have expected, to *Dolichenus* himself, but 'to the Invincible Sun' etc.[4]; and it represents the old priest beside the young sun-god with the moon and two stars in the background.

Fig. 479.

One of the inscriptions cited above associates Iupiter *Dolichenus* with a partner-goddess called 'Iuno the Holy Mistress,' and another, probably from the same Esquiline precinct, entitles her 'Iuno the Holy[5].' A pair of dedications from the Aventine speaks of 'Iupiter

no. 4320 (dated 244 A.D.): I. o. S. p. D. | et Iunoni sanctae | herae, Castorib. | et Apollini conservato|ribus, etc. This should be read *Iovi optimo Soli* (rather than *sancto*) *praestantissimo Dolicheno* (rather than *digno*) *et Iunoni sanctae hērae* (rather than *Hērae*), etc. Probably Dessau no. 4320, like Dessau no. 4319, came from the *Dolocenum* on the Aventine; for the former mentions the same priest, C. Fabius Germanus, as the latter and likewise refers to the *candidatis huius loci* (cp. *supra* p. 608 n. 8).

[1] F. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1902 xxvi. 8 n. 5 remarks: 'Le syncrétisme impérial a considéré tous les Baals syriens comme des dieux solaires.'

[2] This is needlessly doubted by Kan *op. cit.* p. 4 f.

[3] O. Marucchi in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1886 p. 136 ff. pl. 5, A. von Domaszewski *Die Religion des römischen Heeres* Trier 1895 p. 64 no. 134 pl. 3, 5, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 230 no. 1.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 31181 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 74 no. 82: Soli invicto | pro salute imp(eratorum) | et genio n(umeri) | eq(uitum) sing(ularium) eorum M. Ulp(ius) | Chresimus sace[rd(os)] | Iovis Dolich[eni] | v. s. l. l. [m.]. The inscription was found in the *Castra equitum singularium* (H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 66).

[5] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 367 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 69 f. no. 74 (dated 218 A.D.) Iunoni | sanctae | iusso Iovis | Dolychen(i) | etc.

Dolichenus, Best and Greatest,' and of 'Iuno the Queen' respectively[1]. Two more, from Caerleon-on-Usk in Monmouthshire[2] and from Netherby in Cumberland[3], again link this Iupiter with his Iuno.

The solar aspect of Iupiter *Dolichenus* and his association with a female partner are alike supported by the extant monuments of his cult. These are fairly numerous and for the most part represent the god as a Roman soldier in full armour. He commonly, however, wears a Phrygian cap instead of a helmet. His raised right hand holds a double axe, his left hand grasps a thunderbolt. By a device already familiar to us[4] he is shown standing on the back of his sacred animal, the bull, which always appears to move from left to right.

This type occurs sometimes in the round[5]. For example, about the year 1648 A.D. a marble statuette, now preserved at Stuttgart, was found in the harbour of Marseille, where it had sunk in some Roman shipwreck. It portrays the god as a beardless warrior erect on the bull's back. His usual attributes are missing; but an eagle is perched on the ground heneath the bull, and a conical pillar rises from the ground behind the warrior's back. The base is inscribed *To the Dolichenian god* (fig. 480)[6]. Again, a marble statuette found at Szalan-kemen, probably the site of Acumincum a Roman station in Lower Pannonia, and purchased for the Vienna collection in 1851, repeats the theme with some variations. The god is here bearded and wears a Phrygian cap. His breast-plate is decorated with an eagle. Another eagle is perched between the

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 366=Kan *op. cit.* p. 73 f. no. 81=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4321: Iovi optimo | maximo Dolichen. | Paezon Aquiliaes | Bassillaes actor | cum Paezusa filia sua | d. d.

Corp. inscr. Lat. vi no. 365=Kan *op. cit.* p. 73 f. no. 81=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4321[a]: Iunoni | reginae | Paezon | Aquiliaes | Bassillaes | actor cum Paezusa | filia sua d. d. Since Iuno *Regina* had a temple of her own on the Aventine (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 165 ff., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 18), it seems probable that the new-comer Iupiter *Dolichenus* here claimed to be the consort of this ancient goddess, whose temple had been dedicated by the dictator Camillus.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 98=Kan *op. cit.* p. 90 no. 112 (on an altar found in 1653 A.D., but now lost) Iovi o. m. Dolichu[no et] | I[un]oni [C(ornelius)?] Aemilianus Calpurnius | Rufilianus [v(ir) c(larissimus), l]eg(atus) | Augustorum, | monitu.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 956 (on a small altar): I(ovi) o(ptimo) m(aximo) | D(olicheno), Iu[n(oni) r(eginae)?, M]er(curio) sanct[o, F]ortuna[e v(otum)] m(erito)? or else Fortunatus v. s. l. m.?

[4] *Supra* p. 606 f. fig. 478.

[5] Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 nos. 2—5, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 6 f. no. 1532 fig. 3.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 403=Kan *op. cit.* p. 98 no. 132: deo Dolichenio | Oct(avius) Paternus ex iussu eius pro salute | sua et suorum. On this statuette see further Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 35 f. pl. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

horns of the bull. A third is indicated in relief on a short column, which serves as a support to the bull's body. The right fore-foot of the beast is raised and rests upon a ram's head[1]. The base, as before, bears an inscription *To Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest* (fig. 481)[2].

Fig. 480.

Fig. 481.

How such statuettes were erected and what was the general aspect of a *Dolichenus*-shrine, may be inferred from the finds made in 1891 by J. Dell at Petronell, the ancient Carnuntum in Upper Pannonia[3]. The shrine was a small but strongly-walled chamber approximately square in plan and entered through a doorway on the east (fig. 482)[4]. In the middle rose a rectangular pillar, built, like the walls, of rag-stone with inserted tiles. This pillar had

[1] *Supra* pp. 391 f., 425 ff.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3253=Kan *op. cit.* p. 42 no. 26: I. o. m. Dol. | Aurelii Sabinianus et Ma|ximus et Apollinarius sacc. | vot. l. l. pos. Aurelius Apollinarius is presumably the M. Aur. Apollinaris, a *decurio* of Mursella, who dedicated two altars, likewise found at Szalan-kemen, to I. o. m. D. et deo paterno | Com(a)geno (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 10243=Kan *op. cit.* p. 42 f. no. 27). On the statuette here reproduced see further Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 34 f. pl. 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

[3] J. Dell in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1893 xvi. 176—187 with figs. 14—24 and pl. 1.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 177 fig. 14=Kan *op. cit.* p. 47 f. fig.

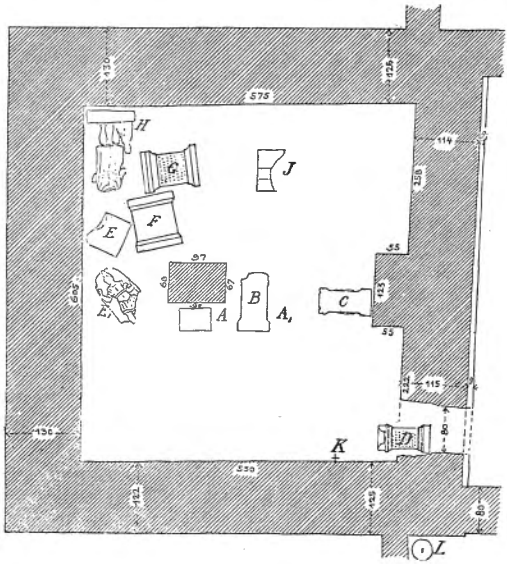


Fig. 482.

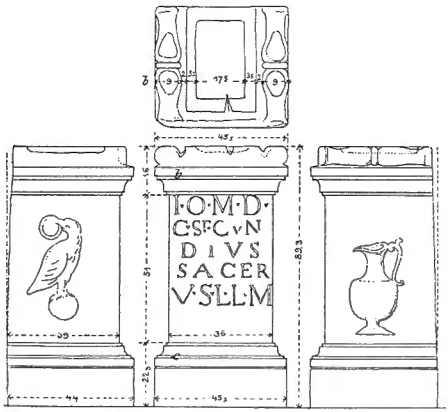


Fig. 483.

once held up a vaulted roof, above which there had been a second room with a tiled mosaic flooring. The walls of the lower chamber were plastered and showed traces of paint. Its floor was laid with big square tiles. Three overturned altars (*B*, *C*, *D* in fig. 482) bore inscriptions *To Iupiter Dolichenus, Best and Greatest*[1]: the most perfect of them (*C*) is here represented (fig. 483)[2]. Beside these altars the shrine contained a limestone relief, a marble statue, and a bronze statuette, all representing the god. The relief (E, E_1) is a tapering slab with rounded top, set on a moulded base (*F*): its background is painted blue and inscribed in red letters with a dedication to

Fig. 484.

Fig. 485.

Iupiter, who stands as usual on his bull (fig. 484)[3]. The statue (*H*), broken but still well-preserved, shows him erect on the ground:

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11131, 11132, 11133, J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 178 ff. figs. 16, 17, 18, E. Bormann *ib.* pp. 210 ff., 215 f., Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 f. nos. 42, 43, 44.

[2] *Corp. insc. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11132, J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 180 f. fig. 17, E. Bormann *ib.* p. 215 f., Kan *op. cit.* p. 51 no. 43: I. o. m. D. | C. Secun[dius sacer(dos) | v. s. l. l. m.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11129, J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 182 f. fig. 20, E. Bormann

his right hand uplifts a double-axe; his left holds the remains of a thunderbolt and rests upon a rock (fig. 485)[1]. Of the statuette (*K*) all that remains is a raised left arm wearing a tight sleeve and grasping a winged bolt: the sleeve was once silvered, and the spikes of the bolt have thin silver-foil twisted round them (fig. 486)[2].

But the most complete and interesting monuments relating to the cult of this god are certain triangular plates of bronze, about

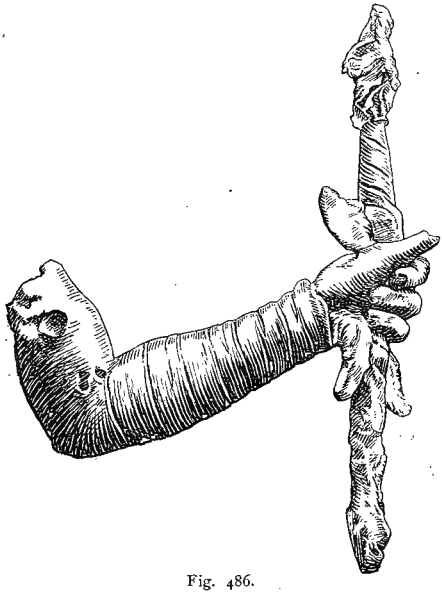


Fig. 486.

a foot from base to apex, which have here and there come to light. The national museum at Pesth possesses a pair, which either formed back and front of the same dedication, or less probably were combined with a third, now missing, to make a pyramid. They were discovered at Kömlöd in Hungary, a place which has been

ib. p. 213 ff., Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 no. 41. The inscription runs: I. o. m. | Doliceno | Atilius | Primus | ↗ leg. | XIII | G(eminae) | ex evo|cato leg. | X G(eminae) P(iae) F(idelis) | ex viso | pro salute | sua et suorum | v. s. l. l. m. | do Sergia Marsis mo (domo Sergia Marsis, *i.e.* Marruvio, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix p. 349).

[1] J. Dell *loc. cit.* pp. 182, 184 fig. 22, Kan *op. cit.* p. 49 no. 39.

[2] J. Dell *loc. cit.* p. 181 f. fig. 19, Kan *op. cit.* p. 49 f. no. 40.

identified with Lussonium in Lower Pannonia. The reliefs on these plates appear to have been partially gilded and silvered. The first plate (fig. 487)[1] represents a bearded Iupiter *Dolichenus* in his accustomed attitude. Close to his head is a star (possibly the planet Iupiter). A Victory with wreath and palm approaches him. Before him burns a small altar. His bull stands on a base inscribed *To Iupiter Dulchenus*[2] and flanked by busts of Hercules with his club and Minerva with her helmet and lance. Above the main design are two panels of diminishing size: the lower one contains busts of the Sun and Moon; the upper one, a lily-plant. The

Fig. 487.

Fig. 488.

second plate (fig. 488)[3] is divided into five registers. Highest up is the same lily. Then comes an eagle with spread wings. Next

[1] Kan *op. cit.* p. 43 f. no. 28, *a*. The best publication of this plate is that of Desjardins and F. Rómer *A. N. Muzeum római feliratos emlékei. Monuments épigr. du Mus. National.* Budapest 1873 p. 11 f. pl. 5, whence it is reproduced by A. von Domaszewski in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1895 xiv. 59 f. pl. 4, 1[a]. See also Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 36 f. pl. 3, 1, E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1193 f. fig., S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 331 fig. 2489, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3316 Iovi Dulcheno P. A. El. (*i.e.* P. Ael.) | Lucilius ↄ coh. I. A. peq. (*i.e.* c(enturio) coh(ortis) I Alp(inorum) eq(uitatae)).

[3] Kan *op. cit.* p. 43 f. no. 28, *b*. Desjardins and Rómer *op. cit.* pl. 6 is reproduced by Domaszewski *loc. cit.* pl. 4, 1[b]. See also Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 36 f. pl. 3, 2, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 56 f. pl. 5, 8, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 ff. fig. 17, S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 332 fig. 2490, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f.

to it, in a separate panel as before, are busts of the Sun with a whip (?) and the Moon with a torch. The compartment below shows in the centre an altar burning, above which a large but indistinct object (possibly a bunch of grapes with two fluttering *lemnisci*) appears in the air. To the left of the altar stands Iupiter *Dolichenus* on his bull: his right hand is raised and holds an uncertain attribute (? double-axe badly rendered); his left grasps a thunderbolt. To the right of the altar stands a goddess, presumably Iuno, on an *ibex*. The lowest and largest division represents Iupiter uplifting his right hand and holding a thunderbolt in his left over a lighted altar. He stands in a small distyle temple, to either side of which is a legionary standard surmounted by its eagle. These standards in turn are flanked by two deities, probably intended for forms of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*[1]. Each of them has corn-ears or perhaps a spiky thunderbolt in his left hand: one uplifts his right hand; the other holds in it a flower-shaped (? solar) disk. Both are standing behind the foreparts of two bulls conjoined by means of similar flower-shaped disks. The two bronze plates are bounded along their common sides by a leaf-pattern. It has been stated that their apex was formerly adorned with a small winged Victory standing on a globe and holding a palm-branch in her left hand. But the statement appears to be a mere conjecture: in any case the little figure has vanished.

In the Archaeological Institute at Vienna is a pair of similar, but fragmentary, plates, found at Traizmauer, the ancient Trigisamum in Noricum. The front (fig. 489)[2], which still shows traces of silvering, presents in high relief a bearded Iupiter *Dolichenus* with axe and bolt. Above him is an eagle with folded wings. At his right side, on a smaller scale, is a god, like himself bearded and wearing a Phrygian cap, who holds a spear in his right hand, a quartered globe or disk in his left. This god stood originally behind the foreparts of two bulls, the horn of one being visible under his arm[3]. Other fragments belonging to the same plate show parts of the bulls behind which a corresponding god stood on the left of Iupiter, and in a lower register beneath this figure a goddess more

[1] *Supra* p. 567 ff.

[2] Kan *op. cit.* p. 55 ff. no. 58, *a*, A. von Domaszewski *loc. cit.* p. 60 pl. 4, 2^a, 2^c, G. Loeschcke 'Bemerkungen zu den Weihgeschenken an Juppiter Dolichenus' in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii. 69, R. Münsterberg 'Bronzereliefs vom Limes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 229 ff. figs. 99, 100, 101.

[3] R. Münsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 230 f. fig. 102 well compares a small bronze statuette of unknown origin now at Vienna, which shows a bearded god wearing a *kálathos* and uplifting a double-axe and a three-petalled flower between two bulls emergent from either side of him.

like Venus than Iuno. Lowest of all came a handled label, probably bearing an inscription. The back-plate (fig. 490)[1], which, when found, was fitted into a groove formed by bending round the

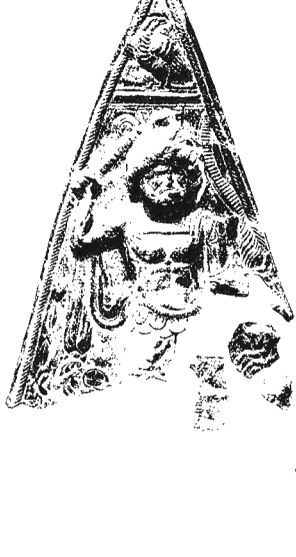
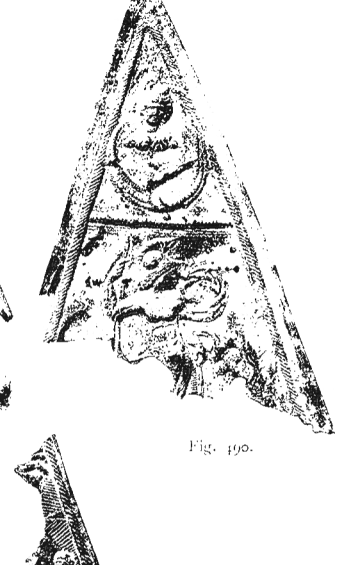


Fig. 490.



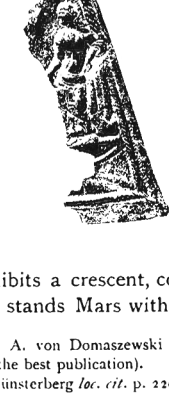


Fig. 489.

edges of the front-plate[2], exhibits a crescent, containing a horned bust of the Moon. Below it stands Mars with helmet, spear, and

[1] Kan *op. cit.* p. 55 ff. no. 58, *b*, A. von Domaszewski *loc. cit.* p. 60 pl. 4, 2[b], R. Münsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 231 f. pl. 7 (the best publication).

[2] G. Loeschcke *loc. cit.* p. 69, R. Münsterberg *loc. cit.* p. 229.

shield, and beside him his northern attribute—a goose with outstretched neck.

A fragment of another bronze plate, similar in character to the foregoing, was found in 1895 on the Roman frontier at Aalen in Württemberg (perhaps to be identified with Aquileia in Upper Germania) and is now at Stuttgart[1]. It was originally triangular in shape, gilded, and adorned with analogous designs. In the middle is a tree with leaves and fruit. To the left of it stands *Dolichenus* on his bull; to the right, his consort on her cow. Below him was a helmeted god, probably Mars; below her, Minerva, beside whom appears part of the god flanked by two bulls.

At Heddernheim in Hesse-Nassau two triangular plates of cast bronze were found in 1841 and 1826, respectively, during the excavation of a Roman settlement on the Heidenfeld: they are preserved in the Museum for Nassau Antiquities at Wiesbaden[2]. One of these plates is fortunately complete. Its front (pl. xxxiv)[3] contains four rows of figures. Uppermost is a rayed bust of the Sun. Below that, a Victory with palm-branch and wreath hovers over the head of Iupiter *Dolichenus*. He is represented as a bearded god with a Phrygian cap and a Roman breast-plate. At his side hangs his sword in its scabbard. His right hand brandishes a double-axe; his left grasps a thunderbolt consisting of six spirally-twisted tines, each of which is tipped with an arrow-head. The bull that supports the god has a rosette on its forehead between the eyes[4]. The lowest register is filled with a motley assemblage of

[1] Kan *op. cit.* p. 58 f. no. 63, F. Haug and G. Sixt *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs* Stuttgart 1900 i. 43 ff. no. 57 fig. 23.

[2] A. von Cohausen *Führer durch das Altertumsmuseum zu Wiesbaden* p. 236.

[3] Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 f. no. 145, *b*, Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xii. 39 pl. 3, 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 271 f., Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* ii. 1. 54 f. pl. 5, 6. Seidl's illustration being inexact (Wernicke *loc. cit.* p. 54 n.), I have reproduced the excellent plate given by G. Loeschcke in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii pl. 8. The bronze triangle is 0.47^{m} high and 0.195^{m} broad at the base. It was found in the *débris* of an ancient building along with ashes, charcoal, broken pottery and bricks.

[4] A slate palette from a pre-dynastic grave at *El Gerzeh* shows a cow's head with five-pointed stars on the tips of its horns and ears and a six-pointed star above its forehead between the horns (W. M. Flinders Petrie—G. A. Wainwright—E. Mackay *The Labyrinth Gerzeh and Mazghuneh* London 1912 p. 22 pl. 6, 7). On a relief from the neighbourhood of Tyre the bulls of the sun-god and the moon-goddess enclose with their tails a rosette and a disk with curved rays respectively (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 ii. 233 fig. 21 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 89 fig. 21, E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 241 n. 7). A copper of Lappa in Crete shows a bull's head facing with a rosette on the forehead (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 212 pl. 19, 36 and in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 118). The magnificent silver cow's head found in the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai has its horns made of gold and a large rosette between them plated with gold (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 820 ff. fig. 398). A 'Minoan' *kratêr* from Arpera in Kypros belonging

eastern and southern deities. In the midst is Isis on a hind (?). She bears a sceptre in one hand, a *sistrum* in the other; and on her head is an Isiac head-dress, composed apparently of a solar disk between two feathers[1]. To right and left of Isis is a couple of half-figures rising from two heaps of stones. They, like Iupiter *Dolichenus*, are armed with breast-plates; but they seem to have helmets, not Phrygian caps, on their heads. Their upraised hands grasp four flowers with a central spike, probably lilies. And on their helmets rest busts of the Moon and the Sun: the former wears a crescent; the latter, a rayed *nimbus*. The upper portion of the plate was originally intended to have been shaped like an arrow-head, as may be seen from the incised lines still traceable on it. The resemblance to a weapon[2] is strengthened by a raised rib, triangular in section, which bisects the back of the plate[3]. With this monument also, as with that from Lussonium, a small statuette of Victory is said to have been recovered[4]. But that such a figure once stood on the apex is again only an improbable conjecture.

The other plate found at Heddernheim is fragmentary. Its front (fig. 491)[5] has preserved the reliefs from the top two registers of a like monument. The upper division contains a bust of Sarapis; the lower, busts of the Sun and the Moon. The Sun has the horns of a bull; the Moon, a rayed *nimbus*: both bear whips. Over their heads are two stars: beneath them is a third, which may have stood in relation to a figure of Iupiter *Dolichenus*, now lost[6]. The back of this plate too is decorated with a raised rib[7].

Prof. G. Loeschcke has put forward the reasonable conjecture that these triangular plates of bronze were intended to represent, by their very shape, the thunderbolt of Iupiter *Dolichenus*[8]. It is

to the Louvre, shows a bull, whose flank is adorned with a large rayed rosette: this, however, may be merely decorative (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 229 fig. 5, 241, Morin-Jean *Le dessin des Animaux en Grèce* Paris 1911 p. 23 fig. 12). Bronze coins of Neapolis in Campania have for their reverse type the forepart of a man-headed bull, on the shoulder of which is a star of four or eight rays (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 86 pl. 86, 1, cp. *ib.* p. 72 f. pl. 82, 14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 108 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 39, J. N. Svoronos in *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 113 figs. 33—35).

[1] Cp. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 341 no. 3, 422 nos. 4, 5, *alib.*

[2] Cp. *e.g.* the many varieties of Bronze-Age daggers, swords, spear-heads etc. (J. Evans *The Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1881 pp. 222—342, O. Montelius *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* i Die Methode, Stockholm 1903, pp. 32—43).

[3] G. Loeschcke *op. cit.* 1901 cvii pl. 7, 3.

[4] Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 f. no. 145, *c*.

[5] Kan *op. cit.* p. 103 no. 145, *a*, Custos Seidl *loc. cit.* xiii. 244 f. with fig.

[6] *Supra* p. 616.

[7] G. Loeschcke *loc. cit.* p. 71.

[8] *Id. ib.* p. 72.

Iupiter *Dolichenus* on a bronze plate from Heddernheim.

See page 619 f.

indeed possible that they were sometimes regarded as his weapon: the half-worked barbs of the first Heddernheim plate, the raised rib on the back of it and of its fellow, the spear-like aspect of a third plate from the same locality[1], all support that view. Nevertheless, since Iupiter *Dolichenus* never brandishes a weapon of this form but always[2] a double-axe and a thunderbolt of normal shape, it is safer to conclude that the bronze triangular plates were originally substitutes for bronze pyramids or stone pyramids

Fig. 491.

sheathed with bronze. And we have already surmised that the pyramid as a ritual object points to the cult of a mountain-deity[3]. The god of thunder and lightning naturally dwells on a mountain-top.

The lily-plants of the Kömlöd dedication[4] and the lily-flowers

[1] *Infra* p. 627 f. fig. 493.

[2] Occasionally the god is so far Romanised that he stands, like an ordinary Iupiter, in his temple with a thunderbolt in one hand, a sceptre or lance in the other (*infra* p. 627 f.).

[3] *Supra* p. 603.

[4] *Supra* p. 616.

of the Heddernheim plate[1] raise a further question. What have lilies to do with a god who stands on a bull grasping a double-axe and a thunderbolt? To modern ears this sounds a strange combination of frailty with force. We note, however, that the lilies—'mountain-ranging lilies'[2], as Meleagros termed them—are somehow related to the mountain[3]. On the Kömlöd dedication they spring from the apex of a plate, which, if we are on the right track, originally symbolised a mountain. On the Heddernheim plate they were held up by deities emergent from heaps of stones. On other plates, to be considered later[4], the whole pyramid is surrounded and topped by a growth of lilies. We are reminded of the Egyptian vignette in which the divine cow looks out from the mountain-side and thereby causes vegetation to flourish[5]. Now the storm-god on his bull was essentially a fertilising power. It may therefore be supposed that the lilies appear on his mountain as a sign and symbol of fertility[6].

This belief, probably indigenous in the Mediterranean area, underlay the decorative use of the flower from 'Minoan'[7] to mediaeval times[8]. Lilies were wrought by Pheidias on the golden robe of his great chryselephantine Zeus[9]. Another statue of Zeus at Olympia, turned towards the rising sun, held an eagle in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other, and on its head wore a wreath of lilies: it was an offering of the Metapontines and the work of Aristonous, an Aeginetan sculptor[10]. Yet another Zeus at Olympia, made by Askaros the Theban, a pupil of Kanachos (?), and dedicated by the Thessalians, represented the god bearing a thunderbolt in his right hand and 'crowned as it were with flowers[11].' On an Etruscan mirror figuring the birth of Dionysos

[1] *Supra* p. 620.

[2] *Anth. Pal.* 5. 143. 2 (Meleagros) *θάλλει δ' ὀρεσίφοιτα κρίνα.*

[3] The Muses, mountain-deities (*supra* p. 104 n. 2), are *κρηνοστέφαροι* (Auson. *epist.* 12. 14): see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 297 n. 1.

[4] *Infra* p. 627 ff. [5] *Supra* p. 515.

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 24 *albae lilia...nihilque est fecundius una radice quinquagenos saepe emittente bulbo s.*

[7] Perrot Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 783 pl. 19. 5, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900–1901 vii. 15 ff. fig. 6, E. Reisinger *Kretische Vasenmalerei vom Kamares- bis zum Palast-Stil* Leipzig and Berlin 1912 p. 45.

[8] A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 200 ff.

[9] Paus. 5. 11. 1 *τῷ δὲ ἐλεφάντῳ ζῳδιά τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιημένα.*

[10] Paus. 5. 22. 5. The manuscripts in general read *ἐπίκειται δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ στέφανος, ἄνθη τὰ ὡραῖα*, which is kept by F. Spiro (1903). But cod. Lb. has *ὡράρια*. Karl Palmer's *ὡς κρίνα* is accepted by Schubart and Walz (1838–1839, 1847), L. Dindorf (1845), J. G. Frazer (1898), and H. Hitzig–H. Blümner (1901).

[11] Paus. 5. 24. 1 *ἐστεφανωμένον δὲ οἷα δὴ ἄνθεσι, κ. τ. λ.*

The Duc de Luynes in the *Mon. Ann.* 1836 i. 391 compared the Talleyrand Zeus of

Zeus (*Tinia*) has an eagle-sceptre in his right hand, a winged thunderbolt in his left, and a wreath of lilies on his head[1]. The storm-god as fertilising agent was appropriately decked with the most fertile of flowers.

In Hellenistic times the same conception made its way into mythology both poetic and popular. Nikandros tells how Aphrodite, jealous of the lily's spotless purity, placed in its centre the *phallós* of an ass[2]. And a lily-flower growing in north Africa was known to all and sundry as the 'seed of *Ámmon*[3].'

The lily as a symbol of fertility probably belonged to an earth-goddess before it was associated with a sky-god. On a gold ring found by Messrs Drosinos and Stamatakis in a complex of buildings to the south of the grave-precinct at Mykenai a goddess seated on a pile of stones beneath a tree wears a lily in her hair and her attendant handmaidens are similarly adorned[4]. Coins of Biannos in Crete have as reverse type a lily, as obverse a female head[5]—presumably that of Bianna, who appears to have been an earth-power of some sort[6]. Hera too, who by many enquirers from

the Louvre (*Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxii pl. 9), whose diadem is composed of palmettes alternating with half-open lotus-buds. In view of the fact that the lily was the Greek equivalent of the lotus his comparison was just.

[1] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 84 ff. pl. 82, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 187 f. Atlas pl. 1, 37. Gerhard (*op. cit.* iii. 85 n. 108) thinks that the wreath consists of pomegranate-flowers: but cp. the lily-wreath and lily-sceptre of Zeus on another Etruscan mirror published by the same scholar a few years later (*ib.* iv. 10 pl. 281).

[2] Nik. *alex.* 406 ff. with schol. and Eutekn. *ad loc.*, Nik. *georg. frag.* 2, 28 ff. Lehrs.

[3] C. Leemans *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi* Leyden 1885 ii. 41 pap. 5 col. 14^a, 26 γόνος Ἄμμωνος, κρινάνθεμον, R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1857.

[4] C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 276 ff. fig. 281, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 840 ff. fig. 425, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 2, 20, ii. 9 f., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 107 f. fig. 4 (enlarged $\frac{2}{3}$) and in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 15.

[5] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 43 pl. 3, 15 (flower), Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 63 (lily), Head *Hist. num.*^{2} p. 459 (rose).

[6] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βίεννος· πόλις Κρήτης. οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ Βιέννου τοῦ τῶν Κουρήτων ἑνός· οἱ δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὸν Ἄρη γενομένης βίας, ἣν ἐνταῦθά φασιν ἀπὸ † Ὤτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου τῶν παίδων Ποσειδῶνος, καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν τὰ καλούμενα ἑκατομφόνια θύεται τῷ Ἄρει. ὁ πολίτης Βιέννιος. οἱ δὲ τιμὰς ἀποπέμπειν τῷ Τεμιλίῳ Διὶ καὶ Βιεννίῳ. ἔστι καὶ ἑτέρα πόλις ἐν Γαλλίᾳ. αὐχμοῦ γάρ ποτε σύμπασαν Κρήτην κατασχόντος, εἰς ἑτέρους τόπους ἀπῳκίζοντο, οἰκῆσαι δέ τινας Ὑδροῦντα τῆς Ἰταλίας, οὕπω πεπολισμένον. χρησμοῦ δ' αὐτοῖς δοθέντος, ὅπου ἐλωδέστατον τόπον θεάσονται, κατοικῆσαι· ἐλθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τὸν Ῥόδανον ποταμὸν τῆς Γαλλίας, ἐλώδη ὄντα, οἰκῆσαι, καὶ τὴν πόλιν οὕτως ὀνομάσαι, ἐπειδὴ μία τῶν σὺν αὐτοῖς παρθένων Βίαννα καλουμένη, χορεύουσα, ὑπό τινος χάσματος ἐλήφθη.

Another Cretan virgin that suddenly vanished was Britomartis, who escaped the pursuit of Minos by disappearing in a grove at Aigina and was thenceforth worshipped as the goddess Aphaia (Ant. Lib. 40). The story of Persephone, carried off by Plouton while she watched the Nymphs dancing and plucked the lilies of Enna (Colum. *de re rust.*

Empedokles downwards has been regarded as an earth-goddess[1], was said to delight in the lily[2]. Her head on silver coins of Elis (*c.* 421—365 B.C.) wears a *stephánē*, which is decorated at first with lilies[3], later with a variety of floral patterns[4]. A story told of this goddess in the *Geoponika*[5] is here in point. Zeus, desiring to make Herakles, his son by Alkmene, immortal, put the babe to the breast of Hera as she lay asleep. When the babe was sated, the milk of the goddess still flowing caused the Milky Way to cross the sky and, dropping to earth, made the milk-white lily to spring up[6].

The belief that the lily was somehow connected with Zeus lingered on into post-classical times. Byzantine writers regarded

10. 269 ff.; but see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1185 n. 3 for variants), suggests that both Bianna and Aphaia were borne off to become queen of an underground king.

[1] For a critical review of the evidence see *e.g.* Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 181 ff., Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 1125 n. 3, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 398 ff.

[2] Clem. Al. *paed.* 2. 8. 72. 4 p. 201, 24 Stählin *κρίνῳ δὲ ἠδεσθαι τὴν Ἥραν φασίν*.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 64 f. pl. 12, 11, 12, 14, 16, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 135 no. 4, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 137 f. pl. 8, 15, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 133 no. 1090 pl. 7, *O'Hagan Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 48 no. 459 pl. 8, *Benson Sale Catalogue* 1909 p. 79 no. 569 pl. 18, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 422 fig. 231, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 52 ff. pl. 3, 28.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus pp. 65 f., 68 ff. pl. 12, 13, 15, pl. 13, 13, pl. 14, 1—3, 13, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 159 pl. 8, 39, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 423.

The coins of Elis mentioned in notes [3] and [4] must be studied in connexion with the simultaneous issues of Argos, on which the head of Hera was probably inspired by the famous master-piece of Polykleitos (see Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 41 ff., 101 ff. Münztaf. 2, 6 ff. and 14 ff., *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 509 ff., P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* 1879 xix. 238 ff., *id. Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 137 f., 159 pl. 8, 13—15, 39 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 213 ff., 232 ff. coin-pl. A, 17 and 18, A. Lambropoulos in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1895 xix. 224 ff., Sir C. Waldstein in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 30—44 with figs. 1—3 and pls. 2 f.). In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 409 f. I conjectured that the plant *ἀστερίων*, which grew on the banks of the river Asterion near the Argive Heraion and was offered to Hera, its leaves being twined into wreaths for her (Paus. 2. 17. 2), was a species of lily. This, however, is very doubtful. A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 121—125 argues well in support of the view that the *ἀστερίων* was, like the *ἀστέριον* of Krateuas, 'eine violette Nelke': he might have strengthened his case yet further, had he noticed that hemiobols of Argos struck before 421 B.C. exhibit as their obverse type a star-shaped flower (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 138 pl. 27, 8, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 71 no. 766 pl. 14, iii. 134 no. 1405).

[5] *Geopon.* 11. 19. Cp. pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 44, Lyk. *Al.* 1327 f. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, Paus. 9. 25. 2, Diod. 4. 9. See also the painting by Jacopo Robusti il Tintoretto (1518—1594 A.D.) now in the National Gallery (no. 1313: S. Reinach *Rép. Peintures* ii. 730, 2), and that by Peter Paul Rubens designed in 1637 for the Torre de la Parada at Madrid (E. Dillon *Rubens* London 1909 pp. 178, 198 pl. 432) and now in the Prado. On the folk-lore of the Milky Way see further *Mélusine* 1884–85 ii. 151 ff. 'La Voie Lactée,' P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 34 f.

[6] The Corinthians called the lily *ἀμβροσία* (Nik. *linguae ap.* Athen. 681 B, cp. Nik. *georg. frag.* 2, 28 *ap.* Athen. 683 D); and this flower grew from the head of a statue of Alexander the Great in Kos (Nik. *ap.* Athen. 684 E)—doubtless an allusion to his apotheosis (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 128 n. b, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1123 n. 3, *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 377).

it as the flower of the planet Zeus. For example, Konstantinos Manasses, who in the middle of the twelfth century composed a universal history in 'political' verse, thus describes the creation of the stars:

> Then first the sky beheld the mighty stars,
> Fair spheres that vied one with another and decked
> Its surface, as do flowers in the fields[1].
> Kronos was somewhat dark and leaden of hue;
> Zeus shone like silver[2]; Ares glowed like fire;
> Helios beamed bright as thrice-refined gold;
> The globe of Aphrodite had the glint
> Of tin; like bronze the red-rayed Hermes flared;
> Clear as a crystal was Selene's light.
> Thus many-coloured was the sky's robe seen.
> Kronos was blue as is the hyacinth;
> Zeus like a lily shone; a violet, Ares;
> The golden Helios was a crimson rose[3];
> The morning star, a white-flowered pimpernel;
> Hermes shot rays, a blossom steeped in red;
> Selene, a narcissus with fair petals.
> Such was the flower-bed that adorned the sky;
> Yea, such a pleasance, diverse, gracious, gleaming,
> Was planted there upon the face of heaven,
> And made a star-set garden of the sky
> With God for gardener, and for plants and herbs
> And flowers pied the flashing of the stars[4].

Another Byzantine scholar drew up in prose a list of the seven planets, to each of which he assigned its appropriate metal and plant: a later hand added a series of corresponding animals[5].

[1] I do not remember to have met with this conceit in classical literature. It occurs, of course, in modern poetry, *e.g.* H. W. Longfellow *Evangeline* 1. 3 'Silently one by one, in the infinite meadows of heaven, | Blossomed the lovely stars, the forget-me-nots of the angels.'

[2] For Zeus 'Αργύρου see *supra* p. 25 n. 2.

[3] J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 36 pl. 19, 2 figured a terra-cotta disk, which represents the head of Helios emerging from the petals of a rose—a type probably based on coins of Rhodes (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 250 pl. 39, 16 the sun rising out of a rose, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 441 no. 38).

[4] Konst. Manass. *comp. chron.* 113—134 Bekker.

[5] Piccolomini in the *Rivista di Filologia* ii. 159 published the following among other Planudean excerpts: *τῶν ἑπτὰ πλανήτων τὰ χρώματα τῶν τε μετάλλων καὶ τινων ἀνθέων ἀναλογοῦσι τοῖς χρώμασι· Κρόνος μὲν μολύβδῳ καὶ ὑακίνθῳ, Ζεὺς δὲ ἀργύρῳ καὶ κρίνῳ, Ἄρης σιδήρῳ καὶ ἴῳ, Ἥλιος χρυσίῳ καὶ πορφυρῷ ῥόδῳ, Ἀφροδίτη κασσιτέρῳ καὶ ἀναγαλλίδι, Ἑρμῆς χάλκῳ καὶ ἐρυθροδάνῳ, Σελήνη δὲ ὑάλῳ καὶ ναρκίσσῳ.* The interlinear glosses are by the hand of a corrector. J. Bernays in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxii. 99 cites Lobeck *Aglaophamus* p. 936 and Brandis in *Hermes* 1867 ii. 266, where passages are collected bearing on the attribution of different metals to different planets. Lists varied. Thus

Thus the completed list embraces the mineral, vegetable, and animal kingdoms :—

Kronos	Lead	Hyacinth	Ass
Zeus	Silver	Lily	Eagle
Ares	Iron	Violet	Wolf
Helios	Gold	Rose	Lion
Aphrodite	Tin	Pimpernel	Dove
Hermes	Bronze	Madder, or Anemone	Snake
Selene	Crystal	Narcissus	Cow

These Byzantine attributions were not mere fancy-flights of late and irresponsible authors, but a systematised selection from the customs and cults of the Roman Empire. In particular, there is reason to think that silver as well as the lily was associated with Jupiter *Dolichenus*. The bronze statuette of the god at Carnuntum was silvered, the points of its thunderbolt being wound round with silver-foil (*supra* fig. 486). The triangular bronze plates from Kömlöd were partially gilded and silvered[1]; those from Traizmauer were silvered[2]; that from Aalen was gilded[3]. Five silver plates dedicated to Iupiter *Dolichenus*, and probably all derived from his temple at Heddernheim, have been published by

Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 113, 4 ff. (cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1491 n. 4) *τούτων τῶν ἑπτὰ ἀστέρων ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ ἐκεῖνο καὶ ὕλαι. τῷ Κρόνῳ ὁ χαλκός, τῷ Διΐ ὁ χρυσός, τῷ Ἄρεϊ ὁ σίδηρος, τῷ Ἡλίῳ ὁ ἤλεκτρος, τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ κασσίτερος, τῷ Ἑρμεῖ ὁ μόλιβδος, τῇ Σελήνῃ ὁ ἄργυρος* (cp. Pind. *frag.* 222 Schroeder *Διὸς παῖς ὁ χρυσός· κ.τ.λ.*). *ὁμοίως καὶ οἱ οἰωνοί. ἡ κορώνη τῷ Κρόνῳ, ὁ ἀετὸς τῷ Διΐ ὡς βασιλεῖ, τὸ τῶν ζώων βασιλικώτερον, ὁ κολοιὸς τῷ Ἄρει διὰ τὸ παραχῶδες, τῷ Ἡλίῳ ἤγουν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ὁ κίρκος, ὅ ἐστι γένος ἱεράκων ταχύτατον, τῷ Ἑρμῇ ὁ κύκνος, ὡς μουσικός, τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἡ περιστερά, ὡς ποντική,* but schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 4 (5). 2 *ἑκάστῳ δὲ τῶν ἀστέρων ὕλη τις ἀνάγεται· καὶ Ἡλίῳ μὲν ὁ χρυσός, Σελήνῃ δὲ ὁ ἄργυρος, Ἄρεϊ σίδηρος, Κρόνῳ μόλιβδος, Διΐ ἤλεκτρος, Ἑρμῇ κασσίτερος, Ἀφροδίτῃ χαλκός* (cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 43, 5 ff. Diehl with schol. *ad loc.* i. 460, 22 ff. Diehl, Olympiod. *in* Aristot. *meteor.* 3 p. 59 f.) and Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 22 *ἡ πρώτη τῶν πυλῶν μολίβδου, ἡ δευτέρα κασσιτέρου, ἡ τρίτη χαλκοῦ, ἡ τετάρτη σιδήρου, ἡ πέμπτη κεραστοῦ νομίσματος, ἡ ἕκτη ἀργύρου, χρυσοῦ δ' ἡ ἑβδόμη. τὴν πρώτην τίθενται Κρόνου, τῷ μολίβδῳ τεκμηριούμενοι τὴν βραδύτητα τοῦ ἀστέρος· τὴν δευτέραν Ἀφροδίτης, παραβάλλοντες αὐτῇ τὸ φαιδρόν τε καὶ μαλακὸν τοῦ κασσιτέρου· τὴν τρίτην τοῦ Διὸς τὴν χαλκοβάτην καὶ στερράν· τὴν τετάρτην Ἑρμοῦ, τλήμονα γὰρ ἔργων ἁπάντων καὶ χρηματιστὴν καὶ πολύκμητον εἶναι τὸν τε σίδηρον καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν· τὴν πέμπτην Ἄρεος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ κράματος ἀνώμαλόν τε καὶ ποικίλην· ἕκτην Σελήνης τὴν ἀργυρᾶν· ἑβδόμην Ἥλιον τὴν χρυσῆν, μιμούμενοι τὰς χρόας αὐτῶν* (cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 25, 2 ff., p. 1154, 48 ff.). A. Ludwich as an appendix to his edition (Lipsiae 1877) of Maximus and Ammon prints certain *anecdota astrologica*, of which section 6 *τί σημαίνει ἕκαστον τῶν ζῳδίων καὶ τῶν ἀστέρων καὶ τίνων δεσπόζουσιν* includes the vegetables, minerals, and animals appropriate to the seven planets. Of Zeus we read: p. 120, 19 f. *Διὸς σῶτος, κριθή, δρυζα, ὄλυρα καὶ τὰ στύφοντα τῆς ὀπώρας*, p. 121, 8 f. *Διὸς κασσίτερος, βήρυλλος καὶ πᾶς λίθος λευκός, σανδαράχη, θεῖον καὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα*, p. 122, 1 *Ζεὺς ἀνθρώπους καὶ λέοντας καὶ τὰ καθαρὰ δρυεα.*

[1] *Supra* p. 616.

[2] *Supra* p. 617.

[3] *Supra* p. 619.

K. Zangemeister and E. Gerhard. Of these, three are in the Gold Room at the British Museum. One (fig. 492)[1] represents the god as standing in a distyle building, the gable of which contains a wreath. He holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre or lance in his left. On the ground at his feet is an eagle. Beneath the building is the votive inscription[2]; above it, a big lily, each petal of which terminates in a similar but smaller lily, the central one supporting at its apex a floral crescent. All three petals are marked with a medial pattern closely resembling that on certain

Fig. 492.

plates already described[3]. The same design comes out yet more clearly on the second specimen (fig. 493)[4], which above and below its inscription[5] has a spear-head enclosed in a frame of lily-work.

[1] K. Zangemeister in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1901 cvii. 61 f. pl. 6, 1.

[2] I. o. m. Dolicheno u|bi ferrum nascit|ur Flavius Fidelis | et Q. Iulius Posstim|us ex imperio ipsi|us pro se et suos.

[3] *Supra* p. 620 f.

[4] K. Zangemeister *loc. cit.* 1901 cvii. 63 pl. 6, 2 and 3.

[5] I. o. m. Do|licheno | Domitius | Germanus | v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

The third silver plate (fig. 494)[1] shows a distyle temple, in the gable of which are a crescent moon and two stars. The architrave is arched in the centre so as to leave room for the inscription[2]. Below is an altar. To the left of it stands Iupiter *Dolichenus* on his bull with double-axe, thunderbolt, and coat of mail. It is noticeable that the arrow-shaped points of the thunderbolt have raised central ribs. To the right of the altar stands a female (?) figure, probably on an animal now broken away, holding a *patera* in one hand, a sceptre in the other. A Victory, hovering in the air, presents a wreath to Iupiter. The whole design was enclosed in lily-work, which is much crumpled and mutilated. The remaining two silver plates are in the Berlin Museum. One of them so nearly resembles the first of the London plates that a separate description of it is unnecessary[3]. The other[4] represents the god standing in a distyle temple, the capitals and *akrotéria* of which are of the lily-pattern. He holds a six-pronged thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre or lance in his left, and wears a simple cloke hanging from his left shoulder. At his feet is an eagle perched on a globe and supporting a wreath in his beak. The field of the design is embellished with four medallions depicting Cupid with a round shield and a lance: of these medallions the upper two are connected with the temple.

Fig. 493.

[1] K. Zangemeister *op. cit.* cvii. 63 pl. 7, 1. Fig. 494 is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[2] I·O·M | DOLI.. | NVTI..... | T..... So A. S. Murray. But, on examining the plate with the help of Mr F. H. Marshall, I made out a few more letters, *viz.* (*a*) on the left of the break I·O·[M] | DO(LI)[CHE]|N (O?)·(T)IB·[... | T·DAM[.. and (*b*) on the right of the break (A?) ⋋ (∩?).

[3] E. Gerhard 'Juppiter Dolichenus' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1863 xxxv. 31 ff. pl. 1, 1, A. H. Kan *De Iovis Dolicheni cultu* Groningae 1901 p. 105 f. no. 150, K. Zangemeister *loc. cit.* 1901 cvii. 64 pl. 7, 2. It is inscribed: I. o. m. Doli|cheno An|tonius Pro|clus⋋(=centuria) Ger|mani v(otum) s(olvit) | l(ibens) l(aetus) m(erito).

[4] E. Gerhard *loc. cit.* 1863 xxxv. 31 ff. pl. 1, 2, Kan *op. cit.* p. 106 no. 151.

Iupiter *Dolichenus* was in some sense, then, a god of precious metals—a fact which leads us to remark on the frequency of the

Fig. 494.

name Aurelius in his votive inscriptions[1]. Doubtless the imperial Aurelii with their numerous freedmen spread the name far and

[1] Kan *op. cit.* p. 17.

wide through Romanised lands. Still, something more than this seems needed to account for the constant association of an Aurelius or an Aurelia with Iupiter *Dolichenus*. Thus H. Dessau prints thirty-two Latin inscriptions bearing on this divinity[1]. They include two emperors (M. Aurelius Antoninus and L. Aurelius Commodus)[2] and no less than sixteen other persons of the same gentile name: three out of the sixteen are expressly described as priests of the god[3], one as the curator of his temple[4], and three others as holding various offices connected with his cult[5]. It seems probable therefore that the Aurelii, whose name pointed at once to the sun-god[6] and to gold[7], considered themselves bound by special ties of connexion with Iupiter *Dolichenus*.

Several dedications append to the name of this deity the curious title 'where iron is born'[8]; one inscription speaks of him as himself 'born where iron arises[9].' These expressions have been usually interpreted of iron-mines in the neighbourhood of Doliche. But A. H. Kan justly objects that there is not a particle of evidence to show that such mines were ever to be found in that locality[10]. His own notion, however, that 'iron' means 'iron-water'

[1] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4296—4324.

[2] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4312, 4310.

[3] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4299, 4305, 4316.

[4] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4316.

[5] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4316.

[6] Paul. ex Fest. p. 23, 16 f. Müller, p. 22, 5 ff. Lindsay *Aureliam* familiam ex Sabinis oriundam a Sole dictam putant, quod ei publice a populo Romano datus sit locus, in quo sacra faceret Soli, qui ex hoc *Auseli* dicebantur, ut Valesii, Papisii pro eo, quod est Valerii, Papirii. Quint. *inst. or.* 11. 2. 31 also alludes to the origin of the name. *Auselius* > *Aurelius* is in fact derived from the same root as *aurora* (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 57).

[7] Paul. ex Fest. p. 9, 2 f. Müller, p. 8, 14 Lindsay (*aurum*) alii a Sabinis translatum putant, quod illi *ausum* dicebant. Vaníček and other philologists have referred *aurum* (Ital. **ausom*) to the root **aues-*, 'to shine,' seen in *aurora* etc. (Walde *op. cit.* p. 57).

[8] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 423* = *ib.* vi no. 30947 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4302 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 82 no. 92 (from the Carrafa vineyard on the Quirinal at Rome) Iovi optimo maximo | Dolicheno ubi ferrum nascitur | C. Sempronius Rectus | cent(urio) > (= centurio) frumentar(ius) d. d.

Corp. inscr. Lat. iii Suppl. no. 11927 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4301 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 57 no. 60 (Pfünz: a bronze tablet found near the camp of the first cohort of the Breuci) I. o. m. | Duliceno | ubi ferum (*sic*) | [nascit]ur || T E (according to Mommsen, these are the initials of the dedicator; according to Kan, they may be read as I E = i(ussu) E(sculapii)).

See also the inscription cited *supra* p. 627 n. 2.

[9] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1128 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4303 = Kan *op. cit.* p. 26 ff. (found in 1840 A.D. at Apulum in Dacia) numini et virtutibu[s Iovis optimi maximi Dolicheni], | nato ubi ferrum exor[itur .....] naturae boni even[tus et numini imp. Caes. T. Aeli Hadri]|ani Antonini Au[g. Pii .....] Terentiu[s ...

[10] Kan *op. cit.* p. 26.

and implies chalybeate springs is insufficiently supported by the analogy of the word *Staal* for *Staalwater*[1] and the discovery of an effigy of the god in the baths at Carnuntum[2]. F. Cumont is content to surmise that the phrases in question correspond with some Semitic epithet and imply a Commagenian myth now lost[3].

But this after all is only to explain *ignotum per ignotius*. A clue to the meaning of the words is, I venture to think, furnished by the fact that the same description is elsewhere given of the Chalybes. Greek lexicographers describe them as 'a Scythian tribe, where iron is born[4].' These iron-working Chalybes are located by different authorities at various points along the southern shore of the Black Sea[5]. Strabon, who places them near Pharnakia, states that in his time they were called Chaldaioi and that in former days they worked silver as well as iron[6]. Whether he was justified in thus identifying the Chalybes with the Chaldaioi, whom others termed Chaldoi[7], may well be doubted. But his assertion that they formerly worked silver is of interest, since the Homeric *Catalogue* describes the Halizones (after the Paphlagonians and before the Mysians) as coming—

> From far-off Alybe, where silver's born[8].

Timotheos too at the court of Archelaos sang of 'earth-born silver[9].' On the whole it seems clear that in Pontos, where, as Strabon says, the great mountain-ranges are 'full of mines[10],' iron and silver were regarded as the offspring of Mother Earth. This belief, natural enough in itself, had very possibly come down from the days of the Hittites, who worshipped a great mountain-mother. But Iupiter *Dolichenus* was near akin to this same mother. For, if his bull is that of the Hittite father-god[11], his double-axe is that

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 26 n. 2. [2] *Id. ib.* pp. 28, 47 no. 38.

[3] F. Cumont in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1902 xxvi. 7 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1279.

[4] *Et. mag.* p. 805, 22 f. Χάλυβες ἔθνος εἰσὶ Σκυθικὸν ἔνθα ὁ σίδηρος τίκτεται, Souid. *s.v.* Χάλυβες· ἔθνος Σκυθίας ἔνθεν ὁ σίδηρος τίκτεται, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1323 cod. Paris. ἔθνος δὲ οἱ Χάλυβες Σκυθικὸν ὅπου ὁ σίδηρος γίνεται.

[5] W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2099 f.

[6] Strab. 549.

[7] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χαλδία, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 767. See further Baumstark in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2061 f.

[8] *Il.* 2. 856 f. αὐτὰρ Ἀλιζώνων Ὀδίος καὶ Ἐπίστροφος ἦρχον | τηλόθεν ἐξ Ἀλύβης, ὅθεν ἀργύρου ἐστὶ γενέθλη. On the ancient variants ἐξ Ἀλόπης, ἐξ Ἀλόβης, ἐξ Ἀλύβων, ἐκ Χαλύβης, ἐκ Χαλύβων see Strab. 549 f., Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Ἀλόπη, Ἀλύβη, Χάλυβες, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 363, 12 ff., and A. Ludwich *ad loc.*

[9] Timoth. *frag.* 14 Bergk[4] σὺ δὲ τὸν γηγενέταν ἄργυρον αἰνεῖς.

[10] Strab. 549. [11] *Supra* p. 604 ff.

of the Hittite son-god[1]. Hence I conclude that the title 'where iron is born' properly belongs to *Dolichenus* as successor of the Hittite son-god. It may even be that this strange appellation points backwards to a time when the god was identified with his own double-axe[2] and the making of the latter implied the birth of the former: he was 'born where iron arises[3].'

In any case the same geographical clue will enable us to trace the connexion of Iupiter *Dolichenus* with the precious metals. The Chalybes, according to Strabon, were originally workers in silver[4]. They also collected gold in a small island lying off their coast[5]. The *Dolichenus*-plates were of silver gilt.

Finally, to return to our point of departure, we have seen that Iupiter *Dolichenus*, like the Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* with whom he is

[1] *Supra* pp. 599 f., 604 f.

[2] For 'Minoan' parallels see *infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i.

[3] Terrestrial iron perhaps stood in some relation to celestial iron. H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 200 n. 1, *à propos* of the Sumerian name for iron, which was expressed ideographically by means of the signs *An-Bar*, observes: 'The Sumerians may have first used meteoric iron at a very early period, like the Egyptians, since *AN. BAR* means practically the same thing as the Egyptian *Ba-n-pet*, "Heavenly Metal."' My friend the Rev. Dr C. H. W. Johns, however, kindly informs me that the meaning of *An-Bar*, which is taken to denote 'Divine Weight,' cannot be considered certain. And L. de Launay in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1076 gives good reasons for doubting the supposed use of meteoric iron. It is ignored by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *The Arts & Crafts of Ancient Egypt* Edinburgh & London 1909 p. 104 ff. and J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt* New York 1911 p. 136 when mentioning the rare examples of iron in early Egypt and the possible sources of supply.

On the other hand, the Egyptians believed that the tops of some mountains touched the floor of heaven, which was formed by a vast rectangular plate of iron (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 167, 491, ii. 241). It is interesting to observe that the *Iliad* always speaks of the sky as made of bronze, whereas the *Odyssey* usually describes it as made of iron: cp. *Il.* 17. 425 χάλκεον οὐρανόν (so Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 27, *Nem.* 6. 3 f.), Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 44 χαλκόπεδον θεῶν ἕδραν, *Il.* 1. 426 Διὸς ποτὶ χαλκοβατὲς δῶ (*Il.* 21. 438, 505; *Il.* 14. 173, *Od.* 8. 321), *Il.* 5. 504 οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον, Eur. *Ion* 1 "Ατλας ὁ χαλκέοισι νώτοις οὐρανὸν κ.τ.λ.; but *Od.* 15. 329 and 17. 565 σιδήρεον οὐρανόν with Eustath. *in Il.* p. 576, 33 ff., *in Od.* p. 1783, 18 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 631.

[5] Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 26. The Chalybes seem to be connected with gold as well as with iron by the story of the metal-eating mice. Aristotle stated that in the island of Gyaros mice ate iron ore; Amyntas, that at Teredon in Babylonia they had the same peculiarity (Ail. *de nat. an.* 5. 14). Theophrastos 'goes one better': in Gyaros, he says, mice drove out the inhabitants and were then reduced to eating iron; they do the same by nature in the iron-workings of the Chalybes; and in gold mines they are so fond of making away with the precious metal that they are regularly ripped up to recover it (Theophr. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 222, cp. 104, and *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 528a 33 ff. Bekker). See further Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 25 f., Antig. *hist. mir.* 18 and *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γύαρος, Herond. 3. 75 f., Sen. *apocol.* 7. 1. Since there is no iron ore in Gyaros (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1954), it is possible that we should assume another island of the same name off the coast of the Chalybes.

sometimes coupled[1] or identified[2], was essentially a thunder-god with solar powers—'the Preserver of the Whole Sky,...a Provider Invincible[3].' The bull, therefore, on which he stands is comparable with the bulls of other Anatolian deities already considered and marks him as a god of fertilising sunshine and storm.

xxi. The Significance of the Bull in the cults of Zeus.

(*a*) The Bull as a Fertilising Power.

Those who have had the patience to accompany me through the last twenty sections of our subject will be glad to rest awhile

> And let the accumulated gain
> Assort itself upon the brain.

We have gone the round of the Levant together, visiting successively Egypt, Crete, Syria, and Asia Minor. Everywhere we have found traces of the same religious history—a local worship of the bull, which drew its sanctity from immemorial usage and was associated in a variety of ways first with the principal god of the district and then with the Greek Zeus or the Roman Iupiter. In Egypt, for example, the bull Apis came to be viewed as the *avatar* of Osiris[4] or the 'second life of Ptaḥ[5],' but under the name *Épaphos* was affiliated to Zeus[6]. In Crete the bull was identified with the sun-god[7] and worshipped with mimetic rites[8]; but the sun-god was later ousted by[9], or fused with[10], the Hellenic Zeus. In Assyria

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3908=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4296=Kan *op. cit.* p. 46 no. 33 (Laibach) I. o. m. D. | et I. o. m. H(eliopolitano), cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 11131=Kan *op. cit.* p. 50 f. no. 42 (Carnuntum) I. o. m. | Dol. et rel(igioni ?) | pro sa[l(ute)] Aug(usti), where Kubitschek cj. that *rel* was a stone-cutter's error for *Hel(iopolitano)*—a cult-title known to occur at Carnuntum (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. nos. 11137, 11138, 11139).

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3462=*ib.* iii Suppl. no. 13366=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4297=Kan *op. cit.* p. 45 no 31 (Aquincum) I. o. m. | Dulceno | Heliopolitan(o). An altar from Carvoran (*supra* p. 552 n. 3), used as a trough in a stable at Thirlwall, perhaps commemorates the same identified cult (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 753=Kan *op. cit.* p. 92 f. no. 119 I. o. m. D(olicheno) | H(eliopolitano ? cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 752)).

[3] *Supra* p. 608 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 435.

[5] *Supra* p. 435 n. 6. A bronze statuette of Apis from a Greek site in the Delta is inscribed in letters of the fifth century B.C. ΤΟΙΠΑΝΕΠΙΜΑΝΕΣΤΑΣΕΣΟϤΝΑΗϚ =*τῷ Πάνεπι(?) μ' ἀνέστασε Σωκόδης*. Mr H. B. Walters suggests that the deity may be *Ba-en-ptaḥ* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 376 no. 3208).

[6] *Supra* p. 438 ff.

[7] *Supra* p. 467 ff.

[8] *Supra* p. 490 ff.

[9] *Supra* p. 522 f.

[10] *Talōs*, 'the Sun' (*supra* p. 468 n. 7), becomes Zeus *Talaiós* or *Tallaîos* (*infra* ch. i § 6 (h) v).

the bull was attached to the storm-god Adad or Ramman[1]; but it was as Zeus *Ádados* or Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* that he reached his apogee[2]. At Boghaz-Keui[3] and Malatia[4] the bull appears as a supporter of the Hittite father-god; but this deity, still mounted on a bull, made his triumphal progress through Europe under the title of Iupiter *Dolichenus*[5]. Thus from start to finish, through two or more millenniums and across three continents, the bull retained its hold upon popular reverence.

What gave the creature this claim to universal respect? What is his significance in ancient religion? Prof. Gilbert Murray in a recent lecture has told us[6]: 'we modern town-dwellers,' he says, 'have almost forgotten what a real bull is like. For so many centuries we have tamed him and penned him in, and utterly deposed him from his place as lord of the forest. The bull was the chief of magic or sacred animals in Greece, chief because of his enormous strength, his rage, in fine his *mana*, as anthropologists call it.' Perhaps we may venture to narrow down this answer without loss of probability. Beyond other beasts the bull was charged with *Zeugungskraft*, gendering power and fertilising force[7]. That, I take it, is the ultimate reason of his prestige among the cattle-breeding peoples of the Mediterranean area.

[1] *Supra* p. 576 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 549 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 604 f.
[4] *Infra* p. 640 fig. 500. [5] *Supra* p. 604 ff.

[6] G. Murray *Four Stages of Greek Religion* New York 1912 p. 33. Cp. Harrison *Themis* p. 156 f. and p. 548 Index *s.v.* 'Bull.' Prof. Murray's statement strikes me as more just and true to nature than, say, the eloquent sermon preached by Dion Chrysostom (*or.* 2 p. 69 ff. Reiske) on the Homeric text *Il.* 2. 480—483.

[7] See *e.g.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 2. 540a 6 f. (bulls), 6. 21. 575a 13 ff. (bulls), 6. 18. 572a 8 ff. and 31 ff. (cows), Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 27 (cows), Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 46 (bulls). Very significant is the use of *ταῦρος=τὸ αἰδοῖον τοῦ ἀνδρός* (Souid. *s.v. ταῦρος*, schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 217) or *τὸ γυναικεῖον αἰδοῖον* (Phot. *lex. s.vv. σάραβον, ταῦρον*, Souid. *s.v. σάραβον*, Hesych. *s.v. ταῦρος*) or *ὄρρος* etc. (Poll. 2. 173, Galen. *introductio seu medicus* 10 (xiv. 706 Kühn), Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 259, 3 f., 527, 43 ff., 906, 60, *id. in Od.* p. 1871, 43 f., *et. mag.* p. 747, 40 ff.) or *παιδεραστής* (Hesych. *s.v. ταῦρος*), and the word *ἀταύρωτος* (Aisch. *Ag.* 244, Aristoph. *Lys.* 217 f., *alib.*), if not also *λάσταυρος* (on which, however, see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 580, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 581 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 326 *s.v.* 'lascīvus').

Amulets combine the bull's head with the *phallós* in several ways (O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 58 n. 116 pl. 5, 4 and E. Labatut in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 257 figs. 308, 309, I. Scheftelowitz in *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 469 n. 3).

W. Schmitz *Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 1 f.: 'Der Stier scheint bei den Griechen ursprünglich das Symbol der Fruchtbarkeit gewesen zu sein. Die Fruchtbarkeit in der Natur wird nun aber nach griechischer Anschauung hervorgebracht entweder durch den Erdboden, oder durch die Feuchtigkeit des Wassers, oder durch die hauptsächlich von der Sonne ausgehende Wärme. Wenn also die Griechen in ihrer Mythologie und Kunst einzelnen Gottheiten das Symbol des Stieres beilegen, so bedeutet dieses Bild bald die Fruchtbarkeit des Erdbodens, bald die des gedeihenspendenden

The bull as an embodiment of procreative power was naturally brought into connexion with the great fertilising agencies of sunshine and storm[1]. In Egypt it is of course the solar aspect of the beast that is emphasised: Mnevis[2] and Apis[3] and Bouchis[4] all have a disk between their horns. In Crete too the solar character of the bull was well-marked and of early date—witness Talos otherwise called *Taûros*[5], Helios transformed into the 'Adiounian bull[6],' the Minotaur in his Labyrinth at Knossos[7], the cattle of the Sun at Gortyna[8]. Yet the 'Minoan' combination of bovine horns with the double-axe[9] shows that the bull had been related to the storm-god also. Among the Hittites the god that bears the lightning stands either upon[10] or beside[11] the bull. Nevertheless this deity was likewise regarded as a sun-god; for *c.* 1271 B.C. Hattusil ii, king of the Hatti, made a treaty with Osymandyas, *i.e.* User-Maât-Râ (Rameses ii)[12], in which the Hittite deities were enumerated with 'the Sun-god, Lord of Heaven' at their head[13]. In Babylonia and Assyria the bull is *in primis* an attribute of the storm-god En-lil[14] or Ramman or Adad[15], though the names Heliopolis, Zeus *Helioupolites*, Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* imply that in the Graeco-Roman age Adad at least was equated with Helios[16].

(β) The Influence of Apis.

Given this essential similarity of cult to cult, it was only to be expected that religious influences, affecting both thought and expression, would radiate far and wide from the chief centres of civilisation. We shall glance at three such cases of diffusion through contiguous areas.

Wassers, bald das Feuer, das Licht und die Wärme, ohne die in der ganzen Natur kein Leben sein kann.' Cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 713 f.

[1] So with the ram (*supra* p. 429 f.).
[2] *Supra* p. 431 f.
[3] *Supra* pp. 432—436.
[4] *Supra* p. 436 f.
[5] *Supra* p. 468, *infra* ch. i § 6 (h) i.
[6] *Supra* p. 468 n. 8.
[7] *Supra* pp. 472 ff., 490 ff.
[8] *Supra* pp. 410, 471, 546.
[9] *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (δ).
[10] *Infra* p. 640 fig. 500.
[11] *Supra* p. 605 fig. 476.
[12] W. Max Müller 'Der Bündnisvertrag Ramses' II. und des Chetiterkönigs' in the *Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1902 vii. 5. 17 ff., 38 ff., G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 401 ff., E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 v. 48 ff., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 347 ff., cp. p. 322, J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt*[2] New York 1911 p. 437 ff., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 363 ff., cp. p. 333.
[13] Then follow 'the Sun-god of the city Arinna; the Thunder-god, Lord of Heaven; the Thunder-god of the Hatti; the Thunder-god of the city Arinna'; etc.—these thunder-gods being presumably Sandas and various localised forms of bim.
[14] *Supra* p. 579 ff.
[15] *Supra* p. 576 ff.
[16] *Supra* p. 550 ff.

The Apis-worship of the Egyptians impressed the early Greeks[1]. Probably it impressed other nations also who came much into contact with Egypt—for instance, the Hittites. At Eyuk, some twenty miles north of Boghaz-Keui, the gateway of a Hittite palace built *c.* 1360 B.C. was flanked by an outer and an inner pair of bull-sphinxes, which may fairly be regarded as a blend of the Assyrian bull with the Egyptian sphinx[2]. The frontage-walls exhibit two series of reliefs. On the left is shown the cult of a sacred bull; on the right, that of an enthroned goddess. The corner-stones on either side are occupied by the bull and the goddess respectively. It is therefore clear that the bull (fig. 495)[3] here stands for the Hittite father-god, who elsewhere appears with this animal beneath[4] or beside[5] him. But it is also clear that Egyptian influence has again been at work. For, Apis-like[6], this bull has a variety of body-marks, a crooked stick—probably meant for a kingly sceptre[7]—and two disks on his side, the remains of a trilobed or trifoliate design on his haunch[8]. In Roman times Apis travelled yet further afield.

Fig. 495.

[1] *Supra* p. 437 ff.

[2] G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 359 f., ii pl. 54 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 656 ff. figs. 323—327, G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 647 ff. figs., J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 242 ff., 397 (bibliography), with plan on p. 247 and pl. 72, H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 329 n. 5 pl. 22, 1 (who notes that the Hittite sculptor has given his sphinxes Hathor-heads such as sphinxes in Egypt never have).

[3] G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 360 pl. 56, 3, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 668 f. fig. 329, J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 255 ff., *id. The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 9 ff. fig. 3.

[4] *Infra* p. 640 fig. 500.

[5] *Supra* p. 605 fig. 476.

[6] *Supra* pp. 432 f., 468, 540 n. 2.

[7] *Supra* p. 87.

[8] Cp. two blocks from the right-hand series of reliefs: (1) a bull about to toss, with a trace of the curved stick on his shoulder and one disk on his side (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 361 pl. 57, 3, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 678 f. fig. 639, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 263); (2) a lion holding down a ram, the ram showing the same curved stick and disk on his side and the same trifoliate design on his haunch (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *op. cit.* i. 361 pl. 57, 1 f., Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* iv. 680 f. figs. 340 f., J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 263 f.).

His effigy is found *e.g.* on coins of Amastris[1] and Germanikopolis[2] in Paphlagonia, of Nikaia[3] and Nikomedeia[4] in Bithynia, of Hadrianothera[5] in Mysia, of Mytilene[6] in Lesbos, and was adopted by Julian the Apostate as the very sign and symbol of paganism (fig. 496)[7]. The far-reaching influence of the Egyptian bull seems even to have touched the remotest confines of the ancient world. Certain square silver pieces struck by Apollodotos I show Nandi, Çiva's bull, with a simplified form of the *Nandi-pada* or 'footprint of Nandi' on his hump (fig. 497)[8]. Copper coins of Spain often denote the

Fig. 496.

Fig. 497.

Fig. 498.

sanctity of a bull by placing between his horns a triangular erection like a pediment, sometimes with a pellet or disk in it (fig. 498)[9]. Such devices may or may not imply assimilation to

[1] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 139 pl. 18, 27 (?), i. 150 pl. 20, 35, i. 152 pl. 20, 40, i. 154 pl. 21, 11, 13 (ATTIC), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 85 pl. 20, 1 (?), p. 87 pl. 20, 9 (?), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 506 (ATTIC).

[2] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 164 pl. 22, 16 (?), i. 165 pl. 22, 27 (?), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 92 pl. 21, 6 (?), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 506.

[3] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 413 pl. 69, 18 (crescent over head), 19, i. 423 pl. 71, 24, i. 442 pl. 76, 6 (?), i. 458 pl. 79, 17 (disk between horns), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 249 pl. 46, 14.

[4] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 522 pl. 90, 5 f. (?), i. 547 pl. 94, 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 180 (?).

[5] Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 930, iv. 27 (crescent moon on side), Suppl. i. 894 (moon on side), Suppl. ii. 1326 (moon on side).

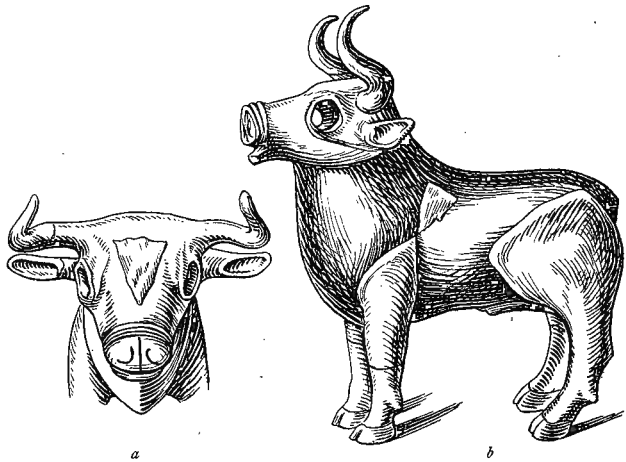
[6] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 511 f. no. 1 pl. 20, 8 (crescent moon on side). *Id. ib.* p. 512 n. 4 cp. *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1863 pl. 3, 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 206 no. 199.

[7] Rasche *op. cit.* i. 930 (two stars over horns and neck), ix. 75, 665.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 34 nos. 10 f. I figure a specimen in my collection. My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson kindly refers me to his *Catalogue of the Coins of the Andhra Dynasty* etc. London 1908 p. clxxv for an account of the *Nandipada*. He adds (Feb. 11, 1913): 'My impression is that the sign is fairly early in India. I think the great time for foreign influence of the kind suggested was the first century A.D. Sarapis, for instance, occurs on coins then. But there can be no doubt that the Persian Empire was a means of communication between Europe and Egypt on the one hand and India on the other.'

[9] A. Heiss *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* Paris 1870 p. 169

the type of Apis. More certainly affected by it is a bronze bull of the Hallstatt period from the famous Býčíská la Cave in Moravia (fig. 499 *a*, *b*)[1]. This remarkable little image was discovered in 1869 at the entry of the cave by a couple of students—Dr Felkel and his cousin—then on a holiday ramble. It lay in a terra-cotta bowl surrounded by millet, which had apparently been baked along with it; and it was attached to a plate of white metal, subsequently lost. It is a statuette of cast bronze about 100 millimeters in height. The eye-holes show traces of having been filled with an iridescent glass-paste. The three lines round the muzzle represent



a *b*

Fig. 499.

a bridle, as in the case of Egyptian bulls. Small triangular plates of iron[2] are inlaid on its forehead and shoulders, and a narrow

pl. 17, 6, 8 Cascantum, p. 175 pl. 18, 1 Graccurris, p. 201 ff. pl. 24, 19, 21, pl. 25, 37, 39, 40, pl. 26, 43 (=my fig. 498) Caesar Augusta, p. 341 pl. 50, 3 Bailo.

[1] H. Wankel *Der Bronze-Stier aus der Býčískála-Höhle* Wien 1877 pp. 1—32 with col. Frontisp. (= *id.* in the *Mittheilungen der Anthrop. Gesellschaft in Wien* 1877 p. 125 ff.), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 732, 5, Forrer *Reallex.* pp. 33, 130.

[2] So Wankel *op. cit.* p. 5 'die künstlich und mühevoll eingesetzten Eisenplättchen'; Forrer *op. cit.* p. 33 says 'mit eingelegtem kupfernem Dreieck auf der Stirn, die schon von Woldrich mit Apis in Zusammenhang gebracht worden ist,' *ib.* p. 130, 'welche auf der Stirne mit rotem Kupfer ausgelegt war und derart an den roten Stirnfleck des Apisstieres erinnert.'

Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 278 n. 4 scouts the idea that the iron triangular plates are due to any imitation of Apis. He cites a bronze cow found at Hallstatt, which served as the handle of a bowl: its eyes are iron nails, and its forehead is inlaid with a

strip along its backbone from head to tail, while there are signs of another triangular patch having concealed the casting-hole on its belly. We cannot of course suppose any direct contact between Moravia in the early iron age and Egypt. But it is possible that Egyptian *objets d'art* might find their way northwards from tribe to tribe and be copied by barbaric craftsmen. If so, we may have here the Egyptising form of a local bull-god comparable with the bronze bull by which the Cimbri swore[1] or the three-horned bulls of bronze and stone found mostly in eastern Gaul[2].

(γ) Spread of the Hittite Bull-cult.

A second case of diffusion is furnished by the Hittite bull-cult. The marked bull of Eyuk (fig. 495) was the animal form of the lightning-god and sun-god, who in one or more of the Hittite states was named *Tišup*, *Tišub*, or *Tešub*[3]. It has been plausibly suggested by A. Fick[4] that we should recognise the same name in *Sisyphos* or *Sésyphos*[5], the faded sun-god of Corinth[6]. If so, it will hardly be accidental that Sisyphos is by tradition the owner of marked oxen. Autolykos stole his cattle and tried to conceal the theft; but Sisyphos recognised them by means of the monograms or marks upon their hoofs[7] and became by Antikleia, daughter of

triangular plate of bone (E. von Sacken *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt* Wien 1868 p. 155 pl. 23, 6 and 6[a]).

[1] Plout. *v. Mar.* 23 *ὀμόσαντες τὸν χαλκοῦν ταῦρον, ὃν ὕστερον ἀλόντα μετὰ τὴν μάχην εἰς τὴν Κάτλου φασὶν οἰκίαν ὥσπερ ἀκροθίνιον τῆς νίκης κομισθῆναι.*

[2] Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 278 n. 1 draws up a list of twenty-four examples. See further Reinach *op. cit.* p. 275 ff. nos. 285, 288, 292, 293, 294, *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 66, 243 ff., and on the Celtic cult of bulls in general G. Dottin *Manuel pour servir à l'étude de l'Antiquité Celtique* Paris 1906 pp. 93, 235 ff., 240, 248 f., 274, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville *Les Druides et les dieux celtiques à forme d'animaux* Paris 1906 pp. 153 ff., 164 ff., 188 ff., the Rev. J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 pp. 38, 137 ff., 189, 208 f., 243 f., *supra* p. 481 n. 9.

[3] A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 f., J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 291 pl. 77, 1, *supra* p. 605 n. 2.

[4] A. Fick *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 43 f.

[5] The form is preserved in Hesych. *σέσυφος· πανοῦργος.* The common view that *Σίσυφος, σέσυφος* arose from a reduplication of *σοφός* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 970) is untenable.

[6] That Sisyphos pushing his stone up the hill is a genuine solar myth was already seen by V. Henry in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1892 v. 289 ff. Other views in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 967 ff.

[7] Hyg. *fab.* 201 in pecorum ungulis notam imposuit, schol. Soph. *Ai.* 190=Souid. *s.v.* *Σίσυφος·...ὅστις ὑπὸ τοὺς ὄνυχας καὶ τὰς ὁπλὰς τῶν ἰχνῶν ἑαυτοῦ μονογράμματα ἔγραψεν ὀνόματα...ἐπέγνω γὰρ αὐτὰ διὰ τῶν μονογραμμάτων,* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 344=Eudok. *viol.* 863 *Σίσυφος δὲ μονογράμμῳ τυπώματι τὸ τούτου ὄνομα ἐγχαράττων ταῖς τῶν ἑαυτοῦ (αὐτοῦ* Tzetz. ed. Scheer) *ἰχνῶν ὁπλαῖς καὶ χηλαῖς ἐπεγίνωσκεν,* Polyain. 6. 52 *Σίσυφος, Αὐτολύκου*

Autolykos, the father of Odysseus. Odysseus too, or rather his companions, stole the cattle of the sun-god[1]. Indeed, the lifting of them is a commonplace in Greek mythology[2]. For instance, Alkyoneus driving off the oxen of Helios from the Akrokorinthos[3] appears to be a doublet of Autolykos driving off the oxen of Sisyphos from the same mountain-fastness. But whether *Tešub*

Fig. 500.

is to be identified with *Sisyphos* or not, it is certain that he was a sky-god who had the bull as his sacred beast (fig. 500)[4]. A small

τὰς βόας αὐτοῦ κλέπτοντος πολλάκις, ταῖς χηλαῖς τῶν βοῶν ἐνέτηξε μόλιβον, ᾧ χαρακτῆρα ἐνήρμοσε γράμματα ἐκτυποῦντα 'Αὐτόλυκος ἔκλεψεν.' ὁ μὲν δὴ Αὐτόλυκος νύκτωρ ἀπήλασε τὰς βόας, ὁ δὲ Σίσυφος μεθ' ἡμέραν τοῖς γείτοσι γεωργοῖς ἔδειξε τὰ ἴχνη τῶν βοῶν κατηγοροῦντα τὴν Αὐτολύκου κλοπήν.

A relief-vase by the potter Dionysios, found at Anthedon and now at Berlin, illustrates this tale (C. Robert in the *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* l. 90 ff. with figs.). Cp. also a red-figured Attic *amphora* from Ruvo now at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 254 ff. no. 805, T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 162 ff. pl. G, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 277, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 137, 264), which according to the most probable interpretation (L. D. Barnett in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 640 ff.) represents the subsequent marriage of Antikleia with Laertes.

[1] O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 83 f.

[2] See W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 42 n. 164 and especially Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1914 Index *s.v.* 'Rinderraub.'

[3] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1581, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 134. The original version of the myth was reconstructed by C. Robert in *Hermes* 1884 xix. 473 ff. from schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 43, schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 47, Apollod. 1. 6. 1.

[4] Relief on building-stone at Malatia, near the confluence of the Tochma Su with the Euphrates (J. Garstang in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 3 f. pl. 4 f., *id. The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 138 f., 399 pl. 44, *id. The Syrian Goddess* London 1913 p. 5 f. fig. 1, with the original aspect of the bull's horns and the libation-vase restored by means of dotted lines, D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1909 ii. 180 f. pl. 41, 4). Prof. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* p. 138 writes: 'a deity, wearing a conical head-dress decorated with rings, stands upon the back of a horned bull. His left leg is forward..., and on his feet are tip-tilted shoes. In his right hand, which is drawn

bronze bull, acquired by Monsieur Sorlin-Dorigny somewhere in the interior of Asia Minor and by him presented to the Louvre, is regarded by Monsieur Perrot as of Hittite manufacture[1]. It has markings on its haunch which recall those of Tešub's bull at Eyuk. Probably we should be right in assuming at various Hittite centres the cult of a life-sized bronze bull, of which copies on a smaller scale were multiplied. This assumption would at least square with some further facts. W. Leonhard[2] compares with the Louvre statuette a small bronze bull of crude style seen by Prof. Cumont near Neokaisareia (*Niksar*) in Pontos. The find-spot was one of considerable interest[3]:

'You reach a mountain-top, which commands a view southwards over a vast stretch of country—*Niksar* itself, the Lykos-valley fading away into the distant haze, the wooded ranges of Lithros and Ophlimos forming the boundary of Phanaroia, and beyond with its white peaks the high mountain-chain of Asia Minor. Pines are growing on this height that no man would venture to cut, and all around are to be seen traces of a circular precinct-wall. This summit, like many others, is under the protection of Elias, and every year on the twentieth of June, the day consecrated to this prophet by the orthodox church, the villagers celebrate a 'liturgy' here. They slaughter sheep and poultry, roast them, and then fall to eating, drinking, and dancing merrily. The nature of the spot and the details of the feast are so similar to those that we have already noted near *Ebimi* at the sanctuary of Zeus *Stratios* and elsewhere too[4] that we can safely infer the existence of a pagan cult on this mountain-top. The 'liturgy' of Elias has taken the place of a festival held at the summer solstice. More than that, we were assured that ancient idols are unearthed on the mountain, and by way of proof we were shown a small bronze bull of very rude make and a bull's head that we were able to acquire[5].... The neck is a hollow socket, and two holes pierced in the metal show that this head must have been fixed on a wooden stem. The eye-holes are empty and were doubtless inlaid with enamel. The tongue, which hung out of the half-opened mouth, is now broken. A ring under the jaw probably served for the attachment of a

back, there is a triangular bow, and in his outstretched left hand he seems to hold up a forked emblem, like the lightning trident, and to grasp at the same time a cord which is attached to the nose of the bull. His dress is a short bordered tunic. Facing him is a long-robed personage, in whom we recognise the king-priest, distinguished by his close-fitting cap and the characteristic large curl of hair behind the neck. In his left hand he holds a reversed lituus; his right is partly extended and seems to be pouring out some fluid which falls in a wavy stream. He is followed by a small person who leads up...a goat clearly intended for an offering. Some hieroglyphs complete the picture.'

[1] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 763 fig. 369: 'Ce taureau peut avoir été une idole, celle même que nous voyons dressée sur l'autel dans un des bas-reliefs d'Euiuk' [*supra* p. 636 fig. 495].

[2] W. Leonhard *Hettiter und Amazonen* Leipzig—Berlin 1911 p. 230.

[3] F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* ii) Bruxelles 1906 p. 270 ff.

[4] *Eid. ib.* pp. 129 f., 172 ff., 233.

[5] *Eid. ib.* p. 271 fig. The original, 0·06m in length, is now in the *Musée du Cinquantenaire* (inventory no. A, 963).

small bell. When we remember that the bull was the sacred animal of the god Men, who is often represented with his foot set on a mere bull's head and a pine-cone in his hand[1], we may conclude with some assurance that this great Anatolian deity was once worshipped on the height where these bronzes were found. Further, it is *à propos* of Kabeira that Strabon[2] mentions the small town of Ameria, where there was the temple of Men *Pharnákou*, lord of an extensive domain and a numerous retinue of *hieródouloi*. He adds that the kings of Pontos had so profound a veneration for this god that they used to swear by the king's Tyche and by Men *Pharnákou*[3].'

Prof. Cumont's conclusion that the bulls found on this Pontic mountain imply a cult of Men is not necessarily inconsistent with the view that the Hittite bull-god was there first. Men in turn was at Maionia (*Menneh*) in Lydia brought into connexion with Zeus[4], the two deities being sometimes at least paired off as moon-god with sun-god (*supra* p. 193 fig. 142). Elsewhere Zeus appears to have inherited the bronze bulls of the Hittite god with no intermediary. Prof. Fick in his study of pre-Greek place-names[5]

[1] P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 102 f. fig. 7, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2759 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1533 n. 1. Men appears standing with a bull beside him on a coin of Sagalassos in Pisidia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 242 no. 12 Hadrian, W. H. Roscher in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1891 p. 143 pl. 1[a], 16 Hadrian), with a bull's head beside him over which he pours a libation on coins of Nysa in Lydia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 181 no. 58 Gordianus Pius, p. 184 no. 67 Valerian, W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 143 pl. 1[a], 14 Gordianus Pius), and drawn in a car by two bulls on coins of Temenothyrai in Phrygia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 412 pl. 48, 1 Commodus, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 202 f. no. 640 Commodus, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 687, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2718 f. fig. 7 Commodus). He treads upon a prostrate bull in a relief from Maionia (*infra* n. 4) and in another of unknown *provenance* at the Mount Ephraim Hotel, Tunbridge Wells (Sir Cecil Smith in *The Journal of the British Archaeological Association* 1884 xl. 114 f. with pl., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2714 fig. 6). But his usual attitude is that of setting one foot on a simple bull's head (see *e.g.* W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 142 ff. pl. 1[a], 12, 13, 15, pl. 1[b], 3 (?)) : cp. *Sabázios* with one foot on the ram's head (*supra* p. 391 f. pl. xxvii, p. 426). I figure a copper of Antiocheia in Pisidia, struck by Septimius Severus, from my collection (fig. 501, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cxii f., 179 f. pl. 31, 6).

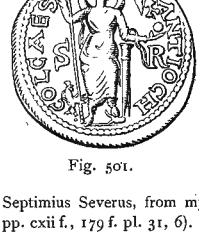


Fig. 501.

[2] Strab. 557.

[3] On this title see F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 233 n. 1, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2690, 2752, O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 2285, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1534 n. 2 *med.*

[4] Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 118 pl. 136, 2, W. H. Roscher *loc. cit.* p. 125 pl. 2, 1, *infra* ch. i § 7 (a). Beneath the relief is the inscription : *ἱερὰ συνβίωσις καὶ νεωτέρα κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Κυρίου τυράννου | Διὸς Μασφαλατηνοῦ καὶ Μηνὶ Τιάμου εὐχήν κ.τ.λ.* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3438, Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. no. 667).

[5] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 48.

argues that Mount *Atábyron* or *Atábyris* in Rhodes and Mount *Tâbôr* in Galilee, which Iosephos calls *Itabýrion*[1] and Polybios *Atabýrion*[2], bore the same Hittite name[3]. We are therefore free to surmise that the bronze cattle on Mount Atabyron, which bellowed ominously when any evil was about to befall Rhodes[4], the Sun-god's island, were of Hittite origin[5]. The small bronze bulls found now-a-days on the mountain (fig. 502)[6] are of later

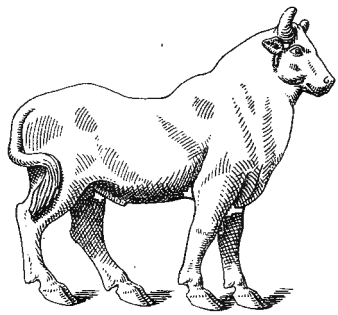


Fig. 502.

style and must be regarded as votive offerings to the Hellenic Zeus *Atabýrios*[7]. The cult of this deity spread from Rhodes to the Rhodian colony Agrigentum; and we may reasonably conjecture that the notorious bull of bronze made by Perillos for Phalaris the Agrigentine tyrant[8] was a late but lineal descendant

[1] Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 5. 1. 22, 5. 5. 3, 8. 2. 3, 13. 15. 4, *de bell. Iud.* 1. 8. 7, 2. 20. 6, 4. 1. 8, *v. Fl. Ioseph.* 37. So also in the LXX. version of Hos. 5. 1.

[2] Polyb. 5. 70. 6. Cp. Hesych. Ἰταβύριον· ὄρος, ἔχον πηγὴν μίαν ὅθεν τὰ θηρία πίνει. ἔστι δὲ εἰς τὴν Γαλιλαίαν ἐν Ἰουδαίᾳ with Hesych. Ἀταβύριον· ἔνθα [ὄρος] θηρία συνάγονται. See further I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1888.

[3] G. Beloch in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 130 had taken Ἀταβύριον to be a Carian name derived from *τάβα*, 'rock' (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάβαι).

[4] Append. B Rhodes.

[5] Yet the myth of Katreus, Althaimenes, and Apemosyne, in which ox-hides and ox-herds play their part (Append. B Rhodes), points rather to a connexion with Crete. The story of Apemosyne slipping on the freshly-flayed hides strewn by Hermes in the road reads like a piece of aetiology. Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 281 guesses that the ox-hide symbols on the disk found at Phaistos 'have an ideographic meaning and represent the skins of sacrificed beeves': he argues (*ib.* p. 285 ff.) that the disk came from the south-west coastlands of Asia Minor—'This would not exclude an insular area, such as the once Carian Rhodes, in close mainland contact.'

[6] C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 p. 76 pl. 4.

[7] Append. B Rhodes.

[8] Append. B Sicily.

of the Hittite breed. Finally, H. Prinz holds that the myth of Zeus and Europe is to be explained from Hittite sources[1]. The Hittite goddess Chipa standing on the bull held by Tešub, while she supports in either hand a flowery kirtle (fig. 503)[2], certainly

Fig. 503.

suggests that the art-type of Europe on the bull owed something to Hittite influence. And Chipa beneath her winged arch (fig. 504)[3] may be compared with *Hellotis* in her big wreath[4].

Fig. 504.

(δ) The Cretan Zeus and Zagreus.

Our third example of a transmitted religious *motif* is at once more certain and more interesting. The art of Mesopotamia carried westward by the Phoenicians has left its impress upon

[1] *Supra* p. 526 n. 2.

[2] W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 103 pl. 51, no. 186.

[3] W. H. Ward in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 26 fig. 33 and in M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 103 pl. 51, no. 187.

[4] *Supra* p. 525.

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Zeus and the Kouretes on a bronze 'shield' found in the Idaean Cavé.

See page 645 ff.

[That this 'shield' is in reality a Curetic *týmpanon* has recently been recognised by H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii Arch. Anz. pp. 47—53.]

early cult-objects in Crete[1]. Conspicuous among these is a bronze shield of the ninth[2], or possibly of the eighth[3], century B.C. found in the Idaean Cave (pl. xxxv)[4]. Round its rim are lotos-buds and a debased 'tree-of-life.' In the centre stands an athletic god who, like Rammân[5], rests one foot upon a bull and, like Gilgameš[6], lifts a lion high above his head. To either side is a winged attendant. All this is frankly Assyrian; and the youthful god with his curled hair and false beard might well be mistaken for Gilgameš portrayed as triumphing over the divine bull Alû[7] and the lion[8]. But the fact that his attendants are each beating a pair of drums undeceives us. This is none other than the youthful Zeus of Mount Ide flanked by the Kouretes. And we observe two things: first, that we have here the earliest certain representation of Zeus; and second, that despite his Kouretes he is conceived not as an infant but as a young man in the prime of life, the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line[9].'

Now the Cretans, as Dr Rendel Harris discovered[10], held that Zeus was a prince ripped up by a wild boar and buried in their midst. The manner of his death gives us good reason to suspect that he was related to the great mother-goddess of Crete as was Adonis to Aphrodite or Tammuz to Ištar. The manner of his burial confirms our suspicion; for his tomb on Mount Juktas was in the *témenos* of a primitive sanctuary[11], apparently a sanctuary of the mountain-mother[12], where in 'Middle Minoan' times votive

[1] F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 77 ff.

[2] A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 434 ff. ('the period between 850 and 725 B.C.'), cp. R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 196 ('ne remonte pas au-delà du neuvième siècle avant notre ère').

[3] F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 80, cp. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 131 ('que l'on attribue à la fin du viii[e] ou au commencement du vii[e] siècle').

[4] F. Halbherr—P. Orsi *Antichità dell' Antro di Zeus Ideo in Creta* (=*Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* ii) pl. 1, A. L. Frothingham *loc. cit.* p. 437 ff. pl. 16, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1.

[5] *Supra* p. 576.

[6] A. L. Frothingham *loc. cit.* p. 438 fig. 13, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 4 n. 11 fig. 3.

[7] M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 483 ff., W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 96 pl. 45, nos. 146—150, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 791 f.

[8] M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 488, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 786, 793, 822.

[9] *Supra* p. 15 n. 5.

[10] *Supra* p. 157 n. 3.

[11] *Supra* p. 161 f.

[12] Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 279 f.: 'Some of the most characteristic religious scenes on Minoan signets are most intelligible in the light supplied by cults that survived to historic times in the lands East of the Aegean. Throughout these regions we are confronted by a perpetually recurrent figure of a Goddess and her

limbs were dedicated for health restored[1]. If this was the character of the Cretan Zeus, it becomes highly probable that his death and resurrection were annually celebrated as a magical means of reviving the life of all that lives[2]. Of such rites sundry traces are extant in Greek literature. We must consider their bearing on the monument before us.

Porphyrios in his *Life of Pythagoras* says of the philosopher that,

'when he landed in Crete, he betook himself to the mystics of Morges, one of the Idaean Daktyloi, by whom he was purified with the thunder-stone, at daybreak lying prone beside the sea and at night beside a river, his head wrapped in the fleece of a black ram. Moreover he went down into the Idaean Cave, as it is called, wearing black wool, passed thrice nine days there in accordance with custom, offered a funeral sacrifice to Zeus, beheld the throne that is strown for him every year, and engraved on the tomb an epigram entitled "Pythagoras to Zeus," which begins—

"Here lieth dead Zan, whom men name as Zeus[3]."'

The essential points are that Pythagoras sacrificed as to a dead Zeus, and saw the throne that was annually spread for him. For whom? Presumably for the dead Zeus come to life again. It will be remembered that various coins of Asia Minor showed the

youthful satellite—son or paramour, martial or effeminate by turns, but always mortal, and mourned in various forms. Attis, Adonis or Thammuz, we may add the Ilian Anchises..., all had tombs within her temple walls. Not least, the Cretan Zeus himself knew death, and the fabled site of his monument on Mount Juktas proves to coincide with a votive shrine over which the Goddess rather than the God originally presided. So too, on the Minoan and Mycenaean signets we see the warrior youth before the seated Goddess, and in one case actually seem to have a glimpse of the "tomb" within its temenos. Beside it is hung up the little body-shield, a mourning votary is bowed towards it, the sacred tree and pillar shrine of the Goddess are hard by [*id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 177 fig. 53]. In another parallel scene the female mourner lies prone above the shield itself, the divine connexion of which is shown by the sacred emblems seen above, which combine the double axe and life symbol [*id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 176 fig. 52].'

[1] G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 260: 'Auf dem Gipfel des Juktas, südlich von Knossos, wo man später das Grab des Zeus zeigte, hat Evans Reste eines mittelminoischen Heligtums aufgedeckt, darunter auch ein paar geweihte menschliche Gliedmassen aus Ton, wie die aus dem Heiligtum einer Heilgottheit von Petsofà im Osten der Insel (Brit. School Annual IX Taf. 12). Man darf daraus schliessen, dass der Himmelsgott im minoischer Kreta zugleich Heilgott, also der Ahnherr des Zeus Hypsistos und des Asklepios war.'

[2] See *in primis* Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[2] p. 3 ff.

[3] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 Κρήτης δ' ἐπιβὰς τοῖς Μόργου μύσταις προσῆει, ἐνὸς τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ ἐκαθάρθη τῇ κεραυνίᾳ λίθῳ, ἕωθεν μὲν παρὰ θαλάττῃ πρηνὴς ἐκταθείς, νύκτωρ δὲ παρὰ ποταμῷ, ἀρνειοῦ μέλανος μαλλοῖς ἐστεφανωμένος. εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβάς, ἔρια ἔχων μέλανα τὰς νενομισμένας τριττὰς ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψε καὶ καθήγισε τῷ Διί, τόν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος θρόνον ἐθεάσατο, ἐπίγραμμά τ' ἐνεχάραξεν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ, ἐπιγράψας ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩι ΔΙΙ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,—ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζᾶν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν.

infant Zeus or Dionysos seated on a throne with Kouretes grouped about him[1]. Moreover, we have learnt from Orphic sources[2] that the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus mounted the throne of Zeus[3] and sat there grasping the thunderbolt, that in his efforts to escape the attacking Titans he ran through a whole series of changes, and that finally he was cut to pieces in the form of a bull. We concluded in fact that Dionysos or Zagreus was in some sense Zeus reborn[4]. That is why the earliest mention of Zagreus (*s.* vi B.C.) links his name with a phrase specially appropriate to Zeus[5], and Nonnos (*s.* v A.D.) speaks of him explicitly as 'a second Zeus[6].' The series of changes that he runs through perhaps reflects the rapidity of his growth. Kallimachos lays stress on the phenomenal adolescence of the infant Zeus[7]. And Aratos states that his nurses—

> hid the babe
> On fragrant Dikton, near the Idaean Mount,
> Within a cave, and reared him for a year[8].

A god who has to grow to maturity in a single year must be quick about it. Of his death in the form of a bull we shall have more to say.

But if the Cretan Zeus came to life again as Zagreus, that

[1] *Supra* p. 152 f. figs. 125—128.

[2] Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 552 ff.

[3] Hence Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 23 ἆρα δὲ οὐ πολλῷ ταῦτα (the resurrection of Christ) *σεμνότερα φανεῖται Διονύσου ὑπὸ Τιτάνων ἀπατωμένου καὶ ἐκπίπτοντος ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς θρόνου καὶ σπαρασσομένου ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα πάλιν συντιθεμένου καὶ οἱονεὶ ἀναβιώσκοντος καὶ ἀναβαίνοντος εἰς οὐρανόν;* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Crat.* p. 55, 5 ff. Pasquali *καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος < ὁ > τελευταῖος θεῶν βασιλεὺς παρὰ τοῦ Διός· ὁ γὰρ πατὴρ ἱδρύει τε αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ θρόνῳ καὶ ἐγχειρίζει τὸ σκῆπτρον καὶ βασιλέα ποιεῖ τῶν ἐγκοσμίων ἁπάντων θεῶν· "κλῦτε, θεοί· τόνδ' ὔμμιν ἐγὼ βασιλῆα τίθημι"* [Orph. *frag.* 190 Abel] *λέγει πρὸς τοὺς νέους θεοὺς ὁ Ζεύς, id. in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 310, 32 ff. Diehl *ὁ γὰρ Ζεὺς βασιλέα τίθησιν αὐτὸν ἁπάντων τῶν ἐγκοσμίων θεῶν καὶ πρωτίστας αὐτῷ νέμει τιμάς, "καίπερ ἐόντι νέῳ καὶ νηπίῳ εἰλαπινάστῃ"* [Orph. *frag.* 191 Abel], cp. *id. in* Plat. *Parm.* p. 91 Cousin *καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον παῖδας καὶ νέους ἡ θεολογία καλεῖ· "καίπερ ὄντε νέω,"* *φησὶν* Ὀρφεύς (which Lobeck *op. cit.* i. 553 justly regards as a misreading of the previous fragment), *id. in* Plat. *Alcib.* p. 83 *Ὀρφεὺς ἐφίστησι τῷ βασιλεῖ Διονύσῳ τὴν μονάδα τὴν Ἀπολλωνιακὴν ἀποτρέπουσαν αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς τὸ Τιτανικὸν πλῆθος προόδου καὶ τῆς ἐξαναστάσεως τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου.*

[4] *Supra* p. 398 f.

[5] *Alcmaeonis frag.* 3 Kinkel *ap. et. Gud.* p. 227, 37 ff. and Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 8 ff. *πότνια Γῆ Ζαγρεῦ τε θεῶν πανυπέρτατε πάντων.* On the *Alkmaionis* see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1908 i. 124 ('nicht vor dem Schluss des 7. Jahrhunderts'), *supra* p. 405.

[6] Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 298 *καὶ πέλε δεύτερος ἄλλος ἔτι βρέφος ὑέτιος Ζεύς, supra* p. 398 f.

[7] Kallim. *h. Zeus* 55 ff. *καλὰ μὲν ἠέξευ, καλὰ δ' ἔτραφες, οὐράνιε Ζεῦ. | ὀξὺ δ' ἀνήβησας, ταχινοὶ δέ τοι ἤλθον ἰοῦλοι· | ἀλλ' ἔτι παιδνὸς ἐὼν ἐφράσσαο πάντα τέλεια.*

[8] Arat. *phaen.* 32 ff. *ὅ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα | Δίκτῳ ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο (v. l. in schol.* Αἰγαίοιο), *| ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, | Δικταῖοι Κούρητες ὅτε Κρόνον ἐψεύδοντο.*

looks as though the Anatolian cult of mother and son had developed along Orphic lines. Was this actually the case? Have we a right to use the term Zagreus of Zeus *redivivus* in Crete? And, if so, what exactly do we mean by it?

In the fifth century B.C., and perhaps much earlier, Zagreus with his thunders played an essential part in the rites of Zeus *Idaîos*. So much at least we learn from an all-important fragment of Euripides' *Cretans*[1]. The Chorus of 'prophets' address Minos as follows:

> King of Crete with its towns five-score,
> Whom Phoinix' seed Europe bore
> To Zeus omnipotent evermore.
>
> Lo, I am here in thy behoof
> Quitting the holy fanes, whose roof
> Of cypress-wood is weather-proof
>
> Thanks to the home-grown timber hacked
> By Chalyb axe and then compact
> With bull-bound glue in its joints exact.
>
> Pure is my life and of spotless fame
> Since that moment when I became
> A mystic in Zeus of Ide's name,—
>
> Darkling Zagreus' thunders made,
> The raw-fed feasters' feast essayed,
> And the mountain-mother's torches swayed.
>
> Thus amid the Curetic band,
> Hallowed alike in heart and hand,
> A very Bacchos at length I stand.
>
> White is the raiment that now I wear,
> In birth and burial have no share,
> Nor eat of food, if the life be there.

The mystics of Zeus *Idaîos* here tell us how their temple was made, and how they themselves were initiated into the rites of their god. The temple was roofed with beams of cypress, a tree

[1] Porph. *de abst.* 4. 19 *μικροῦ με παρῆλθε καὶ τὸ Εὐριπίδειον παραθέσθαι, ὃς τοὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ τοῦ Διὸς προφήτας ἀπέχεσθαι φησὶ διὰ τούτων· λέγουσι δ' οἱ κατὰ τὸν χορὸν πρὸς τὸν Μίνω* [Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck²]· *Φοινικογενοῦς [παῖ τῆς Τυρίας* om. Bothe] *τέκνον Εὐρώπας | καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζανός, ἀνάσσων | Κρήτης ἑκατομπτολιέθρου·‖ ἥκω ζαθέους ναοὺς προλιπών, | οὓς αὐθιγενὴς τμηθεῖσα δοκὸς | στεγανοὺς παρέχει Χαλύβῳ πελέκει | καὶ ταυροδέτῳ κόλλῃ κραθεῖσ' | ἁρμενεῖς ἁρμοὺς κυπαρίσσου.‖ ἁγνὸν δὲ βίον τείνων ἐξ οὗ | Διὸς Ἰδαίου μύστης γενόμην, | καὶ νυκτιπόλου Ζαγρέως βροντὰς | τάς τ' ὠμοφάγους δαῖτας τελέσας | μητρί τ' ὀρείᾳ δᾷδας ἀνασχών | καὶ Κουρήτων | Βάκχος ἐκλήθην ὁσιωθείς.‖ πάλλευκα δ' ἔχων εἵματα φεύγω | γένεσίν τε βροτῶν καὶ νεκροθήκης | οὐ χριμπτόμενος τήν τ' ἐμψύχων | βρῶσιν ἐδεστῶν πεφύλαγμαι.* I follow the text as given by Nauck, except that in line 1 I print Εὐρώπας (so most MSS., Εὐρώπης Nauck with cod. Mon. 461), in line 2 Ζανός (ζανὸς codd., Ζηνός Nauck after Bentley), and in line 12 *τάς τ'* (so codd., *τοὺς* Nauck after Bergk) and *δαῖτας* (so Hesych. *s.v. ὠμοφάγους δαῖτας, δαίτας* Nauck with codd., cp. Hesych. *s.v. δαίτας*).

sacred to Rhea[1] rather than to Zeus[2]. The requisite timber was grown on the spot. Probably it formed part of a grove belonging to the goddess[3] and was felled with the double-axe, to which even in the iron age a certain sanctity still attached. The planks so hewn were fitted together with no iron nails or clamps (that would have been an impious innovation)[4], but with glue made of bull's hide[5] (for the bull was an animal form of the deity himself[6]). The initiates evidently sought to become one with the re-born god, the youthful partner of their goddess. Beginning as Kouretes, they ended as Bacchoi. Three rites are touched upon[7], the making

[1] See F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 p. 216 and *passim*, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 486—494, Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 456 pls. 153, 154, and Index *s.v.* 'Cypress,' and F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1915—1938.

[2] *Supra* p. 558 n. 5.

[3] At Knossos were shown the foundations of Rhea's house and a cypress-grove of ancient sanctity (Diod. 5. 66 *μυθολογοῦσι γὰρ οἱ Κρῆτες γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν τῶν Κουρήτων ἡλικίαν τοὺς καλουμένους Τιτᾶνας. τούτους δὲ τῆς Κνωσίας χώρας ἔχειν τὴν οἴκησιν, ὅπουπερ ἔτι καὶ νῦν δείκνυται θεμέλια Ῥέας οἰκόπεδα καὶ κυπαρίττων ἄλσος ἐκ παλαιοῦ χρόνου ἀνειμένον*).

At Ortygia near Ephesos was a grove mainly composed of cypress-trees: here Leto had brought forth her twins, while the Kouretes, standing close by on Mt Solmissos, had scared away Hera with the clash of their weapons (Strab. 639 f.).

On a lenticular gem of rock crystal actually found in the Idaean Cave 'a female votary is seen blowing a conch-shell or triton before an altar of the usual Mycenaean shape. Above the altar is seen a group of three trees apparently cypresses, and immediately in front of them the "horns of consecration." To the right of the altar is a rayed symbol, to the left is apparently another altar base, with a conical excrescence, and behind the votary another tree' (Sir Arthur Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 141 f. fig. 25).

[4] The best collection of relevant facts is in Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 225—236 ('Iron tabooed'), especially *ib.* p. 230 ('Iron not used in building sacred edifices'). Dr Frazer cites *inter alia* Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 100 Cyzici et buleuterium vocant aedificium amplum, sine ferreo clavo ita disposita contignatione, ut eximantur trabes sine fulturis ac reponantur.

[5] Miss Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 481 writes: 'The shrine of Idaean Zeus...was cemented with bulls' blood. Possibly this may mean that at its foundation a sacred bull was slain and his blood mixed with the mortar; anyhow it indicates connection with bull-worship.' The suggestion of bull's blood is over-fanciful. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1876 B translated *ταυρόδετος* correctly enough by 'Glutine taurino compacta'; for *ταυροκόλλα*, as my colleague Mr D. S. Robertson points out to me, was simply glue, best made from the hides (Dioscor. 3. 91 (101) p. 441 Sprengel, cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 3. 11. 517 b 28 ff., *alib.*) or from the ears and genitals of bulls (Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 235 f.). Nevertheless such a substance may well have had a religious value in a shrine where the bull was of primary importance.

[6] *Infra* p. 650 and ch. i § 6 (g) xxi (*ζ*, *κ*).

[7] Miss Harrison has discussed the Zagreus-rites with much insight and with a most helpful accumulation of anthropological parallels in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 478 ff., *Themis* pp. 14 ff., 51 ff., 56 ff., 156 f., cp. Mr F. M. Cornford in *Themis* p. 247 f. and Prof. G. Murray *ib.* p. 345. These scholars have not, however, seen or at least expressed what I believe to have been an essential element, perhaps originally *the*

of thunder, the banquet of raw flesh, and the roaming with torches over the mountain-side. It seems probable that the purpose of all these ritual actions was to identify the worshippers as far as possible with Zagreus, and so to bring them into the most intimate relation to the goddess. If Zagreus sat on the throne of Zeus grasping the thunderbolt, the mystics could at least produce mock thunder[1] by beating drums made from the hide of the sacred bull[2]: on the shield from the Idaean Cave we see them doing it. If he was slain in the form of a bull, they could devour a bull's flesh raw and thereby assimilate the very life-blood of the god. If he consorted by night with his mother, the mountain-goddess, they too full-charged with his sanctity might go in quest of her their mother[3] and fructify her by their torches[4]. Thenceforward as

essential element, of the performance, *viz.* that the initiate by identifying himself with the god re-born became the male consort of the goddess. The great mother-goddess, let us say, was responsible for the fertility of all living things. To keep up her powers, she must needs be impregnated by an unending succession of youthful lovers. Hence the young men of the community, in whom Miss Harrison has rightly recognised the true Kouretes (*supra* p. 23 n. 6), on entering upon manhood pose as the divine consorts of the mother-goddess. The mystics of Zeus *Idaios* in Crete thus fall into line with the mystics of Zeus *Sabazios* in Phrygia (*supra* p. 395 f.). And this may be ultimately the meaning of the phrase θαλάμευμα Κουρήτων used by Euripides (*infra* n. 2), of the *formula* ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν in the mysteries of Deo (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 15. 3 p. 13, 13 Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 18 cited *supra* p. 392 n. 5, cp. schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 c) and of the verse Δεσπoίνας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονίας βασιλείας on an Orphic gold tablet found near Naples (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 i, 7, G. Murray in Miss Harrison's *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 667 ff.).

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 820 n. 5, cp. *ib.* p. 819 n. 4, conjectured that the Kouretes clashing their weapons were the mythical counterpart of earthly priests imitating a storm by way of rain-magic. Miss Harrison *Themis* p. 61 f. thinks that the mimic thunder was produced by means of a ῥόμβος or 'bull-roarer,' which we know to have been among the toys of Zagreus (Orph. *frag.* 196 Abel = Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 17. 2 p. 14, 12 Stählin with schol. *ad loc.* p. 302, 28 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19). But the 'bull-roarer' is to my ear—and I have heard Mr Cornford swing it in the darkness with great effect—suggestive of a rising storm-wind rather than of rumbling thunder; cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 324 'In some islands of Torres Straits the wizard made wind by whirling a bull-roarer.' A passage quoted by Miss Harrison herself from Aisch. *Edoni frag.* 57, 8 ff. Nauck[2] (rites of Kotys or Kotyto) ταυρόφθογγοι δ' ὑπομυκῶνται | ποθεν ἐξ ἀφανοῦς φοβεροὶ μῶμοι, | τυπάνου δ' εἰκὼν ὥσθ' ὑπογαίου | βροντῆς φέρεται βαρυταρβὴς strongly supports the view advanced in the text—that the sound of thunder was made by beating drums of bull's hide.

[2] Cp. the preceding note and Eur. *Bacch.* 120 ff. ὦ θαλάμευμα Κουρή|των ζάθεοί τε Κρήτας | Διογενέτορες ἔναυλοι, | ἔνθα τρικόρυθες ἄντροις | βυρσότονον κύκλωμα | τόδε μοι Κορύβαντες ηὗρον · | κ.τ.λ., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 771, 54 ff., Hesych. and Zonar. *lex. s.v.* βυρσάτονος.

[3] On the Kouretes as sons of Rhea see O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1597 where variants are cited.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] iii. 240 ff., 313 f., *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 57 n. 2, shows that torches were carried about the fields with the intention of fertilising them, and *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 195 ff., 230 ff. collects examples of the

veritable embodiments of the god they must lead a life of ceremonial purity, being so far as men might be husbands of the goddess.

It remains to ask, Whence came the name *Zagréus*? and What was its significance? The word appears to be an ethnic properly denoting the god (Gilgameš?) of Mount *Zágros* or *Zágron*, the great mountain-range that parts Assyria from Media[1]. This name, we may suppose, travelled from Mesopotamia *viâ* Phoinike to Crete at about the same time and along much the same route as the Assyrian influences manifest in our shield. From Crete it would readily pass to Argos[2], and so northwards to the rest of Greece. On reaching Greek soil it was naturally misinterpreted as the 'Mighty Hunter[3],' a title applicable enough to a prince ripped up by a wild boar[4]. The Cretan god, in fact, so closely resembled his oriental counterpart that he borrowed both his name and his art-type. On the Idaean shield we see Zeus *redivivus*, already perhaps known as Zagreus, in the guise of Gilgameš, the Biblical Nimrod, 'a mighty hunter before the LORD[5].'

(ε) The Cretan Zeus and Human Omophagy.

Dr Frazer after examining the traces of Adonis-worship in Syria, Kypros, etc. reaches the conclusion[6]

'that among Semitic peoples in early times, Adonis, the divine lord of the city, was often personated by priestly kings or other members of the royal family, and that these his human representatives were of old put to death, whether periodically or occasionally, in their divine character....As time went on, the cruel custom was apparently mitigated in various ways, for example, by substituting an effigy or an animal for the man, or by allowing the destined victim to escape with a merely make-believe sacrifice.'

belief in impregnation by means of fire. The use of torches in bridal processions may have been magical as well as utilitarian.

[1] This rather obvious derivation was first, I think, noted by Miss G. Davis in *The Classical Association of Ireland: Proceedings for* 1911—1912 p. 23 f. ('Is it too much to see in Zagreus a cult-name of Dionysos or Soma as "the God of Zagros"?').

[2] At Argos there was a temple of Dionysos Κρήσιος, containing a κεραμέα σορός of Ariadne (Paus. 2. 23. 7 f.); and it was to the cycle of Argive myth that the *Alkmaionis* belonged.

[3] *Et. mag.* p. 406, 46 ff. Ζαγρεύς...παρὰ τὸ ζα, ἴν' ᾖ ὁ πάνυ ἀγρεύων, *et. Gud.* p. 227, 37 and Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 8 Ζάγρευς· ὁ μεγάλως ἀγρεύων.

[4] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 129 n. b says: 'The explanation of the word as "the mighty hunter"—which Euripides may have had in mind in his phrase in the *Bakchai* [1192], ὁ γὰρ ἄναξ ἀγρεύς—is not plausible on religious grounds.' But Dr Farnell has apparently not noticed Dr Rendel Harris' discovery of an Adonis-like Zeus in Crete.

[5] Gen. 10. 9.

[6] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[2] p. 182.

Was there anything analogous to this in the cult of the Cretan Zeus? If I have not misconstrued the evidence, both the human victim and his animal substitute can be detected even in our fragmentary records.

Zeus the princely hunter was slain by a wild boar. The myth was probably localised at Lyttos near Mount Dikte. For not only had Dikte, an older cult-centre than Ide[1], the statue of a beardless Zeus[2], but silver coins of Lyttos from *c.* 450 B.C. onwards have on their obverse side an eagle flying, or more rarely standing, on their reverse the head and sometimes the forefoot of a wild boar (fig. 505)[3].

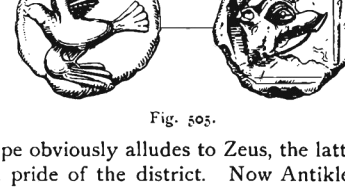


Fig. 505.

The former type obviously alludes to Zeus, the latter to his enemy, the terror and pride of the district. Now Antikleides, a historian of the third century B.C.[4], stated that the Lyttians sacrificed men to Zeus[5]. The statement was made in his *Nostoi* and, I should conjecture, had reference to the return of Idomeneus king of Lyttos[6] from the Trojan War. In that war he had played the hero's part, 'equal to a boar in bravery[7]'; and the *Odyssey* brought him home in safety to Crete[8]. But Servius knew of an ugly incident

[1] *Supra* p. 150 n. 2.

[2] *Et. mag.* p. 276, 12 ff. Δίκτη·...ἐνταῦθα δὲ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἀγένειον ἵστατο (I owe this reference to the friendly vigilance of Miss Harrison), Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Δίκτη...ἔνθεν (*sic*) καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα ἵστατο ἀγένειον.

[3] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 230 ff. pl. 21, 1—31, pl. 22, 1 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 55 ff. pl. 13, 12—15, pl. 14, 1—3, 5, cp. 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 190 f. pl. 42, 10 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 471. I figure an unpublished variety in my collection (fig. 505): the legend is NOS[illegible]?

[4] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2425 f.

[5] Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 42. 5 p. 32, 3 ff. Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 12 Ἀυκτίοις γὰρ—Κρητῶν δὲ ἔθνος εἰσὶν οὗτοι—Ἀντικλείδης ἐν Νόστοις ἀποφαίνεται ἀνθρώπους ἀποσφάττειν τῷ Διΐ.

[6] Verg. *Aen.* 3. 401 Lyctius Idomeneus. Diod. 5. 79 makes him a Cnossian (*infra* n. 8).

[7] *Il.* 4. 253 Ἰδομένευς...σὺν εἴκελος ἀλκήν.

[8] *Od.* 3. 191 f. Cp. Diod. 5. 79 (Idomeneus and Meriones) διασωθέντας εἰς τὴν πατρίδα τελευτῆσαι καὶ ταφῆς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀξιωθῆναι καὶ τιμῶν ἀθανάτων. καὶ τὸν τάφον αὐτῶν ἐν τῇ Κνωσῷ δεικνύουσιν, ἐπιγραφὴν ἔχοντα τοιάνδε,—Κνωσίου Ἰδομενῆος ὅρα τάφον. αὐτὰρ ἐγώ τοι | πλησίον ἵδρυμαι Μηριόνης ὁ Μόλου. τούτους μὲν οὖν ὡς ἥρωας ἐπιφανεῖς τιμῶσιν οἱ Κρῆτες διαφερόντως, θύοντες καὶ κατὰ τοὺς ἐν τοῖς πολέμοις κινδύνους ἐπικαλούμενοι βοηθούς.

connected with his home-coming. Idomeneus, caught in a storm, had vowed that he would offer to the gods whatever met him first on his return. The first to meet him was his own son, whom according to some he sacrificed as a victim to Zeus, according to others he threatened to sacrifice. On account of this cruelty, or because a pestilence broke out, he was driven from his kingdom by the citizens[1]. This tale was very possibly derived from Antikleides' *Nostoi*. In any case it chimes with the statement already quoted from that work, *viz.* that at Lyttos men were sacrificed to Zeus. A further allusion to the same grim custom may lie behind some guarded words of Agathokles, a fifth-century historian[2], whom Athenaios cites to the following effect[3]:

'Concerning the sanctity of swine among the Cretans Agathokles the Babylonian in his first book *On Kyzikos* remarks—"It is fabled that the birth of Zeus happened in Crete on Mount Dikte, where also a sacrifice that must not be mentioned takes place. The story goes that a sow suckled Zeus and, grunting as it trotted round the babe, made his whimpers inaudible to those who passed by. Hence all regard this animal as very holy, and" (says he) "would not eat of its flesh. The Praisians actually make offerings to a pig, and this is their regular sacrifice before marriage." Neanthes of Kyzikos in his second book *On Ritual* gives much the same account.'

[1] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 121 Idomeneus [de semine Deucalionis natus,] Cretensium rex, cum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit diis sacrificaturum se de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. contigit, ut filius eius primus occurreret: quem cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset: ut alii [vero], immolare voluisset: [et post orta esset pestilentia,] a civibus pulsus [est] regno, etc., *id. in* Verg. *Aen.* 11. 264 Idomeneus rex Cretensium fuit: qui cum tempestate laboraret, vovit, se sacrificaturum [Neptuno] de re quae ei primum occurrisset (si reversus fuisset; sed) cum casu ei primum filius occurrisset, quem (mox Iovi) cum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset: ut alii, immolare voluisset, ob crudelitatem regno a civibus expulsus est, Myth. Vat. 2. 210 Idomeneus, Cretensium rex, quum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, devovit propter sedandam tempestatem, sacrificium se dare de hac re, quae ei reverso primum occurreret. contigit igitur, ut filius ei occurreret. quem quum immolasset vel, ut alii dicunt, immolare vellet, a civibus pulsus regno, etc., cp. Myth. Vat. 1. 195 Idomeneus, rex Cretensium, quum post eversam Troiam reverteretur, in tempestate devovit, se sacrificaturum de re, quae ei primum occurrisset. contigit igitur, ut prima filia ei occurreret. quam quum, ut alii dicunt, immolasset; ut alii, immolare voluisset; a civibus pulsus regno, etc. The last of the writers here cited was obviously thinking of Jephthah's vow (Judges 11. 30 ff.).

[2] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 758 f. ('Aus diesem Grunde ist er ins 5., spätestens in den Anfang des 4. Jhdts. zu setzen').

[3] Athen. 375 F—376 A *περὶ δὲ ὑῶν, ὅτι ἱερόν ἐστι τὸ ζῷον παρὰ Κρησίν, Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Κυζίκου* [Agathokles *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller)] *φησὶν οὕτως· "μυθεύουσιν ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν Διὸς τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεται θυσία. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄρα Διὶ θηλὴν ὑπέσχεν ὗς, καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γρυσμῷ περιοιχνεῦσα τὸν κνυζηθμὸν τοῦ βρέφεος ἀνεπαΐστον τοῖς παριοῦσιν ἐτίθει. διὸ πάντες τὸ ζῷον τοῦτο περίσεπτον ἡγοῦνται, καὶ οὐ (φησί) τῶν κρεῶν <ἂν> δαίσαιντο. Πραίσιοι δὲ καὶ ἱερὰ μέζουσιν ὑί, καὶ αὕτη προτελὴς αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία νενόμισται."* *τὰ παραπλήσια ἱστορεῖ καὶ Νεάνθης ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἐν δευτέρῳ περὶ τελετῆς* [Neanthes *frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 8 Müller)], Eustath. *in Il.* p. 773, 14 ff. *ἡ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς ὗς ἀλλοίως ἔχει...τερατεύεται γὰρ εἰς ὅμοιόν τι πρὸς τὴν αἶγα τὴν θρεψαμένην τὸν Δία, ὡς δηλοῖ ὁ γράψας ὅτι Διὸς ἐν Κρήτῃ*

Agathokles uses of the sacrifice on Mount Dikte practically the same expression as Pausanias uses of the human sacrifice on Mount Lykaion[1].

On Mount Lykaion the human victim was not only killed, but in part eaten at a common feast[2]. Are we to suppose that in Crete the same ghastly rule obtained? And, if it did, what was its purpose? Direct evidence is wanting. But, since the cult of Zeus *Idaîos* as early as the fifth century B.C. exhibited Orphic traits[3], we may venture to press the analogy of Orphism in Thrace[4]. A red-figured *hydría* from Kameiros, now in the British Museum (pl. xxxvi)[5], shows Zagreus devoured by the Titans in the presence of Dionysos. The vase is of Athenian fabric and dates probably from the early part of the fourth century B.C. The grotesque style (found also in the slightly earlier vases from the Theban Kabeirion[6]) suggests that the artist has drawn his subject from Dionysiac drama. Sir Cecil Smith describes the scene as follows[7]:

'We see a group of three principal figures. The central one is a bearded man who faces the spectator, dressed in a short chiton girt at the waist; over this is a long cloak decorated with horizontal patterns, including a double band of ivy or vine leaves, and fastened by two flaps knotted on the chest; on his head is a cap which hangs down the back and has a separate flap on each shoulder. With his right hand he raises to his mouth—obviously with the intention of eating—the limb of a dead boy which he has torn from the body that he holds on his left arm. The dead child is quite naked, and its long hair hangs down from the head which falls loosely backward; the lifeless character of the figure is well brought out, in spite of the general sketchiness of the drawing.

τεκνουμένου θηλὴν αὐτῷ ὑπέσχεν ὗς, καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γρυσμῷ περιοιχνεῦσα τὸν κυνζηθμὸν τοῦ βρέφεος ἀνεπαίστον, ἤγουν ἄγνωστον, τοῖς παριοῦσιν ἐτίθει. κ.τ.λ.

[1] Cp. Paus. 8. 38. 7 (*supra* p. 70 ff.) *ἐπὶ τούτου τοῦ βωμοῦ τῷ Λυκαίῳ Διὶ θύουσιν ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ* with Agathokles *loc. cit.* (*supra* p. 653 n. 3) *ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεται θυσία.*

[2] *Supra* p. 70 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 647 f.

[4] The same significance should perhaps be attached to the Cypriote cult of Zeus *Eilapinastés*, the 'Feaster,' and *Splanchnotómos*, the 'Entrail-cutter' (Hegesandros of Delphoi *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 419 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 174 A *κἀν Κύπρῳ δέ φησι τιμᾶσθαι Ἡγήσανδρος ὁ Δελφὸς Δία Εἰλαπιναστήν τε καὶ Σπλαγχνοτόμον*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1413, 24 *καὶ ἐν Κύπρῳ, Δία Εἰλαπιναστὴν καὶ Σπλαγχνοτόμον*). A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 170 explained the title Σπλαγχνοτόμος of the diviner's art; but W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 188 n. 1 rightly points out that Athenaios says nothing here about divination.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 188 no. E 246, Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 343—351 with two figs.

[6] H. Winnefeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 81, 412 ff., H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892–3 xiii. 77 ff., *id. History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 52 f., 391 f., ii. 159 f., *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 372 ff., 1907 xxi. 169 f., cp. L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 289 ff.

[7] Sir Cecil Smith *loc. cit.* p. 344.

Zagreus devoured by the Titans

-gured *hydria* from Kameiros.

See page 654 ff.

On the left advances a figure who is also bearded, and who expresses his surprise at the sight of the central scene by the gesture of his left hand; his long wavy hair, wreathed with vine or ivy, and the thyrsos in his right hand mark him at once as Dionysos. He wears a succinct talaric chiton decorated with vertical stripes.

On the right a bearded personage, attired in the same way as the central figure, runs away to the right, looking back, and extending his left arm as if in surprise. In his right hand he carries a long staff. Part of this figure has been broken away in the only damage which the vase has undergone, but fortunately no important part seems to be wanting.

The dress which distinguishes the two right-hand figures is that which in Greek art is invariably used to characterise the inhabitants of Thrace[1].'

But how comes it that the Titans are represented as natives of Thrace? These are not the great divine figures of the Greek Titanomachy, but ordinary human beings—Thracian chieftains or the like. The fact is that the word *Titán*, as F. Solmsen in one of his latest papers points out[2], meant 'King' and nothing more. It

[1] K. Dilthey in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 179 n. 1 cited Hdt. 7. 75 Θρήϊκες δὲ ἐπὶ μὲν τῇσι κεφαλῇσι ἀλωπεκέας ἔχοντες ἐστρατεύοντο, περὶ δὲ τὸ σῶμα κιθῶνας, ἐπὶ δὲ ζειρὰς περιβεβλημένοι ποικίλας, Xen. *an.* 7. 4. 4 καὶ τότε δῆλον ἐγένετο οὗ ἕνεκα οἱ Θρᾷκες τὰς ἀλωπεκᾶς ἐπὶ ταῖς κεφαλαῖς φοροῦσι καὶ τοῖς ὠσί, καὶ χιτῶνας οὐ μόνον περὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ἀλλὰ καὶ περὶ τοῖς μηροῖς, καὶ ζειρὰς μέχρι τῶν ποδῶν ἐπὶ τῶν ἵππων ἔχουσιν, ἀλλ' οὐ χλαμύδας.

[2] F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 35 n. 1 *med.*: 'Τῑτάν ion. Τῑτήν...schliesst sich zusammen mit dem Namen des attischen Demos Τιτακίδαι, für den Länge der ersten Silbe durch die Schreibung Τειτακίδαι I G. III 1121 iii 9 (neben Τιττακίδης 2039. 2040) erwiesen wird und den wir trotz des Widerspruchs der antiken Etymologen von dem des attischen Autochthonen Τιτακός Hdt. 9, 73 ableiten dürfen (Töpffer Att. Gen. 289 ff.). Eine Nebenform des letzteren, τίταξ, besser τῖταξ, erklärt Hesych. durch ἔντιμος ἢ δυνάστης· οἱ δὲ βασιλεύς; zu ihr steht Τῖτων, wie ein 459/8 gefallener Athener Ἐρεχθηίδος I G. 1 433 iii 53 heisst, in demselben Verhältnis wie Σίλλων zu Σίλλαξ o. S. 8 Anm. 3. Mit der Glossierung von τῖταξ vergleicht sich aufs nächste die von τιτῆναι· βασιλίδες, das von dem Lexikographen aus des Aischylos Ἕκτορος Λύτρα (Fgm. 272 Nck.[2]) angeführt wird. Aus all dem zusammengenommen ergiebt sich für Τῑτάν als die richtige Deutung die schon von Preller (Myth.[4] 1, 44 f. Anm. 3) befürwortete: es ist samt den anderen Nomina Weiterbildung von τῖτός (πολύτῑτος Epigramm bei Hdt. 5, 92) 'geehrt, gescheut,' dem Partizip zu τῖ̆ω τῖσω ἔτῑσα τετῖμένος τῖμή (zu ai. *cāyatí* 'scheut, ehrt' *cāyú́s* 'Ehrfurcht bezeugend' W. Schulze Quaest. ep. 355). Der Name hat grade so allgemeinen, farblosen Sinn wie zahlreiche andere Götterbezeichnungen der 'mykenischen' Zeit (Beitr. z. griech. Wortf. 1. Teil S. 81 f.).'

I was formerly (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 177) inclined to accept the conjecture of M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 81 ff. that Τῑτάν is a reduplicated form of *Τάν, 'Zeus' (Cretan Τᾶνα, Τανός, etc.). But the reduplication Τῑ- is insufficiently supported by the alleged parallels (Σίσυφος, κῖκυς, πῑφαύσκω).

A. Dieterich in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1893 xlviii. 280 and Miss Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 493 f., *Themis* p. 15 have independently suggested that Orphic worshippers, about to tear the sacred bull, daubed themselves with white clay (τῑτᾶνος) and were therefore known as *Τῑτᾶνοι, 'White-clay-men,' the name Τῑτᾶνες, 'Titans,' being due to mere confusion on the part of Onomakritos (Paus. 8. 37. 5). It is indeed probable enough that Orphic worshippers smeared themselves with gypsum. But—apart from the fact

was therefore an appropriate appellation of the deities belonging to a bygone age. But it could also be used, as by Aischylos[1], of royalty in general. It would seem, then, that the Titans who devoured Zagreus were simply Thracian dynasts or kings. And we may fairly conjecture that behind the myth as it meets us in literature and art lies a cannibal custom, in accordance with which the chieftains of Thrace actually devoured, in part or in whole, a dismembered child and thereby assimilated the virtue of the new-born god[2].

If the rite thus evidenced for Thrace once existed in Crete also, we might look to find traces of it at various intermediate points in the Greek archipelago. Nor should we look in vain. Stepping-stones between Thrace and Crete are the islands Tenedos, Lesbos, and Chios. All three had their tradition of men slain, if not actually eaten, in the service of Dionysos. Porphyrios, who draws up a long list of human sacrifices, writes: 'In Chios too they used to rend a man in pieces, sacrificing him to Dionysos *Omádios* ("the god of Raw Flesh"), as they did also in Tenedos, according to Euelpis the Carystian[3].' Clement of Alexandreia, after recording the Lyttian custom of slaying men for Zeus, continues immediately: 'And Dosidas states that the Lesbians bring the like sacrifice to Dionysos[4]. Euphrantides the seer, who before the battle of Salamis

that the Orphic Titans are never called *Τίτᾶνοι or the like—the word used of this action is regularly *γύψος*, not *τίτανος* (see the passages cited by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 653 ff., L. Weniger in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 241 ff.). No ancient author connects *Τῑτᾶνες* with *τῑτᾰ́νος* till we come to Eustath. *in Il.* p. 332, 23 ff., who states—not that the Titans got their name from *τῑτᾰ́νος*—but that *τῑτᾰ́νος* got its name from the Titans reduced to dust and ashes by the thunderbolts of Zeus. In any case there can be no etymological connexion between the two words.

[1] Hesych. *s.v. τιτῆναι· βασιλίδες. <*Αἰσχύλος Φρυξίν* ins. Soping> *ἡ Ἕκτορος Λύτροις.* So also Hesych. *s.vv. τιήνη* (*τιτήνη* corr. M. Schmidt)· *ἡ βασίλισσα* and *τίταξ· ἔντιμος. ἢ δυνάστης. οἱ δὲ βασιλεύς.*

[2] Cp. *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 324 f.: 'Livy [i. 16. 4], after giving the usual tradition that Romulus disappeared in a thunderstorm, mentions the "very obscure tale" that he was torn to pieces by the hands of the fathers. Plutarch [*v. Rom.* 27] too, though persuaded that Romulus was caught up to heaven, records the belief that the senators had fallen upon him in the temple of Vulcan and divided his body between them, every man carrying away a portion of it in his robe. Dionysius [*ant. Rom.* 2. 56] says much the same, though he makes the senate-house the scene of the murder, and adds that those who carried away the king's flesh in their garments buried every man his fragment in the earth.'

[3] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 55 = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 5 *ἔθυον δὲ καὶ ἐν Χίῳ τῷ Ὠμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ ἄνθρωπον διασπῶντες, καὶ ἐν Τενέδῳ, ὡς φησὶν Εὔελπις ὁ Καρύστιος* (Euelpis, *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 408 Müller)), cp. Euseb. *de laud. Const.* 646 c *ἐν Χίῳ δὲ τῷ Ὠμαδίῳ Διονύσῳ, ἄνθρωπον διασπῶντες, ἔθυον.* So Orph. *h. Dion.* 30. 5 *ὠμάδιον, τριετῆ, κ.τ.λ., id. h. trieter.* 52. 7 *ὠμάδιε, σκηπτοῦχε, κ.τ.λ.*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 268 *ἐπίθετα Διονύσου...42 Ὠμαδίου*, i. 276 *Ὠμάδιος*, i. 282 *Ὠμάδιος.*

[4] Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 42. 5 p. 32, 5 f. Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 12 *καὶ Λεσβίοις*

bade Themistokles sacrifice three noble Persians to Dionysos *Omestés* ("the Eater of Raw Flesh")[1], had these and perhaps other such cases in mind.

On the whole it seems likely enough that in Crete the part of Zagreus was originally played by a human victim, who was not only killed but eaten by the local king or kings. A remarkable passage in the *Odyssey* describes Minos as a sort of ogre[2]. Commentators usually explain that he acquired this evil name on account of the cruel tribute exacted by him from the Athenians.

τὴν ὁμοίαν προσάγειν θυσίαν Δωσίδας λέγει (Dosiades *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 400 Müller)).

[1] Plout. *v. Them.* 13 *Θεμιστοκλεῖ δὲ παρὰ τὴν ναναρχίδα τριήρη σφαγιαζομένῳ τρεῖς προσήχθησαν αἰχμάλωτοι, κάλλιστοι μὲν ἰδέσθαι τὴν ὄψιν, ἐσθῆσι δὲ καὶ χρυσῷ κεκοσμημένοι διαπρεπῶς. ἐλέγοντο δὲ Σανδαύκης παῖδες εἶναι τῆς βασιλέως ἀδελφῆς καὶ Ἀρταΰκτου. τούτους ἰδὼν Εὐφραντίδης ὁ μάντις, ὡς ἅμα μὲν ἀνέλαμψεν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν μέγα καὶ περιφανὲς πῦρ, ἅμα δὲ πταρμὸς ἐκ δεξιῶν ἐσήμηνε, τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα δεξιωσάμενος ἐκέλευσε τῶν νεανίσκων κατάρξασθαι καὶ καθιερεῦσαι πάντας Ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ προσευξάμενον· οὗτον γὰρ ἅμα σωτηρίαν τε καὶ νίκην ἔσεσθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν. ἐκπλαγέντος δὲ τοῦ Θεμιστοκλέους ὡς μέγα τὸ μάντευμα καὶ δεινόν, οἷον εἴωθεν ἐν μεγάλοις ἀγῶσι καὶ πράγμασι χαλεποῖς, μᾶλλον ἐκ τῶν παραλόγων ἢ τῶν εὐλόγων τὴν σωτηρίαν ἐλπίζοντες οἱ πολλοὶ τὸν θεὸν ἅμα κοινῇ κατεκαλοῦντο φωνῇ καὶ τοὺς αἰχμαλώτους τῷ βωμῷ προσαγαγόντες ἠνάγκασαν, ὡς ὁ μάντις ἐκέλευσε, τὴν θυσίαν συντελεσθῆναι. ταῦτα μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ φιλόσοφος καὶ γραμμάτων οὐκ ἄπειρος ἱστορικῶν Φανίας ὁ Λέσβιος εἴρηκε* (Phanias *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 295 Müller)), Plout. *v. Pelop.* 21 *ἔτι δὲ τοὺς ὑπὸ Θεμιστοκλέους σφαγιασθέντας Ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ πρὸ τῆς ἐν Σαλαμῖνι ναυμαχίας*, Plout. *v. Arist.* 9 *ἐν δὲ τούτοις* (Persians captured on Psyttaleia by Aristeides) *ἦσαν ἀδελφῆς βασιλέως ὄνομα Σανδαύκης τρεῖς παῖδες, οὓς εὐθὺς ἀπέστειλε πρὸς τὸν Θεμιστοκλέα· καὶ λέγονται κατά τι λόγιον, τοῦ μάντεως Εὐφραντίδου κελεύσαντος, Ὠμηστῇ Διονύσῳ καθιερευθῆναι*, Tzetz. *exeg. Il.* p. 109, 1 ff. Hermann (printed at the end of Draco Stratonicensis *liber de metris poeticis* ed. G. Hermann Lipsiae 1812) *τοιαύτας ἦν θυσίας ἐπιτελῶν ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ξέρξου Εὐφραντίδης μάντις τῶν Ἀθηναίων, καὶ Μεγιστίας ὁ Ἀκαρνάν· καὶ Πλούταρχος μέμνηται ποῦ τοιαύτην θυσίαν ποιῆσαι Τίτον καὶ Ουάλλέριον, τοὺς Βρούτου υἱοὺς καὶ τοὺς Κολλατίνου ἀνεψιούς, ἄνθρωπον ἀποσφάξαντας καὶ τῶν ἐγκάτων αὐτοῦ γευσαμένους· καὶ αὕτη μὲν ἦν ἡ παλαιὰ ἱερατική.* Phanias of Eresos was a pupil of Aristotle and a painstaking historian (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 59 f.), and such sacrifices in time of war were not unknown (see the context in Plout. *v. Pelop.* 21). It is only too probable that the Persian youths met their fate as described by Plutarch.

Cp. also Plout. *v. Ant.* 24 *εἰς γοῦν Ἔφεσον εἰσιόντος αὐτοῦ γυναῖκες μὲν εἰς Βάκχας, ἄνδρες δὲ καὶ παῖδες εἰς Σατύρους καὶ Πᾶνας ἠγούμενοι διεσκευασμένοι, κιττοῦ δὲ καὶ θύρσων καὶ ψαλτηρίων καὶ συρίγγων καὶ αὐλῶν ἡ πόλις ἦν πλέα, Διόνυσον αὐτὸν ἀνακαλουμένων Χαριδότην καὶ Μειλίχιον. ἦν γὰρ ἀμέλει τοιοῦτος ἐνίοις, τοῖς δὲ πολλοῖς Ὠμηστὴς καὶ Ἀγριώνιος. ἀφηρεῖτο γὰρ εὐγενεῖς ἀνθρώπους τὰ ὄντα μαστιγίαις καὶ κόλαξι χαριζόμενος.* κ.τ.λ., Plout. *de cohib. ira* 13 *ὁ γὰρ τοῦ θεοῦ νάρθηξ ἱκανὸς κολαστὴς τοῦ μεθύοντος, ἂν μὴ προσγενόμενος ὁ θυμὸς Ὠμηστὴν καὶ Μαινόλην ἀντὶ Ἀυαλου καὶ Χορείου ποιήσῃ τὸν ἄκρατον*, Apostol. 18. 59 Ὠμητὴς (Ὠμηστὴς Pantinus, Walz) *Διόνυσος· ἐπὶ τῶν ὠμότατα καὶ ἀπανθρωπότατα πραττόντων· τούτῳ γὰρ ζῶντας ἀνθρώπους ἔθυον οἱ πάλαι*, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 25 *ὤριον, ὠμηστήν*, κ.τ.λ. (*anon. h. Dion.*), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 268 *ἐπίθετα Διονύσου...43 Ὠμηστοῦ.*

[2] *Od.* 11. 322 *Μίνωος ὀλοόφρονος.* The scholiasts *ad loc.* are puzzled: schol. Q. *καὶ πῶς "Μίνωα εἶδον Διὸς ἄγλαὸν υἱόν"*; schol. T. *πῶς οὖν θεμιστεύει ἐν τοῖς νεκροῖς ὀλοόφρων ὤν;*

But in the Berlin fragment of Euripides' *Cretans* Pasiphae says to him:

> Wherefore if in the deep
> Thou art fain to fling me, fling: full well thou knowest
> The shambles and the murdering of men.
> Or if thou longest to eat this flesh of mine
> Raw, thou mayest eat: feast on and take thy fill[1].

These words can hardly refer to the Minotaur and his victims. Or, if they do, what after all is implied by the tradition that the

Fig. 506.

Minotaur devoured youths and maidens? We have taken him to be the Cnossian crown-prince masquerading in a solar dance[2]. He too, like the Thracian chieftains, may have renewed his magic powers by tasting of human flesh[3].

The memory of such enormities is slow to fade. A sarco-

[1] *Berliner Klassikertexte* Berlin 1907 v. 2. 75 no. 217, 35 ff. *πρὸς τάδ' εἴτε ποντίαν | ῥίπτειν δοκεῖ σοι, ῥίπτ'· ἐπίστασαι δέ τοι | μιαίφον' ἔργα καὶ σφαγὰς ἀνδροκτόνους· | εἰ δ' ὠμοσίτου τῆς ἐμῆς ἐρᾷς φαγεῖν | σαρκός, πάρεστι, μὴ λίπῃς θοινώμενος.*

[2] *Supra* p. 490 ff.

[3] It may be that the ferocious language of *Il.* 4. 35 f. (Zeus to Hera) *ὡμὸν βεβρώθοις Πρίαμον Πριάμοιό τε παῖδας | ἄλλους τε Τρῶας, τότε κεν χόλον ἐξακέσαιο*, cp. 22. 346 ff. 24. 212 ff., Xen. *an.* 4. 8. 14, *Hell.* 3. 3. 6, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 36 p. 154 Kayser, took its rise in a grim reality and then, as civilisation increased, passed through the successive stages of tragic grandiloquence and comic bombast.

phagus (?)-relief in the Villa Albani (fig. 506)[1] shows portions of two scenes from Cretan legend. On the right is one of the Kourêtes guarding the infant god. On the left three Titans make their murderous attack on Zagreus[2].

(ζ) The Cretan Zeus and Bovine Omophagy.

But to the Greek or Roman of classical times human sacrifice in general and cannibalistic omophagy in particular was a half-forgotten piece of barbarism[3]. A possible substitute for the victim was an ox[4]. A case in point is the curious sacrifice of a bull-calf at Tenedos, concerning which Aelian[5] writes:

'The Tenedians keep a pregnant cow for Dionysos *Anthroporrhaistes*, "Smiter of Men," and, when it has brought forth, they tend it like a woman in child-bed. But the new-born young they sacrifice, after binding buskins upon its feet. The man who strikes it with the axe, however, is pelted with stones by the populace and runs away till he reaches the sea.'

In this singular rite the calf dressed in buskins was obviously the surrogate for a human victim in Dionysiac attire. We must suppose that originally a child, not a calf, was struck by the axe. And this raises the question whether the axe that struck him was not the very embodiment of the god, Dionysos 'Smiter of men[6].'

[1] G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808. ii. 170 ff. pl. 81, F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 28 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 136 no. 3.

[2] Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 90 no. 854 takes them to be 'rustics with beards, whipping a naked boy'! But why three of them (of the third the left foot only is seen)? And why such a frantic attitude on his part? Very different is the young Satyr lashed by Silenos on a sarcophagus representing the education of Dionysos (Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 117 ff. no. 46 a pl. 24). Even if it could be proved that we have in the Albani relief merely a *genre*-scene, it would still remain probable that the type was based on a mythological *Vorbild*.

[3] See *e.g.* Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 922 ff. and Index *s.v.* 'Menschenopfer' for the Greek evidence, Prof. J. S. Reid 'Human Sacrifices at Rome and other notes on Roman Religion' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 i. 34 ff. for the Roman.

[4] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 54 f. = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 f. (of the man sacrificed at Salamis in Kypros to Agraulos or Diomedes) *τοῦτον δὲ τὸν θεσμὸν Δίφιλος ὁ τῆς Κύπρου βασιλεὺς κατέλυσε, κατὰ τοὺς Σελεύκου χρόνους τοῦ θεολόγου γενόμενος, τὸ ἔθος εἰς βουθυσίαν μεταστήσας. προσήκατο δ' ὁ δαίμων ἀντὶ ἀνθρώπου τὸν βοῦν· οὕτως ἰσάξιόν ἐστιν τὸ δρώμενον, supra* p. 417 n. 5.

[5] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34 *Τενέδιοι δὲ τῷ 'Ανθρωποῤῥαίστῃ Διονύσῳ τρέφουσι κύουσαν βοῦν, τεκοῦσαν δὲ ἁρα αὐτὴν οἷα δήπου λεχὼ θεραπεύουσι. τὸ δὲ ἀρτιγενὲς βρέφος καταθύουσιν ὑποδήσαντες κοθόρνους. ὃ γε μὴν πατάξας αὐτὸ τῷ πελέκει λίθοις βάλλεται δημοσίᾳ, καὶ ἔστε ἐπὶ τὴν θάλατταν φεύγει.*

Strattis the comedian wrote a play entitled *'Ανθρωποῤῥαίστης*, of which two fragments are extant (*Frag. com. Gr.* i. 224, ii. 763 f. Meineke).

[6] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 164 f. says: 'the cult-term *ἀνθρωποῤῥαίστης*...must be interpreted as the "render of men."' But this is a somewhat inexact translation apparently based on the ritual of Dionysos *'Ωμάδιος* in the same island (*supra* p. 656). The verb

Later[1] we shall find reason to conclude that such was indeed the case, and that in Tenedos Dionysos was worshipped in the form of a double-axe. Moreover we shall have occasion to note the close resemblance of the Tenedian axe-cult to the axe-cults of 'Minoan' Crete.

Comparing, now, these ritual facts with the Orphic myth of Dionysos or Zagreus done to death in bovine shape, we can hardly doubt that in Crete too anthropophagy was early commuted into some less horrible rite, say the rending and eating of a bull. There was indeed much to connect the Cretan Zeus with this beast. At Praisos, an Eteo-Cretan town with a temple of Zeus *Diktaios*[2], silver coins were struck *c.* 450—400 B.C. with the obverse type of a cow suckling an infant, who has been commonly and rightly identified as Zeus[3] (figs. 507[4], 508[5]). At Phaistos a *statér* of

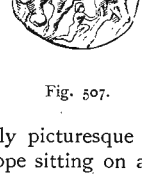


Fig. 507.

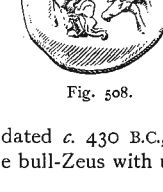


Fig. 508.

highly picturesque style, which may be dated *c.* 430 B.C., shows Europe sitting on a rock and greeting the bull-Zeus with uplifted

βαίω is 'to strike' rather than 'to rend,' cp. βαιστήρ, 'a hammer,' and the compounds θυμοραϊστής, Ἰλιορραίσταις, κυνοραιστής or κυνορραίστης, μητρορραίστης, etc. quoted by Meineke *op. cit.* i. 224.

[1] *Infra* ch. ii § 3 (c) i (o).

[2] Staphylos *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 507 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 476 τούτων φησὶ Στάφυλος τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἕω Δωριεῖς κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ δυσμικὸν Κύδωνας, τὸ δὲ νότιον Ἐτεόκρητας, ὧν εἶναι πολίχνιον Πρᾶσον, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν. See R. S. Conway in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 125 ff., R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 231 ff., E. S. Forster *ib.* 271 ff., R. S. Conway *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 115 ff., R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 222 f., R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 1904—1905 xi. 304 f., R. M. Burrows *The Discoveries in Crete* London 1907 p. 151 ff. and p. 240 Index *s.v.* 'Præsos,' Sir Arthur Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 105.

[3] Zeus enthroned with sceptre and eagle appears on the obverse of silver coins of Praisos from *c.* 400 B.C. onwards: he is often accompanied by a bull on the reverse, and is described by Mr W. Wroth and Dr B. V. Head as Zeus *Diktaios* (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 288 f. pl. 27, 21—28, 28, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 70 f. pl. 17, 8 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 196 pl. 42, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 476).

[4] E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1885 iii. 161 pl. 8, 8 (Paris), J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 286 pl. 27, 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 475.

[5] H. Weber in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 18 f. pl. 2, 10, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 475.

hand (fig. 509)[1]. At Gortyna coins of about the same period and of even greater artistic merit represent their union as consummated in the sacred tree[2]. Not unnaturally, therefore, when in the service of Zeus a substitute was required for the human Zagreus, the animal chosen was a bull. The resultant rites are described by Firmicus Maternus in a passage of great and even painful interest,

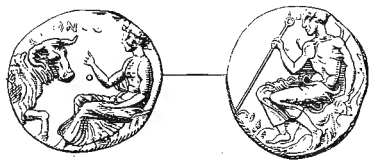


Fig. 509.

though written of course from the view-point of a Christian Euhemerist. Firmicus, dilating *On the Error of Profane Religions* for the benefit of the emperors Constantius and Constans (between 343 and 350 A.D.), expresses himself as follows[3]:

'There are yet other superstitions, the secrets of which must be set forth—to wit, those of Liber and Libera. And here I must convey to your sacred senses a systematic account with full details, that you may realise how in these profane religions too sanctity attaches to the death of men. Liber, then, was the son of Iupiter a Cretan king. Though born of an adulterous mother, he was reared by his father with more care than he deserved. The wife of Iupiter, Iuno by name, fired with the feelings of a step-mother, tried all manner of tricks to kill the child. The father on going abroad, well aware of his wife's smouldering rage and anxious to avoid guile on the part of the angry woman, entrusted his son to suitable guardians, as he supposed. Iuno, judging this a fitting opportunity for her designs and being more than ever incensed because the father on setting out had left both throne and sceptre to the boy, first bribed his guardians with royal rewards and gifts, and next stationed her minions called Titans in the heart of the palace and, by dint of rattles and a cleverly made mirror, so beguiled the fancy of the child that he left his kingly seat and, thanks to his childish desire, was led on to their place of ambush. Here he was caught and butchered; and, that no vestige of the murder should be found, the band of minions cut up his limbs joint by joint and divided them among themselves.

[1] J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 254 f. pl. 22, 35—37, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 61 pl. 14, 16, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 473. The reverse represents Hermes seated on a tree-stump (?) with a *caduceus* in his right hand and a *pétasos* hanging from his shoulders. I figure a specimen in the M[c]Clean collection.

Other silver coins of the same town show obv. forepart of bull, rev. head of Europe (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 255 pl. 23, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 41 pl. 10, 9 attributed wrongly to Gortyna), or obv. head of Europe, rev. forepart of bull kneeling (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 255 pl. 23, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 192 pl. 42, 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 473).

[2] *Supra* p. 527 ff. figs. 391 ff.

[3] Firm. Mat. 6. 1—5.

Then, to add crime to crime, since they were much afraid of the tyrant's cruelty, they boiled the boy's limbs with various ingredients and devoured them. Thus they actually fed upon a human corpse—a repast never heard of till that day. His sister, Minerva by name, who had herself been party to the deed, kept his heart as her share, that she might have clear proof of her story and something to mollify her father's wrath. So, when Iupiter came back, his daughter told him the tale of crime from beginning to end. Thereupon her father, exasperated by the disastrous murder of the boy and by his own bitter grief, slew the Titans after torturing them in various ways. Indeed, to avenge his son, he had recourse to every form of torment or punishment. He ran riot in exacting all kinds of penalty by way of vengeance for the death of a son, who was none too good. The father's affection and the tyrant's power were here combined. Then, because he could no longer bear the tortures of grief and because the pain of his bereavement could not be assuaged or comforted, he made an image of his son moulded in gypsum, and placed the boy's heart, by means of which on the sister's information the crime had been detected, in that part of the figure where the contour of the chest was to be seen. After this he built a temple in front of the tomb and appointed as priest the boy's tutor: Silenus was his name. The Cretans, to soothe the fierce mood of the angry tyrant, instituted certain days as a funeral feast and coupled a yearly rite with a celebration on alternate years, performing in order due all that the boy had done or suffered at his death. They tore a live bull with their teeth, recalling the savage banquet by a yearly commemoration of it. They penetrated the solitudes of the forest uttering discordant cries and so feigning madness, that the crime might be set down to lunacy, not to guile. Before them was carried the basket in which the sister had concealed and hidden the heart. With the music of pipes and the clash of cymbals they got up a make-belief of the rattles by which the boy had been deluded. And so a servile people paying court to a tyrant made his son a god, though a god could never have had a tomb.'

The Euhemerism of this passage will be readily discounted. We are indeed likely to underestimate rather than to overestimate its importance. After all Euhemeros, to judge from the extant fragments of his famous work, seems to have based his theory apotheosised kings in no small measure upon Cretan tradition[1]. The priests of his island utopia claim descent from Crete and appeal for proof to their Cretan dialect[2]. His Zeus *Triphýlios* has a couch, on which is set no effigy of the god, but a great golden pillar covered with records in a script resembling Egyptian hieroglyphs[3]. One may well suppose that Euhemeros had at least an inkling of the old-time glories of 'Minoan' Crete—its pillar-thrones, its aniconic cults, its linear pictographs. And, if he said that Zeus was a Cretan king when he ought to have said that Cretan kings played the part of Zeus, we can easily make allowance for the error.

[1] In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 406 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 304 I suggested the Euhemeristic belief in Zeus as a former king of Crete was based on the divine kingship of Minos.

[2] Diod. 5. 46.

[3] Diod. 5. 46, 6. 1.

Euhemerism apart, we note three points in Firmicus' account of the Cretan ritual[1]. It was dramatic; it was sacramental; and it was, to his thinking at least, self-contradictory. It was dramatic; for every year one might see the Cretans 'performing in order due all that the boy had done or suffered at his death.' It was sacramental; for they tore the live bull with their teeth in memory of the Titans feasting upon his flesh. And it was self-contradictory; for the boy, though dead and buried, was yet living and a god to boot. The closing sentence of Firmicus recalls the panegyric of Zeus attributed to Minos:

'A grave have fashioned for thee, O holy and high One, the lying Kretans, who are all the time liars, evil beasts, idle bellies; but thou diest not, for to eternity thou livest, and standest; for in thee we live and move, and have our being[2].'

[1] Firm. Mat. 6. 5 Cretenses, ut furentis tyranni saevitiam mitigarent, festos funeris dies statuunt et annuum sacrum trieterica consecratione componunt, omnia per ordinem facientes quae puer moriens aut fecit aut passus est. vivum laniant dentibus taurum, crudeles epulas annuis commemorationibus excitantes, et per secreta silvarum clamoribus dissonis eiulantes fingunt animi furentis insaniam, ut illud facinus non per fraudem factum sed per insaniam crederetur: praefertur cista, in qua cor soror latenter absconderat, tibiarum cantu et cymbalorum tinnitu crepundia quibus puer deceptus fuerat mentiuntur. sic in honorem tyranni a serviente plebe deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam.

[2] *Supra* p. 157 n. 3. In the *Expositor* 1912 pp. 348—353 Dr J. Rendel Harris publishes a fuller version of the Theodorean matter, which he had previously cited from the *Gannat Busamé*. The new extract is found in the commentary of Isho'dad, the Nestorian church-father, upon the *Acts of the Apostles* and is rendered: '"The Interpreter [*i.e.* Theodore of Mopsuestia] says that the Athenians were once upon a time at war with their enemies, and the Athenians retreated from them in defeat; then a certain Daimon appeared and said unto them, I have never been honoured by you as I ought; and because I am angry with you, therefore you have a defeat from your enemies. Then the Athenians were afraid, and raised up to him the well-known altar; and because they dreaded lest this very thing should have happened to them, that they had secretly neglected one who was unknown to them, they erected this altar and also wrote upon it, *Of the Unknown and Hidden God*: wishing, in fact, to say this, that though there is a God in whom we do not believe, we raise this altar to His honour that He may be reconciled to us, although He is not honoured as a known deity: therefore Paul did well to take a reason from this and to say before them, *This hidden God, to whom ye have raised an altar without knowing Him, I have come to declare unto you.* There is no God whom ye know not, except the true God, who hath appointed the times by His command, and hath put bounds, etc." [*He hath determined the times*, that is to say, the variations of summer and winter, spring and autumn.]

"*In Him we live and move and have our being:* and, *as certain also of your own sages have said, We are his offspring.*" Paul takes both of these quotations from certain heathen poets.

Now about this passage, "*In Him we live and move and have our being*": the Cretans said about Zeus, as if it were true, that he was a prince, and was lacerated by a wild boar, and was buried; and behold! his grave is known amongst us; so Minos, the son of Zeus, made a panegyric over his father, and in it he said:

The Cretans have fashioned a tomb for thee, O Holy and High!
Liars, evil beasts, idle bellies;
For thou diest not; for ever thou livest and standest;
For in thee we live and move and have our being.

These lines, quoted from a lost hexameter poem by Epimenides (?)[1], seem at first sight to be a flat negation of the Cretan faith, opposing to it a later and nobler conception of the deity. But, as spoken by Minos, they more probably preserve to us the view taken by the genuine mystic of Idaean Zeus. If so, we may be very sure that they contain no vague transcendental philosophy, but the main point and purpose of the Cretan cult. In early days the child that represented the god re-born, in later times the bull that served as his surrogate, was essentially a focus of divine force. Those who tasted of the sacred flesh and blood thereby renewed their life, their movement, their very being; for they became one with the god whom they worshipped. Such a belief, though primitive in its inception, was obviously capable of further development. Paul, when preaching at Athens, quoted the words of Minos and attached to them in perpetuity a significance at once deeper and higher. He must have been aware that the fine concluding phrase referred originally to the Cretan Zeus; for elsewhere[2] he cites Minos' description of the Cretans as given in the same context. Nay more, with the next breath[3] he adduces from Aratos a line in which

So the blessed Paul took this sentence from Minos; and he took the quotation,

"We are the offspring of God,"

from Aratus, a poet who wrote about God, and about the seven [planets] and the twelve [signs]; saying, "From God we begin, from the Lord of heaven, that is Zeus; for all markets, and seas, and havens are filled with His name; and also in every place, all men are in want of Him, because we are His offspring; and He out of His goodness giveth good signs to us and to all men. He moves us to come forward to work; and He ordains all that is visible and invisible; and because of this we all worship Him, and say, 'Hail to thee, our Father, wonderful and great!'"

"Plato also and others say that souls are by nature from God."'

[1] Dr Rendel Harris refers them to the poem of 4000 lines written by Epimenides *περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυος* (Diog. Laert. 1. 112). H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 188 f. conjectures that the line *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί*, cited by Paul in Tit. 1. 12, came from the *prooimion* of Epimenides' *Theogony* (Diog. Laert. 1. 111 *ἐποίησε δὲ Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσιν καὶ θεογονίαν, ἔπη πεντακισχίλια*); and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 176 agrees with him. But Dr Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1907 p. 336 f. acutely conjectures 'that the early Cretans ate their deity sacramentally under the form of a pig: and...that, as in so many similar cults, they ate the animal raw. This would at once explain why Epimenides called them not only liars, but also beasts and gluttons.'

Putting together Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f., Acts 17. 28, and Tit. 1. 12, we may venture to restore the original text in some such form as the following: *σοὶ μὲν ἐτεκτήναντο τάφον, πανυπέρτατε δαίμον*, | *Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί·* | *ἀλλὰ γὰρ οὐ σὺ θάνες, ζώεις δὲ καὶ ἵστασαι αἰεί*, | *ἐν σοὶ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινεόμεσθα καὶ εἰμέν*. Dr Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1907 p. 335 f. (cp. *ib.* 1912 p. 350) restores: *τύμβον ἐτεκτήναντο σέθεν, κύδιστε, μέγιστε*, | *Κρῆτες, ἀεὶ ψευδεῖς, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί.* | *ἀλλὰ σύ γ' οὐ θνήσκεις, ἔστηκας γὰρ ζοὸς αἰεί.* | *ἐν γὰρ σοὶ ζῶμεν καὶ κινύμεθ' ἠδὲ καὶ ἐσμέν*.

[2] Tit. 1. 12.

[3] Acts 17. 28 *ἐν αὐτῷ γὰρ ζῶμεν καὶ κινούμεθα καὶ ἐσμέν, ὡς καί τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶ*

that Tarsian poet, speaking on behalf of the whole human race, claims kinship with Zeus—Zeus that made the stars, Zeus that was born as a babe in Crete.

(η) The Origin of Tragedy.

The cult of Zeus annually reborn as Dionysos spread, with some variety of circumstance, throughout a large area of ancient Greece. Side by side with the bull it utilised other animals, especially the goat[1]. The Praesian tradition that the infant Zeus was suckled by a cow[2] was overshadowed by the common belief that his nurse had been a goat[3]. The Bacchants are said to have torn asunder oxen and devoured their flesh raw[4], but sometimes also to have treated goats in like manner[5]. And such was the type of Maenad idealised

ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν Τοῦ *γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν*. There may be a side-glance at Kleanth. *h. Zeus* (*frag.* 48 Pearson) 4 *ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν*. But it is clear that the main reference is to the apostle's fellow-citizen Arat. *phaen.* 4 f. *πάντῃ δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες·* | *τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν*. Note also that Aratos introduces Zeus as Lord of the Stars, thereby recalling the Cretan Zeus *Astérios* (*supra* p. 545 ff.), and that he actually goes on to describe the birth and rearing of Zeus in Crete.

[1] *Supra* p. 500 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 660.

[3] *Supra* pp. 112 n. 3, 150, 529 n. 4. See further G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1130, K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1720 ff.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 357 *οἱ δὲ οὕτως. μηδὲ Κρατίνου βακχεῖα ἐτελέσθη, ἃ ἐστι τοῦ ταυροφάγου Διονύσου, ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβαίνοντος ταῖς βάκχαις. διέσπων γὰρ βοῦς καὶ ἤσθιον ὠμὰ κρέα*, Eur. *Bacch.* 734 ff. *ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν φεύγοντες ἐξηλύξαμεν* | *Βακχῶν σπαραγμόν, αἱ δὲ νεμομέναις χλόην* | *μόσχοις ἐπῆλθον χειρὸς ἀσιδήρου μέτα.* | *καὶ τὴν μὲν ἂν προσεῖδες εὐθηλον πόριν* | *μυκωμένην ἔχουσαν ἐν χεροῖν δίχα,* | *ἄλλαι δὲ δαμάλας διεφόρουν σπαράγμασιν.* | *εἶδες δ' ἂν ἢ πλεύρ' ἢ δίχηλον ἔμβασιν* | *ῥιπτόμεν' ἄνω τε καὶ κάτω· κρεμαστὰ δὲ* | *ἔσταζ' ὑπ' ἐλάταις ἀναπεφυρμέν' αἵματι.* | *ταῦροι δ' ὑβρισταὶ κεῖς κέρας θυμούμενοι* | *τὸ πρόσθεν, ἐσφάλλοντο πρὸς γαῖαν δέμας,* | *μυριάσι χειρῶν ἀγόμενοι νεανίδων.* | *θᾶσσον δὲ διεφοροῦντο σαρκὸς ἐνδυτὰ* | *ἢ σὺ ξυνάψαι βλέφαρα βασιλείοις κόραις*, Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 377 ff. *ἄλλη δ' ἴχνος ἄγουσα βοοτρόφον εἰς ῥάχιν ὕλης* | *ἀσχετα μαινομένοιο δορῆς ἑδράξατο ταύρου, καὶ βλοσυροῖς ὀνύχεσσι χαρασσομένης ἀπὸ δειρῆς* | *ταυρείην ἀτρήτον ἀπεφλοίωσε καλύπτρην· κ.τ.λ.*, 43. 40 ff. *καί τινα βοσκομένην μελανόχροον ἐγγύθι πόντου* | *εἰς βοέην ἀγέλην Ποσιδήιον ἅλματι λάβρῳ* | *θυιάδες ἐρρόησαν· ταννυλήνοιο δὲ ταύρου* | *ἡ μὲν ἐφαπτομένη ῥάχιν ἔσχισεν, ἡ δὲ μετώπου* | *δίχθαδίης ἀτίνακτα διέθλασεν ἄκρα κεραίης·* | *καί τις ἁλοιτῆρι διέτμαγε γαστέρα θύρσῳ·* | *ἄλλη πλευρὸν ἔτεμνεν ὅλον βοός· ἠμιθανὴς δὲ* | *ὕπτιος αὐτοκύλιστος ὑπώκλασε ταῦρος ἀρούρῃ·* | *καὶ βοὸς ἀρτιτόμοιο κυλινδομένοιο κονίῃ* | *ἡ μὲν ὀπισθιδίοις πόδας ἔσπασεν, ἡ δὲ λαβοῦσα* | *προσθιδίους ἑρύεσκε, πολυστροφάλιγγε δὲ ῥιπῇ* | *ὄρθιον ἐσφαίρωσεν ἐς ἠέρα δίξυγα χηλήν*, *Anth. Pal.* 6. 74. 1 f. (Agathias) *Βασσαρὶς Εὐρυνόμη σκοπελοδρόμος, ἣ ποτε ταύρων* | *πολλὰ ταυυκραίρων στέρνα χαραξαμένη, κ.τ.λ.*, Cat. 64. 257 pars e divolso iactabant membra iuvenco, Pers. 1. 100 f. et raptum vitulo caput ablatura superbo | Bassaris.

[5] Aisch. *Edoni frag.* 64 Nauck[2] *ap.* Hesych. *s.v. αἰγίζειν· διασπᾶν. ἐκ μεταφορᾶς. παρ' ὃ καὶ τὸ αἰγίζεσθαι, ἀπὸ τῶν καταιγίδων.* Αἰσχύλος. *ὁ δ' αὐτὸς ἐν Ἠδωνοῖς καὶ τὰς νεβρίδας οὕτω λέγει*, cp. Souid. *s.vv. αἰγίζειν, Ἠδωνίς*, Zonar. *lex. s.v. αἰγίζειν.* The same custom is probably implied by Hesych. *s.v. τραγηφόροι· αἱ κόραι Διονύσῳ ὀργιάζουσαι τραγῆν περιήπτοντο* and perhaps also by the cult-legend of Paus. 2. 23. 1. But the most definite statement is that of Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19 Bacchanalia etiam praeter-

by Skopas[1]. The variation, which implies that the worshippers lived among neat-herds and goat-herds respectively, is of importance, because it enables us to gain some insight into that vexed question, the origin of Greek tragedy.

The two Athenian festivals prominently connected with tragedy were the Lenaia in Gamelion (January to February) and the City Dionysia in Elaphebolion (March to April). The one, being held in winter when the sea was dangerous for voyagers, was a domestic celebration, confined to the Athenians themselves. The other, being held in spring when visitors from all parts of Greece came crowding into Athens, was a much more splendid affair[2]. It is, however, to the Lenaia rather than to the City Dionysia that we must look for the first beginnings of tragedy. For the former was throughout of a more primitive character than the latter. Dr Farnell[3] justly lays stress on the fact that, whereas the City Dionysia was under the control of the *Archon*, the Lenaia was managed by the *Basileús*. He also points out that the winter-month corresponding with Gamelion in the calendar of all the other Ionic states was Lenaion, and infers that the Lenaia was already a conspicuous festival in the period preceding the Ionic migration. Finally he observes that the Lenaia was virtually the Rural Dionysia of Athens[4]; for the Lenaia is not known to have been held in the demes or country-districts and *en revanche* the Rural Dionysia was not held under that name at Athens.

The exact site of the *Lénaion* is still uncertain, and will be settled only by future excavation[5]. But this we know, that the

mittemus immania (*inania* codd.) quibus nomen Omophagiis Graecum est, in quibus furore mentito et sequestrata pectoris sanitate circumplicatis vos anguibus, atque ut vos plenos dei numine ac maiestate doceatis, caprorum reclamantium viscera cruentatis oribus dissipatis. See further F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 35 ff., F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1037 ff., A. Rapp *ib.* ii. 2250 f., A. Legrand in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1485, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 731 n. 3, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 165 ff., 303.

[1] Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 223 ff. no. 1162, G. Treu in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 pp. 317—324 with pl. 5 and figs. 1—6.

[2] A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*[2] Oxford 1898 p. 38.

[3] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 212 ff.

[4] This is the fact which (*pace* Prof. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1886 xxi. 615 n. 1) underlies the statements of Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λήναιος ἀγὼν Διονύσου ἐν ἀγροῖς· ἀπὸ τῆς ληνοῦ· Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τρίτῳ Χρονικῶν (Apollod. *frag.* 58 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 437 Müller)), schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 202 ἄξω <τὰ> κατ' ἀγρούς· τὰ Λήναια λεγόμενα. ἔνθεν τὰ Λήναια καὶ ὁ ἐπιλήναιος ἀγὼν τελεῖται τῷ Διονύσῳ. Λήναιον γάρ ἐστιν ἐν ἀγροῖς ἱερὸν τοῦ Διονύσου, κ.τ.λ., 503 τὸ δὲ δεύτερον ἐν ἀγροῖς, ὁ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ λεγόμενος, κ.τ.λ.: see A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 82 f.

[5] On this complicated problem read by all means the lucid accounts of W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 263 n. 10 (who inclines to place the *Lénaion*

Lénaion itself was a large precinct containing a sanctuary of Dionysos *Lénaios*, where contests were held before the Athenian theatre was built[1]. The said contests doubtless took place in the 'Lenaean theatre[2]' and were transferred at a later date, which however cannot be precisely determined, to the theatre on the southern slope of the Akropolis.

Recent discussion has made it clear that the names *Lénaion*, *Lénaia*, *Lénaios* are derived—as Ribbeck suggested[3]—from *lênai*, the 'wild women' or Maenads of Dionysos[4]. The supposed con-

somewhere in the valley between the Areios Pagos and the Pnyx, near to the spot where in Roman times stood the hall of the Iobakchoi) and of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*[3] Oxford 1907 pp. 368—378 (who concludes (*a*) 'that the old Lenaia performances took place in a temporary wooden theatre in (or by) the market-place—wherever this was,' and (*b*) that 'it is still possible that the Lenaeum was once outside the walls, and afterwards came to be included in their circuit'). A. Frickenhaus, however, in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 80 ff. and in his *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxxii. 29 ff. has lately advanced cogent arguments for locating the *Lénaion* outside the Themistoclean wall close to the Dipylon Gate.

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* *ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ ἀγών*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Ληναῖον*, Bekker *anecd.* i. 278, 8 f., *et. mag.* p. 361, 39 ff., Souid. *s.v.* *ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ*.

[2] Poll. 4. 121.

[3] O. Ribbeck *Anfänge und Entwickelung des Dionysoscultus in Attika* Kiel 1869 p. 13 ff., E. Maass *De Lenaeo et Delphinio* Greifswald 1891 p. x, 5, H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 226, L. R. Farnell in the *Class. Rev.* 1900 xiv. 375 f. and in his *Cults of Gk. States* v. 176, 208, M. P. Nilsson *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* Lund 1900 p. 109 ff. and in his *Gr. Feste* p. 275 f.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* *ληναί* (*λῆναι* M. Schmidt)· *βάκχαι.* *Ἀρκάδες*, Herakl. *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 22. 2 p. 16, 24 ff. Stählin (Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 37) *τίσι δὴ μαντεύεται Ἡράκλειτος ὁ Ἐφέσιος; "νυκτιπόλοις, μάγοις, βάκχοις, λήναις, μύσταις," τούτοις ἀπειλεῖ τὰ μετὰ θάνατον, τούτοις μαντεύεται τὸ πῦρ· "τὰ γὰρ νομιζόμενα κατὰ ἀνθρώπους μυστήρια ἀνιερωστὶ μυοῦνται"=frag.* 124 f. Bywater, 14 Diels, Herakl. *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 34. 5 p. 26, 6 ff. Stählin *"εἰ μὴ γὰρ Διονύσῳ πομπὴν ἐποιοῦντο καὶ ὕμνεον ᾄσματα αἰδοίοισιν ἀναιδέστατα, εἰργασται," φησὶν Ἡράκλειτος, "ὠυτὸς δὲ Ἀιδης καὶ Διόνυσος, ὅτεῳ μαίνονται καὶ ληναΐζουσιν"=frag.* 127 Bywater, 15 Diels (reading *αἰδοίοισιν*, *ἀναιδέστατα εἰργαστ' ἄν*. *ὠυτὸς δὲ Ἀΐδης*), Strab. 468 *Διονύσου δὲ Σειληνοί τε καὶ Σάτυροι, καὶ Τίτυροι προσαγορευόμενοι, καὶ Βάκχαι, Λῆναί τε καὶ Θυῖαι καὶ Μιμαλλόνες καὶ Ναΐδες καὶ Νύμφαι* (on the text see G. Kramer *ad loc.*) Dionys. *per.* 700 ff. *καὶ Καμαριτάων φῦλον μέγα, τοί ποτε Βάκχον | Ἰνδῶν ἐκ πολέμοιο δεδεγμένοι ἐξείνισσαν, | καὶ μετὰ Ληνάων ἱερὸν χορὸν ἐστήσαντο, κ.τ.λ.*, 1132 ff. *ἔστι δέ τις θηητὸς ἐυρρείτην παρὰ Γάγγην | χῶρος τιμήεις τε καὶ ἱερός, ὅν ποτε Βάκχος | θυμαίνων ἐπάτησεν, ὅτ' ἠλάσσοντο μὲν ἄβραι | Ληνάων νεβρίδες ἐς ἀσπίδας, κ.τ.λ.*, G. Hirschfeld *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iv. 1. 78 f. Oxford 1893 no. 902, 1 *[σοὶ τό]δε ἄναξ [Ἀγάθυ]ρσε, θοᾶν ληναγέτα Βακχᾶν, κ.τ.λ.* on a small limestone altar (*s.* iii B.C.) from Halikarnassos. Theokr. 26 is entitled *Λῆναι ἢ Βάκχαι.* *Λήνα* is found twice as a woman's name on early funeral *stélai* in the Corinthian colony Ambrakia (U. Köhler in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 148 f. nos. 4 *Λήνα | Ἀπολλοδώρου*, 5 *Λήνα | Δαμοφίλου*, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 82 no. 3183 n.). Other related names are *Ληναῖς* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 1253 *a*, 1 on a marble *stéle* from Phalanna, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1091, 38, no. 1138, 39, iii. 2 no. 2175, 1, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2414, 39 on a *tessera* in the British Museum, no. 2447 on a marble *stéle* from Marseille), *Λήναιος* or *Ληναῖς* (E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 90 f. cites numerous examples from many parts of the Greek world),

nexion with *lenós*, a 'wine-press,' defies both philology and common sense[1]. At most we can admit that the jingle between *lênai* and *lenós* led the populace in ancient times, as it has led the learned in modern times, to confuse two words which in their origin and usage were entirely distinct[2].

An examination of the evidence for *lênai* and its derivatives proves that the word was used by Arcadians, Ionians, and Dorians alike. It is obviously a very old term for the female devotees of Dionysos. With their ritual we are imperfectly acquainted. The festival-calendar from Mykonos says[3]:

'ON THE TENTH OF LENAION a hymn must be sung on behalf of the crops while a pregnant sow that has not previously had a litter is sacrificed to Demeter, an ungelded boar to Kore, a young pig to Zeus *Bouleús*. The *hieropoioí* are to provide these victims from the sacred fund, and with them wood and barley-meal. The magistrates and priests shall see to it that the victims are satisfactory. If there is any need of a second and satisfactory sacrifice, the *hieropoioí* are to provide it. Any woman of Mykonos that wishes it shall come to the festival and any women dwelling in Mykonos that have been initiated into the rites of Demeter. ON THE ELEVENTH a yearling is brought to Totaplethos (?) for Semele. This is divided into nine portions (of which one is burnt for Semele and the other eight are eaten by the worshippers). ON THE TWELFTH a yearling is sacrificed to Dionysos *Leneús*. On behalf of the crops black yearlings stripped of their skins are sacrificed to Zeus *Chthónios* and Ge *Chthonía*. No stranger may perform the sacrifice. The participants are to eat it on the spot.'

'Επιλήναιος (W. Judeich in the *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft iv) Berlin 1898 p. 89 no. 46, 1), and Ληναγόρας (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 56. 2 (Makedonios)).

Cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ληνεύουσι· *βακχεύουσιν*, Souid. *s.v.* ληνίς, ληνίδος. *ἡ βάκχη*, *et. mag.* p. 564, 4 and *et. Gud.* p. 368, 12 ληνίς, *σημαίνει τὴν βάκχην· κ.τ.λ.*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 629, 31 *αἱ δὲ ῥηθεῖσαι* (*sc.* Βάκχαι) *καὶ* Ληνίδες *λέγονται κ.τ.λ.* (but Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ληνίς· *ἡ μέθη*).

[1] Dr Farnell in the *Class. Rev.* 1900 xiv. 375 rightly insisted that Λήναιος must be derived from a stem in *a* (λῆναι), not in *o* (ληνός). And all the writers cited *supra* p. 667 n. 3 have been struck by the absurdity of a 'wine-press' festival in mid-winter!

[2] M. P. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 275 (after H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 226) shows that λῆναι, which occurs outside the Ionic area without change of vowel, had an original *ē*, but that ληνός, which occurs in Doric as λανός, had an original *ā*.

[3] J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 13 ff. no. 4, 15 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 15 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 615, 15 ff. Ληναιῶνος δεκάτηι | *ἐπὶ ὠιδῆι ὑπὲρ καρποῦ Δήμητρι ὗν ἐνκύμονα πρωτοτόκον*, | Κόρηι *κάπρον τέλεον*, Διὶ Βουλεῖ *χοῖρον*. *ταῦτα διδόντων ἱε|ροποιοὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἀργυρίου, καὶ ξύλα διδόντων καὶ ὅλας*. | *ἐπιμελέσθων δὲ τῶν ἱερῶν ὅπως καλὰ ἦι ἄρχοντες καὶ ἱε|ρεῖς. ἐὰν δέ τι δέηι καλλιερεῖν, ἱεροποιοὶ διδόν[τ]ων· εἰς δὲ* | *τὴν ἑορτὴν* [πελ](αζ)*έτω Μυκονιάδων ἡ βουλο[μ]έ[νη κ]αὶ τῶν οἰ|κουσῶν ἐμ Μυκό[ν]ωι ὅσαι ἐπὶ Δήμητρα τετέλ[η]νται.—ἐν|δε[κ](ά)τηι ἐπὶ* Τοταπλήθοs (so de Prott and Michel, after Kumanudis *ἐπὶ* ΤΟΤΑΠΛΗ?*θοs*: Dittenberger reads *ἐπὶ τὸ τα..ληθοs*, after Latyschew ΕΠΙΤΟΤ . . ΛΗΘΟΣ) Σεμέληι *ἐτήσιον· τοῦτο ἓνα|τεύεται.—*[*δ*]*υωδεκάτει Διονύσωι Ληναῖ ἐτήσιον· ὑπ(ὲ)*[*ρ*] | *κα*(*ρ*)*πῶν Διὶ Χθονίωι, Γῆι Χθονίηι δερτὰ μέλανα ἐτήσι*(*α*)· *ξένωι οὐ θέμις. δαινύσθων αὐτοῦ.*

At Mykonos, then, in the first century B.C. the full Lenaean festival included the worship of the following deities:

Lenaion 10—Demeter, Kore, Zeus *Bouleús*.

Lenaion 11—Semele.

Lenaion 12—Dionysos *Leneús*, Zeus *Chthónios*, Ge *Chthonía*.

J. von Prott[1] points out that the deities of Lenaion 10 are the Ionian triad Demeter, Kore, and Zeus *Eubouleús*[2], who correspond with the Peloponnesian triad Demeter, Kore (Persephone), and Plouton (Klymenos, Hades). He adds that at Athens the Lenaia was preceded by a sacrifice to the same triad Demeter, Kore, and Plouton[3]. It follows that the ritual of Lenaion 10 was a prelude of the Lenaia, not the Lenaia itself. This occupied the last two days, on which Semele, Dionysos *Leneús*, Zeus *Chthónios*, and Ge *Chthonía* are the deities recognised—a group of chthonian and agricultural import. Yet here again we must distinguish the Lenaia itself from its concomitants. Since Zeus *Chthónios* is named after Dionysos *Leneús*, while Ge *Chthonía* duplicates the earth-goddess Semele, we may conclude that Zeus and Ge were due to a later amplification. The preliminary hymn for the crops was balanced by a concluding sacrifice for the crops. Subtracting both prelude and sequel, we have left as the original recipients of the cult Semele and Dionysos *Leneús*. Provokingly little is told us about their actual rites. The yearling eaten by the worshippers recalls the omophagy of the Cretan cult[4]. And the black fleeces were perhaps worn by them as by Pythagoras in the Idaean Cave[5]. But beyond this we are reduced to conjecture[6].

It is by no accident that the same Thraco-Phrygian pair, Semele and Dionysos, figure in the Athenian Lenaia. The old scholiast on Aristophanes states that

'at the Lenaean contests of Dionysos the *daidoûchos* holding a torch says

[1] J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 16 f.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 76 (Arkesine in Amorgos, *s.* iv B.C.) Δήμητρι Κόρηι | Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ | Δημοδίκη | Σίμωνος ἀνέθηκεν, 77 (Arkesine, *s.* iii B.C.) [..μη.....] ο.. | Δήμητρι καὶ Κού|ρηι [κ]α[ὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 590 f. no. 5441 (Paros, *c. s.* i B.C.)=*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 227 Ἐρασίππη Θράσωνος Ἥ<ι>ρη(ι), | Δήμητρι Θεσμοφόρωι καὶ Κό|ρηι καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ καὶ Βαυβοῖ, *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 287 *A* 69 (accounts of *hieropoioí* for 250 B.C.) ὗς ἐγκύμων εἰς θυσίαν τῆι Δήμητρι ΔΡ· καὶ ὥστε τῆι Κόρηι ἱερεῖον ΔΔ𐅄· καὶ Διὶ Εὐβουλεῖ ἱερεῖον ΔΡ𐅁, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 505 n. 4 (accounts of Delian *hieropoioí* for 246 B.C., line 22) τῆι Δήμητρι ὗς ἐγκύμων ΔΔ· δελφάκιον καθαρὸν Δ𐅁𐅁· ἄλλο δελφάκιον τῶι Διὶ τῶι Εὐβουλεῖ Ρ𐅁𐅁.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2. Add. no. 834 *b* ii 46 (Eleusis, 329—328 B.C.) ἐπαρχὴ Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη καὶ Πλούτωνι Γ· ἐπιστάταις Ἐπιλήψαια εἰς Διονύσια θῦσαι ΔΔ.

[4] *Supra* pp. 648, 650, 662 f., 664 n. 1.

[5] *Supra* p. 646.

[6] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 277 ff.

"Call ye the god," and his hearers shout "Iakchos, Semele's child, Giver of Wealth[1]."'

What happened in answer to this evocation, we are not told. But it is permissible to suppose that a figure representing Semele with the infant Dionysos in her arms issued from a cave or artificial grotto. The *cornu copiae* carried by the babe would mark him as the 'Giver of Wealth.' Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene holding the infant Ploutos was very possibly inspired by the Lenaean representation of Semele[2]: on late coppers of Athens that show the group the child has a *cornu copiae* in his left hand[3]. How the cave or grotto would be managed, we can infer from the well-known vases illustrating the ascent of the earth-goddess. Miss Harrison in her study of these at first conjectured 'some reminiscence of Semele[4],' and later wrote: 'We have before us unquestionably the "Bringing up of Semele[5]."' I understand her to suggest in the same context that the type as seen in the Attic vase-paintings was definitely based on the initial rite of the Lenaia. With that I should agree[6]. Hermes too was, not improbably, present at the ritual evocation[7], and to him Semele may have handed the new-born babe. If Kephisodotos' statue of Eirene with Ploutos was inspired by the ritual figure of Semele with Dionysos, the same sculptor's statue of Hermes nursing the infant Dionysos[8] may have been based yet more closely on the succeeding scene at the Lenaia. And to the Hermes of Kephisodotos the Hermes of Praxiteles was near akin.

[1] Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *ran.* 479 *κάλει θεόν: ...ἐν τοῖς Ληναϊκοῖς ἀγῶσιν τοῦ Διονύσου ὁ δᾳδοῦχος κατέχων λαμπάδα λέγει "καλεῖτε θεόν," καὶ οἱ ὑπακούοντες βοῶσιν "Σεμελήιε Ἴακχε πλουτοδότα"* (*carmina popularia* 5 Bergk[4], *versus et cantilenae populares* 4 Hiller—Crusius).

[2] Cp. O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 668: 'näher liegt die Annahme, die *βοτρυόδωρος* [Aristoph. *pax* 520], *πλουτοδότειρα* [*frag. mel. adesp.* 39 Hiller—Crusius] Eirene habe einst in Athen als Mutter des Dionysos gegolten; denn sie erscheint wie andere frühere Mütter (Dione, Thyone) später auf Vasenbildern als Bakchantin im Gefolge des Gottes [L. von Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1222].'

[3] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 147 pl. DD, 9 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 109 pl. 19, 5, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 8 ff. fig. 134 *a*.

[4] Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 278 f. fig. 68.

[5] Harrison *Themis* p. 418 ff. fig. 124.

[6] But I completely disagree with Miss Harrison's description of the grotto on the Berlin *kratér* (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 756 no. 2646, *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pl. 4). She says (*Themis* p. 418 f.): 'We have a great mound of earth artificially covered in with a thick coat of white. On it are painted a tree, leaf-sprays and a tortoise. From the top of the mound rises a tree....It is a grave-mound, an omphalos-sanctuary,' etc. I see no tortoise or grave-mound or *omphalós*, nothing in fact but a would-be cavern.

[7] He awaits the *anodos* of Pherophatta on a *kratér* at Dresden (P. Herrmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 166 f., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 277 fig. 67).

[8] Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 87.

It would seem, in fact, that the Lenaean festival made important contributions, not only to Greek literature, but also to Greek art.

A. Frickenhaus has recently attempted to prove that a whole series of Athenian vases extending throughout the fifth century B.C. represents scenes from the Lenaia[1]. Late black-figured vases, mostly *lékythoi*, show a wooden pillar decked with a bearded Dionysiac mask and sprigs of ivy: sometimes the mask is duplicated, and drapery added beneath it, or a flat-cake above it. As a rule, four Maenads are grouped about the *ágalma*[2]. Red-figured vases, usually *stámnoi*, complicate the scene. The god is more elaborately dressed, though he never acquires arms. Before him is a table, on which offerings of wine etc. are placed. The *entourage* still consists of Maenads[3]. In one case the pillar is not decked at all, but a Maenad on the left is carrying the infant god[4]. Various scholars from G. Minervini (1850)[5] onwards have interpreted the masked pillar as the Theban Dionysos *Perikiónios*. M. Mayer (1892)[6] suggested Dionysos *Orthós*, whom C. Robert (1899)[7] identified with Dionysos *Lenaîos*. Combining these hints, Frickenhaus argues that at some date later than the ninth and earlier than the sixth century B.C. the cult of the Theban Dionysos came to the Lenaion, which he locates outside the Dipylon gate. Here year by year the birth of Semele's son was celebrated, his pillar decked, and his table spread[8]. In the absence of a definite inscription certainty is unattainable. But it will probably be conceded that the vases in question do illustrate the ritual of an Attic festival of Dionysos, and that this festival may well be the Lenaia[9]. If so, these vases strengthen our contention that the

[1] A. Frickenhaus *Lenäenvasen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxxii) Berlin 1912 pp. 1—40 with figs. in text and 5 pls.

[2] *Id. ib.* pp. 4—6, 33 f. (nos. 1—10).

[3] *Id. ib.* pp. 6—16, 34—39 (nos. 11—27 and 29).

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 20 f., 39 (no. 28).

[5] G. Minervini *Monumenti antichi inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone* Naples 1850 i. 34 ff.

[6] M. Mayer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 265—270 and 446 f.

[7] C. Robert *Der müde Silen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1899) p. 11.

[8] A. Frickenhaus *op. cit.* pp. 27—32.

[9] The rites of the Rural Dionysia are so imperfectly known that we cannot rule them out as confidently as does Frickenhaus *op. cit.* p. 26: 'Auch die ländlichen Dionysien, wie sie Aristophanes in den Acharnern schildert, können nichts mit unseren Vasen zu tun haben.' It must not be forgotten that precisely at Acharnai there was a cult of Dionysos *Kissós* (Paus. 1. 31. 6 with J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*), who was near akin to Dionysos *Perikiónios* (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1016). Moreover, the Rural Dionysia was but the country counterpart of the Athenian Lenaia (*supra* p. 666, *infra* pp. 673, 688).

Within the last few months E. Petersen 'Lenäen oder Anthesterien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1913 lxviii. 239—250 has attempted to prove that the vases discussed by Frickenhaus

infant god was exhibited at the Athenian Lenaia[1]. And I have long since maintained that in the table, which on the same vases is set before the dressed up post, we should recognise the prototype of the dramatic stage[2].

Beside the ritual directions of Mykonos and Athens we have a rhetorical passage in which Clement of Alexandreia[3] contrasts the frenzy of Lenaean fiction with the calm of Christian truth:

'So Kithairon and Helikon and the mountains of the Odrysians and Thracians, where men are initiated into error, have by reason of their mysteries been divinised and hitched into hymns. For my part, fiction though they be, I can ill brook all these disasters turned into tragedy; but you have made the very recital of your woes into plays, and you deem those that act them a delightful sight. Nay, nay, let us take these dramas and Lenaean poets,—for the cup of their folly is full,—let us wreath them of course with ivy[4], while they babble beyond measure in their Bacchic rite, and along with their Satyrs, their mad followers, and the whole chorus of demons to boot, let us relegate them to a superannuated Helikon and Kithairon. But for ourselves, let us summon from the heavens above Truth with luminous wisdom[5] and the holy chorus of prophets to come to the holy mountain of God.'

The scholiast, commenting on Clement's 'Lenaean poets,' lets fall a brief but valuable hint:

'A rustic ode, sung over the wine-press, which ode itself included the rending of Dionysos[6].'

refer, not to the Lenaia at all, but to the secret rites of Anthesterion 12, when—as he supposes—the *Basilinna* attended by her *Gerairai* was married to Dionysos, *i.e.* to a dressed-up pillar in the old Dionysion *ἐν Λίμναις*. But the arguments adduced in support of his view by this learned and ingenious scholar strike me as being far from cogent. It is, *e.g.*, the merest assumption that the ritual marriage of the *Basilinna* took place on Anthesterion 12 (*infra* p. 686). And to argue that the vases cannot represent the Lenaia, because the Lenaia had no room for 'eine exklusive Frauenfeier,' is to forget that *Lénaia* means 'the festival of the *lênai*' (*supra* p. 667 f.).

[1] *Supra* p. 670, *infra* pp. 695, 699, 707.

[2] *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 370 ff., cp. *ib.* 1907 xxi. 169 f.

[3] Clem. Al. *protr.* 1. 2. 1 f. p. 3, 26 ff. Stählin.

[4] Cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 77, 21 (Athens, *s.* i A.D.), J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 7 ff. no. 3, 21, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 692, 21 Γαμηλιῶνος κιττώσεις Διονύσου θί, on which see Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 374 n. 7.

[5] Clement is, I think, pointedly contrasting the Lenaean rite as described by the scholiast on Aristophanes (*supra* p. 669) with Christian procedure. The former called up Iakchos from below: the latter calls down Truth from above. The former relied for its illumination on the torch of the *daidoûchos*: the latter has all the brilliance of celestial wisdom. The former involved a revel-rout ranging an earthly mountain: the latter witnesses inspired prophets pressing on towards Mt Zion.

[6] Schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* p. 297, 4 ff. Stählin ληναΐζοντας· ἀγροικικὴ ᾠδὴ ἐπὶ τῷ ληνῷ ἁδομένη, ἣ καὶ αὐτὴ περιεῖχεν τὸν Διονύσου σπαραγμόν. πάνυ δὲ εὐφυῶς καὶ χάριτος ἐμπλέως τὸ "κιττῷ ἀναδήσαντες" τέθεικεν, ὁμοῦ μὲν τὸ ὅτι Διονύσῳ τὰ Λήναια ἀνάκειται ἐνδειξάμενος, ὁμοῦ δὲ καὶ ὡς παροινίᾳ ταῦτα καὶ παροινοῦσιν ἀνθρώποις καὶ μεθύουσιν συγκεκρότηται.

A. Mommsen thinks that this note alludes to the Rural Dionysia[1]. Dr Farnell is more disposed to interpret it of the Lenaia[2]. And that is certainly right; for, not only was Clement throughout describing the Lenaean celebrations, but the scholiast is actually annotating the verb *lenaïzontas* and in his very next sentence mentions the Lenaia by name. Yet after all it matters little whether the scholiast is speaking of the Rural Dionysia or of the Lenaia; for we have already observed that the latter was only the Athenian variety of the former[3]. What does matter is that here, and here only, we learn the contents of the Lenaean chant. It dealt, as we might have surmised, with the rending of Dionysos. And the whole context in Clement leads us to conclude that this was the proper theme of Lenaean tragedy.

We are now in a position to review the facts and to estimate probabilities. In Crete[4] the ritual of Dionysos, the re-born Zeus, included a yearly drama, at which the worshippers performed all that the boy had done or suffered at his death. The Titans' cannibal feast was represented by a bovine omophagy; and those who took part in this sacrament thereby renewed their own vitality. For *ipso facto* they became one with their god, and he with them. The true mystic was *éntheos* in a twofold sense: he was in the god, and the god was in him[5]. On the one hand, the celebrant was not only a worshipper of Bacchos but also the Bacchos whom he worshipped[6]. On the other hand, Dionysos was at once the god of the mysteries and the 'Mystic' (*Mýstes*)[7], the bull eaten and the 'Bull-eater' (*Tauróphagos*)[8]. I submit that in early days the Lenaia essentially resembled the Cretan rite, the only notable difference being that here the god was embodied in a goat, not a bull.

[1] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 356, 379 n. 1.

[2] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 176.

[3] *Supra* p. 666.

[4] *Supra* p. 662 f.

[5] *Ἔνθεος*—if we may judge from the analogy of other adjectives compounded with *ἐν*—could bear either interpretation: cp. *ἔναθλος, ἔναλος, ἐνάμιλλος, ἐνάριθμος, κ.τ.λ.*, as against *ἔναιμος, ἔνατμος, ἔνοικος, ἔνορχος, κ.τ.λ.*

[6] *Supra* p. 648 ff.

[7] Paus. 8. 54. 5 a sanctuary of Dionysos Μύστης in the oak-clad district of Korytheis near Tegea. Cp. J. G. Frazer *ad loc.* and C. Robert in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 90, 104.

[8] Aristoph. *ran.* 357 *μηδὲ Κρατίνου τοῦ ταυροφάγου γλώττης βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη*, schol. *ad loc. εἴρηται δὲ παρὰ τὸ Σοφοκλέους ἐκ Τυρούς "Διονύσου τοῦ ταυροφάγου"* [*frag.* 607 Nauck²]...*(οἱ δὲ ἔτι περιεργότερον ὅλον τὸν λόγον ἀποδιδόασι. μήτε Κρατίνου βακχεῖ' ἐτελέσθη, ἃ ἐστι τοῦ μοσχοφάγου Διονύσου)*, Souid. *s.v. ταυροφάγον*, Phot. *lex. s.v. ταυροφάγον*, *et. mag.* p. 747, 49 ff., Hesych. *s.v. ταυροφάγος*.

See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 731 n. 3 and Frazer *Golden Bough*³: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 22 f.

The connexion of Dionysos with the goat has recently been questioned by Prof. Ridgeway[1]. But he ignores the express statement of Hesychios that in Lakonike Dionysos was worshipped as *Ériphos*, the 'Kid[2],' and the definite mention by Apollodoros of a cult of Dionysos *Erîphios*, the 'Kid-god,' at Metapontum[3]. It is the existence of these cults that gives significance to certain myths recorded by Apollodoros and by Ovid. Apollodoros relates that Zeus gave the new-born Dionysos to Hermes, who carried the babe to Ino and Athamas, that they might rear it as a girl. Hera in anger sent madness upon them. Athamas hunted his elder son Learchos like a stag and slew him. Ino cast the younger son Melikertes into a caldron that was on the fire, and then taking the dead boy sprang into the sea. She is now worshipped by sea-farers as Leukothea, and he as Palaimon. Finally, Zeus transformed Dionysos into a kid (*ériphos*) and so saved him from the wrath of Hera[4]. Prof. Ridgeway makes light of the tale as coming from a late writer. But it is never safe to pooh-pooh the evidence of Apollodoros. And this tale in particular, though not written down till the second century B.C., obviously contains ritual elements of extreme antiquity. We have already noted that in the service of Dionysos a man was literally disguised as a stag, slain and eaten[5]. We have also remarked that in the cult of Dionysos' nurse[6], this

[1] W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 79 ff.

[2] Hesych. *s.v.* Εἰραφιώτης· ὁ Διόνυσος, παρὰ τὸ ἐρράφθαι ἐν τῷ μηρῷ τοῦ Διός. καὶ Ἔριφος, παρὰ Λάκωσιν, *id. s.v.* Ἔριφος (Ἐρίφιος cj. Faber)· ὁ Διόνυσος.

[3] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀκρώρεια, ἄκρον ὄρους. ἐν ᾧ οἱ οἰκοῦντες Ἀκρωρεῖται. οὕτω δὲ παρὰ Σικυωνίοις ἐτιμᾶτο <ὁ Διόνυσος>. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ παρὰ μὲν Σικυωνίοις Ἀκρωρείτης, παρὰ δὲ Μεταποντίνοις Ἐρίφιος. Ἀπολλόδωρός φησιν. The insertion of ὁ Διόνυσος rendered practically certain by Paus. 2. 7. 5: J. G. Frazer *ad loc.* points out that the temple of Dionysos at Sikyon stood on the plateau, which was the akropolis of the old and the site of the new, city. Not improbably kids were killed in the cult of the Sicyonian Dionysos; for a copper coin of the town, struck by Iulia Domna, shows a raving Bacchant with a knife in her right hand and a kid (?) in her left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 55 pl. 9, 19, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 29 pl. H, 6 and 7).

[4] Apollod. 3. 4. 3, schol. Pind. *Isthm.* argum. 1 and 3, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 229. Cp. throughout Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 45 ff., where however (as in schol. Pind. *Isthm.* argum. 4) Athamas drops Melikertes into the caldron of boiling water and Ino pulls him out half-boiled.

[5] *Supra* p. 67 n. 3.

[6] At Brasiai in the territory of the Eleutherolakones Ino nursed Dionysos in a cave (Paus. 3. 24. 4, cp. Douris *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 470 Müller) *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 104). In a pentameter of Kallimachos (?) cited by the *et. mag.* p. 372, 4 f. the nurse of Dionysos is Ἐρίφη (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 81 and Arkad. *de accent.* p. 115, 18 Barker); on the authorship of the line see O. Schneider *Callimachea* Lipsiae 1873 ii. 722. Lastly Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 1 ff. makes Athamas in his madness bind and flog a she-goat, which he takes to be Ino.

same Leukothea, a caldron was used to effect a ritual divinisation[1]. It might also be observed that at Tenedos infants were sacrificed to her son Palaimon[2]. Supported by the evidence of actual cult and embedded in this context of archaic rites, the statement of Apollodoros that Dionysos himself became a kid is not to be laughed out of court. Again, Ovid says that, when the gods fled into Egypt to escape Typhoeus, the son of Semele was turned into a goat[3]. And even Ovid, facile though he was and frivolous though he may have been, did not invent his *Metamorphoses* wholesale. Recent research is in fact tending towards the conclusion that he did not invent them at all[4]. And we have twice had occasion to accept as based on definite cult-practice transformations presupposed by this very Ovidian narrative[5].

In the tale told by Apollodoros we detected certain remnants of Dionysiac ritual—the caldron of apotheosis and the young god transformed into a kid. I should conjecture that there was a version of the Dionysos-myth, in which the god boiled in a caldron and subsequently devoured was done to death not as a bull, but as a kid. I am further inclined to think that his worshippers, by way of identifying themselves with him, took the name of 'kids' and actually pretended to be seethed like him in a caldron. This may seem a rash guess. But it is not entirely unsupported by evidence. Hesychios informs us that a man who performed the rites of Adonis was known as a 'kid[6].' And we have seen that the Cretan Zeus, whose death and resurrection were annually enacted, was at the first hard to distinguish from Adonis[7]. Possibly, therefore, Kuster was not mistaken when he interpreted this strange gloss of some Dionysiac rite[8]. Again, if Dionysos was worshipped as *Erîphios*, the 'Kid-god,' at Metapontum, we might look to find some trace of the fact in Orphic formularies. Now A. Dieterich[9] with his habitual acumen pointed out that the lines engraved on

[1] *Supra* p. 419 n. 10.

[2] Lyk. *Al.* 229 ff. καὶ δὴ Παλαίμων δέρκεται βρεφοκτόνος | ξέουσαν αἰθυίαισι πλεκτανοστόλοις | γραῖαν ξύνευνον Ὠγένου Τιτηνίδα (the wording is curiously reminiscent of the Titanic caldron!) with schol. *ad loc.* Παλαίμων ὁ Μελικέρτης, ὁ τῆς Ἰνοῦς υἱός. οὗτος σφόδρα ἐτιμᾶτο ἐν τῇ Τενέδῳ, ἔνθα καὶ βρέφη αὐτῷ ἐθυσίαζον.

[3] Ov. *met.* 5. 329 proles Semeleïa capro.

[4] See the careful and critical summary in Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 171—185.

[5] *Supra* p. 370 n. 1 (Zeus=ram), p. 445 (Hera=cow).

[6] Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀδωνιστής· ἔριφος.

[7] *Supra* p. 157 n. 3, p. 530 n. 2, p. 645.

[8] See J. Alberti's n. on Hesych. *loc. cit.*

[9] A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 30 ff. (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 91 ff.), *id. Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 214.

the gold tablets from Corigliano constitute a hymn of eleven hexameters, in which the Orphic votary claims a happy entrance into the future life and receives the assurance:

'Happy and blessed one, thou shalt be a god instead of a mortal.'

Dieterich further remarked that immediately after this hymn comes a twelfth line containing the prose *formula*:

'I have fallen as a kid into milk[1].'

This enigmatic phrase he referred to the cult of Dionysos *Eriphos* or *Eriphios* and explained as a solemn pass-word, in which the mystic asserted that he too as an *eriphos* had now returned to his mother's breast and, thus raised to the rank of a god, had entered upon the land flowing with milk and honey. Dieterich's elucidation of the final *formula* is, however, incomplete; for it does not really justify the expression 'I have fallen' or adequately account for the ritual bath of milk. We must, I think, start from the fact, first noted by Dr Frazer[2], that semi-civilised folk relish meat boiled in milk, but often abstain from the luxury because they fancy that the boiling would injure the cow from which the milk has been drawn. Among the Baganda, for example, 'it is recognized that flesh boiled in milk is a great dainty, and naughty boys and other unprincipled persons, who think more of their own pleasure than of the welfare of the herds, will gratify their sinful lusts by eating meat boiled in milk, whenever they can do so on the sly[3].' Moreover, tribes that commonly refuse to boil milk will not hesitate to do so on certain solemn and specified occasions: the Bahima cowmen are a case in point[4]. It is therefore possible that the original Thraco-Phrygian ceremony involved a ritual boiling of milk. At the Athenian festival of the Galaxia a mess of barley was actually boiled in milk for the Phrygian mother-goddess[5]. And Sallustius,

[1] *Rh. Mus.* lv. 161 ff. = *Kl. Schr.* p. 710, l. 14 ff. ὄλβιε καὶ μακάριστε, θεὸς δ' ἐσῃ ἀντὶ βροτοῖο. ἐρίφιος ἐς γάλα πεσών, ἐπεύχομαι ἐς ἀνθρώπους, ἐκφυγὼν ἐς γάλα, ἔπεσες.

[2] J. G. Frazer in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907, p. 151 ff., discussing the ancient ritual law 'Thou shalt not seethe a kid in its mother's milk' (Ex. 23. 19, 34. 26, Deut. 14. 21), argues (*op. cit.* p. 153) that among pastoral tribes in Africa there is a widely spread and deeply rooted aversion to boil the milk of cows, this aversion being based on an idea that a cow whose milk has been boiled will yield no more milk; (*b*) that, notwithstanding this belief, the Baganda boys sometimes boil their meat in milk whenever they can; and (*c*) that the scriptural precept may have been directed against miscreants of this sort, whose surreptitious joys were denounced by public opinion as striking a fatal blow at the staple food of the community.

[3] J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 156.

[4] See the interesting account given by my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe *The Baganda* London 1911 p. 418.

[5] Pelker *suppl.* i. 229. 25 ff. Γαλαξία (Γαλάξια A. Mommsen)· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνῃσι μητρὶ

who allegorises her rites[1], speaks of 'the feeding on milk, as though we were being born again; after which come rejoicings and garlands and, as it were, a return up to the Gods[2].' Let us suppose, then, that the early Thraco-Phrygian 'kings,' the *Titânes* of the myth[3], after killing Dionysos as a kid, pitched him into their caldron and boiled him in milk with a view to his being born again. The mystic who aspired to be one with his god underwent, or at least claimed to have undergone, a like ordeal. He had fallen as a slain kid into the milky caldron: henceforward he was 'a god instead of a mortal[4].'

θεῶν ἀγομένη, ἐν ᾗ ἐψοῦσι (ἔψουσι A. Mommsen) *τὴν γαλαξίαν. ἔστι δὲ πόλτος κρίθινος ἐκ γάλακτος* (*ἐν γάλακτι* A. Mommsen), Hesych. *s.v.* Γαλάξια (γαλαξία cod., γαλαξία Musurus, γαλάξια Ruhnken)· *ἑορτή, ἐν ᾗ ἕψουσι γαλαξίαν. ἔστι δὲ πόλτος κρίθινος ἐν γάλακτι.* Cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 470, 13 (of the *ἐφηβοί*), *ἔθυσαν δὲ καὶ τοῖς* Γαλαξίο[ι]ς *τ[ῇ μητ]ρὶ τῶν θεῶν καὶ ἀνέθηκαν φιάλην ἀπὸ δραχμῶν ἑκατὸν κ.τ.λ.* Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 449 refers the Γαλάξια to Elaphebolion on the ground that in the Delian calendar Elaphebolion was called Γαλάξιος (*leg.* Γαλαξιών). See further P. Stengel and Bischoff in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 559 f. and 571.

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1541 n. 7.

[2] Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4 *ἐπὶ τούτοις γάλακτος τροφή, ὥσπερ ἀναγεννωμένων, ἐφ' οἷς ἱλαρεῖται καὶ στέφανοι καὶ πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς οἷον ἐπάνοδος* trans. G. Murray.

[3] *Supra* p. 655 f.

[4] A somewhat similar belief may lie at the back of the Roman Lupercalia; for here too human 'goats' underwent rites, which are best explained (W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 99 f.) as a mimic death and resurrection by means of milk. The relevant facts are the following. On Feb. 15 the celebrants met at the Lupercal, a cave in the Palatine Hill, and sacrificed goats (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21, Ov. *fast.* 2. 445 cp. 441, Val. Max. 2. 2. 9, Quint. *inst. or.* 1. 5. 66, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 343 and interp. *ad loc.*) and a dog (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21, *quaestt. Rom.* 68, 111). In the Lupercal was an image of the god whom Justin calls Lupercus, nude but girt with a goat-skin (Iust. 43. 1. 7). The *luperci* too were nude and wore about their loins the pelts of the newly-sacrificed animals (Q. Aelius Tubero (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 200 f. Peter) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 80). They ran round the base of the Palatine striking those whom they met with strips or thongs cut from the goat-skins (Plout. *v. Rom.* 21, Ov. *fast.* 2. 445 f., Val. Max. 2. 2. 9, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 343, Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 101, 21 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 441 Müller)). These *luperci* are described not merely as 'human flocks' (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 34 lupercis nudis lustratur antiquum oppidum Palatinum gregibus humanis cinctum), but actually as *crepi* (Paul. ex Fest. p. 57 Müller, p. 49 Lindsay), *i.e.* 'goats' (Paul. ex Fest. p. 48 Müller, p. 42 Lindsay, Isid. *orig.* 12. 1. 15: see S. Bugge in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1872 cv. 92 f., Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 389, W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* Oxford 1894 p. 98). Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 209 n. 8 says: 'man kann die *τράγοι-σάτυροι* des griechischen Dionysos-dienstes zum Vergleiche heranziehen'—an analogy noted by W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1905 ii. 200. The ritual of the *luperci* is given with most detail by Plout. *v. Rom.* 21: 'They sacrifice goats. Then two young men of high rank are brought to them; whereupon some touch the forehead of the young men with a bloody knife, and others promptly wipe off the blood, applying wool steeped in milk. After this wiping the young men are obliged to laugh. Next they cut up the skins of the goats and run round naked except for their girdles, striking with the whips any one who encounters them. Young women do not avoid this whipping, because they deem it a help towards easy labour and conception. It is a peculiarity of the festival that the *luperci* sacrifice a dog likewise.' See

To modern ears this rite may sound not only disgusting but incredible. Yet a partial parallel can be found for it, and nearer home than we might have imagined. Giraldus Cambrensis[1] tells us how kings used to be inaugurated in Tirconnell, now the county of Donegal:

'There are some things which shame would prevent my relating, unless the course of my subject required it. For a filthy story seems to reflect a stain on the author, although it may display his skill. But the severity of history does not allow us either to sacrifice truth or affect modesty; and what is shameful in itself may be related by pure lips in decent words. There is, then, in the northern and most remote part of Ulster, namely, at Kenel Cunil, a nation which practises a most barbarous and abominable rite in creating their king. The whole people of that country being gathered in one place, a white mare is led into the midst of them, and he who is to be inaugurated, not as a prince but as a brute, not as a king but as an outlaw, comes before the people on all fours, confessing himself a beast with no less impudence than imprudence. The mare being immediately killed, and cut in pieces and boiled, a bath is prepared for him from the broth. Sitting in this, he eats of the flesh which is brought to him, the people standing round and partaking of it also. He is also required to drink of the broth in which he is bathed, not drawing it in any vessel, nor even in his hand, but lapping it with his mouth. These unrighteous rites being duly accomplished, his royal authority and dominion are ratified.'

It remains to ask—what is the bearing of all this on the origin of Greek tragedy? To put the matter briefly, it seems probable that at the winter festival of the Lenaia as originally celebrated by the Athenians a song was sung commemorating the passion of Dionysos[2], and that this song was accompanied by a mimetic performance, a passion-play[3], which ultimately developed into Attic tragedy. It is, I think, significant that Thespis came from the deme Ikaria, where it was an ancient custom to dance round a he-goat (*trágos*)[4], that for the purpose of his tragedies he first smeared the faces of the performers with white lead[5], as if they

further W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 310 ff., *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 478 ff., J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398 ff., L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1910 xiii. 481 ff. (whose attempt to show that the *Wiedergeburtszeremonie* was a Greek cathartic rite added by Augustus is ingenious but hardly convincing).

[1] Giraldus Cambrensis *The Topography of Ireland* dist. 3 chap. 25 trans. T. Forester revised by T. Wright (ed. London 1905 p. 138).

[2] *Supra* p. 672 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 673 ff.

[4] Eratosthenes *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4 *Ἰκαρίου ποσὶ πρῶτα περὶ τράγον ὠρχήσαντο.* Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 234, 315 reads Ἰκάριοι (but B. Bunte *ad loc.* suggests that the line was preceded by *ἔνθα ἑταῖροι* or the like), and justly infers 'that there was there some primitive mimetic service of the goat-god.'

[5] Souid. *s.v.* *Θέσπις·...καὶ πρῶτον μὲν χρίσας τὸ πρόσωπον ψιμυθίῳ ἐτραγῴδησεν, εἶτα ἀνδράχνῃ ἐσκέπασεν ἐν τῷ ἐπιδείκνυσθαι, καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα εἰσήνεγκε καὶ τὴν τῶν προσωπείων χρῆσιν ἐν μόνῃ ὀθόνῃ κατασκευάσας* = Endok. *viol.* 471.

were so many Titans[1] smeared with gypsum, and finally that the titles of the plays rightly or wrongly ascribed to him by Souidas are the *Prizes of Pelias* or the *Phorbas*, the *Priests*, the *Young Men*, and the *Pentheus*[2]. The last-named tragedy certainly had reference to the rending of Dionysos; for Pentheus, a Theban embodiment of the god[3], was torn asunder, if not also devoured[4], by the *lênai* themselves. Aischylos too wrote a *Pentheus*[5] and dealt with the same theme in his *Xantriai*[6], as did Euripides in his *Bakchai*, Iophon in his *Bakchai* or *Pentheus*[7], Chairemon in his *Dionysos*[8], Lykophron in his *Pentheus*[9]. The extant Euripidean play was neither the first nor the last dramatic presentation of the subject. Further, we can well understand how the incidents of the passion would be told of others beside Pentheus, who in this or that part of Greece had died the Dionysiac death. Pelias was cut to pieces by his daughters and boiled in a caldron in order that he might recover his youth[10]. Apart from the play attributed to Thespis, Sophokles composed a *Pelias*[11] and Euripides a *Peliades*[12]. The myth of Pelias and that of Pelops[13] have been shrewdly and, I believe, rightly interpreted by Mr F. M. Cornford as presupposing a ritual of regeneration or new birth[14]. It is therefore noteworthy that the boiling and eating of Pelops were for centuries regarded as among the most popular of all tragic themes[15]. Moreover, Palaimon, once boiled in a caldron by Leukothea and later worshipped as a god[16], was a stock character in the dramatic rites of the Iobakchoi[17]. From such personages the transition would be

[1] On Titan-dances see Loukian. *de salt.* 79 ἡ μέν γε Βακχικὴ ὄρχησις ἐν Ἰωνίᾳ μάλιστα καὶ ἐν Πόντῳ σπουδαζομένη, καίτοι Σατυρικὴ οὖσα, οὕτω κεχείρωται τοὺς ἀνθρώπους τοὺς ἐκεῖ ὥστε κατὰ τὸν τεταγμένον ἕκαστοι καιρὸν ἁπάντων ἐπιλαθόμενοι τῶν ἄλλων κάθηνται δι' ἡμέρας Τιτᾶνας (Sommerbrodt cj. Πᾶνας) καὶ Κορύβαντας καὶ Σατύρους καὶ Βουκόλους ὁρῶντες. καὶ ὀρχοῦνταί γε ταῦτα οἱ εὐγενέστατοι καὶ πρωτεύοντες ἐν ἑκάστῃ τῶν πόλεων οὐχ ὅπως αἰδούμενοι, ἀλλὰ καὶ μέγα φρονοῦντες ἐπὶ τῷ πράγματι μᾶλλον ἢπερ ἐπ' εὐγενείαις καὶ λειτουργίαις καὶ ἀξιώμασι προγονικοῖς.

[2] Souid. *s.v.* Θέσπις·...μνημονεύεται δὲ τῶν δραμάτων αὐτοῦ Ἆθλα Πελίου ἢ Φόρβας, Ἱερεῖς, Ἠίθεοι, Πενθεύς (cp. Poll. 7. 45) = Eudok. *viol.* 471.

[3] A. G. Bather 'The Problem of the *Bacchae*' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 244 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 167 f.

[4] Oppian. *cyneg.* 4. 304 ff.

[5] *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 60 f. Nauck[2].

[6] *Ib.* p. 55 f.

[7] *Ib.* p. 761.

[8] *Ib.* p. 783 f.

[9] Souid. *s.v.* Λυκόφρων.

[10] *Supra* p. 244 f.

[11] *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 238 Nauck[2].

[12] *Ib.* p. 550 ff.

[13] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 145 regards Πελίας as merely a hypocoristic form of Πέλοψ.

[14] F. M. Cornford in J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 243 ff.

[15] Loukian. *de salt.* 54.

[16] *Supra* p. 675.

[17] S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 148, 254 f. = 260 (line 120 ff. μερῶν δὲ γεινομέ-| νων αἱρέτω ἱερεύς, ἀνθιερεύς, | ἀρχίβακχος, ταμίας, βουκολικός, | Διόνυσος, Κόρη, Παλαίμων, Ἀφροϊδείτη, Πρωτεύρυθμος—τὰ δὲ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν συνκληρούσθω | πᾶσι), 276 f.

easy to suffering heroes in general—Hippolytos dragged to death by his horses but brought to life again by Asklepios, Orestes reported as dead but returning to wreak vengeance on his foes, Apsyrtos murdered and dismembered by Medeia, Neoptolemos mangled beside the altar at Pytho, and many another who, as old-fashioned folk were apt to complain, had 'nothing to do with Dionysos[1].'

(θ) The Attic Festivals of Dionysos.

Prof. G. Murray pursuing a different route has arrived at a similar, or at least analogous, conclusion. In a lucid and closely-reasoned note[2] he shows that Greek tragedies, so far as they are extant and so far as they can be reconstructed from extant fragments, normally contain a sequence of six parts—an *agón* or 'contest'; a *páthos*, generally a ritual or sacrificial death; an *angelía* or 'messenger's speech' announcing the death; a *thrênos* or 'lamentation,' often involving a clash of contrary emotions; an *anagnórisis* or 'recognition' of the slain and mutilated body; a *theophánεia* or 'epiphany in glory.' Following a clue put into his hands by Dieterich[3], Prof. Murray makes the really important discovery that Greek tragedy fills out the ritual forms of an old *sacer ludus*. This is what he is chiefly concerned to prove; and this, I think, he has succeeded in proving.

When, however, Prof. Murray assumes that the *sacer ludus* in question was the dithyramb or spring *drómenon* of Dionysos regarded as an 'Eniautos-Daimon' or 'Year Spirit,' I demur to his nomenclature[4] and I disagree with his presuppositions. Had he

[1] Phot. *lex. s.v.* *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον* = Souid. *s.v.* *οὐδὲν πρὸς τὸν Διόνυσον* = Apostol. 13. 42, Zenob. 5. 40, Diogeneian. 7. 18, Append. Prov. 4. 82; Strab. 381, Plout. *symp.* 1. 1. 5, Loukian. *Bacch.* 5, Liban. *epist.* 881, Heliod. *Aeth.* 2. 24, schol. Loukian. *Alex.* 53 p. 185, 9 f. Rabe, schol. Loukian. *de salt.* 80 p. 189, 29 ff. Rabe. Cp. the word *ἀπροσδιόνυσος* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 1820 D).

[2] Printed as an excursus in Miss Harrison's *Themis* Cambridge 1912 pp. 341—363.

[3] A. Dieterich 'Die Entstehung der Tragödie' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1908 xi. 163—196.

[4] Prof. Murray writes to me (July 6, 1913): 'I want to put in a word of explanation about the Daimon, where I am not sure that you have taken my point. I could, of course, call him simply Dionysus, as the ancient authorities do. Only then there would have to be explanations for each separate play. Hippolytus is not Dionysus; it is a strain even to call him a Dionysiac hero. The same with Orestes, Oedipus, Actaeon, Pentheus even. It seemed to me simpler, as a matter of nomenclature, to say: "Dionysus, though of course a complex figure, belongs so far as tragedy is concerned to a special class of beings called Vegetation Spirits or Year-Daemons. Tragedy, while in official cult specially belonging to Dionysus, readily accepts as its heroes all sorts of other people who are, in their various degrees, Daemons of the same class, and have the same set of Pathea." Thus in each case I can speak simply of "the Daimon."'

been content to speak, as the Greeks spoke, of Dionysos with no new-fangled appellative, and had he cited the Lenaia rather than the dithyramb as providing the germ or ritual outline of tragedy, I should have found myself in complete accordance with his view.

This expression of partial dissent from the opinion of so high an authority as Prof. Murray makes it necessary for me to add a word as to the relation that I conceive to have subsisted between the dithyramb and the Lenaean rite. The dithyrambic contest was essentially the opening ceremony of the City Dionysia[1], which began on Elaphebolion 9 and in the fifth century was over by Elaphebolion 14[2]. Now the Lenaia began on Gamelion 12[3]. The interval between the City Dionysia and the Lenaia was therefore just ten lunar months. My suggestion is that Dionysos was conceived at the City Dionysia and born at the Lenaia. The former festival was the Lady Day, the latter was the Christmas, of the Attic year. I take it that the dithyramb was properly the song commemorating the union of Zeus[4] with Semele and the begetting

[1] J. Girard in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 243, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1024 and O. Crusius *ib.* v. 1207.

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 430 ff.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 375.

[4] Διθύραμβος has a suffix found in other words denoting dance and song—ἴαμβος, θρίαμβος, cp. ἴθυμβος. Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 363 f. regards ἴαμβος as probably a Thraco-Phrygian word. I would support his contention by pointing out that Iambe was a Thracian (Nik. *alex.* 132 Θρηΐσσης...Ἰάμβης with scholl. *ad loc.* Θρᾷσσα δὲ τὸ γένος and τῆς Θρᾳκικῆς Ἰάμβης, cp. Proklos in R. Westphal *Metrici scriptores Graeci* Lipsiae 1866 i. 242) and that διθύραμβος, θρίαμβος, ἴθυμβος are all Dionysiac terms, the first two being cult-titles of Dionysos himself (Athen. 30 B, 465 A, Diod. 4. 5, *et. mag.* p. 274, 45 ff., schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1131, *alib.*), the last the name of a dance used in his service (Poll. 4. 104).

The first element in the compound is Δῑ- for Δι- as in Δίφιλος > Δίφιλος, Διπολίεια > Διπολίεια, Διπόλεια > Διπόλεια, Διπόλια > Διπόλια, Δισωτήρια > Δισωτήρια.

The second element in the compound and the *crux* for its interpreters is the syllable -θυρ-, which cannot be satisfactorily connected with θύρα. I have suggested (in Miss Harrison's *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 204) that -θυρ- is a northern form of -θορ- (on ο becoming υ see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 242, K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 36), and have compared Hesych. Δειπάτυρος· θεὸς παρὰ Στυμφαίοις—a name which not only illustrates both the phonetic changes postulated by my explanation of διθύραμβος, but also provides a parallel for the meaning that I would attach to it. If on the confines of Makedonia, Epeiros, and Thessaly Δειπάτυρος denoted 'Zeus the Father,' it is allowable to suppose that in the same region *Δείθυρος denoted 'Zeus the Begetter' (θορός, θορή, θόρνυμαι, θρώσκω, etc.). Thus διθύραμβος could mean what in substance I believe it to have been 'the song of Zeus the Begetter.' In favour of this etymology is the fact that Apollon, who often has the same cult-titles as Zeus, was worshipped in Boiotia (?) as Θοραῖος (Lyk. *Al.* 352 with Tzetz. *ad loc.* Θοραῖον τὸν σπερμογόνον καὶ γεννητικόν) and in Lakonike as Θοράτης (Hesych. Θοράτης· Ἀπόλλων παρὰ Λάκωσιν). Again, Aisch. *στρρ.* 301 does not hesitate to describe Zeus as consorting with Io πρέποντα βουθόρῳ ταύρῳ δέμας. And in the Dictaean hymn six times over comes the impressive cry of the Chorus

of their child Dionysos[1]. His life-history, in which I would recognise the prototype of tragedy, was the theme of the Lenaean performance.

On this showing tragedy belonged by rights to the Lenaia and was only later attached to the City Dionysia[2]. Conversely it might be maintained that comedy belonged by rights to the City Dionysia and was only later attached to the Lenaia. For the great god of the City Dionysia was Dionysos *Eleuthereús*, whose cult was introduced by Pegasos from Eleutherai[3]. It is said that the Athenians at first thought scorn of the god, and that thereupon they were visited by a phallic disorder, which could not be cured till, both privately and publicly, they made *phalloí* in his honour[4]. Certainly such *phalloí* played their part in the City festival[5]; and Aristotle believed that comedy took its rise from

addressed to Zeus himself *θόρε...θόρε...θόρε...θόρε...θόρε...θόρε...* (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 358 line 27 ff.).

Finally, I should surmise that in *θρίαμβος* we have the weakest grade of the same root (cp. *θρώσκω*). Hence the association of *θρίαμβος* with *διθύραμβος* (Pratinas *frag.* 1, 16 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Athen. 617 F *θριαμβοδιθύραμβε*).

[1] The exquisite dithyramb written by Pindar for the Athenians deals expressly with Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos: Pind. *frag.* 75 Christ (75 Schroeder) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *de comp. verb.* 22 *Διόθεν τέ με σὺν ἀγλαΐᾳ | ἴδετε πορευθέντ' ἀοιδᾶν δεύτερον | ἐπὶ κισσοδαῆ θεόν, | Βρόμιον ὅν τ' Ἐριβόαν τε βροτοὶ καλέομεν, | γόνον ὑπάτων μὲν πατέρων μελπέμεν | γυναικῶν τε Καδμείᾱν [Σεμέλ(η)ν]. κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Plat. *legg.* 700 B *καὶ ἄλλο (sc. εἶδος φδῆς) Διονύσου γένεσις, οἶμαι, διθύραμβος λεγόμενος*, where *γένεσις* includes *γέννησις*.

Further evidence tending to show that the City Dionysia culminated in the union of Zeus with Semele and the conception of Dionysos will be adduced, when we come to consider the festival of the Pandia (*infra* p. 733).

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 379 says 'Zur Zeit des Thespis und der älteren Dramatiker, im VI. Jahrh. und wohl noch im Anfang des V., hatten die Städter keine anderen Schauspieltage als die der Lenäen, denen mithin sämtliche in Athen zur Aufführung kommende Stücke zuzuweisen waren. Das wurde anders, als man, verm. im V. Jahrh., die städtischen Dionysien stiftete.' This agrees with the results obtained by W. Vollgraff 'Dionysos Eleuthereus' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1907 xxxii. 567 ff., *viz.* that Eleutherai was not incorporated with Athens till shortly before the peace of Nikias (421 B.C.) and that a temple was built for the *xόanon* of Dionysos *Eleuthereús* in the theatre-precinct probably by Nikias himself (*c.* 420 B.C.). But, in reply to Vollgraff, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 227 ff. has made it probable that the introduction of Dionysos *Eleuthereús* and the constitution (? re-constitution: *infra* p. 692 n. 4) of the City Dionysia as his festival took place in the sixth century and were the work of Peisistratos.

[3] Paus. 1. 2. 5.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 243, who describes the *φαλλός* as *ξύλον ἐπίμηκες, ἔχον ἐν τῷ ἄκρῳ σκύτινον αἰδοῖον ἐξηρτημένον*.

[5] Schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit. πεισθέντες οὖν τοῖς ἠγγελμένοις οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι φαλλοὺς ἰδίᾳ τε καὶ δημοσίᾳ κατεσκεύασαν, καὶ τούτοις ἐγέραιρον τὸν θεόν, κ.τ.λ.*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* I no. 31 *A* 11 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 19 *a* 11 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 72 *A* 11 ff. (in a decree concerning the colony of Brea, not much earlier than 443/2 B.C.) *βοῦν δὲ καὶ [πρόβατα] | [δύο ἀπά]γεν ἐς Παναθέναια τὰ μεγάλ[α καὶ ἐς Δ] | [ιονύσι]α φαλλόν*

this form of worship[1], which was obviously appropriate to the season when Dionysos was begotten. Confirmation of the view that tragedy originated at the Lenaia, comedy at the City Dionysia, may be found in a curious but little-noticed fact[2]. At the Lenaia tragedy took precedence of comedy: at the City Dionysia comedy took precedence of tragedy[3].

There are, however, traces of a different and probably older arrangement of the Dionysiac year. It can hardly be accidental that of the two remaining Attic festivals of the god one was held just a month before the City Dionysia and the other a month before the Lenaia. The Anthesteria took place on Anthesterion 11—13[4]; the Rural Dionysia, shortly before Poseideon 19[5]. Here, then, we have again the same interval of ten lunar months. And we may legitimately suspect the same cause—a conception at the

Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 1 no. 321 *b*, 7 (in a decree of 278/7 B.C., which apparently refers to a procession passing through the Dipylon Gate) - - *s τῆς φαλλαγ*[*ωγίας*].

[1] Aristot. *poet.* 4. 1449 a 9 ff.

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 441 n. 2 remarks that at the City Dionysia first came lyrics, then comedy, then tragedy, and justly infers 'dass der Agon ursprünglich nur aus ernster Lyrik und heiterer Dramatik bestand, und keine Tragödien vorkamen.'

[3] See the law of Euegoros cited by Dem. *in Mid.* 10 *Εὐήγορος εἶπεν· ὅταν ἡ πομπὴ ᾖ τῷ Διονύσῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί, καὶ ἡ ἐπὶ Ληναίῳ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοί, καὶ τοῖς ἐν ἄστει Διονυσίοις ἡ πομπὴ καὶ οἱ παῖδες καὶ ὁ κῶμος καὶ οἱ κωμῳδοὶ καὶ οἱ τραγῳδοί, κ.τ.λ.* Comedies precede tragedies also in the official lists of the contests at the City Dionysia (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 971, iv. 2 no. 971).

A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*[3] rev. by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Oxford 1907 p. 23 n. 2 makes light of this evidence 'as there is nothing to show that the contests are being spoken of in order of performance, rather than in order of relative importance.' But since Euegoros arranges the same items in a different order, according as they occur at the Lenaia or at the City Dionysia, it is probable that he is giving the official programme. This probability is raised to a certainty by the fact that his order agrees with that of the inscribed records, in which *e.g.* the name of Magnes precedes the name of Aischylos on a list of victors at the City Dionysia *c.* 469 B.C.

A. E. Haigh *op. cit.*[2] Oxford 1898 p. 35, *op. cit.*[3] Oxford 1907 p. 23 f. quotes Aristoph. *av.* 785 ff. *οὐδέν ἐστ' ἄμεινον οὐδ' ἥδιον ἢ φῦσαι πτερά. | αὐτίχ' ὑμῶν τῶν θεατῶν εἴ τις ἦν ὑπόπτερος, | εἶτα πεινῶν τοῖς χοροῖσι τῶν τραγῳδῶν ἤχθετο, | ἐκπτόμενος ἂν οὗτος ἠρίστησεν ἐνθὼν οἴκαδε, | κἄτ' ἂν ἐμπλησθεὶς ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὖθις αὖ κατέπτετο* and infers 'that the comedies were performed after the tragedies.' But, noting that this passage stands near the end of a chorus of 125 lines, I would rather interpret as follows. Aristophanes, joking at his own expense, imagines a bored and hungry spectator suddenly equipped with wings and therefore able to fly off home, get his bit of dinner, and be back in time for the next scene on the stage. That is surely the point of *ἐφ' ἡμᾶς αὖθις αὖ κατέπτετο.* If so, there is no allusion to tragedies at all, and we ought to accept the old emendation *τρυγῳδῶν*, which was certain to be corrupted into *τραγῳδῶν.* The passage thus emended squares with the very weighty evidence of Euegoros' law and the official inscriptions.

[4] Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 384 ff.

[5] Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 351, on the strength of *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 578, 36 f. (a decree of Myrrhinous *c.* 340 B.C.) *τῇ δὲ ἐνάτει ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ποσειδεῶν*[*ος*] *μ*(*η*)*ν*[*ὸς χρηματίζ*][*ε*]*ιν πε*[*ρὶ Διον*]*υσίων*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 nos. 623 *d* and 623 *e* (records of the Dionysiastai, who met *Ποσιδεῶνος ἀγορᾷ κυρίᾳ*).

Anthesteria, a birth at the Rural Dionysia. Thoukydides speaks of the Anthesteria as 'the older Dionysia[1],' presumably in comparison with 'the Dionysia[2],' *i.e.* the City Dionysia, in the following month. The ritual of the Anthesteria with its *Pithoigía*, its *Chóes*, and its *Chýtroi* is fairly well known. It culminated on Anthesterion 12[3], the one day in the year on which 'the oldest and holiest sanctuary of Dionysos in the Marshes' was thrown open[4]. For what purpose this temple was opened, while all others were religiously kept shut[5], we are not told. But we have at least materials for forming a reasonable guess. Beside the altar in the sanctuary stood a marble *stéle*, on which was inscribed a law relating to the *status* and chastity of the *Basílinna*[6], *i.e.* the wife of the *Basileús* who had presided over the drinking-competition of the *Chóes*[7]. Now it was the duty of the *Basílinna* to administer an oath of ritual purity to fourteen sacred women chosen by the *Basileús* and named *Gerairaí*[8], who took it standing at the above-mentioned altar and laying their hands upon certain baskets before they ventured to touch 'the holy things[9].' In view of the ascertained character of Dionysos *Eleuthereús*[10] I should conjecture with some confidence that these baskets contained *phalloí* covered with seed or the like, and that the temple was opened once a year for the performance of a phallic rite[11]. This conjecture is in general agreement with the wording of the oath taken by the *Gerairaí*:

[1] Thouk. 2. 15. [2] Thouk. 5. 23, cp. 5. 20.

[3] This is the day mentioned by Thouk. 2. 15 as a Dionysiac festival common to the Athenians and their Ionian descendants.

[4] Dem. *c. Neaer.* 76. The temple in question was probably identical with the small pre-Persic building beside the theatre; for this is expressly described by Paus. 1. 20. 3 as 'the oldest sanctuary of Dionysos,' and its situation immediately south of the Akropolis accords well with the account given by Thouk. 2. 15 of the temple in the Marshes. It seems to have contained the ancient wooden image of the god, brought to Athens from Eleutherai (Paus. 1. 38. 8) by Pegasos (Paus. 1. 2. 5).

[5] So Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 391 and Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 216 f. relying on Phanodemos *frag.* 13 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 368 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 437 b—d.

[6] Dem. *c. Neaer.* 75 f. [7] Aristoph. *Ach.* 1224 f. with schol. *ad loc.*

[8] The evidence is collected by P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1232 f.

[9] Dem. *c. Neaer.* 73 and 78 f. A. Frickenhaus *Lenäenvasen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxxii) Berlin 1912 p. 25 n. 17 understands ἅπτεσθαι τῶν ἱερῶν of the *cista mystica* (cp. *id.* in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 29 f. and 173). E. Petersen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1913 lxviii. 241 argues that the reference is, not to 'Kultgegenstände,' but to 'Kulthandlungen.' [10] *Supra* p. 682.

[11] A red-figured *pelíke* in the British Museum (fig. 510), belonging to a late stage of the fine period (*c.* 440—400 B.C.), is thus described in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 387 no. E 819: '(*a*) A girl, with long sleeved chiton, himation knotted around her waist, and hair looped up with fillet, leans forward to r., holding in her l. a rectangular box; with her r. she sprinkles with seed (?) four objects in the form of phalli set upright in the ground, around which are leaves (?) springing up. Above her on l. hangs a sash, on r. a looped fillet.... (*b*) An ephebos in himation and fillet moving to r. with arm extended, as if

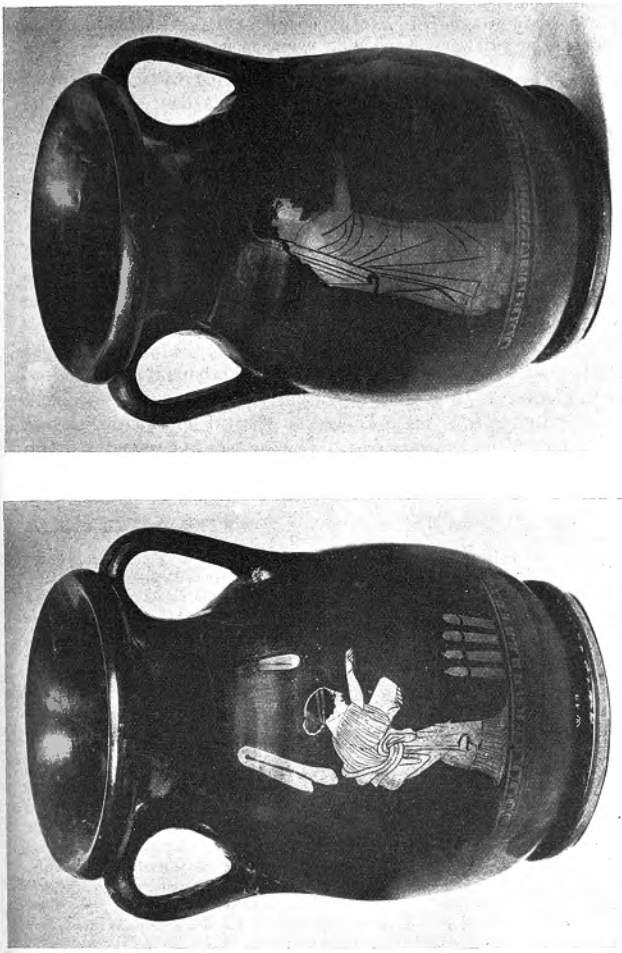


Fig. 510.

signing to the figure in (*a*).' Sir Cecil Smith suggests that the scene may have reference to one of the mystic ceremonies of Athenian women, such as the Thesmophoria. If so, it might convey to us some hint of the πολλὰ καὶ ἅγια καὶ ἀπόρρητα performed by the *Basilinna* (Dem. *c. Neaer.* 73).

'I am holy, pure, and clean from all impurities, especially from intercourse with man; and I perform in Dionysos' honour the *Theógnia* and the *Iobákcheia* according to ancestral custom and at the times appointed'.

The *Theógnia* were presumably rites connected with the birth of the god, very possibly the ceremonial of his conception[2]. The *Iobákcheia* may have been some service associated with the *Theógnia* in Anthesterion, since at Astypalaia this month was called Iobakchios[3], or else an equivalent of the *Theógnia* in Elaphebolion, since the Athenian Iobakchoi are known to have been active at the time of the City Dionysia[4]. Here, however, a difficulty arises. Modern scholars commonly assure us that on Anthesterion 12 the wife of the *Basileús* was married to Dionysos[5]. If so, my notion that the god was conceived on this day falls to the ground. But inspection shows that, although the ritual marriage is a well-attested fact, no ancient author early or late connects it with the Anthesteria at all. When it took place, we do not know. Perhaps it synchronised with the Lenaia[6]. In any case we are left with the curious problem that the Anthesteria was a Dionysiac festival at which Dionysos himself played no obvious part. The problem is solved, if I am

[1] Dem. c. *Neaer.* 78 Ἁγιστεύω καὶ εἰμὶ καθαρὰ καὶ ἁγνὴ ἀπό τε τῶν ἀλλων τῶν οὐ καθαιρόντων καὶ ἀπ' ἀνδρὸς συνουσίας, καὶ τὰ Θεόγνια (so codd. S. F. Q. *θεοίνια* vulg.) καὶ τὰ Ἰωβάκχεια τελῶ (Dobree cj. *τεραῶ*) τῷ Διονύσῳ κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι χρόνοις.

[2] F. Blass (ed. 1891) prints the inferior reading *θεοίνια*, which has rightly been rejected by A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 359 n. 2 and by E. Petersen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1913 lxviii. 248. The *Θοινία* was a name given to the demotic Dionysia as a festival of Dionysos Θόινος (Harpokr. *s.v.* Θοινίων). If that reading were sound, we should have an additional reason for linking the Anthesteria with the Rural Dionysia.

[3] H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialectium*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 i. 707.

[4] S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 248 ff., especially p. 280.

[5] *E.g.* F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1073. L. C. Purser in Smith–Wayte–Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 639. J. Girard in Daremberg–Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 238. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly–Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2373 f. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 392 ff. Farnell *Cults of the States* v. 217 f. A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. Arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 69. G. Murray *Four Stages of Greek Religion* New York 1912 p. 31 f.

[6] A. Frickenhaus *l. c.* p. 80 ff. has adduced strong reasons for thinking that the *ἐπιστάτης ἐπιτηδεύσας ἐπενεγκεῖν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας εἰς τὸ θέατρον μετὰ φωτός* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 nos. 471, 12 b, *cp. ib.* nos. 469, 14 f. 470, 11 f.) at the festival of the Lenaia. It is possible that this torch-light procession stood in some relation to the marriage of Dionysos.

Mr D. S. Robertson, Fellow of Trinity College, kindly draws my attention to the fact that Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 137 has called in question the date usually assigned to the marriage, and has even (*ib.* n. 1) been inclined to conjecture that it took place in Gamelion. If so, it may well have happened at the Lenaia. In any case Mommsen's attempt (*Heortologie* p. 357 ff., *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 392 ff.) to connect it with Anthesterion 12 remains conjectural and unconvincing.

right in my contention that Dionysos as yet was not. Let us suppose that the *Anthestéria* was originally a day or days set apart for magic rites intended 'to make things bloom[1],' and that, when Dionysos first came to be worshipped at Athens, this season was chosen as the fittest time for his conception. The view here advanced is not inconsistent with the Athenian belief that at the Anthesteria souls came up from the Underworld[2]. It is likely enough that the yearly renewal of vegetation was attributed to the agency, perhaps even to the actual re-embodiment[3], of the nameless and numberless dead. If Dionysos too was to be reborn, this surely was the moment for the procreative rite. The *panspermía* boiled in a pot (*chýtros*), which gave its name to the last day of the festival[4], was a piece of primitive magic applicable at once to vegetation and the vegetative god. But, if the Anthesteria resembled the City Dionysia in celebrating the conception of Dionysos, did it also resemble the City Dionysia in providing the germ of comedy? Aristophanes in a familiar chorus tells how at the precinct in the Marshes on the day of the *Chýtroi* a scarcely-sobered *kômos* sang of Dionysos son of Zeus[5]. From such a *kômos*-song comedy, the *kômos*-song *par excellence*[6], might well have arisen; and the more so, since we hear of definite contests as held on that concluding day[7]. The contests in question were

[1] See the simple and satisfactory remarks of Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 222.

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 390 n. 3, Farnell *op. cit.* v. 215 ff., and especially Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 32 ff.

[3] Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 254 ff. ('Bezug der Bäume auf Grab, Tod und Apotheose des Menschen') gives a good collection of relevant facts. Note also Emped. *frag.* 117 Diels *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 77 *καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν παντοῖα εἴδη ζῴων καὶ φυτῶν ἐνδύεσθαι· φησὶ γοῦν· 'Ἤδη γάρ ποτ' ἐγὼ γενόμην κοῦρός τε κόρη τε | θάμνος τ' οἰωνός τε καὶ ἐξ ἁλὸς ἔμπυρος ἰχθύς*, Emped. *frag.* 127 Diels *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 7 *λέγει δὲ καὶ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς τὴν ἀρίστην εἶναι μετοίκησιν τὴν τοῦ ἀνθρώπου, εἰ μὲν ἐς ζῷον ἡ λῆξις αὐτὸν μεταγάγοι, λέοντα γίνεσθαι· εἰ δὲ ἐς φυτόν, δάφνην. ἃ δὲ Ἐμπεδοκλῆς λέγει, ταῦτά ἐστιν· 'Ἐν θήρεσσι λέουτες ὀρειλεχέες χαμαιεῦναι | γίνονται, δάφναι δ' ἐνὶ δένδρεσιν ἠυκόμοισιν.* It seems probable that trees were planted on or around graves, not, originally at least, as a mere pleasance (Rohde *Psyche*[2] i. 230), but rather as a vehicle for the soul of the deceased. See further A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde*[2] Leipzig and Berlin 1913 p. 49.

[4] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 397 ff.

[5] Aristoph. *ran.* 211 ff. *λιμναῖα κρηνῶν τέκνα, | ξύναυλον ὕμνων βοάν, | φθεγξώμεθ', εὐγηρυν ἐμὰν ἀοιδάν, | κοὰξ κοάξ, | ἀν ἀμφὶ Νυσήιον | Διὸς Διώνυσον ἐν Λίμναισιν ἀχήσαμεν | ἀνίχ' ὁ κραιπαλόκωμος | τοῖς ἱεροῖσι Χύτροισι | χωρεῖ κατ' ἐμὸν τέμενος λαῶν ὄχλος.*

[6] The word *κωμῳδία* means properly 'the performance of the *κωμῳδοί*'; and the *κωμῳδοί* are 'those who sing in the *κῶμος*' (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* ii. 345, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 544). The connexion with *κώμη*, 'village,' is quite fallacious.

[7] Philochoros *frag.* 137 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 407 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 218 *ἤγοντο δὲ ἀγῶνες αὐτόθι οἱ Χύτρινοι καλούμενοι, καθά φησι Φιλόχορος ἐν τῇ ἕκτῃ τῶν Ἀτθίδων*, cp. Favorin. *lex.* p. 1880, 44 f.

an obsolete custom revived by the orator Lykourgos (*c.* 396—323 B.C.), who passed a law to the effect that comedians should compete in the theatre on the day of the *Chýtroi* and that the successful competitor should enter for the more important contest of the City Dionysia[1]. This points to a comic contest as a time-honoured institution at the *Chýtroi*, later superseded by the more brilliant shows of the City Dionysia, but restored in the fourth century B.C. as a first heat or preliminary competition. Theatrical displays of a quasi-comic character were certainly given at the Anthesteria during the first or second century of our era[2]; for Philostratos[3] says of Apollonios:

'The story goes that he rebuked the Athenians for the way in which they kept the Dionysiac festival in the month of Anthesterion. He supposed that they were flocking to the theatre in order to hear solos and songs, choruses and music, such as you get in comedy and tragedy. But, when he heard that, as soon as the flute gave the signal, they danced with all sorts of contortions and performed the epic and theological poems of Orpheus, playing the parts of Horai or Nymphs or Bacchants, he broke out into open censure of their conduct.'

Ten months later came the Rural Dionysia, a festival which we have already taken to be the equivalent of the Lenaia[4]. As such it would involve that 'rustic ode' which set forth the rending of Dionysos and so furnished the original core of tragedy. In short, the Anthesteria was an early festival of reproduction, at which the begetting of Dionysos was celebrated with rites that led on towards comedy; the Rural Dionysia was another early festival, at which the life-history of Dionysos was represented with rites that developed into tragedy. It will doubtless be objected[5] that Dikaiopolis, who in Aristophanes' *Acharnians* conducts a private celebration of the Rural Dionysia[6], equips his daughter with a basket, his slave Xanthias with a *phallós*, and himself sings a phallic song[7],—a performance more comic than tragic. To

[1] A. Westermann *Biographi minores* Brunswick 1845 p. 272, 39 ff.

[2] Hence perhaps the curious and misleading statement of Diog. Laert. 3. 56 *οἷον ἐκεῖνοι* (the Attic tragedians) *τέτρασι δράμασιν ἠγωνίζοντο, Διονυσίοις, Ληναίοις, Παναθηναίοις, Χύτροις, ὧν τὸ τέταρτον ἦν Σατυρικόν. τὰ δὲ τέτταρα δράματα ἐκαλεῖτο τετραλογία.*

[3] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 21 p. 140 Kayser.

[4] *Supra* pp. 666, 673.

[5] The objection was at once pointed out to me by Mr F. M. Cornford.

[6] Aristoph. *Ach.* 195 ff.

[7] Cp. Plout. *de cupid. divit.* 8 *ἡ πάτριος τῶν Διονυσίων ἑορτὴ τὸ παλαιὸν ἐπέμπετο δημοτικῶς καὶ ἰλαρῶς, ἀμφορεὺς οἴνου καὶ κληματίς, εἶτα τράγον τις εἵλκεν, ἄλλος ἰσχάδων ἄρριχον ἠκολούθει κομίζων, ἐπὶ πᾶσι δὲ ὁ φαλλός. ἀλλὰ νῦν ταῦτα παρορᾶται καὶ ἠφάνισται, χρυσωμάτων περιφερομένων καὶ ἱματίων πολυτελῶν καὶ ζευγῶν ἐλαυνομένων καὶ προσωπείων.* There is here, however, no definite indication of season, place, or date.

this objection I would reply, first, that when Aristophanes penned his play in 425 B.C. comedy had already invaded not only the Lenaia (at which the *Acharnians* was produced) but also its provincial counterpart the Rural Dionysia[1]. Authors and inscriptions alike attest both comedies and, more often, tragedies as held at this festival[2]. Secondly, I would point out that in Aristophanes' play the procession marshalled by Dikaiopolis leads up to a climax in which he is murderously assaulted by the Chorus. They spring upon him from an ambush, crying 'Pelt him! Pelt him![3]' and declaring that they hate him more than Kleon, whom they mean to cut into pieces[4]. Now we lose half the fun of the situation, if we fail to realise that this is a travesty of the *sparagmós* or 'rending' of Dionysos by the Titans. It is, of course, always difficult to know when one has got to the bottom of an Aristophanic jest. It may even be that in *Xanthías* attacked by the Acharnians, the 'Fair'-man by the charcoal-burners, we should recognise a tragedy-turned-comedy resembling our own rough-and-tumble between the miller and the sweep[5].

[1] The *Ἀσκωλιασμός*, in which the competitors balanced themselves on an inflated goat-skin, standing the while upon one leg (Sir W. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 209 f., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 472 f., E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1698 ff.), recalls the use of the *Διὸς κώδιον*, upon which persons stood to be purified supporting themselves on their left foot alone (*supra* p. 422 ff.). Perhaps the *Ἀσκωλιασμός* too originated as a serious rite, designed to bring the celebrants one by one into contact with the skin of the sacred beast. According to Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4, Icarus (*sic*) slew the he-goat that had cropped his vine-leaves, inflated its skin, and made his comrades dance round it—whence the line of Eratosthenes *Ἰκαρίου ποσὶ πρῶτα περὶ τράγον ὠρχήσαντο* (*supra* p. 678 n. 4).

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 355.

[3] Possibly the pelting received by Aischines as an actor (Dem. *de cor.* 262) is to be connected with his performance at the Rural Dionysia (*ib.* 180, 242).

[4] Aristoph. *Ach.* 280 ff.

[5] Dr L. R. Farnell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix p. xlvii and in his *Cults of Gk. States* v. 130 f., 234 ff., continuing Usener's fruitful investigation of the Macedonian festival *τὰ Ξανθικά, i.e. Ξανθικά* (*Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 301 ff. = H. Usener *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 438 ff.), has argued that the tale of the Boeotian Xanthos slain by the Neleid Melanthos with the aid of Dionysos *Μελάναιγις* (schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 146; cp. schol. Plat. *Symp.* 208 D, who calls the Boeotian Xanthios and does not mention Dionysos) presupposes 'an old Thrako-Greek mummers' play in which a divine figure in a black goat-skin kills another divine figure who is the fair or bright god.' Dr Farnell holds that this play was properly a vegetation-masque performed in the winter, which, attached to the goat-god *qua* vegetation-god in his own northern home, was carried through Greece by the Minyans (Melanthos as a Neleid was a Minyan, as were the *Ψολόεις* and *Ὀλεῖαι* of Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 38)), acquired variety of *motif* as it spread from village to village, reached Athens *viâ* Eleutherai, and ultimately became the parent of Greek tragedy. This important contention cannot be discussed in a foot-note. It certainly contains large elements of truth, and has not, in my opinion, been materially shaken by Prof. Ridgeway's criticism (W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 73 ff.). But here it is in point only to quote

The relation of the four Dionysiac festivals as here determined may be conveniently set forth in tabular form. It appears that the Anthesteria and the Rural Dionysia were duplicated after a month's interval by the City Dionysia and the Lenaia respectively[1]. How is this duplication to be explained? According to the Greek and Roman chronologists, the earliest attempt to correct the lunar by the solar year was the adoption of a *trieterís* or two-year cycle, wherein the years consisted alternately of twelve and thirteen months[2]. We are expressly told that this cycle was used for the mysteries of Dionysos[3], who in many places had trieteric rites[4]. Further, we have learnt that in Crete at least these rites were performed side by side with an annual celebration[5] and represented

Dr Farnell's words: 'The black man could easily degenerate into comedy; the soot-covered figure in the phallophoria [Athen. 622 D] appears to have been comic, and this is the case now with our May-day sweep.'

[1] On the attempt of O. Gilbert *Die Festzeit der Attischen Dionysien* Göttingen 1872 to prove that 'die Lenaeen und Anthesterien sind identisch und gehören zu den ländlichen Dionysien' see O. Kern in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1021 f.

[2] Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 26, Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2. So T. Mommsen *Die römische Chronologie bis auf Caesar* Berlin 1859 p. 224 ff. and A. S. Wilkins in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 337: see, however, F. K. Ginzel *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker Leipzig 1911 ii. 366 ff.

[3] Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2.

[4] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956, W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 279 Index *s.v.* Τριετηρίδες.

Dr Farnell in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 139 f. and in his *Cults of Gk. States* v. 177 ff. rejects the calendrical explanation of the Dionysiac τριετηρίδες on grounds that to me seem unsatisfactory: (*a*) 'we know that the Greeks corrected their calendar every eight years[c] ([c] Macr. *Sat.* 1, 13). But there is nothing to suggest that they ever did this every other year.' This ignores the definite statements of Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 26 and Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2, who both assert that the most ancient form of the luni-solar year was the *trieterís* of 12+13 months. (*b*) 'And it is not with Greeks but with uncultured Thracians that we are here concerned....But the barbarous tribes of Thrace were scarcely capable of such accurate solar observations as would compel them to correct their lunar calendar every other year.' If it comes to *à priori* argumentation, surely the very rough approximation of the *trieterís* is much more suitable to a barbaric tribe than the comparatively exact eight-year cycle.

But Dr Farnell is constructive as well as destructive: 'I venture to suggest, as a new hypothesis, that the "trieterica" are to be associated with the original shifting of land-cultivation which is frequent in early society owing to the backwardness of the agricultural processes[d] ([d] Vide Hansen, Agrarhistorische Abhandlungen, i, pp. 125—126.); and which would certainly be consecrated by a special ritual attached to the god of the soil.' The weak point in this ingenious view is that it does not account for the trieteric rites in other cults, of which Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956 n. 4 gives a formidable list. Dr Farnell attributes these to 'casual local convenience or exigencies of finance.' It is, I think, safer to postulate the two-year cycle as a *vera causa* of all trieteric rites.

[5] I cannot share the odd view advanced by A. Fick *Hattiden und Danubier Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 47: 'Das *Eros* der Trieteris bestand aus 12 Halbmonaten, wie auch die 13 Monate des Mythos von Ares' Fesselung durch die Aloaden *E* 385 ff.

THE ATTIC FESTIVALS
OF DIONYSOS

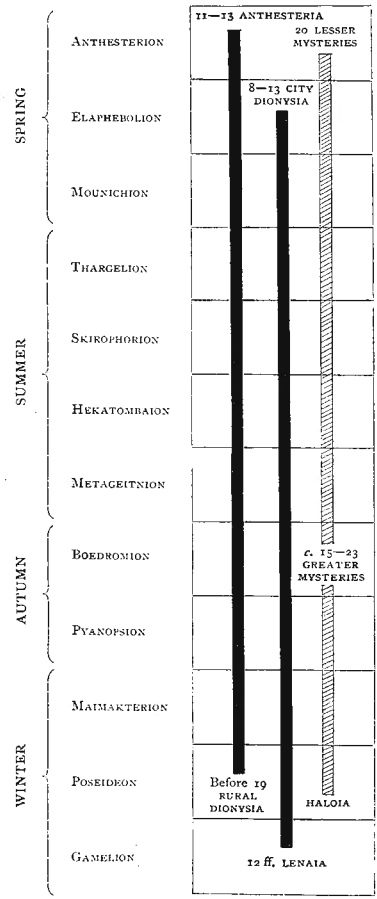


Fig. 511.

als Halbmonate zu verstehen sind: in jedem Monate (μήν) durchläuft der Mond ja zweimal alle Lichtphasen, wenn auch in verschiedener Richtung. In Wahrheit wurde die Trieteris in jedem Mittwinter gefeiert, beim Beginne eines dritten Halbjahres.'

the passion of the god[1]. Presumably, then, in Attike, where the intercalary month was always a second Poseideon, the *trieterís* involved a ritual representation of Dionysos' death in the month following the first Poseideon. But the *trieterís* was at a very early date, probably in 'Minoan' times[2], found to be inadequate. For, given alternate years of 354 and 384 days, every two years the error would amount to about $7\frac{1}{2}$ days, and every eight years to about 30 days, in fact to a whole month. Hence, says Geminos, the first attempt to rectify the error took the form of an *oktaeterís*, in which three (not four) months were intercalated in the third, fifth, and eighth years of the cycle[3]. This arrangement brought the lunar year into approximate accordance with the solar year. But it laboured under a serious disadvantage. Once in every period of eight years the intercalary month was dropped, and with it would go the trieteric rites of Dionysos. Perhaps it was to guard against this disaster, perhaps also to avoid the confusion arising from the performance of trieteric rites every third, fifth, and eighth years, that the Athenians made the rites annual and assigned them to Gamelion, the month following Poseideon. We can thus account for the celebration of the Rural Dionysia (*i.e.* the old annual festival) and the Lenaia (*i.e.* the old trieteric rites) in successive months. The date of the City Dionysia would be fixed by that of the Lenaia, the significant interval of ten lunar months being carefully observed[4].

In sundry other festivals of the Attic year, all of them mystic in character and all belonging by rights to Demeter and Kore, Dionysos as a god of kindred function played a subordinate part. He appears to have gained some footing at Agra or Agrai, for the Lesser Mysteries there are described by a late author as 'a representation of Dionysos' story[5].' He certainly intruded, under the name of Iakchos, into the Greater Mysteries at Eleusis[6]. And

[1] *Supra* p. 662 f.

[2] See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 957 n. 1. The evidence is discussed more fully by Dr Frazer in his *Golden Bough*[2]: The Dying God pp. 58—92 and by me in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 411 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394—412.

[3] Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 27 ff.

[4] Dr Farnell's contention (*supra* p. 682 n. 2), that it was Peisistratos who introduced the cult of Dionysos *Eleuthereús* and organised the City Dionysia as his festival, allows us to suppose that Peisistratos only re-organised a previously existing Dionysiac celebration. I incline to think that this was the case and that the essential feature of the pre-Peisistratic *fête* was the performance of the dithyramb (*supra* p. 681 f.).

[5] Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Ἄγρα καὶ Ἄγραι, χωρίον...ἐν ᾧ τὰ μικρὰ μυστήρια ἐπιτελεῖται, μίμημα τῶν περὶ τὸν Διόνυσον.

[6] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 54 n. 11 ff., p. 1167 f., p. 1435 n. 2, E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 369 ff., and especially Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 146—153.

he was recognised at least as an adventitious deity in the mystic rites of the Haloia[1]. These festivals fell in Anthesterion, Boedromion, and Poseideon. It is therefore tempting to see in them some traces of a Dionysiac cycle. Accordingly A. Mommsen has surmised that at the Lesser Mysteries on or about Anthesterion 20 Zeus begat Iakchos by Semele; that Semele bore Iakchos as a seven-months' child, who at the Greater Mysteries on Boedromion 20 was taken to Eleusis and there incorporated with Zeus; and finally that at the Haloia in Poseideon Zeus himself gave birth to Dionysos[2]. But this reconstruction is a mere fancy-flight, which goes far beyond ascertained facts and may be safely relegated to the limbo of improbable conjectures[3].

The arrangement of the Dionysiac year that I have been advocating might be supported by a consideration of analogous festivals in Italy[4]. But it will be more in point to observe that

[1] Schol. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 7. 4 p. 279, 24 ff. Rabe, Bekker *anecd.* i. 384, 31 ff.

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 23 f.

[3] Mommsen *loc. cit.* even attempts to combine all the Attic festivals of Dionysos, with the solitary exception of the City Dionysia (which he believes to have been originally Apolline!), in a consistent Dionysiac *Jahreskreis*. It is a pity that a scholar who has done such good service in the collection of materials should waste his time by building them into a fantastic whole.

[4] We must not here be drawn into a discussion of the Roman calendar. But in passing we may note that the Liberalia of March 17 and the Saturnalia of December 17, separated by the same interval of nine solar or ten lunar months, appear to be the old Italian equivalents of the Greek festivals examined above.

Of the Liberalia little is known (W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 54 ff.). The aged priestesses of Liber crowned with ivy, who sat about the streets with cakes and a brazier sacrificing on behalf of their customers (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 14, Ov. *fast.* 3. 725 ff.), recall the *Geraiai* of the Anthesteria (*supra* p. 684); and in many parts of Italy, including Rome, Liber was served with phallic rites *pro eventibus seminum* (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 21, cp. 4. 11, 6. 9, 7. 2, 7. 3, 7. 16: see further G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2021 ff. and in his *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 120, 298 f., who regards Liber as a creative or procreative god developed out of Iupiter *Liber* and later identified with the Greek Dionysos). T. Mommsen *Römische Geschichte*[7] Berlin 1881 i. 162 took the Liberalia to be 'das Fest des Kindersegens.'

The Saturnalia too stood in obvious relation to *semina*. In view of the fact that our own Christmas has been to a large extent grafted upon this festival (see *e.g.* C. A. Miles *Christmas in Ritual and Tradition Christian and Pagan* London 1912 pp. 20 ff., 113, 165 ff., 180, 359), we may reasonably conjecture that it once involved a ritual birth. Dr Frazer (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 311) has also detected in it traces of a ritual marriage and (*ib.* p. 310 ff.) of a ritual death. The human victim originally slain at the Saturnalia (to Dr Frazer's evidence we may perhaps add Plaut. *Amph.* 4. 2. 15 ff. *AM. Tun' me mactes, carnufex? nisi formam dii hodie meam perduint, Faxo, ut bubulis coriis onustus sis Saturni hostia.* | *Ita ego te certò cruce et cruciatu mactabo. exi foras Mastigia.* The passage is, owing to the loss of a quaternion, absent from our MSS. It is usually supposed that the gap was filled up by Hermolaus Barbarus in the fifteenth century: see J. L. Ussing *ad loc.* But the sentences quoted, which describe the victim of Saturn as scourged and crucified, involve a very curious anticipation of modern discoveries, and even if written by Hermolaus Barbarus may well have been drawn from

the suggested origin of tragedy in the Lenaean rite[1] is borne out by the modern carnival-plays of northern Greece. These plays, which have been carefully described of late by Messrs G. F. Abbott[2], R. M. Dawkins[3], J. C. Lawson[4], and A. J. B. Wace[5], mostly occur in the winter at Epiphany or the New Year or both, though in the Pelion district they are performed on May-day. Mr Wace[6] summarises what is known of them:

'It seems clear on comparing the accounts of the different festivals that though they are celebrated over a wide area, and at different seasons of the year, the same idea is present in all. In every instance there is a death and resurrection. In nearly all cases one of the two principal characters is disguised in skins, or at least a skin mask. In the songs sung at Epiphany in Thessaly, and those sung on Mayday there are several common elements. Also the mere fact that licensed chicken stealing is a feature of the festival in Thrace and Thessaly seems to point to a similar tradition. Is it then possible out of the different versions to reconstruct the main plot of the drama?.....we may imagine the full original of the drama to have been somewhat as follows. The old woman first appears nursing her baby in her arms (Viza and Léchovo), and this child is, in some way or other, peculiar (Viza). He grows up quickly and demands a bride (Viza, and on Pelion the old man is sometimes called the old woman's son). A bride is found for him, and the wedding is celebrated (at Lechovo a priest is one of the characters), but during the wedding festivities he quarrels with one of his companions who attempts to molest the bride, and is killed. He is then lamented by his bride, and miraculously restored to life. The interrupted festivities are resumed, and the marriage is consummated. It is worth noting for those who seek for the origins of Greek tragedy that this simple drama recounting, like an ancient trilogy, the life history of its hero ends with a satyric display that could be paralleled by the satyric drama that followed a trilogy. Also, in view of the survivals of Dionysos worship seen in these festivals, it should be noted that they seem to occur only in North Greece (Thessaly, Epirus, Macedonia, and Thrace), which was, after all, the reputed home of Dionysos worship.'

some source inaccessible to us) was on this showing the Italian counterpart of the child dismembered and eaten by the Thracian chiefs (*supra* p. 654 ff.). A Roman parallel to that gruesome rite has been already cited (*supra* p. 656 n. 2), *viz.* the *sparagmós* of Romulus whose fragments were buried by the senators (to fertilise the soil?); and Frazer *op. cit.* ii. 313 remarks that July 7, the day on which Romulus disappeared, was a festival, the Nonae Caprotinae, somewhat resembling the Saturnalia.

[1] *Supra* p. 678 ff.

[2] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 80 ff., 88 ff.

[3] R. M. Dawkins 'The modern Carnival in Thrace and the Cult of Dionysus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1906 xxvi. 191—206.

[4] J. C. Lawson 'A Beast-dance in Scyros' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 125—127 (cp. R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1904—1905 xi. 72—74) and in his *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 223 ff.

[5] A. J. B. Wace 'North Greek Festivals and the Worship of Dionysos' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 232—253 and in W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 pp. 20—23.

[6] A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 250 f.

A divine babe who grows up with phenomenal speed and seeks a divine consort, a murderous attack made upon him by others who would occupy his place and win his bride, a miraculous restoration of the dead to a new life—these are precisely the elements that we detected in the Zagreus-cult of the Cretans[1], in the Orphic mystery of the Thracians[2], and in the Lenaean rite of the Athenians[3]. We cannot doubt that in Crete and Thrace and Athens alike we have to do with variations on a common theme, the annual birth, death, and resurrection of Dionysos, the son of the sky-father by the earth-mother.

The name of the mother and the treatment of the child varies from place to place. In Crete, where this religion appears as a development of the old Anatolian worship, the parent remains Rhea and the babe acquires the name Zagreus[4]. In Thraco-Phrygian belief, as represented by Sabazian and Orphic myths, the earth-goddess was dualised into Demeter and Kore, by whom Zeus begat the horned infant Dionysos[5]. At Athens the mother keeps her northern name of Semele, and her child is Iakchos or Dionysos[6]. Again, among the Thracians, the originators and rightful owners of this cult, the part of Dionysos was played by a child actually dismembered and eaten[7]. In Crete the human victim was replaced by a bull, the cannibal feast by a bovine omophagy[8]. At Athens civilisation would not permit even this attenuated orgy: the slaughter became dramatic make-belief, and the omophagy a banquet for the successful poet and his *troupe*[8]. The Athenians of the fourth century, sitting on cushions in their theatre to witness a triumph of the tragedian's art, had travelled far indeed from the primitive simplicity of that *mímesis*, in which the celebrants had identified themselves with the god to become the consorts of the goddess and so share in her all-pervading life.

(*i*) The Satyric Drama.

Yet even in the fourth century one touch of primitive life remained in piquant contrast with surrounding refinement. I refer to the Satyric drama. Here Prof. G. Murray has made a very interesting suggestion, which it concerns us either to accept or

[1] *Supra* p. 647.
[2] *Supra* p. 654 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 669 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 644 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 390 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 669 ff.
[7] *Supra* p. 654 ff.
[8] At the trieteric rites of Dionysos Semele had *εὐίερόν τε τράπεζαν ἰδὲ μυστήριά θ' ἁγνά* (Orph. *h. Sem.* 44. 9). In Hesych. *Σεμέλη· τράπεζα. παρὰ δὲ Φρυνίχῳ ἑορτή* O. Jessen would read *Σεμέλης τράπεζα· παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ ἑορτή* (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 668).

to reject. 'The Satyr-play,' he says[1], 'coming at the end of the tetralogy, represented the joyous arrival of the Reliving Dionysus and his rout of attendant daimones at the end of the Sacer Ludus.'

The question of the Satyr-play is so bound up with that of the Satyrs themselves that one is practically forced to begin by asking—Who were the Satyrs? Were they the horse-like or the goat-like creatures of the Attic vase-painters? After a full and, I hope, impartial survey of the facts[2] I am of opinion that by rights the horse-creatures were *Silenoí* and the goat-creatures *Sátyroi*, but that as early as the middle of the fifth century, and perhaps earlier, the goat-type proper to the *Sátyroi* had been, at least for dramatic purposes, more or less contaminated with the horse-type proper to the *Silenoí*[3].

On the *kratḗr* of Klitias and Ergotimos (*c.* 600—550 B.C.) three ithyphallic creatures with equine legs, tails, and ears are inscribed *Silenoí*[4]. On a *kýlix* signed by the same Ergotimos, now at Berlin, an ithyphallic being with human legs and feet, but equine tail and ear, is again inscribed *Silenós*[5]. On a fragmentary black-figured *kýlix* from the Persic *débris* at Athens are the remains of a shaggy personage inscribed *Silenós*, but whether he is equine or otherwise does not appear[6]. Red-figured vases tell the same story. A *kýlix* at Munich shows an ithyphallic figure with equine tail named *Silenós*[7]. A gilded *aryballos* at Berlin calls another

[1] G. Murray in Harrison *Themis* p. 343.

[2] For a fair summary of the evidence, both literary and monumental, see E. Kuhnert's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 444—531. The learned author reaches, as I hold, the wrong conclusion, but he is scrupulously just to his opponents.

[3] S. Reinach in an able essay on 'Marsyas' in his *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 29—44 argues that the *Silenoí* were originally asses, and that their type became equine in Greece through confusion with that of the Centaurs. Miss Harrison, who first drew my attention to Reinach's view, adds (May 22, 1913): 'I suspect that the mules and asses turned into horses in horse-bearing Thessaly.'

Reinach may well be right in supposing that the *Silenoí* were asinine before they became equine. But on the Attic vases, with which we are here concerned, the transformation was already complete: the *Silenoí* are regularly depicted with the traits, not of asses, nor even of mules, but of horses pure and simple.

[4] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12.

[5] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 160 ff. pl. 238, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 120, 3—6, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1888 pl. 2.

[6] P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 233, C. Fränkel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 pp. 20, 84 f.

[7] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 97 f. no. 331 (ΣΙΛΑΝΟΣΤΕΔΓΟΝ), Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 132 (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ), W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften* Leipzig 1898 p. 65 (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ ΤΕΔΓΟΝ).

Satyric mask of terra cotta from Anthedon.

See page 697 n. 5.

nude figure with equine tail and pointed ear *Silenós*[1]. A *stámnos* in the British Museum (*c.* 440—400 B.C.) gives the name *Silenós* to a nude figure with pointed ear: in this case the horse-tail is absent, because Silenos has his hands bound behind him and the hanging cords produce the effect of a tail; other exactly similar figures on the same vase are tailed like a horse[2]. An *amphora* with volutes in the Jatta collection has again a figure with equine tail and ear inscribed *Silenós*[3]. In view of these vases we may safely conclude that the type of *Silenoí* known to Attic painters in the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. was equine, not hircine[4].

But beside these horse-creatures Attic vases of the fifth century represent goat-creatures, who are in no case inscribed. The most obvious name to give them is *Sátyroi*, because the Satyrs of the Hellenistic and Roman age had undoubtedly the horns, ears, tail, and tufted hair of goats[5]. In the absence, however, of a definite inscription, an argument can be drawn from the nature of the scenes in which these goatish beings appear. P. Hartwig[6] and K. Wernicke[7] have between them made out a list of fifteen

[1] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 690 ff. no. 2471, *id. Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen p. 4 ff. pl. 55, Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 132, C. Fränkel *op. cit.* pp. 72, 98 f., A. Legrand in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1489 fig. 4772.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 274 f. no. E 447 (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 122, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1844 xvi. 200 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 10, Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 132 (ΣΙΛΕΝΟΣ).

[3] H. Heydemann *Satyr- und Bakchennamen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1880) p. 3 ff. with pl., L. Deubner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2117 f. fig. 8, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 328 f. fig. 107, C. Fränkel *op. cit.* pp. 72, 98 f. (ΣΙΛΗΝΟΣ).

[4] Miss Harrison has pointed out to me an interesting possibility. O. Lagercrantz 'Zur Herkunft des Wortes Silen' in the *Sertum Philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum* Göteborg 1910 pp. 117—121 refers σιλανός, σιληνός to a root σίλ- (Indo-Europaean **k̑ēl-*), whence Thraco-Phrygian **σῖλᾱ*, 'Brunst, Geile, Mutwille der Hengste,' and **σῖλάνος*. He finds a nearly related word in κήλων, 'a stallion' (used of horses, of asses, and of Pan: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1516 B—C), and further cp. κηρύλος (for **κηλυλος*: Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 451 'ingénieux, mais douteux'), κιλίας (better κηλίας), σιλαποροδῆσαι, σιληποροδεῖν, modern Greek τσιλιπουρδῶ, τσιλιπούρδισμα. But P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1910 ii. 398, *ib.* 1913 iv. 351 ff. prefers to derive Σιληνός from the Thracian *ζῖλᾱ*, 'wine.' *Viderint philologi.*

[5] E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 488 ff., 516 ff.

I take this opportunity of publishing (pl. xxxvii) a fine votive mask of terra cotta, said to have been found near a spring at Anthedon and now in my possession. It measures 8½ inches in height, and has three holes for suspension. The eyes and nostrils are pierced; but the mouth is not. The face has the snub nose, the ears, the horns, and even the *noneolae* of a goat. It is wearing both a head-band and an ivy-wreath. In short, it has all the characteristics of a Satyric *choreutés*. Mr H. B. Walters, on grounds of style, refers it to the Hellenistic period.

[6] P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff.

[7] K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 xxxii. 290 ff. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1410 f.

fifth-century vases on which goat-figures occur[1]. They are seen

[1] (1) Red-figured *guttus* from Nola (J. de Witte *Description des antiquités et objets d'art qui composent le cabinet de feu M. le chevalier E. Durand* Paris 1836 no. 142) =goat-headed figure skipping on all fours.

(2) Red-figured *guttus* from Nola (J. J. Dubois *Description des antiques faisant partie des collections de M. le comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1841 no. 384, *Catalogue des objets d'art...qui composent la collection de feu M. le comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1865 no. 399) =goat-headed figure skipping on all fours.

(3) Late black-figured *oinochóe* with white ground at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 214 no. 682 wrongly described) =goat with bearded human head skipping on all fours: with him dances a bearded Silenos.

(4) Red-figured *skýphos* of *c.* 440 B.C. from Certosa at Bologna (Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* p. 216 no. 491, E. Brizio in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1872 p. 112 no. 86, H. Heydemann *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1879 p. 63 no. 150, P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92 f. fig. 2) =obv. human figure with goat's head, tail, and legs dancing with a goat that stands on its hind legs; rev. goat with human arms and hands skipping on all fours to compete with an actual goat. The design has been much restored.

(5) Fragment of a red-figured *skýphos* of *c.* 450 B.C. now in the possession of F. Hauser at Stuttgart (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 fig. 1) =human figure with goat's head and tail dancing.

(6) Red-figured *askós* of *c.* 450 B.C. in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 358 no. E 735) =obv. human figure with goat's horns and tail misusing a dog; rev. Silenos reclining.

(7) Red-figured jug of *c.* 450 B.C. now in the possession of Commendatore Galeozzo at Santa Maria di Capua (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92) =human figure with goat's feet and beast's ears striding forwards, his hands crossed at his back; round his head is twisted a curious skin, and behind him is a basket.

(8) Red-figured *kratér* of *c.* 440 B.C. in the Albertinum at Dresden (P. Herrmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 166 f., P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 2. 226 f. pl. 19, 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 277 f. fig. 67) =obv. three human figures (ΣΙΜΟΣ, ΠΑΝΔΡ?, and ....ΟΣ) with goat's horns, tail, and feet capering round Hermes (ΕΡΜΕΣ), who holds a forked stick, and Pherephatta (ΦΕΡΕΦΑΤΤΑ), who rises from a grotto; rev. three draped figures.

(9) Red-figured *skýphos* of *c.* 440 B.C. in the Albertinum at Dresden (P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 93 n. 1, K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 xxxii. 298) =similar goat-figure on either side of the vase, one with equine tail.

(10) Red-figured *skýphos* of *c.* 450 B.C. from Vico Equense in the Bourguignon collection at Naples (W. Fröhner in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 205 ff. pl. M, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 348, 1 f., C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 194 f. fig., P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91 f.) =obv. two human figures with goat's head and tail capering, while between them a goddess rises from the ground; rev. two Silenoi with horse's ears and tail dancing on either side of a Maenad.

(11) Red-figured *kratér* of *c.* 450 B.C. from Falerii, now at Berlin (L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1378, P. Hartwig in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 384 n. 2 and in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff. pl. 4—5) =obv. (*a*) a goddess with diadem and *himátion* rising from the ground, surrounded by four dancing figures with the horns, ears, and tails of goats, (*b*) a lion and a bull; rev. (*a*) Hermes erect, *caduceus* in hand surrounded by four dancing goat-figures of the same sort.

(12) Red-figured *kratér* of *c.* 450 B.C. from Altemura in the British Museum (pl. xxxviii, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 285 f. no. E 467, A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 278 ff. pls. 11 f., P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 92) =obv.

capering or dancing, for the most part alone[1], but sometimes paired with a goat[2] or with a horse-tailed *Silenós*[3]. Twice they dance round Hermes[4]; once, round a goddess rising from the ground[5]. Twice they cut their capers about a pair of deities—Hermes, who holds a forked stick or a *caduceus*, and Pherephatta, who emerges from a grotto or more simply from the ground[6]. Now these situations recall certain scenes in the carnival-plays of modern Greece, which we have already compared with the Lenaean performance[7]. In fact, it is possible to interpret the vases with reference to that performance. We might, for example, suppose some such sequence as the following:—

Scene i: Hermes, lyre in hand, sits on a rock awaiting the *ánodos* of the earth-goddess.

Scene ii: the earth-goddess rises from an artificial cavern.

Scene iii: she hands over her child to Hermes, who acts as its foster-father.

Further, if the Lenaean drama was, as we have contended, the true parent of Attic tragedy, it was presumably followed by a Satyric display[8]. And it may therefore fairly be argued that

(*a*) the decking of Pandora, (*b*) four human figures dancing round a flute-player; each dancer wears a snub-nosed mask (?) with goat's horns and ears, a black waist-band to which is attached an erect *phallós* and a goat's tail, and shoes (?) in the form of goat's feet; rev. (*a*) girls dancing round a flute-player in the presence of a *choregós*, (*b*) a group of four horse-tailed Silenoi, Maenad, etc. playing at ball. Height of vase 1 ft $7\frac{3}{8}$ ins.

(13) Red-figured *kratér* of late Attic style, *c.* end of fifth century B.C., now at Gotha (*Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 34, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1846 xviii. 238 ff., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 156, iii. 255 f. pl. 90, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 129, 2, P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 93) = obv. Hermes (ΕΡΜΗΣ) seated on a rock with an ivy-wreath on his head and a lyre in his hand: round him dance three human figures wearing head-bands and ivy-wreaths; they have the horns, ears, tails, shaggy thighs, and feet of goats; rev. three draped figures.

(14) Red-figured *kratér* found at Chiusi in 1854 (*Arch. Zeit.* 1855 xiii. Anz. p. 6*) = Hermes surrounded by goat-footed figures with inscriptions.

(15) Black-figured *kýlix* from Tanagra, not earlier than *c.* 450 B.C., now in the collection of Kyros Simos at Thebes (G. Körte in E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 339, P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 91) = ithyphallic dancer with the horns and face of a goat, but the tail of a horse, holding an *amphora*.

Nos. (1), (2), and (14) of this list are known only from the records here cited.

[1] *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (1), (2), (5), (7), (9), (15).

[2] *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (4).

[3] *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (3): cp. the reverse of nos. (10) and (12).

[4] *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (13) and (14).

[5] *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (10).

[6] *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 nos. (8) and (11).

[7] *Supra* p. 694 f.

[8] This is not definitely recorded (A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*[3] rev. by A. W. Pickard-Cambridge Oxford 1907 p. 25); but our records are very incomplete.

in the goatish figures of the vases we should recognise the Satyrs of the primitive Satyr-play.

This conclusion is not at variance with fifth-century representations of more advanced Satyric plays. Of such the earliest specimen (*c.* 450 B.C.) is perhaps the *kratér* from Altemura, now in the British Museum (pl. xxxviii)[1], which shows a goat-chorus dancing round a flute-player[2]. It is by no accident that in juxtaposition with the goat-dancers the vase-painter has placed the decking of Pandora, herself but another form of the earth-goddess, 'Giver of All[3].' Of the same date, or but little later, is a group of vases including a *kratér* at Deepdene (pl. xxxix, 1)[4], a *dêmos* at Athens[5], and sundry fragments at Bonn[6], which presuppose a larger and better original, possibly a fresco by Polygnotos,

[1] *Supra* p. 698 n. 1 no. (12).

[2] Pratinas of Phlious, who *prôtos egraphe Satúrous* (Souid. *s.v.* Pratinas), in a scathing lyrical fragment (1 Bergk[4], 1 Hiller) *ap.* Athen. 617 B—F derides the introduction of flute-music into the rites of Dionysos.

[3] See *e.g.* P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1520 ff.

[4] I am indebted to my friend Mr E. M. W. Tillyard, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, for the photograph of this vase, hitherto unpublished, and for the following description of it:

'*Attic Bell-Krater.* Height ·27m. The preservation is perfect except for two small chips in the rim. The shape is early, the body being broad and heavy, the base tapering little and the foot being a plain disc. Above, on a higher plane than the body of the vase, is a myrtle-wreath pattern; below, is a band of double maeanders in threes, divided by saltire-squares. At the handle-bases are egg-and-dot patterns.

On the obverse is a dramatic scene with three figures. On the right is a small stool-like platform on which stands a silen in the attitude known as the *oklasma*. He seems to wear a black loin-cloth, of which only part is visible and above it a band with a mock erect *phallos* and a large horse's tail. This, of course, shows that he is represented as an actor, but the face, beard, pointed ears and hair seem to be natural and not, as one would expect, to form a mask. This confusion of mimic and real silen is probably a mere slip on the artist's part. On the left stands Dionysus [or, more probably, a *choregós* A. B. C.] dressed in a long, sleeved chiton and himation above. He is bearded, wears a fillet in his hair and holds a small-headed thyrsus in his right hand. In the middle stands a bearded man fronting us and with his head turned towards Dionysus. He wears a short, girded chiton. In his right hand he holds a small,

-shaped object [perhaps a double flute with *phorbeiá* attached. A. B. C.].

The reverse shows three *Manteljünglinge*, one of whom holds a strigil.

The vase, now in the Hope Collection and hitherto unpublished, would date from about the middle of the fifth century. The composition is very harmonious and the style, though not strong, is skilful and easy.'

[5] Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 226 f. no. 1055 pl. 17 ('Répétition d'un drame satyrique?'), M. Bieber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 269 ff. pls. 13, 1 f., 14, 4 f.

[6] M. Bieber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 272 ff. pls. 13, 3, 14, 1—3.

representing preparations for a Satyr-play[1]. In this group the Satyrs, both on and off the stage, have equine tails like the *Silenoi*[2], but hairy loin-cloths which may be meant for stylised goat-skins[3]. Later again, but descended from the same original, are a famous *kratér* at Naples painted *c.* 400 B.C.[4] and a contemporary *kratér* at Deepdene (pl. xxxix, 2)[5]. Here too the

[1] M. Bieber *loc. cit.* was the first to detect that the vase at Athens and its replicas at Bonn are but 'ein ziemlich gedankenloses Excerpt aus einer grösseren und besseren Vorlage.' We may venture, on the strength of the Naples *kratér* (*infra* n. 4), to conjecture that this original was a fresco by Polygnotos, whose fondness for figures arranged at different levels is notorious (see *e.g.* H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 441 ff.).

[2] *Supra* p. 696 f. A. Furtwängler *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xl. 25 (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 207) cites Ktesias *frag.* 57 (p. 86 f. Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 45 a 20 ff. cod. Mon. 287 *ἐν δὲ τῇ αὐτῇ* Ἰνδικῇ *εἰς τὸν μυχὸν τῆς πελαίας* (*πελαγίας* Hœschel) *νήσου φασὶ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας κἀκεῖ οὐρὰς ἔχειν μεγίστας, ὁποίας διαγράφουσι τῶν Σατύρων*, cp. Ptol. 8. 3 *ταύτας οἱ κατέχοντες οὐρὰς ἔχειν λέγονται, ὁποίας διαγράφουσι τὰς τῶν Σατύρων.*

[3] The 'Radornament' (Bieber) on the loin-cloth is perhaps a conventional rendering of a patchy skin.

[4] Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 546 ff. no. 3240, J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 303 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 31, B. Arnold in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 385, 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 114, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 496 ff. fig. 13.

[5] Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 122 f. pl. 39, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 288, 5. I have again to thank Mr E. M. W. Tillyard for the accompanying photograph and notes:

'*Lucanian Bell-Krater.* Height ·325m. Well-preserved except that the varnish is beginning slightly to flake off. The clay is of a rich, salmon-pink colour and the varnish deep black and rather metallic in appearance. The shape shows the middle development of the bell-krater, being neither broad nor elongated. Above is a laurel-wreath pattern of the usual type with small and carefully drawn leaves. Below is a band of double maeanders in pairs divided by saltire-squares. At each handle-base is a reserved band with black tongues painted on it.

The obverse shows three young comic actors. They all wear close-fitting leathern loin-cloths, into which are fixed large *phalloi*. The actor on the right being in profile, it is possible to see that he also wears a small tail, whether of a horse or a goat it is a little difficult to say. On the side of each loin-cloth is a little ornament like a four-spoked wheel. All three actors have masks. The one on the right wears his, and, with his hands clapped to the small of his back and his right leg kicked back, strikes a comic attitude. The other two stand in easy attitudes, holding their masks in their hand. On the right, on the ground, is a tympanum, seen obliquely. On the reverse are three *Manteljünglinge*.

The vase is of Lucanian fabric and dates from about the end of the fifth century. In style it is considerably under Attic influence and is descended directly from the class of early South Italian vases which Furtwängler thought might have come from the Attic colonies in Italy and which Hauser later proved to be connected with Heraclea[1]. The drawing is very easy and careful.

The vase belonged to the second Hamilton Collection and has been already published by Tischbein[2]. The present reproduction is from a new photograph. The vase is now in the Hope Collection.

[1] FRH II. p. 264.

[2] I. pl. 39. Reproduced on a small scale in Wieseler *Theatergebäude* pl. VI. 3.'

Satyrs have shortish horse-tails. But those on the Naples vase are in most cases wearing a shaggy skin, presumably a goat-skin, round their loins; and those on the Deepdene vase have their waist-bands patterned in such a way as to suggest a fringed or shaggy edge.

In short, the evidence of the vases—agreeing, as it does, with one or two literary allusions[1]—leads me to follow in the steps of Furtwängler[2], Körte[3], Hartwig[4], Wernicke[5], and to conclude that the *Sátyroi* before contamination with the *Silenoí* were conceived at Athens as goat-like dancers[6], who greeted the uprising of the chthonian goddess, mother of Dionysos.

[1] Aisch. *Prometheus Pyrkaeus frag.* 207 Nauck² *ap.* Plout. *de utilit. ex inimic. percip.* 2 *τοῦ δὲ Σατύρου τὸ πῦρ, ὡς πρῶτον ὤφθη, βουλομένου φιλῆσαι καὶ περιβαλεῖν, ὁ Προμηθεύς "τράγος γένειον ἆρα πενθήσεις σύ γε,"* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 415, 6 ff. *καὶ τὸ "τράγος γένειον ἆρα (leg. ἆρα) πενθήσεις σύ γε" ἀντὶ τοῦ· ὦ τράγε, πάνυ στερήσῃ γενείου, εἰ τὴν φλόγα φιλήσεις,* Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208, 29 ff. Dindorf) *ἄλλος δὲ (sc. Ζεύς) ὁ τραγῳδός, ὁ καὶ τὴν χεῖρα αὐτοῦ καύσας· τάχα δὲ θεὸς ὢν ἐπελάθετο ὅτι δάκνει τὸ πῦρ καὶ οὐκ εἶχε τὴν πρόγνωσιν τοῦ λέγοντος τράγῳ τῷ Σατύρῳ, εὑρόντι πρότερον (ὁρῶντι πρῶτον* Meineke) *τὸ πῦρ καὶ προσελθόντι φιλῆσαι, "μὴ ἅψῃ, τράγε· ἀψάμενος γάρ μου ἐμπρήσεις τὰ γένεια."*

Soph. *Ichneutae* col. xiv, 15 f. (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1912 ix. 59 no. 1174) *νέος γὰρ ὢν ἀνὴρ | π[ώγ]ωνι θάλλων ὡς τράγος κν<ή>κῳ χλιδᾷς.*

Eur. *Cycl.* 76 ff. XO. (of Satyrs)...*ἐγὼ δ' ὁ σὸς πρόπολος θητεύω | ... | δοῦλος ἀλαίνων ξὺν τῇδε τράγου | χλαίνᾳ μελέᾳ.*

None of these passages affords conclusive proof that the Satyrs were hircine, since the first might be explained as a case of abbreviated comparison (see P. Shorey in *Class. Philol.* 1909 iv. 433 ff.), the second is a simile, and the third implies that the goat-skin was a cheap country garb (see W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy* Cambridge 1910 p. 87). But all alike gain considerably in point, if we may assume that the Satyrs were essentially goat-like.

[2] A. Furtwängler *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xl. 22 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 204 ff.).

[3] G. Körte in E. Bethe *Prolegomena zur Geschichte des Theaters im Alterthum* Leipzig 1896 p. 339 ff.

[4] P. Hartwig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 89 ff.

[5] K. Wernicke in *Hermes* 1897 xxxii. 290 ff. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1409 ff.

[6] E. Reisch 'Zur Vorgeschichte der attischen Tragödie' in the *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz* Wien 1902 p. 451 ff. and E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 524 ff. have attempted to show that these goat-creatures were *Pânes*, not *Sátyroi*. In answer to their arguments I would reply: (*a*) We have no reason to think that the Athenians of the fifth century believed in a plurality of *Pânes* and personated them in public religious dances. Aisch. *Glaucus frag.* 35 Nauck² *ap.* schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 36 *Αἰσχύλος δὲ δύο Πᾶνας τὸν μὲν Διὸς δὲ καὶ (Διὸς Ἀρκάδος* Vater, *οὗ εἶναι Ἀρκάδα* Nauck) *δίδυμον, τὸν δὲ Κρόνου* and schol. Theokr. 4. 62 *τοὺς Σατύρους πλείους φησίν, ὡς καὶ τοὺς Σιληνοὺς καὶ Πᾶνας, ὡς Αἰσχύλος μέν ἐν Ὑλαύκῳ, Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Ἀνδρομέδᾳ* proves that Aischylos recognised two *Pânes*: Soph. *Andromeda frag.* 132 Nauck² *ap.* schol. Theokr. *loc. cit.* merely proves that Sophokles mentioned two or more *Silenoí*. Other passages, *e.g.* Aristoph. *eccl.* 1069, Plat. *legg.* 815 c, are of later date than the fifth century. (*b*) If the goat-figures on the vases listed *supra* p. 698 n. 1 were *Pânes*, they would rather have been associated with Nymphs (Plat. *legg.* 815 c, Paus. 8. 37. 2) and equipped with the *sýrinx* (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 180 f. no. E 228 pl. 9, Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 19 ff. no. 690, p. 495 ff. no. 3218, cp. H. Schrader in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 275 ff.).

1

2

1. Attic bell-*kratér* at Deepdene: preparations for a Satyr-play.
See page 700 f.

2. Lucanian bell-*kratér* at Deepdene: preparations for a Satyr-play.
See page 701 f.

At the same time it remains possible, indeed probable, that these goat-dances were not *ab origine* connected with Dionysos, but had existed from time immemorial as a popular custom in south Europe. On August 12, 1908, Monsieur P. Bourrinet found in the Abri Mège, a Magdalenian rock-shelter at Teyjat (Dordogne)[1], a well-preserved 'bâton de commandement' of stag's-horn, on which were engraved various animal forms—the head of a hind, three snakes, a large horse followed by the forepart of a little horse, three swans, and lastly three 'diablotins' (fig. 512)[2]. These remarkable figures represent men disguised

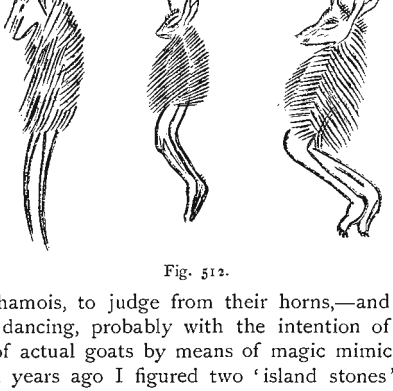


Fig. 512.

as goats—chamois, to judge from their horns,—and engaged in jumping or dancing, probably with the intention of multiplying the supply of actual goats by means of magic mimicry[3].

Nineteen years ago I figured two 'island stones' from Crete and one from Athens, on which human beings are seen dressed in the skins of goats (figs. 513, 515, 516)[4]. I pointed out then

[1] L. Capitan, H. Breuil, P. Bourrinet, and D. Peyrony 'L'abri Mège' in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1906 xvi. 196—212 with 9 figs.

[2] L. Capitan, H. Breuil, P. Bourrinet, and D. Peyrony 'Observations sur un bâton de commandement' etc. in the *Revue de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1909 xix. 62—79 with 15 figs. and 1 photographic plate. I reproduce fig. 11 by kind permission of the Abbé Breuil. See also H. Obermaier *Der Mensch aller Zeiten* i (Der Mensch der Vorzeit) Berlin etc. 1912 p. 427 fig. 252.

[3] For parallels see *in primis* É. Cartailhac et l'abbé H. Breuil *La Caverne d'Altamira à Santillane près Santander* (*Espagne*) Monaco 1906 p. 164 ff. fig. 127 pls. 32, 33. S. Reinach *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1912 iv. 361 ff., *id. Rép. Art Quat.* p. 181 nos. 2—5, explains otherwise ('*ratapas*' or embryonic souls).

[4] See the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 150 ff.

Fig. 513 is a lenticular seal of serpentine from Crete in the Pauvert de la Chapelle collection (O. Rossbach in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 193 pl. GH, 6, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 57 fig. 34, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 150 fig. 20, Furtwängler *Ant.*

that, according to Hesychios[1], the Bacchants wore goat-skins, and I suggested that the ritual thus found in the cult of Dionysos was very possibly a relic of a more wide-spread practice. Today I can add another (fig. 514)[2] to the series of seal-stones portraying human goats and venture on a closer determination of their meaning. I suppose them to show 'Minoan' dances, the object of which was to promote fertility—originally the fertility of the local fauna—by means of imitative magic and so to safeguard the food-supply of the population.

Fig. 513.

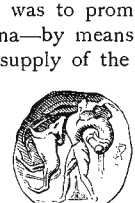


Fig. 514.

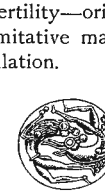


Fig. 515.

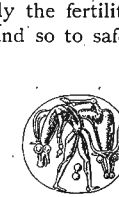


Fig. 516.

Given the existence of such old-world dances within the Greek area, it is reasonable to surmise that they might attach themselves to the cult of any fertility-power—Hermes, Demeter, Dionysos, or the like[3]. Further, if in a certain district the said power was

Gemmen i pl. 2, 40, ii. 12f.)=a man wearing the *protomé* of a wild goat with three pellets in the field, one of which is rayed like a star.

Fig. 515 is a lenticular seal of cornelian, found at Athens in 1884 and now in the collection of Sir Arthur Evans (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 116 fig. 11)=two human figures, one wearing the forepart of a goat, the other that of a lion.

Fig. 516 is a lenticular seal of green porphyry from Crete now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 44 no. 76 pl. A, A. Milchhöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst* Leipzig 1883 p. 78 fig. 50, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 57 fig. 36, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 850, 859 fig. 432, 15, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 161 pl. 26, 57, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120 f. fig. 15, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 2, 41, ii. 13)=the legs of a man combined with the forepart of a goat and the forepart of a bull; two pellets in the field.

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* *τραγηφόροι· αἱ κόραι Διονύσῳ ὀργιάζουσαι τραγὴν περιήπτοντο.*

[2] Fig. 514 is a lenticular seal of green porphyry in the Story Maskelyne collection (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 6, ii. 26, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 69 fig. 193)=a human goat with a hound running beside him and three linear signs in the field, viz. ⅄ on the left, ⅄ on the right, and ⅄ beneath.

[3] Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 1. 220 figs. 1 (=my fig. 517), 2, 3, 4, 7 (=my fig. 519), 9 (=my fig. 518) has classified under six types a number of archaic terra-cotta statuettes, mostly found in central Greece (the Theban Kabeirion, Tanagra, Halai, etc.), which represent an ithyphallic goat-man with hircine or human legs and a *cornu copiae* in his hand. P. Baur, who in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 157—165 pl. 5 (=my fig. 520) adds yet another type to the series, proposes the name of Tityros for them all. But O. Kern in *Hermes* 1913 xlviii. 318f. distinguishes *Τίτυροι* as 'Schafbocksdämonen' from *Σάτυροι* as 'Ziegenbocksdämonen,' citing Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 1 prooem. (*supra* p. 401 n. 7), schol. Bernens. *ecl.* 1. 1 p. 749 Hagen tityrus lingua Laconica villosus aries appellatur, Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* p. 349 Lion hircus Libyca (*leg.* Laconica) lingua tityrus appellatur, and a small bronze group of ram-headed male dancers from Methydrion now in the National

believed to take shape as a goat, his cult would almost inevitably be amalgamated with the aboriginal goat-dances. Now we have in point of fact found the Satyrs or goatish dancers of the fifth-century vases sometimes cutting capers by themselves, but sometimes also associated with Hermes, Pherephatta, and the equine followers of Dionysos[1], in short with a whole posse of fertility-powers. Moreover, we have seen Dionysos himself worshipped as *Ériphos* in Lakonike[2], as *Eriphios* at Metapontum[3]; and we have had reason to conjecture that his Thraco-Phrygian devotees identified themselves with him and hence took the name of *ériphoi*[4]. Finally, we have observed that Thespis the reputed founder of Greek 'tragedy' came from Ikaria, where men danced round a *trágos*[5]. These facts suggest that the tragic chorus in pre-literary days consisted of men dressed as *trágoi* in order to personate a goat-Dionysos. They must have sung then, as in northern Greece they still sing[6], of an annual birth, death, and resurrection. It is not therefore to be wondered at, if such a performance attracted to itself and absorbed into itself those primitive goat-dances that had subsisted in south Europe from palaeolithic times. The tragic chorus thereby acquired a Satyric supplement. Tragedy led up to the Satyr-play. And the revel-rout may well have served, as Prof. Murray acutely divined[7], to represent the joyous arrival of the re-born god.

Museum at Athens (F. Hiller von Gaertringen and H. Lattermann in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1911 Phil.-hist. Classe p. 41 pl. 13, 3 *a*, *b*). Probably in Boiotia the goat-dances were absorbed into the cult of the Kabeiros just as at Athens they were absorbed into that of Dionysos.

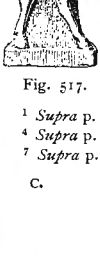


Fig. 517.

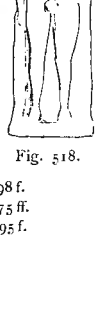


Fig. 518.

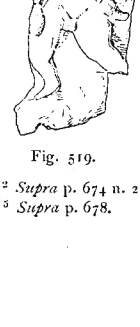


Fig. 519.

Fig. 520.

[1] *Supra* p. 698 f.
[2] *Supra* p. 674 n. 2.
[3] *Supra* p. 674 n. 3.
[4] *Supra* p. 675 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 678.
[6] *Supra* p. 694 f.
[7] *Supra* p. 695 f.

(κ) Zeus, Dionysos, and the Goat.

The Attic festivals with their amazing output of tragedy and comedy tended to obscure the early Thraco-Phrygian relations of Zeus, Dionysos, and the goat. But it would be a mistake to suppose that those relations were wholly forgotten. For example, at the Phrygian Laodikeia, a town once called Diospolis[1],

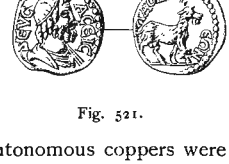


Fig. 521.

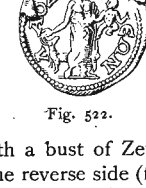


Fig. 522.

quasi-autonomous coppers were issued with a bust of Zeus *Aseís*[2] on the obverse and sometimes a goat on the reverse side (fig. 521)[3], or again with a youthful head of Demos on the obverse and Zeus *Aseís* carrying the infant Dionysos with a goat beside him on the reverse (fig. 522)[4].

A fragmentary *kýlix* of red-figured technique, painted in the style of Hieron and found on the Akropolis at Athens (fig. 523)[5],

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 105.

[2] This cult-title has been usually identified with the name of the Syrian and Arabian god Azizos (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1531, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 33), who along with Monimos was worshipped at Edessa as a supporter of Helios (Ioul. *or.* 4. 150 C, 154 A), the pair being probably conceived as morning- and evening-star (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2644, H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 743, W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 3202, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 128—133, 1904 i. 208 n. 3=*id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 pp. 9—14, 1905 p. 75 n. 3). If so, the epithet is Semitic ('*asīz*, 'the Strong'). But P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 32 f. proposes to refer it to an Armenian *aiz*, 'Luft, dann Geist, Dämon und Gott.' Both explanations are highly precarious.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxxxi, 300 pl. 36, 11 ΣЄVC ΑCЄIC and ΛΑΟΔΙ [Κ]ЄΩΝ, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 128, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 679.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxxxi, 298 pl. 36, 5 ΔΗΜΟC and Λ ΑΟΔΙ Κ ЄΩΝ, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 158 f., Rasche *Lex. num.* Suppl. iii. 263, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 129 pl. G, 30. The same reverse is found on a coin struck by Iulia Domna (*id. ib.* p. 407 no. 131), and with the head of Zeus turned to the left, on a coin of Otacilia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 323 no. 258, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 132 pl. G, 31). Cp. also a coin of L. Aelius Caesar with reverse showing Zeus *Aseís*, who stands to the left and extends his right hand over the head of a goat (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 311 no. 201 ΑCЄIC ΛΑΟΔΙΚЄΩΝ, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 407 no. 130).

[5] First published in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 43 pl. 1 by

represents a procession of deities conducted by Hermes towards an altar, beside which stand two women, one with an *oinochóe* and a flower, the other with a basket. Beyond the altar are trees, denoting a sacred grove. Foremost in the procession marches

Fig. 523.

Zeus carrying the child Dionysos; and we notice that the pediment of the altar is occupied by figures of a goat and two kids. A. Frickenhaus argues that this vase must be brought into connexion with others, which, as he endeavours to prove, illustrate the ritual of the Lenaia[1]. Be that as it may[2], we have here clearly the old association of Zeus, Dionysos, and the goat[3].

But it is to the theatre itself that we naturally turn for the last traces of this lingering connexion. Nor are we disappointed.

B. Graef, who after adding further fragments allowed A. Frickenhaus *Lenäenvasen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxxii) Berlin 1912 p. 21 f. with fig. (=my fig. 523) to publish the principal group in its reconstituted form and so to anticipate the final publication in Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen.*

[1] *Supra* p. 671 f.

[2] A *hydria* of severe style at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 331 f. no. 440, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 115 pl. 384, Luynes *Descr. de vases peints* p. 16 f. pl. 28=my fig. 524, F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 218 pl. 2, B. Graef in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 46 f. with fig., F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 603 fig. 680, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Atlas pl. 1, 19, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 260, 1) again shows Zeus (ΠΕΛΣ ?) bearing the child Dionysos (ΔΙΟΝ[Υ]ΣΟΣ) towards two women. The first sits on a folding-stool beside a pillar, with a spray of ivy in her left hand, a *stephánē* on her head, and above her perhaps the word καλός (certainly not Τάδες). The second stands with a sceptre in her right hand and an ivy-wreath on her head. It is open to us to see in these two women the Maenads of Frickenhaus' 'Lenaean' vases, and to suppose that the cult-pillar and its table-altar have been modified into the pillar and stool of a *gynaikonîtis*.

[3] It was Miss Harrison who, with her customary kindness, pointed out to me the importance of this vase as a link in my argument.

The stage of Phaidros (*s.* iii or iv A.D.) is still decorated with four marble reliefs, which came from an earlier stage (probably of Neronian date) and illustrated appropriately enough the life-history of Dionysos. Existing publications of them[1] are so inadequate that I have had fresh drawings made from photographs, and have ventured to add on a transparent overleaf a restoration of the missing parts in accordance with what I hold to have been the sculptor's design (see pocket at end of vol. i).

Fig. 524.

The first slab (pl. xl, 1) shows Zeus seated on a rock, as befits a sky-god[2] the consort of an earth-goddess[3]. He has a *himátion* wrapped about his knees, and his right hand doubtless held a sceptre[4]. Before him stands Hermes carrying the new-born

[1] F. Matz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1870 xlii. 97—106, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 16 (careless); L. Julius in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* 1878 xiii. 236 ff., J. R. Wheeler in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1882—1883 i. 136—142 with a heliotype pl., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 281 ff. figs. 22—25, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 222 f., 226 f., v. 505 f., E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 450 f. with fig. on p. 453, M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 240 ff. fig. 106, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 232—236 pls. 61—64, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 44 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 124 ff.

[3] Cp. the type of the *hieròs gámos* on Mt. Ide (*infra* ch. iii § 1 (a) iii).

[4] So *e.g.* on two reliefs in the Louvre ((1) Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 200 fig. 26, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 88 no. 3, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 390 Atlas pl. 16, 12, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 171, 176 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 15, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 743 f. no. 1875; (2) T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 298 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.*

Dionysos. And the scene is enclosed by two Kouretes ready to clash their shields and so avert mischief from the babe.

The second slab (pl. xl, 2) commemorates the god's entrance into Attike. He stands, a comely youth dressed in *chitón*, panther-skin, *himátion*, and *kóthornoi*, beside his own altar beneath a spreading vine. His left hand held a *thýrsos*, his right hand probably a *phiále*. Approaching the altar is Ikarios, who drags a goat for sacrifice with one hand and dangles a grape-bunch in the other. The old Attic hero is attended by his hound Maira and followed by his daughter Erigone, who carries a tray of cakes and fruit. Her figure is balanced by that of a Satyr with panther-skin and crook, standing on tip-toe in the pose known as *aposkopeíon*.

On the third slab (pl. xl, 3) we have, if I am not mistaken[1], a scene of great interest—the marriage of Dionysos and the *Basílinna* or 'Queen' of Athens[2]. A young man of large but somewhat soft and effeminate build, easily characterised as Dionysos by means of attributes, stands beside a young woman draped in a Doric *péplos*, who pulls forward an ample veil with a gesture familiar to us as that of a bride. To the right of the youthful pair is a broad matronal figure, who bears a *cornu copiae* in her left hand and most likely held a sceptre in her right. She

pl. 12, 1, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 123 fig. 104, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 22 no. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 171, 177 f., 576 f.).

[1] F. Matz *loc. cit.*, followed in the main by J. R. Wheeler *loc. cit.*, held that the third slab represents, from left to right, Hestia, Theseus, Eirene; the fourth slab, Eirene, Theseus, Hestia, Dionysos. Eirene and Hestia stood together in the Prytaneion (Paus. 1. 18. 3), and might perhaps have symbolised the public and private happiness of the citizens; but the Greeks never hit upon a distinctive art-type for Hestia (A. Preuner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2653), and the younger goddess of the third slab is obviously conceived as a bride.

J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* thinks that the two slabs show Ptolemy Philometor Soter ii and his family paying homage to Dionysos, and that the figures, from right to left, should be identified as follows: (1) his mother Kleopatra ii with sceptre; (2) Ptolemy Philometor Soter ii with club; (3) his wife, name unknown, with sceptre and *cornu copiae*; (4) his favourite daughter Berenike iii with sceptre and *cornu copiae*; (5) his young son Ptolemy king of Kypros; (6) his other daughter Kleopatra Tryphaina; (7) his youngest son Ptolemy Auletes, whose figure may have been cut away either on political grounds or because he had irreverently assumed the title Dionysos (Loukian. *de calumn.* 16). This very ingenious hypothesis rests on the assumption that the reliefs came from a *thyméle* erected in the *orchéstra* of the theatre, for the performance of such competitions as had been previously held in the Odeion burnt by Aristion (85 B.C.), at the expense of Ptolemy Philometor Soter ii—a king who is known to have conferred many benefits upon the Athenians (Paus. 1. 8. 6 ff.). But the existence of such a *thyméle*, in spite of Svoronos' long and learned advocacy, is still highly problematic.

[2] *Supra* p. 686. An Attic *oinochóe* of fifth-century style, now in the British Museum, has another rendering of the same scene (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 260).

has long since been recognised as Tyche[1], that late successor of the old-world mother-goddess[2]. To the left a whole figure has been carefully chiselled away from the background. Since that part of the base on which it stood has been removed along with it, we may surmise that it was carried off as being a piece of exceptional beauty, to be set up again in some rich man's house. And since the marks on the back-wall indicate a slender male figure with something raised on the spectator's left, I have restored it as Eros with wings[3]. Tyche carrying the horn of Amaltheia was paired with a winged Eros at Aigeira[4]; and coins of the town struck by Plautilla prove that the former stood grasping a sceptre in her right hand, while the latter with crossed legs held a long torch or staff pointing upwards in both hands[5]. Together they would be appropriate witnesses of the ritual marriage.

Not less interesting is the fourth slab (pl. xl, 4), on which we see Dionysos finally installed in his own theatre. He sits in an attitude of easy dignity on a gorgeous marble throne, recalling that of the priest who personated him in the front row of the *auditorium*. The background shows the broken surface of the Akropolis-rock, and above its edge rise the eight columns of the Parthenon's *façade*. It is probable that a *thýrsos* or sceptre once rested against the god's left shoulder. Of the three figures before him two are already known to us. His bride, the 'Queen,' still fingering her veil, perhaps held out a wreath towards him. Tyche is present, as before, with *cornu copiae* and sceptre. And between them stands a short but sturdy figure with *himátion* and club—Theseus, the embodiment of the Athenian people assembled in the theatre to pay homage to Dionysos on his throne.

The Greek genius even in its decline knew how to build old materials into new and significant shapes. This series of reliefs ostensibly illustrates the infancy, the advent, the marriage, and the installation of Dionysos. But the art-types employed are redolent of old associations. Thus the Kouretes take our thoughts

[1] J. R. Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 141.

[2] *Supra* p. 136 n. 6, cp. p. 597 n. 4, *infra* ch. i § 8 (a).

[3] It is tempting to conjecture that this was the very statue to which a famous but of course apocryphal story attached: Athen. 591 A *καὶ Πραξιτέλης δὲ ὁ ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἐρῶν αὐτῆς* (*sc.* Phryne) *τὴν Κνιδίαν Ἀφροδίτην ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἐπλάσατο, καὶ ἐν τῷ τοῦ Ἔρωτος βάσει τῇ ὑπὸ τὴν σκηνὴν τοῦ θεάτρου ἐνέγραψε· Πραξιτέλης ὃν ἔπασχε διηκρίβωσεν ἔρωτα, | ἐξ ἰδίης ἕλκων ἀρχέτυπον κραδίης, | Φρύνῃ μισθὸν ἐμεῖο διδοὺς ἐμέ· φίλτρα δὲ βάλλω | οὐκέτ' ὀϊστεύων, ἀλλ' ἀτενιζόμενος* (cp. *Anth. Plan.* 204 Simonides !). See, however, W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 219 ff.

[4] Paus. 7. 26. 8. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1086 n. 3 *med.*

[5] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 91 pl. S, 8 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 179 fig. 24.

back to Crete and remind us that Dionysos himself was but a rebirth of Zeus[1]. Ikarios' goat recalls the ancient custom of dancing round a he-goat at Ikaria[2]; and the presence of the Satyr suggests the aboriginal goat-dances of south Europe[3]. Similarly the marriage[4] and the enthronement[5] of the young god are reminiscent of half-forgotten sanctities. In short, the whole frieze might serve as an epitome of the development that we have been studying throughout the last seven sections.

We cannot here pursue Roman parallels. But a passing allusion must be made to the cult of Vediovis, the youthful Iupiter[6]. Among the few things known for certain about this god is the statement of Gellius[7] that in his temple between the Arx and the Capitolium the cult-statue held arrows and in consequence was often dubbed Apollo; further, that the ritual involved the sacrifice of a she-goat as if it were a human being[8]; and lastly, that the effigy of this animal stood beside that of the god. All this suggests comparison with Dionysos, *e.g.* with the Tenedian Dionysos *Anthroporrhaístes*, to whom a calf dressed in buskins was sacrificed, presumably in lieu of a human victim[9]. The Dionysiac character of Vediovis seems to have struck the Romans themselves, if we may argue from certain republican coins, which

[1] *Supra* pp. 398 f., 647. [2] *Supra* pp. 678, 689 n. 1, 705. [3] *Supra* p. 703 ff.

[4] *Supra* pp. 649 n. 7, 650, 686, 694 f. [5] *Supra* pp. 153, 398, 646 f., 650, 661.

[6] Ov. *fast.* 3. 437 Iuppiter est iuvenis: iuvenalis aspice voltus, 445 ff. nunc vocor ad nomen: vegrandia farra colonae | quae male creverunt, vescaque parva vocant; | vis ea si verbi est, cur non ego Vediovis aedem | aedem non magni suspicer esse Iovis? Paul. ex Fest. p. 379 Müller, p. 519 Lindsay *vesculi* male curati et graciles homines. *ve* enim syllabam rei parvae praeponebant, unde *Vediovem* parvum Iovem et *vegrandem* fabam minutam dicebant.

[7] Gell. 5. 12. 11 f. simulacrum igitur dei Vediovis, quod est in aede, de qua supra (5. 12. 2) dixi, sagittas tenet, quae sunt videlicet partae ad nocendum. quapropter eum deum plerumque Apollinem esse dixerunt; immolaturque ritu humano capra, eiusque animalis figmentum iuxta simulacrum stat. Cp. Ov. *fast.* 3. 438 ff. aspice deinde, manu fulmina nulla tenet. | fulmina post ausos caelum adfectare Gigantes | sumpta Iovi. primo tempore inermis erat (this is, I think, compatible with the supposition that the statue really held a thunderbolt, which was mistaken for a mere bundle of arrows—harmless, of course, without their bow)...stat quoque capra simul: Nymphae pavisse feruntur | Cretides; infanti lac dedit illa Iovi.

[8] The expression *ritu humano* (*supra* n. 7) is thus understood by Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 168, *ib.*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 33—rightly, as I conceive.

[9] *Supra* p. 659 f. Cp. also the case of Embaros, who, after promising to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis on condition that his family should become hereditary priests of the goddess, concealed the maiden in the temple and sacrificed a she-goat dressed in her garments instead (Pausanias the lexicographer *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 331. 25 ff., *Append. prov.* 2. 54, Souid. *s.v.* Ἐμβαρός εἰμι: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3226 f., J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2482, and on the substitution of goats for human victims Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 166 n. 1, *ib.*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 249).

are commonly believed to represent that deity[1]. *Denarii* issued by L. Caesius *c.* 91 B.C. have as their obverse type the head and shoulders of a young god, who is brandishing a thunderbolt of three tines (fig. 525)[2]. A bolt of this form might be popularly viewed as a bundle of arrows; and a youthful archer would inevitably be taken for Apollo[3]. *Denarii* of C. Licinius Macer *c.* 85 B.C. repeat the type[4]. About the same date other and more obviously Apolline renderings of the head are found on coins of M'. Fonteius (figs. 526[5], 527[6]). That this too was

Fig. 525.

Fig. 526.

Fig. 527.

intended for a young head of Iupiter is clear from the thunderbolt added beneath it. But the god wears a bay-wreath, not a mere fillet; and that trait, if original, would give a further reason for the confusion of Vediovis with Apollo[7]. We cannot,

[1] This is the opinion expressed by E. Babelon, P. Gardner, H. Grueber, and numismatists in general. It is called in question by H. Jordan in the *Commentationes philologicae in honorem Theodori Mommseni* Berolini 1877 p. 365, Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 264 n. 3, H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 116 n. 118, A. Klügmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxvi. 106 f.

[2] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 281 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 290 pl. 94, 10, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 Münztaf. 3, 4. I figure a specimen in my collection. The reverse has the two Lares *Praestites* seated on a rock with a dog between them (P. Gardner in W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 351 f., cp. p. 101 n. 1).

[3] The monogram is not, however, a ligature of ΑΡ for *Apollo* (T. Mommsen *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* Paris 1870 ii. 370, Babelon *loc. cit.*), but a compendium of the word *Roma* (G. B. Zannoni *Reale Galleria di Firenze illustrata* Florence 1817 iv. 3. 176, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200, A. Klügmann *loc. cit.*, H. Montagu in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1895 xv. 162, P. Gardner *loc. cit.*, H. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 322 n. 2).

[4] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 132 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 320 pl. 38, 8. The reverse has Minerva in a galloping *quadriga*.

[5] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 505 ff. no. 11 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 323 pl. 38, 13, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 Münztaf. 3, 5—6. I illustrate a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

[6] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 505 ff. nos. 9 f. figs., cp. nos. 12 f. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 322 f. pl. 38, 11 f., cp. p. 323 pl. 38, 14 and fig. I illustrate a specimen in my collection.

[7] Yet another reason for the mistake was the goat at Vediovis' side. On the relations of the animal to the Greek Apollon see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869

however, put much faith in the accuracy of the die-sinker; for he varies loose locks (fig. 526) with archaistic ringlets (fig. 527). The reverse of Fonteius' coins shows Cupid riding on a goat[1]. This subject, which is fairly frequent in Hellenistic art[2], seems to have arisen within the Dionysiac circle[3]. The *thýrsos* beneath the goat likewise confirms our impression that the Romans, under the all-pervading influence of Greece, had come to regard Vediovis as a sort of Dionysos. The former was to Iupiter what the latter was to Zeus.

Fig. 528.

Indeed few facts in the religious history of the Mediterranean peoples are more striking than the vitality displayed by this belief in the re-born Zeus or Dionysos. A bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 528)[4] has the infant god riding his goat to an altar, which stands beneath a tree and is adorned with festoons and an eagle in relief. A coin of Gallienus in base silver[5] and coins of his son Saloninus in

p. 100 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 833 n. 1, p. 1243 n. 2, p. 1246 n. 5, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 254 f., 309.

I take this opportunity of figuring a well-preserved specimen, now in my collection, of the Laconian tetradrachm with obv. head of King Areus? (309—265 B.C.), rev. the cult-statue of Apollon at Amyklai (fig. 529): cp. Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 79 pl. 43, 27, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 59 pl. N, 16, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 121 pl. 24, 1, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 178 pl. 15, 28, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 6—8 Münztaf. 1, 14—16, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 43, *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 55 no. 414 pl. 6 = 1897 ii. 30 no. 215 pl. 3, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 434 fig. 238.

Fig. 529.

[1] Not 'Le Génie ailé d'Apollon Vejovis' (Babelon), nor 'der Genius des Vejovis' (Overbeck), nor even 'Infant winged Genius' (Grueber), but just a commonplace Cupid.

[2] To the examples collected by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 155 n. 3, *ib.* 1869 p. 88 n. 6, cp. *ib.* 1873 p. 84 n. 1, add a second relief in the Louvre (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 192 fig. 162 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 80 no. 1) and a wall-painting in the house of the Vettii at Pompeii (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 35 Text p. 46 Erotes fighting on goat-back).

[3] See *e.g.* L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 pp. 20, 26 n. 4, *ib.* 1863 p. 154 f., *ib.* 1869 p. 55 ff.

[4] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 16 nos. 60 f. pl. 50, 4, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 68 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 379 f. no. 1132 fig.

[5] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 876, Suppl. iii. 154, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] vii. 120, 398, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] v. 381 no. 380. Other coins of Gallienus in base silver show an infant suckled by a goat (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 1325, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] v. 416 no. 781 PIET·SAECVLI; Rasche *ib.* PIETAS SAECVLI). A medallion of Gallienus and Salonina struck in gold (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* i. 8 no. 1 pl. 3, 7) and silver (*id. ib.*

gold[1] and base silver (fig. 530)[2], to be dated not long after the year 253 A.D. when the former assumed the title of Augustus and the latter that of Caesar, show the same infant with the legend *Iovi crescenti*, 'to the growing Iupiter.' A bronze medallion of Saloninus (fig. 531)[3] has a similar design inscribed *Iovi exorienti*,

Fig. 530.

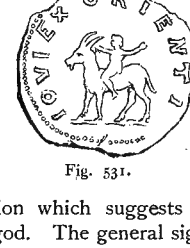


Fig. 531.

'to the rising Iupiter,'—an inscription which suggests that the young prince was viewed as a sun-god. The general significance of these designs, a fond hope that the prince in question would inaugurate a new and brighter age, is illustrated by a relief near the hippodrome on the Appian road[4]. The child seated on the goat is flanked by two standing figures—Sol with torches and Mercurius with a horn of plenty. The monument is dedicated 'to the Good Hope of Augustus[5].'

Sometimes the babe on whom such hopes centred[6] is definitely characterised as Dionysos. Small bronze coins bearing a

i. 54 no. 1 pl. 27, 8, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] v. 492 no. 9) or billon (Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 18 no. 162 pl. 10) has an infant suckled by a goat, while a second infant (who?) is seen between the forelegs of the same goat: in front, an eagle; above, a tree and the legend PIETAS FALERI (=*valeri* for *Valeriana*); beneath in the exergue, a thunderbolt.

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 876 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] v. 519 no. 25.

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 877, Suppl. iii. 154, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] vii. 422, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 200 f. Münztaf. 3, 7, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] v. 520 nos. 26—28, 29 fig., 30—32. I figure a specimen in my collection.

[3] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 61 no. 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 201 Münztaf. 3, 8, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] v. 520 f. no. 33 fig.

[4] Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* iii. 1075 no. 1 with pl. after Boissard *Antiqq.* iv. 138 ('in via Appia, non procul ab Hippodromo castrensi') BONAE·SPEI | AVG·VOT | PP TR, Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] ii. 254 n. 2, cp. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 330 n. 1. I have not reproduced the plate, as Boissard's illustrations are notoriously unreliable.

[5] Cp. also a coin of Gallienus in base silver, which shows the infant seated on a goat with the legend LAETIT·TEMP (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] v. 384 no. 421).

[6] The case is somewhat different with Hadrian's favourite Antinoos, who was represented most frequently as a Dionysos (see *e.g.* C. v. Levezow *Ueber den Antinous dargestellt in den Kunstdenkmälern des Alterthums* Berlin 1808 pls. 7, 8, 9, 10 and the list of statues, busts, and coins by K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2441).

child's head wreathed in vine-leaves and grapes (fig. 532) are referred by H. Cohen[1] to M. Annius Verus, the infant son of M. Aurelius and the younger Faustina[2]. This little fellow died in 169 A.D. after an operation at Praeneste, when only seven years of age. His death occurred during the celebration of the games of Iupiter Optimus Maximus. The emperor would not interrupt them, but had statues decreed to the boy, a golden bust of him carried in procession at the *ludi Circenses*, and his name inserted in the chant of the Salii[3]. With him, or with some other young hopeful of the imperial house, we may connect a remarkable bust of *rosso antico*, now at Berlin (fig. 533, 1—3)[4]. It is the portrait of a child represented as the young Dionysos wearing a garland of ivy and ivy-berries blended with vine-leaves and grapes. Attached to the child's occiput there is the head of a calf—an interesting reminder that, despite all the associations of Greek tragedy[5], Dionysos was still regarded from time to time as no goat but a bull[6].

Fig. 532.

[1] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] viii. 270 no. 31 'Buste d'un enfant à droite, couronné de pampre et les épaules couvertes de raisins. (Annius Vérus?),' cp. *ib.* no. 30 'Buste d'enfant à droite voilé et couronné de roseaux. (Annius Vérus?).' I figure a specimen in my collection.

[2] On other coins of M. Annius Verus see Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] vii. 82—87. The brothers Commodus and Verus were identified with the Kabeiroi of Syros, and their heads appear on coins inscribed ΚΑΒΙΡΩΝ·CYPIΩN (*id. ib.*, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 125 f. pl. 28. 7 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 211, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 492).

[3] Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 21. 3—5.

[4] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 61 no. 134 fig., E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 ix. 371—373 pl. 33, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 39, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1151, A. W. Curtius *Das Stiersymbol des Dionysos* Köln 1892 p. 18 fig. 16.

Height 0·26m. Restored: neck and chest, nose, chin, both lips, large parts of the ears, grapes over the right cheek, two leafy sprays over the brow; also the muzzle and right eye of the calf. The red marble was doubtless chosen as appropriate to the god of wine.

[5] *Supra* p. 665 ff.

[6] The bull-connexion had in fact never been wholly dropped (F. T. Welcker in the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 6, 1—3, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1857 xxix. 153—160, *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 36—39 pl. 2, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1149—1151, A. W. Curtius *op. cit. passim*). Even at Athens the bull figured in the festivals of the god. At the City Dionysia in 334/3 B.C. oxen were sacrificed and their hides sold (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 741 *A*, *a* 16 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 620 *a* 16 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 824 i 16 f.); later a bull was taken in procession by the *epheboi* and sacrificed ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 471, 13 *c.* 112/1? B.C.; *ib.* no. 469, 15 110/9? B.C.; *ib.* no. 466, 14 *c.* 100? B.C.; *ib.* no. 467, 17 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 521, 17 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 17 f. 100/99 B.C.; *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 468, 11 f. 94/93 B.C.). At the Dionysia in the Peiraieus too in 334/3 B.C. oxen were sacrificed and their hides sold (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 741 *A*, *a* 6 f., Dittenberger

Fig. 533.

xxii. Animals sacrificed to Zeus.

'Down to the close of Greek religion,' says Dr Farnell[1], 'the animal-sacrifices were the chief part of the ritual of Zeus.' And

Syll. inscr. Gr.[2] no. 620 *a* 6 f., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 824 i 6 f.); and later a bull was paraded by the *ephebοi* and sacrificed to Dionysos (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 469, 13 f. 110/9? B.C.; *ib.* no. 467, 16 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 521, 16 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 16 f. 100/99 B.C.; *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 468, 10 f. 94/3 B.C.).

[1] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 101.

the victims slain for him were, as a rule, either rams[1] or more often oxen[2]. We are not here concerned to detail the sacrificial rites, but merely to ask why these beasts rather than others[3] were chosen for the sacrifice. It is of course easy to reply that rams and oxen were the costliest victims that a pastoral or cattle-breeding people could offer. No doubt that was a consideration which, at least in classical times, partly determined the choice[4]. Nevertheless our prolonged investigation into the ram-cults and bull-cults of antiquity has led us to conclude that the ultimate reason why both ram and bull were associated with sky-gods in general and with Zeus in particular lay in the fact that these animals possessed to an exceptional degree *Zeugungskraft* or fertilising force[5]. It would therefore probably be truer to say that bulls and rams were sacrificed to Zeus because, according to the belief of early days, the gift of so much virility increased his power to fertilise and bless. If so, it would appear that the

[1] *Supra* pp. 39, 348, 407 ff., 416 f., 420 ff., 422 ff., Aristoph. *av.* 568.

[2] *Il.* 2. 402 ff., 7. 314 ff., 8. 236 ff., 11. 772 ff., 15. 372 ff., 22. 170 ff., *Od.* 13. 24 ff., 22. 334 ff., Hes. *theog.* 535 ff., Dem. *in Mid.* 53, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 214. 12 ff., *alib.* Cp. the Διὸς βοῦς at Miletos (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) i), the oxen sacrificed to Zeus *Polieús* and to Zeus *Machaneús* in Kos (*ib.*), the *βουφόνια* at Athens (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) ii), and the epithet of Zeus *Hekatómbaios* (*supra* p. 545 n. 2).

Both a bull and a ram figured in the rites of Zeus *Sosípolis* at Magnesia on the Maiandros (O. Kern *Inschriften von Magnesia am Mäander* Berlin 1900 p. 82 no. 98, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 78 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 553, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 23 ff.). Cp. also the *taurobolium* and *criobolium* of Kybele and Attis (G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 762 f., E. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1718 f., H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 199 ff.), who was identified with the Phrygian Zeus (*supra* p. 399 n. 3). In view of my subsequent contention that Poseidon was originally a specialised form of Zeus, it is to be noticed that his favourite victims were 'bulls and rams' (*Od.* 1. 25, cp. *Il.* 2. 550 of Erechtheus) or 'a ram and a bull and a boar that mates with swine' (*Od.* 11. 131, 23. 278).

[3] A goat was sacrificed to Zeus *Askraíos* at Halikarnassos (*infra* ch. ii § 9 (h) i) and probably at Pedasa (*ib.*). The same sacrifice is presumably implied by the cult-title of Zeus *Aigophágos* (*et. mag.* p. 27, 51 f. Αἰγοφάγος· ὁ Ζεύς, ὡς παρὰ Νικάνδρῳ ἐν Θηριακοῖς (Meineke cj. Θηβαϊκοῖς)), as L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869 p. 116 surmised, if not also by the myth of Amaltheia. A she-goat was slain for Vediovis (*supra* p. 711). But the *flamen Dialis* might not touch nor even mention a she-goat (Gell. 10. 15. 12). And in general cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 21 si caper caedatur Iovi, quem patri solemne est Libero Mercurioque mactari,...quid facinoris in hoc erit?...ego... audire desidero...quid applicitum Iuppiter ad tauri habeat sanguinem, ut ei debeat immolari, non debeat Mercurio, Libero? aut natura quae capri est, ut his rursus ad-commoda, Iovialibus conveniens sacrificiis non sit?

A young pig was sacrificed to Zeus *Bouleús* at Mykonos (*supra* p. 668), a porker to Zeus *Eubouleús* at Delos (*supra* p. 669 n. 2).

On the sacrifice of horses to Iupiter *Menzana* see *supra* p. 180 n. 5.

[4] See *e.g.* Alkiphr. *ep.* 3. 35 cited *infra* ch. ii § 9 (h).

[5] *Supra* pp. 429 f., 634 f.

primitive conception of the Hellenic Zeus was closely analogous to that of the Vedic Dyaus[1].

[1] A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 22 says of Dyaus: 'The only essential feature of the personification in the RV. is in fact his paternity. In a few passages Dyaus is called a bull (1. 160[2]: 5. 36[6]) that bellows (5. 58[6]). Here we have a touch of theriomorphism inasmuch as he is conceived as a roaring animal that fertilizes the earth.' My friend Prof. E. J. Rapson has most kindly supplied me (October 12, 1907) with the following translation of, and commentary on, the passages in question:—

'Rig-Veda 1. 160. 3. "To Heaven and Earth."

Sa vāmaṁ pātraḥ pitroḥ pavitravān
punāti dhīro bhuvanāni māyayā
dhenuṁ ca pṛśniṁ vṛṣabhaṁ suretasaṁ
viśvāhā śukraṁ payo asya dukṣata.

"The swift-comer, the son of these two parents, the purifier,
the wise one, purifieth (or enlighteneth) the worlds through his power;
From the speckled cow and from the bull rich in seed
he milketh ever his gleaming fluid."

Dyaus, the Heaven, is the bull rich in seed: and Pṛthivī, the Earth, is the speckled cow. The son of Heaven and Earth is the Sun-god. The gleaming fluid is the rain.

R.V. v. 36. 5. "To Indra."

Vṛṣā tvā vṛṣaṇaṁ vardhatu Dyaur
vṛṣā vṛṣābhyāṁ vahase haribhyām.
Sa no vṛṣā vṛṣarathaḥ suśipra
vṛṣakrato vṛṣā vajrin bhare dhaḥ.

"May the bull, the Heaven, cherish thee, the bull:
As a bull thou drivest with thy two mighty (bull-like) horses.
Do thou the bull, with bulls in thy chariot, O fair-lipped one,
O thou who hast the strength of a bull, do thou, O god of the thunderbolt, as a bull
give us (booty) in the battle."

There is a constant play here on the two meanings of *vṛṣan* = (1) a mighty one, (2) a bull; and it is difficult to know which meaning to select in each case. I have translated it by "bull" in every case, except in reference to the two horses, where it must mean "mighty" or "like a bull."

R.V. v. 58. 6. "To the Maruts."

Yat prāyāviṣṭa pṛṣatībhir aśvair
vidyunmadbhir, Maruto, rathebhiḥ,
kṣodanta āpo, ripate vanāny,
Arosriyo vṛṣabhaḥ krandatu Dyauḥ.

"When ye go forth with speckled deer for your steeds,
in chariots with strong wheels, O ye Maruts,
the waters raise themselves, the floods well forth;
Then let the Heaven, the tawny bull, thunder."

The words for "bull," viz. *vṛṣan* and *vṛṣabha*, are probably derived from the root *vṛṣ* = "to water," from which the ordinary word for "rain" *varṣā* comes. A secondary meaning is "to impregnate," and this is the meaning which underlies that of *vṛṣan*, which always has the idea of "male." The word is so constantly used when the idea of masculine strength is intended, that it is not easy to know when, as applied to deities, it has or has not the further specific idea of "bull." It is applied to gods, in this more general sense, almost indiscriminately to Agni, Indra, the Maruts and to Soma for example.

I should scarcely have thought that Dyaus was ever conceived by the Vedic poets as

(h) The Sun as a Bronze Man.

i. Talos in Crete.

We pass next from the theriomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception of the sun. The transition is best seen in the case of the Cretan Talos. His name, according to Hesychios, denoted 'the Sun'[1]; and he was commonly described as a bronze man[2]. Apollodoros, however, to whom we owe the most detailed account of him, writes: 'He was a man of bronze, but others describe him as a bull[3].' Talos, therefore, 'the Sun,' being regarded sometimes as a bull, more often as a man, fittingly illustrates the aforesaid transition of ideas.

Talos belonged to the bronze generation[4], or was given by Hephaistos to Minos[5], or was made by Hephaistos and given by Zeus to Europe[6]. He had a single vein extending from his neck to his ankles: the vein was closed at its end by a bronze nail thrust through it[7]. Thrice a day this bronze man ran round the island of Crete as its guardian[8]. When the Argonauts wished to put in there, Talos observed them and flung stones at them[9]. But he was slain by the guile of Medeia, who drove him mad, some said, by her potions, while others maintained that she promised to make him immortal and then pulled out his nail so that all the ichor flowed forth from him and he died. A

a bull. All that these passages seem to indicate is that the Heaven impregnates the earth with its rain like a bull, and that it thunders like a bull roaring.

I cannot find any other passages in which Dyaus is likened to a bull. I should have thought that the simile was applied much more often to many other deities.

So far as I know, neither Dyaus nor any other Vedic divinity is ever represented as a ram.' [E. J. R.]

[1] Hesych. Ταλῶς· ὁ ἥλιος.

[2] Spenser in *The Faery Queen* naturally makes Sir Artegall's Talus an 'iron man' armed with an 'iron flail.'

[3] Apollod. 1. 9. 26 ὃς ἦν χαλκοῦς ἀνήρ, οἱ δὲ ταῦρον αὐτὸν λέγουσιν. So R. Wagner prints the passage: A. Westermann and the older editors prefer Ταῦρον as a proper name.

[4] Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Ap. Rhod. 4. 1639 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Zenob. 5. 85.

[5] Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Simonid. *ap.* schol. Plat. *rep.* 337 A, Zenob. 5. 85.

[6] Schol. *Od.* 20. 302, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1893, 9, Ap. Rhod. 4. 1641.

[7] Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1643 ff. makes it an artery (*σύριγξ αἱματόεσσα*) closed by a fine skin or membrane (*ὑμήν*).

[8] Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. Plat. *Minos* 320 C, in a rationalising passage, makes Talos go the round of the Cretan villages thrice a year with Minos' laws inscribed on tablets of bronze.

[9] Apollod. 1. 9. 26 (*τοῖς λίθοις*), Ap. Rhod. 4. 1637 (*πέτρας*), 1656 (*πετράων*), 1675 f. (*βαρείας...λάιγγας*).

third version said that he was shot in the ankle by Poias and thus came by his death[1].

Silver coins of Phaistos, struck in the fourth century B.C., exhibit Talos as a youthful winged figure striding towards the left; he hurls one stone with his right hand and holds another ready in his left: the reverse type is that of a charging bull (fig. 534)[2]. Third-century bronze coins of the same town show Talos in a similar attitude hurrying to the right (fig. 535)[3]: the reverse here has a hound on the scent, probably the golden hound of Crete[4]. The resemblance of the stone-throwing Talos on coins

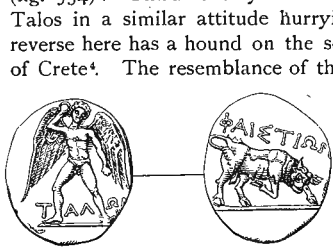


Fig. 534.

Fig. 535.

Fig. 536.

of Phaistos to the stone-throwing Minotaur on coins of Knossos (fig. 536)[5] is noticeable: the stones in either case may represent

[1] Apollod. 1. 9. 26, Zenob. 5. 85. According to Ap. Rhod. 4. 1651 ff., Medeia fixed her evil glance on Talos, who in trying to raise his heavy stones struck his ankle with a projecting fragment of rock. Thereupon his ichor ran out like so much molten lead, and he fell. Cp. Agatharchid. *de mari Erythr.* 1. 7 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 115 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 443 b 24 f. *τὴν δὲ ζωὴν μόνον τῶν ἐμψύχων τοῦτον ἐν τῷ σφυρῷ κεκτῆσθαι.*

[2] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 264 pl. 24, 24, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 64 pl. 15, 11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 194 pl. 42, 15, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 163 f. pl. 9, 9, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 47 pl. 23, 40. The legend at the feet of Talos in the specimen figured is Τ ΑΛ Ω(Ν). The Hunterian specimen extends the left hand without a stone, and reads ΝΩ Λ ΑΤ.

[3] J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 264 f. pl. 24, 25 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 64 pl. 16, 6, Hunter *Cat. Coins* ii. 194. Fig. 535 is from a specimen in my collection.

[4] A golden hound was set by Rhea to guard the goat that nurtured the infant Zeus in Crete. Zeus afterwards made the goat immortal, and its image is still to be seen among the stars. The hound he caused to guard the holy place (*τὸ ἱερόν*) in Crete. Pandareos, son of Merope, stole it, brought it to Sipylos, and gave it to Tantalos, son of Zeus and Plouto, to keep. After a time Pandareos returned to Sipylos and claimed the hound; but Tantalos denied that he had received it. Zeus punished Pandareos for his theft by turning him into a stone where he stood, Tantalos for his perjury by hurling him down and placing Sipylos above his head (Ant. Lib. 36). Variants are collected and discussed by W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1502 ff. See also P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 584 ff. and Miss J. E. Harrison in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 299 f., who illustrate the myth from a black-figured *pyxis* at Athens. Probably the golden hound was a theriomorphic epiphany akin to the golden lamb of Atreus (*supra* p. 405 ff.), the golden ram of Athamas (*supra* p. 414 ff.), the dazzling bull of Minos (*supra* p. 467 ff.).

[5] J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 65 ff. pl. 4, 23—32, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1331 ff. pl. 62, 21—23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 18 pl. 4, 7—9, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 11 pl. 6, 32.

Kratér from Ruvo in the collection of Talos.

See page 721.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

suns, or stars[1], and such may have been the original significance of the stone-throwing Kyklops of the eastern[2] and western islands[3], though other interpretations are equally possible and perhaps more probable.

A magnificent *kratér* with volute-handles, found in the nekropolis of Ruvo and now in the Jatta collection, represents the death of Talos (pl. xli)[4]. This vase is of special interest to the mythologist, because it appears to depict a form of the story not otherwise preserved to us[5]. The Argonauts have reached the Cretan coast. Zetes and Kalaïs are seen still on board their vessel. But a landing-ladder is put out from her stern across the water, which is suggested by a dolphin. A young hero, shrinking back in alarm from the central scene, springs up the ladder. On shore Kastor and Polydeukes with their horses have already pursued and caught Talos[6]. Polydeukes grasps him, still attempting to run, within the circle of Medeia's magic spells. Medeia herself stands by, fixing her victim with her evil eye, while she holds a basket full of potent herbs and mutters her fatal formula. Talos, overcome despite himself, falls backwards in a swoon. The nymph Krete flees in terror at the death of her watcher. Above her, in the background, appear Poseidon and Amphitrite as patrons of Argonautic prowess.

ii. Talos in Sardinia.

Two different versions of the Talos-myth are attributed to Simonides. On the one hand, he is said to have stated that Talos before coming to Crete had dwelt in Sardinia, where he had destroyed many persons, that they grinned when they died, and that this was the origin of the expression a 'sardonic smile[7].' On the other hand, Simonides is reported to have affirmed that, when the Sardinians tried to cross the sea to Minos, Talos, being wrought of bronze by Hephaistos, sprang into a fire, clasped them to his breast, and slew them gaping[8]. Both versions agree in connecting Talos with the Sardinians.

The matter was sufficiently sensational to appeal to the imagination of the later Greeks, and further information is forthcoming.

[1] See W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2751 n., and cp. *supra* pp. 493 ff., 524.
[2] *Supra* p. 309 n. 5. [3] *Supra* pp. 313 n. 8, 320, 323.
[4] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 196—203 pls. 38—39.
[5] See O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 784.
[6] Talos, unlike the other figures in this exceedingly skilful composition, is painted white, the modelling of his body being indicated in a thin brown varnish. The artist has thus sought to mark him out from the rest as the man of bronze.
[7] Zenob. 5. 85. [8] Souid. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλως, cp. schol. Plat. *rep.* 337 A.

Demon the antiquarian *c.* 300 B.C. stated in a work *On Proverbs* that the Sardinians, being settlers from Carthage, on certain days sacrificed to Kronos not only the handsomest of their captives but also such of their own elders as were above seventy years of age, and that the victims were expected to welcome their fate and even to laugh, tears being regarded as base and cowardly[1]. Timaios the Sicilian historian, a contemporary of Demon, informs us that the Sardinians, when their parents grow old, bring them to the burial-ground, seat them on the edge of pits dug for the purpose, and push them over, every man beating his own father with a stick of cleft wood; further, that the old folk went to their death with cheerfulness and laughter—a fact which occasioned the Greek *dictum*[2]. Lastly, Kleitarchos, who is probably to be identified with Kleitarchos of Aigina, author of a famous geographical Lexicon (first century A.D. or earlier)[3], has yet another explanation of the proverb to offer. He states that the Phoenicians in general and the Carthaginians in particular worshipped Kronos. If they desired to obtain of him some great favour, they vowed to present him with one of their children. A bronze statue of the god stood with its hands held out over a bronze furnace. In the embrace of this statue the child perished miserably. The flame licked its body, shrivelled its limbs, and distorted its mouth into a ghastly semblance of a smile[4].

The foregoing accounts show that the Cretan sun-god Talos was by some authorities at least identified with the Phoenician Kronos[5], a form of the Semitic deity El[6]. The identification was perhaps facilitated by another point of resemblance. Talos was sometimes regarded as a bull[7]; and his likeness to the Minotaur[8] suggests that in process of time he had become bull-headed, a god half theriomorphic, half anthropomorphic. But the

[1] Demon *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 380 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 20. 302 and *ap.* Zenob. 5. 85 (see O. Crusius *Anal. critic. ad paroemiogr. Gr.* p. 148, *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 125 f. Nauck[2]), Souid. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλως, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαρδόνιος γέλως.

[2] Timaios *frag.* 28 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 199 Müller) *ap.* Tzetz. *ad* Lyk. *Al.* 796 and schol. Loukian. *asin.* 24. Also Timaios *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 199 Müller) *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλως, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαρδόνιος γέλως, schol. *Od.* 20. 302, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1893, 15 ff., Zenob. 5. 85, schol. Plat. *rep.* 337 A, cp. Tzetz. *ad* Hes. *o.d.* 59 (Io. Tzetzes here states that the parents were killed with clubs and stones, and then flung from a rocky height).

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 801.

[4] Kleitarchos *ap.* schol. Plat. *rep.* 337 A, Souid. *s.v.* Σαρδάνιος γέλως, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαρδόνιος γέλως. Cp. Plat. *Minos* 315 B—C, Diod. 13. 86, 20. 14, Plout. *de superstit.* 13, Iust. 18. 6. 11 f. Diod. 20. 14 says that the hands of the bronze statue sloped downwards so that the child placed upon them rolled off into a chasm full of fire.

[5] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1504 f.

[6] E. Meyer *ib.* i. 1228. [7] *Supra* p. 719. [8] *Supra* p. 720.

Phoenician deity too, according to Rabbinic authors[1], had a bovine head[2]. Identification was almost inevitable. Indeed, the two gods may have been strictly analogous.

Excavations now in progress beneath the ancient church of Santa Anastasia in southern Sardinia are said to have disclosed a large subterranean temple with a spring locally known as the 'Fount of Pains,' sacred images, and mural decorations. 'These indicate the worship of an earth goddess, and the prevalence of bull worship, as there is a ponderous statue in basalt of a male divinity with a bull head[3].' Was this the Sardinian Talos?

iii. Talos and the Bronze-founder's Art.

It is tempting to explain certain traits in the myth of Talos along rationalistic lines. The single vein running from his neck to his ankles and closed by a bronze nail thrust through it[4] vividly recalls the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze, a process which was invented at a remote period and lasted throughout the whole history of Greek art[5]. A rough model in clay or plaster,

[1] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1505 f. draws attention to the old Rabbinic descriptions of Moloch, adduced by J. Selden *De dis Syris syntagmata ii* Londini 1617 p. 78 ff. and T. Godwin *Moses and Aaron*: etc.[9] London 1667 p. 144 ff., *e.g.* Selden *op. cit.* p. 78 f. 'Doctissimi Pauli Fagij verba de Moloch, in Chaldæam paraphrasin Leuitici scripta, & ex Ebræorum etiam monimentis sumpta, adiungam. *Fuit autem* Moloch *Imago concaua habens septem conclauia. vnum aperiebant similæ offerendæ: aliud Turturibus: tertium Oui: Quartum Arieti: Quintum Vitulo: Sextum Boui: Qui verò volebat offerre filium huic aperiebatur septimum cubiculum, et facies huius idoli erat vt facies vituli. Manus planè dispositæ ad recipiendum ab astantibus. et saltabant interim quo pueri* (leg. *puer*) *in idolo succenso igne cremabatur, percutientes tympana ne pueri eiulatus audiretur.* Habuit hæc ille ex libro Ialkut cuius autor R. Simeon. Sed ex ære conflatam imaginem esse ait R. Salomon ad Ieremiæ VII.'

F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 p. 221 n. 3 quotes from the Midrash Echa rabbathi on *Lam.* i. 9: 'Molochi imago non constituta erat intra urbem Hierosolymorum, quemadmodum idola alia, sed extra urbem. Imago fuit in intimo septem cavearum; facies eius fuit instar vituli et manus protensae, quemadmodum qui aliquid accepturus est palmam protendit. Incendebant eam; sacerdotes (ככמרין) infantem sumebant et manibus Molochi imponebant, ubi animam efflabat.' *Id. ib.* p. 222 n. 3, p. 225 ε, p. 227 f β compares similar descriptions from other Rabbinic sources.

[2] Cp. Cypriote statuettes with bovine heads (L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples* London 1877 p. 51 fig., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 606 fig. 414 = Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 243, 423 pl. 94, 22).

[3] So the correspondent of the *Daily Chronicle* for Sept. 10, 1913, writing from Milan on Sept. 9. He also mentions 'the uncovering at Ortu Commidu, alongside some ancient copper mines, of a great prehistoric foundry with all the furnaces for smelting, and moulds for casting, just as they were abandoned...in the transition period between the ages of stone and of bronze.' I am indebted for this newspaper-cutting to the kind offices of Mr F. M. Cornford and Miss Harrison.

[4] *Supra* p. 719.

[5] H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1887 iv. 285 ff., 325 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 607 ff.,

carefully coated with wax, was worked over by the sculptor till it satisfied him in every detail. The whole was next covered with a thin slip of finely powdered pottery. This was followed by other layers of increasing thickness and coarseness, which together formed the outer mould. The shapeless mass was then exposed to a furnace or lowered into a pit with a fire at the bottom. The wax, thus melted, ran out through triangular holes left in the exterior. Bronze rods half an inch square in section had been stuck through the wax into the core and allowed to project like pins in a pin-cushion. These now held the outer and inner moulds apart. Into the intervening space molten bronze was poured through a hole in each foot of the statue, thereby taking the place of the wax driven out by the heat. Ultimately, when the figure had cooled, the outer mould was chipped away, the ends of the bronze rods cut smooth, the core extracted through the soles of the feet, and the whole surface touched up with minute accuracy. In this technical process the hollow from head to heel, pierced with its bronze pins, was—one may suspect—the fact underlying the fiction of Talos' vein[1]. Perhaps, too, the fiery pit into which the mould was lowered explains Simonides' statement that Talos sprang into a fire[2].

iv. Talos at Athens.

The Athenian myth of Talos likewise connected him with various advances in the mechanical arts. It was he who invented the compasses[3] and the potter's wheel[4]. And we may note in

Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1019 n. 17, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 115, H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. xxxi ff.

[1] For an example of nail-driving as an artistic, if not a mythological, *motif* cp. a Graeco-Phoenician *stámnos* from Tamassos (*c. s.* ix B.C.) in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 140 f. no. C 736 pl. 5), which at the time of its discovery in 1885 showed more completely than it does now a scene that has been interpreted as Perseus slaying the Gorgon (H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases loc. cit.* after S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 i. 76 ff. with figs., ii. 89 ff. = *Chroniques d'Orient* i. 294 ff., 360 ff., cp. C. Clermont-Ganneau *Recueil d'Archéologie orientale* Paris 1888 i. 172—175 'Pégase et ΠΗΓΝΥΜΙ') or less probably as Herakles and Iolaos killing the Hydra (Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 36 f., 62 ff., 445 figs. 37 f., 71, 75 pl. 137, 6).

[2] *Supra* p. 721.

[3] Diod. 4. 76, Ov. *met.* 8. 247 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 274, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 143, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 14, Sidon. *epist.* 4. 3. 5.

[4] Diod. 4. 76. Kritias *ap.* Athen. 28 c states that Athens first discovered pottery, 'the offspring of wheel and earth and oven.' Others ascribed the invention of the wheel to Hyperbios of Corinth (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 198, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 27) or Anacharsis the Scythian (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 198, Diog. Laert. 1. 105, Souid. *s.v.* 'Ανάχαρσις). The potter's wheel had reached Crete by the 'Early Minoan ii' period (see *e.g.* E. Reisinger *Kretische Vasenmalerei vom Kamares- bis zum Palast-stil* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 2 f.). It is mentioned first in *Il.* 18. 600 f.

passing that a contrivance for describing a circle or a machine consisting in a rotatory disk was naturally attributed to one who, as the Sun[1], was himself at once circular and discoidal. Indeed, if we may trust an obscure passage in Servius, Talos was actually called by some *Circinus* or 'Compass[2].' Less obvious is his recorded discovery of the saw. Latin authors state that he copied the back-bone of a fish[3]. But the Greeks declared that he got the idea from the jaw of a snake[4]. Be that as it may, the Athenian Talos stood in some relation to the snake. For Daidalos, his mother's brother, jealous of a younger rival, pushed him over the edge of the Akropolis, and later, when asked whom he was burying, replied 'A snake[5].' Possibly, too, though this is the merest conjecture, his relation to the snake is responsible for the fact that he was often called *Kálos*, not *Tálos*[6]. The change,

[1] *Supra* p. 719.

[2] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 14 ab illo et usum serrae de osse interiore piscis et circinum propter nomen suum ‹inventum›. nam aliquibus Circinus putatus est appellatus, vel ut quidam organum inventum tradunt. We have already compared Talos son of Daidalos' sister with Daidalion the 'hawk' (*supra* p. 342 f.). I would suggest that Talos too according to one version of his story was transformed into a hawk (*kírkos*, cp. modern Greek *κιρκινέζι* 'kestrel') and that this was the reason why certain persons attributed to him the invention of the compasses (*circinus*). As to the saw, ancient Babylonian art likewise shows the sun-god with saw in hand (I. Löw in *Or. Lit.* 1912 xv. 305 f., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 534).

[3] Ov. *met.* 8. 244 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 274, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 14, Isid. *orig.* 19. 19. 9.

[4] Apollod. 3. 15. 9, Diod. 4. 76, Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 494 ff.

[5] Diod. 4. 76 *ἔφησεν ὄφιν καταχωννύειν*. The words involve a joke: *καταχωννύω* is 'I bury beneath a mound of earth,' but *καταχωνεύω* is 'I pour molten metal into a mould,' a phrase appropriate to the *cire perdue* process described above; hence Daidalos' remark would suggest, not only 'I am burying a snake,' but also 'I am hollow-casting a snake,' 'I am applying to Talos the treatment that is peculiarly his own.' Diod. *ib.* says *τὸν παῖδα ἐδολοφόνησε*, cp. Hellanik. *frag.* 82 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 56 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1648 *ἀδελφιδοῦν τὸν Τάλων ἀποκτείναντος δολόεντι θανάτῳ*. Apollod. 3. 15. 9 *ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως βαλὼν τὸν τῆς ἀδελφῆς* [Πέρδικος] *υἱὸν Τάλω* (so Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 492 f., Ov. *met.* 8. 250 f., Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 143) is more precise. Hyg. *fab.* 39 *summo tecto deiecit* is not incompatible with the usual account. Schol. Galean. Ov. *Ibis* 498 (R. Ellis *P. Ovidii Nasonis Ibis* Oxford 1881 p. 86) *praecipitavit in mari* is a more substantial variant, cp. the death of Aigeus (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 954 and D. G. Roberts in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 105 ff.).

The supposed representation of Daidalos and the dead Talos in a Pompeian wall-painting (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 359 f. no. 1480, E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 177 ff. pl. 17, 1) is explained away by C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2006.

[6] Schol. Soph. *O. C.* 1320 *τὸν Ταλαοῦ δν ἔνιοι διὰ τοῦ κ Καλαὸν προσαγορεύουσι καθάπερ Ἀρίσταρχος ὁ Τεγεάτης καὶ Φιλοκλῆς ἱστοροῦσι, συγγραφέων δὲ Ἑκαταῖος ὁ Μιλήσιος* (Aristarch. *frag.* 5 Nauck², Philokl. *frag.* 3 Nauck², Hekat. *frag.* 361[a] (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 627 Müller)). The form Kálos is used by Paus. 1. 21. 4, 1. 26. 4, Souid. *s.v.* Πέρδικος *ἱερόν*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πέρδικος *ἱερόν* (MS. Καλός), Apostol. 14. 17 (MSS. Κάλλως), perhaps also by Hellanik. *frag.* 82 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 375 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1648, where the reading of codd. A. M. *μετὰ δὲ τὴν Δαιδάλου δίκην καλοσοφίας* (*T*: *κάλλος σοφίας*) *περιαγομένου ἀδελφιδοῦν ἀποκτείναντος* was corrected by R. Holland

which is contrary to the known laws of phonetics, must be due to folk-etymology of some sort. Now in northern India a snake is, for superstitious reasons, habitually called a 'string' or a 'rope': for example, if a snake bites you, you should not mention its name, but remark 'A rope has touched me'![1] If, therefore, Talos was in any sense a snake, he might be euphemistically called *kálos*, a 'rope.'

Latin authors narrate that, when Daidalos flung his nephew to the ground, the youth was in mid air changed by Athena into a partridge[2]. In fact, they commonly call him *Perdix*, or 'Partridge,' not Talos[3]. The name was applied to him by the Greeks as early as the fifth century B.C.; for it occurs in a play of Sophokles[4]. According to a version preserved by the Greek lexicographers, Perdix was the mother of Talos or Kalos, who, when he was killed, hanged herself and was honoured at Athens with a sanctuary beside the Akropolis[5]. Since the grave of Talos[6] or Kalos was on the way from the theatre to the Akropolis[7], it is likely that the sanctuary and the grave were close together[8]. The myth of Talos transformed by Athena into a partridge was probably popular in Periclean Athens. For a curious historical echo of it has been detected by L. Mercklin[9].

Die Sage von Daidalos und Ikaros (Abh. zu dem Ber. der Thomas-schule) Leipzig 1902 p. 21 into Κάλω *σοφίας πέρι ἀγωνιζόμενον* and by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1947 into Κάλω *σοφίᾳ περιγενόμενον*. Cp. Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 8. 3 Perdix Calai filius Atheniensis.

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] i. 456 f., *ib.*[3] Taboo p. 401 f., cp. pp. 399 (Cherokee Indians), 400 (Arabs), 401 (Herero), 408 (Malays), 411 (Javanese).

[2] Ov. *met.* 8. 251 ff., Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 8. 3.

[3] So Hyg. *fab.* 39, 244, 274, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 143, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 14, Sidon. *epist.* 4. 3. 5, Isid. *orig.* 19. 19. 9, Schol. Galean. and Phil. *in* Ov. *Ibis* 498, Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 8. 3, cp. Ov. *met.* 8. 237, 255. Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 2, Myth. Vat. 1. 232, 2. 130, 3. 7. 3 call him Perdica, Perdiccas, Perdicca, Perdix (?). The mother of Talos is Perdix in Apollod. 3. 15. 9 (R. Wagner, after Heyne, brackets the name as a gloss), Perdika in Apollod. *epit.* 3. 15. 9 and in Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 493. The mother of Kalos is Perdix in Suid. *s.v.* Πέρδικος *ἱερόν*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πέρδικος *ἱερόν*, Apostol. 14. 17 (*supra* p. 725 n. 6).

[4] Soph. *Camici frag.* 300 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 388 F Σοφοκλῆς Καμικοῖς· *ὄρνιθος ἠλθ' ἐπώνυμος | πέρδικος ἐν κλεινοῖς Ἀθηναίων πάγοις*, cp. Suid. and Phot. *lex.* and Apostol. *loc. cit. s.v.* Πέρδικος *ἱερόν*'...Σοφοκλῆς δὲ ἐν Καμικοῖς (*κωμικοῖς* MSS.) *τὸν ὑπὸ Δαιδάλου ἀναιρεθέντα* Πέρδικα *εἶναι τοὔνομα*. In the Sophoclean verse S. Mekler cj. *κλεινοῖσι Θησειδῶν*, A. Nauck *κλεινοῖσι Κεκροπιδῶν*.

[5] Suid. and Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πέρδικος *ἱερόν*, cp. Apostol. 14. 17.

[6] Loukian. *pisc.* 42. The schol. *ad loc.* says: *ὁ μὲν Τάλως ἥρως παλαιὸς ἐν τῇ Ἀκροπόλει τεθαμμένος.*

[7] Paus. 1. 21. 4.

[8] See O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1950, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 282.

[9] L. Mercklin 'Die Talos-Sage und das sardonische Lachen' in the *Mémoires de l'académie des sciences de St. Pétersbourg, Mémoires des savants étrangers* 1854 vii. 74 f.

During the erection of the Propylaia on the Akropolis the best of the workmen missed his footing and fell. When Perikles was discouraged by this accident, Athena appeared to him in a dream and prescribed a remedy, by means of which Perikles speedily cured the man. He commemorated the event by erecting on the Akropolis a bronze statue of *Hygieia* Athena, or 'Health' Athena, by the side of an already existing altar. So much we learn from Plutarch[1]. Pliny completes the story, though with material differences throughout. A favourite slave of Perikles—he says—was building a temple on the Akropolis, when he fell from the top of the pediment. Athena showed herself to Perikles in a dream and prescribed the herb *perdicium*, the 'partridge-plant,' which in honour of herself was thenceforward known as *parthenium*, the 'Virgin's-plant.' Pliny adds that the portrait of this same slave was cast in bronze and served for the famous statue of the *splanchnóptes* or 'entrail-roaster[2].' Whatever the details of the occurrence may have been, it seems clear that the prescription of the 'partridge-plant' was due to a reminiscence of Talos' transformation into a partridge[3].

But why this connection between Talos and a partridge? On bird-metamorphoses in general I have elsewhere said my say[4]. Here it must suffice to observe that the partridge in particular was notorious for its generative propensities[5]. Hence it was regarded as sacred to Aphrodite[6]. And the same reason will

[1] Plout. *v. Per.* 13. This statue can hardly be identified with that by the Athenian sculptor Pyrrhos, the base of which with its inscription (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 335 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 585) is still to be seen on the Akropolis immediately adjoining the S.E. angle-column of the Propylaia: see Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 277 ff., W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 220 ff.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 43 f. The statue of the *splanchnóptes* was by Styppax of Kypros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 81): on existing copies see M. Mayer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 218 ff. figs. 1—3 and pl. 4, and A. von Salis in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 352 ff. pl. 22.

[3] Ov. *met.* 8. 236 ff. states that as a partridge he watched from a branching oak-tree Daidalos burying his son Ikaros. In 237 garrula ramosa prospexit ab ilice perdix (so the MSS.) editors have taken offence at the notion of a partridge up a tree. An anonymous grammarian of the seventh century A.D. or later quotes the line thus: garrula limoso prospicit elice perdix (H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* Lipsiae 1868 v. 587). Hence R. Merkel prints *limoso...elice*, A. E. Housman cj. *lamoso...elice*. But see P. Burmann *ad loc.*

[4] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 385 ff.

[5] Aristot. in the passages cited by H. Bonitz *Index Aristotelicus* Berolini 1870 p. 578 a, b *s.v.* πέρδιξ, Ail. *de nat. an.* 3. 5, 3. 16, 4. 1, 7. 19, 17. 15, Antigon. *hist. mir.* 81, Athen. 389 A ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 101.

[6] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 117, 20 ff. Wünsch. Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 35 ἄθυρμα δὲ ὁ πέρδιξ τῆς Διὸς καὶ Λητοῦς ὡς ἔστιν ἄλλοι λέγουσιν would make it sacred to Artemis (or Selene: see W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 97 ff. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3171).

account for its association with Talos, who, as being the Sun[1], was essentially a fertilising power.

A remarkable variant of the Perdix story is preserved by the Latin mythographers[2]. Perdix, the inventor of the saw, fell in love with his own mother Polykaste and pined away because of her. Fenestella, who wrote his *Annals* in the reign of Tiberius, commented on this myth[3]. According to him, Perdix was a hunter, who tired of the chase, especially as he observed that his young comrades Aktaion, Adonis, and Hippolytos all came to a bad end. He therefore abandoned his life as a hunter and devoted himself to agriculture. Hence he was said to have loved his mother, *i.e.* Mother Earth, and to have pined away, *i.e.* to have worn himself thin over her. Her name *Polykaste* might be spelled *Polykarpe* and rendered the 'Very Fruitful One.' As for the saw, that denoted the harsh tongue with which he abused his former occupation. Fenestella's rationalism is of course absurd. Nevertheless his account appears to contain elements that are far older than the rise of rationalism. Perdix, who loved Polykaste, variously identified with Mother Earth[4] or the Mother of the gods[5] or Diana[6]—Perdix, who is expressly compared with Aktaion, Adonis, and Hippolytos, an ill-fated trio—Perdix, who dreaded the dangers of a woodland life, is a figure ominously like the human favourite or partner of more than one ancient goddess. His love for Polykaste was, as Claudian says, inspired by herself[7]. And there is perhaps a special significance in the fact that her lover bore the name of a bird, of that bird which was 'the plaything of the daughter of Zeus and Leto[8].'

v. Talos identified with Zeus.

Talos the 'Sun'[9] was in Crete identified with Zeus. A Hesychian gloss explains the epithet *Talaiós* to mean 'Zeus

[1] *Supra* p. 719.

[2] Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 2, Myth. Vat. 1. 232, 2. 130, 3. 7. 3.

[3] Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 2 Fenestella in *Archaicis* and Myth. Vat. 2. 130 Fenestella *Martialis* should, I think, be corrected into Fenestella in *Annalibus*. On Fenestella see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1901 ii. 2. 201 ff. and G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2177 ff.

[4] Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 2, Myth. Vat. 1. 232, 2. 130, 3. 7. 3. Cp. the joint-cult of the earth-mother and Talos (?) in Sardinia (*supra* p. 723).

[5] Myth. Vat. 2. 130.

[6] Myth. Vat. 3. 7. 3 Perdicem quoque primo Dianae, deinde incesto matris suae amore dicunt intabuisse.

[7] Claud. *epigr.* 19 *de Polycaste et Perdice* 3 f. pectore dum niveo puerum tenet anxia nutrix, | illicitos ignes iam fovet ipsa parens.

[8] *Supra* p. 727 n. 6.

[9] *Supra* p. 719.

in Crete[1].' And that this gloss is trustworthy appears from more than one Cretan inscription. The inhabitants of Dreros in eastern Crete swore by a series of deities including Zeus *Tallaîos* and Helios to oppose the inhabitants of Lyttos[2]. At Olous too, a town close to Dreros, there was a sanctuary of Zeus *Tallaîos*, where a decree inviting Knossos to arbitrate between Lato and Olous was set up[3], as was also a decree in honour of a certain physician from the island of Kasos, who had helped the Olontians in time of plague[4]. Coins of Olous, struck in the latter part of

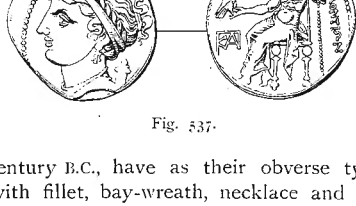


Fig. 537.

the fourth century B.C., have as their obverse type a head of Britomartis with fillet, bay-wreath, necklace and quiver, and as their reverse Zeus enthroned with an eagle on his right hand, a sceptre in his left (fig. 537)[5]. Perhaps the same deity was worshipped on Mount Ide; for a versified inscription, found near Retimo at the foot of the mountain, records a dedication to

[1] Hesych. Ταλαιός· ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ.

[2] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 463, 14 ff. ὀμνύω | τὰν Ἑστίαν τὰν | ἐμ πρυτανείῳ καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν | Ἀγοραῖον καὶ τὸν Δῆνα τὸν Ταλλαῖον | καὶ τὸν Ἀπέλλων(α) | τὸν Δελφίνιον καὶ | τὰν Ἀθαναίαν τὰν | Πολιοῦχον καὶ τὸν | Ἀπέλλωνα τὸμ Ποίτιον | καὶ τὰν Λατοῦν καὶ τὰν | Ἄρτεμιν καὶ τὸν Ἄρεα | καὶ τὰν Ἀφορ(δ)ίταν καὶ | τὸν Ἑρμᾶν καὶ τὸν Ἄλιον | καὶ τὰν Βριτόμαρ(τι)ν | καὶ τὸμ Φοίνικα καὶ τὰν | Ἀμφι[ώ]ναν καὶ τὰγ Γᾶν | καὶ τὸν Οὐρανὸν καὶ | ἥρωας καὶ ἡρωάσσας | καὶ κράνας καὶ ποτα|μοὺς καὶ θεοὺς πάντας | καὶ πάσας κ.τ.λ. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 23 *A* 14 ff. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952 *A* 14 ff. The inscription was found in 1854 on a hill called Χῶρες near the church of St Antonios. It appears to date from a period shortly before 220 B.C. (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1699).

[3] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 514, 14 ἐν δὲ Ὀλόντι ἐν τῷ ἱαρῷ τῶ Ζηνὸς τῶ Ταλλαίω = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 28, 14. The inscription, which belongs to the second half of the second century B.C., was found at Delos (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 290 ff. pl. 6 *bis*).

[4] J. Demargne in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 227 no. 1 *C* 57 ff. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε | τὸ ψάφισμα ἐς τὸ | ἱερὸν τοῦ Σηνὸς (*sic*) | τοῦ Ταλλαίου κα[ὶ] | ἐς τὸ τοῦ Ἀσκλα|πιοῦ. The inscription was found in 1898 on the site of a Byzantine church at Olous, and this portion of it dates perhaps from *c.* ii B.C.

[5] J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 249 pl. 22, 23 (cp. *ib.* 250 pl. 22, 27), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 60 pl. 14, 12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 192, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 472.

Hermes 'established on the Tallaian heights[1],' and we know that the mountain as a whole was famous for its cult of Zeus[2].

As in Crete, so in Lakonia, Talos the sun-god came to be identified with Zeus. Mount *Taletón*, the culminating peak of Mount Taygeton[3], was sacred to the Sun, and amongst the sacrifices there offered to him were horses[4]. It would appear, therefore, that the Laconians too had a sun-god akin to Talos. But Zeus, whose worship spread by degrees over most of the mountain-tops of Greece[5], naturally usurped the position of this ancient deity. A Spartan inscription links together Zeus *Taletítas* with Auxesia and Damoia[6]. These were goddesses of fertility[7], and Zeus *Taletítas* was presumably coupled with them as being himself a fertilising force[8].

§ 7. *Zeus in relation to the Moon.*

(a) Direct identifications of Zeus with the Moon.

We have next to enquire whether Zeus as god of the bright sky stood in any special relation to the second of the celestial luminaries. Direct identification, indeed, of Zeus with the moon is hardly to be looked for on Greek soil; for the Greeks, at least in historical times[9], consistently regarded the moon as feminine. It is only in quasi-Greek districts that Zeus appears as a

[1] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2569 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 237 οὔρεσι Ταλλαίοισιν (Ταλλείοισιν Gruter) ἱδρυμένε κ.τ.λ.

[2] Append. B Crete.

[3] *Supra* p. 155 f.

[4] Paus. 3. 20. 4, *supra* p. 180 f.

[5] Append. B.

[6] Lebas-Foucart *Peloponnèse* no. 162 k add. ...Διὶ Ταλειτᾳ [καὶ Αὐξη]σίᾳ καὶ Δαμοίᾳ κ.τ.λ. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 363, 1 f. See Append. B Lakonike.

[7] F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2616 ff.

[8] *Supra* p. 291. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 130 f. regarded Zeus Ταλλαῖος, Ταλειτίτας, as gods corresponding with the goddesses Θαλλώ, Θαλία, and ingeniously compared the Zeus Θαλῆς of Aquileia (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2337 an altar found at Aquileia in 1830 Διὶ Θαλῆ | Τι Ἰούλιος | Μαμερτῖνος | ἀνέθηκεν). For the interchange of T and Θ he referred to H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica* Gottingae 1843 p. 83 (Hesych. τίριος· θέρους. Κρῆτες) and quoted Πύτιος, Ποίτιος, for Πύθιος (E. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 92, who adds αὔϊτιν for αὔθις in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial. Inschr.* iii. 2. 261 ff. no. 4991 iv 3 f.).

[9] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 36 conjectures that the Greeks originally regarded the moon as masculine, not feminine, as Μήν, not Μήνη, and that the early conception survived in the Phrygian moon-god Μήν (on whom see W. Drexler's exhaustive article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2687—2770). This, in view of the fact that the moon is masculine in the Celtic, Germanic, Slavonic, Old Indian, and Zend languages, appears to me not improbable.

moon-god[1]. Thus silver tetradrachms of Antiochos viii Grypos, king of Syria, struck between 121 and 96 B.C., have as their reverse

Fig. 538.

Fig. 539.

type Zeus standing erect within a laurel-wreath: he holds a long sceptre in his left hand, an eight-rayed star, possibly meant for the planet Iupiter, in his right; and on or over his head is the crescent moon (figs. 538, 539)[2].

Fig. 540.

[1] E. Siecke *Drachenkämpfe* Leipzig 1907 pp. 28—42 attempts to show that Zeus was originally a moon-god: but his arguments (the birth of Zeus on various mountains; his grave in Crete; his epithets Πανόπτης, Ἀστέριος, Χρυσάωρ, Ἐπόψιος, Λύκαιος; his connexion with the double-axe, 'horns of consecration,' eagle, goat, ram; his fight with the Titans; his temporary defeat by Typhoeus, etc.) are far from convincing.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 88 f. pl. 24, 1, *Hunter Cat.*

When Zeus appears in conjunction with the god Men, as in a relief from Maionia (fig. 540)[1], he is to be regarded as a solar rather than a lunar deity[2].

(b) Zeus paired with Selene (*Pandîa* ?).

Again, Zeus was paired with Selene, the Greek moon-goddess, as the father of Nemea[3], while Dionysos, according to some authorities, was an offspring of the same union[4]. As early as the seventh century B.C. Alkman described certain flowers or plants,

> Which the Dew, daughter of Zeus
> And of Selana nurtureth[5].

A late Homeric hymn to Selene tells how—

> With her once Kronos' son in love lay locked,
> And she conceiving bare the maid Pandeie
> Of form conspicuous mid the immortal gods[6].

Hyginus too records the same genealogy[7]; and Photios states that the Attic festival Pandia derived its name either from Pandia the daughter of Selene or from Pandion the eponym of the tribe Pandionis, adding that it was held for Zeus[8]. It seems probable that, as W. H. Roscher conjectured[9], Pandia was originally an epithet of Selene rather than her daughter[10]; but that the festival Pandia was *ab initio* connected with this Selene *Pandîa* is far from clear.

Coins iii. 99 f. pl. 69, 18 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 770. Fig. 538 is from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum, fig. 539 from one in my collection.

[1] *Supra* p. 642 n. 2 and n. 4.

[2] *Supra* p. 193 fig. 142.

[3] *Supra* p. 456 n. 5.

[4] *Supra* p. 457 n. 5.

[5] Alkm. *frag.* 48 Bergk[4] οἷα Διὸς θυγάτηρ | ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας [δίας] *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 3. 10. 3, *quaestl. nat.* 24, *de fac. in orb. lun.* 25, cp. Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 16. 31, Natalis Comes *mythol.* 3. 17 p. 131 ed. Patav. quidam tradiderunt Lunam fuisse uxorem Aeris, e quo Rorem filium conceperit ac genuerit, ut ait Alcman melicus in eo carmine: ἄγρωστιν δρόσος αὔξει μὲν μήνης τε καὶ ἄερος υἱός. Natalis appears to be quoting, not Alkm. *frag.* 48, but a corrupt hexameter passage, which I would restore as follows: ἄγρωστιν | αὔξει μὲν Μήνης τε καὶ Ἄερος υἱός (glossed by δρόσος).

[6] *H. Sel.* 14 ff.

[7] Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 9 Schmidt ex Iove et Luna Pandia (pandion cod. F, corr. Schmidt).

[8] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Πάνδια. So *et. mag.* p. 651, 21 f., Bekker *anecd.* i. 292, 10 f.

[9] W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 100 and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3172.

[10] Ulpian *in* Dem. *in Mid.* 8 Πάνδια δὲ οἱ μὲν Διὸς ἑορτὴν ἐνόμισαν· οἱ δὲ Πανδίαν τὴν Σελήνην νομίζουσιν κ.τ.λ., schol. Dem. *in Mid.* 8 Πάνδια καὶ Πάντια, ἡ Σελήνη, κ.τ.λ. Maximus περὶ καταρχῶν 22, 146, 208, 281 uses the expression πανδία Σελήνη, *ib.* 403 πανδία Σεληναίη, and *ib.* 123, 294, 327, 393 even πανδία alone of the moon. Orph. *frag.* 11, 8 Abel has πανδία Σεληναίη.

The festival itself was held on or about Elaphebolion 14, and appears to have formed the concluding act of the City Dionysia[1]. Its name is an extension of *Dîa*[2] comparable, as Pollux saw, with *Panathénaia*, *Paniónia*, *Panaitólia*, *Pamboiótia*[3]. Mommsen[4] and Gruppe[5] suppose with much probability that the Pandia was celebrated at the time of the full moon. Now this was the time when, according to Greek belief, dew fell thickest; and dew, as we shall prove further on, was one means by which the sky-father impregnated the earth-mother[6]. Hence I venture to infer that the Pandia stood for the union of Zeus with Semele, whose name gave rise to frequent confusion with Selene[7]. On this showing the City Dionysia began with dithyrambs, which commemorated the union of Zeus with Semele[8], and ended with the Pandia, which brought that union to effect. Ten lunar months later, at the Lenaia, Dionysos son of Zeus by Semele was born[9].

(c) Zeus paired with Io, Pasiphae, Europe.

When Zeus came to be paired with Selene, we may fairly assume that it was as a sun-god with a moon-goddess[10]. The same conception has been thought to underlie several of the love-tales told about him and already in part discussed by us. Scholars ancient and modern have regarded Io as the moon[11]. And, if so, her lover might well be the sun. Pasiphae and her bull almost certainly represented moon and sun in some sense[12]. Europe, borne off from Phoinike to Crete by Zeus, apparently by Zeus *Astérios*[13], is another case in point. For Zeus *Astérios* seems

[1] Dem. *in Mid.* 8 f., Harpokr. and Souid. *s.v.* Πάνδεια. See further Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 432 f., 441, 445, 448, G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 333, E. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 313.

[2] E. Cahen *loc. cit.* Another extension of Δῖα is to be seen in Διάσια: the simple form occurs as the name of a festival in Teos (*supra* p. 423 n. 2).

[3] Poll. 6. 163. We need not suppose with E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 30 n. 188 (after U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Aus Kydathen* Berlin 1880 p. 133) that the *Pándia* implies an early unification of several Zeus-cults. The prefix may be due to false analogy, *Pándia* signifying no more than a glorified *Dîa*.

[4] Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 432 n. 4, p. 441.

[5] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 938 n. 1.

[6] *Infra* ch. ii § 8 (a). Note that at Miletos on Artemision 14 (= Elaphebolion 14) an offering was made Διὶ Νοσίῳ, *i.e.* Νοτίῳ, cp. Zeus Τέττιος (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 162 ff., 400 f.).

[7] *Supra* p. 457 n. 5. [8] *Supra* p. 681 f. [9] *Supra* p. 669 ff.

[10] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 79 ff., W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 8 f., 100 f. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3172 f.

[11] *Supra* p. 454 ff. [12] *Supra* pp. 521 ff., 543 ff. [13] *Supra* p. 545 ff.

to have been—as C. Robert[1], M. Mayer[2], and W. H. Roscher[3] surmised—not merely a star-god but also a sun-god[4].

I must, however, insist even at the risk of some repetition that not one of these myths affords any valid proof that Zeus was *ab origine* a sun-god, consort of a moon-goddess. We cannot assert that Io was from the outset lunar[5]. Pasiphae may have been[6]: but it is probable that her bull, though solar, was not originally Zeus[7]. Finally, Europe as the moon[8] and Zeus *Astérios* as the sun[9] were Phoenician rather than Hellenic divinities.

(d) Zeus paired with Antiope.

In the Homeric *Nekyia*[10] Odysseus interviews the shades of fourteen famous heroines, the list being probably the work of an interpolator who belonged to the Hesiodic school[11]. We are concerned with but one of his characters—

> Antiope,
> Asopos' daughter, who in truth did boast
> That she had lain even in the arms of Zeus.
> Two sons she bare him, Zethos and Amphion,
> Who founded first Thebes of the seven gates
> And walled the same, since not without a wall
> Could they, though stout of heart, hold wide-wayed Thebes[12].

In Euripides' *Antiope* Amphion says to his mother:

> Nay, I cannot think
> That Zeus in secret copying the shape
> Of an evil-doer so drew nigh thy couch
> As might a man[13].

[1] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 136.

[2] M. Mayer *op. cit.* p. 80.

[3] W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 pp. 132, 138 f. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3193.

[4] *Supra* pp. 493 ff., 545 ff.

[5] *Supra* p. 454 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 521 ff.

[7] *Supra* pp. 522 f., 543 ff.

[8] *Supra* pp. 524, 538 ff.

[9] *Supra* p. 545 f.

[10] *Od.* 11. 225 ff.

[11] G. C. W. Warr *The Greek Epic* London 1895 p. 194 n., M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque*[2] Paris 1896 i. 279 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1908 i. 56.

[12] *Od.* 11. 260 ff. The passage is paraphrased and expanded in Ap. Rhod. 1. 735—741.

[13] Eur. *Antiope* frag. 210 Nauck[2] *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 401, 5 ff. Stählin (=Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 38) *οὔκουν ἔτι κατὰ τὴν τῶν πολλῶν δόξαν περὶ τοῦ θείου ὑπολητπτέον. οὐδὲ γὰρ λάθρᾳ δοκῶ | φωτὸς* (*θηρὸς* cj. F. W. Schmidt) *κακούργου σχήματ' ἐκμιμούμενον σοὶ Ζῆν'* (cj. Valckenaer, *τήνδε* codd., *τήνδ'* Euseb.) *ἐς εὐνὴν ὥσπερ ἄνθρωπον μολεῖν*, *Ἀμφίων λέγει τῇ Ἀντιόπῃ.*

But Hermes as *deus ex machina* declares:

> Thou who didst tell her that it was a man,
> Not Zeus, who wooed and won her—howsoe'er
> She might deny it—what couldst thou have said
> More hateful to the heart of Zeus himself,
> Dishonouring thus the very bride of Zeus?[1]

The story was localised in Boiotia[2] and took on a Dionysiac colouring, Antiope being represented as a Maenad[3] and Zeus as a Satyr[4]. It is not, however, till Roman times that Zeus is

Fig. 541.

[1] Eur. *Antiope frag. ultimum* 44 ff. (H. v. Arnim *Supplementum Euripideum* Bonn 1913 p. 21) καὶ πρ[ῶ]τα μέν σφ[ι δὴ λέγων ἄ]νθρωπος [ὡς] | οὐ Ζεὺς ἐμείχθη, [κἂν ἀ]παρνῆται τάδε— | τί δῆτ' ἂν εἶ[πες, Ζεὺς δ μ]ᾶλλον ἠχθετο. | Ζηνὸς μολοῦσα <ν> λέ[κτρον ὧδ'] ἀ[τι]μάσας;

[2] Antiope was born at Hyria (Hes. *frag.* 78 Flach *ap.* schol. *Il.* 2. 496, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 265, 5, Herodian. i. 300 Lentz, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τρία). Her father Nykteus founded Hysia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τσία, Eur. *Antiope frag.* 180 Nauck[2] *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Τσίαι, cp. Herodian. i. 300 Lentz, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τρία).

[3] On Antiope as a Maenad in literature (Paus. 9. 17. 6) and art (O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 65—105 pl. 56 f.) consult L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2411 f. She is described as a daughter of Lykourgos in the *Kypria ap.* Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 18 Kinkel) τὴν Λυκούργου (Λύκου cj. Heyne) θυγατέρα. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 67 f., who remarks (p. 68 n. 1) that late writers regard Lykourgos, the persecutor of Dionysos' nurses (*Il.* 6. 130 ff.), as a Boeotian (Firm. Mat. 6. 6 ff., Kephalion *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 Müller) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 42 ff. Dindorf, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21).

[4] Rufin. *recogn.* 10. 22, Dracont. 2. 24 (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 129 Baehrens), Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 123, 16. 242 f., Myth. Vat. i. 204, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 9. 423, schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2497 holds that of the various monuments, which have been supposed to represent Zeus as a Satyr with Antiope, two only have been rightly so interpreted, *viz.* an Etruscan mirror of late style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 116 no. 697 = Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 83 f. pl. 81, 2) and a scene from the great mosaic on the Piazza della Vittoria at Palermo

actually said to have played the Satyr. The language of Euripides suggests rather that he courted Antiope in the shape of an ordinary man. A variant tradition, which emphasises the analogy between Europe and Antiope, makes the latter, like the former, wooed by Zeus in the form of a bull[1]. The bull-connexion reappears in a curious local custom recorded by Pausanias[2]. When the sun was in the sign of Taurus, the Thebans used to mount guard over the tomb of Zethos and Amphion; for if the men of Tithorea in Phokis could at that time steal some of the earth from the said tomb and place it on the tomb of Antiope, then the district of Tithorea would be fertile, that of Thebes barren. The belief was based on the following passage in the oracles of Bakis:

> But whensoe'er to Zethos and Amphion
> One of Tithorea's men upon the ground
> Shall pour a soothing gift of drink and prayer,
> What time the Bull is warmed by the great sun's might,
> Then verily beware of no small bane
> That comes upon the city; for the fruits
> Dwindle within it, when men take of the earth
> And to the tomb of Phokos bear the same.

The tomb of Phokos comes in as something of a surprise. We are expecting the tomb of Antiope. So Pausanias hastens to explain:

'The wife of Lykos (Dirke) honoured Dionysos above all the gods. Therefore, when she suffered what tradition says she suffered (being bound to a bull by Zethos and Amphion and thus dragged to death), Dionysos was wroth with Antiope. Are not the gods jealous of excessive vengeance? Antiope, men say, went mad and bereft of her wits wandered through Hellas till Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphos, fell in with her, healed and married her. Hence Antiope and Phokos share the same grave[3].'

(J. Overbeck in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1873 pp. 98, 105 pl. 2). But the Etruscan mirror is, both by H. B. Walters and by E. Gerhard (*locc. citt.*), interpreted of Zeus with Semele: it represents Zeus with a crown of lilies (*supra* p. 622 f.) on his head and a thunderbolt in his left hand embracing a winged female figure in the presence of a tailed Satyr with two flutes. The mosaic, which may be dated *c.* 100 A.D., shows (fig. 541) Antiope as a Bacchant with *thýrsos* and timbrel advancing towards the left, while Zeus as an ithyphallic Satyr with *lagobólon* and fawn-skin (?) follows her from the right. Finally it may be noted that a painting by Correggio in the Louvre (no. 1118) gives Zeus as a young Satyr discovering Antiope asleep with Eros beside her (H. Schulze *Das weibliche Schönheitsideal in der Malerei* Jena 1912 p. 243 fig. 108, Reinach *Rép. Peintures* iii. 754).

[1] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 7. 189 (Antiope) a Lyco expulsa per Dircen a Iove in taurum verso compressa est, unde Zethus et Amphion feruntur progeniti.

[2] Paus. 9. 17. 4 ff., cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τιθοραία, who wrongly places the grave of Zethos and Amphion at Tithorea: on its real position see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 57.

[3] Paus. 9. 17. 6. At a place in Daulis called Tronis there was a shrine of the hero

Note that the constellation Taurus is here connected with Antiope as it was connected with Europe[1]. Moreover, the analogy subsisting between Europe and Antiope is strengthened rather than weakened by the marriage of the heroine with the local chief: Phokos, the eponym of Phokis, is to Antiope what Asterion, the Cretan king, was to Europe[2].

At Sikyon the story of Antiope was told in a different way[3]. Antiope, daughter of Nykteus the regent of Thebes, or, as rumour had it, daughter of the river Asopos, was famous for her beauty. Epopeus, son of Aloeus and grandson of Helios[4], who had come from Thessaly and succeeded Korax as king of Aigialeia (later called Sikyon), was enamoured of Antiope and carried her off. Thereupon the Thebans sallied out to fight him. In the fight both Nykteus and Epopeus were wounded, but Epopeus won. Nykteus was carried back to Thebes, and on his death-bed entrusted the regency to his brother Lykos. Epopeus also died of his hurt, and was succeeded by Lamedon, who surrendered Antiope. As she went to Thebes by way of Eleutherai, she gave birth by the road-side—an incident commemorated by the old epic poet Asios:

> Antiope the daughter of Asopos,
> Deep-eddying stream, bare Zethos and Amphion
> The god-like, having met in wedlock's bond
> Zeus and Epopeus shepherd of the folk[5].

The statement that Epopeus, king of Sikyon, and Zeus had the same wife is very noteworthy and, when compared with similar cases, points to the belief that the king was an embodiment of Zeus[6]. If so, his name was appropriate. *Epopeús*, 'He who sees all,' is but another form[7] of the cult-titles *Epóptes*[8], *Epópsios*[9], *Epopetés*[10] borne by Zeus.

Founder (*ἡρῷον ἥρω Ἀρχηγέτου*), who was variously identified with Xanthippos, a famous warrior, and with Phokos, son of Ornytion, son of Sisyphos. The Phokians daily honoured him: they brought victims, poured the blood through a hole into the grave, and consumed the flesh on the spot (Paus. 10. 4. 10).

[1] *Supra* p. 549.

[2] *Supra* p. 546 f.

[3] Paus. 2. 6. 1 ff. Variants in Apollod. 3. 5. 5. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090, Hyg. *fab.* 8, Myth. Vat. 1. 204; Hyg. *fab.* 7; Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 4. 570. schol. Pers. *sat.* 1. 77, Myth. Vat. 1. 97, 2. 74 Antiopa...ab *Epapho*...stuprata: *Kypria ap.* Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 18 Kinkel); Souid. *s.v.* *Ἀντιόπη.*

[4] Paus. 2. 1. 1.

[5] Asios *frag.* 1 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 4.

[6] Cp. *supra* p. 247 f.

[7] J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 245.

[8] Hesych. *Ἐπόπτης· Ζεύς. ἢ θεατής*, Corn. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 20 Lang. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 f. *Διὸς...ἐφόρου, ἐπόπτου, ἐπηκόου.*

[9] Hesych. *Ἐπόψιος· Ζεύς. καὶ Ἀπόλλων*, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 82. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1125 *Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου*, 1135, Orph. *Arg.* 1035.

[10] Hesych. *Ἐπωπετής· Ζεὺς παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις.*

Antiope's tomb at Tithorea was honoured when the sun was in the sign of Taurus[1]. Her partner at Sikyon was Epopeus, grandson of Helios[2]. Late authorities made her a priestess of Helios[3]. Antiope, therefore, stood in some relation to the sun. At Corinth that relation was much more clearly recognised. For Eumelos in his *Korinthiaka* (*c.* 740 B.C.) represented Antiope, not as wife of Helios' grandson, but as wife of Helios himself and by him mother of Aloeus and Aietes[4]. Diophanes too, better known as Diophantos, in his *Pontic History* (*s.* iii B.C.)[5] made Antiope the mother of Aietes[6], and therefore presumably the wife of Helios. Now if Antiope as early as the eighth century B.C. was the wife of the Sun, it is reasonable to conjecture that she was a moon-goddess. *Antiópe*, as O. Gruppe observes[7], is 'a highly suitable appellation for the full moon, which at its rising exactly faces the sun.' For *Antiópe* means 'She who looks over against, or faces' another; and Nonnos, for example, speaks of—

> Phaethon balancing the full-faced (*antôpis*) Moon[8].

W. H. Roscher[9], who regards Antiope as a 'moon-heroine' or 'hypostasis of the moon-goddess,' draws attention to her rape by Epopeus[10], to her vaunted beauty[11], to the names of her father *Nykteús*, the 'Nocturnal,' and his brother *Lýkos*, the 'Light[12],' to

[1] *Supra* p. 736 f. [2] *Supra* p. 737.

[3] Kephalion *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 Müller) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 45 Dindorf.

[4] Eumel. *frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 74, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 174, schol. Eur. *Med.* arg. 3 (iv. 4 Dindorf).

[5] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1051.

[6] Diophantos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 397 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 242, Eudok. *viol.* 37. In both sources the MSS. read Διοφάνης, not Διόφαντος.

[7] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 938 n. 2.

[8] Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 76 καὶ Φαέθων ἰσόμοιρος ἓην ἀντώπιδι Μήνῃ.

[9] W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 140 ff. and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3197 ff.

[10] Paus. 2. 6. 2 ἁρπάζει. *Kypria ap.* Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 18 Kinkel) φθείρας, *etc.* On the rape of the moon-goddess see W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 78 and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3159.

[11] Ap. Rhod. 4. 1088 εὐώπιδα (cp. Pind. *Ol.* 10. 90 f. εὐώπιδος | Σελάνας, *etc.*), Paus. 2. 6. 1, Prop. 1. 4. 5, Hyg. *fab.* 8. On the beauty of the moon-goddess see W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 22 f., *id. Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 21, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3131 f. or, better still, see herself.

[12] *Supra* p. 65. S. Eitrem 'Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen' in the *Skrifter udgivne af Videnskabsselskabet i Christiania* 1902 ii Historisk-filosofisk Klasse Christiania 1903 no. 2 argues that in the original form of the myth the twins Amphion and Zethos carried off Antiope and her sister Dirke from a second pair of twins, Lykos (Lykourgos, Epopeus) and Nykteus. The myth would thus be parallel to that of the rape

her connexion with Orion[1], and to her sons Amphion and Zethos, the Theban Dioskouroi, whom he believes to be the morning-star and the evening-star respectively[2]. This last point is of very doubtful validity[3]. Nevertheless the analogy of Kastor and Polydeukes[4] predisposes us to think that Amphion and Zethos may have stood in some relation to stars. And, if so, we obtain another illustration of the old-world idea that the stars are the offspring of a union between the sun and the moon[5].

(e) Zeus and his Lunar Consorts.

On a review of the foregoing evidence it appears that Zeus, who consorted with Selene at Nemea, was elsewhere paired with a variety of heroines—Antiope, Europe, Io—who sooner or later acquired lunar characteristics. That the moon should be called by half a dozen different names in Greece, is by no means surprising—witness its numerous appellations among the peasants of modern France[6] and Germany[7]. Observe, too, that the Greek names for the moon—Pasiphae, Pandia (?), and the like—were of local, not universal, significance. Athens spoke of Pandia; Argos and Euboia, of Io; Knossos and Thalamai, of Pasiphae. Nor was there, except perhaps with Antiope and Europe in Phokis and Boiotia, any overlapping of lunar names.

What has been said will suffice to establish a further and a more important contention. The combination of a solar Zeus with a lunar consort is restricted to certain well-defined areas. It occurs in Crete and in the eastern half of central Greece, but hardly anywhere in the rest of the Greek area. This may be taken to show that Zeus was not essentially the husband of a lunar bride. His association with her savours rather of non-Hellenic influence.

One other feature of these myths deserves to be mentioned. There is in them a decided tendency towards representing Zeus as a bull and his partner as a cow. The bull Zeus mates with the cow Io[8]. Poseidon or Zeus sent, or, as later writers put it,

of the Leukippides by the sons of Aphareus and the Dioskouroi (Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 394 f.).

[1] Pind. *frag.* 73 Christ *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34, Strab. 404.

[2] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 614 f.

[3] *Infra* p. 771.

[4] *Infra* p. 760 ff.

[5] *Supra* p. 523 n. 6.

[6] P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 37 ff.

[7] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 701.

[8] *Supra* p. 438 ff.

Zeus *was* the bull that had connexion with Pasiphae in her cow[1]. Zeus sent, or, according to the usual version, Zeus *was* the bull that bore Europe away to Crete[2]; and she in her turn appears at Thebes as a cow marked on either flank with a white full moon[3]. Lastly, Antiope is said by the scholiast on Statius to have been driven out by Lykos owing to the designs of Dirke, and then to have been won by Zeus, who had transformed himself into a bull for the occasion[4]: there was thus a certain poetic justice about the vengeance that Antiope's sons wreaked upon Dirke, when they bound her to a bull[5]. It can hardly be doubted that these bull-and-cow myths hang together with the conception of the sun as a bull and the horned moon as a cow.

§ 8. *Zeus in relation to the Stars.*

Zeus as god of the bright sky was brought into various relations with the stars also, though these minor manifestations of his brightness did not often find definite expression in cult, literature, or art.

(a) Zeus *Astérios*, Zeus *Seirén*, Zeus *Oromásdes*.

Late authors attest the Gortynian cult of Zeus *Astérios*[6], whose title may have meant originally 'god of all the Celestial Lights'[7], but in the Hellenistic age would doubtless be understood as 'god of the Stars' only[8], perhaps with special reference to the constellation Helike[9].

Other indications connect Zeus with Seirios. Once, when the dog-star was scorching the island of Keos, Aristaios is said to have made a great altar for Zeus *Ikmaîos* and to have sacrificed on the mountains to Seirios and to Zeus[10]. The combination perhaps gave rise to a separate conception. Antimachos of Kolophon (*c.* 400 B.C.) 'called Zeus *Seirén* on account of the star[11].'

[1] *Supra* pp. 464 ff., 544.

[2] *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 544.

[3] If I am right in my surmise *supra* p. 539 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 736 n. 1.

[5] *Supra* p. 736. The tauriform Zeus perhaps acted as his own executioner.

[6] *Supra* p. 545 ff. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1786 argues from the existence of the hypostases Asterion and Asterios that the cult of Zeus *Astérios* was early. But see *supra* p. 547.

[7] *Supra* p. 495. [8] *Supra* p. 547. [9] *Supra* p. 547 ff.

[10] Ap. Rhod. 2. 516 ff. See further *infra* ch. ii § 8 (c).

[11] Antim. *frag.* 94 Kinkel *ap. et. mag.* p. 710, 30 f. ὁ δὲ Ἀντίμαχος σείρινα (Σειρῆνα

Small copper coins of Kypros dating from the Ptolemaic period have as their obverse type a laureate head of Zeus, as their reverse Zeus standing with corn-ears in his right hand, a sceptre in his left, and a large star above his head (fig. 542)[1]. In view of other Cypriote coppers, which connect the star with Aphrodite and her dove[2], we may venture to identify it with the planet Venus rather than with the planet Iupiter[3].

Fig. 542.

Finally, stars played an important part in the cult of Zeus *Oromásdes*, the Hellenised Auramazda[4], who was represented, like Men[5]

vir doctus in *Classical Journal* vii. 234, Σείριον cj. Schellenberg) *τὸν Δία ἔφη διὰ τὸ ἄστρον*, cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1709, 55 f. *ἐν δὲ ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ εὕρηται καὶ ταῦτα· Σειρῆνες, τὰ ἄστρα.* See also U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Timotheos die Perser* Leipzig 1903 p. 44 and D. Mülder in *Philologus* 1906 lxv. 217 f. cited by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 601. *Supra* p. 299 n. 2.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. lxxxi. I figure a specimen in my collection.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. lxxviii pl. 22, 8 and pl. 24, 16.

[3] In the case of tetradrachms struck by Antiochos viii Grypos (*supra* p. 731 figs. 538, 539) I interpreted the star held by the god as the planet Iupiter. But the moon is so constantly associated with the evening-star in oriental art that it is at least equally possible to regard the star in question as the planet Venus.

[4] *Supra* p. 10 n. 1. As to the name Auramazda my friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton in his *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 73 n. writes: 'Hommel's discovery of the name *Assara Mazas* in an Assyrian record of the middle of the second millenium B.C. takes the divine name back to the Aryan period, or to Iranian antiquity prior to the change of *s* to *h*....The Boghazkeui *Indra* and *Nâsatia* might be Indo-Aryan, but *Mazas* cannot. It seems probable therefore that Mazdâh was a cult epithet of a great *Ahura*—some would say the Vedic Varuṇa—long before Zarathushtra.' *Id. ib.* p. 56:...'Having thus discarded conceptions of Deity which failed to satisfy his spiritual sense, Zarathushtra proclaimed his own conceptions in their stead. One inherited name for God was good enough for him. *Ahura* in the Gâthâs already means "Lord," its etymological meaning "spiritual" having apparently died out before the division of the Aryans. Who or what was "the Lord"? His relation to Nature is wholly in accord with the Bible itself. "Who covereth Himself with light as with a garment" is almost a quotation from the Gâthâs. But his own nature is something higher yet. He is "the Wise" (*Mazdâh*), which seems specially to denote the "knowledge of good and evil," the unerring instinct that can distinguish between Truth and Falsehood, which for the Prophet were the most vital aspects of good and evil.' *Id. ib.* p. 57 f.: 'The elements of the combination Ahura Mazdâh in the Gâthâs are declined as separate words, arranged indifferently, and either word may be used alone. "The Wise Lord" will probably represent it to us better than "Ahura Mazdâh." It soon became fixed as a proper name. By the time of the great Darius, the first Zarathushtrian King of Persia (it would seem), the name has become a single word, Auramazda, with flexion only at the end.' See further J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 30 ff., 61, 90 ff., 106 ff., 422 ff., *alib.*

It is reasonable to suppose that the Hesychian gloss *Μαζεύς· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυξί* preserves in a Grecised form the cult-title *Mazdâh*.

[5] A. M. Migliarini in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 392 f. pl. O, P 2, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 135 no. 20 pl. 123. Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 141 nos. 3177 f. pl. 26, p. 197 nos. 4914—4917 pl. 35, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2692, 2745.

or Attis[1] or Mithras (?)[2], wearing a stellate tiara. We are unusually well informed about this deity, thanks to the systematic exploration of the Nemroud Dagh, an outlying spur of Mount Tauros in the region of the upper Euphrates. Here in 1881 the engineer K. Sester discovered a remarkable tumulus, which in 1882 and 1883 was investigated by two expeditionary parties, that of the Germans (O. Puchstein, K. Humann, F. von Luschan)[3] and that of the Turks (Hamdy Bey, Osgan Effendi)[4]. Their results may be briefly resumed.

Antiochos i of Kommagene (69—38 B.C. or later), who in his inscriptions announces himself as 'The great King Antiochos, the Just God Made Manifest, Friend of the Romans and Friend of the Greeks[5],' resolved to be buried on the highest mountain-peak of his domain. On the summit of the Nemroud Dagh, at an altitude

[1] Ioul. *or.* 5. 165 B *τὴν δὲ* (*sc.* *Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν*) *τά τε ἄλλα πάντα ἐπιτρέψαι αὐτῷ* (*sc.* *τῷ Ἄττιδι*) *καὶ τὸν ἀστερωτὸν ἐπιθεῖναι πῖλον*, *ib.* 170 D f. *ὁ γὰρ Ἄττις οὗτος ἔχων τὴν κατάστικτον τοῖς ἄστροις τιάραν εὔδηλον ὅτι τὰς πάντων τῶν θεῶν εἰς τὸν ἐμφανῆ κόσμον ὁρωμένας λήξεις ἀρχὰς ἐποιήσατο τῆς ἑαυτοῦ βασιλείας*, Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4 *ἐρᾷ μὲν ἡ Μήτηρ τοῦ Ἄττεως καὶ οὐρανίους αὐτῷ δίδωσιν δυνάμεις· τοῦτο γάρ ἐστιν ὁ πῖλος.* Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 226 no. 746 pl. 13, 6, cp. no. 747 (Ankyra in Galatia); *ib.* p. 226 f. nos. 748—750 pl. 13, 7—9, cp. no. 751 (Pessinous), R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 63 f. fig. 11; E. Pernice—F. Winter *Der Hildesheimer Silberfund* Berlin 1901 pl. 5, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 159, 2, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2741.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 84 pl. 19, 3 f., Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 227 pl. E, 16, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 136 pl. 18, 5 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 505 fig. 264.

[3] K. Humann and O. Puchstein *Reisen in Kleinasien und Nordsyrien* Berlin 1890 p. 97 ff. with figs. in text and Atlas of 3 maps and 53 pls.

[4] O. Hamdy Bey and Osgan Effendi *Le Tumulus du Nemroud-dagh* (Voyage, Description, Inscriptions avec Plans et Photographies). Constantinople 1883 with Frontisp., 33 pls., and 2 plans.

[5] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 272 i a 1 ff. (=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383, 1 ff.), p. 325 1 ff., p. 320 f. 1 ff., p. 327 1 ff., p. 319 1 ff., p. 303 1 ff., p. 302 1 ff., p. 304 1 ff., p. 304 f. 1 ff., p. 283 1 ff., p. 306 f. 1 ff., p. 285 1 ff., p. 307 f. 1 ff., p. 287 1 ff., p. 313 1 ff., p. 311 f. 1 ff., p. 356 1 ff. (=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* nos. 383, 1 ff., 384, 1 ff., 385, 1 ff., 386, 1 ff., 387, 1 ff., 388, 1 ff., 389, 1 ff., 390, 1 ff., 391, 1 ff., 392, 1 ff., 393, 1 ff., 394, 1 ff., 395, 1 ff., 396, 1 ff., 397, 1 ff., 401, 1 ff., 402, 1 ff.), V. Wace Yorke in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 312 f. no. 14, 1 ff. Samosata (=Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 404, 1 ff.): Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος Θεὸς Δίκαιος Ἐπιφανὴς Φιλορωμαῖος καὶ Φιλέλλην, cp. Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 136 *d*, 1 ff. Ephesos (=Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 405, 1 ff.) Βασιλέα Ἀντίοχον Θεὸν | Δίκαιον Ἐπιφανῆ Φιλορωμαῖον | καὶ Φιλέλληνα, and the slight variant in Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 311 1 ff. (=Dittenberger *op. cit.* no. 400, 1 ff.) [Βασιλ]εὺς μέ[γας] | [Ἀντίοχ]ος Θεὸς Δ[ίκαιος] | [Ἐπιφα]νὴς Φι[λέλλην] | [καὶ Φιλορωμαῖος].

Since a dedication Θεῷ Δικαίῳ Μίθρᾳ has come to light at *Kilissé Hissar*, *i.e.* Tyana in Kappadokia (J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 12 citing Rizo Καππαδοκικά 113), O. Puchstein in Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 341 f. suggests that the divine titles of Antiochos were a popular designation of Mithras. But F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa, *Real-Enc.* v. 564 shows that the cult-epithets Ὅσιος καὶ Δίκαιος, Ὅσιος Δίκαιος, or Ὅσιος

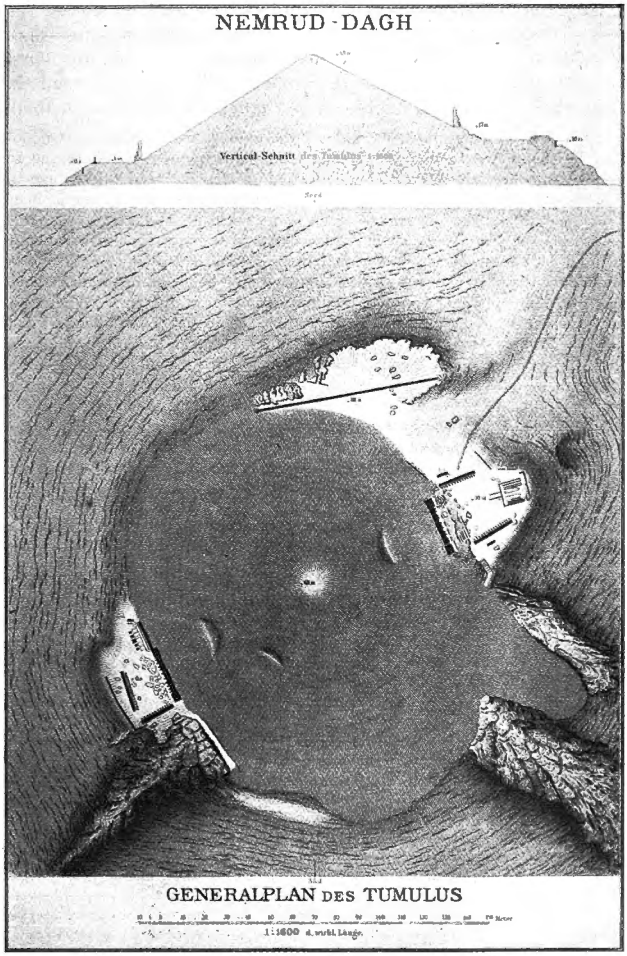


Fig. 543.

alone, were used throughout Asia Minor etc. of a variety of gods and goddesses. And, as we shall see, Antiochos claimed to be a human counterpart of Zeus *Oromásdes* rather than of Mithras.

of between 6800 and 7100 ft[1], a prodigious cairn of stones was piled containing *c.* 264,750 cubic metres of material (fig. 543). Various attempts to penetrate the vast mass and rifle the dead king's chamber have been made in modern times and have failed[2]. Antiochos set forth his intentions in a pompous inscription:

'When I had determined to construct the foundations of this sacred monument beyond the reach of time's wasting hand, hard by the heavenly throne, to the end that here the body of my outward form, having lived till old age in felicity and sent forth a soul beloved of the gods to the heavenly throne of Zeus *Oromásdes*, might sleep for endless ages, then of a truth I chose to make this spot the sacred seat of all gods in common, that so not only this heroic company of mine ancestors which thou seest might be established by my care, but also the divine shapes of manifest deities sanctified on a holy summit, and that they might have this place as a witness by no means bereft of my piety. Wherefore, as thou seest, I have established these godlike effigies of Zeus *Oromásdes* and Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes and Artagnes Herakles Ares and mine all-nurturing country Kommagene. Moreover, made of the self-same stone-work with gods that answer prayer and throned together with them, I have set up the fashion of mine own form, and have caused the ancient honour of great deities to become coeval with a new Tyche, thereby preserving a just representation of the immortal mind which has many a time been seen to manifest itself in my support and to lend me friendly help in the carrying out of my royal projects[3].' Etc., etc.

The concluding sentences of this passage refer to the fact that east and west of the cairn were two terraces, each of which had a similar series of five seated statues—ungainly colossal figures, built up of limestone blocks to a height of some 26 ft. Hamdy Bey, who saw the tumulus half-covered with snow, compares its clumsy guardians with a set of snow-men[4]. The central statue, somewhat larger than its neighbours, was that of Zeus *Oromásdes* in Commagenian costume with a short bundle of rods, the Persian *baresman*

[1] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 236. [2] *Eid. ib.* p. 240 f.

[3] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 272 f. i b 13 ff. (=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383, 36 ff.) *ἐπεὶ δὲ ἱεροθεσίου τοῦδε κρη|πεῖδα ἀπόρθητον χρόνου λύμαις | οὐρανίων ἄγχιστα θρόνων κατασ|τήσασθαι προνοήθην, ἐν ᾧι μα|καριστὸν ἄχρι [γ]ήρως ὑπάρξαν σῶμα | μορφῆς ἐμῆς πρὸς οὐρανίους Διὸς | Ὡρομάσδου θρόνους θεοφιλῆ ψυχὴν | πρὸπέμψαν εἰς τὸν ἄπειρον αἰῶνα κοι|μήσεται· τότε δὴ καὶ τόνδε· χῶρον | ἱερὸν ἁπάντων κοινὸν ἀναδεῖξαι | θεῶν ἐνθρόνισμα προειλάμην, ὅπως | μὴ μόνον ἐμῶν προγόνων οὗτος ὃν ὁρᾷς | ἡρῷ(ο)ς λόχος ἐμαῖς ἐπιμελείαις ὑπάρ|χῃ καθιδρυμένος, ἀλλὰ καὶ | δαιμόνων ἐπιφανῶν θεῖος τύπος ἐν | ἁγίωι λόφωι καθοσιωθείς, μηδὲ τὸν|δε τὸν τόπον ὀρφανὸν εὐ|μῆς εὐσεβείας ἔχῃ μ[ά]ρτυρα. διόπερ | ὡς ὁρᾷς Διός τε Ὡρομάσδου καὶ Ἀπόλ|λωνος Μίθρου Ἡλίου Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἀρτάγνου Ἡρακλέους Ἄρεως ἐμῆς τε πατρίδος παντρόφου Κομμαγηνῆς θεοπρε|πῆ ταῦτα ἀγάλματα καθιδρυσάμην | ἀπό τε λιθείας μᾶς δαίμοσιν ἐπηκόοις | σύνθρονον χαρακτῆρα μορφῆς ἐμῆς | συνανέθηκα καὶ Τύχης νέας ἡλικιῶ|τιν ἀρχαίαν θεῶν μεγάλων τιμὴν ἐποι|ησάμην, μίμημα δίκαιον φυλάσ|σων ἀθανάτου φροντίδος, ἣ πολλά|κις ἐμοὶ παρασταῖσα ἐπιφανὴς εἰς βοή|θειαν ἀγώνων βασιλικῶν εὐμενὴς | ἐφορᾶτο.* κ.τ.λ. J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 107 f. detects in these last clauses a clear reference to the Fravashi or 'double' of Persian belief.

[4] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 252—259, 293—298 pls. 23—31, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 15—19 pls. 12, 12[1], 14—19, 19[1], 20—22.

or *barsom*[1], in his left hand and a high tiara on his head: this tiara in front and behind had a vertical stripe on which round disks were worked in low relief, while about its edge was a diadem adorned with a row of upright winged thunderbolts (fig. 544)[2]. On the right of Zeus sat Kommagene, conceived as a Tyche with a *kálathos* and a corn-wreath on her head, a horn of plenty in her left hand, and a bunch of corn-ears, grapes, pomegranates and a pear-shaped fruit in her right[3]. On the left of Zeus was

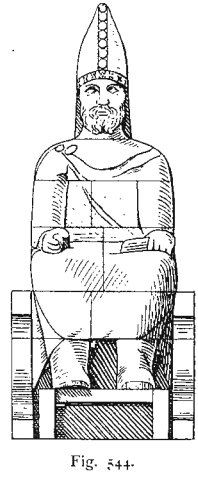


Fig. 544.

[1] J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 p. 127: 'The barsom (*baresman*) is a Magian ritual instrument, a bundle of twigs held before the face: cf. Ezekiel viii. 17. It adapts the name of an Aryan institution of a very different kind, the Indian *barhis*, or carpet of grass on which the sacrifice was laid.' *Id. Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 68 f., 189 ff., 198 f., 408 f. See further O. M. Dalton *The Treasure of the Oxus* etc. London 1905 p. 46 f.: 'the *bareçman* or *barsom*, a small bundle of rods supposed to be composed of branches of the date, pomegranate, and tamarisk, the gathering of which Ormuzd describes to Zarathustra in the nineteenth chapter of the Vendidad[3]. ([3][A.] Hovelacque, [*L'Avesta, Zoroastre et le Mazdéisme* Paris 1880], p. 425; M. Dieulafoy, [*L'Acropole de*] *Suse* [Paris 1893], p. 393 n. 4; *see* also note to no. 48.) It was the constant accompaniment of almost every ritual act, and in his daily prayers before the sacred fire, as Strabo noted of the Magi in Cappadocia, the priest always held it in his hand[4]. ([4]Ῥάβδων μυρικίνων λεπτῶν δέσμην κατέχοντες, Strabo, xv. 733; [J. G.] Rhode, [*Die heilige Sage und das gesammte Religions-System der alten Baktrer, Meder, Perser* etc. Frankfort 1820], p. 509.) The texts do not seem to imply that the rods were used for purposes of divination, but there is some authority for believing that this was at one time the case....The bundle of rods seems to be shown in the hands of the two statuettes nos. 1 and 2 [p. 75 f. pls. 2 and 12], the second of which may well represent a magus of high rank; a number of the figures upon the gold plaques (*see* plates xiii and xiv) also hold it, and attention may be called to the fact that the object held by the deity in the Sassanian rock sculpture, fig. 42, has some resemblance to a bundle of rods.' A Graeco-Persian relief of *c.* 425—400 B.C., found near Daskyleion, shows two priests in Persian dress with covered mouth and nose and uplifted *barsom* (?), offering a ram's head and a bull's head on a pyre (?) of slender sticks (T. Macridy in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 348 ff. fig. 4 pl. 8).

[2] Fig. 544 shows the seated Zeus of the east terrace (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 255 f. pls. 25—27 and 29, 5 f., Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 15 f. pls. 12 and 15) completed with the help of the head from its counterpart of the west terrace (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 296 f. pl. 31, 3, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 19 pl. 19).

[3] Kommagene is the one figure whose head, though not quite in the original position, still rests upon its shoulders. She, in common with many another Asiatic Tyche (*supra* p. 136 n. 6, cp. p. 597 n. 4 and p. 710), may be regarded as a late modification of the ancient mountain-mother, who after all had the longest, if not the best, claim to be honoured on such a site. Hence Antiochos (*supra* p. 744) was careful to describe himself

a beardless effigy of Antiochos, in pose and costume closely resembling Zeus, except that the diadem round his tiara was decorated with alternate disks and lozenges in relief. Beyond Kommagene was Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes[1]; beyond Antiochos was Artagnes Herakles Ares[2]. Both these deities bore a general likeness to Zeus; but, whereas Apollon held the bundle of rods, Artagnes carried a short club leaning against his shoulder. The series was terminated at either end by statues of an eagle and a lion standing on a common base. On the backs of the thrones was the long inscription, part of which has been cited above, including a preamble to explain the purpose of the whole precinct and a law to regulate its cult[3].

Over against the statues of the east terrace were the remains of a large rectangular altar, once decorated with sculpture, and two long bases or walls, north and south of the terrace, in which *stêlai*

as the new Tyche, whose cult was thenceforth to be associated with that of the older divinities (see Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 339 n. 1).

[1] Apollon Mithras Helios is presumably a solar deity. His further identification with Hermes may be attributed to the fact that the planet Mercury was connected by the Persians with Mithras, by the Greeks either with Apollon or with Hermes (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 335 n. 4). Note also that the *rôle* of ψυχοπομπός was played alike by Mithras and by Hermes (F. Cumont in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3055, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383 n. 20).

[2] Artagnes is the Avestan *Verethraghna*, the genius of 'Victory' (on whose name see J. H. Moulton *Early Religious Poetry of Persia* Cambridge 1911 pp. 39 f., 146), as was observed by P. de Lagarde in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1886 p. 148 ff. (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 1). The identification with Herakles and Ares may be due to the fact that the planet Mars, which the Persians connect with the god *Bahrâm* (=the earlier *Verethraghna*), was by the Greeks assigned sometimes to Herakles, sometimes to Ares (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 335 n. 4, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383 n. 21). Further, Artagnes was perhaps represented as Herakles in Mithraic art (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 143 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. i. 144) and on coins of Hooerkes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 138 pl. 27, 15 ΗΡΑΓΙΑΟ, p. 154 pl. 29, 1 ΗΡΑΚΛΟ (?), Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 1), and as Ares by Strab. 727 *ὄνον τε θύουσι* (*sc.* οἱ Καρμάνιοι) *τῷ Ἄρει, ὄνπερ σέβονται θεῶν μόνον, καὶ εἰσι πολεμισταί.*

[3] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 259 ff., Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 11 ff., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 383. The principal enactments are that the birthday of Antiochos, *viz.* the 16th of Audnaios (a Macedonian month answering to the Athenian Poseideon), and his coronation day, *viz.* the 10th of Loïos (the Macedonian equivalent of the Athenian Hekatombaion), are to be observed throughout the kingdom as festivals in honour of his divine guardians; that the corresponding days, *viz.* the 16th and the 10th, of each month shall be honoured by the priests; that on all these occasions the priest of the gods and heroes is to wear Persian attire, to crown all (*sc.* the gods and heroes) with golden crowns, and to offer on the altar of the latter frankincense and perfumes, while he honours the former with rich sacrifices; that, moreover, he is to furnish the holy tables with fitting viands and jars of wine, and so to entertain citizens and strangers alike, reserving a special portion for himself and allowing every guest to take his share and consume it where he will. Etc., etc.

Fig. 545.

representing the ancestors of Antiochos had been set up, each with its own small altar before it[1].

The west terrace also had two base-walls for the erection of similar *stélai*. These were placed along its western and southern sides[2]. The line of the seated statues was here continued northwards by means of a third base-wall, the reliefs of which were fairly preserved. They represented, from left to right, the following figures—Antiochos receiving a bunch of grapes, apples, corn etc. from Kommagene, Antiochos greeted by Apollon Mithras Helios Hermes, Antiochos greeted by Zeus *Oromásdes*, Antiochos greeted by Artagnes Herakles Ares, the horoscope of Antiochos in the form of a star-spangled lion. Of these five reliefs the first four bore dedicatory inscriptions on their backs, the last was inscribed in front. The whole series was flanked by an eagle and a lion at either end, arranged as in the case of the seated *colossi*[3].

The central and largest relief (fig. 545)[4] portrays Zeus *Oromásdes* in Commagenian dress giving the right hand of fellowship to Antiochos, who is similarly attired. The god sits on a gorgeous throne, decorated above with a pair of eagles, on either side with oak-leaves and acorns, below with Chimaira-heads and leonine claws. He holds a sceptre in his left hand. His tiara has a pearled edge and a diadem with upright winged thunderbolts on it: it is

[1] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 245—250, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 11—15.

[2] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 292 f., 298 ff., Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 19 f., 24—28.

[3] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 317—336, Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* pp. 20—24.

[4] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 324—327 pl. 39, 1 and 1 a (=my figs. 545, 546), Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 23 f. pl. 27 f., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 187 f. fig. 11 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1054 f. fig. 2, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 64 fig. 12, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 195, 3. The slab has a maximum height of 3.04^{m}, and is 2.17^{m} broad and 0.28^{m} thick (exclusive of the relief). When first discovered by O. Puchstein, it was lying on its face with stones heaped upon it. He copied the inscription on its back and replaced the stones. Hamdy Bey dug it up again and, since it lay with the foot-end still resting on the base-wall, tilted it over on its head. The result is that it now lies upside down exposed to the weather. Worse than that, the lower part of the relief has broken off, and the two parts do not accurately fit together. A fragment (fig. 546) found by a Turk in 1884 and brought by him to F. von Luschan is now at Berlin: it shows part of the diadem together with the left brow of Zeus: height 0.22^{m}. The inscription chiselled on the back of the slab is: **Βασιλεὺς μέγας Ἀντίοχος Θεὸς Δίκαιος | Ἐπιφ[α]νὴς [Φ]ιλορωμαῖος καὶ Φιλέλλην, | ὁ ἐγ βασιλέω[ν] Μιθραδάτου Καλλινίκου | καὶ βασιλί[σσ]ης Λαοδίκης Θεᾶς Φιλαδέλφου, | Δία Ὡρομάσδη** (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 325, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 384).

Fig. 546.

also plentifully sprinkled with six-rayed stars, among which is visible another winged bolt. His foot-gear, leg-coverings, etc. show the oak-pattern. Altogether he is a skilful blend of the

Fig. 547.

Commagenian and the Greek. Puchstein rightly observes that Antiochos is decked, wherever possible, with the symbols of Zeus. His crown-topped tiara[1] displays a large winged bolt between

[1] Cp. the head-dress of Antiochos i of Kommagene on bronze coins struck by him (fig. 550, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. xliv f., 105 pl. 14, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 120, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 775) with that of Tigranes, king of Armenia, on his silver and copper moneys (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 103 ff.

Fig. 548.

Fig. 549.

Fig. 550.

pl. 27, 5 ff. (fig. 548 = pl. 27, 6), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 1 ff. pl. 63, 1 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 772 f. fig. 342, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 163 ff., pl. 13, 96). Figs. 549, 550 are from specimens in the Leake collection = W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Kings and Dynasts p. 38.

oak-leaves. His diadem, the upper edge of his coat-of-mail, his shoulder-clasps, all have the same design of thunderbolts. Tiara-flaps, girdle, dagger-sheath, and shoes are embellished with oak-leaves and acorns. Lastly the short-sleeved jerkin is covered with stars set in a kind of network or trellis. Clearly the king wished to be regarded as the human embodiment of Zeus *Oromásdes*, 'the Just God Made Manifest.'

Antiochos' horoscope (fig. 547)[1] shows a lion with the crescent moon beneath his neck and nineteen stars so disposed about him as to correspond closely with the pseudo-Eratosthenes' account of the constellation Leo[2]. These stars have eight rays apiece. Distinct from them are three larger stars above the lion's back, which are sixteen-rayed and inscribed 'the Fiery Star of Herakles,' 'the Gleaming Star of Apollon,' 'the Brilliant Star of Zeus.' The whole slab, therefore, indicates a conjunction of the planets Mars, Mercury, and Iupiter in the sign of the Lion. Now apart from Kommagene, who on this site probably represents the ancient mountain-mother[3], Zeus, Apollon, and Herakles are the only deities recognised by Antiochos. It is therefore practically certain either that the king's choice of gods was determined by his own horoscope or that the king's horoscope was cast in accordance with his choice of gods. The former hypothesis is at least as likely as the latter. Prof. Tietjen of Berlin had elaborate calculations made by P. Lehmann, which pointed to July 17, 98 B.C., as the day most in accordance with the astronomical data[4]. Since the king's birthday was on Audnaios 16, *i.e.* in December or January, Puchstein concludes that the horoscope was cast for the conception, not for the nativity of Antiochos, whom he takes to have been a seven months' child born at the beginning of the year 97 B.C.[5] U. Wilcken suggests that the horoscope had reference rather to the king's accession on Loïos 10, which may well be equated with July 17, 98 B.C.[6]

[1] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 329—336 pl. 40 (=my fig. 547), Hamdy Bey—Osgan Effendi *op. cit.* p. 21 f. pl. 24, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 196. The slab measures $1{\cdot}75^{m}$ in height, $2{\cdot}40^{m}$ in breadth, $0{\cdot}47^{m}$ in thickness. It is inscribed: Πυρόεις Ἡρακλ[έους], Στίλβων Ἀπόλλωνος, Φαέθων Διός (Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 329).

[2] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 12 ἔχει δὲ ἀστέρας ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς γ', ἐπὶ τοῦ στήθους <α', ὑπὸ τὸ στῆθος>β', ἐπὶ τοῦ δεξιοῦ ποδὸς λαμπρὸν α', ἐπὶ μέσης<τῆς κοιλίας>α', ὑπὸ τὴν κοιλίαν α', ἐπὶ τοῦ ἰσχίου α', ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀπισθίου γόνατος α', ἐπὶ ποδὸς ἄκρου λαμπρὸν α', ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου β', ἐπὶ τῆς ῥάχεως γ', ἐπὶ μέσης τῆς κέρκου α', ἐπ' ἄκρας λαμπρὸν α', [ἐπὶ τῆς κοιλίας α']· <τοὺς πάντας ιθ'>. I follow the text of A. Olivieri (1897).

[3] *Supra* p. 745 n. 3.

[4] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* pp. 331—333. Serious difficulties have, however, been pointed out by A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 pp. 373, 439 fig. 41 (Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 196).

[5] Humann—Puchstein *op. cit.* p. 333 f.

[6] U. Wilcken in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2487 f.

In any case it is obvious that astrology played no small part in the Commagenian cult of Zeus *Oromásdes*.

(b) Zeus as god of the Starry Sky.

Zeus is occasionally, but not often, brought into connexion with the stars in ancient literature and art.

He is more than once conceived by Euripides as dwelling in the starry sky. The Satyrs associate him with the stars and Orion[1]. Menoikeus swears 'by Zeus and all his stars[2]'—a phrase that impressed Plutarch[3]. Kreousa's handmaidens sing of the night-procession from Athens to Eleusis on Boedromion 20—

> What time the star-eyed sky of Zeus himself
> Joins in the dance[4].

Achaios went one step further, perhaps we should say one step further back, and spoke of 'Zeus the starry-eyed[5].' Finally, Nonnos tells how Zeus stooped from heaven to earth for the sake of Semele:

> Then Zeus of the air quitted his starry home
> For Semele's side[6].

But it will be observed that these are all poetic fancies with little or no support in actual cult.

When Propertius describes the temple of Zeus at Olympia as 'imitating the sky[7],' he is in all probability alluding to a coffered ceiling[8] with gilt stars on a blue ground[9]—a device common to

[1] Eur. *Cycl.* 211 ff. (*supra* p. 6 n. 4).

[2] Eur. *Phoen.* 1006 *μὰ τὸν μετ' ἄστρων Ζῆν' Ἄρη τε φοίνιον, κ.τ.λ.* The schol. *ad loc.* takes Ζῆνα here to be the sun (schol. A.B.M.I. *τὸν ἥλιόν φησι καὶ τὸν Ἄρην τὸν τοῦ ἐμοῦ φόνου αἴτιον, κ.τ.λ.*, schol. C.M. *τὸν ἥλιόν φασι δεσπότην τῶν ἄστρων, τὸν ὄντα ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις θεόν, τὸν αἴτιον τοῦ ἐμοῦ φόνου*). But he is certainly wrong (cp. *supra* p. 187).

[3] Plout. *de aud. poet.* 6.

[4] Eur. *Ion* 1078 f. (*supra* p. 65 n. 4).

[5] Achaios *Azanes frag.* 2 Nauck[2] (*supra* p. 65 n. 3).

[6] Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 312 f. *ἀστερόεν τότε δῶμα παρέστιχεν ἠέριος Ζεὺς | εἰς Σεμέλης ὑμέναιον*, cp. 7. 359 *τί πλέον ἤθελες ἄλλο μετ' αἰθέρα καὶ πόλον ἄστρων;*

[7] Prop. 3. 2. 18 nec Iovis Elei caelum imitata domus.

[8] Cp. Manil. 5. 288 f. sculpentem faciet sanctis laquearia templis | condentemque novum caelum per tecta Tonantis (with 1. 532 f.), Stat. *silv.* 4. 2. 30 f. (on Domitian's palace) fessis vix culmina prendas | visibus auratique pates laquearia caeli, Mart. *ep.* 7. 56. 1 ff. astra polumque pia cepisti mente, Rabiri (Domitian's architect), | Parrhasiam mira qui struis arte domum. | Phidiaco si digna Iovi dare templa parabit, | has petat a nostro Pisa Tonante manus.

With regard to the inner ceiling in the temple of Zeus at Olympia W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* ii. 11 writes: 'Wie die aus Holz bestehende Decke im Einzelnen gebildet war, lässt sich nicht bestimmen; in den Ergänzungen [pls. 11, 2, 12] sind deshalb einfache Balken und eine glatte Verschalung angenommen.'

[9] H. Thédenat in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 903, A. Marquand *Greek Architecture* New York 1909 p. 236 ('The recessed cofferings were ornamented in various

Greek with Egyptian art[1]. If so, we may suppose that the decoration of the roof was deliberately chosen to mark the celestial character of the god.

A notable coin-type of imperial date shows Zeus as cosmic lord surrounded by the signs of the zodiac. Several varieties of the type are found. Thus a magnificent copper coin of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck by Antoninus Pius and now in the Paris cabinet, has (fig. 551)[2] Zeus enthroned with sceptre and thunderbolt between

Fig. 551.

Fig. 552.

the chariots of the Sun and of the Moon; at his feet on either side are two reclining figures, Gaia with corn-ears and a horn of plenty, Thalassa with a stern-ornament and a rudder: round the whole is the zodiac, its twelve signs all clearly expressed. Even more ambitious is a copper coin of Perinthos in Thrace, struck by Severus Alexander and now in the British Museum (fig. 552)[3]. Within a dotted circle sits Zeus with sceptre, *phiále*, and eagle. In the field above him Helios drives a team of four horses, Selene a team of two bulls, the former accompanied by the crescent of the latter, the latter by the star of the former. Beneath Zeus are Gaia

ways. The Theseion affords a simple example. The soffits of the coffers each present a single star, painted probably in gold against a blue ground, and hence called *οὐρανός*, or *οὐρανίσκος*....The Parthenon and the Propylaia show doubly recessed coffers....Some of the plates of cofferings from the Propylaia still show stars' etc.), A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 84 ('When found the lower side of the lacunar stone [of the Mausoleum] was painted bright blue.' Cp. Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[3] p. 330 fig. 316). The coffering of the Erechtheion is restored in gold and colours by Durm *ib.*[2] p. 261 pl. opposite p. 252 (*ib.*[3] p. 341 pl. opposite p. 316 worse).

[1] See J. Pennethorne *The Geometry and Optics of Ancient Architecture* London and Edinburgh 1878 p. 173 f. pt. 5 pl. 3 (a comparative series of Egyptian tomb-ceilings from Thebes and of Greek temple-ceilings from the 'Theseum' and Erechtheion, fully coloured and gilded).

[2] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 155, 160 f. Münztaf. 2, 13, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 407 pl. 68, 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 517.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 157 fig. (=my fig. 552), J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 104 fig. 3, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 271.

and Thalassa recumbent: Gaia holds a *cornu copiae*; Thalassa wears a head-dress of crab's-claws and is equipped with a rudder and a prow. The whole design is enclosed by the zodiac, as before. An autonomous bronze coin of Sardeis, described by Eckhel[1], had Zeus with Nike in his hand enthroned amid the signs of the zodiac. An imperial coin of Tios or Tion in Bithynia, mentioned by B. V. Head[2], again shows Zeus with the zodiac. On a bronze coin of Amastris in Paphlagonia, struck by Iulia Maesa, Zeus and Hera, both holding sceptres, stand facing each other within the same border (fig. 553)[3]. Two bronze coins of Alexandreia, struck by Antoninus Pius in 145 A.D.[4], play further variations on the same theme: one of them duplicates the zodiacal belt and places in the centre jugate busts of Sarapis wearing his *kálathos* and Isis wearing her disk and horns[5]; the other substitutes for the inner zodiac a circular band adorned with busts of Kronos, Helios, Selene, Ares, Hermes, Zeus, Aphrodite—the deities representing the days of the week—and gives as the central figure Sarapis wearing his *kálathos*[6]. It will be observed that all the coins on

Fig. 553.

[1] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 115, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 161 n. [a].

[2] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 518. Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τίος·...Δημοσθένης δ' ἐν Βιθυνιακοῖς (the fragment should be added to the *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 384 f. Müller) *φησι κτιστὴν τῆς πόλεως γενέσθαι* Πάταρον (Arrian. *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 593 Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 322), *ἑλόντα* Παφλαγονίαν, *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ τιμᾶν τὸν Δία* Τίον *προσαγορεῦσαι.* The great cult of the place, to judge from its coin-types, was that of Zeus Συργάστης or Συργαστήϊος (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 203 ff. pl. 36, 5 and 10, Rasche *Lex. Num.* ix. 1367 ff., Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 64 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 518). The meaning of the title is unknown (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 1502 B—C and M. Schmidt on Hesych. Συργάστωρ· *συοφορβός. καὶ ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν*). But the cult appears to have travelled westwards; for at *Adžilare* near Philippopolis a certain Thracian proved his gratitude to a god called Σουρεγέθης (*Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1895 xviii. 112 Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· *θεῷ* Σουρεγέθη *ἐπηκόῳ* Κδ[τυ]ς Ῥοιμηζευέος *εὐχαριστήριον* cited by Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4078), and at *Renzano* on the Lacus Benacus a Greek paid a vow to Surgasteus and Patrus, *i.e.* to the chief deity and the founder of Tios (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 4206 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5915 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4078 dis paternis | Surgasteo | magno | Patro, | Q. M. Tryphon | v. s. l. m.).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 89 pl. 20, 13, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 155 pl. 21, 15, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 127, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 506.

[4] See G. Dattari in the *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica* 1901 xiv. 157—183.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 126 no. 1078 pl. 12, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 130, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 863 (who cites as another astronomical type at Alexandreia: 'Zodiac in circle round busts of Helios and Selene').

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 127 no. 1079 pl. 12, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 84 pl. Z', 1, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi pl. 2, 129, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 863.

which Zeus is ringed with the zodiac belong to the period 138—235 A.D. and to towns that fall within, or border on, the north-west corner of Asia Minor. Hence we may ascribe them to the far-reaching influence of Mithraism, which constantly employed the zodiac as the framework of its ritual reliefs[1]. Oromasdes, as F. Cumont points out[2], travelled in connexion with the Mithraic mysteries from east to west, and is seen on Mithraic monuments as a Roman Iupiter with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle. Not improbably the coins in question intercept his progress and give us a glimpse of him as a Greek Zeus. After all, Zeus, Iupiter, and Oromasdes were essentially kindred figures, whose art-types were readily blended.

(c) Zeus in Astronomy and Astrology.

Astrology has been defined by A. Bouché-Leclercq as a method of divination using astronomy as its means[3]. Accepting this definition, we may agree with E. Riess that the Greeks were first definitely influenced by Babylonian and Egyptian astrology towards the end of the fourth century B.C.[4], though O. Gruppe has rightly insisted that astrological notions of a sort are to be found in Greece long before the age of Alexander the Great—astro-meteorology already bulks big in Hesiod, and even astrology in the strict sense of the term is presupposed by Greek mystic teaching of the sixth century B.C. and by sundry passages of Herakleitos, Euripides, and Herodotos[5].

In the course of the third and following centuries B.C. the Greeks partly borrowed and partly developed a very complete series of constellations. Each of these had its own myth or myths and was, more often than not, said to have been placed in the sky by Zeus. Thus the *Katasterismoi* ascribed to Eratosthenes of Alexandreia (*c.* 275—195 B.C.) enumerates some thirty-three

[1] F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 109 ff., *id. Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 110, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1952. *Supra* p. 516 fig. 389.

[2] F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 88 ff., 137 ff., *id. Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 99 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1055, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1951.

F. Cumont in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 294 u. 5 cites for 'Jupiter—Caelus' a gem representing Iupiter with a sceptre seated to the right on an eagle, his head surrounded by a large *nimbus*, or [more probably an overarching] mantle, within which are seven stars (C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 86 no. 14 pl. 13).

[3] A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 70.

[4] E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1810 f.

[5] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1588 ff., *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 211.

constellations as the work of particular Greek deities: of this number Poseidon made one[1], Apollon[2] Artemis[3] Dionysos[4] and Hermes[5] two apiece, Hera two[6] and the Milky Way[7], Athena four[8]; but no less than seventeen are said to have been created by Zeus[9], who was further intimately connected with the myths of at least seven others[10].

If it be asked why Zeus rather than any other deity arranged the constellations, we must again take into account oriental leading. Babylonian astrology assigned the several planets to different divinities thus[11]:

Planet.	*Divinity.*
Iupiter.	Marduk.
Venus.	Ištar.
Mercury.	Nabu.
Saturn.	Ninib.
Mars.	Nergal.

The Greeks of the fourth century followed suit and exchanged their old descriptive names of the planets for those of various gods corresponding more or less closely with the Babylonian series.

[1] Delphin.

[2] Sagitta, Hydra with its Corvus and Crater.

[3] Ursa Minor (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 2), Equos (*id. ib.* 18, but Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 18 refers it to Iupiter).

[4] Corona, Asini.

[5] Deltoton, Lepus.

[6] Serpens (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3. but Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3 refers it also to Minerva), Cancer. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 16 refers Aquila (=the Coan king Merops) to Iuno.

[7] *Supra* p. 624.

[8] Cepheus, Andromeda, Perseus, Argo.

[9] Ursa Maior, Engonasin, Ophiuchus, Scorpius, Arctophylax or Bootes, Gemini, Leo, Heniochus or Auriga, Capra, Taurus, Lyra (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 24, but Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 7 says *a Musis*), Cygnus or Olor, Capricornus, Sagittarius, Orion (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 32, but Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34 refers to Diana), Canis, Centaurus.

[10] Ursa Minor (= Phoinike, a companion of Artemis loved by Zeus; or Kynosoura, an Idaean nymph, nurse of Zeus; or Helike, a Cretan nurse of Zeus), Virgo (=Dike, daughter of Zeus and Themis; or Demeter, or Isis, or Atargatis, or Tyche), Deltoton (=Δ the initial of Διός), Pliades (of whom Elektra, Maia, and Taygete were loved by Zeus: according to Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 21, Iupiter placed them all among the stars), Aquarius (=Ganymedes, the cup-bearer of Zeus), Aquila (the sacred bird of Zeus: according to Aglaosthenes *Naxiaca frag.* 2 (*supra* p. 164 n. 4), Zeus placed it among the stars), Ara (the altar at which the gods took their oath, when Zeus attacked Kronos).

[11] P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 134 ff., A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 40 ff., M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 217 ff., *id. Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 ii. 1. 444 ff. and the literature cited *ib.* i. 1. 426 n. 2 f., 427 n. 1 f., especially F. X. Kugler *Sternkunde und Sterndienst in Babel* i (Entwicklung der Babylonischen Planetenkunde von ihren Anfängen bis auf Christus) Münster in Westfalen 1907.

The earlier Babylonian order is Iupiter, Venus, Saturn, Mercury, Mars: the later (*c.* 400 B.C.) is Iupiter, Venus, Mercury, Saturn, Mars (Kugler *op. cit.* i. 13).

Aristotle in his work *On the Universe* draws up a list, which gives both the earlier and the later names arranged in the Greek order[1]:

Planet.	*Earlier name.*	*Later name.*
Saturn.	*Phaínon* (the 'Shining').	Kronos.
Iupiter.	*Phaéthon* (the 'Brilliant').	Zeus.
Mars.	*Pyróeis* (the 'Fiery').	Herakles or Ares.
Mercury.	*Stílbon* (the 'Gleaming').	Hermes or Apollon.
Venus.	*Phosphóros* (the 'Light-bringer').	Aphrodite or Hera.

The Babylonians assigned Iupiter to their chief deity Marduk, not because Iupiter appeared to them as the largest of the planets[2] (that would rather have been Saturn), but because his bright golden disk shone so steadily and was visible for so long in the sky[3]. The fifth tablet of the creation-epic represents Marduk, under the name of Nibiru, as exercising a control over all the stars and especially as ordering the constellations:

> 'He established the stations for the great gods.
> The stars, their likeness, he set up as constellations[4].'

Further, Marduk as the paramount god of the Babylonian pantheon had taken over from Enlil of Nippur the title *Bêl* or 'Lord[5].' Hence the Greeks, equating him with their own supreme deity, spoke of him as Zeus *Bêlos*[6]. And the Romans attributed the

[1] Aristot. *de mundo* 2. 392 a 23 ff.

[2] M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 459.

[3] M. Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 ii. 1. 444 after Kugler *op. cit.* i. 8 and 14.

[4] M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 pp. 434, 459.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 117 f., *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 pp. 19, 38, 100, *id. Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 ii. 2. 1081 Index *s.v.* 'Marduk,' A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2341 f., 2372.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4482, 10 (Palmyra) *τὸν ναὸν τὸν* [*τοῦ*] Διὸς [Βήλου *ἐ*]*ν τῷ τ*[.....], no. 4485, 14 ff. (Palmyra) *καὶ νυνεὶ λαμπρῶς συμποσίαρ*]*χον τῶν τοῦ Διὸς Βήλου ιε*[*ρ*]*ῶν* [*γενόμενον*?], Dion Cass. 78. 8 *ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Βῆλος ὀνομαζόμενος καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀπαμείᾳ τῆς Συρίας τιμώμενος*, Hdt. 1. 181 (at Babylon) *Διὸς Βήλου ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον κ.τ.λ.*, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 1005 *Βῆλος δὲ ἦν βασιλεὺς Βαβυλῶνος, υἱὸς Διός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ πύλαι Βαβυλῶνος Βηλίδες, ἢ καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτὸς κατά τινας. διὸ καὶ Ἡρόδοτος ἱερὸν εἶναι αὐτόθι λέγει Βήλου Διός*, Ktesias *ap.* Diod. 2. 8 (a bronze statue) *Διός, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι Βῆλον*, 2. 9 *ἱερὸν Διός, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ Βαβυλώνιοι καθάπερ εἰρήκαμεν, Βῆλον*, Berossos *Babyloniaca* sive *Chaldaica frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 498 Müller) *ap.* Agath. *hist.* 2. 24 (*supra* p. 10 n. 1) *Βῆλον μὲν τὸν Δία*, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 26 *Ζεὺς Βῆλος*, Hesych. *s.v.* *Βῆλος· οὐρανός. καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱός*, Bekker *anecd.* i. 225, 29 f. *Βῆλος· ὁ οὐρανός, βαρυτόνως, καὶ Ζεύς, καὶ Ποσειδῶνος υἱός*, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 291 *Ζῆνα Λίβυν τέκε Βῆλον*, 40. 392 f. *Βῆλος ἐπ' Εὐφρήταο, Λίβυς κεκλημένος Ἄμμων,* | *Ἄπις ἔφυς Νειλῷος, Ἄραψ Κρόνος, Ἀσσύριος Ζεύς.* See further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 259 ff.

invention of astrology to Iupiter *Belus*[1]. Late writers found it easy to drop the cult-title and to credit the Greek Zeus or the Roman Iupiter rather than their oriental counterpart with the ordering of the universe. Aristeides the rhetorician (117—*c.* 180 A.D.) describes the courses of moon and stars as the 'arrangement of Zeus[2].' And Martianus Capella (*c.* 400 A.D.) puts into the mouth of Harmonia the following hymn addressed to Iupiter as ruler of the starry sky[3]:

> Thee, Iupiter, in my star-sounding song,
> Thee first I name and worship. For through thee
> The sacred revolution of the sky
> Is wont to wheel again in order due
> The jewelled constellations. Thou Almighty
> Beneath thy sceptred diadem dost bind
> And sway thy kingdom, Sire of every god,
> While the great universe rolls on, rolls ever,
> Thanks to the mind fed by thy starry force.
> As sparks on tinder that will burst aflame,
> The scattered stars declare thy handiwork.
> Phoebus proclaims thee, while with task divine
> His rays renew the purple dawn for men
> And give their glory to the ambrosial day.
> Cynthia, queen of night, month after month
> Waxes with horns of gold. Beneath thine eye
> Through fires that light the Wain the Serpent shines
> And drives apart the Bears of Arcady.
> So the hard Earth soft-wrapped in circling Air
> Rests on its axis, and by either pole
> Rules and is ruled; so Nereus knows the bounds
> Of ocean, so for food laps upper Fire,
> That all things thrive with no discordant strife
> And, parted, love the everlasting league,
> Fearing the chaos that might break their peace.
> Thou, King of Heaven, thou, Father, Best of all,
> Who in thy love dost clasp the stars together,
> And to thy children givest perpetual life,
> All hail—my lute uplifts its lay to thee
> For whom full-sounding songs sound yet again.

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 121 durat adhuc ibi (*sc.* Babylone) Iovis Beli templum; inventor hic fuit sideralis scientiae, Solin. 56. 3 Beli ibi (*sc.* Babylone) Iovis templum, quem inventorem caelestis disciplinae tradidit etiam ipsa religio, quae deum credit, Mart. Cap. 701 ibi (*sc.* Babylone) Iovis Beli templum, qui inventor fuit disciplinae sideralis. Cp. Iul. Val. *res gest. Alex.* 3. 56 quod ubi factum est, Iovis quoque Babylonii simulacrum motari (nutare *corr. ex* natare cod. Ambros.) coepit.

[2] Aristeid. *or.* 1. 7 (i. 9 Dindorf) καὶ ἡ ἡλίου τε ἄπαυστος κίνησις ὑπὲρ γῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ γῆν Διός ἐστι πρόρρησις ἡλίῳ προειρημένη ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου φανότητος, καὶ σελήνης δρόμοι καὶ χορεῖαι πάντων ἄστρων Διός ἐστι διάκοσμος.

[3] Mart. Cap. 911 f.

Centuries later Ioannes Tzetzes speaks of 'Zeus the astrologer-king[1]' or even of 'Zeus the star-gazer[2],' assuming in his Euhemeristic way that the sky-god must have been not only a king[3] but also a diviner of repute. It is curious to reflect that, just as Zeus at his first beginning appeared in the guise of a human magician[4], so Zeus at his latter end relapsed to the level of a human astrologer. Old age for him, as for us, meant second infancy.

For astrological purposes the planets were classified as good (Iupiter, Venus) or bad (Saturn, Mars) or both (Mercury). We hear also of stars that are diurnal (the Sun, Saturn, Iupiter) or nocturnal (the Moon, Mars, Venus) or both (Mercury). There was a distinction, too, between stars that are masculine (the Sun, Saturn, Iupiter, Mars) or feminine (the Moon, Venus) or both (Mercury). But these and other such subtleties[5]—though for long ages they were regarded as matters of moment by a public that believed in horoscopes, and though in some cases they have left a permanent trace upon the language of modern almanacs—we need pursue no further. They belong to the history of sidereal divination in general rather than to that of a particular divinity[6]. I shall therefore content myself with quoting Bouché-Leclercq's summary[7] of

[1] Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 159 (Herakles the reputed son of Amphitryon) *τῇ δ' ἀληθείᾳ τοῦ Διός, ἄνακτος, ἀστρολόγου* (cp. *ib.* 168 *ὁ μάγος βασιλεὺς ἐκεῖνος ἀστρολόγος*), 2. 696 ff. *τοῦ Πολυδεύκους δ' ὁ πατὴρ ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀστρολόγος | τοῖς ἄστροις κατηστέρισε τοὺς παῖδας τεθνηκότας | καὶ τοὺς Διδύμους κέκληκεν Κάστορα, Πολυδεύκην*, *alleg. Il.* 18. 169 f. *ἡ ἀστρολόγῳ τῷ Διὶ ἐκείνῳ στεφηφόρῳ | οὗ καὶ Ὀρφεύς που μέμνηται*, 18. 179 *Διὶ τῷ ἀστρολόγῳ δὲ καὶ βασιλεῖ μοι φίλον*, 18. 400 ff. *οὐδ' Ἡρακλῆς ὁ φίλος γὰρ Διὶ τῷ ἀστρολόγῳ | ἢ τῷ ἡλίῳ νῦν Διὶ ἢ καὶ τῷ οὐρανῷ δε | (ἔργα κλεινὰ γὰρ καὶ λαμπρὰ ζῶν Ἡρακλῆς ἐτέλει, | καὶ οὐρανῷ δὲ φίλος ἦν ὡς ἀστρολόγος οἷος) | τὴν κῆρα καὶ τὸν θάνατον ἐξέδραμε τῇ τέχνῃ*, 19. 56 (Herakles the reputed son of Amphitryon) *ἔργῳ Διὸς δὲ ἄνακτος ὄντος καὶ ἀστρολόγου*, 19. 62 *ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖνος βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας ἀστρολόγος*, *alleg. Od.* 11. 140 f. *Ζηνὸς...βασιλέως, | καὶ ἀστρολόγου μάντεως, μάγου, σοφοῦ τοῖς πᾶσι* (cited by Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 126).

[2] Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 1. 156 *ὦ Ζεῦ Ὀλύμπιε, σοφὲ ἀστεροσκόπε* (cited by Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 135).

[3] See the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 409 and *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 303 f.

[4] *Supra* pp. 11—14.

[5] E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1802 ff.

[6] The clearest outlook over the whole subject is still that given by A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 205—257, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 302—305, and especially *id. L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 *passim.* A great mass of fresh material is listed and in part published in the *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum Graecorum* Brussels 1898— by D. Bassi, F. Boll, F. Cumont, W. Kroll, E. Martini, and A. Olivieri. This is turned to good account by F. Boll *Sphaera* (Neue griechische Texte und Untersuchungen zur Geschichte der Sternbilder) Leipzig 1903, *id. Die Lebensalter* (extr. from the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Alterth., Gesch. u. deutsch. Lit.* xxxi) Leipzig and Berlin 1913. On recent astrological research in general see the well-informed survey of Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 206—215.

[7] A Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 97 f.

the powers ascribed by astrologers to the planet 𝑙[1], *i.e.* the Greek *Phaéthon* or *Zeús*, the Roman *Iupiter*:—

'The brilliant planet that bears the name of Jupiter has received from astrologers as many praises—and the same—as Zeus himself, "father of gods and men," received from his worshippers. Jupiter is a star naturally benevolent and beneficent, a pleasant contrast to the Babylonian Marduk. If his influence alone were dominant, earth would be a paradise: Firmicus holds that men would be actually immortal[2]. Ptolemy expresses this psychological character in physical terms: he emphasises the essentially temperate nature of the planet, which is at once hot and moist, the former to a greater degree than the latter, and so constitutes a just mean between the frosts of Saturn and the fires of Mars. Moreover, he attributes to Jupiter the peculiar characteristic of arousing "winds that fertilise[3]." Whence came these vapours and moist blasts? Ptolemy does not explain; probably he did not know. It may be that Jupiter inherited these attributes from Marduk. In the fourth tablet of the Chaldean cosmogony we read how Marduk, when he went to fight with Tiamat, let loose a fearful tempest, "the four winds, the seven winds that he engenders." Further on Marduk is called "the god of the good wind[4]." As god of the atmosphere, of rain and storm, the Graeco-Latin Jupiter would be readily assimilated to such a deity[5]. In the winds "that fertilise" we have the isolated relic of a once wide-spread superstition. We shall see later that the astrologers attributed to the three superior planets and to Venus an orientation of their own corresponding with the four cardinal points. The north devolved upon Jupiter. And it was the north wind, Boreas, which was credited with such procreative virtue that female animals sometimes found themselves spontaneously impregnated by it[6].

[1] This symbol is usually explained as the first letter of the name *Zeús*, or (with more probability) as a form of thunderbolt (*id. ib.* p. xix).

[2] Firmic., ii, 13. 6 Kroll. Jupiter is a solar divinity, the Egyptian Ὀσίριδος ἀστήρ Ach. Tat., *Isag.*, 17). Astrologers assign Cancer as his ὕψωμα, Capricornus as his ταπείνωμα, an arrangement which would suit the Sun (see, below, ch. vii).

[3] Διὰ δὲ τὸ μᾶλλον εἶναι θερμαντικός, γονίμων πνευμάτων γίνεται ποιητικός (Ptol., *Tetrab.*, i, 4). Heat was supposed to produce by way of reaction the northern or etesian winds, which blew after the dog-days. At the time when he wrote his Φάσεις (*ap.* Wachsmuth pp. 199—276 ed. 2), and was not as yet an astrologer, Ptolemy attributed heat to Venus, moisture to Jupiter, and moist winds to Mercury (*ibid.*, p. 209). He changed his labels.

[4] Jensen, *Kosmologie*, pp. 283 and 295.

[5] The astrological Jupiter is γλυκέων ὑδάτων χορηγός (Anon., *In Tetrab.*, p. 70) and lodges in Pisces.

[6] Boreas impregnating mares (Hom. *Iliad.*, xx, 223 ff.); Zephyr fertilising Lusitanian mares—a thing reported as *res incredibilis, sed vera* by Varro (*R. rust.*, ii, 1, 19), Pliny [*nat. hist.* 8. 166] and Columella [*de re rust.* 6. 27]; the alleged non-existence of male vultures, the females being regularly fecundated ἐκ τοῦ πνεύματος (Euseb., *Pr. Ev.*, iii, 12, 3) [see further the references collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 442 n. 3 and E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 pp. 22 f., 35, 149 f.]: all these claimed to be facts so well-attested that Lactantius, with a shocking lack of taste, used them as an argument to explain the Incarnation of Jesus Christ: *Quodsi animalia quaedam vento et aura concipere solere omnibus notum est, cur quisquam mirum putet cum Spiritu Dei, cui facile est quidquid velit, gravatam esse virginem dicimus?* (Lactant. *Inst. Div.*, iv, 12). According to Proclus (in *Anal. Sacr.*, v, 2, p. 176 Pitra), Boreas produced males, Notus

However that may be, Ptolemy assigns to Jupiter the epithet that best defines his kind of influence by describing it as "temperate" (*εὔκρατον ἔχει τὸ ποιητικὸν τῆς δυνάμεως*)[1].'

(d) Zeus transformed into a Star.

A tradition fathered upon Clement of Rome[2] and cited also by Tzetzes[3] says that Zeus transformed himself into a star, when he begot Kastor and Polydeukes. We are reminded of the passage in the *Iliad*, which tells how Zeus sent Athena like a meteorite from heaven to earth:

> And even as crook-witted Kronos' son
> Sendeth a star—a sign to mariners
> Or some broad host of men—a brilliant star,
> Wherefrom springs many a spark, like unto that
> Pallas Athene darted down to earth[4].

This may be no more than a simile. But in the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollon* we have a case of actual metamorphosis. Apollon, having reached Krisa on board a vessel manned by Cretans from Knossos, leapt ashore—

> Like to a star at midday, and therefrom
> Flew many a spark, and lo the light reached heaven[5].

It is, then, possible that the tradition with regard to Zeus was not merely a late invention. Nevertheless it is reasonable to suppose, with O. Gruppe[6], that it was motived by the frequent association of the Dioskouroi with stars.

(e) The Dioskouroi as Stars.

On the original significance of the Dioskouroi this is not the place to dilate[7]. My concern is merely with their epiphany as stars.

females. See, below (ch. vii), Jupiter's "winds that fertilise" invoked to fix his *ὕψωμα* in Cancer.

[1] This is the traditional refrain: *Sub Jove temperies et nunquam turbidus aer* (Lucan., *Phars.*, x, 207). The meteorological influence of Jupiter tempering the cold in winter, the heat in summer—*rabidos et temperat aestus* (German., *Arat. Progn.*, iv, 11). Before the time of Ptolemy Pliny had written of Jupiter's position between Mars and Saturn *interjectum ambobus ex utroque temperari Jovem salutaremque fieri* (Plin., ii, § 34), and Pliny was copying Cicero (above, p. 95, 2 [Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 119, cp. Vitr. 9. 1. 16]). All this seemed reasonable enough, and no further evidence was demanded.

[2] Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) *Νεμέσει τῇ τοῦ Θεστίου, τῇ καὶ Λήδᾳ νομισθείσῃ, κύκνος ἢ χὴν γενόμενος* (*sc.* ὁ Ζεύς) *Ἑλένην ἐτεκνώσατο, καὶ αὖθις, ἀστὴρ γενόμενος, Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην ἐξέφηνεν.*

[3] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 88 <*ἐν*> *ἄλλοις δέ τισιν εὗρον ἱστορικοῖς ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς ἄστρῳ* (*ἀστέρι* codicum classis ii) *εἰκασθεὶς καὶ μιγεὶς Λήδᾳ Κάστορα καὶ Πολυδεύκην γεννᾷ, ὕστερον δὲ οὕτως, ὡς ἔφημεν, τὴν Ἑλένην.*

[4] *Il.* 4. 75 ff. [5] *H. Ap.* 441 f.

[6] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 727 n. 7.

[7] Neither am I the right man to do so. My learned and brilliant friend Dr J. Rendel

And here it will be best to quote the available evidence before considering the various interpretations that have been put upon it.

i. The dedication of Stars after the battles of Salamis and Aigos Potamos.

In the battle of Salamis (480 B.C.) the Æginetans distinguished themselves above the rest of the Greeks for their bravery[1]. The Delphic Apollon therefore demanded of them a special thank-offering for the victory, and they erected at the corner of his temple three golden stars on a bronze mast[2]. H. Pomtow in his plan of the Pythian precinct places the mast with its three stars close to the south-east angle of the temple-platform[3]. Herodotos, our sole informant, says nothing about the Dioskouroi; nor do we know that they were specially worshipped in Aigina. But an analogous incident, which occurred three quarters of a century later, brings them well to the fore. After the battle of Aigos Potamos (405 B.C.) the victorious Spartan general Lysandros set up at Delphoi a magnificent trophy made from the spoils of the vanquished Athenians. It included a great assemblage of bronze statues, which in time became covered with a patina of exquisite blue, and visitors commented on the appropriateness of the colour[4]. Pausanias gives a list of the thirty seven statues[5], and important remains of the oblong chamber in which they stood, together with their inscribed bases, have been discovered by the French excavators near to the principal entrance of the sanctuary on the right hand side of the Sacred Way[6]. Pausanias' list of the statues in

Harris has for years past made the subject peculiarly his own, and his contributions towards the elucidation of divine twins in general and the Dioskouroi in particular (*The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 1—64, *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 pp. 1—160 with 7 pls., 'Sons of Thunder' in the *Expositor* 1907 pp. 146—152, 'Some Points in the Cult of the Heavenly Twins' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 175 f., 'The Cult of the Heavenly Twins' in *The Contemporary Review* 1909 xcv. 50—61, *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 1—424) have aroused a wide-spread interest in the subject: see the comments of Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 57 f., 314 ff., 481 f., 563 f.

[1] Hdt. 8. 93: see further G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1895 ii.[2] 716 n. 2.

[2] Hdt. 8. 122.

[3] H. Luckenbach *Erläuterungen zur Wandtafel von Delphi* München and Berlin 1904 pp. 12 (perspective view by C. Schuster), 13 (plan by H. Pomtow).

[4] Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 2 ἀτεχνῶς θαλαττίους τῇ χρόᾳ καὶ ἰοβίους ἑστῶτας.

[5] Paus. 10. 9. 7 ff.

[6] T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 186, *ib.* 1897 xxi. 284—288, *ib.* 1898 xxii. 572—579, and in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1901 pp. 668—686, H. Bulle and T. Wiegand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 332 f., H. Pomtow in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii Arch. Anz. pp. 14 ff., 80 f., and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 492—563, A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d.*

question is headed by the Dioskouroi: then follow Zeus, Apollon, Artemis, Poseidon, Lysandros crowned by Poseidon, the seer Agias, Hermon the helmsman of Lysandros; behind these is ranked a series of twenty eight captains from various states, who helped Lysandros to win the day. The artists of the statues are duly recorded, the Dioskouroi being the work of Antiphanes the Argive. Plutarch, who knew Delphoi well, mentions along with these statues the 'golden stars of the Dioskouroi, which disappeared before the battle of Leuktra[1].' He further states that, according to some persons, when Lysandros' ship was sailing out of the harbour to attack the Athenians, the Dioskouroi were seen shining as stars on the steering paddles; and that, according to others, the meteor that fell at Aigos Potamos was a sign of this slaughter[2]. H. Pomtow concludes that at Delphoi the 'golden stars of the Dioskouroi' were in all probability attached to the heads of the twin-deities[3]. Cicero says that shortly before the fight at Leuktra (371 B.C.) these stars 'fell down and were not found[4]'—an omen, doubtless, of the overthrow of Sparta at the hands of Thebes. Now, in view of the express connexion between the stars dedicated by Lysandros and the appearance of the Dioskouroi on the admiral's vessel, it can hardly be questioned that the stars erected on a mast by the Æginetans were likewise symbolic of help received from the Dioskouroi at the battle of Salamis[5].

kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1901 pp. 397—400, *ib.* 1904 pp. 365—368, A. Trendelenburg *Die Anfangsstrecke der heiligen Strasse in Delphi* Berlin 1908, F. Poulsen 'La niche aux offrandes de Marathon' in the *Bulletin de l'Académie royale des Sciences et des Lettres de Danemark* 1908 pp. 389—425, G. Karo in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 219—239, *ib.* 1910 xxxiv. 201—207, and above all É. Bourguet in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 1. 24—41, *id. Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 41—46.

[1] Plout. *v. Lys.* 18.

[2] Plout. *v. Lys.* 12. So Cic. *de div.* 1. 75. On the meteor see the *marm. Par. ep.* 57 p. 17 Jacoby, Aristot. *meteor.* 1. 7. 344 b 31 ff., Diog. Laert. 2. 10, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 1. 2, Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 892 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 149, Amm. Marc. 22. 16. 22.

[3] H. Pomtow in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 563. A bronze statuette of one of the Dioskouroi, found at Paramythia and now in the British Museum, has a hole in its cap, probably for the insertion of a star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 37 no. 277 pl. 6, 3). But see *infra* p. 764 n. 6.

[4] Cic. *de div.* 1. 75. It is noteworthy that the great inscription recording the accounts of the *ναοποιοί* at Delphoi mentions among other items of expenditure under the archonship of Peithagoras (342 B.C.) the sum paid to a certain Kephalon 'for the model of the wooden star' (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 140, 111 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 591, 111 f. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 652 ff. no. 2502, 111 f. τοῦ ξ]υλ[ί]νου ἀστέρος τοῦ παραδεί[γματος στατῆρες τέτορες, δ[ρα]χ[μ]ά). But this may have been, as É. Bourguet and W. Dittenberger *ad loc.* suppose, a piece of architectural decoration: cp. *supra* p. 751 f.

[5] My friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse in his *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 135 n. 1 complains that this hypothesis does not account for the fact that there were

ii. The Dioskouroi as Stars in Hellenic Literature.

Literary allusions fully bear out this conception of the Dioskouroi as helpful deities, whose signs bring relief to the storm-tossed mariner[1]. The Homeric *Hymn to the Dioskouroi*, which Mr E. E. Sikes dates 'at least as early as the fourth or third century B.C.,' gives a fine description of a storm at sea[2]—

> when the winds of winter
> Hurry across the rough deep, and on ship-board
> Men cry aloud to the sons of mighty Zeus
> With white lambs, climbing up the after-deck,
> Which the great wind and wave of the sea plunge deep
> Into the brine, till on a sudden they come,
> Darting on brown wings through the upper air,
> And straightway stay the blasts of labouring winds
> And lay the white surf smooth upon the main—
> Fair signs of trouble over[3]: those that see them
> Rejoice at heart and cease from sorry toil.

The Dioskouroi here, quite exceptionally, appear as birds[4], or at least as brown-winged forms. On Etruscan mirrors also they are occasionally winged[5]. To Euripides they were star-like deities, dwelling among the stars, and hastening thence to the rescue of the voyager. In the *Helene* (412 B.C.) Teukros says of them:

> In fashion made as stars men name them Gods[6].

And a chorus of Greek maidens in the same play invokes their blessing upon Helene's home-coming:

> And ye, in your chariot o'er highways of sky
> O haste from the far land
> Where, Tyndareus' scions, your homes are on high
> Mid the flashings of starland:

three stars, nor yet for their erection on a *mast*. But the third star may have been Apollon (*supra* p. 760) or, more probably, Helene (*infra* pp. 764, 769); and the mast is obviously appropriate to a memorial of a sea-fight, especially if the Dioskouroi and Helene were believed to appear as stars on the mast of the ship (*infra* p. 771 ff.).

[1] For a full collection of passages see K. Jaisle *Die Dioskuren als Retter zur See bei Griechen und Römern und ihr Fortleben in christlichen Legenden* Tübingen 1907 pp. 1—73, reviewed by R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 554.

[2] *H. Diosk.* 7 ff. The passage is imitated by Theokr. 22. 8 ff.

[3] I follow the emendation of Prof. J. B. Bury, who corrects *ναύταις σήματα καλὰ πόνου σφίσιν†· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες* into *σήματα καλὰ πόνων ἀπονόσφισιν· οἱ δὲ ἰδόντες* (*Class. Rev.* 1899 xiii. 183).

[4] On the contention of S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1901 ii. 35—50 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 42—57 that 'les Dioscures, comme Apollon et Kyknos, sont des hommes-cygnes' (sons of Zeus transformed into a swan and Leda, *i.e.* the Phrygian *Lada*, 'a woman'; born from an egg; later conceived as *λευκοπώλω* with egg-shell *piloi*; etc.) see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 480. J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 17 ff. would connect the Twins with a variety of 'thunder-birds.'

[5] E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1109.

[6] Eur. *Hel.* 140 *ἄστροις σφ' ὁμοιωθέντε φάσ' εἶναι θεώ*, trans. A. S. Way.

Ye who dwell in the halls of the Heavenly Home,
Be nigh her, safe guiding
Helen where seas heave, surges comb,
As o'er waves green-glimmering, crested with foam,
Her galley is riding[1].

Similarly in Euripides' *Elektra* (413 B.C.) the women of Argos salute Klytaimestra as follows:

Hail, Queen of the Argive land!
All hail, O Tyndareus' daughter!
Hail, sister of Zeus' sons, heroes twain
In the glittering heavens mid stars who stand,
And their proud right this, to deliver from bane
Men tossed on the storm-vext water[2].

In the *Orestes* (408 B.C.) Helene shares their prerogative:

For, as Zeus' daughter, deathless must she live,
And shall by Kastor and Polydeukes sit
In folds of air, the mariners' saviour she[3].

iii. The Dioskouroi with Stars in Hellenistic Art.

The art-type of the Dioskouroi, with their heads surmounted by a couple of stars, though common enough in Hellenistic times (fig. 554)[4], especially on coins (fig. 555)[5], has not as yet been discovered on monuments of the strictly Hellenic period[6]. Diodoros, who drew his information from the *Argonautika* or *Argonautai* of

[1] Eur. *Hel.* 1495 ff. trans. A. S. Way. The poet adds *ναύταις εὐαεῖς ἀνέμων | πέμποντες Διόθεν πνοάς*, which marks their connexion with Zeus.

[2] Eur. *El.* 988 ff. trans. A. S. Way. Cp. Eur. *ib.* 1241 f., 1347 ff., *Hel.* 1633 ff., *frag. adesp.* 133 Bergk[4] (= Pind. *frag.* 140[c] Schroeder) *ap.* Plout. *non posse suav. vivi sec. Epic.* 23, *de def. or.* 30.

[3] Eur. *Or.* 1635 ff. trans. A. S. Way. Cp. Eur. *ib.* 1683 ff., Isokr. *Helene* 61.

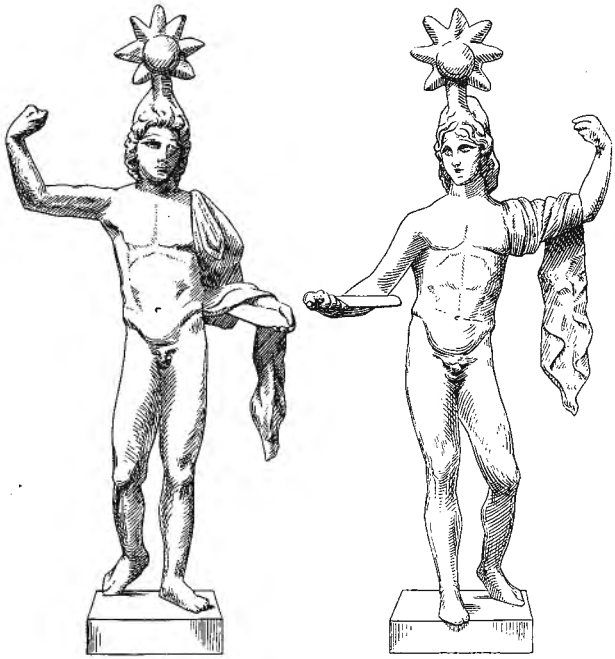
[4] Fig. 554 *a*, *b* representing a pair of bronze statuettes (heights 5⅛ and 5⅞ inches) at Arolsen (R. Gaedechens *Die Antiken des Fürstlich Waldeckischen Museums zu Arolsen* Arolsen 1862 nos. 173, 174) is drawn from casts in the Cambridge collection. The lowered hands hold sheathed swords; the raised arms doubtless leant upon lances. The right foot of fig. 554 *b* is restored. For variations on the same theme see *e.g.* Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 487 no. 2, ii. 109 nos. 3, 6, 7, 10, iv. 59 no. 5, *id. Rép. Reliefs* ii. 344 no. 1, iii. 248 no. 5. Cp. *supra* p. 35 fig. 8.

[5] The type dates from the third century B.C. (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1176 f.). I figure by way of example a silver coin of the Bruttii after Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 183 pl. 124, 12.

[6] A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* i. 1171 f. This makes it doubtful whether we can admit H. Pomtow's surmise that the statues of the Dioskouroi at Delphoi by Antiphanes of Argos (soon after 405 B.C.) had stars on their heads (*supra* p. 762).

Polyain. 2. 31. 4 states that Aristomenes the Messenian and a friend once tricked the Lacedaemonians by appearing suddenly in the guise of the Dioskouroi, mounted on white horses and wearing golden stars on their heads (cp. 1. 41. 1, 6. 1. 3, Frontin. *strat.* 1. 11, 8. 9, cited by K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 16 n. 6). But little confidence can be placed in the historical accuracy of this trick, and none in its details.

Dionysios Skytobrachion (*s.* ii B.C.)[1], relates that, when the Argonauts were overtaken by a terrible storm, Orpheus prayed to the gods of Samothrace, that straightway the wind ceased, and that,



a *b*

Fig. 554.

to the amazement of all, two stars fell upon the heads of the Dioskouroi; wherefore storm-tossed mariners ever afterwards prayed to the gods of Samothrace and interpreted the presence of the

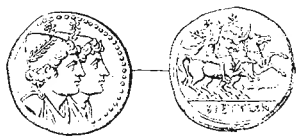


Fig. 555.

[1] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 929.

stars as an epiphany of the Dioskouroi[1]. This late tale with its confusion of the Samothracian Kabeiroi[2] and the Dioskouroi need not detain us. It may be pure invention on the part of Dionysios, whose credit was none of the best[3]. But in any case the conception of the Dioskouroi with stars hovering over their heads was a natural development from the earlier conception of the Dioskouroi as stars themselves[4]: the progress of anthropomorphism, everywhere dominant in Greek religion, could have led to no other issue.

In passing I would draw attention to a little-noticed series of Etruscan mirrors (*s.* iii—ii B.C.), on which the Dioskouroi are associated with a star or stars. The simplest variety of the type (fig. 556)[5] shows them as two youths facing one another with a star between them. Each is clad in Phrygian cap, short *chitón*, and belt, has one arm only visible and that resting on his hip, and stands beside his shield, which is grounded. Their attitude of arrested motion suggests an original group by Polykleitos or some other sculptor of the Argive school. Further examples unite the twins by means of one? (fig. 557)[6], two (fig. 558)[7], or three (fig. 559)[8] cross-bars, sometimes omitting star or shields or both. These designs recall the *dókana* or 'beams' of the Dioskouroi as described by Plutarch[9] and figured on Spartan reliefs[10]. And, whatever may

[1] Diod. 4. 43, cp. 4. 48.

[2] L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2530 f., E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1097 f., H. Graillot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 i. 345 ff., K. Jaisle *op. cit.* pp. 22—25.

[3] E. Schwartz *ib.* v. 929.

[4] The older notion lingers in Kallim. *Iavacr. Pall.* 24 f. οἷα παρ' Εὐρώτᾳ τοὶ Δακεδαιμόνιοι | ἀστέρες, Hor. *od.* 1. 3. 2 sic fratres Helenae, lucida sidera, Loukian. *navig.* 9 καί τινα λαμπρὸν ἀστέρα, Διοσκόρων τὸν ἕτερον, ἐπικαθίσαι τῷ καρχησίῳ κ.τ.λ.

[5] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 33 f. pl. 45, 4 (Berlin).

[6] *Id. ib.* iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 2 (Bologna, two specimens). Gerhard supposes that the connexion here consists of two bars touching each other.

[7] *Id. ib.* iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 3 (from the Thorwaldsen collection).

[8] *Id. ib.* iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 6 (Berlin).

[9] Plout. *de frat. am.* 1 τὰ παλαιὰ τῶν Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρύματα οἱ Σπαρτιᾶται δόκανα καλοῦσιν· ἔστι δὲ δύο ξύλα παράλληλα δυσὶ πλαγίοις ἐπεζευγμένα, καὶ δοκεῖ τῷ φιλαδέλφῳ τῶν θεῶν οἰκεῖον εἶναι τοῦ ἀναθήματος τὸ κοινὸν καὶ ἀδιαίρετον, cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1125, 59 ff. παράγωγον δὲ δοκοῦ καὶ τὰ παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς δόκανα, ὧν χρῆσις καὶ παρὰ Ιλουτάρχῳ (Favorin. *lex.* p. 524, 9 f.). ἦσαν δὲ αὐτὰ Διοσκούρων ἀφιδρύματα, ὡς ἐκεῖνος καὶ ἱστορεῖ καὶ ἐκφράζει, *et. mag.* p. 282, 5 ff. (copied by Zonar. *lex. s.v.* δόκανα, interp. Souid. *s.v.* δόκανα, and Favorin. *lex.* p. 523, 23 f.) δόκανα· τάφοι τινὲς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ, παρὰ τὸ δέξασθαι τὰς (leg. τοὺς) Τυνδαρίδας, φαντασίαν ἐχούσας (leg. ἔχοντες) τάφων ἀνεῳγμένων. ἢ παρὰ τὸ δοκεῖν, δόκανον. The curious statement that the δόκανα looked like opened tombs perhaps refers to the juxtaposed *amphorae* of the Dioskouroi, which sometimes have snakes coiled about them and might suggest graves of the 'Dipylon' type.

[10] M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 113 f. fig. 14 and p. 193 no. 588.

For gems possibly representing the δόκανα see (1) Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine*

be the ultimate explanation of the *dókana*[1], it seems probable that we have here a humanised form of them in which the side-posts

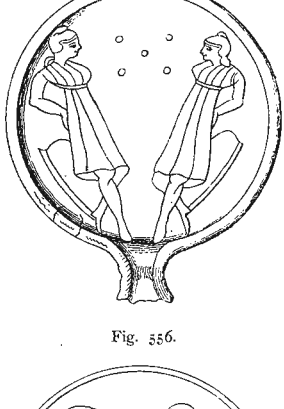


Fig. 556.

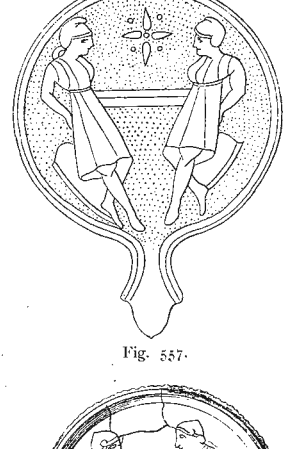


Fig. 557.

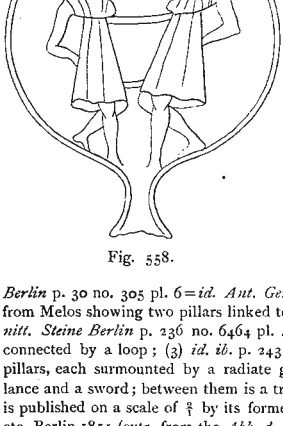


Fig. 558.

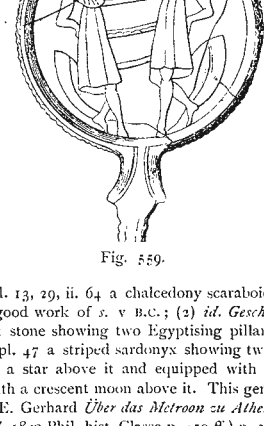


Fig. 559.

Berlin p. 30 no. 305 pl. 6=*id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 13, 29, ii. 64 a chalcedony scaraboid from Melos showing two pillars linked together—good work of *s.* v B.C.; (2) *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 236 no. 6464 pl. 45 a black stone showing two Egyptising pillars connected by a loop; (3) *id. ib.* p. 243 no. 6617 pl. 47 a striped sardonyx showing two pillars, each surmounted by a radiate globe with a star above it and equipped with a lance and a sword; between them is a tripod (?) with a crescent moon above it. This gem is published on a scale of ⅔ by its former owner E. Gerhard *Über das Metroon zu Athen* etc. Berlin 1851 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1849* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 459 ff.) p. 32 no. 7 pl. 2.

[1] As an object of religious significance this structure of two side-posts with a connecting bar or (for stability's sake) two connecting bars, themselves sometimes connected by

have become anthropomorphic[1], the connecting bar or bars being retained and perhaps accepted in lieu of the missing arms.

Another variety complicates the scene by adding a central pillar. This pillar tapers upwards (fig. 560)[2] or downwards (fig. 561)[3], or takes the shape of a lotus-column (fig. 562)[4] or even of a tree topped by a bird? (fig. 563)[5]. The heads of the heroes may be connected by a regular pediment (figs. 561, 563); and the star between them may be accompanied by two other stars (fig. 563).

several vertical ties, is found over a wide area from west to east. It is akin to some forms of the gateway which in the wall-paintings of Pompeii turns a tree into a temple (*e.g.* Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 155 f., 541, 543, figs. 36, 56, 58, 59, etc.: cp. Schrader *Reallex.* pp. 855—863), to the *tigillum sororium* at Rome (H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 322 n. 2, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 311), and to the *iugum* under which conquered troops were made to pass (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 369). It resembles, as Miss Harrison has observed (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 193 n. 1), the *façade* of the temple of the Paphian Aphrodite on coins of Kypros etc. (E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 210—215, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. cxxvii). Further, it is very like a Buddhist tomb at Bangkok (J. Fergusson *Rude Stone Monuments* London 1872 p. 413 f. fig. 177) and the carved *toran* or portal of many an Indian tope (J. Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* rev. by J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers London 1910 i. 62 ff. figs. 12 and 38). Closer still is its analogy to the *p'ai-lou* or memorial gateways of China (*id. ib.* i. 118 f., ii. 456, 472 ff. figs. 501, 502, 503) and the countless *torii* of Japan (R. A. Cram *Impressions of Japanese Architecture* London 1906 pp. 88, 109 f. pl. 18, F. Hadland Davis *Myths & Legends of Japan* London 1912 p. 225 ff.). The possible connexion of these types is a theme deserving of serious investigation, but not one to be undertaken in a footnote.

My friend Prof. H. A. Giles has most kindly supplied me with a note (Sept. 26, 1913) on the *p'ai-lou*, which may at least serve as a suggestive contribution to the subject:

'*P'ai-fang* and *P'ai-lou* are popular names for the honorific gates put up by the Chinese in honour of chaste wives, filial children, and others. The former is simple in style, consisting of uprights and horizontals; the latter is more ornate, with a roofing turned up at the corners. Neither term is given in the Concordance to Literature (*P'ei wên yün fu*).

'It seems to have been customary, since about B.C. 1000, for the suzerain in feudal times, and for the Emperor in later days, to reward distinguished men and women by the bestowal of some mark of favour, such as a banner, which would be exhibited at the gate of the town or village where the recipient was born. Stone animals are also mentioned; *e.g.* the horse, lion, and elephant. In every case, it was the local gateway which was embellished, the idea being that the fellow-townsmen of the distinguished person should each share in the honour accorded. I can find no record of the date at which isolated gates were first set up, nor any clue to their meaning or symbolism; but it seems very probable that the modern honorific gate is nothing more than the old village gate which was so long associated with the honour that it came eventually to stand for the honour itself.'

[1] The resultant type of the Dioskouroi was, I suspect, not uninfluenced by that of the Kouretes, who—though their origin was very different—were likewise represented as flanking-figures with shields.

[2] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 35 f. pl. 46, 4 (Gerhard's collection).

[3] *Id. ib.* iii. 37 ff. pl. 47, 6 (Naples).

[4] *Id. ib.* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 9 (London).

[5] *Id. ib.* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 8 (Paris).

Now several Spartan reliefs of the second century B.C. show the Dioskouroi standing on either side of a pillar-like female figure[1], which has been interpreted as an archaic image of Helene[2]. It is

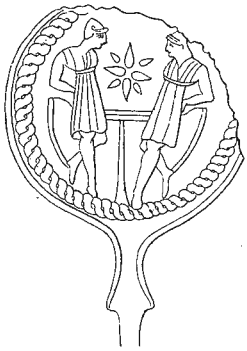


Fig. 560.

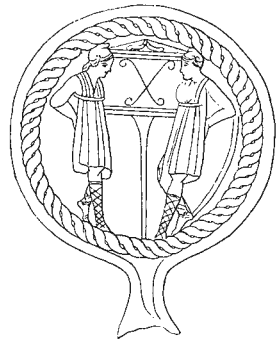


Fig. 561.

Fig. 562.

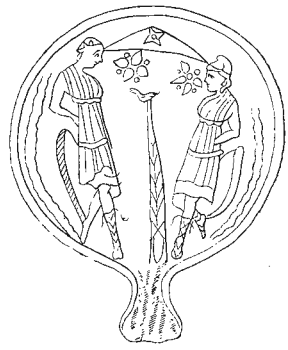


Fig. 563.

therefore probable that the pillar on our mirrors too is the aniconic form of the same goddess, whose star is here seen flanked by her brothers.

[1] A. Conze and A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 39 f. pl. D, 1 and 2, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1167 fig., M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 158 nos. 201—203 figs. 38 f.

[2] A. Conze and A. Michaelis *loc. cit.*, A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.*

The lotus[1] and tree not improbably point to a fertility-cult; and on an isolated mirror (fig. 564)[2] the twins have a thunderbolt[3] (?) between them, and their *amphorae* are modified into vessels from which a stream of water descends to a lotus-bloom below.

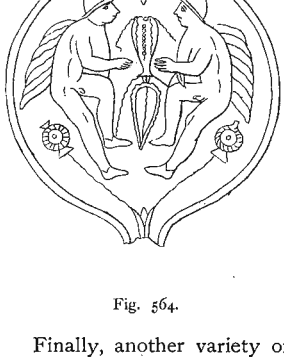


Fig. 564.

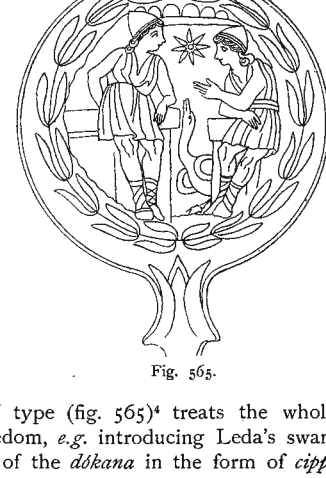


Fig. 565.

Finally, another variety of type (fig. 565)[4] treats the whole group with much greater freedom, *e.g.* introducing Leda's swan, but still retains the side-posts of the *dókana* in the form of *cippi* and, grotesquely enough, joins head to head by a decorated architrave.

iv. The Dioskouroi identified with the Heavenly Twins in Hellenistic Literature.

But we have yet to ask, what were the stars with which the Dioskouroi are associated?

Eratosthenes, or the pseudo-Eratosthenes, identified them with the celestial Twins[5], as did other writers of a late date[6]. Recently

[1] A lotus-bud is the central ornament of the *δόκανα* as figured on a Spartan relief in M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 193 no. 588 fig. 68.

[2] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 36 f. pl. 46, 7 (Gerhard's collection).

[3] The *Τυνδαρίδαι* are sons of *Τυνδάρεως*, the 'Shatterer' (*infra* p. 780 n. 5), an obvious source of thunder and lightning.

[4] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 39 ff. pl. 48, 2 (Naples?), cp. *ib.* pl. 48, 1 (Rome, Museo Gregoriano?).

[5] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 10.

[6] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 22, cp. Ov. *fast.* 5. 693 ff., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 121.

this view has been championed by O. Gruppe, who holds that the Dioskouroi were originally none other than the Heavenly Twins[1] and seeks support for his view in the fact that Assyrian mythology gave to the same constellation the name *tuamu rabuti* or 'the Great Twins[2].' But, as Dr J. Rendel Harris makes clear, many features of the Kastor and Polydeukes tradition are of vastly greater antiquity than the zodiac: 'we are at an earlier date in human history than star-gazing and star-naming[3].'

v. The Dioskouroi identified with various Stars by modern writers.

F. G. Welcker, comparing the Aśvins of the *Veda* and analogous pairs of twins found in other Indo-Europaean mythologies, argued that the Dioskouroi were personifications of the morning-star and the evening-star regarded as two, not one[4]. A. Jeremias[5] and H. Winckler[6] would equate them with the sun and moon; O. Gilbert, with day and night[7]. E. Bethe holds that they were not a definite pair of stars, but any stars that shone out through a rift in the storm and seemed to promise safety to the mariners in their distress[8]. But these conjectures are devoid of ancient support and must therefore remain at best purely conjectural.

vi. The Dioskouroi identified with Saint Elmo's Fire in Hellenistic Literature.

In the Hellenistic age, and probably long before that[9], the stars of the Dioskouroi and of their sister Helene were identified with the electrical discharges ('corposants') that play about the spars of ships in stormy weather[10]. This phenomenon is known to have

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 164, 727, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 56 f., 480.

[2] P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 pp. 64 f., 82, cp. M. Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 ii. 2. 680 n. 1.

[3] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 7.

[4] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 606 ff.

[5] A. Jeremias *Das Alte Testament im Lichte des Alten Orients*[2] Leipzig 1906 p. 64 ff.

[6] H. Winckler *Die Weltanschauung des alten Orients* (*Ex Oriente lux* i. 1) Leipzig 1905 p. 28.

[7] Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 201 ff.

[8] E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1096.

[9] Cp. the stars dedicated at Delphoi after the battles of Salamis and Aigos Potamos (*supra* p. 761 f.).

[10] I have been unable to procure an actual photograph of these electrical lights. But F. T. Bullen's article on 'St Elmo's Fires' in *Marvels of the Universe*, published by Hutchinson and Co., London, pt. 2 p. 63 f. (a reference supplied to me by my nephew Mr E. N. Cook) has an illustration by A. Twidle showing two such lights on a mast-head

attracted the attention of the Greeks as early as the sixth century B.C.; for Xenophanes (*c.* 576—480) offered a physical explanation of it[1]. It is first expressly referred to the Dioskouroi by Seneca the philosopher, who says:

'In a big storm stars as it were are wont to appear sitting on the sail. Men believe that then in their peril they are being succoured by the divine power of Pollux and Castor. They therefore take heart again, for it is already clear to them that the storm is weakening and the winds dropping: otherwise the fires would be borne about and not stationary[2].'

Many other authors of the imperial age mention the stars of the Dioskouroi as appearing on the rigging of ships at sea[3]. Occasionally the apparition was ascribed to a different source: Polemon, like Diodoros[4], seems to have spoken of the Kabeiroi in this connexion[5], and Arrian says that off the island of Achilles in the Euxine sea Achilles was seen on the mast or on the tip of the yard in place of the Dioskouroi[6].

vii. The Stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene as a good or bad omen.

Different opinions were entertained with regard to the propitious or unpropitious nature of these signs. Euripides treated Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene as alike beneficent powers[7]. But a gradual change seems to have come over classical beliefs in this respect.

and a yard-arm. Mr Bullen says: 'St. Elmo's Fire...often covers like a halo the head of a seaman engaged in work aloft, and I myself have several times seen it streaming from my fingers when holding them up for the purpose. I cannot help confessing to a curious feeling of the uncanny on witnessing this phenomenon....Only appearing on the blackest of nights, moving from point to point without apparently passing through the intermediate space, unaffected by fiercest wind or heaviest rain, and insusceptible of being touched or moved, St Elmo's Fires form what is probably the most mysterious and lovely of all the wonderful phenomena belonging to the ocean.' Sir J. J. Thomson informs me (Sept. 22, 1913) that one night in stormy weather he saw St Elmo's fires glimmering on the topmost points of King's College Chapel, Cambridge.

[1] Aët. 2. 18. 1 Ξενοφάνης τοὺς ἐπὶ τῶν πλοίων φαινομένους οἷον ἀστέρας, οὓς καὶ Διοσκούρους καλοῦσί τινες, νεφέλια εἶναι κατὰ τὴν ποιὰν κίνησιν παραλάμποντα = Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 18. 1.

[2] Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 1. 1. 13.

[3] *E.g.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 101, Loukian. *navig.* 9, *dial. deor.* 26. 2, *Charid.* 3, *de mercede conductis* 1, Max. Tyr. 15. 7, Lyd. *de ostent.* 5. To the list given by T. H. Martin 'La foudre et le feu Saint-Elme' in the *Revue archéologique* 1866 N.S. xiii. 168 ff. K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 12 adds the papyrus romance published by J. P. Mahaffy in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1897 Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche (Serie Quinta) vi. 93.

[4] *Supra* p. 765 f.

[5] Polemon *frag.* 76 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 137 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1637.

[6] Arrian. *peripl. pont. Eux.* 34 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 399 Müller).

[7] *Supra* p. 763 f.

A distinction was first drawn between the Dioskouroi and Helene. According to Sosibios (*c.* 250 B.C.), the epiphany of Helene was an evil omen[1]—a view perhaps based on a real[2] or fancied etymology of her name[3]. The same thing is said by Solinus (*c.* 250 A.D.)[4]. Pliny[5] and the scholiast on Statius[6] speak of the stars of Pollux and Castor as favourable signs, but describe the star of Helena in terms which point rather—as T. H. Martin showed[7]—to ball-lightning. Pliny writes:

'On mariners' yard-arms and other parts of ships such stars settle with an audible sound, changing their position like birds from perch to perch[8]. When they come one at a time, they are dangerous, indeed they sink ships and, if they fall to the lower parts of the hull, they set it on fire. But twin stars are a good sign and announce a prosperous voyage. It is said that at their approach the dread and threatening star called Helena is put to flight: hence this exhibition of divine power is ascribed to Pollux and Castor, and men invoke them at sea.'

The scholiast on Statius gives much the same account of the matter, adding that the star of Helena is known as Urania, that it makes a hole in the mast, that it bores through the ship's bottom, and that even bronze is melted by its heat. By degrees the Dioskouroi themselves took on the sinister character of their sister. Artemidoros of Ephesos (*c.* 160 A.D.) reflects the transition, when in his *Oneirokritika* he observes:

'The Dioskouroi are a presage of storm to men on a voyage. To men

[1] Sosibios *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 628 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1637.

[2] 'Ελένη, as was shown by F. Solmsen *Untersuchungen zur griechischen Laut- und Verslehre* Strassburg 1901 pp. 196, 248 f., is probably to be connected with ἐλάνη, ἐλένη, 'a torch' (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 135 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 237).

[3] Aisch. *Ag.* 687 f. 'Ελέναν; ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως ἑλένας ἕλανδρος ἑλέπτολις κ.τ.λ.—Browning's 'Ship's-Hell, Man's-Hell, City's-Hell.'

[4] Solin. 1. 57.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 101.

[6] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 7. 792. The distinction is made by Statius himself (*Theb.* 7. 791 ff., *silv.* 3. 2. 8 ff.).

[7] T. H. Martin *loc. cit.* p. 173.

[8] Lyd. *de ostent.* 5 λιγυρόν τι σύριγμα προσηχοῦντες καὶ ὀρνέων δίκην εἰς τόπον ἐκ τόπου τῆς νεὼς μεθιστάμενοι. This may explain the winged Dioskouroi of the Homeric hymn and of Etruscan art (*supra* p. 763). R. Basset in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 189 writes: 'D'après Mas'oudi (*Prairies d'or*, éd. Barbier de Meynard, t. i, ch. xvi, p. 344—345), en temps d'orage, on aperçoit en haut du mât, un objet qui a la forme d'un oiseau lumineux et qui jette une clarté si vive qu'on ne peut le fixer. Dès qu'on l'aperçoit, la mer se calme, cet objet disparaît sans qu'on sache ce qu'il est devenu. Le fait fut attesté à Mas'oudi par des marchands de Basrah, de l'Oman et de Siraf. Dans la Méditerranée, on appelait cet objet *Es sari* (le voyageur de nuit), dans la mer de Chine *Ed douli*.' In the north-east of Scotland these electrical discharges are known as 'Corbie's aunt' (the Rev. W. Gregor in the *Folklore Journal* 1883 p. 396, cp. *The Folk-lore of the North-East of Scotland* London 1881 p. 137), presumably a popular distortion of the name 'corposant.'

ashore they are a sign of tumult, law-suits, war, or grievous disease. But at the last they let men go scatheless from all dangers, and such as are already involved in any of these alarms they speedily deliver. For the gods are saviours, but saviours of those that have previously been in some fear or peril[1].'

Porphyrion notes that in his day (the third century A.D.) sailors regarded the stars of Castor and Pollux as commonly hostile to ships[2]. Fulgentius the mythographer (*c.* 480—550 A.D.), after moralising in his tasteless way about Iupiter and Leda, continues:

'But Castor and Pollux stand for perdition, wherefore at sea too they spoke of the signs of the Castores, which create danger[3].'

In modern times the process of degradation has gone further still. Mr G. F. Abbott in his *Macedonian Folklore* remarks that the electric phenomena once ascribed to the Dioskouroi 'are by the modern Greek mariners called [*Telónia*][4] or "Devils" and treated as such: the sailors look upon them as presages of disaster and try to frighten them away by dint of exorcisms and loud noises—an instance of beneficent pagan deities degraded to the rank of malignant demons[5].' The name *Telónia* has had a curious history[6]. N. G. Polites states that it meant originally demons acting as publicans or custom-house officials and so hindering souls from a free entrance into heaven. The same authority informs us that these *Telónia* are believed to snap the mast and sink the ship: hence, directly they appear, the sailors have recourse to prayers, burn incense, recite incantations from the *Key of Solomon*, discharge fire-arms, pull the tails of pigs, in short do anything and everything calculated to scare away the dreaded powers[7].

viii. Saint Elmo's Fire.

Throughout the Mediterranean and the western coasts of Europe the same phenomenon is viewed sometimes as a good, sometimes as an evil sign[8]. It is commonly called the 'fire of Saint Elmo'—a name which has many variants[9] and has been

[1] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 37.

[2] Porphyr. *in* Hor. *od.* 1. 3. 2: see, however, F. Hauthal *ad loc.*

[3] Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 16, cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 6.

[4] Τελώνια.

[5] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 241.

[6] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 171 ff.

[7] N. G. Polites in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 117. For ancient apotropaeics see Solin. 1. 54—57, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 77.

[8] P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 96.

[9] These are collected in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 112 f. (cp. *ib.* 112 ff., 138 ff., 189, 255 f., 382): *e.g.* Italian *fuoco di Sant' Elmo, luce di Santo Ermo, Sant' Ermo*, Sardinian *fogu de S. Elmu*, Genoese *fêugo de Sant' Emo*, French *feu Saint-Elme*, sailors' French *feu Saint-Erme*, Provençal *fué Sant Eoumé, fio de Sant Eùme, lume Sant Eùme*, Bouches-du-

explained in more ways than one. Apart from the inevitable 'Semitic guess[1],' modern scholars have sought to derive it from *elmo*, the Italian form of the German *Helm*[2], or from *Hermes*[3], or even from *Helena*[4]. Others again advocate a connexion with Saint *Erasmus*[5], a mediaeval patron of mariners, and K. Jaisle has succeeded in citing the intermediate forms *Santeramo*, *Santeremo*, *Santermo*[6]. Finally, Dr J. Rendel Harris argues that 'St Erasmo ...is a modification of St Remo, i.e. of the Roman Twin[7].' Probably the last word in this interesting controversy has not yet been written. Be that as it may, Saint Elmo's fire is also attributed to Saint Nicolas[8], Saint Clara[9], etc. And, just as ancient Italian sailors referred one star to Helena, two to Castor and Pollux, so modern French sailors ascribe two to Saint Elme and Saint Nicolas, three or four to the added presence of Sainte Anne or Sainte Barbe[10].

It appears, therefore, that for nearly two thousand years the stars of the Dioskouroi and of Helene have been identified with these ominous electrical phenomena. To me it seems probable that from the first they bore the same meaning. If Zeus was the god of the bright sky, such atmospheric illuminations might well be referred to his children. I am, however, very far from thinking that we have reached the ultimate significance of the Dioskouroi when we have succeeded in connecting their stars with the fire of Saint Elmo. It would be truer to say that we have been reading the last and in some respects the least interesting chapter of a lengthy story. The contents of the previous chapters must be sought in the keen-witted works of my friend Dr Rendel Harris[11].

Rhône *fio de Sant Antcùme*, English *Ferme's fire*. See also A. Jal *Glossaire Nautique* Paris 1848 p. 692 f., and F. Kluge *Seemannssprache* Halle 1911 pp. 217—220.

[1] Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 13 f. 'In the middle ages and in modern times such lights have been known as the fire of Saint Elmo or Saint Telmo. My friend the late W. Robertson Smith informed me that the name Telmo resembles a Phoenician word meaning "twins."'

[2] K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 67.

[3] K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 63 quotes the forms: S. Erme (*c.* 1582), S. Heremo (1669), S. Hermen (1688).

[4] J. K. G. Jacobssohn *Technologisches Wörterbuch* Berlin 1782 ii. 250 *b*. Cp. the following variants: French *feu d' Hélène* (1678), *Sainte Hélène* (1754), English *Saint Helen's fire*, German *Helmenfeuer*, *Helenenfeuer*, Flemish *Elmsvuer*, *Helenasvuer*, Breton *Tan santez Helena*. For the change of sex see *supra* p. 172 ff.

[5] So first in the *Acta Sanctorum* ed. Bolland. Iunius i. 218 f. (1695). See also D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 330.

[6] K. Jaisle *op. cit.* pp. 67—72.

[7] J. Rendel Harris in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 176. See further his *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 206 f.

[8] K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 58 f. Cp. the Italian *fuoco di San Niccola*, French *Saint Nicolas*.

[9] K. Jaisle *op. cit.* p. 59 f. In Old French the fires were ascribed to *Sainte Claire*.

[10] P. Sébillot *op. cit.* i. 96.

[11] *Supra* p. 760 n. 7.

§ 9. *General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Bright Sky.*

Having advanced thus far in our main enquiry we must pause to take our bearings afresh. A brief survey of the ground already traversed will enable us to apprehend better the position that we have reached, and will fittingly close the first stage of our journey.

Zeus, whose name means 'the Bright One,' was originally conceived in zoïstic fashion as the bright sky itself—a conception that has left its mark on the language and literature of ancient Greece[1].

The change from the zoïstic to the anthropomorphic Zeus was occasioned, not by any despair of magic, but rather by a naïve attempt to express heaven in terms of earth. The divine sky, as supreme weather-maker, was represented under the guise of an ordinary human magician or weather-ruling king[2]. This transition, which had been accomplished well before the end of the second millenium B.C., meant that Zeus was no longer worshipped as the sky but as the sky-god. Yet his earlier character can still be surmised from the cult-titles and art-types of a more sophisticated age. Behind Zeus *Aithérios* and Zeus *Aíthrios*, if not also behind Zeus *Amários*, Zeus *Díos*, and Zeus *Lýkaios*, we detect the old-world cult of the day-light sky[3]. Again, when Hellenistic artists portray Zeus with a blue *nimbus* round his head[4], a blue globe at his feet[5], a blue mantle wrapped about his loins[6], what are these attributes, taken together, but an indication that the god so portrayed was once the blue sky and the blue sky only?

As god of the bright or burning sky, Zeus dwelt in *aithér*, the most exalted portion of the celestial vault[7]. And, since high mountains were supposed to rise above the lower zone of *aér* and to penetrate the upper zone of *aithér*, mountain-tops were regarded as in a peculiar sense the abode of Zeus[8]. His mountain-cults can be classified in a roughly chronological series according as they involved a mere altar, or an altar with a statue of the god, or an altar with a statue enclosed in a temple[9]. Further, the mountain that dominated the district was often looked upon as his throne—a prerogative that he appears to have inherited from Hittite predecessors[10]. Mythology associated Zeus with the mountain in a variety of ways. There he had been born[11]. There he consorted

[1] *Supra* pp. 1—8.
[2] *Supra* pp. 9—14.
[3] *Supra* pp. 4, 14—33, 63—99.
[4] *Supra* pp. 33—41.
[5] *Supra* pp. 41—56.
[6] *Supra* pp. 56—62.
[7] *Supra* p. 25 f.
[8] *Supra* pp. 100—117.
[9] *Supra* pp. 117—123.
[10] *Supra* pp. 124—148.
[11] *Supra* pp. 148—154.

with his partner, the mountain-goddess[1]. There, in one famous case, he lay buried[2]. And, when paganism, outwardly at least, succumbed to Christianity, Zeus the mountain-god was superseded by Elias the mountain-saint[3].

Apart from the luminous dome of heaven, there are in normal circumstances three definite manifestations of the burning sky. To the mind of the Greek, sun, moon, and stars were made of the same fiery stuff as the *aithér* itself[4]. Zeus, therefore, must needs stand in relations of peculiar intimacy towards these special exhibitions of his own brightness. This was probably the consideration that, to the more thoughtful portion of the community, justified the *rapprochement*, which from a very early period in the history of Greece began to contaminate the pure worship of Zeus with a whole medley of solar, lunar, and stellar elements. In various districts of the Mediterranean area the sun was popularly viewed as an eye[5], a wheel[6], a bird[7], a ram[8], a bull[9], a bronze man[10], or what not? But each of these manifold and in part barbaric notions was sooner or later absorbed into the all-comprehensive cult of the Greek sky-god. Again, here and there the moon as Selene[11], as Io[12], as Pasiphae[13], as Europe[14], as Antiope[15], was paired with Zeus—a pairing which implies that he was credited with solar powers. For this batch of myths non-Hellenic influence is even more largely responsible. Lastly, Zeus figures on occasion as ruler of the starry sky[16]. The Greeks, mediately or immediately following the lead of the Babylonians, assigned to him as their foremost god an important *rôle* in their astronomy and astrology[17]. They also associated, perhaps as early as the fifth century before our era, his adoptive sons the Dioskouroi with the electric stars now known as Saint Elmo's fire[18].

In short, Zeus was brought into close connexion with any and every celestial luminary. But, though this is undoubtedly the case, it must be steadily borne in mind that genuine Hellenic religion never identified Zeus with sun or moon or star. If an

[1] *Supra* pp. 104—106, 154—157. [2] *Supra* pp. 157—163.
[3] *Supra* pp. 163—186.
[4] See O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 20. In abnormal circumstances (storms etc.) lightning is another manifestation of the *aithér* (*id. ib.* p. 20 f., and *infra* ch. ii § 3 (a)).
[5] *Supra* p. 196 f. [6] *Supra* pp. 197—341. [7] *Supra* pp. 341—346.
[8] *Supra* pp. 346—430. [9] *Supra* pp. 430—665. [10] *Supra* pp. 719—730.
[11] *Supra* pp. 732 f., 739. [12] *Supra* pp. 453—457, 733, 739.
[13] *Supra* pp. 521 ff., 543 ff., 733, 739 f.
[14] *Supra* pp. 524 ff., 537 ff., 544 ff., 733 f., 739 f. [15] *Supra* pp. 734—740.
[16] *Supra* pp. 751 ff., 757. [17] *Supra* p. 754 ff. [18] *Supra* p. 771 ff.

inscription records the cult of Zeus Helios[1], if a coin represents Zeus with the moon on his head[2], if a myth tells of Zeus transforming himself into a star[3], we may be reasonably sure that inscription, coin, and myth alike belong to the Hellenistic age, when—as Cicero puts it[4]—a Greek border was woven on to the barbarian robe.

To disentangle the complex threads of syncretism is seldom an easy task; and here I cannot hope to have attained more than a limited measure of success. Still, it seemed worth while to attempt the analysis of such far-reaching cults as those of Zeus *Ámmon*[5], Zeus *Sabázios*[6], Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*[7], Iupiter *Dolichenus*[8],—cults which swept across the ancient world from north to south, from east to west.

Zeus *Ámmon* was found to be a Graeco-Libyan god, originally worshipped in the Oasis with rites similar to those of Zeus *Náios* at Dodona[9], but later fused firstly with the Theban Âmen-Râ[10] and secondly with the Punic Ba'al-ḥammân[11]. Zeus *Sabázios* proved to be a Phrygian deity[12] closely resembling the Orphic Zeus, the parallelism of Phrygian and Orphic cults being explained by the fact that both alike were offshoots of the old Thraco-Phrygian religion[13]. Further, since the Graeco-Libyan Zeus *Ámmon* and the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus *Sabázios* were ram-gods of identical character, it appeared probable that ultimately the former was akin to the latter; and it was conjectured that sundry traces of the same remote original might be seen scattered up and down in the cults and myths of classical Greece and Italy[14].

Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* was the Roman name of Zeus *Ádados*, the great god worshipped at *Ba'albek* or Heliopolis[15]. Zeus *Ádados* in turn was essentially a Grecised (and subsequently Egyptised) form of the Syrian Adad, who both at Heliopolis and at Hierapolis had not improbably succeeded to the position once occupied by the Hittite father-god Tešub[16]. The cult-image of Zeus at Heliopolis stood with a bull on either hand[17]. That of Zeus at Hierapolis is described as 'sitting upon bulls' and figured with two bulls as

[1] *Supra* pp. 186—195, 361 n. 6. [2] *Supra* p. 731. [3] *Supra* p. 760.
[4] Cic. *de rep.* 2. 9 ita barbarorum agris quasi attexta quaedam videtur ora esse Graeciae.
[5] *Supra* pp. 346—390.
[6] *Supra* pp. 390—403.
[7] *Supra* pp. 549—593.
[8] *Supra* pp. 604—633.
[9] *Supra* pp. 361—371.
[10] *Supra* pp. 346—353.
[11] *Supra* pp. 353—358.
[12] *Supra* pp. 390—398.
[13] *Supra* pp. 398—400.
[14] *Supra* pp. 401—428.
[15] *Supra* pp. 549—567.
[16] *Supra* pp. 576—589.
[17] *Supra* pp. 567—576.

the supporters of its throne[1]. Obviously the Heliopolitan and the Hierapolitan gods were near relatives; and kindred deities flanked by a pair of recumbent bulls occur on the coinage of other Syrian towns[2]. Again, Zeus *Dolichaîos*, better known as Iupiter *Dolichenus*, the god of Doliche in Kommagene[3], appears to have borrowed the bull on which he habitually stands from Tešub, who on Hittite monuments has a bull either at his side or beneath his feet[4]. On this showing it is possible, and even probable, that both Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and Iupiter *Dolichenus* have preserved to us essential features of the Hittite father-god.

The discussion of the foregoing cults served to bring out a certain analogy subsisting between the ram and the bull in Levantine religion[5]. These two beasts had been treated from time immemorial as embodiments of procreative power, the former by a pastoral, the latter by a cattle-breeding population. As such they were associated *in primis* with the fertilising sky-god[6]; and I have suggested that the victims sacrificed to Zeus were commonly either oxen or rams just because these animals more than others[7] were charged with *Zeugungskraft* and would therefore be thought to increase the power of the god to fertilise and bless[8].

Indeed, it may be claimed that throughout the present volume this conception of Zeus as a procreative god has come gradually into greater prominence. From first to last he was worshipped as a Father: and the invocation *Zeû páter*, familiar to us from the Homeric poems, became stereotyped on Italian soil as the name *Iupiter*[9].

Two other results of general significance have emerged from the mass of detail considered in this book. Zeus as sky-father is in essential relation to an earth-mother. Her name varies from place to place and from time to time. Sometimes she is a mountain-goddess with little or no disguise—Mousa[10], Koryphe, Aitne, Kyllene, Taygete, or the like[11]. Sometimes she is an earth-goddess that has developed into a vegetation-goddess—Demeter,

[1] *Supra* pp. 583 f., 586.
[2] *Supra* p. 590.
[3] *Supra* pp. 604—633.
[4] *Supra* pp. 604—606, 639—644.
[5] *Supra* p. 430.
[6] *Supra* pp. 428—430, 633—635.
[7] Yet in Crete (*supra* pp. 401, 501) and in Karia etc. (*supra* p. 717 n. 3) Zeus was associated with the goat, as was Dionysos in Lakonike, at Metapontum, etc. (*supra* pp. 674 f., 705)—doubtless for the same reason.
[8] *Supra* p. 716 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 14. Geographically intermediate between the Greek Ζεὺς πατήρ and the Latin *Diespiter* is the Stymphaean Δειπάτυρος (*supra* p. 681 n. 4).
[10] *Supra* pp. 104—106.
[11] *Supra* pp. 154—157.

it may be, or Persephone[1], or Nemesis[2]. Sometimes she has lapsed from the position of an earth-goddess or a vegetation-goddess into that of a heroine—Semele[3], or Europe[4]. But everywhere and always, either patent or latent, the earth-mother is there as the necessary correlative and consort of the sky-father.

Finally, the union of the sky-father with the earth-mother did not remain unfruitful. In the Dorian states the twin sons of *Tyndáreos*, the 'Shatterer[5],' were aptly affiliated to Zeus, and at least as early as the seventh century B.C.[6] were renamed the Dioskouroi[7]. But in the region occupied by the ancient Thraco-Phrygian stock Zeus begat a son in his own image, Dionysos the god of animal and vegetable life[8], whose worship little by little spread through the whole of Greece and everywhere inspired fresh triumphs of religion, literature, and art. Not once, nor twice, but many times in our survey of the Mediterranean lands—in the Archipelago[9], at Kyrene[10], in Magna Graecia[11], in Crete[12], at *Ba'albek*[13], and elsewhere—we have had occasion to notice the younger god side by side with the older god, of whom he was in a sense the second self.

The sky-god, the earth-goddess, and their offspring the life of the world are thus already before us; but as yet in imperfect outline. The more definite and detailed account of their interrelations we must reserve for another volume.

[1] *Supra* pp. 392—399.
[2] *Supra* pp. 272—285.
[3] *Supra* pp. 155, 457 n. 5, 682 n. 1, 733, cp. schol. B *Il.* 24. 615.
[4] *Supra* pp. 524—541.
[5] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 340 ff. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 270 f.), E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1088, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 642 *s.v.* 'tundo.'
[6] *Supra* p. 142 n. 12.
[7] Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 317 ff., E. Bethe *loc. cit.*
[8] *Supra* pp. 390—400.
[9] *Supra* p. 371 f.
[10] *Supra* pp. 371—376.
[11] *Supra* p. 372.
[12] *Supra* pp. 644 ff., 708 ff.
[13] *Supra* pp. 564—566.

ADDENDA

Page 10 note 1: on the Persian sky-god. Prof. J. H. Moulton pursues the topic in his recent and masterly work *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 391 n. 3. I quote the following: 'There is now a full discussion of the point in Bartholomae, *Zum Air Wb*, 172—4, starting from a note in Hesychius, Δῖαν· μεγάλην ἢ ἐνδοξον· τὸν οὐρανὸν Πέρσαι. Clearly, if the old lexicographer was thinking of Herodotus he had some reason for dissociating Δία there (and Διί) from Ζεύς, for he selects the accusative of the fem. adj. δῖα, common in Homer. Now *Διᾶν would represent the acc. of O.P. **Dyauš* almost exactly. May we not conjecture that Hesychius had evidence prompting him to desert the obvious Ζεύς in Herodotus, even though Διί just before would not fit δῖα? We have strong reason for expecting to find *Dyauš* in Persia, since he belongs to the Vedic pantheon, though his cult is evidently dying. Bartholomae cites Διαΐξις, the name of a Persian noble in Æschylus, *Persæ*, 977. It is either **divai·χšiš*, "ruling in the sky," or **divai·šiš*, "dwelling in the sky." (I think *divai* and *dyavi* may be alternative forms of the locative, related like χθονί and χαμαί, with Skt *divi*=Διΐ as a mixture.) Bartholomae suggests that the Thracian sage Ζάμολξις had a Scythian (and so Iranian) name, *zamar·χšiš*, "qui regnat in terra." (Since the cognate Thracian had the required λ in the name for Earth, witnessed by Σεμέλη, we need not perhaps make Zamolxis a foreigner in Thrace.) But what were those Persian aristocrats thinking of when they named their infant, on either etymology? Can we explain *qui regnat in cælo* by the doctrine of the Fravashi? If the heavenly counterpart had royal rank, the rank of the earthly double should correspond, and match the parents' ambition.'

Page 37 note 1: on the great altar of Zeus at Olympia. See now L. Weniger 'Der Hochaltar des Zeus in Olympia' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 241—260 with 3 figs.

Page 45: on the type of Iupiter *Capitolinus* in the temple rebuilt by Titus and Domitian. Two bronze medallions of Hadrian, published by Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 20 nos. 98 f. pl. 146, 6 (=my fig. 566) and 5, have as reverse type the three Capitoline deities. Behind Iupiter is Victory, wrongly described by Gnecchi as an eagle, holding a wreath.

Fig. 566.

Page 45: on Iupiter *Capitolinus* with globe in right hand, sceptre in left. In the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1912 p. 263 f. figs. 1, 1′ K. K. Phylaktou publishes a rock-crystal from Kypros engraved with a Iupiter of this type: Victory flies towards him, an eagle is perched on his footstool, and a star fills the space behind his throne. Mr Phylaktou's interpretation (Iulius Caesar as a bearded Zeus *Olympios* with the *Iulium sidus*) is improbable.

Page 48 fig. 21 sarcophagus-relief in the Capitoline Museum. See now Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 206 no. 1 and the *Mus. Capit. Cat. Sculpt.* p. 264 Stanza dei Filosofi no. 109 pl. 62. The latter characterises the relief as 'Rough Roman work' and, like the former, suggests Hebe as a possible name for the shield-bearing figure. I adhere to my view that she is more probably Victory.

Page 58 note 1: on Iupiter *Purpurio*. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 3469 (*alla chiesa di S. Giovanni di Agosta, prossimo alla fonte*) Iovi opt. [max. Purpuri]|oni Iunoni Mine[rvae]| C. Servilius etc., where *Purpurioni* was a suggestion of Mommsen.

Page 80 note 4: on were-wolves. To the bibliography add now Elliott O'Donnell *Werwolves* London (1913) pp. 1—292.

Page 92 f.: on a *kýlix* representing Zeus *Lýkaios*. My friend Mr P. N. Ure informed me some time since that the Museum at Taranto possesses a 'Laconian' *kýlix* closely resembling that in the Louvre (*supra* p. 93 fig. 65). On a recent visit to Taranto he kindly examined the cup on my behalf and reports (March 18, 1914) that it was found at *Bascino di Carriuagio fuori la città* along with a Corinthian *aryballos*, and that its design is practically the same as that of the Louvre *kýlix*, the only noteworthy differences being: (*a*) Zeus faces to left; the ornamentation of his clothes is simpler; his seat appears to be a chair rather than an altar; and he has no footstool. (*b*) The bird is somewhat larger and flies to right. (*c*) The field is plain, without rosettes.

Page 109: on Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos. W. H. Buckler and D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 367 propose a new derivation of these names: ''Αξιόκερσος (="snake-ram"; from *anghw*, snake, and the root of *κέρας*, horn)...and 'Αξίερος (="snake sheep," from *anghw* and the root of *εἶρος* or *ῥέρος* wool-).' Their suggestion is highly precarious.

Page 147 f.: on the pillar-throne at Phalasarna. In the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 pp. 589—598 with 3 figs. S. Ronzevalle publishes a small limestone throne of Hellenistic date, found near Tyre. The supports of the throne are two winged sphinxes, Egyptian in character. The seat is treated as an Egyptian cornice, below which is carved a symbolic vegetable design in Egypto-Assyrian style. Projecting from the front side of the throne-back are two round-topped *stêlai*, which bear two figures facing each other in low relief, *viz.* a goddess and a beardless dedicant, with very similar costume (tunic, sleeved mantle?), attribute (sceptre), and gesture (benediction and greeting?). The plinth is inscribed

לרבתי לעשתרת איש בנו הקרב
איש לי אנך עבראבסת בן בדבעל

Ronzevalle renders: '*A ma dame, Astarté, ici figurée, a été consacrée ma propre effigie, à moi, Abdoubast, fils de Bodba'al.*' My friend Mr N. McLean would prefer to translate: 'To my lady Ashtoreth who is within (? the throne) has been offered that which is mine—I Abdubast son of Bodbaal.' Ronzevalle notes the obvious attempt on the part of the royal or priestly worshipper to assimilate himself as far as possible to the goddess, whose throne he shares.

Page 177 note 0: on Saint George as Zeus *Georgós*. That Zeus *Georgós* was superseded by Saint George at Lydda (Diospolis) is maintained also by E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 p. 206 f.

Page 178 note 0: on Saint George as dragon-slayer. To the bibliography add now J. B. Aufhauser *Das Drachenwunder des heiligen Georg* (Byzantinisches Archiv v) Leipzig and Berlin 1911 pp. 1—254 with 19 figs., Géza Róheim *Drachen und Drachenkämpfer* (Erweiterter Separat-Abdruck aus "Jung-Ungarn," Jahrgang 1911) Berlin 1912 pp. 1—56, N. G. Polites *Τὰ δημώδη Ἑλληνικὰ ᾄσματα περὶ τῆς δρακοντοκτονίας τοῦ Ἁγίου Γεωργίου* (extr. from *Λαογραφία* iv) Athens 1913.

Page 216 fig. 159 red-figured *kýlix* at Berlin. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 254 fig. 11 (on p. 257) publishes a photograph of this vase, but does not deal at length with its interpretation (Dionysos? Hephaistos? Triptolemos?).

Page 223: on Triptolemos with the plough. In the Roman villa at Brading, Isle of Wight, a mosaic on the floor of room no. 12 shows in one of its panels Demeter presenting corn-ears to Triptolemos: she is clad in *chitôn* and *himation*, and holds sceptre in left, corn in right hand; he has a *chlamýs* over his shoulders and grasps a plough with his left hand. See further *Transactions of the Royal Institute of British Architects* 1880—81 p. 138 f. with pl.

Kýlix at Taranto: Zeus *Lýkaios*.

See page 782.

[From a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Q. Quagliati, Director of the Museum at Taranto.]

Page 227 fig. 166 relief from Gharfin. R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 153 f. fig. 36 regards this as a representation of Adonis-Esmun identified with Triptolemos.

Page 232 ff. : on a coin of Gaza (?). Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxxvi ff. 181 pl. 19, 29 describes the series to which this coin belongs as 'Philisto-Arabian.'

Page 240 f.: on the hawk as a solar bird. A fragment of a hawk found at Apollonia (*Arsûf*) with a disk round its neck inscribed ΙΟΥΛΙΑΝΟϹ (C. Clermont-Ganneau *Mission en Palestine et en Phénicie* p. 134 no. 121 pl. 2, H) is taken by R. Dussaud to be an emblem of the emperor Julian as sun-god (R. Dussaud in the *Mission dans les régions désertes de la Syrie moyenne* p. 478 n. 1 and in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 351).

Page 241: on the hawk as sacred to solar deities in Egypt. See now T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 pp. 107—113.

Page 259 note 3: on *iynx*-wheels in temples. The vase cited as illustrating the temple of Hera at Thebes (?) is explained by F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xv. 169 fig. 108 as representing the Locrian maidens in the temple of Athena at Ilion.

Page 285 note 1: on the magical disk from Pergamon. R. Ganschinietz in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 346 f. cites parallels.

Page 296 fig. 219 a Thraco-Macedonian coin. J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1913 xv. 201 ff. figs. 1—13 attributes this coin to the Paiones and, like P. Gardner, interprets its type as the sun-god carrying his disk: 'On peut donc conclure que l'inexplicable symbole n'est rien d'autre que le Soleil, *solis rota*, le *στρέφων κύκλος, κόσμου τὸ περίδρομον ὄμμα, χρυσέας ἡμέρας βλέφαρον, πανόπτης κύκλος* Ἡλίου, *Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς* mundi oculus (Comparez les monnaies de Skione où le symbole ⊙ prend la forme complète d'un œil, [Babelon pl. LII, 4]) etc. et servait à indiquer au public que les pièces qui le portaient sortaient des ateliers péoniens renommés pour leur excellent métal et que leur pureté métallique était sous la garantie et surveillance du *Διὸς ὀφθαλμός*. En outre ce signe conservait son caractère sacré qui se rapportait au grand dieu de ce peuple, le Soleil. Celui-ci avait son culte central sur le sommet du Pangée même, source de la richesse des Péoniens. C'est là...qu'on a frappé la pièce...au type de la figure qui représente probablement le Soleil même portant son disque.'

Page 299 note 6: on *ὁ καλούμενος αὐλός, ἡ ἀρχὴ τοῦ λειτουργοῦντος ἀνέμου*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 365 n. 2 explains this *αὐλός* by reference to Anaximander *Frags.* 21 Diels (*τὸν ἥλιον*) *κύκλου εἶναι...ἁρματείῳ τροχῷ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἀψῖδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρός, κατά τι μέρος ἐκφαίνουσαν διὰ στομίου τὸ πῦρ ὥσπερ διὰ πρηστῆρος αὐλοῦ*, 11 Diels *τὰ δὲ ἄστρα...κύκλον πυρός,...περιληφθέντα δ' ὑπὸ ἀέρος. ἐκπνοὰς δ' ὑπάρξαι πόρους τινὰς αὐλώδεις, καθ' οὓς φαίνεται τὰ ἄστρα*. Eisler takes both the so-called *Mithrasliturgie* and the teaching of Anaximander to be dependent upon Persian ideas.

Page 310 f.: on Aristophanes' speech in Plato's *Symposium*. K. Ziegler 'Menschen- und Weltenwerden' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 529—573 traces the views of the Platonic Aristophanes to a contamination of Empedoclean ideas with an Orphic, and ultimately Babylonian, anthropogony.

Page 338 note 2: on the Persian chariot of Zeus. Cp. the Zoroastrian account in Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 92 ff. *Ἕτερος δὲ μῦθος ἐν ἀπορρήτοις τελεταῖς ὑπὸ Μάγων ἀνδρῶν ᾄδεται θαυμαζόμενος, οἳ τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον (*sc. *τὸν Δία*) *ὑμνοῦσιν ὡς τέλειόν τε καὶ πρῶτον ἡνίοχον τοῦ τελειοτάτου ἅρματος. τὸ γὰρ Ἡλίου ἅρμα νεώτερόν φασιν εἶναι πρὸς ἐκεῖνο κρινόμενον, φανερὸν δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἅτε προδήλου γιγνομένης τῆς φορᾶς. θέσιν κοινῆς φήμης τυγχάνειν, ὡς ἔοικεν, ὑπὸ πρώτων σχεδόν τι τῶν ποιητῶν, ἀνατολὰς καὶ δύσεις ἑκάστοτε λεγόντων, καὶ κατὰ ταῦτα πάντων ἐξηγουμένων ζευγνυμένους τε τοὺς ἵππους καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον αὐτὸν ἐπιβαίνοντα τοῦ δίφρου. τὸ δὲ ἰσχυρὸν καὶ τέλειον ἅρμα τοῦ Διὸς οὐδεὶς ἂρα ὑμνησεν ἀξίως τῶν τῇδε, οὔτε Ὅμηρος, οὔτε Ἡσίοδος, ἀλλὰ Ζωροάστρης, καὶ Μάγων παῖδες ᾄδουσι παρ' ἐκείνου μαθόντες· ὃν Πέρσαι λέγουσιν ἐρωτι σοφίας καὶ δικαιοσύνης ἀποχωρήσαντα τῶν ἄλλων καθ' αὑτὸν ἐν ὄρει τινὶ ζῆν· ἔπειτα ἀφῆναι τὸ ὄρος, πυρὸς ἄνωθεν πολλοῦ κατασκήψαντος, συνεχῶς τε καίεσθαι. τὸν οὖν βασιλέα σὺν τοῖς ἐλλογιμωτάτοις Περσῶν ἀφικνεῖσθαι πλησίον, βουλόμενον εὔξασθαι τῷ θεῷ· καὶ τὸν ἄνδρα ἐξελθεῖν ἐκ τοῦ πυρὸς ἀπαθῆ, φανέντα δὲ αὐτοῖς ἴλεων θαρρεῖν κελεῦσαι καὶ θῦσαι θυσίας τινάς, ὡς ἥκοντος εἰς τὸν τόπον τοῦ θεοῦ. συγγενέσθαι τε μετὰ ταῦτα οὐχ ἅπασιν, ἀλλὰ τοῖς ἄριστα πρὸς ἀλήθειαν πεφυκόσι καὶ τοῦ θεοῦ ξυνιέναι δυναμένοις, οὓς Πέρσαι Μάγους ἑκάλεσαν, ἐπισταμένους θεραπεύειν τὸ δαιμόνιον·*

οὐχ, ὡς Ἕλληνες, ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ὀνόματος, οὕτως ὀνομάζουσιν αὐτοὺς γόητας. ἐκεῖνοι δὲ τά τε ἄλλα δρῶσι κατὰ λόγους ἱεροὺς καὶ δὴ τῷ Διὶ τρέφουσιν ἅρμα Νισαίων ἵππων· οἱ δέ εἰσι κάλλιστοι καὶ μέγιστοι τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἀσίαν· τῷ δέ γε Ἡλίῳ ἕνα ἵππον. κ.τ.λ.

Page 360: on snakes in Egyptian religion. See now T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 pp. 136—149.

Page 379 note 7: on recent journeys to the Oasis of Siwah. To the bibliography add now J. C. Ewald Falls *Siwah, Die Oase des Sonnengottes in der libyschen Wüste* Mainz, Kirchheim 1910 (noted by A. Wiedemann in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 206 f.) and J. C. Ewald Falls (*Kaufmann expedition*) *Three Years in the Libyan Desert* trans. E. Lee London 1913 pp. 262—290 ('With the Viceroy to the Oasis of Amon—an historic progress through the desert in the steps of Alexander the Great'). Falls figures *Ain Mûsa, Umma beida*, a sculptured lion from the *Amméneion* now in the Frankfurt Museum, etc.

Page 396 note 1: on the snake as phallic. See now E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 84, p. 99 n. 6, p. 149 ff.

Page 418 note 1: on the ram as figure-head of Phrixos' ship. So also schol. Plat. *Menex.* 243 A.

Page 430 ff.: on the bull and the sun in Egypt. See now T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 p. 68 ff. (pp. 76—86 Der Apis, p. 86 f. Der Mnevis, p. 88 Der Bakis, p. 88 f. Der Onuphis).

Page 442: on priests and priestesses with animal names. E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berlin 1906: 'Theraea...exstat inscriptio (J. G. XII 3, 418) de qua Hiller v. Gaertringen haec adnotat: "Prope ecclesiam *Χριστός* appellatam versus occidentem quinque sellae sive araе ex ipsa rupe exsculptae sunt. Praeter eas duo foramina stelis recipiendis idonea ibi incisa sunt." Ibi inscriptum est: ΤΣ ΔΑΜΑΤΡ[Ο]Σ [ΚΑΙ (?)] Κ[Ο]Ρ[ΑΣ]. "Ante Τ nulla litterarum vestigia vidi. Quamobrem supplementum *[ἱερε]ύς* reiciendum esse censeo." Ac profecto hic quodlibet supplementum ad irritum cadit; primum enim utique de *ἱέρεια* tantum agi potest; deinde id quod homines prava coniectura inferre volunt exhibetur: *ὗς* enim Cereris certo non aliter intellegi debet quam *πῶλοι* Cereris, *ἄρκτοι* Dianae, *βόες* Bacchi,' etc. But in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 418 F. Hiller von Gaertringen says: '*[ἱερε]ύς* reposui *Thera* I 200, ubi imago est photographica (*S G D I* 4758).' F. Blass in Collitz-Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 176 no. 4758 prints ΤΣ Δάματρ[ο]ς ..K.P... and comments: '*Τς Δάματρος* [*καὶ*] Κ[ό]ρ[*ας* HvG.; doch sei für *καὶ* der Raum eigentlich zu klein. Vor ΤΣ habe er keine Spuren von Schrift bemerkt; also nicht [*ἱερε*]*ύς*. Doch *ἱερεύς* nach Thera 1. 200 (wo Abbildung).'

Page 482 note 1: on the *κεράτινος βωμός* of Delos. F. Courby 'L'autel de cornes à Délos' in the *Mélanges Holleaux* Paris 1913 pp. 59—68 would identify this altar with the apsidal monument in the western part of the precinct of Apollon. But??

Page 501 f.: on a bell-*krater* representing Herakles in Olympos. This vase should have been described as Campanian, not Athenian.

Page 504: on a coin of Nysa showing a bull carried by six youths. Variants are listed by Rasche *Lex. Num.* v. 1641 f. and by K. Regling in W. v. Diest *Nysa ad Maeandrum* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft x) Berlin 1913 p. 86 f. nos. 152—154 pl. 13, 153, who says of the British Mnseum specimen: 'Der Mann mit dem Strick irrig flute-player genannt.'

Page 508 ff.: on the evolution of the horned altar. My suggestion that the horned altars of the Mediterranean area presuppose bull-shrines is to some extent confirmed by W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 pp. 307—310. Mr Ward in a chapter of great originality and acumen shows that a series of coarsely-cut haematite cylinders, probably of Syro-Hittite origin and referable to a period of *c.* 1500 B.C., represents an altar in the form of a bull. In some cases a flame is kindled on its back (fig. 567), in others a bird is perched upon it (fig. 568), in others again two human arms project from the quadruped's body (fig. 569). Mr Ward compares the image of Moloch, which had the arms of a man but the head of a calf (*supra* p. 723 n. 1). And it may be added that we have already seen reason to assume 'at various Hittite centres the cult of a life-sized bull, of which copies on a smaller scale were multiplied' (*supra* p. 641).

Page 585: on the snake-entwined statues at Hierapolis. P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1909 pp. 117 ff., 434 ff., 617 ff. illustrates these statues by a remarkable statuette of gilded bronze (*ib.* p. 425 fig. 1) found lying in the cavity of a triangular altar, which forms the centre-piece of an octagonal chapel in the fourth-century Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. The statuette shows a deity (Atargatis?) cased like a mummy and encircled by the seven coils of a crested snake. Seven hen's-eggs deposited between the coils recall the myth of the Syrian Venus (*supra* p. 584 n.) and incline Gauckler to think 'que la statuette...représente la Nativité d'*Atargatis*.'

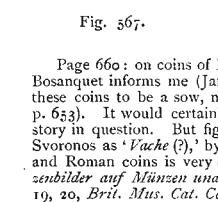


Fig. 567.

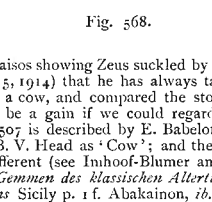


Fig. 568.

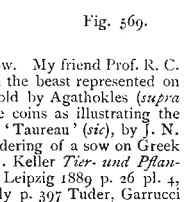


Fig. 569.

Page 660: on coins of Praisos showing Zeus suckled by a cow. My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informs me (Jan. 5, 1914) that he has always taken the beast represented on these coins to be a sow, not a cow, and compared the story told by Agathokles (*supra* p. 653). It would certainly be a gain if we could regard the coins as illustrating the story in question. But fig. 507 is described by E. Babelon as 'Taureau' (*sic*), by J. N. Svoronos as '*Vache* (?),' by B. V. Head as 'Cow'; and the rendering of a sow on Greek and Roman coins is very different (see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 26 pl. 4, 19, 20, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 1 f. Abakainon, *ib.* Italy p. 397 Tuder, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 11 pl. 22, 1 *b*, p. 58 pl. 75, 16, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 471, Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 298 pl. 10, 31). As to fig. 508, H. Weber says 'Cow (?) or mare,' and Prof. Bosanquet admits that it looks 'more like a mare'; but B. V. Head is content to describe this too as a 'Cow.'

Page 676 f.: on the Orphic *formula ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπεσον*. Dr L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1913* p. 135 draws attention to an article by Delatte in the *Musée Belge* 1913 p. 125, who 'proposes a new and attractive explanation of the cryptic formula *ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπεσον*, as meaning "I entered earthly life as a Dionysos-Kid," milk being in Orphic-Pythagorean myth the object of desire which lured souls into birth, and which was used by magicians to evoke souls (he quotes Plut., *De gen. Socr.*, c. 16; Porph., *Antr. Nymph.*, 28; *Papyr. Berlin.*, 1. 20).'

Page 676 f.: on the ritual use of milk among the Thraco-Phrygians. C. Avezou and C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 97 ff. publish a quadrangular altar of white marble (height 1.02^{m}) from the neighbourhood of Thessalonike. On the left side is carved a *pedum*, on the right a *caduceus*. In front, between two *antae*, is the following inscription (*s.* iii A.D.?): ..... | .....ὁ ἀρχιμαγ[ει]ρευς καὶ ἀρχινε|ωκόρος καὶ πατὴρ | σπηλλέου καὶ Αὐρ. | Σωσίπατρα ἡ γαλα|κτηφόρος, κισταφο|ρήσασα <ν> ἔτη Χ | τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων ἀνέθηκαν. | εὐτυχῶς. The precise nature of the cult in question is doubtful.

Page 677: on the bath of boiling milk as a means of ritual rebirth. Mr F. M. Cornford in his recent book *The Origin of Attic Comedy* London 1914 (a contribution of capital importance to our understanding of Greek drama) discusses the examples of rejuvenation in Aristophanes' plays and infers (p. 89) 'that these stories reflect a rite of regeneration or resurrection, which has an established place in the cycle of Dionysiac ritual.' He justly observes (p. 90) that my hypothesis 'is strengthened by the instance of Demos in the *Knights*, who renews his youth in the Sausage-seller's cauldron and emerges as a new King and (as the parallel cases allow us to add) a new God, ready for his marriage.' Mr Cornford has also kindly brought to my notice a valuable article by E. Maass in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 627 ff. on the *Trophoi* of Aischylos, in which Medeia was represented as boiling the attendants of Dionysos, both male and female, in order to make them young again (Aisch. *frag.* 50 Nauck^{2} *ap.* schol. Eur. *Med.* argum. and schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 1321). *A propos* of Medeia's rejuvenating cauldron Maass writes

(p. 633): 'Das Bad in siedender Milch, das von einem Zauberpferde kühl geblasen wird, belegt R. Koehler aus Sizilien, der Walachei und anderswoher in den Anmerkungen zu L. Gonzenbachs "Sizilianischen Märchen" Nr. 83 II 256...und in den "Kleinen Schriften" I 468 (Zigeunermärchen).'

Page 681: on Dionysos as conceived at the City Dionysia and born at the Lenaia. I am indebted to Mr F. M. Cornford (Dec. 3, 1913) for a possible parallel in Roman religion. Ov. *fast.* 5. 229 ff. tells the story of the conception of Mars under the date May 2; and March 1, ten months later, is noted as the birthday of Mars in the calendar of Philocalus. If we may assume that the Roman year originally consisted of lunar months (cp. Censorin. *de die nat.* 20. 4), the interval becomes significant. But this is a somewhat doubtful assumption. See W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 1 ff. and also p. 36 ff.

APPENDIXES

A KAIROS

B THE MOUNTAIN-CULTS OF ZEUS

C KORINTHOS SON OF ZEUS

D THE WHEEL AS A COIN-TYPE

E THE KYKLOPS IN FOLK-TALES

F THE DIOSKOUROI AND HELENE IN FOLK-TALES

will be printed at the end of Volume II.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, h. = husband, w. = wife.

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK

FELLOW AND LECTURER OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
READER IN CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY TO THE UNIVERSITY OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME II

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(THUNDER AND LIGHTNING)

χὠ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART I

TEXT AND NOTES

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ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα, τὸν οὐδέποτ' ἄνδρες ἐῶμεν
ἄρρητον· μεσταὶ δὲ Διὸς πᾶσαι μὲν ἀγυιαί,
πᾶσαι δ' ἀνθρώπων ἀγοραί, μεστὴ δὲ θάλασσα
καὶ λιμένες· πάντη δὲ Διὸς κεχρήμεθα πάντες.
τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος εἰμέν· ὁ δ' ἤπιος ἀνθρώποισιν
δεξιὰ σημαίνει, λαοὺς δ' ἐπὶ ἔργον ἐγείρει,
μιμνήσκων βιότοιο, λέγει δ' ὅτε βῶλος ἀρίστη
βουσί τε καὶ μακέλῃσι, λέγει δ' ὅτε δεξιαὶ ὧραι
καὶ φυτὰ γυρῶσαι καὶ σπέρματα πάντα βαλέσθαι.
αὐτὸς γὰρ τά γε σήματ' ἐν οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξεν,
ἄστρα διακρίνας, ἐσκέψατο δ' εἰς ἐνιαυτὸν
ἀστέρας οἵ κε μάλιστα τετυγμένα σημαίνοιεν
ἀνδράσιν ὡράων, ὄφρ' ἔμπεδα πάντα φύωνται.
τῶ μιν ἀεὶ πρῶτόν τε καὶ ὕστατον ἱλάσκονται.
χαῖρε, πάτερ, μέγα θαῦμα, μέγ' ἀνθρώποισιν ὄνειαρ,
αὐτός καὶ προτέρη γενεή. χαίροιτε δὲ Μοῦσαι
μειλίχιαι μάλα πᾶσαι· ἐμοί γε μὲν ἀστέρας εἰπεῖν
ἡ θέμις εὐχομένῳ τεκμήρατε πᾶσαν ἀοιδήν.

ARATOS *phaenomena* 1—18.

PREFACE

THE first volume of this treatise dealt with Zeus as god of the Bright Sky and traced his evolution in that capacity from early Hellenic to late Hellenistic times. It included therefore both the pre-classical change from Zeus the animate Sky to Zeus the anthropomorphic Sky-god and the post-classical connexion of the latter with Sun, Moon, and Stars. But, apart from incidental allusions, it devoted little space to the common classical conception of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning. To investigate this is the main purpose of my second volume. It will, I trust, be followed some day by a third (already planned and partly written), in which the relations of Zeus to other phaenomena—Clouds and Rain, Wind and Dew, Earthquakes and Meteorites—will find their appropriate place. I shall hope to conclude at long last with a general survey of the Sky-god and his cult as constituting one factor in the great fabric of Greek civilisation, indeed as in some sense a contribution to Christianity itself.

Meantime the subject of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning cannot be adequately discussed without taking into account a number of allied topics—the *Diosemía* or ominous 'Zeus-sign'; the *Dióbletos* or 'Zeus-struck' man; the 'road of Zeus' from earth to heaven; the sky-pillars of Greece and Italy; the central shrine of Delphoi, where Zeus was successively associated with Dionysos and Apollon; again, Kronos the 'Minoan' storm-god to whom Zeus was affiliated; the double axe inherited by Zeus from his predecessor; the origin, development, and decline of his own peculiar weapon the thunderbolt. With all of these themes I have attempted *pro meis viribus* to cope. But reviewers and others that may wish to get a quick insight into the contents of the present volume would do well to begin by reading pp. 840–858, in which I have tried to summarise the principal results of my investigation. They must, however, bear in mind that a summary statement proves nothing. Proof can be had only by a patient consideration of the evidence presented in the text and notes, which will, I hope, be found reasonably complete.

The footnotes, I admit, are heavy, perhaps too heavy for modern dyspeptic digestions, and I shall expect to have quoted against me the usual tags—'a thin stream of text' etc. and 'what's

worth putting into a book at all is worth putting into the body of it.' But in self-defence I may plead that I have made the footnotes serve three distinct purposes. First and foremost, I have used them for documentation. As a rule, I have been content with bare references, which I have, of course, always verified by actual perusal. But, where the precise wording of the authority, whether ancient or modern, was of importance, I have not scrupled to give it in full. I have also, with hardly an exception, cited all Greek and Latin inscriptions, these being less readily accessible to the general reader than the literary texts. Secondly, I have sometimes relegated to the notes extra details which, though themselves of interest, seemed more or less irrelevant to my immediate theme. I have repeatedly found such excrescences of ritual or myth to possess a significance unsuspected at first and only later appreciated when the other half of the indenture had been brought to light. In fact I have come to hold that in deciphering religious records irregular edges should not be hastily trimmed off. One should rather cherish a healthy distrust of over-neat hypotheses and explanations that leave nothing to be explained. Life is seldom so simple and symmetric as our interpretation of it. Thirdly, I use my notes deliberately for the mention or discussion of side-issues and subsidiary points, provided that these arise directly out of the text. I shall no doubt be told that I am pursuing hares. But hares, after all, may be caught and are worth the catching. Their pursuit is to be regretted only if it hinders the main march of the argument—only, that is, if the chase crosses the text. The footnote saves the situation.

Naturally, if these side-issues are too long, they must be handled in Appendixes. The Second Part of Volume II contains a dozen such, of which four belong by rights to Volume I, *viz.* **A** 'Kairos,' **B** 'The Mountain-Cults of Zeus,' **E** 'The Kyklops in Folk-Tales,' **F** 'The Dioskouroi and Helene in modern Folk-Tales.' Appendix **C** 'Korinthos son of Zeus' and Appendix **D** 'The Wheel as a Cointype' have been again omitted through lack of space. The remaining eight Appendixes are properly attached to Volume II, *viz.* **G** 'Orphic Theogonies and the Cosmogonic Eros,' **H** 'Zeus *Ktésios*,' **I** 'Zeus *Agamémnon*,' **J** 'Zeus *Amphiáraos*,' **K** 'Zeus *Trephónios* or *Trophónios*,' **L** 'Zeus *Asklepiós*, **M** 'Zeus *Meilíchios*,' **N** 'Zeus *Philios*.' Seven out of the eight discuss specialised forms of Zeus to which allusion is made in the text. Another case of the sort, Appendix **O** 'Zeus *Olýmpios*,' will be more conveniently postponed to Volume III.

The episodical character of the book with its sections and subsections is due, at least in part, to the circumstances in which it has been composed. I have throughout been in full work as College Lecturer in Classics and University Reader in Classical Archaeology, responsible therefore for a good deal of teaching, examining, and organisation. Such a life, however congenial, tends to produce a certain mental attitude, the habit of thinking in compartments. Term-time leaves but scanty scraps of leisure for research, and the mind is more or less jaded when vacation is reached. Under such conditions anything like sustained flight or long-continued effort becomes doubly difficult. And I do not doubt that a better book on the same subject will some day be written by a man with larger leisure and clearer outlook.

But I do not wish to leave the impression that I have found the writing of *Zeus* irksome or unduly fatiguing. On the contrary, it has been a perpetual delight to come back and back again to a central theme, which so obviously serves to illuminate a dozen departments of classical study and in turn receives much illumination from them. A task of this kind, though it can never be other than a financial failure, carries with it its own reward.

Not the least pleasurable part of the undertaking has been my growing sense of indebtedness to many friends. Some, alas, I can no longer thank as I should wish to do for their inspiration and their help. Of those whose names appeared in the Preface to Volume I six have since died. James Hope Moulton, a greater man even than Cambridge knew him to be, lived a life of self-sacrifice and in April 1917 died a heroic death—or rather, as he himself phrased it in those dark days, *εἰς τὴν λαμπρὰν ἀπῆλθεν*: I count myself lucky to be able to include a passing reference to his name. C. H. W. Johns, learned and lovable to the last, was taken from us in August 1920: I shall not soon forget how, shortly before the end, he sat propped in his study-chair and bidding me hold up the big folio—for his own arm was half-paralysed—read aloud to me a cuneiform text (p. 482 f.) and furnished it there and then with an ample commentary out of the depths of his knowledge. Otto Gruppe too is gone—a grave loss to learning—leaving as one of his latest writings a brief but masterly paper on 'Die Anfänge des Zeuskultus' (*Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli—xlii. 289—302). E. Babelon, J. R. McClean, A. Wright—the list lengthens. But it is a list which, happily, is balanced and more than balanced by an increasing number of scholars able and

willing to devote themselves to the serious study of ancient religion on one or another of its many sides. To not a few of them I am much beholden.

The bulk of my proofs has been read by Miss J. E. Harrison, and the whole of them by Dr J. Rendel Harris. Both are workers with books of their own half-written; and I appreciate the generous spirit in which they have hindered themselves to help me.

For matters outside my competence I have been able to cite the expert opinion of others. Chinese parallels to Greek mythology have been furnished by Prof. H. A. Giles; Japanese parallels, by my friend Mr. H. G. Brand, long resident in Tokyo, and again by his friend Prof. Takeo Wada of Kyoto University. Mesopotamian texts have been explained to me, not only by the late Dr C. H. W. Johns, but also by my friend and former pupil Mr Sidney Smith, Assistant in the Assyriological department of the British Museum. On several points of Egyptology I have consulted Mr F. W. Green, Honorary Keeper of the Egyptian Antiquities in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, and Mr F. Ll. Griffith, Reader in Egyptology at Oxford. For Phoenician names I have applied to my neighbour Mr N. McLean, University Lecturer in Aramaic, and to my colleague the Rev. Dr R. H. Kennett, Regius Professor of Hebrew; for Lydian names, to Mr W. H. Buckler, editor of the inscriptions found at Sardeis. On a few details of Indian cult I have been aided by Prof. E. J. Rapson and by Mr H. B. Thompson of Queens' College, Cambridge. In dealing with Celtic and Germanic deities I have been guided on occasion by Prof. H. M. Chadwick, while references to Icelandic sagas were collected for me by Miss N. Kershaw (now Mrs Chadwick). An important note on the Anglo-Saxon rune ᛦ (*ear* or *tir*) was sent me by Mr B. Dickins of Edinburgh University.

For Greek and Latin etymologies I have time after time used as a touchstone the wise judgment of my friend and colleague Dr P. Giles, Reader in Comparative Philology to the University of Cambridge. Mr J. Whatmough, a former pupil of us both, now Lecturer in Classics at Bangor, has revised my restoration of a ritual text in old Latin, the well-known but little-understood hymn of the Salii. Questions of Thracian and Illyrian phonetics have been considered for me by Mr B. F. C. Atkinson of Magdalene College, Cambridge, whose results, reached along the lines of strict philological method, have opened up a new vista of possibilities to the historian of early Greek religion. Here and there my

inadequate knowledge of Byzantine authors has been eked out by the wider experience of Prof. J. B. Bury; and in regard to the dialects of modern Greece Prof. R. M. Dawkins has more than once given me an authoritative decision.

Where the argument has trenched upon the domain of Science I have met with equal kindness and cooperation. An astronomical note was penned for me by my old college-friend Prof. E. T. Whittaker, late Astronomer Royal of Ireland. Mr C. T. R. Wilson, Jacksonian Professor of Natural Philosophy, has supplied me with interesting information on a point of electrical meteorology. Dr L. A. Borradaile, University Lecturer in Zoology, has brought his special knowledge of crustaceans to bear on the crabs of Agrigentum and Tenedos. Dr A. C. Haddon, Reader in Ethnology, with whom—since we go the same road—I am often privileged to discuss anthropological issues, has helped me over several problems of folk-lore and primitive art. The Abbé Breuil cleared up for me the long-standing puzzle of concentric cup-marks; and Mr M. C. Burkitt, Honorary Keeper of the Stone Implements in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, noted for me sundry specimens of engraved neolithic celts.

One or two friends have undertaken special investigations on my behalf. Mr C. T. Seltman visited Delphoi and reported on the *omphalós* discovered there in 1913 by Monsieur F. Courby. Mr T. W. I. Bullock of Queens' College, when travelling in Spain, saw the Museum authorities at Madrid and consulted them as to the character of the tablet from Tarragona. Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) went from Rome to Nemi and interviewed the peasants with regard to local traditions of Diana's tree, while Prof. P. J. Harding pursued the same quest in libraries at home and abroad.

Others have favoured me with the narrative of their own journeyings and discoveries. Mr T. Fyfe describes in detail the little church on the summit of Mt Ide in Crete and the night that he spent there at a height of 8060 ft above sea-level. Mr C. W. Blegen contributes an interesting account of the finds that he made in 1923–1924 on Mt Hymettos, where he was able to locate with much probability the votive deposit of Zeus *Ómbrios*. Mr R. Campbell Thompson sketches from personal observation the present condition of Eridu.

Particular criticisms and suggestions have been communicated by a large number of scholars including Mr C. D. Bicknell

Prof. R. C. Bosanquet, Mr F. M. Cornford, Mr G. G. Coulton, Prof. R. M. Dawkins, Sir J. G. Frazer, Dr J. Rendel Harris, Miss J. E. Harrison, Mr E. S. Hartland, Dr G. F. Hill, Prof. R. H. Kennett, Miss M. E. H. Lloyd, the Rev. H. E. Maddox, Mr A. D. Nock, Prof. A. C. Pearson, Mr T. Davies Pryce, Dr G. H. Rendall, Miss H. Richardson, Mr E. J. Seltman, Mr C. T. Seltman, and Mr C. M. Sleeman. I have been able to profit by them all.

For illustrations too I am under heavy obligation to others. Prof. R. M. Dawkins allowed me to publish for the first time a highly important seal-stone from Melos, now in his possession. Mr C. D. Bicknell gave similar permission in the case of a gem belonging to the Lewis Collection at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge. Mr A. H. Smith furnished casts of several gems in the British Museum. Mr B. Staes, by sending a cast of the inscribed serpentine celt in the Central Museum at Athens, enabled me to produce the first really accurate rendering of that famous object.

Mr S. C. Cockerell of the Fitzwilliam Museum has provided me with numerous casts of coins in the McClean and Leake Collections. Mr G. Macdonald supplied the cast of a rarity in the Hunterian Collection at Glasgow. But, above all, my numismatic friends at the British Museum, in particular Dr G. F. Hill and Mr E. S. G. Robinson, have for years past sent me a steady stream of well made casts, which—as the following text will abundantly prove—have served to throw valuable light on the Zeus-cults of the ancient world. The Keeper of the coins and his Assistants have also spared time to discuss with me many of the types. They have repeatedly verified points at my request, and in other ways have helped forward my project. To give but one instance, they reserved for me the right to publish the type of Zeus *Spálaxos*, which I had detected on a unique coin of Aphrodisias. In marshalling the evidence of coin-types I owe much also to the keen eyes and exact knowledge of my friend and former pupil Mr C. T. Seltman. He has procured for me rare specimens from foreign collectors or, where originals were not to be had, has obtained at least impressions of the coins that I needed. Moreover, he was the first to read the title of Zeus *Akraîos* on a *statér* of Praisos and—a matter of greater moment—the first to determine the true sequence and significance of the Zeus-types at Olympia.

A fine photograph of the profile of Zeus on Mt Juktas, taken by Mr A. Trevor-Battye, was sent me by Mr C. R. Haines. Photo-

graphs of statues and reliefs in marble or stone were supplied by Mr A. H. Smith of the British Museum, Mr S. C. Cockerell of the Fitzwilliam Museum, Mr L. D. Caskey of the Boston Museum of Fine Arts, and the Director of the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons. Mr W. H. Buckler with great generosity allowed me to publish a new and very interesting *stéle* of Zeus *Sabázios*, since presented by him to our national collection. Miss J. E. Harrison, on quitting Cambridge for Paris, put at my disposal her whole assemblage of photographs representing Greek votive reliefs and other religious monuments. Mr A. Munro, Fellow and Lecturer of Queens' College, photographed for me an unpublished relief on the Palatine. Mr R. B. Fleming, Mr W. H. Hayles, and Mr W. Tams did me the like service in various collections and galleries.

The Director of the French School at Athens was good enough to furnish me with three excellent photographs of the Delphic *omphalós*, here figured for the first time on English soil. And the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies supplied me with a photograph of the cistern-mosaic on Mt Kynthos.

Photographs of bronzes were kindly provided by Prof. P. N. Ure of University College, Reading, Mr K. Kourouniotes of the National Museum, Athens, and Miss G. M. A. Richter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York. Others were taken for me in London by Mr W. H. Hayles and Mr R. B. Fleming, at Cambridge by the photographer to the University Press.

Photographs of vases etc. in the British Museum were taken by Mr C. O. Waterhouse and Mr R. B. Fleming, in the Louvre by Monsieur A. Giraudon, in the Fitzwilliam Museum and in the Lewis Collection by Mr W. H. Hayles.

Careful drawings of the Jupiter-column at Saverne, accompanied by minutely accurate measurements and a descriptive text, were sent me by Prof. L. Bachmeyer, Director of the local Museum.

Permission to reproduce various photographs, plates, or figures was kindly granted by Messrs F. Boissonnas of Geneva, F. Bruckmann and Co. of Munich, Kouchakji Frères of New York, and by Prof. C. Blinkenberg of Copenhagen, Sir A. J. Evans, Sir W. M. Ramsay, Mr C. Torr, Mr H. B. Walters.

But I have yet to acknowledge help from other sources, without which the success of my venture would have been seriously imperilled. Miss E. T. Talbot of Saint Rhadegund's House, Cambridge,—the artist who executed more than half the figures of Volume I—has again devoted her well-trained talent to the

illustration of Volume II. During the past ten years she has produced no fewer than 626 designs, all carried out with the utmost care under my immediate supervision. They include line-drawings or sketches in black and white of 75 sculptures, 26 bronzes, 12 objects in gold, silver, ivory, etc., 12 vases, 7 frescoes, 14 maps, plans, diagrams, etc., 41 engraved gems, and 439 coins. In addition to this great output Miss Talbot has made a tentative reconstruction of all the figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon (pl. xxxiii) together with coloured drawings of the central slab from its eastern frieze (pl. xliv), of Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena (pl. xlv), and of the same sculptor's chryselephantine Zeus (pl. xlvi). The evidence that may be adduced in support of these restorations is held over to appear in Volume III.

Slips for the two Indexes, which between them contain upwards of 30,000 entries and took well over a year to write, have again been arranged for me by my wife, to whose unfailing sympathy and encouragement this book owes more than its author can easily put into words. Towards the end, when the task began to try her eyes, she was assisted by Miss Michi Saito.

In the complicated business of turning out proofs, paged proofs, revises, and clean sheets, not to mention zincotypes, half-tone blocks, collotypes, and lithographic plates, the Printer to the University and the Staff of the Pitt Press have for more than a decade done all that was humanly possible to produce a satisfactory result. To them no less than to others that I have named I ought to be grateful, and I am.

In conclusion, I have once more to thank the Syndics of the University Press for the large-mindedness which led them to undertake the publication of an unremunerative work at a time when the cost of paper and printing was almost prohibitive. With much forbearance they twice extended my tether, and finally agreed to defray the expenses of a thousand pages for Volume II. In these days of enforced economy such generous treatment would be hard to parallel. If I have failed to reduce my subject within their liberal limits, that is due, not—I trust—to mere prolixity or diffuseness of style, but to the natural abundance of a great and vital theme.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.
22 July 1925.

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The design on the cover is from a bell-*kratér* at Palermo (no. 2557: Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 527 f. pl. 22, 10, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 28, b. Atlas pl. 1, 13), which represents Heos and Thetis supplicating Zeus and has recently been attributed to the 'Oreithyia painter' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 293 no. 3). I am indebted for the necessary photograph to the courtesy of Profs G. M. Columba and E. Gábrici.

ABBREVIATIONS

This List of Abbreviations has been drawn up in accordance with two principles. On the one hand, the names of Authors have not been shortened, save by the omission of their initials. On the other hand, the titles of Books and Periodicals have been cut down, but not—it is hoped—beyond the limits of recognizability.

The customary abbreviations of classical writers and their works (for which see Vol. I p. xiv) are not here included.

Abh. d. bayer. Akad. Philos.-philol. Classe = *Abhandlungen der philosophisch-philologischen Klasse der königlich bayerischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* München 1835— .

Abh. d. berl. Akad. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der königlich preussischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* Philosophisch-historische Classe Berlin 1804— .

Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* Historisch-philologische Klasse Göttingen 1838— .

Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Abhandlungen der philologisch-historischen Klasse der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften* Leipzig 1850— .

Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* = W. Amelung *Die Sculpturen des Vaticanischen Museums* i ii Berlin 1903, 1908.

Am. Journ. Arch. = *American Journal of Archaeology* Baltimore 1885— , Second Series Norwood, Mass. 1897— .

Am. Journ. Philol. = *American Journal of Philology* Baltimore 1880— .

Ann. Arch. Anthr. = *Annals of Archaeology and Anthropology* Liverpool 1908— .

Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath. = *The Annual of the British School at Athens* London 1894–5— .

Ann. d. Inst. = *Annali dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.

Anson *Num. Gr.* = L. Anson *Numismata Graeca* Plates and Index London 1910, Text i—vi London 1911—1916.

Ant. Denkm. = *Antike Denkmaeler* herausgegeben vom Kaiserlich Deutschen Archaeologischen Institut Berlin 1886— .

Ant. du Bosph. Cimm. = *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien conservées au Musée Impérial de l'Ermitage* i ii St.-Pétersbourg 1854 with Atlas of pls.

Ant. Münz. Berlin = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Münzen* i—iii Berlin 1888—1894.

Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands = *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* unter Leitung von F. Imhoof-Blumer herausgegeben von der kgl. Akademie der Wissenschaften.

i. (Dacien und Moesien) bearbeitet von B. Pick. Halbband i von B. Pick. Berlin 1898. Halbband ii, Abteilung 1 von B. Pick und K. Regling. Berlin 1910.

ii. (Thrakien) bearbeitet von F. Münzer und M. L. Strack. Teil i, Heft 1. Berlin 1912.

iii. (Makedonia und Paionia) bearbeitet von H. Gaebler. Abteilung 1. Berlin 1906.

Ant. Skulpt. Berlin = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin: Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen mit Ausschluss der pergamenischen Fundstücke* Berlin 1891.

Arch. Anz. See *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.*

Arch.-ep. Mitth. = *Archaeologisch-epigraphische Mittheilungen aus Oesterreich-Ungarn* Wien 1877—1897 Register Wien 1902.

Arch. Zeit. = *Archäologische Zeitung* herausgegeben vom Archäologischen Institut des Deutschen Reichs Berlin 1843—1885.

'Αρχ. Δελτ. = 'Αρχαιολογικὸν Δελτίον τοῦ 'Υπουργείου τῶν 'Εκκλησιαστικῶν καὶ τῆς Δημοσίας 'Εκπαιδεύσεως Athens 1915— .

'Αρχ. 'Εφ. See 'Εφ. 'Αρχ.

Archiv f. Rel. = *Archiv für Religionswissenschaft* Leipzig 1898— .

Ath. Mitth. = *Mittheilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: athenische Abtheilung* Athen 1876— .

Babelon *Cat. Camées de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon *Catalogue des Camées antiques et modernes de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1897.

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* = E. Babelon *Traité des monnaies grecques et romaines* I Théorie et doctrine i Paris 1901, II Description historique i—iii Paris 1907, 1910, 1914 with Atlas of pls.

Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* = E. Babelon *Description historique et chronologique des monnaies de la république romaine vulgairement appelées monnaies consulaires* i ii Paris 1885, 1886.

Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* = E. Babelon et J. A. Blanchet *Catalogue des bronzes antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1895.

Bartoli—Bellori *Admir. Rom. ant.* = *Admiranda Romanarum antiquitatum ac veteris sculpturae vestigia*, a Petro Sancti Bartolo delineata incisa. Notis Jo. Petri Bellorii illustrata. Romae 1693.

Baumeister *Denkm.* = A. Baumeister *Denkmäler des klassischen Altertums zur Erläuterung des Lebens der Griechen und Römer in Religion, Kunst und Sitte* i—iii München und Leipzig 1885—1888.

Bekker *anecd.* = I. Bekker *Anecdota Graeca* i—iii Berolini 1814—1821.

Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe = *Berichte über die Verhandlungen der königlich sächsischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Leipzig* Philologisch-historische Classe Leipzig 1848— .

Berl. philol. Woch. = *Berliner philologische Wochenschrift* Berlin 1885— .

Boetticher *Baumkultus* = C. Boetticher *Der Baumkultus der Hellenen nach den gottesdienstlichen Gebräuchen und den überlieferten Bildwerken dargestellt* Berlin 1856.

Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* = É. Boisacq *Dictionnaire étymologique de la langue grecque étudiée dans ses rapports avec les autres langues indo-européennes* Heidelberg et Paris 1907—1916.

Boissonade *anecd.* = J. F. Boissonade *Anecdota Graeca* i—v Parisiis 1829—1833.

Bonner Jahrbücher = *Bonner Jahrbücher* (Continuation of the *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande*) Bonn 1895— .

Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Bronzes, Greek, Roman, and Etruscan, in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1899.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Byz. Coins = W. Wroth *Catalogue of the Imperial Byzantine Coins in the British Museum* i ii London 1908.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins = *A Catalogue of the Greek Coins in the British Museum* London 1873— .

Italy 1873 by R. S. Poole; *Sicily* 1876 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner, R. S. Poole; *The Tauric Chersonese, Sarmatia, Dacia, Moesia, Thrace, &c.* 1877 by B. V. Head, P. Gardner; *Seleucid Kings of Syria* 1878 by P. Gardner; *Macedonia, Etc.* 1879 by B. V. Head; *The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt* 1883 by R. S. Poole; *Thessaly to Aetolia* 1883 by P. Gardner; *Central Greece* 1884 by B. V. Head; *Greek and Scythic Kings of Bactria and India* 1886 by P. Gardner; *Crete and the Aegean Islands* 1886 by W. Wroth; *Peloponnesus* 1887 by P. Gardner; *Attica—Megaris—Aegina* 1888 by B. V. Head; *Corinth, Colonies of Corinth, Etc.* 1889 by B. V. Head; *Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bithynia, and the Kingdom of Bosporus* 1889 by W. Wroth; *Alexandria and the Nomes* 1892 by R. S. Poole; *Ionia* 1892 by B. V. Head; *Mysia* 1892 by W. Wroth; *Troas, Aeolis,*

and Lesbos 1894 by W. Wroth; *Caria, Cos, Rhodes, &c.* 1897 by B. V. Head; *Lycia, Pamphylia, and Pisidia* 1897 by G. F. Hill; *Galatia, Cappadocia, and Syria* 1899 by W. Wroth; *Lycaonia, Isauria, and Cilicia* 1900 by G. F. Hill; *Lydia* 1901 by B. V. Head; *Parthia* 1903 by W. Wroth; *Cyprus* 1904 by G. F. Hill; *Phrygia* 1906 by B. V. Head; *Phoenicia* 1910 by G. F. Hill; *Palestine* 1914 by G. F. Hill; *Arabia Mesopotamia and Persia* 1922 by G. F. Hill.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Engraved Gems in the British Museum* (*Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities*) London 1888.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery = F. H. Marshall *Catalogue of the Jewellery, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1911.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Greek and Roman Lamps in the British Museum* London 1914.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions = H. A. Grueber *Roman Medallions in the British Museum* London 1874.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Rep. = H. A. Grueber *Coins of the Roman Republic in the British Museum* i—iii London 1910.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Emp. = H. Mattingly *Coins of the Roman Empire in the British Museum* i— London 1923— .

Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture = A. H. Smith *A Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* i—iii London 1892—1904.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Silver Plate* (*Greek, Etruscan and Roman*) *in the British Museum* London 1921.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Terracottas in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities, British Museum* London 1903.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases = *Catalogue of the Greek and Etruscan Vases in the British Museum* London 1893— .

i. 1 *Prehistoric Aegean Pottery* 1925 by E. J. Forsdyke; i. 2 *Cypriote, Italian, and Etruscan Pottery* 1912 by H. B. Walters; ii *Black-figured Vases* 1893 by H. B. Walters; iii *Vases of the Finest Period* 1896 by C. H. Smith; iv *Vases of the Latest Period* 1896 by H. B. Walters.

Brit. Mus. Guide Gk. Rom. Life = *British Museum. Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities. A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life.* London 1908.

Brit. Mus. Marbles = *A Description of the Collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum; with engravings* Parts i—xi London 1812—1861.

Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* = C. F. H. Bruchmann *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Graecos leguntur* Lipsiae 1893.

Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* = *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* unter Leitung von H. Brunn herausgegeben von F. Bruckmann I. Serie (Tafeln 1—500) München 1888—1900; Brunn—Bruckmann's *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* fortgeführt und mit erläuternden Texten versehen von P. Arndt i (Tafeln 501—550) München 1902, ii (Tafeln 551—600) München 1906, iii (Tafeln 601—650) München 1912, iv (Tafeln 651—) München —.

Bull. Arch. Nap. = *Bullettino archeologico Napoletano* i—vi Napoli 1843—1848, Nuova Serie i—viii Napoli 1853—1863.

Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma = *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Municipale* Roma 1872—1876 continued as *Bullettino della Commissione Archeologica Comunale di Roma* Roma 1877— .

Bull. Corr. Hell. = *Bulletin de correspondance hellénique* Paris 1877— .

Bull. d. Inst. = *Bullettino dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Roma 1829—1885.

Carelli *Num. It. vet.* = Francisci Carellii *Numorum Italiae veteris tabulas CCII*, edidit Cœlestinus Cavedonius. Accesserunt Francisci Carellii numorum quos ipse collegit descriptio F. M. Avellinii in eam adnotationes. Lipsiae 1850.

Carter *Epith. deor.* = J. B. Carter *Epitheta deorum quae apud poetas Latinos leguntur* Lipsiae 1902.

Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* = *Musée de Sculpture antique et moderne* par le Cte F. de Clarac Texte i—vi Paris 1841—1853 Planches i—vi Paris 1826—1853.

Class. Philol. = *Classical Philology* Chicago 1906— .

Class. Quart. = *The Classical Quarterly* London 1907— .

Class. Rev. = *The Classical Review* London 1887— .

Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] = H. Cohen *Description historique des monnaies frappées sous l'empire romain communément appelées médailles impériales* Deuxième édition i—viii Paris 1880—1892.

Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* = M. Collignon *Histoire de la sculpture grecque* i ii Paris 1892, 1897.

Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* = M. Collignon et L. Couve *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes* Paris 1902, Index 1903, Table de Concordance 1904, Planches 1904.

Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* = *Sammlung der griechischen Dialekt-Inschriften* von F. Bechtel, A. Bezzenberger, F. Blass, H. Collitz, W. Deecke, A. Fick, G. Hinrichs, R. Meister. Herausgegeben von H. Collitz. Göttingen 1884— .

Com. Rom. frag. = *Comicorum Romanorum praeter Plautum et Syri quae feruntur sententias Fragmenta* tertiis curis recognovit Otto Ribbeck Lipsiae 1898.

Compte-rendu St. Pét. = *Compte-rendu de la commission impériale archéologique* avec un Atlas St. Pétersbourg 1859—1881.

Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres = *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes Rendus des Séances de l'Année* Paris 1859— .

Corp. inscr. Att. = *Corpus inscriptionum Atticarum*

i Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno vetustiores ed. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i] Berolini 1873.

ii Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis quae est inter Euclidis annum et Augusti tempora ed. U. Koehler [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii] 1—3 Berolini 1877, 1883, 1888 4 Indices comp. J. Kirchner Berolini 1893.

iii Inscriptiones Atticae aetatis Romanae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii] 1—2 Berolini 1878, 1882.

iv. 1. 1—3 Supplementa voluminis primi comp. A. Kirchhoff [*Inscriptiones Graecae* i Supplementa] Berolini 1877, 1887, 1891.

iv. 2 Supplementa voluminis alterius comp. U. Koehler, Indices conf. J. Kirchner [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ii. 5] Berolini 1895.

Appendix continens defixionum tabellas in Attica regione repertas, ed. R. Wuensch [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iii. 3] Berolini 1897.

Corp. inscr. Gr. = A. Boeckh *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum* i—iv Berolini 1828, 1843, 1853, 1856. Indices comp. H. Roehl Berolini 1877.

Corp. inscr. Gr. sept. = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis*

i Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* vii] Berolini 1892.

iii. 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii ed. W. Dittenberger [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 1] Berolini 1897.

Corp. inscr. Lat. = *Corpus inscriptionum Latinarum*

i Inscriptiones Latinae antiquissimae ad C. Caesaris mortem, ed. Th. Mommsen Berolini 1863. Voluminis primi editio secunda: pars 1 cura Th. Mommsen, W. Henzen, C. Huelsen Berolini 1893, pars 2 cura E. Lommatzsch fasc. 1 Berolini 1918. Tabulae lithographae, ed. F. Ritschelius Berolini 1862.

ii Inscriptiones Hispaniae Latinae, ed. Aem. Huebner Berolini 1869. Supplementum Berolini 1892.

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Inscr. Gr. ins. = *Inscriptiones Graecae insularum maris Aegaei*

i Inscriptiones Rhodi Chalces Carpathi cum Saro Casi [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 1] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1895.

ii Inscriptiones Lesbi Nesi Tenedi [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 2] ed. W. Paton Berolini 1899.

iii Inscriptiones Symes Teutlussae Teli Nisyri Astypalaeae Anaphes Therae et Therasiae Pholegandri Meli Cimoli [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 3] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1898. Supplementa ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1904.

v Inscriptiones Cycladum [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 5] ed. F. Hiller de Gaertringen Pars prior: Inscriptiones Cycladum praeter Tenum Berolini 1903. Pars altera: Inscriptiones Teni insulae et totius fasciculi indices Berolini 1909.

vii Inscriptiones Amorgi et insularum vicinarum [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 7] ed. J. Delamarre. Indices composuit F. Hiller de Gaertringen. Berolini 1908.

viii Inscriptiones insularum maris Thracici [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 8] ed. C. Fredrich Berolini 1909.

Inscr. Gr. Pelop. i = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Peloponnesi et insularum vicinarum.* Vol. i [*Inscriptiones Graecae* iv] Inscriptiones Graecae Aeginae, Pityonesi, Cecryphaliae, Argolidis ed. M. Fraenkel Berolini 1902.

Inscr. Gr. sept. = *Corpus inscriptionum Graecarum Graeciae septentrionalis*

i Inscriptiones Megaridis et Boeotiae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* vii] ed. W. Dittenberger Berolini 1892.

iii. 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis, Locridis, Aetoliae, Acarnaniae, insularum maris Ionii [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 1] ed. W. Dittenberger Berolini 1897.

iii. 2 Inscriptiones Thessaliae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 2] ed. O. Kern. Indices composuit F. Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1908.

Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. = *Inscriptiones Italiae et Siciliae* [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xiv] ed. G. Kaibel. Galliae inscriptiones ed. A. Lebègue. Berolini 1890.

Jahn *Vasensamml. München* = *Beschreibung der Vasensammlung König Ludwigs in der Pinakothek zu München* von Otto Jahn München 1854.

Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. = *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* mit dem Beiblatt Archäologischer Anzeiger Berlin 1886—

Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl. = *Jahrbücher des Vereins von Alterthumsfreunden im Rheinlande* (Continued as the *Bonner Jahrbücher*) Bonn 1842—1894.

Jahrb. f. class. Philol. = *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie* (Continued as the *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik*) Leipzig 1855—1897.

Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag. = *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Paedagogik.* Zweite Abtheilung Leipzig 1855—1897.

Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst. = *Jahreshefte des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* Wien 1898—

Journ. Anthrop. Inst. = *The Journal of the (Royal) Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1872— , New Series London 1899—

Journ. Hell. Stud. = *The Journal of Hellenic Studies* London 1881—

Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num. = Διεθνὴς Ἐφημερὶς τῆς Νομισματικῆς Ἀρχαιολογίας *Journal*

International d'Archéologie Numismatique dirigé par J. N. Svoronos Athènes 1898— .

Journ. Rom. Stud. = *The Journal of Roman Studies* London 1911— .

Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* = *Epigrammata Graeca ex lapidibus conlecta* edidit Georgius Kaibel Berolini 1878.

Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* = *Ausgewählte römische Medaillons der kaiserlichen Münzensammlung in Wien* aus dem Illustrationsmaterial der Bände i—xi des Jahrbuches der Kunstsammlungen des a. h. Kaiserhauses neu herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kubitschek Wien 1909.

Laborde *Vases Lamberg* = A. de La Borde *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg* i ii Paris 1813—1824, 1824—1828.

La Grande Encyclopédie = *La Grande Encyclopédie* Inventaire raisonné des sciences, des lettres et des arts par une société de savants et de gens de lettres... i—xxxi Paris s.a.

Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* = R. Lanzone *Dizionario di Mitologia Egiziana* i Testo ii Tavole Torino 1881.

L'Anthropologie = Matériaux pour l'histoire de l'homme—Revue d'anthropologie—Revue d'ethnographie réunis. *L'Anthropologie* Paris 1890— .

Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* = Ph. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* II. Partie : Inscriptions grecques et latines. ii. 2 Mégaride et Péloponnèse. 3. Béotie, Phocide, Étolie, Acarnanie, Épire, Thessalie, Macédoine, Thrace, Colonies du Pont-Euxine. 4. Iles. (Transcription and Commentary by P. Foucart) Paris 1847—1876.

Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* = *Bibliothèque des Monuments Figurés grecs et romains. Voyage Archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure sous la direction de M. Philippe Le Bas...(1842—1844).* Planches de topographie, de sculpture et d'architecture Gravées d'après les dessins de E. Landron publiées et commentées par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1888.

Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* = Ph. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* II. Partie : Inscriptions grecques et latines. iii. 5 Asie Mineure. 6. Syrie proprement dite. (Transcription and Commentary by W. H. Waddington) Paris 1847—1876.

Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* = *Élite des monuments céramographiques* Matériaux pour l'histoire des religions et des mœurs de l'antiquité rassemblés et commentés par Ch. Lenormant et J. de Witte. Texte et Planches i—iv Paris 1844—1861.

Leroux *Cat. Vases de Madrid* = *Vases grecs et italo-grecs du Musée Archéologique de Madrid* (Bibliothèque des Universités du Midi Fascicule xvi) par G. Leroux Bordeaux 1912.

Lippold *Gemmen* = *Gemmen und Kameen des Altertums und der Neuzeit* in Vergrösserungen herausgegeben von Georg Lippold Stuttgart (1922).

Lobeck *Aglaophamus* = *Aglaophamus* sive de theologiae mysticae Graecorum causis libri tres. Scripsit Chr. Augustus Lobeck idemque poetarum Orphicorum dispersas reliquias collegit. i ii Regimontii Prussorum 1829.

Lübker *Reallex.*[8] = Friedrich Lübkers *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums* Achte vollständig umgearbeitete Auflage herausgegeben von J. Geffcken und E. Ziebarth in Verbindung mit B. A. Müller unter Mitwirkung von W. Liebenam, E. Pernice, M. Wellmann, E. Hoppe, u.a. Leipzig—Berlin 1914.

Luynes *Descr. de vases peints* = *Description de quelques vases peints, étrusques, italiotes, siciliens et grecs,* par H. D. de Luynes,... Paris 1840.

Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* = *K. K. Oesterreich. Museum für Kunst und Industrie. Die Sammlung antiker Vasen und Terracotten im K. K. Oesterreich. Museum. Katalog und historische Einleitung* von Karl Masner. Wien 1892.

Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* = *Antike Bildwerke in Rom mit Ausschluss der grösseren Sammlungen* beschrieben von Friedrich Matz, nach des Verfassers Tode weitergeführt und herausgegeben von F. von Duhn i—iii Leipzig 1881—1882.

L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* = *Handbuch der griechischen Etymologie* von Leo Meyer i—iv Leipzig 1901—1902.

Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* = *Recueil d'Inscriptions grecques* par Charles Michel Paris 1900, Supplément—Fascicule i Paris 1912.

Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* = *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* pubblicati per cura di Luigi Adriano Milani i—iii Firenze 1899—1901, 1902, 1905.

Milet = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Milet* Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen seit dem Jahre 1899 herausgegeben von Theodor Wiegand.

i. 1 Karte der milesischen Halbinsel (1 : 50 000) mit erläuterndem Text von Paul Wilski Berlin 1906.

i. 2 Das Rathaus von Milet von Hubert Knackfuss mit Beiträgen von Carl Fredrich, Theodor Wiegand, Hermann Winnefeld Berlin 1908.

i. 3 Das Delphinion in Milet von Georg Kawerau und Albert Rehm unter Mitwirkung von Friedrich Freiherr Hiller von Gaertringen, Mark Lidzbarski, Theodor Wiegand, Erich Ziebarth Berlin 1914.

i. 4 Der Poseidonaltar bei Kap Monodendri von Armin von Gerkan Berlin 1915.

i. 5 Das Nymphaeum von Julius Hülsen mit Beiträgen von Hermann Dessau, Emil Herkenrath und Theodor Wiegand Text Berlin—Leipzig 1919. Tafeln Berlin 1919.

i. 6 Der Nordmarkt und der Hafen an der Löwenbucht von Armin von Gerkan mit epigraphischem Beitrag von Albert Rehm Berlin—Leipzig 1922.

i. 7 Der Südmarkt und die benachbarten Bauanlagen von Hubert Knackfuss mit epigraphischem Beitrag von Albert Rehm Berlin 1924.

i. 8 Kalabaktepe, Athenatempel und Umgebung von Armin von Gerkan Berlin 1925.

ii. 1 Das Stadion von Armin von Gerkan Berlin—Leipzig 1921.

iii. 1 Der Latmos von Theodor Wiegand unter Mitwirkung von Konrad Boese, Hippolyte Delehaye, Hubert Knackfuss, Friedrich Krischen, Karl Lyncker, Walther von Marées, Oskar Wulff Berlin 1913.

iii. 2 Die Befestigungen von Herakleia am Latmos von Fritz Krischen Berlin—Leipzig 1922.

Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* = *Description de médailles antiques, grecques et romaines, avec leur degré de rareté et leur estimation.* Ouvrage servant de catalogue à plus de vingt mille empreintes en soufre prises sur les pièces originales, par T. E. Mionnet i—vi Paris 1806—1813 vii Recueil des planches Paris 1808, Seconde édition Paris 1837, Supplément i—ix Paris 1819—1839.

Mnemosyne = *Mnemosyne* Tijdschrift voor classieke Litteratuur Leyden 1852— .

Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* = *Feste der Stadt Athen im Altertum*, geordnet nach attischem Kalender, von August Mommsen. Umarbeitung der 1864 erschienenen Heortologie. Leipzig 1898.

Mon. Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. = *Monumenti Annali e Bullettini pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* nel 1854 Roma, nel 1855 Gotha—Lipsia.

Mon. d. Inst. = *Monumenti inediti pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* Rome et Paris 1829–1833—1839–1843, Roma 1844–1848—1849–1853, 1857–1863—1884–1885. Supplemento Berlin 1891.

Mon. d. Linc. = *Monumenti antichi pubblicati per cura della Reale Accademia dei Lincei* Milano 1889— .

Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst. = *Monumenti ed Annali pubblicati dall' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* nel 1856 Lipsia.

Mon. Piot = *Fondation Eugène Piot. Monuments et mémoires publiés par l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* Paris 1894— .

Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* = *Thesaurus Morellianus*, sive Familiarum Romanarum numismata omnia, Diligentissime undique conquisita, ad ipsorum nummorum fidem accuratissime delineata, & juxta ordinem Fulvii Ursini & Caroli Patini disposita, a Celeherrimo Antiquario Andrea Morellio. Accedunt nummi miscellanei, Urbis Romae, Hispanici, & Goltziani dubiae fidei omnes. Nunc primum edidit et Commentario perpetuo illustravit Sigebertus Havercampus i ii Amstelaedami 1734.

Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* = *Thesauri Morelliani* tomus primus (secundus, tertius), Sive Christ. Schlegelii, Sigeb. Haverkampi, & Antonii Francisci Gorii Commentaria In XII. Priorum Imperatorum Romanorum numismata aurea, argentea, & aerea, Cujuscunque Moduli, diligentissime conquisita, & ad ipsos Nummos accuratissime delineata, a Celeberrimo Antiquario Andrea Morellio...Cum Praefatione Petri Wesselingii i—iii Amstelaedami 1752.

Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* = *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* nach der Auswahl und Anordnung von C. O. Müller. Zweite Bearbeitung durch Friedrich Wieseler. i ii Göttingen 1854—1856.

Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* = *Antike Denkmäler zur griechischen Götterlehre.* Zusammengestellt von C. O. Müller und F. Wieseler. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe von Konrad Wernicke. Denkmäler der alten Kunst von C. O. Müller und F. Wieseler. Teil II. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Ausgabe. .Lieferung i—iii Text und Tafeln Leipzig 1899, 1900, 1903.

Mus. Capit. Cat. Sculpt. See Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome.*

Mus. Etr. Gregor. = *Museum Etruscum Gregorianum* Musei Etrusci quod Gregorius XVI pon. max. in aedibus Vaticanis constituit monimenta linearis picturae exemplis expressa et in utilitatem studiosorum antiquitatum et bonarum artium publici iuris facta i ii ex aedibus Vaticanis 1842.

Musée Belge = *Le Musée Belge* Revue de philologie classique Louvain 1897— .

Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe = *Nachrichten von der Georg-Augusts-Universität und der Königl. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* Göttingen 1856— , *Nachrichten von der K. Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften und der Georg-Augusts-Universität* Göttingen 1864— , *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen.* Philologisch-historische Klasse Berlin 1906— .

Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum = *Neue Jahrbücher für das klassische Altertum Geschichte und deutsche Litteratur und für Pädagogik* (Continuation of the *Jahrbücher für classische Philologie*) Leipzig 1898— .

Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* = *Catalogue des vases peints du Musée National d'Athènes. Supplément* par Georges Nicole...avec une Préface de Maxime Collignon... Paris 1911 with an Atlas of pls.

Nilsson *Gr. Feste* = *Griechische Feste von religiöser Bedeutung mit Ausschluss der attischen* untersucht von Martin P. Nilsson Leipzig 1906.

Not. Scavi = *Notizie degli Scavi di Antichità*, comunicate alla R. Accademia dei Lincei per ordine di S. E. il Ministro della pubb. Istruzione Roma 1876— .

Nouv. Ann. = *Nouvelles Annales publiées par la section française de l'Institut archéologique* i ii Paris 1836, 1839 with Atlas of pls. (facsimile-reproduction 1905).

Num. Chron. = *The Numismatic Chronicle* London 1839—1841, *The Numismatic Chronicle and Journal of the Numismatic Society* London 1843—1859, New Series London 1861—1880, Third Series London 1881—1900, Fourth Series London 1901—1920, Fifth Series London 1921— .

Num. Zeitschr. = *Numismatische Zeitschrift* Wien 1869— .

Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* = *Kypros The Bible and Homer.* Oriental Civilization, Art and Religion in Ancient Times. Elucidated by the Author's own Researches and Excavations during twelve years' work in Cyprus. By Max Ohnefalsch-Richter. i Text ii Plates London 1893.

Olympia = *Olympia* Die Ergebnisse der von dem deutschen Reich veranstalteten Ausgrabung im Auftrage des königlich preussischen Ministers der geistlichen Unterrichts- und Medicinal-angelegenheiten herausgegeben von Ernst Curtius und Friedrich Adler.

i Topographie und Geschichte von Olympia von Friedrich Adler, Ernst Curtius, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Paul Graef, Joseph Partsch, Rudolf Weil. Textband zur Mappe mit den Karten und Plänen Berlin 1897.

ii Die Baudenkmäler von Olympia bearbeitet von Friedrich Adler, Richard Borrmann, Wilhelm Dörpfeld, Friedrich Graeber, Paul Graef. Textband Tafelband i ii Berlin 1892—1896.

iii Die Bildwerke in Stein und Thon bearbeitet von Georg Treu. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1894—1897.

iv Die Bronzen und die übrigen kleineren Funde von Olympia bearbeitet von Adolf Furtwängler. Textband Tafelband Berlin 1890.

v Die Inschriften von Olympia bearbeitet von Wilhelm Dittenberger und Karl Purgold. Berlin 1896.

Or. Lit. = *Orientalistische Litteratur-Zeitung* Berlin 1898—

Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanae antiquitatis disciplinam accommodata ac magnarum collectionum supplementa complura emendationesque exhibens.* Cum ineditis Io. Casp. Hagenbuchii suisque adnotationibus edidit Io. Casp. Orellius. Insunt lapides Helvetiae omnes. Accedunt praeter Fogginii kalendaria antiqua, Hagenbuchii, Maffeii, Ernestii, Reiskii, Seguierii, Steinbruechelii epistolae aliquot epigraphicae nunc primum editae. i ii Turici 1828.

Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* = *Inscriptionum Latinarum selectarum amplissima collectio ad illustrandam Romanae antiquitatis disciplinam accommodata.* Volumen tertium collectionis Orellianae supplementa emendationesque exhibens edidit Guilielmus Henzen. Accedunt Indices rerum ac notarum quae in tribus voluminibus inveniuntur. Turici 1856.

Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* = *Gallerie heroischer Bildwerke der alten Kunst*, bearbeitet von Dr. Johannes Overbeck. Erster Band. Die Bildwerke zum thebischen und troischen Heldenkreis. Braunschweig 1853 with an Atlas of pls.

Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* = *Griechische Kunstmythologie* von J. Overbeck. Zweiter Band (Besonderer Theil). Erster Band. Erstes Buch: Zeus Leipzig 1871, Zweiter Band. Zweites, drittes und viertes Buch: Hera, Poseidon, Demeter und Kora Leipzig 1873—1878, Dritter Band. Fünftes Buch: Apollon Leipzig 1889. Atlas der griechischen Kunstmythologie herausgegeben von Johannes Overbeck Lieferung i—v: Tafel 1—26 Leipzig 1872—1888.

Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] = *Geschichte der griechischen Plastik* von J. Overbeck. Vierte umgearbeitete und vermehrte Auflage. i ii Leipzig 1893, 1894.

Overbeck *Schriftquellen* = *Die antiken Schriftquellen zur Geschichte der bildenden Künste bei den Griechen.* Gesammelt von J. Overbeck. Leipzig 1868.

Pauly *Real-Enc.* = *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft in alphabetischer Ordnung.* Von...und dem Herausgeber August Pauly. i (Zweite völlig umgearbeitete Auflage) Stuttgart 1864, 1866 ii—vi Stuttgart 1842—1852.

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* = Paulys *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* Neue Bearbeitung unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgenossen herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa i—vi Stuttgart 1894—1909, herausgegeben von Georg Wissowa und Wilhelm Kroll vii Stuttgart 1910—1912, begonnen von Georg Wissowa...herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kroll viii— Stuttgart 1912— , begonnen von Georg Wissowa...herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kroll und Kurt Witte (Zweite Reihe [R—Z]) i A— Stuttgart 1914— , Supplement i—iv Stuttgart 1903, 1913, 1918, 1924.

Pellegrini *Cat. vas. ant. dipint. Bologna* = *Museo Civico di Bologna. Catalogo dei vasi antichi dipinti delle collezioni Palagi ed Universitaria* descritti dal Dott. Giuseppe Pellegrini...Edito per cura del Comune di Bologna. Bologna 1900.

Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* = *Museo Civico di Bologna. Catalogo dei vasi greci dipinti delle necropoli Felsinee* descritti da Giuseppe Pellegrini. Edito per cura del Comune di Bologna. Bologna 1912.

Pergamon = *Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Altertümer von Pergamon* herausgegeben im Auftrage des königlich preuszischen Ministers der geistlichen und Unterrichtsangelegenheiten Berlin 1885— .

i Stadt und Landschaft von Alexander Conze, Otto Berlet, Alfred Philippson, Carl Schuchhardt, Friedrich Gräber mit Beiträgen von Johannes Mordtmann, Kurt Regling, Paul Schazmann, August Senz, Adam Zippelius. Text 1—3 with Atlas of pls. 1912—1913.

ii Das Heiligtum der Athena Polias Nikephoros von Richard Bohn mit einem Beitrage von Hans Droysen. Text with Atlas of pls. 1885.
iii, 1 Der grosze Altar. Der obere Markt. Von Jakob Schrammen. Text with Atlas of pls. 1906.
iii, 2 Die Friese des groszen Altars von Hermann Winnefeld. Text with Atlas of pls. 1910.
iv Die Theater-Terrasse von Richard Bohn. Text with Atlas of pls. 1896.
v, 2 Das Traianeum von Hermann Stiller mit einem Beitrage von Otto Raschdorff. Text with Atlas of pls. 1895.
vi Das Gymnasion von Paul Schazmann. Text with Atlas of pls. Berlin—Leipzig 1923.
vii Die Skulpturen mit Ausnahme der Altarreliefs von Franz Winter mit einem Beitrage von Jakob Schrammen. Text 1—2 with Atlas of pls. 1908.
viii, 1 Die Inschriften von Pergamon unter Mitwirkung von Ernst Fabricius und Carl Schuchhardt herausgegeben von Max Fränkel. 1—2. 1890, 1895.

Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art = Histoire de l'Art dans l'Antiquité*...par Georges Perrot... et Charles Chipiez... i— Paris 1881— .
i L'Égypte 1881, ii Chaldée et Assyrie 1884, iii Phénicie—Cypre 1885, iv Judée —Sardaigne—Syrie—Cappadoce 1887, v Perse—Phrygie—Lydie et Carie—Lycie 1890, vi La Grèce primitive: l'art Mycénien 1894, vii La Grèce de l'épopée— La Grèce archaïque: le temple 1898, viii La Grèce archaïque: la sculpture 1903, ix La Grèce archaïque: la glyptique—la numismatique—la peinture—la céramique 1911, x La Grèce archaïque: la céramique d'Athènes 1914.

Philologus = Philologus. Zeitschrift für das klassische Alterthum. Stolberg 1846, Göttingen 1847—1888, Neue Folge Göttingen 1889—1896, Leipzig 1897— .

Poet. Lat. min. = Poetae Latini minores. Recensuit et emendavit Aemilius Baehrens i—vi Lipsiae 1879—1886.

Poet. lyr. Gr. = Poetae lyrici Graeci. Recensuit Theodorus Bergk. Editionis quartae i—iii Lipsiae 1878—1882.

Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre = Musée National du Louvre. Catalogue des vases antiques de terre cuite* par E. Pottier. Études sur l'histoire de la peinture et du dessin dans l'antiquité. i Les origines, ii L'école ionienne, iii L'école attique Paris 1896, 1899, 1906.

Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. = Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐν Ἀθήναις ἀρχαιολογικῆς ἑταιρίας Athens 1872— .

Preller *Röm. Myth.*[1,2] = *Römische Mythologie* von L. Preller Berlin 1858, Zweite Auflage von R. Köhler Berlin 1865.

Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] = *Römische Mythologie* von L. Preller. Dritte Auflage von H. Jordan i ii Berlin 1881, 1883.

Preller—Plew *Gr. Myth.* = L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie.* Dritte Auflage von E. Plew. Erster Band. Theogonie und Götter. Zweiter Band. Die Heroen. Berlin 1872, 1875.

Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* = *Griechische Mythologie* von L. Preller. Erster Band. Theogonie und Goetter. Vierte Auflage bearbeitet von Carl Robert. Berlin 1894. Zweiter Band. Die Heroen (Die griechische Heldensage). Vierte Auflage erneuert von Carl Robert. Erstes Buch. Landschaftlicbe Sagen. Berlin 1920. Zweites Buch. Die Nationalheroen. Berlin 1921. Drittes Buch. Die grossen Heldenepen. i. Abteilung. Die Argonauten. Der thebanische Kreis. Berlin 1921. ii. Abteilung. Erste Hälfte. Der troische Kreis bis zu Ilions Zerstörung. Berlin 1923.

Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] = *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der Griechischen Sprache* von Prof. Dr. Walther Prellwitz...2. verbesserte Auflage. Göttingen 1905.

Priene = Königliche Museen zu Berlin. Priene Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1895—1898, von Theodor Wiegand und Hans Schrader unter Mitwirkung von G. Kummer, W. Wilberg, H. Winnefeld, R. Zahn. Berlin 1904.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* = *Lexicon universae rei numariae veterum et praecipue Graecorum ac Romanorum* cum observationibus antiquariis geographicis chronologicis historicis criticis et passim cum explicatione monogrammatum edidit Io. Christophorus Rasche.

i—xi (Tomi I—VI, 1) Lipsiae 1785—1795, Supplementorum i—iii (Tomi VI, 2—VII, 2) Lipsiae 1802—1805.

Reinach *Bronzes Figurés = Antiquités Nationales. Description raisonnée du Musée de Saint-Germain-en-Laye. Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* par Salomon Reinach ...Paris (1895).

Reinach *Pierres Gravées = Bibliothèque des monuments figurés grecs et romains. Pierres gravées* des collections Marlborough et d'Orléans, des recueils d'Eckhel, Gori, Levesque de Gravelle, Mariette, Millin, Stosch réunies et rééditées avec un texte nouveau par Salomon Reinach...Paris 1895.

Reinach *Rép. Art Quat.* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de l'art quaternaire* Paris 1913.

Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* = S. Reinach *Répertoire de Peintures Grecques et Romaines* (RPGR.) avec 2720 gravures. Paris 1922.

Reinach *Rép. Peintures* = Salomon Reinach *Répertoire de peintures du moyen âge et de la renaissance* (1280—1580) i—vi Paris 1905, 1907, 1910, 1918, 1922, 1923.

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CHAPTER II

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE WEATHER.

§ 1. *Zeus lightens, thunders, rains, etc.*

IN the first volume of this work I endeavoured to show that Zeus, the Greek sky-god, was originally just the bright or day-light sky conceived as alive and operant; that already in Homeric times he had passed from the zoïstic to the anthropomorphic stage, being regarded as a divine king who dwelt in the azure brilliance of the upper air; and that subsequently he came to be associated with other manifestations of celestial light in the various solar, lunar, and stellar cults of the Hellenistic world.

Zeus, then, was primarily god of the bright sky. But the sky is not always bright. As the rustic Korydon remarks in an idyll of Theokritos:

> Ay, Zeus is sometimes fair and sometimes foul[1].

Hence the Greeks naturally extended the notion of Zeus as god of the bright sky to cover that of Zeus as weather-god in general. The poets from Homer downwards used such expressions as 'Zeus lightens[2],' 'Zeus thunders[3],' 'Zeus rains[4],' 'Zeus snows[5],' 'Zeus sends the hail[6].' The man in the street, with a reticence perhaps born of superstitious caution[7], preferred to say 'God rains,' 'God

[1] Theokr. 4. 43 *χὠ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει.*

[2] *E.g. Il.* 9. 236 f. *Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ἐνδέξια σήματα φαίνων | ἀστράπτει.*

[3] *E.g. Od.* 14. 305 *Ζεὺς δ' ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραυνόν.*

[4] *E.g. Il.* 12. 25 f. *ὗε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς | συνεχές*, Hes. *o.d.* 415 f. *μετοπωρινὸν ὀμβρήσαντος Ζηνὸς ἐρισθενέος.*

[5] *E.g.* Babr. 45. 1 *ἔνιφεν ὁ Ζεύς.*

[6] *E.g.* Eur. *Tro.* 78 f. *καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὄμβρον καὶ χάλαζαν ἄσπετον | πέμψει δνοφώδη τ' αἰθέρος φυσήματα.*

Phrases of the type *Ζεὺς...ὄμβρον...πέμψει* are further removed from primitive zoïsm than phrases of the type *Ζεὺς...ὗει.* Transitional in character are such lines as *Ζεὺς δ' ἄμυδις βρόντησε καὶ ἔμβαλε νηὶ κεραυνόν*, of which the second half is more anthropographic than the first.

[7] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 318—391 discusses avoidance of names and *ib.* p. 387 ff. collects examples of 'Names of Gods tabooed.' See also F. C. Conybeare 'The Use of Sacred Names' in *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 358—361.

snows,' or 'He lightens,' 'He thunders[1],' but—if pressed for an explanation—would ascribe these actions to Zeus[2].

It was, therefore, a shock to old-fashioned piety, when philosophers and sophists insisted that such phaenomena were brought about by purely physical causes. A certain memorable scene in *The Clouds* of Aristophanes[3] represents Strepsiades, a member of the old school, as being instructed in the new learning by Sokrates:

Str. What! d'you mean that Zeus is not god, Zeus in heaven, on whom we call?
Socr. Zeus, d'you say? now don't talk drivel; Zeus does not exist at all.
Str. What! Who makes the rain then? tell me that, and I shall be content.
Socr. Why the Clouds: I'll prove it to you by convincing argument.
Have you ever seen rain falling, when the clouds weren't passing by?
If it's Zeus who rains, he ought to do it from a cloudless sky.
Str. That's a clever point, I grant you, neatly used to back your case.
Yet I thought once Zeus passed water through a sieve, when rain took place.
But who is it then that thunders, when I cower and hide my face?
Socr. Why, the rolling clouds make thunder.
Str. What d'you mean? that's blasphemy.
Socr. When they're teeming full of water and are forced across the sky,
Big with rain and bulging downwards, moving at a fearful rate,
Charging each against the next, they burst and crash with all their weight.
Str. But who is it drives them onwards? do you think it's Zeus, or not?
Socr. No, the atmospheric vortex.
Str. Vortex! yes, I quite forgot:
Zeus does not exist, but Vortex rules instead of him to-day.

Philosophers and would-be philosophers left the man in the street pretty much as they found him. His simple creed might be, and was, exploded scores of times; but he continued to believe in it, just because his father and his grandfather and his great-grandfather had done the same before him. He never took kindly to Vortex[4], and still talked in his unreasoning way of Zeus. If we

[1] Examples are given *infra* p. 3 n. 7.

[2] Apollon. Dysk. *de constr. or.* p. 101, 16 ff. *à propos* of ἀστράπτει and the like says ἡ τοιαύτη ἐνέργεια τῷ Διὶ ἀναπέμπεται, cp. *et. mag.* p. 211, 57 ff. οὐδὲ γὰρ βρέχω ἐγώ, οὐδὲ βρέχεις σύ, ἀλλὰ βρέχει καὶ χιονίζει καὶ ἀστράπτει ὁ θεός... ὅταν δὲ ἐρωτηματικῶς εἴπῃ βρέχει; ἢ βροντᾷ; διατί οὐ προστίθησι καὶ τὸ ἐπαγόμενον; διότι εἷς ἐστιν ὁ ταῦτα ποιῶν, τουτέστιν ὁ θεός.

[3] Aristoph. *nub.* 366 ff. I quote the excellent rendering by A. D. Godley and C. Bailey (Oxford 1905), supplementing it by the addition of line 373.

[4] Mr F. M. Cornford, however, points out to me that the vortex-theory of the philosophers had at least some foundation in popular belief—witness the ancient and very remarkable tablet from Tarragona (*infra* Append. G). Aristophanes' words (*nub.* 380 f. ΣΩ. ἥκιστ', ἀλλ' αἰθέριος δῖνος. ΣΤ. Δῖνος; τουτί μ' ἐλελήθει, | ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων) are meant to suggest not only δῖνη or δίνησις, cosmic rotation, but also the name of Zeus (schol. *ad loc.* ἐγγύθεν ἔλαβεν ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ὄνομα), with a sly hit at δῖνος, a round-bellied bowl (cp. *nub.* 1468 ff. ΣΤ. ναὶ ναὶ καταιδέσθητι πατρῷον

wish to know the sort of thing that was said by common-place folk at Athens in the fourth and third centuries B.C., we turn, for example, to the extant scraps of Middle and New Comedy. Somebody in the *Atthis* of Alexis describes—

> How just at first Zeus quietly clouds over,
> Then more and more so[1].

Somebody else in a fragment by Menandros says:

> I watch Zeus
> Pelting with rain[2].

The *Characters* of Theophrastos tell the same tale. The garrulous man, full of truisms and trivialities, observes that 'if Zeus would send rain, the crops would be better[3].' The grumbler is 'annoyed with Zeus, not for not raining, but for raining too late[4].' The coward on a voyage 'pops up his head and asks the steersman if he is half-way across, and how the weather strikes him[5].' Only, where we translate 'the weather,' the Greek has literally 'the things of the god,' that is, of Zeus[6].

Phrases such as 'He rains,' 'He snows,' 'He is stormy,' 'He grows dark' alternate with the more explicit 'God rains,' 'God snows,' 'God is stormy,' 'God grows dark' throughout the whole range of Greek literature[7]. Nor did the incoming of Christianity banish these reverential expressions. The name of Zeus was indeed suppressed[8], but the name of God remained and is still to be heard in this connexion. Thus, instead of the usual phrase 'day breaks[9],' a modern Greek folk-song in G. F. Abbott's collection has:

> God brings on day-break[10].

Δία. | ΦΕ. *ἰδού γε Δία πατρῷον· ὡς ἀρχαῖος εἶ.* | *Ζεὺς γάρ τις ἔστιν;* ΣΤ. *ἔστιν.* ΦΕ. *οὐκ ἔστ', οὔκ, ἐπεὶ* | *Δίνος βασιλεύει τὸν Δί' ἐξελήλακώς.* | ΣΤ. *οὐκ ἐξελήλακ', ἀλλ' ἐγὼ τοῦτ'* | *ᾠόμην* | *διὰ τουτονὶ τὸν δῶνον. οἴμοι δείλαιος,* | *ὅτε καὶ σὲ χυτρεοῦν ὄντα θεὸν ἡγησάμην.* The last line should not be cut out: it is quite justified by other pot-Zeuses, the *Δίες Κτήσιοι* of Append. H).

[1] Alexis *Atthis frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 397 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* *μᾶλλον μᾶλλον·...πῶς* (*ὡς* Meineke) *ἐπινεφεῖ* (*ἐπινέφει* Cobet) *τὸ πρῶτον ὁ Ζεὺς ἡσυχῇ,* | *ἔπειτα μᾶλλον μᾶλλον.*

[2] Menand. *frag. incert.* 306 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 299 Meineke) *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 387, 40 f. *τηρῶ τὸν Δία* | *ὕοντα πολλῷ.* So Porson for *τηρωτοναιατον* (*νυν* codd. L B^A) *τατιοχω.* But W. M. Lindsay, after Turnebus, prints *τηρῶ τὸν Δία* | *τὸν αἰγίοχον.*

[3] Theophr. *char.* 18 Jebb.

[4] Theophr. *char.* 22 Jebb.

[5] Theophr. *char.* 27 Jebb.

[6] R. C. Jebb on Theophr. *loc. cit. τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ.*

[7] Cp. Hdt. 4. 50 *ὕει* with Hdt. 3. 117 *ὗει σφι ὁ θεός*, Aristoph. *vesp.* 773 *ἐὰν δὲ νίφῃ* with Xen. *cyn.* 8. 1 *ὅταν νίφῃ ὁ θεός*, Hdt. 7. 191 *ἡμέρας γὰρ δὴ ἐχείμαζε τρεῖς* with Xen. *oec.* 8. 16 *ὅταν χειμάζῃ ὁ θεός*, Xen. *Cyrop.* 4. 5. 5 *ἐπεὶ συνεσκότασε* with Polyb. 31. 21. 9 *συσκοτάζοντος ἄρτι τοῦ θεοῦ.* See further B. Gerth in R. Kühner *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* Hannover und Leipzig 1898 II. i. 33.

[8] *Supra* i. 165 ff.

[9] *ξημερώνει.*

[10] G. F. Abbott *Songs of Modern Greece* Cambridge 1900 Part 2 1. 21 *καὶ 'ξημερώνει ὁ θεός τ' ἡμέρα'.*

People say not only 'it rains[1]' but 'God rains[2].' And in a love-distich from Crete cited by A. Passow the lover invokes 'the Lord ...who sends the cloudy weather and the thunder and the rain[3]'—a manifest survival, as B. Schmidt points out[4], of Zeus the weather-god of pre-Christian days. Other locutions of the kind are collected by N. G. Polites[5] and reviewed by J. C. Lawson, who concludes: 'Such expressions as these are in daily use among the Greek peasantry: and nothing could reveal more frankly the purely pagan and anthropomorphic conception of God which everywhere prevails. The God of Christendom is indistinguishable from the Zeus of Homer[6].'

§ 2. *The* Diosemía *or 'Zeus-sign.'*

If Zeus was originally none other than the animate sky, we can well understand that any sudden change in his aspect must have meant much to his worshippers. Homer speaks of thunder[7] and lightning[8], Hesiod of a blood-red rain[9], as the *sémata* or 'signs' of Zeus. And the title *Semaléos,* under which Zeus was worshipped on Mount Parnes[10], probably implies that omens were there drawn from the state of the weather[11].

Of kindred import is the term *Diosemía*[12], a 'Zeus-sign,' which may have arisen before Zeus became a fully anthropomorphic deity. It is used from the fifth century B.C. onwards to denote anything in the nature of an atmospheric disturbance—for example, a sudden

[1] *βρέχει.*

[2] *βρέχει ὁ θεός* (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 29). Cp. *et. mag.* p. 211, 57 f. (*supra* p. 2 n. 2).

[3] A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 Dist. 242 *ὁ κύριος τὸ κατέχει, ἐκεῖνος ἀποῦ συννεφιᾷ κὴ ἀποβροντᾷ καὶ βρέχει.*

[4] B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 29 f.

[5] N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 pp. 10 f., 13, 16 ff.

[6] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 52.

[7] *Il.* 8. 170 f., *Od.* 21. 413.

[8] *Il.* 2. 350 ff., 9. 236 f., 13. 242 ff. Cp. Bakchyl. 16. 52 ff.

[9] Hes. *sc. Her.* 384 f.

[10] Append. B Attike, *supra* i. 121.

[11] Cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* 1. 6. 1 f. *Κῦρος δὲ...προσευξάμενος Ἑστίᾳ πατρῴᾳ καὶ Διὶ πατρῴῳ καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ὡρμᾶτο ἐπὶ τὴν στρατείαν.... ἐπεὶ δὲ ἔξω τῆς οἰκίας ἐγένοντο, λέγονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ βρονταὶ αὐτῷ αἴσιοι γενέσθαι. τούτων δὲ φανέντων οὐδὲν ἄλλο ἔτι οἰωνιζόμενοι ἐπορεύοντο, ὡς οὐδένα ἂν λύσαντα τὰ τοῦ μεγίστου θεοῦ σημεῖα, κ.τ.λ.*, where *σημεῖα* is the equivalent of the Homeric and Hesiodic *σήματα.* Similarly, ominous birds and beasts sent by Zeus are *σήματα* in poetry (*Il.* 2. 308 f., Theokr. 17. 71 ff.), *σημεῖα* in prose (Xen. *Cyrop.* 2. 4. 19).

[12] *Διοσημία* is the best attested form: see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1540 A—C *s.vv. Διοσημασία, Διοσημεία, Διοσημεῖον, Διοσημία.*

storm[1]. But its scope was gradually widened to include meteorological phaenomena of all sorts[2], until in the sixth century A.D. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian could reckon as subdivisions of it solar and lunar eclipses, comets, shooting stars, lightning, thunder, thunderbolts, aerial portents, earthquakes, and conflagrations![3]

The Athenians, we are told, paid special attention to Zeus-signs[4], which were expounded to them by official Interpreters[5]. When a sign occurred, the public assembly at once broke up[6] and the law-courts ceased to sit[7]. Thus in 420 B.C. the Athenians were on the point of making an alliance with the Argives and their confederates. 'But,' says Thoukydides, 'before the final vote was taken an earthquake happened, and the assembly was adjourned[8].' Aristophanes in his *Women in Parliament* mentions as plausible reasons for not carrying out a decree:

> An earthquake might befall,
> Lightning might strike, a weasel cross the street,
> And then they'ld stop at once, you dunder-head![9]

The Chorus of Clouds in the play named after them take credit to themselves for saving the Athenians from undue haste:

> We who more than all immortals benefit your state and you,
> We alone have no libation, ne'er receive an offering due:
> Yet we save you: when to senseless expeditions you're inclined,
> Then we send you rain and thunder, so that you may change your mind[10].

The allusion in the last line is presumably to the postponement of public business occasioned by a Zeus-sign. That is certainly the case in a passage of the *Acharnians*, where Dikaiopolis waxes indignant with the Thracians:

[1] Aristoph. *Ach.* 171 (*infra* p. 6) with schol. *ad loc.* (=Souid. *s.v.* Διοσημεία) Διοσημία δέ ἐστιν ὁ παρὰ καιρὸν χειμών.

[2] The *phaenomena* of Aratos is followed by a sequel (lines 733—1154), which deals with weather-signs in general and in the later MSS. is entitled Διοσημίαι or πρόγνωσις. This sequel utilised the same source as the treatise περὶ σημείων wrongly attributed to Theophrastos and was itself translated into Latin verse by Cicero under the heading *prognostica* (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 124 f.: see further G. Knaack in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 395, 397).

[3] Lyd. *de ostent.* 4. Here, as *ib.* 15[b], 16, 16[a], C. Wachsmuth prints διοσημεία, but *ib.* 47 διοσημασία.

[4] Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *Ach.* 171 (=Souid. *s.v.* Διοσημεία) παρεφυλάττοντο οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς Διοσημίας, καὶ διέλυον τὰς ἐκκλησίας Διοσημίας γενομένης < ? > ἢ ἄλλο τι μέλλοντες ἀνύειν.

[5] Poll. 8. 124 ἀνίσταται δὲ τὰ δικαστήρια, εἰ γένοιτο Διοσημία· ἐξηγηταὶ δ' ἐκαλοῦντο οἱ τὰ περὶ τῶν Διοσημιῶν καὶ τὰ τῶν ἄλλων ἱερῶν διδάσκοντες. Similarly the Romans κατὰ τὰς ἐν τοῖς κεραυνοῖς Διοσημείας τούτοις (*sc.* the Etruscans) ἐξηγηταῖς χρῶνται (Diod. 5. 40).

[6] *Supra* n. 4. Cp. *infra* p. 6 n. 3.

[7] *Supra* n. 5.

[8] Thouk. 5. 45, cp. Plout. *v. Nic.* 10.

[9] Aristoph. *eccl.* 791 ff.

[10] Aristoph. *nub.* 577 ff.

Magistrates, can you stand it? And am I
In my own country by barbarian hands
To be thus handled? No, to pay the Thracians
There shall be no assembly. See, there is
A Zeus-sign—I distinctly felt a rain-drop[1].

Hereupon the herald without further enquiry terminates the sitting:

Thracians, begone: come back in two days' time.
The magistrates hereby adjourn the assembly[2].

The *Diosemía* doubtless afforded fair sport to the comedian; but to the majority of his fellow-countrymen, as also to the Romans[3], it was no laughing-matter. 'When armies gather for battle,' says Dion Chrysostomos, 'and a sudden Zeus-sign appears or an earthquake takes place, men straightway turn back and abandon hostilities, since the gods are against their fighting[4].' The suddenness of the sign appears to have been an essential feature[5]. If foreseen, it was robbed of its terrors—witness an anecdote told by Polyainos the Macedonian:

Leonidas was about to join battle, when he noticed storm-clouds collecting and remarked to the generals that they must not be surprised if it lightened and thundered—that was bound to happen in the dog-days. So, when numerous Zeus-signs occurred, Leonidas' men being forewarned held on their way with no fears for the future, but the enemy in dire dismay were cowed by the danger and consequently beaten[6].

Another name for the meteorological omen was *echesamía*, a 'stop-sign,' and this is defined by Hesychios as 'a summer drizzle

[1] Aristoph. *Ach.* 167 ff.

[2] Aristoph. *Ach.* 172 f.

[3] Appian. *de bell. civ.* 1. 30 *ὁ δὲ πολιτικὸς ὄχλος ἐβόα ὡς γενομένης ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ βροντῆς, ὅθεν οὐ θέμις ἐστὶ Ῥωμαίοις οὐδὲν ἔτι κυροῦν... ...ὅτι οὐκ ἔστι νόμος ὁ πρὸς βίαν τε καὶ βροντῆς ὠνομασμένης κεκυρωμένος παρὰ τὰ πάτρια*, Dion Cass. 38. 13 *τῆς γὰρ μαντείας τῆς δημοσίας ἐκ τε τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ ἐξ ἄλλων τινῶν, ὥσπερ εἶπον, ποιουμένης, τὸ μέγιστον κῦρος ἡ ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ εἶχεν, οὕτως ὥστε τὰ μὲν ἄλλα οἰωνίσματα πολλὰ καὶ καθ' ἑκάστην πρᾶξιν, ἐκεῖνο δὲ ἑσάπαξ ἐπὶ πάσῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ γίγνεσθαι. τοῦτό τε οὖν ἰδιώτατον ἐν αὐτῷ ἦν, καὶ ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τῶν ἄλλων ἁπάντων ἢ ἐπέρπε πραχθῆναί τινα, καὶ ἐγίγνετο μηδενὸς ἔτι καθ' ἕκαστον οἰωνίσματος ἐπαγομένου, ἢ ἐκώλυε, καὶ ἀνεχειρίζετό τι, τὰς δὲ δὴ τοῦ δήμου διαψηφίσεις πάντως ἐπῖσχεν, καὶ ἦν πρὸς αὐτὰς ἀεὶ Διοσημία, εἴτε ἐναίσιον εἴτε ἐξαίσιον ἐγένετο* (cp. *ib.* 38. 29, 39. 35, 39. 39, 40. 17).

[4] Dion Chrys. *or.* 38 p. 138 Reiske *καὶ ὅταν συνερχομένων εἰς μάχην στρατῶν ἢ Διοσημία φανῇ αἰφνίδιος ἢ τῆς γῆς γένηται σεισμός, ἀποστρέφονται εὐθὺς οἱ ἄνθρωποι καὶ ἀποχωροῦσιν ἀπ' ἀλλήλων ὡς τῶν θεῶν οὐ βουλομένων αὐτοὺς μάχεσθαι.*

[5] This is implied by *Od.* 20. 112 ff. *Ζεῦ πάτερ,... | ἢ μεγάλ' ἐβρόντησας ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος, | οὐδέ ποθι νέφος ἐστί· τέρας νύ τεῳ τόδε φαίνεις.* Similarly Servius regards a bolt from the blue as an omen, but a bolt from the clouds as a natural phaenomenon (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 141, 9. 630).

[6] Polyain. 1. 32. 2. J. Melber 'Über die Quellen und den Wert der Strategemensammlung Polyäns' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1885 xiv. 437 argues that the Leonidas of Polyain. 1. 32. 2 f. was not the hero of Thermopylai mentioned in Polyain. 1. 32. 1, but another Spartan general of the same name.

or thunder-clap[1].' Gossiping history is full of such inhibitions. An example or two will suffice. Stabrobates, the Indian king opposed to Semiramis, is said to have been immobilised 'when Zeus-signs befell him, intimating—so the seers declared—that he must not cross the river[2].' Agis and his army actually gave up the invasion of Attike in 426 B.C. because of a series of earthquakes[3] and that of Elis in 399 for a like reason[4]. In 388 or 387 Agesipolis marched against Argos, when another earthquake happened and his soldiers, recalling the action of Agis in 399, were for retiring. Agesipolis made excuses and pushed on; but, when further a thunderbolt fell in his camp, even he had enough of it and beat a retreat[5]. Galba on quitting his house, early in 69 A.D., to nominate Piso Licinianus as his successor encountered, according to Plutarch, 'great Zeus-signs': his speech in the camp was accompanied by incessant thunder and lightning, rain and darkness; obviously heaven did not approve of his choice[6].

Finally, a word may be added about the interpretation of Zeus-signs. The instances quoted above show that assemblies, law-courts, and armies viewed such signs with alarm and on their occurrence were apt to drop the business in hand. This after all was natural enough. In civil or military crises, when a superstitious public would be on the look out for omens, a sudden deluge of rain might well act as a deterrent, and a growl of thunder be taken to portend something sinister. What seems really remarkable is that side by side with this common-sense, or at least common-place, attitude an earlier view of a very different sort held its ground, a view which

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* *ἐχεσαμία· ὅτε θέρους ὄντος ψακάζει ἢ βροντή* (so cod.: M. Musurus *ψεκάζει ἢ βροντήσῃ*, H. Stephanus *ψεκάσῃ, ἢ βροντήσῃ*, J. Alberti *ψεκάζει, ἢ βροντήσει*, M. Schmidt *ψακάζῃ, ἢ βροντήσῃ*. I would rather retain the reading *ὅτε θέρους ὄντος ψακάζει, ἢ βροντή*. In any case cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 579 f. *ἢν γὰρ ᾖ τις ἔξοδος | μηδενὶ ξὺν νῷ, τότ' ἢ βροντῶμεν ἢ ψακάζομεν*).

'Εχεσαμία appears to be a Doric and perhaps Pythagorean (?) term, formed on the false analogy of *ἐκεχειρία*: cp. *ἐχεγλωττία, ἐχεμυθία, ἐχερρημοσύνη*—three words for 'silence,' of which the first (Loukian. *Lexiph.* 9) possibly, the second (Plout. *de curios.* 9, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 32, 68, 104, 188, 226, cp. 94) and third (Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 246) certainly, were current in the school of Pythagoras (cp. O. Casel *De philosophorum Graecorum silentio mystico* Giessen 1919 pp. 30 ff., 52 ff.). That philosopher is expressly said to have discussed *Διοσημίαι* (Porph. *v. Pyth.* 25, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 62). Hesych. *Διοσημεῖον· τεράστιον σημεῖον* is restored by M. Schmidt as the Doric (*Διοσαμία*)· *Διὸς σημεῖον. τεράστιον σημεῖον* to suit the *ordo verborum*.

[2] Diod. 2. 19. Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 2. 33 p. 75 Kayser states that, when the Egyptian Herakles and Dionysos invaded India, the sages (Brachmanes) dwelling between the Hyphasis and the Ganges *Διοσημίαις τε καὶ σκηπτοῖς βάλλοντες ἀποκρούονται σφᾶς ἱεροὶ καὶ θεοφιλεῖς ὄντες... ἐπεὶ δ' αὐτοὶ προσῆσαν, πρηστῆρες αὐτοὺς ἀπεώσαντο καὶ βρονταὶ κάτω στρεφόμεναι καὶ ἐμπίπτουσαι τοῖς ὅπλοις, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Thouk. 3. 89, cp. *ib.* 87.

[4] Xen. *Hell.* 3. 2. 24.

[5] Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 4 ff., cp. Paus. 3. 5. 8.

[6] Plout. *v. Galb.* 23, cp. Tac. *hist.* 1. 18.

regarded the Zeus-sign as positive not negative, hortatory rather than minatory. We have reason to think that in the far past Greek magicians and kings claimed to be weather-makers. Salmoneus with his thunders is the stock example. That primitive belief did not pass away without leaving sundry traces of itself in the national literature. Among these I would reckon the encouraging thunder-peals[1] and lightning-flashes[2] vouchsafed to epic heroes. The kings of Troy traced their lineage through Dardanos back to Zeus, for whom they had special reverence[3], and more than one scion of the royal family appears to have been an adept at eliciting Zeus-signs. Ilos the grandfather of Priamos prayed Zeus for a sign and found next morning the Zeus-fallen Palladion lying before his tent[4]. Priamos asked Zeus for an omen of his favour, and Zeus sent a black eagle in response to his prayer[5]. Hektor too relied on Zeus and his lightning-signs[6]—indeed he himself bore the same title as Zeus, for Sappho spoke of Zeus as *Héktor*[7]. Again, when Odysseus prayed Zeus for a portent, forthwith there came thunder from a cloudless sky[8]. Similarly in an ode of Bakchylides[9] Minos, to prove that he is the son of Zeus, prays:

> Zeus my father, great and strong, hearken, if in very truth
> Phoinike's white-armed maid bare me to thee,
> Now send thou forth from heaven a swift
> Flash of streaming fire,
> A sign for all to know.

Whereupon—

> Zeus great and strong heard that immoderate prayer
> And planted honour infinite for Minos,
> Willing for his dear son
> To make it seen of all,
> Ay, sent the lightning.

Such scenes imply an underlying belief that the divine king could evoke a thunderstorm at will[10]. In early days this would have been done, not by a prayer to Zeus, but by mimetic means: nor would

[1] *Il.* 8. 170 ff., *Od.* 20. 98 ff., 21. 413 ff. [2] *Il.* 2. 350 ff., 9. 236 f.

[3] I have elaborated the point in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 77 f.

[4] Apollod. 3. 12. 1. [5] *Il.* 24. 283 ff. [6] *Il.* 9. 236 ff.

[7] Sapph. *frag.* 157 Bergk[4] *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* "Εκτορες· *πάσσαλοι ἐν ῥυμῷ* (*Il.* 24. 272 *ἔστορι* with *v.l. ἕκτορι* in schol. G[2], *et. mag.* p. 383, 26 f.), *Σαπφὼ δὲ τὸν Δία, Λεωνίδης τὸν κροκύφαντον.* Presumably Zeus "Εκτωρ was Zeus '*the Holder*,' cp. *πολιοῦχος* (Plat. *legg.* 921 c), *τροπαιοῦχος* (Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 23), *μελιοῦχος* (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus* Wien 1888 p. 103, 6, F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 65 no. 46, 5, *supra* i. 190), *κεραυνοῦχος* (Philon Byzantius *de sept. mir.* 3), *σκηπτοῦχος* (Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 6, Heliodoros *apolyt. ad Nicom.* 3 *ap.* Galen. *de antidotis* 2. 7 (xiv. 145 Kühn)).

[8] *Od.* 20. 98 ff. [9] Bakchyl. 16. 52 ff.

[10] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 311 f.

the operator have been content to be called the son of Zeus; he would have passed for Zeus himself. The epic tradition survived into later times. To be struck by lightning was no small honour[1]; to be slain by it meant apotheosis[2]. Euthymos the boxer had a statue in his native town, the Italian Lokroi, and another at Olympia: both were struck by lightning on the same day—a fact which stamped the worship of the living man with the approval of Zeus[3]. Even to a dead man's tomb lightning added the lustre of divinity. According to Plutarch,—

> Aristotle declares that the honours paid to Lykourgos in Lakedaimon were less than he deserved. And yet those honours were very great; for he has a sanctuary there, and men sacrifice to him yearly as to a god. It is also said that, when his remains were brought home, his tomb was struck by a thunderbolt—a thing that has happened to hardly any other famous personage except Euripides, who died later and was buried near Arethousa in Makedonia. Indeed, lovers of Euripides quote as strong evidence of his merit the fact that he alone after death met with the same fate as the greatest favourite of heaven, the holiest character of the past[4].

Bianor the Bithynian (*c.* 17 A.D.), not content with this, makes the lightning strike his poet's grave three times over:

> In Macedonian dust thou liest low,
> But burnt by Zeus o' the Bolt hast done with clay.
> Thrice flashed his sky, Euripides, and so
> The tomb's tale of mortality purged away[5].

Among the Romans too the fall of lightning was diversely interpreted, being sometimes at least regarded as a presage of good[6]. When a statue of Horatius Cocles in the Comitium was struck, Etruscan *haruspices* bade move it to a lower position, where it would never be shone upon by the sun. But for this they were denounced and put to death. The statue was promoted to a higher place in the Area Volcani, and prosperity resulted for Rome[7]. In 172 B.C. the Columna Rostrata, erected on the Capitol to commemorate the sea-fight of 255 B.C., was shattered by a lightning-flash at night. The *decemviri* ordered a lustration of the city, a

[1] *Infra* p. 22 f.

[2] *Infra* p. 23 ff.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 152. See further *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 275.

[4] Plout. *v. Lycurg.* 31.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* 7. 49 (Bianor) ἀ Μακέτις σε κέκευθε τάφον κόνις· ἀλλὰ πυρωθεὶς | Ζανὶ κεραυνείῳ γαῖαν ἀπημφίασας. | τρὶς γὰρ ἐπαστράψας, Εὐριπίδη, ἐκ Διὸς αἰθὴρ | ἤγνισε τὰν θνατὰν σήματος ἱστορίαν. In line 2 ἀπημφίασας, the reading of Planudes, is preferable to the conjectures ἀπημφιάσω Brunck and Reiske, ἀφηγίασας Reiske, ἀπηχθίασας Polak, ἀπηθρίασας Piccolos, γᾶς ἄπ' ἀνῆλθες ἄπας Schmidt.

[6] A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1882 iv. 46 ff.

[7] *Annal. max.* 11 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 5 Peter) and M. Verrius Flaccus *rerum memoria dignarum* 1 (Fest. ed. Müller praef. p. xiii) *ap.* Gell. 4. 5. 1—7.

public service of humiliation and prayer, and the sacrifice of larger victims both on the Capitol and on the promontory of Minerva in Campania; they further directed that games lasting ten days be celebrated as soon as possible for Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*. But the *haruspices* declared that the presage was a happy one, portending increase of territory and destruction of enemies[1]. Shortly before the death of Augustus, his statue on the Capitol was struck by lightning, and the word *Caesar* on its base lost the initial *C*. The seers concluded that he would live but *C*, *i.e.* a hundred, days longer and then become an *aesar*, *i.e.* the Etruscan term for a god[2]. One of the omens that marked out Antoninus Pius for the throne was the following: 'a thunderbolt fell from a clear sky on his house and did no damage[3].' Another omen of more doubtful character heralded the rise of the elder Maximinus: his lance was split by a thunderbolt, which bisected even the iron blade. The *haruspices* inferred that two emperors called by the same name would spring from his house, but would not reign for long[4]. At Interamna the cenotaphs of the emperor Tacitus and his brother Florianus were surmounted by two marble portraits thirty feet in height. These statues were shivered and scattered by lightning. Thereupon the *haruspices* predicted that a thousand years later a member of the imperial house should conquer the whole of the known world and, after resigning supreme power to the senate, die at the age of a hundred and twenty without leaving an heir behind him[5].

Thus the Zeus-sign retained its significance, good as well as bad, throughout the classical period of Greece and Rome. Julian, writing to Libanios, can still say: 'From Litarba I went to Berroia, and Zeus showed nothing but propitious signs, exhibiting his *Diosemía* for all to behold. There I stopped for a day, saw the *akrópolis*, and sacrificed a white bull to Zeus in kingly fashion[6].'

In dealing with Zeus as god of the weather it will be convenient to consider separately the evidence that connects him with lightning, thunder, earthquakes, clouds, wind, dew, and rain.

[1] Liv. 42. 20. [2] Suet. *Aug.* 97, Dion Cass. 56. 29.

[3] Iul. Capit. *v. Ant. pii* 3. 5.

[4] Iul. Capit. *v. Maximin. duor.* 30. 2 (*v. Maximin. iun.* 4. 2).

[5] Flav. Vopisc. *v. Tacit.* 15. 1—5 (*v. Florian.* 2. 1—5).

[6] Ioul. *epist.* 27 Heyler ἀπὸ τῶν Λιτάρβων εἰς τὴν Βέρροιαν ἐπορευόμην, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς αἴσια πάντα ἐσήμηνεν, ἐναργῆ δείξας τὴν Διοσημίαν (διοσημείαν cod. H corr., followed by Heyler who cp. Ioul. *or.* 7 p. 212 B διοσημειῶν). ἐπιμείνας δὲ ἡμέραν ἐκεῖ, τὴν ἀκρόπολιν εἶδον, καὶ ἔθυσα τῷ Διὶ βασιλικῶς ταῦρον λευκόν.

§ 3. *Zeus and the Lightning.*

(a) Lightning as a flame from the Burning Sky.

At the very moment when the sky was darkest Zeus vindicated his character as 'the Bright One.' The brilliant flash that glittered for an instant against the lowering storm sufficiently proved his presence and his power.

The Homeric poems use the same set of words to describe *aithér*, sun, moon, stars, lightning, fire. From which fact it has been fairly inferred that in popular belief lightning was made of the same material as *aithér*, etc.—was, indeed, but a flame from the flaming sky[1]. Here, as elsewhere, popular belief seems to have left its impress on philosophy; for Anaxagoras regarded lightning as a veritable streak of *aithér*, a fragment of the burning sky that had fallen into the lower stratum of *aér* or cloudy air[2], and the physicist Milon distinguished two species of lightning, diurnal and nocturnal, holding that the former was due to the action of the sun, the latter to that of the stars, upon water[3]. Nay more, the very word *astrapé*, the ordinary Greek term for 'lightning,' itself bears witness to the conviction that the electric flash was akin to all other *ástra*, sun, moon, stars, or Saint Elmo's fire[4].

Another name for the lightning was *keraunós*, the 'destroyer[5].' This is usually translated by the word 'thunderbolt,' but must not be taken to denote a solid missile of any sort. It means nothing more than the bright white flash in its destructive capacity.

i. Zeus *Keraunós.*

Now, if the lightning-flash was part and parcel of the *aithér* or burning sky, it was part and parcel of Zeus. For Zeus in his early

[1] O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 20 f., 619.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 622 n. 1 citing Aristot. *meteor.* 2. 9. 369 b 14 ff., Aët. 3. 3. 4, Senec. *nat. quaestt.* 2. 12. 3, 2. 19.

[3] Stob. *ecl.* 1. 29. 3 p. 238, 13 ff. Wachsmuth, O. Gilbert *op. cit.* p. 637 n. 1.

[4] Plat. *Crat.* 409 c τὰ δ' ἄστρα ἔοικε τῆς ἀστραπῆς ἐπωνυμίαν ἔχειν κ.τ.λ., *et. mag.* p. 159, 57 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 86, 32 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 786, 15 f. Modern philologists accept the connexion: L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 179 ἀστερ- and ἀστεροπή, 180 ἀστράπτειν, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 59 f. ἀστήρ and ἀστραπή, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 92 ἀστράπη (*sic*). See further Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 82 and 191.

[5] Κεραυνός is connected with κεραΐζειν, 'to destroy,' by L. Meyer *op. cit.* ii. 362, Prellwitz *op. cit.* pp. 19, 217, Boisacq *op. cit.* pp. 435, 440. These authorities cp. Sanskrit *çáru-ḥ*, 'dart'; Gothic *hairus*, Old Norse *hiǫrr*, Old Saxon *heru-*, 'sword'; Middle Irish acc. pl. *coire*, 'swords,'—which forms presuppose an Indo-European **k̂eru-s*, 'flint dagger' (?), but do not warrant the inference that the Greeks originally identified the lightning-flash with the thunder-stone (on which see *infra* § 3 (c)).

zoïstic stage *was* the burning sky[1]. Hence Herakleitos had common opinion behind him, when he called his elemental Fire both Zeus and *Keraunós*[2]. The same identification of Zeus with *Keraunós* accounts for an Orphic hymn, which consists of a prayer to Zeus that he will expend his fury on the sea or on mountain-summits and leave mankind in peace, but is headed by the title *Keraunoû*, 'of Keraunos[3].' The equation of Zeus with *Keraunós* is implied also, as H. Weil remarked[4], in the fragment of a Hesiodic *Theogony* which tells how Zeus swallowed Metis—'fearing lest she bear a second offspring stronger than Keraunos[5].' The logic of the passage and the parallel myth of Thetis[6] lead us to expect 'stronger than himself.' But, since the strength of Zeus is chiefly exhibited in the lightning-flash, the poet substitutes the latter for the former. Further evidence of Zeus *Keraunós* came to light in 1868, when P. Foucart found at Mantineia a rough block of limestone inscribed as follows in lettering of the fifth century B.C. (fig. 1)[7]:

Of Zeus Keraunós.

Fig. 1.

The stone appears to have marked some spot struck by lightning.

[1] *Supra* i. 25 ff. [2] *Supra* i. 28.

[3] Orph. *h. Ker.* 19. 1 Ζεῦ πάτερ κ.τ.λ. with the title Κεραυνοῦ. The editors, including E. Abel, alter this quite arbitrarily to Κεραυνίου Διός. A. Dieterich *De hymnis Orphicis* Marburg 1891 p. 19 n. 1 (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 82 n. 2) and H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 3 ff. (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 473 ff.) rightly retain the reading of all the MSS.

[4] H. Weil in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 ii. 50 f.

[5] Quoted by Chrysippos *ap.* Galen. *de Hippocratis et Platonis placitis* 3. 8 (v. 351 f. Kühn) δείσας μὴ τέξῃ κρατερώτερον ἄλλο Κεραυνοῦ. *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (κ).

[6] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (κ).

[7] Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* ii. 209 no. 352 *a*, P. Foucart 'Le Zeus Kéraunos de Mantinée' in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des études grecques en France* No. 4 1875 pp. 23—26 and in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 515, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 101, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 343 no. 1197, O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 18 no. 5, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 761, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* no. 288. See also H. Weil 'Zeus Keraunos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 ii. 50 f., Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 25, G. Fougères *Mantinée et l'Arcadie Orientale* Paris 1898 pp. 221—224, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 727 n. 5, p. 1111 n. 3.

Such a spot would thenceforward be sacred to the fiery sky conceived as flashing downwards; in other words, it would be sacred to Zeus in the character of *Keraunós*[1].

ii. Zeus *Kataibátes*.

Hardly more advanced is the conception of Zeus that underlies his title *Kataibátes*, 'He who descends.' As far back as the close of the seventeenth century this title began to arouse the interest of scholars. E. Holthenus in a letter to J. G. Grævius declared that it had nothing to do with thunderbolts, but denoted Jupiter who 'descended' from heaven to enquire into the truth of worldly things, to punish sinners, and to benefit mankind. This hasty conjecture provoked a reply from P. Burmannus the elder, who in

[1] H. Usener in his *Götternamen* Bonn 1896—one of the greatest modern works on classical religion—argued that Indo-European gods have passed through three stages of development, *viz.* (1) as 'Momentary gods' (*Augenblicksgötter*), (2) as 'Departmental gods' (*Sondergötter*), (3) as 'Personal gods' (*persönliche Götter*). The first stage is represented by such individual and temporary divinities as the εἰρεσιώνη of the Athenian harvester or the spear by which the Arcadian Parthenopaios used to swear: the second, by such specific and limited divinities as those of the Roman *indigitamenta* (Varro's *di certi*) or of ancient Lithuanian cult: the third, by the great personal deities of Greece and Italy. Usener (*ib.* p. 286 ff. and more fully in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 1—30 = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 471—497) contends that Keraunos was first an *Augenblicksgott*, then a *Sondergott*, and lastly an attribute of a *persönlicher Gott*, *i.e.* that, to begin with, any and every lightning-flash was regarded as a divinity, that next men advanced to the more general conception of one lightning-god, and that finally he was absorbed into the larger personality of Zeus. The three stages in the evolution of Keraunos would thus be marked by the terms κεραυνοί, Κεραυνός, and Zeus Κεραύνιος.

With a general criticism of Usener's far-reaching theory I am not here concerned (for its validity in the Greek area see L. R. Farnell 'The place of the *Sonder-Götter* in Greek Polytheism' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 81—100, and in the Italian area G. Wissowa 'Echte und falsche *Sondergötter* in der römischen Religion' in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 pp. 304—326), but with its special applicability to the case of Zeus Κεραυνός. Usener (*Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 16 = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1913 iv. 484) holds that the very expression Zeus Κεραυνός involves an inner contradiction, since it unites the last with the first stage of his evolutionary sequence: Zeus had before the days of Homer developed into a *persönlicher Gott*, the hurler of the lightning; and, if he is here combined with an *Augenblicksgott*, the particular lightning-flash, we can only explain the combination by saying that side by side with the later development of a *persönlicher Gott* the earlier conception of an *Augenblicksgott* has persisted, clinging with amazing tenacity to the actual custom of considering a spot struck by lightning as the abode of a divinity. I confess, I find it easier to suppose—though the supposition is expressly deprecated by Usener—that in this remarkable inscription not only *Keraunós* but Zeus too is still in the zoïstic stage. If even in the philosophy of a Herakleitos Zeus as the fiery sky was equated with *Keraunós*, *à fortiori* might we look to find that combination of primitive ideas in the memorial of an Arcadian rite. On this showing there is no inner inconsistency in the title Zeus Κεραυνός; and we are of course still free to accept Usener's great theory as to the evolution of Indo-European gods.

a learned treatise cited most of the evidence both literary and monumental, and triumphantly demonstrated the essential connexion of the title *Kataibátes* with the lightning-cults of the ancient world[1].

The question has, however, been reopened of late by O. Gruppe, who propounds a wholly fresh solution of the problem[2]. *Kataibátes*—we are to suppose—was originally the name of an ancient deity dwelling in the depths of the earth and invoked by those who desired to conjure up rainy or stormy weather: hence he came to be compared with Zeus the lightning-god, and was ultimately regarded as himself the hurler of the thunderbolt. In other words, a subterranean *Kataibátes* preceded the celestial Zeus *Kataibátes*. In support of this suggestion, Gruppe points out that a Cilician inscription of the second century A.D. mentions 'the god *Kataibátes* and Persephone' together[3]; that in Rhodes and at Athens, according to a scholiast on Aristophanes, Hermes was not only *Chthónios* but also *Kataibátes*[4]; that the same epithet is applied to the river Acheron[5]; and that *katabásion* was a word used of an underground cavern or chasm at Eleusis[6], Lebadeia[7], Aigialos[8], Hierapolis in Phrygia[9], etc.[10] Indeed, it cannot be denied that the title *Kataibátes* would be perfectly appropriate to any deity who descended into the underworld. Nevertheless, it will be observed that the only direct evidence for *Kataibátes* as a separate chthonian divinity is a Cilician inscription of Roman date, whereas the lightning-flash of Zeus is called *kataibátes* by Aischylos as early as 467–458 B.C.[11] Zeus *Kataibátes* himself appears in Greek literature

[1] The letter of E. Holthenus (Trajecti ad Rhenum, pridie Id. Maj. MDC XCIX) is reprinted from the *Bibliotheca novorum librorum* 1699 p. 344 in the second edition of P. Burmannus *Vectigalia populi Romani et* Ζεὺς Καταιβάτης Leidae 1734 p. 217 ff. Holthenus had relied on Ov. *met.* 1. 211 ff., *ib.* 230 f., *fast.* 3. 327 ff.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 148 n. 3, p. 810, p. 1111 n. 3, p. 1677.

[3] L. Deubner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1902 xxvii. 263 cites an imperfectly deciphered inscription over a rock-cut tomb in a mountain behind Anazarba (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 239), line 5 reading *θεοῦ* Καταιβάτου καὶ Φερσεφόνης. He comments: 'damit gelangen wir in die Unterwelt, der auch der im Blitze niederfahrende Gott (Zeus) angehört.'

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 650.

[5] Eur. *Bacch.* 1360 f., cp. Lyk. *Al.* 90 f. 'Αχερουσία *τρίβος* | *καταιβάτις*, Ap. Rhod. 2. 353 f. *ἔνθα μὲν εἰς* Ἀΐδαο *καταιβάτις ἐστὶ κέλευθος*, | *ἄκρη τε προβλὴς* Ἀχερουσιὰς *ὑψόθι τείνει*.

[6] Asterios *homil.* 10 (xl. 324 Migne), cp. Athen. 496 B.

[7] Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508.

[8] Souid. *s.v.* *πορθμήιον*.

[9] Damask. *v. Isid. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 344 b 35 ff. Bekker.

[10] See Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1024 C *s.v.* καταβάσιον.

[11] Aisch. *P.v.* 358 f. ἀλλ' *ἦλθεν αὐτῷ* Ζηνὸς *ἄγρυπνον βέλος*, | *καταιβάτης κεραυνὸς ἐκπνέων φλόγα*. So Orph. *h. Ker.* 19. 11 f. *πρηστῆρος* | *οὐράνιον βέλος ὀξὺ καταιβάτου αἰθαλόεντος*, Lyk. *Al.* 382 f. *καταιβάτης* | *σκηπτός*, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 696 *τῶν γὰρ*

from 421 B.C. onwards[1], and is by the universal testimony of the grammarians and lexicographers the god 'who makes to descend' the thunderbolts[2]. This indeed is not quite exact as a rendering of his title, which should rather be the god 'who descends' himself in the form of a thunderbolt; but it sufficiently indicates that the epithet denoted the fall of the lightning-flash from sky to earth.

(*a*) The altars of Zeus *Kataibátes*.

Zeus *Kataibátes* did not often acquire civic importance. But in Syria, where the cult of the thunderbolt played a large part[3], he rose to the rank of a state-deity. Imperial coppers of Kyrrhos show Zeus enthroned on a rock[4] with thunderbolt and sceptre, and the legend expressly designates him 'Zeus *Kataibátes* of the Cyrrhestians' (fig. 3)[5]. Frequently an eagle is added at his feet (fig. 4)[6].

κερανυῶν οἱ μὲν καταβάται κ.τ.λ., and without a second substantive Niket. Chon. *de Isaacio Angelo* 1 p. 471 Bekker *ὡς καταιβάτῃ πληγέντες ἢ βροντῆς ἤχῳ ἐξαισίας παρακοπέντες τὸν νοῦν...ἀνεβάλλοντο τὴν μάχην καὶ ἐξετάσσοντο ῥαθύμως*. Cp. the Apolline oracle cited by Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 6. 3. 1 (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 146. 11 f.) *οὐδὲ μένουσιν | εἰσιδέειν ὅσσοισι καταιβάσιον Διὸς ἔγχος.*

[1] Aristoph. *pax* 42 (where with H. Sharpley read *Διὸς σκαταιβότου* to point the jest), Klearchos *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 306 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 522 D—F, Lyk. *Al.* 1370, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 6, Apollod. *frag.* 34 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 434 Müller) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 13 Lang, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf), Paus. 5. 14. 10, Poll. 1. 24, 9. 41, Liban. *or.* 15. 32 (ii. 131, 11 f. Foerster), Hesych. *s.v.* Καταιβάτης, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265, 266, 274, 282.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 42, Souid. *s.v.* Καταιβάτης Ζεύς, *et. mag.* pp. 341, 7 ff., 494, 41 f.

[3] *Infra* § 3 (c) iv (ε).

[4] *Supra* i. 124.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 133 pl. 17, 4 Trajan ΔΙΟCΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΡΗCΤΩΝ with mint-mark B in exergue, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 134 Trajan, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 260 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1167 M. Aurelius, 1168 Commodus, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 214 Münztaf. 3, 16.

Fig. 2.

The cult of Zeus at Kyrrhos is attested also by coppers of Alexandros i Balas, king of Syria, struck in 148 B.C., which have as reverse type Zeus standing with uplifted wreath and an owl at his feet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 56 pl. 16, 14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 66, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 260, Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1166, Suppl. ii. 349, Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 766, 777). I figure a sample in the Leake collection at Cambridge (fig. 2).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 134 ff. Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus (I illustrate p. 135 no. 20 L. Verus [ΔΙΟCΚΑΤЄΒΑΤ]ΟΥ ΚΥΡΡΗCΤΩΝ with mint-mark A in exergue), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 134 f. Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Commodus, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 260 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1167 f. Trajan, Antoninus Pius, M. Aurelius, L. Verus, Suppl. ii. 350 M. Aurelius, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 777.

Sometimes the god is seated in his temple (figs. 5, 6)[1]. But

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

Fig. 5.

Fig. 6.

usually the cult was a more modest affair. Thus on the top of the hill Perianti in Melos there is a rough rock-cut altar simply

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 137 Philippus Senior, p. 137 pl. 17, 6 Philippus Iunior (=my fig. 5), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 135 Philippus Iunior, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 65 no. 430 pl. 10 Philippus Iunior, Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 260 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1168 f. Caracalla, Philippus Senior, Philippus Iunior, Suppl. ii. 350 f. Elagabalos, Philippus Senior, Philippus Iunior, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 214 f. Münztaf. 3, 17, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 777.

The legend ΔΙΟC ΚΑ ΤЄΒ ΑΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΗCΤΩΝ involves two peculiarities in spelling. The former, Κατεβάτης for Καταβάτης, is very frequent from the time of Trajan onward: some specimens struck by Philippus Senior even shorten the title to Κτεβάτης (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 137 no. 32 ΔΙΟCΚΤЄ ΒΑ ΤΟΥ ΚΥΡΗCΤΩΝ) —I figure a sample in my collection (fig. 6). The latter, Κυρηστῶν for Κυρρηστῶν, is common on coins struck by the Philippi, and regular in ecclesiastical and Byzantine writers (Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 737).

The running ram above the temple was regarded by W. Wroth as 'a mint-symbol, corresponding to the Capricorn at Zeugma, and (perhaps) to the Pegasos at Samosata' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. 1 f., 137 n.*). The closest parallel, however, is the running ram above the temple of Tyche at Antiocheia on the Orontes (*ib.* p. 222 pl. 25, 12, p. 229 pl. 26, 4 f.), which 'has been explained by K. O. Müller [*Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 p. 25] as a sign of the zodiac, indicating the period of the year at which the foundation of the city took place' (W. Wroth *ib.* p. lix citing J. de Witte in the *Rev. Num.* 1844 p. 11). Possibly the ram, when placed above a building, should rather be taken to represent an *akrotérion*, comparable *e.g.* with the eagle on coins of Seleukeia Pieria (Append. B Syria) or with the more ambitious groups on coins of Berytos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 77 f. pl. 10, 4 and 6, p. 81 ff. pl. 10, 9—11, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 54 f. nos. 361, 363 pl. 8). If so, it is probable (cp. *supra* i. 292 ff. for solar *akrotéria*, i. 346 ff., 428 ff. for solar ram) that this ram was a prophylactic sun-sign. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 215 hazards the very precarious suggestion that it was 'das Symbol der Wolke, aber der fruchtbaren, lichten Wolke.'

inscribed with the Doric name of Zeus *Kataibátas* (fig. 7)[1]. A rock that crops out from the Three Churches field in the same locality is probably another open air altar and bears the remains of a similar inscription[2]. Sir Cecil Smith remarks: 'The exposed and prominent position of these two rocks is appropriate to the divinity "that descends in thunder and lightning[3]."' Again, an oblong stone

Fig. 7.

Fig. 8.

altar found below the *Agora* at Thera is inscribed with the same words (fig. 8)[4], which—as M. P. Nilsson points out—need not be taken to denote that the spot had actually been struck by lightning, but may have served a merely prophylactic or prudential purpose[5].

A marble block from *Koutiphari* near Thalamai in Lakonike com-

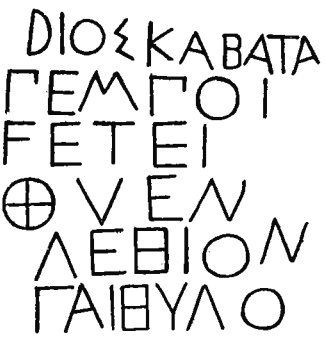


Fig. 9.

[1] Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 9 no. 22 with fig. (=my fig. 7), *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 1093, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 216 no. 4880 Διὸς Κατ|αιβάτ[α].

[2] Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 8 f. no. 21 with fig., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 1094, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 216 no. 4881 [Διὸς Κατα]ιβάτα.

[3] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 9.

[4] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1360 with fig. (=my fig. 8), F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 174 fig. 171 Διὸς Κα|ταιβάτα.

[5] M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 315 ('sein Altar diente so zu sagen als Blitzableiter').

memorates Zeus *Kabátas*, a pre-Doric[1] form of *Katabátas*, and adds some details as to his ritual (fig. 9)[2]. The lettering is that of the early fifth century B.C., and the dedicator, a certain Gaisylos[3], prescribes that once in four years an offering of meal (?)[4] be made to the god. The period of this private sacrifice was probably regulated by the great public *pentaeterís* of Zeus *Olýmpios*[5]. The meal(?) may imply the chthonian[6] nature of a deity, who with his fructifying stroke penetrated the dark womb of earth.

[1] So F. Solmsen 'Vordorisches in Lakonien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 329—338, comparing Alkm. *frag.* 38. 2 Bergk[4] (56. 2 Hiller—Crusius) *καβαίνων*, Hesych. *s.v. κάβασι· κατάβηθι. Λάκωνες*, and the like.

[2] Petrides in Πανδώρα 1868 xviii. 338, E. S. Forster in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 171 f., *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1316 pl. 1. Cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 473 and in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 313—316, F. Solmsen *ib.* 1907 lxii. 329—338. I figure the inscription as published by E. S. Forster *loc. cit.*, amending lines 4 and 5 and completing line 6 by the help of the facsimile in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i pl. 1. Forster subsequently informed Nilsson (*Gr. Feste* p. 473) that the *τ* of *πέμπτωι* in line 2 was not missing, but inserted on a smaller scale. W. Kolbe, however, states (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i. 245): 'Neque vero ullum vestigium in ectypo claro agnosci potest.' On this showing the text runs: Διὸς Καβάτα. | *πέμπ<τ>ωι* | *ἔτει* | *θόην* | [*ἀ*]*λήιον.* | Γαι*ρύλω*. | Γαι*ρύλω*.

[3] The reading Γαι*ρύλω* is that of W. Kolbe, who cp. Plout. *v. Dion.* 49 Γαισύλῳ τῷ Σπαρτιάτῃ. E. S. Forster in a letter to M. P. Nilsson (*Gr. Feste* p. 473) had conjectured Γαιβόλο[ι] as a second epithet of Zeus: but this, as F. Solmsen (*Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 330) remarks, would at least have been Γαιαβόλοι. R. Meister in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 281 n. 1 suggested Γαιαf*όχοι* on the strength of Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 79, 9=Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 262 ff. no. 264, 9=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 10 f. no. 4416, 9=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 946, 9=M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 64 f. no. 440, 9 *ἐν* Γαιαf*όχω*. M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 314 abandons the search for a cult-title and proposes γαιᾶχο[ν], 'der Ackerbesitzer' (cp. Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 79, 3 Πολιάχοι), which, as W. Kolbe points out, suits neither the space nor the letters on the stone.

[4] M. P. Nilsson's [*ἀ*]λήιον, cp. Hesych. ἀλήσιον· *πᾶν τὸ ἀληλεσμένον* (*Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 314 f.), is much better than E. S. Forster's [*ἐ*]λήιον for *ἰλήσιον, 'a propitiatory offering' (?) (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 172), which would necessarily appear as [*ἀι*]λήιον, cp. *Olympia* v. 367 ff. no. 252=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 5 f. no. 4405=Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 261 f. no. 261 *ἱληf*ώ[*ς*] (F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 330).

[5] M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 315.

[6] P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 13—16 ('Οὐλαί'), 17—33 ('Opferblut und Opfergerste') shows that the Homeric custom of strewing barley-grains (*οὐλαί, οὐλόχυται*) on the ground before sacrifice originated in an offering to Ge as producer of vegetable life and in post-Homeric times acquired a cathartic meaning (cp. P. Stengel 'Οὐλαί' in *Hermes* 1894 xxix. 627—629, H. von Fritze 'Οὐλαί' *ib.* 1897 xxxii. 235—250, H. von Prott in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1900 cii. 82 f., L. Ziehen 'Οὐλόχυται' in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 391—400).

The use of ground barley-grains or meal was presumably of later origin (so Theophr. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 6, cp. Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 6, schol. *Il.* 2. 410, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 132, 22 ff., Souid. *s.v. οὐλοθυτεῖν*—cited by P. Stengel), but of similar significance. Odysseus is bidden by Kirke to dig a hole in the earth and to pour drink-offerings for the dead *ἐπὶ*

The cult of Zeus *Kataibátes* was by no means confined to the Dorians. In Paros at the northern foot of Mount Kynados close to

δ' ἄλφιτα λευκὰ παλύνειν (*Od.* 10. 520, cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1668, 28 ff.). Initiates into the mysteries were sprinkled with meal (Aristoph. *nub.* 258 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*). The καγηφόροι had their heads whitened with it (Hermipp. *dei frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 389 f. Meineke) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1551, cp. Aristoph. *eccl.* 730 ff.). So had the three mantic Semnai of Parnassos (*h. Herm.* 552 ff.: see Mr E. E. Sikes *ad loc.* and his Append. iii). We hear also of ἀλευρομάντεις, ἀλφιτομάντεις, ἀλφιτοσκόποι, κριθομάντεις (A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 182 and in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 299, E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1374, 1637, W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 185, and for mediaeval relics of the art W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1899 x. 552). In Kos on the first day of the month Panamos (=Boedromion 1) meal was burnt for Hestia Ταμία (W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 285 f. no. 401, 8 ff. part of a *stele* of blue marble from Kephalos [.....Πα]νάμου νευμηνίᾳ· 'Α|[.....] καὶ 'Ιστίᾳ Ταμίᾳ πλ(α)|[κοῦντα (?), ἀλφί]των ἡμίεκτον κα[ὶ]|[.... ταῦτα θύε]ται ἐπὶ τᾶς ἰστίας, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 403 no. 3731, 8 ff. C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 104 f. no. 338, 8 ff. read [κριθέ]ων (?) for [ἀλφί]των in line 10). Meal is burnt by the Coan (?) Simaitha as a means of recalling her truant lover (Theokr. 2. 18 ff. ἄλφιτά τοι πρῶτον πυρὶ τάκεται· ἀλλ' ἐπίπασσε, | Θεστυλί... | πάσσ' ἄμα καὶ λέγε ταῦτα· 'τὰ Δέλφιδος ὀστία πάσσω,' cp. schol. vet. Theokr. 2. 18a Wendel p. 275, 7 f. εἰώθασιν αἱ φαρμακίδες κεχρῆσθαι ἀλεύροις, 18b Wendel p. 275, 9 f. ὡς τῶν μαγευουσῶν ἄλφιτα θυουσῶν. ταῦτα δὲ καὶ θυλήματα ἔλεγον). It is also repeatedly mentioned by the magical *papyri* as an ingredient in binding charms (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 85 f. pap. Par. 2583, 2586 (both in an ἐπάναγκος λόγος), 2647 (in ἐχθρόν τι θυμίασμα), *id. Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 38 Brit. Mus. pap. 121. 548=F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 101 no. 121, 539 κατανάγκης ἄλευρα (where κατανάγκη is the plant so named), C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 112 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 386=F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 77 no. 46, 372 (in a charm for procuring an oracular dream), cp. C. Leemans *Papyri Graeci Musei Antiquarii Publici Lugduni-Batavi* Leyden 1885 ii. 221 pap. X pag. 6, 29 f. τρίβουσι χρυσὸν καὶ | μόλιβον λιπίτα (leg. λεπίδα) ὡς ἄλευρα (in a recipe for gilding bronze)). The sacrificial use of meal is further attested by the Pythagorean dictum in D. Erasmus *adagia* chil. 1 cent. 1 (ed. Parisiis 1571 p. 20) ne sacrificato sine farina μὴ θύειν ἄτερ ἀλφίτων=Plout. *v. Num.* 14.

For Latin evidence see *e.g.* Plaut. *Amph.* 2. 2. 107 f. te prodigiali Iovi | aut mola salsa hodie aut ture conprecatam oportuit, Cic. *de div.* 2. 37 caput est in iecore, cor in extis: iam abscedet, simul ac molam et vinum insperseris, Verg. *ecl.* 8. 82 sparge molam, *Aen.* 2. 132 f. mihi sacra parari, | et salsae fruges, 4. 517 ff. ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta, | ... | testatur moritura deos, 5. 744 f. Pergameumque Larem et canae penetralia Vestae | farre pio et plena supplex veneratur acerra, Hor. *od.* 3. 23. 3 f. si ture placaris et horna | fruge (which probably means corn-ears rather than meal) Lares, 19 f. mollivit aversos Penatis | farre pio et saliente mica, *sat.* 2. 3. 199 ff. tu cum pro vitula statuis dulcem Aulide natam | ante aras spargisque mola caput, inprobe, salsa, | rectum animi servas?, Tib. 1. 5. 13 f. ipse procuravi ne possent saeva nocere | somnia, ter sancta deveneranda mola, 3. 4. 9 f. hominum genus omina noctis | farre pio placant et saliente sale?, Ov. *fast.* 1. 337 f. (Jan. 9 Agonium) ante, deos homini quod conciliare valeret, | far erat et puri lucida mica salis, 2. 538 (Feb. 21 Feralia) et sparsae fruges parcaque mica salis, 3. 284 (March 1) vinaque dat tepidis farraque salsa focis, 4. 409 f. (Apr. 12 Ludi Cereri) farra deae micaeque licet salientis honorem | detis et in veteres turea grana focos, Val. Max. 2. 5. 5 in sacrificiis mola quae vocatur ex farre et sale constat. exta farre sparguntur, Plin. *nat. hist.* praef. 11 mola litant salsa qui non habent tura, 12. 83 nec minus propitii erant mola salsa supplicantibus, immo vero...placatiores, 18. 7 Numa

the church named *Panagias Koimesis* is a broken base, the upper surface of which is holed and inscribed :

ΔΙΟΣ
ΚΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΕΩ

'Of Zeus *Kataibátes*.'

Near by lies the *stéle*, which originally fitted into the hole[1]. At Athens too Zeus *Kataibátes* was worshipped[2]. A square base or altar of Hymettian marble, built into a later fabric outside the precinct of Zeus *Olýmpios* to the north, had the same inscription as the altars already mentioned : to judge from the shape of the letters, it was erected in the first century B.C.[3] It is known also that Zeus *Kataibátes* had an altar in or near the Akademeia, where he bore the further title of *Mórios*[4]. Finally, the cult of this deity is pre-

instituit deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare atque, ut auctor est Hemina (*frag.* 12 in *Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 70 Peter), far torrere, quoniam tostum cibo salubrius esset, id uno modo consecutus, statuendo non esse purum ad rem divinam nisi tostum, 31. 89 maxime tamen in sacris intellegitur auctoritas (*sc.* salis), quando nulla conficiuntur sine mola salsa, Pers. *sat.* 2. 75 farre litabo, Lucan. 1. 609 f. iam fundere Bacchum | coeperat obliquoque molas inducere cultro, Mart. *ep.* 7. 54. 1 ff. semper mane mihi de me tua somnia narras, | ... | consumpsi salsasque molas et turis acervos, Sen. *de benef.* 1. 6. 3 boni etiam farre ac fitilla religiosi sunt, *Thyest.* 687 f. non tura desunt, non sacer Bacchi liquor | tangensve fusa victimam culter mola, Paul. ex Fest. p. 3, 10 f. Müller, p. 3, 19 ff. Lindsay ador farris genus, edor quondam appellatum ab edendo, vel quod aduratur, ut fiat tostum, unde in sacrificio mola salsa efficitur, p. 141, 31 f. Müller, p. 124, 13 f. Lindsay mola etiam vocatur far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiae aspergantur, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 133 sal et far quod dicitur mola salsa, qua et frons victimae et foci aspergebantur et cultri : fiebant autem de horna fruge et horno sale, ut Horatius 'et horna fruge,' interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 82 far enim pium, id est mola casta, salsa, utrumque enim idem significat, ita fit: virgines Vestales tres maximae ex nonis Maiis ad pridie Idus Maias alternis diebus spicas adoreas in corbibus messuariis ponunt, easque spicas ipsae virgines torrent, pinsunt, molunt, atque ita molitum condunt. ex eo farre virgines ter in anno molam faciunt, Lupercalibus, Vestalibus, Idibus Septembribus, adiecto sale cocto et sale duro.

[1] O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 176 n. 1 Δι[ὸς] | Καται[βάτ]εω, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 177 in note on no. 4762 *Διὸς καταιβάτεω*, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 233 Διὸς | Καταιβάτεω.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 42 Καταιβάτης δὲ τιμᾶται ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, παρὰ τὸ καταβιβάζειν τοὺς κεραυνούς. ἢ ἀπὸ τῶν κεραυνῶν τῶν ἄνωθεν πιπτόντων. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταβαίνειν δι' ἔρωτα τῶν χθονίων γυναικῶν (so F. Dübner : cod. Rav. omits the second explanation, and cod. Ven. the words παρ' Ἀθηναίοις) = Souid. *s.v.* Καταιβάτης Ζεὺς παρ' Ἀθηναίοις· παρὰ τὸ καταβιβάζειν τοὺς κεραυνούς. ἢ ἀπὸ τοῦ καταβαίνειν δι' ἔρωτα τῶν γυναικῶν.

[3] S. A. Kumanudis in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 61 f. no. 7 [Δ]ιὸς | [Κ]αταιβάτου, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1672 *b* · ΙΟΣ | · ΑΤΑΙΒΑΤΟΥ, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 343.

[4] Apollod. *frag.* 34 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 434 Müller) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705 Μορίου Διός : Μόριον Δία εἶπεν τὸν ἐπόπτην τῶν μορίων ἐλαιῶν· καὶ ἔστιν ὁ λεγόμενος Μόριος Ζεὺς <περὶ Ἀκαδήμειαν> ὡς φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος, "περὶ Ἀκαδήμειάν ἐστιν ὅ τε τοῦ Καταιβάτου Διὸς βωμὸς ὃν καὶ Μόριον καλοῦσι τῶν ἐκεῖ μορίων παρὰ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἱδρυμένων," K. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1133, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 365. *Infra* § 3 (b).

supposed by the fact that the spot where Demetrios Poliorketes, the would-be Zeus[1], first set foot on Athenian soil was consecrated to him as Demetrios *Kataibátes*[2].

(β) The *ábata* of Zeus *Kataibátes*.

The ground adjoining such altars was sometimes treated as an *ábaton* or holy place 'not to be trodden' by profane feet. At Olympia near the great altar of ashes was 'an altar of *Kataibátes* Zeus protected on all sides by a fence[3].' Built into the ruins of a Turkish house to the north of the north-eastern corner of the Parthenon was a broken slab of Pentelic marble, which proves the existence of a lightning-*ábaton* on the Akropolis at Athens[4]: its inscription, which appears to date from the latter part of the fourth century B.C., runs as follows:

'Holy ground of Zeus *Kataibátes*[5].'

An almost identical inscription was discovered on a fragment of marble south of the Akropolis in or near the Asklepieion[6]. There can be no doubt that these *ábata* were simply places that had been struck by lightning and were therefore regarded as the habitation of Zeus *Kataibátes*. The *Etymologicum Magnum* says that *enelýsia* or spots struck by lightning were dedicated to Zeus *Kataibátes* and spoken of as *ádyta* or *ábata*[7]. Pollux similarly states that *enelýsia*

[1] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 302 f., *supra* i. 58.

[2] Plout. *v. Demetr.* 10 καὶ τὸν τόπον, ὅπου πρῶτον ἀπέβη τοῦ ἅρματος, καθιερώσαντες καὶ βωμὸν ἐπιθέντες Δημητρίου Καταιβάτου προσηγόρευσαν, Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 54. 6 p. 42, 24 ff. Stählin καὶ ἔνθα μὲν ἀπέβη τοῦ ἵππου Ἀθήναζε εἰσιών, Καταιβάτου ἱερόν ἐστι Δημητρίου, βωμοὶ δὲ πανταχοῦ.

[3] Paus. 5. 14. 10 τοῦ δὲ Καταιβάτου Διὸς προβέβληται μὲν πανταχόθεν πρὸ τοῦ βωμοῦ φράγμα, ἔστι δὲ πρὸς τῷ βωμῷ τῷ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῷ μεγάλῳ. On this passage see W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* i. 84 (altar no. 31).

[4] A. Lolling in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 144 f. suggested that the precinct to which this stone belonged might be brought into connexion with the statue of Ge praying Zeus to rain upon her (Paus. 1. 24. 3) and the rock-cut inscription of Ge Καρποφόρος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 166). W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 255 is content to say: 'Mit Wahrscheinlichkeit dürfen wir auf der Burg...ein Heiligtum des Zeus Kataibates vermuten.'

[5] Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 144 no. 1 Διὸς Κα[τ]|αιβάτο[υ] | ἄβατον, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1659 *b*, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 748, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 577.

[6] J. Delamarre in the *Rev. Philol.* 1895 xix. 129 f., S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1895 ii. 234, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 Add. no. 1659 *e*, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 747 [Δι]ὸ[ς Καται]|βάτο· Ἄβ[ατον]|| ἱερόν, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 577 n. 1 [Δι]ὸ[ς Καται]|βάτο ἄβ[ατον]| ἱερόν. The inscription was found *south* of the Akropolis: Dittenberger by an oversight says 'ad radices septentrionalis arcis Atheniarum.'

[7] *Et. mag.* p. 341, 5 ff. ἐνηλύσια· εὐκίνητα. καὶ ἤλυσιν· τὴν ἔλευσιν (we should perhaps read εὐκίνητα, παρὰ τὴν ἤλυσιν τὴν ἔλευσιν). Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἀργείοις· Καπανεύς μου (μοι F.) καταλείπεται λοιποῖς ἀκέραυνος ἀρούρων (ἀρόρων D.F.P., ἄρθρων M. Schmidt) ἐπηλυσίων (ἐνηλυσίων Stanley) ἀπέλιπεν (A. Nauck prints as Aisch. *frag.* 17 Καπανεύς μοι κατα-

were places on to which a bolt from the sky had dashed down or descended, that the Zeus of the bolt was called *Kataibátes*, and that such places were fenced round and left untouched[1]. Artemidoros adds that altars were erected there and sacrifices offered[2].

(γ) The *Dióbletos* or Zeus-struck man in Elysium.

Spots where Zeus had descended in the form of lightning were known, not only as *enelýsia*, but also as *elýsia*[3]. Fenced about from the foot of common mortals and reserved for Zeus himself, they were both in name and in nature so many 'Elysian fields[4].' Consequently a man struck by lightning was literally *enelýsios*, 'in Elysium[5].' To modern ears it sounds a grim jest to talk of Elysium in such a case. But, after all, the attitude of the ancients was thoroughly consistent. Zeus fell as a lightning-flash. The man on whom he fell was therefore *Dióbletos* or *Dioblés*, 'struck by Zeus[6].' And the divinity thus conveyed to him made him immortal, or at least imperishable—witness Plutarch:

We all know well enough that the bodies of those who are struck by lightning do not decay. Many persons neither burn them nor bury them, but just fence them round and leave them, so that their corpses are seen in a state of perpetual

λείπεται | λοιποῖς ἀκέραυνος ἄρθρων | ἐπηλυσίων ἀπέλιπεν, but notes 'locus corruptissimus'). *οἱ δὲ τὰ κατασκηφθέντα. οὕτως εἰς τὸ Ῥητορικόν. εἰς δὲ τοὺς Ἐτυμολόγους εὕρον·...ἐνηλύσια· ἐνηλύσια λέγεται εἰς ἃ κεραυνὸς εἰσβέβηκεν· ἃ καὶ ἀνατίθεται Διὶ Καταιβάτῃ, καὶ λέγεται ἄδυτα καὶ ἄβατα.* Cp. Hesych. *s.v. ἐνηλύσια· τὰ κατασκηφθέντα χωρία <ἐνη* (add. M. Musurus) > *λύσια λέγονται· ἔνιοι δὲ εὐκίνητα, παρὰ τὴν <ἥλυσιν τὴν* (add. M. Schmidt) > *ἔλευσιν· ἄλλοι δὲ τὰς ἐν τοῖς ἀβάτοις χωρίοις ἀφιδρυμένας νύμφας.*

[1] Poll. 9. 41 *τὰ μέντοι ἐνηλύσια οὕτως ὠνομάζετο εἰς ἃ κατασκήψειε βέλος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ, ὃ καὶ ἐνσκῆψαι καὶ ἐγκατασκῆψαι καὶ κατελθεῖν ἔλεγον, καὶ τὸν Δία τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ Καταιβάτην. περιειρχθέντα δὲ τὰ ἐνηλύσια ἄψαυστα ἀνεῖτο.* The expression *τὸν Δία τὸν ἐπ' αὐτῷ* denotes strictly 'the Zeus set over it' (the bolt).

[2] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 9 *ὁ κεραυνὸς τὰ μὲν ἄσημα τῶν χωρίων ἐπίσημα ποιεῖ διὰ τοὺς ἐνιδρυμένους βωμοὺς καὶ τὰς ἐν αὐτοῖς γινομένας θυσίας, τὰ δὲ πολιτελῆ χωρία ἔρημα καὶ ἄβατα ποιεῖ, οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἐν αὐτοῖς ἐνδιατρίβειν ἔτι θέλει.*

[3] Hesych. *s.v. ἠλύσιον·...ἄλλοι κεκεραυνωμένον χωρίον ἢ πεδίον· τὰ δὲ τοιαῦτά εἰσιν ἄβατα, καλεῖται δὲ καὶ ἐνηλύσια· Πολέμων δὲ Ἀθηναίους φησὶ καὶ ἄλλοι τινὲς τὸ κατασκαφὲν χωρίον ἢ ἱερόν* (regarding *καὶ ἄλλοι τινές* as a gloss on *Πολέμων*, *κατασκαφέν* with L. Küster as a blunder for *κατασκηφθέν*, and *ἢ ἱερόν* as a gloss on *χωρίον*, we may emend *Πολέμων δὲ Ἀθηναίους φησὶ τὸ κατασκηφθὲν χωρίον ἠλύσιον καλεῖν*) = Souid. *s.v. ἠλύσιον* = Phot. *lex. s.v. ἠλύσιον*, cp. *et. mag.* p. 428, 30 ff. See further G. Bernhardy on Souid. *loc. cit.* and C. Müller on Polemon *frag.* 93 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 146) = *frag.* 5 (*Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 89 Tresp).

[4] The lexicographers cited in the preceding note state that *Ἠλύσιον* is, according to some, *κεκεραυνωμένον χωρίον ἢ πεδίον*. Eudok. *viol.* 438 in her account of the Elysian plain repeats the statement: *οἱ δὲ τὸ κεκεραυνωμένων χωρίον ἢ πεδίον*. L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 640 is not averse from connecting *Ἠλύσιον*, 'Elysium,' with *ἠλύσιον*, 'a spot struck by lightning.'

[5] Hesych. *s.v. ἐνηλύσιος· ἐμβρόντητος. κεραυνόβλητος.*

[6] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1508 c *s.vv.* Διοβλής, Διόβλητος, Διόβολος.

incorruption... I imagine too that the divine substance [sulphur] gets its name from the likeness of its smell to the fiery and pungent smell rubbed out of things hit by lightning; and it seems to me that this is why even dogs and birds abstain from the bodies of those who have been struck by Zeus[1].

Others inform us that victims of lightning were buried on the spot where they fell[2]. Artemidoros says that a man so struck down, even if poor, became suddenly famous. If a slave, he had fine clothing put upon him, as though he were freed, and men approached him as one honoured by Zeus. Nay more, every man struck by lightning was treated as a god[3].

(δ) Death by lightning as euthanasia.

In this connexion it should be observed that various myths represent death by lightning as a kind of euthanasia[4]. Kapaneus, when struck, becomes 'a sacred corpse[5]' and receives 'a sacred tomb[6].' His pyre is described as 'Zeus' treasury[7]'—a remarkable phrase, to which H. Usener has justly drawn attention[8]. When Herakles' pyre had been kindled, thunderbolts fell from the sky and consumed it: his friends, finding no bones, concluded that he had gone from men to join the gods, and thereupon worshipped him as a hero[9]. Asklepios was struck by a thunderbolt from Zeus, and

[1] Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 3.

[2] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 9 *οὐ γὰρ οἱ κεραυνωθέντες μετατίθενται, ἀλλ' ὅπου ἂν ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς καταληφθῶσιν ἐνταῦθα θάπτονται.* A law of Numa Pompilius enjoined that a man killed by lightning should not be lifted higher than the knees, and should not have funeral rites (Fest. p. 178 *b* 20 ff. Müller, p. 190, 7 ff. Lindsay itaque in Numae Pompili regis legibus scriptum esse: 'si hominem fulminibus (Scaliger cj. fulmen Iovis) occisit, ne supra genua tollito (C. O. Müller cj. tollitor).' et alibi: 'homo si fulmine occisus est, ei iusta nulla fieri oportet.' Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 145 hominem ita exanimatum cremari (so codd. E.[2] p.: cremare codd. F. R. d. T.) fas non est, condi terra religio tradidit).

[3] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 9 *ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ κεραυνωθεὶς αἰφνίδιον παρασημότερος γίγνεται...καὶ ἔφασκον εἶναι ἀγαθὸν δούλοις τὸ κεραυνοῦσθαι, ὅτι οὔτε δεσπότας ἔτι οἱ κεραυνωθέντες ἔχουσιν οὔτε κάμνουσι, λαμπρὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῖς περιτίθεται ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖσι, καὶ προσίασιν αὐτοῖς ὡς ὑπὸ Διὸς τετιμημένοις οἱ ἄνθρωποι ὡς καὶ τοῖς ἐλευθερωθεῖσιν ὑπὸ δεσποτῶν τετιμημένοις* (J. G. Reiff *ad loc.*: 'Ita cum Cod. B scripsi, qui tamen pro *περιτίθεται* habet: *ἐπιτίθεται.* Libri hunc locum ita habebant: *λαμπρὰ δὲ ἱμάτια αὐτοῖς περιτίθεται ὡς ὑπὸ διὸς τετιμημένοις.*')*...οὐδεὶς γὰρ κεραυνωθεὶς ἄτιμός ἐστιν. ὅθεν* (ὅπου cod. B.) *γε καὶ ὡς θεὸς τιμᾶται.* Cp. Kyrillos *katech.* 13. 37 *πολυμαθὴς γενόμενος...ἐπιστόμιζε..."Ἕλληνας ἐκ τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς μυθολογουμένων. αὐτοὶ κεκεραυνωμένους προσκυνοῦσιν. κεραυνὸς δὲ ἐξ οὐρανῶν ἐρχόμενος οὐκ ἀκρίτως ἔρχεται. εἰ ἐκεῖνοι τοὺς κεραυνωθέντας θεομισεῖς προσκυνοῦντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται, σὺ τὸν θεοφιλῆ καὶ υἱὸν θεοῦ τὸν ἐσταυρωμένον ὑπὲρ σοῦ προσκυνεῖν αἰσχύνῃ;*

[4] Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 320 ff.

[5] Eur. *suppl.* 935 *ἱρὸν ὡς νεκρόν.*

[6] *Ib.* 981 *τύμβον θ' ἱερόν.*

[7] *Ib.* 1010 *Διὸς θησαυρόν.* F. Wieseler, followed by N. Wecklein, cj. *δρυὸς θησαυρόν*—a pointless alteration. Kapaneus, struck by the lightning, is charged with divinity and treated as a Zeus incarnate.

[8] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 10.

[9] Diod. 4. 38.

subsequently apotheosised[1]. Erechtheus, slain by Zeus with a thunderbolt at the request of Poseidon[2], was venerated as a god in the Erechtheion at Athens. Romulus likewise was caught up to heaven in a thunderstorm, and afterwards appeared to Proculus Iulius in more than mortal beauty and announced that he had become the god Quirinus[3]. And sundry kings, who posed as Zeus or Iupiter during their life-time, are said to have met their death by a thunderbolt launched from the hands of the offended deity[4]—a moralising statement which has probably obscured the real significance of their fate[5].

Semele too was blasted by lightning (pl. i and figs. 10—12)[6].

Fig. 10.

[1] See Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1654. Note especially Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22. 7 Aesculapius ut in deum surgat fulminatur.

[2] Hyg. *fab.* 46. See *infra* § 3 (c) iv (γ).

[3] Liv. 1. 16. 1 ff., Ov. *fast.* 2. 475 ff., Plout. *v. Rom.* 27 f., Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 56, *alib.*

[4] So Salmoneus (*infra* Append. M), Periphas (*infra* Append. M), Romulus Silvius (Ov. *met.* 14. 617 f., cp. Dionys. *ant. Rom.* 1. 71).

[5] *Infra* Append. M.

[6] Vase-paintings that portray Zeus, brandishing a thunderbolt, in pursuit of a terrified

a

b

Amphora from Nola, now in the [illegible] Museum : Zeus in pursuit of Semele.

See page 24 *n.* 6 (1).

Kratér in the Louvre: Zeus in pursuit of Semele.

See page 24 *n.* 6 (4).

female may with much probability, if not with absolute certainty, be held to represent his appearance to Semele. Such are the following:—(1) An *amphora* of the strong style (500—460 B.C.) from Nola, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 222 f.

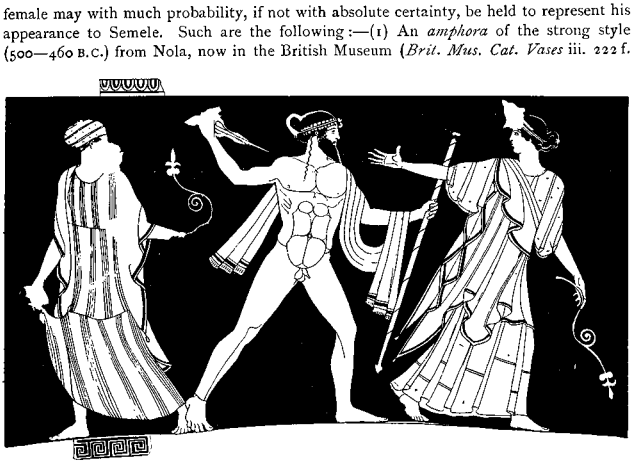


Fig. 11.

no. E 313, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 401 n.[3], O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 676. My pl. i is from photographs by Mr C. O. Waterhouse): (*a*) Zeus, with *chitón* and *himátion*, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a

Fig. 12.

sceptre in his left; (*b*) Semele runs to right, looking back with gestures of alarm. (2) A *hydría* from Gela, in the Museum at Palermo (H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1870 xxviii. 43 no. 23 pl. 31, 1 (=my fig. 10), *id. Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckel-*

mannsfest-Progr. Halle 1885) p. 7, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 416 no. 1 Atlas pl. 6, 5, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 408, 1, O. Jessen *loc. cit.* iv. 676): Zeus, with *chitón* and *himátion*, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping with his left the shoulder of Semele, who runs to right, looking back in alarm. (3) A bell-*kratér* from Certosa, in

Fig. 13.

the Museo Civico at Bologna (Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* pp. 154, 156 no. 313 A. Zannoni *Gli scavi della Certosa di Bologna* Bologna 1876 p. 165 pl. 39, 1, 2 (=my fig. 11), 3 (=my fig. 12), 4 and pl. 40, 4, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt* p. 8 n. 20, O. Jessen *loc. cit.* iv. 676): (*a*) Zeus, with olive-wreath and *chlamýs*, strides to right,

The critical moment in her myth is variously reported by the mythographers. According to Apollodoros[1], Semele begged Zeus to appear to her in the same form in which he had wooed Hera. Thereupon Zeus came to her chamber on a chariot with lightnings and thunders, and hurled a bolt. Semele in terror gave untimely birth to Dionysos and died. Other accounts say nothing about the chariot: Semele could not support the sight of Zeus the god of thunder and lightning, and was killed by it[2]. Others, again, are more precise. Semele was burnt[3], or actually struck by a thunderbolt and

brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a sceptre in his left. Semele flees to right, looking back, her right hand extended towards Zeus in an attitude of supplication, her left holding a flower. Behind Zeus a female companion of Semele, likewise holding a flower, escapes to left. (*b*) Two other companions of Semele hasten, from left and right, to announce the event to her father, Kadmos. (4) A *kratér* (lid lost) in the Louvre (G 412), past the climax of the fine style (460—440 B.C.) and largely repainted (H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt* p. 8 n. 21): (*a*) Zeus, with bay-wreath and *chlamýs*, strides to right, brandishing a thunderbolt in his right hand and grasping a sceptre in his left. Semele flees to right, looking back; she lifts her *chitón* with her right hand and raises her left towards her shoulder. Behind Zeus a female companion of Semele escapes to left. Before Semele stands her white-haired father, his right hand raised in astonishment, his left holding a staff. (*b*) Four men and women conversing.

The type attested by these vases begins as a mere combination of the early striding Zeus (*supra* i. 84 ff. figs. 52—54) with the early running maiden. The eagle of Zeus is omitted, and his left hand either holds a sceptre (*infra* § 3 (c) iv (*a*)) or grasps the shoulder of Semele. Next, under the influence of flower-plucking scenes (Europe, Thaleia, etc.), Semele is given a flower, while a comrade likewise holding a flower forms a suitable pendant. Finally, the group is amplified by the introduction of Kadmos and other figures, either on the reverse or on the obverse of the vase.

Vases that represent Zeus pursuing the female with lowered bolt cannot be assumed to depict the Semele-episode; for the bolt may be a mere attribute. *E.g.* an *amphora* formerly in the possession of the Neapolitan dealer Barone (J. de Witte 'Jupiter et Sémélé' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1862 ii. 29 f. fig. Zeus, with *chlamýs* worn shawl-wise, holding a thunderbolt in his lowered right hand, a sceptre in his left, pursues towards the right a running female, who looks back with gestures of alarm), a large *hydría* from Vulci now at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 331 no. 439 confused description, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques* (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) Paris 1891 vi^e^ classe, xi^e^ série ii pl. 75 = my fig. 13 Zeus, with myrtle (?)-wreath and *chlamýs* worn shawl-wise, holding a thunderbolt in his lowered left hand, advances towards the left and seizes with outstretched right hand a running female, who looks back with gestures of alarm and supplication), and other vases noted by H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt* p. 7 n. 18.

The brown paste at Berlin usually cited in this connexion (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 ii. 1. 2 f. pl. 1, T. Panofka *Dionysos und die Thyaden* (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 377 ff.) Berlin 1853 p. 36 ff. pl. 3, 4, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 24 pl. 3, 46^a^, C. W. King *Antique Gems and Rings* London 1872 i. 483 fig. = Sir John Sandys *The Bacchae of Euripides*[3] Cambridge 1892 pp. cxxxii f., 1 fig., etc.) represents neither Zeus nor Semele: see Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 227 no. 6219 pl. 42, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 36, 20, ii. 175, iii. 416 n. 2.

[1] Apollod. 3. 4. 3.

[2] Diod. 3. 64, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 12, 2. 292, Myth. Vat. 2. 79.

[3] Hyg. *fab.* 179, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 4. 673, Myth. Vat. 1. 120.

slain[1]. The earliest definite version of the occurrence is in the *Bakchai* of Euripides, who speaks of—

> Semele brought to bed by the lightning-fire[2]

and further of—

> The flame of Zeus-fire living yet[3].

These expressions may be taken to imply the more primitive idea that Zeus descended upon Semele in the form of a lightning-flash. And such seems to be the conception of Philostratos also. For, in describing a picture of Semele's death, he notes the personified figures of stern-looking Thunder and Lightning with flashing eyes, and adds that fire was dashing down from the sky upon the palace, but makes no mention of Zeus beyond saying that 'A cloud of fire compassed Thebes about and burst upon the roof of Kadmos, when Zeus went courting Semele[4].' Nonnos too in his high-flown style makes Semele beseech her lover:

> Oh, I would clasp the flame I love, and joy
> To feel the flash, to finger thunderbolts[5].

The same author goes on to tell how Zeus took the bride whom he had burnt to dwell with him in heaven:

> Yea, with pure gleaming fire she laved afresh
> Her form and won Olympos' endless life[6].

As Pindar had phrased it, nearly a thousand years before,—

> She lives among the Olympians, slain by the roar
> Of lightning, long-haired Semele,
> And Pallas loves her ever,
> And Zeus the sire too, and his ivied son[7].

Semele was in fact a typical *Diobletos*. The Naxians declared that Zeus 'struck Semele with a thunderbolt before she brought forth her child, in order that being born, not of a mortal mother, but of two immortal parents, he might be immortal from his birth[8].' Charax of Pergamon, a historian of the second or third century A.D., is even more explicit: 'When the thunderbolt fell and she gave birth, she

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 167, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 71, 3. 274, 9. 425, Myth. Vat. 1. 151, 2. 78.

[2] Eur. *Bacch.* 3 Σεμέλη λοχευθεῖσ' ἀστραπηφόρῳ πυρί, cp. *ib.* 90.

[3] Eur. *Bacch.* 8 Δίου πυρὸς ἔτι ζῶσαν φλόγα.

[4] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 14. 1 f.

[5] Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 310 f.

[6] *Id. ib.* 8. 413 f., cp. Aristeid. *or.* 4 (i. 47 Dindorf) ὁ Ζεὺς...τὴν μὲν Σεμέλην ἐκ τῆς γῆς εἰς τὸν Ὄλυμπον κομίζει διὰ πυρός, κ.τ.λ.

[7] Pind. *Ol.* 2. 27 ff., cp. *Pyth.* 11. 1.

[8] Diod. 5. 52. On the sources of Diodoros' fifth book see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 678.

disappeared, but the babe survived. So, as is said in the case of *Dióbletoi*, people supposed that she had met with a divine fate and called her Thyone. Her child, having been saved from the fire, was most divine: Kadmos looked after him and gave him the family name of the Egyptian Dionysos[1].'

(ε) The Tarentine cult of Zeus *Kataibátes*.

A remarkable example of the cult of Zeus *Kataibátes* is that of Tarentum[2]. Klearchos, a pupil of Aristotle, states[3] that the Tarentines, having overthrown Karbina, a city of the Iapyges, and exposed the boys, girls, and young women of the place to the grossest outrages, were visited by the vengeance of heaven. All who had offended at Karbina were struck by lightning. The Tarentines therefore erected in front of their doors a number of pillars corresponding to the number of the men who failed to return from the expedition into Iapygia[4]. These pillars were still to be seen before each house in Tarentum; and, when the season of their destruction comes round, the Tarentines, instead of lamenting the dead or pouring the customary libations, offered sacrifices on the pillars to Zeus *Kataibátes*. Here it is fairly obvious that death by lightning is regarded not as a disaster, but as an honour: funeral lamentations and libations were out of place. But who—we ask further—was the god that conferred this doubtful honour? The Tarentines certainly called him Zeus *Kataibátes*. Yet the form of his worship, a pillar-cult, is not elsewhere attested for Zeus *Kataibátes*. It points rather in the direction of Crete. One would like to know what the Iapyges themselves said about it. Most fortunately Athenaios, to whom we owe the excerpt from Klearchos, goes on to tell us more concerning the Iapyges[5]. Probably he is

[1] Charax *frag.* 13 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 639 Müller) *ap.* anon. *de incredib.* 16 p. 325 Westermann.

[2] On the various cults of Zeus at Tarentum see R. Lorentz *De rebus sacris et artibus veterum Tarentinorum* Elberfeldiae 1836 p. 9 f. *Supra* i. 35 ff., 520 n. 2, 521 n. 1, *infra* § 3 (a) iii (*β*).

[3] Klearch. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 306 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 522 D ff.

[4] Athen. 522 F καὶ μέχρι καὶ νῦν ἐν Τάραντι ἑκάστη τῶν οἰκιῶν, οὓς οὐχ ὑπεδέξαντο τῶν εἰς Ἰαπυγίαν ἐκπεμφθέντων, τοσαύτας ἔχει στήλας πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν· ἐφ' αἷς καθ' ὃν ἀπώλοντο χρόνον οὔτ' οἰκτίζονται τοὺς ἀποιχομένους οὔτε τὰς νομίμους χέονται χοάς, ἀλλὰ θύουσι Διὶ Καταιβάτῃ. For cod. A οὓς οὐχ ὑπεδέξαντο J. Schweighaeuser, after Musurus, reads ὅσους ὑπεδέξαντο, and W. Dindorf οὓς ὑπεδέξαντο. This would mean that every man not killed set up a pillar on which to do sacrifice to the god. But M. P. Nilsson in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1908 lxiii. 315 justly defends the reading of cod. A on the ground that the bodies of men struck by lightning would be left on the spot and not brought back home (*supra* p. 22 f.).

[5] Athen. 522 F—523 B.

again borrowing his information from Klearchos, who was one of his prime sources.

'This race of the Iapyges,' he continues, 'is derived from Crete. Cretans came to look for Glaukos and settled down here. Their descendants, forgetting the orderly life of the Cretans, reached such a pitch of luxury, and subsequently of insolence, that they were the first to paint their faces, to get front locks and side locks of false hair, to wear flowered robes, and to deem work and labour a disgrace. Ordinary citizens made their houses more magnificent than the temples; while the principal men of the Iapyges, treating the deity with insult, destroyed the statues of the gods out of the temples and bade them give place to their betters. Wherefore they were struck by fire and bronze from the sky, and the fame of it was spread abroad; for bolts from heaven forged of bronze were long to be seen[1]. And to this very day all their descendants live shaven to the skin and wearing the garb of mourners, in want of all the luxuries that were theirs before.'

Now Iapyx the eponym of the Iapyges was commonly said to have been the son of Daidalos[2]; and there is a consistent tradition to the effect that, when Minos was killed at Kamikos in Sikania, the Cretans after an ineffectual attempt to take the town were driven by stress of weather to land in Iapygia, where they built Hyria and became the Iapyges Messapioi[3]. In view of this traditional connexion between the Iapyges and the Cretans of the Minoan age, it is interesting to find Athenaios giving a description of the Iapyges which with curious exactitude suits the 'Minoans.' Their painted faces[4], their artificial front locks[5] and side locks[6], their flowered robes[7], the magnificence of their houses as contrasted with their shrines[8], are all points of resemblance. Last but not least, the 'bolts from heaven forged of bronze' must surely be

[1] The text is *διόπερ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βαλλόμενοι πυρὶ καὶ χαλκῷ ταύτην διέδοσαν τὴν φήμην· ἐμφανῆ γὰρ ἦν μέχρι πόρρω κεχαλκευμένα τῶν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ βελῶν* (so codd. A.B.P.: *βολῶν* codd. V.L.).

[2] Strab. 279, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 102, Solin. 2. 7, Mart. Cap. 642, cp. Cornificius Longus (on whom see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1630 f.) *ap.* interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 332.

[3] Hdt. 7. 170, Strab. 279, 282, cp. Diod. 4. 79. Brundisium also, according to one account, was founded by these Cretans, or by Theseus' company from Knossos (Strab. 282, Myth. Vat. 2. 125, schol. Bern. Lucan. 2. 609): the town took its name from a Messapian word for 'stag's-head' (Strab. 282, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Βρεντήσιον*, Hesych. *s.v.* *βρένδον* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 388, 16, *et. Gud.* p. 115, 3 ff., *et. mag.* p. 212, 23 ff., schol. Bern. Lucan. 2. 609 'brunda' with H. Usener *ad loc.*). See further R. M. Burrows *The Discoveries in Crete* London 1907 p. 12 f.

[4] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 56 fig. 17.

[5] Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.*, A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* London 1907 p. 318 fig. 156, cp. R. M. Burrows *op. cit.* p. 94. *Supra* i. 23 n. 6.

[6] Cp. Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 430 f. fig. 208.

[7] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 81 ff. fig. 58.

[8] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 95, cp. *ib.* 28, R. M. Burrows *op. cit.* p. 27.

identified with the bronze double-axes of 'Minoan' worship[1]. If this identification be well founded, it furnishes an important clue to the nature of the deity represented by the Cretan axes. The deity in question was, at least in Hellenic Tarentum, regarded as Zeus *Kataibátes*, the god that fell from heaven in the form of a thunderbolt[2].

Tarentum, we gather, was originally an Iapygian settlement later Hellenised by a Lacedaemonian colony[3]. It is therefore of interest to recall the fact that from Thalamai (*Koutiphari*) in south-western Lakonike, where the oracle of Pasiphaa[4] bespeaks the influence of Crete, came the fifth-century inscription recording the apparently chthonian ritual of Zeus *Kabátas*[5].

In view of H. Usener's[6] contention that *téras* ('borer'?) meant the lightning, and that Zeus *Terástios* of Gythion[7] was a lightning-god, it seems possible[8] that *Táras* the eponymous hero of Tarentum

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 52 ff. fig. 15, *id. ib.* 1901—1902 viii. 101 ff. figs. 57 ff.

Another point of comparison might be found in the fact that the Messapians, like the 'Minoans,' were great dancers. According to Nikandros *ap.* Ant. Lib. 31, it was said in the country of the Messapians that the nymphs known as *Epimelídes* were seen dancing by the so-called Holy Rocks, that the sons of the Messapians left their flocks and challenged them to a contest of dancing, that the nymphs won, that the lads were changed into trees beside the sanctuary of the nymphs, and that a sound as of mourning is still heard by night from the wood of the 'Nymphs and Lads.'

[2] See further *infra* § 3 (c) i (ζ).

[3] Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 1012, M. Besnier *Lexique de géographie ancienne* Paris 1914 p. 739. See further R. Lorentz *Disquisitio de civitate veterum Tarentinorum* Numburgi 1833 p. 35, S. F. W. Hoffmann *Griechenland und die Griechen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1841 ii. 1930, Doehle *Geschichte Tarents bis auf seine Unterwerfung unter Rom* Strassburg 1877 p. 19 f., J. Geffcken 'Die Gründung von Tarent' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u Pädag.* 1893 cxlvii. 177—192.

[4] *Supra* i. 521 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 17 f.

[6] H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 12 f. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig-Berlin 1913 iv. 481).

[7] A. Skias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892 p. 57, Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 370, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 60 no. 4563, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 760, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1154 (incised on the wall of a rocky niche at a place called Πελεκητόν beneath the hill Larysion) *μοῖρα* ⟦ Διὸς Τεραστίῳ, 'the portion of Zeus *Terástios*.' The niche is figured in Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 32 pl. 25 (plan *ib.* p. 32 f pl. 26) and described in detail by R. Weil in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 151 ff. Cp. Loukian. *Tim.* 41 ὦ Ζεῦ τεράστιε καὶ φίλοι Κορύβαντες καὶ Ἑρμῆ κερδῷε, πόθεν τοσοῦτον χρυσίον; Aristeid. *or.* 45. 65 (ii. 86 Dindorf) εἰπὲ πρὸς Διὸς τεραστίου, τί χρὴ περὶ τούτων ἡμᾶς νομίζειν; Theod. Prodr. *Rhod. et Dos.* 7. 318 τεράστιε Ζεῦ, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 96 τεραστίου, 267 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 89 τεραστίου.

[8] The fact that Taras appears as a *quasi*-Poseidon (see *e.g.* Buslepp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 93 ff.) is not fatal to this hypothesis, if Poseidon was originally but a specialised form of Zeus (i. 717 n. 2, *infra* § 3 (c) i (η)) and his trident a thunder-weapon (*infra* § 3 (c) iv (γ)).

had a name of kindred significance[1], involving Doric *ă* for *ĕ*[2]. We might compare the *Tarentum* or *Terentum* ('Hole'?) in the Campus Martius at Rome[3]. On the other hand, such Celtic deities as *Taranis*, *Taranu-cnus*, Iupiter *Taranucus*[4] are perhaps best related to Anglo-Saxon *Thunor*, Norse *Thor*, etc.—witness the alternative form Iupiter *Tanarus*[5].

(ζ) Zeus *Kratalbátes*.

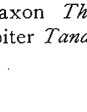


Fig. 14.

A relief found at the village of *Katsígkri* near Nauplia represents Zeus advancing from left to right. He hurls a thunderbolt with his right arm and stretches out his left, above which is an inscription (fig. 14)[6] reading:

'Of Zeus *Krataibátes*.'

The title thus spelt is unique. It may of course be a mere blunder for *Kataibátes*. But more probably it is an intentional variation of that epithet: whoever erected the monument wished to suggest the potency of the lightning-god[7].

(η) Survivals of the foregoing beliefs.

In Christian times it was believed that the victim of lightning had been struck by the sudden descent of a demon. For example, early in the fifth century Saint Hypatios, presbyter and *hegoúmenos*

[1] A. Vaníček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 286.

[2] É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 33 ff.

[3] O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 224 f., 257, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 477 ff., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 137.

Zeus Ταρανταῖος was the god of Tarantos in Bithynia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Τάρας·...ἔστι δὲ καὶ Τάραντος ἀρσενικῶς λεγομένη πόλις Βιθυνίας, ἔνθα τιμᾶται Ταρανταῖος Ζεύς, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἐν δευτέρῳ Βιθυνιακῶν. εὕρηται καὶ διὰ τοῦ δ Δάραντος*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* no. 100 *ταρανταῖον*, 267 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* no. 88 *ταρανταῖον*).

[4] A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1904 ii. 1728 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 87 ff.

[5] A. Holder *op. cit.* ii. 1716 f., Reusch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 74. It would of course be possible to make the opposite assumption and to regard *Taranis* as the normal, *Tanarus* as the aberrant form. I have discussed the matter with Prof. H. M. Chadwick, who inclines to the solution adopted in the text.

[6] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 233 *Διὸς | Κρατα|βάτα=Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 669 (=my fig. 14).

[7] For the form of the compound I. Kophiniotis (in *Ἀθηνᾶ* 1890 ii. 695 and in *Καιροί* 1890 no. 476) cites *κραταίβολος*, *κρατεγύαλος*, *κραταίπους* [add *κραταίβιος*, *κραταίλεως*, *Κραταιμένης*, *κραταίπεδον*, *κραταίπιλος*, *κραταίρινος*, *κραταίτονος*]. For *κράτος* as applied to lightning H. Usener (in *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 12) adduces Soph. *O. T.* 200 f., Cornut. *theol.* 10 p. 10, 13 Lang (where Lang adopts Schmitt-Blank's cj. *βέλος*), etc.

of the Rufinian monastery in Bithynia, was said to have cured a certain man, Agathangelos by name, 'who was paralysed by thunder, a demon having come down upon him[1].'

The survival of pagan beliefs is yet clearer in later Greek and Latin versions of Zoroastres' intercourse with heaven. Already in the fourth century B.C. Dinon of Kolophon, author of a great historical work on Persia[2], beguiled by an obvious etymology, had stated that *Zoroástres* was 'one that sacrificed to the stars'; and Hermodoros, probably the Syracusan pupil of Platon[3], was content with the same explanation[4]. Dion Chrysostomos in a speech delivered at Prousa during the year 102—103 A.D.[5] goes into greater detail[6]. Zoroastres—he says—lived the life of a recluse on a certain mountain. Fire came down upon his mountain from above, so that it kindled and continued to burn. Thereupon the king of Persia and his notables drew near, wishing to worship the god. Zoroastres emerged scatheless from the fire, bade the king be of good cheer and offer sacrifices as one that had come to the place where the god was. From that time onward Zoroastres associated only with the Magoi, who could understand the god and knew how to serve the divine. They keep a chariot of Nisaean steeds[7], the finest in all Asia, for Zeus. The popular etymology of *Zoroástres*, combined with the notion that celestial fire descended upon him, was further amplified along the lines of Greek belief. According to the Clementine *Homilies*[8], the Magian Nebrod (Nimrod), wishing to become

[1] Kallinikos *de vita S. Hypatii* p. 37, 30 ff. Bonnenses ὃς παρελύθη ἀπὸ βροντῆς, δαίμονος κατεπελθόντος αὐτῷ (quoted by Usener *loc. cit.* p. 10).

[2] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 654.

[3] P. Natorp *ib.* viii. 861.

[4] Dinon *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 90 Müller) and Hermodoros *ap.* Diog. Laert. *praef.* 8 καὶ Δείνων ἐν τῇ πέμπτῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν· ὃς καὶ μεθερμηνευόμενόν φησι τὸν Ζωροάστρην ἀστροθύτην εἶναι· φησὶ δὲ τοῦτο καὶ ὁ Ἑρμόδωρος. J. Toup cj. ἀστροθέτην and S. Bochart cj. ἀστροθεάτην; but cp. schol. Plat. *Alcib. i* p. 918 *b* 43 ff. Ζωροάστρης...οὗ δὴ εἰς Ἑλληνικὴν φωνὴν μεταφραζόμενον τοὔνομα τὸν ἀστροθύτην δηλοῖ. See further J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 77, 201, 415, and especially 426 f. ('This implies that some form of Av. *zaoθra* (M.P. *zōhr*) was brought in, with Gathic and Avestan *star* (mod. Pers. *sitāra*). The elements of the compound are, it must be allowed, in the wrong order. If the Greek form Ζοροάστρης were better attested, we should have no trouble.' Etc.).

[5] W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 872.

[6] Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 92 f. Reiske. I have quoted the passage *supra* i. 783 f.

[7] Souid. *s.v.* Ἵππος Νισαῖος.

[8] Clem. Rom. *hom.* 9. 4 f. (ii. 244 Migne) ἐκ τοῦ γένους τούτου γίνεταί τις κατὰ διαδοχὴν μαγικὰ παρειληφὼς ὀνόματι Νεβρώδ, ὥσπερ γίγας ἐναντία τῷ Θεῷ φρονεῖν ἑλόμενος, ὃν οἱ Ἕλληνες Ζωροάστρην προσηγόρευσαν. οὗτος μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν βασιλείας ὀρεχθεὶς καὶ μέγας ὢν μάγος τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τὸν ὡροσκοποῦντα †κόσμον† ἀστέρα (*an leg.* τοῦ νῦν βασιλεύοντος κακοῦ τοῦ κόσμου τὸν ὡροσκοποῦντα ἀστέρα, 'the birth-star of the evil man that now rules the world,' *sc.* of Domitian?) πρὸς τὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ βασιλείας δύσιν μαγικαῖς

king, by his magic arts forced a certain star to grant him the kingdom. The star did so, but poured out upon him the royal fire[1] in the form of lightning. Nebrod, killed by the lightning, was renamed *Zoroástres* since a 'living stream from the star' had fallen upon him. His contemporaries, supposing that his soul had been fetched by the thunderbolt on account of his friendship with God, buried his remains, built a temple at the grave in Persia, where the fire had fallen, and worshipped the man as a god. Following their example, others in that region buried victims of thunderbolts as friends of God, built temples in their honour, and set up portrait statues of them. The Clementine *Recognitions*[2] give us the same

ἠνάγκαζε τέχναις. ὁ δέ, ἅτε δὴ ἄρχων ὢν καὶ τοῦ βιαζομένου τὴν ἐξουσίαν ἔχων, μετ' ὀργῆς τὸ τῆς βασιλείας προσέχεε πῦρ, ἵνα πρὸς τε τὸν ὁρκισμὸν εὐγνωμονήσῃ καὶ τὸν πρώτως ἀναγκάσαντα τιμωρήσηται. ἐκ ταύτης οὖν τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ χαμαὶ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς ὁ μάγος ἀναιρεθεὶς Νεβρὼδ ἐκ τοῦ συμβάντος πράγματος Ζωροάστρης μετωνομάσθη διὰ τὸ τὴν τοῦ ἀστέρος κατ' αὐτοῦ ζῶσαν ἐνεχθῆναι ῥοήν. οἱ δὲ ἀνθ' ὧν τότε ἀνθρώπων, ὡς διὰ τὴν εἰς Θεὸν φιλίαν κεραυνῷ μεταπεμφθεῖσαν τὴν ψυχὴν νομίσαντες, τοῦ σώματος τὸ λείψανον κατορύξαντες, τὸν μὲν τάφον ναῷ ἐτίμησαν ἐν Πέρσαις, ἔνθα ἡ τοῦ πυρὸς καταφορὰ γέγονεν, αὐτὸν δὲ ὡς θεὸν ἐθρήσκευσαν. τούτῳ τῷ ὑποδείγματι καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ ἐκείσε τοὺς κεραυνῷ θνήσκοντας ὡς θεοφιλεῖς θάπτοντες ναοῖς τιμῶσιν καὶ τῶν τεθνεώτων ἰδίων μορφῶν ἱστᾶσιν ἀγάλματα.

[1] For the royal fire see Clem. Rom. *hom.* 9. 6 (ii. 245 Migne) *Πέρσαι πρῶτοι τῆς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πεσούσης ἀστραπῆς λαβόντες ἄνθρακας τῇ οἰκείᾳ διεφύλαξαν τροφῇ, καὶ ὡς θεὸν οὐράνιον προτιμήσαντες τὸ πῦρ ὡς πρῶτοι προσκυνήσαντες ὑπ' αὐτοῦ τοῦ πυρὸς πρώτῃ βασιλείᾳ τετίμηνται. μεθ' οὓς Βαβυλώνιοι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πυρὸς ἄνθρακας κλέψαντες καὶ διασώσαντες εἰς τὰ ἑαυτῶν καὶ προσκυνήσαντες καὶ αὐτοὶ ἀκολούθως ἐβασίλευσαν. Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ ὁμοίως πράξαντες καὶ τὸ πῦρ ἰδίᾳ διαλέκτῳ Φθαὲ* (*sc.* Ptah: *supra* i. 433) *καλέσαντες, ὃ ἑρμηνεύεται Ἥφαιστος < ἢ Ὄσιρις* (so A. R. M. Dressel, cp. Iambl. *de myst. Aegypt.* 8. 3) >, *οὗ τῷ ὀνόματι καὶ ὁ παρ' αὐτοῖς πρῶτος βασιλεύσας προσαγορεύεται.* κ.τ.λ., Curt. 3. 3. 9 ignis, quem ipsi sacrum et aeternum vocabant, argenteis altaribus praeferebatur, Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 34 feruntque, si iustum est credi, etiam ignem caelitus lapsum apud se sempiternis foculis custodire, cuius portionem exiguam, ut faustam, praeisse quondam Asiaticis regibus dicunt, Cassiod. *hist. tripert.* 10. 30 (lxix. 1184 D Migne) Pyrea namque pagani vocant templa, in quibus ignem servant, Theophan. *chronogr.* 258 A (i. 474 Classen) *καὶ καταλαβὼν ὁ βασιλεὺς τὴν Γαζακῶ πόλιν ἐν τῇ ἀνατολῇ, ἐν ᾗ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ναὸς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως καὶ ἡ πλάνη τῶν ἀνθράκων* = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 412 A (i. 721 Bekker) *καὶ καταλαβὼν τὴν Γαζακὸν πόλιν, ἐν ᾗ ὑπῆρχεν ὁ ναὸς τοῦ πυρὸς καὶ τὰ χρήματα Κροίσου τοῦ Λυδῶν βασιλέως καὶ ἡ πλάνη τῶν ἀνθράκων = hist. miscell.* 20. 16 (p. 434, 18 ff. Eyssenhardt) et pervenerit ad civitatem Thebarmam in oriente sitam, in qua erat templum ignis atque pecuniae Croesi Lydorum regis et error prunarum. The *πῦρ προπομπεῦον* of the Roman emperors etc. is a different matter: see A. C. Eschenbach *Dissertationes Academicae* p. 519 ff. ('Dissertatio de igne Augustis praelato'), H. S. Reimar's note on Dion Cass. 71. 35, G. Bloch in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1468.

[2] Rufin. *recognit.* 4. 27 f. ex quibus unus Cham nomine cuidam ex filiis suis qui Mesraim appellabatur, a quo Aegyptiorum et Babyloniorum et Persarum ducitur genus, male compertam magicae artis tradidit disciplinam: hunc gentes quae tunc erant Zoroastrem appellaverunt, admirantes primum magicae artis autorem, cuius nomine etiam libri super hoc plurimi habentur. hic ergo astris multum ac frequenter intentus, et volens apud homines videri deus, velut scintillas quasdam ex stellis producere et hominibus ostentare coepit, quo rudes atque ignari in stuporem miraculi traherentur, cupiensque augere de se huiusmodi opinionem, saepius ista moliebatur usquéquo ab ipso daemone, quem importunius frequentabat, igni succensus concremaretur. sed stulti homines qui tunc erant...

statement in a somewhat earlier form. Mesraim (Mizraim), son of Cham (Ham), was the first to study magic. He gave much attention to the stars and, wishing to be thought a god, pretended to produce sparks from them, till at length he was burnt by the demon, whom he had too often invoked. His contemporaries regarded him as a friend of God, carried up to heaven on a thunderbolt. They therefore built him a tomb, changed his name to *Zoroaster*, the 'Living Star,' and worshipped him as such. Hence many persons still honour victims of lightning with tombs and respect them as being friends of God. Rufinus' account is followed in the sixth century by Saint Gregory of Tours[1]. The *Chronicon Paschale*[2] of the seventh century, together with the Byzantine historians Kedrenos[3] (*c.* 1100 A.D.) and Glykas[4] (*c.* 1120 A.D.), states that Zoroastres the famous Persian astronomer, when about to die, prayed to Orion that he might be destroyed by the fire of heaven, and told the Persians to take up his burnt bones and preserve them, as the retention

in maius eum extollunt. exstructo enim sepulcro ad honorem eius tanquam amicum Dei ac fulminis ad coelum vehiculo sublevatum adorare ausi sunt et quasi vivens astrum colere. hinc enim et nomen post mortem eius Zoroaster, hoc est vivum sidus, appellatum est ab his qui post unam generationem Graecae linguae loquela fuerant repleti. hoc denique exemplo etiam nunc multi eos qui fulmine obierint sepulcris honoratos tanquam amicos Dei colunt.

J. B. Coteler *ad loc.* cites from Fest. p. 245 *a* 23 ff. Müller, p. 285, 3 ff. Lindsay the statement that Q. Fabius Eburnus was called *pullus Iovis* because his hinder parts were struck by lightning (cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 26 and De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 8 *s.v.* 'xiv. Fabius').

[1] Gregorius Turonensis *hist. Franc.* 1. 5 (lxxi. 164 f. Migne) primogenitus vero Cham, Chus. hic fuit totius artis magicae, imbuente diabolo, et primus idololatriae adinventor. hic primus statunnculam adorandam diaboli instigatione constituit : qui et stellas, et ignem de coelo cadere, falsa virtute, hominibus ostendebat. hic ad Persas transiit. hunc Persae vocitavere Zoroastrem, id est viventem stellam. ab hoc etiam ignem adorare consueti ipsum divinitus igne consumptum ut deum colunt.

[2] *Chron. Paschale* i. 67 Dindorf *ἐξ αὐτοῦ οὖν τοῦ γένους ἐγεννήθη καὶ ὁ Ζωρόαστρος* (so cod. V. for *Ζοροάστρης* ed. Paris.) *ὁ ἀστρονόμος Περσῶν ὁ περιβόητος, ὅστις μέλλων τελευτᾶν ηὔχετο ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀναλωθῆναι οὐρανίου, εἶπὼν τοῖς Πέρσαις ὅτι ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ πῦρ, ἐκ τῶν καιομένων μου ὀστέων ἐπάρατε καὶ φυλάξατε, καὶ οὐκ ἐκλείψει τὸ βασίλειον ἐκ τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας ὅσον χρόνον φυλάττετε τὰ ἐμὰ ὀστέα. καὶ εὐξάμενος τὸν Ὠρίωνα ἀπὸ πυρὸς ἀερίου ἀνηλώθη. καὶ ἐποίησαν οἱ Πέρσαι καθὼς εἶπεν αὐτοῖς· καὶ ἔχουσι φυλάττοντες τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεφρωθὲν ἕως νῦν.*

[3] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 16 B—C (i. 29 f. Bekker) *ἐκ τοῦ γένους οὖν αὐτοῦ καὶ Ζωροάστρης ὁ περιβόητος ἀστρονόμος ἐν Πέρσαις γενόμενος ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς ἀερίου κεραυνωθῆναι καὶ ἀναλωθῆναι, ἐντειλάμενος τοῖς Πέρσαις τὰ ὀστᾶ αὐτοῦ μετὰ τὴν καῦσιν ἀναλαβεῖν καὶ φυλάττειν αὐτοὺς* (I. Bekker cj. *αὐτὰ*) *καὶ τιμᾶν· καὶ ἕως οὗ, φησί, σώσεσθε ταῦτα, τὸ βασίλειον τῆς ὑμῶν χώρας οὐκ ἐκλείψει. οὕτως οὖν τούτου πυρὶ οὐρανίῳ τεφρωθέντος τὰ λείψανα αὐτοῦ διὰ τιμῆς εἶχον οἱ Πέρσαι, ἕως τούτου καταφρονήσαντες καὶ τῆς βασιλείας ἐξέπεσον. Infra* § 3 (c) i (χ).

[4] Michael Glykas *ann.* 2 129 C—D (p. 243 f. Bekker) *ἐξ οὗ γένους ἐγένετο καὶ Ζωρόαστρος ὁ περιβόητος Περσῶν ἀστρονόμος, ὃς εἶπε τοῖς Πέρσαις, "ἐὰν καύσῃ με τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ," τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ηὔχετο, "λάβετε ἐκ τῶν ὀστέων μου καὶ φυλάσσετε εἰς σύστασιν τῆς βασιλείας ὑμῶν." ὃ δὴ καὶ γέγονεν.*

of sovereignty depended upon their safe-keeping. The lexicographers Souidas[1] in the tenth century and 'Zonaras[2]' in the twelfth repeat the same tale with slight variations.

Even the twentieth century has not wholly outgrown the old-world view. In Makedonia it is thought that, if any one struck by lightning is immediately removed from the spot, where the accident befell him, to a distance of forty paces, he will recover[3]. Why? Because he is no longer within the domain or range of the divine power, no longer in Elysium[4].

iii. Zeus and the Sky-Pillar.

(α) The Elysian Way.

The word *elýsion*, which thus signifies both the spot struck by lightning and the abode of the divinised dead, is presumably related to *elysíe*, a 'way[5].' The term is remarkable, and its applicability is not at once clear. We must suppose that the Greeks recognised a definite 'way' from earth to heaven, along which those honoured by the summons of Zeus might pass. This conception would at least square with certain Pindaric phrases. In a context of Pythagorean[6] import the poet tells how—

> Souls that thrice on either side
> Free from evil can abide
> Travel the road of Zeus to Kronos' tower,
> Where round islands of the blest
> Ocean breezes lull to rest
> And forth there flashes many a golden flower[7].

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Ζωροάστρης, *ἀστρονόμος, ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων. ὅστις ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτῆσαι, παρεγγυήσας τοῖς Ἀσσυρίοις τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία οὐκ ἐκλείψει διαπαντός. ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτοῖς.*

[2] Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ζωροάστρης· *ἀστρονόμος. οὗτος ἐπὶ Νίνου βασιλέως Ἀσσυρίων ἦν· ὅστις ηὔξατο ὑπὸ πυρὸς οὐρανίου τελευτῆσαι, παρεγγυήσας Ἀσσυρίοις τὴν τέφραν αὐτοῦ φυλάττειν· οὕτω γὰρ αὐτοῖς ἡ βασιλεία οὐκ ἐκλείψει διαπαντός. ὅπερ μέχρι νῦν πεφύλακται παρ' αὐτοῖς.*

[3] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 229.

[4] *Supra* p. 22 f.

[5] Hesych. *ἠλυσίη· ὁδός, et. mag.* p. 497, 9 ff. *κατηλυσίη· 'κατηλυσίη Ζεφύροιο'* (Ap. Rhod. 4. 886 *λαιψηροῖο κατηλυσίῃ Ζεφύροιο*, cp. Arat. *phaen.* 536). *σημαίνει τὴν κάθοδον καὶ τὴν ἐπέλευσιν, ἐλευσίη τις οὖσα καὶ ἠλυσίη, καὶ μετὰ τῆς κατὰ προθέσεως.* So *διηλυσίη, ἐπηλυσίη, ὁμηλυσίη.*

[6] *Supra* i. 303 n. 5.

[7] Pind. *Ol.* 2. 68 ff. *ὅσοι δ' ἐτόλμασαν ἑστρὶς | ἑκατέρωθι μείναντες ἀπὸ πάμπαν ἀδίκων ἔχειν | ψυχάν, ἔτειλαν* (sic Tricl. et schol.: *ἑστειλαν* codd. A.B.C.D. et paraphr.) *Διὸς ὁδὸν παρὰ Κρόνου τύρσιν· ἔνθα μακάρων νάσος* (*νᾶσος* Tricl. et paraphr.: *νᾶσον* codd. A.B.C.D.: *νάσος* cj. W. Christ) *ὠκεανίδες | αὔραι περιπνέουσιν· ἄνθεμα δὲ χρυσοῦ φλέγει, | κ.τ.λ.*

Again, in an equally arresting fragment Pindar says:

> Themis the wise, the heavenly, afar
> From Ocean's founts on golden car
> Up the dread stair the Fates first bore
> Along the gleaming way to Olympos' height,
> That Zeus the Saviour might
> Have her to wife of yore:
> The mother she of the unerring Hours,
> Gold-frontleted, gay-fruited powers[1].

What was this 'road of Zeus,' this 'gleaming way'? If I am not mistaken[2], it was the broad path of dim and distant splendour that stretches across the abyss of the midnight sky[3]. Our forefathers called it 'Watling Street[4]' or 'London Road[5].' We know it as the 'Milky Way.' And a collection of names for it such as that got together by H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland[6] proves that all the world over it has been regarded as a celestial track. Further, as E. B. Tylor[7] observed, this track is often held to be the road traversed by the gods or the souls of men:

[1] Pind. *frag.* 30 Schroeder *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 418, 23 ff. Stählin πρῶτον (sic Hephaist. 15. 11 p. 51, 6 Consbruch, πρῶτα Clem. Al.) μὲν εὔβουλον Θέμιν οὐρανίαν | χρυσέαισιν (χρυσίαισιν Clem. Al., χρυσέαισιν cj. D. Heinsius) ἵπποις (ἵπποισιν Clem. Al., ἵπποις cj. G. Hermann) Ὠκεανοῦ παρὰ παγᾶν (πάγον Clem. Al., παγᾶν cj. A. Boeckh) | Μοῖραι ποτὶ κλίμακα σεμνάν | ἄγον (ἄγον Clem. Al.) Ὀλύμπου (Οὐλύμπου cj. G. Hermann) λιπαρὰν καθ' ὁδόν (κάθοδον Clem. Al., corr. C. G. Heyne) | σωτῆρος ἀρχαίαν ἄλοχον Διὸς ἔμμεν· (ἔμμεναι Clem. Al., corr. C. G. Heyne) | ἃ δὲ τὰς (αἱ δὲ τὰς Clem. Al., ἃ δὲ τᾶς Schroeder) χρυσάμπυκας ἀγλαοκάρπους | τίκτεν ἀλαθέας Ὥρας (ἀγαθὰ σωτῆρας Clem. Al., ἀγαθὰ σωτῆρας <Ὥρας> cj. G. Hermann, ἀλαθέας Ὥρας rest. A. Boeckh cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ἀλαθέας Ὥρας).

[2] The same conclusion was reached by T. Bergk in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1860 vi. 411 ff. and by W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 83 nn. 257 and 258, who rightly drew attention to Philon *de providentia* 2. 89 (a Latin rendering of the Armenian version discovered by B. Aucher) Circulus tamen lacteus ad quid est?...Si quidem nonnulli arbitrantur luminis esse revibrationem ex stellis refulgentibus; quidam vero commissuram totius caeli, ubi coaptantur hemisphaeria; alii antiquam ab initio viam solis; alii Geryonis pecudum viam, per quam eas duxit Hercules; alii vero ex γαλακτικοῖς, sc. lacte plenis, Iunonis uberibus; quod etiam Heratosthenes sensit: quare dicit, Miror, si aggrediar Iovis sacra vestigia pedis, quod cornu appellat hucusque, et circulum festinantis velocisque suffurantis paleas. Bergk *loc. cit.* p. 412 n. 141 saw that the latter part of this extract derives from Eratosthenes' astronomical poem Ἑρμῆς (*frag.* 16 ed. Hiller Lipsiae 1872).

[3] F. Kahn *Die Milchstrasse* Stuttgart 1914.

[4] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 356 f., E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 360.

[5] E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 360, The Lady Eveline Camilla Gurdon *County Folk-Lore. Printed Extracts No. 2. Suffolk* London 1893 p. 166.

[6] H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland 'Noms de la Voie Lactée dans différentes langues' in *Mélusine* Paris 1884—85 ii. 151—154. Shorter lists are given by A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 85 f., by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882—1888 i. 357 n. 1, iv. 1389, 1588, and by E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 89, 241, 281.

[7] E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 359 f.

The Basutos call it the 'Way of the Gods[1]'; the Ojis say it is the 'Way of Spirits,' which souls go up to heaven by[2]. North American tribes know it as 'the Path of the Master of Life,' the 'Path of Spirits,' 'the Road of Souls,' where they travel to the land beyond the grave, and where their camp-fires may be seen blazing as brighter stars[3]. Such savage imaginations of the Milky Way fit with the Lithuanian myth of the 'Road of the Birds,' at whose end the souls of the good, fancied as flitting away at death like birds, dwell free and happy[4].

Classical evidence of the Galaxy conceived as a *Seelenpfad* is not wanting[5]. Ovid speaks of it as a road leading to the palace of Iupiter:

[1] E. Casalis *The Basutos; or, Twenty-three Years in South Africa* London 1861 p. 196 'I have known great boys who hardly dared to look up at the stars, because they imagined that the milky way was a monstrous collection of those transparent beings whose imaginary appearance is so much dreaded*. (*The Basutos call the milky way, "the *way* of the gods.")'

[2] T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1860 ii. 191 'Den Odschis gilt ebenfalls der Himmel als der Aufenthaltsort der Guten nach dem Tode: sie steigen zu ihm auf dem "Geisterwege," der Milchstrasse, hinauf, wogegen die Bösen im anderen Leben zu leiden haben (Riis im Bas. Miss. Mag. 1847 iv. 251. Müller 96).'

[3] S. H. Long *An Expedition to the Rocky Mountains* i. 288, H. R. Schoolcraft *Historical and Statistical Information respecting the History, Condition and Prospects of the Indian Tribes of the United States* Philadelphia 1851 i. 272 'The milky-way, they [the Creeks, or Muscogees] believe to be the paths of the spirits; but the spirits of whom, or what, they do not know.' P. le Jeune *Relation de ce qui s'est passé en la Nouvelle France, en l'année 1634* Paris 1635 p. 63 'ils [les sauvages montagnais de Kebec] appellent la voye lactée, *Tchipaï miskenau* [?], le chemin des ames, pource qu'ils pensent que les ames se guindent par cette voye pour aller en ce grand village.' G. H. Loskiel *History of the Mission of the United Brethren among the Indians in North America* trans. C. I. La Trobe London 1794 i. 35 'When they revived, they related that this place was to the south of heaven, and that the bright track called the milky way, was the road to it. This led to a most glorious city, the inhabitants of which enjoyed every possible good in great abundance.' J. G. Müller *Geschichte der Amerikanischen Urreligionen* Basel 1855 p. 63 'Der südliche Himmel ist überhaupt das Land der Verstorbenen, und die Sterne der Milchstrasse, die angeheftete Feuer sind, sind der Weg dorthin. Loskiel 47. Catlin 116. Vollmer l.c. Andree N.A. 247.' [See also J. F. Lafitau *Mœurs des Sauvages Ameriquains comparés aux mœurs des premiers temps* Paris 1724 ii. 406, E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 ii. 72.]

[4] I. J. Hanusch (Hanuš) *Die Wissenschaft des Slawischen Mythus im weitesten, den altpreussischlithauischen Mythus mitumfassenden Sinne* Lemberg 1842 pp. 272, 407, 415. [Cp. W. von Schulenburg *Wendische Volkssagen und Gebräuche aus dem Spreewald* Leipzig 1880 p. 272 'die Milchstrasse *ješkowa droga*[3] (So in Burg, eigentlich wol *ptaškowa droga*.)' etc., J. B. Holzmayer 'Osiliana' in the *Verhandlungen der Gelehrten Estnischen Gesellschaft zu Dorpat* Dorpat 1872 vii. 2. 48 '*linno rada*,' F. R. Kreutzwald and H. Neus *Mythische und magische Lieder der Ehsten* Saint Petersburg 1854 '*linno teerada*,'—cited by H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 154 f.] *Infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ).

[5] See now P. Capelle *De luna, stellis, lacteo orbe animarum sedibus* Halle 1917 (reviewed by E. Pfeiffer in the *Deutsche Litteraturzeitung* 1918 p. 35 f., by W. Nestle in the *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 1918 p. 47 f., and by O. Höfer in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* April 27, 1918 p. 396 f.) p. 37 ff.

The conception of the Milky Way as an abode of souls survived into post-classical literature and art. Paulinus (353—431 A.D.), bishop of Nola, makes Enoch, Elijah, and other pious souls ascend to heaven *via* the Galaxy: Paulin. Nolan. *carm.* 5. 37 ff. pande

There is a road aloft in the clear heaven,
Milk-white and therefore named the Milky Way.
Here go the gods to the great Thunderer's house
And royal home. To right and left the halls
Of high-born deities fling wide their doors.
The populace in diverse spots may dwell;
But on this front the denizens of heaven
Puissant and proud have pitched their own abode[1].

Ovid's celestial city is doubtless made to the pattern of Rome:

viam, quae me post vincula corporis aegri | in sublime ferat, puri qua lactea caeli | semita ventosae superat vaga nubila lunae | qua proceres abiere pii quaque integer olim | raptus quadriiugo penetrat super aera curru | Elias et solido cum corpore praevius Enoch. And Dracontius of Carthage (end of *s.* V A.D.) would raise the brave man to the sky along the same starry track: Drac. *Romul.* 5. 323 ff. his quartus (so F. Bücheler for *quintus*) adesto | virtutis ratione fide pietate vigore | possessure polos, scandens qua lacteus axis | vertitur, aetherii qua se dat (so F. von Duhn for *sedat* C. Rossberg cj. *candet*) circulus orbis | lunarisque globus qua volvitur axe tepenti | aut certe qua Phoebus agit super astra iugales: | sidera sic capies. poteris sic astra mereri. Cp. Hieron. *epist.* 23. 3 (xxii. 426 Migne) ille (*sc.* the husband of Lea)...nunc desolatus et nudus non in lacteo caeli palatio, ut uxor mentitur infelix, sed in sordentibus tenebris. These are but Christianised versions of a belief that must have been wide-spread in later classical times—witness *e.g.* an elegiac epitaph from Salonae: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 9631, 2 f.=F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1897 ii. 685 f. no. 1438, 17 f. sede beatorum recipit te lacteus orbis | e gremio matris: hoc tua digna fides. The artistic evidence, though considerably later, is not devoid of interest. A twelfth-century manuscript of Germanicus at Madrid (cod. Matrit. A 16), with coloured pictures in the *scholia*, represents the *circulus lacteus* as a hoop held by a half-draped female, who bears aloft a draped female, the divinised soul (G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 147 ff. fig. 64=my fig. 15). The same design with slight variations is found two centuries afterwards in the Vienna manuscript of a Latin prose work on astronomy (cod. Vindob. 2352): the starry circle is here more recognisable, the draped soul on its semi-draped supporter is less so, the apotheosis-type being ill understood (G. Thiele *op. cit.* p. 149 fig. 65=my fig. 16).

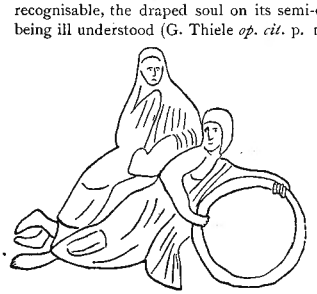


Fig. 15.

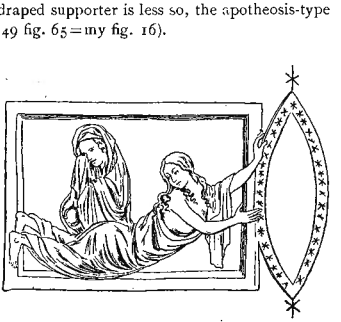


Fig. 16.

[1] Ov. *met.* 1. 168 ff. est via sublimis, caelo manifesta sereno; | lactea nomen habet, candore notabilis ipso. | hac iter est superis ad magni tecta Tonantis | regalemque domum. dextra laevaque deorum | atria nobilium valvis celebrantur apertis. | plebs habitat diversa locis: hac fronte (sic codd. A.N.P.T., *a* (in rasura) *fronte* codd. M.ε.λ., *hac parte* cod. Be.) potentes | caelicolae clarique suos posuere penates.

'this front,' as R. Merkel saw[1], recalls the *frons Palatii*[2]. But the *via sublimis* of the poet's vision was borrowed from an old-world belief held by certain followers of Pythagoras. The Pythagoreans indeed were much exercised about the Milky Way. Most of them took it to be a 'way' of some sort. One group said that it was the track made by a star, which had fallen from its proper position at the time of Phaethon's catastrophe. Others saw in it a burnt path-way marking the sun's original course[3]. Others again deemed it a mere reflection of the solar rays. These opinions are duly recorded by Aristotle[4], Manilius[5], and the doxographer Aëtios[6]. But a view

[1] Ov. *met.* ed. R. Merkel (Lipsiae 1883) praef. p. vi.

[2] *Mirabilia Romae* 25 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 637) in fronte Palatii templum Solis. in eodem Palatio templum Iovis, quod vocatur casa maior.

[3] So too Oinopides of Chios (Achill. *isag. ad Arat.* 24 p. 55, 18 ff. Maass *ἕτεροι δέ φασιν, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Οἰνοπίδης ὁ Χῖος, ὅτι πρότερον διὰ τούτου (sc. τοῦ γάλακτος) ἐφέρετο ὁ ἥλιος, διὰ δὲ τὰ Θυέστεια δεῖπνα ἀπεστράφη καὶ τὴν ἐναντίαν τούτῳ πεποίηται περιφοράν, ἣν νῦν περιγράφει ὁ ζῳδιακός*) and perhaps Metrodoros of Lampsakos (Plout. *de plac. phil.* 3. 1 = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 27. 3 p. 226, 9 f. Wachsmuth (Aët. 3. 1. 3 in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 365, 7 ff.) *Μητρόδωρος διὰ τὴν πάροδον τοῦ ἡλίου· τοῦτον γὰρ εἶναι τὸν ἡλιακὸν κύκλον*). Cp. Isid. *orig.* 3. 45 quam aliqui dicunt viam esse, qua circuit sol, et ex huius splendoris ipsius transitu ita lucere.

For the Milky Way in relation to the sun see A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 86 no. 267 'Die Milchstrasse nennt man bei Saldern, westlich von Wolfenbüttel, die Himmelsstrasse, sie ist die Mitte der Welt, und die Sonne steht am Mittag regelmässig in derselben,' *ib.* ii. 87 no. 269 'Die Milchstrasse dreht sich nach der Sonne, indem sie dort zuerst erscheint, wo die Sonne untergegangen ist. Woltringhausen, Amt Uchte. Einer aus Loccum erklärte sie für den Widerschein der Sonne.'

[4] Aristot. *meteor.* 1. 8. 345 a 13 ff. *τῶν μὲν οὖν καλουμένων Πυθαγορείων φασί τινες ὀδὸν εἶναι ταύτην οἱ μὲν τῶν ἐκπεσόντων τινὸς ἄστρων (ἀστέρων* cod. N.) *κατὰ τὴν λεγομένην ἐπὶ Φαέθοντος φθορὰν (φορὰν* codd. E.F.N.), *οἱ δὲ τὸν ἥλιον τοῦτον τὸν κύκλον φέρεσθαί ποτέ φασιν· οἷον οὖν διακεκαῦσθαι τὸν τόπον τοῦτον (τοῦτον τὸν τόπον* cod. F., *τοῦτον τὸν τρόπον* codd. H.N.) *ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἄλλο πεπονθέναι πάθος ὑπὸ τῆς φορᾶς (φθορᾶς* H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[2] Berlin 1906 i. 230, 41) *αὐτοῦ (αὐτῶν* cod. H.). See further Olympiod. *in* Aristot. *meteor.* p. 66, 27 ff., p. 69, 33 ff. Stüve and Philop. *in* Aristot. *meteor.* p. 101, 19 ff., p. 106, 13 ff. Hayduck.

[5] Manil. 1. 729 ff. an melius manet illa fides per saecula prisca, | illac (*illa* codd. V_2.M.[1]) Solis equos diversis (*diversos* codd. C.V_2.) cursibus (sic codd. G.L., *curribus* cett.) isse | atque aliam trivisse viam, longumque per aevum | exustas (*exutas* codd. L.[1]C.V_2.) sedes incoctaque (*que* om. cod. V_2.) sidera flammis | caeruleam (*ceruleo* cod. M.) verso speciem mutasse colore (*colorem* cod. C.M[2].) | infusumque (*que* om. codd. L.C.V_2.). loco cinerem mundumque sepultum? | fama etiam antiquis ad nos descendit ab annis | Phaethontem patrio curru per signa volantem, | dum nova miratur propius spectacula mundi | et puer in caelo ludit curruque (*cursuque* codd. L.C.M.) superbus | luxuriat mundo (*mundi* cj. J. F. Gronovius, *nitido* cj. J. P. Postgate) cupit et maiora parente (*parentem* codd. L.C.V_2.), | (versum damnat R. Bentley, huc revocavit J. P. Postgate) deflexum solito cursu curvisque quadrigis | monstratas liquisse vias orbemque rigenti (*rigentem* cod. G., *regentem* cett., corr. J. F. Jacob, *recentem* G. Knaack post R. Bentley) | imposuisse polo, nec signa insueta tulisse | errantis nutu (*errantes meta* cj. R. Bentley) flammas currumque solutum.

[6] Plout. *de plac. phil.* 3. 1 = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 27. 2 p. 226, 1 ff. Wachsmuth (Aët. 3. 1. 2

ignored by them all is of more interest to us. Three writers steeped in neo-Platonic lore, and drawing perhaps from a single source[1], ascribe to Pythagoras himself the belief that the Milky Way is the road by which souls come and go. Porphyrios (*c.* 233—*c.* 304 A.D.), who penned an allegorical treatise *On the Cave of the Nymphs in the Odyssey*, remarks[2]:

Elsewhere he (Homer) speaks of 'the gates of the Sun[3],' meaning Cancer and Capricornus; for these are the limits to which it progresses when descending from north to south and again when ascending from south to north. Capricornus and Cancer are set at either side of the Milky Way, the latter on the north, the former on the south. And 'the folk of dreams' according to Pythagoras[4] are the souls, which—he asserts—are gathered together in the Milky Way, so called from those that are nurtured on milk, when they fall into birth.

Macrobius (*c.* 400 A.D.) in his *Commentary on the Dream of Scipio* says[5]:

The following order is observed in the descent by which the soul of man slips from heaven to the lower regions of this present life. The Milky Way embraces the zodiac by means of the circular contact of its oblique periphery in such a way that it intersects the zodiac at the points where two tropic signs, Capricornus and Cancer, are said to be. These the physicists have called the gates of the Sun, because both prevent it from further advance when such is forbidden by the solstice and turn it back to the pathway of that zone whose bounds it never quits. It is supposed that through these gates souls pass from heaven to earth

in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 364, 22 ff.) *τῶν Πυθαγορείων οἱ μὲν* (*οἱ μὲν πυθαγόρειοι* cod. P. Stob.) *ἔφασαν ἀστέρος εἶναι διάκαυσιν ἐκπεσόντος μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς ἰδίας* (*οἰκείας* cod. B. Plout.) *ἕδρας, δι' οὗ δὲ περιέδραμε* (sic cod. G. Plout. et Stob., *ἐπέδραμε* codd. (A.)B.C. Plout.) *χωρίου* (*χωμίον* cod. P. Stob.) *κυκλοτερῶς αὐτὸ καταφλέξαντος* (*περιφλέξαντος* Stob.) *ἐπὶ τοῦ κατὰ Φαέθοντα* (*φαέθοντος* cod. A. Plout. et cod. F. Stob., deest locus in cod. C. Stob.) *ἐμπρησμοῦ* (*κυκλοτερῶς—ἐμπρησμοῦ* om. cod. P. Stob.). *οἱ δὲ τὸν ἡλιακὸν ταύτῃ φασὶ* (*φησὶ* cod. P. Stob.) *κατ' ἀρχὰς γεγονέναι δρόμον. τινὲς δὲ* (*καὶ* ins. cod. B. Plout.) *κατοπτρικὴν εἶναι φαντασίαν τοῦ ἡλίου τὰς αὐγὰς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνακλῶντος, ὅπερ καὶ ἐπὶ* (*κἀπὶ* Stob.) *τῆς* (*γῆς* ins. et ead. man. del. cod. P. Stob.) *ἴριδος καὶ* (*καὶ* om. Stob.) *ἐπὶ τῶν νεφῶν συμβαίνει.* Cp. pseudo-Aristot. *erotoapocris.* (Diels *op. cit.* p. 364 n.) *εἶναι δὲ κάτω περὶ τὴν* (*κατοπτρικὴν* corr. Diels) *φαντασίαν ὁ ἥλιος* (leg. *τοῦ ἡλίου* et ins. *τὰς*) *αὐγὰς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀνακλῶντος, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τῆς ἴριδος καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν νεφελῶν συμβαίνει.*

[1] P. Capelle *op. cit.* p. 39 f. holds that this was the commentary of some Platonist on Plat. *Tim.*

[2] Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 28.

[3] *Od.* 24. 12 *ἠδὲ παρ' Ἠελίοιο πύλας καὶ δῆμον ὀνείρων.*

[4] In Quint. Smyrn. 14. 179 ff. the soul of Achilles appears to his son in a dream and *ib.* 223 ff. *ὣς εἰπὼν ἀπόρουσε θοῇ ἐναλίγκιος αὔρῃ, | αἶψα δ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον κίεν, ἧχι τέτυκται | οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ὑπάτοιο καταιβασίη τ' ἀνοδός τε | ἀθανάτοις μακάρεσσιν.* The lines are suggestive of Pythagorean influence.

[5] Macrob. *comm. in somn. Scip.* 1. 12. 1—3. Cp. Favonius Eulogius *disp. de somn. Scip.* p. 1 Holder quod et immortalis esset animi mentisque substantia et bene meritis de re p(ublica) pa<t>ri<a>eque custodibus lactei circuli lucida ac candens habitio (*leg.* habitatio) deberetur.

and again from earth to heaven. One is called the gate of men, the other that of the gods: Cancer is the gate of men, because through it they descend to the lower regions; Capricornus, the gate of the gods, because through it souls return to the seat of their own proper immortality and rejoin the company of the gods. This is what Homer, a poet of divine foresight, intended by his description of the cave in Ithake[1]. Hence too Pythagoras holds that from the Milky Way downwards begins the realm of Dis, since souls that have fallen from it seem already to have left the world above. Milk—he says—is the first food offered to the new-born, because their first movement downwards in the direction of earthly bodies begins at the Milky Way. Wherefore also Scipio, pointing to the Milky Way, observed with regard to the souls of the blessed:

'Hence they start, and hither they return!'

Proklos (410—485 A.D.), after citing from the Pythagorising Platonist Noumenios[2] a somewhat similar account of Capricornus and Cancer as the openings through which souls are sent upwards and downwards, continues[3]:

For Pythagoras in mystic language calls the Milky Way 'Hades' and 'the place of souls,' since there they are crowded together[4]. Whence sundry nations pour a libation of milk to the gods that purify souls, and milk is the first food taken by souls that fall into birth.

This belief in the Milky Way as a soul-road is found in several authors who, without being definitely followers of Pythagoras, are known to have come more or less under the influence of Pythagorean speculation. Thus Parmenides[5] in the preface to his great philosophical poem describes how he was conducted in a chariot 'on the far-famed way of the goddess' (Ananke?) and 'maidens led the way,' to wit the Heliades, who escorted him towards the light through the portals of Night and Day till he reached the home of the goddess[6]. The 'way' in question is not improbably the Milky

[1] *Od.* 13. 103 ff.

[2] Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 128, 26 ff. Kroll.

[3] Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 129, 24 ff. Kroll καὶ γὰρ τὸν Πυθαγόραν δι' ἀπορρήτων "Αιδην τὸν γαλαξίαν καὶ τόπον ψυχῶν ἀποκαλεῖν, ὡς ἐκεῖ συνωθουμένων· διὸ παρά τισιν ἔθνεσιν γάλα σπένδεσθαι τοῖς θεοῖς τοῖς τῶν ψυχῶν καθάρταις καὶ τῶν πεσουσῶν εἰς γένεσιν εἶναι γάλα τὴν πρώτην τροφήν.

[4] Cp. a gloss of Placidus in *Classicorum auctorum e Vaticanis codicibus editorum* Tomus iii curante A. Maio Romae 1831 p. 481 (=G. Goetz *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1894 v. 79, 26 ff.) Lacteus circulus, via quae in spera (*leg.* sphaera) videtur quasi alba: quem alii dicunt animis heroum antiquorum refertum, et merito resplendere: alii viam esse quam circuit sol, et ex splendoris ipsius transitu ita lucere, Philop. *de aeternitate mundi* 7. 20 p. 290 Rabe τινὲς γοῦν τῶν παρ' αὐτοῖς (*sc.* the Greeks) θεολόγων καὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν καλούμενον κύκλον λῆξιν εἶναι καὶ χώραν ψυχῶν λογικῶν ἀπεφήναντο.

[5] On the Pythagoreanism of Parmenides see *e.g.* J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 pp. 181 f., 197 ff.

[6] Parmen. *frag.* 1, 1 ff. Diels.

Way[1]. Again, Empedotimos of Syracuse[2], who figures as an adherent of Pythagoras[3], held 'that the Milky Way is the road of souls traversing the Hades in heaven[4].' Platon too is presumably Pythagorising, when in a famous passage of the *Phaidros* he tells how god-like souls follow the gods round the great arch of heaven and from its summit behold sights of unspeakable splendour in the region beyond the sky:

Zeus, the great chieftain in heaven, driving a winged car, travels first, arranging and presiding over all things; and after him comes a host of gods and inferior deities, marshalled in eleven divisions, for Hestia stays at home alone in the mansion of the gods; but all the other ruling powers, that have their place in the number of the twelve, march at the head of a troop in the

[1] H. Diels *ad loc.* (*Poetarum philosophorum fragmenta* Berolini 1901 p. 58) says: 'utique Solis orbita videtur intellegenda, quam poeta lucido mentis curru, felicior ille Phaethonte, quotiens libebat escendebat.' The mention of the Heliades does indeed recall Phaethon. But the fall of Phaethon was connected by the Pythagoreans with the Milky Way (*supra* p. 40, *infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ)). F. M. Cornford in his brilliant book *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912 pp. 214 f., 222 n. 3 inclines to the view put forward by O. Gilbert in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 1907 xx. 25 ff., *viz.* that Parmenides' journey was a descent into the darkness of the Underworld.

[2] Clem. Al. *strom.* i. 21 p. 82, 27 Stählin.

[3] Souid. *s.vv.* 'Εμπεδότιμος and 'Ιουλιανός, Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 935. But see *infra* n. 4.

[4] Philop. *in* Aristot. *meteor.* p. 117, 8 ff. Hayduck *τούτοις καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις τὴν περὶ τοῦ γάλακτος ὑπόθεσιν 'Αριστοτέλους ἀνελὼν καλῶς ὁ Δαμάσκιος τὴν 'Εμπεδοτίμου περὶ τοῦ γάλακτος οἰκειοῦται, ἔργον (ἀργὸν* codd., corr. C. A. Lobeck) *αὐτὴν (αὐτὸν* codd., corr. C. A. Lobeck) *οὐ* (ante *οὐ* lac. v litt. in. cod. V.) *μῦθον καλῶν. φησὶ γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὁδὸν εἶναι ψυχῶν τὸ γάλα τῶν τὸν "Αιδην (ἐν ἄδῃ* codd., *τὸν "Αιδην* corr. C. A. Lobeck) *τὸν (τῶν* codd. M.V.) *ἐν οὐρανῷ διαπορευομένων. καὶ οὐ θαυμαστόν, φησὶν ὁ Δαμάσκιος, εἰ καὶ ψυχαὶ καθαίρονται ἐν τούτῳ τῷ κύκλῳ τῆς (κύκλῳ <διὰ> τῆς* dub. cj. M. Hayduck) *ἐν οὐρανῷ γενέσεως*, cp. *ib.* p. 117, 31 ff. *ὁ δέ φησιν "ὁδός ἐστι τὸ γάλα ψυχῶν* (om. ed. Ald.) *τῶν διαπορευομένων τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ "Αιδην." εἰ οὖν τὸν γαλαξίαν διαπορεύονται, οὗτος ἂν εἴη ὁ ἐν τῷ* (om. ed. Ald.) *οὐρανῷ "Αιδης. καὶ πῶς "Αιδης ὁ οὕτω φωτεινός; καὶ εἰ καθαίρονται ἐκεῖ ψυχαί, δηλονότι μὴ κεκαθαρμέναι ἀνῆλθον.* See also interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* i. 34 Varro tamen ait se legisse Empedotim (leg. *Empedotimo*, H. A. Lion cj. *Empedocli*) cuidam Syracusano a quadam potestate divina mortalem aspectum detersum, eumque inter cetera tres portas vidisse tresque vias: unam ad signum Scorpionis, qua Hercules ad deos isse diceretur; alteram per limitem, qui est inter Leonem et Cancrum; tertiam esse inter Aquarium et Pisces.

The views of Empedotimos were known to Julian the Apostate from Herakleides of Pontos (Souid. *s.vv.* 'Εμπεδότιμος and 'Ιουλιανός), who wrote a history *περὶ τῶν Πυθαγορείων* (Diog. Laert. 5. 88: see *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 197 Müller) and a dialogue *περὶ τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ* (Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 476 f.). The latter, in which Empedotimos played a leading part, was presumably the source of Iamblichos *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* i. 49. 39 p. 378, 11 ff. Wachsmuth *καὶ τούτους 'Ηρακλείδην μὲν τὸν Ποντικὸν ἀφορίζειν περὶ τὸν γαλαξίαν, ἄλλους δὲ καθ' ὅλας τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὰς σφαίρας, ἀφ' ὧν δὴ δεῦρο κατιέναι τὰς ψυχάς· κ.τ.λ.* But, when Rohde *Psyche*[2] p. 95 n. contends 'dass Empedotimos nur eine Dialogfigur des Heraklides war, und wohl so wenig jemals existirt hat wie Er der Sohn des Armenios oder Thespesios von Soli oder dessen Vorbild Kleonymos von Athen bei Klearch von Soli (*Rhein. Mus.* 32, 335),' he is hardly convincing. See P. Capelle *op. cit.* p. 42 n. 2.

order to which they have been severally appointed. Now there are, it is true, many ravishing views and opening paths within the bounds of heaven, whereon the family of the blessed gods go to and fro, each in performance of his own proper work; and they are followed by all who from time to time possess both will and power; for envy has no place in the celestial choir. But whenever they go to feast and revel, they forthwith journey by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault. Now the chariots of the gods being of equal poise, and obedient to the rein, move easily, but all others with difficulty; for they are burdened by the horse of vicious temper, which sways and sinks them towards the earth, if haply he has received no good training from his charioteer. Whereupon there awaits the soul a crowning pain and agony. For those which we called immortal go outside when they are come to the topmost height, and stand on the outer surface of heaven, and as they stand they are borne round by its revolution, and gaze on the eternal scene. Now of that region beyond the sky no earthly bard has ever yet sung or ever will sing in worthy strains[1].

It can hardly be doubted that the 'uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault,' a path along which the souls of the blessed go to the fulness of fruition, implies the Pythagorean conception of the Milky Way as an Elysian road.

In the *Republic* the same bright track is compared with 'the undergirders of triremes[2]'; but the figure is complicated by the addition of 'a straight light like a pillar' stretching along the axis of the universe[3],—an idea taken up by the Manichaeans, who spoke of a 'pillar of glory' or a 'pillar of light' filled with souls in process of purification[4]. This pillar has no counterpart in astronomical fact or, for that matter, in astronomical theory. It would, however, be unwise to assume that it was introduced by Platon merely to

[1] Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 B—247 C trans. J. Wright. An echo of this passage may be heard in Loukian. *Dem.* 50 (*infra* § 3 (a) iii (ι)). Cp. also *Anth. Pal.* 7. 97. 1 f. (Diog. Laert.) *οὐ μόνον ἐς Πέρσας ἀνέβη Ξενοφῶν διὰ Κῦρον, | ἀλλ' ἄνοδον ζητῶν ἐς Διὸς ἥτις ἄγοι* with *ib.* 7. 96. 1 (Diog. Laert.) *πῦνέ νυν ἐν Διὸς ὤν, ὦ Σώκρατες· κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Note that the Pythagoreans spoke of a cosmic 'ship' (Philolaos *frag.* 12 Diels *καὶ τὰ μὲν τᾶς σφαίρας σώματα πέντε ἐντί, τὰ ἐν τᾷ σφαίρᾳ πῦρ <καὶ> ὕδωρ καὶ γᾶ καὶ ἀήρ, καὶ ὁ τᾶς σφαίρας ὁλκάς, πέμπτον*): *supra* i. 358 n. 3.

[3] Plat. *rep.* 616 B—C. I follow the interpretation of J. Adam *ad loc.*, who supposes that the curved light was suggested by the Milky Way, but that the straight light symbolised the axis of the universe. He points out that some of the ancients interpreted the straight light of the Milky Way (Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 130, 3 f., 194, 19 ff. Kroll, cp. Cic. *de rep.* 6. 16), while others regarded it as the axis of the universe or a cylinder of aetherial fire surrounding the axis (Theon Smyrn. *περὶ τῶν κατὰ τὸ μαθηματικὸν χρησίμων εἰς τὴν Πλάτωνος ἀνάγνωσιν* p. 143 Hiller, Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v. τεταμένον φῶς εὐθὺ οἷον κίονα*, cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 199, 31 ff. Kroll).

[4] Epiphan. *panar.* 2. 66. 26 (iii. 1. 48, 11 ff. Dindorf) *τῆς οὖν σελήνης μεταδιδούσης τὸν γόμον τῶν ψυχῶν τοῖς αἰῶσι τοῦ πατρός, παραμένουσιν ἐν τῷ στύλῳ τῆς δόξης, ὃς καλεῖται ἀὴρ ὁ τέλειος. ὁ δὲ ἀὴρ οὗτος στῦλός ἐστι φωτός, ἐπειδὴ γέμει ψυχῶν τῶν καθαριζομένων.* In view of J. Adam's elucidation of the Platonic *φῶς εὐθύ, οἷον κίονα* I cannot agree with I. de Beausobre *Histoire de Manichée et du Manicheisme* Amsterdam 1739 ii. 513 'A l'égard de *la Colonne de Gloire*, ou *de Lumière*, elle n'est autre chose, si je ne me trompe, que la Voye Lactée.'

facilitate the transition to his ensuing image—the 'spindle of Ananke.' Rather we may surmise that it was based upon popular belief with ritual usage behind it.

(β) The Sky-Pillar in Italy.

In seeking the antecedents of a Pythagorean or *quasi*-Pythagorean doctrine we turn first to south Italy, where the order planted by Pythagoras took root and flourished. It would not be surprising if somewhere in the neighbourhood of Kroton and Metapontum we came across a definite cult of Zeus conceived as residing in or on a pillar. If I am not mistaken, we find such a cult at Tarentum. For here was a colossal bronze statue of Zeus, made by Lysippos, with a notable pillar beside it[1]. And here too sacrifices were offered on pillars to the lightning-god Zeus *Kataibátes*—a practice which, as we saw, had probably been inherited from 'Minoan' times[2]. Apulian and Campanian vases, also, represent Zeus fulminant on the top of a pillar[3]. Altogether, it looks as though there were in south Italy an old belief that Zeus with his lightnings dwelt on high above an obvious tangible pillar, his vehicle and support.

A similar belief with regard to Iupiter seems to have prevailed at Rome during republican days. In 152 B.C. a column standing before the temple of Iupiter on the Campus was blown down with its gilded statue. The diviners predicted the death of magistrates and priests: whereupon all the magistrates abdicated in a body[4].

[1] *Supra* i. 35 f. This statue, with sides reversed, furnished Theodoros, the designer or copyist of the *tabula Iliaca*, with an interesting scene. In the uppermost register of his composition Thetis pleads before Zeus (*Il.* 1. 498 ff.), who is seated in the same pensive attitude beside a pillar (O. Jahn—A. Michaelis *Griechische Bilderchroniken* Bonn 1873 pp. 12 f., 26 pl. 1, A. Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 717 pl. 13 fig. 775, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 166 no. 83 pl. 41 (bibliography *ib.* p. 172)). Fig. 17 is from J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 280 f. fig. 25. Svoronos says: "Ὀπισθεν δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τούτου, ἐπ' αὐτῆς τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ Ὀλύμπου, ὑψοῦται πελώριος κίων φέρων τὸν οὐράνιον θόλον, but C. Robert in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxii. 107 expressly warns us that the supposed arch over Zeus is 'nur eine Verletzung des Marmors,' and Stuart Jones prints ΙΕΥΣ, not ΙΟΥ. A fresh inspection of the marble is much to be desired. *Vide* Addenda *in hunc loc.* For Theodoros' utilisation of past models see A. Brüning in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 136 ff.

Fig. 17.

[2] *Supra* p. 29 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 36 ff., 409, 520 n. 2.

[4] Iul. Obs. 18 M. Claudio Marcello L. Valerio Flacco coss. turbinis vi in Campo columna ante aedem Iovis decussa cum signo aurato; cumque aruspices respondissent magistratuum et sacerdotum interitum fore, omnes magistratus se protinus abdicaverunt.

The list of portents for the year 96 B.C. includes an owl killed on the Capitol, many things destroyed by lightning, and gilded statues of Iupiter overthrown with capital (?) and column to boot[1]. A third incident of like character is recorded with somewhat greater detail. It appears that in 65 B.C. an appalling thunderstorm burst over Rome. 'On the Capitol,' says Dion Cassius[2], 'many statues and images were melted by thunderbolts, among others one of Iupiter set on a column, while a likeness of the she-wolf with Remus and Romulus fell from its pedestal.' The diviners, hastily summoned from all parts of Etruria, foretold the end of Rome. At their advice desperate efforts were made to placate the gods. Games were held for ten days, and a larger[3] statue of Iupiter was erected on a yet loftier column with its face turned towards the east. Two years later—for the work progressed slowly—this statue was being placed in position at the moment when Cicero was delivering his third speech against Catiline; and the speaker was quick to profit by the coincidence. Surely the detection and punishment of the great conspiracy were due to Iupiter himself, whose penetrating gaze was even now directed upon the Forum and the Senate House[4].

Pighius cj. *in Capitolio* for *in Campo*. But the change is unnecessary; for there was an ancient hypaethral sanctuary of Iupiter *Fulgur* in the Campus (E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 656, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 121 f., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 20). Besides, the temple of Iupiter *Stator* in the Porticus Metelli (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 538 ff., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *op. cit.* p. 22) was perhaps in existence before 147 B.C. (S. B. Platner *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* Boston 1904 p. 330). It should, however, be noticed that Iul. Obs. 18 does not definitely describe the ruined monument as a statue of Iupiter. J. Scheffer *ad loc.* took it to have been the portrait of some magistrate.

[1] Iul. Obs. 49 Cn. Domitio C. Cassio coss....bubo in Capitolio occisus. fulmine pleraque decussa. signa aurata Iovis cum capite columnaque disiecta. O. Jahn cj. *statua* for *capite*. But O. Rossbach *ad loc.* understands *caput* as the 'capital' of a column, not as the 'head' of a statue. The meaning is not beyond doubt, since (*a*) the plural *signa* accords ill with the singulars *capite, columna*, and (*b*) it is known that two *capita*, in the sense of colossal 'heads,' were dedicated on the Capitol by P. Lentulus (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 44).

[2] Dion Cass. 37. 9 *ἐν γὰρ τῷ Καπιτωλίῳ ἀνδριάντες τε πολλοὶ ὑπὸ κεραυνῶν συνεχωνεύθησαν καὶ ἀγάλματα ἄλλα τε καὶ Διὸς ἐπὶ κίονος ἱδρυμένου, εἰκών τέ τις λυκαίνης σύν τε τῷ Ῥώμῳ καὶ σὺν τῷ Ῥωμύλῳ ἱδρυμένη ἔπεσε*, κ.τ.λ. Cp. *id.* 37. 34.

[3] On the principle involved see *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 270 f., *supra* i. 563 f. In 293 B.C. Sp. Carvilius made the breastplates, greaves, and helmets of the vanquished Samnites into a statue of Iupiter, which he set up on the Capitol,—a statue large enough to be visible from the temple of Iupiter *Latiaris* on the Alban Mount. From the filings he made a statue of himself, to stand at the feet of the god (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 43: but Liv. 10. 46 does not mention this group).

[4] Cic. *in Cat.* 3. 19 ff. (20 simulacrum Iovis facere maius et in excelso collocare et contra, atque ante fuerat, ad orientem convertere), *de consulatu suo* 2. 33 ff. (60 Iupiter excelsa clarabat sceptra columna) *ap. de div.* 1. 19 ff., 2. 45 f., Quint. *inst. or.* 5. 11. 42 utitur eo Cicero...in contione contra Catilinam, cum signum Iovis columnae impositum

The notion that the sky-god resided in person on the top of a high pillar might presumably be combined with a belief in the Milky Way as a road to his residence. Indeed, a remarkable block of Italian marble, now at Berlin, shows Iupiter enthroned on the summit of a pillar that rises sheer from earth to heaven, while two females ascend the arch of the sky and enter his very presence[1].

(γ) The Sky-Pillar in the 'Minoan' area.

Italy stretches from south-east to north-west. Accordingly the beliefs and practices here noted find their nearest analogues in the 'Minoan' and the early Germanic areas. On the one hand, we have sufficient evidence to be tolerably sure that the 'Minoan' sky-god

Fig. 18.

was associated both with the Milky Way and with a high pillar. The great gold ring from Mykenai (fig. 18)[2] exhibits a deity, armed with

populo ostendit, Iul. Obs. 61 M. Cicerone C. Antonio coss....inter alia relatu<m>, biennio ante in Capitolio lupam Remi et Romuli fulmine ictam, signumque Iovis cum columna disiectum, aruspicum responso in foro repositum (where *in foro* is inexact), Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 40 sed neque hoc nostram conscientiam fugit lectum et positum, ictum cum esset Capitolium fulmine multaque in hoc alia, Iovis etiam simulacrum, sublimi quod in culmine stabat, suis esse ab sedibus provolutum. responsum deinde ab haruspicibus editum res saevas (Meursius cj. *scaevas*) tristissimasque portendi ab incendiis, caedibus, ab legum interitu et ab iuris occasu, maxime tamen ab domesticis hostibus atque ab impia coniuratorum manu. sed flecti haec posse (Meursius om. *posse*), immo aliter publicari scelerata non posse consilia, nisi Iuppiter rursus altiore in culmine figeretur, orientalem conversus ad cardinem radiisque oppositus solis. adfuisse dicto fidem: nam subrecto culmine conversoque ad solem signo patuisse res abditas et reserata in maleficia vindicatum.

[1] *Supra* i. 62 fig. 38.

[2] *Supra* i. 623. I reduce to a scale of $\frac{4}{5}$ the careful drawing (scale $\frac{2}{1}$) given by Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108 fig. 4.

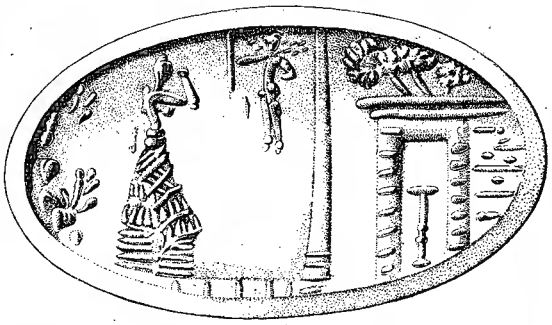


Fig. 19.

shield and spear, and a double axe descending side by side towards the earth-goddess and her maidens from a wavy track, which crosses

Fig. 20.

the sky and probably represents the Milky Way[1]. Another large gold signet from Knossos (fig. 19)[2] shows a god with a spear carried in his right hand and rays of light (?)[3] darting from his shoulders as he descends from a tall tapering pillar towards a female worshipper. That the shield-bearing deity of the first ring is to be identified with the rayed god of the second ring, appears from a third representation on a painted *lárnax* found at Miletos (*Milato*) in Crete (fig. 20)[4], which gives him both shield and rays (?). It can hardly be doubted

[1] Opinions have differed as to the interpretation of this wavy band: see *e.g.* C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 277 ('probably...the sea'), Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 46 ('sans doute la mer'), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 841 ('peut-être la mer'), Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 298 ('the cloud-canopy'), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* ii. 10 ('die Andeutung des Himmelsoceans, des Okeanos (oder der Wolken?)'). Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 196 fig. 27 says 'la via lattea,' and Harrison *Themis* p. 168 fig. 36 'Milky Way,'—rightly, as I conceive. It should be noticed that both the goddess and her maidens wear lilies in their hair (*supra* i. 623), and that the

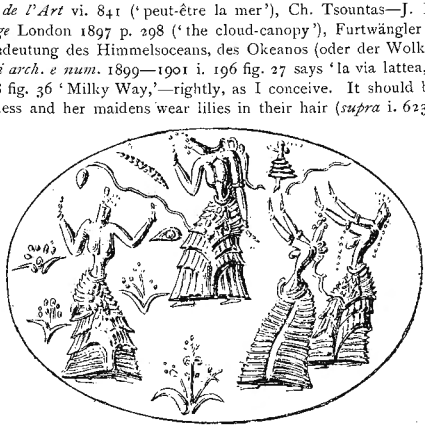


Fig. 21.

milk-white lily was supposed by the later Greeks to have originated from the Milky Way (*supra* i. 624). A somewhat analogous design occurs on a gold ring found in a tomb of the Late 'Minoan' ii period at Isopata in Crete: four females dance in a field of lilies, while a diminutive goddess descends towards them from a wavy line apparently betokening the sky (fig. 21 ($\frac{3}{4}$) after Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1913—1914 lxv. 10 fig. 16). Cp. also another gold ring from a tomb in the lower town at Mykenai, now at Athens (Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne*: *Athènes* p. 71 f. no. 3179 fig., H. Fritze in the *Strena Helbigiana* p. 73 fig. 1, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 3, ii. 25 fig., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 176 ff. fig. 53, Harrison *Themis* p. 166 fig. 34).

[2] Procured by Sir A. J. Evans from the site of Knossos and by him published, to a scale of $\frac{1}{1}$, in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 170 ff. fig. 48.

[3] So Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* But in *Archaeologia* 1906 lix. 100, *ib.* 1913—1914 lxv. 11 he retracts this interpretation, and now suggests that the rapid descent of the divinity is indicated by long locks of hair flying out on either side. In view of the very similar representations of the Babylonian Šamaš (*supra* i. 553 n. 5) I prefer the former explanation.

[4] Found by Sir A. J. Evans in 1899 within a chambered tomb at *Milato* and by him published in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 174 f. fig. 50.

that the god in question is the 'Minoan' sky-god, who descends in his panoply from the heights of heaven.

(δ) The *Irminsûl*.

On the other hand, the early Germanic sky-god plays a somewhat similar part. His name in Old High German was **Ziu* or **Zio*, in Anglo-Saxon **Tíw*, in Norse *Týr*. But whether these forms are more nearly related to the Greek *Zeús* or to its doublet the Latin *deivos* is a question hotly disputed by philologists[1]. In any case Ziu was a sky-god conceived as a warrior and consequently equated by classical writers with Ares or Mars[2]. 'Other names for Tiu,' says Prof. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye[3], 'are perhaps Dings

[1] See *e.g.* K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 270 f.: 'Die urgermanische Form des Namens ahd. **Ziu*, **Zio*, ags. **Tíw*[71] [[71] Die ags. und ahd. Nominative sind nur aus Zusammensetzungen (Wochentagsnamen und Ortsnamen) zu erschliessen.], nord. Týr[72] [[72] Mit Umlaut *í*>*ý* vor tautosyllabischem *w*; vgl. Noreen, Altisl. und altnorw. Grammatik, § 72, 5.] wird verschieden angesetzt, am besten als Wurzelstamm **Tîuz* aus **Tîeus*, idg. **Dieus*, wozu skr. *Dyâus*, gr. Ζεύς, lat. *Ju*(*piter*), *Jovis* als nahe etymologische Verwandte treten. Gegen diesen Ansatz hat sich Bremer[73] [[73] Der germanische Himmelsgott, JF. III, S. 301 f.; vgl. Streitberg zur German. Sprachgeschichte, S. 72; Kögel, LG. I, 1, S. 14; Schrader, Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte[3], II, S. 439. Noreen, Abriss der urgerm. Lautlehre, stellt sich S. 176, Anm. 10 auf Bremers Seite, während er S. 28 und aisl. Gramm, § 68, 7, selbst die Gleichsetzung *Dyāuš—Zio* verzeichnet.—Beide Etymologien berühren sich übrigens; denn die zugrunde liegenden Wurzelformen idg. **dieu* und **dei-u-o* scheinen im Ablaut miteinander zu stehen (vgl. Walde, Lat. etym. Wb.[2], S. 230), abgesehen von dem bei der zweiten Form eingetretenen Übergang aus der Klasse der Wurzelnomina in die *a*-Klasse.] mit Entschiedenheit, aber ohne zwingende Gründe gewendet und setzt einen germ. *wa*-Stamm **Tîwaz* an, wozu der nordische Plural *tívar*[74] [[74] Heterosyllabisches *w* bewirkt keinen Umlaut.] „Götter", ind. *dēva*, lit. *dẽvas*, lat. *deus* (aus **deivos*) zu stellen sind.' Similarly my friend the Rev. Prof. J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 393 n. observes that the argument of O. Bremer ('Der germanische Himmelsgott' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1894 iii. 301 f.) for attaching the Germanic words to *deivos* rather than to *dyēus* did not convince O. Schrader (*Reallex.* p. 670), cp. J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 33 n., and that the High German *Zio* is declared by the paramount authority of K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1897 i. 133 f. to suit either origin, but that in the opinion of Prof. H. M. Chadwick (*The Cult of Othin* London 1899 p. 2) the Old English form (*Tīw*-) cannot be traced to anything but *deivos*.

[2] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 196 ff., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 220 ff., W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 200 ff., K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 217, 460, 525 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 106, 243 ff., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 180 ff., K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 273 f.

[3] P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 245.

(in *Marti Thingso*[1] and *Dinsdag*[2], Tuesday) and, with more certainty, Er (Erchtag) among the Bavarians[3], and Sahsnot (Anglo-Saxon Seaxneat, *i.e.* swòrd companion) among the Saxons[4]. The Anglo-Saxon rune ᛉ (Ear) is also referred to him[5]. Finally Iring, the

[1] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4760 deo | Marti | Thingso | et duabus | Alaisiagis | Bede et Fi|mmilene | et n(uminibus) Aug(ustorum) Ger|m(ani) cives Tu|ihanti | v.s.l.m., cp. no. 4761 deo | Marti et duabus | Alaisiagis et n(uminibus) Aug(ustorum) | Ger(mani) cives Tuihanti | cunei Frisiorum | Ver(....) Ser(....) Alexand|riani votum | solveru[nt] | libent[es m.]. These inscriptions were found in 1883 on two altars at Housesteads, the site of Borcovicium the eighth station on Hadrian's wall. The former altar has on its right side the relief of a female figure, doubtless one of the Alaisiagae. The latter altar has a small *protome* in front and sacrificial implements on the sides. Further, a semicircular top belonging to one of the altars represents Mars as an armed warrior with a swan or goose flanked by two hovering attendants. These altars were dedicated in the reign of Alexander Severus (222—235 A.D.) by Germani from Tuianti, the modern Twenthe. For a full bibliography see K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 366 n. 80.

L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 ii. 450 observes: 'Der friesische *Mars Thingsus*, dieser Ζεὺς ἀγοραῖος der Germanen, neben welchem weibliche Gottheiten genannt werden ähnlich wie Dike neben Zeus, ist dargestellt mit einem Schwan, der sich vertraulich an ihn schmiegt und wohl eben diese weibliche Gefolgschaft andeuten soll: Ziu mit dem Schwane und Zeus mit den Schwanfrauen weisen auf eine uralte gemeineuropäische Vorstellung hin (vgl. auch Hoffory, Eddastudien 1, 145 ff.).'

[2] E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 220, 222, R. Much 'Der germanische Himmelsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 193 f., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 187, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 370.

[3] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 201 ff., 1888 iv. 1351, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 221, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 pp. 210, 213, R. Much 'Der germanische Himmelsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 195 ff., K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 523, 644 n.**, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 192.

[4] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 203 f., 1888 iv. 1351, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 221, 225, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 213 f., R. Much 'Der germanische Himmelsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 225 f., K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 523, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 196.

[5] So J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 199 ff., 1888 iv. 1351, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 221, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* Bonn 1878 p. 273, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 213. Their view is based on the following evidence. (*a*) In the Runic alphabets of cod. Cotton. Otho B 10 (G. Hickes *Linguarum Veterum Septentrionalium Thesaurus grammatico-criticus* Oxoniæ 1705 i. 135, G. Stephens *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* London—Köbenhavn 1866–67 i. 100 no. 5, L. F. A. Wimmer *Die Runenschrift* Berlin 1887 p. 85) and cod. Cotton. Domitian A 9 (G. Hickes *op. cit.* i. 136, G. Stephens *op. cit.* i. 102 no. 9) the rune ᛉ is called, not only *ear*, but also *tir*. (*b*) In other Anglo-Saxon alphabets ᛉ is used for the

Thuringian hero, who with his sword slays two kings, is, according to some, likewise a form of Tiu[1].' Now the Milky Way was known as *Iringesstrâza* or *Iringes wec*, the 'Street' or 'Road of Iring[2].' If, therefore, Iring is rightly regarded as a form of Ziu, we have here the Germanic parallel to Pindar's 'road of Zeus[3].' That road led up 'to Kronos' tower.' But the counterpart of this mysterious destination is hardly to be found in Germanic myth. It might rather be sought in the Celtic area; for a Welsh name of the Milky Way was *caer Gwydion*, the 'castle of Gwydion[4].' However that may be, Iring is in legend closely associated with Irmenfried, king of the Thuringians[5]; and *Irmin*, the 'Uplifted One[6],' is commonly thought to have been another name or surname of Ziu[7]. It was probably as

letter *z*, and in cod. Cotton. Tiberius D 18 (J. M. Kemble 'On Anglo-Saxon Runes' in *Archæologia* 1840 xxviii. 338 pl. 15, 1 f., G. Stephens *op. cit.* i. 107 no. 24) is called *ziu* But Mr B. Dickins, to whom I applied for a criticism of the whole hypothesis, has shown convincingly that it rests on a complete misconception of the *data*. His remarks, too important to be compressed into a footnote, will be found printed in the Addenda *ad loc.*

[1] J. Grimm *Irmenstrasze und Irmensäule* Wien 1815 p. 21 ff., p. 41 (=*Kleinere Schriften* Gütersloh 1890 viii. 479 ff., 490), *id. Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 358 ff., 1888 iv. 1389 f.

[2] J. Grimm *Irmenstrasze und Irmensäule* Wien 1815 p. 22 ff. (=*Kleinere Schriften* Gütersloh 1890 viii. 479 ff.), *id. Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 358 ff, 1888 iv. 1389, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 89, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 117.

[3] *Supra* p. 36 f.

[4] W. Owen Pughe *Geiriadur Cenhedlaethol Cymraeg a Saesneg*[3] (A National Dictionary of the Welsh Language, with English and Welsh Equivalents) enlarged by R. J. Pryse Denbigh 1866 i. 297 'Caer gwydion—the gallaxy, so called from Gwydion ab Don, who, having a knowledge of astronomy, was deemed a conjurer.' H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland in *Mélusine* Paris 1884—85 ii. 153 n. 1 comment: 'Ce nom n'est pas populaire; il ne se trouve que dans certains dictionnaires, et il nous paraît suspect.' But J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 150 n. 2 and 357 n. 1 saw no reason to doubt it, and it is accepted by Sir J. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures 1886*[3] London 1898 p. 240, *id. Celtic Folklore Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 ii. 645, C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London 1905 pp. 253, 268, J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 107.

[5] See the references cited *supra* n. 1.

[6] My friend Prof. H. M. Chadwick points out to me (April 3, 1917) that *Irmin* is presumably a participial formation resembling in both sound and sense ἠρμένος (αἴρω), the 'Uplifted One.' If so, *Irmin* was "Ὑψιστος.

[7] *E.g.* W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 209 'Mit Irmino ist ebenfalls Tiuz gemeint,' K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 117 'die entscheidende und wichtigste stelle über Irmin findet sich bei Widukind 1, 12. sie ist von mir in der abhandlung über Tuisto und seine nachkommen in Schmidts allg. zs. für gesch. 8 (1847), 242 ff. erläutert worden [reprinted in the *Deutsche Altertumskunde* iv. 519 ff.]. nach ihr und einigen andern zeugnissen ist Irmin beiname des alten himmelsgottes Tiu, altn. *Týr*, ags. in *Tîwesdäg*, ahd. *Zio*, mit anderm namen *Er*,' R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 192 '*Irmin* ist sicher Tiu.' For a critical investigation of the evidence see R. Much 'Der germanische Him-

the sign and symbol of this sky-god that the ancient Saxons worshipped a high pillar named the *Irminsûl*[1]. Thus, when Charles the Great in 772 A.D. destroyed one of their cult-centres near Eresburg in Westphalia, he overthrew a great trunk of timber erected under the open sky and reverenced by the natives as the *Irminsûl*, a world-pillar supporting all things[2]. Again, in 530 A.D. the Saxons had won a great victory over the Thuringians at Scheidungen on the Unstrut. 'And, when morning dawned,' says Widukind[3], 'they set up an eagle at the eastern gate and, erecting an altar of victory, worshipped their

melsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 197 ff.

[1] The best collection of evidence is still that of J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 115 ff., 353 ff., 1883 ii. 799 f., 1888 iv. 1312, 1322. Cp. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 17, 83, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 593 ff., R. Much 'Der germanische Himmelsgott' in *Abhandlungen zur germanischen Philologie* (*Festgabe für Richard Heinzel*) Halle a. S. 1898 p. 203, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 520 ff., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 124 f., 360, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 389, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 192, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 p. 339 f.

[2] Rudolph of Fulda *translatio S. Alexandri* 3 (G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1829 ii. 676) Frondosis arboribus fontibusque venerationem exhibebant. Truncum quoque ligni non parvae magnitudinis in altum erectum sub divo colebant, patria eum lingua Irminsul appellantes, quod latine dicitur universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia. This passage was penned between 863 and March 865 A.D. It may therefore be regarded as containing a comparatively trustworthy tradition of events that had happened less than a century earlier. But we must beware of mistranslating the last two clauses. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 124 f. renders 'a wooden pillar of unusual size in the open air, worshipped in common, and whose destruction was a national calamity.' This interpretation (though in agreement with that of W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 303 ff., who took the *Irminsûl* to be the '*Lebensbaum* der Volksgesammtheit') is certainly wrong. The Latin *universalis columna, quasi sustinens omnia* can mean only that the pillar in question was conceived to be the prop or central support of the universe. This is clearly perceived and, to my thinking, successfully proved by F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 73 ff.

[3] Widukind *res gestae Saxonicae* 1. 12 (G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1839 iii. 423 f.) Mane autem facto ad orientalem portam ponunt aquilam, aramque victoriae construentes, secundum errorem paternum sacra sua propria veneratione venerati sunt; nomine Martem, effigie columpnarum imitantes Herculem, loco Solem, quem Graeci appellant Apollinem. Ex hoc apparet aestimationem illorum utcumque probabilem, qui Saxones originem duxisse putant de Graecis, quia Hirmin vel Hermis graece Mars dicitur; quo vocabulo ad laudem vel ad vituperationem usque hodie etiam ignorantes utimur. K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 520 ff., following Pertz *ad loc.*, understands *aram...victoriae* as an *Irminsûl* and construes *nomine* (*aras imitantes*) *Martem, effigie columpnarum* (*aras*) *imitantes Herculem, loco* (*aras imitantes*) *Solem*. See *infra* § 3 (a) iii (o). As to Widukind's concluding remark, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 354 f., 1888 iv. 1388 notes that in Westphalia and Hesse the name Irmin still survives in a variety of popular sayings under the forms *Herm, Herme, Hermen, Hermann*, etc.

divinities with due rites according to the error of their fathers. In name they copied Mars, in effigy of columns Hercules, in site Sol whom the Greeks term Apollo. This renders highly probable the view of those who hold that the Saxons originated from the Greeks, because Mars is called Hirmin, or in Greek Hermis,—a name still used by us, though we know it not, for praise or blame.' The chronicler is a would-be classic, and fond of a rhetorical flourish; but there is little doubt that he means to describe the erection and worship of an *Irminsûl*. Indeed, such pillars were probably of frequent occurrence among the tribes that worshipped Ziu.

It would seem, then, that *Er* and *Irmin* were appellatives of the Germanic sky-god, who was connected in legend with the Milky Way and in cult with a high column viewed as a world-pillar or universal support. In face of these facts I surmise that the myth in Platon's *Republic*, which combined the curved light of the Galaxy and the 'straight light like a pillar,' is not altogether independent of early Germanic belief. I would even risk the conjecture that in the hero of the Platonic myth, *Er* son of *Armenios*, we have the Grecised equivalent of both *Er* and *Irmin*[1].

To this it may be objected that alike in time and in place the Germanic world was too remote from the Hellenic to have influenced Platon. But in both respects, as we shall see later[2], a half-way house can be found, thanks to Orpheus, that marvellous mediator between barbarian and Greek.

Meantime I would point out that the *Irminsûl* or universe-prop implies the primitive notion that the sky stands in need of a visible support. Early man was in fact haunted by a very definite dread that it might collapse on the top of him[3]. The classical authors bear

[1] J. Adam in his note on Plat. *rep.* 614 B Ἠρὸς τοῦ Ἀρμενίου, τὸ γένος Παμφύλου thinks that 'The names point to the East,' but, like other commentators, fails to make out any convincing connexion. No doubt Er was a Hebrew name (Souid. *s.v.* Ἤρ), borne *e.g.* by one of the ancestors of Joseph the husband of the Virgin Mary (Luke 3. 28); and some of the ancients certainly understood Ἠρὸς of Zoroastres (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 395, 17 ff. Stählin, Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 109, 8 ff. Kroll, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 1. 52), rendering τοῦ Ἀρμενίου either 'the son of Armenios' (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 395, 20, Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 109, 14, 110, 11 and 20 f. Kroll) or 'the Armenian' (Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 110, 15 ff. Kroll, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 1. 52), or else altering it into τοῦ Ἀρμονίου (cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 110, 11 ff. Kroll) or τοῦ Ἁρμονίου (cp. Plout. *symp.* 9. 5. 2). But, so far as I know, neither the Milky Way nor the 'straight light like a pillar' figured in the teaching of Zoroastres (see, however, *supra* p. 33 ff.).

[2] *Infra* § 3 (a) iii (ι).

[3] I am indebted to my daughter for a reference to the folk-tale of *Henny-Penny* (J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales* London 1898 pp. 113 ff., 243 f.), which begins: 'One day Henny-penny was picking up corn in the cornyard when—whack!—something hit her upon the head. "Goodness gracious me!" said Henny-penny; "the sky's a-going

witness to the terror which this thought inspired among the peoples of Central Europe. Strabon[1] and Arrian[2] both tell us that in the year 335 B.C. the Celts of the Adriatic, men of great stature and a haughty disposition, sent envoys to sue for the friendship of Alexander. The Macedonian monarch received them in state and asked them what they dreaded most, expecting the obvious answer 'You.' To his chagrin they replied that they had but one fear—lest the sky should some day fall upon them! So he promptly packed them off, with the cutting remark that the Celts were constitutional braggarts. Again, in the year 179 B.C. an army of over thirty thousand stalwart Bastarnians, led by their chief Clondicus, marched against Dardania, but were daunted by a big thunderstorm on Mount Donuca. They declared, says Livy[3], that the gods were routing them and the sky falling upon them.

These wild notions were not confined to the barbarians of Middle Europe. They have at least left traces of themselves in the literature of Italy and Greece, traces which become clearer and more tangible as we follow them back into the past. Horace[4], who has of course outgrown such nonsense, uses it just to round off an effective stanza: even if the sky should come tumbling about him, the well-conducted and resolute Roman would not turn a hair[5]. Terence[6] treats the matter more seriously: wanting a proverb to describe undue timidity, he introduces 'the folk that say "What if the sky were to fall this very moment?"' We gather that there were such folk in the second century B.C., superstitious peasants or the like. But for a fuller expression of their belief we must get back another three or four hundred years. Theognis[7] of Megara in a characteristic passage protests that he loves his friend and hates his foe, adding by way of solemn confirmation: 'Else may the great broad sky of bronze come crashing down upon me, that terror of earth-born men.' I need not labour the point. It is clear that the lower classes in Italy and at least the Megarians in Greece shared with Celts and Bastarnians the paralysing fear that some day the sky itself might fall.

to fall; I must go and tell the king." So she went along and she went along and she went along till she met Cocky-locky. "Where are you going, Henny-penny?" says Cocky-locky. "Oh! I'm going to tell the king the sky's a-falling," says Henny-penny. "May I come with you?" says Cocky-locky. "Certainly," says Henny-penny. So Henny-penny and Cocky-locky went to tell the king the sky was falling.' Etc. See further J. Grimm *Geschichte der deutschen Sprache*[3] Leipzig 1868 i. 322 n. *, *id. Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 813 n. 2, 1888 iv. 1541.

[1] Strab. 301 f.
[2] Arrian. 1. 4. 6—8.
[3] Liv. 40. 58.
[4] Hor. *od.* 3. 3. 1 ff.
[5] Cp. Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 6.
[6] Ter. *heaut.* 719.
[7] Theogn. 869 f.

How that belief arose, we can only surmise. It may be that in the dim past, when the ancestors of these tribes developed out of hunters into herdsmen and emerged from the forest on to the open plain, they missed the big tree that seemed to support the sky ('heaven-reaching,' as Homer[1] calls it). And in the absence of that mighty prop there was nothing to guarantee the safety of their roof[2].

Now early man was a practical person. His roof being insecure, he proceeded to shore it up. The *Irminsûl* was primarily a sky-prop, though we may well believe that it came to be viewed as the

[1] *Od.* 5. 239 ἐλάτῃ τ' ἣν οὐρανομήκῃς, cp. Hdt. 2. 138 δένδρεα οὐρανομήκεα, *Anth. Pal.* 4. 1. 49 f. (Meleagros) *οὐρανομάκευς* | *φοίνικος.* 'I remember, I remember, | The fir trees dark and high; | I used to think their slender tops | Were close against the sky' (T. Hood).

[2] Attention may here be drawn to the various accounts of the Kallikantzaroi given by the modern Greeks. These are summarised as follows by J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 194: 'The Callicantzari appear only during the *δωδεκαήμερον* or "period of twelve days" between Christmas and Epiphany[1]. ([1] Leo Allatius (*De quor. Graec. opinat.* cap. ix.) makes the period a week only, ending on New Year's Day.) The rest of the year they live in the lower world, and occupy themselves in trying to gnaw through or cut down the great tree (or in other accounts the one or more columns) on which the world rests. Each Christmas they have nearly completed their task, when the time comes for their appearance in the upper world, and during their twelve days' absence, the supports of the world are made whole again.' Details will be found in N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 331 no. 590 from Bourboura in Kynouria (The Lykokatzaraioi come from below the earth. All the time they are hewing away with their axes at the tree which supports the earth (*τὸ δέντρο ποῦ βαστάει τὴ γῆς*). They chop and chop till a tiny piece no bigger than a thread remains uncut, and they say 'Come, let us be off; it will fall of itself.' They return after the Baptism and find the tree entire, absolutely whole. And again they chop, and again they come, and so continually do they busy themselves), i. 347 no. 612 from Naupaktos (...the Pagan Ones begin hewing with their teeth and with axes the three columns which support the world (*τοῖς τρεῖς κολόνναις, ποῦ βαστᾶν τὸν κόσμο*), to hurl them down, that the world may collapse. Etc.), i. 352 no. 621 from Lasta in the deme Mylaon, Gortynia (The earth is supported below by one column, which has four other pillars (*μὰ κολόνα, ποῦ ἔχει τέσσερους ἄλλους στύλους* [*infra* § 3 (*a*) iii (*κ*)]). There the Kolikantzaroi are in bondage for ever and labour at cutting the column to make the earth fall. Etc.), i. 354 no. 622 from Demetsana in Gortynia (The Kallikantzaroi are naked, apart from beards and moustaches, and in size resemble a child of ten, some being a little taller, others a little shorter. They dwell in the Underworld, where there are three wooden columns supporting the whole earth (*ἐκεῖ εἶναι τρεῖς ξύλιναις κολόνναις καὶ κρατοῦν ὅλην τὴν γῆ*). The Kalikantzaraioi want to cut the columns and overthrow the world, and they are perpetually getting to work with their axes and chopping the three columns. Etc.), i. 355 no. 623 from Gralista in the deme Ithome, Karditsa (The Karkantsaloi have their dwelling in Hades, and gnaw with their teeth the pillars which support the sky, that it may fall and crush the earth (*κὶ βουκανοῦν μὶ τὰ δόντια τους τὰ στύλια, ἀπ' βαστοῦν τοὺν οὐρανὸ νὰ μὴν πέσῃ κὶ πλακώσῃ τὴ γῆ*). They gnaw and gnaw and do their utmost to cut the pillars. Etc.). See further N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 26 and 69, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 252 and 280. It will be observed that, whereas most of these versions make the tree (no. 590) or columns (nos. 612, 621, 622) support the earth, one at least (no. 623) makes the pillars support the sky.

vehicle of the sky-god and even to be embellished with his form and features[1].

(ε) Iupiter-Columns.

Far and wide over the territory once occupied by Germanic tribes[2] are remains of isolated columns, dating from the close of the second to the middle of the third century A.D., that is to say, from the period when Rhenic Germany witnessed a Romanised revival of its national cults[3]. These columns, usually termed *Juppitersäulen* or *Gigantensäulen*[4], consist of the following parts. The lowest member, exclusive of the base, is a quadrangular plinth known as the *Viergötterstein*[5], which is adorned by reliefs of four deities—commonly Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (fig. 22)[6]—

[1] A. Olrik 'Irminsul og gudestøtter' in *Maal og minne* 1910 pp. 1—9, summarised in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1910 xx. 348 ('Die Säulen mit dem Götternagel, die im Hause der altnordischen Häuptlinge neben dem Ehrensitze standen hatten, wie aus einem Vergleiche der altdeutschen Irminsäulen...und der noch im 18. Jahrhundert bei den Finnen verehrten "Weltpfeiler" erhellt, die zweifache Bedeutung einer die Welt tragenden Säule und eines rohgeschnitzten Götterbildes'). On the high-seat pillars of the old Norsemen and on the world-pillars of the Lapps, with their sacred nails, see *infra* § 3 (a) vi (α), § 3 (c) i (γ).

[2] For detailed proof of this limitation see the admirable monograph of F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 51 ff.

[3] A. Riese 'Zur Geschichte des Götterkultus im rheinischen Germanien' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1898 xvii. 1 ff. says (p. 13): 'Um die Zeit nach dem Tode des Marc Aurel geschah eine wunderbare Veränderung, die meines Wissens in diesem Sinne noch nicht erwähnt ist: der Romanisierung der Religion folgte eine neue Nationalisierung, und gallische und auch germanische Götter erhalten Votivinschriften.' He goes on to quote inscriptions ranging from 187 A.D. (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8185 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4743 *deae Hariasae* etc. found at Cologne) to 259—268 A.D. (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 24 ff. no. 88 f. HER·DEVSONIENS, nos. 90—100 HERC·DEVSONIENSI, nos. 115—118 HERCVLI DEVSONIENSI, *ib.* vi. 29 f. no. 129 f. HERCVLI MAGVSANO on coins of Postumus: for these deities see R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 3017—3020 and Haug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 611).

[4] A bibliography of the 'Jupiter-columns' is given *supra* i. 178 n.

[5] Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 9—62, 125—161, 295—340, F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 94—164 ('Die Viergöttersteine').

[6] Of 83 plinths decorated with four deities 48 exhibit the series Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (42 from left to right, 6 from right to left), 19 replace Mercurius by another deity (2 by Iupiter with a wheel, 2 hy Mars with a wheel, 2 by Mars without a wheel, 7 hy Apollo, 4 by Volcanus, 2 by Victoria (fig. 22, 3 *b* Kreuznach no. 137 Haug)), 2 replace Minerva (1 by Fortuna (fig. 22, 2 *d* Kreuznach no. 136 Haug), 1 by Mars), 4 replace two deities (1 substituting Fortuna with a wheel and Apollo for Iuno and Mercurius, 1 Victoria and Mars for Mercurius and Minerva (fig. 22, 3 *b* and 3 *d* Kreuznach no. 137 Haug), 1 Apollo and Volcanus for Mercurius and Hercules, 1 Minerva and Mars for Hercules and Minerva), 10 are quite irregular. See the summaries in Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 111, 127.

Fig. 22, 1 *a—d* (after E. Schmidt in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1869 xlvii. 92 pl. 14, 3 a, c, d, b) shows the reliefs of a sandstone block, 0·90^{m} high × 0·41^{m} broad and deep, found in 1858 A.D. built into the north-west angle of

or by an inscription and reliefs of three deities—mostly the same series with the omission of Iuno or Mercurius[1]. F. Hertlein has

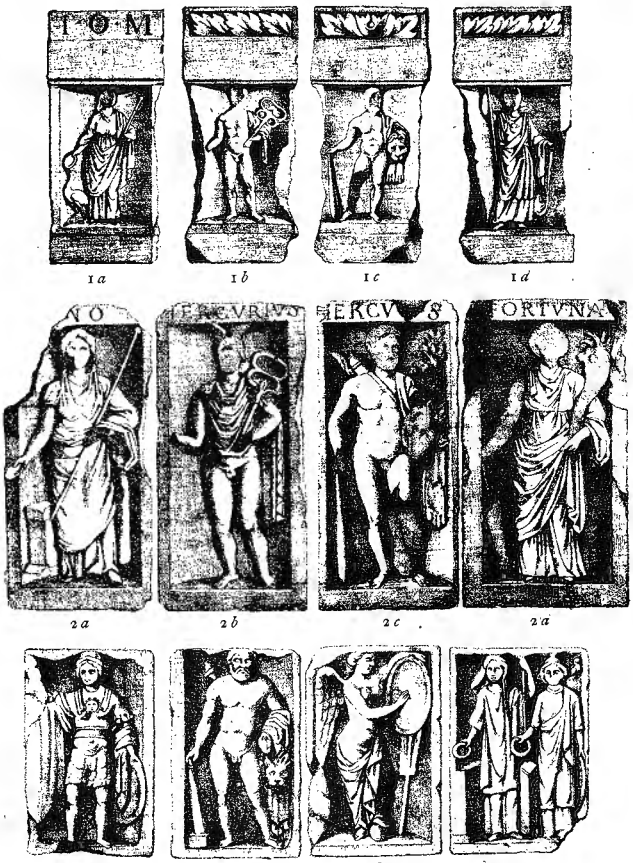


Fig. 22.

gone some way towards proving that these deities represent the

the Roman fort (*Heidenmauer*) near Kreuznach = Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 126 no. 135.

[1] Of 19 plinths showing an inscription and three deities, 5 have the series Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva (2 from left to right, 3 from right to left), 3 have Iuno, Hercules,

Seasons, the quartet corresponding with the fourfold division of the Julian calendar, and the trio with the threefold division recognised by the Germani in the time of Tacitus[1]. He supposes that Iuno, who often carries a torch or torches (fig. 23)[2], is the Romanised form of Frija, conceived as the light-bearing goddess of spring[3]; that Mercurius is Wodan, here for some reason obscure

Minerva (from right to left), 1 has Iuno, Mercurius, Minerva (from left to right); 1 has Apollo, Hercules, Minerva (from left to right), 1 has Victoria, Hercules, Minerva (from left to right); 1 has Iuno, Hercules, Victoria (from right to left), 1 has Iuno, Apollo, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Apollo, Hercules, Diana (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Volcanus, Victoria (from right to left), 1 has Fortuna, Volcanus, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Fortuna, Victoria (from left to right), 1 has Fortuna, Luna, Sol (from left to right), 1 has Mars, Victoria, Mercurius (from left to right). Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 134 f. points out that the first three series are merely excerpts from the full quartet Iuno, Mercurius, Hercules, Minerva; that the fourth and fifth series are excerpts from the same quartet with one name varied; and that the remaining groups are less nearly related to the original set.

[1] Tac. *Germ.* 26 hiems et ver et aestas intellectum ac vocabula habent, autumni perinde nomen ac bona ignorantur. On this passage see the sensible and cogent remarks of Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 137 ff.

[2] Fig. 23 is from a block probably found at Orolaunum (*Arlon*), a town of the Treveri = Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 146 no. 181 *d* pl. 4, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 355 f. no. 4238.

Fig. 23.

[3] Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 143 ff. argues that the torches of Iuno (*ib.* p. 94 ff.) are presumably a Germanic attribute of the 'Himmelsgöttin, die im Frühjahr das helle Himmelslicht wieder heraufführt,' recalling the *Funkensonntag*, a fire-festival of the German peasantry celebrated on the First Sunday in Lent (W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 500 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 106 ff.). He thinks too that the fluttering robe sometimes worn by the goddess (Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 95, 97) betokens horizontal flight such as would suit the partner of the advancing Germanic Iupiter. Lastly, he remarks that the title *Regina* frequently attached to the Iuno of the *Viergöttersteine* (*ib.* p. 81 f.) means much the same as the Norse *Freyja*, the 'Mistress,' who 'ist hauptsächlich die Göttin der im Frühjahr wiedergeborenen Sonne und Natur, die Göttin des lichten Frühlings, der Zeit neuen Sprossens und der Liebe.'

It should, however, be noted, on the one hand that the title *Regina* is not found in the district of the Treveri (*ib.* p. 81), on the other hand that the torch-bearing goddess is particularly frequent in that region (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 300 f.). This fact makes it at least possible that in the torch-bearer we should recognise, not Iuno *Regina*, but Iuno *Lucina*, whose worship was widely spread in western Europe

(Apul. *met.* 6. 4 te iam nuptam Tonantis et reginam deorum...quam cunctus oriens Zygiam veneratur et omnis occidens Lucinam appellat). It is probably Iuno *Lucina*, who carries an infant and a torch on a Roman tomb-stone now in the Vatican (H. Brunn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1848 xx. 430 ff. pl. N, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 135, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 153 Atlas pl. 10, 24=my fig. 24,

Fig. 24.

W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 23 f. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 582, 602, J. Vogel *ib.* ii. 611, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 809 f. no. 731 A pl. 86): opposite to her stands the deceased with a table as altar and a pig as victim; in front is the dedication (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 24819) between two burning torches linked by a fillet. Iuno *Lucina* certainly appears as a reverse type on Roman imperial coins, sometimes erect, either holding a *patera* and a sceptre (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 147 Faustina Iunior nos. 131 f. rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno standing to left with *patera* and sceptre—gold, no. 133 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· Iuno, veiled, standing to left with *patera* and sceptre—large bronze; *id. ib.*[2] iii. 384 Crispina no. 24 rev. IVNO LVCINA S·C· Iuno standing to left with *patera* and sceptre, peacock at feet—middle bronze; *id. ib.*[2] v. 146 Otacilia no. 23 rev. IVNO LVCINA Iuno, clad in goat-skin (?), standing to right with *patera* and sceptre—silver), or raising one hand and supporting an infant with the other (*id. ib.*[2] iii. 218 Lucilla no. 38 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno, veiled, standing to left, raising right hand and holding a swaddled infant —silver, no. 39 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· the same type—large bronze and middle bronze), or holding one child and flanked by two others (*id. ib.*[2] iii. 147 Faustina Iunior nos. 134 f. rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno standing to left between two children with a third in her arms—gold, no. 136 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· Iuno standing to left between two girls with a third on her left arm—large bronze, no. 137 rev. the same legend and type—middle bronze); sometimes seated, either flanked by two children with a third on her knee (*id. ib.*[2] iii. 147 Faustina Iunior no. 138 rev. Iuno seated to right between two

children with a third on her knee—middle bronze, broken), or holding in one hand a swaddled infant, in the other a lily or possibly an iris (*id. ib.*² iii. 218 Lucilla no. 36 rev. IVNONI LVCINAE Iuno seated to left holding a flower and a swaddled infant—silver, no. 37 IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· the same type—large bronze; *id. ib.*² iv. 113 Iulia Domna nos. 93 f. rev. IVNONI LVCINAE S·C· Iuno seated to left holding a flower and a swaddled infant—large bronze, no. 95 rev. the same legend and type—middle bronze). These coins date from approximately the same period as the *Juppitersäulen* (*supra* p. 57); and the lily held by Iuno in the last-mentioned type (fig. 25 is from a large bronze of Iulia Domna, after Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 154 f. Münztaf. 3, 13, who notes that the type recurs on coins of Iulia Mamaea, [Cornelia Supera,] and Salonina inscribed IVNO AVGVSTAE, [IVNONI AVG,] and IVNO AVG respectively—see Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*² iv. 493 nos. 32—34, [v. 296 no. 3,] v. 502 no. 55) recalls the myth of the Milky Way (*supra* i. 624, ii. 49 n. 1). Further, Iuno *Lucina* might well be regarded as the goddess of spring, for her chief festival at Rome was on March 1, when spring began (Ov. *fast.* 3. 235 ff.: see W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 22 n. 25 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 584, 603, W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 38, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 184 f.). Finally, Iuno *Lucina* was a 'light'-goddess (Mart. Cap. 149 sive te Lucinam quod lucem nascentibus tribuas ac Lucetiam convenit nuncupare) and as such would be fittingly brought into connexion with the Germanic Iupiter: cp. the collocation in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 357 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3101 (a bronze plate of Roman origin, part of which is extant at Bologna, the remainder being known from an earlier transcript) [Iunon]e Loucinai | [Diovis c]astud facitud, L. Savignoni and R. Mengarelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1903 p. 255 ff. = C. Hülsen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1903 xviii. 338 f. (a bronze plate found at Norba in Latium and now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome) P. Rutilius M. f. | Iunonei Loucina | dedit meretod | Diovos castud. The second of these inscriptions proves that in the first we should not translate 'To Iuno *Lucina*, wife of Iupiter' (so Th. Mommsen in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 357 and H. Dessau *loc. cit.*), nor even 'property of Iupiter' (so A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig and Berlin 1909 p. 108), but rather join *Diovis* with *castud* (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 181 n. 3). Still, both inscriptions warrant us in supposing that Iuno *Lucina* might reasonably appear in the *entourage* of Iupiter.

Fig. 25.

One detail remains to be cleared up. The object held by the Iuno of fig. 23 in her right hand has been variously explained. Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 146, 302 is content to cite the opinion of A. de Wiltheim *Luciliburgensia Romana* ed. A. Neyen Luxemburg 1842 p. 192 that we have here Iuno *Pronuba* (G. F. Prat in his *Histoire d'Arlon* Arlon 1873 says Iuno *Cinxia*) with her girdle: on these forms of the marriage-Iuno see W. H. Roscher *Iuno und Hera* (Studien zur vergleichende Mythologie der Griechen und Römer ii) Leipzig 1875 p. 67 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 589, E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2563, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*² p. 186 with n. 1 and in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 p. 320. If the attribute in question were anything of the sort, I should prefer to regard it as the necklace of Frija (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 306 ff., K. Müllenhoff 'Frija und der Halsbandmythus' in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1886 xxx. 217—260, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 215). But F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 97 has made out a good case for viewing it as merely another variety of torch, and *ib.* p. 144 n. 2 suggests that the goddess is engaged in a ritual *Fackelschwingen* comparable with that of the modern *Funkensonntag* or *jour des brandons* (cp. *supra* i. 286, 648, 650 with n. 4). Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 355 f. no. 4238 'peut-être deux serpents.'

to us figuring as the god of summer[1]; that the bearded Hercules

[1] **Wōðanaz* (Old Saxon *Wōdan*, Old High German *wuotan*), **Wōðenaz* (Old English *Wōden*, Old Norse *Óðinn*), who gradually superseded the old sky-god Ziu (K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 213), was himself also in all probability a sky-god, very possibly a by-form of Ziu (E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 332 f.). He looks down on the earth at daybreak through a window in the eastern sky (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 134 f. cites Paulus Diaconus *hist. Langobard.* i. 8 (L. Bethmann—G. Waitz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Scriptores rerum Langobardicarum et Italicarum saec. vi—ix Hannoverae 1878 p. 52) Refert hoc loco antiquitas ridiculam fabulam: quod accedentes Wandali ad Godan victoriam de Winnilis postulaverint, illeque responderit, se illis victoriam daturum quos primum oriente sole conspexisset. Tunc accessisse Gambara ad Fream, uxorem Godan, et Winnilis victoriam postulasse, Freaque consilium dedisse, ut Winnilorum mulieres solutos crines erga faciem ad barbae similitudinem conponerent maneque primo cum viris adessent seseque Godan videndas pariter e regione, qua ille per fenestram orientem versus erat solitus aspicere, conlocarent. Atque ita factum fuisse. Quas cum Godan oriente sole conspiceret, dixisse: 'Qui sunt isti longibarbi?' Tunc Frea subiunxisse, ut quibus nomen tribuerat victoriam condonaret. Sicque Winnilis Godan victoriam concessisse). He has a throne named *Hlidhskjalf*, from which he can survey the whole world and hear all that goes on among men (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 135 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 190, 234, 251, W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 pp. 324, 518, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 233, 286, 346, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 321, 345, 370, cp. J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 345). Further, it is at least possible that the one eye ascribed to him stands for the sun (F. Magnusen *Edda rhythmica* Hauniae 1828 iii. 540 n.****, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 93 f., 231 f., 245, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 233, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 pp. 229—232, *supra* i. 321 n. 3, cp. i. 320 f., 323, 462); and some have given a like explanation of his gold ring *Draupnir*, the 'Dripper,' from which every ninth night dripped eight other rings of equal weight (W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 312, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 642 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 233), and of the gold helmet that he wore in his contest with the Fenris-wolf (E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 345, cp. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 231). It is not, however, likely that such solar attributes would have led to Wodan being regarded as the god of summer. I would rather explain this aspect of his complex character by the fact that among the Scandinavians the great sacrifice, which year by year took place at the beginning of summer, was probably associated with him (H. M. Chadwick *The Cult of Othin* London 1899 p. 5 f.).

Wodan still survives in popular imagination as leader of the Wild Hunt (*die wilde Jagd*) or the Furious Host (*das wütende Heer*). On windy nights in spring, or autumn, or winter he sweeps across the sky with a howling company at his heels—the souls of the dead (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 235 ff., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 216 f., 225 f., E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 333 ff., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 81 f., K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 261 ff.). In some districts he heads the rout, not on foot or on horseback, but driving a chariot or coach (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 239). And, when we observe that the Milky Way is believed to be the path traversed by the Furious Host and is called in

with his club is Donar as the stormy god of autumn[1]; and that consequence the *Heerstrasse*, *Helweg*, *Wôgenpat*, etc. (*id. ib.* p. 241, cp. p. 238), it becomes probable that Platon's myth of the soul-procession following the chariot of Zeus along the Milky Way (*supra* p. 43 f.) presupposes a popular belief akin to that of the Furious Host. If so, the earliest allusion to *das wütende Heer* is not after all the *feralis exercitus* of Tac. *Germ.* 43, but the στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων of Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E. See further K. Dilthey 'Die Artemis des Apelles und die wilde Jagd' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1870 xxv. 321 ff., P. Sartori 'Das wilde Heer' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1894 iv. 289—292, L. Weniger 'Feralis exercitus' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 201—247 ('Das schwarze Heer der Harier'), 1907 x. 61—81 and 229—256 ('Das weisse Heer der Phoker') with L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1907 p. 63.

On the common equation of Wodan with Mercurius see J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 119 ff., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 229 f., W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 295 n. 2, K. Müllenhoff *Deutsche Altertumskunde* Berlin 1900 iv. 212 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 103, 221 f., E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 331, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 226, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 259, 356 ff.

[1] The Germanic god **þunaraz* bore a name derived from the Indo-Europaean root **(s)ten-*, 'to growl, to roar' (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 630 f. *s.v.* 'tono'), which occurs in Norse as *þórr* (for **þonraz*), on the larger *fibula* from Nordendorf in Bavaria as *þonar* (R. Henning *Die deutschen Runendenkmäler* Strassburg 1889 p. 102, G. Stephens *The Old-Northern Runic Monuments of Scandinavia and England* ed. S. O. M. Söderberg London 1901 iv. 9), in a Saxon baptismal vow as *Thuner* (K. Müllenhoff—W. Scherer *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem viii—xii Jahrhundert*[3] Berlin 1892 i. 198, ii. 316 ff. no. LI), in Old English as *Thunor* (cp. J. M. Kemble *The Saxons in England*[2] London 1876 i. 346 ff.), and in Germanic designations for the fifth day of the week (Old High German *Donarestac*, Old Frisian *Thunresdey*, Anglo-Saxon *Thunresdæg*, Norse *þórsdagr*). These names, as J. Grimm long ago pointed out (J. Grimm 'Über die Namen des Donners' in his *Kleinere Schriften* Berlin 1865 ii. 410 ff. and in his *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 166), stand in obvious relation to the Germanic words for 'thunder' (Old High German *donar*, Middle High German *doner*, Anglo-Saxon *þunor*). Since, however, the name of a natural phenomenon raised to the rank of a personal deity tends to drop out of common parlance (H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 316 f.), it has been conjectured that the living words *Donner*, *thunder*, etc. have come from the name of the god, not *vice versa* (K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 275 n. 86). In any case Donar was essentially a thunder-god. Not impossibly he, like Wodan (*supra* p. 62 n. 1), was a by-form differentiated from the early Germanic sky-god Ziu (so E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 354).

In common with many another storm-god Donar was also a fertilising power (E. Mogk in Hoops *Reallex.* i. 481, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 278 f.): cp. Thor, who fructifies the bride (E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 212 f., W. Golther *Handbuch der germanischen Mythologie* Leipzig 1895 p. 251 f.), brings to life again his team of goats that have been cooked in a cauldron (W. Golther *ib.* p. 276), etc. Such a divinity, storm-god and fertility-god in one, might well serve as the Germanic representative of autumn.

As regards the *interpretatio Romana*, Donar was at first perhaps equated with Volcanus (Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 21, cp. H. Rueckert *Culturgeschichte des deutschen Volkes in der Zeit des Uebergangs aus dem Heidenthum in das Christenthum* Leipzig 1853 i. 126), then with Hercules (Tac. *Germ.* 3, 9, 34 (?), *ann.* 2. 12, cp. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 202, 211, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 pp. 103 ff., 235, 239 n. 3, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss*

der germanischen Philologie[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 355 and in Hoops *Reallex.* i. 480, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 282, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 274 ff., 363 ff.), and finally from *s.* vi onwards with Iupiter (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 189 ff., 1888 iv. 1345 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 20, 48, 51, 202, 205 f., 217, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 235, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 354 f. and in Hoops *Reallex.* i. 480, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 282, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 275, cp. 278).

The Germani identified their Donar with Hercules primarily because of his strength. Thus, when going into battle, they sang of Hercules as 'primum...omnium virorum fortium' (Tac. *Germ.* 3). The Batavi in particular worshipped Hercules *Magusanus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 31162 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2188 cp. no. 4628 n. 1 (Rome, dedicated by *cives Batavi sive Thraces adlecti ex provincia Germania inferiori* on Sept. 29, 219 A.D.) Herculi Magusano | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8705 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4629 (Betuwe in Holland) Herculi Ma|gusano et | Haevae etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8771 (Rummel, North Brabant, dedicated by the *summus magistratus civitatis Batavorum*) Magusa|no Hercul[i] | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8777 (Westkapelle in the island of Walcheren, Zeeland) Herculi | Magusano | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8010 (Bonn) Herculi | Magusano | etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8492 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4630 (near Deutz)---|[Herc]uli Magusan[o]|[? Matron]is Abirenibu[s]| [Sil]vano et Genio [loc.] | [Dia]ne Mahal[inis] | [Vic]torie Mercu[rio] | [cete]risque dis dea[bus] | [om]nibus etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8610 (Xanten) Herculi Mag[usano]| etc.; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 1090 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4628 (Mumerills, near Falkirk, on the Antonine Wall, dedicated by a *duplicarius alae Tungrorum*) Herculi | Magusan|[o] etc.; but hardly *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 4141 (near Trèves) M[a](c)usa etc. See further *supra* p. 57 n. 3, F. Kauffmann 'Hercules Magusanus' in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* Halle a/S 1891 xv. 553—562, R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 3018—3020, M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 158, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 363—365), whose cult-title, denoting 'the Strong,' survived in the mediaeval *Mahusenhem* (now *Muyswinkel*) near Durstede (R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 3019 f., Haug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 611) and is comparable with the name of Thor's son *Magni* (E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 355, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 239 with n. 3, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 364 f.). Hercules on the *Viergöttersteine* is regularly bearded (F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 146), and an inscription found at Brohl in 1840 A.D. records the cult of Hercules *Barbatus* (Orelli---Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5726 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3460 Herculi | barbato | etc.): Thor too in the best extant representation of him, a relief on a granite baptismal basin from the old church at Ottrava in Wester Göthland, Sweden (G. Stephens *Thunor the Thunderer, carved on a Scandinavian font of about the year 1000* London 1878 p. 24 f. with fig. on p. 15 = my fig. 26), has a pointed beard. Again, Hercules, like Donar, was armed with a primitive weapon: the club of the former was a rough equivalent for the hammer of the latter. Hence these attributes were interchangeable. On the one hand, Saxo Grammaticus *hist. Dan.* 3 p. 73, 29 ff. Holder describes Thor as armed with a club (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 180, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 204, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 357, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 283). On the other hand, we hear of a Hercules *Maliator* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6619 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4627 (Obernburg in Bavaria) Herculi | Maliator(i)), whose title presumably denotes 'the Hammer-god' (so K. Zangemeister in the *Neue*

Minerva is Holda, the patroness of spinning, as a winter-goddess[1].

Fig. 26.

Heidelberger Jahrbücher 1895 v. 55, followed by Dessau *loc. cit.*, Boehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 597, Haug *ib.* viii. 610, E. Mogk in Hoops *Reallex.* i. 481, though C. Christ in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxii. 49, followed by K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 365, would read *Herculi* | *malliator(es)* cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 43 f. = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1635 (Rome, dated Jan. 28, 119 A.D.) Herculi Aug. sacr. | Felix Aug. l. optio et | exactor auri arg. aeris, | item signat. suppostores malliatores : | etc.).

[1] The Germanic goddess *Hluθena* or *Hludana*, known to us from inscriptions (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7944 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4745 (near Iversheim) in h(onorem) [d(omus) d(ivinae)] | Hluθenae sa[crum] | pro salute im[p. Caes. M. Aur.] | [S]everi Alexa[ndri pii] | fel(icis) invicti [Aug. et Iul.] | Mamae(a)e ma[tris Aug. n(ostri)] | vexillat(io) leg(ionis) [i M(inerviae) Sev(erianae) Alex(andrianae)] | [p(oni?)] fac(i)ent(ium?) in c[ustodia?], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8611 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2014 (Birten near Xanten) deae | Hludanae | sacrum | C. Tiberius | Verus, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8661 (the Monterberg near Calcar) deae Hlu|θenae cen|--, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8723 (Holtedoorn near Nijmwegen) [H]lud(anae) sac(rum) | [···]ammi[·] | [··]cund[··]|[·]i leg(ionis) xxx[·] | v. s. l. [m.] | [L]aterano [cos?], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 8830 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1461 (Beetgum near Leeuwarden in Friesland) deae Hludanae | conductores | piscatus, mancipe | Q. Valerio Secu[ndo, v. s. l. m.), of which one—that from

Holtedoorn—is probably dated 197 A.D. and another—that from Iversheim—falls between 222 and 235 A.D., has been plausibly identified with the Old Norse *Hlóðyn*, the mother of Thor (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 256 f., 266 n. 2, F. Kauffmann 'Dea Hluðana' in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* Halle a/S 1894 xviii. 134—157, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 358 f., 370, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 307. The connexion is denied by E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 203, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 105, and others. M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 140 f. concludes: 'Fraglich is die von Kauffmann und Mogk angenommene Identität mit an. *Hlóðyn* (*Hlǫðana* mit *lu* aus *l* gegenüber *Hlóðyn* mit der Dehnstufe *lō*?).' But K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 381 sums up: 'Immer noch ist trotz allen dagegen geäusserten Bedenken ihre Zusammengehörigkeit mit der nordischen *Hlódyn* am wahrscheinlichsten, wodurch allerdings nicht viel gewonnen ist, da Hlódyn selbst sehr wenig klar ist'). Further, both *Hluðena* or *Hludana* and *Hlóðyn* have been related (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 266 n. 2, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 381—383. *E contra* E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 203, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 105) to the *Holden*, *i.e.* the 'Good Folk,' the sprites, and their representative Frau *Holda* (*Hulda*, *Holle*, *Hulle*, *Holl*), a goddess who—like Wodan (*supra* p. 62 n. 1)—belongs to the Furious Host (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 265 ff., 1883 ii. 456, 487, 596, 883, 1883 iii. 933 ff., 946 ff., 1055, 1888 iv. 1367, *alib.*, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 21, 74, 242 ff., 247 f., 266, 272 ff., 282 ff., *alib.*, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 278 ff., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 273 f., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 114 f., K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 381—383). In Middle Dutch Frau Holda is called *Vereldе* (for *Ver Elde* = *Frau Hilde* or *Frau Hulde*) and gives her name to the Milky Way (*Vroneldenstraet* = *Frauen Hilde* or *Hulde Strasse*: see J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 285).

In the nursery-tales and popular superstitions of Germany Frau Holda plays a considerable part. When it snows, she is making her bed and the feathers fly—a notion as old as Hdt. 4. 7, 4. 31 (J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 262 f.), cp. J. C. F. Bähr *ad loc.* Such a goddess might well be selected to typify the winter.

Holda would be Romanised as Minerva because both alike patronised spinning. On the one hand, '*Holla* is set before us as a *spinning*-wife; the cultivation of flax is assigned to her. [Was *Hludana* worshipped by the Frisian *conductores piscatus* as helping them to make their fishing-nets? A. B. C.] Industrious maids she presents with *spindles*, and spins their reels full for them over night; a slothful spinner's distaff she *sets on fire*, or *soils* it.' Etc. (J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 269 f.) On the other hand, Minerva, who at Rome in republican times had figured mainly as a mistress of arts and crafts, under the empire became more and more specialised into a goddess of spinning and weaving (Tertull. *de pallio* 3 p. 929 Oehler, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 21, 5. 45, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 284, 7. 805—cited by G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2988 and G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1929) presumably through assimilation to Athena (see especially Ov. *fast.* 3. 815 ff.), the Greek patroness of distaff and loom (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1215 n. 13, cp. *ib.* p. 1184 n. 7, p. 1212 n. 1).

At this point it is of interest to remember that in the Platonic myth the 'straight light like a pillar' becomes, as we read on, the 'spindle of Ananke' (*supra* p. 44 f.). Had Platon a Germanic source, not only for the former, but also for the latter? In China too the Milky Way is associated with a Weaving Damsel, whose shuttle is the star *α* Lyrae (*infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ)).

This hypothesis, though not definitely established[1], is *a priori* probable enough, and may be at least provisionally accepted.

Among the deviations from the normal type of *Viergötterstein* perhaps the most interesting are those furnished by a group of plinths found mainly in the north-western portion of the Gallo-Germanic area[2]. Here the encroachment of Wodan (Mercurius) upon Ziu (Iupiter) has led to the duplication or differentiation of Frija, who appears not only as Ziu's consort (Iuno) but also as Wodan's consort (Venus), and in this latter capacity is associated with Wodan or even supersedes him in the series. Thus we get:

Normal Type[3].	Messancy[4].	Les Fontaines[5].	Mont Heilpert[6].	Brumath[7].
1 Iuno.	Iuno.	Iuno.	Iuno.	Iuno.
2 Mercurius.	Venus + Mercurius.	Venus.	Venus.	Venus.
3 Hercules.	Apollo.	Diana (?) + Mercurius.	Hercules.	Hercules.
4 Minerva.	Minerva.	——	——	——

The plinth discovered at Les Fontaines, between Maubeuge and Avesnes, in 1725 A.D. and now preserved at Brussels (fig. 27)[8] merits closer inspection. Of the first side only the left half (fig. 27 *a*) is extant; but this suffices to show a draped female standing beneath a canopy with a veil over her head and shoulder, a peacock perched on her arm, and a *patera* held in her right hand above a small flaming altar or *turibulum*[9]. Clearly she is Iuno. The second side (fig. 27 *b*) has an undraped female standing beneath a similar canopy: her hair is knotted in a *chignon*; her raised right hand and lowered left draw back a fringed mantle; her feet are

[1] Haug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 611. The foregoing notes should do something to dispel Haug's misgivings.

[2] On this group see especially F. Hertlein *Die Iuppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 153.

[3] *Supra* p. 377[1].

[4] Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 147 no. 183, Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 114, 117, 153 f., Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 290 f. no. 4130.

[5] Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 135 no. 157, Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 100, 117, 153, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 190 ff. no. 3984.

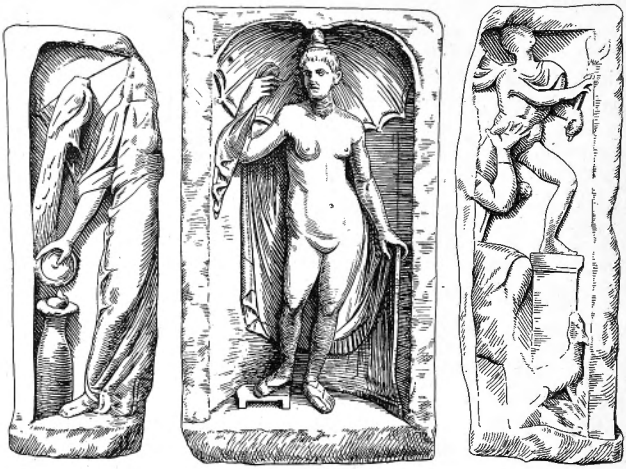
[6] Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 142 f. no. 172, Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 95, 98 f., 112 f., 117.

[7] Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 37 f. no. 67, Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 103, 105, 153.

[8] F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 210 ff. no. 173: height 0·98[m], breadth 0·53[m], depth 0·28[m].

[9] F. Cumont *loc. cit.* says: 'Elle abaisse la main, vers une urne allongée ou une aiguière (*praefericulum*), dans laquelle elle paraît verser le contenu d'une patère.' But analogous representations of Iuno on other *Viergöttersteine* make it certain that Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 135 rightly recognised 'ein brennendes Altärchen.'

shod in sandals, and one of them rests upon a footstool[1]. She is



(*a*) (*b*) (*c*)

Fig. 27.

Venus; and the canopy common to her with Iuno suggests that she is but another form of the same celestial goddess[2]—very

[1] Perhaps a simplification of the tortoise, on which her foot rests in a *Viergötterstein*-relief from Lamerey (Haug *op. cit.* 1891 x. 158 cp. 315). Pheidias made a chryselephantine Aphrodite Οὐρανία at Elis with one foot set on a tortoise (Paus. 6. 25. 1, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 76, *coniug. praecept.* 32: see further Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 105, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 681 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 150, 197 n. 2, 1333 n. 11, 1349 n. 3 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 250, A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii. 363 ff. fig. 7 f.).

[2] Venus *Caelestis*, who in name at least was the Roman counterpart of Aphrodite Οὐρανία (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 354—357 and Index p. 942, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1363—1365 and Index p. 1701), is known to us from inscriptions (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 8137 f. Pola, *ib.* vi no. 780 Rome, *ib.* ix no. 2562 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3169 Bovianum Undecimanorum, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 1596 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4271 Puteoli) and coins ((*a*) Agrippina Iunior: Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 887 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. *ib.* 889 f. (*b*) Iulia Domna: Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 887 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. *ib.* 890. (*c*) Elagabalos: Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 351 no. 286 VENVS CAEL. (*d*) Aquilia Severa: Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 381 f. no. 10 VENVS CAELESTIS. (*e*) Iulia Soaemias: Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 388 f. nos. 8—20 VENVS CAELESTIS. (*f*) Alexander Severus: Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 889 VENVS CAELESTIS, cp. *ib.* 890 f. (*g*) Magnia Urbica: Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 407 no. 9 VENVS CELEST. These coins show the goddess standing, or sitting, with an apple in one hand, a sceptre in the other, and sometimes a star in the field, or a child at her feet); and it is noteworthy that the title *Caelestis* was borne by Iuno also (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 10407 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3109 Aquincum, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 1424 Thibursicum Bure, Mart. Cap. 58). Both

possibly it symbolises the sky itself. On the third side (fig. 27 *c*)[1] there is a design of exceptional, indeed of unique, character. A draped female sitting with uplifted hand occupies the foreground. Her sleeveless arm and the hound at her feet make it probable that she is Diana, goddess of the chase[2]. Her gesture and the upward glance of the hound direct attention to a singular figure in the background—Mercurius, who rushes from left to right with upturned face and wind-blown *chlamýs*, both hands grasping a *caduceus* and one foot planted on the top of a pillar[3]. Now Mercurius, as we have seen, stands for Wodan; and Wodan was the leader of the Wild Hunt or Furious Host, which on windy nights in autumn might be heard sweeping along the Milky Way[4]. I should therefore conjecture that this relief gives us an autumnal scene, the huntress Diana and the Wild Huntsman himself.

Above the *Viergötterstein*, at least in the case of large and important columns, came the *Wochengötterstein*—a block, usually octagonal or cylindrical, more rarely quadrangular hexagonal or heptagonal, which was decorated with the deities representing the days of the week[5]. These deities, arranged in a series from left to

Venus *Caelestis* and Iuno *Caelestis* were forms of the Carthaginian goddess Tanit, whose worship spread far and wide over the Roman world (see De Vit *Onomasticon* i. 29, iii. 722, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247—1250, A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig and Berlin 1909 pp. 148—150, W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 268 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 373—375): they must not hastily be connected with Iupiter *Caelestis* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1948 Salonae, *ib.* iii Suppl. no. 8668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3041 Salonae, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 4852 Venafrum) or with other deities bearing the same cult-epithet (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 374 n. 7).

[1] A drawing of this plinth made for B. de Montfaucon and preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale (nouv. fonds lat., 11917, f° 12, cp. f° 11) shows the third scene as it appeared when its details were somewhat fresher and sharper than now. Accordingly I have used the drawing to supplement the photograph of the scene. F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques* (*monuments lapidaires*) *des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 212 publishes the two side by side.

[2] For Diana in sleeveless attire accompanied by her hound see Haug 'Die Viergöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 315 f.

[3] Mercurius as a runner appears in Roman paintings (*e.g.* Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 7 no. 15, p. 8 no. 18 = *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1830 vi pl. 2 = Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1819 fig. 4960), gems (*e.g.* Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 126 no. 2736 pl. 24, cp. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 17 n. 3), and bronzes (*e.g.* Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 158 no. 359 fig.). A statue of this sort (cp. the famous Mercury by Giovanni da Bologna in the Bargello at Florence) mounted on a high pedestal has presumably furnished the sculptor of our relief with a classical type for his Germanic theme.

[4] *Supra* p. 62 n. 1.

[5] See L. Lersch 'Der planetarische Götterkreis' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins z. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1844 iv. 147—176, 1844 v.—vi. 299—314, 1846 viii. 145—152, J. de Witte 'Les divinités des sept jours de la semaine' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1877 iii. 50—57,

right or right to left, were Saturnus, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurius, Iupiter, Venus (fig. 28)[1]. If for reasons of architectural symmetry

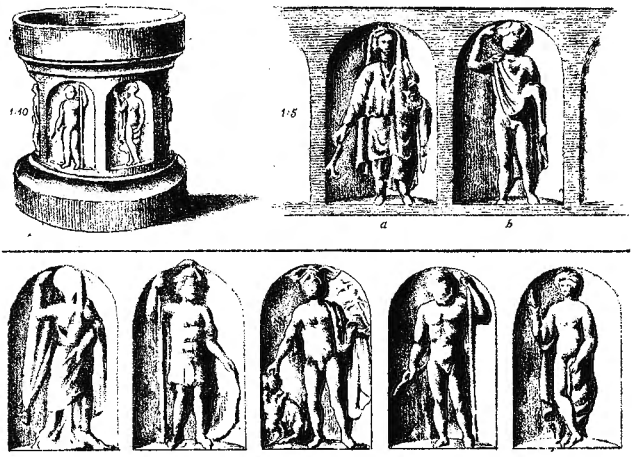


Fig. 28.

the block so adorned was octagonal, its eighth side might be

77—85, *ib.* 1879 v. 1—6, F. Hettner 'Juppitersäulen' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 365 ff., especially pp. 383—385, S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 171—173, Haug 'Die Wochengöttersteine' in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 17—53, E. Maass *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen aus der Kultur des Niederganges der antiken Welt* Berlin 1902 pp. 169—236, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2535, 2538, F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 82—84. The clearest introduction to the subject together with the fullest collection of material will be found in Haug's article, which is a model of concise and accurate investigation.

[1] This sandstone drum (height 0·51^{m}, diameter 0·44^{m}) stood formerly in the Templars' Church at Neckarelz, its upper surface having been hollowed out to contain a copper basin for holy water. In 1873 it passed into the collection of the *Altertumsverein* at Mannheim. It is described and figured by Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 29 f. pl. 1, 1 (=my fig. 28), cp. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 68 nos. 1—3. Of the individual deities (*a*) Saturnus wears hose, sleeved garment with girdle, and veil; in his right hand he holds the *hárpe*, in his left a bull's head (? cp. Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 172 fig. 2403, *supra* i. 298 n. 7): (*b*) Sol, wearing *chlamýs*, raises his right hand towards his flowing locks: (*c*) Luna, in *chitôn*, *himátion*, and tasselled veil, likewise raises her right hand towards her head: (*d*) Mars, clad in tunic and cuirass, has a helmet on his head, a spear in his right hand and a shield in his left: (*e*) Mercurius wears a winged cap (?) and a *chlamýs* over his left shoulder; his left hand holds the *caduceus*, his right hand a purse; and beside him crouches a misshapen goat: (*f*) Iupiter, quite naked, has a thunderbolt in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left: (*g*) Venus stands with crossed legs, her left hand pressing against her garment, her right uplifting a mirror.

occupied either by an inscription[1] or by some additional divinity naturally associated with the week-days—a Genius or Bonus Eventus[2], a Fortuna or Felicitas[3] or Victoria[4].

The *Viergötterstein* and the *Wochengötterstein* together formed a double plinth, from which rose the actual shaft of the column. This might on occasion be left smooth (fig. 29)[5], but was normally covered with a scale-pattern (fig. 30)[6], and sometimes adorned with vine-leaves etc. (fig. 31)[7]. F. Hertlein points out that such deco-

[1] Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 33 no. 12 Castel near Mayence (IN • H • D • D • =in honorem domus divinae), *id. ib.* 1890 ix. 34 f. no. 15 Havange in Lorraine (I • O • M), F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 83 Mainz (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6728 *a* latter part of inscription alone extant).

[2] Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 28 no. 4 Metzingen, *id. ib.* 1890 ix. 35 no. 17 Agnin (Isère).

[3] Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 33 f. no. 13 Heddernheim (?).

[4] F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 82 n. 2 Merten in Lorraine.

[5] Fig. 29 is a column, 15·50^{m} high, found at Merten near Saarlouis in 1878 and now preserved in the Museum at Metz (for bibliography see F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 13 f. and Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 452 ff. no. 4425 with six photographic cuts. Add Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 742 ff. fig. 817). The restoration by E. Arnold published in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxiv. 94—99 pl. 7 is far from accurate, and the same may be said of that by O. A. Hoffmann in the *Gesellschaft für Lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde*: *Jahrbuch* 1889 i. 14 ff. Much better is that by A. Prost in the *Rev. Arch.* 1879 i. 1—20 pl. 1 f. and in the *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1879 p. 64 (*Mémoires de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* Série IV Tome X), or that by Tornow in the *Deutsche Bauzeitung* 1879 no. 53 (reproduced by F. X. Kraus in *Kunst und Altertum in Elsass-Lothringen* 1886—1889 iii. 2. 316—325 fig. 87). My own restoration is based on that of Prost, from which however it varies in the character of its steps, in the arrangement of its reliefs, and in the reconstruction of its equestrian group.

Remains of other smooth 'Jupiter-columns' have come to light at Hägen near Saverne in the Wasserwald, at Butterstadt near Hanau, and at Trèves (Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 84).

[6] Fig. 30 is a column, 5·44^{m} high, found in 1884 in a fountain within the Roman walls at Heddernheim together with an altar to Iupiter and a smaller column topped by a figure of Iupiter enthroned. The whole group is now in the Historical Museum at Frankfurt: see O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *Heddernheimer Ausgrabungen* Frankfurt am Main 1885 (an Stelle des Neujahrs-Blattes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pp. 1—20, whose pl. 1, 1 I reproduce. Note that the *Wochengötterstein* is in the case of this column replaced by a *Sechsgötterstein*, on which see Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 48 f. no. 4 Heddernheim.

[7] Fig. 31 is a sandstone column, some 3·50^{m} high, found in 1838 at Neuenheim near Heidelberg, along with a *Viergötterstein* (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 26 no. 40 Neuenheim) and a fragmentary Mithraic figure (F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 508 fig. 461), and now preserved in the Museum at Karlsruhe. The shaft is embellished with vine-leaves and birds perched among them: the four small heads of its capital are apparently female (F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 89). F. Cumont, whose illustration (*op. cit.* ii. 508 f. fig. 462) is here copied, supposes that the *Viergötterstein* mentioned above formed the base of this shaft. But F. Hertlein (*op. cit.* pp. 84, 89, 93) states that their respective dimensions are unsuitable.

Fig. 32 is a drum of white limestone, 0·84^{m} high, found in 1726 at Les Fontaines,

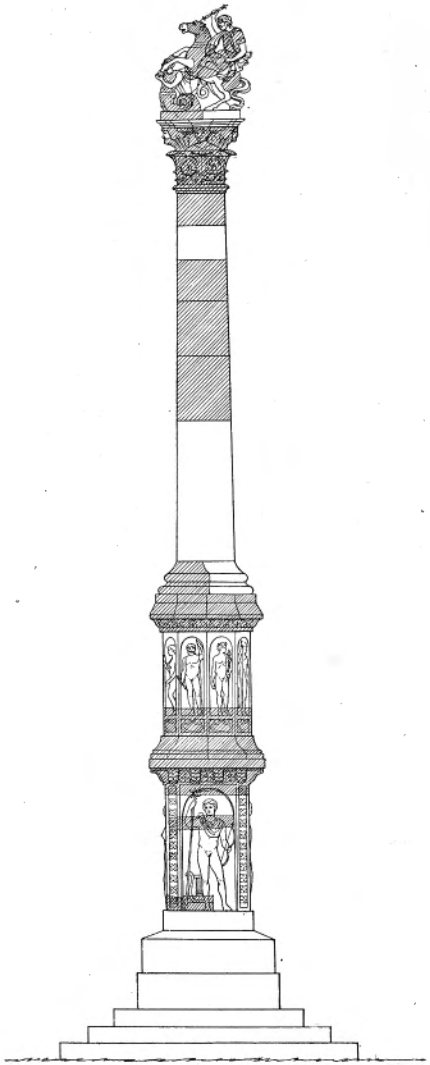


Fig. 29.

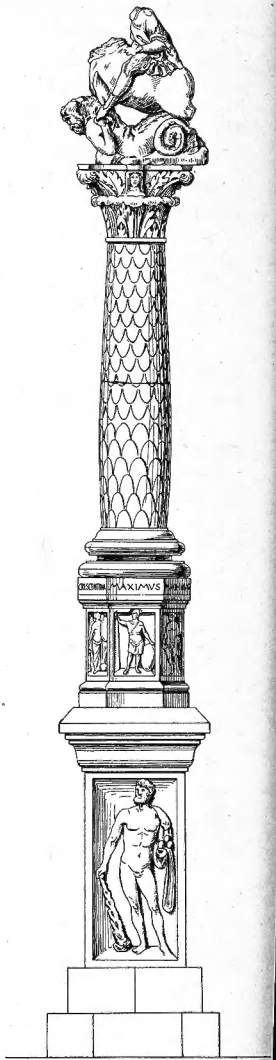


Fig. 30.

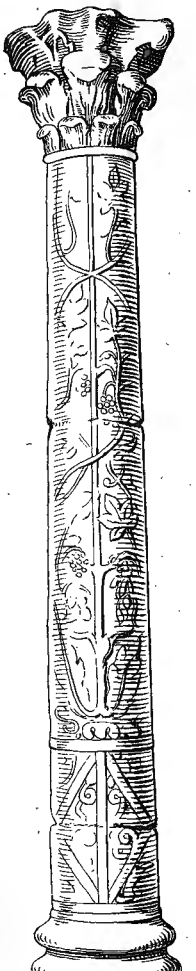
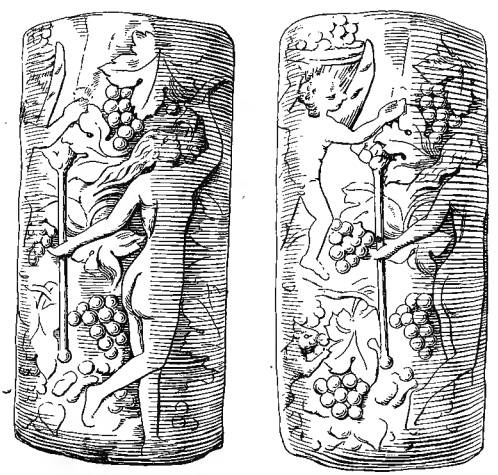


Fig. 31.



a *b*

Fig. 32.

ration was suggestive of a tree-stem[1] and thus served to bring the hard stone of the Roman monument between Maubeuge and Avesnes, and now at Brussels (F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques (monuments lapidaires) des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 213 ff. no. 173, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* v. 192 f. no. 3985). The surface is covered with a tangle of vine-leaves. Against these is seen a nude Bacchant, who bounds along with streaming hair: she holds a *thýrsos* in her left hand, and with her right pours the contents of a horn or *rhytón* into her mouth. Behind her flies a winged Cupid, who with his right hand steadies a basket of grapes on his head, and in his left carries some indistinct object: beneath his feet is a small quadruped (rabbit?) nibbling a grape-bunch. When first discovered, this relief was in better condition and showed other animals half-hidden in the vine-shoots. F. Cumont thinks it certain that the drum and the *Viergötterstein* found on the same site (*supra* p. 67 ff. fig. 27) belong to one monument, and F. Hertlein (*op. cit.* p. 84) regards the combination as possible.

On the vine-leaf column as a Syrian *motif* that made its way throughout the Mediterranean area see S. Gsell in the *Atti del II Congr. di arch. crist.* p. 203 ff., C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*[2] Paderborn 1913 p. 483 f.

[1] Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 388 f. fig. 426, cp. M. Meurer *Vergleichende Formenlehre des Ornamentes und der Pflanze* Dresden 1909 p. 572 ff.

nearer to its prototype—the wooden trunk of the old Germanic *Irminsûl*[1].

The shaft was surmounted by a capital displaying four small heads or busts (fig. 33)[2], which have been interpreted by O. Donner-von Richter[3] and F. Hertlein[4] as the four divisions of the day—

Fig. 33.

Matutinus, Meridies, Vespera, Nox. Since these divisions correspond with the main points of the compass, the series runs from right to left. Nox always, and Meridies usually, is represented full-face, whereas Vespera and Matutinus are more often shown in profile.

On the top of the column thus constituted was a sculptural group of peculiar aspect—a galloping rider supported on the shoulders and hands of a figure that bent or lay beneath him[5]. The rider has normally the face of a bearded Iupiter and the costume of a Roman general (fig. 34)[6], very seldom a beardless

[1] F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 84.

[2] Fig. 33 shows the heads on the capital of the column found in 1884 at Heddernheim (*supra* p. 71 n. 6) as published by O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *Heddernheimer Ausgrabungen* Frankfurt am Main 1885 (an Stelle des Neujahrs-Blattes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pl. 1, 1—M.

[3] O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *op. cit.* p. 12.

[4] F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 87—93 gives a careful summary of the evidence, and succeeds in establishing his interpretation as against previous hypotheses. F. X. Kraus in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxiv. 99 and A. Hammeran in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 3 had regarded the heads as allegorical representations of the four seasons. E. aus'm Weerth in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1878 lxiv. 99 n. 1 had suggested that they might be the four ages of man. Haug in the *Fundberichte aus Schwaben* 1907 xv. 82 had been content to view them as merely decorative.

[5] By far the best account of this group is that given in F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 pp. 1—27 ('Verzeichnis der Gruppen des Gigantenreiters (oder Gigantenfahrers)'), 28—50 ('Gesamtbeschreibung der Gruppe und Folgerung aus der Darstellung'), 51—69 ('Ursprung der Gruppe aus germanischen Vorstellungen'), 70—86 ('Die Juppitergigantensäule eine Irminsäule'), though we shall see reason to traverse his conclusion with regard to the significance of the reclining figure (*infra* p. 82).

[6] Group in Jura-limestone (height without base 0·86^{m}), found at Ehrang in 1890 and now in the Museum at Trèves (F. Hettner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 72 f. with fig., *id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums*

barbaric head and native dress (fig. 35)[1]. Once he appears as driver

Fig. 34.

Fig. 35.

of a dashing two-horse chariot, the likeness to Iupiter being pronounced (fig. 36)[2]. By way of offensive armour the rider brandishes

zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 23 f. no. 32 with fig. = my fig. 34, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 529 no. 5, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 21 f., 30 n. 1, 33 f., 35, 43, 45, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vi. 424 f. no. 5246 with two photographic cuts). The rider wears *tunica*, *lorica*, *paludamentum*: his left hand held the reins, his right was raised. The crouching figure grins with open mouth: his left hand held the left forefoot of the horse; his right probably grasped a club (a suitable fragment was found), on which rested the right hoof of the horse.

[1] Group in yellowish grey sandstone (maximum height 0·78^{m}), found at Ehrang in 1890 and now in the Museum at Trèves (F. Hettner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 73 f. with fig., *id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* Trier 1893 p. 21 f. no. 31 with fig. = my fig. 35, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 528 no. 5, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 21, 30 with n. 1, 32, 34, 35, 42, 43, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vi. 412 ff. no. 5233 with photographic cuts). The rider wears a close-fitting jacket, which has a seam on the right side and reaches to his hips (edge visible in good light); whether it was sleeved or not is uncertain. His belt has a round disk at the back. His left hand held the reins; his right, connected with his head by a clumsy support, probably held a thunderbolt, not a spear (see F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 32). The horse has a saddle with pommels, back, saddle-cloth, etc. The crouching figure, a young and beardless male, bears the weight on his hunched shoulders. This group was found together with a *Viergötterstein* and other fragments in the same sandstone of a 'Jupiter-column' (F. Hettner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 75 ff., *id. Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* Trier 1893 p. 18 ff. nos. 27—30, Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 136 no. 159 Ehrang, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 21, 94, 95), to which—despite the obvious difference in style—it may have belonged.

[2] Group in stone (plinth 0·65^{m} long, 0·45^{m} broad, 0·09^{m} thick; driver 1·05^{m} high), found at Weissenhof near Besigheim in 1897 and now in the Lapidarium at Stuttgart (G. Sixt in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1897 xvi. 293—296 with two figs. of which the

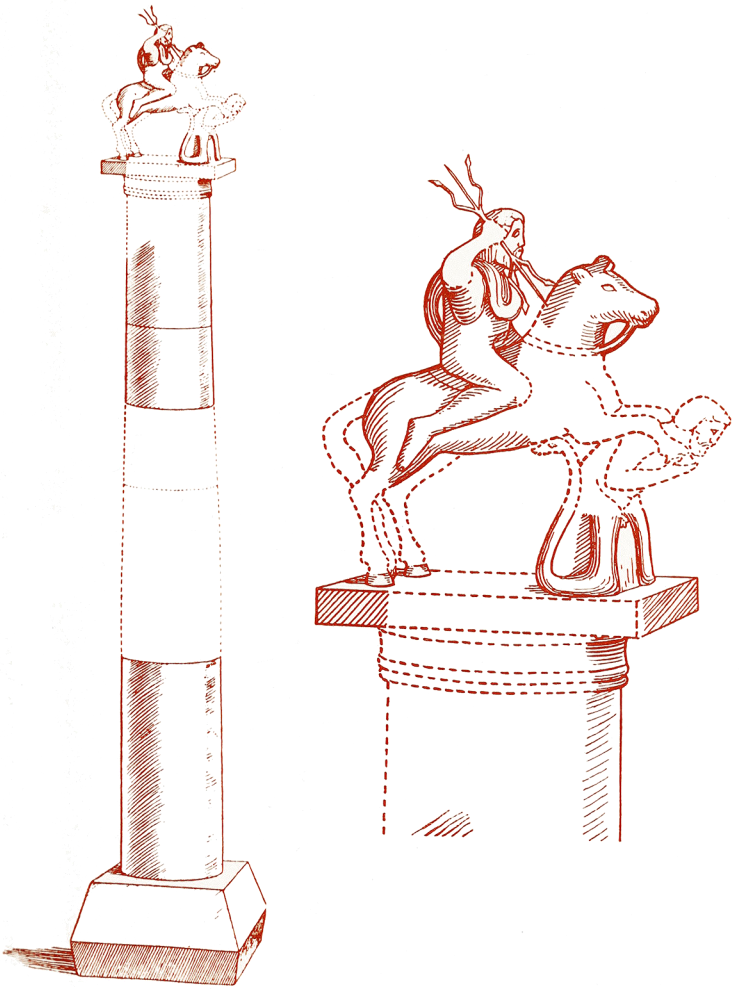
either a thunderbolt (pl. iii)[1] or a spear (fig. 37)[2]: in one case he

Fig. 36.

second = my fig. 36, F. Haug und G. Sixt *Die römischen Inschriften und Bildwerke Württembergs*, im Auftrag des württ. Geschichts- und Altertumsvereins herausgegeben Stuttgart 1900 no. 343 with the same two figs., F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 3 f., 29, 30 with n. 1, 35, 37, 43, 46, 65 with the second fig. as title-vignette). Iupiter, wearing *himátion* only, which is fastened by a brooch on his right shoulder and leaves the left shoulder bare, stands erect in a small chariot: his left hand originally held the reins, his right was somewhat drawn back and raised. The two horses, harnessed under a yoke, gallop onwards, their forefeet supported on the shoulders and hands of a beardless male figure with serpentiform legs.

[1] Group in red Vosges sandstone (original height *c.* 0·70^{m} to 0·80^{m}), found in 1908 in the inner court of a *villa rustica* in the Wasserwald six kilometres S.W. of Saverne and now in the Museum of that town (A. Fuchs in the *Anzeiger für elsässische Altertumskunde* 1909 i. 32 with fig., *id.* in the *Elsässische Monatsschrift für Geschichte und Volkskunde* 1911 ii. 472—480, *id. Die Kultur der keltischen Vogesensiedelungen* Zabern i. E. 1914 pp. 120—124 with pl. 23, 1 (base and shaft), pl. 24, 1, 2, pl. 25, 1, 2 (four views of rider), E. Wendling *Die keltisch-römischen Steindenkmäler des Zaberner Museums* Zabern 1912 nos. 62 and 63, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 9, 30 n. 1, 31, 37, 43). With it was the rest of the monument, *viz.* a plain base, a smooth turned shaft (*supra* p. 71 n. 5), and a simple capital. The rider, whose head resembles that of Iupiter, wears nothing but a cloak: he grasps in his raised right hand an iron thunderbolt (length 0·45^{m}) with tines. The horse, equipped with a saddle-cloth, was supported by the usual kneeling figure. I am indebted to Prof. L. Bachmeyer, Director of the Museum at Saverne, for a minutely accurate description of the whole monument together with tracings of its several parts and a coloured restoration of the group (followed in my pl. iii).

[2] Group in stone (present height 0·54^{m}, length 0·72^{m}), found at Diedelkopf near Kusel



The Jupiter-Column of Saverne.

See page 76 n. 1.

has a sword also slung on his left side[1]; and he sometimes[2] carries a four-spoked wheel, thrusting his left hand between two of its

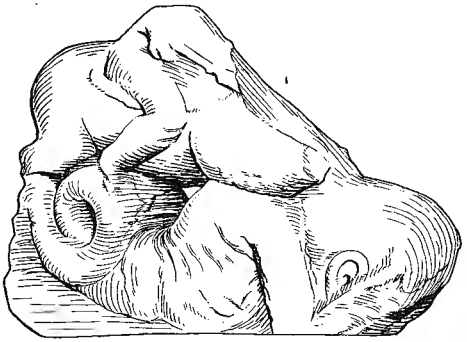


Fig. 37.

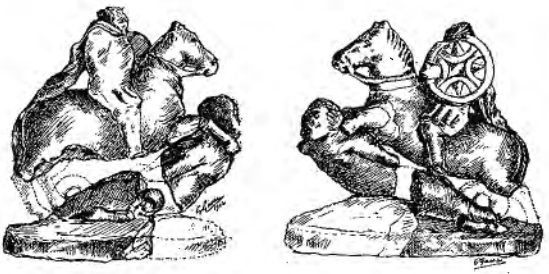


Fig. 38.

(E. Wagner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 39, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 17, 31, 38, 43, 44, 46, 49 fig.=my fig. 37). The rider wore a smooth *tunica* or jerkin, and in his right hand carried a spear, the end of which is visible against his horse. The crouching figure has large staring eyes and no beard: leaning on elbows and chin, he supported the horse's hoofs with his hands.

[1] So in the group found at Butterstadt near Hanau (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 5, 33).

[2] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 33 'Das merkwürdigste Attribut des Reiters ist entschieden das vierspeichige *Rad*. Es hat sich mehreremal gefunden, an weit entfernten Orten, in Butterstadt bei Hanau [*ib.* p. 5], in Les Ronchers, Départ. Meuse [*ib.* p. 26], in Meaux, Départ. Seine et Marne [*ib.* p. 27], und wohl auch an dem Bruchstück von Zabern IV [*ib.* p. 9]... Wir werden dem Rad wieder begegnen auf Viergöttersteinen [*ib.* pp. 109 with n. 3, 148 Niederwürzbach, Amt Zweibrücken; Dunzweiler, Amt Homburg; Theley, Kreis Ottweiler].' On the reliefs from Niederwürzbach and Dunzweiler see Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 48 f. nos. 94, 95. I figure that from Theley (*supra* i. 289 n. 1 wrongly called 'an altar') after F. Hettner *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des*

spokes as he reaches forward to grasp the reins (figs. 38[1], 39[2]). The

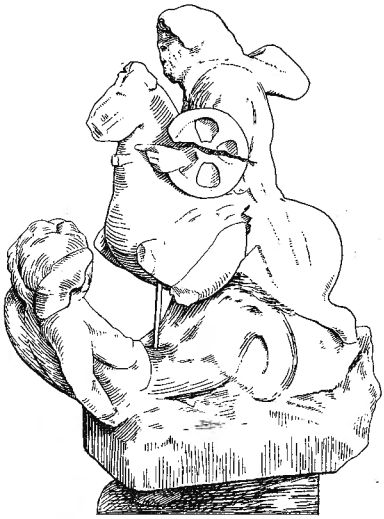


Fig. 39.

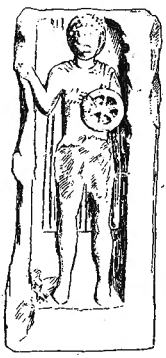


Fig. 40.

Provinzialmuseums zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 29 ff. no. 40 (plinth of red sandstone, height 0·84^{m}, breadth of side here shown 0·36^{m}: Iupiter with wreath and *chlamýs*, holding sceptre (?) in right hand, six-spoked wheel in left; a small bird beside his right foot). F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 109 n. 3 prefers to call this deity Mars (the head is beardless, the alleged wreath a 'Lockenkranz,' the *chlamýs* a *sagum*).

[1] Group in stone (original height not more than 0·50^{m}) from Meaux (Seine-et-Marne) presumably found with a fragment of scale-patterned column (G. Gassies 'Cavalier et anguipède sur un monument de Meaux' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 287—297 with figs. 1—3, of which fig. 1 f. = my fig. 38, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 270 no. 2, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 27, 29, 33, 34, 43, 60, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* iv. 258 f. no. 3207 with photographic cuts). The rider, whose head and right arm are missing, wears a wide tunic, a fluttering cloak, and hose: he passes his left hand through a rosette-like wheel to hold the reins. The horse has neither saddle nor saddle-cloth. The reclining figure is beardless, but male.

[2] Group from a column (*c.* 4·50^{m} high) found at Butterstadt near Hanau and now in the Museum des Geschichtsvereins at Hanau (W. Küster in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1901 xx. 325 f. with fig. = my fig. 39, G. Gassies in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 290 fig. 3, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 151 no. 7, F. Hertlein *op. cit* pp. 5 f., 30 n. 1, 33, 34, 39 f., 43, 60). The rider, a Iupiter in type, wears *tunica* and *paludamentum*: his right arm was drawn back and raised; his left passes through a four-spoked wheel to hold the reins. The second figure, beardless but male, lies on his back and turns his face towards the left side of the rider: his right hand is pressed against the ground; his left probably held the right hoof of the horse on his left shoulder, the left hoof of the horse resting on his right shoulder.

crouching or reclining figure commonly[1] turns his back towards the rider, whose horse he supports on his shoulders or hands (fig. 42)[2] or

Fig. 41.

even on his head. He is bearded or unbearded, but always male[3]; his legs end in snakes with snaky heads of their own; and he

[1] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 39 f. notes the exceptions—Heddernheim 1884 (*ib.* p. 6, *supra* p. 71 n. 6), Butterstadt (*ib.* p. 5 f., *supra* p. 78 n. 2), Higny (*ib.* p. 25), Arlon (*ib.* p. 23), Hommert (*ib.* p. 11). The last-named group is unusually complete (height $1{\cdot}15^{m}$, breadth $0{\cdot}51^{m}$). It was found in the forest of Hommert and is now in the Nancy Museum (L. Wiener *Catalogue du Musée historique Lorrain*[2] Nancy 1895 p. 33 no. 243, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 11, 30 n. 1, 31, 33, 34, 35, 40, 42, Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vi. 24 f. no. 4557 with photographic cut). I reproduce the engraving given by P. Morey in the *Mémoires de l'Académie de Stanilas* 1867 p. 143 ff. with pl. facing p. 135, fig. A = my fig. 41. The rider is bearded and, except for his clumsy-looking cloak, nude. The right forefoot of the horse seems to have pawed the air; the left is broken off short. The other figure, half sitting up in a very awkward attitude, turns his face towards the left side of the rider, whose feet he touches with both hands.

[2] Group in stone (height $0{\cdot}67^{m}$, length of plinth $0{\cdot}34^{m}$) found at Pforzheim in 1869 and now at Karlsruhe (E. Wagner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 36 ff. pl. 1, 2 = my fig. 42, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 529 no. 2, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 4, 29, 37 f., 42, 46). The galloping rider wears *tunica*, *lorica* with belt, and *paludamentum*. The giant is bearded, and supports both forefeet of the horse on his hands.

[3] This is convincingly shown by F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 42 ff.

sometimes has as his attribute a club[1] or a pair of clubs (fig. 43)[2].

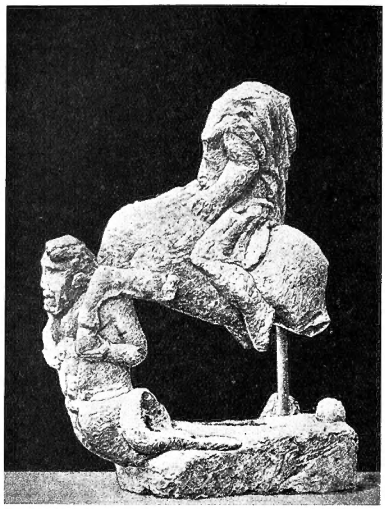


Fig. 42.

It has frequently been supposed that he is a vanquished foe trampled under foot by the victor[3]. But careful examination shows that this

[1] Thus *e.g.* the group found at Ladenburg in 1865 and now in the Museum at Mannheim (J. B. Stark in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1868 xliv. 27 pl. 2b, figs. 1a, b, c and 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 529 no 3, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 5, 30 n. 1, 43, 46 f., 85 n. 1) represents the lower figure as holding a club with his right hand. Cp. *supra* p. 74 n. 6.

[2] Group in stone (height 0·66^{m}, length of plinth 0·44^{m}) found at Pforzheim in 1872 and now at Karlsruhe (E. Wagner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1882 i. 36 ff. pl. 1, 1 = my fig. 43, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 528 no. 6, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 4, 30 n. 1, 32, 34, 36 f., 43 f., 46, 52). The rider, whose head resembles that of Iupiter, wears a smooth leathern jerkin with a girdle and a cloak. The figure beneath him, beardless but male, crouches on his knees and grasps two clubs, upon which the front hoofs of the horse are supported. Similarly in a group (height 0·37^{m}, length 0·40^{m}) found at Dalheim (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 22, 34, 38, 43) he shoulders two clubs, which support the forefeet of the horse; and in the stone group (height 0·56^{m}) found at Schierstein in 1889 and now at Wiesbaden (G. A. Müller *Die Reitergruppe auf den römisch-germanischen Giganten-Säulen* Strassburg and Bühl 1894 p. 12 f. pl. 2, 3—5, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 814 no. 1, F. Köpp *Die Römer in Deutschland* Bielefeld 1905 p. 140 f. fig., Forrer *Reallex.* p. 390 fig. 283, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 7, 30 n. 1, 33, 34, 35, 38, 43, 44, 46, 60, 85 n. 1, 133) he grips a pair of clubs, on one of which rests the horse's right forefoot.

[3] Hence *supra* i. 178 n. I spoke of 'a warlike Iupiter on horse-back spearing a serpent-legged giant.' I was wrong.

is not so. The *motif* throughout is that of support, not active resistence[1]. The god and the giant are allies now, whatever they may have been once.

This curious group has beyond doubt preserved to us in Romanised form the contents of a long-standing local belief. And F. Hertlein deserves all credit for recognising that the rider, who

Fig. 43.

has the guise of a warlike Iupiter, is none other than the old Germanic Ziu[2]. As a sky-god Ziu would control both sunshine and storm. The sun appears as the rider's wheel[3], if not as his radiate crown[4]; the lightning, as his brandished bolt or lance[5].

[1] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 28 ff. proves conclusively, as I now think, that the type in question implies support rather than continued hostility. He notes that the rider pays no attention to the giant, that the horse never tramples on the giant's back or front, that the giant makes no effort to attack the rider, etc. But of course it remains open to us to suppose that the giant, formerly an enemy, has been reduced to serve as a footstool.

[2] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 70 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 77 f. Cp. *supra* i. 197 ff. ('The Sun as a Wheel') and i. 882 (Index ii *s.v.* 'Sun').

[4] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 31, 73 maintains that several of the riders were fitted with a '*Strahlenkranz*.' But the evidence adduced by him is insufficient to prove his point. A dowel-hole on the head of rider or horse more probably implies a metal spike to keep birds from settling.

[5] *Supra* p. 76. Cp. *infra* § 3 (c) ii ('The Spear of Zeus').

So far, then, we can accept Hertlein's view. But when, following A. Riese[1], he contends that the prone or prostrate giant represents the earth[2], he seems to be deserting the principle of interpretation that he has himself propounded. For the Germanic earth-power would have been a goddess (Nerthus[3] or the like) rather than a god. Besides, she would surely have been figured below, not above, the Romanised *Irminsûl*—a pillar that *ex hypothesi* linked earth with heaven. I should therefore prefer to explain the giant along other lines. The provincial sculptor, bound to express himself in

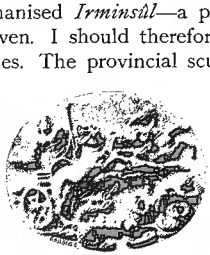


Fig. 44.

Fig. 45.

the art-speech of Rome, would naturally draw his design for a warlike Iupiter from the Graeco-Roman type of the Gigantomachy. Hence his Iupiter as rider or driver with uplifted bolt. Hence too his giant always with serpentine legs[4], sometimes with a club[5], and in one case with a second giant beside him[6]. Further, when this pictorial composition, suitable enough for relief-work or intaglio or painting on the flat, was translated into sculpture in the round,

[1] A. Riese in the *Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde: Jahrbuch* 1900 xii. 324 ff.

[2] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 47 f.

[3] Tac. *Germ.* 40. For recent opinion with regard to Nerthus see W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 567—602, M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 274—277, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 367—369, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 pp. 204—209, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 311—321.

[4] This feature of the Gigantes is discussed by E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1670 ff., M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 pp. 274—282 ('Typhoeus; Schlangenfüssler'), cp. *ib.* pp. 216, 223 with n. 167, A. von Salis *Der Altar von Pergamon* Berlin 1912 p. 67 f., E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 pp. 95—97.

[5] *Supra* p. 80.

[6] A group from Pfalz (?) now in the Museum at Mayence (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 18, 40 f., 42 f., 45) has a pair of giants, one bearded, the other beardless. This exceptional arrangement, like the occasional duplication of the giant's club (*supra* p. 80 n. 2), might be referred to a mere feeling for symmetry (as is perhaps the case with some of the doublets cited by E. Gerhard *Zwei Minerven* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* viii) Berlin 1848, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 257 n.c), but is more probably to be explained as a reminiscence of the Gigantomachy.

the pose taken by the defeated combatant was modified to form the necessary support for the galloping horse. Thus owing to a definite structural requirement[1] the vanquished giant of Graeco-Roman art (figs. 44[2], 45[3], 46[4]) became the subservient giant of the 'Jupiter-column.'

An exceptional group from Grand in the canton of Neufchâteau shows an even quainter perversion of a classical type (fig. 48)[5]. For here the god on horseback, with a thunder-drum (?)[6] beneath him,

[1] It is, however, possible that, where the giant is represented as a half-length figure bent or bowed beneath the sky-god's feet, there has been some contamination with the type of Caelus (*supra* i. 59 ff.).

[2] A sardonyx cameo at Naples (Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 18 pl. 3, 34, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 78 f. pl. 8, 3, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1475 fig. 3513, *id. La gravure en pierres fines* Paris 1894 p. 130 ff. fig. 102, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 391 Gemmentaf. 5, 2, A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 215 f. pl. 8, 19 = *id. Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 207 f. pl. 26, 19, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 57, 2 = my fig. 44, ii. 259, iii. 158) signed by ΑΟΗΝΙΩΝ, a gem-engraver who probably worked at Pergamon for the court of Eumenes ii. Zeus in a chariot drawn by four horses drives over two serpent-legged giants. He brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, while he holds the reins and a sceptre in his left. Of the giants one is dead, the other still full of fight swings a torch in his right hand.

[3] A green paste at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 335 no. 9452, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 52 pl. 7, 78a = my fig. 45, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 173, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon p. 333 Gemmentaf. 3, 1, M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 394 ff. fig. 3, p. 405) represents a god on horseback attacking a giant with snaky legs. It is usual to dub this group Poseidon and Polybotes on the strength of Paus. 1. 2. 4. But the weapon in the god's hand is more like a thunderbolt than a 'spear.' I should therefore regard him as Zeus, despite the rarity of the equestrian type (*supra* i. 19). It should be noted that Furtwängler *loc. cit.* includes this paste among the 'Bei Winckelmann und Tölken irrthümlich als antik verzeichnete moderne Glaspasten der Stoschischen Sammlung, zumeist nach antiken Steinen.'

[4] An *oinochóe* of *s.* iii. B.C. from Canusium published by H. Heydemann in the *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* i. pl. 1 = my fig. 46 (cp. E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1662, M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 392 ff. fig. 1, H. Steinmetz in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 36) shows Zeus fulminant in a four-horse chariot, with Hermes as charioteer, pursuing across the sea a giant, who heaves up a rock in both hands: above the horses of Zeus are four stars; above the giant, the head of a wind-god breathing out a mighty blast.

[5] A group in common stone (height 1·60[m]), found in 1895 inside an ancient cistern at Champ-Marguerite near Grand and now in the Museum at Nancy (G. Save—A. Schuler 'Le groupe équestre de Grand au Musée lorrain' in the *Mémoires de la Société d'archéologie lorraine* 1899 xlix. 5—34 with figs., F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 23, Espérandieu *Basreliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vi. 202 ff. with photographic cuts of which the first two = my fig. 47). The rider wears bay-wreath, *lorica*, and *paludamentum*. His uplifted right hand held a weapon. The forefeet of his horse are supported on the wings of a nude male figure, who bears a lightning-flash—an obvious modification of Victory with a fillet.

[6] Cp. *e.g.* Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 156 no. 176 fig., p. 175 f. fig. (= Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 21 no. 6), p. 176 fig., Harrison *Themis* p. 114 f. fig. 21, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 248, ii. 183. *Supra* i. 650.

is preceded by a nude male figure, who flies through the air with

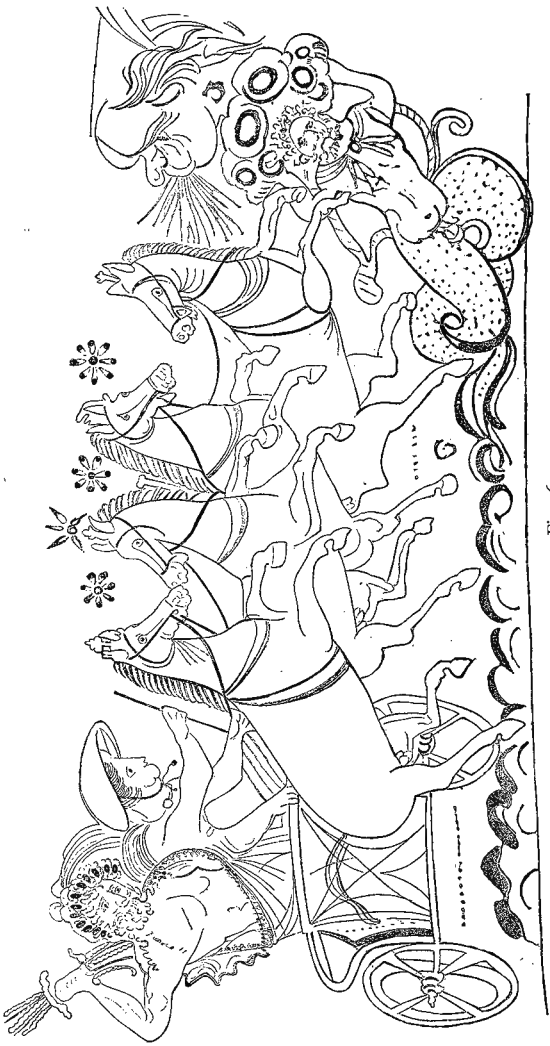


Fig. 46.

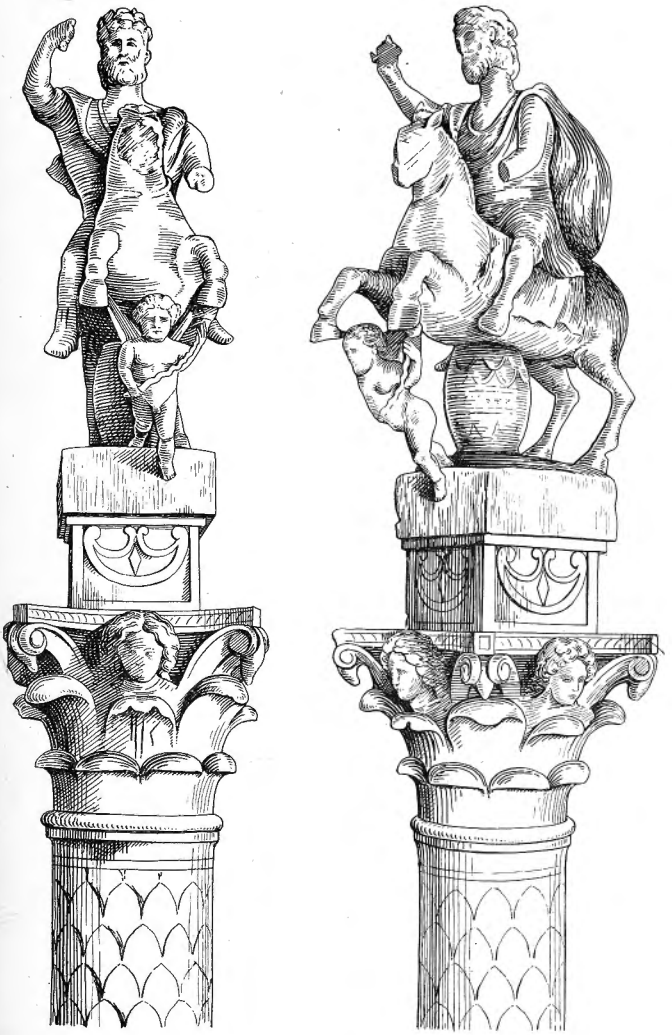


Fig. 47.

a flash of lightning held across his body. As he steps out from the top of the column, he looks like an incredibly clumsy caricature of Paionios' Victory.

Equally *bizarre* is a group from Luxovium (*Luxeuil*) in Germania Superior (fig. 48)[1]. This shows the rider-god thrusting his right

a *b*

Fig. 48.

hand between the spokes[2] of a wheel and resting his left on the shoulder of a partially draped female figure, who appears to be floating through the air at his side. The giant is reduced to a mere head supporting the left forefoot of the horse. The precise significance of the group is uncertain. It is possible that the god and his attendant should be identified with Luxovius and Brixia, mentioned together in an inscription from *Luxeuil*[3]. But in any case the rider must be regarded as a form of the Celtic Iupiter, who is represented by statuettes in white clay from Moulins (Allier) as a bearded god in military garb holding a wheel in his right hand

[1] A. C. P. de Tubières Comte de Caylus *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* Paris 1759 iii. 367 f. pl. 99, 3 (=my fig. 48), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 532 nos. 3 and 6. Found at Luxeuil in 1755. Local stone. Height 5 ft.

[2] Caylus says: 'une roue à sept rayes.'

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 5426=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* 4680 Luxovio et Brixiae G. Iul. Firma(n)us v.s.l.m., cp. 5425=4680[a] [Lu]ssoio | et Briciae | Divixti'us Cons|tans | v.s.(l.)m. On Luxovius see M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2163 ('Es scheint der Quellgott von Luxeuil-les-Bains zu sein') and on Brixia A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1896 i. 531 and 616 ('vielleicht zu fl. Breuchin (Brêche) und O. Breuches und Breuchotte bei Luxeuil'), M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 835 f., Ruggiero *Dizion. epigr.* i. 1027 and 1046.

and sometimes resting his left on the head of a nude female beside him (figs. 49, 50)[1].

The seasons of the year, the days of the week, the divisions of the day, all surmounted by a group representing the triumphant

Fig. 49.

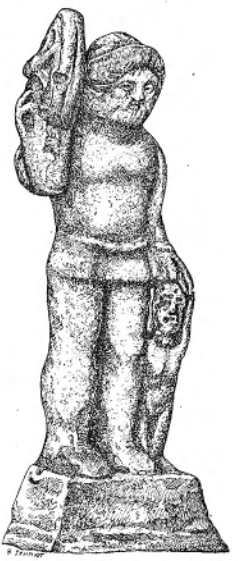


Fig. 50.

sky-god. We can hardly conceive a better scheme of decoration for the Romano-Germanic *Irminsûl*. It was appropriately dedicated 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest[2]' or 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest and to Iuno the Queen[3],' in one case 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest, the

[1] H. Gaidoz in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 8 f. figs. 1—5 (4 and 5 = my figs. 49 and 50), A. Bertrand *La religion des Gaulois* Paris 1897 p. 319 pl. 28. Cp. *supra* i. 288 f.

[2] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*. So on the *Viergöttersteine* of Brötzingen (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 22 no. 30), Schierstein (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 33 no. 56), Godramstein (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 45 no. 86), Mayence (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 59 no. 129), Kreuznach (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 126 no. 135), Metz (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 132 no. 150 [I]OM), Ahrgebiet (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 138 no. 164 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7784), Mosbach (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 119), Kreuznach *bis* (*id. ib.* p. 124 [I]. O. M = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7528), and on the *Wochengötterstein* of Havange (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1890 ix. 34 f. no. 15, *supra* p. 71 n. 1). See further F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 80.

[3] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) et Iunoni Reginae*. So on the *Viergöttersteine* of Kastel (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 30 f. no 50 [I. O. M.] et I[uno]ni Re[g(inae)]), Kastel *bis* (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 32 no. 53 I. O. M. et Iun. Reg.), Kastel *ter* (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 32 f.

Preserver[1],' in another 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest and to all the other gods and goddesses immortal[2].' Thus with simple time-honoured phrases the tribes of Rhenic Germany attested their belief that heaven, the abode of the sky-god, rested on a world-pillar. Their ancestors, could we have questioned them, would probably have held the same opinion in a slightly different form, speaking not of a pillar but of a tree—a notion that still lingers in the cottage-homes of their descendants[3].

Finally, since the holy tree of a primitive cult is apt to be associated with a holy well[4], F. Hertlein rightly draws attention to the fact that a noticeable proportion of these 'Jupiter-columns' has been discovered in Roman wells or beside a spring or river[5].

no. 55 I.O.M. e[t Iun.] = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7270 I.O.M. e[t I.R.]), Bierstadt (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 34 no. 58 [I.]O.M. [Iu]noni Reg.), Liederbach (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 34 no. 59 I.O.M. et Iunon(i) Re(ginae)), Heddernheim (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 35 no. 61 [I.O.M. et Iunoni Regi]nae), Heddernheim *bis* (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 35 f. no. 62 [I.]O.M. Iunoni Regina[e]), Mayence (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 55 f. no. 120 I.O.M, which J. Becker *Die römischen Inschriften und Steinsculpturen des Museums der Stadt Mainz* Mainz 1875 p. 3 no. 11 completes [Iun. Reg.], the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6699 [et I.R.], F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 81 n. 1 [(et) I.R.]), Mayence *bis* (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 56 no. 121 I.O.M. et Iunoni Reginae), Mayence *ter* (*id. ib.* 1891 x. 57 no. 124 I.O.M. et Iunoni Reginae), Heddernheim *ter* (F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 6 [I.O.M. et I.]R.), Mayence *quater* (*id. ib.* p. 123, cp. Körber in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* 1906 xxv Korrespondenzbl. p. 168 f. [I.O.M. et Iunoni Re]gin(a)e), Weisenau (*id. ib.* p. 123 [I.O.M. et] Iunoni Reg.).

[1] *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) Conservato[ri]*. So on a *Viergötterstein* of Kastel (Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 31 f. no. 52). For *Conservator* as an epithet of gods in general and of Iupiter in particular see the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iv. 418, 37 ff., Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 208, 238, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 128 f. : cp. *supra* i. 276 n. 5, 551 n. 11, 608 n. 7.

[2] *Iovi Optimo Maximo et caeteris dis deabusq(ue) immortalibus.* So on the *Wochengötterstein* of Agnin (Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5653, Haug in the *Westdeutsche Zeitung* 1890 ix. 35 no. 17).

[3] The idea of a world-tree (on which see *e.g.* J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 796 ff., 1888 iv. 1536 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 347 ff., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 pp. 69, 474 ff., 547 f. ; *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 56 f., 158 f. ; R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 565 f., 584, 604, 677 ; A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1878 i. 93 ff., 1882 ii. 75 ff. ; Mrs J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 109 ff.) enters into tales of the 'Jack and Beanstalk' type (C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 350 no. 33), which are of wide-spread occurrence (E. B. Tylor *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization* London 1865 pp. 341—349, W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-Tales* London 1873 pp. 291—298, J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales*[3] London 1898 pp. 59 ff., 238) and have left traces of themselves in France (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* 1906 iii. 439) and Germany (*Grimm's Household Tales* trans. M. Hunt London 1901 ii. 107 f. no. 112, *ib.* ii. 413, cp. *ib.* ii. 506—508).

[4] *Supra* i. 76 f., 368 f., 526 n. 4.

[5] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 85 f., following up an observation by F. Hettner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 387.

Another variety of 'Jupiter-column,' found over a wider area[1] and dating, it would seem, from a somewhat earlier period[2], was surmounted merely by a seated or standing figure of the sky-god[3]. These columns were characterised by much sculptural decoration[4]. Their square plinth was regularly a *Viergötterstein* carved with deities: indeed, it seems probable that the practice of thus adorning the plinth began with the makers of the earlier columns and spread from them to the makers of the rider-and-giant series, who improved upon the earlier plan by restricting the deities in question to representatives of the seasons, soon afterwards adding the heads or busts on the capital to denote the divisions of the day, and at the same time or but little later introducing the *Wochengötterstein* as a secondary plinth[5]. The shaft of the earlier columns might be left smooth (fig. 51)[6], but was often patterned with scales etc.[7], and sometimes also embellished with the figures of deities, *e.g.* Mercurius, Minerva, Iuno (fig. 52)[8] or Hercules, Minerva, Iuno in

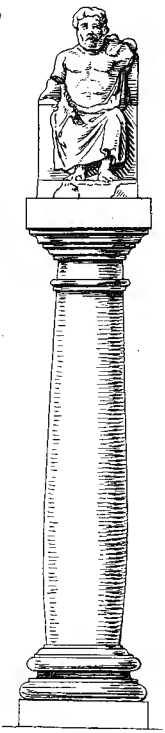


Fig. 51.

[1] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 51: 'derartige Säulen mit stehendem oder thronendem Juppiter finden sich häufig ausserhalb des Gebietes der Gigantengruppen und an der Peripherie derselben, wo diese sehr selten sind, wie in der Kölner Gegend' (cp. *ib.* pp. 53, 158).

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 159.

[3] Hence F. Hertlein *op. cit. passim* would distinguish them as '*Juppitersäulen*' from the '*Juppitergigantensäulen*' already discussed. This convenient nomenclature is more possible in German than in English.

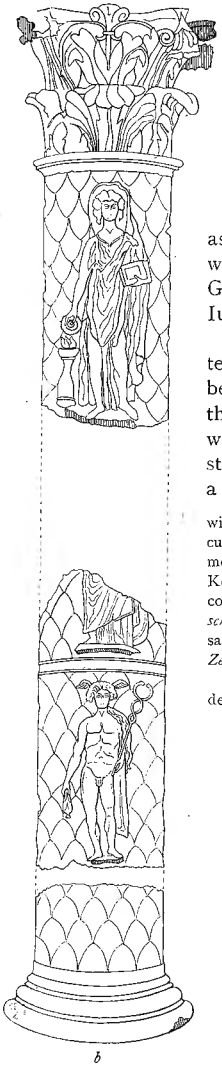
[4] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 157.

[5] *Id. ib.* pp. 159—161.

[6] So in the case of the smaller column from Heddernheim (O. Donner-von Richter and A. Riese *Heddernheimer Ausgrabungen* Frankfurt am Main 1885 (an Stelle des Neujahrs-Blattes des Vereins für Geschichte und Alterthumskunde für 1885 und 1886) pl. 1, 2 f. = my fig. 51, F. Hertlein *op. cit.* pp. 6, 158, *supra* p. 71 n. 6), which has a total height of 2·30^{m} and is accompanied by an altar 0·625^{m} high inscribed *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)*.

[7] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 158, cp. *ib.* p. 84.

[8] *Id. ib.* p. 157 f. I figure the limestone altar, column, and statue found in 1880 at Mayence among the ruins of a large Roman building and now in the Mayence Museum (J. Keller in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1881 lxx. 1 ff. pl. 1, F. Hettner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 370 f., Körber in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1906 i. 62 fig., F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 157 f.). The altar (height 0·50^{m}, length and breadth 0·315^{m}) is inscribed *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo)* | *M.P.P.* | *v.s.l.l.m.* The column (upper diameter 0·18^{m}, height *c.* 1·60^{m}), once mounted on a plinth, is decorated



b

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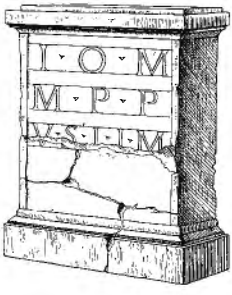


a

Fig. 52.

ascending order (fig. 53)[1]. The column as a whole was dedicated 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest,' but not—so far as we know—to Iuno in combination with him[2].

The earlier, like the later, variety of 'Jupiter-column' had a long history behind it, being in all probability itself descended from the Germanic *Irminsûl*. The one example of which any trace subsists in our own country stood at Durocornovium (*Cirencester*). Here a small sandstone plinth has come to light

with a scale-pattern and three superposed figures of Mercurius, Minerva, Iuno. The statue, to judge from its dimensions, stood upon the capital of the column, not—as Keller supposed—on the altar. Hertlein notes that the column of Klein-Bouslar near Erkelenz (*Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1907 xxvi. 321) exhibits the same three deities in the same order. See further F. Hettner in the *Westdeutsche Zeitschrift* 1885 iv. 386.

[1] S. Reinach in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 i. 27 fig. 2 'Colonne de Müllfort.'

[2] F. Hertlein *op. cit.* p. 158, cp. *ib.* p. 81.

inscribed with careful lettering of Diocletian's age (284—305 A.D.). In front is a dedication 'To Iupiter Best and Greatest. L. Septimius..., an equestrian, governor of the first province of Britain, restored this by the agency of C. Iust....' To left and right are two very indifferent verses:

The statue and the column here in ancient days adored
Britannia Prima's ruler Septimius restored[1].

Fig. 53.

The object of Septimius' pious and politic care was certainly a 'Jupiter-column' of some sort. And, if the road connecting Calleva (*Silchester*) with Durocornovium (*Cirencester*) was really, as E. Hübner supposed, an Ermine Street[2], it may fairly be assumed that the column had taken the place of an older *Irminsûl*. Nor need we be deterred from regarding the 'Jupiter-column' as a Romanised *Irminsûl* by the fact that deities were carved upon its shaft. The *Irminsûl* near Eresburg[3] was itself described by a Saxon poet, who wrote in the reign of Arnulf, as a thing 'of beauty[4].' And a similar sacred post at Austa

[1] E. Hübner in the *Korrespondenzblatt der Westdeutschen Zeitschrift* 1891 x. 254 f. reads the dedication as follows: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] | L. Sept(imius...) | v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(aeses) [prov(inciae) Brit(anniae) pr(imae)] | rest[ituit] | c(urante) Iust[ino...]* and the hexameters thus: *[Sig]num et | [er]ectam | [p]risca re|[li]gione co[lu]mnam || Septimius | renovat, | primae | provinciae | rector.* F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1895 i. 135 no. 277 prefers: *I(ovi) O(ptimo) [M(aximo)] | L. Sept(imius...) | v(ir) p(erfectissimus) pr(aeses) [prov(inciae) Brit(anniae) primae] | rest[ituit curam agente] | C. Iust...* and *[Sig]num et | [der]ectam | [p]risca re|gione co|[lu]mnam || Septimius | renovat | primae | provinciae | rector.* F. Haverfield in the *English Historical Review* for July 1896 figures the plinth and (followed by E. Conybeare *Roman Britain* London 1903 p. 225 n. 1) reads the hexameters in the inverse order. Cp. also *Ephem. epigr.* ix. 517 f. no. 997, F. Haverfield *The Romanization of Roman Britain*[3] Oxford 1915 p. 70 n. 1.

[2] See the map appended to *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii. Cp. T. Codrington *Roman Roads in Britain* London 1903 p. 29 f. 'Higden, following another of King Belinus's roads in Geoffrey of Monmouth's account, says that Erming Street tends from west to east, beginning at St. David's, and goes to Southampton, that is, roughly parallel to Watling Street, and extending from sea to sea. There can be little doubt that he referred to the line of Roman roads through Gloucester, Cirencester, Cricklade, to near Wanborough, and then south by Marlborough to Winchester and Bitterne near Southampton, a route which in Gloucestershire and North Wiltshire still bears the name of the Ermin Way.'

[3] *Supra* p. 53.

[4] Poeta Saxo *annalium de gestis Caroli Magni imperatoris* lib. i anno 772 v. 45 ff. (G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1826 i. 228) Gens eadem coluit simulacrum, quod vocitabant | Irminsul, cuius factura similis (sic cod.: *similis factura* corr. Leibnitius) columne (*factura simulque columna* cj. Reineccius) | Non operis parvi fuerat pariterque decoris.

(*le Bourg d'Augst* near *Eu*) in Neustria mentioned in an eighth-century *Life of Walaricus, Abbot of Leuconaus*, who died *c.* 622 A.D.[1], was 'figured with diverse images[2].' Such examples lend some support to the statement of Simon Grunau[3] that in the great evergreen

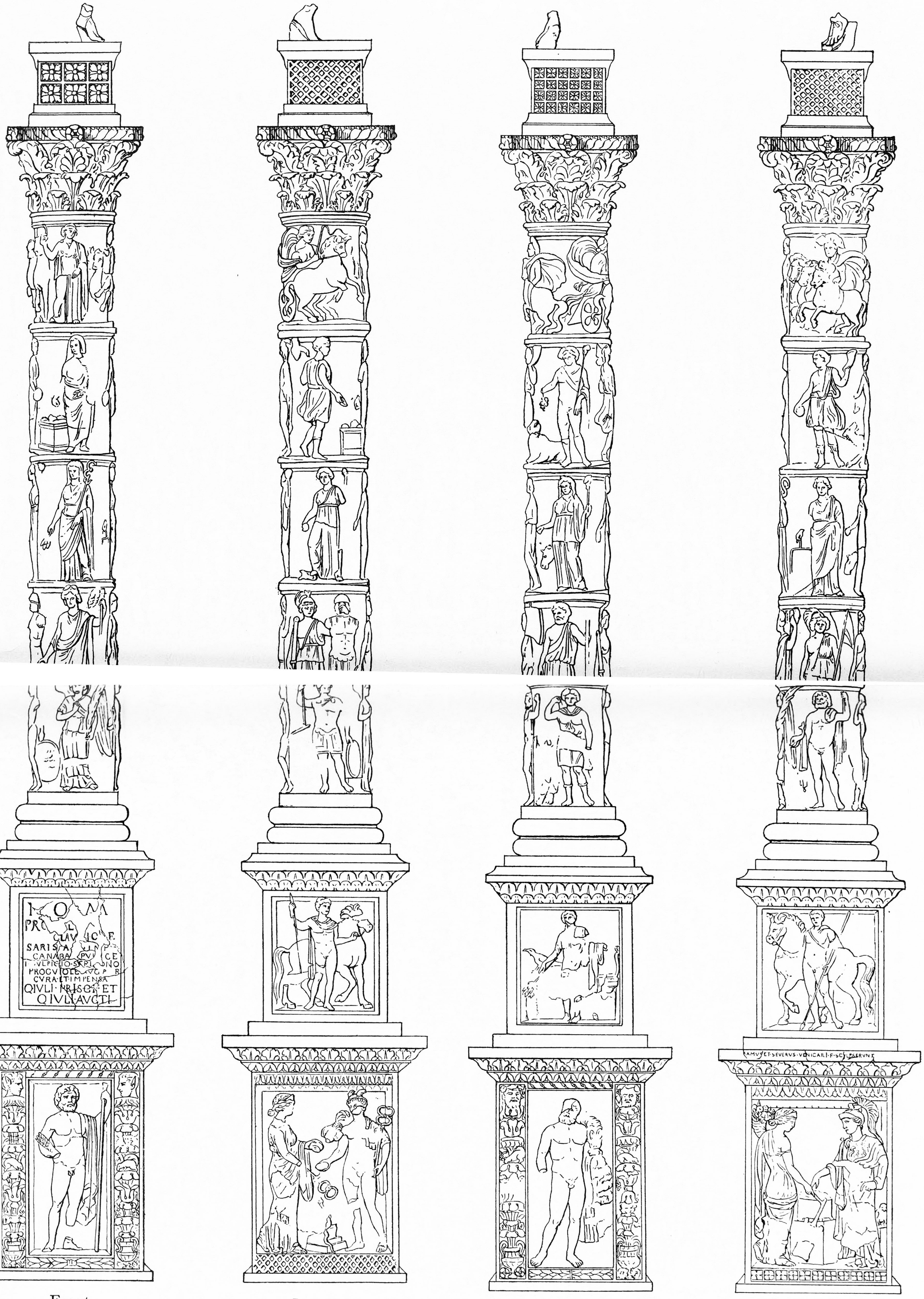
[1] S. A. Bennett in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 1169.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Aprilis i. 21 (Ragimbertus Abbas *v. S. Walarici* 16) Et juxta ripam ipsius fluminis stipes erat magnus, diversis imaginibus figuratus, atque ibi in terram magna virtute immissus, qui nimio cultu, more Gentilium, à rusticis colebatur. Cumque hoc Confessor Domini vidisset, confestim zelo Dei accensus, ad puerum dixit: Fili mi, impinge hunc in ruinam cadendum. Qui nihil hæsitans nec moratus, manu hunc tantummodo contigit; & pondus immensum, quod vix multitudo hominum magna vi posset evellere vel securibus incidere, à tactu unius obedientis monachi, quasi madidus & putrefactus, nimio fragore & magno impetu subito ad terram cecidit, atque in semetipsum totus confractus apparuit. Et hic quidem rusticis, habitantibus in loco, non parvum tam mœrorem quam & stuporem omnibus præbuit: sed undique illis certatim concurrentibus cum armis & fustibus, indigne hoc ferentes invicem, ut quasi injuriam Dei sui vindicarent, cum in eum unanimiter magno furore erupissent, & extensis brachiis colaphos ictusque suos in aëre suspendissent; ille, ut erat semper animo intrepidus atque robustus, fertur eis illud dixisse: Si Dominus hoc permittit, nullus ei resistere valebit. At illi è contrario perterriti, ab intentione animi sui statim divino nutu repressi, ab eo recesserunt. Sed his ita dimissis, cœpit Sacerdos divino spiritu afflatus eos instruere, ut relictis idolis omnipotenti Deo deservirent. Et in ipso eodemque loco postea in honorem B. Walarici basilicam construxerunt, juxta fontem aliquem, ex quo fertur ipse se lavisse; ubi plurima beneficia recta fide petentibus à Domino præstantur.

It will be observed that this post, like the 'Jupiter-columns' (*supra* p. 88), was set up beside a spring and not far from a river.

[3] S. Grunau *Preussische Chronik* ed. M. Perlbach Leipzig 1876 i. 78 (Tractat. ii cap. 5 sect. 2 'Vonn der gelegenheit der eichenn, inn welchin do worenn die götthe.') 'Die grosse dicke und mechtige hohe eiche, in welcher der teuffel sein gespenst hette und die bilde der abgötte ynne woren, halt ich ausz vorplendungk des teufels, war stetis grün, winter und sommer, und war obene weit und breit so dicke von lobe, damit kein regen dardurch kunt fallen, und umb und umb woren hubsche tuchir vorgezogen ein schrit aber 3 von der eichen wol 7 elen hoch, do mocht niemandt eingehen ag der kirwaito und die obirsten waidolotten, sonder so imandes quam, sie die tuchir wegk zogen. Und die eiche war (*wol* cod. A) gleich in 3 teil geteilet, in iglichem wie in eim gemachten fenster stundt ein abgott und hett vor sich sein cleinott. Die eine seite hilt das bilde Perkuno inne, wies oben ist gesagt wurden, und sein cleinott war, domit man stetis feuir hette von eichenem holtze tag und nacht, und so is von vorseumnis ausginge, is koste dem zugeeigenten waidlotten den hals, auff man brandte die oppherungk. Dy andre seite hilt ynne das bildt Potrumppi und het vor sein cleinot eine slange, und die wardt in einem grosen toppe irnert mit milch von den waydolottinnen und stetis mit garwen des getreides bedeckt. Das dritte bilde Patolli hilt inne die dritten seitte, und sein cleinott war ein todten kopff vonn eim menschin, pferde und ku, und diesen zu zeiten in iren festen in eim toppe unslitt brandten zur erungk. Umb und umb in ihren gezelten wonten die wadolotten (leg. *wadolotten*).'

Simon Grunau's good faith has been doubted or denied, especially in regard to these three images (M. Toeppen *Geschichte der Preussischen Historiographie von P. v. Dusburg bis auf K. Schütz* Berlin 1853 pp. 122—201, H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 83). But he lived as an itinerant Dominican friar early in the sixteenth century in that part of Prussia, which had been ceded to Poland (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 366 n. 2); and such a man would have had excellent opportunities of becoming acquainted with the old heathen customs of the district.



Front | Left Side | Back | Right Side

The sculptured column of Mayence.

The key to the deities represented is given on page 96.

See page 93 ff. *with Addenda* ad loc.

oak at Romove[1] were images of the three Lithuanian gods Perkúnas, Potrympus, and Pikùlas[2].

(ζ) The Column of Mayence.

Perhaps the earliest, certainly the finest, example of the figured variety is the 'Jupiter-column' found within the *territorium* of the Roman camp at Mogontiacum (*Mayence*) in 1905 and now preserved in the Mayence Museum (pl. iv)[3]. From a double plinth (2·98m high) rose a base, shaft, and capital (together 5·60m high) supporting a pedestal (0·62m high), on which stood a bronze statue of Iupiter. The front of the upper plinth was inscribed: 'To Iupiter Best and Greatest on behalf of the emperor Nero Claudius Caesar Augustus (this monument was dedicated) by the public action of the Canabarii[4], when L. Sulpicius Scribonius Proculus imperial legate was propraetor[5], through the agency and at the charges of Q. Iulius Priscus and Q. Iulius Auctus[6].' The sculptors, who decorated the column, added their names on the cornice of the lower plinth: 'Samus and Severus, sons of Venicarus, did the carving[7].' This lower plinth was in effect a *Viergötterstein*. It

[1] On the oak at Romove see further W. J. A. von Tettau und J. D. H. Temme *Die Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens* Berlin 1837 pp. 19—22, 35—38, J. Voigt *Geschichte Preussens* Königsberg 1827 i. 580 ff., 595 ff., P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1891 ii. 46—48, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 365—367.

[2] The names of the three gods are discussed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 97, 98, 98 f.

[3] K. Körber 'Die grosse Iuppiter-Säule von Mainz' in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1906 i. 54 ff., A. von Domaszewski 'Die Iuppitersäule in Mainz' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 303—311 pl. 2 (from which my pl. iv is redrawn), E. Maass 'Die Griechen in Südgallien' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 85 ff. with figs. 33—38, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 186 f., F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 155 ff., cp. *ib.* pp. 80, 96, 123, 127, 131, A. Oxé in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1912 vii. 28 ff. pls. 3 f., E. Neeb *Die Juppitersäule, eine kurze Erklärung ihres Bildschmuckes mit 4 Tafeln* Stuttgart s.a., S. Reinach 'La colonne historiée de Mayence' in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 i. 25—30 figs. 1—4, E. Strong 'On the storied column of Mayence' *ib.* 1913 ii. 321—332 figs. 1—5, S. Reinach 'Rosmerta ou Maia?' *ib.* 1913 ii. 333 f.

[4] These *Canabarii* or *Canabenses* were the *cives Romani ad Canabas* of Mayence, *i.e.* shop-keepers, traders, veterans etc. occupying the wooden shanties (*canabae*), which alone were permitted in the vicinity of the Roman camp (A. von Domaszewski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 153 ff.).

[5] Scribonius Proculus and his brother Rufus, governors of Germania Superior and Inferior respectively, were recalled by Nero in 67 A.D. (Dion Cass. 63. 17, cp. Tac. *ann.* 13. 48, *hist.* 4. 41).

[6] A. von Domaszewski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 303 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9235 *I(ovi) O(ptimo) M(aximo) pro [sa]l[ute Neronis] [is] Clau[d]i Cae|saris Au[g(usti)] imp(eratoris)* | *Canaba[ri] pub[l]ice* | *P. Sulpicio Scri[b]onio Proculo leg(ato) Aug(usti) p[r(o) p]r(aetore);* | *cura et impensa* | *Q. Iuli Pris[i] et Q. Iuli Aucti.*

[7] A. von Domaszewski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 304 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9235 *Samus et Severus Venicari f(ilii) sculpserunt.*

exhibits the seasonal (?) series[1] from right to left with sundry slight modifications—Iupiter replacing Iuno as patron of the opening year[2], Mercurius being provided with a partner, possibly Maia (?)[3],

[1] Iuno (=Frija) as goddess of spring, Mercurius (=Wodan) as god of summer, Hercules (=Donar) as god of autumn, Minerva (=Holda) as goddess of winter. See *supra* p. 58 ff.

[2] Iupiter heads the climatic series because he was 'the Author of Good Weather' (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6=Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5615=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3060 a marble altar from Lescure (Ariège) inscribed *I. o. m.* | *auctori* | *bonarum* | *Tempes*|*tatium*, | *Val. Iustus* between a *patera* carved to the left and a *guttus* to the right, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 2609=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1271=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3061 an altar found near Lambaesis *Iovi o. m.* | *Tempestatium* | *divinarum* | *potenti*, | *leg. III Aug.* | *dedicante* | *Q. Fabio Catullino* | *leg. Aug. pr. pr.* together with a twin altar *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 2610=Orelli *loc. cit.*=Dessau *loc. cit. Ventis* | *bonarum* | *Tempes*|*tatium* | *potentibus* | *leg. III Aug.* | *dedicante* | *Q. Fabio Catullino* | *leg. Aug. pr. pr.*). Similarly Zeus, the author of days and years (*supra* i. 16 n. 3, 187 n. 8), is associated with the Horai as powers of the 'year' (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 653 f., Schrader *Reallex.* p. 395, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 523) throughout the whole of their long development (on which see J. H. Krause *Musen Grazien Horen und Nymphen* Halle 1871 pp. 109—127, P. Herrmann *De Horarum apud veteres figuris* Berlin 1887, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 477—480, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2712—2741, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 249—256, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 382 n. 1, 1063 n. 3, Jolles in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2300—2313). Thus the Διὸς ὧραι of Homer (*Od.* 24. 344 with Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 28, cp. Pind. *Ol.* 4. 1 ff. ἐλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βρον|τᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος | Ζεῦ· τεαὶ γὰρ Ὧραι κ.τ.λ. with scholl. *ad loc.*) become in Hesiod and later writers the daughters of Zeus by Themis (Hes. *theog.* 901 ff., cp. *o. d.* 256; Pind. *frag.* 30 Schroeder=*supra* p. 37 n. 1, cp. *Ol.* 13. 6 ff.; Orph. *h. Hor.* 43. 1 ff.; Apollod. 1. 3. 1; Hyg. *fab. praef.* p. 12, 6 Schmidt and *fab.* 183; Cornut. *theol.* 29 p. 57, 6 ff. Lang; Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21; Eudok. *viol.* 1019), or at least the daughters (Diod. 5. 72, Paus. 5. 11. 7) or attendants of Zeus (Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 5, 8. 33, cp. 7. 106 f.). Hence they figured as decorative details on the throne of Zeus at Olympia (Paus. 5. 11. 7) and at Megara (Paus. 1. 40. 4).

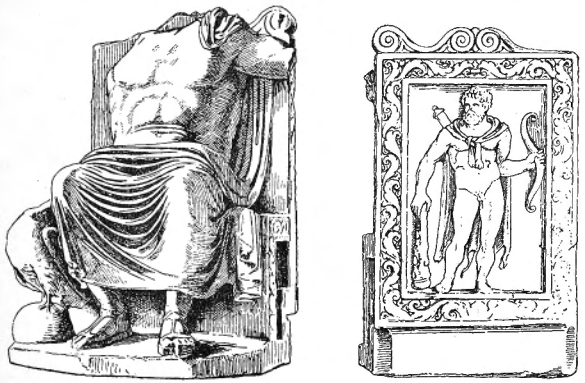
But, apart from the general connexion of Iupiter with the Tempestates or Zeus with the Horai, there seems to have been a special reason why this deity was chosen as the representative of spring, *viz.* a May-festival of Iupiter in the Gallo-Germanic area (E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 108 ff. cites Eligius, bishop of Noyon (640—648 A.D.), *de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* (xl. 1172 Migne) Nullus diem Iovis absque sanctis festivitatibus nec in Maio nec in ullo tempore in otio observet).

[3] Mercurius, clad in *chlamýs*, winged *pétasos* and sandals, holds a *caduceus* in his left hand and offers a purse with his right, while a cock—his frequent attribute—hovers above it. His companion, in *chitón* and *himátion*, holds out towards him a winged *pétasos* in her left hand, a *caduceus* in her right. Beneath the latter is a stepped omphaloid stone, round which a snake is coiled. K. Körber and A. von Domaszewski suppose that this goddess is Rosmerta, the Gallic partner of Mercurius (on whom see the excellent article by M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 209—225). E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 87—90 wants to call her Emporia as goddess of the local mart: but his arguments are unconvincing. A. Oxé in the *Mainzer Zeitschrift* 1912 vii. 28 ff., followed by E. Strong in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 ij. 324, makes her out to be Salus, the Romanized Hygieia, whose presence was required by the *pro salute Neronis* of the inscription (*supra* p. 93 n. 6). J. Zingerle in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 338 n. 29, M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 220 ff., S. Reinach in the *Rev. arch.* 1913 i. 25 revert to the name Rosmerta. Reinach *ib.* 1913 ii. 333 f. further identifies Rosmerta with Maia as the mother of Mercurius.

and Minerva bringing the year to a prosperous close with Fortuna conceived as her second self[1]. The front and back of the lower plinth show Iupiter and Hercules[2] standing between acanthus-pilasters, which are adorned with flowers, grapes, squirrels, etc. and topped by four male heads or masks—two Satyroi with pointed ears on the side of Iupiter, two Silenoi wreathed with ivy and vine on that of Hercules[3]. The upper plinth displays Apollo flanked by

[1] Minerva, wearing sleeved *chitón*, *himátion*, *aigís*, and helmet with reclining griffin as crest-support, drops a pinch of incense from her right hand into a small brazier set upon a stone base: her owl is visible beneath her left hand. Fortuna, draped in a sleeveless *chitón*, which has slipped from her right shoulder, and a *himátion*, has a *stephánе* in her hair, holds the tiller of a steering-paddle in her right hand, and carries a goat's horn as *cornu copiae* over her left shoulder.

F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 156 notes that Fortuna appears as representative of the winter on *Viergöttersteine* from Kreuznach (*ib.* pp. 109, 126, 131) and Heinzenhausen (*ib.* pp. 109, 122, 126). Moreover, he is able to cite an altar



a *b*

Fig. 54.

found at Mayence in 1832, which is dedicated [*I.*] *o. m.* | [*Iu*]*noni Reginae* | [*For*]*tunae Minervae* | ... (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6728): this implies a close association, though hardly an actual identification, of Fortuna with Minerva (cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 4674 Reate *Iovi o. m. Minervae Fortunae Herculi*).

[2] For Iupiter and Hercules as obverse and reverse of the same monument cp. a limestone figure found in 1885 on the Petersberg near Trèves (F. Hettner *Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier* Trier 1893 p. 12 f. no. 21 fig. = my fig. 54). Iupiter in *himátion* and sandals, with his eagle on a globe beside him, is seated on a throne, the back of which forms a floral frame filled by a standing Hercules with lion-skin and club, bow and quiver. It was perhaps felt that Hercules was the heroic counterpart of Iupiter: Donar at least was equated first with the former and then with the latter (*supra* p. 63 n. 1). A Gallic Iupiter approximating in type to Hercules has been figured *supra* i. 288 fig. 208.

[3] These Dionysiac heads together with the vegetable and animal decoration of the pilasters recall the vine-leaf shafts of Neuenheim and Les Fontaines (*supra* p. 71 n. 7).

Castor and Pollux, all three being sons of Iupiter who in various ways inherited their father's light-giving prerogative. The shaft of the column is covered with five zones of deities arranged as in the following table:

	FRONT	LEFT SIDE	BACK	RIGHT SIDE
SHAFT OF THE COLUMN	IVNO *Regina*	Luna		Sol
	Genius Neronis	Lar	Bacchus	Lar
	Pax	Iuno *Sancta*	VESTA	VENVS
	CERES	Honos	VOLCANVS	Virtus
	Victoria	MARS	DIANA	NEPTVNVS
UPPER PLINTH	Inscription	Castor	APOLLO	Pollux
LOWER PLINTH	IVPITER	MERCVRIVS and Maia(?)	Hercules	MINERVA and Fortuna

Immediately below the bronze statue of Iupiter Best and Greatest is his consort Iuno the Queen[1], standing sceptre in hand between the chariots of Sol and Luna. Next in order of dignity comes Nero, to whom the second drum is devoted. As a Genius[2] with portrait features, veiled and sacrificing, he is flanked by the imperial Lares. He is further brought into connexion with Bacchus, possibly as being himself a *Néos Diónysos*[3]. To interpret the three

[1] *Supra* p. 87 n. 3. Numerous inscriptions found at Mayence associate Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* with Iuno *Regina* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii nos. 6713—6728).

[2] Local inscriptions repeatedly link the names of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* or Iuno *Regina* or both with that of the Genius (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii nos. 6696 Iunoni Reg. et | Genio loci, 6710 I. o. m. et Genio, 6711 I. o. m. | et Genio | beneme|renti, 6712 I. o. m. | et Genio loci, 6726 I. o. m. [Iun. Reg.] | et Ge[nio], 6730 I. o. m. | Sucaelo et | Gen. loci), whose cult survived in the Gallo-Germanic region till the seventh century (see E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 109 f.).

[3] So Mrs Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 327: 'Nor does it seem fanciful to suppose that *Liber* appears on the same drum as Nero, in compliment to the Emperor not averse doubtless to seeing himself alluded to as the *néos Διόνυσος*.' This title was actually assumed by Mithradates vi Eupator, king of Pontos 120—63 B.C. (Poseidonios *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 266 ff. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 212 D, cp. Cic. *pro Flacco* 60, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 370, 1, W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. xxv, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 162 f.), Ptolemy xiii Auletes, king of Egypt 80—51 B.C. (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 186, 8 f., no. 187, 2, no. 191, 1 f., no. 193, 9, no. 741, 1 f. with notes on no. 182, 1, B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1899 ii. 139 f. no. 236 *b*, 1, B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt —D. G. Hogarth *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* London 1900 p. 304 no. 236, Porphyrios

lower drums aright, we must view them from the front, bearing in

ap. Euseb. *chron.* i. 22. 6 (p. 120 ed. A. Mai—]. Zohrab), cp. Loukian. *de calumn.* 16, *supra* i. 709 n. 1), M. Antonius the *triumvir* (Vell. Pat. 2. 82. 4, cp. Sokrates of Rhodes *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 326 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 148 c, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 776, 30 f.), Caligula (Philon *de legat. ad Cai.* 12, Athen. 148 d, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 776, 29 f.), and probably Hadrian (E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1890 iii. 2. 161 no. 600, 46). Demetrios Poliorketes too had posed as Dionysos (Plout. *v. Demetr.* 2), as had Antiochos vi, son of Alexandros i Balas (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 63 ff. pl. 19, 1—3, 5—14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 72 ff. pl. 68, 2—10, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 766 f. fig. 337); and in later times Antinoos (*supra* i. 714 n. 6, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. lxxxix, 189 ΝΕΩΙΑΚΧΩ on a copper of Tarsos) and various scions of the imperial house (*supra* i. 714 f.) were represented as Dionysos incarnate. That Nero claimed to be Dionysos is not, I think, recorded by any ancient authority: but his worship, like that of other emperors (see W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 275), might be associated with the worship of Dionysos (*e.g. Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 158 [Διονύσῳ Ἐλ]ευθερικὶ καὶ [Νέρωνι] Κλαυδίῳ Καίσαρι Σε[βαστῷ Γερμανικῷ κ.τ.λ.]), and he takes on occasion the *rôle* of Zeus *Eleuthérios* (fig. 55 is a copper of Sikyon (this attribution was first made by F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Revue suisse de numismatique* 1896 vi. 240, 1897 vii. 40, cp. R. Münsterberg in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1911 iv. 122) from my collection: obv. ΝΕ·ΚΑΙ·ΣΕ ΥС·ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟС· head of Nero to right; rev. ΕΠΙΓ(αΐου)·ΙΟΥ(λίου) ΠΟΛΥΑΙΝΟΥ·ΔΑ (for δυανδρικοῦ?) CI(κυωνίων) emperor on horseback to left. So *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2713, 41, 49, 51 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 376, 41 Akraiphia [Νέρων] Ζεὺς Ἐλευθέριος, 49 Διὶ Ἐλευθερίῳ [Νέρωνι], 51 f. [Νέρωνος] Διὸς | Ἐλευθερίου, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1085, 3 f. Similarly Theophanes, the friend of Cn. Pompeius Magnus, in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 163 *b*, 1 ff. Mytilene [θ]έα Δ[ία Ἐλευθε]ρίῳ Φιλοπάτριδι | Θεοφάνη τῷ σώ|τηρι καὶ εὐεργέ|τα καὶ κτίστα δευ|τέρω τᾶς πάτριδος = C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 47 f. no. 211 = Collitz—Becbtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 373 no. 1720 *b* = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 339. Augustus in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4715, 1 Denderah ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος, θεοῦ υἱοῦ, Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ κ.τ.λ. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 659, 1, S. de Ricci in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1903 ii. 431 no. 8 Καίσαρα αὐτοκράτορα θεοῦ υἱὸν Δία Ἐ[λευ]θέριον Σεβαστόν, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4923, 1 ff. Philai Καίσαρι πουτο|μέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι | Ζανί, τῶι ἐκ Ζανὸς πατρός, Ἐλευθερίῳ, | δεσπόται Εὐρώπας τε καὶ Ἀσίδος, ἄστρωι ἀπάσας | Ἑλλάδος, (δς) σωτ(ὴ)ρ Ζεὺ(ς) ἀν(έ)τ(ει)λ[ε] μέγας, κ.τ.λ. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 159. 1 ff., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 156 Mytilene αὐτοκράτορι | Καίσαρι Σε|βαστῶ | Ἐλε[υ|θερίω], G. Cousin and G. Deschamps in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 306 ff. no. 1, 5 ff. Kys in Karia Ἐρατοφάνης Χαρείνου Ῥόδιος ὁ ἐνεστὼς στεφα|νηφόρος καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ καὶ ἀρχηγέτου | τῆς πόλεως Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου, cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2903 *f* Alabanda Ἀπόλλωνος | Ἐλευθερίου Σεβαστοῦ = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 457. Domitian in *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1091, 1 ff. ἐπ[ὶ] αὐτοκράτορος Καίσ[αρος, θεοῦ | Οὐεσπα[σ]ιανοῦ υἱοῦ, Δομετιανο[ῦ Σ]εβαστοῦ | Γερμανικοῦ Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου [ἄρχο]ντος, | κ.τ.λ., *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 no. 65, 1 ff. [Ἐ]πὶ α[ὐ]τοκράτορο[ς] Καίσαρο[ς Σεβ]αστοῦ Δ[ο|μ]ετιανοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Διὸς Ἐλευθε[ρ]ίου ἄρχοντο[ς | ἐ]ν Ἀθήναις κ.τ.λ. Hadrian in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii nos. 183, 185, 191—198, 214 a series of votive inscriptions from Mytilene, of which one will serve—185 αὐτοκράτορι | Καίσαρι Τραια|νῶ Ἀδριανῶ Σε|βαστῶ Ἐλευθ|ερίω Ὀλυμπίω | σωτῆρι καὶ κτίσ|τη χαριστήριον, G. G. Tocilescu 'Neue Inschriften aus Rumänien' in the *Arch.-ep.*

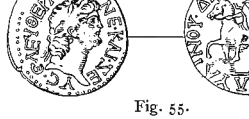


Fig. 55.

mind that, just as Iuno *Regina* stands between Sol and Luna, or the Genius Neronis between the Lares, so each figure beneath Nero is flanked by two appropriate supporters. Read downwards the column will speak for itself: Iupiter, Iuno, Nero, Pax[1], Ceres[2], Victoria. The mere names convey their message: 'Under the blessing of Iupiter and Iuno, Nero has brought Peace and Plenty in the train of Victory.' The side-figures emphasise and enhance this gracious announcement. Peace with olive-branch and *caduceus* is attended by the civic virtues of Sanctity and Love, who appear in august yet popular form as Iuno *Sancta*[3] and Venus

Mitth. 1896 xix. 97 no. 45 Constantza αὐτοκρά[το]ρι Καίσαρι [..|...]νῶ Σεβα[σ]τῶ Ἐλε(υ)θ[ερί]|ω Ὀλυμπ[ίω | σ]ωτῆρι | [χα]ριστή[ρι ο]ν, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 492 [Ζ]ανὸ[ς | Ἐ]λευθερί[ου?] | [θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ υἱόν, θεοῦ?] Νέρουα υ[ἱωνὸν? | Τραιανὸ]ν Ἀδριαν[ὸν Σεβαστόν?]. Antoninus Pius in archaising inscriptions from Sparta etc. quoted *infra* p. 101 n. 1), Apollon (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 62 pl. 13, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 314 coppers of Apollonia Illyrici with obv. ΝΕΡΩΝΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ ΚΤΙCΤΗ Nero to right, in long *chitón* and *chlamýs*, playing lyre, cp. Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 125 pl. 14, 21 f. obv. ΝΕΡΩΝΙ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙ Nero to right, in long *chitón* and *chlamýs*, playing lyre, *ib.* ii. 124 f. pl. 14, 19 f. rev. ΝΕΡΩΝ ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ head of Nero to right; J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 390, 392, 411 f., Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 478 f. no. 277 pl. 63, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 142 no. 215. See further Dion Cass. 61. 20 ὁ καλὸς Καῖσαρ, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Αὔγουστος, εἷς ὢν Πύθιος, 63. 20 Νέρωνι τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, cp. Suet. *Ner.* 53), Herakles (Dion Cass. 63. 20 Νέρωνι τῷ Ἡρακλεῖ, cp. Suet. *Ner.* 53), Helios (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2713, 31 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 376, 31 ff. Akraiphia ὁ τοῦ παντὸς κόσμου κύριος Νέρων... | νέος Ἥλιος ἐπιλάμψας τοῖς Ἕλλησιν, cp. Suet. *Ner.* 53), and the Agathos Daimon (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 20 f. pl. 26, 171, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 413, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 863 billon coins of Alexandreia with rev. ΝΕΟ·ΑΓΑΘ·ΔΑΙΜ Agathos Daimon as a snake wearing *skhent* and holding in its coils poppy-heads and corn-ears. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4699, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 666, 2 ff. Gizeh [Νέρων] Κλαύδιος Καῖσαρ Σεβαστὸς | Γερμανικὸς αὐτοκράτωρ, ὁ ἀγαθὸς δαίμων τῆς | οἰκουμένης). *Infra* § 3 (a) iii (ψ).

[1] This identification is made by Mrs Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 324. Others had conjectured Maia (A. von Domaszewski), Rosmerta (S. Reinach), Libera? (A. Oxé), Felicitas (Quilling).

[2] So named by K. Körber, Quilling, and E. Neeb. A. von Domaszewski, A. Oxé, and S. Reinach call this figure Pax. Mrs Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 326 proposes the name Tellus on the ground that Ceres must be recognised elsewhere. But that ground, as we shall see (*infra* n. 3), is fallacious.

[3] A. von Domaszewski fancies that this goddess is Persephone. A. Oxé dubs her Gallia Aquitanica, the province being famous for its trade in leather! Quilling no less absurdly conjectures a *Parca Itala* standing on the head of a *vitulus*! S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 says Ceres because (*a*) room must be found for Ceres somewhere, (*b*) she holds an object which may be a double torch, (*c*) a statuette in the British Museum, figured by S. Lysons *An account of Roman Antiquities discovered at Woodchester in the county of Gloucester* London 1797 p. 10 pls. 38 and 39 (Diana *Lucifera*), represents Ceres with her foot on the head of an ox. But (*a*) Ceres is more probably the goddess with corn-ears (*supra* n. 2), (*b*) Reinach's Ceres is holding no torch, but a sceptre in her left hand, a *patera* in her right (see Mrs Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 323 n. 1), (*c*) the marble statuette from Woodchester was labelled Luna by Sir A. W. Franks, presumably because the

Verticordia[1], the former with sceptre and *patera* setting her foot on a cow's head, the latter holding the scales of justice. Plenty, typified by Ceres with *patera* and corn-topped sceptre, is companioned by a pair of more martial virtues—Honour grasping a sheathed sword and a suit of captured armour, Prowess proudly displaying her banner[2]. Below these in turn is Victory, who having won her triumphs by land and sea stands with her palm-branch midway between Mars and Neptunus. The back of the column was designed with equal care. Diana figures next to her brother Apollo. Above her come two other deities closely associated in Gallic inscriptions[3]—Volcanus and Vesta[4]. Volcanus is aptly placed between

flame of a torch is visible against her right shoulder. But it is more likely that she is Iuno *Sancta*, the consort of Iupiter *Dolichenus* (*supra* i. 610 f.). The fragment of a triangular bronze plate, originally gilded, which was found at Aalen, shows this goddess standing on her cow (*supra* i. 619, O. von Sarwey—E. Fabricius *Der obergermanisch-raetische Limes des Roemerreiches* Lieferung xxiii no. 66 Heidelberg 1904 p. 15 f. with fig.).

[1] K. Körber saw in this figure Iustitia; A. von Domaszewski, Aequitas. A. Oxé took her to be Gallia Lugudunensis, the scales symbolising her trade and her mint. Quilling surmised a *Parca Gallica* for the same reason. S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 f. first showed that she is Venus *Verticordia* by comparing the *denarii* of the *gens Cordia*, on which Venus appears as here with a sceptre in her left hand and the scales in her right (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 383 nos. 1 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 523 f. pl. 51, 11 f.). Scales are an attribute that has come to Venus as mistress of hearts from the great mythological type of the ψυχοστασία (on which see O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1143 f., R. Holland *ib.* ii. 2674 ff., O. Waser *ib.* iii. 3224 ff., F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 131 ff.), itself based ultimately on a religious conception of the Otherworld (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 681 n. 6, 863, Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 190 f., A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 102, 230, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 113 f.). It is, however, probable that in imperial times Venus with the scales was regarded as a goddess meting out just measures like Aequitas or Iustitia or Moneta, who on Roman coins often have scales and *cornu copiae*, sceptre and *patera*, etc. (Aequitas: E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 604 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 135 ff., Suppl. i. 282 ff. Iustitia: Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 499, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1243 ff., Suppl. iii. 287 f. Moneta: H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3200 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 560 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* v. 786—832). So, after all, K. Körber and A. von Domaszewski were not far wrong.

[2] The only dissentient is Quilling, who holds that these figures stand for *Roma deleta* and *Roma restituta*—a queer notion.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 1676 Lyon, an *epistylium* dedicated *Marti Vestae Volkano*, no. 2940 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7050 Sens, the site of Agedincum Senonum, a *stylobates* dedicated by the same persons to *Mart. Volk. et deae sancti[s]s. Vestae.* On Vesta as paired with Volcanus see further Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 231.

[4] A. von Domaszewski makes this goddess Demeter to suit his neighbouring Persephone. A. Oxé completes his *tres Galliae* by interpreting her as Gallia Belgica, famous for its horse-breeding, chariot-making, etc.; Quilling, his *tres Parcae* by inventing a *Parca Germana* to serve as one of the Norns with her horse! There was more to be said (*pace* Mrs Strong) for the Epona of K. Körber. But I do not doubt that S. Reinach was right to insist in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 that the disputed figure is simply Vesta with her ass (on which see G. Wissowa *Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions-*

Honour and Prowess, for whom he forges the weapons of war. And Vesta is next to Venus, whose scales commemorate the penalty meted out to unfaithful Vestals[1]. Moreover, it will be observed that the back of this column is no less eloquent than the front. Vesta, Volcanus, Diana, Apollo—what are these but domestic and elemental fire, moonshine and sunshine, fit denizens for a veritable 'pillar of light'? Indeed, S. Reinach[2] points out that on the column as a whole all the twelve deities recognised by Ennius[3] find a place, dominated by the flashing figure of the sky-god. Our thoughts travel back to Platon, in whose cosmic scheme 'Zeus, the great chieftain in heaven,' followed by 'a host of gods and inferior deities,' comes 'by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault,' thereby arriving at the apex of that 'straight light like a pillar' which stretches along the axis of the universe[4].

(η) Commemorative Columns.

The earlier type of 'Jupiter-column' was not without its influence on the great commemorative pillars of Rome and Constantinople. These masterpieces of columnar art were indeed no longer dedicated to the sky-god. But it must be remembered that latterly the emperor had stepped into the sky-god's shoes[5]. Trajan[6] and

und Stadtgeschichte München 1904 p. 67 ff., *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 158, W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1911 p. 148, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 92).

[1] Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 290.

[2] S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29.

[3] Ennius *frag.* 79 Baehrens *ap.* Ap. *de deo Socr.* 2 and Mart. Cap. 42 Iuno Vesta Minerva Ceres Diana Venus Mars | Mercurius Iovis Neptunus Volcanus Apollo.

A. von Domaszewski 'Die Iuppitersäule in Mainz' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 303—311 supposes that the column of Mogontiacum was a copy of one at Massilia erected between 17 and 12 B.C. He would recognise on it the twelve deities of the Massiliotes, *viz.* Zeus, Athena, Herakles, Hera, Apollon, Poseidon, Artemis, Ares, Hephaistos, Demeter, Persephone, Dionysos. This whimsical idea is brushed aside by E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 85 and need not detain us.

[4] *Supra* pp. 43—45.

[5] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 308 ff.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1213 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 701 (cited *infra* Append. N *med.*) speaks of Trajan as Zeus Ἐμβατήριος—a god to whom vows would be made by travellers going on board their vessel. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 1147 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2845 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6675 a *tabula alimentaria* from Veleia *ex indulgentia Optimi Maximique principis imp. Caes. Nervae | Traiani Aug. Germanici Dacici* applies to Trajan the cult-epithet of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*, and numerous inscriptions include *Optimus* among the emperor's titles (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* iii. 1. 274 Index), *e.g.* the dedication of the arch at Beneventum (on which see *infra* Append. N *med.*). Greek inscriptions render this *Optimus* by Ἄριστος (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 677, 1 f. *ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου* Αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος

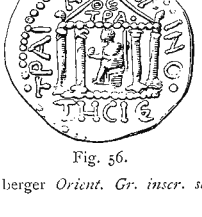


Fig. 56.

Antoninus Pius[1] were definitely dubbed Zeus and honoured with

Νέρουα | Τραϊανοῦ Ἀρίστου Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ Δακικοῦ τύχῃς, *ib.* 4 f., cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1306, 2, ii nos. 1801, 7, 2178, 3, 2572, 3, 2634, 2, 2707, 2, iii nos. 4843, 2, 4948, 2, Add. 4443 *c*, 2).

Copper coins of Selinous (Traianopolis) in Kilikia, struck by Septimius Severus and Severus Alexander, show Trajan as Zeus enthroned in a tetrastyle temple with thunderbolt and sceptre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 143 pl. 24, 9=1ny fig. 56, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 43 no. 294).

[1] Many altars, bases, and *stêlai* found at Sparta are inscribed Ζανὶ Ἐλευθερίοι Ἀντωνείνοι (less often Ἀντωνίνοι) Σωτῆρι (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i nos. 407—444, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 24, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 37 f. nos. 4492 f.). One dedication shows the slightly extended formula [Ζ]ανὶ | Ἐλευθε|ρίοι καὶ Ὀλυμπί|οι Ἀντωνεί|νοι Σωτῆ|ρι (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 445, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 230, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 38 no. 4494), and another, found at Athens, read Ζανὶ | [Ἐ]λευθε[ρ]ίο Ἀντο|νίνοι Σω|τῆρι Ὀ[λυμπίοι? *suppleui*] (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 350) or ὁ [δῆμος ὁ Λακεδαιμονίων?] (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 527). These archaising inscriptions were apparently intended to be hexametrical. They are normally accompanied by the representation of a wreath and two palm-branches. A base found at Kyaneai (*Yarvoo*) in Lykia is dedicated θεῶ Μεγάλω Ἄρει καὶ Ἐλευθερ<ι>α | Ἀρχηγέτιδι Ἐπιφανεῖ θεᾶ καὶ Διὶ | Αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι Τίτω Αἰλίω Ἀδριανῶ Ἀντωνείνω Σεβαστῶ Εὐ|σεβεῖ π(ατρὶ) π(ατρίδος) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 4303 *b*[1]). Again, Antoninus Pius, like Trajan (*supra* p. 100 n. 6), bears the titles of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 5632=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 804=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2735 from Camerinum *optimi maximique imp. Anto|nini Aug. Pii*, Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7170=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 692 *a*=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2666 *a* from Tuficum *ab optimo | maximoque principe Antonino Aug(usto) Pio, Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 1924=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5503 from Perusia *diuo Antonino | Pio |... ... optimo maximoq. princ.*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 532 i 10=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 693, 10=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6680 i 10 from Tergeste *apu(d) optimum principem Antoninum Aug. Pium*).

Fig. 57.

Copper coins of Tarsos represent Antoninus Pius enthroned as Zeus: he wears a *himation* wrapped about his legs and holds a wreath-bearing Nike in his right hand, a sceptre in his left (fig. 57=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 190 no. 160, cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* ix. 580). Bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius have obv. DIVVS ANTONINVS head of

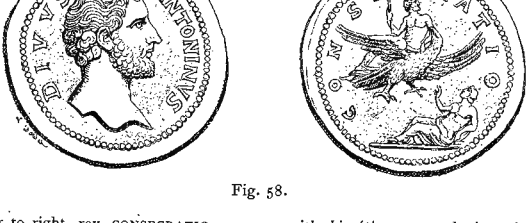


Fig. 58.

emperor to right, rev. CONSECRATIO emperor, with *himation* wrapped about legs and sceptre in right hand, borne aloft on the back of an eagle away from a reclining male figure

(Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 10 no. 6 pl. 43, 5, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 73 f. fig. (=my fig. 58), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 287 no. 153 fig., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 248 fig.): it seems probable that here too the divinised emperor is assimilated to the sky-god (Fröhner *loc. cit.*), though this is certainly not proved by the presence of the eagle as carrier; indeed the late *motif* of Zeus seated or recumbent on an eagle, which occurs on coins of Alexandreia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 48 no. 397 and 398 (=my fig. 59) Trajan pl. 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 433 no. 241 Trajan, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 264, 602 Münztaf. 3, 30; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 80 nos. 673—675 (=my fig. 60) Hadrian, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 447 no. 332 Hadrian; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 118 no. 1014 (=my fig. 61) and

Fig. 59.

Fig. 60.

Fig. 62.

Fig. 61.

Fig. 63.

1015 Antoninus Pius pl. 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 470 no. 471 Antoninus Pius; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 221 no. 1724 (=my fig. 62) Iulia Mamaea; *ib.* p. 227 no. 1768 (=my fig. 63) and 1769 Maximinus, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 504 no. 713 Maximinus; *ib.* iii. 522 no. 867 Philippus Iunior), in the stucco relief of a vaulted tomb on the Via Latina (E. Petersen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 203 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 49), and elsewhere (*supra* i. 754 n. 2, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 121 no. 2609 pl. 23, *ib.* p. 150 no. 3445 f. pl. 28, *ib.* p. 246 no. 6715 pl. 48, *ib.* p. 299 no. 8154 pl. 59, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 91 no. 581, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 95 f. no. 629 f., p. 113 no. 751 fig. 138, p. 121 no. 804, p. 124 nos. 824 fig. 149, 825, p. 142 no. 942, p. 156 nos. 1046, 1047, 1048 pl. 31, 1049 (cp. my fig. 64 from a fine specimen in the Lewis collection—diam. $4\frac{3}{8}$ ins.—photographed by Mr W. H. Hayles), p. 203 no. 1357: see further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 263—266, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 45 f. pl. 4, 6), is itself presumably derived from the *consecratio*-type (K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 p. 37 f., L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20 figs. 1—4. See further an interesting chapter in F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris

1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs')). The reverse design of the medallions of Antoninus Pius is best explained by comparison with the southern or principal relief on the marble base of his column, now in the apse of the Giardino della Pigna at the Vatican (Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 883 ff. no. 223 pls. 116 (=my fig. 65)—118, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen*

Fig. 64.

klassischer Altertümer in Rom[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 74 f. no. 123, Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 270 ff. pl. 82, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 291 f.). This relief represents the Dea Roma seated on the right, the personified Campus Martius reclining on the left: the former uplifts her right hand in greeting, the latter clasps with his left the obelisk of Augustus (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 72); between them is a pile of weapons. Soaring up into the air is a youthful *genius*, who in his left hand bears a globe marked with zodiac (Pisces, Aries, Taurus), moon, and stars, and a snake resting upon it. Above his broad wings are seen the half-length figures of Antoninus Pius with eagle-sceptre and Faustina Senior with veil, crown, and sceptre. Flanked by a pair of eagles, the emperor and his wife are probably conceived as the new rivals of Iupiter and Iuno (R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Breslau* 1867) p. 34 n. 5).

In the Hope collection at Deepdene was a fine statue of Zeus, erect with an eagle beside him, in Thasian marble, transformed into Antoninus Pius by the addition of a modern head and neck (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 282 no. 5, *Hope Sale Catalogue* London 1917 p. 42 no. 253).

the titles of Iupiter. Marcus Aurelius[1], too wise to ape divinity, was

Fig. 65.

[1] Bronze medallions struck in the year 168 A.D. have as their reverse type a colossal Iupiter, with thunderbolt and sceptre, protecting beneath his spread cloak the diminutive figures of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 33 no. 52 f. pl. 63, 3 f., Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 91 f. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 14 no. 10 pl. 21, 1, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 87 no. 886 f. fig.): cp. *supra* i. 276 n. 5 fig. 201.

recognised at least as the *protégé* of Iupiter and the imitator of Zeus. Even the late Roman emperors inherited the same tradition and viewed themselves as the viceroys of Iupiter *Capitolinus*[1]. Hence the comparison of the Germanic with the classical column is not far-fetched or unreal. The smooth variety of the former supporting the figure of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*[2] may fairly be regarded as analogous to the column of Antoninus Pius[3], a plain granite shaft, on which stood the divinised emperor, *optimus maximusque princeps*[4], holding —if coins can be trusted—the eagle and sceptre (figs. 66—67)[5] of

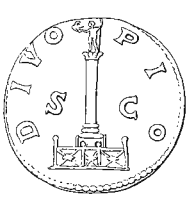


Fig. 66. Fig. 67.

Iupiter. Again, monuments like that of Mogontiacum[6] showed the possibilities of columnar relief and furnished a starting-point for yet more ambitious efforts, the columns of Trajan (figs. 68—69)[7] and

Ioul. *symp.* 333 B ff. describes Marcus Aurelius as an imitator of the gods, who acted κατὰ μίμησιν τοῦ μεγίστου Διός (334 D) and was fain to follow the lead of both Zeus and Kronos (335 D). He too is *optimus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 4003 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3364 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6225 Ficulea) and *maximus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 5635 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2172 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2104 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6640 Camerinum).

[1] *Supra* i. 46 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 89 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 103 n.

[4] *Supra* p. 101 n. 1.

[5] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 305 f. nos. 353 fig.—356 describes the type as 'la statue d'Antonin debout, tenant un globe et un sceptre.' Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 708 f. says 'Imperator...d. hastam gerens.' Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 235 fig. have 'a colossal statue of the *Imperator*...holding a spear in his right hand.' I illustrate a first brass in the British Museum (fig. 66) and another in my possession (fig. 67). Mr G. F. Hill, who kindly looked through all the specimens in the national collection for me, writes (June 19, 1915): 'The figure on the Antonine column certainly holds an eagle, when it is possible to make out what he holds at all.'

[6] *Supra* p. 93 ff.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 960 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 935 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 294, Dion Cass. 68. 16, 69. 2, *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 8 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 552), Aur. Vict. *epit.* 13. 11, Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2132, Amm. Marc. 16. 10. 15, *mirabilia Romae* 16 (H. Jordan *op. cit.* ii. 620). The most important publications of Trajan's column are W. Froehner *La Colonne Trajane* Paris 1872–1874 (text and four vols. of 220 photo-lithographic pls.), C. Cichorius *Die Reliefs der Traianssäule* Berlin 1896–1900 (text and two vols. of 113 heliographic pls.),—both sets of plates being reproductions from the plaster casts taken by order of Napoleon iii in 1861–1862 A.D. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 330—369 gives in reduced form the plates of P. S. Bartoli—A. Ciaccone—G. P. Bellori

Marcus Aurelius[1], of Theodosios[2] and Arkadios[3]. Isolated zones

Fig. 68.

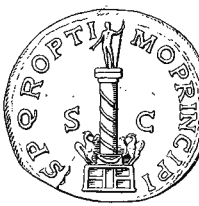


Fig. 69.

Colonna Trajana Romae s. a. (1672), which are inexact but convenient. See also W. Froehner *La Colonne Trajane* Paris 1865 pp. 1—168 with map and figs., S. Reinach *La Colonne Trajane au musée de St. Germain* Paris 1886, E. Petersen *Trajans dakische Kriege nach dem Säulenrelief erzählt* i ii Leipzig 1899, 1903, Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 pp. 166—213 pls. 51—62. Further bibliography in H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 72.

Fig. 68 is from a specimen in the British Museum, on which Trajan is shown with a sceptre (?) in his left hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his right, and a *paludamentum* covering his back. Fig. 69 is from a specimen in my collection, which represents him with sceptre (?) and thunderbolt (?), but without the *paludamentum*. Cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 711 f., viii. 594 f., 1561 f., Suppl. i. 1880, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 55 f. no. 359 fig., nos. 360 f., *id. ib.*[2] ii. 75 f. nos. 555—564, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 236 f. fig.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 1585*a* and 1585*b* = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2840 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5920, *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 9 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 556), Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 16. 13, *epit.* 16. 14, *mirabilia Romae* 16 (H. Jordan *op. cit.* ii. 620). The chief modern work on the column of Marcus Aurelius is E. Petersen—A. von Domaszewski—G. Calderini *Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom* München 1896 (text and two vols. of 128 pls. photographed from the original reliefs). Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 293—329 gives in reduced form the plates of P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Columna Antoniniana* Romae s. a. (*c.* 1675), which have the same merits and defects as in the case of the Trajanic column. See further Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 pp. 270—291 pls. 82—89, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 605—607. Bibliography in H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 71.

[2] Konstantinos Rhodios 202—240 (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1896 ix. 42 f.), Anonymus *descriptio regionum urbis* reg. 7 (in Hesychios of Miletos ed. Orelli p. 316), Anonymos πάτρια p. 17 (in A. Banduri *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ* Parisiis 1711 Pars tertia, Lib. i—iii, p. 17), Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 21 D, 24 B, 24 C (pp. 38, 42, 43 Bekker), Marcellinus Comes *chron.* ann. Chr. 480 (li. 932 Migne), Theophanes *chronogr.* ann. mund. 5878, 5970, 5998 (pp. 110, 195, 229 Classen), Io. Malal. *chron.* 16 p. 401 Dindorf, Leon Grammatikos *chronogr.* p. 118 Bekker, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 B (i. 566 Bekker), Niketas Choniates *de rebus post captam urbem gestis* p. 804 f. Bekker, Georgios Akropolites *annal.* 5 p. 11 Bekker, and the poems in later Greek *de Syria expugnata* 887 ff., *Constantinopolis expugnata* 343 ff. (*Recueil des historiens des Croisades*. Historiens grecs. Paris 1875 i. 618 A—C, 661 C). See further F. W. Unger *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* Wien 1878 i. 168 ff. nos. 401—420. Modern monographs are E. Müntz 'La colonne Théodosienne à Constantinople' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1888 i. 318—325 and T. Reinach 'Colonne de Théodose' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1896 ix. 74—78: cp. O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 123, 144.

of decoration were by a stroke of genius transformed into a continuous spiral[4], and the *columna cochlis* was thus enabled to set forth in stately sequence or effective episode the deeds by which the immortal had won his immortality.

'Their subject triumphed up from man to God.'

This marble column was erected by Theodosios i in 386 A.D. to commemorate his successful campaign against the Scythians, *i.e.* the Greuthungi, whom he drove out of Thrace. It stood in the seventh region of Constantinople, on the third hill, which went by the name of Tauros. It supported a statue of Theodosios, which was overthrown in 480 A.D. by an earthquake and replaced in 506 A.D. by a colossal bronze figure of Anastasios. This in turn was probably destroyed in 512 A.D., the summit of the column thenceforward being left vacant. The column itself was demolished by the Sultan Bajazet ii (1481–1512 A.D.), because it hindered the construction of his magnificent Baths. Drawings of its spiral relief-band, made by an Italian artist (Gentile Bellini?), were published by C. F. Menestrier *Description de la belle et grande Colonne historiée, dressée à l'honneur de l'Empereur Théodose, dessinée par G. Bellin* Paris 1702 with 16 pls., *id. Columna Theodosiana* s.l. (Venice?) s.a. (1765?) with 18 pls., A. Banduri *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ* Parisiis 1711 ii. 506 ff. pls. 1—18, and in reduced form by Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 103—111.

[3] Konstantinos Rhodios 241—254 (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* ix. 43 f.), Anonymus *descriptio regionum urbis* reg. 12 (in Hesychios of Miletos ed. Orelli p. 324), Anonymos πάτρια p. 18 (in A. Banduri *Imperium Orientale sive Antiquitates Constantinopolitanæ* Parisiis 1711 Pars tertia, Lib. i—iii, p. 18) = Souid. *s.v.* Ξηρόλοφος = Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 17 B—C (p. 30 Bekker), *id. ib.* 24 C (p. 43 Bekker), Anonymos *breves enarrat. chronogr.* 103 C (in Kodinos ed. Bekker p. 188), Marcellinus Comes *chron.* ann. Chr. 421 (li. 924 B—C Migne), Theophanes *chronogr.* ann. mund. 5895, 6034, 6041, 6232 (pp. 121, 345 f., 351, 634 Classen), Theophanes continuatus 6. 21 (p. 411 f. Bekker), *Chron. Paschale* i. 579 Dindorf, Leon Grammatikos *chronogr.* p. 104 f. Bekker, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 C, 374 B (i. 567, 656 Bekker), Michael Glykas *annal.* 258 A (p. 478 Bekker), Ioelos *chronogr. comp.* 170 C (p. 40 Bekker), Io. Malal. *chron.* 18 p. 483 f. Dindorf, Nikephoros Patriarches *brev. hist.* p. 66, Zonar. *epit. hist.* 13. 20 (iii. 232 Dindorf). See further F. W. Unger *Quellen der byzantinischen Kunstgeschichte* Wien 1878 i. 179 ff. nos. 434—447, J. Strzygowski 'Die Säule des Arkadius in Konstantinopel' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 230—249, A. Geffroy 'La colonne d'Arcadius à Constantinople d'après un dessin inédit' in the *Mon. Piot* 1895 ii. 99—130, T. Reinach 'Colonne d'Arcadius' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1896 ix. 78—82, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 123, 144. This column, a pendant to that of Theodosios i, stood in the twelfth region, on the seventh hill, which was called Xerolophos. It was begun by Arkadios in 403 A.D. and finished by his son Theodosios ii, who in 421 A.D. placed a statue of Arkadios on its summit. The column was repeatedly damaged by lightning or earthquakes, and in 740 A.D. its statue fell. After the earthquake of 1719 A.D. the Turks decided to pull down the shaft; but its square base, much defaced by fire and neglect, still stands. The *rotulus* in all probability represented the war of 400 A.D. against the rebel Goth Gaïnas. The upper portion of the relief, drawn by Melchior Lorich (1557—1559 A.D.), was brought to light by A. Michaelis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 91 f.; and a view of the whole column, drawn perhaps for M. de Nointel the French ambassador at Constantinople (1670 A.D.), was published by A. Geffroy in the *Mon. Piot* 1895 ii. 99—130 pls. 10—13: cp. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 106 ff.

[4] I do not, of course, mean to imply that this was the first application of the spiral *motif* to architecture. Such decoration had long since had a wide vogue: see V. Chapot *La colonne torse et la décoration en hélice dans l'art antique* Paris 1907 pp. 1—176 with 210 figs. But this appears to be our earliest example of a spiral relief being used on a large scale to represent human figures in continuous action.

Here in truth was the 'uphill path' of ancient faith[1] convincingly filled with modern meaning. In the case of the Trajanic column—the first of its kind and the pattern for posterity—this celestial track led up and up to a plinth shaped like a hemisphere, on the top of which stood the figure of the divinised emperor (fig. 70[2]). His position recalls that of the immortals in the *Phaidros*, who 'go outside when they are come to the topmost height, and stand on the outer surface of heaven[3],' there to witness sights of unspeakable splendour. What the effect of this great pillar must have been on the popular mind, it is not hard to guess:

Fig. 70.

> They climbed the steep ascent of heaven
> Through peril, toil and pain.
> O God, to us may grace be given
> To follow in their train.

(θ) The Trophy.

But if the Germanic *Irminsûl* contributed something to the monumental art of Rome, it had points of contact also with the religious life of Greece. 'Jupiter-columns' were found as far south as the confines of Thrace. C. Jullian[4] quotes a passage of Valerius Flaccus, in which they are ascribed to the Coralli, a blonde[5] Sarmatian[6] tribe settled at the foot of Mount Haimos[7]. The poet is describing the hosts led by Perses against his brother Aietes:

> Next Phalces drives his bronze cloud o'er the plain
> With echoing cries, and the Corallians all
> Uplift their banners, who for ensigns bear
> Barbaric wheels and boars of jaggy back

[1] *Supra* p. 36 ff.

[2] After C. Chipiez in Daremberg-Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1351 fig. 1788.

[3] *Supra* p. 44.

[4] C. Jullian in G. Gassies 'Cavalier et anguipède sur un monument de Meaux' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 290 n. 1.

[5] Ov. *ex Pont.* 4. 2. 37.

[6] Appian. *Mithr.* 69. C. Jullian *loc. cit.* says: 'Peut-être les *Coralli* étaient-ils celtiques (Reinach, *Revue celtique*, t. xx, 1899, p. 127 et s.).' But F. Hertlein *Die Juppitergigantensäulen* Stuttgart 1910 p. 78 n. 3 is not improbably right in regarding them as a Germanic tribe.

[7] Strab. 318.

And pillars lopped to be Jove's effigies.
Not theirs to fire the fray with bellowing horn :
True home-bred chiefs and prowess old they chant,
Till praise o' the past begets new valiancy[1].

The name *Phalces* means a 'beam[2],' being in fact the same word as our 'balk' of timber[3]. If we may assume that this name was traditional[4], it points perhaps to the existence of a pillar-cult among the Coralli[5]. However that may be, the 'pillars lopped to be Jove's effigies' were doubtless tree-trunks shorn of their boughs and viewed as vehicles of the sky-god. As such they had their parallel in the trophy-stand common throughout the classical area (figs. 71[6], 72[7], etc.[8]), a trimmed oak-trunk which likewise could be called the image of Zeus[9]. Moreover, just as the *Irminsûl* developed into the richly-carved column of Mogontiacum, so the rude trophy-log gave rise to such monuments as

Figs. 71—72.

[1] Val. Flacc. 6. 88 ff. hos super aeratam Phalces agit aequore nubem (P. Burmannus sen. cj. *pubem*) | cum fremitu, densique levant vexilla Coralli, | barbaricae quis signa rotae ferrataque (F. Hertlein cj. *serrataque*) dorso | forma suum truncaeque Iovis simulacra columnae ; | proelia nec rauco curant incendere cornu, | indigenas sed rite duces et prisca suorum | facta canunt veterumque viris hortamina laudes.

For wheels as solar emblems in the bronze and iron ages see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 296 f., 413—418, *id. ib.* Paris 1913 ii. 2. 885—892 in addition to the literature cited *supra* i. 197 n. 7.

On boars as badges see Tac. *Germ.* 45, cp. *hist.* 4. 22, Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 16, Fest. p. 234*a* 31 ff. Müller, p. 266, 16 ff. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 235, 7 f. Müller, p. 267, 6 ff. Lindsay, and the information collected by J. P. Cassel *Observationes antiquariae de porco in vexillis et in foederibus apud veteres Romanos* Magdeburgi 1748, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 213—215, *id. ib.* London 1888 iv. 1328, 1355, G. A. Müller *Die Reitergruppe auf den römisch-germanischen Giganten-Säulen* Strassburg i/E und Bühl (Baden) 1894 p. 15 pl. 2, 6 (a group of boar and snake-legged giant in the Museum at Wiesbaden), R. Forrer *Reallex.* p. 194 fig. 165, *id. Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 29 figs. 46, 48, p. 46 fig. 88, p. 114 fig. 203, p. 290 f. fig. 491, p. 346 figs. 539—541 (bronze statuettes from Hradischt near Stradonic and Gallo-Germanic coins in gold, silver, potin), A. von Domaszewski *Die Fahnen im römischen Heere* (*Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien* v) Wien 1885 pp. 12, 55, *id. Die Religion des römischen Heeres* Trier 1895 p. 119, *id. Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 p. 12 (= *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1892 xv. 192), and especially S. Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* pp. 254—258, *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 22 (= *Revue scientifique* 1900 ii. 454), 45 fig. 11, 52, 67 ff. (= *Revue celtique* 1900 xxi. 285, 297 ff.), 244, 262 ff. (= *Revue celtique* 1901 xxii. 157 ff.), *id. ib.* Paris 1908 iii. 177 (= *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* 1907 lvi. 74).

[2] Poll. 1. 85 τὸ δὲ τῇ στείρᾳ προσηλούμενον φάλκης, ἐφ' οὗ ἡ δευτέρα τρόπις.

[3] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 481 cp. p. 480 *s.v.* φάλαγξ and p. 491 *s.v.* φλία, F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 28 *s.v.*

'Balken,' J. H. Murray *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* Oxford 1888 i. 636 *s.v.* 'Balk, baulk.'

[4] The same name was borne by a leader of the Trojans (*Il.* 13. 791, 14. 513) and by a son of the Argive Temenos (on whom see H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2243).

[5] R. Meringer 'Zum verehrten Pflock' in *Wörter und Sachen* 1909 i. 199—204 thinks it possible that *Phol*, a Germanic deity mentioned in the second Merseburg charm, who has been identified with a variety of unpromising persons (*e.g.* Balder, Apollo, and even the Apostle Paul: see P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 126 ff., E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 324), was a sacred post comparable with such divinities as Iupiter *Tigillus* (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11 dixerunt eum (*sc.* Iovem)... Tigillum...quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret etc.), his name being related to the Latus *palus*, 'Pfahl.' Meringer's suggestion is attractive, but not altogether free from phonetic difficulties.

[6] The trophy is very frequent as a design on Greek and Roman coins: see the classified list in Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 201—255, and, for illustrations, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 106 ff. nos. 1152—1220 pl. 23 f. I give three typical examples.

Fig. 71 is a silver tetradrachm struck at Syracuse by Agathokles *c.* 310—304 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 195 f. fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 238 pl. 17, 16, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 156 f. pl. 11, 13 f., *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 pp. 110, 112 ff. pl. 8, 66, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 181 f. fig. 105): obv. ΚΟΡΑΣ head of Persephone with flowing hair; rev. ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΙΟΣ *sc.* χαρακτήρ? *στατήρ? νοῦμμος?* Nike with hammer and nail fastening helmet to trophy. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge.

[7] Fig. 72 is a copper struck at Thebes *c.* 288—244 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 39 pl. 6, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 37, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 353): obv. head of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet; rev. ΒΟΙΩΤΩΝ trophy. I figure a specimen in the Leake collection at Cambridge (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 29).

[8] *E.g. infra* § 3 (c) i (*μ*) an *aureus* struck at Rome in 49 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 505 no. 3954 pl. 49, 12, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 17 fig., G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 100 f. pl. 11, 58): obv. female head wearing oak-leaves and jewellery; behind ⊥II; rev. trophy of Gallic arms (tunic, horned helmet, shield, *kárnyx*); on the right, an axe adorned with an animal's head; across the field CAE SAR.

[9] The best collection of evidence with regard to trophies is that by A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 497—518: see also Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 71 ff., 209, 231 figs. 55, 63, P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1891 ii. 20 ff., and some remarks of mine in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii 364 f., 372 n. 19, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 373 n. 25, *ib.* 1905 xvi. 319 f.

The Greek trophy was dedicated to Zeus Τροπαῖος (Soph. *Ant.* 141 ff. ἑπτὰ λοχαγοὶ γὰρ ἐφ' ἑπτὰ πύλαις | ταχθέντες ἴσοι πρὸς ἴσους ἔλιπον | Ζηνὶ Τροπαίῳ πάγχαλκα τέλη, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 173, 1 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 39*a* Athens [*εἰ*] τοιῶνδ' ἀνδρῶν εἴη πόλις, οὔποτ' ἂν αὐ[τῆς] | | [*ἐ*]χθροὶ στήσαιεν Ζηνὶ τροπαῖον ἔδος, *et. mag.* p. 768, 51 ff. Τροπαῖα (*sic*). ἡ "Ηρα, διὰ τὸ τὰ τρόπαια...μὴ μόνον Διὶ ἀνατίθεσθαι ἀλλὰ καὶ τῇ "Ηρᾳ, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1328 Τροπαίας δὲ τῆς "Ηρας, παρ' ὅσον καὶ αὐτῇ οἱ νικῶντες ὥσπερ τῷ Διὶ τρόπαιον ἀνετίθεσαν), who was worshipped by the Dorians at Sparta (Paus. 3. 12. 9 τοῦ δὲ Τροπαίου Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐποίησαν οἱ Δωριεῖς πολέμῳ τούς τε ἄλλους Ἀχαιούς, οἱ γῆν τὴν Λακωνικὴν τηνικαῦτα εἶχον, καὶ τοὺς Ἀμυκλαιεῖς κρατήσαντες), by the Athenians at Salamis (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 467, 27 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 521, 27 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 27 f. an ephebic decree of 100/99 B.C. προαναπλεύσαντες δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ τρόπαιον ὃυσὶ πλοίοις ἔθυσαν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Τρο|παίῳ, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 469, 17 f., *ib.* ii. 1 no. 471, 28 f., where the same *formula* is used), and by the Pergamenes (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 i. 136 f. no. 237, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient.*

that of La Turbie near Monaco (fig. 74)[1] or that of Adamklissi

Gr. inscr. sel. no. 300, 1 ff. on the lintel of a door, found in a Byzantine wall on the south side of the Agora, inscribed in lettering of the second century B.C. ['Α]πολλόδωρος 'Αρτέμωνος, Διονύσιος Νουμηνίου, 'Αριστόβουλος 'Ηρακλείδου | [νο]μοφύλακες Διὶ Τροπαίωι καὶ τῶι δήμωι τό τε θύρωμα καὶ τὰς παραστάδας | [κ]αὶ τὴν ἐν [τῶ]ι νομοφυλακίωι ἐπισκευὴν καὶ τὰς παραθυρ[ίδας], Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 160 ff. no. 247 ii, 2 ff. κατ[ὰ] ψήφισμα ἐπὶ Πύρρου τοῦ 'Αθη|νοδώρου διὰ τὴν γενομένην ὑπὸ | τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τροπαίου ἐπιφάνειαν) : he was also invoked as giver of victory on the Attic stage (Soph. *Trach.* 303 ὦ Ζεῦ Τροπαῖε, Eur. *Heracl.* 867 ὦ Ζεῦ Τροπαῖε, *El.* 671 ὦ Ζεῦ Πατρῷε καὶ Τροπαῖ' ἐχθρῶν ἐμῶν). Cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 97 τροπαίου, 267 no. 92 τροπαίου.

Similarly the Greeks recognised Zeus Τροπαιοῦχος (Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 22 f. καὶ στράτιος καὶ τροπαιοῦχος cp. Poll. 1. 23 f. θεοὶ...στράτιοι, τροπαιοῦχοι, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 16 f. Lang καὶ τροπαιοῦχον...αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Δία) προσαγορεύουσιν), who was worshipped at Attaleia in Pamphylia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 4340 *f*, 5 ff. Γαΐου Αἰκιννίου, Φλαμ[ένος,] | ἐπάρχου τεχνε[ιτῶν καὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου Διὸς Τροπαιούχου, *ib.* iii Add. no. 4340 *g*, 4 ff. a second base bearing the same honorary inscription of early Roman date) and probably elsewhere—since Othryades the Spartan after the fight with the Argives at Thyrea is said to have dedicated his trophy (fig. 73 from an engraved cornelian of Augustan date, in my wife's possession, to a scale of $\frac{2}{1}$: see also Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 23, 1, 5, 8—14, ii. 112 f.) to Zeus under this title (Plout. *parall. Gr. et Rom.* 3 τρόπαιον στήσας ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου αἵματος ἐπέγραψε Διὶ Τροπαιούχῳ) and since Ζεὺς Τροπαιοῦχος was a possible equivalent for *Iupiter Feretrius* (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 34 τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Φερέτριον, ᾧ τὰ ὅπλα ὁ Ῥωμύλος ἀνέθηκεν, εἴτε βούλεταί τις Τροπαιοῦχον, εἴτε Σκυλοφόρον καλεῖν, ὡς ἀξιοῦσί τινες, εἴθ', ὅτι πάντων ὑπερέχει καὶ πᾶσαν ἐν κύκλῳ περιείληφε τὴν τῶν ὄντων φύσιν τε καὶ κίνησιν, Ὑπερφερέτην, οὐχ ἁμαρτήσεται τῆς ἀληθείας).

Fig. 73.

In the *res gestae divi Augusti* 19 p. 22 f. Diehl *aedés in Capitolio Iovis Feretrí et Iovis Tonantis* is rendered ναοὺς ἐν Καπιτωλίῳ Διὸς Τροπαιοφόρου καὶ Διὸς Βροντησίου.

Just as the lopped pillars of the Coralli were called *Iovis simulacra* (*supra* p. 109 n. 1) or the high oak of the Celts ἄγαλμα Διός (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner Κελτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς, on which see *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 53), so the trophy is regarded by Euripides as the actual image of Zeus (Eur. *Heracl.* 936 f. Ἄλλος μὲν οὖν ὅ τ' ἐσθλὸς 'Ιόλεως βρέτας | Διὸς Τροπαίου καλλίνικον ἵστασαν, *Phoen.* 1250 f. Πολύνεικες, ἐν σοὶ Ζηνὸς ὀρθῶσαι βρέτας | τροπαῖον, 1472 f. ὡς δ' ἐνικῶμεν μάχῃ, οἱ μὲν Διὸς τροπαῖον ἵστασαν βρέτας, cp. *suppl.* 647 f. πῶς γὰρ τροπαῖα Ζηνὸς Αἰγέως τόκος | ἔστησεν οἵ τε συμμετασχόντες δορός;). But it is far from clear that this was the original intention (see W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 99, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 365, A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 497 f.).

[1] O. Benndorf *La trophée d'Auguste près de Monaco* (*La Turbie*) Paris 1904, Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 733 f. fig. 803, J. C. Formigé 'Le trophée de la Turbie' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1910 pp. 76—87 with 3 figs., C. J. Formigé 'Le trophée d'Auguste' *ib.* 1910 pp. 509—516 with 11 figs. and 2 pls., F. Lübker *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*[8] Leipzig-Berlin 1914 p. 50, A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 512 fig. 7122. The *tropaeum Alpium* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 136) or τρόπαια Σεβαστοῦ (Ptol. 3. 1. 2, whence *Torbía, Turbía, Turbie*) commemorated the submission of 46 Alpine tribes. This great trophy was erected in 7/6 B.C. on the summit of La Corniche (454[m] above Monaco), marking at once the highest point of the pass over the Maritime Alps and the frontier between Italy and Gaul (G. Parthey—M. Pinder *Itinerarium Antonini Augusti et Hierosolymitanum* Berolini 1848 p. 141=p. 296, 3 f. Wesseling). On a paved platform (38[m] square), bordered by boundary stones (12 a side), stood a plinth (27[m] square, 5[m] high) supporting a rotunda (18[m] in diameter, *c.* 13[m] high) surrounded by 24 Doric columns (8.80[m] high) with a stepped stylobate (3[m] high) and

(fig. 75)[8] with their wealth of architectural and sculptural decoration.

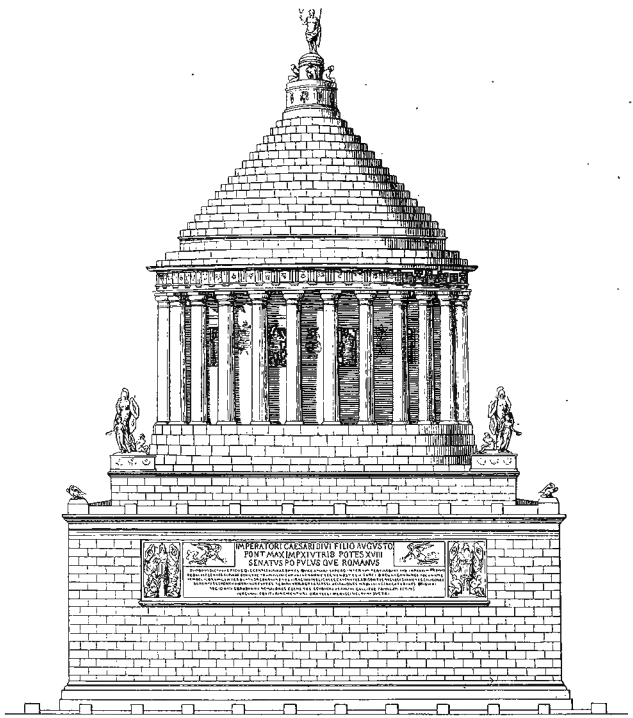


Fig. 74.

entablature (2[m] high). From this rose a pyramid of steps topped by a colossal trophy. The total height was some 46[m]. The metopes of the rotunda showed garlanded *bucrania* alternating with military or naval spoils. And on the east face of the plinth was an inscription (quoted in full by Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 136 f.: fragments in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 7817) flanked by Victories and Gallic trophies in relief.

[1] G. G. Tocilesco—O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Monument von Adamklissi. Tropaeum Trajani.* Wien 1895 pp. 1—149 with pls. etc., G. Niemann 'Zur Basis des Tropaeums von Adamklissi' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 138—142 figs. 41—44, O. Benndorf 'Neues über Adamklissi' *ib.* 1903 vi. 247—266 figs. 131—136 (these archaeologists hold that the monument was built by Trajan to commemorate his victories over the Dacians), A. Furtwängler 'Das Monument von Adamklissi und die ältesten Darstellungen von Germanen' in his *Intermezzi* Leipzig und Berlin 1896 pp. 49—77 with figs., *id.* 'Zum Tropaion von Adamklissi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d.*

Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 pp. 247—288 with figs., *id. Das Tropaion von Adamklissi und provinzialrömische Kunst* (*Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* Philos.-philol. Classe xxii. 453—516) München 1903 with pls. 1—12 of which pl. 1 = my fig. 75, *id.* 'Zum Tropaion von Adamklissi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 pp. 383—413, *id.* in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* 1904 p. 1200 ff. (Furtwängler held to the last that the monument was built under Augustus in 27 B.C. to record the victory won by M. Licinius Crassus over the Bastarnae in 30 B.C., and that its inscription was added by Trajan), C. Cichorius 'Die Reliefs des Denkmals von Adamklissi' in *Philologisch-*

Fig. 75.

historische Beiträge Curt Wachsmuth zum sechzigsten Geburtstag überreicht Leipzig 1897 pp. 1—20, *id. Die römischen Denkmäler in der Dobroudscha* Berlin 1904 (Cichorius argues that the monument commemorates the victories of Trajan, but that the existing reliefs were due to a reconstruction by Constantine the Great). See further F. Studniczka *Tropaeum Trajani* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 xxii. 4. 1—152 with 86 figs.) Leipzig 1904, T. Antonesco *Le trophée d'Adamclissi. Étude archéologique.* Jassy 1905 pp. 1—252 with 10 pls. and 16 figs., Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 734 f.

(*i*) The Pillar of Light and the Soul-Ladder.

So, then, the *Irminsûl*, the pillar of the sky-god *Er* or *Irmin*[1] was a familiar sight to dwellers on the Thracian frontier. And Platon—it will be remembered—conceives of *Er* son of *Armenios* as standing on 'a straight light like a pillar[2].' I have already ventured to connect the Germanic cult with the Greek myth[3]: I would now add the conjecture that the link between Germany and Greece was Thrace, and that the myth in question reached Platon through Orphic channels. If so, we might look to find either among the Thracians or among the Orphists some trace at least of the 'light like a pillar' and of the allied belief in a soul-path leading up to the summit of the heavenly vault. In point of fact there is evidence of both.

In Krastonia we hear of 'a sanctuary of Dionysos, large and fine, where during the festival and sacrifice, if the god is about to cause a good year, there appears a great gleam of fire seen by all in the precinct, if a bad season, the light dôes not appear but darkness covers the place as on ordinary nights[4].' It would seem that in this Thracian[5] cult the presence of the god was betokened by a great

figs. 805—807, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 428—442, F. Lübker *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*[8] Leipzig-Berlin 1914 p. 9, A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 513 f. fig. 7123. The *tropaeum Trajani* (the name is certified by inscriptions for the neighbouring town, which was presumably called after this famous monument) stands in the Roumanian district of Dobroudja not far from the site of Tomis (*Kostendje*), on the coins of which it appears in a simplified form (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ix. 1394 a 'third brass' of Trajan with rev. ΤΟΜΙΤΩΝ 'tropaeum in cippo,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 276 'Trophy between captives,' F. Imhoof-Blumer *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* i Dacien und Moesien von B. Pick und K. Regling Berlin 1910 ii. 635, 680 f. nos. 2600 pl. 7. 1, 2601—2603). It was erected probably in 103 A.D. by Trajan, and it was dedicated to Mars *Ultor* possibly on the spot where in 87 A.D. Cornelius Fuscus had been defeated and slain by the Dacians (C. G. Brandis in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1966). From a circular stepped base rises a cylindrical drum (20^{m} in diameter, 8^{m} high) formerly adorned with triglyphs and 50 sculptured metopes, a frieze of arms, and a projecting cornice, which supported a crenelated parapet. The 50 battlements have reliefs representing barbarian prisoners with lions as gargoyles between them. Higher up comes a truncated cone, once covered with scale-like tiles and topped by a hexagonal plinth (8^{m} high), on which rested a huge trophy (8^{m} high) facing east with a barbarian standing before it and two female captives seated to right and left of it. The dedication (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 12467) was on the eastern side of the hexagon.

[1] *Supra* p. 50 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 44. [3] *Supra* p. 54.

[4] Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 122 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλο αὐτόθι (*sc.* ἐν τῇ Κραστωνίᾳ παρὰ τὴν Βισαλτῶν χώραν) ἱερὸν Διονύσου μέγα καὶ καλόν, ἐν ᾧ τῆς ἑορτῆς καὶ τῆς θυσίας οὔσης λέγεται, ὅταν μὲν ὁ θεὸς εὐετηρίαν μέλλῃ ποιεῖν, ἐπιφαίνεσθαι μέγα σέλας πυρός, καὶ τοῦτο πάντας ὁρᾶν τοὺς περὶ τὸ τέμενος διατρίβοντας, ὅταν δ' ἀκαρπίαν, μὴ φαίνεσθαι τοῦτο τὸ φῶς, ἀλλὰ σκότος ἐπέχειν τὸν τόπον ὥσπερ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας νύκτας.

[5] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κρῆστων· πόλις Θρᾴκης (cp. *ib. s.v.* Γρηστωνία· χώρα Θρᾴκης πρὸς τῇ Μακεδονίᾳ), Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 937 Κρηστών<η> πόλις Θρᾴκης. Κρηστώνη δὲ ἡ Θρᾴκη

blaze or shaft of light. Similarly in the *Bakchai* of Euripides the voice of Dionysos is heard from the upper air addressing his Maenads:

> So spake he, and between the heaven and earth
> Set up a standing light of holy fire[1].

This Dionysiac pillar of light is presumably a genuine Thracian touch. Again, Thrasyboulos in his nocturnal march from Phyle to Mounychia (403 B.C.) was guided by a pillar of fire and, where it vanished, built an altar to *Phosphóros*, the 'Light-bearing' goddess[2]. Since at Mounychia his troops occupied the precincts of Artemis and of the Thracian Bendis[3], it is very possible that here too Thracian influence was at work.

In view of the kinship between Thracians and Phrygians it should be noticed that the pillar of fire reappears in a Phrygian miracle. The pagans of Laodikeia, wishing to flood the prayer-house and holy well of Saint Michael, made a new bed for the neighbouring streams Kouphos and Lykokapros. Thereupon, in answer to the prayers of the hermit Archippos, the archangel manifested himself, with a crash of thunder, in the form of a fiery pillar stretching from earth to heaven. Extending his right hand he split a gigantic rock, and bade the waters flow through the cleft of Chonai with renewed powers of healing[4].

ἀπὸ πόλεως μιᾶς οὕτω καλουμένης. On Thracian tribes in this district see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 117.

[1] Eur. *Bacch.* 1082 f. *καὶ ταῦθ' ἅμ' ἠγόρευε καὶ πρὸς οὐρανὸν | καὶ γαῖαν ἐστήριξε* (sic cod. P : *ἐστήριξε* ed. Ald.) *φῶς σεμνοῦ πυρός.* Cp. *Christ. pat.* 2255 f. *ταύτῃ θ' ἅμ' ἐβρόντησε καὶ πρὸς τὸν πόλον | καὶ γαῖαν ἐστήριξε φῶς σεμνοῦ πυρός* (when the stone was rolled away from the tomb).

[2] Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 102, 3 ff. *ἀλλὰ καὶ Θρασυβούλῳ τοὺς ἐκπεσόντας ἀπὸ Φυλῆς καταγαγόντι* (L. Dindorf cj. *κατάγοντι*) *καὶ βουλομένῳ λαθεῖν στῦλος ὁδηγὸς γίνεται διὰ τῶν ἁτριβῶν ἰόντι. τῷ Θρασυβούλῳ νύκτωρ ἀσελήνου καὶ δυσχειμέρου τοῦ καταστήματος γεγονότος πῦρ ἐωρᾶτο προηγούμενον, ὅπερ αὐτοὺς ἀπταίστως προπέμψαν κατὰ τὴν Μουνυχίαν ἐξέλιπεν, ἔνθα νῦν ὁ τῆς Φωσφόρου βωμός ἐστι.* The context compares the pillar of fire, which led the Hebrews through the wilderness (Ex. 13. 21 f., 14. 19 f., 24, 33. 9 f., Num. 12. 5, 14. 14, Deut. 31. 15, Neh. 9. 12, 19, Ps. 99. 7 : B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 41 f.). For Artemis *Φωσφόρος* at Athens and elsewhere see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2441 ff., cp. H. W. Stoll *ib.* ii. 3227, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1401, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 458 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 40 n. 7, 125 n. 13, 263 n. 8, 1298 n. 1. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 266. 1 ff. (Hegesippos) tells how Hagelocheia, daughter of Damaretos (*sc.* Damaratos, king of Sparta *c.* 500 B.C.), dedicated an Artemis by the cross-ways because the goddess had appeared to her at the loom *ὡς αὐγὰ πυρός.*

[3] Xen. *Hell.* 2. 4. 11 f. Topographical discussion by A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 127 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 398 f.

[4] M. Bonnet *narratio de miraculo a Michaele Archangelo Chonis patrato* adjecto Symeonis Metaphrastae de eadem re libello in the *Analecta Bollandiana* Paris-Bruxelles

A similar manifestation is recorded in the life of Saint Sabas (Dec. 5), founder of the famous monastery near Jerusalem, who one night saw a pillar of fire connecting earth with heaven and found beneath it a cave well suited to serve as a church[1]. Sabas was a Cappadocian by birth; and it is perhaps more than a coincidence that another Cappadocian, Saint Basil the Great, appeared in a vision to Saint Ephraem the Syrian as a column of fire reaching to the sky[2]. Accordingly Saint Basil (June 14) is sometimes represented in art with a column of fire near by and a dove at his head[3], Saint Ephraem (Jan. 28 or Feb. 1 and July 9) with a pillar of light before him[4]. In the case of Celtic and Saxon saints the said pillar is almost a commonplace. When Saint Bridget of Kildare (Feb. 1) received the veil from Bishop Maccail at Usny Hill, Westmeath, a flame shaped like a column appeared above her[5]. So too when Saint Brioc of Brittany (May 1), son of an Irish father by a Saxon mother, was being ordained, a column of fire rose to the roof above his head[6]: he is sometimes figured with this attribute[7]. A column of fire likewise appeared on the head of Saint Cuthbert (March 20), while he was abbot of Melrose[8]. A pillar of light was seen shining over the thicket, where the body of Saint Kenelm (July 17 and

1889 viii. 287 ff. (p. 304, 2 ff. *καὶ τὴν μὲν φωνὴν ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἤκουεν, τὸ δὲ μέγεθος τῆς δόξης αὐτοῦ ἔβλεπεν, στύλον πυρὸς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ οὐρανοῦ*, p. 315, 8 f. *στύλον δὲ παραχρῆμα πυρὸς ἀπὸ γῆς ἕως αὐτοῦ διήκοντα ἰδεῖν οὐρανοῦ καὶ φωνῆς ἐκεῖθεν ἀκοῦσαι κ.τ.λ.*), G. Anrich *Die Anfänge des Heiligenkults in der christlichen Kirche* Tübingen 1904 p. 267.

[1] Kyrillos of Skythopolis *v. Sabae* 17 in J. B. Cotelerius *Ecclesiæ Græcæ monumenta* Luteciæ Parisiorum 1686 iii. 242 C *ὁρᾷ...στύλον πυρὸς ἐπεστηριγμένον ἐν τῇ γῇ οὗ ἡ κεφαλὴ ἀφικνεῖτο εἰς τὸν οὐρανόν*, 243 A—B *ἀνέβη μετὰ φόβου καὶ χαρᾶς μεγάλης, ἔνθα ὁ στύλος τοῦ πυρὸς ἐδείχθη· καὶ εὗρε σπήλαιον μέγα τε καὶ θαυμάσιον, ἐκκλησίας θεοῦ ἐκτύπωμα ἔχον.*

[2] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1658 Februarius i. 75 D (ex Vitâ S. Basilii Magni | Auctore (ut vulgo creditur) S. Amphilochio) In extasi ergo factus, vidit columnam ignis, cuius caput pertingebat cœlum, & vocem desuper dicentem audiuit: Effrem, Effrem, quemadmodùm vidisti columnam istam ignis, talis est magnus Basilius. Cp. Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 138.

[3] M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 17, 175.

[4] M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 41, 200, R. Pfleiderer *Die Attribute der Heiligen* Ulm 1898 p. 139.

[5] C. Cahier *Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'art populaire* Paris 1867 i. 246 quoting [J. E.] Nierembergius *De [miris et] miraculosis [naturis in Europa* Antverpiæ 1635] lib. II cap. xi.

[6] *Vita S. Brioci* 19 in the *Analecta Bollandiana* Paris-Bruxelles 1883 ii. 170 apparuit super caput Brioccii, qui prope erat episcopo, quasi columna ignis, attingens ecclesiæ laquearia.

[7] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 245, R. Pfleiderer *op. cit.* p. 139, D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 36 f., M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 21, 175, 200.

[8] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 245. Cp. R. Pfleiderer *op. cit.* p. 139 ('Säule, glühende, über ihm'), D. H. Kerler *op. cit.* p. 168 ('Glühende Säule'), M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 31, 200 ('pillars of light above him').

Dec. 13), the little king of Mercia, lay hidden[1]. A column of light protected the church at Deventer, beneath which was the grave of Saint Lebuinus (Nov. 12)[2]. A column of light gleamed above Saint Livinus of Ghent (Nov. 12) at his baptism in Ireland[3]. A column of fire was beheld by Saint Keyne of Wales (Oct. 8), when she lay dying in her cell[4]. Etc. etc. Hagiography, like history, tends to repetition.

As to the soul-path, an Orphic poem in praise of the cosmic Zeus speaks of the sky as his face, the clustering stars as his golden locks, the sun and moon as his eyes[5], and in the midst of this pantheistic extravaganza declares :

> Two golden bull's-horns stretch on either side--
> The east and west, roads of the heavenly gods[6].

The poet is describing the Galaxy from an Orphic view-point. Quintus Smyrnaeus too, when he makes the ghost of Achilles appear by night to his son and demand the sacrifice of Polyxene, ends with an Orphic or Pythagorean flourish :

> Then like a waft of wind he leapt away,
> So reached the Elysian plain, where there is wrought
> Ascent and descent from the heaven's height
> For blest immortals[7].

The same notion, complicated by a reminiscence of the *Phaidros*[8], marks the close of Lucian's *Demosthenes* :

'Enough ; the man has gone his way, to live the life they tell of in the Isles of the heroic Blest, or to walk the paths that, if tales be true, the heaven-bound

[1] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1725 Julius iv. 300 E (Acta et Miracula S. Kenelmi 6) Nam fulgida lucis columna de cælo super locum effusa, sæpius ostensa est, S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 viii. 428.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1668 Martius iii. 651 E (Vita [S. Ludgeri] Auctore Altfrido Episcopo 2. 4. 18) Aliquando etiam ipsam ecclesiam, infrà quam sepulcrum eiusdem Dei famuli receptum est, nocturno tempore columna lucis obtinendo protexit ; & ad cœlum usque porrecta foris excubantibus conspicua stabat.

[3] Bonifacius *v. Livin.* 5 (lxxxvii. 330 C Migne, cp. lxxxix. 874 B Migne) qui mox ut de aqua levaverunt puerum, cum omnibus qui aderant manifesta visione cernebant descendisse columniferum splendorem radiis splendidi solis fulgidiorem, atque capiti benedicti pueri imminere etc., S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* xiii. 302.

[4] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Bruxellis 1780 October iv. 277 C (Vita Ex Capgravio 4) vidit in visione noctis columpnam quasi igneam usque ad lectuli ejus pavimentum descendere, S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* xi. 179.

[5] *Supra* i. 197.

[6] Orph. *frag.* 123, 16 f. Abel *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 9. 2 and Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 23 p. 30, 5 f. Wachsmuth *ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα | ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανιώνων.* See Rohde *Psyche*[2] p. 213 n. 2.

[7] Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. *ὣς εἰπὼν ἀπόρουσε θοῇ ἐναλίγκιος αὔρῃ, | αἶψα δ' ἐς Ἠλύσιον πεδίον κίεν, ᾗχι τέτυκται | οὐρανοῦ ἐξ ὑπάτοιο καταιβασίη τ' ἄνοδός τε | ἀθανάτοις μακάρεσσιν.*

[8] *Supra* p. 43 f.

spirits tread; he shall attend, surely, on none but that Zeus who is named of Freedom[1].'

More definitely Orphic are the gold tablets from Corigliano[2], in which the soul, addressing the Queen of the Underworld together with Eukles[3], Euboüleus[4], and the other immortal gods, claims to

[1] Loukian. *Dem.* 50 ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οἴχεται βίον ἕξων τὸν ἐν μακάρων νήσοις ἡρώων λεγόμενον, ἢ τὰς εἰς οὐρανὸν ψυχαῖς νομιζομένας ὁδούς, ὁπαδός τις δαίμων ἑσόμενος Ἐλευθερίου Διός, κ.τ.λ. trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler.

[2] Three small plates of gold obtained in 1880 from graves in the territory of Thourioi (near *Corigliano*). They were first published by G. Fiorelli in the *Atti della R. Accademia dei Lincei* anno CCLXXVII (1879—1880). Serie Terza. Memorie della Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Roma 1880 v. 400—410 pl. 3, 1—3 = *Not. Scavi* 1880 pp. 152—162 pl. 6, 1—3, cp. *ib.* 1879 pp. 156—159. See also D. Comparetti 'The Petelia gold tablet' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iii. 111—118, *id. Laminette Orfiche edite ed illustrate* Firenze 1910 pp. 1—32 with 4 pls. (reviewed by O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 27, 1912 p. 103 ff.), G. Kaibel *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641, A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 30 ff. (= *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 91 ff.), O. Hoffmann in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 161 f. no. 1654, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 585 ff., G. Murray *ib.* p. 667 ff., L. Radermacher 'Orphica' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1912 lxvii. 472—477, H. Allène 'Le paradis orphique et la formule ἔριφος ἐς γάλ' ἔπεσον' in *Ξένια Hommage Internationale à l'Université Nationale de Grèce à l'occasion du soixante-quinzième Anniversaire de sa fondation (1837—1912)* Athens 1912, A. Delatte 'Inscriptions orphiques sur tablettes d'or' in the *Musée Belge* 1912 p. 125 ff. (noted by L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1913* p. 135), J. H. Wieten *De tribus laminis aureis quae in sepulcris Thurinis sunt inventae* Amstelodami 1915 pp. 1—172. *Supra* i. 650 n. 0, 675 f.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 i, 2 f. Εὐκλῆς Εὐβουλεύς τε καὶ ἀ|θάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι, cp. *ib.* ii, 3 f. Εὔκλε καὶ Εὐβουλεῦ καὶ θεοὶ δαίμο[ν]|ε(ς) ἄλλοι, iii, 2 ff. (E)ὔκλεια κα(ὶ) Εὐ|βο(υ)λεῦ καὶ θεοὶ ὅσοι δ(αί)μο|νες ἄλλο(ι). Εὐκλῆς or Εὔκλος is a euphemistic name for Hades (Hesych. εὐκλής· ὁ αἰδης. καὶ ὀνομαστός. καὶ εὐειδής (sic cod. εὐκλείης· ὁ αἰδήμων Musurus: M. Schmidt *ad loc.* cj. that there is a confusion in the text between εὐκλής· ὁ Ἄιδης, 'bene obseratus,' and εὐκλεής. F. Bücheler in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 333 restores Εὐκλῆς· Ἄιδης)) like Εὐβουλεύς, Εὐειδής, Εὐχαίτης etc. (Rohde *Psyche*[2] p. 206 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 862, 880, 1053, *infra* Append. M). It probably occurs on a bronze tablet from Agnone, now in the British Museum, as part of a lengthy Oscan inscription: *Evklúí statíf...Evklúí Pateref statíf...Evklúí..., i.e.* 'Euclo statua... Euclo Patri statua...Euclo...' (see J. Zvetaieff *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum* Petropoli 1878 p. 6 ff. no. 9 pl. 2, *id. Inscriptiones Italiae Inferioris dialecticae* Mosquae 1886 p. 32 ff. no. 87, R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 191 ff. Oscan no. 175, C. D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* Boston, U.S.A. 1904 p. 254 ff. Oscan no. 45). Conway *op. cit.* ii. 619 and Buck *op. cit.* pp. 20, 46 treat *Evklúí* as Εὐκόλῳ, an epithet of Hermes at Metapontum (Hesych. *s.v.* Εὔκολος, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 72. 1 Antipatros: O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1055 f.). But Εὔκολος as epithet of a chthonian power (Aristoph. *ran.* 82 ὁ δ' εὔκολος μὲν ἐνθάδ', Εὔκολος δ' ἐκεῖ involves a pun) may be only the last term of the series Εὐκλεής, Εὐκλῆς, Εὔκλος, Εὔκ(ο)λος. This is seen by J. H. Wieten *op. cit.* p. 31 ff., though I should not agree with his contention that the whole series was *ab initio* an appellative of Hermes. Cp. Zeus Εὔκλειος (Bakchyl. 1. 6 ff. [Δ]ιὸς Εὐκλείου δὲ ἕ[κ]α|τι βαθύζωνον κόραν | [Δ]εξιθέαν δάμασεν *sc.* Minos), Εὔκλεια or Artemis Εὔκλεια (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 996 ff.), the festival Εὔκλεια (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 237 f.), and the month Εὔκλειος (E. Bischoff 'De fastis Graecorum antiquioribus' in the *Leipziger Studien zur classischen Philologie* Leipzig 1884 vii. 372 ff., W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1052 f.).

[4] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1397, S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio

be itself one of the same happy kindred, brought low by 'Fate and star-flung Thunderbolt[1].' In the oldest and most accurate of the tablets, which is inscribed with fourth-century characters and composed throughout in the dialect of Thourioi, the speaker goes on to say :

I have flown out of the sorrowful weary Round ;
I have entered with quick feet upon the lovely Crown[2].

Dict. Ant. ii. 849 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 861—869. *Supra* i. 212, 221 (?). Cp. Zeus Εὐβουλεύς (*supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3, *infra* § 3 (a) iii (ψ)). It is not improbable that here, as in Orph. *h. Phers.* 29. 8, *h. Dion.* 30. 6, *h. trièt.* 52. 4, the name Εὐβουλεύς, properly belonging to the nether Zeus, is transferred to his son Dionysos (J. H. Wieten *op. cit.* p. 27 ff.). The Queen with Eukles and Eubouleus would thus make up the triad Mother + Father + Son.

[1] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 i, 5 ff. ἀλ(λ)ά με Μο(ῖ)ρα ἑδάμασ(σ)ε | καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι καὶ ἀσ|τεροβλῆτα κεραυνόν, cp. *ib.* ii, 7 f. εἵτε με Μο(ῖ)ρα ἑδαμάσατο | εἵτε ἀστεροπῆτι κ(ε)ραυνῶν, iii, 8 ff. ε(ἴ)τ(ε) με Μοῖρα (ἐδάμασσε) | ε(ἴ)τ' (ἀστ)εροπῆτι κη κερα|υνό (*sic*). The best solution of the textual problem is still that of G. Kaibel who in i, 6 would bracket καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι as interpolated from i, 2 f., and in i, 7 would emend κεραυνόν to κερανός, arguing that the original poet meant ἀστεροβλῆτα as an epic nominative, but that a stupid transcriber took it to be an accusative and consequently altered κεραυνός to κεραυνόν. With this I should agree, only bargaining that we write Κεραυνός with a capital letter, since an Orphic hymn identifies *Keraunós* with Zeus (*supra* p. 12). Thus the 'star-flung (rather than 'star-flinging') Thunderbolt' is Zeus in his destructive capacity—the bright brand that flashes downwards from the Milky Way and hurls the guilty soul, like a fallen angel, out of heaven.

A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 31 (=*Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 92) omits the superfluous καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι and reads i, 6 f. ἀστεροβλῆτα κεραυνῶν, ii, 8 and iii, 9 f. ἀστεροπῆτα κεραυνῶν. O. Hoffmann too in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 161 f. no. 1654 prints <καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι> καὶ ἀσ|τεροβλῆτα κεραυν(ῶ)ν. On this showing κεραυνῶν is the participle of κεραυνόω, and ἀστεροβλῆτα has to mean 'Blitzschleuderer' or 'der mit dem Sonnenstich treffende'—a choice of evils. J. H. Wieten *op. cit.* p. 94 ff. decides for the first horn of the dilemma (ἀστεροβλῆτα=*ἀστεροποβλῆτα by haplology). G. Murray in Harrison *Prolegs. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 670 makes the interesting suggestion that ἀλλά με Μοῖρ' ἑδάμασσε καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι | .....καὶ ἀστεροβλῆτα κεραυνόν may be a liturgical abbreviation for some fuller form of words. Certainly it would be possible to fill the gap with <σκήψαντες βροντήν τε> or the like, perhaps a much longer phrase. But on the whole I am inclined to think, with Kaibel, Dieterich, and Hoffmann, that καὶ ἀθάνατοι θεοὶ ἄλλοι is a mere interpolation from the second line of the poem. The writer of the first tablet seems to have similarly duplicated his sixth line (*infra* n. 2), while the writer of the third tablet has the self-correction κη κερα|υνό. L. Radermacher in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1912 lxvii. 474 ff. admits ἀστεροβλῆτα as a nominative=*ἀστεροβλήτης, and supposes that *ἀστεροποβλήτης became *ἀστεροβλήτης through confusion with ἀστεροπήτης : he doubts whether ἀστεροβλῆτα can be taken in a passive sense. But stars are as much in point as lightnings; and a poet familiar with Διοβλής, Λιθοβλής, Διόβλητος, Λιθόβλητος as passives would not hesitate to make ἀστεροβλῆτα passive too. Less and less probable are the conjectures of F. Bücheler in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 334 κατ' ἀστεροβλῆτα κεραυνόν, D. Comparetti *Laminette Orfiche edite ed illustrate* Firenze 1910 p. 23 f. εἴτ' ἐμὲ Μοῖρα ἑδάμασσ' αὖον στεροπή τε κεραυνοῦ (even if helped out by Gruppe's στεροπῆτι κεραυνῷ).

[2] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641 i, 7 ff. κύκλου | δ' ἐξέπταν βαρυπενθέος ἀργα|λέοιο, ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαν στεφά|νου ποσὶ καρπαλίμοισι, Δεσσπο|ίνας δὲ ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν χθονί|ας βασιλείας, ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἀπέβαν | στε(φ)άνου ποσὶ καρπα(λ)ίμοι|σι. The verse ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἀπέβαν κ.τ.λ.

The lines may be paraphrased: I have escaped from the dreary cycle of life's changes[1]; I have set foot on the Milky Way[2]. In a word, I have regained my lost paradise, and am henceforward a god in heaven, not a man on earth. The astonishing beauty of this profession must not, however, blind us to its crude material aspect. Such *formulae* presuppose a definite ritual[3]; and it may be asked

reads like a careless repetition of the verse *ἱμερτοῦ δ' ἐπέβαν κ.τ.λ.*; and such it presumably is, though the verb may have been changed to suggest that the soul now returning to the Milky Way had originally come from it.

[1] For this use of *κύκλος* cp. Diog. Laert. 8. 14 *πρῶτόν τέ φασι τοῦτον* (*sc.* Pythagoras) *ἀποφῆναι τὴν ψυχὴν κύκλον ἀνάγκης ἀμείβουσαν ἄλλοτ' ἄλλοις ἐνδεῖσθαι ζῴοις*, Emped. *frag.* 17, 12 f. Diels[2] *ἦ δὲ διαλλάσσοντα διαμπερὲς οὐδαμὰ λήγει, | ταύτῃ δ' αἰὲν ἔασιν ἀκίνητοι κατὰ κύκλον*, Orph. *frag.* 223, 1 f. Abel *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 339, 1 ff. Kroll *οὔνεκ' ἀμειβομένη ψυχὴ κατὰ κύκλα χρόνοιο* (so Herwerden for *χρόνοισι*) | *ἀνθρώπων ζῴοισι μετέρχεται ἄλλοθεν ἄλλοις*, Orph. *frag.* 225 Abel *ap.* Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* p. 131, 9 ff. Norvin *ὅτι παλαιὸς ὁ λόγος*, *Ὀρφικός τε γὰρ καὶ Πυθαγόρειος, ὁ πάλιν ἄγων τὰς ψυχὰς εἰς τὸ σῶμα καὶ πάλιν ἀπὸ τοῦ σώματος ἀνάγων καὶ τοῦτο κύκλῳ πολλάκις* (see also Norvin's Index p. 263 *s.v.* *κύκλος*), Orph. *frag.* 226 Abel *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 296, 7 ff. and 297, 6 ff. Diehl *μία σωτηρία τῆς ψυχῆς αὕτη παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ προτείνεται τοῦ κύκλου τῆς γενέσεως ἀπαλλάττουσα καὶ τῆς πολλῆς πλάνης καὶ τῆς ἀηνύτου ζωῆς, ἡ πρὸς τὸ νοερὸν εἶδος τῆς ψυχῆς ἀναδρομὴ καὶ ἡ φυγὴ πάντων τῶν ἐκ τῆς γενέσεως ἡμῖν προσπεφυκότων· ... πᾶσαν δὲ τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὴν εὐδαίμονα περιάγουσα ζωὴν ἀπὸ τῆς περὶ τὴν γένεσιν πλάνης, ἧς καὶ οἱ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ τῷ Διονύσῳ καὶ τῇ Κόρῃ τελούμενοι τυχεῖν εὔχονται, "κύκλου τ' ἂν λήξαι καὶ ἀναπνεύσαι κακότητος." κ.τ.λ.*, Simplic. *in* Aristot. *de caelo* p. 377, 12 ff. Heiberg *ἐνδεθῆναι δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ τὸ κατ' ἀξίαν πᾶσιν ἀφορίζοντος δημιουργοῦ θεοῦ ἐν τῷ τῆς εἱμαρμένης τε καὶ γενέσεως τροχῷ, οὗπερ ἀδύνατον ἀπαλλαγῆναι κατὰ τὸν Ὀρφέα μὴ τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκείνους ἱλεωσάμενον, "οἷς ἐπέταξεν" ὁ Ζεὺς "κύκλου τ' ἀλλῦσαι* (ἀλλῆξαι cod. A.) *καὶ ἀναψῦξαι* (ἀμψῦξαι cod. A.) *κακότητος" τὰς ἀνθρωπίνας ψυχάς*, Porph. *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 49. 60 p. 446, 11 ff. Wachsmuth *Ομηρος δὲ τὴν ἐν κύκλῳ περίοδον καὶ περιφορὰν παλιγγενεσίας Κίρκην προσηγόρευκεν.*

[2] The use of the word *στέφανος* to denote the Galaxy resembles Parmenides' use of *στεφάνη* (Aët. 2. 7. 1 *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 22. 1[a] p. 195, 4 ff. Wachsmuth: see O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 96 n. 1, 102 n. 1, 103 n. 1, and 684 n. 3). A. Dieterich *de hymnis Orphicis* Marpurgi Cattorum 1891 p. 34 f. (= *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 95) goes off on a wrong tack. Miss J. E. Harrison in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 592 f. gets nearer to the truth.

[3] This is seen by Miss J. E. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 588 ff., who—perhaps wisely—refrains from attempting to determine the precise nature of the rites involved. J. H. Wieten *op. cit.* p. 97 ff. is more venturesome. On the strength (none too strong) of Psell. *τίνα περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες;* (printed in Psell. *de operatione daemonum* ed. J. F. Boissonade Norimbergae 1838 p. 36 ff.) p. 41 f. *πυρὰ δὲ πολλὰ κύκλῳ τινὶ περιγράφοντες ἐξάλλονται τῆς φλογός. ἦν δὲ καὶ τοῦτο τῆς παλαιᾶς βακχείας, ἵνα μὴ λέγω μανίας, μερίς...ὁ δέ γε κύκλος κατοχῆς ἔχει δύναμιν* (quoted by Miss Harrison) and of Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 388 Reiske *ἔτι δέ, εἰ* (*sc.* *περιχορεύοιεν αὐτὸν*) *καθάπερ εἰώθασιν ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ θρονισμῷ καθίσαντες τοὺς μουνμένους οἱ τελοῦντες κύκλῳ περιχορεύειν* he suggests that the initiate at Thourioi was placed in a circle of fires or surrounded by torch-bearing dancers and expected to leap over the fiery ring. He further contends (*ib.* p. 100 ff.) that, having leapt out of the ring, the initiate next stepped quickly into a garland lying on the ground. Hence the golden garlands in the Bacchic procession of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos (Kallixenos of Rhodes *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 64 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 202 D); and hence too the Pythagorean symbol 41 Mullach *στέφανον μὴ τίλλειν* (Porph. *v. Pyth.* 42). But the part of Ptolemy's show here adduced was subsequent to the Bacchic procession

—How, exactly, did the Orphist 'enter upon the lovely Crown'? We have seen reason to believe that, with a view to apotheosis[1], he had 'fallen as a kid into milk[2].' Now Attic vase-paintings of the fifth century B.C. represent the Thracian women that slew Orpheus as tattooed with various symbols including a small goat and a ladder (fig. 76)[3]. And Attic vases of the late fifth or the fourth

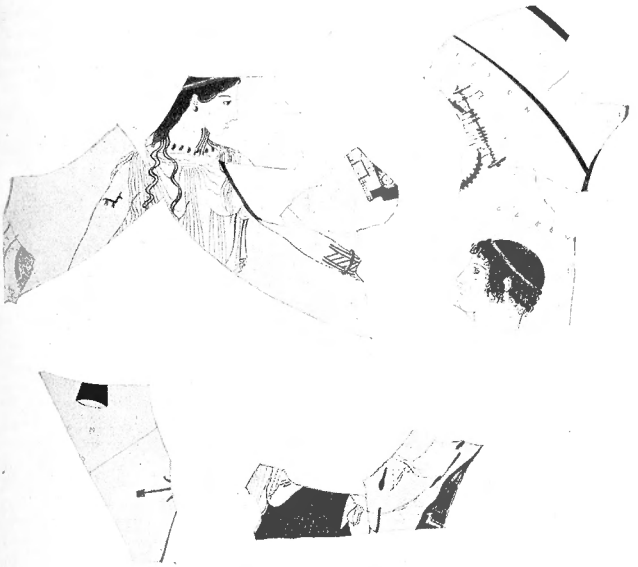


Fig. 76.

(see Athen. 202 A *καὶ μετὰ ταῦτα Διὸς ἦγετο πομπὴ καὶ ἄλλων παμπόλλων θεῶν, κ.τ.λ.*), and Wieten's interpretation of the Pythagorean precept is confessedly different from that of Porph. *loc. cit.* Neither objection is necessarily fatal, but the whole hypothesis is frail.

[1] M. Radin 'Apotheosis' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 44—46 acutely remarks that 'the term [*ἀποθέωσις*] was intended to denote not merely the elevation of a mortal to divinity [*ἐκθέωσις*], but to assert of such an elevation that it was a movement in the Orphic cycle, a *restitutio in pristinum statum*.'

[2] *Supra* i. 675 ff.

[3] (1) A fragmentary *kýlix* with white ground, found in 1888 on the Akropolis at Athens (J. E. Harrison 'Some fragments of a vase presumably by Euphronios' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 143—146 pl. 6, part of which = my fig. 76, G. C. Richards *ib.* 1894 xiv. 381 f., W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften* Leipzig 1898 p. 154 f., O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1184 fig. 9, Furtwängler—Reichhold

Gr. Vasenmalerei i. 284, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 707 ff. fig. 387 f.), has for interior design Orpheus (ΟΡΦΕΥς) attacked by a Thracian woman. He sinks, bleeding, to the ground, supported no doubt by his left hand, and defending himself with the lyre uplifted in his right. His assailant holds in her right hand a double axe (missing portion subsequently found—*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 381), beneath which appears a *kalós*-name (probably ΓλαυκΟΝ) and an uncertain object (? handle of large spit: Miss Harrison aptly cp. *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 30). She grasps the singer's arm with her left hand, and sets her foot against his thigh. She has three tattoo-marks—a small goat (not a stag; the legs are too short for that) on her right upper arm, a ladder beneath the bracelet on her left wrist, and four vertical strokes on her neck. The vase may be dated *c.* 470—460 B.C.

(2) Pl. v, a 'Nolan' *amphora* from Capua, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 218 no. E 301), shows a similar scene painted in the style of Douris. The Thracian woman in *a*, but not in *b*, has a check-pattern on the front of her neck, the inside of her right forearm, and the instep of each foot. The photographs here reproduced are by Mr R. B. Fleming.

(3) A 'Nolan' *amphora* from the Durand collection, now in the Louvre (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 1109 no. G 436, T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 265 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 5, 2, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 63, 4, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1185), represents the same scene. The Thracian woman has a pattern of ivy-leaves (?) down either arm.

(4) A 'Nolan' *amphora* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 126 f. no. 383, A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 127, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1188) has the same design, the woman's arms being decorated with a >>>-pattern (? ivy-leaves).

(5) A red-figured *stámnos* from the Campana collection, now in the Louvre (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 1103 no. G. 416, A. Flâsch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 126 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 30, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 186, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1184 ff. fig. 10), amplifies the scene by adding five other Thracian women. Four out of the six are tattooed, one with a series of short strokes on either arm, another with short strokes on the neck and on the one arm visible, a third with short strokes on the neck and a long line on either arm, a fourth with two vertical lines on the neck.

(6) A red-figured *kelébe* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 241 no. 777, A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 127, O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1188) has obv. a Thracian woman, with sword in right haud, sheath in left, whose arms and legs are painted with zig-zag patterns; on either upper arm is a stag ('*Hirsch*' Jahn), on the knee a star with a stag ('Hirsch' Jahn) beneath it: rev. a Thracian woman running with outstretched arms; her arms and legs are again patterned with zig-zags. Orpheus does not appear.

These vases together with some others, on which the women are not tattooed, presuppose—as O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1184—1188 points out—'eine gemeinsame Vorlage.' Possibly the original was an unrecorded fresco by Polygnotos (not the Orpheus-scene in the Cnidian *Lésche* at Delphoi: *supra* i. 537), who as a Thasian by birth would be familiar with the customs of Thrace.

For monumental evidence of tattooing in palaeolithic times see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 203 ff. and Index p. 730, in neolithic times *id. ib.* i. 565 ff. and Index p. 730. Bronze-age examples include a marble idol from Seriphos, the face of which is painted with transverse rows of red dots across forehead, cheeks, and chin (C. Blinkenberg 'Antiquités prémycéniennes' in the *Mémoires de la Société royale des Antiquaires du Nord* Copenhague 1896 p. 48 fig. 13, J. Déchelette *op. cit.* i. 597 fig. 1), a marble head from Amorgos with lines of red on forehead, nose, and cheeks (P. Wolters 'Marmorkopf aus Amorgos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 46—58, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 742 f. fig. 336), a white limestone idol from the neighbourhood of Sparta with quadruple chevrons incised on its right upper-arm and quadruple squares on its left upper-arm (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 52 f. fig. 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist.*

a

b

Amphora from Capua, now in the British Museum: Orpheus attacked by Thracian women.

See page 122 *n.* 0 (2).

de l'Art vi. 741 ff. fig. 334), a female (?) head in painted plaster from Mykenai with a rosette of red dots on forehead, chin, and either cheek (Ch. Tsountas 'Κεφαλὴ ἐκ Μυκηνῶν' in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1902 pp. 1—10 pl. 1). Even in the iron age similar practices persisted: the Louvre possesses an archaic terra cotta, said to have been found in Greece, which represents a nude standing female with incised circles of dots round her breasts, round her navel, and on her thighs (E. Pottier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 10 fig. 7), and an archaic terra cotta from Boiotia, which shows a draped standing female with a circular black patch on either cheek (Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 109 fig. 55). A *kylix* of Ionic style from Vulci, now at Berlin, has a running Maenad with a small circular red patch on her cheek (J. Endt *Beiträge zur Jonischen Vasenmalerei* Prag 1899 p. 35 fig. 15, J. Boehlau 'Die Jonischen Augenschalen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 50 ff. fig. 10 'ein unverkennbares rotes Schönheitspflästerchen'!). The black-brown figures represented on Tanagra-ware (S. Wide 'Eine lokale Gattung boiotischer Gefässe' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 143—156 pl. 8) have sometimes, if not always, a group of three dots in thinned-out colour on either cheek (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 385 no. E 813 pl. 21, 1, *ib.* iii. 385 no. E 814 pl. 21, 2 f.: but see Wide *loc. cit.* p. 146 no. 3 = Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 350 no. 1119, p. 146 f. no. 4, pp. 147 f. 150 ff. pl. 8 = Collignon—Couve *op. cit.* p. 350 no. 1120). On a terra-cotta antefix from Thasos (C. Fredrich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 245 f. pl. 10 *Gorgóneion* with floral design on forehead, rosette on nose, etc.) and on various classes of black-figured ware prophylactic faces show tattoo-marks (*e.g.* De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 90 f. no. 182 fig. 9 Ionic vase-lid—*Gorgóneion* with four dots on forehead, *id. ib.* i. 219 ff. no. 322 fig. 39 Attic *kylix*—*Gorgóneion* with large round black spot on forehead, *id. ib.* i. 216 ff. no. 321 fig. 38 Attic *kylix*—interior, *Gorgóneion* with row of dots on forehead; exterior, eyes forming part of face with four dots on forehead).

Literature attests the custom of tattooing for Thracians (Hdt. 5. 6, Klearchos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 306 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 524 D—E, Phanokles *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 64. 14 (ed. Gaisford ii. 419), Cic. *de off.* 2. 25, Strab. 315, Plout. *de sera num. vind.* 12, Dion Chrys. *or.* 14 p. 442 Reiske, Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 8, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 933, 7, *id. in* Dionys. *per.* 322, anon. Pythag. *diss.* 2 *de honesto et turpi* (T. Gale *Opuscula mythologica, ethica et physica* Cantabrigiæ 1671 p. 56 = *Opuscula mythologica physica & ethica* Amstelædami 1688 p. 712 f.) and for Agathyrsi (Verg. *Aen.* 4. 146, Mela 2. 10, Solin. 15. 3, Amm. Marc. 31. 2. 14, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 146, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 88), Daci (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 50, 22. 2), Geloni (Verg. *georg.* 2. 115 with Serv. *ad loc.*, Claud. *in Rufin.* 1. 313), Getai (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 8, cp. Dionysophanes *ap.* Porph. *v. Pyth.* 14 f.), Harii (Tac. *Germ.* 43), Iapodes (Strab. 315), Illyrioi (Strab. 315), Sarmatai (Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 2, Sext. *Pyrrhon. hypot.* 3. 24 p. 286 f. Fabricius), as also for Britanni (Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 5. 14, Mela 3. 51, Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 2, Herodian. 3. 14. 7, cp. Solin. 22. 12), Picti (Claud. *de bello Getico* 416 ff., Isid. *orig.* 19. 23. 7), Scoti (Isid. *orig.* 9. 2. 103), Kylikranes (Polemon *frag.* 56 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 133 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 462 A and Hesych. *s.v.* Κυλικράνων), Mossynoikoi (Xen. *an.* 5. 4. 32), Aithiopes (Sext. *Pyrrhon. hypot.* 1. 14 p. 66 Fabricius, cp. *ib.* 3. 24 p. 287, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 16 ff. Wünsch and Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Kahun, Gurob, and Hawara* London 1890 p. 30, *id. Illahun, Kahun and Gurob* London 1891 p. 9 pl. 13, 20), Assyrioi (Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 59: *supra* i. 593 no. 0). Mithraic 'soldiers' were marked on the forehead (Tertull. *de praescr. haeret.* 40, cp. Greg. Naz. *adv. Iulian.* 1. 70 (xxxv. 592 Migne))—a practice compared by G. Anrich *Das antike Mysterienwesen in seinem Einfluss auf das Christentum* Göttingen 1894 p. 123 f., not only with the Roman custom of marking military recruits (Veget. *epit. rei milit.* 1. 8, 2. 5, Aetios of Amida 8. 12, T. Ruinart *Acta martyrum* Ratisbonae 1859 p. 341 *acta Maximiliani*), but also with such usages as those of Kybele-worshippers (Prudent. *peristeph.* 10. 1076 ff.) and other devotees (Philon *de monarch.* 1. 8), the followers of the Gnostic Marcus (Eiren. *c. haeres.* 1. 20. 4 = Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 7. 32 p. 404 Duncker—Schneidewin), and even the Christian σφραγίς ('baptism') (Herakleon *frag.* 49 Brooke *ap.* Clem. Al. *ecl. proph.* 25. 1 p. 143, 22 ff. Stählin). See further J. Rhodius on Scribonius Largus *composit. med.* 231 (ed. Patav. 1655 p. 308 ff.), Schrader

century repeatedly introduce a ladder into scenes of mystic incense-gathering (?)[1], such as that on a fine polychrome *hydría* from Kyrenaike, now in the British Museum (pl. vi)[2], or those on a couple of *aryballoi* from Apollonia in Thrace, which passed from the Van Branteghem collection to the Hermitage and Berlin respectively (pl. vii)[3]. It is therefore permissible to conjecture that the Orphic initiate actually mounted a ladder in order to ensure his entrance upon the Elysian soul-path[4].

Reallex. p. 851 f., H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 163 n. 2, W. Dennison in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 37, and the monograph of W. Jöst *Tätowiren, Narbenzeichnen, und Körperbemalen* Berlin 1887 pp. 43 f., 102 f.

[1] See the materials collected by F. Wieseler *Commentatio de scala symbolo apud Graecos aliosque populos veteres* Gottingae 1863 pp. 3—17. The list of vase-paintings *ib.* p. 3 f. must, however, be used with caution, since Wieseler appears to have included certain representations of a musical instrument resembling a dulcimer in shape (G. Nicole in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1108 f.). The subject has been handled with more discretion by Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 98 f. pl. 78, 1 ('eine festliche, von Aphrodite und Eros vorgenommene *Weihrauchernte*') and by G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 Append. ii 'Sur le motif de l'échelle dans les scènes de gynécée' with fig. 43 and pl. 8, 1—6, pl. 9 ('une récolte mystique de l'encens, fête religieuse accompagnée de mélodies et de danses sacrées'). Not improbably the gatherer mounted the ladder to symbolise the celestial nature of the harvesting.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 186 no. E 241, G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 150 fig. 43. My pl. vi is from a photograph taken by Mr C. O. Waterhouse. In the centre is a long ladder, and beside it a tall plant with berries (gilded) in clusters of three. Aphrodite (?), bare to the waist, descends the ladder and scatters something into a two-handled vase held by a woman (drapery blue)—hardly Adonis, as Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 99 asserts. On the right another woman closely wrapped in a *himátion* (pink), which passes over her mouth, dances to the flutes of a hovering Eros (wings gilded). Further to the right is a second dancing woman, who plays the castanets. On the left are a third dancing woman, a woman playing the flutes, and a small bearded Pan, with goat's legs and horns (gilded ?), also dancing. Height 15½ ins.

[3] W. Froehner *Collection van Branteghem* Bruxelles 1892 nos. 98 and 99 pl. 31—34 (=my pl. vii), G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 150 f. pl. 8, 5 and 6. Variations of the same scene, marked by the presence of a *thymiatérion*, which on a polychrome *alábastron* from Naukratis (E. A. Gardner—F. Ll. Griffith *Naukratis* Part ii London 1888 p. 28 pl. 16, 20, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 355 no. E 721, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 150 ff. pl. 8, 1) is held by Eros as he descends the ladder.

[4] In an elegiac epitaph from *Doxato* near Philippoi the soul that has entered the Elysian fields is brought into connexion with the tattooed mystics of Dionysos (L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 128 ff. no. 61, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 686, 11 ff., F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1897 ii. 577 ff. no. 1233, 11 ff. [tu placidus, dum nos cr]uciamur volnere victi, | et reparatus item vivis in Elysiis. | sic placitum est divis a[e]terna vivere form[a] | qui bene de supero [n]umine sit meritus : | quae tibi castifico promisit munera cursu | olim iussa deo simplicitas facilis. | nunc seu te Bromio signatae mystidis aise | florigero in prato congregi in Satyrum | sive canistriferae poscunt sibi Naides aequ[e] | qui ducibus taedis agmina festa trahas, | sis quodcumque, puer, quo te tua protulit aetas, | dum modo [- - - -]. The meaning of *mystidis aise* is doubtful. Bücheler *ad loc.* takes *mystidis* to be for *mystides*, adding 'an nomen pueri hic fuit ut *Aesi*?' F. C. Wick in *Studi italiani di filologia classica* 1909 xvii. 198 f. (a reference for which I am indebted to Mr A. D. Nock of

Polychrome *hydria* from Kyrenaike, now in the British Museum: scene of mystic incense-gathering (?).

See page 124 *n.* 2.

a

b

Two *aryballoi* from Apollonia in Thrace, representing scenes of mystic incense-gathering (?).

See page 124 *n.* 3.

In support of that conjecture I may point out, not only that Pindar in a passage already cited speaks of the celestial track as a 'dread stair' or 'ladder[1],' but also that Orphic belief thus falls into line with the beliefs of other peoples. Amulets in the shape of

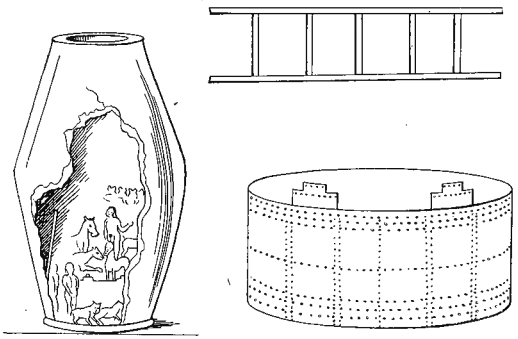


Fig. 77.

little bronze ladders (fig. 77)—a magical means of getting to heaven —have been found in Roman graves[2]. They recall the Egyptian amulet of the ladder, 𓊪, about which E. A. Wallis Budge writes as follows:

'In tombs of the Ancient and Middle Empires small objects of wood and other substances in the form of ladders have often been found, but the signification of them is not always apparent. From the texts inscribed upon the walls of

Trinity College, Cambridge) cj. *Mystides aere* (=sistro). But H. Daumet *op. cit.* p. 130 long since suggested αἴσῃ (=αἴσα), and personally I would rather keep *mystidis aise* as a Latinised equivalent of *μύστιδος αἴσῃ* (cp. *e.g.* Ap. Rhod. 3. 3 *Κύπριδος αἴσαν*). Bücheler retains *congregi in Satyrum* as meaning 'in the company (adj. for subst.) of the Satyrs (gen. plur.).' He had thought of *congregium*, which might be accepted either as an irregular gen. plur. of *congrex*, or as acc. sing. of *congregius*, a new formation on the analogy of *egregius*.

[1] *Supra* p. 37.

[2] A small bronze ladder together with many other amulets was found in 1696 A.D. near Rome within the remains of a bronze *kiste*, itself enclosed in a jar of coarse pottery and protected by a tile (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* i. 36—46 pl. 12 f., of which pl. 12, 1, 4, 6=my fig. 77, O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 p. 41 n. 44^a pl. 5, 1, p. 48 n. 69^a pl. 4, 5 f., p. 58 n. 116, p. 94 f. pl. 4, 15, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 296, 365 fig. 214); it is now in the Naples Museum (E. Gerhard—T. Panofka *Neapels antike Bildwerke* Stuttgart 1828 p. 231 f. Zimmer v Schrank 8). Two small bronze ladders, found with other amulets and coins of Marcus Aurelius and Constantine the Great in Roman graves at Cologne, are now in the Museum at Bonn (J. Overbeck *Katalog der königl. rheinischen Museums vaterländischer Alterthümer* Bonn 1851 p. 146 Karte no. 8 f., O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 p. 41 n. 44^d).

the corridors and chambers of the pyramids of Unas, Teta, Pepi, and other early kings, it is clear that the primitive Egyptians believed that the floor of heaven, which also formed the sky of this world, was made of an immense plate of iron, rectangular in shape, the four corners of which rested upon four pillars which served to mark the cardinal points. On this plate of iron lived the gods and the blessed dead, and it was the aim of every good Egyptian to go there after death. At certain sacred spots the edge of the plate was so near the tops of the mountains that the deceased might easily clamber on to it and so obtain admission into heaven, but at others the distance between it and the earth was so great that he needed help to reach it. There existed a belief that Osiris himself experienced some difficulty of getting up to the iron plate, and that it was only by means of the ladder which his father Rā provided that he at length ascended into heaven. On one side of the ladder stood Rā, and on the other stood Horus[1], the son of Isis, and each god assisted Osiris to mount it. Originally the two guardians of the ladder were Horus the Elder and Set, and there are several references in the early texts to the help which they rendered to the deceased, who was, of course, identified with the god Osiris. But, with a view either of reminding these gods of their supposed duty, or of compelling them to do it, the model of a ladder was often placed on or near the dead body in the tomb, and a special composition was prepared which had the effect of making the ladder become the means of the ascent of the deceased into heaven. Thus in the text written for Pepi[2] the deceased is made to address the ladder in these words: "Homage to thee, O divine Ladder! Homage to thee, O Ladder of Set! Stand thou upright, O divine Ladder! Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Set! Stand thou upright, O Ladder of Horus, whereby Osiris came forth into heaven when he made use of his magical power upon Rā.... For Pepi is thy son, and Pepi is Horus, and thou hast given birth unto Pepi even as thou hast given birth unto the god who is the lord of the Ladder (*i.e.*, Horus); and thou shalt give unto Pepi the Ladder of the god (*i.e.*, Horus), thou shalt give unto him the Ladder of the god Set whereby this Pepi shall come forth into heaven when he shall have made use of his magical power upon Rā...." Elsewhere[3] the gods Khonsu, Sept, etc., are invoked to bring the ladder to Pepi, and the ladder itself is adjured to come with its name, and in another place[4] we read, "Homage to thee, O thou Ladder that supportest the golden vase of the Spirits of Pe and the Spirits of Nekhen, stretch out thy hand to this Pepi, and let him take his seat between the two great gods who are in the place of this Pepi; take him by the hand and lead him towards Sekhet-Hetep (*i.e.*, the Elysian Fields), and let him take his seat among the stars which are in the sky."

In the Theban Recension of the Book of the Dead the importance of the ladder is also seen, for in Chapter CXLIX.[5] the deceased says, "I set up a Ladder among the gods, and I am a divine being among them"; and in Chapter CLIII. he says, "The Osiris Nu shall come forth upon your Ladder which Rā hath made for him, and Horus and Set shall grasp him firmly by the hand." Finally, when the custom of placing a model of the ladder in the tomb fell into disuse, the priests provided for the necessity of the dead by painting a ladder on the papyri that were inscribed with the texts from the Book of the Dead and were buried with them[6,7]

[1] *Unas*, line 579. [2] Line 192 f. [3] *Pepi*, line 200. [4] *Pepi*, line 471.

[5] See my *Chapters of Coming Forth by Day*, translation, p. 270.

[6] See the *Papyrus of Ani*, 2nd edition, pl. 22.

[7] E. A. Wallis Budge, *Egyptian Magic* London 1899 pp. 51—55. Cp. *id. The Gods*

Such beliefs were not without their influence on the receptive and superstitious Greek. P. Aelius Aristeides of Adrianoi in Mysia (129—189 A.D.) was the son of Eudaimon priest of Zeus in that city[1], and apparently succeeded to the office[2], if not to the title of his father[3]. As a life-long invalid he was devoted to the cults of

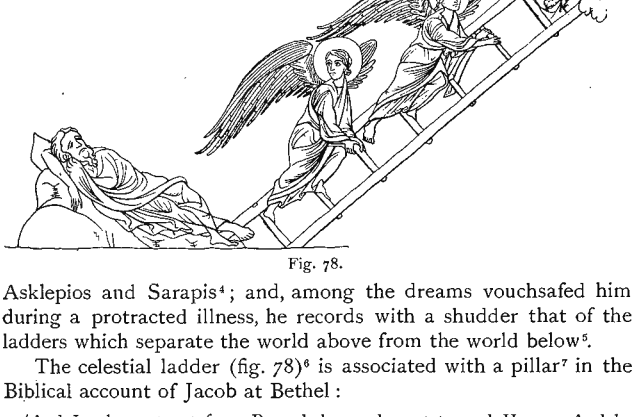


Fig. 78.

Asklepios and Sarapis[4]; and, among the dreams vouchsafed him during a protracted illness, he records with a shudder that of the ladders which separate the world above from the world below[5].

The celestial ladder (fig. 78)[6] is associated with a pillar[7] in the Biblical account of Jacob at Bethel:

'And Jacob went out from Beer-sheba, and went toward Haran. And he

of the Egyptians London 1904 i. 167 f., 490, ii. 92, 241 f., G. Maspero in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1887 xv. 279 ff., A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 96, 145 fig. 69*l*, 188, A. Jeremias 'Die Panbabylonisten, der alte Orient und die ägyptische Religion'[2] in *Im Kampfe um den alten Orient* Nr. i Leipzig 1907 p. 62.

[1] Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 9. 1, Souid. *s.v.* 'Αριστείδης, 'Αδριανεύς.

[2] Aristeid. *or.* 23. 282 (i. 455 Dindorf), 27. 357 (i. 545 Dindorf): see W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 886.

[3] Philostr. *loc. cit.*, Souid. *loc. cit.*

[4] W. Schmid *loc. cit.* ii. 887 ff.

[5] Aristeid. *or.* 25. 320 (i. 500 f. Dindorf) πολὺ δέ τι τούτων φρικωδέστερον εἶχε τὰ χρόνῳ ὕστερον φανθέντα, ἐν οἷς αἵ τε δὴ κλίμακες ἦσαν αἱ τὸ ὑπὲρ γῆς τε καὶ ὑπὸ γῆς ἀφορίζουσαι, καὶ τὸ ἑκατέρωθι κράτος τοῦ θεοῦ, καὶ ἕτερα ἐκπληξιν θαυμαστὴν φέροντα, καὶ οὐδὲ ῥητὰ ἴσως εἰς ἅπαντας, ὥστε ἀσμένῳ μοι φανῆναι σύμβολα τοῦ 'Ασκληπιοῦ. κεφάλαιον δ' ἦν περὶ τῆς τοῦ θεοῦ δυνάμεως ὅτι καὶ χωρὶς ὀχημάτων καὶ χωρὶς σωμάτων ὁ Σάραπις οἷός τ' εἴη κομίζειν ἀνθρώπους ὅπη βούλοιτο. τοιαῦτα ἦν τὰ τῆς τελετῆς· καὶ ἀνέστην οὐ ῥᾴδιος γνωρίσαι καὶ πρὸς τούτοις θυσία τις ἐδηλοῦτο, ὀφειλομένη μὲν Διὶ καὶ πρόρρησιν μένουσα, ἀποδοθεῖσα δὲ ὡς τοῦ Σαράπιδος οὖσα, ἀπεδόθη δὲ καὶ ὡς τῷ Διί, ἔχω δὲ λέγειν κἀν ταῖς ἱεραῖς ἡμέραις, ἃς ἡ πόλις ἡ τῶν 'Αλεξανδρέων ποιεῖ τῷ θεῷ, πολλὰ δὴ πολλάκις αὐτὸν ἐπισημήναντα, καὶ κατ' αὐτὴν ἑκάστην, καὶ προσαγαγούσης ἔτι.

[6] From Herrade de Landsberg *Hortus Deliciarum* edd. A. Straub—G. Keller Strasbourg 1879—1899 p. 11 f. pl. 12, 2 a twelfth-century illustration (*infra* p. 136).

[7] Presumably the *Maṣṣebhoth*, the mark of an ordinary sanctuary.

lighted upon a certain place, and tarried there all night, because the sun was set; and he took one of the stones of the place, and put it under his head, and lay down in that place to sleep. And he dreamed, and behold a ladder set up on the earth, and the top of it reached to heaven: and behold the angels of God ascending and descending on it. And, behold, the LORD stood above it.... And Jacob awaked out of his sleep, and he said, Surely the LORD is in this place; and I knew it not. And he was afraid, and said, How dreadful is this place! this is none other but the house of God, and this is the gate of heaven. And Jacob rose up early in the morning, and took the stone that he had put under his head, and set it up for a pillar, and poured oil upon the top of it. And he called the name of that place Beth-el: but the name of the city was Luz at the first[1].'

Ladder and pillar coalesce in the stepped tower or *zikkurat* of the Babylonians[2], as in the *columna cochlis* of the Romans, to which indeed the spiral tower of Samarra (*s.* ix A.D.)—a direct derivative of the *zikkurat*—bears a marked resemblance[3]. The seven steps of the *zikkurat*—eight, if we reckon in, as Herodotos does[4], the sanctuary on the summit—have undoubtedly a cosmic significance[5],

[1] Gen. 28. 10 ff. For discussion of the passage in its various aspects see *in primis* J. Skinner *A critical and exegetical Commentary on Genesis* Edinburgh 1910 pp. 375—380.

[2] *Supra* i. 603. A useful summary of the present state of knowledge on the subject will be found in A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 pp. 44—47. The article by Scheil there cited as forthcoming has since appeared (F. V. Scheil 'Esagil ou le temple de Bêl-Marduk à Babylone' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions (Institut de France) présentés par divers savants* 1913 xxxix. 293—308, cp. M. Dieulafoy 'Temple de Bêl-Marduk' *ib.* pp. 309—372).

[3] E. Herzfeld *Samarra* Berlin 1907 pp. 23—36 pl. 3. Good photographs are reproduced hy M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 291 pl. 23, 2, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 44 n. 5 fig. 26, Capt. K. A. C. Creswell in the *Bulletin de l'Institut français d'Archéologie orientale* 1919 xvi pl. 1 fig. B.

[4] Hdt. 1. 181 ff. ἐν δὲ φάρσεϊ ἑκατέρῳ τῆς πόλιος τετείχιστο ἐν μέσῳ· ἐν τῷ ἦεν τὰ βασιληΐα, περιβόλῳ μεγάλῳ τε καὶ ἰσχυρῷ· ἐν δὲ τῷ ἑτέρῳ Διὸς Βήλου (*supra* i. 756 n. 6) ἱρὸν χαλκόπυλον, καὶ ἐς ἐμὲ τοῦτο ἔτι ἐὸν, δύο σταδίων πάντη, ἐὸν τετράγωνον. ἐν μέσῳ δὲ τοῦ ἱροῦ πύργος στερεὸς οἰκοδόμηται σταδίου καὶ τὸ μῆκος καὶ τὸ εὖρος· καὶ ἐπὶ τούτῳ τῷ πύργῳ ἄλλος πύργος ἐπιβέβηκε, καὶ ἕτερος μάλα ἐπὶ τούτῳ, μέχρις οὗ ὀκτὼ πύργων. ἀναβασις δὲ ἐς αὐτοὺς ἔξωθεν κύκλῳ περὶ πάντας τοὺς πύργους ἔχουσα πεποίηται. μεσοῦντι δέ κου τῆς ἀναβάσιος ἔστι καταγωγή τε καὶ θῶκοι ἀμπαυστήριοι, ἐν τοῖσι κατίζοντες ἀμπαύονται οἱ ἀναβαίνοντες. ἐν δὲ τῷ τελευταίῳ πύργῳ νηὸς ἔπεστι μέγας· ἐν δὲ τῷ νηῷ κλίνη μεγάλη κέεται εὖ ἐστρωμένη, καί οἱ τράπεζα παρακέεται χρυσέη. ἄγαλμα δὲ οὐκ ἔνι οὐδὲν αὐτόθι ἐνιδρυμένον· οὐδὲ νύκτα οὐδεὶς ἐναυλίζεται ἀνθρώπων, ὅτι μὴ γυνὴ μούνη τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, τὴν ἂν ὁ θεὸς ἕληται ἐκ πασέων, ὡς λέγουσι οἱ Χαλδαῖοι, ἐόντες ἱρέες τούτου τοῦ θεοῦ. κ.τ.λ. For a critical handling of this and other references to the *zikkurat* at Babylon see A. Baumstark in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2688 ff., and for a description of the extant remains, R. Koldewey *The Excavations at Babylon* trans. (Mrs) A. S. Johns London 1914.

[5] M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 286 f: 'While no special stress seems, at any time, to have been laid on the number of stories or stages of which a *zikkurat* consisted,... seven stages seems to have become the normal number, after a certain period. There seems to be no reason to doubt that this number was chosen to correspond to the moon, sun, and five planets, which we have seen were the controlling factors in the Babylonian-Assyrian

and correspond with the seven or eight steps of the Mithraic ladder[1] or, for that matter, with the Sabian ladder of the seven planets[2].

Fortified by these examples of the soul-ladder as conceived in other parts of the Mediterranean world—to go no further afield[3]—we return to Thrace and the Orphists. Otos and Ephialtes, who essayed to pile Ossa on Olympos and Pelion on Ossa, 'that the

astrology. Gudea describes the *sikkurat* at Lagash known as E-Pa as the "house of the seven divisions[1]" [[1]Thureau-Dangin, *Sumerisch-Akkadische Inschriften*, pp. 76, 84, 86, etc.]; and from the still fuller designation of the tower at Borsippa as the "seven divisions of heaven and earth," it would appear that in both cases there is a symbolical reference to the "seven planets," as the moon, sun, and five planets were termed by the Babylonians themselves[2] [[2]Rawlinson, III. Plate 57, No. 6, 65.].' Etc. Cp. *id. The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 pp. 618 ff., 639.

[1] Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 21 f. *ἑπτὰ δὲ οὐρανοὺς ἢ ὅλως περιωρισμένον ἀριθμὸν αὐτῶν αἱ φερόμεναι ἐν ταῖς ἐκκλησίαις τοῦ θεοῦ οὐκ ἀπαγγέλλορσι γραφαί, ἀλλ' οὐρανούς, εἴτε τὰς σφαίρας τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησι λεγομένων πλανήτων εἴτε καὶ ἄλλο τι ἀπορρητότερον ἐοίκασι διδάσκειν οἱ λόγοι. καὶ τὸ ὁδὸν δὲ εἶναι ταῖς ψυχαῖς ἐς γῆν καὶ ἀπὸ γῆς Κέλσος μὲν κατὰ Πλάτωνά φησι γίνεσθαι διὰ τῶν πλανήτων· Μωϋσῆς δέ, ὁ ἀρχαιότατος ἡμῶν προφήτης, ἐν ὄψει τοῦ πατριάρχου ἡμῶν Ἰακὼβ φησιν ἑωρᾶσθαι θεῖον ἐνύπνιον, κλίμακα "εἰς οὐρανὸν" φθάνουσαν καὶ ἀγγέλους "τοῦ θεοῦ" ἀναβαίνοντας καὶ καταβαίνοντας ἐπ' αὐτῆς, τὸν δὲ κύριον ἐπεστηριγμένον ἐπὶ τοῖς ἄκροις αὐτῆς, εἴτε ταῦτα εἴτε τινὰ μείζονα τούτων αἰνιττόμενος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς κλίμακος λόγῳ· περὶ ἧς καὶ τῷ Φίλωνι συντέτακται βιβλίον, ἄξιον φρονίμου καὶ συνετῆς παρὰ τοῖς φιλαλήθεσιν ἐξετάσεως* (cp. Philon *de somniis* 1. 22 (i. 641 f. Mangey)). *ἐξῆς δὲ τούτοις βουλόμενος ὁ Κέλσος πολυμάθειαν ἑαυτοῦ ἐπιδείξασθαι ἐν τῷ καθ' ἡμῶν λόγῳ ἐκτίθεταί τινα καὶ Περσικὰ μυστήρια ἐν οἷς φησιν· αἰνίττεται ταῦτα καὶ ὁ Περσῶν λόγος, καὶ ἡ τοῦ Μίθρου τελετή, ἣ (ἡ* ins. Keim) *παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐστιν. ἔστι γάρ τι ἐν αὐτῇ σύμβολον τῶν δύο τῶν ἐν οὐρανῷ περιόδων, τῆς τε ἀπλανοῦς καὶ τῆς εἰς τοὺς πλανήτας αὖ νενεμημένης, καὶ τῆς δι' αὐτῶν τῆς ψυχῆς διεξόδου. τοιοῦδε τὸ σύμβολον· κλῖμαξ ὑψίπυλος* (*ἑπτάπυλος* cj. Koetschau post Boherellum), *ἐπὶ δ' αὐτῇ πύλη ὀγδόη* (*ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ πύλαι ἑπτά* cj. Guiet). *ἡ πρώτη τῶν πυλῶν μολίβδου, κ.τ.λ.* cited *supra* i. 626 n. o). The Mithraic doctrine is discussed by F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1899 i. 37 ff., 1896 ii. 243 ff. fig. 77, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3057, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1953, *id. Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 129 f. See further Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 934, G. Kroll *De oraculis Chaldaicis* Vratislaviae 1894 pp. 63 (citing from Psellos *ἐξήγησις εἰς τὰ Χαλδαϊκὰ λόγια* (cxxii. 1132 B Migne) the lines *μη<δὲ> κάτω νεύσῃς· κρημνὸς κατὰ γῆς ὑπόκειται ἑπταπόρου σύρων κατὰ βαθμίδος· ἢ ὑφ' ἣν ὁ τῆς Ἀνάγκης θρόνος ἐστίν* (an leg. *ἣν ὕπ' Ἀνάγκης | ἔστι θρόνος?*), where the *ἑπτάπορος βαθμίς* is equivalent to Origen's *κλῖμαξ ἑπτάπυλος*), 76 Add., Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 665, *id.* in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* 1896 lxxxv. 266, *id. Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1599 f., W. Anz *Zur Frage nach dem Ursprung des Gnostizismus* Leipzig 1897 p. 86 ff., W. Bousset 'Die Himmelsreise der Seele' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1901 iv. 160 ff.

[2] D. Chwolsohn *Die Ssabier und der Ssabismus* St Petersburg 1856 ii. 610 cites from Makrisi (1364—1441 A.D.) the following statement: 'Unter diesen geistigen Wesen verstehen sie die Engel, von denen sie glauben, dass sie die Leiter der sieben Planeten in deren Himmelskreisen seien,' etc.

[3] A pilaster-relief from the *stûpa* of Bharhut, now at Calcutta, shows 'the great Ladder by which Buddha descended at Sankisa from the Trayastrinsas heavens' as 'a triple flight of solid stone steps, similar in all respects to the single flight of steps which was found at the Western Gateway of the Stûpa' (A. Cunningham *The Stûpa of Bharhut* London 1879 p. 91 ff. pl. 17 railing-pillars of West Gate, middle relief of right side; A. della Seta *Religion & Art* trans. Mrs A. Strong London 1914 p. 306 fig. 167).

sky might be climbable[1],' are connected in many ways with northern Greece[2]. K. O. Müller even regarded them as the mythical leaders of the Thracian colonies[3]. It is therefore noteworthy that Pindar speaks of them as—

Stretching in haste
A ladder to the steep sky[4].

This manœuvre is usually described as a menace to the gods. But it must be remembered that Ephialtes was wooing Hera, and Otos Artemis[5]. Their presumption was that of aspirants to the hand of a goddess.

A curious historic or *quasi*-historic parallel to the enterprise of the Aloadai is that of Kosingas the Thracian chief, who threatened to clamber up a long chain of ladders into heaven and so gain the ear of Hera. The tale is told by Polyainos[6]:

'The Kebrenioi and Sykaiboai are Thracian tribes. Their custom is to have as leaders the priests of Hera. They had a priest and leader named Kosingas. The Thracians would not obey him. Kosingas joined one to another many long wooden ladders, reared them up, and made as if he would climb up into the sky and denounce the Thracian mutiny to Hera. Thereupon the Thracians, stupid unreasoning folk, fearing that their leader would climb up into the sky, besought him and swore that they would hearken to all his commands.'

If such was the attitude of the average untutored Thracian, we begin to see why Pittakos had votive ladders dedicated in the sanctuaries of Mytilene[7]. His father was a Thracian[8] and pre-

[1] *Od.* 11. 316 ἵν' οὐρανὸς ἀμβατὸς εἴη.

[2] J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1591 f.

[3] K. O. Müller *Orchomenos und die Minyer*[2] Breslau 1844 p. 380.

[4] Pind. *frag.* 162 Schröder *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 201, 15 ff. Πίνδαρος ἐπὶ τοῦ Ὤτου καὶ Ἐφιάλτου, 'πίτνοντες (J. G. J. Hermann cj. πιτνάντες) θοὰν | κλίμακα οὐρανὸν ἐς αἰπύν (F. W. Schneidewin cj. κλίμακ' ἐς αἰπὺν οὐρανόν)' · τὴν μεγάλην δηλονότι. Hermann's πιτνάντες is certainly right, cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 561, 10=*et. mag.* p. 403, 32 f. Ἐφιάλτης...παρὰ τὸ ἰάλλω, τὸ ἐκτείνω, κ.τ.λ.

In the Underworld Otos and Ephialtes were bound by snakes to a column, facing different ways, and tormented by a horned owl (ὦτος) (Hyg. *fab.* 28, cp. Verg. *cul.* 234 ff.). The column may be that on which the earth rests.

[5] Apollod. 1. 7. 4 ἐμνῶντο δὲ Ἐφιάλτης μὲν Ἥραν, Ὦτος δὲ Ἄρτεμιν, cp. schol. B.D.T. *Il.* 5. 385.

[6] Polyain. 7. 22.

[7] Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 29 Πιττακὸς ἐν Μυτιλήνῃ κατεσκεύασε ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς κλίμακας ἐς οὐδεμίαν μὲν χρῆσιν ἐπιτηδείους, αὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο ἀναθήματα εἶναι, αἰνιττόμενος τὴν ἐκ τῆς τύχης ἄνω καὶ κάτω μετάπτωσιν, τρόπον τινὰ τῶν μὲν εὐτυχούντων ἀνιόντων, κατιόντων δὲ τῶν δυστυχούντων. I doubt whether Aelian fathomed Pittakos' meaning: the ascent and descent in question were, if I mistake not, the ascent of the soul to heaven and its descent to earth *via* the cosmic stair.

We may perhaps detect a refinement upon the same belief in Herakleitos' saying ὁδὸς ἄνω κάτω μία καὶ ὠυτή (Herakl. *frag.* 69 Bywater, 60 Diels), if not also in Diotima's mystic ascent towards ideal beauty (Plat. *symp.* 211C ἀρχόμενον ἀπὸ τῶνδε τῶν καλῶν ἐκείνου ἕνεκα τοῦ καλοῦ ἀεὶ ἐπανιέναι, ὥσπερ ἐπαναβαθμοῖς χρώμενον, κ.τ.λ.).

[8] Douris *frag.* 53 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 482 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 74, cp. Souid. *s.v.* Πιττακός.

sumably versed in Orphic lore. Again, we can give a shrewd guess as to the reason why the ladder figures among other amulets on the terra-cotta cake-moulds of Tarentum[1]. That city was a stronghold of the Pythagoreans, who were deeply imbued with Orphism, and it had moreover its own pillar-cult of Zeus *Kataibátes*[2]. Finally, we obtain the answer to an old conundrum. In 1843 J. Millingen published a terra cotta from Italy representing a naked female figure, who sits on the back of a pig with her legs spread apart and a small ladder held upright in her hand (fig. 79)[3]. Millingen rightly identified this personage as Baubo, but failed to detect the true significance of the ladder. Baubo was a goddess worshipped in Paros along with Hera, Demeter *Thesmophóros*, Kore, and Zeus *Eubouleús*: since her name in the Parian inscription[4] follows immediately those of the Ionian triad, she too was in all probability a goddess of chthonian import[5]. According to Asklepiades of Tragilos (*s.* iv. B.C.), she was the wife of the autochthonous Dysaules (whom we may venture to regard as an appellative of Hades[6]) and by him the mother of Protogone and Misa[7]. And Orphic tradition made

[1] (1) Formerly in the possession of Sir W. Temple at Naples (O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 pp. 52 f., 95 pl. 5, 3, E. Labatut in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 256 fig. 306, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 166 f., 169 fig. 150). (2) At Naples (G. Minervini 'Poche osservazioni sopra un disco di terracotta, nel Real Museo Borbonico' in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1857 v. 169—172 pl. 6, 2, S. Seligmann *op. cit.* ii. 166 f., 171 fig. 151). (3) and (4) At Oxford (Sir A. J. Evans 'Recent discoveries of Tarentine terra-cottas' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 44—50 no. 2 = p. 44 ff. fig. 6 and no. 3 = p. 46). Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* was the first to recognize in these circular plates 'Moulds for Sacred Cakes': he thinks it probable that the specimens published by Jahn and Minervini, like those now at Oxford, come from Tarentum. In the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1916 p. 344 F. Cumont adds two other examples—(5) a disk communicated by him to the Academy, and (6) a disk in the Louvre. According to him, they date from *s.* ii or i B.C. and were probably bogus mirrors used for catoptromancy.

[2] *Supra* pp. 29 ff., 45.

[3] J. Millingen 'Baubo' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 72—97 pl. E = my fig. 79. The terra cotta in question is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin.

[4] *Supra* i. 669 n. 2.

[5] On Baubo see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 683, A. Schultz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 752 f., A. Dieterich in *Philologus* 1893 lii. 1 ff. = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 125 ff., *id. Nekyia* Leipzig 1893 p. 87 n. 3, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 150 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 50 n. 2, 57 n. 3 f., 233, 771 n. 3, 1437 n. 2, 1542 n. 1, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 431 f., and H. Diels 'Arcana Cerealia' (estratto dalla *Miscellanea di Archeologia di Storia e di Filologia dedicata al Prof. A. Salinas nel XL anniversario del suo insegnamento*—to which Miss Harrison kindly drew my attention) Palermo 1907 pp. 3—14.

[6] Hades is Δυσαύλης, 'He of the sorry Resting Place' (*δυσαυλία*), as lord of the *οἰκία... σμερδαλέ' εὐρώεντα, τά τε στυγέουσι θεοί περ* (*Il.* 20. 64 f.).

[7] Harpokr. *s.v.* Δυσαύλης· ... Ἀσκληπιάδης δ' *ἐν τετάρτῳ* Τραγῳδουμένων (Asklepiades of Tragilos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 302 Müller)) *τὸν* Δυσαύλην *αὐτόχθονα εἶναί φησι, συνοικήσαντα δὲ* Βαυβοῖ *σχεῖν παῖδας* Πρωτονόην (Πρωτογόνην corr. A. Dieterich in *Philo-*

Dysaules the father of Eubouleus and Triptolemos[1]. It is, I think, fairly safe to conclude that Baubo was an Orphic goddess of the

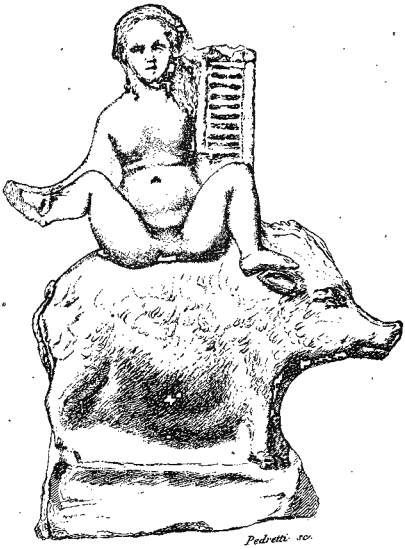


Fig. 79.

Underworld. I suggest that she was the 'Mistress' mentioned in the Orphist's solemn *formula*:

> I have passed beneath the bosom of the Mistress, the Queen of the Underworld[2].

logus 1893 lii. 2 n. 6 = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 126 n. 3 and L. Bloch in *Philologus* 1893 lii. 577) τε καὶ Νῖσαν (Μῖσαν corr. C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 339, iii. 302).

[1] Paus. i. 14. 3, cp. *supra* i. 212.

[2] *Supra* i. 650 n. 0, ii. 119 n. 2. Observe that the line Δεσποίνας δ' ὑπὸ κόλπον ἔδυν, Χθονίας Βασιλείας is at least partially paralleled by the phrase Βαυβοῦς ὑπὸ κόλποις in the passage (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 21. 1 p. 16, 13 ff. = Orph. *frag.* 215 Abel) so convincingly expounded by H. Diels *loc. cit.*

The Orphic *formula* ultimately influenced the ritual of Eleusis, where Persephone, not Baubo, was chthonian Queen: see Psellos τίνα περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες; (printed in Psell. *de operatione daemonum* ed. J. F. Boissonade Norimbergae 1838 p. 36 ff.) p. 39 f. τὰ δέ γε μυστήρια τούτων, οἷα αὐτίκα τὰ Ἐλευσίνια, τὸν μυθικὸν ὑποκρίνεται Δία μιγνύμενον τῇ Δηοῖ, ἤγουν τῇ Δήμητρι, καὶ τῇ θυγάτρι ταύτης Περσεφάττῃ, τῇ καὶ Κόρῃ. ἐπειδὴ δὲ ἔμελλον καὶ ἀφροδίσιοι ἐπὶ τῇ μυήσει γίνεσθαι συμπλοκαί, ἀναδύεταί πως ἡ Ἀφροδίτη ἀπό τινων πεπλασμένων μηδέων πελάγιος. εἶτα δὲ γαμήλιος λέγεται ἐπὶ τῇ Κόρῃ ὑμέναιος, καὶ ἐπᾴδουσιν οἱ τελούμενοι· ' ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλων ἔπιον, ἐκιρνοφόρησα,

Now that *formula* stood next to the profession:

I have entered with quick feet upon the lovely Crown.

It would seem, then, that the initiate posed as the very consort of the chthonian Queen[1]. As such he had every right to mount her ladder, the ladder that led to Elysium. The 'child of Earth and starry Sky[2]' must needs be free of either world.

The soul-ladder appears again in that most pathetic and impressive document *The Passion of Saint Perpetua*[3] (March 7), who was done to death in the arena at Carthage *c.* 203 A.D. When in prison, she prayed, at her brother's request, that the future might be revealed to her, and had by way of answer the following vision:

'I beheld a bronze[4] ladder of wondrous size, reaching even to the sky, and so narrow that only one could mount it at a time. And in the sides of the ladder were fixed all manner of iron implements—swords, lances, hooks, knives—so that any who mounted carelessly or without looking upwards was torn and his flesh caught by the iron implements. And under the very ladder lay a snake of wondrous size, plotting against them that ascended and frightening them from the ascent. Now the first to go up was Saturus, who at the time of our arrest was not there, but later had given himself up on account of us. And he came to the top of the ladder and turned and said to me: "Perpetua, I await thee. But see that yonder snake bite thee not." And I made answer: "He will not hurt me in the name of Jesus Christ." And under the very ladder he put forth his head slowly, as though he feared me, and I, as if I were treading the first step, trod upon his head. And I went up and beheld an immense garden, and in the midst of the garden a white-haired man sitting, clothed like a shepherd, tall, milking his sheep. And standing round about him were many thousands clad in white raiment. And he raised his head and looked upon me and said to me:

ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν εἰσέδυν.' ὑποκρίνεται δὲ καὶ τὰς τῆς Δηοῦς ὠδῖνας. ἱκετηρίαι γοῦν αὐτίκα Δηοῦς καὶ χολῆς πόσις καὶ καρδιαλγίαι. ἐφ' οἷς καί τι τραγοσκελὲς μίμημα παθαινόμενον περὶ τοῖς διδύμοις, ὅτιπερ ὁ Ζεύς, δίκας ἀποτιννὺς τῆς βίας τῇ Δήμητρι, τράγου ὄρχεις ἀποτεμών, τῷ κόλπῳ ταύτης κατέθετο ὥσπερ δὴ καὶ ἑαυτοῦ. ἐπὶ πᾶσιν αἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τιμαὶ καὶ ἡ κίστις (κύστις codd. A.B.) *καὶ τὰ πολυόμφαλα πόπανα, καὶ οἱ τῷ Σαβαζίῳ τελούμενοι, καὶ οἱ μητριάζοντες (μετρίζοντες* cod. A. G. Gaulminus tentaveratt *μητρίζοντες*), *Κλώδωνες* (so G. Gaulminus for *κληδόνες* codd. A.B.) *τε καὶ Μιμαλλόνες, καί τις ἠχὼν λέβης Θεσπρώτειος, καὶ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον· καὶ Κορύβας ἄλλος, καὶ Κούρης ἕτερος, δαιμόνων μιμήματα. ἐφ' οἷς ἡ Βαυβὼ τοὺς μηροὺς ἀνασυραμένη, καὶ ὁ γυναικεῖος κτείς· οὕτω γὰρ ὀνομάζουσι τὴν αἰδῶ αἰσχυνόμενοι. καὶ οὕτως ἐν αἰσχρῷ τὴν τελετὴν καταλύουσιν.* Cp. throughout *supra* i. 392 ff.

[1] *Supra* i. 649 n. 7. [2] G. Murray in Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 659 ff.

[3] J. Rendel Harris—S. K. Gifford *The Acts of the Martyrdom of Perpetua and Felicitas* London 1890 (Latin and Greek texts), J. Armitage Robinson *The Passion of S. Perpetua* Cambridge 1891 (Latin and Greek texts), A. Pillet *Histoire de Sainte Perpétue et de ses compagnons* Lille—Paris 1885 (Latin texts), cap. 4. I have translated the longer Latin text, which is admittedly the oldest source. J. Armitage Robinson *op. cit.* p. 19 f. prints in parallel columns the Long Latin, the Short Latin, and the Greek Version.

[4] The variants are: *scalam* cod. A. *scalam auream* cod. B. *scalam aeream* cod. C. *κλίμακα χαλκῆν* cod. Harris., cp. *σκάλαν χαλκῆν menol. Basil.* (J. Armitage Robinson *op. cit.* p. 21 f.). A friend of Armitage Robinson cj. *scalam aeriam.*

"I am glad thou hast come, child." And he called me and gave me a mouthful of the curds from his milking. And I received it with joined hands and ate; and all that stood round about said "Amen." And at the sound of their voice I awoke, still eating something sweet. And straightway I told it to my brother, and we understood that it meant suffering and thenceforward began to lose all hope in this life.'

Since the remaining visions of Perpetua seem to contain certain elements of mystical or mythical import[1], it is at least possible that here too we should recognise sundry pre-Christian traits. Orphism is suggested both by the celestial ladder and by the milky diet of the newborn soul[2], if not also by the very name of Satyros.

Perpetua is by no means the only saint associated with a ladder. Saint Sadoth (Feb. 29), who was martyred at Seleukeia on the Tigris in 344 A.D., dreamed that his predecessor Simeon Bar-Saboë stood at the top of a ladder, beckoning him from earth to heaven[3]. Saint Alexis of Rome (? Constantinople) or Edessa, who lived at the end of the fifth century and is commemorated on July 17 (by the Greeks on March 17), is represented with a ladder in his arms[4]. Saint Leonard (Nov. 6), who died as abbot of Limoges in 559 A.D. but is nowadays reckoned the principal saint of Bavaria[5], as patron of prisoners holds by a chain a youth mounting a ladder[6]. Saint John Klimax (March 30), who died in 606 A.D., was abbot of Mount Sinai and reverenced as a second Moses[7]: he got his title from the

[1] *E.g.* in cap. 7 the boy Deinokrates retains his gangrenous wound even after death (cp. the sons of Herakles on the Orphic 'Underworld' vase at Munich: Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 50 pl. 10, *supra* i. 222 n. 5) and cannot reach the water that he fain would drink (cp. Tantalos, *supra* i. 205 fig. 148); in cap. 10 Perpetua, stripped for the conflict, becomes a man, is pitted against an Egyptian wrestler and feels as though she were uplifted from the ground, but with joined hands pulls him down and wins the bout (cp. Herakles *v.* Antaios), receiving as her prize a green bough with golden apples on it (cp. Herakles and the apples of the Hesperides).

[2] *Supra* i. 676 f.

[3] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1658 Februarius iii. 176 B (*Acta* 2) Vidi in somnis hac nocte scalam cum magnâ gloriâ, cuius initium erat in cœlo. Ei autem superstabat sanctus Episcopus Simeon cum infinitâ gloriâ: ego verò infrà in terrâ consistebam. Atque ille magnâ me cum hilaritate compellans, Ascende, inquit, ad me Sadoth, ascende: ne timeas, ego enim heri ascendi, tu verò hodie ascendes. Etc., M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 114, 188.

[4] C. Cahier *Caractéristiques des Saints dans l'art populaire* Paris 1867 i. 328, 387 f., D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 36 ('Treppe'), M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 6, 188.

[5] R. Andree *Votive und Weihegaben des katholischen Volks in Süddeutschland* Braunschweig 1904 p. 39 ff.

[6] M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 74, 188.

[7] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1668 Martius iii. 837 A (*Vita* | Auctore Daniele monacho coæuo 2. 9) Nam & montem Dei ipse accessit, inaccessamque nebulam ingressus, scalæq; cœlestis gradibus admotus, scriptam Dei digito legem accepit, etc., S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iii. 506 ff.

Ladder of Paradise, a book of thirty chapters in which he described out of his own experience the thirty steps leading upward to perfection[1]; hence he is figured with a ladder[2]. So too is Saint Emmeram of Ratisbon (Sept. 22)[3], but for a very different cause: in 652 A.D. he was bound to a ladder, mutilated, and murdered on a false charge[4]. Saint Bathild the Saxon (Jan. 26 or 27 or 30), who was married to Clovis ii in 649 A.D., shortly before she died had a vision of a ladder set up in front of an altar and of herself, escorted by angels, going up it into heaven[5]: she is represented accordingly[6]. Saint Romuald of Italy (Feb. 7), who lived *c.* 907—1027 A.D., once saw a ladder rising to the sky and his monks ascending it in white habits: he founded a fine church on the spot[7]. Saint Olaf king of Norway (July 29), who fell at Stikklestad in 1030 A.D., is portrayed with a ladder seen by him in a similar dream[8]. Saint Bernard Ptolemy (Aug. 21, 1348 A.D.), founder of the Olivetines at Siena, had—like Saint Romuald—a vision of angels leading white-robed monks up a ladder[9]. And Saint Angela of Merici (May 31, 1540

[1] Κλῖμαξ τοῦ παραδείσου, *Scala Paradisi* (lxxxviii. 631—1164 Migne). On it see K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 143 f. and a beautifully illustrated chapter by W. Dennison and C. R. Morey *Studies in East Christian and Roman Art* (*University of Michigan Studies:* Humanistic Series xii) New York 1918 pp. 1—30 ('Two Miniatures from a Manuscript of St. John Climacus, and their Relation to Klimax Iconography') with col. pls 1, 2 and figs. 1—14.

[2] M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 67, 188.

[3] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 327 f., M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 40, 188.

[4] B. Sepp in the *Analecta Bollandiana* Paris—Bruxelles 1889 viii. 233 f. (Arbeonis episcopi Frisingensis *Vita S. Emmerammi authentica* 16 ff.) scale superpositum funibus alligauerunt etc., S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* x. 338 f.

[5] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1643 Januarius ii. 741 (*Vita* 13) At verò iam propinquante glorioso eius obitu, visio præclara ei fuit ostensa. Scala enim erecta & stans ante altarium S. Mariæ, cuius culmen cœlum contingeret, & quasi Angelos Dei comitantes, vt ipsa Domna Baltildis ascenderet per eam: etc., cp. *ib.* 745 (*Alia Vita* 16) in the better Latin of an interpolator.

[6] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 328, M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 17, 188.

[7] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1658 Februarius ii. 136 B (Alia Vita | sive Sermo de Vitâ S. Romualdi, auctore Hieronymo Eremitâ Camald. 61) Vbi dum lassus quiesceret, vidit instar Iacob scalam excelsam, cœlum quasi suo vertice tangentem, per quam albescentium monachorum videbatur ascendere multitudo in cœlum, S. Baring-Gould *op. cit.* ii. 209, M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 112, 188.

[8] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1731 Julius vii. 106 F (*De S. Olavo, Rege et Martyre, Nidrosiæ in Norvegia*...97) Scalam, inquit Rex, vidi à terra in cœlum usque pertingentem, meque per gradus ascendentem, supremamque tenuisse, *ib.* 115 C f. (*Acta brevia* 10) passioni se lætus obtulit, jam divinitus sperans scalam, quam in somnis nuper ad cœlos erectam viderat, per quam ad dulcedinem, quam gustaverat, feliciter erat ascensurus. Cp. F. Metcalfe *Passio et Miracula Beati Olavi* Oxford 1881 p. 126 citing Snorri *Saga Ólafs konungs ens helga* edd. P. A. Munch—C. R. Unger Christiania 1853 cap. 226; C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 328, M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 95, 188.

[9] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 328.

A.D.), foundress of the Ursulines at Brescia, is likewise represented ascending a ladder with her virgins[1].

Even ordinary mortals might aspire to climb the steps that led heavenwards. A Christian *sarcophagus* at Burgos in Spain has Jacob's ladder for its central subject (fig. 80)[2]. Herrade of Landsberg, abbess

Fig. 80.

of Hohenburg on Mount Saint-Odile from 1167 to 1195 A.D., included in her *Hortus Deliciarum* a symbolic design representing 'The Ladder of Virtues' (fig. 81)[3]. Akin to this is the magnificent painting in tempera (*c.* 1200 A.D.), which was discovered in 1870 on the western wall of the nave in Chaldon Church, Surrey (pl. viii)[4]. 'The

[1] C. Cahier *op. cit.* i. 328, M. and W. Drake *op. cit.* pp. 10, 188.

[2] *Monumentos arquitectonicos de España* pl. without number (see S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1911 ii. 467), Index by D. Eduardo de la Rada y Mendez Madrid 1895, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 190 nos. 1—4.

[3] Herrade de Landsberg *Hortus Deliciarum* edd. A. Straub—G. Keller Strasbourg 1879—1899 p. 43 pl. 56 (=my fig. 81) 'L'échelle des vertus' after C. M. Engelhardt *Herrad von Landsperg, Aebtissin zu Hohenburg, oder St Odilien, im Elsass, im zwölften Jahrhundert, und ihr Werk: Hortus deliciarum* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1818 p. 115 f. pl. 9. The whole design is inscribed: *Hec scala significat ascensum virtutum et religiosum sanctitatis exercitium, quo vite corona adipiscitur. Huic scale primum plurimi innitentes postea diabolicis sagittis vulnerati retrahuntur, et terrenis impedimentis ac concupiscentiis suis illecti et abstracti nequiter incurvantur.* The ladder rises obliquely from earth to heaven. Beneath its lowest step crouches the devil in the form of a dragon. Above its highest step the hand of the Lord holds out the crown of life. Two demons shoot arrows at the climbers and successfully overthrow a knight (*miles*) and his wife (*laica*), a nun (*sanctimonialis*), a clerk (*clericus*), a monk (*monachus*), a recluse (*inclusus*), and a hermit (*heremita*), who all fall downwards towards the objects of their desire. Two angels with sword and shield protect the uppermost figure, that of Virtue (*Virtus, id est caritas*), who advances to take the crown. On one side of the ladder we read: *Draco iste insidiatur scandentibus* and *Hos omnes periculose ab alto cadentes potest Dominus medicina penitentie iterum ad virtutum culmen restituere.* The happier alternative is indicated by the inscriptions: *Septem sunt scale quibus ascenditur ad regnum celorum: prima castitas, secunda mundi contemptio, tertia humilitas, quarta obedientia, quinta patientia, sexta fides, septima caritas de puro corde* and *Hec persona virtutis significat omnes sanctos et electos, qui angelica custodia perducuntur ad celestia premia. Virtus autem hec est caritas. Sola enim virtus caritatis, que ceteras virtutes continet, ad accipiendam celestis premii coronam perveniet.*

[4] J. G. Waller 'On a Painting recently discovered in Chaldon Church, Surrey' in

Ladder of the Soul's Salvation and of the Road to Heaven' is like-

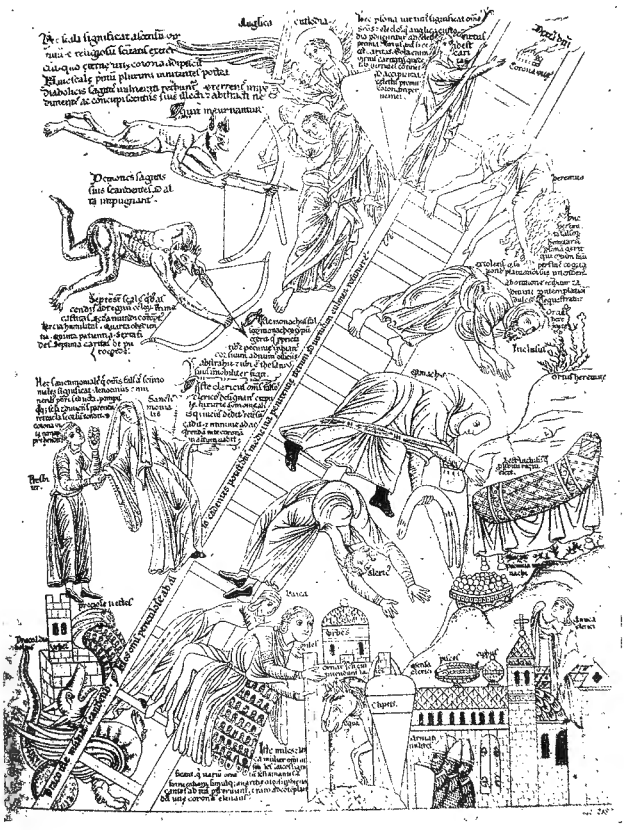


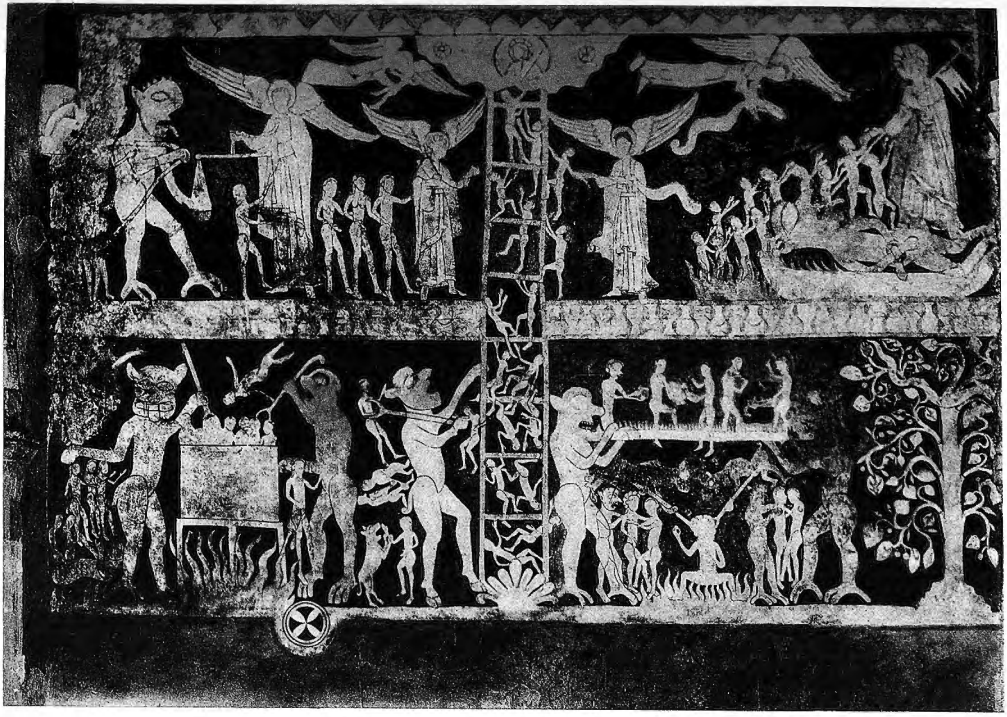
Fig. 81.

wise a traditional theme among the ecclesiastical painters of the

Surrey Archæological Collections 1871 v. 275—306 with col. pl., Eliza B. Miller in *The Victoria History of the County of Surrey* London 1912 iv. 192 f. with col. frontisp. by P. M. Johnston. Good photographs are obtainable in the form of picture-postcards (=my pl. viii). The colours used in the original are 'red and yellow ochre, a little native cinnabar and white' (Waller). The painting is divided into two registers by a horizontal band or nebuly. The lower register represents the torments of the lost; the upper, the

Greek Church[1]. Dante, when he ascends with Beatrice to the bliss of the saved. The two are connected by a vertical ladder rising towards a half-length figure of Christ in the act of benediction, with the sun on his right, the moon on his left. Below, to the right, is the tree of life with the serpent in it; and on the north wall adjoining it were remains of a large demon, now destroyed. Between the tree and the ladder is a usurer seated in flames and tormented by two demons: he is slung with money-bags, vomits coins, and holds up a piece of gold. The usurer is flanked by two amatory couples, perhaps clerk and concubine, priest and nun, each couple with an attendant spirit prompting to sin. To either side of them two large demons support a bridge of spikes, on which are seen several culprits marked by the emblems of their trades—a blacksmith condemned to forge a horseshoe without anvil, a mason with his pick, a woman with a ball of yarn, another woman with some attribute defaced, and a man with a bowl, probably one who had stolen a tithe of milk and must now carry it over the bridge without spilling. To the left of the ladder is a caldron full of flames, set over a fire and tended by two large demons, who are filling it with parricides and fratricides. On the extreme left the painting is damaged and obscure; but we can make out several souls of dancers, whose feet are gnawed by a recumbent wolf. On the opposite side of the caldron is a figure with pilgrim's staff and purse, but a wine-bottle in his hand: he had sold all to buy strong drink. The figure having her arm bitten by a dog is a warning to ladies against feeding their pets too well. Another large demon, with the cloven hoofs, tail, and ears of a Satyr, shoulders a two-pronged fork and is bent on picking off souls from the ladder. Behind him a woman and a man tumble downwards together: she holds out a gold coin and clasps a large gold-banded horn carried by him—a symbol of lewdness rather than of drunkenness. Above, to the right, is 'the Harrowing of Hell.' Christ advances upon the prostrate form of Satan, whom with cross and banner he thrusts down into the open jaws of Hell, here conceived as a gaping monster. The victor extends his hand to Adam, and liberates a troop of souls from the flames of Purgatory, while an angel, issuing from Heaven with a scroll, announces the fulfilment of prophecy. Two other angels stand on either side of the ladder as guards and guides of the blessed, who ascend towards Christ above them. A couple of souls—Enoch and Elijah—clamber up outside the ladder in an unusual way. Another exceptional case is that of the soul—presumably the penitent thief—carried direct to Paradise by a flying angel. To the left is St Michael weighing souls. Three females—probably the three Marys—pass towards the ladder. A fourth soul supplicates the archangel. Two others, weighed and found wanting, are flung into the gulf below. Lastly, to the left of the upper register, a demon, dragging many souls bound with a rope, tries to depress one scale and so send up the beam. The dedication-cross is on the lower edge of the painting, which measures 17 ft. 2 ins. in length by 11 ft. 2 ins. in height.

[1] The painter's manual by Dionysios Hieromonachos is an important source first published in a French translation by P. Durand *Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne grecque et latine* Paris 1845. The Greek text was first printed by A. Konstantinides, ed. 1 Athens 1853, ed. 2 Athens 1885, and is entitled Ἑρμηνεία | τῶν | ζωγράφων | ὡς πρὸς τὴν | Ἐκκλησιαστικὴν ζωγραφίαν | ὑπὸ | Διονυσίου τοῦ Ἱερομονάχου | καὶ ζωγράφου | Τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ τῶν Ἀγράφων: (συνγραφεῖσα ἐν Ἄθωνι τῷ 1458). Further bibliography in K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 1117. It is now held that Dionysios lived early in the eighteenth century, but drew largely upon an anonymous painter's book of 1566 A.D.: see A. Papadopoulos Kerameus *Denys de Fourna. Manuel d'iconographie chrétienne*, etc. St Petersburg 1900, *id.* Διονυσίου τοῦ ἐκ Φουρνᾶ Ἑρμηνεία τῆς ζωγραφικῆς, etc. St Petersburg 1909, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 649. I append the text of the Ἑρμηνεία § 523 p. 242 f. Konstantinides[2]: **Ἡ ψυχοσωτήριος καὶ οὐρανόδρομος κλίμαξ.** Μοναστήριον καὶ ἔξωθεν τῆς πύλης αὐτοῦ πλῆθος μοναχῶν πάσης ἡλικίας· παρ' αὐτῇ δὲ κλίμαξ φθάνουσα μέχρις οὐρανοῦ· καὶ μοναχοὶ ἀνερχόμενοι διὰ τῶν βαθμίδων αὐτῆς· οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὰς ἀρχὰς τῆς κλίμακος ὄντες, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὰ μέσα, οἱ δὲ πρὸς τὸ τέρμα σχεδόν· καὶ ἄγγελοι παρὰ τοῖς



Mural painting in Chaldon Church, Surrey: the Ladder of Salvation.

See page 136 *n.* 4.

seventh heaven of the planet Saturn, beholds a ladder leading to yet higher heights:

> Within the crystal, which records the name
> (As its remoter circle girds the world)
> Of that loved monarch[1], in whose happy reign
> No ill had power to harm, I saw rear'd up,
> In colour like to sun-illumined gold,
> A ladder, which my ken pursued in vain,
> So lofty was the summit; down whose steps
> I saw the splendours in such multitude
> Descending, every light in heaven, methought,
> Was shed thence[2].

The conception has left faint but unmistakable traces of itself in the trade-marks of early Italian paper-makers (fig. 82)[3]. And its

ἀναβαίνουσι βοηθοῦντες τοῖς μοναχοῖς· ὁ δὲ Κύριος τῆς κλίμακος ἄνω μεταξὺ ἀγγέλων πολυαρίθμων καὶ νεφελῶν λαμβάνει τὸν ἀναβαίνοντα μοναχὸν ἐκ τῶν χειρῶν διὰ τῆς μιᾶς, γηραιὸν ὄντα πάνυ τὴν ἡλικίαν καὶ ἱεροπρεπῆ, διὰ δὲ τῆς ἄλλης ἐπιθέτει ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς τοῦ μοναχοῦ στέφανον ἀνθοφόρον καὶ λίθοις πεποικιλμένον· ἐκ δὲ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Κυρίου ἐξέρχονται ταῦτα· "Δεῦτε πρός με πάντες οἱ κοπιῶντες καὶ πεφορτισμένοι, κἀγὼ ἀναπαύσω ὑμᾶς." Πρὸς τὰ ἀριστερὰ δὲ τῆς κλίμακος μέρη δαίμονες ἀναβαίνοντες καὶ καταβαίνοντες σύροντες πρὸς ἑαυτοὺς τοὺς μοναχοὺς διὰ τῆς βίας ἐκ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων· τινὰς μὲν τούτων φοβίζουσιν μακρόθεν· τινὰς δὲ ῥίπτουσιν κατακεφαλῆς ἐκ τῆς ἀνωτάτης βαθμίδος· τινὰς δὲ ἐκ τοῦ μέσου, τινὰς δὲ εὐθὺς ἐν τῇ ἀναβάσει, τινὰς δὲ δοκιμάζουσιν ἵνα ῥίψωσι κάτω, ἀλλὰ μὴ δυνάμενοι καταξεσχίζουσιν ἑαυτούς· τινὲς δὲ καί τοι κατὰ κεφαλῆς ὄντες συρόμενοι πρὸς τὰ κάτω παρὰ τῶν δαιμόνων ἀντέχουσιν ὅμως κρατοῦντες τὴν κλίμακα ὅλαις δυνάμεσι διὰ τῶν χειρῶν· ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς κλίμακος ὁ παμφάγος ᾅδης ὡς δράκων μέγας καὶ φοβερὸς ἔχων ἐντὸς τοῦ στόματος μοναχὸν καταβαίνοντα πρὸς τὰ κάτω. **Ἐπίγραμμα.** *"Βλέπον κλίμακα πρὸς πόλον ἑστραμμένην | Ὀρθῶς νόειμοι ἀρετῶν ἀναβάσεις | Ῥευστοῦ βίου οὖν ἐκφυγὼν ὅσον τάχος | Ἴθι πρὸς αὐτὴν καὶ ἀνελθε ἐμπόνως | Ἔχων δὲ φρουροὺς τοὺς χοροὺς τῶν ἀγγέλων | Δόχους διέλθοις τῶν πονηρῶν δαιμόνων. | Ὅπως ἀνελθὼν εἰς πύλας οὐρανίους | Ἕξεις στέφανον χειρὶ τοῦ Κυρίου."*

[1] Saturn.

[2] Dante *Div. Comm.* Parad. 21. 22 ff. trans. H. F. Cary.

[3] H. Bayley *The Lost Language of Symbolism* London 1912 i. 32 f. figs. 52—55 after C. M. Briquet *Les Filigranes* Dictionnaire historique des Marques du Papier dès leur apparition vers 1282 jusqu'en 1600 Paris etc. 1907 ii. 344 with figs. 5898—5934 (my fig. 82 is from nos. 5900, 5903, 5934, 5921, 5925, 5929, 5933), who says: 'Il n'est pas impossible qu'il y ait un rapport entre le filigr. de l'échelle et les armoiries de la famille della Scala, mais rien ne l'établit jusqu'ici.'

The combination of ladder with cross is noteworthy. Writers of mediaeval *sequentiae* often describe the cross as a ladder (*e.g.* J. Kehrein *Lateinische Sequenzen des Mittelalters* Mainz 1873 p. 67 no. 60, 5 haec est scala peccatorum, p. 73 no. 68, 3 tu nos hinc per modum scalae | ducas ad coelestia, p. 75 no. 73, 2 haec est scala novae legis, p. 76 no. 75, 9 tu scala, p. 331 no. 473 (Notker Balbulus), 1 ff. scalam ad coelos subrectam tormentis cinctam, | cuius ima draco servare cautus invigilat iugiter, ne quis eius vel primum gradum possit insaucius scandere. | cuius ascensus extracto Aethiops gladio vetat exitium minitans. | cuius supremis innixus iuvenis splendidus ramum aureolum retinet. | etc.)—a description readily applicable to the cross with three transverse bars (R. St. J. Tyrwhitt in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 497). Again, the ladder that appears among other emblems of the Passion (Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 58) is presumably symbolic as well as realistic.

abiding helpfulness is attested by the popularity of Longfellow's poem *The Ladder of Saint Augustine*[1]. J. M. Neale had the experi-

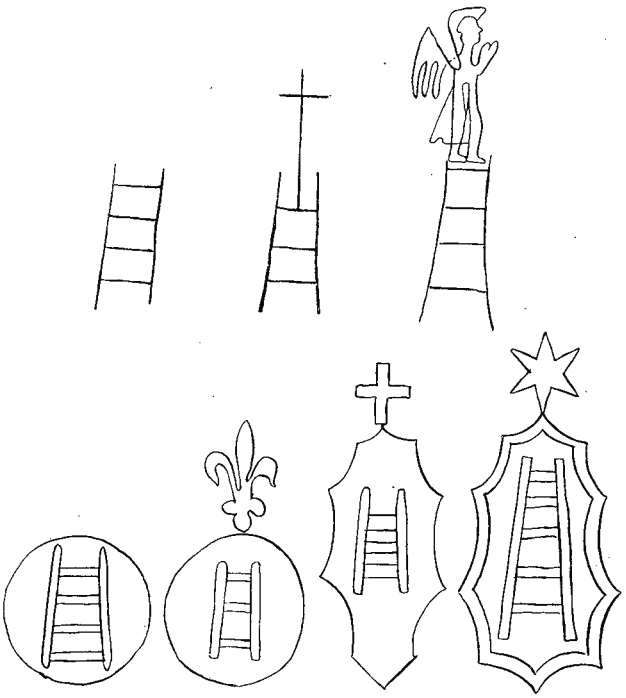


Fig. 82.

ence of centuries at his back, when with regard to life's trials, sorrows, and temptations he put the wistful question:

What are they but the ladder
Set up to heaven on earth?

(κ) The Sky-Pillar in Sardinia.

The invocation prefixed to the Orphic *Hymns* is addressed to a great variety of gods and goddesses including—

[1] H. W. Longfellow ('Cambridge Edition') London 1895 p. 186 f. with note on p. 668: 'The words of St. Augustine are, "De vitiis nostris scalam nobis facimus, si vitia ipsa calcamus."—Sermon III. *De Ascensione.*'

all Winds,
Thunders, and parts of the four-pillared World[1].

But this conception of the sky as resting on four pillars is not incompatible with belief in the soul-ladder: both notions were combined in Egypt[2]. Neither is the four-pillared sky necessarily

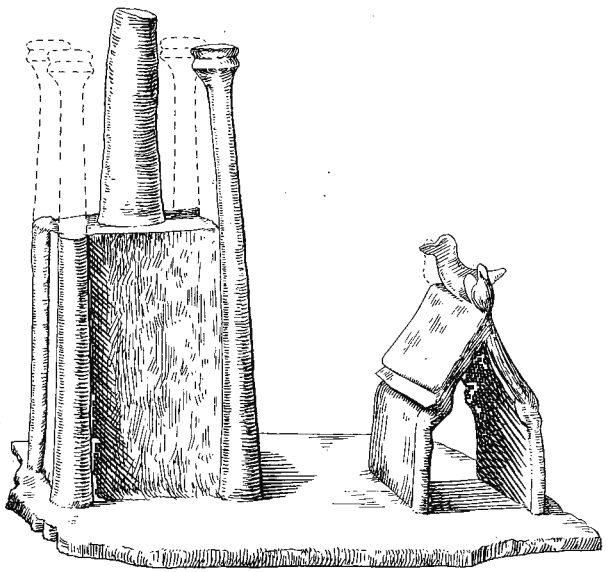


Fig. 83.

inconsistent with one central prop, the *universalis columna*[3]. In the Museum at Cagliari is a bronze from Mandas representing the whole apparatus of an early Sardinian cult (fig. 83)[4]. From a sub-

[1] Orph. *εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 38 f. *Ἀνέμους τε πρόπαντας καὶ Βροντὰς Κόσμου τε μέρη τετρακίονος αὐδῶ* (so Portus for *αὐλῶν*).

[2] *Supra* p. 125 f. The *Tet*-pillar, with regard to which conjecture has been rife (Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 130 n. 6, E. A. Wallis Budge *Egyptian Magic* London 1899 p. 44 ff. 'The Amulet of the Tet'), would—I think—be best explained as an abbreviated group of four columns representing the four supports of the sky (cp. C. J. C. Reuvens *Lettres à M. Letronne* Leide 1830 i. 69 together with W. M. Flinders Petrie *Medum* London 1892 p. 31).

[3] Cp. the modern Greek belief in the earth as supported by one column with four other pillars (*supra* p. 56 n. 2 no. 621).

[4] L. A. Milani 'Sardorum sacra et sacrorum signa' etc. in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* Leipzig—London—Paris—Chicago 1909 p. 312 f. fig. 1, A. Taramelli 'Il tempio

stantial square base, with a column at each angle, rises a central shaft, broken at the summit, which—as A. Taramelli infers from a votive bronze boat found in the same place (fig. 84)[1]—was originally

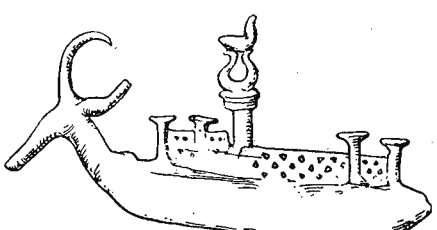


Fig. 84.

topped by bull's horns supporting a dove. Adjoining this structure is a small edifice with a gabled roof, on the ridge of which are the remains of three doves. It seems probable that the quincunx of pillars rising from a solid base was in effect a model of the sky uplifted above the earth[2], that the bird resting on the central shaft

nuragico ed i monumenti primitivi di S. Vittoria di Serri (Cagliari)' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1915 xxiii. 390 ff. fig. 93 (=my fig. 83: restorations after Milani *loc. cit.*). As to the date of the *nuraghi* civilisation, 'All we can say is that, although it may have reached its highest development in the bronze age, it certainly flourished in the eneolithic period' (T. E. Peet *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* Oxford 1909, p. 236).

[1] A. Taramelli *loc. cit.* p. 390. The boat in question is published by L. A. Milani in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* p. 333 n. 2 fig. 34 (=my fig. 84). It is a two-wicked lamp in the form of a bull-headed boat with a *témenos* on board: an enclosure with four pillars surrounds a taller column, on the capital of which is a pair of horns supporting a bird. Milani and Taramelli both compare the prow of a stag-headed bronze boat from Vetulonia, on which four clustered pillars are surmounted by a single shaft with horns and bird (L. A. Milani *Studi e materiali di archeologia e numismatica* Firenze 1902 ii. 87 fig. 274). Similar too is a seal-impression found by A. J. B. Wace in a well at Mykenai, which represents a pillar topped by ritual horns with a dove between them and flanked by two other doves.

[2] L. A. Milani 'Il tempio nuragico e la civiltà asiatica in Sardegna' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1909 xviii. 579—592 (cp. *id.* in the *Hilprecht Anniversary Volume* p. 312, A. Taramelli *loc. cit.* p. 389 ff.) compares the pillared base of the Sardinians with the *zikkurat* of the Babylonians. The analogy is remote; but it is certainly thinkable that the solid plinth, like the *zikkurat* (*supra* i. 603), was a conventionalised form of mountain, or at least stood for *terra firma*.

C. Brandenburg 'Reisenotizen aus Sardinien' in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1914 xlvi. 643 says: 'Das Objekt ist als "Tempelmodell" bezeichnet; es könnte aber möglicherweise auch ein ex voto sein, etwa das Haus eines Häuptlings mit hölzernem Wachtturm daneben, das zum Dank für die Errettung aus irgendeiner Katastrophe den Göttern geweiht wurde.' My experienced friend Mr T. Ashby agrees with me in thinking this solution of the problem unlikely (July 11, 1920).

was the sky-god in feathered form, and that the birds perched on the neighbouring roof betokened his presence in the sacred building near at hand. Perhaps we may venture a step further and identify this feathered sky-god with Sardopator[1] or Sardus Pater, who appears in a feathered head-dress on the copper coins of the island (fig. 85)[2]. Was it he that sent the winter rains so vital to the life of the Sardinian peasant[3]?

Fig. 85.

(λ) Diana-Pillars.

Similar constructions appear in the landscape-frescoes of Italy and are susceptible of the same interpretation. A remarkable painting in greenish monochrome from Herculaneum, now in the Naples collection (fig. 86)[4], shows a pillar-shrine set by the edge of a lake or river. A short flight of steps leads up to a square plinth, on which stands a pillar with moulded base, club-shaped shaft, and shallow disk-like capital. The shaft is surrounded by several bands and is marked here and there with patches[5] probably denoting votive objects affixed to it[6]. Above the capital the shaft is continued in the form of a tapering finial, round the lower part of which are seen three ornaments (heads of deer?)[7]. The pillar is half-encircled by a wall carrying an Ionic colonnade, which is finished off with a low cornice and a row of vases. Two side-walls, each supporting a

[1] Ptol. 3. 3. 2 Σαρδοπάτορος ἱερόν with C. Müller *ad loc.*

[2] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 223 f. fig., M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berechtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* Wien 1897 p. 45 f. fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 262, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 191, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1884 ii. 831 nos. 1601, 1602, E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2253 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 384 ff., R. Pettazzoni *La religione primitiva in Sardegna* Piacenza 1912 p. 62 ff. fig. 17. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum. For the feathered *coiffure* see further Sir A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 24 f. figs. 11 *b* (*c*), 11 *c*, 275 f. fig. 126 (no. 2), H. R. Hall in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901–1902 viii. 185 fig. 9, *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 119—123 figs. 3—7.

[3] Solin. 4. 5 hibernae pluviae in aestivam penuriam reservantur, nam homo Sardus opem plurimam de imbrido caelo habet. Cp. R. Pettazzoni *op. cit.* p. 105 ff.

[4] *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano* Napoli 1762 iii. 273 ff. pl. 52, H. Roux—M. L. Barré *Herculanum et Pompéi* Paris 1870 iii. 2. 16 ff. pl. 7, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 71 no. 252[b], M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 42 fig. 21 (here used to correct the earliest publication). Inventory no. 9413. Height 0·65[m]. Breadth 0·45[m]. The painting is assigned to the third or 'ornate' style of mural decoration (*c.* 25 B.C.—50 A.D.).

[5] *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano* Napoli 1762 iii. 274 f. 'alquante *fasce*, o giri, e *macchie* di varie figure, che il color della *pittura*, ch' è tutta a *chiaroscuro*, sbiadato ancora pel tempo, non lascia ben distinguere, nella superficie del corpo *conico*.'

[6] Cp. *infra* p. 146. [7] Cp. *infra* p. 146 f.

vase, complete the architecture of the shrine. Branches and ribands are twined about it; a jointed reed rests against the pillar; a filleted staff or sceptre lies before it. In the foreground a doe

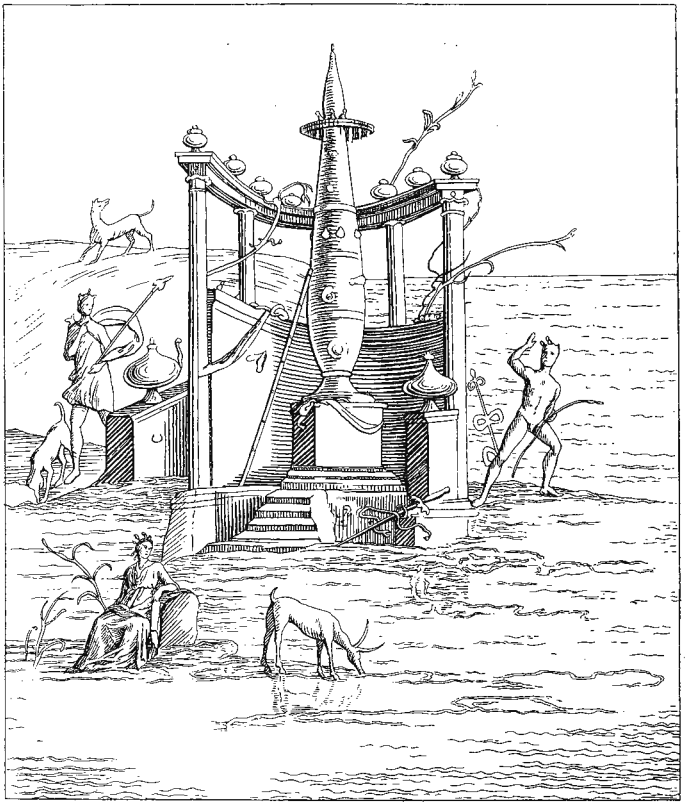


Fig. 86.

drinks, watched by a Nymph. To the left appears Diana with her hounds; to the right Actaeon, the horns sprouting from his head[1]. The choice of this myth may be taken to imply that the pillar was more or less closely associated with Diana.

[1] W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1864 p. 37.

A fresco still in the *triclinium* of the 'House of Livia' on the Palatine (fig. 87)[1] represents a shrine essentially similar in character.

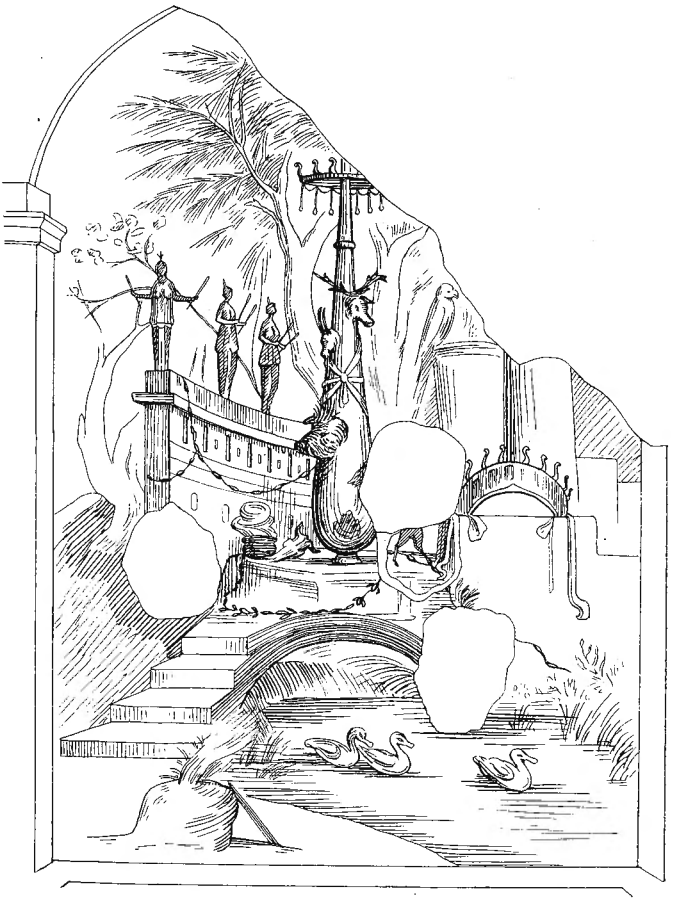


Fig. 87.

[1] T. Schreiber 'Due pitture del Palatino' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875 xlvii. 210—221 pl. K-L, 2, A. Mau *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* Berlin 1882 pp. 167 ff., 196 ff. pl. 9, *id.* 'Wandschirm und Bildtraeger in der Wandmalerei' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1902 xvii. 213 fig. 11, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wand-*

Steps give access to a bridge across a stream, along which three ducks are swimming. Above the bridge is a broad but low marble plinth. Over this trails a fillet. On it are a *bucranium*, a sacrificial bowl from which incense-smoke (?) curls upward, and a goat whose hind legs appear on a detached piece of plaster. From the plinth rises the club-like pillar with its disk. The shaft, yellowish brown in colour, seems to be of timber[1]: to it are attached the heads of several woodland animals—stag, boar, and goat. Below the discoid capital hang pendants (tassels?); and above it project other small accessories (a row of deer-heads?)[2]. The finial, which doubtless topped all, is not preserved. Partially encircling the pillar is a curved wall, over which woollen fillets are slung. The wall is pierced with a series of narrow openings and surmounted by three archaistic statues of females[3], each with a metal spike on her head and a pair of torches in her hands. To the right are several indistinct architectural features, apparently two large smooth pillars on a base. Upon one of these pillars a parrot is perched. And upon the base lies a great golden crown, set with red and green jewels and adorned with a row of deer-heads (?)[4] precisely resembling those of the disk. In the foreground a rude stone altar[5] is burning (?). In the background a huge tree, perhaps meant for a pine, spreads abroad its branches surrounded by the foliage of a dim-lit forest. The whole scene almost certainly depicts a shrine of Diana *Nemorensis* decked with spoils of the chase. It is on record that this goddess was worshipped in the form of 'a log' (*lignum*)[6]. And the ring of deer-heads (?) on the upper part of the pillar recalls the 'crown decorated with stags' worn by Nemesis, the Greek counterpart of Diana *Nemorensis*[7]. Finally, in the great golden crown tricked out

gemälde Berlin 1909 p. 38, M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 6 f. fig. 2 (which I have used to correct Mau's colour-plate). Height $2{\cdot}53^{m}$. Breadth $1{\cdot}44^{m}$. The painting is of the second or 'architectural' style (*c.* 80–10 B.C.).

[1] M. Rostowzew *loc. cit.* regards the pillar as made of bronze: but how then were the heads of the slain beasts fastened to it?

[2] For M. Rostowzew these are '*Greifenköpfe*.' They are not particularly like deer, or griffins either. Cp. the ornaments of the crown surmounting a sacred pillar, flanked by Aphrodite and Hermes, in a wall-painting from Pompeii (B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i. 1—9 pl. 32, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 8 no. 20, R. Engelmann *Bilder-Atlas zum Homer* Leipzig 1889 Odyssee p. 4 no. 24 pl. 4).

[3] '*Bronzebilder der Hekate*' (Rostowzew *loc. cit.*).

[4] M. Rostowzew again says '*mit...Greifenköpfen*.'

[5] Cp. Gratt. *cyneg.* 483 ff. (cited *supra* i. 274).

[6] Commod. *instructiones* 1. 19. 2 (cited *supra* i. 281 n. 5).

[7] *Supra* i. 275. If Rostowzew's interpretation of the upstanding ornaments as griffin-heads is correct, we must comfort ourselves with the reflection that the griffin was a more frequent attribute of Nemesis than the stag (*supra* i. 270, 276, 281).

with the same deer-heads (?) we may recognise the trappings of Diana's human consort, the *rex Nemorensis* himself[1]. There is indeed a certain fitness in the fact that a fresco illustrating the Arician cult was chosen for the walls of this *triclinium*. The 'House of Livia' was in all probability[2] acquired from the Hortensii by Augustus, who occupied it for more than forty years[3]. He seems to have reconstructed its back court, and—we are told—after the work was done made the whole house public property, continuing to hold it as *pontifex maximus*[4]. Later, if R. Lanciani[5] is right, it became the house of Germanicus father of Caligula, who—jealous of the long reign of the *rex Nemorensis*—actually hired a cut-throat to dispose of him[6]. Was it our fresco that suggested the freak?

Another fresco (fig. 88)[7], discovered at Pompeii, during the excavations of 1888—1890, on the end wall of a *triclinium* in the fifth region[8], adds further points of interest. In the centre of a rocky, mountainous scene, close to a stream or lake, grows a leafy pine-tree. Beside it is set a club-like pillar tapering downwards and surmounted by a capital of some sort with ornaments (deer-heads?) as before: the pillar is painted in light violet and is twined with

[1] Traces of a similar crown can perhaps be made out to the left of the sceptre in the monochrome painting from Herculaneum (*supra* p. 144 fig. 86). De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 56 n. 4 observes that many Roman frescoes attribute a 'corona dentata' to Artemis (*e.g.* Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 67 nos. 234, 236, 237, p. 68 nos. 240, 247, 248, p. 71 f. no. 253, p. 72 f. no. 256, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 28 no. 112, p. 30 f. no. 119, p. 141 f. no. 687, cp. *id. ib.* p. 29 nos. 114 f., A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1890 v. 264 f. See further L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 123 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 483), so that the crown in our fresco might be that of the goddess, not that of her priest. But, if the goddess is represented by the *lignum*, her crown is presumably the disk set upon it.

[2] See G. Pinza in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1910 xxxviii. 1 ff. and O. L. Richmond 'The Augustan Palatium' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1914 iv. 193 ff. Others (*e.g.* O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 143 f., 160, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 61) have regarded it as the house of Ti. Claudius Nero, first husband of Livia and father of the emperor Tiberius, who was born on the Palatine (Suet. *Tib.* 5).

[3] Suet. *Aug.* 72.

[4] Dion Cass. 55. 12.

[5] C. L. Visconti—R. Lanciani *Guida del Palatino* Torino 1873 p. 114. But see H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 85 n. 109.

[6] Suet. *Calig.* 35 Nemorensi regi, quod multos iam annos poteretur sacerdotio, validiorem adversarium subornavit.

[7] A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1890 v. 264—266 with fig. (=my fig. 88), G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 49. The painting, which measures 0·99^{m} in height by 0·57^{m} in breadth, is of the third or 'ornate' style (*c.* 25 B.C.–50 A.D.).

[8] *Reg.* v. 2. 10.

broad ribands. Raised on a square plinth at the foot of tree and pillar is the statue, perhaps a herm, of Diana with a *modius* on her head. Her left hand is uplifted and rests on a sceptre; her right is

Fig. 88.

outstretched as if it held a *patera*.. Before her, clad in *chlamýdes* of various hues, stand three men. One holds out towards her a wreath of leaves; his two companions turn their heads away. The hunting

spears that they carry, the pair of hounds attending them, and the stag bounding through a rocky archway in the background, all show that this is the cult of Diana *Nemorensis*. Grattius expressly mentions puppies and wreaths and weapons in his description of her woodland rite[1]. Who the long-robed figure in the lower left-hand corner may be, we cannot say. But it is noteworthy that the pillar-shrine of the goddess is duplicated and even triplicated in the same view. To the right of the pine and rather more in the background rises a second club, narrowing upwards and topped by a disk which apparently carries a tray or *liknon*. To the club are bound a short thick stick (?) and other votive offerings. By it stands the second effigy of Diana, this time an unmistakable herm. She bears again a *modius* on her head, holds on her shoulder a short sceptre (?), and extends her right hand. Club and herm alike are painted in dull violet to express distance. Away to the right a low, broad tripod, white and yellow, is placed on a round, whitish base. Adjoining this are bushes of bay (?); in the background, rocks and trees. On the left, above the arched rock, is seen yet a third club-pillar set on a square step beside an ancient, leafless tree. The painting as a whole may indeed be taken to illustrate no fewer than six stages in the evolution of religious art—the living tree, the dead tree, the club, the pillar, the herm, and the statue on its plinth. Moreover, it should be observed that here, as in the contemporary fresco from Herculaneum[2], the artist is fitting figures originally drawn from the gallery of Greek myth into a frankly Italian framework. Hippolytos, immortalised by Euripides[3] as presenting a garland to his patron goddess Artemis, is thus transformed into the hunter offering his wreath to Diana *Nemorensis* —a subtly appropriate transformation, when we call to mind the belief that Hippolytos came to life again in Diana's grove at Nemi[4].

Fig. 89.

In passing I may note a parallelism of form, and perhaps of function, which would repay further study. The pillar of Diana as represented on the frescoes was a stout post, rising from a stepped base, wound about with a fillet and crowned by a

[1] Gratt. *cyneg.* 483 ff. (*supra* i. 274).
[2] *Supra* p. 143 f.
[3] Eur. *Hipp.* 70 ff.
[4] *Supra* i. 225 n. 4, 282 n. 1, *infra* § 3 (a) v (*v*).

disk, from which pendants were dangling. In short, it was an erection uncommonly like our own May-pole, which I illustrate from a manuscript dated *c.* 1499 A.D. (fig. 89)[1]. The comparison *donne à penser*[2].

The landscape-paintings—not to dwell on the very similar landscape-reliefs (figs. 91, 92)[3]—, when viewed in connexion with the

[1] R. Chambers *The Book of Days* London—Edinburgh 1864 i. 575 : 'In the illuminations which decorate the manuscript "Hours" once used by Anne of Brittany and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Royale at Paris, and which are believed to have been painted about 1499, the month of May is illustrated by figures bearing flower-garlands, and behind them the curious May-pole here copied, which is also decorated by colours on the shaft, and ornamented by garlands arranged on hoops, from which hang small gilded pendents. The pole is planted on a triple grass-covered mound, embanked and strengthened by timber-work.' *Id. ib.* p. 577 notes that in the neighbourhood of Salzburg it is the custom to trick out the May-pole with birds, stags, etc. ('In one instance a stag-hunt is so represented'): the resemblance to the Roman pillar of Diana *Nemorensis* is curiously close.

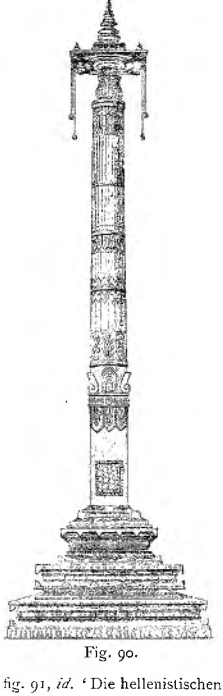


Fig. 90.

[2] *Supra* i. 291, 339 I suggested that the May-pole was topped by an effigy of the sun (globe, wheel, hoop). But these horizontal garlands point rather to an effigy of the sky (*infra* p. 157 f.).

Analogous forms might be traced yet further afield. A sacred column (*stambha*, *lât*) of granite (height 52½ ft) facing a Jain temple at Mudubidery or Morbidry near Mangalore (E. Moor *The Hindu Pantheon* London 1861 pl. 77 (=my fig. 90), *id. The Hindu Pantheon*[2] Madras 1864 p. 368 pl. 44) bears indeed a curious resemblance to the Diana-pillars of ancient Italy. This may, of course, be wholly fortuitous. But it is thinkable that there was some remote connexion between them. For the Jains were apparently known to the later Greeks (Hesych. Γεννοί· οἱ Γυμνοσοφισταί); and the *stambha* or *lât* in its earliest form has *quasi*-classical traits (see J. Fergusson *History of Indian and Eastern Architecture* rev. by J. Burgess and R. Phené Spiers London 1910 i. 54, 56 ff. fig. 5 ff., 346 ff. fig. 202 f., ii. 21 fig. 275, 81 ff. fig. 308). Moreover, the Jains sometimes compared the world with a spindle resting on a half spindle (H. T. Colebrooke *Miscellaneous Essays*[2] London 1873 ii. 198 f., C. Lassen *Indische Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1861 iv. 771). Hence it is tempting to conjecture that the *stambha* was, at least originally, a world-pillar.

[3] A few examples will suffice: Fig. 91, a marble relief (height *c.* 1·20^{m}, breadth 0·75^{m}) in the Palazzo Colonna at Rome (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii 66 f. no. 3576, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1725 Suppl. i. 132 pl. 31 no. 8 with sides reversed, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 287 f. pl. 42, 1, *id. Über den Gott Eros* Berlin 1850 p. 34 f. pl. 2, 1, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 158 f., 539 fig. 26, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1889 pl. 15 = my fig. 91, *id.* 'Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d.*

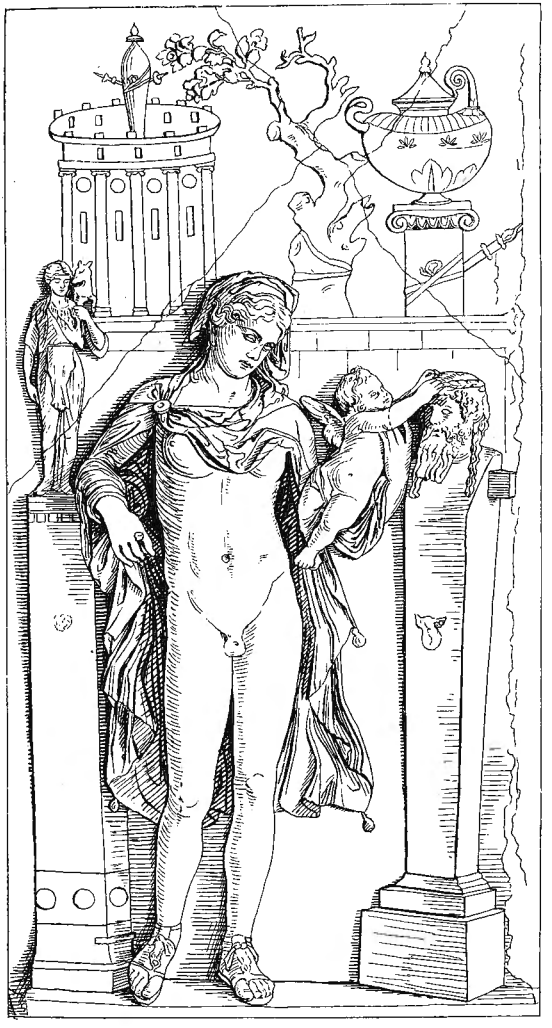


Fig. 91.

Fig. 92.

kais. deutsch. arch. Inst. 1896 xi. 99 n. 56, 100 n. 58, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 220 no. 2, M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 105 f.), shows Hermaphroditos nursing the infant Eros, who arranges a wreath on a herm to the right. To the left an archaistic Artemis, wearing a skin and holding a fawn on her shoulder, is mounted on a pilaster. (Restored: Hermaphroditos' nose, right hand, *phallós*; Eros' right fore-arm; the herm's beard and *phallós*; Artemis' head; the fawn's head.) The background represents a precinct-wall, above which we see in the centre an ancient oak with a band twined about its trunk, to the right an Ionic column with a burning torch tied to its shaft and a vase set on its capital, to the left a circular pillar-shrine with Ionic columns, windows, entablature, second row of windows, and battlements, the shrine enclosing a Diana-pillar with two torches bound to it.

Fig. 92, a marble relief (height 0·30^{m}, breadth 0·34^{m}) found at Rome in 1820 and now at Munich (Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München* p. 370 f. no 455, *id. ib.*^{2} p. 397 no. 455, *id. Ein hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 93, 2, J. M. Wagner in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 47—52, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 27, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 156 ff., 543 fig. 56, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1890 pl. 80, *id.* 'Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 99 n. 56, 100 n. 58, J. E. Harrison 'Mystica vannus Iacchi' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 297 f. fig. 6, *ead.* 'Note on the mystica vannus Iacchi' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 147, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 82 no. 1, M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 102 f.), portrays a countryman driving a cow to market. He carries a basket and a pole with a dead hare hanging from it; his cow has a couple of sheep slung pannier-wise over its back. (Restored: the countryman's head and right fore-arm, basket, pole with part of hare; the cow's head.) Behind this

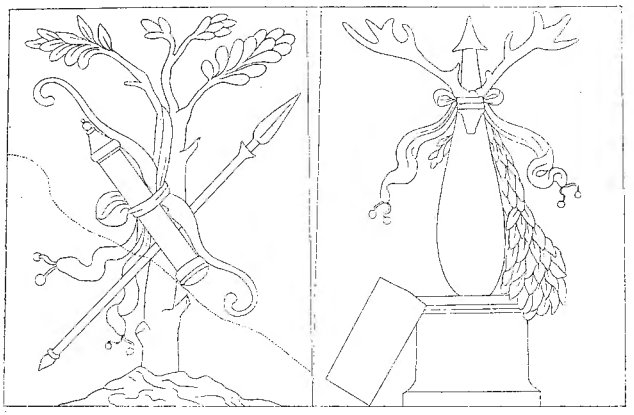


Fig. 93.

group appears a circular pillar-shrine with windows in its wall, which is partially broken down. Through the gap we see a decorative Diana-pillar with disk-like capital, from which two tassels are hanging. A pair of timbrels is set up on the wall, a flaming torch

bronze shrines from Mandas[1], enable us to reach certain tentative conclusions. In the first place, it would seem that the cosmological belief expressed in the cult-monuments of Sardinia was common to Italy also[2]. Italian rustics at the close of the republic were still

bound to the pillar, and a *lêknon* full of fruits including a phalloid gherkin or small cucumber placed upon the disk. Adjoining the pillar-shrine on the right is a gateway, with pine-cone as finial, built over an old oak-tree, the trunk of which disappears behind a wall to the right; on the left, a low wall with narrow openings left in it, a vase set upon it, and a *thýrsos* and two torches leaning against it. The background to the left shows an *aedicula* of Priapos with an arched entry and a windowed side.

Fig. 93, the three-sided base of a *candelabrum* in the Vatican (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 322 pl. 83, Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 77 f. figs. 9 f., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 413 fig. 499, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 259 f. no. 369, *ib.*[3] i. 229 no. 356, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 297 fig. 313), represents (*a*) a quiver, bow, and hunting-spear hung from the branch of a bay-tree, (*b*) a Diana-pillar with a stag's antlers and a garland bound to it and a votive tablet leaning against it, (*c*) a rustic altar decked with a garland: on the altar are offerings—a pine-cone etc.; against it leans a blazing torch, while a deer bites playfully at the riband hanging from the torch.

Fig. 94, a silver box-lid obtained from the Roman dealer Capranesi by E. Gerhard and now at Berlin (O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1858 xvi. 229 ff. pl. 118, 1 = my fig.), renders in high relief an altar-top with a group of votive or sacred objects lying upon it.

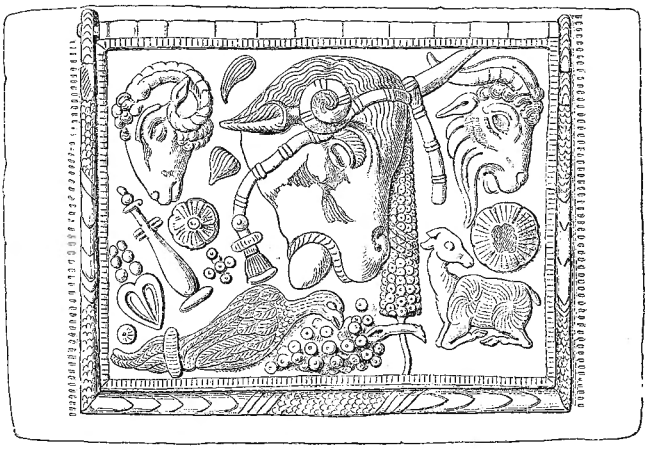


Fig. 94.

These include a filleted ox-head, a sheep's head, a goat's head, a kid with folded legs, a bird with bound wings, a bunch of grapes, an ear of maize, a fig, an almond, etc. Among them is a club-shaped Diana-pillar (Jahn describes it with hesitation as 'eine Spindel') of the sort already familiar to us.

[1] *Supra* p. 141 f.

[2] This may be disputed. Some archaeologists have looked to Egypt, others to Asia Minor or Syria, as the source from which the pillar-worship of Graeco-Roman art was

ΒΕΡΕΝΙΚΗCΒΑCΙΛΙCCΗC

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Fig. 95.

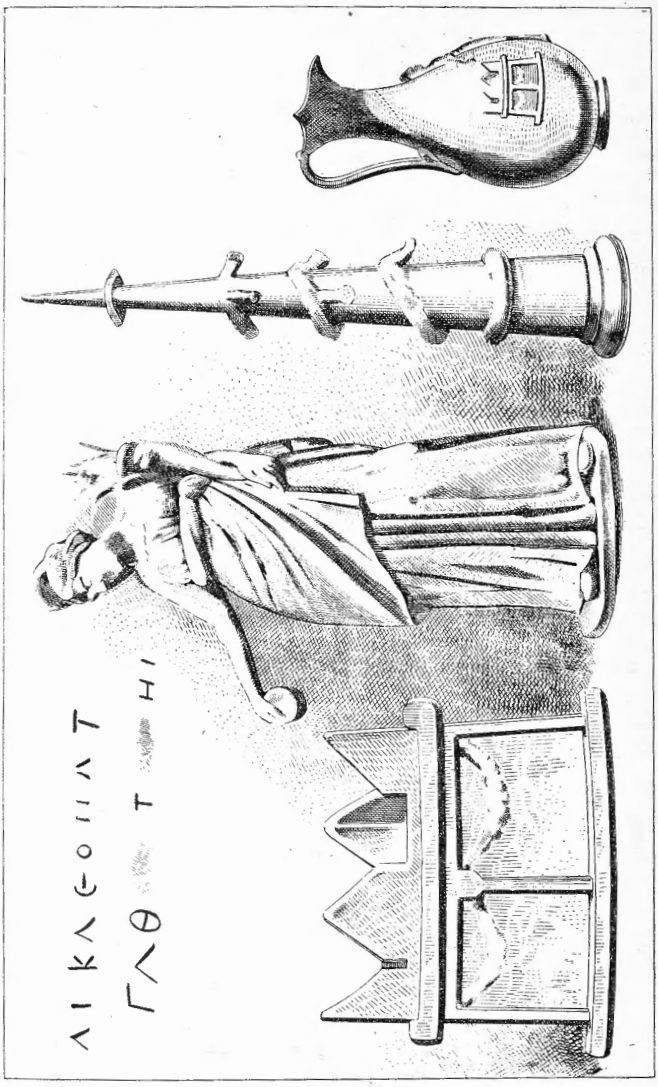


Fig. 96.

making the sky-column on its plinth within a ring of pillars or pilasters pretty much as the Sardinians had done at the beginning of the bronze age, though quite possibly the meaning of the custom had long been forgotten. Secondly, we note that the central shaft or sky-prop was of wood, a sacred log, in short an Italian *Irminsûl*, modified by art into a tapering column of peculiar form[1]. Further, we may suspect (though we can hardly prove the point) that its most peculiar feature, the flat disk serving as capital, had come to be taken for a representation of the round sky resting on the sky-

derived. And arguments more or less specious are not wanting. On the one hand, a very similar pillar, with cylindrical base, discoid capital, and tapering shaft, occurs as part of the relief-decoration on blue porcelain jugs inscribed with the names of Ptolemaic kings and queens (E. Beulé 'Le Vase de la Reine Bérénice' in the *Journal des savants* 1862 pp. 163—172 with pl. = my fig. 95, F. Lenormant 'Le vase de la reine Cléopatre' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1863 i. 259—266 pl. 7 = my fig. 96, T. Schreiber *Die alexandrinische Toreutik* Leipzig 1894 p. 433 n. 47, *id.* 'Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder und die augusteische Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 100 n. 1, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 129, and especially E. Breccia in the *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique d'Alexandrie* 1910 xii. 93—98). On the other hand, a sherd of Pergamene relief-ware (not later than *s.* iii B.C.), found at Pergamon and now in the Antiquarium at Berlin, represents a sacred pillar, which resembles that of the Romans even more closely (M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 114—116, 130 pl. 11, 3 = my fig. 97): on a garlanded cylindrical base stands a club-like pillar with disk and finial; propped against the base are a double flute (?), a *bucranium*, and a *lagobólon*, the other end of which seems to rest on a tree-stem; a *sýrinx* is fastened to the pillar by a riband; and Pan leans against it playing on the lyre. But there is much more to be said for the view that in the pillar-worship of Italian art we should recognise a local survival of a cult once common to the whole Mediterranean area (Sir A. J. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 128).

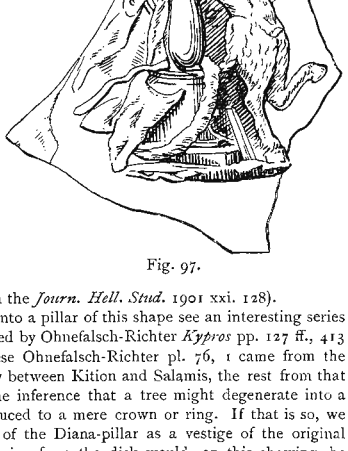


Fig. 97.

[1] For a sacred tree conventionalised into a pillar of this shape see an interesting series of Cypriote terra-cotta *agálmata* published by Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 127 ff., 413 pl. 76, 8, 1, 6, 10 = my fig. 98. Of these Ohnefalsch-Richter pl. 76, 1 came from the sanctuary of Artemis at *Achna*, half-way between Kition and Salamis, the rest from that of Astarte at Chytroi. They warrant the inference that a tree might degenerate into a tapering baluster, its branches being reduced to a mere crown or ring. If that is so, we may fairly explain the disk-like capital of the Diana-pillar as a vestige of the original branches or foliage. The pendants hanging from the disk would, on this showing, be a reminiscence of offerings etc. suspended from the boughs.

pillar: the pendants that dangle from it are not without analogy in the cosmic notions of other races[1]. Finally, we observe that side by side with these pillar-shrines there persisted the more primitive tree-cult, in which the living tree was enclosed by a gateway consisting of side-posts and lintel (fig. 99)[2] or by some later elabora-

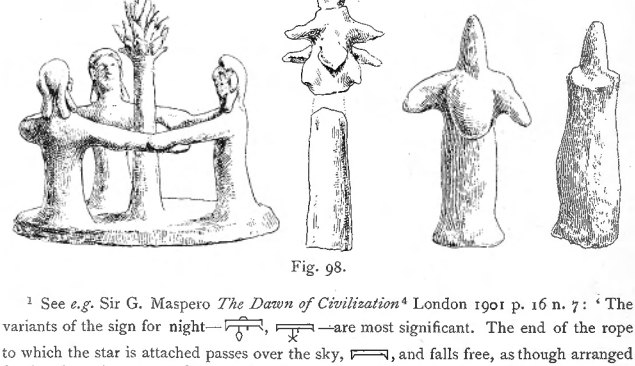


Fig. 98.

[1] See *e.g.* Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 16 n. 7: 'The variants of the sign for night—, —are most significant. The end of the rope to which the star is attached passes over the sky, , and falls free, as though arranged for drawing a lamp up and down when lighting or extinguishing it. And furthermore, the name of the stars—*khabsît*—is the same word as that used to designate an ordinary lamp.' Cp. the sun suspended by cords on a Babylonian tablet (*supra* i. 262 ff.). J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 722: 'The Lithuanians beautifully weave shooting stars into the fate-mythus: the *verpeya* (spinneress) begins to spin the thread of the new-born on the sky, and each thread ends in a star; when a man is dying, his thread snaps, and the star turns pale and drops (Narbutt, 1, 71).'

Traces of such beliefs can be found here and there among the Greeks. Thus at the Boeotian Daphnephoria the *kopó* was a staff of olive-wood with a bronze ball at the top to denote the sun, a smaller ball below to denote the moon, a number of little balls hanging from the topmost ball to denote the stars and planets (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 164 f.: I have discussed the rite in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 409 ff., *supra* i. 291 n. 5).

[2] Fig. 99 is a stucco-relief from one of the vaulted rooms of a Roman town-house discovered in 1878 in the garden of the Villa Farnesina (*Mon. d. Inst.* Suppl. pl. 35, J. Lessing—A. Mau *Wand- und Deckenschmuck eines roemischen Hauses aus der Zeit des Augustus* Berlin 1891 p. 14 pl. 15, M. Collignon 'Le styl décoratif à Rome' in the *Revue de l'art ancien et moderne* 1897 i. p. 104 with pl., M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 34 ff. fig. 13 f. (after Anderson's photograph no. 2506 = my fig. 99), H. Bulle *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum*[2] München und Leipzig 1912 p. 601 f. pl. 298, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 220 ff., 233 no. 1059, *ib.*[3] ii. 117 ff. no. 1330). This relief, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, represents a rocky landscape with a stream spanned by a bridge. On the bridge are two women carrying pitchers, of whom the first gives drink to a kneeling beggar (cp. Iuv. 4. 116 ff. with J. E. B. Mayor *ad loc.*). To the left of the bridge a large date-palm (?) stands in a precinct between a couple of two-storied buildings. Over it is a gateway consisting of a pillar and a pilaster with an architrave, on which is set a fluted jar. Adjoining this complex we see a circular walled structure with narrow openings, which is

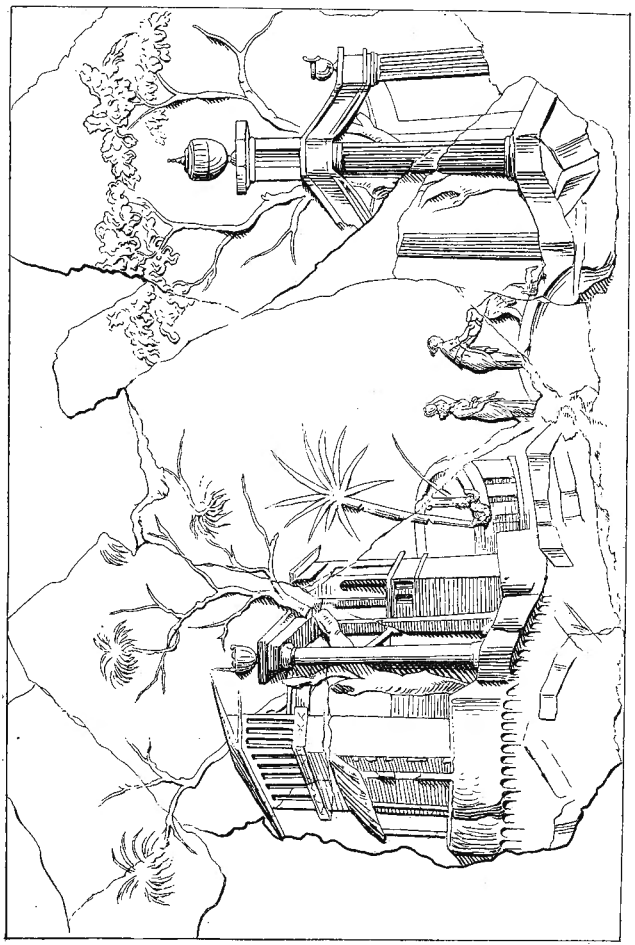


Fig. 99.

decked with garlands and contains a palm-tree and a pillar. To the right of the bridge yet another sacred tree with its pillar and jar rises from an enclosure of peculiar shape (three columns and a back-wall support an architrave, of which two sides are concave, the third convex).

Another good example of the gateway erected over a sacred tree is *Le pitture antiche d'Ercolano* Napoli 1762 iii. 281 ff. pl. 53, H. Roux—M. L. Barré *Herculanum et Pompéi*

tion of the same[1]. From our present position it seems legitimate to conjecture that this gateway or arch at first denoted the sky itself resting on the side-supports. Such a supposition at least helps us to understand the otherwise puzzling representations of the Dioskouroi in Etruscan art. Their *dókana* are seen to be simply the 'beams' of the world—its pillars and ceiling. And they themselves, as figured on Etruscan mirrors, are the humanised side-posts, which naturally enough have between them a tree or a column and above them a starry pediment[2].

(*μ*) *Agyieús*-Pillars.

And here, at the risk of faring worse, we must go further. For it is impossible to separate the Diana-pillars of Italy from the *Agyieús*-pillars of Greece[3], which in form and fashion are their exact counterpart. Grammarians and lexicographers define the term *Agyieús* sometimes as a pointed[4] or conical pillar[5], sometimes

Paris 1870 iii. 2. 13 ff. pl. 5, Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 156, 541 fig. 36, W. Helbig in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 182 f., *id. Wandgem. Camp.* p. 274 no. 1279. See further M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 41 fig. 18=Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 141 no. 686, cp. *id. ib.* p. 52 no. 245.

A base or altar in the Villa Albani (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii. 235—238 pl. 98, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 132 no. 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 no. 1847) shows (*a*) Apollon, with lyre and *plêktron*, bow-case and quiver, standing beside his bay-tree, which grows through a Corinthian gateway; (*b*) a richly decorated tripod, on the plinth of which is perched a raven; (*c*) a sacrificial ewer and bowl; (*d*) a griffin looking backwards. The scheme of the rustic tree-shrine is applied to the cult of the civilised Apollon in virtue of his sacred bay.

[1] *Supra* p. 152 fig. 92. [2] *Supra* i. 766 ff.

[3] The main facts and fancies relating to these *Agyieús*-monuments are collected by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 495 ff., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 168 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 3 ff. Münztaf. 1, 1—8, G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 909 f., E. Reisch *ib.* i. 910 ff., K. Wernicke *ib.* ii. 41 f., De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 46 ff. § 22 ff., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 173, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 774 n. 4, 776 n. 1 f., 1232, Farnell *Cults of Gr. States* iv. 148 ff., 307 f., 371 f. coin-pl. A, 15, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 406 ff., M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* (Bryn Mawr College Monographs: Monograph Series xiii) Bryn Mawr 1913 pp. 41 f., 74.

[4] Harpokr. *s.v.* 'Αγυιᾶς=Bekker *anecd.* i. 331, 32 f.=Souid. *s.v.* ἀγυιαί=schol. Ald. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* 'Αγυιεύς=Favorin. *lex.* p. 28, 27 f. Herodian. ii. 889, 27 ff.=Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἀγυιά=Bekker *anecd.* i. 327, 17 f. Schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 631. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 166, 22=Favorin. *lex.* p. 798, 5 f.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* ἀγυιαί=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* 'Αγυιᾶς=Favorin. *lex.* p. 28, 31 f. Herodian. i. 240, 21 ff.=Steph. Byz. *s.v.* ἀγυιά, and schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875 use the word *ὀβελίσκοι*, which might pass muster as a rough and ready equivalent. Schol. Rav. Aristoph. *thesm.* 489 'Αγυιᾶ· <ὁ> οὕτω καλούμενος 'Απόλλων τετράγωνος was perhaps confusing the *Agyieús* with a herm, cp. Ulpian *in* Dem. *in Mid.* 51 οἱ δὲ ἀγυιάς (leg. 'Αγυιᾶς) φασι τοὺς Ἑρμᾶς though Paus. 8. 32. 4 (*infra* p. 164 n. 7) describes an Apollon *Agyieús* at Megalopolis as having *σχῆμα τετράγωνον* (for which shape in Arkadia see *supra* i. 320 n. 2).

as an altar[1], set up before a doorway. Attempts have been made to distinguish the pillar from the altar[2]; but these are now generally discredited[3] in view of Hesychios' gloss—'*Agyieús*, the pillar-shaped altar that stands before the doors[4].' The association of pillar with doorway recalls the *dókana* of the Dioskouroi as figured on the Etruscan mirrors[5]. And the use of a pillar before the doors for an actual altar can be paralleled from the cult of Zeus *Kataibátes* at Tarentum[6]. Nor are we dependent for our notion of an *Agyieús* merely upon the verbal descriptions of ancient scholars. Those descriptions are precise enough to warrant us in giving the name to the monument represented on coins of northern Greece struck at Apollonia (figs. 100, 101)[7], Orikos (fig. 102)[8], and Olympe (fig. 103)[9]

[1] Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς = Bekker *anecd.* i. 332, 3 ff. = Souid. *s.v.* ἀγυιαί = schol. Ald. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875 = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς = Favorin. *lex.* p. 28, 29 ff. Nigidius (*frag.* 42 Funaioli) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* i. 9. 6. Varr. *ap.* Porphyr. *in* Hor. *od.* 4. 6. 28. Poll. 4. 123. Helladios *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 535 b 33 ff. Bekker. Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ἀξίας. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 166, 23 f. Of the passages cited by Harpokr. etc. the least equivocal is Soph. *Laocoon frag.* 341 Nauck[2], 370 Jebb λάμπει δ' ἀγυιεὺς βωμὸς ἀτμίζων πυρὶ | σμύρνης σταλαγμούς, βαρβάρους (σταλαγμοῖς βαρβάρους Harpocr. libri fere omnes) εὐοσμίας.

[2] First by F. Wieseler 'Interno all' Ἀγυιεὺς ossia ἀγυιεὺς βωμὸς, ed alcune rappresentanze di esso sopra monumenti' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1858 xxx. 222—227 (cp. Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 490 Index *s.v.* ?Ἀγυιεὺς βωμός), then by E. Reisch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 910, 912, and last by A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 370 Jebb (*supra* n. 1).

[3] J. Six 'Der Agyieus des Mys' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 344 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 776 n. 1, De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 47 f. § 23.

We must, however, admit that the shape of the *Agyieús* was somewhat variable. Six *loc. cit.* 1894 xix. 340—345 figs. 1—7 holds that a conical limestone pillar at Korkyra inscribed Μῦς *με hιο|ατο* and three blocks still standing on quadrangular plinths beside house-doors at Pompeii (a cone of dark lava in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* = *reg.* viii. 3. 2, a limestone *omphalós* in the *Strada della Fortuna* = *reg.* vi. 14, a round-topped *stéle* of travertine in the *Strada Stabiana* = *reg.* ix. 3. 3) served as *Agyieús*-stones: but see A. Mau *ib.* p. 344 n. 2. Helladios *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 535 b 34 f. speaks of *βωμὸν...στρογγύλον*—a loose phrase, which would cover a variety of shapes.

[4] Hesych. Ἀγυιεύς· ὁ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἑστὼς βωμὸς ἐν σχήματι κίονος = *et. mag.* p. 15, 29 f. Ἀγυιεύς· ὁ πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν ἱστάμενος ἐν σχήματι κίονος καὶ (καὶ om. codd. Vb. D.) βωμός.

[5] *Supra* p. 160.

[6] *Supra* pp. 29 ff., 45, *infra* p. 166. On pillar-altars in general see W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 pp. 188, 487 ff., W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 p. 360 ff., Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 112 ff., 130 ff., *supra* i. 587 n. 4.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 56 pl. 12, 2 (copper of *c.* 400—350 B.C. obv. seven-stringed lyre; rev. ΑΠΟΛ ΛΩΝΟΣ obelisk), p. 59 f. pl. 12, 9 and 12 (copper of 229—100 B.C. obv. head of Apollon laureate; rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΙΑΤΑΝ variously arranged to right and left of obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), p. 61 f. pl. 12, 15 and 13, 1 (silver of 100 B.C.—Augustus obv. ΑΝΔΡΩΝΟΣ head of Athena; rev. ΑΠΟΛ-ΛΩ ΝΙΑΤΑΝ ΤΙ ΜΗΝ obelisk: copper of 100 B.C.—Augustus obv. ΑΥΣΩΝ and monogram before head of Apollon laureate; rev. ΑΠΟΛΛΩ ΝΙΑΤΑΝ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 2 f. (copper of 229—100 B.C.), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 314, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 14 nos. 92—95 pl. 3, 92 f., *ib.* v. 15 nos. 98—

in Illyria, at Ambrakia (figs. 104—106)[1] in Epeiros, at Byzantion

Fig. 100.

Fig. 101.

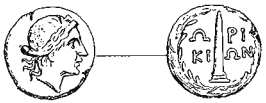


Fig. 102.

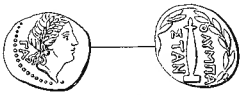


Fig. 103.

Fig. 104.

Fig. 105.

Fig. 106.

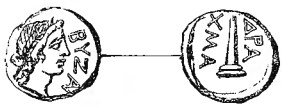


Fig. 107.

Fig. 108.

100 pl. 3, A. Maier in the *Numismatische Zeitschrift* 1908 p. 17. I figure two specimens from the McClean collection.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 79 pl. 31, 13 = my fig. 102 (copper of *c.* 230—168 B.C. obv. head of Apollon laureate; rev. Ω ΡΙ ΚΙ ΩΝ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 316. J. Eckhel *Numi veteres anecdoti ex museis Vindobonensi, Florentino magni Ducis Etruriæ, Granelliano nunc Cæsareo, Vitzaiano, Festeticsiano, Savorgnano Veneto* Vindobonæ 1775 p. 102, *id. Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 167 cites the fraudulent inscription Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* ii. 1106 no. 7 C. Atinio C. f. Quir. | Felici | oriundo Orĭco | vico Apollin. mil. | leg. vii Claudiae etc. (= *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 5 no. 1315*) as proof that Orikos was devoted to the cult of Apollon.

[9] J. Millingen *Ancient Coins of Greek Cities and Kings* London 1831 p. 51 f. pl. 3, 19 = my fig. 103 (a unique specimen from the Hamilton collection—obv. head of Apollon laureate with ΓΑ behind it; rev. ΟΛΥΜΠΑ ΣΤΑΝ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 4 n.[e] Steph. Byz. *s.v. Δῖον* notes that ethnics in *-σται* are a Macedonian formation; O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 177 says 'besonders in Nordgriechenland verbreitet.'

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 94 pl. 18, 1 (silver of *c.* 238–168 B.C. obv. head of Dione laureate and veiled, rev. Α Μ obelisk, with fillets or fillet and palm attached, the whole in a bay-wreath), *ib.* p. 94 pls. 18, 2 and 32, 3 (copper of *c.* 238–168 B.C. obv. head of Dione laureate and veiled, or of Apollon laureate (so P. Gardner and B. V. Head—but the necklace points rather to a goddess), or of Athena in crested Corinthian helmet; rev. Α Μ Β Ρ or Α Μ obelisk, the whole in a bay-wreath), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 10 (coppers of *c.* 238–168 B.C.), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 319 f. fig. 179,

(fig. 107)[1] in Thrace, and at Megara (fig. 108)[2] the metropolis of Byzantion. The coins in question have as their reverse type a pillar or baluster tapering to a point with a stepped plinth or base, a discoid capital, and occasionally an extra ring or rings on its shaft. Sometimes a fillet or a couple of fillets flutters from its apex. Once a palm-branch is attached to its side. The obverse type is commonly, but not exclusively, a head or symbol of Apollon. This god is known to have been worshipped as *Agyieús* at Acharnai[3], Athens[4], Argos[5], Tegea[6], Megalopolis[7], and Halikarnassos[8]. In

Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 15 nos. 102—104 pl. 3, 102 f. and pl. 24, 104, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 3 f. Münztaf. 1, 2 f. Silver staters of Corinthian type, referable to *s.* iv B.C., sometimes have as symbol the Ambracian obelisk with fillet attached (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 109 pl. 29, 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 4 n. [a] Münztaf. 1, 1). Fig. 104 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 94 pl. 18, 1. Fig. 105 is from the McClean collection. Fig. 106 = W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 9. On the connexion of Apollon with Ambrakia see the myth of Kragaleus as told by Ant. Lib. 4 after Nikandros and Athanadas (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 343 f. Müller).

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 96 fig. = my fig. 107 (copper of period after Alexander the Great obv. ΒΥΖΑ/ head of Apollon laureate; rev. ΔΡΑ ΧΜΑ obelisk), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 269, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 14 no. 89. See also the interesting coins *infra* p. 167 figs. 111—113.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 121 pl. 21, 13 (copper of *c.* 307–243 B.C. obv. ΜΕΓΑ prow of trireme; rev. obelisk, usually with fillets attached, between two dolphins), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 84, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 393 f., Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 15 no. 96 pl. 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 4 f. Münztaf. 1, 8, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 6 pl. A, 8. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection. See further *infra* p. 168 n. 1.

[3] Paus. 1. 31. 6 *ἐστι δὲ* Ἀχαρναὶ *δῆμος· οὗτοι θεῶν* Ἀπόλλωνα *τιμῶσιν* Ἀγυιέα *καὶ* Ἡρακλέα. *κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Dem. *in Mid.* 51 f. *κατὰ τὰς μαντείας, ἐν αἷς ἀπάσαις ἀνηρημένον εὑρήσετε τῇ πόλει, ὁμοίως ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἐκ Δωδώνης, χοροὺς ἱστάναι κατὰ τὰ πάτρια καὶ κνισᾶν ἀγυιὰς* (*leg.* Ἀγυιᾶς, and so in Aristoph. *eq.* 1320, *av.* 1233, despite the oracle in Dem. *c. Macart.* 66 *τὰς ἀγυιὰς κνισῆν* and Loukian. *Prom.* 19 *κνισᾶν τὰς ἀγυιάς*, *bis accus.* 2 *ἀκνίσωτοι δὲ αἱ ἀγυιαί*, cp. Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς = Bekker *anecd.* i. 331, 30 ff. = Souid. *s.v. ἀγυιαί* = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς = Favorin. *lex.* p. 28, 27 ff., Steph. Byz. *s.v. ἀγυιά*) *καὶ στεφανηφορεῖν. ἀνάγνωθι δέ μοι λαβὼν αὐτὰς τὰς μαντείας.* ΜΑΝΤΕΙΑΙ. *αὐδῶ* Ἐρεχθείδῃσιν, *ὅσοι Παν-*|*δίονος ἄστυ* | *ναίετε καὶ πατρίοισι νόμοις ἰθύνεθ' ἑορτάς,* | *μεμνῆσθαι Βάκχοιο, καὶ εὐρυχόρους κατ' ἀγυιὰς* | *ἱστάναι ὡραίων Βρομίῳ χάριν* (*ὡραῖον Βρομίῳ χορὸν* T. Hemsterhuis, *ὡραίῳ Βρομίῳ χορὸν* E. Meier, *ὡραίαν Βρομίῳ χάριν* H. Sauppe) *ἅμμιγα πάντας,* | *καὶ κνισᾶν βωμοῖσι κάρη στεφάνοις πυκάσαντας. περὶ ὑγιείας θύειν καὶ εὔχεσθαι Διὶ Τπάτῳ,* Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι Προστατηρίῳ· *περὶ τύχας ἀγαθᾶς* Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀγυιεῖ, Λατοῖ, Ἀρτέμιδι, *καὶ κατ' ἀγυιὰς κρατῆρας ἱστάμεν καὶ χορούς καὶ στεφαναφορεῖν καττὰ πάτρια θεοῖς* Ὀλυμπίοις *πάντεσσι καὶ πάσαις, ἰδίας δεξιὰς καὶ ἀριστερὰς ἀνίσχοντας, καὶ μνασιδωρεῖν, Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 159 Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀγυιεῖ (*sic*) | *τὸν βωμὸν* | *οἱ πυλωυροὶ* (*sic*) | Α[.... on an altar of *c.* 50 A.D., *ib.* iii. 1 no. 175 *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ.* | Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως Προστατηρίο[υ] | Πατρῴου Πυθίου Κλαρίου Παυωνίου on an altar adorned with a relief of Apollon playing the lyre (E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 169 fig. 193), *ib.* iii. 1 no. 177 Ἀπόλλωνος Ἀγυιέως Ἀλεξικάκου on a quadrangular base of Hymettian marble found near the Acharnian Gate. See also Varr. *ap.* Porphyr. *in* Hor. *od.* 4. 6. 28, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀγυιᾶς (*supra* p. 161 n. 1), Euanthius *de fabula* p. 3, 9 ff. Reifferscheid.

fact, the title was usually regarded as his beyond dispute. Nevertheless there were dissentients. A literary tradition attributes the *Agyieús*-pillar to Dionysos, or at least to Dionysos in partnership with Apollon[1]; and a marble *metа* in the Villa Albani (fig. 109)[2]

[5] Paus. 2. 19. 8 *ἐπὶ τούτοις* (*sc.* after the graves of Linos, son of Apollon, and Linos, the poet) *ἐστὶν Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεὺς καὶ βωμὸς Ἑστίου Διός, κ.τ.λ.*

[6] Paus. 8. 53. 1 *τῷ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνι οἱ Τεγεᾶται τῷ Ἀγυιεῖ τὰ ἀγάλματα ἐπ' αἰτίᾳ φασὶν ἱδρύσασθαι τοιᾷδε. Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Ἄρτεμιν ἐπὶ πᾶσαν λέγουσι χώραν τιμωρεῖσθαι τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ὅσοι Λητοῦς, ἡνίκα εἶχεν ἐν τῇ γαστρί, πλανωμένης καὶ ἀφικομένης ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐκείνην οὐδένα ἐποιήσαντο αὐτῆς λόγον. ὡς δὲ ἄρα καὶ ἐς τὴν Τεγεατῶν ἐληλυθέναι τοὺς θεούς, ἐνταῦθα υἱὸν Τεγεάτου Σκέφρον προσελθόντα τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι ἐν ἀπορρήτῳ διαλέγεσθαι πρὸς αὐτόν· Λειμὼν δὲ—ἦν δὲ καὶ ὁ Λειμὼν οὗτος Τεγεάτου τῶν παίδων—ὑπονοήσας ἔγκλημα ἔχειν ἐς ἑαυτὸν τὰ ὑπὸ Σκέφρου λεγόμενα, ἀποκτίννυσιν ἐπιδραμὼν τὸν ἀδελφόν. καὶ Λειμῶνα μὲν τοξευθέντα ὑπὸ Ἀρτέμιδος περιῆλθεν αὐτίκα ἡ δίκη τοῦ φόνου· Τεγεάτης δὲ καὶ Μαιρὰ τὸ μὲν παραυτίκα Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι θύουσιν, ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιλαβούσης ἀκαρπίας ἰσχυρὰς ἦλθε μάντευμα ἐκ Δελφῶν Σκέφρον θρηνεῖν. καὶ ἄλλα τε ἐν τοῦ Ἀγυιέως τῇ ἑορτῇ δρῶσιν ἐς τιμὴν τοῦ Σκέφρου καὶ ἡ τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἱέρεια διώκει τινὰ ἅτε αὐτὴ τὸν Λειμῶνα ἡ Ἄρτεμις.* F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften* Bonn 1844 i. 18 f. cp. the mourning for Linos and interprets the names 'Leimon, Feuchtling, und Skephros, Dörrling, deren Mutter Mära ist, die Sirioshitze in weiblicher Form,'—a view revived by Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 62, H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1933 f., Buslepp *ib.* iv. 991 f., and (with the omission of rash etymologies) by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 464. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 166 f. is inpressed by the fact that the grave of Linos at Argos adjoined an Apollon *Agyieús* and an altar of Zeus *Hyétios* (*supra* n. 5), but points out that Leimon would personify the year's vegetation better than Skephros, unless we cp. the *σταφυλοδρόμοι* of the Karneia (*id. ib.* pp. 121, 126) and hazard the guess 'dass Leimon ein Doppelgänger des Skephros ist, dessen redender Name den Sinn des Gebrauchs verdeutlichen sollte.' Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. *loc. cit.*, after F. Back *De Graecorum caerimoniis in quibus homines deorum vice fungebantur* Berlin 1883 p. 24 ff. and Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 155, cp. the festival of the Agrionia at Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 38) and argues that the Tegean rite 'appears to have been a substitute for human sacrifices offered to make the crops grow.' Sir W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Tragedy with special reference to the Greek Tragedians* Cambridge 1910 p. 37 ff. regards Skephros as a local hero, whose ghost was placated by a 'mimetic performance' held close to his tomb, and thinks that the ceremony 'throws some light on the origin of Tragedy.' The problem is complex, and none of these solutions is wholly satisfactory. Paus. 8. 5. 6 adds *Τεγεάταις δὲ τοῦ Ἀγυιέως τὰ ἀγάλματα τέσσαρά εἰσιν ἀριθμόν, ὑπὸ φυλῆς ἓν ἑκάστης ἱδρυμένον* (*infra* p. 454).

[7] Paus. 8. 32. 4 *εἰσὶ δὲ ὑποκαταβάντι ὀλίγον θεοῖ—παρέχονται δὲ καὶ οὗτοι σχῆμα τετράγωνον* (*supra* p. 160 n. 5), *Ἐργάται δέ ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἐπίκλησις—Ἀθηνᾶ τε Ἐργάνη καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεύς.*

[8] Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 786. 1 ff. (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2661, 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 132. 1 ff. an inscription from Halikarnassos of *c. s.* ii) *Νόσσος Μυρμιδόνος κούραν Διὸς ἄνθετο παῖδα | Ἄρτεμιν εὐόλβοι τῶιδε παρὰ προπύλοι, | Φοίβωι Ἀγυιεῖ τάνδε νέμων χάριν, οὗ περὶ κρατ[ί] | δάφνας εὐσάμους κλῶνας ἀναστέφεται. | ἀλλὰ σ[ύ] οἱ τιμᾶς [μέρος ἄλλο τι πέμπ'] ἐπὶ τῶιδε, | ὦ ἄ[να], τᾶ[ι] μεγάλαι[ι ταύταις] ἐπ' εὐσεβίαι.* The restoration of the last two lines is very uncertain—see A. Boeckh and E. Cougny *ad loc.*

[1] Harpokr. *s.vv.* *Ἀγυιᾶς·...Ἀγυιεὺς δέ ἐστι κίων εἰς ὀξὺ λήγων, ὃν ἱστᾶσι πρὸ τῶν θυρῶν. ἰδίους δὲ εἶναί φασιν αὐτοὺς Ἀπόλλωνος, οἱ δὲ Διονύσου, οἱ δὲ ἀμφοῖν* = Souid. *s.v.* *ἀγυιαί* = schol. Ald. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875 = Bekker *anecd.* i. 331, 32 f. (with *Ἡλίου* for *Ἀπόλλωνος*, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 32 p. 69, 9 ff. Lang, schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 631). Harpokration has clearly preserved for us the opinions of various commentators on Dem. *in Mid.* 51 f. (*supra* p. 163 n. 4).

[2] G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 158—161 pl. 34 = my fig. 109,

has been interpreted in that sense. *Agyieús* is found as an epithet of Zeus[1] also; but whether this attribution was based upon existing cults we do not know. The statement of Dieuchidas, the fourth-century historian of Megara[2], that the erection of *Agyieús*-pillars was a specially Dorian custom[3] agrees with the numismatic evi-

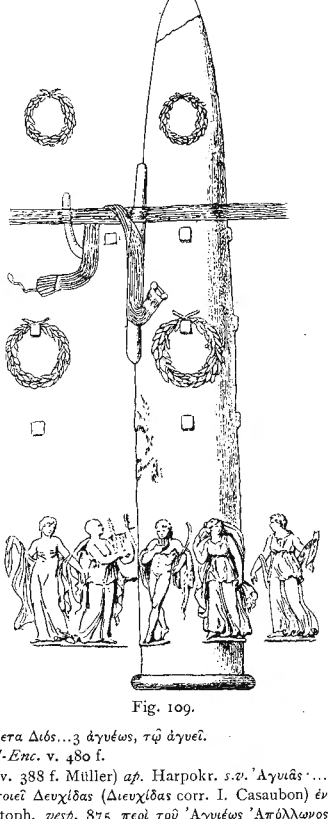


Fig. 109.

T. Panofka *Dionysos und die Thyaden* (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1852 Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 381 f., 390 pl. 3, 9) Berlin 1853 pp. 41 f., 50 pl. 3, 9, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 1 f. no. 705, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 151 no. 2, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 407 f. fig. 120. This marble cone (height 14 ft. 6 ins., diameter 2 ft.) stands on a low circular base (top and bottom restored) and has a series of square projecting *ὦτα*, on four of which hang olive-garlands in relief. Towards the upper end of the cone is carved a band, which serves to attach a *lagoóbolon*, a belt (?), and a club. Near the base are five figures in the neo-Attic style representing Apollon with his lyre, a Satyr with *nebrís* (?), pan-pipes, and *lagobólon*, and three Maenads (T. Panofka, followed by Miss Harrison, takes these persons to be Apollon, Pan, and three Horai; W. Helbig says 'a Satyr and three Bacchantes dancing to the music of a woman playing on a cithara'; G. Zoega is content with 'una danza bacchica,' S. Reinach with 'reliefs bachiques').

[1] Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 *ἐπίθετα Διός...3 ἀγυέως, τῷ ἀγυεῖ.*

[2] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 480 f.

[3] Dieuchidas *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 388 f. Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* 'Αγυιᾶς·... *φασὶ δ' αὐτὸ ἴδιον εἶναι Δωριέων, ὡς δῆλον ποιεῖ Δευχίδας* (Διευχίδας corr. I. Casaubon) *ἐν τῇ γ' τῶν Μεγαρικῶν* and *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 875 *περὶ τοῦ 'Αγυιέως 'Απόλλωνος Διευχίδας* (Διευτυχίδας cod. Ven.; *ἰδίως εὐτυχίας* Ald.) *οὕτως γράφει· "ἐν δὲ τῷ ἰατρῷ* (*θεάτρῳ* vel *ἰατρείῳ* cj. Palmer) *τούτο* (*τούτῳ* cod. Ven.) *διαμένει, καὶ* (*καὶ* om. cod. Ven.) *ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν* (*ἐστι καὶ* cod. Ven.) *ὡς 'Αγυιεὺς τῶν Δωριέων οἰκησάντων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνάθημα. καὶ οὗτος* (*οὕτως* Ald.) *καταμηνύει ὅτι Δωριέων ἐστὶ τὰ* (*τὰ* om. cod. Ven.) *τῶν 'Ελλήνων· τούτοις γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰς στρατιὰς φάσματος οἱ Δωριεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι τὰς ἀγυιὰς ἱστᾶσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ 'Απόλλωνι.*" If we may assume that Dieuchidas the Megarian is describing the obelisk of Apollon *Karinós*, which stood in the old gymnasium at Megara (*supra* p. 163 n. 2, *infra* p. 168 n. 1), it becomes possible to re-write this very corrupt passage as follows: *ἐν δὲ τῷ θυρέτρῳ τούτῳ διαμένει καὶ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἐστιν ὡς 'Αγυιεὺς τῶν Δωριέων <τῶν> οἰκησάντων ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνάθημα. καὶ οὗτος καταμηνύει ὅτι Δωριέων ἐστὶ τὰ τῶν*

dence that they were largely represented in Illyria, since the Dorians were *ab origine* an Illyrian tribe[1]. On the whole it seems probable that we have here to do with an ancient Illyrian pillar-cult[2], strictly comparable with the pillar-cult of Italy. If so, it might be maintained that the *Agyieús*-pillar was essentially a universe-column, and that *Agyieús* himself, 'God of the Way (*agyiá*),' was originally lord of the road from earth to heaven[3]. The term *agyiá* is actually used of the soul-path by Pindar[4]; and the transition from *Agyieús* in this hypothetical sense to *Agyieús* in its ordinary classical meaning presents no difficulty. The 'God of the Way' would naturally become the 'God of the Street,' especially if—as was the case at Tarentum and elsewhere—his pillar stood 'before the doors' of the houses.

(*v*) ***Omphalós*** and Pillar.

It appears, then, that the *Irminsûl* of the north had a counterpart on both sides of the Adriatic, the Diana-pillars of Italy being own cousins to the *Agyieús*-pillars of Greece. But at this point a difficulty arises. How comes it that the Italian pillars were associated with a goddess, the Greek pillars with a god? The answer to this question is to be sought in the belief that the universe-column was a central prop, originally a central tree, rising from earth to sky. Such a prop would be connected primarily with the earth in which it was planted, secondarily with the sky which it

Ἑλλήνων <τοιαῦτα ἀγάλματα>· τούτοις γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς στρατιᾶς φάσματος <φανέντος> οἱ Δωριεῖς ἀπομιμούμενοι τοὺς Ἀγυιᾶς ἱστᾶσιν ἔτι καὶ νῦν τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι. But??

[1] See Sir W. Ridgeway 'Who were the Dorians?' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 295—308, C. H. Hawes 'Some Dorian Descendants?' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 258—280.

[2] Prehistoric tombs in Thessaly have yielded bronze rings, which perhaps attest a similar pillar-cult (N. I. Giannopoulos Θεσσαλικαὶ προελληνικαὶ ἐπιγραφαὶ ἐπὶ βράχων, λίθων, σφραγίδων καὶ ἀγγείων Athens 1908 p. 67 fig. 26 from Homolion, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1915 p. 106 f. no. 16 fig. with pl. 2, 16 and pl. 1, 16 (enlarged = my fig. 110), no. 17 fig. from Homolion with pl. 2, 17).

Fig. 110.

[3] Dr Farnell too is prepared to abandon the orthodox idea that the name originally designated the deity of the city's streets: 'to explain Ἀγυιεύς,' he says (*Cults of Gk. States* iv. 150), 'our imagination may turn back to the prehistoric epoch when the god—or the priest bearing his emblem—marched at the head of the immigrant tribe down its perilous path of conquest.' In fact we are to suppose (*ib.* iv. 308) 'that the Agyieus-emblem entered with the wandering deity, and that it was specially consecrated by serving to mark certain stations along the Sacred Way from the north.' The explanation is ingenious and, no doubt, possible. But the view proposed in the text is more consonant with the Germanic and the 'Minoan' evidence.

[4] Pind. *Ol.* 9. 50 ff. οὐδ' Ἄϊδας ἀκι|νήταν ἔχε ῥάβδον, | βρότεα σώματ' ἃ κατάγει | κοίλαν πρὸς (*v.l.* ἐς) ἄγυιαν | θνᾳσκόντων (*v.l.* θνησκόντων).

supported. It could therefore be attributed either to the earth-mother or to the sky-father, according as the worship of the goddess or the god prevailed.

We shall hardly expect to find chapter and verse for all this in extant Greek literature. Crude notions are not always articulate and comparatively seldom emerge on the literary level. We must be satisfied with stray hints and glimpses: pieced together they may tell their tale. Of the cosmic tree there is good evidence which would merit further investigation[1]. Our concern is now with the cosmic pillar. W. H. Roscher in a recent monograph[2] has shown that the Greeks, like many other peoples, conceived of the earth as a flat disk with a central point called its *omphalós* or 'navel,' and further that within the limits of Greece a variety of towns claimed to possess this all-important centre. He makes out a case not only for Delphoi, but also for other Apolline seats—Branchidai, Delos, Gryneion, Patara, etc. Among possible claimants he includes Byzantion[3], but without proving the existence of a Byzantine *omphalós*. Proof, however, is forthcoming. Coppers of this town struck in the third or second century B.C. have sometimes as obverse type a laureate head of Apollon and as reverse an *Agyieús*-pillar set on the top of an *omphalós*, which is covered with its net-work or *agrenón* (figs. 111—113)[4]. This monument has been plausibly explained by

Fig. 111.

Fig. 112.

Fig. 113.

W. Drexler[5] as the obelisk of Apollon *Karinós*, who is known to

[1] I have broached the subject in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 291—299.

[2] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1913 xxix. 9. 20 ff.) Leipzig 1913 p. 20 ff.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 36, n. 66.

[4] Fig. 111=*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 147 f. a specimen from the Prokesch collection (rev. BYIANT ETΠI MATPIKΩN obelisk), cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 241 no. 215, 243 no. 229, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 14 no. 91, Head *Hist. num*[2]. p. 268 f.

Fig. 112=J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 92 pl. 1, 5 from a specimen at Paris (rev. BYIANTI ETΠI MENEK obelisk, with tripod and K· in field to left), cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 241 no. 216, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 394 no. 8.

Fig. 113=a specimen in my collection (rev. BYIAN ETΠI ΦΩKPI obelisk), cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* i. 377 no. 94, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 14 no. 90.

[5] W. Drexler in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1895 xix. 128 f., cp. *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1893 xiii. 233.

have been worshipped in aniconic form at the mother-town Megara[1]. Drexler may be right or wrong[2]; but in any case the Byzantine pillar is of interest, because it exhibits the *omphalós*, earth's centre, in combination with the *Agyieús*, heaven's prop[3].

[1] Paus. 1. 44. 2 ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῷ γυμνασίῳ τῷ ἀρχαίῳ πλησίον πυλῶν καλουμένων Νυμφάδων λίθος παρεχόμενος πυραμίδος σχῆμα οὐ μεγάλης· τοῦτον (τοῦτο codd., τοῦτον corr. M. Musurus) Ἀπόλλωνα ὀνομάζουσι Καρινόν, καὶ Εἰλειθυιῶν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν. It is commonly supposed that this monument is represented on the coins of Megara (*supra* p. 162 fig. 108), though the small pyramid of Pausanias hardly squares with the *Agyieús*-pillar on the coins (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 4 f.). The epithet Καρινός is probably related to Κάρ, son of Phoroneus and first king of Megara (Paus. 1. 39. 5, 1. 44. 6), after whom the Akropolis of Megara was called Καρία (Paus. 1. 40. 6, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καρία): K. Schwenck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1838 vi. 575 and Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 316 rashly regarded Καρινός as a by-form of Κάρνειος.

[2] J. N. Svoronos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 92 takes the obelisk on the Byzantine coins to be one of the bronze *kamptêres* of the hippodrome with a half-egg on top, citing Hesych. Miles. *frag.* 4. 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 153 Müller) ἔνθα καὶ νῦν οἱ καμπτῆρες δηλοῦσι τὰ τῶν ἐφόρων (*sc.* τῶν Διοσκούρων) γνωρίσματα διὰ τῶν ἐπικειμένων ᾠῶν τοῖς χαλκοῖς ὀβελίσκοις, Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 30 A (p. 54 Bekker) καὶ τῶν καμπτήρων οἱ λίθινοι κίονες καὶ οἱ χαλκοῖ ὀβελίσκοι τῶν καμπτήρων. But the top of the obelisk is much more like an *Agyieús*-finial than a half-egg, and the base is beyond all doubt an *omphalós*.

[3] Less conclusive are the following: (1) Certain autonomous coppers of Kyrene, struck between 323 and 305 B.C., have *obv.* head of Zeus *Ammon*, *rev.* an *omphalós* (?) topped by a pillar, on which rests a vase (L. Müller *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* Copenhague 1860 i. 54, 72 f. no. 234 fig. (=my fig. 114) and no. 235, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 1095 f. pl. 267, 16 f.). A. Duchalais in the *Rev. Num.* 1850 pl. 16, 7 (=my fig. 115), *ib.* 1851 pp. 89—95, was the first to recognise the tomb of Battos. His view was accepted by L. Müller *locc. citt.* and, more doubtfully, by E. Babelon *loc. cit.*

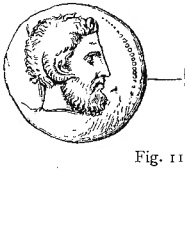


Fig. 114.

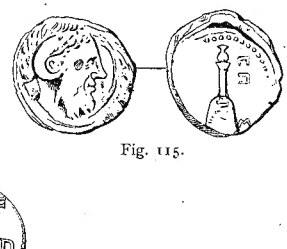


Fig. 115.

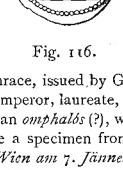


Fig. 116.

(2) A copper of Deultum in Thrace, issued by Gordianus iii (238–244 A.D.), has *obv.* GORDIANVS IMP AVG bust of emperor, laureate, to left, with spear etc., *rev.* C F P D (*Colonia Flavia Pacensis Deultum*) an *omphalós* (?), with a railing (?) in front of it, topped by a short pillar or knob. I figure a specimen from my collection, formerly in that of Prince Chakow (*Versteigerung in Wien am 7. Jänner* 1908 Brüder Egger (Collection de Mr. le Prince Ch.) p. 20 no. 299 pl. 9 'Cultbild der Artemis (?)'). Cp. J. Eckhel *Catalogus Musei Caesarei Vindobonensis numorum veterum* Vindobonae 1779 i. 68

(ξ) The Delphic *Omphalós*.

The occurrence of an *omphalós*-and-pillar at Byzantion leads us to reconsider the shape of the *omphalós* at Delphoi. Here, if anywhere, was the centre of the earth. Here, if anywhere, the sky would need a supporting column, an *Agyieús*-pillar. Accordingly local tradition told how the oracle had been established by Pagasos and divine Agyieus, sons of the Hyperboreoi[1]. And 'the author of the *Europia* teaches us that the image of Apollon at Delphoi is a pillar in the following lines:

> That we might hang for the god a tithe and trophy
> From his pure doorposts and his lofty pillar[2].'

These allusions at once become intelligible, if we assume that the *omphalós* at Delphoi, like the *omphalós* at Byzantion, was originally topped by an *Agyieús*-pillar. Let us be bold and make that assumption. Our pillar, erected at a time when men believed in a circular earth and a central sky-prop, would with increasing knowledge come to be viewed as the axis of a spherical world[3]. Nonnos describes the Delphic *omphalós* as the 'mid-navel axis[4]'—a description

Deultum no. 12 ('Telesphorus stans'), Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 294 no. 562 ('Telesphore deb.').

[1] Paus. 10. 5. 7 f. Βοιὼ δὲ ἐπιχωρία γυνὴ ποιήσασα ὕμνον Δελφοῖς ἔφη κατασκευάσασθαι τὸ μαντεῖον τῷ θεῷ τοὺς ἀφικομένους ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων τούς τε ἄλλους καὶ Ὠλῆνα· τοῦτον δὲ καὶ μαντεύσασθαι πρῶτον καὶ ᾄσαι πρῶτον τὸ ἑξάμετρον. πεποίηκε δὲ ἡ Βοιὼ τοιάδε· ἔνθα τοι εὔμνηστον χρηστήριον ἐκτελέσαντο | παῖδες Ὑπερβορέων Παγασὸς καὶ δῖος Ἀγυιεύς. ἐπαριθμοῦσα δὲ καὶ ἄλλους τῶν Ὑπερβορέων, ἐπὶ τελευτῇ τοῦ ὕμνου τὸν Ὠλῆνα ὠνόμασεν· Ὠλὴν θ', ὃς γένετο πρῶτος Φοίβοιο προφάτας, | πρῶτος δ' ἀρχαίων ἐπέων τεκτήνατ' ἀοιδάν. On Boio see G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 633 f.

Prof. J. M. MacGregor drew my attention (March 21, 1917) to the fact that Euripides mentions both ἀγυιάς (*Ion* 460) and ἀγυιάτιδες θεραπεῖαι (*Ion* 186) in connexion with Delphoi.

[2] Eumel. *frag.* 11 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 102, 26 ff. Stählin ἀλλὰ καὶ ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν (Εὐρώπειαν Dindorf) ποιήσας ἱστορεῖ τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς ἄγαλμα Ἀπόλλωνος κίονα εἶναι διὰ τῶνδε· ὄφρα θεῷ δεκάτην ἀκροθίνιά τε κρεμάσαιμεν | σταθμῶν ἐκ ζαθέων καὶ κίονος ὑψηλοῖο. Some critics (*e.g.* Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 227, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 5, De Visser *De Gr. diis non rect. spec. hum.* p. 51 § 29) are disposed to minimise the force of this evidence. But κίων ὑψηλός here, like κίων μακρός in the fragment of the *Phoronis* cited by the same author (*supra* i. 453 n. 8), certainly refers to a single sacred pillar, not to the whole colonnade of the temple; and, in view of other aniconic forms of Apollon (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 3 ff.), we need not doubt that Clement has interpreted this early couplet aright.

[3] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1913 xxix. 9) Leipzig 1913 pp. 41 ff., 68, 74 f., 79.

[4] Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 697 f. σὺ δέ, Κάδμε, μεσόμφαλον ἄξονα βαίνων | Δελφίδος αὐδήεντα μετέρχεο τέμπεα Πυθοῦς, 4. 289 ff. ἔνθα κιχήσας | Δελφὸν ἀσιγήτοιο μεσόμφαλον ἄξονα Πυθοῦς | μαντοσύνην ἐρέεινε, καὶ ἔμφρονα Πύθιος ἄξων | κύκλον ἐπ' αὐτοβόητον (K. Lehrs cj. κυκλόθεν αὐτοβότητος, cp. 36. 325; but κύκλος αὐτοβότητος may refer to the oracular tripod, cp. 13. 133 and Poll. 10. 81 τὸ δ' ἐπίθημα τοῦ τρίποδος κύκλον καὶ ὅλμον προσήκει καλεῖν) ἐθέσπισε κοιλάδι φωνῇ. Cp. 27. 252 ἄξονος ὀμφαίοιο θεηγόρε κοίρανε Πυθοῦς. Similarly

which certainly suits and possibly presupposes an actual pillar[1]. It may be objected that of all the representations of the *omphalós* in ancient art, and they are many, not one has it surmounted by the pillar—an extraordinary omission, if my hypothesis is to stand. To this I should reply that the *omphalós* shown to travellers and multiplied throughout the Greek world was not the original, but a replica in marble placed outside the temple at the eastern end of the terrace (fig. 117)[2], where indeed it has been duly discovered in the course of the French excavations (fig. 118)[3]. The real *omphalós*,

Claud. *in Fl. Mallii Theodori consulatum prol.* 16 Pythius axis (*infra* p. 179 n. 1). But see *infra* § 3 (*a*) iii (*o*).

[1] W. H. Roscher *op. cit.* p. 40 ff. cites Iambl. *de myst.* 3. 11 p. 127 Parthey *καὶ μὴν ἥ γε ἐν Βραγχίδαις γυνὴ χρησμῳδὸς, εἴτε ῥάβδον ἔχουσα τὴν πρώτως ὑπὸ θεοῦ τινὸς παραδοθεῖσαν πληροῦται τῆς θείας αὐγῆς, εἴτε ἐπὶ ἄξονος καθημένη προλέγει τὸ μέλλον, εἴτε τοὺς πόδας ἢ κράσπεδόν τι τέγγουσα τῷ ὕδατι ἢ ἐκ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀτμιζομένη δέχεται τὸν θεόν, ἐξ ἁπάντων τούτων ἐπιτηδεία παρασκευαζομένη πρὸς τὴν ὑποδοχὴν ἔξωθεν αὐτοῦ μεταλαμβάνει* and contends that here too *ἄξων* denotes the cosmic axis. But must we not then read *ἐπὶ <τοῦ> ἄξονος*? And in any case the mathematical *ἄξων* is perfectly compatible with a material *κίων* (see Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1389, 59 ff.): Lieut. Peary at the north pole set up a flagstaff.

[2] A red-figured *amphora* with volute handles from Ruvo (fig. 117 = G. F. Jatta in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1868 xl. 235—248 pl. E, *id. Catalogo del Museo Jatta* Naples 1869 no. 239, Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1009 f. fig. 1215, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 176 fig. 5, R. Engelmann *Bilder-Atlas zum Homer* Leipzig 1889 ii. 3 pl. 4, 18, J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 83 ff. fig. 10, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 321, 1, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 103 pl. 2, 1) representing the murder of Neoptolemos at Delphoi depicts the scene with some pretence to topographical accuracy. In the background stands a peripteral temple with decorated doors ajar. This will do for the fourth-century building (though it had Doric columns outside, Ionic inside) with its ivory doors. To the right of it sits ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ with his bow, unmoved by the tragedy. To the left the Pythian priestess with a filleted key over her shoulder starts away in horror. In the foreground ΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ, already wounded, takes refuge on the altar; ΟΡΕΣΤΑΣ, sword in hand, approaches him stealthily from behind the *omphalós*; a Delphian, elsewhere called Machaireus (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2226 f.), raises his lance to deal the fatal blow; and the stones in the left-hand corner hint at the fury of the populace (Eur. *Andr.* 1127 ff.). The altar here shown corresponds in position with that of the Chians (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 309 f., 631, É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 p. 175 ff.), and the *omphalós* with that described *infra* n. 3. The palm-tree recalls the bronze palm dedicated by the Athenians out of the spoils won at the battle on the Eurymedon (Frazer *op. cit.* v. 313, *infra* § 3 (*a*) iii (*χ*)). The tripod on a round base in the middle distance may be reminiscent of the famous tripod dedicated by the Greeks who fought at Plataia (Frazer *op. cit.* v. 299 ff., É. Bourguet *op. cit.* p. 160 ff.). Lastly, the tripod beside the palm-tree and the shield next to Apollon are samples of the votive offerings with which the whole precinct was crowded.

[3] Fig. 118, after a photograph by Rhomaides (Delphoi no. 41), represents an *omphalós* of white marble found on the last turn of the Sacred Way close to the bases of Gelon (É. Bourguet *op. cit.* p. 248 n. 1) and rightly identified with that described by Paus. 10. 16. 3 (see G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 199 fig. 5404, H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 59, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 81 f. pl. 6, 1). That this *omphalós* was a mere replica, is sufficiently proved by the *agrenón* (J. E. Harrison 'Ægis—ΑΓΡΗΝΟΝ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 254—262) carved in relief

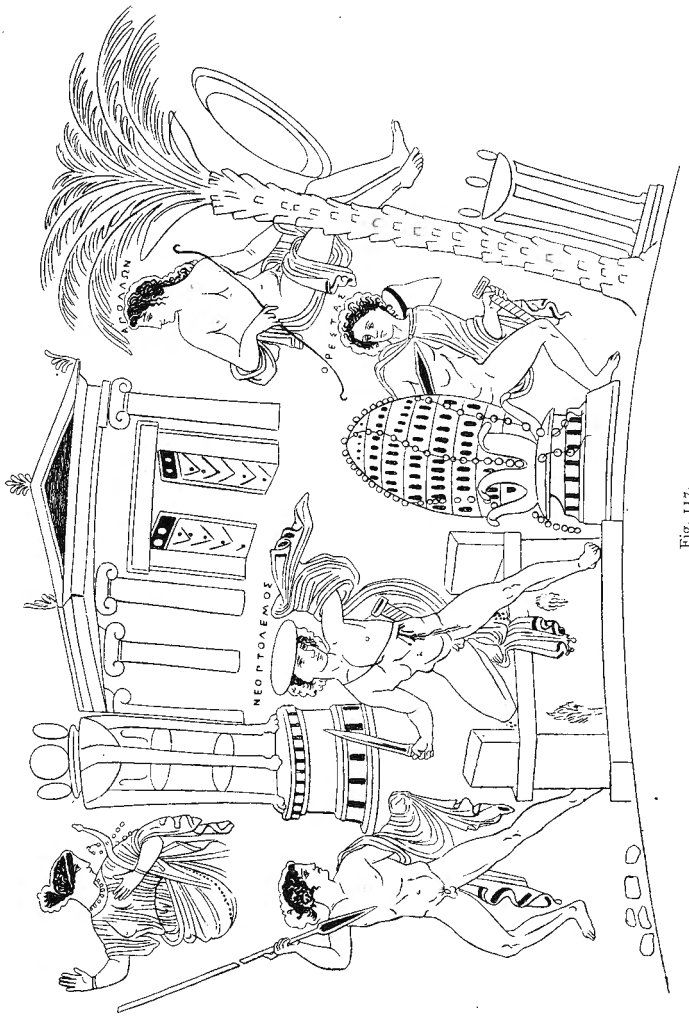


Fig. 117.

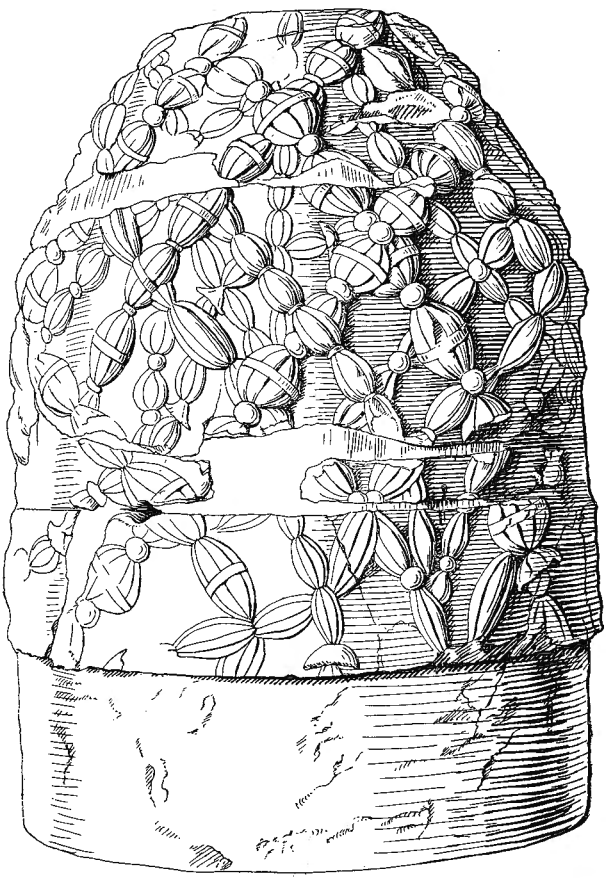


Fig. 118.

upon it. The flattened top is best explained on the assumption that the apex was made in a separate piece, though it is possible that at some period it served as the pedestal for a statuette (W. H. Roscher *op. cit.* p. 82 f. : but see *infra* p. 175 n. o). The band cut away round the bottom has been taken to imply that the whole *omphalós* was let into a larger base (G. Karo *loc. cit.* iv. 199, W. H. Roscher *op. cit.* p. 82), but may rather indicate that it was adorned with a metal collar of acanthus-leaves like that shown in the vase-painting (fig. 117).

unseen for example by Pausanias[1], was kept—as Varro knew—'in the temple at one side[2].' Delphic building-accounts of the year 343—342 B.C. and a little later prove that the *omphalós* had a porch in front of it and was protected by carefully surfaced walls supporting a roof[3]—circumstances which suggest that, like the *omphalós* at Argos[4], it stood in a small chapel of its own[5]. H. Pomtow provisionally locates it in the niche between the second and third columns of the north aisle, though he admits that it may equally

[1] On this much-disputed point see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 316 ff., F. Studniczka in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 263, H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 59 f., W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 72 f. It was reserved for F. Courby in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 p. 259 f. and in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 72 to appreciate the simple truth. Yet Paus. 10. 24. 5 ἐς δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ τὸ ἐσωτάτω, παρίασί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ὀλίγοι κ.τ.λ. drops a broad enough hint, as G. Karo saw (Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 199 'l'omphalos lui-même était invisible pour le grand public').

[2] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 17 et terrae medium non hoc, sed quod vocant Delphis in aede ad latus (sic cod. F., *allatus* codd. G. H., *illatus* cod. a., *ablatus* cod. b. Lobeck cj. *arquatum*, Roscher *lanatum*?) est quiddam ut thesauri specie, quod Graeci vocant ὀμφαλόν, etc.

[3] É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 42 col. i. *a* line 30 ff. Θευγένει τᾶς ἐγκαύσιο|ς τοῦ ἐπιστυλίου τοῦ ἐπὶ τᾶι | προστάσει τᾶι πρὸ τοῦ ὀμφαλ|οῦ μισθὸς δραχμαὶ δέκα ἕξ.

Id. ib. 1902 xxvi. 65 col. ii. *b* line 14 ff. Θευφά|ντωι καὶ Σίωνι τοῦ Πασίωνος | ἔργου τοῦ περὶ τὸν ὀμφαλόν, π|[λ]ίνθων δέκ[α] ἑτεροπλεύρων, τι[ῶ]ν πλευρίων παρξοᾶς τοῦ ἄνω| σ[τ]ίχου τοῦ ὑπὸ τῶι ὑποδοκίω|ι, [ἑ]κάστου τοῦ πλευρίου δραχ|μα[ῖ] τέτο[ρε]ς, σύμπας μισθὸς ‖ [δραχμαὶ τετρ]ώκοντα.

During the building-operations the *omphalós* was safeguarded by a special construction of crude brick (*id. ib.* 1902 xxvi. 81 ff. F Inv. no. 207, 8 ff. οἰκοδομ[ῆ]σαι πλίνθοις γαίναις περ[ὶ] τὸν ὀμφαλόν, cp. *ib.* p. 92 H Inv. no. 1802 col. iii line 3 ff. [τ]ὼν σκ[απέτων τῶν περὶ τὸν ὀμφ]|αλόν).

[4] W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 270 ff. no. 28 line 1 ff. θεός. προμάντιες ἀνέθεν | Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρισ[τ]εὺς Σφυρή|δας, Φιλοκράτης Νατελιά|δας, προφῆται (Αἰ)σχύλος Ἀραχνά|δας, Τρυγῆς Αἰθωνίδας καὶ κα|τεσκεύασσαν καὶ ἔσσαντο [τὸν] | ἐκ μαντήας Γᾶς ὀμφαλὸν καὶ τ[ὰ]|ν περίστασιν καὶ τὸ φάργμα καὶ τὸν | βωμὸν πρόσ(β)ορον ποτ' ἀ(ρ)ῶ καὶ πέτ|ρινον ῥόον καὶ τὰν ἀρχιθύραν | ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ καὶ θη[αυρὸν ἐν τῷ μαν|τήῳ κατεσκεύασσαν τοῖς πελά|νοις κλακτὸν καὶ τὰν ὁδὸν ἐργάσ|σαντο ἅπασαν κ.τ.λ. This inscription presumably refers to the cult of Apollon *Deiradiótes*, whose temple, said to have been founded by Pythaeus (Telesilla *frag.* 3 Bergk[4] *ap.* Paus. 2. 35. 2), stood on the way up to the Argive Larisa (Paus. 2. 24. 1 ἀνιόντων δὲ ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἔστι μὲν τῆς Ἀκραίας Ἥρας τὸ ἱερόν, ἔστι δὲ καὶ ναὸς Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν Πυθαεὺς πρῶτος παραγενόμενος ἐκ Δελφῶν λέγεται ποιῆσαι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τὸ νῦν χαλκοῦν ἐστιν ὀρθόν, Δειραδιώτης Ἀπόλλων καλούμενος, ὅτι καὶ ὁ τόπος οὗτος καλεῖται Δειράς. ἡ δὲ οἱ μαντικὴ—μαντεύεται γὰρ ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς—καθέστηκε τρόπον τοῦτον. γυνὴ μὲν προφητεύουσά ἐστιν, ἀνδρὸς εὐνῆς εἰργομένη· θυομένης δὲ ἐν νυκτὶ ἀρνὸς κατὰ μῆνα ἕκαστον, γευσαμένη δὴ τοῦ αἵματος ἡ γυνὴ κάτοχος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ γίνεται. See further Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2409, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3364 ff.). It is reasonable to conclude that the Argive cult, if not a filial of the Delphic, was at least in some respects under the influence of Delphoi.

[5] So G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 198, A. Frickenhaus in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 271 n. 1, H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 60 f., cp. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 81 n. 150.

well have occupied a corresponding position in the south aisle[1]. F. Courby[2] by a consideration of the tasks assigned to the various builders has made it probable that the *omphalós* in fact adjoined the southern rather than the northern wall of the temple[3]. Further, by a careful examination of the ruins as photographed in 1894[4] he shows that in the fourth century B.C. a side-chapel (2·90^{m} broad inside by 5·40^{m} deep) actually stood against the southern wall of the *naós*, close to its western end, thereby interrupting the inner line of Ionic columns[5]. Finally, in September 1913, buried in the made earth beneath this chapel he found the *omphalós* itself (pl. ix)[6]. It is a rough block of limestone, once coated with

[1] H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 61, 68 ff. fig.

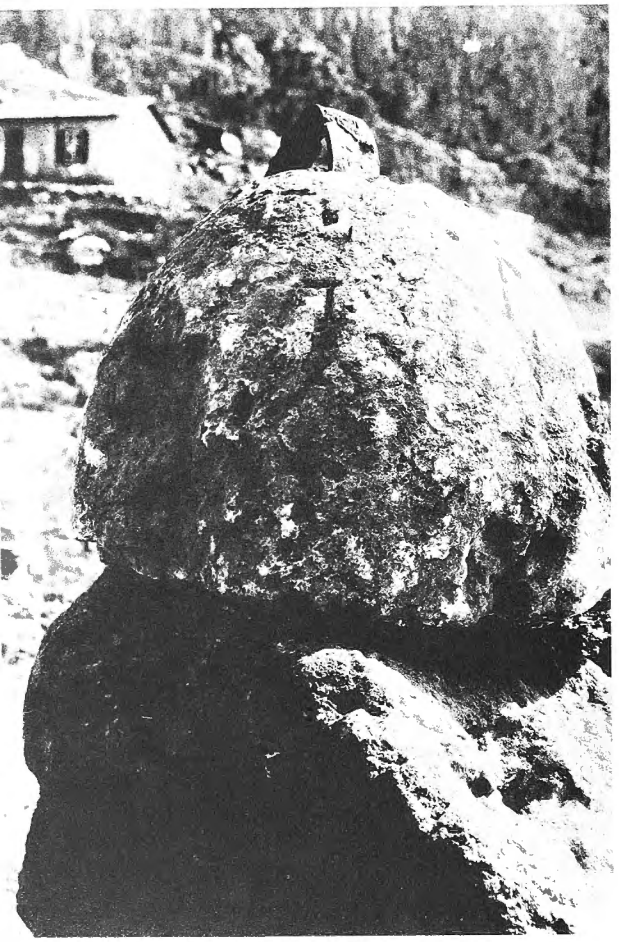
[2] F. Courby in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 pp. 263, 266, and in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 76.

[3] Pankrates was at work on the walls of the *opisthódomos* and on the eastern end of the north wall of the *naós* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 65 col. iii *a* line 10 ff.). Theuphantos and Sion placed two angle-triglyphs in the *prónaos*, worked at the walls round the *omphalós*, and saw to the western end of the south wall of the *naós* (*ib.* 1902 xxvi. 64 col. ii *b* line 5 ff., 65 col. iii *a* line 1 ff.). 'Si les tâches,' says Courby, 'n'ont pas été distribuées au hasard entre les entrepreneurs et si, comme il faut bien l'admettre, quelque préoccupation de logique et de bon ordre a présidé à leur répartition, on supposera que Pankratès ayant opéré au Nord, Theuphantos et Sion opéraient au Sud, et c'est donc de ce côté qu'on replacera l'omphalos' (*Comptes rendus* etc. 1914 pp. 263, 266, cp. *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 76).

[4] The foundations of the inner colonnade, insufficiently filled in, have since given way.

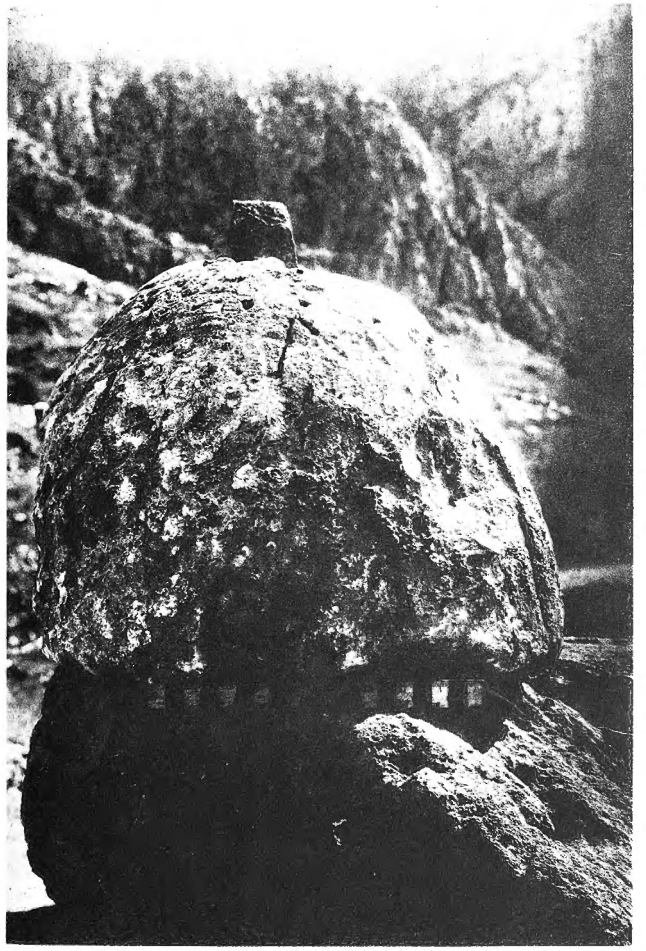
[5] Courby *Comptes rendus* etc. 1914 p. 266: 'Au Sud, sur une longueur de 3^{m} 96 à partir du mur ouest, couraient deux assises de blocs en calcaire, rigoureusement symétriques à celles du soubassement nord, et qui portaient, à n'en pas douter, un tronçon de la colonnade sud. En ce point, le soubassement est interrompu par une bâtisse en encoignure avec des restes d'un mur appliqué contre le côté sud de la cella, et d'un autre mur perpendiculaire au premier. Un examen attentif des détails que donnent les photographies [*ib.* p. 264 fig. 1, p. 265 fig. 2] prouve que cette bâtisse est, sinon tout à fait contemporaine du temple, du moins bien antérieure à notre ère.' See further Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 47—69 ('Le fond de la cella') with figs. 45—61 and pls. 3, 4, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 150 f.

[6] Courby *Comptes rendus* etc. 1914 p. 267 f. fig. 3. *Id.* in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 76 ff. figs. 64 (=my pl. ix), 65, 66, 67, 68 (=my fig. 119), 69: 'En septembre 1913, un sondage pratiqué contre le mur Sud de la cella au pied des blocs *α*, *β*, *β'* (pl. III, et fig. 47, 48, 49), dans le renfoncement inférieur de la fondation, fit apparaître un petit monument de poros en forme d'omphalos qui reposait debout, contre le parement, sur le remblai provenant des fouilles (fig. 64, 65, 66, 67). Il mesure o^{m} 385 de diamètre et o^{m} 287 de hauteur (fig. 68). Le travail en est assez grossier; les coups de ciseau du ravalement en sillonnent par endroits la surface. On aperçoit encore çà et là des débris d'un stuc analogue à celui qui recouvrait le poros du temple au IV^{e} siècle. Dans un canal de section rectangulaire qui le traverse de haut en bas pénètre, jusqu'à o^{m} 105 du bas, une tige de fer plate, tranchante d'un bord, à profil recourbé de ce côté et terminé en pointe, qui a toutes les apparences d'une lame de couteau (fig. 68): deux clous (fig. 69) enfoncés en arrière assujettissaient solidement cette lame. On peut reconstituer ainsi ce qui s'est produit. La cavité recevait une tige (de bois, sans doute, puisqu'il n'y en a plus trace) qu'on a calée, plus tard, d'une manière assez primitive et par des procédés de fortune. A o^{m} 18 environ du bas court une inscription archaïque profondément gravée, où l'on reconnaît



a

b



c

Three views of the inscribed *omphalós* found by F. Courby beneath the inner chapel of the Delphic

174 ff.

stucco and pierced from top to bottom by a square hole. From the edge of this hole projects a knife-shaped blade of iron, which is wedged in by a couple of nails and presumably served to keep in

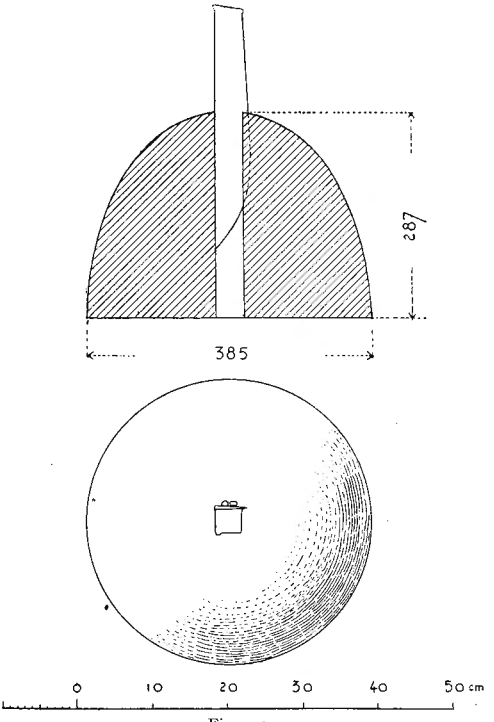


Fig. 119.

place a wooden stem, now lost. On the block are engraved four archaic letters, referable to the seventh century B.C. (fig. 120), of which the last three give us in the genitive case the name of

facilement les trois lettres ϵ γ α et, peut-être, dans le signe en z qui se voit à la suite, la lettre s. On lira donc : [facsimile to scale ⅓ = my fig. 120] ϵ γ α s.' 'S'il en est ainsi, on s'explique peut-être la destination de la tige qui traversait l'omphalos et qu'on a cru nécessaire d'y fixer solidement : on y attachait sans doute les bandelettes et les réseaux de l'*ἀγρηνόν*, mais il est probable qu'elle servait surtout à maintenir les images des deux aigles[1] ([1]On expliquera peut-être de cette manière la cavité profonde qui a été creusée au sommet de l'omphalos de marbre du Musée); ce qui nous engagerait à prendre le *ἐπ' αὐτῷ* de Strabon au sens de *ἐπ' αὐτοῦ*, comme le voulait M. Svoronos (p. 70).'

the earth-goddess Ga[1] and the first appears to be the mystic symbol E[2].

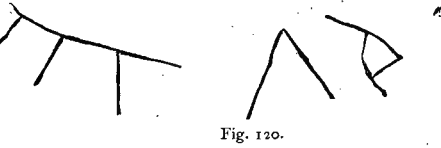


Fig. 120.

[1] The cult of Ge at Delphoi is attested by Aisch. *Eum.* 1 ff. πρῶτον μὲν εὐχῇ τῇδε πρεσβεύω θεῶν | τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν· ἐκ δὲ τῆς Θέμιν, | ἣ δὴ τὸ μητρὸς δευτέρα τόδ' ἕζετο | μαντεῖον, ὡς λόγος τις, Paus. 10. 5. 5 f. φασὶ γὰρ δὴ τὰ ἀρχαιότατα Γῆς εἶναι τὸ χρηστήριον, καὶ Δαφνίδα ἐπ' αὐτῷ τετάχθαι πρόμαντιν ὑπὸ τῆς Γῆς· εἶναι δὲ αὐτὴν τῶν περὶ τὸ ὄρος νυμφῶν· ἔστι δὲ ἐν Ἕλλησι ποίησις, ὄνομα μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσίν ἐστιν Εὐμολπία, Μουσαίῳ δὲ τῷ Ἀντιοφήμου (cp. Orph. *Arg.* 308) προσποιοῦσι τὰ ἔπη· πεποιημένον οὖν ἐστιν ἐν τούτοις Ποσειδῶνος ἐν κοινῷ καὶ Γῆς εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον, καὶ τὴν μὲν χρᾶν αὐτήν, Ποσειδῶνι δὲ ὑπηρέτην ἐς τὰ μαντεύματα εἶναι Πύρκωνα. καὶ οὕτως ἔχει τὰ ἔπη· αὐτίκα δὲ Χθονίης φωνὴ (codd. σφῶν δὴ aut σφῶν, Lobeck ej. φωνὴ, Tyrwhitt cj. Χθονίη σφιν Γῇ cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 615, 25 Γῇ Χθονίῃ) πινυτὸν φάτο μῦθον, | σὺν δέ τε Πύρκων ἀμφίπολος κλυτοῦ Ἐννοσιγαίου [Mous. *frag.* 1 Kinkel, 11 Diels]. χρόνῳ δὲ ὕστερον, ὅσον τῷ Γῇ μετῆν, δοθῆναι Θέμιδι ὑπ' αὐτῆς λέγουσιν, Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ παρὰ Θέμιδος λαβεῖν δωρεάν, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 1 μητρῷον δέ, ὅτι Γῆς ἐστι τὸ μαντεῖον. The sanctuary of Ge is mentioned in the building-accounts *c.* 340 B.C. (É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 65 col. iii *a* line 3 f. ἐν τῶι σκέλει τῶι ποτὶ (τ)ὸ τᾶς Γᾶς ἱερόν) and in Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 17 περιελθόντες οὖν ἐπὶ τῶν μεσημβρινῶν καθεζόμεθα κρηπίδων <τοῦ> νεὼ πρὸς τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερὸν τό τε ὕδωρ ἀποβλέποντες (ante ἀποβλέποντες lacuna xii litterarum in E, post ἀποβλέποντες lacuna xi litterarum in B : W. R. Paton cj. τῆς Κασσοτίδος?)·...παρὰ τὸ νᾶμα καὶ τὸ τῆς Γῆς ἱερόν, ἧς λέγεται τὸ μαντεῖον γενέσθαι, κ.τ.λ. It seems likely too that at Delphoi the earth-mother bore at least one other name, *viz.* Themis (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 101 n. 7, H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 57 f. ; cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 318 ἐρσηφόροις β' [Γ]ῆς Θέμιδος, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 350 ἱερίας Γῆς Θέμιδος, Aisch. *P.v.* 209 f. Θέμις | καὶ Γαῖα, πολλῶν ὀνομάτων μορφὴ μία, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 480 ff.). O. Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 101 thinks that she bore here the further titles of Melaina (cp. *h. Ap.* 369 Γαῖα μέλαινα and Melaina or Melanis or Melantho or Kelaino the mother of Delphos together with Melantheia or Melantho his grandmother : this view, already sketched by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 326 f., is attractive ; but Γαῖα μέλαινα is, after all, a commonish tag—see Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 72, and the blackness of Melaina & Co. need not be chthonian—see L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2565 f.) and Eurysterna (cp. Hes. *theog.* 117 Γαῖ' εὐρύστερνος with schol. *ad loc.* Μναστέας ὁ Πατρεὺς (*cod.* C. Παταρεὺς) ἐν τῇ τῶν Δελφικῶν χρησμῶν συναγωγῇ (Mnaseas *frag.* 47 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 157 Müller) Εὐρυστέρνας ἱερὸν φησιν ἀναστῆσαι (whence Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 101 n. 11 restores Εὐρυστέρνας | ἱρὸν ἀναστῆσαι), Paus. 7. 25. 13 Γῆς δὲ ἱερόν ἐστιν ὁ Γαῖος (Schneider cj. ἔστι τὸ Γαΐον) ἐπίκλησιν Εὐρυστέρνου).

[2] In the temple at Delphoi visitors were shown three symbols resembling the letter E—a wooden original said to have been put up by the sages, a bronze copy of it presented by the Athenians, and a golden *replica* dedicated by the empress Livia (Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 3). Coppers of Delphoi struck by Hadrian and by Faustina Senior represent the *façade* of the temple with E in the centre of it (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 119 pl. x, 23 = my fig. 121 and pl. x, 22 = my fig. 122, J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 36 pl. 27, 12 and 46 pl. 29, 17 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 342). Attempts to explain the symbol have been numerous. Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 3 takes E as πέντε, the five sages Chilon, Thales, Solon, Bias, Pittakos ; *id. ib.* 4 equates

Thus far Monsieur Courby, whose modest but convincing announcement will rank among the most brilliant archaeological discoveries of our time. For the speculations that follow he is not responsible. But it seems to me that his momentous find goes a long way towards establishing my hypothesis of a Delphic *omphalós*-and-pillar. The slender wooden post implied by the square hole in the *omphalós* was—if I am right—none other than the 'lofty pillar' of Apollon, to which 'tithe and trophy' were attached in his earliest cult, the cult established by the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agyieus[1]. As the veritable earth-centre it furnished the starting-point of later arithmology. In the mystic language of the Pythagoreans[2],

the second vowel **E** with the second planetary body, the sun; *id. ib.* 5 writes **E** as *εἰ*, 'if,' 'if only,' a word that might introduce a question or a prayer addressed to the god; *id. ib.* 6 treats **E** or *εἰ* as a symbol of dialectic; *id. ib.* 7—16 gives a Pythagorean disquisition on **E**, that is *πέντε*, as the numerical base resulting from the union of the first even *δύο* with the first odd *τρία*; *id. ib.* 17—21 concludes that **E** is for *εἶ*, 'thou art,' as a metaphysical invocation of the deity. Years ago I ventured the suggestion (W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 354 n. 11, *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 287 f.) that the **E** was a sacred relic, in fact the head of Poseidon's trident kept in the sanctuary, where he had an altar (Paus. 10. 24. 4) and probably a chapel (see H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 45 ff.), much as the trident of Neptune is kept affixed to the wall of the ancient church of S. Vigil in Tridentum, the modern *Trento*, *Trent* (L. Schmitz in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 1230); and it will be admitted that the trident-head, which symbolises Poseidon on coins of Corinth, Leukas, Mantineia, Troizen, etc., is of the requisite shape—indeed Agathon *Telephos frag.* 4 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 454 D describes the letter **E** as *τριόδους πλάγιος*, 'a trident laid crosswise.' My friend Mr A. H. Smith once told me that in his opinion the mystic **E** might possibly be explained by the resemblance that it bears to the **Ⲙ**-shaped window or smoke-hole over the door of hut-urns from Etruria etc. (*Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 288). Miss J. E. Harrison (*ib.* 1904 xv. 416 n. 271) has acutely compared the Delphic **E** with the trinity of pillars represented *e.g.* on Phoenician reliefs from Sardinia (G. Patroni in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1904 xiv. 230 f. pl. 21, 2a and pl. 25, 2) and suggested 'that the **E** was originally three betyl stones or pillars placed on a basis and representing the three Charites' (J. E. Harrison in the *Comptes rendus du Congrès International d'Archéologie* Ière Session, Athènes 1905 pp. 194—196, citing Paus. 9. 38. 1, Plout. *de mus.* 14 (quoted *infra* § 3 (a) iii (χ)), schol. Pind. *Ol.* 14. 16 *παρὰ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνί φησι καθέζεσθαι τὰς Χάριτας διὰ τὴν πρὸς αὐτὸν οἰκειότητα. ἐν γοῦν Δελφοῖς ἐπὶ τῆς δεξιᾶς εἰσιν ἱδρυμέναι τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος*). R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 489 n. 4 draws attention to a passage in the *θεολογούμενα τῆς ἀριθμητικῆς* (*theolog. arithm.* 32 p. 30 f. Ast *τούτῳ δὴ τῷ τρόπῳ τῆς δικαιοσύνης τῷ ε' ἀριθμῷ δικαιότατα ἐνοφθείσης καὶ τῆς τοῦ στίχου ἀριθμητικῆς εἰκόνος ζυγῷ τινι οὐκ ἀπιθάνως εἰκασθείσης, τὸ παράγγελμα τοῖς γνωρίμοις ἐν συμβόλου σχήματι ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐνεποιήσατο "ζυγὸν μὴ ὑπερβαίνειν," τουτέστι, δικαιοσύνην*), according to which Pythagoras assigned the number 5 or **E** to justice and saw in it the image of scales (*ζυγόν*): Eisler notes that this implies **E** 'in der Stellung des **Ⲙ** in der delphischen Inschrift.'

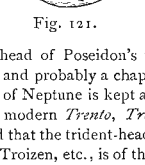


Fig. 121.

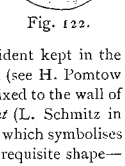


Fig. 122.

[1] *Supra* p. 169.

[2] On which see A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 p. 139 ff.

who are known to have been deeply interested in Delphoi[1], the 'axle,' the 'tower of Zan,' and 'Apollon' were all synonymous descriptions of the monad[2]; and an Orphic fragment uses 'Agyieus' with the same signification[3]. Further, Apollon's 'lofty pillar' was flanked by his 'pure doorposts[4].' That is to say, we have once more[5] the association of the sacred tree or pillar with a doorway, which we have already taken to denote the sky resting on its side-supports[6]. If this be so, we are at last in a position to solve the old problem of the Delphic Π. It was simply a graphic expression for the sky upborne by its central and lateral pillars[7].

The likeness of the Delphic *Agyieús*, thus reconstituted, to the Germanic *Irminsûl* is sufficiently striking. It becomes even more so, when we note that the *Irminsûl* described by Widukind[8] was erected at the gateway of the town with a pillar on either side of it

[1] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 82 *τί ἐστι τὸ ἐν Δελφοῖς μαντεῖον; τετρακτύς· ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἡ ἁρμονία, ἐν ᾗ αἱ Σειρῆνες* (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 358 n. explains that the Sirens produced the music of the spheres, and A. Delatte *op. cit.* p. 259 ff. adds that this harmony was the supreme revelation vouchsafed to men by Pythagoras as Apollon incarnate: see, however, *supra* i. 258 ff.), cp. Nikomachos of Gerasa (? = Iambl. *συναγωγὴ τῶν Πυθαγορείων δογμάτων* 7: G. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 647, W. Kroll *ib.* ix. 650) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 144 a 16 Bekker who speaks of the *τετράς* as *ἁρμονίτα* (*sic*) *ἡ ἁρμονία*. Again, the Pythagoreans had their own name for the tripod (Hesych. *τρίοψ· ὁ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν ἐν Δελφοῖς τρίπους*) and perhaps their own interpretation of the mystic Ε (*supra* p. 177 n. 0).

[2] Nikomachos of Gerasa *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 143 a 31 ff. Bekker *ἄξων τέ ἐστιν* (*sc. ἡ μονάς*) *αὐτοῖς καὶ ἥλιος καὶ πυράλιος, καὶ μορφὼ δὲ καὶ Ζανὸς πύργος, καὶ σπερματίτης λόγος, Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ προφήτης καὶ λόγιος.* But *id. ib.* p. 144 a 36 ff. describes the *πεντάς* in somewhat similar terms: ... *καὶ κυκλιοῦχος καὶ ἀμίθεος καὶ Ζανὸς πύργος καὶ διδυμαία καὶ ἄξων ἑδραία* (A. Delatte *op. cit.* p. 154 cj. *ἀξονεδραία*, cp. *ἀξονήλατος*, in the sense 'celle qui se tient ferme sur l'axe du monde').

[3] Orph. *frag.* 144 Abel *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 6 p. 22, 21 ff. Wünsch *Ὀρφεὺς δὲ τὸν ἕνα ἀριθμὸν Ἀγυιέα καλεῖ, κ.τ.λ.*

[4] *Supra* p. 169.

[5] *Supra* pp. 158 ff. (Italian tree-cults with gateway or arch), 160 (*dókana* with central tree or column), 160 f., 166 (*Agyieús*-pillars before doorways), 161 (pillars of Zeus *Kataibátes* at Tarentum).

[6] *Supra* p. 160.

[7] Cp. the Egyptian signs and , which depict the sky resting on or falling off the four pillars that support it (E. A. Wallis Budge *Easy Lessons in Egyptian Hieroglyphs* London 1899 p. 74, Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 17 nn. 1 and 2).

The same conception of the pillared sky found ritual expression in the great festival-tent erected by Ion at Delphoi (Eur. *Ion* 1132 ff. *ὁ δὲ νεανίας | σεμνῶς ἀτοίχους περιβολὰς σκηνωμάτων | ὀρθοστάταις ἰδρύεθ'*...). That this was an imitation of the sky is clear, not only from the fact that it was made big enough to hold the entire populace (*ib.* 1140, 1167 f.), but also from the cosmic decoration of its roof (*ib.* 1146 ff.: see further R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 57 ff., 156 f.).

[8] *Supra* p. 53 f.

and an eagle set upon it. The mention of the eagle brings us up against another long-standing puzzle. What are we to make of the eagles on the *omphalós*? Can they too be explained in the light of this pillar connecting earth with heaven? The Delphic eagles appear in classical literature from the fifth century B.C. onwards[1]. Pindar, our earliest source, writing in 462 B.C. speaks of the Pythian priestess 'who sitteth beside the golden eagles of Zeus[2],' and an old Greek commentator on the passage tells the orthodox tale:

'A story is bruited abroad to the effect that Zeus, wanting to determine the centre of the world, let fly eagles of equal speed from west and east. They, winging their way in opposite directions, met at Pytho and by that very fact marked the central point of the whole world. Later, in token of what had befallen, he made other eagles of gold and set them up in the precinct of the god[3].'

Observe that, whenever this tale is told of Zeus, the teller uses the verb *aphiénai*, 'to let fly[4].' We shall not be far wrong, if we surmise that the tale was in fact aetiological and aimed at explaining the cult-epithet *Aphésios*, which Zeus is known to have borne in the Megarid[5] and at Argos[6]. Unfortunately the meaning of that epithet is doubtful. In modern times it has been usually taken to denote Zeus as a rain-god[7]. But 'He who lets fly' is rather, I think, suggestive of thunderbolts[8]. Be that as it may, Zeus *Aphésios* was

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Pind. *frag.* 27 Boeckh *ap.* Strab. 419, Eur. *Ion* 225 (if, with F. Studniczka in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 269, we accept C. Robert's risky emendation *στέμμασί γ' ἐνδυτόν, ἀμφὶ δὲ γοργ<ὼν>* | *<χρυσοφαέννω Διὸς οἰων>*), Philodamos *paean Dion.* 123 ff. in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 407 (if, with O. Kern and H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 61 n. 22, we may take the words *ναὸ[ν]*... | *[ν]ε[ο]χρύσεον χρυσέοις τύποις* | ... *ἀργαίνοντε* to describe the two golden eagles, melted down by the Phocians but now renewed, and the words *αὐτόχθονι κόσμῳ* to denote the *omphalós* itself), Strab. 419, Plout. *de def. or.* 1, Loukian. *de salt.* 38 with schol. *ad loc.* p. 188, 25 ff. Rabe, Claud. *in Fl. Mallii Theodori consulatum prol.* 11 ff., schol. Bernens. *in* Lucan. 5. 71 ff. p. 156, 8 ff. Usener, schol. Eur. *Or.* 331, schol. Soph. *O.T.* 480.

Delphoi was haunted by eagles in the time of Euripides (Eur. *Ion* 153 ff.), and is so to this day (P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 70). I once saw two eagles hovering above the deep glen of the Pleistos—a sight to be remembered.

[2] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 ff. *ἔνθα ποτὲ χρυσέων* | *Διὸς αἰετῶν πάρεδρος* | *οὐκ ἀποδάμου Ἀπόλλωνος τυχόντος ἱέρεα* | *χρῆσεν* κ.τ.λ.

[3] Schol. vet. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 p. 95, 4 ff. Drachmann.

[4] Schol. vet. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 6 p. 95, 7 *ἀφῆκεν, ἰὸ.* p. 95, 22 *ἀφεθέντες*, Pind. *frag.* 27 Boeckh *ap.* Strab. 419 *ἀφεθέντες*.

[5] Append. B Megaris.

[6] *Supra* i. 117, Append. B Phliasia.

[7] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 195, Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 169, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2715, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 832 n. 4, p. 1110 n. 2. It remains, of course, possible that the connexion of 'Ἀφέσιος with *ἀφιέναι* was secondary, cp. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 513 f. and H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 p. 230 ff.

[8] *E.g. Il.* 8. 133 (Zeus) *ἀφῆκ' ἀργῆτα κεραυνόν*, *Od.* 24. 539 *Κρονίδης ἀφίει ψολόεντα κεραυνόν*.

in all probability worshipped at Delphoi. And it is interesting to find that as far back as Homeric times the Pythian Apollon was called *aphétor*, 'he that lets fly[1].' This appellation, which occurs but once, was and is still a bone of contention to Homer's expositors[2]. It looks as though Apollon had stepped into the place of Zeus and inherited his local title. The archer as well as the thunderer 'lets fly.' Under the rule of Apollon the eagles, however, were felt to be a mistake. Attempts were made to rewrite the myth with the somewhat cheap substitution of swans or ravens[3]. Perhaps Philomelos the Phocian, who seized the temple (*c.* 356 B.C.) and appropriated the golden eagles[4], salved his conscience with the reflection that after all eagles were not the rightful birds of Apollon. Whether the eagles melted down by Philomelos were subsequently renewed in gold, we cannot say for certain. But it appears that in later days a pair of eagles was represented in mosaic on the floor to right and left of the *omphalós*[5].

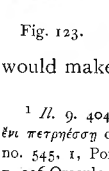


Fig. 123.

The evidence of literature may be supplemented by that of art. An electrum *statér* of Kyzikos, struck *c.* 450–400 B.C., shows two eagles, beak to beak, perched awkwardly enough on the sides of a filleted *omphalós* (fig. 123)[6]. This coin presumably depicts the famous *omphalós* at Delphoi, not—as W. H. Roscher would make out[7]—a counterpart of it at Branchidai.

[1] *Il.* 9. 404 f. οὐδ' ὅσα λάινος οὐδὸς ἀφήτορος ἐντὸς ἐέργει, | Φοίβου Ἀπόλλωνος, Πυθοῖ ἔνι πετρηέσσῃ cited by Diod. 16. 56, Strab. 420 f., Ail. *var. hist.* 6. 9 Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 545, 1, Porphyrii *de philosophia ex oraculis haurienda* ed. G. Wolff Berolini 1856 p. 236 Oraculorum Appendix 26 ἑρημαῖος δὲ λελείψεται οὐδὸς ἀφήτωρ, *et. mag.* p. 177, 21 f., p. 546, 44 f., schol. Kallim. *h. Ap.* 35, *h. Artem.* 250, and by Ioul. *or.* 2. 80B (with ἔεργε). The same passage is the stock in trade of scbol. *Il.* 9. 404, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 759, 63 ff., Apollon. *lex. hom.* p. 49, 15 ff. Bekker, Hesych. *s.vv.* ἀφήτορος, φητώ (but note the gloss ἀφητορεία · μαντεία), Souid. *s.v.* ἀφήτορος, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 Ἐπίθετα Ἀπόλλωνος 5 ἀφήτορος, i. 278 Ἀπόλλων...ἀφήτωρ, i. 283 Ἐπίθετα Ἀπόλλωνος...ἀφήτωρ.

[2] Consult O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2719, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 68, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 106.

[3] Plout. *de def. or.* 1 ἀετούς τινας ἢ κύκνους, Strab. 419 οἱ ἀετοὶ οἱ ἀφεθέντες ὑπὸ τοῦ Διός,...οἱ δὲ κόρακάς φασι.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 7b p. 95, 24 ff. Drachmann.

[5] Schol. Loukian. *de salt.* 38 p. 188, 25 ff. Rabe λέγουσιν ἐν Δελφοῖς ὀμφαλὸν εἶναι ἐπὶ τοῦ ἐδάφους τοῦ νεὼ καὶ περὶ αὐτὸν αἰετὸν (ἀετὸν cod. R. H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 92 f. n. 59 cj. ἀετούς. F. Wieseler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1857 xxix. 172 cj. αἰετῶ) γεγράφθαι ἀπὸ συνθέσεως λίθων καὶ τοῦτο ἔφασκον τὸ μέσον ἁπάσης τῆς γῆς.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 32 pl. 8, 7, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1453 f. pl. 177, 24, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 525, W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 58 f. pl. 1, 23, J. H. Middleton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 295 fig. 1, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 43 no. 421 pl. 8. I figure a specimen in the McClean collection.

[7] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 50 f. pl. 1, 1, cp. *ib.* p. 36 ff.

A votive relief in fine yellowish marble, found at Sparta but clearly Attic in style and probably carved in the last quarter of the fifth century B.C., has Artemis with a *próchoos* filling the *phiále* of Apollon: between them is seen a plain *omphalós* set on a plinth, which supports two eagles with reverted heads (fig. 124)[1]. A very similar relief, found at Athens, decorates a pre-Euclidean decree, which confers upon a certain exegete—apparently one of those known as *Pythóchrestoi*—a throne in the Prytaneion and a seat

Fig. 124.

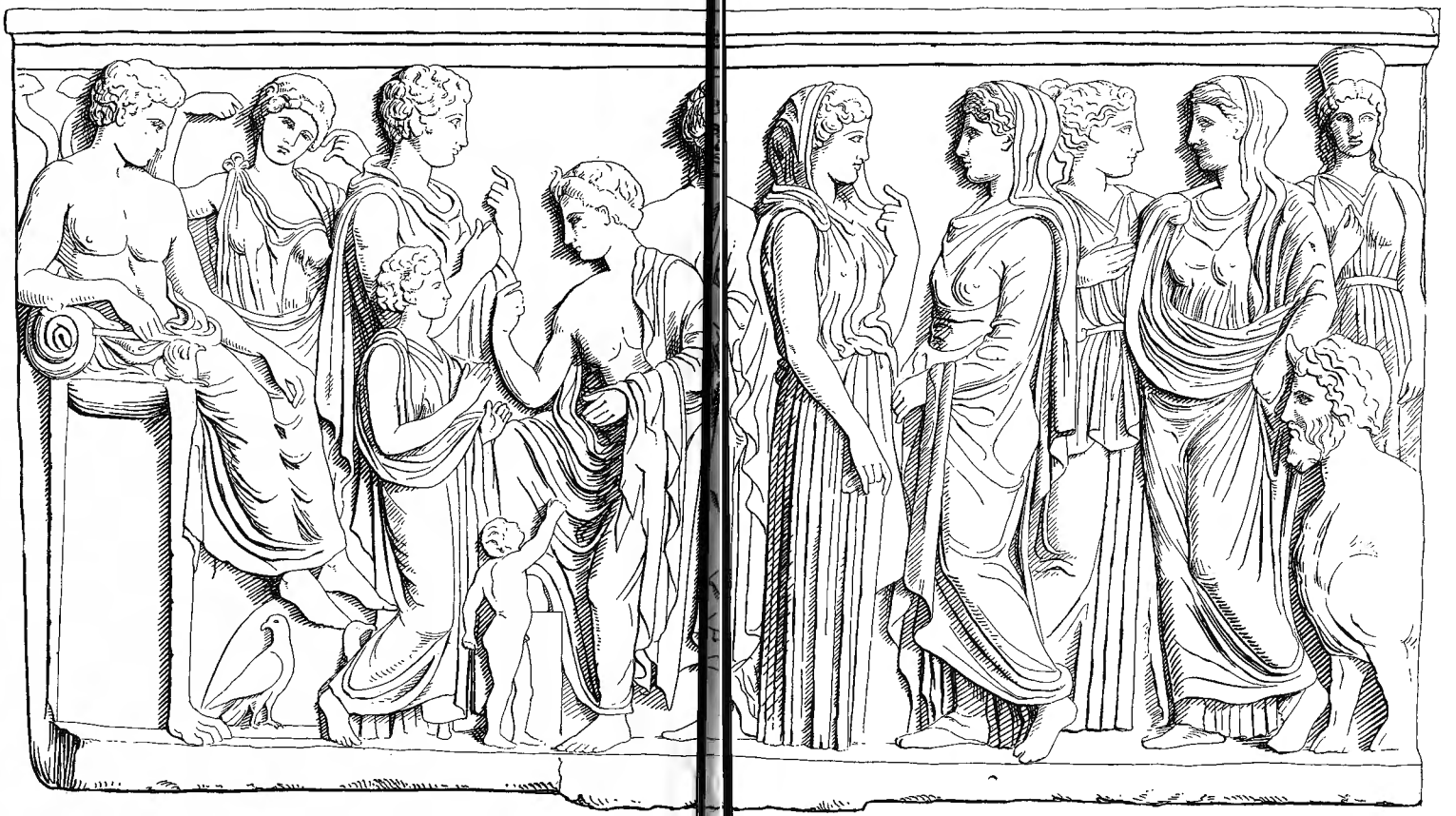
[1] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 xii. 378 ff. pl. 12, J. H. Middleton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 295 f. (wrongly takes Artemis to be Nike), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 364 f., 523, F. Studniczka in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 267 fig. 6 (suggests that the *omphalós* was originally painted with an *agrenón*), G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 199 fig. 5403, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 181 no. 468 fig. 59, cp. *ib.* p. 125 f. (where the relief is dated as late as *s.* iii B.C.), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 308 f. fig. 2, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 84 pl. 7, 4. Height 0·46^{m}, breadth 0·57^{m}.

of honour in the theatre: the sculptured subject was practically identical with that of the relief from Sparta, except that here the carefully spaced lettering leads J. N. Svoronos to conjecture the former existence of another figure, perhaps Leto, to the left of Apollon and Artemis (fig. 125)[1]. A third relief, referable to the

Fig. 125.

opening years of the fourth century B.C., was found at Phaleron between the parallel Long Walls in a precinct dedicated to Kephisos

[1] A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i Beiblatt p. 43, F. Studniczka in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 267, G. Karo in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 199 n. 16, and especially J. N. Svoronos 'Ψήφισμα 'Αττικὸν ἀνέκδοτον καὶ οἱ ὀμφαλοὶ τῶν Πυθίων' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 301—316 with 13 figs., of which fig. 1 shows our relief, *id. Ath. Nalionalmus.* pl. 211, 1 = my fig. 125, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 84 ff. pl. 9, 5. Height 0·55^{m}, breadth 0·37^{m}.



Relief from Phaleron: Xenokrateia and her b[illegible]te Kephisos and the deities associated with him.

See page 182 ff.

and sundry associated deities. This magnificent slab of Pentelic marble (pl. x)[1] fits into a large pillar-like base of *pôros*, which is inscribed—partly in prose and partly in verse—as follows:

'Xenokrateia, wife of Xeniades from the deme Cholleidai, as daughter (before her marriage) and mother (after it) set up by way of oblation and dedicated to Kephisos and the gods that share his altar this gift to instruct whoso will to sacrifice with a view to the consummation of blessings[2].'

It would seem that Xenokrateia had gained her heart's desire, a man-child born in lawful wedlock, by promising this tablet to Kephisos and the other fertility-powers that shared his altar. Their names are recorded on a sacred boundary-stone from the same site: 'To Hestia, Kephisos, Apollon *Pýthios*, Leto, Artemis *Lochía*, Eileithyia, Acheloios, Kalliroe, the Geraistian birth-nymphs, and Rhapso[3].' The list serves as a key to the composition of our relief[4]. On the left is Apollon *Pýthios*: he sits on a tripod-throne with a griffin for arm-rest, two coiled snakes for rings and back, and the *omphalós* with its eagles for foot-stool. Beside him in the background stands Leto binding her hair with a fillet, once added in colour. Before him Artemis holds a torch, similarly put in with paint. Next to these august persons are Xenokrateia and her boy, mere mortals and therefore figured on a smaller scale: they make

[1] B. Staes ''Αναθηματικὸν ἀνάγλυφον ἐκ Φαλήρου' in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909 pp. 239—264 pl. 8, map, and figs. 1—3, *id.* ''Αναγκαῖα προσθήκη' *ib.* 1910 pp. 173—176, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 45 ff. no. 2756 fig., Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 493 ff. pls. 181 f. (pl. 181 = my pl. x), G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 271 f., W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 86 f. pl. 8, 2. Height 0·57[m], breadth 1·05[m].

[2] Ξενοκράτεια Κηφισῶ(ι) ἱερ|ὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθηκεν | ξυμβώμοις τε θεοῖς διδασκαλ|ίας τόδε δῶρον, Ξενιάδου θυγάτ|ηρ καὶ μήτηρ, ἐκ Χολειδῶν, | θύειν τῶι βουλομένωι ἐπὶ | τελεστῶν ἀγαθῶν. Staes read the concluding words as τελεστῶν 'Αγάθων[ος καὶ τοῦ δεῦνα]; but Svoronos could discover no certain trace of any letters after ἀγαθῶν, and certainly no trace of any further line such as would be needed to contain the name of Agathon's fellow-*telestés*. The queer diction and arrangement of the sentence is, I think, sufficiently explained by the exigencies of metre, an attempt being made to hitch the whole into dactylic hexameters and a final pentameter (?) thus: Ξε(ι)νοκράτεια | Κηφισῷ ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο καὶ ἀνέθηκεν | ξυμβώμοις τε θεοῖσ(ι) διδασκαλίας τόδε δῶρον, | Ξε(ι)νιάδου θυγάτηρ καὶ μήτηρ, ἐκ Χολ(λ)ειδῶν, | θύειν τῷ βουλομένῳ ἐπὶ τελεστῶν ἀγαθῶν. Xenokrateia was no Sappho.

[3] 'Εστίαι, Κηφισ|ῶι, 'Απόλλωνι | Πυθίωι, Λητοῖ, | 'Αρτέμιδι Λοχ|ίαι, 'Ιλειθυίαι, 'Αχ|ελώωι, Καλλ|ιρόηι, Γεραισ|ταῖς Νύμφαι|ς Γενεθλ|ίαις, 'Ραψοῖ (B. Staes in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909 p. 244 ff. fig. 1, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 495, *supra* i. 112 n. 3).

[4] This was seen first by J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* p. 495 ff.: he did not, however, make sufficient use of the clue that he had himself discovered; for he takes Hestia (mentioned in the list) to be Ilisos (absent from the list).

B. Staes in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909 p. 251 ff., *id. Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 45 ff. no. 2756, had interpreted the whole relief as illustrating the myth of Ion: according to him, the six figures on the left (Apollon *Pýthios*, Leto, Artemis, the Pythian priestess, Ion, Xouthos setting foot on the threshold of the sanctuary) are grouped at Delphoi, the seven figures on the right (Hermes, four Nymphs, cult-image of Artemis or Eileithyia, Acheloios or Kephisos) at Athens.

their petition to Kephisos, a youthful god with a small horn (?) over his forehead and his foot supported on an altar. Behind him and facing the spectator is an older figure, whose draperies were formerly perhaps completed by the addition of a painted *chitón* and veil: she would thus have been sufficiently characterised as Hestia[1]. Then comes a group of four females, two stately matronal forms facing left in conversation with two more youthful goddesses facing right. The older figures are the Geraistian nymphs, the younger Eileithyia (holding a girdle)[2] and Rhapso (with painted needle and thread ?[3]). On the right stands Acheloios, represented as a bull with human face, and behind him his daughter Kalliroe, conceived as a Caryatid guarding a well-house. It will be observed that these three reliefs show an *omphalós* and eagles of identical type, and that in each case there is some reason to connect the scene with the *Pýthion* at Athens. Possibly, as J. N. Svoronos contends[4], eagles with reverted heads were actually to be seen on either side of the Athenian *omphalós*.

Eagles with reverted heads occur again on a votive relief of white marble (fig. 126)[5] found in Aigina some three hundred paces from a sanctuary of Apollon[6]. This monument, which may be dated *c.* 350 B.C., shows Apollon with a *kithára* in his left hand, a *phiále* in his right, and a worshipper drawing near to greet the god. Between them is an *omphalós* without a base, but covered with

[1] B. Staes and J. N. Svoronos *locc. citt.* regard this figure as male, the former calling it Hermes, the latter Ilisos. But Hermes would have had a *chlamýs* rather than a *himátion*; and Ilisos makes a very indifferent pair to Kephisos. Staes honestly remarks '*τὸ γυναικεῖον μᾶλλον πρόσωπον τῆς μορφῆς ταύτης*' ('Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1909 p. 255). That is right: all we have to do is to complete her costume in paint.

[2] Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 499 n. 1 cites Theokr. 17. 60 *Εἰλείθυιαν ἐβώσατο λυσίζωνον*. So Cornut. *theol.* 34 p. 73, 8 ff. Lang *Εἰλείθυια,...ἣν εὔχονται ἑλθεῖν αὐταῖς ἠπίαν καὶ λυσίζωνον αἱ ὠδίνουσαι*, Orph. *h. Prothyr.* 2. 4 ff. *Προθυραία, | ...λυσίζων', ... | ... | Εἰλείθυια*, cp. *id. h. Artem.* 36. 5.

[3] Svoronos *loc. cit.* p. 499: 'Mit Rücksicht auf ihr Erscheinen unter den Geburtsgöttinnen...und die Bedeutungen des Wortes *ῥάπτω*: *ἐνῶ, συγκολλῶ, συνάπτω* und sogar *ὀπῶ*[1] [1 Favorin. Lex. s.v. *ῥάπτω*.] (vgl. *ὀπύω*) dürfen wir wohl auch Rapso als eine Schutznymphe oder Moire der Ehe betrachten, speziell des Augenblicks der Entjungferung und der Empfängnis, der Festnähung des Embryo im Mutterleibe.'

[4] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 308 ff., cp. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 84 ff.

[5] J. N. Svoronos '*Αἰγίνης ἀνάγλυφον ἀναθηματικόν*' in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1912 p. 254 f. pl. 22 (=my fig. 126), W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 126 f. pl. 8, 3. Height 0·50^{m}, breadth 0·455^{m}.

[6] Four stones inscribed *ὅρος τεμένους 'Απόλλωνος Ποσειδῶνος* (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 33—36) mark the boundaries of the *Apollónion* (*ib.* i no. 2, 37 *παρὰ τὸ 'Απολλών[ιον]*) or temple of Apollon (Paus. 2. 30. 1), who in Aigina bore a variety of titles (see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 75 f.) including that of *Pýthios* (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 122 with schol. *ad loc.*, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 545, 8, 11, 35 ff.).

fillets and topped by the two birds. The design agrees exactly

Fig. 126.

with that of a copper coin (fig. 127)[1] struck by Septimius Severus at Megara, where there was an ancient cult of Apollon *Pýthios*[2].

Fig. 127.

Fig. 128.

[1] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 312 fig. 7, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1912 p. 254 f. pl. 22 (=my fig. 127), W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 126 f. pl. 1, 9.

[2] Paus. 1. 42. 5, cp. schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 84 Πύθια, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1065 ἀρχ(ι)ερεὺς ὁ Ἀ[π]έλλωνος Π[υθίου? υθαέως?], *ib.* i no. 1058, 4 f. ἀγωνοθέτην Πυ[θαήων, Lebas–Foucart *Peloponnèse* no. 42 b, 1 Πυθάεια πυγμήν, 8 Πυθάεια [Σεβα]στε[ῖα π]αγκράτιον.

The worshipper on the coin is probably Septimius Severus himself. Another copper of Megara (fig. 128)[1], struck by Geta, repeats the type, but omits the emperor. J. N. Svoronos[2] and W. H. Roscher[3] infer that Aigina and Megara had similar *omphaloí* of their own in the service of Apollon *Pýthios*.

A copper coin of Patara (fig. 129)[4], struck by Gordianus Pius, represents Apollon, with a bay-branch in his right hand and a bow (?) in his left, standing beside a small *omphalós*, on which sits a single eagle with spread wings. Another copper of Patara (fig. 130)[5], struck in the same reign, shows the god between an *omphalós*, surmounted by an eagle and entwined with a snake, and a

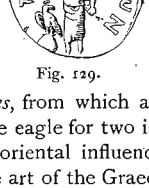


Fig. 129.

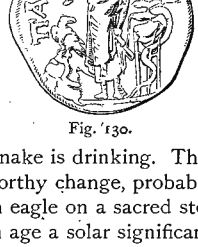


Fig. 130.

tripod-*lébes*, from which a second snake is drinking. The substitution of one eagle for two is a noteworthy change, probably brought about by oriental influence; for an eagle on a sacred stone had in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age a solar significance[6], which would well suit Apollon and might suffice to modify his Pythian attribute.

We have now passed in review the literary and the monumental evidence for the eagles connected with the Delphic *omphalós*. We have yet to determine their original meaning. More than fifty years ago C. Boetticher in the course of a careful monograph[7] arrived

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 124 pl. 22, 7 ('two birds (ravens?)'), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 6 pl. A, 9=my fig. 128 ('omphalos surmounted by eagles, or altar on which ravens'), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 312 fig. 6 ('βωμόμορφον ὀμφαλὸν μετὰ δύο ἀετῶν').

[2] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 312, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1912 p. 255.

[3] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 126 f.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 304, 310 ('Rabe') Münztaf. 5, 6=my fig. 129, W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 108 pl. 1, 17. The coin is at Paris.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 77 pl. 16, 2 (=my fig. 130), cp. *ib.* p. 77 pl. 16, 3, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1911 xiii. 312 f. fig. 8, cp. *ib.* fig. 9, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 307 no. 2. See further W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 107 ff.

[6] *Supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475.

[7] C. Boetticher *Der Omphalos des Zeus zu Delphi* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xix) Berlin 1859 pp. 1—17 figs. 1—4.

at the conclusion that the true owner of the *omphalós* was Zeus[1], and compared its two golden eagles with the two gilded eagles that flanked the altar of Zeus *Lýkaios*[2]. Whatever be thought of Boetticher's main contention, the analogy that he drew is sound and its implications are of some consequence. The altar of Zeus *Lýkaios* flanked by the gilded eagles was simply a circular summit of Mount Lykaion[3]. I am disposed to infer that the *omphalós* at Delphoi was likewise, to begin with, a mound—a mere mass of earth[4], which in process of time was conventionalised into a hemispherical or ovoid stone, but to the last bore upon its surface the tell-tale monosyllable *Gâs*[5]. This mound (the 'Archer's hill' some called it[6]) supported the sky-pillar[7], and was therefore haunted by the sky-god, who here as elsewhere came and went in the form of an eagle. I take it that both in Arkadia and in Phokis the eagles betoken the telephany of the god himself[8]. The fact that they

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 5: 'Der Omphalos ist vom Ursprunge an das Weihethum des Zeus Moiragetes und der ihm beisitzenden Moiren gewesen; durch eine Reihe schicksallenkender Mächte, welche alle nur Zeus Willen offenbaren, vererbt er sich auf den jüngsten Gott der Stätte, den Apollon, der nach einem bezeichnenden Worte Platons: in des Zeus Namen als Exeget der Satzungen und Anordnungen seines Vaters für die ganze Menschheit *ἐν μέσῳ τῆς γῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ καθήμενος ἐξηγεῖται*' [Plat. *rep.* 427 c].

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 7 f. [3] *Supra* i. 81 ff.

[4] Cp. fig. 131=M. Rostowzew 'Die hellenistisch-römische Architekturlandschaft' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1911 xxvi. 41 fig. 18 a wall-painting from a house at Pompeii (*reg.* vii. 2. 18) decorated in the third or 'ornate' style (*supra* p. 143 n. 4). Height 1·17^{m}, breadth 0·63^{m}. In the centre is a sacred tree with a gateway erected over it and a statue of Artemis or Hekate holding torches beneath it. Close by is seen a circular wall, with openings in it, surrounding another tree, which bears fruit (? apples), and an omphaloid hillock, which is covered with an *agrenón* and topped by a tall tripod. The remainder of the picture is occupied by two persons (? man and woman), carrying *thýrsos* and torch, three goats grazing, and a number of votive offerings. See further H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 45 ('un simulacro femminile di bronzo,...due uomini coronati...'), Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 141 no. 686 ('una divinità muliebre...due donne...'), A. Mau *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* Berlin 1882 p. 430.

[5] *Supra* p. 175 f. The Delphic *omphalós* was known to Pindar, Bakchylides, the tragedians, etc. as the 'navel of the Earth' (see W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 54 ff.). But neither Homer nor Hesiod mentions it as such (*id. ib.* p. 10); our earliest source for the expression is Epimenides, who writes: *οὔτε γὰρ ἦν γαίης μέσος ὀμφαλὸς οὐδὲ θαλάσσης· | εἰ δέ τις ἐστί, θεοῖς δῆλος, θνητοῖσι δ' ἄφαντος* (*frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* Plout. *de def. or.* 1)—a passage considered *infra* p. 191.

[6] Hesych. Τοξίου *βουνός* (Τοξιούβουνος cod. Musurus corr. Τοξίου *βουνός*. Dobree cj. Τοξίου *βωμός*)· *τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Σικυῶνι. βέλτιον δὲ ἀκούειν τὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς Νάπην λεγομένην· ἐκεῖ γὰρ καὶ ὁ δράκων κατετοξεύθη. καὶ ὁ ὀμφαλὸς τῆς γῆς τάφος ἐστὶ τοῦ Πύθωνος.* See further T. Schreiber *Apollon Pythoktonos* Leipzig 1879 pp. 6 n. 27, 44, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1256 n. 2, Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3404 f.

[7] *Supra* p. 169 ff.

[8] Zeus took the form of an eagle, when he first came from Crete to Naxos (*supra* i. 164 n. 4), consorted with Europe in the tree (*supra* i. 532), inspected the charms of Semele (Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 210 ff.), ravished Aigina (Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 181, 184 Migne), Athen. 566 D, Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 122, 7. 213, 13. 201 ff., 16. 56 ff., 24. 77 ff., 33. 296 f.,

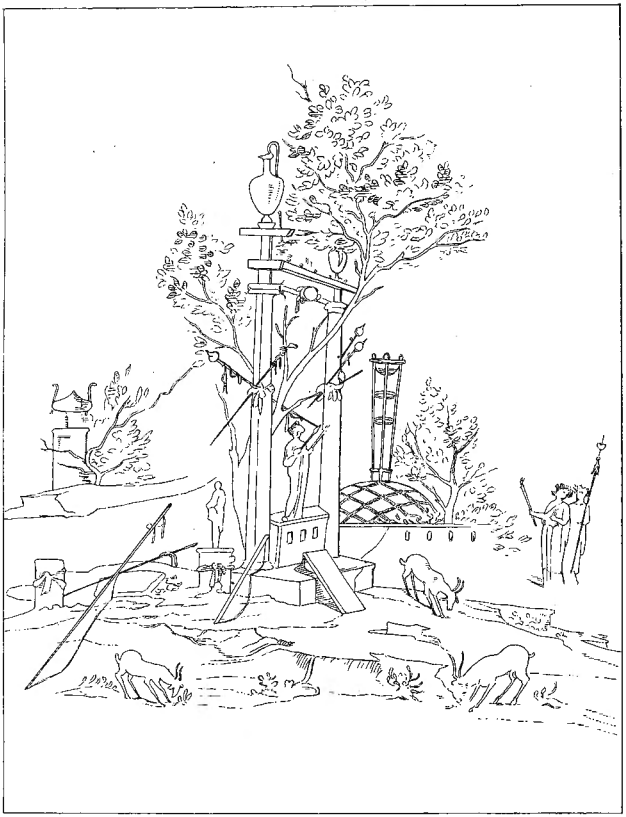


Fig. 131.

cp. 39. 169 f., Myth. Vat. 2. 203. Alleged representations of the scene are discussed by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 399—403. See, however, Ov. *met.* 6. 110 ff. addidit ut... | Iuppiter... | ...Asopida luserit ignis, and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 841 n. 8), Asteria (*supra* i. 543 n. 6), Thaleia (*supra* i. 105 f.), and carried off Ganymedes (*Anth. Pal.* 12. 64. 3 f. (Alkaios of Messene), *ib.* 12. 65. 1 ff. (Meleagros), Ov. *met.* 10. 155 ff., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 1 ff., Nonn. *Dion.* 11. 134 f., 11. 293 ff., 15. 281 f., 25. 434 ff., Herakleit. *de incredib.* 28 p. 83, 13 ff. Festa, *append. narrat.* 23 p. 368, 33 ff. Westermann, Myth. Vat. 1. 184. An ingenious attempt to distinguish Zeus as an eagle in works of art representing the rape of Ganymedes is made by O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 pp. 20—24, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 520 f., 526 ff. Atlas pl. 8, 6,

were two, not one, is hardly to be explained as a device of heraldry[1], or the result of a desire for symmetry[2], or an attempt to represent both sides of a single bird[3], or a juxtaposition of memory pictures[4]. Rather it illustrates Usener's law of religious development[5]: the eagles are *Augenblicksgötter* that have not yet coalesced into a *Sondergott*.

But I am far from supposing that we have thus exhausted the import of the Delphic *omphalós*. It will not do to blink the question: Why was a particular mound of earth reduced to a compact shape and safeguarded by a whole network of fillets? When W. H. Roscher shows that the term *omphalós* was used of earth's central point[6], he does indeed insist upon a truth which helps to explain a variety of *data*, but he does not—to my thinking—really get down to the root of things. For, after all, early man was (*pace* Piette[7]) a poor mathematician and knew little of circles and centres. No, we must assume that to him the word *omphalós* meant just what it says—'the navel,' that is, the navel of the human body, not the hub of the universe. Now there is reason to believe that the Delphic cult was once comparable with that of 'Minoan' Crete[8].

P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1598 f. fig.: but see P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 744).

It may be objected that some of these transformation-scenes are palpably late figments (*e.g.* the eagle spying upon Semele), that others were probably modelled on the myth of Ganymedes (*e.g.* the eagle ravishing Aigina: so P. Friedländer *loc. cit.* vii. 739), and that in his case earlier versions of the tale are extant not involving the bird-metamorphosis at all (*id. ib.* vii. 737 ff.). But we do well to bear in mind that late writers often used early materials (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 126 n. 5), and that the appearance of Zeus as an eagle is supported by numerous parallels.

[1] E. Curtius *Ueber Wappengebrauch und Wappenstil im griechischen Alterthum* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1874* Phil.-hist. Classe) Berlin 1874 p. 104 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 856 f., M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 pp. 489 f., 495, 501 f., 630. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 55, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 152 ff.

[2] A. Riegl *Stilfragen* Berlin 1893 pp. 33—40.

[3] Good examples of 'split' quadrupeds and birds are given by F. Boas 'The Decorative Art of the Indians of the North Pacific Coast' in the *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 1897 ix. 144 ff. with figs.—a reference kindly supplied to me by my friend Dr A. C. Haddon.

[4] E. Loewy *The Rendering of Nature in early Greek Art* trans. J. Fothergill London 1907 p. 29 f. fig. 7.

[5] *Supra* p. 13 n. 1. [6] *Supra* p. 167.

[7] E. Piette 'Études d'ethnographie préhistorique iii Les galets coloriés du Mas-d'Azil' in *L'Anthropologie* 1896 vii. 385—427 with figs. 1—107 and Atlas of 25 col. pls., cp. 'Les galets peints du Mas-d'Azil' *ib.* 1903 xiv. 655—660 with figs. 1—4, H. Obermaier *Der Mensch aller Zeiten* i (Der Mensch der Vorzeit) Berlin etc. 1912 p. 216 ff. col. pl. 13 and figs. 136—138.

[8] The first priests of Apollon *Delphínios* at Pytho were Κρῆτες ἀπὸ Κνωσσοῦ Μινωίου (*h. Ap.* 388 ff.: see further W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 35 ff., M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* (Bryn Mawr College

It is therefore of importance to observe that the Cretans too had a holy centre called Omphalos, where it was said that the navel-string of the infant Zeus had fallen to the ground. Kallimachos, having told how Rhea entrusted the babe to the arms of Neda, continues:

> When bearing thee from Knossos, father Zeus,
> The Nymph left Thenai (Thenai near to Knossos),
> There, lord, fell off thy navel; wherefore now
> Cydonians call that spot the Omphalian Plain[1].

Diodoros tells the same tale in substantial agreement with Kallimachos:

'The story goes that, when he (Zeus) as an infant was being carried by the Kouretes, his navel fell off near the river named Triton, and that the place was consecrated and called Omphalos after the occurrence, the surrounding district being likewise known as the Omphalian Plain[2].'

This narrative was denounced by K. Hoeck as a piece of late

Monographs: Monograph Series xiii) Bryn Mawr 1913 pp. 22 ff., 41 f., 62 ff.). The leader of these Cretan settlers was Kastalios (*et. gen. s.v.* Δελφίνιος, *et. mag.* p. 255, 18 ff., Orion p. 46, 22 ff., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 207). After the slaughter of Python Apollon was purified in Crete by Karmanor (Paus. 2. 7. 7, cp. 10. 6. 7, 10. 7. 2, 10. 16. 5), the father of Euboulos whose daughter Karme became by Zeus the mother of Britomartis (Paus. 2. 30. 3, cp. Diod. 5. 76, Ant. Lib. 40, Verg. *Ciris* 220 ff.). According to others, Apollon was purified in Crete by Chrysothemis (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 3). This son of Karmanor is said to have won the prize in the earliest hymnic contest at Delphoi (Paus. 10. 7. 2). On another occasion the prize was secured by Eleuther (Paus. 10. 7. 3), perhaps the eponym of Eleutherna in Crete (so J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 8). Koretas, the reputed discoverer of the oracle (Plout. *de def. or.* 42, 46), bears a name suggestive of Crete (so J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.*). And Pteras, the eponym of the Cretan Aptereoi, was supposed by some to have built the second temple at Delphoi (Paus. 10. 5. 10).

A leonine head in limestone, part of a ritual *rhytón*, found beneath the temple of Apollon (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 1. 3 fig. 2 *a*, *b*, v. 1. 3 ff. figs. 13, 13 *a*) resembles closely the famous lioness-*rhytón* in marble found at Knossos (J. de Mot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 ii. 217, G. Karo 'Minoische Rhyta' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 254 ff. figs. 6 f., F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 15 f. figs. 1—3, p. 59). A bronze axe from Delphoi, which is engraved with 'Minoan' characters, will be figured later (*infra* § 3 (c) i (*μ*)). And 'Minoan' pottery etc. has come to light in the Delphic precinct (*Fouilles de Delphes* v. 1. 5 f., 8 ff. figs. 26—51, 15 ff. figs. 62—90, 20 f. figs. 91—97, v. 2. 133).

[1] Kallim. *h. Zeus* 42 ff. εὖτε Θενὰς ἀπέλειπεν ἀπὸ (so J. A. F. A. Meineke for MSS. ἐπὶ) Κνωσσοῖο φέρουσα, | Ζεῦ πάτερ, ἡ νύμφη σε (Θεναὶ δ' ἔσαν ἐγγύθι Κνωσσοῦ), | τουτάκι τοι πέσε, δαῖμον, ἄπ' ὀμφαλός· ἔνθεν ἐκεῖνο | Ὀμφάλιον μετέπειτα πέδον καλέουσι Κύδωνες, cp. schol. Nik. *alex.* 7 ἄρκτον ὑπ' ὀμφαλόεσσαν·...ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν Κρητικήν· Ὀμφαλὸς γὰρ τόπος ἐν Κρήτῃ, ὡς καὶ Καλλίμαχος· πέσε, δαῖμον, ἄπ' ὀμφαλός, ἔνθεν ἐκεῖνο | Ὀμφάλιον μετέπειτα πέδον καλέουσι Κύδωνες, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὀμφάλιον· τόπος Κρήτης, πλησίον Θενῶν καὶ Κνωσσοῦ. ἔστι καὶ Θετταλίας (*id. s.v.* Παραύαιοι, cp. Ptol. 3. 13. 5). τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ὀμφαλίτης (cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 127).

[2] Diod. 5. 70 *φερομένου μὲν γὰρ ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων αὐτοῦ νηπίου φασὶν ἀποπεσεῖν τὸν ὀμφαλὸν περὶ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν καλούμενον Τρίτωνα, καὶ τὸ χωρίον τε* (so L. Dindorf for MSS. δὲ. P. Wesseling cj. διὰ) *τοῦτο καθιερωθὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ τότε συμβάντος* Ὀμφαλὸν *προσαγορευθῆναι καὶ τὸ περικείμενον πεδίον ὁμοίως* Ὀμφάλειον.

aetiology[1]. But it is clear that Kallimachos and Diodoros are drawing upon a common source. Moreover, since Kallimachos in his context has been paraphrasing Epimenides with regard to the tomb of Zeus[2], while Diodoros in his sequel mentions Epimenides as his first authority for things Cretan[3], it is legitimate to conclude that poet and prose-writer alike are indebted to Epimenides. As a native of Crete[4], and a Koures to boot[5], he would know the local myth. And the story, thus vouched for, must be at least as old as the beginning of the fifth century B.C.[6] That we are on the right track in attributing it to Epimenides appears from another consideration. Epimenides in a noteworthy couplet denied that the Delphic *omphalós* was the central point of land or sea[7]. Why? Because he knew the tale told about the Cretan *Omphalós*, and took the word to mean 'navel,' not 'central point.' So then Knossos, the metropolis of the Delphian shrine[8], had a sacred *Omphalós*, which *c.* 500 B.C. was believed to be the spot hallowed by the navel-string of Zeus. I submit that a like belief attached to Delphoi, and that the Delphic *omphalós* was originally the mound in which the navel-string of Zeus lay buried. Dare we add that the knife-blade, actually found by Courby and regarded by him as mere packing for the wooden pillar of the *omphalós*[9], was the very implement said to have been used at the primal *omphaletomía*?

This explanation of course presupposes an actual custom of burying the umbilical cord[10]. But such customs are amazingly fre-

[1] K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1823 i. 177.

[2] *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 664 n. 1.

[3] Diod. 5. 80, cp. E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2866 f., v. 678.

[4] H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 185 ff. has a convenient collection of the sources, which are critically studied by H. Demoulin *Épiménide de Crète* Bruxelles 1901 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 173—178.

[5] Myronianos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 454 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 115 *Μυρωνιανὸς δὲ ἐν Ὁμοίοις φησὶν ὅτι Κούρητα αὐτὸν ἐκάλουν Κρῆτες* and Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 *καὶ Κούρητα νέον αὐτὸν οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι προσηγόρευον*, cp. Diog. Laert. 1. 111 *ἐποίησε δὲ Κουρήτων καὶ Κορυβάντων γένεσιν.*

[6] O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 174.

[7] *Supra* p. 187 n. 5.

[8] *Supra* p. 189 n. 8.

[9] *Supra* p. 175.

[10] W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 18: 'Wer bedenkt, dass die Geburt des Zeus ebenso für das Prototyp aller menschlicben Geburten galt wie seine heilige Hochzeit (*ἱερὸς γάμος*) für das Ur- und Vorbild aller menschlichen Hochzeiten, der wird es doch wohl mit mir für recht wahrscheinlich erklären, dass der Mythos von der Nabelschnur des höchsten Gottes auch eine ähnliche Bedeutung und Behandlung dieses Organes bei den menschlichen Geburten voraussetzt. Ja, es scheint nicht unmöglich, dass man in uralter Zeit zu Omphalion die Nabelschnur des Zeus ebenso als kostbare Reliquie zeigte und verehrte, wie in Delphi den Stein, den Kronos nach der Geburt des Gottes ausgespien haben sollte (Paus. 10, 24, 6) oder zu Tegea die Locke der Gorgo Medusa (Paus. 8, 47, 5) usw.'

quent in uncivilised or semi-civilised communities[1]. To quote a typical case:

'among the Maoris, when the navel-string dropped off, the child was carried to a priest to be solemnly named by him. But before the ceremony of naming began, the navel-string was buried in a sacred place and a young sapling was planted over it. Ever afterwards that tree, as it grew, was a *tohu oranga* or sign of life for the child[2].'

Analogous practices have survived here and there in modern Greece[3]. Thus in Lesbos the severed portion of the cord is wrapped in cloth and thrown into the school, or the church, or the fields. It is believed that, if the cord falls in the school, the child will become a teacher; if in the church, a priest; if in the fields, a farmer. So, when a child hangs about a place, his mother gets angry and says to him: 'Did they throw your navel there?[4]' Similar usages are reported from Kephallenia, Aigina, Limnobria? (*Burdur*) in Pisidia, Sinasos in Kappadokia, etc., and there can be little doubt that from time immemorial the Greeks have believed in a sympathetic relation existing between the infant and the umbilical cord. It is therefore reasonable to conjecture that in Phokis, as in Crete, the navel-string of Zeus—or rather of a local king (Python?) personating the sky-god[5]—was deposited in a holy place. And where could it be more safely bestowed than beneath the central support of heaven itself? To make security doubly secure, the mound in which the relic lay buried was covered by the *agrenón* with its numerous knots[6]. So far as I can see, nothing short of this hypothesis will

[1] See the examples collected by H. Ploss *Das Kind in Brauch und Sitte der Völker*[2] Leipzig 1884 i. 15—18, ii. 194, 199 f. and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 182—201, ii. 56, *ib.*[3]: Taboo p. 48, *ib.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 167 ff., *ib.*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 160 ff.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 182, citing R. Taylor *Te Ika A Maui, or New Zealand and its Inhabitants*[2] London 1870 p. 184.

[3] They were collected, at the request of W. H. Roscher, by N. G. Polites in Λαογραφία 1912 iii. 698 ff., cp. P. D. Sepherles *ib.* 1913 iv. 322, K. I. Mantzouranes *ib.* 1913 iv. 323 f. See W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 pp. 18 f., 131 f.

[4] G. Georgeakis and L. Pineau *Le Folk-Lore de Lesbos* (Littératures populaires de toutes les nations xxxi) Paris 1894 p. 331 f.: 'Quand on a coupé le nombril du nouveau-né, on l'attache dans un morceau de linge, et on le jette soit dans l'école, soit dans l'église ou dans un champ: l'enfant alors sera ou instituteur ou prêtre ou agriculteur. C'est pourquoi, quand un enfant va très souvent dans le même lieu, sa mère, en colère, lui dit: "C'est là que l'on a jeté ton nombril!"'

[5] On kings impersonating Zeus see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 299 ff., *supra* i. 853 f. Index, *infra* Index; and on the Delphic kings in particular, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 402 ff.

[6] Knots as protective amulets are discussed by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 306 ff., P. Wolters 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii Beiheft pp. 1—22, F. W. von Bissing 'Ägyptische Knotenamulette' *ib.* pp. 23—26, J. Heckenbach *De nuditate sacra sacrisque vinculis* Giessen 1911 pp. 4 f., 23, 69 ff., J. Pley *De lanae in antiquorum ritibus usu* Giessen 1911 pp. 30 ff., 80 ff., I. Scheftelowitz *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker* Giessen 1912 pp. 38—49.

a

b

(*a*) Altar as represented on a coin of the Cretan community.

(*b*) Small bronze altar resembling that on the Cretan coin.

See page 193 *n.* 2.

account for the awful sanctity attaching to the Delphic *omphalós*, for the manifest meaning of its name, and for the peculiar character of its decoration[1].

(*o*) The Delphic Tripod.

The Delphic *Agyieús*-pillar with its side-posts and lintel was in a manner duplicated by the Delphic tripod. Sir Arthur Evans, when discussing the libation-table found in the Dictaean cave, traced briefly but convincingly the whole pedigree of the columnar tripod[2]. He showed that the simplest form of sacred pillar, on the top of which libations were poured (fig. 132)[3], had already in the third period of the Late 'Minoan' age given rise to a tripod-*lébes* with a central stem (fig. 133)[4]; and that this in turn became the parent of such

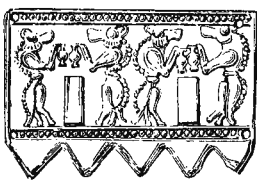


Fig. 132.

Fig. 133.

types as the tripod from Corinth with three lion-goddesses for its supports[5] or the Plataean tripod at Delphoi with a coil of three

[1] The cowrie-covered case, in which the umbilical cord of the king of Uganda was preserved (W. Ridgeway *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races* Cambridge 1915 p. 375 ff. figs. 85—87), bears a superficial resemblance to the fillet-covered *omphalós* at Delphoi.

[2] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 117 f.

In the same context (p. 113 ff.) Sir Arthur traces the analogous evolution of the 'baetylic altar,' regarding it as essentially an 'offertory table placed above the sacred pillar,' and illustrating its ultimate shape from an imperial copper of the Cretan community (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Macon 1890 i. 353 pl. 35, 36 (= my pl. xi, *a*), cp. *ib.* pl. 35, 37, Κ(οινὸν) Κ(ρητῶν)). At a recent auction of Egyptian and Hellenistic antiquities I acquired a small bronze altar (pl. xi, *b*: extreme height $7\frac{1}{8}$ ins.), which closely resembles that of the Cretan coin. It has four legs, a thick central stem, and an upper tray, with widely projecting horns, so contrived that it can be lifted off from the pillar-like legs and the flat-topped barrel. This curious arrangement strongly confirms Sir Arthur's contention that the central cylinder was the original idol.

[3] Fig. 132 = Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 117 fig. 13 an impressed glass plaque found by Ch. Tsountas in a grave of the lower town at Mykenai. Cp. *supra* i. 36 f. fig. 9.

[4] Fig. 133 = Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 117 fig. 14 a similar plaque found by Ch. Tsountas in the same place.

[5] A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 592 f., P. Gardner 'A stone tripod at Oxford' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1896 xvi. 275—280 with figs. 1 f. and pl. 12, C. Dubois in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 475 fig. 7068. Height 0·66^{m}, lower diameter 0·54^{m}, upper diameter 0·36^{m}.

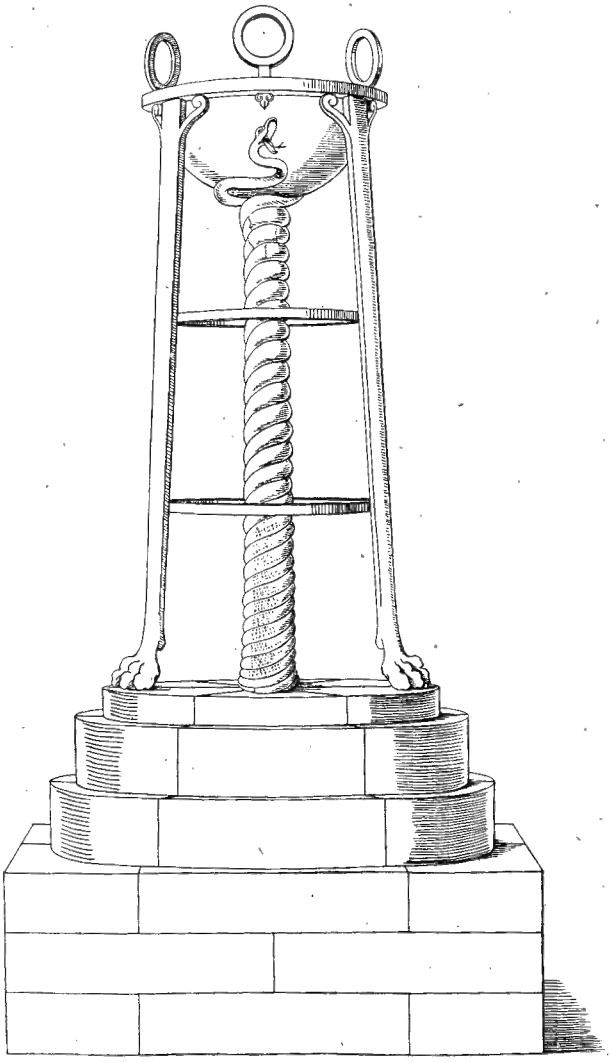


Fig. 134.

serpents for its base (figs. 134 and 135)[1]. Now the mantic tripod also appears to have been of the columnar kind—witness a certain number of sculptured copies. Thus a handsome tripod in Pentelic marble, found at Ostia and preserved in the Louvre (fig. 136)[2], has its

[1] The fullest collection of passages, ancient and modern, bearing on this famous monument is that printed by Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 70. See also É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 160—162, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 299—307, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 200 ff. Bourguet adopts the view advocated by H. Strack (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. p. 43 ff.), F. Wieseler (*Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1864 x. 245 ff., *id. Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss* (extr. from the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 p. 91 f. n.), P. Wolters (Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 110 ff. no. 227), and E. Fabricius ('Das platäische Weihgeschenk in Delphi' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 176—191 with figs.), *viz.* that the serpent-base was a central column supporting the *lébes* and enclosed by the legs of the tripod. Frazer and Poulsen favour the rival view advanced by P. A. Dethier and A. D. Mordtmann ('Epigraphik von Byzantion und Constantinopolis' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. pp. 3—48 with figs. *x*, *y*, *z* and pls. 1—4), *viz.* that the feet of the tripod rested on the serpent-heads projecting from the top of the spiral column. Restorations on the former hypothesis are given by H. Strack (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. pl. 3, 24 *c*), B. Graef (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 189 fig.), and A. Tournaire (in his panorama of the precinct, *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1 pl. 9); restorations on the latter hypothesis, by P. A. Dethier and A. D. Mordtmann (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. pl. 2, 24, cp. pl. 4, 24 *a*, 24 *b*), and by F. Andre (H. Luckenbach *Erläuterungen zur Wandtafel von Delphi* München und Berlin 1904 pp. 22—25 fig. 22). I follow Strack, Wieseler, etc. rather than Dethier, Mordtmann, etc. because (*a*) the extant serpent-head shows no trace of a tripod-foot attached to its upper surface (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. p. 12 n. 1), and (*b*) the monument as reconstructed by Dethier, Mordtmann, etc. would have been *sui generis*, whereas the monument as reconstructed by Strack, Wieseler, etc. fits into a whole series of recognised types. The sketch that I give (fig. 134) is a fresh restoration, which takes into account (1) the plinth still *in situ* at Delphoi (Rhomaides phot. Delphoi no. 17); (2) the twenty-nine coils now in the Hippodrome (*Almeidan*) at Constantinople (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i pl. opposite to p. 176), (3) the serpent-heads figured in a Turkish miniature of 1530—1540 A.D. representing a festival in the *Almeidan* under Sultan Soliman (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. pp. 9, 30 pl. 1, 14 *c*, *d*, *e*), (4) the serpent-heads seen and drawn by Wheler in 1675 A.D. (G. Wheler *A journey into Greece* London 1682 p. 185 fig.), and (5) the upper part of one of the heads, found by Fossati in 1848 A.D. and preserved in the Museum of St Eirene at Constantinople (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1864 v Abh. p. 8 pl. 1, 17 *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*).

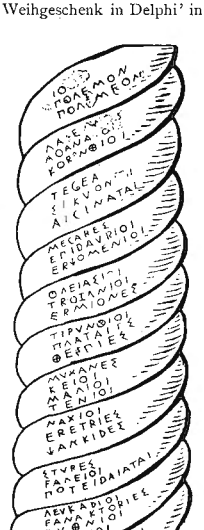


Fig. 135.

[2] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 258—269 pl. 121 fig. 50 (= my fig. 136), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 114 f. no. 90, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 462 fig. 510, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 20 no. 3. Height 1·16^{m}. The parts restored are the plinth, the griffin-feet, and all the lower portion of the monument including the hoop, the three uprights excepting one *bucranium* and the upper portion of another, the foliage-lyres, and the quiver-strap.

lébes resting on a central shaft, which is conceived as a bay-trunk and entwined with a snake—Python presumably, since the god's quiver is hanging beside it. Similarly a statuette in Greek marble that forms part of the same collection (fig. 137)[1] represents Apollon

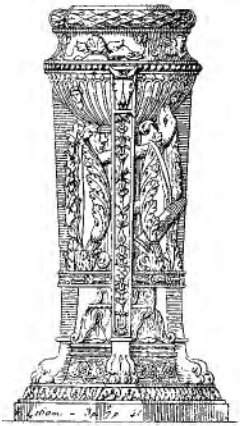


Fig. 136.

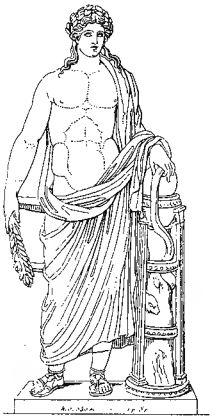


Fig. 137.

standing by a tripod, whose *lébes* again rests on a bay-trunk entwined with a snake. These examples remind us that the name *tripos* was given to a species of bay-tree with three roots[2]. But a statuette in Italian marble at Dresden (fig. 138)[3], which presupposes a Greek bronze[4] of Praxitelean character[5], shows Apollon leaning on a columnar tripod of a much earlier type[6]. If it be objected that the column necessary in a marble copy would have been absent from the bronze original, we can point not only to reliefs[7] and vase-

[1] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 346 fig. 925 (=my fig. 137), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 97 f. no. 73, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 175 no. 5. Height 0 535^{m}. The parts restored are the plinth, both feet of Apollon, the tip of his nose, a patch over his left breast, his right hand with the bay-branch (tenon antique), his left hand with the snake's tail, the middle of the snake's body, and the greater portion of the tripod-hoops.

[2] Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* i. 509 tripos species est lauri, tres habens radices, Apollini consecrata propter triplicem vim divinationis.

[3] B. Leplat *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du roy de Pologne à Dresden* Dresde 1733 pl. 49, H. Hettner *Die Bildwerke der königlichen antiken Sammlung zu Dresden*[4] Dresden 1881 no. 160, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 211 Atlas pl. 22, 40 (=my fig. 138), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 94 no. 6. Height 4 ft. 6 ins.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 211.

[5] Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 208 ff., W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 158 ff.

[6] Note that the supporting column tapers downwards like those of 'Minoan' art.

[7] E. Fabricius in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 186 cites the Chigi base

paintings (fig. 139)[1], in which there is no question of structural exigency, as portraying such tripods, but also to sundry bases[2] and votive replicas[3] as furnishing additional proof of their existence. An architect's specification, found in or near Athens and dated by M. Holleaux before 350 B.C., actually gives a detailed description of one:

Fig. 138.

(*infra* p. 199 n. 2), a relief found in the theatre at Athens, which shows a tripod with a central support in the form of a Doric pillar (L. von Sybel *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen* Marburg 1881 p. 281 no. 3912), and a relief drawn by F. Adler on the Akropolis, which has a tripod with a central stem broad at the base and rapidly tapering upwards (not in L. von Sybel *op. cit.*).

[1] F. Wieseler *Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss* (extr. from the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 p. 90 n. adduces: (i) A red-figured *amphora* from Sorrento in the British Museum, signed by the vase-painter Polygnotos; this has for its main subject two women attaching fillets to the horns of two bulls, which stand before two large columnar tripods (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 209 f. no. E 284, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 10 pl. 243, W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Meistersignaturen*[2] Wien 1887 p. 199, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 123, 1, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 376 f. fig.). (ii) A red-figured *oinochóe* in the Pourtalès collection, which depicts Nike flying through the air with a fillet towards a columnar tripod (T. Panofka *Antiques du cabinet du comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1834 p. 30 f. pl. 6, 1 = my fig. 139). Both vases are referable to the fine style of vase-painting (*c.* 460—440 B.C.), and in both the tripod-support takes the form of a Doric column.

[2] E. Fabricius in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 187 ff. notes the following examples: (i) Adjoining the S. angle of the pre-Periclean Propylaia there is still *in situ* the stepped base of a columnar tripod, which cannot be later than the first half of *s.* v B.C. (R. Bohn *Die Propyläen der Akropolis zu Athen* Berlin & Stuttgart 1882 p. 17 pl. 3, W. Doerpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x pl. 2, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 198 fig. 22 = M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 31 fig. 7). (ii) An inscribed block, found W. of the theatre and now lying in the Asklepieion on the S. slope of the Akropolis, formerly supported a choragic tripod of the columnar kind and is assigned to a date not long after 292 B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1295, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 926, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 710: Fabricius *loc. cit.* gives section and plan).

[3] E. Fabricius *loc. cit.* p. 186: 'Unter jenen kleinen Nachbildungen wirklicher Dreifüsse aus Olympia [see A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 72 ff. nos. 534—547 pl. 27, cp. *ib.* p. 212 f. no. 1370 fig.] befinden sich, wie K. Purgold mir mitgetheilt hat, einige Exemplare [but see A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 73 no. 538 pl. 27], bei denen unterhalb des Kessels in der Mitte zwischen den Beinen ein senkrechter Stab aus ineinandergedrehten Bronzedrähten angebracht ist.'

'The tripod to be fixed on the impost, after boring holes for its feet and running the same with lead; also a small column of Pentelic marble to be fixed beneath

Fig. 139.

the tripod, with a Doric capital to it, after cutting it straight below and working it smooth; and the capital to be painted in encaustic[1].'

As to Delphic usage, we may with some show of reason argue from the Plataean trophy to the Pythian tripod. If the former was columnar, it is natural to suppose that the latter was too; for votive

[1] M. Holleaux in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 134—144 with fig. 1: line 16 ff. *ἐπὶ δὲ τὸ κ|αταληπτῆρος τὸν τρίποδα καθαρμόσαι, ἐντετ|<τ>ράναντα τοῖς ποσὶ καὶ περιμολυβδοχοῆσαι, κ|αὶ κιόνιον ὑφαρμόσαι Πεντελεικὸν ὑπὸ τὸν τ|ρίποδα, Δωρικὸν ἔχον τὸ ἐπίκρανον· ἐπ' αὐτῶ, ὑπ|οξέσαντα ὀρθὸν καὶ ξύσαντα λεῖον, καὶ τὸ ἐπί|[κρανον] ἐγκαῦσαι.*

a

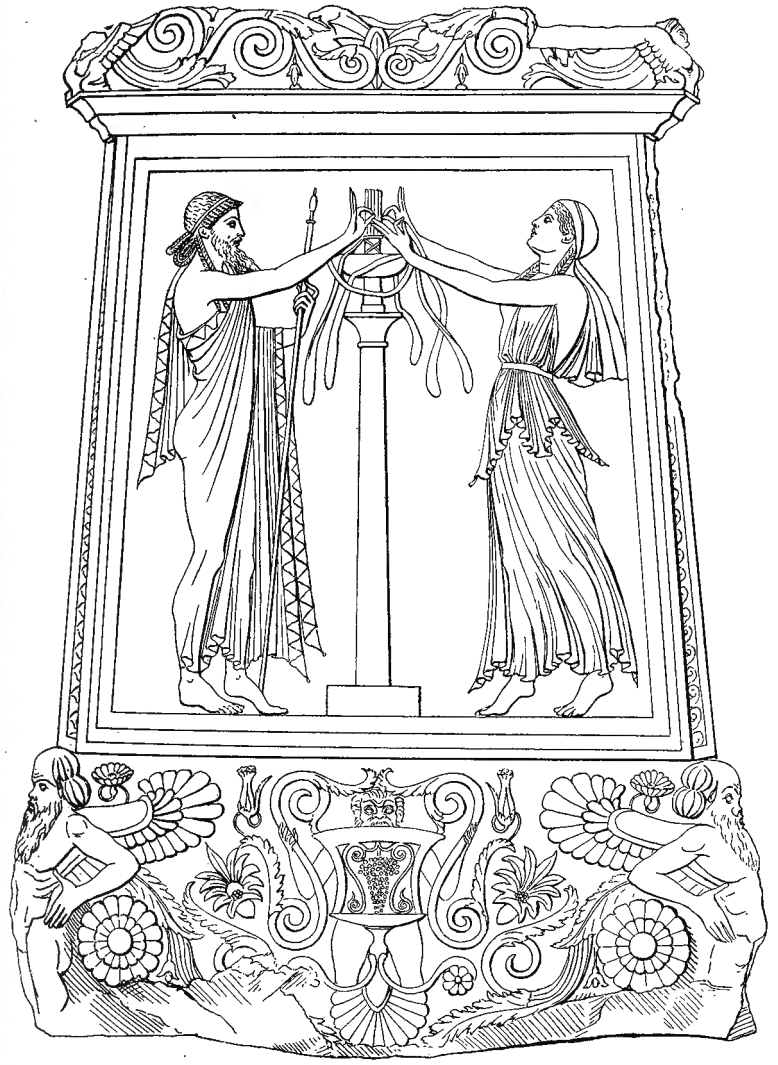
b

The Chigi base at Dresden, representing:

(*a*) The rape of the Delphic tripod by Herakles.

(*b*) The dedication of a columnar tripod by the *Pythía* and the *neokóros*.

(*c*) The dedication of a torch by a priest and priestess.



c

See page 199 *n.* 2.

offerings tend to repeat the pattern of the local *chose sacrée*[1]. Accordingly the Chigi base at Dresden (pl. xii)[2], which itself seems to have carried a columnar tripod[3], represents in one of its three archaistic panels a Pythian priest and priestess dedicating a similar tripod on the top of a pillar. Moreover, archaising reliefs of the imperial age (figs. 140, 141)[4], made in all probability to commemorate

[1] On the principle underlying this multiplication see *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 271.

[2] This marble base (height 1·30m), which came to the Dresden Museum along with the Chigi collection, portrays (*a*) the rape of the Delphic tripod by Herakles, (*b*) the dedication of a columnar tripod by the *Pythía* and the *neokóroi*, (*c*) the dedication of a torch by a priest and priestess. Various archaeologists have attempted to combine the three scenes in a consistent whole. According to K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*[2] Stuttgart 1878 p. 78, P. Pervanoglu in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 119 ff., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 169 ff. no. 423, the central panel represents the struggle between Herakles and Apollon as the mythical prototype of a Pythian contest for a prize-tripod, the panel to the right shows the consecration of the prize, the panel to the left that of the torch with which the victor had won his race. The base as a whole supported the tripod thus gained, which, to judge from the kneeling *Silenoí*, the *Sátyroi* with drinking-cups, etc., was dedicated to Dionysos. Hence the ivy-wreath and 'Sardanapalos' type (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1117 ff., P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 179 f., K. A. McDowall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1904 xxiv. 255 ff., V. Macchioro in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 189 ff., W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 210 f. no. 320) of the *neokóros*. A very different and far less probable explanation was given by C. Boetticher *Das Grab des Dionysos* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xviii) Berlin 1856 with figs. 1 f. and 'Zu den Bildwerken der dreiseitigen Basis in Dresden' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1858 xvi. 197 ff. pl. 117. He took (*a*) as the rape of the tripod, marking the locality, (*b*) as the consecration of the tripod in which were the remains of Dionysos, torn to pieces by the Titans, (*c*) as the consecration of a *bákchos* or *phanós*, symbolising the resuscitation of the god. He also supposed that the priest and priestess were the *neokóros* and the principal *thyiás*, and that the base carried a *phanós*, not a tripod. See further W. G. Becker *Augusteum Dresden's antike Denkmäler enthaltend* Leipzig 1804 i. 42 ff. pls. 5—7, B. Leplat *Recueil des marbres antiques qui se trouvent dans la galerie du roy de Pologne à Dresden* Dresde 1733 pl. 3, H. Hettner *Die Bildwerke der königlichen antiken Sammlung zu Dresden*[4] Dresden 1881 no. 80, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1868 pl. 46 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 405 Atlas pl. 24, 14, *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 260 ff. fig. 70 a, b, *ib.* p. 298 n. 203, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 150, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 328 f. pl. 27, 7, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 60 nos. 1—3. My illustrations are made from the cast at Cambridge.

[3] This is the inference usually, and in my opinion correctly, drawn from the fact that the upper surface of the base is triangular in shape with a smooth circular mark (12¾ inches across) in the centre of it: see the diagrams given by C. Boetticher in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1858 xvi. 227 f. F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 52 f. no. 69 and p. 117 holds that the base bore a moveable object such as a *candelabrum*, but admits (p. 52) that its reliefs must have been copied from those of a tripod-base.

[4] (1) In the Villa Albani (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii pl. 99, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* pl. 34 (=my fig. 140), Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 344a, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 37–57 pl. 2, 3 (=Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 97 fig. 103), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 151 no. 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 260, 262 ff., W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 426 f. no. 1876). Restored:

Pythian victories[1], portray a pillar built into the terrace-wall at

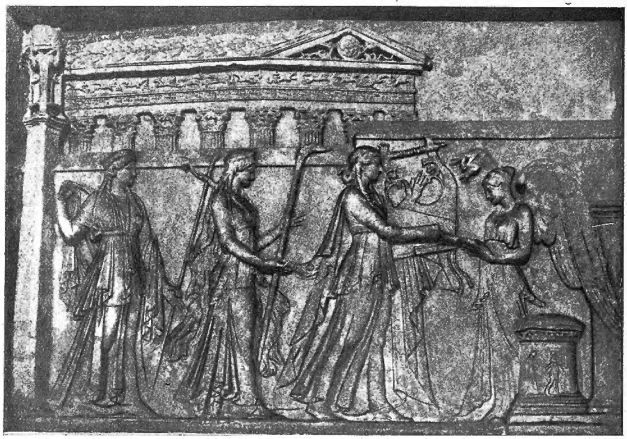


Fig. 140.

central portion of the pillar and of the figure adjoining it, together with hands or fingers, nose-tips, etc.

(2) At Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 373 f. no. 921, T. Schreiber *op. cit.* pl. 35 (=my fig. 141), F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgoettin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 8, 38 (=*id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1906 xxi. 77 f. fig. 1), Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 259 f. Atlas pl. 21, 10, *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 262 fig. 71, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 303 ff. pl. 25, 4). Restored: only the extreme edges of the relief and the top of Nike's nearer wing. Pentelic marble. Height 0·775^{m}, breadth 1·035^{m}.

(3) In the Louvre (Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 42 ff. no. 12, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 236 pl. 120 fig. 39 (=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 20 no. 1), T. Schreiber *op. cit.* pl. 36, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 260, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 652 f. fig. 344, J. Warrack *Greek Sculpture* Edinburgh s. a. pl. 62). Restored: the edges of the relief, including plane-tree, head and left leg of small statue, top of Nike's wings, forearms of Apollon and Artemis, upper part of tripod, and most of pediment. Greek marble. Height 0·65^{m}, breadth 1·08^{m}.

(4) In the British Museum—fragment containing left half only (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 357 f. no. 775, *Description of the collection of Ancient Marbles in the British Museum* London 1842 ix. 157 ff. pl. 36, 2, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1906 xxi. 79 with fig. 3 on p. 82 from a photograph by W. A. Mansell & Co. no. 1050). Pentelic marble. Height 2 ft. 4 ins., breadth 1 ft. 9 ins.

Other replicas, excerpts, etc. are listed by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 260 ff. Atlas pl. 21, 11 f.

[1] Cp. the citharodic relief of *c.* 400 B.C. from Miletos (? Athens), acquired by the Dresden Museum in 1892 (P. Herrmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 26 f. fig., F. Studniczka *ib.* 1906 xxi. 80 with fig. 2 on p. 79, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 60 no. 4),—a possible forerunner of the archaising series. The prototype is, however, to be sought in an archaic original such as the fragmentary altar of the Barracco Museum (*Catalogue Barracco* no. 82, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 160 nos. 2 and 3).

Delphoi[1] and bearing a tripod of the species under discussion. We conclude that the mantic tripod, like these votive tripods, had a central support.

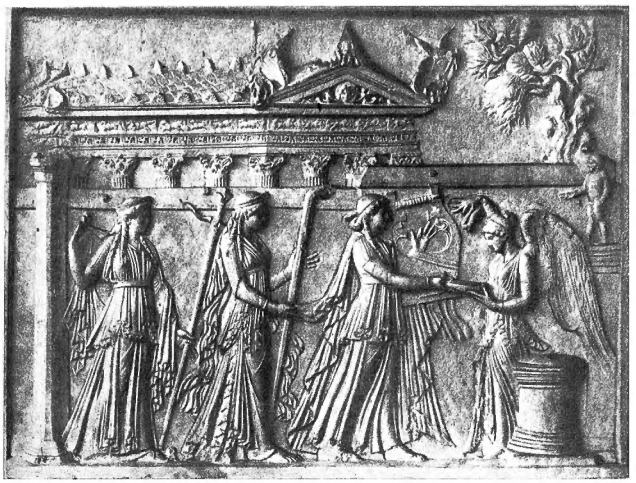


Fig. 141.

But if so, it follows that Apollon seated on his tripod is virtually seated on the top of a sacred pillar. He is thus a figure comparable with Zeus enthroned on the summit of his sky-pillar[2]. Indeed, an

[1] The locality of the scene represented has often been discussed. Most modern critics have identified the temple with that of Apollon at Delphoi (so *e.g.* F. G. Welcker *op. cit.* ii. 42 f., 49, 53, W. Fröhner *op. cit.* i. 42 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 267 f., W. Helbig *op. cit.* ii. 426). But L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. 222 ff., followed by B. Graef in Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* ii. 3. 305, argued for the temple of the Palatine Apollo in Rome. F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1906 xxi. 81 ff. favours the Pythion on the Ilissos with the Olympieion in the background, but *ib.* 1907 xxii. 6—8 candidly admits that there is much to be said in favour of the identification with Delphoi. In particular, the chariot-frieze of the temple, the plane-tree in the precinct (Klearchos περὶ παροιμιῶν 1 *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 318 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 701 D, Theophr. *hist. plant.* 4. 13. 2, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 238), the terrace-wall rising from left to right, the small ancient-looking effigy of Apollon (Paus. 10. 16. 8), if not also the triangular pillar supporting the tripod (?=the trophy erected by the Messenians of Naupaktos, on which see Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897 xxi. 616 ff.), all find their readiest explanation in the Delphian precinct.

[2] *Supra* pp. 45 ff. (with i. 62 fig. 38), 89 f. Cp. the language of Eur. *I. T.* 1253 ff. τρίποδί τ' ἐν χρυσέῳ θάσσεις, ἐν ἀψευδεῖ θρόνῳ | μαντείας βροτοῖς | θεσφάτων νέμων | ἀδύτων ὕπο, κ.τ.λ.

art-type traceable to the fifth century B.C. (figs. 142, 143)[1] represents

Fig. 142.

[1] A fifth-century type of Apollon on the tripod is furnished by a relief in Pentelic marble (height 0·70m, breadth 0·69m), now at Athens (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 334 f. pl. 54=my fig. 142, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes : Athènes*[2] p. 238 f. no. 1389 fig.). The god rests his feet on a two-stepped base and raises his right hand, which may have held a *phiále* or, less probably, some attribute added in paint (bay-branch ?). Before him stands Artemis leaning on her bow, the string of which was presumably painted. Behind him stands Leto laying her right hand on the shoulder of her son. The three together form the *personnel* of the Athenian Pythion (A. Furtwängler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 186 n. 1, Svoronos *loc. cit.* p. 335). The relief is inscribed [.....] ΒΑΚΧΙΟΑΝΕ-ΘΗΚΕ, *i.e.* [ὁ δεῖνα] Βακχίου ἀνέθηκε. On it see further Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 371 no. 1131, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 232, 282 Atlas pl. 20, 16, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 458, T. Schreiber *ib.* i. 600, B. Sauer *ib.* ii. 1977 fig. 4, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 327 no. 2. The same type, with some variation of details, occurs on a red-figured vase of the second Hamilton collection (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 96 ff. pl. 28=my fig. 143, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 142 f. pl. 46, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 232, 326 no. 49, 329 Atlas pl. 22, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 286, 2), which shows Apollon on the tripod, with a *phiále* in his right and a bow in his left hand, flanked by two females (? *Pythia* and attendant).

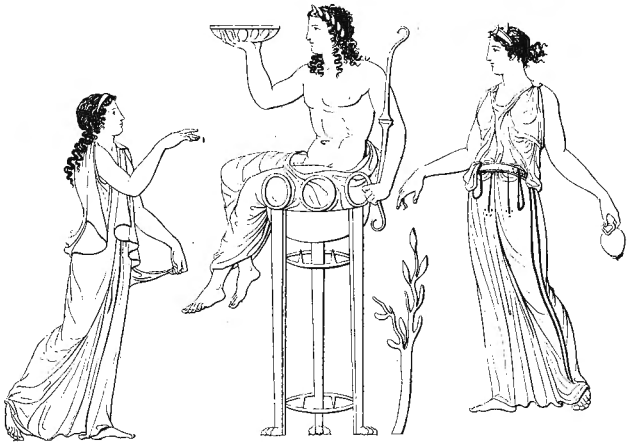


Fig. 143.

The figure of Apollon, isolated from this group, reappears on a handsome Apulian *amphora* with volute handles, found at Ceglie and now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 905 ff. no. 3256), the neck of which shows Orestes at Pytho pursued by an Erinys: between them is Apollon on his tripod with his right hand outstretched and his left holding a long bay-branch; two females (*?Pythía* and attendant) fly in alarm (Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 193 ff. pl. 35, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 710 f. Atlas pl. 29, 4, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 232 Atlas pl. 22, 8, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 982). Similarly a Lucanian *amphora* from Anzi in the same collection (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 868 no. 3148) figures the god with a *phiále* raised in his right hand, but has the attribute in his left overpainted as a club, Apollon being thereby converted into a Herakles (E. Gerhard *Berlin's antike Bildwerke* Berlin 1836 i. 275 f. no. 979, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 143). The same figure, reversed and bereft of its attributes, but still accompanied by Leto and Artemis, served for Apollon *Pýthios* in the dedication of Xenokrateia (*supra* p. 183 n. 1). It was even translated, without essential change, from sculpture in relief to sculpture in the round, cp. (i) a statue in the Villa Albani at Rome (S. Raffei *Ricerche sopra un Apolline della villa Albani* Rome 1821 with views of front, side, and back, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 486 B fig. 737 A = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 249 no. 6 side-view, T. Panofka *Die Heilgötter der Griechen* Berlin 1845 p. 5 pl. 1, 6 front-view, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 231 ff. Atlas pl. 23, 30 three-quarter position, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 309 pl. 25, 14 front-view, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 f. no. 1848); (ii) a statue at Naples (G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1843 xiii. 1—4 pl. 41, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 485 fig. 937 front-view, *ib.* pl. 486 A fig. 937 three-quarter position = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 248 no. 3 and i. 249 no. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 231 ff.).

Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 282 rightly observes that in all these representations Apollon has a bare body with a *himátion* wrapped about his legs. Since this is the normal costume of the seated Zeus, we may, I think, conclude that Apollon is here conceived as the mouthpiece of Zeus himself.

The Delphic Tripod

Apollon in the customary garb of Zeus, seated as his *prophétes*[1] on the tripod and divining with uplifted *phiále* in the presence of Artemis and Leto. The tripod itself, for those that know its history, is tantamount to a celestial seat[2]. The god seated upon it is for the

[1] Aisch. *Eum.* 17 ff. *τέχνης δέ νιν Ζεὺς ἔνθεον κτίσας φρένα | ἵζει τέταρτον τόνδε μάντιν ἐν θρόνοις* (so A. Turnèbe for *χρόνοισ* M.)· | *Διὸς προφήτης δ' ἐστὶ* (*ἐστὶν* M.) *Λοξίας πατρός* (Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 22. 13 has *πατρὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Λοξίας Διός*). The same thought is expressed in *h. Ap.* 132 *χρήσω δ' ἀνθρώποισι Διὸς νημερτέα βουλήν*, *h. Herm.* 471 f. *καὶ τιμὰς σέ γέ* (*δέ* M.) *φασι δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς | μαντείας θ', ἑκάεργε, Διὸς πάρα, θέσφατα πάντα* with E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*, *ib.* 531 ff. *...ἐπέων τε καὶ ἔργων | τῶν ἀγαθῶν, ὅσα φημὶ δαήμεναι ἐκ Διὸς ὀμφῆς. | μαντείην δέ, φέριστε, διοτρεφέος* (*διαμπερὲς* M.), *ἣν ἐρείνεις* (G. J. Hermann cj. *ἣν ἐρεείνῃς*), | *οὔτε σε θέσφατόν ἐστι δαήμεναι οὔτε τιν' ἄλλον* (*ἄλλων* M.) | *ἀθανάτων· τὸ γὰρ οἶδε Διὸς νόος· αὐτὰρ ἐγώ γε* (this line is omitted in E.) | *πιστωθεὶς κατένευσα καὶ ὤμοσα καρτερὸν ὅρκον, | μή τινα νόσφιν ἐμεῖο* (*ἐμοῖο* M.) *θεῶν αἰειγενετάων | ἄλλον γ' εἴσεσθαι Ζηνὸς πυκινόφρονα βουλήν. κ.τ.λ.*, Pind. *Ol.* 8. 58 f. *ὡς ἐμοὶ φάσμα λέγει | Κρονίδα | πεμφθὲν βαρυγδούπου Διός* with schol. vet. 55 b *ὡς ἐμοὶ τὸ σημεῖον τὸ γεγενημένον ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς δηλοῖ* and schol. rec. 57 *οὕτως ἐμοὶ λέγει, ἀντὶ τοῦ νοεῖν δίδωσί, τὸ πεμφθὲν φάσμα, ἤγουν ἡ πεμφθεῖσα ὄψις τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ υἱοῦ τοῦ Κρόνου τοῦ τῶν βαρυήχων βροντῶν αἰτίου*, Aisch. *Eum.* 616 ff. *οὐπώποτ' εἶπον μαντικοῖσιν ἐν θρόνοις, | οὐκ ἀνδρός, οὐ γυναικός, οὐ πόλεως πέρι, | ὅ μὴ κελεύσαι* (*κελεύσει* M. G. J. Hermann cj. *κελεύσαι*, G. Wakefield *κελεύσοι*, R. Porson *'κέλευσε*, N. Wecklein *κελεύσι*) *Ζεὺς 'Ολυμπίων* (F. H. M. Blaydes cj. *'Ολύμπιος*) *πατήρ*, *ib.* 713 f. *κἄγωγε* (*κἀγὼ τε* M. corr. R. Porson) *χρησμοὺς τοὺς ἐμούς τε καὶ Διὸς | ταρβεῖν κελεύω μηδ' ἀκραιρώτους κτίσαι*, Aisch. *hiereae frag.* 86 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 22. 13 *στέλλειν ὅπως τάχιστα· ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ | Ζεὺς ἐγκαθίει Λοξίᾳ θεσπίσματα καὶ ap.* schol. Soph. *O. C.* 793 *δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ 'Απόλλων παρὰ Διὸς λαμβάνειν τοὺς χρησμοὺς ὡς καὶ ἐν 'Ιφικλείᾳ* (Soph. *frag.* 292 Nauck[2], where W. Schneider cj. *'Ιφιγενείᾳ*, W. Hippenstiel *'Ιφικλεῖ*?, W. Dindorf *Οἰκλεῖ*) *φησί, καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν 'Ιερείαις 'στέλλειν ὅπως τάχιστα· ταῦτα γὰρ πατὴρ | Ζεὺς ἐγκαθίει* (*ἐγκαθίει* corr. P. N. Papageorgius) *Λοξίᾳ <θεσπίσματα>*,' *καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης Ηρωσιν* (*frag.* 19 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1074 Meineke)), Soph. *O. T.* 498 f. *ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς ὅ τ' 'Απόλλων ξυνετοὶ καὶ τὰ βροτῶν | εἰδότες, O. C.* 491 ff. *ἆρ' οὐκ ἄμεινον ἢ σὺ τἀν Θήβαις φρονῶ; | πολλῷ γ', ὅσῳπερ κἀκ* (*καὶ* A. R. Ald. *ἐκ* L. cett. J. L. C. W. Döderlein cj. *κἀκ*) *σαφεστέρων κλύω, | Φοίβου τε καὐτοῦ Ζηνός, ὃς κείνου πατήρ*, Kallim. *h. Ap.* 28 f. *τὸν χορὸν ὠπόλλων, ὅτι οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἄειδεν* (O. Schneider cj. *ὅτε—ἀείδῃ*, J. A. F. A. Meineke *ὅτε—ἀείσῃ*), | *τιμήσει· δύνανται γάρ, ἐπεὶ Διὶ δεξιὸς ἧσται*, anon. *h. Ap.* 7 (E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 285) *ζωογόνον, ζάθεον, ζηνόφρονα, ζηνοδοτῆρα* (Brodaeus cj. *ζηλοδοτῆρα*), Verg. *Aen.* 3. 251 f. quae Phoebo pater omnipotens, mihi Phoebus Apollo | praedixit with Serv. *ad loc.* notandum Apollinem quae dicit a Iove cognoscere, *id. in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 20 ne ipse quidem Apollo sua sponte divinat. etc.

[2] Ennius (*frag.* 416 Baehrens) *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 48 appears to have spoken of the sky as *cava cortina* on account of its likeness to the *lébes* of Apollon. The passage is thus printed by G. Goetz—F. Schoell (1910): apud Ennium (*Ann.* 9 V.[2]): '†quaeque in corpore cau[s]a c<a>eruleo †cęlo cortina receptat.' cava cortina dicta, quod est inter terram et caelum ad similitudinem cortinae Apollinis; ea a corde, quod inde sortes primae existimatae. C. O. Mueller (1833), followed by I. Vahlen[1] (1854) and L. Mueller (1884), restored the extract from Ennius as *quae cava corpore caeruleo cortina receptat*; Ae. Baehrens (1886), as *quaeque in corpore – – | – caua caeruleo caelo cortina receptat.* Probably Ennius was thinking of the sky as an inverted caldron. It should, however, be borne in mind that the tripod-*lébes* was sometimes fitted with a hemispherical lid (*e.g. supra* i pl. xiii), and that this lid might on occasion be banded with the astronomical zones and spangled with stars (F. Wieseler *Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss* (extr. from the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 pp. 33, 59 n., 81 n. 55, 93 n. 61, 95 fig. 7 after R. Garrucci *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei*

time being in heaven, released from the limitations of terrestrial life and free to range in thought over land and sea (fig. 144)[1]. Themis

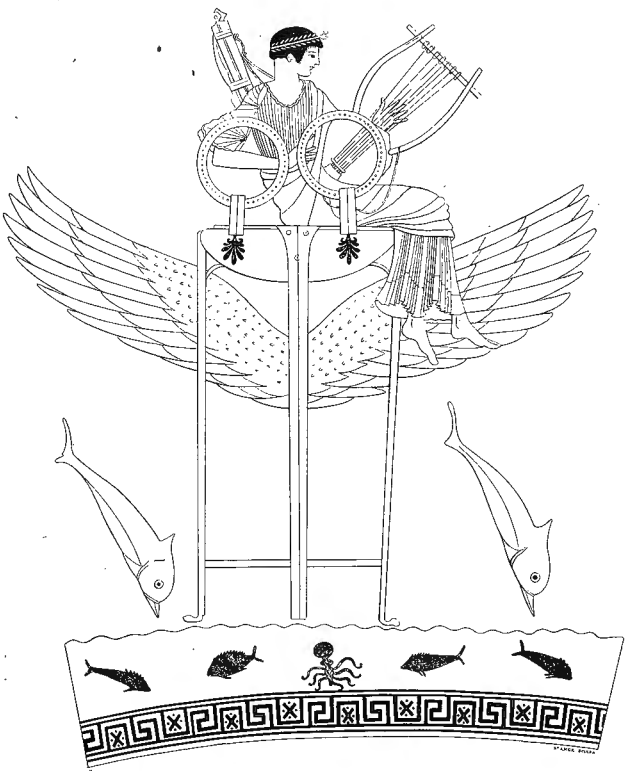


Fig. 144.

cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma Roma 1858 p. 75 f. pl. 36, 5 a fragmentary vessel of *s.* iv A.D., on which we see Apollon in a loose transparent *chitón* standing beside his tripod, inscribed [VI]VAS MVLTIS ANNIS PIE ♀ ZESES ♀, the whole being executed in gold foil between two layers of glass). Asklepiades of Myrlea thought that tripods dedicated to the gods were made round in imitation of the universe (Athen. 489 c).

[1] A magnificent red-figured *hydría*, painted *c.* 480 B.C. and now preserved in the Vatican, shows Apollon, with lyre, bow and quiver, uplifted on a great winged tripod above the sea, in which are four fish and an octopus: the plunging dolphins mark him as Apollon *Delphínios* (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 15 (*ib.*[2] pl. 21), T. Panofka in the *Ann. d.*

is finely conceived by a fifth-century artist as sitting on the Delphic tripod and fixing her gaze on the *phiále*, while she divines the future for Aigeus (fig. 145)[1]. In this masterly painting Themis is but the prototype of the *Pythía*: even the *Pythía*, when she mounts the tripod (fig. 146, *b*)[2], lays by mortality and becomes more than human in her insight and foresight.

Inst. 1832 iv. 333 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 46 = my fig. 144, Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. cér.* ii. 20 ff. pl. 6, L. de Ronchaud in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 315 fig. 370, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 102 fig. 108, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 63 no. 13, 64 f., 360 Atlas pl. 20, 12, M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2839, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 93, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 79, 4, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 311 no. 497, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 66 no. 51, *supra* i. 335). As to the further interpretation of the scene, opinions differ. According to T. Panofka, C. Lenormant, J. de Witte, L. de Ronchaud, Apollon is crossing the sea from Crete to Delphoi. J. Overbeck, M. Mayer, S. Reinach, W. Helbig, hold that he is on his way from the land of the Hyperboreoi to Delphoi, where his advent was celebrated in the spring. K. Wernicke speaks more cautiously of 'der Meerfahrt des A. Delphinios.' A. Baumeister thinks 'dass hier das Orakel des Gottes als Kolonien gründend und aussendend gedacht wird.' Is it over-rash to see in this striking picture an artist's conception of the ecstasy or 'travelling clairvoyance' of the god? In any case an odd sequel to it is Artemid. *oneirocr.* 5. 21 ἔδοξέ τις ἐπὶ κύκλῳ τρίποδος διαπλεῖν πέλαγος μέγα: φεύγων (ἔφυγε B.) ἀδικημάτων γραφὴν ἑάλω καὶ εἰς νῆσον κατεδικάσθη· τὸ γὰρ περιέχον ἦν αὐτὸν περίῤῥυτον, καὶ ἐοικὸς (οἷκος codd. Ald. J. G. Reiff corr.) τὸ σχῆμα τῇ νήσῳ.

[1] Fig. 145 is the interior design of a red-figured *kýlix* from Vulci, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 719 f. no. 2538), painted by an Attic master (? Aison: see Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 16 no. 2) *c.* 440 B.C. The scene is laid in the temple at Delphoi, which is suggested by the Doric column and entablature in the background. ΑΙΓΕΥΣ, with *himátion*, bay-wreath, and fillet, propping his left arm-pit on a staff, awaits the response of ΘΕΜΙΣ, who sits on the tripod, wearing *chitón*, *himátion* drawn up over her head, ear-ring, and necklace. In her right hand she holds a sprig of bay, in her left a *phiále*, which she is apparently using as a divining-glass (so first Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1913 iii. 169, cp. *supra* i. 128). F. E. Robbins 'The Lot Oracle at Delphi' in *Class. Philol.* 1916 xi. 278—292 supposes that Themis is reading lots (*Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 235). See further E. Gerhard *Das Orakel der Themis* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* vi) Berlin 1846 pp. 1—11 pl., *id. Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 102—104 pl. 327 f. = Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 162, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 11, 2 (after Gerhard), Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 110—113 pl. 140. My fig. 145 is after the last-named publication. I cannot, however, agree with Hauser that the female figure on the tripod is but a priestess (*ib.* p. 110 'Sie wird hier Themis...genannt mit einem mythologisch nicht gerechtfertigten Namen.'): see Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. c fig. 19, *ead. Themis* p. 480 f. fig. 142, who rightly remarks—'she is not the Pythia; the days of Ægeus are earlier than this; she is Themis, who came after Ge and before Apollo.'

[2] A red-figured *nestorís* from Basilicata, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 155 f. no. 1984), shows on the one side Orestes pursued by two Furies, on the other Orestes in the presence of Apollon at Delphoi. Both paintings are of interest. In (*a*) the double row of striped pebbles may indicate the scene of murder (cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Scapegoat p. 15 ff.). The bared breast of the right-hand Fury recalls the last appeal of the desperate queen (Aisch. *cho.* 896 ff., Eur. *El.* 1206 ff., *Or.* 526 ff., 839 ff., with C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 173). And the face seen in the uplifted mirror is that of Klytaimestra herself—a masterly device to express

(π) The *Pythia* as Bride of Apollon.

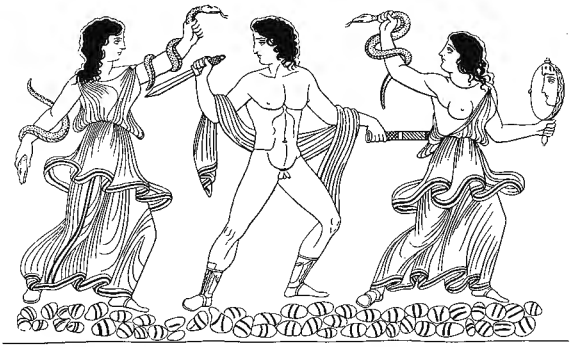
At this point two questions may be raised. If Themis, whom the Fates once bore 'up the dread stair' to Zeus[1], was really the

Fig. 145.

the haunting presence, and a reminder that the Erinys was originally none other than the angry ghost (Miss J. E. Harrison 'Delphika' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 205 ff. and in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 213 ff.). In (*b*) Apollon is seated, with bay-branch and lyre, on the *omphalòs*: to the left we see Orestes, to the right Pylades, both in traveller's attire, the former holding a sheathed sword and two spears, the latter a spear. Behind Orestes stands Elektra. Behind Pylades is the *Pythia*, seated on the tripod with a fillet in her hands. The moment represented is doubtful. According to C. Boetticher, Orestes is receiving from Apollon the sword and the commission to slay his mother. Raoul-Rochette and most critics regard the scene as one of purification after the deed: *e.g.* J. Overbeck thinks that Orestes is about to touch his blood-stained blade with the bay-branch of Apollon. H. Heydemann would recognise here the concluding act of the whole drama—'die Schwertweihe nach völliger Genesung und Rückkehr aus der Krim.' See further Raoul—Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 186 ff. pls. 36 and 37=my fig. 146, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 115 f. pl. 385 f., Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 706, 715 f. Atlas pl. 29, 2, 2[a], 11, C. Boetticher in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1860 xviii. 49 ff. pl. 138, 1=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 390, 2 f.

[1] *Supra* p. 37.

prototype of the *Pythia*, are we to infer that the *Pythia* was in some sense the bride of Apollon? It would seem so: at least the language



a

b

Fig. 146.

used by Origenes[1] and Ioannes Chrysostomos[2], if not that used by

[1] Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 25 ὅτε διὰ τοῦ Πυθίου στομίου περικαθεζομένη τῇ καλουμένῃ προφήτιδι πνεῦμα διὰ τῶν γυναικείων ὑπεισέρχεται τὸ μαντικόν, ὁ Ἀπόλλων, τὸ καθαρὸν ἀπὸ γῆθεν σώματος (P. Koetschau *ad loc.* notes that ὁ Ἀπόλλων is not to be altered into τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος with E. Bouhéreau, nor to be deleted with F. Guyet, but to be regarded as in apposition [an alternative propounded by Bouhéreau]), 7. 3 ἱστόρηται τοίνυν περὶ τῆς Πυθίας, ὅπερ δοκεῖ τῶν ἄλλων μαντείων λαμπρότερον τυγχάνειν, ὅτι περικαθεζομένη τὸ τῆς Κασταλίας στόμιον ἡ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος προφῆτις δέχεται πνεῦμα διὰ τῶν γυναικείων κόλπων· οὗ πληρωθεῖσα ἀποφθέγγεται τὰ νομιζόμενα εἶναι σεμνὰ καὶ θεῖα μαντεύματα. κ.τ.λ., 8. 46 ἡ μὲν Πυθία ἱστόρηται (so edd. ἱστόρησεν cod. A.) ὅτι καὶ νοθευθεῖσα ἔχρησέ ποτε.

[2] Io. Chrys. *hom.* 29. 1 *in epist. i ad Cor.* (lxi. 242 Migne) λέγεται τοίνυν αὕτη ἡ Πυθία γυνή τις οὖσα ἐπικαθῆσθαι τῷ τρίποδί ποτε τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, διαιροῦσα τὰ σκέλη· εἶθ' οὕτω

Strabon[1] before them, definitely implies that Apollon impregnated the *Pythia* as she sat on the tripod[2] and filled her with his own divinity[3]. Moreover, the marital relation of the god and his pro-

πνεῦμα πουηρὸν κάτωθεν ἀναδιδόμενον καὶ διὰ τῶν γεννητικῶν αὐτῆς διαδυόμενον μορίων πληροῦν τὴν γυναῖκα τῆς μανίας, καὶ ταύτην τὰς τρίχας λύουσαν λοιπὸν ἐκβακχεύεσθαί τε καὶ ἀφρὸν ἐκ τοῦ στόματος ἀφιέναι, καὶ οὕτως ἐν παροιν[ί]ᾳ γενομένην τὰ τῆς μανίας φθέγγεσθαι ῥήματα.

[1] Strab. 419 *φασὶ δ' εἶναι τὸ μαντεῖον ἄντρον κοῖλον κατὰ βάθους* (*βάθος* cod. k. Ald.), *οὐ μάλα εὐρύστομον, ἀναφέρεσθαι δ' ἐξ αὐτοῦ πνεῦμα ἐνθουσιαστικόν, ὑπερκεῖσθαι δὲ τοῦ στομίου τρίποδα ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' ὃν τὴν Πυθίαν ἀναβαίνουσαν, δεχομένην* (cp. Orig. *c. Cels.* 7. 3 *supra* p. 208 n. 1) *τὸ πνεῦμα, ἀποθεσπίζειν ἔμμετρά τε καὶ ἄμετρα· ἐντείνειν δὲ καὶ ταῦτα εἰς μέτρον ποιητάς τινας ὑπουργοῦντας τῷ ἱερῷ.*

[2] If Apollon was *ἐνόλμιος*, his priestess was *ἐνολμίς*: cp. Soph. *frag.* 942 Nauck[2], 1044 Jebb *ἐνόλμιος ap. et. mag.* p. 344, 37 ff. *ἐνολμίς· ἤν τι γένος μάντεων* (F. G. Sturz proposed *ἐνολμίς—μαντειῶν*, or *ἐνόλμιος* or *ἕνολμος—μάντεων*) *οὕτω καλούμενον διὰ τὸ ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθῆναι* [*γίνεσθαι*] (*γίνεσθαι* om. M. F. G. Sturz cj. *διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντας μαντικοὺς γίνεσθαι*) *· ὅλμοι δὲ λέγονται οἱ τρίποδες τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος. ὅθεν καὶ παροιμία "ἐν ὅλμῳ εὐνάσω" ἀντὶ τοῦ μαντικὸς <ἐγένου* (ins. F. Sylburg)*>. ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς "ἐνόλμιος"* (R. F. P. Brunck, perhaps rightly, placed *ἀντὶ τοῦ μαντικός* after *ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς "ἐνόλμιος."* The *et. gen.* as cited by E. Miller *Mélanges de littérature grecque* Paris 1868 p. 114 has *ὁ δὲ Σοφοκλῆς 'Ενολμὶν τὸν 'Απόλλωνα λέγει*), Zenob. 3. 63 *ἐν ὅλμῳ εὐνάσω· οἱ μὲν Ολμον μάντιν φασίν· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντας μαντικοὺς γίνεσθαι, ὅθεν* (so *et. mag. loc. cit.* ὡς codd.) *καὶ παροιμίαν γενέσθαι. καὶ 'Αριστοφάνης ὁ γραμματικός φησιν ὡς οἱ ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντες μαντικοί· καὶ τοὺς τρίποδας τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος ὅλμους καλεῖσθαι, καὶ 'Απόλλων ὑπὸ Σοφοκλέους "ἕνολμος,"* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 836, 44 ff. *περὶ τοῦ τοιούτου ὅλμου λόγος ὅτι ὡς οἱ κοιμώμενοι ἐν αὐτῷ μαντικοὶ ἐγίνοντο. Παυσανίας οὖν φησὶν παροιμιακῶς "ἐν ὅλμῳ ἐκοιμήσω," ἤγουν μαντικὸς ἐγένου,* schol. *Il.* 11. 147 (published by L. C. Valckenaer *Animadversionum ad Ammonium grammaticum libri tres* Lugduni Batavorum 1739 p. 184) *ὅθεν καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τοὺς ἐπί τι τερατολογοῦντας ἔφασκον ἐπ' ὅλμον κοιμᾶσθαι. διὸ καὶ Παυσανίας ἐπί τινα γραφὴν ἔλεγε παρ' ὅλμον ὑπνώττειν· καὶ εἰς παροιμίαν τὸ πρᾶγμα ἐξέπεσε πρὸς τὰ μαντικὰ ἀφορῶντας,* Plout. *prov. Alex.* 2. 14 *ἐν ὅλμῳ ἐκοιμήθην· οἱ ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντες ἐπιθειαστικώτατοί εἰσιν,* Hesych. *ἐν ὅλμῳ εὐνάσω* (*ἐν νάσῳ* cod. corr. H. Junius)*· οἱ μὲν "Ολμον μάντιν φασίν· οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντας μαντικοὺς γίνεσθαι,* Souid. *s.v. ἐν ὅλμῳ ἐκοιμήθη· οἱ μὲν "Ολμον φασὶ μαντεῖον, οἱ δὲ τοὺς ἐν ὅλμῳ κοιμηθέντας μαντικοὺς γίνεσθαι· ὅτι καὶ οἱ τρίποδες τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος ὅλμοι καλοῦνται* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 659, 13 ff.

[3] In keeping with her character as bride of Apollon is the fact that the *Pythia* was always a virgin. At first a young woman was chosen, but after the outrage of Echekrates the Thessalian a woman over fifty years of age dressed as a virgin. See Eur. *Ion* 1324 f. Ιῶ. χαῖρ', ὦ *φίλη μοι μῆτερ, οὐ τεκοῦσά περ.* | ΠΥ. *ἀλλ' οὖν λεγόμεθά γ'* (so P. Elmsley for codd. *λεγόμεσθ'*. C. Badham cj. *ἐλεγόμεθ'*)*· ἡ φάτις δ' οὔ μοι πικρά,* Diod. 16. 26 *θεσπιῳδεῖν δὲ τὸ ἀρχαῖον λέγεται παρθένους διά τε τὸ τῆς φύσεως ἀδιάφθορον καὶ τὸ τῆς 'Αρτέμιδος ὁμογενές· ταύτας γὰρ εὐθετεῖν πρὸς τὸ τηρεῖν τὰ ἀπόῤῥητα τῶν χρησμῳδουμένων* (*χρησμοδοτουμένων* codd. F. L.). *ἐν δὲ τοῖς νεωτέροις χρόνοις φασὶν 'Εχεκράτην* ('*Εχεκράτη* cod. T. et schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 9 in ed. Ald.) *τὸν Θετταλὸν παραγενόμενον εἰς τὸ χρηστήριον καὶ θεασάμενον τὴν χρησμολογοῦσαν παρθένον ἐρασθῆναι διὰ τὸ κάλλος αὐτῆς καὶ συναρπάσαντα βιάσασθαι· τοὺς δὲ Δελφοὺς διὰ τὸ γεγενημένον πάθος εἰς τὸ λοιπὸν νομοθετῆσαι μηκέτι παρθένον χρηστηριάζειν, ἀλλὰ γυναῖκα πρεσβυτέραν πεντήκοντα ἐτῶν χρησμολογεῖν· κοσμεῖσθαι δ' αὐτὴν παρθενικῇ σκευῇ καθάπερ ὑπομνήματι* (*ὑπόμνημά τι* schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit.*) *τῆς παλαιᾶς προφήτιδος* (sic codd. F. L. et schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit. προφητείας* cett.), Plout. *de def. or.* 51 *τούτων ἕνεκα καὶ συνουσίας ἀγνὸν τὸ σῶμα καὶ τὸν βίον ὅλως ἀνεπίικτον ἀλλοδαπαῖς καὶ ἄθικτον ὁμιλίαις* (sic codd. V. Barb. Ambr. *ὁμιλίαις καὶ ἄθικτον* cett.) *φυλάττουσι* (sic codd. V[1]. Barb. Ambr. F. *φυλαττούσης* cett.) *τῆς Πυθίας*

phetic priestess at Delphoi is strongly supported by later beliefs with regard to Python[1] and by the analogous cult at Patara, where so long as Apollon tarried in the town his prophetess was shut up with him in the temple by night[2].

(ρ) The *Pythia* and the Caldron of Apotheosis.

But, again, if the *Pythia*, a mere mortal, is thus raised to the rank of a goddess, must she not, either in grim earnest or in mock show, endure the ritual of apotheosis? Now one form of this ritual consisted in the real or simulated boiling of the person concerned. A mortal plunged in the seething caldron thereby lost his mortality. Old age dropped away from him: perennial youth remained. He died the death of a man: he lived the life of a god. This strange belief points backwards—it may be—to a time when the dead, or even the aged, were dismembered and boiled for the readier removal of the flesh from their bones and the consequent liberation of their souls[3]. In any case it underlies and explains a variety of Greek

(sic codd. V[1]. Barb. Ambr. Πυθιάδος cett.), Tert. *ad uxor.* 1. 6 Achaeae Iunoni apud Aegium oppidum virgo sortitur, et quae Delphis insaniunt nubere nesciunt, *id. de monogam.* 17 sunt et quae de tota continentia iudicent nos, virgines Vestae et Iunonis Achaicae et Dianae Scythicae et Apollinis Pythii, Hieron. *epist.* 123. 8 (xxii. 1051 Migne) ut omittam virgines Vestae et Apollinis Iunonisque Achivae (Erasmus cj. *Argivæ*, alii mallent *Achaïcæ*) et Dianae et Minervae, quae perpetua sacerdotii virginitate marcescunt. Similarly the priestess, who was also the prophetess, of Apollon *Deiradiótes* at Corinth is described as ἀνδρὸς εὐνῆς εἰργομένη (Paus. 2. 24. 1).

Ceremonial continence may doubtless be due to more causes than one. E. Fehrle *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* Giessen 1910 traces it back to two main sources: (*a*) Whoever enjoys the love of a deity, must forgo the love of mortals; (*b*) Sexual intercourse defiles, and religious defilement implies the presence of evil spirits. In any given case either or both of these causes may be operant. But that the former at least was a *vera causa* to the worshippers of Apollon seems certain—witness *e.g.* the myth of Koronis.

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Πύθωνος· δαιμονίου μαντικοῦ. "τὰς τε πνεύματι Πύθωνος ἐνθουσιώσας καὶ φαντασίαν κινήσεως παρεχομένας τῇ τοῦ δαιμονίου περιφορᾷ ἠξίου τὸ ἐσόμενον προαγορεῦσαι· οἱ δὲ τῶν δαιμόνων κάτοχοι ἔφασκον τὴν νίκην Μήδοις παρέσεσθαι," with G. Bernhardy *ad loc.*

[2] Hdt. 1. 182 ἀμφότεραι δὲ αὗται (*sc.* the wife of Zeus *Bêlos supra* p. 128 n. 4 and the wife of Zeus *Thebaieús supra* i. 348 n. 1) λέγουτο· ἀνδρῶν οὐδαμῶν ἐς ὁμιλίην φοιτᾶν· καὶ κατάπερ ἐν Πατάροισι τῆς Λυκίης ἡ πρόμαντις τοῦ θεοῦ, ἐπεὰν γένηται—οὐ γὰρ ὦν αἰεί ἐστι χρηστήριον αὐτόθι (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 143 states that Apollon was at Patara during the six winter months, at Delos during the six summer months)—ἐπεὰν δὲ γένηται, τότε ὦν συγκατακληῖεται τὰς νύκτας ἔσω ἐν τῷ νηῷ.

[3] See the facts collected by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 372 n. 5, *ib.*[3]: The Dying God p. 96, *id. Belief in Immortality* i. 165 ff. My suggestion has been to some extent anticipated by W. Mannhardt *Germanische Mythen* Berlin 1858 p. 72 n. 5: 'Hängt mit dieser Anschauung zusammen, dass man im zwölften und dreizehnten Jahrhundert Leichname aufschnitt, das Fleisch mit Wein oder Wasser absott und ablöste und abgesondert von den gesammelten Knochen begrub? Pabst Bonifaz VIII. untersagte diese Sitte.' Mannhardt adds detailed proof of this singular custom, noting that it was chiefly observed when a man died abroad and his friends or relatives wished his bones to be buried at home.

rites, myths, and imaginings—the rites of Leukothea[1], the myths of Pelias[2] (fig. 147), Aison[3] (fig. 148), Iason[4] (pl. xiv), Pelops[5] (fig. 149),

[1] *Supra* i. 419 n. 10, 674 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 245, 419, 679. A relief of Pentelic marble, found at Rome in 1814 and now in the Lateran Museum (O. Benndorf—R. Schöne *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums* Leipzig' 1867 p. 61 ff. no. 92, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 7 f. no 1154, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 400 ff. no. 1200, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 341 b (=my fig. 147), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 277 no. 1), shows the preparations for the boiling of Pelias. On the left in foreign garb stands Medeia ἐψάνδρα (*Anth. Pal.* 15. 26. 5 (Dosiadas)), with a basket or box of magic herbs in her hands (cp. *supra* i. 721 pl. xli); she lifts the lid to throw its contents into the caldron, which the younger sister is just placing in position before her. On the right stands the elder sister, irresolute, her knife ready drawn from its sheath, but her head sunk pensively on her hand (H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1881 ii. 95 ff., followed by A. Milchhoefer *Die Befreiung des Prometheus* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xiii) Berlin 1882 p. 37 f., took this figure for Medeia, and Medeia for one of the Peliades: but see O. Benndorf—R. Schöne *op. cit.* p. 63).

A replica, also of Pentelic marble, at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 375 f. no. 925 fig., R. Kekule von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[3] Berlin 1907 p. 174 ff. fig.) has the same subject cleaned up and worked over by a Renaissance-artist, who has substituted a sprig of olive for the knife and has chiselled away the tell-tale sheath. The relation of the Berlin to the Lateran relief gave rise to a long controversy (A. Conze 'Das Berliner Medearelief' in *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius...gewidmet* Berlin 1884 pp. 97—104 pl. 2, O. Kern 'Zu den beiden Peliadenreliefs' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 68—72, A. Michaelis 'Nochmals die Peliadenreliefs' *ib.* 1888 iii. 225—229, E. Loewy 'Un rilievo del Museo Lateranense e le sue pretese repliche' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1897 pp. 42—50 pl. 3 f., R. Kekule von Stradonitz 'Über das Peliadenrelief in den Königlichen Museen zu Berlin' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 96—100), which is summarised by H. Lechat in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1897 x. 351 f. and by H. N. Fowler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 402 f.

A third relief, known only from a drawing of *s.* xvii in the dal Pozzo collection (ii. 28 no. 34) at Windsor Castle and from a sketch in bistre and white made in the first half of *s.* xviii and formerly owned by Cardinal Albani (both published by O. Kern *loc. cit.* 1888 iii. 68 fig. 1, 70 fig. 2), gave Medeia a *chitôn* with close-fitting sleeves down to the wrist and the elder sister a sheath of somewhat different shape (A. Michaelis *loc. cit.* 1888 iii. 225).

These copies presuppose as their common archetype an Attic relief of the late fifth or the early fourth century (the *coiffure* of the central figure and the pathos of the whole scene point rather to the latter date). They have moreover close stylistic affinity with two further reliefs—on the one hand that of Hermes, Eurydike, and Orpheus (the best copy is at Naples: see Brunn—Bruckmann *op. cit.* pl. 341a, L. Mariani in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 45 ff. no. 138 fig., J. Pickard 'The Orpheus Relief' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1898 ii. 169—172), on the other that of Herakles, Peirithoos, and Theseus (the only complete copy is in the Museo Torlonia at Rome: see W. Helbig *op. cit.*[3] ii. 447 f. no. 1908, *id.* 'La composizione d'un rilievo Torlonia completata da un frammento conservato nel Museo di Berlino' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1892 i. 673—686 pl. 1, 2, Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 402 f. no. 1201, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1795 f. fig. 1880, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 340 no. 4, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1789 f. with fig. 15). In view of the fact that all three reliefs are approximately the same in size and shape it has been conjectured that they were originally parts of a connected whole—votive slabs commemorating successful dramas, perhaps a trilogy (E. Reisch *Griechische Weihgeschenke* (*Abhandlungen des archäologisch-epigraphischen Seminares der Universität Wien* viii)

Arkas[6], Melikertes[7], Peleus' sons[8], Dionysos' attendants[9], and the Aristophanic conception of Demos[10]. Nay more, it survives to this hour in the folk-tales of Sicily and Walachia[11], Germany and Scandinavia, Poland and Finland[12]. I am therefore inclined to conjecture

Wien 1890 p. 130 ff., pursuing a hint of P. Wolters *ib.* p. 130 n. 1), or even, since some copies at least are appreciably narrower above than below, the three sides of a triangular base on which, as on the Chigi base (*supra* p. 199 n. 2 pl. xii), stood a choragic tripod (L. Mariani *loc. cit.* p. 46 f., H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 587). If so, the significance of the whole design is not hard to guess. Pelias was the subject of an attempted, but unsuccessful, resurrection. So was Eurydike. So was Peirithoos. Nothing could be more appropriate than the representing of these mytbs on the base of a tripod-*lébes*, the very caldron of apotheosis.

Other monuments of the Pelias-story are noted by K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2505 f., O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 1846 f. To the vases there given must be added a red-figured *hydría* of early fine style (*c.* 465 B.C.), formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* i. 60 ff. pl. 7), which on the dispersal of the Deepdene treasures (*Hope Sale Catalogue* 1917 p. 16 no. 81 wrongly described) was acquired by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. This magnificent vase (height 11½ ins.) has been attributed by Mr J. D. Beazley to the hand of 'the Villa Giulia painter' (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 464 ff.) and is in faultless condition. It represents the three Peliades about to carry out the instructions of Medeia, though Medeia herself is absent. On the left the eldest sister, in Ionic *chitón* and *himátion* tucked round her waist, grips a short sword in one hand and raises the other with a gesture of amazement; she is aghast, but resolved. The second sister, in a Doric *péplos* girt over its long *apóptygma*, bears high a *phiále* containing the fateful decoction, but betrays her inward misgivings by the nervous pressure of her hand against her cheek. On the right the third and youngest, in a Doric *péplos* with short *apóptygma* and *kólpos*, turns to flee from the spot in a horror of expostulation. Her *chignon* in profile, despite the all but full-face features, is a lingering trace of earlier style. Pl. xiii is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[3] *Nóstoi frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Eur. *Med.* argum. 1 and schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 1321, Ov. *met.* 7. 159 ff. O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 157 n. 155 (following the Duc de Luynes in *Nouv. Ann.* 1839 ii. 251) sees on a late black-figured *lékythos* now at Leyden (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pl. 69—70, 5 (=my fig. 148) and 6, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 42, 6 and 7) 'die Darstellung des Verjüngungsprocesses..., welchen Medeia mit Jason oder Aison vornahm.' K. Wernicke in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv Arch. Anz. p. 149 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1087 decides for Aison.

[4] Simonid. *frag.* 204 Bergk[4] and Pherekyd. *frag.* 74 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 89 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Med.* argum. 1 and schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 1321. This version of the myth is illustrated by a red-figured *hydría* from Vulci now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 148 f. no. E 163. My pl. xiv is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming); for we need not with H. Heydemann *Iason in Kolchis* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1886) p. 19 n. 48 regard the inscription IΑSON as a mistake for AISON.

[5] *Supra* i. 419 n. 10, 679. A mirror at Paris (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 101 ff. pl. 352, 1 (=my fig. 149), Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 537 ff. no. 1329) is best explained as representing Pelops, who emerges from the caldron in the presence of Tantalos, Ganymedes (cp. Mnaseas *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 20. 234, Herodian. 1. 11. 2, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 13, Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 80 f. Dindorf, Souid. *s.v.* Ἴλιον, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 120 B f. (i. 211 Bekker)), Klotho, and Demeter. The dog is probably the golden hound of Tantalos (*supra* i. 720 n. 4).

[6] *Infra* p. 228 n. 5. [7] *Supra* i. 674, 674 n. 4, 679. [8] *Supra* i. 419 n. 10.
[9] *Supra* i. 785. [10] *Supra* i. 785. [11] *Supra* i. 786.
[12] W. Mannhardt *Germanische Mythen* Berlin 1858 pp. 64—75, O. Dähnhardt *Natur-*

Hydria in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: the Peliades about to carry out the instructions of Medeia.

See page 212 *n.* 0.

Hydría from Vulci, now in the British Museum: Medeia renews the youth of Iason.

See page 212 *n.* 4.

that the curious custom of the *Pythía* sitting on the Delphic tripod finds its ultimate explanation in the caldron of apotheosis.

Fig. 147.

sagen Leipzig and Berlin 1909 i. 85 f., 154, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* neu bearbeitet von J. Bolte und G. Polívka Leipzig 1913 i. 422 f.

It should be observed that these tales are often concerned with the resurrection of animals. The story of Thor's goats (*Gylfaginning* 44, translated by K. Simrock *Die Edda*[2] Stuttgart 1878 p. 277 f. Parallels collected by J. W. Wolf *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie* Göttingen—Leipzig 1852 i. 88—90 'Die wiederbelebten böcke,' *id.* in his *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* Göttingen 1853 i. 70 f., R. Köhler in T. Benfey's *Orient und Occident* Göttingen 1864 ii. 680, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* Bonn 1878 p. 239 ff. 'Wiederbelebung der Böcke,' J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 184 n. 1, *ib.* 1883 iii. 995. R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 285 is right in compar-

Direct proof is wanting. But the following facts deserve to be weighed. Dodona, as well as Delphoi, had an oracular caldron[1].

Fig. 148.

A queer tale is told about it by Herakleides Pontikos (*c.* 390–*c.* 310 B.C.), who is known to have written a treatise *On Oracles*[2]:

'When the Thebans came to consult the oracle about a war, the prophetess at Dodona made answer that they would be victorious, if they had committed impiety. Hereupon one of the sacred envoys caught up Myrtila the prophetess, and cast her into a caldron of hot water that was set there[3].'

ing the boar Sæhrîmnir (*Grimnismál* 22, translated by O. Bray *The Elder or Poetic Edda* London 1908 p. 11; *Gylfaginnîng* 38, translated by K. Simrock *op. cit.* p. 273), but quite wrong in his explanation of the *motif*) can be capped—as my daughter points out to me—by 'The Three Cows' (J. Jacobs *More English Fairy Tales* London 1894 pp. 82—84, 228) and an incident in 'Rushen Coatie' (*id. ib.* pp. 150—155, 233—237).[4] See also 'The Sharp Grey Sheep' (J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 ii. 286—292 no. 43 English translation and Gaelic text). The same trait reappears in sundry miracles ascribed to the saints (*e.g.* Jacobus de Voragine *Legenda Aurea* cap. 107 p. 450 Graesse[2] St Germanus and the calf, S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xii. 653 St Abban and the calf, J. W. Wolf in his *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* Göttingen 1853 i. 213 St Mochua and the stags; W. J. A. von Tettau—J. D. H. Temme *Die Volkssagen Ostpreussens, Litthauens und Westpreussens* Berlin 1837 p. 33 St Adalbert's finger).

[1] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 11. 1 p. 10, 20 ff. Stählin ἄδυτα τοίνυν ἄθεα μὴ πολυπραγμονεῖτε μηδὲ βαράθρων στόματα τερατείας ἔμπλεα ἢ λέβητα Θεσπρώτιον ἢ τρίποδα Κιρραῖον ἢ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον· κ.τ.λ., a passage quoted by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 1 *totidem verbis* and paraphrased by Theodoret. *Graec. affect. cur.* 10. 3 p. 243, 3 ff. Raeder...καὶ τὴν Κασταλίας πηγὴν καὶ τὸ Κολοφώνιον ῥεῖθρον καὶ τὴν ἱερὰν δρῦν καὶ τὸ Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον καὶ τὸν Κιρραῖον τρίποδα καὶ τὸν Θεσπρώτιον λέβητα, κ.τ.λ. On caldrons and tripods at Dodona see further the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 5 ff.

[2] *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 197 Müller, Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 481 f.

[3] Zenob. 2. 84 Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσαιο· αὕτη καταρατικὴ ἐστιν. Ἡρακλείδης γάρ φησι, μαντευομένοις τοῖς Θηβαίοις περὶ πολέμου ἀπεκρίνατο ἡ προφῆτις ἡ ἐν Δωδώνῃ νίκην αὐτοῖς ἀσεβήσασιν ἔσεσθαι. εἷς δὲ τῶν θεωρῶν ἁρπάσας Μυρτίλαν τὴν προφῆτιν ἐνέβαλεν εἰς θερμοῦ παρακείμενον λέβητα. ἄλλοι δέ φασιν, ὅτι Θηβαίοις πολεμοῦσι Βόμβος μάντις πλείους ἔφη νικήσειν, εἰ προθύσαιεν τῶν ἡγεμόνων ἕνα. οἱ δὲ ἀποκτείναντες τὸν Βόμβον ἐνίκησαν. Plout. *prov. Alex.* 1. 9 repeats both explanations, but reads Βόμβρος and Βόμβρον.

Euripides had alluded to the story a century before in his *Erechtheus*; and either he or some later author gave it a sentimental turn by

Fig. 149.

making the priestess fall in love with one of the envoys[1]. The same

[1] *Appendix proverbiorum Bodleiana, Vaticana, Coisliniana* 3. 97 *μίασμα ὄρυός· παρ' Εὐριπίδῃ ἐν Ἐρεχθεῖ* (Eur. *frag.* 368 Nauck[2]) *αἰνιττόμενον τὸ Θηβαίων παρανόμημα εἰς τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ μαντεῖον, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ παροιμία Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσαις. ἠσέβησαν γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἱέρειαν ἐμβαλόντες αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ λέβητα ζέοντα, ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσαν εἰς ἕνα τῶν θεωρῶν* (so A. Schott for codd. *θεῶν*). E. L. von Leutsch supposed a *lacuna* before *ἠσέβησαν κ.τ.λ.*; but this is unnecessary. The same source was utilised by Souid. *s.v.* *Μυίας δάκρυον· διὰ τὴν Θηβαίων παρανομίαν εἰς τὸ ἐν Δωδώνῃ μαντεῖον· ἀφ' οὗ εἴρηται καὶ τὸ παρὰ* (*περὶ* B.) *Βοιωτοῖς μαντεύσαιο* (*μαντεύσαις* V.). *ἠσέβησαν γὰρ καὶ οὗτοι εἰς τὴν ἱέρειαν, ἐμβαλόντες αὐτὴν εἰς τὸν ἐν Δωδώνῃ λέβητα, ἐρωτικῶς διατεθεῖσαν εἰς ἕνα τῶν θεωρῶν.* Here two points call for comment: (*a*) The saying *Μυίας δάκρυον* is not really explained by the story related; (*b*) The name *Μυῖα* attached to a priestess at Dodona suggests comparison with the *μέλισσα* of Delphoi (*supra* i. 443 f.). It forms a good pendant to *Βόμβος* (*supra* p. 214 n. 3), can be readily connected with Zeus (*supra* i. 532), and may well have been altered into *Μυρτίλα*.

story was told at greater length and with other variations by Ephoros the historian (*c.* 350 B.C.), whose account is preserved to us *in primis* by Strabon[1]:

'Ephoros states that the Thracians after making a treaty with the Boeotians attacked them one night, when their camp was off its guard in the enjoyment of peace. The Boeotians flung them back, and at once reproached them for breaking the treaty. "No," said the Thracians, "we agreed to a truce by day; we attacked you by night." Hence the common proverb—"a Thracian shuffle[2]." While the war was still being waged, the Pelasgians and the Boeotians too went to consult the oracle. He cannot tell, he says, what answer was given to the Pelasgians; but the prophetess replied to the Boeotians that they would prosper, if they committed impiety. The sacred envoys, suspecting the prophetess of showing favour to the Pelasgians in her reply on account of their kinship (for the sanctuary had originally been Pelasgian), caught up the woman and cast her on to a pyre. They thought that, whether she had done amiss or not, in either case their action was justified: if she had uttered a lying oracle, she was duly punished; if she had done no wrong, they had but carried out her bidding. Those in charge of the sanctuary did not like to put the perpetrators to death, in a sanctuary too, without a formal judgment, so brought them to trial and summoned them before the priestesses, that is the prophetesses, three in number to begin with and now reduced to two. The Boeotians protested that nowhere was it customary for women to act as judges. An equal number of men was therefore chosen. The men acquitted; the women condemned. As the votes were equal, those for acquittal prevailed. Ever since then at Dodona oracles have been delivered to the Boeotians, and to the Boeotians only, by men[3]. The prophetesses, however, put a different interpretation upon the oracle, to wit, that the god enjoined upon the Boeotians to steal the tripods in Boiotia and send one year by year to Dodona. And this in point of fact they do. They always take down by night one of their dedicated tripods, wrap it in cloaks, and have a clandestine tripod-carrying to Dodona[4].'

[1] Ephoros *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 241 f. Müller) *ap.* Strab. 401 f.

[2] Θρᾳκία παρεύρεσις, cp. Zenob. 4. 37, *append. prov.* 3. 21, Souid. *s.v.* Θρᾳκία παρεύρεσις, Polyain. 7. 43.

[3] Quoted by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1760, 4 f.

[4] Cp. Prokl. *chrestom.* (after Ephoros?) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 321 b 32 ff. Bekker τὸ δὲ τριποδηφορικὸν μέλος (Poll. 4. 53 τριποδηφορικά) τρίποδος προηγουμένου παρὰ τοῖς Βοιωτοῖς ᾄδετο. ἔσχε δὲ καὶ τοῦτο αἰτίαν τοιαύτην. Πελασγῶν τινὲς Πάνακτον τῆς Βοιωτίας ἐπῴρθουν, Θηβαῖοι δὲ ἤμυνον καὶ πέμψαντες εἰς Δωδώνην περὶ τῆς τοῦ πολέμου νίκης ἐχρῶντο. χρησμὸς δὲ τοῖς Θηβαίοις ἐξέπεσεν ὡς, εἰ μέγιστον ἀσέβημα ἀσεβήσουσι, νικήσουσιν. ἔδοξεν οὖν αὐτοῖς ἀσεβημάτων εἶναι μέγιστον τὸ τὴν χρησμῳδήσασαν αὐτοῖς τὸν χρησμὸν ἀνελεῖν· καὶ ἀνεῖλον. αἱ δὲ περὶ τὸ τέμενος συνιέρειαι δίκην λαβεῖν ἀπῄτουν τοῦ φόνου τοὺς Θηβαίους. Θηβαῖοι δὲ οὐκ ἐπιτρέπουσι γυναιξὶ μόναις τὴν περὶ αὐτῶν δίκην· κοινῆς δὲ κρίσεως ἀνδρῶν καὶ γυναικῶν γεγενημένης, καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν λευκὰς αὐτοῖς ἐπενεγκόντων ψήφους, ἀπέφυγον οἱ Θηβαῖοι. ὕστερον δὲ ἐπιγνόντες αὐτοῖς τὸ ὑπὸ τοῦ χρησμοῦ προστασσόμενον, βαστάσαντες τῶν κατὰ τὴν Βοιωτίαν ἱερῶν τριπόδων ἕνα, καὶ κατακαλύψαντες ὡς ἱερόσυλοι, ἀνέπεμψαν εἰς Δωδώνην. εὐπραγήσαντες δὲ ἐξ ἐκείνου τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν πρᾶξιν ἑορτὴν ἐποίουν. This tripod-carrying did not, like that of the Thebans to their *Ismênion* (Pind. *Pyth.* 11. 7 f. χρυσέων ἐς ἄδυτον τριπόδων | θησαυρόν with schol. vet. *ad loc.* οἱ γὰρ Θηβαγενεῖς ἐτριποδοφόρουν ἐκεῖσε), merely aim at increasing the property and *prestige* of the god; nor did it, like that of the Athenians from Delphoi (L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 87 ff. no. 9, 90 ff. no. 10, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 665 and no. 718, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.*

Ephoros, in the interests of probability, eliminates the *bizarre* 'caldron of hot water' and tacitly substitutes a commonplace 'pyre,' thereby spoiling the end of his story, which suggests rather that the sacred tripods made amends for a sacred caldron. I surmise that the impiety of boiling the priestess at Dodona in a caldron of hot water, an impiety authorised or at least instigated by the oracle itself, implies a long-standing ritual, to which recourse might be had in dark and desperate times.

At Delphoi, it is true, the priestess was not boiled in a caldron. But we have to ask ourselves: What form would be taken by a simulated boiling? The Orphic votary in like circumstances pronounced the words

'I have fallen as a kid into milk,'

and in all probability stepped into an actual caldron for a make-believe seething[1]. At Delphoi a she-goat, over which cold water had first been poured, was sacrificed[2], and the *Pythía* then took her

no. 1285 and no. 266, *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 nos. 32 f.), serve as a means of transporting sacred fire; still less was it, like that of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos (Athen. 198 C, D, 199 D, F, 202 B, C), a case of exaggerated pomp. Rather we may suppose that this was an expiation in kind. A sacred *lébes* (? tripod) had been defiled by an impious act: sacred tripods must be sent year by year to replace it. Why they had to be stolen, and wrapped in cloaks, we are not told. In Scotland at Hallowe'en divination was practised by means of stolen kail: 'It was necessary that the plants should be stolen without the knowledge or consent of their owner; otherwise they were quite useless for the purpose of divination' (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 234 f.). Possibly the same notion played some part in Herakles' theft of the Delphic tripod. The wrapping in cloaks was probably prophylactic (cp. *e.g. supra* i. 58, 107 n. 4, 523, *alib.*).

[1] *Supra* i. 676 f.

[2] Diod. 16. 26 λέγεται...τὸ παλαιὸν αἶγας εὑρεῖν τὸ μαντεῖον· οὗ χάριν αἰξὶ μάλιστα χρηστηριάζονται μέχρι τοῦ νῦν οἱ Δελφοί, Plout. *de def. or.* 49 τὴν δ' αἶγα διελέγχειν τὸ ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ· οὐ γὰρ εἶναι ψυχῆς κατὰ φύσιν ἐχούσης τὸ πρὸς τὴν κατάσπεισιν ἀπαθὲς καὶ ἀκίνητον. A decree of the Delphians, passed in honour of Nikomedes iii of Bithynia and Laodike (92—91 B.C.), mentions goats among the flocks and herds of the god (L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 254 ff. no. 1409, 15 f., H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 356 ff., J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 880 ff. no. 2738, 16 f. καὶ ποτὶ τὰς αἶγας τὰς ἱερ[ὰς 'Αρχελάωι or Ξένωνι Πει]σιθέου Μένωνα, Δῶρον, 'Ρόδωνα, 'Ιππίαν, Αυκέαν. And the rule of the Labyadai speaks of a she-goat offered to Bouzyge daughter of Phanotos (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438 *d* 200, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 995 *D* 35, J. von Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 74 D 35 χίμαιραν). Goats played a considerable part at Delphoi. The oracle was first discovered by a goat-herd (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 7 and *supra* p. 189 n. 8), who noticed that his goats on approaching a certain chasm and looking into it skipped about and bleated in an unusual manner: following their example, he too was similarly affected and began to foretell future events (Diod. 16. 26). When, according to one account, Python had been wounded and was trying to escape along the Sacred Way, Apollon pursued after him and κατέλαβε...αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ τραύματος ἄρτι τεθνηκότα, κεκηδευμένον ὑπὸ τοῦ παιδὸς ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν Αἴξ, ὡς λέγουσι (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 12: see further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 402 ff.). Hesych. ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγός· ζητεῖται πῶς τὴν Πυθὼ ὀμφαλὸν Αἰγαῖον. τινὲς δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῆς Αἰγαίων γῆς was emended by Salmasius to ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος· ζητεῖται πῶς τὴν Πυθὼ εἴρηκεν ὀμφαλὸν Αἰγαῖον. τινὲς

seat in or on the caldron. I infer that the *Pythía*, like the Orphist, pretended to be boiled.

(σ) Dionysos and the Caldron of Apotheosis.

The inference here drawn with regard to the *Pythía* may seem rash, or even grotesque; but the Orphic ritual cannot be separated from the Orphic myth, which—if I am not mistaken—came to locate the caldron of apotheosis at Delphoi and to identify it with the mantic tripod.

Clement of Alexandreia, an excellent authority in such matters, after quoting Orpheus for the attack of the Titans upon the infant Dionysos, continues:

'The Titans, who had torn him in pieces, set a certain caldron upon a tripod, and dropping the limbs of Dionysos into it began by boiling them. After that, they pierced them with spits and "held them over Hephaistos." Zeus then made his appearance (being a god, he presumably had soon got a whiff of the roast flesh—your gods admit that they get that "as their guerdon"), struck the Titans with a thunderbolt, and entrusted the limbs of Dionysos to his son Apollon for burial. Apollon, obedient to the commands of Zeus, took the body in pieces to Parnassos and there deposited the same[1].'

δὲ παρὰ τὸ τῆς Αἰγαίων γῆς μέσον εἶναι. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 102 n. 12 reads ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος, but would connect the epithet with Αἴξ; and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3379 ff. apparently reverts to ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγός in the same connexion. But Αἰγαῖος, which implies an α-stem, cannot be legitimately derived from Αἴξ; and the existence of a stream called Αἰγᾶς and a plain called Αἰγαῖον close to Delphoi (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Αἰγαίων πέλαγος citing Hes. *frag.* 193 Flach 42 Rzach, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 132) strongly supports the reading ὀμφαλὸς Αἰγαῖος. The people of Elyros in Crete dedicated at Delphoi a bronze she-goat suckling Phylakides and Philandros, children of Apollon by the nymph Akakallis (Paus. 10. 16. 5). Small silver coins of Delphoi struck *c.* 520—500 B.C. have as their reverse type the head of a goat to right in an incuse square (J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 19 f. pl. 25, 7 f.), or the heads of two goats facing each other, sometimes with a dolphin to right above them, in an incuse

Fig. 150.

Fig. 151.

Fig. 152.

Fig. 153.

Fig. 154.

square (*id. ib.* p. 21 pl. 25, 20—22 and 23 f.); others, struck *c.* 500—480, have rev. a goat's head facing in an incuse square, with or without Δ Δ (*id. ib.* p. 21 f. pl. 25, 25—28, 32 f. and 29 f.); others, *c.* 480—460, a goat's head facing, between two dolphins, in an incuse square (*id. ib.* p. 24 pl. 25, 36—43 and p. 25 f. pl. 26, 1—6, 7, 8—13, 14]; others, *c.* 460—448, the same type with ΔΑΛ above it (*id. ib.* p. 26 pl. 26, 15—20); others, *c.* 421—355, the same type with ΔΑΛ above it, but in a circular incuse (*id. ib.* p. 27 f. pl. 26, 22—24, 25); others, *c.* 355, a goat's head facing, between two dolphins and two ivy-leaves, with ΔΕΛ above it (*id. ib.* p. 28 pl. 26, 22—31): see also *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 24 ff. pl. 4, 1—3, 6—12 (my figs. 150—154 are from casts of nos. 1, 2, 10, 11, 12), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 340 f.

[1] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 1 f. p. 14, 17 ff. Stählin (quoted by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3.

Other writers confirm this account and enable us to trace it back for more than four hundred years. Thus Tzetzes, the learned commentator on Lykophron's *Alexandra*, says:

'Dionysos too was honoured at Delphoi along with Apollon in the following way. The Titans, having rent the limbs of Dionysos, gave them to Apollon his brother, after dropping them into a caldron; and Apollon put them away beside the tripod, as is stated by Kallimachos and by Euphorion in the words—

They dropped Bakchos the divine above the bowl on the fire[1].'

These passages prove, to my thinking, that the Thraco-Phrygian myth of Dionysos had taken root at Delphoi at least as early as the third century B.C., and that the caldron of apotheosis, an essential feature of the myth, was then identified with the tripod of Apollon himself. If Aischylos two centuries earlier can make his *Pythia* say 'Bromios too possesses the place[2],' it will hardly be maintained that we have here to do with a late and valueless tradition. The burden of proof rests with those who contend that the Thraco-Phrygian myth reached Delphoi later than the Thraco-Phrygian god. Be that as it may, the tomb of Dionysos at Delphoi, like the tomb of Zeus in Crete[3], continued to be an object of interest till Byzantine times[4]. Tatian indeed (*c.* 152 A.D.) confuses it with the

25 f.) οἱ δὲ Τιτᾶνες, οἱ καὶ διασπάσαντες αὐτόν, λέβητά τινα τρίποδι ἐπιθέντες καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου ἐμβαλόντες τὰ μέλη, καθήψουν πρότερον· ἔπειτα ὀβελίσκοις περιπείραντες (ἀμπείραντες Euseb. H. after *Il.* 2. 426) "ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο." Ζεὺς δὲ ὕστερον ἐπιφανείς—εἰ θεὸς ἦν, τάχα που τῆς κνίσης τῶν ὀπτωμένων κρεῶν μεταλαβών, ἧς δὴ τὸ "γέρας λαχεῖν" ὁμολογοῦσιν ὑμῶν οἱ θεοί—κεραυνῷ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας αἰκίζεται καὶ τὰ μέλη τοῦ Διονύσου Ἀπόλλωνι τῷ παιδὶ παρακατατίθεται καταθάψαι. ὁ δέ, οὐ γὰρ ἠπείθησε Διί, εἰς τὸν Παρνασσὸν φέρων κατατίθεται διεσπασμένον τὸν νεκρόν.

[1] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 208 ἐτιμᾶτο δὲ καὶ Διόνυσος ἐν Δελφοῖς σὺν Ἀπόλλωνι οὑτωσί· οἱ Τιτᾶνες τὰ Διονύσου μέλη σπαράξαντες Ἀπόλλωνι ἀδελφῷ ὄντι αὐτοῦ παρέθεντο ἐμβαλόντες λέβητι, ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι ἀπέθετο ὥς φησι Καλλίμαχος (*frag.* 374 Schneider) καὶ Εὐφορίων (*frag.* 15 Meineke) λέγων "ἐν πυρὶ Βάκχον δῖον ὑπὲρ φιάλην ἐβάλοντο" (ἐν γ 2. ἐμ *b.* βάκχοις or βάκχας *b.* βάκ χ γ 2. δῖαν γ 2. δῖον *b.* ἐβάλλοντο *b.* γ 1. ἐμβάλλοντες γ 2. C. A. Lobeck cj. ἓμ πυρὶ Βακχέα δῖον ὑπὲρ φιάλης ἐβάλοντο. A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 49 f. would read ἐν πυρὶ Βάκχον δῖον ὑπὲρ φιάλης ἐβάλοντο. E. Scheer prints ἀν πυρὶ Βάκχαν δίαν ὑπὲρ φιάλην ἐβάλοντο *sic*). Cp. *et. mag.* p. 255, 13 ff. Δελφοί·...ὅτι τὰ Διονύσου μέλη σπαράξαντες οἱ Τιτᾶνες τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι παρέθεντο ἐμβαλόντες λέβητι· ὁ δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι ἀπέθετο παρὰ τῷ ἀδελφῷ (οἱ δὲ παρὰ τῷ τρίποδι cod. V. omitting the last four words, which appear to be a note on τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι containing a would-be etymology of Δελφοί).

[2] Aisch. *Eum.* 24 Βρόμιος ἔχει (sic cod. M. δ' ἔχει codd. G. V. Fl. F.) τὸν χῶρον, κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* i. 157 ff., 645 f., 663.

[4] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35 καὶ Δελφοὶ τὰ τοῦ Διονύσου λείψανα παρ' αὐτοῖς (leg. αὐτοῖς) παρὰ τὸ χρηστήριον ἀποκεῖσθαι νομίζουσι· κ.τ.λ., Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 8 p. 9, 15 ff. Schwartz ἐν τῷ τεμένει τοῦ Ἀγτοΐδου καλεῖταί τις ὀμφαλός· ὁ δ' ὀμφαλὸς τάφος ἐστὶν Διονύσου (E. Schwartz cj. Διονύσου τάφος ἐστίν), Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 712 versio Armenia (ii. 42 and 44 Schoene) secundum quosdam Dionisii gesta, et eiusdem apud Indos res; atque Licurgi, et Actaei et Penthei, necnon quomodo (et) a quo stans in

omphalós[1]. But Ioannes Malalas[2] (*c.* 600 A.D.) and Georgios Synkellos[3] (*c.* 800 A.D.) quote, probably from Kephalion[4] (*c.* 125 A.D.), the statement of Philochoros[5] (*c.* 275 B.C.) that in his day the tomb of Dionysos was still to be seen at Delphoi beside the golden statue of Apollon, that it resembled a simple step, and that it was inscribed—

Here lies in death Dionysos the son of Semele.

The inscription reads like a copy (if not, indeed, the original) of that placed upon the tomb of Zeus[6]. But there is no reason to

praelio moritur. dicit autem (de his) Dinarchus poeta, non rhetor (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 391 Müller), *id. ib. ann. Abr.* 718 (ii. 44 Schoene) qui autem voluerit, cominus est inspicere Dionisii sepulcrum in Delphis iuxta aurum Apollinis (sic N. G. E. *ad aureum Apollinem* Z. *iuxta aureum Apollinem* A.). namque rèpraesentatus est feminae forma Dionisius, qui dux erat exercitus, eo quod mixtae fuerint feminae in copiis, quae sub eo erant: nam viros et feminas (sic N. *cum viris feminas quoque* cett.) ducebat in praelium: ut Philochorus in secundo (libro) narrat (*frag.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 388 Müller)), Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* i. 11 (lxxvi. 520 Migne) διακοσιοστῷ ἐνενηκοστῷ ἔτει (*sc.* μετὰ Μωσέα), Περσεὺς Διόνυσον ἀναιρεῖ, οὗ καὶ τὴν ταφὴν εἶναί φασιν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν χρυσοῦν Ἀπόλλωνα, *id. ib.* 10. 341 f. (lxxvi. 1025 Migne) ὁ γάρ τοι Δείναρχος, ποιητὴς οὐκ ἄσημος ὤν, τὰς Διονύσου πράξεις ἀφηγούμενος ὅσα τε αὐτῷ πεπόνηται περὶ τῶν Ἰνδῶν, καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἀκταίωνα καὶ Λυκοῦργον ὅπως εἴη πεφονευκώς, εὖ μάλα διειρηκώς, ἀνηρῆσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν ὑπὸ Περσέως διατείνεται, καὶ κηδεῦσθαί (leg. κεκηδεῦσθαί) γε μὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν χρυσοῦν καλούμενον Ἀπόλλωνα, Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 45 Dindorf καὶ εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπελθὼν ἐκεῖ τελευτᾷ. καὶ ἐτέθη τὸ λείψανον τοῦ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου ἐκεῖ ἐν σορῷ· καὶ τὰ ὅπλα δὲ αὐτοῦ αὐτὸς ἐκεῖ εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἐκρέμασε, καθὼς Δείναρχος (so R. Bentley for Δήμαρχος) ὁ σοφώτατος συνεγράψατο περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου. ὡσαύτως δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Φιλόχορος τὰ αὐτὰ συνεγράψατο, ἐν ᾗ ἐκθέσει εἶπε περὶ τοῦ αὐτοῦ Διονύσου (*frag.* 22 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller))· "ἔστιν ἰδεῖν τὴν ταφὴν αὐτοῦ ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν. βάθρον δέ τι εἶναι ὑπονοεῖται ἡ σορός, ἐν ᾧ γράφεται (so Siebelis for *βόθρον—γράφει*)· Ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Διόνυσος ἐκ Σεμέλης." ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ ὁ σοφώτατος Κεφαλίων τὰ αὐτὰ ἐν τῷ ἰδίῳ συγγράμματι (*frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 Müller)) ἐξέθετο, Synkell. *chron.* 162 C—D (i. 307 Dindorf) Διονύσου πράξεις καὶ τὰ περὶ Ἰνδούς, Λυκοῦργόν τε καὶ Ἀκταίωνα καὶ Πενθέα, ὅπως τε Περσεῖ συστὰς εἰς μάχην ἀναιρεῖται, ὥς φησι Δείναρχος (δίναρχος B. Δήχαρνος G.) ὁ ποιητής, οὐχ ὁ ῥήτωρ. τῷ δὲ βουλομένῳ πάρεστιν ἰδεῖν αὐτοῦ τὴν ταφὴν ἐν Δελφοῖς παρὰ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν χρυσοῦν, ἔνθα καὶ τὸ ὅπλον ἀνάκειται Αὐγούστου Καίσαρος καὶ Νέρωνος ἡ κιθάρα. βάθρον δέ τι νομίζεται τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσιν ὁ Διονύσου τάφος. στρατηγὸς δὲ δοκεῖ γενέσθαι, καὶ οὗτω γράφεται θηλύμορφος διά τε ἄλλας αἰσχρὰς αἰτίας καὶ διὰ τὸ μιξόθηλυν στρατὸν (so J. J. Scaliger for μιξοθηλύστρατον) ὁπλίζειν· ὥπλιζε γὰρ σὺν τοῖς ἄρρεσι τὰς θηλείας, ὥς φησιν ὁ Φιλόχορος ἐν δευτέρῳ, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 24 C (i. 43 Bekker) τῶν δὲ Βοιωτῶν αὐτὸν βασιλέα μὴ παραδεχομένων εἰς Δελφοὺς ἀπέρχεται καὶ θανὼν θάπτεται. Cp. also Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 12 his temporibus Dionysum, qui etiam Liber pater dictus est et post mortem deus habitus, vitem ferunt ostendisse in Attica terra hospiti suo. etc.

[1] Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 8 p. 9, 15 ff. Schwartz (*supra* p. 219 n. 4).

[2] Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 45 Dindorf (*supra* p. 219 n. 4).

[3] Synkell. *chron.* 162 C—D (i. 307 Dindorf) (*supra* p. 219 n. 4).

[4] *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 Müller.

[5] *Id. ib.* iv. 391 suggests that Philochoros in his turn was copying Deinarchos the poet. But see E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2388 f.

[6] Cp. ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Διόνυσος ἐκ Σεμέλης (*supra* p. 219 n. 4) with ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς (*supra* i. 158 n. 2). In view of Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζᾶν δν Δία κικλήσκουσιν we may conjecture that the original epitaph was a hexameter

doubt the accuracy of Philochoros' account. It may even be that in the fifth-century type of Apollon seated on the tripod (fig. 142)[1] we should regard the stepped base beneath his feet as a representation of Dionysos' tomb[2].

Other legends of death and resurrection clung about the Delphic tripod. Writers of the Roman age maintained that the bones and the teeth of Python were kept in its caldron, and even tried to derive the word *cortina*, 'caldron,' from *corium*, 'skin,' on the ground that the tripod was covered or surrounded with Python's skin[3]. Perhaps the pebbles, which for purposes of divination were really kept in the bowl of the tripod[4], had been explained as the relics of Python, and the metallic sides of the *lébes* as plates from his coppery skin. The local *cicerone* would be equal to both inventions.

(τ) Pythagoras as Apollon reborn.

But the strangest of the stories attaching to the tripod remains to be told. Porphyrios (233—*c.* 304 A.D.) in his *Life of Pythagoras* writes:

'Later, when Polykrates became tyrant of Samos, Pythagoras thought it unseemly for a philosopher to live under a tyranny, and resolved to sail for Italy. In the course of his voyage he put in at Delphoi and inscribed on the tomb of Apollon an elegiac couplet, stating therein that Apollon was the son of Silenos, that he had been slain by Python, and that he had been buried in the so-called tripod, which had got this name from the fact that three maidens, the daughters of Triopas, had here made lamentation for Apollon[5].'

line. If Dionysos had the priority, his tomb might have borne some such inscription as ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Σεμεληγενέτης Διόνυσος. But?

[1] *Supra* p. 202.

[2] This conclusion hardly squares with F. Courby's tentative reconstruction of the Pythian chapel (*infra* p. 239). But it is by no means certain that the block of limestone (*Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 67 fig. 59), believed by Courby to have supported the tomb of Dionysos and an adjoining altar, really served that purpose, or even came from the chapel at all.

[3] Hyg. *fab.* 140, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 92, 6. 347, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 360, schol. Lucan. 5. 152, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 509, Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 5, cp. Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 441.

[4] Eudok. *viol.* 265, Souid. *s.v.* Πυθώ, Nonnos *in* Greg. Naz. *in Iulian. imp. invect.* 2. 13 p. 165 (printed in A. Westermann ΜΥΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ *Scriptores poeticae historiae Graeci* Brunsvigae 1843 p. 384 Append. narr. no. 67).

[5] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 16 (quoted by Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1025 f. Migne)) *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα τῆς Πολυκράτους τυραννίδος Σαμίοις καταλαβούσης, οὐ πρέπον ἡγούμενος ὁ Πυθαγόρας ἐν τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ βιοῦν ἀνδρὶ φιλοσόφῳ, διενοήθη εἰς Ἰταλίαν ἀπαίρειν. ὡς δὲ πλέων Δελφοῖς προσέσχετο, ἐλεγεῖον τῷ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τάφῳ ἐπέγραψε, δι' οὗ ἐδήλου ὡς Σιληνοῦ μὲν ἦν υἱὸς ὁ Ἀπόλλων, ἀνῃρέθη δὲ ὑπὸ Πύθωνος, ἐκηδεύθη δὲ ἐν τῷ καλουμένῳ τρίποδι, ὃς ταύτης ἔτυχε τῆς ἐπωνυμίας διὰ τὸ τρεῖς κόρας τὰς Τριόπου θυγατέρας ἐνταῦθα θρηνῆσαι Ἀπόλλωνα.* F. Wieseler *Ueber den delphischen Dreifuss* (extr. from the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe xv) Göttingen 1871 p. 17 cj. *τριποτί* for *τρίποδι* (cp. *supra* p. 178 n. 1). One could imagine—if a moment's play be allowed to fancy—

What are we to think of this peculiar narrative? It is always unsafe to disregard Pythagorean vagaries; they are so often found to contain elements of primitive lore[1]. We must not, therefore, hastily assume that Python killing Apollon was a wilful perversion of Apollon killing Python[2]. That was not Pythagoras' attitude towards the gods, least of all towards Apollon, with whom he stood in relations of exceptional intimacy. Apollonios (of Tyana?[3]) states that, according to certain authorities, Pythagoras was nominally the son of Mnesarchos, but really the son of Apollon by Pythaïs. Had not a Samian poet penned the couplet?—

> Pythaïs fairest of the Samian fair
> Zeus-loved Pythagoras to Apollon bare[4].

The authorities in question included Epimenides, Eudoxos, and Xenokrates[5]. And even those who denied that Pythagoras was actually the son of Apollon admitted that there was some mys-

the Pythagorean couplet conceived somewhat as follows: Σιληνοῦ γόνος ὧδε δαμεὶς Πύθωνι τέθαπται | Φοῖβος, ὃν αἱ τρισσαὶ θρῆνεον αἱ Τρίοπος.

[1] *Supra* i. 66, 135, 282 n. 7, 303, 558 n. 5, 646, ii. 40 ff., *alib.*

[2] The notion, no doubt, is unique in ancient literature; but so in ancient art is the vase-painting of Iason swallowed by the Colchian snake and disgorged at the bidding of Athena (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 289—295, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 35, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 378—384 pl. 24, 1 f., Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 123 f. fig. 129, K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 83 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 101, 102, 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 344 f. no. 578, J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 435 f. fig. 135 from a photograph), to which however H. Schmidt *Jona* Göttingen 1907 p. 22 n. 1 with fig. 5 finds a partial parallel in a mirror-design of Iason grasping sword and fleece but already bitten, not to say half-eaten, by the snake (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 221 f. pl. 238).

[3] So J. Miller in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 148 after E. Rohde in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1871 xxvi. 554 ff., *ib.* 1872 xxvii. 23 ff.

[4] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 2 Ἀπολλώνιος δ' ἐν τοῖς περὶ Πυθαγόρου καὶ μητέρα ἀναγράφει Πυθαΐδα, ἀπόγονον Ἀγκαίου, τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ τῆς Σάμου. τινὰς δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος αὐτὸν ἱστορεῖν καὶ Πυθαΐδος τῷ γόνῳ, λόγῳ δὲ Μνησάρχου φησὶν Ἀπολλώνιος. τῶν γοῦν ποιητῶν τῶν Σαμίων εἰπεῖν τινα· "Πυθαγόραν θ', ὃν ἔτικτε Διὶ φίλον Ἀπόλλωνι | Πυθαΐς, ἡ κάλλος πλεῖστον ἔχεν Σαμίων" (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 15). Cp. Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 4 ff., who expands the above account, *e.g.* mentioning that Pythais' former name was Parthenis, but does not cite his source. In the epigram Iamblichos, followed by E. Cougny, reads Διὶ φίλῳ for Διὶ φίλον: but the reference is to the eagle which Pythagoras drew down and stroked at Olympia (Plout. *v. Num.* 8, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 25, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 62) or to the white eagle which he patted at Kroton (Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 17, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 142).

[5] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 7 παραιτητέοι γὰρ Ἐπιμενίδης (identified by E. Rohde in the *Rhein Mus.* 1872 xxvii. 23 and by H. Demoulin *Épiménide de Crète* Bruxelles 1901 p. 85 with Epimenides ὁ γενεαλόγος of Diog. Laert. 1. 115: but see O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 178) καὶ Εὔδοξος (of Rhodes, according to F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 930) καὶ Ξενοκράτης (the famous philosopher of Kalchedon, on whom E. Rohde *loc. cit.* p. 23 f. supposes the fragment to be fathered) ὑπονοοῦντες τῇ Παρθενίδι τότε μιγῆναι τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ κύουσαν αὐτὴν ἐκ μὴ οὕτως ἐχούσης καταστῆσαί τε καὶ προαγγεῖλαι διὰ τῆς προφήτιδος. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν οὐδαμῶς δεῖ προσίεσθαι.

terious bond of union between the philosopher and the god[1]. Many persons went further and frankly spoke of Pythagoras as Apollon *Pythios* or *Hyperbóreos* or *Paiôn*, declaring that he had appeared as a god in human shape[2] and emphasising the resemblance of his oracular sayings to those of the Pythian Apollon[3]. I shall of course be told by our critical purists that all this is neo-Pythagorean nonsense, to be dismissed without further enquiry. But there is more in it than that. It is precisely when we confine ourselves to the earliest *stratum* of the Pythagorean tradition[4] that we come upon the most remarkable evidence of Pythagoras' claim to be Apollon *redivivus*. We have it on the word of Aristotle that the Pythagoreans held among their most cherished convictions the tripartite subdivision of 'rational animal' into 'god, man, and such as Pythagoras[5].' Moreover, Aristotle states that the Crotoniates called Pythagoras Apollon *Hyperbóreios*, and is aware of the story that at Kroton Pythagoras exhibited his golden thigh in proof of this identification[6]. Now the golden thigh of Pythagoras must, it

[1] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 8 continues *τὸ μέντοι τὴν* Πυθαγόρου *ψυχὴν ἀπὸ τῆς* 'Απόλλωνος *ἡγεμονίας οὖσαν εἴτε συνοπαδὸν εἴτε καὶ ἄλλως οἰκειότερον ἔτι πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον συντεταγμένην καταπεπέμφθαι εἰς ἀνθρώπους, οὐδεὶς ἂν ἀμφισβητήσειε κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Loukian. *somn. s. gall.* 16 (the cock that had once been Pythagoras speaks) *ὡς μὲν ἐξ* 'Απόλλωνος *τὸ πρῶτον ἡ ψυχή μοι καταπταμένη ἐς τὴν γῆν ἐνέδυ εἰς ἀνθρώπου σῶμα, ἤρτινα τὴν καταδίκην ἐκτελοῦσα, μακρὸν ἂν εἴη λέγειν.*

[2] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 30 *καὶ μετὰ τῶν θεῶν τὸν* Πυθαγόραν *λοιπὸν καταρίθμουν ὡς ἀγαθόν τινα δαίμονα καὶ φιλανθρωπότατον. οἱ μὲν τὸν* Πύθιον, *οἱ δὲ τὸν ἐξ* 'Υπερβορέων 'Απόλλωνα, *οἱ δὲ τὸν* Παιῶνα, *οἱ δὲ τῶν τὴν σελήνην κατοικούντων δαιμόνων ἕνα, ἄλλοι δὲ ἄλλον τῶν* 'Ολυμπίων *θεῶν ἐφήμιζον, εἰς ὠφέλειαν καὶ ἐπανόρθωσιν τοῦ θνητοῦ βίου λέγοντες ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῃ μορφῇ φανῆναι τοῖς τότε, κ.τ.λ.*, cp. *ib.* 10, 91 f., 133, 135, 140, Loukian. *dial. mort.* 20. 3 (Menippos to Pythagoras) *χαῖρε, ὦ Εὔφορβε ἢ "Απολλον ἢ ὅ τι ἂν ἐθέλῃς.* See now A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 p. 279 f.

[3] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 161. Presumably the name Πυθαγόρας helped out the comparison, though it was also explained as meaning *ὅτι ἄρα ὑπὸ τοῦ* Πυθίου *προηγορεύθη* (*ib.* 7).

The cult of Apollon naturally appealed to the circle of Pythagoras. Mnesarchos built a sanctuary for Apollon *Pythios* in Samos (Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 9). Pythagoras in Delos would worship only at the altar of Apollon *Genétor*, where wheat, barley, and cakes were offered, but no burnt sacrifice (Aristot. *frag.* 447 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 13, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 25, 35). The Pythagoreans in general followed suit (Mnesimachos *Alcmaeo frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 567 Meineke) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 37 *ὡς* Πυθαγοριστῇ (Menagius cj. Πυθαγορισταί. C. G. Cobet restored Πυθαγοριστί) *θύομεν τῷ* Δοξίᾳ).

[4] As determined by E. Rohde 'Die Quellen des Jamblichus in seiner Biographie des Pythagoras' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1871 xxvi. 554 ff., *ib.* 1872 xxvii. 23 ff.: see J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 89 ff.

[5] Aristot. *frag.* 187 Rose *ap.* Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 31 *ἱστορεῖ δὲ καὶ* 'Αριστοτέλης *ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῆς* Πυθαγορικῆς *φιλοσοφίας διαίρεσίν τινα τοιάνδε ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τοῖς πάνυ ἀπορρήτοις διαφυλάττεσθαι· τοῦ λογικοῦ ζῴου τὸ μέν ἐστι θεός, τὸ δ' ἄνθρωπος, τὸ δὲ οἷον* Πυθαγόρας, cp. *ib.* 144 *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἀπορούμενον τοῦτο σημαίνειν· ἔστι γὰρ παρ' αὐτοῖς λεγόμενον ὅτι "ἄνθρωπος δίπος ἐστὶ καὶ ὄρνις καὶ τρίτον ἄλλο." τὸ γὰρ τρίτον* Πυθαγόρας *ἐστί.*

[6] Aristot. *frag.* 186 Rose *ap.* Apollon. *hist. mir.* 6 and *ap.* Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 26 (on

seems to me[1], be interpreted as strictly analogous to the ivory shoulder of Pelops. Indeed, Origenes speaks of 'Pythagoras, who performed many miracles and to a whole congregation of Hellenes showed that his thigh was made of ivory[2].' But the ivory shoulder of Pelops, as was pointed out by my far-sighted friend Mr F. M. Cornford[3], presupposes the rite of regeneration. Similarly we may

which see E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 338 n. 4). The same story is told by Plout. *v. Num.* 8, Loukian. *vit. auct.* 6, *somn. s. gall.* 18, Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 8, Diog. Laert. 8. 11, Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 17, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 28, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 91 f., 135, 140, of whom Plout. *loc. cit.* and Ail. *loc. cit.* state that the incident happened at Olympia.

[1] And to others before me. W. Mannhardt *Germanische Mythen* Berlin 1858 p. 74: 'so weicht der Grieche auch darin von den nördlichen Ueberlieferungen (mit Ausnahme des Märchens von Eisenlaci) ab, dass er die Mythe vom fehlenden Knochen, die der Germane von wiederbelebten Tieren erzählt, von aus dem Tode erweckten Menschen oder Heroen bewahrte. Ich mache ausser der Pelopssage, ohne die Mythe vom hölzernen Gliede des Osiris [Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 18, cp. Hippolyt. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 101 Miller] in Betracht zu ziehn, nur Jamblichs Nachricht vom hyperboreischen Apollônpriester Abaris, dem Luftwandelnden (*αἰθροβάτης*) namhaft, dem sich Pythagorâs durch eine goldene Hüfte als Wiedergeborener zu erkennen gab.' Cp. *id. Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 116 n. 3. Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 418 f., *ib.*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 263 f. quotes Mannhardt to the same effect and views Pythagoras' golden thigh as his certificate of resurrection. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 680 likewise approves of Mannhardt's comparison, and (*ib.* n. 6) cites from N. J. Majláth *Magyarische Sagen, Mährchen und Erzählungen*[2] Stuttgart und Tübingen 1837 ii. 195 and J. Erdélyi *Ungarische Sagen und Märchen*, aus dem Erdélyischen Sammlung [*Népdalok és mondák*] übersetzt von G. Stier Berlin 1850 p. 105 ff. the Hungarian tale of a twelve-headed dragon, who vanquished the Magyar Eisenlaci, chopped him into a hundred pieces, and put them as promised in a cloth on his horse. This fled with them to the serpent-king, who laid the bones in order and washed them with water in which healing herbs had been cooked. Hereupon Eisenlaci woke up and was seven times as handsome as before. His right shoulder blade had fallen out of the bundle on his horse's back; but the serpent-king made him a new one out of gold and ivory. The Old Irish myth of Nuada *Argat-lám*, 'of the Silver Hand' (*Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 29), and the English tale of a woman with a golden arm (a variant gives it as a golden leg) take us in a different direction (J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales* London 1898 pp. 138 f., 252 f.). So does an Epirote tale of a boy with a golden finger (J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 197 ff., L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 ii. 147). More to the point is a tale told by 'Old Macdonald, travelling tinker' to J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i. xcv f. (The daughter of a wise woman fell in love with an enchanted prince. 'And the old woman agreed to help her to her will. A caldron was prepared and filled with plants; and the king's son was put into it stripped to the magic shirt, and the girl was stripped to the waist. And the mother stood by with a great knife, which she gave to her daughter. Then the king's son was put down in the caldron, and the great serpent, which appeared to be a shirt about his neck, changed into its own form, and sprang on the girl and fastened on her; and she cut away the hold, and the king's son was freed from the spells. Then they were married, and a golden breast was made for the lady').

[2] Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 8 *περὶ δὲ Πυθαγόρου, πλεῖστα ὅσα τερατευσαμένου καὶ δείξαντος μὲν ἐν πανηγύρει Ἑλλήνων ἐλεφάντινον τὸν μηρόν,...τί χρὴ καὶ λέγειν;*

[3] F. M. Cornford in J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 243 ff., *id. The Origin of Attic Comedy* London 1914 p. 89, *supra* i. 419 n. 10, 679, ii. 210 ff.

with some assurance conclude that the Crotoniates knew of a myth in which Apollon *Hyperbóreos* was slain, boiled in a caldron, and pieced together again—the missing portion being replaced in gilded ivory. Pythagoras, who claimed to be the god come to life once more, must needs make good his claim by displaying a golden thigh.

Seven centuries later Alexandros the impostor of Abonou Teichos[1] aped the pretensions of Pythagoras and provided a butt for the satire of Lucian[2]:

'The torch ceremony with its ritual skippings often enabled him to bestow a glimpse of his thigh, which was thus discovered to be of gold; it was presumably enveloped in cloth of gold, which glittered in the lamp-light. This gave rise to a debate between two wiseacres, whether the golden thigh meant that he had inherited Pythagoras's soul, or merely that their two souls were alike; the question was referred to Alexander himself, and King Glycon[3] relieved their perplexity with an oracle[4]:

> Waxes and wanes Pythagoras' soul: the seer's
> Is from the mind of Zeus an emanation.
> His Father sent him, virtuous men to aid,
> And with his bolt one day shall call him home.'

But, if Pythagoras posed as Apollon resurgent, resurrection implies a previous death and burial. When did Apollon die? Where was he buried? The great crisis of his life had been his contest with Python. Pythagoras not unnaturally asserted that Apollon had been slain by Python[5] and buried in the Delphic tripod. His followers probably felt it to be significant that the principal coin-type of Kroton was, from first to last, a tripod-*lébes* (figs. 155—157)[6].

[1] *Infra* Append. L.

[2] Loukian. *Alex.* 40 trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler.

[3] *Infra* Append. L.

[4] Πυθαγόρου ψυχὴ ποτὲ μὲν φοίνει, ἄλλοτε δ' αὔξει· | ἡ δὲ προφητείη Δίης φρενός ἐστιν ἀπορρώξ. | καί μιν ἔπεμψε πατὴρ ἀγαθῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐπαρωγόν· | καὶ πάλιν ἐς Διὸς εἶσι Διὸς βληθεῖσα κεραυνῷ (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 310).

[5] Yet Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 52 states that Pythagoras told the boys assembled in the *Pýthion* at Kroton τὸν...Πυθικὸν (*sc.* ἀγῶνα τεθῆναι) κρατηθέντος τοῦ Πύθωνος ὑπὸ παιδός. This tells against my view, or would do so were Iamblichos a more reliable author.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 342 ff. figs., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 128 ff. pl. 9, 11—19, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 147 ff. pl. 108, 26—37, pl. 109, 1—33, 35, pl. 110, 11, 13 f., 16—18, 20, 29, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 94 ff. figs. 52—54, Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 100 ff. nos. 963—1008, 122 no. 1210, 129 nos. 1274—1280, 130 nos. 1282—1287 pls. 17 f., 23 f. I figure three specimens in the McClean collection. B. V. Head *op. cit.* p. 99 f. rightly rejects the view advanced by Honoré d'Albert, duc de Luynes in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836 i. 372 ff. (cp. J. de Witte in the *Rev. Num.* 1844 p. 149 ff.) and F. Lenormant *La Grande-Grèce paysages et histoire* Paris 1881 ii. 96—101 (cp. G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 12 ff., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 23 ff., A. W. Hands *Coins of Magna Græcia* London 1909 p. 158 ff.) that the coin-types of Kroton were throughout inspired by the religious ideas of the Pythagoreans, the tripod symbolising Apollon *Pýthios*, the eagle Zeus, etc. The eagle, which occurs first as a reverse type incuse, was very possibly (*supra* i. 602 n. 5) suggested by the reverse type incuse of the

On this showing it would appear that the Pythagorean Apollon, living again in the person of Pythagoras, was near akin to the Thraco-Phrygian or Cretan form of the reborn Zeus. Further confirmation of the fact is to be found in Pythagorean legends both early and late. Herodotos was told by Greeks inhabiting the Hellespont and Pontos that Salmoxis was a slave of Pythagoras in Samos, that when freed he made his fortune and introduced

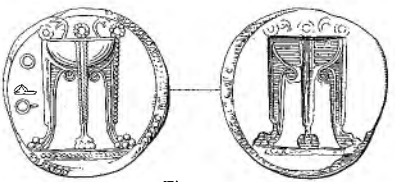


Fig. 155.

Fig. 156.

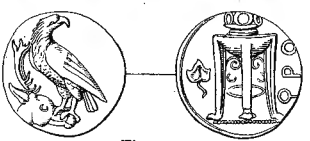


Fig. 157.

Ionic culture into his native land of Thrace: here he built a hall, feasted the foremost of the citizens, and taught them that he together with his fellow-feasters and their descendants instead of dying would come to a land of perpetual life and felicity; meantime he made an underground chamber and vanished from their sight, being mourned by them as dead, but after living for three years in his retreat reappeared in the fourth year and induced them to believe his words[1]. This tale, which was accepted without demur by later authors[2], Herodotos hesitates to believe, adding that in his opinion

tripod (cp. fig. 156 with fig. 155). It remains, however, likely enough that the Pythagoreans read their own meaning into the Crotoniate types, types which were fixed on other and more mundane grounds.

[1] Hdt. 4. 95.

[2] Strab. 297 f., 762, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 14 f. (quoted by Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 6. 208 (lxxvi.

Salmoxis lived long before Pythagoras and was perhaps a local *daímon* of the Getai[1]. The Getai, he says, practise deification[2]; they think that they themselves live for ever and that so-called death means merely going to the *daímon* Salmoxis[3], whom some of them call Gebeleizis[4]. Once in four years they send a messenger to Salmoxis by tossing him up in the air and catching him on the points of three javelins[5]. The Hellespontine account is no doubt a 'rationalizing story[6]'; but it contains indications of value. The feasting of the Thracians, the simulated death, the promise of immortal bliss—what are these but the *débris* of the very doctrine that we are investigating? Salmoxis, like Pythagoras, stands for the caldron of apotheosis. Later writers spell his name Zalmoxis, sometimes Zamolxis[7]; and Porphyrios does us a good turn by explaining it:

'Pythagoras had yet another lad, whom he had got from Thrace, named *Zálmoxis* because at birth a bear-skin had been thrown over him; for the Thracians call the skin *zalmós*[8].'

Now at Kyzikos near the Hellespont it was said that the nurses of

820 A—B Migne)), Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 104, 173, Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 1 and 8. 2, Hesych. *s.v.* Ζάλμοξις, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ζάμολξις=*et. mag.* p. 407, 45 ff.=Souid. *s.v.* Ζάμολξις citing *inter alia* pseudo-Hellanikos *βαρβαρικὰ νόμιμα* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. xxx Müller). Cp. Plat. *Charm.* 158 B, Mnaseas *frag.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 153 Müller) *ap.* Phot., *et. mag.*, Souid. *locc. citt.*, Diod. 1. 94, Clem. Al. *strom.* 4. 8 p. 274, 21 ff. Stählin, Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 34, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Zάλμοξις.

[1] Hdt. 4. 96.

[2] 'Αθανατίζουσι. On the precise meaning of this term see I. M. Linforth 'Οἱ 'Αθανατίζοντες' in *Class. Philol.* 1918 xiii. 23—33.

[3] Plat. *Charm.* 156 D, Arrian. 1. 3. 2, Loukian. *Scyth.* 1, *concil. deor.* 9. Cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ζάμολξις=*et. mag.* p. 407, 45 ff.=Souid. *s.v.* Ζάμολξις·...ἀθανατίζουσι δὲ καὶ Τέριζοι (Τερέτιζοι Phot.) καὶ Κρόβυζοι, καὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας ὡς Ζάμολξίν φασιν οἴχεσθαι, ἥξειν δὲ αὖθις with Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 29 n. 1.

[4] Various attempts have been made to elucidate the word Γεβελέϊζιν (see Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 894). I should surmise that it is related to Latin *gabalus*, Old Irish *gabul*, Welsh *gebel*, Old High German *gabala*, Middle High German *gabel*, etc. (F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 130, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 330 f.), and signifies 'the god with a Fork.' The fork in question would be either a weapon (Schrader *Reallex.* p. 261) like the fork of Hades (*infra* § 3 (c) iv (δ)) or a divining rod comparable with the Pythagorean Y (*supra* i. 282 n. 7). All this, however, is the merest speculation.

[5] Hdt. 4. 94.

[6] W. W. How and J. Wells *A Commentary on Herodotus* Oxford 1912 i. 335.

[7] H. Stein on Hdt. 4. 94 notes: 'Die Namensform schwankt überall zwischen Ζάλμοξις (so die Hss. des Her.), Ζάλμοξις und Ζάμολξις, Ζάμολξις, doch scheinen die ersten, die nur orthographisch verchieden sind, glaubwürdiger.' This disposes of Bartholomae's derivation (*supra* i. 781).

[8] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 14 ἦν δ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἕτερον μειράκιον, ὃ ἐκ Θρᾴκης ἐκτήσατο, ᾧ Ζάλμοξις ἦν ὄνομα, ἐπεὶ γεννηθέντι αὐτῷ δορὰ ἄρκτου ἐπεβλήθη· τὴν γὰρ δορὰν οἱ Θρᾷκες ζαλμὸν καλοῦσιν. Cp. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ζαλμώδης· ὁ σθλάβος (leg. σλάβος) and gloss. Aurivillii p. 11 (cited by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 6 c).

the infant Zeus had been turned into bears[1], as was the case also with his nurses in Crete[2]. Moreover, an interesting myth told how the sinews of Zeus had on one occasion been cut out and wrapped in a bear-skin by Typhon[3]. Another made him consort with the Arcadian Kallisto[4], whom Artemis[5] or Hera[6] or he[7] transformed

[1] *Supra* i. 112 n. 5. [2] *Supra* i. 112 n. 3.

[3] *Infra* § 3 (a) vi (*κ*).

[4] R. Franz *De Callistus fabula* (*Leipziger Studien für classischen Philologie* xii) Leipzig 1890, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 931—935, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 438, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 415. It is commonly assumed that Kallisto, whose grave—a lofty mound of earth covered with trees—was topped by a sanctuary of Artemis *Kalliste* (Paus. 8. 35. 8), is a hypostasis or by-form of Artemis (so first K. O. Müller *Prolegomena zu einer wissenschaftlichen Mythologie* Göttingen 1825 p. 73 ff., C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 390 f.). My contention is that in such cases we should rather suppose a priestess regarded as the goddess incarnate and bearing the name of the animal specially connected with her divinity (*supra* i. 453). The grave of Kallisto suggests a human embodiment. The complimentary name suits a 'bear' (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 667 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 103 f., *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 383 f.). The metamorphosis at the hands of Artemis recalls the *ἄρκτοι* of Artemis *Brauronia* (*supra* i. 421 f., 442).

[5] So in the oldest accessible form of the myth: Hes. *frag.* 137 Flach 181 Rzach *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 1. 1 (=E. Maass *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* Berlin 1898 p. 181 b 1 ff., cp. schol. Arat. 27) *ταύτην Ἡσίοδός φησι Λυκάονος θυγατέρα ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ οἰκεῖν, ἐλέσθαι δὲ μετὰ Ἀρτέμιδος τὴν περὶ τὰς θήρας ἀγωγὴν ἐν τοῖς ὄρεσι ποιεῖσθαι· φθαρεῖσαν δὲ* (so C. Robert for MSS. *τε*) *ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐμμεῖναι λανθάνουσαν τὴν θεόν· φωραθῆναι δὲ ὕστερον ἐπίτοκον* (so Koppiers for MSS. *ἐπὶ τόκον* edd.plerique *ἐπὶ τόκου*) *ἤδη οὖσαν ὀφθεῖσαν ὑπ' αὐτῆς λουομένην· ἐφ' ᾧ ὀργισθεῖσαν τὴν θεὸν ἀποθηριῶσαι αὐτήν· καὶ οὕτως τεκεῖν ἄρκτον γενομένην τὸν κληθέντα Ἀρκάδα· οὖσαν δ' ἐν τῷ ὄρει θηρευθῆναι ὑπὸ αἰπόλων τινῶν καὶ παραδοθῆναι μετὰ τοῦ βρέφους τῷ Λυκάονι· μετὰ χρόνον δέ τινα δόξαι εἰσελθεῖν εἰς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς ἄβατον ἱερὸν* (Koppiers and A. Olivieri delete *ἱερόν*: perhaps we should rather read *ἄβατον <ὂν> ἱερὸν*) *ἀγνοήσασαν τὸν νόμον· ὑπὸ δὲ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ διωκομένην καὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων, καὶ ἀναιρεῖσθαι μέλλουσαν διὰ τὸν εἰρημένον νόμον, ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν αὐτὴν ἐξείλετο καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις αὐτὴν ἔθηκεν· Ἄρκτον δὲ αὐτὴν ὠνόμασε διὰ τὸ συμβεβηκὸς αὐτῇ σύμπτωμα, *id. ib.* 1. 8 cod. R. (=E. Maass *op. cit.* p. 574, 8 ff., cp. *ib.* p. 181 a 1 ff.) *<π>ερὶ τούτου λέγεται ὅτι Ἀρκὰς ἐστιν ὁ Καλλιστοῦς καὶ Διὸς γεγονώς, ᾤκησε δὲ περὶ τὸ Λύκαιον* (cod. *Λυκαῖον*) *φθείραντος αὐτὴν Διός· οὗ προσποιησάμενος ὁ Λυκάων τὸν Δία ἐξένιζεν, ὡς φησιν Ἡσίοδος, καὶ τὸ βρέφος κατακόψας παρέθηκεν ἐπὶ τὴν τράπεζαν· ὅθεν ἐκείνην μὲν ἀνατρέπει, ἀφ'* (so A. Olivieri for cod. *ἐφ'*) *οὗ ἡ Τραπεζοῦς καλεῖται πόλις, τὴν δὲ οἰκίαν ἐκεραύνωσε, τὸν δὲ Λυκάονα ἀπεθηρίωσε καὶ αὐτὸν λύκον ἐποίησε· τὸν δὲ Ἀρκάδα πάλιν ἀναπλάσας ἔθηκεν ἄρτιον* (*supra* p. 393)*· καὶ ἐτράφη παρ' αἰπόλῳ· νεανίσκος δ' ὢν ἤδη δοκεῖ καταδραμεῖν εἰς τὸ Λύκαιον καὶ ἀγνοήσας τὴν μητέρα γῆμαι· οἱ δὲ κατοικοῦντες τὸν τόπον ἀμφοτέρους κατὰ νόμον θύειν ἐμελλον· ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐξελόμενος αὐτοὺς διὰ τὴν συγγένειαν εἰς τὰ ἄστρα ἀνήγαγεν,* Apollod. 3. 8. 2 Εὔμηλος (*frag.* 14 Kinkel, but R. Franz cj. *Ἡσίοδος*) *δὲ καί τινες ἕτεροι λέγουσι Λυκάονι καὶ θυγατέρα Καλλιστὼ γενέσθαι· Ἡσίοδος* (R. Franz cj. Εὔμηλος) *μὲν γὰρ αὐτὴν μίαν εἶναι τῶν νυμφῶν λέγει, Ἄσιος* (*frag.* 9 Kinkel) *δὲ Νυκτέως, Φερεκύδης* (*frag.* 86 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 92 Müller)) *δὲ Κητέως.* Cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1 p. 30, 4 ff. Bunte, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 381, 8 ff. Eyssenhardt.

[6] The religious art of the fourth century B.C. with its dislike of theriomorphism represented Artemis as shooting a purely human Kallisto. Thus coppers of Orchomenos in Arkadia, struck shortly after 370 B.C., have for obverse type Artemis kneeling with bow

Silver *simpulum* from Cullera, representing Zeus as a swan with Leda, as a man with Semele, as Artemis with Kallisto, as an eagle with Ganymedes, etc.

See page 229 *n.* 7.

into a she-bear. Yet another spoke of Zeus himself as metamorphosed into a bear, when he mated with Amaltheia[1]. In view of

just discharged and sometimes a hound seated behind her; for reverse, Kallisto falling back pierced by the arrow and the infant Arkas on the ground, the whole inscribed EPXOMEN IΩN or EPXOMENI ΩN (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus

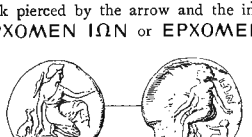


Fig. 158.

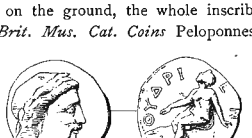


Fig. 159.

p. 190 pl. 35, 15 = my fig. 158, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 203 pl. E, 10, *id.* and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 96 pl. S, 22 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 451, cp. Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 200 pl. E, 9 = my fig. 159).

[6] This version, which goes back to Kallim. *frag.* 385 *ap.* schol. A.D. *Il.* 18. 487, was commonly accepted throughout the Roman age (Ov. *met.* 2. 409 ff., Paus. 8. 3. 6, Hyg. *fab.* 177, *poet. astr.* 2. 1 p. 31, 3 ff. Bunte, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 67, 1. 138, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 685, Isid. *orig.* 3. 70. 35, Myth. Vat. 1. 17, 2. 58, Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 564, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1156, 9 ff.).

[7] So Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1 p. 31, 6 ff. Bunte, Liban. *narr.* 6 (iv. 1101 Reiske).

From *s.* iv B.C. onwards Zeus himself was said to have wooed Kallisto in one or other of several disguises. Either he took the form of Artemis (Amphis *inc. fab. frag.* 11 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 320 Meineke) *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1 p. 30, 15 ff. Bunte and *ap.* schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 381, 12 ff. Eyssenhardt, cp. Apollod. 3. 8. 2, Ov. *met.* 2. 425, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 744, Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 3. 685, Myth. Vat. 2. 58), or he became Apollon for the nonce (Apollod. 3. 8. 2 Ζεὺς δὲ ἐρασθεὶς ἀκούσῃ συνευνάζεται, εἰκασθείς, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, Ἀρτέμιδι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, Ἀπόλλωνι, cp. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 480 Ἀρκὰς ὁ Διὸς ἢ Ἀπόλλωνος παῖς καὶ Καλλιστοῦς τῆς Λυκάονος θυγατρός), or else he appeared as a lion (Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Καλλιστοῖ τῇ Λυκάονος ἠγριώθη λέων, καὶ ἄλλον τίκτει Ἀρκάδα). The first of these metamorphoses is illustrated by a silver *simpulum* plated here and there with gold, which was found *c.* 1861 A.D. at Cullera near Valencia and is now in the Dutuit collection at Paris (pl. xv = W. Froehner *Les Musées de France* Paris 1873 pp. 21—23 pl. 5, W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1865 pp. 120—122, R. Franz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 934 fig., E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 707 fig. 4230, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 242 nos. 1—3). The vessel is shaped like a saucepan (0·11[m] in diameter with handle 0·9[m] in length) and inscribed on the bottom in lettering of the second half of *s.* iii A.D. [F]ATE Ϙ PAVLINA D·V·S· = *Fat(a)e Paulina d(edit) v(otum) s(olvens)*? cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 3727. The handle has the usual swan-head supports. On it appears Zeus with thunderbolt and sceptre beside a flaming altar: above are two garlands; below, an eagle between a pair of torches. The relief-frieze, first cast in a mould and then tooled, shows four scenes: (*a*) Zeus as a swan with Leda; (*b*) Zeus as a man with Semele, while Eros carries off his thunderbolt, an ornamented box or case (?) being hung in the background; (*c*) Zeus as Artemis with Kallisto and Eros between two oak-trees, one of which has beside it a pillar supporting a lighted torch; (*d*) Zeus as an eagle, dropping his thunderbolt to woo Ganymedes, while Eros with his bow escapes towards a third oak-tree.

[1] Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Ἀμαλθείᾳ δὲ τῇ Φώκου ὁμοιωθεὶς ἄρκτῳ συνευνάζεται, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 Mantheam Phoci mutatus in ursum, ex qua nascitur Arctos. Whether Ἀμαλθείᾳ is a blunder, or *Mantheam*, or both, we cannot say, since the source of the legend is unknown.

these bear-stories[1] it is reasonable to infer that *Zálmoxis* was a Thracian appellative of the new-born Zeus.

Again, Antonius Diogenes in his *Marvels beyond Thoule* (*s.* i. A.D.[2]) had, *à propos* of Pythagoras, included a story, which—as Porphyrios says[3]—was by no means to be neglected;

'According to Diogenes, Mnesarchos was a Tyrrhenian by race, one of those that inhabited Lemnos, Imbros, and Skyros. Starting from thence he visited many different states and districts. And once upon a time he found an infant laid beneath a white poplar-tree of great size and shapely growth. He stopped and saw that the child lying on its back was looking up at the sky, staring straight at the sun without ever winking its eyes. It had in its mouth a small slender reed like a pipe; and he saw to his surprise that it was nurtured by dew, which dropped from the poplar. So, thinking that the child must have been born of some divine parentage, he took it up from the ground. The boy grew to manhood in Samos and was taken up by the Samian Androkles, who put him in charge of his household. Mnesarchos, being quite well-to-do, brought up the child under the name of Astraios along with his own three boys Eunostos, Tyrrhenos, and Pythagoras the youngest, whom Androkles adopted as his son[4].'

The fine poplar in a far-off land with a divine infant lying beneath it at once recalls the remarkable poplar growing in the mouth of the Idaean Cave[5], where Zeus was born[6],—a spot to which Pythagoras made pilgrimage[7]. Ability to stare straight at the sun was characteristic of the eagle[8] and might well mark an infant Zeus. Finally, the name *Astraîos* reminds us that the Cretan Zeus bore the title *Astérios*[9]. It is clear therefore that Diogenes wove into his romance a neo-Pythagorean account of the Cretan Zeus.

If so, it would seem that Zalmoxis and Astraios, the two familiars of Pythagoras, stand respectively for Thrace and Crete, and that the sage in representing himself as an *avatar* of Apollon was acting under the influence of the Thracian and Cretan cult of the reborn Zeus. Such an influence was not out of place at Delphoi, where the earliest priests of Apollon *Delphínios* had been Cretans

[1] See further J. J. Bachofen *Der Bär in den Religionen des Altertums* Basel 1863, S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 129—149, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 667 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 103 f., M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2759—2762, Schrader *Reallex.* p. 60, S. Reinach *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1905 i. 21 f., 51, 55 ff., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 175—181.

[2] W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2616, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 816, Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 77.

[3] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 10.

[4] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 10. *Id. ib.* 13 adds that Mnesarchos presented Astraios to Pythagoras, who saw to his training.

[5] *Supra* i. 529.

[6] *Supra* i. 150 f., Append. B Crete.

[7] *Supra* i. 135, 646, 669.

[8] *Supra* i. 104 n. 1.

[9] *Supra* i. 545 ff., 664 n. 3, 733 f., 740.

from Knossos[1] and his most doughty defenders in the middle of the fourth century B.C. were the Thrakidai[2].

(*v*) Zeus at Delphoi.

The arguments hitherto adduced point towards a conclusion of some importance, *viz.* that at Delphoi the worship of the sky-father (Zeus), the earth-mother (Ge, Themis), and their offspring (Dionysos) was anterior to the worship of Apollon, who inherited, so to speak, the eagles of Zeus[3], the *omphalós* of Ge[4], the tripod[5] and tomb of Dionysos[6].

A stranger visiting the site might indeed from first impressions suppose that here Apollon was all in all. But closer scrutiny would soon detect many a trace of the earlier occupants. At the very entrance of the town Zeus *Polieús* had a precinct adjoining that of Athena *Pronaía*[7]. Within the temple of Apollon the statues of the two Moirai were flanked by Zeus *Moiragétes* as well as by Apollon *Moiragétes*; and it is likely that the latter was named after the former god[8]. Again, the Delphians had a cult of Zeus *Eúhypnos*,

[1] *Supra* p. 189 n. 8. [2] Diod. 16. 24. [3] *Supra* p. 179 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 169 ff. [5] *Supra* p. 193 ff. [6] *Supra* p. 218 ff.

[7] A. D. Keramopoullos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1909 p. 269 published a limestone boundary-block (?) inscribed Δ | Ο Σ | ΠΟΛΙΕΩΣ, which he had found in 1907 S. or S.E. of the large altar at *Marmaria* just below the southern wall of Athena's precinct. A. Frickenhaus in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 243 n. 1 agrees that this inscription must be a boundary-stone, infers (*ib.* p. 239 n. 3) that there was an adjoining precinct of Zeus *Polieús*, and assigns to it the trophy which the Delphians set up παρὰ τὸ τῆς Προναίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερόν (Diod. 11. 14). H. Pomtow, who in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1884 xxx. 238 ff. had corrected the punctuation of the epigram on this trophy by reading μνᾶμά τ' ἀλεξάνδρου πολέμου καὶ μάρτυρα νίκας | Δελφοὶ μὲ στᾶσαν Ζανὶ χαριζόμενοι· | σὺν Φοίβῳ πτολίπορθον ἀπωσάμενοι στίχα Μήδων | καὶ χαλκοστέφανον ῥυσάμενοι τέμενος, in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 73—75 improves it still further by accepting F. W. Schneidewin's comma at the end of the first distich, reads the boundary-stone as Δ | Ο Σ | ΠΟΛΙΕΟΣ, and states that (in 1909?) he had arrived independently at the results obtained by Frickenhaus. For plans see *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 243 fig. 4 and col. pl. 13.

[8] Paus. 10. 24. 4 ἐν δὲ τῷ ναῷ... ἕστηκε δὲ καὶ ἀγάλματα Μοιρῶν δύο· ἀντὶ δὲ αὐτῶν τῆς τρίτης Ζεύς τε Μοιραγέτης καὶ Ἀπόλλων σφίσι παρέστηκε Μοιραγέτης. The title, which is used here only of Apollon (see D. Bassi *Apollo 'Moiragetes'* Torino—Roma 1895), occurs elsewhere of Zeus: (*a*) inscription from the *akrópolis* at Athens (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 93, 10 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 14, 10 ff. [τά]δε *ho* Ἀπόλλων ἔχρεσεν [? νόμμα Πραχσιεργίδαις] | [ἀμ]φιεννύοσιν τὸν πέπλον [τὲν θεὸν καὶ προθύοσιν] | [Μοί]ραις Διὶ Μοιραγέτει γ – – –); (*b*) altar in the hippodrome at Olympia (Paus. 5. 15. 5 ἰόντι δὲ ἐπὶ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἵππων ἔστι βωμός, ἐπίγραμμα δὲ ἐπ' αὐτῷ Μοιραγέτα· δῆλα οὖν ἐστιν ἐπίκλησιν εἶναι Διὸς ὃς τὰ ἀνθρώπων οἶδεν, ὅσα διδόασιν αἱ Μοῖραι καὶ ὅσα μὴ πέπρωται σφισι. πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἑρμοῦ καὶ δύο ἐφεξῆς Διὸς Ὑψίστου (K. Wernicke cj. δύο ἐφεξῆς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς Ὑψίστου)); (*c*) relief in the precinct of Despoina near Akakesion in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 37. 1 ἰόντων δὲ ἐπὶ τὸν ναὸν στοά τέ ἐστιν ἐν δεξιᾷ καὶ ἐν τῷ τοίχῳ λίθου λευκοῦ τύποι πεποιημένοι, καὶ τῷ μέν εἰσιν ἐπειργασμέναι Μοῖραι καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπίκλησιν Μοιραγέτης,

'Giver of Good Sleep[1]': the title presupposes the custom of incubation[2], as practised *e.g.* in the cult of Zeus *Amphiáraos* near Oropos[3], and is doubtless of ancient date[4]. The Aetolian League

Fig. 160.

δευτέρῳ δὲ Ἡρακλῆς τρίποδα Ἀπόλλωνα ἀφαιρούμενος). It seems probable therefore that Apollon took the title from Zeus, who in turn may have derived it from the Idaean Daktyloi (Ap. Rhod. 1. 1126 ff. *Τιτίην θ' ἅμα Κύλληνόν τε, | οἳ μοῦνοι πολέων μοιρηγέται ἠδὲ πάρεδροι | μητέρος Ἰδαίης κεκλήαται ὅσσοι ἔασιν | Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι Κρηταιέες* with schol. *ad loc.* and K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3103 f.). Later the term was generalised (Alkiphr. 1. 20 *ὦ μοιραῖοι θεοὶ καὶ μοιραγέται δαίμονες*, Iambl. *de fato* p. 179, 1 ff. *τί οὖν; οἷόν τε ἐστι διὰ τῶν πολευόντων θεῶν λύειν ἑαυτὸν καὶ τοὺς αὐτοὺς ἡγεῖσθαι μοιρηγέτας καὶ δεσμοῖς ἀλύτοις τοὺς βίους δεσμεύοντας;* Hermeias *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 96, 14 f. Couvreur *τῆς προνοίας ἐξηρημένως καὶ τῆς θείας δὲ φύσεως καὶ τῶν μοιρηγετῶν* (*μοιρηγενετῶν* codd.) *θεῶν συνδιαπλεκόντων πάντα ἐν τάξει καὶ κατὰ δίκην*, 23 *οἱ μέντοι μοιρηγέται* (*μοιρηγενέται* codd.) *θεοὶ κ.τ.λ.*, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* 24 p. 77 Creuzer *τὰς τῆς εἱμαρμένης δόσεις καὶ τῶν μοιρηγετῶν* (so F. Creuzer or codd. *μοιρηγενετῶν*, *μοιρηνετῶν*)).

L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1881 p. 118 f. Atlas pl. 5, 18 (reproduced to a scale of ⅓ in my fig. 160) contends that an engraved chalcedony of Roman date, now in the Hermitage Museum at Petrograd, represents Zeus *Moiragétes* seated on a throne with an eagle at his feet, a sceptre in his raised left hand and the three Moirai on his outstretched right hand. Stephani admits that the little figures might be Horai (cp. F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 97) or Charites, but rules out the former as being less significant in relation to Zeus than the Moirai, and the latter as being normally undraped in late art. The three small females are certainly draped, and one of them has 'ein kleines beutelartiges und nicht genauer zu bestimmendes Attribut in die Hand.' But I confess, I should not accept Stephani's identification. I regard them as Charites, draped just because they are *not* a product of late art, but have been transferred to Zeus from the famous statue of Apollon at Delos by the archaic sculptors Tektaios and Angelion (Plout. *de mus.* 14 quoted *infra* § 3 (a) iii (χ), Paus. 2. 32. 5, 9. 35. 3, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 17 p. 19 Schwartz; Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 17 ff. fig. 4 Münztaf. 1, 17—20, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 144 pl. cc, 11—14, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 72 f. pl. 11, 8, p. 82 pl. 14, 9, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 73, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 383, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 81 f. pl. 15, 29. Fig. 161 is from a copper coin of Athens in my collection).

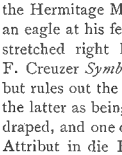


Fig. 161.

[1] Hesych. *Εὔυπνος· ὁ Ζεὺς [ἢ καλὸς ὕπνος] παρὰ Δελφοῖς.*

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1109 n. 5 (cp. *id. ib.* p. 932 n. 3) refers the title to a 'Traumorakel.' Other evidence of incubation at Delphoi is considered by Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 58 n. 1 and L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 p. 52 n. 2: neither of these scholars has, however, seen the relevancy of Zeus *Eúhypnos*.

[3] *Supra* i. 407 n. 4. For Amphiaraos as Zeus see *infra* Append. J.

[4] It recalls the sound sleep of Trophonios and Agamedes at Delphoi (*supra* i. 450). Incubation was in all probability practised in the cult of Trophonios at Lebadeia (L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 p. 8 n. 2, Miss M. Hamilton *Incubation* London 1906 p. 88 ff.). J. Vürtheim 'De Eugammonis Cyrenaei Telegonia' in *Mnemosyne* N.S.

commemorated the defeat of the Gauls near Delphoi (279—278 B.C.) by establishing a festival to be called Soteria in honour of Zeus *Sotér* and Apollon *Pýthios*[1]. But A. Mommsen's notion that the ordinary Pythian rites were performed for the *Moiragétai*, Zeus as well as Apollon[2], is an unsupported conjecture[3]. On the other hand, importance must be attached to the fact that at the feast Boukatia[4] in the month Boukatios (= the Attic Metageitnion)[5] the Delphic phratry of the Labyadai sacrificed not only to Apollon but also to Zeus *Patrôios*[6], a god by whom they swore[7].

(φ) Dionysos at Delphoi.

But if Zeus left his mark on Delphoi, so did Dionysos. Plutarch in an interesting section of his treatise *On the Delphic* E[8] writes as follows:

'If, then, any one ask what all this has to do with Apollon, we shall declare that it concerns not him alone but also Dionysos, who is partner on equal terms with Apollon at Delphoi. The theologians, now in verse, now in prose, sing or

1901 xxix. 23 ff. argues that Klymenos, Trophonios, and Agamedes were all hypostases of a chthonian god, the Zeus (or Hermes) of Lebadeia. *Klýmenos*, like *Periklýmenos* (Hesych. *s.v.*), was an appellative of Plouton (R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1228 f.). Zeus *Trophónios* or *Trephónios* was the full name of the Lebadean divinity (*infra* Append. K). *Agamédes* was a possible title for Zeus (cp. *supra* i. 14 n. 1).

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 323 = Michel *Recueil d' Inscr. gr.* no. 128 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 205.

[2] A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 pp. 170, 224.

[3] Rashly accepted by H. Pomtow in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 45.

[4] Βουκάτια, derived by A. Boeckh *ἀπὸ τοῦ καίνεσθαι βοῦς* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i. 733), was tantamount in meaning to *βουφόνια*.

[5] J. W. Kubitschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 994, H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 i. 284.

[6] T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 5 ff. *D* 45 ff. = J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 718 ff. no. 2561 D 45 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 995 *D* 45 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438 *d* 210 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 217 ff. no. 74 D 45 ff. = F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae* Lipsiae 1905 no. 36 D 45 ff. Βουκατίοις | τῶι Διὶ πατρώιωι καὶ τῶπ|όλλωνι τὰν ἀκρόθινα, καὶ|ὶ συμπρῆσκεν (B. Keil in *Hermes* 1896 xxxi. 509 f. treats this verb as an iterative form of *πίμπρημι* 'zusammen verbrennen,' and so Baunack and Dittenberger *ad loc.* But Fournier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 271 reads *συμπιπίσκεν*, which is accepted by Michel, Ziehen, and Solmsen) *ἀμεῖ τοὺς Λαβυάδας*.

[7] Their oaths were: (*a*) A 14 f. *ποὶ τοῦ Δι|ὸς τοῦ πατρώιου*
(*b*) B 12 ff. *ποὶ τὸ 'Απόλλω[ν]ος καὶ τοῦ Ποτειδᾶνος | τοῦ φρατρίου καὶ τοῦ Δ|ιὸς πατρώιου*
(*c*) C 1 ff. [*ποὶ τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος κ|αὶ Ποτειδᾶνος τοῦ φρ]ατ[ρ|ίου καὶ Διός*]
Dittenberger *loc. cit.* ii. 26 n. 3 justly infers that the Labyadai were a phratry (*φρατρία*), not a clan (*πατριά*), and notes that the cult of Zeus *Patrôios* was appropriate to any community bound together by ties of kindred and affinity.

[8] Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 9. I have followed throughout the text of W. R. Paton (Berolini 1893).

say to us that God, who by nature is imperishable and everlasting, yet owing to a certain necessity inherent in mind and reason undergoes transformation, and sometimes kindles his nature to a fire thereby reducing all things to a state of uniformity, sometimes becomes manifold in shapes and in diverse passions and powers thereby producing an orderly universe, as at present, and winning for himself the name that is famous above every name[1]. Our wiseacres keep this knowledge from the populace, and call his transformation into fire Apollon by reason of its unity[2] or Phoibos by reason of its pure and unpolluted character; but as to his turning into wind, water, earth, stars, births of plants and animals, and his ordering of the universe in general, they hint at his suffering and transformation by speaking of a certain rending-asunder and dismemberment: they call him Dionysos, Zagreus, *Nyktélios*, *Isodaítes*, and recount certain destructions and disappearances followed by rebirths and resurrections—mystifying and mythical phrases that suit the transformations I have mentioned[3]. Again, to the one god they sing dithyrambic songs full of passions and of a transformation that involves a certain wandering and scattering: as Aischylos puts it—

'Tis meet the dithyramb of mingled cry
With Dionysos should go revelling by[4].

To the other god they sing a paean, an orderly and discreet form of composition. Painters and sculptors always represent him as free from old age and youthful, his partner as taking on a variety of forms and shapes. Generally speaking, they ascribe to the former similarity, order, pure seriousness, to the latter ups and downs of sport and violence, seriousness and madness, invoking him as—'Lord of the Loud Cry, Waker of Women, Dionysos flowering forth with frenzied rites[5].' In fact they have seized aright the true nature of both transformations. But inasmuch as the periods of time allowed for these transformations are unequal, the former period which they call "satiety" having the longer duration, the latter period of "need" the shorter[6], they are careful to observe

[1] *Sc. θεός*, as Paton points out, *ἀπὸ τῆς θέσεως = διακοσμήσεως*, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 1 p. 3, 1 f. Lang *τάχα δ' ἂν εἶεν θεοὶ θετῆρες καὶ ποιηταὶ τῶν γινομένων*. So Hdt. 2. 52, *et. mag.* p. 445, 48 ff. = Choirobosk. *in psal.* p. 99, 1 ff.

[2] *'Απόλλων* is here derived from *α + πολύς*—a favourite whimsy (Chrysippos *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 17. 7, Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 20, *de Is. et Os.* 10, 76, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 103, 3 f. Stählin, Plotin. *enn.* 5. 5. 6 p. 213, 20 ff. Volkmann, Hesych. *s.v.* *'Απόλλων*, Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 4 p. 21, 18 ff. Wünsch, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* i. 315, 34 ff., *v. Plat.* p. 8 ed. A. H. L. Heeren in the *Bibliothek der alten Litteratur und Kunst* Göttingen 1789 Stück v).

[3] *τῆς δ' εἰς πνεῦμά τε* (codd. *πνεύματα* corr. Meziriac) *καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γῆν καὶ ἄστρα καὶ φυτῶν ζῴων τε γενέσεις τροπῆς αὐτοῦ καὶ διακοσμήσεως τὸ μὲν πάθημα καὶ τὴν μεταβολὴν διασπασμόν τινα καὶ διαμελισμὸν αἰνίττονται· Διόνυσον δὲ καὶ Ζαγρέα καὶ Νυκτέλιον καὶ 'Ισοδαίτην αὐτὸν ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ φθοράς τινας καὶ ἀφανισμοὺς εἶτα δ'* (so Stegmann for *οἱ τὰς* V[1]. *οἱ τὰς* D. B. Pal. A. Pet. *οἳ τὰς* F. V[3]. E. Vat.) *ἀναβιώσεις* (so Stegmann with Amyot for codd. *ἀποβιώσεις*) *καὶ παλιγγενεσίας, οἰκεῖα ταῖς εἰρημέναις μεταβολαῖς αἰνίγματα καὶ μυθεύματα περαίνουσι.*

[4] Aisch. *frag.* 355 Nauck[2] *μιξοβόαν πρέπει | διθύραμβον ὁμαρτεῖν | σύγκωμον* (so T. Tyrwhitt for *συγκονον* Vat. Pet. *σύγγονον* E. *σύγκοινον* cett.) *Διονύσῳ.*

[5] *Frag. adesp.* 131 Bergk[4] *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 4. 6. 1 *ἆρα, ἔφη, σὺ τὸν πατριώτην θεόν, ὦ Λαμπρία, "εὔιον ὀρσιγύναικα, μαινομέναις ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖσι Διόνυσον" ἐγγράφεις καὶ ὑποποιεῖς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἀπορρήτοις;* cp. *id. de exil.* 17 (*Διόνυσον μαινομέναις ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς*), *de* E *apud Delphos* 9 (*μαινομέναις Διόνυσον ἀνθέοντα τιμαῖς*).

[6] Herakl. *frag.* 24 Bywater, 65 Diels.

the same proportion, and here employ the paean for their sacrifices throughout the greater part of the year; but, when winter begins, they stir up the dithyramb and stop the paean, calling for three months together upon the second god in place of the first[1]. They take it that, as three is to one in point of nature, so in point of time is the formation of the universe to its conflagration.'

The whole passage is obviously redolent of Greek philosophy. Herakleitos, Pythagoras, Platon, the Stoics have contributed their several quotas. But discounting all these philosophical elements

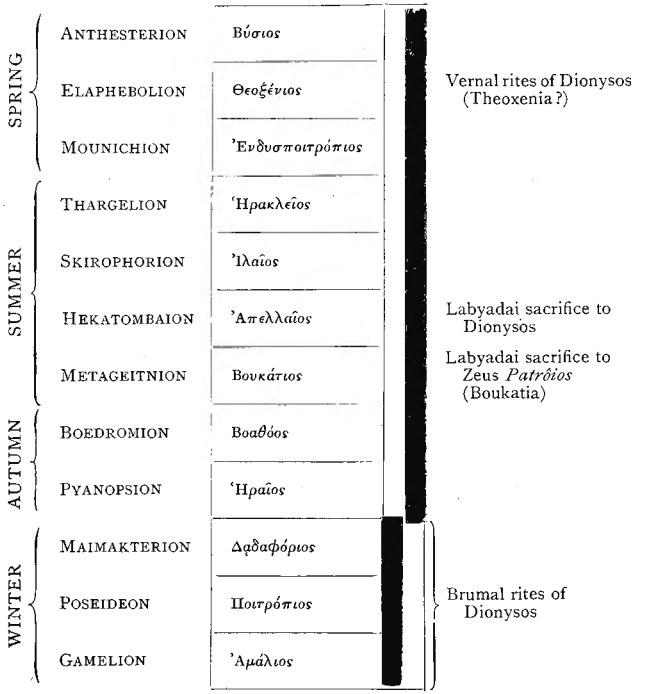


Fig. 162.

we have yet a residuum of popular religion that is well deserving of attention. It appears that at Delphoi Dionysos was admittedly no less essential than Apollon, whom he actually dispossessed for

[1] τὸ κατὰ λόγον τηροῦντες ἐνταῦθα τὸν μὲν ἄλλον ἐνιαυτὸν παιᾶνι χρῶνται περὶ τὰς θυσίας, ἀρχομένου δὲ χειμῶνος ἐπεγείραντες τὸν διθύραμβον τὸν δὲ παιᾶνα καταπαύσαντες, τρεῖς μῆνας ἀντ' ἐκείνου τοῦτον κατακαλοῦνται (ἀνακαλοῦνται B.V[3].) τὸν θεόν.

three months out of the twelve. Our recently-acquired knowledge of the Delphic calendar (fig. 162)[1] enables us to be more precise. The winter months Daidaphorios, Poitropios, and Amalios together constituted the season of Dionysos. The Locrians, near neighbours of the Delphians, called the second of these months not Poitropios but Dionysios[2], while the Dorian inhabitants of Chalkis, Byzantion, and Chersonnesos spoke of the following month as Dionysios instead of Amalios[3]. A comparison with the Attic calendar[4] will show that in Attike too the second and third winter months were marked by important Dionysiac festivals, the Rural Dionysia falling in Poseideon, the Lenaia in Gamelion. But if at Delphoi winter was reserved for Dionysos, the rest of the year belonged to Apollon. Spring came in with the month Bysios, the seventh day of which was kept as Apollon's birthday[5]. In early times—if Kallisthenes

[1] F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2532. *Id. ib.* 2531 cites earlier literature, but omits the monograph of C. Petersen *Der Delphische Festcyclus des Apollon und des Dionysos* Hamburg 1859. See also W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i. 300 (bibliography), 302 (calendar), Lübker *Reallex.*[8] pp. 1135 (calendar), 1136 (bibliography).

[2] Larfeld *op. cit.* p. 302 Διονύσιος (Διωών ?). [3] *Id. ib.* p. 301. [4] *Supra* i. 691.

[5] Apollon was variously connected with the number seven, as has been shown in detail by W. H. Roscher 'Die Heiligkeit der Siebenzahl im Kultus und Mythus des Apollon,' in *Philologus* 1901 lx. 360—368, *id. Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1903 xxi. 4) Leipzig 1903 pp. 49 f., 67 n. 196, *id. Die Sieben- und Neunzahl im Kultus und Mythus der Griechen* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 xxiv. 1) Leipzig 1904 pp. 4—19, 23, 29 n. 65 b, 68 f., 107, *id. Die Hebdomadenlehren der griechischen Philosophen und Ärzte* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1906 xxiv. 6) Leipzig 1906 pp. 7, 21 ff., 178 f., 210—214, 219 n. 303, *id. Enneadische Studien* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1907 xxvi. 1) Leipzig 1907 pp. 1—170, *id. Über Alter, Ursprung und Bedeutung der hippokratischen Schrift von der Siebenzahl* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1911 xxviii. 5) Leipzig 1911 pp. 1—154. Roscher's investigations are valuable on account of the enormous mass of evidence that he has digested. But his main contentions ((*a*) The sidereal or lunar month of 27—28 days was in Boiotia, Euboia, etc. divided into 4 weeks of 7 days—a division which gave rise to periods of 7 months, 7 years, 7 generations, sevenfold offerings, rites, choruses, groups of 7 gods, heroes, etc. (*b*) The sidereal or lunar month of 27—28 days was later, in epic times, divided into 3 weeks of 9 days—a system which in myth and cult transformed many of the older hebdomads into enneads, besides producing a fresh crop of the latter. (*c*) But this second arrangement soon gave place to a third. The synodical month of 29—30 days was divided into 3 periods of 10 days. (*d*) The numerical speculation of Orphists and Pythagoreans is traced to early Ionic hylozoism of *s.* vi and *s.* vii B.C., and is found to rest upon beliefs of a primitive character. The same holds good with regard to the ancient medical teaching of critical days, months, and years) are open to dispute: see especially the objections raised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 362—367. On the whole it must be admitted that as yet no single or simple explanation of the sanctity attaching to the number seven has been reached. Further discussion by H. Diels 'Ein orphischer Demeterhymnus' in the *Festschrift Theodor Gomperz dargebracht zum siebzigsten Geburtstage* Wien 1902 p. 8 ff., F. von Andrian 'Die Siebenzahl im Geistesleben der Völker' in the *Mitteilungen der Anthropologischen Gesellschaft in Wien* 1901 xxxi. 225 ff.,

J. Loth in the *Revue celtique* 1904 xxv. 113 ff., M. P. Nilsson 'Die älteste griechische Zeitrechnung, Apollo und der Orient' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 423 ff., *id. Primitive Time-reckoning* Lund 1920 p. 329 ff., F. Boll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2547—2578, S. Eitrem *ib.* vii. 2579. *Infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ).

The principal *data* concerning Apollon are as follows. Like Dionysos (Loukian. *dial. deor.* 9. 2, Cornut. *theol.* 2 cod. G p. xiv Lang, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 10), he passed as being a seven-months' child (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 1, schol. Kallim. *h. Del.* 251, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 10). At Sparta on the first and seventh days of every month the kings sacrificed to Apollon (Hdt. 6. 57, cp. Roscher *Die Hebdomadenlehren* etc. p. 211 f.). At Athens the first and seventh days of every month were sacred to Apollon (schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1126). At Miletos the guild of singers (*μολποί*), who worshipped Apollon Δελφίνιος, had a festival called Ἑβδομαῖα in the month Boedromion (?) or Pyanepsion (?) (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 235, 277 ff. inscr. no. 133, 6, 21 ff., U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1904 pp. 622, 626, F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 627 ff. no. 5495, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 170 f., S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2579): Boedromion 7 would correspond with the date of the Apolline Boedromia (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 176 f., E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 713 f., P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 594 f.), Pyanepsion 7 with that of the Apolline Pyanopsia or Pyanepsia at Athens (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 278 ff., E. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 781). It is probable too that sacrifices were offered to Apollon on the seventh day of the month at Kroton (Timaios *ap.* Athen. 522 C with Roscher *Die Hebdomadenlehren* etc. p. 24 n. 31). In Boiotia (?) the seventh day of the month was sacred, for on it Leto had borne Apollon (Hes. *o. d.* 770 f., cp. Aristoboulos *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 397, 20 ff. Stählin and *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 12. 13, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 197, 28 ff. Diehl). At Delphoi Apollon's birthday was Bysios 7 (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 9), in Delos Thargelion 7 (Diog. Laert. 3. 2). At Athens the Apolline festival of the Thargelia was held on Thargelion 7 (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 469), and Platon, whose birthday fell on that day (Plout. *symp.* 8. 1. 1 f.), was regarded as the son of Apollon (Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 469 n. 3 even says 'einen inkarnierten Apoll'); at least it was said that Ariston, warned by a vision of Apollon, had abstained from his wife Periktione till on Thargelion 7 she gave birth to Platon (Plout. *symp.* 8. 1. 2; Speusippos, Klearchos *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 316 Müller), and Anaxilaïdes (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2083 suggests Anaxilaos of Larissa) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 3. 2 and *ap.* Hieron. *c. Iovinian.* 1. 42 (xxiii. 273 A—B Migne)). Similarly at Kyrene Karneades was born during the Apolline Karneia on the seventh day of the month (Plout. *symp.* 8. 1. 2). Apollon himself was entitled Ἑβδομαγενής (Plout. *symp.* 8. 1. 2 *καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὡς ταύτῃ γενόμενον ὑμεῖς, εἶπεν, οἱ προφῆται καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς Ἑβδομαγένην* (J. J. Reiske ex edd. Ald. et Bas. *ἑβδομαγένη* corr. *ἑβδομαγενῆ*) *καλεῖτε*) and Ἑβδομεῖος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1653 an inscription of *s.* iv (?) from *Keratia* in Attike [*ἱ*]*ερὸν* | [Ἀ]πόλλωνος | Ἑβδομεῖο | *φρατρίας* | Ἀχιαδῶν = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 749 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 441). On the seventh day of some month he had at Athens a sacrifice called *ἑβδομαῖον* (E. Ziebarth in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 24 ff. no. 1 = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 16 a, 7 ff. [*ἑ*]*βδόμηι ἱσταμένο* | *ἐς ἑβδομαῖον* | *οἷς λειπο*|*γνώμων* | *Πυθαιστ*[*α*]*ῖς θυ*|*ων. αις* – –). His name *ἑβδομαγέτης* (Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 800 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 197, 30 f. Diehl) may be compared with his other appellatives Ἀρχηγέτης, *κυνηγέτης*, Μοιραγέτης, Μουσηγέτης, Νυμφηγέτης, Προηγέτης (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1703 f.): doubtless we have here, as A. W. Verrall *ad loc.* observed, 'an example of that curious verbal ingenuity which plays so marked a part in the religious and prophetic mysteries of Aeschylus'; but the poet is, I fancy, giving a new meaning to an old cult-title, for the Muses were sometimes conceived as being seven in number (Epicharm. *frag.* 41 Kaibel *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o. d.* 6, Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iv. 425, 3 ff., Myrsilos *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 457 f.) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 31. 1—4 p. 23, 8 ff. Stählin and *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 37 cp. 4. 24, Cornut. *theol.* 14 p. 15, 2, 8 f. Lang: see also Roscher *Die Siebenund Neunzahl* etc. pp. 19, 35 f.) so that *ἑβδομαγέτης* may denote 'leader of the sevenfold

and Anaxandrides may be trusted—this was the one day in the year on which the Pythia gave responses[1]. Later, Apollon was more frequently 'at home[2]': indeed his period of residence extended from Bysios the first month of spring to Heraios the last month of autumn. Then with the advent of winter there recommenced the rule of Dionysos.

How is this Box-and-Cox arrangement of the Delphic year to be explained? We must *à priori* recognise two possibilities. Either Dionysos has intruded on Apollon, or Apollon has intruded on Dionysos. The former is the view held by the majority of modern critics[3]: the latter was the opinion of certain scholars in antiquity[4].

choir,' cp. Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 117 ff. *ἑπτὰ δ' ἀγήνορες πρέποντες στρατοῦ | δορυσσόοις σαγαῖς πύλαις ἑβδόμαις* (=*ἑπτά*) *| προσίσταντο, Anth. Pal.* 2. 380 (Christodoros) *ἑνάταις* (=*ἐννέα*) *ἀνεθήκατο Μούσαις, Il.* 8. 404 *ἐς δεκάτους* (=*δέκα*) *περιτελλομένους ἐνιαυτούς*, where the text need not be tinkered. Dionysos *Ἑβδομεύς* (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 123 on a round base of *s.* ii A.D. from Mytilene [Δι]ωνύσω | Ἑβδομεῖ. | Ταὶς (?Ταὶς) *ἀνέθει[κεν εὐχήν*) appears to be analogous to Apollon *Ἑβδομεῖος* (Roscher *Die Sieben- und Neunzahl* etc. pp. 22 ff., 69, *id. Die Hebdomadenlehren* etc. p. 215) rather than modelled upon him (W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 pp. 139, 141 n. 1).

Roscher *Die Sieben- und Neunzahl* etc. pp. 29, 116 thinks that the Apolline seven made its way into the cult of Zeus, citing the seven officials charged with the duty of setting up a tripod for the Boeotian Zeus *Ἐλευθέριος* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1672=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 271 no. 865 Plataiai *Βοιωτοὶ Διὶ Ἐλευθερίοι τὸν [τρίποδα] | κατὰ τὰν μαντείαν τῶ Ἀπόλλω[νος], | κ.τ.λ.*, cp. i no. 1673=i. 271 no. 864, i no. 1674=i. 272 no. 866, and the similar dedications at Thespiai to the Muse (i no. 1795=i. 403 no. 807*a*), at Akraiphia to Apollon *Πτώϊος* (i no. 2723=i. 213 f. no. 570, i no. 2724=i. 214 no. 571, i nos. 2724a—e), at Orchomenos to the Charites (i no. 3207=i. 190 f. no. 494). These inscriptions all bore the names of seven *ἀφεδριατευόντων* (?=*ἀφιδρυόντων*), except one from Akraiphia (i no. 2724 b) which has eight), and comparing the seven cakes offered to Zeus *Πολιεύς* in Kos (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5, 28 ff.=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 357 ff. no. 3636, 28 ff. =Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 716, 28 ff.=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 616, 28 ff. *τούτω δὲ [ἐλ]άντ[ω π|αρ]ὰ τὰν Ἰστίαν τὰν ταμίαν καὶ ὁ [τοῦ Ζηνὸς ἱ]ερεὺς* (W. R. Paton restores *ὁ [Πολιῆος ἱ]ερεύς*) *στέ(π)τει καὶ | [ἐκ]σπένδει κύλικα οἴνου κεκραμένου [π]ρὸ τοῦ [βοός]· ἔπειτα ἄγοντι τὸ[μ | βο]ῦν καὶ τὸγ καυτὸν καὶ [φ]θοΐας ἑπτὰ καὶ μέλι καὶ στέμμα· κ.τ.λ.* in a ritual calendar for the Coan month Batromios (=the Attic Poseideon) dating from *c.* 300 B.C.). He might have added the seven stars surrounding Zeus *Κρηταγενής* (*supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 f., 149 n. 1 fig. 115, 547 f. figs. 415—418, cp. 276 n. 5, 754 n. 2). But in none of these cases have we any real reason to suspect the influence of Apollon.

[1] Kallisthenes *frag.* 4 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 12 Müller) and Alexandrides *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 107 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 9. The name of the second author, a Delphian by birth, should be Anaxandridas (L. Weniger *De Anaxandrida Polemone Hegesandro rerum Delphicarum scriptoribus* Berolini 1865 p. 7 ff.) or Anaxandrides (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2079 f.).

[2] On the *ἀποδημίαι* and the *ἐπιδημίαι* of the Delphic Apollon see W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 426.

[3] *E.g.* O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1017 f. (after Rohde *Psyche*[2] ii. 52 ff.), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 112 f. See, however, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 593, F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1032 ff., G. E. Marindin in Smith—Marindin *Class. Dict.* p. 295, who all support the priority of Dionysos.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 1 *εἶτα ἔρχεται* (*sc.* Ἀπόλλων) *ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον, ἐν ᾧ πρώτη*

I have, however, already[1] given reasons for thinking that at Delphoi Apollon was preceded, not only by the sky-father (Zeus) and the earth-mother (Ge, Themis), but also by their Thraco-Phrygian offspring (Dionysos). The little chapel in the Pythian temple (fig. 163)[2], the holiest spot in all Hellas, contained the tokens of these three deities—the eagles of Zeus, the *omphalós* of Ge, and the tomb of Dionysos[3]. Will it be seriously maintained that the tomb with its crude myth of rent limbs and boiling caldron[4] was a foreign element which had thrust itself into this august company at a comparatively recent date? Rather it had been there—I will not say, from the beginning, but at least from time immemorial. The real usurper was Apollon, though even he had made good his footing before the epic age[5].

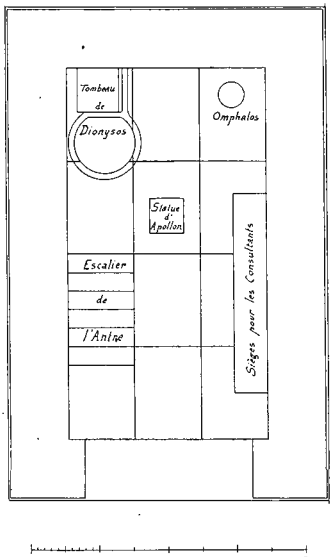


Fig. 163.

There are certain calendrical considerations which tend to confirm the foregoing sequence of cults. At intervals of eight years

Νὺξ ἐχρησμῴδησεν, εἶτα Θέμις. Πύθωνος δὲ τότε κυριεύσαντος τοῦ προφητικοῦ τρίποδος, ἐν ᾧ πρῶτος Διόνυσος ἐθεμίστευσε, <? καὶ κωλύοντος αὐτὸν παρελθεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ χάσμα, τοξεύει> καὶ ἀποκτείνας τὸν ὄφιν τὸν Πύθωνα ἀγωνίζεται τὸν Πυθικὸν ἀγῶνα κατὰ ἑβδόμην ἡμέραν (A. B. Drachmann cj. ἑπτὰ μέρη)· πεῖρον (sic codd. πεῖραν ed. Rom. 1515) μέν, ὅτι ἀπεπειράθη τῆς μάχης τῆς πρὸς τὸ θηρίον· ἴαμβον δὲ διὰ τὴν λοιδορίαν τὴν γενομένην αὐτῷ πρὸ τῆς μάχης, λέγεται γὰρ ἰαμβίζειν τὸ λοιδορεῖν· δάκτυλον δὲ ἀπὸ <? τῶν Ἰδαίων Δακτύλων .....· ? Βακχεῖον δὲ ἀπὸ > Διονύσου, ὅτι πρῶτος οὗτος δοκεῖ ἀπὸ τρίποδος θεμιστεῦσαι· Κρητικὸν δὲ ἀπὸ Διός· μητρῷον δέ, ὅτι Γῆς τὸ μαντεῖόν ἐστι· σύριγμα δὲ διὰ τὸν τοῦ ὄφεως συριγμόν. οὕτω μὲν οὖν κατέστη πρῶτον ὁ τῶν Πυθίων ἀγών. The scholiast is distinguishing seven parts of the νόμος Πυθικός, *viz.* πεῖρα, ἴαμβοι, δάκτυλοι, <? Βακχεῖοι >, Κρητικοί, μητρῷον, σύριγμα. Other writers enumerate five: thus Strab. 421 πέντε δ' αὐτοῦ μέρη ἐστίν, ἄγκρουσις, ἄμπειρα (cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ἀνάπειρα), κατακελευσμός, ἴαμβοι καὶ δάκτυλοι, σύριγγες, and Poll. 4. 84 τοῦ δὲ Πυθικοῦ νόμου τοῦ αὐλητικοῦ μέρη πέντε, πεῖρα, κατακελευσμός, ἰαμβικόν, σπουδεῖον, καταχόρευσις. κ.τ.λ.

[1] *Supra* p. 231.

[2] Reduced from the diagram given by F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 69 fig. 61. *Supra* p. 221 n. 2.

[3] *Supra* p. 231 nn. 3, 4, 6. [4] *Supra* p. 218 f. [5] *Supra* pp. 180 n. 1, 189 n. 8.

the Delphians held a series of three solemnities called the Stepterion, the Heroïs, and the Charila[1]. Again, the Pythian games were originally celebrated once in eight years[2]. And at the close of the second century B.C. Delian priests and Attic magistrates were sending first-fruits to Apollon *Pýthios* in accordance with an eight-year period[3]. The same space of time is doubtless presupposed by the myth which told how Apollon served Admetos[4] for one year[5] or nine[6] or ten[7]. Indeed, an epic poet cited by Plutarch[8] and

[1] I have discussed these festivals in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 402 ff. See also Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 150 ff., 286 ff., 466 f., J. E. Harrison *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 415 ff., H. Usener 'Heilige Handlung' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 317 ff. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 450 ff.) (Stepterion), *id.* 'Italische Mythen' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1875 xxx. 203 f. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* iv. 116 f.) (Charila), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 293 ff. (Stepterion), Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 53 ff. (Stepterion), *id. Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 78 ff. (Stepterion), P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 992 (Heroïs), O. Kern *ib.* iii. 2141 (Charila).

[2] Demetrios of Phaleron *ap.* schol. *Od.* 3. 267 and *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1466, 56 ff., schol. Pind. *Pyth.* argum. 3, Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 6. See further A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 153 f.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 985 *a*, 1 ff. = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 421 ff. no. 167, 1 ff. [ὁ ἀρχιθέωρος τοῦ ἐν Δήλῳ δ]ήμου τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ὁ κεχειροτον[ημένο]ς ἐπὶ τὴν ἐξαποστο[λὴν τῶν θεωρῶν ἀπαγόντων τὰς ἀπα]ρχὰς τῆς πρώτης ἐννεετη[ρίδος Ἐπικρά]της Ἐπιστράτου Πε[– – ἀνέγραψεν τῶν ἱερέων καὶ] ἀρχόντων τὰς ἀπαρχὰς [τ]ῷ Ἀπό[λλωνι τῷ] Πυθίῳ κα[τὰ | τὸ ψήφισμα τοῦ δήμου, δ – – ἐγ Μυ]ρρινού]ττης εἶπεν. κ.τ.λ. E. S. Roberts and E. A. Gardner *ad loc.* remark: 'If we may accept Koehler's restoration of the first line, it will appear that the architheorus, elected as head of the *θεωροί* by the Attic cleruchs in Delos, published lists of the *ἀπαρχαί* paid by Delian priests and certain Attic magistrates to the Pythiañ Apollo during an *ἐννεετηρίς*, or period of eight years. This period perhaps was designed to recall the time when the Pythian festival was celebrated once in every eight years. It is called *πρώτη* possibly because the Athenians had given up the practice of sending a *theoria* to Delos and did not reintroduce it till the end of the second century B.C.' So also W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. i. 182, cp. G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1893 i[2]. 676 n. 2.

[4] R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 68, W. H. Roscher *ib.* i. 433, G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 378 f., K. Wernicke *ib.* ii. 25 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 270, 287 n. 1, 439 n. 3, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 107, 1243 n. 2, 1254 n. 3, 1327 n. 2, 1454, cp. 1493 n. 3. The earliest allusion to the myth is in *Il.* 2. 766 (cp. also *Il.* 21. 441 ff.).

[5] Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 76 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 90 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 *εἰς ἐνιαυτόν*, Apollod. 3. 10. 4 *ἐνιαυτόν*. Cp. Panyassis *frag.* 16 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 35. 3 p. 26, 22 ff. Stählin.

[6] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761 = Myth. Vat. 1. 46, 2. 128 *novem annis*—by confusion with inclusive reckoning.

[7] Prob. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 1 *decem annis*—the nearest round number: so stories grow. In Myth. Vat. 1. 204 Admetus de Alcesta genuit Nisam et Stenoboeam. pro Nisa servivit ei Apollo *septem annis* the Greek myth has been modified by the Biblical tale of Jacob serving Laban seven years for Rachel (Gen. 29. 15 ff.).

[8] Plout. *amat.* 17 καὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα μυθολογοῦσιν ἐραστὴν γενόμενον "Ἀδμήτῳ παραθηεῦσαι μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν." The poet was very possibly Rhianos the Cretan (cp. schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 Ῥιανὸς δέ φησιν ὅτι ἑκὼν ἐδούλευσεν αὐτῷ ἐρῶν τοῦ Ἀδμήτου), who may have told the tale in his *Thessalika* (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 p. 109); but see *infra* p. 241 n. 1.

Clement of Alexandreia[1] describes Apollon's servitude as lasting 'for a great year?.' And this myth was connected more[2] or less closely[4] with Delphoi. Thus usage and belief alike attest the recognition of the old lunisolar *oktaeterís* for the purposes of Delphic religion. Now A. Schmidt has argued that the *oktaeterís* was essentially Apolline[5], and in support of his thesis is able to cite, not only the bulk of the evidence given above, but also the Boeotian

[1] Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 21 p. 69, 3 ff. Stählin καὶ οὐδὲν θαυμαστόν, ὅπου γε καὶ Ἀδμήτῳ θητεύων εὑρίσκεται (*sc.* Ἀπόλλων) σὺν καὶ Ἡρακλεῖ "μέγαν εἰς ἐνιαυτόν." The association of Apollon with Herakles (cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 13, Myth. Vat. 1. 92, 3. 13. 3) makes it possible that Rhianos dealt with the theme in his *Herakleias* (W. Christ *loc. cit.*).

[2] This ἐνιαυτός was ὀκτὼ ἔτη (Apollod. 3. 4. 2 quoted *supra* i. 540 n. 1).

[3] Alexandrides *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 107 Müller; but see *supra* p. 238 n. 1) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 Ἀναξανδρίδης (G. J. Voss cj. Ἀλεξανδρίδης) δὲ ὁ Δελφός φησι θητεῦσαι αὐτὸν διότι τὸν ἐν Πυθοῖ δράκοντα ἀνεῖλεν. To the same effect C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* Oxford 1830 i. 232, 338 f., observing that the boy who represented Apollon at the Stepterion imitated the servitude of the god (Plout. *de def. or.* 15 καὶ τελευταῖον αἵ τε πλάναι καὶ ἡ λατρεία τοῦ παιδὸς οἵ τε γιγνόμενοι περὶ τὰ Τέμπη καθαρμοὶ μεγάλου τινὸς ἄγους καὶ τολμήματος ὑποψίαν ἔχουσι). When Python came to be regarded, not as a holy snake whose murder demanded expiation, but as an unholy dragon whose slaughter was a meritorious act, the tale of Apollon's bondage had to be furnished with a fresh motive (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 25 f.).

[4] Asklepios brought to life again those that died at Delphoi (Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 71 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 Φερεκύδης ἐν τῇ ὀγδόῃ τῶν ἱστοριῶν (τῇ η τῶν ἱστοριῶν A. τῇ ἡ ἱστορίᾳ B. τῇ ἱστορίᾳ Fl. 6. 15) τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς φησι θνήσκοντας αὐτὸν ἀναβιώσκειν and *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 96 Φερεκύδης δὲ ὅτι τοὺς ἐν Δελφοῖς θνήσκοντας ἀναβιοῦν ἐποίησεν (ἐποίει B.))—a strange statement, which may have reference to those that underwent the Delphic rite of regeneration (*supra* p. 210 ff.). For this reason Asklepios was slain by Zeus with a thunderbolt at Delphoi (Pherekydes of Leros *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1 κτείνει Ζεὺς Ἀσκληπιὸν τὸν παῖδα αὐτοῦ κεραυνῷ (κεραυνῷ om. A.) ἐν Πυθῶνι. ἀνίστη γὰρ ἰώμενος τοὺς τεθνεῶτας). Mnaseas of Patrai or Patara, a pupil of Eratosthenes (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 187, 196), apparently identified Asklepios with Apollon and treated the myth in Euhemeristic fashion (Mnaseas Patrensis *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 152 Müller) *ap.* Fulgent. *exp. serm. ant.* 2 p. 112, 2 ff. Helm Mnaseas scribit in Europae libro Apollinem (E. Mehler cj. *Apopidem*, cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 36), posteaquam a Iove victus atque interfectus est, a vispillonibus ad sepulturam delatus est (*delatum esse* codd. B. E. Φ), unless indeed the passage of Mnaseas cited by Fabius Planciades Fulgentius is an impudent forgery, which is very possible (F. Skutsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 219 f.). Others spoke of Asklepios' fate as his apotheosis and introduced him into Olympos along with Herakles (Apollod. *frag.* 72 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 442 f. Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 21 p. 68, 1 ff. Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 10. 12. 19. Loukian. *dial. deor.* 13. 1 f.), or identified him, like Herakles (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74, cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 497 n. 3), with the constellation Ophiouchos (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 6, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 384, 22 ff. Eyssenhardt, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* ii. 259, Myth. Vat. 3. 10. 6). Be that as it may, Apollon killed the Kyklopes (Hes. *frag.* 47 Flach, 88 Rzach), who had made the fatal bolt for Zeus, or killed their sons (Pherekyde of Leros *ap.* schol. Eur. *Alc.* 1), and for this impiety was bidden by Zeus to serve Admetos (Eur. *Alc.* 1 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Apollod. 3. 10. 4, Diod. 6. 8, Prob. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 1, Stat. *Theb.* 6. 375 f., Loukian. *de sacrif.* 4, Hyg. *fab.* 49, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 2, *id. in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761, Myth. Vat. 1. 46, 2. 43, schol. Lucan. 6. 368, Orph. *Arg.* 175 ff.).

[5] A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 61 ff.

Daphnephoria[1], a festival likewise held every eighth year. Yet, if Apollon settled at Delphoi in days when the octennial cycle was in vogue, we must not therefore jump to the conclusion that he had staked out his claim before the arrival of Dionysos. For, though the Stepterion included a mimetic representation of Apollon's fight with Python, the Heroïs and the Charila were distinctly Dionysiac: the former resembled the ascent of Semele and was explained by a mystic tale known to the Thyiads; the latter assigned important duties to the principal Thyiad[2]. The fact is that the *oktaeterís* was an ancient rectification of the calendar, which left its mark on a variety of customs and myths[3]. It was never the exclusive property of any one god or goddess, and at Delphoi it was common to the rites of Apollon and Dionysos. Fortunately for our solution of the problem we can appeal from the early *oktaeterís* to the still earlier *trieterís*[4]. Delphoi was in classical times the centre of certain far-famed trieteric rites[5]; and these were notoriously the rites, not of Apollon, but of Dionysos[6]. Unless, therefore, we hold—in defiance of the Greek and Roman chronologists[7]—that the *trieterís* was no

[1] I have dealt in detail with the Daphnephoria in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 409 ff. See also Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 385 ff., P. Paris in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 24 ff., P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2140, O. Jessen *ib.* iv. 2140 f., Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 164 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 284 ff., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 41 ff., *id. Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 63 n. 2, The Dying God pp. 78 f., 88 f., Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 241. Sir J. G. Frazer (The Dying God p. 79) contends that at Thebes 'in historical times Apollo appears to have ousted Cadmus from the festival,' and thinks it 'not impossible that at Delphi also...Apollo may have displaced an old local hero in the honourable office of dragon-slayer.'

[2] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 12. Cp. L. Weniger *Über das Collegium der Thyiaden v. Delphi* Eisenach 1876.

[3] *Supra* i. 692. See further A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 56 ff. (with the *caveat* of W. H. Roscher *Die enneadischen und hebdomadischen Fristen und Wochen der ältesten Griechen* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1903 xxi. 4) Leipzig 1903 p. 73 n. 204[b]), F. K. Ginzel *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Leipzig 1911 ii. 365 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 957 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* i. 690. The historical priority of the *trieterís* is accepted also by A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 31 ff., G. F. Unger *Zeitrechnung der Griechen und Römer*[2] (in I. von Müller *Handbuch der klassischen Altertums-wissenschaft* i[2]) München 1892 p. 731 f., G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*[4] Berlin 1902 ii. 460 n. 2, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 955 f. It is too summarily rejected by M. P. Nilsson *Primitive Time-reckoning* Lund 1920 p. 1.

[5] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956 n. 2.

[6] The myth and the rites in question are well put together by L. Weniger in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 231 ff. Cp. M. Ross *De Baccho Delphico* Bonnae 1865 p. 2 ff.

[7] Gemin. *elem. astr.* 8. 25 f. οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες τὴν ἐναντίαν γνώμην ἔχοντες τοὺς μὲν ἐνιαυτοὺς καθ' ἥλιον ἄγουσι, τοὺς δὲ μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας κατὰ σελήνην. οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀρχαῖοι τοὺς μῆνας τριακονθημέρους ἦγον, τοὺς δὲ ἐμβολίμους παρ' ἐνιαυτόν. ταχέως δ' ἐπὶ (sic V[1]. δ' ὑπὸ V[2]. V. δὲ ὑπὸ edd.) τοῦ φαινομένου ἐλεγχομένης τῆς ἀληθείας διὰ τὸ τὰς ἡμέρας καὶ τοὺς μῆνας μὴ συμφωνεῖν τῇ σελήνῃ, τοὺς δὲ (δ' V[1]. edd.) ἐνιαυτοὺς μὴ στοιχεῖν (στιχεῖν V[1].) τῷ ἡλίῳ,

true precursor of the *oktaeterís*[1], we are bound to admit that at Delphoi the cult of Dionysos was regulated by a more primitive calendar than the cult of Apollon; and it becomes at least reasonable[2] to suppose that Dionysos was first in the field.

(χ) Dionysos displaced by Apollon at Delphoi.

With the advent of Apollon Dionysos suffered a partial, but never a total, eclipse. In addition to his winter season he was invoked by Philodamos, the Locrian author of a Delphic *paián* (335—334 B.C.), to come 'in the holy time of spring[3],' and even in the summer month Apellaios he received (*c.* 400 B.C.) a sacrifice

[δθεν] (del. C. Manitius. Petavius cj. *ἐντεῦθεν. et quia invenichant illud diversum veritati...*, *quaesiverunt aliquid, quo* versio Latina ex Arabico sermone conversa *s.* xii) *ἐζήτουν περίοδον, ἥτις κατὰ μὲν τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς τῷ ἡλίῳ συμφωνήσει, κατὰ δὲ τοὺς μῆνας καὶ τὰς ἡμέρας τῇ σελήνῃ, κ.τ.λ.*, Censorin. *de die nat.* 18. 2 veteres in Graecia civitates cum animadverterent, dum sol annuo cursu orbem suum circunit, lunam novam interdum tridecies (*terdecies* vulg.) exoriri idque saepe alternis fieri, arbitrati sunt lunares duodecim menses et dimidiatum ad annum naturalem convenire. itaque annos civiles sic statuerunt, ut intercalando facerent alternos duodecim mensium, alternos tredecim, utrumque annum separatim vertentem, iunctos ambo annum magnum vocantes. idque tempus trieterida appellabant, quod tertio quoque anno intercalabatur, quamvis biennii circuitus et re vera dieteris esset; unde mysteria, quae Libero (*Libero patri* vulg.) alternis fiunt annis, trieterica a poetis dicuntur. See further Hdt. 1. 32, 2. 4.

[1] So F. K. Ginzel *Handbuch der mathematischen und technischen Chronologie* Das Zeitrechnungswesen der Völker Leipzig 1911 ii. 370 ff. He points out that, since the solar year contains 365·2422 days and the lunar year 354·3671 days, a cycle of two years containing 360 and 390 days would give no sort of approximation to natural fact. He rightly infers that we must understand Geminos' *μῆνας τριακονθημέρους* as a popular expression denoting the ordinary Greek month. But, if so, twelve months of alternately 30 and 29 days followed by thirteen months of alternately 30 and 29 days produce a cycle of 354+384=738 days. This exceeds two solar years by about 7½ days—an excess which in the course of four such cyles would amount to another month. The *trieterís*, in fact, would naturally and inevitably lead on to the *oktaeterís*.

[2] Not, of course, necessary. It remains possible to argue that the more primitive cult was introduced at a later date from a less civilised region.

[3] H. Weil in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 393 ff., cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 114. The *paián* was inscribed in the archonship of Etymondas, the date of which I give after H. Pomtow in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2589 f., 2697. Weil reconstructs the opening lines thus: [Δεῦρ', ἄνα Δ]ιθύραμβε Βάκχ' | ε[ῦτε, θυρσῆ]ρες, βραϊ·]τά, βρόμι(ε), ἠρινα[ῖς ἰκοῦ | ταῖσδ(ε)] ἱεραῖς ἐν ὥραις: | Εὐοῖ ὦ ἰὸ [Βάκχ' ὦ ἰὲ Παιά]ν· | *κ.τ.λ.*, supposing an allusion to the spring festival Theoxenia, and suggesting that *βραϊτάς=ϝραϊτάς=ῥαϊτῆς* (*ῥαίω*, 'I strike'), cp. *supra* i. 469 n. 4, 659 f., 711 Dionysos Ἀνθρωπορραίστης. Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 332 and in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 416 f. argued that the epithet is connected with the late Latin *braisum* (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.vv.* brace, braesium, braisum), 'grain prepared for making beer.' But in the *Class. Rev.* 1910 xxiv. 245 she follows W. Vollgraff, who in *Mnemosyne* N. S. 1905 xxxiii. 379 proposed *κισσο]χαΐ]τα*. H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum i. 289 observes: 'e Guil. Vollgraffio, qui lapidem vidit, audivi se pro certo tantum agnovisse AITA, sed antecedentem litteram sibi videri fuisse X, itaque latere compositum, velut *κισσόχαιτα*.' Thus two ingenious guesses lose their *raison d'être*.

from the Labyadai[1]. These commemorations are of interest. The first implies that at Delphoi, as at Athens, Dionysos had spring-rites as well as winter-rites[2]. The second implies that in Apellaios, the opening month of the Delphic year, he was not forgotten by an ancient Delphic phratry, a phratry which in the following month paid a like compliment to Zeus *Patrôios*[3].

This process of mutual accommodation tended to produce a certain similarity in the parties concerned. Dionysos became to some extent Apolline, Apollon to some extent Dionysiac. On the one hand Dionysos was equipped with bay-wreath[4] and lyre[5]; on

[1] T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 5 ff *D* 43 ff. = J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 718 ff. no. 2561 D 43 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 995 *D* 43 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438 *d* 208 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 217 ff. no. 74 D 43 ff. = F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae* Lipsiae 1905 no. 36 D 43 ff. *τᾶι δὲ θυσίαι Λαβυαδ|ᾶν τῶπελλαίου μηνὸς τῶι Διονύσωι.*

[2] The vernal rites of Dionysos at Delphoi (? the Theoxenia in Theoxenios = Elaphebolion) corresponded with the City Dionysia at Athens; the brumal rites of Dionysos at Delphoi (culminating in Amalios = Gamelion) corresponded with the Lenaia at Athens. See *supra* i. 691 fig. 511 and ii. 235 fig. 162.

[3] *Supra* p. 233.

[4] An epic hymn, perhaps of *s.* v B.C. (L. Malten in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 307 n. 3, R. Wünsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 156), describes Dionysos as *κισσῷ καὶ δάφνῃ πεπυκασμένος* (*h. Dion.* 26. 9). At Phigaleia the lower part of the cult-statue of Dionysos *Ἀκρατοφόρος* was covered with leaves of bay and ivy (Paus. 8. 39. 6), possibly to conceal an erect *phallós* (G. Kaibel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1901 p. 510, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1422 n. 8); if so, we may conjecture that a late moralistic intention had been read into an early fertility-charm (cp. Paus. 1. 27. 1). Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7 Liberum, eundem apud Aegyptios Osirin, Harpocration industria hederatum argumentatur, quod hederae natura sit cerebrum ab eluco defensare. sed et alias Liberum principem coronae plane laureae, in qua ex Indis triumphavit, etiam vulgus agnoscit, cum dies in illum sollemnes Magnam appellat Coronam, *ib.* 12 sed et de corona prius dicam. laurea ista Apollini vel Libero sacra est, illi ut deo telorum, huic ut deo triumphorum. sic docet Claudius, etc. Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 12 alii ideo lauri et hederae simul mentionem factam accipiunt, quoniam Apollo carminum deus, idem Liber pater putatur. See also F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1876 ii. 103 f. and in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 618, 623. On an Attic *kratér* at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 292 ff. no. 2419, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 23 ff. pl. 317 f., T. Panofka *Dionysos und die Thyaden* Berlin 1853 pp. 2 ff., 49 pl. 1, 1 and 1[a] (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 341 ff.), A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2266 ff. fig. 6 after the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1839 xii pl. 22, and above all Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 193 ff. pl. 36 f.) a post dressed up as Dionysos is decked with ivy-sprays, but has sprigs of bay starting from its base and a bay-wreath apparently slung from its girdle: the wreath is probably meant for an embroidered pattern and as such occurs on a variety of late Attic vases mostly connected with the style of the potter Meidias (A. Milchhöfer 'Zur jüngeren attischen Vasenmalerei' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 63 f., G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Geneva 1908 p. 109 f.), *e.g. supra* i pl. xi; it seems likely, however, that such 'Gürtelkränze' were credited with a magical influence over the generative organs beneath them. The horned Dionysos of Libye (?) holds a bay-branch on an Apulian *kratér* discussed *supra* i. 374 ff. fig. 287. A red-figured vase

in the second Hamilton collection shows Dionysos seated with Ariadne, while a young Satyr stands before them: all three are wreathed with bay; Dionysos has a bay-garland slung round his body, Ariadne a bay-branch behind her chair; both sit beneath festoons of bay (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 78 f. pl. 45, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 302, 4). Dionysos appears elsewhere wreathed with bay, *e.g.* on a red-figured vase in the first Hamilton collection ([P. F. Hugues, dit d'Hancarville] *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines* Naples 1766 i pl. 104), in a wall-painting (*Monumenti amaranziani* illustrati del marchese Luigi Biondi Roma 1849 pl. 29), and on coins of Pantikapaion, Phanagoreia, and Gorgippeia struck under Mithradates vi Eupator, who himself took the title of Dionysos (E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 629 pl. 6, 8 f., pl. 9, 16 f., 23 f.; T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator* Paris 1890 pp. 49, 262, 277). Another red-figured vase in the first Hamilton collection represents the infant Dionysos held by a Nymph seated on a rock: before her stands Hermes, behind her a second Nymph, who carries a sprig of bay for the child's brows (Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* ii. 133 pl. 194); cp. the Nymph (?) seated on a rock, who wreathes the infant Dionysos in a wall-painting from the Villa Farnesina (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 207 f. no. 1477, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 310 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pls. 18 (coloured) and 20, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 38). An ivory relief at Milan makes a Maenad hold a bay-wreath towards young Dionysos riding in a car drawn by two panthers (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1846 iv. 219 pl. 38, *supra* i. 153 n. 5). See further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 59 n. 2.

[5] The evidence cited by F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 618 n. 931 f. is illusive. But better grounds are given by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 253—256. A red-figured *kýlix* attributed to Brygos, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (no. 697, published by P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen* Stuttgart und Berlin 1893 p. 309 ff. pls. 32, 33, 1, J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 25 pl. 38, Farnell *op. cit.* v. 264 pl. 44), has for its inner design an ivy-wreathed Dionysos playing the lyre and singing an orgiastic song as he stands between two Satyrs, who with a flourish of vine-shoots and castanets share in the ecstasy of his performance. A red-figured *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples (no. 3240, *supra* i. 701 n. 4), shows Dionysos and Ariadne advancing in the midst of their *thíasos*, all wreathed with ivy; he carries a tortoise-shell lyre. Another famous vase from Ruvo, the Apulian *kratér* representing the obsequies of Archemoros (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 584 ff. no. 3255, E. Gerhard 'Archemoros und die Hesperiden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1836* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 251 ff., 359 ff. pls. 1—4 (=*id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1866 i. 1—98 pls. 1—4) and also in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836 i. 352—356 with pls. 5 f., *id. Il vaso dall' Archemoro* Roma 1837 pp. 1—4 pls. 1—3, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 98 ff. pls. 371—373, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 114 ff. Atlas pl. 4, 3, *supra* i. 456 n. 5), includes in the top left-hand corner of its principal face the figure of Dionysos reclining on cushions and a skin spread over vine-leaves beneath a vine-branch: he holds in his left hand a lyre, in his right a *phiále*, which a young Satyr is about to fill; below him stands Euneos, eponym of the Euneidai, an Athenian clan of κιθαρῳδοί or κιθαρισταί (Harpokr. *s.v.* Εὐνείδαι, Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐνείδαι, cp. Phot. *lex.* s.v. Εὐνείδαι, *et. mag.* p. 393, 35 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1327, 41 f.), who appear to have been hereditary priests of Dionysos Μελπόμενος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 274 an inscription of the Hadrianic age on a seat in the theatre at Athens ἱερέως | Μελπομένου | Διονύσου | ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν). It is therefore a reasonable suggestion (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 240) that Dionysos Μελπόμενος (on whom see Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 611, iii. 153, *id. Alt. Denkm.* iii. 130 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 675 n. 4, 710 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2649 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 36, 829 n. 3, 1421 n. 2, 1428 n. 10, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 143, 254 f., 307) was conceived as a lyre-player. The marble statue of a seated Dionysos from the choragic monument dedicated by Thrasyllos in 320 B.C. and reconstructed by his son Thrasykles in 270 B.C. probably represented the god with a lyre, the base of which rested on his left thigh (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 257 ff. no. 432,

the other, Apollon had ivy-leaves[1], flutes[2], and pan-pipes[3]. Appel: Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 119, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 124 f., 138, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 459 f. fig. 240). A red-figured *kratér* from Campania, now at Petrograd, has a lyre-playing Dionysos grouped with two Maenads and a Satyr (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 293 f. no. 1774). And an Apulian *kántharos* at Boston shows him seated beneath a grape-vine, *thýrsos* in hand; on the ground at his left is a lyre, at his right a pair of pipes (Robinson *Cat. Vases Boston* p. 186 f. no. 515). Less conclusive is a red-figured *kratér* in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (no. 4778), which shows an ivy-crowned Dionysos seated on a rock, playing a lyre, with Maenads and Satyrs grouped about him (Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 73 pl. 53; but Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 213 ff. pl. 71 interpret the scene as '*Apollon* à Nysa' cp. Diod. 3. 59, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 325, 330 no. 28). The *motif* of Dionysos with the lyre, which is not found in art before the beginning of *s.* v B.C., seems not to occur at all in literature; for in Kallistr. 8. 4 *εἰστήκει δὲ* (*sc.* ὁ Διόνυσος) *τὴν λύραν ἐπερείδων τῷ θύρσῳ* Jacobs, followed by K. Schenkl and E. Reisch, cj. λαιάν and Pierson cj. *πλευράν*.

[1] Aristoteles *theologumena* (=Aristot. *frag.* 284 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller)) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 2 apud Lacedaemonios etiam in sacris quae Apollini celebrant (celebrabant B. G.), Hyacinthia vocantes, hedera coronantur Bacchico ritu. On this festival see Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 129 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 125 ff., 264 ff., P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1 f., E. Bischoff *ib.* ix. 3 f., S. Eitrem *ib.* ix. 7 ff. Mart. Cap. 10 item eum (*sc.* Apollinem) in Helicona Delon Lyciamque sectantur. sed alibi lauros primores (primos D.) arentesque ederas alibi cariantem (carientem D.) tripodem crepidasque situ murcidas (marcidas D.) praesagiorumque interlitam memoriam reppererunt. *H. mag.* 2. 27 (Abel *Orphica* p. 288) *δεῦρο, τάχος δ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν, ὑμέ, κισσεοχαῖτα* (so E. Abel for *κισσεοχαίτα* pap.): with this description of Apollon cp. that of Dionysos in Pratinas *frag.* 1. 17 Bergk[4] *ap.* Athen. 617 F *κισσοχαῖτ'* (leg. *κισσοχαῖτ'* T. Bergk and E. Hiller print *κισσόχαιτ'* after J. Schweighaeuser) *ἄναξ, ἄκουε τὰν ἐμὰν Δώριον χορείαν*, in Ekphantides *fab. inc. frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 13 Meineke) quoted by Kratinos *fab. inc. frag.* 52 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 194 f. Meineke) and thence by Hephaistion *ench.* 15. 21 *εὖε κισσοχαῖτ' ἄναξ, χαῖρ'*, and perhaps in the *paián* of Philodamos (*supra* p. 243 n. 3), also *h. Dion.* 26. 1 *κισσοκόμην Διόνυσον, Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 80 (Arkesine) *Ἀγαθῖνος Ἀγαθίνου τοῦ* Κλεοφά[*ντου*] | *Διονύσῳ κισσοκόμαι καὶ τῶι* [*Δήμωι*], where *κισσοκόμας* with its non-Ionic termination is, as Wilamowitz *ad loc.* saw, a tag from some lyrical poet, *Anth. Pal.* 6. 56. 1 (Makedonios of Thessalonike) *κισσοκόμαν Βρομίῳ Σάτυρον κ.τ.λ.*, where O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1207 needlessly supposes a Satyr-name Κισσοκόμης and it is at least a question whether we should not read *κισσοκόμᾳ* with the *ed. princeps* (*Florentina a.* 1494) of Planoudes. At Voni, N.E. of Nikosia in Kypros, is the sanctuary of a god, who is called Apollon by inscriptions (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 135 ff. nos. 1—6, J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* Oxford 1899 p. 148 nos. 5143—5145) but has the attributes of Zeus, *viz.* eagle (*ib.* p. 145 no. 5048 f.) or Nike (*ib.* p. 146 no. 5050): I figure nos. 5048 and 5050 after Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 266, 330, 376 pl. 40, 1 f. and 4 f., cp. *id.* in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 133 f. no. 10 f. pl. 5, 6 f.; fig. 164 is a limestone statue (height 1·16^{m}) of Apollon wreathed with bay, resting his left arm on a round column with a debased Doric capital and holding a cylindrical object (scroll?) in his left hand, while an eagle perched on his wrist looks up at him; fig. 165 is a similar statue (height 1·95^{m}), of which the left arm rests on a Doric column, the left hand holds a Nike, the right hand a palm-branch—the pose being reproduced in fig. 166 (after *Kypros locc. citt.* pl. 40, 3, cp. *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 134 f. pl. 5, 8, *Catalogue* p. 145 no. 5037)=a similar statue (height 2·0^{m}) of a votary holding the same lustral branch. An irregular block of limestone found in this precinct records in lettering of *s.* ii (?) B.C. a series of sacrifices (to Apollon?) performed by certain *thíasoi* including ὁ *θίασος τῶ*[*ν*] | Κισσά*ω*[*ν*], which has been taken to mean 'the ivy-men' (M. Ohnefalsch-Richter in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 137 f. no. 8, *id. Kypros* pp. 5 no. 9,

124, 254 n.*, J. L. Myres and M. Ohnefalsch-Richter *A Catalogue of the Cyprus Museum* Oxford 1899 p. 148 no. 5147, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1246 n. 6). The interpretation is precarious, though no doubt ivy-wreaths played their part in Cypriote cult—witness *e.g.* a bearded head of *c.* 450 B.C., at New York, wearing a wreath of bay-leaves above and ivy-leaves with their berries below (J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 204 no. 1291 fig., L. P. di Cesnola *A descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* Boston [Mass.] 1885 i pl. 82 no. 539). Should the Cypriote *κίτταρις* (Hesych. *κίτταρις· διάδημα δ φοροῦσι Κύπριοι. οἱ δὲ τὰ διαδήματα φοροῦντες κίτταροι λέγονται*) be referred to *κίσσαρος*, which Hippokrates

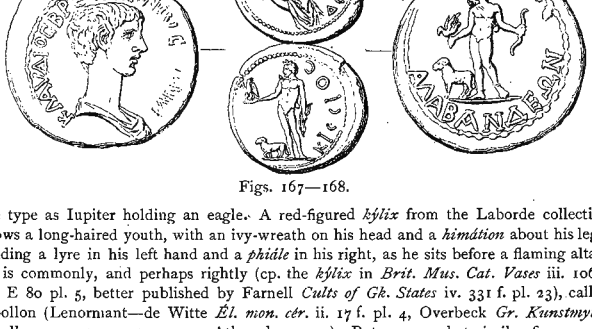
Fig. 164.

Fig. 166.

Fig. 165.

used in the sense of *κισσός* (Erotian. *τῶν παρ' Ἱπποκράτει λέξεων συναγωγή* p. 83, 15 Klein *κίσσαρον· τὸν κισσόν* (so all the MSS. A. Foes cj. *κύσσαρον· τὸν κυσόν*)), and so be rendered 'ivy-crown'? Another Zeus-like Apollon, more certainly connected with ivy, is found on a *quasi*-autonomous copper of Alabanda in Karia (J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1881 viii. 9 pl. 2, 5 = my fig. 167, J. Rendel Harris *The Origin of the Cult of Apollo* (reprinted from *The Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* January—March 1916) p. 15 f. fig. 1): obv. ΑΛΑΒΑΝ ΔΕΩΝ youthful head of Dionysos to right, wreathed with ivy; rev. KICCIOC Apollon standing, nude, with wreathed head, quiver on back, bow in lowered left hand, looking towards eagle on outstretched right hand, and a small ram at his feet. A similar reverse occurs on coppers of the same town struck

under Britannicus (Mionnet *Desc. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vi. 439 no. 24 after A. Visconti *Medaglie antiche inedite* Roma 1810 pl. 3, 5, J. Friedlaender *loc. cit.* pl. 2, 4=my fig. 168) and Maximus (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iii. 310 no. 41 after J. Eckhel *Catalogus Musei Caesarei Vindobonensis numorum veterum* Vindobonae 1779 i. 177): obv. ΚΛΑΥΔΙΟCΒΡΕΤΑΝΝ[ΙΚΟ]C[ΚΑΙCΑΡ] head of Britannicus to right, or Γ·ΙΟΥ·ΟΥΗ·ΜΑΖΙΜΟC·Κ· head of Maximus to right; rev. ΑΛΑΒΑΝΔΕΩΝ Apollon standing, nude, quiver on back, bow in outstretched left hand, looking towards eagle on outstretched right hand, and a small ram at his feet. With regard to these types, Dr Rendel Harris *loc. cit.* notes that the head on the obverse of the first coin might be, not Dionysos, but 'a variant of Apollo'; others, reading ΚΙCCΕΟC on the reverse of the same coin, have taken the god there figured to be, not Apollon, but Dionysos (D. Sestini *Lettere e Dissertazioni numismatiche...Le quali servir possono di continuazione ai nove tomi già editi* Firenze 1819 vi. 30 f. no. 8, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vi. 436 no. 11, A. Fabretti *Regio Museo di Torino. Monete Greche* Torino 1883 p. 292 no. 4199, H. Heydemann *Satyr- und Bakchennamen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1880) p. 37; D. Sestini *loc. cit.* p. 31 suggests that the bird may be a jay (*κίσσα*), J. Friedlaender *loc. cit.* makes it a raven, as does Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 607, but unbiased inspection shows that it is almost certainly an eagle—a fact which led J. Eckhel *loc. cit.*, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 267 f., and Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iii. 310 no. 41 to describe



Figs. 167—168.

the type as Iupiter holding an eagle. A red-figured *kýlix* from the Laborde collection shows a long-haired youth, with an ivy-wreath on his head and a *himátion* about his legs, holding a lyre in his left hand and a *phiále* in his right, as he sits before a flaming altar: he is commonly, and perhaps rightly (cp. the *kýlix* in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 106 f. no. E 80 pl. 5, better published by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 331 f. pl. 23), called Apollon (Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 17 f. pl. 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 325 no. 27, p. 330 Atlas pl. 21, 20). But a somewhat similar figure on a red-figured *kratér* in the Cabinet des Médailles is more probably to be identified with Dionysos on account of his *entourage* (*supra* p. 246 n. 0). Lastly, a wall-painting from Herculaneum, now at Naples, has Apollon wreathed with ivy and half-draped in a *himátion*, with lyre beneath left hand, *plêktron* in right, sitting on a stool beside a female figure (Muse?), who is similarly wreathed and holds a garland of bay; the group forms part of a scene depicting the punishment of Marsyas (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 64 no. 231[b], *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1760 ii (Pitture ii) p. 121 ff. pl. 19, *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1832 viii pl. 19 ivy not clear, W. Ternite *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji und Herculanum*...mit einem erläuternden Text von C. O. Müller Berlin s.a. i. 5 f. pl. 7 ivy quite clear and noted as 'eine seltne Bekränzung des Gottes' in the commentary, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 34 pl. 43, 204 ivy clear, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 344 no. 32, p. 348 Atlas pl. 25, 13 rightly assuming a seated statue of Apollon as prototype).

[2] Plout. *de mus.* 14 οὐ μόνη δὲ κιθάρα Ἀπόλλωνος, ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐλητικῆς καὶ κιθαριστικῆς εὑρετὴς ὁ θεός. δῆλον δὲ ἐκ τῶν χορῶν καὶ τῶν θυσιῶν ἃς προσῆγον μετὰ αὐλῶν τῷ θεῷ, καθάπερ ἄλλοι τε καὶ Ἀλκαῖος ἔν τινι τῶν ὕμνων (Alkaios *frag.* 3 Bergk[4]) ἱστορεῖ. καὶ ἡ ἐν Δήλῳ δὲ τοῦ ἀγάλματος αὐτοῦ ἀφίδρυσις ἔχει ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ τόξον ἐν δὲ τῇ ἀριστερᾷ Χάριτας, τῶν τῆς μουσικῆς ὀργάνων ἑκάστην τι ἔχουσαν· ἡ μὲν γὰρ λύραν κρατεῖ, ἡ δὲ αὐλούς, ἡ δ' ἐν μέσῳ προκειμένην ἔχει τῷ στόματι σύριγγα (*supra* p. 232 n. 0). ὅτι δ' οὗτος οὐκ ἐμὸς ὁ λόγος Ἀντικλῆς (H. Valesius restored Ἀντικλείδης (*frag.* 5 in *Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 147 Müller)) καὶ Ἴστρος ἐν ταῖς Ἐπιφανείαις (Istr. *frag.* 35 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 423 Müller)) περὶ τούτων ἀφηγήσαντο· οὕτω δὲ παλαιὸν ἐστι τὸ ἀφίδρυμα τοῦτο ὥστε τοὺς ἐργασαμένους αὐτὸ τῶν καθ' Ἡρακλέα Μερόπων φασὶν εἶναι. ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τῷ κατακομίζοντι παιδὶ τὴν Τεμπικὴν δάφνην εἰς Δελφοὺς παρομαρτεῖ αὐλητής· καὶ τὰ ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων δὲ ἱερὰ μετὰ αὐλῶν καὶ συρίγγων καὶ κιθάρας εἰς τὴν Δῆλόν φασι τὸ παλαιὸν στέλλεσθαι. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν θεὸν φασιν αὐλῆσαι, καθάπερ ἱστορεῖ ὁ ἄριστος μελῶν ποιητὴς Ἀλκμάν (Alkm. *frag.* 102 Bergk[4]). ἡ δὲ Κόριννα καὶ διδαχθῆναί φησι τὸν Ἀπόλλω ὑπ' Ἀθηνᾶς αὐλεῖν (Korinn. *frag.* 29 Bergk[4]), Paus. 5. 7. 10 τούτου δὲ ἕνεκα καὶ τὸ αὔλημα τὸ Πυθικὸν φασι τῷ πηδήματι ἐπεισαχθῆναι τῶν πεντάθλων, ὡς τὸ μὲν ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τὸ αὔλημα ὄν, τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα δὲ ἀγῶνα νικᾶς. On Apollon's match with the flautist Marsyas see O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2441 ff., *supra* i. 128 f. pl. xii. *Quasi*-autonomous and imperial coppers of Magnesia ad Maeandrum give the title Αὐλαείτης or Αὐλαΐτης or Αὐλίτης or Αὐλητής to the lyre-playing Apollon (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vi. 235 f. nos. 1024 ΑΥΛΗΤΟΥ, 1025 ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗϹ, 1026 ΑΥΛΑΙΤΟΥ, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 164 nos. 49 ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗ[Ϲ ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ], 50 f. ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗϹ, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 348 nos. 11 f. ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗϹ – – –; Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 79 no. 25 pl. 3, 3 ΑVΛΑЄΙΤΗϹ ΜΑΓΝΗ, cp. Mionnet *op. cit.* Suppl. vi. 238 no. 1039 ΑΥΛΑЄΡΤΗ·ΜΑΓΝΗ·: O. Kern *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* Berlin 1900 p. xxv queries Αὐλητής and Αὐλαέρτης). Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 526 remarks: 'Vocabulum ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗϹ esse nomen magistratus, etsi insolens, dubium non videtur. Apollinis cognomen esse nequit; nam etsi quis opinari vellet, scriptum esse ΑΥΛΑΙΤΗϹ pro ΑΥΛΗΤΗϹ, quoniam vocabulum istud *tibicinem* notat, Latonae filio competere nequit, qui tibicen nunquam, citharoedus semper fuit, et citharoedus in hoc ipso numo proponitur. Forte *Aulactes* magistratus propter nominis cum *Aulete* adfinitatem deum aliquem musicum sibi in typum legit, eumque Apollinem Colophonium.' L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 2456 C comments: 'αὐλαΐτης necessario esse ad αὐλαία referendum, nihil vero commune habere cum αὐλοῖς ostendere α interpositum ante terminationem.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1900 clxii. 572 n. 3 derives the appellation from αὐλή, 'a cave,' citing Paus. 10. 32. 6 ἔστι δὲ καὶ τοῖς ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Ληθαίῳ Μάγνησιν Ὕλαι καλούμενον χωρίον· ἐνταῦθα Ἀπόλλωνι ἀνεῖται σπήλαιον (cp. *ib.* 5), κ.τ.λ., where he emends ὕλαι into Αὐλαί—an emendation printed in the text by F. Spiro (1903) and supported by the fact that Pan had a cave-sanctuary (?) in Arkadia (Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 6 ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ δὲ χώρα ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Πανός· Αὐλὴ τῷ χώρῳ τὸ ὄνομα) and Zeus at *Inönü* in Phrygia (A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 419 ff. no. 32 a limestone altar inscribed Διὶ ἐξ αὐλῆς ἐ|πηκόῳ θεῶ | οἱ Παπᾶ καὶ Γαίου | κληρονόμοι ὑπὲρ Ἀσ|κληπιάδου τοῦ Δα|μᾶ υἱοῦ εὐχὴν | τήνδε ἀνέστησαν | δόντες καὶ τεμένους | ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τῶ θεῶ | καὶ τῇ κώμη ἀττικὰς | ,β καὶ ί | εἵνεκα εἴλωα ἔχιν τὸν | θεόν). Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1249 n. 2 refers Αὐλαίτης to the 'anscheinend barbarische Epikleseis' borne by Apollon in various parts of Asia Minor. To me it seems probable that Αὐλαΐτης, Αὐλίτης, Αὐλητής are progressive attempts to read a Greek meaning into a non-Greek title (cp. *supra* i. 18 f., 25, 25 n. 2, 651).

[3] For the pan-pipes as an attribute of one of the Charites held by the Delian Apollon see *supra* pp. 232 n. 0, 249 n. 2, as an instrument used in the rites of the Hyperborean Apollon see *supra* p. 249 n. 2. Theopomp. *frag.* 320 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 330 Müller) *ap.* Hesych. Δοναστάν· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Θεόπομπος has been variously emended. J. Barnes cj. Δονητήν; but Salmasius restored Δονάκταν, which is accepted by M. Schmidt as 'God of the Reed-Pipes,' cp. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 12. 44.

latives as well as attributes were common to the two: Dionysos was *Mousagétes* in Naxos[1], *Smínthios* (?) in Rhodes[2], *Iatrós*[3] and *Paián*[4] at Delphoi; Apollon was *Thýios* at Miletos[5], *Mýstes* at

[1] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 46 (after C. Tissot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 587 no. 3, U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 161 no. 1, E. Szanto in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1890 xiii. 179 no. 4) ἀγανοθετήσας | τῶν μεγάλων Διονυ|σίων Διονύσω Μουσ|αγέτη ἐπὶ ειερέος τοῦ | Διονύσου Περγάμο[υ] | (β') μετὰ πάσης ε[ὐ]|χαριστίας ἀν[έ]θηκα (the name of the dedicator is missing). See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3234, *supra* i. 111 n. 5.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 762, 5 ff. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 537 f. no. 4155, 5 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 359 ff. no. 146, 5 ff. a decree of the Lindians ἐπειδὴ πλείσ|ταν πρόνοιαν ὁ σώπας δᾶμος (π)[οιεῖται] εἰς τὸ | τὰς τοῦ Διονύσου τειμὰς συν[τηρεῖν καλῶς καὶ] | ἀγῶνας τελεῖν καὶ πομπὰς καὶ θυσίας [εἰς ἀ]εὶ Σμ(ινθ)[ίοις] χοραγῶν ποιούμενοι αἴρ[εσιν] | καὶ πολειτᾶν καὶ ξένων, ὁμοίως δὲ κα[ὶ Λίνδι]οι εἰς τὰν ποτὶ τὸν θεὸν εὐσέβειαν [φιλοτιμοῦν]ται, δεδόχθαι Λινδίοις, κυρωθέντος τοῦ|δε τοῦ ψαφίσματος, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα γεί|νεσθαι περὶ τ(ῶ)ν Σμινθί(ω)ν κατὰ τάρ[χαῖον] | (ἐθ)ισμα Λινδί(ω)[ν· ποτ]αιρείσθων [δὲ τοὶ ἐπιστάται] | τοὶ ἀεὶ ἐν ἀρχᾷ (ἐ)όντες ποτ[ὶ τοῖς ἐκ πολειτᾶν] | αἱρουμένοις χοραγοῖς καὶ ἄλλο(υ)ς χοραγο(ὺ)ς | ἐκ τῶν κατοικεύντων καὶ γεωργεύντων ἐν | Λινδίᾳ πόλει ξένους ἕξ, κ.τ.λ. I follow the text as printed by L. Ziehen, except that in line 8 f., where C. Schumacher cj. [ἄγειν ἀ]εὶ ἐν or [ἑκάστῳ ἔτ]ει and L. Ziehen [πανδημ]εί, I prefer W. Dittenberger's [εἰς ἀ]εί. With the Lindian celebration of Sminthia for Dionysos cp. Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 143, 9 ff. Bekker Σμινθεῦ· ἐπίθετον Ἀπόλλωνος κατὰ τὸν Ἀρίσταρχον ἀπὸ πόλεως Τρωϊκῆς Σμίνθης καλουμένης, ὁ δὲ Ἀπίων ἀπὸ τῶν μυῶν οἱ σμίνθοι καλοῦνται. καὶ ἐν Ῥόδῳ Σμίνθια ἑορτή, ὅτι τῶν μυῶν ποτε λυμαινομένων τὸν καρπὸν τῶν ἀμπελώνων Ἀπόλλων καὶ Διόνυσος διέφθειραν τοὺς μύας. κ.τ.λ. and Athen. 445 A—B Ἀνθέας δὲ ὁ Λίνδιος,...ὥς φησι Φιλοδέσμιος (G. Dindorf restored Φιλόμνηστος from Athen. 74 F) ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν ἐν Ῥόδῳ Σμινθίων (Philomnestos *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 477 f. Müller)), ...πάντα τὸν βίον ἐδιονυσίαζεν, ἐσθῆτά τε Διονυσιακὴν φορῶν καὶ πολλοὺς τρέφων συμβάκχους. ἐξῆγέ τε κῶμον ἀεὶ μεθ' ἡμέραν καὶ νύκτωρ. κ.τ.λ. See further Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 307 f.

[3] Plout. *symp.* 3. 1. 3 ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος οὐ μόνον τῷ τὸν οἶνον εὑρεῖν ἰσχυρότατον φάρμακον καὶ ἥδιστον Ἰατρὸς ἐνομίσθη μέτριος, ἀλλὰ καὶ τῷ τὸν κιττὸν ἀντιτεττόμενον μάλιστα τῇ δυνάμει πρὸς τὸν οἶνον εἰς τιμὴν προαγαγεῖν καὶ στεφανοῦσθαι διδάξαι τοὺς βακχεύοντας, ὡς ἧττον ὑπὸ τοῦ οἴνου ἀνιῶντο, τοῦ κιττοῦ κατασβεννύντος τὴν μέθην τῇ ψυχρότητι, Athen. 22 E ἐπιλελῆσθαί μοι δοκοῦσι καὶ τοῦ Πυθικοῦ χρησμοῦ, ὃν ἀναγράφει Χαμαιλέων (on whom see Wendling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2103 f.)· Εἴκοσι τὰς πρὸ κυνὸς καὶ εἴκοσι τὰς μετέπειτα | οἶκῳ ἐνὶ σκιερῷ Διονύσῳ χρῆσθαι Ἰητρῷ (quoted also by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 5. 30. 1). καὶ Μνησίθεος δὲ Ἀθηναῖος (on whom see W. A. Greenhill in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* ii. 1107) Διόνυσον Ἰατρὸν φησι τὴν Πυθίαν χρῆσαι τιμᾶν Ἀθηναίοις, 36 B (Μνησίθεος δὲ ἔφη) διὸ καὶ καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον πανσαχοῦ | Ἰατρόν. ἡ δὲ Πυθία <ποτὲ χρωμένοις ?> | εἰρηκέ τισι Διόνυσον Ὑγιάτην καλεῖν (paraphrased by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1624, 37 ff. οὗτω γὰρ ἂν μὴ βλαπτομένου τοῦ πίνοντος καλῶς ἂν ὁ Διόνυσος καλοῖτο Ἰατρός, ἔτι δὲ καὶ ὑγείας αἴτιος, καθότι καὶ ἡ Πυθία εἴρηκέ τισι Διόνυσον Ὑγιάτην καλεῖν, ὅπερ ἐστιν αἴνιγμα τοῦ τὸν οἶνον ὑγιαστικὸν εἶναι).

[4] With the refrains of Philodamos' *paián* (*supra* p. 243 n. 3) εὐοῖ ὦ ἰὸ Βάκχ' ὦ ἰὲ Παιάν and ἰὲ Παιάν, ἰθι σωτήρ, κ.τ.λ. cp. the lines (*id.* 58 ff.) Μοῦσαι [δ'] αὐτίκα παρθένοι | κ[ισσῶι] στε[ψ]άμεναι κύκλωι σε πᾶσαι | μ[έλψαν] ἀθάνα[τον] ἐς ἀεί | Παιᾶν' εὐκλέα τ' ὀ[πι κλέο]υ|σαι· [κα]ῖρξε δ' Ἀπόλλων, Orph. *h. triet.* 52. 11 Παιὰν χρυσεγχής (E. Abel prints G. Hermann's cj. θυρσεγχής, cp. Orph. *h. Dion. Bass. triet.* 45. 5), ὑποκόλπιε, βοτρυόκομε, Colum. *de re rust.* 10. 217 ff. ista canat, maiore deo quem Delphica laurus | inpulit... et...extimulat vatem...Bacchea voce frementem | Delie te Paean, et te Euhie Euhie Paean. Note also Hesych. Παιώνιος· Διόνυσος, *id.* Δύαλος· ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Παίωσιν. Attempts to tinker Δύαλος (Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 488 proposes *Dryalos*, cp. Hes. *sc. Her.* 187;

Daldeia in Lydia[1], and *Dionysodótes*(?) in the Attic deme of Phlyeis[2].

H. Lewy in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1893 xxxix. 768 suggests *Λύαλος = Λυαῖος) are unsuccessful. J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 39 f. connects the Attic phratry Δυαλῆς and *op. cit.* p. 40 n. 1 would alter Hesych. ὑάλικος κώμη· Διονύσιος into Δυαλικὸς κώμη· κ.τ.λ. W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 42 f. translates Δύαλος by 'der "Rasende, Tolle, Stürmische"' (θύω, cp. the Bacchic Θυιάδες and Hesych. Θυώνη· ἡ Σεμέλη). But we cannot, I think, dissociate Hesych. Δύαλος· ὁ Διόνυσος παρὰ Παίωσιν from Hesych. Αὐαλός· ὁ Διόνυσος. May we not conclude that Δύαλος means the 'Wet' (δεύω) and Αὐαλός the 'Dry' (αὕω, αὖος, αὐαλέος)? Cp. 'Ilya the Wet' and 'Ilya the Dry' (*supra* i. 184).

[5] Hesych. Θύϊος· Ἀπόλλων ἐν Μιλήτῳ.

[1] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 70 <τὸν> Δαλδιαῖον (so cod. B for ἐν Δαλδίᾳ vulg.) Ἀπόλλωνα, ὃν Μύστην καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς πατρῴῳ ὀνόματι. A copper of Septimius Severus shows the god in his temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 71 pl. 8, 5 = my fig. 169).

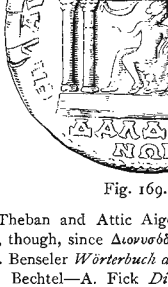


Fig. 169.

[2] Paus. 1. 31. 4 Φλυεῦσι δέ εἰσι...Ἀπόλλωνος Διονυσοδότου καὶ Ἀρτέμιδος Σελασφόρου βωμοὶ Διονύσου τε Ἀνθίου καὶ νυμφῶν Ἰσμηνίδων καὶ Γῆς, ἣν Μεγάλην θεὸν ὀνομάζουσι. The supposed cult-title Διονυσόδοτος (in Paus. 9. 35. 3 καὶ Ἀγγελίων τε καὶ Τεκταῖος †ὅσοι γε Διονύσου† τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ἐργασάμενοι Δηλίοις κ.τ.λ. T. Bergk ingeniously cj. οἱ τὸν Διονυσόδοτον; but??) has been explained as 'le produit de quelque combinaison savante due aux travaux d'un collège de prêtres établis dans cet endroit' (R. de Tascher in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1891 iv. 8) or attributed to the importation of Apollon Δαφνηφόρος from Thebes by the 'Dionysiac' clan to which the Theban and Attic Aigeidai belonged (E. Maass in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1889 cli. 813 ff.), though, since Διονυσόδοτος is a theophoric name of regular formation (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i p. xxviii, F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 pp. 102 f., 104 ff., E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 4 f., W. Fröhner 'Göttergaben' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 380 ff., and F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 pp. 140 f., 144 ff. give lists of names in -δοτο- and -δωρο-) actually found (Sosibios *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 678 c τοὺς Διονυσοδότου τοῦ Δάκωνος παιᾶνας, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 268, 95 f. Στρόμβιχος| Διονυσοδότου Ἀπολλωνιάτας), it might rather have been inferred that the altar in question was that of a man called Dionysodotos who in the mystic cult of Phlya (on which see especially J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 pp. 39 f., 208 ff.) played—like Pythagoras (*supra* p. 221 ff.)—the part of Apollon *redivivus*. However, it is far from certain that the title of Apollon was Διονυσόδοτος. It may have been, and probably was, Διονυσοδότης (cp. *e.g.* Zeus Πλουτοδότης *supra* i. 503). As such it is quoted and expounded by Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* 67 c p. 111, 14 ff. Norvin ὅτι τὰ ὅμοια μυθεύεται καὶ ἐν τῷ παραδείγματι. ὁ γὰρ Διόνυσος, ὅτε τὸ εἴδωλον ἐνέθηκε τῷ ἐσόπτρῳ, τούτῳ ἐφέσπετο, καὶ οὕτως εἰς τὸ πᾶν ἐμερίσθη. ὁ δὲ Ἀπόλλων συναγείρει τε αὐτὸν καὶ ἀνάγει καθαρτικὸς ὢν θεὸς καὶ τοῦ Διονύσου σωτὴρ ὡς ἀληθῶς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Διονυσοδότης ἀνυμνεῖται (ἀνυμνεῖται ex εὐφημεῖται post ∴ ∴ ∴ ∴ in ras. M.), cp. *id. ib.* p. 43, 14 ff. Norvin πῶς δὲ ἄρα οὐ τὰ Ὀρφικὰ ἐκεῖνα παρῳδεῖ νῦν ὁ Πλάτων, ὅτι ὁ Διόνυσος σπαράττεται μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων, ἀνοῦται δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος; διὸ συναγείρεσθαι καὶ ἀθροίζεσθαι, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τῆς Τιτανικῆς ζωῆς ἐπὶ τὴν ἑνοειδῆ, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* p. 83 = Orph. *frag.* 193 Abel Ὀρφεὺς ἐφίστησι

The fact is, they were gods of very much the same general character, both young male powers intimately related to Father Sky and Mother Earth, both closely connected with vegetation, both famous for their ecstatic and orgiastic rites[1]. Small wonder that fusion and confusion resulted, when one cult had been amalgamated with the other.

The gradual *rapprochement* and ultimate identification of Dionysos with Apollon can be well traced in extant literature. In the sixth century B.C. Pythagoras declared that Apollon was the son of Silenos[2]—a view perpetuated by the pedantic systematisers, who distinguished five Apollons, the fourth being Apollon *Nómios* the son of Silenos, born in Arkadia[3]. In the fifth century B.C. Herodotos learnt from the Egyptians that Apollon (Horos) and Artemis (Boubastis) were children of Dionysos (Osiris) and Demeter (Isis), nursed and preserved by Leto. Accordingly Herodotos charges Aischylos, who alone of the Greek poets had made Artemis a daughter of Demeter, with drawing from the same Egyptian source[4]. Having already detected one Egyptism in a play of Aischylos[5], we shall not straightaway scout the notion of a second. Still, we have not in this case, as we had in that, the support of a definitely Egyptian context. We shall therefore be slow to conclude that Aischylos was really Egyptising. More probably he was in Orphic

τῷ βασιλεῖ Διονύσῳ τὴν μονάδα τὴν Ἀπολλωνιακὴν ἀποτρέπουσαν αὐτὸν τῆς εἰς τὸ Τιτανικὸν πλῆθος προόδου καὶ τῆς ἐξαναστάσεως τοῦ βασιλείου θρόνου καὶ φρουροῦσαν αὐτὸν ἄχραντον ἐν τῇ ἐνώσει. The Orphists were fond of describing Apollon by titles comparable with Διονυσοδότης; in a hymn of but 26 lines they dub him βιοδώτην...ἐλπιδοδώτην...Ζηνοδοτῆρα (Brodaeus cj. ζηλοδοτῆρα)...ξυνοδοτῆρα...πλουτοδοτῆρα...ψυχοδοτῆρα...ὠρεσιδώτην (*h. Ap.* 3, 6, 7, 15, 17, 24, 25 (Abel *Orphica* p. 285))!

[1] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 57: 'Vor allen anderen Elementen aber, welche im Wesen dieser beiden jugendlich-schönen Söhne des Zeus gleichmässig ausgeprägt sind, macht sich bekanntlich der ekstatische Charakter bemerklich, welcher an ihrem Gefolge nicht weniger, als an ihnen selbst hervortritt,' cp. Strab. 468 οἱ μὲν οὖν Ἕλληνες οἱ πλεῖστοι τῷ Διονύσῳ προσέθεσαν καὶ τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι καὶ τῇ Ἑκάτῃ καὶ ταῖς Μούσαις καὶ Δήμητρι, νὴ Δία (καὶ διί cod. *x*), τὸ ὀργιαστικὸν πᾶν καὶ τὸ βακχικὸν καὶ τὸ χορικὸν καὶ τὸ περὶ τὰς τελετὰς μυστικόν, κ.τ.λ. E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 185 notes that in Orph. *Arg.* 9 f. Orpheus was inspired to sing Βάκχοιο καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἄνακτος | κέντρῳ ἐλαυνόμενος.

[2] *Supra* p. 221.

[3] Aristoteles *theologumena*? (=Aristot. *frag.* 283 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller)) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 3 p. 21, 7 f. καὶ τέταρτον τὸν Ἀρκάδα τὸν Σιληνοῦ· Νόμιος οὗτος κέκληται παρὰ Ἀρκάσιν, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 quartus in Arcadia, quem Arcades Nomion appellant, quod ab eo se leges ferunt accepisse, Ampel. 9. 6 quartus Sileni filius in Arcadia, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 15 quadrigas Apollinarium nominum, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 71 p. 124, 4 f. Wünsch πολλοὶ δὲ ἐκ τοῦ ὅλου Διὸς Δῖοι, ὥσπερ Ἀπόλλωνες ἢ Διόνυσοι. See further W. Michaelis *De origine indicis deorum cognominum* Berlin 1898 p. 47 f. and Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 254 f.

[4] Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Paus. 8. 37. 6 (Aisch. *frag.* 333 Nauck[2]).

[5] *Supra* i. 341 f.

mood[1]. And like enough it was under Orphic influence that he ventured even to equate Apollon with Dionysos, when in an unknown play—perhaps the *Bassarai*—he wrote:

Apollon of the Ivy, he the Bacchant, he the Seer[2].

Similarly Euripides, another poet who had more than a bowing acquaintance with Orphism, in his *Likymnios* penned the following invocation:

Lord who lov'st the Baytree, Paian, Bakchos, Apollon of the Lyre[3].

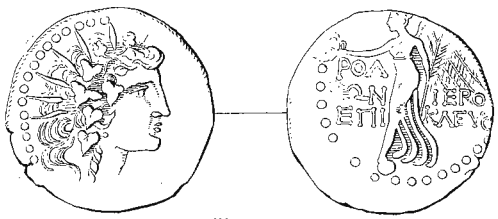


Fig. 170.

Later we get the identification more explicitly stated. In the first century of our era Dion Chrysostomos, addressing the Rhodians, says:

'Yet some maintain that Apollon, Helios, and Dionysos are all one and the same; and that is your own accepted view[4].'

The best commentary on this passage is a series of early imperial coppers, struck in Rhodes, which has for obverse type (fig. 170)[5]

[1] See Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 430 n. 2, 1168 n. 7, 1172, 1290 n. 3.

[2] Aisch. *frag.* 341 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 6 *ὁ κισσεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ βακχεύς, ὁ μάντις.* The manuscript variants are *ὁ Βακχεῖος* M 1. M 2. M 3. S. ΟΒΑΚΕΙΟΣ P 2. ΟΒΑΚΣΙΟΣ B. R. *ὁ βάκχιος* P 7. ΟΚΑΒΑΙΟΣ P 1. *ὦ βάκχε* P 6. *ὦ μάντις* P 6. Hence a prolific crop of conjectures: J. de Meurs *ὁ καὶ βάκχος ὁ μάντις*, Jakob Gronovius *ὁ Κυλλεὺς Ἀπόλλων, ὁ Ἡρικαπαῖος, ὁ Μῆτις* (an improvement on *Μάσαρις*), J. Barnes *Σαβαῖος*, H. Bothe and C. A. Lobeck *Ἀβαῖος*, F. G. Welcker *Καβαῖος*, J. G. J. Hermann *Βακχεῖος*, A. Nauck *βακχεύς* (adding 'versus videtur esse *Βασσαρῶν*'). An anonymous German scholar in the margin of my copy of L. Jan's Macrobius has hazarded the neologism *βακχειόμαντις*.

[3] Eur. *frag.* 477 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 6 *δέσποτα φιλόδαφνε Βάκχε, παιὰν Ἄπολλον εὔλυρε.* The variants are trifling: ΒΑΙΑΝ B. P 2. R. *Ἀπόλλων* R. J. de Meurs *Ἄπολλον*. A. Nauck cleverly suggests the transposition *δέσποτα | φιλόδαφνε παιὰν Βάκχ' Ἄπολλον εὔλυρε*. Perhaps we should go one step further and read the compound *Βακχάπολλον*, cp. *Διονυσαλέξανδρος* and the like (F. H. M. Blaydes' n. on Aristoph. *ran.* 499).

[4] Dion Chrys. *or.* 31 p. 570 Reiske *καίτοι τὸν μὲν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὸν Ἥλιον καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον ἔνιοί φασιν εἶναι τὸν αὐτόν, καὶ ὑμεῖς οὕτω νομίζετε.* Cp. the Orphic *εἷς Ἥλιος, εἷς Διόνυσος* (*supra* i. 187 n. 4, 292).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. pp. cxvi, 263 ff. pl. 42, 3, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 445 no. 85 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 642. I figure a specimen from my collection issued in the name of the *tamias* Hierokles (ΕΠΙ || ΙΕΡΟ|ΚΛΕΥC *sic*, cp. E. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 164 f.).

the head of a young male deity with the flowing hair of Apollon, the rays of Helios, and the ivy-wreath of Dionysos. W. Drexler calls him Helios[1], B. V. Head calls him Dionysos[2]: he is both rolled into one. And it is interesting to find that Nero, who certainly

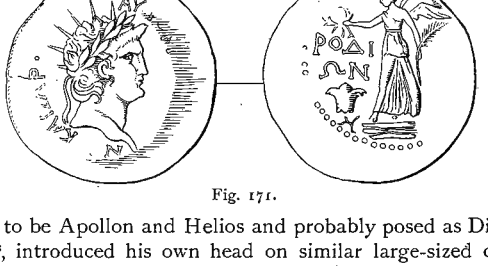


Fig. 171.

claimed to be Apollon and Helios and probably posed as Dionysos to boot[3], introduced his own head on similar large-sized coppers (fig. 171)[4] in place of the Rhodian god[5]. A treatise on epideictic

[1] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1206.

[2] B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* and *Hist. num.*[2] *locc. citt.*

[3] *Supra* p. 96 n. 3, *infra* Append. M *med.*

[4] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 103 pl. 10, 1 f., Rasche *Lex. Num.* vii. 1047 f. I figure a specimen of this rare coin from my collection: obv. ΚΛΙΣΑΡ · ΑΥΤΟ-ΚΡ[ΑΤΩΡΝΕΡΩ] Ν Head of Nero, laureate and radiate, to right; rev. ΡΟΔΙ ΩΝ Nike on the prow of a ship, holding wreath in right hand, palm in left, with rose before her.

[5] Nero's interest in Rhodes (Suet. *Ner.* 7) and personation of the Rhodian Helios will account for some of his vagaries. Thus his vice-gerent in Italy, 66—68 A.D., was a freedman named Helius (De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 325, C. Merivale *History of the Romans under the Empire* London 1881 vii. 35 f.). Again, his banqueting-hall was circular and revolved day and night like the sky (Suet. *Ner.* 31)—a suitable abode for a would-be sun-god. Lastly, it was no doubt the colossal Helios made for the Rhodians by Chares of Lindos (Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 291 ff. nos. 1539—1554) that prompted Nero to have a colossus of himself made by Zenodoros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 45) and set up in the vestibule of his Golden House (Suet. *Ner.* 31), cp. Mart. *ep.* 1. 70. 7 f. nec te detineat miri radiata colossi quae Rhodium moles vincere gaudet opus. Vespasian had the big figure repaired (Suet. *Vesp.* 18) and re-erected in the same place (Dion Cass. 66. 15, Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2091 = 76 A.D.: Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2090 (ii. 158 Schoene) and Synkell. *chron.* 342 B (i. 647 Dindorf) say ὁ κολοσσὸς Ῥόδου!): but the usual statement that he substituted the head of Apollo for that of Nero is not sufficiently supported by Mart. *lib. spect.* 2. 1 sidereus...colossus; the statue may well have been radiate from the outset. Hadrian caused his architect Decrianus to move it, by means of two dozen elephants, to its later position near the northern entrance of the amphitheatre; he also re-dedicated it to Sol, and commissioned Apollodoros of Damaskos to make a pendant figure of Luna (Spart. *v. Hadr.* 19. 12 f., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 45). Commodus cut the head off and replaced it by a portrait-head of himself; moreover, by adding a club and a lion he transformed the whole figure *more suo* into a Hercules (Dion Cass. 72. 22, Herodian. 1. 15. 9, Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 17. 10: according to the *Chron. Pasch.* 263 D (i. 492 Dindorf) and Synkell. *chron.* 354 B (i. 668 Dindorf) Commodus beheaded the colossus of Rhodes and substituted a likeness of himself; Kedren. *hist. comp.* 251 C

oratory traditionally ascribed to Menandros the rhetorician of Laodikeia on the Lykos (*c.* 270 A.D.)[1], but more probably composed by an anonymous rhetorician of Alexandreia in the Troad[2], concludes with an appeal to Apollon *Smínthios*:

'But, Sminthian and Pythian god,—for with thee my discourse began, and with thee shall it end—by what titles shall I address thee? Some name thee *Lýkeios*, some *Délios*, others *Askraîos*, others again *Áktios*. At Sparta men call thee *Amyklaîos*, at Athens *Patrôios*, at Miletos *Branchiátes*. Every town and country and nation thou dost traverse. Yea, even as thou dost dance round the sky with the choruses of the stars about thee, so dost thou traverse the whole world of men. The Persians name thee Mithras, the Egyptians Horos—for thou bringest round the seasons (*hôrai*) in their circuit—, the Thebans Dionysos; and the Delphians honour thee with a twofold title, calling thee at once Apollon and Dionysos. About thee are the Muses (?), about thee the Maenads. From thee the moon too gets her radiance, and the Chaldaeans name thee leader of the stars. Whether, then, thou carest for these titles, or for others better than these, grant that our city may ever enjoy full prosperity, and that this festival may for ever be held on thy behalf. Give grace, moreover, to the words that are spoken; for of thee come speech and city alike[3].'

(i. 441 Bekker) carries the confusion further by asserting that Commodus decapitated the colossus of Rhodes and placed its head on his own statue!). But these accessories were afterwards removed (Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 17. 9), and in the fourth century A.D. the Neronian image once more had a rayed crown (*Curiosum urbis regionum xiv* reg. iv = *Notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. iv (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 546)). Its base of brickwork is still *in situ* (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 320 ff.). The probability is that from first to last the colossus was recognised as the sun-god. If it bore the features of a Nero or a Commodus, we must remember that the former had posed as the Rhodian Helios and the latter at least as Hercules (R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2987 ff., *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 418).

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 755 f.

[2] C. Bursian 'Der Rhetor Menandros und seine Schriften' in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1882* Philos.-philol. Classe xvi. 3. 17 ff.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 151 prints the passage (=C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1836 ix. 329 f., L. Spengel *Rhetores Graeci* Lipsiae 1856 iii. 445 f.) thus: ἀλλ' ὦ Σμίνθιε καὶ Πύθιε, ἀπὸ σοῦ γὰρ ἀρξάμενος ὁ λόγος εἰς σὲ καὶ καταντήσει (τελευτήσει M. m.), ποίαις σὲ προσηγορίαις προσφθέγξομαι; οἱ μὲν σὲ Λύκειον (λύκιον p.) λέγουσιν, οἱ δὲ Δήλιον, ἄλλοι (οἱ M. m.) δὲ Ἀσκραῖον, ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄκτιον, Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Ἀμυκλαῖον (ἄλλοι δὲ Ἄκτιον—Ἀμυκλαῖον om. M.), Ἀθηναῖοι πατρῷον, Βραγχιάται Μιλήσιοι· πᾶσαν πόλιν καὶ πᾶσαν χώραν καὶ πᾶν ἔθνος διέπεις καὶ καθάπερ τὸν οὐρανὸν περιχορεύεις ἔχων περὶ σεαυτὸν τοὺς χοροὺς τῶν ἀστέρων (ἄστρων M. m.), οὕτω καὶ τὴν πᾶσαν οἰκουμένην (οἰκουμένην πᾶσαν M. m.) διέπεις· Μίθραν σε Πέρσαι λέγουσιν, Ὧρον Αἰγύπτιοι—σὺ γὰρ τὰς ὥρας εἰς κύκλον (εἰς κύκλον τὰς ὥρας M. m.) ἄγεις—Διόνυσον Θηβαῖοι, Δελφοὶ δὲ διπλῇ προσηγορίᾳ τιμῶσι τὸν [αὐτὸν] Ἀπόλλωνα (*τιμῶσι· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα p. τιμῶσιν Ἀπόλλωνα M. m.) καὶ Διόνυσον λέγοντες· περὶ σὲ †θοῦραι (θούραι p. ('die Buchstaben sind mit neuerer Tinte nachgezogen, über dem αι erkennt man noch über der Zeile ein α von erster Hand'). θυραῖα M. m. C. Walz cj. θηρία, L. Spengel μοῦσαι, C. Bursian Ὧραι. But cp. Hesych. θούριδες· νύμφαι. μοῦσαι. Μακεδόνες, *stirpa* i. 111 n. 2 f.), περὶ σὲ θυάδες· παρὰ σοῦ καὶ σελήνη τὴν ἀκτῖνα λαμβάνει· Χαλδαῖοι δὲ (δὲ om. p. C. Bursian cj. σὲ Χαλδαῖοι) ἄστρων ἡγεμόνα λέγουσιν· εἴτ' οὖν ταύταις χαίρεις (χαίροις m.) ταῖς προσηγορίαις (εἴτ'—προσηγορίαις om. M.), εἴτε γοὖτων ἀμείνοσι, σὺ (σοί M. σέ m.) μὲν ἀκμάζειν ἀεὶ ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις τὴν πόλιν δίδου, ἑσαεὶ δὲ τήνδε συγκροτεῖσθαί σοι (ἀκμάζειν ταῖς εὐδαιμονίαις τὴν πόλιν ἀεὶ τήνδε δίδου καί σοι

Dionysos displaced by Apollon

Towards the close of the fourth century Servius *à propos* of Aeneas and his comrades, whom Virgil had described as worshipping the Delian Apollo with bent heads[1], remarks:

'We should realise that, in accordance with the character of the deity addressed, the worshippers look sometimes down, sometimes up; for some powers are heavenly, others earthly, others a blend of both. Hence now, when beseeching Apollo, they turn towards the ground, since he is at once himself and Sol and Father Liber, who descended to the dead—as Horace puts it: "Cerberus saw thee and harmed thee not[2]." So they do well to turn towards the ground: it is from the ground that oracular responses come to them, and Apollo is known even to the dead below[3].'

Elsewhere, commenting on Virgil's apparent equation of the sun and moon with Liber and Ceres[4], Servius attributes the same unitarian doctrine to the Stoics:

'The Stoics hold that there is but one god and one goddess, and that it is the self-same power which is called by various names according to its functions and activities. Hence, on the one hand, they identify Sol, Liber, and Apollo; on the other, Luna, Diana, Ceres, Iuno, and Proserpina. Virgil—so they maintain—has here invoked Liber and Ceres in place of Sol and Luna[5].'

Again, Servius cites a similar view from a neo-Platonic source:

'But, according to Porphyrios' book entitled *The Sun*, it is clear that the power of Apollo is threefold, and that we should identify Sol in heaven, Father Liber on earth, Apollo under the earth. And this is why we see three attributes grouped about his effigy—the lyre which represents to us heavenly harmony,

συγκροτεῖσθαι M. m.) *τὴν παν*ήγυριν· *νεῦσον δὲ καὶ χάριν τοῖς λόγοις, παρὰ σοῦ* (*παρά σοι* p.) *γὰρ οἱ* (*γὰρ καὶ οἱ* M. m.) *λόγοι καὶ ἡ πόλις.*

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 3. 90 ff. [2] Hor. *od.* 2. 19. 29.

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 93 et sciendum pro qualitate numinum orantes interdum ima, interdum summa respicere; nam potestates aliae caelestes sunt, aliae terrenae, aliae permixtae: unde nunc Apollinem deprecantes terram petunt. ipse est enim et Sol et Liber Pater, qui inferos petiit, ut Horatius *te vidit insons* (sic F. m. *insomnis* L. H. M. *in somnis* E.) *Cerberus*. bene ergo terram petunt, unde ad eos responsa perveniunt, et quia Apollo etiam inferis notus (motus F.) est.

[4] Verg. *georg.* 1. 5 ff. vos, o clarissima mundi | lumina, labentem caelo quae ducitis annum, | Liber et alma Ceres.

[5] Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 5 Stoici dicunt non esse nisi unum deum et unam <deam>, eandemque (esse) potestatem, quae pro ratione officiorum nostrorum (*pro* nostrorum *leg.* et actuum) variis nominibus appellatur. unde eundem Solem, eundem Liberum, eundem Apollinem vocant. item Lunam, eandem Dianam, eandem Cererem, eandem Iunonem, eandem Proserpinam dicunt: secundum quos, pro Sole et Luna, Liberum et Cererem invocavit. The passage is cited by Myth. Vat. 2 *prooem.* Stoici dicunt non esse nisi unum deum et unam deam, eademque esse potestate; qui pro ratione officiorum et actuum variis nominibus appellantur (eandemque esse potestatem, quae pro ratione officiorum variis nominibus appellatur C. D.). deum (unde C. D.) eundem Solem, eundem Liberum, eundem Apollinem vocant. item deam eandem (deam eandem *om.* C. D.) Lunam, eandem Dianam, eandem (*om.* C. D.) Cererem (*om.* D.), eandem Junonem, eandem Proserpinam dicunt. numina autem utriusque sexus esse videntur, ideo quia incorporea sunt. Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 638 (=J. von Arnim *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1903 ii. 313 no. 1070).

the griffin which shows him as an earthly deity too, the arrows which mark him as a destructive god of the underworld[1].' Etc.

Finally, Macrobius (*c.* 400 A.D.), after adducing the Aeschylean and Euripidean evidence already quoted[2] by way of proof that Mount Parnassos was not sacred to two diverse deities, puts his case thus[3]:

'We began with the statement that Apollo is the sun. We next showed that Father Liber is none other than Apollo. Consequently there can be no doubt that Sol and Father Liber refer to the same god. Nevertheless this shall be established by yet clearer arguments. Mystic religion in its rites observes the following rule: when the sun is in the upper or diurnal hemisphere, it is called Apollo; when in the lower or nocturnal, it is held to be Dionysos[4], that is Father Liber.' Etc.

In short, it appears that a variety of influences—Pythagorean, Egyptian, Orphic—tended towards the assimilation of Dionysos

[1] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 5. 66 sed constat secundum Porphyrii librum, quem *Solem* appellavit, triplicem esse Apollinis potestatem, et eundem esse Solem apud superos, Liberum Patrem in terris, Apollinem apud inferos. unde etiam tria insignia circa eius simulacrum videmus—lyram quae nobis caelestis harmoniae imaginem monstrat, gryphen quae eum (see H. A. Lion *ad loc.* n. 66: Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 16 has more correctly *gryphen qui eum*) etiam terrenum numen ostendit, sagittas quibus infernalis deus et noxius indicatur. The passage is quoted by Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 16 and, in a shortened form, by Myth. Vat. 2. 18 (where G. H. Bode would rightly restore *gryphem* as against A. Mai's *quadrigam*).

[2] *Supra* p. 253.

[3] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 7 f. sed licet, illo prius [*Sat.* 1. 17. 7 ff.] adserto eundem esse Apollinem ac solem, edoctoque postea [*Sat.* 1. 18. 1 ff.] ipsum esse Liberum patrem qui Apollo est, nulla ex his dubitatio sit Solem ac Liberum patrem eiusdem numinis habendum, absolute tamen hoc argumentis liquidioribus astruetur. in sacris enim haec religiosi arcani observatio tenetur, ut sol, cum in supero—id est in diurno—hemisphaerio est, Apollo vocitetur, cum in infero—id est in nocturno—Dionysus, qui est Liber pater, habeatur.

[4] An etymologising (*νύξ* + *ἥλιος* or *ἠέλιος*!) explanation of *Νυκτέλιος*, a title borne by Dionysos at Megara (Paus. 1. 40. 6 *μετὰ δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τὸ τέμενος ἐς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν ἀνελθοῦσι καλουμένην ἀπὸ Καρὸς τοῦ Φορωνέως καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς ἔτι Καρίαν ἔστι μὲν Διονύσου ναὸς Νυκτελίου, πεποίηται δὲ Ἀφροδίτης Ἐπιστροφίας ἱερὸν καὶ Νυκτὸς καλούμενόν ἐστι μαντεῖον καὶ Διὸς Κονίου* (L. C. Valckenaer cj. *Κρονίου*. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 642 n. 75 cj. *Κωνίου*, 'kegelförmig, metae modo.' K. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1848 iii. 518 cj. *σκοτίου* or *χθονίου*. And H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* state that the text 'scheint keine plausible Erklärung zuzulassen.' Zeus 'of the Dust,' cp. Pind. *Nem.* 9. 102 *ἐν κονίᾳ χέρσῳ*, was possibly chthonian, but more probably the god that sent dusty weather—a very material consideration in Greece, where the ancient wayfarer—witness Plat. *rep.* 496 D—was glad to take shelter from the swirling dust-storm behind the nearest wall and the modern hotel-manager keeps a man in the hall to flap your boots with a feather-broom) *ναὸς οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον*), at Delphoi (Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 9 cited *supra* p. 234), and doubtless elsewhere (Ov. *met.* 4. 15, *ars am.* 1. 567, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 14 = *h. Dion.* 14 (Abel *Orphica* p. 284), Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 349, 22. 6, 27. 173, 44. 203). But the title certainly originated in the fact that Dionysiac rites were held at night (Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 112, *et. mag.* p. 609, 20 f., schol. Soph. *Ant.* 1147): see further Soph. *Ant.* 1146 f., Eur. *Ion* 1074 ff., *Bacch.* 485 ff., Aristoph. *ran.* 340 ff., Verg. *georg.* 4. 521, Hesych. *s.v.* *νυκτελεῖν*, and the epithets *νυκτέριος* (Orph. *h. triet.* 52. 4), *νυκτίπολος* (Eur. *frag.* 472, 11 Nauck[2] cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1 cp. i. 667 n. 4, Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 288), *νυκτιφαής* (Nonn. *Dion.* 44. 218).

and Apollon, who were completely unified by the solar syncretism of the Graeco-Roman age. But it would be a gross blunder to regard these two as identical from the outset. Rather they were analogous gods, of whom one proved a not uncongenial intruder upon the other. The welcome guest became in time a recognised member of the family circle, and ultimately the main representative of the house, his former naturalisation having been obscured by the later developments of religion and philosophy.

The situation thus arising may be illustrated by a short sequence of Greek vase-paintings[1]. A polychrome *pelike* from Jüz Oba, now at Petrograd (pl. xvi)[2], Attic work of the fourth century B.C., has for its principal figures the earlier *personnel* of the Delphic oracle. The obverse design shows Zeus, with golden bay-wreath and sceptre, enthroned beside Themis, who, clad in a *chitón* and a *himátion* partly blue partly red, sits on the yellow-touched gold-filleted *omphalós*, her left foot raised upon a stone. God and goddess are in earnest conversation, as befits the supreme counsellors of all the world[3]. The subject of their talk is presumably the glorification

[1] The Etruscan mirror from the Luynes collection (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 24 f. pl. 292), now at Paris (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 517 f. no. 1300 fig.), adduced by Miss Harrison in her *Themis* p. 442 f. fig. 136 as representing Apollon and Dionysos *vis-à-vis* with the sun's disk between them, would make a delightful illustration of the same point. But unfortunately the interpretation of the second figure as Dionysos is far from certain. The duc de Luynes in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1848 p. 36 described it as Diana; E. Gerhard *loc. cit.*, E. Babelon and J. A. Blanchet *loc. cit.*, as Artemis.

[2] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 324 ff. no. 1793, *id. Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1860 p. 39 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 1 f. = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 3, 1 f., C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1870 p. 86 n., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 181 K, 183, 185 f., *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 9, 1, C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 188 ff. pl. 3, W. Klein 'Zur Einleitungsscene der Kyprien' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 251 ff. fig. 1, and above all Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 46—50 fig. 21 f. pl. 69 (= my pl. xvi). Height $0{\cdot}443^{m}$.

[3] Themis as an earth-goddess (*supra* p. 176 n. 1) knows the right order of events and from experience of the past can give good advice for the future. In poetry she is εὔβουλος (Pind. *Ol.* 13. 11, *Isthm.* 8. 68 cited *infra* § 9 (h) ii (κ). *frag.* 30. 1 Schroeder cited *supra* p. 37 n. 1), ὀρθόβουλος (Aisch. *P. v.* 18), πινυτά (Bakchyl. 14. 55, cp. *frag. adesp.* 82 A as completed by Bergk[4] *ad loc.*), in prose Βουλαία (Plout. *praec. ger. reip.* 5, Synes. *de regno* 15 (lxvi. 1093 Migne)).

Zeus is wise as a forefather (Aisch. *suppl.* 592 ff. πατὴρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ | γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας | τέκτων, τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ οὔριος Ζεύς. Cp. for his wisdom as conceived by Aischylos *P. v.* 61 f., *suppl.* 1058 f., and the remarks of W. Kausche in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 137), as a magician (*supra* i. 14 n. 1, 758 n. 1 f.), as an all-seeing sky-god (*supra* i. 187 n. 9, 196 f., 459 ff., 731 n. 1, 783), and as ideal mind (Nonn. *Dion.* 20. 266 περισσονόοιο Διός, Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 930 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ νοῦς ὁ πάνσοφος, *proleg. alleg.* 315 ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ νοῦς ἐκέλευσε, *alleg. Od.* 1. 163 ὦ Ζεῦ, σὺ νοῦ καὶ φρόνιμε). But it is as a chthonian god or, more strictly, as a god associated with chthonian goddesses that he gives counsel to men. Thus he is Zeus Βουλεύς in Mykonos (*supra* i. 668 f., 717 n. 3, with Demeter and Kore), Zeus Εὐβουλεύς in Amorgos (*supra*

Polychrome *pelike* from Jüz Oba: Zeus takes counsel with Themis.

See page 258 ff.

[From Furtwängler—Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 69 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

i. 669 n. 2 with Demeter and Kore), Paros (*supra* i. 669 n. 2 with Hera, Demeter *Thesmophóros*, Kore, Baubo), Delos (*supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3, with Demeter and Kore), Kyrene (Hesych. *Εὐβουλεύς· ὁ Πλούτων. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς πολλοῖς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κυρήνῃ*). At Mantineia a limestone block inscribed ΔΙΟΣΕΥΒΩΛΕΟΣ in lettering of *s.* iv or early *s.* iii B.C. was found in the middle of the Bouleuterion (G. Fougères in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 133 f. no. 8 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 289), cp. Diod. 5. 72 *διόπερ αὐτὸν προσαγορευθῆναι Ζῆνα μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ δοκεῖν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις αἴτιον εἶναι τοῦ ζῆν....εὐβουλέα δὲ καὶ μητιέτην διὰ τὴν ἐν τῷ βουλεύεσθαι καλῶς σύνεσιν.* At Athens the Bouleuterion included a sanctuary of Zeus Boulaîos and Athena Boulaía (Antiph. *or.* 6. 45 *καὶ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ βουλευτηρίῳ Διὸς Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαίας ἱερόν ἐστι, καὶ εἰσιόντες οἱ βουλευταὶ προσεύχονται*, cp. Ulpian. *in* Dem. *in Mid.* 115 *πῶς γὰρ ἂν προσεδέξατο τὴν θυσίαν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Βουλαῖος, ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Νέμ<ε>ιος, εἰ τοιοῦτος ἦν Δημοσθένης;*), whose joint priest is mentioned in inscriptions (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 272 a seat in the theatre *ἱερέως | Διὸς Βουλαίου | καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Βουλαίας*, no. 683 of *s.* ii A.D. [*ὁ δῆμος? τὸν ἱερ*]*έα Δι*[*ὸς Βου*]*λαίου καὶ | [Ἀθη*]*νᾶς Βουλαί*[*ας*] *κ.τ.λ.*): Zeus had a *xóanon* (Paus. 1. 3. 5 *Βουλαίου δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ κεῖται ξόανον Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλων τέχνῃ Πεισίου καὶ Δῆμος ἔργον Δύσωνος*), an altar (schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 45 *'καὶ τὴν Ἑστίαν ἐπώμοσε τὴν Βουλαίαν.' Διὸς ἦν βωμὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. τὴν Ἑστίαν οὖν λέγει τὴν Βουλαίαν τὸν βωμὸν αὐτοῦ, τοῦ Διός, τὸν ὄντα ἐν τῇ βουλῇ. ὤμοσε δὲ καθὸ βουλευτὴς ἦν. κ.τ.λ.* The same confusion of the altar of Zeus with the hearth of Hestia appears in L. Bachmann *Anecdota Graeca* Lipsiae 1828 i. 181, 9 f. Boulaía: *Διὸς ἦν βωμὸς ἐν τῇ βουλῇ, ὃς ἑλέγετο βουλαία, ὡς ἀπὸ τῆς βουλῆς*)— probably that from which Theramenes was dragged to his death (Xen. *Hell.* 2. 3. 52 ff., Diod. 14. 4 f., Plout. *v. dec. or.* 4 *init.*)—, and dedications (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1025, 16 a list of *c.* 140—150 A.D. [*ὁ δεῖνα τοὺς πρυτάνεις καὶ τοὺς συνάρχ*]*οντας ἀναγράψας Διὶ Βο*[*υλαίῳ καὶ | Ἑστίᾳ Βουλαίᾳ δς ἐλέγετο Βουλαία, δ

ANTIOX ЄΩN MOPCVNOC river-god Morsynos standing to left with *phiále* in right hand and reed in left, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 471 no. 75 obv. ΣЄVC BOVΛΛAIOC, rev. read as .....ΩN ΠOPCVNOC *sic*, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 608, cp. Zeus with Boule (?) on a copper of Neapolis on the Harpasos in Karia, struck by Gordianus iii (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 148 no. 5)). The title Βουλαῖος was transferred to Roman emperors etc. (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 594 no. 538, a copper of Pergamon in the collection of L. E. Cousinéry, obv. CЄBACTΩI·KAICAPI·BOVΛΛIΩ head of Augustus laureate to right, rev. A·ΦOVPIOΣ·ΓVMNAΣI-ARXΩN·ΠЄPΓAMH... large vase on a table; *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1393, 1 ff. [Δία Βου]λαῖον Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα | [τὸν πατέρ]α Γαΐου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | ὁ δᾶμος between no. 1392, 1 ff. Ἑστίαν Βουλαίαν Ἀγριππῖναν | τὰν ματέρα Γαΐου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | ὁ δᾶμος and no. 1394, 1 ff. [Αὐτοκράτορα Καίσ]αρα | [Σεβαστὸν Οὐεσπ]ασιανὸν | [ὁ δᾶμος], where M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1890 i. 159 would read [Τὸν νέον Δία Βου]λαῖον Γερμανικὸν Καίσαρα, | [τὸν σωτῆρα, πατέρ]α Γαίου Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ, | ὁ δᾶμος; *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1352 a limestone base from Abea inscribed Ἀδριανοῦ Βουλαίου. κ.τ.λ., cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1167, 10=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 259. 4) from Zeus, to whom it properly belonged (Plout. *an seni resp. ger. sit* 10 τοὺς δὲ τοῦ Βουλαίου καὶ Ἀγοραίου καὶ Πολιέως Διὸς ὑπηρέτας οὐ ποδῶν ἔργα καὶ χειρῶν ἀπαιτοῦμεν ἀλλὰ βουλῆς καὶ προνοίας καὶ λόγου, *id. praec. ger. reip.* 5 οὐδὲ Διὸς

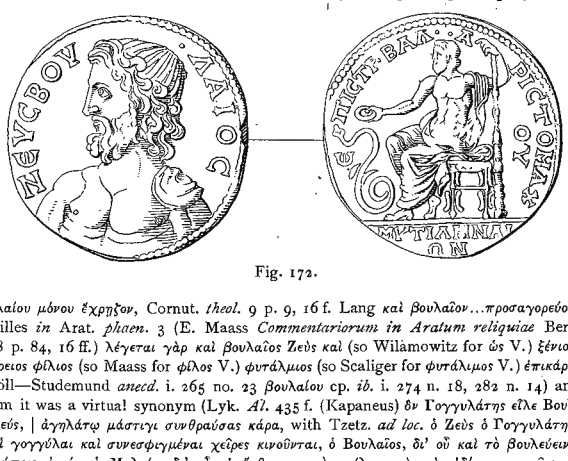


Fig. 172.

Βουλαίου μόνου ἔχρηζον, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 16 f. Lang καὶ βουλαῖον...προσαγορεύουσιν, Achilles *in* Arat. *phaen.* 3 (E. Maass *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* Berolini 1898 p. 84, 16 ff.) λέγεται γὰρ καὶ βουλαῖος Ζεὺς καὶ (so Wilàmowitz for ὡς V.) ξένιος καὶ ἑταίρειος φίλιος (so Maass for φίλος V.) φυτάλμιος (so Scaliger for φυτάλμιος V.) ἐπικάρπιος, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 23 βουλαίου cp. *ib.* i. 274 n. 18, 282 n. 14) and of whom it was a virtual synonym (Lyk. *Al.* 435 f. (Kapaneus) δν Γογγυλάτης εἶλε Βουλαῖος Μυλεύς, | ἀγηλάτῳ μάστιγι συνθραύσας κάρα, with Tzetz. *ad loc.* ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Γογγυλάτης, δι' οὗ αἱ γογγύλαι καὶ συνεσφιγμέναι χεῖρες κινοῦνται, ὁ Βουλαῖος, δι' οὗ καὶ τὸ βουλεύειν τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἐστίν, ὁ Μυλεύς, δι' οὗ οἱ ἄνθρωποι τὰς μύλας καὶ τοὺς ὀδόντας κινοῦσιν, ἢ ὁ ἀρτοδότης, ἀπὸ τῆς μύλης, cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 27 γογγυλάτου, no. 65 μυλέως. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1585 says: 'Vermutlich entspricht Zeus G. dem Zeus Palamnaios.' H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3307 cp. Zeus Μυλεύς with Iupiter *Pistor*; L. Bachmann *ad loc.* cp. Iupiter *Lapis*. Was Zeus Γογγυλάτης connected with turnips (γογγύλαι), as Iupiter with onions (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 270)? And was Zeus Μυλεύς, like Apollon *Mýlas* or *Mylántios* (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3306), the Mylanteioi Theoi (K. Tümpel *ib.* ii. 3305 f.), and Promylaia (O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 3110 f.), a protector of mills? *Non liquet*. Both titles might be local, Γογγυλάτης from some island *Γογγύλη, Μυλεύς from some town akin to Μύλασα). Βουλαῖος meant 'God of the *Council*' and at most connoted the power of giving *counsel* (cp. Theokr. 16. 70 Διὸς μέγα βουλεύοντος); it is not directly connected with the *quasi-*

of Athens[1], since Athena, who stands before them wearing a golden *aigís* slung across a lilac (?) *péplos* spangled with gold and having in her left hand a golden spear, on her head a golden red-crested helmet, is in the act of receiving a golden olive-wreath from a Victory, in a bright-coloured *péplos*, poised on wings of blue and gold. The remaining figures are less dazzling, being in effect little more than conventional 'filling': Selene on her horse led by Hesperos to the right; Hermes in waiting behind Zeus; Aphrodite with Peitho to the left. The central group plainly recalls the east pediment of the Parthenon; and the same great original, haunting the imagination of the painter, has contributed something to his Selene, Hermes, and Aphrodite[2]. The reverse design represents Dionysos seated with Ariadne. Each holds a *thýrsos*, and Eros hovers between them. Dionysos' panther, caressing Ariadne, and a Maenad, with a timbrel at her side, complete the picture. Thus front and back of the vase taken together[3] portray Zeus, Themis,

magical *βουλή* or *βουλαί* of Zeus (*supra* i. 14 n. 1). Zeus *Ἀμβούλιος* at Sparta (Paus. 3. 13. 6 *πρὸς τούτῳ Διὸς Ἀμβουλίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν Ἀμβουλίας βωμὸς καὶ Διοσκούρων καὶ τούτων Ἀμβουλίων*, Souid. *s.v.* *Ἀμβούλιος· ὄνομα κύριον i.e.* a theophoric name (?)) was probably a warlike deity (Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 13 f.), who on some historic occasion, unknown to us, had saved the state by a sudden change of plans and was therefore worshipped as 'the Reverser of the Decree' (cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 145 n. 1, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1816, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1117 n. 3). H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 81 thinks that the Spartans would have called these deities *ἄμβωλοι* (*sic*) and *ἀμβωλία*.

[1] The vase has been much misinterpreted. L. Stephani *locc. citt.*, deserted by his usual good sense, made the meaning of the obverse turn on the nature of the horse-rider: if she were Selene led by one of the Dioskouroi, the other figures from left to right might be two Hesperides, Hestia, Hermes, Atlas, Nike, Athena; but if—as he preferred to think—she were Artemis *Pheraía* led by a Satyr, they might be Iphthime, Alkestis, Hestia, Hermes *Pheraîos*, Admetos, Nike, Athena. C. Strube *loc. cit.*, followed by J. Overbeck and A. Furtwängler *locc. citt.*, made a much better suggestion. The vase-painter had been inspired by the opening scene of the *Kypria*, in which Zeus took counsel with Themis how to lessen the tribes of men that burdened the earth by bringing about the Trojan war (Prokl. *chrestom.* 1 (p. 17 Kinkel) *Ζεὺς βουλεύεται μετὰ τῆς Θέμιδος* (so C. G. Heyne for codd. *θέτιδος*) *περὶ τοῦ Τρωικοῦ πολέμου. παραγενομένη δὲ Ἔρις εὐωχουμένων τῶν θεῶν ἐν τοῖς Πηλέως γάμοις νεῖκος περὶ κάλλους ἐνίστησιν Ἀθηνᾷ Ἥρᾳ καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ, κ.τ.λ.* cp. *Kypria frag.* 1 Kinkel *ap.* schol. *Il.* 1. 5 f.). Strube's notion that the horse-rider was Eris led by Oistros is rightly abandoned by Furtwängler. C. Robert *loc. cit.* put forward the odd idea that Zeus is about to bear Dionysos, who is as yet hidden in his left thigh, and that Themis is foretelling the child's future. Robert takes the rider to be Selene led by Phosphoros—an indication that the scene is laid just before day-break. W. Klein *loc. cit.*, comparing the famous Dareios-vase (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 142 ff. pl. 88), will have it that Athena and Aphrodite here stand for Hellas and Asia, that the seductive rider is Apate, etc. S. Reinach *loc. cit.* is eclectic naming the *dramatis personae* Peitho (?), Aphrodite, Hestia (?), Hermes, Zeus, Nike, Athena, Artemis or Selene led by an *éphebos*.

[2] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[3] An objection to my view is that late vases of this type as a rule have for reverse

and Dionysos—the early Delphic triad—in thoroughly characteristic surroundings.

Another fourth-century vase, likewise found at Jüz Oba and preserved at Petrograd[1], is a red-figured *kratér*, which has for obverse design a judgment of Paris[2] comparable with that depicted on the *hydría* at Karlsruhe[3] and for reverse the arrival of Apollon at Delphoi (pl. xvii)[4]. The scene is marked by the *omphalós* with its fillets and bay-wreath, the palm-tree[5], and the tripod[6]. Dionysos —a kingly figure bearded, wreathed with ivy, clad in fine under-*chitón*, richly decorated upper-*chitón*, and *himátion*, and holding his *thýrsos* like a sceptre—is evidently lord of the locality[7]. Round him is his retinue, three naked Satyrs and three Maenads, who with flutes, lyre, and timbrel make music as their master extends the right hand of fellowship[8] to the youthful Apollon, a simpler personage in a dotted *himátion* with bay-wreath and bay-branch. One of the Maenads prepares a seat for him beside the *omphalós*—a sufficiently significant action. The guest has come to stay. And it may be added that Zeus and Themis, the original occupants of the place, are already relegated to the other side of the vase.

A later moment is represented on a red-figured bell-*kratér* of

design some commonplace subject (draped youths, etc.) unconnected with the obverse. That is true. But there are notable exceptions (*e.g. Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 32 ff. Atlas pl. 1 f. = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 1, 1 f., 2, 2 or Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 590 f. no. 1854), and this may well be one. Robert *op. cit.* p. 190 is not averse from connecting the two sides of our vase.

[1] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807. Height 0·49^{m}.

[2] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[3] *Supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi.

[4] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pls. 3 and 4 (= my pl. xvii) = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 f., 8, 1, L. Weniger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 331 no. 73, 333 Atlas pl. 21, 25 (central group only), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 316 pl. 17, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*^{2} p. 390 f. fig. 122, *ead. Themis* p. 443 f. fig. 137.

[5] Recalling the bronze palm at Delphoi (Plout. *v. Nic.* 13, *de Pyth. or.* 8, Paus. 10. 15. 4 f.). On the relation of palms to Apollon see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 68 f.

[6] *Omphalós*, palm, and tripod are all found on the *amphora* from Ruvo (*supra* p. 170 n. 2).

[7] Miss Harrison is a trifle less dogmatic in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*^{2} p. 390 f.: 'It is perhaps not quite certain which is regarded as the first comer, but the balance is in favour of Dionysos as the sanctuary is already peopled with his worshippers.'

[8] L. Weniger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 190 f. and Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 316 suggest that Dionysos is greeting Apollon on his return from the Hyperboreans—a possible interpretation. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 114 after many pages reaches the wrong conclusion, *viz.* that Apollon and Dionysos grasp each other's hand merely to show their essential similarity—'Eine...rein theoretische, nicht dramatische Anwendung des Handschlags'—or, if the gesture has any reference to the particular occasion, their unanimity in regard to the judgment of Paris.

Kratér from Jüz Oba: Apollon visits Dionysos at Delphoi.

See page 262.

Kratér in the British Museum: Apollon honoured by the followers of Dionysos at Delphoi.

Attic style now in the British Museum (pl. xviii)[1]. The mountain-side with a stepped altar in the foreground stands for the precinct at Delphoi[2], which is still largely Dionysiac—witness the ivy-leaves that strew the ground, the company of Satyrs and Maenads, and the presence of Dionysos himself. But the principal deity is now Apollon, who is seated in the centre with short *chitón* and embroidered *himátion*, a bay-wreath round his hair, a bay-branch in

Fig. 173.

his left hand, a tortoise-shell lyre in his right. He glances over his shoulder at Dionysos, who occupies a subordinate seat on the extreme left, similarly clad in a short *chitón* with an embroidered *himátion*, wearing fillet and ivy-wreath, and holding a *thýrsos* in one hand, a *rhytón* in the other. His former retainers seem bent on honouring the new arrival. One of the Satyrs turns towards him, fingering a lyre. The other, carrying an *oinochóe*, offers him an ivy-patterned *kántharos*. And both Maenads present him with flat baskets of fruit. It is clear that Apollon is in process of displacing Dionysos.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 50 f. no. F 77, [P. F. Hugues, dit d'Hancarville] *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines* Naples 1767 ii pl. 68, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* ii. 137 f. pl. 196, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 222 ff. pl. 74 A, E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 102 ff. pl. 202, 2 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 397, 6, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 59 n. 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 326 no. 53, 330. Pl. xviii is from a photograph of the vase (height 15¼ inches) in its present condition. Previous illustrations are grossly inaccurate, Dionysos having been restored as a nude goddess and many details wrongly repainted.

[2] This may be disputed, since the *omphalós* does not appear (are we to think of it as concealed beneath Apollon's drapery?). But the painting fills a gap in a series of undoubtedly Delphic scenes, and Gerhard *loc. cit.* p. 102 was probably right in describing it as 'Apollon zu Delphi.'

Dionysos displaced by Apollon

The displacement is well nigh complete in the scene painted on a late Attic bell-*kratér* from Santa Agata de' Goti, now at Berlin (fig. 173)[1]. Apollon, with a bordered *himátion* about his legs, a bay-wreath and fillet on his head, and a bay-branch in his left hand, is seated on the *omphalós*, itself garlanded with bay, whilst he dangles a sprig of bay-leaves[2] over a white deer at his side[3]. Before him

[1] Furtwängler *Vasensammil. Berlin* ii. 755 no. 2645, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 139 ff. pl. 45, E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 106 ff. pl. 203 = my fig. 173 (omits ground-line. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* says: 'Keine Terrainlinien, die Figuren nur etwas über der Bodenlinie') = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 397, 7 f.

[2] Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* ii. 140: 'Cette circonstance rappelle la mastication de feuilles de laurier que la Pythie mettait dans sa bouche avant de s'asseoir sur le trépied fatidique.' See Soph. *frag.* 811 Nauck[2], 897 Jebb, *ap.* schol. Hes. *theog.* 30 *δάφνην φαγὼν ὀδόντι πρῖε τὸ στόμα*, Theophr. *char.* 16 (28 Jebb) *ὁ δὲ δεισιδαίμων τοιοῦτός τις οἷος...δάφνην εἰς τὸ στόμα λαβὼν οὔτω τῆν ἡμέραν περιπατεῖν*, Lyk. *Al.* 6 (Kassandra) *δαφνηφάγων φοίβαζεν ἐκ λαιμῶν ὄπα* with schol. *ad loc. εἰώθασιν οἱ μάντεις δάφνας προεσθίειν*, Kallim. *iamb.* 3. 222 f. (A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 39) *καὶ Πυθίη γὰρ ἐν δάφνῃ μὲν ἵδρυται, | δάφνην δ' ἀείδει* (Wilamowitz cj. *ἀείρει*, but see A. Platt in the *Class. Quart.* 1910 iv. 113 and A. E. Housman *ib.* p. 119) *καὶ δάφνην ὑπέστρωται*, Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 3 *ἐμοὶ γὰρ ἄχρι τούτου τῆς αἰτίας ὥσπερ δάφνης παρατετρώχθω* (so J. J. Reiske for *παρατετάχθω*), Loukian. *bis accus.* 1 *ἡ πρόμαντις...μασησαμένη τῆς δάφνης*, Athen. 140 D—E *καὶ ἐστὶν ἡ παρασκευὴ τῶν λεγομένων ἐπαΐκλων...διττή. ἦν μὲν γὰρ τοῖς παισὶ παρέχουσι, πάνυ τις εὐκολὸς ἐστι καὶ εὐτελὴς. ἅλφιτα γάρ ἐστιν ἐλαίῳ δεδευμένα, ἃ φησι Νικοκλῆς ὁ Λάκων* (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 464 Müller)) *κάπειτ αὐτοὺς μετὰ τὸ δεῖπνον ἐν φύλλοις δάφνης, παρὸ καὶ καμμαΐδας μὲν προσαγορεύεσθαι τὰ φύλλα, αὐτὰ δὲ τὰ ψαιστὰ κάμματα* (cp. Hesych. *s.v.*). *ὅτι δὲ ἔθος ἦν τοῖς πάλαι καὶ φύλλα δάφνης τραγματίζεσθαι* Kallías (*Kyklopes frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 737 Meineke)) *ἢ Διοκλῆς ἐν τοῖς Κύκλωψί φησιν οὕτως· "φυλλὰς ἡ* (so K. G. A. Erfurdt for *φύλλα σὺ* V. L. *φυλλα συ* P. *φυλαση* A. *φύλαση* B.) *δείπνων κατάλυσις· ἡ δὲ* (*ἥδε* P. *ἥδε* Meineke, omitting the point before it) *καθάπερ σχημάτων,*" *Geopon.* 11. 2. 6 *λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο περὶ τῆς δάφνης, ὅτι ὑγείας ἐστὶν ἐργαστική. ὅθεν καὶ φύλλα αὐτῆς ἐπιδίδουται* (*ἐπεδίδοντο* F. M.) *τοῖς ἄρχουσι παρὰ τοῦ δήμου τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἰαννουαρίου μηνός, καὶ ἰσχάδες*, Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o. d. proleg.* p. 14 ff. Gaisford *φασὶ δὲ ὡς ἐννέα τινὲς ἐλθοῦσαι γυναῖκες καὶ δρεψάμεναι κλῶνας δάφνης Ἑλικωνίτιδος αὐτὸν ἐπεσίτισαν, καὶ οὕτω σοφίας ποιητικῆς ἐπεμφόρητο* (*ἐμπεφόρητο* E. and ed. Trincavelli. *ἐμπεφόρηται* F. and annot. Graevii)....*καὶ γὰρ ἐν τῷ ποιμαίνειν περὶ τὸν Ἑλικῶνα καθευδήσας ὁ Ἡσίοδος ὄναρ εἶδεν ἐννέα γυναῖκας δάφναι αὐτῷ ψωμιζούσας....ἔνθεν τοι μή τις τῶν νέων νωχελὴς καὶ ἀμβλὺς περὶ λόγους τελείτω καὶ μονονουχὶ καθευδέτω τοῖς περὶ τὸν Ἡσίοδον τοῦτον ἠπατημένος μύθοις καὶ παρ' αὐτὸν ἐπελθεῖν δαφνηφορούσας τινὰς παρθένους καραδοκῶν ψωμιζούσας τὰς δάφνας...ἀλλὰ ταῦτα μὲν τὰ μυθοπλαστούμενα περὶ τῆς τοῦ Ἡσιόδου δαφνηφαγίας κ.τ.λ.*, Villoison *anecd.* ii. 186 n. 1 schol. cod. 489 Venet. S. Marci *de rhapsodia ἡ ὅτι μαντικὴ ἡ δάφνη· οἱ γὰρ μαντευόμενοι ἐδαφνηφάγουν*, Tib. 2. 5. 63 f. vera cano : sic usque sacras innoxia laurus | vescar (*noscar* O.), Ov. *ex Pont.* 2. 5. 67 gustata (so A. confirming a cj. of R. Bentley in his n. on Hor. *od.* 3. 30. 15) et (so Rothmaler for *est* codd.) laurea nobis, Mart. *ep.* 5. 4. 1 ff. foetere multo Myrtale solet vino, | sed fallat ut nos folia devorat lauri | merumque cauta fronde, non aqua, miscet. | ...dicas licebit "Myrtale bibit laurum," Iuv. 7. 19 laurumque momordit. These multifarious usages—mantic, prophylactic, cathartic, hygienic, etc.—probably go back to a belief that the bay-tree was highly charged with divinity (cp. Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 264 f., 338 ff., A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 188 ff., R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 404 ff.). It would, however, be a mistake to regard the bay as a vegetable form of Apollon (despite his

stands a Maenad[1], in a richly embroidered *péplos* with a wreath of ivy on her hair, grasping a couple of lit torches; behind him, a similarly draped and wreathed Maenad[2] carrying a *thýrsos*, and a clumsy dancing Satyr. To the left is Hermes, who beckons the *thíasos* away to their nightly revels on the mountain. In the background are seen the upper parts of four Doric columns supporting an architrave—a rough sketch of the Delphic temple on its terrace[3]. Dionysos, it will be observed, has gone: the Maenads and the Satyr are going.

But even when Apollon had entered into full possession of the Delphic seat it was not forgotten that he derived his authority from Zeus. Another late Attic bell-*kratér*, formerly in the Lamberg collection and now at Vienna (fig. 174)[4], shows Zeus instructing Apollon in the presence of other deities. Apollon, with a bay-wreath on his head, a bay-branch in his right hand, and a bay-bush at his left side, sits before the filleted *omphalós*, on the other side of

epithets Δαφναῖος, Δαφνηφόρος, Δαφνίτας, on which see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 46 f., 110). The myth of Daphne (L. von Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 954 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2138 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 449 ff.) points rather to a close connexion between the tree and the earth-mother.

[3] The inhabitants of Dion in Makedonia dedicated at Delphoi τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα ὃς εἰλημμένος ἐστὶ τῆς ἐλάφου (Paus. 10. 13. 5). See further K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 110.

[1] Furtwängler *loc. cit.* says 'Artemis'; but the resemblance to the pendant Maenad is too close. The ivy-wreath is clearer in Gerhard's drawing.

[2] Furtwängler *loc. cit.* says 'Nymphe'; but the *thýrsos* is decisive.

[3] Cp. *supra* p. 170 n. 2.

[4] Laborde *Vases Lamberg* i pl. 27 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 183, 1 (Peitho (?), Zeus, Aphrodite on swan, Apollon, Hermes, Athena (?)), Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iii. 70 ff. pl. 235 (apotheosis of Helene! cp. Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1831 p. 224 'l'*apothéose d'une initiée*'!), O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 364 and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1858 xvi. 238 ff. (Zeus announces to Apollon the appearance of Kyrene on a swan, cp. F. G. Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1847 ii. 498), L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 70 f. (Dionysos (!) and Apollon with Hermes and three Muses or Maenads or Thyiads), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 182 HH, 185 f. Atlas pl. 1, 33 Zeus only (Kyrene (?)), H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 114 f. (the judgment of Paris 'trasportato a Delfo per rendere più palpabile l'importanza del giudizio e le sue conseguenze per l'avvenire,' the figures being Hera, Zeus, Aphrodite on swan, Paris (!), Hermes, Athena, cp. G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1845 iii. 79 = *id. Descrizione di alcuni vasi fittili della collezione Jatta* Napoli 1846 i. 23), O. Benndorf *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* Berlin 1877 p. 78 ff. fig. = my fig. 174 (a variation on the opening scene of the *Kypria* (*supra* p. 261 n. 1)—Zeus takes counsel with Apollon on the strife between the goddesses, which led up to the Trojan war), Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen p. 14 ff. (Zeus instituting Apollon as god of the Delphic oracle (Aisch. *Eum.* 17 ff.), while the previous occupants depart, Gaia and Themis to right and left, Phoibe on the swan), A. Kalkmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 258 ff. ('Zeus dem Apollo befiehlt, die Kyrene nach Libyen zu senden, und Hermes sich anschickt, diesen Auftrag auszuführen, während die schwesterlichen Nymphen nicht ohne Theilnahme nach ihrer zur Abfahrt gerüsteten Gespielin sich umschauen').

which stands[1] Zeus, with bay-wreath and sceptre, announcing to his 'prophet[2]' the mandate of omnipotence. Who the remaining deities may be and what exactly they are doing, has been the subject of much futile discussion. Apparently the painter has utilised

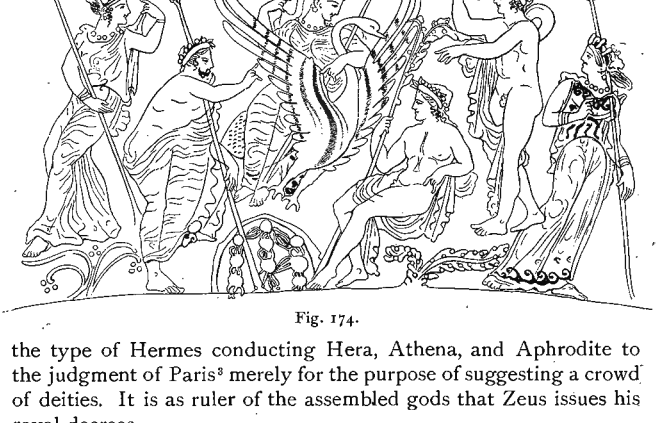


Fig. 174.

the type of Hermes conducting Hera, Athena, and Aphrodite to the judgment of Paris[3] merely for the purpose of suggesting a crowd of deities. It is as ruler of the assembled gods that Zeus issues his royal decrees.

(ψ) The stratification of Delphic Cults.

We are now in a position to gather up results and to venture upon a conspectus of Delphic worship. The main cults appear to be stratified as in the following diagram:—

iii.	APOLLON	Bay
ii.	DIONYSOS	Tripod
i.	ZEUS *Aphésios* (?) and GE *Thémis* (?)	Eagles and *omphalós*

[1] The pose is unusual for Zeus (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 185 f.), who does not appear elsewhere in the attitude of the supported foot (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)).

[2] *Supra* p. 204 n. 1, *infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ) *sub fin.*

[3] Objections brought against the interpretation of this scene as a judgment of Paris—*viz.* that Athena would then have some distinctive attribute (Furtwängler *loc. cit.* p. 14) and that Aphrodite would not be riding on a swan (A. Kalkmann *loc. cit.* p. 259)—lose their force, if, as I suppose, the artist is reminiscent and no more; for in that case he is free to contaminate or adapt.

Further, the circumstances suggest that these *strata* represent distinct racial elements in the population, which had arrived, by dint of much mutual accommodation, at a joint-recognition of their respective deities. Zeus and Ge *Thémis*, the original possessors of the sanctuary, were throughout classical times admitted to be the ultimate source of the oracles there delivered. Of the younger gods first Dionysos, and subsequently Apollon, was affiliated to Zeus. And, since they were gods of approximately similar character, the populace came to regard them almost as obverse and reverse aspects of the same divinity[1]. Finally, our survey of the *data* may enable us to hazard at least a provisional guess concerning the races involved in this curious superposition of cults. Alluvial deposits often tell their own tale.

iv. Zeus and Dionysos.

Zeus and Ge, the sky-father and the earth-mother, were essentially Hellenic, their worship being common to every branch of the Hellenes[2]. The precise character of the relations between them will be explained in a later section[3]. Here it must suffice to observe that the early Delphians seem to have worshipped Zeus as a storm-god under the title *Aphésios*, which may be rendered 'He that lets fly[4],' and Ge as a fertility-goddess under the title *Thémis*[5],

[1] In this connexion the pedimental sculptures of the temple at Delphoi are noteworthy. From fragments found on the site it seems that in the sixth-century building the east pediment contained a marble group with Apollon in his chariot as centre-piece, the west pediment a *pôros* Gigantomachy with Zeus in the middle, Athena to the left of him, Dionysos to the right (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1901 xxv. 457—515 figs. 1—6 pls. 9—16, 18 f., F. Courby *ib.* 1914 xxxviii. 327—350 pl. 6 f. and in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 103 f. fig. 83 pl. 12). And from Paus. 10. 19. 4 *τὰ δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἀετοῖς, ἔστιν Ἄρτεμις καὶ Λητὼ καὶ Ἀπόλλων καὶ Μοῦσαι δύσις τε Ἡλίου καὶ Διόνυσός τε καὶ αἱ γυναῖκες αἱ Θυάδες. κ.τ.λ.* it has been justly inferred that in the fourth-century structure the east pediment was occupied by Apollon and deities of his cycle, the west pediment by Dionysos and his *cortège* (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 627—639, F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 20). The numismatic evidence is inconclusive (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 118 ff. pl. X, 22—25, J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 35 f. nos. 53 f. pl. 27, 10—12, 44 ff. nos. 81—88 pl. 29, 11—18, T. Homolle *ib.* 1902 xxvi. 629, F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 21).

[2] For Ge see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1566 ff., A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde*[2] Leipzig-Berlin 1913, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 1 ff., 307 ff., S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 467 ff., J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 73 ff.

[3] *Infra* § 9 (e) ii.

[4] *Supra* p. 179.

[5] Dr Farnell *op. cit.* ii. 495 rightly recognizes 'that Ge herself developed into a Ge Themis, and thence into Themis alone,' and *ib.* iii. 13 ff. rejects the notion 'that Themis began her religious career as the mere personification of the abstract idea of righteousness,' concluding that she 'was something more concrete than this, and was allied to an earth-divinity of fertilizing function.' He compares—as does Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1080 n. 6—the Themis of Boucheta (Harpokr. *s.v.* Βούχετα·...πόλις ἐστὶ τῆς Ἠπείρου,...ἣν Φιλοστέφανος ἐν τοῖς Ἠπειρωτικοῖς (*frag.* 9 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 30 Müller)) ὠνομάσθαι

which probably once denoted 'She that creates or produces[1]'—a possible doublet of it being the name *Thétis*[2].

Dionysos—as would be admitted by modern scholars[3] with scarcely a dissentient voice[4]—was a god of Thraco-Phrygian extraction[5]. And his presence at Delphoi implies that a wave of Thracian immigrants had early reached Phokis—a fact attested also by the existence of the Delphian Thrakidai[6]. Herodotos indeed

φησὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν Θέμιν ἐπὶ βοὸς ὀχουμένην ἐκεῖσε ἐλθεῖν κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμόν, cp. Souid. *s.vv.* Βούκετα and Θέμιν, *et. mag.* p. 210, 34 ff., Favorin. *lex.*, p. 385, 31 ff.) with the Cretan Europe, a vegetative earth-goddess (*supra* i. 524 ff.), and cites to the same effect a convincing passage from Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 22. 5 p. 17, 9 ff. Stählin *καὶ προσέτι Γῆς* (so Wilamowitz for *τῆς* P. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 40) Θέμιδος (C. A. Lobeck cj. *θεσμοθέτιδος* or 'Αρτέμιδος) *τὰ ἀπόρρητα* (*ἄρρητα* Euseb. *loc. cit.*) *σύμβολα ὁρίγανον, λύχνος, ξίφος, κτεὶς γυναικεῖος, <ὃς>* (*ὃς* Euseb. *loc. cit.* δ M. P.[2] and cod. H. of Euseb. *loc. cit.* above the line) *ἐστιν, εὐφήμως καὶ μυστικῶς εἰπεῖν* (om. Euseb. *loc. cit.*), *μόριον γυναικεῖον*.

[1] Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 338 relates *θέμις* to Zend *dāmiš* fem. 'creation,' adj. 'who creates, creator,' and for the vocalisation of the root compares *θέμα*, Zend *dąma* 'creation, creature, abode.' See, however, E. Fraenkel 'Grammatische und syntaktische Bemerkungen zu griech. *θέμις*' in *Glotta* 1913 iv. 22 ff. and P. Kretschmer 'Zum Namen der Themis' *ib.* 1913 iv. 50 f.

[2] This equation *saute aux yeux*. But others have seen otherwise. Omitting the common but certainly misleading comparison of Thetis with Tethys, we have to reckon with a whole string of more or less doubtful conjectures: W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1905 ii 207 f. (shortened form of **Κυμοθέτις, *'Αλοθέτις, *Υδατοθέτις*, 'Wassermuhme,' cp. *τηθίς, θεῖος*), L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 i 140 f. (shortened form of **Παιδοθέτις, *'Ονομαθέτις, *Νομοθέτις, *Πυριθέτις*); Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 94, 116, 618 n. 1, 657, 1140, 1163, 1168 n. 3, 1197 n. 1 (shortened form of Demeter *Thesmothétis*), G. Prellwitz *De dialecto Thessalica* Gottingae 1885 p. 26 (related to Θεσσαλός, Boeotian Φερταλός, Thessalian Πετθαλός, original form *Χεθjαλός*, cp. *θέσασθαι*).

[3] See *e.g.* O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1011 ('Nehmen wir als sicher an, dass die Heimat des D. Thrakien ist,' etc.), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 85 f. ('the theory that he was of Thrako-Phrygian origin, carried by a Phrygian migration from Thrace into Asia Minor, and spreading his influence and name from the Balkan district into Macedonia and certain communities of Greece at an early period, appears to be generally accepted'). Evidence in A. Rapp *Die Beziehungen des Dionysoskultus zu Thrakien und Kleinasien* Stuttgart 1882, F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1031 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 211 ff. and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1110 ff.

[4] S. Schneider 'Über den Ursprung des Dionysoskultes' in the *Wiener Studien* 1903 xxv. 147—154 brings Dionysos from Egypt *via* Lydia and Thrace to Greece. P. Foucart *Le culte de Dionysos en Attique* (*Mémoires de l'Institut National de France: Académie des inscriptions et belles-lettres* xxvii. 2) Paris 1906 argues in support of an Egyptian Dionysos, cp. the same author's recent restatement of his views on the Eleusinian mysteries (*Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 445 ff.). Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 211 ff., 1410 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1111 thinks it probable that Dionysos was originally a Boeotian god introduced by Greek settlers into Thrace. The latest leader of a forlorn hope is Miss G. M. N. Davis *The Asiatic Dionysos* London 1914. There is of course an element of truth in most of these hypotheses, even when they are otherwise misleading. The name *Bákchos* perhaps came from Egypt (*supra* i. 438), the name *Zagreús* probably came from Mt Zagron (*supra* i. 651); but Dionysos as such was certainly Thraco-Phrygian.

[5] *Supra* i. 669, 677, 695, 705, 706, 780, ii. 114 f., 219, 239.

[6] *Supra* p. 231 n. 2. Cp. P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 242 f.

knew of no nearer parallel to the Delphic oracle than that of Dionysos among the Thracian Bessoi[1]. In Thrace Dionysos had many ap-

Fig. 175.

[1] Hdt. 7. 111 Σάτραι δὲ...διατελεῦσι τὸ μέχρι ἐμεῦ αἰεὶ ἐόντες ἐλεύθεροι, μοῦνοι Θρηίκων. οἰκέουσί τε γὰρ οὔρεα ὑψηλὰ ἴδησί τε παντοίῃσι καὶ χιόνι συνηρεφέα, καὶ εἰσὶ τὰ πολέμια ἄκροι. οὗτοι οἱ τοῦ Διονύσου τὸ μαντήϊόν εἰσι ἐκτημένοι. τὸ δὲ μαντήϊον τοῦτο ἐστι μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν οὐρέων τῶν ὑψηλοτάτων· Βησσοὶ δὲ τῶν Σατρέων εἰσὶ οἱ προφητεύοντες τοῦ ἱροῦ, πρόμαντις δὲ ἡ χρέουσα, κατάπερ ἐν Δελφοῖσι, καὶ οὐδὲν ποικιλώτερον. In 29 B.C. M. Licinius Crassus took the sanctuary of Dionysos from the Bessoi and gave it to the Odrysai (Dion Cass. 51. 25). Later, Vologaisos, a Bessian priest of Dionysos, moved by divine frenzy, headed a revolt, slew Rhaskyporis son of Kotys, drove out Rhymetalkes uncle of

pellatives: he was *Aúalos*(?) and *Dýalos* among the Paiones[1], *Sábos* or *Sabázios* among the Saboi[2], *Asdoúles* in the vineyards of Maidike (fig. 175)[3], *Pleístoros* (?) at Apsinthos[4], *Bálin* or the like elsewhere[5].

Rhaskyporis in obedience to his god's command, and pursued him to the Chersonese—a revolt quelled by L. Piso, praetor of Pamphylia, in 11 B.C. (Dion Cass. 54. 34). On the Bessoi see further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 329 ff.

[1] *Supra* p. 250 n. 4. [2] *Supra* i. 395, 400.

[3] This relief (height, exclusive of tenon, 0·46^{m}: breadth 0·41^{m}), found in the ruins of an old church at Melenikos (*Melnik*) on the S.W. flank of Mt Orbelos, brought to Thessalonike in 1895 (J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 100 f. no. 6), and now at Brussels (F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques* (*monuments lapidaires*) *des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 63 ff. no. 52 fig.), shows a youthful god riding from left to right. His long hair is bound by a *stróphion*, in the front of which are stuck two little clusters of ivy-berries. Across his chest is slung a *nebrís*. On his feet are Thracian boots. Being in a festive mood, he grasps with his right hand the beard of a goat-footed Pan, who follows his master, hanging on in true Greek fashion to the horse's tail. In the background is a huge vine with two small vintagers in its branches. One of these holds out a big bunch of grapes to the god as he passes by. Old Silenos in a tufted costume, with his *chitón* knotted round his waist, dangles a bunch in his right hand and raises a reaping-hook in his left to gather a second. Under the horse is seen a panther, half-hidden by the vine. The slab is inscribed Κλαυδιανὸς Πύρρος καὶ Πύρρος | Λάνδρου καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτοὺ(ς) σαλτάριοι θεῷ 'Ασδούλῃ τῷ ϛμϛ' ἔτ(ε)ι (246 of the Actian era = 215 A.D.). Λάνδρου is perhaps an abbreviation of Λεάνδρου rather than a slip for Μάνδρου. The σαλτάριοι are the *saltuarii*, Low Latin *saltarii*, people employed about a *saltus*, 'vineyard-keepers.' The god's name should be read 'Ασδούλῃ (Cumont); not 'Ασδουλήτῳ (Mordtmann) nor 'Ασδουλητῷ (Perdrizet). It recurs as that of a man in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 216 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6840 (from Grumentum in Lucania) ....VIX.... AVR·ASDVLA·MIL | COH·V·PRETORIE | FRATRI·BENMEREN (*sic*) | QVI·MECV LABORAIT (*sic*) | AN·XII ET·FRVNINONE | EST IN BARBARICO. See further J. H. Mordtmann *loc. cit.*, P. Perdrizet 'Relief du pays des Maedes représentant un Dionysos thrace' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 i. 19—27 pl. 1 (= my fig. 175), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 162 no. 1, F. Cumont *loc. cit.*

[4] So W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 2. 42, comparing Hdt. 9. 119 Οἰόβαζον μέν νυν ἐκφυγόντα ἐς τὴν Θρηΐκην Θρηΐκες 'Αψίνθιοι λαβόντες ἔθυσαν Πλειστώρῳ ἐπιχωρίῳ θεῷ τρόπῳ τῷ σφετέρῳ with Dionys. *per.* 575 f. Θρήικος ἐπ' ᾠόσιν 'Αψινθιοιο | Βιστονίδες καλέουσιν ἐρίβρομον Εἰραφιώτην. The same comparison was made earlier by C. Müller in his note on Dionys. *per.* 575 and is repeated by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2563.

[5] *Et. mag.* p. 186, 32 καὶ Βάλιν, τὸν Διόνυσον, Θρᾶκες (so T. Gaisford following codd. D. P. M. F. Sylburg had omitted the essential word Βάλιν, including the rest under the gloss Βαλίαι· κ.τ.λ.). Cp. Hesych. Εὐρυβάλινδος· ὁ Διόνυσος. The meaning of these titles is clear from Aisch. *Pers.* 658 βαλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλὴν ἴθι, ἰκοῦ with schol. *ad loc.* βαλλὴν (βαλὴν H. vulg.) βαρβαρικῶς ὁ βασιλεὺς λέγεται. Εὐφορίων δέ φησι Θουρίων (Meineke cj. Φρυγίων) εἶναι τὴν διάλεκτον [ὅθεν καὶ Βαληναῖον ὄρος, ὅ ἐστι βασιλικόν]. φησὶν οὖν· ὦ ἀρχαῖε βασιλεῦ, ἰκοῦ κ.τ.λ., Soph. *poiménes frag.* 472 Nauck[2], 515 Jebb, *ap.* Sext. *adv. math.* i. 313 οἱ παρὰ τῷ Σοφοκλεῖ ποιμένες "ἰὼ βαλλήν" λέγοντες ἰὼ βασιλεῦ λέγουσι Φρυγιστί, Herodian. *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 17, 5 f. p. 52 Lehrs βαλλήν, οὕτως (so K. W. Dindorf for cod. οὗτος) ὁ βασιλεύς, Arkad. p. 9, 1 Barker βαλλήν, p. 9, 5 βαλλήν, Hesych. βαλ[λ]ήν· βασιλεύς. Φρυγιστί, Plout. *de flum.* 12. 3 f. παράκειται δὲ αὐτῷ (*sc.* the river Sagaris in Phrygia) ὄρος Βαλληναῖον καλούμενον, ὅπερ ἐστὶν μεθερμηνευόμενον βασιλικόν, τὴν προσηγορίαν ἔχον ἀπὸ Βαλληναίου τοῦ Γανυμήδους καὶ Μηδησιγίστης παιδός· οὗτος γὰρ τὸν γεννήσαντα θεασάμενος ἀποτηκόμενον τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις (lacunam indicavit D. Wyttenbach) καὶ Βαλληναῖον ἑορτὴν κατέδειξεν μέχρι νῦν καλούμενον. γεννᾶται δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λίθος καλούμενος ἀστήρ· οὗτος εἴωθεν νυκτὸς

Diónysos, the name that lends unity to these local cults, has been very variously interpreted[1].

(*a*) P. Kretschmer's hypothesis.

The view that at present holds the field is that of P. Kretschmer[2], whose arguments may be here resumed. Side by side with *Diónysos* there existed a form *Deónysos*[3], the non-Greek change of *i* to *e* in

βαθείας πυρὸς δίκην λάμπειν, τοῦ φθινοπώρου τὴν ἀρχὴν λαμβάνοντος· προσαγορεύεται δὲ τῇ διαλέκτῳ τῶν ἐγχωρίων βαλλήν, ὅπερ μεθερμηνευόμενόν ἐστιν βασιλεύς, καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Ἑρμησιάναξ Κύπριος ἐν β' Φρυγιακῶν (*frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 427 f. Müller)), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 381, 15 ff. *Αἰσχύλος δὲ...βαλῆνα τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ "βαλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλήν." γλώσσης δὲ τοῦτο, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὄρος Βαλιναῖον, ὅ ἐστι βασιλικὸν παρὰ Πλουτάρχῳ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποταμῶν, id. in Od.* p. 1854, 26 ff. *λέγει δὲ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐθνικώτερον καὶ οὐ κατὰ Ἀττικοὺς βαλῆνα τὸν βασιλέα ἐν τῷ "βαλὴν ἀρχαῖος βαλήν." ὅθεν καὶ Βαληναῖον ὄρος παρὰ Πλουτάρχῳ ἐν τῷ περὶ ποταμῶν ἀντὶ τοῦ βασιλικόν*. It would seem, then, that the Thracian Dionysos was called Βάλιν or Βαλήν, *i.e.* 'King,' and that his title *Εὐρυβάλινδος* meant 'Wide-ruling' (cp. Pind. *Ol.* 13. 33 ff. *ὕπατ' εὐρὺ ἀνάσσων | Ὀλυμπίας,...Ζεῦ πάτερ*, Bakchyl. 5. 19 f. *αἰετὸς εὐρυάνακτος ἄγγελος | Ζηνὸς ἐρισφαράγου*, and the Euryanaktidai of Kos (J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1318)). If so, we may conjecture that the Thracian kings who devoured Zagreus (*supra* i. 654 ff. pl. xxxvi), not merely assimilated the virtue of the god (*ib.* p. 656), but actually posed as Dionysos incarnate.

R. Förster in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 373 published an inscribed marble block from Bithynia reading ΔΙΙ ☙ ΒΑΛΗΩ | ☙ ΠΟΠΛΙΟΣ | ΑΝΤΩΝΙΟΣ | ☙ ΑΡΕΣΤΟΣ ☙. This Zeus *Βάλης* was compared with the Thracian Dionysos Βαλιός (*sic*) of *et. mag.* p. 186, 32 by O. Höfer in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1896 cliii. 472, and with the Phrygian *βαλήν* by H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 i. 261 (cp. *ib.* ii. 1090 *s.v.* παλήν).

P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 47 connects *βαλήν* or *βαλλήν* with the Armenian *gal, gal-am*, 'herrschen,' the Carian *γέλας*, 'king' (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σουάγελα), and even the Lydian *κοαλδεῖν*, 'king' (Hesych. *s.v. κοαλδδεῖν*. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* cp. *βαλλήν* and cites Hesych. *καλδῖς· βασιλεύς* and *λαίλας· ὁ τύραννος, ὑπὸ Λυδῶν*, on which see Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 41 A).

[1] Ancient and modern etymologies are collected by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 664 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1409 n. 1, 1412 f., 1413 n. 1, 1414 n. 1, 1427 n. 9, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1011.

[2] P. Kretschmer 'Semele und Dionysos' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 pp. 17—29 criticised by Rohde *Psyche*[2] ii. 38 n. 1, to whom Kretschmer replies in his *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 241.

[3] *Et. mag.* p. 259, 30 *τοῦ ι τραπέντος εἰς ε γίνεται Δεόνυσος· οὕτω γὰρ Σάμιοι προφέρουσι*, where cod. V. has *εἶτα τραπέντος τοῦ ῑ εἰς ε̄ γέγονε δεόνυσος· Σάμιοι γὰρ οὕτω λέγουσι*. 'Samians' can hardly mean Samothracians, though Σάμος is used for Σαμοθράκη (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1337). ΔΕΟΝΥΣ or ΔΕΟΥΝΥΣ on tetradrachms of Maroneia *c.* 450—400 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 124 no. 10, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 249, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 178 no. 28, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 717 f. no. 5685, 7 with n. *ad loc.*). ΔΕΟ on tetradrachms and drachms of Abdera *c.* 512—478 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 66 no. 11 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 382 no. 1 pl. 26, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 253, M. L. Strack in *Die antiken Münzen Nord-Griechenlands* Berlin 1912 ii Thrakien 1. 1. 47 no. 19, 1. 1. 51 no. 36 pl. 1, 8). [Δ] | ΕΟ | Ν[Υ] | ΔΟΣ on a tetradrachm of Abdera *c.* 478—450 B.C. (H. Montagu in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1892 xii. 27 pl. 2, 10, M. L. Strack *op. cit.* 1. 1. 54 no. 45), like *Δεονῦδος* in an inscription from Erythrai in Asia Minor (W. Judeich in the

the first syllable being due to the intermediate sound of the Thraco-Phrygian vowel[1] and pointing to the conclusion that Dionysos is '*von Haus aus ein Thraker*.' Greek dialects represent his name as *Diónysos*, *Dio͂nysos* and *Diónnysos*, thereby presupposing two original forms, *viz. Diónysos* and **Diosnysos*[2], of which the one is a compound *Dió-nysos*, the other a synthesis of the genitive *Diós* and **nȳsos*[3]. As to the meaning of the combination, Kretschmer insists that the first half contains the name of Zeus, who—he holds—was called *Zeús* alike by Thracians and by Hellenes. The second half he connects with *Nýsa* or *Nýse*, the mythical place to which Hermes brought Dionysos for the nymphs to rear[4], and with *Nȳsa*, the nymph who nursed the infant god[5]. Raising the question whether the nymph was called after the place or the place after the nymph, Kretschmer decides for the latter alternative on the ground that one of the fragments (fig. 176)[6] of a vase painted by Sophilos (*c.* 600—

Ath. Mitth. 1890 xv. 338 no. 1, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 730 no. 5694. So Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 744, 10 [Διον]ῦδος in a Rhodian inscription) and Δεονῦος in an inscription from Thasos (E. Jacobs in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 120 ff. no. 1, 2, O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1898 iii. 38 no. 74, 2 cp. *ib.* p. 262 f., Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 604 f. no. 5469, 2. Similarly Διονῦος in an inscription from Olbia: Collitz—Bechtel *op. cit.* iii. 2. 661 no. 5553), is gen. of Δεονύς=*Δεονύσιος. Δεύνυσος (schol. Townl. *Il.* 14. 325, *et. mag.*. p. 259, 28 and 31), Δεύνυσε (Anakr. *frag.* 2, 11 Bergk[4]), Δεύνυσον (Anakr. *frag.* 11, 2 Bergk[4], *et. mag.* p. 277, 37) have Ionic ευ for εο.

[1] W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxxi. 1. 31 cites Thracian names beginning with *Deo-* (*e.g.* Δεό-βιζος, Deo-pus) and *Dio-* (*e.g.* Διο-σκέβριος, Dio-bessi). P. Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia* p. 23 notes the δεος or διως of Phrygian inscriptions (*infra* p. 278 n. 2) and the Macedonian *ινδέα* (Hesych. *ινδέα· μεσημβρία. Μακεδόνες*) for *ἐνδία* (*supra* i. 4 f.).

[2] P. Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia* p. 24: 'Also haben wir nicht eine, sondern zwei Grundformen unseres Namens anzusetzen: Διόνυσος und *Διοσνυσος; jene blieb in allen Mundarten unverändert, diese gab im Aiolischen und Thessalischen regelrecht Διόννυσος, in den Mundarten aber, die o zu ω dehnen, Διώνυσος.' Etc.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 25: 'Denn die Doppelform des Namens erklärt sich am einfachsten so, dass Διό-νυσος ein Compositum, *Διόσ-νυσος aber eine Zusammenrückung aus dem Gen. Διός und *νῦσος ist, von derselben Art wie Διόσ-κουρος, Διόζοτος=Διόσ-δοτος, Διόσ-πολις. Vgl. Prellwitz, *dial. thess.* 31.' *Id. Einleitung* etc. p. 241: 'Auch darauf sei noch hingewiesen, dass die doppelte Bildungsweise, das Kompositum Διό-νυσος und die Zusammenrückung *Διός-νυσος=aiol. Ζόννυσος, thess. kret. Διόννυσος (Knossos, Athen. Mitt. X 92. Eleutherna, Mus. Ital. II 165 f. n. 8), im Thrakischen ebenfalls ihre Parallele hat. Neben den Personennamen *Diu-zenus*, Δεύ-βιζος, *Dio-bessus* finden sich hier *Deos-por*, *Dios-cuthes*, deren Analyse sich aus *Muca-por*, bezw. Μιλτο-κύθης ergiebt[3] [*Tomaschek teilt unrichtig *Deo-spor*, *Dio-scuthes* ab.]' See, however, *infra* p. 279.

[4] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1616 B—D.

[5] R. Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 567 ff. For an excellent illustration of the Nymphs nursing the infant Dionysos among trees see the silver *alábastron* of *c.* 200 B.C. from Metropolis (*Karditsa*) in Thessaly published by A. S. Arvanitopullos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 76 ff. pls. 2 and 3, cp. A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 434 fig.

[6] F. Winter 'Vase des Sophilos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 1—8 and col. pl. 1,

550 B.C.) represents a pair of nymphs inscribed *Nýsai*: a mere eponym would not have been thus pluralised. Kretschmer further suggests that *Nýsa* as a place-name is a shortened form of *Nyseía* or *Nysaía*, and observes that Homer uses only the adjectival phrase *Nyséïon*[1]. On this showing *nȳ́sā* was the Thracian term for a nymph or maid, and its masculine correlative was *-nȳ́sos*, the second element in *Dió-nysos*. We are thus led along a legitimate route[2] to the conclusion that *Diónysos* denoted simply 'Zeus' Son,' 'Zeus' Hero,'—a view confirmed by another remarkable vase-painting (fig. 177)[3], which describes the child Dionysos as *Diòs phós*, 'Zeus' Man,' 'Zeus' Hero,' not to mention a third, which dubs Herakles *Diòs païs*, 'Zeus' Son[4].'

Fig. 176.

Wien. Vorlegebl. 1889 pl. 2, 3[a]—3[d], F. Studniczka 'Ueber die Bruchstücke einer Vase des Sophilos' in *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 233—240, P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 19 n. 8, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 379 f., Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen.* i. 64 no. 587 a—i pl. 26 a, b (=my fig. 176), c—h, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 199.

[1] *Il.* 6. 133. In *Il.* 2. 508 Νῦσάν τε ζαθέην there was a variant Νῦσάν τε ζαθέην (Strab. 406).

[2] J. Savelsberg in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1867 xvi. 60 n. had already related 'Διό-σνυσος "zeussohn"' to *νυός*, *nurus*, but he had spoilt his etymology by attempting to work in *νέος*, *νῦν*, and other totally unconnected words.

[3] G. Minervini *Monumenti antichi inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone* Napoli 1852 i. 1—7 and Appendice p. vi pl. 1 (=my fig. 177), Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. lxi n. 402, L. Stephani in the *Comple-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 12, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) Halle 1885 p. 13, P. Kretschmer *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 199, De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 127 f. no. 219, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases antiques de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1891 i pl. 32 f. A (IVME Classe, viii[e] Série), O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1144. The obverse design of this small black-figured *amphora* from S. Maria di Capua shows Zeus seated to the right, in *chitón* and *himátion*, with a fillet on his head, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. On his lap stands a naked boy, with a fillet on his head and two flaming torches (not *thýrsoi*) in his hands. Moving to the right, but turning to speak with Zeus, is Hera, in *chitón* and *himátion*, her hair bound with a double fillet. Inscribed ΚΑΛΟΣ (καλός, not καλόν) ΔΙΟΣΦΟΣ ΗΕΡΑ O. Jahn *loc. cit.* recognised the scene as the 'Geburt des Dionysos'—an interpretation strongly supported by the analogous types of Athena's birth (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)). P. Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia* p. 29 was the first to read Διὸς φῶς as 'einen volkstümlichen oder sacralen... Ausdruck für das Verhältnis des Dionysos zu Zeus,' rightly objecting to such a poetic locution as Διὸς φῶς (cp. *supra* i. 7 n. 3 and Xen. *an.* 3. 1. 12 φῶς μέγα ἐκ Διὸς ἰδεῖν ἔδοξε).

[4] J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* London 1822 i. 91 f. pl. 38, 1, Müller—

(β) Criticism of P. Kretschmer's hypothesis.

Kretschmer's solution of the problem, being phonetically unassailable, has been accepted by the majority of scholars, but is perhaps open to criticism on two grounds. In the first place,

Fig. 177.

Pherekydes of Leros is credited with the statement that *Diónysos* was so named because he flowed from *Zeús* on to the *nýsai* or 'trees[1].' This rather enigmatic assertion probably hangs together with Pherekydes' description of Semele as *Hýe* and the nurses of

Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 14 pl. 19, 96 a small black-figured *amphora* in the Louvre (E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 133 no. F 385, *id. Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 811 no. F 385) representing the combat between Herakles and Kyknos inscribed HEPAKLLES (*sic*) ΔIOSΓAIS and KY+NOS (retrograde). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 7610.

[1] Schol. Aristeid. iii. 313 Dindorf εὐεργετεῖν φησι τὸν Διόνυσον καὶ (C. Müller lacunam indicat) δοῦναι ἀνθρώποις. δηλοῖ δὲ (καὶ D.) ὁ Φερεκύδης (*frag.* 1 *a* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 637 Müller)), καὶ μετ' (ἐπ' D.) ἐκεῖνον Ἀντίοχος (*sc.* of Syracuse), λέγοντες καὶ διὰ τοῦτο κεκλῆσθαι Διόνυσον, ὡς ἐκ Διὸς ἐς νύσας ῥέοντα· νύσας (νύσσας D.) γάρ, φησίν, ἐκάλουν τὰ δένδρα· κ.τ.λ.

Dionysos as *Hyádes*[1]. Since this fifth-century author, the earliest writer of Attic prose[2], indited a book *On the Festivals of Dionysos*[3], he was doubtless well posted on the mythology of the god, and we must not dismiss his remarks as idle invention[4]. They fit on to a number of stray hints and intimations. Thus lexicographers and scholiasts tell us that *Sabázios*, the Phrygian Zeus[5] or Dionysos[6], was entitled *Hýes*[7], *Hýas*[8], *Hyeús*[9]. Kleidemos, the oldest exponent of local Attic lore[10], said that Dionysos was called *Hýes* 'because we sacrifice to him in time of rain[11].' Others explained 'that Dionysos was *Hýes* from the rain that fell at his begetting, when Zeus rained ambrosia upon him[12].' Plutarch in a more philosophical mood declares that the Greeks name 'Dionysos *Hýes* as lord of watery nature[13].' Nonnos waxes eloquent on the theme and makes Gaia address Dionysos in the following terms:

> Zeus' son, grain-giver, murderer--ay, thou rulest
> Both fruitful rain and bloody snow alike:
> With rain thou didst bedew the whole rich field
> Of Hellas, and with gore hast drenched the tilth
> Of India; sheaves thy harvest once, now death.
> Thy flakes found ears for the peasants; thou hast reaped
> The Indian host and cut men down like corn.
> Raindrops thou bringest from Zeus, from Ares blood[14].

[1] Pherekyd. *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 84 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* "Τηs = Souid. *s.v.* "Τηs = *et. mag.* p. 775, 4 ff. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1791, 26 f. (cp. *ib.* 19 f.). See further *supra* i. 111 n. 6, *infra* § 9 (i).

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1908 i. 429.

[3] Souid. *s.v.* *Φερεκύδης Λέριος.*

[4] Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 796 'voller Phantasie.'

[5] *Supra* i. 390 ff.

[6] *Supra* i. 395 n. 3.

[7] Phot. *lex. s.v.* "Τηs *δὶs· τοῦ* Σαβαζίου *ἡ ἐπίκλησις*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1155, 63 f. *ἐν δὲ ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ εὕρηται καὶ ὅτι* Τάδες Βάκχαι *τιθῆναι τοῦ Διονύσου· καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον* "Την *φασὶν ἀπὸ τούτων τινές·* "Τηs *γὰρ ἐπίκλησις τοῦ* Σαβαζίου.

[8] Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 874 *παίζει πρὸς τὸ ὄνομα* (*sc. φρυγίλῳ* Σαβαζίῳ), *ἐπεὶ Φρύγες τὸ εὐάζειν σαβάζειν φασὶ καὶ ἐκ τούτου* Σαβάζιον *τὸν Διόνυσον λέγουσι. σάβους δὲ ἔλεγον καὶ τοὺς ἀφιερωμένους αὐτῷ τόπους καὶ τοὺς βάκχους τοῦ θεοῦ. ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ* "Τας *καὶ* Εὔαιος (*sic*) *καλεῖται.* Was the *φρυγίλος* (on which see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 184 and E. J. Seltman in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1913 xv. 4), like the jay (Cornut. *theol.* 30 p. 61, 22 f. Lang), if not also the nightingale and the swallow (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 92, 951 n. 7), specially connected with Dionysos?

[9] Hesych. *s.v.* *Ὑεύς· Σαβάζιος.*

[10] Paus. 10: 15. 5, cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 81.

[11] Kleidemos (Kleitodemos/*frag.* 21 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 363 Müller)) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* "Τηs (= Souid. *s.v.* "Τηs = *et. mag.* p. 775, 3 f. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1791, 24 ff.)· *ἐπίθετον Διονύσου, ὡς* Κλείδημος· *ἐπειδή, φησιν, ἐπιτελοῦμεν τὰς θυσίας αὐτῷ καθ' ὃν ὁ θεὸς ὗει χρόνον.*

[12] Bekker *anecd.* i. 207, 26 ff. *ἄλλοι δὲ* "Την *μὲν εἶναι τὸν Διόνυσον ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος ἐπὶ τῇ γεννήσει αὐτοῦ ὑετοῦ· ὗσε γὰρ ἀμβροσίαν ἐπ' αὐτῷ ὁ Ζεύς, et. mag.* p. 775, 7 f. *ἢ ὅτι ὗσεν ὁ θεὸς ἐπὶ τὴν γέννησιν αὐτοῦ*, cp. *ib.* p. 277, 45 f. *ἢ ὅτι Διὸς ὄντος ἐτέχθη. Infra* § 9 (e) iii, § 9 (i).

[13] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 34 *καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον "Την ὡς κύριον τῆς ὑγρᾶς φύσεως, κ.τ.λ.*

[14] Nonn. *Dion.* 22. 276 ff.

Elsewhere the same author expresses the Orphic belief that the infant Dionysos 'was a second Zeus | And sent the rain-storm[1].' These and other indications of an essential connexion between Dionysos and the rain[2] warrant us in attaching weight to Pherekydes' statements. It would seem that, in Thraco-Phrygian myth, not only did Zeus descend in rain upon Semele when he begat Dionysos[3], but Dionysos himself 'a second Zeus' came upon the *nýsai* or 'trees' in the form of rain. And after all, *nýsai* 'trees' are compatible with *nýsai* 'nymphs'; for nymphs may be tree-nymphs, and it is on record that Dionysos was nursed by the Dryads[4].

In the second place, exception might be taken to Kretschmer's view that the sky-god was called *Zeús* by Thracians as well as Hellenes. That view is based[5] on the fact that, just as Hellenic names derived from *Zeús, e.g. Diódoros, Diogénes, Dioméde*s, have for their first element *Dio-*, so Thracian names begin sometimes with *Deo-*[6], *Dio-*[7], *Diu-*[8], sometimes with *Deos-*[9], *Dios-*[10],—the twofold

[1] *Id. ib.* 10. 298 καὶ πέλε δεύτερος ἄλλος ἔτι βρέφος ὑέτιος Ζεύς (*supra* i. 398 f., 647 n. 6).

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1427 n. 9.

[3] *Infra* § 9 (i).

[4] Opp. *cyn.* 4. 275 σὺν Δρυάσιν δ' ἀτίτηλε μελισσοκόμοισί τε Νύμφαις, κ.τ.λ.

[5] P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 241.

[6] Δεό-βιζος in an inscription cited by W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 xxxi. i. 31 Ποσία Δεοβίζου.

Deo-pus in an inscription from Thessalonike published by A. Dumont *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* Paris 1892 p. 470 no. 113 DEOPVISFIL·AN.LX.HSS. etc. after L. Duchesne et C. Bayet *Mémoire sur une Mission au Mont Athos* Paris 1876 p. 51 no. 82.

Deo-titanus in an inscription from Regensburg in Bavaria: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5965 d. m. et perpetuae sec|ur. Deotitano, v|ixit an. xv, fec. Iul. Po|tititus filio, etc. = Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* ii. 680 no. 3. For the second element in the name cp. an inscription from Campanil' Góng near Jimena in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 3354 D M S|NVSATITA PVER SERVE | PRONATVS NA|TIONE TRA|CIE PLVS MI|NVS ANNO|RVM III IA|CET PETITO BE|NEFICIO IN|LOCVM CAM|PANIANEN|SEM.

[7] *Dio-bessi* in Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 40 amnem Strymonem accolunt...latere...laevo Digerri Bessorumque multa nomina ad Mestum amnem ima Pangaei montis ambientem inter Haletos, Diobessos, Carbilesos, inde Brigas, Sapaeos, Odomantos. The Δῖοι are mentioned in Thouk. 2. 96 παρεκάλει δὲ (*sc.* Sitalkes in 429 B.C.) καὶ τῶν ὀρεινῶν Θρᾳκῶν πολλοὺς τῶν αὐτονόμων καὶ μαχαιροφόρων, οἱ Δῖοι καλοῦνται, τὴν Ῥοδόπην οἱ πλεῖστοι οἰκοῦντες, cp. 7. 27 ἀφίκοντο δὲ καὶ Θρᾳκῶν τῶν μαχαιροφόρων τοῦ Διακοῦ γένους ἐς τὰς Ἀθήνας πελτασταὶ ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ θέρει τούτῳ (413 B.C.) τριακόσιοι καὶ χίλιοι κ.τ.λ. (whence Dion Cass. 51. 22 Θρᾷκες τοῦ Δακικοῦ (!) γένους τοῦ τὴν Ῥοδόπην ποτὲ ἐποικήσαντος ὄντες), Tac. *ann.* 3. 38 Coelaletae Odrusaeque et Dii (so J. Lipsius for codd. *alii*), validae nationes, arma cepere (21 A.D.). See further W. Tomaschek 'Die alten Thraker' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 cxxviii. 71 f.

Δῖο-σκέβριος in an inscription from Miletopolis in Mysia first published by Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* v no. 1105 ΑΙΟCΚΕΡΒΙΟCΡΟΥΦΟC κ.τ.λ. and later corrected by G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie d'une partie de la Mysie de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont* Paris 1872 i. 99 ΔΙΟCΚΕΡΒΙΟCΡΟΥΦΟC κ.τ.λ.

method of formation producing on the one hand a compound, *e.g.* *Dió-nysos*, on the other a synthesis, *e.g.* **Diós-nysos*. But these data, it seems to me, are susceptible of another interpretation, *viz.* that corresponding with the Hellenic sky-god *Zeús* there was a Thracian sky-god *Díos*, whose name coupled with an appellative appeared now as *Díos Pápas* or the like, 'Dios the Father[1],' now as *Díos Nŷsos*, 'Dios the Son[2].' The Greeks, familiar with *Diós* as the genitive case of *Zeús*, would inevitably take this *Díos Nŷsos* to mean 'Son of Zeus' and would therefore readily form the Hellenic compound *Dió-nysos*[3].

(γ) *Díos* and *Díos Nŷsos*.

Further evidence of a Thraco-Phrygian sky-god called *Díos* may be sought both on the Asiatic and on the European side of the Dardanelles. Epitaphs of the Roman imperial age found in Phrygia and published by Sir W. M. Ramsay[4] and Mr W. M. Calder[5] com-

[8] *Diu-zenus*, a Bessian, is mentioned in a bronze diptych found at Stabiae in 1749 A.D. and now preserved at Naples: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 844, x no. 769, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2863, 13 f., Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1986 gregali: Spartico Diuzeni f. Dipscurto (altered from *Dibpscurto*), | Besso.

[9] *Deos-por* in a military dedication of 223 A.D. found at Xanten and now at Bonn: Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6804, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2350 Sept. Deospor etc. W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 xxxi. 1. 31 divided *Deo-spor*, cp. Σποράκης (Dion Cass. 68. 21). P. Kretschmer (*supra* p. 272 n. 3) divides *Deos-por*.

[10] *Dios-cuthes* on a large broken coffer from Reusilava or Orsilava near Kirlikova in Makedonia: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 703, 5 SABINVS · DIOSCVTHIS. W. Tomaschek *loc. cit.* divided *Dio-scuthes* like Διο-σκέβριος (*supra* p. 276 n. 7). P. Kretschmer (*supra* p. 272 n. 3) divides *Dios-cuthes*.

[1] On Πάπας as the Thracian term for 'Father' see W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 xxxi. 1. 18. *Infra* § 3 (a) iv (δ).

[2] *Díos Nŷsos* could presumably pass into **Diós-nysos*. Cp. *Dies* + *Pater* = *Diespiter* (K. Brugmann *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 298, K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 pp. 182, 200).

[3] Another possible, but—I think—less probable, explanation would be to suppose that the compound *Diónysos* was originally Thracian and meant the same as *Díos Nŷsos*, 'Dios the Son.' The main objection is the rarity of such appositive compounds: K. Brugmann *Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 p. 303 quotes *ἰατρό-μαντις* and analogous forms from Gothic, Old Church Slavonic, and Russian. Other examples are collected by F. H. M. Blaydes in his notes on Aristoph. *ran.* 499, 937. But these are all cases of mixed human (Διονυσαλέξανδρος etc.) or animal (*τραγ-έλαφος* etc.) types. What of Δειπάτυρος (*supra* i. 681 n. 4)?

[4] Sir W. M. Ramsay 'Phrygian Inscriptions of the Roman Period' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1887 xxviii. 381—400, *id.* 'Neo-Phrygian Inscriptions' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii Beiblatt pp. 79—120. See also A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1889 xiv. 50 f. with the reply of Sir W. M. Ramsay *ib.* pp. 308—312.

[5] W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 161—215 and 1913 xxxiii. 97—104.

monly end with a curse on the violator of the tomb[1]. This curse, expressed in the Phrygian language though the rest of the inscription is in Greek, devotes the offender to Attis among certain powers, who are described as *deōs zemelōs, deōs zemelōs ke, zemelō ke deos, diōs zemelōs, dios ke szemelōs ke,* or the like[2]. The most probable interpretation of this vexed phrase[3] is that proposed by G. Meyer[4],

[1] Such *formulae* of execration were in use among the Phrygians a thousand years earlier (*id. ib.* 1913 xxxiii. 102).

[2] The examples so far published are the following (numbered in accordance with Mr Calder's *Corpus*):

nos. 4 *δη διως ζεμελω[s τιττετ]ικμενος ειτὸν (or ζεμελω [ετιτ...]).*
5 *με διω[s ζ]ομολω ετιτετικμενος ητου.*
6 *τος νι με ζεμελω κε δεος ετι ητιττετικμενος ε[ιτ]ου.*
7 *δεος κε ζεμ[ελωs...] ακεοι ειροια τι ετιτ[τετικμενα ειττ]νου.*
21 *με ζεμελως τιττετικμενος ειτου.*
25 *τος νι [δεος ζ]ιμ[ε]λως τι με κ(ε) Ατ[τι] τιττετικμενος ειτου.*
30[a] *[δ]ιος [κ]ε [σ?]ζεμ[ελ]ως κε τιτ[τ]ε[τ]ικμε[νος] ειτου Αττιη κε αδειτου.*
40 *δεως ζεμελως κε τιττετικμε[ν]ος ειτου.*
42 *[με ζε]μελως κε [δ]ε[ω]s....*
62 *Αττιη κε δεως κε τιτεττικμενος ειτου.*
63 *δεως ζεμελως [τ]ε τιτετ[ουκμενος ειτου].*
68 *[δεως ζεμελως] ετι[τ]τετικ[μενος ειτου].*

The whole *formula* was almost certainly metrical. Prof. A. H. Sayce in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii Beiblatt p. 85 restores the original as a hexameter couplet: ΙΟC ΝΙ CЄΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙ ΚΑΚΩΝ ΑΔΔΑΚЄΤΟ ΖЄΙΡΑ | ΜЄ ΖЄΜЄΛΩC ΚЄ ΔЄΟC ΚЄ ΤЄΤΙΚΜЄΝΟC ΑΤΤΙЄΑΔ ЄΙΤΟΥ, where ΙΟC =ὅs, ΝΙ is a particle like ἄν or *νυ*, CЄΜΟΥΝ is dat. of a demonstrative stem, ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝΙ is dat. of a noun meaning 'tomb,' ΚΑΚΩΝ=*κακόν*, ΑΔΔΑΚЄΤΟ is from the stem seen in *ἔθηκα, θήκη*, ΖЄΙΡΑ=χεῖρα, ΜЄ=*μετά*, ΚЄ=*καί*, ΤЄΤΙΚΜЄΝΟC must mean 'devoted to,' etc. R. Meister in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1909 xxv. 318 n. 1 says: '*ττετικμενος* (zur Bestrafung) "zugesprochen" oder "angezeigt," auch in den Formen *ατετικμενος* (d. i. *ατ-τετικμένος*) 41 und mit Vereinfachung der Gemination *τετικμενος* 5, 11, 14, 20, 21, 38, 45; *τ-τικω* "ich spreche zu, zeige an" (=griech. *ἐπι-δείκνυμι*, lat. *ad-dīco*) ist zusammengesetzt mit der Schwundstufe der Präposition *ατ*, idg. *ad* (Brugmann, KVG. 476),' etc. *Id. ib.* 1909 xxv. 318 n. 2: '*ατ Τιαδ* "zu Zeus hin" mit Verdoppelung der Richtungsangabe wie z. B. im lat. *ad-versus*; *Τιαδ* geht auf **Diyŋ-dhe*: **Τιαν-δ(ε)* zurück, *-(ε)* ist vor Vokal elidiert. *ν* ist im Phrygischen vor *s* (Akk. Plur. *δεως διως* "die Götter" 4a, 5, 40, *ζεμελως* "die Unterirdischen" 4a, 6, 25, 42 u. a.) und vor dem spirantisch gewordenen und oft (nicht nur vor *ι* [Kretschmer Einl. 196]) mit *s* wechselnden *δ* mit Ersatzdehnung geschwunden. Statt *Τι-ᾱδ* 11, 41, 44 steht auch *Τι-εαδ* 12, 45 und *Τι-ηκ-εαδ* 39 (mit *εα* werden ebenso wie mit *αε lange* Vokale bezeichnet), das letztere eine Weiterbildung des Zeusnamens mit dem Kosesuffix *-ēκ* (Brugmann Grundriss II[2], 501), das auch in *βαν-ηκ-os* "des Weibes" 30 vorliegt.' But W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 204 ff., 214 f., *ib.* 1913 xxxiii. 98 proves that the concluding words are the equivalent of *κατηραμένος* *Αττι ἔστω* and must be divided ΨΑΤΤΙЄ (dat.) ΑΔЄΙΤΟΥ (cp. *adesto*). Accordingly I would amend Sayce's restoration as follows:

ΙΟC ΝΙ CЄΜΟΥΝ ΚΝΟΥΜΑΝЄ ΚΑΚΟΥΝ ΑΔΔΑΚЄΤΙ ΖЄΙΡΑ,
ΜЄ ΖЄΜЄΛΩC ΤЄ ΔЄΩC ΤЄ ΤЄΤΙΚΜЄΝΟC ΑΤΤΙ' ΑΔЄΙΤΟΥ.
Whosoever upon this tomb lays evil hand,
Among gods below and gods above let him be devoted to Attis.

[3] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1887 xxviii.

P. Kretschmer[1], and W. M. Calder[2], who agree in rendering 'heavenly and chthonian gods.' We may reasonably infer that in Phrygia the earth-goddess Semele[3] was associated with a sky-god known as

397 n. 1 translated *με ζεμελω* by '*μετὰ τέκνων*.' A. Torp 'Zu den phrygischen Inschriften aus römischer Zeit' in the *Skrifter udgivne af Videnskabsselskabet i Christiania* 1894 ii Historisk-filosofisk Klasse Christiania 1895 no. 2 p. 16 f., *id.* 'Zum Phrygischen' *ib.* 1896 no. 3 p. 4 takes *με* = *μετά* and regards *δεως κε ζεμελως* as meaning 'himself and his family.' P. Kretschmer in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 p. 19 f., cp. *id. Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 226, renders *δεως διως* 'Himmel' and *ζεμελω* 'Erdgottheit, Erde.' F. Solmsen 'Zum Phrygischen' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 54 f. understands *δεος διως* as a gen. sing. = *Διός* and *ζεμελως* as a gen. sing. = *Σεμέλης*. Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii Beiblatt p. 107 translates *με διως ζεμελως τι, με ζεμελω κε δεος* by 'among gods and men,' regarding the termination as that of a dat. plur. (*-ως* rather than *-οs*).

[4] G. Meyer 'Albanesische Studien' iii in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1892 cxxv. 11. 21 n. 2 says: 'Mir scheint, dass in jener phrygischen Verwünschungsformel *ζεμελω* derselbe Casus sei, wie das parallele *δεος* oder *διως*, und zwar eine Pluralform (in Nr. 25 bei Ramsay Phrygian Inscriptions, KZ xxviii, 381 ff., steht *ζ]εμελως*), mit Nichtschreibung des *-s*, und dass die Formel bedeute: "bei den irdischen und himmlischen (Gottheiten)."' Cp. *id.* as cited by W. Gurlitt in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1892 p. 514.

[1] P. Kretschmer in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1905 viii Beiblatt p. 79 n. 1 'would prefer ΔΕΦC ΚΕ ΖΕΜΕΛΦC "heavenly and Chthonian gods."'

[2] W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 207 f.

[3] The opinion of ancient scholars that Semele was but another name of Ge (Apollod. *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 433 Müller) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 51 p. 107, 1 ff. Wünsch *φέρεται δὲ καί τις μῦθος περὶ αὐτοῦ κατὰ τὸν Ἀπολλόδωρον, ὡς εἴη γεγονὼς ἐκ Διὸς καὶ Γῆς, τῆς δὲ Γῆς Θεμέλης προσαγορευομένης διὰ τὸ εἰς αὐτὴν πάντα καταθεμελιοῦσθαι, ἣν κατὰ συναλλαγὴν ἑνὸς στοιχείου, τοῦ σ̄, Σεμέλην οἱ ποιηταὶ προσηγορεύκασι, et. Gud.* p. 498, 39 ff. *Σεμέλη, θεός, θεμελίς, θεμελιῶτις οὖσα. θέμελις ἡ γῆ προσαγορεύεται· διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πάντα καταθεμελιοῦσθαι· καὶ κατ' ἐναλλαγὴν τοῦ θ εἰς σ, Σεμέλη*; Diod. 3. 62 *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὴν ἐκ Σεμέλης γένεσιν εἰς φυσικὰς ἀρχὰς ἀνάγουσιν, ἀποφαινόμενοι Θυώνην ὑπὸ τῶν ἀρχαίων τὴν γῆν ὠνομάσθαι, καὶ τεθεῖσθαι τὴν προσηγορίαν [καὶ* del. H. K. A. Eichstädt] *Σεμέλην μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ σεμνὴν εἶναι τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης τὴν ἐπιμέλειαν καὶ τιμήν, Θυώνην δ' ἀπὸ τῶν θυομένων αὐτῇ θυσιῶν καὶ θυηλῶν*. Conclusions right: etymologies wrong) has been confirmed, not only by modern mythologists (Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 434 ff., Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 182, 505, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 660, O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 664 ff. A notable dissenter is Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1415 n. 6), but—what is more to the point—by modern philologists. V. Hehn *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa*[1] Berlin 1870 pp. 24, 412 f. n. 15 conjectured that *Σεμέλη* was a Thracian word for 'Erde, Erdgöttin,' related to *χαμαί, humus*, etc. P. Kretschmer 'Semele und Dionysos' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 p. 17 ff. first established the conjecture on a sound basis by proving that the word really occurred in Thraco-Phrygian sources: 'Zur Deutung des zweiten Begriffes *ζεμελω* kann uns die hesychische Glosse *ζεμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον· Φρύγες* behilflich sein, welche man mit Recht zu indogermanisch *ghem-*, skr. *kṣam-*, avest. *zâo*, Gen. *zemō* "Erde," slav. *zemlja*, lit. *žẽmė* "Erde," *žẽmas* "niedrig," gr. *χθών*, Loc. *χαμαί, χθαμαλός*, lat. *humus* "Erde," *humilis* "niedrig," *homo homo* "Mensch," *humānus*, got. *guma* "Mensch" gestellt hat[1] [[1]Die Bildung ist dieselbe wie die von phryg. *βρίκελος*, *Κυβέλη* (auf einer phryg. Inschrift *matar Kubile*) und gr. *χθαμαλός*, lat. *humilis*.]. Fick, Spracheinh. a.a. O [A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 pp. 321, 416, 429].' This view, which links Semele with Nova *Zembla*

Déos or *Díos*. The inference can, I think, be raised to a high degree of probability. At Dorylaeion (*Eskishehir*), a great centre of Zeus-worship[1] in north-eastern Phrygia, G. Radet in 1893 found an altar dedicated to Zeus *Dios*[2]. A. Körte, reviewing Radet's discovery in 1897, threw out the ingenious suggestion that this title may attest a local survival of the primitive sky-god *Díos*[3] postulated by H. Usener[4]. Sir W. M. Ramsay in 1906 assumed a long vowel and wrote Zeus *Dîos*[5]—a course in which I formerly followed him[6]. But Körte's case is materially strengthened by the occurrence of *deos*, *dios*, etc. in the neo-Phrygian inscriptions cited above[7]; and his

(Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 404), has met with almost universal accceptance and is clearly correct. See further Walde *Lat. etym. Worterb.*[2] p. 372 f. *s.v.* 'humus.'

[1] F. Cumont in Pauly-Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 891 argues that Dorylaeion was the principal cult-centre of Zeus *Brontôn* (*infra* § 4 (d)). A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 409 f. demurs to this statement, though he admits that thirteen dedications to the god have been found there. Coins of the town show more than one type of Zeus. A copper struck by Trajan has rev. ΔΟΡΥΛΑ ΕΩΝ ΜΕΛΗΝΟC Zeus Μεληνός (meaning unknown) seated with *phiále* in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle on ground behind the seat (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 225 no. 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. lvii). Coppers of Titus have rev. ΙΤΑΛΙΚΩΑΝΘΥΠΑΤΩ ΔΟΡΥΛΑΕΩΝ Zeus enthroned to left with thunderbolt in right and sceptre in left hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 195 pl. 25, 1). A 'third brass' of Domitian has rev. ΔΟΡΥΛΑΕΩΝ Zeus, naked, standing with *phiále* in right, sceptre in left hand (Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. ii. 657). A copper of Philippus Senior has rev. ΕΠΙΜΑΥΡΤΙΜΑΙΟΥ·Α· ΑΡΧ·Κ·CΤΕΦΑΟΡΥΛΑΕ Ω Ν (ἐπὶ Μ. Αὐρ. Τιμαίου α' ἀρχ. κε στεφ.) Zeus standing to front, but facing left, with thunderbolt in right hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lvii, 198 pl. 25, 8). Cp. a copper of Gordianus Pius, having for reverse type two men (Dorylaos and Akamas?), each of whom holds a *phiále* over a flaming altar, while an eagle hovers above it (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 226 no. 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 197 pl. 25, 7). I. Meliopoulos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 480 f. publishes a dedication from Dorylaeion [- - - -?] *βου υἱῶι Διὶ Πατρῴ[ωι - - - -] | [σωτῆρι ἄπαν]τος ἀνθρώπων γένο[υς - - - - -] | [... καὶ θεοῖ]ς Σεβαστοῖς καὶ θεαῖς Σεβαστα[ῖς [καὶ Ὁ]μονοίαι Σ]εβαστῆι καὶ θεᾶι Ῥώμηι καὶ θεῶι Συνκλήτωι|[καὶ τῶι] δήμωι Ῥωμαίων κ.τ.λ.* Zeus Πατρῷος here means Hadrian as in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3187, 5 ff. Smyrna Διὸς Πατρῴου, Αὐτοκ[ράτορος, ἀρχιερέως]| *μεγίστου, πατρὸς τῆ[ς πατρίδος? καὶ σωτῆρος?]| τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀν[θρωπείου γένους· κ.τ.λ.]*. Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 276 f. among other dedications to Zeus *Brontôn* at Dorylaeion includes no. 9 a *stêle* with pointed pediment, garland underneath, and letters under garland: Αὐρ. Δημᾶς Ἀσ[ι]|νίου *ὑπὲρ ἑαυ|τοῦ κὲ τῶν ἰδί|ων πάντων Διὶ Σ|ημαντικῷ εὐ|χήν*. The god that sent thunder and lightning thereby gave *σήματα* (*supra* p. 4).

Evidence of the worship of Dionysos at Dorylaeion is collected by W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 221 f.

[2] G. Radet 'En Phrygie' in the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions Scientifiques* Paris 1895 vi. 425—594.

[3] A. Körte in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 409 f.

[4] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 43, 70 f.

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 275.

[6] *Supra* i. 4 n. 2.

[7] *Supra* p. 277 ff.

view must—as it now seems to me—be definitely preferred to the alternative hypothesis. If so, we have here the old Thraco-Phrygian *Díos* Hellenised, as might have been expected, into a Zeus *Díos*. Körte remarks that at Dorylaeion there were seven tribes named after the Mother of the gods, Zeus, Poseidon, Sarapis, Apollon, Aphrodite, and Augustus respectively[1]. But, since the tribe of Zeus was known as *Deía*[2], its eponymous deity was conceivably the Phrygian *Déos* rather than the Greek *Zeús*[3]. Be that as it may, Zeus *Díos* was a god of Dionysiac character, for his altar is decorated with grape-bunches[4] and a plough[5]. He should therefore be

[1] A. Körte in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 401 f.

[2] *Id. ib.* 400 f. no. 45 a marble base inscribed *θεὸς ἡγοῦ.* | *εἰκόνα τήνδε στῆσαν ἀγακλει|τῷ Στρατονεί|κῳ φυλέται οἱ Δείας εἶ|ναι ἀγαλλόμενοι. κ.τ.λ.*

[3] The inference is uncertain : *ει* may be for *ī* as in *Στρατονείκῳ*. But cp. the name *Δευονειας* in the neo-Phrygian inscription no. 69, 10 f. (W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 98 ff. cites *Δεουας* from G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie d'une partie de la Mysie de la Phrygie, de la Cappadoce et du Pont* Paris 1872 i. 52).

[4] Zeus is connected with the vine by an early Phrygian myth. According to Akousilaos of Argos, one of the older logographers (*c.* 525 B.C.), Priamos persuaded Astyoche, wife of Telephos, to send her son Eurypylos from Mysia to Troy by presenting her with a golden vine (Akousilaos *frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 103 Müller) *ap.* schol. Q.V. *Od.* 11. 520, cp. schol. B.Q. *Od.* 11. 521). Some said that Priamos had himself made the vine (schol. Iuv. 6. 655—a notice full of confusions). But others stated that it was the golden vine which Zeus had given to Tros in exchange for Ganymedes and that it had passed to Priamos by way of inheritance (schol. T.V. *Od.* 11. 521, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1697, 31 ff.). This version was derived from Lesches of Lesbos (*c.* 660—657 B.C.), who in his *Ilias parva frag.* 6 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Eur. *Tro.* 821 and *Or.* 1392 described the vine as follows : *ἄμπελον, ἣν Κρονίδης ἔπορεν οἱ* (so G. W. Nitzsch for *οὗ*) *παιδὸς ἄποινα χρυσείην* (*χρυσείοις* schol. Eur. *Tro.* 821) *φύλλοισιν ἀγανοῖσι* (J. Barnes *corr. ἀγαννοῖσιν*, F. Osann cj. *ἀγαυροῖσιν*, Jortin cj. *ἀγαυοῖσιν*, J. G. Schneider cj. *ἰανθέσι καὶ* or *ἅμ' ἄνθεσι καὶ*, J. G. J. Hermann cj. *παναργυρέοις*—an amazingly stupid emendation) *κομόωσαν βότρυσί θ'* (*βότρυσι* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1392), *οὓς Ἥφαιστος ἐπασκήσας Διὶ πατρὶ* | *δῶχ', ὁ δὲ* (*πατρὶ δῶκεν*, | *αὐτὰρ ὁ* schol. Eur. *Or.* 1392) *Λαομέδοντι πόρεν Γανυμήδεος ἀντί.* The tree, which forms the background for Ganymedes and the eagle in the Vatican group after Leochares (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 521 ff. Atlas pl. 8, 4 : bibliography in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 249 f. no. 386, ii. 473), is perhaps meant for this famous vine-stem. A similar tale told how Tithonos, the brother of Priamos, was induced by the gift of a golden vine to send Memnon, his son by Heos, to help the Trojans (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 489). I take it that the golden vine belonged to the *regalia* of Troy and that its presence ensured the protection of the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus.

Parallels are not wanting. Pythios son of Atys, a Lydian, gave Dareios a golden plane-tree and vine (Hdt. 7. 27, Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 137 (Pythis Bithyni), Aristeid. *or.* 13. 129 (i. 210 Dindorf) with schol. *ad loc.* p. 147, 19 ff. Dindorf, Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 923 ff., cp. Plout. *mul. virt.* 27, Polyain. 8. 42). These no doubt became heirlooms. For the Persian kings had a golden vine studded with gems above their couch (Chares of Mitylene *frag.* 10 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 117 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 514 E—F, Amyntas *frag.* 4 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 136 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 514 F), or golden planes and a golden vine with jewels for grapes, beneath which they often sat to transact business (Phylarchos *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 345 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 539 D. And over the doors of Herod's temple at Jerusalem rose a gigantic golden vine with hanging clusters (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 15.

compared with Zeus *Diónysos* (fig. 178) of north-eastern Thrace[1],

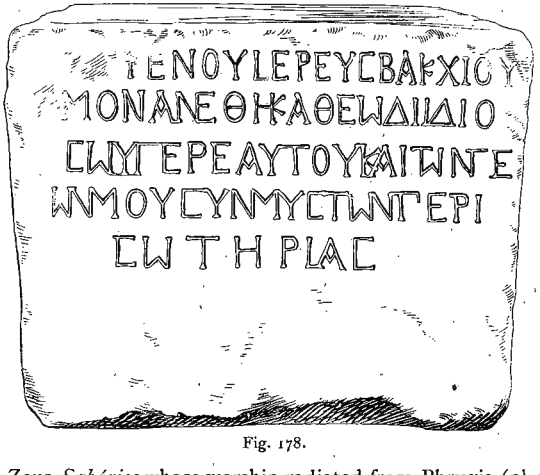


Fig. 178.

with Zeus *Sabázios* whose worship radiated from Phrygia (pl. xix)[2],

11. 3), which made people think that the Jews worshipped Liber Pater (Tac. *hist.* 5. 5). See further Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 212—214 ('Metallene Bäume') and G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 407 f. ('The Vine of Pythios and Andocides'). Note also *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161 B 44 ἄμπελος χρυσῆ ἄσταχυς in an inventory of 279/280 B.C.

[5] Galen. *de aliment. facult.* 1. 13 (vi. 515 Kühn) notes that the grain called *ζεόπυρον* was grown at Dorylai (*sic*) in Phrygia.

[1] G. Kazarow in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1915 xxx Arch. Anz. pp. 87—89 fig. 1 (=my fig. 178) publishes a marble base (0·55^{m} high, 0·65^{m} broad) of late Roman date, from *Malko-Tirnovo* in the Bulgarian territory of *Burgas*, inscribed with a dedication *θεῷ Διὶ Διονύσῳ* by the priest of a *Βακχεῖον* (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 228). The text runs: *..ιενοῦ ἱερεὺς Βακχίου [τὸν βω]μὸν ἀνέθηκα θεῶ Διὶ Διο[νύ]σω ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τέ[κν]ων μου συνμύστων περὶ | σωτηρίας.* The interest and importance of the find made in this locality is great. *Malko-Tirnovo* is within easy reach of *Vize*, the ancient Bizye, chief town of the Thracian Astai.

[2] *Supra* i. 390 ff. Thanks to the courtesy of Mr W. H. Buckler, I am enabled to supplement my previous account by publishing a new and important *stêle*, which he has lately presented to the British Museum. Pl. xix is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming. Mr Buckler writes: 'This small stele, in good preservation except for the missing base, was bought for 20 francs at the bazaar in Constantinople in June, 1914, from a dealer who professed to know nothing of its origin. It then consisted of two closely fitting fragments, divided by a line of breakage passing through the eagle's neck and down along the front of the horse's fore leg. The lower part of the stele appeared to have recently been chiselled away; before restoration the lower edge, showing the coarse-grained bluish marble, of a kind common in Western Asia Minor, looked quite freshly cut. The inscription was then intact: *Εὔτυχος Διὶ Σαβαζείω | κατ' ὄνιρον χαριστήριον.* This inscription (Λ, Σ, Ω) might be as early as 1st century B.C., but of course dating from such indications is pretty uncertain. On the journey to London the larger fragment was broken in

Stéle obtained by W. H. Buckler in Constantinople: Zeus *Sabázios* on horseback, with altar, *kratér*, and leafless tree, in which are eagle and snake, surmounted by votive inscription.

See page 282 *n.* 2.

two, and this break, which shows clearly in the plate, almost destroyed the fifth letter in *δνιρον*. Dimensions as follows: Height, as now restored, 46 cm. Original portion: height 34 cm.; width at top 36 cm., at bottom 36½ cm.; depth of recessed panel 1½ cm.; thickness at top 6 to 4 cm. Back roughly tooled.'

The relief shows Zeus *Sabázios* as a bearded god on horseback advancing towards an ancient leafless tree. He wears a *chitón* with short sleeves, a stiff *chlamýs* over his back, and a diadem round his head. He holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, a couple of spears in his left. In the tree is an eagle side by side with a snake. Beneath the tree burns a small square altar, close to which stands a wide-mouthed *kratér*. Thunderbolt and eagle characterise the god as Zeus; snake and *kratér* (cp. Dem. *de cor.* 259 *κρατηρίζων*), as *Sabázios*. All four attributes are found on the *Sabázios*-monuments already noted (*supra* i. 391 ff. fig. 296 bronze hand, pl. xxvii bronze relief), which likewise have the

Fig. 179.

eagle and snake juxtaposed in friendly fashion. The unusual features of this *stéle* are the conception of the god as a rider and his connexion with a dream. Zeus *Sabázios* is not elsewhere an equestrian figure, unless it be he who on the well known but little understood bronze plaque from Rome, now at Berlin (F. Lajard in the *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 38, 1, *id. Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 113 ff., 281 f., 360 pl. 7, 6, E. Gerhard 'Phrygische Götter zu Pferd' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1854 xii. 209 ff. pl. 65, 3 (§ 3 (c) i (o)), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 30 no. 3, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2744, T. Eisele *ib.* iv. 250), swings a double axe as he gallops over a prostrate human form. But the god appears in a variety of poses (figs. 179, 180, 185) according to local convention, and here it is not difficult to recognise the influence of Thrace (*supra* fig. 175). As to the dream, it will be remembered that in Aristoph. *vesp.* 9 ff. Sosias and Xanthias both get dreams from *Sabázios*. Xanthias sees a great eagle carry off an asp to the sky;

Sosias sees sheep in the *ekklesía*, etc.—fancies obviously suggested by the attributes (eagle, snake, ram) of *Sabázios* himself.

Other reliefs illustrating the cult of Zeus *Sabázios* are listed by T. Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 243 ff. They include: (1) A relief in white marble, drawn by A. Conze at *Schoinoudi* in Imbros, but said to have come from Blaudos (*Balát*) in the Mysian district of Abrettene (A. Conze *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* Hannover 1860

Fig. 180.

p. 98 ff. pl. 17, 7 = my fig. 179, T. Eisele *loc. cit.* iv. 243 fig. 2). The god, who is beardless, sits on a high-backed throne, with a band (?) round his head, a *phiále* in his right hand, and a spear or sceptre in his left. Beside him is a tree (palm?), up which his snake is coiled. Before him an altar, on which a man, followed by a woman, deposits a pinch of incense. Inscribed: Μέναν̣δρος Ἀθηνοδώρου Διὶ Σαξίωι | εὐχήν. Σαξίος is a mason's mistake for Σαξάζιος = Σαβάζιος (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 229). Height *c.* 0·25^{m},

with Zeus *Poteos* (fig. 187) of Dionysopolis on the upper Maiandros in Phrygia[1], with Zeus *Poteús* (?) of Limnobria? (*Burdur*) on the breadth *c.* 0·18m. (2) A relief in white marble, found by A. Wagener in the court of a private house at Koloë (*Koula*) in Lydia (A. Wagener *Inscriptions grecques recueillies en Asie Mineure* (in *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* 1858—1861 xxx) pp. 3—19 pl. A, 1 inscription only, T. Eisele *loc. cit.* iv. 243 f. fig. 3 = my fig. 180). The upper register shows a beardless male figure (Zeus *Sabázios*) driving towards the left a two-horsed vehicle. On the reins is seen an eagle; beneath the horses, a snake. The equipage is accompanied by a male figure (Men, cp. *supra* i. 193, 642) with a Phrygian cap (so Wagener: Eisele says, a bowl-shaped helmet) and a wingèd *caduceus*, between which appears a crescent moon. The remainder of the panel is filled by a personage pouring a libation at a raised altar and by three worshippers with gestures of adoration. The lower register groups thirteen worshippers about an altar, behind which rises a sacred tree. On the altar are piled round objects like loaves. Inscribed: *ἔτους* $\overline{ρπε}$ (185 of the Sullan or Lydo-Phrygian era = 101 A.D.), *μη(νὸς) Δαισίου ά, ἐπὶ στεφανη|φόρου Γλύκωνος, ἡ Κολοηνῶν κατοικία καὶ|θιέρωσαν Δία Σαβάζιον, ἐπὶ ἱερέων Ἀπολ|λωνίου τοῦ Ἰόλλα καὶ Ἀπολ|λωνίου τοῦ Δαΐπ|που Διὸς ὠπου καὶ Μητρᾶ Ἀσκληπιάδου καὶ | [Ἀρτε]μιδώρου Κλέωνος καὶ Κλέωνος Με|[νεκράτους καὶ Ἀ]πολλωνίου Δίωνος καὶ Α..* Height *c.* 1·50m, breadth *c.* 0·75m. Wagener with much probability concludes that a solar Zeus *Sabázios* is here conducted to his temple by the lunar Men, who is equipped with the *caduceus* of Hermes. The personage pouring a libation is—he supposes—the *stephanephóros* Glykon, and the sixteen suppliants are the priests of the god assisting at his installation. Since the Macedonian Daisios = the Attic Thargelion (W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2014), it would seem that Daisios 1 was a sort of May-day festival. (3) A marble relief at Philadelphia (*Ala-Shehir*) in Lydia represents Zeus *Sabázios* seated on a throne, holding a large-bodied vase in which a shrub is planted (O. Rayet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1877 i. 307—309, T. Eisele *loc. cit.* iv. 244). Inscribed: *Διὶ Κορυφαίῳ Δία Σα|ουάζιον Νεαυλ|είτην | Πλουτίων Πλουτίωνος | Μαίων εὐχήν.* Height 0·60m, breadth 0·37m. The image of Zeus *Σαουάζιος Νεαυλείτης* (*i.e.* Zeus *Σαβάζιος* of *Νεαυλή* (*Νέα Αὐλή*)) is here dedicated to Zeus *Κορυφαῖος* of Philadelphia (on whom see *infra* Append. B). (4) In the winter of 1864—1865 workmen digging at *Vichy* (? = Aquae calidae in Aquitania: M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 298) near a well full of Roman remains found a packet of eighty *plaques* of thin silver foil, together with a coin of Gordianus and the statuette of a newborn babe in thin silver backed with resin. The *bratteae*, which vary from 0·05m to 0·17m in height and from 0·02m to 0·07m in breadth, are now in the Musée de Saint-Germain. They have in almost every case a tree or leaf impressed upon them (figs. 181, 182). Some add an *aedicula*, in which stands Iupiter with sceptre, bolt, and eagle (figs. 184—186), flanked on one specimen by a couple of grape-vines (fig. 186). Others symbolise the god by his bolt and reduce the vines to mere scrolls (fig. 183). The most important type subjoins a label inscribed: Numin·Aug·deo Iovi Sa|ba·sio (*sic*)·G·Iul·Caras|-sounus·v·s·l·m (fig. 185). See further C. Rossignol—A. Bertrand 'Notice sur les découvertes faites à Vichy et en particulier sur des Bractéoles votives d'argent' in the *Bulletin de la Société d'Émulation du département de l'Allier* (Sciences, Arts et Belles-lettres) Moulins 1889 xviii. 185—232 pls. 1—8, of which pl. 1, 1 and 2 = my figs. 181, 182, pl. 3, 1 and 3 = my figs. 184, 186, pl. 4, 1 = my fig. 183, pl. 5 = my fig. 185, T. Eisele *loc. cit.* iv. 245, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 1496. Similar *bratteae* in S. Lysons *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ* London 1817 ii pls. 38—41, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii nos. 80 f., 84—86, *supra* i. 626 ff. Cp. the 'silver shrines of Diana' made at Ephesos (Acts 19. 24).

[1] A *quasi*-autonomous copper of Dionysopolis, struck in the time of Alexander Severus (?), has obv. ZEVCΠOTHOC ΔIONVCOΠOΛEITΩN· Head of Zeus *Ποτηος*, wearing fillet, to right, within border of dots; rev. CTPATHΓOVN-TOC[C]Ω[C] TPATOVB The river-god Maiandros recumbent to left, with reed and

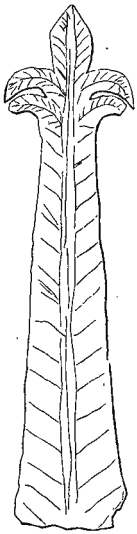


Fig. 181.

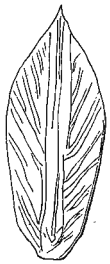


Fig. 182.

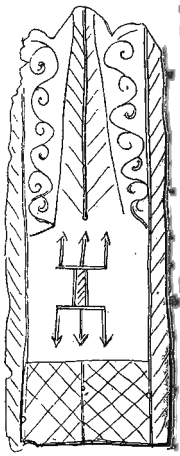


Fig. 183.

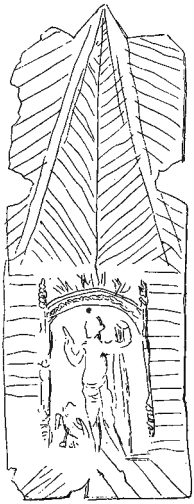


Fig. 184.

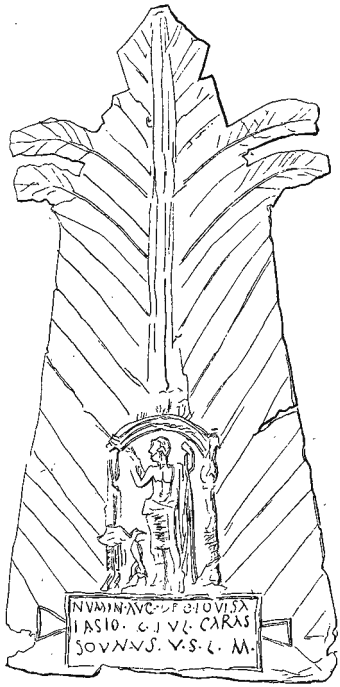


Fig. 185.

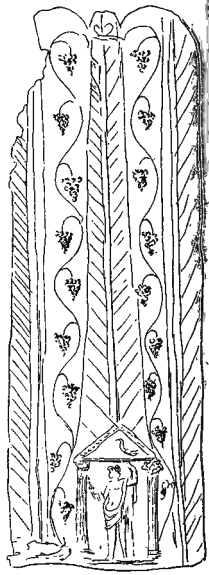


Fig. 186.

eastern side of Lake Askania in Pisidia[1], and with Zeus *Bákchos* of Pergamon in Mysia[2]. The plain fact is that to the Phrygians Zeus

Fig. 187.

cornu copiae, and behind him an inverted vase from which flows his river. ΜΕΑΝΔΡΟC in exergue. All within border of dots (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 150 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 223, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lv, 183 pl. 23, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 671, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2902 f.). Fig. 187 is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum. R. Rochette in the *Journal des savants* 1842 p. 10 n. 1 held that Ποτηος was a local epithet. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 169 took ποτέος (*sic*) to denote a rain-god. Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 126 n. 2 suggests 'a rude attempt at the Greek Πύτιος (for Πύθιος...).' Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 29 were the first to detect 'un caractère bachique,' which is rendered practically certain by the inscription from *Burdur* (*infra* n. 1).

[1] A *stèle* mentioning Zeus Ποτεύς (?) or Πότης (?) or Πότις (?), found at *Bouldour* or *Burdur* in Pisidia, was published by M. Collignon in the *Bull. Cor. Hell.* 1879 iii. 335 no. 3 Μεννέας Ἀρ|τεμιδώρου | ἐ|ρεὺς | Διὶ | Ποσ|ει | τὸν [β]ωμὸν | ἀνέστησεν. The stone (0·65[m] high, 0·33[m] broad, 0·20[m] thick) is adorned with reliefs—a bunch of grapes on its right side, a wreath on its left, and a *bucranium* adjoining the inscription in front. This interesting record of a Dionysiac Zeus was re-published by Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 337 f. no. 178, cp. *ib.* i. 126 n. 2. See also O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2902 f.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538, 30 ff. = M. Fränkel in *Pergamon* viii, 1 no. 324, 30 ff. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1035. 20 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 172. 20 ff. (directions to avert the plague of 166 A.D.) ἑπτὰ γεραιρόντων εἰς ἥματα μῆρα ἑπὶ βωμ(ῶ)ν, | Παλλάδι μὲν μόσχου διετήρονος ἄζυγος ἀγνοῦ | δαίοντες, τριένου δὲ βοὸς Διί, καὶ Διὶ Βάκχωι | ὡσαύτως καὶ παιδὶ Κορωνίδος ἠθαλέοιο (E. Cougny cj. Αἰθαλέοιο cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 75 ff.). | ταύρου μηρία ῥέξοντες προτιτύσκετε δαῖτα, | ἠίθεοι, χλαμύδεσσι ἀμφεμμένοι ὄπποσοι ἑ[στέ] | μὴ σφετέρων νόσφιν πατέρων· κ.τ.λ. See further *infra* Append. B Mysia.

Zeus Βάκχος is presumably to be equated with the important Pergamene god Zeus Σαβάζιος (M. Fränkel in *Pergamon* viii, 1 no. 248, 31 ff. Attalos iii Philometor (138—133 B.C.), nephew and successor of Attalos ii Philadelphos (159—138 B.C.), says of Sosandros, *σύντροφος* of Eumenes ii (197—159 B.C.) and priest of Dionysos Καθηγεμών at Pergamon: τοῦτον ἐγέννησεν, ὧι καὶ γενομένωι ἀξίωι τοῦ οἴκου ἡμῶν τὸ | μὲμ πρῶτον Ἄτταλος ὁ θεῖός μου σὺγ καὶ τῆι ἐμῆι γνώμηι ζῶντος | ἔτι τοῦ Σωσάνδρου ἔδωκε διὰ γένους ἱερεωσύνην τὴν τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Σαβαζίου τιμιωτάτην οὖσαμ παρ' ἡμῖν, ὕστερον δὲ μεταλλάξαντος | τοῦ Σωσάνδρου διὰ τὴμ περὶ αὐτὸν οὖσαγ καλοκἀγαθίαγ καὶ περὶ τὸ θε[ῖ]ον εὐσέβειαγ καὶ τὴν πρὸς ἡμᾶς εὔνοιαγ καὶ πίστιγ καὶ τῆς τοῦ Καθηγε|μόνος Διονύσου ἱερεωσύνης ἠξιώσαμεν αὐτόν, κρίναντες αὐτὸγ καὶ | ταύτης εἶναι ἄξιον τῆς τιμῆς καὶ πρεπόντως προστήσ(ε)σθαι μυστ[ηρί]ων τηλικούτωγ κἀγὼ καὶ Ἄτταλος ὁ θεῖός μου, κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 45 ff. Attalos iii says of Stratonike, wife of Eumenes ii: ἐπεὶ βασ[ί]λισσα Στρατονίκη ἡ μήτηρ μου εὐσεβεστάτη μὲγ γενομένη πασῶν, φιλ[ο]στοργοτάτη δὲ διαφερόντως πρός τε τὸμ πατέρα μου καὶ πρὸς ἐμέ, | πρὸς ἅπαντας μὲν τοὺς θεοὺς εὐσεβῶς προσηνέχθη, μάλιστα δὲ | πρὸς τὸν Δία τὸν Σαβάζιον, πατροπαράδοτον (see *infra*) αὐτὸγ κομίσασα εἰς | τὴμ πατρίδα ἡμῶν, δγ καὶ ἐμ πολλαῖς πράξεσι καὶ ἐμ πολλοῖς κινδύνοις παραστάτηγ καὶ βοηθὸν ἡμῖγ γενόμενον ἐκρίναμεν διὰ τὰς ἐξ αὐτοῦ | γενομένας ἐπιφανείας συγκαθιερῶσαι τῆι Νικηφόρωι Ἀθηνᾶι (*sc.* in the

and Dionysos were but different aspects of the self-same god. As Sir W. M. Ramsay, the highest living authority on Phrygia and all its ways, expresses it, 'The father and the son...are merely complementary forms of the single ultimate form of the divinity as male[1],' or again 'the character and personality of the God-father and God-son pass into one another in such a way in the divine tale or drama, that no clear line can be drawn to separate them[2].' This essential unity *saute aux yeux*, if—as I have supposed—the former deity was originally named Dios and the latter Dios *Nysos*. Well might Christianity take root and flourish (we know that it did[3]) among a people, who had already learnt that the Son was in the Father and the Father in the Son[4]. One of the earliest extant representations of our Lord, the tombstone of Abirkios and his wife Theuprepia, erected *c.* 300 A.D. at Prymnessos (*Seulun*) in central Phrygia (fig. 188)[5], shows Him as a youth raising His right

Nikephórion outside the city), νομισαν|τες τοῦτον αὐτῶι ἄξιογ καὶ πρέποντα τόπον ὑπάρχειν, διεταξάμε|θα δὲ ἀκολούθως τούτοις καὶ περὶ θυσιῶγ καὶ πομπῶγ καὶ μυστηρίων | τῶν ἐπιτελουμένωμ πρὸ πόλεως αὐτῶι ἐν τοῖς καθήκουσι καιροῖς καὶ τόποις· | ἐποήσαμεν δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ ἱερέα διὰ γένους Ἀθήναιον τὸν ἐμόν (a slip for τὸν συγγενῆ τὸν ἐμόν, as Fränkel saw), εὐσεβείαι κα[ὶ] | καλοκἀγαθίαι διαφέροντα καὶ τῆι πρὸς ἡμᾶς πίστει· κ.τ.λ.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 46, 31 ff., 45 ff.=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 331, 31 ff., 45 ff.).

In this connexion it is not without significance that P. Aelius Aristides, a native of Hadrianoi in Mysia, who had studied rhetoric under Aristokles at Pergamon (Philostr. *v. Aristid.* p. 83, 25 ff. Kayser), remarks: ἤδη δέ τινων ἤκουσα καὶ ἕτερον λόγον ὑπὲρ τούτων ὅτι αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεὺς εἴη ὁ Διόνυσος (Aristeid. *or.* 4. 29 (i. 49 Dindorf)). The allusion is in all probability to the Thraco-Phrygian god called by the Pergamenes Zeus Βάκχος or Zeus Σαβάζιος, whom Stratonike, wife of Eumenes ii, had introduced from the court of her father Ariarathes iv Eusebes, king of Kappadokia (*c.* 220—*c.* 163 B.C.).

It is noteworthy that on the Akropolis of Pergamon, south of the great altar of Zeus (*supra* i. 118 ff.), stood a Hellenistic temple of Dionysos (Καθηγεμών?) with a prostyle tetrastyle *façade* of *quasi*-Doric order (R. Bohn *Der Tempel des Dionysos zu Pergamon* Berlin 1885 (extr. from the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1884* Phil.-hist. Classe), E. Fabricius in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1217, E. Pontremoli and M. Collignon *Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole* Paris 1900 pp. 55—57, K. Hachtmann *Pergamon* Gütersloh 1900 p. 26).

[1] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 34. See also the same author's article on Phrygian religion in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 900 ff.

[2] *Id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 140.

[3] See *e.g.* Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170* London 1893 pp. 37 ff., 90 ff., 146, 436 ff., *id. The Cities of St Paul* London 1907 p. 315 ff., and especially *id.* in J. Hastings *A Dictionary of the Bible* Edinburgh 1900 iii. 863—869. Cp. also F. Cumont *Les religions orientales dans le paganisme romain*[2] Paris 1909 p. 75 ff., T. Eisele 'Die phrygischen Kulte und ihre Bedeutung für die griechisch-römische Welt' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1909 xxiii. 620—637.

[4] John 14. 10.

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Church in the Roman Empire Before A.D. 170* London 1893 pp. 440—442 with pl. (=my fig. 188), E. Legrand—J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 290 no. 98, F. Cumont 'Les Inscriptions Chrétiennes de l'Asie Mineure' in *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 1895 xv. 278 no. 190, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities*

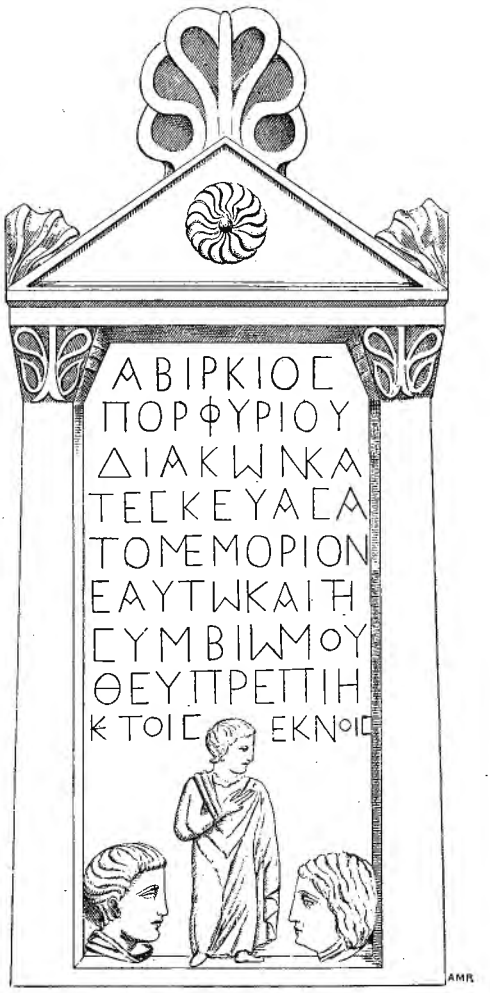

ΑΒΙΡΚΙΟΣ
ΠΟΡΦΥΡΙΟΥ
ΔΙΑΚΩΝΚΑ
ΤΕΣΚΕΥΑΣΑ
ΤΟΜΕΜΟΡΙΟΝ
ΕΑΥΤΩΚΑΙΤΗ
ΣΥΜΒΙΩΜΟΥ
ΘΕΥΠΡΕΤΤΙΗ
ΚΤΟΙΣ ΕΚΝΟΙΣ
AMR

Fig. 188.

and Bishoprics of Phrygia Oxford 1897 i. 2. 736 f. with pl. Beneath the inscription 'Αβίρκιος | Πορφυρίου | διάκων κα|τεσκεύασα | τὸ μεμόριον | ἑαυτῷ καὶ τῇ | συμβίῳ μου | Θευπρεπίη | κὲ τοῖς τέκνοις stands the Saviour between two heads representing the souls of Abirkios and Theuprepia.

The conception of the head as the seat of the soul (E. Bethe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 465 n. 62, L. Radermacher in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1908 xi. 412 ff., A. E. Crawley *The Idea of the Soul* London 1909 p. 239) is responsible for much in ancient literature (the epic νεκύων ἀμενηνὰ κάρηνα, the tragic φίλον κάρα, the colloquial ὦ μιαρὰ κεφαλή, etc.), art (the herm, the mask, the bust, the medallion, etc.), and custom (*e.g.* separate burial of the head (Korybantes *supra* i. 107; θεουργοί Prokl. *in Plat. theol.* 4. 9 p. 193 Portus καὶ (ὃ πάντων ἐστὶ θαυμαστότατον) ὅτι τῶν θεουργῶν θάπτειν τὸ σῶμα κελευόντων, πλὴν τῆς κεφαλῆς, ἐν τῇ μυστικωτάτῃ τῶν τελετῶν, ὁ Πλάτων (*Phaedr.* 250 c) καὶ τοῦτο προείληφεν, ὑπ' αὐτῶν κινούμενος τῶν θεῶν; Battos Herakleides Pontikos *frag.* 4. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 212 Müller); on Capitol at Rome Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 41, Liv. 1. 55, 5. 54, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 4. 59, Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 15, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 7, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 8. 4, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 345, Isid. *orig.* 15. 2. 31, cp. E. Babelon *Collection Pauvert de la Chapelle: Intailles et Camées* Paris 1899 p. 44 f. no. 111 fig. and pl. 7, 111, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 451 f. fig. 233, and *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371 n. 20: archaeological evidence from Egypt is cited by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 252 n. 3 and especially by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Ancient Egypt* Part iv 1916, from Megara Hyblaia, Syracuse, the Aeolian Myrina, etc. by A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 341 f., from the Scandinavian area by P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston-London 1902 p. 303), and divination by means of a severed head (head of Osiris floats to Byblos Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 7; head of Orpheus floats to Lesbos—see Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pls. 22, 1—9, 13 f., 61, 51, ii. 107 f., 277, iii. 245—252 with figs. 138 f., and O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1069, 1168 ff., 1177 f. fig. 3; head of Archonides preserved in honey and consulted by Kleomenes i (?) of Sparta Ail. *var. hist.* 12. 8; head of Publius prophesies after victory at Thermopylai in 191 B.C. Antisthenes the Peripatetic (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 182 Müller, but see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2537 f.) *ap.* Phleg. *mir.* 3; head of priest of Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος in Arkadia (?) reveals the name of murderer Aristot. *de part. an.* 3. 10. 673 a 17 ff. περὶ δὲ Καρίαν (καρ..αν E. καρ P. ἀρκαδίαν Z.) οὕτω τὸ τοιοῦτον διεπίστευσαν ὥστε καὶ κρίσιν ἐποιήσαντο περί τινος τῶν ἐγχωρίων. τοῦ γὰρ ἱερέως τοῦ Ὀπλοσμίου Διὸς ἀποθανόντος, ὑφ' ὅτου δὲ δὴ ἀδήλως, ἔφασάν τινες ἀκοῦσαι τῆς κεφαλῆς ἀποκεκομμένης λεγούσης πολλάκις "ἐπ' ἀνδρὸς ἄνδρα Κερκιδᾶς ἀπέκτεινεν." διὸ καὶ ζητήσαντες ᾧ ὄνομα ἦν ἐν τῷ τόπῳ Κερκιδᾶς, ἑκρίναν. My note on this incident in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 417 n. 1 is far-fetched and improbable. Better service has been done by J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto* Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 370 f. (cp. P. Foucart in Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* Explications ii. 221 and in the *Rev. Arch.* 1876 ii. 103, P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 149), who rightly restores Ἀρκαδίαν for Καρίαν, remarking that the name Κερκιδᾶς is not found in Karia but is found in Arkadia, especially at Megalopolis (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 649, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii nos. 439, 40, 550, 3), that another odd tale is told about the death of a Megalopolitan Kerkidas (Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 20), and that the cult of Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος is attested only for Methydrion, an Arcadian town which passed into the possession of Megalopolis (Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 148 f. no. 1634, 17 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 199, 17 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 229, 17 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 344, 17 ff. περ[ὶ | δὲ τᾶς Νί]κας τᾶς χρυσέ[α]ς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀπλοσμίου, ἃν καταθέντες ἐνέχυρα οἱ Μεθυ[δρι|εῖς οἱ μετοικ]ήσαντες ε[ἰ]ς Ὀρχομενὸν διείλοντο τὸ ἀργύριον κ.τ.λ. in an Achaean decree of *c.* 234/3 B.C., cp. Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 344 no. 1203, 10 = O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 18 no. 8, 10 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 614, 10 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 271, 10 Ὀπλοδμίας (*sc.* φυλᾶς) in a tribal list not later than *c.* 350 B.C. Hera, and perhaps Athena, shared the title with Zeus. Lyk. *Al.* 613 f. τύμβος... | Ὀπλοσμίας refers to the Argive Hera (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 610) rather than to Athena (schol. Lyk. *Al.* 614, cp. schol. *Il.* 5. 412); Lyk. *Al.* 857 f.

hand with the thumb and two fingers extended in the attitude peculiar to the Phrygian Zeus[1]—an attitude known to later ages as the *benedictio Latina*[2].

θεᾷ Ὁπλοσμίᾳ to Hera Λακινία. Hera Ὁπλοσμία was worshipped in Elis and Triphylia (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 858, cp. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ὁπλοσμένα· ἡ Ἥρα, where J. A. H. Tittmann corr. Ὁπλοσμία); and there is said to have been a τύμβος (=βωμός) of Athena Ὁπλοσμία in Elis (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 614). As to the origin of the appellative, Ὁπλόσμιος < Ὁπλόδμιος < *Ὁπλοδάμιος (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 149 'also ein Compositum von ὅπλον und der reducirten Form von δαμ- in δάμνημι'), cp. Ὁπλάδαμος (P. Foucart cj. Ὁπλόδαμος), the giant of Methydrion who, when Rhea was pregnant with Zeus, was prepared to defend her against Kronos (Paus. 8. 32. 5, 8. 36. 2). See further Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 26 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2299). Possibly the same belief in the sanctity of the decorporated head accounts for the *Chiesa delle Anime de' Corpi Decollati* at Palermo (see E. S. Hartland in *Folk-Lore* 1910 xxi. 168 ff. pls. 8—10).

[1] *Supra* i. 391 n. 3.

[2] On the *benedictio Graeca* and the *benedictio Latina* see R. Sinker in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 199 figs. and E. Fehrenbach in the *Dictionnaire d'Archéologie Chrétienne et de Liturgie* publ. par Le R. P. dom F. Cabrol Paris 1910 ii. 749 ff. figs. 1489—1492. Various attempts have been made to read a symbolic meaning into these gestures, as may be seen in the articles here cited. A new, but not very probable, notion was started at Oxford in 1908 by my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris, who concluded an important address on 'Some points in the Cult of the Heavenly Twins' by suggesting—to the manifest alarm of a French ecclesiastic in the front row—'that the episcopal benediction with two fingers was originally a prayer that those blessed might have twin children' (*Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 176). Possibly both the Greek and the Latin forms of benediction may prove to have been but variants of the prophylactic gesture known all round the northern shores of the Mediterranean as 'the fig': if so, it was once sexual in character, the thumb perhaps representing the *phallós* and the fingers the *ktéis* (*vide* my paper on 'ΣΥΚΟΦΑΝΤΗΣ' in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 133—136. The view there taken had been in part at least anticipated by C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 103 n. 1 (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 342 n. 2 (*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 98 n. 4) objects: 'Je ne crois pas qu'un Grec eût employé φαίνειν dans le sens d' "exhiber" une partie du corps.' But cp. the words φαινομηρίς and παραφαίνειν, ὑποφαίνειν as used in the passages collected *supra* p. 223 n. 6). Similar conclusions were reached independently by V. Riffer 'Συκοφάντης' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 388—390: 'Diese Gebärde stellt bekanntlich die weibliche Scham dar, und soll ursprünglich in den Dämonen das sie abschreckende Gefühl des Abscheus hervorrufen, um sie auf diese Weise von den Menschen abzuwehren.' Cp. also S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 184 ff., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 924. For rival hypotheses see M. Bréal in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1906 p. 740 (συκοφάντης is a mere insult = the ἱεροφάντης of nothing at all), S. Reinach 'Sycophantes' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 335—358 (*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 93—118) (just as the ἱεροφάντης exhibited an ear of corn to the initiates of Eleusis, so we may assume that an official called the σϋκοφάντης exhibited a fig in the mysteries of the Phytalidai at Τερὰ Συκῆ, where Demeter had once revealed (ἔφηνεν) the fig to Phytalos: such an official would doubtless have the right to exclude undesirables from his audience—hence the transition to συκοφαντεῖν in its usual meaning: close at hand was the ancient altar of Zeus Μειλίχιος, 'god of the Fig' (μείλιχον), at which Theseus had been purified. perhaps with fig-juice, by the Phytalidai—an attractive combination, which however L. R. Farnell in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1907* p. 62 f. is too cautious to accept. I have discussed it further *infra* Append. M), W. R. Paton 'The Pharmakoi and the Story of the Fall' in the *Rev.*

(δ) *Pápas* and *Áttis.*

The same relation of the Phrygian Son-god to the Phrygian Father-god is implied in the cult of Attis. Michael Konstantinos Psellos, the most famous Byzantine scholar of the eleventh century (1018—1078 A.D.)[1], boldly asserts that *Átis* in the language of Phrygia meant 'Zeus[2]'—an assertion based on the Demosthenic evidence for Attis as a rain-god[3]. More weight must be attached to the fact that Attis, like Zeus, bore the title *Pápas* or *Papâs*[4]—a

Arch. 1907 i. 51—57 (*ib.* p. 52 n. 1 in support of S. Reinach: 'I believe we both ventured the conjecture that there were at some time rival mysteries to those of Eleusis in which the hierophant, instead of solemnly exhibiting an ear of corn, as the Eleusinian hierophant did, exhibited a fig, and was described by the devotees of Eleusis, not as a *ἱεροφάντης*, but as a *συκοφάντης* (with an allusion, no doubt, to the improper meaning of *σῦκον=pudendum muliebre*, a meaning which still survives in Turkey).'), P. Girard 'Quelques réflexions sur le sens du mot *sycophante*' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1907 xx. 143—163 (*ἱεροφάντης*, on the analogy of *ἱεροκήρυξ*, is taken to mean '*apparition sacrée*': so *συκοφάντης* must have meant '*celui qui paraissait dans le figuier, en train de voler des figues*' !)).

[1] K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des oströmischen Reiches* (*527–1453*)[2] München 1897 p. 433 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 412 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 399 n. 3.

[3] Dem. *de cor.* 260 *ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς*, *supra* i. 392 n. 4. See also Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 37 cited *supra* i. 392 n. 5 (end of second paragraph).

[4] *Supra* i. 399 n. 3. P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 pp. 334, 344 f., followed by H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 208 n. 7, prefers to accentuate Παπᾶς.

With Zeus Πάπας or Παπᾶς of Bithynia (Arrian. *frag.* 30 cited *supra* i. 399 n. 3) and Phrygia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 260 no. 12 on a small *stéle* of common stone found in a field near Nakoleia Δάδα Καν|κάρου Νουνά|δος Οὐεκρο-κ|ωμήτισσα | Διὶ Παπᾷ | *εὐχήν* 'Probably Dada was daughter of Kankaros Nounas, who had according to Phrygian custom two names, and her native village was Vekrokome,' cp. *id. ib.* 1884 v. 257 f. no. 8 on a similar *stéle* found in the same place Οὐλπία Σά|βις Παπᾷ *εὐχὴν* 'I copied the inscriptions from six similar stelai, all found in the same field: the owner said that the ground around was full of them. They are all evidently grave-stones of common people: the top is ornamented in the style of a pediment, and there is a plain pedestal ending in a projecting spike to stick in the ground. The one which is here published differed from the others in having a representation of the god on it: the god is apparently intended to be androgynous, like the Carian Zeus, but in such rude work, the point can hardly be asserted positively,' A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 32 no. 8 on the marble pediment of a small *stéle* from Bejad 'Αρτέμων Πάπα: Körte regards all these *stêlai* as votive rather than funerary; they may well be both) and Zeus Παπίας of Dorylaeion (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3817 on the road from *Eskishehir* to *Syed-Guz* or *Seid-el-Ghazi* Δημᾶς καὶ | Γάϊος ὑπὲρ | *βοῶν ἰδίων* Πα|πία Διὶ Σωτῆ|ρι *εὐχὴν καὶ* | 'Ηρακλῆ ἀνικ|ήτ[ῳ] we must group Zeus Παππῶος of Prousa ad Olympum (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 174 f. no. 17 on a white marble altar now used as base of a wooden pillar in the mosque at *Ermeni Bazardshik* ['Αγαθῇ] *τύχῃ* | Διὶ Παππώω κα|τὰ ἐπιταγὴν ο[ἱ σ]υγενεῖς ἀνέσ|τησαν ἱερήων | ..... | ....'Απολλ.... | κ.τ.λ. in the earth: P. Kretschmer *Einleitung* etc. pp. 199, 241 f. renders Παππῶος by 'Vater,' but *id.* p. 242 n. 1 suggests that the word may be an ethnic), Zeus Παπαῖος of Scythia (Hdt. 4. 59 *θεοὺς μὲν μούνους τούσδε ἱλάσκονται*, 'Ιστίην μὲν μάλιστα, *ἐπὶ δὲ Δία καὶ Γῆν, νομίζοντες τὴν Γῆν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι γυναῖκα, μετὰ δὲ τούτους 'Απόλλωνά τε καὶ Οὐρανίην 'Αφροδίτην καὶ 'Ηρακλέα καὶ "Αρεα. τούτους μὲν πάντες Σκύθαι νενομίκασι, οἱ δὲ καλεόμενοι*

sobriquet strictly comparable with our 'Papa[1].' Indeed, the term *Áttis* itself, as A. Fick proved in 1873[2], was just a pet-name for 'Father.' Now it is not a little remarkable that a youthful god, who stood to Kybele in the same relation as Adonis to Aphrodite[3], should have been thus habitually saluted in a tone of affectionate familiarity as 'Daddy[4].' The paradox ceases to be paradoxical, if

βασιλῆιοι Σκύθαι καὶ τῷ Ποσειδέωνι θύουσι. ὀνομάζεται δὲ Σκυθιστὶ (on these names consult H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 587, E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 85 f.) Ἰστίη μὲν Ταβιτί, Ζεὺς δὲ ὀρθότατα κατὰ γνώμην γε τὴν ἐμὴν καλεόμενος Παπαῖος, Γῆ δὲ Ἀπία (with variant Ἀπί), Ἀπόλλων δὲ Οἰτόσυρος (Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 39 thrice quotes Celsus as reading Γογγόσυρον, cp. Hesych. Γοιτόσυρον· τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα. Σκύθαι), Οὐρανίη δὲ Ἀφροδίτη Ἀρτίμπασα (with variants Ἀρίπτασα, Ἀργίμπασα, cp. Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 39 quoting Ἀργίμπασαν as read here by Celsus, Hesych. Ἀρτιμήασαν· Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην, ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν. See further Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 111, *id. Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1363 n. 3, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1454), Ποσειδέων δὲ Θαμιμασάδας (with many variants: Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 39 gives Θαγμάσαδα as Celsus' reading). ἀγάλματα δὲ καὶ βωμοὺς καὶ νηοὺς οὐ νομίζουσι ποιέειν πλὴν Ἄρεϊ· τούτῳ δὲ νομίζουσι, Orig. *c. Cels.* 5. 41 quoting Celsus "οὐδὲν οὖν οἶμαι διαφέρειν Δία Ὕψιστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαὼθ ἢ Ἀμοῦν, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, ἢ Παπαῖον, ὡς Σκύθαι," 5. 45 ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ Κέλσος οἴεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν Δία Ὕψιστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαὼθ ἤ, ὡς Αἰγύπτιοι, Ἀμοῦν ἤ, ὡς Σκύθαι, Παπαῖον, φέρε κ.τ.λ., 5. 46 λεγέτωσαν δὲ καὶ Σκύθαι τὸν Παπαῖον θεὸν εἶναι τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν· ἀλλ' ἡμεῖς οὐ πεισόμεθα, τιθέντες μὲν τὸν ἐπὶ πᾶσι θεόν, ὡς δὲ φίλον τῷ λαχόντι τὴν Σκυθῶν ἐρημίαν καὶ τὸ ἔθνος αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν διάλεκτον οὐκ ὀνομάζοντες τὸν θεὸν ὡς κυρίῳ ὀνόματι τῷ Παπαῖον, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 565, 6 ὁμοίως καὶ Ἡροδότου τὸ καλεῖται Ζεὺς ὑπὸ Σκυθῶν ὀρθότατα Παπαῖος. C. Müller in his note on Anon. *per. pont. Eux.* 13 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 405 Müller) says of the Bithynian river Παπάνιος: 'Num forte nomen hoc a *πάπα*, Bithynico Jovis nomine, repetendum?' —a view adopted by W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1129, but rightly queried by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1559) and probably also the πόποι of the Scythians (*et. mag.* p. 823, 31 f. οἱ γὰρ Σκύθαι, ἀγάλματα τινὰ ἔχοντες ὑπόγαια (ὑπόγεα V.) τῶν θεῶν, πόπους αὐτὰ (αὐτοὺς V.) καλοῦσιν =*et. Gud.* p. 580, 4 ff. οἱ γὰρ Σκῦθαι (*sic*) ἀγάλματά τινα ἔχοντες ὑπόγεα τῶν θεῶν πόπους αὐτὰ καλοῦσιν, Herodian. περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας 7 (i. 187, 24 f. Lentz) πόπος· Σκύθαι γὰρ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγαλμάτια πόπους καλοῦσι cited by Theognost. *can.* p. 158, 14 ff. Σκύθαι γὰρ τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς ἀγάλματα πόπους καλοῦσι, καθὼς Ἡρωδιανὸς ἐν τῇ καθόλου—an extract printed in Bekker *anecd.* iii. 1433) and Dryopians (Plout. *de aud. poem.* 6 Δρύοπες δὲ πόπους τοὺς δαίμονας, schol. E *Od.* 1. 32 πόποι οἱ θεοὶ κατὰ τὴν τῶν Δρυόπων φωνήν· καὶ ἐπίρρημα ἀντὶ τοῦ φεῦ, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 943 πόποι οἱ θεοί, δθεν καὶ τὸ ὦ πόποι τινὲς ὦ θεοὶ ἤκουσαν παρ' Ὁμήρῳ. ἡ δὲ λέξις Δρυόπων. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2759 f., E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. xxxviii).

[1] See J. C. E. Buschmann 'Über den Naturlaut' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 391—424, E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 223 ff., P. Kretschmer *Einleitung* etc. pp. 200, 334 ff.

[2] A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 414 f. Cp. P. Kretschmer *Einleitung* etc. p. 355, who does not mention Fick, and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1548 n. 7, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 281 n. 1, who follow Kretschmer. I hit upon the same (rather obvious) explanation independently in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79, *supra* i. 399 n. 3.

[3] See *e.g.* H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 123 ff., H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 p. 208 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 261 ff.

[4] The simplest nursery-names for 'father' and 'mother' used by the ancients were

we assume—as, I think, we must—that *Áttis* was but *Pápas* reborn. After all, the Phrygians were not alone in the belief that a son may be the rebirth of his own father. This has been the faith of numerous tribes in all five continents[1]. And readers of Samuel Butler's *Life and Habit* are aware that analogous views can still be held by sane men.

(ε) The Mother-goddess and her *páredros*.

The Phrygian conception of the Son as the Father reborn throws light upon a variety of religious problems. It helps us to understand that otherwise perplexing aspect of old Anatolian worship, the association of the Mother-goddess with a youthful *páredros*, who is at once her consort and her child[2]. This is seen to involve no sanctioning of an essentially illicit union, but rather—at least in original intention—a primitive view of normal relations between father, mother, and son. Accordingly in the dactylic and spondaic lines quoted by Hippolytos (*c.* 235 A.D.)[3] from a Naassene source (*c.* 200 A.D.)[4], but composed at some earlier date, perhaps under Hadrian, for a citharodic performance in the theatre[5], Attis is equated with such divinities as Adonis, Osiris, Dionysos, and the like. The first fragment is as follows:

> Blest son of Kronos, or of Zeus,
> Or mighty Rhea, hail!
> Attis (sad name for Rhea's use),
> Whom weeping Syrians wail

πâs (*πâ*?) and *μâ* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 187 D f., H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 ii. 907 f., 1082, 1100). Even these childish vocables made their way into the language of religion. The former seems to have occurred in the hymn of the Salii (in Fest. p. 205 *a* 11 f. Müller, p. 222, 22 f. Lindsay pa pro parte, et po pro potissimum positum est in Saliari carmine L. C. Valckenaer corr. *patre*—a reading accepted by C. O. Müller and by R. Kühner—F. Holzweissig *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*[2] Hannover 1912 i. 196): the latter became the name of the great mother-goddess of Asia Minor (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2215 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1527, 1548, *alib.*, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 557). Both are found in Aisch. *suppl.* 890 ff. = 899 ff. *μâ Γâ*, *μâ Γâ*,... | ...*ὦ βâ*, *Γâs παῖ*, *Ζεῦ* with schol. *ὦ πάτερ Ζεῦ*, *Γῆς παῖ*, whence L. C. Valckenaer cj. *ὦ παῖ Γâs*, *πâ Ζεῦ*, C. A. Lobeck *ὦ μâ γâ*, *πâ Ζεῦ*, H. L. Ahrens (*infra* § 3 (c) i (*η*)) *ὦ Βαγαῖε Μαῖεῦ* or *ὦ Βαγαῖε πâ Ζεῦ*.

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 104 (Lower Congo), *ib.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 91 f. (Lower Congo), A. E. Crawley *The Idea of the Soul* London 1909 p. 233 ff., and especially E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 195—199 (Maidu of California, ancient Irish, Indian Aryans, Egyptians, Kulin tribe of S.E. Australia, ancient Scandinavians). Cf. *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 293 (ancient Italians).

[2] *Supra* i. 645 with n. 12, 648.

[3] G. Salmon in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iii. 93 ff., H. Lietzmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1874 f.

[4] F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 11 f., 26 n. 5.

[5] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 329.

As lost Adonis ; Egypt's eyes
  Have her Osiris seen ;
Hellenic sages recognise
  The heavenly horn of Men ;

In thee the Samothracians chant
  Adamna's[1] sanctity ;
Haemonians find their Corybant ;
  'Papas' the Phrygians cry,

Now dead, now deity ycleped,
  Fruitless and all forlorn,
A goatherd, or a green ear reaped[2],
  A piper almond-born[3].

[1] Hesych. *ἀδαμνεῖν· τὸ φιλεῖν. καὶ Φρύγες τὸν φίλον Ἀδάμνα λέγουσιν.* I suspect connexion with the nursery-names Ἄδα, Ἄδας, etc. (P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 337 f.). If so, Ἄδαμνα meant 'Fatherly One' (suffix *-μν-* as in *ἀθέλιμνοι, ἀπάλαμνος, νώνυμνος*, etc.)—a doublet of Ἄττις (*supra* p. 293). A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 416, misled by P. de Lagarde and F. Müller, says 'eranisches Lehnwort.'

[2] Hippolytos has already compared the crowning rite at Eleusis, the exhibition to the mystics of a corn-ear reaped in silence (*ref. haeres.* 5. 8 p. 162 Duncker—Schneidewin λέγουσι δὲ αὐτόν, φησί, Φρύγες καὶ "χλοερὸν στάχυν τεθερισμένον," καὶ μετὰ τοὺς Φρύγας Ἀθηναῖοι μυοῦντες Ἐλευσίνια καὶ ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ τεθερισμένον στάχυν). This corn-ear probably represented Kore, Demeter and her daughter being the Corn-mother and the Corn-maiden of the Eleusinian harvest-field (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii). It is even possible that the identification of Kore with the young corn may help to clear up the obscurity which still surrounds the name Περσεφόνη. L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1286 ff. and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1181 n. 6 collect the extant forms. Gruppe emphasises the following points: (*a*) The first half of the compound, to judge from such vase-inscriptions as Περ(ρ)όφατ(τ)α (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 pp. 122, 178), was probably not verbal. If an adverb **πέρσε* be assumed, Περσέ-φασσα, Περ(ρ)ό-φατ(τ)α, etc. might be related to it as Τηλέ-μαχος, Τηλο-κλῆς, etc. to *τῆλε*. (*b*) The second half of the compound cannot be directly derived from *φαίνω*. But Περσέ-φασσα may be formed like Τηλέ-φασσα for Τηλε-φάεσσα ; in which case Περσε-φόνη might be a hypocoristic name. The *crux*, then, is to devise a suitable meaning for **πέρσε*. And the matter is complicated by the Laconian forms Πηρεφόνεια (Hesych. *s.v.*), .]ΕΡΙΦΟΝΑΙ (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 631 Lokroi Epizephyrioi). With all diffidence I suggest the root of *σπείρω, σπέρμα*, which appears with loss of initial *σ* in *πρώξ, περκνός*, etc. and with determinative *s* as *parš-* for **spere-s-* in Old Indian *pṛ́šan, pṛ́šat*, etc. (see Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 728 f.). On this showing Περσε- would be cognate with our word *spring* and Περσέφασσα, Περσεφόνη, could mean 'She that appears in Spring.' Cp. Orph. *h. Phers.* 29. 12 f. *εἰαρινή... | ἱερὸν ἐκφαίνουσα δέμας βλαστοῖς χλοοκάρποις.*

Be that as it may, it is clear that in Phrygia Attis was sometimes identified with the young corn (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 279). Possibly the Phrygian Zeus stood in a similar relation to the old corn, for he bore the title *πολύσταχυς* (Hesych. Βαγαῖος·...ἢ Ζεὺς Φρύγιος. *μέγας. πολύς, ταχύς*, where W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2552 convincingly (O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 1560) restored *μέγας πολύσταχυς*). The Phrygian Lityerses, the Bithynian Bormos, etc. were analogous figures: see the highly important chapter on 'Lityerses' by Sir James Frazer (*Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 214 ff.). Attis was variously interpreted by late writers: he is the ripe corn cut by the reaper (Firm. Mat. 3), or more often the short-lived flowers of spring contrasted with Adonis as the maturer crops (Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 12, 3. 13. 14, and *ap.*

The second fragment runs thus:

> Attis, Rhea's son, I'll sing,
> Not with blare of trumpeting,
> Nor with flute Kouretes shrill
> Up the steep of Ide's hill,
> Nay, but Phoibos' lyric muse
> I must mingle and confuse,
> Crying still *Euoî Euán*,
> For our god's a very Pan,
> He's a Bakchos, he's a swain
> Shepherding the white stars' train[4].

Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 25, cp. Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4, Amm. Marc. 19. 1. 11, 22. 9. 15, 'Sosicles Atticus' *ap.* Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 5, Remigius *ap.* Myth. Vat. 3. 2. 4).

Some of the multiple corn-ears figured on coins of Bithynia, Kappadokia, Lydia, Phrygia, etc. (*e.g.* Anson *Num. Gr.* iii. 124 ff. nos. 1292—1313 pl. 23 f.) may be meant for ceremonial sheaves.

[3] *Infra* Append. B Galatia.

[4] Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 9 pp. 168, 170 Duncker—Schneidewin *τοιγαροῦν, φησίν, ἐπὰν συνελθὼν* (Wilamowitz cj. *συνέλθῃ* or perhaps *συνέλθωσι*) *ὁ δῆμος ἐν τοῖς θεάτροις εἰσίῃ* (*εἰσίοι* cod. C. Wilamowitz cj. *εἴσεισι*) *τις ἠμφιεσμένος στολὴν ἔξαλλον, κιθάραν φέρων καὶ ψάλλων, οὕτως* (Wilamowitz cj. *οὗτος*) *λέγει ἅδων τὰ μεγάλα μυστήρια οὐκ εἰδὼς ἃ λέγει· "Εἴτε Κρόνου γένος, εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρος* (Bergk cj. *μάκαρ*), *εἴτε Ῥέας μεγάλης, χαῖρε, τὸ κατηφὲς ἄκουσμα* (G. Hermann cj. *ἄκρισμα*) *Ῥέας, Ἄττι* (Bergk cj. *Ἄττη*)*· σὲ καλοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἄδωνιν, ὅλη* (Roeper cj. *καλεῖ*) *δ' Αἴγυπτος Ὄσιριν, ἐπουράνιον Μηνὸς κέρας Ἕλληνες σοφίαν* (Wilamowitz cj. *Ἕλληνος σοφία*), *Σαμοθρᾷκες* (Wilamowitz cj. *Σαμόθρακες*) *Ἄδαμνα* (so Bergk for *Ἀδὰμ* cod. C.) *σεβάσμιον, Αἰμόνιοι* (*Αἰμόνιοι* cod. C. Schneidewin cj. *Μαιόνιοι*, Bergk *Ἀκμόνιοι*) *Κορύβαντα, καὶ οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ δὲ νέκυν, ἢ θεόν, ἢ ὃν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀμύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν." τοῦτον φησὶν εἶναι <τὸν> πολύμορφον Ἄττιν, ὃν ὑμνοῦντες λέγουσίν οὕτως· "'Ἄττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥείης, οὐ κωδώνων* (so Schneidewin for *ὠδινῶν* cod. C.) *σὺν βόμβοις* (so Schneidewin for *συμβόμβοις* cod. C.), *οὐδ' αὐλῶν* (Wilamowitz cj. *αὐλῷ*) *Ἰδαίων Κουρήτων μυκητᾷ* (so Wilamowitz for *μύκητα* cod. C.), *ἀλλ' εἰς* (so Schneidewin for *οἷς* cod. C.) *Φοιβείαν μίξω μοῦσαν φορμίγγων, εὐοῖ, εὐάν* (so Schneidewin for *εὐὼν* cod. C.), *ὡς Πάν, ὡς Βακχεύς, ὡς ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἄστρων." διὰ τούτους καὶ τοὺς τοιούτους λόγους παρεδρεύουσιν οὗτοι τοῖς λεγομένοις Μητρὸς μεγάλης μυστηρίοις, κ.τ.λ.*

These important excerpts have been variously handled: see F. G. Schneidewin 'Hymnorum in Attin fragmenta inedita' in *Philologus* 1848 iii. 247—266, G. Hermann in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1849 pp. 1—5, F. G. Schneidewin in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1852 p. 101 ff., *Poet. lyr. Gr.* iii. 685—687 Bergk[4], W. Froehner *Mélanges d'Epigraphie et d'Archéologie* Paris 1873 i. 49 ff., U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1902 xxxvii. 328—331, H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 pp. 34—36. Schneidewin took the first fragment to be written in dactylic and anapaestic measures. Hermann completed it as a set of hexameters. Bergk printed it as eight anapaestic lines followed by six dactylic tetrameters. Wilamowitz restores it as thirteen dactylic tetrameters, viz.: *Εἴτε Κρόνου γένος, εἴτε Διὸς μάκαρ, | εἴτε Ῥέας μεγάλας, χαῖρ(ε) <ὦ> τὸ κα|τηφὲς ἄκουσμα Ῥέας Ἄττι· σὲ κα|λοῦσι μὲν Ἀσσύριοι τριπόθητον Ἄ|δωνιν, ὅλη δ' Αἴγυπτος Ὄσιριν, ἐπ|ουράνιον Μηνὸς κέρας Ἕλλη|νος σοφία, Σαμοθρᾳικες Ἄδαμνὰ σε|βάσμιον, Αἰμόνιοι Κορύβαντα, καὶ | οἱ Φρύγες ἄλλοτε μὲν Πάπαν, ποτὲ | δ(ὲ) <αὖ> νέκυν ἢ θεὸν ἢ τὸν ἄκαρπον ἢ | αἰπόλον ἢ χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμη|θέντ(α) ἢ <τ>ὸν πολύκαρπος ἔτικτεν ἀ|μύγδαλος ἀνέρα συρικτάν...* (I should prefer to spell *Ἄττης* and *Παπᾶς*: see P. Kretschmer *Einleitung* etc. pp. 350, 345). Schneidewin, followed by Bergk, prints the second fragment as eight spondaic

Syncretism of this sort can be illustrated by a marble statue of Hadrianic date (fig. 189)[1] found during the winter of 1867—1868 in the hall of the Dendrophori[2] adjoining the Metroion at Ostia[3] and now preserved in the Lateran Museum at Rome[4]. Attis, a youth

Fig. 189.

of markedly feminine type, is reclining on a rock, whose hard surface is softened by the spread of his mantle. His left arm is propped on a bust of Zeus[5]. His left hand, with a ring on the ring-finger, holds a *lagobólon*; his right, a bunch of corn, fruit, and

lines (two catalectic dimeters, two tripodies, four catalectic dimeters); Wilamowitz, as ten spondaic lines (a dimeter, a catalectic dimeter, four catalectic monometers, four catalectic dimeters), viz.: "Αττιν ὑμνήσω τὸν Ῥείης | οὐ κωδώνων σὺμ βόμβοις, | οὐκ αὐλῶι | Ἰδαίων | Κουρήτων μυκητᾶι, ἀλλ' εἰς Φοιβείαν μίξω | μοῦσαν φορμίγγων· εὐοῖ, εὐάν, ὡς Πάν, ὡς Βακχεύς, ὡς ποιμὴν λευκῶν ἄστρων. (I should again spell the name of "Αττης with η, not ῑ.)

[1] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 224 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 8a, 2 (=my fig. 189), A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 727, P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1688 fig. 2248, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2251, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 472 no. 6. The inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 38, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4115) is: Numini Attis C. Cartilius Euplus ex monitu deae. Length of marble 1·60m.

[2] On the Dendrophori of Italy and the Latin provinces see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 216 ff. and the literature there cited.

[3] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1868 xl. 362 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 60; *id.* in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 208 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 8 and 8a.

[4] W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 51 f. no. 1236.

[5] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 235: 'Giove Ideo'—a plausible suggestion.

flowers. His head, twined with a garland of pine-cones, almonds, pomegranates, poppy-heads, and flowers, wears a Phrygian cap, which is encircled below by five rays (restored in their ancient holes) and embellished above by a crescent moon and two upstanding ears of corn. The whole figure with its air of pensive melancholy, not to say unmanly slackness, aptly embodies the Graeco-Roman conception of Attis. Particular traits and adjuncts recall other deities. The crescent is that of Men. The hair, with its long side-curls and a ribbon across the brow, is reminiscent of

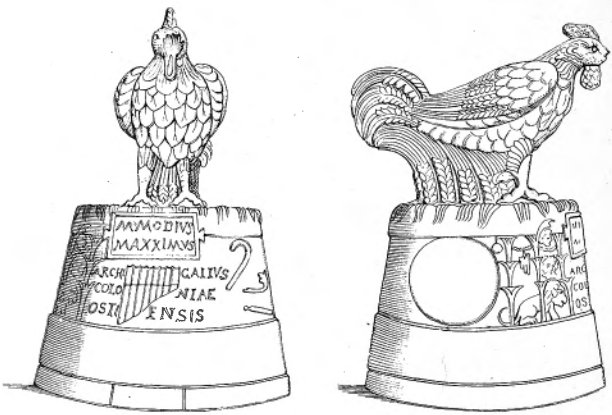


Fig. 190.

Dionysos. The attitude of graceful repose would suit Adonis[1]. And, lest the lines should degenerate into weakness, we have a rigid framework formed by the bearded bust and the underlying rock—a reminder that Attis after all was akin to the great powers of nature, Zeus and Kybele, the sky-father and the mountain-mother.

Zeus, as husband of Kybele[2], appears on other monuments of the same cult. From the Metroion at Ostia came also a votive marble basket (fig. 190)[3], the lid of which has a handle shaped like a cock in obvious reference to the *Gallus* or emasculated priest of

[1] Cp. Theokr. 15. 84 ff., 127 ff.

[2] Ioul. *or.* 5 p. 166 A f. *τίς οὖν ἡ Μήτηρ τῶν θεῶν;...ἡ καὶ τεκοῦσα καὶ συνοικοῦσα τῷ μεγάλῳ Διὶ θεὸς ὑποστᾶσα μεγάλη μετὰ τὸν μέγαν καὶ σὺν τῷ μεγάλῳ δημιουργῷ, ἡ πάσης μὲν κυρία ζωῆς, πάσης δὲ γενέσεως αἰτία, ἡ ῥᾳστα μὲν ἐπιτελοῦσα τὰ ποιούμενα, γεννῶσα δὲ δίχα πάθους καὶ δημιουργοῦσα τὰ ὄντα μετὰ τοῦ πατρός· αὕτη καὶ παρθένος ἀμήτωρ καὶ Διὸς σύνθωκος καὶ μήτηρ θεῶν ὄντως οὖσα πάντων.*

[3] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 240 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 8[a], 1[a], 1[b] (=my fig. 190), P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1688 fig. 2249, Frazer

the goddess. The rest of the lid is covered with corn-ears, which fall outwards from the centre: the cock's tail is formed by some of them[1] and supported by others. On the front of the basket is inscribed 'M. Modius Maximus, Archigallus of the colony of Ostia[2].' The latter part of the inscription is grouped about pan-pipes, and round it are disposed other tokens of the cult; to the right, a *lagobólon*, a pipe, a flute (?); to the left, a timbrel and a bed of reeds[3], among which are seen the head of Attis, the head of Zeus, the lion of Kybele, etc. This curious relic seems to have been a corn-measure or *modius* dedicated by the chief-priest, presumably because his own name happened to be *Modius*. Sir James Frazer supposes that it contained the priest's ashes[4]. But, arguing from the analogy of the Cabiric basket[5], I should surmise that it was the receptacle for the genitals of which, in accordance with the Phrygian rite (fig. 191)[6], the Archigallus had deprived himself[7]. Votaries of Kybele, Zeus, and Attis were wont to wear effigies of the gods that they served[8]. A statue brought from

Fig. 191.

Golden Bough[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 279 (who notes that the 'urn' is in the Lateran Museum, no. 1046).

[1] Cp. the tail of the Mithraic bull (*supra* i. 518), which ends in three corn-ears.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 385 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4162 M. Modius Maxximus (*sic*) | archi|gallus | colo|niae | Osti|ensis (Dessau reads *Ostiens.* But see fig. 190).

[3] H. Dessau *loc. cit.* says 'arbores.' But C. L. Visconti *loc. cit.* and H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 p. 117 n. 2 rightly connect the reeds with the Cannophori (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1484 f.) and their festival known as *canna intrat* on March 15 (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 321).

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 279.

[5] *Supra* i. 107 f. See now an interesting article by E. M. W. Tillyard 'A Cybele altar in London' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1917 vii. 284 ff. pl. 8.

[6] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 301 pl. 11, 16 (= my fig. 191) a bronze contorniate: obv. IMP · CAES · VESPASIAN · AVG · COS · III · Head of Vespasian, laureate, to right; rev. A *Gallus*, nude, castrating himself with a knife before an altar (?), or into a round receptacle (??), set on or in the ground: behind him, his Phrygian cap. On the age and purpose of such contorniates see Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 689 ff., B. Pick in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1153—1160, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i 1485—1488, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 271 ff. (*ib.* p. 94).

[7] Cp. the case of Kombabos (*supra* i. 591 n. 2). H. Graillot *op. cit.* pp. 134 n. 7, 179 n. 4 takes the same view, quoting Apul. *met.* 11. 11, Paulin. Nol. 19. 186, *poem. ult.* 79 ff. (lxi. 525 A and 699 A Migne).

[8] Hdt. 4. 76, Polyb. 21. 6. 7, 21. 37. 6, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 19, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 8 f. Lang.

Rome to Paris, and subsequently published by Montfaucon, represents a priest wearing on his breast two medallions and an *aedicula* (fig. 192)[1]: the medallions display two busts of Attis; the *aedicula* has Kybelè with mural crown and timbrel standing between Iupiter (thunderbolt, spear) and Mercurius (*caduceus*), the gable being occupied by a reclining figure of Attis (cap, *lagobólon*). A relief, found in 1736 between Civita Lavinia and Genzano and now in the Palazzo dei

Fig. 192.

Conservatori at Rome[2], shows (fig. 193)[3] a priest of effeminate aspect wearing a long-sleeved *chitón* and a *himátion* drawn like a veil over his head. He has ear-rings, fillets, and a necklace. In his right hand is a pomegranate and three pomegranate (?)-twigs; in his left hand a shell-shaped bowl of fruit including a fir-cone and almonds. A whip of triple lash strung with knuckle-bones hangs over his shoulder. And beside him are suspended a pair of cymbals, a timbrel, a pipe, a flute, and a basket or *kíste* containing his severed

[1] Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 6 f. pl. 3 no. 9 statue (*minus* head and arms) belonging to M. Foucault. My fig. 192 reproduces the upper part of the figure only.

[2] W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 566 no. 987.

[3] G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 ii. 7 ff. pl. 8, P. Righetti *Descrizione del Campidoglio* Roma 1833 i. 131 f. pl. 130 (=my fig. 193), Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 801 f. fig. 867, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 207 no. 1, H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 p. 236 ff.

genitals. Finally, he bears on his breast an *aedicula* with a half-length figure of Attis, and on his head a bay-wreath of gold (?) adorned with three medallions[1] representing a bust of Zeus between

Fig. 193.

two busts of Attis, while both ends of his whip-handle exhibit the same bearded head of Zeus. A pendant to this relief is furnished by another, formerly in the Villa Mattei and now in the Vatican (fig. 194)[2], which portrays Laberia Felicla, chief priestess of

[1] A broken diadem in gilt bronze, which came from Rome to Berlin, shows a bay-wreath decorated with two medallions (busts of Kybele and Attis) with a rosette between them (A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 111). On such diadems see *supra* i. 22, cp. i. 354, and *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 364 nos. 3044, 3045 pl. 70.

[2] Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* vii. 107 ff. pl. 18 (=my fig. 194), Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 802 fig. 868, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 410 no. 3, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 614 f. no. 403 pl. 58. Height $1{\cdot}04^{m}$, breadth $0{\cdot}74^{m}$. Fine-grained, light grey marble. Restored: upper part of scallop, head and neck, part of left breast, left hand with wreath and parts of garland, right lower arm with hand and *patera*.

Kybele[1]. Set against the background of a great scallop-shell, a *motif* appropriate to a Mother-goddess[2], we see Laberia pouring a libation, not, as we might have expected, to Kybele, but to Zeus. The small

Fig. 194.

altar decorated with a festooned eagle, the garland of bay-leaves[3] hanging from the left hand of the priestess, the bearded head slung between her breasts, all proclaim the essential relation of the Mother-goddess to the Father-god.

[1] The inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2257 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4160) runs: Laberia Felicla | sacerdos maxima Matris deum m(agnae) I(daeae).

[2] See L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1870—1871 p. 17 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1349 f., S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 126 f., 204 ff., *alib.*, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 560 f. The symbolism rests on the resemblance of the shell to the womb: the Greeks spoke of the scallop as κτείς or κτένιον (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 2028 A—C).

[3] So Amelung *loc. cit.* Baumeister *loc. cit.* says 'Eichenzweig,' Dessau *loc. cit.* 'coronam quernam.' Apparently a trail of bay-leaves has been wrongly restored as a wreath of oak.

(ζ) Attis in relation to Christianity.

The cult of Attis had points of contact with Christianity itself. A Father manifesting himself anew in the person of his Son, a Son bearing the name of his Father,—such beliefs naturally predisposed men to faith in that Son whom the Father sent to be 'the effulgence of his glory, and the very image of his substance[1].' Outward ceremonies and inward doctrines alike lent themselves to this end. The rites of Attis, apart from certain crudities, might almost have passed for Christian usage—witness the body of the divine Son affixed to the pine-tree[2], the lamentation over his prostrate form, the sudden

[1] Hebrews 1. 3.

[2] At the festival of the vernal equinox (March 22) known as *arbor intrat* (H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 149 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 267 f.). Firmicus Maternus (*c.* 347 A.D.), who alone mentions the effigy fastened to the tree, already cites parallels (Firm. Mat. 27. 1 f. in sacris Frygiis, quae matris deum dicunt, per annos singulos arbor pinea caeditur et in media arbore simulacrum iuvenis subligatur. in Isiacis sacris de pinea arbore caeditur truncus, huius trunci media pars subtiliter excavatur: illic (so F. Oehler for *illis* cod. P.) de segminibus (so Wowerius for *seminibus* cod. P.) factum idolum Osiridis sepelitur (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 8, 16, 18, 21, 42). in Proserpinae sacris caesa arbor in effigiem virginis formamque componitur et cum intra civitatem fuerit inlata, quadraginta noctibus plangitur, quadragesima vero nocte comburitur). The same method of comparative study has been followed with conspicuous success by W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldculte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 572 f., 1905 ii. 291 ff. and by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 59 ff., *ib.*[3]: The Dying God p. 251 ff. The former regards the tree with its effigy of Attis as a 'Verkörperung des vom Tode erwachten Wachstumsgeistes' (*op. cit.*[2] ii. 295). The latter says: 'The bringing in of the pine-tree from the woods, decked with violets and woollen bands, is like bringing in the May-tree or Summer-tree in modern folk-custom; and the effigy which was attached to the pine-tree was only a duplicate representative of the tree-spirit Attis' (*op. cit.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 277).

I confess, I do not agree with these conclusions. So far as I can judge the evidence available, at least in the classical area, the tree-spirit was essentially female, being but a vegetable form of the earth-mother (*supra* i. 1 n. 3, 339, 396 f., 525 f., 779 f.). Her consort was male, being originally an embodiment or representative of the sky-father. The May-queen in popular custom stands for the fertilised vegetation-power, the May-king for her fertilising partner: their union ensures the fertility of the whole neighbourhood. On this showing (to get back to Attis) the man in the tree was not conceived as 'a duplicate representative of the tree-spirit,' but as in some sense (husband? victim? both?) devoted to the tree—the male to the female—for the purpose of promoting fertility. Attis, like Pentheus (on whom see an illuminating article by my friend the Rev. A. G. Bather 'The problem of the *Bacchae*' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 244—263, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 167 f., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 98, *ib.*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 24 f., *supra* i. 679), whose name—Prof. H. M. Chadwick suggests to me—may hang together with that of the Thracian Bendis (cp. the Thracian Penthesileia, if not also the Lesbian Penthilos, etc.), was a divine king (Ioul. *or.* 5. 168 c τοῦ βασιλέως Ἄττιδος, 169 c ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἄττις, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 913, 3 f. Ostia [Ἄττει] | Μηνοτυ[ράννῳ], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi nos. 499, 3 f. Attidi | Menotyranno invicto, 500, 2 f. Attidi Meno|tyranno, 501, 2 f. Attidi sancto | Menotyranno, 508. 1 f. [At]ti Menotyranno, 511, 1 Attidi Menoturano, 10 Attidis Minoturani, 512, 1 [Attidi Menotyranno]) and, as Sir James Frazer has shown (*Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 285 ff.), presupposes a line of priestly kings once sacrificed at periodic intervals for the good of the community.

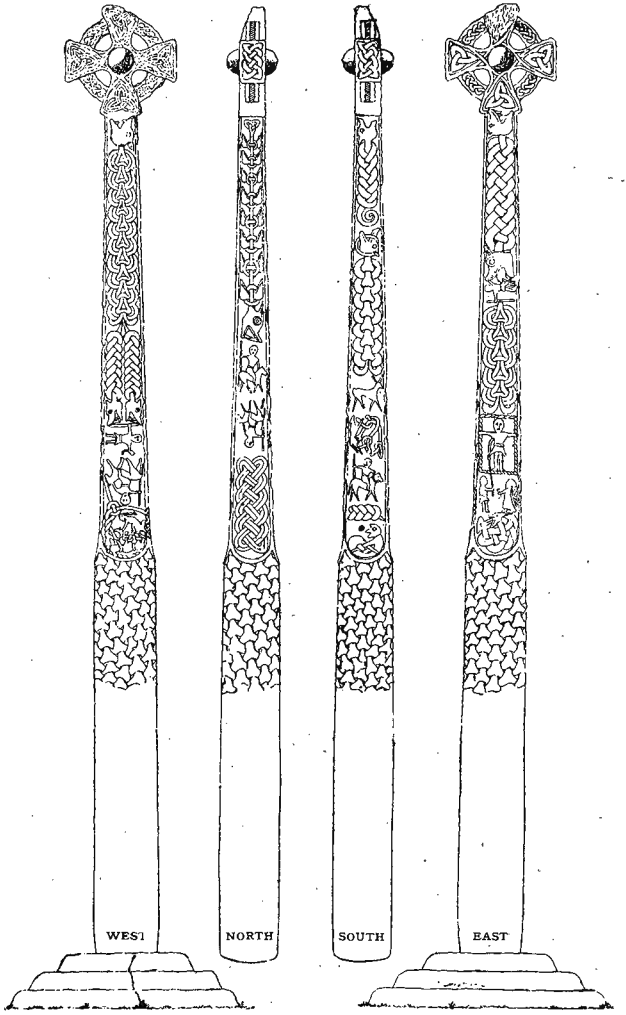


Fig. 195.

I add a northern parallel to the Christianisation of the Phrygian tree-cult. The Gosforth Cross (C. A. Parker *The Ancient Crosses at Gosforth, Cumberland* London 1896 with pls. and figs. of which pl. 1 = my fig. 195 and pl. 2 my fig. 196, *id. The Gosforth District: its Antiquities and Places of Interest* Kendal 1904 pp. 80—92 with figs.) is a red sandstone monolith (14½ ft high) still standing S. of the church at Gosforth in Cumberland. A fellow-cross of much the same design formerly stood some 7 ft away, but was cut down in 1789 to serve as a sun-dial. Between the two crosses was a horizontal stone, on which was carved the figure of a large sword. The extant shaft, which rises from a rectangular three-stepped base, is circular in section below (40 ins round) but oblong above (6 × 5 ins) and supports a wheel-shaped head (20 ins across). The whole monument is carved to look like a tree: the bole is patterned as if half-covered with bark, and the interlaced lines higher up are suggestive of branches. All four sides, where the trunk has been, so to say, squared, exhibit carvings susceptible of a twofold interpretation, either Scandinavian or Christian. G. Stephens dated them *c.* 680 A.D.; but S. Bugge assigned them to *s.* ix A.D., and C. A. Parker now places them as late as *c.* 950—1050 A.D. The subjects represented run, from bottom to top, as follows: (*a*) *Western series.* Loki bound beneath snake, whose venom drips upon him: Sigyn, his wife, catches venom in cup = Satan bound. Odhin on his horse Sleipnir rides down to Mimir's well at one of the roots of Yggdrasil: Heimdallr the sentinel with the Gjallarhorn keeps back the wolf-serpents Hati and Skǫll = Death on the pale horse overcome by Christ the shepherd, who defies the powers of evil. A wolf-headed monster, the progeny of the wolf Fenrir, attacking the solar wheel = A devil attacking the cross. (*b*) *Southern series.* Odhin riding through the hall of serpents on Nastrand = Christ trampling on Satan. The wolf Fenrir and the Midhgardh-serpent attacking the hart Eikthyrnir = The powers of evil attacking the hart, symbol of Christ. Fenrir as a wolf-headed monster gagged by Thor's sword = Leviathan tamed. Serpent attacking the solar wheel = Devil attacking the cross. (*c*) *Eastern series.* Serpents beneath the feet of Nanna, the faithful wife of Baldr: blind Hǫdhr with a lance of mistletoe stabs Baldr, son of Odhin = The serpent's head bruised by the heel of the woman, Mary Magdalene with her *alábastron*: Longinus the blind soldier with his lance stabs Christ on the cross. Headless monster = Evil subdued. Vidharr, son of Odhin, slays the wolf-serpent Fenrir, whose jaw he rends open with left arm and right foot = The descent of Christ into hell. Fenrir attacking the solar wheel = Devil attacking the cross. (*d*) *Northern series.* Endless interlacing = Symbol of eternity. Odhin on Sleipnir overcome by Fenrir at the end of the world = Death on the pale horse overcome by Christ. Odhin battling with the fire-demon Surtr = Christ as conqueror: Satan cast down from heaven. The solar wheel = the cross. Several of these bilingual interpretations are far from certain. Here it is in point to notice an alternative explanation of the central scene on the eastern face. C. A. Parker comments: 'Baldur the beautiful, or, Odin hanging on the tree self sacrificed.' The latter view, that of the Rev. W. S. Calverley, is based on *Hávamál* 138 f., a remarkable passage translated by H. M. Chadwick *The Cult of Othin* London 1899 p. 72 thus: '138. "I know that I hung full nine nights on the gallows tree (or "windy tree") wounded by the javelin and given to Othin, myself to myself; on that tree, of which no one knows from whose roots it proceeds." 139. "They cheered me (or "assuaged my hunger and thirst") neither with bread nor drink; I looked down and took up runes, took them up crying; from thence I fell again."' Prof. Chadwick *ib.* p. 80 notes: 'Othin is both the person sacrificed and the person to whom the sacrifice is offered. There is no indication that Othin was also the sacrificer or that the sacrifice was voluntary

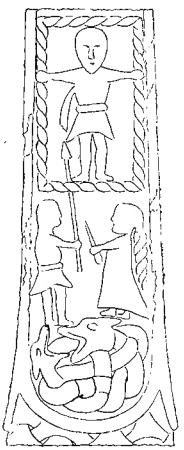


Fig. 196.

blaze of light, the words of comfort whispered by the priest:

> Courage, ye mystics of the god now saved;
> Salvation shall be ours from all our woes[1]!

No less suggestive was the teaching connected with the *taurobolium* and *criobolium*[2]. In all the Zeus-cults of the Mediterranean world the bull and the ram play their part as centres of procreative power[3]. And by this dread baptism in their blood and reception of their vital forces[4] the worshipper (I quote a Roman altar of the fourth century) was 'reborn to life eternal[5].' The devotee of Attis belonged

on the part of the victim.' But, if those Eddic stanzas represent a genuine Norse belief, the sacrifice of Odhin to Odhin on the gallows tree might well be taken as the nearest pagan parallel to the crucifixion of Christ.

[1] Firm. Mat. 22. 1 nocte quadam simulacrum in lectica supinum ponitur et per numeros digestis fletibus plangitur: deinde cum se ficta lamentatione satiaverint, lumen infertur: tunc a sacerdote omnium qui flebant fauces unguentur, quibus perunctis sacerdos hoc lento murmure susurrat: *θαρρεῖτε μύσται τοῦ θεοῦ σεσωσμένου· | ἔσται γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐκ πόνων σωτηρία.* That the allusion is to the rites of Attis appears from Firm. Mat. 3. 1 ff., cp. Damaskios *v. Isid.* ap. Phot. *bibl.* p. 345 a 5 ff. Bekker *τότε τῷ Ἱεραπόλει ἐγκαθευδήσας ἐδόκουν ὄναρ ὁ Ἄττης γενέσθαι, καί μοι ἐπιτελεῖσθαι παρὰ τῆς μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν τὴν τῶν Ἱλαρίων καλουμένων ἑορτήν· ὅπερ ἐδήλου τὴν ἐξ ᾅδου γεγονυῖαν ἡμῶν σωτηρίαν.*

[2] *Supra* i. 717 n. 2, H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 p. 153 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 274 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 428 ff., 633 ff., 716 ff., 779.

[4] Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Rom.*[2] p. 325: 'eine besondere, nicht völlig aufgeklärte Rolle spielen beim Opfer die Hoden (*vires*) des Stieres', citing *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 510, 3 ff. = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4127, 3 ff. (Lactora in Aquitania) vires esce|pit Eutyche|tis, xiii no. 1751, 10 ff. = Dessau no. 4131, 10 ff. (Lugdunum) vires excepit et a Vaticano trans|tulit, ara et bucranium | suo inpendio consacravit, xiii no. 522, 3 ff. (Lactora) vires tauri, | quo propri(e) | per tauropo|lium pub(lice) fac|tum fecerat, | consacravit, xiii no. 525, 3 ff. = Dessau no. 4129, 3 ff. (Lactora) vires tauri, | quo proprie | per tauropo|lium pub(lice) fact(um) | fecerat, consacravit, xii no. 1567, 20 f. = Dessau no. 4140, 20 f. (Dea Augusta Vocontiorum) loco vires con|ditae. H. Graillot *op. cit.* p. 155 n. 6 adds *Ephem. epigr.* 1899 viii. 118 no. 455 (Liternum) sacerdos | [M]atris deum | [?At]hamas condidit (*sc.* vires) and *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 6961 f. = Dessau no. 4158 f. (Taurini) viribus | Aeterni | taurobolio | Sempronia | Eutocia and viri[b]us | Aeterni | taurobolio | P. Ulattius | Priscus. So *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 573 = Dessau no. 4157 (altar at Burdigala with ram's head on one side, *hárpe* and Phrygian cap on other side) natalici virib(us) | Valer(ia) Iullina | et Iul(ia) Sancta. Elsewhere the Vires are personified and associated with a variety of water-divinities, *viz.* Neptunus (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 4285 = Dessau no. 3291), Lymphae (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 5648 = Dessau no. 3871), Nymphae (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 1162 = Dessau no. 3870), Fons and (Aqua) Ventina (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 3351 = Dessau no. 5781), Deus Magnus Pantheus (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 5798 = Dessau no. 3997), or worshipped on their own account (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v nos. 1964, 8247, 8248). Their cult apparently implies the belief that running water is the seminal fluid of a deity. See further H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 191 f. and *supra* i. 882 Index ii *s.v.* 'Testicles.'

[5] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 510 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2352 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 110 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4152 a marble altar decorated with reliefs (on right side, a pine-tree, from which hang flutes and Phrygian cap, with a ram; on left side, a pine-tree, from which hang timbrel and pipe, with a bull; on back, torches, *patera*, and vessels) and inscribed: Dis | magnis | Matri deum et Attidi Se|xtilius Agesilaus Aedesius |

to the flock of a divine 'Shepherd[1],' and it needed no great stretch of imagination for him to declare:

et ipse Pileatus Christianus est.
'He of the Phrygian Cap is a Christian too[2].'

(η) Attis in relation to the Dioskouroi.

The name *Pileatus*[3] recalls the *píloi* or 'caps' of the Dioskouroi[4]

v(ir) c(larissimus), causarum non ignobi|lis Africani tribunalis ora|tor et in consistorio | principum, item magiste|r libellor(um) et cognition(um) | sacrarum, magister epistu|lar(um), magister memoriae, | vicarius praefector(um) per | Hispanias vice s(acra) c(ognoscens), pa|ter patrum dei Solis invi|cti Mithrae, hierofanta | Hecatar(um), dei Liberi archi|bucolus, taurobolio | criobolioq(ue) in aeter|num renatus aram sacra|vit dd(ominis) nn(ostris) Valen|te V et Valentiniano | iun(iore) Augg(ustis) conss(ulibus) idib(us) Augustis (= Aug. 13, 376 A.D.).

[1] Attis was ποιμήν (schol. Nik. *alex.* 8, Loukian. *amor.* 42), *pastor* (Tertull. *apol.* 15, *ad nat.* 1. 10, Paulin. Nol. *poem. ult.* 79 ff. (lxi. 699 A Migne), *Aegritudo Perdicae* 29 f. (in *Poet. Lat. min.* v. 113 Baehrens)), αἰπόλος (Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 9 p. 168 Duncker—Schneidewin), βουκόλος (Theokr. 20. 40), *bubulcus* (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 35).

Cp. the formula *μαθητὴς ποιμένος ἀγνοῦ*, which occurs in the epitaph of Alexandros son of Antonios (216 A.D.) found by Sir W. M. Ramsay at the Phrygian Hierapolis and in its original the epitaph written for himself by Aberkios bishop of Hierapolis (end of *s.* ii), included in his biography by Simeon Metaphrastes (cxv. 1211 ff. Migne), found in a fragmentary condition by Sir W. M. Ramsay at Hierapolis, presented by the Sultan to Pope Leo xiii, and now preserved in the Lateran Museum at Rome. On both inscriptions see Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 339 ff., 1883 iv. 424 ff. no. 36 (cp. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 518 f.), J. B. Lightfoot *The Apostolic Fathers*[2] Part II London 1889 i. 493 ff., G. Ficker 'Der heidnische Charakter der Abercius Inschrift' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1894 p. 87 ff., A. Harnack in *Texte und Untersuchungen* 1895 xii. 4, L. Duchesne in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 1895 xv. 155 ff., A. Dieterich *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios* Leipzig 1896, S. Reinach in the *Revue critique d'Histoire et de Littérature* 1896 xlii. 447 ff., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2880—2882, H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 pp. 83—85, W. R. Paton 'Note on the Inscription of Abercius' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1906 ii. 93 ff., W. Lüdtke—T. Nissen *Die Grabschrift des Aberkios, ihre Überlieferung und ihr Text* Lipsiae 1910, T. Nissen *S. Abercii vita* Lipsiae 1912, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 717—725. As A. Dieterich *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig and Berlin 1911 p. 538 observes, 'bei Aberkios hat man streiten können, ob er Attisdiener oder Christ war.' The former view is held by Ficker, Harnack, Dieterich, Hepding; the latter, by Duchesne, Paton, and Kaufmann.

[2] Aug. *in Io. ev. tract.* 7. 1. 6′ (xxxv. 1440 Migne) quia iam non possunt seducere Christianos, ut dent venenum, addunt mellis aliquid, ut per id quod dulce est, lateat quod amarum est, et bibatur ad perniciem; usque adeo ut ego noverim aliquo tempore illius Pileati sacerdotem solere dicere: 'et ipse Pileatus Christianus est.' The history of the Ophites (F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 25 ff.) shows how easy it was for Phrygian Christianity to be gravely contaminated with Phrygian paganism (cp. T. Eisele 'Die phrygischen Kulte und ihre Bedeutung für die griechisch-römische Welt' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1909 xxiii. 620 ff.). Synesios in a hymn that betrays Ophitic influence addresses God as at once Father and Son of Himself (*h.* 3. 145 ff. *πατέρων πάντων | πάτερ, αὐτοπάτωρ, | προπάτωρ, ἀπάτωρ, | υἱὲ σεαυτοῦ*); and Synesios shortly afterwards became a bishop of the orthodox church.

[3] A small head of white marble in my possession (figs. 197, 198: height 5§ ins.) gives a good idea of the *formosus adulescens* (Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17, *epit.* 8. 6) wearing his *pileum*.

[4] *Supra* i. 250 fig. 180, 763 n. 4, 765 ff. fig. 554 ff.

and raises the question: In what relation did the Phrygian Attis stand to the Hellenic Kastor and Polydeukes? Was he too in any sense a twin? There is something to be said for the view that he was.

Years ago Haakh pointed out that Roman tombstones from

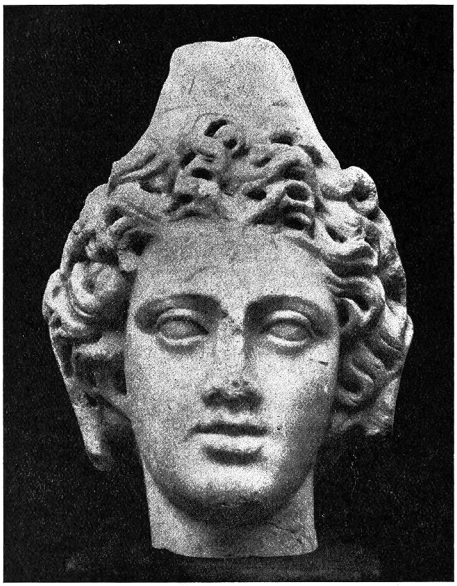


Fig. 197.

districts drained by the Rhine or the Danube not infrequently duplicate the person of Attis (*e.g.* fig. 199), and argued that such monuments go to prove the existence of a Phrygian pair resembling the better known Hellenic and Italian twins[1]. This argument,

[1] Haakh 'die Attisbilder auf römischen Grabdenkmälern' in the *Verh. d. 60. Philologenversamml. in Stuttgart* Stuttgart 1857 pp. 176—186 citing: (1) and (2) Two tombstones found at Rottenburg (K. L. von Urlichs in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1856 xxiii. 49 ff. pls. 1, 2, Haakh *loc. cit.* p. 177 with figs.); (3) A tombstone found near Bonn (K. L. von Urlichs *loc. cit.* 1846 ix. 146 ff. pl. 6, 1856 xxiii. 49, Haakh *loc. cit.* p. 180); (4) A tombstone at Coblenz, on which each Attis has above his head a pair of double axes and an Amazonian shield, below his feet vegetation of some sort (L. Lersch *Centralmuseum rheinländischer Inschriften* Bonn 1842 iii. 63, Haakh *loc. cit.* p. 181 f. with fig.); (5) A tombstone in the castle of Enseck, which shows two Lares in the guise of Attis with Phrygian cap and *pedum* flanking a dog and a

however, is of doubtful value. F. Cumont[1] assumes confusion with Cautes and Cautopates[2]. We have also to reckon with the funerary type of the pensive, torch-bearing Eros common enough in the

Fig. 198.

Graeco-Roman age[3]. Moreover, Attis, as a god reborn, would be a favourite emblem of resurrection and, like Nike in a different setting, peculiarly liable to decorative multiplication. But Haakh has more to urge in support of his Phrygian twins: he appeals to literary as

bay-tree (*Beiträge zur Landeskunde für Oesterreich ob der Enns und Salzburg* Linz 1846 v pl. 3, no. 4, Haakh *loc. cit.* p. 184 f. with fig.). To these should be added: (6) A tombstone from Andernach, on which each Attis has above his head an Amazonian shield (J. Klein in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1884 lxxvii. 14—37 pl. 1 = my fig. 199, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 54 no. 1, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7684); (7) A tombstone from Bingerbrück, now at Kreuznach (Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 66 no. 1, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7507). Doubtless other examples could be collected.

[1] F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2251.

[2] *Supra* i. 516 n. 1.

[3] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1369 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 508 f., *infra* Append. G *sub fin.*

well as to monumental evidence. According to Polybios, Cn. Manlius, when encamped in 189 B.C. on the bank of the river Sangarios, 'was visited by Galloi from Attis and Battakes, priests of the Mother of the gods at Pessinous[1].' The historian's description suggests a double priesthood. The jingling names[2] would suit the priests of twin deities. And both names were traditional. 'Attis the priest,' who carried on a correspondence with Eumenes ii in

Fig. 199.

[1] Polyb. 21. 37. 5.

[2] Cp. the *Ἀτταβοκαοί* or mystics of the goddess at Pessinous (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* nos. 540, 20 and 541, 7).

163 B.C. and with Attalos ii before and after his accession in 159 B.C.[1], may have been the same Pessinuntine hierarch: he evinces the same anti-Galatian ideas[2]. Another 'Attis the priest,' one out of ten, who are distinguished from the chief priest, is recorded in an inscription from Pessinous of early imperial date[3]. And as to Battakes, Diodoros states that in 102 B.C. 'a certain man named Battakes, priest of the great Mother of the gods, came from Pessinous in Phrygia' to Rome demanding expiation for the defilement of her temple[4]. Plutarch puts it differently: Battakes came 'with a message that the goddess from the temple (*anáktora*) had announced to him the triumphant victory of the Romans' over the Teutones[5]. Haakh contends that Plutarch's *anáktora* is again suggestive of a twin cult, since the Dioskouroi were *Ánaktes*[6]. But the word *anáktoron* is of much wider application, and no stress can be laid on the use of the plural *anáktora*[7]. Nor is Haakh's contention much strengthened by the Herodotean tale of Adrastos and Atys[8]. The former was son of the Phrygian king Gordios iv; the latter, son of the Lydian king Kroisos—unpromising material for a myth concerning twins, even if it be conceded that the episode had no historical foundation[9]. There remains the old Lydian pedigree, which represented Atys and Kotys as sons of Manes[10]. Manes, the fore-

[1] Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 45, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 315.

[2] E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 146.

[3] A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 437 ff. no. 63 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 541 Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον "Αττειν ἱερέα | Ἥρᾶ νἱὸν Κυρείνα Δηίόταρον, ἔνα|τον μετὰ τὸν ἀρχιερέα, τέταρ|τον δὲ Γαλατῶν, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Diod. 36. 6 (p. 65 Dindorf).

[5] Plout. *v. Mar.* 17.

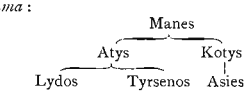
[6] *Supra* i. 107 n. 7.

[7] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 423 B ff.

[8] Adrestos, son of Gordies son of Mides, having unintentionally slain his brother, was driven out by his father and took refuge with Kroisos, who purified him and received him kindly at his court. Some time afterwards Mysia was devastated by a monstrous boar from the Mysian Mt Olympos. Atys, son of Kroisos, was eager to join the chase. His father, having dreamt that Atys would perish by means of an iron spear, at first would not let him go, but later sent Adrestos as his guardian. Adrestos, aiming with his javelin, missed the boar and slew Atys. Kroisos in deep distress invoked Zeus Καθάρσιος and Ἑπίστιος and Ἑταιρήϊος, but, regarding the accident as the fulfilment of his dream, pardoned Adrestos. Thereupon Adrestos killed himself on the tomb of Atys (Hdt. i. 35—45).

[9] H. Stein on Hdt. i. 43, W. W. How and J. Wells on Hdt. i. 34, E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2262, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 286 view the Atys-tale as a doublet of the Attis-myth.

[10] E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2262 educes from Hdt. i. 7, i. 94, 4. 45, 7. 74 the following *stemma*:



For later variants see Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 27 f., schol. Plat. *Tim.* 25 B, Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Ἀκμονία, Δοίαντος πεδίον, Μανήσιον.

father of the Lydians, was recognised also by the Phrygians[1]. He seems to have been called Masnes by the logographer Xanthos[2], a Lydian who wrote four books on Lydia in the reign of Artaxerxes i (465—425 B.C.)[3]. Manes later passed as the son of Zeus and Ge[4]. Indeed, an inscription discovered at Oturak by Sir W. M. Ramsay actually identifies him with Zeus[5]. Atys and Kotys may, therefore, have been regarded as *Dióskouroi*, sons of Zeus; and the assonance of their names is, as Dr Rendel Harris has abundantly shown[6], characteristic of divine twins. Nevertheless the whole case is com-

[1] P. Hirsch *Phrygiae de nominibus oppidorum* Regimontii Borussiae 1884 p. 29, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 31 n. 2, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2316.

[2] Xanthos (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 629 Müller) *ap.* Hephaist. *ench.* i. 7 p. 6, 1 Consbruch and *ap.* Choirobosk. *in* Hephaist. *ench.* i. 7 p. 199, 5 Consbruch had Μάσνης as the name of a Lydian river. In Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 27 cod. Vat. spells the king's name Μάσνεω; and this may be right, since Dionysios *ib.* i. 28 goes on to quote Xanthos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 36 Müller).

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1908 i. 428 f.

[4] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 27.

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 419 ff. no. 33 *ὁ* [*ἀ*]*θάνατος* Ἐπιτύνχα[*ν*]*ος Πίον τιμηθ*(*ε*)*ὶς ὑπὸ* Ἑκά|*της πρώτης, δεύτε*[*ρ*]*ον ὑπὸ* Μάνου Δάου· | [Ἡ]λιο|*δρόμου Διός, τρί*|*τον Φοίβου* Ἀρχηγέτο[υ] Χρησμοδότου *ἀ*|*ληθῶς δῶ*|[*ρ*]*ον ἔλαβ*|[*ο*]*ν χρησ*|[*μ*]*ο*|*δότι*|*ν ἀλη*|[*θε*]*ίας ἐν* | *πατρ*|*δι κὲ* (*ἐ*)*ν δ*|[*ρ*]*οις χρ*|[*η*]*σμοδότιν* | *νόμους τιθ*(*ε*)*ῶν* (perhaps *τί*(*ε*)*ιν*) *ἐν ὅροις* | [*χ*]*ρησμοδότιν* | [*π*]*ᾶσιν τοῦτο ἔχω δῶ*|[*ρ*]*ον ἐξ ἀθανά*|*των πάντων· κ.τ.λ.* an inscription of 313—314 A.D. from the neighbourhood of Akmoneia accompanied by a series of three reliefs—above, a radiate head; in the middle, the rider-god with a battle-axe over his shoulder (much defaced); below, a bust with hands folded across breast. The altar adorned with these carvings commemorates several members of one family, two at least of whom held office as *ἀρχιερεύς* in some pagan cult. The god Manes Daes (or Daos) Heliodromos Zeus is of mixed origin. Manes was father of Akmon, founder of Akmoneia (Alexandros Polyhistor *frag.* 45 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 233) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀκμονία). Daes (or Daos) might be the singular of the Scythian tribe *Δάαι, Δᾶαι, Δάοι, Dahae* (W. Tomaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1945 f.); Daos, the singular of the nomad Persians called Δάοι by Hdt. i. 125 (*id. ib.* iv. 2133): other possibilities would be to see in Daes the masculine deity corresponding with the feminine Daeira (*supra* i. 212), or to quote Hesych. *δάος· φῶς, δᾷδα. πῦρ, φλόξ, φέγγος, αἰγή. καὶ ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος.* Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1918 vii. 145 and in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 197, 202 adopts the last expedient, takes Δάος to mean 'the Wolf,' and cp. *Lyk*(*ábas?*) *Sázon* on a *quasi*-autonomous copper of Themisonion in Phrygia (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münz.* i. 299 no. 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. civ, 419 pl. 49, 2 *obv.* ΑVΚ· CΩZΩN Bust of the god, radiate). I prefer to regard Δάος as a Persian ethnic, because Ἡλιοδρόμος is in obvious allusion to the Mithraic Ἡλιοδρόμοι (A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig und Berlin 1910 p. 151)—indeed, the titles Δάος Ἡλιοδρόμος Ζεύς would tally with the grades *Perses, Heliodromus, Pater* (*supra* i. 443 n. 1). Cp. also Hesych. *Μηδινεύς, μηδεὺς παραμηδοτιοῦν. Μηδαπλῶς. παρὰ δὲ Λυδοῖς ὁ Σεὺς ζεῦσις* (cod.), which M. Schmidt prints as *Μηδινεύς· Μηδεύς, παρὰ* [*μηδοτιοῦν. μηδαπλῶς.*] *παρὰ δὲ Λυδοῖς ὁ Ζεὺς* [*ζεῦσις*]. P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 88 connects (unconvincingly) *Μηδεύς, Μηδινεύς* with *Μίδας*.

[6] J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 1 f., 52 f., *id. The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 58 ff.

paratively weak, and, sooner than insist upon it, I would push enquiry in a somewhat different direction.

Whether the Phrygians had in early days a twin-cult corresponding with that of the *Nâsatia* mentioned in the prehistoric (*s.* xiv B.C.) records of Boghaz-Keui[1], we can hardly hope to determine. The appearance of the Dioskouroi or their attributes on coins of Aizanoi[2], Akmoneia[3], Apameia[4], Bria[5], Synnada[6], Temenothyrai[7], and Themisonion (?)[8] is late and of no great significance. I would rather lay stress on the fact that in the Thraco-Phrygian area the Father and the Son, being diverse manifestations of the same god, formed, not indeed divine twins, but at least a divine pair likely to influence or be influenced by any adjacent cult of twins.

(*θ*) The *Kábeiroi* or *Megáloi Theoí*.

The situation is complicated by the variety of names under which the Thraco-Phrygian Father and Son won their way to general recognition. Of *Díos* and *Díos Nŷsos*[9], of *Pápas* and *Áttis*[10], we have already spoken. If we termed the former pair Thracian and the latter Phrygian, that was merely in order to give a rough indication of their range without implying that they were ultimately of diverse origin. And here we must add that the Samothracian Kabeiroi were originally of kindred stock. In common with R. Pettazzoni[11], L. R. Farnell[12], and Miss Harrison[13] I hold that these mys-

[1] *Supra* i. 190 n. 3, 741 n. 4, H. R. Hall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 21, *id. The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 201, J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 pp. 6, 115, 139, E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 58.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 39 pl. 6, 2 (Dioskouroi standing), cp. *ib.* p. xxiv pl. 26, 1 and 4 (horse bearing cap surmounted by star, etc.), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 664.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 7 no. 21 (Dioskouroi standing).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 74 pl. 10, 1—5 (caps surmounted by stars, in bay-wreath: eagle surmounted by star, flying over maeander-pattern flanked by caps with stars), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 478 pl. 56, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 666.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 109 pl. 13, 9 (Dioskouroi standing with horses), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 668.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 393 pl. 46, 2 (caps surmounted by stars; between them, poppy-head and ear of corn), Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 292 no. 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 686.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 410 no. 14 (Dioskouroi standing).

[8] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 495 pl. 57, 9 (Herakles and Hermes standing; behind Herakles, one of the Dioskouroi standing with his horse). B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 420 pl. 49, 5 and *Hist. num.*[2] p. 687 would recognise in the third figure Lykabas Sozon (?)—a precarious guess.

[9] *Supra* p. 277 ff.

[10] *Supra* p. 292 ff.

[11] R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei.* Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1909 xii. 635—740 argues for a threefold stratification of the Cabiric cult. (1) In

terious powers were Thracian deities called *Kábeiroi* by Phoenician traders and *Megáloi Theoí* by Hellenic settlers. I further agree with Miss Harrison's acute surmise that their triad included 'one woman the Mother, two males, the Father and the Son—older and younger forms of each other[1].' I take it that Axiokersa was the Mother, Axiokersos the Father, and Axieros the son[2] conceived as a rebirth of the Father. The names bear witness to the vitality of the very ancient axe-cult in the northern islands of the Aegean[3]. *Axiokérsa* appears to mean 'She that is cleft with the Axe,' *Axió-*

prehistoric times the worship of Dionysos-Sabazios with his Satyrs and of Bendis-Hekate with her Maenads spread from Thrace to the neighbouring islands Thasos, Samothrace, Imbros, Lemnos. These two Thracian deities with their respective *πρόπολοι* formed the indigenous element of the cult in question. (2) Phoenician merchants brought to some of the Thracian islands their own *Kábeiroi* or 'Great Ones,' seven gods serving an eighth named Ešmun (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 38, Damaskios *v. Isid. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 352 b 11 ff. Bekker). The islanders identified Ešmun with the Thracian Dionysos-Sabazios and the *Kábeiroi* with his *πρόπολοι*. Hence Dionysos-Sabazios acquired the Phoenician title of Ešmun *Kadmîlos*, and Bendis-Hekate came to be called *Kabeiró*. (3) Hellenic settlers came to Samothrace with the Eleusinian cult of Demeter, Kore, Hades. This trio was installed beside *Kadmîlos*, the resultant quartette being henceforward called by the Phoenician name *Kábeiroi* or its Greek equivalent *Megáloi Theoí*. Finally, the name *Kábeiroi* degenerated into an appellation of the *πρόπολοι*.

[1] L. R. Farnell 'Kabeiroi' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1914 vii. 628—632 independently of Pettazzoni suggests the following sequence of events: 'Phœnician traders may have found an aboriginal mystery-cult in this remote and inaccessible island [Samothrace]; they may have attached their own descriptive title "Kabeirim," "the mighty ones," to the divinities that they found in the island, because this corresponded to some local divine appellative that the later Greeks translated by the phrase *οἱ μεγάλοι θεοί*; then, through the spread of Phœnician trade, the Semitic name for the island deities acquired permanent vogue' (*ib.* p. 628). Dr Farnell holds that 'the original Samothracian trio' included, not only an elder and a younger god, later identified with the Dioskouroi, but also a 'female earth-spirit, conceived as earth-mother or earth-bride' and 'subordinate to the male principle of divinity' (*ib.* p. 630).

[2] Miss J. E. Harrison in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1915* p. 76 f.

[1] *Ead. ib.* p. 77.

[2] This does not square with schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 917 cod. Laur. (ed. H. Keil Lipsiae 1854) *μυοῦνται δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ τοῖς Καβείροις, ὡς Μνασέας φησί* (*frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller))· *καὶ τὰ ὀνόματα αὐτῶν ὃ τὸν ἀριθμόν*, 'Αξίερος 'Αξιόκερσα 'Αξιόκερσος· 'Αξίερος *μὲν οὖν ἐστιν ἡ Δημήτηρ*, 'Αξιόκερσα *δὲ ἡ Περσεφόνη*, 'Αξιόκερσος *δὲ ὁ* Ἄιδης· *ὁ δὲ προστιθέμενος τέταρτος Κάσμιλος ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἐστιν, ὡς ἱστορεῖ Διονυσόδωρος* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 84 Müller). R. Pettazzoni, who *loc. cit.* p. 21 f. has a critical discussion of this passage, concludes that the names 'Αξίερος 'Αξιόκερσα 'Αξιόκερσος, together with their exegesis as *Δημήτηρ Περσεφόνη Ἄιδης*, are probably not derived from Mnaseas, but from Dionysodoros a grammarian of uncertain date. The author of the explanation, whoever he was, appears to have equated in a purely mechanical way the early Samothracian triad Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos with the late Eleusinian triad Demeter, Persephone, Hades. The equation does not inspire confidence.

[3] I have dealt with the matter in a paper on 'The Cretan Axe-cult outside Crete' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194, cp. *supra* i. 109.

kersos 'He that cleaves with the Axe[1],' and *Axíeros* the 'Axe-Eros[2]' or 'Axe-spirit[3].' On this showing *Axiokérsa* was an appellative of the Thracian earth-goddess, *Axiókersos* an appellative of the Thracian sky-god, while *Axíeros* was the name given to an emanation or rebirth of the latter. The same substratum of primitive Thracian belief probably underlies several of the early Greek theogonies. Thus Hesiod was aware of three primeval powers, Chaos, Gaia, and Eros[4]. Pherekydes of Syros, not only recognised Zeus,

[1] Hesych. *κέρσαι· κόψαι, τεμεῖν, κεῖραι, γαμῆσαι* (so cod. A. Meineke cj. *γαλλίσαι*) and *κέρσης· γάμος* (so cod. M. Schmidt cj. *γάλλος*). The Hesychian glosses were cited in this connexion by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 329 n. 3 and after him by L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2526. Other views in R. Pettazzoni *loc. cit.* p. 693.

[2] That the second element in the compound *Ἀξί-ερος* is none other than Eros (Homeric *ἔρος*) was perceived by F. G. Welcker *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus und die Kabirenweihe zu Lemnos* Darmstadt 1824 p. 240 (after N. Fréret), E. Gerhard *Hyperboreische-römische Studien* Berlin 1852 ii. 209, C. Strube *Studien über den Bilderkreis von Eleusis* Leipzig 1870 p. 74. G. F. Unger in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1887 cxxxv. 57 assumes a word meaning 'earth' connected with *ἔρα, ἔραζε*. O. Crusius *Beiträge zur griechischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1886 p. 26 n. 2 divides 'ἀξι-ερός?'

[3] The derivation of *ἔρως, ἔρος* is much disputed (see *e.g.* Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 152, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 270 f.) and need not concern us. The essential thing is to realise that Eros was the form taken by the soul of the sky-god on the occasion of his rebirth; for the art-type of Eros is the art-type of souls in general. Miss J. E. Harrison hits the nail on the head, when she says: 'Eros is but a specialized form of the Ker; the Erotes are Keres of life, and like the Keres take the form of winged *Eidola*' (Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 631). Eros is therefore the male Harpy (Hesych. *ἅρπυν· ἔρωτα. Αἰολεῖς* with M. Schmidt *ad loc., et. mag.* p. 148, 33 ff. "Αρπυς· ὁ Ἔρως· ὡς παρὰ Παρθενίῳ ἐν Κρηναγόρᾳ, "ἀμφοτέροις ἐπιβὰς Ἅρπυς ἐληΐσατο":—παρὰ τὸ ἁρπάζειν τὰς φρένας) or Erinys (Hesych. *ὄρπα· Ἐρινύς*). On the relations of Eros to Psyche see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 pp. 53—219, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1370—1372, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi 531—542 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3237—3256, G. Nicole in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 747—750, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 871 ff., *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 320 ff. The soul of a double-axe might be represented also as a butterfly (*infra* § 3 (c) i (*v*)).

[4] Hes. *theog.* 116 ff. as cited by Plat. *symp.* 178 B, Aristot. *met.* 1. 4. 984 b 27 ff., *de Xenoph.* 1. 975 a 11 ff., Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 8, Asklepios *in* Aristot. *met.* p. 29, 30 ff. Hayduck, Stob. *ecl.* 1. 9. 5 p. 112, 20 ff. Wachsmuth, cp. 1. 9. 12 p. 115, 5 ff. Cp. Paus. 9. 27. 2, Theophil. *ad Autol.* 2. 12, schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, schol. Theokr. 13. 1, and, though Hesiod is not named, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 664 = Myth. Vat. 2. 35. See further A. Rzach *ad loc.* Similarly Akousilaos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* 1. 100 Müller) *ap.* Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 319, 8 ff. Ruelle), cp. Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 137, 13 p. 61 Gomperz, made Chaos come first, then Erebos and Nyx, from whose union arose Aither, Eros, Metis: Plat. *symp.* 178 C and Stob. *ecl.* 1. 9. 12 p. 115, 7 f. Wachsmuth state generally that Akousilaos agreed with Hesiod; schol. Theokr. 13. 1 asserts that, according to Akousilaos, Eros was the son of Nyx and Aither. Sappho *frag.* 132 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, Eudok. *viol.* 354 held that his parents were Ge and Ouranos. Ibykos *frag.* 31 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, Eudok. *viol.* 354 is said to have traced the descent of Eros from Chaos; but T. Bergk *ad loc.* points out that cod. Laur. of schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26 reads "Ιβυκος <.....> ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος ἐκ Χάους λέγει τὸν Ἔρωτα, which leaves us in the dark as to Ibykos' view. In Parmenides *frag.* 13

Chthonia, and Eros[1], but in a passage of profound significance declared 'that Zeus had transformed himself into Eros, when about to create' the world[2]. The cosmogonic Eros, as G. F. Schoemann[3] called him, figures also in Orphic literature both early and late[4]: the *Rhapsodies* represent 'delightsome Eros' as contained in and issuing from 'the great body of Zeus[5]'; the *Hymns* make 'Eros' a synonym of 'Bakcheus,' whom they invoke as 'Sire of the gods and Son[6]'—a manifest echo of the old Thracian creed[7].

v. The Double Zeus.

(*a*) Zeus *Didymaîos.*

If now we set the principal types of Father and Son over against the principal types of Twin Brethren, we might fairly expect to find

Diels *ap.* Plat. *symp.* 178 B, Aristot. *met.* 1. 4. 984 b 25 ff., Simpl. *in* Aristot. *phys.* p. 39, 18 *πρώτιστον μὲν Ἔρωτα θεῶν μητίσατο πάντων* the subject of *μητίσατο* is probably *δαίμων ἢ πάντα κυβερνᾷ* (*frag.* 12, 3 Diels). Aët. 2. 7. 1 in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 336, 12 *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 22. 1ª p. 195, 10 ff. Wachsmuth *ἤντινα καὶ δαίμονα κυβερνῆτιν καὶ κληδοῦχον* (so Fülleborn for *κληροῦχον* F.P.) *ἐπονομάζει, δίκην τε καὶ ἀνάγκην* is supposed by J. Burnet *Early Greek Philosophy* London and Edinburgh 1892 p. 204 to confuse the goddess in question (whom he regards as the Pythagorean Hestia = the Platonic Ananke) with the gate-opening Dike of Parmenides' prologue. But in Hermes Trismeg. *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 49. 44 p. 393, 18 Dike is sister of Ananke; and F. M. Cornford in his very notable book *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912 p. 214 ff. argues that the goddess throned in the centre is not only Moira, Lachesis, Ananke, and Dike, but Aphrodite to boot. If so, Plout. *amat.* 13 was not far wrong, when he made Aphrodite the subject of *μητίσατο*. Certainly the common Greek tradition, which stretches back to Sappho *frag.* 132 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Theokr. 13. 1 (*Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Οὐρανοῦ*, cp. Paus. 9. 27. 3. C. J. Blomfield cj. *Γῆς*. Wilamowitz cj. *Ἀφροδίτης <ἢ Γῆς>*), regarded Eros as the son of Aphrodite. His father is Zeus in Eur. *Hipp.* 534 *Ἔρως, ὁ Διὸς παῖς* (cp. *Cirris* 133 ff. sed malus ille puer, quem nec sua flectere mater | iratum potuit, quem nec pater atque avus idem | Iuppiter, etc.). But the genealogy of Eros was notoriously a bone of contention: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1071 n. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 488 f.

[1] Max. Tyr. *diss.* 10. 4 Dübner *ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ Συρίου τὴν ποίησιν σκόπει, τὸν Ζῆνα καὶ τὴν Χθονίην καὶ τὸν ἐν τούτοις Ἔρωτα, κ.τ.λ. Supra* i. 27 n. 5.

[2] Pherekyd. *frag.* 3 Diels *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 54, 28 ff. Diehl *καὶ ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἔρωτα μεταβεβλῆσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνιστὰς εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε καὶ ταυτότητα πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρε καὶ ἕνωσιν τὴν δι' ὅλων διήκουσαν.* See R. Zimmermann in the *Zeitschrift für Philosophie und philosophische Kritik* 1854 xxiv. 177, O. Kern *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888 p. 95 f., D. Speliotopoulos *Περὶ Φερεκύδου τοῦ Συρίου καὶ τῆς Θεογονίας αὐτοῦ* Athens 1890 p. 47 n. 15.

[3] G. F. Schoemann 'De Cupidine cosmogonico' (Gryphiswaldiae 1852) in his *Opuscula Academica* Berolini 1857 ii. 60—92.

[4] See Append. G.

[5] *Ἔρως πολυτερπὴς· ...ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς ...σώματι* (Orph. *frag.* 123 Abel cited Append. G).

[6] Orph. *h. triet.* 52. 1, 6, 10 *Βακχεῦ*, | *...θεῶν πάτερ ἠδὲ καὶ υἱέ*, | *..."Ερως.*

[7] *Supra* pp. 277, 287 f., 292 ff.

the former influenced to some extent by the latter, or the latter by the former:

Father and Son	Twin Brethren
Zeus and Dionysos	Eurytos and Kteatos
Papas and Attis	Otos and Ephialtes
Kabeiroi	Idas and Lynkeus
	Aiolos and Boiotos
	Pelias and Neleus
	Chrysaor and Pegasos
	Podaleirios and Machaon (? Twins)
	Herakles and Iphikles
	Amphion and Zethos
	Iasos and Dardanos
	Eëtion and Polyarches
	Kastor and Polydeukes
	Hypnos and Thanatos

How far is our expectation justified? Zeus is never described as a twin; for his epithet *Didymaîos*[1] merely indicates that he was worshipped along with Apollon at Didyma near Miletos[2]. Macro-

[1] Athen. 477 B *Νίκανδρος δ' ὁ Κολοφώνιος ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ τῶν Αἰτωλικῶν γράφει "ἐν τῇ ἱεροποιίᾳ τοῦ Διδυμαίου Διὸς κισσοῦ σπονδοποιέονται πετάλοισιν, ὅθεν τὰ ἀρχαῖα ἐκπώματα κισσύβια φωνέεται."* The same passage is cited by Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 21. 12 and by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1632, 8 f. (cod. P. of Macrob. omits *Διὸς*. cod. C. of Athen. reads *τῷ διδυμαίῳ κισσοῦ*. Eustath. has *Διὸς δυμαίῳ Διΐ*.).

[2] Kallim. *frag.* 36 Schneider *ap.* Hephaist. *enchir.* 9. 4 p. 30, 17 ff. Consbruch *δαίμονες εὐυμνότατοι Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ, Διδύμων γενάρχαι, et. mag.* p. 272, 45 f. *Φοῖβέ τε καὶ Ζεῦ Διδύμων γενάρχα.* Cp. Ter. Maur. 1885 f. nec non et memini pedibus quater his repetitis | hymnum Battiaden Phoebo cantasse Iovique and Steph. Byz. *s.v. Δίδυμα·... τόπος καὶ μαντεῖον Μιλήτου ἀφερωμένον Διὶ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι.*

Other Milesian cults recognised Zeus as *Βουλαῖος* (C. Fredrich in *Milet* ii. 91 ff. no. 12 a, 12 *Βουλαίου τῶιδε παρὰ προπύλωι* in a metrical inscription from the pedestal of a bronze statue of Lichas erected *c.* 200 B.C. in front of the earlier gateway of the Bouleuterion, A. Rehm *ib.* iii. 58 ff. no. 37 c, 43 f. *τῆι τε Ἑστίαι τῆι | Βουλαίαι καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι Βουλαίωι* in a psephism, *cp. ib.* iii. 122 n. 1), as *Δουσάρης Σωτήρ* (?) (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 263 ff. no. 165, 3 f. *[Συλ]λαῖος, ἀδελφὸς βασιλ[έως, ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Ὀβόδα] | ἀνέθηκεν Διὶ Δου[σάρηι Σωτῆρι (?)]* the Greek half of a bilingual inscription on a marble base erected in the Delphinion by Syllaios, vizier of the Nabataean king Obodas, probably in January 9 B.C.), as *Νόσιος* (*supra* i. 733 n. 6), as *Σωτήρ* (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 152 no. 130 *Διὸς Σωτῆρος* on a round altar or base in the Delphinion. This cult seems to have been much in evidence at Didyma: *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2852, 10 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 39, 10 ff. = B. Haussoullier *Études sur l'histoire de Milet et du Didymeion* Paris 1902 p. 194 ff. no. 1, 10 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 214, 10 ff. *βασιλεὺς Σέλευκος* (Seleukos i Nikator rather than Seleukos ii Kallinikos) *Μιλησίων τῆι βουλῆι | καὶ τῶι δήμωι χαίρειν· ἀφεστάλκαμεν εἰς | τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ ἐν Διδύμοις | τήν τε λυχνίαν τὴν μεγάλην καὶ ποτήρια | χρυσᾶ καὶ ἀργυρᾶ εἰς ἀνάθεσιν τοῖς θεοῖς | τοῖς Σωτῆρσι κομίζοντα Πολιάνθην, ἐπιγραφὰς ἔχοντα κ.τ.λ.*, 43 ff. *κέρας ἐπιγεγραμμένον "Διὶ Σωτῆρι" ἕ[ν,] | ὁλκὴ δραχμαὶ ἑκατὸν ἑβδομήκοντα τρεῖς, | τρεῖς ὀβολοί*, A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 200 ff. no. 144 A, 9 f. *[τῶι τε Ἀπόλ]λωνι τῶ[ι Διδυμεῖ καὶ τῶι Διΐ | τῶι Σωτῆρι]* in a treaty with some unknown town, *id. ib.* 233 ff. no. 150, 21 f. *τῶι τε Ἀπόλλωνι τῶι Διδυμεῖ καὶ Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ(ι) καὶ τῶι Διὶ τῶι | Σωτῆρι, 112 ff. νὴ τὸ[ν] | Ἀπόλλωνα τὸν Διδυμέ(α) καὶ τὴν*

bius, it is true, tried to explain *Didymaîos* by the 'twofold' aspect of Apollon, who shines with direct rays in the sun, with reflected rays in the moon[1]; and Lucian held that Didyma was named after the Heavenly 'Twins[2].' But such guesses, whether ancient or modern[3], make shipwreck on the fact that other place-names of south-western Asia Minor (Idyma, Sidyma, Loryma, Kibyma, Olymos) point to a Carian[4], not to a Greek[5], origin. I cannot, therefore, agree with my friend Dr Rendel Harris, when he urges 'that Didyma was an original twin-town[6].'

(β) Zeus duplicated on a gem.

Equally illusory is the monumental evidence that has been produced in support of a twin Zeus. An engraved cornelian of Roman date in the Berlin collection (fig. 200)[7] certainly shows two very similar forms of Zeus seated side by side, each holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and an eagle-sceptre in his left. Above them appears a bearded (?) male head[8]; and beneath them are the letters MVH. This enigmatic design has exercised the ingenuity of archaeologists.

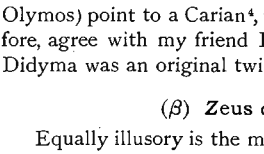


Fig. 200.

'Εστίαν τὴν Βουλαίαν καὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν 'Αθηνᾶν καὶ | τοὺς ἄλλους θεούς in a treaty of April 180 B.C. (?) with Herakleia on Mt Latmos, cp. *infra* § 9 (h) i), as 'Τέτιος (at Didyma: see *infra* § 9 (h) i). For the Milesian festival known as Διὸς βοῦς see *supra* i. 717 n. 2, *infra* § 9 (h) i, and B. Haussoullier 'Le culte de Zeus à Didymes, la Βοηγία' in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* Paris 1898 pp. 147—158.

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 17. 64. [2] Loukian. *de astrol.* 23.

[3] See *e.g.* A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1880 iii. 231 n. 4.

[4] L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 437.

[5] *Pace* the frequent topographical use of the Greek Δίδυμα, Διδυμαί, Διδύμη, Δίδυμοι, Δίδυμον (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 297 f., A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 15).

[6] Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 318.

[7] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 121 no. 2608 pl. 23 (=my fig. 200: scale 2/3), J. J. Winckelmann *Description des pierres gravées du feu Baron de Stosch* Florence 1760 ii Classe no. 42, A. H. F. von Schlichtegroll *Choix des principales Pierres gravées de la collection qui appartenait autrefois au Baron de Stosch et qui se trouve maintenant dans le Cabinet du Roi de Prusse* Nuremberg 1798 (a German ed. was issued under the title *Dactyliotheca Stoschiana*) ii Classe no. 42 pl. 21, E. Gerhard *Prodromus mythologischer Ktensterklärung* (Text to Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.*) München 1828—1844 p. 129 n. 35, *id. Zwei Minerven* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* viii) Berlin 1848 p. 5 n. 13 pl. 1, 5, C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 47 f. no. 4 pl. 8, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 257 f. Gemmentaf. 3, 6.

[8] Gerhard *Zwei Minerven* p. 5 n. 13 (followed by Overbeck *loc. cit.*) says: 'der oberwärts befindliche anscheinend weibliche Kopf.' Furtwängler *loc. cit.* tacitly corrects him: 'Oben ein undeutlicher bärtiger Kopf.' The blunder was facilitated by the fact

P. D. Lippert pronounced the divine pair to be Iupiter and Iuno[1]! C. Lenormant saw Iupiter in the double *rôle* of *Summus* and *Summanus*[2]. J. J. Winckelmann tried to justify the duplication by citing a copper coin of Smyrna, struck by M. Aurelius, which showed both a standing and a seated Zeus—Aither and Ouranos, he supposed[3]. But this coin (fig. 201)[4], as Montfaucon had already observed[5], merely symbolises an alliance between Smyrna and Laodikeia on the Lykos by a juxtaposition of the Smyrnaean Zeus *Akraîos*[6] seated with the Laodicean Zeus[7]

Fig. 201.

that the hair is crimped or waved. But this was a method of *coiffure* employed by the Romans not only for women (A. Furtwängler in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 221, Steininger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2139) but also on occasion for men—witness the numismatic portraits of Otho (J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Stuttgart 1891 ii. 7 Münztaf. 1, 5 f.).

[1] P. D. Lippert *Dactyliothec* (Supplement) Dresden, Leipzig 1767—1776 1, 30. On Lippert and his services to archaeology see C. Justi *Winckelmann in Deutschland* Leipzig 1866 i. 361 ff. and Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 414 f. Lippert was perhaps misled by the large nipples of the left-hand figure: but that is merely proof of haste and clumsiness on the part of the gem-engraver.

[2] C. Lenormant *loc. cit.*

[3] J. J. Winckelmann *op. cit.* p. 38, Gerhard *Zwei Minerven* p. 5 n. 13.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 307 pl. 39, 11 (=my fig. 201) rev.: ATTAΛOCCO ΦICTHCTA ICΠATPICI CMVPΛAO *i.e.* "Ατταλος σοφιστὴς (*sc.* ἀνέθηκε) ταῖς πατρίσι Σμυρ(ναίων) Λαο(δικέων). The Smyrnaean Zeus *Akraîos* is seated to left, with *himátion* wrapped about his legs, holding Nike in his outstretched right hand and leaning his left on a sceptre. Before him stands the Laodicean Zeus to right, with long *chitón* and *himátion*, holding an eagle on his outstretched right hand and a sceptre over his left shoulder. Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 1280. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 324 f. pl. 52, 7 f.

[5] Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1725 Suppl. i. 33 pl. 5 no. 6.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 675, iv. 829 records similar alliance-coins of Ephesos and Kyzikos, struck by Antoninus Pius, with the type of two Zeuses joining their right hands and the legend ΕΦΕCIOC KYZIKOC (*sic*). But this is presumably a mistaken interpretation of the type correctly described by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 60 no. 290 and by W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1774 f. as two youthful male figures (KVZIKOC and ЄΦЄCOC) grasping right hands.

[6] Append. B Lydia.

[7] A similar type of Zeus appears on *quasi*-autonomous and imperial coppers of Laodikeia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxxxi, 289 f. pl. 35, 1, 293 f., 296 f.: fig. 202 is from a specimen in my collection. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 300 ff. pl. 37, 1, 3=my fig. 203). Sometimes he is flanked by Hera and Athena in a group intended to recall the Capitoline triad (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 308 pl. 37, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 491 pl. 57, 3, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 266 no. 21 pl. 8, 25=my fig. 204). Another interesting imperial type shows the city-goddess (ΛAO Δ IKЄIA) enthroned to left, with *kálathos*, *chitón*, and *himátion*: in her right hand is a statuette of the Laodicean Zeus, in her left a sceptre; below are two river-gods

standing. E. Gerhard too recognised 'ein Doppelzeus,' whom he at

Fig. 202.

Fig. 204.

Fig. 203.

(ΛVKOC and ΚΑΠΡ OC) with waves (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 268 no. 26 pl. 8, 26=my fig. 205). A variant makes Laodikeia hold the statuette in her right hand, but a *cornu copiae* in her left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 317 pl. 38, 3). On another specimen Laodikeia, with a *phiale* in her right hand and the statuette in her left, stands between a wolf (ΛVKOC) and a boar (ΚΑΠΡΟC) representing the rivers (F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue suisse*

Fig. 205.

Fig. 206.

de numismatique 1908 p. 161, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 35 f., ii. 785 f.: the latter by an intelligible slip says 'a goat ΚΑΠΡΟC'). On yet another she is enthroned to left, with the statuette in her right hand and a *cornu copiae* in her left, between two standing figures of ΦΡVΓΙΑ and ΚΑΡΙΑ (J. von Schlosser in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1891 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1=my fig. 206, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 317 pl. 38, 2). Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 678 ff.

The temple of Zeus, before which Q. Pomponius Flaccus laid a white marble pavement (G. Weber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 144 f. no. 1, 13 f. with Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 50 n. 3), has not been identified. At some period before *c.* 150 A.D. the cult of Zeus was amalgamated with that of the Roman emperor in the festival Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ Οἰκουμενικά (E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 233 f. Oxford 1890 no. 605, 5 Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ οἰκουμενικὰ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀγενείων πυγμ[ήν·] | κ.τ.λ., 11 Δεῖα Σεβαστὰ οἰκουμενικὰ ἐν Λαοδικείᾳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμ[ήν·] | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* iii. 2. 239 f. no. 615, 14 ἐν Λαδικείᾳ ἀνδρῶν Δεῖα with Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 51, 53 f.).

Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 33, 50 f., F. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 265 ff., and G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 490 ff. speak of the god as Zeus Λαοδικηνός, *Laodicenus*, and most writers call him Zeus Λαοδικεύς, *Laodicensis*. But I am not aware of any such cult-title. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 2525 Iovi *Ladico* M. Ulp. Aug. lib. Gracilis

first christened *Meilíchios* and *Epidótes*[1], but later compared with the *Dies Ktésioi* of Athenaios[2]: his first suggestion is improbable, his second impossible. Much more acute was the view of E. H. Toelken, who in the two Zeuses detected the reigning pair, Marcus Aurelius Antoninus and Lucius Aurelius Verus. The letters MVH may of course, as he suggested, indicate the name of the owner[3]. It is, however, very possible that they are the initials of Marcus, Verus, and Helios—the deity whose cult was specially connected with the Aurelii[4]. If the sun-god is bearded, that perhaps implies that he was identified by the gem-engraver with the preceding emperor, Antoninus Pius. The full official name T. Aelius Hadrianus Antoninus Augustus Pius would be likely enough to provoke such identification,

ex voto is best connected with Mt Ladicus in Gallaecia (De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 735). If, as seems likely, the coin-types reproduce local statues, we must distinguish this Zeus of Laodikeia from Zeus Ἀσεύς of the same town (*supra* i. 706).

[1] E. Gerhard *Prodromus mythologischer Kunsterklärung* (Text to Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.*) München 1828—1844 p. 129 n. 35, cp. Plout. *non posse suaviter vivi secundum Epicuri decreta* 22 ἀλλὰ ὁ μὲν μέγας ἐν οὐρανῷ Ζεὺς πτηνὸν ἅρμα ἐλαύνων κάτω πρῶτος πορεύεται διακοσμῶν πάντα καὶ ἐπιμελούμενος· τῶν δὲ ἄλλων θεῶν ὁ μέν ἐστιν Ἐπιδότης, ὁ δὲ Μειλίχιος, ὁ δὲ Ἀλεξίκακος· κ.τ.λ. But this passage expressly distinguishes Zeus from the gods described as Ἐπιδότης and Μειλίχιος.

The title Ἐπιδότης or Ἐπιδώτης (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 60 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 932 n. 3) is used of various deities, sometimes as an epithet (*e.g.* Paus. 2. 10. 2 at Sikyon Ὕπνος κατακοιμίζων λέοντα, Ἐπιδώτης δὲ ἐπίκλησιν), sometimes as a name (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 526 from the Argive Heraion φιάλα ἃ Ἐπιδώτα, Paus. 2. 27. 6 at Epidauros ἱερὸν θεῶν οὓς Ἐπιδώτας ὀνομάζουσιν, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 133 no. 342 on a rock near the ruins of Pagasai ΕΠΙΔΟ[ΤΑ]ΙΣ =Ἐπιδόταις). As an appellative of Zeus it is attested for Sparta by Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπιδώτας (so Salmasius for cod. ἐπιδότας)· Ζεὺς ἐν Λακεδαίμονι (cp. Paus. 3. 17. 9 Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ ἐκτελοῦντες πρόσταγμα ἐκ Δελφῶν τάς τε εἰκόνας ἐποιήσαντο τὰς χαλκᾶς καὶ δαίμονα τιμῶσιν Ἐπιδώτην (so Ag. Ped. R *pr. man.* Ἐπιδωτὴν Lab. R *corr.* Vb. Ἐπιδότην M. Va.), τὸ ἐπὶ Παυσανίᾳ τοῦ Ἰκεσίου μήνιμα ἀποτρέπειν τὸν Ἐπιδώτην λέγοντες τοῦτον) and perhaps for Mantineia by Paus. 8. 9. 2 Μαντινεῦσι δέ ἐστι καὶ ἄλλα ἱερά, τὸ μὲν Σωτῆρος Διός, τὸ δὲ Ἐπιδότου (Ἐπιδότου Pc. Vab.) καλουμένου (so Kayser for καλούμενον)· ἐπιδιδόναι γὰρ δὴ ἀγαθὰ αὐτὸν ἀνθρώποις. Since ἐπιδίδωμι properly signifies 'I give a further gift' (*e.g.* Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 163 ff. Διός τοι νόος μέγας κυβερνᾷ | δαίμον' ἀνδρῶν φίλων. | εὔχομαί νιν Ὀλυμπίᾳ τοῦτο | δόμεν γέρας ἔπι Βάττου γένει) and so 'a liberal gift' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 1577 D ff.), Ἐπιδότης or Ἐπιδώτης must mean 'the Generous Giver.' Cp. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 91 f. Κρονίδη πανυπέρτατε, δῶτορ ἐάων, | δῶτορ ἀπημονίης, and an inscription copied by E. Falkener in the theatre at Termessos beginning ΜΑΡΣΥΑΝ ΤΡΩΙΛΟΣΕΥΣ | ΔΙΟΣΛΩΤΗΡΟΣΕΙΤΑΙΟ, on which C. Henzen remarks: 'Titulus erat fortasse honorarius Marsyae Troili filii. Ζεὺς Δωτὴρ nimis certo in eo legi videtur, quam ut Σωτῆρος emendare liceat' (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 176 f.). ΕΙΤΑΙΟ is presumably Ἰδαῖον. Cp. Zeus Ἀναδώτης (Append. M *sub fin.*).

[2] *Infra* Append. H.

[3] E. H. Toelken *Erklärendes Verzeichniss der antiken vertieft geschnittenen Steine der Königlich Preussischen Gemmensammlung* Berlin 1835 p. 98 no. iii, 95.

[4] E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2431, *supra* i. 630 n. 6. *Aurelius* would inevitably be associated with Ἥλιος, *Helius*.

for *Aelius* was sometimes spelled *Elius*[1], while *Helius* on occasion appears as *Haelius*[2].

(γ) Zeus *Tetráotos*.

Again, Zeus—like other ancient divinities[3]—is sometimes Janiform. But here each case has to be investigated separately, and we must not assume without more ado that the duplication of features necessarily points to twinhood[4].

There seems to have been a cult of Zeus *Tetráotos*, 'the Four-eared,' in Phrygia[5], just as there was a cult of Apollon *Tetráotos* in Lakonike[6], while *Tetráotos* pure and simple occurs at Gela, apparently as the name of an ancient Sicanian deity (?)[7].

[1] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 2431, 6122, 6122[a].

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 19138.

[3] See *e.g.* W. H. Roscher's collection of Janiform heads in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 49—55.

[4] Other possibilities with regard to the origin and development of these multiple types are discussed in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 282 ff.

[5] A. Körte in the *Gött. Gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 408 no. 51 *Shar-öjük* (the stone is broken at the top and damaged in the last line but one) – – – [σὺ]‖ν γυναι|κὶ κὲ τέκν|οις ὑπὲρ τ|ῶν ἰδίων | Διὶ Τετρα|ώ[τω κατ'] ε|ὐχήν. Körte suggests Τετράωτος, but remarks that this necessitates *κατ' εὐχήν*, an unusual *formula*.

[6] Zenob. 1. 54 ἄκουε τοῦ τὰ τέσσαρα ὦτα ἔχοντος· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀπειθούντων. χρησμὸς γὰρ ἐδόθη Ἐντίμῳ τῷ Κρητὶ καὶ Ἀντιφήμῳ τῷ Ῥοδίῳ φυλάξασθαι τὸν Τετράωτον· ἦν δὲ οὗτος ληστὴς Φοίνιξ· οἱ δὲ τοῦ χρησμοῦ ἀμελήσαντες ἀπώλοντο. ἢ ἐπὶ τοῦ πολλὰ ἰδόντος καὶ πολλὰ ἀκούσαντος, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης φησίν. ἄλλοι δὲ τὴν παροιμίαν παραγγέλλειν τῶν ἀληθευόντων ἀκούειν· οὐδεὶς γὰρ ἀψευδέστερος τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, ὃν τετράχειρα καὶ τετράωτον ἱδρύσαντο Λακεδαιμόνιοι, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος (*frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 627 Müller)), ὅτι τοιοῦτος ὤφθη τοῖς περὶ Ἀμύκλαν μαχομένοις. Similar statements occur in Diogeneian. 2. 5 and Apostol. 1. 93. Cp. Liban. *or.* 11. 204 (i. 2. 507, 9 ff. Foerster) anent the shape of the new town at Antiocheia on the Orontes ἐκ δὲ ἀψίδων τεττάρων ἀλλήλαις συνηρμοσμένων εἰς τετράγωνον τύπον ὥσπερ ἐξ ὁμφαλοῦ τέτταρες στοῶν συζυγίαι καθ' ἕκαστον τμῆμα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τέτανται, οἷον ἐν Ἀπόλλωνος τετράχειρος ἀγάλματι, Hesych. *s.v.* κουρίδιον·... Λάκωνες δὲ κουρίδιον καλοῦσι τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς (so Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1893 A for καλοῦσι. παρὰ δὲ αὐτοῖς cod.) τετράχειρον Ἀπόλλωνα, *id. s.v.* κυναγίας· ἱμάντες, οἱ ἐκ βύρσης τοῦ σφαγιασθέντος τετράχειρι Ἀπόλλωνι βοὸς ἕπαθλα διδομένου, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 (Ἀπόλλωνος) 38 τετραχείρου, H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905–1906 xii. 378 f. no. 44, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 259, 1 f. (slab with carved pediment from the precinct of Artemis *Orthia*) ἱρεὺς σεῖο, Μάκαιρα, κα[σιγνήτου] | τετράχειρος μῶαν [νικήσας ἀν]|θετο Καλλικράτης. κ.τ.λ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 398 f.

[7] Entimos and Antiphemos, the founders of Gela (Hdt. 7. 153, Thouk. 6. 4, Athen. 297 E), consulted the Pythia (Diod. 8. 23, Aristainetos (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γέλα, *et. mag.* p. 225, 1 ff., cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 16) and were bidden *inter alia* to beware of τὸν Τετράωτον (*supra* n. 6). They became embroiled with the Sikanoi (Artemon of Pergamon *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 341 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Ol.* 2. 16), and Antiphemos, having sacked the Sicanian town of Omphake, carried off to Gela an image made by Daidalos (Paus. 8. 46. 2, 9. 40. 4). Since Janiform deities other than Ianus were not unknown in southern Sicily (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 186 Syracuse no. 283, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 150 pl. 11, 4), it

(δ) The Celtic Janiform god.

Silver *statêres* struck by the Celts far up the Danube valley, in imitation of the fine tetradrachms issued by Philippos ii of Makedonia (figs. 207, 208)[1], sometimes transform the head of Zeus into that

Fig. 207.

Fig. 208.

of a two-faced bearded god resembling Ianus (figs. 209, 210)[2]. Again,

may be conjectured that this Sicanian image was ὁ *Τετράωτος*, later rationalised into a Phoenician freebooter (*supra* n. 6).

[1] I illustrate two specimens in my collection: (1) Fig. 207 = obv. Head of Zeus, laureate, to right; rev. ΦΙΛΙΓ ΠΟΥ Youth on horseback to right, carrying palm-branch. In the field a thunderbolt, probably the mint-mark of Pella. In the exergue Ν. (2) Fig. 208 = obv. Head of Zeus, with olive-wreath and olive-berries, to right; rev. ΦΙΛΙΓ ΠΟΥ Bearded Macedonian horseman, in short *chitón*, *chlamýs*, and *kausía*, raising his right hand. In the field forepart of winged horse, probably the mint-mark of Lampsakos, and bow. See also Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 44 pl. 22, 18, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 223 fig. 136, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 153, 155 pl. 7, 29 and 39, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 93, 96 f., 104 f. Münztaf. 1, 21, G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 79 pl. 2, 11, *id. A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 pp. 164, 171, 176 f., 261 pl. 7, 1, *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 80 ff. pl. 5, 44.

[2] E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 235 nos. 9897—9899, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 9899 pl. 51 (=my fig. 209) in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris, E. Fiala *Collection Ernst Prinz zu Windisch-Grätz* Prag 1895—1897 no. 2891, R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 pp. 167, 169 fig. 328 pl. 36 found in the district of Tolna, Hungary, and now in the Forrer collection, M. Dessewffy *Barbár Pénzei* Budapest 1910 p. 40 no. 814 pl. 33 (I owe this reference to the kindness of my friend Mr G. F. Hill), R. Ratto *Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero* Milano 1912 p. 16 no. 169 pl. 3. Fig. 210 is from a specimen of mine, referred to Pannonia (?): obv. Janiform bearded head; rev. Horseman, with plumed helmet, to right. In front of the horse's nose is Π, the last remains of the legend ΦΙΛΙΓ ΠΟΥ. Weight 189 grains.

gold *statêres* and quarter-*statêres* struck by the Mediomatrici, whose

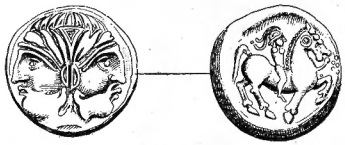


Fig. 209.

Fig. 210.

chief town was Divodurum (Mettis, *Metz*) on the Moselle, have for obverse type a beardless Janiform head (figs. 211—213)[1]. And coppers

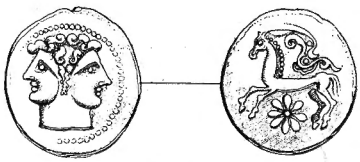


Fig. 211.

Fig. 212.

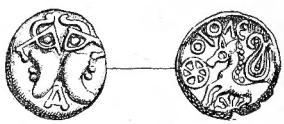


Fig. 213.

issued by Cunobelinus at Camulodunum (*Colchester*) have on one side a similar Janiform head, on the other a sow seated beneath an oak(?)-tree (fig. 214)[2]. This may be taken to imply that the Danubian, Rhenic, and British Celts recognised a god facing both ways. Such a god might appear in Roman dress as the Ianus *Geminus*[3] of

[1] E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *op. cit.* p. 207 nos. 8933 ff., H. de la Tour *op. cit.* nos. 8933, 8937, 8944 pl. 36 (=my figs. 211—213), R. Forrer *op. cit.* p. 346 fig. 543.

[2] Sir J. Evans *The Coins of the Ancient Britons* London 1864 p. 344 ff. pl. 13, 1 (=my fig. 214).

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5092 *a* = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3319 (found near Wolfsberg at the foot of Mt. Saualpe in Carinthia, now at Klagenfurt) Iano Ge|mino etc. See further *infra* p. 338 n. 3 *fin.*

Noricum, the Ianus *Pater*[1], Ianus *Augustus*[2], Ianus *Pater Augustus*[3] of Dalmatia, the Ianus *Vaeosus*[4] of Gallia Narbonensis. Indeed, the memory of this dicephalous deity lingered on through the middle ages into modern times. Geoffrey of Monmouth, who died in 1154 A.D., describes the burial of King Lear by his daughter Cordelia in the following terms[5]:

Fig. 214.

'But Cordeilla, now mistress of the helm of state, buried her father in a certain underground chamber, which he had bidden to be made beneath the river Sora within the town of Legecestria. Now this underground chamber had been founded in honour of the two-faced Janus. And here, when the day of celebration came round, all the workmen of the town used to begin the work that would occupy them throughout the year.'

Geoffrey professes to be translating literally from a very ancient manuscript in the Welsh tongue lent to him by Walter, archdeacon of Oxford[6]. And it must be admitted[7] that the extant chronicle in Old Welsh attributed to Tysilio, bishop of Wales (*s.* vii A.D.)[8], agrees closely with Geoffrey's account:

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2881 (Corinium (*Karin*)) Iano Pat[ri] | etc., no. 3030 (Flanona (*Fianona*)) Iano | Patri.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2969 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3321 (Aenona (*Nona*)) Iano Aug. | etc.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3158 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3320 (brought from Salonae (*Salona*) (?) to *Padua*, and now at *Este*) Iano Patri | Aug. etc.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 1065 (*Cadenet* near Iulia Apta (*Apt*)) Iano Vaeo|so etc.

[5] Galfredus Monumetensis *hist. reg. Brit.* 2. 14 Cordeilla vero regni gubernaculum adepta sepelivit patrem in quodam subterraneo, quod sub Sora fluvio intra Legecestriam fieri praeceperat (*praecepit* ed. Ascensii). erat autem subterraneum illud conditum in honorem bifrontis Jani. ibi omnes operarii urbis adveniente solemnitate diei (I should prefer to read *dei*) opera, quae per annum acturi erant, incipiebant.

[6] Galfredus Monumetensis *hist. reg. Brit.* 1. 1, cp. 11. 1, 12. 20. For a discussion of these passages see San-Marte's ed. pp. xiii—xx ('Gottfrieds Quellen').

[7] W. M. Flinders Petrie 'Neglected British History' in *Proceedings of the British Academy* 1917 viii argues that the Brut Tysilio is really the original from which Geoffrey was drawing. See further an important *critique* of this paper in *The Cambridge Review* 1918 xxxix. 363 f. by [Dr] M. R. J[ames].

[8] The text is printed by W. Owen *The Myvyrian Archaiology of Wales* London 1801 ii. 81—390. I give the translation by P. Roberts *The Chronicle of the Kings of Britain* London 1811 p. 44 f. *Id. ib.* p. 354 well compares the description given by Giraldus Cambrensis *itin. Cambr.* 1. 2 (p. 349 of Sir R. C. Hoare's trans. in Bell's reprint 1905) of the festival of St. Almedha as celebrated on Aug. 1, Lammas Day (one of the four cross-quarter days—Roodmas, Lammas, Martinmas, Candlemas: see *infra* p. 326 n. 4), near Aberhodni: 'You may see men or girls, now in the church, now in the churchyard, now in the dance, which is led round the churchyard with a song, on a sudden falling on the ground as in a trance, then jumping up as in a frenzy, and representing with their hands and feet, before the people, whatever work they have unlawfully done on feast days; you may see one man put his hand to the plough, and another, as it were, goad on the oxen, mitigating their sense of labour, by the usual rude song: one man imitating

Cordalia now took the sovereignty of Britain into her own hands. Lear was buried in a cavern formed below the River Soar at Leicester, and which had been magnificently constructed in honour of the God Bifrons. Here likewise all the artificers of the kingdom were assembled annually, to work at what trade soever they were to pursue, to the end of the year from that time.

Sir John Rhŷs comments: 'This seems to mean that Llyr as a Celtic Dis was a god of beginnings, and that he had, like the Dis of the Gauls, more than one face, which naturally led him to be identified with the Roman Janus. The town of Leicester seems to have been a great centre of this cult, and only one thing is wanting; but it is a very important thing, namely, the discovery on the spot of some relic of antiquity inscribed with some such words as *Deo Jano Liro Sacrum*[1].' Recently Miss M. A. Murray in an article of exceptional interest[2] has called attention to the fact that the devil worshipped by the witches of southern France as late as the seventeenth century was Janiform[3], and has made it probable that at the 'Sabbaths' held on the four cross-quarter days[4] he was represented by a man with a double mask[5].

(ε) Iupiter *Ambisagrus* and Iupiter *Dianus*.

Zeus and Iupiter were seldom, if ever, Janiform in classical art. In 1843 E. Braun published a bifrontal head in the Palazzo Spada

the profession of a shoemaker; another, that of a tanner. Now you may see a girl with a distaff, drawing out the thread, and winding it again on the spindle; another walking, and arranging the threads for the web; another, as it were, throwing the shuttle, and seeming to weave. On being brought into the church, and led up to the altar with their oblations, you will be astonished to see them suddenly awakened, and coming to themselves.' P. Roberts *ib.* p. 354 further cites the ceremony known (*c.* 1750) as 'riding the Franchises': 'Upon this occasion the artizans of a corporation went in procession, and those of each trade exhibited a kind of booth, or shop, on a car, in which there was one or more working at the trade.'

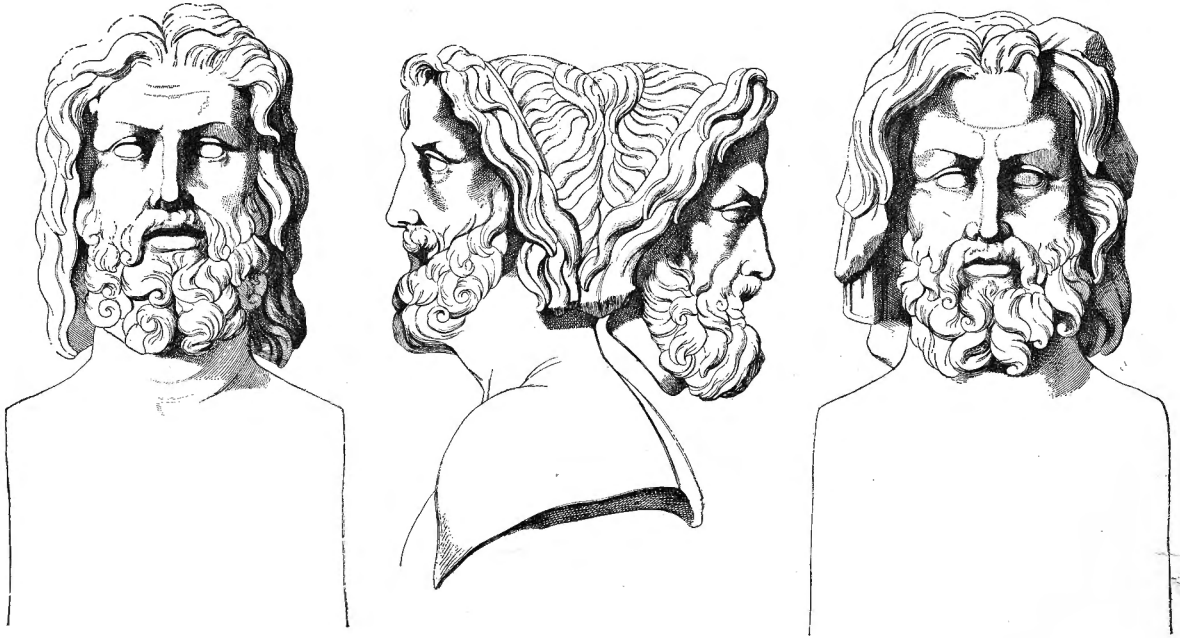
[1] Sir J. Rhŷs *Studies in the Arthurian Legend* Oxford 1891 p. 131 f. *Id. ib.* p. 131 derives *Leicester* from *Leir-Cestre*: on which, however, see J. B. Johnston *The Place-names of England and Wales* London 1915 p. 342.

[2] M. A. Murray 'Organisations of Witches in Great Britain' in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxviii. 228 ff.

[3] P. de Lancre *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Demons* Paris 1612 p. 72 'Ianette d'Abadie de Siboro agee de 16. ans, dict qu'il auoit vn visage deuant, & vn visage derriere la teste, comme on peint le Dieu Ianus,' *ib.* p. 132 f. 'elle dict qu'elle y vid le Diable en forme d'homme noir & hideux, auec six cornes en la teste, parfois huict, & vne grande queuë derriere, vn visage deuant & vn autre derriere la teste, comme on peint le dieu Ianus.' Cp. *ib.* p. 72 'D'autres qu'il est comme vn grand bouc, ayant deux cornes deuant & deux en derriere:... & vne grande queuë au derriere, & vne forme de visage au dessoubs: duquel visage il ne profere aucune parole, ains luy sert pour le donner à baiser à ceux que bon luy semble, honorant certains sorciers ou sorcieres plus les vns que les autres.'

[4] Roodmas or Holy Cross Day (May 3, originally April 30?), Lammas (Aug. 1), Hallowmas (Oct. 31), Candlemas (Feb. 2). On the Celtic May—November year see the literature cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 223 n. 1 f.

[5] Cp. *infra* § 3 (a) v (o) *fin.*



Bifrontal head (Ianus?) in the Palazzo Spada at Rome.

See page 326 f.

at Rome (pl. xx)[1], which he took to be a representation of Zeus in his celestial and chthonian characters, the former mild, the latter stern. Braun was followed by J. Overbeck[2]. But E. Gerhard, when confronted with the head, failed to detect any such distinction[3]. And K. F. Hermann[4], P. W. Forchhammer[5], K. O. Müller[6], W. H. Roscher[7], were all inclined to think that the sculptor meant to portray, not a Janiform Zeus, but Ianus himself. However, Braun was able to support his contention by quoting from P. Pedrusi (fig. 215)[8] a silver coin of Geta, struck in 211 A.D., which certainly shows a beardless(?)[9] two-faced god—presumably Iupiter[10]—holding a thunderbolt in his left hand and a reversed spear in his right. Forchhammer observed that the attributes are those of Iupiter *Conservator*, and suggested that this god was fused with Ianus *Conservator* in a unique numismatic type commemorating the double rule of Geta and Caracalla[11]. I should explain the type somewhat

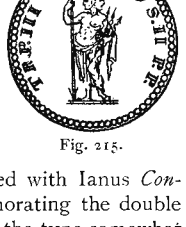


Fig. 215.

[1] E. Braun *Antike Marmorwerke zum ersten Male bekannt gemacht* Erste und zweite Decade Leipzig 1843 p. 4 no. 3 pl. 3[a] and pl. 3[b] (combined in my pl. xx). The double head is about life-size and broken off at the neck. We cannot therefore be sure whether it came from a statue or from a herm. In the Palazzo Spada it is set on an ancient, but single, herm, which does not belong to it. Both noses are damaged, and restored in the drawing.

[2] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 91 f. Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* i. 9 no. 32 remark that, of the two faces, the one here figured on the right is more like Zeus, the one here figured on the left more like Poseidon.

[3] See E. Braun *op. cit.* p. 4. E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 137 n. 6 is non-committal.

[4] K. F. Hermann in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1844 i. 335.

[5] P. W. Forchhammer in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1844 ii. 1074—1077.

[6] K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*[3] Stuttgart 1878 p. 669 § 407 n. 2.

[7] W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 50 f.

[8] P. Pedrusi *I Cesari in argento da Adriano sino a' Caracalla, e Geta Raccolti nel Farnese museo E pubblicati colle loro congrue Interpretazioni* Parma 1703 iii. 365—367 pl. 24 no. 16 fig. (=my fig. 215).

[9] E. Braun *op. cit.* inset on pl. 3[b]=*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 367 fig. 2 shows apparently a beardless + a bearded face, but is a very inexact reproduction of Pedrusi's figure.

[10] P. Pedrusi *loc. cit.* interprets the type as a two-faced Ianus regarding at once the past and the future. Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 274 no. 197 says: 'Janus? ou Jupiter à double tête' etc. J. Khell *Ad numismata imperatorum Romanorum aurea et argentea a Vaillantio edita, a Cl. Baldinio aucta ex solius Austriæ utriusque, iisque aliquibus Museis Subplementum a Julio Caes. ad Commenos se porrigens* Vindobonæ 1767 p. 131, describing a similar piece (Cohen *op. cit.*[2] iv. 274 n. 1), has: 'Juppiter seminudus stans d. hastam præpilatam inversam, s. fulmen.' See also *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 276.

[11] P. W. Forchhammer *loc. cit.* A silver coin of Pertinax, with reverse of Ianus half-draped standing, spear in right hand, is inscribed IANO CONSERVAT (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 505 f., 512, Suppl. iii. 70, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 392 no. 17).

differently. A remarkable inscription engraved on a small altar found at Aquileia records the worship of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus Co(nservator) et Ambisagrus*[1]. The last title is commonly regarded as quite obscure[2]. But in view of our coin it becomes transparently simple. *Ambisagrus* is vulgar Latin for *Ambisacrus*[3] and means 'Sacred on both sides[4].' It implies that the Iupiter in question was a god resembling the two-faced Ianus. Accordingly, we are not surprised to discover that in the same town Aquileia there was a cult of Iupiter *Dianus*[5]—an ancient form of Ianus identified with the later Iupiter. It is hardly accidental that this Janiform Iupiter occurs in a district which was permeated with Celtic influences.

(ζ) Iupiter and Ianus in the Salian Hymn.

The *rapprochement* between Ianus on the one hand and Zeus or Iupiter on the other is attested, not only by Augustine[6] and Proklos[7] in the fifth century A.D., but also—to all appearance—by a Salian hymn which is one of the very oldest specimens of the Latin language[8].

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 790.

[2] M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1799 ('Zweifelhaft, ob Name eines Gottes... Man könnte eher an einen Beinamen des Iuppiter denken'), *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 1851, 47 ('*vix recte intellegitur*').

[3] Cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 3571 = E. Diehl *Vulgärlateinische Inschriften* Bonn 1910 p. 42 no. 456 (Tibur) Erchul | sagrum (= *Herculi sacrum*). T. Mommsen in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 1179 prints 'Iupiter optimus maximus co(nservator) et Ambisager.' But the termination *-sagrus* is supported by [S]AKPOS in the second line of the famous inscription from the Roman Forum (D. Comparetti *Iscrizione arcaica del Foro Romano* Firenze—Roma 1900 p. 8 with plate. Bibliography by Sir J. E. Sandys in *A Companion to Latin Studies*[2] Cambridge 1913 p. 731).

[4] Cp. Ov. *fast.* i. 95 tunc sacer ancipiti mirandus imagine Ianus | etc. A similar formation is the compound *Am(p)sanctus*, on which see the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 2017, 50 ff. and P. Lejay in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1917 xli. 185 ff.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 783 (found at Aquileia in 1817) IOVI | DIANO · | C · HERRE|-N · NIVS · | CANDIDVS V · S · L · M. The name of the dedicator is misread as C · HERRE|-NONIVS by G. Orti Manara in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 130, Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5622. See further T. Birt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1003, *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 372 n. 1, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 277, 288 f. (with correction *ib.* p. 462), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 382, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 113 n. 3.

[6] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 9 has a discussion 'de Iovis potestate atque eiusdem cum Iano comparatione.' *Id. ib.* 7. 10 raises the question 'an Iani et Iovis recta discretio sit.'

[7] Proklos begins and ends a *quasi*-Orphic hymn to Hekate and Ianus with the lines: χαῖρε, θεῶν μῆτερ, πολυώνυμε, καλλιγένεθλε· | χαῖρ', Ἑκάτη προθυραία, μεγασθενές· ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὸς | χαῖρ', Ἴανε προπάτορ, Ζεῦ ἄφθιτε· χαῖρ', ὕπατε Ζεῦ (Prokl. *h.* 6. 1 ff., 13 ff. in E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 281).

[8] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 26 in multis verbis in quo[d] antiqui dicebant S, postea dicunt R, ut in carmine Saliorum sunt haec: 'cozeulodorieso. omnia vero adpatula coemisse. ian cusianes duonus ceruses. dunus Ianusue uet pom melios eum recum' * * * I give the text as printed by the latest editors, G. Götz and F. Schöll (1910). Within the last forty years numerous critics have attempted to rewrite this puzzling passage.

(1) H. Jordan *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* Berlin 1879 pp. 152, 223 f. proposes the following Saturnian lines:

o Zeúl adóriésis—†ómniaueroad
patúlcius clusívius—Iánus cusiánus's
duonu' cérus es duonu' Iánus—prómeliós es récum

where *o Zeúl* = *o Sol* and *adórié(n)sis* is adjectival.

(2) L. Havet *De Saturnio Latinorum versu* Paris 1880 pp. 243 ff., 249 ff., 410 gives:

Cozevi, adoriose, †omnia vero ad; patulti, oenus es; jancus, Jan(e), es;
dvonus Cerus es; †dun; Janus †vevet; po meliose im recum...

with the interpretation: *Consivi, adoriose, ...tod; Patulti, unus es; janitor, Jane, es; bonus Cerus es; .....Janus.....; potissimum, meliorem eum regum....*

(3) T. Bergk *Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a. S. 1884 i. 477 ff. ('De carminum Saliarium reliquiis' = *Indices lectionum...in academia Marburgensi*...MDCCCXLVII... MDCCCXLVIII) had suggested:

(*a*) Ozeul adosiose...
(*b*) ...omína vero ád Patúlcie mísse
Iánitós Iánes: duonús cerus és, Iánes.
(*c*) dúonus Iánus aúctet, pó meliósem récum...

where *Ozeul* (*Oozeul?*) etc. = *Sol adoriose; omína* etc. = *precationes vero admitte, Patulcie Ianitor Iane: bonus creator es, Iane*; and *dúonus* etc. = *bonus Ianus auctet, quo meliorem regum* (*nullum terra vidit Saturnia unquam*).

(4) E. Bährens in his edition (Lipsiae 1886) of the *Poet. Lat. min.* vi. 30 *frag.* 3 prints:

Ozeúl, o dómine, es ómnium
patér! Patúlci, Cloési,
es iáneús, ianés *es*!
duonús cerús es oénus,
promélios déuom récum.

At the end of the third line Bährens has added *es*. After the fourth line he has suppressed *Ianusue uet* as a variant on the third line transcribed 'ex uetusto codice.' The fifth line he takes to mean: *maximus dominorum caelestium*.

(5) C. M. Zander *Carminis Saliaris reliquiae* Lundæ 1888 pp. 1—4, 16—29, 39—53 defends the following text and translation:

O Zaúl, adorfese ómnia !
Veroᵘᵐ ád pätlá cõẽmís es iáneús, Iánes.
Dvonus Cérus és, dvonus Iánus.
Veueís promérios próme diús enúm recónde.

= *O sol oriens inuade omnia!* | *Portarum ad patulos aditus comis es ianitor, Iane.* | *Bonus Genius es, bonus Ianus.* | *Vivis* (dat. plur.), (optime) *promeritus, prome dies et reconde.*

(6) B. Maurenbrecher 'Carminum Saliarium reliquiae' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1894 xxi. 332—335 *frags.* 2 and 3:

2. O Zol, adoriso omnia—verod Patulci cosmis;
Es Sancus Ianis duonus,—Cerus es duonus Ianus.
3. Potissimum meliosum recum.

The third word in *frag.* 2 is either *adoríso* = *adorīris* or *adoríso* = *adoreris*. The fragment is rendered: *O Sol*, (qui) *ad omnia vadis* (surgis), *re vera comis Patulci:* | *es bonus Sancus Ianius, es bonus Cerus*, (es) *Ianus*. *Frag.* 3 describes Ianus as most powerful of the gods (*meliores reges*).

(7) T. Birt in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii Ergänzungsheft ('Sprach man avrum oder aurum?') pp. 162, 193—197:

Conzéviós hordésios óptimos máximos Iános
Patulcós geminós seiánes cúsianés, duonus cérus es,
Duonus Iánus réxque óptimus méliosúm récum.

Conzéviós = *Consevius*; *hordésios* is an adjective formed from *hordeum*; *seiánes* is con-

nected with *Seia*, *Fructiseia*, the goddess of sowing; *cúsianés=curianus* (cp. *Curiatius*, *Quirinus*).

(8) G. Hempl 'The Salian Hymn to Janus' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 182—188 would restore the lines with (*a*) stressed or (*b*) quantitative scansion:

(*a*) cocéulōd oriēso · ómnia uḗrōd pátula cóemis ·
es iános cúsiátios · duónos céros es [*or* és] ·
duónos iános uéniet · potíssimos meliósom rḗcom ·

(*b*) co|ceulōd | oriē|so · omnia | uērōd | patula | coemis ·
es | iānos | cūsi|ātios | · duonos | ceros es ·
du|onos iā|nos ueni|et · poti|mos meli|ōsom rēcom ·

Here *coceulōd=cucūlō*, *oriēso=oriēre*, *coemis=comis* ('bring together, bring about, make, arrange'), *cūsiātios=cūriātius*. Hempl translates: 'Come forth with the cuckoo! Truly all things dost thou make open. | Thou art Janus Curiatius, the good creator art thou. | Good Janus is coming, the chief of the superior rulers.'

(9) T. von Grienberger 'Die Fragmente saliarischer Verse bei Varro und Scaurus' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1910 xxvii. 205—223 recognises two sentences:

co zēulōd oriēs oomina ueruād patulāco ĕmisse;
iān cerus iān es, duonus cerus es, duonus iānusue et pom-melios eum recum!

=cum diluculo oriens exta apud portam patulam accipe! | Iane creator, Iane es; bonus creator es, bonus Ianusve, et multo melior (optimus) *illorum regum!* Thus **zeulom* is for **dǐēu-lo-m*, a derivative of **dǐēu-* ('sky, sky-god, day'); *ueruād patulāco* is for *ueroād* **pátŭlād-cō*, substantive (Italic masc. *uēro-*, 'door') and adjective in ablative case governed by the postposition *-co* ('at, by'); *ĕmisse* is the second person singular of the imperative of **ĕmissere* (a frequentative or intensive form of *ĕmĕre* in its older sense 'to take') governing *oomina* the accusative plural of *ōmen* (not for *osmen*, 'omen,' but a by-form of *omentum*, 'entrails'); *pom-melios* is for **pōt-melios* from **pōte-melios* ('much better').

To these nine reconstructions I am tempted to add a tenth. For convenience' sake I print the traditional text side by side with my reading of it:

cozeulodorieso.	io, Zeu Loidorie, io.
omnia vero adpatula coemisse.	omnia vera da patula, Camise.
ian cusianes duonus ceruses.	Ianus Ian es; duonus Cerus es,
dunus Ianus	duonus Ianus,
ue uet pom melios eum recum.	vel veterum promerios recum.

'Ho, Festal Iupiter, ho! | Fling wide all the doors, god of the Archway. | Thou art Ianus Ian; thou art the good Creator, | good Ianus, | foremost, an thou wilt, of ancient kings.' To justify text and translation I would urge the following points. W. M. Lindsay *The Latin Language* Oxford 1894 p. 5 suggested *O zeu=ὦ Ζεῦ*: the Grecism *Zeu* was perhaps due to the Greek appearance of *Loidorie*. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*² p. 444 connects *loidos*, the archaic form of *ludus*, with λοίδορος, λοιδορεῖν, as do Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 273 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 586: hence *Loidorie*='god of the *Ludi*.' T. von Grienberger (*supra* (9)) pointed out that *vĕro-* is the Italic word for 'door.' Kamise was the sister and wife of Ianos, when he first came to Italy (Drakon of Kerkyra *περὶ Λίθων* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 402 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 692 D—F: cp. Demophilos (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 86 Müller) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 66, 7 ff. Wünsch *Καμασήνῃ*, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 330 Camasenae (*v.l.* Camesenae)). Or, Cameses and Ianus were two indigenous rulers, who divided Italy between them (Protarchos of Tralleis (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 485 Müller) followed by Hyg. *frag.* 6 Peter *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 19 cum Camese (Camase cod. G. camasene ('alterum *e* ex corr.') cod. A.)). Both versions are best explained by the assumption that Ianus himself had an old cult-title *Cameses* or *Camises* meaning 'god of the Archway' (cp. *camera*, *caminus*, and the group of words, including the German *Himmel*, discussed by Prellwitz *op. cit.*² p. 206, Walde *op. cit.*² p. 120, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 401 f.). Fest. p. 205 *a* 19 ff. Müller, p. 222, 30 ff. Lindsay *promeriom* (promeriom cod. W., promerion cod. Y., promorion cod. X.

(η) Ianus and Iupiter on coins.

It is, moreover, borne out by numismatic evidence. The Roman *as* from *c.* 338 B.C. onwards[1], both in its original form as a pound of bronze (figs. 216—218)[2] and in its subsequent reductions (figs. 219—230)[3], had for obverse design the head of Ianus, while the corresponding *semis*, both early (figs. 231, 232)[4] and late (figs. 233—236)[5], had that of Iupiter. Similarly in the Romano-Campanian series of the half-century *c.* 290 to *c.* 240 B.C. silver didrachms (figs. 237—239)[6] and drachms, struck at Capua (?) in the name of Rome[7], showed a beardless head of Ianus on the obverse, and on the reverse Iupiter with thunderbolt and sceptre in a four-horse chariot driven by Victory. Thus within and without Rome itself Ianus was associated with Iupiter as senior with junior deity.

J. J. Scaliger cj. promerito, F. Lindemann cj. promeritom, E. Bährens cj. promedion (=promelion)) praecipuum, praeter caeteros meritum aut promedium, hoc est participat (E. Thewrewk de Ponor cj. participatum, J. J. Scaliger cj. participem, C. O. Müller cj. pro *μορίῳ* hoc est particula); ut (aut cod. W.) pro indiviso dicimus. I take *promerios* to be cognate with the Greek *πρόμος* and the Umbrian *promum* (=Latin *primum*): for the suffix cp. G. Goetz *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888 ii. 124, 34 *Lucerius*, Ζεύς, and such names as *Numerius*, *Valerius*.

Mr J. Whatmough, whom I consulted on the matter, proposes *Ieu* as vocative (djeu > Ieu > Iou > Iu-piter) and would be rid of rhotacism. On this showing the original (corrupted in Varro's text by Grecism and rhotacism) might have run:

io, Ieu Loidosie, io.
omnia vera da patula, Camese.
Ianos Ian es; duenos Ceros es,
duenos Ianos,
vel vetesom promesios recom.

[1] See now H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i p. xix ff.

[2] Fig. 216 is from a specimen in my collection (weight 265·35 grammes). Figs. 217 and 218 are from specimens in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weights 256·75 and 255·75 grammes respectively).

[3] Fig. 219=E. J. Haeberlin *Aes grave* Frankfurt a. M. 1910 p. 105 Tafelband pl. 43, 7 (weight 134·98 grammes). Fig. 220=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 17 pl. 10, 2 (weight 106·594 grammes). Fig. 221 is from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weight 76·15 grammes). Fig. 222=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 18 pl. 10, 3 (weight 67·456 grammes). Figs. 223—230 are from specimens of mine (weights 53·15, 35·8, 18·36, 12·66, 11·64, 8·13 and 11·75, 12·69 grammes).

[4] Fig. 231 is from a specimen of mine (weight 139·65 grammes). Fig. 232 is from one in the Fitzwilliam Museum (weight 112·9 grammes).

[5] Figs. 233—236 are from specimens in my collection (weights 17·76, 16·14, 7·42, 3·4 grammes). Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 18 pl. 10, 4 (weight 45·877 grammes), *ib.* i. 31 pl. 12, 10 (weight 20·412 grammes), *ib.* i. 54 pl. 16, 3 (weight 14·645 grammes), *ib.* i. 96 pl. 22, 4 (weight 10·692 grammes), *ib.* i. 152 pl. 28, 7 (weight 7·841 grammes), *ib.* i. 300 pl. 37, 9 (weight 6·221 grammes).

[6] Figs. 237—239 are from specimens in my collection (weights 6·51, 6·15, 5·98 grammes).

[7] H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 116 ff. See also G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 pp. 25, 35.

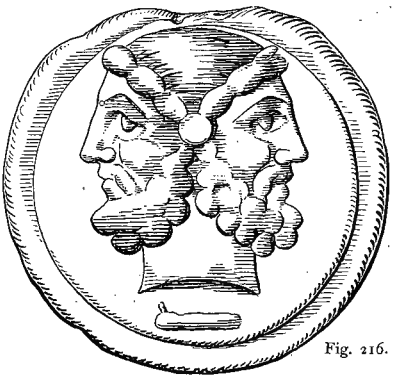


Fig. 216.

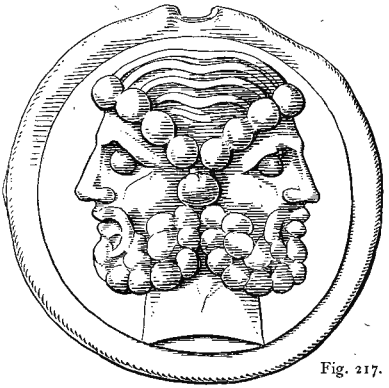


Fig. 217.

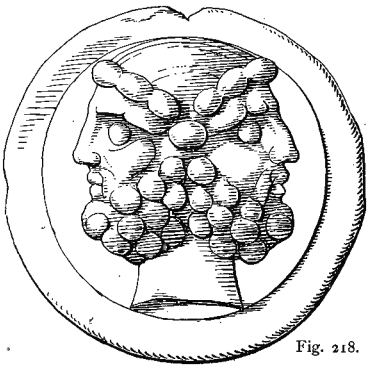


Fig. 218.

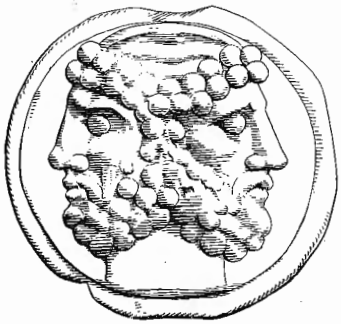


Fig. 219.

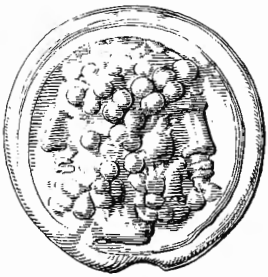


Fig. 220.

Fig. 221.

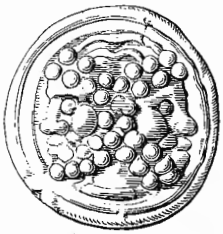


Fig. 222.

Fig. 223.

Fig. 224.

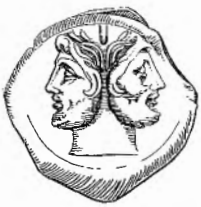


Fig. 225.

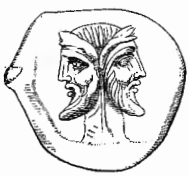


Fig. 226.

Fig. 227.

Fig. 228.

Fig. 229.

Fig. 230.

Fig. 231.

Fig. 232.

Fig. 233.

Fig. 234.

Fig. 235.

Fig. 236.

Fig. 237.

Fig. 238.

Fig. 239.

(θ) Ianus an older Iupiter.

But the relations subsisting between Ianus and Iupiter call for clearer statement and closer definition.

Ianus was commonly recognised as the oldest god of Italy. Juvenal addresses Ianus *Pater* as 'most ancient of the gods[1].' Herodian speaks of him as the 'most ancient indigenous god of Italy[2].' Prokopios says: 'This Ianus was the first of the ancient gods, whom the Romans in their language termed *Penates*[3].' With regard to his essential character there was less agreement. According to Varro, some authorities identified him with the sky, others with the universe[4]. Varro himself appears to have shared the latter opinion[5]. But M. Valerius Messalla, consul in 53 B.C. and an augur of fifty-five years' standing, began a treatise on Ianus with the following words[6]:

He who fashions all things and rules them too has linked together, on the one hand water and earth, heavy elements slipping downwards into the abyss, on the other hand fire and air, light elements escaping upwards into space, by means of the sky put round about them: thus the great potency of the sky has bound together two unlike forces.

This extract, for the preservation of which we are indebted to the erudition of Macrobius, enables us to see how a philosophic mind might pass from a belief in Ianus as the sky to a belief in Ianus as the universe[7]. Others equated him with the air[8], or with chaos[9] the

[1] Iuv. 6. 393 f. dic mihi nunc, quaeso, dic, antiquissime divum, | respondes his, Iane Pater?

[2] Herodian. 1. 16. 1 *σέβουσι δὲ τὴν ἑορτὴν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐς θεὸν ἀρχαιότατον τῆς Ἰταλίας ἐπιχώριον ἀναφέροντες· κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 1. 25 *ὁ δὲ Ἴανος οὗτος πρῶτος μὲν ἦν τῶν ἀρχαίων θεῶν, οὓς δὴ Ῥωμαῖοι γλώσσῃ τῇ σφετέρᾳ Πένατες (πένατες* cod. K. *πένητας* cod. L. M. Kraševeninnikov cj. *Πενάτας) ἐκάλουν. κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Varro *ap.* Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 28 ut in superioribus initium fecimus a caelo, cum diximus de Iano, quem alii caelum, alii dixerunt esse mundum.

[5] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 7 f. Cp. *ib.* 7. 16 et Ianus est mundus et Iuppiter.

[6] M. Messalla *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 14. On Messalla see further M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1898 i. 397 f.

[7] See also Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 cited *infra* p. 336 n. 10, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 610 alii Ianum mundum accipiunt, etc.

[8] Gavius Bassus *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 7 ff. Wünsch *ὁ δὲ Γάβιος Βάσσος ἐν τῷ περὶ θεῶν δαίμονα αὐτὸν εἶναι νομίζει τεταγμένον ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀέρος, καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ τὰς τῶν ἀνθρώπων εὐχὰς ἀναφέρεσθαι τοῖς κρείττοσι· κ.τ.λ.* (cp. Gavius Bassus *de dis frag.* 9 Funaioli *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 13), interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 610 alii Ianum aerem credunt, etc.

[9] Ov. *fast.* 1. 103 (quoted by Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 66, 11 f. Wünsch) me Chaos antiqui—nam sum res prisca—vocabant. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 52, 11 ff. Müller, p. 45, 20 ff. Lindsay Chaos... ex eo et *χάσκειν* Graeci, et nos hiare dicimus. unde Ianus detracta aspiratione nominatur id, quod fuerit omnium primum; cui primo supplicabant velut parenti, etc.

yawning void[1]. Others, under the influence of Orphism[2], saw in him 'a power that controls the two Bears and sends divine souls to join the lunar dance[3].' And of course the solar mythologists of the republic[4] and the empire[5] claimed him for their own. Another natural extension of meaning transformed the sky-god into a time-god[6]. He was god of the day[7]. He was god of the months[8]. He was god of the seasons[9]. He was god of the year[10]. He was god of eternity,

[1] *Infra* Append. G *med.*

[2] Cp. Prokl. *h.* 6 (*supra* p. 328 n. 7).

[3] Vettius Agorius Praetextatus (who died in 384 A.D.: see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1904 iv. 1. 128 f.) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 20 ff. Wünsch ὁ δὲ Πραιτέξτατος ὁ ἱεροφάντης, ὁ Σωπάτρῳ τε τῷ τελεστῇ καὶ Κωνσταντίνῳ τῷ αὐτοκράτορι συλλαβὼν ἐπὶ τῷ πολισμῷ τῆς εὐδαίμονος ταύτης πόλεως, δύναμιν αὐτὸν εἶναί τινα βούλεται ἐφ' ἑκατέρας Ἄρκτου τεταγμένην καὶ τὰς θειοτέρας ψυχὰς ἐπὶ τὸν σεληνιακὸν χορὸν ἀποπέμπειν.

[4] Lutatius (Q. Lutatius Catulus, not his learned slave Lutatius Daphnis: see M. Schanz *op. cit.*[2] München 1898 i. 136) *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 15 ff. Wünsch ὅ γε μὴν Λουτάτιος (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 127 Peter) Ἥλιον παρὰ τὸ ἑκατέρας πύλης ἄρχειν, ἀνατολῆς ἴσως καὶ δύσεως.

[5] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 9 Ianum quidam solem demonstrari volunt, etc., 1. 17. 42 unde nos quoque Ianum patrem vocamus, solem sub hac appellatione venerantes, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 cited *infra* n. 10.

[6] Nemes. *cyneg.* 104 Ianus, temporis auctor. Cp. *infra* n. 8.

[7] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607 nam alii eum diei dominum [vel auctorem] volunt, in quo ortus est et occasus, Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 a nonnullis diei dicitur deus, bifronsque propter ortum et occasum pingitur.

[8] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 16 Iunonium, quasi non solum mensis Ianuarii sed mensium omnium ingressus tenentem; in ditione autem Iunonis sunt omnes Kalendae, unde et Varro libro quinto Rerum divinarum scribit Iano duodecim aras pro totidem mensibus dedicatas, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 3 ff. Wünsch Φοντήϊος (so C. Wachsmuth for φροντήϊος: see further Kappelmacher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2842, and for Ianus on coins of the *gens Fonteia infra* § 3 (a) v (o)) δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἀγαλμάτων ἔφορον αὐτὸν οἴεται τοῦ παντὸς χρόνου τυγχάνειν, καὶ ταύτῃ δωδεκάβωμον εἶναι τὸν αὐτοῦ ναὸν κατὰ τὸν τῶν μηνῶν ἀριθμόν.

[9] Ov. *fast.* 1. 125 praesideo foribus caeli cum mitibus Horis, Lucan. 5. 5 f. instabatque dies (*sc.* Jan. 1) qui dat nova nomina fastis | quique colit primus ducentem tempora Ianum, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607 = Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 cited *infra* n. 10.

[10] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 incipiamus ergo solemniter ab Iano et nos patre, quem quidam ex vobis mundum, annum alii solemve esse prodidere nonnulli, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607 alii anni totius (*sc.* dominum volunt), quem in quattuor tempora constat esse divisum. anni autem esse deum illa res probat, quod ab eo prima pars anni nominatur = Myth. Vat. 3. 4. 9 quem tamen alii totius anni dominum volunt, quem in quatuor tempora constat esse divisum, ideoque eundem quadrifrontem pingunt. anni autem eum esse dominum res illa probat, quod ab eo prima pars anni, id est Ianuarius nominatur. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 33 aut per significationem anni temporis = Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 ὥσπερ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν = Souid. *s.v.* Ἰανουάριος· ...ὥσπερ τὸν ἐνιαυτόν, Ov. *fast.* 1. 65 Iane biceps, anni tacite labentis origo, Mart. *ep.* 10. 28. 1 annorum nitidique sator pulcherrime mundi, Luxor. 506. 1 (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 415 Baehrens) lucifer annorum et saeclis, o Iane (so E. Baehrens for *seclissollane* cod. S. N. Heinsius cj. *saeclis, Sol, Iane*), secundus.

Ausonius even uses *Iani* in the sense of *anni* (Auson. *lib. de fastis concl.* 1. 7 p. 194 Peiper tu quoque venturos per longum consere Ianos, *epist.* 24. 13 p. 269 Peiper vive, vale et totidem venturos consere Ianos, | etc.).

being either the father of Aion[1] or Aion's very self[2]. Now if we assume—as, I think, we are justified in assuming—that Ianus, like Iupiter[3], was, to begin with, simply the divine Sky, we can understand, not only all the foregoing attempts to interpret him in terms of space and time, but also the very remarkable description of him as 'god of gods' contained in an extant fragment of the Salian hymn[4].

[1] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 p. 64, 6 ff. Wünsch Λογγῖνος δὲ Αἰωνάριον αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεῦσαι βιάζεται ὡσεὶ τοῦ Αἰῶνος *πατέρα*=Suid. *s.v.* 'Ιανουάριος·...ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Λογγῖνος Αἰωνάριον αὐτὸν ἑρμηνεῦσαι βιάζεται, ὡσανεὶ Αἰῶνος *πατέρα*. Cp. Tzetz. *posthom.* 770 ff. δωδεκάτη μὲν ἔην μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος, | τόν ῥ' Αἰωνάριον κικλήσκει μὲν Λογγῖνος, | 'Ιανουάριον δ' ἄνδρες πάντες καλέουσι. On Cassius Longinus (*c.* 220—273 A.D.) see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 756 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 338 f.

[2] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 p. 64, 12 ff. ὅθεν ὁ Μεσσαλᾶς (*supra* p. 335) τοῦτον εἶναι τὸν Αἰῶνα νομίζει· καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς πέμπτης τοῦ μηνὸς τούτου (*sc.* Jan. 5) ἑορτὴν Αἰῶνος ἐπετέλουν οἱ πάλαι. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 33 et aevi esse deum indicent. *Supra* i. 192 n. 1.

[3] *Supra* i. 3 n. 2, 6 n. 3, 10 f. See further *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 260 ff.

[4] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 27 ab eadem voce canite, pro quo in Saliari versu scriptum est cante, hoc versu: 'divum empta cante, divum deo supplicante.' The line thus printed by G. Götz and F. Schöll (1910) requires emendation. In the first half of it T. Bergk cj. *eni pa*, E. Bährens *parentem*, S. Linde *Ianem patrem*, B. Maurenbrecher *patrem*: in the second half Grotefend cj. *supplicate*, C. O. Müller *supplice cante*. The most satisfactory reading is that of E. Bährens (*Poet. Lat. min.* vi. 29): diuóm paréntem cánte, | diuóm deo súpplicáte. Cp. Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 14 Saliorum quoque antiquissimis carminibus deorum deus canitur (*sc.* Ianus), 1. 9. 16 cur Geminum invocemus, supra iam diximus: Patrem, quasi deorum deum, etc., and Paul. ex Fest. p. 52, 12 f. Müller, p. 45, 24 Lindsay cited *supra* p. 335 n. 9.

Fortunately doubt does not extend to the words *divom deo* (*pace* C. M. Zander *Carminis Saliaris reliquiae* Lundae 1888 p. 54 ff.), and we may take it as certain that Ianus was styled 'god of gods.' My friend Mr W. Warde Fowler, who has given us two of the best books in existence on the religion of Rome, comments: 'The phrase "Deorum" or "Divum deus" is indeed remarkable, and unparalleled in Roman worship; but no one acquainted with Roman or Italian ritual will for a moment suspect it of meaning "God of gods" in either a Christian or metaphysical sense' (*The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 140). H. Jordan *Kritische Beiträge zur Geschichte der lateinischen Sprache* Berlin 1879 p. 222 renders 'der Gott aus der Zahl der ungezählten Himmlischen,' comparing the epic δῖα θεάων [Ennius *ann. frag.* 51 Baehrens sancta deurum, Verg. *Aen.* 4. 576 sancte deorum]. S. Linde *De Iano summo Romanorum deo* Lundae 1891 p. 27 ff. argues that we have here a common Indo-European phrase for 'greatest of the gods': he cites the Sanskrit locution *devó devá-nām* ('god of gods'), the Old Persian *khshâyathiya khshâyathiyânâm* ('king of kings'), the Greek βασιλεὺς βασιλέων, and such passages as Aisch. *suppl.* 524 ff. ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων | μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων τε|λειότατον κράτος, ὅλβιε Ζεῦ, *Pers.* 666 δέσποτα δεσπότου φάνηθι (*sc.* Dareios, master of our master Xerxes), 675 δυνάτα δυνάτα (so cod. M. with schol. ἀντὶ τοῦ δυνάστα. δυνάστα δυνάστα cett. M. Haupt cj. δυνάστα δυναστᾶν. S. Linde cj. δυνάτα δυνατᾶν), Plaut. *capt.* 825 regum rex regalior, *Trin.* 309 victor victorum cluet, Hor. *epist.* 1. 1. 107 rex denique regum. The fact is, these cumulative expressions are found, not merely with adjectives in the superlative (Soph. *O. T.* 334 ὦ κακῶν κάκιστε, Hor. *sat.* 1. 3. 136 magnorum maxime regum: other examples in R. Kühner—B. Gerth *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* Hannover—Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 21, 339) or even in the positive degree (Soph. *O. C.* 1237 f. ἵνα πρόπαντα | κακὰ κακῶν ξυνοικεῖ: other examples in Kühner—Gerth *locc. citt.*), but also with substantives (O. Riemann—H. Goelzer *Grammaire comparée du grec et du*

His title *Matutinus*[1] too acquires fresh point, and we can appreciate to the full the lines of Horace:

> Sire of the morning (do I call thee right,
> Or hear'st thou Janus' name with more delight?)
> Who introducest, so the gods ordain,
> Life's various tasks, inaugurate my strain[2].

Moreover, the Roman conception of Ianus thus falls into line with that of the Etruscans, who, as Varro admits[3], took him to be the sky pure and simple. Finally, this view of Ianus is borne out by the most probable etymology of his name. Corresponding with the series

Diviana[4] *Diana*[5] *Iana*[6]

latin Syntax Paris 1897 p. 123 n. 5 quote Eur. *Andr.* 520 ff. καὶ γὰρ ἀνοία | μεγάλη λείπειν ἐχθροὺς ἐχθρῶν, | ἐξὸν κτείνειν [Plat. *Tim.* 41 A θεοὶ θεῶν, ὧν ἐγὼ δημιουργὸς πατήρ τε ἔργων, on which I have said my say in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 92 ff.]). If Ianus was the animate Sky, there was special justification for the phrase: the living abode of all celestial beings might well be termed *divum domus*.

[1] The epithet is transferred from Ianus to Iupiter, or rather to Domitian occupying the place of Iupiter (see *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 314), by Mart. *ep.* 4. 8. 11 f. gressu timet ire licenti | ad matutinum nostra Thalia Iovem. There is, of course, a connotation of sobriety and seriousness, cp. Mart. *ep.* 13. 2. 10.

[2] Hor. *sat.* 2. 6. 20 ff.

[3] Varro *frag.* 134 Funaioli *ap.* Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 64, 18 ff. Wünsch ὁ δὲ Βάρρων ἐν τῇ τεσσαρεσκαιδεκάτῃ τῶν θείων πραγμάτων φησὶν αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Ἰανόν) παρὰ Θούσκοις οὐρανὸν λέγεσθαι καὶ ἔφορον πάσης πράξεως καὶ Ποπάνωνα (ποπάωνα cod. B.) διὰ τὸ ἐν ταῖς Καλένδαις ἀναφέρεσθαι πόπανα.

W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1880 iv. 24 ff. identified the *ani* of the first marginal region marked on the bronze liver found near Piacenza in 1877 (*ib.* pl. 1) with the *Ianus* mentioned among the deities of the first region (*ib.* pl. 5) by Mart. Cap. 45—an identification corroborated by the equivalence of *uni* in the second marginal region of the liver (*ib.* pl. 5) to *Iuno* among the deities of the second region (*ib.* pl. 5) in Mart. Cap. 46. Deecke (*ib.* p. 25 n. 22 *a*) further observed the occurrence of the name in A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 no. 2279, 3 pl. 42 ⋉ΞΛΙ↾ : ⋀ΛΑ = *ani* : *tineri*, where Ianus (*ani*) is associated with Iupiter (*tina*), and in the same connexion cited, not only Plutarch's derivation of the river Ἄννιον (the *Anio*) from an Etruscan king Ἄννιος, the father of Σαλία mother of Σάλιος the eponym of the *Salii* (Aristeides of Miletos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 322 Müller) and Alexander Polyhistor *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 230 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *parall. Gr. et Rom.* 40), but also the Etruscan gentile name *ani, ane, anie, aneie, anei* (C. O. Müller *Die Etrusker* Stuttgart 1877 ii. 470 ff.) and the Latin *Anius*, later *Anniis* (see now E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2261). C. Thulin *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* Gieszen 1906 p. 22 f. in the main accepts Deecke's results, and adds: '" Anlautendes j fällt im Etruskischen, mit Ausnahme des volaterranischen Dialektes, ab" (Pauli, Bezz. Beitr. xxv 1899, S. 218); beibehalten ist es z. B. in der Inschrift Not. d. Scav. 1892 S. 261 ..iane.., wo vielleicht auch der Gott gemeint ist.'

Perhaps the puzzling *Anigemiius* of Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5771 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5157 (Noricum) genio | Anigemio | cultores eius | v. s. l. m. should be regarded as an Etruscan form of the Ianus *Geminus* worshipped in the same district (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5092 *a* (Noricum), *supra* p. 324 n. 3).

[4] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 68 hanc ut Solem Apollinem quidam Dianam vocant; Apollinis vocabulum graecum [alterum], alterum latinum et hinc quod luna in altitudinem et

we have the series

**Divianus* *Dianus*[1] *Ianus.*

latitudinem simul e<a>t (so C. Schoppe for *et*), Diviana, appellata. Cp. Varr. *frag.* 103 Funaioli *ap.* Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31 p. 354 f. Lion Varro etiam in Logistorico, quem inscripsit Mesalla de valitudine (*leg.* Messalla de valetudine), ait: 'antiquos agrestes venandi peritos, cum plurimum in silvis agerent, quod veluti Diana duce ad investigandas feras solas et devias silvas peterent, Devianam appellasse deam, mox Dianam, quod intellegerent eandem esse, quae diem nascentibus daret,' Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 56 Dianam autem vocatam quasi Duanam, quod luna die ac noctu appareat=Myth. Vat. 1. 112 Diana etiam eadem est, quasi Duana, quia luna et die et nocte appareat.

F. Solmsen *Studien zur lateinischen Lautgeschichte* Strassburg 1894 p. 112 notes that *Diviana* as the oldest form of *Diana* is supported by W. Deecke's interpretation of *Tiv* as an Etrusco-Roman moon-goddess (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1011). [On the convex side of the Piacenza liver are the inscriptions *usils*='solis' and *tivs*='lunae': see further W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1880 pp. 7 ff., 82, C. Thulin *Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* Gieszen 1906 p. 15.]

[5] G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 325 f. shows that this form of the name was pronounced first *Dīana* (Plaut. *Bacch.* 312, Ennius *ann. frag.* 79 Baehrens, *Alcmeo frag.* 3, 7 Ribbeck[3], [Verg. *Aen.* 1. 499 with Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 498 sane Dianam veteres ideo melius producebant, quia sub divo dea sit, venandi gratia]), then *Dĭana* (the oldest example of this, the usual, scansion is Lucil. *sat.* 3 *frag.* 72, 3 Baehrens) or *Deana* (in vulgar inscriptions of imperial date: *e.g.* Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 111, 1, 3184, 9, 3244, 1, 3265, 1, 3276, 1, 3430, 11, 3536, 6, 3915, 2, 4045, 1, 4281, 2, 7099, 1, 8065, 3, 8745 (menologium rusticum Colotianum) *bis* (Aug. and Nov.), 9241, 1).

[6] P. Nigidius Figulus (*c.* 98–45 B.C.) identified Ianus with Apollo and Iana with Diana (*frag.* 42 Funaioli *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 8 pronuntiavit Nigidius Apollinem Ianum esse Dianamque Ianam, adposita *d* littera, quae saepe *i* litteraе causa decoris adponitur, *reditur redhibetur redintegratur* et similia). And M. Terentius Varro, his contemporary (116—27 B.C.), represented the country folk as speaking of *Iana*, when they meant 'the moon' (Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 37. 3 Tremelius, Numquam rure audisti, inquit, octavo Ianam (so G. Merula in the ed. princ. 1472, for *lanam*) lunam et crescentem et contra senescentem, et quae crescente luna fieri oporteret, [et] tamen quaedam melius fieri post octavum (so H. Keil for *octauo*) Ianam (so G. Merula for *lanam*) lunam quam ante?). Tertullian (*c.* 150—*c.* 230 A.D.) mentions Iana as a goddess of arches (Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 15 et diva Arquis est Iana (so D. Godefroy for *lana* cod.)). Orosius (417–418 A.D.) speaks of the *Dianium* on the Aventine as *Ianium* (Oros. *hist.* 5. 12. 6 Flaccus duobus filiis armatis cinctus, comitante etiam Graccho togato brevemque gladium sub sinistra occultante, quamvis et praeconem frustra praemisisset, qui servos ad libertatem vocaret, Ianium (K. Zangemeister cj. *Dianium*) tamquam arcem occupavit).

G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 326 and in his *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 247 n. 2 is hyper-sceptical.

[1] *Supra* p. 328 n. 5. The quantity of the *i* in *Dianus* is unknown.

The word occurs as a *cognomen* in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 730=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4211 (Rome) deo Soli invicto | Mytrae, felix Messala, | cum omnes sacratos, Catel|lus et Dianus posuerunt. Cp. L. A. Muratori *Novus thesaurus veterum inscriptionum* Mediolani 1740 iii. 1666 no. 14 P. Diani (=Dianius) P. f. | Fab. Nig. | ossa, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 341 (Rome) M. Perperna | Aeschinus | emit ol. iii de Diani (=Dianii?) Erote, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 2089=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1296 (near *Perugia*) Memmius Sallustius | Salvinus Dianius v(ir) s(pectabilis) | basilicam sanctorum | angelorum fecit, in | qua sepelliri non licet.

Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ed. 1884 iii. 99 cites *Vita S. Cæsar. Arelat.* apud Surium: 'Dæmonium, quod rustici Dianum vocant.' But the *Vita* as printed by L. Surius *De probatis sanctorum historiis* Coloniae Agrippinae 1579 iv. 943—953 contains no such

Ianus, therefore, can be legitimately connected with *dīus* (for *dĭŭĭos*), a word familiar to us in the phrase *sub dīo*[1], 'under the open sky[2].'

(*ι*) Zan an older Zeus.

In short, I conceive that Ianus and Iupiter were the sky-gods worshipped by two successive *strata* in the population of Italy. Ianus, it would appear, belonged to the older stock[3]—which, for want

passage. The reference should be corrected to the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Augusti vi. 79 (*Vita* 2. 2. 15) Quodam alio tempore, dum dioceses visitaret, & ad castellum quod Luco [le Luc, castrum diœcesis Forujuliensis ad Carauniam fluviolum, *inquit Mabillonius*] dicitur, venimus; erat ibi matrona quædam Eucheria (*al.* Euthyria) nomine, quæ ancillam suam offerens ante pedes ejus prostravit: pro qua ut Domino supplicaret, lacrymabiliter exorabat. Ille autem causam perscrutans, ut erat Vir Deo plenus, & in omnibus perscrutantissimus, quid infirmitatis haberet, interrogavit. Dixerunt: Dæmonium, quod rustici Dianam appellant: quæ sic affligitur, ut pæne omnibus noctibus assidue cædatur, & sæpe etiam in ecclesiam ducitur inter duos viros ut maneat: & sic flagris diabolicis occultè fatigatur, ut vox continua ipsius audiatur; & eis, qui sibi adhærent, respondere penitus non possit. Etc. The Bollandists had the story from J. Mabillon *Acta Sanctorum ordinis s. Benedicti*[2] Venetiis 1733 Saec. i Append. pp. 659—677. But Mabillon *op. cit.* Lutetiæ Parisiorum 1668 i. 673 (*Vita* 2. 14) reads 'DIANAM.'

[1] On *sub dīō*, *sub dīū*, *sub dīvō* see F. Solmsen *Studien zur lateinischen Lautgeschichte* Strassburg 1894 p. 113 f., who concludes that the original form *sub dīō* (from *dīum*) became *sub dīū* under the influence of *dīū* ('by day') and *sub dīvō* under that of *dīvos* (just as *subdīalis* passed into *subdīvalis*).

[2] Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 374 advocates a very different derivation: '**Jānus** "altitalischer Gott des Sonnenlaufs."... *Jānus* ist trotz *Diānus* C. J. L. v, 783 die ursprgl. Form (s. Stolz HG. 1, 305), während *Jana* "Mondgöttin" allerdings nur vulgäre Entstellung aus *Diana* ist (Wissowa *Rel.* 198 a 6). *Jānus* (*o*- und *u*-St.) ist nach Wissowa N. Jbb. 1, 164, Schulze Eigenn. 474 f. "der personifizierte Torbogen," **jānus* "Pförtner" direkt, dagegen **jānua* "Tür" durch Vermittlung des Gottesnamens abgeleitet ist, als die Stätte seines göttlichen Wirkens. **jānos* zu ai. *yána-ḥ* "Bahn," *yāna-m* "Gang, Vehikel,"... Idg. **i̯ā-* ist Erweiterung von **ei-* "gehn" (s. *eo*; eine parallele Erweiterung **i̯ē-/i̯ō-* möglicherweise in got. *jēr* "Jahr" usw., s. *hornus*).'

My friend Dr P. Giles, Master of Emmanuel College, Cambridge, tells me (Dec. 14, 1917) that in his opinion the view given in the text is right. If so, Walde is here for once on the wrong tack.

[3] My friend and colleague Sir W. Ridgeway in *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 231 ff., in his paper *Who were the Romans?* (extr. from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* iii) London 1907 p. 1 ff., and in Sir J. E. Sandys *A Companion to Latin Studies*[2] Cambridge 1913 p. 20 ff. argues that the main aboriginal element in the population of upper and central Italy was formed by the Ligurians, who were closely related on the one hand to the Illyrians, on the other to the Iberians, and spoke a language destined to develope into classical Latin; also, that these Ligurians were conquered by the Sabines, an Umbro-Sabellian tribe, who were closely related to the Keltoi and represented the Indo-Europaean *Q*, not by *C* or *Q*, but by *P*; finally, that at Rome the plebeians were Ligurians, the patricians Sabines, the latter having adopted the language of the former. In accordance with these views Sir W. Ridgeway *Who were the Romans?* p. 11 f. asserts: (1) that Ianus was a Sabine god, whose worship was introduced to Rome by Numa the Sabine (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 165, Liv. 1. 19); (2) that his priest was originally the *flamen Dialis*, whose title *Dia*-lis betrays his connexion with *Dia*-nus (Ianus); and (3) that his cult was partially fused with that of Iupiter, 'who was already in possession of Rome,' the fusion being perhaps symbolised by the double male face of Ianus.

of a better name, I should term Illyrian[1]—and was retained by the incoming Latins, despite the fact that their own Iupiter was a god of essentially similar character. Further, I should be prepared to find that, corresponding with Dianus (Ianus) and Diana (Iana) the ancient sky-god and his consort of the Italian peninsula, there was a similar divine pair of kindred origin on the opposite side of the Adriatic. And here we are struck by the fact that the name Dianus (Ianus) occurs both as an *o*-stem (*Ianus*) and as an *i*-stem (*Ian*)[2] in the Salian hymn. In our search for a Greek equivalent we naturally turn to the scanty remains of Doric literature and to Doric inscriptions, coins, etc., since the Dorians, as Sir W. Ridgeway rightly insists, were *ab origine* an Illyrian tribe[3]. Now the phonetic counterpart of the Salian *Ian* is *Zān*, which R. Meister[4] has proved to be no hyperdorism for *Zēn*[5] but a genuine Doric form attested by all dialect-sources[6]. *Ianus* or *Ian* was equated with *Zān* by

I am not here concerned to controvert the main lines of Sir W. Ridgeway's ethnology (which, however, I do not accept), but merely its application to the particular case of Ianus. To his contentions I reply:—(1) Neither Varro nor Livy states that Ianus was a Sabine god, whose worship was introduced by Numa. What Varro (or rather L. Calpurnius Piso Frugi *frag.* 9 Peter *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 165) and Livy (1. 19) say is that Numa introduced the custom of keeping the gate of Ianus always open in war-time—a very different matter. (2) Our most competent etymologist, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 231, refers *Diālis*, not to *Diānus*, but to *Dīespiter*, the old nominative of *Iupiter*, and cites convincingly the forms *aequi-dialis*, *noven-dialis*. (3) If the double face of Ianus implies the fusion of two gods, are we to explain in the same way the double face of Hermes? of Boreas? of Argos? and of all other Janiform deities from Babylonia to Britain? And what of deities with three heads, or four? We must obviously rest our case on some more comprehensive principle.

[1] See now the succinct and well-documented account of G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 pp. 151—156 ('Les Illyriens').

[2] For the nom. *Ian* see *supra* p. 328 n. 8 (9) and (10). The abl. *Iane* is specially noticed by Tertull. *ad nat.* 2. 12 (Saturnus) exceptus ab Iano sive Iane, ut Salii vocant =*id. apol.* 10 (Saturnus) exceptus a Iano, vel Iane, ut Salii volunt (*carmen Saliare frag.* 12 Baehrens).

[3] Sir W. Ridgeway 'Who were the Dorians?' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 295—308. See too C. H. Hawes 'Some Dorian descendants?' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 258—280.

[4] R. Meister 'über die Namen: "Διώνη, Ζήν, Ζᾶν"' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 pp. 199—202.

[5] G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 420 f., É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris—Liége 1891 pp. 44, 152 f., *id. Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 308, H. Ehrlich *Zur indogermanischen Sprachgeschichte* Königsberg 1910 p. 42 f., K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 260 n. 1.

[6] It will be convenient here to collect the evidence, which can be adduced for Ζᾶν, Ζᾶνός, κ.τ.λ.:

Nom. sing. Ζάν Aristoph. *av.* 570 *βροντάτω νὴν ὁ μέγας* Ζάν (cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 17 f. *ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ* Ζὰν Ζανὸς *κατὰ τὸ "βροντάτω μέγας Ζάν"*), *Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 (Pythagoras) *ὦδε μέγας κεῖται* Ζάν (ζᾶν A.L$_2$. ζὰν Pl^{M}), *ὃν Διά κικλήσκουσιν* (to the variants given *supra* i. 158 n. 2 add Chrysost. *hom.* 3. 1 (lxii. 676 Migne) *ἐνταῦθα* Ζὰν *κεῖται, ὃν Διὰ κικλήσκουσι*, Cramer

anecd. Paris. ii. 236, 18 f. ἐνθάδε κατάκειται Θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι, *Chronicon Paschale* 44 c (i. 80 Dindorf) ἐνθάδε κεῖται Θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσιν, and the remarkable line added in the margin of *Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 by L_2 χ ὧδε μεγασ κειται βοῦσ δν δία κικλήσκουσι), Hesych. Ζάν (so W. Dindorf for Ζᾶν cod.)· Ζεύς.

Σδάν (?) in an Eteocretan inscription, in Ionic lettering of the beginning of *s.* iv B.C., found by R. C. Bosanquet in June 1904 on the altar-hill of Praisos (R. S. Conway 'A Third Eteocretan Fragment' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 117 line 8 ΞΙΡΕΡΦΙΝΣΔΑΝ, *ib.* p. 122 '*-φin* looks like the same Homeric casé-suffix; if so, the following *sdan* might be some case of the name of *Ianus* or *Diana*,—if initial *dz-* was treated in Eteocretan as in Greek'). The importance of this fragment was pointed out to me by Mr J. Whatmough.

Τάν on coins of Hierapytna and Polyrhenion (*supra* i. 149 n. 1 figs. 113, 114, i. 655 n. 2). Cp. schol. Bern. Lucan. 8. 872 mentiuntur Cretenses, sicut de aliis conpluribus, ita de Iove, eum apud se et defunctum esse et sepultum, adque in fidem mendacii ostendunt tumulum et lapidem sub hac inscriptione ΤΑΝ·ΚΡΟΝΟ·Ϋ (H. Usener cj. ΖΑΝ·ΚΡΟΝΟΥ) [id est Iuppiter Saturni].

Δάν in Boiotia (Herodian. περὶ μονήρους λέξεως 6, 16 (ii. 911, 9 Lentz) = Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 29, cp. *in Il.* p. 114, 4, all cited *infra* p. 344 n. 0).

Acc. sing. Ζᾶνα Kallim. *frag.* 86, 2 Schneider *ap.* Plout. *de plac. phil.* 1. 7 τὸν πάλαι χάλκεον (R. Bentley, followed by O. Schneider, cj. Παγγαῖον) ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα (*sc.* Euhemeros) and schol. *in* Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 4 in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 380, 15 f. τὸν πάλαι χάλκεον ὁ πλάσας ζανα (*sic*) = P. Matranga *Anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 ii. 609, 11 τὸν πάλαι χάλκιον ὁ πλάσας Ζᾶνα, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 58. 2 (Antipatros) καὶ τὸν ἐπ' Ἀλφειῷ Ζᾶνα (ζᾶνα P. Ζῆνα Pl.) κατηυγασάμην.

Τᾶνα (?) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2555, 11 f. (Hierapytna) ΟΜΝΥΩΤΑΝ ΕΣΤΙΑΝΚΑΙΤΑΝΑΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝΚΑΗΙΝΑ | ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝΚΑΙ ΗΡΑΝ = ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Τᾶνα Ὁράτριον καὶ Τᾶ)να | Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν. But F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 f. reads ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Τῆνα Ὁράτριον καὶ Τ̣ῆνα | Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν, cp. P. Deiters in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1901 lvi. 587—595 (the text is known from transcripts only: cod. Vatic. 1759 and cod. Lat. Monac. 743 καὶ τὰν ἀορατριον (ἀοράτριον Vatic. 1759) κλῃΐδα καὶ Δικταῖον, cod. Ambros. D 436 ΚΑΙ ΙΗΝΑ ΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝ ΚΓ'ΑΝΙ or ΚΑΓ'ΗΙ, the *schedae Ursini* as printed in the Appendix of A. Augustinus *De legibus et senatus consultis* Paris 1584 καὶ τὴν ἀορατριον ΚΑΛΕΝΙ, the *schedae Ursini* as given by Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* ii. 505 no. 2 ΚΑΙ·ΤΟΝ·ΑΟΡΑΤΡΙΟΝ·ΚΑΛΕΝΙ (ΚΑΠΝΙ. *Urs. sch.*) ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝ.).

Gen. sing. Ζανός Eur. *Hipp.* 62 Ζανὸς γένεθλον (*sc.* Artemis), 69 Ζανὸς (so C. G. Cobet, A. Nauck, W. Dindorf, though codd. M.V.P. and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 28 read Ζηνὸς) πολύχρυσον οἶκον, *Cretes frag.* 472, 1 f. Nauck² τέκνον Εὐρώπας | καὶ τοῦ μεγάλου Ζανός (*sc.* Minos: *supra* i. 648 n. 1), Philoxenos of Kythera *frag.* 3, 10 f. Bergk⁴, 3, 10 f. Hiller—Crusius, *ap.* Athen. 643 B ἃ Ζανὸς (so J. Schweighäuser for ἀζανός) καλέοντι (so most MSS. καλέοντο B. A. Meineke cj. καλεῦντι) | τρώγματ' (so A.B. τρώγματα P.V.L.), Lykan (*quis?*) *frag. mel. adesp.* 30 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων 23 (ii. 642, 17 f. Lentz) κλῦθί μοι Ζανὸς τε κούρη, Kerkidas of Megalopolis or Crete (?) *frag.* 2, 5 f. Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Diog. Laert. 6. 77 ἦς γὰρ ἀληθέως | Διογένης

Ζανὸς γόνος οὐράνιός τε κύων, Aristot. *frag.* 199 Rose Ζανὸς πύργον (cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 199, 3 Diehl ὁ Ζανὸς πύργος, ii. 106, 22 Diehl Ζανὸς πύργον ἢ Ζανὸς φυλακήν : *supra* i. 303 n. 6), Theokr. 7. 93 Ζηνὸς (so codd. k. 9. Ζανὸς vulg.) ἐπὶ θρόνον, 18. 19 Ζανός τοι θυγάτηρ (*sc.* Helene), *ep.* 20. 1 τὸν τῶ (so G. H. Schaefer for τοῦ) Ζανὸς (ξᾶνος c.) ...υἱόν (*sc.* Herakles), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 219. 10 (Antipatros) Ζανὸς (ζηνὸς A$^{ar.}$ Pl.) ἐλαστρηθεὶς γυιοπαγεῖ νιφάδι (cited by Souid. and Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἐλαστρηθείς, also by Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iv. 215, 27 f.), 13. 10. 2 (Kallimachos) ποτί τε Ζανὸς (so R. Bentley for ζηνος) ἱκνεῦμαι λιμενοσκόπω (Kallim. *frag.* 114 Schneider), *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 492 [Ζ]ανὸ[ς]'Ε]λευθερί[ου?]|κ.τ.λ. (*sc.* Hadrian : *supra* p. 97 f. n. o), Loukian. *tragodopod.* 91 ff. τὰν δ' 'Ωκεανοῦ παρὰ παγαῖς | Ζανὸς (so J. Gavel for Ζηνὸς) παράκοιτιν 'Ὀλυμπίου | λευκώλενον εὑρέσι κόλποις | Ἥραν ἐτιθήνατο Τηθύς.

Dat. sing. Ζανί — Lykan (*quis?*) *frag. mel. adesp.* 31 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων 23 (ii. 642, 17 f. Lentz) Ζανί τ' ἐλευθερίῳ, cp. archaising inscriptions from Sparta addressed to Antoninus Pius as Ζανὶ 'Ελευθερίοι 'Αντωνείνοι Σωτῆρι (*supra* p. 101 n. 1), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 221. 9 f. (Leonidas) οἱ δ' ἀπαθεῖς ἔργον τόδ' ἐυγραφὲς ἀκρολοφίτᾳ | Ζανὶ (J. G. Schneider cj. Πανὶ. H. Stadtmüller cj. Ζηνὶ on account of 11 εἵατο σωτῆρα Ζῆν' ἐπικεκλόμενοι), 9. 577. 3 f. (Ptolemaios) παρ' αὐτῷ | Ζανὶ (Ζηνὶ Medic.) θεοτρεφέος (so W. Dindorf for θεοτροφίης cod. θεοτροφέος Medic. διοτρεφέος Pl. διοτροφέος Synes. *ad Paeon.* 311 D), 12. 66. 2 (anonymous) Ζανὶ γὰρ οὐ μάχομαι, 14. 123. 14 (Metrodoros) ῥέζετε δ' Οὐδαίῳ Ζανὶ (*sc.* Plouton) θυηπολίην, an epigram in Diod. 11. 14 (quoted *supra* p. 231 n. 7).

Nom. plur. Ζᾶνες — Paus. 5. 21. 2 πρὸς δὲ τῇ κρηπῖδι ἀγάλματα Διὸς ἀνάκειται χαλκᾶ.... καλοῦνται δὲ ὑπὸ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων Ζᾶνες (ξᾶνες with η over ᾶ Pa.).

Acc. plur. Ζᾶνας — Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 7. 6 ff. veteres nullum animal sacrum in finibus suis esse patiebantur, sed abigebant ad fines deorum quibus sacrum esset : animas vero sacratorum hominum, quos Zanas Graeci (*zanas Graeci* A. B. G. P. M 1. 2. 3. P 5. 6. 7. (P 2. has *zanan* with *s* above it. S. has a *lacuna* before *Graeci*) ζώανας *Graeci* vi. *Graeci* ζωάνας c—b. L. Caelius Rhodiginus *Lectionum antiquarum* 12. 11 (ed. 1599 (Hanoviæ) p. 546 f.) cj. ξόανας (for ξόανα !). F. Liebrecht in *Philologus* 1865 xxii. 709 f. cj. ζωγάνας, cp. Athen. 639 c, Dion Chrys. *or.* 4 p. 161 f. Reiske. L. Jan *ad loc.* cj. ἀναθήματα. J. Bernays in *Hermes* 1875 ix. 127 f. kept *zanas*, but thought that Macrobius had misconceived the meaning of the *Zânes* at Olympia. See further *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 304.) vocant, dis debitas aestimabant. quemadmodum igitur quod sacrum ad deos ipsos mitti non poterat a se tamen dimittere non dubitabant, sic animas, quas sacras in caelum mitti posse arbitrati sunt (cp. the function of Ianus *supra* p. 336 n. 3), viduatas corpore quam primum ire illo voluerunt. disputat de hoc more etiam Trebatius religionum libro nono (on C. Trebatius Testa *vide* M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*^{2} München 1898 i. 395), cuius exemplum, ne sim prolixus, omisi. cui cordi est legere, satis habeat et auctorem et voluminis ordinem esse monstratum.

Cp. also Ζανίδες — Hesych. Ζανίδες· ἡγεμονίδες. J. Alberti *ad loc.* thought of Ζανιάδες, 'daughters of Zeus' (cp. 'Ηλιάδες κ.τ.λ.), or Ζανίτιδες. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* cj. Ζιτανίδες=Τιτανίδες (?). But, if Hadrian was called Ζανός and Antoninus Pius Ζανί, Roman empresses in general may well have been dubbed Ζανίδες by some time-serving poetaster.

Ζάνωνος — *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 1307, 3—6=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 617 no. 4245, 403 on *amphora*-handles from Rhodes Ζάνωνος.

A. F. Pott (1833)[1], H. L. Ahrens (1843)[2], G. Legerlotz (1858)[3], C. Petersen (1870)[4], H. Usener (1900)[5]; and the equation has not been successfully challenged by any later critic. The cult of Zan can be traced most clearly in Crete, where he bore the title *Mégas*, 'the Great' Zan,—a natural appellative of the sky-god. Thus Euripides in his *Cretans* speaks of Minos as

'Child of Europa and of Zan the Great[6].'

Aristophanes appears to be poking fun at the same Euripidean play, when in his *Birds* he makes Euelpides ejaculate:

'So now let him thunder, Zan the Great[7]!'

According to the Greek grammarians, Ζάν was used by the later Aeolians and by the later Ionians: Herodian. περὶ μονήρους λέξεως 6, 14 ff. (ii. 911, 7 ff. Lentz) ὅτι δὲ ποικίλως εἴρηται ὑπὸ παλαιῶν ὁ θεὸς οὐκ ἀγνοῶ. καὶ γὰρ Δὶς καὶ Ζῆν καὶ Δῆν καὶ Ζάς (so K. Lehrs for Ζεύς. He further suggests inserting καὶ Ζάν, cp. Aristoph. *av.* 570), καὶ Ζῆς παρὰ Φερεκύδει (so K. Lehrs for Φερεκύδῃ) κατὰ κίνησιν ἰδίαν, καὶ (so K. Lehrs for κίνησίν τινα) ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Δεὺς καὶ Δάν = Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 27 ff. καὶ ὅτι πολλαῖς εὐθείαις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς ποικίλλεται. Δὶς γάρ, οὗ γενικὴ Διός· καὶ Ζῆν καὶ Ζὰν καὶ Ζὰς καὶ Ζῆς παρὰ Φερεκύδῃ καὶ Βοιωτικῶς Ζεὺς (H. L. Ahrens cj. Δεὺς) καὶ Δάν, cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 114, 3 ff. συνηθέστερον γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἢ περ ὁ Ζὰν καὶ ὁ Ζῆν καὶ ὁ Δὶς καὶ ὁ Δὰν καὶ ὅσα ἄλλα κεῖνται παρὰ τῷ παλαιῷ τεχνικῷ (*sc.* Herodian.), Herodian. περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας 14 (i. 394, 26 ff. Lentz) Δάν (so C. A. Lobeck for "Αν)· οὕτως (so A. Lentz for κύριον) εἴρηται ὑπὸ Βοιωτῶν ὁ Ζεύς (so A. Lentz cp. Herodian. περὶ μονήρους λέξεως 6, 17 cited *supra*), Ζάν (added by A. Lentz from Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 28, *in Il.* p. 114, 3 cited *supra* and from Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 237, 26 cited *infra*)· οὕτω γὰρ εἴρηται ὁ θεὸς ὑπὸ τῶν μεταγενεστέρων Αἰολῶν· καὶ ἔτι οἱ μεταγενέστεροι "Ιωνες διὰ τοῦ ᾱ Ζάν ὁμοίως τῷ Λυκᾶνι "κλῦθί μοι Ζανός τε κούρη Ζανί τ' ἐλευθερίῳ," Herodian. περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων 3 (ii. 642, 13 ff. Lentz) = I. A. C. 'Anecdota Barocciana' in *The Philological Museum* Cambridge 1833 ii. 413 = Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 237, 23 ff. ἰστέον ὅτι τοῦ Ζῆν Ζηνός ἐφύλαξαν οἱ παλαιοὶ "Ιωνες τὴν κλίσιν οἷον "ἐπεὶ δ' ἵσχε Ζηνὸς ὑψηρέφης δόμοις ζάρης" (J. A. Cramer cj. ἐπεὶ δ' ἴσχε Ζηνὸς ὑψηρεφέοι (or ὑψηρεφέαι) δόμον "Αρης—a faulty hexameter. T. Bergk[4] *frag. adesp.* 78 cj. ἐπὶ δ' ἴαχε | Ζηνὸς ὑψερεφὴς δόμος ζαχρειές, cp. Nik. *ther.* 290)· μεταγενέστεροι Αἰολεῖς ἔτρεψαν Ζανός καὶ Ζάν· καὶ ἔτι μεταγενέστεροι οἱ "Ιωνες διὰ τοῦ ᾱ (A. Lentz added this ᾱ) Ζάν ὁμοίως (H. L. Ahrens inserted this ὁμοίως) τῷ Λυκᾶνι (so A. Lentz for Λύκανι) "κλῦθί μοι Ζανός τε κούρη Ζανί τ' ἐλευθερίῳ" (so H. L. Ahrens for κλῦθι μοι Ζανός τε κουρηξαντελευθεριω cod. But see *supra s.vv.* Ζανός, Ζανί). πάλιν ἄπορον πῶς παρ' "Ιωσι τὸ ᾱ εἰς ᾱ (so H. L. Ahrens for τὸ ᾱ εἰς ῆ) τέτραπται· τὸ ἐναντίον τὸ ᾱ εἰς ῆ τρέπουσι, τὸ γὰρ (A. Lentz inserts here the γὰρ which in the MS. stands between τὸ and ἐναντίον) Ζανός Ζηνός εἰρήκασι· λέγω δὴ ὅτι οὐκ ἔτρεψαν, ἀλλ' ἐμιμήσαντο μεταγενεστέρους Αἰολεῖς.

[1] A. F. Pott *Etymologische Forschungen auf dem Gebiet der indogermanischen Sprachen* Lemgo 1833 i. 99.

[2] H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica* Gottingae 1843 p. 139.

[3] G. Legerlotz 'Die wurzel *div* oder *dyu* (brennen, leuchten) im griechischen' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1858 vii. 290—310, especially p. 300. A. Kuhn 'Zeús, Znv-, Jân-us' *ib.* 1858 vii. 79 f. and H. Grassmann *ib.* 1862 xi. 8 related *Ianus* to *Zén*.

[4] C. Petersen *Das Zwölfgöttersystem* Berlin 1870 p. 68.

[5] H. Usener 'Zwillingsbildung' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 321 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 341).

[6] Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472, 1 f. Nauck[2] (*supra* p. 342 *s.v.* Ζανός).

[7] Aristoph. *av.* 570 (*supra* p. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν).

Again, the famous tomb in Crete was inscribed with an epitaph which, according to the best attested version, ran :

'Here lies Great Zan, whom men call Zeus[1].'

If the cult of the Cretan Zeus resembled that of Adonis or Tammuz[2] and in historical times involved an annual festival, at which the god was killed and eaten in the form of a bull[3], there is point in the curious variant of his epitaph :

'Here lies a Great Ox, whom men call Zeus[4].'

The votaries of the Cretan Zeus actually ate of the Great Ox as part of their mystic rites. When, therefore, the watchman in the *Agamemnon* exclaims—

'For the rest I'm silent : a Great Ox hath come
Upon my tongue[5],'

he was, I take it, simply repeating a *formula*[6] of the Cretan mysteries that had passed into a proverb for sworn secrecy.

[1] *Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 Pythagoras (*supra* p. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν) = Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1028 Migne) *ὧδε μέγας κεῖται Ζᾶν* (*leg.* Ζὰν) *ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν.*

[2] *Supra* i. 645 f. [3] *Supra* i. 651 ff., 659 ff., 675, cp. i. 468 n. 8.

[4] *Ὧδε μέγας κεῖται βοῦς, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσι* (*supra* p. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν).

[5] Aisch. *Ag.* 36 f. *τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ μέγας | βέβηκεν.* The current explanations are, as every scholar knows, unsatisfactory. See A. Sidgwick, A. W. Verrall, F. H. M. Blaydes, W. Headlam, etc. *ad loc.* Cp. Menand. *ἁλιεῖς frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 74 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 549 c *παχὺς γὰρ ὃς ἔκειτ' ἐπὶ στόμα.*

[6] I seize this opportunity of attempting to explain another mystic *formula*, which has come down to us in two versions :

(1) Firm. Mat. 18. 1 habent enim propria signa, propria responsa, quae illis in istorum sacrilegiorum coetibus diaboli tradidit disciplina. in quodam templo, ut in interioribus partibus homo moriturus (A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 103 : 'der in sakramentalem Sinne sterben soll.' C. A. Lobeck cj. *oraturus*. C. Bursian, followed by C. Halm, cj. *introiturus*) possit admitti, dicit : 'de tympano manducavi, de cymbalo bibi, et religionis secreta perdidici,' quod Graeco sermone dicitur : *ἐκ τυμπάνου βέβρωκα, ἐκ κυμβάλου πέπωκα, γέγονα μύστης Ἄττεως.*

(2) Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 15. 3 p. 13, 10 ff. Stählin *τὰ σύμβολα τῆς μυήσεως ταύτης* (for context see *supra* i. 392 n. 5)..."*ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον· ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον· ἐκερνοφόρησα· ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυν.*" Cp. schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 c *ἐτελεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Δηοῖ καὶ Κόρῃ, ὅτι ταύτην μὲν Πλούτων ἁρπάξειε, Δηοῖ δὲ μιγεὶς Ζεύς· ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν ἐπράττετο αἰσχρά, ἐλέγετο δὲ πρὸς τῶν μυουμένων ταῦτα "ἐκ τυμπάνου ἔφαγον, ἐκ κυμβάλου ἔπιον, ἐκερνοφόρησα"* (*κέρνος δὲ τὸ λίκνον ἤγουν τὸ πτύον ἐστίν* [but see L. Couve in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 822 ff.]), "*ὑπὸ τὸν παστὸν ὑπέδυον*" *καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς.*

Now the timbrel was made from the stretched hide (*supra* i. 650 n. 2 : add Eur. *Hel.* 1347, *Bacch.* 513, Hesych. *s.v. τύμπανα*, Phot. *lex. s.v. τύμπανον*, Souid. *s.v. τύμπανον*, *et. mag.* p. 771, 43 f., Zonar. *lex. s.v. τύμπανον*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1783, 42 f., *et. Gud.* p. 537, 40) of a bull (Ov. *fast.* 4. 342, Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 390 f., 14. 351, 20. 307 : cp. the account of Indian drums in Souid. *s.v. τύμπανα*), which was probably credited with the powers of the living animal (in Opp. *cyneg.* 3. 282 ff. we are told that a *τύμπανον* of wolf's-skin will silence other *τύμπανα*, because the dead wolf is feared by the dead sheep !). Hence I should conjecture that to eat food out of the timbrel was a civilised surrogate for the earlier practice of eating the bull raw (*supra* i. 659 ff., 695). The mystic thereby became one with his god (*supra* i. 650, 673).

But why must he drink from a cymbal? Nonnos states that Mystis, the Sidonian Bacchant, who instructed Dionysos and devised the Dionysiac equipment, fastened bronze bowls to her naked breasts (Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 125 f. *καὶ φιάλας* (Count de Marcellus cj. *φάλλους sic*) *γυμνοῖσιν ἐπὶ* (H. Koechly cj. *γυμνοῖσι περὶ*) *στέρνοισι καθάψαι* | *χαλκείας* (Count de Marcellus cj. *χαλκείους*) *ἑνόησε*), and that, when the god first came to Athens, the women there put bowls over their mailed breasts (Nonn. *Dion.* 47. 9 f. *φιάλας* (Count de Marcellus cj. *φάλλους sic*) *δὲ σιδηροφόρων διὰ μαζῶν* | *στήθεσι μυστιπόλοισιν ἀνεζώννυτο γυναῖκες*). The custom has given rise to discussion (F. Creuzer *Dionysus sive commentatio academica de rerum Bacchicarum Orphicarumque originibus et causis* Heidelberg 1809 i. 63, K. Schwenck *Sinnbilder der alten völker* Frankfurt 1851 p. 39, R. Koehler *Über die Dionysiaka des Nonnus von Panopolis* Halle 1853 p. 19 n. 2, O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 p. 177). E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 119 n. 167 shrewdly surmises that these bowls were the cymbals from which the mystics drank. I would support his conjecture by pointing out that in Kypros a breast-shaped cup was known both as *μαστός* (Athen. 487 B ΜΑΣΤΟΣ. *Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Κυρηναῖος* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 469 Müller), *ὡς Πάμφιλός φησι, Παφίοις τὸ ποτήριον οὕτως καλεῖν*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1258, 59 f. *ἐκ δὲ τούτου ἴσως καὶ μασθάλης, κύλιξ τις παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς. καὶ παρὰ Παφίοις δὲ μασθὸς ποτήριον, σύστομον, ὡς εἰκός, ἐξ οὗ ἐβδάλλετο τρόπον τινὰ ὡς ἐκ μασθοῦ τὸ πινόμενον*) and as *κύμβα* (Athen. 482 E *κύμβα ποτήριον Ἀπολλόδωρος* (*frag.* 245 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 469 Müller)) *Παφίοις*, 483 A *Ἀπολλόδωρος δ' ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐτυμολογιῶν* (*frag.* 189 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 463 Müller)) *Παφίους τὸ ποτήριον καλεῖν κύμβα* (*κύμβαν* cod. C.)). Its usage spread from the Levant to Greece, for a cup called *μαστός* is, not only mentioned by grammarians (Poll. 6. 95 *μαστούς*, Hesych. *s.v. μαστός· ποτήριον*), but also recorded among articles of silver in the temple-inventories of Delos (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 1 ff. no. 15 C 44 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 588, 44 f. *μαστὸς ἐπ' ἀρ|χοντος Τλησιμένου* (= 216 B.C.), *ἱεράζοντος τοῦ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Σωτέλου*, 93 *μαστοὶ* ΔΙ) and Oropos (B. I. Leonardos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1889 p. 2 ff. no. 26, 11 *μαστὸς ἱερὸς* ΠΕ *ἄλλος ἱερὸς* ΟΒS *ἄλλος ἱερὸς* ΟΑ, and in lines 13, 23, 25, 26, 27, 29, 30 *bis*, 31, 32, 33, 45, 52, 56, 57, 62, 65, 66, 68 *bis*, 70, 72, cp. 14 *μασαστίον* (*sic*) *ἱερὸν* ΜΞ *ἄλλο ἱερὸν* ΛCS *ἄλλο ἱερὸν* MS, 15 *μαστίον Ἀριστοκρίτης* KHS, 21 *μαστίον ἀπὸ τῶν περισμημάτων* ΛΗ, 56 *μαστία* Β *ἀπὸ τῶν ἐ(π)ανθέτων ἄγοντα ἀνὰ* Ι·Ι See further B. Keil 'Ein Silberinventar des Amphiaraos von Oropos' in *Hermes* 1890 xxv. 598—623). Sundry specimens in *terra cotta* have come down to us (*e.g.* (*a*) A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* London 1882 p. 251 f. pl. 19, 11, Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 455 pl. 150, 20, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 155 no. C 801 pl. 4: (*b*) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 209 f. nos. B 375—B 377, E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1625 fig. 4856 a black-figured *mastós* in room E of the Louvre: (*c*) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 392 f. nos. D 9 and D 10 a pair of *mastoí* by Sotades (?)), which appear to have been evolved from a feeding-bottle in the shape of the mother's breast. No doubt the Greeks, like other peoples (H. Ploss—M. Bartels *Das Weib*[10] Leipzig 1913 i. 376 fig. 252), struck by the similarity of breast and bowl, made such vases for purely secular purposes. But religious significance is sometimes probable (Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 81 Minervae templum habet Lindos insulae Rhodiorum, in quo Helena sacravit calicem ex electro; adicit historia, mammae suae mensura. C. Blinkenberg *Die lindische Tempelchronik* Bonn 1915 p. 15 comments: 'Die art dieses geschenkes ist durch die auf die kleine Ilias (Schol. Aristoph. Lysistr. 155, vgl. Ed. pr. [= C. Blinkenberg 'La chronique du temple lindien' in the *Bulletin de l'académie royale des sciences et des lettres de Danemark* 1912 nos 5—6] s. 119) zurückgehende erzählung von der rettung Helenas bestimmt. Die notiz des Plinius stammt aus der reisebeschreibung des C. Licinius Mucianus, der um 60 n. Chr. den Orient bereist und auch Lindos besucht hatte (s. Ed. pr. s. 118 und 124 ff.) und von den besuchten örtlichkeiten allerlei kuriositäten berichtete. Wolters meint (Süddeutsche Monatshefte 1913), die stiftung des bechers sei erst nach der zeit unserer chronik erfunden; da aber Mucianus sich ausdrücklich auf eine literarische quelle beruft ("adicit historia"), war die

Again, if the death of Zan the Great was, like that of Tammuz, the subject of a yearly lamentation, we cannot but recall Plutarch's account[1] of the voice which bade the pilot Thamous bear the mysterious tidings

'Pan the Great is dead[2].'

Are we to conclude that this singular tale was ultimately based on the ritual of Zan? The locality of the alleged occurrence is worth considering. The unknown voice came from the direction of Paxoi, a couple of small islands, now called *Paxo* and *Antipaxo*, off the mouth of the Thesprotian river Acheron, which flows through the Acherusian Lake to the sea. Thamous was to make his announcement

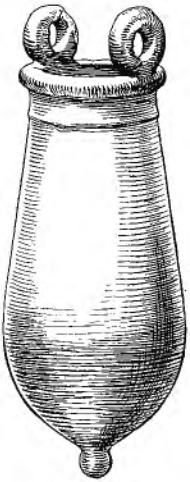


Fig. 240.

geschichte vielmehr von einem anderen, von Timachidas nicht gekannten oder beiseite gelassenen lokalhistoriker oder mythographen erzählt.' The theme is embroidered in D. G. Rossetti's *Troy Town*) and sometimes certain (Apul. *met.* 11. 10 idem gerebat et aureum vasculum in modum papillae rutundatum de quo lacte libabat, with W. Drexler's remarks in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 502 f. Fig. 240 is a breast-shaped *situla* of bronze from Egypt, now in my possession, which may serve to illustrate the Isiac milk-bowl. On St Agatha of Catania as successor of the Bona Dea see J. E. Wessely *Ikonographie Gottes und der Heiligen* Leipzig 1874 p. 54 f., H. Ploss—M. Bartels *op. cit.*[10] i. 372 f.). I am therefore disposed to conclude that drinking from the cymbal was regarded as tantamount to drinking from the breast of the goddess—a ritual act which made the mystic her very child (cp. *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 f. fig. 4). A goat-*rhytón* (*supra* i. 108) is substituted for the cymbal on an engraved cornelian at Florence, which represents a Bacchant milking her own breast into the vessel (A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum* Gemmae antiquae ex thesauro Mediceo et privatorum dactyliothecis Florentiae exhibitae tab. cc Florentiae 1731 i. 160 pl. 84 no. 10=my fig. 241, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 43, no. 84, 10 pl. 40, R. E. Raspe *Catalogue raisonné d'une collection générale de pierres gravées antiques et modernes moulées en pâtes de couleurs...par J. Tassie* London 1791 no. 4695. The stone measures $16 \times 12^{mm.}$ and is not demonstrably postclassical. Gori took the subject to be 'vel Ino, vel Autonoë, vel Agave, vel Hippa' as nurse of Bakchos (*supra* i. 395 n. 3: the name should be Hipta, according to O. Kern in *Hermes* 1914 xlix. 480); but the identification is quite arbitrary).

Fig. 241.

[1] Plout. *de def. or.* 17 cited by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 5. 17. 4 ff.

[2] Plout. *de def. or.* 17 Πὰν (ὁ πὰν cod. Ambr.) ὁ μέγας τέθνηκε and later ὁ μέγας Πὰν τέθνηκεν, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 5. 17. 6 Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν, 5. 17. 8 Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν.

'over against Palodes,' a muddy lake at the outlet of which stood the town Bouthroton or Bouthrotos[1]. Neither place had anything whatever to do with Pan. Both may be readily connected with Zan. For at the Acherusian Lake was the tomb of Plouton, which the author of the Clementine *Homilies* expressly compares with the tomb of Zeus in Crete[2]. And a copper coin of Bouthroton, struck when the town had become a Roman colony, has for obverse type the head of Zeus wearing a wreath of oak, for reverse an ox[3]. Other coppers of the same town show either a standing ox or an ox-head[4]. The ox indeed played a part in the foundation-legends both of Boucheta (Bouchetos, Boucheton, Bouchetion) near the mouth of the Acheron[5] and of Bouthroton too[6], being comparable on the one hand with Europa's bull, on the other with

[1] Strab. 324, Ptol. 3. 14. 4, cp. Appian. *de bell. civ.* 5. 55. See further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1084 f. and H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (inset of 'Corcyra Insula').

[2] Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 23 (ii. 192 Migne) ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῦ ἀσελγοῦς Διός, τοῦ μυθικοῦ (μυθοῦ *sic* O.), τοῦ ὁμοίως τὴν θυγατέρα Μῆτιν καταπόντος, ἐν Κρήτῃ θεωρεῖται τάφος· καὶ ἐν τῇ Ἀχερουσίᾳ δὲ λίμνῃ Πλούτωνος. Rohde *Psyche*[2,3] i. 134 n. 1, followed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1501 n. 2 and others, refers the passage wrongly to the less famous Acherusian Lake near Hermione (Paus. 2. 35. 10).

[3] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 139 no. 30, cp. D. Sestini *Descrizione d' alcune medaglie Greche del Museo del Signore Carlo d' Ottavio Fontana di Trieste* Firenze 1822 p. 35 no. 1 (obv. P. DASSIDIVS. CORNELL. caput Jovis laureatum, rev. bos gradiens Æ. 3), no. 2 (obv. P. DASSIDIVS CORNELIVS caput Iovis laureatum, rev. bos gradiens Æ. 2 p.), *id. Descrizione delle medaglie antiche Greche del Museo Hedervariano dalla Liburnia fino a tutte le isole dell' arcipelago* Parte Europea Firenze 1830 ii. 24 no. 2 (obv. P. DASSIDIVS. CORNELIVS. caput Jovis laureatum, rev. bos gradiens Æ. 3 p.), J. de Witte *Description des médailles et des antiquités du cabinet de M. l'abbé H. G.* [=Greppo de Montellier] Paris 1856 no. 566.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 139 f. nos. 31 (ox), 32 (ox), 33 (ox-head), 39 (ox-head), 40 (ox).

[5] Philostephanos *frag.* 9 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 30 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Βούχετα· ...πόλις ἐστι τῆς Ἠπείρου...ἣν Φιλοστέφανος (Φιλόχωρος *sic* cod. Heidelberg.) ἐν τοῖς Ἠπειρωτικοῖς ὠνομάσθαι φησὶ διὰ τὸ τὴν Θέμιν ἐπὶ βοὸς ὀχουμένην ἐλθεῖν ἐκεῖσε κατὰ τὸν Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμόν = Souid. *s.vv.* Βούχετα and Θέμιν (in both passages reading Φιλόχορος for Φιλοστέφανος) = *et. mag.* p. 210, 34 ff. (reading Φιλόχορος and διὰ τὸ τὴν Δητὼ ἤτοι Θέμιν κ.τ.λ.) = Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 31 ff. (reading Φιλοστέφανος ἐν τοῖς Φιλιππικοῖς *sic*).

[6] Teukros of Kyzikos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 508 Müller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 210, 21 ff. Βουτρωτὸς ἢ Βουθρωτός, πόλις τῆς Ἠπείρου, ὡς φησι Τεῦκρος ὁ Κυζικηνός, ὅτι Ἕλένου ἐκ τῆς πατρίδος εἰς τὴν Ἤπειρον παραγενομένου, θύοντος δὲ ἐπιβατήρια, ἡ βοῦς οὐ καιρίαν λαβοῦσα τομὴν φεύγει καὶ κόλπον τινὰ τῆς Ἠπείρου διανηξαμένη εἰς γῆν ἐξέρχεται, καὶ καταπεσοῦσα ἀπέθανεν. ὁ δὲ Ἕλενος, συμβόλῳ θείῳ χρησάμενος, κτίζει πόλιν, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβάντος Βουτρωτὸν αὐτὴν ὠνόμασε, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βουθρωτός· χερρόνησος περὶ Κέρκυραν. ἔστι καὶ πόλις. ἑκλήθη δ' οἱ μέν φασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ οἰκιστοῦ, οἱ δὲ μυθεύονται ὅτι Ἕλένῳ ἐκ Τροίας πλέοντι ἐς ἐσπέρην, θύσαντι ἀποβατήρια ἐν Ἠπείρῳ, τὸ θῦμα ἡ βοῦς ἀποδράσασα ἐκ τοῦ βουτλῆγος ᾤχετο φεύγουσα διὰ τοῦ μεταξὺ πόντου· καὶ εἰς τὸν χέρσον ἐμβᾶσα (καὶ γὰρ τρῶμα ἐν τῇ δειρῇ εἶχεν) αὐτοῦ ἤριπε καὶ ἔθανε· καὶ κληδόνι ὁ Ἕλενος χρῆται, ἵνα ἔθηκε Βουθρωτὸν ὄνομα, ὡς φησι Τεῦκρος ὁ Κυζικηνός.

the cow of Ilos at Troy[1] or the 'Adiounian bull' in Crete[2]. It seems likely enough that in this district, peopled with Illyrian tribes[3], which had pushed their way from north to south[4] and were partially Hellenised by contact with their neighbours, *Zeús* represents *Zán*—a name reappearing in the *Zânes* of Olympia[5]. When *Zán* had dropped out of popular parlance, a story involving his half-forgotten name might well become attached to *Pán*. Epitherses, who told the tale, was a grammarian of Nikaia in Bithynia living in the reign of Tiberius[6]; and coins of Nikaia, struck by Marcus Aurelius[7], Caracalla[8], Macrinus[9], Elagabalos[10], Severus Alexander[11], Maximinus[12], Gordianus iii[13], Philippus ii[14], Trebonianus Gallus[15], and Gallienus[16], make much of Pan[17]. Moreover, the Orphic Theogony of Hellanikos had long since identified Zeus with Pan[18], misled by what seemed an obvious etymology[19]. On the whole, therefore, it may be inferred that Plutarch's story really does postulate as its original source the liturgy of Zan the Great[20].

[1] *Supra* i. 468 n. 9.

[2] *Supra* i. 468 n. 8, 635. See further G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 138 ff. ('Cattle in Foundation-Myths').

[3] A. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2722.

[4] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 142 f., G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 pp. 152 f., 155.

[5] *Supra* p. 343 *s.v.* Zâves.

[6] L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 221.

[7] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 418 f. nos. 153 pl. 70, 19, 155 pl. 70, 20, 156 pl. 70, 21, 157 pl. 70, 22.

[8] *Eid. ib.* i. 454 no. 444 pl. 78, 26.

[9] *Eid. ib.* i. 467 no. 544 pl. 81, 14.

[10] *Eid. ib.* i. 469 no. 561.

[11] *Eid. ib.* i. 474 nos. 593 pl. 82, 21, 594.

[12] *Eid. ib.* i. 480 nos. 640 pl. 83, 28, 641, 642 pl. 83, 29.

[13] *Eid. ib.* i. 487 no. 697 pl. 84, 32.

[14] *Eid. ib.* i. 492 no. 739 pl. 85, 25.

[15] *Eid. ib.* i. 496 no. 770.

[16] *Eid. ib.* i. 506 no. 838 pl. 87, 32.

[17] See further F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 26, 28 ff. pl. B', 17 (M. Aurelius), 18 (M. Aurelius), 19 (Macrinus), 20 (Maximinus), 21 (Caracalla), W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1368.

[18] *Infra* Append. G. Cp. Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 24 ff., Apollod. *frag.* 44 *b* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 649 Müller) *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* i. 16 (ii. 174 n. Lion), Cornut. *theol.* 27 p. 49, 4 ff. Lang. See also W. H. Roscher 'Pan als Allgott' in the *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* Leipzig 1893 pp. 56—72 and in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1405, A. Jeremias *ib.* v. 69.

[19] Πάν = πᾶν!

[20] I regret that I find myself unable to accept the admirably ingenious hypothesis put forward by S. Reinach ('La mort du grand Pan' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 5—19=*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 1—15), according to which the words heard off Paxos were ΘΑΜΟΤΣ ΘΑΜΟΤΣ ΘΑΜΟΤΣ ΠΑΝΜΕΓΑΣ ΤΕΘΝΗΚΕ, 'Tammuz, Tammuz, Tammuz the Almighty is dead.' But (*a*) it is highly improbable that the Syrian god would have been lamented as Θαμοῦς on the north-west coast of Greece—he would almost certainly have been called Ἄδωνις. And (*b*), as Reinach himself points out, the precise epithet *πανμέγας* is not known to occur as a divine appellative except in a Byzantine (first half of *s.* xii A.D.) description of Zeus (Theod. Prodr. *Rhod. et Dos.* 8. 116 ὦ πάμμεγα Ζεῦ). See further G. A. Gerhard 'Der Tod des grossen Pan' in the

The same may be said of the ritual chant at Dodona, where the Peleiades are reported to have sung :

> Zeus was, Zeus is, Zeus shall be : O Great Zeus !
> Earth sends up fruits ; so hymn ye Mother Earth[1].

The epithet '*Great* Zeus' inclines me to suspect that here too Zeus had displaced Zan. M. Mayer's notion that the older name of the god (*Djan, *Zán*) has survived in the modern *Jánina*[2] is, I fear, a simple mirage[3]. But it is tempting to seek, with R. Meister, the female counterpart of *Zán* in **Díaina*[4] or **Diáne*[5], the weak forms corresponding with the strong form *Diṓne*[6].

Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1915 Abh. v, *id.* 'Nochmals zum Tod des grossen Pan' in the *Wiener Studien* 1916 xxxviii. 343—376.

[1] Paus. 10. 12. 10 *τὰς* Πελειάδας (so F. Sylburg for Πελιάδας codd.) *δὲ Θημονόης τε ἔτι προτέρας γενέσθαι λέγουσι, καὶ ᾆσαι γυναικῶν πρώτας τάδε τὰ ἔπη· Ζεὺς ἦν, Ζεὺς ἐστί (ἐστιν* codd. Pc. M. Vb. Vn. In cod. La. the *ν* is erased), *Ζεὺς ἔσσεται* (so cod. Pa. *ἔσεται* codd. cett.)· *ὦ μεγάλε Ζεῦ.* | *Γᾶ καρποὺς ἀνιεῖ* (so codd. Pd. Ag. *ἀνιεῖ* cod. Pc. *ἀνίει* codd. cett.), *διὸ κλῄζετε ματέρα* (so L. Dindorf for *μητέρα* codd.) *Γαῖαν.*

[2] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 83 n. 71.

[3] See W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1835 iv. 130 'Τὰ Ἰωάννινα, as the name of this city occurs in the Byzantine history, and is still written by ecclesiastics, is corrupted in the vulgar idiom to Ἰάννινα, Ἰάνενα, Γιάνενα, or more frequently Γιάννινα, from whence the Italian form Giannina. The ordinary pronunciation conforms to the vulgar spelling, and may be nearly represented in English by Yánnina ; but the better educated not only adhere to the orthography derived from the name Ἰωάννης, but preserve also the sound of the omega in vocal utterance.' This paragraph was penned while Leake was staying at 'Ioánnina' in July, 1809.

[4] Apollod. *ap.* schol. *Od.* 3. 91 *ὡς καὶ ἡ* Ἥρα *Διαίνη* (*διαίνη* codd. H.Q. *διόνη* cod. M. P. Buttmann cj. *Διώνη*). C. A. Lobeck *Pathologiae sermonis Graeci prolegomena* Lipsiae 1843 p. 32 n. 27 and K. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1595 C accept Buttmann's *Διώνη*. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 296 are less positive : '*Διαίνη*, f. vielf. *Διώνη*,' etc. C. T. Angermann in the *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* ed. by G. Curtius Leipzig 1868 i. 59 n. 1 defends *Διαίνη* : 'Sed quidni Dodonaei *Διαίνη*, quam formam regularem esse cognovimus, servari (*sic*) potuerint ?' Finally, R. Meister in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 p. 201 says : 'Dass der Scholiast oder seine Quelle *Διαίνη* mit *-η* schrieb statt *Δίαινα* mit dem allein berechtigten *-ᾱ*, ist ein Fehler, den bereits Welcker, Gr. Götterlehre 1, 353 ["*Διαίνη* (*Δίαινα*)"] corrigirt hat.'

[5] See *infra* n. 6, and cp. the formation of *εὐδιανός* (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 146 f. *ψυχρᾶν... εὐδιανὸν φάρμακον αὐρᾶν.* In *Pyth.* 5. 10 J. G. J. Hermann and A. Boeckh read *εὐδιανὸς* for *εὐδίαν ὃς κ.τ.λ.* with J. G. Schneider, who cited *εὐδιανὴν* from the cod. Voss. of Plat. *legg.*[1]919 A *εὐδιεινὴν γαλήνην*—see Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 2224 B).

[6] R. Meister 'über die Namen : "*Διώνη, Ζήν, Ζᾶν*" ' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 p. 200 ff. : 'Wir finden auf griechischem Boden die starke Form dieses *-en*-Stammes vertreten mit *o*-Färbung des Suffixvocals in *dii̯-ōn-* : **Δίων*, *Διώνη*, und mit *e*-Färbung in *dii̯-ēn-* : *Ζήν.* **Δίων*, *Διώνη* waren die altdodonäischen Himmelsgötter ; für den Namen **Δίων* trat später *Ζεὺς Νάιος* ein, der Name *Διώνη* erhielt sich. Neben diesen beiden starken Stammformen **Δίων* und *Ζήν* lassen sich im Griechischen zwei schwache Stammformen nachweisen : (1) *di̯-ăv-* (d.i. urspr. *dii̯-g-* vor Vocalen und vor *ɻ*) in *Δίαινα*, (2) *di̯-ăv-* (d.i. urspr. *dii̯-g-*, ebenso vor Vocalen und vor *ɻ*) in *Zᾶν-*, dem Ausgangspunkt für die Neubildung des Flexionssystems *Ζᾶν, Ζᾶνός*.... Ein zweite Bildung von diesem schwachen Stamm *di̯-ăv-* würden wir in *διαίνω* "befeuchte" vor uns

In *Zás*, the form of *Zeús* used by Pherekydes of Syros[1] and declined as *Zás, Zántos*, etc., by later Greek scholars[2], P. Kretschmer

haben, wenn die alten Etymologen Recht haben sollten, dieses Verbum trotz der abweichenden Bedeutung mit dem Namen des Himmels und des Himmelsgottes zusammenzubringen, vgl. z. B. Eustath. zu Hom. Il. 21, 202 p. 1231, 28: *ἱστέον ὅτι ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς ἦτοι ἀέρος τὸ διαίνω παρῆκται, καὶ δηλοῖ τὸ ὑγραίνειν καὶ ὡς εἰπεῖν διαβρέχειν*; Et. M. 266, 56: *διαίνω .. κυρίως τὸ ἐκ Διὸς βρέχεσθαι*. Die Bezeichnung des epeirotischen Himmelsgottes als *Ζεὺς Νάιος* "der feuchte, regenspendende Zeus" hebt dasselbe als Eigenschaft des Himmelsgottes hervor, was, wenn wirklich *διαίνω* stammverwandt mit **Δίων* (richtiger dann **δίων* zu schreiben) sein sollte, das Verbum herausheben würde als Thätigkeit des Himmels; was den Bedeutungsübergang anlangt, könnte man mit **δίων* "Himmel": *διαίνω* "befeuchte" etwa vergleichen den von *αἰθήρ*: *αἰθρέω* (=*χειμάζω*).... Von der Existenz der Form **Διᾶν* liegt eine unsichere Spur vor. Zu Theokrit 15, 106 giebt nämlich der gute cod. p die Lesart *Κύπρι Διαναία*, wo die übrigen Handschriften *Διωναία* oder *Διωναίη* haben, und Ahrens (Philol. XXIII, 1866, S. 208 f. = Kl. Schr. I, 421) erklärte nachträglich *Διαναία* für die echte Lesart, unter dem Ausdruck seines Bedauerns sie nicht in den Text seiner Ausgabe aufgenommen zu haben. Ist dieser Lesart zu vertrauen, so haben wir für die epeirotische Himmelsgöttin drei Namensformen überliefert: *Διώνη, Δίαινα* und *Διᾶνη*, denen der starke, der schwache und der aus dem schwachen neu gebildete Stamm zu Grunde liegen.'

[1] Pherekyd. *frag.* 1 Diels *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 119 *σῴζεται δὲ τοῦ Συρίου τό τε βιβλίον ὃ συνέγραψεν, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή· "Ζὰς (ζὰς* codd. B. P[1]. *ζεὺς* codd. F. P[2].) *μὲν καὶ Χρόνος ἦσαν ἀεὶ καὶ Χθονίη· Χθονίῃ δὲ ὄνομα ἐγένετο Γῆ, ἐπειδὴ αὐτῇ Ζὰς (ζεὺς* codd. F. P[2].) *γῆν γέρας διδοῖ," κ.τ.λ.*, cp. Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 b (i. 321, 3 f. Ruelle) *Φερεκύδης δὲ ὁ Σύριος Ζᾶντα (leg. Ζάντα) μὲν εἶναι ἀεὶ καὶ Χρόνον καὶ Χθονίαν τὰς τρεῖς πρώτας ἀρχὰς κ.τ.λ.* (cod. A. has *ζᾶντα μένεναι ἀεὶ καὶ χρόνον ὅτι*).

Pherekyd. *frag.* 2 Diels *ap.* B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *Greek Papyri, Series II New Classical Fragments* Oxford 1897 no. 11 (a papyrus of *s.* iii A.D.) *Col.* 1, 12 ff. pl. 4 ΤΟ|ΤΕ ΖΑC ΠΟΙΕΙ ΦΑΡΟC ΜΕ|ΓΑ ΤΕ ΚΑΙ ΚΑΛΟΝ *κ.τ.λ.* = Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 2 p. 429, 1 Stählin *Φερεκύδης ὁ Σύριος λέγει·* "*Ζὰς (ζὰς* cod. L. O. Stählin reads *Ζᾶς*) *ποιεῖ φᾶρος μέγα τε καὶ καλόν*" *κ.τ.λ.*

Herodian. *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 6, 16 (ii. 911, 8 f. Lentz) = Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 28 cited *supra* p. 344 n. o.

[2] Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 14 (i. 399, 18 Lentz) *Ζάς Ζάντος ὁ Ζεύς*, 15 (i. 410, 19 Lentz) *Ζάς Ζάντος*, Herodian. *περὶ ὀνομάτων* (ii. 617, 37 Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. masc.* 1 (i. 125, 34 Hilgard) *ὁ Ζάς*, Herodian. *περὶ ὀνομάτων* (ii. 633, 15 and 19 f. Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. neut.* 4 (i. 348, 31 and 37 Hilgard) *Ζάς...Ζάς Ζαντός (ἔστι δὲ ὄνομα κύριον ὁ Ζάς* (so cod. C. *ὁ Ζεύς* cod. V.)), Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* 3 (ii. 635, 26 Lentz) = Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iv. 334, 28 *Ζάς* (so J. A. Cramer for *Ζεῦ* cod.) *Ζάντος*, Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (ii. 648, 32 Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. proleg.* (i. 116, 10 Hilgard) *Ζάς Ζαντός (σημαίνει δὲ τὸν Δία)*, Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (ii. 649, 3 Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. proleg.* (i. 116, 22 Hilgard) *Ζάς*, Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (ii. 658, 28 f. Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. masc.* 1 (i. 132, 6 ff. Hilgard) *ἔστι γὰρ Ζάς Ζαντός καὶ Πρὰς Πραντός· καὶ ἰδοὺ ταῦτα οὐκ ἀποβολῇ τῆς ος ποιοῦσι τὴν κλητικήν, οὐδὲ γὰρ λέγομεν ὦ Ζὰν καὶ ὦ Πράν, ἀλλ' ὦ Ζάς καὶ ὦ Πρὰς ὁμοφώνως τῇ εὐθείᾳ*, Herodian. *περὶ κλίσεως ὀνομάτων* (ii. 674, 24 f. Lentz) = Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. masc.* 10 (i. 214, 10 Hilgard) *Ζάς Ζαντός*, Herodian. *περὶ μετοχῶν* 3 (ii. 784 n. on line 19 Lentz) = Choirobosk. *epim. in psalm.* 50, 22 *Ζάς*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 19 ff. *οὕτω καὶ Ζὰς ὁ αὐτὸς κατὰ τὴν αὐτὴν ἐτυμολογίαν, δηλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί. ὡς δὲ καὶ ὀξύνεται ὁ Ζὰς καὶ τὸ ϝϝ ἔχει ἐν τῇ γενικῇ δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ παραδόντος ὅτι, καθὰ Πρὰς Πράντος ὄνομα ποταμοῦ καὶ πόλεως, καὶ Φθὰς Φθάντος κύριον παροξυνόμενον μετοχικῶς ἐν τῇ γενικῇ κατὰ τὸ φὰς φάντος, οὕτω καὶ Ζὰς Ζάντος, ὁ σημαίνει τὸν Δία* (the reference is to Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 14 cited above).

detects yet another name comparable with that of *Ianus*[1]. And it should be noticed that *Dīīas* and *Dīas*, the immediate precursors of *Zās*, have been handed down to us as variants of the name borne by one of the Titans[2], whose relation to the Cretan Zeus or Zagreus we have already considered[3]. Indeed, according to one of the Greek etymological lexicons, Zeus himself was called *Dīas*[4]—a remark which has not attracted the attention that it deserves. We may therefore with some confidence point to the series

Dīīas *Dīas* *Zās*

as a Greek equivalent of the Latin[5]

**Divianus* *Dianus* *Ianus.*

[1] P. Kretschmer in O. Kern *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888 p. 93 n. 64: 'Graeci ex antiquissimis temporibus duo habebant summi dei nomina, quae non radicibus, sed suffixis inter se differebant: Ζεύς ex *Ζ-ηυ-ς et Ζᾶνς ex *Ζ-ᾱν-ς (cf. lat. Iānus, Abl. Iane) exortum; quae hoc modo flectebantur:

I Ζεύς	II Ζᾶνς	Plur. Ζᾶνες (eliac.)
Ζῆν	Ζᾶνα (cf. cret. Τᾶνα)	
Διϝός	Ζᾱνός	
Διϝί	Ζᾱνί (cf. lac. Ζανί)	

Ex Ζῆν et Ζᾶνα compluribus in dialectis novus accusativus Ζῆνα (cf. cret. Δῆνα, Τῆνα, Ττῆνα; Pind. Ζῆνα) mixtus est, a quo aliorum quoque casuum nova flexio (gen. Ζηνός, dat. Ζηνί, nom. Ζής) proficiscebatur.—In ionica autem dialecto cum -ᾱνς in -ᾶς et ᾱ in η transiret, altera (II) flexio ita mutanda erat:

Ζᾶς (Pherecyd.)
Ζῆνα, Ζηνός, Ζηνί } Homer.

Ergo Ζᾶς apud Pherecydem exspectanda atque postulanda est forma, Ζής—si ab eo scripta est—per analogiam ficta. Alia autem flexio quae apud illum scriptorem inveniri videtur: Ζᾶς Ζάντα (non Ζᾶντα!) Ζάντος Ζάντι exemplo participiorum ut βᾶς βάντα βάντος βάντι adducta est.'

After this we can hardly maintain with Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1100 n. 1 that the Pherecydean Ζᾶς was 'Freie Erfindung,' though we may well suppose with him *ib.* pp. 427, 1114 n. 1 that Pherekydes saw in the name an allusion to the 'life' of the world (*supra* i. 11 n. 5, 28 n. 8, 29 n. 4, 31 n. 3, 196 f.).

[2] Choirobosk. *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 192, 13 ff. Δίας· διὰ τοῦ ι γράφεται· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἀπὸ τῆς δράκοντος γενικῆς γίνεται δρακοντίας, οὕτως καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Διὸς γενικῆς γίνεται Δίας, καὶ κατὰ κρῖσιν (*leg.* κρᾶσιν) τῶν δύο ι εἰς ἓν ι μακρὸν Δίας=*et. mag.* p. 271, 3 ff. Δίας· ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ δράκων δράκοντος, δρακοντίας, οὕτω καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Διὸς γίνεται Δίας· καὶ κράσει, Δίας. ἰστέον δὲ ὅτι τὸ Δίας καὶ Θείας (Θείας καὶ Δίας cod. V.) διὰ τοῦ NT κλίνονται· τὸ δὲ Θεῖας καὶ Δῖας (Δεῖας cod. V.), ἰσοσυλλάβως, cp. *ib.* p. 270, 10 ff. Δίας· ὁ ἥρως, εἷς τῶν Τιτάνων. παρὰ τὴν Διὸς γενικήν, Δίας. ἢ εἷς τῶν Πελοπιδῶν. γίνεται παρὰ τὸ Δέος, Δεῖας· καὶ ἐν συναλοιφῇ, Δείας, διὰ τῆς EI διφθόγγου· ὁ δέος ἐμποιῶν=*et. Gud.* p. 144, 54 ff.=Favorin. *lex.* p. 492, 13 ff. On the various mythical persons etc. named Δίας see H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1011 f. and P. Natorp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2446, G. Wissowa *ib.* v. 345.

[3] *Supra* i. 398 f., 647, 654 ff.

[4] *Et. Gud.* p. 144, 57 ff. Δίας· ὁ Ζεύς, διʼ οὗ ζῶμεν, παρὰ τὸ διαίνειν, τουτ' ἔστι πλύνειν τὴν γῆν. ἢ παρὰ τὸ δεῖν, ὅ ἐστι συνέχειν καὶ δεσμεύειν τὸ σύμπαν αἰσθητόν. ἢ παρὰ τὸ ζῆν.

[5] *Supra* p. 339.

Diṓne[1], the name habitually given to the goddess of Dodona, implies that her partner was known as *Díōn*[2] or **Zōn*. *Díōn* as the god's name was presumably ousted by *Zeús*. Servius, however, tells the story of an early Laconian King *Dion*, who entertained first Apollo and then Liber Pater[3]. Since the Spartan kings were priests of Zeus[4], it is just possible that their forbears played the part and bore the name of Zeus himself. Be that as it may, the simultaneous existence of the parallel forms *Zā́n* and **Zṓn* is by no means without analogy. It would even appear that both forms have persisted in Crete down to modern times. The peasant of Anogeia still ejaculates 'God *Zános*!' or 'Hear me, god *Zónos*![5]'

It will be convenient to summarise in tabular form the names here discussed and the equations proposed :

LATIN		GREEK		MODERN GREEK
**Divianus*	*Diviana*	Διίας		
Dianus	*Diana*	Δίας	**Δίαινα, *Διάνη*	
Ianus	*Iana*	Ζᾶς		
Ian		Ζᾶν		Ζάνος
		Δίων	Διώνη	Ζῶνος

I hold, then, that there was an ancient Illyrian (?) sky-god, who appears on the west of the Adriatic as Ianus, on the east as Zan. Throughout the historical period Ianus was more and more eclipsed by Iupiter : at an early date Zan was practically superseded by Zeus. Nevertheless Ianus was still accorded a foremost place in the prayers and invocations of the Romans[6], while Zan was never wholly forgotten by the Greeks.

If we are to understand the outward expression given by both peoples to the cult of this great deity, we must keep in mind the fact that he was *ab origine* the divine Sky and nothing more[7].

[1] Διώνη is scanned with ῑ in *h. Ap.* 93 (ὅσσαι ἄρισται ἔσαν, Διώνη τε Ῥείη τε where T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes rightly retain the manuscript reading as against F. A. Wolf's cj. ἔασι), with ῐ in *Il.* 5. 370, 381, Hes. *theog.* 17, 353, Eur. *Hel.* 1098, *Antigone frag.* 177, 1 Nauck[2], *alib.* Cp. *Dīana* and *Diana* (*supra* p. 339 n. 5).

[2] *Supra* p. 350 n. 6.

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 30 Dion rex Laconiae fuit, qui habuit uxorem Iphiteam (G. Thilo cj. *Amphitheam*) Prognai filiam, etc. These names should find a place in P. Poralla *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen* Breslau 1913.

[4] *Supra* i. 8.

[5] *Supra* i. 163.

[6] See *e.g.* W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 39, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 103 f., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 282, 287, *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 126, 140.

[7] *Supra* p. 337 ff.

Accordingly the Greeks did not at first carve him a statue or even construct him a temple.

> Why, where's the need of Temple, when the walls
> O' the world are that?[1]

The Persians on their mountain heights worshipped 'the whole circle of the sky[2],' offering sacrifice to him whom they called in the accusative case **Diân*[3]. And in like manner the Cretans honoured Zan on a mountain-top, expressly identifying him with the sky-god Zeus[4]. So far as we know, Zan was not figured forth by any anthropomorphic image. At most he was represented by the divine bull annually eaten of his worshippers[5]. The tomb of Zan was indeed, for those who could receive it, the tomb of 'a Great Ox[6].' A parallel to the Cretan sacrament may be found in a Paris papyrus already quoted[7]: 'Zeus went up into the mountain with a golden calf and a silver knife. To all he gave a share.' The cult of this aniconic god appealed to the Pythagoreans. Pythagoras himself is said to have written the epitaph of Zan[8], and his followers speak of 'the tower of Zan' or 'the watch-tower of Zan' as the very centre of the universe[9]. It is not till Zan has been definitely ousted by Zeus that we hear of 'bronze images of Zeus...called *Zânes*[10].'

(κ) Ianus represented as Vault or Archway.

In the Italian area the representation of the sky-god was developed along different lines. Since the sky itself was conceived as resting on four pillars[11], the primitive effigy of Ianus, the divine Sky, was a vault resting on four supports, in short an archway. It needs an effort of imagination on our part to realise that the arch of Ianus was no mere attribute or emblem of a sky-god, but an actual copy of the animate sky. And excellent scholars, like my friend Mr Warde Fowler, will no doubt continue to assert that the

[1] R. Browning *Epilogue* to *Dramatis Personæ* Third Speaker 11. 1 f.
[2] *Supra* i. 9 f., 338 n. 2.
[3] *Supra* i. 781.
[4] *Supra* i. 158 n. 2, 646, ii. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν, 345.
[5] *Supra* i. 650, 662 ff., 673, 695.
[6] *Supra* p. 345.
[7] *Supra* i. 581.
[8] *Supra* i. 158 n. 2, 646, ii. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζάν, 345.
[9] *Supra* i. 303, ii. 36, 52, 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζανὸς.

Possibly Zan was at one time worshipped in Samos, the original home of Pythagoras. The name Σάμος, which means 'height' (Strab. 346, 457), recalls at once Σάμη or Σάμος (*Samo*) in Kephallenia; Σάμος, later Σαμία or Σαμικόν, in Triphylia; Σάμος or Σαμοθράκη; Σάμος in Karia; etc. A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 54 f. (cp. *ib.* pp. 65, 88 f., 113, 115 f., 135 f.) regards this whole group of names as belonging by rights to the Leleges, who were driven eastwards by the advance of the Illyrians (*ib.* p. 142).

[10] *Supra* pp. 341 n. 6 *s.v.* Ζâνες, 349.
[11] *Supra* p. 140 ff.

famous gateway at the north-western end of the Forum Romanum was 'a symbolic entrance to the heart of the city[1].' But the early Roman cared little for symbols. What he wanted was to have the god he worshipped present in his midst. So, if the god he worshipped was the shining vault of heaven, he must needs have a glittering *simulacrum* of it continually before him. W. Deecke in 1876 had already got a glimpse of the truth, when he urged that Ianus denoted the sky as an arch or vault[2]; L. Preller and H. Jordan in 1881 admitted that the simple arch stood for the heavenly vault[3]; and S. Linde in 1891, while improving on his predecessors' etymology, still upheld their opinion that the vaulted archway of Ianus was but an image of the sky[4]. I agree with this view, which seems to me strongly supported by the fact that the Romans used the self-same word on the one hand of the god (*Ianus*), on the other of his arch (*ianus*).

The archway of Ianus in all probability forms part of the background carved on one of the well-known balustrades in the Forum (fig. 242)[5]. The emperor (Trajan?) is here seen standing with his suite on the *rostra* in front of the old *curia*; and the adjoining gateway, a simple round-headed arch between two Corinthian columns supporting a horizontal entablature, was identified by

[1] W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 126. Cp. B. R. Burchett *Janus in Roman Life and Cult* Menasha, Wisconsin 1918 p. 37 f. ('the symbolical entrance-way,' 'the symbolical entrance,' 'the one symbolical gate').

[2] W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 125: 'Ianus bezeichnete also den Himmel als „Bogen, Gewölbe" und wurde so Name des Himmels-, nicht des Sonnengottes. So knüpft sich auch die Einführung seines Dienstes in Rom an den Bau des Ianus geminus auf dem Forum' etc.

[3] Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 168: 'daher der einfache Bogen, ianus, eigentlich ein offener Durchgang (transitio pervia, Cic. N. D. II, 27) das Symbol des himmlischen Gewölbes und seines Pförtners Janus, des himmlischen Lichtgottes wurde.'

[4] S. Linde *De Iano summo Romanorum deo* Lundae 1891 p. 18: 'Ianum caelum repraesentasse forma quoque templi eius indicat, quod arcus vel fornix erat—quae fornix imago caeli mihi videtur fuisse, ut pro caelo et germanice *Himmelsgewölbe* et suethice *himlahvalf* dicitur. Recte igitur, opinor, Deecke (Etr. Forsch. II p. 125 sq.) Ianum esse *deum caeli* statuit. Falso tamen putat Ianum idem atque transitum esse et etiam per se a principio fornicem vel arcum significasse, nam fornix vel arcus est imago sola caeli* [*Cfr Preller, Röm. Myth.[3] I. p. 168], non ipsa interpretatio nominis Iani.'

[5] E. Brizio in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 314 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 47 (a photograph, from which my illustration is drawn), H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 219 ff. pl. 4 (p. 224 'einen nicht sicher bestimmbaren Bogen'), C. Huelsen *The Roman Forum* trans. J. B. Carter Rome 1906 p. 97 ff. fig. 44 (cp. p. 102 'an arch which has not been identified, and which was probably destroyed in the alterations by Severus'), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 151 ff. pl. 45 (p. 155 'an arch which archaeologists have not yet named'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 278 f.

E. Brizio and P. Rosa[1] with the *ianus* at the entrance of the Forum[2].

Fig. 242.

[1] E. Brizio *loc. cit.*, P. Rosa *Sulle scoperte archeologiche della città e provincia di Roma pegli anni 1871—1872* Roma 1873 (see H. Jordan in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der classischen Alterthumswissenschaft* 1873 i. 737). Cp. O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 106 f. pl. 10 ('Triumphhogen (Janus?)').

[2] Schol. Cruq. Hor. *sat.* 2. 3. 18 Iani autem statuae tres erant, una in ingressu fori, etc., cp. Acron and Porphyrion *ad loc.* The best collection of the evidence, literary and monumental, will be found in H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 214 ff., 345 ff. See also L. Levy—H. Luckenbach *Das Forum Romanum der Kaiserzeit* München—Leipzig 1895 p. 16 with figs. 3 (restoration by L. Levy) and 4 (ground-plan), S. B. Platner *The Topography and monuments of ancient Rome* Boston 1904 p. 186 ff., H. Thédenat *Le Forum Romain et la Voie Sacrée* Paris 1905 p. 17 f.

Certain rare *denarii* struck by Augustus are quoted as exhibiting

Fig. 243.

Fig. 244.

Fig. 245.

Fig. 246.

Fig. 247.

Fig. 248.

Fig. 249.

Fig. 250.

Fig. 251.

the same *ianus* with closed gates (figs. 243, 244)[1]. A similar type,

(restoration by F. Hoffbauer) pl. 7 (ground-plan and perspective view), H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 16.

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 308 pl. 18, 19 (=my fig. 243) and 20 (=my

but without the entablature, occurs on the reverse of *aurei* struck by Nero (fig. 245)[1]. It is, however, from the 'first brass' (figs. 246—249)[2] and 'second brass' (figs. 250, 251)[3] of this emperor that we gain the clearest idea of the building. The said pieces show us a small oblong edifice with a heavy flat roof. At either end is a pair of Roman Doric or Corinthian columns carrying a semicircular arch, which is filled by shut doors and adorned with a festoon. The long side of the structure is of unusual design, consisting of two or more courses of masonry topped by an open grill, above which is seen the entablature, sometimes embellished with palmettes and scroll-work. H. Jordan justly infers that this peculiar building was not, to speak strictly, an *aedes* at all, but rather a double archway, a *ianus Geminus* as the Romans themselves termed it[4]. Sheathed throughout with bronze[5] it would aptly represent the bronze sky of early belief[6]—a similitude borne out by its arched vault and its four supporting pillars[7].

fig. 244), Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 76, iv. 504 f., Suppl. iii. 70, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1878 p. 327 no. 717, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 79 no. 110, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 473. Morell's two specimens are hardly above suspicion. The first was derived from H. Goltz, the second from J. Oisel; and Goltz, though an enthusiast, was no critic (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 102 ff.).

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 72 f. pl. 4, 9 and 10, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 506 f., vi. 340, 343, Suppl. iii. 70, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 287 nos. 114 and 115, Mm. Rollin et Feuardent *Collection J. E.* Monnaies romaines en or Paris 1909 p. 8 no. 40 pl. 2 (=my fig. 245).

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 101 pl. 9, 18 and 19, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 506 f., vi. 341 ff., Suppl. iii. 70, T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 48 ff. no. 12 (pl.), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 289 f. nos. 133, 134, 136—140, 143 fig., 144—146, 152, 154, 155, 158—162, R. Weil in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 235 fig. 206, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 473 f. fig., J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 610 fig. 4140. Figs. 246—249 are from specimens in my collection.

[3] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 105 pl. 10, 13—15, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 506 f., vi. 341 ff., Suppl. iii. 70, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 288 ff. nos. 132, 135, 141, 142, 148—151, 153, 156, 157, 163—177. Figs. 250, 251 are from specimens in my collection.

[4] H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 351 f., cp. *ib.* p. 346 n. 45.

[5] This appears from an interesting description in Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 1. 25 (cp. *supra* p. 335 n. 3) *ὅ τε νεὼς ἅπας χαλκοῦς ἐν τῷ* (*τῷ* cod. K. om. cod. L.) *τετραγώνῳ σχήματι ἕστηκε, τοσοῦτος μέντοι* (so cod. K. *μὲν* cod. L.), *ὅσον* (*ὅσος* cod. K.) *τὸ ἄγαλμα σκέπειν. ἔστι δὲ χαλκοῦν οὐχ ἧσσον ἢ πηχῶν πέντε τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦτο, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα πάντα ἐμφερὲς ἀνθρώπῳ, διπρόσωπον δὲ τὴν κεφαλὴν ἔχον, καὶ τοῖν προσώποιν* (*τοῦ προσώπου* cod. L.) *θάτερον μὲν πρὸς ἀνίσχοντα, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον πρὸς δύοντα ἥλιον τέτραπται. θύραι τε χαλκαῖ ἐφ' ἑκατέρῳ προσώπῳ εἰσίν, ἃς δὴ ἐν μὲν εἰρήνῃ καὶ ἀγαθοῖς πράγμασιν* (om. cod. L.) *ἐπιτίθεσθαι τὸ παλαιὸν Ῥωμαῖοι ἐνόμιζον, πολέμου δὲ σφίσιν ὄντος ἀνεῴγον* (*ἀνεῶχθαι* cod. L.). κ.τ.λ.

[6] To the passages cited *supra* i. 632 n. 3 add Lact. *de opificio Dei* 17 (*Corp. Vindob.* XXVII. 56, 12 ff. Brandt) an si mihi quispiam dixerit aeneum esse caelum aut vitreum aut, ut Empedocles ait, aerem glaciatum, statimne adsentiar, quia caelum ex qua materia sit ignorem?

[7] *Supra* p. 141.

(λ) The Triumphal Arch.

Incidentally this conception will serve to clear up a long-standing puzzle, the original character and purpose of the triumphal arch. P. Graef[1], who, in a list large but by no means exhaustive, enumerates one hundred and twenty-five such arches, scattered throughout the Roman empire and ranging in date from the middle of the first century B.C.[2] to the middle of the fourth century A D.[3], states frankly that nothing certain is known with regard to the early history of the type[4]. The various theories that have been propounded are conveniently summarised and discussed by G. Spano[5]. Most recent critics, it appears, himself included, have looked to the Greeks of the Hellenistic age as the originators of this and other such architectural structures. Not so A. L. Frothingham, who after a wide survey of the facts concluded that the true parent of the triumphal arch was the old Roman *ianus*[6]. Frothingham argued (*a*) that in early days, when Rome consisted in a group of neighbouring tribes, each tribe

[1] P. Graef 'Triumph- und Ehrenbögen' in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1865—1899 with pls. 80—85 and numerous figs. (an article of capital importance). C. D. Curtis 'Roman Monumental Arches' in the *Supplementary Papers of the American School of Classical Studies in Rome* New York 1908 ii. 26—83 with 18 figs. discusses the origin of triumphal arches and describes 73 specimens in chronological order (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 218). See also J. Guadet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 391—394, J. H. Flather and W. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 172—174, H. Wölfflin in the *Repertorium für Kunstwissenschaft* 1893 xvi. 11 ff., O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 603—606, C. Huelsen 'Zu den römischen Ehrenbögen' in the *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfeld's 60. Geburtstag* Berlin 1903 pp. 423—430, Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] pp. 718—733.

[2] The arch of *Saint Remy*, the ancient Glanum in Gallia Narbonensis, probably commemorates the victory of Iulius Caesar over Vercingetorix and the capture of Alesia in 52 B.C.

[3] The arch of *Rheims*, anciently Durocortorum the chief town of the Remi in Belgica Secunda, is said to have been erected by Julian in 360 A.D.

It is noteworthy that both the earliest and the latest datable examples of triumphal arches are to be found in France, which can boast fourteen extant monuments of the sort (Rome 10, rest of Italy 20, France 14, Germany 1, Spain 6, Africa 54, Asia and other lands 20: see P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1866).

[4] P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1871.

[5] G. Spano 'L'origine degli archi onorari e trionfali romani' in *Neapolis* 1903 i. 144 ff.

[6] A. L. Frothingham 'De la véritable signification des monuments romains qu'on appelle "Arcs de Triomphe"' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1905 ii. 216—230. Cp. W. Warde Fowler *Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 73 n. 2 (*id.* 'Passing under the Yoke' in the *Class. Rev.* 1913 xxvii. 48 ff.): 'Nearly all forms of Roman art are now thought to be traceable to Greek originals, and without doubt the ornamentations of the triumphal arches which have survived are Hellenistic; but such a thing as a triumphal arch is not known in Hellas, and I believe that the idea is far more likely to be Roman.' Mr Warde Fowler argues that the *iugum*, the *tigillum*, and the *porta triumphalis* alike imply a 'rite de passage,' in which human beings pass through a narrow space in order to be rid of disease, blood-guiltiness, or some other trouble. He is not, of course, committed to Mr Frothingham's views, still less to mine.

had its separate *ianus* on the line of its own *pomoerium* (*ianus Curiatius*, *ianus Carmentalis*, *ianus Quirinus*), such *iani* being, not gates in a fortified wall, but arches built outside to commemorate events of communal importance and placed under the protection of the communal god Ianus; (*b*) that the unified Servian state similarly had its *ianus*, the *porta triumphalis*, on the enlarged pomoerial line of the *via Flaminia*; and (*c*) that this famous portal was copied and re-copied by communal arches far and wide through the dominions

Fig. 252.

Fig. 253.

Fig. 254.

of imperial Rome. Now, without necessarily endorsing the precise lineage traced by Frothingham, we must surely admit that in point of shape the triumphal arch[1] is indistinguishable from the arch of Ianus; even the four-sided variety of the former[2] can be paralleled by the four-sided variety of the latter[3]; and, if the *ianus Geminus* had side-windows (figs. 246—251), so on occasion had the triumphal arch (fig. 252)[4]. Accordingly, I should conjecture[5] that in its significance too the *arcus* resembled the *ianus*—in short that it represented

[1] See *e.g.* the restoration of Titus' Arch at Rome as given by P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1867 pl. 82 fig. 1969 after L. Canina *L'architettura romana* Roma 1834 pl. 188.

[2] P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1889 ff. fig. 1991 describes and illustrates the four-sided arch erected at Oea in Tripolitana (*Tripoli*) by C. Calpurnius Celsus and dedicated by Ser. Cornelius Scipio Salvidienus Orfitus, when proconsul of Africa in 162/3 or 163/4 A.D., to Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 24, cp. viii Suppl. no. 10999, with Groag in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1508). Within the coffered arches the monument is roofed with a low dome resting on an octagonal cornice.

[3] P. Graef *loc. cit.* p. 1880 pl. 80 fig. 6 and pl. 81 fig. 8 gives a description, ground-plan, and restored elevation of the so-called *ianus Quadrifrons* in the Forum Boarium at Rome, which was probably erected by Septimius Severus. See further L. Rossini *Gli archi trionfali onorarii e funebri degli antichi Romani* Romae 1836 pl. 62, L. Canina *Gli edifizi di Roma antica* Romae 1848—1856 iv pl. 253 f., H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 470—472, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 100.

[4] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 169 pl. 6, 1 from a 'first brass' of Galba, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[1] i. 245 no. 246 pl. 13 (=my fig. 252), *ib.*[2] i. 341 no. 348 fig.

[5] *Pace* Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 732 'Der Form und nicht der Bedeutung nach sind hier noch die eingangs erwähnten *Jani* einzustellen,' etc.

the heavenly vault[1], and that the triumphing general whose statue stood upon it (fig. 253)[2] was viewed as an embodiment of the sky-god uplifted on his mimic sky[3]. This suggestion is corroborated by a 'first brass' of Trajan, which displays (fig. 254)[4] a fine triumphal arch[5] supporting the emperor's chariot and explicitly dedicated I O M, 'to Iupiter Best and Greatest.' It thus appears that such modern structures as the Arc de Triomphe or the Marble Arch have behind them a long classical history, in which religious beliefs no less than military and political considerations have played their part. But the significance of the design has progressively dwindled; and in these democratic days the monument that once stood for apotheosis merely marks a stage for the motor-omnibus.

[1] *Supra* p. 428.

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 99 pl. 9, 12, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1062 f., viii. 96, Suppl. i. 1018, T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 222 ff. fig. 56, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 299 f. nos. 306—310, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 77 fig. Fig. 253 is from a specimen in my collection: obv. [IM]P[N]EROCAESARAVGPONTMAXTRPOTP[P]. laureate head of Nero to left; rev. S C triumphal arch. Cp. Tac. *ann.* 13. 41, 15. 18.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 27 columnarum ratio erat attolli (*v.l.* tolli) super (supra codd. V. d.h.) ceteros mortales, quod et arcus significant novicio invento.

[4] Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1065, iv. 806, viii. 1557, Suppl. i. 1019, T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 228 ff. fig. 58, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 74 f. nos. 547, 548, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 78 f. fig. (=my fig. 254).

[5] Cohen *loc. cit.* says 'Façade du temple de Jupiter, en forme d'arc de triomphe'—which is absurd. Dion Cass. 68. 29 informs us that a triumphal arch was being prepared for Trajan in his own Forum during the year 116 A.D. Excavations in 1594 (F. Vacca 'Memorie di varie antichità trovate in diversi luoghi della città di Roma nell' anno 1594' § 9 published by T. Schreiber in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1881 p. 59, 15 ff.) and again in 1863 (A. Pellegrini 'Arco di Trajano' in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1863 pp. 78—80) brought to light its foundations, together with numerous architectural and sculptural fragments, under the old church of S. Maria in Campo Carleo, which in the sixteenth century bore the name of *Spolia Christi* or *Spoglia Cristo*. It was formerly assumed that the four Trajanic reliefs representing a battle with Dacians, which now embellish the Arch of Constantine (for a convenient publication with a summary of recent controversy see Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 238 ff.), belonged originally to this Arch of Trajan. The assumption, disputed by E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 314 ff. but reaffirmed by R. Lanciani *The Ruins and Excavations of Ancient Rome* London 1897 p. 193, may well be sound; for on the first of the slabs in question the emperor, whose head has been replaced by that of Constantine, is conducted by Roma and Victoria towards an Arch (G. P. Bellori *Veteres arcus Augustorum triumphis insignes* Romæ 1690 pl. 42=Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 252 no. 1, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 580, 1 with text by J. Sieveking, Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 157 ff. pl. 48, 4 from a photograph by Anderson).

H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 p. 54 regard the coin illustrated in my fig. 254 as the Arch of Trajan in *regio* I recorded by the *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 1 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 542). But that was originally a triple arch (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 216 f.).

(μ) The goddess under the Arch.

Again, the representation of the sky as an arch will explain why various ancient goddesses of the earth appear either immediately beneath, or in close connexion with, an arcuated structure. The Hittite Chipa under her winged arch[1] is a case in point. Similarly,

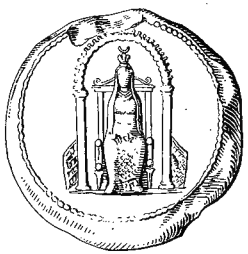


Fig. 255.

Fig. 256.

Fig. 257.

Fig. 258.

Fig. 259.

Fig. 260.

on a bronze medallion of Faustina Iunior (fig. 255)[2] Isis is enthroned beneath a decorative arch resting on two columns with short flanking walls. On a copper of Gallienus struck at Synnada in Phrygia

[1] *Supra* i. 644 fig. 504.

[2] Sir J. Evans in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 48 ff. pl. 5, 2, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 41 no. 24 pl. 68, 9 = my fig. 255.

(fig. 256)[1] Semele (?), crowned and sceptred, with the infant Dionysos (?) on her arm and a goat at her feet, stands beneath a dotted vault, which rises from two Corinthian columns. Imperial coppers from Sinope (fig. 257)[2] show Nemesis under a two-pillared arcade. Others from Philadelpheia (fig. 258)[3] represent Aphrodite beneath an arch with twisted columns. Others again from Pogla in Pisidia (figs. 259, 260)[4] have an aniconic goddess, resembling Artemis *Pergaia*, overarched by a distyle canopy. Examples such as these—and the list could be lengthened—confirm my previous[5] conjecture that the gateway or arch, so noticeable a feature in the old-fashioned Diana-cults of central Italy, originally signified the sky raised on its supports. *Diana* was thereby associated with *Dianus*.

(*v*) The *Tigillum Sororium* and Iupiter *Tigillus*.

And here we must notice one of the most curious monuments to be seen in ancient Rome, the *Tigillum Sororium* or 'Sister's Beam[6],' which spanned a narrow lane leading down from the Carinae to the Vicus Cuprius[7]. It was connected by tradition[8] with the famous

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 404 no. 63, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 225 no. 744 a. Fig. 256 is from a specimen in my collection.

For the same group without the vault see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 402 pl. 47, 3 Diadumenian Caesar, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 413 no. 158 *quasi*-autonomous, no. 161 Gordian iii, *id. Gr. Münzen* p. 225 nos. 744 Macrinus and 744 b pl. 13, 4 Salonina, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 294 no. 17 *quasi*-autonomous, 296 no. 24 pl. 9, 18 Diadumenian Caesar. B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins locc. citt.* and in his *Hist. num.*[2] p. 686 describes the type as Amaltheia carrying the infant Zeus; and Imhoof-Blumer *locc. citt.* had done the same before him. But cp. *supra* i. 706 fig. 522, which favours the interpretation given in the text.

[2] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 204 pl. 27, 33 Iulia Domna, 207 pl. 28, 16 Maximinus, 208 pl. 28, 22 Tranquillina and pl. 28, 24 (=my fig. 257) Philippus Iunior, 209 no. 162 Trajan Decius = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 102 pl. 23, 10.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 199 pl. 22, 9 (=my fig. 258) M. Aurelius, cp. p. 205 no. 96 Severus Alexander, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 461 pl. 56, 2 Severus Alexander, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 124 pl. 5, 14 time of M. Aurelius.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 236 pl. 37, 7 (=my fig. 259) Antoninus Pius, p. 237 pl. 37, 8 (=my fig. 260) Philippus Iunior = Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 25 nos. 179 and 181 pl. 5, *id. ib.* v. 25 no. 180 Iulia Domna, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 709.

[5] *Supra* p. 160.

[6] O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1883—1885 i. 178 ff., ii. 55 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 237 ff., H. Usener 'Zwillingsbildung' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 p. 320 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 340), O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 311, 343, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 322 f., W. F. Otto 'Römische "Sondergötter"' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1909 lxiv. 466—468.

[7] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22.

[8] Liv. 1. 24—26, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 13—22, Fest. p. 297 *a* 11 ff. Müller, p. 380,

fight between the triplets of Alba and the triplets of Rome. Horatius, the sole survivor, had stabbed his sister for lamenting the loss of her lover, one of the vanquished Curiatii. Condemned to death by the *duoviri*, Horatius appealed to the people, who acquitted him of the capital charge, but bade his father make satisfaction for the offence. The elder Horatius thereupon offered certain expiatory sacrifices, which were afterwards perpetuated by the family, laid a beam across the street, and caused his son with covered head to pass under it as under a yoke[1]. This beam, adds Livy[2], was kept in constant repair at the public expense. Indeed, it is mentioned as still existing by more than one fourth-century writer[3]. With regard to its construction our authorities are not in exact agreement. Dionysios of Halikarnassos, who was long resident in Rome (30—8 B.C. or later) and no doubt knew the locality well, states that the beam was let into a wall at either end[4]. But Pompeius Festus, presumably epitomising the account given by M. Verrius Flaccus (*c.* 10 B.C.), asserts that the beam rested on a couple of uprights[5]. Be that as it may, both Dionysios and Festus speak of two altars, which stood beneath it[6] and were dedicated to Iuno *Sororia* and to Ianus *Curiatius* respectively[7]. Dionysios' observation that the beam was 'honoured with sacrifices by the Romans every year[8]' is confirmed by the fragmentary calendar of the Arval Brothers[9], which against the first of October—a day appropriate both to Ianus and to Iuno—has the entry : '(Sacrifice) to the Sister's Beam at the Cross-road of Acilius.' T. Mommsen drew attention to the surprising fact that the Beam itself is here the object of worship[10]. This, however, ceases to surprise us, when we remember that the Beam was a sort

5 ff. Lindsay, cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 307, 2 f. Müller, p. 399, 2 ff. Lindsay, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 4. 5—9, schol. Bob. *in* Cic. *pro Mil.* 7 p. 63, 4 ff. Hildebrandt.

[1] In the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 369 I suggested that the 'yoke' under which conquered troops were made to pass, being an erection of three ξύλα (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22) or *hastae* (Liv. 3. 28), may well have been a symbol of Ianus *Quirinus*.

[2] Liv. 1. 26.

[3] Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 4. 9, *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 4 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 546), schol. Bob. *in* Cic. *pro Mil.* 7 p. 64, 2 ff. Hildebrandt.

[4] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22.

[5] Fest. p. 297 *a* 24 f. Müller, p. 380, 18 f. Lindsay.

[6] Cp.-Schol. Bob..*in* Cic. *pro Mil.* 7 p. 64, 2 ff. Hildebrandt.

[7] Fest. p. 297 *a* 27 f. Müller, p. 380, 21 f. Lindsay.

[8] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 3. 22.

[9] G. B. De Rossi in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 71 ff. with fig.

[10] T. Mommsen in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i. 1^2 p. 330 K·OCT·(Oct: 1).—N Tigillo soror(io) ad compitum Acili *ARV.* (*inter add. posteriora et scriptum sic, ut possit trahi ad Oct.* 2); Tigill(o) sor(orio) *PAVL.* ...Ipsum tigillum pro numine cultum esse (aliter enim non videntur accipi posse) docuerunt nos fasti Arvalium.

of *ianus*[1] and as such represented that primitive sanctity, the animate Sky[2]. Ianus the celestial roof was, in fact, fitly embodied in the *Tigillum* and as yet required no other effigy. His association with Iuno suggests that he here played the part of Iupiter. Augustine, after insisting that Ianus and Iupiter are but diverse forms of the same deity[3], remarks that Iupiter was named *Tigillus* 'because, like a Beam, he kept the world together and supported it[4].'

(ξ) The god under the Arch.

When Ianus passed from the zoïstic[5] to the anthropomorphic stage, he was represented as a double-faced deity standing beneath

Fig. 262.

Fig. 261.

Fig. 263.

the arch that had been his former self. Such was the bronze statue five cubits high, which looked east and west in the *ianus Geminus* of

[1] O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1883—1885 i. 180 ff., ii. 61, O. Richter in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1528, *id. Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 311, W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 21, and Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 104 all rightly regard this trixylon as a *ianus*. W. F. Otto 'Römische Sondergötter' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1909 lxiv. 466 f. denies it. Cp. Cat. 67. 37 ff. ianua...suffixa tigillo.

[2] *Supra* p. 354 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 328 n. 6.

[4] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 11 dixerunt eum (*sc.* Iovem)...Tigillum...quod tamquam tigillus mundum contineret ac sustineret... puto inter se propinquiora esse causas rerum atque primordia, propter quas res unum mundum duos deos esse voluerunt, Iovem atque Ianum, quam continere mundum et mammam dare animalibus; nec tamen propter haec opera duo tam longe inter se vi et dignitate diversa duo dii esse compulsi sunt; sed unus Iuppiter propter illud Tigillus, propter hoc Ruminus appellatus est.

In *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 279 n. 6 I mistakenly inferred from this passage that Iupiter *Tigillus* owed his appellation to some reminiscence of the world-tree. I now hold that he was the Latin equivalent of an earlier Ianus, whose beam was horizontal, not vertical. E. Pais *Ancient Legends of Roman History* trans. M. E. Cosenza London 1906 p. 156 speaks of 'ceremonies in honor of Jupiter Tigillus and Juno Sororia.' But the phrase oversteps our *data*. J. A. Hartung *Die Religion der Römer* Erlangen 1836 ii. 43 was content to say: 'Zuerst richtet er ein Joch auf, *sororium tigillum* genannt, mit Einwilligung, wie es scheint, des *Jupiter Tigillus*.' And even that is more than we really know.

[5] *Supra* i. 27 n. 4.

the Forum[1]. And such is the god as he appears on a bronze medal-

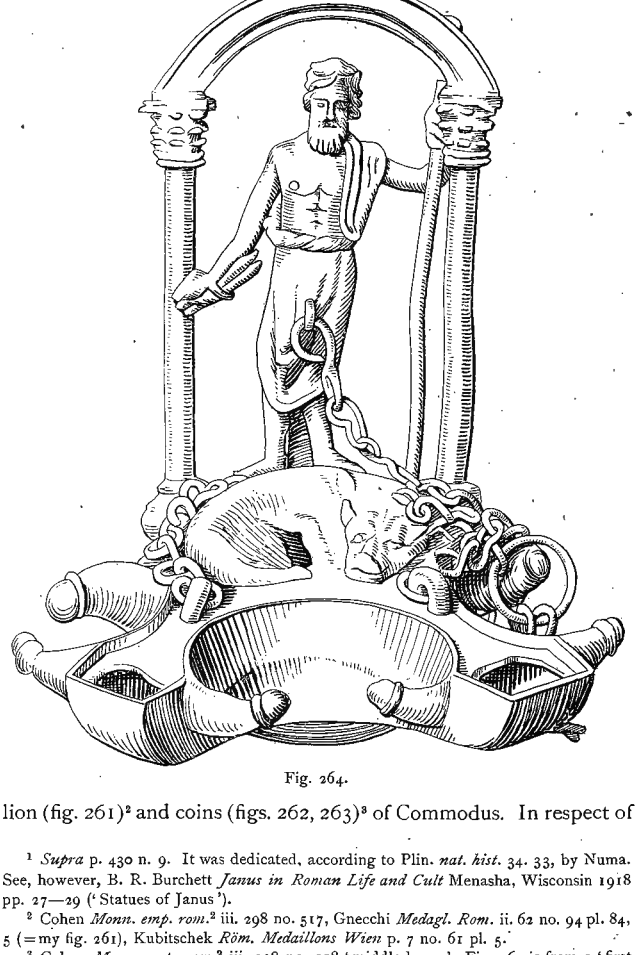


Fig. 264.

lion (fig. 261)[2] and coins (figs. 262, 263)[3] of Commodus. In respect of

[1] *Supra* p. 430 n. 9. It was dedicated, according to Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 33, by Numa. See, however, B. R. Burchett *Janus in Roman Life and Cult* Menasha, Wisconsin 1918 pp. 27—29 ('Statues of Janus').

[2] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 298 no. 517, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 62 no. 94 pl. 84, 5 (=my fig. 261), Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 7 no. 61 pl. 5.

[3] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 298 no. 518 'middle brass.' Fig. 262 is from a 'first brass' of similar types belonging to Mr C. T. Seltman; fig. 263, from another in my collection: *obv.* M COMMODVSANTP FELIXAVG BRIT Head of Commodus, laureate, to

the arch he is still comparable with Iupiter, who on a Roman bronze lamp stands with thunderbolt and sceptre underneath an arch resting on two Corinthian columns (fig. 264)[1]. Similarly in modern Hindu

Fig. 265 *a*.

Fig. 265 *b*.

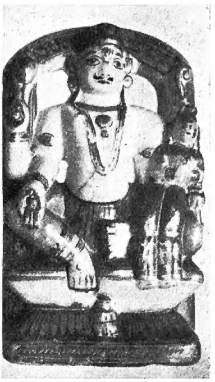


Fig. 266.

art Brahmā is a four-faced (fig. 265), Vishnu a one-faced god (fig. 266) seated above a lotus beneath a starry arch[2].

(*o*) Ianus bifrontal on coins.

The really distinctive feature of the anthropomorphic Ianus is, of course, his double face. On republican and imperial coins he is almost[3] invariably bifrontal. *Denarii* of the *gens Furia*, struck

right; *rev.* PMTRPX[III]MP VII[I] COSVPP S C Ianus holding long sceptre, on a base beneath an arch.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 326 no. 2519=*Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 8 no. 38 pl. 2 (=my fig. 264). Height $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches. In neither publication does Mr H. B. Walters give the history of this interesting lamp. Very similar, but not (apparently) identical, is one figured by Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1722 v. 143 pl. 39 no. 1 and by F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 207 f. pl. 9, 41 after G. P. Bellori *Le antiche lucerne sepolcrali figurate* Roma 1704 Pt. ii. 1 pl. 1. Bellori's interpretation '*Jupiter Custos*,' on account of the dog curled up round the hole for the wick, is fanciful. The dog, as a symbol of watchfulness, is a frequent ornament on lamps (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 2 no. 4 pl. 1, p. 6 no. 26 fig. 5, p. 12 no. 65 pl. 8, p. 13 no. 68 pl. 7, p. 16 no. 93, p. 62 no. 430 and no. 431 pl. 11, p. 90 no. 594, p. 174 no. 1155 and no. 1156 fig. 245, p. 209 no. 1394, p. 225 no. 1498 pl. 37), and need not be viewed as an attribute of Iupiter. The phalloid horns are of course prophylactic.

[2] Figs. 265 and 266 are from two alabaster carvings in my possession. Height: $6\frac{1}{16}$ ins.

[3] *Infra* § 3 (a) v (*o*) *fin.*

c. 92 B.C., have for obverse type a full-bearded head of Ianus (fig. 267)[1], while others of the *gens Fonteia*, struck *c.* 91 B.C., show a

Fig. 267.

Fig. 268.

Fig. 269.

slightly-bearded head (fig. 268)[2], probably meant for Fontus, eponym of the clan, who was said to have been a son of Ianus[3]. Heavy *asses*

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 189 f. pl. Furia, 3, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 524 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 283 pl. 94, 5 and 6. Fig. 267 is from a specimen in my collection.

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 180 f. pl. Fonteia, 1, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 499 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 292 f. pl. 94, 12—14. Fig. 268 is from a specimen of mine.

Since the Furii and the Fonteii are the only Roman families to put a Janiform head on their *denarii*, and since both of them appear to have originated in Tusculum (for the Furii see F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 315; for the Fonteii, *eund. ib.* vi. 2841), it is possible that the double heads, like those of the Dioskouroi on other coins of the *gens Fonteia* (*id. ib.* vi. 2841: cp. M. Albert *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* Paris 1883 p. 13 ff.), perpetuated the memory of a Tusculan cult.

[3] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 29 Ianum, quem ferunt Caelo atque Hecata procreatum in Italia regnasse primum, Ianiculi oppidi conditorem, patrem Fonti, Vulturni generum, Iuturnae maritum. This genealogy has been labelled 'spätere Kombination' (Boehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2839). But, in view of the *ara Fontis* (Cic. *de leg.* 2. 56) near the Ianiculum (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin

with the types of Ianus and Mercurius, issued at Rome between *c.* 290 and *c.* 240 B.C., represent the former god as beardless

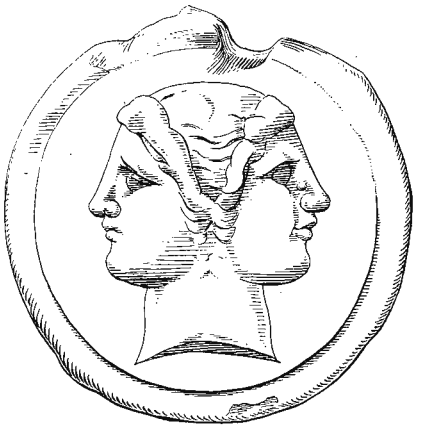


Fig. 270.

Fig. 271.

Fig. 272.

(figs. 269, 270)[1]—a point in which they agree with the contemporary

1907 i. 3. 624), it was at least *bien trouvée*. Similarly Lambaesis in Numidia worshipped both Ianus *Pater* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 2608 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3324 Iani Patro (*sic*)|etc.) and Fons (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 2656, 2 aedem Fontis etc.). Iupiter, like Ianus, came to be associated with fountain-powers: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 404 (cp. no. 30756) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3062 (Rome) Iovi Optimó Maximó | Caelestíno, Fontibus, et | Minervae etc., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no. 4291 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3063 (Lambaesis) Iovi (*v.l.* Iovo) | Propagatori | Conservatori | et Genio Fontis, etc.

[1] E. J. Haeberlin *Aes grave* Frankfurt a. M. 1910 p. 76 Tafelband pl. 36, 1 (= my fig. 269) in the Museo Kircheriano weighing 270·15 grammes and pl. 36, 3 (= my fig. 270) at Copenhagen weighing 262·70 grammes. The former specimen is figured also by Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 19 pl. 36, 1. See further Garrucci *ib.* p. 20 pl. 37, 1, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 18 pl. 5, 8, p. 24 f.

series of Romano-Campanian silver[1]. Certain electrum pieces, struck —it would seem—at Capua during the occupation of that town by the Carthaginians in the Hannibalic war (216—211 B.C.), give the twofold face a frankly feminine cast and, adding a corn-wreath, transform the Italian Ianus into a Punic Persephone (fig. 271)[2].

Fig. 273.

Fig. 274.

In imperial times Commodus was evidently a special devotee of the old sky-god. Apart from the mintages already mentioned[3], he placed on his bronze medallions sometimes the familiar bust of Ianus (fig. 272)[4], sometimes a Janiform novelty consisting of his own face combined with that of Iupiter (?) his *alter ego* (figs. 273, 274)[5].

[1] *Supra* p. 331.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 139 f. pl. 75, 14 (=my fig. 271), G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 50 f. pl. 10, 28. The correct attribution and dating of these coins is due to P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1884 iv. 220—224.

[3] *Supra* p. 366.

[4] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 62 no. 92 and no. 93 pl. 84, 4 (=my fig. 272), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 298 no. 516 fig. The specimen reproduced above is from F. Gnecchi's collection. The medallion was struck in 187 A.D., and shows the god with a *paludamentum* over his shoulder.

[5] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 66 no. 131 pl. 87, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 25 no. 20 pl. 32, 1, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 131 fig. (=my fig. 273), Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 7 no. 62 pl. 5 (=my fig. 274), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 322 no. 717 fig. These medallions were struck in 187 A.D.

For this bold and somewhat grotesque device a precedent may be found in the action of Sex. Pompeius Magnus Pius, the younger son of the triumvir, who *c.* 45—44 B.C. struck *asses* in Spain bearing as obverse design a head of Ianus with the features of Cn. Pompeius Magnus (fig. 275)[1]. Commodus in turn was followed by Caracalla, who a few years later (214 A.D.) visited Thrace and, posing as Alexander *redivivus*, had himself painted in the Janiform type of

Fig. 275.

Fig. 276.

'Alexander and Antoninus[2].' *À propos* of Commodus, we must rule out one of his medallions (fig. 276), a bronze piece in the cabinet at Arolsen, published by E. Gerhard in 1861[3] and still accepted as genuine by W. H. Roscher in 1890[4] and by J. Toutain in 1899[5]. On it the emperor in the guise of Ianus, with one face bearded, the other beardless, holds a staff in his left hand and lays his right on a hoop (described by courtesy as an arch[6]), from which the four

Numismatists differ in naming the emperor's partner. Gnecchi *loc. cit.* says 'Ercole'; H. Cohen *loc. cit.*, 'Hercule'; H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 25, 'Janus'; W. Fröbner *loc. cit.*, 'Jupiter'; W. Kubitschek *loc. cit.*, 'Juppiter.'

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 334 f. pl. Pompeia 1, 5, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 351 no. 20 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 371 f. pl. 101, 13 and 14, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1881 p. 12 f. nos. 25, 26. I figure a specimen in my collection.

Since Sex. Pompeius after the battle of Munda (45 B.C.) rallied the troops that had served under his father and brother, who both bore the name Cn. Pompeius Magnus, it is just conceivable that this Janiform head was intended to combine the paternal and fraternal features. *Aurei* of Sex. Pompeius, struck soon after 42 B.C., have obv. his own head in an oak-wreath, rev. the heads of his father and brother confronted (Morell. *op. cit.* i. 335 ff. pl. Pompeia 1, 6, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 353 no. 24 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 561 pl. 120, 9 and 10, Boutkowski *op. cit.* p. 99 ff. no. 238, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 126 ff. pl. 13, 78). See further *infra* p. 389 n. 2.

[2] Herodian. 4. 8.

[3] E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1861 xix. 137 pl. 147, 8 (=my fig. 276) and 9 with comments by F. Wieseler *ib.* pp. 138—140.

[4] W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 38, 52 fig.

[5] J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 612 fig. 4141.

[6] W. H. Roscher *locc. citt.*: 'seine R. legt er auf einen offenen Bogen (ianus=fores caeli),' 'die R. legt er auf einen Ianusbogen.'

Seasons issue towards a boy symbolising the New Year. This *bizarre* medallion is, I think[1], merely a tooled specimen of a type

Fig. 277.

Fig. 278.

Fig. 279.

first struck by Antoninus Pius in 158 A.D. (fig. 277)[2] and subsequently repeated by Commodus in 185 A.D. (fig. 278)[3]. The god is Iupiter[4], not Ianus, and a Paris example of the later issue shows

[1] Mr G. F. Hill, with whom I have discussed the type, endorses my opinion. I see too that Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 121 n. 1 has expressed the same doubt.

[2] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 15 no. 54 pl. 48, 9 (=my fig. 277) from a specimen formerly in the Stroganoff, latterly in the Evans collection.

[3] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 60 no. 75 pl. 83, 3 (=my fig. 278) from a specimen at Monaco, *ib.* no. 76, *ib.* no. 77 pl. 83, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 24 no. 15 pl. 30, 2, Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 7 no. 57 pl. 4 (mounted and silvered to serve as a *bulla*), E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1861 xix. 137 pl. 147, 6 and 7 with comments by F. Wieseler *ib.* pp. 137—140.

[4] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] vii. 113 already describes him as 'Iuppiter.' F. Wieseler in Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 65 pl. 74, 960 and in the *Arch. Zeit. loc. cit.* says 'Zeus'; H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 24, 'Jupiter'; Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 60, 'Giove o il Secolo' (cp. *infra* p. 373 n. 2). The notion of C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 135 no. 8 pl. 42 that a specimen on which the god is apparently beardless (??) represents 'Le jeune empereur' is justly ridiculed by F. Wieseler in the *Arch. Zeit. loc. cit.*; but his own view that the medallion in question shows 'Helios-Apollon' is not much better. Possibly Lenormant's drawing (reproduced in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1861 xix pl. 147, 7) is incorrect.

him with thunderbolt in lieu of sceptre (fig. 279)[1]. The symbolism is of the simplest. Iupiter as sky-god is sending forth from the *orbis annuus* or 'circle of the year[2]' the four Seasons laden with their gifts—a complementary design to that of Tellus the earth-goddess, who reclining beneath her vine witnesses the same four pass in gracious procession over the star-spangled globe (figs. 273, 274)[3].

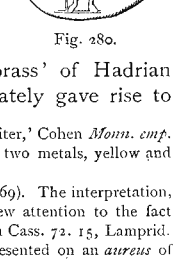


Fig. 280.

The only exception to the bifrontality of Ianus traceable on the coins of Rome is more apparent than real. The quadruple effigy of the god, brought from Falerii in 241 B.C. and erected in a temple with four doors on the Forum Transitorium[4], appears on a 'second brass' of Hadrian (fig. 280)[5]. But this fourfold type, which ultimately gave rise to

[1] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 121 f. fig. (=my fig. 279) 'Jupiter,' Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 291 no. 474 fig. 'Jupiter.' This specimen is struck in two metals, yellow and red copper (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 667, 944 fig. 32).

[2] So Fröhner *loc. cit.* in allusion to Verg. *Aen.* 5. 46 (cp. 1. 269). The interpretation, however, is not certain. Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] vii. 113 f. drew attention to the fact that Commodus claimed to have restored the Golden Age (Dion Cass. 72. 15, Lamprid. *v. Commod.* 14. 3), and observed that the Golden Age was represented on an *aureus* of Hadrian (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 216 no. 1321, cp. *ib.* ii. 216 no. 1322 the same coin in silver, *fourrée*) by a beardless, semi-draped figure (SAEC • AVR) standing within a hoop and carrying a globe surmounted by a phoenix. Again, the circle might be spatial rather than temporal: cp. Ov. *fast.* 1. 85 Iupiter arce sua totum cum spectet in orbem, etc.

[3] This type (TELLVS STABILita), introduced by Hadrian (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 19 no. 90 pl. 145, 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 5 no. 17, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 225 no. 1435), was copied by Faustina Iunior (Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 39 no. 5, Cohen *op. cit.*[2] iii. 154 no. 219), and by Commodus (Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 65 f. no. 125 pl. 86, 8, nos. 126—128, no. 129 pl. 86, 9, no. 130 pl. 86, 10, no. 131 pl. 87, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 25 no. 20 pl. 32, 1, no. 21, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 130 f. with four figs., of which the last=my fig. 273, Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 7 no. 62 pl. 5 (=my fig. 274), Cohen *op. cit.*[2] iii. 322 no. 714 fig., nos. 715, 716, no. 717 fig.); also, with wider variations, by Antoninus Pius (Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 20 no. 97 pl. 54, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 9 no. 14 pl. 11, 2, Fröhner *op. cit.* p. 72 fig., Cohen *op. cit.*[2] ii. 392 no. 1168 fig.).

[4] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 607 and 12. 198, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 13, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 p. 64, 4 ff. Wünsch. Cp. Mart. *ep.* 8. 2. 1 ff., 10. 28. 1 ff., Stat. *silv.* 4. 3. 9 f., Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 8, Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 37. See further H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 449 with n. 18, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 25 f., 28, 53, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom* München 1901 p. 114, B. R. Burchett *Janus in Roman Life and Cult* Menasha, Wisconsin 1918 pp. 28 f., 40.

[5] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 514 f., Suppl. iii. 74, Coben *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 129 no. 281 (left hand on hip), no. 282 (right hand on hip). Cohen, who gives no illustration, simply ignores the third face of the god, though it is clearly enough shown in early publications such as Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 18 pl. 5 no. 19 or J. Harduin's ed. of Plin. *nat. hist.* ii pl. 10, 1. Fig. 280 is from a specimen in my collection. In *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 278 f. I wrongly took the type to be evidence of a triple Ianus, though I noted (*ib.* p. 278 n. 6) that R. Mowat in the *Bulletin épigraphique* iii. 168 had regarded it as Ianus *Quadrifrons* with his fourth face concealed.

the mediaeval representations of January[1], was after all a mere duplication of the twofold type.

(π) Ianus bifrontal in ritual.

The conception of Ianus as a double-faced deity was not without its influence on his ritual. Ioannes the Lydian, writing in the sixth century on the usage of his native town, says:

'Our own Philadelpheia still preserves a trace of the ancient belief. On the first day of the month (*sc.* January) there goes in procession no less a personage than Ianus himself, dressed up in a two-faced mask, and people call him Saturnus, identifying him with Kronos[2].'

The confusion of Ianus with Kronos no doubt presupposes the usual blunder *K*ronos = *Ch*ronos, which from the fifth century B.C. onwards[3] queered the course of Greek theology. But the interest of the passage lies in its record of a Ianus-mask. And of this there is much earlier monumental evidence. A. de Gregorio in his recent publication of prehistoric antiquities from Sicily has included a bronze belonging to the Prince of Torrebruna at Palermo (fig. 281)[4], which represents a male dancer wearing a Janiform mask. This grotesque little figure is clad in a close-fitting fleecy costume, presumably of sheep-skin, which reaches to elbows and knees, buttons down the chest, and is clasped about by a girdle or girdles. He

[1] Souid. *s.v.* 'Ιανουάριος, Kodin. *πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 2. 2 p. 152, 7 ff. Preger, Favorin. *lex.* p. 922, 15 ff. Cp. *supra* p. 326, *infra* p. 374.

[2] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 2 p. 65, 11 ff. Wünsch *ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Φιλαδελφείᾳ ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἴχνος τῆς ἀρχαιότητος σώζεται· ἐν γὰρ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ τῶν Καλενδῶν πρόεισι ἐσχηματισμένος αὐτὸς δῆθεν ὁ Ἰανὸς ἐν διμόρφῳ προσώπῳ, καὶ Σατοῦρνον αὐτὸν καλοῦσιν. οἷον Κρόνον.*

J. Brand *Popular Antiquities* rev. Sir H. Ellis London 1849 i. 19 f.: 'Upon the Circumcision, or New Year's Day, the early Christians ran about masked, in imitation of the superstitions of the Gentiles. Against this practice Saint Maximus and Peter Chrysologus declaimed; whence in some of the very ancient missals we find written in the Mass for this day, "Missa ad prohibendum ab Idolis." See Maeri Hiero-Lexicon, p. 156 [D. Magri *Hierolexicon*[6] Bononiæ 1765 i. 505 f.].' The pagan rites for Jan. 1 are denounced by Christian writers of *s.* iv—v: Io. Chrys. *hom. in kalendas* (xlviii. 953—962 Migne), Aug. *serm.* 197 'de calendis Januariis, contra paganos' and 198 'de calendis Januariis, ii' (xxxviii. 1021—1026 Migne), Asterios of Amaseia *hom.* 4 'adversus kalendarum festum' (xl. 215—226 Migne), Ambros. *serm.* 7 'de kalendis Januariis' (xvii. 617 f. Migne), Prudent. *c. Symm.* 1. 237 ff., Petrus Chrysologus *serm.* 155 'de kalendis Januarii, quae varia gentium superstitione polluebantur' (lii. 609—611 Migne). Cp. *conc. Trull.* can. 62, *conc. Turon. ii* can. 17, *conc. Tolet. iv* can. 11. On the other side read Liban. *or.* 9 *εἰς τὰς καλάνδας* (i. 2. 393—398 Foerster).

[3] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1495 ff., 1546 f.

[4] A. de Gregorio *Iconografia delle collezioni preistoriche della Sicilia* Palermo 1917 p. 128 f. pl. 126, 1^a, 1^b, 1^c (=my fig. 281). Height 0·106m. Not having seen the original, I can only assume the genuineness of this *bizarre* little bronze. Gregorio's sketch hardly inspires confidence. But would any forger have ventured upon a creation so remote from the common run of classical types?

wears a flat cap on his head. In one hand he flourishes a drumstick with knobbed ends. In the other he holds a second stick, with which apparently he drums on an oval shield. The shield is adorned with a Gorgon's head in front and a goat (?) behind. On the ground at the dancer's feet is placed a mask with a tragic (?) face on either side. The nearest parallel to the Palermo bronze is furnished by a

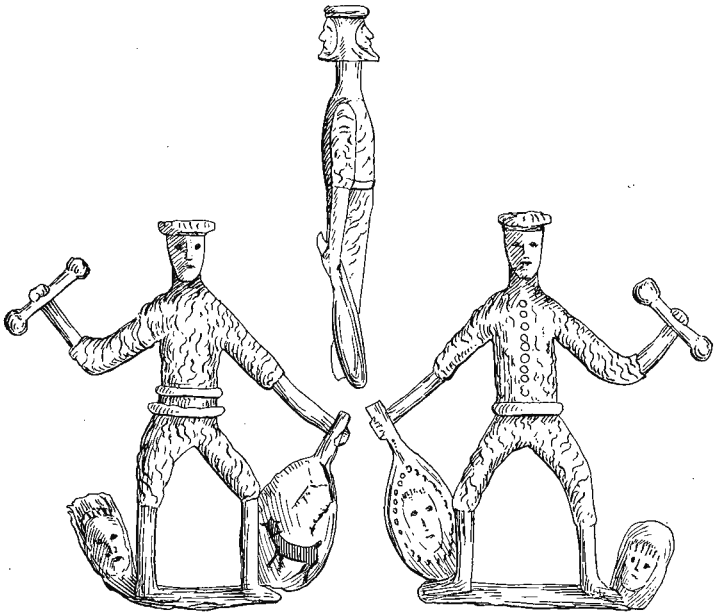


Fig. 281.

frieze of Greek marble found at Anagnia, on which we see (fig. 282)[1] Salii advancing with knobbed staves and oval shields decorated with Gorgon's head and tragic mask. It is, therefore, reasonable to conclude that the bronze too portrays one of the Salii. If it be objected that the chief distinguishing feature is here the double face, I should reply that the Salii are known to have worshipped Ianus[2]. Indeed, they not improbably personated that deity; for certain

[1] O. Benndorf 'Rilievo di Anagni con rappresentanza dei Salii' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 70—74 pl. E (=my fig. 282), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 3 no. 1, Harrison *Themis* p. 194 ff. fig. 49.

[2] The Salian hymn to Ianus is discussed *supra* p. 328 n. 8.

verses chanted by them bore the name of *Ianuli*[1]. Further, it would seem that our bronze gives us an earlier form of the Salian costume—

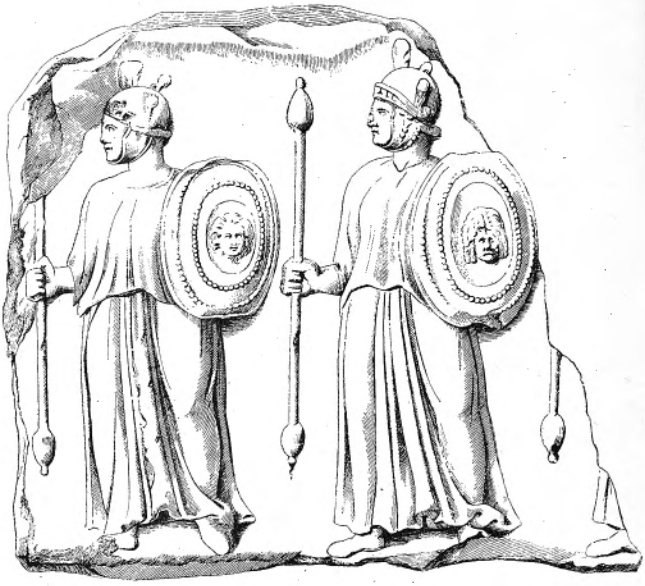


Fig. 282.

not a priestly robe resembling the Doric *péplos* (figs. 282—284)[2],

[1] Paul. ex Fest. p. 3, 6 ff. Müller, p. 3, 12 ff. Lindsay axamenta dicebantur carmina Saliaria, quae a Saliis sacerdotibus componebantur, in universos homines (C. O. Müller cj. deos A. Dammann cj. heroes J. A. Hartung cj. semones W. M. Lindsay: '*vix* omnes') composita. nam in deos singulos versus ficti a nominibus eorum appellabantur, ut Ianuli, Iunonii, Minervii. The relief of Anagnia, which equips the Salii with plumed helmets, shields, and Doric *péploi*, perhaps represents them in the guise of Minerva singing the *Minervii*.

[2] An *aureus* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 78 pl. 68, 3, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 83, 416 ff. fig.) and *denarii* (Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 372 pl. Sanquinia, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 79 pl. 68, 4 (=my fig. 283), Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 83, 418, M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* Wien 1897 p. 233 pl. 10, 244) of the *gens Sanquinia*, struck in 12 B.C., show the herald of the *ludi saeculares* in Salian garb (G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 149 f.).

Denarii of Domitian, struck in 88 A.D., represent one of the Salii, with plumed helmet, staff, and shield on which is the head of Mars, standing before a *candelabrum* and a *cippus* inscribed COS XIIII LVD SAEC FEC (Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 428 f. pl. 8, 19, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 476 nos. 73 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins*

but a jerkin and hose of sheep-skin. This was in all probability the pelt of an animal sacrificed to the god, whose victim was normally a ram[1] or at least a lamb[2]. The fleece survived into classical times as a mere head-dress[3], which is specially mentioned in connexion

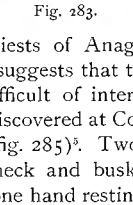


Fig. 283.

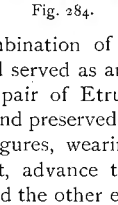


Fig. 284.

with the priests of Anagnia[4]. The combination of goat (?) and *Gorgóneion* suggests that the Salian shield served as an *aigís*.

More difficult of interpretation is a pair of Etruscan bronze statuettes, discovered at Cortona in 1847 and preserved in the *Museo Comunale* (fig. 285)[5]. Two nude male figures, wearing a *torques* round the neck and buskins on the feet, advance towards each other with one hand resting on the hip and the other extended in a gesture of greeting. The two obviously belong together; and both

p. 526 fig. Fig. 284 is from a specimen in my collection. Cp. Cohen *loc. cit.* no. 72 fig. a 'middle brass' with similar *rev.*). An *aureus*, *denarii*, and a *quinarius* of the same date show the priest only, without *candelabrum* or *cippus* (Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 414 pl. 6, 11 wrongly described, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 476 nos. 75—78 wrongly described).

[1] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 12 with Ov. *fast.* 1. 317 ff., Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5047, 5 Iano patri arietes II, no. 5048, 7 Ian. patr. ariet. II.

[2] Fest. p. 189*a* 17 f. Müller, p. 204, 17 f. Lindsay tertia spolia, Ianui Quirino agnum marem caedito (but see W. H. Roscher in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 40), Iuv. 6. 385 ff.

[3] Fest. p. 210, 5 ff. Müller, p. 230, 12 ff. Lindsay pescia in Saliari carmine Aelius Stilo (*frag.* 3 Funaioli) dici ait capitia ex pellibus agninis facta, quod Graeci pelles vocent *πέσκη* neutro genere pluraliter (cp. Hesych. *s.vv. πεσκέων*, *πέσκον*, Phot. *lex. s.v. πεσκέων*, Nik. *ther.* 549 with scbol. *ad loc.*).

[4] Fronto *epist.* 4. 4 (p. 66 f. Naber) priusquam ad villam venimus, Anagniam devertimus mille fere passus a via. deinde id oppidum anticum vidimus, minutulum quidem sed multas res in se antiquas habet, aedes sanctasque caerimonias supra modum. nullus angulus fuit, ubi delubrum aut fanum aut templum non sit. praeterea multi libri lintei, quod ad sacra adtinet. deinde in porta cum eximus, ibi scriptum erat bifariam sic: 'Flamen, sume samentum.' rogavi aliquem ex popularibus, quid illud verbum esset. ait lingua Hernica pelliculam de hostia, quam in apicem suum flamen cum in urbem introeat inponit.

[5] A. Lorini *Di due statuette in bronzo ed inscritte rinvenute presso le mura di Cortona* Cortona 1855, D. Detlefsen *De arte Romanorum antiquissima* Particula i (Glückstadt 1867?) p. 21, A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. cxiii nos. 1051, 1052 pl. 35 (=my fig. 285), C. Pauli *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* Lipsiae 1893 i. 69 no. 437 *v·cvinti·arnt|iaś·culśanśi | alpan·turce* and no. 438 *v·cvinti·arn|tiaś·śelan|śi tez·alpan | turce* (on which see W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1879 iii. 48 f. nos. 53, 54, *id.* in *Etruskische Forschungen und Studien* Stuttgart 1882 ii. 95 *s.v.* '*turce*,' C. Pauli *ib.* 1882 iii. 156 *s.v.* '*tur(u)ce*,' S. Bugge *ib.* 1883 iv. 18 ff., 207).

bear dedicatory inscriptions in the Etruscan language. But, whereas one has a Janiform head, the other is coifed in a lion's scalp (?).

Fig. 285.

It may be conjectured that they are Etruscan players[1] taking the parts of Ianus (*Culśanś*)[2] and Hercules in some forgotten drama.

(ρ) The significance of Ianus' double face.

We have yet to tackle the problem, difficult indeed, but not—I think—insoluble: What was the ultimate significance of Ianus' double face? Ancient and modern explanations being admittedly unsatisfactory, we must perforce look further afield and take into account certain facts noted by students of comparative anthropology. And here I shall avail myself at once of an *obiter dictum* in Sir James Frazer's discussion of African beliefs about twins:

'On the Slave Coast when a woman has brought forth stillborn twins, she has a statue made with two faces and sets it up in a corner of her house....This suggests that elsewhere two-faced images, like those of Janus, may have been intended to represent twins[3].'

Let us fit the new key into our rusty lock and see if the door will open. Ianus, we have said, was originally the divine Sky. The divine Sky is bright by day and dark by night. Being, therefore, of a twofold or twin character, Ianus was naturally represented as a double-faced god.

[1] Cp. a bronze from Cortona, now at Leyden (G. Micali *Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani*[2] Firenze 1833 pl. 119, 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 558 no. 2).

[2] G. Herbig in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1912 v. 534 f., *id.* in *Glotta* 1913 iv. 173 n. 4.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 269 n. 1, citing the *Missions Catholiques* 1875 vii. 592.

But, if so, we might reasonably expect to find other sky-gods duplicated in the same manner. Argos, who in his earliest form appears to have been a sky-god comparable with Zeus[1], is described in the Hesiodic *Aigímios* as 'looking this way and that way with four eyes[2]' and portrayed on vases from *s.* vi onwards with a Janiform head. An Attic black-figured *amphora*, formerly in the

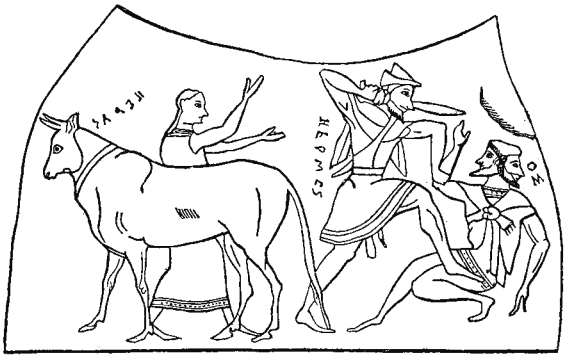


Fig. 286.

possession of the art-dealer Bassegio at Rome, depicts Hermes about to slay Argos in the presence of Hera and the heifer Io (fig. 286)[3]. A red-figured bell-*kratér* from Ruvo, in the collection of R. Barone at Naples, shows a similar group of Hermes attacking Argos, though here Io is a horned maiden and Hera is omitted (fig. 287)[4]. The earlier vase gives Argos two bearded faces, and

[1] *Supra* i. 32, 458.

[2] Hes. *frag.* 4 Flach, 188 Rzach *καί οἱ ἐπίσκοπον Ἄργον ἴει κρατερόν τε μέγαν τε | τέτρασιν ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ὁρώμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, | ἀκάματον δέ οἱ ὦρσε θεὰ μένος, οὐδέ οἱ ὕπνος | πίπτεν ἐπὶ βλεφάροις, φυλακὴν δ' ἔχεν ἔμπεδον αἰεί ap.* schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1116 and *ap.* Tzetz. *in exeg. Il.* p. 153, 21 ff. Hermann (printed after G. Hermann's ed. of Drakon of Stratonikeia *de metris poeticis* Lipsiae 1812). *Supra* i. 311 n. 6, 462. Cp. Kratin. Πανόπται *frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 102 f. Meineke) *ap.* Hephaistion. *enchir.* 1. 9 p. 7, 4 f. Consbruch *κρανία δισσὰ φορεῖν, ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' οὐκ ἀριθματοί.*

[3] O. Jahn in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 21, E. Vitet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1846 p. 308 ff. fig. 2 (=my fig. 286), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 266, K. B. Stark in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 330 f., R. Schöne *ib.* 1865 xxxvii. 150 n. 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 476 f. Atlas pl. 7, 9, K. Blondel in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 418, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 367, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 793. Jahn *loc. cit.* gives the find-spot of the vase as Ponte della Badia, and the subject of its reverse as Herakles killing the Nemean lion in the presence of Athena and Hermes. Vitet *loc. cit.* states that the vase was found at Bomarzo near Viterbo, and that its reverse shows Herakles and Iolaos fighting three warriors (? Geryones).

[4] G. Minervini 'Argo bifronte, dipinto di un vaso di Puglia' in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.*

dresses him in a short *chitón* with ornamental borders and a lion-skin[1] knotted about his chest. The later vase makes one face bearded, the other beardless, adds eyes all over him, and equips him with *pétasos*, panther-skin[2], and club. Again, Boreas, the Thracian wind-god, who recalls the Cilician Zeus *Bóreios*[3], occurs on a red-

Fig. 287.

figured *stámnos* in the Ciai collection at Chiusi as a winged man, with Janiform head, pursuing Oreithyia: her companions scatter to right and left, while a youth stands by as spectator (fig. 288)[4]. In this unique representation of Boreas both faces are bearded, but beard and hair on the one side are dark, on the other side light[5].

1845 iii. 72—76 pl. 4 (=my fig. 287), E. Vitet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1846 p. 308 ff. fig. 1 (worse), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 266, K. B. Stark in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 331, R. Schöne *ib.* 1865 xxxvii. 150 n. 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 92, 479 f. Atlas pl. 7, 13, K. Blondel in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 419 fig. 508, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 469, 1, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 367, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 794.

[1] E. Vitet *loc. cit.* p. 312 'une peau de chèvre ou d'agneau.'

[2] E. Vitet *loc. cit.* p. 311 'une peau de chèvre.' But K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* 'Pantherfell.'

[3] *Supra* i. 142 n. 10.

[4] K. B. Stark 'Borea ed Orizia' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 320—345 pl. L—M (=my fig. 288), A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 808 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 305, R. Lantier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 719.

[5] K. B. Stark *loc. cit.* p. 326: 'Ambedue le faccie sono contornate da ricca barba e ricca capigliatura, distinte tra loro mediante il colore. Nella faccia cioè volta indietro sono di color nero come in tutte le altre figure; nell' opposta all' incontro l' artista ha voluto esprimere il color biondo per l' impasto del color nero a guisa di velatura.' Stark *loc. cit.* p. 332 ff. explains this difference of colouring as an attempt to express the twofold power of Boreas, who can either gather the clouds together or chase them from the sky. L. Stephani *Boreas und die Boreaden* St.-Pétersbourg 1871 p. 12 n. 1 prefers to see in it

Such cases cannot be sharply separated from others, in which the double face is set on a pillar or post. Dionysos, himself a Thracian

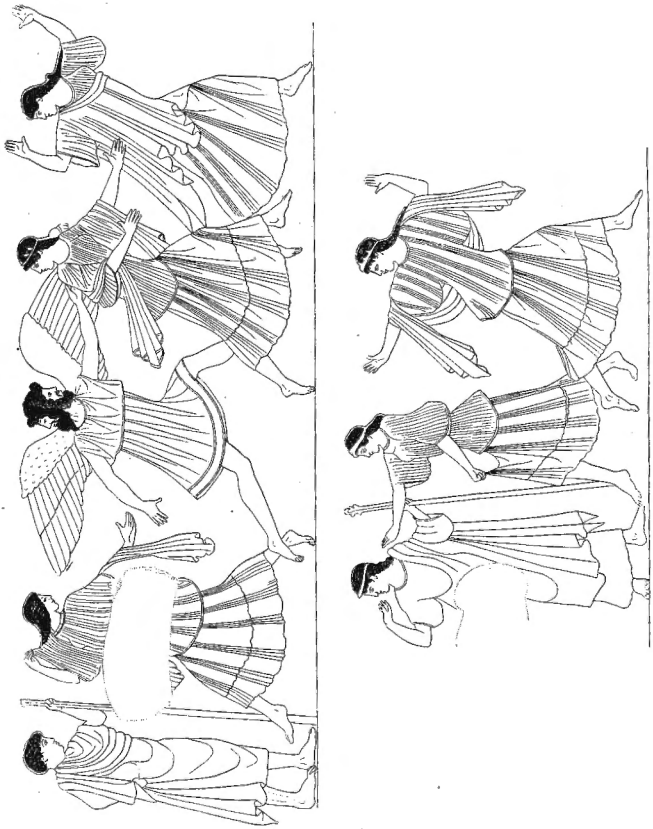


Fig. 288.

god and a rebirth of Zeus, is sometimes represented on black-figured *lékythoi* by a couple of bearded masks hung back to back on a pillar (fig. 289)[1]—an anticipation of the later double herm

an allusion to the counter-blasts, which on the Euripos the Greeks called παλιμβορέας (Theophr. *de vent.* 27 f.).

[1] A. Frickenhaus *Lenäenvasen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxxii) Berlin 1912

(fig. 290)[1]. Finally, the word 'herm' reminds us that the same bifrontal type was appropriate to Hermes[2], a god who in many points resembled Dionysos. A small bronze of Etruscan style in the

Fig. 289.

Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris shows two beardless heads *adossées* with prominent eyes, thick lips, and braided hair[3]. Specimens of *aes grave* cast at Volaterrae in Etruria after *c.* 350 B.C. have for obverse

p. 33 f. cites four examples: (1) Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 317 no. 1001, published by Frickenhaus *op. cit.* pl. 1, 5 (=my fig. 289); (2) Berlin inv. no. 3356, published by O. Kern in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 115 fig. 1, Frickenhaus *op. cit.* p. 5 fig. 6; (3) Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 184 no. 931, published by Frickenhaus *op. cit.* pl. 1, 7; (4) Louvre, described by H. Heydemann *Pariser Antiken* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1887) p. 59 no. 67. See further *supra* i. 671.

[1] P. Righetti *Descrizione del Campidoglio* Roma 1836 ii. 68 f. pl. 262, 3 (=my fig. 290), Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 119 no. 46 b pl. 24, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1122. Height 0·26^{m}, with foot 0·37^{m}. The material is Luna marble. The noses and front edges of both busts are restored. On the top is a hole containing remains of a dowel. The wreath is 'of ivy and berries' (H. Stuart Jones *loc. cit.*), 'di pampini e di edere' (P. Righetti *loc. cit.*). Cp. Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 803 f. no. 720 pl. 86, A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 680 Wilton House no. 41.

[2] Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 22. 80 Ἑρμῆς τε ὁ διπρόσωπος ἐνέτεινε τὴν βλάβην, with which J. F. Boissonade *ad loc.* cp. Georg. Pachymeres *declam.* p. 64, 14 f. Boissonade διπρόσωπον ἄν τις εἶπε τὴν μάχην ἐκείνην, καὶ διπροσώπων ἀνδρῶν, ὁποῖον τὸν Ἑρμῆν Αἰγύπτιοι πλάττουσι.

[3] Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 322 no. 734 'Hermès janiforme' fig., S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 706. Height 47 mill.

design a beardless Janiform head wearing a pointed *pétasos*, and for reverse either a dolphin[1] or a club (fig. 291)[2] or a mere mark of value[3]. Coins of Telamon in Etruria with a similar Janiform head on the obverse and a prow on the reverse are probably spurious[4]. It is commonly held that the dicephalous god of Volaterrae was Ianus—a view strongly advocated by W. Deecke[5]; but the absence of a beard and the presence of a *pétasos* point rather to the justice of W. H. Roscher's[6] suspicion that we should here recognise, not Ianus, but Hermes.

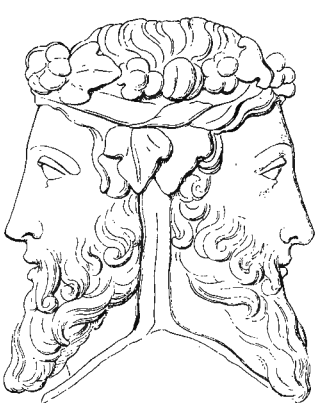


Fig. 290.

On the whole I incline to the conclusion that all these double-faced deities—*Hermês* the 'Pillar'-god (?)[7] among them—were originally local varieties

[1] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 25 pl. 47, 2, 3, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 11 nos. 1 fig. and 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 3 no. 6, W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 41—43.

[2] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 25 pl. 48, 1, 2, 3 (=my fig. 291), 4, 5, 6, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 10 f. nos. 1—17, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 3 nos. 2—5, W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 37—41 pl. 3, 50, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 74 pl. 63, 327, R. Ratto *Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero* Milano 1912 p. 4 f. nos. 40 pl. 2, 41, 42 pl. 2, 43, 44.

[3] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 26 pl. 49, 1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 6, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 9 nos. 1—14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 3 no. 1, W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 34—37 pl. 3, 42, R. Ratto *Catalogo di una grande collezione di un distinto numismatico straniero* Milano 1912 p. 5 nos. 45, 46.

[4] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 188 pl. 125, Monete false 1, W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 43 f. nos. 60ª and 60ᵇ, 128, 147 f.

[5] W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen* Stuttgart 1876 ii. 123 ff.

[6] W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 28, 51.

[7] The present state of our knowledge, or rather ignorance, with regard to the name Ἑρμῆς is summarised by Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 282 n. 3: 'L'étym. de Ἑρμῆς est inconnue; dor. Ἑρμᾶς (<*Ἑρμᾱ̆ς) éol. Ἔρμας ép. Ἑρμέᾱς Ἑρμείᾱς (voy. Solmsen Beitr. 1 240 n. 1) ép. tardif Ἑρμείης ion. att. Ἑρμῆς, puis thess. Ερμανυ dat. GDI. 1300 sont les hypocoristiques de *Ἑρμᾱ́ϝων (cf. Ποτιδᾶς : Ποτειδᾱ́ϝων), cf. Ἑρμᾶων Hsd., lac. Ἑρμᾶωι dat. inscr. métrique Le Bas—Foucart 167, 5, lac. arc. Ἑρμᾶνος gén., mess. Ἑρμᾶνι dat. etc. Les opinions de Kuhn (: skr. *Sāramēyaḥ* "fils de la déesse-chienne *Sarámā*," gr. ὁρμή "*tempête"), Max Müller (Ἑρμέᾶς "*fils de l'aurore"), Welcker (: gr. ὁρμή "succession du jour et de la nuit, de la vie et de la mort"), Preller (: gr. ἔρμα "tas de pierres," cf. les ἑρμαῖα, ἑρμαῖοι λόφοι, ἕρμᾰκες), A. Legrand dans

of the divine Sky, or at least stood in such a relation to him that

Fig. 291.

they could borrow his bifrontal type. And in the development of

Saglio III, 2, 1802 bibl. (: gr. ὁρμή "*désir passionnel" et confusion avec ἕρμακες) sont désuètes.'

Id. ib. p. 281 f. distinguishes (1) ἕρμα for *σϝέρμα, 'prop, post': (2) ἕρμα for *ϝέρσμα, 'rock': (3) ἕρμα for *σέρμα, 'earring.' Attempts to connect Ἑρμῆς with ἕρμα have hitherto operated with ἕρμα, 'rock' (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 385 n. 5 'Grosse Wahrscheinlichkeit hat die vom Verf. in der ersten Ausgabe [1854] vorgetragene Ableitung von ἕρμα, vgl. Αἰνείας αἶνος, Αὐγείας αὐγή; wie denn die ἑρμαῖα, ἑρμαῖοι λόφοι, ἕρμακες, d. h. die aufgeschütteten Steinhaufen auf Bergen und an den Strassen, die älteste Vergegenwärtigung des Hermes waren; vgl. Dio Chryst. or. 78 p. 420 R ὥστε μεγάλα ἕρματα ἀθροίζεσθαι λίθων.' K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archaeologie der Kunst*[3] Stuttgart 1878 p. 586 n. 1 'Wahrscheinlich ist die Pfeilerbildung des H. so alt wie der Gott selbst, da Ἑρμῆς deutlich mit ἕρμα, ἕρμαξ zusammenhängt.'); and it is no doubt possible to assume that this word developed in Greek a meaning similar to that of its Irish congener *farr*, 'column, pillar' (Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 282). I should, however, prefer to suppose that Ἑρμῆς is related to ἕρμα, 'prop, post,' and that the earliest Greek effigy of the god was a wooden phallic pillar (*e.g.* Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 292 f. pl. 115), forerunner of the stone or marble herm (*e.g.* E. Gerhard 'Ueber Hermenbilder auf griechischen Vasen' in his *Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften* Berlin 1868 ii. 126—148 pls. 63—67).

Hermes was, *bien entendu*, a god of many parts, at once terrestrial and celestial. We shall see reason to compare him with Zeus Κτήσιος (Append. H *fin.*), and we shall find analogous deities represented by phallic herms (Append. L *fin.*). It may be added that his combination of earthly with heavenly powers is well brought out by the description of him as διάκτορος ἀργεϊφόντης—an old pre-Homeric tag (cp. *supra* i. 444). On the one hand, J. B. Bury (in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1892 xviii. 295), A. Fick (*ib.* 1894 xx. 179), F. Solmsen ('Διάκτορος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1894 iii. 90—99), and F. Bechtel (*Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 100), all relate διά-κτορος to κτέρας, κτέρεα, κτερίζω (cp. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* διάκτορος·...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ ὁ τὰ κτέρεα καὶ τὰ θύματα τοῖς τετελευτηκόσι κομίζων=*et. mag.* p. 268, 18 f. ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Ἑρμοῦ φασὶ παρὰ τὸ τὰ κτέρεα (so P. K. Buttmann for τὸ κέαρ or τὸ τὰ κέαρ codd.) τῶν τετελευτηκότων κομίζειν). Fick remarks that Hermes in *Il.* 24. 397 feigns to be the son of Πολύ-κτωρ, and that Lyk. *Al.* 679 uses Κτάρος as a title of Hermes himself (schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*). Solmsen argues that the root κτερ meant 'schenken, geben,' and that διά-κτορος had the force of 'Spender, Geber,' δια- denoting transference as in διάβολος,

that type I notice two tendencies, which may be held to reinforce my contention.

(σ) The Sky-god's hat.

Firstly, the bifacial god is apt to wear a broad-brimmed hat. For instance, on an engraved cornelian at Berlin, Greek work of Hellenistic date, he has a wide hat on his head and a long staff in his hand (fig. 292)[1]. We are reminded of Ovid's Ianus 'leaning on

Fig. 292.

Fig. 293.

Fig. 294.

the staff, which he carried in his right hand[2].' Again, a brown sard in the same collection, a convex gem of the early Roman period, shows a bearded and an unbearded head combined beneath a round hat with dotted decoration (fig. 293)[3]. Such a hat suggests com-

διάδοχος, διάκονος. He cp. Od. 8. 335 Ἑρμεία, Διὸς υἱέ, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἐάων, *h. Herm.* 18. 12 χαῖρ', Ἑρμῆ χαριδῶτα, διάκτορε, δῶτορ ἐάων, and such passages as *Il.* 14. 489 ff., 16. 179 ff., *Od.* 15. 319 f. Bechtel renders 'einer, der gründlich über Schätze verfügt.' It appears, then, that Hermes διάκτορος was a chthonian god resembling Zeus Πλουτοδότης or Πλούτων (*supra* i. 503 f.). On the other hand, ἀργεϊφόντης almost certainly means 'slaying with a flash.' Bechtel *op. cit.* p. 53 says: 'Die Mythologen müssen entscheiden, ob sie mit der Bezeichnung "durch den Glanz tötend," "in dem Glanze tötend" etwas ausrichten können.' I gladly take up this challenge. This epithet so interpreted suits admirably the sky-god with his fatal lightning-flash. Hermes ἀργεϊφόντης, in fact, recalls Zeus, who slays ἀργῆτι κεραυνῷ (*supra* i. 31 n. 4). And if Hermes' epithet came to be misunderstood as 'the slayer of Argos,' that piece of popular etymology is at least of interest inasmuch as it implies the conflict of two rival gods. It is tempting to conjecture that the *caduceus* of the victor originated as a bipartite lightning-fork (*infra* § 3 (ε) iv (β) and (δ)); but the subject cannot here be pursued.

Since the foregoing paragraph was written an article on Ἀργεϊφόντης by P. Kretschmer has appeared in *Glotta* 1919 x. 45—49. Kretschmer holds that Ἀργεϊφόντης is *metri gratia* for Ἀργοφόντης and compares the epic ἀνδρεϊφόντης for ἀνδροφόντης (though U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Homerische Untersuchungen* Berlin 1884 p. 299 n. 10 took ἀνδρεϊφόντης to have been formed on the analogy of Ἀργεϊφόντης). 'Wir kommen also zu dem Schluss: die Wissenschaft wie die Schule mag ruhig bei der Übersetzung *Argostöter* bleiben.' As to the question put by Bechtel, 'Ich meine, die Mythologen müssen diese Frage energisch verneinen. Ein solcher Beiname würde allenfalls auf den blitzeschleudernden Zeus passen, aber nicht auf Hermes, der auch kein Lichtgott ist.' This suits my argument well enough.

[1] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 236 no. 6461 pl. 45 (=my fig. 292: scale ⅔).

[2] Ov. *fast.* 1. 177.

[3] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 96 f. no. 1844 pl. 18 (=my fig. 293: scale ⅔).

parison with the beardless Janiform head wearing a helmet on *asses* of Ouxenton (*Ugento*) in Calabria (fig. 294)[1]. Now R. Eisler has rightly insisted that throughout the Levant the sky was often symbolised as a hat[2]—witness the tiara of Zeus *Oromádses*[3], the starry *pîlos* of Men or Attis or Mithras (?)[4], etc.[5] The same conception prevailed among the nations of northern Europe, as may be seen from Odhin's broad hat[6], though hardly from the umbrella-like head-gear of Rugiwit[7]. And the Greeks themselves were capable of equally crude ideas; for Anaximenes of Miletos, who speaks of his *aér* as condensed by a process of 'felting' (*pílesis*)[8], declares that the stars move round the earth horizontally 'as the felt hat (*pîlíon*) turns about on our head[9].' We need not, therefore, hesitate to interpret the *pétasos* of Hermes or Argos or Ianus as an unsophisticated symbol for the sky overhead.

[1] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 123 pl. 97, 12 (=my fig. 294). Rasche *Lex. Num.* xi. 953, Suppl. iii. 72 (Ianus), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 220, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 69 (Athena? Roma?).

[2] R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 64 f., 67, ii. 582 n. 3, 677, *alib.*

[3] *Supra* i. 748 f. fig. 545.

[4] *Supra* i. 741 f.

[5] Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 3. 7. 7 (on the high priest's mitre) *καὶ ὁ πῖλος δέ μοι δοκεῖ τὸν οὐρανὸν τεκμηριοῦν ὑακίνθινος πεποιημένος· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ὑπερανετίθετο αὐτῷ τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ Θεοῦ* with S. Havercamp *ad loc.*, Theodoret. *quaest. in Exodum* 60 (lxxx. 285 B Migne) *ἐπέκειτο δὲ τῇ κεφαλῇ* (*sc.* of Aaron) *κίδαρις τὸν οὐρανὸν μιμουμένη.*

Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 23 *πῖλον δὲ περιέθεσαν* (*sc.* on the head of Hephaistos) *κυάνεον τῆς οὐρανίου σύμβολον περιφορᾶς.*

[6] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 146, 1888 iv. 1331 f., K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* Bonn 1878 p. 173, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 90, 231, 235, 253, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 334 f., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 226, R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 pp. 229, 232 f. The equation of Odhin's hat with Hermes' *pétasos* (Grimm *op. cit.* iv. 1332, W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 113, R. M. Meyer *op. cit.* p. 226, K. Helm *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1913 i. 265) was presumably one of the reasons for the Roman identification of Wodan with Mercurius (Tac. *Germ.* 9, *ann.* 13. 57 with J. C. Orelli *ad locc.* See further *supra* p. 63 n. o).

[7] Dr Vollmer's *Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Völker.* Neu bearbeitet von Dr W. Binder Stuttgart 1874 p. 403 fig. 273. The source from which this singular illustration has been drawn is not stated. Saxo Grammaticus *hist. Dan.* 14 p. 577, 23 ff. Holder says nothing about the hat.

[8] Plout. *strom. frag.* 3 *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 8. 3=H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 579, 21=*id. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 23, 4 f. *πιλουμένου δὲ τοῦ ἀέρος πρώτην γεγενῆσθαι λέγει τὴν γῆν πλατεῖαν μάλα,* Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 1. 7 p. 18 Duncker—Schneidewin=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 560, 21=*id. Frag. Vorsokr.*[3] i. 23, 16 f. *ἐξ ἀέρος <δὲ> νέφος ἀποτελεῖσθαι κατὰ τὴν πίλησιν, κ.τ.λ.*

[9] Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 1. 7 p. 18 Duncker—Schneidewin=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 561, 7 ff.=*id. Frag. Vorsokr.*[3] i. 23, 24 ff. *οὐ κινεῖσθαι δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν τὰ ἄστρα λέγει, καθὼς ἕτεροι ὑπειλήφασιν, ἀλλὰ περὶ γῆν, ὡσπερεὶ περὶ τὴν ἡμετέραν κεφαλὴν στρέφεται τὸ πιλίον.*

(7) The differentiation of the Sky-god's faces.

Secondly, the two faces of the bifrontal deity are often differentiated. And this differentiation may vary much in its degree. Boreas, as we have just seen[1], had two bearded profiles, one dark, the other light. Argos on the *kratêr* from Ruvo[2] and Ianus (?) on the Roman sard[3] joined a bearded to a beardless visage. The

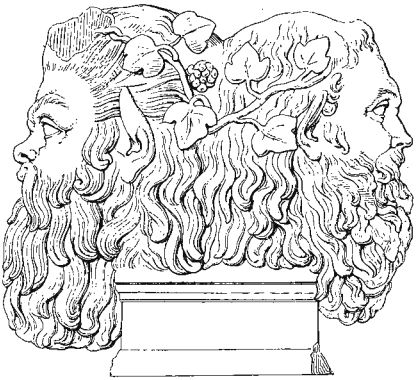


Fig. 295.

result was a piquant contrast, which acquired a certain popularity. Thus a double herm to be seen in the Museo Capitolino at Rome[4] combines a bearded with a beardless Dionysos. Another, a work of Augustan date now in the Vatican, links a would-be archaic with a Hellenistic head of Silenos (fig. 295)[5]. Or again, two heads are

[1] *Supra* p. 380 f. fig. 288.

[2] *Supra* p. 379 f. fig. 287.

[3] *Supra* p. 385 fig. 293.

[4] Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 144 no. 14 pl. 34, G. Bottari *Il Museo Capitolino* Roma 1750 i Animadversiones pl. 6, 2 (facing p. 18). Height 1·085^{m} to base of shaft, which does not belong to the heads. Luna marble. The nose of the unbearded head and a lock of hair by its left ear have been restored.

A bronze in the Museum at Cassel shows a nude youth of effeminate aspect holding an adze (?) in his lowered right hand and a Janiform amulet in his raised left hand: the little figure has a beardless face in front, a bearded face behind (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* i. 40 pl. 13, 5 f., *id. Ant. Bildw.* pl. 303, 4 f., Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 176 no. 9 'Hermaphrodite?'). Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* i. 40 pl. 13, 2—4 cp. a bronze amulet, acquired by him in Rome, which unites the face of a child with that of a lion.

[5] E. Pistolesi *Il Vaticano Descritto ed Illustrato* Roma 1829 iv. 141 pl. 55, 1 (=my fig. 295), A. Nibby in F. A. Visconti—G. A. Guattani *Il Museo Chiaramonti aggiunto al Pio-Clementino da N. S. Pio VII P. M.* Roma 1843 iii pl. 9, A. Furtwängler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 199 n. 1 and 234 f. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 145 n. 2 and 173), Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 44 no. 75, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 461 f. no. 229 pl. 47. Height 0·365^{m}. Yellowish marble of fine grain.

associated that might be regarded as diverse manifestations of the same power, whether divine or human. Accordingly Zeus *Ammon* was paired with Dionysos[1] or with a Satyr[2] or with Sarapis (?)[3]; Zeus wearing an oak-wreath and acorns, with Hermes (?) wearing a winged hat like a helmet[4]. Cicero's *Hermeraclae*[5] may mean no more than 'herms of Herakles[6].' But the actual grouping Ianus-wise of Hermes with Herakles is sufficiently attested by an *as* of the *gens Rubria*, struck *c.* 86 B.C. (fig. 296)[7], perhaps also by a double bust in the Vatican[8]. Another bust in the same collection couples a youthful Hermes, wearing a *pétasos*, and a bearded Dionysos, with wings on his head[9]. One in the Cabinet de France joins a bearded Dionysos, with head-wings and a diadem, to a beardless Satyr, wearing an ivy-wreath[10]. Another at Berlin combines a bearded Dionysos and a beardless Satyr, both crowned with ivy[11]. Yet another, in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge, shows an ivy-wreathed Silenos together with a bay-wreathed Apollon (fig. 297)[12]. We find a Janiform arrangement even of a tragic and

Fig. 296.

Silver *hemidrachma* of Thasos (*c.* 411—350 B.C.) have obv. Janiform head of a bald and bearded Satyr; rev. ΘΑΣΙ or ΘΑΣΙ two *amphorae* placed in opposite directions, within incuse square (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace, etc. p. 221 nos. 51, 52, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 290 nos. 36—39, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 265, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 54).

[1] *Supra* i. 374. [2] *Supra* i. 374. [3] *Supra* i. 366 n. 2.

[4] A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 633 Richmond no. 47.

[5] Cic. *ad Att.* i. 10. 3.

[6] F. Dürrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 122 fig. 3802, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 705.

[7] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 406, 408 f. no. 6 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 313 fig. (=my fig. 296).

[8] E. Q. Visconti *Musée Pie-Clémentin* Milan 1821 vi. 100—102 pl. 13, 2. Height 'deux palmes et trois onces.' Greek marble. Both heads are wreathed with poplar; and Visconti admits that they might be interpreted as a bearded and a beardless Herakles. He concludes, however, in favour of Herakles *plus* Hermes, two sons of Zeus presiding over athletic contests.

[9] Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 318, 2, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 469 no. 239 C pl. 47, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 707.

[10] Cabinet de France no. 3277, published by V. Duruy *History of Rome and the Roman People* ed. J. P. Mahaffy London 1883 i. 656, P. Paris in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 134 fig. 3820.

[11] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 62 no. 137 fig.

[12] J. Disney *The Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge* London 1849 p. 23 f. pl. 12 ('Bacchus and Ceres'), A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 258 no. 50, H. A. Chapman *A Handbook to the collection of antiquities...in the Fitzwilliam Museum*[2] Cambridge 1904 p. 44. My fig. 297 is from a photograph by Mr W. Tams. Restored: nose-tips and busts. Height of genuine parts 0·16m.

a comic mask[1]. As to the synthesis of human heads, exact duplication of the same face is rare[2]. Far more frequent is the union of two personages likely to be associated in memory. For example,

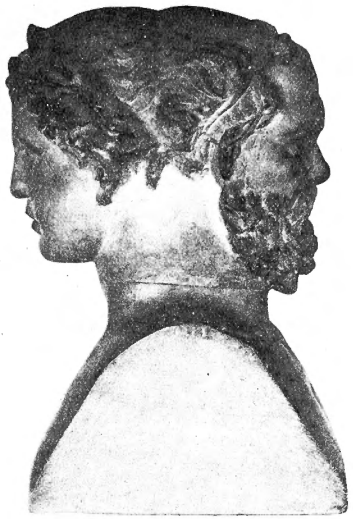


Fig. 297.

J. J. Bernoulli in the course of his great works on Greek and Roman iconography has occasion to discuss double portrait-herms of Homer and Hesiod[3], Sophokles and Euripides[4], Herodotos and

[1] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 92 f. no. 214 fig. Blueish marble. Height 0·10m. This double herm was acquired by E. Gerhard in Rome (1841). Cp. a sard, obtained in Constantinople (1884) and now in the Lewis collection at Cambridge (J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 52 no. 44), which has tragic and satyric masks, back to back, with a mask of Pan above them (fig. 298 =scale $\frac{2}{3}$).

Fig. 298.

[2] *Supra* p. 371 n. 1. See also J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 ii. 96 n. 4, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 185 f. nos. 476, 477 (two double herms recalling the type of Polykleitos' *doryphóros*).

[3] J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 9, 29 f. figs. 3 f.

[4] *Id. ib.* i. 29, 127, 153 figs. 25 f.

Thoukydides[1], Sokrates and Platon (?)[2], Sokrates and Seneca[3], Epikouros and Metrodoros[4], etc. By a further process of divergence the component faces became respectively male and female. Already in the latter part of the sixth century B.C. Athenian potters were

Fig. 299.

turning out Janiform *arýballoi*. A specimen in my collection (pl. xxi)[5] unites a male with a female Dionysiac head: the one (Dionysos?) has a bay-wreath, the other (Ariadne?) an ivy-wreath. Similar vases were produced in the early decades of the fifth century[6];

[1] *Id. ib.* i. 159, 180 f. pls. 18—20.

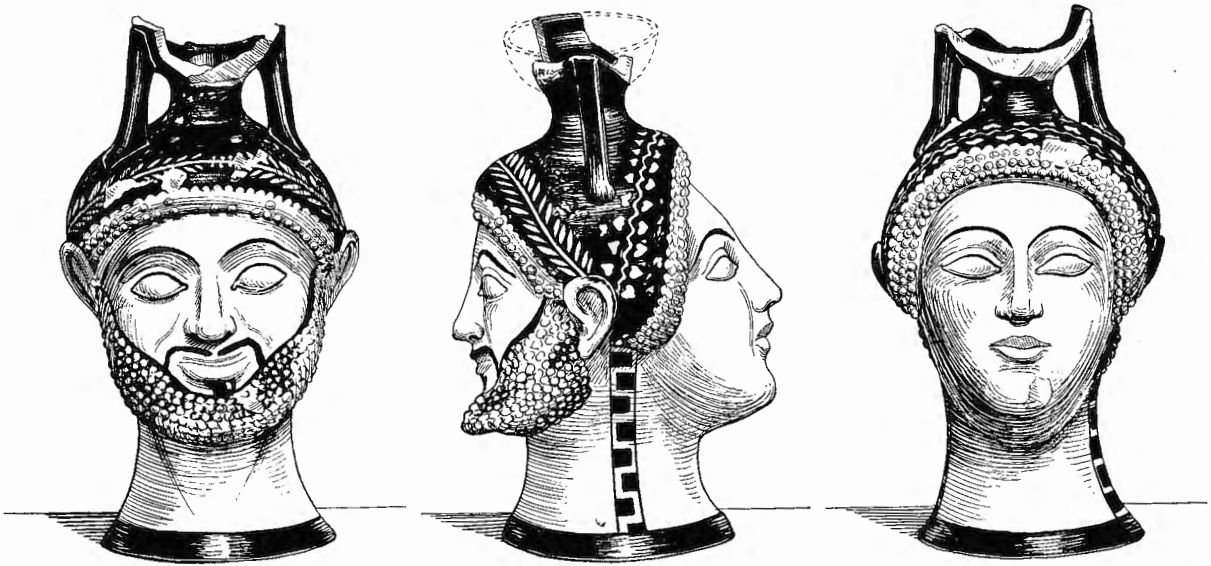
[2] *Id. ib.* i. 189, ii. 23, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 126 no. 299 fig.

[3] J. J. Bernoulli *Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 i. 189, *id. Römische Ikonographie* Stuttgart 1882 i. 276 ff. pl. 24.

[4] *Id. Griechische Ikonographie* München 1901 ii. 130 pls. 16, 17.

[5] Height 0·1125^{m}.

[6] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 1026 nos. 4044 and 4045 = *id. Samml. Sabouroff*



Janiform *aryballos*, combining male and female Dionysiac heads.

See page 390.

and the type, with its numismatic analogues[1], prepared the way for the double herms of Dionysos and Ariadne so common in

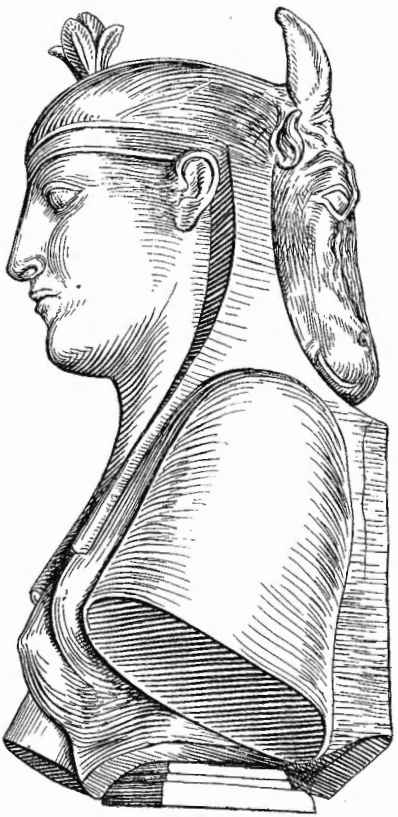


Fig. 300.

Roman times (fig. 299)[2]. These two having led off the dance, other

Vases pl. 69. Cp. R. Gargiulo *Raccolta dei monumenti più interessanti del Real Museo Borbonico e di varie collezioni private*[2] Napoli 1845 pl. 13 f.

[1] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (ο).

[2] *E.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 46 nos. 1622 and 1623 (*Brit. Mus. Marbles* ii pl. 17 (=my fig. 299). Found near Rome by Gavin Hamilton. Veined marble. Height 1 ft. 2 ins. Restored: the nose-tips), A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain*

couples soon joined in—Hermes with Hestia[1], Priapos with a Maenad[2], Pan with a Maenad[3], a boy-Pan with a girl-Pan[4], a Satyr with a Maenad[5], Triton with Libye[6], and doubtless many more, including even such ungainly partners as Apis with Isis (fig. 300)[7].

(*v*) Virbius as Dianus.

Perhaps the most interesting of all the differentiated types is that represented *in primis* by a double herm found during the excavations of 1885 at Nemi[8] and now forming part of a private English collection (pl. xxii, 1—3)[9], *in secundis* by a very similar herm

Cambridge 1882 p. 258 ff. Cambridge nos. 51 and 59, p. 368 Ince Blundell Hall no. 160, p. 439 Lansdowne House nos. 7, 8, p. 608 Petworth House no. 22, p. 633 Richmond no. 48, p. 649 f. Rossie Priory nos. 11 and 18, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 469 no. 239 B pl. 47, A. Mau *Pompeii: its life and art* trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 pp. 326, 448 fig. 257, *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 34 f. no. 57 pl. 26.

[1] Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 220 nos. 198 and 199 (? really Dionysos and Ariadne).

[2] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 108 no. 249 fig.

[3] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 105 no. 242 fig.

[4] R. Gargiulo *Collection of the most remarkable monuments of the National Museum* Naples 1873 ii pl. 24.

[5] *Id. ib.* ii pl. 25.

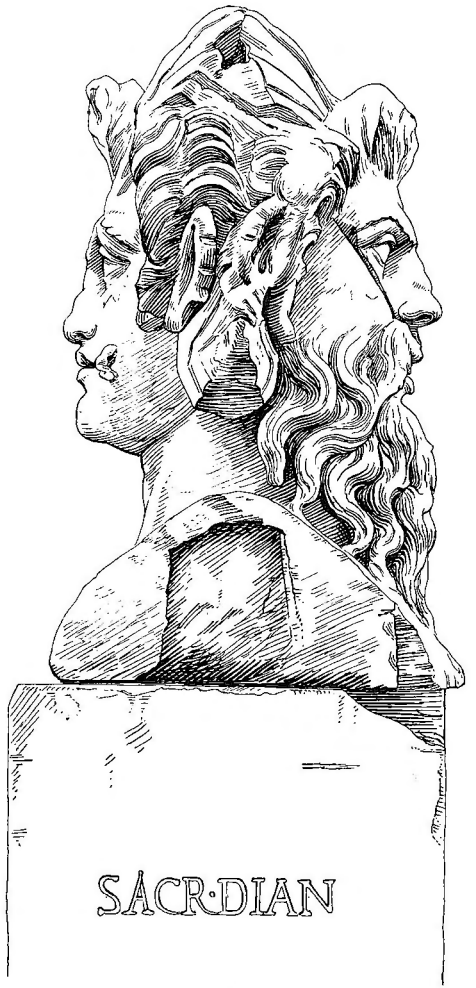
[6] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 89 f. no. 207 fig.

[7] P. Gusman *La villa impériale de Tibur* (*villa Hadriana*) Paris 1904 p. 313 fig. 579 (=my fig. 300) an Egyptising herm of black marble in the Egyptian Museum of the Vatican.

[8] The site was excavated in 1885—1886 by Sir John Savile Lumley, now Lord Savile, then English ambassador at Rome. See Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 3 n. 2 for bibliography. The herm was discovered in a *porticus* adjoining the temple of Diana. Plan of the temple by R. F. Pullan in *Archaeologia* 1887 l. 1. 58 ff. pl. 7; plan of the precinct by A. Langenhau in O. Rossbach 'Das Dianaheiligtum in Nemi' in the *Verh. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz* 1889 p. 152 (both reproduced by L. Morpurgo 'Nemus Aricinum' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 303 ff. figs. 1 and 2; the latter only, by G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. xxii f.).

[9] G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1885 p. 479, W. Helbig 'Scavi di Nemi' in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1885 p. 227 f., *id.* in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1886 i. 60 f., *id. Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 331, *id. Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 439, O. Rossbach *loc. cit.* p. 159, G. H. Wallis *op. cit.* p. 32 f. no. 611 with pl. (two photographs from a cast of the double bust), A. B. Cook in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 373, *id.* in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 289 ff., L. Morpurgo 'Nemus Aricinum' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 323, 350, *ead.* 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 109—127 with figs. 1—6 and pls. 5, A—C and 6, A—C (three photographs from the original herm=my pl. xxii, 1—3), F. Granger 'A portrait of the Rex Nemorensis' in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 194—197 with two figs., *id.* 'The leafy bust at Nemi' *ib.* 1908 xxii. 217, Sir J. G. Frazer 'The leafy bust at Nemi' *ib.* 1908 xxii. 147—149, *id. Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 41 f., Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 150 f. Height of bust 0·25[m]; breadth 0·192[m]. Height of shaft 1·35[m]; breadth 0·20[m]. The shaft, found close to the bust, is also of marble (*bardiglio*) and bears the inscription SACR · DIAN in reddened lettering.

1



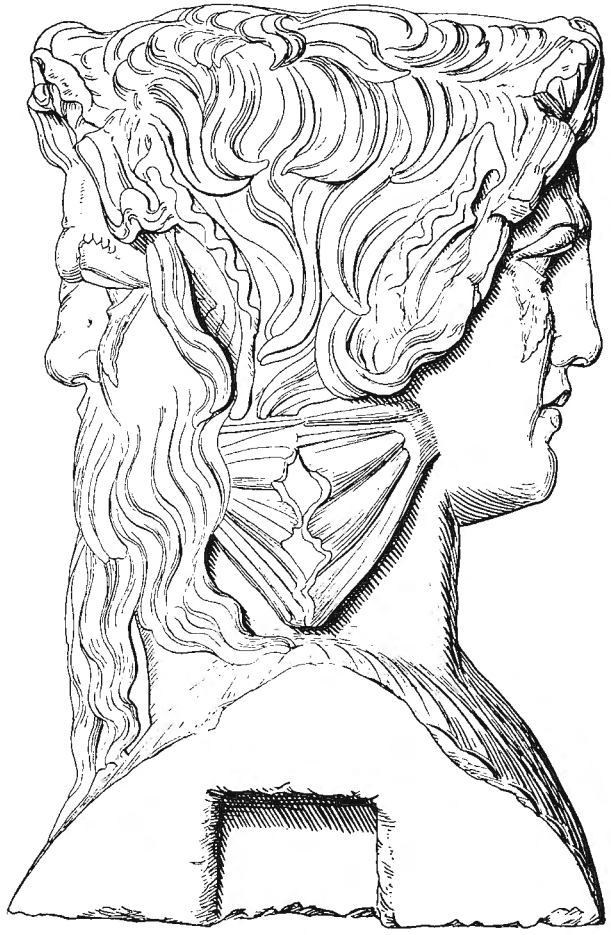
2

Janiform bust from Nemi, probably representing Hippolytos-Virbius decked with leaves of the *quercus robur* as consort of Diana.

See page 392 ff.

3

1



2

Janiform bust in the Capitoline Museum, probably representing Hippolytos-Virbius decked with leaves of the *quercus ilex* as consort of Diana.

See pages 393, 399 f.

3

probably brought at an earlier date from the same locality[1] and now preserved in the Capitoline Museum (pl. xxiii, 1—3)[2]. Both herms combine a beardless with a bearded head and are characterised by curious foliated decoration, which has been diversely explained.

To speak first of the bust found by Lord Savile at Nemi. In 1885 G. Fiorelli described it as a double Bacchic herm[3], presumably because he took its foliation for vine-leaves. But in the same year W. Helbig suggested that we have here to do with a pair of water-divinities, arguing that fins start from their brows and aquatic plants spread over the cheeks of the bearded head, the neck and chest of both; further, that the younger face has a small fin at each angle of the mouth, the elder face a beard saturated with water, while the hair of both alike is damp and wind-blown[4]. In 1886 Helbig proposed to regard them as personifications of the neighbouring lakes of Albano and Nemi[5]—a view which has been favourably received[6]. In 1902 I put forward a new surmise[7]. Since the shaft of the herm is inscribed 'Sacred to Diana[8],' it seemed reasonable to interpret the Janiform bust as that of Diana's favourite—Hippolytos transformed into Virbius, who in Ovid's account says of the goddess:

> She made me older and henceforth of features
> Unrecognisable[9].

[1] L. Morpurgo in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 124.

[2] Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 614 no. 1545, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 417—419 (=my pl. xxiii, 1—3) with Text ii. 31 f. by P. Arndt, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* i. 331 f. no. 451, *id. Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 439 no. 794, L. Morpurgo 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 109—127 with figs. 1—6 and pls. 5, A—C and 6, A—C, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 150 f. Sala delle Colombe no. 28 pl. 37. Height of bust 0·355^{m}. Marble, *grechetto*. Restored: older head—lock of beard and lock near right eye; younger head—part of left shoulder and angle of herm. 'Fair work of first or early second century A.D.' (Stuart Jones *loc. cit.*).

[3] G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1885 p. 479 ('un' erma bacchica doppia').

[4] W. Helbig 'Scavi di Nemi' in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1885 p. 227 f. ('Un' erma doppia... composta dalle teste di due esseri acquatici').

[5] W. Helbig in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1886 i. 61 ('personificazioni di acque che nell' agro aricino avevano un interesse locale, cioè del lago Albano e di quello di Nemi').

[6] *E.g.* G. H. Wallis *Illustrated Catalogue of Classical Antiquities from the site of the Temple of Diana, Nemi, Italy* Nottingham 1893 p. 33. However, O. Rossbach 'Das Dianaheiligtum in Nemi' in the *Verh. d. 40. Philologenversamml. in Görlitz* 1889 p. 159 is content to treat them as indeterminate aquatic powers.

[7] *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 373.

[8] SACR·DIAN (*supra* p. 392 n. 9) must, at Nemi, be completed as 'sacrum Diana*e*,' not 'Diano' (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 289).

[9] Ov. *met.* 15. 539 f. addidit aetatem nec cognoscenda reliquit | ora mihi. Cp. Auson. *cento nuptialis* 360 *epist.* p. 207, 28 ff. Peiper ne in sacris et fabulis aut Thyonianum mireris aut Virbium, illum de Dionyso, hunc de Hippolyto reformatum.

Accepting the aquatic traits noted by Helbig, I contended that fish-forms were not inappropriate to a companion of Artemis and that Virbius might turn out to be a river-god rather than a tree-spirit. In 1905[1] I was still disposed to think that Virbius in Italy, if not also in Greece[2], was a stream-god. But I urged that the Janiform bust from Nemi identified him with Diana's consort Dianus or Ianus[3], a god incarnate in the *rex Nemorensis*. Prof. F. Granger in 1907[4] threw fresh light on the problem by remarking that the two ends of the moustache upon the bearded face are formed of oak-leaves, that the foliage round the necks of both figures is clearly to be explained as oak-leaves, and that the alleged fins are not fins at all, but merely conventionalised leafage. Hence he enquires 'whether the double bust may stand for Virbius-Hippolytus as a wood-spirit, perhaps the king of the wood.' The younger face with its barbaric type might represent the ruffian assailant; the older face, anxious and wrinkled, might portray the king-priest haunted by the dread of sudden attacks. In 1908[5] Sir James Frazer, after examining the cast of the herm at Nottingham, admitted 'that, whether accidentally or not, the modelling of the moustache on one side of the face does resemble an oak leaf,' but raised doubts with regard to the rest of the foliage. He concluded as follows:

'Thus the identification of the leaves on the bust as oak-leaves, and with it my theory of the priest as a personification of the oak, remains uncertain. I will only add that Miss Darwin's proposal to identify as leaves of some sort the

[1] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 289 ff.

[2] Vibius Sequester, who in *s.* iv—v wrote for his son Virgilianus a guide to the geographical names of Virgil, Ovid, Lucan, Silius Italicus, etc. (W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe *History of Roman Literature*[5] trans. G. C. W. Warr London 1892 ii. 436 f., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 1108), includes in his list of rivers (p. 152, 6 f. Riese) Virbius Laconices, ubi Hippolytum Aesculapius arte medicinae reddidit vitae, unde et Virbius dictus, and in his list of springs (p. 152, 33 Riese) Virvinus Laconices. J. J. Oberlin (ed. Argentorati 1778 pp. 211 f., 242) thinks that Vib. Seq. invented the stream Virbius, and possibly the spring Virvinus to boot, prompted by Ov. *fast.* 6. 756 Aricino Virbius ille lacu. C. Bursian (ed. Turici 1867 pp. 10, 11) would alter *Laconices* into *lacu* (or *luco*) *Ariciae*, and treats *Virvinus* as a blundering repetition of *Virbius*. A. Riese (ed. Heilbronnae 1878 p. 152) cj. *in agro Ariciae* for *Laconices*, and brackets *Virvinus Laconices* as a meaningless duplication. *Infra* p. 421.

[3] Accordingly I laid stress on the watery aspect of Ianus, husband of Iuturna (*supra* p. 368 n. 3) the old Latin goddess of lakes and rivers, and father of Fontus (*ib.*) the god of springs and wells, father also of the river Tiber (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 330) and of Canens the water-nymph, whom king Picus preferred to the Naiads of Nemi (Ov. *met.* 14. 320 ff.). It was said that, when the Sabines on one occasion attempted to force their way into Rome, a raging flood of waters burst out from the temple of Ianus and drove them back (Ov. *met.* 14. 778 ff., *fast.* 1. 259 ff., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 291, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 9. 17 f.). See further W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 18 and 41.

[4] F. Granger 'A portrait of the Rex Nemorensis' in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 194—197 with two figs.

[5] Sir J. G. Frazer 'The leafy bust at Nemi' in the *Class. Rev.* 1908 xxii. 147—149.

things which project from the mouth of the younger face seems to me excellent.... Perhaps...the candidate for the priesthood at Nemi chewed oak-leaves in order to nerve his arm for the fatal stroke. It may have been with oak-leaves in his mouth, as well as with sword in hand, that he advanced upon his adversary. Can it be that in the face of the older man the artist has purposely shewn us a grinning empty mouth as if to indicate that the sacred oak and with it the god had passed from him to another?'

Later in 1908[1] Prof. Granger returned to the charge. Sir James Frazer had cited the opinion of Mr R. I. Lynch, Curator of the Botanic Garden at Cambridge, who 'thought the leaves more like nettle or perhaps dead-nettle (*Lamium*).' Prof. Granger would adopt this suggestion, but limit it to the scalloping under the eyes. He adds:

'To quote a local example, on Royal Oak Day (May 29) boys go about Nottingham armed with nettles, and they demand of passers-by to "show their oak" under penalty of being nettled. Whether, therefore, the nettle be intended, or some other vervain, a further and most interesting line of inquiry has been opened[2]. And Prof. Frazer's theory that the priest of Nemi personifies the oak, remains as convincing as ever.'

[1] F. Granger 'The leafy bust at Nemi' in the *Class. Rev.* 1908 xxii. 217.

[2] Of vervain in antiquity we possess two parallel accounts, that of Pliny transcribed from Sextius Niger *περὶ ὕλης* (10—40 A.D.: see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 315), and that of Dioskorides based on the same work with lists of synonyms etc. added from the illustrated *ῥιζοτομικόν* of Krateuas, physician to Mithradates vi Eupator (120—63 B.C. The most famous codex of this herbal, Vindob. Med. Gr. 1, written for the elder Iuliana Anicia, wife of Olybrius the consul of 379 A.D., has been published by A. W. Sijthoff in Scato de Vries *Codices Graeci et Latini photographice depicti* vol. x i. ii Dioscurides Lugduni Batavorum 1906: see further W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 347 f.):

PLINY *nat. hist.* 25. 105—107.

nulla tamen Romanae nobilitatis plus habet quam hiera botane. aliqui aristereon, nostri verbenacam vocant. haec est quam legatos ferre ad hostes indicavimus (*nat. hist.* 22. 5); hac Iovis mensa verritur, domus purgantur lustranturque. genera eius duo: foliosa, quam feminam putant, mas rarioribus foliis. ramuli utriusque plures, tenues, cubitales, angulosi, folia minora quam quercus angustioraque, divisuris maioribus, flos glaucus, radix longa, tenuis. nascitur ubique in planis aquosis. quidam non distingunt et unum omnino genus faciunt, quoniam utraque eosdem effectus habeat. utraque sortiuntur Galli et praecinunt responsa, sed Magi utique circa hanc insaniunt: hac peruncto inpetrare quae velint, febres abigere, amicitias con-

DIOSKORIDES 4. 60—61 p. 548 ff. Sprengel.

[*περὶ περιστερεῶνος.*] *περιστερεὼν ὀρθός· οἱ δὲ περιστέριον, οἱ δὲ τρυγώνιον, οἱ δὲ βούνιον, οἱ δὲ ἱερὰ βοτάνη, οἱ δὲ φιλτροδότης,* [*Αἰγύπτιοι πεμψεμπτέ, προφῆται Ἥρας δάκρυον, οἱ δὲ αἷμα γαλῆς, οἱ δὲ αἷμα Ἑρμοῦ, Ῥωμαῖοι κρίστα γαλλινάκεα, οἱ δὲ φερράρια* (so cod. N. *φέρια* vulg.), *οἱ δὲ τριξαλίς, οἱ δὲ ἐξούπερανς* (so cod. N. *ἐξούπερα* vulg.), *οἱ δὲ ἔρβα σαγγουινάλις,* (cod. N. adds *παλουμβάρις,*)] *φύεται ἐν ἐνύδροις τόποις· δοκεῖ δὲ ὠνομάσθαι ἐκ τοῦ τὰς περιστερὰς ἡδέως διατρίβειν ἐν αὐτῇ. πόα δέ ἐστι σπιθαμὴν ἔχουσα τὸ ὕψος ἢ καὶ μεῖζον, πέταλα ἐντετμημένα ὑπόλευκα ἐκπεφυκότα* (*ἐμπεφυκότα* cod. C.) *ἐκ τοῦ καυλοῦ· μονόκλωνος* (*μονόκαυλος* cod. C.) *ὡς τὸ πολὺ καὶ μονόρριζος εὑρίσκεται. δοκεῖ δὲ τὰ φύλλα σὺν ῥοδίνῳ ἢ στέατι χοιρείῳ νεαρῷ προστιθέμενα ἀνωδυνίαν ὑστέρας ποιεῖν· στέλλει δὲ καὶ ἐρυσιπέλατα σὺν ὄξει καταπλασθεῖσα καὶ σηπεδόνας ἐπέχει· καὶ τραύματα κολλᾷ, καὶ ἀπουλοῖ τὰ παλαιὰ σὺν μέλιτι.*

[*περὶ περιστερεῶνος ὑπτίου.*] *περιστερεὼν ὕπτιος, οἱ δὲ ἱερὰν βοτάνην, οἱ δὲ ἠριγένιον, οἱ δὲ χαμαίλυκον, οἱ δὲ σιδηρῖτιν, οἱ δὲ κουρῖτιν, οἱ δὲ Περσεφόνιον,*

ciliare nullique non morbo mederi. colligi debere circa canis ortum ita, ne luna aut sol conspiciat, favis ante et melle terrae ad piamentum datis; circumscriptam ferro effodi sinistra manu et in sublime tolli; siccari in umbra separatim folia, caulem, radicem. aiunt, si aqua spargatur triclinium, <in (ins. C. Mayhoff)> qua maduerit, laetiores convictus fieri. adversus serpentes conteritur ex vino.

Cp. Isid. *orig.* 17. 9. 55, Macer Floridus (*i.e.* Odo Magdunensis: see W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe *History of Roman Literature*[5] trans. G. C. W. Warr London 1891 i. 424) *de virtutibus herbarum* ed. H. Ranzovius Lipsiæ 1590 1. 66 'de verbena.'

οἱ δὲ Διὸς ἡλακάτην, οἱ δὲ δίχρωμον, οἱ δὲ κάλλησιμ, οἱ δὲ ἱππάριστον, οἱ δὲ Δημητριάδα, [Αἰγύπτιοι περμθεμφθάμ, Πυθαγόραs ἐρυσίσκηπτρον, 'Ρωμαῖοι κιγκιννάλις, (cod. N. adds οἱ δὲ βερβένακαμ, οἱ δὲ λουστράγω, οἱ δὲ κολουμβίνα, οἱ δὲ οὐερπίδιον,)] ῥάβδουs ἀνίησι πηχυαίουs ἢ καὶ μείζοναs, γωνιοειδεῖs, περὶ ἃs τὰ φύλλα ἐκ διαστημάτων ἐοικότα δρυΐ, πλὴν στενώτερα καὶ ἥττονα, ἐντετμημένα δὲ τῷ κύκλῳ, ὑπόγλαυκα· ῥίζαν δὲ ὑπομήκη, λεπτὴν (λευκὴν codd. C. N.)· ἄνθη πορφυρᾶ, λεπτά. ταύτης τὰ φύλλα καὶ ἡ ῥίζα, ποτιζόμενα μετ' οἴνου καὶ καταπλασσόμενα, ποιεῖ πρὸs ἑρπετά (A. Lacuna cj. πρὸs ἕρπηταs καὶ ἐρυσιπέλατα)· πρὸs δὲ ἕκτερον τὰ φύλλα, δσον < ὁλκήν, μετὰ λιβανωτοῦ τριωβόλου σὺν οἴνου παλαιοῦ καὶ θερμοῦ (so cod. N. and A. Lacuna. The editt. omit καὶ θερμοῦ) κοτύλῃ μιᾷ νήστει ἐφ' ἡμέραs τέσσαραs (so cod. C. ἡμέραs μ' vulg.) πινόμενα· οἰδήματά τε χρόνια καὶ φλεγμονὰs καταπλασθέντα πραΰνει· καὶ ῥυπαρὰ ἕλκη καθαίρει· ἐψηθεῖσα δὲ ὅλη σὺν οἴνῳ ἑσχάραs τὰs ἐν παρισθμίοις περιρρήτει, καὶ νομὰs τὰs ἐν στόματι ἀναγαργαριζομένη ἐφίστησι. ῥαινόμενόν τε ἐν συμποσίοις τὸ ἀπόβρεγμα εὐδιαγωγοτέρουs ἱστορεῖται ποιεῖν· δίδοται δὲ τριταῖζουσι πιεῖν τὸ τρίτον γόνυ ἀπὸ τῆs γῆs σὺν τοῖs περικειμένοις φύλλοις, τεταρταῖζουσι δὲ τὸ τέταρτον. καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὴν ἱερὰν βοτάνην διὰ τὸ εὔχρηστον ἐν τοῖs καθαρμοῖs εἶναι εἰs περιάμματα.

Cp. L. Apuleius ('Apuleius Barbarus': see W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe *op. cit.* 1892 ii. 244 f.) *de medicaminibus herbarum* 4 'nomina et virtutes hieras botanes' in J. C. G. Ackermann *Parabilium medicamentorum scriptores antiqui* Norimbergae et Altorfii 1788 pp. 151 ff., 309 f.

C. Sprengel in his note on the passage from Dioskorides identifies *περιστερεὼν ὀρθός* with *verbena officinalis*, *περιστερεὼν ὕπτιος* with *verbena supina*. And these identifications are borne out by the coloured drawings of Vindob. Med. Gr. 1 (fol. 268 recto περιστερεων ορθ[ος]=my fig. 301; fol. 269 recto περιστερεων υπ[τιος]=my fig. 302). See also the hand-painted plates of J. Sibthorp *Flora Græca* Londini 1827 vi. 43 f. pl. 553 *verbena nodiflora*, *ib.* 44 pl. 554 *verbena supina*.

On the folk-lore of vervain consult A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 367—369, H. Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 i. 171, 313, 315, ii. 429 f., 529 f., 534, 545, 547 f., 591, 607, 609 f., 665, R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 pp. 572—575 and Index p. 609, T. F. Thiselton Dyer *The Folk-Lore of Plants* London 1889 pp. 56, 101, 152, 282, 284 f., Schrader *Reallex.* p. 179, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 i. 261, 285, 386, 394 ff., 399, ii. 6, 60 f., 102; J. Britten—R. Holland *A Dictionary of English Plant-Names* London 1878 i. 18 'Ashthroat,' 39 'Berbine,' 115 'Columbine,' 1879 ii. 224 'Grass, Pigeon's,' 264 'Holy Herb,' 282 'Juno's Tears,' 333 'Mercury's Moist Blood,' 1884 iii. 432 'Simpler's Joy,' 480 'Vervain' and 'Vervain, Base *or* Flat,' J. Cameron *The Gaelic Names of Plants*[2] Glasgow 1900 p. 73 f., P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1905 ii. 303, 1906 iii. 472, 476 f., 483 f., 494, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*[5] Bonn 1878 p. 272 f.

Here it is in point to observe that both Pliny and Dioskorides compare the leaves of vervain with those of the oak (*quercus*, *δρῦs*), associate the plant with Iupiter (Plin. *nat.*

hist. 25. 105 hac Iovis mensa verritur, Dioskor. 4. 61 p. 550 Sprengel *οἱ δὲ Διὸς ἡλακάτην*, cp. 'Apuleius Barbarus' *op. cit.* 4 iidem dios elacaten (the ed. of Albanus Torinus, Basileae 1528, reads *alii diosatim*). No proveable connexion with Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἡλακάταιον· ὄρος Θεσσαλίας, ὅπου καὶ Διὸς Ἡλακαταίου ἱερόν. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Ἡλακαταιεὺς καὶ Ζεὺς Ἡλακατεύς.* H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 p. 156, cp. *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 43 n. 82, would connect Zeus *Ἡλακαταῖος* with *ἤλεκτρον*, *Ἠλέκτρα*, *Ἠλέκτωρ*, *Ἠλεκτρυών* as Zeus 'the Glittering.' But??), and regard it as a panacea.

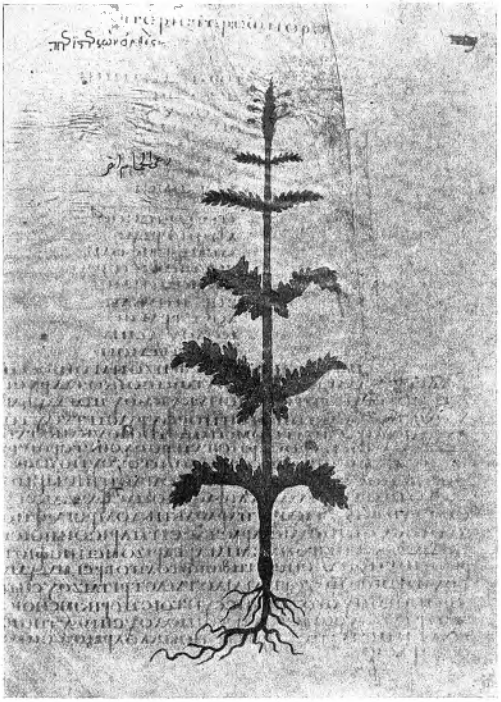


Fig. 301.

Such being its character, vervain would form an appropriate decoration for a bust of Virbius at Nemi. Indeed, there remains the possibility, already mooted by P. Buttmann (in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1819* p. 209=*id. Mythologus* Berlin 1829 ii. 152), Sir James Frazer (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 379 n. 5) and myself (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 290 n. 9), that *verbena* and *Virbius* are words of kindred origin. My friend Dr P. Giles tells me (May 1, 1918) that the difference of vowel may be a matter of dialect, as in *Mercurius* beside the Praenestine *Mircurios*, *Mirqurios* (Walde *Lat. etym.*

Finally, in 1909[1] Miss L. Morpurgo published a minute investigation of the herm. She claims that the leaves on the breast of either figure are beyond doubt those of the *quercus robur*, that the beard of the

Wörterb.[2] p. 478). Assuming that both *Virbius* and *verbena* were related to *viridis* (cp. L. Morpurgo in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 356 n. 9), Sir James Frazer had rendered *Virbius*, 'The Green One,' and I had suggested, 'He of the sacred branch.' These, however, are uncertain conjectures; and there is a tempting alternative (see *infra* p. 421 f.).

Fig. 302.

[1] L. Morpurgo 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 109—127 with figs. 1—6 and pls. 5, A—C and 6, A—C (=my pl. xxii, 1—3). Miss Morpurgo's results are accepted by Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 150 f. But W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 439 still advocates his own identification of the double bust as the lakes of Albano and Nemi.

older head is surmounted by a series of lobes recalling the leafage on the breast, that the lower edge of the long moustache has a leaf-like dentation, that the mouth of the younger head shows similar leaves at its corners, that the Satyr-ears of both heads are lobed like leaves[1], that the eyebrows throughout are dentate, and that the appendages above the brows and beneath the ears exhibit veined vegetable forms.

The Capitoline herm has been commonly regarded as representing a pair of water-deities[2]. But Miss Morpurgo, pursuing her theme, contends that the foliation under the eyes of the two figures and over the beard of the elder is certainly meant for leaves—not whole leaves, but parts of leaves, which (to judge from size and shape) are those of the *quercus ilex*. She remarks that the chest on either side shows a continuous fringe of leaves, modified to look like the frilled edge of a *tunica* or *chitón*, that the moustache and eyebrows of the bearded head are, again, formed of *quasi*-leaves, that the ears of both heads are dentated, and that the appendages on head and neck are neither horns nor fins, but leafage like that which decorates the chest.

On the whole, I conclude (1) that the two herms represent the same personages; (2) that those personages, as I conjectured in 1902[3], are Hippolytos and Virbius, the mythical prototypes of the *rex Nemorensis*; (3) that Hippolytos-turned-Virbius is portrayed as a Janiform bust, partly because, as I argued in 1905[4], Diana's favourite is conceived as Diana's consort Dianus or Ianus, partly because, as Miss Morpurgo insisted in 1909[5], the ancients clung to the folk-etymology of *Virbius*, 'a man twice over' (*vir bis*); (4) that the

[1] In the large frieze from the great altar at Pergamon (*supra* i. 119 figs. 87 f.) the Giant fighting Phoibe has horns in his hair and a left ear like a pointed leaf (*Pergamon* iii. 2. 37 Atlas pl. 29, 3); another, opposed to Parthenos, has long serrated leaves on the heads of his two snake-legs and at the juncture of their scales with his skin (*ib.* iii. 2. 69 Atlas pl. 16). It may be suspected that Pergamene art contributed its quota to the style of the Nemi bust.

[2] *Supra* p. 393 n. 2.

[3] *Supra* p. 393 n. 7.

[4] *Supra* p. 394 n. 1.

[5] L. Morpurgo 'La rappresentazione figurata di Virbio' in *Ausonia* 1909 iv. 122 (cp. her 'Nemus Aricinum' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 356 ff.), citing Cassiod. *de orthographia* 6 (in H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* Lipsiae 1880 vii. 181, 9 ff.) Virbius etiam abstractus a regula, quoniam virum bis factum esse memorant, quem numerum per b mutam scribi ante dicta declarant: quidam virum bonum, alii herobium, tamquam sit ἥρως ἀναβεβιωκώς, alii deum esse qui Viribus praeest interpretantur (Cassiodorus notes that his information is taken 'ex Martyrio de mediis syllabis.' Martyrius of Sardes, who lived in *s.* vi (?) A.D., was son and pupil of the Latin grammarian Adamantius: see De Vit *Onomasticon* iv. 383, G. Goetz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 343 f.) together with Hyg. *fab.* 251, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 761, Vib. Seq. p. 152, 6 f. Riese (*supra* p. 394 n. 2), Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 15. 45, schol. Pers. *sat.* 6. 56.

double bust is decorated, not, as Helbig suggested in 1885[1], with fins and aquatic plants, but, as Prof. Granger pointed out in 1907[2], with oak-leaves—those of the *quercus robur*, according to Miss Morpurgo[3], in the case of the first herm and those of the *quercus ilex* in the case of the second. I do not, however, agree with Sir James Frazer and Prof. Granger that the priest of Nemi personified the oak[4]. Rather I should maintain that the oak was the tree of Diana, and that Virbius is plastered with oak-leaves because he is her partner[5]—the local Dianus or Ianus.

(φ) Diana and the Oak.

Diana, as I have elsewhere shown[6], had a special liking for oak-trees. At Rome her chief temple was that founded by Servius Tullius on the Aventine[7], whose slopes in early days were shaded by a grove of holm-oaks, the haunt of Picus and Faunus[8]. A 'very great and venerable sanctuary of Diana' was on the Caeliolus[9], which formed part of the *Mons Querquetulanus*[10] or "Mount of Oaks[11]." There was also an ancient Dianium at the upper end of the

[1] *Supra* p. 393 n. 4.
[2] *Supra* p. 394 n. 4.
[3] *Supra* p. 398 n. 1.
[4] *Supra* p. 395.
[5] *Supra* i. 1 n. 3.
[6] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 369 ff., *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 281 ff. See also Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 380.
[7] H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 157 ff.
[8] Ov. *fast.* 3. 295 ff.
[9] Cic. *de har. resp.* 32 maximum et sanctissimum Dianae sacellum in Caeliculo.
[10] Tac. *ann.* 4. 65.
[11] G. Gatti in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1887 pp. 314—317 pl. 19 (=my fig. 303) publishes a large marble relief, originally found near the *Malum Punicum* between the Baths of Diocletian and the slope of the Quirinal towards the Viminal, which represents three male figures: (*a*) in the centre, Iupiter standing *en face*, with a *chlamys* over his left shoulder, a sceptre in his left hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his right, and an eagle at his feet; (*b*) to the left, Hercules (? a portrait of the youthful Commodus) erect facing the spectator, with lion-skin on his left arm, apples (restored) in his left hand, and club in his lowered right; (*c*) to the right, a mountain-god seated on a rock towards Iupiter, with a *himation* wrapped about his legs. Between Iupiter and Hercules grows an oak. Beside the mountain-god is a bay-tree. Beneath runs the inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 334 with Add. no. 30739, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3080) Herculi | Iuliano, Iovi | Caelio, || Genio | Caeli Montis || Anna sacrum. C. L. Visconti in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1887 p. 342 f. conjectures that the oak alludes to the *Mons Querquetulanus*. H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 221 n. 6 doubt it. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 200 no. 3 is silent. Possibly in the oak planted near Iupiter *Caelius*, or else in the bay-tree clasped by the Genius Caeli Montis, we should recognise the *arborem sanctam* mentioned among the sights of the *Mons Caelius* by the *curiosum urbis regionum xiv* and the *notitia regionum urbis xiv* reg. 2 (H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 543).

Be that as it may, Iupiter *Caelius* was happily named. His worshippers would think, not merely of the *Mons Caelius*, but also of Iupiter *Caelus* (?) (*supra* i. 59 n. 11), *Caelestis*

Vicus Cuprius, where the Clivus Virbius turns to the right and leads up the Fagutal onto the Esquiline[1]. The existence of oaks on the Esquiline can be inferred from its chapel of the Lares *Querquetulani*[2].

(*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1948 (Salonae in Dalmatia) Iovi O(pt)imo | Maximo | Celesti Patrono | G. Caesius Corym|bus et Faberia | Cara v.s.l.m., no. 8668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3041 (Salonae in Dalmatia) T. Pinarius Eros | Iovi Caelesti v.s.|l.m., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 4852 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5618 (Venafrum) cult(ores) Iovis Cae(lestis) | etc., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 5643 (Matilica in Umbria) N. Ortori[us] | N. f. Pol(lia) | Ferox | Aesae | evocatus Aug. | Iovi Caelesti | v.s.l.m., cp. Cic. *de har. resp.* 20, Liv. 1. 32), *Caelestinus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 404 with Add. no. 30756 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1223 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3062 (Rome) Iovi Optimó Maximó |

Fig. 303.

Caelestino, Fontibus, et | Minervae, et collegió | sanctissimó, quod consis|tit in praedis Larci Mace|donis (cos. suff. in 122 A.D.) | in curia, | Flavius Successus cum suis. || T. Flavius | Successus | d.d., on which see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247), *caelipotens* (Plaut. *Pers.* 755). Popular etymology has often been pressed into the service of religion.

[1] Liv. 1. 48, Solin. 1. 25.

[2] Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 49 secundae regionis Esquili[n]ae. alii (*grammaticae antevarronianae ex incertis incertorum libris* frag. 8 Funaioli) has scripserunt ab excubiis regis dictas (cp. Ov. *fast.* 3. 245 f.), alii ab eo quod excultae (A. Spengel cj. *aescul<is*

Moreover, the beech-trees of the *Fagutal* may have been a ritual, as they were certainly an etymological, equivalent for oaks[1]. The same

consi>tae B.tenBrink cj. *<aesculis> excultae* G. Goetz—F. Schoell cjj. *excultae <arboribus>*) a rege Tullio essent (C. O. Müller suppl. *alii ab aesculetis*). huic origini magis concinunt loca vicini (G. Goetz—F. Schoell note that we must read either *loci vicini* with P. Canal or *loca vicina*), quod ibi lucus dicitur Facutalis et Larum (C. O. Müller ins. *et*) Querquetulanum sacellum et lucus Mefitis et Iunonis Lucinae, quorum angusti fines. I take it that *Querquetulanum* is an old gen. plur. agreeing with *Larum*, not a nom. sing. agreeing with *sacellum*. These *Lares Querquetulani*, of whom nothing more is known, presumably stood in some relation to the *Querquetulanae Virae* described as 'Nymphs presiding over a verdant oak-grove such as that said to have grown within the gate thence called *Querquetularia*' (Fest. p. 261 *a* 17 ff. Müller, p. 314, 11 ff. Lindsay Querquetulanae virae putantur significari nymphae praesidentes querqueto virescenti, quod genus silvae iudicant fuisse intra portam, quae ab eo dicta sit Querquetularia, ep. Paul. ex Fest. p. 260, 5 Müller, p. 315, 6 f. Lindsay, with Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 37 porta Querquetulana). It is therefore tempting to suppose with B. Borghesi *Œuvres complètes* Décades numismatiques Paris 1862 i. 365 ff. that *denarii* struck *c.* 41 B.C. by P. Accoleius Lariscolus have for obv. type the bust of Acca Larentia, and for rev. the Querquetulanae Virae—three statues in the form of archaistic Caryatids supporting a beam or stand, from which rise five trees: the nymph on the left holds a bow, the nymph on the right a lily (Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 2 pl. Accoleia, 1, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 98 ff. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 569 f. (where H. A. Grueber says: 'the nymph on the l. holds a poppy') pl. 55, 19 (=my fig. 304) and 20. Fig. 305 f. are from specimens

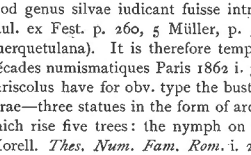


Fig. 304.

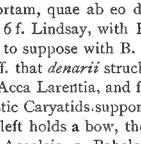


Fig. 305.

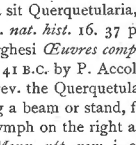


Fig. 306.

in my collection). Nevertheless this popular explanation (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 9 fig.) is demonstrably wrong. The name *Lariscolus* cannot possibly mean 'Worshipper of the Lar or Lares,' but is a diminutive of *larix* (*laric-isco-lo->lariscolo-, cp. *cornix*, *Corniscae*) and denotes 'Young larch.' Cp. the name M. Caesius Larix (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 2019, 3 Puteoli). Again, the trees, of which three are springing from the heads of the alleged oak-nymphs, do not bear the least resemblance to oaks, but may well be intended for larches. I therefore fall back on the view adopted by Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] v. 118 (curiously misrepresented by H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* i. 569 n. 1) that the three female figures are those of Phaethon's sisters here conceived as transformed into larches. See further De Vit *Onomasticon* iv. 48, who defends Eckhel by citing Vitr. 2. 9. 14 larix vero, quae non est nota nisi is municipalibus qui sunt circa ripam fluminis Padi et litora maris Hadriani, etc. *Infra* § 3 (a) vi (λ) *med.*

[1] *Fagus*=*φηγός*. Several altars dedicated to a god Fagus have come to light in Aquitania (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 33 (*Ladivert* near *Saint-Béat*) Fago deo | Erdenius | Erdesci f(ilius) | v.s.l.m., no. 223=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4531 (near Lugdunum Convenarum (*Saint-Bertrand-de-Comminges*)) Fago | deo | Bonxus | Taurini f(ilius), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 224 (found with no. 223) Fago | deo | Iustus | v.s.l.m., no. 225 (found in the same neighbourhood as nos. 223, 224) Fago deo | Pompeia | C. filia | v.s.l.m.). The beech-tree seems to have retained something of its sanctity in this district, cp. A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 170 f. 'D'après une tradition toujours vivante aux Pyrénées, un homme, au moment même où le bon Dieu passait

change from oak to beech seems to have taken place on the hill called Corne near Tusculum, where Diana was worshipped in a remarkable grove of beeches[1]. But outside Rome the most famous

près de lui, murmurait et blasphémait; Dieu le changea immédiatement en ours. D'après une autre tradition [des Pyrénées] (cf. [E.] Rolland, *Faune populaire de la France* [Paris 1877 i. 42 f.]), un homme, en battant le fer chaud sur l'enclume, en fit jaillir les étincelles jusqu'aux yeux du bon Dieu lui-même, qui ne manqua point de le maudire, le condamnant à devenir ours, avec la condition qu'il pourrait monter à son gré sur tous les arbres, à l'exception du hêtre. Devenu ours, l'homme songea alors à déraciner cet arbre: "Ous bos esta, et ous seras, | En tout arbre puyeras, | Sous qu'en hau nou pouderas. | Arringa lou que harey." ' [*i.e.* 'Ours tu veux être, ours tu seras, | à tout arbre tu grimperas, | hormis au hêtre.' | 'Eh bien je le déracinerai.']. In the Luxemburg Ardennes and in Lorraine it is believed that the beech is never struck by lightning (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 381, cp. R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 250). A list of 253 trees venerated in the department of Oise, which was drawn up in 1854, included 74 elms, 27 oaks, 24 thorns, 15 walnuts, 14 beeches, 14 limes, etc. (P. Sébillot *op. cit.* iii. 424). It will be observed that the beech stands next to the oaks in the list of lucky trees preserved by Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 20. 2 ait enim Veranius de verbis pontificalibus (*frag.* 3 Funaioli): 'felices arbores putantur esse quercus, aesculus, ilex, suberies (so L. Jan for *suberius* cod. P.), fagus, corylus, sorbus, ficus alba, pirus, malus, vitis, prunus, cornus, lotus.' Iupiter *Fagutalis* was worshipped on the Fagutal (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 152 Fagutal a fago, unde etiam Iovis Fagutalis, quod ibi sacellum, Paul. ex Fest. p. 87, 6 Müller, p. 77, 13 f. Lindsay Fagutal sacellum Iovis, in quo fuit fagus arbor, quae Iovis sacra habebatur, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 37 silvarum certe distinguebatur (*sc.* Roma) insignibus, Fagutali Iove etiam nunc ubi lucus fageus fuit, etc.), where his cult is known to have lasted on till the year 109 A.D. (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 452 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3620 [Laribus A]ugust. vici Iovis Fagutal[is et | Genis Caesarum, i]mp. Nerva divi Nervae f. Traian[o | Aug. Germanico Dac]ico pont. max. trib. pot. xiii imp. vi [cos. v, | permissu].....Pollionis trib. pleb., aed(iculam) reg. iii vetusta[te | dilapsam a solo ma]gistri anni cxxi sua inpensa restitu[er.] | .....Phoebus, A. Nonius A. l. Onesimus, | .....Callistus, L. Valerius L. l. Eutichus): see H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 256 f.

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 242 est in suburbano Tusculani agri colle, qui Corne appellatur, lucus antiqua religione Dianae sacratus a Latino (so J. Hardouin for *Latio* codd.), velut arte tonsili coma fagei nemoris. in hoc arborem eximiam aetate nostra amavit Passienus Crispus bis cos. (cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7061), orator, Agrippinae matrimonio et Nerone privigno clarior postea, osculari conplectique eam solitus, non modo cubare sub ea vinumque illi adfundere. vicina luco est ilex, et ipsa nobilis xxxiv pedum ambitu caudicis, decem arbores emittens singulas magnitudinis visendae silvamque sola faciens. No doubt the big beech was a beauty: Theophr. *hist. plant.* 5. 8. 3 expressly comments on the enormous size of beech-trees in the lowlands of Latium. Nevertheless it is simply inconceivable that C. Passienus Crispus, a Roman of exceptional ability and distinction, the husband first of Domitia and then of Agrippina the younger (Suet. *v. Pass. Crisp.*), should have behaved thus towards a mere tree—kissing it, embracing it, lying beneath it, pouring wine over it,—unless he in some sense identified the tree with the goddess (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art. i. 40 n. 4). Presumably he regarded himself, not only as her protector (cp. Hdt. 7. 31), but actually as her husband. This would be in strict accordance with local usage; for six or seven miles away, as the crow flies, the *rex Nemorensis* was even then playing a similar part. Diana's tree in the grove near Tusculum was, I take it, comparable with Diana's tree in the grove at Nemi. And, if Caligula posed as the priestly king of Nemi (Suet. *Calig.* 35 cited *supra* p. 147 n. 6: see also the imperial house-boats described and illustrated by R. Lanciani *New Tales of Old Rome* London 1901 p. 205 ff.), Passienus Crispus, his brother-in-law and intimate (Suet.

cult of the goddess was that on Mount Tifata some thirty furlongs north of Capua[1]; and the name *Tifata*, according to Verrius Flaccus, meant 'Woods of Evergreen Oak[2].' Another of her homes was Mount Algidus in Latium[3], where oaks and holm-oaks abounded[4]. And from Mount Algidus it is but a few miles to Nemi. That being so, we may fairly surmise that at Nemi too Diana had her favourite oaks.

In passing I may observe that this association of Diana with the oak has left its mark on the art of the Graeco-Roman age. Land-

v. Pass. Crisp.), may have done the same at Tusculum. In this connexion it must be remembered, on the one hand that Latinus Silvius, who founded Tusculum (Diod. 7. 5 (ii. 133, 30 ff. Vogel) *ap.* Euseb. *chron.* vers. Armen. (i. 287, 7 ff. Schöne)) and dedicated the beech-grove to Diana (Plin. *loc. cit.*), belonged to a dynasty of woodland kings (see the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 363 f., *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 285 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 178 ff., 192, 379) and would be likely enough to institute such a custom; on the other hand that Passienus Crispus hailed from Vitellia (in Suet. *v. Pass. Crisp.* read *Vitelliensis* for the meaningless *Viselliensis* codd.), an ancient Latin town, the home of the Vitellii, descendants of Faunus king of the Aborigines and the goddess Vitellia (Suet. *Vitell.* 1), and would be likely enough to revive such a custom.

[1] E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 1207, P. Paris in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 155, G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 326 ff., *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 247, 251.

[2] Paul. ex Fest. p. 366, 8 Müller, p. 503, 14 f. Lindsay Tifata iliceta. Romae autem Tifata Curia. Tifata etiam locus iuxta Capuam. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 49, 18 Müller, p. 43, 13 Lindsay Curia Tifata (so Scaliger for *Curiati fana* codd.) a Curio dicta est, qui[a] eo loco domum habuerat, p. 131, 1 Müller, p. 117, 1 f. Lindsay Mancina Tifata appellabantur, quod Mancinus habuit insignem domum, quae publicata est eo interfecto. Paulus' information is ultimately derived from the dictionary of Verrius Flaccus (*infra* Append. N *init.*). F. Buecheler in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1884 xxxix. 421 f. connects *tifata* with the Sabine *teba*, 'hill' (Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 1. 6), cp. R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 221, 358. And G. Meyer *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der albanesischen Sprache* Strassburg 1891 p. 430 *s.v.* '*timp*' and in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1892 i. 324 would relate *teba* to the Carian τάβα, 'rock' (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάβαι). If so, all these words are probably survivals from a pre-Indo-Europaean language, cp. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 766 *s.v.* 'teba,' I. Thomopoulos Πελασγικά Athens 1912 pp. 212 f., 419. But Walde *op. cit.*[2] p. 778 *s.v.* 'tibulus' suggests that *tifata* is akin to *tibulus*, a variety of wild pine (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 39), cp. A. Ernout *Les éléments dialectaux du vocabulaire latin* Paris 1909 pp. 27, 75, 237 ('C'est donc à l'osque que le latin a emprunté le mot'). We need more light.

The woods of Mt Tifata are mentioned by Sil. It. 13. 219 Tifata umbrifero...monte.

[3] E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 103, P. Paris in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 154, C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1476.

[4] Hor. *od.* 3. 23. 9 f., 4. 4. 57 f., cp. *od.* 1. 21. 5 f. and Stat. *silv.* 4. 4. 16. When in 458 B.C. Roman envoys were sent to complain of a treaty broken by the Aequi, they were bidden to make their complaint to a huge oak-tree on Mt Algidus, under the shade of whose branches the Aequian commander had his quarters (Liv. 3. 25 eos Aequorum imperator, quae mandata habeant ab senatu Romano, ad quercum iubet dicere: se alia interim acturum. quercus ingens arbor praetorio imminebat, cuius umbra opaca sedes erat. tum ex legatis unus abiens 'et haec' inquit 'sacrata quercus et quidquid deorum est audiant foedus a vobis ruptum nostrisque et nunc querellis adsint et mox armis, cum deorum hominumque simul violata iura exsequemur').

scape-reliefs already described[1] twice represent an old oak growing beside a Diana-pillar, and once show its trunk spanned by an archway, which we now know to be a *ianus*, the very embodiment of Diana's consort Dianus[2].

(χ) Artemis and the Oak.

Similarly on Greek soil the earth-goddess, who under various names fulfilled the same functions as Diana, was frequently connected with the oak. The Amazons, when they founded the cult in the Artemision at Ephesos, set up the effigy of their goddess 'beneath an oak-tree of noble girth[3]'; and in Roman times the image of Artemis *Ephesia* wore a garland of flowers with a necklace of acorns hanging below it (figs. 307, 315)[4]. Again, Neleus, son of Kodros,

[1] *Supra* p. 150 n. 3 figs. 91, 92.

[2] *Supra* p. 354 ff. Cp. a fragmentary relief at Copenhagen (L. Müller *Musée-Thorvaldsen* Troisième partie. Antiquités. Section i et ii. Copenhague 1847 p. 140 f. no. 81, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 359 pl. 111, 4, T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1890 pl. 69, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1480 Mitte with Text v. 113 by P. Arndt), on which a Diana-pillar, with *lîknon*, *phallós*, and *lagobólon*, is seen beneath an arched tripod (?) or round altar (?) bearing a goat's-head (?). Height 0·15m.

[3] Kallim. *h. Artem.* 237 ff. σοὶ καὶ Ἀμαζονίδες πολέμου ἐπιθυμήτειραι | ἓν ποτε (the older codd. read ἐν κοτε, whence O. Schneider cj. ἐγκυτὶ—a thoroughly bad emendation) παραλίῃ Ἐφέσῳ βρέτας ἱδρύσαντο | φηγῷ ὑπ' εὐπρέμνῳ (so A. Hecker, followed by A. Meineke and O. Schneider, for φηγῷ ὑπὸ πρέμνῳ codd. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff still retains in his text the impossible reading of the manuscripts)· τέλεσεν δέ τοι ἱερὸν Ἵππώ· | κ.τ.λ. With this cp. Dionys. *per.* 827 ff. παραλίην Ἔφεσον, μεγάλην πόλιν Ἰοχεαίρης, | ἔνθα θεῇ ποτε νηὸν Ἀμαζονίδες τετύκοντο | πρέμνῳ ἔνι πτελέης, περιώσιον ἀνδράσι θαῦμα. The oak-tree is here changed into an elm, perhaps because the original oak had long since decayed, whereas in later days the city (presumably one quarter of it) was called after a conspicuous elm-tree (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 115 Ephesus...multis antea expetita nominibus...vocata...et Ptelea, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἔφεσος· ...ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ...καὶ Πτελέα. ὁ πολίτης Πτελεαῖος...καὶ Πτελεάτης ὁ πολίτης).

The scientific excavation of the Artemision, commenced by Mr Hogarth in 1904, has made it probable that the first sanctuary on the site was in fact a small tree-shrine (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 72 'The tree-shrine may be held to be represented by our Basis *A* with its altar or dependent platform on the west, enclosed within a paved *temenos*; and the building erected over it, by the restoration *B*, which amplified these central structures and united them in one platform, in a manner hardly to be accounted for except on the supposition that a considerable superstructure was to be erected on the new platform' with p. 52 ff. fig. 13 ff. and Atlas pl. 1 f. See also W. R. Lethaby 'The earlier temple of Artemis at Ephesus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1917 xxxvii. 15 fig. 15). It is even possible that the isolated column, which in the sixth-century building (D. G. Hogarth *op. cit.* p. 283 f. Atlas pl. 12) and again in the fourth-century building (see Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 95) stood immediately behind the cult-image, was an architectural substitute for the sacred tree. A column in such a position might well be differentiated from the rest (cp. the one Corinthian column in the temple of Apollon *Epikoúrios* at Bassai: Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[3] p. 270 fig. 240 *b*, p. 346 fig. 331, p. 349 fig. 335, a, b, c, p. 429 fig. 391) and adorned with carving rightly or wrongly attributed to Skopas (Plin. *loc. cit.*, where the text *una a Scopa* has been needlessly altered by J. J. Winckelmann and K. L. von Urlichs to *uno scapo*, by A. S. Murray to *imo scapo*).

[4] Literary and inscriptional evidence concerning the cult of Artemis at Ephesos is

printed *in extenso* by O. Benndorf in the *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 237—274 (an exhaustive series of 435 extracts got together by E. Guhl for his *Ephesiaca* Berlin 1843) and 278—282 (83 inscriptions). A convenient summary and discussion of the *data* is contributed by O. Jessen to Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2753—2771. I must content myself with two or three typical illustrations. Among the statuettes etc. representing Artemis *Ephesia* (*ib.* p. 2764 f. The best monograph is still C. Menetreius *Symbolica Dianæ Ephesiæ statua*[2] Romae 1688, bound up with L. Holstenius *Epistola ad Franciscum Cardinalem Barberinum de fulcris seu verubus Dianæ Ephesiæ simulacro appositis* Romae 1688 and G. P. Bellori *Notæ in numismata tum Ephesia, tum aliarum urbium apibus insignita*) none is more remarkable than a small figure in the Capitoline Museum, described as follows by Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 157 ff. Sala delle Colombe no. 49 pl. 38: 'H. ·86 m. to top of plinth, plinth ·246 m. Marble: head, hands, and feet of *bigio morato*, eyes of enamel; the rest of Luna. Restored: the crown has been broken off and refixed; one column on the l. and the whole row on the r. of the temple at the top; semicircular veil with three foreparts of griffins on l. of head, and the head of the top griffin on the r. (possibly the whole piece of veil on this side); forepart of lion on r. forearm; parts of breasts; little finger of r. hand and index finger of l.; heads of three stags in the top row on skirt. (The figure has been broken through below them.) Other small fragments. Amelung adds, the double tower, face, hands and feet.

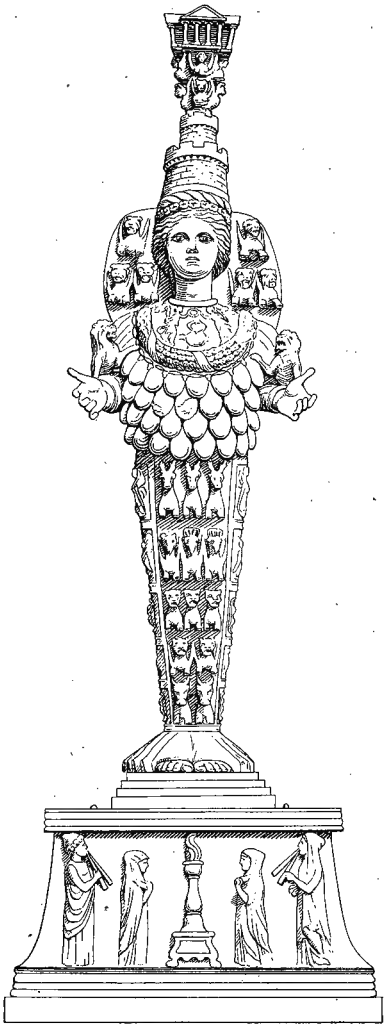


Fig. 307.

The relief on the base has been much broken. Restored: all the lower part of the base including the whole of the figure on the l. of

the thymiaterion, most of the thymiaterion, part of the figure on the r. of it, and the lower third of the figure on the extreme l.; the lower l. angle.

This statuette of the Ephesian Artemis has the usual hieratic attitude, with both feet together, the arms held out parallel, and the face looking straight forward. On her head is a lofty crown composed of several tiers, with a temple at the summit having porticoes on three sides. Below are circles of the foreparts (1) of sphinxes, and (2) of griffins; the next tier consists of a round tower with masonry and battlements indicated; and the whole rests on a pad formed of a twisted taenia with rosettes. Behind the head, on each side, is a semicircular disk with the foreparts of three griffins.

The upper part of the chest is adorned with a garland of flowers, encircled by a twisted taenia, and having acorns depending from it; it hangs from the shoulders, and encloses a relief of two Victories, with palms in their hands, holding up a single wreath, beneath which is a crab. Above each head is a flower. Parallel with the garland, and below it, hangs a fillet. Under this are four rows of breasts.

On each forearm, which is covered by a long sleeve, sits a small lion.

Below the breasts the body is enclosed in a kind of sheath gradually diminishing in size and reaching nearly to the feet; below it the folds of a long thin chiton spread fanlike above the feet. The sheath is divided horizontally, on each side and in front, into five compartments. Those each side bear reliefs of a Scylla, a bee, a rosette or flower, a bee, and a rosette again. Those in front are decorated with rows of the foreparts of animals: viz. (1) three stags, (2) three winged eagle-headed griffins, (3) three lion-headed griffins, (4) two winged lion-headed griffins, (5) two oxen.

The base on which the figure stands, and which probably does not belong, is surmounted by a plinth of four steps. The base grows larger in size at the lower edge and the sides are concave. The front bears a relief showing two female figures on each side approaching a lighted thymiaterion from opposite directions. The two outer figures play double flutes and wear a long chiton and himation, which in the right-hand figure goes over the head; the inner figure on the right, which is antique, is smaller, veiled, and draped, and has a fringe of tight curls; the figure probably carried some object (Amelung suggests a distaff), but the hand is restored. There is a similar base in the Vatican [Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 626 f. no. 411 a pl. 52].'

Fig. 308.

See further C. Menetreius *op. cit.*[2] p. 10 pl. on left, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 97 pl. 46 (after Menetreius), P. Righetti *Descrizione del Campidoglio* Roma 1833 i. 193 pl. 192 (inexact), Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 396 pl. 307, 26 (bust only), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 321 no. 4 (text erroneous). W. Amelung in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 173 ff. figs. 83—85 notes that on the upper surface of the base, to right and left of the stepped plinth, there were originally two rectangular slabs supporting side-attributes. He also insists that the double turreted crown is a

mistaken modern addition. And he cleverly confirms the presence of the attributes and the absence of the turrets by citing one of Raphael's painted pilasters in the Gallery of the Vatican (G. Ottaviani [*Le Loggie di Raffaello nel Vaticano* Roma 176—] no. vi C. Savorelli pict., P. Camporesi delin.=my fig. 308), where by a curious coincidence the great artist has made an oak-tree with acorns to emerge from behind the back of the Ephesian goddess. Numismatic evidence proves that the missing attributes were two stags, and makes it likely that the hands of the goddess were tethered by means of fillets (Hesych. *s.v.* κληῖδες·...καὶ παρὰ Ἐφεσίοις τῆς θεοῦ τὰ στέμματα. The notion that these lateral appendages were solid supports called *verua* rests on Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22. 5 *et Ephesia mammis multis et veribus* (so cod. Par. *verubus* ed. princ. Romana ann. 1543) *exstructa*, where however F. Ursinus, followed by many critics including C. Halm, cj. *uberibus*. J. J. Scaliger's cj. *tuberibus* has met with less acceptance)—hardly bonds to prevent her from quitting her temple (M. Collignon *ap.* F. Cumont in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1915 p. 273 n. 4), but rather ties to bring the very ground into magic connexion with her hands (cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 26 θώμιγγας, Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 κρόκην κλωστήν, Loukian. *Herc.* 3 σειραὶ λεπταὶ χρυσοῦ καὶ ἠλέκτρου εἰργασμέναι, etc.). The fillets are most clearly shown on silver coins struck at Ephesos by Claudius and Agrippina (Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 17 pl. 4, 23 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 324 f. fig., P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 78 pl. 15, 4=my fig. 309,

Fig. 309.

Fig. 310.

D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 332 pl. 52, 4, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 273 no. 1 fig.) or on coppers of Kadoi in Phrygia issued under the name of Domitia (L. Holstenius *op. cit.* p. 10 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 120 pl. 15, 2 =my fig. 310). And the general effect of the effigy is to be seen from a bronze coin of Apameia struck by Gordian, on which Artemis *Ephesia*, with a small tetrastyle temple on her head, fillets stretched from her hands to the ground, and a stag on either side

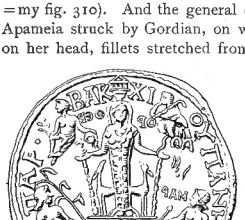


Fig. 311.

Fig. 312.

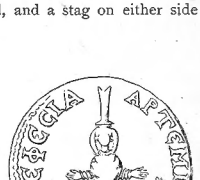


Fig. 313.

of her, appears in the midst of four river-gods Maiandros (ΜΑΙ), Marsyas (ϘΑΜ), Therma(s? -ios?) (ϘΘ), and Orgas (ϘΟ) (Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 398 f., 402 n. 2, 432 pl. 1, 1=my fig. 311, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 667 fig. 314, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. xxxix f.), or from a smaller bronze coin of Neapolis in Samaria, struck by Faustina Iunior, on which the goddess has a head-dress

on leading a band of colonists from Athens to Miletos, was bidden by an oracle to make an image of Artemis 'from very fruitful wood.' He started during a festival of Artemis *Chitóne*, discovered an oak with rich and varied fruitage hung upon it, made therefrom an image

of three plumes [?a Sphinx, cp. fig. 307. A.B.C.] surmounted by a tetrastyle temple, pectoral decoration of two Victories holding a wreath, large garland, panelled sheath, stags on either side, and fillets treated as dove-sceptres (G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age* London 1912 p. 6 f. fig. 9 (extr. from the *Proc. Brit. Acad.* v), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. xxxi, 54 pl. 6, 5 = my fig. 312).

A figure so full of complex symbolism implies the growth of ages. The temple on top may be safely regarded as a late and perhaps Egyptising addition: cp. the small *naós* on the head of Neḥemāuit (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 435 f. pl. 174, 1—3.

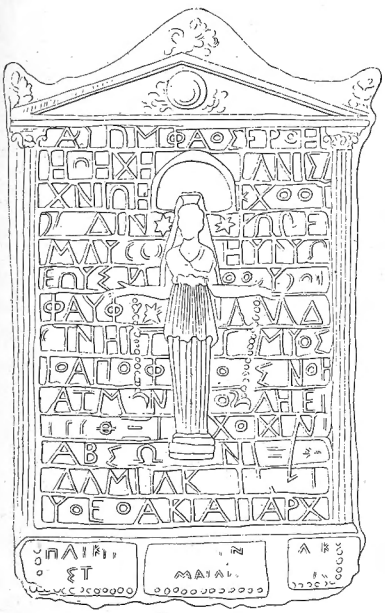


Fig. 314.

Fig. 315.

E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 421 f. pl. 14 calls it 'the sistrum'!) or of Hathor (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 892 pl. 317, 2 f. E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 430 pl. 19, bound up as pl. 20, calls it 'a pylon')—a possibility (suggested independently by Mr H. R. Hall *ap.* G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 7 n. 1 (= *Proc. Brit. Acad.* v. 417 n. 1)) which should have been considered by W. Amelung *loc. cit.* The attachment of the fillets to the ground was also an afterthought. Sometimes they are represented as swinging clear: *e.g.* on a bronze coin of Ephesos struck by Domitian (T. Schreiber in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883 xli. 284 fig. 4 = my fig. 313). Indeed, this manner of representation can be traced

of the goddess, and so settled at Miletos[1]. We need not attach

back to the first or second century B.C.; for it occurs on an Ephesian amulet of terra cotta in the Museum at Syracuse (L. Stephani 'Ueber ein Ephesisches Amulett' in the *Mélanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* St.-Pétersbourg 1855 i. 1—5 with pl. = my fig. 314. The inscription, plausibly described by Stephani as 'Ἐφέσια γράμματα (collected by C. Wessely *Ephesia Grammata* aus Papyrusrollen, Inschriften, Gemmen etc. Wien 1886 pp. 1—38 and by R. Heim 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1893 xix. 525 ff. See also E. Kuhnert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2771 ff., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 332), is in part deciphered by C. F. Graefe, who (*ap.* Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 4 n.*) would read the first words as ΑΡΤΕΜ ΦΑΟΣ ΕΡΟΝ, *i.e.* "Αρτεμι, φάος ἱερόν, and the last as ἀπαρχή. The original, of which this is a blundered copy, appears to have been a hexameter invocation beginning with "Αρτεμι, φῶς ἱερόν, and ending with some such phrase as Δαμναμενῆι δέχου θεοαλκέ' (?) ἀπαρχήν). Again, the breasts of the goddess were multiplied at some date prior to the period 159—133 B.C. (B. V. Head *On the chronological sequence of the coins of Ephesus* London 1880 p. 63 pl. 4, 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 63 no. 144, D. G. Hogarth *op. cit.* p. 323) to emphasise her nutrient motherhood (cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 282). I cannot, however, agree with Mr D. G. Hogarth (*op. cit.* p. 323 ff.) that the whole type current in Roman times was descended from that of the πότνια θηρῶν, whose curled wings became successively heart-shaped, piriform, oval, circular, and whose lions, degraded into meaningless lines, were finally duplicated as attendant stags.

The cult-statue at Ephesos, attributed to Endoios (*c.* 550 B.C.), was said to be of ebony or, according to one witness, of vine-wood (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 213 de simulacro ipso deae ambigitur. ceteri ex hebeno esse tradunt, Mucianus iii cos. ex iis, qui proxime viso eo scripsere, vitigineum et numquam mutatum septies restituto templo, hanc materiam elegisse Endoeon, etc.). But the original Amazonian image, erected φηγῷ ὑπ' εὐπρέμνῳ (*supra* p. 405 n. 3), was probably itself made of oak, which would blacken as the centuries passed till it became indistinguishable from ebony. On some statuettes of the type known to the Greeks as πολύμαστος and to the Romans as *multimammia* (Hieron. *in* Paul. *ad Ephes.* prolog. (xxvi. 441 Migne)) the necklace of acorns attains considerable importance (*e.g.* C. Menetreius *op. cit.*[2] p. 10 pl. on right = my fig. 315 'Apud March. Vinc. Iustinianum'). It is even possible that the pendent acorns first suggested the pendent breasts.

[1] Schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 77 Νηλεὺς ὁ Κόδρου ἀποικίαν θέμενος ἀπὸ Ἀθηνῶν ἔλαβε χρησμὸν ἐγεῖραι ξόανον τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἀπὸ παγκάρπων ξύλων. καὶ δή ποτε ἑορτῆς τελουμένης τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι ἐν τῇ Χιτώνῃ (ἔστι δὲ δῆμος Ἀττικῆς) ἀπελθὼν εὗρε δρῦν πάμπολυν καὶ διάφορον ἔχουσαν ἠρτημένον (ἠρτημένην cod. M. A. Meineke cj. ἀπηρτημένον) καρπόν. καὶ ἐκ τούτου (A. Meineke cj. ταύτης) ἐποίησεν ἄγαλμα τῇ θεᾷ, καὶ οὕτω μετῴκησεν (μετῴκισεν cod. E., followed by O. Schneider) ἐν Μιλήτῳ. ἀπὸ τοῦ δήμου οὖν ἔσχε τὴν ὁρμασίαν ἡ Ἄρτεμις. ἢ ὅτι τικτομένων τῶν βρεφῶν ἀνετίθεσαν τὰ ἱμάτια τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι. The existence of a deme Chitone is very questionable (Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 575 n. 27, A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2335). But Artemis bore the title Χιτώνη (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 77 f., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χιτώνη, cp. *s.v.* Ἑρμιών), or Χιτωνία (Parmenon of Byzantion and Epicharmos *frag.* 127 Kaibel *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χιτώνη, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κιθωνέα), probably at Athens (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 778 *A*, 16 κιτωνεῖα with U. Koehler's n. *ad loc.*), certainly at Miletos (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 225 f.) and Syracuse (Athen. 629 E): see further T. Schreiber in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 572 f., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1381 f., 1401 f., O. Jessen *ib.* iii. 2335, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 444, 568, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 242 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 369 n. 2, 1272 n. 7, 1295 n. 1. The epithet Χιτώνη, Χιτωνία, popularly derived from χιτών, was in all likelihood a pre-Greek appellative. I incline to suspect that the word thus Grecised meant originally 'the Hittite' (cp. the forms *Khatti*, *Kheta*, *Heth*, etc.: H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 327). Be that as it may, the scholiast on Kallimachos does not definitely state whether the oak hung with fruitage was growing

much weight to Ovid's description of the Colchian Diana as a golden three-faced goddess, whose marble temple had 'a grove black with pitch-pines and leaves of the evergreen oak[1].' But in Thrace Artemis was certainly conceived as a vegetation-deity. Tetradrachms of Abdera, struck *c.* 400—390 B.C., show her standing in profile with a stag at her side, a bow and arrow in her left hand, and a wreath (fig. 316)[2] or branch[3] in her right, or else facing

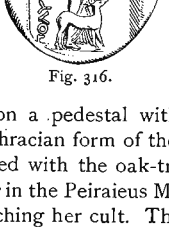


Fig. 316.

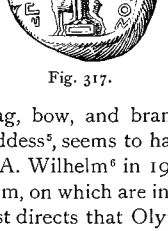


Fig. 317.

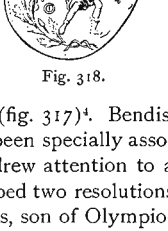


Fig. 318.

us on a pedestal with stag, bow, and branch (fig. 317)[4]. Bendis, a Thracian form of the goddess[5], seems to have been specially associated with the oak-tree. A. Wilhelm[6] in 1902 drew attention to a *stéle* in the Peiraieus Museum, on which are inscribed two resolutions touching her cult. The first directs that Olympos, son of Olympiodoros, for his official services to her sanctuary and *orgeônes* be

in Attike or in Ionia. Perhaps we may assume that it marked the site of the new settlement. If so, the foundation-legend of Miletos resembled that of Ephesos (*supra* p. 405).

[1] Ov. *her.* 12. 67 ff., on which see P. Wagler *Die Eiche in alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1891 ii. 15 n. 43.

[2] *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 83 pl. 3, 8 (=my fig. 316), *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 105 no. 63 pl. 4, 34.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 231 no. 52 *β* fig., J. N. Svoronos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1889 p. 101 pl. 2, 23. Cp. the type of Diana *Nemorensis* (?) on Italian gems (*supra* i. 274 fig. 199).

[4] *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 83 no. 136 fig. (=my fig. 317) Berlin.

[5] *Supra* p. 115.

[6] A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1902 v. 133 (publication by J. Dragatsis promised).

In an inscription from Thessalonike a priestess of Πρινοφόρος, the 'Bearer of the Evergreen Oak,' who speaks of herself as *θύσα* and *εὐεία*, leaves certain vineyards to her *θίασος*, the *πρινοφόροι*: if the conditions of the bequest are not fulfilled, the property is to go to another *θίασος*, that of the *δροιοφόροι* or 'oak-bearers' (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 321 ff. *Β lέρεια θύσα | εὐεία Πρινο|φόρου κατα|λίπω εἰς μνί|ας χάριν αἰω|νίας ἀνπέλων | πλέθρα δύω | σὺν τῆς τάφροις | ὅπως ἀποφ[έρω]νται αἰμοὶ | – – and C καὶ οἱ μύστε | μικρὸς μέ|γας ἕκαστος | στέφανον ῥόδινον. ὁ δὲ μὴ ἐ|νένκας μὴ μετε|χέτω μου τῆς | δωρεᾶς. αἰὰν | δὲ μὴ ποιήσω|σιν, εἶνε αὐτὰ | τοῦ δροιοφό|ρων θειάσου ἐ[π]ὶ τ]οῖς αὐτοῖς.* Perdrizet adds: 'Pour le chêne-vert, c'est un arbre fort répandu dans la Macédoine orientale; le Pangée lui doit son nom actuel (*Pournar-dag*).' See further the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 82 n. 1, where I have cited the copper coins of Thessalonike with a wreath of oak-leaves enclosing the word ΘΕΣΣΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ or ΘΕCCΑΛΟΝΙΚΕΩΝ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, Etc. pp. 108, 113).

honoured with a wreath of oak[1]. The second, proposed by Sosias, son of Hippokrates, on Skirophorion 8 in the archonship of Lykeas, ordains that Eukleides, son of Antimachos, for his services as secretary receive the oak-wreath. Wilhelm infers that this was the national wreath of the goddess. Was it accident or design that combined the obverse Artemis with the reverse oak-wreath on the shield-like tetradrachms issued in Makedonia from 158 to 149 B.C.[2]? A silver coin of the Acarnanian League, referable to the year 192—191 B.C., shows a torch-bearing Artemis in a wreath of oak (fig. 318)[3]. And literary allusions tell the same tale. An Orphic hymn to Artemis invokes her as 'haunting the oak-woods of the mountains' and again as 'goddess of oak-woods[4].' Aristophanes similarly describes her as 'the Maid that ranges the oak-clad hills[5].' And Statius not only makes Atalante dedicate a choice oak to her in Arkadia[6], but also speaks of her effigy as carved on 'pitch-pine and cedar and every oak-tree' of her grove near Thebes[7].

The goddess was perhaps even identified with her own tree. The Saronic Gulf, according to Pliny, was formerly fringed with forests of oak and drew its name from the fact[8]. On its shore, near

[1] δρυὸς στεφάνωι.

[2] *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* iii. 53 ff. nos. 156 ff., 189 ff. pl. 2, 2—4, 10—13, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, Etc. p. 7 fig., p. 8 fig., Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 96 pl. 54, 10, 11, 12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 354 pl. 24, 12. For the history of these issues see H. Gaebler 'Zur Münzkunde Makedoniens iii' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1899 xxii. 141 ff., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 148 ff. pl. 12, 87 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 238 f. fig. 151 f.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly, etc. p. 169 pl. 27, 5, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 97 pl. 55, 20, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 333 f. Fig. 318 is drawn from an electrotype of the specimen in the British Museum.

[4] Orph. *h. Artem.* 36. 10 ἡ κατέχεις ὀρέων δρυμούς, 12 δρυμονίη.

[5] Aristoph. *Thesm.* 114 f. τάν τ' ἐν δρεσι δρυογόνοισι | κόραν ἀείσατ' Ἄρτεμιν ἀγροτέραν.

[6] Stat. *Theb.* 9. 585 ff. nota per Arcadias felici robore silvas | quercus erat, Triviae quam desacraverat ipsa | electam turba nemorum numenque colendo | fecerat : hic arcus et fessa reponere tela, | armaque curva suum et vacuorum terga leonum | figere et ingentes aequantia cornua silvas. | vix ramis locus, agrestes adeo omnia cingunt | exuviae, et viridem ferri nitor impedit umbram. etc. (608 virgo potens nemorum, 627 nemoralis Delia). In 591 C. von Barth cj. *vix radiis locus.* But Statius may have been thinking of the Italian Diana-trunks (*supra* p. 143 ff.).

[7] Stat. *Theb.* 4. 425 ff. nec caret umbra deo : nemori Latonia cultrix | additur; hanc picea cedroque (so O. Müller for *piceae cedrique* vulg.) et robore in omni | effictam sanctis occultat silva tenebris. Mr E. Harrison in the *Cambridge University Reporter* Feb. 21, 1911 p. 663 comments : 'As things stand, we read that in a forest sacred to Diana the image of the goddess was carved on every tree of three several kinds. If the poet is worth relieving of a folly, we had better read *in unam* or *in unum* for *in omni*, supposing a triple *ξόανον* of the triune goddess (cf. Pausanias ii. 30. 2). Yet see what this poet does at x. 100.'

[8] Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 18 sinus Saronicus, olim querno nemore redimitus, unde nomen, ita Graecia antiqua appellante quercum.

Troizen, stood a sanctuary of Artemis *Saronís*, whose cult-epithet can be taken to mean 'the Gnarled Oak[1].' If so, the implication is that some ancient trunk was viewed as her very embodiment[2]. Tradition said that the cult had been founded by a woodland king, Saron the hunter, who met his death by pursuing a doe[3] or a boar[4] into the sea and lay buried in the precinct of his goddess[5]. Saron, we may suppose[6], stood to Artemis *Saronís*[7] in much the same

[1] Schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 22 σαρωνίδας : δρῦς· παρὰ τὸ σεσηρότα καὶ συνεστραμμένον τὸν φλοιὸν ἔχειν, Hesych. *s.v.* σαρωνίδες· πέτραι. ἢ αἱ διὰ παλαιότητα κεχηνυῖαι δρύες (cp. *id. s.vv.* σορωνίς· ἐλάτη παλαιά and σωρωνίς· ἐλάτη. καὶ πόλις. M. Schmidt remarks : 'σορωνίς Dorismus est Melius pro *σαρωνίς*.' See now K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 84), *et. gen.* in E. Miller *Mélanges de littérature grecque* Paris 1868 p. 264 σαρωνὶς καὶ ἡ δρῦς διὰ τὸ σεσηρέναι· ἢ σορωνὶς (*leg.* σορωνὶ) διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν σοροὺς γίνεσθαι, *et. Gud.* p. 496, 32 f. σαρωνίς, ἡ δρύς, διὰ τὸ σεσειρέναι (*leg.* σεσηρέναι)· ἢ σωρωνὶς (*leg.* σορωνὶς) διὰ τὸ ἐξ αὐτῶν σωροὺς (*leg.* σορούς) γίνεσθαι, *et. mag.* p. 709, 5 καὶ σαρωνίδες, αἱ κοῖλαι δρύες (=Favorin. *lex.* p. 1636, 34). The word occurs in an elegiac fragment published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1898 i. 37 f. no. 14, 10]ο σαρωνίδας οὔδας ἐνε[, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 22 f. ἢ πολλὰς ἐφύπερθε σαρωνίδας ὑγρὸς Ἰάων | ἤειρεν, Parthen. *narr. am.* 11. 4 (=*poes. frag.* 29, 4 ff.) καί ῥα κατὰ στυφελοῖο σαρωνίδος αὐτίκα μίτρην | ἀψαμένη δειρὴν ἐνεθήκατο (*sc.* ἡ Βυβλίς).

[2] Cp. Demeter Χλόη, Dionysos Βότρυς, Dionysos Κισσός. But the direct identification of deity with plant-form in a cult-title was rare. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 4 rashly assumes a Zeus Φηγός on the strength of Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη·...καὶ τὴν αἰτιατικὴν φησιν Εὐφορίων Δωδῶνα ἐν Ἀνίῳ· 'ἴκομεν ἐς Δωδῶνα Διὸς φηγοῖο προφῆτιν.'

[3] Paus. 2. 30. 7 ἔλαφον διώκοντα (the words ὑπὸ τῶν κυμάτων κατακλυζόμενον imply a derivation of Σάρων from σαρόω, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 389 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*=*et. mag.* p. 708, 56 ff.), schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 1200 διώκων ἔλαφον. We need not with S. Wide (*De sacris Troezeniorum, Hermionensium, Epidauriorum Commentatio academica* Upsaliae 1888 p. 26 f., cp. *id. Lakon. Kulte* p. 125 n. 3 and in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 14 ff.) and M. P. Nilsson (*Gr. Feste* p. 226 f.) assume that the doe was Artemis herself in animal shape, still less with O. Keller (*Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Innsbruck 1887 p. 97, cp. *id. Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 277) take it to be a symbol of the starry midnight sky. After all, ordinary deer can swim well and take readily to the water (see *e.g.* R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894 ii. 347, 354, *id. Wild Life of the World* London s.a. i. 28). There is a good parallel in Paus. 8. 22. 9.

[4] Euphorion *ap.* schol. Dionys. *per.* 420 (cp. *et. mag.* p. 708, 51 ff.) and Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 420 ἐπιδιώκων σῦν. This too is a possible occurrence (R. Lydekker *Wild Life of the World* London s.a. i. 34).

[5] Paus. 2. 30. 7.

[6] So at least I have argued in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 370, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 389.

[7] Artemis Σαρωνίς (Paus. 2. 30. 7) was also called Σαρωνία at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 10, cp. Achaios *Theseus frag.* 18 Nauck[2] *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* Σαρωνία· Ἄρτεμις· Ἀχαιὸς Θησεῖ· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Τροιζῆνι Σαρωνικοῦ κόλπου=Phot. *lex. s.v.* Σαρωνία) and Epidauros (P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 51 f. no. 85=*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1083 a *stèle* of *s.* iii (?) B.C. Ἀριστείδας Ἀριστοκράτευς | δὶς πυροφορήσας | τ(ῶ)ι Ἀσκλαπιῶι | Ἀρτέμι|τι Σαρω|νίαι | ἀνέθηκε, *Fouilles d'Épidaure* i. 57 no. 128=*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1198 a rectangular block inscribed in archaistic lettering of *s.* iv A.D. or later Ἀρτέ‖μιτος | Σαρωνίας with a numeral ξβ′ below and a circle, perhaps meant for a wreath, in the middle of the name Ἀρτέμιτος: on this symbol see further C. Blinkenberg in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 381, 383 and M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 187, *infra* Append. L *init.*). Her festival the Σαρώνια (Paus. 2. 32. 10) is discussed by Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 226 f.

relationship as Virbius to Diana *Nemorensis*[1]. Unfortunately, little or nothing is known about the early kings of Troizen[2]. It is, however, noteworthy that the later Troezenian hero Hippolytos to some extent repeated the career of Saron. He too was a hunter, was intimate with Artemis, had the *entrée* of her *ábaton*[3], and died a violent death on the margin of the sea. He is not indeed linked by

The existence of the alternative title Σαρωνία at first sight tells against my interpretation of Σαρωνίς; for Σαρωνίς and Σαρωνία may both be derivatives of Σάρων, a place-name (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάρων· *τόπος* Τροιζῆνος) or river-name (Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 420 ἡ ἀπὸ Σάρωνος ποταμοῦ Τροιζῆνος, whence L. Holstein cj. ποταμός for *τόπος* in Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*). But these names themselves in all probability connoted oaks, cp. Paus. 8. 23. 8 *ἐπὶ δρυμὸν ἀφίξῃ Σόρωνα* (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868—1872 ii. 263 n. 2 'Σόρων ist wahrscheinlich arkadische Form für Σάρων,' L. Grasberger *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* Würzburg 1888 p. 259), so that on this showing Σαρωνίς, Σαρωνία would be 'She of the Oak-land,' 'She of the Oak-river.'

There is yet another possibility. Starting from Hesych. *s.v.* σαρῶνες· *τὰ τῶν θηρατῶν λινά* W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1349 render Σάρων 'Netzold, Netze'—a view adopted by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 613, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 192 (but see *ib.* p. 1281 n. 4), Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 227, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 388 (but see *ib.* p. 389). Artemis Σαρωνίς, Σαρωνία would then be a kind of Δίκτυννα. But it is far from certain that Δίκτυννα was originally connected with *δίκτυον* (*supra* i. 541 n. 6); and the Hesychian gloss may rest on a confusion (cp. Hesych. *s.v.* σάρδονες· *ἐν κυνηγετικῷ μέρη τινὰ δικτύων δηλοῦνται.* The reference is to Xen. *cyneg.* 6. 9. Hence L. Dindorf restored. σαρδόνες to Hesych. and σαρδόνων to Xen. In Poll. 5. 31 G. Jungermann notes the manuscript reading σαρδῶνες for σαρδόνες. A. Fick in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1894 p. 245 relates σαρδών to *σέσηρα*; but see Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 853).

[1] Saron, like Virbius (*supra* p. 393 f.), came to be deemed an aquatic divinity (Aristeid. *or.* 46. 208 (ii. 274 Dindorf) οὐδ' ἵνα τὸν πάντα χρόνον τὴν θάλατταν οἰκῶσιν, ὥσπερ τὸν Γλαῦκόν φασι τὸν Ἀνθηδόνιον, ἢ τὸν Σάρωνα τὸν ἐπώνυμον τοῦ πελάγους with schol. Aristeid. p. 639, 1 ff. Dindorf *κατὰ κοινοῦ τὸ δαίμονά φησι γίνεσθαι ναυτικώτατον. κ.τ.λ.*, Apostol. 15. 34 Σάρωνος ναυτικώτερος· οὗτος ὁ Σάρων δαίμων ἦν ναυτικώτατος. κ.τ.λ.), being worshipped on the western side of the Bosporos in the bay called Bathykólpos, the modern *Boyukdere* (Dionys. Byz. *per Bosporum navigatio* frag. 71 versionis Gillianae (p. 26 Wescher) 'Fluvius in sinum exit, cui idem quod sinui nomen est. Hic exsistit *Saronis* herois Megarici ara, et jactus piscium,' etc.), and presumably also at Megara (F. Pfister *Die mythische Königsliste von Megara und ihr Verhältnis zum Kult und zur topographischen Bezeichnung* Heidelberg 1907 p. 41 = *id. Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* Giessen 1909 i. 41). On him see further the excellent article of O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 387—389.

[2] The *locus classicus* is Paus. 2. 30. 5—8, where we are told that the succession was (1) Ὦρος, (2) Ἄλθηπος, son of Poseidon by Λητὶς daughter of Ὦρος, (3) Σάρων, (4) after an interval of forgotten names Τπέρης and Ἄνθας, sons of Poseidon by Alkyone daughter of Atlas, (5) Ἀέτιος, son of Ἄνθας, in whose reign Troizen and Pittheus, the sons of Pelops, entered the country. F. Pfister *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* Giessen 1909 i. 50 ff. ('Die mythische Königsliste von Troizen') contends that the names Horos (*sic*), Leïs, Althepos, Anthas, Hyperes all refer to the fertility of the Troezenian land. Here it is *ad rem* to observe that Anthas is comparable with Anthos of Arkadia, whose descendants hung their clothes on an oak-tree before swimming across a pool to become were-wolves (*supra* i. 71 ff.), and that the Arcadian Anthos was perhaps, like Anthos thé son of Autonoos and Hippodameia, destroyed by horses—a fate which would connect him with Hippolytos (*supra* i.-75).

[3] Eur. *Hipp.* 70 ff.

legend with a sacred oak. But it is possible that here, as elsewhere[1], the oak had given place to the olive. In Pausanias' time a certain

Fig. 319.

Fig. 320.

Fig. 321.

wild-olive, growing near the sanctuary and known as the Writhen Olive, was held to be the tree in which Hippolytos' reins had got

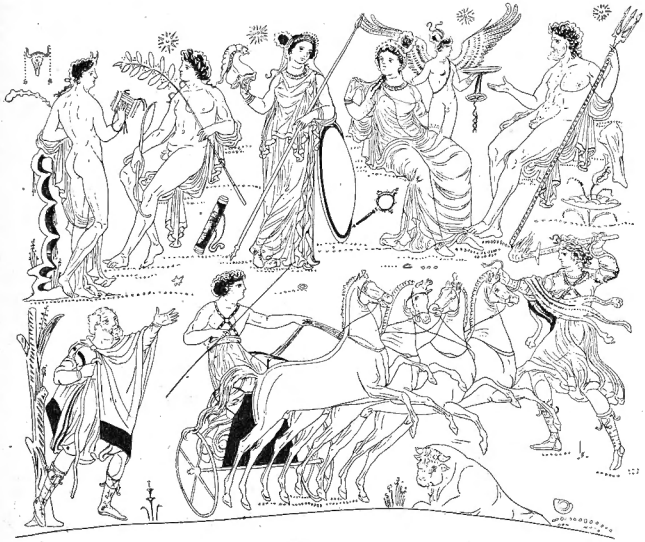


Fig. 322.

entangled[2]. Ovid and Seneca speak of it as a mere stump: the

[1] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 273, *ib.* 1904 xviii. 82 n. 2, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 298.

[2] Paus. 2. 32. 10 *ἐπὶ θάλασσαν δὲ τὴν Ψιφαίαν* (*ψηφαίαν* codd. Angelicus and Riccardianus, the latter with *ι* over *η*,—followed by Schubart and Walz. Siebelis cj. *Φοιβαίαν*) *πορευομένοις κότινος πέφυκεν ὀνομαζόμενος ῥᾶχος στρεπτός. ῥάχους μὲν δὴ καλοῦσι Τροιζήνιοι πᾶν ὅσον ἄκαρπον ἐλαίας, κότινον καὶ φυλίαν καὶ ἔλαιον· στρεπτὸν δὲ ἐπονομάζουσι τοῦτον, ὅτι ἐνσχεθεισῶν αὐτῷ τῶν ἡνιῶν ἀνετράπη τοῦ Ἱππολύτου τὸ ἅρμα. τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ τῆς Σαρωνίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἀφέστηκε τὸ ἱερόν, κ.τ.λ.* Of the *ῥάχοι* here mentioned the *φυλία* at least was *ὅμοιον πρίνῳ* (Hesych. *s.v. φυλείης*).

former describes how the hero's sinews were caught on it[1]; the latter makes him fairly impaled by it[2]. Coppers of Troizen, struck by Septimius Severus (fig. 319)[3] and Iulia Domna (fig. 320)[4], show the citadel crowned by a distyle temple and flanked by a couple of

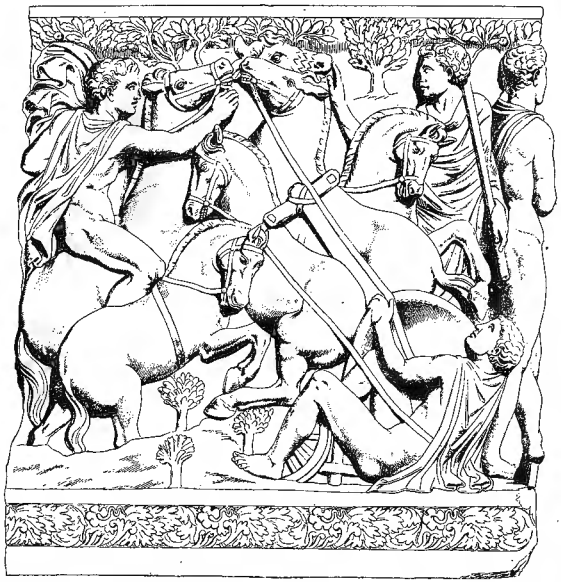


Fig. 323.

trees, apparently olive and cypress. Another copper of the same town, issued by Commodus (fig. 321)[5], represents Hippolytos, with hunting-spear and hound, leaning on a knotted tree-stump. An Apulian *kratér* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum (fig. 322)[6],

[1] Ov. *met.* 15. 521 ff. [2] Sen. *Phaedr.* 1107 f.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 167 pl. 31, 8 (=my fig. 319), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 47 pl. M, 4. The temple is that of Athena *Sthenidis* (Paus. 2. 30. 6, 2. 32. 5: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1532 f.).

[4] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 156 pl. 39, 14 (=my fig. 320), Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. iv. 471 no. 208, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 47.

[5] C. R. Fox *Engravings of unedited or rare Greek Coins* London 1856 i. 25 no. 100 pl. 9 (=my fig. 321), W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 165 Add. (electrotype), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 48 pl. M, 8.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 136 ff. no. F 279, T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 245 f., A. Kalkmann *ib.* 1883 xli. 43 ff. pl. 6=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 446, Overbeck *Gr.*

introduces the fatal trunk into the death-scene. The tree thus connected with Hippolytos by literature and art very possibly presupposes the sacred oak of Artemis. In any case Hippolytos and Artemis *Saronis* must have borne an obvious resemblance to Virbius and Diana *Nemorensis*; for Virgil and later writers told how Hippolytos, restored by Asklepios at Artemis' request, lived again as Virbius in Diana's grove at Nemi[1]. His tragic death and triumphant resurrection made him a favourite theme alike on Greek and on Roman *sarcophagi*[2] (fig. 323)[3].

(ψ) Diana's tree at Nemi.

It is clear, then, that Diana in Italy and Artemis in Greece were often conceived as oak-goddesses. But have we any special reason to think that Diana's tree at Nemi was an oak? Sir James Frazer, as is well known, has conjectured that such was the case and has immortalised his opinion in that amazing monument of helpful research, *The Golden Bough*[4]. Nevertheless, with regard to this particular point, his argument admittedly rests on probabilities, not proofs[5],

Kunstmyth. Apollon pp. 327 no. 57, 330 Atlas pl. 22, 3 (Apollon only), J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 pp. 108—112 fig. 15. My fig. 322 is after Kalkmann *loc. cit.*

[1] *Supra* p. 399 n. 5. See also S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1866.

[2] Robert *Sark.-Relfs* iii. 169—219 pls. 44—56 and figs. in text.

[3] In the death of Hippolytos as carved on one of the smaller sides of a fine Greek *sarcophagus* at the Petrograd Hermitage (H. Brunn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1857 xxix. 36 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 2 = my fig. 323, Robert *op. cit.* iii. 182 ff. pl. 47—48 fig. 154 *a*) the sculptor has apparently adapted the type of Phaethon's overthrow (Robert *op. cit.* iii. 170). He adds a background etc. of oaks and olives.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 379, *alib.*

[5] Apart from the general association of the oak with the Aryan thunder-god (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 356 ff.), Sir James Frazer urges the following special considerations: (1) Diana at Nemi was called Vesta (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 2213 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1455 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 1767 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3243 Dianae Nemoresi Vestae | sacrum, etc.) and presumably had a perpetual fire in her sanctuary. The Vestal fire at Rome was fed with oak-wood (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 185 f., 372, 378). Latin ritual is so uniform that we may assume a like custom at Nemi: hence 'it becomes probable that the hallowed grove there consisted of a natural oak-wood, and that therefore the tree which the King of the Wood had to guard at the peril of his life was itself an oak' (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 379). (2) Verg. *Aen.* 6. 203 ff., cp. *ib.* 136 ff., speaks of the golden bough as growing on an evergreen oak (*opaca | ilice*) near Lake Avernus (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 379, *ib.*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 284 f., 315). Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 136 quotes as a popular belief (*publica...opinio*) the view 'that the Golden Bough was the branch which a candidate for the priesthood of Diana had to pluck in the sacred grove of Nemi' (*Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 284 n. 3). (3) Verg. *Aen.* 6. 772 represents the old Alban dynasty of the Silvii as crowned with oak (*civili...quercu*) (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 178 ff., 379). 'It is not impossible that the King of the Wood...was the lawful successor ...of this ancient line' (*ib.* p. 379). (4) The double-headed bust at Nemi, which probably portrays the old King of the Wood and his younger rival, shows both of them plastered

and I was formerly disposed to question its validity[1]. I still hold that the evidence is incomplete; but I believe that I am in a position to strengthen it by sundry fresh facts of local significance.

Some years ago in looking through an old book on the Campagna I came across an etching of the Lake at Nemi, published in 1805 (fig. 324)[2]. The accompanying text by Miss Ellis Cornelia Knight[3]

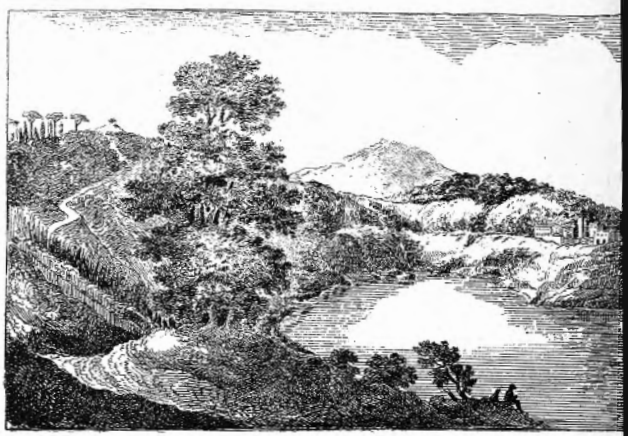


Fig. 324.

who lived in Italy from 1776 to 1799, describes the lake-side and incidentally remarks:

'There is a tree which tradition reports to be near two thousand years old, but some of the inhabitants content themselves with saying, that it was planted by Augustus; its spreading branches hang over the lake, and produce a noble effect.'

It occurred to me at once that the tree in question might be the successor of the tree guarded by the *rex Nemorensis*, the obscure

with oak-leaves (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 41 f.). (5) Egeria, perhaps a local form of Diana (*Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 171 ff., 267, 380), was described as an oak-nymph (*ib.* ii. 172, 267, 380). Val. Max. i. 2. 1 speaks of her as *dea Aegeria*, which may mean 'the Oak Goddess' (*ib.* i. 22 n. 5, ii. 172 n. 3).

[1] *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 371, 374, 378 n. 4 (but see *ib.* 1904 xviii. 369 f.), *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 445 f.

[2] *Description of Latium; or, La Campagna di Roma* London 1805 p. 85 f. pl. 6 (=my fig. 324).

[3] My friend Prof. R. C. Bosanquet informed me that the anonymous author of the *Description of Latium* was Miss E. C. Knight, on whom see Dr R. Garnett's article in the *Dictionary of National Biography* ed. by S. Lee London 1892 xxxi. 249 f.

woodland king having been replaced in popular memory by the famous emperor[1]. Anxious therefore to ascertain the species of the tree, I asked my former pupil Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) to go over from Rome to Nemi and question the peasants on the spot. Miss Douglas kindly consented to do so, and on Sept. 13, 1912 reported that they knew nothing about it, having—she said—'just enough modern ideas to hold everything old in detestation.' But a week later a postcard from her drew my attention to the following passage in G. Tomassetti's great work on the Campagna:

'Among the scattered memories of this country I must record that of the gigantic oak-tree, which grew on the banks of the Lake and was said to have been planted by no less a person than Augustus (Kircher *V. Lat.* p. 50); it was capable of containing twenty-five people in the hollow of its trunk, and it is said that the women of Genzano caused it to wither because they used to boil the water for the washing in it (Ratti p. 87, who saw it cut down)[2].'

A. Kircher, whose *Latium* appeared at Amsterdam in 1671, duly mentions that the big tree below Genzano could house a family of twenty-five in its hollow trunk and was believed to have been planted by Caesar Augustus[3]. N. Ratti's *Storia di Genzano* I failed to find at Cambridge, and there is no copy in the British Museum. So I induced my old colleague Prof. P. J. Harding, when next he visited Rome, to take up the quest. Four months afterwards he ran down the book in the Bibliotèca Vittorio Emanuele and on Jan. 16, 1913 sent me an extract, showing that Ratti, whose *Storia* is dated 1797, had seen the tree lying on the ground and was prepared to support Kircher's estimate of its size[4]. It would seem,

[1] It is perhaps noteworthy that one of the chief festivals of modern Nemi is the *Esposizione della Croce* on Sept. 24, a day which was celebrated in antiquity as Augustus' birthday (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 446, 587).

[2] G. Tomassetti *La Campagna Romana* Roma 1910 ii. 257 'Tra le memorie scomparse di questa terra deve ricordarsi il gigantesco albero di quercia esistito sul versante del lago, che dicevasi piantato nientemeno che da Augusto (KIRCHER, *V. Lat.*, pag. 50), capace di contenere nel vuoto del tronco 25 persone; e si dice che le donne Genzanesi lo abbiano fatto inaridire, perchè vi facevano all' interno bollire la lisciva del bucato (RATTI, p. 87, che l' ha veduto recidere).'

[3] A. Kircher *Latium* Amstelodami 1671 p. 50 'E regione *Nemoris* diametraliter opposita *Cynthianum*, vulgo *Genzano* situm est, de quo supra: nobile & dives oppidum *Cæsarini* Ducis jurisdictioni subjacet; infra quod ad ipsum *lacum* arborem vidi tantæ magnitudinis, ut integra familia 25 personarum facile concavitatem inhabitare queat. Incolæ certo sibi persuasum habent, arborem hanc *ab Cæsare Augusto* inibi plantatam, successu temporis in tantam molem excrevisse. Sed sinamus indigenis plus æquò credulis plebejam hanc persuasionem.'

[4] Nicola Ratti *Storia di Genzano con note e documenti* Roma 1797 p. 87 n. (1) 'Quest' albero per la sua mole portentoso si è mantenuto in piedi sino a nostri giorni, e sussisterebbe tuttora, se la biasmevole costumanza delle donne Genzanesi di far bollire a fuoco vivissimo la caldaja del loro bucato entro la cavità del tronco, che loro serviva di commoda

then, that the great trunk was felled some time between 1776, when Miss Knight went to Italy, and 1797, when Ratti brought out his account of Genzano. Its identification as an oak rests on the statement of Tomassetti. If that is reliable, then Sir James Frazer's surmise concerning Diana's tree receives at least a supplementary prop[1].

We need not, therefore, scruple to admit that Virbius was represented as a Janiform herm covered with oak-leaves just because he was the consort of Diana[2]. How long he persisted in folk-memory and how widely he was recognised, our meagre records do not permit us to determine. As to the former question, C. G. Leland in 1892 published a curious tale current among the Romagnoli of northern Italy, in which we can readily detect a moralising reminiscence of Diana, Virbius, and his successful rival[3]. As to the latter question,

stanza, a poco a poco non ne avesse seccato le radici, e l' albero stesso, per il che anni indietro bisognò venirne al taglio. Noi lo abbiamo veduto dopo reciso, e possiamo assicurare, che l' assertiva del Kircher riguardo alla straordinaria di lui grandezza non è punto esaggerata. Un albero di questa natura non poteva essere, che di un età vecchissima, e quando non voglia credersi coevo di Cesare Augusto almeno non gli si potran negare molti secoli di vita.'

[1] If it be objected that Genzano is on the opposite side of the Lake to Nemi, we must bear in mind the constant tendency of the early population to move down from the mountain towards the sea (G. Tomassetti *La Campagna Romana* Roma 1910 ii. 263 f.). As Diana's temple at Nemi was duplicated by Diana's temple at Aricia (*id. ib.*), so *ex hypothesi* the oak at Nemi was duplicated by the oak at Genzano.

Two other possibilities are worth weighing. (1) Quite conceivably the sacred tree of Diana *Nemorensis* was an apple-tree. I have erenow been half-inclined to maintain that view: see *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 445 f., *supra* i. 274 f. And further reasons for adopting it could be adduced. In 1744 the site of the precinct at Nemi was occupied by the *pomario* of P. Frangipani (Tomassetti *op. cit.* ii. 264). Miss Douglas writes to me (Sept. 13, 1912): 'There are a good number of apple trees on the slopes of the lake, some of them fairly large.' Also it is a well-known fact that mistletoe very commonly grows on an apple-tree. (2) Again, something might be said for the conjecture that Diana's tree was a beech. She was certainly a beech-goddess in the near neighbourhood (*supra* p. 402 f. and especially p. 403 n. 1). And the whole district is called *La Faiola* (= La Faggiuola) from its beeches (L. Morpurgo in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 297 n. 1).

[2] *Supra* p. 400.

[3] C. G. Leland *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition* London 1892 p. 124 f. "*Verbio* was a beautiful youth, as good as he was beautiful, and he loved with all his heart a maid who seemed to return his love. "But she soon was tempted, | Tempted by another | Youth of greater beauty, | Which was like enchantment; | Yet he was a stranger, | And he had no story, | For this handsome stranger, | Verbio was slighted. "Then Verbio fell ill in despair, and seemed to be dying, and the girl learning this repented, and in grief said to her new lover: 'I have done wrong, and I now see that Verbio loved me truly as thou dost not and no one can.' Then her lover gazed at her and she saw he was not a man but a devil. And he said:—"'See what thou hast done, | See how thou art wicked, | Leaving one who loved thee | With all soul sincerely! | Yet for me you left him, | Yes, for me, a devil; | Now you both are lost, | For thou'st truly promised | To be mine for ever, | As thou holdest Verbio. | But if you will sign | With your blood a contract | To be mine, I'll grant ye | Many, many years | Of happiness together.' "Now Verbio did

a priest of Virbius is mentioned in an inscription at Naples[1], and there was a Clivus Virbius in the immediate vicinity of an ancient Dianium at Rome[2]. Servius' statement that Diana was transferred from Aricia to Sparta[3] leads me to suggest that at a comparatively late date Virbius, the associate of Diana *Nemorensis*, was attached to Artemis *Orthía* also. Vibius Sequester actually gives Virbius as the name of a Laconian river[4]. And Pausanias says that the image of Artemis *Orthía* was found by Astrabakos and Alopekos the sons of Irbos. He adds that Irbos was the son of Amphisthenes, son of Amphikles, son of Agis[5]. I suspect that *Írbos* is a late Grecised form of *Virbius*; and in his forbears *Amphis*thenes and *Amphi*kles I find a hint of his Janiform nature[6]. The connexion of Virbius with Artemis *Orthía* would be doubly appropriate if, as is certainly possible, the Greek *Orthía* was the older phonetic equivalent of the Latin *Virbius*[7], both names being akin to the word *arbor*[8]. On this

not believe in the power of devils, and was only too glad to get his love again, and so signed the contract, as she did also. And they lived happily indeed for many years; but years must end, and so it came to pass that when the time of the contract expired both died at once. And all at once there was an awful storm over all the land, the heavens grew dark by day, and horrible fires flashed out of the darkness, and amid the storm was heard a voice which sang:—"'Women, learn to love | One true love, and truly; | When you're truly loved | Be warned by my example! | Now I pay the fee | For my fatal falsehood.' "And since that time the two have gone about as spirits knowing no rest."

Leland has been accused of inaccuracy—a charge which he hotly rebuts (*op. cit.* p. 13 ff.). He was no doubt an erratic genius, and there is a good deal of chaff mixed with his grain. But he certainly meant his tales from La Romagna Toscana as a serious contribution to folk-lore: see his letters to Mrs Pennell written from Florence in 1890—1891 and printed by E. R. Pennell *Charles Godfrey Leland* London 1906 ii. 339 ff.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 1493, 6 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6457, 6 flamini Virbiali. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 20 n. 3.

[2] *Supra* p. 400 f. See further *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 380 n. 3.

[3] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 116 Colchos petierat (*sc.* Orestes), et cum his occiso Thoante, simulacrum sustulit absconditum fasce lignorum: unde et Facelitis dicitur...et Ariciam detulit. sed cum postea Romanis sacrorum crudelitas displiceret, quamquam servi immolarentur, ad Laconas est Diana translata, ubi sacrificii consuetudo adulescentum verberibus servatur, qui vocabantur Bomonicae, quia aris superpositi contendebant, qui plura posset verbera sustinere. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (*σ*).

[4] *Supra* p. 394 n. 2.

[5] Paus. 3. 16. 9 τοῦτο μὲν γὰρ Ἀστράβακος καὶ Ἀλώπεκος οἱ Ἴρβου τοῦ Ἀμφισθένους τοῦ Ἀμφικλέους τοῦ Ἄγιδος τὸ ἄγαλμα εὑρόντες αὐτίκα παρεφρόνησαν. Cp. 3. 16. 11 καλοῦσι δὲ οὐκ Ὀρθίαν μόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ Λυγοδέσμαν τὴν αὐτήν, ὅτι ἐν θάμνῳ λύγων εὑρέθη, περιειληθεῖσα δὲ ἡ λύγος ἐποίησε τὸ ἄγαλμα ὀρθόν.

[6] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 290 n. 9. Note also the title *Ambi*sagrus (*supra* p. 328).

[7] My expert friend Dr P. Giles tells me (May 1918) that **Vurbia*, the strict equivalent of *Fορθία* (for *ϝορθιᾱ́ᾱ*), involves a sound *Vu* which the Latins disliked and would therefore alter by dissimilation (cp. **vucus* > *vīcus*). He thinks that the first *i* of *Virbius* may perhaps be due to the influence of the second *i* (cp. *filius*).

[8] According to Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] pp. 55 f., 58 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 711 f., *arbor*, *arāuus*, and *ὀρθός* are all of kindred origin.

showing *Orthía* might be rendered 'Goddess of Growth[1]' and *Virbius*, 'He who is concerned with Growth' or the like[2].

vi. Zeus and the Twins.

Thus far we have traced the fortunes of the divine Sky, which was represented, not only as a celestial archway, but also—since it was bright by day and dark by night—as a double-faced god[3] with a tendency to differentiation of the two faces[4]. It remains to notice yet another development of the same primitive conception. To put it briefly, the twofold Sky split into twins. The phrase sounds extravagant. Fissiparism savours more of biology than of mythology[5]. Nevertheless we can mark the process by which the very vault of heaven first produced a pair of pendant divinities and afterwards underwent complete dichotomy.

(*a*) The supports of the Sky personified.

The initial step is taken when the supports of the Sky become personified[6] as its supporters, the result being a couple of contrasted sky-powers. The pillars of Herakles at one end of the Mediterranean[7], formerly called the pillars of Briareos[8] and earlier still the pillars of Kronos[9], together with the analogous pillars of Proteus at the other end[10], those of Herakles in Pontos[11] or far beyond Babylon[12],

[1] The alternative form Ὀρθωσία (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 161 n. 12, 1284 n. 3, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1210 ff., 1214 f.) is definitely transitive in meaning and would denote 'She who makes to grow.' Cp. Zeus Ὀρθώσιος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 50 Ὀρθωσίῳ Διΐ = Iovi *Statori*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 73 (Διὸς) ὀρθωσίου, *ib.* i. 266 no. 65 (Διὸς) ὀρθωσίου) with Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 58, 15 ὀρθώσω Ὀρθώσιος, Arkad. *de accent.* p. 41, 12 f. Barker ὀρθώσομαι, ὀρθώσιος.

[2] See, however, another possible explanation given *supra* p. 395 n. 2 *fin.*

[3] *Supra* p. 378.

[4] *Supra* p. 387 ff.

[5] Something of a parallel is provided by the Orphic theogonies, in which the primal egg splits into Ouranos and Ge (*infra* Append. G).

[6] Cp. *supra* p. 57 n. 1.

[7] Greek references are collected by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 752 A—C, W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 469; Latin references, by De Vit *Onomasticon* i. 21, ii. 76, 386, iii. 349, *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iii. 1741, 22 ff. Tac. *Germ.* 34 locates the pillars on the German coast.

[8] Aristot. *frag. dub.* 628 Rose *ap.* Ail. *var. hist.* 5. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* Βριάρεω στῆλαι. Cp. the hexameter line quoted by schol. Pind. *Nem.* 3. 40 with E. Abel's note *ad loc.*

[9] Euphorion and Charax *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 640 Müller) *ap.* schol. Dionys. *per.* 64 and Eustath. *ad loc.*

[10] Verg. *Aen.* 11. 262 f. with Serv. *ad loc.*

[11] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 11. 262.

[12] Iul. Valer. 3. 49 p. 157, 14 ff. Kuebler (two inscribed *stelae* of solid gold and silver respectively, fifteen cubits high, two cubits thick, at a distance of ninety-five days' journey from Babylon), cp. the *itinerarium Alexandri* 54 (ed. D. Volkmann, Naumburg 1871, p. 29, 3 ff.) (two inscribed *stelae* of solid gold and silver respectively, twelve cubits high, two cubits thick, at a distance of ninety days' journey from Babylon).

those of Herakles and Dionysos in India[1], imply the belief that the sky rests upon solid and tangible supports[2]. But these as yet are mere columns or columnar heights[3]. The two pillars before the altar of Zeus on Mount Lykaion were likewise in all probability conceived as sky-props. And here a certain advance may be discerned: the pillars are divinised, so to say, by the sky-god, who rests upon each in the form of a gilded eagle[4].

The Phoenicians in their sacred architecture went a step further towards personification. The two inscribed columns of bronze, eight cubits high, in the Herakleion at Gadeira, which some took to be the original pillars of Herakles[5], were at least masses of shining metal. They were excelled in brilliance by the two pillars, which Herodotos saw in the sanctuary of Herakles at Tyre: of these, one was made of pure gold[6], the other of 'emerald-stone large enough

[1] The pillars of Herakles and Dionysos on Indian soil (Strab. 171) are sometimes called boundary-stones (Curt. 3. 10. 5, 9. 4. 21), sometimes altars (Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 49, Solin. 49. 4, Mart. Cap. 692). The pillars of Dionysos (Apollod. 3. 5. 2, Avien. *descr. orb. terr.* 824 ff., 1384. The *epitome rerum gestarum Alexandri Magni* 12 (ed. O. Wagner Leipzig 1900) mentions one pillar only) are also termed *metae* (Claud. *de tert. cons. Honor. Aug. paneg.* 208).

[2] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 562 n. 1, 565, 624 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 383, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 325, 369, 392 n. 5, ii. 619, 624, 627, 631. *Supra* p. 141.

[3] Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 64 *φασὶ δὲ αὐτὰς ἢ ἀνδριάντας εἶναι* Ἡρακλέος, κ.τ.λ. is an isolated vagary, which cannot be held to justify the assertion of F. Dürrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 93 that the pillars of Herakles 'ne sont pas autre chose sans doute que les simulacres de la divinité cbez les Phéniciens.' Priscian. *per.* 617 ff., 1057 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 296 and 311 Baehrens) in like manner describes the pillars of Dionysos as *statuae*: see De Vit *Onomasticon* i. 655.

I add what seems to be a northern parallel. At Cape Sölfar in the southern part of Porsanger Fjord the Lapps of the eighteenth century had their most famous cult-centre. Here at a distance of half a mile from the sea rose two lofty rocks, one of them coated with moss. Near the rocks lay the spits (*Bassem-Morak*) used at festivals of the god, to whom his worshippers offered only the bare bones of the animals sacrificed, expecting him to reclothe the same with flesh [cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 257]. Stakes of dry firwood were set up crosswise against the rocks, each marked with the signs |||XXX|||+++|||XXX. [Longish stakes called *Liet-Morak*, smeared with the blood of the victim, were commonly set up on the place of sacrifice.] Towards the south stood a tall square beam bearing the same marks: the lower part of it was driven into the ground, the upper part was pierced by an iron nail like a trenail. Knud Leem supposes that the deity here worshipped was Thor, though he admits that no idol named Thor was then known among the Lapps of Finmark (Canutus Leemius *De Lapponibus Finmarchiæ, eorumque lingua, vita et religione pristina commentatio* Ripbenhavn 1767 p. 437 f. with p. 428 f. pl. 86=my fig. 329, Knud Leem *Nachrichten von den Lappen in Finmarken, ihrer Sprache, Sitten, Gebräuche, und ehemaligen heidnischen Religion* Leipzig 1771 p. 221 with p. 216). *Supra* p. 57 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* i. 66, 83 f.

[5] Poseidonios of Apameia *frag.* 96 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 294 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 170.

[6] Eupolemos, a Jewish historian writing *c.* 150 B.C. (Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa

to shine by night[1].' Brighter still were the two slender shafts, which on some coins of Kypros (figs. 325, 326)[2], Sardeis (fig. 327)[3], and

Fig. 325.

Fig. 326.

Fig. 327.

Fig. 328.

Pergamon (fig. 328)[4] representing the temple of Aphrodite *Paphia* flank and possibly duplicate the main standards of its *façade*[5]; for here and elsewhere (fig. 330)[6] they are treated as *candelabra*, on

Real-Enc. vi. 1227 ff.), as quoted by Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 228 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 9. 34. 18 makes this pillar sent by Solomon to Souron king of Tyre etc.: *τῷ δὲ Σούρωνι εἰς Τύρον πέμψαι τὸν χρυσοῦν κίονα τὸν ἐν Τύρῳ ἀνακείμενον ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διός.* See F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 p. 229.

[1] Hdt. 2. 44. Cp. *supra* i. 356 and 583 n. 2.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. 77 pl. 15, 4 Vespasian, p. 82 f. pl. 16, 6—9 Trajan. Figs. 325 and 326 are from specimens in my collection, struck by Vespasian (ΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΥ ΠΡΙΩΝΕΤΟΥΣΗ = 76/77 A.D.) and Trajan (ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ ΞΥΠΑΤΟΣ and ΚΟΙΝΟΝΚΥΠΡΙΩΝ).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. cxxxi f. pl. 26, 8 (= my fig. 327), 9—12, *ib.* Lydia p. 256 pl. 26, 8 = Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 29 no. 199 pl. 5 Hadrian ΠΑΦΙΗ CΑΡΔΙΑΝΩΝ.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. cxxix f. pl. 26, 7 (Paris) = my fig. 328 referable to the time of Trajan or Hadrian ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝΕΠΙCΤΡΙΠΩΛΙΩΝΟC and ΠΑΦΙΑ.

[5] *Supra* i. 767 n. 1.

[6] Fig. 330 represents a small gold ring in my possession. The incised design (scale ⅔) shows the sanctuary of the Paphian Aphrodite with its sacred cone, towered *pylôn*, flanking *candelabra*, and paved semicircular court. For similar gold rings see L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples* London 1877 p. 390 no. 10 (wrongly described) pl. 41, 20 (figured upside down), p. 391 no. 18, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 25 nos. 134, 135, 136 ('on either side of the central chamber is a column surmounted by a blazing torch'), p. 29 no. 175, p. 44 no. 253 fig. 51 pl. 6 (relief with enamel filling), p. 240 f. nos. 1640 and 1641 pl. 35 (reliefs of *appliqué* work). Cp. the engraved gems in A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* London 1882 p. 40 f. fig. 39, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 134 no. 2977 pl. 25, *id. Antiken Gemmen* i pl. 64, 81, ii. 296, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 76 no. 432, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. cxxviii f.

the top of which flares are burning[1]. Again, the two pillars of

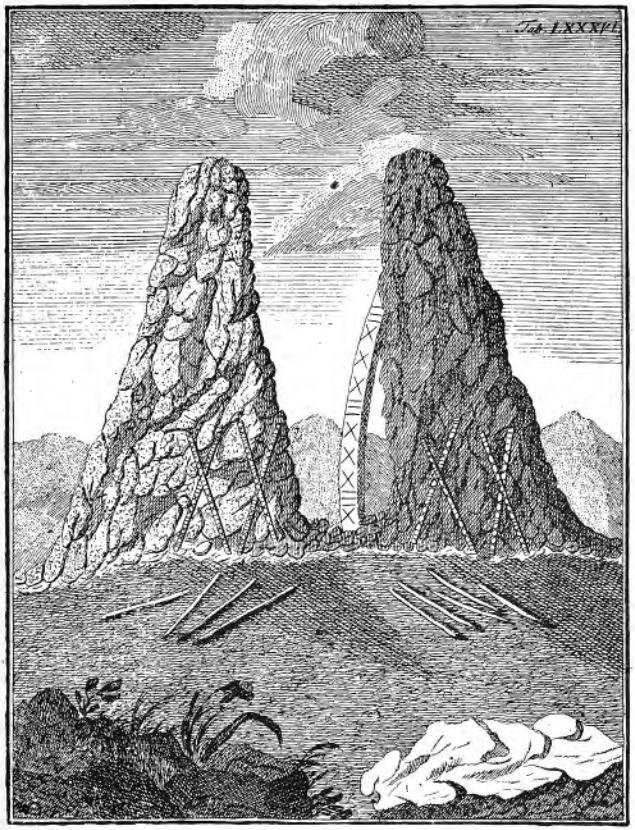


Fig. 329.

burnished bronze made by the Phoenician Hiram for the forefront

no. 1 Paris ('Between these columns and the central portion are burning torches') pl. 26, 13, no. 2 Paris pl. 26, 15, no. 3 Berlin pl. 26, 14, no. 4 British Museum pl. 26, 16 and the bronze mirror in A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* pp. 40, 59 fig. 66.

[1] The best general account of the Paphian structure as figured on coins and gems is that given by Mr G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. cxxvii—cxxxiv. But the subject is deserving of a well-illustrated monograph.

of Solomon's temple[1] were, according to W. Robertson Smith, in the nature of huge candlesticks or cressets, perhaps in actual use as fire-altars[2]. The names given to them—*Jachin*, 'He will establish,' 'the Stablisher,' and *Boaz*, 'in Him is Strength' (?)[3]—imply that they were in some sense personified supports[4], though still aniconic in shape[5]. And their original character as sky-pillars has been detected by R. Eisler[6]. When broken by the Chaldeans and carried off

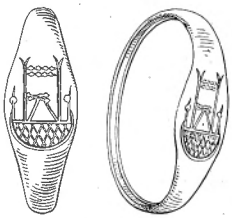


Fig. 330.

[1] 1 Kings 7. 13—22, 40—42, 2 Kings 25. 16 f., 2 Chron. 3. 15—17, 4. 11—13.

[2] W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 487 ff. J. B. de Rossi 'Verre représentant le temple de Jérusalem' in the *Archives de l'orient latin* Paris 1884 ii. 444 remarks *à propos* of these columns: 'Il y en avait aussi à Rome, dans la basilique constantinienne du Latran; elles étaient au nombre de quatre, en bronze doré, dans l'abside, et supportaient des lampes[17]. [[17] Le livre pontifical, vie de Sylvestre, ne parle pas de ces colonnes; mais il en est question dans la *Descriptio sanctuarii ecclesiæ romanæ* contenue dans le ms. Vat. Reg. 712 et dans un ms. de Valenciennes du XII[e] siècle (V. *Musaici di Roma*, texte relatif à la mosaïque de la chapelle des S[tes] Rufine et Seconde). Leur antiquité n'est pas douteuse et leur position isolée ne me paraît pas pouvoir être attribuée aux restaurations de la basilique pendant le Moyen Age.] Je ne dis pas que sur celles de Jérusalem il y eut des lampes au dessus des chapiteaux terminés en forme de lys; bien que, dans l'art chrétien et dans la liturgie chrétienne, le terme de *lilia* ait designé des chapiteaux et des candélabres.'

[3] 1 Kings 7. 21, 2 Chron. 3. 17.

[4] *Alii aliter.* (1) E. L. Curtis—A. A. Madsen *A critical and exegetical commentary on the Books of Chronicles* Edinburgh 1910 p. 329: 'These pillars were in Solomon's Temple because they were a usual feature of Semitic temples, symbols of the deity, a survival in this form of the ancient stone pillars the *Mazzeboth*.' (2) G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* trans. M. L. McClure London 1896 p. 746 n. 1: 'we may...see in them merely an equivalent of the Egyptian Stele-Pillars—as, for instance, those of the temple of Karnak.' (3) R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 629 n. 2: 'Die phallische Bedeutung der beiden Säulen, die der Ps.-Lucian den Exemplaren in Bambyke ausdrücklich beilegt [*supra* i. 591 n. 3], ist auch für den salomonischen Tempel durch die kabbalistische Tradition (KARPPE, Le Zohar p. 433) bezeugt. Dort wird überdies erzählt, dass diejenigen Frauen, die sich Nachkommenschaft wünschten, vegetabilische Opfergaben am Fusse der beiden Säulen niederzulegen pflegten.' (4) W. Robertson Smith *op. cit.* p. 208 n. 1: 'doubtless symbols of Jehovah.' (3)+(4) T. W. David in *A Dictionary of the Bible* ed. by J. Hastings Edinburgh 1898 i. 308 f.: 'the pillars stood for deity, and they formed a part of that Phallic worship of which we are finding more and more traces in the ancient world...even to the Israelites these pillars were symbols of J", so that...the true God was set forth by these Phallic emblems... Possibly the two pillars stood for male and female, the active and passive principle in nature.'

[5] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 120, iv. 288 ff., 314 ff. fig. 164 (restoration by C. J. M. de Vogüé), figs. 165 and 166 with pls. 6 and 7 (restorations by C. Chipiez). See also O. C. Whitehouse in *A Dictionary of the Bible* ed. by J. Hastings Edinburgh 1900 iii. 881, F. Vigouroux in his *Dictionnaire de la Bible* Paris 1899 ii. 856 ff.

[6] R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 48, ii. 624. *Id. ib.* ii. 603 n. 8 cites from the *Midraš tadše* ii (S. Funck *Monumenta Judaica*, altera pars,

to Babylon[1], they by no means passed into oblivion. A gilded glass, found beneath the ruins of a burial chamber in the cemetery *ad duas lauros*, on the *via Labicana* three miles out from Rome, shows the temple of Jerusalem as it yet lived in the memory of

Fig. 331.

a pious Jew *c.* 250—350 A.D. (fig. 331)[2]. *Jachin* and *Boaz* appear as two free-standing columns much taller than those of the *façade* and of a dark metallic hue. Even in the twelfth century Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela in Navarre records[3] among the sights of Rome

Monumenta Talmudica, Erste Serie Wien 1907 ii. 239 no. 798): 'die zwei Säulen Jachin und Boz entsprechen der Sonne und dem Mond.'

[1] Jer. 52. 17, 20—23.

[2] J. B. de Rossi 'Insigne vetro rappresentante il tempio di Gerusalemme' in his *Bullettino di archeologia cristiana* 1882 pp. 137—158 pl. 7, 1 (lithograph), *id.* 'Verre représentant le temple de Jérusalem' in the *Archives de l'orient latin* Paris 1884 ii. 439—455 with col. pl. (=my fig. 331), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 292 f. fig. 151, F. Vigouroux in his *Dictionnaire de la Bible* Paris 1899 ii. 856 ff. with col. pl. (the steps to the temple and the pillars of its colonnade are here shown in silver). Inscribed ΟΙΚ ΟCΙΡΗ[··]C ΛΑ ΒΕ ЄΥΛΟΓΙΑ and [– – – – –] CΩ[·] ΠΑΝΤΩΝ = *οἶκος (ε)ἰρή[νη]ς. λάβε εὐλογία(ν)* and [*πίε, ζήσαις μετὰ τῶν*] *σῶ*[*ν*] *πάντων.*

[3] *The Itinerary of Rabbi Benjamin of Tudela.* Translated and edited by A. Asher London and Berlin 1840 i. 40 f. I am indebted for my knowledge of this passage to R. Eisler *op. cit.* i. 48, who has done good service by drawing attention to it. When, however, he goes on to suggest that Georgios Monachos *de Basilio Macedone* 14 (p. 844, 3 ff. Bekker) *ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν στήλην Σολομῶντος ἐν τῇ βασιλικῇ οὖσαν μεγίστην κατεάξας προσέταξεν ἐν ὀνόματι αὐτοῦ ἐκτυπωθῆναι καὶ τεθῆναι κάτωθεν ἐν τοῖς θεμελίοις τῆς αὐτῆς Νέας ἐκκλησίας, ὡς θυσίαν ἑαυτὸν τῷ τοιούτῳ κτίσματι τῷ θεῷ προσάγων* may refer to one of

'Also St. Giovanni in porta latina in which place of worship there are two copper pillars constructed by king Sh'lomo o. b. m. whose name "Sh'lomo Ben David" is engraved upon each. The Jews in ROME told him[1], that every year about the time of the 9th of Ab[2], these pillars sweat so much that the water runs down from them.'

From pillars with personal names we go on to pillars with individual effigies. At Antiocheia on the Orontes, close to Mount Silpion with its cult of Zeus *Keraúnios*[3], Tiberius built a sanctuary of Dionysos and outside the temple set up two great statues-on-columns (*stêlai*) in honour of the Dioskouroi Amphion and Zethos[4]. My friend Dr Rendel Harris has justly compared them with the two extant columns of Edessa (*Ourfa*), which he regards as originally '*representative of or votive to the great twin-brethren*[5].' He holds that the Edessan columns were surmounted by statues of the Twins, and he has even attempted to decipher in that sense the Syriac inscription graven on the more southerly shaft[6]. Further, he has cited in this connexion an important passage from Julian, who shortly before 361 A.D.[7] writes:

'The inhabitants of Edessa, a place sacred from time immemorial to Helios, associate with him in cult Monimos and Azizos. Iamblichos, from whose ample stores I have taken all this, states that by Monimos they mean Hermes, by Azizos Ares, consorts of Helios, conveying many a benefit to the region round the earth[8].'

It looks as though the local Twins had been identified with Azizos, 'the Strong' (*'azîz*), and Monimos, 'the Beneficent' (*moun'îm*),

the two pillars of the temple at Jerusalem, he is forgetting that these pillars were both demolished (*supra* p. 427 n. 1) and that *στήλη* in late Greek means 'statue-on-pillar' and so 'statue' (C. d. F. Ducange *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ & infimæ Græcitatis* Lugduni 1688 ii. 1447, Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 752 D).

[1] *Sc.* Benjamin of Tudela.

[2] The anniversary of the destruction of Jerusalem.

[3] *Infra* Append. N.

[4] Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf *ἔκτισε δὲ καὶ ἱερὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ πρὸς τῷ ὄρει ὁ αὐτὸς Τιβέριος βασιλεύς, στήσας δύο στήλας μεγάλας τῶν ἐξ Ἀντιόπης γεννηθέντων Διοσκούρων ἔξω τοῦ ναοῦ εἰς τιμὴν αὐτῶν, Ἀμφίονός τε καὶ Ζήθου.* On the force of *στήλας* see *supra* n. 0.

[5] J. Rendel Harris *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 p. 29 ff., *id. The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 105 ff. pls. (2) and (3), *id. Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 250 ff., 407 f.

[6] See, however, the revised reading and rendering of F. C. Burkitt 'The "Throne of Nimrod"' in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1906 xxviii. 149—155. Prof. Burkitt, on the strength of a fresh photograph (*ib.* pl. 1), rules out the supposed allusion to the Dioskouroi and concludes that 'we do not yet know to what deity it [the column] was dedicated.'

[7] *Supra* i. 187.

[8] Ioul. *or.* 4. 150 C—D *οἱ τὴν Ἔδεσσαν* (E. Spanheim's cj. *Ἔμεσαν* is wrongly adopted by W. C. Wright) *οἰκοῦντες, ἱερὸν ἐξ αἰῶνος Ἡλίου χωρίον, Μόνιμον αὐτῷ καὶ Ἄζιζον συγκαθιδρύουσιν. αἰνίττεσθαί φησιν Ἰάμβλιχος, παρ' οὗ καὶ πάλαι πάντα ἐκ πολλῶν μικρὰ*

Arabic divinities of the morning- and evening-star[1]. I would support Dr Rendel Harris' main contention by pointing out that on coppers of Edessa struck under Elagabalos (fig. 332)[2], Gordianus

Fig. 332.

Fig. 333.

Fig. 334.

Fig. 335.

Pius (figs. 333, 334)[3], and Tranquillina (fig. 335)[4] Tyche, the city-goddess, faces towards a column, on which is a small male figure in military costume (?) bearing a shield (?) on his left arm and brandishing a weapon of some sort with his right[5]. This warlike

ἐλάβομεν, ὡς ὁ Μόνιμος μὲν Ἑρμῆς εἴη, Ἄζιζος δὲ Ἄρης, Ἡλίου πάρεδροι, πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ τῷ περὶ γῆν ἐποχετεύοντες τόπῳ. Cp. *id.* 154 A—B ἐγὼ δὲ ὅτι μὲν Ἄρης Ἄζιζος λεγόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν οἰκούντων τὴν Ἔδεσσαν (E. Spanheim and W. C. Wright would again read Ἔμεσαν) Σύρων Ἡλίου προπομπεύει, καίπερ εἰδὼς καὶ προειπὼν ἀφήσειν μοι δοκῶ.

[1] *Supra* i. 706 n. 2. See further W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 103 and F. Cumont *Études syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 269 n. 2, 353.

[2] *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 308 pl. 79, 2 (=my fig. 332). ΜΑΡΑVΡΑΝΤΟΚ ΟΛЄΔ – – –

[3] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 527, Suppl. ii. 720, E. Babelon in the *Revue belge de numismatique* 1893 xlix. 25 no. 85 pl. 3, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 312 f. Fig. 333 is from a specimen given to me by Dr Rendel Harris; fig. 334, from another specimen in my collection. ΜΗΤ·ΚΟΛ·ЄΔЄCCΗΝΩΝ.

[4] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 527 f., Suppl. ii. 720 f., E. Babelon in the *Revue belge de numismatique* 1893 xlix. 27 no. 91 pl. 3, 3 [ΜΗΤ·ΚΟΛ·]ЄΔЄCCΗΝΩΝ, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 313 pl. 79, 8 (=my fig. 335) ΜΗ[ΤΚΟΛ]ЄΔЄCCΗΝΩΝ.

[5] The little figure has often been fancifully interpreted. Thus J. F. Vaillant *Numismata ærea Imperatorum, Augustarum, et Cæsarum, in coloniis, municipiis, et urbibus iure Latio donatis, ex omni modulo percussa* Parisiis 1695 ii. 145 fig. says: 'columna, in qua Diana ut videtur Venatricis habitu, dextrâ extensâ telum, lævâ arcum' <tenens> (cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 527). Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 511 has: '*simulacrum Palladis, ut videtur, columellae impositum*' (cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. ii. 720). E. Babelon *locc. citt.* speaks of 'un petit génie,' which is vague. Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 689

personage can hardly be other than Azizos, whom Iamblichos compared with Ares. If so, he was one, and the more important one, of the Edessan Twins. The identification is borne out by the fact that coppers of Edessa struck by Alexander Severus and Iulia Mamaea (fig. 336)[1] show a somewhat similar little figure standing on the turreted crown of the goddess in the attitude of a fighting

Fig. 336.

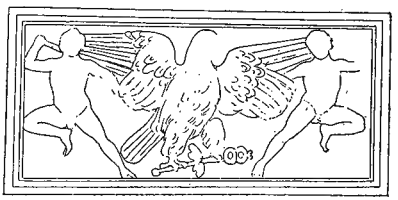


Fig. 337.

giant and probably intended for the constellation Orion[2], whose position in the starry sky is contiguous to that of the Twins[3]. Whether Azizos and Monimos were, as R. Dussaud[4] supposes, parallel forms arising from the duplication of a single god or rather, as F. Cumont[5] suggests, originally distinct divinities on their way towards ultimate fusion, we cannot with the *data* at our disposal

'the figure of a divinity on a column' is hardly less so. G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins locc. citt.* hazards 'statue (of Aquarius?)' and is followed by Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 815.

[1] E. Babelon in the *Revue belge de numismatique* 1893 xlix. 20 f. no. 79 pl. 2, 9: 'un petit génie qui, peut-être, tire de l'arc.' *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 312 pl. 79, 7: 'small statue (of Aquarius?).' Fig. 336 is from a specimen given to me by Dr Rendel Harris. ΜΗΤΚΟΛ ΕΔΕCCΗΝΩΝ. The city-goddess is seated on a stool with a small temple in her right hand, the river-god Skirtos at her feet, and four stars round about her.

[2] For type see G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 119 ff. fig. 45, Küentzle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1027 f. fig. 3.

[3] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 129 with pl. 1 f. ('Sternbilderkarte' and 'Sternkarte').

[4] R. Dussaud—F. Macler *Mission dans les Régions désertiques de la Syrie moyenne* (extr. from the *Nouvelles Archives des Missions scientifiques* x) Paris 1903 p. 57 ff., R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 129 f. = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 9 f., *id. Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* Paris 1907 p. 131 f. Dussaud argues that various deities identified with the planet Venus were thereby duplicated into hypostases corresponding with the morning- and evening-star. Thus the Sabaean god 'Athtar, 'équivalent onomastique d'Ichtar et forme masculine d' 'Achtoret-Astarté,' produced the pair Azizos and Monimos, the Arabian counterparts of Phosphoros and Hesperos.

[5] F. Cumont *Études syriennes* Paris 1917 p. 269 n. 2: 'On pourrait, il est vrai, se demander si ce n'est pas le phénomène inverse qui s'est produit ici: les dieux de l'étoile du matin et de l'étoile du soir, primitivement distincts, seraient confondus lorsque l'astronomie reconnut que les deux planètes n'en faisaient qu'une. C'est ce qui arriva en Grèce pour Phosphoros et Hespéros.' But see R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 129 n. 1 = *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 9 n. 1.

determine. It is, however, permissible to think that their columns on the citadel of Edessa were conceived as sky-supports. For at Baitokaike (fig. 337)[1] and elsewhere throughout the Syrian area

Fig. 338.

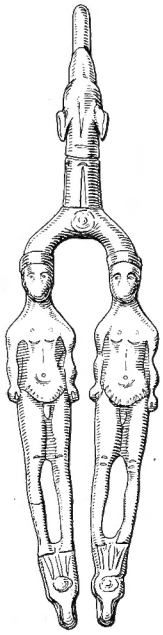


Fig. 339.

Azizos and Monimos are found as the regular supporters of the solar eagle carved on the soffits of sacred lintels[2].

Finally, Etruscan mirrors show the starry roof actually resting on the heads of the Dioskouroi[3]. The great majority of these

[1] E. G. Rey in the *Archives des Missions scientifiques et littéraires* Paris 1866 Deuxième série iii. 338 with woodcut, R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 131 fig. 3 (reproduced in my fig. 337)=*id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 11 fig. 3. Dussaud thinks that each of the *épheboi* was holding in both hands a torch (probably added in paint), and that one of these torches was raised, the other lowered. But?

[2] R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 131 ff.=*id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 11 f. *Supra* i. 565.

[3] *Supra* i. 769 f. figs. 561, 562, 563, 565. I have (*ib.* p. 767 n. 1) compared the Dioscuric arch with the structure of the Japanese *torii*. Prof. Takeo Wada of Kyoto University kindly informs me that at Yamagata there is a *torii*, the two side-posts of

mirrors[1], by a curious convention, gives the heroes but one arm apiece, as though to indicate their conjoint being[2]. Other bronzes of Etruscan make represent them with two arms each, but only a single wing (fig. 338)[3].

(β) The Dioskouroi as the halves of the Sky.

Looking back, we realise that the divine Sky has little by little transformed its supports into anthropomorphic supporters. Tyndareos has been joined by the Tyndaridai. Zeus has begotten the Dioskouroi. But the process is still incomplete. For it cannot be said that the Sky itself has as yet suffered cleavage or split into a pair of Twins. The fact is that, so long as men believed in a flat earth overarched by a solid sky resting on side-props, further development was impossible. But with the dawn of philosophy a better cosmology appeared[4]. Ionic speculation in the sixth century B.C. led on to the view, first clearly enunciated by Parmenides and zealously propagated by the Pythagoreans, that this earth of ours is a sphere[5]. It then became natural to conceive of the Sky as composed of two hemispheres, respectively light and dark. And some unknown thinker, perhaps Empedokles[6], more likely a Stoic[7], ventured to identify them with the Dioskouroi. His explanation appealed to rational minds and found favour in a materialistic age. For instance, Philon the Jew, speaking of ingenious mythologists in his treatise *On the Decalogue* (*c.* 40 A.D.), says:

which are carved in relief with standing figures of temple-servitors wearing their official caps. The resemblance to the scene on the Etruscan mirrors is singularly complete.

[1] For a larger collection of evidence see Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 33 ff. pls. 45 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 768. Since writing on the subject I have acquired a mirror (pl. xxiv), which retains the usual type of the Dioskouroi with Phrygian cap, short *chitôn*, bent leg, single arm, and connective pediment, but adds between the brothers their mother Leda (?) in a Phrygian cap and their sister Helene (?) with rayed hair. The stars are here absent, unless the pattern on the two shields can be claimed as stellar. Length 0·245^{m}. Breadth 0·116^{m}. Cp. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 317 pl. 227, 2 = Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 525 f. no. 1313 fig.

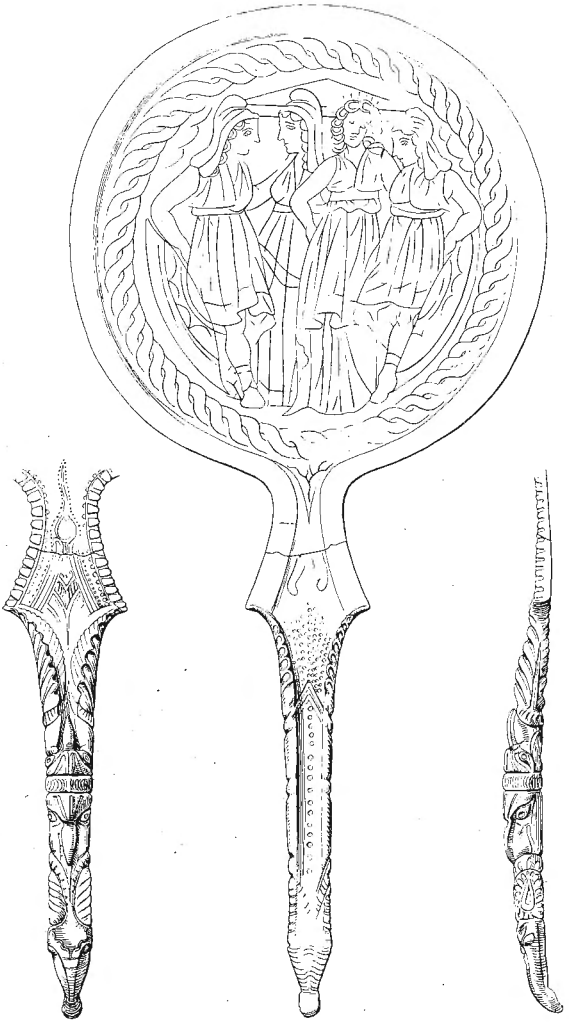
[3] I figure a pair of belt-hooks, obtained by Mr E. J. Seltman in Capri, and now in my possession. The Twins, whose heads are rayed, bear a dagger and a knife in their right hands. The left hand in each case is empty and clumsily rendered, being perhaps no part of the original design. A wolf's head terminates each hook above and below; but it must not hastily be assumed that this is due to contamination with Romulus and Remus (*infra* p. 440 ff.). Height 0·104^{m}. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 351 no. 2858. Another belt-hook of the same *provenance* and of similar design (fig. 339) omits the wings, but connects the heads of the Twins by means of a forked bar.

[4] For a clear perception of this sequence of ideas I am indebted to friendly criticisms received from Miss Harrison (Sept. 23, 1918).

[5] O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 273 ff.

[6] *Id. ib.* pp. 112, 490, 683 f.

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 284 n. 1.



Etruscan mirror: the Dioskouroi with Leda(?) and Helene(?) between them.

See page 432 n. 2.

'They bisected the sky theoretically into hemispheres, one above, the other below, the earth, and called them Dioskoroi, adding a marvellous tale about their life on alternate days[1].'

Again, that acute doubter Sextus Empiricus (*c.* 180 A.D.), *à propos* of men raised to the rank of gods, writes as follows:

'Moreover, they say that the Tyndaridai usurped the reputation of the Dioskouroi, who were thought to be gods. For in those days wise folk spoke of the two hemispheres, the one above the earth and the other below it, as Dioskouroi. Wherefore also the poet, hinting at this, says of them:

> One day they are alive, the next day dead
> In alternation, honoured like to gods.

And men put *pîloi* on their heads with stars atop, hinting at the arrangement of the hemispheres[2].'

An anonymous *Introduction to the Phaenomena of Aratos* (later than *s.* i. A.D.) alludes briefly to the same 'Homeric allegory[3].' And Julian attacks it in his oration on *The Sovereign Sun* (361 A.D.):

'Who, think you, are the Dioskouroi, my wise friends, you that accept tradition without criticism?... Some have supposed that the theogonists meant the two hemispheres of the universe. But this is absurd. For how each of the hemispheres is "alternate of days" it is not easy to imagine, since the increase of their light each day is imperceptible[4].'

Ioannes the Lydian (*c.* 490—*c.* 570 A.D.) repeats the theory:

'The philosophers declare that the Dioskoroi are the hemisphere below, and the hemisphere above, the earth; they take it in turns to die, according to the myth, because turn and turn about they pass beneath our feet[5].'

[1] Philon *de decalogo* 12 (iv. 258 Richter) *τόν τε οὐρανὸν εἰς ἡμισφαίριον τῷ λόγῳ διχῇ διανείμαντες, τὸ μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς, τὸ δὲ ὑπὸ γῆς, Διοσκόρους ἐκαλέσαντο, περὶ τῆς ἑτερημέρου ζωῆς αὐτῶν προστερατευσάμενοι διήγημα.*

[2] Sext. *adv. math.* 9. 37 *καὶ τοὺς Τυνδαρίδας δέ φασι τὴν τῶν Διοσκούρων δόξαν ὑπελθεῖν πάλιν* (*an leg.* πάλαι?) *νομιζομένων εἶναι θεῶν· τὰ γὰρ δύο ἡμισφαίρια, τό τε ὑπὲρ γῆν καὶ τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν, Διοσκούρους οἱ σοφοὶ τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων ἔλεγον. διὸ καὶ ὁ ποιητὴς τοῦτο αἰνιττόμενός φησιν ἐπ' αὐτῶν "ἄλλοτε μὲν ζώουσ' ἑτερήμεροι, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε | τεθνᾶσιν· τιμὴν δὲ λελόγχασιν ἴσα θεοῖσι"* (*Od.* 11. 303 f.). *πίλους τ' ἐπιτιθέασιν αὐτοῖς καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἀστέρας αἰνισσόμενοι* (*αἰνιττόμενοι*?) *τὴν τῶν ἡμισφαιρίων κατασκευήν.*

[3] Anon. i *isag. in Arati phaen.* praef. p. 89, 24 ff. Maass *εἰ δέ τῳ φίλον καὶ τὰς παρ' Ὁμήρῳ ἀλληγορίας ἐξετάσαι, ῥᾴδιόν ἐστιν ἰδεῖν καὶ τοῦ πόλου καὶ τὴν ἀΐδιον κίνησιν καὶ τὰ ἡμισφαίρια καὶ τὴν εἰς φῶς αὐτῶν ἀμοιβήν... "ἄλλοτε δ' αὖ <τε>| τεθνᾶσι"* (*Od.* 11. 303 f.). *μὴ βλασφημήσῃς, ἄνθρωπε· οὐκ ἀποθνήσκει θεός. τὸ ἀφανὲς τούτου θάνατος ἦν. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ζωγράφοι τέμνουσι τῶν θεῶν τὴν κεφαλὴν εἰς ἴσον ἑκατέρῳ <τῶν> τοῦ πόλου ἡμισφαιρίων* (so E. Maass for *τὴν ἰσομοιρίαν* cod. V.).

[4] Ioul. *or.* 4. 147 A—B *οἱ Διόσκουροι τίνες ὑμῖν εἰσιν, ὦ σοφώτατοι καὶ ἀβασανίστως τὰ πολλὰ παραδεχόμενοι;... οὐδὲ γὰρ ὡς ὑπέλαβον εἰρῆσθαί τινες πρὸς τῶν θεολόγων ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντὸς τὰ δύο λόγον ἔχει τινά· πῶς γάρ ἐστιν ἑτερήμερον αὐτῶν ἕκαστον οὐδὲ ἐπινοῆσαι ῥᾴδιον, ἡμέρας ἑκάστης ἀνεπαισθήτου τῆς κατὰ τὸν φωτισμὸν αὐτῶν παραυξήσεως γινομένης.*

[5] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 17 p. 78, 17 ff. Wünsch *οἱ φιλόσοφοί φασι Διοσκόρους εἶναι τὸ ὑπὸ γῆν καὶ <τὸ> ὑπὲρ γῆν ἡμισφαίριον· τελευτῶσι δὲ ἀμοιβαδὸν μυθικῶς, οἱονεὶ ὑπὸ τοὺς ἀντίποδας ἐξ ἀμοιβῆς φερόμενοι.*

Finally, Eustathios in the second half of the twelfth century includes this notion along with others in his commentary on the Homeric couplet[1]. It would seem, then, that Greek speculation from Hellenistic to Byzantine times sought to identify the sons of Zeus with the two segments of the animate Sky. T. H. Martin[2] has plausibly conjectured that this is why the Pythagoreans regarded semicircles as sacred to the Dioskouroi[3].

(γ) Twins as Children of the Sky.

I would dwell for a moment on some aspects of this mythological development. In the first place, it solves without more ado an otherwise baffling problem with regard to twins in general. Sir James Frazer, in his survey of superstitions as to twins in Africa, remarks concerning the Baronga of Delagoa Bay: 'They bestow the name of *Tilo*—that is, the sky—on a woman who has given birth to twins, and the infants themselves are called the children of the sky[4].' He adds in a footnote: 'The reason for calling twins "Children of the Sky" is obscure. Are they supposed in some mysterious way to stand for the sun and moon[5]?' Dr Rendel Harris, who has contributed so much to the study of twins[6], carries the enquiry a stage further by pointing out 'that we have here among the Baronga the exact equivalent of the Greek' *Dióskouroi*[7]. But if that be so, there is no need to prolong discussion. The

[1] Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1686, 33 ff. ἕτεροι δὲ οὐ πάνυ πιθανῶς νοοῦντες τὸ ἑτερήμερον ἐπὶ τοῦ τὸν μὲν τῇδε ζῆν τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ὡς τοῦ ἑτέρου ἐν νεκροῖς ὄντος, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τὸν λοιπὸν ὡς θατέρου τεθνεῶτος, εἰς τὰ δύο κατ' οὐρανὸν ἡμισφαίρια τοὺς Διοσκούρους ὑπονοοῦσιν, ὧν θάτερον μὲν ὑπὲρ γῆς ἀεί ἐστι, θάτερον δὲ ὑπὸ γῆν. ὅπερ ἀνατρέπων ὁ παραβάτης φησὶν ὡς οὐκ ἔχει λόγον εἰρῆσθαι Διοσκούρους παρ' Ὁμήρῳ τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντός. κ.τ.λ. (the reference is to Ioul. *or.* 4. 147 B cited *supra* p. 433 n. 4). Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 410, 18 ff. ὅτι δὲ οἱ Διόσκουροι καὶ εἰς τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια τοῦ παντὸς ἐνοήθησαν, καὶ εἰς τοὺς τροπικοὺς δὲ μάλιστα κύκλους, ὁ παραβάτης Ἰουλιανὸς ἔγραψεν, ὡς δηλοῦται καὶ ἐν τοῖς εἰς τὴν Ὀδύσσειαν.

[2] T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 297 f.

[3] Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 261 (ii. 127, 7 ff. Ruelle) διὰ τί γὰρ τῷ μὲν τὸν κύκλον ἀνιέρουν οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι, τῷ δὲ τρίγωνον, τῷ δὲ τετράγωνον, τῷ δὲ ἄλλο καὶ ἄλλο τῶν εὐθυγράμμων τῶν σχημάτων, ὡς δὲ καὶ μικτῶν, ὡς τὰ ἡμικύκλια τοῖς Διοσκούροις; κ.τ.λ.

A different view is cited by Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 155 σπένδειν δὲ πρὸ τραπέζης παρακαλεῖ Διὸς Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ Διοσκούρων, τῆς τροφῆς ὑμνοῦντας τὸν ἀρχηγὸν καὶ τὸν ταύτης ἡγεμόνα Δία, καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα τὴν δύναμιν τῆς φύσεως, καὶ τοὺς Διοσκούρους τὴν συμφωνίαν τῶν ἀπάντων. On this see A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 p. 115 f.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 267 f., citing H. A. Junod *Les Ba-ronga* (*Bulletin de la société neuchâteloise de géographie* x) Neuchâtel 1898 pp. 412, 416 ff.

[5] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 268 n. 1.

[6] *Supra* i. 760 n. 7.

[7] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 26.

question is already answered. Twins are 'Children of the Sky' because the Sky itself, appearing alternately as Day and Night, is essentially of a twin character. And the savage who saw twins born of an earthly mother was logical (or should we say illogical?) enough to dub her *Tilo*, 'the Sky.' Obviously this explanation does not exclude the possibility that the twinhood of the Sky was sometimes expressed in terms of Sun and Moon[1], or—for that matter—of Morning- and Evening-Star[2]. These are but secondary modes of denoting the great primary contrast between Day and Night.

(δ) The Twins contrasted.

In the second place, the bisection of the divine Sky naturally produced Twins of differing complexion. Sundry scholars have even supposed that the contrast might be crudely indicated by means of colour. Thus W. Watkiss Lloyd[3] as far back as 1850 published a black-figured *amphora*, then in possession of a London dealer, which represents two warriors, with helmets, shield, and lances, riding side by side on a black horse and a white horse towards a youth greeting them with uplifted hand. The learned author interpreted the scene as the Dioskouroi welcomed by Hyakinthos, and remarked 'the common relation of the brothers to alternating light and darkness.' F. F. Ravaisson[4] in 1875 pointed out that on the red-figured *amphora* from Mêlos, now in the Louvre[5], which shows the Dioskouroi taking part in a grand Gigantomachy, one of the heroes is charging on a white horse, the other on a red horse. And E. Bethe[6] as late as 1903 thought it significant that on a vase of the Blacas collection published by Panofka[7] the Dioskouroi have a black *pîlos* and a white *pîlos* respectively. But the fact is that in all these cases the use of white and black is merely an artistic

[1] Indeed, a whole set of European folk-tales points in that direction (*infra* Append. F).

[2] Cp. the description of the Dioskouroi in Mart. Cap. 83 post hos duorum una quidem germanaque facies; sed alius lucis sidere, opacae noctis alius refulgebat.

[3] W. Watkiss Lloyd in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* Second Series 1853 iv. 261 f., 289 ff. with woodcut and col. pl.

[4] F. F. Ravaisson 'Notice sur une amphore peinte du Musée du Louvre représentant le combat des dieux et des géants' in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* No. 4 1875 p. 1 ff. pl. 1 f.

[5] Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 1109, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 193 ff. pl. 96 f., J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge (Harvard University Press) 1918 p. 184, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 450 no. 3. Attic work from the end of *s.* v B.C., probably by the same artist as the Talos-vase (*supra* i. 721 pl. xli) and very possibly inspired by the Gigantomachy painted on the inner surface of the shield of Athena in the Parthenon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 18 (cp. 35. 54) with Sir C. Smith's convincing article in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 131 ff.).

[6] E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1091, 1111.

[7] T. Panofka *Musée Blacas* Paris 1829 pl. 82 (*sic*: ? pl. 32).

convention entirely devoid of mythological meaning[1]. The contrast between the Dioskouroi, when they really are contrasted, goes much deeper than surface-colouring and is a matter of constitution and character.

(ε) Kastor and Polydeukes.

Kastor and Polydeukes, for example. The *Iliad*[2], it is true, describes them as a pair of princely athletes buried in Lakedaimon, and only distinguishes Kastor the 'tamer of horses' from Polydeukes the 'good boxer.' The poet, in fact, conceives both to have been mortal men; and this early evidence might be thought to negative any connexion with the diurnal and nocturnal Sky. But just here we must walk warily. It will be remembered that in Hellenic times the two Spartan kings were priests of Zeus *Lakedaímon* and of Zeus *Ouránios*[3], that is, apparently, of Zeus in his ordinary daylight guise and of Zeus as god of the starry midnight sky[4]—the very sources from which, on my showing, the Dioskouroi derived their divinity. Further, the kings claimed descent from the twin sons of Aristodemos[5], whose death by lightning at Naupaktos[6] marks him as a 'Zeus-struck' man[7]. Moreover, so intimately was each successive pair of kings related to Kastor and Polydeukes that, if both kings went out to battle, both the Tyndaridai went with them, and, if one king stayed at home, one of the Tyndaridai was left to keep him company[8]. These customs and beliefs, if I am not deceiving myself, suggest that in early Doric days the two kings of Sparta were regarded as incarnations of Polydeukes and Kastor[9]. The Homeric allusion to the heroes' burial may well be based on hard

[1] The simplest proof of this is furnished by the fact that, on the Gigantomachy-vase at Paris, the chariot of Zeus has two white horses and two red, that of Ares three red and one white. Such variation in colour assists the eye to pick out and appreciate individual forms: see K. Reichhold in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 105 ff.

[2] *Il.* 3. 236—244. [3] Hdt. 6. 56. [4] *Supra* i. 8.

[5] Paus. 3. 1. 5. P. Poralla *Prosopographie der Lakedaimonier bis auf die Zeit Alexanders des Grossen* Breslau 1913 p. 137 ff. discusses the extant pedigrees.

[6] Apollod. 2. 8. 2. Other versions are noted by B. Niese in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 921.

[7] *Supra* p. 376 f.

[8] Hdt. 5. 75. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 48 ff., who urges that the Dioskouroi 'may have been thought to accompany the march of a Spartan army in a visible form, appearing to the awe-stricken soldiers in the twilight or the darkness either as stars in the sky or as the sheen of spears on earth.' But Herodotos' language points rather to something portable, which could be taken with the troops, or left behind —hardly the *dókana* (W. W. How—J. Wells *ad loc.*), more probably the sepulchral jars (*infra* Append. H *med.*).

[9] If so, no wonder that Aristomenes and his friend were able to impose on the Spartans by appearing to them at night on white horses with *ptíoi* and golden stars all complete (Polyain. 2. 31. 4).

fact. The *Odyssey*[1]—or, to be precise, a passage interpolated into the *Odyssey*—speaks of them in language borrowed from the *Iliad*, but explains that, though buried, they were yet alive, and adds that even below ground by a special privilege received from Zeus they were living and dead on alternate days. This remarkable arrangement is set out more fully by Pindar. Writing in 474 B.C.[2] he mentions the fame 'of the mighty Castor, and of thee, king Polydeucês, ye sons of the gods—ye that dwell, for one day, in the homes of Therapnê, and, for the other, within the halls of Olympus[3].' And *c.* 463 B.C.[4] he says: 'In alternate changes the twin brethren spend the one day beside their dear father Zeus and, the other, down in the hollow earth in the depths of Therapnê, thus fulfilling an equal lot, since, when Castor was slain in war, Polydeuces preferred this life to being wholly a god and dwelling in heaven[5].' The sequel tells of their feud with Idas and Lynkeus, the sons of Aphareus. The quarrel was occasioned by a cattle-raid, in which Idas had been defrauded of the booty[6]. Lynkeus, gazing with his keen sight from Mount Taygeton, descried the Tyndaridai seated in the trunk of an oak[7], and with his brother at once hastened to attack them. Idas speared Kastor. Polydeukes came to the rescue. Idas and Lynkeus in vain hurled at him the tomb-stone of their father Aphareus. Polydeukes succeeded in spearing Lynkeus. And Zeus, flinging a thunderbolt at Idas, consumed him and his brother together. Polydeukes, returning to Kastor, found him not yet dead, but gasping for breath. In deep distress Polydeukes prayed to Zeus: 'Bid me also die, O king, with this my brother.' Then, as Pindar puts it,

'He ceased, and before him came Zeus, and spake in this wise:—"Thou art my son, whereas Castor was begotten by thy mother's husband, of mortal seed,

[1] *Od.* 11. 298—304.

[2] O. Schroeder 'Fasti Pindarici' in his ed. 1908 p. viii, Sir J. E. Sandys in his ed. 1915 p. 296.

[3] Pind. *Pyth.* 11. 93 ff. trans. Sir J. E. Sandys.

[4] O. Schroeder 'Fasti Pindarici' in his ed. 1908 p. ix, Sir J. E. Sandys in his ed. 1915 p. 412.

[5] Pind. *Nem.* 10. 103 ff. trans. Sir J. E. Sandys.

[6] See Apollod. 3. 11. 2. P. Weizsäcker's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 97 ff. is superseded by that of E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1113 ff., which was written after the discovery of the sixth-century metope from the treasury of the Sicyonians at Delphoi (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 1. 24 ff., 32 pl. 4, 1, É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 p. 63 f. fig. 18, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 86 ff. fig. 25, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 455 ff. fig. 227).

[7] Pind. *Nem.* 10. 114 ff. ἀπὸ Ταϋγέτου πεδαυγάξων ἴδεν Λυγκεὺς δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει | ἡμένος (J. B. Bury rightly restores the Doric acc. pl. from the scholia on ἥμενος codd. B.D. Aristarchos cj. ἥμενον. See further *infra* p. 439 n. 1 and E. Abel *Scholia vetera in Pindari Nemea et Isthmia* Berolini 1884 p. 314 ff.).

after thine own conception. But lo! I grant thee thy full choice in this; if thou desirest to escape death and grievous eld, and to dwell thyself in Olympus with me, and with Athênê, and with Arês of the darksome spear, thou canst have this lot appointed thee. But, if thou contendest for thy brother, and art minded to have an equal share with him in all things, then mayest thou breathe for half thy time beneath the earth, and for half thy time in the golden homes of heaven." When thus the god had spoken, the hero had no double purpose in his heart; and Zeus opened once more the eye, and then released the voice of the bronze-clad warrior, Castor[1].'

It has long been recognised that the interpolator of the *Odyssey* and Pindar were alike indebted to the *Kypria*[2], of which certain fragments are extant covering approximately the same ground. One such fragment draws the essential contrast:

> Kastor was mortal, being doomed to die,
> But Polydeukes, War's own wight, immortal[3].

Another relates the beginning of the fray:

> And then in haste
> Lynkeus with fleet foot sought Taygeton,
> Climbed to its topmost peak, and looked abroad
> Through the whole isle of Pelops son of Tantalos.

[1] Pind. *Nem.* 10. 148 ff. trans. Sir J. E. Sandys.

[2] F. Staehlin 'Der Dioskurenmythus in Pindars 10. nemeischer Ode. (Ein Beispiel einer Mythenidealisierung.)' in *Philologus* 1903 lxii. 182—195 claims to show that in various points Pindar is intentionally improving on the tale as told by the *Kypria*:

KYPRIA	PINDAR
Kastor the mortal and Polydeukes the immortal are both sons of Zeus.	Only Polydeukes is the son of Zeus.
They carry off their cousins the Leukippides without giving bride-gifts to Leukippos.	The rape of the Leukippides is omitted.
The Apharidai taunt the Dioskouroi with the rape; whereupon the Dioskouroi lift the cattle of the Apharidai and present them to Leukippos.	Only Kastor is concerned with the cattle-raid.
The Dioskouroi hide themselves in a hollow oak from the pursuit of the Apharidai. Idas, thrusting through the oak, pierces Kastor.	The Apharidai basely attack Kastor, while he is seated (*ἥμενον*) on a stump of oak.
Polydeukes therefore slays Lynkeus. Idas with the *stêle* of Aphareus all but slays Polydeukes.	Idas and Lynkeus with the *stêle* of Aphareus attempt to stop Polydeukes, but fail.
Zeus helps Polydeukes by killing Idas with a thunderbolt.	Polydeukes slays Lynkeus, and would have slain Idas, had not Zeus, to honour Polydeukes, hurled the fatal bolt.

But see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 482 f.

[3] *Cypria frag.* 5 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 5 p. 22, 22 ff. Stählin Κάστωρ *μὲν θνητός, θανάτου δέ οἱ αἶσα πέπρωται* (H. Köchly cj. *πέπρωτο*)· | *αὐτὰρ ὅ γ' ἀθάνατος Πολυδεύκης, ὄξος Ἄρηος.* The concluding phrase does not, of course, imply that Polydeukes was the son of Ares: see H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1880 ii. 31. *Supra* i. 279.

Right soon the noble hero keen of eye
Saw both of them inside a hollow oak,
Horse-taming Kastor, prizeman Polydeukes.
Then drew he near and smote the mighty oak[1].

A later author likewise much beholden to the *Kypria* was the enigmatic Lykophron—witness the following extract from his *Alexandra*[2]:

One[3] with his cornel striking hollow trunk
Of a black oak[4] shall slaughter one[5] of twain,
To wit the lion[6] pitted 'gainst the bull[7].
The other[8] with his lance shall rip the flank
O' the bull[9] and bear him groundwards. Yet once more
The dauntless ram[10] shall butt him[11], brandishing
The glory of the Amyclaean tomb.
Howbeit bronze[12] and far-flung thunderbolts
Shall slay both bulls[13] together, one[14] of whom
By doughty deeds had satisfied enow
The god of Skias, Orchia, Tilphossa,
What time he[15] bent his horn and fought his fight.
The one pair Hades, but the other Olympos
Shall welcome guestlike on alternate days,
Mortal immortals, saved by brotherly love[16].

Now we may be very sure that the original explanation of the Twins' in-and-out career was not, as Pindar and Lykophron would

[1] *Cypria frag.* 9 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 114 *ὁ μὲν Ἀρίσταρχος ἀξιοῖ γράφειν "ἥμενον," ἀκολούθως τῇ ἐν τοῖς Κυπρίοις λεγομένῃ ἱστορίᾳ· ὁ γὰρ τὰ Κύπρια συγγράψας φησὶ τὸν Κάστορα ἐν τῇ δρυῒ κρυφθέντα ὀφθῆναι ὑπὸ Λυγκέως· τῇ δὲ αὐτῇ γραφῇ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος* (3. 11. 2) *κατηκολούθησε. πρὸς οὓς φησι Δίδυμος· ἀμφοτέρων ὑπὸ τῇ δρυῒ λοχώντων, τοῦ τε Κάστορος καὶ τοῦ Πολυδεύκους, μόνον ὁ Λυγκεὺς τὸν Κάστορα εἶδε* (M. Schmidt cj. *ἀνεῖλε*)*; μήποτε οὖν φησι δεῖν ἀναγινώσκειν τὴν παραλήγουσαν συλλαβὴν ὀξυτόνως "ἠμένος" ὡς ἠρμένος ἵνα κατ' ἀμφοῖν ἀκούηται· ἴδε* (so T. Mommsen for *ὁ δὲ*) *Λυγκεὺς δρυὸς ἐν στελέχει ἠμένος, ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠμένους, δηλονότι τοὺς Διοσκούρους· ὡς ἀελλόπος καὶ τρίπος·* [*οὐχ ἕδος ἐστί, γεραιέ* (*Il.* 11. 648), *ἀντὶ τοῦ οὐχ ἕδους.*] *παρατίθενται δὲ καὶ τὸν τὰ Κύπρια γράψαντα οὕτω λέγοντα· "αἶψα δὲ Λυγκεὺς | Τηΰγετον προσέβαινε ποσὶν ταχέεσσι πεποιθώς.| ἀκρότατον δ' ἀναβὰς διεδέρκετο νῆσον ἅπασαν | Ταναλίδου* (W. Ribbeck cj. *Ταναλίδεω*) *Πέλοπος, τάχα δ' εἰσιδε κύδιμος ἥρως | δεινοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖσιν ἔσω δρυὸς ἄμφω κοίλης, | Κάστορά θ' ἱππόδαμον καὶ ἀεθλοφόρον Πολυδεύκεα, | νύξε δ' ἄρ' ἄγχι στὰς μεγάλην δρῦν" καὶ τὰ ἑξῆς. ὁ μὲν οὖν Κάστωρ ἑλόχα τὸν Ἴδαν, φησίν, ἐν κοίλῃ δρυῒ κρυφθεὶς καὶ τὸν Λυγκέα. ὁ δὲ Λυγκεὺς ὀξυδερκὴς ὤν, ὥστε καὶ διὰ λίθων καὶ διὰ γῆς τὰ γινόμενα βλέπειν, ἰδὼν διὰ τῆς δρυὸς τὸν Κάστορα ἔτρωσε λόγχῃ. ἀπὸ γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους περισκοπῶν ὁ Λυγκεὺς ἐθεάσατο αὐτοὺς ἐγκαθεζομένους ἐν στελέχει δρυὸς καὶ ἑλλοχῶντας. τοῦ γὰρ Λυγκέως ὑπὲρ πάντας ἀνθρώπους ὀξύτατον ἦν τὸ ὄμμα.* See also Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 710—716 and *in* Lyk. *Al.* 511.

[2] Lyk. *Al.* 553—566.

[3] Idas.

[4] *ὁ μὲν κρανείᾳ κοῖλον οὐτάσας στύπος | φηγοῦ κελαινῆς κ.τ.λ.*

[5] Kastor. [6] Kastor. [7] Idas. [8] Polydeukes.

[9] Idas. [10] Idas. [11] Polydeukes.

[12] The spear of Polydeukes, which slew Lynkeus. [13] Idas and Lynkeus.

[14] Idas, when Apollon fought him for Marpessa. [15] Apollon.

[16] *τοὺς δ' Ὀλύμπιοι πλάκες | παρ' ἦμαρ αἰεὶ δεξιώσονται ξένους, | φιλαυθομαίμους, ἀφθίτους τε καὶ φθιτούς.*

have us believe, sheer brotherly affection. The notion is edifying, but not primitive. Rather, the alternate life was a fifth-century[1] improvement upon the harsh contrast of a mortal Kastor with an immortal Polydeukes. And this contrast is best regarded as a simple but graphic expression of the obvious fact that the divine Sky is half dark, half bright. The Tyndaridai inherited the essential duality of their sire, and at Sparta were appropriately embodied in a double line of kings.

(ζ) Romulus and Remus.

Proto-Doric institutions presumably have an Illyrian ancestry behind them, and may be expected to have left their traces in Italy as well as in Greece[2]. At Rome, for instance[3], there seems to have been a definite and persistent tendency towards a dual kingship. Romulus and Remus—whatever the precise history of their names[4]—were certainly conceived as a pair of royal twins. According to one version of their legend, they reigned with equal rights over their rustic subjects[5]. According to another, Romulus after the death of Remus was bidden by an oracle to place a curule seat for him with sceptre, crown, etc. in order that the two brothers might still appear to be associated in the government[6]. A curious ampli-

[1] Cp. Eur. *Hel.* 137 f. ΕΛ. οἱ Τυνδάρειοι δ' εἰσὶν ἢ οὐκ εἰσὶν κόροι; | ΤΕΤΚ. τεθνᾶσι κοὐ τεθνᾶσι· δύο δ' ἐστὸν λόγω. Cp. later *e.g.* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 22. 7 Castores alternis moriuntur ut vivant.

[2] *Supra* p. 340 ff. Sir James Frazer points out to me (Aug. 14, 1918) that the octennial tether of the Spartan kings and the periodic test to which they were subjected (*Golden Bough*[2]: The Dying God p. 58 f., Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 82, 85) fit in well with my hypothesis of them as sky-powers incarnate. It is interesting to find that the Illyrians had the same eight-year cycle (Strab. 315 ἴδιον δὲ τῶν Δαλματέων τὸ διὰ ὀκταετηρίδος χώρας ἀναδασμὸν ποιεῖσθαι with G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 154).

[3] I have pursued the subject further in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 300 f.

[4] On this intricate problem see Th. Mommsen 'Die Remuslegende' in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 1—23, P. Kretschmer 'Remus und Romulus' in *Glotta* 1909 i. 288—303, W. Soltau 'Ῥῶμος und Remus' in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 154—157, *id.* 'Die Entstehung der Romuslegende' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 101—125, J. B. Carter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 164 ff., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 896 f., Rosenberg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 597 f., 1074 ff.

[5] L. Cassius Hemina (not hefore 146 B.C.) *frag.* 11 Peter *ap.* Diomed. *art. gramm.* 1 (in H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* Lipsiae 1857 i. 384, 3 ff.) pastorum vulgus sine contentione consentiendo praefecerunt aequaliter imperio Remum et Romulum, ita ut de regno pararent inter se (so J. F. Gronovius for *parent inter se* codd. A.B.M. and cod. Scioppii, *pares inter se essent* editiones interpolatae). Cp. schol. Bob. *in* Cic. *Vatin.* 23 p. 119, 3 ff. Hildebrandt: primumque sex vultures Remum vidisse, dein postea Romulum duodecim, atque ita et Romam conditam et ipsos reges appellatos: illum, quod prior auspicium cepisset, Romulum vero, quod maius. See, however, Th. Mommsen *loc. cit.* p. 20 n. 5.

[6] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 276 (cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 780). S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 20 well compares the two crowns set out on the couch depicted in the *Tomba del Letto funebre* at Corneto (*infra* Append. N).

fication of the tale related that Romulus, obeying the Pythia, had a golden bust made from the features of Remus, set it as a statue on his brother's throne, and ever afterwards reigned with this effigy of gold beside him; he also sent golden busts of himself and his brother to be installed beside the magistrates of all towns under the Roman sway. Hence (says our authority[1]) the still prevalent use of the royal 'we'! Again, the tradition that Romulus later ruled conjointly with Titus Tatius the Sabine suggests conformity with the custom of a dual kingship. No doubt, the absorption of foreign elements into the Roman state prevented the unbroken continuity of that *régime*. But, when the Tarquins were driven out, the same ancient principle reasserted itself and possessed sufficient

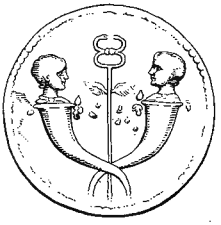


Fig. 340.

Fig. 341.

vitality to produce the double consulship, if not also the ultimate duplication of the titles *Caesar* and *Augustus*[2]. There was a certain dramatic fitness in the belief that the battle of Lake Regillus, which sealed the fate of monarchy for the next five centuries, was won by the help of the great twin brethren Castor and Pollux. Even when the republic developed into the empire, the beneficent influence of twins, at once human and divine, was not forgotten. Tiberius was overjoyed when in 19 A.D. Livia or Livilla, the sister of Germanicus, bore to Drusus Caesar the twins Tiberius and Germanicus[3]. A large brass of Drusus Caesar, struck in 23 A.D., has for obverse design (fig. 340)[4] the busts of the two boys emerging from *cornua copiae* to right and left of a winged *caduceus*. The significance of

[1] Io. Malal. *chron.* 7 p. 172 Dindorf.

[2] The facts, concisely stated *e.g.* by K. J. Neumann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1287, are of course open to other interpretations than that here given.

[3] Tac. *ann.* 2. 84. H. Furneaux (ed.[2] Oxford 1896) cites *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2630 (*Famagusta*, near Salamis in Kypros) [- - - - - - - -] | [- - - - - ἀρχιερέως] | διὰ βίου, αὐτοῦ [τε καὶ τῶν] | διδύμων υἱῶν Δ[ρούσου,] | Τιβερίου καὶ Γερμανικοῦ, | γυμνασιάρχων τῶ[ν - -] | [- - - - - - -] and provides a *stemma* (*op. cit.* p. 165).

[4] Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1001, iii. 463 ff., Suppl. ii. 144, 671, Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 519 pl. 9, 7—9, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 289 fig., p. 349 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 217 no. 1. I figure a specimen in my collection.

the type is clear, for it recurs on gold and copper (fig. 341) coins of Antoninus Pius, struck in 149 A.D., with the inscription TEMPORVM FELICITAS, 'the Luck of the Times[1].' Again, Nero Caesar and Drusus Caesar, sons of Germanicus by the elder Agrippina[2], though

Fig. 342.

Fig. 343.

not actually twins—since one was born in 6, the other in 7 A.D.,—are represented on second brasses, struck under Caligula in 37 (fig. 342)[3] and 40 A.D., as a pair of youthful horsemen closely resembling the Dioskouroi (fig. 343)[4]. Oddly enough both types, the

Fig. 344.

Fig. 345.

Fig. 346.

cornua copiae and the horsemen, were imitated on bronze pieces issued in Kommagene and Lakanatis *c.* 72 A.D. by Antiochos iv to honour his sons Epiphanes and Kallinikos (figs. 344 and 345)[5].

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1001, ix. 901 f., Suppl. ii. 144, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 782, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 350 nos. 811, 812 fig. gold; 813 first brass, 814 second brass, 815 (dated 157 A.D.) first brass. These coins probably commemorate the birth of a son, T. Aelius Antoninus, in 147 A.D. and that of a second daughter, Annia Lucilla, *c.* 148 A.D. to the future emperor Marcus Aurelius and his wife the younger Faustina (*stemma* by P. von Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2289 f.).

[2] *Stemma* by H. Furneaux *op. cit.* p. 163.

[3] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 469 f., v. 1253 f., Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* i. 540 f. pl. 16 *b*, 1—3, 5 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 350, 572 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 234 no. 1 (37 A.D.) fig., nos. 2 f. (40 A.D.). Fig. 342 is from a specimen of the earlier date in my collection.

[4] From a *denarius*, of 268 B.C. or later, given to me by Dr Rendel Harris (cp. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 39 no. 2 fig., G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 pp. 27, 33 f. pl. 9, 13).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. xlvii f., 110 f. pl. 15, 5 (=my fig. 345 BAΣIΛEΩΣ YIOI) and 6 (traces of BACIΛEΩC YIOI, cp. E. Babelon *Bibliothèque Nationale, Catalogue*: Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène Paris 1890 p. 223 no. 45), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 123 pl. 71, 5 (BACIΛEΩC [Y]IOI) and 6 (=my fig. 344 BACIΛE ΩCYIOI), Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 89 nos. 595 pl. 14, 597 pl. 25.

Leake, *à propos* of a unique specimen in his collection (fig. 346), shrewdly remarks: 'Epiphanes and Callinicus, sons of Antiochus, as Dioscuri[1].' Assimilation to the Dioskouroi is yet more marked on gold, silver, and copper (fig. 347) coins of Faustina the younger[2],

Fig. 347.

Fig. 348.

which show L. Aurelius Commodus and Antoninus, the twins born of the empress in 161 A.D.[3], sitting on one and the same throne-like couch encircled by the legend SAECVLI FELICIT(AS), 'the Luck of the Age.' The design is obviously intended to recall the *Theoxénia*[4]

Fig. 349.

Fig. 350.

Fig. 351.

or *lectisternium*[5] of the heavenly Twins—witness the two stars, which on many examples (fig. 348) are seen glittering above the infants' heads. Finally, coppers of the post-Constantinian period often portray Romulus and Remus, the prototypes of all these

[1] W. M. Leake *A Supplement to Numismata Hellenica* London 1859 p. 6. Fig. 346 is from the coin, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge. The rev. is inscribed [B]ΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ.

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* vii. 1515 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507 fig., p. 708 ('*Commodus and Antoninus*, whom Faustina brought forth at one birth, are here dedicated in worship to the Dioscuri (Castor and Pollux)'), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 152 no. 189 gold, nos. 190—192 silver, no. 193 f. copper, R. Ratto *Catalogo di monete greche e imperiali romane* Milano 1911 p. 93 nos. 1039 f. copper. Figs. 347 and 348 are from two specimens in my collection.

[3] For *stemma* see *supra* p. 442 n. 1.

[4] *Infra* Append. H *med.*

[5] *Infra* Append. N.

princely twins, themselves surmounted by the same Dioscuric device (figs. 349—351)[1].

Whether the dyarchy of the Phoenician *sufetes*[2] was similarly related to a cult of Phoenician Twins, is a question more easily asked than answered. In any case it need not here detain us.

(η) Zetes and Kalaïs.

Confining ourselves to the Greek area, we note that Kastor and Polydeukes were not the only pair of Twins differentiated out of the divine Sky. Boreas, the bifrontal[3] wind-god of Thrace, whom we have already compared with Zeus[4], became by Oreithyia, daughter of Erechtheus, the father of two winged sons, Zetes and Kalaïs[5]. Their names were explained by the ancients as alluding to foul and fair weather respectively: *Zétes* was rendered 'Very Blowy, Blustery,' and *Kálaïs*, 'Fair-blowing[6].' The former etymology might indeed pass muster[7], but the latter is impossible[8]. Rather we should suppose that *Kálaïs* was the Thracian equivalent of the Phrygian *Kalaós*, father of Attes[9]. Be that as it may,

[1] Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 914 fig. (=my fig. 349), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.* vi. 178 f. no. 7 pl. 4 (=my fig. 351), *ib.*[2] vii. 322 n. 1, 330 f. nos. 15 fig., 16 fig., 17—21, 22 fig. Fig. 350 is from a specimen in my collection: PLG=*percussum Lugduni*, or *pecunia Lugdunensis*. Cp. Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1888 'supra lupam duo astra, fausti ominis ergo, vti Castor et Pollux repraesentare (*sic*) solent.'

[2] Lühker *Reallex.*[8] p. 998. [3] *Supra* p. 380.

[4] *Supra* i. 142 n. 10, ii. 444.

[5] Simonid. *frag.* 3 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 211 f. and Eudok. *viol.* 1021, Ap. Rhod. 1. 211 f., Apollod. 3. 15. 2, Orph. *Arg.* 218 ff., Ov. *met.* 6. 702 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 14, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 209, 10. 350, Myth. Vat. 1. 26, 1. 27, 1. 204, 2. 142, cp. 3. 5. 5.

[6] *Et. Gud.* p. 231, 40 ff. Ζήτης, ὁ υἱὸς Βορρᾶ...παρὰ τὸ ζα καὶ τὸ πνέω, ὁ μεγάλως πνέων· ἤτοι παρὰ τὸ σφοδρὸν τοῦ βορέου καὶ μεγαλοπνοῦν. υἱὸς γὰρ τοῦ Βορρᾶ, *et. mag.* p. 411, 4 ff. Ζήτης· ὁ υἱὸς Βορρᾶ... Ζαήτης, παρὰ τὸ ζα καὶ τὸ ἀήτης, ὁ μεγάλως πνέων· υἱὸς γάρ ἐστι τοῦ Βορρᾶ, schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 324 Ζήταν Κάλαΐν τε· οἱονεὶ Ζαήτην, ὅ ἐστιν ἄγαν ἄοντα καὶ πνέοντα, καὶ Κάλαϊν οἱον καλῶς ἄοντα, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1547, 15 f. ὁ μὲν οἱονεὶ ζαήτης δ ἐστι σφοδρὸς ἀήτης Βορρᾶς, ὁ δὲ καλὸν ἢ ἀκαλὸν ἤγουν ἥσυχον ἄημα Βορέου δηλαδή. Myth. Vat. 2. 142, 3. 5. 6 derive absurdly from ζητῶν καλόν. O. Schroeder in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 9, 1898 p. 868 assumes connexion with ζητέω, which is disputed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 560 n. 5.

[7] Gruppe *loc. cit.* finds a difficulty in the Doric Ζάτας (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1293 *A* 89 f. καὶ Ζάταν καὶ | Κάλαιν [υἱὼ] Βορέα τοῦ Θραικὸς | κ.τ.λ.). But the crucial vowel is uncertain (G. Kaibel in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It. loc. cit.* prints Z·TAN P. Victorius read ZATAN, Leo Allatius and F. Bianchini ΣATAN, L. Stephani ...AN) and in any case might be a hyperdorism. Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 306 regards the Homeric ζᾱής as dissimilated from *ζηής (ζα- + *αμε- of ἄημι). It is tempting to connect Hesych. ζάει·... καὶ πνεῖ. Κύπριοι with Ζηήρ· Ζεὺ(ς) ἐν Κύπρῳ; but see *infra* Append. M.

[8] Since the -ᾱ- of Κάλαΐς could scarcely represent -αη- !

[9] Paus. 7. 17. 9. Cp. F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a.d.S. 1917 p. 573. Note also Hesych. Καλλαΐς· γένος ἰθαγενῶν (a passage to which Mr J. Whatmough drew my attention). We can hardly connect

H. Usener justly observed that these twins attest the twofold nature (*Doppelseitigkeit*) of their father[1].

(θ) Zethos and Amphion.

Zétes can hardly be separated from *Zêthos*[2], whose twin brother *Amphion* bore a name again indicative of a twofold father[3]. That father, whether Zeus or Epopeus—for the two were one[4]—, was a sky-god, whose diverse aspects found mythological expression in the diverse characters of his children, Zethos the stern hunter and herdsman, Amphion the milder and more civilised musician[5].

(ι) Herakles and Iphikles.

Somewhat similar is the relation of Herakles to his less valiant brother Iphikles[6]. It is even possible that this pair of twins was originally conceived as a single dicephalous god[7]. S. Reinach among his miscellaneous types of Herakles has recently included a bronze statuette in the Museum at Sens, which represents a two-headed personage with a curved knife (?) or club (??) in one hand and an apple (?) in the other (fig. 352)[8]. A. Héron de Villefosse

Κάλαϊς with κάλ(λ)αϊς, 'turquoise' (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 860 D—862 C), though Hyg. *fab.* 14 says that Zetes and Kalaïs had 'crines...caeruleos.'

[1] H. Usener 'Zwillingsbildung' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Leipzig—Berlin 1900 p. 329 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 351 f.). *Id. ib.* n. 57 quotes an interesting Lithuanian parallel from M. Prätorius *Deliciae Prussicae oder Preussische Schaubühne* ed. W. Pierson Berlin 1871 p. 27: 'Prätorius...berichtet: "Mir fällt ein, was ich einsmahls bey einem Fischer in dem Dorf Karckel gesehen. Derselbe hat anstatt der Fahnen auf den Mast seines Bootes eine *statuam* beim Ruder (d. h. dem Steuerruder) aufgerichtet. Er hatte nemblich von Borken gemacht ein Bild eines Menschen, dass am Kopf zween Gesichter, eins vornen, eins hinten waren, an beyden aber war das Maul aufgesperret (der Wind wird also aus dem Mund geblasen); an den Schultern waren zween ziemlich grosse Flügel, daneben er seine Hände ausgestrecket, die rechte aufwärts, die linke erdwärts; in der linken hielt er einen Fisch, in der rechten ein Fässchen. Auf dem Haupt war ein Hahn gemacht. Das bildt nente er *Wejopatis* (Herr des Windes)." Es wird noch hinzugefügt, dass der Pfarrer des Ortes diesen Fischer "vor einen recht alten preussischen Heyden" gehalten habe, der nicht zu bewegen war, die Kirche zu besuchen, dass man ihn aber für den reichsten Fischer ansah. Man möchte vermuten, dass das Doppelgesicht den *uentus secundus* und *aduersus* bedeutete.'

[2] The two names are confused in Palaiph. 22 (23) Ζῆθος καὶ Κάλαϊς (where A. Westermann restored Ζήτης) and Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 10. 350 a Zetho et Calai (so G. Thilo: H. A. Lion prints *Zeto*).

The ancients derived Ζῆθος from ζητέω (Eur. *Antiop. frag.* 181 Nauck² *ap. et. Gud.* p. 230, 55 ff. and *et. mag.* p. 411, 12 ff., cp. Hyg. *fab.* 7) or ζάω (*et. Gud.* p. 230, 54 f., *et. mag.* p. 411, 11 f.). K. B. Stark *Niobe und die Niobiden in ihrer literarischen, künstlerischen und mythologischen Bedeutung* Leipzig 1863 p. 367 connects with ζέω.

[3] *Infra* Append. J.

[4] *Supra* i. 734 ff.

[5] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 310 f.

[6] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 305.

[7] For the case of Kteatos and Eurytos see *supra* i. 311, *infra* Append. F (ι).

[8] Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 199 no. 178 fig. (=my fig. 352), *id. Rép. Stat.* iv. 135 no. 4. Height 0·096m.

was disposed to think this queer customer spurious and Reinach accordingly labels him 'Suspect.' Without careful examination of the original one would not venture to decide. But it reminds me of the copper coins struck under Septimius Severus at Baris (*Isbarta, Sparta*) on the Kestros in Pisidia, which portray a double-headed deity, with two or four arms[1], clad in a lion-skin and grasping bow and club (figs. 354, 355)[2] or bow, club, and sword (fig. 356)[3]. D. Sestini in 1828 mistook him for a group of Herakles and Hephaistos[4]. J. Friedländer in 1879 was the first to recognise in him '*einen*

Fig. 352.

[1] Cp. a bronze statuette from Teti in Sardinia (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 65 f. fig. 51 = my fig. 353) representing a warrior with four arms, four eyes in his head, and

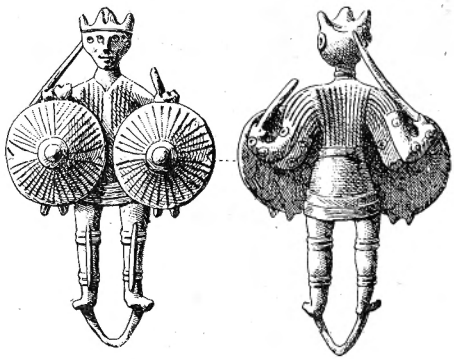


Fig. 353.

apparently other eyes on his arms: he carries two swords and two round shields. Height $0{\cdot}19^{m}$.

[2] A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 13 pl. 2, 3 (= my fig. 354): *obv.* ΑΥ·Κ·Λ·CЄΠ·CЄΥΗΡΟC·ΠЄΡ· bust of Septimius Severus; *rev.* ΒΑΡΗΝΩΝ double-headed male figure advancing to right, with club in right hand and bow in left, on which a bird seems to be perched. Round his shoulders is flung a lion-skin. 'Löwenhaut und Keule...deuten auf Herakles.'

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cx, 207 pl. 34, 2 (my fig. 356 was drawn from a cast of the coin, kindly sent to me by Mr G. F. Hill): *obv.* ΑVΤΚΑΙΛCЄΠ-CЄΟVΗΡΟCΠЄΡ.. bust of Septimius Severus; *rev.* ΒΑΡΗ ΝΩΝ double-headed, four-armed male figure advancing to right, with heads looking different ways, bow and club held to right, sword to left, and lion-skin slung behind.

[4] D. Sestini *Descrizione delle medaglie antiche greche del museo Hedervariano* Firenze 1828 ii. 268 pl. 22, 5 (= my fig. 355): 'Hercules et Vulcanus in unum corpus colligati...

gedoppelten Herakles[1],' a view provisionally accepted by G. F. Hill (1897)[2] and B. V. Head (1911)[3].

Fig. 354.

Fig. 355.

Fig. 356.

(κ) The effeminate Twin.

And here we must notice a suggestion thrown out long since by that pioneer of mythological study F. L. W. Schwartz[4]. He held that the contrast between the doughty hero and the weakling was a commonplace of Indo-European *saga*[5] to be compared with the *motif* of the emasculated sky-god. Now I am not prepared to follow our ingenious author, when he hazards the conjecture that Kastor was named after *kástor*, the 'beaver[6],' and recalls the belief that this rodent gets rid of its pursuers by tearing off its own testicles[7]. Nor can I agree with him, when he interprets the mutilation of Ouranos by Kronos[8], or that of Kronos by

utraque manu arcum paratum tenet, supra quem insistit avis stymphalis.' Hence Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 111 no. 131.

[1] J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1879 vi. 17 f. described, but did not figure, a specimen now at Berlin, the reverse of which is from the same die as the reverse of Sestini's coin.

[2] G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cx, 322.

[3] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 707.

[4] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 138 ff.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 147 cites Herakles and Iphikles, Agamemnon and Menelaos, Hektor and Paris, Siegfried and Gunther.

[6] So, from a different point of view, does J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 296, 302 f., 310. I am not concerned to deny the possibility, and even the attractiveness, of this derivation. Only, it seems to me that the evidence produced in support of it is inadequate.

[7] See *e.g.* M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 400 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 p. 188.

[8] Hes. *theog.* 154 ff. (Gaia, angry with Ouranos because he hated their offspring and would not let them see the light, produced grey adamant, made a sickle of it, and bade her children take vengeance on their father. Kronos, her youngest son, alone dared the deed. Gaia gave him the jagged *hárpe* and hid him in an ambush. Then came great Ouranos, bringing night, and spread himself above Gaia. Kronos reached forth his hand, shore off his father's genitals with the *hárpe*, and flung them from the land into the sea. The bloody drops, falling upon Gaia, gave rise to Erinyes, Gigantes, and the nymphs

Zeus[1], or that of Zeus by Typhon[2], as meaning merely that the

called Meliai. The genitals tossing on the deep caused the white foam, *aphrós*, amid which Aphrodite was reared), 472, Antim. *frag.* 35 Kinkel *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 42, Apollod. 1. 1. 4, Ov. *Ibis* 273 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Cornut. *theol.* 7 p. 7, 17 ff. Lang, Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 12, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 24, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 19, Macrób. *Sat.* 1. 8. 6 ff., *alib.* The Phaiakes were sprung from the drops let fall by Ouranos (Alkaios *frag.* 116 Bergk[4] and Akousilaos *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 103 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 992, where T. Bergk cj. Ἀλκμὰν for Ἀλκαῖος). Phaiakia or Korkyra is called Δρεπάνη (Aristot. *frag.* 469 Rose *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σχερία, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 983; Kallim. *frag.* 554 Schneider *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 52) or Δρέπανον (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 762 and 869) or Ἅρπη (Lyk. *Al.* 761 f. with schol. *ad loc.*) because the δρέπανον used by Kronos to mutilate Ouranos, or by Zeus to mutilate Kronos, lies buried beneath it (Timaios *frag.* 54 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 203 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 983: Ap. Rhod. 4. 982 ff. and *et. mag.* p. 287, 31 f. make Kronos the agent, Lyk. *Al.* 761 f. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 762, 869 make him the patient), though others referred these names to the δρέπανον (schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 983, *et. mag.* p. 287, 33 ff.) or ἅρπη of Demeter (Ap. Rhod. 4. 986 ff.). Ζάγκλη (Steph. Byz. *s.v.*) or Δρέπανον in Sicily (*et. mag.* p. 287, 35 ff., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 707, cp. Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 8. 12. Lyk. *Al.* 869 calls it ἅρπης Κρόνου πήδημα: see C. von Holzinger *ad loc.*) and Δρέπανον in Achaia (Paus. 7. 23. 4) were likewise connected with the sickle of Kronos; Δρέπανον (*et. mag.* p. 287, 38 f.) or Δρεπάνη in Bithynia, with that of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δρεπάνη, citing the anonymous line Δρεπάνην κλείουσιν ἀπὸ Κρονίδαο σιδήρου). On the fish πομπίλος, which together with Aphrodite sprang ἐκ τοῦ οὐρανίου αἵματος (Athen. 282 F: cp. *pervig. Ven.* 9 cruore de superno), see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1351 n. 1.

[1] According to the Rhapsodic theogony of the Orphists (*c.* 500 B.C.?), Zeus at the advice of Nyx made Kronos drunk on honey, bound him beneath the tall oaks, and gelded him on the spot (*infra* § 3 (*c*) i (υ) and Append. G *med.*). Cp. Timaios *frag.* 54 (*supra* n. 0), Lyk. *Al.* 761 f. (*supra* n. 0), Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 64 p. 116, 21 ff. Wünsch (Aphrodite born ἀπὸ τῶν Κρόνου μηδέων, τουτέστιν ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰῶνος), Myth. Vat. 1. 105 Juppiter adultus, quum Saturnus quodam die ad usum corporis exiret (? a mythological travesty derived from the comic stage), illato cultro amputavit naturalia ejus, quae in mare projecit, ex quibus Venus nata est; et mox Juppiter patrem regno expulit, 3. 1. 7 habent quoque fabulae, vel hunc (*sc.* Saturnum) patris sui Caeli virilia abscidisse, et abscissa in mare jecisse, et ex ipsorum cruore spumaque maris Venerem natam esse; vel ipsum a filio castratum fuisse, et de ipsius itidem virilibus, in mare missis, Venerem provenisse. de hac tamen diversitate nonnisi idem sentimus; testiculique utriuslibet abscissi fructus naturales, quos tempora producunt, teste Fulgentio (Fulgent. *myth.* 1. 2), designant, etc., schol. cod. *G.* Ov. *Ibis* 273 Saturnus Caelo patri suo genitalia amputauit (patri suo Caelo uirilia abscidit ne alium filium generaret cod. *C.* caelo patri abscidit uirilia cod. *Ask.*), unde Calixto (Promptius uel Calmethes cod. *C.* callisthenes cod. *Ask.* R. Ellis cj. Propercius uel Callisthenes): Saturnus credens unum laesisse parentem, | tres, non tantum unum laeserat ille patrem. | non impune tamen, nam parte est laesus eadem, | poenamque a nato quam dedit ipse tulit. | peccat uterque male (*sic*), sed cum male peccat uterque (malis male sed cum uterque cod. *C.* male ille male hic male peccat uterque cod. *Ask.*), | hic peccat peius qui prius illa (ista codd. *C. Ask.*) facit. | credere uix ausim esse deos; me iudice nempe | tam male qui peccat nec deus est nec homo.

[2] The story has come down to us in two different settings. (1) Apollod. 1. 6. 3: When the gods had vanquished the Gigantes, Ge in anger consorted with Tartaros, and brought forth in Kilikia Typhon the most monstrous of all her children. Down to the waist he was human in shape, but big enough to overtop the mountains; his head often touched the stars; his hands reached the east and the west, and from them started a hundred snaky heads. Below the waist he had serpentine coils that reared and hissed. There were wings all over his body, bristly hair on his head and cheeks, fire in his eyes. He attacked heaven with hissing and shouting, as he hurled rocks and breathed out fire. The gods on

storm-god, cut by the rainbow-sickle, showers down the lightning

seeing him fled to Egypt, where they transformed themselves into various animals (*supra* i. 370 n. 1, 445, 675). While Typhon was afar off, Zeus flung thunderbolts at him (*infra* § 3 (c) iv (α)). When Typhon drew nigh, Zeus scared him with a *hárpe* of adamant and pursued him to Mt Kasion in Syria. Seeing that he was wounded, Zeus then came to close quarters. But Typhon, casting his coils about the god, caught him, wrested the *hárpe* from him, and cut the sinews of his hands and feet. He lifted Zeus on his shoulders and carried him through the sea to Kilikia, where he deposited him in the Corycian Cave. The sinews he hid in the skin of a bear and stored them there with Delphyne, half-snake, half-woman, to guard them. However, Hermes and Aigipan contrived to steal the sinews, and fitted them on to Zeus again (Τυφὼν δὲ ταῖς σπείραις περιπλεχθεὶς κατέσχεν αὐτόν, καὶ τὴν ἅρπην περιελόμενος τά τε τῶν χειρῶν καὶ ποδῶν διέτεμε νεῦρα, ἁράμενος δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν ὤμων διεκόμισεν αὐτὸν διὰ τῆς θαλάσσης εἰς Κιλικίαν καὶ παρελθὼν εἰς τὸ Κωρύκιον ἄντρον κατέθετο. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὰ νεῦρα κρύψας ἐν ἄρκτου δορᾷ κεῖθι ἀπέθετο. καὶ κατέστησε φύλακα Δελφύνην δράκαιναν· ἡμίθηρ δὲ ἦν αὕτη ἡ κόρη. Ἑρμῆς δὲ καὶ Αἰγίπαν ἐκκλέψαντες τὰ νεῦρα ἥρμοσαν τῷ Διὶ λαθόντες). Thus Zeus, having recovered his strength, suddenly appeared in the sky on a chariot drawn by winged horses. Brandishing his bolts, he pursued Typhon to Mt Nysa. Here the monster was deceived by the Moirai; for, believing that it would increase his strength, he tasted of mortal fruit. Pursued further to Thrace, he carried on the fight round Mt Haimos and hurled whole mountains at Zeus. But the thunderbolt forced these mountains back upon him, till he deluged the range with his blood (Αἷμος from αἷμα). He essayed to escape through the Sicilian sea. But Zeus finally crushed him beneath Mt Aitne, from which the fiery blasts of the thunderbolts that were flung can still be seen to issue.

(2) Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 137 ff.—2. 712: Zeus, enamoured of Plouto (*supra* i. 156), had hidden his thunderbolts in the Arimian Cave, where their smoke betrayed them. Typhoeus or Typhon (the names are used indifferently) the Cilician, at the advice of his mother Gaia, stole them, kept them in a hollow rock, and usurping the powers of Zeus (1. 295 Ζεὺς νόθος, 391 νόθου Διός, cp. 479 f. γνήσιον ὑμνείων με νέον σκηπτοῦχον Ὀλύμπου | σκῆπτρα Διὸς φορέοντα καὶ ἀστράπτοντα χιτῶνα) proceeded to upset the whole course of nature. Thereupon the gods flew, like a flock of birds, to Egypt. Just then Kadmos, seeking Europe (*supra* i. 539 ff.), reached the Arimian Cave. Zeus, accompanied by Eros met him, and together they plotted the death of Typhoeus. Pan was to dress up Kadmos as a shepherd; Kadmos, to soothe Typhoeus with his *sýrinx*, receiving Harmonia as his reward; Eros, to quell the world-tumult and shoot a shaft at Typhoeus. Zeus in the form of a bull retired to Mt Tauros (Ταῦρος = ταῦρος). The plot is carried into effect. Typhoeus, charmed by Kadmos' music, leaves the bolts of Zeus in the cavern with Gaia. Kadmos feigns terror. Typhoeus reassures him, and suggests a musical contest between Kadmos' pipes and his stolen thunders. He even offers that, when he himself occupies the throne of Zeus, he will establish Kadmos in heaven pipes and all. Kadmos next proposes to chant Typhoeus' triumph to the seven-stringed *kithára*, with which he has surpassed Phoibos himself. Unfortunately Zeus, to pleasure Phoibos, has destroyed his strings; but, if he can get new strings, he will enchant the universe. Thereupon Typhoeus fetches from his cavern the sinews of Zeus, which during their former fight had fallen on the ground, and gives them to Kadmos. Kadmos handles the sinews and stores them in a hollow rock for Zeus (1. 510 ff. καὶ ταχὺς εἰς ἑὸν ἄντρον ἐπείγετο· κεῖθεν ἀείρας | νεῦρα Διὸς δολόεντι πόρεν ξεινήια Κάδμῳ, | νεῦρα, τά περ χθονὶ πῖπτε Τυφαονίῃ ποτὲ χάρμῃ. | καὶ δόσιν ἀμβροσίην ἀπατήλιος ἥνεσε ποιμήν· | καὶ τὰ μὲν ἁμφαφάασκε καὶ ἅρμενον οἷά τε χορδὴν | ἐσσομένην φόρμιγγι κατέκρυφε κοιλάδι πέτρῃ, | Ζηνὶ Γιγαντοφόνῳ πεφυλαγμένα). He then with thin-drawn notes of his *sýrinx* pipes to the unwitting Typhoeus the coming victory of Zeus. Meantime Zeus creeps into the cave, recovers his weapons, and conceals Kadmos in a cloud. The music stops. Typhoeus, eager to resume his rage, goes in search of the thunderbolts and discovers that he has been tricked. His wrath is unbounded. The gods are still in Egypt. But Zeus gives battle from Mt Tauros and, after a scene of prodigious

before he passes into a milder mood[1]! But, such vagaries notwithstanding conflict, blasts Typhoeus with his lightnings. To Kadmos he speaks words of comfort, and so retires to Olympos, taking the gods with him.

M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 228 says truly that the barocco trait of Typhon excising the sinews of Zeus is unparalleled in Greek mythology (Sir J. Rhys *Hibbert Lectures 1886*[3] London 1898 pp. 119—122 cp. the Old Norse myth of Tyr *v.* the wolf Fenrir [who is bound with the fetter Gleipnir, made in part of the sinews of bears: see P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 246] and the Old Irish myth of Nuada *Argat-lám v.* the Fir Bolg champion Sreng [which I have discussed in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 28 f., *supra* p. 224 n. 1]) and must be due to a learned importation of Egyptian elements. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1856 p. 8 of 'Notes et commentaires') aptly quotes Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 55 *ὅθεν ἐν Κοπτῷ τὸ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Ὥρου λέγουσιν ἐν τῇ ἑτέρᾳ χειρὶ Τυφῶνος αἰδοῖα κατέχειν· καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν μυθολογοῦσιν, ἐξελόντα τοῦ Τυφῶνος τὰ νεῦρα, χορδαῖς χρήσασθαι, διδάσκοντες ὡς τὸ πᾶν ὁ λόγος διαρμοσάμενος σύμφωνον ἐξ ἀσυμφώνων μερῶν ἐποίησε, καὶ τὴν φθαρτικὴν οὐκ ἀπώλεσεν, ἀλλ' ἀνεπήρωσε, δύναμιν. κ.τ.λ.* (in the sequel Typhon takes out the eye of Horos, swallows it, and then restores it—the Egyptian explanation of a solar eclipse). Mayer *loc. cit.* further points out that Typhon hides the sinews of Zeus in a bear's skin because the constellation of the Bear was in Egypt regarded as the soul of Typhon (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 21 *τὰς δὲ ψυχὰς ἐν οὐρανῷ λάμπειν ἄστρα, καὶ καλεῖσθαι κύνα μὲν τὴν Ἰσιδος ὑφ' Ἑλλήνων, ὑπ' Αἰγυπτίων δὲ Σῶθιν, Ὡρίωνα δὲ τὴν Ὥρου, τὴν δὲ Τυφῶνος, ἄρκτον*). He adds *ib.* p. 229 n. 177 that the derivation of *Αἶμος* from Typhon's *αἷμα* recurs in connexion with Egypt (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἡρώ).

One obvious difficulty remains. If the Greek stories were merely *Αἰγύπτιοι λόγοι*, Hermes ought to have docked the sinews of Typhon, not Typhon the sinews of Zeus. Probably the sense of justice, which led the Orphists to declare that Kronos the castrator of his father must himself be castrated by his son (*supra* p. 448 n. 1), prompted a later generation to demand the like penalty of Zeus. It may be that the *νεῦρα Διός* were originally a euphemism for the *αἰδοῖα Διός*, cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 55 *Τυφῶνος αἰδοῖα* and the use of *νεῦρα* in Athen. 64 B (with J. E. B. Mayor's note on Iuv. 10. 205).

[1] Another explanation, advanced by A. Lang *Custom and Myth* London 1884 p. 45 ff., *id. Myth, Ritual, and Religion* London 1887 i. 299 ff., and treated as plausible by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 27 and Frazer *Golden Bough*[2]: Adonis Attis Osiris[2] i. 283, sees in these stories 'a myth of the violent separation of the earth and sky, which some races, for example the Polynesians, suppose to have originally clasped each other in a close embrace.' Frazer *loc. cit.* i. 283 n. 3 quotes a doubtful Egyptian parallel, in which Osiris perhaps mutilates his father Set at the separation of earth and heaven.

More probably we have here to do with mythical echoes of a primitive custom. When Kronos succeeds to Ouranos, he must possess himself of his predecessor's fertilising powers. Since these reside in the genitals, the new god must castrate the old. It may be suspected that originally he kept the relics as jealously as Typhon keeps the *νεῦρα Διός*. The mutilations of Kronos by Zeus and of Zeus by Typhon will be later repetitions of the same early myth, which long after its meaning had been forgotten came ricochetting down the ages. The most instructive parallel, as Miss Harrison points out to me (Sept. 23, 1918), is that of the early kings of Uganda first published by my friend the Rev. J. Roscoe 'Kibuka, the War God of the Baganda' in *Man* 1907 vii. 161—166 with pl. L, 1—3 and 4 figs. in text (Kibuka and his brother Mukasa, who lived on one of the islands of Lake Victoria, have become the two principal gods of the Baganda. Kibuka's relics include a stool with a hollowed seat containing his lower jawbone, his testicles, and his *phallós*, in three leathern cases decorated with shells and beads), cp. W. Ridgeway *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* Cambridge 1915 p. 379 ff. figs. 85—87.

Miss Harrison has further brought to my notice the latest attempt to solve the problem, that of the psychoanalyst. It is implied, if not expressed, in S. Freud *Totem und Tabu* Leipzig—Wien 1913 (extr. from *Imago* 1912 i and 1913 ii) p. 120 f. 'Wer aber

standing, Schwartz has fastened on a possibility that merits consideration. The comparative feebleness of one of the twins is certainly a recurring feature[1], and *may* presuppose loss of virility. Dr Rendel Harris[2] points out that on the chest of Kypselos one of the Dioskouroi was bearded, the other beardless[3],—a distinction found also on a *sarcophagus* at Arles[4]. The mystical school of Epimenides[5] even maintained that the Dioskouroi were respectively male and female[6]. Whether Iphikles, sometimes called

die Geschichte des kleinen Hans aufmerksam durchsieht, wird auch in dieser die reichlichsten Zeugnisse dafür finden, dass der Vater als der Besitzer des grossen Genitales bewundert und als der Bedroher des eigenen Genitales gefürchtet wird. Im Ödipus- wie im Kastrationskomplex spielt der Vater die nämliche Rolle, die des gefürchteten Gegners der infantilen Sexualinteressen. Die Kastration und ihr Ersatz durch die Blendung ist die von ihm drohende Strafe' (English ed. London 1919 p. 216).

[1] In the *Iliad* Machaon is more to the fore than his brother Podaleirios: cp. Hyg. *fab.* 97, where Machaon takes twenty ships to Troy, Podaleirios ten. But later epos distinguished Machaon as surgeon from Podaleirios as physician, and preferred the less drastic art. See Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2587 f., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 627. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Isyllos von Epidauros* Berlin 1886 p. 51 regards Ποδαλείριος as a Carian name, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σύρνα· πόλις Καρίας, ἔκτισται δὲ ὑπὸ Ποδαλειρίου. κ.τ.λ. and Ποδάλεια in central Lykia. The Greeks, however, here as elsewhere (*supra* i. 25), tried to extract sense from the Carian name (*et. Gud.* p. 471, 28 ff. =*et. mag.* p. 678, 17 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1525, 4 f., Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 395, 32, 962, 59 ff.); and modern critics have followed suit. T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 342 f. renders 'weissfüssig, schnell,' cp. ποδάργης; W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1215, 'Rosentreter od. Zierfuss'; A. Fick—F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 pp. 397, 406, 'zart, schwach?'+'Fuss,' followed by S. Eitrem *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (*Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter* II. Historisk-filos. Klasse 1902 No. 2) Christiania 1902 p. 93 'der schwachfüssige'; A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1902 xxvi. 320, 'schmalfuss.' Ποδαλείριος, understood as 'Lily-foot' implying weakness in the feet (on the François-vase Hephaistos' distorted feet are white: Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 6 pl. 1—2), might well be contrasted with Μαχάων, whose name was connected with μάχη (S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* p. 92) rather than with μῆχος, μᾶχος (A. Fick—E. Bechtel *op. cit.*[2] pp. 198, 399, A. Fick *loc. cit.* 1902 xxvi. 320 f.) or with μάττειν (H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 pp. 150 n. 8, 170).

Mr E. S. Hartland has suggested to me in conversation (Oct. 1, 1918) that a Biblical parallel is to be found in the case of Jacob and Esau. The analogy is indeed singularly complete; for the statement that the mysterious Wrestler 'touched the hollow of Jacob's thigh in the sinew of the hip' (Gen. 32. 32, cp. 32. 25) may, as Mr Hartland urges, refer to the *genitalia* (see J. Skinner *A Critical and Exegetical Commentary on Genesis* Edinburgh 1910 pp. 341 f., 410 f.).

[2] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 pp. 46, 91.

[3] Paus. 5. 19. 2.

[4] M. Albert *Le culte de Castor et Pollux en Italie* Paris 1883 p. 108 f., Robert *Sark.-Relfs* iii. 2. 194 ff. pl. 50, 160 (bearded figure in right hand corner) and 160 *a* (beardless figure in left hand corner), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 212 nos. 1 f. (detail not shown).

[5] On οἱ περὶ Ἐπιμενίδην see A. Dieterich *Abraxas* Leipzig 1891 p. 130 n. 1 ('neupythagoreisch-neuplatonische Meinungen über die Weltschöpfung').

[6] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 17 p. 78, 20 ff. οἱ δὲ περὶ Ἐπιμενίδην ἄρρενα καὶ θήλειαν ἐμύθευσαν τοὺς Διοσκόρους, τὸν μὲν αἰῶνα, ὥσπερ μονάδα, τὴν δὲ φύσιν, ὡς δυάδα, καλέσαντες· ἐκ γὰρ μονάδος καὶ δυάδος ὁ πᾶς ζωογονικὸς καὶ ψυχογονικὸς ἐξεβλάστησεν ἀριθμός.

Iphiklos[1], can be identified with Iphiklos son of Phylakos, whose debility was cured by Melampous[2], is very doubtful.

(λ) Apollon and Artemis.

If one of the twins, he who stood for the dark nocturnal Sky, was thus effeminate, the question arises: Can we accept Dr Rendel Harris' further contention 'that Apollo and Artemis are twins displacing twins'[3]? *À priori* such displacement is, of course, quite thinkable; yet we cannot, so far as I know, adduce any example of its actual occurrence. Two ancient cult-centres where it might naturally have occurred are Delos and Delphoi. At Delos we have the earlier Hyperborean maidens Opis and Arge[4], or Opis and Hekaerge[5], together with their male counterparts Opis and Hekaergos[6]; we have also the later Hyperborean maidens Hyperoche and Laodike[7]. At Delphoi we meet with the heroes Hyperochos and Laodokos[8], or Hyperochos and Amadokos, who were likewise Hyperboreans[9]; we meet too with the heroic couple Phylakos and Autonoos[10]. But none of these will serve our turn. For the Delian pairs, if twins[11], were not male; and the Delphian pairs, though male, were not twins[12]. On the whole, it seems most likely that Opis and Arge (Hekaerge) were originally appellatives of Artemis[13], and at least possible that Hyperochos and Laodokos (Amadokos) were one-time appellatives of Apollon[14]. The male Opis and Hekaergos

[1] Apollod. 2. 7. 3 (where for Ἴφικλος R. Wagner reads Ἰφικλῆς with the *epitoma Vaticana*), Diod. 4. 33, 34, 49.

[2] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (υ).

[3] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 137.

[4] Olen *ap.* Hdt. 4. 35 Ὦπις and Ἄργη.

[5] Melanopos of Kyme *ap.* Paus. 5. 7. 8 Ὦπις and Ἑκαέργη. So also Paus. 1. 43. 4, Claud. *de cons. Stil.* 3. 253 ff.

[6] Plat. *Axioch.* 371 A, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 11. 532, cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 58 (but see Ampel. 9. 7).

[7] Hdt. 4. 33—35, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6.

[8] Paus. 10. 23. 2. [9] Paus. 1. 4. 4. [10] Hdt. 8. 38 f.

[11] Claud. *de cons. Stil.* 3. 253 ff. Οὖπις, Ἑκαέργη, and Λοξώ form a triad in Kallim. *h. Del.* 292 with schol. *ad loc.*, Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 489 ff., 48. 332 ff., *et. mag.* p. 641, 56 ff.

[12] That Hyperochos and Laodokos (Amadokos) were twins, we are not told. They are mentioned as a triad along with Pyrrhos, son of Achilles (Paus. 1. 4. 4, 10. 23. 2). That Phylakos and Autonoos were twins, is very improbable, since their precincts were some distance apart (Hdt. 8. 39, cp. Paus. 10. 8. 7 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*).

[13] See *e.g.* O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 927 ff.

[14] Ὑπέροχος, 'Eminens, Excellens, Superior' (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 235 C—D). Ἀμάδοκος and Λαόδοκος are comparable with the Thracian names Μήδοκος, Σπαράδοκος, etc. (F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 608). Λαόδοκος was perhaps changed into the more intelligible Λαόδικος, whence Λαοδίκη—a favourite name in the family of Seleukos (O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 220): but this is guessing in the dark.

were invented by way of compliment to Apollon, just as the female Hyperoche and Laodike were invented by way of compliment to Artemis.

It is, then, far from certain that Apollon and Artemis superseded any pair of twins. Indeed it is far from certain that they were originally twins themselves. When, where, and how they first got together, are questions intimately bound up with the problem of Apollon's *provenance*. And here opinion has, within the last quarter of a century, fairly boxed the compass. K. Wernicke (1894)[1] remarks that Homer was already acquainted with Apollon and Artemis as the twin offspring of Zeus by Leto, and lays stress on Delos as the mainstay, if not the cradle, of their connexion. L. R. Farnell (1896)[2], who groups the cults of Apollon-and-Artemis in a valuable conspectus, would push their joint worship back to the Homeric age and concludes: 'The place where the two deities were first closely associated, and whence the belief in their twinship spread, was probably Delos[3].' T. Zielinski (1899)[4] is in favour of Troy as the *Ausgangspunkt*. Apollon and his sister Artemis, a pair of light-divinities, came from the Troad, where behind the rocks of Mount Ide lay *Lykía*, a blissful 'Land of Light' inhabited by the pious Hyperboreans. From thence the cult of Apollon in early epic times made its way into Greece through Thermopylai. Parnassos became the second holy mountain of the god, who found a double hypostasis—corresponding with the Amphictionic meetings at Delphoi and Pylai—in *Oréstes*, the 'Mountain-man,' and *Pyládes*, the 'Gate-man.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1903, 1908)[5] likewise looks to the east. He argues that in the *Iliad* Apollon protects Trojans and Lycians, that as the god of Lykia he has the appellatives *Lykegenés*[6], *Lýkeios*, *Lýkios* and in accordance with

K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 33—35.

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 464—467, 577—581.

[3] A Melian *amphora*, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 120 ff. no. 475), has for its principal design the meeting of Apollon and Artemis. Apollon, bearded, arrives in a car drawn by four winged steeds. He carries a seven-stringed lyre, to which the reins are attached (!), and brings with him two females, usually regarded as Muses, but better identified by M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 313 with the Hyperborean maidens. If so, the locality must be Delos. Artemis advances to welcome the god, having a bow and quiver on her back, an arrow in her left hand, and a stag in her right (A. Conze *Melische Thongefaesse* Leipzig 1862 pl. 4 (=my fig. 357), H. von Rohden in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1954 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ix. 471 ff. fig. 235).

[4] T. Zielinski 'Die Orestessage und die Rechtfertigungsidee' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1899 iii. 87 f.

[5] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Apollon' in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 575—586, *id. Greek Historical Writing and Apollo* trans. G. Murray Oxford 1908 pp. 27—45.

[6] *Il.* 4. 101, 119. Wilamowitz contends that Pandaros the Lycian presumably uses

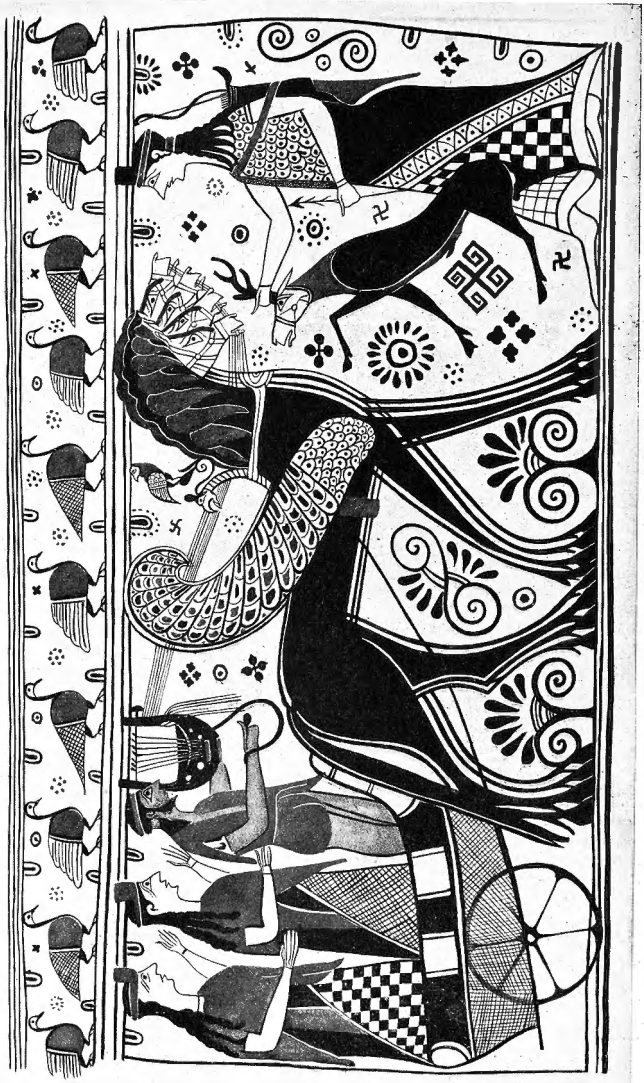


Fig. 357.

Lycian custom[1] the metronymic *Letoïdes*, that his sister was a barbaric goddess equated by the Greeks with their own Artemis, that the birth of the twins was located at Araxa in Lykia[2], that their mother Leto bears a native name (the Lycian *lada* meaning 'wife'[3]), that the Delian Apollon was believed to winter in Lykia[4], and that the earliest cult-poetry of Delos was attributed to the Lycian Olen[5]. Hence Wilamowitz concludes that Leto and her twins were essentially Asiatic (Lato *Asiâtis* was worshipped at Argos[6]), belonging by rights to the Lycians in their original abode, that the cult of all three had before the arrival of the Greeks in Asia Minor already spread to Delos and Crete, and that it passed over from the islands to the mainland of Greece, where Apollon usurped the position of this, that, and the other older deity. M. P. Nilsson (1906)[7] accepts in the main the results reached by Wilamowitz and seeks to support them by certain heortological considerations. He observes that in Greece, apart from the great cult-centres of Delos, Delphoi, and Mount Ptoion, the chief festivals of Apollon are precisely those in which the god appears as an intruder[8]; that Apolline festivals are comparatively rare on the Greek mainland, much more frequent in the islands and in Asia Minor; that Apollon has a higher percentage of appellations derived from place-names than any other god, his worship, as a missionary cult, being widely disseminated, and his numerous epiphanies suggesting that in many places he was invoked to quit

λυκηγενής in the sense of 'born in Lykia.' For other interpretations see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2174 f. and Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 195 f.

[1] Hdt. 1. 173 with the note of J. Wells *ad loc.* See further O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* Wien 1884 p. 73, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 94 ff., G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 109 f.

[2] O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *op. cit.* p. 76 f. inscription no. 53 B, 9 ff. ἑκατὸν (?) δὲ καὶ οὐ πολλῶν χρόνων | ἀλλὰ τῆς ἀφ' (?) ἡμῶν γενεᾶς ἀνα|φυούσης τῆς θ[εο]τόκου γῆς λαΐ]ηέου[ς] μορφὰς ὁμοιοτυπεῖς τῆς | Λητοῦς διδύμοις φωστῆρσιν | ἑπουρανίοις ἐν 'Α[ρά]ξοις κυηθείσιν, | "Αρτεμίν τε καὶ 'Απόλλωνα, ἐν μὲν | [Π]ινάροις ὑπεράνω κ.τ.λ. (fragments of an epideictic speech, in lettering of the age of Commodus, dealing with the mythology and ritual of Sidyma), cp. Quint. Smyrn. 11. 20 ff. (Neoptolemos slew Laodamas, whom Leto bore to Zeus, breaking up with her hands the hard plain of Lykia as the throes of birth came upon her). Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 333 n. 2.

[3] See e.g. H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 572 ff.

[4] Verg. *Aen.* 4. 143 ff. with Serv. *ad loc.*

[5] Hdt. 4. 35 (*supra* p. 452 n. 4), Paus. 5. 7. 8.

[6] W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 236 ff. Λατῶι | 'Ασ[ι]άτ[ι]δι Διόσ-κ[ο]ροι[ι], 'Απόλλων, "Αρταμις, ἀπ[λ]ανεῖ[ς] θεοί, ἐ[σ]τησαν [να]όν, κ.τ.λ. This temple, built in 303 B.C. to commemorate the departure of the Macedonian garrison, was doubtless the one described by Paus. 2. 21. 8 f.

[7] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 102—104.

[8] *Id. ib.* p. 102: 'so die Thargelien, die Karneen, die Hyakinthien, die Verfolgung des Skephros in Tegea, die Daphnephorien in Theben.'

his ancient haunt and attend the new local rites. Nilsson further (1911)[1] notes that the first day of the month was sacred to Apollon as *Nouménios*[2] and that the twentieth was sacred to him as *Eikádios*[3], but that his festivals regularly fell on the seventh of the month[4]. Hence we are to infer that Apollon was essentially connected with the lunisolar calendar and its sacred sabbath, that his worship originated in Babylonia, and that it spread through Asia Minor to Greece. O. Gruppe (1906)[5], though he does not go so far afield as Mesopotamia, again turns his face eastwards. He holds that the worship of a barbaric mother-goddess *Lató*, whose name was Ionised as *Letó*, and the recognition of Apollon and Artemis as her twin children may be attributed to Hellenic settlers on the coast of Asia Minor in the course of the ninth and eighth centuries B.C. W. Aly (1908)[6] is disposed to reject the eastern origin of Apollon. He argues that, if the god had come—as Wilamowitz thought—from Lykia, his cult must have reached Greece *viâ* Crete. We should therefore look to find early forms of his worship in that island. But a careful survey of the Cretan evidence can produce nothing of the sort. Rather we are driven to conclude that the cult was imported from Greece, especially from Delphoi[7]. E. Meyer (1909)[8] also parts com-

[1] M. P. Nilsson 'Die älteste griechische Zeitrechnung, Apollo und der Orient' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 423—448.

[2] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 421 f., W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 424 f., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 61, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 939 n. 9, M. P. Nilsson *loc. cit.* p. 443 f.

[3] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 50, O. Jessen *ib.* v. 2098 f., M. P. Nilsson *loc. cit.* p. 444.

[4] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 50, F. Boll *ib.* vii. 2555, S. Eitrem and O. Jessen *ib.* vii. 2579, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 939 n. 7, M. P. Nilsson *loc. cit.* p. 442 f. For a summary of W. H. Roscher's voluminous papers on the subject see *supra* p. 236 n. 5.

[5] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1247—1252.

[6] W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 pp. 1—57.

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 57 : 'Fassen wir zusammen, so hat unsere Untersuchung ergeben, dass sich auf Kreta nichts findet, das Anspruch darauf machte, für altapollinisch zu gelten. Der verbreitete Kult des pythischen Gottes kommt von *Delphi*, während das, was Delphi aus Kreta entlehnt, nicht an Apollons Namen haftet. *Dorisch* dürften wir den Karneios, Dromaios, Agyieus nennen ; die übrigen Gestalten sind lokale *Sondergötter*, die mit Apollon erst im Laufe der Entwicklung verschmelzen. Besonders deutlich traten der Apollon von Eleutherna und Apollon Delphinios als eigenartige Persönlichkeiten hervor. Während sich in dorischer Zeit Abhängigkeit von *Argos* zeigte, wiesen die älteren Spuren nach *Böotien*, in einem besonderen Falle nach *Thessalien*. *Kleinasien* kam nur ganz gelegentlich in Betracht. Die sprachliche Untersuchung konnte noch kein Resultat erzielen, da sie von dem ethnologischen Problem abhängig ist. Im Ganzen geht Kreta in vordorischer Zeit *nicht* mit dem Osten, sondern mit dem Mutterland.

Kam Apollon aus Lykien, so ist er jedenfalls an Kreta völlig vorübergegangen, eine Tatsache, die den östlichen Ursprung des Gottes als sehr zweifelhaft erscheinen lässt.'

[8] E. Meyer *Geschichte des Altertums*[2] i. 2. 639 f.

pany with Wilamowitz in regard to the alleged Lycian character of Apollon and his name[1]. Meyer believes that Apollon was originally a deity of flocks and herds, common to all the Greek stems, and that later he became an oracle-giver, when identified with one or another native oracular god on the western and southern coasts of Asia Minor —an identification which entailed certain foreign elements in his cults and myths, especially the story of his birth. A. L. Frothingham (1911)[2] conceives that Apollon, a sun-god, originated in Crete, being none other than Chrysaor, the offspring of Medousa[3], who is to be identified with Artemis—and, for that matter, with Rhea, Kybele, Demeter, etc.—as a form of the Great Mother[4]. Apollon came from Crete to Delphoi, returning later to Crete again as Apollon *Pýthios*[5]. Artemis too, a goddess of nature and fertility, was Cretan, if not in her origin, at least in her development as mistress of mountains and lions, of snakes, of doves or birds[6]. In Asia Minor, between *c.* 1000 and 600 B.C.[7], she took on the typical form of Medousa, her wings being derived from Hittite divinities, her hideous face from the Egyptian Bes[8]. The resultant *Gorgóneion*, a solar effigy, appears in connexion with Artemis at Sparta[9] and in Korkyra[10], with Apollon at Miletos[11] and Delphoi[12]. Latterly scholars have shown a distinct tendency to return to C. O. Müller's belief in the northern origin of Apollon, even if they do not with Müller regard him as an essentially Dorian god[13]. L. R. Farnell (1907)[14] writes: 'We discern that Apollo came into Hellas with the invaders from the North, and aided by the

[1] *Id. ib.*[2] i. 2. 640 n.: 'dass der Name Apollon fremden Ursprungs sei, kann ich nicht für richtig halten. Er ist überall ein Hauptgott der Griechen, auch in den Kultformeln bei Homer; gerade bei den Doriern, bei denen wir am wenigsten Kleinasiatisches erwarten dürfen, ist er geradezu der Stammgott; und ein grosser Teil der apollinischen Kulte und Mythen hat mit dem Orakelgott gar nichts zu tun. Andrerseits ist der Name Apollon in Lykien nicht nur nicht nachweisbar—das würde wenig beweisen, da wir lykische Götternamen aus den Inschriften überhaupt nicht kennen—, sondern der Name Ἀπολλωνίδης wird lykisch durch pulenida wiedergegeben (C I Lyc. 6), ist also aus dem Griechischen entlehnt, was gewiss nicht der Fall sein würde, wenn Apollo ein altlykisches Äquivalent gehabt hätte.'

[2] A. L. Frothingham 'Medusa, Apollo, and the Great Mother' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 349—377, cp. *id.* 'Medusa II' *ib.* 1915 xix. 13—23.

[3] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 357.

[4] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 349, 364.

[5] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 355.

[6] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 358 ff.

[7] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 377.

[8] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 364 ff.

[9] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 370 ff.

[10] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 356 f.

[11] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 355 f.

[12] *Id. ib.* 1911 xv. 352 ff.

[13] C. O. Müller *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race* trans. H. Tufnell and G. C. Lewis Oxford 1830 i. 227 ff. (p. 230: 'The most ancient settlements of the Doric race, of which any historical accounts are extant, were...the country at the foot of Olympus and Ossa, near the valley of TEMPE'—p. 300: 'the worship of Apollo came from the most northern part of Greece, from the district of Tempe').

[14] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 99 f., 111 f.

light of two records we can perhaps follow the double trail of his southward pilgrimage, the record concerning the Hyperboreans and that about the sacred way from Tempe to Delphi....But the furthest northern points to which we can push back the cult of Apollo are Illyria, Thrace[1], and Macedon.' Again: 'The Apolline worship at a very early, though perhaps not the earliest, era of Hellenic history had struck deep roots in North Greece, and from thence spread its branches southwards and across the sea:...it was already in some sense the common property of the leading tribes in the north, Thessalian-Achaeans, Ionians, Dryopes, and Dorians, before the Dorian conquest of the Peloponnese and before the great colonies were planted along the Asia Minor coast; and hence in the later era of expansion it became a leading cult in the cities of Aeolis and Ionia, and dominant in the Dorian Pentapolis: the Peloponnesian Dorians were devoted to the cults of Apollo [*Pythaeús*] and [*Kárneios*], but both these they probably found already established there by an earlier Dryopian immigration, while the Amyclaean Apollo was the divinity of the Achaean, the Messenian Apollo [*Kórydos*] probably of a Minyan population; and Apollo Lykeios who gave his name to Lycia[2] belonged to the oldest stratum of the religion, and his cult was the common heritage of many races.' G. Murray at first (1911)[3] laid stress on the epic formula of appeal to Zeus, Athena, and Apollon[4] as establishing the Achaean character of all three[5], but later (1912)[6] somewhat modified his view: 'Zeus is the Achaean Sky-god. His son Phoebus Apollo is of more complex make. On one side he is clearly a Northman. He has

[1] 'The wide diffusion of the cult of Apollo in Thrace in the historical period, vide *Geogr. Reg.* s.v. [*id. ib.* iv. 433], may be regarded as an inheritance from an aboriginal period: the figure of Apollo may have emerged when the Hellenes were in Thrace, or may have belonged equally to Thracians and Hellenes: Thomaschek's *Die alten Thraker* takes the view that Thrace was his original home.' Hardly so. W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 2. 48 f. says: ''Απόλλων...uralte Gottheit der lelegischen Aboriginer....Von einer Verehrung des Apollon in Thrake weiss Herodot nichts....[Numerous dedications to Apollon in the Thracian area are cited] Dies alles unter griechischem Einfluss und aus späterer Zeit.' The slip is repeated by M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* Bryn Mawr 1913 p. 12. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 462 is more circumspect.

[2] Cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 751 n. 2. But that Lykia was named after Apollon Λύκειος is highly improbable.

[3] G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*[2] Oxford 1911 pp. 69, 88 ('The two clearest gods of Homer's Achaeans are perhaps the patriarchal Zeus and his son Apollo; next to them Athena').

[4] *'αὶ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ 'Αθηναίη καὶ "Απολλον* (*Il.* 2. 371, 4. 288, 7. 132, 16. 97, *Od.* 4. 341, 7. 311, 17. 132, 18. 235, 24. 376).

[5] See, however, Harrison *Themis* p. 501 f., J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 152.

[6] G. Murray *Four Stages of Greek Religion* New York 1912 p. 69 f.

connexions with the Hyperboreans....On the other side Apollo reaches back to an Aegean matriarchal Kouros. His home is Delos, where he has a mother, Leto, but no very visible father....He is no "Hellene." In the fighting at Troy he is against the Achaioi: he destroys the Greek host, he champions Hector, he even slays Achilles. In the Homeric hymn to Apollo[1] we read that when the great archer draws near to Olympus all the gods tremble and start from their seats; Leto alone, and of course Zeus, hold their ground.' Miss M. H. Swindler (1913)[2], after a survey of these divergent views, frankly abandons the quest: 'An attempt to name the tribe in which the Apollo cult had its beginning can scarcely meet with success. The reasons for this are apparent. Although Apollo is a comparatively late comer into Greece, he stands out in Homer, almost in his full development, with a cosmopolitan character. He is essentially a migratory god, which seems to be one source of his great popularity. While he sojourned in the various lands to which he was "invited," he took over into his cult the local gods and oracles, and acquired new epithets. He is at home in Dorian Pytho and Ionian Delos; he has his place in almost all of the oracles on the western and southern coast of Asia Minor, and is especially bound to Lycia. The islands know him and northern Greece in particular bears witness to his worship. It is this pandemic character of Apollo and this tendency to appropriate foreign elements to his cult which render difficult the problem of determining his original character. The origin of his cult and the earliest elements contributed to it must for this reason remain problematic.'

I confess, I am not so despondent. The myth of the Hyperboreans[3] goes a long way, if not all the way, towards a settlement of the points at issue.

Himerios[4] (*s.* iv A.D.) has preserved for us in prose form the contents of a poem by Alkaios[5] (*c.* 600 B.C.), which affords the earliest known version of the myth:

'When Apollon was born, Zeus arrayed him with a golden *mitra* and a lyre, and giving him a chariot of swans to drive sent him to Delphoi and the streams of Kastalia, there to utter justice and law for the Hellenes. But Apollon, stepping on to the chariot, urged the swans to fly to the Hyperboreoi.

[1] *H. Ap.* 1 ff.

[2] M. H. Swindler *Cretan Elements in the Cults and Ritual of Apollo* Bryn Mawr 1913 p. 13 f.

[3] The fullest and fairest collection of evidence with regard to the Hyperboreans is that of Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 258—279. See also important articles by O. Crusius and M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2805—2841, O. Schroeder 'Hyperboreer' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii. 69—84, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 520 f., G. H. Macurdy 'The Hyperboreans' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 180—183.

[4] Himer. *or.* 14. 10 f.

[5] Alk. *frag.* 2 Bergk[4].

The Delphians, perceiving it, composed a paean and a song, and arranged dances of young men round the tripod, and called upon the god to come from the Hyperboreoi. He, after he had spent a whole year[1] in giving law to the men that were there, thought that the right time was come for the Delphic tripods too to be sounding, so bade his swans fly back again from the Hyperboreoi. Now it was summer, indeed midsummer, when, according to Alkaios, Apollon was brought from the Hyperboreoi. Hence, at the time when summer shines forth and Apollon is here, the lyre too brightens into a summer strain concerning the god. Nightingales sing for him as one would expect birds to sing in Alkaios. Swallows also sing and cicalas, not telling of their own fortunes among men, but voicing all their songs about the god. Kastalia too in poetic wise rolls her silver streams, and Kephissos rises high with tossing waves after the likeness of Homer's Enipeus. For Alkaios, like Homer, does his utmost to make the very water able to feel the god's advent.'

From this prosified extract we learn that, at the close of the seventh century B.C., Apollon was supposed to have reached the land of the Hyperboreans by traversing the air with a team of swans[2]. His track

[1] ὁ δὲ ἔτος ὅλον παρὰ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεμιστεύσας ἀνθρώποις, κ.τ.λ. This ἔτος is presumably a year of twelve months, not a great year (ἐνιαυτός: see *supra* i. 540 n. 1).

[2] For Apollon (*a*) drawn by swans or (*b*) riding on a swan see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 pp. 29 ff., 80 ff., A. Kalkmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 233 ff., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 312, 350—354, 494 f., P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 188 f., L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 pp. 8 f., 43.

(*a*) The former type is known to us from one example only—an engraved *smáragdos* of Roman work at Petrograd, of which a modern paste copy existed in the Stosch collection and passed with it to Berlin (fig. 358 (scale $\frac{3}{1}$) after Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 495 fig. 24=F. Studniczka in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1727 fig. 3), representing Apollon with bay-branch and quiver as he bears off the reluctant Kyrene in a chariot drawn by two swans (cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 498 Φερεκύδης δέ φησι (*frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 72 Müller)) καὶ Ἀράιθος (*frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Müller)) ἐπὶ κύκνων αὐτὴν ὀχηθεῖσαν κατὰ Ἀπόλλωνος προαίρεσιν εἰς τὴν Κυρήνην ἀφικέσθαι, Philostr. min. *imagg.* 14. 2 Apollon promises Hyakinthos δώσειν...ὑπὲρ κύκνων (κύκνον cod. P. and ed. Ald. C. F. W. Jacobs cj. κύκνου) αὐτὸν ὀχούμενον περιπολεῖν χωρία, ὅσα Ἀπόλλωνος φίλα, Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 226 ff. εἰ δέ σοι οὐρανόθεν πόσις ἦλυθε καλὸς Ἀπόλλων | καὶ Σεμέλης ὑπ' ἔρωτι λελασμένος ἔπλετο Δάφνης, | νόσφι δόλου κρυφίοιο δι' ἠέρος εἶς σὲ χορεύσῃ (D. F. Graefe cj. χορεύσαι) | ἀβρὸς ἀσιγήτων ἐποχημένος ἅρματι κύκνων,—quoted by O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1852 p. 60 n. 26).

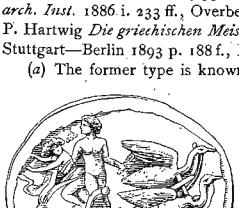


Fig. 358.

(*b*) The latter type is fairly common in vase-paintings, terra-cottas, coins, etc. The earliest of the vases is a fragmentary *kýlix* from the beginning of *s.* v B.C. (P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 188 f. pl. 18, 3). The earliest coins are electrum *statêres* of Kyzikos struck *c.* 400—350 B.C. (W. Greenwell 'The electrum coinage of Cyzicus' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 57 f. pl. 1, 22 Paris, *id. ib.* Third Series 1890 x. 22 pl. 3, 3 Greenwell collection (excellent specimen), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 33 pl. 8, 13, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1431 f. pl. 175, 16). I illustrate (pl. xxv) a *hydría* of late red-figured style, found in Kyrenaike, preserved in the British Museum, and hitherto unpublished (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 182 f. no. E 232, Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 350 no. 2,

Hydria from Kyrenaike, now in the British Museum: Apollon, riding on a swan, returns to Delphoi.

See page 460 *n.* 2 (*b*).

P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 189 n. 1). Apollon, with radiate fillet, bordered *himátion*, and bay-branch, sits between the wings of a swan, which is about to alight on the flowering earth. On rising ground to the right a Satyr leans on his left hand and knee and looks round at Apollon, raising his right hand to his face (*ἀποσκοπεύων*: *supra* i. 709). Higher up on the right stands a Maenad, holding a *thýrsos* in one hand and beckoning to the god with the other. Satyr and Maenad on the right were balanced by Maenad (?) and Satyr (?) on the left; of whom the Maenad (?), seated on a *himátion* with a square box behind her, looks upward at Apollon, while the Satyr (?)—now largely lost—stands with a *thýrsos* in his left hand. The whole scene is comparable with that on a vase formerly in the Hamilton collection (Tischbein *Hamilton Vases* ii. 34 ff. pl. 12 (fair), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* ii. 130 ff. pl. 42, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 97 pl. 13, 140, Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 350 no. 1 Atlas pl. 22, 6 (Apollon only)). The

Fig. 359.

palm-tree would suit either Delos (so C. O. Müller *loc. cit.*, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* i. 154 n. 21, Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 419 n. 24 a) or Delphoi (so F. Wieseler *loc. cit.*, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 68 f., *alib.*, Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon p. 352 f.). But the appearance of Apollon as the centre of a Dionysiac circle seems to me decisive in favour of Delphoi. I cannot agree with my friend Mr H. B. Walters, who regards the Satyrs and Maenads as mere 'personifications of nature' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 183. Fig. 359 is from a photograph very kindly supplied to me by Mr Walters). I figure also two imperial coppers of Kalchedon in Bithynia, which show Apollon, lyre in hand, seated on his swan (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 128 no. 34 Iulia Paula, no. 35 Tranquillina pl. 28, 5, no. 36 Tranquillina, Overbeck *op. cit.* Apollon pp. 304, 312 Münztaf. 5, 11 Lucius Verus (=my fig. 360) and 12 Tranquillina, Waddington—

was none other than that 'Road of the Birds,' which in Lithuanian belief led to the celestial country[1]. In a word, it was the Milky Way[2]. Suspicion becomes certainty, when we take into account the next batch of references to the Hyperborean land. Pindar in a magnificent passage of his tenth *Pythian*[3], a poem composed for Hippokleas of Thessaly in 498 B.C., says of the victor's father:

Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 299 pl. 47, 11 Trajan, 300 pl. 47, 16 f. M. Aurelius, 301 pl. 47, 21 Faustina Iunior, 301 no. 70 Lucius Verus, 302 pl. 47, 24 Septimius Severus (=my fig. 361), 302 no. 79 Iulia Domna, 304 no. 93 Elagabalos,

Fig. 360.

Fig. 361.

305 no. 99 Iulia Paula, 306 pl. 48, 20 Iulia Mamaea, 307 no. 115 Tranquillina, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 512. See further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 82).

Similarly Zeus was on occasion conceived as drawn by a team of eagles (*Brit. Mus.*

Fig. 362.

Cat. Terracottas p. 451 no. E 170=my fig. 362 a disk from Tarentum: diameter 2⅛ ins.), more often as upborne by a single eagle (*supra* p. 102 f. figs. 59—64).

[1] *Supra* p. 38. [2] *Ib.* [3] Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 27—46.

The copper sky he cannot scale ;
But all the joys we mortals hail
These hath he voyaged through to the utmost bound.
By ship nor foot shall e'er be found
The wondrous way to the Hyperborean throng.
Yet princely Perseus on a bygone day
Entered their homes and supped with them, men say,
Lighting their merry company among,
What time they offered in that bright abode
Whole hecatombs of asses[1] to the god.
Ay, for Apollon loves always
The feasting and the feasters' praise ;
And sure he laughs to see the sight
Of brute beasts ramping bolt upright.

[1] Cp. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 29. 4 p. 21, 26 ff. Stählin Σκύθαι δὲ τοὺς ὄνους ἱερεύοντες μὴ παυέσθων, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρός φησι (*frag.* 13 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 431 Müller)) καὶ Καλλίμαχος (*frag.* 187 Schneider), 'Φοῖβος Ὑπερβορέοισιν ὄνων ἐπιτέλλεται (Tanaquil Faber cj. ἐπιτέρπεται O. Schneider cj. ἐπιτέλθεται) ἱροῖς.' ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ ἀλλαχοῦ (*frag.* 118 Schneider) 'τέρπουσιν λιταραὶ Φοῖβον ὀνοσφαγίαι' (quoted also by schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 49) = Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 25 quis ab Scythis asinos immolari ? non principaliter cum ceteris Apollodorus ? Iuv. 6. 468 f. illo lacte fovetur | propter quod secum comites educit asellas, | exul Hyperboreum si dimittatur ad axem. Ant. Lib. 20, writing in *s.* ii A.D. or later (*infra* Append. M *med.*), cites from the *Ornithogonia* of 'Boios' (G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 633 f.) and from the epic *Apollon* by Simmias of Rhodes (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 92 f., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 952) the story of Kleinis, which may be summarised as follows :—Near Babylon lived a man called Kleinis, a wealthy owner of oxen, asses, and sheep. Favoured by Apollon and Artemis, he often went with them to the temple of Apollon among the Hyperboreoi, where he saw the asses being sacrificed to the god. On reaching Babylon again he too was minded to offer a similar hecatomb at Apollon's altar. But Apollon came and threatened to kill him, unless he desisted and returned to his usual sacrifice of goats, sheep, and oxen, saying that the asses pleased him only if offered by the Hyperboreoi. So Kleinis drove the asses from the altar, and told all this to the children whom Harpe had borne him—Lykios, Ortygios, Harpasos, and Artemiche. Thereupon Lykios and Harpasos bade him to sacrifice the asses and enjoy the feast ; Ortygios and Artemiche, to hearken to Apollon. He followed the advice of the latter. But Harpasos and Lykios let the asses go, and drove them to the altar. At this the god sent madness upon the beasts, which devoured the young men and their servants, and Kleinis into the bargain. As they perished they called upon the gods. Poseidon in pity turned Harpe and Harpasos into the birds that bear their names. Leto and Artemis resolved to save Kleinis, Artemiche, and Ortygios, as being innocent persons. Apollon therefore, to pleasure Leto and Artemis, transformed Kleinis into a *ὑψιαλετος* (a large, dark eagle of the sort that slays fawns), Lykios into a *κόραξ* (a raven, white at first, but black later when it announced that Koronis daughter of Phlegyas had married Alkyoneus), Artemiche into a *πίφιγξ* (a lark ?), and Ortygios into an *αἰγίθαλλος* (a titmouse).

In the Amphictionic law of 380 B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1688, 14 f. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 545, 14 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 702, 14 f. = J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 643 ff. no. 2501, 14 f. = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 191 ff. no. 70, 14 f. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 75, 14 f. καὶ τὰ ἱερήϊα ἀθρόα συναγόντων τὸς ὄνος τῶν δοκιμ[ασθέντων ἀποδόντες, ὁ δὲ ἐπὶ τὰν ἐκ]ατόμβαν δ[ρ]κον ὀμόσας εἴπερ τοὶ ἱερομνάμονες δοκιμαξέτω) the words τὸς ὄνος—as H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica* Gottingae 1843 p. 484 ff. pointed out—have nothing to do with asses (ὄνους), but with the prices (ὤνους) of the victims approved for sacrifice.

The Muse is never absent from their haunt,
But, while the virgin dancers circling chant,
Lutes lift their sound,
Flutes echo round.
With golden bay they bind the brow
And glad at heart go revelling now.
No fell disease, no cursed age
Can spoil the pilgrims' heritage,
Who free at last from weary fight
And far from Nemesis' despite
Dwell safe at home.
Thither did Danaë's son of valiant soul,
Guided by great Athena to his goal,
To join the band of all the blessed come.

Notice two points. On the one hand, when Pindar speaks of a 'wondrous way'—neither sea nor land—leading to a blissful abode free from disease and old age, he means beyond all reasonable doubt the Elysian track elsewhere described by him as 'the road of Zeus' or 'the gleaming way[1],' in a word the Galaxy. This actually passes through the constellation Perseus[2], an astronomical fact which explains the part played by that hero in the myth. On the other hand, the sacrifice of asses suggests an earthly rather than a heavenly location. Asses were slain for Ares by various tribes[3], including the inhabitants of Karmania[4], and for Priapos by the Lampsacenes[5]. They were further connected with Dionysos, Silenos, the Satyrs, etc.[6] These deities one and all emanate from the Thraco-Phrygian area. And, if the Tarentines sacrificed an ass to the Winds[7], it was presumably to the Etesian Winds which blew down the Adriatic from the north-west[8]. The ass, however, was unknown to the Scythians[9] and is but a stranger in central Europe[10]. We may therefore provisionally assume that those who habitually offered this beast to Apollon dwelt in or near Thrace.

The same curious bilocation of the Hyperborean realm appears in

[1] *Supra* p. 36 f.
[2] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 4. 7.
[3] Cornut. *theol.* 21 p. 41, 9 ff. Lang.
[4] Strab. 727 (quoted *supra* i. 746 n. 2).
[5] Ov. *fast.* 1. 391 ff., 6. 345 f., Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 21, Myth. Vat. 3. 6. 26.
[6] I have collected a good deal of the evidence in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 81—102 ('The Cult of the Ass'). See also L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 pp. 228—242, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1311 n. 3, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 652 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 267, 269 f.
[7] Hesych. *s.v.* ἀνεμώτας, *et. mag.* p. 103, 33 f.
[8] Cp. Timaios *frag.* 94 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 215 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 60. *Infra* § 7 (a).
[9] Hdt. 4. 28, 129, Aristot. *hist. an.* 8. 25. 605 a 20 ff., *de gen. an.* 2. 8. 728 a 22 ff., Strab. 307. See further F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 631 f., 654.
[10] Schrader *Reallex.* p. 205 f., S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 158.

other allusions of Pindar and his younger contemporary Bakchylides. A Pindaric poem cited by Strabo[1] spoke of the Hyperboreoi as 'living for a thousand years'—a view shared by Simonides[2] (556—468 B.C.), Megasthenes[3] (*c.* 300 B.C.), and others. Again, Bakchylides[4] made the Delian Apollon transport Kroisos and his daughter straight from the pyre to the Hyperboreoi; on which Sir R. C. Jebb[5] justly observes that the Hyperborean land is conceived as a paradise for pious mortals, like the Homeric Elysian Plain or the post-Homeric Islands of the Blest. But, if these passages imply that the Hyperboreoi lived in a celestial country to be reached by no ordinary route, Pindar's third *Olympian*[6], written for Theron of Akragas in 476 B.C., insists with equal clearness that they had a terrestrial abode in the Balkans. Herakles, pursuing the hind with golden horns, 'had seen the far-off land beyond the cold blast of Boreas,' had marvelled at its trees, and had been filled with desire to plant them at the end of the Olympic race-course. The poet in the context identifies this Hyperborean region with 'the Istrian land,' where 'Leto's horse-driving daughter' (Artemis) had welcomed the hero. It was 'from the shady springs of Istros' that he brought the olive to Olympia, 'after he had gotten it by persuading the servants of Apollon, to wit the folk of the Hyperboreoi.'

The account here given by Pindar is not free from difficulty. My friend Sir W. Ridgeway has argued that the hind with golden horns is due to a reminiscence of the reindeer, since in no other species of deer are antlers borne by the female[7]. This contention is supported by Sir James Frazer, who points out that in north-eastern Russia there is an annual celebration known as the 'Feast of the Golden-reindeer-horn[8].' The hypothesis is indeed attractive, though by no means secure. The attribution of horns to female deer was a blunder common to Greek[9], Latin[10], and Hebrew[11] writers. And we

[1] Pind. *frag.* 257 Bergk[4] *ap.* Strab. 711.

[2] Simonides *frag.* 197 Bergk[4] *ap.* Strab. 711.

[3] Megasthenes *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 423 f. Müller) *ap.* Strab. 711.

[4] Bakchyl. 3. 58 ff. [5] Sir R. C. Jebb on Bakchyl. 3. 59.

[6] Pind. *Ol.* 3. 13—34.

[7] Sir W. Ridgeway 'The Hind with the Golden Horns' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society 1894* p. 14 f., reported in *The Academy* 1894 xlvi. 404 and in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1894 ix. 571 f., *id. The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 360—363. For the zoölogical facts see *e.g.* R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894 ii. 369.

[8] Sir J. G. Frazer *ap.* Sir W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 363.

[9] Anakreon *frag.* 51 Bergk[4], 52 Hiller—Crusius, Simonides *frag.* 30 Bergk[4], 15 Hiller—Crusius, Soph. *Aleadai frag.* 86 Nauck[2], 89 Jebb, Eur. *frag.* 857 Nauck[2], Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 75, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3. 52. [10] Val. Flacc. 6. 71.

[11] S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* ed. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 236.

can hardly think that in every such case they were describing a reindeer or copying the peculiarity of the Cerynean hind[1]. Besides, the oldest known representation of the 'hind,' that on a 'sail'-*fibula* of the Geometric period, makes it an unmistakable male[2]. If, however, we accept Sir W. Ridgeway's explanation and with him suppose that Herakles travelled as far north as the Hercynian Forest, where reindeer were still to be seen in Caesar's day[3], it becomes impossible to believe that the hero fetched thence the wild olive, which is essentially a southern, not a northern plant[4]. Pindar, confessedly an innovator in matters of mythology, may well have combined the myth that Herakles cut his club from a wild-olive on the Saronic Gulf and, leaning it against the image of Hermes *Polýgios* at Troizen, caused a wild-olive to spring up there too[5] with the fact that an olive was growing on the grave of the Hyperborean maidens Hyperoche and Laodike in Delos[6]. Be that as it may, Pindar having once stated that Herakles had brought the wild-olive from the land of the Hyperboreoi to Olympia, others would repeat the statement[7] and it would be widely believed.

But at this point L. Weniger[8] has done good service by insisting on the local tradition of the Olympic seers[9] preserved by Phlegon of Tralleis, who wrote his chronological compendium in the first half of *s.* ii. A.D.[10] According to Phlegon[11], for the first five Olympiads no victor received a wreath; but, on the occasion of the sixth contest, the Eleans sent their King Iphitos to Delphoi, that he might ask of the god whether wreaths should be awarded, and the god made answer:

[1] A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 89 Jebb.

[2] W. N. Bates 'Two labours of Heracles on a Geometric fibula' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 1 ff., especially p. 8 with fig. 4.

[3] Caes. *de bell. Gall.* 6. 26. This and other classical references to reindeer are collected by O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 279—281. See also Schrader *Reallex.* p. 373 f. and W. W. Hyde 'The curious animals of the Hercynian Forest' in *The Classical Journal* 1917—18 xiii. 234 ff. ('The Reindeer').

[4] On the range of the olive see V. Hehn *Kulturpflanzen und Hausthiere in ihrem Übergang aus Asien nach Griechenland und Italien sowie in das übrige Europa*[6] Berlin 1894 p. 101 ff. (trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1888 p. 88 ff.), Schrader *Reallex.* p. 588.

[5] Paus. 2. 31. 10.

[6] Hdt. 4. 34 ἐπιπέφυκε δέ οἱ (*sc.* τῷ σήματι) ἐλαίη.

[7] Paus. 5. 7. 7.

[8] L. Weniger *Der heilige Ölbaum in Olympia* Weimar 1895 p. 2 f.

[9] Phlegon *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 f. Müller) ὦ Πελοποννήσου ναέται περὶ (παρὰ Synkell. *chron.* 196 B (i. 369 Dindorf), cp. Euseb. *chron.* 1 (i. 191, 29 ff. Schoene)) βωμὸν ἱόντες | θύετε καὶ πείθεσθε τά κεν μάντεις ἐνέπωσιν, | Ἠλείων πρόπολοι, πατέρων νόμον ἰθύνοντες = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 21 (reading περιβώμ' ἰόντες).

[10] Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* iii. 337, Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 806.

[11] Phlegon *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 f. Müller) Ἴφιτε, μήλειον καρπὸν μὴ θῇς ἐπὶ νίκῃ, | ἀλλὰ τὸν ἄγριον ἀμφιτίθει καρπώδη ἐλαιῶν, | ὃς νῦν ἀμφέχεται λεπτοῖσιν ὑφάσμασ' ἀράχνης = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 23.

Iphitos, make not the fruit of an apple the prize of thy contest;
But on the victor's head set a fruitful wreath of wild olive,
Even the tree now girt with the fine-spun webs of a spider.

The king, on returning to Olympia, found that one among the many wild-olives in the precinct was wrapped in spiders' webs. So he walled it round and wreathed the victors from its branches. The first to gain the wreath was Daïkles the Messenian, who won the foot-race in the seventh Olympiad (752 B.C.)[1]. The spiders' webs, since they portended rain[2], marked out one tree as specially fertile. But the point to notice is that in this old priestly narrative there were many wild-olives growing in the precinct. The tree was an indigenous product, no importation from a foreign land, least of all from the far north.

Nevertheless the belief that Herakles had introduced a tree from the north to Olympia is supported by both ritual and myth. Only, the tree in question was not the wild-olive but the white-poplar. Pausanias[3] says:

'The Eleans are wont to use logs of white-poplar, and of no other tree, for their sacrifices to Zeus. They honour the white-poplar thus, I imagine, simply because Herakles brought it to Hellas from the Thesprotian land. It struck me, too, that Herakles himself, when he offered sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia, burnt the thigh-pieces of the victims on logs of white-poplar. Herakles found the white-poplar growing beside the Acheron, the river in Thesprotia; and on this account—they say—the tree is called by Homer *acheroïs*[4]. It would seem, then, that of old, as at the present day, different rivers suited different plants and trees. Thus tamarisks are most numerous and flourishing on the banks of the

[1] Cp. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 71 Δαΐκλῆς Μεσήνιος, Euseb. *chron.* 1 (i. 195, 4 and 196, 4 Schoene) vii. Darkles Mesenius, in stadio: [Ἐ]ββδόμη. Διοκλῆς Μεσήνιος, στάδιον.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 84 iidem sereno non texunt, nubilo texunt, ideoque multa aranea imbrium signa sunt. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1216 n. 1 cp. Paus. 2. 25. 10 ἔστι δὲ ὄρος ὑπὲρ τῆς Λήσσης τὸ Ἀραχναῖον,...βωμοὶ δέ εἰσιν ἐν αὐτῷ Διός τε καὶ Ἥρας· δεῆσαν ὄμβρου σφίσιν ἐνταῦθα θύουσι.

[3] Paus. 5. 14. 2 f.

[4] *Il.* 13. 389 = 16. 482 with schol. A.B.D. *Il.* 13. 389 ἀχερωΐς· ἡ λεύκη, παρὰ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Ἀχέροντος ποταμοῦ τῶν καταχθονίων κομισθῆναι αὐτὴν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους, στεψαμένου αὐτὴν ἐπὶ τῇ Κερβέρου νίκῃ, schol. T. *Il.* 13. 389 ἡ λεύκη· ταύτην γὰρ ἀνήγαγεν Ἡρακλῆς ἐξ Ἀχέροντος· οἱ δὲ τὴν αἴγειρον, καὶ "ἀχελωΐς" γράφουσιν, ἐπεί φησιν "αἰγείρων ὑδατοτρεφέων" (*Od.* 17. 208). ὅτι δὲ μέγας ἦν, ἀλλαχοῦ φησι "μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον οὐδὲ φέβοντο" (*Il.* 12. 136), schol. A.D. *Il.* 16. 482 ἀχερωΐς· δένδρον δ καλεῖται λεύκη. ἔνιοι δὲ φηγοῦ εἶδος εἶπον αὐτήν (see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 297), schol. L. *Il.* 16. 482 ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀχέροντος γὰρ ἀνήχθη παρὰ τοῦ Ἡρακλέους. διὰ τοῦτο καὶ ἄκαρπος καὶ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἀφωσ<σιωμένη ἦν>. See further Harpokr. *s.v.* λεύκη = Souid. *s.v.* λεύκη, *et. mag.* p. 180, 49 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 938, 61 ff.

The ancient derivation is rejected by modern philologists (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 147 f., Schrader *Reallex.* p. 205, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 69, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 107, H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1907 ii. 622, S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 194).

Maiandros; reeds grow tallest in the Boeotian Asopos; and the *perseia*-tree loves no water but the water of the Nile. Similarly with regard to the white-poplar, the poplar, and the wild-olive, it was natural enough for the white-poplar to grow first on the banks of the Acheron, for the wild-olive to do the same on the banks of the Alpheios, and for the poplar to be nurtured by the land of the Keltoi and the Celtic Eridanos.'

Fig. 363.

The interpolator of Servius' commentary on Virgil has preserved a more romantic version[1]. Leuke, the daughter of Okeanos, was loved by Plouton and carried off to the Underworld, where she spent

[1] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 7. 61 (probably derived from the commentary of Aelius Donatus).

her days and in due course died. Plouton from love of her bade a white-poplar (*leúke*) to spring up in the Elysian fields. It was from this tree that Herakles on his return from the nether regions plucked a wreath. Other authorities add a few details[1]. Herakles, when he dragged Kerberos from below, saw the white-poplar growing beside the Acheron, marvelled at its beauty, wreathed himself with it, brought it to the Upperworld, and showed it to Helios. The myth was already current in the fourth century B.C., to judge from a Scopaic type of the hero wearing his poplar-wreath (fig. 363)[2]. The wreath of white-poplar, thus associated with Herakles[3], was awarded to victors in the Rhodian Tlapolemeia, a festival commemorating Herakles' son Tlepolemos[4], if not Herakles himself[5]. Some would have it, however, that the festival belonged to Helios[6]; and natives of the island spoke of the white-poplar as 'Helios' wreath[7].' Virgil, describing the cult of Hercules at the Ara Maxima,

[1] Eratosthenes (?) *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 121 (p. 290, 7 ff. Wendel), interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 134, schol. A. B. D. *Il.* 13. 389, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 938, 63 f. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 2. 66 (cod. G.) has a curious variant: populum significat arborem, quia de populo fuit corona, quam portavit Hercules circa suum caput in infernum. ipse alibi: *Herculea bicolor* (*Aen.* 8. 276). Arnepolis civitas (? cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* "Αρνη· ...τρίτη Μεσοποταμίας. ?? = *Arneburg* (H. Oesterley *Historisch-geographisches Wörterbuch des deutschen Mittelalters* Gotha 1883 p. 27)) a Babyloniis Herculem pro tempore colere dicitur. idcirco hanc arborem ei dedicatam populum dicunt. huius folia noctis et lucis imaginem declarant, nec alia causa clavam ei adsignant, quanquam (*leg.* quam quod) sit inaequalibus vulneribus, per quam dierum inaequalitas intelligitur. Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 276 *Herculea populus*; Herculi consecrata, qui, cum ad inferos descendens fatigaretur labore, dicitur de hac arbore corona facta caput velasse: unde foliorum pars temporibus cohaerens et capiti (P. Burman cj. ex capitis *vel* capitis) albuit sudore (abluit sudorem cod. Sangall. alba sudore cod. Guelf. 1), pars vero exterior propter inferorum colorem nigra permansit.

[2] The best preserved example of the type (on which see B. Graef 'Herakles des Skopas und Verwandtes' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 189—226 with pl. 8 f. and illustrations in text) is the bust from Genzano in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 93 no. 1731 pl. 5, 2. My fig. 363 is from P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 55 f. pl. 5, 2. Fine Parian marble. Height 0·40^{m}). To the bibliography given by Mr A. H. Smith add Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 24 ff. fig. 142, a—c, H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 479 f. pl. 211 (left), Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 71 Stanze terrene a dritta 1. 23 pl. 13, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 257 no. 405, 520 no. 919, 525 no. 926, A. H. Smith *British Museum: Marbles and Bronzes* London 1914 p. 6 pl. 21.

[3] Theokr. 2. 121 with schol. *ad loc.*, Verg. *ecl.* 7. 61, *georg.* 2. 66, *Aen.* 8. 276 f. with Serv. *ad loc.*, Ov. *her.* 9. 64, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 3, Phaedr. 3. 17. 4, Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 147.

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 145 Τληπολέμεια. *οἱ δὲ* Ἡράκλεια· *κ.τ.λ.* But the two festivals were distinct: see Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 450 f., 462 f.

[6] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 146 citing Istros *frag.* 60 b (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 427 Müller).

[7] *Frag. com. adesp.* (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 746 ff., v. 52 f. Meineke) *ap.* Dikaiarch. 1. 5 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 100 Müller) *ὅταν δὲ τὴν λεύκην τις αὐτῶν πραέως | ἁλιακὸν εἶναι στέφανον εἴπῃ, πνίγομαι* | *κ.τ.λ.* Large bronze coins issued at Rhodes between 88 and 43 B.C. have *obv.* head of Helios, radiate, facing; *rev.* full-blown rose to front, within a wreath (*Brit.*

makes the Salii chant his exploits 'their brows bound with branches of poplar[1],' though later usage prescribed wreaths of bay[2]. It was perhaps as followers of Herakles that successful athletes in Kos[3] and at Athens[4] wore white-poplar. But the practice has ultimately a chthonian significance. The white-poplar, 'the finest tree which grows in modern Greece[5],' had in ancient times a variety of

Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 261 nos. 342 pl. 41, 3 (=my fig. 364), 343 (=my fig. 365), 344, 345 pl. 41, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 444 no. 80, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 641 f.). This wreath, formerly said to be of vine-leaves (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vii. 1039), is now commonly described as an oak-wreath; and such it might possibly be (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 418 fig. 17). But our passage rather suggests that it is intended for the wreath of white-poplar sacred to the Rhodian Helios. Mr E. S. G. Robinson, who at my request kindly compared the specimens in the British Museum with some actual leaves of white-poplar, reports (June 24, 1921): 'I have looked at the coins of Rhodes you mention and have

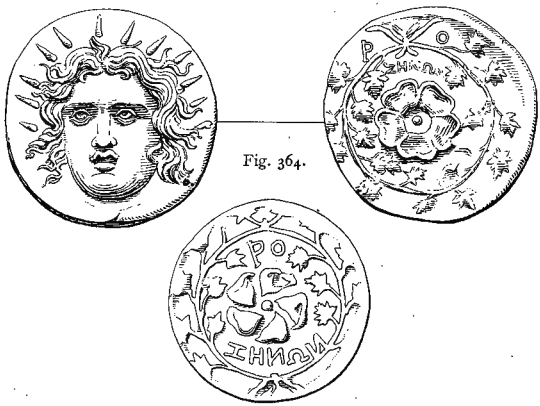


Fig. 364.

Fig. 365.

little doubt that the leaves of the wreath are meant for white poplar and not for oak, as you will see from the two enclosed casts; they (the leaves) are not drawn with any great care, but the essential difference between the oak and poplar (the pyramidical shape of the latter) seems to have been observed.'

A certain sympathy between the white-poplar and Helios is attested by the belief that the olive, the white-poplar, and the willow turn their leaves at the solstice (Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 46=Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 108. Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 87 and 18. 266 f. adds the elm and the linden).

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 8. 285 ff.

[2] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 276, Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 12. 1 ff. See further R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2926 f.

[3] Theokr. 2. 120 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*

[4] Aristoph. *nub.* 1007.

[5] So Dr W. Leaf in his note on *Il.* 13. 389. Cp. E. Step *Wayside and Woodland Trees* London 1905 p. 55: 'The White Poplar...grows into a large tree, something between sixty and a hundred feet high.'

names derived from the light-coloured under-surface of its leaves[1]. The striking effect of light combined with dark was, at least in part, the reason why the tree was assigned to the limbo between the Upperworld and the Underworld. As having no fruit, also, it was appropriate to the realm beyond[2]. It was 'chthonian[3],' 'sacred to Hades[4],' 'dedicate to the dead[5].' Hence, according to Harpokration[6] (*s.*ii(?)[7] A.D.), its use in the rites of the chthonian Dionysos[8]. A similar explanation might be given of the fact that, at Olympia, persons wishing to sacrifice to Pelops had to obtain wood of the white-poplar from the 'woodman' (*xyleús*)[9] attached to the cult of Zeus[10]. When Idmon, son of Apollon and seer of the Argonauts, died, his brows were bound with its white leafage[11]. Aquites the Colchian, 'consecrated to the waters of the land and priest of the mighty Phasis,' wore a wreath of white-poplar[12], perhaps because poplars fringed the river where it flowed past Phrixos' tomb to the sea[13]. Finally, Polyphemos, son of the Lapith Elatos, who married

[1] O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 42: 'Die "Silberpappel" führte im Griechischen ihren Namen nach der "weiss schimmernden" Farbe ihrer Blätter: sie hiess λεύκη, ἀλφινία [Hesych. ἀλφινία· ἡ λεύκη. Περῥαιβοί] (von ἀλφο- "weiss," ἀλφός "weisser Fleck," lat. *albus*), λύγδη [Hesych. λύγδη· τὸ δένδρον, ἡ λεύκη] (λυκ- schwache Form zu λευκ-), φαυλία [Hesych. φαυλία· εἶδος ἐλαίας. οἱ δὲ τὰς λεύκας. φαύλια· μῆλα τὰ μεγάλα] (von φαυ- "glänzen" in φαῦ-σις, πι-φαύ-σκω etc.). Wenn also ihr makedonischer Name ἄλιζα· ἡ λεύκη τὸ δένδρον Hes[ych]. (überl. τῶν δένδρων: verbessert v. GUYETUS) griechisch wäre, so würden wir seinen Stamm in der Bedeutung "schimmern" im Griechischen zu finden erwarten. Das ist bis jetzt nicht der Fall.'

J. Britten—R. Holland *A Dictionary of English Plant-names* London 1884 iii. 600 have compiled the following list: 'POPULUS ALBA, L. Abbey, Abbey-tree, Abel, Abele, Arbeal, Arbell, Asp (White), Aspen (Great), Awbel, Beech (Dutch), Dutch Arbel, Peplar (White), Poplar (White, Silver), White-bark.' *Abele* and its various deformations are derived from the late Latin *albellus*, a diminutive of *albus* (J. A. H. Murray *A New English Dictionary* Oxford 1888 i. 15).

[2] Schol. *Od.* 10. 510.

[3] Harpokr. *s.v.* λεύκη·...αὐτοχθόνιον (*leg.* διὰ τὸ χθόνιον) μὲν εἶναι τὸ φυτόν = Souid. *s.v.* λεύκη·...διὰ τὸ χθόνιον μὲν εἶναι τὸ φυτόν.

[4] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 938, 64 f. ὡς ἄκαρπος δὲ ἡ ἀχερωὶς τῷ "Αιδῃ ἀνάκειται.

[5] Schol. L. *Il.* 16. 482 (*supra* p. 467 n. 4).

[6] Harpokr. *s.v.* λεύκη = Souid. *s.v.* λεύκη.

[7] Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 325 f.

[8] *Supra* i. 392 n. 4.

[9] Cp. *Olympia* v. 143 ff. no. 62, 12 f. Ὀλύμπιχος Ƨ (= Ὀλυμπίχου) | ξυλεύς, 147 ff. no. 64, 31 f. (= Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 612, 31 f.) ξυλεύς | Εὔθυμος Σωτίωνος Με., 221 ff. no. 121, 27 f. ξυλεύς | Ἀνείκητος, 223 f. no. 122, 23 ξυλεύς· Ἀνείκητος, 225 f. no. 124, 9 f. [ξυ]λεύς |.....s Δι[ός].

[10] Paus. 5. 13. 3. The Pelopion had been founded by Herakles, who sacrificed into the pit (*bóthros*) for Pelops. The annual magistrates kept up the sacrifice, the victim being a black ram, the neck of which was given to the woodman (*xyleús*). Whoever, either of the Eleans or of strangers, ate the flesh of the victim sacrificed to Pelops might not enter the temple of Zeus (*ib.* 2—3). See further Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

[11] Val. Flacc. 5. 10 f. [12] Val. Flacc. 6. 294 ff. [13] Val. Flacc. 5. 184 ff.

Laonome a sister of Herakles[1] and fell fighting in the land of the Chalybes, had a burial mound near the sea beneath a tall white-poplar[2].

If the white-poplar was thus regarded as a Borderland tree, the black-poplar was even more closely connected with the Otherworld. The woods of Persephone on the further side of Okeanos consisted of 'tall black-poplars and willows that shed their fruit[3].' When Teukros quitted Salamis to seek a new home across the water, 'he is said to have bound his brows with a poplar-wreath[4].' When Aeneas on the anniversary of his father's death held a contest for ships, the Trojan crews were 'veiled with poplar-leafage[5].' Varro was buried in an earthenware coffin 'after the manner of the Pythagoreans on leaves of myrtle, olive, and black-poplar[6].' And the place where Augustus' body had been burnt on the Campus Martius was enclosed by an iron fence and planted with black-poplars[7].

Nor can we in this context ignore the myth of the Heliades. Virgil, it is true, in his *Eclogues* transforms these sisters of Phaethon into alders[8]: but in his *Aeneid* he, like the great majority of Latin writers, speaks of them as poplars[9]; and the Greeks almost with one consent[10] call them black-poplars[11]. As such they appear in their

[1] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1241. Cod. Paris. has Λαονόην for Λαονόμην.

[2] Ap. Rhod. 4. 1475 ff. Cp. E. B. Browning *Rhyme of the Duchess May* i. 2. 1 'Six abeles i' the kirkyard grow,' iii. 2. 1 'The abeles moved in the sun.'

[3] *Od.* 10. 509 f., cp. Paus. 10. 30. 6.

[4] Hor. *od.* 1. 7. 21 ff. Porphyrion *ad loc.* bene, non qualibet sed *populea corona*, propter fortitudinem animi; nam haec arbos in tutela Herculis est. But we have no right to assume that *populus* means *populus alba*. W. Hirschfelder in his note on *od.* 1. 7. 22 f. makes the same assumption.

[5] Verg. *Aen.* 5. 134. Serv. and interp. Serv. *ad loc.* drag in Hercules, and even Hebe, to explain 'cetera *populea* velatur *fronde inventus*'!

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 160.

[7] Strab. 236. See further O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 250 f., H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 620.

[8] Verg. *ecl.* 6. 62 f. tum Phaethontiadas musco circumdat amarae (so Diomed. *art. gramm.* 2 p. 453, 35 f. Keil amaro cod. R.) | corticis atque solo proceras erigit alnos. G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2192 says: 'diese gesuchte Abweichung ist wohl auf *Cornelius Gallus* zurückzuführen.' In Germ. *Arat.* 365 f. hunc, nova silva, | planxere *ignotis maestae Phaethontides ulnis* P. Burman cj. *enatis versae Phaethontides alnis*, which is ingenious, but unnecessary, cp. Avien. *Arat. phaen.* 793 f. illum prolixis durae Phaethontides ulnis | planxerunt.

[9] Verg. *Aen.* 10. 190 with Serv. *ad loc.*, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 152 and 154, Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 31, Val. Flacc. 5. 429, Myth. Vat. 1. 118, 2. 57 (in arbores commutatae sunt alnos, vel, ut alii dicunt, in populos).

For a numismatic representation of Phaethon's sisters as larches (?) see *supra* p. 402 n. 0.

[10] The only exception is schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 732 ἐν δὲ τῷ Ἡριδανῷ αἱ Ἡλιάδες κόραι τὸν Φαέθοντα δακρύουσαι εἰς φηγοὺς μετεβλήθησαν.

[11] Schol. H. Q. V. *Od.* 17. 208 (ἡ δὲ ἱστορία παρὰ τοῖς τραγικοῖς), Ap. Rhod. 4. 603 ff.

earliest extant representation, that of an Arretine mould acquired in 1898 by the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston. A cast taken from the mould (fig. 366)[1] shows a relief, signed by Bargates a slave of the potter M. Perennius, which subdivides into two distinct scenes. On the right we see Phaethon fallen from the solar car. One wheel of it lies beside him. The other is collected, as Valerius Flaccus says[2], by Tethys the wife of Okeanos, his grandmother[3]. Helios[4], on horseback with a spare horse at his side, has already caught two of the chariot-team by the reins and will next turn his attention to the remaining pair, of which one rears high in the air, the other collapses on the ground. The scene is completed by the cause of Phaethon's fall—Zeus in the act of hurling his bolt, accompanied by Artemis, whose arrow would avenge the wrong done to Apollon, and by Iris[5], whose outstretched arms hold a fillet suggestive of a rainbow spanning the storm. On the left is the transformation of Phaethon's sisters. One of them has been completely metamorphosed into a tree, from whose branches large leaves of black-poplar are sprouting. The other two are stiffening into the shape of Caryatids[6] as they endeavour with uplifted hand to free themselves from the branches visible above them. In this last desperate effort they and their vanished sister are helped by three young men, in all probability their brothers[7],

with schol. *ad loc.*, Diod. 5. 23, Strab. 215, Dionys. *per.* 288 ff. with Eustath. *ad loc.*, Loukian. *de salt.* 55, *de electro* 1 ff., Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 11, Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 81 = Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἠλεκτρίδες νῆσοι, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 152 ff., *append. prov.* 3. 8 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. W. Schneidewin *Paroemiographi Graeci* Gottingae 1839 i. 416 f.), Hesych. *s.v.* ἤλεκτρος, *et. mag.* pp. 425, 18 ff., 427, 6 ff.

[1] E. Robinson in the *Annual Report of the Museum of Fine Arts Boston* 1898 xxiii. 89 no. 63 (diameter 0·19^{m}, height 0·08^{m}), P. Hartwig 'Eine Aretinische Gefässform mit Scenen aus der Phaethonsage' in *Philologus* 1899 lviii. 481—497 with pl. (=my fig. 366), H. Goez 'Zu der Aretinischen Gefässform mit Scenen aus der Phaethonsage' *ib.* 1901 lx. 478 f., G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2195—2197 fig. 1, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 483 f. fig. 218, F. Oswald—T. D. Pryce *An Introduction to the Study of Terra Sigillata* London 1920 p. 7.

[2] Val. Flacc. 5. 431.

[3] Phaethon was the son of Helios by the Oceanid Klymene (G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2177). E. Robinson *loc. cit.* took the figure of Tethys to be 'possibly one of the Heliades.' F. Hauser (*Philologus* 1899 lviii. 485 n. 5) suggested Nemesis (*supra* i. 269 ff., 276). The right interpretation was first given by P. Hartwig *loc. cit.*

[4] So P. Hartwig *loc. cit.*: certainly not 'Phaethon...vainly trying to hold his six horses' (E. Robinson *loc. cit.*).

[5] 'Nikê or Iris?' (E. Robinson *loc. cit.*): 'Aura oder Hora' (P. Hartwig *loc. cit.* with express reservation): 'eine geflügelte Frauengestalt, die einen bogenförmig ausgebreiteten Gegenstand emporhält (wohl Andeutung des Himmelsgewölbes)' (G. Knaack *loc. cit.*).

[6] *Supra* p. 402 n. 0.

[7] E. Robinson *loc. cit.* is content to speak of them in each case as a 'youth.' P. Hartwig *loc. cit.*, after weighing the possibility that they may be 'Brüder oder Verwandte der Heliaden,' accepts a suggestion of W. Helbig that they are labourers hacking at the trees to get drops of amber: we are to assume that the ancients confused the method of collecting

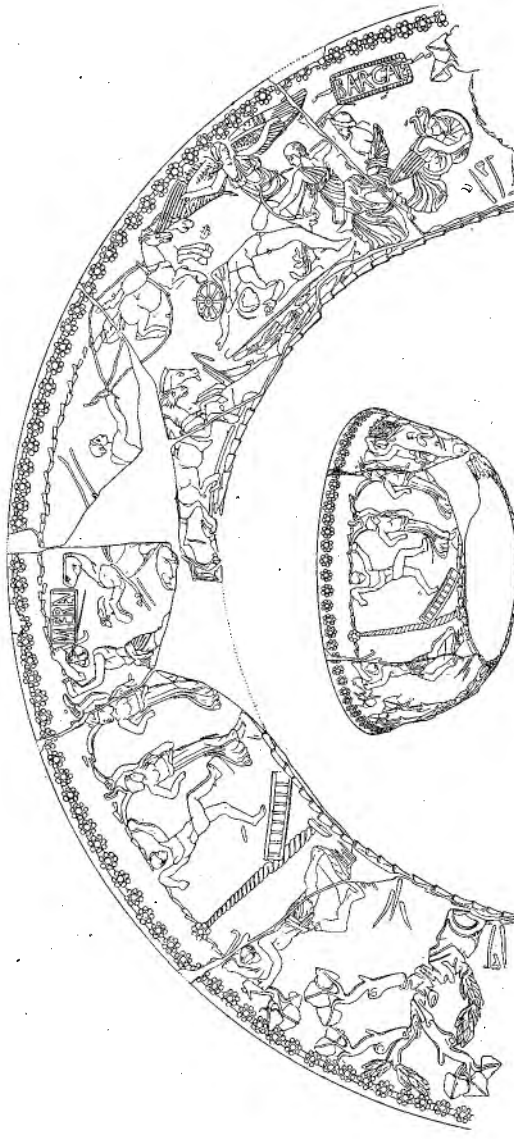


Fig. 366.

who with bill-hooks, or without[1], attempt to lop or rend away the entangling vegetable growth. The centre of the transformation-scene is occupied by a spiral column with a rosette on the top of it and a ladder leaning against it. P. Hartwig[2] and H. Goez[3] draw a sharp contrast between the two scenes of the downfall and the metamorphosis: the former they take to be a rich and harmonious composition implying an artistic prototype[4], the latter a loosely-connected and clumsy row of figures perhaps first put together by Bargates and certainly filled out by him with a mere ornamental column[5]. I do not agree with this estimate. On the one hand, the boasted composition is full of absurdities. Zeus, comfortably seated, is yet hurling a thunderbolt! Helios is on horse-back—a notion that is not Greek[6]. And Artemis is unexampled *dans cette galère*. The fact is that the Arretine potter, not possessed of sufficient genius to invent a new type, is simply using up stock patterns. He has by him a seated Zeus, who will serve for the thunderer. He has a set of neo-Attic dies for the tragedy of the Niobids[7]: three of them can be worked in—Artemis, the dead youth (Phaethon), the fleeing maiden (Tethys). He knows how to represent Troïlos on horse-back: the familiar figure with its spare horse will do for Helios, and the two horses of Troïlos can be duplicated for the captured solar pair. All patch-work! But patch-work, when the patches are Greek, is apt to produce—as it were by a turn of the kaleidoscope—new and satisfactory combinations of old and well-

amber with that of obtaining frankincense (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 9. 4. 4, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 68). H. Goez *loc. cit.* thinks that the youth without the bill-hook, like the two Heliades in front of him, is trying to tear away the fatal poplar-branches, and can hardly be viewed as an amber-collector. G. Knaack *loc. cit.* leaves the question in suspense.

[1] Cp. Ov. *met.* 2. 358 f. (of Clymene) truncis avellere corpora temptat | et teneros manibus ramos abrumpit.

[2] P. Hartwig *loc. cit.* p. 493.

[3] H. Goez *loc. cit.* p. 479.

[4] P. Hartwig *loc. cit.* p. 494 ff. presupposes some toreutic work of the Hellenistic age, inspired by a literary (but *non*-tragic) source, to which Ovid and Valerius Flaccus were likewise indebted.

[5] E. Robinson *loc. cit.*: 'This may have something to do with the subject, but seems more probably introduced to fill the space.' P. Hartwig *loc. cit.* p. 491 f.: 'Die gewundene Säule...halte ich mit Robinson für eine rein ornamentale Zuthat unseres Bargates.' For the twisted column as a favourite *motif* of Arretine ware see H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493.

[6] *Supra* i. 333 n. 5. Yet Eur. *Phaethon frag.* 779, 8 f. Nauck[2] *ap.* Longin. *de sublim.* 15. 4 says of Helios: *πατὴρ δ' ὅπισθε νῶτα σειραίου βεβὼς | ἵππευε παῖδα νουθετῶν· κ.τ.λ.*

[7] F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 73 ff. nos. 104—107 b. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 43 f. fig. 7 shows that these reliefs were originally extracts from a fifth-century representation of Apollon and Artemis slaying the Niobids, probably that carved hy Pheidias on the throne of Zeus at Olympia. For other views see A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 262 f.

known elements. Hence the appreciation of our critics. On the other hand, the transformation of the Heliades is hardly to be dismissed as a group of mechanical or meaningless items. The designer had at his disposal sundry vintage-stamps[1] including a vine-dresser, a ladder, a dancing Satyr[2], and a dancing Maenad[3]. By dexterous repetition of the first and last he has contrived to tell his story, though it must be admitted that the poplar-sprays on the bay-leaved willow-trunk are, as H. Goez protests, a *Naturwunder*[4]. It is noticeable that no indication of locality is given except the twisted column and the ladder. The action, doubtless, takes place on the banks of the Eridanos, a river usually identified with the Padus or the Rhodanus, but also set in the sky as the constellation Eridanus or Flumen[5]. The scene is thus at once earthly and heavenly. Is it a mere coincidence that we have already found both the spiral column[6] and the ladder[7] used as links between earth and heaven? Moreover, we have seen reason to connect the sky-pillar[8] and sky-ladder[9] with the Milky Way. And, with regard to the mythical personages here concerned, it will be remembered, not only that we identified the road up which the Heliades escorted Parmenides as the Milky Way[10], but also that certain Pythagoreans explained the Milky Way as the track made by a star which fell with the falling Phaethon[11].

I am inclined to surmise that the Galaxy at one time played a considerable *rôle* in the myth of Phaethon[12]. There are at least three

[1] For vintage-scenes as part of the Arretine potter's *répertoire* see H. B. Walters *op. cit.* ii. 492 f.

[2] Cp. F. Hauser *op. cit.* pl. 1, 17 (right arm altered).

[3] Cp. F. Hauser *op. cit.* pl. 2, 25 (reversed). The type is derived from the Maenad of Skopas (*supra* i. 666 n. 1).

[4] H. Goez *loc. cit.* p. 478. For examples of composite trees on moulded ware from Roman Gaul see J. Déchelette *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine* Paris 1904 ii. 159 f. nos. 1127—1129.

[5] E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 849, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 446 ff. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 59 states that Phaethon son of Helios was originally called Eridanos, that he was renamed from his fiery fall, and that he gave his previous title to the river in which he fell.

[6] *Supra* p. 107.

[7] *Supra* p. 124 ff.

[8] *Supra* p. 44 ff.

[9] *Supra* p. 124 ff.

[10] *Supra* p. 42 f.

[11] *Supra* pp. 40 n. 4, 43 n. 1.

[12] This myth has been studied in detail by F. Wieseler *Phaethon* Göttingen 1857 pp. 1—74 with figs. 1—12, H. d'Arbois de Jubainville 'Sur les origines de l'ambre, Phaéthon, l'Eridan, les Ligures et les Celtes' in the *Bulletin de la société nationale des antiquaires de France* 1876 pp. 134—142, U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff 'Phaethon' in *Hermes* 1883 xviii. 396—434, C. Robert 'Die Phaethonsage bei Hesiod' *ib.* 1883 xviii. 434—441, M. Mayer 'Excurs über Hygin *fab.* 152 und 154' *ib.* 1885 xx. 135—143, A. Bangert *De fabula Phaethontea* Halis Saxonum 1885 pp. 1—41, G. Knaack *Quaestiones Phaetonteae* Berolini 1886 pp. 1—81, *id.* 'Zur Phaethonsage' in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 637—640, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2175—2202 with figs. 1—3 (the most comprehensive

possibilities. In the first place, the Milky Way was that 'Road of the Birds[1],' along which the swans drew Apollon to the land of the Hyperboreans[2]. This accounts for the intimate relations of *Kýknos*, the 'Swan,' to Phaethon. The Hesiodic (?) version preserved by Hyginus[3] states that Kyknos, king of Liguria, bewailing the fate of his kinsman Phaethon was changed into a swan and chanted his dying song. Similarly Pausanias[4] relates that Kyknos, a musician, became king of the Ligurians inhabiting the Celtic country beyond the Eridanos, and at his death was transformed into the bird by the will of Apollon. Phanokles[5], the Alexandrian elegiast, in his *Erotes* retold the tale and, no doubt, gave it the romantic touch, which is discernible in later allusions[6]. Claudian[7] adds that Phaethon, raised to the sky, became Auriga, and his sisters the Hyades, while

> The Milky Circle sprinkles the spread wings
> Of Cycnus, once his comrade.

Both *Auriga*, the 'Charioteer,' and *Olor*, the 'Swan,' are to be seen nightly on the Milky Way[8]. Lucian in his little work *On Amber or Swans* claims to have visited the Eridanos and lost his illusions. He saw neither poplars nor amber, and the natives had never heard of Phaethon!

'However,' he continues, 'there was one thing I still thought I really should find there, and that was flocks of swans singing on the banks. We were still on the way up, and I applied to the boatmen again: "About what time do the swans take post for their famous musical entertainment?—Apollo's fellow craftsmen, you know, who were changed here from men to birds, and still sing in memory of their ancient art." But they only jeered at me: "Are you going to lie all day about our country and our river, pray?"' Etc., etc.[9]

and compendious treatment of the subject), O. Gruppe 'Aethiopenmythen' in *Philologus* 1889 xlvii. 328—343, S. Eitrem 'De Phaethonte' *ib.* 1899 lviii. 461—464, J. Höpken *Die Fahrt des Phaethon* Emden 1899 p. 1 ff., C. W. Vollgraff *De Ovidii mythopoeia* Berolini 1901 pp. 45—61 ('De fabula Phaethontis'), *id. Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 105—109, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 594 f. See further the bibliography in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2175 f.

[1] *Supra* p. 38.

[2] *Supra* p. 460 ff.

[3] Hyg. *fab.* 154, cp. schol. Strozziana *in* Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 174, 4 ff. Breysig.

[4] Paus. 1. 30. 3.

[5] Phanokles *ap.* Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 2. 4.

[6] Verg. *Aen.* 10. 189 ff. with Serv. *ad loc.*, Ov. *met.* 2. 367 ff. (cp. anon. *miscell.* 6 in A. Westermann ΜΥΘΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1843 p. 347, 32 ff. = ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 222, 13 f.).

[7] Claud. *de vi cons. Honor.* 173 ff. Opinion differed as to the author of these catasterisms. Claud. *loc. cit.* refers them all to Helios (*ib.* 170 Titan). Nonn. *Dion.* 38. 424 ff. makes Zeus set Phaethon in the sky as Auriga, the Eridanos as Flumen. Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 10. 189 says that Kyknos was placed among the stars by Apollon.

[8] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 4. 7 notes that the Milky Way passes through the following constellations: Olor, Perseus, Auriga, Gemini, Procyon, Argo, Centaurus, Scorpio, Sagittarius, Aquila.

[9] Loukian. *de electro* 4 f. trans. H. W. Fowler.

The swan was fair game to the satirist; but its connexion with the myth was never forgotten by ancient art. A fine sardonyx cameo at Florence (fig. 367)[1] shows Phaethon falling from the solar car into the river, which is suggested by the urn upset. Helios[2], a youthful figure on horse-back grasping a torch, gallops up to the rescue. In the foreground Kyknos, a swan already, utters his plaintive cry. The same scene with its suggestion of sudden death followed by new and glorified life was repeated on *sarcophagi* of the second and third centuries A.D.[3] The noblest example is that

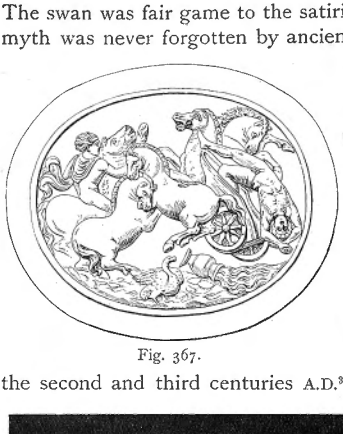


Fig. 367.

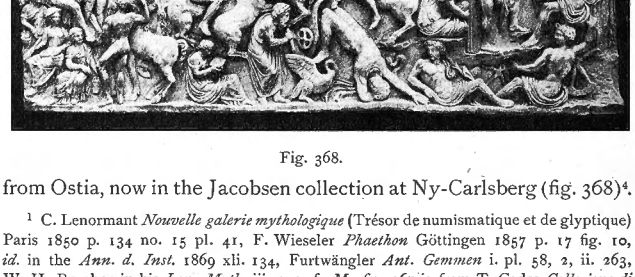


Fig. 368.

from Ostia, now in the Jacobsen collection at Ny-Carlsberg (fig. 368)[4].

[1] C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 134 no. 15 pl. 41, F. Wieseler *Phaethon* Göttingen 1857 p. 17 fig. 10, *id.* in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 134, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 58, 2, ii. 263, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2199 f. My fig. 367 is from T. Cades *Collezione di No.* 1400 *Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa* 1ma. Classe, A 4, 19.

[2] Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 263: 'Es ist der eine der Dioskuren, der Tagesdioskur, identifiziert mit Phosphoros, oder, anders gewendet, Phosphoros im Typus eines Dioskurs.' But see *supra* p. 475 n. 6.

[3] G. Knaack *Quaestiones Phaethonteae* Berolini 1886 pp. 71—77, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2197—2199. F. Wieseler *Phaethon* Göttingen 1857 figs. 1, 2, 4, 5 provides materials for comparative study, but will be superseded some day by a future volume of Robert *Sark.-Reliefs*.

[4] F. Wieseler 'Sarcofago ostiense rappresentante il mito di Fetonte' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 130—144 pl. F, F. Matz in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1870 xxviii. 113 ff., G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2197 ff. fig. 2, G. Lippold in P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 215 f. pl. 153 (=my fig. 368), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 182 no. 2.

On the left we see Phaethon standing before the seated Helios to prefer his request. In front of Helios four youths, the Heliadai[1], hold in readiness the solar steeds. At his back are four maidens, the Horai, characterised as the seasons of the year. The central space is reserved for the central incident, the fall of Phaethon, conceived as on the cameo, except that Helios on horse-back is replaced by the Dioskouroi[2] riding up from left and right, while Kyknos below appears both as an aged man leaning on a staff and as a swan. At his back sits Moira[3] conning the roll of fate. Phaethon falls headlong towards Eridanos, who reclines with a branch over his shoulder and a snake[4] at his side. Beyond him is another reclining male, who holds a large wheel and is best regarded as a personification of the Course[5]. An anchor visible between the two hints at Okeanos. Above sits Helios, his head resting on his hand in a pose of deep dejection, while Hermes brings him the sad news[6]. Behind Helios stands Klymene (?) with a look of grave concern. Behind Hermes are the Heliades, two standing, one seated, in attitudes expressive of their grief[7]. Their transformation is still to come: as mourners they must not anticipate the change.

Secondly, the Milky Way is sometimes viewed as a celestial river, and that not only in Australia[8], Annam[9], China[10],

[1] So P. Hartwig in *Philologus* 1899 lviii. 489. G. Lippold *loc. cit.* is content with 'quatre serviteurs.' Above them are remains of the chariot-pole, and the mantle of Caelus (*supra* i. 59).

[2] See A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1305 f.

[3] Nonn. *Dion.* 38. 166 and 218.

[4] See F. Wieseler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 137.

[5] Cp. *supra* i. 260 n, 3. G. Knaack in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2197 'Auf dem Himmelsgewölbe (vgl. *Matz, bull. dell' inst.* 1869, 67) sitzt Helios...' is on the wrong track. So too is G. Lippold *loc. cit.*, who (after F. Wieseler *loc. cit.*) sees in the two reclining male figures 'des personnifications de la Terre et de la Mer.'

[6] His type is ultimately derived from that of Hermes in the east pediment of the Parthenon (*infra* § 9 (*h*) ii (*θ*)).

[7] All three are modifications of figures F (Hippodameia) and O (the handmaid) in the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia (Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i fig. 77).

[8] R. Andree *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* Stuttgart 1878 p. 110 (the Gingis of New South Wales, tribes on the Darling River).

[9] H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland in *Mélusine* Paris 1884–85 ii. 154.

[10] *Eid. ib.* ii. 154. Prof. H. A. Giles has kindly supplied me (Jan. 18, 1919) with the following detailed information: 'The Milky Way is mentioned three times in the *Odes* edited by Confucius about B.C. 500, but only as a celestial phenomenon.

'The famous traveller, Chang Ch'ien, who brought the grape from Fergana to China, and visited Bactria (B.C. 138), was sent by the Emperor to discover the source of the Yellow River, which was supposed to flow from heaven and to be a continuation of the Milky Way. He sailed up stream for many days until he reached a city where he saw a girl weaving. On his asking what place this was, the girl gave him her shuttle, telling him to show it on his return to a certain astrologer, who would know where he had been. He did so, and the astrologer at once recognized the shuttle as that of the Weaving

Japan[1], Siberia[2], Mesopotamia[3], and Arabia[4], but in Greece itself[5]. Greek peasants in Kypros speak of it as 'the River Jordan' or 'the Shade of the Jordan[6].' Indeed, the southern Greeks in general call it the 'River Jordan[7].' And this name can be traced back for hundreds of years, being found already in the *Apókopos* of Bergades[8], a sixteenth-century poem of lasting popularity[9]. In face of these facts

Damsel (α Lyrae); further declaring that on the day and at the hour when Chang received the shuttle, he had noticed the intrusion of a wandering star between α Lyrae and βγ Aquilae. Thus Chang was actually believed to have sailed upon the bosom of the Milky Way.

'The following names have been given to the Milky Way by the Chinese: The Celestial River. The Silver River. The Celestial Ford. The Bright River. The Red River! The last is an *amnis ruber a non rubendo*; the explanation being that the Milky Way lies to the south of the north pole, and that fire and red are the element and colour, respectively, which have been assigned to the south quarter of the heavens.'

[1] B. H. Chamberlain *Things Japanese* London—Tōkyō 1890 p. 327 f. (a reference given me by my friend Mr H. G. Brand of Tokyo): 'The only fable worth mentioning here in connection with the stars is that which inspires the festival named *Tanabata*. This fable, which is of Chinese origin, relates the loves of a Herdsman and a Weaving-Girl. The Herdsman is a star in Aquila. The Weaver is the star Vega. They dwell on opposite sides of the "Celestial River," or Milky Way, and may never meet but on the seventh night of the seventh moon, a night held sacred to them, strips of paper with poetic effusions in their honour being stuck on stems of bamboo grass and set up in various places. According to one version of the legend, the Weaving-Girl was so constantly kept employed in making garments for the offspring of the Emperor of Heaven—in other words, God—that she had no leisure to attend to the adornment of her person. At last however, God, taking compassion on her loneliness, gave her in marriage to the Herdsman who dwelt on the opposite bank of the river. Hereupon the woman began to grow remiss in her work. God, in his anger, then made her recross the river, at the same time forbidding her husband to visit her oftener than once a year. Another version represents the pair as mortals, who were wedded at the early ages of fifteen and twelve, and who died at the ages of a hundred and three and ninety-nine respectively. After death, their spirits flew up to the sky, where the Supreme Deity bathed daily in the Celestial River. No mortals might pollute it by their touch, except on the seventh day of the seventh moon, when the Deity, instead of bathing, went to listen to the chanting of the Buddhist scriptures.'

[2] R. Andree *op. cit.* p. 110 (the Koryaks of North-East Siberia).

[3] H. Fox Talbot in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1873 ii. 53, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 189, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1493.

[4] H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland *loc. cit.* ii. 156.

[5] Not in Italy. H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland *loc. cit.* ii. 151 give *Fluvius lacteus* as a Latin name of the Milky Way. But this rests on a misunderstanding of Mart. Cap. 15 and 207, where the milky stream is the track of the planet Iupiter: see U. F. Kopp's note on Mart. Cap. 14.

[6] G. Loukas Φιλολογικαὶ ἐπισκέψεις Athens 1874 p. 135, quoted by H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland *loc. cit.* ii. 156.

[7] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 69. Cp. N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 15.

[8] É. Legrand *Bibliothèque grecque vulgaire* Paris 1881 ii. 98 Ἀπόκοπος τοῦ Μπεργαδῆ 87 f. Ἀστράπτει, πέ μας, ἡ βροντῇ, κ' ἂν συννεφιᾷ καὶ βρέχῃ, | καὶ ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς ἂν κυματῇ καὶ τρέχῃ.

[9] É. Legrand *ap.* H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland *loc. cit.* ii. 156 f.

it is permissible to conjecture that the *Eridanós*, which—as I shall subsequently argue[1]—appears to have meant 'River of Life,' was at the outset none other than the Milky Way, and that, when a different conception of this starry phenomenon gained ground and drove out the old appellation, room was still found in the nocturnal sky for the constellation Eridanus[2]. Moreover, if we may rely (as we are fully entitled to do) on the statement of Hyginus[3] that some authorities spoke of this constellation as the Nile, and that many called it Oceanus, certain further consequences immediately present themselves. The Nile is described in the *Odyssey*[4] by the remarkable adjective *Diïpetés*, which properly denotes a river 'that falls in the Zeus,' 'in the clear Sky[5].' This description would apply with strict accuracy only to the Milky Way, but might be extended to all rivers[6] conceived as rillets of that great flood[7]. Pursuing the same line of thought we can hardly avoid another conclusion, *viz.* that 'back-flowing Okeanos[8],' the very 'source of the gods[9],' was not

[1] *Infra* Append. G.

[2] R. Brown *Eridanus: river and constellation* London 1883 p. 44 would connect the Milky Way 'with the heavenly Eridanus, subsequently reduplicated in the particular constellation of that name': cp. *ib.* p. 71.

[3] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32 ERIDANUS. hunc alii Nilum, complures etiam Oceanum esse dixerunt.

[4] *Od.* 4. 477 (=4. 581) Αἰγύπτοιο, Διιπετέος ποταμοῖο with schol. *ad loc.* According to schol. E.H.Q., Ζηνόδοτος...γράφει διειπετέος· διὰ τῆς ει διφθόγγου. *Supra* i. 349 n. 2. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xliv. 162 f., followed by F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 101, would write *διειπετέος*, holding that the dative Διει-, correct in such a formation as Διΐφιλος, forced its way at an early date into other compounds, in which it was incorrect,—*Διΐ-θεμις*, *Διει-τρέφης*, *διει-πετής*. But the locative Δι- in Διιπετής, explained as in the text, gives a perfectly satisfactory meaning. H. Lehmann *Zur Lehre vom Locativ bei Homer* Neustettin 1870 p. 8 renders: 'in der Helle fliessend.'

[5] Cp. the analogous formation Διιπέτης, 'that flies in the Zeus,' 'in the clear Sky' (*h. Aphr.* 4 οἰωνούς τε Διιπέτεας. So H. Ebeling for *διιπετέας* codd. W. Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* Guetersloae 1892 p. 237 f. proposes *διειπετέας*).

[6] Skamandros (*Il.* 21. 268, 326), Spercheios (*Il.* 16. 174), a river in Phaiakia (*Od.* 7. 284), a river in some unidentified locality (Hes. *frag.* 212 Flach, 217 Rzach *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 757), a river in a simile (*Il.* 17. 263). For later developments in the meaning of Διιπετής see Stephanus. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1527 C—1528 B. The earlier significance may perhaps be traced in its application to the thunderbolt (an oracle *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 6. 3. 1=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 146. 23 πυρσῶν αἰώραισι Διιπετέεσσι δαμῆναι, cp. *et. mag.* p. 275, 19).

[7] Cp. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 51 ὁ Νεῖλος, ὃν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ καταφέρεσθαι οἴονται.

[8] *Il.* 18. 399, *Od.* 20. 65, Hes. *theog.* 776 ἀψορρόου Ὠκεανοῖο.

[9] *Il.* 14. 201 and 302 Ὠκεανόν τε θεῶν γένεσιν καὶ μητέρα Τηθύν, cp. *ib.* 245 f. ποταμοῖο ῥέεθρα | Ὠκεανοῦ, ὃς περ γένεσις πάντεσσι τέτυκται, Orph. *h. Okean.* 83. 1 f. Ὠκεανὸν... | ἀθανάτων τε θεῶν γένεσιν θνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων. The use of the word *γένεσις* in this connexion is peculiar, and may imply that Okeanos was at one time regarded as the very seed of the sky-god, giving rise to a whole succession of divine forms (cp. the Tarragona tablet *infra* Append. G *med.*). Certain pundits in antiquity declared that Homer was borrowing from the lore of Egypt, and went about to prove that Okeanos and Tethys were

originally a terrestrial river forming the circumference of a discoidal earth, but, as E. H. Berger[1] has maintained, a celestial stream of stars. I should indeed venture to suppose that in pre-Greek times, before the rise of geographical speculation, the river Okeanos simply meant the Galaxy[2]. F. W. H. Myers[3] with fine imagination pictures the forefather of the human race as he wakes at night and sees—

> Stars in the firmament above him beaming,
> Stars in the firmament, alive and free,
> Stars, and of stars the innumerable streaming,
> Deep in the deeps, a river in the sea.

Thirdly, the Milky Way is on occasion compared with a tree, whose vast trunk can be dimly descried towering through the gloom and branching across the midnight sky. Thus at Nüxei in the Harz district it is called the *Wetterbaum*[4], weather-forecasts being drawn from its appearance[5]. It has been maintained that a similar belief once prevailed in southern Babylonia. A bilingual tablet, consisting of a Sumerian text with an interlinear Semitic translation, brought from the library of Ashurbanipal (668—626 B.C.) at Kouyunjik, contains an incantation[6] rendered by R. Campbell Thompson[7] as follows:

> In Eridu groweth the dark *kiškanû*[8]
> That springeth forth in a place undefiled,
> Whereof the brilliance is shining lapis
> Which reacheth unto Ocean;
> From Ea its way in Eridu
> Is bountiful in luxuriance,
> Where earth is, there is its place,

Osiris and Isis respectively (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 34). The Egyptians believed the Nile, and indeed all moisture, to be Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροήν (*id. ib.* 36), and held that living creatures arose from the river-slime (*frag. lyr. adesp.* (Pind. ?) 84. 14 f. Bergk[4] *ap.* Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 136 Duncker—Schneidewin, Hippys *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 13 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 262, Diod. 1. 10, Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 25, Ov. *met.* 1. 422 ff.).

[1] E. H. Berger *Mythische Kosmographie der Griechen* Leipzig 1904 p. 1 f.

[2] By a curious coincidence the Macusis of British Guiana speak of the Milky Way as *Parana*, 'the Sea' (R. Schomburgk *Reisen in Britisch-Guiana* Leipzig 1848 ii. 328 cited by R. Andree *Ethnographische Parallelen und Vergleiche* Stuttgart 1878 p. 110).

[3] F. W. H. Myers *Saint Paul* London 1887 p. 47.

[4] A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 86.

[5] J. W. Wolf *Beiträge zur deutschen Mythologie* Göttingen 1852 i. 37.

[6] Sir H. C. Rawlinson *Cuneiform Inscriptions of Western Asia* London 1891 iv[2]. 15* rev. col. 1, 53 ff.

[7] R. Campbell Thompson *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* London 1903 i pp. liii—lxiii, 200 ff., *id. Semitic Magic* London 1908 p. liii. See also O. Weber *Die Literatur der Babylonier und Assyrer* (*Der Alte Orient* 2. Ergänzungsband) Leipzig 1907 p. 173 f.

[8] Mr H. H. W. Pearson of the Royal Gardens at Kew suggests one of the tragacanth-bearing varieties of *astragalus*.

And the Couch of the Goddess Id its home.
In an undefiled dwelling like a forest grove
Its shade spreadeth abroad, and none may enter in.
In its depths (are) Shamash and Tammuz.
* * * * *
At the confluence of two streams
The gods Ka-Hegal, Shi-Dugal, (and) ... of Eridu
[Have gathered] this *kiškanû*, [and over the man]
Have performed the Incantation of the Deep,
(And) at the head of the wanderer have set (it).
That a kindly Guardian, a kindly Spirit
May stand at the side of the man, the son of his god.

R. Campbell Thompson took this to mean that the *kiškanû*-plant (? *astragalus gummifer*), growing in Eridu where two streams met, was plucked for medicinal use originally by the gods and later by men. Nothing more probable. But A. Jeremias[1] ten years later translates the opening lines—

In Eridu grew a black *kiškanû*-tree: it was created in a light place.
Its (branches) are of glittering *lapis lazuli* and stretch out over the ocean.—

and adds, with confident dogmatism, that the Milky Way is here conceived as a world-tree[2]. I am, however, assured by my learned friend the late Dr C. H. W. Johns and by Mr Sidney Smith of the British Museum that there is not the slightest ground for supposing any allusion to the Galaxy. At Ėridu, near the point where the Euphrates and the Tigris empty into the Persian Gulf, there was an entrance to the Underworld. It seems possible, therefore, that the tree here mentioned was akin to the Borderland tree of the Greeks and Romans. If so, a comparison with the poplars of the Heliades might be justified (gum tragacanth is a passable parallel to amber), though to equate—as Jeremias does[3]—*Eridu* with *Eridanós* is simply laughable.

On the whole I conclude that several traits in the myth of Phaethon, including the Heliades, Kyknos, the Eridanos, etc., do point to an early connexion with the Milky Way. A parallel may be found in modern Pomerania, where it is believed that the Wild Huntsman marks his progress across the sky by streaks of fire and that once,

[1] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 60, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1492 f.

[2] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* p. 60: 'Bei der Grundstellung der Milchstrasse, bei der Orion und Skorpion im Ost- und Westpunkte des Horizontes stehen, während die Milchstrasse sich vertikal über den Beschauer wölbt, kann sie in der Tat poetisch als Baum angesehen werden, der seine Zweige über Erde und Meer ausspannt. Der Eridanos schliesst sich direkt an die Milchstrasse beim Orion an.'

[3] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* p. 60, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1492.

venturing too high in the air, he left behind him the Milky Way, hence called the *Wildbahn*, as a trace of his passage[1].

It remains to notice a curious variant of the myth preserved by Apollonios of Rhodes, who gives the following account of the Argonauts' visit to the scene of Phaethon's disaster[2]:

> Then entered they Eridanos' inmost stream,
> Where once, his breast struck by the blazing bolt,
> Phaethon fell, half-burnt, from Helios' car
> Into the mouth of the deep mere; and still
> From the glowing wound wells up the vapour dense.
> No bird can wing its way on pinions light
> Across that water, but it flutters, fails,
> Falls i' the heat. And maidens all around,
> The Heliades, pent in black-poplars tall,
> Make of their misery a pitiful plaint,
> Yea, from their lids let slip bright amber-drops,
> Such as are dried by sunlight on the sand.
> But, when the waters of the darksome mere
> Wash o'er the strand, blown by some blustering wind,
> Then all that wealth is tumbled on the tide
> Into Eridanos. The Celts declare
> These are the tears of Apollon, Leto's son,
> Borne on the eddies,—tears past numbering
> He shed in bygone days, what time he came
> To the sacred race of the Hyperboreans
> And left, at his Father's chiding, radiant heaven,
> Wroth for the son divine Koronis bare
> In shining Lakereia at the mouth
> Of Amyros. Such the tale these tribesmen tell.

The poet has worked into his epic a piece of local lore, which is both interesting and important. The Keltoi, he says, regarded amber as the tears, not of the poplars, but of Apollon. This lends some colour to a view that I put forward years ago concerning Apollon's name[3]. The oldest form of it seems to have been *Apéllon*, and Festus' assertion that 'the ancients used to say *Apello* for *Apollo*[4]' is supported by a considerable body of epigraphical evidence from the Doric area[5]. I proposed, therefore, to derive *Apéllon* from *apellón*, 'a black-poplar[6].' On this showing Apollon would be a

[1] A. Brunk 'Der wilde Jäger im Glauben des pommerschen Volkes' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1903 xiii. 184.

[2] Ap. Rhod. 4. 596 ff. Cp. Favorin. *lex.* p. 851, 9 ff.

[3] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 420.

[4] Paul. ex Fest. p. 22, 14 Müller, p. 20, 27 Lindsay Apellinem antiqui dicebant pro Apollinem.

[5] É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 51 f., G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 64 f., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1.

[6] Hesych. ἀπελλόν· αἴγειρος, ὅ ἐστι εἶδος δένδρου.

deity associated with a grove of black-poplars like that of the Heliades. Now the scenery of the Eridanos, as described by the Rhodian poet, was more or less similar to that of Apollonia in Illyria, which possessed not only an ancient cult of Helios[1], but also a *Nymphaîon* with springs of hot water and bitumen[2]. Close by, a perennial jet of flame burst from the ground, surrounded—a curious sight—by flourishing trees and verdant grass[3]. Drenching rain merely increased the blaze, into which the worshippers cast their offerings of frankincense[4]. Silver coins of the town, issued from *c.* 100 B.C. onwards on the standard of the Roman *denarius*, represent

Fig. 369.

Fig. 370.

Fig. 371.

three Nymphs (? Heliades), torch in hand, dancing round the sacred fire (fig. 369)[5]. And a copper piece, struck by Caracalla, shows the statue of Apollon in his temple, behind which are visible the tops of three trees probably, but not certainly, meant for poplars (fig. 370)[6]. The same doubt attaches to the tree seen behind Apollon *Smintheús* on a coin of Alexandreia in the Troad, which might be either a poplar or a cypress (fig. 371)[7]. We are on surer ground, when we recall the love of Apollon for Dryope. Antoninus Liberalis, following Nikandros (*c.* 150 B.C.), tells her story thus[8]:

[1] *Supra* i. 410 ff. [2] Strab. 316.

[3] Plout. *v. Sull.* 27 (here a Satyr was caught asleep and brought before Sulla, whom he scared by emitting a harsh cry 'something between the neigh of a horse and the bleat of a goat'), Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 16.

[4] Dion Cass. 41. 45 with further detail.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 60 f. pl. 12, 13 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 3 pl. 31, 2, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 113 pl. 65, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 314, A. Maier in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1908 pp. 5 f., 16 f. Fig. 369 is from a specimen in my collection.

G. Patsch in the *Compte rendu et Mémoires du congrès international de numismatique de Paris* 1900 p. 113 records silver pieces with obv. fire of the *Nymphaîon*, rev. lyre.

[6] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 311 Münztaf. 4, 36 (=my fig. 370) from a specimen in the collection of F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 419.

[7] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon pp. 94 f., 312 Münztaf. 5, 32 (=my fig. 371) from a specimen in the collection of F. Imhoof-Blumer, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 419.

[8] Ant. Lib. 32 (from bk. i of the Ἑτεροιούμενα of Nikandros). The passage is here summarised, not translated.

Dryops, son of the river Spercheios and the Danaïd Polydora[1], reigned on Mount Oite and had an only daughter Dryope, who tended her father's flocks. The Hamadryads loved her exceedingly, and taught her how to hymn the gods and to dance. Apollon, who saw her dancing, was enamoured of her and, to attain his ends, became first a tortoise, which she fondled and put into her bosom, and then a snake. The second change scared away the Nymphs, who left Dryopé and her lover alone. Shortly afterwards Dryope was wedded to Andraimon, son of Oxylos; but the result of her union with Apollon was the birth of Amphissos. He grew to man's estate, built the town of Oite, and established a sanctuary of Apollon in Dryopis. When Dryope visited this sanctuary, the Hamadryads carried her off and hid her in the forest. In her place they caused a black-poplar to spring from the ground and a fountain to gush forth beside it. Dryope now became a Nymph. Amphissos founded a sanctuary of the Nymphs in her honour and a contest in running, which is still kept up. From this contest women are excluded, the reason given being that, when Dryope was carried off by the Nymphs, two maidens revealed the fact to the natives of the land and thus incurred the anger of the Nymphs, who transformed them into fir-trees.

It would seem, then, that in the neighbourhood of Mount Oite Apollon was recognised as the consort of a black-poplar. The connexion of this tree with the god was, however, forgotten[2], when Apollon on his way through Thessaly[3] acquired the bay as his attribute. Thenceforward Dryope gave place to Daphne. The fact is that the particular species of tree assigned to a god depends entirely, or almost entirely, upon the character of the local flora. At Delphoi, for example, the bay-tree was of comparatively recent introduction, and Ovid[4] *à propos* of the earliest Pythian games states that 'whosoever had won with hand or feet or wheel received the honour of oaken foliage (*aesculeae...frondis*)[5]: the bay as yet was not, and Phoebus crowned his brows, fair with their flowing tresses,

[1] Another version made Dryops the son of Apollon and of Dia, a daughter of Lykaon (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1218, *et. mag.* p. 288, 34 f., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 480).

[2] Ov. *met.* 9. 329 ff. contaminates the story of Dryope with that of Lotis, and transforms the former, like the latter, into a lotus-tree.

[3] A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 96, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 110.

[4] Ov. *met.* 1. 445 ff. I have discussed the passage in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 413.

[5] For Apollon in connexion with the oak see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1235 n. 1, who cites Apollon Ἀσκραῖος (*supra* p. 255, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 416) and Apollon Δρύμαιος (schol. Lyk. *Al.* 522) or Δρύμας at Miletos (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 522; but Hekataios of Miletos (? cp. *frag.* 356 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 28 Müller)) *ap.* Strab. 321 regarded Δρύμας as a barbaric name), Dryops son of Apollon (*supra* p. 486 n. 1) and Dryope mate of Apollon (*supra* p. 485 f.), etc. A fine tetradrachm of Katane, struck *c.* 413—404 B.C., shows a full-faced head of Apollon crowned with oak-leaves and flanked by bow and lyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 47 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 172 no. 12, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 132 f. pl. 9, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 133). A copper of Neapolis in Campania has a profile head of Apollon wearing an oak-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 109 no. 148 fig.). Further evidence in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 417 f.

from the nearest tree.' Thus it may well be that neither the bay nor the poplar[1] was the tree sacred to Apollon throughout central and northern Europe. In the Balkans the word for 'poplar' closely resembles the word for 'apple[2].' And Dr Rendel Harris has lately been urging, with a great array of evidence and no little persuasiveness, that Apollon—incredible as it sounds—was both in name and in nature an 'apple'-god[3]. He contends (if I follow

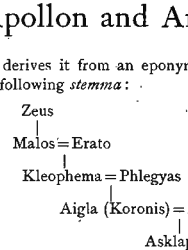
[1] J. Hoops *Waldbäume und Kulturpflanzen im germanischen Altertum* Strassburg 1905 p. 230 f.: 'Die von Willkomm[2] [[2] *Forstl. Flora*[2] 519 f. 530.] ausgesprochene Vermutung, dass die Weiss- und Schwarzpappel dem nördlichen Mitteleuropa von Haus aus fremd seien, wird durch das Fehlen prähistorischer Belege und den Mangel alteinheimischer Namen für die beiden Bäume im Keltischen, Germanischen und Slavischen bestätigt und darf auf das gesamte nordalpine Europa ausgedehnt werden. Sie sind erst zur Römerzeit oder im Lauf des Mittelalters aus Südeuropa eingeführt,' etc.

[2] Cp. E. Berneker *Slavisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Heidelberg 1908—1913 i. 23 'skr. [=serbischkroatisch] *jȁblān* m. [=mittel] alt "Apfelbaum"; heute "Populus pyramidalis" und "Pappelkraut, Malve." A Serbian friend of mine, Mr A. Slavko Jonke, writes: 'When I was a boy, living in Croatia, I used to call the poplar-tree *jáblan*. But, when I went to live for four years among the Slovenians of Gorizia, Ljubljana, and Trsat, I found to my surprise that they called the apple-tree *jábelna*.'

[3] J. Rendel Harris *The Origin of the Cult of Apollo* (extr. from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* January to March 1916) Manchester 1916 p. 21 ff. =*id. The Ascent of Olympus* Manchester 1917 p. 36 ff. relies on *data* which might be expanded as follows:

(1) The cult of Apollon Μαλεάτας at Trikke in Thessaly (M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 950 *C*, 27 ff. = P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 34 ff. no. 7, 27 ff. cited *infra* Append. L *sub fin.*), at Epidauros (Paus. 2. 27. 7 temple of Apollon Μαλεάτης on Mt Kynortion, cp. M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 925, 21 f. [πρ]οξέ[ν]ο[υ]ς εἶμεν κ[αὶ] θε[αρο]δόκο[υς τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος] | τοῦ [Μ]α[λ]εάτα καὶ[ὶ τ]οῦ 'Ασκλαπιοῦ, no. 931, 2 f. ἐν 'Επιδ[αύρωι ἐν τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τοῦ Μα]λεάτα καὶ τοῦ 'Ασ[κλαπιοῦ ἱερῶι], no. 932, 51 f. ἐν τῶι ἱερῶ | τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τοῦ Μαλεάτα καὶ τοῦ 'Ασκλαπιοῦ, no. 944, 17 f. ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ 'Απόλλωνος τοῦ Μαλε[ά][τα καὶ τοῦ 'Ασκλαπιοῦ, no. 950, 2 'Απόλλωνι Μαλεάται καὶ 'Ασκλαπιῶι, 27 ff. cited *infra* Append. L *sub fin.*, no. 956, 3 ff. 'Απόλ]λωνι Μαλεάτα καὶ | Σωτῆρι 'Ασκλαπιῶ | κατ' ὄναρ, no. 1011, 2 f. ['Απόλλω]νι Μαλεάτα κ[αὶ 'Ασκληπιῶ Σωτῆρι], no. 1016, 1 ff. 'Απόλλωνι | Μαλεάτα | Σωτῆρι | ὁ ἱερεὺς | Διογένης an inscription of 297 A.D., no. 1079, 1 ff. 'Απόλλ[ωνος] | Μα[λε]ά[τα. | Κέλαδος Κελά[δου πυροφο|ρήσας | with later addition of καὶ Οὐρανίας, on which see Fränkel *ad loc.*, no. 1179, 1 'Απόλλωνι Μα[λεάτα καὶ 'Ασκληπιῶ], no. 1185 *b*, 2 [Μα]λεά[τ –], no. 1536, 1 ff. 'Επαφρόδειτος Αε|ωνίδου, ἱεραπολή|σας 'Απόλλωνι Μα|λεάτα τὸ μέ' ἔτος (= 168 A.D.), | Τύχαις, no. 1539, 1 ff. ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ | Μαλεάτα 'Απόλ|λωνος καὶ θεῶν | 'Αγοσίων διὰ βίου, | Αὐξησία, Ποσι|δώνιος, ἔτους | ρπδ' (=307 A.D.)), at Sparta (Paus. 3. 12. 8 Λακεδαιμονίοις δὲ ἔστι μὲν 'Απόλλωνος 'Ακρίτα βωμός, ἔστι δ' ἐπονομαζόμενον Γάσηπτον (R. Porson cj. Γάσεπτον) ἱερὸν Γῆς· 'Απόλλων δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτὸ ἵδρυται Μαλεάτης). Cp. the association of Μαλεάτης with Apollon at Athens (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1651, 1 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 672, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 631, 1 ff. = Roberts—Gardner *Gr. Epigr.* ii. 379 no. 133, 1 ff. θεοί. | κατὰ τάδε προθύεσθα|ι· Μαλεάτηι πόπανα τρία· 'Απόλλωνι πόπανα τ|ρία· 'Ερμῆι πόπανα τρι[α· κ.τ.λ. an inscription from the sanctuary of Asklepios in the Peiraieus) and dedications to Μαλεάτας from Prasiai in Lakonike (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 927 Χάριλ(λ)ος ἀνέθηκε τῶι Μαλεάται on the base of a bronze statuette of a warrior, no. 929 Μαλεάτα | Μαλέαις on the sides of a small bronze ram, no. 929 *c* 'Απόλλω|νος Μα|λεάτ(α) on stone). As to the significance of this title, Isyllos (*Inscr. Gr.*

Pelop. i no. 950 *C*, 27 ff.) derives it from an eponymous hero Μᾶλος, of whom he (*ib.* no. 950 *E*, 40 ff.) gives the following *stemma*:



Isyllos twice (*ib.* no. 950 *C*, 27 and 31) ends a hexameter with the appellative Μαλεάτα. It is natural to suppose that he scanned it Μᾰλεάτα. But, in view of his derivation from Μᾶλος, it is at least possible that he scanned by synizesis Μᾱλεᾶτα. Accordingly Rendel Harris, like H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 146 f. and S. Eitrem *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (*Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter.* II. Historisk-filos. Klasse 1902 No. 2) Christiania 1902 pp. 100 n. 3, 116, would derive Μᾱλεάτας from *μᾶλέα*, 'apple-tree,' cp. Dionysos Συκεάτης (Hesych. *s.v.*) from *συκέα*. To me it seems more probable that Μᾰλεάτης is the ethnic from Μᾰλέα or Μᾰλέαι (cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 929 (Prasiai) Μαλεάτα | Μαλέαις and no. 1519 (Tyros) Ἀπόλονος ἐμ [Μαλέαις] on a small bronze lion), the well-known promontory of S.E. Lakonike, whence also Zeus Μαλειαῖος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μαλέα).

(2) The cult of Apollon Μαλόεις in Lesbos (Thouk. 3. 3 a festival of Apollon Μαλόεις outside Mytilene, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 484, 18 ff. (Hiera) *τᾶς* | *τε* Ἀρτέμιδος *καὶ* Ἀπόλ-λωνος | Μαλ(όε)ντος *ἀρχίχορον καὶ le*|*ροκάρυκα τῶν γερέων ξ*[*α*]|*κόρων Σαώτηρος* Ἀσκληπί|ω =O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1893 ii. 119 f. no. 168, 18 ff., who reads *le*|*ροκάρυκα τῶν* (*i*)*ερέων* after F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 98 no. 255, 18 ff., cp. A. Conze *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* Hannover 1865 p. 53 f. pl. 17, 1, Kallim. *frag.* 543 Schneider *ap.* Choirobosk. *in* Theodos. *can. masc.* 3 (i. 152, 13 ff. Hilgard) *τοιοῦτον γάρ ἐστι καὶ παρὰ* Καλλιμάχῳ "ὁ δὲ *ἀείδων* Μαλόες *ἦλθε χορός*," *ἀντὶ τοῦ* Μαλόεις· Μαλόεις *δέ ἐστιν ὁ* Λέσβιος = Bekker *anecd.* iii. 1187 *fin.*, Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 326 (ii. 278, 4 f. Lentz) and *περὶ ὀνομάτων, περὶ τῶν εἰς εις* (ii. 619, 6 ff. Lentz)). The divine title (Hesych. *s.v.* Μαλ[λ]όεις· Ἀπόλλωνος *ἐπίθετον, ἢ ἐπώνυμον*) was identical with a Lesbian place-name (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μαλ[λ]όεις· Ἀπόλλων *ἐν Λέσβῳ. καὶ ὁ τόπος τοῦ ἱεροῦ* Μαλ[λ]όεις, *ἀπὸ τοῦ Μήλου* (*leg. μήλου*) *τῆς Μαντοῦς, ὡς* Ἑλλάνικος *ἐν Λεσβικῶν πρώτῳ* (*frag.* 117 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 60)), *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 74, 5 *ἐν* Μαλόεντι *μόρον* =O. Hoffmann *op. cit.* ii. 66 f. no. 90, 5, Aristot. *vent. sit. et appell.* 973 a 10 f. *ἐνοχλεῖ δὲ* (*sc.* Καικίας) *τὸν* Μιτυληναίων *λιμένα, μάλιστα δὲ τὸν* Μαλόεντα with A. Conze *op. cit.* p. 7). The aetiological myth, briefly alluded to by Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*, is given more fully in the Patmian *scholia* on Thouk. 3. 3 published by I. Sakkelion in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1877 i. 185: Μαλόεις Ἀπόλλων· *οὗτος παρὰ* Μιτυληναίοις *ἐτιμᾶτο, ἀπὸ τοιαύτης δέ τινος αἰτίας. Μαντὼ ἡ* Τειρεσίου *θυγάτηρ περὶ τοὺς τόπους χορεύουσα τούτους, μῆλον χρυσοῦν ἀπὸ τοῦ περιδεραίου ἀπώλεσεν· εὗξατο οὖν, εἰ εὕροι, ἱερὸν ἱδρύσειν τῷ θεῷ. εὑροῦσα δὲ τὸ μῆλον, τὸ ἱερὸν ἱδρύσατο, καὶ* Μαλόεις Ἀπόλλων *ἐντεῦθεν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐτιμᾶτο.* The myth makes it clear that Apollon's epithet Μαλόεις was connected, not with Μαλέα the S.E. headland of Lesbos, but with *μῆλον*, an 'apple.' Presumably, then, it was a local title derived from Μαλόεις, the 'Apple'-district N. of Mytilene. If so, it may or may not give us some hint as to the character of the god himself.

(3) At Nisaia, the port of Megara, was an old sanctuary of Demeter Μαλοφόρος with a ruined roof: among the explanations offered of the cult-epithet was that it had been given to the goddess by the first men who reared sheep (*μῆλα*) in the country (Paus. i. 44. 3). Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 406 and Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 474 cite a copper of Pagai, the other port of Megara, struck by Septimius Severus, on which appears Demeter (?Artemis Σώτειρα, cp. Paus. i. 40. 2 f. with i. 44. 4. A.B.C.) with a torch in either hand treading on rocky ground and preceded by a ram. But, since *μᾶλα*, 'sheep,' is only

a hyper-Dorism for μῆλα (E. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris—Liége 1891 p. 47 n. 1), it is far more probable that Μαλοφόρος means 'Apple-bearing,' and that we should interpret in this sense Kallim. *h. Dem.* 138 *φέρβε βόας· φέρε μᾶλα, φέρε στάχυν· οἷσε θερισμόν*: see O. Schneider *ad loc.*, who aptly quotes schol. *Il.* 9. 542 (*αὐτοῖς ἄνθεσι μήλων*) *μηλοφόρον δὲ καὶ τὴν Δήμητραν τιμῶσιν*. Selinous, founded by Dorians from the Sicilian Megara and therefore a grand-daughter of Megara in Greece, maintained the worship of the goddess (A. Salinas in the *Not. Scavi* 1894 p. 208 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 238 f. no. 5213 on a tufa-base with a small cornice Θέυλλος Πυρρία | ἀνέθηκε τᾶι | Μαλοφόρωι | εὐ(χ)άν· ἐνπέλα, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ἐμπέλα· *ἐμπέλαζε, πρόσαγε, ἔγγιζε*; *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 268 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 26 f. no. 3046 = Dittenherger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 751 on a tufa-block from the left *anta* of the *ádyton* of the temple of Apollon at Selinous in lettering of *c.* 450 B.C. [δι]ὰ τὼς θεὼς τώ[σ]δε νικῶντι τοὶ Σελινών[τιοι·] | [δι]ὰ τὸν Δία νικῶμες καὶ διὰ τὸν Φόβον [καὶ] | [δ]ὰ Ἡρακλέα καὶ δι' Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ διὰ Π[οτ]ε[ιδᾶ]να καὶ διὰ Τυνδαρίδας καὶ δι' Ἀθ[α]ν[αί]αν καὶ διὰ Μαλοφόρον καὶ διὰ Πασικ|ρά[τ]ειαν καὶ διὰ τὼς ἄλλως θεώς, [δ]ὰ δὲ Δία | μάλιστ[α]. φιλία[ς] δὲ γενομένας ἐνχρυσ|έω[ς] ἐλά[σα]ντα[ς, τὰ δ'] ὀνύματα ταῦτα κολ|άψαντ[ας ἐς] τὸ Ἀ[π]ολ[λ]ώνιον καθθέμε|ν, τὸ Διό[ς προ]γρά[ψα]ντες (*sic*)· τὸ δὲ χρυσίον | ἐξήκο[ντα τ]αλάντων ἦμεν). The Macedonian month Μαλοφόριος (cited from the dictionary of Papias the Lombard (1053—1063 A.D.) by K. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1847 ii. 262: see also E. F. Bischoff 'De fastis Graecorum antiquioribus' in *Leipziger Studien für classische Philologie* vii Leipzig 1884 p. 374 with n. 6 (= Pyanopsion)) perhaps implies a festival of Demeter Μαλοφόρος. In any case we have no reason to connect the title with Apollon.

(4) In the grove of Apollon at Gryneia in S. Aiolis was an ancient oracle (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γρῦνοι, cp. Verg. *Aen.* 4. 345). Here Kalchas and Mopsos were said to have had a contest in seer-craft, each attempting to divine the number of apples on a certain tree. Mopsos won, and Kalchas died of chagrin (Euphorion *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 72 = Myth. Vat. 1. 194, 2. 224).

Apollod. *epit.* 6. 2 f. and Strab. 642, following Hes. *frag.* 169 Flach, 160 Rzach (cp. the *nostoi* as summarised by Proklos in G. Kinkel *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1877 p. 53: Konon *narr.* 6 deviates widely), state that the contest took place near Kolophon in the grove of Apollon Κλάριος, which likewise possessed an ancient oracle. Kalchas, returning from Troy on foot with Amphilochos son of Amphiaraos (cp. Theopomp. *frag.* 112 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 296 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 2. 135, Quint. Smyrn. 14. 360 ff.), had reached Klaros (cp. Kallinos *frag.* 8 Bergk[4] *ap.* Strab. 668), when he fell in with a better seer than himself, Mopsos son of Teiresias' daughter Manto, and died of vexation. Kalchas had asked Mopsos how many figs there were on a certain wild fig-tree. Mopsos had said: 'Ten thousand,—you can measure them with a bushel, and there will be one fig over.' This answer had proved to be correct, and straightway Kalchas had died. Strab. 643 says that, according to Pherekydes (*frag.* 95 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 94 Müller)), the numerical question concerned the unborn litter of a sow; and that others combined this version with that of the wild fig-tree. He adds (*ib.* 643 and 675) that in Sophokles' Ἐλένης ἀπαίτησις (*frag.* 180 Jebb) Kalchas was fated to die when he met a better seer than himself, and that the scene of his contest with Mopsos and his subsequent death was here transferred to Kilikia, which the poet inexactly termed Pamphylia (see, however, Hdt. 7. 91, Strab. 668, Paus. 7. 3. 7). Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 427, 440, 980, 1047 mentions both Kolophon and Kilikia, the wild fig-tree and the sow, cp. Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 850. The sequel too deserves notice. According to one version, Amphilochos and Mopsos founded Mallos in Kilikia. Amphilochos then departed to Argos, entrusting his kingdom to Mopsos for a year. At the year's end he returned; but Mopsos would not give up the kingdom. So they quarrelled, and slew one another in single fight (Euphorion *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 440, Strab. 675 f., cp. Cic. *de divin.* 1. 88, Loukian. *Alex.* 29, *concil. deor.* 12). According to another version, Amphilochos son of Alkmaion on his return from Troy was carried by a storm to Kolophon (schol. *Od.* 13. 259) and so encountered Mopsos. The two met in single combat to decide the kingship, and succeeded in slaying each other (Apollod. *epit.* 6. 19, cited by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 440).

A very similar story is connected with Siris in Lucania. Herakles, when driving the cattle of Geryon, saw Kalchas—not the son of Thestor mentioned above, but a seer of the same name—sitting under a wild fig-tree, and asked him how many figs were on the tree. Kalchas replied: 'Ten bushels, and one fig over, which you cannot get into them.' Herakles proceeded to measure the figs and, despite all his efforts, failed to get in the extra one. Kalchas laughed at him. Thereupon Herakles with a blow of his fist slew the seer, and buried him beside the fig-tree (schol. Lyk. *Al.* 978 and 980: allusions in Lyk. *Al.* 978 ff., 1047 with Tzetz. *ad locc.*). Since Siris was colonised from Kolophon (J. Oehler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2833 f.), it is likely enough that the Colophonian account of Kalchas' contest was brought over to Siris, and there perhaps attached to the Daunian king Kalchos (Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 923 f.).

These stories are of deep interest as implying a contest *à outrance* for the position of priestly king. They are, in fact, the attenuated Greek equivalent of the contest at Nemi: cp. *e.g.* the language of Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1047 'Αμφίλοχος δὲ κατά τινας συναιρεῖται τῷ Μόψῳ τούτῳ περὶ τῆς ἀρχῆς τῆς μαντικῆς μονομαχήσας. It is indeed probable that the apple-tree at Gryneia and the wild fig-tree at Kolophon were sacred trees, like that of Diana *Nemorensis*. If so, it may be maintained that Apollon Γρύνειος was specially connected with apples.

(5) Apples were given as prizes at the Pythian games (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 5. 8 Dübner 'Ολυμπιάσι μὲν καὶ Πυθοῖ οὐκ ἔνεστι κότινον λαβεῖν, οὐδὲ μῆλων τυχεῖν, αὐτὸν ἐφ' ἑαυτοῦ κονισάμενον, ἀλλὰ ἀνταγωνιστῶν δεῖ τῷ κηρύγματι, 7. 4 Dübner μετασχεῖν μὴ κοτίνου μόνον

Fig. 372.

Fig. 373.

Fig. 374.

Fig. 375.

'Ολυμπιάσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πίτυος 'Ισθμικῆς, καὶ σελίνου 'Αργολικοῦ, καὶ μήλων Πυθικῶν, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 357 (*adéspoton*: 'Αρχίου Plan.) τέσσαρές εἰσιν ἀγῶνες ἀν' Ἑλλάδα, τέσσαρες ἱροί, | οἱ δύο μὲν θνητῶν, οἱ δύο δ' ἀθανάτων, | Ζηνός, Λητοΐδαο, Παλαίμονος, 'Αρχεμόροιο· | ἆθλα δὲ τῶν κότινος, μῆλα, σέλινα, πίτυς = Auson. *ecl.* 20 (p. 103 Peiper) quattuor antiquos celebravit Achaia ludos. | caelicolum duo sunt et duo festa hominum. | sacra Iovis Phoebique, Palaemonis Archemorique, | serta quibus pinus, malus, oliva, apium. Cp. Phlegon *frag.* 1 cited *supra* p. 466 n. 11), and are represented in connection with them on imperial coppers of Delphoi (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 30 pl. 4, 23 and 24 (=my fig. 372) *obv.* ΘΕΑΦ ΑΥCΤΕΙΝΑ Bust of Faustina Senior to right; *rev.* ΠΥ ΘΙ Α Agonistic table, on which are a crow, five apples, and a bay-wreath. Fig. 373, from a specimen in my collection, is similar, except that it shows a vase also on the table. Cp. J. N. Svoronos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 46 ff. pl. 30, 1—8, where the apples are wrongly described as *σφαιρίδια*, Anson *Num. Cr.* i. 98 nos. 943 f. pl. 17), of Philippopolis in Thrace (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 165 no. 36 *obv.* ΑVΤΚΜΑVΡCΕVΗ ΑΝΤΩΝΕΙΝΟC Bust of Caracalla to left, laureate; *rev.* ΚΟΙΝΟΝΘΡΑΚΩΝΑΛΕ ΖΑΝΔΡΙΑΕΝΦΙΛΙ ΠΟΠΟ *Dískos*-thrower standing to left with *dískos* and three apples in his hands. Across the field is ΠΥ ΘΙΑ, p. 166 no. 37 fig. (=my fig. 374) *obv.* The same inscription. Bust of Caracalla to right, radiate; *rev.* · ΚΟΙΝΟΝΘΡΑΚ Ω ΝΑΛΕΖΑΝΔΡ ΙΑΕΝΦΙΛΙΠ ΠΟΠΟΛΙ Agonistic table, on which is an urn inscribed ΠΥΘΙΑ containing two palms. Beneath the table

are an *amphora*, a palm, and five apples, p. 166 no. 38 similar, p. 166 no. 39 *obv.* Similar inscription and bust; *rev.* ΚΟΙΝΟΝ ΘΡΑ ΑΛΕΖΑΝ ΕΝΦΙ ΛΙΠΠΟΠ ΟΛΙ Similar type: but the urn on the table contains five apples, and beneath the table are a palm and an *amphora*. B. V. Head describes the apples as 'balls or discs.' G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins.* i. 444 no. 10 Caracalla, 445 no. 13 Elagabalos calls them 'balls'), of Ankyra in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 13 pl. 3, 1 (=my fig. 375) *obv.* ΑΝ.....ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΟC Bust of Caracalla to right, laureate; *rev.* ΜΗΤΡΟΠ [ΑΝΚ]ΥΡΑC ΙΕΟΠΥΘΙ Α Agonistic table, on which is an urn, containing a palm-branch, placed between two purses: beneath the table are five apples, p. 13 pl. 3, 2 *obv.* ΑΝΤΩΝΙΝ ΟCΠΙΟCΑΥΓ Similar bust; *rev.* ΜΗΤΡΟΠΟ ΛΕΑΝΚΥΡΑC ΙΕΟΠΥΘ ΙΑ Agonistic urn inscribed ΑΓΩΝ, containing a palm-branch: above the urn are five apples. W. Wroth describes the apples as 'balls,' as does Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 60 no. 683 pl. 10, i. 66 no. 724 pl. 11), and of Tralleis in Lydia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 357 no. 181 *obv.* ΦΡΟΥ CΑΒΤΡ ΑΝΚΥΛΛΕΙΝΑ Bust of Tranquillina to right; *rev.* ΤΡΑΛΛΙ ΑΝΩΝ beneath an agonistic table, on which are five apples between two prize-wreaths. In the field to left and right ΠΥΘΙΑ and ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ. Above, ΕΠΙ? In the exergue, ΦΙΛΙΠΠΟΥ ΚΕΝΤΑ). Thus all the evidence for this custom, whether literary or numismatic, belongs to the second and third centuries of our era,—unless indeed *Anth. Pal.* 9. 357 can be attributed to Cicero's client A. Licinius Archias, which is very doubtful (see R. Reitzenstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 463 f.).

(6) Coins of Eleuthernai in Crete, from *c.* 480 B.C. onwards, show Apollon holding a spherical object (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 130 ff.

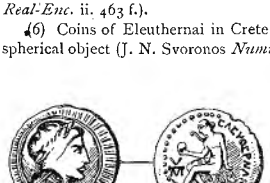


Fig. 376.

Fig. 377.

pl. 11, 4—6, 8—11, 14—18, 22—30, pl. 12, 1—5, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 33 ff. pl. 8, 5—8, 10—13, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 182 f. pl. 41, 15—17, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 464 f.), which has been variously interpreted. It is described as *malum* or *pomum* by the older numismatists (see also Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 307 n. [3]), including Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 311 f. and Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 586, Suppl. ii. 748; and its resemblance to the apple held in the hand *e.g.* of Aphrodite or Venus on other coins (Rasche *op. cit.* vi. 1702, x. 841, 847 ff., 855, 859, 870, 875 ff.) is evident. Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 94 pl. 12, 135[a] regards the small round thing held by the standing Apollon as an 'Apfel,' the relatively larger round thing held by the seated Apollon as a 'Diskos' or a 'Kugel'—the one reminiscent of Hyakinthos, the other a cosmic or solar globe. B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 173 n. 128 says: 'die Art, wie er den Gegenstand hält, ist sehr verschieden, zuweilen aber lässt sie die Deutung des Attributs als Salbgefäss oder als Granatapfel ganz unmöglich erscheinen.' J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 130 ff. calls it in succession 'peut-être une pierre,' 'une pierre,' and 'un disque.' W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. xxvi ff., 33 ff., G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins loc. cit.*, and B. V. Head in his *Hist. num.*[2] *loc. cit.* all make it a 'stone,' presumably influenced by the stone-throwing Talos on coins of Phaistos and the stone-throwing Minotaur on coins of Knossos (*supra* i. 720 f. figs. 534—536). J. de Foville in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1902 vi. 454 ff. fig. (=my fig. 376) publishes a copper of Eleuthernai, on which Apollon's head is surrounded by a radiate circle (cp. *supra* i. 544 n. 9), and infers that the sphere held by him may

perhaps be ' un globe solaire, pareil à celui que les Égyptiens, voisins des Crétois, placent sur le front d'Ammon-Râ.' None of these explanations is free from doubt, and I now incline to think that a more satisfactory result may be reached by considering the earliest known coin of the town (E. Muret in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1883 i. 65 pl. 2, 4, F. Lenormant *ib.* p. 129 ff., W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1884 iv. 29 pl. 2, 5 (= my fig. 377), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 307 Münztaf. 3, 12, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 130 pl. 11, 4: *obv.* Apollon, nude except for a belt, stepping left towards a height on which grows a storax-tree. The god carries a bow in his left hand, a spherical object in his right, and is accompanied by a hound. In the field behind him is a second storax-tree. All in a circle of dots; *rev.* ΛΞΘVΞ ΓΞ Artemis, in a long *chitón*, standing to right, shoots an arrow from her bow. She too is accompanied by a hound (? stag A.B.C.). All in a square of dots). It is highly probable that this coin represents Apollon Στυρακίτης (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Στυράκιον) repairing to Mt Styrakion in Crete (Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 281, 13) with his bow and hound. It is an odd coincidence, but no more, that Στύραξ (=σαυρωτήρ) was a name recommended by Xenophon as suitable for a hound (Xen. *cyn.* 7. 5). Now Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 789 infers from Hdt. 3. 107, Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 81 that in the Levant στύραξ was a substitute for λιβανωτός, 'white-incense,' and suggests that on Greek soil λεύκη, 'white-poplar,' was a surrogate of στύραξ, both having a white under-surface to their leaves. It is therefore tempting to surmise that the storax-trees of Eleuthernai were

Fig. 378.

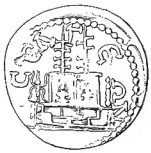


Fig. 379.

Fig. 380.

Fig. 381.

analogous to the poplar-trees of the Eridanos, Apollonia (?), etc. (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀπολλωνία 23 mentions Apollonia as a later name of Eleuthernai, and notes that ὁ *φυσικὸς* Διογένης, *i.e.* Diogenes ὁ Ἀπολλωνιάτης, was a native of this town: cp. the countermark ΑΠΤ on the copper of Eleuthernai (*supra* fig. 376)), and thence to conclude that the globe on the hand of Apollon is a ball of resin from the bark of the storax-trees comparable with the drops of amber believed to exude from the poplars. It is significant that the balsamic juice known as 'liquid storax' is obtained by incision from a tree, whose botanical name is *liquidambar orientalis*.

The Apollon of Eleuthernai appears also on silver coins of the neighbouring town Rhithymna, struck *c.* 400 B.C. (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 308 pl. 30, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. pp. xxvii, 78 pl. 19, 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 477).

At Selge in Pisidia coppers of *s.* ii B.C. represent the head of Herakles wreathed with storax (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cxvi f., 261 pl. 40, 7 f.), while coppers of imperial date have two storax-trees fenced round as objects of worship and flanked by club and thunderbolt, the symbols of Herakles and Zeus respectively (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia pp. cxvii, 264 nos. 68 f. Hadrian, 266 no. 78 pl. 41, 3 (=my fig. 378) Severus Alexander, 267 no. 84 pl. 41, 5 (=my fig. 379) Salonina, no. 86 pl. 41, 6 (=my fig. 380) Aurelian). See further Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* pp. 342—345, who cites *inter alia* Strab. 570 f., and notes that the tree of Herakles is always larger than the tree of Zeus. F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte, les symboles, les attributs, et les monuments figurés de Vénus, en orient et en occident* Paris 1837 pp. 136 f., 168 pl. 3, 2 (=my fig. 381)

his argument aright) that *Apóllon* was a term borrowed by the Greeks from some Teutonic tongue which, like Gothic, represented the original *b* of the Indo-Europaean **abela-*, **ablu-*[1] by a *p*. But, since Apollon is well-known to Homer, this involves the assumption that the change of Indo-Europaean *b* to Teutonic *p* took place at a very much earlier date (*c.* 1200—1300 B.C.) than is commonly supposed (*c.* 200—300 B.C.). At that remote epoch we should expect to find the Greeks in contact with Thracians or Illyrians rather than with Teutons. And who can assure us that Illyrians or Thracians pronounced 'apple' with a *p*? So for the present Dr Rendel Harris' attractive hypothesis must remain hypothetical.

Be that as it may, the extract cited above from Apollonios of Rhodes brings us back to the Hyperboreans again. Apollon (said the Keltoi), when banished by Zeus from heaven, was sent—not to Admetos king of Thessaly—but to the Hyperboreans. Once more we are led to suspect that the Hyperborean land lay well to the north of Greece. And the context implies that it was located at some point on the Amber Road[2]. Already in neolithic times one

published a specimen in the Bibliothèque Nationale, struck by Caracalla, which shows the trees surmounted by two birds.

[(7) Coppers of Olbia, struck probably in *s.* i A.D. have *obv.* ΟΛ ΒΙΟΠΟ Bust of Apollon to right; *rev.* Δ ΑΔ ΟC CΑΤΥ (*i.e.* Ἀάδος Σατύρου the *árchon*) Nude Apollon, who stands facing us with a *kálathos* on his head, a bow and arrow in his left hand, and a round object in his right (B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 172 f. pl. 10, 31, Miss G. M. Hirst in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 253 ff. fig. 2, E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 473, 477 pl. 3, 16, A. von Sallet in *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 27 no. 124). As to the nature of the round object B. Pick *loc. cit.* suggests 'ein Salbgefäss...oder ein Granatapfel' and cp. the archaic statuette of Apollon from Naxos, now in the Berlin Museum (M. Fränkel in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii. 84 ff. pl. 7 'Salbgefäss,' E. Curtius *ib.* p. 97 'Granatapfel,' A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 451 f. fig. 'ein kleines kugeliges henkelloses Gefäss,' Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 35 ff. fig. 8 'Salbgefäss,' *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 245 f. fig. 65, 2 'Salbgefäss'), together with a tetradrachm struck at Sinope in *s.* iii B.C. (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 272 f. no. 1 pl. 10, 6, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 192 pl. 25, 32, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 508); but A. von Sallet *loc. cit.* says 'in der R. Schale' and E. H. Minns *op. cit.* pl. 3, 16 speaks of 'bow and patera (?).']

[1] Schrader *Reallex.*[2] p. 53.

[2] On the various routes by which amber from the north reached the south of Europe see J. N. von Sadowski *Die Handelsstrassen der Griechen und Römer durch das Flussgebiet der Oder, Weichsel, des Dniepr und Niemen an die Gestade des Baltischen Meeres* Aus dem Polnischen von A. Kohn Jena 1877, H. Genthe 'Ueber die Beziehungen der Griechen und Römer zum Balticum' in the *Verh. d. 36. Philologenversamml. in Karlsruhe* 1882 pp. 17—31, F. Waldmann *Der Bernstein im Altertum* (Separatabdruck aus dem Programm des livl. Landesgymnasiums für das Jahr 1882) Fellin 1883 (pp. 37—67 'Von dem Bernsteinhandel, dessen Betrieb, Ausbreitung und Strassen im Altertum,' p. 85 f. 'Bernsteinfunde an den Handelsstrassen'), O. Olshausen 'über den alten Bernsteinhandel der cimbrischen Halbinsel und seine Beziehungen zu den Goldfunden' in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1890 xxii Verhandlungen p. 270 ff., *id.* 'über den alten Bernsteinhandel

branch of this great trade-route ran direct from the Baltic to the Black Sea, traversing the valleys of the Vistula and the Dniester, while a second branch, passing along the Elbe, the Moldau, the Danube, came down to the Adriatic, the Balkans, and Greece[1]. In the Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age the Elbe-Danube-Adriatic route was extensively used by the amber-trade[2]. It may therefore be regarded as reasonable to place the Hyperboreans of the myth pretty much where Pindar placed them, near 'the shady springs of Istros[3].'

This location is to some extent confirmed by recent enquiries into the etymology of the name *Hyperbóreoi*. In 1892 W. Prellwitz[4] first propounded the view that *Boréas* means the wind 'from the mountain' (Church Slavonic *gora*)—a view accepted in 1898 by H. Pedersen[5] and in 1901 by O. Schrader[6]. Pedersen accordingly takes the word *hyperbóreos* to denote 'beyond the mountains.' In 1905 O. Schroeder[7] argued that the Hyperboreans were, not an idealised earthly tribe, but a '*Himmelsvolk*' of divinised heroes. Belief in them arose in a land where and at a time when the word for 'mountain' was **bóris*—a form presumed for the pre-Greek dialects of northern Greece. Now the highest mountain between the rivers Haliakmon and Axios is the ancient *Bora*[8] or modern *Nidje*, which attains an elevation of over 2000^{m}[9]. We must conceive of the *Hyperbóreoi* as dwelling, not on the earth 'beyond Bora[10],' but in the sky 'above Bora[11].' Schroeder's conclusions were approved in 1914 by R. Günther and Daebritz[12]. In the same year Kiessling[13] admitted that *Hyperbóreoi* really meant 'above Bora,' but insisted that from the beginning of *s.* v B.C. it was interpreted 'beyond

und die Goldfunde' *ib.* 1891 xxiii Verhandlungen p. 286 ff., H. Blümner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 298 f., Schrader *Reallex.*[2] pp. 96—101.

[1] J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 626 f.

[2] *Id. op. cit.* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 19 ff., 1913 ii. 2. 872 ff., 1914 ii. 3. 1327 ff., 1573 ff. As to roads down the eastern side of the Adriatic, A. J. B. Wace and M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 3 observe: 'The main route from north to south seems to have come down Central Epirus to Ambracia (Arta, Ἄρτα), and thence to have crept round the coast past Amphilochian Argos into the lower Achelous valley.'

[3] *Supra* p. 465.

[4] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[1] p. 50, *id. ib.*[2] p. 81.

[5] H. Pedersen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1898 xxxvi. 319.

[6] Schrader *Reallex.* p. 956.

[7] O. Schroeder 'Hyperboreer' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii. 79 f., 82 f.

[8] Liv. 45. 29 quarta regio trans Boram montem, una parte confinis Illyrico, altera Epiro.

[9] H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 xvii J i gives the altitude as 2320^{m}.

[10] Cp. ὑπερπόντιος. [11] Cp. ὑπεράκριος.

[12] R. Günther and Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 260.

[13] Kiessling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 857 f.

Boreas,' the word *bora*, 'mountain,' having wholly dropped out of use. Hence—he inferred—neither the true (modern) derivation nor the false (ancient) derivation can explain the fact that the Hyperboreans were so early located to the north of the Rhipai. This must be due to the primitive astronomical belief that the sun disappeared at night behind a huge mountain in the north. In 1916 Miss G. H. Macurdy[1] wrote: 'Helios-Paean-Apollo was the Sun god worshipped with Artemis Basileia in Paeonia-Pieria, and the Hyperborean legend connects this worship with the cult of Apollo and Artemis beyond the Bora.' Miss Macurdy drew attention to the fact that the *via Egnatia*, which ran from Dyrrhachion through Makedonia and Thrace to Byzantion[2], passed close to Mount Bora, and she suggested 'that the same gift of poetic imagination to which we owe the myth of the sisters of Phaethon, transformed into poplars and dropping tears of amber at the place which appears to have been an entrepôt for amber in ancient days, has also developed this legend of a holy race of men living beyond the Bora, on the North-Western track that led to the night home of the Sun god.' In 1917 Miss Harrison[3] proposed to combine Kiessling's explanation with that of Miss Macurdy: 'The *bora* of myth gets contaminated with the Bora of fact.' Lastly, in 1920 Miss Macurdy[4] accepted this combination, but demurred to S. Casson's view[5] that 'The Hyperboreans as a nucleus of myths and travellers' tales belong essentially to the Far East of antiquity,' their 'celestial calm' being perhaps 'some faint echo from civilised China[6].'

[1] Miss G. H. Macurdy 'The Hyperboreans' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 180—183.

[2] See E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1988 ff.

[3] Miss J. E. Harrison in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1917* p. 96 f.

[4] Miss G. H. Macurdy 'The Hyperboreans again, Abaris, and Helixoia' in the *Class. Rev.* 1920 xxxiv. 137 ff.

[5] S. Casson 'The Hyperboreans' in the *Class. Rev.* 1920 xxxiv. 1 ff. On the suggested connexion with China see M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2829 and E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 113 f., also H. A. Giles *Adversaria Sinica* i. 1 ff. Shanghai 1905, ix. 298 f. Shanghai 1911.

[6] The views summarised in this paragraph are, of course, incompatible with that advocated by my friend Dr Farnell in his *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 102 f.: 'The brilliant explanation given by Ahrens of the meaning of the name [*sc.* 'Hyperboreans'] throws light on the darkness: he notes the name of the Macedonian month *Τπερβερεταῖος*, the last month of the year, and therefore falling probably in midsummer and about the time of the harvest, derivable also immediately from no other word than *ὑπερβερέτης*; he notes also the North Greek equation of *β* and *φ*, and concludes that the form *Τπερβόρειοι* is merely a lengthening, due to mistaken popular etymology of *Τπέρβοροι*, which equals *Τπέρφοροι*, a possible variant of *Τπερφερέται*, a name for the sacred ministrants who carry the cereal offerings from one community to another, and whom Herodotus calls *Περφερέες*. This deduction has won some acceptance, and is by far the most interesting contribution made by philology to the solution of a problem of Greek religion.'

The explanation put forward by H. L. Ahrens in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1862 xvii. 340 ff.

On the whole, it seems probable that originally the *Hyperbóreoi* were so named as dwelling 'Beyond the Mountains,' but that later, when the word *bora* had passed out of general use, surviving only in the Macedonian Mount *Bora* and in *Boréas* the wind 'from the Mountains,' they were popularly supposed to live 'at the back of the North Wind.' The road to their far-distant country was conceived

was adopted by W. Mannhardt *Antike Wald- und Feldkulte* Berlin 1877 p. 234 f. (*ib.*² Berlin 1905 p. 234 f.), O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2830 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 103, 107, 718 b, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 520 f. But, even as restated by its later adherents, it involves sundry serious improbabilities—see Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 260 f.: 'Die antike Volksetymologie habe, von orientalischen Vorstellungen beeinflusst, den H. eine Bedeutung gegeben, die diese "Überbringer der Festgeschenke" nicht von Anfang an hatten; περφερέες sei = *ὑπερβέρεες, *ὑπερβερέες, ὑπερβόροι; der Ὑπερβερεταῖος des makedonischen Jahres sei der Monat der *ὑπερβερετή, wie die makedonische Prozession nach Delphi geheissen habe, und gehe auf ὑπέρ + φέρω = maked. *βέρω zurück. Hiergegen spricht aber, wie mich Günther belehrt "dass ὑπέρ nie diese Bedeutung unseres 'über' in überbringen,—tragen hat; das müsste παρά heissen; περί wiederum heisst 'über' nur in komparativischem Sinne (περικαλλής, Brugmann Gr. Gr.⁴ 513); die περφερέες sind vielmehr die sich herumdrehenden, d. h. die Umgebung (wie ἀμφίπολος), vgl. περιφερής 'um etwas herumgehend' und die περιφέρεια des Kreises." Auch Schröder 73 hat gegen jene Erklärung einen meines Erachtens schlagenden Einwand vorgebracht, dass doch nach Herodots Worten nur die fünf Begleiter der Jungfrauen περφερέες hiessen. Wie kann man dem Volk den Namen nach den Gesandten geben? Πομποί ohne ein Volk, das sie schickt, sind undenkbar. Dass die Sage von den H. "aus einem Missverständnisse dieser Benennnng" (Ahrens) hervorgehen konnte, ist unglaublich. Einen weiteren Gegengrund, den Namen der im delphischen Glauben wurzelnden Ὑπερβόρειοι aus der nur für Delos bezeugten Bezeichnung der den Hyperboreerinnen beigegebenen Begleiter als περφερέες abzuleiten, bildet die Verschiedenheit des delischen und delphischen Glaubens. Freilich kann περφερέες wohl delphisch sein, Kretschmer Glotta i 37. Gegen die Ahrenssche Etymologie vgl. auch Immisch Klaros 156. Treuber Gesch. d. Lykier 1887, 78. Zielinski N. Jahrb. III 87.' Daebritz goes on to urge that the Macedonian month Ὑπερβερεταῖος (adopted into the Cretan calendar as Ὑπερβέρετος) was rightly connected by O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 108 [after A. Fick in *Orient und Occident* 1864 ii. 720, who postulates a Zeus ὑπερβερέτα] with a Zeus ὑπερβερέτας, 'the surpasser,' = ὑπερφερέτης (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 34 cited *supra* p. 111 n. o) in the sense of ὑπερφέρων, ὑπερφερής. Hoffmann's derivation of Ὑπερβερεταῖος commends itself also to W. Baege 'De Macedonum sacris' in *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1913 xxii. 228 and to E. Bischoff in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 253. Proof positive has recently come to light in the shape of two inscriptions from the site of Mopsion (?) in Pelasgiotis (A. M. Woodward 'Greek Inscriptions from Thessaly' in *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1910 iii. 155 f. no. 7 on a gable-topped *stèle* in lettering of *s.* i B.C. (?) Διὶ Περφερέτᾳ [Ἀ]ντιμ|[ή]δης Παρ[μ]ενίσκου | ἀρχιφορυ[ρ]ήσας καὶ οἱ | σύνφορυ[ρ]οι στρατηγ|οῦντος Καλλισστράτου, O. Kern in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1057 on a similar but much damaged *stèle* Διὶ Φερφερέτᾳ· Ἀρισ|τοκ[ράτης Μελίνυο[υ] | ἀρχ[ίφρ]ου[ρ]ο[ς καὶ οἱ σ]ύν[φρ]ου[ροι στρατηγοῦ]ν(τ)ος – – – – – – (see Woodward *loc. cit.*)), which attest the cult of Zeus Περφερέτας or Φερφερέτας, Thessalian forms of the deity so acutely recognised by Fick. U. von Wilamowitz—Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1905 xl. 138 cures Kallim. *frag.* 117 Schneider *ap.* Hephaist. *enchir.* 6. 3 p. 19, 11 ff. Consbruch Ἑρμᾶς ὅ περ Φεραῖος αἰνείων θεός | ἐμμι τῶ φυγαίχμα by the simple expedient of re-writing Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνίων θεὸς | ἐμμι, τῶ φυγαίχμα ('wo dann so etwas wie ἀνάθημα und der Eigenname folgen musste, der Weihende, der der Schlacht entgangen war').

sometimes as an earthly, sometimes as a heavenly path. The former was the great trade-route that skirted the eastern shore of the Adriatic. The latter was its aërial counterpart, the Milky Way[1]. The one was the track by which amber reached the Greeks. The other was the highway followed by the birds. And it is interesting to find that Sophokles connected amber with birds, when he described it as the tears shed by the *meleagrides* or 'guinea-fowl' at the death of Meleagros[2].

Of the route by which the Hyperborean offerings came to Apollon at Delos we have two very different records. Herodotos[3] *à propos* of the Hyperboreoi writes :

'By far the fullest account of them is that given by the Delians, who declare that sacred things wrapped in wheaten straw are carried from the Hyperboreans to the Scythians ; that from the Scythians they are received by a succession of neighbouring tribes, who bring them westwards as far as the Adriatic ; that from this point they are forwarded south to the people of Dodona, who are the first of the Hellenes to receive them ; that from Dodona they come down to the Malian gulf and cross over to Euboia, where they are sent from town to town till they reach Karystos ; but that, after this, Andros is passed by, the Carystians taking them direct to Tenos, and the Tenians to Delos.'

Pausanias[4], having occasion to mention Prasiai, a small township on the east coast of Attike, observes :

'In Prasiai there is a temple of Apollon. Here the first-fruits of the Hyperboreans are said to come. The Hyperboreans—I am told—hand them over to the Arimaspians, and the Arimaspians to the Issedones ; from these the Scythians convey them to Sinope ; thence they are borne by Hellenes to Prasiai ; and it is the Athenians that bring them to Delos. These first-fruits—it is said—are hidden in wheaten straw, and nobody knows what they are. At Prasiai there is a tomb of Erysichthon[5], who died on the voyage as he was returning from Delos after the sacred embassy.'

The routes thus traced by Herodotos and Pausanias correspond, at least in part, with the two main branches of the Amber Road mentioned above[6], *viz.* that which passed along the Elbe, the Moldau,

[1] Cp. such names for the Galaxy as 'Watling Street' or 'London Road' (*supra* p. 37). H. Gaidoz and E. Rolland 'La Voie Lactée' in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 151 ff. add *Strada d'Roma* (Parma, Malaspina), *Via romana* (Tuscany), *la via che guida a Roma* (Romagna), *Rom strose* (mediaeval Germany), *Cesta do Rima* (Czechs), *Chemin d'Espagne* (Morbihan), *Strasze nach Aachen* or *Francfurter Strasse* or *Koelsche strate* or *Nierenberger patweg* (Westphalia).

[2] Soph. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 40 f. See further R. Holland in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2586 ff. and A. C. Pearson in his edition of *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 ii. 65 f. Mnaseas of Patrai *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 156 Müller) *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 38 likewise associates amber with 'aves, quas meleagridas et penelopas vocat.'

[3] Hdt. 4. 33. [4] Paus. 1. 31. 2.

[5] Note that Erysichthon was destroyed by Demeter for felling a sacred black-poplar in her grove at Dotion (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 24 ff.) : see *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 180 f., 1904 xviii. 76 f., *infra* § 3 (c) i (7), and cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Αἰγειροτόμοι· *ἰθαγενεῖς τινες Ἀθήνησιν.*

[6] *Supra* p. 493 f.

the Danube, and the Adriatic to Central Greece, and that which linked the Baltic to the Black Sea by means of the Vistula and the Dniester. The position of the various stations on the Hyperborean routes and their relation to both branches of the Amber Road can be conveniently seen from the map here inserted (pl. xxvi). It would appear that the five and a half centuries, which intervened between the time of Herodotos and the time of Pausanias, witnessed the transference of the first-fruits from the longer to the shorter land-route, a considerable saving of time being thereby effected[1]. F. G. Welcker, as far back as 1860, suggested that the Hyperborean gifts actually consisted of amber[2]; and his suggestion is decidedly attractive. If stones coloured like water were appropriate to the sky-god[3], amber may well have been associated with the sun-god. Whether the neolithic borings and cup-marks found on pieces of amber in Schleswig-Holstein, Denmark[4], and Prussia[5] had any solar significance[6], is very doubtful. Nor can we lay stress on the Homeric description of Eurymachos' necklace as 'strung with amber-beads, like the sun[7].' But Nikias (of Mallos[8]?) definitely

[1] Cp. Sir W. Ridgeway *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 p. 105 ff., *id.* in Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 405 f.

[2] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 353 ff. Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 406 and *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 33 n. 4 takes the offerings to have been first-fruits of the corn. But Herodotos' phrase *ἱρὰ ἐνδεδεμένα ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν* (4. 33) and Pausanias' equivalent *τὰς δὲ ἀπαρχὰς κεκρύφθαι...ἐν καλάμῃ πυρῶν* (1. 31. 2) imply that something was wrapped in the sheaf. There is therefore something to be said for the view of W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1905 p. 237: 'Es wird nämlich in ausserordentlich zahlreichen Fällen noch jetzt ein *Mensch* oder ein *Tier*, oder ein *Ei* (Osterei) und *Brod*...in die *erste* oder *letzte Garbe* des Ährenschnitts als Vertreter des Wachstumsgeistes hineingebunden. Im griechischen und italischen Brauche spielt aber die erste Garbe der Ernte die Rolle, welche in Nordeuropa gemeinhin der letzten zufällt. Unzweifelhaft waren auch die in Weizengarben eingebundenen Opfergaben des delischen Erntefestes von gleicher Art.' That we have a Phrygian example of the man bound in a sheaf was rightly emphasised by W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] p. 285 and *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 1 ff., O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2065 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 214 ff. Has it been noticed that a Greek parallel underlies Aristoph. *Ach.* 948 ff., where the Boeotian, about to carry off Nikarchos packed in straw, ejaculates *μέλλω γέ τοι θερίδδειν*, and the Chorus replies *ἀλλ', ὦ ξένων βέλτιστε, συν|θέριζε κ.τ.λ.*?

[3] *Supra* i. 357.

[4] C. Neergaard 'Ravsmykkerne i Stenalderen' in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1888 p. 281 ff. figs. 2, 3, 7, 8, S. Müller *Nordische Altertumskunde* trans. O. L. Jiriczek Strassburg 1897 i. 51 ff. figs. 26 and 27, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 376.

[5] R. Klebs *Der Bernsteinschmuck der Steinzeit von der Baggerei bei Schwarzort und anderen Lokalitäten Preussens* Königsberg 1882 pl. 7 figs. 1, 2, 4, 9, pl. 11 figs. 1, 8, pl. 12 fig. 8, quoted by M. Hoernes *loc. cit.*

[6] Cp. E. Krause *Die Trojaburgen Nordeuropas* Glogau 1893 pp. 48—60, *id. Die nordische Herkunft der Trojasage bezeugt durch den Krug von Tragliatella* (*Nachtrag zu den Trojaburgen Nordeuropas*) Glogau 1893 p. 46 f.

[7] *Od.* 18. 295 f., cp. 15. 460.

[8] *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 463 Müller.

The Western and Eastern Routes of the Hyperborean Offerings in relation to early Trade-Routes for Amber.

See pages 493 f., 497 f.

explained amber as the juice or sweat of solar rays[1]. Moreover, its Greek name *élektron* is akin to *eléktor*, a poetic title of the sun[2]; and the ancients maintained that the latter was derived from the former[3], or the former from the latter[4]. Among the Rhodians, too, Elektryone —locally worshipped as Alektrona[5]—was said to be the daughter of Helios[6].

Our enquiry, as a whole, leads up to the following conclusions. The cult of Apollon came into Greece along the older Amber Route from the land of the Hyperboreans, which is best located near the source of the Danube. The *Agyieûs*-pillars of Apollonia, Orikos, Olympe, Ambrakia mark out the 'Way'[7] and point onwards to Delphoi, where the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agyieus established the oracle[8]. Apollonia in Illyria was left as a milestone on the road[9], if not also Apollonia in Akarnania[10] and Apollonia in Aitolia[11].

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 36.

[2] *Il.* 6. 513 ἠλέκτωρ, 19. 398 = *h. Ap.* 369 ἠλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων, Euphorion *frag.* 74 Meineke *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 4. 5 p. 259, 1 f. Stählin καί οἱ γείνατο κοῦρον, ὃς οὐκ ἠλέκτορα εἶδεν. E. E. Sikes on *h. Ap.* 369 justly cp. Emped. 327 Karsten (*frag.* 22 Diels) ἠλέκτωρ, 'fire.'

[3] Schol. L. *Il.* 6. 513 ὥστ' ἠλέκτωρ·...ἢ ὅτι λαμπρός, παρὰ τὸ ἤλεκτρον = *et. Gud.* p. 239, 58 f., cp. *et. mag.* p. 425, 36 ff. = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἠλέκτωρ; Apion (on whom see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2806) *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 659, 28 f. (cp. pp. 826, 11, 1189, 62 f., *in Od.* p. 1483, 33 f.) ἠλέκτωρ δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ Ἥλιος, ὡς δὲ Ἀπίων φησίν, ὁ λάμπων ὡς ἤλεκτρον; Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 83, 20 f. ἠλέκτωρ· ἐπιθετικῶς ὁ ἥλιος, ἤτοι ὁ λαμπρός, παρὰ τὴν τοῦ ἠλέκτρου οὐσίαν, περὶ οὗ φησὶν "ἠλέκτωρ ὑπολάμπεθ'" (Hes. *sc. Her.* 142 ἠλέκτρῳ θ' ὑπολαμπές).

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 31 electrum appellatum, quoniam sol vocitatus sit Elector, Isid. *orig.* 16. 24. 1 electrum vocatur quod ad radium solis clarius auro argentoque reluceat. sol enim a poetis Elector vocatur. etc., schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 740 κόραι Φαέθοντος· Ἥλιον γὰρ βούλεται αὐτὰς ὁ μῦθος εἶναι. διὰ τὸ καὶ τὸ δάκρυον αὐτῶν φωτεινοειδὲς λέγεσθαι εἶναι ἤλεκτρον ὀνομαζόμενον, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἠλέκτωρ ὁ Ἥλιος καλεῖται, Favorin. *lex.* p. 851, 1 ff. ἤλεκτρον...παρὰ τὸν ἥλιον, ὃς ἠλέκτωρ ὀνομάζεται.

[5] C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 122 ff. no. 349 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 677 = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 145 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 434 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 560 on a marble *stéle* of *s.* iii B.C. found near Ialysos: line 19 ff. νόμος ἃ οὐχ ὅσιον ἐσίμειν οὐδὲ | ἐσφέρειν ἐς τὸ ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τέ|μενος τᾶς Ἀλεκτρώνας· μὴ ἐσίτω ἵππος, ἄνος, ἡμίονος, γῖνος, | μηδὲ ἄλλο λόφουρον μηθέν, μη|δὲ ἐσαγέτω εἰς τὸ τέμενος μη|θεὶς τούτων μηθέν, μηδὲ ὑποδήμ|ματα ἐσφερέτω μηδὲ ὕειον μη|θέν. κ.τ.λ. with the notes of W. Dittenberger and L. Ziehen *ad loc.*

[6] Diod. 5. 56, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 24 h (p. 204, 17 f. Drachmann).

[7] *Supra* pp. 161 f., 166.

[8] *Supra* p. 169.

[9] This assumes that the Corcyraean colony of 588 B.C. (J. Oehler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2827 f., G. Hirschfeld *ib.* ii. 112) found Apollon already established on the spot. Interest attaches to an archaic 'Apollon'-torso of white limestone (15 cm. high), which came to light at *Durazzo* (C. Praschniker—A. Schober *Archäologische Forschungen in Albanien und Montenegro* Wien 1919 p. 40 fig. 47, R. Pagenstecher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 29, 1921 p. 109 = *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 83).

[10] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀπολλωνία.

[11] Liv. 28. 8.

It is noticeable that a town in Thrace[1] and no fewer than four towns in Makedonia bore the same name[2], including the settlement on Mount Athos whose inhabitants were called *Macrobii*[3]—a title suggestive of Hyperborean longevity[4]. With regard to Apollon's original character we are still lamentably ignorant. That he was from the first a sun-god is neither proved, nor probable[5]. *Apóllon* appears to be merely a cult-epithet, 'he of the Black-Poplars[6].' The full name of the god is possibly preserved in the Homeric designation Phoibos *Apóllon*[7]. If so, the name means 'the Clear One,' 'the Pure One[8],' and would be applicable to any deity of the bright, shining sky. Not improbably Phoibos and Phoibe were sky-god and earth-goddess respectively. On reaching Delphoi, Phoibe as a chthonian power succeeded to Gaia and Themis[9], while Phoibos, finding another sky-god already in possession, became affiliated to Zeus and acted as his interpreter to men[10]. For the rest, Phoibos *Apóllon*, god of the clear, pure sky, underwent both physical and ethical development: on the one hand, his clarity, specialised into that of the sun[11], enabled him to rival and in part displace the ancient Helios; on the other hand, his essential purity[12] made him a god of light and leading to the whole civilised world.

We have, so far as I can see, no right to assume that Artemis entered Greece along with Apollon or came from the same northern home. Herodotos indeed adduces as a parallel to the Hyperborean usage the fact that Thracian and Paeonian women, when they sacrifice to Artemis *Basíleia*, hold their offerings 'not without wheaten

[1] G. Hirschfeld *loc. cit.* ii. 113 f. [2] *Id. ib.* ii. 114. [3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 37.

[4] Schol. Dionys. *per.* 560 Μακροβίων· ἄποικοι γάρ εἰσιν οὗτοι τῶν ἑῴων Αἰθιόπων ἢ τῶν Ὑπερβορείων. Orph. *Arg.* 1106 ff. makes the Argonauts, after reaching the land of the Ὑπερβόρεοι (1077, 1082), arrive at the wealthy folk of the Μακρόβιοι, whose span of 12000 months each as long as 100 years (1108) recalls Pindar's description of the Hyperboreans as χιλιετῶν (*supra* p. 465 n. 1). See further Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 261 f., 274 f.

[5] *Supra* i. 258 n. 4. [6] *Supra* p. 484 ff.

[7] H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 154, ii. 439 f., L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 371. The Homeric poems, if drafted in northern Greece, would be likely to preserve the original name of the god.

[8] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 493, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 1032. Prof. H. M. Chadwick suggests to me (June 30, 1921) that a north-Greek form of the same stem may be seen in Βοίβη, ἡ Βοιβηὶς λίμνη, etc.: cp. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 216.

[9] Aisch. *Eum.* 1 ff. See also Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2395 ff.

[10] Aisch. *Eum.* 7 ff. *Supra* pp. 204 n. 1, 265 f.

[11] Cp. Aisch. *P. v.* 22 f. σταθευτὸς δ' ἡλίου φοίβῃ φλογὶ κ.τ.λ. One of the Heliades was named Φοίβη (Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2397).

[12] Plout. *de* E *apud Delphos* 20 φοῖβον δὲ δήπου τὸ καθαρὸν καὶ ἁγνὸν οἱ παλαιοὶ πᾶν ὠνόμαζον, ὡς ἔτι Θεσσαλοὶ τοὺς ἱερέας ἐν ταῖς ἀποφράσιν ἡμέραις αὑτοὺς ἐφ' ἑαυτῶν ἔξω διατρίβοντας, οἶμαι, φοιβονομεῖσθαι λέγουσι.

straw[1].' But, as K. Wernicke[2] points out, 'Artemis *Basileia*' is merely Herodotos' translation of the Thracian *Bendîs*[3]; and we have not the remotest reason to connect Bendis with Apollon. Again, the story of Kleinis made that Mesopotamian worthy accompany Apollon and Artemis to the land of the Hyperboreans[4]. But, when they got there, it was Apollon, not Artemis, that received the sacrifice; and, in any case, a contaminated Hellenistic romance is a source of very dubious value[5]. O. Crusius[6] would emend Pindar's account of the Hyperborean 'brute beasts ramping bolt upright (*orthían*)[7]' in such a way as to make the delighted spectator, not Apollon, but Artemis *Orthía*—a desperate expedient. Crusius urges that Pindar elsewhere describes how 'Leto's horse-driving daughter' (Artemis) welcomed Herakles to 'the Istrian land[8].' But Pindar wishes us to believe that Herakles brought thence the wild-olive and, as we have already seen[9], is giving a southern colour to a northern myth. Lastly, it might be contended that the names of the Hyperborean maidens Opis and Arge (Hekaerge), or Hyperoche and Laodike, imply the cult of Artemis. That is probably true, and has been admitted[10]. But they imply the cult of Artemis at Delos rather than in the land of the Hyperboreans.

In short, we have no real ground for supposing that Artemis was *ab initio* the twin sister of Apollon. There is more to be said for the view that he first met her in Asia Minor or the Archipelago, where she originated as the younger form of the Anatolian mother-goddess, being related to Leto in much the same way as Persephone to Demeter[11].

(*b*) Lightning as a flash from an Eye.

W. Schwartz in a noteworthy chapter of his *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* collects a mass of evidence to show that lightning is

[1] Hdt. 4. 33 *οἶδα δὲ αὐτὸς τούτοισι τοῖσι ἱροῖσι τόδε ποιεύμενον προσφερές, τὰς Θρηικίας καὶ τὰς Παιονίδας γυναῖκας, ἐπεὰν θύωσι τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι τῇ Βασιλείῃ, οὐκ ἄνευ πυρῶν καλάμης ἐχούσας τὰ ἱρά.*

[2] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1370, 1381: so also G. Knaack *ib.* iii. 270.

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* Βενδῖς· *ἡ Ἄρτεμις, Θρᾳκιστί,* Palaiph. 31 (32) *τὴν Ἄρτεμιν Θρᾷκες μὲν Βένδιν, κ.τ.λ.,* schol. Plat. *rep.* 327 A *τούτων δὲ καὶ Θρᾷκες ἐκοινώνουν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Βένδις παρ' αὐτοῖς ἡ Ἄρτεμις καλεῖται, κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Βούσβατον· *τὴν Ἄρτεμιν. Θρᾷκες.*

[4] *Supra* p. 463 n. 1.

[5] The same, or worse, must be said of Artemis' journey from the Hyperboreans as sketched by Diodoros after Dionysios Skytobrachion (*supra* i. 244 f.).

[6] O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2816 n., *id. Die delphischen Hymnen* (*Philologus* 1894 liii Ergänzungsheft) Göttingen 1894 p. 52 n. 65, cj. *ὀρῶσ'*...*Ὀρθία* for *ὀρῶν*...*ὀρθίαν* in Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 36.

[7] *Supra* p. 463.

[8] *Supra* p. 465.

[9] *Supra* p. 466.

[10] *Supra* p. 452.

[11] *Supra* i. 396 f.

often regarded as the piercing glance of a fiery eye, and that the wide-spread belief in the evil eye is directly traceable to this conception[1]. Of the conclusions here stated I should accept the first and reject the second. There are, I think, grounds for supposing that the Greeks sometimes at least viewed lightning as a glance from the eye of Zeus, and indeed as the glance of his evil eye. But to explain the evil eye of men as derived from the evil eye of a god is—apart from other objections—to invert the order of religious causation.

Hesychios the lexicographer quotes from an unnamed Greek tragedian the phrase—

as the eye of Zeus,

and informs us that it means 'as a flash of lightning[2].' This is

[1] W. Schwartz *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 pp. 169—219. Cp. some sentences in an earlier work by the same author (F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 212 f.), and the helpful chapter of W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 63 ff. ('Der Blitz als Wuthblick eines himmlischen Ungeheuers,' etc.).

[2] *Frag. trag. adesp.* 278 Nauck² *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* ὥσπερ οὐφθαλμὸς Διός· ὡς ἀστραπή. οὐφθαλμὸς Διός is the correction of A. Meineke (*Philologus* xii. 630) for ὁ ὀφθαλμὸς τοῦ Διός cod. A. Nauck reads ὀφθαλμὸς Διός.

Homer alludes four times to the ὅσσε φαεινώ of Zeus (*Il.* 13. 3 and 7, 14. 236, 16. 645), once to those of Athena (*Il.* 21. 415), once to those of Menelaos (*Il.* 17. 679), and once to the ὄσσε φαεινά of Alkathoos (*Il.* 13. 435). But it is to be observed that, according to Dr W. Leaf and Mr M. A. Bayfield *ad locc.*, the first four passages belong to a decidedly earlier *stratum* of the poem than the last three. Hence we may perhaps infer that 'flashing eyes' were appropriate to Zeus as a lightning-god, and to Athena as his second self (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (μ)). Menelaos was at most Διοτρεφής (*Il.* 17. 679), as was the father of Alkathoos (*Il.* 13. 427): Agamemnon was δμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ (*Il.* 2. 478. *Infra* Append. I).

Later writers usually lay stress on the eye of Zeus as the wakeful witness of right and wrong: *e.g.* Hes. *o.d.* 267 (*supra* i. 187 n. 9, 196 n. 6), Aisch. *suppl.* 646 ff. Δῖον ἐπιδόμενοι πράκτορά [τε] σκοπὸν | δυσπολέμητον, δν [οὐ]τίς ἂν δόμος ἔχοι | ἐπ' ὀρόφων μαίνοντα; βαρὺς δ' ἐφίζει with schol. *ad loc.* Διὸς σκοπόν, τὸν Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸν τὸν πάντα σκοποῦντα (W. Headlam, after F. Bamberger and T. G. Tucker, would read πράκτορά τοι κότον. I should keep σκοπόν, but explain it as alluding to the eagle, not to the eye, of Zeus), Soph. *O.C.* 704 ff. ὁ γὰρ αἰὲν ὁρῶν κύκλος λεύσσει νιν Μορίου Διὸς | χἀ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθάνα (the schol. *ad loc.*, cited *supra* p. 20 n. 4, equates Zeus Μόριος with Zeus Καταιβάτης), Eur. *Hipp.* 886 τὸ σεμνὸν Ζηνὸς ὄμμ' ἀτιμάσας, Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 11, 20 Lang πάντ' ἐφορᾷ Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει. But there is at least a negative reminiscence of the 'flashing eyes' in Ov. *met.* 2. 857 nullae in fronte minae, nec formidabile lumen.

Athena was worshipped as Ὀξυδερκής or Ὀξυδερκώ at Argos (Paus. 2. 24. 2), as Ὀξυδέρκα at Epidauros (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1074 Ὀξυδέρ|κας. | Διονύσι|ος (Διονυσίου) | πυρφορή|σας with circle no. 40 (*ib.* p. 189) and numeral λγ'), as Ὀπτιλέτις (Plout. *v. Lyc.* 11, *apophth. Lac. Lyc.* 7) or Ὀπτιλία (Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Gorg.* 40 ἱστορεῖται γὰρ ὅτι Πτιλλίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐποίησε· πτίλλους δὲ ἐκάλουν τοὺς ὀφθαλμούς, cp. C. A. Lobeck *Pathologiae linguae Graecae elementa* Lipsiae 1853 i. 83) or Ὀφθαλμῖτις at Sparta (Paus. 3. 18. 2). These cult-titles recall her poetic epithets γλαυκῶπις, γοργῶπις, ὀβριμοδερκής, etc. (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 7, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1198 n. 3) and her intimate relation to the Gorgon (W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 Index p. 135 *s.v.* 'Athene,' *id.* in the *Lex. Myth.* i. 677, 1696, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1201

testimony which we cannot control; but the general trustworthiness of Hesychios and the occurrence of analogous expressions elsewhere combine to render it credible. Aischylos tells how an oracle bade Inachos drive Io from his home:

> And if he would not, there should come from Zeus
> A fire-eyed thunderbolt to blast his race[1].

But neither the reading nor the interpretation of the word translated 'fire-eyed' is quite certain[2]. More convincing are two other passages from the plays of the same poet. Klytaimestra in the *Agamemnon* has at length induced her husband to enter his palace treading a pathway strewn with purple as though he were a god. He does so, saying:

> Well, if thou wilt, let some one loose forthwith
> The shoes that serve my foot as slaves, and while
> I tread these sea-wrought robes, oh may no envy
> Of a divine eye strike me from afar[3].

Again, the chorus of Argive elders give the following expression to their belief in the jealousy of heaven:

> Exceeding good report is dangerous;
> For a thunderbolt is flung by the eyes of Zeus.
> Luck without envy is my choice[4].

These passages certainly seem to imply that lightning is a glance

n. 1, 1209 n. 2, Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1641 f.). It may be suspected that she was credited with a potentially evil eye (cp. such passages as Prop. 2. 28. 12 Palladis aut oculos ausa negare bonos? Hyg. *fab.* 165 Iuno et Venus cum eam irriderent, quod et caesia erat (B. Bunte cj. esset) et buccas inflaret, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 8 γλαυκῶπις *μέν, ἀλλὰ κοσμεῖ καὶ τοῦτο ἡ κόρυς*, 20. 10 *ἢ δέδιας μή σοι ἐλέγχηται τὸ γλαυκὸν τῶν ὀμμάτων ἄνευ τοῦ φοβεροῦ βλεπόμενον;*).

A fine bronze statuette of Zeus from Paramythia, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 36 no. 275 pl. 7, A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 81 with pl.), had eyes inlaid with silver. So have other bronze statuettes of Zeus at Paris (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 1 no. 1 fig., p. 1 f. no. 3 fig., p. 2 f. no. 4, p. 3 no. 5 fig., p. 3 f. no. 6 fig., p. 4 f. no. 8 fig., p. 5 f. no. 9 fig., p. 9 f. no. 17 fig., p. 10 no. 18 fig., cp. p. 13 no. 27, p. 13 no. 29 fig., De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 76 no. 511 pl. 38) and doubtless elsewhere. Silver was a metal specially appropriate to Zeus (*supra* i. 25 n. 2, 625 f.).

[1] Aisch. *P.v.* 667 f. *κεἰ μὴ θέλοι, πυρωπὸν ἐκ Διὸς μολεῖν | κεραυνόν, ὃς πᾶν ἐξαϊστώσοι γένος.*

[2] The Laurentian MS. has *πυρωτὸν*, other MSS. *πυρωπὸν*, which is printed by Dindorf and Wilamowitz. E. E. Sikes and St. J. B. Wynne Willson adopt their cj. *πυρῶπ' ἀν.* Even if *πυρωπὸν* be kept, it may mean no more than 'of fiery aspect.'

[3] Aisch. *Ag.* 944 ff. The essential words are 947 *μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος.*

[4] Aisch. *Ag.* 466 ff. *τὸ δ' ὑπερκόπως κλύειν | εὖ βαρύ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις Διόθεν κεραυνός. | κρίνω δ' ἄφθονον ὄλβον.* T. G. Tucker's cj. *κάραvα*, accepted by W. Headlam, would mean: 'for lofty peaks are struck from heaven by jealous eyes of Zeus.' For other cjj. see A. W. Verrall *ad loc.*

shot from the jealous eye of Zeus. And, when we remember that the 'jealous eye' was another name for the evil eye[1], it becomes highly probable that the Greeks sometimes considered lightning as an exhibition of the evil eye on the part of Zeus.

Now W. Wundt[2] in his masterly *Völkerpsychologie* has shown that the superstition of the evil eye[3] presupposes a belief in the eye as the seat and doorway of the soul[4]. Primitive man regards reflections on the cornea as due to an inward fire and, since this fire is dimmed or extinguished by death, connects it with the soul's activity[5]. The pupil of the eye he takes to be a hole through which the soul can pass outwards to work its will at a distance. Parenthetically I may add that this explanation accounts, not only for the evil eye, but also for the good eye[6]. If the glance of the eye

[1] O. Jahn 'Über den Aberglauben des bösen Blicks bei den Alten' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 31 n. 9.

[2] W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 27 f.

[3] For recent investigation of the evil eye see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 358. To the articles cited by him must now be added the important volumes of S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 i. 1—406, ii. 1—526 (reviewed by R. Wünsch in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 21, 1911 p. 75 ff. and in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 546, cp. K. T. Preuss *ib.* 1910 xiii. 453 ff.) and the very thorough-going monograph of B. Schmidt 'Der böse Blick und ähnlicher Zauber im neugriechischen Volksglauben' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 574—613.

[4] On the eye as seat of the soul see E. Monseur 'L'âme pupilline' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1905 li. 1—23, L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1907 x. 319, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3209 and in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 381, G. Elliot Smith *The Evolution of the Dragon* Manchester 1919 pp. 52—55.

[5] Cp. *e.g.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 64 augurium ex homine ipso est non timendi mortem in aegritudine, quamdiu oculorum pupillae imaginem reddant, Iul. Capit. *v. Pert.* 14. 2 ea die, qua occisus est, negabant in oculis eius pupulas cum imaginibus, quas reddunt spectantibus, visas.

[6] Examples of 'Der gute Blick' are collected by S. Seligmann *op. cit.* i. 244—251, cp. *ib.* ii. 493 Index *s.v.* 'Gutes Auge.' I have it from Prof. P. Gardner that the modern Greek peasant believes in the influence of a good eye as well as in that of an evil eye. I have noted the following ancient allusions to the good eye of deities: Kallim. *h. Ap.* 50 ff. *ῥεῖά κε βουβόσιον τελέθοι πλέον, οὐδέ κεν αἴγες* | *δεύοιντο βρεφέων ἐνιμηλάδες, ἧσιν* Ἀπόλλων | *βοσκομένῃσι ὀφθαλμὸν ἐπήγαγεν κ.τ.λ.*, Theokr. 9. 35 f. *τόσσον ἐμὶν Μοῖσαι φίλαι· οὐς γὰρ ὀρεῦντι* | *γαθεῦσαι, τοὺς δ' οὔ τι ποτῷ δαλήσατο Κίρκη* (cp. Kallim. *ep.* 23. 5 f. *Μοῦσαι γὰρ ὅσους ἴδον ὄμματι παίδας* | *μὴ λοξῷ, πολιοὺς οὐκ ἀπέθεντο φίλους*, where *μὴ λοξῷ* is read by schol. Hes. *theog.* 82, *ἄχρι βίου* by *Anth. Pal.* 7. 525. 6), cp. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 11 f., *Pyth.* 3. 85, Hdt. 1. 124, Alkiphr. *ep.* 1. 36, 3. 44, Aristain. *ep.* 1. 11, 1. 19, Hor. *od.* 4. 3. 1 ff. See further C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 343 n. 5. In the case of men I have no certain instances, but cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 14 ff. *τὸ μέν, ὅτι βασιλεὺς* | *ἐσσὶ μεγαλᾶν πολίων·* | *ἔχει συγγενὴς* | *ὀφθαλμὸς ἀλδοιότατον γέρας,* | *τεᾷ τοῦτο μιγνύμενον φρενί.* The 'eye born with' Arkesilas of Kyrene, which brought him worship and honour as an inalienable prerogative, may well have been his good eye. It seems to have been hereditary: *ib.* 51 ff. *ὁ Βάττου δ' ἕπεται παλαιὸς ὄλβος ἔμπαν τὰ καὶ τὰ νέμων,* | *πύργος ἄστεος ὄμμα τε φαεννότατον* | *ξένοισι.* J. Bridge 'ΣΥΓΓΕΝΗΣ ΟΦΘΑΛΜΟΣ' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1900 xi. 141 ff. gives a different explanation (*συγγενὴς ὀφθαλμός* = *συγγενὴς πότμος*, 'the guardian spirit of the race,' cp. Aisch. *cho.* 934

is the soul projected to a distance[1], it follows that the glance will be bad or good according to the nature of the soul's intention. Applying now Wundt's illuminating hypothesis to the Greek[2] conception of lightning as a glance from the eye of Zeus, we reach again by a different route the conclusion that lightning was part and parcel of the bright sky-god, a flash of his own fiery self darted forth from his eye in heaven.

(*c*) Lightning as a weapon.

Sir John Evans[3] and, more recently, C. Blinkenberg[4] have shown that throughout the confines of Europe, indeed far beyond them, stone celts or axes are regarded as thunderbolts. They are supposed to have fallen with a flash of lightning in the thick of a thunderstorm, and are consequently venerated as being of celestial origin.

The modern Greeks form no exception to this almost universal belief—witness the following tale from Zakynthos. The Giants (it is said), fancying themselves mightier than God, once laid claim to be lords of heaven and earth. They climbed a high mountain and flung rocks at God. But He grasped his thunderbolts and hurled them at the Giants, who were all dashed headlong from the mountain. Many of them were killed: the rest fled. One of them, however, did not lose heart. He cut a great many reeds, bound them together, and so made an enormously long pole, with which he tried to reach heaven[5]. He had nearly succeeded, when suddenly a flash of lightning from God reduced him to ashes[6]. After this his companions made a last

ὀφθαλμὸν οἴκων). See also the *modus operandi* of love as conceived by Plout. *symp.* 5. 7. 2, Heliod. 3. 7 f., Eumath. 3. 7.

[1] The philosophers here too built upon popular belief. Emped. *frag.* 84 Diels (302 ff. Karsten) compared the eye to a lantern, the light of which leaps forth through its surrounding framework. Plat. *Tim.* 45 B ff. holds that, in the act of sight, a pure fire within us issues through the eye as a visual current (δψεως ῥεῦμα): it is akin to the fire of daylight in the air, and unites with it to make a uniform substance, which meets the vibrations from the visible object and transmits them to the eye and so to the soul. Cp. Aristot. *de sensu* 2. 437 b 10 ff.

[2] The same conception is to be found in Latin literature. W. Schwartz *op. cit.* p. 176 f. calls attention to Sil. 12. 719 ff. where Iuno says to Hannibal: huc vultus flecte atque aude spectare Tonantem: | quas hiemes, quantos concusso vertice cernis | sub nutu tonitrus! *oculis qui fulgurat ignis! Id. ib.* p. 177 cites Ov. *met.* 2. 787 ff. where Invidia, the personified evil eye, blasts the landscape like a thunder-storm.

[3] Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*[2] London 1897 p. 56 ff.

[4] C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 pp. 1 ff., 68 ff. (a valuable, though somewhat miscellaneous, collection of facts).

[5] Cp. the tale of the Thracian Kosingas (*supra* p. 130). J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 74 regards the incident of the reeds as 'probably an imperfect reminiscence of the legend of Prometheus.'

[6] At Arachova, a village near Delphoi, when a big tree is struck, people exclaim κάποιον διάβολον ἔκαψε (*sc.* ὁ θεός rather than ἡ ἀστραπή), 'He's blasted a devil!'—it being thought

attempt to get up to heaven and destroy God. They piled one mountain on the top of another. So, when God saw that they would not be quiet, in great wrath He again hurled His lightning at them, and sent His angels to inform the survivors of their fate, which was perpetual imprisonment inside a mountain[1]. B. Schmidt, who reports this Zakynthian tale, comments on its similarity to the classical myths of the Giants and the Titans, observing that the *rôle* of the pagan Zeus has been simply transferred to the Christian God[2]. He also remarks that the word here used of God's 'thunderbolts' is *astropelékia*[3], and adds: 'The common expression for lightning that strikes is *astropeléki*, and this term proves that in the eyes of the populace the flash travelling downwards from the air appeared as an axe[4].' Rather let us say that the flash was thought to be accompanied by a tangible axe. For in Greece the name *astropelékia* is given to actual neolithic celts[5]. Schmidt himself has lately published the important observation that such celts are called, not only *astropelékia*, but also *astrapopelékia* (Epeiros) and *astrapóboula* (Parnassos)[6]—fuller forms which denote 'lightning-axes,' 'lightning-bolts,' and explain the otherwise puzzling prefix[7]. The celts are kept in houses as a preservative against lightning[8]; and portions of them are worn by way of protection from evil spirits or the evil eye. The inhabitants of Parnassos declare that fragments of these stones are found in places that have been struck by lightning.

The beliefs of the modern peasantry are of no recent growth. About the year 1081 A.D. Alexios i Komnenos, emperor of Constantinople, sent a number of presents to Henry iv, emperor of Germany, and among them an *astropelékys* set in gold[9]. Centuries

that God aims his lightning at such trees in order to destroy demons residing in them (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 33, J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 73).

[1] B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 131 ('Gott und die Riesen'), J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 73 f.

[2] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 33, 202, *id. Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 241.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 131 n. 1 *τσακώνει τὰ ἀστροπελέκια του.*

[4] *Id. Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 32 f.

[5] Sir J. Evans *op. cit.*[2] p. 59, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* p. 107.

[6] B. Schmidt in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1913 xxxi. 599 (*ἀστροπελέκια, ἀστραποπελέκια, ἀστραπόβουλα*).

[7] C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* p. 107 wrongly translates *ἀστροπελέκι*, 'sky-axe.' *Ἀστροπελέκια* is by haplology for *ἀστραποπελέκια*.

[8] My friend Prof. R. M. Dawkins has kindly furnished me with the following corroboration (May 23, 1919): 'I have seen a man from one of the islands, I think *Symi*, who told me that one of his women-folk kept a celt among her wool to prevent the garments from being destroyed by fire.'

[9] Anna Komnen. *Alex.* 3. 10 (i. 177 Schopen) *ἀστροπελέκυν δεδεμένον μετὰ χρυσαφίου*, on which see Sir J. Evans *op. cit.*[2] p. 59.

earlier, in the reign of Anastasios i (491—518 A.D.), Timotheos of Gaza recommended as a safe-guard against thunderstorms the keeping of an inscribed thunder-stone in the house[1]. And Pliny already

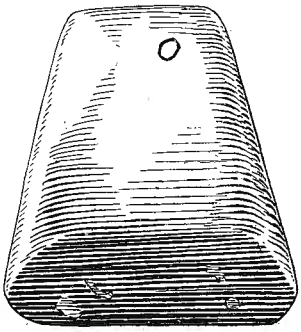


Fig. 382.

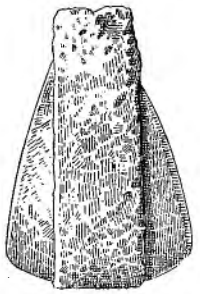


Fig. 383.

informs us that a rare variety of thunder-stone, much sought after by the Magi, is to be found only on a spot struck by lightning[2]—

[1] Timoth. Gaz. *de animalibus* published by M. Haupt in *Hermes* 1869 iii. 30, 26 ff. (=*id. Opuscula* Lipsiae 1876 iii. 302, 25 f.) *περίαπτον* (so H. Graff for *περιάπτων* cod.) *δὲ πρὸς κεραυνὸν ἔξεις ἐὰν λίθον* (so H. Graff for *ἐὰν δὲ εἰς λίθον* cod.) *κεραύνιον ἐπιγράψας ἔχῃς* (*ἔχει* cod.) *ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ* "*ἀφία ἀφρύξ*." The inscription is enigmatic: *ἀφίει ἄφρικτα* might mean 'Let (my belongings) be unscorched.'

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 135 Sotacus et alia duo genera fecit cerauniae, nigrae rubentisque [similes eas esse securibus] (these four words, omitted in cod. B, are bracketed by C. Mayhoff). ex his quae nigrae sint ac rotundae, sacras esse; urbes per illas expugnari et classes; baetulos vocari; quae vero longae sint, ceraunias. faciunt et aliam raram admodum, Magorum studiis expetitam, quoniam non aliubi inveniatur quam in loco fulmine icto, 37. 176 ombria, quam alii notiam vocant, sicnt et ceraunia et brontea, cadere cum imbribus et fulminibus dicitnr eundemque effectum habere; praeterea hac in aras addita libamenta non amburi, *alib.* Pliny's remarks on the *ceraunia* are served up again by Solin. 20. 15, 23. 9, Isid. *orig.* 16. 13. 5, and Myth. Vat. 3. 8. 7 *f.* See further the passages cited in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1464 A and in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iii. 856, 45 ff., 857, 9 ff. Cp. also Damigeron *de lapidibus* (printed in J. B. Pitra *Spicilegium Solesmense* Parisiis 1855 iii. 324 ff. and better edited by E. Abel as a sequel to Orph. *Lith.* Berolini 1881) praef. p. 162, 19 Abel Lapis quartus, qui dicitur ceraunius, sagittarii, 12 p. 173, 8 ff. Abel *Lapis Ceraunius.* Ceraunius est lapis, quem Aegyptii smaragdum vocant; invenitur autem in illis locis, ubi fulminis iactus fit; narratur tamen ex contritione nubium inter se fieri et pro hac causa hoc nomen meruit. Hunc siquis cum castitate portat, numquam a fulmine ferietur, nec domus, nec villa in qua fuerit. Praeterea si habuerit eum aliquis navigans, non periclitabitur per fulmen aut turbinem. Ampliusque ad omnem victoriam et certamen qui portat eum exsuperabit in omnem rem. Sed et oracula dat obsecranti, in somnis bona somnia; tanta est virtus huius ceraunii lapidis. Damigeron's account, with some additions from Pliny, was hitched into hexameters and passed on to the middle ages by Marbodus (bishop of Rennes—died 1123 A.D.) *liber lapidum seu de gemmis* (ed. J. Beckmann Gottingae 1799) 28 *De ceraunio.* Ventorum rabie cum

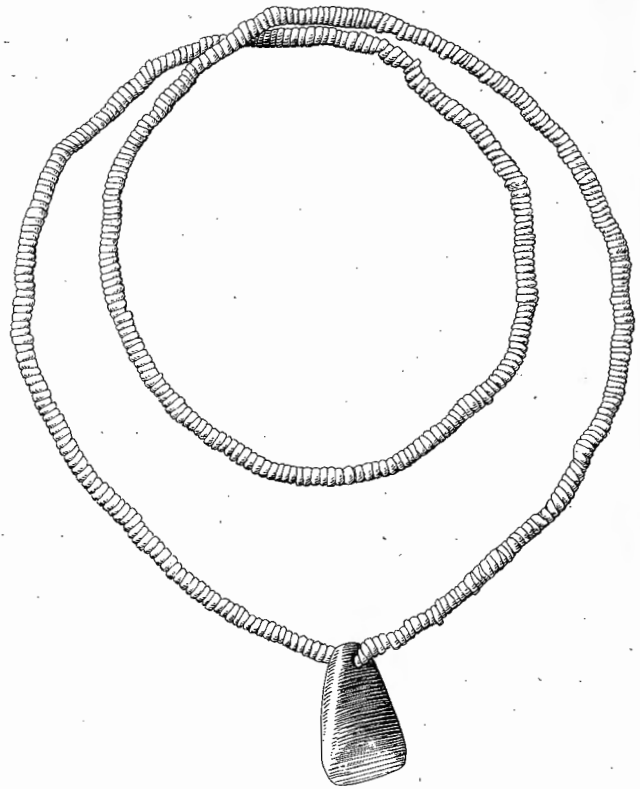


Fig. 384.

turbidus aestuat aër, | Cum tonat horrendum, cum fulgurat igneus aether, | Nubibus illisis, coelo cadit iste lapillus, | Cuius apud Graecos extat de fulmine nomen. | Illis quippe locis, quos constat fulmine tactos, | Iste lapis tantum reperiri posse putatur. | Unde ceraunius est graeco sermone vocatus. | Nam quod nos fulmen, Graeci dixere ceraunon. | Qui caste gerit hunc, a fulmine non ferietur, | Nec domus aut villae, quibus affuerit lapis ille. | Sed neque navigio per flumen vel mare vectus, | Turbine mergetur, vel fulmine percutietur. | Ad caussas etiam, vincendaque proelia prodest, | Et dulces somnos, et dulcia somnia praestat. | Huic binae dantur species, totidemque colores. | Crystallo similem Germania mittere fertur, | Caeruleo tamen infectum rutiloque colore. | Mittit et Hispanus, regione manens Lusitana, | Flammas spernentem, similemque colore pyropo. Later references are given by G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 pp. 34, 134, 162, *id. The Magic of Jewels and Charms* Philadelphia & London 1915 pp. 76 f., 92, 94 f., 106 ff., 161, 350.

information which he derived from Sotakos of Karystos, a Hellenistic writer on precious stones.

Monumental evidence for the like beliefs in the classical area is fairly abundant. A 'Minoan' grave at Phaistos yielded a small celt of softish black stone, not steatite, pierced with a hole and doubtless worn as an amulet (fig. 382)[1]. A very ancient votive deposit from Norba in Latium includes a small celt of green stone encircled lengthwise by an iron band, which must once have ended in a hook for attachment (fig. 383)[2]. A tomb at *Narce* in the Faliscan district con-

Fig. 386.

Fig. 385.

Fig. 387.

tained a small celt of diorite serving as pendant to a necklace of beads made in blue vitreous paste (fig. 384)[3]. In the Führer catacomb at Syracuse a celt of greenish serpentine flecked with white, which has a partially bored hole at one end, was found on the breast of a woman (fig. 385)[4]—a good example of a pagan superstition surviving into Christian times. In Spain two small celts of fibrolite were used as prophylactic pendants (figs. 386, 387)[5]. At Vettersfelde in Nieder-Lausitz, a district of Brandenburg, a remarkable hoard of objects in gold—the complete equipment of a Scythian chief—was

[1] L. Savignoni 'Scavi e scoperte nella necropoli di Phaestos' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1904 xiv. 616 with fig. 75 (on p. 606) = my fig. 382, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* pp. 22 f. fig. 10, 108. Height: 0·026m.

[2] R. Mengarelli and R. Paribeni 'Scavi sulle terrazze sostenute da mura poligonali presso l' Abbazia di Valvisciolo' in the *Not. Scavi* 1909 p. 257 fig. 23 = my fig. 383, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* p. 108.

[3] A. Pasqui 'Delle tombe di Narce e dei loro corredi' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1894 iv. 490, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* pp. 29 fig. 16 (= my fig. 384), 108.

[4] P. Orsi 'La catacomba di Führer nel predio Adorno-Avolio in Siracusa' in the *Römische Quartalschrift für christliche Alterthumskunde und für Kirchengeschichte* 1895 ix. 476 ff. pl. 2 fig. 1 (= my fig. 385).

[5] L. Siret *Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibériques* Paris 1913 i. 252 f. fig. 85, 3 and 4 (= my figs. 386, 387), 276 fig. 101, 15.

turned up by the ploughshare in 1882[1]: among these objects was a small celt of dark serpentine, half-sheathed in gold and fitted with a hollow cylinder for suspension (fig. 388)[2]. There can be little doubt that the celt was worn as an amulet in the early decades of *s.* v B.C.[3]

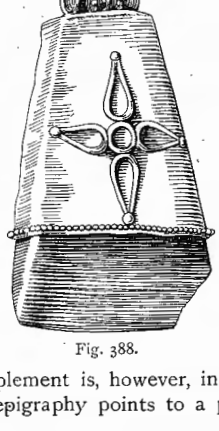


Fig. 388.

Of special interest are certain examples that bear incised inscriptions. A magnificent axe-head of brown banded agate, acquired by Cardinal S. Borgia (1731—1804) probably from some missionary to the East, later in the Tyszkiewicz collection, and now in the American Museum of Natural History at New York, has cut upon it a Sumerian inscription in archaic cuneiform characters (fig. 389)[4]. The inscription appears to record the owner of the axe, but not its dedication to a god. The implement is, however, in all probability of a votive character. Its epigraphy points to a period *c.* 2000 B.C.[5] A celt of serpentine,

[1] A. Furtwängler *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xliii) Berlin 1883 pp. 1—52 with cuts in the text and three pls. = *id. Kleine Schriften* München 1912 i. 469—516, pls. 18—20, E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 236—239 figs. 145—148.

[2] A. Furtwängler *Der Goldfund von Vettersfelde* p. 10 pl. 1, 3 = *id. Kleine Schriften* i. 475 pl. 18, 3, C. Blinkenberg *op. cit.* pp. 17 fig. 6 (= my fig. 388), 108, E. H. Minns *op. cit.* pp. 64, 236 (cp. *ib.* p. 398 n. 11).

[3] E. H. Minns *op. cit.* p. 236.

[4] G. F. Kunz 'On the ancient inscribed Sumerian (Babylonian) axe-head for the Morgan Collection in the American Museum of Natural History,' with translation by Prof. I. M. Price and discussion by Dr W. H. Ward, in the *Bulletin of the American Museum of Natural History* 1905 xxi. 37—47, I. M. Price 'An ancient Babylonian (Ax-head) Inscription' in *The American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literatures* 1904—1905 xxi. 173—178 with figs., G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 pp. 232—234 with pl. (= my fig. 389), F. Lenormant 'Tre monumenti caldei ed assiri di collezioni romane' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Conun. di Roma* 1879 vii. 19—25 pl. 6, 1, É. Cartailhac *La France préhistorique* Paris 1889 p. 4 fig. 1, G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 755 fig.

[5] I am indebted for this information to my friend Mr Sidney Smith, who examined and criticised for me the readings propounded by other Assyriologists. He says: 'The probable translation is "Ḫad-ḫimil, elder brother of Adad-ili." The first name might also he read Ḫattish.' Mr Smith adds that a votive hammer-head of Shudurkîb, last king of the Sargonid dynasty of Akkad, is now in the British Museum and will be published in *Cuneiform Texts* Part 36.

H. Zimmern 'Zu den Weihinschriften der Kassiten-Könige' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 1898 xiii. 302 ff. put together and elucidated the text of an inscription, in which the Kassite king Nazi-Maruttaš dedicates to Bel an axe 'of brilliant lapis-lazuli'... 'for his life and the welfare of his land.'

found in the Argolid and preserved in the Central Museum at Athens, is engraved with two Mithraic subjects and an inscription in Greek letters (fig. 390)[1]. A smaller celt of dark green jade or

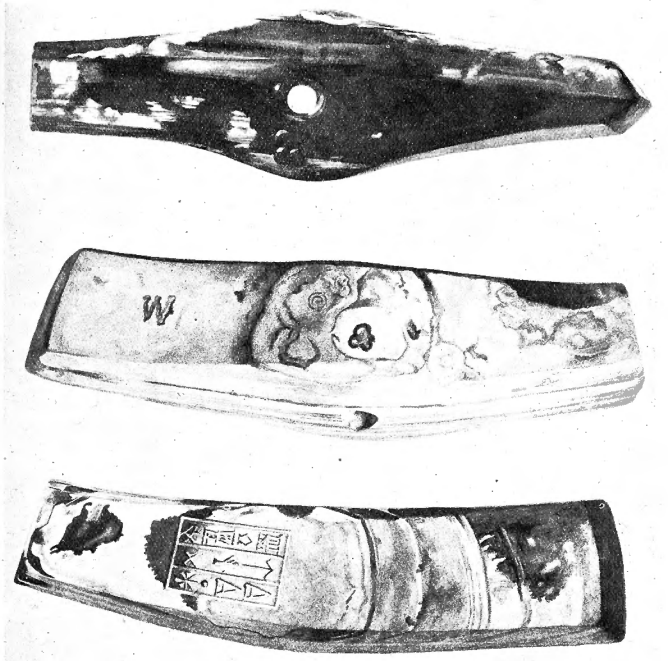


Fig. 389.

nephrite, brought from Egypt in 1812 by Colonel Milner, *aide-de-camp* to Lord J. Bathurst, and presented by Mrs Milner to the Christy collection, is covered on both faces with 'Gnostic' inscriptions

[1] A. Dumont in G. de Mortillet *Matériaux pour l'histoire primitive et philosophique de l'homme* Saint-Germain en Laye 1868 iv. 9 first drew attention to this axe. E. T. Stevens *Flint Chips* London 1870 p. 114 and Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments, of Great Britain*[2] London 1897 p. 61 f. followed suit. É. Cartailhac *L'âge de pierre dans les souvenirs et superstitions populaires* Paris 1877 p. 31 fig. 14 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 119 fig. 5 (inaccurate). Harrison *Themis* p. 57 fig. 6 (inscription corrected, after R. M. Dawkins). My illustration is from an impression in plaster kindly furnished by Mr B. Staes.

(fig. 391)[1]. Lastly, the paraphernalia of a diviner, discovered in the lower town at Pergamon and thence transferred to Berlin, comprise among other items of interest three polished black stones inscribed on both sides with magical *formulae*, the text of which is virtually identical on all three stones (fig. 392)[2]. It was pointed out by

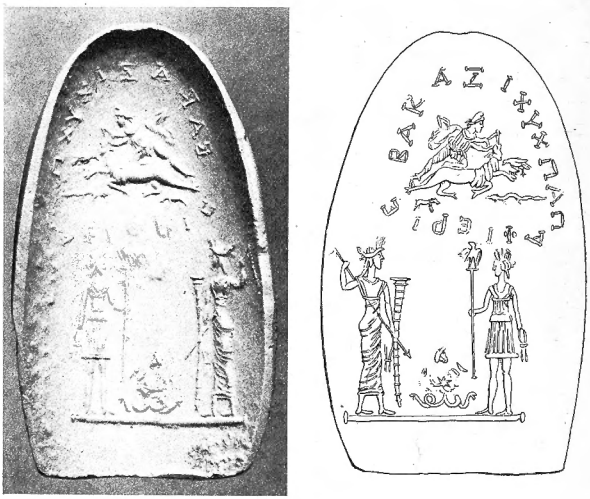


Fig. 390.

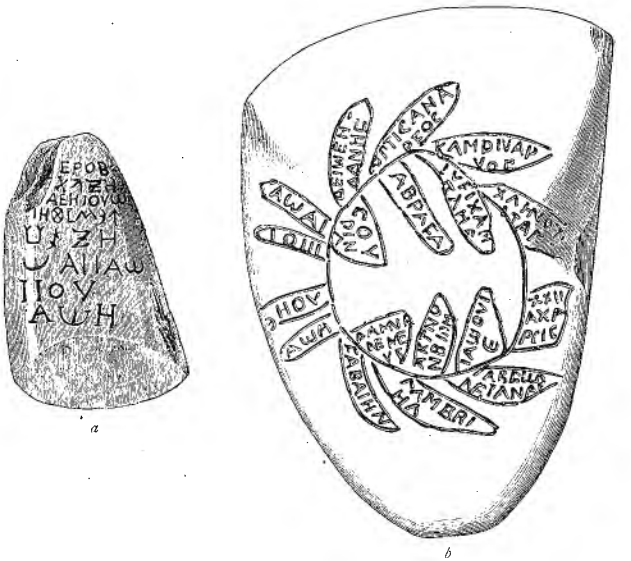
R. Wünsch that these stones are simply slices of one or more neolithic celts, cut up to serve as amulets. Special virtue was doubtless attributed to any section of a thunderbolt.

It would seem, then, that the beliefs attaching to neolithic celts among the modern Greeks can be traced back to classical times.

[1] Brigadier-General Sir H. Lefroy in *The Archaeological Journal* 1868 xxv. 151 f., C. W. King 'On a *Ceraunia* of jade converted into a Gnostic talisman' *ib.* 1868 xxv. 103—116 with pl. (=my fig. 391), E. T. Stevens *Flint Chips* London 1870 p. 109 f., Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Stone Implements, Weapons and Ornaments, of Great Britain*[2] London 1897 p. 60 f. fig. 11, G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 129 fig. and pl. opposite p. 122.

[2] A. Conze in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 199 f., R. Wünsch *Antikes Zaubergerät aus Pergamon* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft vi) Berlin 1905 pp. 16 f., 39 ff. pl. 4, figs. 16—20 (=my fig. 392), C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 pp. 16 f. figs. 5 A, 5 B (from photographs), 108. *Supra* i. 285 n. 1.

That being so, it is reasonable to push the investigation one step further and raise the question whether the like beliefs were already operant in the great pre-classical civilisation known to us as 'Minoan.'



a *b*

Fig. 391.

i. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult.

Looking round for evidence, we are at once impressed by the prominent position accorded to the double axe in cults of the 'Minoan' age. Here, however, in the absence of deciphered documents, we must move with the greatest caution. The double axe is an implement apt to cut both ways. It has already lent itself to diametrically opposite interpretations[1]. And the assumption that it was the hatchet of a sky-god, though a legitimate hypothesis, is hardly self-evident. In such a matter the only safe plan of procedure is to classify without prejudice the extant examples of the object in dispute, and to see how far our hypothesis will serve to explain their complex details.

[1] This, if nothing more, is made plain by the polemic of my friend Dr W. H. D. Rouse 'The Double Axe and the Labyrinth' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 268—274.

(α) The double axe in mid air.

In the cult-scenes of 'Minoan' art the double axe sometimes appears as an isolated object suspended in the air. The famous gold

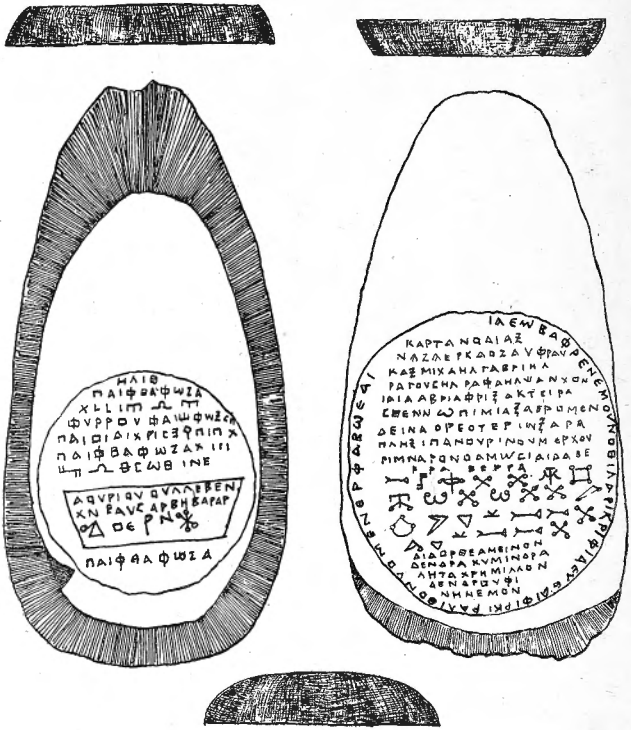


Fig. 392.

ring found by Drosinos and P. Stamatakes in a complex of buildings on the lower terrace of the Akropolis at Mykenai and now preserved in the Central Museum at Athens[1] affords a case in point (*supra* p. 47, fig. 18)[2]. It shows a female figure seated on stony ground

[1] Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 66 f. no. 992.

[2] Fig. 18 is after Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108 fig. 4 (scale $\frac{2}{1}$). O. Rossbach in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883 xli. 169—173 fig. has a careful line-drawing (scale $\frac{1}{1}$) made from two impressions of the ring in different materials. Furtwängler *Ant.*

beneath a vine (?)[1], with three poppy-heads in her hand. Two other females approach, with gestures of adoration, bringing her lilies and lotuses. The goddess and her attendant nymphs, if such they are, alike wear lilies in their hair, necklaces, and divided skirts: their waists are tightly constricted, their breasts prominent and bare[2]. Immediately in front of the goddess and represented on a much smaller scale a woman stands on a heap of stones or rude altar to offer flowers. Behind the tree another woman, on the same small scale, uplifts her hands in worship. The scene is closed on the left by a row of six lion-heads[3]. These suggest the cult of Rhea[4], who being an earth-mother might well hold poppy-heads[5] and receive gifts of flowers[6] as she sat beneath a vine[7]. Her place at Argos, Sparta, and Mykenai was later taken by the Greek Hera[8]. And it can hardly be accidental that a statue of Hera at Argos had a wreath of vine-shoots on its head and a lion-skin beneath its feet[9]. Moreover, Hera is expressly stated to have loved lilies[10]. In short, it seems highly probable that the gold ring found at Mykenai commemorates the great goddess of the locality, the 'Minoan' Rhea. But if the lower part of the design gives us the earth, the upper part gives us the sky. The sun and moon are manifest, with a double wavy line

Gemmen i pl. 2, 20 gives a photograph of an impression, and *ib.* ii. 9 f. a bibliography and description.

[1] Opinions differ. H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 354 ff. fig. 530 consulted two professors of botany at Athens: one of these experts, T. Orphanides, concluded that the tree is 'a breadfruit-tree' (!); the other, whom Schliemann follows, pronounced it to be 'simply a vine laden with bunches of grapes.' C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 276 ff. fig. 281 says: 'a clumsy representation of a vine.' Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 45 ff. fig. 23: 'un pin.' Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 840 ff. fig. 425: 'un pin ou un olivier.' Staïs *loc. cit.*: 'olivier?' Furtwängler *loc. cit.*: 'ein dicht belaubter Baum.'

[2] This 'Minoan' usage ultimately gave rise to two Homeric epithets, *βαθύζωνος*, 'deep-girt' (*i.e.* with girdle cutting deeply into the waist), and *βαθύκολπος*, 'deep-bosomed' (*i.e.* with deep hollow between the breasts): see F. Studniczka *Beiträge zur Geschichte der altgriechischen Tracht* Wien 1886 pp. 120 f., 104, W. Amelung in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2314, E. B. Abrahams *Greek Dress* London 1908 p. 15 f.

[3] So Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 10.

[4] A. Milchhöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* Leipzig 1883 pp. 35, 102 fig. 39 rightly regards the figures in the foreground as a group of divinities, *viz.* Mother Rhea receiving fruit and flowers from her nymphs (*pace* C. Schuchhardt *op. cit.* p. 277 f. and M. Mayer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 190).

[5] Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 7 f. Lang *κωδίαν δ' ἀναιθέασιν αὐτῇ παριστάντες, ὅτι αἰτία τῆς ζωογονίας αὕτη ἐγένετο.* Cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1542 n. 1.

[6] Orph. *h. Erot.* 58. 6 Ῥέα (so W. Wiel for *θεὰ*) ...χλοόκαρπος.

[7] Ap. Rhod. 1. 1117 ff., Euphorion *frag.* 146 Meineke *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1119.

[8] *Il.* 4. 50 ff.

[9] Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7, cp. *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway on his sixtieth birthday 6 August 1913* Cambridge 1913 p. 220 n. 3.

[10] Clem. Al. *paed.* 2. 8. 72. 4 p. 201, 24 Stählin (quoted *supra* i. 624 n. 2).

beneath them, best taken to denote the Milky Way[1] conceived as Okeanos the celestial river[2]. Below this are two significant objects. To the left is a shield with human head, hands, and feet projecting from behind it: it grasps a spear or staff and is—to judge from analogous representations[3]—conceived as descending through the air. To the right, and occupying the very centre of the field, is a double axe with duplicated blades likewise descending from the region of the sun and moon towards the goddess and her *entourage*. It is reasonable to suppose that the shield and axe thus falling from above are the weapons of the sky-god. Further than that we cannot at present go.

Another example of the double axe in mid air has been thought to occur on a clay sealing found by D. G. Hogarth in a 'Minoan' house at *Kato Zakro*, a village of eastern Crete[4]. But of this impress a more likely explanation has been advanced by G. Karo, as we shall subsequently see[5].

(β) The double axe in relation to tree- or plant-forms.

In a second group of cult-scenes the double axe is brought into more intimate relations with tree-or plant-forms. A small *sarcophagus*, discovered by the Italian excavators close to the palace at *Hagia Triada*, two miles to the north-west of Phaistos, and now to be seen in the Museum at *Kandia*, has first claim upon our attention[6]. It was found, lidless, empty, and partially damaged, in a rectangular tomb-building, which can be referred to the end of the period known as 'Late Minoan ii' or the beginning of 'Late Minoan iii,' that is, to a date *c.* 1400 B.C. The *sarcophagus*, made of greyish limestone, in

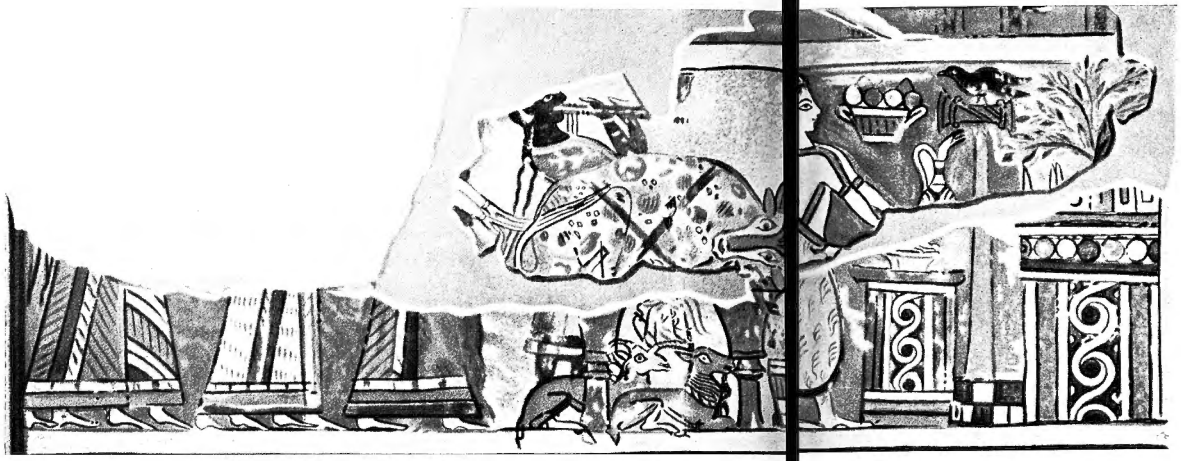
[1] *Supra* p. 49 n. 1. [2] *Supra* p. 481 f.

[3] See the *sarcophagus* from *Milato* (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 174 fig. 50) and the gold ring from Knossos (*id. ib.* 1901 xxi. 170 fig. 48). *Supra* p. 47 ff.

[4] D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 77 f. fig. 5, cp. Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 54.

[5] *Infra* § 3 (*e*) i (*μ*).

[6] R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 343 ff. (description), *id.* 'Ricerche nel sepolcreto di Haghia Triada presso Phaestos' in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1904 xiv. 714—719, *id.* 'Il sarcofago dipinto di Haghia Triada' in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 5—86 with 23 figs. in text and 3 minutely accurate coloured plates by Stefani (=my pl. xxvii). The three articles together constitute the most authoritative account of this important monument. For further discussion see F. M. J. Lagrange 'La Crète ancienne' in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 338—345 figs. 30—32, 34 f. (inexact), A. J. Reinach 'Le Sarcophage de Haghia Triada' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 278—288 with 4 figs., F. von Duhn 'Der Sarkophag aus Hagia Triada' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 161—185 pls. 2—4, E. Petersen 'Der kretische Bildersarg' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 162—170 with 5 figs., Harrison *Themis* pp. 158 ff. fig. 30 f., 209 f.



a

c

b

d

The painted limestone *sarco*[illegible]n Hagia Triada near Phaistos.

See page 516 ff.

shape imitates a wooden coffer, and is covered with a skin of fine white stucco. On this ground the designs were drawn in yellow and painted in a variety of colours.

The decoration comprises four panels, two long and two short. Of the long sides one represents animal and vegetable offerings at a 'Minoan' shrine (pl. xxvii, *a*). From the left a procession of five women with bare white feet and long coloured robes advances towards a table-altar, on which lies a spotted bull bound with red bands. The blood flows from his throat into an *ámnion*[1] or bucket on the ground; his frightened eyes are wide open; and his tail still whisks. Beneath the table two goats, of some domesticated species, wait their turn. Behind it stands a red-skinned man playing a double flute; his hair is long and falls in a couple of black tresses down his back; a bordered robe covers him from neck to knee. Further to the right a woman is standing at a small altar. She wears an ornament of gold in her black hair, a white jacket sleeved to the elbow and bordered with pink, and a baggy white skirt tailed and tufted with red. She extends her hands over a small basin or basket, placed on the altar. Above it, that is, beyond it are visible a beaked jug somewhat resembling an *oinochóe* and a two-handled basket full of fruit. On the extreme right is a larger altar, of similar architectural design but surmounted by four pairs of ritual horns[2]. Behind grows a sacred tree probably meant for an olive[3]. Between the adjacent altars appears a platform or base of two courses, from which rises a large double axe of most remarkable aspect. A tapering pillar or tree-

[1] *Od.* 3. 444 ἀμνίον. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1476, 38 ff. Κρῆτες δὲ ἄμνιόν φασιν ἀγγεῖον εἰς ὃ τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἱερείων ἐδέχοντο, αἷμνιόν τι ὂν παρὰ τὸ αἷμα. Πέρσιλος οὖν ὁ Ἱεραπύτνιος ἱστορεῖ, φασί, παρὰ τοῖς Ἱεραπυτνίοις ἔτι σώζεσθαι τὴν φωνήν, αἷμνιον, δασέως μετὰ τοῦ κατ' ἀρχὴν ἰῶτα προφερομένην παρὰ τὸ αἷμα. φησὶ δὲ καὶ Ἀπολλόδωρος ὡς εἰκὸς ἦν καὶ παρὰ τῷ ποιητῇ οὕτως αὐτὸ προφέρεσθαι, περιαιρεθῆναι δὲ τὸ ἰῶτα ὑπό τινων, cp. schol. H. M. Q. R. *Od.* 3. 444. See further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 133 C—D, G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 267, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 34, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 54.

The blood collected in the ἄμνιον would then be poured over the altar (Eustath. *loc. cit.* p. 1476, 41 f. Ἀττικοὶ δὲ σφάγιον τὸ τοιοῦτον ἀγγεῖον ἑκάλουν, εἰς ὃ πρῶτον αἷμα δεχόμενοι τῷ βωμῷ ἐπέχευον = schol. H. M. Q. R. *Od.* 3. 444)—a rite suggestive of chthonian worship (S. Eitrem 'Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer' in the *Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter* ii Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1914 no. 1 Kristiania 1915 p. 434 f.).

[2] Cp. *supra* i. 506 ff.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 348 takes the tree to be either an olive or a laurel. But in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 42 f. he decides for an olive. So do A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 282 ('derrière, semble s'épanouir un olivier'), F. von Duhn in the *Archiv. f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 164 ('Lorbeer oder Öl, wahrscheinlich letzteres'), Harrison *Themis* p. 161 ('an unmistakable olive-tree'), H. R. Hall *Ægæan Archæology* London 1915 p. 174 ('an olive-tree'). F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 341 thinks it a shrub rather than a tree, and suggests the *agnus castus*.

trunk, coloured pink (wood?), forms as it were the handle of a double axe, coloured yellow (gold?)[1]. The blades of this axe are duplicated—as on the ring from Mykenai[2]—and marked with diagonals. Upon them is perched a bird of black plumage, almost certainly to be identified as a raven[3]. The background of the panel changes from yellow to white and from white to blue as the eye travels from left to right; but this change of colour is apparently due to mere love of variety. The design as a whole puts beyond doubt the actual worship of the double axe. That here, as on the Mycenaean ring, it was conceived as the sky-god's weapon may be inferred partly from its elevated position, set on the apex of a tapering pillar, partly from its association with a raven, that prophet of the coming storm[4].

[1] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 43 'la doppia ascia d' oro,' cp. *ib.* p. 29 'due doppie asce d' oro o di metallo dorato.'

[2] *Supra* p. 47 fig. 18.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 344, 348 regarded the birds represented on the axes of this *sarcophagus* as pigeons or ravens. But in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 31 f., 43 he prefers ravens ('corvi') to pigeons ('colombe'). G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 130 makes them eagles ('Adler'). F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 341 f. would recognise a crow or an eagle on one side of the *sarcophagus* ('on dirait d'un corbeau ou d'un aigle'), but pigeons on the other ('la physionomie est ici celle de colombes plutôt que celle de corbeaux ou d'aigles'). A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 281 f. leaves the matter undecided ('corbeau ou colombe,—colombe noire comme celles de Dodone,' 'un oiseau noir'). Sir A. J. Evans in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 195 says: 'perhaps the sacred black woodpeckers of the Cretan Zeus.' J. E. Harrison *ib.* ii. 155: 'a bird of black colour, possibly a pigeon or, as Dr Evans suggests, a black woodpecker.' Cp. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxv. 54 'perhaps the sacred woodpecker, afterwards identified with the Cretan Zeus.' E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 163 argues for a cuckoo ('Kuckuck'). H. R. Hall *Ægæan Archæology* London 1915 p. 173 speaks of 'a bird which looks very like a magpie,' but *ib.* p. 175 adds: 'One may wonder whether this apparent magpie is not really intended for an eagle, the sacred bird of Zeus.' F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 166 ff. states that at first he thought the bird a dove ('Taube'), but that, after inspecting the original, he pronounced it to be a raven ('Rabe'). He reports *ib.* p. 167 n. 2 the expert opinion of W. Warde Fowler: 'I have examined the birds with a strong magnifying glass, and have no hesitation in identifying them as ravens: the one in the upper plate to the right is quite unmistakeable to the eye of anyone accustomed to observe birds out of doors, as I have done for the last thirty-five years and more. The other two are not quite so convincing, but must, I think, be the same. They all have the outline of head and beak which is peculiar to the raven (corvus corax) and which even the crow (corvus corone) has not in quite the same degree, nor any other bird known to me. I mean that there is only a very slight depression where the beak emerges from the feathers of the head, so that the upper outline of the bird's head is almost an uninterrupted curve. Perhaps I ought to mention that the raven of the southern Mediterranean is smaller than ours and unknown to me (c. umbrinus), but I believe that it resembles the northern bird in everything but colouration. I am certain these birds cannot be woodpeckers: apart from the head and beak no one sees a black woodpecker perched as these are.' This authoritative verdict may well be allowed to decide the issue.

[4] Aristot. *frag.* 241 Rose *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 7. 7 *κόραξ δὲ ἐπιτρόχως* (so R. Hercher for *ταχέως καὶ ἐπιτρόχως* codd.) *φθεγγόμενος καὶ κρούων τὰς πτέρυγας καὶ κροτῶν αὑτάς, ὅτι*

The other long side of the *sarcophagus* (pl. xxvii, *b*) depicts two scenes, distinguished from each other, not so much by the variable background (white—blue—white), as by the fact that the human figures at the point of junction are standing back to back. On the left we see another episode from the ritual of the double axe[1]. A red-skinned man, wearing his hair short with a fore-lock[2], and clad in a

χειμὼν ἔσται κατέγνω πρῶτος. κόραξ δὲ αὖ καὶ κορώνη καὶ κολοιὸς δείλης ὀψίας εἰ φθέγγοιντο, χειμῶνος ἔσεσθαί τινα ἐπιδημίαν διδάσκουσι, Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 16 *κόραξ πολλὰς μεταβάλλειν εἰωθὼς φωνάς, τούτων ἐὰν ταχὺ δὶς φθέγξηται καὶ ἐπιρροιζήσῃ καὶ τινάξῃ τὰ πτερά, ὕδωρ σημαίνει. καὶ ἐὰν ὑετῶν ὄντων πολλὰς μεταβάλλῃ φωνὰς καὶ ἐὰν φθειρίζηται ἐπ' ἐλαίας. καὶ ἐάν τε εὐδίας ἐὰν τε ὕδατος ὄντος μιμῆται τῇ φωνῇ οἷον σταλαγμούς, ὕδωρ σημαίνει. ἐάν τε κόρακες ἐάν τε κολοιοὶ ἄνω πέτωνται καὶ ἱερακίζωσιν, ὕδωρ σημαίνουσι. καὶ ἐὰν κόραξ εὐδίας μὴ τὴν εἰωθυῖαν φωνὴν ἵῃ καὶ ἐπιρροιβδῇ, ὕδωρ σημαίνει,* 39 *καὶ κορώνη καὶ κόραξ καὶ κολοιὸς ὀψὲ ᾄδοντες χειμέριοι,* 40 *κόραξ φωνὰς πολλὰς μεταβάλλων χειμὼνος χειμέριον,* Arat. *phaen.* 963 ff. *δὴ ποτε καὶ γενεαὶ κοράκων καὶ φῦλα κολοιῶν | ὕδατος ἐρχομένοιο Διὸς πάρα σῆμ' ἐγένοντο, | φαινόμενοι ἀγεληδὸν καὶ ἰρήκεσσιν ὁμοῖον | φθεγξάμενοι. καὶ που κόρακες δίους σταλαγμούς* (*δίους δὲ σταλαγμούς* cod. G. *δίους γε σταλαγμούς* cod. L. *δίους σταλαηµούς* is proposed in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 652 B) *| φωνῇ ἐμιμήσαντο σὺν ὕδατος ἐρχομένοιο, | ἢ ποτε καὶ κρώξαντε βαρείῃ δισσάκι φωνῇ | μακρὸν ἐπιρροιζεῦσι τιναξάμενοι πτερὰ πυκνά* with schol. *ad loc.*, Nik. *ther.* 406 *κόραξ τ' ὀμβρήρεα κρώζων* with schol. *ad loc.*, Plout. *de sanitate praecepta* 14 *ἄτοπον γάρ ἐστι κοράκων μὲν λαρυγγισμοῖς...ἐπιμελῶς προσέχειν, σημεῖα ποιουμένους πνευμάτων καὶ ὀμβρων· κ.τ.λ.*, Ail. *de nat. an.* 6. 19 *βούλεται δὲ τῶν ὀμβρων μιμεῖσθαι τὰς σταγόνας ὁ κόραξ,* Geopon. 1. 3. 8 *καὶ κόρακες καὶ κολοιοὶ ἀθρόως ἐπιφαινόμενοι καὶ κρώζοντες* (*κράζοντες* codd. H. M.)*...ὄμβρον σημαίνουσι,* and the passages cited in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* iv. 1079, 31 ff. See further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 94, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 98 f., Gossen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 21.

Ravens were prophets of fine weather also (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 52 *καὶ κόραξ δὲ μόνος μὲν ἡσυχαῖον κράζων, καὶ ἐὰν τρὶς κράξῃ μετὰ τοῦτο πολλάκις κράξῃ, εὐδιεινός,* Arat. *phaen.* 1003 ff. *καὶ κόρακες μοῦνοι μὲν ἐρημαῖοι βούωντες | δισσάκις, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα μέγ' ἀθρόα κεκληγώντες* (*κεκληγῶντες* coȷl. L.)*· | κ.τ.λ.* with schol. *ad loc.*, *Geopon.* 1. 2. 6 *καὶ κόρακες πλείονες ἀγεληδὸν ὥσπερ χαίροντες καὶ κρώζοντες* (*κράζοντες* codd. H. M.) *ἀνομβρίαν δηλοῦσιν,* Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 362 corvique singultu quodam latrantes seque concutientes, si continuabunt, serenum <diem (ins. Oehmichen)>; si vero carptim vocem resorbebunt, ventosum imbrem. On Verg. *georg.* 1. 410 ff. see W. Warde Fowler *A Year with the Birds*[2] Oxford 1886 p. 150 ff., T. F. Royds *The Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil*[2] Oxford 1918 p. 40 ff.).

We need not, therefore, hold with D. A. Mackenzie *Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe* London s.a. p. 290 f. that ravens are necessarily 'birds of ill omen, who foretell death and disaster' or that the birds on the *sarcophagus* are 'the raven spirits of Hades... receiving a propitiatory offering of blood or wine.' F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 167 f. takes a wider and a wiser view. I should, however, he inclined to add that the bird was perhaps originally regarded, not 'als himmlischer Bote' etc., but as a telephany of the sky-god himself (*supra* p. 187). See further O. Keller 'Rabe und Krähe im Altertum' in the *Jahresbericht des Vereins für Volkskunde und Linguistik in Prag* 1893.

[1] F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 344 holds that the first long side of the *sarcophagus* together with the first portion of the second long side forms a continuous frieze, the subject of which is the cult of *three* sets of axes on handles. Obvious objections to this view are (1) the very different treatment of the axe-handles on the two sides of the *sarcophagus*; (2) the interposition of one of the short sides between the two long sides; (3) a serious lack of symmetry.

[2] *Supra* i. 23 n. 6 *sub fin.*

bordered pink robe that reaches from his shoulders to his bare feet, advances slowly from right to left. He holds a large golden lyre, which has seven strings and sides shaped like the necks of swans[1]. As he goes, he plucks the strings of the lyre, but apparently uses no *plêktron*[2]. In front of him moves a woman, whose fore-lock and front curls peep out from beneath a golden head-dress of peculiar type. She is clothed in a blue jacket and skirt with coloured borders; and she carries a pink pole, on which are slung two particoloured buckets. Before her stands another woman, wearing a white jacket sleeved to the elbow and bordered with blue, also a baggy white skirt tailed and tagged with red. She is engaged in pouring a red liquid (wine? blood??) out of another brightly coloured bucket[3] into a larger jar or *kratêr*, which, being painted blue with circular bands of yellow, may be taken to represent a silver vessel inlaid with gold. It rests on a base between two pedestals, one consisting of superposed steps, the other resembling a truncated pyramid[4]. From each of these pedestals there springs a tapering pillâr or tree-trunk, thickly covered with green leaves[5] and serving as the haft of a yellow (gold?) double axe with duplicated blades and ravens (?) perched upon them. As to the meaning of this scene, E. Petersen has rightly insisted on the contrast between the one bare stem and the two leafy stems, arguing that the former betokens the worship

[1] Clearly shown by A. Mosso *The Palaces of Crete and their Builders* London 1907 p. 317 f. fig. 156.

[2] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 37.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 33 f., 36 regards all these buckets as *situlae* of decorated metal (gold, silver, copper).

[4] Pedestals of the sort have come to light in the palace at *Hagia Triada* (R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 338, *id.* in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 30), in the palace at Phaistos (L. Pernier *ib.* 1902 xii. 69 and 103), at *Palaikastro* (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 300), in a small house at Knossos (Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxv. 68), in the 'Little Palace' at Knossos (*id. ib.* 1914 lxv. 72), and in the Dictaean Cave (*id. ib.* 1914 lxv. 72 fig. 82).

[5] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 29 thinks that the trunks are those of palm-trees and suggests the date-palm (*phoenix dactylifera*), but notes that palm-trunks are cylindrical, not conical like these. His identification as palms is accepted by A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 281 f. and by J. E. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 154 f. E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 163, 168, 170 is more reserved ('hier nur ein Pfeiler, dort zwei; diese zwei mit grünem Laub umkleidet, jener eine kahl und ohne Grün,' etc.). F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 173 was the first to recognise obelisks covered with cypress-leaves ('zwei cypressengeschmückte Obelisken') and to recall the fact that at Knossos Rhea had an ancient grove of cypresses (*supra* i. 649 n. 3). Accordingly in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 189 I wrote: 'Professor von Duhn kindly informs me that these supports are apparently pillars or posts covered with leaves —most probably with cypress leaves. If so, they were obviously ritual substitutes for cypress-trees.'

of the sky-god in the winter, the latter his marriage with the earth-goddess in the spring[1]. Petersen remarks that of the two leaf-clad pillars one is noticeably larger than the other, and that its axe-head has the same diagonals as the axe-head of the leafless pillar—a hint that the paired pillars are those of god and goddess respectively[2]. We may, then, assume provisionally that the worshippers of the double axe as depicted on the *sarcophagus* are performing rites intended to call down the vernal showers and so bring about the revival of vegetation.

But what of the second scene represented in immediate contiguity with this? Three bearers of offerings pass towards the right. Each has short hair and no clothing beyond a belt and a baggy white skirt tailed and tagged as before. The tags of these peculiar garments vary in colour, those of the first and last men being black, those of the second man red. All three have necklaces, and two have bracelets. Number one carries the model of a boat; number two, that of a white calf spotted with black; number three, that of a yellowish calf with spots of deeper yellow[3]. They are approaching a flight of three steps, coloured a dull red, beyond which is a tree of some doubtful species[4]. By it stands a man of shorter stature, with a fore-lock of black curly hair. He is swathed in a white robe with red tags and yellow border, which covers and conceals his arms. Behind him a polychrome building, enriched with spirals, completes the design. Egyptian parallels, adduced by R. Paribeni[5], have made it highly probable that the erect figure is that of a dead man, and that the building at his back is his tomb or tomb-chapel. His dwarfish height implies that he died young[6].

[1] E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 163 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 165 n. 11.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 26 ff. is disposed to view the offerings as an actual boat and live calves, not mere models. Later critics, without discussing the matter, appear to agree with him. They may be right. But size and position alike point rather to the use of models, such as are common in the tombs of Egypt and other lands.

[4] So R. Paribeni in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1903 xii. 346 suggests the *ficus Indica*. But in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 20 he is less explicit. F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 342: 'un arbre..., semblable à une plante grasse à trois panaches.' A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 280 f.: 'l'arbre—une sorte de palmier,' 'le palmier funéraire.' F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 180: 'Palme.'

[5] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 15 ff. fig. 3. M. Meurer 'Zu den Sarkophagen von Klazomenai' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1900 xvii. 65—68 with figs. 1—3 argues that the trapezoidal, as distinct from the rectangular, *sarcophagi* of Klazomenai were designed to be set up on end uncovered and so hold the body upright, probably during the funeral ceremony,—a usage apparently derived from Egypt *viâ* Phoinike.

[6] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 19 f. F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.*

Certain traits common to the two long sides of the *sarcophagus* suggest that the scenes of axe-cult are intimately related to the offerings made at this young man's tomb. The tagged garments worn by the priestesses of the double axe, by the ministrants at the tomb, and by the dead man himself have been recognised by Paribeni[1] as hairy sackcloth, originally made of animals' skins and still retaining a sort of tail: such a garb is presumably funeral in character. Again, three of the axe-worshippers and two of the tomb-ministrants are decked with red scarves or streamers, to which also we should attach some sepulchral significance[2]. It may therefore be surmised that the magic rites of revival performed before the double axes of the sky-god and the earth-goddess were believed to ensure the continued vitality or resurrection of the dead. Nay more, it is conceivable that the young man buried in this princely tomb was regarded as himself an incarnation of the sky-god. Was not Zeus said to have perished as a prince in Crete[3]? On this showing the Cretan prince was one of many who in their time played the part of Dionysos or Zagreus, the reborn Zeus[4]. And here, forestalling for a moment the results of a later section[5], we must note the curious parallelism of the Cretan and the Tenedian axe-cults[6]:—

HAGIA TRIADA.	TENEDOS.
Worship of a double axe erect on a stepped base.	Worship of a double axe erect on a stepped base[7].
Worship of two double axes.	Worship of two double axes[8].
Kratér set between double axes.	*Amphora* attached to double axe[9].
Sacrifice of a bull in the cult of an axe-god.	Sacrifice of a bull-calf in the cult of Dionysos *Anthroporrhaistes*[10], probably an axe-god[11].

But, if the youth buried in the *sarcophagus* actually posed as Dionysos or Zagreus, we should look to find him treated as the consort of the great 'Minoan' goddess Rhea[12]. Was this the case? An answer is perhaps to be sought in the designs of the two remaining panels.

1909 xii. 179 f. rather fancifully conjectures that the custom of crouched burial led to the dead being conceived as of smaller dimensions than the living. E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 162 thinks that this is no mummified mortal, but a young god resembling Dionysos Φαλλήν and swathed because phallic.

[1] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 22 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 58 n. 2. To the references there given add A. Sonny 'Rote Farbe im Totenkult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 525—529.

[3] *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 645, 663 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* i. 398 f., 647. *Hagia Triada* is about 11½ miles (in a direct line) from the Idaean Cave.

[5] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (ο).

[6] *Supra* i. 660.

[7] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (ο).

[8] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (ο), cp. § 3 (c) i (μ).

[9] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (ο).

[10] *Supra* i. 469 n. 4, 659, 711.

[11] *Supra* i. 659.

[12] *Supra* i. 649 n. 7.

One of the short sides (pl. xxvii, *c*) represents a pair of horses, blue and yellow on a white ground, drawing a two-wheeled chariot, in which rides a couple of white-skinned women. Their robes are pink bordered with blue, and blue bordered with yellow and white. The four red reins are apparently held by the woman nearest the spectator: she has two in her left hand and two in her right, which encircles her companion. We have no reason to think that these are goddesses[1] or even priestesses[2]. More probably they are just ladies belonging to the princely court—the queen, let us suppose, and her charioteer.

The other short side (pl. xxvii, *d*) shows a group roughly similar in appearance but widely different in meaning. A two-wheeled chariot on a red ground is drawn by a pair of griffins with canine rather than leonine bodies, variegated wings, and high plumed crests. In it ride two female figures, of whom the nearer one in a blue robe bordered with yellow and white holds the reins round her more gorgeously dressed companion. In the field above the griffins hovers a bird, which has been compared with a hoopoe[3] and even with a sparrow-hawk[4]. But its short beak, yellow-brown, blue, and white feathers, black marking, and erectile crest proclaim it to be a somewhat glorified jay[5]. This bird, the *corvus glandarius* of Linnaeus, the *garrulus glandarius* of later ornithologists, gets its modern scientific name from the fact that 'the acorn is its favourite food[6].' But the ancients were mainly impressed by its bright colouring and its talkative tongue. The former trait made it comparable with the woodpecker: the Romans called the one *pica*, the other *picus*[7]; and,

[1] Cp. E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 168 ff.

[2] A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 287.

[3] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 61: 'Non esiste nell' avifauna mediterranea un uccello di quella forma e di quei colori: l' upupa, alla quale si potrebbe pensare, ha il becco lungo, e drizza il suo pennacchio, ma non lo rovescia in avanti, come fa il nostro uccello, e come avviene nel cacatua e in qualche altro uccello esotico.' But it must be remembered that the young hoopoe develops its crest before its beak (R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1895 iv. 58).

[4] F. M. J. Lagrange in the *Revue Biblique internationale* Nouvelle Série 1907 iv. 339 would recognise 'un épervier'!

[5] I am indebted for this suggestion to my wife. A good coloured plate of the jay is given by J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 156 ff. pl. 47.

[6] R. Lydekker *Wild Life of the World* London s.a. i. 108 with col. pl., cp. *id. The Royal Natural History* London 1894—95 iii. 319 f. with fig., C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 75. Hence the Italian name *ghiandaia*, and the German *Eichel-häher*. Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 13. 615 b 22 f. ὅταν δ' ὑπολίπωσιν αἱ βάλανοι, ἀποκρύπτουσα ταμιεύεται (*sc.* ἡ κίττα).

[7] The relation of both words to *pingo*, ποικίλος, etc. is doubtful (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 580). So is that of our *jay*, French *geai* (in Picardy *gai*), Spanish *gayo*, *gaya*, Portuguese *gaio* to the adjective *gay* (G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*[2] Paderborn 1901 p. 187).

if the Cretan Zeus took shape as a woodpecker (*Pîkos*)[1], the Cretan Dionysos very possibly figured as a jay. The latter trait brought it into the company of ravens[2] and other garrulous birds[3]: in this capacity too it was sacred to Dionysos[4]. We may, therefore, fairly conjecture that the jay here represented denotes the soul of the youth who in his lifetime had played the Dionysiac part. In the earth-coloured goddess with a plumed head-dress, towards whom the jay with a characteristic[5] flap of its wings is flying, we can recognise the Cretan Rhea[6]. She, like the Nemeseis of Smyrna[7], stands erect in a griffin-drawn car. In short, it seems probable that this panel, which formed the head-end of the *sarcophagus*[8], marks the reunion of the dead man with his divine consort in the other world.

The *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada* does not stand alone. Several of its motives are repeated on a painted earthenware *lárnax* found by J. H. Marshall at *Palaikastro*, thirteen miles north-east of Praisos and eight miles north of *Zakro*, in eastern Crete[9]. Its two long sides are divided each into a couple of square panels. Those of one side show (*a*) a fish, perhaps meant for a dolphin, upside down with two stars and a rosette in the field; (*b*) a bird of uncertain species[10] with high curled wings and spread tail. The panels of the other side (fig. 393) are more elaborately decorated. One of them (*c*) depicts a large lily-plant with three flowers. Those to right and left have their stamen-tips shaped like double axes. That in the centre appears, on closer inspection, to be not a flower at all, but an arrangement of cult-objects simulating a flower. Instead of a stalk there is a slender column with base, capital, and *abacus* complete. It supports, not a three-petalled lily, but a double axe rising from a stepped base[11] and flanked by a pair of pillars[12]. The remaining panel

[1] *Supra* i. 158 n. 2, 237 n. 1.

[2] Pers. *sat. prol.* 13.

[3] See D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 39, 85.

[4] Cornut. *theol.* 30 p. 61, 22 f. Lang *καὶ τὴν κίτταν δὲ ὡς λάλον ὄρνεον καθιεροῦσιν αὐτῷ* (*sc.* *τῷ Διονύσῳ*).

[5] R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894—95 iii. 320.

[6] I cannot subscribe to the *bizarre* contention of R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 60 f. and F. von Duhn in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 183 f. that the pale personage is the dead man accompanied by his soul-bird! A. J. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 285 f. rightly protests.

[7] *Supra* i. 270 fig. 197.

[8] E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 168.

[9] Published by R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 297 ff. pls. 18 (=my fig. 393) and 19, G. Karo in G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Deuxième Série Candie s. a. p. xii pl. 38.

[10] It appears to belong to the order *anseres*, and may be intended for a duck, goose, or swan.

[11] *Supra* p. 520 n. 4.

[12] R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 299 speaks of these as 'a pair of "sacred horns."' We should, however, distinguish these cigar-shaped pillars from the horns of the adjacent panel.

(*d*) exhibits a griffin with wings like those of the bird on the opposite side. In the field is a lily-flower before it, a star above it, and, higher up, two pairs of ritual horns[1] resting on a horizontal line. The ornamentation of the lid includes a couple of stars; that of the ends, a pair of horns with a bud springing from between them.

We are not in a position to clear up the meaning of all this symbolism. But we can at least explain some parts of it with more or less probability. The double axe set upright on a stepped base between a pair of pillars is again comparable with the Tenedian

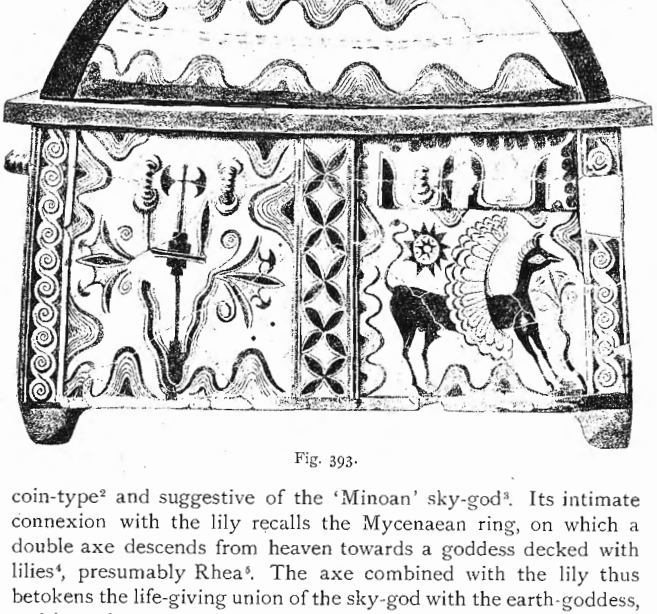


Fig. 393.

coin-type[2] and suggestive of the 'Minoan' sky-god[3]. Its intimate connexion with the lily recalls the Mycenaean ring, on which a double axe descends from heaven towards a goddess decked with lilies[4], presumably Rhea[5]. The axe combined with the lily thus betokens the life-giving union of the sky-god with the earth-goddess, and is analogous to the scene of the leafy axes on the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada*. Whether the griffin can be regarded as an allusion to the griffin-drawn goddess is more doubtful.

[1] Cp. the stucco horns found in house *B* at *Palaikastro* (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 314 fig. 27).

[2] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (α).

[3] *Supra* p. 522.

[4] *Supra* p. 47 fig. 18.

[5] *Supra* p. 515.

A superb jar, found by R. B. Seager on the island of Pseira in

Fig. 394.

north-eastern Crete (fig. 394)[1], dates from the last stage of the period

[1] R. B. Seager *Excavations on the island of Pseira, Crete* (*University of Pennsylvania:*

known as 'Late Minoan i' (*c.* 1500 B.C.) and again illustrates the combination of double axe and lily. Round its rim is a series of axes with knobbed tops; round its base, a simplified axe-pattern; beneath its handles, other axe-forms. The main frieze, on its shoulder, has double axes of the knobbed variety alternating with bulls' heads. Each axe is erect on a square base. Each bull's head between its horns bears another double axe, the stem of which is shaped like an open lily. And the space between axes and bulls' heads is filled by olive-sprays. A second large jar of the 'Late

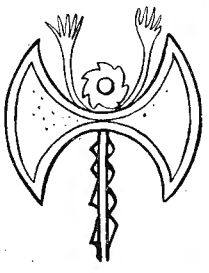


Fig. 395.

Fig. 396.

Fig. 397.

Minoan I' age, obtained by Seager on the neighbouring island of Mochlos[1], treats the floral stem of the axe in a freakish human fashion (fig. 395)[2] that brings to mind the quaintest flower-fays of Mr Arthur Rackham.

Vase-fragments of late 'Minoan' style, found by Sir Arthur Evans in a superficial layer of deposit covering the north-west building at Knossos, show the double axe rising from a leafy shaft between the sacred horns[3]. On the example here reproduced (fig. 396) this design fills two compartments, the other two being occupied by

The Museum: Anthropological Publications iii. 1) Philadelphia 1910 p. 26 f. pl. 7 (=my fig. 394).

[1] R. B. Seager 'Excavations at Mochlos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1909 xiii. 299 with fig. 19, G. Karo in G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Deuxième Série Candie s.a. p. viii pl. 13, 2.

[2] G. B. G[ordon] 'The Double Axe and some other Symbols' in *University of Pennsylvania: The Museum Journal* 1916 vii. 48 fig. 38 (=my fig. 395).

[3] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 114 f. fig. 71 (=my fig. 396).

a fish and a scroll derived from three Triton-shells treated as tentacles of an argonaut. Again, a hieroglyphic sign, found by the same explorer on a clay sealing from the Cnossian palace, represents a tree—apparently a cypress—serving as the handle of a double axe (fig. 397)[1].

A certain analogy with the foregoing examples of 'Minoan' religious art is afforded by an amulet, which forms the central pendant of an Etruscan gold necklace (fig. 398)[2]. It consists of a neolithic arrow-head of flint imbedded in the stem of a golden lily[3], on which rests a disk enclosing a decorative double axe (?). Since flint arrow-heads, no less than flint axes, were held to be thunderbolts[4], it is likely enough that this amulet[5] too was believed to combine the virtues of the sky-god and the earth-goddess.

Fig. 398.

(γ) The double axe in relation to columns or pillars.

Thirdly, the double axe had a religious significance for the 'Minoan' age, when it was stuck into the columns of a sacred building or cave. Fragments of painted plaster from the palace at Knossos[6] show portions of a sanctuary with a row of columns, which, from their shape and colour, are obviously meant to represent the wooden supports usual in the architecture of the period. Between each pair of columns and also along the top of their entablature are set large ritual horns. Into the upper part of the shaft, and into the upper part of the *echinus*, of every column is driven from opposite sides a couple of double axes, which, like the horns, are painted white. Finally,

[1] Sir A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 195 no. 36, *g* (=my fig. 397) pl. 3, P. 70 a.

[2] É. Cartailhac *La France préhistorique* Paris 1889 p. 6 fig. 3 (=my fig. 398). This appears to be the pendant, in the Campana collection, very inadequately described and figured by E. Braun in the *Mon. Ann. e Bull. d. Inst.* p. 54 pl. 10.

[3] The arrow-head itself is lily-shaped, the tang forming the central spike of an inverted flower.

[4] See *e.g.* Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain*[2] London 1897 p. 362 ff.

[5] Other examples of flint arrow-heads set in gold, silver, or bronze and worn as amulets by the ancient Etruscans etc. are given in C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 28 f. fig. 14 f., p. 109.

[6] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 40 ff., fig. 14, pl. 2 (=my fig. 399).

below the sacred edifice is a decorative band of rosettes—a motive, be it remembered, readily derivable from the Egyptian lotus[1]. The stamens of these rosettes, shaped like double axes, recall the axe-

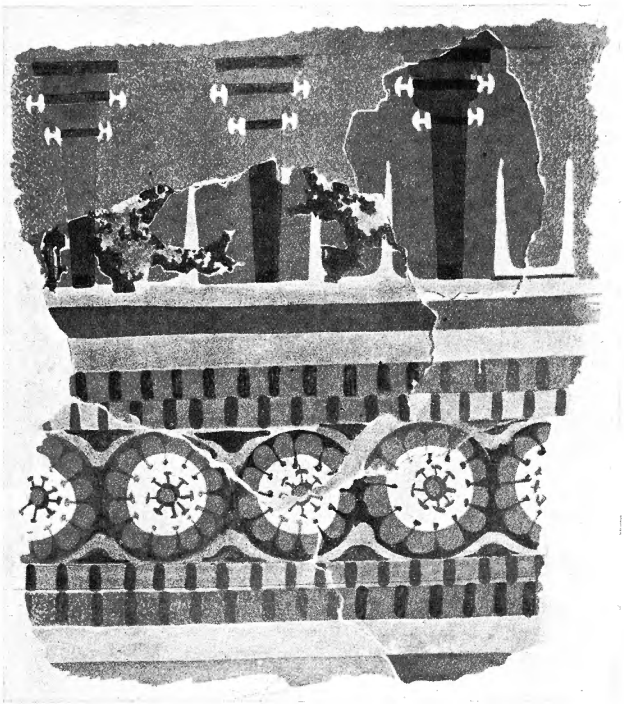


Fig. 399.

stamens of the lily-plant on the *sarcophagus* from *Palaikastro*[2]. The whole design (fig. 399) makes it clear that double axes of metal were imbedded in the wooden columns of 'Minoan' shrines[3].

[1] A. Riegl *Stilfragen* Berlin 1893 p. 52 ff., O. Montelius *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* Stockholm 1903 i. 78 f. fig. 303, cp. W. H. Goodyear *The Grammar of the Lotus* London 1891 p. 103.

[2] *Supra* p. 524.

[3] M. Meurer 'Form und Herkunft der mykenischen Säule' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 14 ff. fig. 6 f. thinks that the white objects affixed to the columns are not axes at all, but knobs for hangings, and compares the white-glazed and

Similarly small double axes of bronze (fig. 400)[1] were found inserted in the stalactite pillars of the famous cave in Mount Dikte (fig. 401)[2]. D. G. Hogarth gives a graphic description of their discovery:

'By June 11th,' he says[3], 'we had exhausted the Upper Grot and the Terrace, and seemed to be at the end of discoveries. I had always intended, however, to have the *talus* in the Lower Grot searched before leaving the place, and on the 12th put the men and women, now reduced to thirty in all, with petroleum candles on to the steep slope below the precipice. Various bronze objects were quickly brought to light, and some bits of gold appeared in the sieves. Meanwhile a few

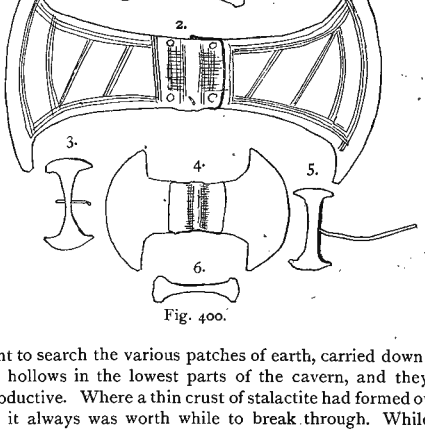


Fig. 400.

men were sent to search the various patches of earth, carried down by water and deposited in hollows in the lowest parts of the cavern, and they found these singularly productive. Where a thin crust of stalactite had formed over the mould and pebbles, it always was worth while to break through. While engaged on this work one of the men observed a bronze knife blade in a vertical slit of a stalactite pillar beside him, and, searching, soon found more blades and pins.

painted plates of terra cotta found at Ashur in the palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal iii (884—860 B.C.). He justly dismisses the notion that they are 'Phallusformen' (!), but does not even mention the highly probable view of their discoverer, that they are double axes.

[1] From the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 109 fig. 40 (size *circa* 1 : 4). D. G. Hogarth *ib.* p. 108 f. says: 'Remains of 18 undoubted double axes were recovered, all found in the Lower Grot, and in almost every case *in situ* in the stalactite niches. Two retained their shafts, and many bronze pins, found in the same region, had doubtless been attached to other axes. Two specimens are of almost pure copper (Nos. 3, 5). The largest of all the axe heads, a perfect example 280 millimetres long (No. 2), found in a niche of a small lateral hall near the head of the subterranean pool, shows lines, drawn with a fine tool, crossing the blades obliquely.' Etc.

[2] *Infra* Append. B Crete. Fig. 401 is reduced from D. G. Hogarth's plan in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi pl. 8.

[3] *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 100 f.

I immediately set others, especially women and boys, to examine the pillars systematically, and found the vertical crevices so productive that, leaving only a small gang to finish the upper earth, I concentrated all hands in the lowest depths. Some of the chinks contained as many as ten bronze objects apiece—blades, fibulae and an occasional votive double axe. These stood up edgeways in the slits and in many cases could not be extracted without smashing the stalactite, which had almost closed over them. How many more there may not be completely hidden in the pillars I cannot say, but I do not think we left an accessible

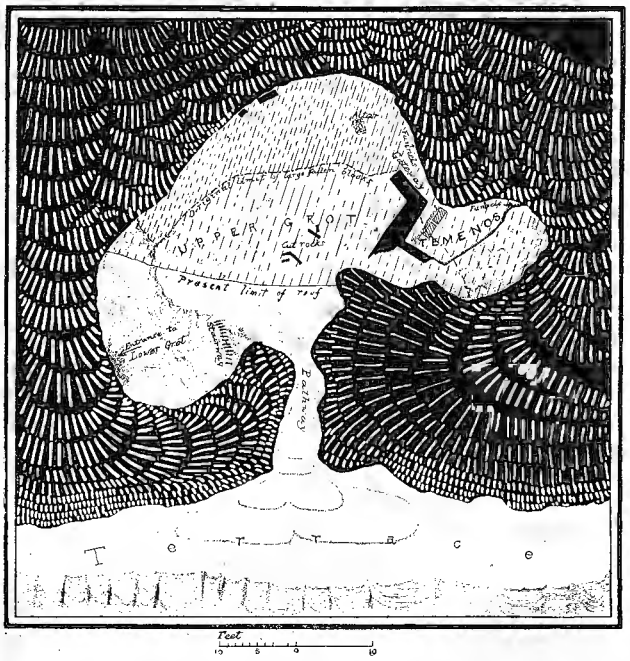


Fig. 401.

niche unexamined. Nor did we leave any part of the pebbly mud at the water's edge unwashed. Thence we obtained over a dozen bronze statuettes, and half a dozen engraved gems, beside handfuls of common rings, pins, and blades, perhaps sucked by floods out of the stalactite niches. In hope of the reward, which I gave for the better objects, and in the excitement of so curious a search, which, in their earlier illicit digging, it had not occurred to them to attempt, the villagers, both men and women, worked with frantic energy, clinging singly to the pillars high above the subterranean lake, or grouping half a dozen flaring lights over a productive patch of mud at the water's edge. It was a grotesque sight, without

precedent in an archaeologist's experience. But beyond a certain point the niches proved empty, and the icy water too deep to be dredged, and by the evening of the 14th there was no more to be done.'

The existence of wooden and stalactite columns into which axes were, so to speak, hafted throws light on another group of 'Minoan' monuments. Already in 1900 Sir A. J. Evans had drawn attention to two small chambers in the palace at Knossos, each of which contains a central pillar formed of four square gypsum blocks and

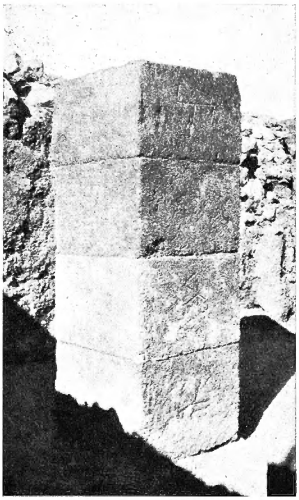


Fig. 402.

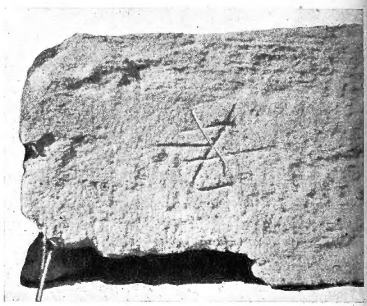


Fig. 403.

repeatedly engraved with the sign of the double axe (fig. 402)[1]. Commenting with great acumen on that signature he had said:

'There can, I venture to think, be little doubt that these chambers are shrines, probably belonging to the oldest part of the building, and the pillars thus marked with the sign of the God are in fact his aniconic images... It will be shown from a variety of evidence that the most typical form of the Mycenaean sacred pillar is represented as actually performing a structural function, and is in fact a "Pillar of the House[2]."'

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 32—34 fig. 6. Figs. 402 and 403 are from photographs taken by me in 1901. The latter shows an interesting block, in the palace wall, with a trident incised on the top of a double axe ('Middle Minoan iii': Sir A. J. Evans *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 28).

[2] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 111 fig. 5.

Subsequent discoveries strengthened this conjecture. In 1914 Sir Arthur was able to write:

'An interesting parallel, highly illuminating as to the cult connected with these pillars, was supplied by a small house dating from the last Middle Minoan Period excavated on the south-east borders of the Palace. Here in a small chamber of fine ashlar masonry..., was a central pillar, the upper block of which was exceptionally marked with the double-axe sign. At the foot of the pillar on the north side, moreover, was a small limestone base of stepped pyramidal form, with a socket above, corresponding with the stands of the sacred Double Axes as seen on the Hagia Triada sarcophagus... The pillar cult is here clearly brought into connexion with the divinity of the Double Axes—the great Minoan Goddess... In the case of many of the smaller pillar-rooms with a single pillar—such as those of the South-East House and Royal Villa at Knossos, that of the house on the hill of Gypsades, and those in the two small rooms at Phylakopi—there is no obvious structural reason for such a central support. Yet it is probable that in all cases these stone pillars served a constructive purpose, and their presence, even in small chambers easily spanned by beams, is accounted for in the most natural manner by the assumption that they acted as supports of the wooden columns of a chamber above, as seems to have been certainly the case with pillars of the sanctuary quarter in the Knossian Palace... Of the sanctity of such wooden columns as "Pillars of the House" there is abundant evidence among the representations on Minoan and Mycenaean works of art[1].'

It will be observed that, where Sir Arthur spoke formerly of a 'God,' he speaks now of a 'Goddess.' In my own opinion the double axe belongs primarily to the sky-god, secondarily to the earth-goddess associated with him, while the tree, or column, or pillar, belongs primarily to the earth-goddess, secondarily to the sky-god associated with her. The combination of axe and tree, axe and column, axe and pillar, implies the union of both[2]. I take it, then, that the double axe hafted into a tree, or affixed to a wooden column, or incised on a stone pillar, is sign and symbol of the god, whereas

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxv. 68 f.

[2] We should perhaps compare the tall beam pierced by an iron nail and erected in honour of Thor (?) by the Lapps of Finmark (*supra* p. 423 n. 3), and also the high-seat pillars of the old Norsemen with their sacred nails (*supra* p. 57 n. 1). With regard to the latter Miss N. Kershaw has kindly sent me (Nov. 9, 1920) the following references: *Eyrbyggia Saga* 4 'Thorolfr Mostrarskegg...sailed along the south coast [of Iceland] westward past Reykjanes... Thorolfr threw overboard his high-seat pillars, which had been standing in the temple. The image of Thor was carved on one of them. He declared his intention of making his home in Iceland at the spot where Thor brought them ashore. There he had a temple erected. It was a big building. There was a door in the side-wall near one end. Inside stood the high-seat pillars, and there were pegs in them which were called *regin-naglar** ' [**naglar*, 'pegs.' The exact meaning of *regin* is uncertain. The word is used of the gods in the *Edda* poems.], *Landnamabok* 1. 6, 1. 7 f., 4. 5, *Vatnsdæla Saga* 15. See further G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 403, 406, ii. 686, E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 364, *id.* in Hoops *Reallex.* ii. 313, H. Falk *ib.* ii. 538 f.

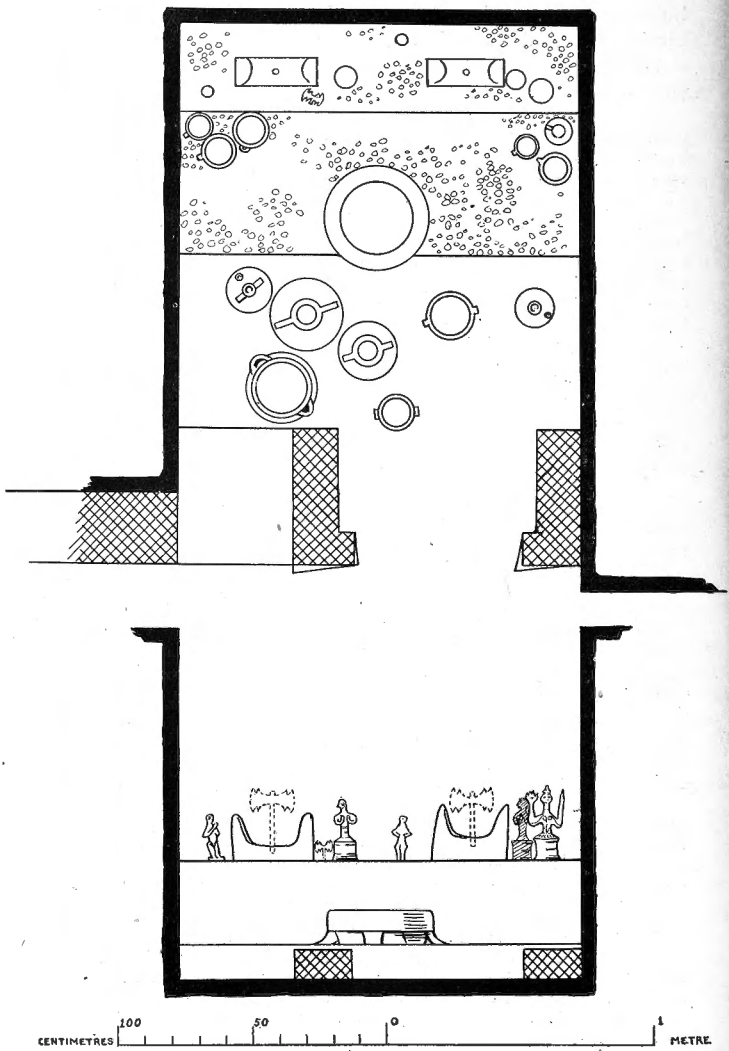


Fig. 404.

the tree, or column, or pillar, betokens the presence of the goddess—a view supported by the later emergence of the axe-bearing god[1] on the one hand and the pillar-shaped goddess or 'Caryatid[2]' on the other.

(δ) The double axe in relation to horns.

Fourthly, 'Minoan' religion brought the double axe into connexion with sacred horns. Of this we have already seen some examples[3]; and many more might be cited.

Fragments of pottery from Knossos show the double axe, in one case set between horns, in a second placed before a shrine[4]. An actual shrine of small size (only 1½ m. square) was found by Sir A. J. Evans in the Cnossian palace[5]. It was referable to the period of partial re-occupation ('Late Minoan iii'), and it was arranged as follows (fig. 404)[6]. On the floor of stamped clay were bowls and vases. A raised daïs or step had a plaster tripod fixed into its pebbly surface, on which stood also some cups and small jugs. A higher step with a pebbled floor and a plastered front had attached to it two pairs of horns made of white-coloured stucco with a clay core. Leaning against one of them was a miniature double axe of steatite with duplicated blades (fig. 405)[7]. And each pair of horns had a central socket, which in all probability was meant to receive the shaft of a double axe. On either side of these horned sockets stood painted terra-cotta figures of votaries and deities. To the left of the left-hand pair of horns was a male votary on a small flat base: he was wearing a loin-cloth and some sort of tunic laced behind, while he held out a dove as an oblation (fig. 406 *a*)[8]. To the right of the same horns was a goddess on a high cylindrical base: she had long hair falling down her back and over her shoulders; her head was turned towards the horns, and her hands were curved up over her breasts

Fig. 405.

[1] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (ε).

[2] See now T. Homolle 'L'origine des Caryatides' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 1—67 with six figs. and pl. 4 f.

[3] *Supra* pp. 517 f., 524 f., 528 f.

[4] D. Mackenzie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 203.

[5] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 95—102 with figs. 55—57.

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 97 fig. 55 (redrawn in my fig. 404).

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 101 fig. 57 ('slightly enlarged') = my fig. 405.

[8] G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Troisième Série Candie s.a. pl. 50 (part of which = my fig. 406).

(fig. 406 *b*)[1]. To the left of the right-hand pair of horns was a female votary, whose type (a half-sitting posture) and technique (punctures and incisions with white gypsum filling) were alike primitive. To the right of these horns were two goddesses. One of them, except for the fact that she had a plant design painted on her back, closely resembled the goddess already described. The other rose from a higher cylindrical base. She wore necklaces, armlets, and signets on her

a *c* *b*

Fig. 406.

wrists. She raised both hands, one palm outwards, the other in profile, and each with a dark band drawn across it. Her breast was painted with a pair of wings[2]; and her body ended in a pattern perhaps meant to recall the spread tail of a bird. On her head rested a dove (fig. 406 *c*)[3]. It is clear that the little sanctuary thus furnished

[1] *Id. ib.*

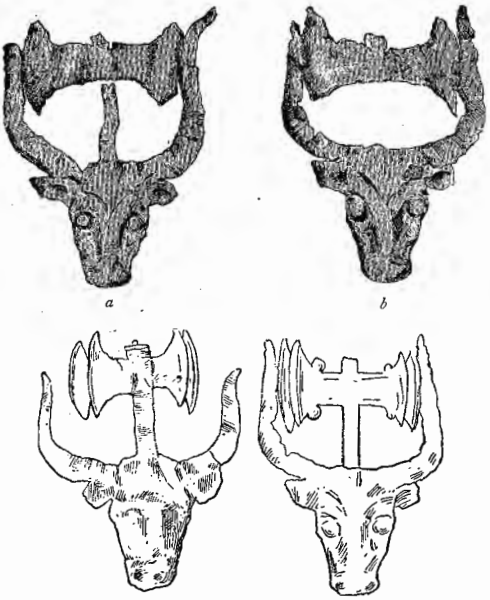
[2] So at least I have ventured to suggest (J. E. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 156 n. 1).

[3] G. Maraghiannis *loc. cit.*

was *c.* 1400—*c.* 1200 B.C. used for oblations to two double axes, beside each of which was placed a goddess, or a pair of goddesses, and a

Fig. 407.

Fig. 408.



a *b* *c* *d*

Fig. 409.

single devotee. The duplication of the double axe, as in the cases of *Hagia Triada*[1] and Tenedos[2], suggests the joint cult of a god and a goddess.

[1] *Supra* p. 521.

[2] *Supra* p. 522, *infra* § 3 (c) i (ξ) and (ο).

An earlier[1] shrine of somewhat similar character was discovered by Miss H. A. Boyd, now Mrs Boyd-Hawes, at *Gournià* in eastern Crete[2]. Here too was a low earthen tripod thinly coated with plaster, 'four cultus vases bearing symbols of Minoan worship, the disk, consecrated horns and serpent, a terra-cotta female idol entwined with a snake, two heads of the same type as the idol, several small clay doves and serpents' heads, all of coarse terra cotta, and a fragment of a pithos, on which a double-ax and disk are modeled in relief[3].'

The horns that appear so frequently in connexion with the double axe are in all probability bovine. An agate intaglio from Knossos, belonging to the 'Late Minoan' period, shows a double axe rising between the curved horns of a bull's head (fig. 407)[4]. A lentoid sardonyx from the Argive Heraion, now in the Schliemann collection at Berlin, is engraved with a similar design (fig. 408)[5]. In the fourth shaft-grave at Mykenai were found about fifty-six specimens of bull's head-and-axe cut out of gold plate; some of these had a double axe of normal shape (fig. 409 *a*, *b*)[6]; others had its blades duplicated (fig. 409 *c*, *d*)[7]. Finally, a Mycenaean *kratér* from Salamis in Kypros (*Enkomi*), preserved in the British Museum[8], is decorated

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 105 says 'of still later date,' but *ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 84 n. 1 'perhaps contemporary (as most of the remains at Gournia) with the First Period of the Later Palace at Knossos.' See also R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 195.

[2] H. A. Boyd-Hawes, B. E. Williams, R. B. Seager, and E. H. Hall *Gournia, Vasiliki and other prehistoric sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete* Philadelphia 1908.

[3] H. A. Boyd in the *Annual Report of the Board of Regents of the Smithsonian Institution* for 1903—1904 Washington 1905 p. 570. See also C. H. & H. Hawes *Crete the Forerunner of Greece* London—New York 1909 pp. 93, 97 f., H. R. Hall *Ægæan Archæology* London 1915 p. 155 fig. 55, D. A. Mackenzie *Myths of Crete & Pre-Hellenic Europe* London s. a. p. 261 f.

[4] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 114 fig. 70 (=my fig. 407) completed and enlarged to a scale of $\frac{4}{1}$.

[5] H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 362 fig. 541 (=my fig. 408), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 2, 42, ii. 13. The handle of the axe here points upwards, not downwards; and the device is flanked by two objects of doubtful character, perhaps sacred knots (see P. Wolters 'Faden und Knoten als Amulett' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii. (Beiheft) 1 ff., F. W. von Bissing 'Ägyptische Knotenamulette' *ib.* 1905 viii. 23 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 293—317 ('Knots and Rings tabooed'), I. Scheftelowitz *Das Schlingen- und Netzmotiv im Glauben und Brauch der Völker* Giessen 1912 pp. 1—64, C. Bonner 'The Sacred Bond' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1913 xliv. 233—245).

[6] H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 218 figs. 329, 330 (=my fig. 409 *a*, *b*), C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 249 fig. 249. It is noteworthy that in this fourth grave was found a fringed knot of alabaster (Schliemann *op. cit.* p. 242 fig. 352, Schuchhardt *op. cit.* p. 252 fig. 253).

[7] Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 198 figs. 33, 34 (=my fig. 409 *c*, *d*).

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 81 f. no. C 401 fig. 138, A. S. Murray—A. H. Smith—H. B. Walters *Excavations in Cyprus* London 1900 p. 38 f. fig. 67 no. 844.

with *bucrania* and ritual horns: both alike have a double axe set upon them (fig. 410)[1], and are plainly felt to be alternatives of like significance.

But what exactly did they signify? The old notion[2] that a single *bucranium*-and-axe denoted the sacrifice of an ox, and that a multiplicity of such symbols commemorated a hecatomb, will not do. The prominent position accorded to the axe, the duplication of its blades, the careful propping of its haft, imply that this was no commonplace tool, but a divine weapon. Are we then to conclude that the axe stands for the sky-god, and the ox-head for the sacrifice offered to him? The explanation is still inadequate; for why should an ox in particular be sacrificed to an axe or an axe-bearing god? and why

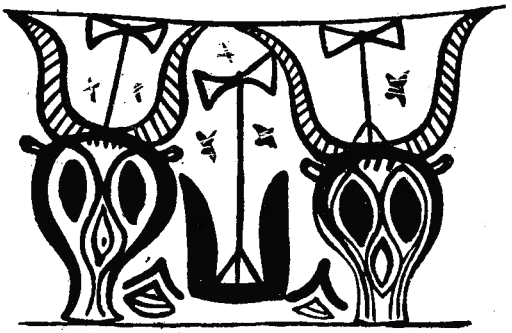


Fig. 410.

should the axe be set up between the ox-horns? To grasp the real meaning of this combination we must bear in mind (*a*) that the bull was the theanthropic animal of the Cretan Zeus, torn asunder in his service[3] and buried in his name[4]; (*b*) that ritual horns appear to have originated in the shrine of a buried bull, regarded as a centre or

[1] The design is completed by Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 107 fig. 3 (=my fig. 410), S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1902 xiii. 25 fig. 19, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480 fig. 204, 3.

[2] *E.g.* A. Milchhöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* Leipzig 1883 p. 116 f. ('vielleicht lediglich mit Beziehung auf die Opferhandlung'), Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 238 ('a symbol of sacrifice'), 240, Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt. *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 103 ('they are symbols of sacrifice offered to the dead, in conformity with the well-known ancient custom of offering to gods and heroes metal or terra-cotta simulacra of real victims'), W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 301 ('perhaps representing sacrifice to the dead').

[3] *Supra* i. 660 ff.

Supra p. 345.

focus of life[1]; and (*c*) that the vital force of the divine beast was gathered into its horns[2], so that any object placed between them would be quickened to the uttermost. Was not this the right position for that dread weapon, which constituted the might of the Almighty?

Bucranium and double axe were for centuries associated in the popular mind. And the peculiar 'Minoan' combination of the two has left traces of itself over a wide area. L. Stephani published a pair of double axes (fig. 411) and eight *bucrania* (fig. 412) found in 1873 on the site of Olbia in Sarmatia[3]. They are flat lead castings with unworked back, and were presumably affixed to some smooth surface, perhaps that of a wooden coffin[4]. The *bucrania* are adorned with fillets and grape-bunches, occasionally also with ivy-leaves.

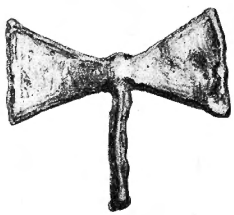


Fig. 411.

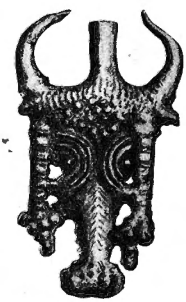


Fig. 412.

Between the horns in every case rises a vertical stem, which is hardly to be explained as a mere tag due to the casting, but more probably should be regarded as a vestige of the double axe once installed in that position of importance. R. Wünsch[5] has recently noticed that the Museum at Stettin possesses a large number of leaden *bucrania* from Pantikapaion (*Kerch*): most of them have an oblong handle between the horns, which he would complete by means of sundry loose heads of double axes found with the *bucrania* in question. Wünsch conjectures that these were amulets derived from the double axe of the ancient Cretan religion. Again, Count Albert de La

[1] *Supra* i. 508 ff. [2] *Supra* i. 499 ff.

[3] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. xxix, *id. ib.* 1874 p. 32 f. Atlas pl. 1, 18 (=my fig. 411) and 24; 15, 16, 17, 19 (=my fig. 412), 20, 21, 22, 23.

[4] See E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 373 f. fig. 277.

[5] R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 632 f., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 227.

Marmora[1] in 1840 described and figured a thin *plaque* of lead in the Capuchin Museum at Palma, said to have come from the *talayot* of Son-Texeguet near Lluc-Major in Minorca (fig. 413). He supposed that it was of Phoenician or Carthaginian origin, and suggested, shrewdly enough, that it looked rather like the skin of an ox-head. The horns have degenerated into concentric circles like the eyes. And four small holes show that it was suspended as an amulet. A close parallel to it was published in 1892 by É. Cartailhac[2] from the

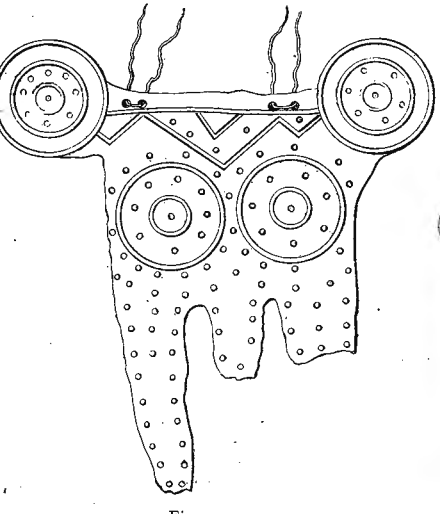


Fig. 413.

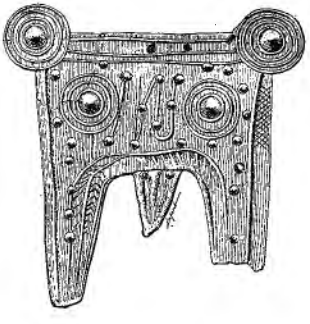


Fig. 414.

collection of M. Moragues (fig. 414)—another thin leaden *plaque* apparently representing a conventionalised *bucranium* with a similar treatment of the horns and eyes.

The decadence of the 'Minoan' type can, however, be best seen in the old indigenous pottery of Apulia. In 1908[3] I drew attention

[1] Le C^te^ A. de La Marmora *Voyage en Sardaigne* Paris 1840 ii. 533 Atlas pl. 39, 4 (=my fig. 413).

[2] É. Cartailhac *Monuments primitifs des îles Baléares* Toulouse 1892 p. 68 f. fig. 82 (=my fig. 414 inverted), J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 476.

[3] 'The Cretan Axe-cult outside Crete' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 188 f. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9.

to certain specimens of this ware[1] now in the British Museum[2]. They are flat bowls with a high handle shaped like a pair of bovine horns. It differs from the ordinary *ansa lunata* or *Mondhenkel* of North Italy and Central Europe, because it represents the forehead and eyes of the beast as well as the horns. It has also an additional

Fig. 415.

Fig. 416.

Fig. 417.

Fig. 418.

feature of interest. Between the horns rises what I took to be a stylised form of the double axe (fig. 415). This double axe, if such

[1] See the elaborate articles of M. Mayer 'Ceramica dell' Apulia preellenica i. La Messapia' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 201—252 figs. 1—22 pl. 10, 'ii. La Peucezia' *ib.* 1899 xiv. 13—80 figs. 1—20 pls. 2—5, 'Die Keramik des vorgriechischen Apuliens iii. Daunia' *ib.* 1904 xix. 188—243 figs. 1—11 suppl. pl. 1, 276—316 figs. 14—17 suppl. pls. 2 and 3, 'iv. Daunia (Fortsetzung) v. Tarent' *ib.* 1908 xxiii. 167—262 figs. 1—9 pls. 8 and 9 suppl. pls. 1—10.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 266 f. nos. H 253 pl. 27, H 254 pl. 27, H 252 pl. 27. My figs. 415—418 are from photographs by the Museum photographer. H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 264 assigns the ware to the period *c.* 700—500 B.C.

it be[1], tends to become vestigial (fig. 416), and sometimes disappears altogether (fig. 417). That we are on the right track in explaining these handles by a reference to 'Minoan' cult appears further from sundry vessels of similar fabric but different shape (fig. 418)[2]. Here we have a handle adorned with three cones grouped together in a manner suggestive of a lotus-bud. Before them stands a priestess with ear-rings, necklace, etc., who seems to be presenting the contents of this remarkable vase. Its body is painted with decorative bands, including a frieze of birds and a row of ritual horns quite in 'Minoan' style. Further, the 'hour-glass' ornament, so characteristic of these local Apulian vases[3], may well be viewed as a simple derivative of the double axe. It will be remembered that we have already come across literary evidence also of a 'Minoan' cult persisting into Hellenic times at Tarentum[4].

(ε) The deity of the double axe.

Thus far we have seen that the double axe, whether hanging in mid air or hafted into a tree or affixed to a pillar or set up between horns, is at least intelligible if viewed as the sky-god's weapon.

That this sky-god was conceived in human form is not only *a priori* probable, but *a posteriori* certain. We have observed him as an armed deity descending from above on the gold signets of Mykenai (fig. 18)[5] and Knossos (fig. 19)[6] and on the painted *lárnax* of Miletos (fig. 20)[7]. It is true, he was not actually holding his two-bladed weapon. But Sir A. J. Evans, *à propos* of the double axe on the Mycenaean ring, very justly remarked: 'It stands in a natural relation to the small figure of the warrior God to the left, and probably represents one of the cult forms under which he was worshipped[8].' Moreover, thanks to the kindness of a friend, I am

[1] M. Mayer in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1908 xxiii. 217: 'Zwecklos wäre es auch, an gewisse kretische Symbole, das Hörnerpaar mit der Doppelaxt, hier erinnern zu wollen.' Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 4 no. 38 pl. 1 mistook the whole arrangement for an idol with raised arms (!), and H. B. Walters *loc. cit.* p. 267 speaks of 'a vertical projection ending in two discs, perhaps intended for a rude human head.' It is, of course, quite conceivable that the double axe had become degraded (or exalted) into human features.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 271 no. H 263 pl. 28, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 189 fig. 9. Cp. M. Mayer in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1908 xxiii. 194 ff. no. 15 pl. 8, 4 and col. pl. 9, no. 16 suppl. pl. 1, 4, no. 17 suppl. pls. 1, 5, 3, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* i. 2. 270 f. no. H 262 pl. 28.

[3] *E.g. Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 206 f. no. 5 fig. 2, 207 f. no. 6 fig. 3, 211 no. 14 fig. 7.

[4] *Supra* p. 29 ff.

[5] *Supra* pp. 47 ff. fig. 18, 514 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 49 fig. 19.

[7] *Supra* p. 49 f. fig. 20.

[8] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108.

enabled here to publish (fig. 419)[1] a lenticular gem of onyx-marble, probably from Melos, now in his possession. It shows a bearded god with wings on his shoulders[2] and winglets on his heels, who is

a

Fig. 419.

rushing through the air with a double axe in his hand. We can hardly be wrong in identifying him as the 'Minoan' sky-god in his stormy aspect.

It would seem, then, that, just as various nations of antiquity worshipped axe[3] or spear[4] or sword[5] meaning thereby to extol the

[1] Fig. 419 is drawn from an impression, to the scale of $\frac{3}{4}$. Fig. 419 *a* is a sketch of the gem itself.

[2] In accordance with a well-known convention of archaic art (*e.g.* Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 38 no. 301, E. Gerhard in *Arch. Zeit.* 1854 xii. 180 ff. pl. 61 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 380, 4, F. Studniczka in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1751 f. fig. 7), which aptly illustrates E. Loewy's law of memory-pictures, the wings, seen in their greatest extension, are simply superposed on the figure without organic connexion.

[3] The Egyptian term for 'god,' 'spirit,' 'supernatural power' is *neter*—a word of very uncertain origin. The hieroglyph that is used both as the determinative of this word and also as an ideograph is . Thus or denotes 'god,' and or or or 'gods.' Birch, Brugsch, Budge and other competent Egyptologists hold that represents an axe-head let into and fastened in a long wooden handle (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 63 ff. and A. Wiedemann in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 275. See also F. Legge in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1899 xxi. 310 f., A. Mosso *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation* London 1910 p. 145 fig. 83). A dissentient is F. Ll. Griffith *A Collection of Hieroglyphs* London 1898 p. 46 col. pls. 3, 26 (=my fig. 421), 8, 114 (=my fig. 420), who says: 'A roll of yellow cloth (for bandaging?), the lower part bound or laced over, the upper end appearing as a flap at the top, probably for unwinding... In N. K. hatchets were made which in outline resemble this figure, perhaps intentionally. It is possible, indeed, that the present object represents a fetish, e.g. a bone carefully wound round with cloth, and not the cloth alone; but this idea is not as yet supported by any ascertained facts.' The green colouring of the handle in the two figures here given suggests that the haft of the sacred axe was conceived as a living vegetable stem, cp. the *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada* (*supra* p. 520 f.). Griffith *op. cit.* p. 63 f. col. pl. 5, 60 (=my fig. 422) is a graphic compound consisting of an open stand or funnel (?), an axe,

and a desert slope, together forming the word-sign for ḥr·t ntr (kher·t nether), 'that which belongs to a god,' *i.e.* the necropolis or place of the dead.

P. E. Newberry likewise demurs to the view that the *neter*-sign is an axe. In a letter to me, dated Oct. 3, 1908, he says: 'In outline it certainly looks as though it was so, but whenever the sign is coloured the coloured detail shows that it must have been a post (?) wrapped with a band of linen the end of which formed a kind of flag.' But, if this able scholar denies us the single axe, he grants us the double axe; *vide* his important paper 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 27: 'In the Fifth Dynasty there twice occurs†† [†† Mar. *Mast.*, D. 38, now in the National Museum at Copenhagen, No. 5129; Borchardt's, *Abusir*, p. 120; M. A. Murray, *Index*, pl. XXXIV.] a title ... *khet* '*khet*-priest of the Double Axe'‡‡ [‡‡ The Double Axe as a symbol is found as early as the First Dynasty in Egypt (Petrie *R.T.I.*, VII, 12, and Quibell, *Hierakonpolis* II, LXVIII).], which it is possible may be connected with HA, for in the Twenty-sixth Dynasty is recorded an Amasis who was 'Priest of HA of the Double Axe?'§§ [§§ *A.Z.*, XXXVIII, 116.] The context shows that HA is the name of a cult-object or divinity representing a mountain with two or more crests. And Newberry compares the Double Axe of 'Minoan' Crete with its 'Horns of Consecration.'

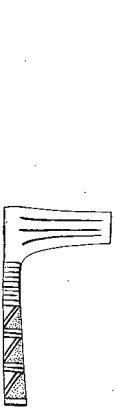


Fig. 420.

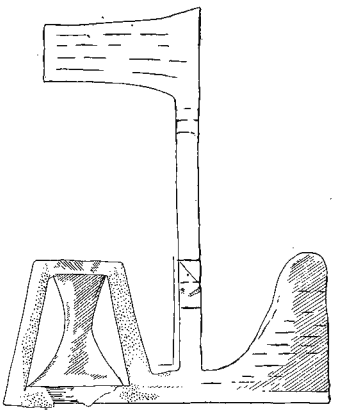


Fig. 422.

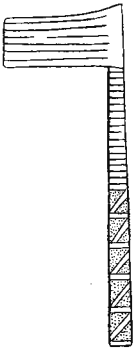


Fig. 421.

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 pp. 5—18 pls. 1—18 deals with the various forms of axe and adze found in Egypt and elsewhere, but does not include any detailed discussion of their religious significance.

A cylinder of grey chalcedony, now in the British Museum (no. 89470, as Dr R. Eisler kindly informs me), shows an Assyrian priest presenting a sacrifice to a deity, who is symbolised by a knobbed sceptre and an axe set upright on a high-backed throne. Behind the throne crouches an *ibex* or *oryx*, above which are the emblems of Ištar, Sin, and Sibitti (A. de Longpérier in the *Bulletin archéologique de l'Athenæum français* 1855 i. 101 f. = G. Schlumberger *Œuvres de A. de Longpérier* Paris 1883 i. 170 with fig. (= my fig. 423), *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 184 f. fig. 2, W. H. Ward in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 110 pl. 56, no. 226). The deity thus repre-

sented by axe and sceptre is perhaps Adad, who on a cylinder of rock-crystal in the Museum at Florence (J. Ménant *Les pierres gravées de la Haute-Asie* Paris 1883—1886 ii. 60 fig. 52 (=my fig. 424), *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the*

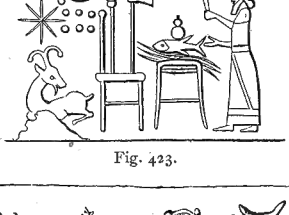


Fig. 423.

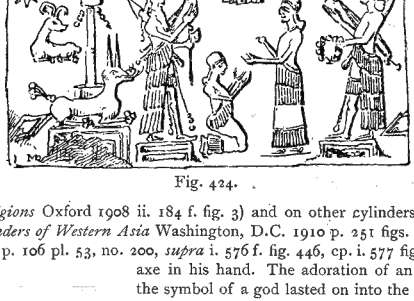


Fig. 424.

History of Religions Oxford 1908 ii. 184 f. fig. 3) and on other cylinders (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington, D.C. 1910 p. 251 figs. 764, 766, *id.* in Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 106 pl. 53, no. 200, *supra* i. 576 f. fig. 446, cp. i. 577 fig. 447) bears an axe in his hand. The adoration of an axe erected as the symbol of a god lasted on into the Persian period, to judge from a seal-stone published by J. Ménant *op. cit.* ii pl. 9, 7 (=my fig. 425), *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 185 fig. 4, which possibly illustrates the *axinomantia* of the Magi (*infra* § 3 (c) i (ψ)).

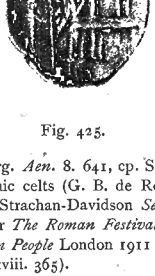


Fig. 425.

The flint held in the hands of those that swore the ancient oath by Iupiter *Lapis* (Polyb. 3. 25. 6 ff. Διὰ Λίθον, Cic. *epist. ad fam.* 7. 12. 2, Paul. ex Fest. p. 115, 4 ff. Müller, p. 102, 11 ff. Lindsay, Plout. *v. Sull.* 10, Apul. *de deo Socr.* p. 132 Oudendorp, Gell. 1. 21. 4), and the flint or flints taken by the Fetiales from the temple of Iupiter *Feretrius* for the purpose of striking a treaty (Liv. 1. 24, 9. 5, 30. 43, Paul. ex Fest. p. 92, 1 f. Müller, p. 81, 16 ff. Lindsay) and deemed equivalent to the effigy of Iupiter himself (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 641, cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 12. 206), are best explained as unhafted néolithic celts (G. B. de Rossi in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 24 f., E. B. Tylor in J. L. Strachan-Davidson *Selections from Polybius* Oxford 1888 p. 77 n. 1, W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 231, *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 130. I have said my say on the subject in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 365).

Barbarised copies of the *drachmé* of Rhode (*Rosas*) in Spain (shortly before *c.* 250 B.C.), struck in silver by the Volcae Tectosages of Gallia Narbonensis and the Sotiates of Aquitania, often exhibit an axe, the type of which is referable usually to the La Tène period, but sometimes to the Hallstatt period, and even to the Bronze Age (R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 47 f. figs. 90—92, p. 67 fig. 118, p. 69 f. figs. 126 f., 129—134, pl. 5, 118, 129—134, pl. 22, 127, *id. Reallex.* p. 73 pl. 23, 11—20). It is at least possible that these axes are symbols of an axe-bearing god like Esus (Lucan. 1. 444 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 21), who in Gallia Lugudunensis was associated with Iovis and Volcanus, and in Gallia Belgica with Mercurius and Rosmerta (?) (*supra* i. 481 n. 9: see further S. Reinach 'Teutatès, Esus, Taranis' in the *Revue celtique* 1897 pp. 137—149=*id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1905 i. 204—216, M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 694 ff.).

Latin tomb-inscriptions from Gallia Lugudunensis are very frequently marked with the sign of an adze, either incised or carved in relief, and end with the *formula*: 'So-and-so dedicated this monument under the adze.' The phrase *sub ascia dedicare* has for the last two centuries provoked the curiosity of the learned. Monographs have been devoted to it, and the literature is already large (a helpful summary in Sir J. E. Sandys *Latin Epigraphy* Cambridge 1919 pp. 78—82). Most scholars, including A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1522 f., take it to mean that the monument was dedicated before it was finished, being still, so to say, 'under the adze' of the stone-mason. But O. Hirschfeld, who has edited these inscriptions for the Berlin *Corpus*, records his emphatic opinion that the tombs in question were under the protection of some Gallic divinity symbolised by a sacred adze (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii p. 256). And É. Guimet *L'Ascia des Égyptiens* Lyon 1872 has adduced certain facts which point clearly in the same direction. For example, at Avignon ten sepulchral urns of stone were found arranged in a circle with a bronze axe in the middle of them (*id. op. cit.* p. 1), while in some Italian *columbaria* the urns are covered with a tile of marble or terra cotta on which is the representation of an adze—they are literally *sub ascia* (*id. ib.* p. 2 pl. 1, 10).

A parallel to these Gallic tombstones 'dedicated under the adze' may be found in certain runic tombstones dedicated under, or at any rate marked with, the hammer of Thor. Two good examples from Hanning and Læborg in Denmark were published by H. Petersen *Ueber den Gottesdienst und den Götterglauben des Nordens während der Heidenzeit* trans. M. Riess Gardelegen 1882 pp. 39—41 fig. 1 f., cp. P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 239. The parallel suggests that the adze on the Gallic tombs was, like Thor's hammer, the tool of a thunder-god.

R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 765, after Küentzle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1018, explains *et. Gud.* p. 581, 1 f. καὶ ἄτρον (*leg.* ἄστρον) οὕτω (*leg.* οὕτω) καλούμενον (*sc.* Ὡρίωνα), ἡ λεγομένη Σκεπαρνέα as an allusion to the shape of the constellation ('das Orionsternbild wegen seiner Form ·:· als σκέπαρνον="Doppelaxt" aufgefasst wurde').

[2] Kaineus once planted a javelin in the midst of the market-place and bade men count it as a god (schol. *Il.* 1. 264, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 101, 14 f.): the proverb τὸ Καινέως δόρυ arose from the fact that he forced passers by to swear by his spear (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 57). Parthenopaios the Arcadian used to swear by his spear and reverence it more than a god (Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 529 f.). The god whom the Chaeroneans honoured most was the sceptre that Hephaistos had made for Zeus. It had subsequently belonged to Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, Agamemnon. The Chaeroneans worshipped it, calling it Spear (Δόρυ). It had no temple; but the man who acted as priest kept it in his house for a year. Sacrifices were offered to it daily, and a table was set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes (Paus. 9. 40. 11 f.: *supra* i. 406. See further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 371 f.).

The oldest image of Mars at Rome was a spear (δόρυ, *hasta*) kept in the *Regia* and apparently addressed as *Mars* (Varro *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 46. 4 p. 35, 23 f. Stählin and Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11, Plout. *v. Rom.* 29, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 3).

[3] The Scythian cult of Ares, according to Hdt. 4. 62, was as follows. Bundles of

power that wielded them[1], so the 'Minoans' paid divine honours to the double axe *qua* sign and symbol of an anthropomorphic sky-god.

But an important question remains to be answered. What was the name of this dread deity? He was, we have said, the consort of the great 'Minoan' earth-goddess, whom the Greeks continued to reverence at Knossos as Rhea[2]. Now in Greek myth the husband of Rhea is invariably called Kronos[3]. It follows that Kronos was the name by which the Greeks knew the axe-bearing sky-god of the 'Minoans.' Tradition declared that Kronos and Rhea had reigned together in Crete[4]. And some interesting details of the local cult are on record. Istros the historian, a learned follower of Kallimachos, in his *Collection of Cretan Sacrifices* noted that the Kouretes had in ancient times sacrificed children to Kronos[5]. Xenion

brushwood were heaped together till they formed a stack three stades long and wide. On this stack was constructed a level square. Three sides of it were sheer, the fourth sloping. Every year 150 carts brought brushwood to keep up the stack, which had a tendency to settle down in the winter. An ancient iron scimitar (ἀκινάκης) set on the stack was viewed as the image of Ares. To it was brought a yearly sacrifice of sheep and horses. Also one out of every hundred prisoners taken alive in war was sacrificed. The Scythians poured wine on the men's heads, slew them over a vessel, and drenched the scimitar with their blood. Others below cut off the right shoulders and arms of the victims, flung these into the air, and, leaving them to lie where they fell, offered the rest of their sacrifices and departed.

The Alani had no temple, but fixed a naked sword (*gladius*) in the ground with barbaric rites and worshipped it as Mars, the chief of the steppes through which they roamed (Amm. Marc. 31. 2. 23).

Attila, lord of the Hunni, was emboldened by the discovery of the sword (*gladius*) of Mars, which the kings of the Scythians always regarded as sacred. A herdsman noticed one of his heifers limping, followed the blood-drops, and found the sword, upon which the heifer while feeding had accidentally trodden. He dug up the sword and brought it to Attila, who thereupon deemed that he was ruler of the world and that the sword of Mars made him irresistible in war (Priscus Panites *frag.* 8. Bekker—Niebuhr (p. 224 ed. Bonn.) *ap.* Iordan. *de Getarum sive Gothorum origine et rebus gestis* 35. The original Greek account by Priscus (p. 201 ed. Bonn.) is somewhat less detailed). Cp. *infra* § 3 (c) i (*σ*).

Silver coins of the Bituriges, imitated from the gold *statér* of Philip ii (359—336 B.C.) of Makedonia, introduce a short sword of La Tène type over the horse on the reverse (R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 47 fig. 89). This perhaps implies the cult of the sword (cp. A. de Longpérier in the *Bulletin archéologique de l'Athenæum français* 1855 i. 102 = G. Schlumberger *Œuvres de A. de Longpérier* Paris 1883 i. 171).

[1] See an eminently reasonable article on 'Weapon-worship' by A. Lang in the *Morning Post* for Oct. 14, 1910.

[2] *Supra* i. 649 n. 3.

[3] See *e.g.* A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 88 ff. (who, however, does not believe that Rhea was *ab origine* a Cretan goddess).

[4] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 29 B (i. 52 Bekker) κατὰ τούτους δὲ τοὺς χρόνους (*sc.* anno mundi 3413) ἐν οἷς Ἰσαὰκ ἐγεννήθη, ἐν Κρήτῃ ἄρξαι Κρόνον καὶ Ῥέαν Ἕλληνες ἱστοροῦσι.

[5] Istros *frag.* 47 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 424 Müller) *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 56 Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ Συναγωγῇ τῶν Κρητικῶν θυσιῶν φησὶν τοὺς Κουρῆτας τὸ παλαιὸν τῷ Κρόνῳ θύειν παῖδας = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 7.

too in his work *On Crete* told how the cave on Mount Ide called *Arkésion* had come by its name. It had 'helped' (*arkésai*) the Kouretes, when they fled from Kronos and concealed themselves in its depths[1]. Since the Kouretes in the rites of Zeus *Idaîos* posed as Zagreus[2], the infant thunderer slain by the Titans[3], it is probable that originally one of the initiates was done to death and eaten by the rest as a re-birth of the 'Minoan' sky-god[4]. The grim legend of Kronos swallowing his own children finds at last an explanation[5].

And here it is permissible to conjecture that the word *Krónos*, whatever it meant to 'Minoan' ears, was understood by the Greeks as 'Chopper[6]'—a name appropriate, not only to the axe-bearer, but to the axe that he bore. The distinctive Homeric epithet of Kronos is *ankylométes*[7], which I would interpret as 'he of the crooked blade[8]'

[1] Xenion *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 528 Müller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 144, 33 ff. 'Αρκέσιον· οὕτω καλούμενον ἄντρον τῆς Κρητικῆς Ἴδης· παρὰ τὸ ἀρκέσαι, τὸ βοηθῆσαι, φασὶν αὐτὸ ὑπὸ Κουρήτων ὀνομασθῆναι, ὅτι τὸν Κρόνον αὐτοῖς φεύγουσι, καὶ εἰς αὐτὸ καταδυεῖσι (F. Sylburg cj. καταδῦσι) καὶ κρυπτομένοις, ἐπήρκεσεν. οὕτω Ξενίων ἐν τοῖς περὶ Κρήτης.

[2] *Supra* i. 648 ff. [3] *Supra* i. 398 f., 647. [4] *Supra* i. 654 ff.

[5] For previous attempts to explain the myth see M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1538 ff. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 425 speaks of it as 'den an ein Menschenopfer sich anlehnenden Mythos von der Verschlingung der eigenen Kinder.'

[6] As *θρόνος* is derived from the root *dher* (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 187, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 349 f.), and *χρόνος* from the root *gher* or *ĝher* (Prellwitz *op. cit.* p. 515), so Κρόνος presupposes the *κερ* of *κείρω*, 'I cut.' My expert friend Dr P. Giles, whom I consulted on the matter, kindly sends me (Oct. 22, 1911) the following *responsum*: 'your derivation seems to be quite possible. The root would be in the weak grade *κρ-* and the suffix *-ονο-*' (see further Append. A.). The connexion of Κρόνος with *κείρω* had, in fact, long since been divined by that acute investigator H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1861 ii. 137 f. ('Auch sein Name ist wohl der physischen Seite seines Wesens entlehnt. Derselbe, von *κείρω*,...ist = ὁ *κείρων*, was entweder...geradezu auf den Erndtegott sich beziehen lässt oder auf seine mythische That des Verzehrens, Verschlingens'), cp. *id.* in *Philologus* 1857 xii. 555 f. Support for it may be found in the words *κόρνος*, 'prick' (Hesych. *s.v. κόρνος· κέντρον. μυρσίνη* (M. Schmidt accepts Stephanus' cj. *κεντρομυρσίνη*, cp. Hesych. *s.v. σκόρνος*). Σικελοί), *κορνώπιδες*, 'pricking beasties' (Hesych. *s.v. κορνώπιδες· κώνωπες*, cp. Strab. 613 *Κορνοπίωνα* = Eustath. *in Il.* p. 34, 26). Other derivations of Κρόνος are listed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1104 n. 2. Add now A. Carnoy 'Le nom de Cronos' in *Le Musée Belge* 1920 xix—xxiv. 14—20 (cp. Celtic *Cera*, Italian *Cerus-Ceres*: the root is that of *creo, cresco*).

[7] H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 14 *s.v. ἀγκῦλο-μήτης*. The same word was used as an appellative of Zeus (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 no. 13 *ἀγκυλομήτεω* (*sc.* Διός), 266 no. 1 *ἀγκυλομήτεω* (*sc.* Διός), 274 *ἀγκυλομήτης* (*sc.* Ζεύς), 282 *ἀγκυλομήτης* (*sc.* Ζεύς)), and of Prometheus (Hes. *theog.* 546 Προμηθεὺς *ἀγκυλομήτης*, *o. d.* 48 Προμηθεὺς *ἀγκυλομήτης* with Proklos and Moschopoulos *ad loc.* In Orph. *h. Kron.* 13. 7 Kronos himself is addressed as Ῥέα πόσι, σεμνὲ Προμηθεῦ, on which see M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1546).

[8] The analogy of *ἀγκυλότοξος* suggests that the epithet is objective, not subjective. For the second element in it see Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 482 *s.v.* 'meto,' I mow: 'Idg. **met-* steht neben **mē-*...oder **amē-* in gr. *ἀμάω* "mähe, ernte," *ἀμάομαι* "sammle" ..., ahd. *māan*, ags. *māwan*, nhd. *mähen*, ahd. *mād* "Mahd," ags. *mæþ* "das Mähen, das gemähte Heu" = gr. *ἀμητός* "abgemähte Frucht, abgeerntetes Feld."'

This interpretation has been in part anticipated by E. Hoffmann *Mythen aus der*

in allusion to the god's *hárpe* or sickle-knife—a Thracian[1] weapon found also among many peoples of Asia Minor[2] (fig. 426)[3]. Saturn, as successor of Kronos, sometimes has a *hárpe* (fig. 427)[4] instead of his usual sickle or bill-hook.

An analogous figure, at once weapon-divinity and divine weapon, occurs among the Hittite rock-carvings of Boghaz-Keui. In the small gallery at Iasily Kaya may be seen a remarkable relief, some

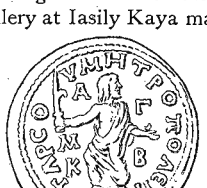


Fig. 426.

Fig. 427.

eleven feet high, which represents (fig. 428)[5] a vast dagger stuck vertically into the ground. Closer inspection shows that the handle is a human head wearing a conical cap with ribs and rings, and that below it, where we look for human shoulders and a human body, there is a curious combination of four lions, two with heads facing outwards, and two hung downwards each by a single hind-leg. Beneath the lions is the great tapering blade with its raised midrib. I would venture to regard this *Mischwesen* as no mere

Wanderzeit der graeko-italischen Stämme i *Kronos und Zeus* Leipzig 1876 pp. 63 f., 82, who supposes that Kronos, being armed with a sickle-shaped ἅρπη or ξάγκλη, was originally entitled 'Αγκυλο-μήδης, 'Sichel-Herrscher,'—a title later altered into the epithet ἀγκυλο-μήτης. Hoffmann, I conceive, was on the right track as regards the first half of the compound, but spoiled his explanation by an improbable, and indeed unnecessary, guess as to the second half.

[1] Clem. Al. *strom.* i. 16 p. 49, 2 f. Stählin *ναὶ μὴν Θρᾷκες πρῶτοι τὴν καλουμένην ἅρπην (πάρμην* cod. L.) *εὗρον· ἔστι δὲ μάχαιρα καμπύλη* = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 10. 6. 6.

[2] S. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 970, M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1545.

[3] J. N. Svoronos *ap.* M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1557 fig. 8 (=my fig. 426) draws attention to a coin of Tarsos, struck by Valerianus i (253—260 A.D.) and now at Athens, which shows a bald-headed god moving to the left with a *hárpe* in his hand.

[4] *E.g.* Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 294 (wrongly described) pl. Neria, 1, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 253 f. fig. (=my fig. 427), G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 430 fig. 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 504 nos. 3950–3952 pl. 49, 11. This head appears on coins struck by the two *quaestores urbani*, who administered the *aerarium Saturni* (Babelon *op. cit.* i. pp. xl, xlix, ii. 657 Index).

[5] G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 358 f., ii pls. 49 and 50, 3, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 642 figs. 318 (face incorrectly turned to right) and 320, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 228, 239 ff., 360 pl. 70 (=my fig. 428), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 131, 139 f., E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 100 f. fig. 77.

'heraldic figure[1],' but as the youthful consort of the Hittite earth-

Fig. 428.

[1] J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 228. Perrot—Chipiez *loc. cit.* say cautiously: 'un dieu.' J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 239 f. would identify 'the dirk-deity'...' with the Sandon of Tarsus, Hercules son of Zeus,' pointing out that Hercules too wore a lion-skin. Frazer *op. cit.*[3] i. 139: 'their god was a lion, or rather a lion-man, a being in whom the bestial and human

mother. And that for two reasons. On the one hand, he is evidently a lion-god, and so a fit partner for a lion-goddess like Rhea[1]. On the other hand, he is a cutting blade, and so comparable with *Krónos*, the 'Chopper.' J. Garstang[2] and Sir J. G. Frazer[3] both agree that this dagger-god with his beardless head and leonine body must be identified with the youthful god standing on a lioness(?) in the large recess of the same rock-sanctuary[4]. And it will be remembered that the god in question carries a double axe as well as a short sword. But the double axe, as we have observed, was the weapon of the sky-god. It is, therefore, reasonable to surmise that the divine Dagger plunged into the ground, like the divine Axe hafted into a leafy stem, betokens the all-important union of Sky with Earth.

Returning to Kronos, we note that the 'Minoan' representation of him as posting through the sky with four wings[5] is not without Anatolian parallels. Silver coins of Mallos in Kilikia exhibit a four-winged and sometimes Janiform god hasting on his way with a disk in his hands; and we have already adopted the view that he is a solar Kronos[6]. Similarly bronze coins of Byblos in Phoinike, struck by the Syrian kings from Antiochos iv Epiphanes (175—164 B.C.) to Antiochos viii Grypos (125—96 B.C.)[7] or issued as autonomous and imperial pieces in the first century B.C., show Kronos, the founder of the city[8], as a nude deity equipped with three pairs of wings. He stands resting his right hand on a sceptre and wearing a head-dress of feathers (fig. 429)[9]. This representation of the god

natures mysteriously co-existed.' E. Meyer *op. cit.* p. 100: 'das Symbol eines mächtigen Gottes des Krieges und der Jagd' (cp. *ib.* p. 100 f. fig. 78 a relief from Sinjerli of a winged lion with a human head growing upright from his neck behind the ears).

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 28 ff. fig. 9 published a clay sealing from a recess off the central court of the palace at Knossos, which shows a warrior-goddess on a mountain-top flanked by two lions, with a male worshipper to the right and a sacred edifice to the left ('the prototype of the later Kybelê and Rhea'). *Id. ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 59 f. figs. 37 f. published two clay seal-impressions from the 'Temple Repositories' of the same palace. One represents a warrior-goddess accompanied by a lion; the other, a warrior-god accompanied by a lioness (?). *Id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 163—168 figs. 43 and 44 f. further illustrates the 'Minoan' seal-types of a god or a goddess between two lions and concludes: 'The male divinity is not so much the consort as the son or youthful favourite. The relationship is rather that of Rhea than of Hera to Zeus, of Adonis rather than of Arês to Aphroditê.'

[2] J. Garstang *op. cit.* p. 240. [3] Frazer *op. cit.*[3] i. 139.

[4] *Supra* i. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476.

[5] *Supra* p. 544 fig. 419. [6] *Supra* i. 297 f. figs. 221—223.

[7] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 791. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. lxii states: 'Byblus seems to have been a mint of the Seleucidae only from the time of Antiochus iv (175—164) to that of Antiochus vii (138—129).'

[8] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 19.

[9] E. Babelon *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* Paris 1890 p. 85 no. 671 pl. 14, 18, Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.*[1,2] pl. 7, 224 Antiochos iv (=my fig. 429),

agrees in the main with the description of him given by Sanchouniathon[1], whose words are thus rendered by Philon of Byblos[2]:

'Moreover, he (*sc.* the god Taautos, *i.e.* Thoth) devised a mark of royalty for Kronos, four eyes in front and behind, < two of them wide awake > and two quietly closing, and four wings on his shoulders, two of them as it were spread for flight, and two as it were drooped. This symbolised the fact that Kronos saw while he slept and slept while he waked; and likewise with his wings, that he flew while he rested and rested while he flew. To each of the other gods he assigned two wings upon the shoulders, on the ground that they shared in the flight of Kronos. Again, he gave Kronos two feathers on the head, one for the sovereignty of mind and one for sense-perception.'

The same four-winged deity appears in *quasi*-Assyrian garb as the central medallion of a silver-gilt bowl of *s.* vii(?) B.C., found by

Fig. 429.

Fig. 431.

Fig. 432.

Fig. 430.

L. P. di Cesnola at Kourion in Kypros and now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York[3]. The god, armed with a short sword, is stabbing a lion—a type which recurs on a silver bowl from Idalion now in the Louvre[4]—, and about him hover two Egyptising hawks.

The double axe of the 'Minoan' Kronos is combined with the *hárpe* of the post-'Minoan' Kronos on certain coppers of Ake (*'Akka, St Jean d'Acre*) or Ptolemaïs in Phoinike discussed by G. F. Hill (figs. 431, 432)[5]. These show a god standing in an *aedi-*

id. Monn. gr. p. 442 nos. 13 and 13 *bis* Antiochos iv, no. 14 Antiochos v, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. lxiii f., lxix, 97 pl. 12, 5 and 98 pl. 12, 8 autonomous, 99 Augustus, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 791. See further A. Judas in the *Rev. Num.* ii Série 1856 i. 395 pl. 13, 7 autonomous (=my fig. 430); cp. *ib.* p. 394 pl. 13, 5 (countermark).

[1] *Supra* i. 191.

[2] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* i. 10. 36 f. The context in general is discussed by Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 347 ff., and the treatment of Kronos in particular by M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1498 ff., cp. W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 297 f.

[3] L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus* London 1877 p. 329 fig., G. Colonna-Ceccaldi *Monuments antiques de Chypre de Syrie et d'Egypte* Paris 1882 p. 166 ff. pl. 10, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 787 ff. fig. 552, J. L. Myres *Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 461 no. 4554 fig.

[4] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 778 ff. fig. 548.

[5] G. F. Hill 'Some Graeco-Phoenician Shrines' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 63 f. pl. 4, 32 and 34, *id.* in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 135 pl. 17, 5

cula or portable shrine with an Egyptian cornice: he holds a double axe in his right hand, a *hárpe* in his left, and is flanked by the fore-parts of two bulls.

When the Bronze Age passed into the Iron Age, the 'Minoan' Kronos was succeeded by the Hellenic Zeus—a succession facilitated by the similar character of the two gods. O. Gruppe[1] points out that Kronos, like Zeus, was worshipped on mountains, many heights in Greece[2], Libye, Italy, Sicily, and the west[3] being

(=my fig. 431) Elagabalos, p. 138 pl. 17, 10 (=my fig. 432) Gallienus, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 794.

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1105 n. 1.

[2] (1) To the north of the Altis at Olympia rises τὸ Κρόνιον (ὄρος) (Pind. *Ol.* 1. 111, 6. 64, *Nem.* 6. 63, Xen. *Hell.* 7. 4. 14, Diod. 15. 77, Plout. *de fluv.* 19. 3, Paus. 5. 21. 2, 6. 19. 1, 6. 20. 1, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 12. 64. 2 (Alkaios Mess.) where Salmasius cj. *αἰπειῷ*... *ὑπὸ Κρονίῳ* for *αἰπινῆι*...*ὑπὸ κρονία* cod.), otherwise called ὁ Κρόνιος λόφος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 34, *et. mag.* p. 426, 20 f.) or the like (Pind. *Ol.* 8. 17 πὰρ Κρόνου λόφῳ, 10. 49 f. πάγον | Κρόνου, 11. 25 παρ' εὐδένδρῳ...ὄχθῳ Κρόνου), on the top of which the *Basilai* offered sacrifices to Kronos at the spring equinox in the Elean month Elaphios (Paus. 6. 20. 1, cp. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 34). (2) Ptol. 3. 16. 14 with schol. *ad loc.* mentions a Κρόνιον in Lakonike. (3) Bekker *anecd.* i. 273, 20 f. Κρόνιον *τέμενος*· τὸ παρὰ τὸ νῦν Ὀλύμπιον μέχρι τοῦ Μητρῴου τοῦ ἐν ἀγορᾷ (leg. ἐν Ἀγρᾷ or ἐν Ἄγραις: see C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 227, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 888). (4) P. Chiotis Ἱστορικὰ Ἀπομνημονεύματα τῆς νήσου Ζακύνθου Κερκύρᾳ 1849 i. 15 (cited by M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1485) speaks of σκόπελοι Κρόνιοι in Zakynthos.

[3] Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 71 p. 123, 7 ff. Wünsch ὁ δὲ Κράτης (C. Wachsmuth *De Cratete Mallota* Lipsiae 1860 p. 71 *frag. sedis incertae* 9) τὸν Κρόνον φησὶ Σικελίας καὶ Ἰταλίας καὶ τοῦ πλείστου μέρους τῆς Λιβύης βασιλεῦσαι ἀπηῶς, τὸν δὲ τούτου υἱὸν ἐπιθέσθαι τῷ πατρὶ καὶ αὐτὸν μὲν εἰς ἔσχατον ἐλάσαι τῆς δύσεως, ἡμερώτατα δὲ τῆς βασιλείας ἀντιλαβέσθαι, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τιμηθῆναι ὡς θεόν, 4. 154 p. 170, 6 ff. Wünsch καὶ βασιλεῦσαι δὲ αὐτὸν (*sc.* Κρόνον) ἡ ἱστορία πα<ρα>δίδωσιν, <ὡς ἔμπρο>σθεν ἀφηγησάμην, κ<ατά> τε τὴν Λιβύην <καὶ> Σικελίαν <καὶ τοὺς ἑσπερίους τό>πους καὶ π<ό>λιν κτίσαι, ὡς ὁ Χάραξ φησί (*frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 640 Müller)), τ<ὴν τότε μὲν λεγ>ομένην Κρονίαν, νῦν δὲ Ἱερὰν πόλιν, ὡς Ἰσίγονος <περὶ Παλ>ικῶν θεῶν (*frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 437 Müller)) καὶ Πολέμων (*frag.* 102 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 148 Müller)) καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ (*frag.* 11 Nauck[2]) π<αραδιδόασιν ἢ ὡς πᾶσ>α ἡ ἱστορία κατὰ τὸν Εὐήμερον (G. Némethy *Euhemeri reliquiae* Budapestini 1889 *frag.* 10) ποικίλλ<εται, κ.τ.λ.>, Diod. 3. 61 δυναστεῦσαι δέ φασι τὸν Κρόνον κατὰ Σικελίαν καὶ Λιβύην, ἔτι δὲ τὴν Ἰταλίαν, καὶ τὸ σύνολον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν τόποις συστήσασθαι τὴν βασιλείαν· παρὰ πᾶσι δὲ φρουραῖς διακατέχειν τὰς ἀκροπόλεις καὶ τοὺς ὀχυροὺς τῶν τόπων [τούτων]· ἀφ' οὗ δὴ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν χρόνου κατά τε τὴν Σικελίαν καὶ τὰ πρὸς ἑσπέραν νεύοντα μέρη πολλοὺς τῶν ὑψηλῶν τόπων ἀπ' ἐκείνου Κρόνια προσαγορεύεσθαι, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 44 de patre eorum Saturno id negari potest, quem vulgo maxime colunt ad occidentem?

Saturn was much in evidence throughout Roman Africa, where the Phoenician *Ba'al-hammân* (*supra* i. 353 f.) was Latinised as *Saturnus* and on occasion Grecised as *Krónos* (J. Toutain *De Saturni Dei in Africa Romana cultu* Lutetiæ Parisiorum 1894, *id. Les cités Romaines de la Tunisie* Paris 1896 pp. 213 ff., 222 f., *id. Les cultes païens dans l'empire romain* Paris 1907 i. 247 f., A. Schulten *Das römische Afrika* Leipzig 1899 p. 20 ff., G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 441 ff., *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 208). To give but a single example, Saturnus *Balcaranensis* (also *Balcaranesis*, *Balcharanensis*, *Balkharanensis*), that is *Ba'al Qarnaim*, 'Lord of the Two Horns,' was worshipped near Carthage on a two-peaked mountain, which still bears the name *Djebel Bou-Kournein*. Here on the highest summit the god had a *témenos* and an altar of masonry set against

the rock, but no temple. J. Toutain 'Le sanctuaire de Saturnus Balcaranensis' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1892 xii. 1—124 figs. 1—3 pls. 1—4 (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2822 f., M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1500 f.) has published the finds made on this interesting site. They include some 60 terra-cotta lamps, a cylindrical jar containing bones of birds (probably doves), a few other vases, some small copper coins, and no less than 365 votive inscriptions (a selection in Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4444a—4445), many of them accompanied by reliefs (*e.g.* pl. 1, 2 = my fig. 433, pl. 1, 4 = my fig. 434, pl. 1, 6 = my fig. 435). The dedication takes various forms: *Saturno Augusto sacrum* or *Saturno Domino* or *Saturno Sancto*. And frequently the local epithet is added: *Saturno Augusto Balcaranensi*, *Saturno Balcaranensi Augusto*, *Saturno Domino Balcaranensi Augusto*; *sacerdos dei magni Balcaranensis*. M. Mayer *loc. cit.* observes that the god is always represented as a mere bust in a pediment, flanked by his bill-hook and *patera*, with Sol and Luna in the spandrels, and ingeniously suggests that he is an anthropomorphised *baitylos*. The 'Two Horns' recall the Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert

Fig. 433.

mountain (F. Ll. Griffith *A Collection of Hieroglyphs* London 1898 p. 31 col. pl. 3, 38), in which P. E. Newberry 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 24 ff. figs. 1—15 finds the prototype of the 'Minoan' ritual horns. He has argued his case well; but I adhere to my view that the 'Minoan' horns were originally bovine.

An island in the Ionian Gulf was known as Κρονία and gave its name to the Κρονία θάλασσα (Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 32, cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 327). Italy as a whole was sacred to Kronos—χῶροι δὲ πολλοὶ τοῦ δαίμονος ἐπώνυμοι, καὶ μάλιστα οἱ σκόπελοι καὶ τὰ μετέωρα (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 34). For the identification of Kronos with Saturn and its results on Italian soil see G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 432 ff.

Sicily too had its Κρόνιον (Diod. 15. 16, Polyain. 5. 10. 5). The most noteworthy link between this island and Kronos is, however, the tradition that, not merely the god's sickle (*supra* p. 448 n. o), but the god himself lay buried here (Philochoros *frag.* 184 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 414 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 3 p. 22, 14 ff. Stählin Φιλόχορος δὲ ἐν Τήνῳ Ποσειδῶνά φησι τιμᾶσθαι ἰατρόν, Κρόνῳ δὲ ἐπικεῖσθαι Σικελίαν καὶ ἐνταῦθα αὐτὸν τεθάφθαι, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 25 noster ille est auctor, qui Patrocles Thurius (*Frag. Gr.*

frag. p. 830 Nauck[2]) scriptorum in titulis indicatur, qui tumulos memorat reliquiasque Saturnias tellure in Sicula contineri? (Arnobius has apparently misread the context in

Fig. 434.

Clemens *loc. cit.*)). It is very possible that this belief in a Sicilian grave of Kronos, com parab e with the Cretan grave of Zeus, was a genuine heritage from 'Minoan' times.

named after him, and that the memory of him as a rain-god[1],

Fig. 435.

Finally, near Carthago Nova in Spain was yet another Hill of Kronos (Polyb. 10. 10. 11 *προσαγορεύεται Κρόνου*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 19 a promunturio, quod Saturni vocatur).

[1] Allegorizing philosophers identified Kronos with dark air (anon. *ἀλληγορίαι ὀνομάτων θεῶν* in A. Westermann *Scriptores poeticae historiae Graeci* Brunsvigae 1843 p. 328, 11 f. *Ζεὺς ὁ καθαρὸς ἀὴρ καὶ τὸ ἄνω ἡμισφαίριον, Κρόνος ὁ ζοφώδης ἀὴρ καὶ τὸ κάτω ἡμισφαίριον*, cp. Tzetz. *Hom.* 289 *τοῦνεκα Νὺξ κατέβαινε ποτὶ Κρόνον ἠερόεντα*); Egyptians, with water (Sallustius *περὶ θεῶν καὶ κόσμου* 4 *οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι...αὐτὰ τὰ σώματα θεοὺς νομίσαντες καὶ καλέσαντες· καὶ Ἴσιν μὲν τὴν γῆν, Ὄσιριν δὲ τὸ ὑγρόν, Τυφῶνα δὲ τὴν θερμότητα, ἢ Κρόνον μὲν ὕδωρ, Ἄδωνιν δὲ καρπούς, Διόνυσον δὲ οἶνον* with J. Conrad Orelli *ad loc.* Cp. interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 12 quod Saturnus humoris totius et frigoris deus sit); 'dwellers in the west,' with winter (Theopompos *frag.* 293 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 328 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 69 *τοὺς δὲ πρὸς ἑσπέραν οἰκοῦντας ἱστορεῖ Θεόπομπος ἡγεῖσθαι καὶ καλεῖν τὸν μὲν χειμῶνα Κρόνον, τὸ δὲ θέρος Ἀφροδίτην, τὸ δὲ ἔαρ Περσεφόνην· ἐκ δὲ Κρόνου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης γεννᾶσθαι πάντα*, cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 61, 22 Kroll *διὸ καί φασι τῶν ὡρῶν τὴν μὲν χειμερινὴν εἶναι Κρονίαν, κ.τ.λ.*): neo-Platonists associated him with the pole (Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 213, 4 f. Kroll *τοῦ μὲν Κρόνου τὸν πόλον εἶναί φασι σύμβολον· κ.τ.λ.*, cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 115. 5 an oracle *ap.* Porph. *περὶ τῆς ἐκ λογίων φιλοσοφίας ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 6. 1. 4 *ὑψιπόλοιο Κρόνοιο*, Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 350 *ὑψιπόλοιο* (A. Ludwich cj. *ὑψιπόροιο*) *Κρόνου*). And nascent etymology connected his name with the words *ῥόος* or *κρουνός* (Plat. *Crat.* 402 B regards both *Ῥέα* and *Κρόνος* as *ῥευμάτων ὀνόματα*, Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 12 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 546 b 21 ff. *καὶ Κρόνον [μὲν τὸ]ν τοῦ ῥεύ[μ]ατος ῥ[ὸο]ν, Ῥέαν δὲ τὴν γῆν, Δία δὲ τὸν αἰθέρα* (*supra* i. 29 n. 4), cp. *et. mag.* p. 540, 9 ff. *Χρύσιππος δέ φησιν ὅτι καθύγρων ὄντων τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὄμβρων καταφερομένων πολλῶν τὴν ἔκκρισιν τούτων Κρόνον ὠνομάσθαι*, Porphyrios in schol. B. D. *Il.* 15. 21 *καὶ Ἡσίοδος Οὐρανὸν μὲν λέγει τὴν ἐκπύρωσιν, Κρόνον δὲ τὸν ἄνωθεν κρουνηδὸν ἐπιφερόμενον ὄμβρον, Ῥέαν δὲ τὴν ἐπιρρεομένην ὕδασι γῆν, κ.τ.λ.*).

More weight attaches to the Pythagorean description of the sea as 'Kronos' tear' (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 32 *τὸ ὑπὸ τῶν Πυθαγορικῶν λεγόμενον ὡς ἡ θάλαττα Κρόνου δάκρυόν ἐστιν*, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 360, 20 f. Stählin *τοιαῦτα καὶ οἱ Πυθαγόρειοι ᾐνίσσοντο...*

if not also as a lightning-god (fig. 436)[1], lingered on into classical times.

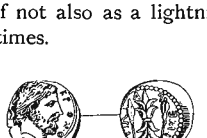


Fig. 436.

Κρόνου...δάκρυον τὴν θάλασσαν ἀλληγοροῦντες, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 41 ἔλεγε δέ τινα καὶ μυστικῷ τρόπῳ συμβολικῶς, ἃ δὴ ἐπιπλέον Ἀριστοτέλης (*frag.* 191 Rose) ἀνέγραψεν, οἷον ὅτι τὴν θάλατταν...ἐκάλει εἶναι (V. Rose cj. Κρόνου) δάκρυον. The Ophite sect of the Peratai in one of their sacred books described an androgynous primeval power, which ἐκλήθη Θάλασσα. ταύτην τὴν δύναμιν ἡ ἀγνωσία ἐκάλεσε Κρόνον, κ.τ.λ. (Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 14 p. 184 Duncker—Schneidewin, where Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 515 f. would alter Θάλασσα into Θαλάτθ, from ילד 'to beget,' in view of Berosos *frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* Müller ii. 497) *ap.* Alex. Polyhist. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 210 Müller) *ap.* Synkell. *chron.* 29 C (i. 52 Dindorf) ἄρχειν δὲ τούτων πάντων γυναῖκα ᾗ ὄνομα Ὁμόρωκα· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτο Χαλδαϊστὶ μὲν Θαλάτθ, Ἑλληνιστὶ δὲ μεθερμηνεύεσθαι θάλασσα, cp. Damask. *v. Isid.* 115 *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 343 b 21 f. Bekker ὅτι Φοίνικες καὶ Σύροι τὸν Κρόνον Ἦλ καὶ Βὴλ καὶ Θολάθην (so H. A. Hamaker for βολάθην, βολαθὴν, βωλαθὴν codd.) ἑπονομάζουσιν. M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1475 cites Stob. *ecl.* 1. 5. 14 p. 77, 16 Wachsmuth =Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 147. 10 (Theon Al. seu Hermes) δάκρυ μέν ἐστι Κρόνος, Ζεὺς δ' ἡ γένεσις, λόγος Ἑρμῆς | κ.τ.λ. from a poem on the seven planets).

Again, there seems to have been a popular belief that rain was the sweat of Kronos; for a charm preserved in a magical papyrus of *s.* iv A.D. makes the magician identify himself with Kronos (?): 'I am he whose sweat is rain falling upon the earth to impregnate it' (F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 64 ff. no. 46, 150 ff. ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἀστράπτων | καὶ βροντῶν· ἐγώ εἰμι, οὗ ἐστιν | ὁ ἱδρὼς ὄμβρος ἐπιπείπτων (*leg.* ἐπιπίπτων) ἐ|πὶ τὴν γῆν, ἵνα ὀχεύῃ· κ.τ.λ., A. Dieterich *Abraxas* Leipzig 1891 p. 25, M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1474). Hence Nonnos speaks of 'Kronos dropping rain' (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 178 ἅτε Κρόνος ὄμβρον ἰάλλων, *supra* i. 398).

The planet Kronos likewise brought rain, hail, wind, and thunderstorms (Epigenes of Byzantion *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 7. 4. 2 huic videtur plurimum virium habere ad omnes sublimium motus stella Saturni: 'haec cum proxima signa Marti premit aut [in] lunae viciniam transit aut in solis incidit radios, natura ventosa et frigida contrahit pluribus locis aëra conglobatque. deinde si radios solis adsumpsit, tonat fulguratque: si Martem quoque consentientem habet, fulminat,' Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 336 Saturnus deus pluviarum est...hic autem in Capricorno facit gravissimas pluvias, et praecipue in Italia...ut in Scorpio grandines: item in alio fulmina: in alio ventos = Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 3 stella Saturno deputata ortu suo tristitiam semper denuntiat. illa enim in Capricorno posita pluvias gravissimas, sed praecipue in Italia, commovet...in Scorpio vero grandines, item in alio signo fulmina, in alio ventos, in aliis alia nocua apportat).

[1] The Paris magical papyrus contains a *μαντεία Κρονική*, in which Kronos is invoked as a god of thunder and lightning (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 98 pap. Par. 3102 *βροντοκεραυνοπάτωρ*, on which A. Dieterich *Abraxas* Leipzig 1891 p. 79 n. 9 remarks: 'Man beachte den Rest metrischer Form, die dieses Mühlenlied gewiss gehabt hat'). Cp. also a charm in the Anastasy papyrus (C. Wessely *op. cit.* p. 106 pap. Lond. 151, 155=F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 64 ff. no. 46, 150 f. ἐγώ εἰμι ὁ ἀστράπτων | καὶ βροντῶν, *supra* p. 558 n. 0). For the planet Kronos in relation to thunderstorms see the preceding n. *sub fin.*

A unique silver *litra* of Himera, struck *c.* 413—408 B.C., has for obverse type a bearded head of Kronos, bound with a fillet, and for reverse a thunderbolt between two corn-grains (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 21 pl. B, 4 (=my fig. 436), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1553 fig. 5, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* Westminster 1903 p. 128, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 145). It is probable, though not quite certain, that we should connect the front of this coin with the back and recognise in the combined design a deity with his attributes.

(ζ) The double axe and Zeus *Kataibátes*.

We are, therefore, prepared to find that towns and districts formerly occupied by 'Minoans' might centuries later connect Zeus with the double axe that had belonged to his predecessor. This seems to have been the case, for example, in south Italy. Tradition derived the Iapyges from the Cretan followers of king Minos; and in Iapygia 'bolts from heaven forged of bronze were long to be seen.' The deity who hurled these bolts—'fire and bronze from the sky'—had a pillar-cult, and was called by the Tarentines Zeus *Kataibátes*[1]. A strong presumption is thus raised that the old 'Minoan' sky-god had here passed on the double axe of bronze to his Hellenic successor Zeus[2].

(η) The double axe and Zeus *Labráyndos*, etc.

The same thing happened repeatedly in Asia Minor. Evidence is forthcoming from Lydia, Karia, Kypros, and Kappadokia. Plutarch propounds, as one of his *Hellenic Questions*[3], the following problem: 'Why does the image of Zeus *Labradeús* in Karia bear an uplifted double axe, and not a sceptre or a thunderbolt?' His solution is this:

'Because Herakles slew Hippolyte, took her double axe along with the rest of her weapons, and gave it as a gift to Omphale. The kings, who, after Omphale, reigned over Lydia[4], used to carry it, receiving it in succession as a sacred heirloom, till Kandaules, disdaining to do so, gave it to one of his friends to carry[5]. But when Gyges revolted from him and made war against him, Arselis[6] came from Mylasa[7] with a force to help Gyges, and slew Kandaules and his friend. The double axe he took into Karia together with the rest of the spoils. He made

[1] *Supra* pp. 29–31.

[2] Not improbably bronze axes, regarded as thunderbolts (C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 121), were from time to time dug up in the locality. *E.g.* T. E. Peet *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily* Oxford 1909 p. 423 records the finding of a bronze winged axe in the *terramara* at Taranto.

[3] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 45 διὰ τί τοῦ Λαβραδέως Διὸς ἐν Καρίᾳ τὸ ἄγαλμα πέλεκυν ἠρμένον, οὐχὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον ἢ κεραυνόν, πεποίηται;

[4] See now Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 182 ff. ('The Divinity of Lydian Kings').

[5] G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades* (687—546) Paris 1893 pp. 88 f., 129 f.

[6] M. Duncker *Geschichte des Alterthums*[5] Leipzig 1878 i. 488 conjectured that Ἀρσηλις was not a historical personage, but the name or epithet of the Zeus of Mylasa—'eine Vermuthung, die dadurch Gewissheit wird, dass Chars-El in den semitischen Sprachen: Beil des El, Beil Gottes bedeutet[2] [[3]Lassen Z. D. M. G. 10, 381].' This ingenious explanation, first put forward by C. Lassen in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* x. 381, is rightly rejected by R. Schubert *Geschichte der Könige von Lydien* Breslau 1884 p. 32 f. and G. Radet *op. cit.* p. 136 n. 2.

[7] A. Meineke corrects ἐκ Μυλέων codd. into ἐκ Μυλασέων.

an image of Zeus, put the double axe in his hand, and named the god *Labradeús* —for the Lydians call the double axe *lábrys*[1].'

Thus, according to Plutarch, the double axe belonged successively to the Amazons, the Lydians, and the Carians.

It is, in fact, constantly associated with the Amazons, and that in two forms—the double axe with a pair of blades (*lábrys*, *pélekys*, *amphipélekkon* (?)[2], *bipennis*) and the battle-axe with one broad blade and one pointed end (*ságaris*, *securis*). These types appear in art from the fifth century B.C. onwards, and thence make their way into literature as part of the regular Amazonian equipment[3]. Now the Amazons stand in intimate relation to the Hittites[4], and both types of axe occur on Hittite monuments[5]. The double axe in particular is borne by the youthful god who stands on a lioness (?) at Boghaz-Keui[6], and by his successor Herakles (Sandas) at Tarsos[7]. I should therefore infer from the story of Herakles taking the *lábrys* of Hippolyte to Lydia that the axe in question belonged to the younger Hittite god, who turns up in Lydia as Sandon Herakles[8].

[1] I. Thomopoulos Πελασγικά Athens 1912 p. 400 f. argues from the forms λαβρα-δεύς, λαβρα-νδεύς that the Carico-Lydian word for 'axe' or 'sword' was *λάβρα, not λάβρυς, and even suggests that the second element of the compound -δεύς is probably for Ζεύς (cp. Hesych. Δεύς· Ζεύς, etc.): ἐ"Οθεν λαβραδεὺς σημαίνει "τὸν λαβροφόρον Δία."' A highly precarious speculation.

[2] Hesych. ἀμφιπελέη (so Musurus with cod. G. Soping cj. ἀμφιπελέκη F. Guyet cj. ἀμφιπελέκκη H. Stephanus would read ἀμφιπελέκκη or ἀμφιπέλεκκον M. Schmidt, after L. C. Valckenaer, prints ἀμφιπελέκ.. (*Il.* 13. 612 ἀμφὶ πελέκκῳ))· πελέκιον δίστομον, Κυρηναῖοι. ὁ δὲ Ἀρίσταρχος τὸν τῆς ἀξίνης στελεὸν ἀπέδωκεν.

[3] Hippolyte, daughter of Ares (Schol. *Il.* 3. 189, Hyg. *fab.* 30), has a double axe on a copper of Perinthos struck by Elagabalos (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1884 xvi. 234 f. pl. 4, 4), a battle-axe on an Etruscan mirror (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 85 f. pl. 341, 2, A. Klügmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2680). See also Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 371 pl. 60, 19 a copper of Herakleia Pontike struck by Macrinus, *ib.* i. 377 pl. 61, 21 another copper of the same town struck by Gordianus iii Pius.

[4] So much, but no more, is clear from the facts cited by W. Leonhard *Hettiter und Amazonen* Leipzig—Berlin 1911 pp. 1—252. See *e.g.* J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 pp. 213 n. 1, 357 n. 4, 372 n. 3, A. J. Reinach 'L'origine des Amazons' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1913 pp. 277—308, F. M. Bennett *Religious Cults associated with the Amazons* New York 1912 p. 73 f. n. 360, E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 pp. 91, 159.

[5] W. Leonhard *op. cit.* p. 113 n. 2 with title-*vignette*.

[6] *Supra* i. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476, ii. 552 n. 4.

[7] *Supra* i. 599 figs. 462—464, cp. i. 631 f.

[8] Lyd. *de magistr.* 3. 64 p. 155, 18 ff. Wünsch (*à propos* of Lydian σάνδυκες) τοιούτῳ τὸν Ἡρακλέα χιτῶνι περιβαλοῦσα Ὀμφάλη ποτὲ αἰσχρῶς ἐρῶντα παρεθήλυνε. ταύτῃ καὶ Σανδὼν Ἡρακλῆς ἀνηνέχθη, ὡς Ἀπολλόδωρος ὁ Ῥωμαῖος φιλόσοφος ἐν τῷ ἐπιγραφομένῳ ἐρωτικῷ, καὶ Τράγκυλλος δὲ πρὸ αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ περὶ ἐπισήμων ὀρνίθων ἀνενηνόχασιν. ἔνθεν οἶμαι σανδόνας ἔτι καὶ νῦν πρὸς διασυρμοῦ λέγεσθαι, κ.τ.λ. Hdt. 1. 71 mentions a prominent Lydian named Σάνδανις. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 321, 326 f.

Plutarch's statement that this *lábrys* was a sacred heirloom of the Lydian kings, introduced into Karia in the time of Gyges (716—678 B.C.) and there placed in the hand of Zeus, is to some extent confirmed by the coin-types of Lydia and Karia. At Thyateira in Lydia the double axe appears by itself on bronze coins of Seleucid and imperial date (fig. 437)[1]. But on other bronze pieces of the same town, referred to the time of Trajan or Hadrian, it is shouldered by a young man on horseback inscribed *Týrimnos* (fig. 438)[2]. This youthful rider represents the Thyatirene hero[3], whose precinct[4] and temple[5] stood before the city[6]. He was

Fig. 437.

Fig. 438.

Fig. 439.

Fig. 440.

known as 'the forefather Tyrimnos[7]' or 'the forefather god Tyrimnos[8],' and gave his name to the local festival of the Tyrimneia[9]. As a youthful athletic god he was equated with Apollon under the

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. 292 f. pl. 29, 3 f., 302 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 468 nos. 1, 2, 469 no. 12, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 148 pl. 6, 6, p. 149 nos. 7, 7*a*, p. 151 n. 2. I figure a specimen, struck under Nero, from my collection.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 294 pl. 29, 6, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 149 f. pl. 6, 9 (=my fig. 438), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 658.

[3] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 150 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1241 n. 5, 1249 n. 2.

[4] G. Radet 'Inscriptions de Lydie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 478 f. no. 57, 14 ff. (*Kirk-Agatsch*) ἀγωνοθε[τή][σ]αντα καλῶς κ[αὶ κα][τα]σκευάσαντα τ[ὸ προ][π]ύλαιον τοῦ τ[εμέ][νο]υς τοῦ Τυρίμνου.

[5] G. Radet *loc. cit.* p. 459 f. no. 22, 2 ff. (Thyateira) with the corrections of P. Stouraïtes in 'Ἀρμονία, June 24, 1894=*Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 535 f. πρῶτον ἀγωνοθέτην τῆς πρ(ώ)|τως ἀχθείσης ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως | Σεβαστείου καὶ Τυριμνήου πα|ηγύρεως. Cp. *infra* n. 7.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3493, 1 ff. (Thyateira) ἀγωνοθετήσαν|τα τοῦ πρὸ πόλεως Τυρίμνου ἐν|δόξως καὶ ἐπιφανῶς. Cp. *infra* p. 562 n. 1.

[7] M. Clerc 'Inscriptions de Thyatire et des environs' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 420 f. no. 29, 2 f. (*Méder*) εἰς τὸ [ἱερὸν τοῦ προπάτορος] | Τυρ(ίμ)νου (the stone has TYPHNOY).

[8] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3497, 22 f. (Thyateira) τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ προ|πάτορος θεοῦ Τυρίμνου.

[9] A. Wilhelm in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 132 no. 5, 5 f. = W. R. Paton in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 388, 5 f. (Mytilene) κ(αὶ) ἐν Θεατείροις (Wilhelm has Θειατείροις) Τυ|ρίμνεια, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 104 ff. no. 26, 5 ff. (*Sélendi*) ἀγωνοθετήσαν[τα τῶν] μεγάλων Σεβαστῶν | [Τυρι]μνήων ἀγώνων.

joint appellation 'Apollon *Týrimnos*[1],' and consequently also with Helios, his full title then being 'the forefather god Helios *Pýthios* Apollon *Tyrimnaîos*[2]' or 'the forefather god Helios *Pýthios Tyrimnaîos* Apollon[3].' Apollon *Týrimnos* is seen on bronze coins of Thyateira grasping the double axe. Sometimes he stands erect, a naked figure, long-haired and laureate, holding the axe in one hand and a bay-branch in the other (figs. 439, 440)[4]. Sometimes, wearing a *chlamýs*, he takes his stand with axe and branch in his temple

Fig. 441.

Fig. 442.

(fig. 441)[5], or with axe and agonistic urn as lord of the Pythian games (fig. 442)[6]. Occasionally, though not often before the third century A.D., he wears the radiate crown of Helios[7] and even appears in the solar chariot (fig. 443)[8]. It is clear, then, that at Thyateira the ancestral hero Tyrimnos, who bore the sacred axe of the youthful Hittite sky-god, came to be identified with Apollon and ultimately with Helios. And here we note that a heroic figure on horseback likewise bearing the *lábrys* occurs on the bronze

[1] G. Radet *loc. cit.* p. 453 no. 14, 2 f. (*Kenès*) Ἀπόλλωνι Τυρίμνω[ι κ]αὶ τῇ πατρί[δι, p. 463 no. 29, 5 ff. (Thyateira) ἀγωνοθετ(ή)σαντα τοῦ πρὸ | πόλεως Ἀπόλλωνος Τυρίμνου λαμπρῶς καὶ ἐνδόξω[ς].

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3500, 8 ff. (Thyateira) (ἱ)ερεὺς το(ῦ) | προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθί[ο]υ Ἀπόλλωνος (Τ)υριμναίου, E. L. Hicks 'Inscriptions from Thyatira' in the *Class. Rev.* 1889 iii. 137 no. 14, 4 ff. ὁ ἀγωνο|θέτης τοῦ προπά|τορος θεοῦ Ἡλ[ίου Πυθίου Ἀπόλ-λω]νος Τ(υ)ριμναίου. Cp. G. Radet *loc. cit.* p. 475 f. no. 49, 6 (*Méder*) Τυριμναί[ου?].

[3] P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 101 ff. no. 24, 2 ff. (*Méder*) ἡ κρατίστη καὶ φιλοσέβαστος τῆς λαμ|προτάτης καὶ διασημοτάτης καὶ ἱερᾶς | τοῦ προπάτορος θεοῦ Ἡλίου Πυθίου | Τυριμναίου Ἀπόλλωνος Θυατειρηνῶν | πόλεως βουλὴ κ.τ.λ.

[4] F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 151 f. pl. 6, 10 (=my fig. 439) Hadrian. *Id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 186 pl. 6, 15 (=my fig. 440) Trajan, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 294 pl. 29, 5 time of Trajan or Hadrian, p. 303 pl. 31, 1 Trajan, add a *chlamýs* to the otherwise nude figure.

[5] F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 pp. 151, 158 pl. 6, 15 (= my fig. 441) Geta.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 314 no. 119 Iulia Soaemias, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 158 f. pl. 6, 16 (=my fig. 442) Iulia Soaemias.

[7] *Infra* p. 564 n. 4.

[8] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* pp. 151, 159 pl. 6, 17 (=my fig. 443) Severus Alexander.

coinage of other Lydian towns—Apollonia (Tripolis) (?)[1], Blaundos (fig. 444)[2], Mastaura[3], Mostene[4], Tomaris[5]. At Mostene he is once

Fig. 444.

Fig. 443.

Fig. 445.

Fig. 446.

Fig. 447.

Fig. 448.

at least flanked by sun and moon (fig. 445)[6], and is repeatedly seen riding towards a cypress-tree, before which stands a flaming altar (fig. 446)[7], sometimes escorted on his way by Hermes *psychopompós* (?)

[1] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 143 f. no. 425 pl. 10, 1 ('Amazone') = *id. Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 38 pl. 2, 17 ('jugendlicher *Heros*'). B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* p. 363 pl. 38, 4 f. says: 'Amazon (?),' and adds in a footnote: 'The Rider on these specimens is distinctly feminine in appearance,' etc. But see F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 103.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 53 pl. 5, 12 (=my fig. 444) Marcus Aurelius, cp. p. 55 no. 85 Philippus Senior and p. 57 no. 91 Trebonianus Gallus; F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 51 pl. 3, 8.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 157 no. 5 f. Tiberius and Livia, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 3 Tiberius and Livia.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 161 pl. 17, 8 (*ib.* p. 161 no. 2 'Rider apparently female') of *s.* ii or i B.C., p. 162 no. 7 f. Claudius and Agrippina, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 1 time of Augustus, or earlier, p. 101 no. 4 Claudius and Agrippina, no. 5 Vespasian.

[5] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 165 pl. 7, 6.

[6] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 101 f. pl. 4, 19 (=my fig. 445) Vespasian.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 162 pl. 17, 10 time of Commodus (?), p. 162 no. 9 Hadrian, p. 163 pl. 17, 12 (=my fig. 446) Lucius Verus, p. 163 pl. 17, 13 Lucilla, p. 163 no. 13 Commodus, p. 164 nos. 16 and 17 pl. 17, 14 Gallienus.

(fig. 447)[1]. Again, at Mostene[2] and at Tabala (fig. 448)[3], as at Thyateira[4], he wears a rayed crown. But he is never accompanied by a name, so that we cannot say whether he represents Tyrimnos or, as is more probable, the hero of the immediate neighbourhood. In any case he is a hero on his way to becoming a god. Indeed, he is apparently identified with Apollon at Hypaipa, where he adopts the guise of Apollon *Týrimnos* (fig. 449)[5]. We have, however, reason to think that the Lydians sometimes brought their *lábrys* into connexion with a goddess. At Mostene, where the hero

Fig. 449.

Fig. 450.

Fig. 451.

Fig. 452.

stood in some relation to a sacred cypress[6], imperial coppers show a goddess (Demeter?), with *kálathos* and long *chitón*, holding two corn-ears in her right hand and a double axe in her left (fig. 450)[7]; or else they show the axe alone between a bunch of grapes and two ears of corn (fig. 451)[8]. And at Nysa a copper of Maximinus represents a goddess (Kore?), with *chitón* and *himátion*, who has a snake (?) in her right hand and leans her left arm on a double axe (fig. 452)[9]. These types suggest that the Hittite god, who at Ivrîz

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia pp. lxxvi, 164 no. 15 Gallienus, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 458 pl. 55, 24 (=my fig. 447), Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 387 no. 20 Marcus Aurelius, no. 21 Commodus.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 162 pl. 17, 10 time of Commodus (?), p. 163 pl. 17, 12 (=my fig. 446) Lucius Verus, p. 163 pl. 17, 13 (?) Lucilla, p. 163 no. 13 Commodus, p. 164 nos. 15, 16, 17 pl. 17, 14 Gallienus, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 102 no. 8, p. 103 f.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 289 pl. 28, 12 Commodus, cp. p. 291 no. 15 Severus Alexander, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 146 pl. 6, 3 (=my fig. 448).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 308 no. 89 (?) Septimius Severus, p. 315 no. 122 Severus Alexander, p. 318 no. 137 Maximinus, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 471 no. 20 Maximinus, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* pp. 151, 153 no. 19, 155 pl. 6, 13, 159 pl. 6, 17 (=my fig. 443), pl. 6, 18. *Supra* p. 562.

[5] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 173 no. 1 pl. 6, 5 (=my fig. 449) Sabina.

[6] *Supra* p. 563 n. 7 and p. 564 n. 1.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 161 pl. 17, 9 (=my fig. 450) 'Hadrian to the Antonines,' F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 101 pl. 4, 18 'Aus der Zeit des Traian oder Hadrian.'

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 162 pl. 17, 11 (=my fig. 451) Sabina, F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 102 no. 7 Sabina, p. 104. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (o) *init.*

[9] F. Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 110 pl. 4, 21 (=my fig. 452) Maximinus, K. Regling

holds grape-bunches and corn-ears[1], had on Lydian soil come to be regarded as Dionysos[2] and had passed on his axe to Demeter and Kore.

What happened in Lydia, happened with some variation in Phrygia also. The *lábrys* alone occurs on coppers of Eriza[3] and Eumeneia[4]. On others of Abbaïtis it is surrounded by a bay-wreath

Fig. 453.

Fig. 454.

Fig. 455.

(fig. 453)[5]. At Hierapolis some specimens show its handle bound with a fillet (fig. 454)[6], or twined about with a snake[7]—a design known earlier at Eumeneia (fig. 455)[8]. Other very remarkable coins of Hierapolis represent the double axe erect on a two-stepped base with its handle encircled by the snake and surmounted by a radiate head (figs. 456—458)[9]. The axe-bearing rider is of frequent occur-

in W. v. Diest *Nysa ad Maeandrum* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft x) Berlin 1913 p. 86 no. 145 pl. 13, 145 Maximinus.

[1] *Supra* i. 594 f. fig. 453.

[2] A good collection of *data* for the worship of Dionysos in Lydia will be found in W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 pp. 175—188, 191 f. That the Lydian Dionysos had some Hittite(?) prototype may perhaps be inferred from Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μάσταυρα· πόλις Λυδίας, ἀπὸ Μᾶς. Μᾶ δὲ τῇ Ῥέᾳ εἵπετο, ἡ παρέδωκε Ζεὺς Διόνυσον τρέφειν. καὶ ἡ Μᾶ παρὰ τῆς Ἥρας ἐρωτηθεῖσα, τίνος εἴη τὸ βρέφος, Ἄρεος, ἔφη. καὶ παρὰ Καρσὶν ὁ Διόνυσος Μάσαρις ἔνθεν ἐκλήθη. ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ καὶ ἡ Ῥέα Μᾶ καὶ ταῦρος αὐτῇ ἐθύετο παρὰ Λυδοῖς, ἀφ' ἧς ἡ πόλις (the etymologies of Μάσ-ταυρα and Μάσ-αρις are, of course, wholly unreliable).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 202 no. 1 of *s.* i B.C. (?) or later, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 673.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 216 no. 40 Nero.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 2 no. 9 pl. 2, 3 and no. 10 of *s.* ii B.C. (?), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 663. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 1 'wreath of oak').

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 243 no. 93 pl. 31, 1 (=my fig. 454) and no. 94 struck by Fabius Maximus in 5 B.C.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 247 no. 117 Nero.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 212 nos. 12, 13 pl. 27, 3 (=my fig. 455), 14—19, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 673 after 133 B.C.: *obv.* head of Dionysos with band across forehead and ivy-wreath; *rev.* tripod containing *lébes* with three handles, surmounted by flat cover fringed with spikes (?); above, and on either side, three stars; attached to tripod, on left side, double axe with snake twined round handle, and on right side a bay-branch filleted. The double axe with snake round handle recurs as the countermark on coins of Eumeneia struck under Nero (*ib.* p. 217 no. 42 f.) and Domitian (*ib.* p. 218 no. 50 f., Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 230 no. 7 pl. 7, 23 with n. 2 Nero, Agrippina).

[9] L. Ross and E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1844 ii. 344 no. 50 *bis* from the Prokesch-Osten collection, *ib.* 1845 iii pl. 32, 51 (=my fig. 456), T. Panofka *Asklepios und die*

rence—at Ankyra[1], where an altar burns before him, at Dionysopolis, where he appears not only on coins[2] but in a small uninscribed relief[3], at Eumeneia (fig. 459)[4], Hierapolis[5], Stektorion[6], Synaos[7], Temenothyrai[8], Traianopolis[9]. The name or names attached to this hero we do not know for certain. But it is probable

Fig. 456.

Fig. 457.

Fig. 458.

Fig. 459.

that at Hierapolis he was called *Lairbenós*, and at Dionysopolis *Lairmenós* or the like. Both towns seem to have identified him with Apollon. Hierapolis in the second and third centuries A.D. issued coppers bearing as obverse type a radiate bust, sometimes without legend[10], more often inscribed *Lairbenós* (fig. 460)[11] or

Asklepiaden (*Abh. d. berl. Akad.* 1846 Phil.-hist. Classe) Berlin 1846 pp. 340, 358 pl. 7, 13, V. C. Cavedoni in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1847 v. 125, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1808 f. ('läuft oben in das Strahlenhaupt des Helios aus'), Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 239 no. 22 ('darüber Kopf des Apollon Lairbenos') pl. 7, 30 (=my fig. 457), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxviii ('surmounted by head of Helios [Lairbenos]'), 245 ('surmounted by head of Helios') pl. 31, 7 (=my fig. 458) Augustus.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 67 no. 49 Otacilia.

[2] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 219 no. 4 head of Demos, early in *s.* iii A.D., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 671.

[3] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 219 (at *Develar* near Dionysopolis).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxii, 218 no. 50 f. Domitian, 220 pl. 27, 12 (=my fig. 459) Marcus Aurelius, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 486 pl. 56, 24 Marcus Aurelius, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 674.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. 234 pl. 30, 2 *obv.* head of Zeus *Bozios* (*infra* fig. 465), 238 no. 69 *obv.* head of Demos, unbearded, 240 nos. 77 and 78 pl. 30, 8 *obv.* bust of Boule, veiled, 241 nos. 79 pl. 30, 9 and 80 f. *obv.* bust of Gerousia, veiled, 247 nos. 114—116 Claudius and 118 Nero, 248 nos. 119 pl. 31, 9 and 120—122 Nero, 251 pl. 32, 1 Marcus Aurelius, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 215 no. 698 Augustus, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 239 no. 24 Augustus, 240 no. 27 Nero.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 386 no. 17 Philippus Senior, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 291 no. 3 Philippus Senior.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xcvii, 391 no. 21 Philippus Senior.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. civ, 414 no. 31 Philippus Iunior, 416 pl. 48, 7 Gallienus.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. cvi, 426 no. 10 f. *obv.* bust of Demos, unbearded, 429 pl. 50, 9 Gordianus, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 302 no. 2 Gordianus, no. 3 *obv.* bust of Demos, unbearded.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 230 no. 18.

[11] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 236 ff. pl. 30, 6, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 236 f. nos. 8 pl. 7, 31 (=my fig. 460) and 9 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 676.

Archegétes (figs. 461, 462)[1], that is, Apollon *Archegétes*[2]. And as to Dionysopolis, its inhabitants, together with those of Atyochorion, Hierapolis, and Motella, used to repair for worship to the ancient religious centre of the district, the *hierón* of Mother Leto and Apollon *Lairmenós*. Here, at *Badinlar* some two miles north of

Fig. 460.

Fig. 461.

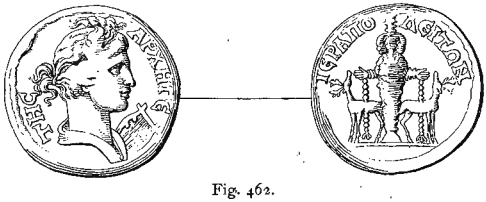


Fig. 462.

Orta-Keui, Sir W. M. Ramsay and Dr D. G. Hogarth in 1887 discovered the ruins of a small temple on a hill 700 feet above the Maiandros[3]. Numerous dedications record the god's name in a great variety of forms—*Lairmenós*[4] or Apollon *Lairmenós*[5], Apollon

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 231 pl. 29, 8 (=my fig. 461), cp. pp. 233 pl. 29, 10 (=my fig. 462) with lyre at breast, 234 no. 46, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1042, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 676.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii. no. 3905 (Hierapolis) Ἀπόλλωνι Ἀρχηγέτη κ.τ.λ. (=W. Judeich in *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft iv) Berlin 1898 p. 68 f. no. 4 *a*), no. 3906, *b* (Hierapolis) εἵλεως ὑμῖν ὦ[ν Ἀπόλλων]—Ἀρχηγέτης (=Judeich *loc. cit.* p. 68 no. 2 εἵλεως ὑμῖν ὁ<ν> | Ἀρχηγέτης), Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 115 no. 19, 4 f. (Hierapolis) [ἔδ]οσαν δὲ οἱ Μακεδονικοὶ τοῖς σημιαφόροις τοῦ Ἀρχηγέτου Ἀπόλλωνος στεφανωτικὸν κ.τ.λ. (=Judeich *loc. cit.* p. 119 f. no. 153, 4 f.). The same title recurs at *Oturak* in Phrygia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 419 ff. no. 33 *b*=*id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 566 ff. nos. 467—469 B on the second side of a marble altar cited *supra* p. 312 n. 5). See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* ii. 443.

[3] D. G. Hogarth 'Apollo Lermenus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 376—400, Sir W. M. Ramsay 'Artemis-Leto and Apollo-Lairbenos' *ib.* 1889 x. 216—230, *id. The Church in the Roman Empire before A.D. 170* London 1893 p. 137 f., *id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 130—141, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1802—1809, C. Cichorius in *Altertümer von Hierapolis* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft iv) Berlin 1898 p. 43.

[4] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 217 no. 1, 7 τῷ Λαιρμηνῷ=*The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 149 no. 41.

[5] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 376 ff. no. 1, 1 ff. Ἀπόλλων[α] | Λαιρμηνὸν θε[όν] | ἐπιφανῆ

Larmenós[1], Apollon *Larbenós*[2], Apollon *Leimenós*[3], Apollon *Lyrmenós*[4], Helios Apollon *Lermenós*[5], Helios Apollon *Lyermenós*[6]. The marble *stéle* that mentions Apollon *Lyrmenós* is topped by a relief representing a double axe. We may, therefore, with a clear conscience regard some at least of the Phrygian riders as effigies of

Fig. 463.

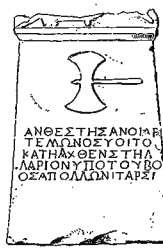


Fig. 464.

Lairbenos or Lairmenos, who was identified both with Apollon and with Helios. But here we must walk warily; for a votive *stéle* from *Koula* shows another axe-bearer on horseback named Apollon *Bozenós* (fig. 463)[7], while a second *stéle* from the same site has a

κατὰ ἐπ[ι]|ταγὴν κ.τ.λ., 8 Ἀπόλλωνι Λαιρμην[ῶι] | κ.τ.λ. (a later inscription, dated 209 A.D.) = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 147 no. 37.

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 389 no. 18, 2 ff. κολασ[θεὶς ὑ]πὸ τοῦ ἐπιφ[ανεστ]άτου θεοῦ | [Ἀπόλ]λωνος Λαρ[μηνοῦ] = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 152 no. 51.

[2] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 381 f. no. 4, 4 = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 148 no. 39 [κατὰ ἐπιταγὴν θε]ῶν Ἀπόλλωνι Λαρβηνῷ κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 385 ff. no. 15, 1 ff. μέγας Ἀπόλλω Λειμηνός. | Σόφρον ἱερὸς κολε(θε)ὶς | ἐπὸ Ἀπόλλωνος Λει|μηνοῦ κ.τ.λ. = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 151 f. no. 49, where however Sir W. M. Ramsay reads Λε[ρ]μηνός and Λε[ρ]μηνοῦ.

[4] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 218 f. no. 2, 1 ff. [Ὀν]ήσιμος Ἀπόλλωνι [Λ]υ[ρ][μηνῶι] εὐξάμενος ὑπὲρ τοῦ κολ[ασθ]έντος βοὸς διὰ τὸ ὑστ[ερη][κέν]ε κ.τ.λ. = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 149 f. no. 42. Above the inscription is carved a *lábrys*.

[5] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 380 f. no. 3, 3 f. = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 147 no. 38 Ἡλίῳ [Ἀπόλλωνι] | Λερμηνῶι.

[6] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1883 iv. 383 no. 5 = *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 146 no. 34 Μητρὶ Λητοῖ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀπόλ]λωνι Λυερμηνῶ κ.τ.λ.

[7] A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880 xxxviii. 37 f., Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 226 no. 18, *id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 152 f. no. 52, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 252 no. 680 fig. (=my fig. 463). The inscription runs: Ἀντωνία Ἀντωνίου Ἀπόλ]λωνι θεῶ Βοζηνῶ διὰ τὸ ἀ]ναβεβη[κέ]νε με ἐπὶ τὸν χό]ρον (for τὸ χωρίον) ἐν

double axe in relief as the symbol of Apollon *Tarseús* (fig. 464)[1]. These two appellatives, both of the local order, deserve a moment's notice. *Bozenós* implies a place **Bozís* or **Bóza*. And Sir W. M. Ramsay[2] maintains that **Bozís* is the equivalent (with European vocalization) of *Bazis*[3], the name applied to the estate of Zeus *Asbamaîos* near Tyana in Kappadokia[4]. He further[5] contends that *Bazís* is for **Baghís*, to be connected, not only with Zend *bagha*, 'god,' Old Persian *baga*, 'god,' and Sanskrit *bhaga*, 'lord,' but also —as A. Fick declared[6]—with the Phrygian Zeus *Bagaîos*[7]. Thus

ῥιπαρῷ ἐπενδύτη, | κολασθῖσα δὲ ἐξωμολο|γησάμην κὲ ἀνέθηκα εὐλο|γίαν ὅτι ἐγενόμην ὁλό-[κλ]||ηρος.

[1] A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880 xxxviii. 38, Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 226 no. 19, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 252 no. 681 fig. (=my fig. 464). Beneath the *lábrys* is inscribed : *ἀνθέστησαν οἱ Ἀρ|τέμωνος υἱοὶ τὸ | κατηαχθὲν* (for *κατεαχθέν*) *στηλ|λάριον ὑπὸ τοῦ βο|ὸς Ἀπόλλωνι Ταρσῖ.*

[2] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* i. 153 : 'comparing Attalos—Ottalos, Atreus—Otreus, Tattes—Tottes, Anas—Onnes, Kadauas—Kadouas, Vavas—Vovas, Marsyas—Morsynos (p. 145) we find that Bozis is the exact equivalent to Bazis, the name of the god's estate at Tyana, used also as a personal name [Βάζεις or Βαζεὶς as a feminine personal name at Komana in Kappadokia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journal of Philology* 1882 xi. 148 no. 6, 1 f. *Ἀθηναῖς Σπίτου ἡ | καὶ Βάζεις*)].'

[3] Ptol. 5. 6. 17.

[4] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 1. 6 p. 5 Kayser *ἔστι δέ τι περὶ Τύανα ὕδωρ Ὀρκίου Διός, ὥς φασι, καλοῦσι δὲ αὐτὸ Ἀσβαμαῖον, οὗ πηγὴ ἀναδίδοται ψυχρά, παφλάζει δέ, ὥσπερ ὁ θερμαινόμενος λέβης. τοῦτο εὐόρκοις μὲν ὕλεών τε καὶ ἡδὺ ὕδωρ, ἐπιόρκοις δὲ παρὰ πόδας ἡ δίκη· ἀποσκήπτει γὰρ καὶ ἐς ὀφθαλμοὺς καὶ ἐς χεῖρας καὶ ἐς πόδας, καὶ ὑδέροις ἁλίσκονται καὶ φθόαις, καὶ οὐδ' ἀπελθεῖν δυνατόν, ἀλλ' αὐτόθι ἔχονται καὶ ὁλοφύρονται πρὸς τῷ ὕδατι ὁμολογοῦντες ἃ ἐπιώρκησαν· οἱ μὲν δὴ ἐγχώριοί φασι παῖδα τοῦ Διὸς τὸν Ἀπολλώνιον γεγονέναι, ὁ δ' ἀνὴρ Ἀπολλωνίου ἑαυτὸν καλεῖ* = Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 152 and, much abbreviated, in Souid. *s.v.* *Ἀσβαμαῖον*, cp. Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 19 apud Asbamaei quoque Iovis templum in Cappadocia, ubi amplissimus ille philosophus Apolloniüs traditur natus prope oppidum Tyana, stagno effluens fons cernitur qui magnitudinè aquarum inflatus seseque resorbens numquam extra margines intumescit. D. G. Hogarth 'Modern and ancient roads in eastern Asia Minor' in the *Royal Geographical Society : Supplementary Papers* 1893 iii. 656 identifies this bubbling spring with 'the boiling pond near Ekuzli Hissar...still resorted to from far and wide by all afflicted with skin diseases.' Since the Iupiter *Asbamaeus* of Ammianus Marcellinus is the Zeus *Ὅρκιος* of Philostratos, S. Bochart *Phaleg*[3] Lugduni Batavorum—Trajecti ad Rhenum 1692 p. 535 proposed to derive *Ἀσβαμαῖος* from the Hebrew *seba*, 'oath' (*Me-seba* or *Me-hasseba*, 'aquae juramenti'). C. Lassen in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1856 x. 377 attempted to connect it with the Zend and Old Persian *açman*, 'heaven,'—a view rightly rejected by P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg 1913 p. 38 f. W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1907 p. 182, with much greater probability, took it to mean the 'seven waters,' in Syriac *shab'ā maya.*

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (*Royal Geographical Society's Supplementary Papers* vol. iv) London 1890 p. 347, *id.* and D. G. Hogarth 'Prehellenic Monuments of Cappadocia' in the *Recueil de Travaux relatifs à la Philologie et à l'Archéologie Égyptiennes et Assyriennes* Paris 1893 xiv. 80.

[6] A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 412.

[7] Hesych. *Βαγαῖος·...ἢ Ζεὺς Φρύγιος. μέγας, πολύς, ταχύς* (the last three words are bracketed by M. Schmidt, but see *supra* p. 295 n. 2). H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica*

**Bozís* and *Bazís* would denote 'the estate of the god'; and with them might be ranked the Lydian *Bágis*, a town in the Katakekaumene[1]. Further, the epithet of Apollon *Bozenós* appears to be comparable with that of Zeus *Abozenós* in an inscription from Nakoleia[2], if not also with that of Zeus *Bozios* on copper coins of Hierapolis (fig. 465)[3]. If Apollon *Bozenós* possibly hails from Tyana, Apollon *Tarseús* certainly hails from Tarsos on the opposite side of Mount Tauros. Here the god is known to have had a sacred weapon of some sort. Dion Chrysostomos at the outset of his *First Tarsian Oration* mentions, among subjects likely to appeal to the patriotic pride of his audience, 'Apollon's trident[4].' But Plutarch, his contemporary, speaks of 'the sacred sword of Apollon at Tarsos,'

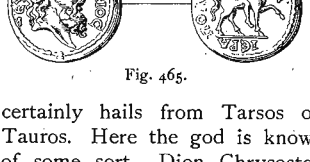


Fig. 465.

Gottingae 1843 p. 567 would restore ὦ Βαγαῖε Μαξεῦ or ὦ Βαγαῖε πᾶ Ζεῦ in Aisch. *suppl.* 892 Dindorf (*supra* p. 293 n. 4).

Fick's derivation of Βαγαῖος is supported by F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiv. 49 ('dass Βαγαῖος auf entlehnung aus dem apers. *baga* beruht'), O. Wiedemann in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1904 xxviii. 12 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 267 (who, however, abandons 'Die alte Verbindung mit *φαγεῖν*').

A. Torp 'Βαγαῖος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1895 v. 193 f., P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 81 (*supra* i. 400 n. 1), Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 486, K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1897 i. 168 advocate the rival connexion of Βαγαῖος with *φηγός*, Doric *φαγός*, 'oak,' Latin *fagus*, Anglo-Saxon *boc*, 'beech,' etc. If so, cp. the Celtic divinities mentioned in inscriptions of the Allobroges: *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 2383 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4620 (an altar found at Morestel) Iovi | Baginati | Corinthus | Nigidi | Aeliani | ex vot., Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no 4669 (found at Tarendel near Bellecombe) Felix Sme|ri f. Bagino | et Bagina|tiabus | [v.]s.l.m. That these too were oak-deities may be inferred from Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner Κελτοὶ σέβουσι μὲν Δία, ἄγαλμα δὲ Διὸς Κελτικὸν ὑψηλὴ δρῦς (see further *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 79, *Folk-lore* 1904 xv. 296, and especially *ib.* 1906 xvii. 53).

[1] Hierokles *συνέκδημος* p. 671, 1 Wesseling, p. 21 Burckhardt. See further B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. xxxviii ff., 30 ff. pl. 4, 5—11, pl. 41, 1.

[2] G. Radet and H. Ouvré in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 109 no. 4 (a *stèle*, the upper part of which showed a wreath) Ἄνδρων Τειμο|θέου Βαβαειτ|ὴς ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδί|ων Διὶ Ἀβοζην|ῶ εὐχήν. On the possible sites of Babai and Abozena see G. Radet in the *Archives des Missions Scientifiques* 1894 vi. 441 f.; and on the equation of Ἀβοζηνός with Βοζηνός, P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 199 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1096 n. 1.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxix, 234 pl. 30, 2 (= my fig. 465) of *s.* ii A.D. ΣЄVC ΒΩΣΙΟC, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 401 no. 106 a. ΣЄVC ΒΟΣΙΟC. See also Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1580, xi. 1254, Head *Hist. Num.*[2] p. 676.

[4] Dion Chrys. *or.* 33 p. 11 f. Reiske ἤ τινα ἔπαινον ὑπ' αὐτῶν (L. Dindorf has καθ' αὑτῶν) ἀκούσεσθαι οἰόμενοι καὶ δημόσιον ὕμνον τῆς πόλεως, περί τε Περσέως καὶ Ἡρακλέους καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τῆς τριαίνης καὶ περὶ χρησμῶν τῶν γενομένων, καὶ ὡς ἐστε Ἕλληνες καὶ Ἀργεῖοι καὶ ἔτι βελτίους, καὶ ἀρχηγοὺς ἔχετε ἥρωας καὶ ἡμιθέους, μᾶλλον δὲ Τιτᾶνας.

which had to be cleansed in water drawn from the river Kydnos[1]. Whether trident and sword were Hellenic substitutes for a Hittite double axe, we can hardly determine. On coins of Tarsos Sandas carries a double axe, a sword, and a bow-case into the bargain[2]. In Phrygia, however, it is clear that Apollon *Tarseús* had a double axe, and Phrygian coinage not infrequently arms Apollon with this primitive weapon. At Eumeneia he stands erect with a raven in his right hand and a double axe in his left (fig. 466)[3], while a very

Fig. 466.

Fig. 467.

Fig. 468.

Fig. 469.

similar type represents the local hero before a flaming altar with the double axe in his left hand and a *phiále* in his right (fig. 467)[4]. The latter design, *minus* the altar, occurs also at Hierapolis (fig. 468)[5]. In the course of the second and third centuries A.D. the emperor appears to have taken the place of this Apolline hero, as may be gathered from sundry Hierapolitan specimens, which show him standing with a branch (?) or corn-ears and poppy (?) in one hand, the double axe in the other (figs. 461, 469)[6]. Finally, at Laodikeia

[1] Plout. *de def. or.* 41 *περὶ δὲ τοῦ Κύδνου καὶ τῆς ἱερᾶς τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐν Ταρσῷ μαχαίρας, ὦ φίλε Δημήτριε, σοῦ λέγοντος ἠκούομεν, ὡς <οὔτε> ὁ Κύδνος ἄλλον ἐκκαθαίρει σίδηρον <ἢ> ἐκεῖνον οὔτε ὕδωρ ἄλλο τὴν μάχαιραν ἢ ἐκεῖνο.* I follow the text of W. R. Paton (Berolini 1893), who adopts the corrections of J. N. Madvig and A. Emperius for *ὡς ὁ κ. μᾶλλον ἐκκαθαίρει σίδηρον* (*τὸν σίδηρον* Ambr. Pal.) *ἐκεῖνον* codd.

[2] *Supra* i. 599 f. figs. 462—464. When St Paul, a citizen of Tarsos, bade his converts 'Put on the whole armour of God' (Eph. 6. 11, cp. 6. 13) and take 'the sword of the Spirit' (*ib.* 6. 17), was he thinking for a moment of the panoply worn by Sandas in his own native place?

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. lxii, 217 pl. 27, 9 Nero, 218 nos. 47—49 Domitian, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 486 no. 1 Nero, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 400 no. 104 Domitian, *id. Gr. Münzen* p. 211 f. no. 683 pl. 12, 21 Nero, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 230 nos. 6 and 7 pl. 7, 23 Domitian, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 674. I figure a specimen, from my collection, struck by Nero: ΕΥΜΕΝΕΩΝ ΙΟΥΛΙΟΣ ΚΛ ΕΩΝ ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΥΣΑΣΙΑΣ.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 229 no. 4 pl. 7, 22 (=my fig. 467) time of Alexander Severus (?).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 245 pl. 31, 6 (=my fig. 468), Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 239 no. 23.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 231 no. 23 pl. 29, 8 (=my fig. 461), p. 235 no. 47 pl. 30, 4 (=my fig. 469), Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 237 no. 12.

The last two coins have as *obv.* type the head of Zeus Τρώιος, who appears—again with an Apolline *rev.*—on a coin of Hierapolis referred to the Hadrianic age (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 233 pl. 30, 1).

on the Lykos *quasi*-autonomous coppers issued by Pythes in the time of Augustus exhibit a panther (?) shouldering a filleted double axe, the whole encircled by a bay-wreath (fig. 470)[1]. The device is Dionysiac rather than Apolline[2].

On the whole, I conclude that in Phrygia, as in Lydia, the ancestor or local hero inherited the double axe of the younger Hittite sky-god, and in Graeco-Roman times commonly acquired the traits of Apollon and Helios. The evidence from these adjacent countries prepares me, then, to accept as true Plutarch's assertion that a particular Amazonian (Hittite) axe was a sacred heirloom of the Lydian kings. Nothing more probable.

But what of his further statement that Arselis transferred the Lydian *lábrys* to the Carian Zeus *Labradeús*[3]? In Karia the simple *lábrys* occurs first on small gold pieces of the satrap Pixodaros (340—334 B.C.)[4], then as a symbol on bronze coins issued at Mylasa(?) by Eupolemos, the general of Kassándros, in 314—313 B.C.[5], and subsequently as an obverse or reverse type on coppers of Alinda[6], Euromos[7], Mylasa (fig. 471)[8], Orthosia[9], Plarasa and Aphrodisias[10], Sillyon (?)[11], as a symbol on coins of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 287 f. pl. 34, 14, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 218 nos. 712 pl. 12, 25 (=my fig. 470) and 712a.

[2] Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* says 'Wolf oder Hund,' but thinks that the die-sinker was trying to represent a wolf as emblem of the river Lykos. Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 1379 f., after D. Sestini *Descriptio numorum veterum ex museis*...Lipsiae 1796 p. 467, had long since said 'lupus.' But B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 287 describes the creature as 'Lynx or Panther (?)' and in *Hist. num.*[2] p. 679 as 'Panther.' Cp. the pantheress with *thýrsos* on coins of Orthosia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 143 f. pl. 23, 5 f.).

[3] *Supra* p. 559 f.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 12, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 14 on gold twenty-fourths with *obv.* head of Apollon, laureate.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 128 pl. 21, 11, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Kings and Dynasts p. 20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622. See further W. Wroth 'Eupolemus' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1891 xi. 135—139, F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1908 p. 260 n.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 11 no. 10 early in *s.* ii B.C., with *obv.* young male head (Herakles?), laureate, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 607.

[7] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 310 no. 54 with *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 129 pl. 21, 16 of *s.* ii B.C. and later, with *rev.* ΜΥΛΑ ΣΕΩΝ ornamented trident, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 312 no. 70[a], Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622. I figure a specimen from my collection.

[9] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 624 autonomous bronze of *s.* ii—i B.C.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 25 pl. 5, 1 f. after 166 B.C., with *rev.* cuirass on trophy-stand; Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 112 no. 1 pl. 4, 11 with *obv.* bust of Eros.

[11] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 351 no. 8 pl. 12, 9 with *obv.* bust of Zeus, remarking that the *rev.* legend CIA AVЄ may be a variant spelling of the ethnic form

Euromos[1] and Stratonikeia[2]. At Mylasa the handle of the *lábrys* is encircled by a bay-wreath (fig. 472)[3]; at Euromos the whole axe is similarly treated[4]. At Aphrodisias (fig. 473)[5] and at Herakleia Salbake it is bound with a fillet[6]. Again, at Aphrodisias it has two filleted palm-branches laid across its handle (fig. 474)[7]. That the axe thus characterised as a sacred object was in Hellenic times associated

Fig. 470.

Fig. 471.

Fig. 472.

Fig. 473.

Fig. 474.

with Zeus appears, not only from a unique bronze coin of Plarasa (*s.* iii or ii B.C.), which has on the one side a head of Zeus long-haired and laureate, on the other an eagle standing on a double axe[8], but also from numerous Carian issues, which show the god grasping his traditional weapon. On silver pieces struck by the satraps Hekatomnos (395—377 B.C.)[9], Maussollos (377—353 B.C.)[10], Idrieus (351—

Σύλλιον in Kibyratis rather than that from Σίλλυος in Pamphylia: 'Das Doppelbeil ist weder als pamphylisches noch als pisidisches Münzbild bekannt.'

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 99 pl. 17, 5 of *s.* i B.C.

[2] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 315 no. 79, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 153 no. 8 n. with magistrate's name Ἀριστέας.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 129 pl. 21, 17 of imperial times, with *obv.* trotting horse. I figure an example in the Leake collection (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* Suppl. London 1859 Asia p. 79).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 99 pl. 17, 3 early in *s.* ii B.C., with *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 617.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 38 no. 84 of imperial times, with *obv.* humped bull lowering its head; p. 39 pl. 7, 2 (=my fig. 473) Augustus.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 116 pl. 19, 10 of imperial times, with *obv.* a *cornu copiae* containing bunches of grapes etc., between two corn-ears, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 132 no. 3, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 28 pl. 5, 10 (=my fig. 474) of *s.* i B.C., with *obv.* head of Aphrodite wearing wreath, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 420 no. 1, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 305 no. 19, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 609.

[8] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 139 no. 412.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 180 pl. 28, 1, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 141 f. pl. 89, 15 (cp. *ib.* 141 f. pl. 89, 16) silver tetradrachms, with *rev.* ΕΚΑΤΟΜ lion standing to right; F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen und römischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1908 pl. 5, 17 silver tetradrachm, *rev.* Persian king standing, drawing bow. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 629.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 181 pl. 28, 2 and 3 (=my fig. 475), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 430 pl. 54, 15, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 147 ff. pl. 90, 2—6 silver tetradrachms, with *obv.* head of Apollon facing, laureate; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc., p. 182 pl. 28, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 430 no. 3 f., Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 149 f. pl. 90, 7 silver drachms, with similar types. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 629.

344 B.C.)[1], on silver and gold by Pixodaros (340—334 B.C.)[2], and on silver by Rhoontopates (334—333 B.C.)[3] we see a Zeus, bearded and laureate, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, who holds a double axe in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left (fig. 475). Imperial coins of Mylasa in silver (fig. 476)[4] and bronze (figs. 477, 478)[5] show Zeus facing us with a *kálathos* on his head, a double axe in his

Fig. 475.

Fig. 476.

Fig. 477.

right hand, and a spear in his left—clearly a cult-statue, for the silver piece places him on a pedestal[6], and other bronze pieces represent him erect in his temple, wearing a pectoral and *agrenón* or sacred net-work[7] and linked to the ground[8] by means of fillets (fig. 479)[9]. At Euromos bronze coins of the first century B.C. have for reverse type a very similar figure standing between the star-

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 5, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 151 f. pl. 90, 8 silver tetradrachms, with *obv.* head of Apollon facing, laureate; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 6, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 151 f. pl. 90, 9 silver didrachms, with similar types; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 183 pl. 28, 7, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 151 ff. pl. 90, 10 silver drachms, with similar types. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 629.

[2] Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 18 silver tetradrachm, with similar types; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 185 pl. 28, 13, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 430 no. 1, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 19 f. and pl. 91, 1 silver didrachms, with similar types; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 185 pl. 28, 14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 431 no. 2 f., Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 91, 2 silver drachms, with similar types.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 9, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 153 ff. pl. 90, 12 and 15 gold *hemistátera*, with *obv.* head of Apollon to right, laureate; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 10, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 16 f. gold *hékтai*, with similar types; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 184 pl. 28, 11, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 155 f. pl. 90, 13 gold *hemíhekta*, with similar types. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 630.

[3] Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 157 ff. pl. 91, 4 f. silver tetradrachms, with similar types. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 630.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 144 no. 2 Caligula (?), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622; W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 84 (=my fig. 476) Hadrian.

[5] W. M. Leake *op. cit.* Suppl. London 1859 Asia p. 70 (=my fig. 477) Septimius Severus, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 146 no. 11 Elagabalos. Fig. 478 is from a specimen, in my collection, struck by Caracalla.

[6] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 144 no. 2 'auf Postament.'

[7] *Supra* i. 360, ii. 167, 192. [8] *Supra* p. 408 n. 0.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 133 pl. 22, 5 (=my fig. 479) Geta, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 425 no. 2 f.

crowned caps of the Dioskouroi (fig. 480)[1]. Early imperial coppers of the same town omit the caps[2], but sometimes give the cult-statue in more detail together with an eagle (fig. 481)[3] or a stag[4]. At Keramos a copper of Antoninus Pius shows a long-haired god, apparently nude (?), standing to the right with a double axe in his

Fig. 478.

Fig. 479.

Fig. 480.

Fig. 481.

Fig. 482.

Fig. 483.

right hand and a tall sceptre or spear in his left: behind him is a lion (fig. 482)[5]. A later variant, struck by Commodus, has the same god, clad in a short *chitón*, with the axe in his left hand, the sceptre or spear in his right, and behind him an animal of very doubtful species—possibly a lioness or panther (fig. 483)[6]. Another copper

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 99 pl. 17, 4 (=my fig. 480) ЄVPΩ M[ЄΩN] with *obv.* youthful head of Dionysos, 5 *obv.* ЄVPΩM ЄΩN and ΠOΛЄ (magistrate's name) Stag standing to right with *lábrys* in front of it (symbol).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 100 pl. 17, 6.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 100 pl. 17, 8 (=my fig. 481) Augustus and Livia.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 100 no. 6, of early imperial times, with *rev.* ЄVPΩMЄΩN eagle on thunderbolt.

[5] J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1875 ii. 109 f. fig. (=my fig. 482). The inscription, as B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 78 n.* points out, 'is almost certainly wrong.'

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 78 pl. 12, 13 (=my fig. 483): 'an animal resembling a goat recumbent with fore-foot raised'...'The animal at the feet of the god on this coin resembles a goat or stag.'

of Commodus shows him, again clothed in a short *chitón* and accompanied by a lion, confronting a Zeus of more ordinary aspect (with *himátion*, tall sceptre, and eagle): both deities lay hold of the same vertical spear (fig. 484)[1].

Now Hekatomnos, who first introduced the figure of the axe-bearing Zeus on the coinage of Karia, hailed from Mylasa, of which town he and his forebears were regarded as benefactors[2]. Hekatomnos was, in fact, king of Mylasa before he became satrap of Karia; and it is highly probable that the Zeus whose effigy he struck on the Carian tetradrachms was but an ennobled form of the Zeus

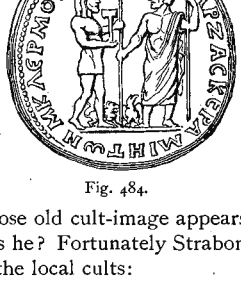


Fig. 484.

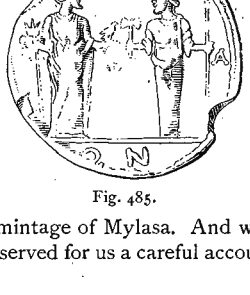


Fig. 485.

whose old cult-image appears on the mintage of Mylasa. And who was he? Fortunately Strabon[3] has preserved for us a careful account of the local cults:

'The Mylasians have two sanctuaries of Zeus, one of Zeus *Osogó*, as they call him, the other of Zeus *Labrandenós*. The former is in the city. Labranda is a village on the mountain, where the pass runs over from Alabanda to Mylasa, at some distance from the city. Here there is an ancient temple and a *xóanon* of Zeus *Strátios*, who is honoured by the neighbourhood in general and by Mylasa in particular. A paved way some sixty furlongs in length leads to the city; it is called the Sacred Road and is used for processions of the victims. The most

[1] J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1875 ii. 110 f. fig. (= my fig. 484).

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2691 *c*, 6 ff. = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 377, 6 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 471, 1, 6 ff. = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 759 f. no. 5753 *a*, 6 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 167, 6 ff. (in a Mylasian decree of 367—366 B.C., found at *Melasso* and now in the Louvre) *ἐπεβούλευσε Μαυσσώλλωι, ὅτι εὐεργέτηι | τῆς πόλεως τῆς Μυλασέων καὶ αὐτῶι καὶ τῶι πατρὶ | Ἑκατόμνωι καὶ τοῖς προγόνοις τοῖς τούτων, κ.τ.λ., id.* 20 ff. (in a decree of 361—360 B.C.) *τοὺς Πελδέμω | παῖδας, παρανομήσαντας ἐς τὴν εἰκόνα | τὴν Ἑκατόμνω, ἀνδρὸς πολλὰ καὶ ἀγαθὰ ποιήσαν|τος τὴμ πόλιν τὴμ Μυλασέων καὶ λόγωι καὶ ἔργωι, | ἀδικεῖν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ ἀναθήματα καὶ τὴμ πόλιν | καὶ τοὺς εὐεργέτας τῆς πόλεως· κ.τ.λ., id.* 33 ff. (in a decree of 355—354 B.C.) *Μανίτα τοῦ | Πακτύω ἐπιβουλεύσαντος Μαυσσώλλωι τῶι Ἑκατόμνω | ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαμβραΰνδου, θυσίης ἐνιαυ|σίης καὶ πανηγύριος ἐούσης, καὶ Μαυσσώλλου μὲν | σωθέντος σὺν τῶι Δί, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Strab. 659.

distinguished citizens are priests for life. These sanctuaries, then, are specially attached to the city. But there is a third sanctuary of Zeus *Kários*, common to all the Carians, including the Lydians and the Mysians as members of the same family. It is recorded that Mylasa in former times was a mere village, the ancestral home and palace of the Carians belonging to Hekatomnos.'

From this it appears that the Mylasians were devoted on the one hand to Zeus *Osogôa*, on the other to Zeus *Strátios* or *Labrandenós*. The two deities stand face to face on a bronze coin of Mylasa struck by Caracalla and Geta (fig. 485)[1]. Zeus *Osogôa*, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, rests with his right hand on a trident and holds an eagle in his left[2], while Zeus *Strátios* or *Labrandenós* has a *kálathos* on his head, a double axe in his right hand, and a spear in his left. Their

Fig. 486.

Fig. 488.

Fig. 487.

joint recognition is implied by the curious combination of trident with double axe found as a symbol on Alexandrine tetradrachms issued at Mylasa[3] and as a reverse type on Mylasian coppers of *s.* ii. B.C. and later (figs. 486, 487)[4]. In imperial times the compound weapon is based on a crab and surrounded by a bay-wreath (fig. 488)[5]. The fusion of Zeus *Osogôa* with Zeus *Strátios* is complete on a unique copper of Mylasa, struck by Antoninus Pius, which passed with the

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 133 no. 37. My fig. 485 is from a cast of this specimen.

[2] Zeus *Osogôa*, with trident, eagle, and crab, is seen on silver pieces issued by Hadrian at Mylasa (M. Pinder 'Über die Cistophoren und über die kaiserlichen Silbermedaillons der römischen Provinz Asia' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1855* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 627 pl. 7, 7 and 8=my figs. 489 and 490, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 132 no. 302 fig. and no. 303, J. Hirsch *Auctions-Catalog* München 1907 xviii. 105 no. 1883 pl. 26). A similar figure of Zeus *Osogôa*, with trident and eagle, in a tetrastyle temple occurs on coppers of Mylasa struck by Septimius Severus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 132 no. 31 f.).

[3] L. Müller *Numismatique d'Alexandre le Grand* Copenhague 1855 pl. 16 nos. 1141—1143, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 128 pl. 21, 13, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 312 no. 70, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 622. I figure a specimen in my possession (fig. 486) and another from the Leake collection (W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 84).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 131 no. 24 Augustus (handle only encircled by wreath), p. 132 pl. 22, 3 Septimius Severus. I figure a specimen, from my collection, struck by Septimius Severus.

Fox collection into the Berlin cabinet (fig. 491)[1]. The god confront-

Fig. 489.

Fig. 490.

Fig. 491.

ing us is marked as Zeus by his eagle and globe (?)[2], as *Osogóa* by his crab, as *Strátios* by his spear and shield.

A few further facts concerning both deities can be gleaned from epigraphic or literary sources[3]. Inscriptions[4], supported by a passage

[1] C. R. Fox *Engravings of unpublished or rare Greek coins* Part ii Asia and Africa London 1862 p. 18 no. 106 pl. 5, 106 (=my fig. 491).

[2] C. R. Fox *loc. cit.* says: 'a bird on a pedestal.' But T. Schreiber *Bemerkungen zur Gauverfassung Kariens, Kleinere Beiträge zur Geschichte von Dozenten der Leipziger Hochschule* Leipzig 1894 (cited by W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1229) with more probability observes: 'als Zeus charakterisiert durch Adler und Weltkugel.'

[3] These are conveniently arranged by J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xx. 4) Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 347 ff. ('Iupiter Labrayndus'), p. 387 ff. ('Iupiter Osogoa') and discussed by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1776—1778 ('Labrandeus,' 'Labrandos') and W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 1815—1818 ('Lambraundos'), iii. 1224—1230 ('Osogoa'). Other references will be given below.

[4] J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 388 ff. prints the following in chronological sequence:

(1) G. Doublet—G. Deschamps in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 618 ff. no. 17 (a fragmentary decree of *c.* 200 B.C., whereby a Cretan town recognises the *ἀσυλία* of the temple at Mylasa), col. ii, 11 ff. *παρὰ δὲ* | *αὐτῶν* (*sc.* the Mylasians) *ἐς τε τῶ Ζανοποτε*[*ιδᾶνος καὶ*] | *τῶ Λαβραύνδω καὶ ἐς τὰ* E¯[---] (*quid*?).

(2) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 362, 1 ff. [*Λο*]*ύκιος Γε*[·····] | [··]*ηνος δὶς ἰε*[*ρατεύσας Διὸς*] | ['*Οσ*]*ογῶ Ζανο*[*ποτειδᾶνος*].

(3) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 98 ff. no. 2 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1204 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Σύμμαχος* | *Γ. Ιλωτίου* | *Συμμάχου υἱός,* | *ἱερεὺς Διὸς 'Οσο*|*γῶα Διὸς Ζηνο*|*ποσειδῶνος.* | *Πόλλις Ἱεροκλέους τοῦ Ἱε*|*ροκλέους στεφανηφορήσας* | *καὶ ἱερατεύσας τοῦ τε Διὸς* | *τοῦ 'Οσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ* | *Λαβραύνδου καὶ ἀγορανο*|*μήσας καὶ ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ Μη*|*νιὰς Φαίδρου καὶ οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτῶν* | *Ἱεροκλῆς καὶ Φαῖδρος ἀνέθη*|*καν τοὺς ἐξῆς κίονας ὀκτὼ* | *ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων* | *τῶι Διὶ τῶι 'Οσογῶι.*

(4) W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 260 no. 13 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Σύμμαχος* | *Γαΐου Ιλωτί*|*ου Συμμάχου* | *υἱός, ἱερεὺς* | *Διὸς 'Οσογῶ Ζη*|*νοποσειδῶ*|*νος.*

(5) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 100 no. 3 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Ἐπιτυγχάνων* | *Δρακοντίδου* | *Ἑκαταῖος, ὁ καὶ* | *Ἐκατόμνως, ἱερεὺς Διὸς 'Οσογῶ*|*α Διὸς Ζηνοπο*|*σειδῶνος.*

(6) *Eid. ib.* 1881 v. 100 f. no. 4 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Γ. Ἰουλιος,* | *Κορνηλίᾳ,* | *Πύρσος* | *Αἰλιανός,* | *ἱερεὺς Δι*|*ὸς 'Οσογῶ*|*α Διὸς Ζη*|*νοποσει*|*δῶνος.*

(7) *Eid. ib.* 1881 v. 101 no. 5 (on a fluted column from the temple-precinct, *s.* i B.C.) *Τιβ. Κλ. Αὐρήλιος* | *Ἱέρων, ἱερεὺς* | *Διὸς 'Οσογῶα* | *Διὸς Ζηνο*|*ποσειδῶνος.*

(8) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 345 (*c.* s. i B.C.) [Ἰ]α[τ]ροκ[λέ]ου[ς](s) τ[οῦ]| [Κ]αλλισθένου, ἱε[ρέως] | [Δ]ιὸς Ὀσογῶ, τὴν [εἰκόνα] | [Ἑκατό]μνως, ἱερεὺ[ς Διὸς Ὀσογῶ(?),]| [ἀνέθηκ]εν, φιλοστο[ργίας ἕνεκεν] | [τῆς εἰς ἑ]αυτόν, Δ[ὶ Ὀσογῶι (?)].

(9) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 359 (of early imperial date) [ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀ]σογῶ[α (?) Διὸς (?) Ζη][ποποσειδῶν]ος θεοῦ [---] | [------Σ]εβαστοῦ[---] | [------]ου [-----].

(10) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 334 (from a decree of Olymos and Labranda, *s.* i B.C.), 2 τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ. Cp. W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 388.

(11) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 360 (fragment of a decree, *s.* i A.D.), 5 [το]ῦ Διὸς Ὀσογῶ οὗ καὶ τα [---] (so W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1225 for Waddington's reading Διὸς Ὀσογώου, which would imply either a nominative Ὀσογῶος (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 580 n. 2) or an indeclinable appellative (cp. Men Κάρου, Men Τιάμου)).

(12) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 398 (from an inscription of *s.* i B.C. or A.D.), 29 f. (a decree of Mylasa is to be written up) [ἐν] | τῶι ἱ[ε]ρῶι [·····] Διὸ[ς Ὀσ]ογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμον.

(13) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 400 (from a decree, *s.* i A.D.), 3 [--- Διὸς Ὀσογ]ῶ Σωτῆρος καὶ Εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως. For Εὐεργέτης as a divine title see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 978. It is, however, possible that we should restore [ἱερέως Διὸς Ὀσογ]ῶ, σωτῆρος καὶ εὐεργέτου τῆς πόλεως.

(14) E. Hula—E. Szanto 'Bericht über eine Reise in Karien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 17 no. 11 (the dedication of a building, *s.* i A.D. [Σε]βαστοῖς Ἀριστωμένης Σκύμνου Μᾶτρις ὁ καὶ Τσσάλδωμος [---] [---] καὶ στεφανηφόρος καὶ ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀσογῶ εἰσήγαγεν [---].

(15) G. Cousin—C. Diehl in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 12 ff. no. 3 (from an inscription of *s.* i A.D.), 6 [ἱερεὺς τοῦ] Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶι ὑπε[---].

(16) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 358 (προσκυνήματα of visiting judges or arbitrators—on whom see T. Thalheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 570 f.—, in the time of Domitian), *a* ἐπὶ ἀνθυπάτου Καισεννίου Παίτου | κ.τ.λ., *b* νίκη | Διὶ | Ὀσογῶ with wreath and palm-branch, *c* ἐνεδήμησαν δὲ ο[ἵδε] | ἐπὶ ἀρχιερέως Μενάν[δρου τοῦ Φι]λαργύρου, (wreath) στεφανηφόρου δὲ Μ[ενίπ]που τοῦ Εἰρηναίου, κ.τ.λ., ὑπηρετούντων Παπ[ίου], Μηνᾶ, Δημο[γένου π. Διὶ παρέδρου ὑπὲρ τι[--]. Le Bas read Μηνᾶ, Δημο[νίκου, Ἑρμο]γένου [τῷ] Διί, παρέδρου Ὑπερτ[μου?].

J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 390 f. gives as a separate series the decrees of the tribe Ὀτωρκονδέων relating to this deity:

(1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 *f* = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 414 (this and the three following inscriptions, *viz.* (2), (3), (4), date from *s.* i B.C. and deal with the sale or lease of lands belonging to the temple. Cp. W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 373 ff.), 8 f. (so-and-so purchased the estates) τὰς οὔσας ἱερὰς Διὸς Ὀσογῶ, [τὰς] (so Schaefer: Waddington had supposed Ὀσογώ[ου]) σὺν τοῖς ἐνο[ῦσι δένδρεσι] κ.τ.λ.

(2) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 415 (deals with the ἔμβασις or purchaser's entrance upon the divine estates), 6 ff. εἰς τὰς γέας τὰς ἐν τῷ Ὀμβιανῷ πεδίῳ κ.τ.λ.], εἰς τὰς οὔσας ἱερὰς Διὸς Ὀσογῶ, ἃς καὶ ἐκτηματώνηκαν τῷ Διὶ Ὀτωρκον[δέων, σὺν τ]οῖς ἐνοῦσι δένδρεσι πᾶσι καὶ ἀμπέλοις καὶ εἰς τὰ ἐποίκια καὶ εἰς τὰ οἰκόπεδα κ.τ.λ.

(3) G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 380 ff. no. 21, col. 1, 12 f. παρὰ τῇ γῇ τῇ οὔσῃ ἱερᾶι Διὸς Ὀσο[γῶ].

(4) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 107 ff. A, 13 ff. [γενομέ]νης δὲ τῆς ὠνῆς τῶν προγεγραμμένων τοῖς κτηματώναις ε[ἰς τὸ τοῦ θεοῦ (*sc.* Διὸς Ὀσογῶ) ὄνομα, μισθώσεται τὰ προγε][γραμμένα πάντα αὐτὸς Θρᾳσέας παρὰ τῶν ταμιῶν τῆς [φυλῆς κατὰ χρηματισμὸν ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ χρόνῳ] | κ.τ.λ.

(5) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 411 (fragmentary decree of *s.* i B.C.), 5 ἀγῶνι τῶι συντελουμένωι Δ[ὶ] Ὀσ[ογῶι---] (so Schaefer, after Le Bas, for Δ. ΟΣ 'perincerte').

(6) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 406 (honorary inscription of *s.* i B.C.), 12

of Pausanias[1] lead us to conclude that the native name of the former Zeus was spelled *Osogôa*, an indeclinable appellation which has the variants *Osogô* (genitive) and *Osogôi* (genitive[2], dative). The meaning of the epithet is quite unknown[3]. The god's temple was situated to the west of Mylasa, at the foot of the scarped mountain, which dominates the town. Traces of the precinct are still to be seen[4]—a wall of polygonal masonry set against the mountain-side and turned towards the east, with a row of fourteen unfluted columns at right angles to it. Five fluted columns, bearing dedicatory inscriptions by priests of Zeus *Osogôa*[5], have been recovered from the immediate neighbourhood. The practice of thus dedicating temple-columns recurs at Euromos[6] and was not unfrequent in Asia Minor[7]. An allusion to it may be detected in the familiar words of the New Testament: 'He that overcometh, I will make him a pillar in the temple of my God, and he shall go out thence no more: and I will write upon him the name of my God, and the name of the city of my God,...and mine own new name[8].' Zeus *Osogôa* is once at least identified[9] with the Zeus *Otorkondéon* of sundry late inscriptions[10].

[– –]ιν συντελουμένων τῶι Διὶ κ.τ.λ. (Le Bas restored τῶν ἀγώνων τ]ῶν συντελουμένων τῶι Διί).

(7) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 408 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 473 (honorary decree, referred by Michel to *s.* ii B.C., by Schaefer to *s.* i A.D.), 14 f. ἀναθεῖναι δὲ τὴν εἰκόνα (*sc.* of Λιμναῖος Οὐλιάδου) ἐν τῶι ιε[ρῶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ] Ὀσογῶ κ.τ.λ.

[1] Paus. 8. 10. 4 (*infra* p. 581), where Ὀσογῶα is A. Boeckh's correction of the manuscript reading Ὀγώα (ὀγωα Lb. ὀγόα Pa. ὀγῶα Pc. ὀγῶνα La.).

[2] *Supra* p. 579 n. o no. (15).

[3] For a string of guesses see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1225 f., E. Assmann in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 188 f., and *infra* § 3 (c) iii.

[4] P. Le Bas et W. H. Waddington *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure pendant 1843 et 1844* Itinéraire pl. 63—64 = Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 47 pl. 63—64, fig. ii, A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois 'Antiquités de Mylasa' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 98.

[5] *Supra* p. 578 n. 4 nos. (3)—(7).

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii nos. 2713, 2714 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* nos. 313, 314—318.

[7] A well-known example is that of the columns dedicated by Kroisos in the sixth-century Artemision at Ephesos (Hdt. 1. 92, E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1890 iii. 2. 173 no. 518 *a—e*, D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 15, 294 f.) and by others in the fourth-century temple on the same site (Aristot. *oeconom.* 2. 2. 1349 *a* 9 ff., E. L. Hicks *op. cit.* iii. 2. 173 ff. no. 519 *a—i* with the examples, ancient and mediaeval, cited by Canon Hicks *ad loc.*).

[8] Rev. 3. 12.

[9] *Supra* p. 579 n. o no. (2) *bis*.

[10] J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 394 quotes the following decrees of the tribe Ὀτωρκονδέων:

(1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 *c* = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 403 (of *s.* i B.C.), 15 f. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ] | [στῆσ]αι ἐν τῶι ἱ[ερῶι τοῦ Δ]ιὸς Ὀτωρκονδ[έω]ν.

(2) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 405, 14 f. ἀναγράψαι δὲ καὶ τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐν τῶι περιβόλωι τῶ[ι] | [τῆ]ς φυλ[ῆ]ς Ὀτωρκονδέων.

Hence it has been inferred that the precinct belonged to the Mylasian tribe Otorkondeis, who took Zeus *Osogóa* as their patron deity[1]. The Greeks in general regarded him as a blend of Zeus with Poseidon. Pausanias, *à propos* of the sanctuary of Poseidon *Hippios* near Mantineia, observes:

'There is an ancient legend that a wave of the sea appears in this sanctuary. The Athenians tell a similar story of the wave on the Acropolis, and the Carians who dwell in Mylasa tell a like tale of the sanctuary of the god whom in their own tongue they call Osogoa. Now the sea at Phalerum is just twenty furlongs distant from Athens; and similarly at Mylasa the port is eighty furlongs from the city. But Mantinea is farther than either of them from the sea; therefore in ascending so far the sea shows forth most manifestly the will of the god[2]

A fragment of Theophrastos' treatise *On Waters*, preserved by Athenaios[3], says:

'Not only do bitter waters change their nature, but salt water as well, and so do whole rivers, as for example that on Kithairon, beside which is the sanctuary of Zeus, <and that in Karia, beside which is the sanctuary >[4] of Poseidon. The reason is that many thunderbolts fall in the locality.'

(3) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 413 (of *s.* i B.C.) *b*, 2 f. περίβο[λ]ο[- - -] | 'Οτωρκονδέω[ν - - -].

(4) A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 558 f. no. 1 = *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 119 f. (of *s.* i B.C.), 16 ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ οἱ ταμίαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι 'Οτ[ω]ρκονδ[έων] | *κ.τ.λ.*

(5) E. Hula—E. Szanto in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 13 no. 3 = G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 386 no. 34 (laudation of Σωτηρίχας Παραίτιος), 9 f. [ἐ]κ πασῶν τῶν θυσιῶν, ὧν ἡ φυλὴ συντελεῖ | [ἐν τῶ ἱερ]ῶ τοῦ Διὸς 'Οτωρκονδέων.

J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 394 f. collects also the following inscriptions, of *s.* i B.C., relating to the purchase of sacred lands:

(1) A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 107 ff. no. 11 C, 16 f. ἀναγραψάτωσαν δὲ ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς 'Οτωρκονδέων τόν τε τῆς ὠνῆς καὶ τῆς ἐμβάσεως | καὶ τῆς μισθώσεως χρηματισμόν.

(2) G. Cousin—C. Diehl in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 21 ff. no. 8, 7 f. [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος καὶ ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος Μαυνν]ῖται τῶι Διὶ τῶι 'Οτωρκονδέ[ων ἐκτηματώνηκαν παρὰ Θρασέου *κ.τ.λ.*]

(3) *Eid. ib.* 1888 xii. 25 ff. no. 9, 14 f. ἐναντίον μαρτύρων τῶν ὁμόρων ἀπὸ τῶν φυλετικῶν γεῶ[ν] Διὸς 'Ο|τωρκονδέων αὐτοῦ Θρασέου *κ.τ.λ.*, 17 f. καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν φυλετικῶ[ν γ]εῶν Διὸς | 'Οτωρκονδέων [α]ὐτο[ῦ Θ]ρασέου *κ.τ.λ.*

(4) E. Hula—E. Szanto in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 16 f. no. 10, 3 [- - -] Δ[ι]ὸς 'Οτωρκονδέων αὐτοῦ Θρασέου *κ.τ.λ.*

(5) W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 272 ff. no. 21 *B*, 2 f. [ἀ]γορασθέντα τῶι Διὶ τῶι 'Οτωρκονδέων παρὰ 'Ιάσονος τ[οῦ Διονυσίου τὰ ὄντα] | ἐν τῶ 'Ομβιανῶ πεδίωι ἐγ Κωστοβάλῳ *κ.τ.λ.*

[1] G. Cousin—C. Diehl in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 14, J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 395 f.

[2] Paus. 8. 10. 4 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

[3] Theophr. *frag.* 159 Wimmer *ap.* Athen. 42 A.

[4] J. Dalechamps in 1583 restored the missing words in Latin from Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 54 et in Caria, ubi Neptuni templum est, amnis, qui fuerat ante dulcis, mutatus in salem est. The Greek text καθὰ τὸν ἐν Κιθαιρῶνι, παρ' ᾧ Ζηνός, <καὶ τὸν ἐν Καρίᾳ, παρ' ᾧ> Ποσειδῶνος ἱερόν ἐστιν is due to I. Casaubon (1597). The passage thus cured has been injured again by a modern translator, C. D. Yonge, who renders ἐν Καρίᾳ, 'in Cairo'!!

And an extract from Machon the Alexandrine comedian, likewise cited by Athenaios[1], tells an anecdote which emphasises the dual aspect of the Mylasian deity:

> Once on a time the flute-player Dorion
> Came to Mylasa, but could find no lodging,
> So sat him down within a certain precinct
> That chanced to be before the city-gates,
> There saw the temple-sweeper sacrificing.
> 'I' the name,' quoth he, 'of Athena and the gods,
> Tell me, my friend, whose temple this may be.'
> 'Zenoposeidon's, sir!' the man replied.
> Then Dorion: 'And how could anybody
> Expect a room for one here, where they say
> The very gods are lodging two by two!'

The name *Zenoposeidôn*, which thus goes back to the time of Machon (*s.* iii B.C.), if not to that of Dorion (*s.* iv B.C.)[2], appears in the local inscriptions from *c.* 200 B.C. onwards[3], and is not altogether forgotten by the Byzantine scholarship of the twelfth century[4]. Concerning the ritual of the god we know little or nothing. But P. Le Bas points out that the Taurophonia, mentioned in a decree of the Otorkondeis as the occasion of a solemn traditional assembly, were perhaps celebrated on his behalf[5].

The fact that the Carians recognised a Zeus-like Poseidon or a Poseidon-like Zeus is to me at least of considerable interest. For I have long contended that the Hellenic Poseidon himself was originally but a specialised form of Zeus. In 1903[6], accepting with some modification the views of H. L. Ahrens[7] and W. Sonne[8], I took the name

[1] Machon *ap.* Athen. 337 C—D.

[2] Cp. Athen. 435 B—C.

[3] *Supra* p. 578 n. 4 no. (1) ff.

[4] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 763, 50 f. (on *Il.* 9. 457 *Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος κ.τ.λ.*) *ὅτι Ζεὺς καὶ ἐνταῦθα καταχθόνιος ὁ Ἅιδης, ὡς ἐάν τις εἴποι ἀὴρ ὑπόγειος. εἰ δὲ κατὰ παλαιὰν ἱστορίαν περί τινα Καρικὸν ποταμὸν Ζηνὸς Ποσειδῶνος ἦν ἱερόν, ἰδοὺ τὸ Ζεὺς ἤτοι Ζῆν κοινὸν ὄνομα Διὸς καὶ Ποσειδῶνος καὶ Ἅιδου τῶν ἀδελφῶν.*

[5] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 404 (of *s.* i B.C.), 1 ff. [*ἐπὶ*] *στεφ[ανηφόρου Ἱεροκλείους] τοῦ Μενίππου, μηνὸς* [·····], *ἐκκλησίας κυρία[ς γενομένης ἐν* T]*αυροφονίοις κατὰ τὰ πάτρια, τύχηι τῆι ἀγαθῆ[ι, εἰς μισθωσιν] ἔδωκεν ἡ φυλὴ ἡ Ὀτωρ[κονδέων, κ.τ.λ.].* Lebas *ad loc.* cp. the bull-sports of Karyanda, at no great distance from Mylasa (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 499, 5 ff. *μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα γενόμενος ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς τ[αυραφέτης οὐ μ[όνον τὴν τοῦ θεοῦ ἑορτὴν με]γαλομέρως καὶ φιλαγάθως συνετέλεσεν, ἀλλὰ καὶ πρὸς τοῖς [ἐκ τῶν τῆς φυλῆς μέλλου]σιν ἀφεθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ ἄλλους ἐκ τῆς ἰδίας οὐσίας ἀφῆκεν τ[αύρους πλείονας·] | πρὸς δὲ τούτοις παντελῶς βουλόμενος φιλαγαθεῖν ἀφῆκεν [ταῦρον κάλλιστον εἰς] | γυνήγιον, τά τε κρέατα ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρε(θ)ιζομένου ταύρου διένειμεν τ[οῖς φυλέταις, δεδομέ]νων γερῶν τῶι ἀπὸ τῆς φυλῆς ἱερεῖ· κ.τ.λ.).*

[6] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 175 f.

[7] H. L. Ahrens 'Ueber den Namen des Poseidon' in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 1 ff., 193 ff. = *id. Kleine Schriften* Hannover 1891 i. 390 ff.

[8] W. Sonne 'Helios Poseidon' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1861 x. 181 ff. See also Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 168 f.: 'Der Name Poseidon ist nemlich

Poteidán, Poseidôn, etc. to denote 'Zeus in the Water' (*pótos*), arguing that, when rain fell, the primitive Greeks believed Zeus to be present in the rain; that, when the rain collected into streams and rivers, they still held Zeus to be in the drinking-water; and that, when the rivers ran into the sea, they looked upon the sea itself as permeated with Zeus. In 1904[1] I re-stated the same argument and sought to reinforce it by a variety of pleas, which need not here be specified. But the proposed derivation of *Poteidán, Poseidôn*, etc. was not free from improbabilities and was rejected by O. Gruppe in 1908[2]. Indeed, I had myself by that time begun to entertain serious doubts of it. Shortly afterwards it occurred to me that *Potei-, Posei-*, etc., the first element in the compound, might be more convincingly connected with *pósis*, 'lord,' the whole name *Potei-Dán*[3] or the like meaning 'Lord Zeus' just as the Homeric *pótnia Hére*[4] meant 'lady Hera.' My friend Dr P. Giles, to whom I submitted this notion, not only gave it his general approval, but told me that it had been partially anticipated by German experts. K. Brugmann in the second edition of his *Grundriss* (1911)[5] was in fact able to cite the opinions of two other notable philologists, O. Hoffmann and P. Kretschmer. Hoffmann in 1906[6] had derived the various forms of Poseidon's

in seinem zweiten Theile nichts anderes als die dialektische Form Dan=Zeus, während der erste Theil des Namens die Beziehung auf das feuchte Element trägt. Poseidon= Potidan ist also Zeus in Beziehung zum Nass, zum himmlischen Nass. Erst im Laufe der Zeit hat sich diese Beziehung auf die Gewässer des Himmels in diejenige auf die Gewässer der Erde und hier speziell des Meers umgestaltet,' F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 59 'D'après une autre interprétation, plus généralement acceptée, la première partie du nom est formée du thème *ποτ*, qu'on retrouve dans *ποταμός, πότος, πόσις*, et qui aurait la signification de *liquide, eau*; la fin du mot est un simple suffixe; ou encore elle recèle peut-être le nom de Ζεύς (Δήν, Δάν), en sorte que Poseidon, c'est le Zeus de l'élément humide. Ces tentatives d'étymologie ne sont qu'ingénieuses, et on ne saurait les prendre comme point de départ pour l'exégèse.'

[1] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 267 ff., 277 ff.

[2] Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 600. *Id.* in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 296 treats '*Potīda* als vorgriechische, wenn auch vielleicht nicht kretische Benennung des im Regenzauber angerufenen Gottes.'

[3] The nom. sing. Δάν was used by the Boeotians in place of Ζεύς (*supra* p. 342 n. 0); and Boiotia was one of the oldest and most important centres of Poseidon-worship (Aristarchos *ap. et. mag.* p. 547, 16 f. ἡ Βοιωτία ὅλη ἱερὰ Ποσειδῶνος. See further Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 29 ff.—a thorough-going and wholly satisfactory investigation).

[4] *Supra* i. 444, 456.

[5] K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1911 ii. 2. 135.

[6] O. Hoffmann 'Poseidon' in the *Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 1906 lxxxiv. 4 (Orientalisch-sprachwissenschaftliche Sektion) 8—16 reviews the forms Ποτειδάϝων (Corinthian), Ποσειδάων (Homeric), Ποσοιδάν (Arcadian), Ποτῖδάν or Ποτῖδάς (Doric), Ποσῖδᾶ- in Ποσιδήιον...ἄλσος (*Il.* 2. 506) and Ποσῑδηιών (Old Attic and Ionic month), and concludes that Ποτι- (Ποσι-), Ποτει- (Πόσει-), Ποσοι- are three vocatives of an *ι*- stem *ποτι-*: *ποσι-*. He assumes two types of address—a longer

name from a vocative *Pótei Dâwon* (*Póti Dâ*), 'Lord Dawon' ('Lord Da'), and had tentatively suggested a connexion with the name of

Fig. 492.

his Arcadian consort *Da mater*, 'Mother Da.' Kretschmer in 1909[1]

and more formal Πότει Δᾶϝον (Πόσει Δᾶϝον), whence the nominative Ποτει-δάϝων, or a shorter and more familiar Πότι Δᾶ, whence the nominative Ποτι-δάς—both being comparable with such expressions as *πότνια* "Ηρη, *πότνια* "Ηβη. On this showing the proper name of the god was Δάϝων, which is perhaps related to the Δᾶ of Δαμάτηρ (*ib.* p. 16: 'In derjenigen Landschaft, in welcher der Gott viele seinen alten Züge bewahrt hat, in Arkadien wurde er als Gemahl der Demeter vorgestellt: sollten *πότει Δᾶϝον*, *πότι Δᾶ* und *Δᾶ μᾶτερ* nur zufällig an einander anklingen?').

[1] P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1909 i. 27 f.: 'Sachlich erscheint daher die Annahme recht ansprechend, dass in dem Namen *πόσις* aus **πότις* "Herr, Eheherr, Gatte"=skr. *pátis*, lit. *pàt(i)s* und Δᾶ, der alte Name der Erdgöttin, enthalten in Δᾶμάτηρ, stecke. Also "Herr der Erde" oder "Gatte der Da." Es bestehen dabei nur zwei sprachliche Schwierigkeiten, der Diphthong *-ει-* statt *-ι-* und die Stellung der Glieder. Beide lassen sich beheben, wenn wir von einer Zusammenrückung *Πότει Δᾶς Vok. "Herr oder Gatte der Da!" ausgehen. Der alte Vokativ Sing. der *i*-Stämme endete auf *-εῖ*, musste also von **πότις* **πότει*=skr. *pátē* (vgl. lit. *naktẽ*, aksl. *noští*) lauten, wofür später **πότῐ*, mit Assibilation *πόσῐ* eintrat. Die ganze Benennung hat eine Analogie in der epischen Bezeichnung des Zeus als *ἐρίγδουπος πόσις* "Ηρης. Die Erhebung des Vokativs zum Nominativ aber ist bekanntlich bei Eigennamen nicht selten und hat eine berühmte Parallele in *Juppiter* =Ζεῦ *πάτερ*. Das dor. Ποτιδᾶς (Epicharm. 81. Sophron 131 Kaib.) kann direkt zusammengewachsenes *Πότι Δᾶς sein; davon abgeleitet das Adjektiv dor. Ποτίδαιος, ion. att. Ποσῐδήιος, Ποσίδειος (dazu der Monatsname Ποσῐδηών, Ποσῐδεών). Die Form Ποτειδάϝων mit den daraus entstandenen dor. Ποτειδάν, ark. Ποσοιδάν, ion. Ποσειδέων, att. Ποσειδῶν ist eine Weiterbildung nach Art von *'Αλκμάϝων 'Αλκμάν, Μαχάων, 'Αμυθάων, *Παιάων

had gone further in the same direction by supposing the original vocative to have been **Pótei Dâs*, 'Lord (Husband) of the Earth-goddess[1],' and thence forming the new nominatives *Potidâs*, *Poteidáwon*, etc. This is phonetically unimpeachable. But so also is my *Potei-Dán*, etc., 'Lord Zeus.' And on the whole it seems to me more likely that the god was named in his own right than in virtue of his relation to the goddess.

Zeus *Strátios* of Labranda bore a local appellative, which is spelled in very diverse ways. Kretschmer[2] has compiled a list of a dozen variants—*Labráyndos*[3] (fig. 492), *Lambráyndos*[4], *Labraúyndos*[5],

hom. Παιήων dor. Παιάν, 'Ερμάων 'Ερμάν. Es scheint nun, dass in der Zusammenrückung beide Vokativformen, die alte **πότει* und die jüngere **πότι*, neben einander gebraucht wurden.' Etc.

[1] On Δᾶ as an ancient pet-name ('*Lallnamen*') of the earth-goddess see P. Kretschmer 'Demeter' in the *Wiener Studien* 1902 xxiv. 523 ff.

[2] P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 303.

[3] Λαβράϋνδος in inscriptions from Mylasa (A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 98 ff. no. 2, 10 f. quoted *supra* p. 578 n. 4 no. (3). W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 261 f. no. 15, 3 f. [Ἐ]κατόμνως Οὐλιάδου [ἐ]ρε[ὺ]ς Δ[ι.][δὸς] Λαβραΰνδου Μαννίτης), from the neighbourhood of Aphrodisias (R. Chandler *Marmora Oxoniensia* Oxonii 1763 ii. 11 no. 12 pl. 5, 12 (=my fig. 492), *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2750, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 802, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 192 fig. 16 a small altar, found in a Turkish cemetery between Aphrodisias and Hierapolis, and now at Oxford, showing a double axe in relief and beneath it in letters of *s.* i B.C. Διὸς Λαβραυν|δου | καὶ Διὸς Μεγίσ|στου), from Stratonikeia (E. Hula—E. Szanto in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 17 f. no. 12, 1 ff. Λούκιος Βετώνιος | Ἀλέξανδρος | Σουμμαρούδης | ἀνέθηκεν τῷ συ|στήματι τῶν πρεσ|[β]υτῶν τὸν Δία τὸν | [Λ]αβράϋνδον ἐκ τῶν | ἰδίων ὑπαρχόντων a dedication of imperial date. *Eid. ib.* 1895 cxxxii. 2. 19 no. 1 a marble slab inscribed Δημήτριος καὶ Ἑρμίας Διὶ | Λαβραΰνδωι with an axe in relief below the inscription), from Halikarnassos (G. Hirschfeld *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1893 iv. 1. 79 f. no. 904 a small marble altar, found near *Budrum*, inscribed in lettering of a good period Διὸς | Λαβραΰνδου), from Herakleia at the foot of Mt Latmos (R. Chandler *Inscriptiones antiquae* Oxonii 1774 p. 18 Pars i no. 49, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2896 two stones marked with the double axe and inscribed Διὸς | Λαβραΰνδου, found in an island near *Bafi* on the lake of Herakleia (map in *Milet* iii. 1 at end)), and even from the Peiraieus, where the god had a *thíasos* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. i no. 613, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 977, of the year 299—298 B.C., in praise of Menis, son of Mnesitheos, of Herakleia, who has done well by the worsbippers and sanctuary of Zeus *Labráyndos*, 5 ff. καὶ τό τε προστῶιον καὶ | [τ]ὸ [ἀ]έτωμα τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραΰνδου ἐπε|[τέ]λεσεν ἀξίως τοῦ θεοῦ, 13 f. καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην ἀξίως ἱερε|ώσατο τοῦ θεοῦ· κ.τ.λ.). That the title Λαβράϋνδος was quadrisyllabic appears from Plin. *nat. hist.* 32. 16 in Labrayndi Iovis fonte etc., where the best manuscripts give *labrayndi* (*labramdi* cod. d. *labrandi* cod. T.).

[4] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2691 *e*, 4=Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 379, 4= Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 471, III, 35=F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 759 f. no. 5753 *c*, 4=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 167, 35 quoted *supra* p. 576 n. 2. For the μ cp. *et. mag.* p. 389, 57 (cod. D) *infra* p. 587 n. 2.

[5] W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 259 no. 11 an altar at Mylasa inscribed Δημοσ(θ)ένης | representation of a double axe | Λαβραυύνδ[ῳ]| ἀνέ(θ)ηκεν.

Labraáyndos (?)[1], *Labratyndos*[2], *Labráindos* (?)[3], *Labráendos*[4], *Labrendos*[5], *Lábrandos* (?)[6], *Labrandeús*[7], *Labradeús*[8], *Labrandenós*[9]—and has drawn the obvious conclusion that Carian vocalisation was incommensurable with Greek spelling. Since the *nd*-suffix is found, not only in the names of places, but also sometimes in those of persons, Kretschmer[10] further conjectures that an axe-god Labrayndos gave his name to the sanctuary Labraynda and subsequently received from the sanctuary his appellative *Labrandeús* etc. That is, no doubt, a thinkable sequence of events. But it is simpler to suppose that *Lábranda* was called 'the place of the Double Axe' because repeatedly struck by lightning[11], the god being named from the spot, not the spot from the god.

This would square well with J. Schaefer's[12] surmise that originally the double axe alone was the object here worshipped. If so, the Carian cult must have been near akin to the Cretan. In which connexion we should observe that the Mylasians of the first century B.C.

[1] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 348, 4 f. *καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ* | *Λαβραυΐνδου*. But A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 98 ff. no. 2, 10 f. read *καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ* | *Λαβραΰνδου*: *supra* p. 578 n. 4 no. (3).

[2] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 338 (an inscription of *s.* i B.C., found at Olymos, recording the sale of land by a certain Polites to the trustees of the sacred domain of Apollon and Artemis), 17 *καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ γῆ* 'Απόλλωνος *καὶ* 'Αρτέμιδος *θεῶν δήμου* 'Ολυμέων *καὶ ἡ ἱερὰ γῆ Διὸς Λαβραιύνδου* [---]. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 (inexact)= Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 399 (decree in honour of Ouliades, found at Mylasa), 20[---]*προεστηκότος τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ ἐλ Λαβραΰνδω*[ι] *τοῦ* | [---]. Cp. W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 261 f. no. 15 (Mylasa), 4 *Μαυνυίτης* but 8 *Μαϊυνυίτης*.

[3] *Λαβράϊνδος* is inferred from the existence of *Λαβραϊνδίς* as a woman's name at Stratonikeia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii. 1108 no. 2731 *b*, 2=Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 531, 2 *Κλαυδίας Λαβραϊνδίδος*).

[4] E. Hula—E. Szanto in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 cxxxii. 2. 13 no. 4 (fragment of a decree in Doric dialect found at Mylasa), 14 [Λ]*αβραένδο*[υ].

[5] W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 259 no. 10 (a small altar of grey-blue marble found at Mylasa) *Διὸς Λα*|*βρένδου* in lettering of *s.* ii B.C. beneath and about the representation of a double axe.

[6] *Λάβρανδος* is inferred from *et. mag.* p. 389, 57 quoted *infra* p. 587 n. 2.

[7] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 *καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ τοῦ Λαβρανδέως Διὸς κ.τ.λ.* and *Ζεὺς δὲ Λαβρανδεὺς κ.τ.λ.* (*infra* p. 590 n. 3). *Λαβρανδεύς* as an ethnic is found in Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 334 (Olymos), 2 f. *Λαβραν*[*δεῖς*], 7 f. Λ[α][*βρανδεῖς*] and in Steph. Byz. *s.v. Λάβρανδα*· ...*Λαβρανδηνὸς καὶ Λαβράνδιος καὶ Λαβρανδεύς*. P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 84 f. no. 4 (*Sari-Tsam*), 2 *Λαβραντίδης*, 8 *Λαβραντίδαι*.

[8] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 45 (*supra* p. 559 f.).

[9] Strab. 659 (*supra* p. 576). *Λαβρανδηνός* as an ethnic occurs in Steph. Byz. *s.v. Λάβρανδα* (*supra* n. 7).

[10] P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 304 f.

[11] Theophr. *frag.* 159 Wimmer (*supra* p. 581).

[12] J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xx. 4). Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 355 f.

are known to have had priests of Zeus *Kretagenés* and the Kouretes[1]. Reverence paid to Cretan powers is at least suggestive of Cretan affinity.

Another point deserving of consideration is the possibility that the axe-god of Mylasa was at one time named *Labráyndos*, 'He of Labranda,' without any more exact determination. The *Etymologicum Magnum*[2] tells how the Kouretes Labrandos, Panamoros, and Palaxos or Spalaxos came in consequence of an oracle to Karia and, being overtaken by night, slept on the banks of a river which they therefore called the Heudonos. As two of these Curetic names were obviously cult-titles of Zeus, Labrandos being derived from the Zeus *Labráyndos* of Labranda and Panamoros from the Zeus *Panámaros* of Panamara[3], O. Höfer in 1894 suspected that the third name likewise, Palaxos or Spalaxos, might prove to be a '*Zeus-epitheton*[4].' His suspicion was well founded; for seven years later he triumphantly quotes[5] a dedication to Zeus *Spáloxos* on a small altar found by W. Kubitschek and W. Reichel at Mastaura and published by them in 1894[6]. The altar in question is decorated with a double axe also; and this tempts Höfer to hazard the guess that *Pálaxos* may be connected with *pélekys*, 'an axe.' In view of the various disguises worn by this much-travelled word[7] there is no phonetic

[1] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 394, 8 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 472, 8 f. (Mylasa) ἐπειδὴ Μοσ[χίω]ν Ἀριστείδου, ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κρηταγενοῦς καὶ Κουρήτων κ.τ.λ. (*supra* i. 149 n. 1). *Eid. ib.* no. 406, 1 (Mylasa) [ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ δεῖνος τοῦ δεῖνος, ἱερέως Διὸς Κρητα]γενοῦς καὶ Κουρήτων, κ.τ.λ. Cp. *eosd. ib.* no. 338, 8 (Olympos) Ἑρμίαι Ἀντιπάτρου τοῦ Ἑρμίου, ἱερεῖ Διὸς Κρητα[γ]ενοῦς κ[α]ὶ Κουρήτω[ν Παρεμβωρδεῖ, κ.τ.λ.]. Michel refers the first of these inscriptions, which is now in the Louvre (W. Frœhner *Musée impérial du Louvre. Les inscriptions grecques* Paris 1865 no. 56), to the close of *s.* ii B.C.

[2] *Et. mag.* p. 389, 55 ff. Εὔδωνος· ποταμὸς τῆς ποτὲ μὲν Δίας τε καὶ Ἐρύμνης καὶ Λαρίσης, νῦν δὲ Τράλλεων καλουμένης τῆς Ἀσίας· ὅτι Λάβρανδος (λαμβράδος cod. D.) καὶ Πανάμορος καὶ Πάλαξος (Πάλεξος cod. D.), ἢ Σπάλαξος, οἱ Κούρητες, κατὰ χρησμὸν ἐπὶ τὴν Καρίαν ὁρμῶντες, νυκτὸς ἐπικαταλαβούσης, ἐπὶ ταῖς ὄχθαις αὐτοῦ κατεκοιμήθησαν. παρὰ τὸ εὐδῆσαι οὖν Εὔδωνον τὸν ποταμὸν ὠνόμασαν. *Supra* i. 18 n. 4.

[3] *Supra* i. 18 ff.

[4] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1777 f.

[5] *Id. ib.* iii. 1276.

[6] W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the *Anzeiger der kaiserlichen Akademie der Wissenschaften* Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 (Wien 1894) xxx. 93 no. 2: 'aus Mastaura ein kleiner Altar, dessen Vorderseite in Relief die Büste eines unbärtigen Kopfes mit Schleier und die Worte γ' Διὶ Σπαλώξω Ἀμμι(ο)ν εὐχήν trägt, während auf der Rückseite eine Doppelaxt erscheint.'

[7] πέλεκυς, Sanskrit *paraçú-ḥ* (*párçu-ḥ*), was a loan-word from the east, cp. Babylonian-Assyrian *pilaqqu*, Sumerian *balag*, 'axe' (H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 178, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 358, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 761 f.). Babr. 64. 9 καὶ τῶν πελύκων τῶν ἀεί σε τεμνόντων (so W. G. Rutherford, in his ed. of 1883, with excision of line 8) implies a form πέλυξ.

R. Eisler in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 126 n. 27 derives Βερεκύνδαι, Βερέκυντες, Βερέκυνθος,

impossibility to bar the way. Again, if the Mylasian axe-god was known as *Labráyndos* before he became Zeus *Labráyndos*, we can appreciate Euhemeros' statement that Zeus in the course of his journey round the world was entertained by a king or chieftain called Labryandos and bade his host in memory of the visit erect a temple to Zeus *Labryándios*[1]. Finally, one altar found at Mylasa exhibits the double axe and a dedication 'to *Labraúyndos*[2]' without any mention of Zeus. Nevertheless it is certain that, long before this altar was made, *Labráyndos* had been definitely identified with Zeus: the joint designation goes back to Herodotos[3] and probably to Gyges[4].

In 1840 Sir Charles Fellows[5] saw and described the Sacred Road that runs from Mylasa to Labranda:

'In descending the mountain towards Mellassa, we followed and continually crossed and re-crossed an ancient paved road, the large stones differing from those of later days by being wrought and fitted together with the protruding natural rock: the road, in passing ravines, was also built up with solid Greek masonry. This way doubtless continued to the ancient city of Mylasa.'

He also visited the temple at Labranda[6], but failed to recognise it as that of Zeus *Labráyndos*[7]. P. Lebas fared better. On March 16,

etc. from **βέρεκυς* 'offenbar eine aufgerauhte Nebenform von *πέλεκυς* = "Doppelaxt"' (accents amended). The *b* of *balag* and the *β* of *βέλεκυς, βέλεκος, βέλεκκος*, an axe-shaped bean (P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 106 f.), might be alleged in support of this derivation. Dr Giles tells me that **βέρεκυς* for *πέλεκυς* would be possible as far east as Persia, where *r* occurs for *l*.

But when Eisler *loc. cit.* goes on to detect double axes in the Πελασγοί (=**Πελαγσκοι*), Πηλεγών son of Ἄξιος (*Il.* 21. 141), the Πηλαγόνες in general, Πλακία and ἡ Πλακιανή (accent rectified), *Peleg* (Gen. 10. 25), the Persians ('Wortspiel: "Prithu-Parçavah" "Axtführende Parther" Rig Veda 7, 83'), and the Amazonian *παλλακίδες* ('Nach ihrer Axt heissen natürlich diese Tempeldirnen'), even the Complaisant Man is unwilling *συμπαίζειν αὐτὸς λέγων...* '*πέλεκυς*'!

[1] Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 Historia vero Sacra testatur ipsum Iovem, postquam rerum potitus sit, in tantam venisse insolentiam ut ipse sibi fana in multis locis constituerit. nam cum terras circumiret, ut in quamque regionem venerat, reges principesve populorum hospitio sibi et amicitia copulabat et cum a quoque digrederetur, iubebat sibi fanum creari hospitis sui nomine, quasi ut posset amicitiae ac foederis memoria conservari. sic constituta sunt templa Iovi Ataburio, Iovi Labryandio (labryandio cod. R. labyandro cod. B. labriandrio codd. S.H. labriando codd. P.V.): Ataburus enim et Labryandus (labryandus cod. R. labyandrus cod. B. labriandrius cod. S. labrianderius cod. H. labriandus codd. P.V.) hospites eius atque adiutores in bello fuerunt; item Iovi Laprio, Iovi Molioni, Iovi Casio, et quae sunt in eundem modum.

[2] *Supra* p. 585 n. 5.

[3] Hdt. 5. 119 (*infra* p. 590 n. 2).

[4] Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 45 (*supra* p. 559).

[5] C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 67.

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 66.

[7] Fellows was misled by R. Chandler *Ionian Antiquities* London 1769 p. 55 ff. pls. iv, 1—5 and *Travels in Asia Minor and Greece* Oxford 1825 i. 245 ff., who took the ruins of an unfinished Corinthian temple at *Ayakli* to mark the site of Labranda. Others had

1844 he reached and identified Labranda (*Kodja Yaïla*), describing his experiences in an enthusiastic letter[1] and securing admirable views and plans of the extant remains (figs. 493 and 494)[2].

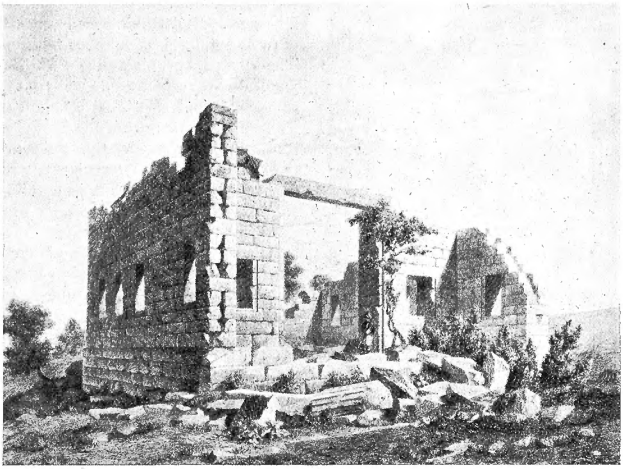


Fig. 493.

Later the spot was revisited by Lieut. R. M. Smith, when attached to Sir C. T. Newton's expedition to Asia Minor (1856—1859). Newton[3] introduces his report as follows:

'The ruins are very finely situated near the summit of the Kodja Yailih mountains, the ancient Mount Latmus, according to Kiepert. A principal ravine opens from it down to the valley of Mylasa. "The site is covered with ruins of massive Hellenic masonry, some of which appear to have been terrace walls. The most important of these ruins is that of a small distyle temple *in antis*, consist-

rightly identified them with Euromos, and W. M. Leake *Journal of a Tour in Asia Minor* London 1824 p. 231 f. had proposed to see in them the temple of Zeus Εὐρωμεύς (a 'second brass' of Caracalla, said to bear an archaic effigy of Zeus in a tetrastyle temple and the legend ΖΕΥϹ ЄΥΡΩΜЄΥϹ ЄΥΡΩΜЄΩΝ (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 581, Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 817, 854, Suppl. ii. 915, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 617) rests upon the authority of Vaillant and is discredited by J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 362).

[1] Reprinted from the *Revue Indépendante* 1844 xiv. 535 f. in Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 48.

[2] P. Le Bas *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* Paris 1847 Itinéraire pl. 65 (=my fig. 493), 1858 Architecture Asie Mineure ii pl. 8, 1 (=my fig. 494), Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* pp. 47 f., 149 Itin. pl. 65 and Archit. ii pl. 8, 1.

[3] C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* London 1863 ii. 2. 613 f.

ing of a *pronaos* and *cella*, with a square recess at the end. The length of the cella inside the walls is 38′ 3″ by a width of 33′ 6″. The doorway is 12′ 2″ in width. Two lintel stones still stretch across the top. The height of the doorway is about 18′. The flanking walls consist of twelve courses, each about 1½′ deep. The thickness of this wall is 6′ ½″. Beyond the doorway the side walls of the *pronaos* extend 16′ 8″. At a height of 12′ from the ground outside, and 2′ 3″ from the floor inside, the walls are pierced at regular intervals by windows 6′ 3″ by 3′ 6″ at the base, tapering slightly upwards. Round these windows is a slight sinking, as if to receive shutters. The view from them is most striking, embracing the plain of Mylasa, Paitschin, Leros, Calymnos, Cos, Budrum, and the mountains all round. Near this building drums of fluted marble columns were lying about[1]. The diameter of one was about 3′. A smaller one measured 2′ 1″."'

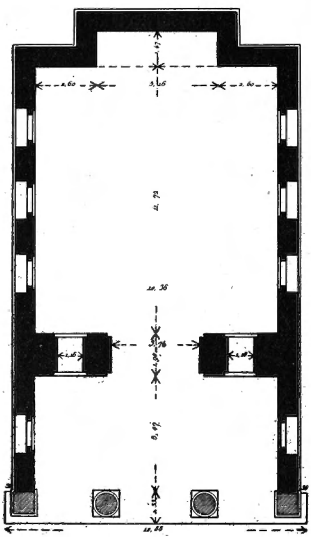


Fig. 494.

Labranda in its palmy days had other attractions besides this many-windowed fane with its large and well-built precinct. Here grew a fine grove of sacred plane-trees, to which the Carian troops fled for refuge after their disastrous defeat by the Persians under Daurises on the banks of the Marsyas (the modern *China Chai*) during the Ionian revolt[2]. Here too was a spring of clear water, in which were kept tame eels decked with earrings and chains of gold[3].

The Carians, being a warlike race, viewed their axe-bearing god

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 614 n.° says: 'Prokesch von Osten [A. Prokesch-Osten *Denkwürdigkeiten und Erinnerungen aus dem Orient* ed. E. Münch Stuttgart 1837 iii. 449] describes other ruins on this site. He saw a portico with twelve columns standing, now probably thrown down; a great number of pieces of frieze lying on the ground; a massive wall of hewn stone fitted without mortar, 134 paces long, connected with a row of chambers not less than 200 paces long; and at the end of the wall a tower. The whole area covered by the ruins he estimates as not more than 400 paces in width: he considers these remains to be of the Roman period.'

[2] Hdt. 5. 119.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 32. 16 e manu vescuntur pisces...item in Labrayndi (*supra* p. 585 n. 3) Iovis fonte anguillae et inaures additas gerunt, Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 *χειροήθεις δὲ ἰχθῦς καὶ ὑπακούοντες τῇ κλήσει καὶ τροφὰς ἀσμένως δεχόμενοι πολλαχόθι καὶ εἰσὶ καὶ τρέφονται, ὥσπερ οὖν...καὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ δὲ τοῦ Λαβρανδέως Διὸς ἐν κρήνῃ διειδοῦς νάματος, καὶ ἔχουσιν ὁρμίσκους χρυσοῦς καὶ ἑλλόβια, χρυσᾶ μέντοι καὶ ταῦτα.*

as *in primis* a fighter, brought his old wooden effigy up to date by means of an added sword, and saluted him as *Strátios*, the 'Lord of Hosts[1].' This title occurs in several inscriptions from Mylasa[2]. But the martial aspect of the deity worshipped by Carian mercenaries from generation to generation never really eclipsed the original conception of him as a storm-god and fertilising power. Labranda is liable to rain of exceptional severity, as Sir Charles Fellows[3] found to his cost. He reached Mylasa on March 20, 1840, 'in a violent storm,' and here he was detained by the rain falling 'in such torrents' that, when he attempted an excursion to *Ayakli*, it completely soaked his pockets, portfolios, and carefully copied inscriptions. He complains that 'the thick branches of a group of evergreen oaks did not even afford shelter from the deluging rain.' After this we are not surprised to learn from Aelian[4] that Zeus *Labrandeús* got his name from the 'heavy downpour' that he sent. Modern man is apt to grumble at a shower. But the ancients knew better, and welcomed it as proof of the sky-god's gendering force.

If the sky-god was the fertiliser, the earth-goddess was the ferti-

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξίφος παρήρτηται, καὶ τιμᾶται καλούμενος Κάριός τε καὶ Στράτιος. But Strab. 659 (*supra* p. 576 f.) expressly distinguishes the cult of Zeus Κάριος from that of Zeus Λαβρανδηνός or Στράτιος. No doubt Aelian has blundered; probably because, as C. Robert in J. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xx. 4) Halis Saxonum 1912 p. 357 n. 1 suggests, he is mixing the contents of Hdt. 1. 171 with those of Hdt. 5. 119.

[2] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 342 (a dedicatory inscription of *s.* i B.C., with a representation of a double axe above it) Θεομνήστου τὴν εἰκό[να Θεόμν][η]στος Λέοντος κατὰ δὲ ὑοθεσ[ίαν Διοκλείους τοῦ] | Πολυκλείτου, ἱερεὺς Διὸς Στρατίου, [φιλοστ]οργίας ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας, [ἀνέθηκε][ν] Διὶ Στρατίωι.

W. Judeich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 267 ff. no. 20 (a decree of *s.* i B.C.), 3 ff. ἔδοξεν τῆ Ταρβεσυτῶν φυλῆ γνώμην | [ἀποφη]ναμένου Θεομνήστου τοῦ Λέοντος κατὰ δὲ | [υἱοθ]εσίαν Διοκλείους τοῦ Πολυκλείτου, ἱερέως Διὸς | [Στ]ρατείου καὶ Ἥρας, Ἀγανίτου ἄρχοντος, ὅπως κ.τ.λ.

Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 415 (*supra* p. 579 n. 0 no. (2) *bis*), 12 ff. ἐνεβίβασεν δὲ αὐτοὺς ἐνάντι|[ον μ]αρτύρων τῶν ὁμόρων, Λέοντος τοῦ Θεομνήστου τοῦ Λέοντος, Λιμναίου τοῦ Θεομνήστου, | [καὶ Ε]ὐπολέμου τοῦ Θεομνήστου ἱερέως Διὸς Καρίου, καὶ Ἰάσονος καὶ Θεομνήστου υἱῶν Θεομνήσ[του], μετὰ κυρίου τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῶν Θεομνήστου τοῦ Λέοντος κατὰ δὲ υἱοθεσίαν Διοκλείους | [τοῦ] Πολυκλείτου, ἱερέως Διὸς Στρατίου καὶ Ἥρας.

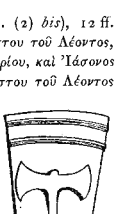


Fig. 495.

Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 343 (a dedication of *s.* i B.C.) Διὶ Στρατίῳ.

[3] C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 pp. 67, 69.

[4] Ael. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 Ζεὺς δὲ Λαβρανδεὺς ὕσας λάβρῳ καὶ πολλῷ τὴν ἐπωνυμίαν τήνδε ἠνέγκατο.

C. Fellows *op. cit.* p. 75 fig. (=my fig. 495) noticed four keystones decorated with a double axe in relief, which were built into various walls at Mylasa. One of them, here shown, was *in situ* over a fine arched gateway carrying an aqueduct. We may perhaps infer that the water-supply was under the special protection of the rain-god.

lised. But, apart from the late inscriptions which associate Hera with Zeus *Strátios*[1], we have no evidence of a goddess at all in Labranda. It would seem that here throughout historical times the god was all in all[2]. Yet, remembering the similarity of the Carian to the Cretan cult, we may well suspect that in the former as in the latter a goddess had once played the leading part. Indeed, it would not be unreasonable to conjecture that in Karia the cult of the Indo-Europaean sky-father had been superposed on that of an indigenous earth-mother, and that Zeus had to a certain extent absorbed into himself her maternal characteristics. In point of fact, some such hypothesis is necessary to account for two very remarkable reliefs, in which the Zeus of Labranda is represented with the breasts of a goddess. One of these (fig. 496) is 'an archaic statuette in white marble' seen by J. T. Wood[3] 'in the garden of a Turkish gentleman at Mylassa.' It is of importance, because in all probability it preserves for us the type of the cult-image at Labranda on a larger scale than the coins already mentioned (figs. 476—479, 485)[4]. We are confronted by a beardless (?) deity, with *kálathos* on head, necklaces round throat, double axe and sceptre in either hand. The body below the waist is swathed with an *agrenón*[5] and above it exhibits

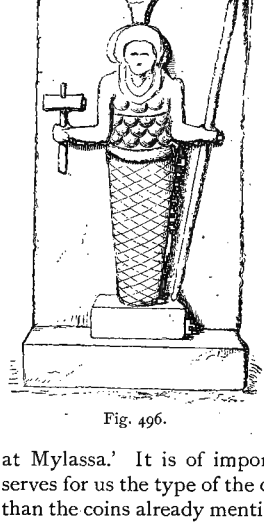


Fig. 496.

[1] *Supra* p. 591 n. 2.

[2] Cp. J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 382: 'neque Rhea-Cybele, quam Cretenses omnibus aetatibus praeter Iovem diligenter venerabantur, in Caria nisi in septentrionali Lydiae confinio culta est.' See, however, H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle* Paris 1912 pp. 362 ff., 385, 409.

[3] J. T. Wood *Discoveries at Ephesus* London 1877 p. 270 fig. B (=my fig. 496).

[4] *Supra* p. 574 ff. (figs. 476—479, 485). C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 52 f. no. 16 pl. 8, 11 and an enlarged fig. on p. 53: 'il porte une longue barbe et laisse voir deux mamelles de femme.' P. Foucart in the *Mon. Piot* 1910 xviii. 162 thinks that Lenormant's draughtsman meant to represent three breasts, not two. But Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 270 is justly sceptical of the whole design. I fail to detect any breasts on the two examples of the coin in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 133 nos. 38, 39); nor are they mentioned by G. Macdonald as present on the two specimens at Glasgow (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 425 nos. 2, 3); while Foucart *loc. cit.* admits that 'M. Babelon est d'avis que la pièce du Cabinet des Médailles ne permet ni de nier ni d'affirmer.'

[5] *Supra* p. 574 n. 7.

four rows of female breasts. We are, of course, inclined to regard this effeminate form as a goddess, not a god, till we come to examine its counterpart on the second relief (fig. 497)[1]. That is a sunk panel of white marble surmounted by a pediment, found at Tegea near the temple of Athena *Aléa* and acquired in 1914 by the British Museum. In the centre of the relief stands a bearded god, definitely

Fig. 497.

inscribed *Zeús*. He faces us, in *chitón* and *himátion*, holding a double axe over his right shoulder and a spear in his left hand. A small piece of marble, filling the space between the head and the edge of the panel, suggests a *kálathos*. Round his neck Zeus wears a large necklace. On his chest, and apparently outside his *chitón*, he has six

[1] P. Foucart 'Le Zeus Stratios de Labranda' in the *Mon. Piot* 1910 xviii. 145—175 with figs. 1—10, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 276, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1548 f. with fig., A. H. Smith 'Some recently acquired reliefs in the British Museum' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 67—70 fig. 1 f. My fig. 497 is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Mr Smith. The inscriptions are published by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 89 and by F. H. Marshall *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1916 iv. 2. 116 no. 950.

breast-like protuberances. M. Meurer[1] and A. H. Smith[2] have attempted to explain these as some sort of pectoral ornament. But Wood's relief is really conclusive in favour of admitting them to be female breasts[3]. Zeus is flanked by two smaller figures, who look towards him with gestures of adoration. The inscriptions, *Idrieús* and *Áda*, show that they are the king and queen of Karia, who were reigning together between 351 and 344 B.C.[4] As son and daughter of Hekatomnos, brother and sister of Maussollos, they naturally adore their ancestral god Zeus *Strátios* of Labranda. We cannot, however, suppose that this trumpery relief was a votive offering made by, or on behalf of, Carian royalty. Besides, how came it to be found at Tegea? In the absence of the lower half of the stone, which doubtless gave the circumstances of the dedication, certainty is unattainable. But P. Foucart has put forward a very plausible hypothesis[5]. Skopas, who is known to have decorated the temple of Athena *Aléa* before he worked at the Mausoleum, probably took with him from Tegea to Halikarnassos some of his best workmen. One of these, on returning to his native town, consecrated to the goddess a *souvenir* of his Carian journey, as like as not executed by his own hand.

The *bizarre* type of a Zeus with matronal breasts must not be taken, with E. Gerhard[6], to imply an androgynous deity, nor merely, with P. Foucart[7], to betoken that 'c'est lui qui nourrit les êtres vivants, qui répand l'abondance.' It occurs again at *Suwasa* in Kappadokia, where H. Rott[8] discovered an arcuated rock-cut niche

[1] M. Meurer 'Die mammae der Artemis Ephesia' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1914 xxix. 200—219 with figs. 1—10.

[2] A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 68.

[3] This is recognised by both Foucart and Kuhnert *locc. citt.*

[4] Ü. Kahrstedt *Forschungen zur Geschichte des ausgehenden fünften und des vierten Jahrhunderts* Berlin 1910 pp. 22, 119, 149 f. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 912 dates their joint reign of seven years (Diod. 16. 69) from the spring of 350 to the end of 344 B.C.

[5] P. Foucart in the *Mon. Piot* 1910 xviii. 147, A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 69.

[6] Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 166.

[7] P. Foucart *loc. cit.* p. 172 f., followed by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 336, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 502.

[8] H. Rott *Kleinasiatische Denkmäler aus Pisidien, Pamphylien, Kappadokien und Lykien* Leipzig 1908 p. 253 f. fig. 92 (=my fig. 498): 'Dass das Christentum hier bereits eine alte Kultstätte vorfand, ist ersichtlich aus einer Götterfigur, die wir an der senkrechten Felswand hinter dem Dorf ausgehauen fanden. In einer rundbogigen Nische sitzt eine Gottheit, die den linken Arm erhoben hatte. Der Oberkörper ist unbekleidet und zeigt Reste von Brüsten, ein faltiges Gewand fällt über Schoss und Kniee hinab. Vier Stufen führten zur Statue hinauf, der Raum davor ist geebnet und die Felswände rings geglättet... Ich halte die Figur für den Zeus Stratios, dessen Kult in Kappadokien allenthalben verbreitet war.' On Zeus *Strátios* in Kappadokia etc. see *in primis* F. Cumont 'Le

(fig. 498) containing a seated effigy of Zeus *Strátios* (?). The left arm is raised. The lower limbs are wrapped in a mantle. The upper part of the body is bare and shows remains of breasts. Here too we should infer that the Hellenic father-god had usurped the position of the Anatolian mother-goddess, and that local prejudice had to be

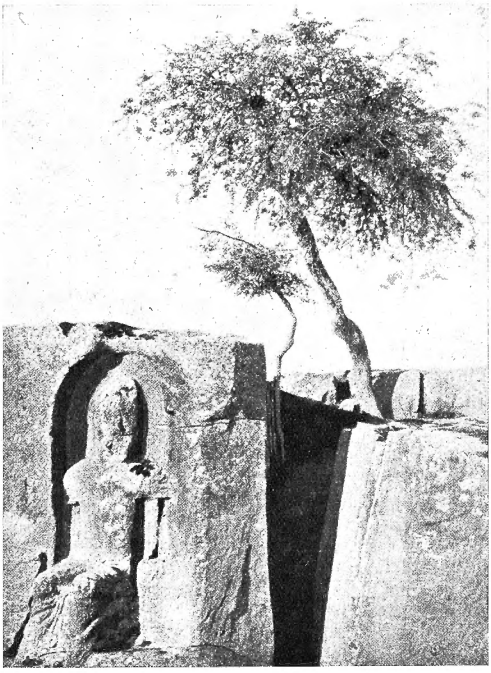


Fig. 498.

satisfied by the strange expedient of giving him 'the breasts of her consolations[1].' On occasion, no doubt, the old order triumphed over the new, and the resultant deity—despite his beard—was regarded as a goddess rather than a god. Thus at Zougo or *Zogui*, a village

Zeus Stratios de Mithridate' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1901 xliii. 47—57, F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* ii) Bruxelles 1906 pp. 171—184 ('Le temple de Zeus Stratios'), E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1545—1550.

[1] Is. 66. 11.

near *Mersivan* at the entrance of the great marshy plain known to Strabon[1] as Chiliokomon and now called *Soulou-Ova*, F. Cumont[2] in 1900 photographed a crude relief (fig. 499), which represents a

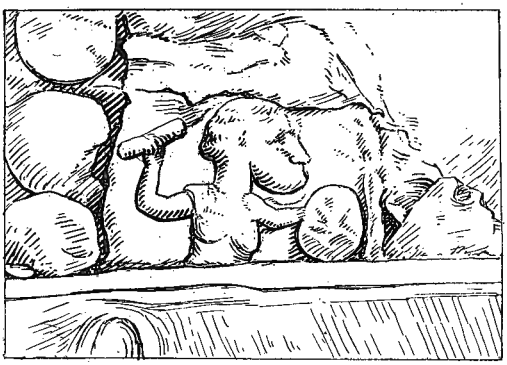


Fig. 499.

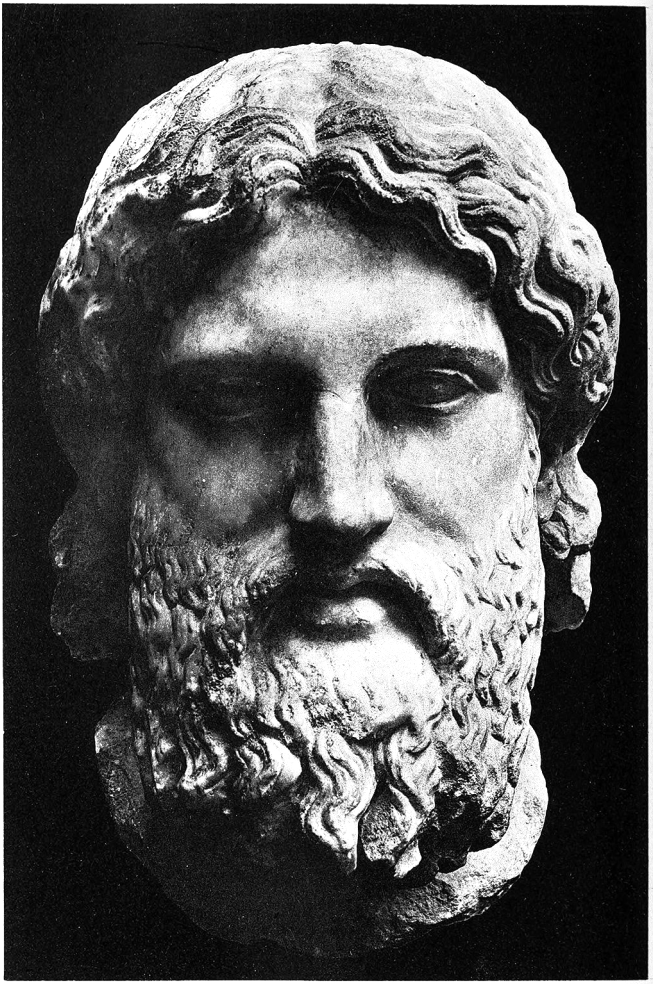
divinity, at once bearded and breasted, advancing from left to right with a thunderbolt brandished in one hand and a round shield grasped in the other. The accompanying dedication[3] describes this peculiar personage as *theá*, a 'goddess,' not *theós*, a 'god.'

[1] Strab. 561.

[2] F. Cumont—E. Cumont *op. cit.* p. 139 with fig. (=my fig. 499): 'il subsiste au village de *Zougo* un curieux morceau de sculpture. Ce bas-relief (H. env. $0^m,45$, L. $0^m,50$) est malheureusement placé derrière le tronc d'arbre creusé qui sert de lavoir communal et que nous ne pûmes faire enlever. On n'en aperçoit donc, dans notre reproduction, que la partie supérieure : le haut du corps d'un personnage à grosse tête barbue, brandissant le foudre de la main droite élevée et portant au bras gauche un bouclier rond. Le travail très grossier est manifestement l'œuvre d'un sculpteur indigène et j'inclinerais à reconnaître dans ce combattant quelque dieu anatolien ; peut-être l'ancêtre du Zeus Stratios, honoré dans ce pays à l'époque de Mithridate.'

[3] H. Grégoire 'Rapport sur un voyage d'exploration dans le Pont et en Cappadoce' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 17: 'M. Cumont, en 1900, photographia au village de *Zougo*, à l'entrée du Χιλιόκωμον, un bas-relief de facture indigène et d'exécution très grossière, qui représentait une divinité anatolienne brandissant le foudre. Mais la moitié seulement de ce relief était visible. Nous le fîmes complètement dégager, et une inscription apparut, d'ailleurs fort effacée. Les premières lettres seulement en sont d'une lecture à peu près certaine : Ζώβη (ou Ζώγη?) *θεᾷ*. La ressemblance entre ce nom et le nom actuel du village (*Zougo* ou *Zogui*) est assurément frappante. La divinité représentée est féminine et cependant barbue. On peut rappeler que Zeus Stratios a été parfois vénéré sous la forme d'une idole androgyne.'

P. Foucart in the *Mon. Piot* 1910 xviii. 165 adds (after receipt of a photograph from F. Cumont): 'Quant à l'inscription, je pense, comme M. Cumont, qu'il vaut mieux considérer Ζώβη ou Ζωβη comme un nom propre féminin, à rapprocher du nom d'homme Ζώβεις qui se rencontre dans des inscriptions d'Olbia [*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2079, 6]; les



Marble head of Zeus *Labráyndos* (?), found at Mylasa and now in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts.

See page 597 f.

Suwasa and *Zougo* were remote villages, where barbarism lingered to the last. But Mylasa under Hekatomnos was the chief city of Karia, and must needs move with the times. Accordingly, though the old cult-image of Zeus *Labráyndos* was still enshrined at Labranda, advancing civilisation began to demand that the god be represented after a newer and nobler pattern. Hekatomnos, as we have seen[1], placed an improved type of him on the satrapal coinage. And it is likely enough that other attempts were made to raise the ancient deity above the level of semi-barbaric art. Interesting proof of this upward tendency has recently come to light in connexion with a magnificent head of Zeus, which passed from private ownership into the Boston Museum of Fine Arts (pl. xxviii). A. Furtwängler, shortly before his death, made a detailed and penetrating study of this masterpiece[2]. His observations were to the following effect. The head is carved of a fine-grained marble, slightly bluish in tone. On the top of it is a round hole (5^{cm} deep, by $1-1\frac{1}{2}^{cm}$ broad) and further back an oblong dowel-hole (3^{cm} deep, 2^{cm} broad, 6^{cm} long). These marks presuppose that something light, made of metal, rested on the head: let us say, a *kálathos*. Probably, too, the groove that separates the front hair from the crown of the head implies a metal wreath[3]. The head (height of worked surface $0{\cdot}48^{m}$) was inserted in the neck of a statue, which presumably wore a *chitón* concealing the insertion. And, if a *chíton*, doubtless a *himátion* also. Since the god is turning his head somewhat towards his right, and since the right side of his head is more carefully finished than the left, it may be inferred that he was grouped with another figure, perhaps a seated female, on the left. The nearest stylistic parallels are to be found in the sculptures from the Mausoleum[4]. And Furtwängler

lettres *θεα* sont suivies d'autres lettres qui ne présentent aucun sens. Cette figure me paraît être une répétition grossière et altérée d'une divinité indigène, armée de la foudre, à la poitrine de femme et barbue, en un mot, d'un type assez voisin de celui du Zeus de Labranda.'

[1] *Supra* p. 576.

[2] A. Furtwängler in the Text to Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pls. 572, 573. For other publications see H. Lechat *Phidias* Paris (1906) p. 175 fig. 17 ('Tête d'une statue de Zeus, inspirée du Zeus de Phidias'), H. N. Fowler—J. R. Wheeler—G. P. Stevens *A Handbook of Greek Archaeology* New York—Cincinnati—Chicago 1909 p. 231 f. fig. 173.

Fig. 500.

[3] The head of Zeus *Labráyndos* wearing laureate *kálathos* and bay-wreath with diadem occurs on a copper of Mylasa issued by Augustus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 130 pl. 22, 1 (=my fig. 500): cp. *ib.* p. 130 no. 19, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 425 no. 1, and Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 144 no. 1 silver of Augustus and Livia).

[4] Especially *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 126 no. 1054 pl. 20, 1, Collignon *Hist. de*

concludes that the artist was in all probability an Attic sculptor of the fourth century B.C., representing a non-Attic Zeus, some such deity as the Carian Zeus *Labráyndos* with *kálathos*, *chitón*, and *himátion*. 'In the new head from Asia Minor,' he says, 'I think we can catch for the first time a clearly perceptible echo of Pheidias' great creation—not, of course, in the true Pheidiac style, but in the soft flowing lines of a contemporary of Praxiteles.' This mention of Zeus *Labráyndos* was a conjecture worthy of the great critic. A *post scriptum* by P. Arndt goes far to confirm it, *viz.*, a report from the previous owner of the head that it was actually discovered at Mylasa[1].

Zeus *Labráyndos* can hardly be separated from Zeus *Labránios*, whose precinct is still to be traced near Amathous in Kypros. The site was first detected by Cesnola. In 1877 he records[2]—

'another range of hills west of these ruins [*sc.* Amathous], on the summit of one of which, very difficult of ascent, situated between the two small villages of Aghios Dimitri and Fasuli[3], I found the ruins of an elliptical structure measuring twenty-seven feet by sixteen. Its area was strewn with pieces of broken statues, upon two of which an eagle was carved. I discovered also on the bases of two life-size statues to which the feet still adhered, Greek characters roughly but deeply cut in the calcareous stone (see Appendix). I should have liked to explore this spot thoroughly, as these ruins are not improbably those of a temple dedicated to Jupiter, but I had brought neither a tent nor provisions with me,' etc.

One looks in vain for the inscriptions to Cesnola's Appendix. They are in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York[4], and were published in 1883 by I. H. Hall[5], who adds important extracts from

la Sculpt. gr. ii. 334 fig. 169. The style of the Boston head is happily expressed in Furtwängler's words: 'Es ist nicht die straffe und unnahbare Hoheit der phidiasischen Epoche, nicht das ruhelose stürmische Wollen der Alexanderzeit, es ist ein freundliches, edel menschliches Wesen, das in schlichten, ruhigen und milden Formen hier sich ausspricht.'

[1] Hence P. Arndt infers that the head represents Zeus *Kários* or *Osogôa* or *Labráyndos* or *Strátios*. He cites the view of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 124 f. that the colossal torso of a seated male figure from the Mausoleum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 124 no. 1047), identified as a divinity—perhaps Zeus—by Sir C. T. Newton (*A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* London 1862 ii. 1. 221), was rightly regarded by K. L. von Urlichs (*Skopas' Leben und Werke* Greifswa'd 1863 p. 197 f.) as Zeus *Labráyndos*, the national god of Karia. But A. H. Smith *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 124 justly remarks that 'the figure would do equally well for Mausolos, or some other heroified ruler.'

[2] L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus* London 1877 p. 285.

[3] Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* p. 19 calls the village 'Pasoulla.'

[4] J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola collection of antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 322 nos. 1914, 1915 and p. 550 no. 1914 'Ολιάσας Δὶ Λαβρανίω εὐξά|μενος ἀπέδωκεν, no. 1915 Δημητρὶς Δὶ Λαβρανίω εὐξάμ|ενος ἀπέδωκεν (I. H. Hall read εὐξάμε|νος ἀπεδώκη).

[5] I. H. Hall 'A Temple of Zeus Labranios in Cyprus' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1885 xi Proceedings at New Haven, October 24—25, 1883 pp. clxvi—

Cesnola's note-book. As to the elliptical temple, it appears that—

'the ellipse is truncated at one end, through the middle of which end was the entrance. Near the other end, inside, against either wall and opposite each other, are the pedestals (probably) of the two statues referred to.'

These statues were votive offerings by a man named Oliasas[1] and another named Demetris and may be dated between the third and the fifth centuries A.D. Fragments of a third statue seem to belong to the cult-image, though neither head nor double axe[2] were found. Hall saw that Zeus *Labránios* is simply the Cypriote equivalent of Zeus *Labráyndos*[3], remarking that 'this part of Cyprus was settled by Carians or Lycians.'

Whether the Iupiter *Laprius* mentioned by Lactantius[4] is another form of the same deity, as M. Mayer[5] supposes, is doubtful. O. Höfer[6] would find in him a Zeus *Láphrios* comparable with Apollon *Láphrios* and Artemis *Laphría*. Others[7] have thought of the Cretan Zeus *Elaphrós*. And a corruption of Zeus *Lapérsios*[8] is a further possibility. All these and dozens of other names—Greek, Latin, Etruscan, Iberian, and Celtic—are regarded by W. Vollgraff[9] as metamorphoses of the same Protean *lábrys*.

clxx, *id. A Descriptive Atlas of the Cesnola Collection of Cypriote Antiquities in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York* New York 1903 iii pl. 143 nos. 1, 2.

[1] Hall cp. Oliatos of Mylasa, one of the Ionian tyrants (Hdt. 5. 37).

[2] A tetrobol struck *c.* 400 B.C. at some uncertain mint in Kypros has for obverse type a panther (?) scratching his right foreleg with his right hind paw. Above him is the head of a double axe and an inscription in Cypriote characters, which has been read as ? Σα·ϝω·το·σε·—— (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. 71 pl. 13, 12, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 825 f. pl. 136, 18). Conceivably this stands for Σαώτης, which occurs as a title of Zeus at Thespiai (Paus. 9. 26. 7 f.), and of Dionysos at Troizen (Paus. 2. 31. 5) and Lerne (Paus. 2. 37. 2), if not also at Thespiai (cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 603. 1 (Antipatros of Sidon)—referred by O. Benndorf to the Thespiades of Praxiteles).

Zeus *Labráyndos* (?) on a copper of Keramos is accompanied by a lioness (?) or panther (?) (*supra* p. 575 n. 6); and it is on a lioness (?) or panther (?) that the Hittite bearer of the double axe stands at Boghaz-Keui (*supra* i. 599 n. 6, 603, 605 fig. 476, ii. 552, 560).

[3] I. H. Hall in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1885 xi p. clxviii f. So also G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 124 f., J. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 360 f., J. L. Myres *op. cit.* p. 322.

[4] *Supra* p. 588 n. 1.

[5] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1506 (correcting *Laprios* into *Labrios*).

[6] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex Myth.* ii. 1850.

Ae. Forcellini *ap.* De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 736, citing Hesych. 'Ελαφρός· εὐβάστακτος, κοῦφος. ἢ Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ, where W. Dindorf *ap.* Stephanum *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 687 D wrongly assumes confusion with *Fελχανός*. Cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 no. 39 ἐλαφρίου (*sc.* Διός), 266 no. 26 ἐλαφρίου (*sc.* Διός). On the Cnidian month 'Ελάφριος see W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2234.

[8] *Infra* Append. I.

[9] W. Vollgraff 'Λάβρυς' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1906 lxi. 149—165—one of the wildest articles ever perpetrated in the name of 'Philologie.'

(θ) The double axe and the Labyrinth.

M. Mayer[1] was the first to suggest that the word *Labýrinthos*, the 'Labyrinth,' should be brought into the same connexion and so taken to denote 'the place of the Double Axe.' A few years later a similar view was expressed independently by P. Kretschmer[2]. And this opinion, despite certain doubts and difficulties[3], has won its way to almost universal acceptance[4]. I share in the general conviction, and am here concerned merely to emphasise two aspects of the central fact.

One is this. The Cretan *Labýrinthos* is the equivalent of the Carian *Labráynda*, *Lábranda* both in point of its main formative element (*lábrys*) and in point of its suffix (*nth* = *nd*)[5]. If, therefore, we were right in thinking that *Lábranda* was called 'the place of the Double Axe' because repeatedly struck by lightning[6], we must give a like explanation of *Labýrinthos*. The place where the lightning fell in the form of the sky-god's axe would be deemed specially sacred to the sky-god. And mimetic dances in his honour provide the requisite transition from *Labýrinthos*, 'the place of the Double Axe,' to the classical Labyrinth, a dancing-ground made by Daidalos

[1] M. Mayer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 191 (Λαβύρινθος is for *Λαβρύνθιος, a possible adjectival form of Λάβρυς).

[2] P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 404 (Λαβύρινθος is a Cretan corruption of the Carian Λαβρυνδος or its alternative form Λαβραυνυδος).

[3] See the objections summarised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 266. *E.g.* G. de Sanctis in the *Rivista di filologia* 1902 xxx. 100 f. observes that the double axe is represented in other structures (Phaistos) of the Cretan civilisation beside the palace at Knossos; why then should this alone have been termed 'the House of the Double Axe'? And W. H. D. Rouse in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 274 notes 'the metathesis of *v* which is unexampled.' E. Assmann too in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 190 f. complains of 'Der Einschub, die Epenthese eines *v* zwischen *β* und *ρ*.' (But have we not an analogous case in *laburnum*? The ancients may have fancied a resemblance to the λάβρυς in its flowers. Cp. *βέλεκυς supra* p. 588 n. o.)

[4] It has commended itself not only to archaeologists such as Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 109, H. R. Hall *The Oldest Civilization of Greece* London 1901 p. 294 n. 1, *id. The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 53 n. 6, *id. Ægean Archæology* London 1915 p. 152, R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 209, etc., but also to professed philologists such as Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 256 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 548.

R. M. Burrows *The Discoveries in Crete* London 1907 p. 117 ff. (with Appendix B by R. S. Conway) prefers to connect Λαβύρινθος, Λαβράυνδα, etc. with λαύρα, a 'passage,' Λαύρειον, a 'Passage place.' On this showing Λαβύρινθος, Λαβράυνδα would signify properly a 'place of Passages.' Phonetically this appears to be possible. But?

[5] P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 293 ff., R. S. Conway in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 154 ff., A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 28 (citing Steph. Byz. Σύριινθος· πόλις Κρήτης but Πύριινδος· πόλις Καρίας).

[6] *Supra* p. 586.

for Ariadne[1]. The mediaeval maze with its *ciel*[2] still retains a vestige of the original significance.

Again, the whole history of the *lábrys* in Asia Minor shows that it was essentially the weapon of a god, not a goddess. And this holds good for Crete as well as for Karia[3]. The Cretan double axe was, in my opinion, primarily the attribute of Kronos[4] and only secondarily, if at all, the attribute of Rhea. With the fall of the 'Minoan' civilization the axe passed from the old sky-god Kronos to the new sky-god Zeus[5], throughout preserving its character as the tangible token of the lightning-flash.

(*i*) The double axe and the *labarum*.

In 312 A.D. Constantine the Great crossed the Alps to attack Maxentius and pitched his camp over against the Mulvian Bridge near Rome. Lactantius[6], a contemporary authority (*c.* 314 A.D.), is careful to add that October 27, the anniversary of the day on which Maxentius had been proclaimed emperor, was approaching and that the Quinquennalia, four-yearly contests in honour of Iupiter *Capitolinus*[7], were drawing to a close. These contests began on October 15 and were originally connected with the temple of Iupiter *Feretrius*[8], whose special attribute was the *feretrum* or cross-shaped trophy-stand[9] suggestive of the *spolia opima*. Such were the circum-

[1] *Supra* i. 481. [2] *Supra* i. 486.

[3] I agree with H. R. Hall *Ægean Archæology* London 1915 p. 152: 'Since the Double Axe, the λάβρυς, was the special emblem of the Carian Zeus at Labraunda, it would appear that this national weapon was (as would naturally be expected) the emblem of the god rather than of the goddess. The Knossian Palace was probably one of the chief seats of the worship of the god, and as such obtained its traditional name of λαβύρινθος, the Labyrinth, "the Place of the Double Axe."' Also with D. Mackenzie in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 219: 'the cult of the God of the Labrys or Double Axe, which was common to Caria with Crete, does not necessarily lead us to the assumption of derivation either way. On the hypothesis of racial affinity between the people of Caria and the prehistoric inhabitants of Crete, the cult of the divinity in question may be native to south-west Anatolia, equally with Crete, without any need for the perilous assumption that it was from Caria the divinity passed to Crete. If the assumption of derivation one way or the other were to be at all admitted, the probability in the circumstances would appear more feasible were the derivation regarded as having been the other way about.'

[4] *Supra* p. 543 ff. [5] *Supra* p. 554 ff.

[6] Lact. *de mortibus persecutorum* 44 imminebat dies quo Maxentius imperium ceperat, qui est a. d. sextum Kalendas Novembres, et quinquennalia terminabantur. commonitus est in quiete Constantinus, ut caeleste signum dei notaret in scutis atque ita proelium committeret. facit ut iussus est et transversa X littera, summo capite circumflexo, χῖ ῥῶ (so I would restore the manuscript's *xρο*. S. Baluzius defended *circumflexo Christo*. S. Brandt and G. Laubmann, after Cuperus and others, read *Christum*) in scutis notat. quo signo armatus exercitus capit ferrum.

[7] Cp. Suet. *Dom.* 4 instituit et quinquennale certamen Capitolino Iovi etc.

[8] Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 117.

[9] *Supra* p. 109.

stances in which Constantine had his famous dream. Lactantius continues:

'Constantine while resting was warned to put the celestial sign of God as a mark upon his shields and so to give battle. He did as he was bidden and, setting the letter X aslant and bending round its topmost end, marked *chî rhô* upon the shields. Armed with this sign his soldiers advanced to the fight.'

The sign intended is almost certainly ☧[1], and it is highly probable that in this we should recognise a time-serving modification of Iupiter's trophy-cross.

Eusebios ten years later (*c.* 324 A.D.)[2] omits the dream, but states that after the victory over Maxentius Constantine had his own statue erected in the most public place at Rome with 'the trophy of the Saviour's passion' beneath his hand and 'the saving sign of the cross' on his right hand, a Latin inscription imputing his success 'to this sign of salvation, this true token of valour.'

The same author in his *Life of Constantine* (337 A.D.)[3] claims to

[1] E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 909 says: '"transversa X litera, summo capite circumflexo (*i.e.* with a line drawn through the middle and turned into a loop at the top, forming the letter *Rho*) Christum in scutis notat."' We thus obtain ☧, no doubt; but we cannot legitimately extract it from Lactantius' Latin,—at least I do not see how *transversa X litera* is to mean 'a line being drawn through the letter X.'

B. Schremmer *Labarum und Steinaxt* Tübingen 1911 p. 1: 'also ⋊ oder ☧.' But the first of these two is surely excluded by *summo capite*; for, if X be laid on its side as ✕, it has, to speak strictly, no *summum caput*.

[2] Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 9 *αὐτίκα <τὸ (inserui)> τοῦ σωτηρίου τρόπαιον πάθους ὑπὸ χεῖρα ἰδίας εἰκόνος ἀνατεθῆναι προστάττει· καὶ δὴ τὸ σωτήριον τοῦ σταυροῦ σημεῖον ἐπὶ τῇ δεξιᾷ κατέχοντα αὐτὸν ἐν τῷ μάλιστα τῶν ἐπὶ Ῥώμης δεδημοσιευμένῳ τόπῳ στήσαντες, αὐτὴν δὴ ταύτην ὑπογραφὴν ἐντάξαι ῥήμασιν αὐτοῖς τῇ Ῥωμαίων ἐγκελεύεται φωνῇ· 'τούτῳ τῷ σωτηρώδει σημείῳ, τῷ ἀληθινῷ ἐλέγχῳ τῆς ἀνδρείας, κ.τ.λ.'* Cp. the parallel description in Euseb. *v. Const.* 1. 40.

[3] Euseb. *v. Const.* 1. 28—31 trans. E. C. Richardson (in H. Wace—P. Schaff *A select Library of Nicene and post-Nicene Fathers of the Christian Church* Oxford—New York 1890 i. 490 f.). The actual sign and the imitation of it are described in the following terms: 1. 28 *ἀμφὶ μεσημβρινὰς ἡλίου ὥρας, ἤδη τῆς ἡμέρας ἀποκλινούσης, αὐτοῖς ὀφθαλμοῖς ἰδεῖν ἔφη ἐν αὐτῷ οὐρανῷ ὑπερκείμενον τοῦ ἡλίου σταυροῦ τρόπαιον ἐκ φωτὸς συνιστάμενον, γραφήν τε αὐτῷ συνῆφθαι λέγουσαν· τούτῳ νίκα.... 1. 31 ἣν δὲ τοιῷδε σχήματι κατεσκευασμένον. ὑψηλὸν δόρυ χρυσῷ κατημφιεσμένον κέρας εἶχεν ἐγκάρσιον [σταυροῦ σχήματι πεποιημένον (seclusit* J. A. Heikel)], *ἄνω δὲ πρὸς ἄκρῳ τοῦ παντὸς στέφανος ἐκ λίθων πολυτελῶν καὶ χρυσοῦ συμπεπλεγμένος κατεστήρικτο, καθ' οὗ τῆς σωτηρίου ἐπηγορίας τὸ σύμβολον, δύο στοιχεῖα τὸ Χριστοῦ παραδηλοῦντα ὄνομα [διὰ τῶν πρώτων ὑπεσήμαινον χαρακτήρων (seclusit* J. A. Heikel)], *χιαζομένου τοῦ ῥῶ κατὰ τὸ μεσαίτατον· ἃ δὴ καὶ κατὰ τοῦ κράνους φέρειν εἴωθε κἀν τοῖς μετὰ ταῦτα χρόνοις ὁ βασιλεύς. τοῦ δὲ πλαγίου κέρως τοῦ κατὰ τὸ δόρυ πεπαρμένου ὀθόνη τις ἐκκρεμὴς ἀπηώρητο, βασιλικὸν ὕφασμα ποικιλίᾳ συνημμένων πολυτελῶν λίθων φωτὸς αὐγαῖς ἐξαστραπτόντων καλυπτόμενον σὺν πολλῷ τε καθυφασμένον χρυσῷ, ἀδιήγητόν τι χρῆμα τοῖς ὁρῶσι παρέχον τοῦ κάλλους. τοῦτο μὲν οὖν τὸ φᾶρος τοῦ κέρως ἐξημμένον σύμμετρον μήκους τε καὶ πλάτους περιγραφὴν ἀπελάμβανε· τὸ δ' ὄρθιον δόρυ, τῆς κάτω ἀρχῆς ἐπὶ πολὺ μηκυνόμενον ἄνω μετέωρον, ὑπὸ τῷ τοῦ σταυροῦ τροπαίῳ πρὸς αὐτοῖς ἄκροις τοῦ διαγραφέντος ὑφάσματος τὴν τοῦ θεοφιλοῦς βασιλέως εἰκόνα χρυσῆν μέχρι στέρνων τῶν τ' αὐτοῦ παίδων ὁμοίως ἔφερεν.*

have had a detailed account of the vision from the lips of the victor himself:

'He said that about noon, when the day was already beginning to decline, he saw with his own eyes the trophy of a cross of light in the heavens, above the sun, and bearing the inscription, CONQUER BY THIS. At this sight he himself was struck with amazement, and his whole army also, which followed him on this expedition, and witnessed the miracle. He said, moreover, that he doubted within himself what the import of this apparition could be. And while he continued to ponder and reason on its meaning, night suddenly came on; then in his sleep the Christ of God appeared to him with the same sign which he had seen in the heavens, and commanded him to make a likeness of that sign which he had seen in the heavens, and to use it as a safeguard in all engagements with his enemies. At dawn of day he arose, and communicated the marvel to his friends: and then, calling together the workers in gold and precious stones, he sat in the midst of them, and described to them the figure of the sign he had seen, bidding them represent it in gold and precious stones. And this representation I myself have had an opportunity of seeing. Now it was made in the following manner. A long spear, overlaid with gold, formed the figure of the cross by means of a transverse bar laid over it. On the top of the whole was fixed a wreath of gold and precious stones; and within this, the symbol of the Saviour's name, two letters indicating the name of Christ by means of its initial characters, the letter P being intersected by X in its centre: and these letters the emperor was in the habit of wearing on his helmet at a later period. From the cross-bar of the spear was suspended a cloth, a royal piece, covered with a profuse embroidery of most brilliant precious stones; and which, being also richly interlaced with gold, presented an indescribable degree of beauty to the beholder. This banner was of a square form, and the upright staff, whose lower section was of great length, bore a golden half-length portrait of the pious emperor and his children on its upper part, beneath the trophy of the cross, and immediately above the embroidered banner. The emperor constantly made use of this sign of salvation as a safeguard against every adverse and hostile power, and commanded that others similar to it should be carried at the head of all his armies[1].'

The celestial sign described by Eusebios as 'the trophy of a cross of light' may be identical with that described by Lactantius. But the standard made in imitation of it was more elaborate and involved some new features. In particular, while retaining the old *feretrum* or trophy-cross as the support for an embroidered banner, it added at the top of all a wreath containing the monogram ☧. And this fresh symbol was from the outset accepted as an essential part of the Christian standard. C. M. Kaufmann[2], building on the labours of F. W. Madden[3], has constructed a useful chronological table of

[1] See further Euseb. *v. Const.* 2. 3, 2. 6—9, 2. 12, 4. 21, Sokr. *hist. eccl.* 1. 2 (lxvii. 37 Migne), Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 1. 3 f. (lxvii. 865, 868 Migne), Gelasios of Kyzikos 1. 4 (lxxxv. 1204 B—C Migne).

[2] C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 642 f.

[3] F. W. Madden 'Christian Emblems on the Coins of Constantine I. the Great, his Family, and his Successors' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 11—56 pl. 1, 242—307 pl. 7 f., *ib.* 1878 xviii. 1—48 pl. 1 f., 169—215 pls. 8—10.

the monograms and crosses found on the coinage of Constantine etc. He maintains that already in 312(?)—317 the forms ☧ ☧ ✳ × occur on coins struck at Siscia in Pannonia Superior, the form ✳ on others struck at Tarraco on the east coast of Spain. But J. Maurice in his great work on Constantinian numismatics has given grounds for placing these mintages a few years later. According to him, the eighth issue at Siscia, comprising coins struck from 317 to 320, decorates the helmet of the emperor with two distinct forms of the Christian monogram—☧ for *CHRistós* on the central band and ☧ for *Iesoûs CHristós* to either side of it (fig. 501)[1], whereas the sixth issue at Tarraco, comprising coins struck between 320 and 324, has

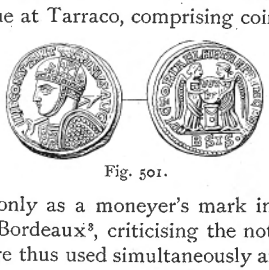


Fig. 501.

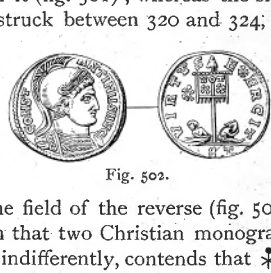


Fig. 502.

☧ only as a moneyer's mark in the field of the reverse (fig. 502)[2]. P. Bordeaux[3], criticising the notion that two Christian monograms were thus used simultaneously and indifferently, contends that ☧ is a regularised form of ☧, which is merely ☧ writ small. Bordeaux may well be right. In any case the monogram ☧ underwent many variations of shape, not on coins alone, but on monuments of all sorts[4]. A few fourth-century examples, found in our own country, are listed by T. Morgan and J. Romilly Allen[5]. Thus a fine mosaic pavement in the *exedra* of a Roman villa at Frampton in Dorset associates the Christian monogram (fig. 505) with the head of Neptunus and other pagan designs[6]. Again, in another villa at Chedworth

[1] J. Maurice *Numismatique Constantinienne* Paris 1911 ii. 287 with fig., 329 ff. pl. 10, 4 (=my fig. 501) and 5.

[2] *Id. ib.* ii. 262 ff. pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 502), 8—10 *bis*.

[3] P. Bordeaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 89—91.

[4] See *e.g.* W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archæology* New York 1901 p. 238 ff., H. Leclercq *Manuel d'archéologie chrétienne* Paris 1907 ii. 383 ff., *id.* in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 177 ff., E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 908 ff., A. Hauck in *The New Schaff-Herzog Encyclopedia of Religious Knowledge* ed. S. M. Jackson New York—London 1910 vi. 167 ff.

[5] T. Morgan *Romano-British Mosaic Pavements* London 1886 pp. 80, 211 ff., J. Romilly Allen *Early Christian Symbolism in Great Britain and Ireland* London 1887 pp. 74—77 fig. 2, 1 f. (=my figs. 503, 504) and 3 (=my fig. 505).

[6] S. Lysons *Reliquiæ Britannico-Romanæ* London 1813 i. 3. 1 ff. pl. 5—summarised by C. W. Bingham in *The Archæological Journal* 1859 xvi. 186 f., *ib.* 1865 xxii. 345. See further A. H. Lyell *A bibliographical list descriptive of Romano-British architectural Remains in Great Britain* Cambridge 1912 p. 19, and, for the accompanying inscriptions, E. Hübner in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 2.

in Gloucestershire a stone, which forms the under part of the founda-

Fig. 503.

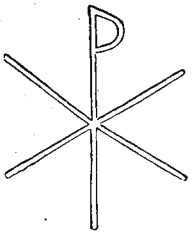


Fig. 504.

Fig. 505.

tion of steps leading into the corridor, has two similar monograms (figs. 503, 504) carved upon it[1]. Among the numerous specimens in

Figs. 506—509.

[1] J. Buckman—R. W. Hall *Notes on the Roman Villa at Chedworth, Gloucestershire* Cirencester 1872. For bibliography see A. H. Lyell *op. cit.* p. 29 f.

other countries we notice the gilded glasses from the catacombs of Rome[1]. Here St Peter and St Paul appear as supporters on either side of the monogram (figs. 506—509), which is sometimes set on the top of a pillar (figs. 508, 509)[2]. The two saints in this grouping are suggestive of 'Dioscuric' influence[3].

The standard bearing the symbol ☧ is called *labarus* by Hegemonius[4] (first half of *s.* iv), *labarum* by Ambrose[5] (388 A.D.), Prudentius[6] (402 A.D.), and later writers[7]—the word being Grecised[8] as *lábaron*[9], *láboron*[10], *lábouron*[11], *lábōron*[12]. Its derivation has been much

[1] H. Vopel *Die altchristliche Goldgläser* Freiburg 1899, O. M. Dalton 'The gilded glasses of the Catacombs' in *The Archaeological Journal* 1901 lviii. 227—253, *id. British Museum: A Guide to the early Christian and Byzantine Antiquities* s.l. 1903 pp. 59—63, *id. Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 613 f., Forrer *Reallex.* p. 295 pl. 72, A. Kisa *Das Glas im Altertume* Leipzig 1908 iii. 834—900, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 619—624.

[2] R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iii. 146 f., 151 pl. 180, 1 (=my fig. 507), 2 (=my fig. 508), 3 (=my fig. 509), 9 (=my fig. 506).

[3] Textile fabrics of *s.* vi—vii (?) at Crefeld (O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 598 fig. 377) and from the shrine of St Servatius at Maestricht (F. Fischbach *Ornament of textile fabrics* London 1883 p. 3 pl. 3, A, G. Migeon *Les arts du tissu* Paris 1909 p. 20 fig.) represent the Dioskouroi standing side by side on the top of a short fluted column or altar with a *bucranium* at its base, while from right and left winged figures pour libations and attendants bring oxen to sacrifice.

[4] Hegemonius *acta Archelai* 41. 9 f. p. 61, 8 ff. (ed. C. H. Beeson Leipzig 1906) non plane, non ita obscure et ignobiliter adveniet ille qui perfectus est, id est Iesus Christus dominus noster. sed sicut rex adveniens ad urbem suam praemittit primo protectores suos, signa, dracones, labaros, duces, principes, praefectos, et universa continuo commoventur, aliis vero metuentibus, aliis vero gaudentibus pro expectatione regis, ita et dominus meus Iesus, qui etc. So Fulgentius of Ruspe *serm.* 60 *de S. Laurentio* (lxv. 930 C Migne) super labaros fulget terreni regis triumphus martyris confessoris; etc. Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.* 'labarum' cites also 'Glossae MSS.: Labarus, latæ lancea vel vexillum.'

[5] Ambros. *epist.* 40. 9 (xvi. 1105 A Migne) quid si alii timidiores, dum mortem reformidant, offerant ut de suis facultatibus reparetur synagoga; aut comes ubi hoc compererit primo constitutum, ipse de christianorum censu exaedificari iubeat? habebis, imperator, comitem praevaricatorem, et huic vexilla committes victricia, huic labarum, hoc est, Christi sacratum nomine, qui synagogam instauret, quae Christum nesciat? iube labarum synagogae inferri, videamus si non resistunt (Ambrose to Theodosios *à propos* of a certain synagogue in the east burnt at the instigation of a bishop, who has been bidden by the emperor to rebuild it).

[6] Prudent. *c. Symm.* 1. 486 ff. Christus purpureum gemmanti textus in auro | signabat labarum, clypeorum insignia Christus | scripserat, ardebat summis crux addita cristis.

[7] De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'labarum,' Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.* 'labarum.'

[8] E. A. Sophocles *Greek Lexicon of the Roman and Byzantine Periods* Boston 1870 p. 702.

[9] Germanus, bishop of Constantinople and patriarch, *epist. dogmat.* 1 (xcviii. 149 A—B Migne) ἡγεῖσθαι προστάξας (*sc.* ὁ Θεός) ἐν τῇ παρεμβολῇ τῆς Χριστοῦ βασιλείας τὸ ἔνδοξον ὄντως καὶ ἐπίσημον λάβαρον, τὸν ζωοποιὸν λέγω σταυρόν, τὸ μέγα κατὰ τοῦ θανάτου τῆς αὐτοῦ μεγαλειότητος τρόπαιον· κ.τ.λ.

For notes 10, 11, and 12 see p. 607.

discussed. Gibbon[1] long since noted 'the efforts of the critics, who have ineffectually tortured the Latin, Greek, Spanish, Celtic, Teutonic, Illyric, Armenian, &c. in search of an etymology.' And E. Venables[2] as late as 1908 declared it to be 'most probably of Basque origin'! Meantime in 1903 E. Conybeare[3] had solved the problem: a modest foot-note in his *Roman Britain* puts the matter in a nutshell—'The Sacred Monogram known as *Labarum*. Both name and emblem were very possibly adapted from the primitive cult of the Labrys, or Double Axe, filtered through Mithraism.' The value of this acute suggestion obviously depends on the possibility of citing, not merely isolated examples of the Constantinian monogram from dates prior to that of Constantine[4], but rather a connected series of formal links between the *lábrys* and *labarum*. Accordingly in 1908 I published the following diagram (fig. 510)[5], which inserts a series of intermediate symbols taken in chronological order from the coinage of the Graeco-Scythian kings (*s.* iii—i B.C.). E. Rapp[6] had already in 1866 brought these symbols into connexion with the *labarum*, though not with the *lábrys*, and had assumed that they were solar

[10] In Euseb. *v. Const.* ind. p. 5, 4 f. Heikel λα'. *Ἔκφρασις σταυροειδοῦς σημείου, ὅπερ νῦν οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι λάβαρον καλοῦσιν* codd. T.V. read λάβορον, but V^2 has α over the first ο.

A Latin form with *o* is attested by Greg. Naz. *or.* 4 (*contra Iulianum* 1). 66 (xxxv. 588 A—B Migne) *τολμᾷ δὲ ἤδη καὶ κατὰ τοῦ μεγάλου συνθήματος, ὃ μετὰ τοῦ σταυροῦ πομπεύει, καὶ ἄγει τὸν στρατὸν εἰς ὕψος αἰρόμενον, καμάτων λυτήριον ὄν τε καὶ κατὰ Ῥωμαίους ὀνομαζόμενον καὶ βασιλεῦον, ὡς ἂν εἴποι τις, τῶν λοιπῶν συνθημάτων ' κ.τ.λ.* And Ducange *loc. cit.* quotes *laborum* for *labarum* from sundry late sources. In cod. Theod. 6. 25 de praepositis laborum (=cod. Iustin. 12. 18) qui...praeposuit laborum nostro iudicio et stipendiorum sudoribus promoventur the manuscripts' reading *laborum* has been defended by the fifth-century *carmen de Iona* (formerly ascribed to Tertullian) 40 f. palpitat antemna stridens, labor horret ab alto, | ipsa etiam infringi dubitans inflectitur arbor. But in cod. Theod. we should probably read the gen. plur. *laborum* and in *carmen de Iona* the nom. sing. *laborum*.

[11] Const. Porphyrogen. *de cerim. aulae Byzant.* 1. 1 (i. 11 Reiske) *καὶ τὰ σκεύη τῶν δρακοναρίων, λάβουρά τε καὶ καμπηδηκτόρια,* 1 append. (i. 502 Reiske) *ἱσταμένων καὶ προπορευομένων ἔμπροσθεν αὐτῶν τῶν σκευῶν, λαβούρων, σίγνων κ.τ.λ.*

[12] Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 1. 4 (lxvii. 868 A Migne) *ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐκέλευσεν ἄνδρας ἐπιστήμονας χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις τιμίοις εἰς σταυροῦ σύμβολον μετασκευάσαι τὸ παρὰ Ῥωμαίοις καλούμενον λάβωρον,* 9. 4 (lxvii. 1605 A Migne) *θάτερον δὲ τῶν σκήπτρων, ὃ λάβωρον Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι, καὶ γράμματα βασιλέως λαβὼν κ.τ.λ.*

[1] E. Gibbon *The History of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire* London 1781 ii. 194 n. 33.

[2] E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 909.

[3] E. Conybeare *Roman Britain* London 1903 p. 228 n. 2.

[4] See *e.g.* O. Zoeckler *The Cross of Christ* trans. M. J. Evans London 1877 p. 127 ff., J. D. Parsons *The Non-Christian Cross* London 1896 pp. 147—162 ('The Monogram of Christ'), J. B. Bury *Appendix* 19 on chap. 20 of Gibbon *op. cit.* London 1896 ii. 565 ff.

[5] In the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 192 fig. 17.

[6] E. Rapp 'Das Labarum und der Sonnencultus' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1866 xxxix—xl. 116—145 pl. 2.

emblems adopted as an equivocal device by an emperor who wished to conciliate pagans and Christians alike. Finally in 1911 B. Schremmer[1], not realising that he had been anticipated by E. Conybeare, announced the derivation of *labarum* from *lábrys* as a discovery of his own[2]. He is, however, right in insisting[3], as against Rapp, that the Graeco-Scythian symbols are not solar signs at all, but mere

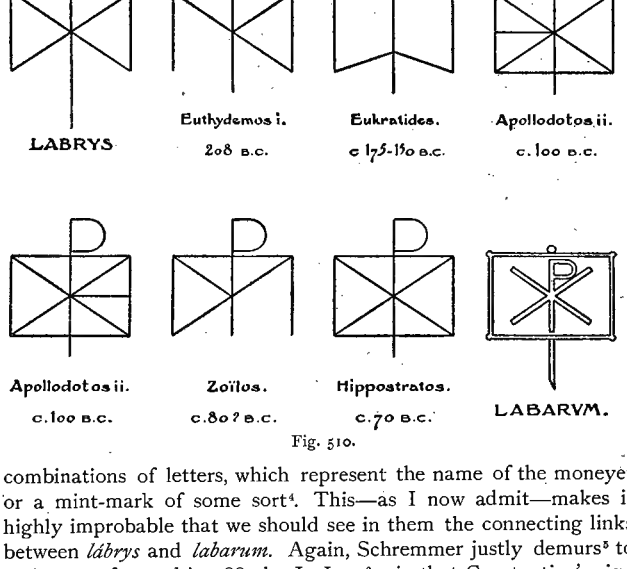


Fig. 510.

combinations of letters, which represent the name of the moneyer or a mint-mark of some sort[4]. This—as I now admit—makes it highly improbable that we should see in them the connecting links between *lábrys* and *labarum*. Again, Schremmer justly demurs[5] to a view put forward in 1884 by L. Jeep[6], *viz.* that Constantine's sign ☧ was not, originally at least, a Christian monogram, but a semi-cursive form of the astrological symbol ☿, which stands for the

[1] B. Schremmer *Labarum und Steinaxt* Tübingen 1911 pp. 1—51—a convenient little volume, to which I am indebted for several references both ancient and modern.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 15 f. [3] *Id. ib.* p. 13.

[4] See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. lv f., E. J. Rapson *Indian Coins* (in J. G. Bühler *Grundriss der Indo-Arischen Philologie und Altertumskunde* ii. 3 B) Strassburg 1897 p. 6 f., V. A. Smith *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum Calcutta* Oxford 1906 p. 7 pls. vii, x, xviii.

[5] B. Schremmer *op. cit.* p. 14.

[6] L. Jeep 'Zur Geschichte Constantin des Grossen' in *Historische und philologische Aufsätze Ernst Curtius zu seinem siebenzigsten Geburtstage ..gewidmet* Berlin 1884 pp. 81—89.

lucky star of Venus[1]. Having disposed of a solar and of a stellar hypothesis, Schremmer attacks the problem *de novo*, indeed *ab ovo*. Surveying the whole history of the double axe, he argues that in the Stone Age and the Bronze Age it was worshipped first as 'ein selbständiges Zauberwerkzeug[2]' and then as the attribute of some deity; that in Asia Minor, to judge from numismatic evidence, the sacred weapon, there called the *lábrys*, survived, usually as a divine attribute, far into the historic period (*c.* 400 B.C.—*c.* 200 A.D.); that it received a fresh lease of life from its association with Iupiter *Dolichenus*, the Roman army taking it, under its old name[3], as his attribute through Pannonia and Raetia into Germany and Gaul; that in the north like met like, when the double axe of Iupiter encountered the hammer of Donar; and that from the north Constantine brought a military *signum*, bearing the ancient name of *labarum*, to which later the monogram of Christ was attached. Very ingeniously, but also very improbably, Schremmer supposes that Constantine ascribed his victories to the possession of an actual *lábrys* and finds a distorted allusion to it in a curious passage of Nikephoros Kallistos[4]. That belated historian (*s.* xiv A.D.) tells how Constantine brought a big porphyry pillar from Rome to Constantinople[5], set upon it a bronze effigy of himself holding in his right hand a large golden apple surmounted by the cross, and buried beneath its base a variety of sacred relics including 'the axe with which Noah made the ark.' The big pillar still stands in a square at *Stamboul* marking the site

[1] This symbol, usually regarded as the mirror of Venus (A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. xix), is explained by Jeep *loc. cit.* p. 89 as a derivative of ϕ (=*φωσφόρος*).

[2] B. Schremmer *op. cit.* p. 21.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 40 notes *Labirus* as the name of a god worshipped near Emona (*Laibach*) in Pannonia Superior (Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2017=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4877 =*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3840 Laburo | ex vot. | sacr. | etc.), *Labaro* (?) as perhaps the name of a god in a Spanish inscription (M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1775 citing *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 732 (*San Vincente* near Norba in Lusitania) Labaro. n. e. n. | leg. p(ro ?). s(e ?). s(uisque ?). l. m), and *Labarus* as the name of a Gallic soldier (Sil. It. 4. 232).

[4] Nikephoros Kallistos *hist. eccl.* 7. 49 (i. 519 f. Ducaeus) *ἐν δὲ τῷ ἐπιλεγομένῳ ἐς δεῦρο Κωνσταντινείῳ φόρῳ καὶ τὸν πορφυροῦν μέγιστον κίονα ἀναστήσας, ὃν ἐκ Ῥώμης ἠγάγετο, ἐπὶ τούτῳ τὸν ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντα ἀνίστη πεποιημένον χαλκοῦ. ἐν ᾧ καὶ χρύσεον μῆλον μέγιστον τῇ δεξιᾷ κατέχων χειρὶ ἐπάνω τὸν τίμιον κατεπήγνυ σταυρὸν ἐπιγράψας ταῦτα· 'σοί, Χριστὲ ὁ Θεός, παρατίθημι τὴν πόλιν ταύτην.' ἀψῖσι δὲ στερραῖς τέσσαρσι τὴν τοῦ στύλου περικύκλῳ βάσιν ἐδράσας, ὑποκάτω τῆς τοῦ στύλου βάσεως τοὺς ιβ' κοφίνους καὶ τὰς ζ' σπυρίδας, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τοὺς ζ' ἄρτους, οὓς εὐλογίας καταξιώσας Χριστὸς τὰ πλήθη διέθρεψεν, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὴν τοῦ Νῶε ἀξίνην, ᾗ τὴν κιβωτὸν ἐτεκτήνατο, αὐτὸς ἰδίαις χερσὶν ὁ βασιλεὺς τῷ σφραγιστῆρι σημάνας κατέθετο· καὶ νῦν ἐς ἐμὲ τῇ πόλει ἄσυλος θησαυρὸς παραμένουσι.*

[5] Hesych. Illustr. of Miletos *πάτρια Κωνσταντινουπόλεως* 41 p. 17, 13 ff. Preger (*s.* vi A.D.) *καὶ ὁ πορφυροῦς καὶ περίβλεπτος κίων, ἐφ' οὗπερ ἱδρῦσθαι Κωνσταντῖνον ὁρῶμεν δίκην ἡλίου προλάμποντα τοῖς πολίταις*=Anonymos *πάτρια* 45 p. 138, 11 ff. Preger. See further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 987.

of Constantine's Forum[1]. But it is a charred ruin[2]. The statue on it was upset by a great south wind in 1105 A.D.[3] The porphyry drums were encircled by bands of iron before 1561 A.D.[4] The four marble steps then visible[5] were concealed, probably after the fire of 1779 A.D., by a clumsy cloak of masonry[6]. Does the base yet guard the axe of Noah as part of its 'inviolable treasure"?

Schremmer looks to the Germanic north for an explanation of the *labarum*. I should look rather to the east, where Constantine had served under Galerius for the best part of a decade (296—306 A.D.). When we remember, on the one hand, the *rôle* played by the double axe in the religion of Phrygia[8], on the other, the fact that Noah in the ark appears on coins of the Phrygian Apameia Kibotos from the end of the second to the middle of the third century A.D.[9], it does not seem extravagant to conjecture that the axe of Noah was but the ancient Anatolian *lábrys*, in a novel Jewish disguise. Indeed, it is more than probable that in the near east the cult of the *lábrys*, under various modifications, lingered on throughout the early centuries of the Christian era. F. Legge[10] has recently drawn attention to the Ophite diagram of the supramundane region, which included two pairs of concentric circles, the one pair inscribed 'Father' and 'Son,' the other pair coloured yellow and blue, and between them a barrier in the form of a double axe[11]. The original

[1] J. Ebersolt *Constantinople Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant* Paris 1919 Index p. 271 *s.v.* 'Colonne de Constantin' (elevation on p. 69 fig. 12), *id. Sanctuaires de Byzance* Paris 1921 p. 71 ff. fig. 13.

[2] Hence it is called '*la Colonne Brûlée*.'

[3] Anonymos *πάρια* 45 a p. 138, 13 ff. Preger with J. Ebersolt *op. cit.* p. 43.

[4] P. Gyllius *De topographia Constantinopoleos, et de illius antiquitatibus* Lugduni 1561 p. 142. Cp. E. Oberhummer *loc. cit.*: 'türkisch *Dschemberli Tasch* (d.i. "Säule mit den Reifen").'

[5] J. Ebersolt *Constantinople Byzantine et les Voyageurs du Levant* p. 79 f.

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 196.

[7] *Id. Sanctuaires de Byzance* p. 73 says of the axe: 'sa présence au palais est attestée en 1157[11] ([11]Cf. Riant, *Exuviæ*, t. II, p. 215.); mais les pèlerins slaves de la dernière époque la mentionnent toujours dans la Colonne[12] ([12]Cf. *Itin. russes*, p. 119, 203, 238).'

[8] *Supra* p. 572.

[9] For the literature of this famous type see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 448. Good illustrations in F. W. Madden 'On some coins of Septimius Severus, Macrinus, and Philip I., struck at Apameia, in Phrygia, with the legend ΝΩΕ' in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1866 vi. 173—219 pl. 6, 1—3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 480 pl. 56, 16, G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 170 fig. 28, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 173 f. fig. 18.

[10] F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 67.

[11] Orig. *c. Cels.* 6. 38 *οὐκ ἀρκεσθεὶς δ' ὁ γεννάδας* (*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος) *τοῖς ἀπὸ τοῦ διαγράμματος ἐβουλήθη ὑπὲρ τοῦ αὐξῆσαι τὰς καθ' ἡμῶν κατηγορίας, τῶν μηδὲν ἐχόντων κοινὸν πρὸς ἐκεῖνο, διὰ μέσου ἄλλ' ἅττα εἰπεῖν, ἐπαναλαβὼν τὰ ἐκείνων ὡσπερεί <ἡμ>ετέρων* (so P. Koetschau). *φησὶ γάρ· 'θαῦμα δ' αὐτῶν οὐχ ἥκιστα ἐκεῖνο· ἐξηγοῦνται γάρ τινα μεταξὺ τῶν ὑπερουρανίων*

home of the Ophites was Phrygia[1]; and there can be little doubt that in this, the central portion of their otherworld chart, they sought to combine old Phrygian beliefs with new Christian teaching[2]. The appearance of a *lábrys* in such a context is in the highest degree significant: it attests precisely the same spirit of accommodation that we detect in the Constantinian *labarum*. Another Gnostic reminiscence of the double axe has been recognised by F. de Mély[3] in the

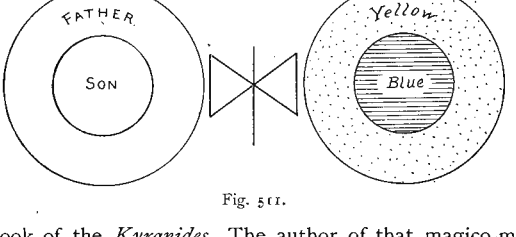


Fig. 511.

first book of the *Kyranides*. The author of that magico-medical compilation, who writes under the name of Hermes *Trismégistos* (the late Greek equivalent of the Egyptian Thoth)[4] at some date prior to *c.* 408 A.D.[5], informs us in his prologue that he has put together the book of Kyranos king of Persia[6] and another book dedicated by Harpokration of Alexandreia[7] to his own daughter.

ἀνωτέρω κύκλων ἐπιγεγραμμένα, ἄλλα τε καὶ δύο ἄπτα, μεῖζόν τε καὶ μικρότερον υἱοῦ καὶ πατρός.' εὕρομεν δ' ἡμεῖς ἐν τούτῳ τῷ διαγράμματι τὸν μείζονα κύκλον καὶ τὸν μικρότερον, ὧν ἐπὶ τῆς διαμέτρου ἐπεγέγραπτο 'πατὴρ' καὶ 'υἱός,' καὶ μεταξὺ τοῦ μείζονος, ἐν ᾧ ὁ μικρότερος ἦν, καὶ ἄλλου συγκειμένου (so. P. Koetschau, after E. Bouhéreau, for *ἄλλους συγκειμένους* cod. A.) *ἐκ δύο κύκλων, τοῦ μὲν ἐξωτέρου ξανθοῦ τοῦ δὲ ἐνδοτέρω κυανοῦ, τὸ ἐπιγεγραμμένον διάφραγμα πελεκοειδεῖ σχήματι, κ.τ.λ.*

[1] F. Legge *op. cit.* p. 28.

[2] On the Phrygian conception of the Son as a rebirth of the Father and its relation to Christianity see *supra* pp. 287 ff., 292 ff., 303 ff. The colouration of the concentric circles, yellow and blue, may have been suggested by the zones of *aithér*, the 'burning sky,' and *aér*, the 'moist sky' (*supra* i. 101 fig. 74).

[3] F. de Mély in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1904 p. 340 f.

[4] W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 792 ff.

[5] F. de Mély *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxxi notes that the *Kyranis* is quoted *c.* 408 A.D. by Olympiodoros (M. Berthelot—C. E. Ruelle *Collection des anciens Alchimistes grecs* Paris 1888 Texte grec p. 101, 13 n. and 17 (Traduction p. 110) Olympiod. 52 *ἐν τῇ Κυρανίδι...ἐν τῇ ἀρχαϊκῇ βίβλῳ*).

Quis? F. de Mély *op. cit.* Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxxii conjectures that Kyranos may have something to do with Keï Kaous, a Persian king described by the Mobed Bahram as belonging to the dynasty of the Keïanides and living in the age of Solomon (J. Mohl in the *Journal Asiatique* Troisième Série 1841 xi. 321 ff.).

[7] C. Graux held that the Harpokration in question was the writer of the letter *Ἁρποκρατίων Καίσαρι Αὐγούστῳ* (*sc.* Julian) *χαίρειν κ.τ.λ.* (*Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1878 ii. 65 ff.), to be identified both with the Egyptian friend of Libanios (O. Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa

The double axe and the *labarum*

The extant text[1] shows that both sources contained a ritual invocation of the vine couched in poetic and to a large extent rhythmic language:

'The white vine has other orderly and most charming effects, making a man in his cups to be not only sober but merry as well. Thus far Kyranos. But from the aforesaid point, where my authorities diverged, this is how Harpokration continues: "*Blessed plant, leader of the gods, mistress of earth, sky, and air, thou that relaxest the mind by thy cluster-bearing drink, so loosening every limb, and causest sleep, no one by word, no healer by potion, nay none shall prevail against thee; but thou bringest to light all that is in the souls of mortal men, and of them that have mystic thoughts in secret thou, o Vine, having knowledge un-*

Real-Enc. vii. 2410) and with the Alexandrine rhetorician Valerius Harpokration (H. Schultz *ib.* vii. 2412 ff.). F. de Mély *op. cit.* Paris 1902 iii. 1. lxx ff. thinks that the Harpokration of the *Kyranides* may have come from Alexandreia near Babylon. *Non liquet.* See Gossen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2416 f.

[1] F. de Mély *op. cit.* Paris 1898 ii. 1. 10, 7 ff. = *Kyran.* 1. A. 28. ἡ δὲ λευκὴ ἄμπελος ἔχει καὶ ἄλλας ἐνεργείας κοσμικὰς καὶ χαριεστάτας, ὥστε ἐν πότοις μὴ μόνον νηφάλιον εἶναί τινα, ἀλλὰ καὶ εὐωχίαν ἔχειν. 29. ἕως ἐνταῦθα μὲν ὁ Κυρανὸς οὕτως· ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς ἀνωτέρω γραφείσης τῶν ἀμφοτέρων διαφωνίας εἶχεν· ἐκεῖ (*an leg.* διαφωνίας ἔχει? A. B. C.) οὕτως δ· τοῦ Ἁρποκρατίωνος λόγος. 30. 'μάκαιρα βοτάνη, τῶν θεῶν ἡγητεῖρα, γαίης κρατοῦσα, οὐρανοῦ, καὶ ἀέρος, νόον λύουσα βοτρυοφόρῳ πότῳ, ὡς ἐπιλύειν πᾶν μέλος, ποιοῦσα δὲ ὕπνον, οὐδεὶς οὐ λόγῳ, οὐ σώματι (*an* πώματι? A. B. C.) *ἰατήρ τις*, οὐδεὶς πρὸς σὲ δυνήσεται, ἀλλ' ἐλέγχεις ὅσα ἐν ψυχαῖς βροτῶν †τῶν ἐγκρύφως ἔχουσιν μυστικὰς φρένας, τὴν ἀρρήτως ἔχων†, ἄμπελε (cod. R. has *τὴν ἀρρήτως ἔχουσαν ἄμπελον*. The old Latin version gives: redarguis quaecumque sunt in animis mortalium et quae absconditae habent mysteria mentis. The sense seems to demand something like *τῶν δ' ἐγκρύφως ἐχόντων μυστικὰς φρένας τὴν <γνῶσιν> ἀρρήτως ἔχουσα* A. B. C.), *πάντ' ἐκφανεῖς μόναις ὅσα γραφαῖς ἢ φαρμάκοις γίνεται, ἢ φασγάνῳ ἢ πελέκει ὅσα τοιαῦτα κρύβεται. ταῦτα μὲν λελέχθω ἀμπέλου μυστήρια.*' ἔχει δὲ ἄλλα κοσμικά, ὡς ἐν βροτοῖς μὴ φαῦλον εἰπεῖν. 31. λέγει δὲ οὕτως ἐντεῦθεν ὁ ἱερὸς λόγος, καθώσπερ [γὰρ] εἶχεν καὶ ἡ Κυρανίς· '*μάκαιρα ἐκ θεοῦ ἄνασσα, ἐκ θεοῦ βοτρυοφόρε μήτηρ ἀπάσης θείας φύσιος †εὐαγοῦς ἐν φυτοῖς· τῇ πρώτῃ ἑάων ἱερεῖ· εὖ...ντο Ὀλύμπιος οὖσα†* (F. de Mély comments: '*ἑάων* pour *ἐήων*, bonorum (?).—*ἱερεῖ* A (?), R. F. l. *ἕδρει*?— *...ντο*] piqûre de ver A; *ἕως το* ὁλ. R.—Rédaction de l'hymne dans C: *Μάκαιρα ἐκ θεῶν ἄνασσα, μητὴρ θεῖα εὐηρεα ἐν φ. ἡ πρώτη εὔεα, ὄλυμπον οὖσα.*—Dans v. i.: Beata a Deo donata Regina, ex Deo botrum ferens, mater sacerrima et divinior omnibus plantis, natura prima botrum affectat, botrus vinum cœleste facit.' One might suspect that we have in the text remnants of a hexameter tag, *e.g. τῇ πρώτῃ <δωτῆρες> ἑάων | ἱρεύσαντο <θεοί ποτ'> Ὀλύμπια <δώματ' ἔχ>οντες*, were it not that from section 38 *infra* we can restore *ευα, γῆς ἐν φυτοῖς ἡ πρώτη, εαωε ιεω ευηιε, Ὀλυμπία οὖσα* or the like A. B. C.). 32. *ταῦτα εἶπας εἰς ποτήριον, βάλε εἰς κεράμιον, ὅθεν πίνουσιν ἅπαντες, καὶ ἀναλύουσιν εὐφρανθέντες, μηδενὸς συζητήσαντος.... 38. ἡ δὲ τοῦ Κυρανοῦ περὶ εὐφρασίας στήλη εἶχεν οὕτως· ὦ θειοτάτη βοτάνη βοτρυοφόρε, ἄμπελος λευκή, [ἡ] μῆτερ τῶν βοτανῶν, εὐδιε κυβαλητφόρε, γῆς ἐν φυτοῖς ἡ πρώτη. λέγε εἰς ποτήριον τοὺς λόγους τούτους· ἐυηὶ εὐοινὸν* (F. de Mély cj. *εὔοινον*) *φρενῶν μοῦ τήρησον ἀβλάβειαν εἶναι ευηιὲ Ὀλυμπία οὖσα, συντήρησόν μου νοὸς φρένας, εὔθυμος οὖσα καὶ θειοτάτη καὶ ὑγιής. ὑι εὖ ἀὲ ἰαυὼ αέ κιεὼ· ἑάωε (ευεὶ ευαε ἰαύω ηιαώ ἡ ἀυὲ* cod. R.). *ταῦτα εἰς ποτήριον οἴνου ἐπειπών, βάλε εἰς κεράμιον οἴνου, ὅθεν πίνουσιν ἅπαντες καὶ ἀναλύουσιν ἅπαντες εὐφρανθέντες οἱ φίλοι, μηδενὸς συζητήσαντος.* The invocation of section 30 is in cod. R. entitled *ὕμνος εἰς βρυωνίαν*. Those of sections 31 and 38 conclude with certain musical phrases, on which see C. E. Ruelle 'Le chant des sept voyelles grecques d'après Démétrius & les papyrus de Leyde' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1889 ii. 38 ff., *id.* 'Note additionnelle sur le chant des sept voyelles grecques' *ib.* 1889 ii. 393 ff., C. E. Ruelle—E. Poirée *Le chant gnostico-magique des sept voyelles* Paris 1901.

utterable wilt reveal all that is wrought by writings unique or sovereign remedies, yea all the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. Let these words be said as the mysteries of the Vine." It has also other orderly virtues, so that among mortals its name must not be taken in vain. Next, the sacred account, as given in the *Kyranis*, saith as follows: "*Blessed God-sent queen, God-sent cluster-bearing mother of every divine nature—EUA—thou that art foremost among plants of earth—EAŌE IEŌ EUĒIE—being a denizen of Olympos.*" Having said this into a cup, empty it into a jar, whence all drink and depart with good cheer, no man having come to words.'

Harpokration's allusion to 'the hidden meaning of knife or double axe' as 'the mysteries of the Vine' certainly seems to imply some *quasi*-Dionysiac survival of the *lábrys*. It is unfortunate that further details are wanting.

One other fact in connexion with the double axe should here be noted. Its pictograph passed readily into linear forms, and thence into syllabic and alphabetic characters. Sir Arthur Evans[1] has pointed out that the Aegean ⧖ or ⧗ is comparable with ⧗ the Sabaean form of the Semitic letter *zain*, whose name is held to denote 'a twofold weapon.' It follows that the double axe was the original source, from which was derived, not only the Phoenician 𐤆, but also the shape (though not the name) of the Greek Ξ or Ζ, the Latin Z, and the English Z[2]. Again, the monograms above cited from the Graeco-Scythian coinage of Bactria and India (*s.* iii—i B.C.) were clearly suggested in the first instance by the outline of a double axe[3]. Simias of Rhodes (*c.* 295 B.C.) even arranged a whole poem on the axe of Epeios in such a way as to resemble its two-bladed subject[4].

Suppose, then, that Constantine during his stay in the east had observed the double axe, a symbol of ancient and mysterious sanctity with a marked tendency to take on the shape of definite letters, he might well enough think of adopting it as a sign that would appeal at once to pagans and to Christians. For, just as the trophy-cross, symbol of Iupiter *Feretrius*, was modified into the

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 365 f., *id. Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 81, 86 f. fig. 41.

[2] Other forms that fall to be considered are the Iberian ⋈ ⋈ ⋈ ⋈ *mem* on coins of the Turdetani (P. Berger *Histoire de l'écriture dans l'antiquité* Paris 1891 p. 336, Sir A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* i. 99 fig. 44*), the Cypriote ⧗ *le* (*id. ib.* i. 71 fig. 39), the Sicyonian ⧗ *epsilon* (Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 136), the Venetic, Sabellian, Etruscan, and Faliscan sibilant ⋈ (J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1617 ff.), and the Latin numeral ⋈ *mille* (J. C. Egbert *Introduction to the Study of Latin Inscriptions* London—Bombay 1896 p. 75). Of course, it must not be hastily assumed that similar characters are of similar origin.

[3] *Supra* p. 608.

[4] C. Haeberlin *Carmina Figurata Graeca* Hannoverae 1887 p. 70.

Christian monogram ☧[1], so the double axe, symbol of the Anatolian Zeus, could be easily transformed into the Christian monograms ✱ ✱ ✱[2]. It was by no accident that Constantine in his *labarum* combined the token of the god supreme in the west with that of the god supreme in the east, thus linking Iupiter with Zeus under the name of One greater than either.

(κ) The double axe and other forms of Zeus in the East.

Zeus *Labráyndos* was by no means the only god that in Asia Minor armed himself with the primeval thunder-weapon. Of Zeus

Fig. 512.

Dolichaíos or Iupiter *Dolichenus* I have already spoken at length[3]. Another semi-oriental form of Zeus appears on red relief-ware of the seventh century B.C. found in Rhodes and Karia. A fragment

[1] *Supra* p. 601 f.
[2] *Supra* p. 603 f.
[3] *Supra* i. 604—633.

from Kameiros (fig. 512)[1] represents a male figure, presumably Zeus[2], grasping a pointed sword in one hand and a double axe in the other as he advances to fight a beardless Centaur, who holds before him a small tree, roots and all, behind him a branch. The type was repeated by means of a wooden cylinder rolled round the clay vessel, while yet moist: a second Centaur and parts of a second Zeus are

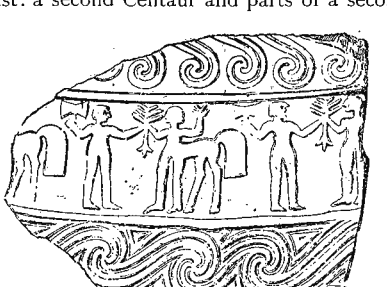


Fig. 513.

visible. Other fragments from *Datcha* on the Carian coast reverse the *motif* (fig. 513)[3], which was evidently popular for the decoration of large *pithoi* and is once at least treated in a more advanced style (fig. 514)[4]. P. V. C. Baur[5] rightly insists that this stamped pottery exhibits certain patterns characteristic of Hittite art. And we have noted Hittite traits, not only in the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus*[6], but also in that of the Rhodian Zeus[7]. Very possibly, then, the axe-

[1] A. Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros* Paris 1875 pl. 26 *a* (=my fig. 512).

[2] A. Salzmann *loc. cit.* regarded the subject as a combat between Centaurs and Lapiths. J. L. Stokes in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 78 speaks of 'An archaic Lapith and Centaur scheme.' B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1046 f. fig. 3 took it to be the oldest representation of Herakles *v.* the Centaur. But P. V. C. Baur *Centaurs in Ancient Art* (The Archaic Period) Berlin 1912 p. 85 gives reasons for dissenting from Sauer's view. A. Milchhöfer *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland* Leipzig 1883 p. 75 fig. 48 with p. 116 pronounced in favour of Zeus on the ground of the double axe. E. H. Meyer *Indogermanische Mythen* Berlin 1883 i (Gandharven-Kentauren). 59, 131 reached the same conclusion; which is accepted also by P. Jacobsthal *'Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1906 p. 10 n. 2.

[3] F. Dümmler 'Pithosfragmente aus Datscha' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 230 f. fig. 1 (=my fig. 513), P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 fig. 17 (from a photograph). Baur states that the Berlin Museum has recently acquired fragments from Datcha stamped with the same design.

[4] F. Dümmler *loc. cit.* 1896 xxi. 233 ff. pl. 6 (=my fig. 514), P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 f. pl. 11 no. 217 (photograph).

[5] P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 85 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 604 ff., 631 f., 634.

[7] *Supra* i. 642 f.

bearer of the red relief-ware is the Hellenised form of an originally Hittite sky-god. If so, we shall best call him Zeus.

Strabon[1] in his account of Kappadokia states that next to the king in importance ranked the priest of Ma at Komana, the priest of

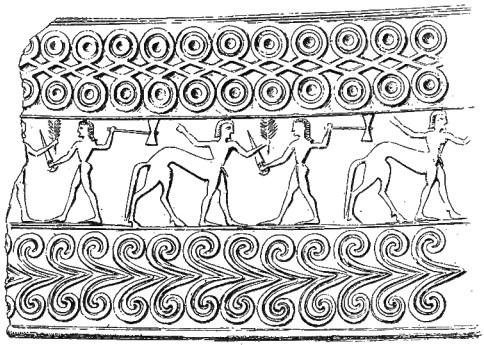


Fig. 514.

Zeus at Venasa, and the priest of Zeus *Dakienós*. The appellative of the latter Zeus is connected by P. Carolidis[2] with the Armenian word *daku*, 'an axe[3],' and taken to mean 'the Axe-bearer.'

Less probable is Carolidis' contention[4] that Zeus *Genetaîos*[5],

[1] Strab. 536 f. *ἐν δὲ τῇ Μορμηνῇ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ ἐν Οὐηνάσοις Διός, ἱεροδούλων κατοικίαν ἔχον τρισχιλίων σχεδόν τι καὶ χώραν ἱερὰν εὔκαρπον, παρέχουσαν πρόσοδον ἐνιαύσιον ταλάντων πεντεκαίδεκα τῷ ἱερεῖ· καὶ οὗτός ἐστι διὰ βίου, καθάπερ καὶ ὁ ἐν Κομάνοις* (cp. Strab. 535), *καὶ δευτερεύει κατὰ τιμὴν μετ' ἐκεῖνον. τρίτη δ' ἐστὶν ἱερωσύνη Διὸς Δακιηνοῦ* (T. Tyrwhitt cj. *Δακιήου* or *Δακιηνοῦ* for *Δακίη οὐ*. A. Koraës accepted *Δακιηνοῦ*. P. Carolidis thinks that the title was *Δακίης* or *Δάκιος*; but see F. de Saussure 'Les noms grecs en *-ηνός* et le phrygien' in E. Chantre *Mission en Cappadoce 1893—1894* Paris 1898 pp. 185—191) *λειπομένη ταύτης, ἀξιόλογος δ' ὅμως. ἐνταῦθα δ' ἐστὶ λάκκος ἁλμυροῦ ὕδατος, ἀξιολόγου λίμνης ἔχων περίμετρον, ὀφρύσι κλείσμενος ὑψηλαῖς τε καὶ ὀρθίαις, ὥστ' ἔχειν κατάβασιν κλιμακώδη· τὸ δ' ὕδωρ οὔτ' αὔξεσθαί φασιν, οὔτ' ἀπόρρυσιν ἔχειν οὐδαμοῦ φανεράν.* The reconstitution of the text is due to G. Kramer, who suggested that *τρίτη—φανεράν* should be transposed so as to follow *ἐν δὲ—ἐκεῖνον*. With the salt pool of Zeus *Δακιηνός* cp. the salt water of Zeus *Ὀσογῶα* (*supra* p. 581 ff.). P. Carolidis *Die sogen. Assyro-Chaldäer und Hittiten von Kleinasien* Athen 1898 p. 67 n. would identify the cult-centre of Zeus *Δακιηνός* with the modern *Ilgin*. Axes in jadeite and bronze have been found in the *tell* of *Kara-Euyuk* (E. Chantre *op. cit.* p. 78 f. figs. 56—59).

[2] P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 p. 55 f.

[3] Akin to our word *dagger* (Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 343 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 290).

[4] P. Carolidis *op. cit.* p. 56 Zeus *Γενήτης* (*sic*), p. 62 Zeus *Γενέτης* (*sic*) with a wrong reference to Ap. Rhod. 1. 1032 (? Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 147 *Διὸς γενέταο*).

[5] Ap. Rhod. 2. 1009 *Γενηταίου Διὸς ἄκρην*, Val. Flacc. 5. 147 inde Genetaei rupem (so A. Poliziano for *indigena et aerupem* cod. V.) Iovis.

otherwise known as Zeus *Eúxeinos*[1] or *Xénios*[2], who had a sanctuary on the Genetaean headland adjoining the Pontic river Genes[3], derived his title from *geneîs*, 'an axe[4],' though that derivation would harmonise well with the neighbourhood of the Chalybes[5].

On the whole, it may be predicted with assurance that the thorough exploration of Asia Minor, which despite all drawbacks must some day be completed, will accumulate further evidence of an axe-bearing Zeus, successor and heir of a yet more ancient sky-god.

(λ) The double axe in the West.

It would seem, then, that over a wide area, from Doliche in Syria to Tarentum in Calabria, the prehistoric lightning-axe passed through the successive phases of fetish, attribute, and symbol. In western Europe analogous causes were doubtless at work; but their results are either wholly hidden from us by the darkness of barbarism or at best dimly discernible on the fringe of advancing civilisation.

Double axes of copper, with the hafting hole too small to be of use for tool or weapon, and therefore probably intended for purposes of exchange or ceremony, make their appearance in the west as far back as the Copper Age. A. Lissauer[6] holds that they were imports from Kypros and attempts to trace the routes by which they travelled through Europe. But Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie[7], arguing that double axes with effective hafting are limited to the Mediterranean area, whereas double axes with ineffective hafting belong almost exclusively to the north, denies that Kypros was the centre of distribution and classifies the northern axes under three local types of separate origin. In Bronze-Age deposits ceremonial axes

[1] Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 *Ζηνὸς Εὐξείνοιο Γενηταίην ὑπὲρ ἄκρην* with schol. Paris. *ad loc. Τιβαρηνοὶ δὲ ἔθνος Σκυθικόν. οἰκοῦσι δὲ τὴν καλουμένην Γενηταίαν ἄκραν ἀπὸ Γένητος ποταμοῦ, ἐν ᾗ Διός ἐστιν Εὐξείνου ἱερόν.*

[2] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 *Γενηταία ἄκρα κυρίως οὕτω λεγομένη ἀπὸ Γένητος ποταμοῦ, ἔνθα Διὸς Ξενίου ἱερόν ἐστι.*

[3] Steph. Byz. *s.v. Γενήτης·...Σοφοκλῆς ποταμὸν Γένητα φησίν* (*frag.* 1036 Jebb). See further W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1132.

[4] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 567 B.

[5] *Supra* i. 631 f., 648.

[6] A. Lissauer 'Die Doppeläxte der Kupferzeit im westlichen Europa' in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1905 xxxvii. 519—525 with figs. and a map, *id.* 'die Doppelaxt aus Kupfer von Pyrmont' *ib.* pp. 770—772, *id.* 'eine Doppelaxt aus Kupfer von Ellierode, Kr. Northeim, Hannover' *ib.* pp. 1007—1009, R. Forrer *Antiqua* 1885 p. 106, *id.* 'Die ägyptischen, kretischen, phönikischen, etc. Gewichte und Masse der europäischen Kupfer-, Bronze- und Eisenzeit' in the *Jahr-Buch der Gesellschaft für lothringische Geschichte und Altertumskunde* 1906 pp. 1—77, *id. Reallex.* p. 188 f., A. J. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1166 n. 8, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 403 ff. fig. 163, 483 n. 1.

[7] Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 pp. 13—15 pl. 12.

of a different sort have come to light. C. F. Herbst[1] published two of single blade found at Skogstorp near Eskilstuna in Sweden and another found in the Amt wood near Veile in Denmark. All three, in lieu of solid metal, had a thin coating of bronze over a clay core; and the first two were adorned with plates of gold and studs of amber. We have, however, no proof that any of these axes had a definitely religious significance. The copper double axes very possibly served as a currency unit for the living, the bronze single axes as suitable gifts to the dead.

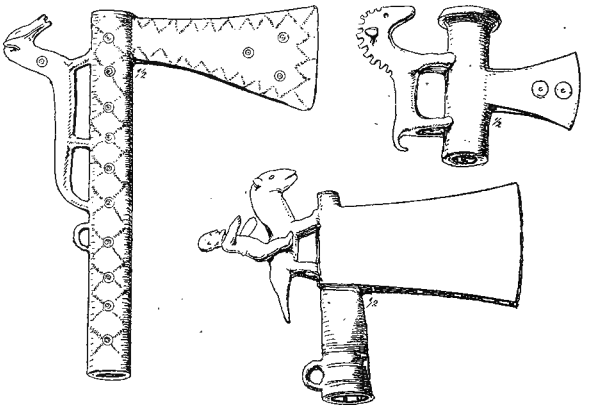


Fig. 515.

More *ad rem* is A. Blanchet's observation[2] that over and over again both in France and in Sweden axes of stone or bronze have been found carefully arranged in symmetric circles, perhaps with a view to solar cult. Besides, bronze axe-heads from the burial ground at Hallstatt are in some cases furnished with the small figure of a rider or a horse (fig. 515)[3], which J. Déchelette[4] takes to be an emblem of the sun, though it may have some other meaning.

[1] C. F. Herbst in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1866 pp. 124—132 with figs., Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments, of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1881 p. 450, J. J. A. Worsaae *The Pre-history of the North* trans. H. F. Morland Simpson London 1886 p. 96, O. Montelius *The Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times* trans. F. H. Woods London 1888 p. 51 f. fig. 52.

[2] A. Blanchet in the *Bulletin de la Société Nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1903 pp. 137—141 draws up a list of such cases, which is doubled in length by J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 483 n. 2.

[3] E. v. Sacken *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt in Oberösterreich und dessen Alterthümer* Wien 1868 p. 41 f. pl. 8, 2—4 (=my fig. 515), Forrer *Reallex.* p. 329 pl. 82, 3—5.

[4] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 482 fig. 205, 5.

Not till we reach the Roman period can we beyond all question connect the axe with particular deities. A plate of copper discovered near Cadenet in the district of Apt amid a heap of ashes to the west of a circular wall records the gift of an axe to Mars and an axe to Dexsiva[1] (a Celtic goddess[2]) in fulfilment of a vow[3]. Six

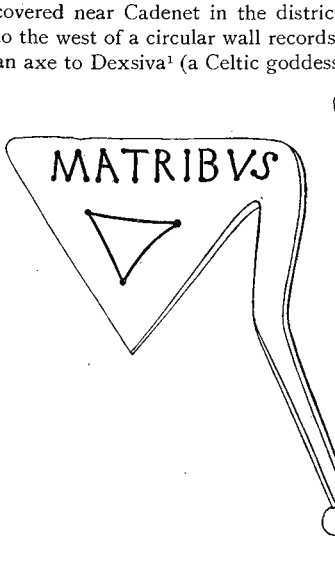


Fig. 516.

Fig. 517.

little hatchets of bronze found in the ruins of a temple at Allmendingen near Thun bear votive inscriptions 'to Iupiter,' 'to the Matres' (fig. 516), 'to the Matronae,' 'to Mercurius,' 'to Minerva' (fig. 517), and 'of Neptunus' respectively[4]. In Gallia Lugudunensis Esus the axe-god was associated with Iovis and Volcanus[5], while

[1] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xii no. 1063 (with fig.) d(onum) d(at) Quartus Mar(ti) | secu[rem. | d(onum) d(at) θ (?) Dexsive | Quartus secu[rem. v(otum) s(olvit) l(ibens) m(erito). T. Mommsen suggested as a possible reading: d(is) d(eabus) Quartus m(e)r(itis) | secu[rem. | d(is) d(eabus) o(mnibus) etc.

[2] M. Ihm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 295.

[3] S. C. F. Calvet cp. Fredegodus *v. S. Wilfridi Eboracensis* (died 709 A.D.) 15. 558 (cxxxiii. 992 A Migne) non igitur coeptum dissolvit Dexia votum.

[4] T. Mommsen *Inscriptiones confoederationis Helveticae Latinae* (*Mittheilungen der Antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* x) Zürich 1854 p. 39 no. 211 (1) Iovi, (2) Matribus with fig. (=my fig. 516), (3) Matronis, (4) Mercurio, (5) Minervae with fig. (=my fig. 517), (6) Neptuni, M. Ihm 'Der Mütter- oder Matronenkultus und seine Denkmäler' in the *Jahrb. d. Vereins v. Alterthumsfreund. im Rheinl.* 1887 lxxxiii. 128 nos. 156, 157.

[5] *Supra* i. 481 n. 9, ii. 547 n. 0.

at Mogontiacum (*Mayence*) Sucaelus the mallet-god[1] was apparently equated with Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*[2]. Finally, Saxo Grammaticus[3] in his *History of the Danes*, writing *c.* 1200 A.D., states that in 1130 A.D. Magnus, son of Nicolaus (the Danish king Niels), after demolishing an ancient heathen temple on an island in or near Gothia (Gøtland in Sweden), brought back in triumph certain enormously heavy bronze hammers known as 'Iupiter-mallets' and believed to be the means by which Iupiter (Thor) made his thunder.

It will be seen that in western and northern Europe the double axe as a divine weapon gave place, from the Bronze Age onwards, to the single axe and the hammer.

(μ) The axe carried by priests and priestesses.

Among the sculptures decorating the gateway of the Hittite palace at Eyuk[4] is a relief (fig. 518)[5], which represents two pairs of male figures engaged in some ritual or ceremonial action hard to interpret. On the left a couple of men clad in short tunics confront each other. The taller man wears a conspicuous earring and grasps a long staff, which is grasped also by his shorter companion. On the right is a second couple again consisting of a taller and a shorter man. The one wears a close-fitting cap, an earring, a trailing robe with a surplice over it, and tip-tilted shoes: he holds with both hands an axe of unique design[6]—the blade being crescent-shaped

[1] S. Reinach 'Sucellus et Nantosvelta' in the *Revue celtique* 1896 xvii. 45—59 (=*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 217—232), R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1579 f.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 6730=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4615 (on an altar found at Mogontiacum in 1882) I. o. m. | Sucaelo et | Gen. loci pro | salute C. | Calpurni | Seppiani p. p. | leg. XXII Pr. p., | Trophimus | actor [et?] can|abari ex | voto. I do not agree with R. Peter *loc. cit.*, who comments: 'doch wohl Iuppiter O. M. und Sucaelus.'

[3] Sax. Gram. *hist. Dan.* 13 p. 421, 29 ff. Holder cuius operam valenter editam consimili probitatis genere emulatus Magnus, inter cetera tropheorum suorum insignia inusitati ponderis malleos, quos Ioviales vocabant, apud insularum quandam prisca virorum religione cultos, in patriam deportandos curavit. cupiens enim antiquitas tonitruorum causas usitata rerum similitudine comprehendere, malleos, quibus celi fragores cieri credebat, ingenti ere complexa fuerat, aptissime tante sonoritatis vim <machinarum (*ins.* S. J. Stephanius)> fabrilium specie imitandam existimans. Magnus vero, Christiane discipline studio paganam perosus, et phanum cultu et Iovem insignibus spoliare sanctitatis loco habuit. et adhuc quidem eum Sueones, perinde ac celestium spoliorum raptorem, sacrilegum autumant.

[4] *Supra* i. 636.

[5] G. Perrôt—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 360, ii pl. 56, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 672 f. fig. 335 (=my fig. 518), J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 266 f., E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 84 n. 1. Length 1·66^{m}: minimum height 1·22^{m}.

[6] Its character as an axe is recognised by A. J. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1167 n. 9 and by E. Meyer *loc. cit.* G. Perrot's original comparison with the

and perforated, the handle prolonged above it so that it could be grasped at either end. The other man, who is seemingly nude, stands at a little distance facing the axe-bearer with a gesture of respect. What these various figures signify, we cannot tell. But it is reasonable to suppose that the personage carrying the two-handled axe is a priest, who holds out the weapon of his god for the approaching worshipper to clasp, much as Ahasuerus held out to Esther the golden sceptre[1].

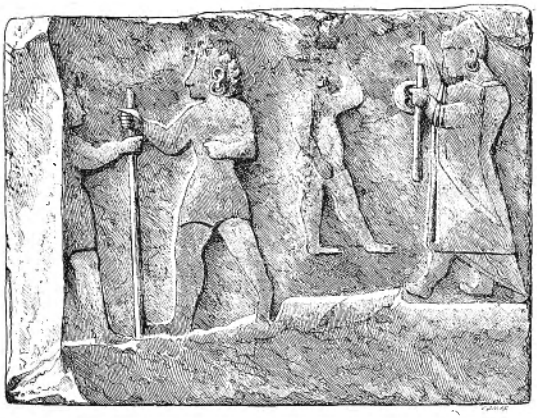


Fig. 518.

A glandular sardonyx from the Vaphio tomb (fig. 519)[2], now in the Central Museum at Athens[3], has incised upon it a beardless man in a long robe, who raises his right hand in the attitude of adoration and supports on his left shoulder an axe crescentic and holed as before. G. Perrot and C. Chipiez[4] took him to be perhaps a man sacrificing. A. Furtwängler[5] suggested that he might be meant for a priest, or for a god, possibly Zeus. And L. A. Milani[6] declares that he is an armed deity comparable with the Hittite

sceptre and ring on the rock-cut reliefs of Bavian (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ii. 636 ff. fig. 310) and Maltai (*ib.* ii. 642 ff. fig. 313) is misleading.

[1] Esther 4. 11, 5. 2, 8. 4.

[2] Ch. Tsountas '*Ἔρευναι ἐν τῇ Λακωνικῇ καὶ ὁ τάφος τοῦ Βαφείου*' in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1889 p. 167 pl. 10, 26, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 847 fig. 431, 4 (=my fig. 519), 849, 977, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 2, 47, ii. 13.

[3] Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne*: *Athènes* p. 152 no. 1798.

[4] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 977.

[5] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* ii. 13.

[6] Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 8 fig. 109.

Sutekh. However, a glance at the gem from Melos[1] already discussed makes it fairly certain that this is no axe-bearing divinity, but a mere mortal; and I should be content to see in him a priest carrying a ceremonial axe. The same tomb yielded an actual spe-

Fig. 519.

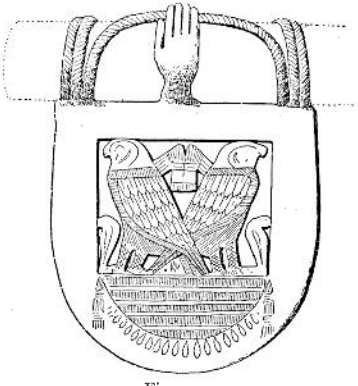


Fig. 521.

Fig. 520.

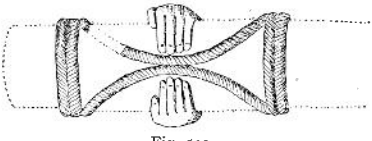


Fig. 522.

cimen in bronze of similar shape[2], and other examples could be quoted[3].

A glandular gem of finer style (fig. 520), in the Museum at Candia, is again taken by L. A. Milani[4] to portray an axe-bearing

[1] *Supra* p. 544 fig. 419.

[2] Ch. Tsountas *loc. cit.* p. 155 f. pl. 8, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* vi. 977 fig. 553, Staïs *op. cit.* p. 155 f. no. 1870, A. J. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1167 fig. 6265.

[3] See Sir J. G. Wilkinson *A popular account of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1854 i. 362 f. fig. 319, 1—6, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 8 f. fig. 112, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 66 f. fig. 57, A. J. Reinach *loc. cit.*, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 p. 9 f. pl. 6 f. *Infra* § 3 (c) i (χ). Cp. also an interesting bronze, formerly in the Towneley Collection, which combines the shape of a perforated axe with the figure of a bull (*infra* § 3 (c) i (μ)), and a magnificent axe-head in the Museo Egizio at Florence (Milani *loc. cit.* fig. 113=my fig. 521 f.), which possibly, but not certainly, had a sacral character.

[4] Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1902 ii. 8 fig. 111 (=my fig. 520).

god such as Sutekh. More probably it shows a priestess carrying the crescent axe for some ritual purpose. If so, the nearest parallels are a lentoid steatite from Knossos (fig. 523)[1] and a clay sealing from *Kato Zakro* (fig. 524)[2], on which G. Karo[3] recognised 'Minoan'

Fig. 523.

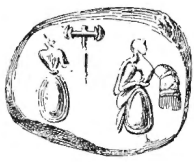


Fig. 524.

priestesses bearing the double axe and the sacred robe of their goddess. Or should we rather say 'the sacred robe of their goddess and the double axe of their god'?

Two stone moulds found near *Palaikastro* in 1899 exhibit a whole series of designs relating to the Cretan axe-cult[4]. These in-

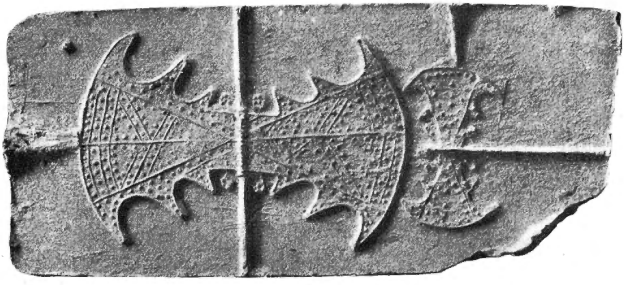


Fig. 525.

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 101 f. fig. 59 (=my fig. 523, scale ⅔) speaks of the figure on this intaglio, found near 'the Court of the Oil Spout' in the Cnossian palace, as apparently a female divinity. But why?

[2] D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 78 f. fig. 5 (=my fig. 524, scale ½) thinks that between the two draped figures of this impression is 'a *labrys* suspended in air' (cp. *supra* p. 514 ff.). G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 148 fig. 32 gives a redrawing of the seal, in which the *lábrys* is definitely carried by the left-hand figure.

[3] G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 147 figs. 31 and 32.

[4] S. A. Xanthoudides in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1900 p. 26 ff. pl. 3 f. (=my fig. 525 ff.), Milani

clude a couple of ornate double axes, large and small, with multiple blades (fig. 525); a pair of ritual horns (fig. 526); a large disk resembling a four-spoked wheel decorated with dots and rays (the sun?); a small disk, with central cross, two concentric rows of dots,

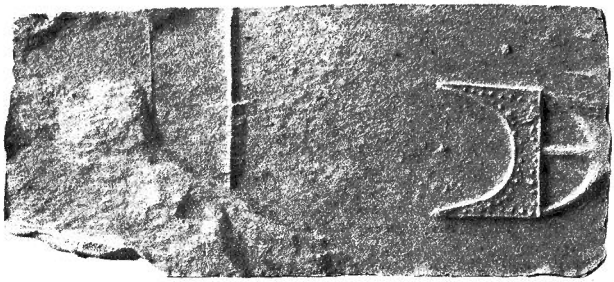


Fig. 526.

and a crescent between them (the moon and stars?), apparently carried by a little female figure[1], since a head with rayed head-dress is seen above and a wide-spread skirt(?) below; a female uplifting

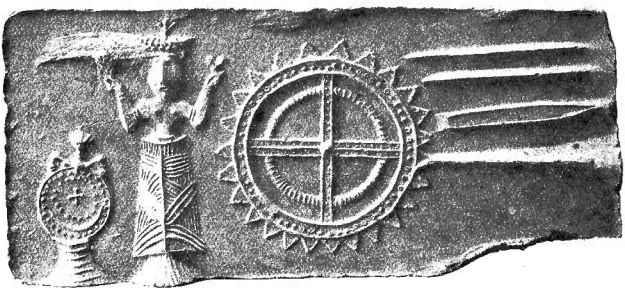


Fig. 527.

flowers or poppy-stalks(?) in either hand, while another flower springs from her flat head-dress (fig. 527); and lastly a similar female raising a brace of decorated double axes (fig. 528). The two

Stud. e mat. di arch. e num. i. 176, R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 299 f., Sir A. J. Evans *ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 92 f., G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 145 ff. figs. 27—30.

[1] G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 147 'darüber gleichsam Schädel und Arme eines Skeletts [!], unten ein weiter Frauenrock.'

large-sized females are regarded by Sir A. J. Evans[1] and by G. Karo[2] as goddesses. We should then assume—an easy assumption—that the earth-goddess had borrowed the sky-god's axe[3]. But the same figures are described by R. C. Bosanquet[4] as women; and there is, after all, nothing to prevent us from supposing that they are a pair of priestesses displaying the emblems of the goddess and the god.

Athena, who in various ways recalls the great mother-goddess of Crete, is on occasion equipped with the double axe. Simias of Rhodes in his picture-poem the *Double Axe* makes Epeios the

Fig. 528.

Phocian dedicate to Athena as an acceptable gift the axe with which he had made the wooden horse and thereby captured Troy[5]. The fateful tool was to be seen in her temple at Eilenia in the district of Lagaria near Metapontum[6]. Again, bronze coins of the Oxyrhynchite nome, struck by Domitian, Trajan (fig. 529), Hadrian (fig. 530), and Antoninus Pius, have for reverse type Athena bearing Nike in one hand and a double axe with straight or rounded edges in the other, while small pieces issued by Hadrian (fig. 531) show the double axe without the goddess[7]. Lastly, a 'Gnostic' amulet in the

[1] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 92 f.

[2] G. Karo in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 147.

[3] So H. Prinz in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 163 with 174. Cp. *supra* p. 564 f. figs. 450, 452.

[4] R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 300.

[5] *Anth. Pal.* 15. 22 (Simias) = C. Haeberlin *Carmina Figurata Graeca* Hannoverae 1887 p. 70 with schol. Pal. *ib.* p. 84. See further W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 92 n. 4. Illustrations are collected by Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 607 ff. Atlas pl. 25, 3 f., A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 56 ff. pl. K, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1279 f.

[6] Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 108, Lyk. *Al.* 948 ff., Iust. 20. 2. 1.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 360 f. nos. 86—91, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 565 no. 18, J. de Rougé 'Monnaies des Nomes de l'Égypte' in the *Rev. Num.* Nouvelle

St Geneviève collection (fig. 532) represents Athena armed with the double axe amid a group of Egyptising deities[1].

Traces of the Cretan axe might also be sought in the complex of myths relating to Theseus. For Theseus, though he became the

Fig. 530.

Fig. 529.

Fig. 531.

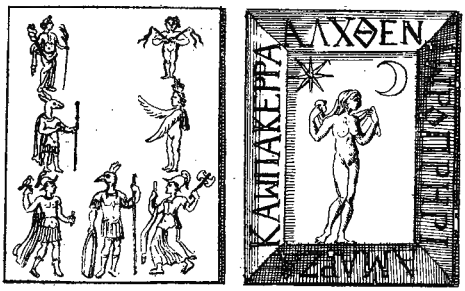


Fig. 532.

national hero of Athens, had originally—as O. Gruppe[2] has shown in detail—much to do with Crete and Cretan cult. Accordingly, we observe that in fifth-century art he constantly handles the double axe. The cycle of Thesean exploits told how *Damástes*[3] the 'Crusher,' otherwise styled *Prokroústes*[4] the 'Hammerer' or *Pro-*

série 1874 xv. 27 ff. pl. 1, 17 Trajan (=my fig. 529), 18 Hadrian (=my fig. 530), 19 Hadrian (=my fig. 531), G. Dattari *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* Cairo 1901 p. 417 f. nos. 6334 pl. 33, 6335 Domitian; 6336 pl. 34 Trajan; 6337, 6338 pl. 35, 6339 (axe only) pl. 35 Hadrian; 6340 pl. 36, 6341 Antoninus Pius. W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 442 follows J. de Rougé *loc. cit.* in identifying this Athena with the Egyptian Tefênet (on whom see G. Roeder in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 156 ff.).

[1] C. du Molinet *Cabinet de la Bibliothèque de Ste Geneviève* Paris 1692 p. 130 pl. 30, 1—2 (=my fig. 532), Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 237 pl. 53, 1, J. Matter *Histoire critique du gnosticisme* Paris 1828 iii pl. 7, 4.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 581 ff. *Supra* i. 467, 474 ff., 481 f., 492 ff.

[3] Apollod. *epit.* 1. 4, Plout. *v. Thes.* 11, Hesych. *s.v.* Δαμαστής (*sic*). See C. Robert in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 149.

[4] Diod. 4. 59 *τῶν δ' ἐλαττόνων τοὺς πόδας προέκρουεν, ἀφ' οὗπερ* Προκρούστης *ὠνομάσθη.*

kóptes[1] the 'Cutter,' beat out his victims with the iron mallet[2] of his father Polypemon[3] or lopped their limbs to suit his fatal bed, till Theseus came and served him as he had served others. Attic red-figured vases from the end of the sixth century onwards depict the hero attacking his ferocious host with uplifted double axe[4]. Whence did he obtain the axe? Presumably he wrenched it from the hand of Damastes and carried it afterwards in token of his victory[5]. However that may be[6], the western pediment in the

C. Robert in U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Aus Kydathen* Berlin 1880 p. 227 pointed out that *προκρούειν* is the technical term for beating out a plate or bar of metal.

[1] Bakchyl. 17. 27 ff. Πολυπήμονός τε καρτερὰν | σφῦραν ἐξέβαλεν Προκό|πτας, ἀρείονος τυχὼν | φωτός with Sir R. C. Jebb *ad loc.* O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2687 ff., following up a hint of Wilamowitz in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1898 clx. 142, holds that the subject of the sentence is still Theseus, who is here described as *προκόπτας*, the 'striker of a lightning-blow,' in opposition to the more ponderous Polypemon (Προκρούστης), who because stronger is spoken of as *ἀρείονος...φωτός*. Ingenious, but unconvincing.

[2] Soph. *Aigeus frag.* 19 Nauck², 20 Jebb *ap.* Poll. 10. 160 and Hesych. *s.v.* *κέστρᾳ σιδηρᾷ*. Cp. Bakchyl. 17. 27 f., Apollod. *epit.* 1. 4, Hyg. *fab.* 38, and schol. Eur. *Hipp.* 977 (of Sinis).

[3] See J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2683. O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 2684 ff., after G. Kirchner *Attica et Peloponnesiaca* Greifswald 1890 p. 64 n. 4 and O. Wulff *Zur Theseussage* Dorpat 1892 p. 179, thinks that Πολυπήμων was originally an appellative of Hades, who sank successively from a god to a hero, and from a hero to a brigand. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 595 says: 'er bedeutete den Todesgott, der die Menschen auf das letzte, für alle gleiche Lager streckt' (but see the folk-parallels in Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 502) and *op. cit.* p. 595 n. 3 adds: 'Der Hammer...ist Symbol des Totengottes; Charun, der etruskische Totengott, führt den Doppelhammer' (*infra* p. 641).

[4] Listed by O. Wulff *op. cit.* p. 45 ff., E. Sarnow *Die cyclischen Darstellungen aus der Theseussage in der antiken Kunst und ihre literarische Quelle* Leipzig 1894 p. 57 ff., L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 227 n. 3.

[5] We are nowhere actually told that Theseus took the weapon from Prokroustes, though that is perhaps implied by Plout. *v. Thes.* 11 and is commonly assumed as self-evident (Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 260, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2685, 2687). We need not think of the robber as possessing two implements, a hammer to lengthen out the short and an axe to shorten the long: an axe-hammer would have served both purposes.

[6] A late black-figured *skýphos* at Petrograd bears on both front and back a design, which has been interpreted as Theseus attacking Skiron with a double axe in the presence of Athena (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 67 f. no. 116, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 155 fig., p. 177 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 55, 6, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1011). And a red-figured *kýlix* at Florence with cyclic illustrations shows the hero making for Sinis with the same tool (L. A. Milani in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 239 ff. pl. 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 529). But it would be unsafe to infer from such isolated representations that Theseus had a double axe independently of Prokroustes. His ancestral weapon was, of course, the sword of Aigeus.

There is, however, some reason to associate the double axe with the legendary kings of Athens. When Kodros devoted his life for his country, he dressed as a woodman (Lyk. *Al.* 1378 *ἄνακτος τοῦ δρυηκόπου* with Tzetz. *ad loc.*) and took in hand a double axe (Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 194 f. *ὁ γονὺς ὁ Κόδρος καὶ στολὴν ἀψάμενος δρυτόμου,* | *πελέκει Δάκωνά τινα κτείνας ἀνταιρείτας*) or bill-hook (schol. Plat. *symp.* 208 D *γονὺς δὲ τοῦτο ὁ Κόδρος, στείλας ἑαυτὸν εὐτελεῖ σκευῇ ὡς ξυλιστὴν καὶ δρέπανον λαβών, ἐπὶ τὸν χάρακα τῶν πολεμίων προῆει.*

temple of Zeus at Olympia, carved before the middle of the fifth century perhaps by an Elean sculptor, figures him swinging the same trusty weapon against a brutal Centaur[1]. Finally, Theseus was said to have freed from robbers the old mountain-road that led from Athens to Delphoi[2]; and, whenever the Athenians sent a sacred embassy along that road[3], it was customary for the procession to be headed by men bearing double axes as though to clear the way[4]. In these peculiar axe-bearers I would venture to detect, not a meaningless company of pioneers[5], but the performers of an ancient 'Minoan' lustration, the true significance of which had long been forgotten[6]. It is noteworthy that a fine axe of bronze, inscribed with 'Minoan' characters, has come to light at Delphoi (fig. 533)[7],

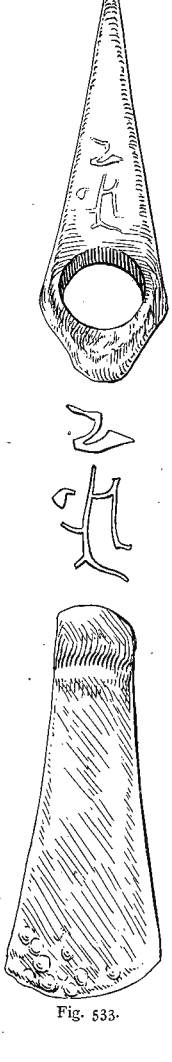


Fig. 533.

κ.τ.λ.). In the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 84 I suggested that this was an ancient ritual costume. But?

[1] G. Treu in *Olympia* iii. 76 f. pl. 18—21, 2, pls. 26, 27, 1 f., Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 317 ff. fig. 77 M and fig. 84, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 446 ff. fig. 232 A, B. The restoration of the axe is certain, thanks to Paus. 5. 10. 8 τῇ δὲ Θησεὺς ἀμυνόμενος πελέκει τοὺς Κενταύρους. So on a vase-fragment at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensammil. Berlin* ii. 664 f. no. 2403, E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1883 xli. 348 ff. pl. 17, 1 f., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 450, 3 f.).

[2] Schol. Aisch. *Eum.* 13 (cited *infra* n. 4), schol. Aristeid. p. 324, 20 ff. Dindorf.

[3] E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 104 ff. §

[4] Schol. Aisch. *Eum.* 13 οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι. Θησεὺς γὰρ τὴν ὁδὸν ἐκάθηρε τῶν λῃστῶν καί, ὅταν πέμπωσιν εἰς Δελφοὺς θεωρίδα, προέρχονται ἔχοντες πελέκεις ὡς διημερεύσοντες (F. H. M. Blaydes *corr.* διημερώσοντες or ἐξημερώσοντες) τὴν γῆν.

[5] E. Curtius 'Zur Geschichte des Wegebaus bei den Griechen' in his *Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Berlin 1894 i. 33 (cp. p. 69): 'Erinnerung an die alten Werkmeister, die einst zuerst dem Gotte die Stege bereitet hatten.'

[6] A. Boëthius *Die Pythaïs: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi* Uppsala 1918 p. 31 ff. thinks that the axes were originally votive, like the Tenedian axe (*infra* § 3 (c) i (o)). G. C. Richards in the *Class. Rev.* 1919 xxxiv. 113 says: 'Either this was the case, or they were relics of the ancient ritual, as observed in the case of the Buphonia' (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (α)).

[7] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 280 fig. 7, P. Perdrizet in the *Fouilles de Delphes* v. 1. 5 fig. 14 (=my fig. 533). The axe is now in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford.

not to mention many little votive double axes of the same material (fig. 534, *a*—*d*)[1]. P. Perdrizet[2], indeed, conjectures that *Lábys*, the eunuch temple-sweeper sometimes credited with the Delphic maxim 'Know thyself[3],' was the eponym of the Delphian phratry *Labyádai*[4], and that both names should be connected with the words *Labýrinthos* and *lábrys*.

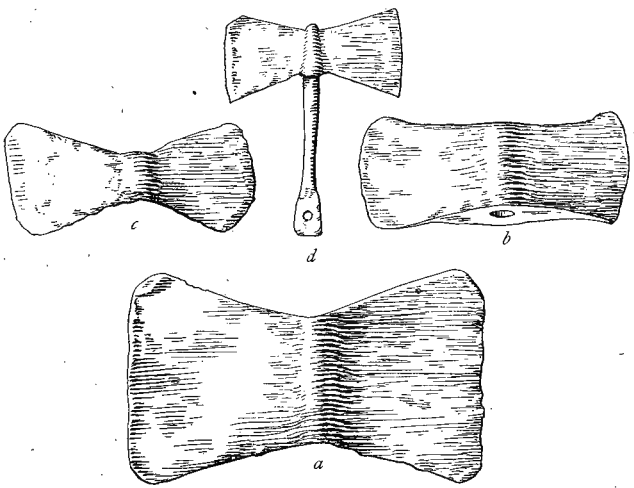


Fig. 534.

A good example of the *lábrys* surviving for ritual purposes has recently been published by Schweitzer[5]. It is a bronze medallion from Smyrna, of the first or second century A.D., now in the Ethnological Museum at Munich. On it we see (fig. 535) a man wearing a pointed *pîlos* with chin-band and a heavy cloak, who puts incense

[1] P. Perdrizet *loc. cit.* v. 2. 119 ff. figs. 438, 439, 440 (=my fig. 534, *a*: length 0·095^{m}), 441 (=my fig. 534, *b*: length 0·07^{m}), 442, 443 (=my fig. 534, *c*: length 0·065^{m}), 444 (=my fig. 534, *d*: length of axe-head 0·05^{m}), 445.

[2] P. Perdrizet *loc. cit.* v. 1. 4.

[3] Schol. Plat. *Phileb.* 48 c.

[4] The Λαβυάδαι are mentioned in Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 319, 2 (a rock-cut inscription at Delphoi) τὸν Λαδυάδαν (*sic*) and in J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 718 ff. no. 2561=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 995=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*^{2} no. 438 *a* 3, 7, 10, 19, *b* 64, 83 f., 101, 107, *d* 186, 207 f., 208 f., 214 (an inscription found at Delphoi, giving regulations for the phratry Labyadai and dating from the close of *s.* v B.C.).

[5] Schweitzer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1919 xxxiv Arch. Anz. pp. 38—49 fig. 1 (=my fig. 535). Diameter of medallion 6·6^{cm}.

on a *thymiatérion* with his right hand and shoulders a double axe with his left. A cord from his girdle is perhaps attached to the dog that is seen behind him, while a second dog beyond the incense-burner barks at the smoke. In the field is a bay-branch, and a large star or sun shines in the sky. Interpretation is difficult. The *pîlos*, the dogs, and the brazier make one think of Hephaistos, whose temple on Mount Aitne had an ever-burning fire and a precinct full of sacred dogs[1]: the god himself appears to have been a Grecised

Fig. 535.

form of the Syrian Hadran[2]. Schweitzer justly remarks that the priest of the medallion resembles his deity, but seeks to relate the latter to the Roman Robigus, the Greek Apollon *Erethímios*, and the Phoenician Rešef or Rešup (fig. 536)[3],—a connexion hardly proven, though by no means impossible.

In Italy too the axe retained its sanctity well into classical times. The Iron Age notwithstanding, priests continued to sacrifice with a bronze axe called *acieris*[4] or, as some would have it, *seces-*

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 3.

[2] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 405.

[3] As shown on a razor from Carthage (A. L. Delattre in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1900 p. 501 fig. (from which my fig. 536 is drawn) = Schweitzer *loc. cit.* fig. 2) and an Egyptian seal-cylinder at Berlin (H. Prinz *Altorientalische Symbolik* Berlin 1915 p. 130 pl. 12, 2).

[4] Fest. p. 10, 1 Müller, p. 9, 9 Lindsay acieris securis aerea, qua in sacrificiis utebantur sacerdotes. Cp. Plaut. *fab. incert. frag.* 58 Goetz—Schoell *ap.* Philoxen. in the *Corpus*

pita[1]. The pontifical axe that appears on *denarii* struck by

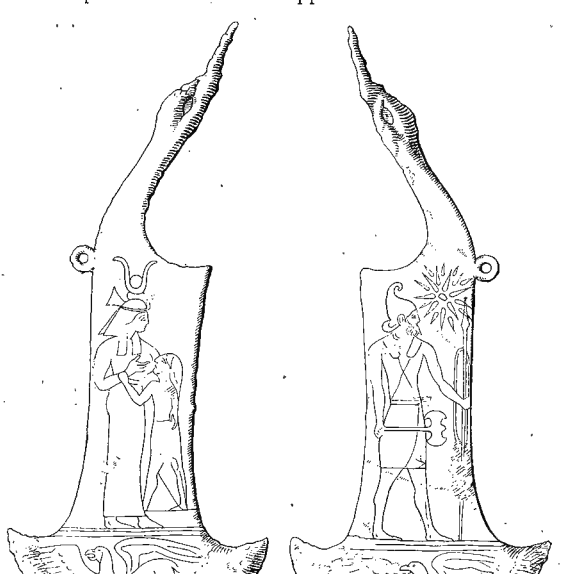


Fig. 536.

glossariorum Latinorum Lipsiae 1888 ii (ed. G. Goetz—G. Gundermann). 13 no. 9 acceres (*sic*) ἀξίν <η> *lεροφάντου ὡς* Πλαῦτος and other glosses cited in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 399, 69 ff. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 8 says: 'nach Bücheler Rh. Mus. XLVI (1891), 233 ff. zu *acies* "Schneide, Schärfe," *aciārium* "vulgärer Name des Stahls" (s. *ācer*). Bildung unklar.'

[1] Paul. ex Fest. p. 336, 9 Müller, p. 453, 16 f. Lindsay secespitam alii securim, alii dolabram aeneam, alii cultellum esse putant. But see Fest. p. 348 *a* 4 ff. Müller, p. 472, 19 ff. Lindsay <s>ecespitam esse Antisti<us Labeo (*frag.* 21 Funaioli) ait cultrum> ferreum, oblongum, mani<brio eburneo rotund>o, solido, vincto ad ca<pulum argento auroque,> fixum clavis aeneis, ae<re Cyprio, quo flami>nes, flaminicae, virgi<nes pontificesque ad sa>crificia utuntur=interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 262. This more detailed account is borne out by Suet. *Tib.* 25 nam et inter pontifices sacrificanti simul pro secespita plumbeum cultrum subiciendum curavit. Walde *op. cit.*[2] p. 692: 'jedenfalls zu *seco*..., obgleich die Bildung (oder Zusammensetzung?) unklar ist (s. *caespes*).'

Fest. p. 318 *b* 16 ff. Müller, p. 422, 32 ff. Lindsay scena ab aliis, a quibusdam sacena appellatur dolabra pontificalis, Paul. ex Fest. p. 319, 8 Müller, p. 423, 13 Lindsay scena sive sacena dolabra pontificalis. Walde *op. cit.*[2] p. 668: 'aus **sacesna*, zu *saxum*..., *secāre*, *scēna*.' De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.vv.* 'sacena,' 'sescenaris' explains Liv. 41. 15 *bovis sescenaris* as 'an ox struck by the pontifical axe.'

P. Sulpicius Galba[1] *c.* 69 B.C. (fig. 537) is surmounted by a lion's head. *Denarii* issued by Iulius Caesar[2] in Gaul *c.* 50—49 B.C. (fig. 538), small bronze pieces with similar types circulated in 49 (?) B.C., after his departure, by A. Hirtius[3], *aurei* and *denarii* struck by Caesar[4] himself at Rome in 49 B.C. (fig. 539), *denarii* and *quinarii* of 43 B.C.

Fig. 537.

Fig. 538.

Fig. 539.

Fig. 540.

Fig. 541.

bearing the names of M. Antonius and M. Lepidus[5] (figs. 540, 541), exhibit the same sacrificial axe topped by a wolf's head with open jaws. These animal heads must not be regarded as merely decorative: rather they give graphic expression to the death-dealing force conceived as resident in the axe itself[6]. Two specimens of

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 402 f. pl. Sulpicia, 2, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 473 nos. 6 fig., 7, M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* Wien 1897 p. 276 pl. 13, 17, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 433 no. 3516 pl. 44, 18, no. 3517 pl. 44, 19, no. 3518, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 104.

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 209 pl. Iulia 4, 7, B, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 10 no. 9 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 390 f. no. 27 pl. 103, 5, nos. 28—30, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 pp. 100 f., 104 pl. 11, 58.

[3] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 543 no. 3 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 525 n. 4, ii. 390 n. 1.

[4] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 208 pl. Iulia 4, 4, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 17 no. 25 fig., no. 26, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 505 f. nos. 3953, 3954, pl. 49, 12, 3955, 3956, 3957 pl. 49, 13. *Supra* p. 110 n. 8.

[5] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 11 f. pl. Aemilia 2, 6, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 130 f. nos. 27 fig., 28, 29 fig., 30, 31 fig., 32 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 392 ff. no. 31 pl. 103, 6, no. 32 pl. 103, 7, no. 33 pl. 103, 8, nos. 34, 35.

[6] Cp. *e.g.* a Persian axe-head of bronze, found at Ekbatana (*Hamadan*) and now in the British Museum, which ends in a stylised lion (W. Greenwell in *Archaeologia* 1902 lviii. 9 fig. 11, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 66 fig. 56); an Armenian axe-head of bronze from Van, which has a lion with two hounds in a like position (W. Greenwell in *Archaeologia* 1902 lviii. 9 fig. 10, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tools and Weapons* London 1917 p. 13 pl. 11, 140); Scythian model axe-heads of bronze, from Jarmolintsy and from the district of Romny, terminating in animal heads (E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 72, 178 fig. 73). See also the axe-heads from Hallstatt (*supra* p. 618 fig. 515).

the symbolic or model axe-head in bronze have come down to us. One in the British Museum has a perforated crescentic blade backed by a bull, the whole measuring some three inches in length (fig. 542)[1]. The other, once in the Forman collection, is very similar in design and size, but has a solid blade (fig. 543)[2]. The bull presumably, though not quite certainly, here stands for the victim sacrificed.

In this connexion a word may be added concerning the axes carried by Roman lictors. It seems probable that they were ori-

Fig. 542.

ginally no ordinary instruments of execution, but sacred weapons borne before the king as human representative of the sky-god. The lictor's axe-blade, at least in late republican times, was given a semi-equine form. *Denarii* of A. Postumius Albinus struck *c.* 82 B.C. show a togate figure erect between an eagle-standard and a lictor's axe, the blade of the latter being combined with the fore-

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 357 no. 2959 (wrongly described), *supra* p. 622 n. 3. Fig. 542 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.

[2] Sir C. H. Smith *The Forman Collection: Catalogue of the Egyptian, Greek & Roman Antiquities* London 1899 p. 29 no. 160 fig. (=my fig. 543): '**Sacrificial axe** (?). The blade, which has an almost lunate edge, appears never to have been sharpened. The thicker part above the blade is modelled in the form of a bull, whose hollow body is intended for receiving the heft. At the point where the heft is inserted is a slight prolongation with two grooves, intended for the attachment of the binding; between these grooves a hole is pierced, probably for a rivet, and two further holes are left, one on each side of the blade. Along the back of the animal a club is moulded in relief, the handle towards its tail; and below the bull's belly on each side is a sacrificial knife (?) in relief.... The form of knife here shown seems to be represented on Pergamene coins of Maximinus.... Height 0·08 in.; width 0·095 in.; greatest thickness, 0·025 in. [For 'in.' read 'm.' A.B.C.] On a label inside is written, "Pr. Vans, 1865."' The axe was acquired by Mr W. T. Ready.

part of a tiny galloping horse (fig. 544)[1]. *Denarii* of C. Norbanus issued at about the same date have a similar axe placed between a

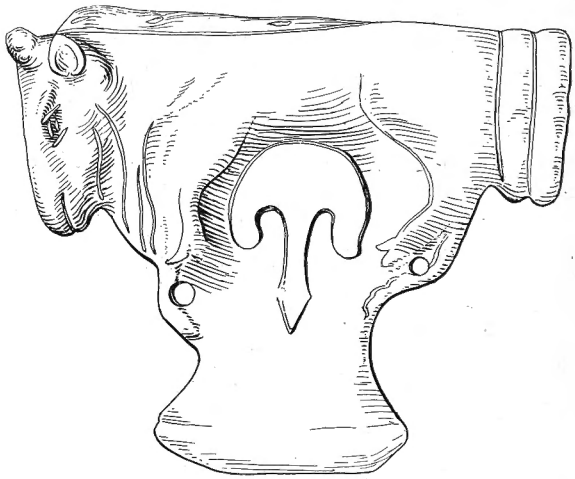


Fig. 543.

corn-ear and a *caduceus* (fig. 545) or between a ship's prow on one side of it and a corn-ear with a *caduceus* on the other (fig. 546)[2]. *Asses* of P. Canidius Crassus, the legate of M. Antonius, struck

Fig. 544.

Fig. 545.

Fig. 546.

Fig. 547.

perhaps in Egypt after 31 B.C. for Caesarion, exhibit the horse on a somewhat larger scale (fig. 547)[3]. The little steed—a detail duly

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 359 pl. Postumia 2, 8, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 381 f. no. 8 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 352 nos. 2839, 2840 pl. 40, 16, 2841—2843.

[2] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 296 f. pl. Norbana, 2, A, B; 3, C, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 259 no. 1 fig.; no. 2 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 347 ff. nos. 2770—2772, 2773 pl. 40, 12, 2774—2801, 2802 pl. 40, 13, 2803—2823, 2825, 2826; 2827 pl. 40, 14, 2828—2835.

[3] Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 243 pl. Licinia 3, B, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 309 no. 1 fig. (horse omitted), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 532 no. 231 (with

noted by old Rasche[1], though ignored by recent numismatists[2]—may be compared with the horse on the bronze axe-heads from Hallstatt[3]. Further, the rods bound round the lictor's axe by means of a red leather strap[4] recall the bundle of divining rods used *e.g.* by the Scythians[5] and the Germans[6], and were perhaps in the far past employed for purposes of divination[7]. Be that as it may, rods thus brought into contact with a sacred axe[8] and thereby charged with its virtues would doubtless be deemed of especial value in expelling evil from a malefactor[9].

That the axe-bearers of the Byzantine court[10] had any such religious history behind them, we have no reason to think[11].

(*ν*) The decoration of the double axe.

Sacred and symbolic axes are sometimes characterised as such by their material or ornamentation. Thus the thin triangular axe-heads of jadeite, nephrite, and chloromelanite, which date from mesolithic or neolithic times and are widely distributed in southern and western Europe[12], have been regarded by W. Osborne as ceremonial or princely weapons[13]. And the magnificent axe-hammers of blue[14] or green stone[15] found in the *débris* of the second city at

H. A. Grueber's n. 1) pl. 116, 19. See now V. Gardthausen in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1916 pp. 153—162 (G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1918—1919* p. 19).

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1732, viii. 332.

[2] *E.g.* by E. Babelon and H. A. Grueber.

[3] *Supra* p. 618 fig. 515. A Syro-Phoenician axe-head of bronze in the Berlin museum is shaped like a half ellipse with two large holes in the blade: on it are two small lions in the round facing each other over their prey (L. Messerschmidt in the *Amtliche Berichte aus den Königlichen Kunstsammlungen* 1909 xxx. 97 ff. fig. 62, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1909 xiii. 367 fig. 3).

[4] Lyd. *de magistrat.* 1. 32 p. 33, 10 ff. Wünsch.

[5] Hdt. 4. 67.

[6] Tac. *Germ.* 10.

[7] See A. W. Buckland *Anthropological Studies* London 1891 p. 140 ff. ('Divination—by the rod and by the arrow') and especially O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* trans. F. B. Jevons London 1890 p. 279 f., *id. Reallex.* pp. 506 f., 737 f.

[8] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 362 n. 3, *infra* § 3 (c) i (*σ*).

[9] See *e.g.* Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Scapegoat p. 264 f. ('Beating people with instruments which possess and impart special virtues').

[10] Anna Komnena *Alex.* 14. 3 (ii. 269 Schopen), Io. Kinnamos *hist.* 1. 3 (p. 8 Meineke), 3. 4 (p. 97), 4. 21 (p. 187), Niketas Choniates *Isaac. Angelus et Alex. fil.* 4 (p. 745 Bekker), Georgios Pachymeres *de Andron. Palaeol.* 1. 27 (ii. 77 Bekker). The *πελεκυφόροι* mentioned by these authors are, of course, to be distinguished from the mere *ἀξιωηφόροι* of Georgios Pachymeres *de Mich. Palaeol.* 6. 29 (i. 504 Bekker).

[11] See Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.* 'Βάραγγοι.'

[12] For bibliography see J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 150—152 figs. a, b.

[13] W. Osborne *Das Beil und seine typischen Formen in vorhistorischer Zeit* Dresden 1887 p. 27 pl. 5, 3.

[14] W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 i. 375 fig. 326.

[15] *Id. ib.* i. 374 fig. 323, cp. i. 375 figs. 324 and 325.

Troy have been recognised by S. Reinach as cult-objects[1]: it might even be held that they were made of *lapis lazuli*, jadeite, etc. just because the colours of these stones were deemed suitable to the belongings of a sky-god.

Again, a perforated axe of amber, nearly five inches long, from

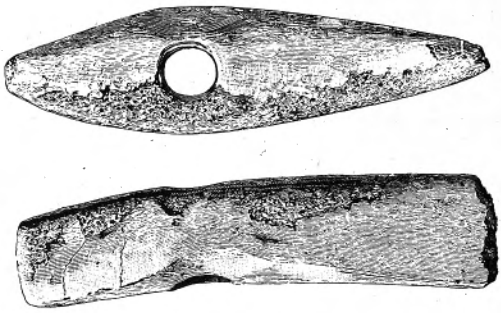


Fig. 548.

Fig. 549.

Fig. 550.

Bohuslän (fig. 548) is described by O. Montelius as a symbolic or votive weapon[2]. The same might be said of a smaller specimen discovered by A. Pasqui in a grave of the Early Iron Age at Bisenzio[3]. Amber beads in the form of double axes and hammers (figs. 549, 550) have frequently come to light in the long barrows of

[1] S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1902 xiii. 24, cp. *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 283 n. 1.

[2] O. Montelius *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens* Leipzig 1906 p. 56 fig. 91 (=my fig. 548: scale ⅔), Forrer *Reallex.* p. 88, cp. B. Schnittger in Hoops *Reallex.* p. 260.

[3] A. Pasqui in the *Not. Scavi* 1886 p. 292 ('una piccola ascia di ambra, forata nell' occhio, lunga mm. 25 e larga al taglio mm. 20'), L. Pigorini in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* 1890 xvi. 75, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 471 f., *id. ib.*[2] Wien 1915 p. 514.

Denmark and southern Sweden[1]: M. Hoernes[2] and B. Schnittger[3] take them to be symbols of the sky-god or thunder-god; and, remembering that jewelry in general often originates in magic[4], and that amber in particular seems to have been associated with the sun-god[5], we may readily grant that the beads in question had some such religious significance.

In the sanctuary at *Nirou Khani* near Knossos S. Xanthoudides discovered four enormous double axes of bronze, with flat blades rivetted to their sockets[6]. These were of course ritual in character. But miniature axes in gold, electrum, or gilt bronze would likewise be appropriate to the flashing god of heaven. The yellow double axes of the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* were supposed by R. Paribeni to represent originals in gold or gilded metal[7]. Bulls'-heads with double axes of thin gold were found by the score at Mykenai[8]. And small double axes made of bronze plated with gold came from a treasure-chamber in the palace at Knossos (fig. 551)[9]. The trinkets recovered by D. G. Hogarth from the statue-base of the oldest (*c.* 710—*c.* 660 B.C.) Artemision at Ephesos include a

[1] C. Neergaard 'Ravsmykkerne i Stenalderen' in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1888 p. 291 ff. figs. 14 and 15 (=my figs. 549 and 550: scale ½), O. Montelius *The Civilisation of Sweden in heathen times* trans. F. H. Woods London 1888 p. 23 with fig. 24 (from Vester-Götland), *id. Musée des antiquités nationales de Stockholm: Catalogue sommaire* Stockholm 1899 p. 4 pl. 1, 4 (from Instön), P. B. Du Chaillu *The Viking Age* London 1889 i. 80 f. fig. 17 (from Stege in the island of Möen), S. Müller *Nordische Altertumskunde* trans. O. L. Jiriczek Strassburg 1897 i. 152 with figs. 74 and 75 after C. Neergaard *loc. cit.*, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 625, B. Schnittger in Hoops *Reallex.* p. 260.

[2] M. Hoernes *Natur-und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 345 ('Sie sind wohl Symbole einer (Himmels-)Gottheit und liefern ausserdem einen Beleg für die oft vorkommende Sitte, kleine Abbilder grosser Gebrauchsgegenstände als (talismanische?) Schmuckform zu tragen').

[3] B. Schnittger in Hoops *Reallex.* p. 399 pl. 33, 1 f. ('Die religiöse Bedeutung dieser Perlen als Symbole des Donnergotts ist auffällig').

[4] See *e.g.* Schrader *Reallex.* p. 729. Sir W. Ridgeway goes so far as to say 'that jewellery and every other kind of ornament arose not from æsthetic but from magical considerations' (in *Man* 1919 no. 84: cp. *id.* 'The Origin of Jewellery' in the *Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science 1903* (*Southport*) London 1904 p. 815 f., *id.* 'The Origin of the Turkish Crescent' in *The Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute of Great Britain and Ireland* 1908 xxxviii. 241 ff. pls. 19—25, *id.* in Sir J. E. Sandys *A Companion to Latin Studies*[2] Cambridge 1913 p. 581, *id.* in L. Whibley *A Companion to Greek Studies*[3] Cambridge 1916 p. 366).

[5] *Supra* p. 498.

[6] S. Xanthoudides in the Κρητικὴ Ἐφημερίς Aug. 5, 1919, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 436 f. fig. 313 (a specimen 1·20^{m} in diameter). The associated pottery was of the 'Late Minoan i' period.

[7] R. Paribeni in the *Mon. d. Lincei* 1908 xix. 29 and 43 (cited *supra* p. 518 n. 1).

[8] *Supra* p. 538 fig. 409.

[9] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 101 fig. 58 (=my fig. 551: slightly enlarged).

diminutive double axe of electrum (fig. 552)[1], dark electrum pin-heads showing a ball on a plinth composed of four double axes[2], earrings of electrum[3], and a bead of gold[4] embellished with double axes. Further, in view of the fact that the word *lábrys* is Lydian[5], it is interesting to note that a hoard of jewelry found in 1878 near

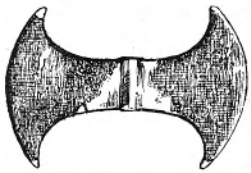


Fig. 551.

Fig. 552.

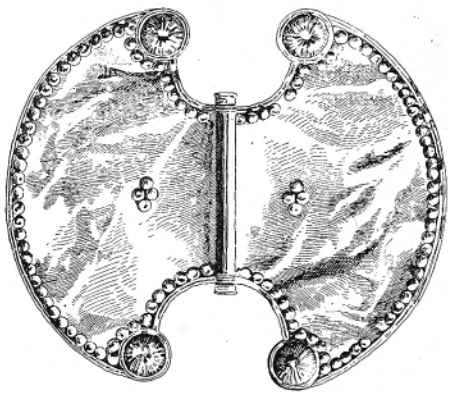


Fig. 553.

Tralleis (*Aïdin*) in Lydia[6] and referable to the seventh century B.C.[7] contains numerous double axes made of thin gold plate. They are decorated with rosettes, circles, and dots (fig. 553). One piece, shaped like a single axe with a semicircular perforated blade[8], has

[1] D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 103 pl. 5, 34 (=my fig. 552).

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 101 pl. 6, 15 and 29, pl. 10, 47.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 103 f. pl. 6, 58 f., pl. 10, 38 and 46.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 114 pl. 7, 37.

[5] *Supra* p. 560.

[6] A. Dumont in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 129 f. pls. 4—5 (inadequate), W. Frœhner *Collection H. Hoffmann* Paris 1886 pl. 20 (better), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 294 ff. figs. 203 (=my fig. 554), 204, 206 (=my fig. 553).

[7] See A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1767, F. H. Marshall in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. xxiv.

[8] Cp. *supra* p. 620 ff.

roundels ornamented with the heads of rams and bulls, two heads

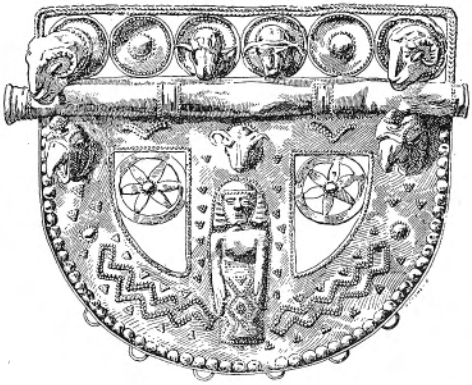


Fig. 554.

of griffins, two starry disks, and an archaic female figure flanked by lines of zig-zags (fig. 554). Lastly, a gold hair-pin from the necropolis of Koban takes the form of an axe with recurved blade, the socket of which is adorned with a little group representing a stag attacked by two hounds (fig. 555)[1].

Sir Arthur Evans draws attention to the fact that the double axe in 'Minoan' art is frequently adorned with diagonals and zig-zags (fig. 556)[2]. He contends that

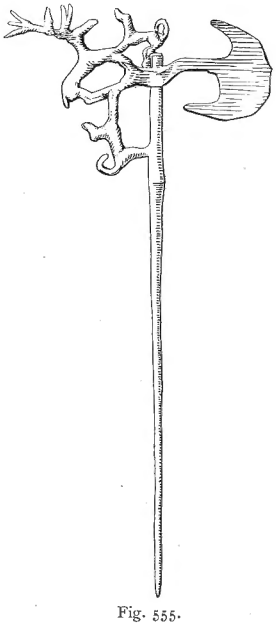


Fig. 555.

[1] N. Kondakof—J. Tolstoï—S. Reinach *Antiquités de la Russie méridionale* Paris 1891 p. 459 fig. 402 (=my fig. 555: on a reduced scale).

[2] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1900—1901 vii. 53 fig. 15 (=my fig. 556, cp. M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[2] Wien 1915 p. 515 fig. 2: (*a*) Double axe on vase-fragment; (*b*) Bronze votive double axe from Dictaean Cave; (*c*) Bronze votive double axe from Dictaean Cave, with right wing restored; (*d*) Double axe on cornelian from *Kabouzi*, enlarged). For other examples see D. Mackenzie in the

these markings 'had a special religious association[1]'; and I have elsewhere[2] hazarded the suggestion that they symbolised the

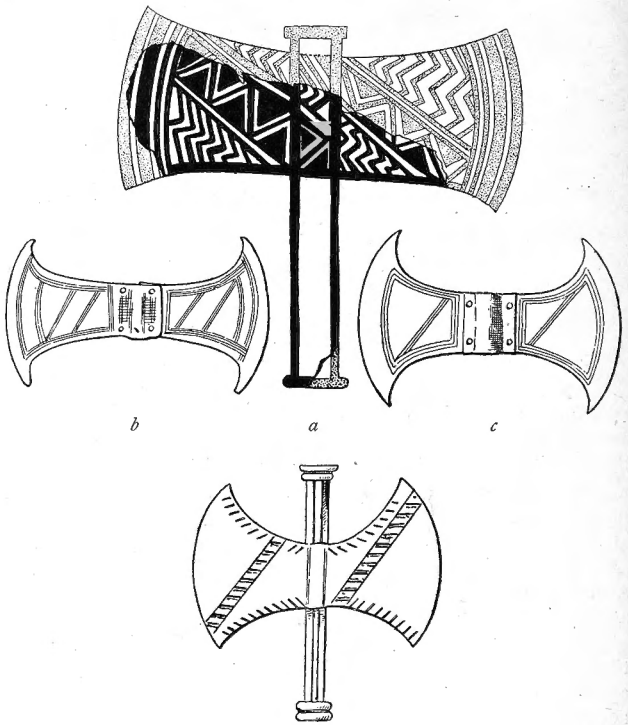


Fig. 556.

lightning[3]. A parallel might be sought in the crossed lines and

Journ. Hell. Stud. 1903 xxiii. 204 fig. 15 (double axes on vase-fragments from Knossos), *supra* pp. 518, 521 (double axes on *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada*), *supra* p. 526 f. fig. 394 (double axes on vase from Pseira), *supra* p. 538 fig. 407 (double axe on agate from Knossos), *supra* p. 623 fig. 525 (double axe on stone mould from *Palaikastro*). Cp. an ivory double axe from the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthia* at Sparta (R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 100 f. fig. 31, *f.*=my fig. 558).

[1] Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.* p. 52.

[2] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 406.

[3] On the zigzag representation of lightning among the Greeks and Romans see T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 pp. 396 ff., 411 f.

chevrons that appear on Charon's hammer in a tomb-painting at Vulci (fig. 557)[1]; for, if we may assume that he was originally a god of the Underworld[2], his hammer could betoken chthonian thunders, and the zigzags upon it chthonian lightnings. It were perhaps these 'nether thunderbolts[3]' that earned for him the very *sobriquet* of *Chárон*, 'He of the Flashing Eyes[4].' Further reflexion has,

Fig. 557.

[1] H. Brunn 'Pitture etrusche' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 356 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 31, 1 (of which my fig. 557 is an excerpt), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1100 fig. 1359. Further bibliography in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 323, who notes that the paintings are not earlier than 300 B.C.

[2] Monographs etc.: J. A. Ambrosch *De Charonte Etrusco* Vratislaviae 1837 (reviewed by E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 253—274), G. Krueger *Charon und Thanatos* Berlin 1866, N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1874 ii. 237—301 ('Χάρος'), D. C. Hesseling *Charos. Ein Beitrag zur Kenntniss des neugriechischen Volksglaubens* Leiden—Leipzig 1897, S. Rocco *Il mito di Caronte nell' arte e nella letteratura* Torino 1897, O. Waser 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1898 i. 152—182, *id. Charon, Charun, Charos* Berlin 1898 (with important reviews by D. Bassi in the *Rivista di filologia e d'istruzione classica* 1899 xxvii. 473—475 and by U. v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff in *Hermes* 1899 xxxiv. 227—230), A. Furtwängler 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii. 191—202 with two figs., J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 98—117 ('Charon'). A fresh treatment of the theme is in preparation by my friend and former pupil Miss M. E. H. Lloyd. A survey of recent hypotheses is given by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 438—441, who concludes: 'Man wird sich beim Lesen dieser Materialsammlung der...Konsequenz schwerlich entziehen können, die v. Wilamowitz-Möllendorff, Herm. 1898, 227 ff. ausspricht, dass *Ch.* ursprünglich wie der neugriechische Charos und der etruskische Charun nicht der Totenfährmann, sondern der Totengott selbst war,' etc.

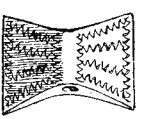


Fig. 558.

Personally I incline to think that Charon was, to begin with, an Anatolian god of the Underworld (J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 116 makes him a Pelasgian god of death) much like Hephaistos, that he has left traces of his early cult in the various Χαρώνεια or Χαρώνια of the Maiandros-valley (O. Waser *Charon, Charun, Charos* p. 61 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2183, L. Bürchner and W. Ruge *ib.* iii. 2183 f.), and that he was brought by the Etruscans from Lydia to Italy. When and where he acquired the traits of the grim ferryman is a problem as yet unsolved. In any case he stands for the lower, as Zeus for the upper, world: cp. Aisop. *prov.* 5 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. W. Schneidewin *Paroemiographi Graeci* Gottingae 1851 ii. 228) ἢ Ζεὺς ἢ Χάρων· ἢ εὐδαίμονος βίος ἢ τέλος.

[3] A. Caecina *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 2. 49. 3 and Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138 f., cp. Manil. 2. 892 (*fulmina* codd. R. Bentley cj. *culmina*). See further T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 178 and C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i. *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 pp. 34, 49.

[4] U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Homerische Untersuchungen* Berlin 1884 p. 225

however, led me to abandon any such view of the patterned axe or hammer, as involving a piece of—I do not say impossible, but at worst improbable and at best unproved, symbolism. I incline rather to take a hint from my friend Dr A. C. Haddon, who points out that patterns of the sort are often to be derived from the lashing used to hold an early axe-head in position[1]. The double axe, when a sacred weapon, would tend to be decorated; and its decoration need not have a more recondite meaning.

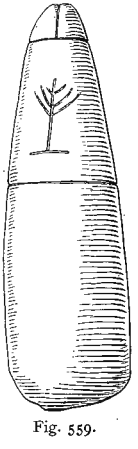


Fig. 559.

A neolithic celt of greenstone published by C. Blinkenberg[2] has incised upon it an arborescent design (fig. 559) resembling the *Donnerbesen*[3] or 'thunder-besom' marked on the walls of old-fashioned houses in Holstein, Vierlande, etc. as a protection against lightning[4]. Now *Donnerbesen* is the name popularly given in Germany and Switzerland to the mistletoe[5] or to any bushy

n. 23, O. Waser *Charon, Charun, Charos* p. 15 f., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2177 ('Χάρων...ist eine Art Kurzform zu χαρ-οπό-ς, mit (wild) funkelndem Blick'). On lightning as a flash from the eye of a deity see *supra* p. 501 ff. B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 224 f. justly compares the fiery eyes of Charon as described by Verg. *Aen.* 6. 300 *stant lumina flamma* (in *culex* 216 f. *flagrantia taedis* | *lumina* is the reading of the better codd. B. C. H.) with the lightning glance repeatedly attributed to him in modern Greek folk-song (*e.g.* A. Passow *Popularia carmina Græciæ recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 428. 4 *σὰν ἀστραπὴ 'ν' τὸ βλέμμα του*, no. 430. 10 and no. 516. 20 *τῆς ἀστραπῆς τὰ μάτια*: see also N. G. Polites *op. cit.* ii. 254 f., J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 100).

[1] A. C. Haddon *Evolution in Art* London 1895 p. 85 f. pl. 1, 1—3.

[2] C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 98 fig. 34 (=my fig. 559) a celt (0·2^{m} long) of unknown *provenance*, formerly in the Kyhn collection, now owned by A. Petersen of Lyngby in Denmark.

[3] C. Petersen *Der Donnerbesen* (xxi. Bericht der Königl. Schleswig-Holstein-Lauenburgischen Gesellschaft für Sammlung und Erhaltung vaterländischer Alterthümer) Kiel 1862 (extr. from the *Jahrbuch für die Landeskunde der Herzogthümer Schleswig* u.s.w. 1862 v. 225 ff.).

On the folk-lore of brooms in general see F. Kunze 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar' in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1900 xiii. 81—97, 125—162 (the author deals with the *Donnerbesen* on p. 145 f., but fails to establish any special connexion between the birch and the thunder-god), E. Samter *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* Leipzig—Berlin 1911 pp. 32 ff., 155, 170, 199 f., W. L. Hildburgh 'Some Magical Applications of Brooms in Japan' in *Folk-Lore* 1919 xxx. 169—207.

[4] Fräuleiń J. Mestorf in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1889 xxi. (184) with figs. 1—3 (Holstein), Virchow *ib.* 1890 xxii. (77) figs. 1 and 2 (pattern in brick-work of a Saxon smithy, Holstein), *id. ib.* 1890 xxii. (554) (Vierlande, on houses dated 1618 and 1626 A.D.).

[5] C. L. Rochholz *Schweizersagen aus dem Aargau* Aarau 1856 ii. 202 cited by A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 204, R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 440, W. Schwartz *Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 102, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 86, 121, 260, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 77, cp. 92.

growth on the boughs of trees[1], such parasitic plants being deemed the product of a lightning-flash[2]. Sir James Frazer[3] (herein following A. Kuhn[4]) points out that the Druids too regarded oak-mistletoe as fallen from heaven[5], and suggests that, in their view, the plant left on the oak by the lightning was nothing less than lightning itself, or at least a visible emanation of celestial fire. If so, a broom of mistletoe or the like would be the best possible lightning-rod; and even its effigy in the brick-work of the doorway would save the house from the most destructive storm. Since neolithic celts were in a later age held to be thunderbolts[6], they might well be adorned with such a symbol as this[7]. Precise parallels from the classical area are wanting[8]; for, though the double axe is intimately associated with sacred trees[9], no specimen as yet discovered bears a definitely arboreal device[10].

Passing from flora to fauna, we have next to notice a double axe of bronze discovered by the Italians at Phaistos (fig. 560)[11]. This masterpiece of the founder's art, which, according to A. Mosso[12],

[1] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 183, cp. 1883 iii. 1191, 1888 iv. 1346, H. Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 i. 5, 73, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 121.

[2] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 183.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 301.

[4] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 204.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 249.

[6] *Supra* p. 389 ff.

[7] E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 211 quotes the German imprecations: '*Zum Hammer, zum Donnerkeil und zum Duenerbessem!*' Cp. F. Woeste in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 1855 ii. 86.

A neolithic celt, found at Loudun (Vienne) in central France, had incised upon it, perhaps in Roman times, a sign resembling a key (W. Deonna 'Clef et hache' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1919 xxi. 219–222 argues that the celt was a thunder-stone and the key a lightning-sign, the whole forming 'une amulette funéraire, où la clef doit ouvrir au mort les portes de l'au-delà'). Mr M. C. Burkitt, to whom I applied for further examples, tells me that there is in the Museum at Carnac 'an engraving of a fish (poor) on a flat celt,' and refers me to L. Giraux 'Hache polie avec gravures sur les deux faces' in the *Bulletin de la société préhistorique française* Séance du 23 Nov. 1911 (cruciform signs, etc.).

[8] Note, however, the combination of axe, pestle, and broom in the rites of Intercidona, Pilumnus, and Deverra (Varr. *antiquit. rer. div.* 14 *frag.* 61 Agahd *ap.* Aug. *de civ. Dei* 6. 9), on which see E. Samter *Geburt, Hochzeit und Tod* Leipzig—Berlin 1911 pp. 29 ff., 51 ff., G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1608.

[9] *Supra* p. 516 ff., *infra* § 3 (c) i (*p*—*v*).

[10] Sir J. Evans *The Ancient Bronze Implements, Weapons, and Ornaments, of Great Britain and Ireland* London 1881 p. 102 fig. 98 shows a winged celt from Trillick, Tyrone, on the sides of which a kind of fern-leaf pattern has been punched (cp. p. 61 fig. 26 a flanged celt from Dams, Fifeshire), and p. 123 fig. 136 a socketed celt from Winwick, Lancashire, with an apparent tree-pattern.

[11] A. Mosso *The Dawn of Mediterranean Civilisation* London 1910 pp. 318—320 fig. 180 (=my fig. 560).

[12] *Id. ib.* p. 319.

must have been cast *à cire perdue*[1], bears as central decoration a

Fig. 560.

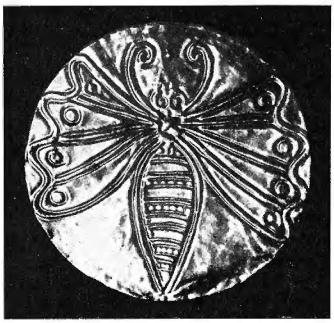


Fig. 561.

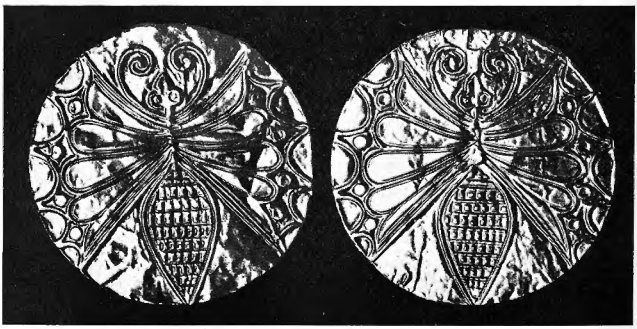


Fig. 562.

[1] *Supra* i. 723 f., 725 n. 5. Dr L. R. Farnell writes to me (July 31, 1919): 'You

superb moth of the stylised sort, with spiral *antennae*, a ringed body, and two scalloped wings showing circular eyes. It resembles the moths on the golden disks (figs. 561, 562)[1] and *plaques*[2] from the third shaft-grave at Mykenai[3] and, like them, betokens the presence of a soul[4]. Incidentally, its round open eyes on head and

take the Talos-story as proof that the Minoan artist knew hollow bronze casting—but the myth about the nail and the vein would be consistent with solid casting: there is as yet no archaeologic evidence that the Minoans knew the hollow process.'

[1] H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 165 ff. fig. 243, p. 196 ff. fig. 301 f., C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 204 ff. fig. 193, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 968 with fig. 543. My figs. 561, 562 are from electrotypes of three of the disks.

[2] H. Schliemann *op. cit.* p. 176 fig. 256, Perrot—Chipiez *op. cit.* vi. 968 with fig. 544.

[3] Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 705 f. figs. 528, 529 shows that these 'Late Minoan i' representations were preceded by 'Middle Minoan iii' seal-types (Zakro, Knossos), in which eyed butterfly-wings formed one element in a complex of fantastic decoration.

[4] On the soul as a butterfly or moth see O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 138 ff., L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 pp. 66—79, 94—139, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3234—3237, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 29 n. 1, 41, 51 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 436—442, *supra* i. 532 n. 12.

According to O. Keller *loc. cit.*, the death's-head moth (*Acherontia atropos*), so common in southern Europe, flitting about the garden-tombs of a summer's evening, with its weird mask, its uncanny squeak, and its fondness for honey, was early held to be an embodiment of the soul and as such is represented on the gold-work from Mykenai. In the Alexandrine age the moth was displaced by the butterfly—a gayer and more frolicsome insect associated with Aphrodite and Eros, Dionysos and Priapos. Hence ψυχή came to be used of the butterfly, especially of the 'cabbage white' (*Pieris brassicae* or the like), first in Aristotle (H. Bonitz *Index Aristotelicus* Berolini 1870 p. 866 a *s.v.* ψυχή), while conversely *papilio* is sometimes found in the sense of 'soul' (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ii no. 2146 = F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1897 ii. 850 f. no. 1851 (from Obulco in Hispania Baetica) heredibus mando etiam cinere ut m[era vina ferant,] volitet meus ebrius papilio, etc., cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 26011 = F. Bücheler *op. cit.* ii. 489 no. 1063 (from Rome) papilio volita(n)s | texto religatus | aranist: illi prae|da rep(e)ns, huic | data mors subit|ast). Ultimately the brief life and the senselessness of the butterfly, which gets its wings singed in the nearest flame, led Christians to regard it as the very type of a careless and worldly soul. From sombre moth (all that!) to frivolous butterfly (only that!)—an instructive chapter in semantics.

A banded sardonyx at Copenhagen (L. Müller *Description des intailles et camées antiques du Musée Thorwaldsen* Copenhague 1847 p. 164 no. 1510, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 p. 90, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 24, 59 (= my fig. 563), ii. 122) shows a butterfly approaching an ithyphallic herm, while a peacock is seated on the edge of the fountain-basin: fine work of the Roman period. Other gems combine a large *phallós* with a butterfly and a snail: so on an agate belonging to a private collection in the Netherlands (L. J. F. Janssen *Nederlandsch-Romeinsche Daktyliotheek* Leyden 1844 pl. 3, 58, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1871 p. 282: the stone is inscribed Κύθων) and on a cornelian in the Hermitage (L. Stephani *ib.* 1877 p. 89). But the closest parallel is furnished by an early Attic black-figured *amphora* at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 222 no. 1684: on the right, a bearded man dancing; on the left, a bearded man playing the double flute—'sein

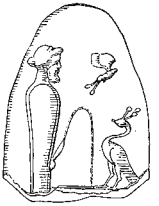


Fig. 563.

wing would serve as a powerful prophylactic. Thus the axe on which the creature appears was not only animate, instinct with divine life, but also sacrosanct, protected against the approach of evil. Mosso surmises that it was 'a weapon for ceremonial use.'

Small votive double axes of bronze, marked with concentric circles, are not uncommonly found in the Greek area. Two came

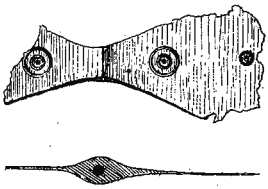


Fig. 564.

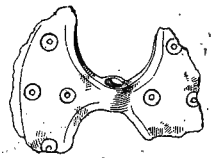


Fig. 565.

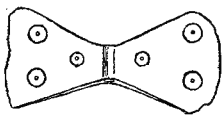


Fig. 566.

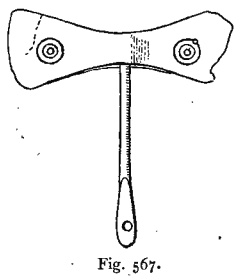


Fig. 567.

to light in the *Altis* at Olympia, one to the south-west of the temple of Zeus (fig. 564)[1], the other at its north-western angle (fig. 565)[2]. Another, from Athens, much like the first of these, is in the Museum at Copenhagen[3]. Two more turned up in the precinct of Artemis at Lousoi in Arkadia (figs. 566, 567)[4]. Another was associated

Phallus ist horizontal erigiert und vier r. Samentropfen fallen nieder in der Richtung auf einen Schmetterling..., der in der Luft fliegt und im Verhältnis viel zu gross gemalt ist'). Was the soul-butterfly popularly connected with the seminal fluid (*κραμβίδες* and *κάμπαι* spring from the dew that falls on cabbages (Aristophanes of Byzantion *hist. an. epit.* 1. 36 p. 8, 10 ff. Lambros *ἐκ δὲ τῆς δρόσου τῆς ἐπὶ τὰ φύλλα τῆς κράμβης πιπτούσης αἱ λεγόμεναι κραμβίδες καὶ κάμπαι*), while manure breeds *vermiculi* under a waxing moon (Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 9))?· Or should we assume a play on *φαλλός* and *φάλλη* (Hesych. *s.v. φάλλη· ἡ πετομένη ψυχή*)?

[1] A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 71 no. 524 pl. 26 (=my fig. 564) with remains of the haft in its hole.

[2] *Id. ib.* iv. 71 no. 527 pl. 26 (=my fig. 565), W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 388 fig. 51.

[3] *Id. ib.* iv. 71: Copenhagen bronzes no. 1647.

[4] W. Reichel and A. Wilhelm 'Das Heiligthum der Artemis zu Lusoi' in the *Jahresh.*

with geometric ware in the sanctuary of Artemis *Orthía* at Sparta (fig. 568)[1]. And yet another, made of bone, was acquired at Athens and is now in the interesting collection of Aegean antiquities lent by R. M. Dawkins to the Fitzwilliam Museum at Cambridge (fig. 569)[2].

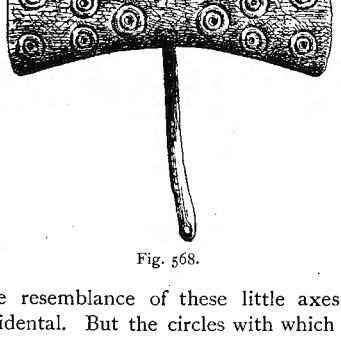


Fig. 568.

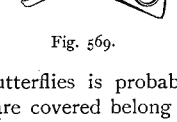


Fig. 569.

The resemblance of these little axes to butterflies is probably accidental. But the circles with which they are covered belong to a system of decoration widely prevalent in the Hallstatt period[3] and are almost certainly prophylactic in character[4]. J. Déchelette took them to be solar disks[5], and others have assumed that they are 'eyes[6].' In any case the axe as a sacred object was protected by their presence upon it.

Diminutive axes of bronze passed during the Early Iron Age

d. oest. arch. Inst. 1901 iv. 49 figs. 67 (=my fig. 567) and 68 (=my fig. 566): 'Gefunden an der Schuttstätte östlich des Buleuterion' (map *ib.* p. 16 fig. 6).

[1] J. P. Droop in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 117 fig. 6, *e* (=my fig. 568).

[2] Scale ½.

[3] Numerous examples will be found in the plates of E. v. Sacken *Das Grabfeld von Hallstatt in Oberösterreich und dessen Alterthümer* Wien 1868.

[4] An analogy is afforded by the *swastika* found as a decorative device on axes, double or single. Thus A. Héron de Villefosse and E. Michon, among other acquisitions of the Louvre in 1899, mention: '109. Petite hachette votive à double tranchant, ornée sur ses deux faces de croix gammées légèrement gravées au pointillé et au trait; belle patine vert clair. Grèce' (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1900 xv Arch. Anz. p. 157). And a single-bladed axe from Piedmont is similarly marked (O. Montelius *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux* Stockholm 1895 i. 183 pl. 33, 15, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 481 f. fig. 205, 2).

[5] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 457 ff. fig. 190.

[6] Cp. J. Déchelette *op. cit.* Paris 1913 ii. 2. 870 f. fig. 364, 1—4 and G. Eisen 'The characteristics of Eye Beads from the earliest times to the present' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 1—27 with 19 figs. in text and a col. pl. (see also some of the beads figured by the same author in his article on 'Button Beads—with special reference to those of the Etruscan and Roman periods' *ib.* 1916 xx. 299—307 with two col. pls.).

into mere pendants (fig. 570)[1], and in the passage developed further features of magical potency. For instance, projecting lugs became, under the influence of a favourite Hallstatt *motif*[2], a pair of swan-

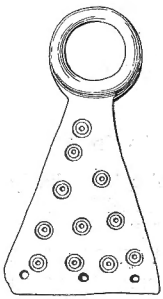


Fig. 570.

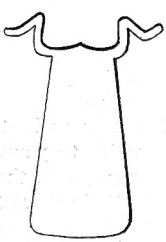


Fig. 571.

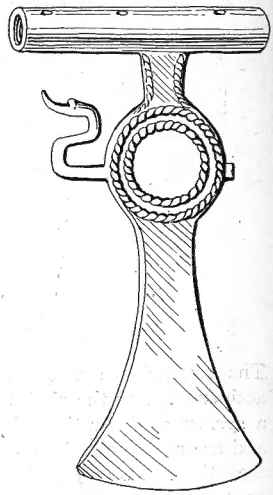


Fig. 572.

heads or duck-heads—witness one of the twenty-three little votive axes from Dodona (fig. 571)[3] or a more elaborate specimen at

[1] M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 440 ff. pl. 10, 19 (=my fig. 570) from Austria.

I add, for comparison's sake, figs. 573, 574, which represent two axe-pendants of bronze, from Benin, now in the collection of Mr C. H. C. Visick. Scale ½.

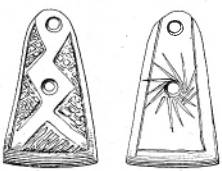


Fig. 573.

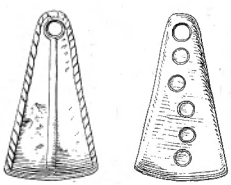


Fig. 574.

[2] M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[1] pp. 488—498 ('Vogelfiguren'), 519 f., *id. op. cit.*[2] Wien 1915 p. 524 f., J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 419—426 ('La barque solaire et les cygnes hyperboréens en Scandinavie'), 426—444 ('Les cygnes et les symboles solaires en Italie, dans l'Europe centrale et la Gaule').

[3] C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 pp. 100, 235 f. pl. 54, 6 (=my fig. 571).

Vienna (fig. 572)[1]. But projecting lugs were also suggestive of

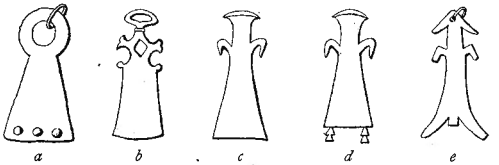


Fig. 575.

human arms, and it needed no great effort of imagination to transform the axe into a *quasi*-anthropomorphic pendant (fig. 575)[2], complicated at will by the addition of rings, chains, etc. I figure an advanced type from a grave at Tribano near Padua (fig. 576)[3] and two other examples from Italy that show an accumulation of apotropaeic elements (fig. 577)[4].

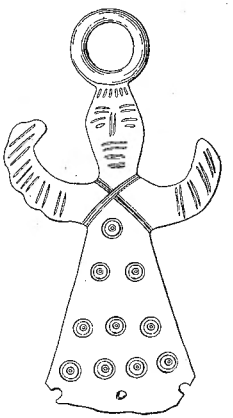


Fig. 576.

The prophylactic value of such pendants was doubtless high. It became higher still, when the sacred axe without losing all semblance of its essential shape was modified into a gong; for, as I have elsewhere insisted[5], great is the virtue of beaten bronze. Pythagoras, for instance, declared that the sound of bronze being beaten was the voice of some deity shut up within it[6]. Tombs of the Early Iron Age in the vicinity of Bologna have yielded a number of such gongs together with their

[1] M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 pp. 443, 472 pl. 10, 9 (=my fig. 572) 'Antikensammlung des Allerh. Kaiserhauses zu Wien, Saal XII, Schrank VI, Nr. 315,' *id. op. cit.*[2] p. 519 fig. 5, J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 1. 481 f. fig. 205, 3.

[2] M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[1] p. 441 f. fig. 136 (=my fig. 575): *a* from Obervintl in the Puster Thal, Tyrol; *b* from the neighbourhood of Bologna; *c*, *d*, *e* from Prozor near Otočac, Croatia. See also L. Siret *Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibériques* Paris 1913 i. 365 ff. fig. 136 ff.

[3] M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[1] p. 442 pl. 10, 26 (=my fig. 576).

[4] H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 53 no. 344 (from Italy) and p. 57 no. 383 (from Ruvo) describes the first as a 'Human Figure, rudely represented by a plate of bronze' and the second as a 'Plate in the form of an axe-head': he adds that the thing suspended on either side of the latter is 'a man or ape crouching and holding up some object between chin and knees.' My fig. 577 is from a photograph taken by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[5] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 5—28, *supra* i. 592 n.

[6] Aristot. *frag.* 191 Rose *ap.* Porph. *v. Pyth.* 41, cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 17.

hammers[1]: the specimen illustrated was found at Villanova and is

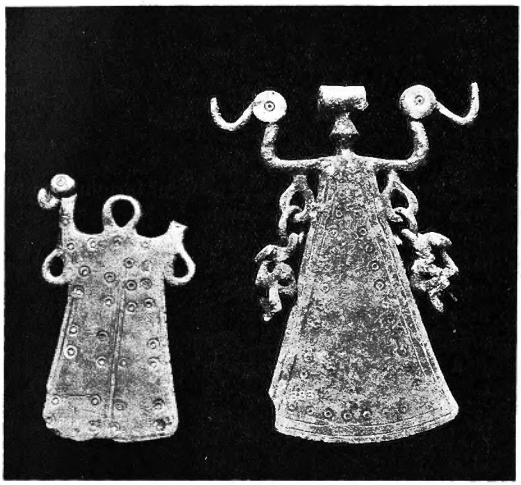


Fig. 577.

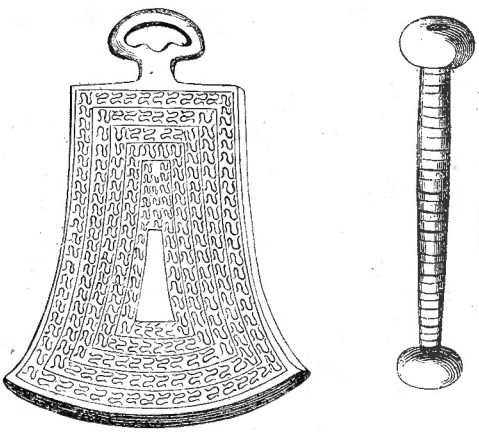


Fig. 578.

[1] G. Gozzadini 'Les fouilles archéologiques et les stèles funéraires du Bolonais' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1886 ii. 130. See further the bibliography *ib.* p. 129 n. 2.

in the collection formed by Count Gozzadini (fig. 578)[1]. The gong as a rule is solid-cast, though one example is made of two thin

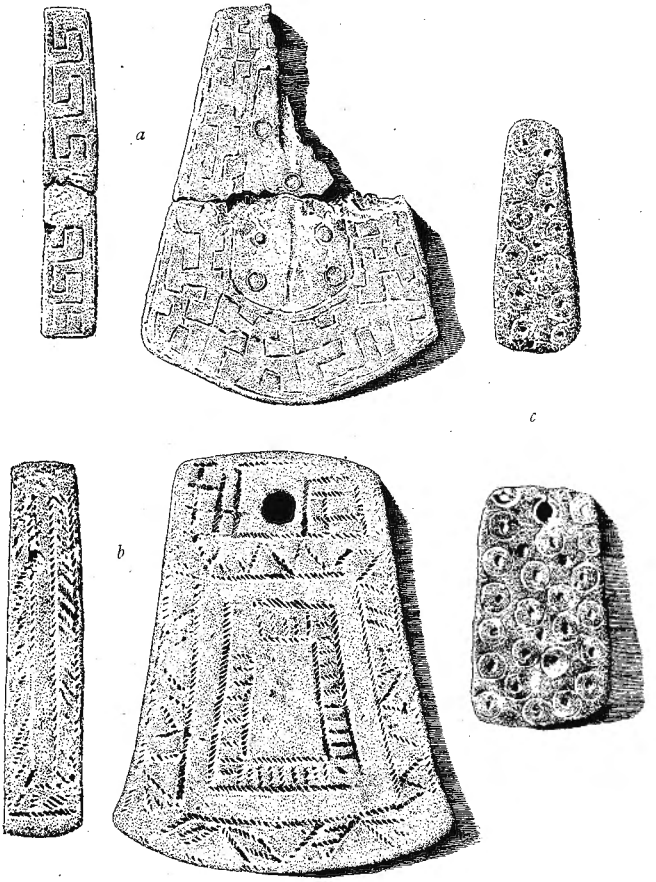


Fig. 579.

plates of bronze soldered at the edges so as to enclose an empty

[1] *Matériaux pour l'histoire primitive et naturelle de l'homme* 1874 ix. 289 figs. 105 and 106, G. Cotteau *Le Préhistorique en Europe* Paris 1889 p. 79, L. Pigorini in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* 1890 xvi. 62 fig. (=my fig. 578: scale ½).

space two millimeters in depth[1] and might be regarded as a cross between a gong and a bell. The hammer is regularly a hollow-cast cylinder with spheroidal ends.

L. Pigorini[2] has pointed out that contemporary copies of these axe-gongs were made in terra cotta, and has published examples from the De Lucca estate at Bologna (fig. 579, *c*), from Monteveglio in the same neighbourhood (fig. 579, *b*), and from Solino near Imola (fig. 579, *a*). The Solino gong is decorated on both sides with circles, formerly filled with bronze studs, some of which are still to be seen fixed in the clay[3].

(ξ) The duplication of the double axe.

The 'Minoan' axe in religious surroundings exhibits a marked tendency towards duplication. To begin with, the sacred weapon

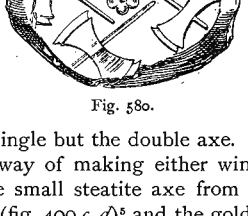


Fig. 580.

is normally not the single but the double axe. Then, the craftsman or the artist has a way of making either wing of the implement twofold—witness the small steatite axe from Knossos (fig. 405)[4], or the gold *bucrania* (fig. 409 *c*, *d*)[5] and the gold ring from Mykenai (fig. 18)[6], the clay sealing from *Kato Zakro* (fig. 524)[7], the painted *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* (pl. xxvii, *a*)[8]. Or he may duplicate the whole axe, so that we see as objects of veneration a pair of double axes with twofold blades: the same *sarcophagus* provides an illustration (pl. xxvii, *b*)[9]. Or again he may duplicate this pair of double axes with twofold blades, as on a clay sealing found near the 'Room of the Archives' in the Cnossian palace (fig. 580)[10].

[1] G. Gozzadini *Intorno ad alcuni sepolcri scavati nell' arsenale militare di Bologna* Bologna 1875 p. 6 f. with fig. 15, L. Pigorini *loc. cit.* p. 65 f.

[2] L. Pigorini 'Di un oggetto di bronzo italico della prima età del ferro e di alcune sue imitazioni in terra cotta' in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* pp. 62—76 pl. 3, 1 (=my fig. 579, *a*), 2 (=my fig. 579, *b*), 3 (=my fig. 579, *c*). Scale ⅓.

[3] W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1882 p. 83 n. 2, L. Pigorini *loc. cit.* p. 68 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 535. [5] *Supra* p. 537. [6] *Supra* p. 514 ff.

[7] *Supra* p. 623. [8] *Supra* p. 518. [9] *Supra* p. 520.

[10] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 103 fig. 61 (=my fig. 580: scale ⅔).

What are we to think of this *penchant* for binary forms? L. A. Milani[1] in a somewhat tangled passage of theogonic speculation declares that the duplicated blades of the double axe on the gold ring symbolise two pairs of gods, on the one hand the celestial Kronos and Zeus, on the other the solar Zeus and Apollon, either pair being conceived as Father and Son—an explanation which might have claimed support from the Ophites and their supramundane diagram (fig. 511)[2]. Sir Arthur Evans[3], without indulging in such subtleties, risks a similar conjecture *à propos* of the same ring: 'The curious reduplication of the axe blades suggests indeed

Fig. 581.

Fig. 582.

that it stands as an image of the conjunction of the divine pair—a solar and a lunar divinity.'

Personally I should contend that the double axe hafted in a leafy stem, as at *Hagia Triada* (pl. xxvii, *b*)[4] and Knossos (fig. 396)[5], betokened the union of the Sky-father with the Earth-mother, and that an ordinary double axe on its wooden handle came to be received as a symbol of like significance[6]. Nor would I deny that a pair of double axes, held up by a priestess (fig. 528)[7] or erected in a shrine (fig. 404)[8], were reverenced as the signs of god and goddess respectively. But I demur to regarding the duplicated

[1] Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 197 f., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 287.

[2] *Supra* p. 610 f.

[3] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108.

[4] *Supra* p. 520 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 527 f.

[6] *Infra* § 3 (c) i (π).

[7] *Supra* p. 624.

[8] *Supra* p. 535 ff.

blades as any evidence of the divine duality. In art, as in language[1], reduplication implies emphasis. The feeling that transformed the lightning-fork[2] into a thunderbolt, and thereby doubled the ability of the thunder-god to strike, augmented the cutting edges of the *lábrys* with the same result. Accentuated further, it produced not merely double but multiple blades, as in the case of the mould from *Palaikastro* (fig. 525)[3]. Finally, double axes with twofold blades and flower-like sepals, such as occur sporadically among the *bucrania* of Mykenai (fig. 409, *d*)[4], are found at Pseira, a small island in the Gulf of Mirabello, repeated as a pattern to cover the surface of ceramic vessels (figs. 581, 582)[5]. The vessels and their contents were thus protected by the whole armoury of heaven.

(*o*) The double axes of Tenedos.

The 'Minoan' conception of a bisexual axe is, as Sir Arthur Evans[6] has pointed out, confirmed by the coin-types of Tenedos. The obverse of these coins from the sixth century B.C. onwards—whether their style be archaic (fig. 583)[7], late archaic (fig. 584)[8], fine (figs. 585, 586)[9], or decadent (figs. 587, 588)[10]—shows a Janiform head consisting of a male and a female profile combined: the reverse has a double axe with a short handle. Sir Arthur Evans makes the

[1] K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen*[2] Strassburg 1906 ii. 1. 46 f., 56 ff., *id. Kurze vergleichende Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1904 pp. 286 f., 300 f., K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 pp. 206 f., 302 ff., R. Kühner—F. Holzweissig *Ausführliche Grammatik der lateinischen Sprache*[2] Hannover 1912 i. 729 ff., 947.

[2] *Infra* § 3 (c) iv (*β*).

[3] *Supra* p. 623 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 537.

[5] R. B. Seager *Excavations on the Island of Pseira* (University of Pennsylvania. The University Museum: Anthropological Publications iii. 1) Philadelphia 1910 p. 31 fig. 12, G. Karo—G. Maraghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Deuxième série Candie 1911 p. ix pl. 21, 4 (=my fig. 582) and 6 (=my fig. 581), a small basket-shaped vase and the lid of a large vase, both of 'Late Minoan i.'

[6] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 108.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 91 pl. 17, 2 (=my fig. 583), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. pl. 16, 2, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 6 no. 50 pl. 1, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 5 pl. 2, 19, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 550.

[8] I figure an unpublished specimen from my collection.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 92 f. pl. 17, 6—10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 303 f. pl. 49, 16, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1305 ff. pl. 166, 22—33, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 6 f. nos. 48, 53—58, 61 f. pl. 1, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 38 pl. 18, 20 f., *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 550. Figs. 585 and 586 are from specimens in my collection.

[10] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 94 pl. 17, 12, 13 (=my fig. 588), 14, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 304 no. 4, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 7 nos. 64—66 pl. 2, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 91 pl. 49, 13, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 551 fig. My fig. 587 is from Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlvi* Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u.a.) Wien 1914 p. 34 no. 699 pl. 12—an early example of the decadent class with some exceptional features (pattern on *stephánē*, handle of axe).

attractive suggestion that the former is the 'anthropomorphic equivalent' of the latter.

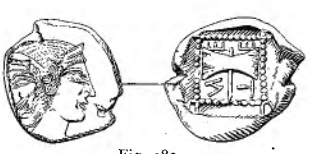


Fig. 583.

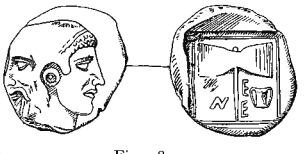


Fig. 584.

Fig. 585.

Fig. 586.

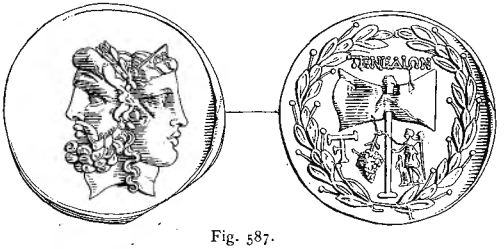


Fig. 587.

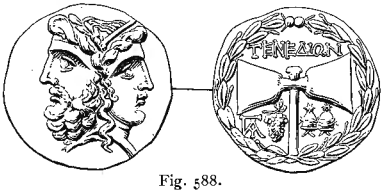


Fig. 588.

That the double axe at Tenedos was indeed a sacred symbol, or even the recipient of an actual cult[1], appears from the representation of it on certain remarkable specimens published by

[1] My friend and colleague Sir W. Ridgeway in his book *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* Cambridge 1892 pp. 49 f., 318 ff. argues that the axe on coins of Tenedos was 'not religious,' but represented rather 'the local unit of an earlier epoch.' He shows from *Il.* 23. 850 f., 882 f. (cp. schol. *Il.* 23. 851, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1878, 57 ff., Hesych. *s.vv.* ἡμιπέλεκκον, πέλεκυς, and πε[λέκεϝας] in a Cypriote inscription from Idalion printed by W. Deecke in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 27 ff.

F. Imhoof-Blumer. One of these, a *dídrachmon* extant in the collections of Berlin (fig. 589)[1] and Glasgow (fig. 590)[2], exhibits the double axe standing on the uppermost of three steps between a pair of pillars or pillar-like supports. We are reminded at once of the way in which 'Minoan' art depicted a double axe standing on

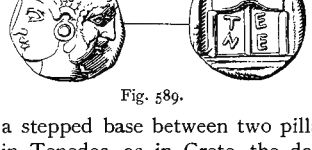


Fig. 589.

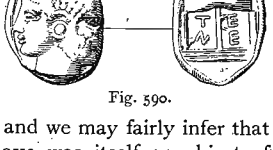


Fig. 590.

a stepped base between two pillars[3]; and we may fairly infer that in Tenedos, as in Crete, the double axe was itself an object of worship. The other coin, a *tetrádrachmon* of which specimens exist at Berlin (fig. 591)[4] and in the collections formed by Canon W.

no. 60, 15 and 26 = O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 68 ff. no. 135, 15 and 26 = F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae*[2] Lipsiae 1905 p. 5 ff. no. 3, 15 and 26) that double axes formed part of the earliest Greek system of currency, and holds that the πελέκεις dedicated at Delphoi by Periklytos the Tenedian (Paus. 10. 14. 1) were probably offered to the god as being the 'especial product of Tenedos.' In *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 444 Sir W. Ridgeway makes the further suggestion that the Tenedian axes at Delphoi 'were not real, but only miniature axes like those from the Dictaean cave.'

Sir W. Ridgeway's views on the whole subject have been criticised with admirable fairness and acumen by G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 23 ff. For my part, I am quite prepared to believe that double axes were in early times and in some places (*e.g.* Kypros) a recognised unit of exchange. But that, as Sir William himself allows (*The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards* p. 319 n. 2), is by no means inconsistent with the belief that they were sacred objects also. On the one hand, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1906 ix. 161—181 pl. 2 ff. has published a series of bronze castings in the shape of double axes (?) from Salamis in Kypros, *Serra Ilixi* in Sardinia, Phaistos in Crete, Mykenai in Argolis, and Kyme in Euboia. These are marked with various characters (in one case with a double axe), and conform to definite weight standards. Presumably, therefore, they are a medium of exchange. But it is far from certain that these castings are double axes: Sir A. J. Evans in *Corolla Numismatica* Oxford 1906 p. 355 ff. treats them as mere ingots. More to the point are the copper double axes found in northern Europe (*supra* p. 617), if not also some of the bronze axes found in Gaul (J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 254). On the other hand, the evidence for the cult of the double axe in Crete and Asia Minor is overwhelming. The implement had at once a commercial and a religious significance.

[1] F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 274 f. pl. 10, 9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 369 f. pl. 16, 6 (= my fig. 589), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 550.

[2] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 304 pl. 49, 15 (= my fig. 590), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 25 pl. 1, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 6 no. 49 pl. 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 550.

[3] *Supra* p. 524 f.

[4] F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 274 pl. 10, 8 (reverse only), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. pl. 16, 4 (= my fig. 591), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 550.

Greenwell (fig. 592)[1] and Sir H. Weber (fig. 593)[2], portrays an *amphora* placed beside the double axe, the left handle of the former being attached by means of a fillet to the shaft of the latter[3]. Again, we are reminded of the way in which on the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* a large two-handled jar placed between a pair of tree-axes was being filled with a red liquid by the officiating priestess

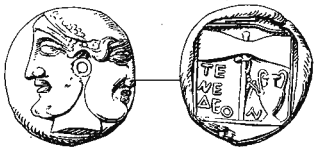


Fig. 591.

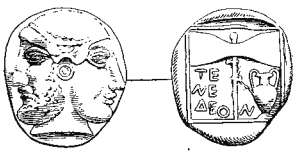


Fig. 592.

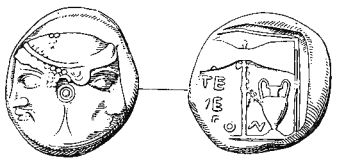


Fig. 593.

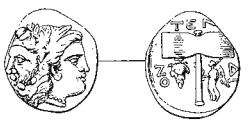


Fig. 594.

(pl. xxvii, *b*)[4]. Perhaps both in Crete and in Tenedos the bisexual axe, symbolising the union of the god with the goddess, was believed to bring fertility to field and vineyard[5].

Attention may here be called to a *drachmé* of fine style, represented in the cabinets of London (fig. 594)[6] and Paris[7], which gives the goddess of the obverse a necklace and connects the axe

[1] W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1893 xiii. 89 pl. 7, 15 (=my fig. 592), Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 7 no. 60 pl. 1, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. no. 624.

[2] W. Greenwell in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1893 xiii. 89, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1897 xx. 274, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 367 f. no. 624. Fig. 593 is from a cast of the Weber specimen, for which I am indebted to the kind offices of Mr C. T. Seltman.

[3] Mr G. F. Hill suggested to me that the alleged 'fillet' might be due to a mere crack in the die. But Mr C. T. Seltman justly observes that the occurrence of three specimens all showing a crack in precisely the same condition is most improbable.

[4] *Supra* p. 520.

[5] Cp. the coin of Mostene showing a double axe between a bunch of grapes and two ears of corn (*supra* p. 564 n. 8).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 92 pl. 17, 8. I first noticed the details of the reverse, when examining the original. Fig. 594 is from a cast kindly supplied by Mr G. F. Hill, who is inclined to regard the 'fillet' as a line of fortuitous dots.

[7] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1307 f. pl. 166, 23. This coin appears to be from the same dies as the specimen in the British Museum.

of the reverse with a couple of adjuncts—on one side a handsome bunch of grapes, on the other a little Nike engaged in wreathing the haft. It will be observed that the grape-bunch actually touches the left blade, while the Nike is linked to the right blade by a short but clearly-marked fillet[1]. I should infer that, at the time when this coin was struck, grapes and a small Nike were kept dangling from the wings of the sacred weapon.

Of the grape-bunch there is more to be said. From about the year 420 B.C. onwards it is constantly associated with the Tenedian

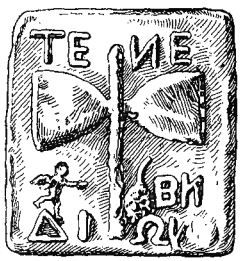


Fig. 595.

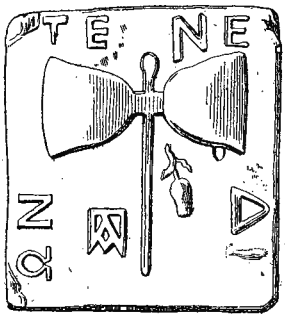


Fig. 596.

axe. And this, not only on the silver coins of Tenedos (*e.g.* figs. 585 ff., 593). Two leaden weights (*hemimnaia*) of the same island, now at Paris (fig. 595)[2] and Berlin (fig. 596)[3], show the grapes as well as the axe. And a bronze tablet of Hellenistic date (*c.* 300—250 B.C.) from Olympia, recording a decree in honour of the Tenedian wrestler Damokrates, is embellished with two double axes and a bunch of grapes (fig. 597)[4]. The grapes imply a Dionysiac divinity of some sort, and go far towards establishing the contention of L. Stephani[5] and F. Lenormant[6] that the axe refers to a Tene-

[1] For the fillet thus used as a means of magic connexion see *supra* p. 408 n. 0.

[2] Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 678 no. 2241 fig. (=my fig. 595).

[3] K. M. R. Schillbach *Beitrag zur griechischen Gewichtskunde* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* lxxiii) Berlin 1877 p. 13 no. 6 pl. 2, É. Michon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 554 fig. 5734 (=my fig. 596).

[4] A. Kirchhoff in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiii. 183 ff. no. 4, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 332 f. no. 1172, W. Dittenberger—K. Purgold in *Olympia* v. 75 ff. no. 39 fig., E. Curtius—F. Adler—G. Hirschfeld *Die Ausgrabungen zu Olympia* Berlin 1876 i pl. 31, a. My fig. 597 was drawn from the cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology at Cambridge. The original bronze was found to the south of the south-west angle of the temple of Zeus in the *Altis*.

[5] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 128, cp. *ib.* p. 125.

[6] F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 624.

dian cult of Dionysos. Lenormant remarked that Simonides of Keos in one of his riddles speaks of an axe as the 'ox-slaughtering

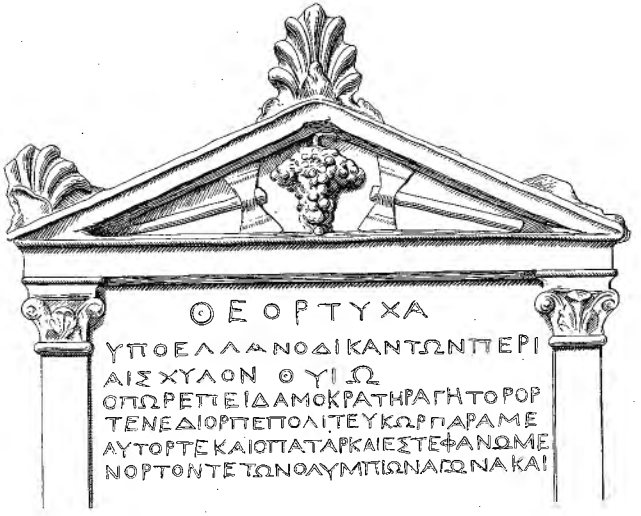


Fig. 597.

servitor of king Dionysos[1],' and—what is more convincing—that

[1] Simonid. *frag.* 172 Bergk[4], 163 Hiller—Crusius, *ap.* Athen. 456 C—E *γριφώδη δ' ἐστὶ καὶ Σιμωνίδη ταῦτα πεποιημένα, ὡς φησι Χαμαιλέων ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης ἐν τῷ περὶ Σιμωνίδου* (*frag.* 13 Köpke in E. Koepke *De Chamaeleontis Heracleotae vita librorumque reliquiis* Berlin 1856 p. 21 ff.)· '*μιξονόμου τε πατὴρ ἐρίφου καὶ σχέτλιος ἰχθὺς | πλησίον ἡρείσαντο καρήατα· παῖδα δὲ Νυκτὸς | δεξάμενοι βλεφάροισι, Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος | βουφόνον οὐκ ἐθέλουσι τιθηνεῖσθαι θεράποντα.*' (*A*) *φασὶ δ' οἱ μὲν ἐπί τινος τῶν ἀρχαίων ἀναθημάτων ἐν Χαλκίδι τοῦτ' ἐπιγεγράφθαι, πεποιῆσθαι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ τράγον καὶ δελφῖνα, περὶ ὧν εἶναι τὸν λόγον τοῦτον.* (*B*) *οἱ δὲ εἰς ἐπιτόνιον ψαλτήριον δελφῖνα καὶ τράγον εἰργασμένον εἰρῆσθαι· καὶ εἶναι τὸν βουφόνον καὶ τὸν Διονύσου θεράποντα τὸν διθύραμβον.* (*C*) *οἱ δέ φασιν ἐν Ἰουλίδι τὸν τῷ Διονύσῳ θυόμενον βοῦν ὑπό τινος τῶν νεανίσκων παίεσθαι πελέκει. πλησίον δὲ τῆς ἑορτῆς οὔσης εἰς χαλκεῖον δοθῆναι τὸν πέλεκυν· τὸν οὖν Σιμωνίδην ἔτι νέον ὄντα βαδίσαι πρὸς τὸν χαλκέα κομιούμενον αὐτόν. ἰδόντα δὲ καὶ τὸν τεχνίτην κοιμώμενον καὶ τὸν ἀσκὸν καὶ τὸν καρκίνον εἰκῆ κείμενον καὶ ἐπαλλήλως ἔχοντα τὰ ἔμπροσθεν, οὕτως ἐλθόντα εἰπεῖν πρὸς τοὺς συνήθεις τὸ προειρημένον πρόβλημα. τὸν μὲν γὰρ τοῦ ἐρίφου πατέρα τὸν ἀσκὸν εἶναι, σχέτλιον δὲ ἰχθὺν τὸν καρκίνον, Νυκτὸς δὲ παῖδα τὸν Ὕπνον, βουφόνον δὲ καὶ Διονύσου θεράποντα τὸν πέλεκυν.*

An elaborate, but not very enlightening, attempt to make sense of all this will be found in W. Schultz *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* Leipzig 1909 i. 16, 31, 36 no. 17, Leipzig 1912 ii. 111—117 (=*Mythologische Bibliothek* iii. 1 and v. 1), who distinguishes *A* and *B* as partial solutions from *C* as relatively complete. In *A* Schultz emends *ἐν χαλκεί<ῳ τρίπο>δι*, holding that the bronze tripod of *A* is tantamount to the

The double axes of Tenedos

Alexander tyrant of Pherai was specially devoted to the cult of Diónysos *Pélekys*, Dionysos the 'Double Axe,' at Pagasai on the Thessalian coast[1]. Silver coins struck by this Alexander between 369 and 357 B.C. have as their reverse type a warrior sitting a horse, whose flank is marked with the double axe, another double axe being beneath it (fig. 598)[2], or a lion's head, sometimes with a double axe below it[3], or a double axe alone (fig. 599)[4]. Hence B. V. Head[5] suggested that the Janiform type of the Tenedian coins

strung lyre of *B* (cp. Artemon of Kassandreia *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 342 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 637 B—F, where Pythagoras of Zakynthos invents a musical tripod composed of three lyres). In both *A* and *B*, according to Schultz, the 'goat' and 'dolphin' are wrongly conceived as *on* the ringing vessel, not *in* it; and 'dolphin' is a blunder for 'crab.' In *B* he supposes that 'Dithyramb' means 'Dionysos.' In *C* we are to assume that Dionysos was awakened out of his annual sleep by an axe used to strike a caldron containing bellows (*ἀσκός*) and tongs (*καρκίνος*): on account of its contents the caldron was dubbed a smithy (*χαλκεῖον*), on account of its rumbling echoes a bull (implied in *βουφόνος*). The whole riddle is translated as if there were a comma *after*, not *before*, *Διωνύσοιο ἄνακτος*: 'Der Vater des vermischt weidenden Böckleins (*Balg*) und der schreckliche Fisch (*Zange*) | stiessen die Häupter an einander: der das Kind der Nacht (*Schlaf*) | von den Lidern des Herrn Dionysos nehmen will— | dass dieser Rinder tötende Diener (*Axt*) gelabt werde—das wollen sie nicht.'

I fear that Simonides' riddle remains unread. See, however, *infra* p. 663 ff. for the combination of crab with double axe.

[1] Theopomp. *frag.* 339 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 332, iv. 643 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 24. 428 *καὶ Θεόπομπός φησιν Ἀλέξανδρον Φεραῖον Διόνυσον τὸν ἐν Παγασαῖς, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Πέλεκος* (*leg.* Πέλεκυς with Preller—Plew *Gr. Myth.* i. 566 n. 2 rather than *πελεκᾶς* or *πελεκῶνος* with L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 116 n. 4), *εὐσεβεῖν διαφέρως. καταποντωθέντος δὲ Ἀλεξάνδρου, Διόνυσος ὄναρ ἐπιστάς τινι τῶν ἁλιέων ἐκέλευσεν ἀναλαβεῖν τὸν φορμὸν τῶν ὀστῶν. ὁ δὲ ἀπελθὼν ἐς Κράννωνα τοῖς οἰκείοις ἀπέδωκεν, οἱ δὲ ἔθαψαν.* So cod. V. Cod. T. reads *ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Πελάγιος*—a needless emendation (accepted by E. Maass '*ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ ΠΕΛΑΓΙΟΣ*' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 70—80). Parallels abound: *e.g.* *Κρόνος*, the 'Chopper' (? see *supra* p. 549); *Hamar* or *Hamer* as a title of the Germanic thunder-god (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 11 n. 1, 181 f., 1883 ii. 883, 885 n. 2, 1888 iv. 1344 f., 1605, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 204, 208 ff. and Index *s.v.* 'Hammer'); Charles *Martel*, whose gigantic hammer is still to be seen cut in the hillside at Tours (H. Bayley *Archaic England* London 1919 p. 355). My brother-in-law the Rev. H. E. Maddox notes that the sixth incarnation of Vishnu was *Paraśu-rāma*, the 'Axe-Rāma,' a Brāhman who cleared the earth of the Kshatriya race twenty-one times till he was at last defeated by Vishnu's seventh incarnation *Rāma-ćandra*, the 'Moon-like-Rāma.' Paraśu-rāma forced the ocean to retire for the formation of the Malabar coast, caused vast fissures in the Western Ghāts and other mountains by blows of his axe, etc. He is still worshipped in Malabar and the Koṅkan (Sir M. Monier-Williams *Brāhmanism and Hindūism*[3] London 1887 pp. 110, 270 f.).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 47 pl. 10, 11 (= my fig. 598) didrachm, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 308 fig. 176.

[3] Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 261 drachm: 'Lion's head; beneath, sometimes, bipennis.' *Id. ib.*[2] p. 308 omits all reference to the 'bipennis.' Are we to infer that this weapon figures only on the didrachm and the obol?

[4] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 308 obol. Fig. 599 = the *Pozzi Sale Catalogue* Genève 1920 p. 70 no. 1257 pl. 41.

[5] Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 476, *ib.*[2] p. 551.

represents Dionysos *dimorphos*[1], the 'two-formed,' or perhaps rather Dionysos and Ariadne. Other considerations too might be urged in favour of Dionysos. An Attic black-figured *amphora* depicts that divinity as a bearded figure seated on a bull with a drinking-horn

Fig. 598.

Fig. 599.

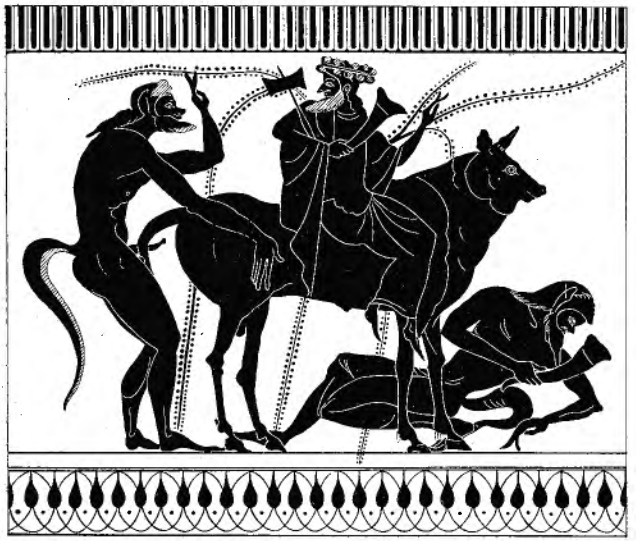


Fig. 600.

in his right hand and a double axe on his shoulder: two Silenoi complete the scene (fig. 600)[2]. An Attic red-figured *kýlix* shows the same god again as a bearded figure with *kántharos* and double axe[3]. A silver coin of the Odrysian king Metokos, struck *c.* 400 B.C.,

[1] Orph. *h. Dion.* 30. 3 ἄγριον, ἄρρητον, κρύφιον, δικέρωτα, δίμορφον, | κ.τ.λ.

[2] *Notizia dei vasi dipinti rinvenuti a Cuma nel* MDCCCLVI *posseduti da sua Altezza Reale il Conte di Siracusa* Napoli 1856 p. ix f. pl. 2 (=my fig. 600).

[3] *Supra* i. 216 fig. 159.

has on the obverse a bearded head of Dionysos (?), on the reverse a double axe surrounded by a grape-vine (fig. 601)[1]. Finally, we have already seen reason to think that in Tenedos itself Dionysos *Anthroporrhaistes*, 'Smiter of Men,' was conceived as embodied in an axe[2].

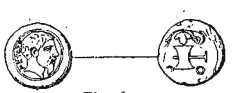


Fig. 601.

There are, then, strong grounds for supposing that the Tenedian coin-types relate to the cult of Dionysos. The main objection to that view is thus stated by W. Wroth[3]: 'if Dionysos were intended, the male head would almost certainly be wreathed with ivy. On those coins, however, on which the head is wreathed, the wreath is of laurel and not of ivy. Perhaps, therefore, the heads are those of Zeus and Hera.' Wroth's conclusion is quoted with approval by B. V. Head[4], and would doubtless have commended itself to C. Lenormant[5], who equated *Ténes* the eponym of Tenedos with the Etruscan *Tinia*[6] and the Cretan *Tán*[7]. Such an equation is, of course, philologically impossible. But the fact remains that the head with its bay-wreath resembles Zeus rather than Dionysos, and any hypothesis connecting it with the latter must account for its likeness to the former.

On the whole, I should summarise the situation as follows. Tenedos bears a name which is pre-Greek. A. Fick[8], comparing it with a second *Ténedos* on the borders of Lykia and Pamphylia, with *Lébedos* in Ionia (Lydia), and with *Sébeda* in Lykia, treats the name as Hittite, and points out that *Ténes* or *Ténnes* (for **Téndes*) was derived from *Ténedos*, not *vice versa*[9]. Now *Ténnes* occurs again as the name of a king of Sidon in the revolt of Phoinike from Artaxerxes iii Ochos[10]. And Tenedos itself, as Pliny[11] informs us, was once called *Phoinike*. It would seem, then, that in the pre-history of the island we have to reckon with the Phoinikes, whose relations to the 'Minoan' culture were of the closest[12].

[1] *Ant. Mûnz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 329 no. 8 fig. (=my fig. 601) MHTOKO. The same king is known to literature as Μῆδοκος or Μηδόκης (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 912).

[2] *Supra* i. 659.

[3] W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. xlviii.

[4] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 551.

[5] C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 pp. 7 f., 17, 19, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 122 and 365 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 53, 622 f. [7] *Supra* i. 149 n. 1, 655 n. 2.

[8] A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 64.

[9] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τένεδος·...οἱονεὶ Τέννου ἔδος. Cp. *infra* pp. 669, 673 n. 5.

[10] Diod. 16. 42 ff. [11] Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 140.

[12] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 278: 'The people whom we

'Minoan' objects have in fact come to light in Tenedos (fig. 602)[1] and suggest that here in early days was a 'Minoan' settlement. The settlers called themselves Asterioi[2] and doubtless discovered with joy that at Asterion in their island were river-crabs marked with a double axe[3]. The curious combination of crab and double axe recalls the joint cult of Zeus *Osogôa* and Zeus *Labráyndos* at Mylasa[4]. The circumstances, however, though similar, are not identical. In Karia a local deity, whose attribute was the crab, having been Hellenised into a Zeus of the sea, was fused with a Zeus of the sky, inheritor of the ancient 'Minoan' double axe, the resultant god being known to the Greeks as Zenoposeidon. In Tenedos too we are concerned with the legacy of the double axe. But here, in the Thraco-Phrygian area, the principal sky-god was Dios, who was worshipped in twofold form as Father and Son —Zeus and Dionysos, said the Greeks[5]. It matters little, therefore, whether we assert that among the Tenedians the 'Minoan' axe passed into the hands of a Dionysiac Zeus or into those of a Zeus-like Dionysos. Not improbably the former developed into the latter, stress being laid first on the older and afterwards on the younger aspect of the god. But in either case we mean him who was at once the husband and the son of Semele. His effigy and hers are combined as the Thraco-Phrygian equivalent of the 'Minoan' Kronos and Rhea. What then of the crabs? Presumably in Tenedos, as in Karia, they belonged to some local deity identified with Zeus.

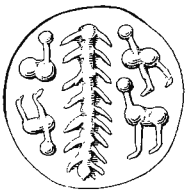


Fig. 602.

Confirmation is not far to seek. Thirty miles or so to the west of Tenedos lies Lemnos, a great centre of Cabiric cult[6]. Cor-

discern in the new dawn [*sc.* of classical Greece] are not the pale-skinned northerners—the "yellow-haired Achaeans" and the rest—but essentially the dark-haired, brown-complexioned race, the Φοίνικες or "Red Men" of later tradition, of whom we find the earlier portraiture in the Minoan and Mycenaean wall paintings.'

[1] I figure a coarsely-cut lenticular seal-stone, which I acquired in Athens in 1901. Material: haematite. Scale: ½. Alleged *provenance*: Tenedos.

[2] *Supra* i. 543 n. 6.

[3] *Infra* p. 669 n. 5. Mr L. A. Borradaile, Lecturer in Zoology to the University of Cambridge, informs me that the crabs in question probably belonged to the species *Telphusa fluviatilis*, the marking of whose back might be held to resemble the head of a double axe. He kindly refers me to Miss M. J. Rathbun 'Les crabes d'eau douce' in the *Nouvelles Archives du Muséum d'Histoire Naturelle* Quatrième Série Paris 1904 pp. 254—258 pl. 9, 1 and 5.

[4] *Supra* p. 576 ff.

[5] *Supra* p. 277 ff.

[6] L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2523 ff., O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1420 ff.

responding with the divine triad Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos were the Kabeiroi[1], whose names *Axiókersos*, *Axiokérsa*, and *Axieros* proclaim their connexion with the sacred axe[2]. Moreover, Hesychios[3] expressly identifies the Kabeiroi with crabs,

[1] For the Kabeiroi equated with Zeus and Dionysos see *supra* i. 112 n. 6, ii. 313 f. They are apparently associated with a Dionysiac Zeus on a bronze plaque from Rome (fig. 603 = *Arch. Zeit.* 1854 pl. 65, 3, *supra* p. 283), which combines Mithraic with Sabazian and other elements in a manner suggestive of Thrace. Under an arch formed of two trees, two snakes, and a lion's head (the Mithraic Ahriman: Append. G *fin.*) we

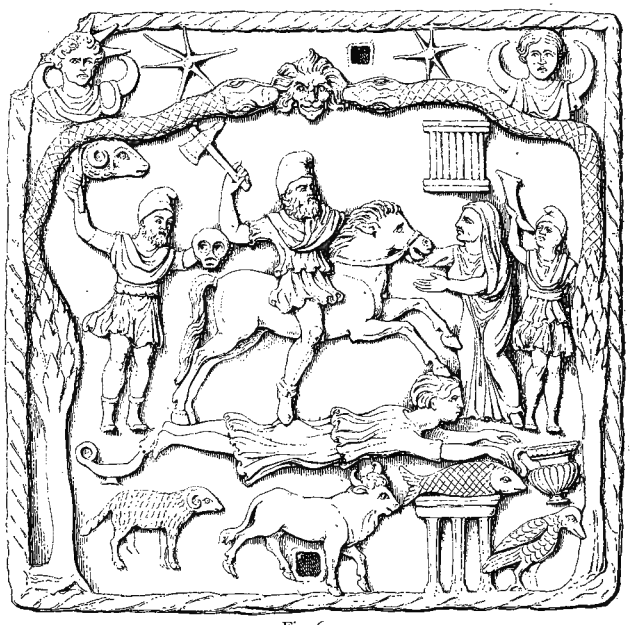


Fig. 603.

see a veiled female suppliant extending her arms towards the central figure of Zeus *Sabázios* (?), who brandishes a sort of double axe as he rides his horse between two Kabeiroi (?). Above are Sun, Moon, and two Stars; below, a series of constellations—Aquarius (? cp. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 67 fig. 11), Aries, Taurus, Pisces, Ara, Corvus, Crater. A ram's head (*supra* i. 390 ff.) and a *syrinx* (cp. *supra* p. 296 n. 4 of Attis) occupy the field.

[2] *Supra* i. 109, 328 n. 9, ii. 314 f.

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* Κάβειροι· *καρκίνοι. πάνυ δὲ τιμῶνται οὗτοι ἐν Λήμνῳ ὡς θεοί· λέγονται δὲ εἶναι Ἡφαίστου παῖδες.* That *καρκίνοι* here means simply 'crabs' is the opinion of Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 748 c and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1450.

adding that in Lemnos they were treated as gods and called the children of Hephaistos. This amazing statement—matched only by what we hear of the lobster in Seriphos[1]—carries us back to a primitive age, when the crab was not so much a grotesque as an awesome thing. Nippers, after all, are no joke; and the *rôle* played by the crab in religion[2], mythology[3], and

M. Schmidt *ad loc.* says: 'καρκίνοι h.e. forcipes, πυράγραι.' I. Voss cited Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1389, 26 ff. *ὡς δὲ καὶ καρίδας ἐστὶν οὗ ἡ τοιαύτη λέξις (sc. κάμμορος) σημαίνει* δηλοῖ 'Αθήναιος *ἐν τῷ* **κάμμοροι** *'καί τι γένος καρίδων ὑπὸ 'Ρωμαίων οὕτω καλούμενον'* (cp. Athen. 306 c—D). *καὶ ἴσως ἐντεῦθεν οἱ χυδαῖοι τοὺς καβούρους παρέφθειραν*: but see J. Alberti's n. on the Hesychian gloss.

[1] Ail. *de nat. an.* 13. 26 *ἔστι δὲ ἄρα καὶ τέττιξ ἐνάλιος...οὐ σιτοῦνται δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ πολλοί, νομίζοντες ἱερόν. Σεριφίους δὲ ἀκούω καὶ θάπτειν νεκρὸν ἁλωκότα· ζῶντα δὲ ἐς δίκτυον ἐμπεσόντα οὐ κατέχουσιν ἀλλὰ ἀποδιδόασι τῇ θαλάττῃ αὖθις. θρηνοῦσι δὲ ἄρα αὐτοὺς ἀποθανόντας, καὶ λέγουσι Περσέως τοῦ Διὸς ἄθυρμα αὐτοὺς εἶναι.*

[2] Alex. Polyhist. (?) *frag.* 135 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 239 Müller) *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 17. 1 *'Αλέξανδρος ἐν τῷ περίπλῳ τῆς 'Ερυθρᾶς θαλάττης λέγει...ἑορακέναι...καὶ γένος καρκίνων, οἷς τὸ μὲν ὄστρακον τὴν περιφέρειαν εἶχε παντοχόθεν πόδα, χηλαὶ δὲ ἠρτημέναι μέγισται προεῖχον, ἐπιβουλεύεσθαι δὲ ὑπ' οὐδενὸς αὐτούς. τὸ δὲ αἴτιον, ἱεροὶ λέγονται Ποσειδῶνος. καὶ ἀφιέρωνται τῷ θεῷ, οἷον ἀναθήματα εἶναι ἐκείνου ἀσινῆ τε καὶ ἀνεπιβούλευτα* οἱ καρκίνοι. Cp. O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 491, 609.

[3] A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 354—359 ('The crab'), L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 226 ('Krebse'), O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 485—500 ('Krebse'), O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* Leipzig and Berlin 1907—1912 i—iv Index to each vol. *s.v.* 'Krebs.'

The monstrous crab sent by Hera to attack Herakles during his fight with the Hydra (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2198 f., 2224, 2243, O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 1033 ff.) appears first on *fibulae* of the Geometric period (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 373 ff. no. 3205 (*a*) fig. 87, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1911 xv. 1 ff. figs. 2, 3). Okeanos on imperial coins of Tyre is a reclining figure with a head-dress of crab's-claws (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxlii, 289 no. 464, 296 pl. 35, 5): cp. a monochrome mask of Okeanos in a painting from Pompeii (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 205 no. 1023 'mit Hörnern wie von Krebsscheeren,' figured by G. Fiorelli *Giornale degli scavi di Pompei* Napoli 1861 p. 16 pl. 3, 6). Thalassa on a coin of Perinthos likewise wears a head-dress of crab's-claws (*supra* i. 752 f. fig. 552), as did a statue in the Forum Constantini at Constantinople representing Thetis (Arethas *ap.* schol. Aristeid. ii. 710 Dindorf *ἧς ἀντικρὺ ἐν δεξιᾷ εἰσιοῦσι τῶν προπυλαίων καὶ ἡ τοῦ 'Αχιλλέως ἀνάκειται Θέτις, καρκίνοις τὴν κεφαλὴν διαστεφής· κ.τ.λ.*) or Amphitrite (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 A (i. 565 Bekker) *πρὸς δὲ τὴν ἀνατολὴν ἡ 'Αμφιτρίτη, χηλὰς ἔχουσα καρκίνου ἐπὶ τῶν κροτάφων. κ.τ.λ.*). This device became, in fact, a commonplace of marine subjects (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 176 no. 964 bust of Triton: 'above the forehead are two lobster's or crab's claws,' *ib.* p. 177 no. 971 sea-god (?): 'he has lobster's claws on his head,' Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 250 ff. *sarcophagus* with sea-divinities: 'ein bärtiger Meerkentaur mit Krebsscheren am Kopfe.' See also W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1585).

'Ασταϰός or Ἄσταϰος, a town on the Gulf of Olbia in Bithynia, had as eponym Astakos, son of Poseidon by the nymph Olbia (Arrian. *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 592) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄσταϰος). The name 'Ασταϰός or Ἄσταϰος has been plausibly derived from ἀστακός, 'a lobster' (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 162 'Krabbe'). For the lobster abounded in these waters (Archestratos *frag.* 8 Ribbeck *ap.* Athen. 104 f f., Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 17. 549 b 15 f.) and furnished an obvious *type parlant* to silver coins of Astakos struck in *s.* v B.C., which

astrology[1] was serious enough,—it even lingered on into the middle

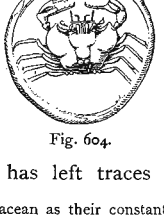


Fig. 604.

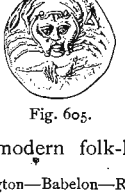


Fig. 605.

ages[2], and has left traces of itself in modern folk-lore[3]. The

have this crustacean as their constant device (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 266 pl. 41, 1—6, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1489 ff. pl. 181, 1—6). Yet it hardly follows that Astakos in Bithynia, or for that matter Astakos in Akarnania, really drew its name from the lobster. A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 85 f., 135 refers these place-names to the Leleges.

[1] On *Cancer*, 'the Crab,' as a sign of the zodiac (*supra* i. 66, 235 n. 2, 759 nn. 2, 6) see A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 pp. 136—138 fig. 6 and Index p. 633, Haebler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1459 f., A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 111, *alib.*, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1451 f., F. Cumont in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 1046 ff. *s.v.* 'zodiacus' *passim.*

[2] Witness the story of Prodromos and the demons of the desert in F. Pradel *Griechische und süditalienische Gebete, Beschwörungen und Rezepte des Mittelalters* Giessen 1907 p. 36, 27 ff. 'Εξορκία τοῦ καβούρη ['Crab,' cp. *ib.* p. 76]. 'Ὡς ὑπῆγεν ὁ τίμιος Πρόδρομος ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ εὗρε ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ αὐτοῦ χιλίους μυρίους ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, βρέφη ἀναρίθμητα, ἄλλοι ἀπὸ καβουρίου, ἄλλοι ἀπὸ τῶν οβ̄ ἥμισυ ἐβγασε<μάτων>· ἰδὼν καὶ ἐφοβήθη καὶ εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω ἐστράφη καὶ ἀπάντησε αὐτὸν ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦς Χριστὸς καὶ ὑπερώτησεν αὐτόν· ποῦ ὑπάγεις, τίμιε Πρόδρομε; Κύριέ μου, ἐγὼ ὑπάγαινα ἐν τῇ ἐρήμῳ καὶ ηὗρα ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ μου μυρίους χιλίους ἄνδρας καὶ γυναῖκας, βρέφη ἀναρίθμητα, ἄλλον ἀπὸ καβουρίου, ἄλλον ἀπὸ τῶν οβ̄ ἥμισυ ἐβγασιμάτων, καὶ ἰδὼν αὐτοὺς ἐστράφην [*leg.* ἐστράφην] εἰς τὰ ὀπίσω. Ὕπαγε, τίμιε Πρόδρομε, καὶ δρκισον αὐτὰ τὰ νοσήματα εἰς τὸν κύριον ἡμῶν 'Ιησοῦν Χριστὸν καὶ εἰς τὴν ὑπεραγίαν θεοτόκον, νὰ ψυχῇ, νὰ μαραθῇ τὰ τὸν δοῦλον τοῦ.....εἰς ὕδωρ ποίησε ἡμέρας γ̄..κ̄ κατάρριχε τὰ λάχ<αν>α καὶ ἀμπ<έλους>. *Id. ib.* p. 92 n. 4 'Καβούρι Krebs. Augenscheinlich haben wir dasselbe Wort, nur das Tier bezeichnend, in dem hssl. *καβούρους* bei Nicol. Myreps. 516 B. Fuchs ändert es in *καράβους*. Vgl. 524 C.' [Nikolaos Myrepsos (end of *s.* xiii A.D.) *dispensatorium medicum* trans. L. Fuchs Francofurti 1626 p. 149 § 304 caraburem ('codex manuscriptus habet *καραβουρέαν*').] See further F. Boll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 149 f., who cites Hesych. Καρκώ· λάμια (Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 410) and *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xxxi n. 1 = D. Bassi—E. Martini *Catalogus codicum astrologicorum Graecorum* Brussels 1903 iv. 132 a lecanomantic prescription from a manuscript at Naples (cod. Neapol. II C. 33, fol. 233) οἱ *δαίμονες τοῦ μεγάλου* "Αιδου... Καρκινὰρ καὶ ἡ γονὴ (*γένη* cod. Bassi—Martini cjj. *γέννα* Wünsch cj. *γονή*) αὐτοῦ 'Ονοσκελίς, ἧς (*ὄνοσκελίδα εἰς* cod.) *τὸ ὄνομα Σεμιραμήλ, κ.τ.λ.* O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1951 justly observes: 'Erst bei der Annahme dieser Gespenster versteht man ganz den Witz des Aristophanes in den Wolken v. 1260 f.: *τίς οὐτοσί ποτ' ἔσθ' ὁ θρηνῶν; οὗτι που τῶν Καρκίνου τις* **δαιμόνων** *ἐφθέγξατο.*'

[3] B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 p. 83 ff. no. 9 ('Prinz Krebs') tells a Zakynthian tale in which the hero married to the king's daughter is a golden crab by day, but a prince by night, with power to change into an eagle at his pleasure. The story is a variant of the Beast-bridegroom *formula*, on which see *e.g.* J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 ii. 234 ff., especially p. 255.

affiliation of the creature to Hephaistos stood to reason: was not he a smith? and were not the smith's tongs or pincers commonly dubbed 'crabs' (*karkínoi*)[1], while a certain species of crab was known as 'tongs' (*pyrágra*)[2]? Finally, a parallel to the Tenedian river-crabs signed with the double axe can be found in the Agrigentine river-crabs marked with a bull's head (?) (fig. 604)[3] or a *Gorgóneion* (fig. 605)[4].

If we are justified in supposing that the double axe of Tenedos belonged to a god conceived as the rebirth of his own father, analogy with the Cretan Zagreus would lead us to expect that the Tenedian god too was served with rites of omophagy, in which a human victim, regarded as consort of the goddess[5], was dismembered and even devoured by the king[6]. This expectation is to some extent realised. For we have already had occasion to notice the horrible statement of Euelpis that in Tenedos, as in Chios, 'they used to rend a man in pieces, sacrificing him to Dionysos

[1] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 971 B—C.

[2] Hesych. *s.v.* πυράγρα and πυράγρη ἡ πυράγρα.

[3] Tetradrachms of Akragas, struck *c.* 472—415 B.C., have for reverse type a large crab (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 8 no. 38 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 156 pl. 11, 13, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1545 f. pl. 78, 4, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 49 pl. 8, 1). Mr L. A. Borradaile agrees with O. Keller *loc. cit.* that this is *Telphusa fluviatilis*, a species of crab common in the sweet waters of central and southern Italy, Sicily, Greece, and Asia Minor. He adds that, apart from Japanese pictures, he has never seen a more exact representation of it in art. Fig. 604 is from a specimen in my collection. Mr E. J. Seltman, from whom I obtained it, holds that the crab is marked with a bull's head as sign of the tauriform river-god, and compares the didrachm inscribed A+∃ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 7 no. 25, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1547 f. pl. 78, 12. Fig. 606 is from a specimen of mine), which he would read as an allusion to a festival of Acheloios (Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1405 ff. pl. 66, 20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 76 fig. 36 a *statér* of Metapontum with river-god inscribed AΨΕΛΟΣΟ ΑΕΟΙΛΟΝ. Schol. T. *Il.* 24. 616 says of the Acheloios καὶ Σικελιῶται αὐτὸν τιμῶσιν). This combination, which is undeniably ingenious, was accepted by the late J. R. McClean, but involves two doubtful assumptions: (*a*) that the markings on the crab's back were viewed as a bull's head by the ancients, and (*b*) that A+∃ is for A+E.

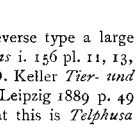


Fig. 606.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 12 no. 62 fig., Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 50 pl. 8, 13 (=my fig. 605), O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 485 f. pl. 2, 10 (a fanciful rendering of the *Telphusa fluviatilis*, cp. γραῦς as a name for 'crab' in Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 14), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 121. The coin is a drachm of *c.* 413—406 B.C.

For the crab as an *apotrópaion* on 'Gnostic' gems etc. see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 146 f. pl. 24, 24—34, O. Keller *op. cit.* ii. 486, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 124 and Index p. 500 *s.v.* 'Krebs'; and for the crab in folk-medicine etc., E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 74.

[5] *Supra* i. 649 n. 7.

[6] *Supra* i. 656 ff.

Omádios ("the god of Raw Flesh")[1].' That the man thus done to death was viewed as partner of the goddess, or was actually eaten by the king, we are not told. But some such beliefs, more than half forgotten, may underlie the later rationalised and romanticised legends of the island, which tell how a prince, caught in adultery, was savagely slain with an axe.

The oldest version of the story is preserved in a fragment of Aristotle's work *On the Government of Tenedos*[2]:

'A certain king in Tenedos made a law that he who found adulterers should slay them both with an axe. And, when it fell out that his son was found in adultery, he ordained that the law should be kept even in the case of his own son. The son having been slain, the thing passed into a proverb, which is used of cruel actions. Hence too the coins of Tenedos have stamped upon them an axe on the one side and two heads on the other, to remind men of the fate of the king's son.'

With this may be combined sundry statements occurring in the mediaeval collections of ancient Greek proverbs. Thus Makarios Chrysokephalos (*s.* xiv A.D.) *à propos* of the proverbial 'Tenedian axe' says: 'In the island of Tenedos were dedicated two axes, which were worshipped, and by means of them adulterers were slain[3].' Apostolios too, in explaining another proverb, that of the 'Tenedian advocate,' refers to the same alleged fact: 'The Tenedians among their dedicated objects honour a couple of axes[4].' Apostolios certainly is a very late authority (*s.* xv A.D.); but he appears to be copying *verbatim* from Souidas[5] (*s.* x A.D.) or Photios[6] (*s.* ix A.D.), and they in turn depend upon earlier and more reliable sources. If these allusions to the cult of *two* axes in Tenedos are trustworthy, they furnish an interesting point of comparison with Cretan practice[7]. For here, as there, the two axes might be taken to signify god and goddess respectively[8]:

Further evidence with regard to the Tenedian axe is forthcoming in connexion with another proverb, the 'man of Tenedos.' Photios[9] and Souidas[10] have the following paragraph:

[1] *Supra* i. 656, 659 n. 6.

[2] Aristot. *frag.* 551 Rose *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τένεδος, cp. Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος, Apostol. 16. 26 *s.v.* Τενέδιος συνήγορος. The same account of the coin-types is given by Herakleides Pont. *de rebus publicis* 7. 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 213 f. Müller).

[3] Makar. 8. 7 ἐν γὰρ Τενέδῳ τῇ νήσῳ δύο πελέκεις ἀνέκειντο σεβάσμιοι, δι' ὧν ἀνῃροῦντο οἱ μοιχοί.

[4] Apostol. 16. 26 δύο γὰρ πελέκυς (*sic*) ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος·...δύο γὰρ πελέκεις ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.

[6] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος·...δύο γὰρ πελέκεις ἐν ἀναθήμασι τιμῶσι Τενέδιοι.

[7] *Supra* p. 522.

[8] *Supra* pp. 537, 653.

[9] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος.

[10] Souid. *s.v.* Τενέδιος ἄνθρωπος.

'Kyknos the son of Poseidon had begotten two children, Hemithea and Tennes, when he married again. Tennes was accused by his step-mother of making an attempt upon her. Kyknos believed her, put the young man into a chest, and, since Hemithea chose to share her brother's danger, dropped them both into the sea. The chest floated to the island that used to be called Leukophrys but was afterwards known as Tenedos, taking its name from Tennes. He became king of the island and made a law that behind those who bore false witness should stand the public executioner, with axe upraised so that, if convicted, they might instantly be put to death. This fearful sight gave rise to the proverb, the "man of Tenedos," which is applied to persons of fearful aspect.'

A briefer form of the same paragraph is found in Zenobios' collection of proverbs[1] together with the statement that the proverb in question occurred in Menander's *Ephesian*[2].

Different again, at least in its concluding portions, is the account given by Pausanias, who mentions certain Tenedian axes as among the objects dedicated at Delphoi near the eastern end of Apollon's temple[3].

'The axes,' he says[4], 'are an offering of Periklytos, son of Euthymachos, a native of Tenedos, and refer to an old tale[5]. They say that Kyknos was a son of Poseidon and reigned as king at Kolonai, Kolonai being a town in the Troad over against an island called Leukophrys. Kyknos had a daughter named Hemithea and a son called Tennes by Prokleia....This Prokleia died first, and the second wife Philonome, daughter of Kragasos, fell in love with Tennes, but failed to win his affection, and told her husband falsely that Tennes had consorted with her against her will. Kyknos believed the deceitful tale, put Tennes with his sister into a chest, and cast them adrift on the sea. The brother and sister got safely to the island Leukophrys, which received its present name from Tennes. But Kyknos was not destined to be ignorant of this deception for ever: he therefore set sail to find his son, meaning to confess his mistake and ask forgiveness for his offence. When he had come to an anchorage at the island, and had fastened the hawsers from his ship to a certain rock or tree, Tennes in anger cut the cables with an axe. Hence, when people deny a thing stoutly, it is customary to say that "so-and-so cut this or that with a Tenedian axe." The Greeks declare that Tennes was slain by Achilles in the act of defending his country. And the Tenedians in course of time were compelled by their weakness to attach themselves to the inhabitants of Alexandreia on the mainland of the Troad.'

The same version of the tale is given by Konon[6] and Eusta-

[1] Zenob. 6. 9. Cp. also Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 536, Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος, Apostol. 16. 26.

[2] Menand. *Ephesius frag.* 5 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 126 Meineke).

[3] On votive double axes of bronze found at Delphoi see *supra* p. 628 f.

[4] Paus. 10. 14. 1—4.

[5] Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 12 states that the men of Tenedos dedicated their axe at Delphoi because at a place called Asterion in their island there were crabs the shells of which were marked like an axe. We gather from Souid. and Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τενέδιος ξυνήγορος and from Apostol. 16. 26 that these crabs were found in a small river. The place-name Ἀστέριον is again suggestive of 'Minoan' cult (*supra* i. 543 n. 6, ii. 663).

[6] Konon *narr.* 28.

thios[1], though the latter calls the brother and sister Tenes and Leukothea, and speaks of their step-mother as Philonome or Polyboia. Diodoros[2] adds a few details. It was a flute-player who had falsely charged Tennes with attempting the honour of his step-mother: consequently, when Tennes, after leading a life distinguished for virtue and helpfulness, received divine honours, no flute-player was permitted to enter his precinct[3]; nor might any man there mention the name of Achilles, since it was Achilles who had slain him. Tzetzes[4] too contributes his quota. The name of the flute-player that denounced Tenes was Molpos[5] or, as a variant has it, Eumolpos[6]. Kyknos, on discovering the facts of the case, slew Philonome, and himself came and dwelt with his children in Tenedos. Here they were all three found and attacked by Achilles on his way to Troy. It had been fated that Achilles should die whenever he slew a son of Apollon, and Thetis had given him as an attendant one Mnemon, whose business it was to remind him of this special prohibition. But Tenes, though in reality a son of Apollon, passed as the son of Kyknos. Achilles, therefore, slew without hesitation both Kyknos and Tenes, and, when he realised what he had done, slew Mnemon into the bargain. He also pursued Hemithea, who fled from his embraces and was swallowed by the earth[7].

We fasten on this last statement as an indication that Hemithea was originally an earth-power. A goddess of the same name possessed a famous sanctuary at Kastabos on the Carian Chersonesos. According to local tradition[8], Staphylos had by Chrysothemis three daughters—Molpadia, Rhoio, and Parthenos. Finding that Rhoio was with child (by a man, as he supposed, but in reality by Apollon), he shut her up in a chest and flung her into the sea. The chest came ashore at Delos, where Rhoio gave birth to Anios and dedicated the babe on the altar of Apollon. The god hid the child, and later taught him seercraft and brought him to great honour. As to Molpadia and Parthenos, they were set to guard their father's wine—a recent invention—but fell asleep at their post. The swine they kept got in and broke the wine-jar. The maidens, fearing their

[1] Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 536, *in Il.* p. 33, 24 ff. Cp. schol. *Il.* 1. 38 (codd. A. D.: codd. B. L. have Τέννης, Ἠμιθέα, and Καλύκη as their step-mother) = Eudok. *viol.* 916.

[2] Diod. 5. 83.

[3] So too Herakleides Pont. *de rebus publicis* 7. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 213 Müller).

[4] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 232 ff. = Eudok. *viol.* 549.

[5] So also Plout. *quaestl. Gr.* 28.

[6] So also Apollod. *epit.* 3. 24.

[7] See further Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 28, Lyk. *Al.* 232 ff., Apollod. *epit.* 3. 23 ff.

[8] Diod. 5. 62 f. On the widely different account given by Parthen. *narr. am.* 1 (after Nikainetos Λύρκος and Ap. Rhod. Καῦνος) see P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 255.

father's savage anger, fled to the shore and hurled themselves from a cliff. Apollon, however, established them in the Chersonesos, giving Parthenos a precinct at Boubastos and Molpadia a sanctuary at Kastabos, where 'owing to her divinely-contrived epiphany[1]' she received the name of Hemithea. Libations to her are made with honey-mixture (*melíkraton*), not wine; and no man that has touched a pig or eaten of its flesh may approach her precinct. Here she manifests herself by night, working cures and helping women in childbirth. Each successive detail confirms us in the belief that at Kastabos, as in Tenedos, Hemithea was essentially an earth-goddess.

The myths told of the two localities had other points in common. Not only are the names Molpos and Hemithea in Tenedos balanced by the names Molpadia and Hemithea at Kastabos, but the episode of Tennes and Hemithea sent to sea in a chest is paralleled by the episode of Rhoio and Anios similarly cast adrift. This *motif* is best known from the story of Danaë and Perseus. It occurs, however, in at least two other Greek tales, the Tegeate tale of Auge and Telephos[2], and that of Semele and Dionysos as told at Brasiai in Lakonike[3], not to mention Romulus and Remus in Italy. In fact, the Danaë-*formula*, as J. G. von Hahn[4] and T. F. Crane[5] have pointed out, recurs in modern *Märchen* from Naples[6], Tuscany[7], Wallachia[8], Epeiros[9], etc.[10]. The Epirote tale, entitled *The Half-Man*, deserves repetition:

[1] διὰ τὴν ἀπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ γενομένην ἐπιφάνειαν Ἡμιθέαν ὠνομάσθαι. P. Wesseling *ad loc.*: 'Mallem ἀπὸ τῆς θεοῦ. Ipsa Molpadia videtur indicari, quae praesentem opem aegris ferebat, τοῖς κάμνουσι κατὰ τοὺς ὕπνους ἐφισταμένη φανερῶς.'

[2] Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 55 ff., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2300 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 204 n. 11.

[3] Paus. 3. 24. 3 f.

[4] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 49. The *formula* is missing from the list drawn up by S. Baring-Gould and J. Jacobs in C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 344 ff. But it has been admirably studied by E. Cosquin 'Le lait de la mère et le coffre flottant' in the *Revue des Questions Historiques* Nouvelle Série 1908 xxxix 353—425 (especially p. 370 ff. 'Le coffre flottant').

[5] T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 p. 336.

[6] G. B. Basile *Il Pentamerone* trans. Sir R. F. Burton London 1893 i. 30 ff. (First Day: Third Diversion 'Peruonto'), E. F. Strange *Stories from the Pentamerone* London 1911 p. 22 ff. Peruonto, the princess Vastolla, and their two children, shut up in a cask with a basket of raisins and dried figs, are thrown into the sea.

See also F. W. V. Schmidt *Die Märchen des Straparola* Berlin 1817 no. 15 and W. G. Waters *The Nights of Straparola* London 1894 i. 35 ff. (Night One: Fable 4 Doralice in the chest on board ship).

[7] G. Pitrè *Novelle popolari toscane* Firenze 1885 no. 30.

[8] A. and A. Schott *Walachische Maehrchen* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1845 no. 27.

[9] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 102 ff. See *supra* i. 414 n. 2.

[10] In a tale told by the Kirghiz of Siberia the daughter of a certain Khan, kept in a dark iron house, escapes into the bright world. Here the eye of God falls upon her and she conceives. Her angry father puts her in a golden chest and sends her floating across

A childless woman prayed for a child. God sent her a boy with half a head, half a nose, half a mouth, half a body, one hand, and one foot. He asked his mother for an axe and a mule, went off to the forest, and cut wood. One day, when riding to work, he caught sight of the king's daughter, who laughed at him so that from chagrin he dropped first his axe and then his cord, and did not even get down to pick them up. Staring disconsolately at a pool, he espied a fish, netted it in his rough cloak, and learnt from it a spell to obtain all his desires. He had but to say: 'At the first word of God, and at the second of the Fish,' this or that will take place. On his way home he saw the princess again and tried the spell upon her, bidding her to become pregnant. In due time she bore an apparently fatherless child. The king gave the child an apple, and told him to hand it to his father. The child handed the apple to the Half-Man. The king in anger had an iron vessel made, packed into it the princess, the Half-Man, and the child, and, giving them some figs for the child, flung the whole lot into the sea. Thereupon the Half-Man, tasting fig after fig, explained the whole situation to the princess, and at her suggestion, pronouncing his spell, brought the iron vessel safe ashore, provided a shelter from the rain, and built a magic castle with speaking stones, beams, and household utensils. It chanced that the king, when hunting, came that way and was entertained by the princess. The Half-Man, again eating a fig and using his spell, produced a splendid banquet with musicians and dancers complete. The king was astounded. But the princess, as a last experiment, bade the Half-Man by dint of fig and spell hide a spoon in the king's boot. She then pretended to miss something. The speaking spoon cried out and revealed its whereabouts. The king protested that he was being unjustly treated. The princess retorted that the wrong he suffered was nothing to the wrong he had committed, and told him all. So the king in amazement took his daughter back to the palace and married her to one of his lords. The Half-Man he made chief of his body-guard, and gave him his prettiest slave-girl to wife.

It is, no doubt, tempting to view the Half-Man with his axe as the complement of *Hemithéa*, the 'Half-Goddess,' and to assume some connexion with the coin-type of Tenedos. Nevertheless such an assumption would be extremely rash[1]. Other versions show that the Half-Man as such is not a constant feature of the folk-tale. The inference that I wish to draw is rather that the myth of Tennes and the earth-goddess Hemithea had as early as the time of Konon

the sea—a close parallel to Danaë (W. Radloff *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens* St. Petersburg 1870 iii. 82 f. cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 74 n. 2).

In another, from *Ulaghátsh*, a village of Kappadokia, the boy destined to be king is placed in a chest by his father and mother, and thrown into the sea (R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 358 f. text and translation).

See also die Brüder Grimm *Kinder und Hausmärchen* Göttingen 1850 i. 175 ff. no. 29, G. O. H. Cavallius—G. Stephens *Schwedische Volkssagen und Märchen* Wien 1848 p. 95, A. Chodsko *Fairy Tales of the Slav Peasants and Herdsmen* trans. E. J. Harding London 1896 p. 313 ff. (princess and Sluggard shut up in a crystal cask and sent into the air by means of a balloon).

[1] At most it may be conceded that the whimsical notion of a half-man arose from some more serious *stratum* of popular belief: cp. what Zeus says of men in Plat. *symp.* 190 D *ἐὰν δ' ἔτι δοκῶσιν ἀσελγαίνειν καὶ μὴ 'θέλωσιν ἡσυχίαν ἄγειν, πάλιν αὖ, ἔφη, τεμῶ δίχα, ὥστ' ἐφ' ἑνὸς πορεύσονται σκέλους ἀσκωλίζοντες.*

(between 41 B.C. and 17 A.D.) been run into the mould of a *Märchen* involving the popular feature of the floating coffer. Possibly, too, the original character of the heroine as an earth-goddess persists in the trait that she must give the hero a fig before he can work his magic.

Returning now to the coin-types, we note that J. H. Eckhel[1] more than a century ago identified the Janiform head as a combination of Tennes and Hemithea. His conclusion was, I believe, substantially correct. Indeed, it might be maintained that the very name *Hemithéa*, the 'Half-Goddess,' or *Amphithéa*, the 'Double-Goddess,' as Hekataios[2] called her, has reference to the twofold type[3]. Only it must, I think, be borne in mind that Tennes and Hemithea, who bulk so big in the later myths of Tenedos, are but heroic representatives of an earlier sky-god and earth-goddess. Behind them we can detect the Thraco-Phrygian Dionysos and Semele, who in turn conceal the faded forms of the 'Minoan' Kronos and Rhea. As to the outward expression of their worship, at first a double axe or a pair of double axes symbolised the union of the two great powers. Then, in the sixth century B.C., we find a Janiform image serving the same purpose. Ultimately the divine couple appear to have had separate effigies, and that of Tennes at least had some pretensions to beauty. The Tenedians, says Diodoros[4] in the first century B.C., 'made a precinct of Tennes and used to honour him as a god with sacrifices, which they kept up till modern times.' Verres, therefore, deeply offended them when—as Cicero[5] informs us—he carried off from their midst a very handsome statue of 'Tenes himself, who in Tenedos is deemed a god most holy.'

The 'Minoan' cult; which occasioned the Tenedian combination of god and goddess, seems to have led to a like result elsewhere. A scaraboid gem of striped brown sard, found in Kypros and now forming part of a private collection in this country, shows a double head closely resembling that on the early coins of Tenedos (fig. 607)[6]. Silver coins of the 'Philisto-Arabian' series, struck during the fifth century B.C. at Gaza *Minóa*, likewise represent a bisexual Janiform

[1] Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 489.

[2] Hekataios *frag.* 139 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 9 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τένεδος.

[3] Cp. *supra* pp. 328 (*Ambi*sagrus), 421 (*Amphi*sthenes, *Amphi*kles), 445 (*Amphion*).

[4] Diod. 5. 83 (*supra* p. 670) τελευτήσας δ' ἀθανάτων τιμῶν ἠξιώθη (sc. Τέννης)· καὶ γὰρ τέμενος αὐτοῦ κατεσκεύασαν καὶ θυσίαις ὡς θεὸν ἐτίμων, ἃς διετέλουν θύοντες μέχρι τῶν νεωτέρων καιρῶν.

[5] Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 1. 49 Tenedo...Tenem ipsum, qui apud Tenedios sanctissimus deus habetur, qui urbem illam dicitur condidisse, cuius ex nomine Tenedus nominatur,—hunc ipsum, inquam, Tenem, pulcherrime factum, quem quondam in comitio vidistis, abstulit magno cum gemitu civitatis.

[6] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 65 (=my fig. 607: scale ⅔), ii. 31.

head (figs. 608, 609)[1]. One specimen, in the British Museum, gives the male face a snub nose and a pointed ear, thereby imparting a Satyric character to the head (fig. 610)[2]. Another, at Paris, turns the profile into a full face with broad nose (fig. 611)[3]. This very curious treatment suggests that the god is Bes, who—unlike the general run of Egyptian deities—commonly appears *en face*[4]. The suggestion is

Fig. 607.

Fig. 608.

Fig. 609.

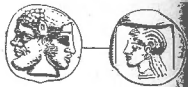


Fig. 610.

Fig. 611.

Fig. 612.

Fig. 613.

strengthened by a third specimen, also at Paris, which shows a bearded head with a mask of Bes attached to the back of it (fig. 612)[5]. It is possible too that both god and goddess stood in some relation to the lion; for the obverse of the first Parisian coin has two bearded heads surmounted by two lion-heads with lion-skins depending on either side (fig. 611), and the reverse of yet another Parisian coin

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxxiii ff., 176 f. pl. 19, 1—3, 7, p. 179 pl. 19, 20, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 282 pl. 77, 30, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 645 ff. pl. 123, 10, 11 f., 13 (=my fig. 608), 14, p. 651 ff. pl. 123, 25, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 805. Fig. 609 is from a specimen in the McClean collection at Cambridge. These coins are all drachms of Attic weight. As to their types, the owl and its accompanying inscription are certainly derived from Athenian originals modified to suit local requirements (J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 231, Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 645 f., G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. lxxxiv). The Janiform head has been referred to that of Lampsakos (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 2. 645 f.), or to that of an Athenian trihemiobol (G. F. Hill *loc. cit.* p. lxxxiv f.): but both at Lampsakos and at Athens the double head is beardless.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. 181 pl. 19, 30 (=my fig. 610).

[3] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 657 f. pl. 124, 7 (=my fig. 611).

[4] K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 325.

[5] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 659 f. pl. 124, 11 (=my fig. 612).

combines the profile of a goddess with that of a lion (fig. 613)[1]. If so, we may surmise that at Gaza, as in Tenedos, the Janiform head points backwards to the 'Minoan' cult of Kronos and Rhea. Rhea as the local Tyche kept her place from first to last. Kronos was succeeded by Zeus *Kretagenés*[2], otherwise known as Marnas[3], and apparently as Zeus *Aldémios* or *Áldos*[4], while Zeus in turn was partially eclipsed by the popular figure of Bes.

These Levantine examples of the male-*plus*-female head should

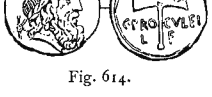


Fig. 614.

Fig. 615.

be compared, as J. P. Six[5] points out, with Berossos' description of the primeval androgynous being represented in the temple of Zeus *Bêlos* at Babylon[6].

A parallel to the survival of the 'Minoan' double axe in Tenedos might also be sought in Korkyra. Shortly before the battle of Aktion (31 B.C.) C. Proculeius, the partisan and friend of Octavian, struck copper coins in Korkyra with a head of Zeus on one side and a double axe on the other (figs. 614, 615)[7]. The head is accompanied

[1] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 659 f. pl. 124, 10 (=my fig. 613) described as 'Tête imberbe d'Héraclès à droite, coiffée de la peau de lion.' But the head, which has an earring, is obviously derived from that of Athena on Attic tetradrachms etc.

[2] *Supra* i. 149 n. 1, 478 with n. 4, *infra* § 9 (g).

[3] *Supra* i. 149 n. 1, 167 n. 3, 478, *infra* § 9 (g).

[4] Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 58, 20 ff. 'Αλδήμιος ἡ "Αλδος, ὁ Ζεύς, ὃς ἐν Γάζῃ τῆς Συρίας τιμᾶται· παρὰ τὸ ἀλδαίνω, τὸ αὐξάνω· ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν καρπῶν. Μεθόδιος. Cod. Vb. omits ὃς (as does cod. D.) and reads οὕτως Μεθόδιος. S. Bochart *Phaleg*[3] Lugduni Batavorum—Trajecti ad Rhenum 1692 p. 748, F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 262, and E. Renan *Mission en Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 515 f. propound Semitic derivations of the appellative. K. B. Stark *Gaza und die philistäische Küste* Jena 1852 p. 578 is content to derive it from ἀλδαίνω. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 248 n. 4 says: 'noch nicht gedeutet.' W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 489 n. 3 falls back on 'ein Ortsname.' G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 150 risks no conjecture.

[5] J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 230 n. 140.

[6] Berossos *Babyloniaca* sive *Chaldaica frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 497 Müller) *ap.* Synkell. *chron.* 29 B (i. 52 Dindorf) γενέσθαι φησὶ χρόνον ἐν ᾧ τὸ πᾶν σκότος καὶ ὕδωρ εἶναι καὶ ἐν τούτοις ζῶα τερατώδη καὶ εἰδιφυεῖς (J. D. G. Richter cj. ἰδιοφυεῖς A. Mai cj. αὐτοφυεῖς J. J. Scaliger cj. διφυεῖς) τὰς ἰδέας ἔχοντα ζωογονεῖσθαι. ἀνθρώπους γὰρ διπτέρους γεννηθῆναι, ἐνίους δὲ καὶ τετραπτέρους· καὶ διπροσώπους· καὶ σῶμα μὲν ἔχοντας ἕν, κεφαλὰς δὲ δύο, ἀνδρείαν τε καὶ γυναικείαν, καὶ αἰδοῖά τε διττά, ἄρρεν καὶ θῆλυ. κ.τ.λ. On Zeus *Bêlos* see *supra* i. 756 f.

[7] Fig. 614 is from Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 388 fig.; fig. 615, from the cast of a specimen in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 534 no. 235 pl. 116, 21).

by a monogram of the Greek letters KO, and there is frequently (figs. 614, 617) a countermark which appears to represent a double axe in a circle[1]. Now Proculeius is known to have been interested in the religious and mythical antiquities of the neighbourhood. For a small piece struck by him shows an *Agyieús*-pillar (fig. 616)[2], and

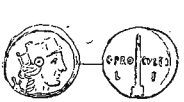


Fig. 616.

Fig. 617.

a large piece shows the ray-fish[3] whose poisonous tail, used as a spear-head[4] by Telegonos, caused the death of Odysseus (fig. 617)[5]. It is therefore likely enough that the double axe associated with Zeus in Korkyra was none other than the weapon of the old 'Minoan' sky-god.

[1] M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 227.

[2] M. Bahrfeldt *op. cit.* p. 227 fig. (=my fig. 616) pl. 10, 241.

[3] Numismatists for more than a century past (*e.g.* S. Havercamp in Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 361 pl. Proculeia, 2, Rasche *Lex. Num.* vii. 171 f., 723) have described the type of this interesting coin as a ray-fish. F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 43 pl. 6, 42 specify the thornback (*Raja clavata*). O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 376 f. pl. 2, 3 repeats this opinion, and further regards the death of Odysseus as due to the same fish. J. van Leeuwen, commenting on Od. 11. 134 ff. (ed. 2 Lugduni-Batavorum 1917), argues that the spear-head of Telegonos was the tail of a sting-ray (*Raja pastinaca*), which is not merely a formidable weapon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 144) but actually poisonous (Opp. *de pisc.* 2. 470 ff., cp. A. C. L. G. Günther *An Introduction to the Study of Fishes* Edinburgh 1880 p. 190 fig. 98, p. 342, R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 v. 545). A. C. Pearson, *à propos* of Soph. Ὀδυσσεὺς ἀκανθοπλὴξ ἡ Νίπτρα (*The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 ii. 105 ff.), by a curious slip takes Telegonos' fish to have been a roach. W. Radcliffe *Fishing from the Earliest Times* London 1921 justly protests that 'the absolutely harmless Roach' will not do, and agrees with J. van Leeuwen that the fish must have been a sting-ray. Returning to the subject in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 5, 1922 p. 13 Mr Radcliffe accepts a suggestion of Prof. D'Arcy W. Thompson (*ib.* for Dec. 15, 1921 p. 844) that the precise species was 'a great Eagle-Ray' (*Myliobatis aquila*).

[4] Dr A. C. Haddon informs me (Jan. 23, 1922) that spears tipped with spines of the sting-ray are well known in Melanesia generally and also in Queensland (*e.g. British Museum: Handbook to the Ethnographical Collections* London 1910 p. 121 fig. 99, *a* from the Fiji Islands). Kwoiam, a legendary hero of the Torres Straits, killed his mother by means of a spear pointed with three sting-ray spines (A. C. Haddon *Reports of the Cambridge Anthropological Expedition to Torres Straits* Cambridge 1904 v. 71)—a perfect parallel to the story of Telegonos.

[5] Fig. 617 is from Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 388 fig. ('Jupiter en Terme.' Havercamp *loc. cit.*: 'Terminalis Jovis vel Neptuni.' Rasche *op. cit.* vii. 171: 'Neptuni.' Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.*: 'Hermenkopf').

(π) The hafted axe as a religious symbol.

The coins of Tenedos are by no means the only classical relic of pre-classical axe-cult. But before considering further evidence it will be well, for clearness' sake, to restate the essentials of the cult in question.

Throughout the Aegean and Adriatic area, as I maintain[1], we can trace the joint worship of a sky-father and an earth-mother. The former descends from above when the lightning flashes down and, in old aniconic days, leaves his weapon as a tangible token of himself. The latter ascends from below when vegetation springs up and, at the same early epoch, gives a visible proof of her presence in the sacred tree. Where, as was the case with the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada*[2], we see the axe imbedded in the trunk, there we must recognise the union of the sky-father with the earth-mother, a union essential to the fertility of men and beasts and crops. The axe imbedded in a tree is the prototype of the axe imbedded in a wooden column[3] or a stalactite pillar[4]. Ultimately a hafted axe of the usual sort is found serving as a symbol of the united deities, the axe-head being the male, the axe-handle the female, element in their union.

(ρ) The axe and the sacred oak at Dodona.

The axe imbedded in the sacred tree is a feature of sundry cults, myths, and folk-tales. Early in the third century A.D. Philostratos described a real or imaginary painting of Dodona[5]. 'The golden pigeon,' he wrote, 'is still upon the oak-tree, she that is wise in sayings and oracles that she utters as from Zeus. And here lies the double axe left by Hellos the wood-cutter, from whom the Helloi of Dodona trace their descent. Fillets too are hung from the oak; for it gives oracles as does the tripod at Pytho.' This painting of the cult-scene at Dodona bears a curious resemblance to that of the cult-scene at *Hagia Triada*. In both we have the same noteworthy association of bird, axe, and tree. Moreover, the small votive axes of bronze found at Dodona (fig. 618)[6] recall the miniature votive

[1] *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 193 f.

[2] *Supra* pp. 517 f., 520 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 528 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 530 ff.

[5] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 33. 1. For the Teubner text of the first clause ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ πέλεια ἕτ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἐν λογίοις ἡ σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοί, κ.τ.λ., which must be wrong (C. F. W. Jacobs cj. ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ πελειὰς ἡ ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἐν λογίοις ἣν σοφὴ καὶ οἱ χρησμοί, κ.τ.λ.), I would read ἡ μὲν χρυσῆ πέλεια ἕτ' ἐπὶ τῆς δρυὸς ἡ ἐν λογίοις σοφὴ καὶ χρησμοῖς, κ.τ.λ.

[6] *Supra* p. 648. Fig. 618 is from C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 100 f. pl. 54, 7 (length 0·12m).

axes of Crete. A fine double axe of iron, also from Dodona (fig. 619)[1], may give us some idea of Hellos' tool.

Philostratos' statement with regard to the axe left, apparently in the sacred tree, by the forefather of the Dodonaean priests is indeed remarkable. But still more remarkable is a folk-tale heard by J. G. von Hahn at *Jánina*, close to the site of the ancient Dodona. For in this tale not only do we get the incident of the

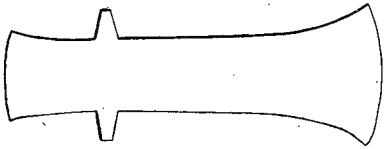


Fig. 618.

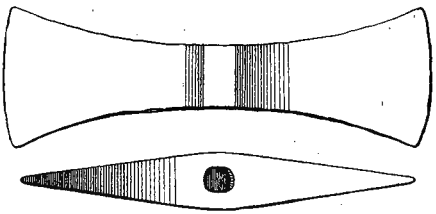


Fig. 619.

priestly wood-cutter leaving his axe in the tree, but also we have unmistakeable evidence of the axe being conceived as male and the tree as female. If I am right in my interpretation of the tale (and there is small room for error), it follows that here in an out-of-the-way corner of Europe survives a primitive conception which can be traced backwards, thanks to the Cretan *sarcophagus*, for the best part of four thousand years. The tale is this[2]:—

'A priest once went with his wife into the wood to cut timber. They found there a wood-cutter, with whom the woman went deeper into the wood. But the priest set about felling a wild pear-tree with his axe. He hewed and hewed till there was but a span left to cut through, and then he waited for his wife to come before cutting the rest. The tree, however, was so thick that it no longer held together, but collapsed of itself. No sooner had this happened than out of it came a she-bear, who said to the priest: "You must lie with me." "Hush!" replied the priest, "I am a holy man and dare not do so." "That's all one to me; do what I tell you," said the she-bear, and looked at him with so fierce a look that he was scared and, for good or ill, did what she wanted.

[1] C. Carapanos *op. cit.* p. 109 pl. 57, 6 and 6 *bis* (=my fig. 619). Length 0·21^{m}.

[2] Text unpublished; German translation in J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 72 ff. no. 75 'Das Bärenkind.'

Afterwards the she-bear had a child, who grew up strong, but being unlike the other bear-children got called a bastard. So one day the youngster asked his mother whether what his brothers said about him was true. And she made answer: "You have the axe for father." "Oh! mother, can the axe then beget children?" asked the boy, and pressed his mother for an answer till she said: "Take the axe, stand with it before the church, and ask—To whom does this axe belong? And, whoever recognises it, that man is your father." The boy did as he was bidden; but one after the other the people came out of church, and nobody would claim the axe. At last the priest too came out, and asked the boy: "Where did you get that axe from? It is mine!" And he replied: "If it is yours, so am I!" "Hush, blasphemer!" "Why so? You are in truth my father." So the boy went home with the priest, who said to his wife: "See, I've brought you this boy to serve you." The wife was pleased and said: "That's capital! Many thanks."

The first day the boy ate a loaf of bread. The second, he ate as much as the priest took in a whole month. Thereupon the priest said "You're no good to us!" and handed him over to a baker. Here the boy ate all the bread that the baker baked.

Then the king's cook came to the oven and, having had a look at him, told his master that he had seen such a fellow. The king was astonished, had the lad brought before him, and asked: "Can you load sixty mules with timber?" "Certainly," said he; "only you must have an axe made to suit me." Then the king had an axe made that weighed a hundred pounds. But the lad took it in his hands, broke it in pieces, and said: "That's no good to me; I must have a stouter one." After this they made him one that weighed five hundred pounds. He swung it with a single hand, and said: "That's the right axe for me!" He took the mules, went with them into a coppice, brought his axe to bear on the trees, and promptly had his sixty mules laden. On his way back he passed a plane-tree, seized it with his hands, wrenched it out of the ground, and carried it over his shoulder. Coming into the town like this, he tore down with his tree the roofs of the huts which stood beside his way. When the king saw him marching along, he was astonished and said to the baker: "He does indeed eat much, but he works much too; I will take him into my service." As time went on, the bear-child grew stronger and stronger. This great strength began to cause the king so much anxiety that he feared for his life. So he sent the lad forth to fetch the treasures of the Dogs-heads, hoping that these heads would devour him. But first they agreed that the king should give half his kingdom to the bear's son, if he brought the treasures. Off he went, beat the Dogs-heads, won thereby half the kingdom, and lived happily. But we here live more happily still.'

This folk-tale, which in part falls under J. G. von Hahn's thirty-seventh *formula*—'Strong Hans[1]'—and contains obvious parallels to the myth of Herakles, belongs to a very ancient *stratum* of human thought, and we need not hesitate to recognise in the axe-father and the tree-mother of the hero a genuine echo of primitive belief.

[1] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 59. The closest resemblance to our tale is borne by one from Argyllshire entitled 'The son of the Strong Man of the Wood' (J. Macdougall *Folk and Hero Tales* London 1891 p. 187 ff.).

(σ) The sword and the sacred tree at Rhegion.

The appearance of the tree-mother as a bear suggests comparison with Artemis, whose relations to that animal are well known[1]. It is therefore interesting to find that Orestes, when he fled from the Taurian land with the image of Artemis, touched at Rhegion for purposes of purification, built there a temple of Apollon, and on departure left his sword in a tree, where it was long to be seen[2]. The 'Swordsman's Harbour' at Rhegion perhaps commemorated his exploit[3]. Further, he bore the image of Artemis done up in a bundle of rods, from which circumstance she received her title *Phakelitis*[4] or *Phakeline*[5], the goddess 'of the Bundle.' I have elsewhere[6] argued that this title enables us to regard as analogous cases the axe projecting from a bundle of rods, which was carried by the Roman lictor[7], and the iron scimitar set up on numerous bundles of sticks, which was worshipped by the Scythians[8].

Another myth that should be considered in this connexion is that of Myrrha, the daughter of Kinyras. According to one version[9], she loved her own father, made him drunk, and consorted with him[10]. When he realised what had happened, he pursued her with a drawn sword. Hereupon she was changed into a 'myrrh'-tree. Her father struck it with his sword; and from the tree Adonis was born. It may be suspected that in this form of the story the sword has taken the place of a double axe. For a copper of Myra in Lykia issued by Gordianus iii Pius (238—244 A.D.) shows a tree, with a female

[1] J. J. Bachofen *Der Bær in den Religionen des Alterthums* Basel 1863 p. 15 ff., S. Reinach in the *Revue celtique* 1900 xxi. 287 ff. with pl. 1 (=*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1905 i. 55 ff. with fig. 1), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* Index p. 1898 *s.v.* 'Bär,' O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 176. *Supra* i. 417, 421 f., 442, 453 n. 5, 784.

[2] Varro and Cato *ap.* Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl. praef.* p. 348 Lion.

[3] In Hesych. Ξιφίρου λιμήν· Αἰσχύλος Γλαύκῳ Ποντιεῖ. ὁ πορθμός. ταῦτα γὰρ πάντα τὰ περὶ Ῥήγιον ὠρείων I. Casaubon cj. *ξιφήρου*, which F. G. Schneidewin *Diana Phacelitis et Orestes apud Rheginos et Siculos* Gottingae 1832 p. 11 corrected into *ξιφήρους*. A. Meineke in *Philologus* 1858 xiii. 510 f. proposed Ξιφήρους λιμήν· and [τὰ] περὶ Ῥήγιον ...Ὠρίων(ος ἔργον) on the strength of Diod. 4. 85. See further J. Alberti and M. Schmidt *ad loc.*, A. Nauck on Aisch. *frag.* 33 Nauck[2], Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 496. It is uncertain whether *ξιφήρης* refers to Orion, as in Eur. *Ion* 1153, or to Orestes (cp. Strab. 239 *ξιφήρης οὖν ἐστιν ἀεί* of the priest at Nemi, whose mythical prototype was Orestes).

[4] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 116, Prob. *loc. cit.* Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl. praef.* p. 95 Lion.

[5] Lucil. *Sat.* 3 *frag.* 72 Bährens.

[6] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 362 n. 3.

[7] *Supra* p. 633 ff.

[8] *Supra* p. 547 n. 3.

[9] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 72, Hyg. *fab.* 164, Fulgent. *myth.* 3. 8, Myth. Vat. 1. 200, 2. 34, 3. 11. 17. That Kinyras pursued his daughter with a sword is stated also by Apollod. 3. 14. 4, Ov. *met.* 10. 471 ff., interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 10. 18.

[10] On the significance of such incest see the convincing remarks of Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 43 f.

image in its branches, attacked by two men with double axes and defended by two snakes (fig. 620)[1]. This unusual design can be paralleled by *quasi*-autonomous coppers of Aphrodisias in Karia: here a leafless tree is attacked by two naked men, wearing Phrygian caps, of whom one brandishes a double axe and the other kneels or runs away (figs. 621, 622)[2]. On specimens struck by Saloninus (253—266 (?) A.D.) (fig. 623)[3] or Valerianus (253—260 A.D.) (fig.

Fig. 620.

Fig. 621.

Fig. 622.

Fig. 623.

Fig. 624.

624)[4] a third man is present, with uplifted arms. A. Löbbecke[5] and F. Imhoof-Blumer[6] interpret these coins of Myra and Aphrodisias as representing the myth of Myrrha. The latter scholar even supposes that the third person present (a grown man!) is meant for Adonis. In my opinion it is far more probable that the coins of both towns commemorate a local rite of threatening the sacred tree in order to make it fruitful. Sir James Frazer collects analogous

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia pp. liv f., 71 pl. 15, 6 (=my fig. 620), Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 63 pl. 10, 42, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 78 pl. 15, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 695 f. fig. 316. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia p. 71 describes the goddess as 'simulacrum of Artemis Eleuthera, wearing modius and veil' (cp. Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 35 *ἡ λεγομένη παρὰ Λυκίοις Ἐλευθέρα*), but *ib.* p. liv admits that there may be 'a contamination of the cult of Eleuthera with the legend of Myrrha or of Myrike' (cp. J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 pp. 76 f., 106 f.).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 36 pl. 6, 7, Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 64 pl. 10, 43 (=my fig. 621), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 610. Fig. 622 is from a specimen in my collection.

[3] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 142 f. no. 422 pl. 9, 29 (=my fig. 623).

[4] A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 11 f. pl. 2, 1 (=my fig. 624).

[5] A. Löbbecke *loc. cit.*

[6] Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 143.

rites from the East Indies, Japan, Armenia, South Slavonia, Bulgaria, Lesbos, Sicily, the Abruzzi, etc.[1]. A sample will serve:

'On Christmas Eve many a South Slavonian and Bulgarian peasant swings an axe threateningly against a barren fruit-tree, while another man standing by intercedes for the menaced tree, saying, "Do not cut it down; it will soon bear fruit." Thrice the axe is swung, and thrice the impending blow is arrested at the entreaty of the intercessor. After that the frightened tree will certainly bear fruit next year[2].'

If this be the *drómenon* portrayed on our coins, it is obvious that they need not have anything to do with Myrrha and her 'myrrh'-tree.

The sword left in the tree is a circumstance which occurs in the tales of other nations also. The Volsung saga[3], for example, tells how king Rerir and his wife remained without a son till Ljod, daughter of the giant Hrimnir, was sent in the form of a crow by Freyia to bring them an apple. She let the apple fall into the lap of the king as he sat upon a mound. He took it home and came to the queen, who ate part of it. After a sickness lasting six winters she was forcibly delivered of a man-child, great of growth from his birth, who was called Volsung and became king of Hunland in the room of his father. He married Ljod, Hrimnir's daughter, and had by her ten sons and one daughter. Now king Volsung built his hall in such a manner that it enclosed a big oak-tree. The trunk stood in the hall; the branches and blossoms[4] spread out over the roof. The tree was termed a *barnstokk* or 'child-tree' and also, somewhat inconsequently, *apaldr*, an 'apple-tree.' At the marriage-feast of king Volsung's daughter Signy and Siggeir king of Gothland a huge one-eyed old man[5], bare-footed but wearing a spotted cloak and tight linen breeches, entered the hall. He drew his sword[6] and plunged it up to the hilts in the tree-trunk, declaring that whosoever could pull it out might keep it for his own. This said, he took his departure. Those present attempted to pull out the sword; but none succeeded save Sigmund, son of king Volsung.

Similarly in an Irish folk-tale[7], when Fin and the Fenians were at Fintra, a ship sailed into harbour with only one woman on board. She saluted Fin and asked whether he would play a game of chess

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 20—22.

[2] *Id. ib.*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 21. Cp. the parable of the barren fig-tree in Luke 13. 6—9.

[3] Text and critical notes in E. Wilken *Die prosaische Edda* Paderborn 1877 i. 149 ff. ('Vǫlsungasaga' chap. 1 f.); English translation by E. Magnússon and W. Morris *The Story of the Volsungs and Niblungs* London 1870 p. 1 ff.

[4] My friend Prof. H. M. Chadwick informs me that the Icelandic writer may mean 'leaves.'

[5] Othin.

[6] Cp. *supra* p. 547 n. 3 for the sword of Mars owned by Attila, lord of the Hunni.

[7] Text unpublished; English translation by J. Curtin *Hero-Tales of Ireland* Boston 1894 p. 484 ff. ('Fin MacCool, Faolan, and the Mountain of Happiness').

with her for a sentence. Fin agreed. They played. She won and sentenced him to take her for his wife. After a time she said: 'I must leave you now for a season.' Fin then drove his sword into a tree-stump and said: 'Call your son *Faolan* ("Little Wolf"), and never send him to me until he is able to draw the sword from this stump.' She took the stump with her and sailed away homeward. She nursed her son for three days only, and called him *Faolan*. When ten years old, he was taunted by a playmate for not knowing who his father was. He asked his mother, who told him about Fin and the tree-stump. With one pull he drew out the sword, and then set forth, accompanied by his mother's blessing, to find his father. His subsequent adventures do not here concern us; but it is obvious that thus far the story has at least some points in common with J. G. von Hahn's tale from Dodona and with the Volsung saga.

(τ) The axes and the sacred oaks at Dotion.

The enormous appetite of the strong man in the folk-tale from Dodona reminds us, not only of the ever-hungry Herakles, but also of the insatiate Erysichthon, whose myth again includes the incident of an axe left in a sacred tree.

The story is told by Kallimachos[1] as follows. The Pelasgians, before they migrated from Thessaly to Knidos, had planted a grove for Demeter at Dotion. Here dwelt the royal family of the Triopidai. Erysichthon, son of Triopas, acting under some infatuation, armed his followers with axes and hatchets, and invaded the grove. The first tree attacked was a magnificent poplar[2], which groaned aloud. Demeter heard it and, appearing in the likeness of her priestess, attempted to dissuade the madman. He at once threatened to fell her with his axe, being bent on fashioning the timbers of a house in which to feast with his friends. Demeter in wrath resumed her godlike form; and Erysichthon's comrades horror-struck left their axes sticking in the oaks[3]. She punished their chief by inflicting on him a hunger that nothing would satisfy.

Ovid[4] tells the same tale with some variations. He describes the tree cut down by Erysichthon as an ancient oak[5] adorned with fillets and tablets by the pious rustics. Though the Dryads had often danced beneath it, the son of Triops bade his servants fell it. When they hesitated, he caught up an axe and swore that the tree should fall, though it were not merely the favourite of the goddess,

[1] Kallim. *h. Dem.* 24—117.
[2] *Id. ib.* 37 αἴγειρος. *Supra* p. 497 n. 5.
[3] *Id. ib.* 60 ἐνὶ δρυσὶ χαλκὸν ἀφέντες.
[4] Ov. *met.* 8. 738 ff.
[5] *Id. ib.* 8. 743 ingens annoso robore quercus.

but the goddess herself. Thereupon the 'Deoïan' oak[1] shivered and groaned and blanched, and at the first stroke shed blood. One of those present protested: Erysichthon beheaded him on the spot, and went on with his impious work. From the stricken trunk was heard the voice of the tree-nymph, who, ere she died, prophesied the evil end of the Thessalian. The Dryads implored Ceres to avenge their sister's fate. She banished Erysichthon to Scythia, the abode of Hunger[2].

It would seem that neither Kallimachos nor Ovid has preserved the primitive form of this myth[3]. In particular, the axe imbedded in the sacred tree has been treated as a mere symptom of surprise on the part of Erysichthon's followers, while the perpetual appetite of the strong man[4] has been misinterpreted as a punishment for his impious action. Such changes are indicative of a romantic and moralising age.

(*v*) The knife and the sacred oak at Phylake.

One other example of a weapon fixed in a sacred tree occurs, in the myth of Phylakos. It is related as follows by Apollodoros[5]. Phylakos, the eponym of Phylake in Phthiotis, having learnt that Melampous was a excellent seer, asked him to cure the childless condition of his son Iphiklos. Melampous sacrificed two bulls, cut them limb from limb, and invited the birds to the feast. From a vulture that came he learnt the facts of the case. Phylakos had once, when gelding rams, laid down his knife covered with blood on the severed portions beside Iphiklos[6]. The boy being terrified

[1] *Id. ib.* 8. 758 Deoïa quercus.

[2] What Kallimachos and Ovid relate of Erysichthon was by others related of Triopas himself. Diod. 5. 61 says that Triopas, son of Helios and Rhodos, helped the sons of Deukalion to drive the Pelasgians out of Thessaly. When he came to divide up the land, he laid waste the precinct of Demeter in the plain of Dotion, and used its timber to make a palace: hence he was hated by the natives and had to fly the country. He sailed to Knidos, and there founded the Triopion. Diodoros adds that some authorities made Triopas the son of Poseidon and Kanake (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 98 f.), others of Lapithes son of Apollon and Stilbe daughter of Peneios.

[3] On the development of the myth see O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1373—1384 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 571—574.

[4] Erysichthon occurs as the name of a Giant, probably the adversary of Demeter, on the frieze of the great altar at Pergamon (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 154, M. Fränkel *ib.* viii. 1. 65 no. 114 Ἐρυσίχθων on a fragment found S.E. of the altar).

[5] Apollod. 1. 9. 12. *Supra* p. 452.

[6] παραγενομένου δὲ αἰγυπιοῦ, παρὰ τούτου μανθάνει δὴ ὅτι Φύλακός ποτε κριοὺς τέμνων ἐπὶ τῶν αἰδοίων παρὰ τῷ Ἰφίκλῳ τὴν μάχαιραν ἡμαγμένην ἔτι κατέθετο, δείσαντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς καὶ φυγόντος αὖθις κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς δρυὸς αὐτὴν ἔπηξε, καὶ ταύτην ἀμφιτροχάσας ἐκάλυψεν ὁ φλοιός. The words ἐπὶ τῶν αἰδοίων, which R. Hercher would delete, must—as the text stands—refer to the genitals of the rams. It is, however, possible that they arose from a gloss on παρὰ τῷ Ἰφίκλῳ, in which case Apollodoros will agree with schol.

had run away. Phylakos had then thrust the knife back into the sacred oak-tree, the bark of which had compassed it about and concealed it from view. If Melampous could now find the knife, scrape the rust off it, and give it to Iphiklos to drink for ten days in succession, Iphiklos would beget a child. Thus instructed by the vulture, Melampous found the knife, scraped the rust off it, and for ten days in succession gave it to Iphiklos to drink, the result being that a son Podarkes was born to him. In this story we may presume that the generative power of the rams[1] passed from them to the knife and so to the rust that was put in Iphiklos' drink[2]. But why was the knife thrust into the sacred oak? Or rather, why was it 'thrust *back*' into the oak? This implies that the gelding knife was kept in the tree. It was—we remember—'beneath the tall oaks' that Zeus himself gelded Kronos[3]. Perhaps the idea was that a blade so highly charged with procreative force would permanently fertilise the sacred oak. If so, we have here another instance of the weapon regarded as *quasi*-male, the tree as *quasi*-female.

(φ) Axe-blades and axe-hafts in the megalithic art of western Europe.

The connexion here suggested between weapon and tree, blade and haft, is to some extent confirmed by evidence from western Europe. As far back as 1867 A. de Longpérier put forward the idea that in Gaul there may have been a cult of the axe comparable with that of Assyria, Egypt, Karia, Tenedos, and Pagasai[4]. S. Reinach in 1894 grouped together the sacred axes of all ages from the quaternary era downwards and regarded them as symbols of the lightning-flash[5]. Lastly, J. Déchelette in his admirable *Manuel d'archéologie*[6], after a more detailed study of the subject, arrives at the following conclusion:

'Thus the representations of the axe symbol in prehistoric art offer three variants—the hatchet complete, that is to say the blade furnished with its handle, the blade alone, and the handle alone. It is impossible for us to deter-

Theokr. 3. 43—45 c p. 129, 24 ff. Wendel Φυλάκῳ τῷ πατρί, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ χώρα Φυλάκη ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐκτέμνοντι (C. F. W. Jacobs adds ζῷα) ὁ Ἰφικλος παῖς ὢν παρίστατο· ὃν ἐκπλῆξαι ὁ πατὴρ θέλων ἦν εἶχε μάχαιραν εἰς τὸ πλησίον δένδρον ἐμπῆξαι ὥρμησε, καὶ συνέβη ἐπενεγκεῖν αὐτὴν τοῖς μορίοις τοῦ παιδός. κ.τ.λ. (quoted by Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1685, 38 ff.).

[1] *Supra* i. 429 f., 717, 779.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 158 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 448 n. 1, *infra* Append. G *med.*

[4] A. de Longpérier in the *Comptes rendus de la seconde session du Congrès International d'Anthropologie et d'Archéologie Préhistoriques* Paris 1867 pp. 37—40 = G. Schlumberger *Œuvres de A. de Longpérier* Paris 1883 i. 218—221.

[5] S. Reinach *Bronzes Figurés de la Gaule Romaine* Paris 1894 p. 167.

[6] J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 610.

mine the symbolic value that should be ascribed to each of these mysterious signs; but the fact that they appear on monuments dedicated to the shades of ancestors, in other words, on stones that are sacred, is enough to prove that their character is, in the etymological sense of the term, hieroglyphic.'

Where Déchelette is negative, it would be rash to be positive. But I note, as a point tending to support my interpretation of the

Fig. 625.

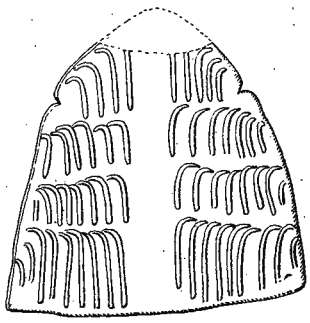


Fig. 626.

'Minoan' *data*, that in the contemporaneous[1] megalithic art of Gaul axe-blade (fig. 625)[2] and axe-handle (fig. 626)[3] were regarded as distinct entities, which might occur separately as well as in com-

[1] *Id. ib.* i. 612.

[2] *Dictionnaire archéologique de la Gaule, époque celtique* Paris 1867 pl. 16, 9 (=my fig. 625. Scale $\frac{1}{10}$), 1875 p. 110 f. from the *allée couverte* of Gavr' Inis in the *commune* of Baden (Morbihan), J. Déchelette *op. cit.* i. 605 f. fig. 241, 608, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194 with fig. 19. Cp. M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[2] Wien 1915 pp. 222 fig. 3, 226. For early bronze-age examples from Portugal see P. Paris in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 335 f. figs. 28 (a schist slab from Defesa (S. Tiago de Cacem) showing in low relief a sword, a club (?), and the head of an axe with recurved blade) and 29 (fragment of a similar slab, found near Panoias de Ourique, showing an axe-head with recurved blade), J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1910 ii. 1. 490 ff. fig. 208 (the slab from Defesa), M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[2] p. 214 ff. fig. 1 (the slab from Defesa, and two others).

[3] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1908 i. 609 f. fig. 244, 1 (=my fig. 626) after A. de Mortillet 'Les figures sculptées sur les monuments mégalithiques de la France' in the *Revue mensuelle de l'École d'Anthropologie de Paris* 1894 p. 291 fig. 80, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194 with fig. 20. From the dolmen known as *La Table des Marchands* at Locmariaquer (Morbihan).

bination (fig. 627)[1]. If we take into account on the one hand the Scandinavian rock-carvings of the Bronze Age, which represent an

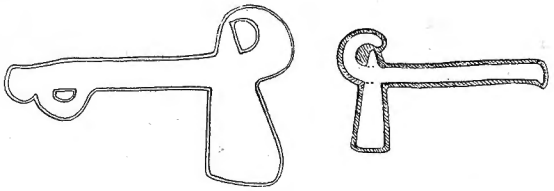


Fig. 627.

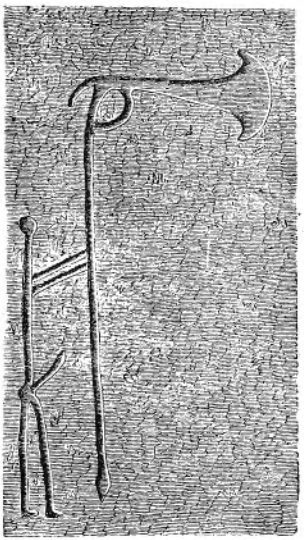


Fig. 628.

Fig. 629.

ithyphallic male bearing an axe (fig. 628)[2], and on the other hand

[1] J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1908 i. 606 fig. 242, 1 and 2 (=my fig. 627), 608 after A. de Mortillet *loc. cit.* p. 300 f. figs. 94 and 95, *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 192 with fig. 18. The axes here shown are incised on *La Table des Marchands* at Locmariaquer and on the *allée couverte* of Gavr' Inis. A photograph of the first is printed by M. Hoernes *op. cit.* pp. 223 fig. 2, 226.

[2] O. Montelius *The Civilisation of Sweden in Heathen Times* trans. F. H. Woods

London 1888 p. 54 fig. 53 (=my fig. 628), P. B. du Chaillu *The Viking Age* London 1889 ii. 131 fig. 906, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 73 pl. 23, 8 (reversed). From a rock at Simrislund (Scania) in S. Sweden. Height of man 1 ft. 6 ins.: length of axe-handle 1 ft. 8 ins.: length of axe-head nearly 1 ft. 2 ins.

The designs hammered on rocks high up in the Italian Maritime Alps, described and drawn *in primis* by C. Bicknell (bibliography in J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1910 ii. 1. 493 n. 2),

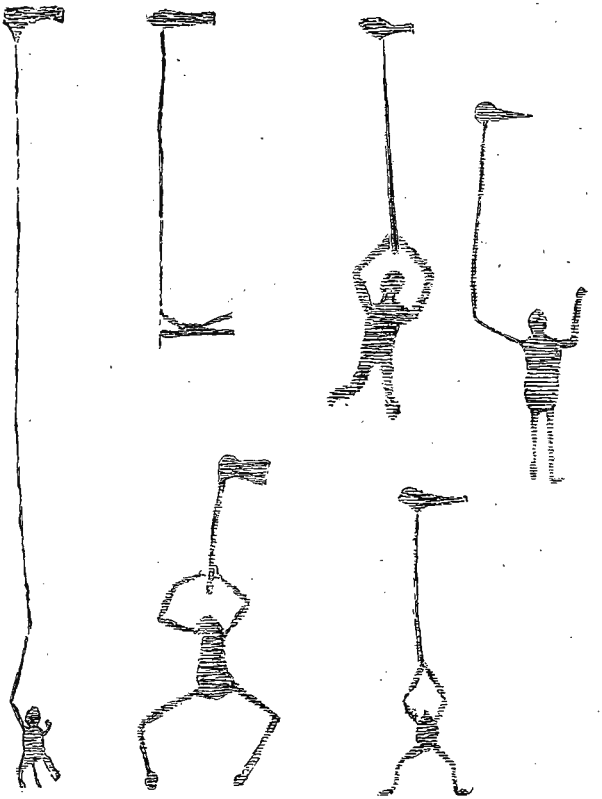


Fig. 630.

include numerous examples of little men uplifting large axes (*id. ib.* 1910 ii. 1. 495 with fig. 209, 7—12, M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[2] p. 216 with fig. 2 on p. 215). They appear to be the work of Ligurian hands (G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 187) during the earlier part of the Bronze Age (Sir A. J. Evans in *The Athenæum* Dec. 25, 1897, p. 890, *id.* 'The European diffusion of pictography and its bearings on the origin of script' in R. R. Marett *Anthropology and the Classics* Oxford 1908 p. 39 with fig. 20

(upside down)), and had almost certainly some religious or symbolic value. Figs. 630, 631

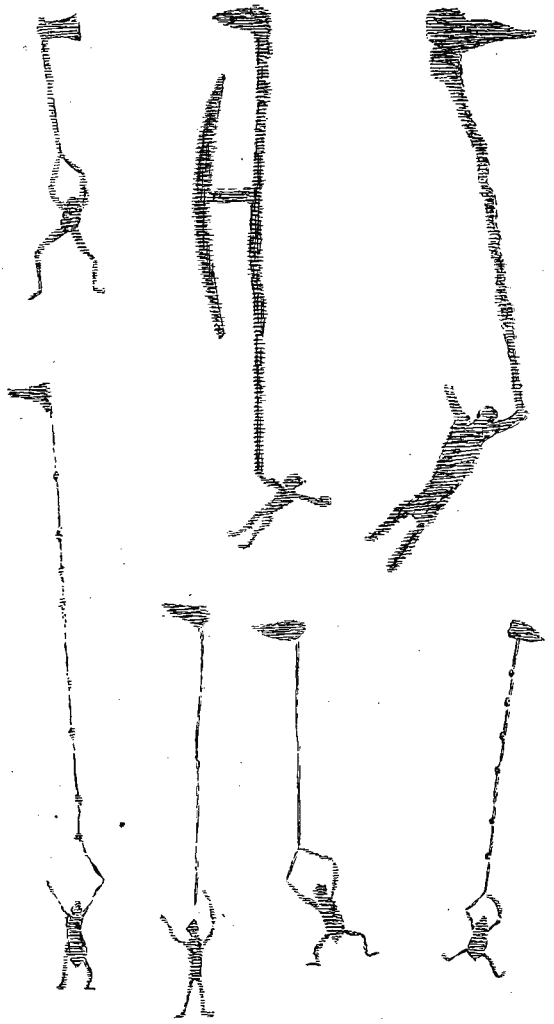


Fig. 631.

the carved slabs of the same age[1] from the dolmen of Collorgues in Gard, which represent a female bearing an axe-handle (fig. 629)[2], we may be disposed to allow that blade *plus* handle sometimes symbolised the union of male with female—a symbol that probably arose in neolithic times[3].

(χ) The axes of Penelope.

If in 'Minoan' times the hafted axe thus denoted the union of male with female, it is possible that there was some such notion underlying the marriage-test proposed by Penelope:

> Behold the dawn comes, dawn of evil name
> That is to take me from Odysseus' home;
> For now forthwith a contest will I make,
> To wit the axes, which within his halls
> My lord was wont to set, twelve in a row,
> Like ship-stays, and himself far off would stand
> And send a single arrow through them all.
> Now on the wooers will I lay this task:
> Whoso most easily shall string the bow
> And shoot a shaft through the axes, twelve in all,
> Him will I follow and forsake this house,
> Where I was wed, so fair, so full of wealth,
> That I shall mind me of it even in dreams[4].

The *Odyssey* certainly gives no hint that the contest was anything more than an athletic competition. Nevertheless, athletic competitions in Greece were often religious in their origin; and it may be that in this feature of the story, as in some others (*e.g.* the tree-bed of Odysseus[5]), the poet is modernising materials of immemorial antiquity.

are from C. Bicknell *The Prehistoric Rock Engravings in the Italian Maritime Alps* Bordighera 1902 pp. 41, 73 pl. 7, *f* (Val Fontanalba), *id. Further Explorations in the Regions of the Prehistoric Rock Engravings in the Italian Maritime Alps* Bordighera 1903 pp. 14, 36 pl. 3, 9 (Val Fontanalba).

[1] So S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1894 v. 12, 1901 xii. 606, 608, cp. E. d'Acy *ib.* 1901 xii. 608. But M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[2] p. 218 says: 'aus dem Ende der Steinzeit und den frühesten Metallperioden.' And J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1908 i. 587 ff. treats them as neolithic.

[2] F. Hermet 'Sculptures préhistoriques dans les deux cantons de Saint-Affrique et de Saint-Sernin' in the *Mémoires de la Société des Lettres, Sciences et Arts de l'Aveyron* 1892 xiv. 1—22 with pl., É. Cartailhac 'La divinité féminine et les sculptures de l'allée couverte d'Épône, Seine-et-Oise' in *L'Anthropologie* 1894 v. 152 f. figs. 7 and 8 (=my fig. 629), J. Déchelette *op. cit.* 1908 i. 588 fig. 226, 7 and 8, M. Hoernes *op. cit.*[2] p. 217 figs. 7 and 8.

[3] *I.e.* when the blade was hafted into the handle, not the handle into the blade. For neolithic as opposed to bronze-age haftings see *e.g.* Forrer *Reallex.* pls. 21 and 23.

[4] *Od.* 19. 571—581.

[5] W. Crooke 'The Wooing of Penelope' in *Folk-lore* 1898 ix. 131 ('I may, perhaps, hazard the suggestion that in the earlier form of the tale this olive tree was the marriage tree

The name *Penelópe* or *Penelópeia* is a legitimate derivative of *penélops*[1], 'wild duck' or 'goose[2].' According to Didymos Chalkenteros, an Alexandrine *savant* whose life-time covered the beginning of our era, Penelope was first called Ameirake or Arnakia, but, when cast into the sea by Nauplios in revenge for the fate of his son Palamedes and rescued from that predicament by wild ducks, was re-named *Penelópe*[3]. Others said that her name had been changed from Arnaia[4] or Arnea (?)[5] to *Penelópe* because, when flung into the sea by her own parents, she was brought safely ashore and restored to them by wild ducks. Recent critics, discussing the Penelope of epic and non-epic tradition, have resolved her into an Arcadian or Laconian goddess[6]. Thus E. Meyer[7], laying stress on the common Greek belief[8] that she was by Hermes the mother of the Arcadian Pan[9], concludes that originally a goddess (Artemis ?) surnamed *Penelópe* gave birth to Pan at Mantineia[10], where in later days her grave was shown[11]. F. Solmsen[12] too regards it as certain that Penelope was an ancient goddess whose home was Arkadia, especially eastern Arkadia, and Lakonike. Here in the second millennium B.C., at a time when theriomorphic conceptions were wide-spread throughout Greece, she took the form of the bird *penélops*. Lastly, J. A. K. Thomson[13] in his venturesome but

of the lovers, and that a very primitive and obsolete incident of wedding ritual assumed this rather clumsy form in the later recension'). But *id. ib.* p. 131 n. 4 cites J. T. Bent *The Cyclades* London 1885 p. 22 for a parallel in modern Greece to the bed as described by Homer. In *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 172 f. I have given some examples of life-trees built into castles.

[1] A. Fick—F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 418, F. Solmsen 'Odysseus und Penelope' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1909 xlii. 232 f. I tentatively advocated this view in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 194.

[2] On the *πηνέλοψ* see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 147 f., O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 234 f.

[3] Didymos *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1422, 6 ff. and schol. *Od.* 4. 797.

[4] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 792 ('Αρναία codd.).

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 79 ('Αρνέα codd. B.C.E. 'Αρνέαν cod. Q. But A. B. Drachmann restores 'Αρναία from Tzetz. *loc. cit.*). See further J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1906, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1820, ii. 1201—1203.

[6] Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 92 f. speaks of *Νύμφης* |...*Πηνελοπείης* (cp. *ib.* 24. 87), whom however he does not identify with the Homeric heroine. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 772 says expressly *ὁ Πὰν γὰρ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Πηνελόπης ἄλλης.*

[7] E. Meyer 'Der Ursprung des Odysseusmythus' in *Hermes* 1895 xxx. 264.

[8] Hdt. 2. 145.

[9] W. H. Roscher 'Die Sagen von der Geburt des Pan' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 368 ff., *id. Lex. Myth.* iii. 1380.

[10] Apollod. *epit.* 7. 38. See also W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1354 f., 1357, 1380.

[11] Paus. 8. 12. 5 ff.

[12] F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1909 xlii. 233.

[13] J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 48 ff. This book does not deserve all the hard things said of it by a somewhat petulant critic in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1914 xxxiv. 335.

most suggestive *Studies in the Odyssey* maintains that Penelope, like Artemis *Stymphalía*[1], was a local Arcadian *kóre* in the shape of a water-fowl, and points out that her other titles *Arnakía, Arnaía, Arnéa* (?) mean 'She of Arne,' the famous spring near Mantineia. 'Penelope,' he says, '...was evidently the divine Penelops of Arne[2].' This is to treat a possibility as a certainty. But the hypothesis itself is by no means absurd[3].

In any case the occurrence of a bird-name in connexion with the episode of the axes *donne à penser*. It recalls the birds perched on the axes of the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada*[4], and the bird on the axe-cleft tree at Dodona[5]. S. Wide[6], commenting on the complex, bird, axe, and tree, surmises that the bronze double axe, or rather its prototype the stone axe, belonged by rights to the bird regarded as *numen* of the sacred tree. The woodpecker with his chisel-shaped[7] beak was actually called *pelekâs, pelekán, spélektos*, the 'axe-bird[8]'; and many another popular name for him all over Europe bears witness to his reputation as a borer and fashioner of timber[9]. In this respect he has for rival the hoopoe, who is described by R. Lydekker as commonly breeding in hollow trees[10] and hammering on the ground at the production of each note[11]. D'Arcy W. Thompson[12] and Sir James Frazer[13] remark on the parallelism of these two birds in ancient belief. The myth of Tereus the hoopoe has a doublet in that of Polytechnos the woodpecker, the former being current on the western, the latter on the eastern side of the Aegean. Tereus, king

[1] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1398 f., O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1563.

[2] J. A. K. Thomson *op. cit.* p. 59, cp. *ib.* p. viii.

[3] Farnell *Gk. Hero Cults* p. 62 scouts it, but without discussion.

[4] *Supra* pp. 518, 520.

[5] *Supra* p. 677.

[6] S. Wide 'Baum, Vogel und Axt' in the *Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum* Göteborg 1910 pp. 62—69 with 4 figs. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for the loan of an offprint of this article.

[7] R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894–95 iii. 551 'The bill in all the woodpeckers is strong and chisel-shaped, and is thus admirably adapted for hewing holes, and prising off bark to capture insects.'

[8] D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 136, 157.

[9] Extensive collections of woodpecker-names will be found in J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 330 ff. ('Woodpecker place- and person-names'), 416 f. ('Names of the Woodpecker'), *id. Picus who is also Zeus* Cambridge 1916 pp. 17 ff. ('The Woodpecker in the British Isles'), 37 ff. ('The popular names of the Woodpecker'), R. Riegler 'Spechtnamen' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1913 xxiii. 265—277.

[10] R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1895 iv. 57.

[11] *Ib. ib.* iv. 59.

[12] D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 52, 56 f., *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 80.

[13] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 70 n. 2.

of Thrace, armed with a double axe (*pélekys*)[1], pursued Prokne and Philomela till the gods changed them all into birds—Tereus becoming a hoopoe, Prokne a nightingale, Philomela a swallow. Just so Polytechnos of Kolophon, to whom Hephaistos had given a double axe (*pélekys*), pursued Aëdon and Chelidonis till Zeus transformed the whole family into birds—Polytechnos into a woodpecker (*pelekán*), the brother of Aëdon into a hoopoe, etc.[2] The boast of Polytechnos and Aëdon that they loved each other more than Zeus and Hera suggests that *Polýtechnos* was originally an epithet of Zeus[3] conceived as a woodpecker[4]. If so, *Tereús* too may have been

[1] So Apollod. 3. 14. 8. Other mythographers arm Tereus with a sword (Konon *narr.* 31, Ov. *met.* 6. 666, 673, Ach. Tat. 5. 3 and 5. 5, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 212), Aristophanes equips him with shield and lance (Aristoph. *Lys.* 563), and an Apulian vase at Naples gives him a couple of spears (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 533 f. no. 3233, J. Roulez in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1839 ii. 261 ff. pl. 21 and pl. D, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 239 f., 1, 2). F. G. Welcker *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus und die Kabirenweihe zu Lemnos* Darmstadt 1824 p. 502 n. 796, E. Oder in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1888 xliii. 555, and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2345 n.** take the *πέλεκυς* to be a trait borrowed from the Asia Minor version.

[2] Ant. Lib. 11 (citing Boios *ὀρνιθογονία*).

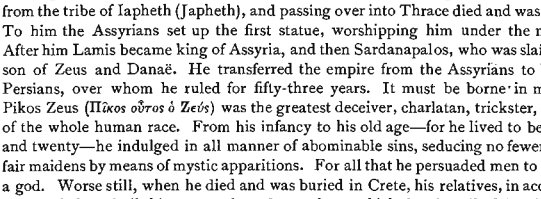
[3] Cp. the description of the Dodonaean Zeus in Pind. *frag.* 57 Schroeder *ap.* Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 416 Reiske 'Δωδωναῖε μεγασθενὲς | ἀριστότεχνα πάτερ.' οὗτος γὰρ δὴ πρῶτος καὶ τελειότατος δημιουργός, χορηγὸν λαβὼν τῆς αὐτοῦ τέχνης, οὐ τὴν Ἠλείων πόλιν, ἀλλὰ τὴν πᾶσαν τοῦ παντὸς ὕλην. S. Wide in the *Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum* Göteborg 1910 p. 66 ff. thinks that the priests of Dodona got their name *τόμαροι* (*τόμουροι*), 'carpenters,' from the sacred doves nesting in the hollow oak ('Es lag ja nahe, den in dem heiligen Baume pickenden Vogel Τόμαρος zu nennen, denn er war ja ein Zimmermann mit der Axt, vgl. die modernen Benennungen des Spechtes: Schweiz. *Zimmermann*, französ. Volksprache *Charpentier*, italien. *Carpentiere*,...u.s.w.'). Τόμουροι may indeed mean 'cutters,' as I conjectured years ago (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 180 f.), understanding thereby a clan privileged to cut the sacred oaks; but that they were named after a 'cutter'-dove seems to me improbable. It was the priestesses, not the priests, who, according to some, were known as *πελειάδες* (*supra* i. 443).

[4] The phrase Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, to which I drew attention some time since (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412, *Folk-lore* 1904 xv. 387), has in sundry quarters *fait fortune*: see *e.g.* Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 161, W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 265 n. 1 with context, and especially the interesting little volume of my friend J. Rendel Harris *Picus who is also Zeus* Cambridge 1916. It seems, therefore, worth while to attempt some investigation of its antecedents, a task in which, so far as Byzantine literature is concerned, I have had the kind assistance of Prof. J. B. Bury.

The *Weltchronik*, as contained in the compilation of Georgios Kedrenos (*c.* 1100 A.D.), is to the following effect (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 B ff. (i. 28 ff. Bekker), cp. *ib.* 20 D (i. 37), 81 D (i. 144)):—Of the tribe of Sem (Shem) was Chous (Cush) the Aethiopian. He begat Nebrod (Nimrod) the founder of Babylon, called also Orion, who was the first to become king on earth: he ruled over Assyria and took as title the name of the planet Kronos. His wife was Semiramis, called also Rhea. Their children were Pikos, who took the name Zeus (Πῖκος, ὃς καὶ μετωνομάσθη Ζεύς), Belos, Ninos, and Hera. Ninos founded Nineui (Nineveh) and married his own mother Semiramis. Africanus adds that Kronos had another son, Aphros the forefather of the Aphroi (Africans), who married Astynome and begat Aphrodite. Kronos, expelled from his kingdom by his own son Zeus, went west-

wards and became ruler of Italy. Then Zeus, quitting Assyria, followed Kronos, who yielded to him the kingship of Italy. Having reigned for many years, Zeus died and was buried in Crete. Ninos as king of Assyria was succeeded by Thouros, called also Ares. The Assyrians changed his name to Baal or Bel, set up a statue of him, and worshipped him. After the death of Zeus, Phaunos his son became king and took the name Hermes. Aphrodite married Adonis son of Kinyras. Pikos, called also Zeus (Πῖκον τὸν καὶ Δία), was king of Assyria for thirty years and then, leaving the throne to his son Belos and to his wife and sister Hera, followed his father Kronos, who being old and infirm abdicated in his favour. So Pikos reigned in Italy for another sixty-two years. Belos his son was king of Assyria for two years. Ninos, the uncle of Belos, reigned for fifty-two years. A descendant of his was Zoroastres the famous astronomer, who prayed that he might be struck and consumed by celestial fire, and bade the Persians venerate his bones on pain of losing their empire (*supra* p. 35 f.)—a fate which they actually incurred. Ninos the brother of Zeus was succeeded as king of Assyria by Thouros, to whom Zamis his father, the brother of Rhea, gave the name of the planet Ares. This Ares slew the giant Kaukasos, who came from the tribe of Iapheth (Japheth), and passing over into Thrace died and was buried there. To him the Assyrians set up the first statue, worshipping him under the name of Baal. After him Lamis became king of Assyria, and then Sardanapalos, who was slain by Perseus, son of Zeus and Danaë. He transferred the empire from the Assyrians to his namesake Persians, over whom he ruled for fifty-three years. It must be borne in mind that this Pikos Zeus (Πῖκος οὗτος ὁ Ζεύς) was the greatest deceiver, charlatan, trickster, and magician of the whole human race. From his infancy to his old age—for he lived to be one hundred and twenty—he indulged in all manner of abominable sins, seducing no fewer than seventy fair maidens by means of mystic apparitions. For all that he persuaded men to regard him as a god. Worse still, when he died and was buried in Crete, his relatives, in accordance with his own behest, built him a temple and a tomb, on which they inscribed ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς.

This wild *farrago*, which implies the genealogy



and involves obvious inconsistencies (Belos is both son of Kronos and son of Zeus; he is also distinguished from Baal or Bel), was taken over by Kedrenos or his immediate source (K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 369) from earlier chroniclers such as Georgios Monachos (*s.* ix) and Georgios Synkellos (*s.* viii). Souidas (*c.* 950 A.D.) used a similar source *s.v.* Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, citing the Cretan epitaph as ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς (*supra* i. 158 n. 2)—an itacism which occurs also in the narrative of Georg. Monachos *chron.* 1. 3 (i. 12 de Boor) ἔχων δὲ γυναῖκα Σεμίραμιν, τὴν καὶ Ῥέαν καλουμένην παρὰ Ἀσσυρίοις, ἔσχεν (*sc.* Κρόνος) υἱοὺς δύο καὶ θυγατέρα μίαν, καὶ τὸν μὲν προσηγόρευσε Δία εἰς ὄνομα τοῦ πλανήτου ἀστέρος, τὸν δὲ ἐπωνόμασε Νίνον, καὶ τὴν θυγατέρα Ἥραν, ἣν καὶ ἔλαβεν εἰς γυναῖκα Πῆκος (πῖκος codd. G.H.R. et L.[2] et sic deinceps πύκος hic cod. V.) ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς τὴν ἰδίαν ἀδελφήν, cp. *ib.* 1. 8 (i. 14) Περσεὺς ὁ υἱὸς Πήκου τοῦ καὶ Διός. Yet another spelling is found in Synkell. *chron.* 171 B (i. 322 f. Dindorf) ὅτι πρὸ Αἰνείου α' φασὶ Πεῖκον υἱὸν Κρόνου βασιλεῦσαι χώρας Λαυρέντου λζ'...μεθ' ὃν Φαῦνον τὸν υἱὸν αὐτοῦ Πείκου τοῦ καὶ Διὸς ἔτη μδ'. τοῦτον δέ φασί τινες Ἑρμῆν, κ.τ.λ. and *ib.* 237 C (i. 450) τινὲς βούλονται Κρόνον πρῶτον Ἀλβανὸν κρατῆσαι τῶν κατὰ τὴν ἑσπέραν τόπων. μεθ' ὃν φασι Πεῖκον υἱὸν αὐτοῦ, τὸν καὶ Δία, βασιλεῦσαι· εἶτα Φαῦνον Διὸς υἱόν, τὸν καὶ Ἑρμῆν· κ.τ.λ. Further, the *Chronicon Paschale* (early in *s.* vii) 36 A ff. (i. 64 ff. Dindorf) already has the

whole story, later retailed by Kedrenos, together with the names of one or two authorities, *viz.* 38 B (i. 68) ἅπινα συνεγράψατο Σεμηρώνιος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Πέρσης and 38 C (i. 69) ὁ δὲ σοφώτατος Βρούττιος ὁ ἱστορικὸς καὶ χρονογράφος ἐξέθετο ὡς ὁ αὐτὸς Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς κ.τ.λ.: in 44 C (i. 80) it gives the epitaph in the form ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσιν. The source of the *Chronicon Paschale* was, according to Prof. Bury (but see K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*[2] p. 337 f.), probably Ioannes Malalas (*s.* vi). The first book of his Χρονογραφία, missing in the unique Oxford manuscript, can be, for our purpose, virtually restored from the Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 386, 11 ff. and from cod. Paris. 1630. These passages, printed as Io. Antioch. *frag.* 3 ff. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 541 ff. Müller), contain between them substantially the same account as that of Kedrenos (the only noteworthy differences are as follows: Belos is the son of Pikos Zeus by Hera (Io. Antioch. *frag.* 4. 4 in cod. Paris. 1630 ἔλαβε δὲ εἰς γυναῖκα Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς τὴν ἰδίαν αὐτοῦ ἀδελφὴν Ηραν, ἣν καὶ ζυγίαν Νέμεσιν ἐκάλουν τινὲς εὐχαριστοῦντες αὐτῇ ὡς ἀγαθῇ καὶ δικαίᾳ. ἔσχε δὲ ἐξ αὐτῆς ὁ Πῖκος Ζεὺς υἱόν, ὃν ὠνόμασε Βῆλον διὰ τὸ ὀξύτατον εἶναι); Aphros and Cheiron are the sons of Kronos by Philyra; Zeus is buried at Knossos in Crete (Io. Antioch. *frag.* 5 in Exc. Salmasii in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 386, 29 ff. ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἐν τῇ δύσει Φαῦνον τὸν Ἑρμῆν γεννᾷ, καὶ θανὼν θάπτεται ἐν Κνώσσῳ τῆς Κρήτης), where his epitaph runs ἐνθα κεῖται θανὼν Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι (Io. Antioch. *frag.* 6. 4 in cod. Paris. 1630)). The same may be said of the ἐκλογὴ τῶν Χρονικῶν ἀπὸ Ἰωάννου Ἱστορικοῦ in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 233, 32 ff. (p. 236, 18 f. 'ἐνθάδε κατάκειται Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι,' περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος), and of the ἐκλογαὶ ἱστοριῶν *ib.* ii. 250, 29 ff. (p. 257, 33 ff. καὶ Ἀσσυρίων, μετὰ Πῖκον τὸν βασιλέα τὸν πρῶτον, ὃς ἐν Κρήτῃ ἀπέθανεν, ὃς καὶ τοῖς τότε καιροῖς Ζεὺς μετωνομάσθη, κ.τ.λ.). Thus for over half a millennium the Byzantine chroniclers had been content to copy almost mechanically the traditional lore of their monkish predecessors. Can we get behind their tradition to any more authoritative source?

The *Excerpta Latina barbari* published by A. Schöne in his ed. of Euseb. *chron.* Berolini 1875 i. 174 ff. and, with a Greek retranslation, by C. Frick *Chronica minora* Lipsiae 1892 i. 183 ff. are a rendering into vulgar Latin made by an anonymous Gaul or Frank *c.* 700 A.D. from a Greek original probably written in Alexandreia soon after 412 A.D. and provided with a series of miniature illustrations. F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1576 concludes that the first section of the *Excerpta* (fol. 1*a*—36*b*), a chronicle running from Adam to the death of Kleopatra, represents the Χρονικά of Hippolytos enlarged and interpolated with extracts from the Septuaguint, Sex. Iulius Africanus, the pseudo-Kallisthenes, and the Ravenna *annales* or *consularia Italica*. One of these interpolations, derived from Sex. Iulius Africanus(?), contains the following passage: fol. 20 *b*, 26 ff. unde Picus ille Cronu pronepus partibus occasu ipsis temporibus imperauit. Cronus quidem propater eius in diuisione terrae fuit occidentales partes tenens· sicut sine urbes et sine reges essent· de quo multus est sermo et sine interpraetatione sunt. Post Cronis autem perditionem secundum successiores annorum Picus pronepus eius per tempora regnauit in Italia primus. quem et Serafin quidam interpraetauerunt. alii autem Dia Olympium· ceteri autem Plutea Aidonium et alii Chthonium Posidona. Istorum autem nominum ei pertinuit pro eo quod ille multa potuisset super omnes. Iste autem in Assyrios in iuuentute regnans Ninus ibi uocabatur et condidit Niniuem ciuitatem Assyriorum. Uxor autem eius Semimaris mulier fuit maligna et praesumens et inpudica. quem Ream uocauerunt. alii autem Iram Zygiam. et alii Nemesim multiformem· ceteri autem Ecatin Chtonicam propter innumeram eius atrocitatem· Iste quidem relinquens uxori imperium occidentis partibus ueniens imperauit. Erant enim omnes partes illas sine urbes et sine regem secundum quod narrat historia. In illis uero temporibus Picus Croni pronepus inueniens terram illam spaciosam manentem imperauit· in illam annos LXXX· patrias possidens· et illas nobilissimas feminas per magicas et ingenia maligna conuertens et auortiuos faciebat et sic mulieres quae ab ipso deludebantur domos· et sedes praeparabant ei et scultilia multa multa illi configebant sicut placebat eis· et quasi dō eas conmiscuisset et in dm̄ eum esse gloriabantur.

If this is really an extract from the Χρονογραφίαι of Sex. Iulius Africanus,—and it must be borne in mind that Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 D (i. 28 Bekker) definitely cited him (ὡς δὲ

'Αφρικανὸς φησι, κ.τ.λ.),—it would seem that the whole story of Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς was already current *c.* 200 A.D.; for the chronographer, a native of Jerusalem (*The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1903 iii. 36ff. no. 412, 59 ff.: but see B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *ad loc.*), is known to have been on intimate terms with Abgar ix of Edessa (179—216 A.D.) and his son Mannus (Iul. Afr. *tact.* 29: cp. W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 116). The common assumption that Malalas rests largely on Iulius Africanus is contested by K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*[2] p. 327, who holds that there were in all probability intervening authors, links now lost to us. Nor was Iulius Africanus the staple of the whole chain. For in Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 236, 19 f. (*supra* p. 695) Diodoros is expressly quoted as a source, and the entire context, in which Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, brother of Ninos, is said to have reigned 120 years over the west, to have begotten sons and daughters, and to lie buried in Crete, is printed by F. Vogel the latest editor (Lipsiae 1890) as Diod. 6. 5. This brings us back to a date *c.* 60 B.C. and to a suitable atmosphere of Euhemerism (*supra* i. 662). But even so we have not reached the starting-point. I observe that the *Chronicon Paschale* 38 B (i. 68 Dindorf) cites a certain Σεμπρώνιος ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Πέρσης (*supra* p. 695), whose name has been curiously misinterpreted. C. Müller in the *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 492 would turn it into that of the Persian Σειράμνης (Plout. *reg. et imperator. apophth.* 172 D). H. Gelzer *Sextus Julius Africanus und die byzantinische Chronographie* Leipzig 1880 i. 77 says: 'Der Name selbst is aber echt assyrisch, er bedeutet einfach "der Sumerier."' I should rather suppose that Σεμπρώνιος is a blundered form of Σεμπρώνιος, *i.e.* the annalist C. Sempronius Tuditanus, consul in 129 B.C., who concerned himself much with the primitive history of Italy (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 89 ff. Peter): ὁ Βαβυλώνιος Πέρσης would then be an attempt or attempts to make sense of his misspelt name. On this showing the story of Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς may be as early as the second century B.C.

Further than this we cannot trace it. But C. Trieber in his important article 'Die Idee der vier Weltreiche' (*Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 321—344) arrives at the heart of the matter, when he points out that, according to a view prevalent in antiquity, the end of the Assyrian empire coincided with the beginning of three others—the Medo-Persian, the Macedonian, and the Roman. The chronographer that first brought Rome into this scheme (Trieber *ib.* p. 340 n. 2 thinks it was Kastor of Rhodes, whose work J. W. Kubitschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2348 dates in 61 B.C.) used Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς as a tie between east and west. His procedure is not easy to explain. Πῖκος in the west we know: he was an ancient Italian power, who appears in tradition sometimes as a bird, the woodpecker, sometimes as a god, sometimes as a king (J. B. Carter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2494 ff.). But who was Πῖκος in the east? Pekah king of Israel (*c.* 735—730) is near enough in point of date to the foundation of Rome and might, I suppose, be regarded as a vassal of Assyria; but he was a monarch of no particular importance. Mr N. McLean, whom I consulted on the matter, suggested that Πῖκος perhaps covers *pekha*, a Hebrew word for 'governor' of Assyrian origin. So I applied to my friend Prof. S. Langdon, who kindly sent me the following comment (Feb. 24, 1920): 'The title *pihatu* "provincial governor," or originally *bêl pihāti* "lord of a province," passed into Hebrew as פֶּחָה *pĕchā* "governor," and Assyrian and Persian governors of Syria were known to the Hebrews under this title. It is probable that some governor of the late period at Tarsus or some other city may have received apotheosis and identified himself with Zeus. There is no Assyrian king whose name is similar to Πῖκος.' Prof. Langdon further informs me that 'The Assyrians and Babylonians never deified and worshipped birds,' and that 'No bird was ever known to have been identified with a king.' With regard to the woodpecker in Mesopotamia he says: 'The *pikakki* of Ishtar [M. Jastrow *Die Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 ii. 2. 802 n. 1] probably is the woodpecker commonly called *kusazu* and *ḫanzizitu* the "gnawer," but what Houghton says in PSBA. 1885, 67 [W. Houghton 'The Birds of the Assyrian Monuments and Records' in the *Transactions of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1885 viii. 67—70 with 119 f.] is totally erroneous. The "axe of Ishtar" is a poetical name for the woodpecker....But otherwise no connection between Ishtar and the woodpecker is known. The bird is described as "green" in a syllabary. It is certain that the woodpecker was not a deity, but it may have been the symbol of Ishtar.' Another possi-

an appellative of Zeus, who is known to have taken on occasion the shape of a hoopoe (*épops*)[1]. Popular etymology, always rife among the Greeks and busied with this myth in the fifth century B.C.[2], would readily equate *Tereús* the 'Watcher[3]' with Zeus *Epópsios* the 'Overseer[4].' In reality the Thracian *Tereús* correlates with the Phrygian *Tereíe*, an epithet of the mother-goddess worshipped on a mountain near Lampsakos[5]. This tends to confirm our impression that to Thracian believers Tereus the hoopoe was in some sense an embodiment of the father-god.

Those who see in Odysseus a former fire-god[6] or sun-god[7] and in Penelope a divinised duck can at least claim to detect a certain ap-

bility is mooted by Dr J. Rendel Harris, who in conversation has pointed out to me (Feb. 1920) that, since the woodpecker is named *Hadad* or *Heddad* the "Smith" in north Africa (J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 394 f.), it is tempting to regard Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς as the Greek translation of *Hadadrimmon* (*supra* i. 577) and *Picus* as the Italian equivalent of *Benhadad* (*Boanerges* p. 36 n. 1).

In weighing these various hypotheses we must not lose sight of the fact that Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς is consistently said to have been buried in Crete. Now the Idaean Cave has yielded a *týmpanon* of the ninth or eighth century B.C., which represents the youthful Zeus or Zagreus in definitely Assyrian guise (*supra* i. 644 ff. pl. xxxv). Moreover, we have seen reason to surmise that at *Hagia Triada* the soul of the prince embodying this deity took the form of a jay (*pica*)—a bird whose bright plumage suggested comparison with the woodpecker (*picus*) (*supra* pp. 522, 523 f.). It is, then, conceivable that the phrase Πῖκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς finds its ultimate explanation in an actual Cretan cult, and that this cult was known, at least by tradition, to the chronographer who first tacked the history of Rome on to that of Assyria. When Euelpides in Aristoph. *av.* 480 spoke of Zeus as 'soon destined to restore the sceptre to the Woodpecker,' it was no mere flight of fancy but a genuine piece of folk-belief (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 81, J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 15, 35 f., 357). A trace of it survives even in the dull catalogue drawn up by Niketas, bishop of Serrhai, towards the close of the eleventh century A.D. (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 81 *πίκου*, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 76 *πίκου*, 274 Niket. *rhythm. de duodec. deor. epith.* 1. 1 ff. Ἐπίθετα Διός...*πίκος*, 281 f. 1 Ἐπίθετα τοῦ Διός...*πίκος*).

[1] *Infra* Append. M *med.*

[2] Aisch. *frag.* 304 Nauck²=Soph. *frag.* 581 Jebb *ap.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 49. 633 a 17 ff. (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 86) *τοῦτον δ' ἐπόπτην ἔποπα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν | πεποικίλωκε κἀποδηλώσας ἔχει θρασὺν πετραῖον ὄρνιν ἐν παντευχίᾳ·* | κ.τ.λ. A. C. Pearson *ad loc.*, following F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1839 i. 384, E. Oder in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1888 xliii. 541 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 92 n. 4, and others, makes out a good case for transferring the fragment from Aischylos to Sophokles.

[3] Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 102 *ὁ λεγόμενος Τηρεὺς παρὰ τὸ τηρεῖν τὴν Ἰώ (sic), et. mag.* p. 757, 45 f. *Τηρεύς· ὁ τηρῶν τὰ ἡδονὴν ἀγεῖραι (ἐγεῖραι* cod. V.*) δυνάμενα καὶ ἀκρασίᾳ ἡδονῶν λελημμένος.* Oder *loc. cit.* p. 553 cp. Ach. Tat. 5. 5 *καὶ ὁ Τηρεὺς αὐταῖς συναναβαίνει, καὶ ὄρνις γίνεται· καὶ τηρούσιν ἕτι τοῦ πάθους τὴν εἰκόνα.*

[4] *Supra* i. 737, *infra* Append. M *med.*

[5] *Il.* 2. 829 *Τηρείης ὄρος αἰπύ* with Eustath. *in Il.* p. 356, 11 ff. and especially Strab. 589 (cp. 565) *οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τετταράκοντα σταδίων Λαμψάκου δεικνύουσι λόφον, ἐφ' ᾧ Μητρὸς θεῶν ἱερόν ἐστιν ἄγιον, Τηρείης* (so A. Koraës for *τῆς ῥείης* codd.) *ἐπικαλούμενον.* See further Oder *loc. cit.* p. 552 f. and M. Mayer in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 494 ff.

[6] *Supra* i. 327 f.

[7] Refuted by J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun God' in *Class. Philol.* 1917 xii. 244—252 (*Class. Quart.* 1918 xii. 52).

propriateness in this oddly assorted couple; for the solar sign of the Lycians was sometimes equipped with the heads of swans or ducks[1] (fig. 632)[2], and the swan (or duck[3]) was, according to J. Déchelette[4], 'le principal symbole ou compagnon du soleil pendant la seconde moitié de l'âge du bronze et au premier âge du fer dans l'Europe du

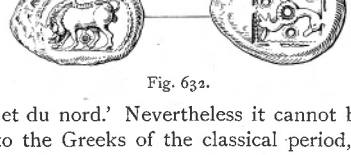


Fig. 632.

sud, du centre et du nord.' Nevertheless it cannot be too strongly insisted that, to the Greeks of the classical period, Odysseus and Penelope—whatever they may have been in the prehistoric past—were simply hero and heroine, and uncommonly human at that. After all, this is the secret of their immortality.

(ψ) Superstitious practices with axes.

Those who have weighed the evidence adduced in the course of this section (from page 505 onwards) will not hesitate to admit that the axe, whether double or single, was over a large part of the ancient world recognised as a visible token of the sky-god. Accordingly it is reasonable to expect that round it would spring up the usual crop of rites and ceremonies, which in process of time, obscured or misunderstood, would dwindle into a variety of superstitious practices.

Of such we have already noticed some; for instance, the habit of wearing axes or axe-shaped pendants, which ran through a whole series of evolutionary forms[5]. In this connexion I would recall a lively little passage in Theophrastos' description of 'The Complaisant Man':

'Then when he is asked to dinner he will request the host to send for the children; and will say of them, when they come in, that they are as like their father as figs; and will draw them towards him, and kiss them, and establish them at his side,—playing with some of them, and himself saying "Wineskin," "Hatchet," and permitting others to go to sleep upon him, to his anguish[6].'

[1] *Supra* i. 300 f. fig. 232.

[2] Fig. 632 represents a unique *statêr* of Lykia, which came to me from the Pozzi collection (*Pozzi Sale Catalogue* Genève 1920 p. 151 (wrongly described) no. 2751 pl. 80). The three branches of the Lycian symbol are here terminated by the heads of a cock, a swan (or duck), and a griffin respectively. Weight: 9·62 grammes.

[3] *Supra* p. 648 f.

[4] J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 421.

[5] *Supra* p. 647 ff.

[6] Theophr. *char.* 5 (=2 Jebb) trans. Sir R. C. Jebb. The new edition, revised by

On this Sir Richard Jebb remarked: 'Some child's-game, of which nothing is known. It may have consisted, for instance, in one of the players bringing down his hand edgewise ("hatchet") on the other's clenched fist, before he could snatch it away. That the words are not names which the guest calls the children—as they have usually been explained[1]—is clear from...the text, which shows that the children said them too. Casaubon's theory that the "wine-skin" and "hatchet" were little toys...hung round the children's necks, which the guest takes up and names successively, supposes the children to be infants.' The latest editors, J. M. Edmonds and G. E. V. Austen, likewise conclude that the words in question 'refer to some children's game, or possibly to an early lesson in spelling[2].' More probably Casaubon was right in suggesting the amulets hung round the necks of children (*peridéraia*)[3]. The imperial cabinet at Vienna possesses a handsome gold necklace to which are attached no fewer than fifty of these charms, including an excellent little hatchet (fig. 633)[4]. And the Museum at Reading has several bronze models of similar shape found during the excavations at Silchester (fig. 634)[5]. Analogous examples doubtless exist in other collections. They attest the curious fact that the dreaded weapon of the Thunderer can degenerate into an infant's toy without losing all trace of its superhuman quality.

Pliny[6] mentions, on the authority of 'Osthanes[7],' that one species

Sir J. E. Sandys (London 1909), leaves text, translation, and notes unaltered, so far as this passage is concerned.

[1] *E.g.* by H. G. Liddell—R. Scott *A Greek-English Lexicon*[8] Oxford 1897 pp. 232 *s.v.* *ἀσκός* 'Punch,' 1171 *s.v.* *πέλεκυς* 'a sharp blade.'

[2] Theophr. *char.* ed. by J. M. Edmonds and G. E. V. Austen London 1904 p. 58. They rightly scout the cjj. *κασκός*, 'little finger,' and *θύλακος*, 'wallet.'

[3] On these *περίαπτα* or *περιάμματα* see O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 40 ff.

[4] J. Arneth *Die antiken Gold- und Silber-monumente des k. k. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes in Wien* Wien 1850 p. 19 no. 1 pl. 1 (=my fig. 633), E. Fernique in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1561 fig. 2066. This necklace, together with a sumptuous gold *bulla*, fourteen gold medallions of various emperors, and other objects of interest, was found in 1797 by a couple of Walachian goat-herds at Szilágy-Somlyó in Siebenbürgen (Transylvania). Its central pendant is a ball of smoky quartz enclosed by gold bands and surmounted by two panthers or tigers on either side of a *kratér*.

[5] Fig. 634 is from a photograph kindly obtained for me by my friend Prof. P. N. Ure. I made a sketch of one of these trinkets many years ago, and mentioned it once as the best illustration of the passage in Theophrastos to Sir Richard Jebb. He told me that, if he ever brought out a second edition of his commentary, he would consider the point.

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 30. 14.

[7] Plin. *nat. hist.* 30. 8 and 11 distinguishes two writers on magic named Osthanes, one a contemporary of Xerxes, the other of Alexander the Great. Xanthos the Lydian *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 44 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 2 *Ξάνθος δὲ ὁ Λυδὸς εἰς τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν ἀπὸ τοῦ Ζωροάστρου ἑξακισχιλιά φησι* (*sc.* *ἔτη γεγονέναι*), *καὶ μετ' αὐτὸν γεγονέναι πολλούς τινας Μάγους κατὰ διαδοχήν, Ὀστάνας καὶ Ἀστραμψύχους καὶ Γωβρύας καὶ Παζάτας, μέχρι τῆς τῶν Περσῶν ὑπ' Ἀλεξάνδρου καταλύσεως* was taken by

Souid. *s.vv.* Μάγοι, Ὀστᾶναι to imply a succession of Magi called Ostanes: but the plural merely meant 'men like Ostanes' (R. Kühner—B. Gerth *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] Hannover—Leipzig 1898 i. 15). However, the exact number of persons named Ostanes is not worth discussing, since very serious doubts have been cast

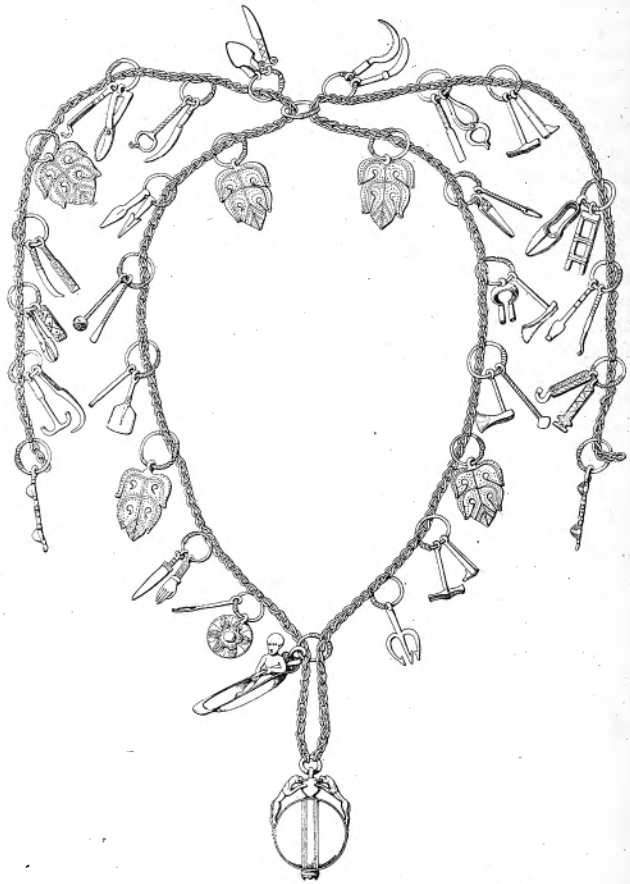


Fig. 633.

upon his historicity. C. W. Goodwin 'On the name Astennu' in the *Zeitschrift für ägyptische Sprache und Alterthumskunde* 1872 x. 108 f. pointed out that one of the appellations of the Egyptian god Thoth was *Astennu* and asked: 'Is not the name of the Magian Ostanes...a Grecised form of Astennu?' Sir G. Maspero in the *Proceedings*

of magic dealt in hatchets (*secures*). He adds elsewhere[1] that the Magi in their axe-divination (*axinomantia*) set fire to a piece of jet (*lapis Gagates*) and, if this was not consumed, announced that the

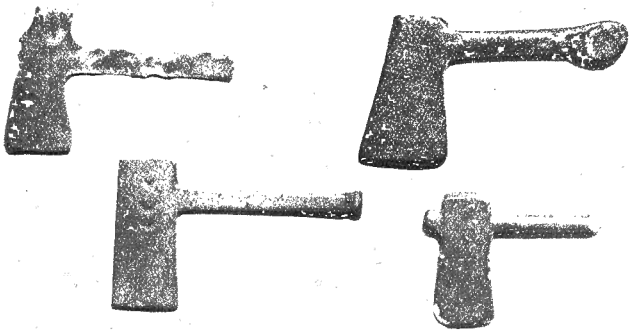


Fig. 634.

wishes of the worshipper would come true. The connexion between the axe and the burnt jet is not indicated and leaves room for conjecture[2]. J. Dalechamps[3] in 1587 said that the jet was placed on a red-hot hatchet—an assertion roundly rebuked by Salmasius[4] as

of the Society of Biblical Archæology 1898 xx. 140—144 argues that *Austanou, Ostané* was, to begin with, one of the cynocephalous deities forming the ogdoad of Hermopolis, that he was subsequently confounded with Thoth, that he acquired importance during the Ptolemaic period, and that Ostanes the god then gave rise to Ostanes the priest of Memphis, who according to Hermetic tradition initiated Demokritos of Abdera into the mysteries (Synes. *ad Dioscorum comment. in Democr.* in M. Berthelot *Collection des anciens alchimistes grecs* Paris 1888 Texte grec p. 57, 7 ff. = H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 130 f.). Maspero further contends that 'Ostanés devient un Perse par là vertu de son nom, et par suite un mage, un chaldéen, d'où la variante qui lui donne une origine babylonienne.' F. Granger in *The Journal of Theological Studies* 1904 v. 398 f. carries the matter from Greece into Italy and makes it probable 'that Pliny depends upon Democritus for his mention of Ostanes.'

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 142.

[2] On the virtues of jet in general see G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 pp. 91 f., 263 f., *id. The Magic of Jewels and Charms* Philadelphia & London 1915 pp. 146 f., 352, 386. Burnt jet in particular had prophylactic, curative, and detective powers (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 141 f. Gagates lapis...cum uritur, odorem sulpureum reddit...fugat serpentes (cp. Nik. *ther.* 37 with schol. *ad loc.*) ita recreatque volvae strangulationes. deprendit sonticum morbum et virginitatem suffitus).

[3] On Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 142 : '*Axinomantiam.* Ea fit gagati imposito securi candenti.' See also M. Delrio cited *infra* p. 702 n. 4.

[4] C. Salmasius *Plinianae exercitationes in Caii Iulii Solini Polyhistora* Parisiis 1629 i. 252 E f. ('scribe : *in eam quam vocant causimomantiam*').

ridiculum, but not half so 'ridiculous' as that eminent scholar supposed; for in East Prussia it is still customary for the midwife to put red-hot coals on an axe and to step across it with the infant in her arms[1]. This, however, is a case of prophylaxis, not of divination. Axinomancy, strictly so called, has varied somewhat in its *modus operandi*. A hatchet suspended by a cord was used to detect criminals or discover secrets: it twisted and turned in answer to relevant questions[2]. Again, a hatchet poised in equilibrium on a pole was believed to bob at the name of the guilty party[3]. Lastly, a hatchet stuck in a pole and carefully balanced would turn or nod as soon as the right name in the list was reached[4]. These methods, detailed by

[1] S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 17.

[2] J. J. Boissardus *De divinatione & magicis præstigiis* Oppenheimii s. a. [161–] p. 18: '*Axinomantia* eadem perficit (*sc.* detects criminals or secrets) ex securi suspensâ funiculo, quæ ad interrogata movetur & in gyrum vertitur,' E. B. Tylor in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1911 xx. 173 *s.v.* 'Ordeal': 'When a suspended hatchet was used in the same way (*sc.* as a sieve) to turn to the guilty, the process was called *axinomancy*.'

[3] J. Potter *Archæologia Græca*[7] London 1751 i. 352: 'Ἀξινομαντεία, from Ἀξίνη, i.e. an *Ax* or *Hatchet*, which they fixed so exactly upon a round Stake, that neither End might out-poise, or weigh down the other; then they pray'd, and repeated the Names of those they suspected; and the Person, at whose Name the *Hatchet* made any the least Motion, was found guilty.'

J. Tuchmann in *Mélusine* 1888—89 iv. 285 (followed by E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2627) mentions, among other means of discovering witchcraft, both these forms of axinomancy: 'On suspendait une hache à une corde où on la posait, le manche en l'air, en équilibre sur un pieu. Après la récitation de certaines formules, on tournait autour de la corde ou du pieu en prononçant à haute voix le nom de toutes les personnes soupçonnées: la hache, dans le premier cas, tournait; dans le second, elle tombait.'

[4] C. Peucerus *Commentarius, de præcipuis divinationum generibus* Francofurti 1593 p. 321: 'Κοσκινομαντεία & ἀξινομαντεία, *divinatione ex cribro et securi*, ad pervestigandos atque aperiendos occultos scelerum authores, & res alias obscuras explorandas ac proferendas, incantatores utuntur. Hanc securi expediunt, rotundo palo infixa, aptataq; ad normam ac perpendiculum, & cum præfatione, ordine enumeratis nominibus eorum, qui in suspicione hærent: ad cuius se mentionem securis, vel levi impulsu circumagit aut nutat, eum culpæ reum peragunt. Illam' etc., M. Delrio *Disquisitionum Magicarum* libri sex Lugduni 1612 p. 245 *b* D: 'Decima ad eundem usum erat ἀξινομαντεία, quâ securim rotundo infigebant palo, & ex eius motu furem deprehendebant. Quando autem successûs futuri divinatio petebatur, tûc gagatem lapidem securi imponebant, ut Plinius[s] ([s]lib. 36. c. 19) refert,' J. Prætorius *De Coscinomantia, Oder vom Sieb-Laüffe diatribe curiosa* Curiæ Variscorum 1677 A 2 'ex *D. Davide Herlicio*, (*Stetinens. 160z.*) *lib.* 1. *orat. Gryphiswald.* lit. H.... Huic similis est ἀξινομαντεία, quæ *Securi* rotundo polo [*sic*] infixâ perficitur: sicut eô modô apud *Homerum* produntur proci Penelopes,' *ib.* E 2 'Dn. Meisnerus Phil. sobr. p. 2. l. 2. c. 3. q. 1. Descriptionem ἀξινομαντείας non tam commodè hic subjungit: ubi *securis* cylindraceo infigitur palo, adque normam aptatur; ut ille sons censeatur, cujus ad nomen se circumegerit,' A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 183: 'Les vibrations ou oscillations d'une hache plantée dans un poteau constituaient la matière de l'*axinomancie* (ἀξινομαντεία), divination importée en Europe par les mages orientaux[2] ([2]PLIN., XXX, 1, 14; XXXVI, 19, 34).' So also W. Vollmer—W. Binder *Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Völker*[3] Stuttgart 1874 p. 86, C. Kiesewetter *Die Geheimwissenschaften* Leipzig 1895 p. 375.

writers of the sixteenth century and later, have doubtless a long history behind them; and it is possible that Philon was thinking of the first when, instead of the sword of Damokles, he described 'a whetted axe hung by a slender cord[1].'

Axe-superstitions are with us still[2]. P. Sébillot in his *Folk-Lore de France* remarks that prehistoric stone implements are commonly supposed to act as a safeguard against a thunderstorm. Their efficacy

[1] Philon *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 8. 14. 29.

[2] My friend and colleague Prof. R. H. Kennett draws attention to one curious case: 'It was formerly the custom, if an offence were committed in the neighbourhood of Fordwich near Canterbury, to decide where the offender should be tried as follows. If a man from a boat in the middle of the river Stour could throw an axe weighing seven pounds beyond the place where the offence was committed, the offender was tried, and, if found guilty, punished at Fordwich' (R. H. Kennett—Mrs Adam—H. M. Gwatkin *Early Ideals of Righteousness* Edinburgh 1910 p. 11 f.). Prof. Kennett adds that he remembers to have heard his father mention the custom, which is duly noted both in king Cnut's grant of the Port of Sandwich to Christ Church Canterbury in 1023 A.D. (W. A. Scott Robertson 'Archæological Notes on Thanet' in *Archæologia Cantiana* 1878 xii. 339) and in a description of the Boundaries of the Liberty of Fordwich in 1272 A.D. (C. Eveleigh Woodruff 'Fordwich Municipal Records' *ib.* 1889 xviii. 92 n. † 'as far as a man being in a boat at *high* water can throw an axe of seven pounds weight, called a taper-axe, on to the land'). Cp. the throwing of a hammer, which in old German law ratified the acquisition of property (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 180 n. 3).

I append an even more suggestive usage from *A Guide to Criccieth & Pwllheli* published by Messrs Abel Heywood & Son of Manchester: p. 6 'After the subjugation of Wales, the constable appointed for Criccieth Castle was William de Leybourne,... This charge was afterwards given to Sir Hywel-y-Vwyall (Sir Howell of the Axe) by Edward the Black Prince, for his valour at Poictiers. According to the Welsh bards this redoubtable knight was the person who took the French King John prisoner at Poictiers,... A pole-axe formed part of the escutcheon of Sir Hywel in commemoration of his doughty deeds in that battle, which he had performed entirely with that weapon, and in perpetual memory of his services it was ordained that a mess of meat should be laid before the pole-axe every day, guarded by eight yeomen, and afterwards given to the poor. This ceremonial lasted till the time of Queen Elizabeth, when it became obsolete.'

Finally, Sir G. L. Gomme *Folklore as an historical science* London 1908 pp. 66—78 collects from the Germanic area much evidence tending to prove that it was formerly (in pre-Celtic times?) the custom to kill off the aged and infirm by means of a club or mallet (*e.g.* J. Aubrey *Remaines of Gentilisme and Judaisme* 1686—87 (London 1881) p. 19: 'An old Countrie Story'...'The Holy-mawle, w^{ch} (they fancy) hung behind the Church dore, w^{ch} when the father was seaventie the sonne might fetch, to knock his father in the head, as effœte, & of no more use.' Cp. *ib.* p. 127). Sir G. L. Gomme analyses a Gaelic folk-tale, which involves this *motif*, and notes that such mallets are still preserved at Osnabrück and in several towns of Silesia and Saxony. Mrs E. M. Leather *The Folk-Lore of Herefordshire* Hereford 1912 p. 171 f. with pl. adds a parallel from the Bargates, Leominster, where four small almshouses, founded in 1736 and since rebuilt, are adorned with 'a figure of a man, very quaint and rudely carved, holding an axe in his hand with these lines beneath:—"He that gives away all before he is dead, | Let 'em take this hatchet and knock him on ye head."' The rhyme is but the English form of that on the German mallet: 'Wer den Kindern gibt das Brod | Und selber dabei leidet Noth | Den schlagt mit dieser Keule todt' (W. J. Thoms in the *Gentleman's Magazine* 1850 i. 250—252).

is sometimes increased by the addition of a sort of prayer. Thus near Dinan as late as the year 1880 many people would carry a thunder-stone in their pocket during stormy weather and, if thunder were heard, would say:

Pierre, pierre,
Garde-moi du tonnerre.

Sébillot shows further that this *rôle* of acting as a lightning-rod passed from the neolithic celt to the iron axe:

Among the Basques, when a storm bursts, the best preservative is to place some cutting instrument, axe or scythe, outside the house with its edge turned to the sky. Peasants on the farms near Beuvray in Saône-et-Loire, as soon as they hear the first rumblings of thunder and feel the first drops of rain, bring out into the yard and set up near the threshold of their house an iron axe, with its handle against the ground and its blade uppermost, to preserve the place from lightning and hail. This custom is half-Christianised in the district of Saint-Gaudens in Haute-Garonne, where an iron axe, blade in air, is put in a plate containing holy water[1].

We come back, then, at length to the point from which we started[2], *viz.* the primitive belief that the thunderbolt falls in the form of an axe. By an axe therefore, according to the homœopathic principle of early thought, it must be averted.

ii. The spear of Zeus.

Lightning was sometimes, though not often, regarded by the ancient Greeks as the spear of Zeus. Pindar, ever on the look out for an effective epithet, coined a fine sonorous compound *encheikéraunos* to describe Zeus, 'whose spear is the lightning[3].' Bakchylides has the rival formation *keraunenchés*, Zeus 'whose lightning is his spear[4].' Aristophanes greets the lightning as

Immortal fiery spear of Zeus[5],

and an 'Apolline oracle quoted by Eusebios from Porphyrios calls it the

descending spear of Zeus[6].

[1] P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 104 f. Cp. *Geopon.* 7. 11 (Zoroastres) *σίδηρος τοῖς πώμασι τῶν πίθων ἐπιτιθέμενος ἀπερύκει τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν βροντῶν καὶ ἀστραπῶν βλάβην.*

[2] *Supra* p. 505.

[3] Pind. *Ol.* 13. 77 *Ζηνὸς ἐγχεικεραύνου* with schol., *Pyth.* 4. 194 *πατέρ Οὐρανιδᾶν ἐγχεικέραυνον Ζῆνα* with schol., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 839, 9 ff. *οὕτω καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς νῦν ἔχει στεροπὴν μετὰ χερσὶ* (*Il.* 11. 184) *καθὰ καί τι βέλος· ᾧ λόγῳ καὶ ἐγχεικέραυνον αὐτὸν ἡ λυρικὴ Μοῦσα καλεῖ, ὡς οἷα καὶ δόρατι χρώμενον αὐτῷ, καθὰ δηλοῖ καὶ ὁ φράσας ὅτι ἐναγκοινεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν ὡς ἐν σχήματι αἰχμητοῦ πολεμησείοντος. Infra* p. 705 n. 4.

[4] Bakchyl. 7. 48 Jebb *ὦ Ζεῦ κεραυνεγχές.*

[5] Aristoph. *av.* 1750 f. *ὦ μέγα χρύσεον ἀστεροπῆς φάος, | ὦ Διὸς ἄμβροτον ἔγχος πυρφόρον, | κ.τ.λ.*

[6] Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 6. 3. 1 (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 146. 12) cited *supra* p. 14 n. 11.

Nonnos in the fifth century of our era makes Nike pray to Zeus as follows:

> Do thou in battle lift
> Thy lightning-flash, Olympos' luminous spear[1].

Accordingly, when Zeus meets Typhon,

> in the fray
> His shield was thunder and his corselet cloud,
> The spear he shook was lightning[2].

And elsewhere in the same poem Zeus is termed

> The javelin-thrower of the thunderbolt[3].

It is probable that the poets were but adopting a popular belief; for Eustathios in the middle ages explained that 'Zeus has a fiery spear[4],' and the modern Greek sailor with his eye on the storm-cloud will say 'God is throwing lightning like spear-strokes[5].'

The axe-bearing Zeus of Karia is not unfrequently represented with a spear[6]. And, since he was worshipped as *Strátios*, 'Lord of Hosts[7],' this weapon might no doubt be explained as an indispensable part of his panoply. Nevertheless it is probable that the old storm-god became the new war-god just because his thunderbolt was conceived as a potent weapon, first a double axe and then a spear or sword[8].

At Hydisos in Karia Zeus *Áreios*, the 'Warlike,' appears on a bronze coin struck by Hadrian (fig. 635)[9] as a soldier with helmet and shield, though he still brandishes a thunderbolt in his raised right hand. Bronze coins of the same town dating from the first century

[1] Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 211 f. *μαρνάμενος δὲ | ἀστεροπὴν κούφιζε σελασφόρον ἔγχος Ὀλύμπου.* Conversely *ib.* 47. 609 ff. Hera hurls at Dionysos a spear, *ἀστεροπῆς μίμημα, θεόσσυτον ἀλλόμενον πῦρ |... σελασφόρον αἴθοπα λόγχην.*

[2] Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 478 ff. *ἐν δὲ κυδοιμῷ | βροντὴν μὲν σάκος εἶχε, νέφος δέ οἱ ἔπλετο θώρηξ, | καὶ στεροπὴν δόρυ πάλλε, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Nonn. *Dion.* 7. 163 *Ζηνὶ...ἀκοντιστῆρι κεραυνοῦ.*

[4] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1240, 51 f. *καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ πύρινον ἔχει δόρυ, τουτέστιν ἔγχος. ἐξ οὗ καὶ ἐγχεικέραυνος παρὰ Πινδάρῳ λέγεται.*

[5] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 32 *ὁ θεὸς ῥίπτει* (more often *ῥίχνει*) *ἀστραπαὶς σὰν κονταριαῖς.*

[6] *Supra* pp. 574 ff., 593.

[7] *Supra* pp. 576 ff., 590 f.

[8] *Supra* p. 591 n. 1, *infra* p. 712 ff.

[9] D. Sestini *Lettere e dissertazioni numismatiche* Firenze 1818 v. 44, 1820 ix pl. 3, 11, *id. Classes generales seu Moneta vetus urbium populorum et regum*[2] Florentiae 1821 p. 88, F. Streber in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1835* Philos.-philol. Classe pp. 232—239 pl. 4, 5, T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1853* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 32—42 ('Zeus Areios') pl. 1—2, 2, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 11 pl. 2, 21, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 208—210 Münztaf. 3, 11 (=my fig. 635), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620. Sestini *locc. citt.* read IACCЄΩN, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iii. 353 no. 291 IACЄΩN, Streber *loc. cit.* IAICЄΩN, Panofka *loc. cit.* IACЄΩN, Wieseler *loc. cit.* IAICЄΩN (for IACCЄΩN), Overbeck *loc. cit.* IAICЄΩN. B. V. Head was the first to transfer the coin from Iasos to Hydisos.

B.C. show him as he rests upon a spear (fig. 636)[1], while others give only the helmeted head (fig. 637)[2] or bust[3] of this martial deity. Whether the Zeus *Áreios*, before whom at Passaron in Molossis the kings and people of Epeiros plighted their troth[4], was a form of the ancient Epeirote thunder-god we cannot definitely assert; but it is likely enough. Again, the altar at Olympia, on which Oinomaos

Fig. 636.

Fig. 635.

Fig. 637.

used to sacrifice to Zeus *Áreios*[5], may have stood in some relation to the altar of Zeus *Keraúnios* adjoining the foundations of Oinomaos' house[6]. Be that as it may, the title *Áreios* was remembered for many centuries as one appropriate to the sky-god[7]; and Zeus *Áreios* was apparently Latinised as Iupiter *Militaris*[8].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 122 pl. 20, 12, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 95 f. pl. 7, 12 (=my fig. 636), Imhoof—Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 134, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620.

[2] Imhoof—Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 134 no. 1 pl. 5, 7 (=my fig. 637), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620.

[3] Imhoof—Blumer *op. cit.* i. 134 no. 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 620.

[4] Plout. *v. Pyrrh.* 5 *εἰώθεισαν οἱ βασιλεῖς ἐν* Πασσαρῶνι, *χωρίῳ τῆς* Μολοττίδος, *Ἀρείῳ Διὶ θύσαντες ὁρκωμοτεῖν τοῖς Ἠπειρώταις καὶ ὁρκίζειν, αὐτοὶ μὲν ἄρξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους, ἐκείνους δὲ τὴν βασιλείαν διαφυλάξειν κατὰ τοὺς νόμους.*

[5] Paus. 5. 14. 6 *τοῦ δὲ Ἡφαίστου τὸν βωμὸν εἰσιν Ἠλείων οἱ ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀρείου Διός. λέγουσι δὲ οἱ αὐτοὶ οὗτοι καὶ ὡς Οἰνόμαος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τούτου θύοι τῷ Ἄρεϊ Διί, ὁπότε τῶν Ἱπποδαμείας μνηστήρων καθίστασθαι μέλλοι τινὶ ἐς ἵππων ἅμιλλαν.* This altar of Zeus *Ἄρειος* explains the varying tradition that Oinomaos sacrificed on such occasions to Zeus (Diod. 4. 73: *supra* i. 36 ff., 407 ff.) or to Ares (Philostr. *imagg.* 9. 5). But the presence of Hephaistos at Olympia is unexpected, and his relation to Zeus *Ἄρειος* very problematic (cp. C. Robert in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 430 with n. 2). The coin which T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1853* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 34 pl. 1—2, 3 takes to be a copper of Elis with *obv.* head of Hephaistos or Zeus *Ἄρειος*, *rev.* thunderbolt in wreath of wild olive, is a common mintage of Ithake (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 105 pl. 21, 9) showing the head of Odysseus but lacking the legend [ΙΘΑ]! Equally unconvincing is the conjecture of Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 211 n. 127 that the altar was adorned with a relief representing the head of Hephaistos, whose cap was compared with the helmet of Zeus *Ἄρειος*. There is more to be said for the view advanced by F. Streber in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1835* Philos.-philol. Classe p. 234, *viz.* that the archaic helmeted figure standing beside the enthroned Hera in the Heraion at Olympia (Paus. 5. 17. 1) was none other than Zeus *Ἄρειος*. But even this is far from certain.

[6] Paus. 5. 14. 7 cited *infra* § 3 (c) iv (e).

[7] Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* no. 15 *ἀρείου*, 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* no. 14 *ἀρείου*. See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 624.

[8] Apul. *de mundo* 37 (Iupiter) est Militaris et Triumphator et Propagator, Tropaeo-

Zeus *Áreios* is hardly to be separated from Zeus *Strategós* who, together with Hera, is mentioned in an inscription of 69 A.D. as the patron deity of Amastris in Paphlagonia[1]. *Quasi*-autonomous coppers of the town, issued in early imperial times, exhibit his bust with a remarkable tress of wavy hair above the forehead (fig. 638)[2]. On coppers struck by Antoninus Pius he stands in a statuesque pose, his

Fig. 638.

Fig. 639.

Fig. 640.

Fig. 641.

left hand swathed in an ample *himátion*, his right holding a spear, and an eagle at his feet (fig. 639)[3]. Other pieces struck by the same emperor show him grouped with his consort, the sceptre-bearing Hera (fig. 640)[4],—a type repeated in inferior style by Tranquillina (fig. 641)[5]. It is probable that Zeus *Oúrios*, whose sanctuary stood on the eastern side of the Thracian Bosporos[6], was a god of like aspect.

phorus; et multo plura eiusmodi apud haruspices et Romanos veteres inveneris. The passage is thus printed by G. F. Hildebrand (ed. min. 1843). But for *Propagator* (E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 746, 751, *supra* i. 552 n. 1 (?)) I should read *Propugnator* (E. Aust *loc. cit.* ii. 751), thereby obtaining an unbroken series of military titles. On imperial coins with the legends IOVI PROPVGNATORI (or PROPVGNAT) and IOVIS PROPVGNATOR see Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 921, Suppl. iii. 156 f., 162. I figure a 'first brass,' struck by Alexander Severus, from my collection.

Fig. 642.

[1] G. Hirschfeld in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1888 p. 876 f. no. 27, R. Cagnat—G. Lafaye *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1906 iii. 32 no. 89 ὁ δῆμος | μαρτυρεῖ Παρμενίσ[κ]ῳ | καὶ Φαρνάκῃ,.....καὶ | εὐχεται Διὶ Στρατηγῷ | καὶ Ἥρᾳ, τοῖς πατρίοις θε|οῖς καὶ προεστῶ(σ)ιν τῆς | πόλεως,..... | ἔτους βλρ' (*sc.* 132 of the Pompeian era = 69 A.D.).

[2] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 138 f. no. 31 pl. 18, 23, no. 32 pl. 18, 24, no. 33 pl. 18, 25 (=my fig. 638), no. 34 pl. 18, 26, no. 35 pl. 18, 27, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 85 pl. 20, 1 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 223 Münztaf. 3, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 506.

[3] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 142 no. 61 pl. 19, 15 (=my fig. 639), W. Abeken in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 64 pl. A, 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 134, 164, 223 Münztaf. 2, 27, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 98 f. pl. 9, 29.

[4] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 142 no. 62 pl. 19, 16 (=my fig. 640) double-struck.

[5] Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *op. cit.* i. 156 no. 174 pl. 21, 20 (=my fig. 641).

[6] *Infra* § 7 (c).

For a similar figure on a silver *dekálitron* of Syracuse (215—212 B.C.) (fig. 643) almost certainly—as W. Abeken argued[1]—represents the famous statue of Zeus *Oúrios*[2] carried off from that city by Verres and known to the Romans as Iupiter *Imperator*[3], a manifest translation of Zeus *Strategós*.

The transition from storm-god to war-god may likewise be suspected in the case of that imperial favourite Iupiter *Victor*[4], whose

Fig. 643.

Fig. 644.

Fig. 645.

figure—again with spear reversed—on bronze coins and medallions of Claudius ii Gothicus (268—270 A.D.) is no doubt merely a religious expression for the victorious emperor himself (fig. 644)[5].

Other and less sophisticated examples of Zeus with spear in hand occur here and there among the Greek coins of south Italy, the Etruscan mirrors, the Gallo-Roman statuettes, and the Roman lamps.

Coppers of Petelia in Bruttium struck in the third century B.C.

[1] W. Abeken in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 63 pl. A, 1.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 224 no. 661 fig. (=my fig. 643), G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 196 fig. 68, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 131, 164, 220 f. Münztaf. 2, 25, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 97 pl. 9, 24 (comparing L. Müller *Numismatique de l'ancienne Afrique* Copenhague 1860 i. 50 no. 193 fig. a gold coin of Kyrene).

[3] *Infra* § 7 (c).

[4] Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 197 ff., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 123, 139 f.

[5] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 142 nos. 127 and 128 fig., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 165 f. Münztaf. 2, 35 (=my fig. 644), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 97 pl. 9, 25, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 63 no. 9 pl. 156, 1 ('col fulmine e lo scettro'). For other numismatic types of Iupiter *Victor* see Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 896 ff., 1225, 1228, Suppl. iii. 158, 275, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 484.

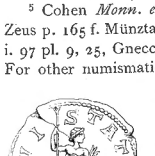


Fig. 646.

Iupiter *Stator* (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 682—686, 758, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 20—23, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 122 f.) appears on Roman coins from Antoninus Pius to Carausius (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 921, Suppl. iii. 157, 162, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 484 fig.) usually as a nude figure standing erect with a spear (sceptre?) in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other (fig. 646 is from a silver coin of Gordianus Pius in my collection). His title was Grecised as Στήσιος (Plout. *v. Cic.* 16 *εἰς τὸ τοῦ Στησίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ὃν Στάτορα Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσιν*) or Ἐπιστάσιος (Plout. *v. Rom.* 18 *ἔστησαν οὖν πρῶτον οὗ νῦν ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Στάτορος ἵδρυται νεώς, ὃν Ἐπιστάσιον ἄν τις ἑρμηνεύσειεν*) or, less accurately, as Ὀρθώσιος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 50 quoted *supra* p. 422 n. 1).

Plate XXIX

Etruscan mirror: the birth of Athena.

See page 709 ff.

sometimes show a naked Zeus advancing with thunderbolt and spear (fig. 645)[1]. The earliest specimen, however, gives him a long sceptre (fig. 647)[2] and most of the later specimens a short headless spear or sceptre (fig. 648)[3]—a type found also on the third-century federal coppers of the Bruttians (fig. 649)[4] and Lucanians (fig. 650)[5].

A magnificent mirror from Arezzo, now in the Museum at Bologna[6], represents (pl. xxix) the birth of Athena from the head

Fig. 647.

Fig. 648.

Fig. 649.

Fig. 650.

of Zeus (*Tina*)[7]. The god is seated upon the clouds of heaven, holding a leaf-shaped lance in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Two goddesses occupy the place and perform the duty of the Eileithyiai. They are named *Thalna* and *Thanr*[8] respectively. The former clasps Zeus about the waist. The latter makes magic passes over his head, from which emerges the diminutive figure of Athena in full armour. Hephaistos, here called *Sethlans*[9], who has cleft the

[1] Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 157 pl. 112, 1 (=my fig. 645) describes this very obvious spear as a 'scettro.' If his illustration is right, his text is wrong.

[2] I am indebted to my friend Mr C. T. Seltman for the example of series A here illustrated (fig. 647).

[3] Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 157 pl. 112, 9 ('con lo scettro nella sin.'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 371 f. nos. 1 ('holding sceptre') and 5—8 ('holding sceptre'), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 139 nos. 1—3 ('holding sceptre in l.'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 107. Fig. 648 is from a coin in my collection.

[4] Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 184 pl. 124, 23 (=my fig. 649) and 24 ('con iscettro nella sin.'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 330 f. nos. 93—98 ('sceptre in extended l.'), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 124 no. 55 pl. 9, 5 and nos. 56—61 ('spear in extended l.'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 92.

[5] Garrucci *op. cit.* p. 182 pl. 123, 27, 28, 29 (=my fig. 650) ('con scettro nella sin.'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 224 nos. 2—4 ('holding spear in l.'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 70.

[6] E. Brizio in the *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* Bologna 1882 p. 24.

[7] F. Inghirami *Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome* Poligrafia Fiesolana 1824 ii. 202—245 pl. 10—a careful detailed drawing, which served as the foundation of Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 67—69 pl. 66 (=my pl. xxix). A fresh tracing of the mirror is published by E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 142 ff. pl. I—K. For further bibliography see C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 785.

[8] So E. Braun *loc. cit.* p. 143 ff. read the name, which had previously been transcribed as *Thana*. His attempt to identify *Thanr* with Iuno (*Uni*) is, however, hopeless.

[9] C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 786 ff. proposes to connect *śeθlans* with *σίδηρος*: 'Das Wort geht auf eine Form *śeθla zurück, die nach etruskischen Lautgesetzen für *śéθala stehen kann. Dies śéθala aber ist so klärlich gleich *σίδᾱρος*, dass es keiner weiteren Erörterungen darüber bedarf. Der śeθlans ist somit der "ferrarius," und die Form würde in griechischem Gewande Σιδηρηρός lauten.'

head of Zeus with his double axe, stands aloof on the right, his leg supported on a rock and his arm thrown up in astonishment at the result of his blow[1]. Behind *Thalna* is a pomegranate-tree[2] with an

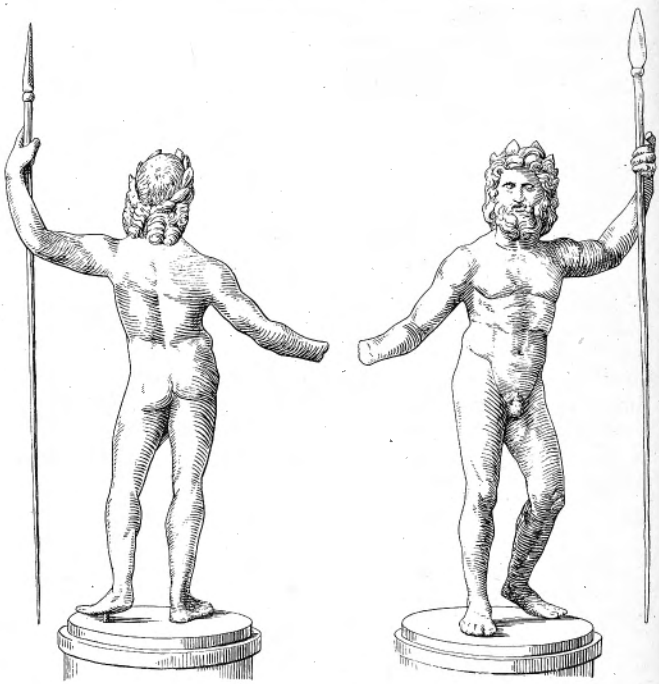


Fig. 651.

eagle[3] perched upon it; behind *Thanr*, a bay-tree. The back of the handle shows the face of Aphrodite, with a flower[4] in her hair, surrounded by leafage and flanked by a couple of doves. It will be

[1] His pose recalls on the one hand that of Hephaistos on a black-figured *amphora* in the Louvre (no. E 852, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)), on the other hand that of Hermes in the east pediment of the Parthenon (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)).

[2] Gerhard *op. cit.* iii. 68 takes it to be 'eine Myrtenstaude,' noting that the fruit of the myrtle resembles a small pomegranate.

[3] *Id. ib.* says 'mit darauf sitzender Taube,' but admits that the hooked beak is a difficulty. The suggestion of myrtle and dove would hardly have been made, had it not been for the erroneous notion that *Thalna* was a sort of Aphrodite (*Turan*).

[4] Gerhard *op. cit.* iii. 69: 'eine Rose.'

observed that in this imposing design the thunderbolt is definitely shaped like a short spear or javelin[1].

A Gallo-Roman bronze, found by labourers in 1914 on the site of a Roman house at Lyons, represents Iupiter, nude, bearded, and erect (fig. 651)[2]. His abundant hair is encircled with a wreath of bay or olive. His eyes show traces of incrustation in silver—a

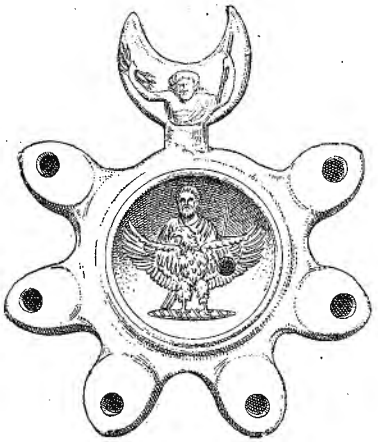


Fig. 652.

Fig. 653.

frequent and effective device. In his outstretched right hand, now lost, was some attribute, presumably a thunderbolt. In his raised left hand is a spear, still intact. H. Lechat in his excellent publication of the statuette, which he attributes to the first half of the second century A.D., rightly insists on its fine, almost Greek, style[3], but wrongly—to my thinking—denies that its attributes had any special significance[4]. On the contrary I should maintain that

[1] P. Jacobsthal *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1906 p. 15 fig. 20: 'Die Knospe erscheint hier eher wie ein Blatt einer Lanzenspitze, auf dessen Fläche Ornamente graviert sind.' In E. Braun's plate (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii pl. I—K), the resemblance of the lance to a thunderbolt with a spike at either end is rather more pronounced.

[2] H. Lechat 'Statuette de Jupiter' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 68—71 pl. 3 (=my fig. 651).

[3] The turn of the head towards the supporting leg implies the lasting influence of some fifth-century sculptor (Polykleitos?). But the thick mass of hair, the exaggerated swelling of the abdominal wall above the hip, and the *Schwung* of the whole figure betray the predilections of a much later period.

[4] H. Lechat *loc. cit.* p. 70: 'Au déclin du paganisme, dans ces minuscules figurations divines dénuées de tout caractère officiel, on voit des attributs qui sont comme vides de

Iupiter, grasping a bolt in one hand and a spear in the other, fittingly expressed the popular belief in a sky-god, whose weapons were thunder and lightning.

In conclusion, it should be noticed that Roman lamps with crescentic handles not unfrequently have the crescent embellished with a relief of Iupiter holding a thunderbolt in his right hand and a spear or sceptre in his left (fig. 652)[1]. An example in the British Museum gives him an unmistakable spear (fig. 653)[2]. The lightning-god was a suitable adornment of the light-giving lamp[3], and his threatensome attitude an excellent *apotrópaion*.

iii. The sword of Zeus.

Greek literature never equips Zeus with a sword. Can the same be said of Greek art? The question arises in connexion with an important Attico-Ionian *amphora* found at Caere in Etruria and now preserved in the Louvre (pl. xxx)[4]. The body of the vase exhibits two scenes, which together form one of our earliest representations of the Gigantomachia[5]. The main combat is that of Zeus, who single-handed attacks three Giants. Agasthenes is down and out; Ephialtes and Hyperbios still show fight. The Giants are armed like Greek hoplites. So too is Zeus, except that the round shield borne on his left arm is fringed with twenty bristling snakes

sens et ne servent plus que de prétexte à une pose, d'occasion à un geste.... De même, ici, la lance au lieu du sceptre.'

[1] J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1327 f. fig. 4593 (=my fig. 652) from a terra-cotta specimen in the Louvre, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 129 nos. 854—857 terra-cotta handles only.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 129 no. 857 fig. 159 (=my fig. 653). Height 2⅝ inches. According to H. B. Walters, 'Zeus has three darts or arrows in r. hand.' But nos. 854—856 make it clear that a thunderbolt is intended.

[3] G. Supka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1915 xxx Arch. Anz. pp. 24, 27 f. fig. 6 publishes a large bronze lamp from Mór, now in the National Museum at Buda-Pesth, which has a fine bust of Zeus (eyes and lips originally incrusted), without thunderbolt, spear, or sceptre, between the horns of the crescent and below it on the crescent a bust of Helios. Other lamp-handles show Zeus between the horns, upborne on an eagle grasping a thunderbolt (A. C. P. de Tubières Comte de Caylus *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* Paris 1764 vi. 305 pl. 97, 5, Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 11 no. 20 fig. Cp. *supra* p. 102 f. fig. 64).

[4] Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* ii. 544 f. no. E 732, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 68 f. no. E 732 pl. 54 (views of front and back from photographs), O. Jahn 'Gigantomachia, dipinto vasculare ceretano' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 243—255, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 78 (=my pl. xxx), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 349 ff. no. 13 with Atlas pl. 4, 8, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 162, 3—5, J. Endt *Beiträge zur jonischen Vasenmalerei* Prag 1899 p. 38 f., H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 13 f. fig. 111.

[5] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 282 ff. no. 4.

Ionian (Cean ?) *amphora* from Caere, now in the Louvre : Zeus, in the Gigantomachia, fighting Agasthenes, Ephialtes, and Hyperbios.

See page 712 f.

and that the weapon brandished in his right hand appears to be a thunderbolt of unusual form. The other combatants are grouped in pairs[1]. Hera stabs Harpolykos (?). Athena seizes Enkelados by the crest of his helmet and swings up a short sword for the *coup de grâce*. Poseidon, in a scaled cuirass, with a black rock (the island Nisyros) on his left shoulder and a trident in his right hand, dispatches Polybotes. And Hermes, in *pétasos*, pelt, and *endromídes*, plunges a lance into Polybios. The inscriptions, according to P. Kretschmer[2], suggest that the painter hailed from Keos, or possibly Naxos or Amorgos. Our business, however, is not with the subject as a whole, but with the weapon of Zeus in particular. O. Jahn[3], J. Overbeck[4], and M. Mayer[5]—three highly competent critics—all took it to be a sword. But E. Pottier[6]—an authority of equal eminence—described it as the thunderbolt. And P. Jacobsthal[7] has argued in the same sense: he points out that Zeus, unlike the other swordsmen of the vase, has neither sheath nor sword-belt; that the attitude of his arm implies the action of hurling, not striking; and that the lines engraved on the bolt can be paralleled from the Etruscan mirror already discussed[8]. I accept this conclusion and assume that the front half of the thunderbolt is supposed to be hidden by the swan-head crests of Zeus' helmet.

We are on surer ground, though in a less Hellenic atmosphere, when we pass from the Kyklades to Karia. In the temple at Labranda near Mylasa Zeus was worshipped as *Stratios*, and his ancient image had a sword slung beside it[9]. Here we can be

[1] On this type-form see Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 341 ff. and H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 9 ff.

[2] P. Kretschmer in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1889—1892 xxxi. 292 ff., *id. Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 pp. 59—61 ('Keische Vase'): ƷVHΞ='Ζεύς, ...ϤOƷΛ1Λ='Αγασθέ[νης], ƷOIϑ9HΓ1V='Τπέρβιος, HIΓIΛΛTEƷ ='Επιάλτης, ΛPΓOΛ....='Αρπόλ[υκος], HE..='Η[ρη], ƷHƎM9ƎH='Ερμῆς, Γ... BIOξ=Π[ολύ]βιος, AOENΛH='Αθηνάη, ƷOΔΛΛƎHIƎH='Ε(γ)[κ]έλαδος, .ƎTOϑVΛOΠ=Πολυβώτη[ς]. The same irregularity in the writing of *e*-sounds is, according to Kretschmer, a feature of Cean inscriptions (but see A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 p. 346 f.).

[3] O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 246: 'una larga spada.'

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 349: 'nicht einen Blitz, sondern ein gewaltiges Schwerdt.'

[5] M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 285: 'ein Schwert.'

[6] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 68: 'Zeus brandit le foudre de la main droite.'

[7] P. Jacobsthal *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1906 p. 15 n. 2.

[8] *Supra* p. 709 ff. pl. xxix.

[9] Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30 quoted *supra* p. 591 n. 1.

tolerably certain that the old sky-god with his double axe (*lábrys*) has been modernised into a war-god with a handier blade[1].

At Stratonikeia, not twenty miles away from Mylasa, Zeus was *Chrysaoreús*[2] or *Chrysaórios*[3]. The town, indeed the whole district, had in early days been called *Chrysaoris*[4]. Its inhabitants, the *Chrysaoreîs*[5], were members of a league specially devoted to the cult of Zeus *Chrysaoreús*[6]. There was also a Carian hero Chrysaor,

[1] *Supra* p. 590 f. Similarly the Babylonian Zeus bore a dagger as well as a double axe for warlike purposes (Baruch 6. 15 ἔχει δὲ ἐγχειρίδιον δεξιᾷ καὶ πέλεκυν, ἑαυτὸν δὲ ἐκ πολέμου καὶ λῃστῶν οὐκ ἐξελεῖται): W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 78 n. 158.

[2] Strab. 660 ἔστι δ' ἐν τῇ χώρᾳ τῶν Στρατονικέων δύο ἱερά, ἐν μὲν Λαγίνοις τὸ τῆς Ἑκάτης ἐπιφανέστατον, πανηγύρεις μεγάλας συνάγον κατ' ἐνιαυτόν· ἐγγὺς δὲ τῆς πόλεως τὸ τοῦ Χρυσαορέως Διὸς κοινὸν ἁπάντων Καρῶν, εἰς ὃ συνίασι θύσοντές τε καὶ βουλευσόμενοι περὶ τῶν κοινῶν· κ.τ.λ. A base found at Delphoi records a decree of the Delphic Amphiktiones, between 205 and 202 B.C., in honour of Antiochos iii and of Antiocheia in Chrysaoris ὅτι τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀμφικτιόνων τὰμ μὲν πόλιν τὰν Ἀντιο|χέων καὶ τὰν χώραν ἀναδεικνύει ἄσυλον καὶ ἱερὰν τοῦ Διὸς Χρυσαορέ|ως καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσοτίμου, κ.τ.λ. (L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 235 ff. no. ii, 23 ff., J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel

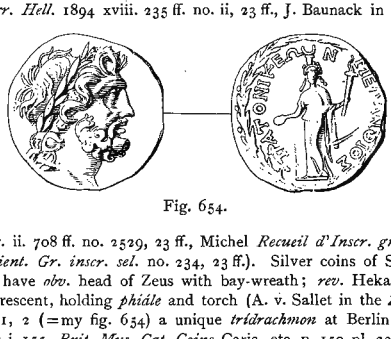


Fig. 654.

Gr. Dial.-Inschr. ii. 708 ff. no. 2529, 23 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 252, 23 ff., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 234, 23 ff.). Silver coins of Stratonikeia from 81 B.C. onwards have *obv.* head of Zeus with bay-wreath; *rev.* Hekate, with *kálathos* surmounted by crescent, holding *phiále* and torch (A. v. Sallet in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1888 xvi. 5 pl. 1, 2 (=my fig. 654) a unique *tridrachmon* at Berlin, Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 155, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 150 pl. 23, 17, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 624 f.): the two deities here represented are presumably those named in Strab. 660 (*supra*).

[3] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2720 (Stratonikeia) a decree of the people and senate honouring Hierokles, son of Panaitios son of Thrason, 3 ff. [ἀρχιερέα] τῶν Σεβαστῶν, (ἱ)ερέα τοῦ Πα|[ναμάρου Διὸς καὶ] τῆς Ἑκάτης τ(ῆ)ς (δ)αιδοφόρου | [μετὰ τῆς γυναικ]ὸς αὐτοῦ Ἀφία(ς) τῆς Ἱεροκλέ|[ους, ἱερέ]α Διὸς Χρυσαορίου, ἱερέα Δι|[ὸς Ῥεμβηνόδου (?), ἱ]ερέα Διὸς Να(κ)ράσου (?), ἱερέα Δι|[ὸς Σεράπιδος (?)] and his two sons Thrason 13 f. [ἀρχιερέα τῶ]ν Σεβαστῶν, – – | – – [ἱερέα Διὸς] τοῦ Παναμάρου and Leon 15 f. ἀρχιερέα τῶν Σεβασ|[τῶν, – –] – ἱερέα Διὸς Χρυσαορίου, | κ.τ.λ., no. 2721 (Stratonikeia), 11 ff. ἱ|ερά̣τευσαν δὲ πάλιν οἱ υἱοὶ αὐτοῦ Θρ(ά)|σων μὲν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Χρυσαορ(ί)ου, | Λέων δὲ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Παναμάρου.

[4] Paus. 5. 21. 10, Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Ἰδριάς, Χρυσαορίς.

[5] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χρυσαορίς, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1590, 19, no. 1591, 44 and 56, ii no. 2693 *a*, 19, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 111, 8, no. 234, 12, no. 441, 22, *alib.*

[6] On this league, which was called τὸ Χρυσαόρειον (or Χρυσαορικὸν) σύστημα, see L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2485, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 111 n. 4.

father of the eponyms Idrieus[1] and Mylasos[2]. Philon of Byblos in his version of Sanchouniathon's history[3] gives *Chrysór* as the name of the Phoenician Hephaistos, whom he further identifies with Zeus *Meilíchios*[4].

With regard to this group of names some rather venturesome views have been advanced by P. Carolidis[5]. He holds that Zeus *Chrysaoreús* was the Hellenic form of the *non*-Hellenic Zeus *Osogós*, whose appellative he connects with the Armenian *vosghi* or *osghi*, 'gold.' *Chrysaoreús*, originally *Chrysáor*, involves—we are told—the suffix *-vor* (= *-phóros*), and this 'Golden' deity was the great sun-god of Asia Minor later fused with the war-god of the Chalybes, Zeus *Strátios*.

It must, I suppose, be conceded that the names *Chrysaoreus* etc. are Greek, at least in appearance. It is, however, an assumption that Zeus *Chrysaoreús* was one with Zeus *Osogóa* (so his title should be spelled[6]), and a further assumption that either of them was ever called Zeus *Strátios*. Again, it is obvious that the suffix *-phóros* cannot possibly enter into such forms as *Chrysáor*, *Chrysaoreús*. I should rather conclude that *Chrysaoreús*, if Greek, meant 'He of the Golden Sword,' the latter element in the compound being akin to *áor*, 'a sword,' itself a word of doubtful origin but best related to *aeíro* as 'a thing slung from, or attached to,' the wearer[7]. But, since the Greek *chrysós*, 'gold,' was borrowed from the Semitic *ḥárûṣ*[8], it is likely enough that we have here to do with a Greek attempt to extract sense from a Semitic (Phoenician?) name—a phenomenon already noted in other connexions[9].

On the whole, it seems probable that the Carian Zeus *Chrysaoreús* or *Chrysaórios* would have been regarded by neighbouring

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Εὐρωπός. [2] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μύλασα. [3] *Supra* i. 191.

[4] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 11 f. χρόνοις δὲ ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς Ὑψουρανίου γενεᾶς γενέσθαι Ἀγρέα καὶ Ἁλιέα, τοὺς ἄγρας καὶ ἁλείας εὑρετάς, ἐξ ὧν κληθῆναι ἀγρευτὰς καὶ ἁλιεῖς· ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφούς, σιδήρου εὑρετὰς καὶ τῆς τούτου ἐργασίας· ὧν θάτερον τὸν Χρυσῶρ λόγους ἀσκῆσαι καὶ ἐπῳδὰς καὶ μαντείας· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἥφαιστον, εὑρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄγκιστρον καὶ δέλεαρ καὶ ὁρμιὰν καὶ σχεδίαν, πρῶτόν τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι· διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Δία Μειλίχιον. See further F. C. Movers *Untersuchungen über die Religion und die Gottheiten der Phönizier* Bonn 1841 i. 658 f.

[5] P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 pp. 97–99.

[6] *Supra* p. 580.

[7] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 8 f., 43, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 15 f., 66, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 255 *s.v.* 'ensis.'

[8] H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 59 f., Schrader *Reallex.* p. 299, S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 207 f.

[9] *Supra* i. 18 f., 25 with n. 2, *alib.*

Greeks—say Ionians of the coast-district—as the 'Bearer of a Golden Sword.' Now we have seen that the Ionians of the Kyklades had quite a *pènchant* for arming their deities with the sword: on the *amphora* figured above (pl. xxx) even Hera and Athena are using this weapon with effect. We are therefore prepared to find that Ionic minstrels, and after them the poets in general, spoke of this, that, and the other divine personage as 'bearer of a golden sword.' Apollon, for example, was *chrysáoros*[1] or *chrysáor*[2]—an epithet which certainly denotes him as god 'of the golden sword' (*áor*), not, as it was misinterpreted by later critics, 'of the golden quiver-strap (*aortér*), or lyre-strap, or lyre[3].' Artemis too in an oracle of Bakis was, like her brother, *chrysáoros*[4]. So was Demeter in the Homeric hymn[5]. Orpheus was described by Pindar as *chrysáor*[6]. And Chrysaor, Chrysaorios, Chrysaoreus occur as theophoric names, not only in Karia and countries adjacent[7], but also in places far afield[8].

Nor must we forget Chrysaor the twin-brother of Pegasos. Hesiod[9] tells us that, when Perseus cut off the head of the Gorgon Medousa,—

> Forth sprang Chrysaor huge and Pegasos
> The horse—this named from the founts of Ocean
> Where he was born; that grasped a golden sword.
> Pegasos, quitting earth the mother of flocks,
> Winged his way heavenward: in Zeus' home he dwells
> Bearing the thunder-peal and lightning-flash
> For Zeus the wise. Chrysaor met and knew
> Great Ocean's child, the maid Kallirrhoe,
> And had for son three-headed Geryon.

[1] *Il.* 5. 509, 15. 256, *h. Ap.* 395, *h. Artem.* 3, Hes. *frag.* 227, 3 Flach, 265, 3 Rzach *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 2. 1, Ap. Rhod. 3. 1283 (*χρυσάορῳ Ἀπόλλωνι* R. C. Seaton and G. W. Mooney with codd. G. L 16. and two of the Vatican MSS.), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 *Ἐπίθετα Ἀπόλλωνος* no. 46 *χρυσάορου.*

[2] *H. Ap.* 123, Hes. *o. d.* 771, Pind. *Pyth.* 5. 104, Orph. *Arg.* 140, Ap. Rhod. 3. 1283 (*χρυσάορι Ἀπόλλωνι* vulg., but see *supra* n. 1).

[3] Schol. *Il.* 5. 509, 15. 256, Hesych. *s.v.* *χρυσάωρ*, Souid. *s.v.* *χρυσάορον.* See Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 290 n. 5, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2484 f.

[4] Hdt. 8. 77 = *Anth. Pal.* 14. 98. 1 (Bakis).

[5] *H. Dem.* 4. E. E. Sikes *ad loc.* comments: '*χρυσαόρου*: Hermann thought that the epithet could only have been chosen by an interpolator. But Demeter is *ξιφηφόρος* in Lycophr. 153, where the schol. notes *ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ ἵδρυται Δημήτηρ ξίφος ἔχουσα.*'

[6] Pind. *frag.* 139, 10 Schröder *ap.* schol. *Il.* 15. 256 *χρυσάορον· ἤτοι χρυσοφάσγανον, ἢ χρυσοῦν τὸν ἀορτῆρα τῆς φαρέτρας ἔχοντα ἢ τῆς κιθάρας, οὐκέτι δὲ τοῦ ξίφους· ἀγνὸς γὰρ ὁ θεός* (codd. A. D.). *καὶ Πίνδαρος χρυσάορα τὸν Ὀρφέα φησί. τινὲς δὲ χρυσοῦν ξίφος ἔχοντα* (codd. A. L., cp. cod. T.).

[7] E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xx. 1) Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 17, W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1692.

[8] De Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 266, *Thes. Ling. Lat.* Suppl. i. 419, 25 ff.

[9] Hes. *theog.* 281—288.

A terra-cotta relief from Melos, now in the British Museum (fig. 655)[1], shows Perseus on horseback riding off with the *Gorgóneion.* From the neck of Medousa emerges a small draped male

Fig. 655.

figure, Chrysaor: Pegasos is not represented[2]. More often Chrysaor and Pegasos spring simultaneously from the severed neck. The end-panel of a limestone *sarcophagus* from Golgoi (*Athienau*) in

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 132 no. B 365, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 3 pl. 2 (=my fig. 655), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 9 pl. 14, 51, Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1289 f. fig. 1438, Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 797 with fig. on p. 798, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 217 f. fig. 53 a, M. B. Huish *Greek Terra-cotta Statuettes* London 1900 p. 137 pl. 37 (photograph).

[2] So Millingen *loc. cit.* Wieseler *loc. cit.* took the horse ridden by Perseus to be a wingless Pegasos, as do Baumeister and Smith—Wayte—Marindin *locc. citt.* But Overbeck *loc. cit.* rightly points out that Perseus is on horseback just because Bellerophon rides a horse in the pendant relief, found in the same Melian tomb in 1819 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 132 no. B 364).

Kypros, which forms part of the Cesnola collection at New York, has a graphic delineation of the scene (fig. 656)[1]. Perseus, with the head in a wallet (*kíbisis*), turns his back on the moribund Medousa and marches off, to be followed by his hound. A red-figured *amphora* at Munich (fig. 657)[2] gives Perseus the winged cap, the winged sandals, and even the winged *caduceus* of Hermes: Medousa is accompanied by a second Gorgon, and Perseus by Athena. An Etruscan scarab (fig. 658)[3] leaves the figure of Medousa to speak

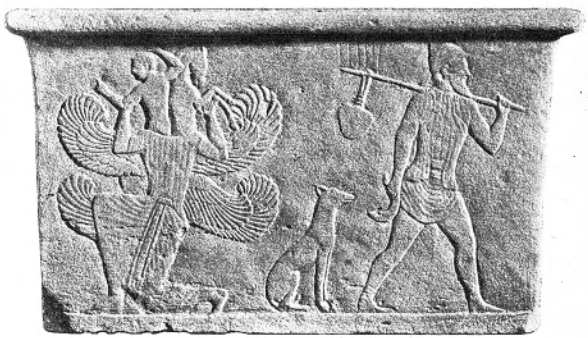


Fig. 656.

for itself. A small two-handled vase from Nola, formerly in the Campana collection (fig. 659)[4], had a stamped design representing a somewhat later moment. At the foot of an Ionic column surmounted by a Sphinx Medousa has fallen backwards in death. Chrysaor and Pegasos are already free from her neck, the former a naked infant kneeling on the ground, the latter a winged horse galloping up the sky. The two living Gorgons, Stheno and Euryale, with snakes in their right hands, pursue the hero, who keeping firm hold of his *kíbisis* and *hárpe* is conducted by Hermes into the

[1] G. Colonna Ceccaldi 'Un sarcophage d'Athiénau (Chypre)' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1875 i. 22 ff. pl. 2, L. P. di Cesnola *Cyprus: its ancient cities, tombs, and temples* London 1877 p. 110 ff. pl. 10, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 615 ff. fig. 419, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2031 f. fig. 3, J. L. Myres in the *Ant. Denkm.* iii. 1. 3 f. pls. 5 and 6 (6 c =my fig. 656), *id. The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 226 ff. no. 1364 fig. 1364 A—D.

[2] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 292 no. 910, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 24 ff. pl. 89, 3 and 4 (=my fig. 657), Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 49, 2 and 4, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2038.

[3] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 20, 37 (=my fig. 658: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), ii. 99.

[4] E. Braun in the *Mon. Ann. e Bull. d. Inst.* 1855 pp. 17—20 pl. 2 (=my fig. 659), E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2038.

presence of Athena. Behind her back are three pairs of wings

Fig. 657.

hung up like weapons in an armoury[1]. This last touch was not

[1] E. Kuhnert *loc. cit.* describes these wings as 'Unverständlich.' But Perseus had been fitted out by the Nymphs with wings on head and foot, and these presuppose a divine store-house of such things.

particularly happy, and is abandoned in favour of a duplicated column on an *ὄλπε* of black glazed ware from Capua, now in the British Museum[1], which otherwise exhibits precisely the same stamped design. It would seem, then, that the artists of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. ignored the Hesiodic tradition that Chrysaor 'grasped a golden sword,' but were well aware of his phenomenal birth.

Fig. 658.

Now F. Hannig[2] has argued that Chrysaor had originally nothing to do with Pegasos, but was none other than the Carian Chrysaor[3] (son of the Sisyphid Glaukos[4], as was also Bellero-

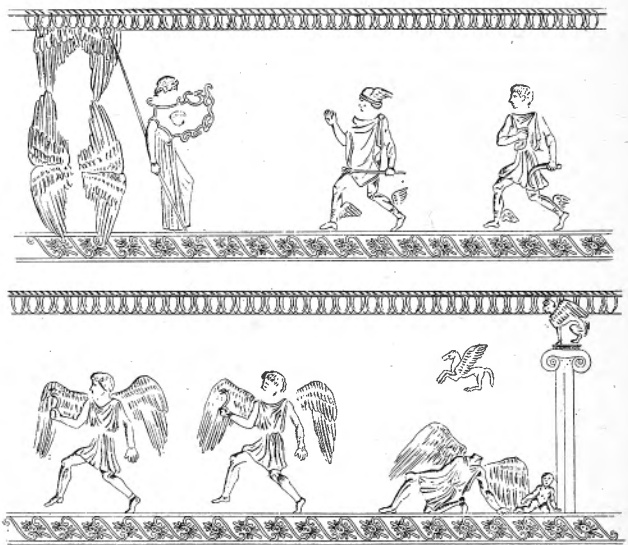


Fig. 659.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 250 no. G 90.

[2] F. Hannig *De Pegaso* (*Breslauer philologische Abhandlungen* viii. 4) Vratislaviae 1902 pp. 26—28 ('De Chrysaore a prima ortus fabula alieno'), *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1749.

[3] *Supra* p. 714 f.

[4] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μύλασα·...ἀπὸ Μυλάσου τοῦ Χρυσάορος τοῦ Γλαύκου τοῦ Σισύφου τοῦ Αἰόλου.

phon[1]), who first became attached to the birth-saga in Asia Minor, the story having been carried thither by Dorian colonists from its home in the northern Peloponnese. To this hypothesis in a modified form O. Gruppe[2] has given his assent. It should, however, be emphasised that what brought Chrysaor and Pegasos together in this peculiar twinship was their identity of function. According to Hesiod[3] and Euripides[4], Pegasos carries the thunder and lightning of Zeus. And scholars both ancient[5] and modern[6] have seen in Chrysaor a personification of the lightning[7]. I am no devotee of meteorological mythology, but I admit the attractiveness of this hypothesis, which explains well the 'golden sword' of our earliest

[1] E. Wilisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1688 ff., G. Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1408 ff.

[2] Hannig's views have been summarised and criticised by Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 25, 1905 p. 380 ff., who however accepts his contention that Pegasos at first belonged to the Bellerophon-myth and concludes (*ib.* p. 386) with great ingenuity as follows: 'Endlich sind Pegasos und Bellerophontes wahrscheinlich nicht erst von Argos aus über Rhodos, sondern schon durch die troizenische Kolonie Halikarnassos, die früh den Vorderteil des Pegasos auf die Münzen setzte, in das benachbarte Bargylia, das er gegründet haben sollte, gekommen; auch Glaukos' Sohn Chrysaor ist vielleicht von Halikarnassos, also in letzter Linie von Troizen aus in eine Genealogie von Mylasa gelangt, und schliesslich ist sein Name als Entsprechung des mit der Doppelaxt dargestellten barbarischen Landesgottes von Karien gefasst worden. Nun ist natürlich Chrysaor, der Sohn des Glaukos, d. h. des Poseidon, und der Eurymede, nicht zu trennen von Chrysaor, dem Sohne Poseidons und der (Eury)medusa; beide sind niemand anders als Bellerophontes *χρυσάωρ*, der ebenfalls Glaukos' oder Poseidons und Eurymedes Sohn heisst. Der troizenische Hymnos erzählte also, wie aus dem Haupte der Medusa Bellerophontes das Goldschwert in der Hand und den Pegasos reitend hervorsprang: das ist eine Parallele und hat wahrscheinlich die Anregung gegeben zu der argivischen Sage von Athena, die in goldener Rüstung mit Ross und Wagen aus dem Haupt des Göttervaters hervorging.' See also Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 434, 590 f.

[3] Hes. *theog.* 285 f. *Ζηνὸς δ' ἐν δώμασι ναίει | βροντήν τε στεροπήν τε φέρων Διὶ μητιόεντι.*

[4] Eur. *Bellerophontes frag.* 312 Nauck[2] *ap.* Aristoph. *pac.* 722 *ὑφ' ἅρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ* with schol. *ad loc. ὁ στίχος ἐκ Βελλεροφόντου Εὐριπίδου. παρὰ τὸ ἀστραπαῖς ὑπηρετεῖν.*

[5] Schol. Hes. *theog.* 282 *τίκτονται ἀστραπαὶ καὶ ὄμβροι, ὅ ἐστι Χρυσάωρ καὶ Πήγασος. Χρυσάωρ ὁ λαμπρὸς ἀήρ. κ.τ.λ.*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 17 *τὸ δὲ λεπτομερέστερον εἰς τὸ αἰθεροειδέστερον καὶ ἔτι εἰς τὸ πυρῶδες μεταβάλλειν, ὅπερ καὶ Χρυσάορα κεκλήκασι.*

[6] *E.g.* W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 115 'Chrysaor = Goldschwert ist natürlich abermals ein Symbol des Blitzes,' E. H. Meyer *Indogermanische Mythen* Berlin 1887 ii (Achilleis). 480 '...Chrysaor, das Goldschwert, kann nur als Blitz gedeutet werden,' Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 192 '...Chrysaor und Pegasos entspringen d. h. der zuckende Lichtstrahl des Blitzes und die geflügelte Donnerwolke.'

[7] It is noteworthy that in Orph. *lith.* 551 *χρυσαόρῳ Περσῆι* (*χρυσαύρῳ* ed. Ald. J. G. J. Hermann cj. *χρυσοπάτρῳ*. E. Abel cj. *χρυσογόνῳ*) the epithet *χρυσάορος* is applied to Perseus himself, whose sword (first mentioned in Hes. *sc. Her.* 221 f. *ὤμοισιν δέ μιν ἀμφὶ μελάνδετον ἆορ ἔκειτο | χαλκέου* (*χάλκεον* codd. K. L.) *ἐκ τελαμῶνος*) subsequently becomes a sickle-sword (first in Pherekyd. *frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 75 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1515 *τῇ ἅρπῃ*) or sickle (so on a 'Lucanian' *hydria* from Anzi in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 f. no. F 185 pl. 7): see E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1990, 2021.

authority and falls into line with the folk-concepts of various peoples[1]. If valid, it leads us to conclude that Zeus *Chrysaoreús* of Stratonikeia was viewed by the Greeks as a lightning-god, 'He of the Golden Sword,'—a deity essentially akin to Zeus *Strátios* the sword-bearer of Labranda.

iv. The thunderbolt of Zeus.

Zeus regarded as a lightning-god was, we have seen, sometimes armed with an axe, occasionally with a spear, very seldom with a sword or dagger, never—be it observed—with bow and arrows[2] (like Apollon) or with club (like Herakles). But far more frequent than any or all of these is another weapon. Innumerable passages of Greek literature and innumerable monuments of Greek art represent Zeus equipped with a thunderbolt. Of the literary allusions I have already said something and shall have to say more. We are here concerned only with the artistic representations, and with the light that they throw upon the development of popular belief[3].

(*a*) Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt.

O. Gruppe[4] has remarked that the thunderbolt, which from the sixth century B.C. onwards characterises the figure of Zeus, falls gradually into the background. 'Men seem to have realised,' he says, 'that a sense of majesty is produced not so much by the exercise of power as by the power to exercise it.'

To this progressive elimination of the thunderbolt there was one significant exception. In the Council Hall at Olympia even as late as the second century A.D. stood the formidable figure of Zeus *Hórkios*[5], 'God of Oaths,' still grasping a thunderbolt in either hand

[1] See F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 pp. 103, 231, 235, 282 f., *id. Indogermanischer Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 pp. 26 n. 1, 104, 141, 143, 225, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 92.

J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i pp. lxxiv, 1 ff., ii. 238 ff. gives two tales, which have points in common with the myth of Perseus, Chrysaor, and Pegasos. In no. 1, 'The young king of Easaidh Ruadh,' the hero beheads the king of the oak windows and obtains two treasures belonging to him, *viz.* a white-faced black horse, the best in Erin, and a marvellous sword known as the Glaive of Light. In no. 46, 'Mac Iain Direach,' the hero obtains the yellow (bay) filly of the king of Erin and the white Glaive of Light kept by the seven Big Women of Dhiurradh.

[2] But cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 480 f. (of Zeus *v.* Typhon) Δικτεέες δὲ κεραυνοὶ | ἠερόθεν πέμποντο πυριγλώχινες ὀιστοί.

[3] For the various explanations and classifications of thunderstorm phenomena put forward by philosophers see T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 pp. 1—418 *passim* and O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 620—637.

[4] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 119 f.

[5] Zeus is not known to have borne the cult-title Ὅρκιος elsewhere, except perhaps at

Tyana in Kappadokia (*supra* p. 569 n. 4). But all deities by whom men swore were ὅρκιοι θεοί, and none more so than Zeus (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 69 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2408 f.), who is described as ὅρκιος by poets of the classical and by prose-writers of the post-classical age (Soph. *Phil.* 1324 Ζῆνα δ' ὅρκιον καλῶ, Eur. *Hipp.* 1025 f. νῦν δ' ὅρκιόν σοι Ζῆνα καὶ πέδον χθονὸς | ὀμνυμι κ.τ.λ., Ap. Rhod. 4. 95 f. Ζεὺς αὐτὸς Ὀλύμπιος ὅρκιος ἔστω | Ἥρη τε Ζυγίη Διὸς εὐνέτις κ.τ.λ., Loukian. *Tim.* 1 ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταιρεῖε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ ὅρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, Souid. *s.v.* Ὅρκιος Ζεύς. καί, Ὅρκιον σκῆπτρον, καθ' οὗ ὤμνυον οἱ βασιλεῖς· ἢ ῥάβδος (cp. *et. Gud.* p. 435, 17, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ὅρκιον σκῆπτρον), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 72 ὁρκίου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 67 ὁρκίου, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1377, 18 ff. ὅρκιος Ζεὺς καὶ φίλιος καὶ ἑταιρεῖος (*leg.* ἑταιρεῖος), ὁμόγνιος, πατρῶος, πρὸς τούτοις ἑρκεῖος, ἐφέστιος Ἰωνικῶς· ἐν οἷς καὶ ξένιος καὶ ὁ φράτριος, κοινὰ ἐπίθετα τοῦ Διός). Accordingly, his wife is ὁρκία Themis (Eur. *Med.* 208 τὰν Ζηνὸς ὁρκίαν Θέμιν, cp. *ib.* 168 ff. κάπιβοᾶται | Θέμιν εὐκταίαν Ζῆνά θ', ὃς ὅρκων | θνητοῖς ταμίας νενόμισται) and his child the personified Ὅρκος (Soph. *O.C.* 1767 χὠ πάντ' ἄϊων Διὸς Ὅρκος, where Sir R. C. Jebb rendered 'servant of Zeus' because Hes. *o.d.* 804 makes Horkos the son of Eris). An actual cult of Zeus Ἐφόρκιος is to be inferred from Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐφόρκιος· Ζεὺς †ἐνκιταναπάμαται (J. Alberti prints Musurus' cj. ἐν Τιτάνων τάγματι, M. Schmidt cj. ἐν Πιτάνῃ τιμᾶται. Ptol. 5. 13. 16 mentions Κίταμον as a town in Armenia Maior. Κίτιον in Kypros is less probable).

Zeus Ὁράτριος is known from a treaty (*s.* ii B.C.) between Hierapytna and Lyttos (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 29, 13 ff. ὅρκος Λυκτίων· ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Ζῆνα Ὁράτριον καὶ τὰν Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν καὶ Ζῆνα | Μο[νυίτιον καὶ Ἥρ]αν καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρεα καὶ Ἀφροδίταν καὶ Κωρῆτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ θεὸς πάντας καὶ πάσας· κ.τ.λ., 19 ff. ὅρκος Ἱεραπυτνίων· ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Ζῆνα Ὁράτριον καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν κα[ὶ] Ζῆνα Μονυίτιον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρεα καὶ Ἀφροδί[την καὶ Κωρῆτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ θεὸς πάντας καὶ πάσας· κ.τ.λ.), from another, of approximately the same date, between Hierapytna and one of its colonies (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2555, 11 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 ff. ὅρκος ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν καὶ Τ[ὴν]α Ὁράτριον καὶ Τ[ὴν]α | Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Πολιάδα | καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Σαλμωνίαν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα Πύθιον καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρ[τε]μιν καὶ Ἄρεα καὶ Ἀφροδίταν καὶ Κωρήτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ τὸς Κυρβάν|τας καὶ θεὸς πάντας καὶ πάσας· κ.τ.λ.), and from a third, somewhat later, between Gortyna and Hierapytna on the one side and Priansos on the other (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 59 ff. ὅρκος Π[ριανσιέων.] | [ὁμ]νύω τὰν Ἰστίαν καὶ Τ[ὴ]να [Βιδάταν – (R. Bergmann suggests καὶ Τ[ὴ]να Δικταῖον?) καὶ Τ[ὴ]να] | [Σκ]ύλιον καὶ Τ[ὴ]να Ὁράτριον [καὶ Ἥραν καὶ – → καὶ Ἀ][θαν]αίαν Ὠλερίαν καὶ Ἀπόλλω[ν]α Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ κἄρτεμιν κἄρεα καὶ Ἀ][φρο]δίταν καὶ Ἐρμᾶν [κ]αὶ Κύ[ρβαντας καὶ Κωρήτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ Ἰλί][θυι]αν Βιατίαν καὶ θιὸς πάντ[ας καὶ πάνσας· κ.τ.λ.], 75 ff. ὅ[ρκ]ος Γ[ορ][τυνίων καὶ Ἰαραπυτνίων.] ὀμνύω τὰν Τ[ὴ]ναν καὶ Τ[τῆ][να Βιδάταν – – (R. Bergmann suggests καὶ Τ[ὴ]να Δικταῖον?) καὶ Τ[τ]ὴνα Σκύλιον καὶ Τ[ὴ]να [Ὁρά][τριον καὶ Ἥραν – –] καὶ Ἀθαναίαν Ὠλερίαν κ[αὶ Ἀ][πέλλωνα Πύτιον καὶ Λατὼ κἄρτεμιν κἄρε]α κἀφροδίταν καὶ Ἐρμᾶν κα[ὶ] | [Κύρβαντας καὶ Κωρήτας καὶ Νύμφας καὶ Ἰλί][υιαν Βιατίαν καὶ θιὸς πάν|τας καὶ πάνσας, κ.τ.λ. K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 140 n. *g.* wanted to read καὶ Δία πάτριον καὶ Δία | Δικταῖον in the second inscription. A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii. 411 proposed καὶ [Ζ]ᾶνα [Φ]ράτριον, κα[ὶ Ζᾶ]να Δικταῖον. But modern philologists (F. W. Schneidewin in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 699 n. 2, H. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273, R. Meister in G. Curtius *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* Leipzig 1871 iv. 406 f., É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 114, A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 p. 127) recognise Ὁράτριον = Φράτριον, the 'Protector of Laws and Treaties' (ῥήτραι). 'The epithet would then be of Elean source (cf. El. ῥάτρα = ῥήτρα...), or else contain hyper-Doric ᾱ' (C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 p. 277 n.).

Zeus Πίστιος occurs in Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 49 Κάτων δὲ Πόρκιος (*frag.* 50 Peter) *τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῷ Σαβίνων ἔθνει τεθῆναί φησιν ἐπὶ Σάβου τοῦ Σάγκου δαίμονος ἐπιχωρίου, τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Σάγκον ὑπό τινων Πίστιον καλεῖσθαι Δία*, 4. 58 *τούτων ἐστὶ τῶν ὁρκίων μνημεῖον ἐν Ῥώμῃ κείμενον ἐν ἱερῷ Διὸς Πιστίου, ὃν Ῥωμαῖοι Σάγκον καλοῦσιν*, 9. 60 *ἐν δὲ τῇ πόλει τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Πιστίου Διὸς Σπόριος Ποστούμιος...καθιέρωσε κ.τ.λ.*, as a rendering of the Latin Dius *Fidius* (cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* no. 78 *πιστίου*). The facts relating to this deity are collected by G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1189 f., iv. 316 ff., *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 129 ff., 280 f., *alib.*, E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1246 f. In addition to literary allusions we have extant dedications to him as *Semo Sancus Sanctus Deus Fidius* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3472), *Sancus Sanctus Semo Deus Fidius* (*ib.* no. 3473), *Semo Sancus Deus Fidius* (*ib.* no. 3474), *Semo Sancus* (*ib.* no. 3475), *Sancus Deus Fidius* (*ib.* no. 3476). Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 130 infers that his full name was *Semo Sancus* Dius *Fidius*, where *Semo Sancus* is not to be regarded as a distinct divinity blended with Dius *Fidius*, but as an appellative like *Duonus Cerus* in the case of Ianus (*supra* p. 328 n. 8), *Bona Dea* in that of Fauna, *Deus Bonus* in that of Aesculapius, etc. (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 686 ff.). A corresponding Umbrian god was Iupater *Sancius*, mentioned in the *Tabulae Iguvinae* ii *b*, 17 Saŝi Iuvepatre, ii *b*, 24 Iupater Saŝe (R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 417, C. D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* Boston, U.S.A. 1904 p. 297) and apparently to be identified with the *Fisos Sancios* of i *a*, 15 Fise Saŝi, vi *b*, 3 Fiso Sansie and the *Fisovios Sancios* of vi *b*, 5 Fisoui Sansi, 6 Fisoui Sansi, 8 Fisoui Sanŝi (*bis*), 9 Fisouie Sanŝie, 10 Fisouie Sanŝie, 12 Fisouie Sanŝie (*bis*), 14 Fisouie Sanŝie, 15 Fisouie Sanŝie, vii *a*, 37 Fisoui Sansii (cp. also the *Vesticios Sancios* of ii *a*, 4 Vestiŝe Saŝe). But, although the historian of religion is strongly disposed to equate the Dius *Fidius* of the Romans with the *Fisos* (or *Fisovios*) *Sancios* of the Umbrians, the philologist sees lions in the way. W. Schulze 'Zur Geschichte lateinischer Eigennamen' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 N.F. v. 2. 473 ff. concludes (p. 475 n. 2): 'Die Identificirung mit lat. *Fīdius*...ist grammatisch unhaltbar, trotzdem sie sich sachlich aufs Beste zu empfehlen scheint.' And Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 289 *s.v.* 'fīdo' says: '*fīsus*...ist mit o. *Fiisfaís*, u. *Fiso-*, *Fisiu*, *Fisovie* usw. nur dann vergleichbar, wenn es urit. *ī* enthält, was sehr unsicher ist, wie infolgedessen auch überhaupt (trotz lat. *Fīdius*) die etymologische Zugehörigkeit der o.-u. Götternamen zu unserer Wz.' Abandoning, then, the road that leads to Umbria and limiting our enquiry to Rome, we find that the connexion of *Fīdius* with *fides*, etc., has been almost universally assumed. For little weight can be attached to the dissent of L. Aelius Stilo, who took *Dius Fidius* to be for *Diovis Filius* (L. Aelius Stilo *frag.* 9 Funaioli *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 66 Aelius Dium Fidium dicebat Diovis filium, ut Graeci Διόσκορον Castorem, et putabat hunc esse Sancum ab Sabina lingua et Herculem a Graeca, cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 147, 8 ff. Müller, p. 133, 1 ff. Lindsay, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 204, 8. 301, H. Hagen *anecdota Helvetica* Lipsiae 1870 pp. 212, 37 ff. and 260, 16 ff. (=*commentum Einsidlense in* Don. *artem minorem* de adverbio), G. Goetz—G. Gundermann in the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888 ii. 54, 1 Diuus filius *διῶσυιος· ηρακλῆς*). There are, however, some points about the god and his ritual that provoke further investigation. He was, to begin with, a sky-god, to whom appeal must be made only under the open sky. Any one who swore by Dius *Fidius* stepped into the *compluvium* so as to have no roof over his head (Varr. *Cato vel de liberis educandis ap.* Non. Marc. p. 793, 23 ff. Lindsay itaque domi rituis nostri qui per Dium (so Scaliger for *deum*) Fidium iurare vult prodire solet in compluvium). Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 66 rightly connects this custom with the fact that Iupiter's roof had a hole in it (*supra* i. 53). The sky-god was from of old the recipient of open-air worship (*supra* i. 117 ff.), and his relatives took after him. The oath by Dionysos must not be sworn beneath a roof, and boys who wanted to swear by Herakles were turned out of doors for the purpose (Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 28). The bronze disks or wheels (*aenei orbes*) dedicated by the Romans to Semo Sangus out of the spoils of Privernum (Liv. 8. 20) were perhaps solar symbols, as I conjectured in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 272 n. 9. At Iguvium the man who offered a calf to Iupater *Sancius* held a wheel

(*urfeta=orbita*) in his hand (*Tabulae Iguvinae* ii *b*, 22 ff. pune seste, | urfeta manuve habetu. estu iuku habetu : | ' Iupater Saše, tefe estu vitlu vufru sestu,' which C. D. Buck *op. cit.* p. 297 translates 'Cum sistis, orbitam in manu habeto. Istas preces habeto : "Iuppiter Sanci, tibi istum vitulum votivum sisto" '). Cakes called *summanalia*, and presumably sacred to Iupiter *Summanus*, god of the nocturnal sky and sender of lightning by night (R. Peter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1600), were made in the shape of a wheel (Fest. p. 348 *b* 5 f. Müller, p. 474, 17 f. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 349, 9 Müller, p. 475, 7 Lindsay). Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 90 p. 138, 1 f. Wünsch τὸ Σάγκος ὄνομα οὐρανὸν σημαίνει τῇ Σαβίνων γλώσσῃ is not conclusive (R. S. Conway *op. cit.* i. 357). But, on the whole, it seems clear that Dius *Fidius* was a specialised form of Iupiter, the sky-god by whom men swore. Now Iupiter was believed to sanction treaties with his thunderbolt (Verg. *Aen.* 12. 200 audiat haec genitor, qui foedera fulmine sancit with Serv. *ad loc.*). And Dius *Fidius* appears to have stood in very special relations to the lightning-flash. G. Wissowa in

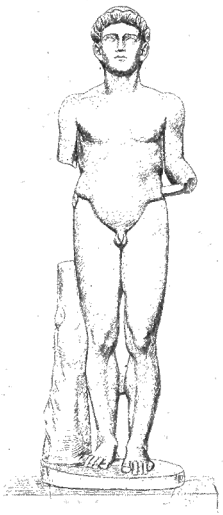


Fig. 660.

Fig. 661.

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 318 points out that of the inscriptions mentioning him the three most important are all dedications by the *decuria sacerdotum bidentalium* (Dessau *op. cit.* nos. 3472, 3473) or *decuria bidentalis* (*ib.* no. 3474), on which see E. de Ruggiero *Dizionario epigrafico di antichità romane* Roma 1894 i. 1005 f. One of these inscriptions (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3472 Semoni | Sanco | Sancto Deo Fidio | sacrum | decuria sacerdot. | bidentalium) occurs on the base of a marble statue, found at Rome in 1879 and representing Dius *Fidius* himself in the guise of an archaic Apollon (H. Jordan 'Statua Vaticana di Semone Sanco' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 105—126 pl. A. = my fig. 660 f., W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 226 f. no. 351, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 318 fig.). C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i Die Blitzlehre (*Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift* 1905 v) Göteborg 1906 p. 42 f. thinks that the statue once held a thunderbolt in its left hand, an *orbis aeneus* in

to the terror of would-be perjurers. Pausanias was impressed by the sight:

'the image of Zeus in the Council House is of all the images of Zeus the best calculated to strike terror into wicked men: it bears the surname of the God of Oaths, and holds a thunderbolt in each hand. Beside this image it is the custom for the athletes, their fathers and brothers, and also the trainers, to swear upon the cut pieces of a boar that they will be guilty of no foul play in respect of the Olympic games. The athletes take an additional oath, that for ten successive months they have strictly observed the rules of training. Also those who examine the boys or the foals which are entered for the races swear that they will decide justly and will take no bribes, and that they will keep secret what they know about the accepted or rejected candidate. I forgot to ask what they do with the boar after the athletes have taken the oath. With the ancients it was a rule that a sacrificed animal on which an oath had been taken should not be eaten by man. Homer proves this clearly. For the boar, on the cut pieces of which Agamemnon swore that in good sooth Briseis was a stranger to his bed is represented by Homer as being cast by the herald into the sea:—

> He spake, and cut the boar's throat with pitiless bronze.
> Talthybius lightly wheeled and threw the boar
> Into the great deep of the gray sea, a food for fishes.

its right, and very ingeniously compares a bronze in the Baduitt collection at St Moritz in Switzerland (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 5 no. 9=my fig. 662). There is, therefore, a good deal to be said for G. Wissowa's contention (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 318) 'dass Semo Sancus Dius Fidius in der Kaiserzeit (die Inschriften stammen etwa aus der Zeit der Antonine) besonders als Blitzgott verehrt wurde.' But, if so, I would suggest that his title *Fidius* meant originally 'the Cleaver' (cp. *findo*, *fidi*, bi-*fidus*, etc.) and was only later, by dint of popular etymology, associated with *fides*. The same god was in Christian times the subject of another curious confusion. For Iust. Mart. *apol.* 1. 26, 1. 56 (followed by Iren. *c. haeres.* 1. 23. 1, Tert. *apol.* 13, Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 13. 3, 2. 14. 5, Kyrill. of Jerusalem *catech.* 6. 14 (xxxiii. 561 A—B Migne), Aug. *de haeres.* 1 (xlii. 25, Migne), Theodoret. *haeret. fab.* 1. 1 (lxxxiii. 344 B Migne)) declares that a statue on the Tiber-island dedicated ΣΙΜΩΝΙ ΔΕΩ ΣΑΓΚΤΩ was an effigy of Simon Magus (see *e.g.* G. Salmon in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 682), who was worshipped together with his consort the harlot Helene under the guise of Zeus and Athena (Iren. *c. haeres.* 1. 23. 4, Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 6. 20 p. 256 Duncker—Schneidewin, Epiphan. *panar.* 1. 21. 3, Aug. *de haeres.* i (xlii. 25 Migne)).

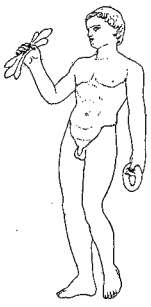


Fig. 662.

Iupiter *Iurarius*, worshipped at Rome on the island in the Tiber (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3038 (in a pavement of *opus Signinum*, beneath the monastery of S. Giovanni Calibita, figured by F. Ritschl in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i Tab. lithogr. lix, *A*) C. Volcaci. C. f. har(uspex) de stipe Iovi Iurario.....[m]onimentom) and at Brixia in Cisalpine Gaul (Dessau *op. cit.* no. 3037 I.O.M. | Iur(ario) | d(e) c(onscriptorum) s(ententia)), was perhaps akin to Dius *Fidius*, who is known to have had a cult on the Tiber-island (E. Aust in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1246). M. Besnier *L'île Tibérine dans l'antiquité* Paris 1902 p. 249 ff. would identify Iupiter *Iurarius* with Vediovis—a view somewhat too decisively rejected by H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 636 n. 37.

Such was the ancient custom. At the feet of the God of Oaths is a bronze tablet, with elegiac verses inscribed on it, the intention of which is to strike terror into perjurers[1].'

In view of the epic parallel adduced by Pausanias and of the connexion between Zeus and the boar in Crete[2] it may be inferred that the cult of Zeus *Hórkios* at Olympia goes back to 'Minoan' or sub-'Minoan' times, that the duplication of his thunderbolt was due to primitive insistence on his power as a storm-god, and that any deeper ethical meaning must be attributed to moralists of a later age[3].

[1] Paus. 5. 24. 9—11 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

[2] *Supra* i. 157, 645, 651, 652 fig. 505, 663 n. 2, 664 n. 1.

[3] On Zeus in relation to oaths see further E. von Lasaulx *Der Eid bei den Griechen* Würzburg 1844 pp. 5 n. 13, 8 ff., *id. Der Eid bei den Römern* Würzburg 1844 p. 8 ff., E. Ziebarth *De iureiurando in iure Graeco quaestiones* Gottingae 1892 pp. 7, 17 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2076 ff., L. Ott *Beiträge zur Kenntnis des griechischen Eides* Leipzig 1896 p. 39 ff., G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 748 ff., R. Hirzel *Der Eid* Leipzig 1902 pp. 121 ff., 145 n. 7, 147 n. 1, 155 n. 1 and Index p. 225 *s.v.* 'Zeus,' Schrader *Reallex.*[2] p. 228 f.

The *formulae* used by the Greeks in the affirmations of everyday life are collected and exemplified by P. Meinhardt *De forma et usu juramentorum, quae inveniuntur in comicorum Graecorum et Platonis, Xenophontis, Luciani sermone* Jenae 1892 pp. 17—23:

(1) The simple apostrophe ὦ Ζεῦ may be emphasised by duplication (Aristoph. *Lys.* 972 ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ (so R. F. P. Brunck for ὦ Ζεῦ ὦ Ζεῦ codd.), cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 1363 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ, τάδ' ὁρᾷς;), or by the addition of an epithet heuristic (*e.g.* ὦ Ζεῦ Βασιλεῦ in Aristoph. *nub.* 153, *vesp.* 625, *av.* 223, *ran.* 1278, *Plout.* 1095, cp. Loukian. *Tim.* 1 ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταιρεῖε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ ὅρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρόντητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι) or otherwise (*e.g.* Loukian. *asin.* 38 ὦ Ζεῦ σχέτλιε), or by both devices simultaneously (Aristoph. *vesp.* 323 ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ μεγαβρόντα (so J. J. Reiske for *μέγα βρόντα* codd.)), or by an appeal to other gods (*e.g.* Xen. *Cyr.* 2. 2. 10 ὦ Ζεῦ καὶ πάντες θεοί).

(2) In the locution πρὸς (τοῦ) Διός the article was commonly dropped. Thus Meinhardt records four examples of πρὸς τοῦ Διός (Aristoph. *nub.* 314, Loukian. *Tim.* 16, *Menipp.* 2, *vit. auct.* 22), one of ὦ πρὸς τοῦ Διός (Plout. *symp.* 5. 7. 4), and one of πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοὐλυμπίου (Aristoph. *av.* 130) as against forty-five of πρὸς Διός, eight of ὦ πρὸς Διός, and two of πρὸς Διὸς φιλίου (Plat. *Min.* 321 C, *Phaidr.* 234 B).

(3) Very common are the phrases νὴ (τὸν) Δία, ναὶ μὰ (τὸν) Δία, and μὰ (τὸν) Δία, of which the first two are positive, the third negative. They may be strengthened either by an added epithet (*e.g.* the obvious νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν σωτῆρα in Aristoph. *ran.* 738, 1433, *eccl.* 79, 761, 1045, 1103, *Plout.* 877 or the more recondite νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν αἰθέριον in Loukian. *philopatr.* 4) or by a further sanction (*e.g.* Aristoph. *nub.* 1239 οὔ τοι μὰ τὸν Δία τὸν μέγαν καὶ τοὺς θεούς). The full phrase νὴ τὸν Δία readily passed into νὴ Δία (Aristoph. *ran.* 305 ΔΙ. κατόμοσον. ΞΑ. νὴ τὸν Δία. | ΔΙ. καὖθις κατόμοσον. ΞΑ. νὴ Δί'. ΔΙ. ὄμοσον. ΞΑ. νὴ Δία), which became a commonplace of Attic oratorical style (*Anth. Pal.* 11. 142. 4 (Lucilius) καί τοι "νὴ Δία" καὶ "μὰ Δία") and was even, according to some grammarians, colloquially clipped into νὴ Δί or νηδί (Herodian. περὶ παθῶν 126[11] (ii. 217, 16 ff. Lentz) πᾶσα αἰτιατικὴ ἐνικῶν μονοσύλλαβος ἀρσενικὴ ἢ θηλυκὴ αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὖσα εἰς ν̄ λήγει· τὸ δὲ νὴ Δί οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀλλ' ἐν συντάξει, *id.* περὶ μονοσυλλάβων 1 (ii. 903, 22 ff. Lentz) πᾶν ὄνομα μονοσύλλαβον μακροκαταληκτεῖν θέλει εἴτε φύσει εἴτε θέσει...καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ Δί, ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δία γέγονε κατ' ἀποκοπήν, ὅπερ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νή ἐπιρρήματος γίνεται νὴ Δί, Choirobosk. *schol. in* Theodos. Al. *can. isag.* κανὼν ἀρσεν. ζ' (i. 192,

21 f. Hilgard) "καὶ χωρὶς τοῦ Δί," ὅπερ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δία γέγονε κατὰ ἀποκοπήν, ὅπερ καὶ μετὰ τοῦ νή ἐπιρρήματος γίνεται νὴ Δία, *ib.* τόνος τῆς αἰτιατικῆς τῶν ἑνικῶν (i. 382, 8 ff. Hilgard) πρόσκειται "αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν οὖσα" διὰ τὸ νὴ Δία· αὕτη γὰρ ἡ αἰτιατικὴ γίνεται κατὰ ἀποκοπὴν νὴ Δί', καὶ ἰδοὺ ἐπὶ ἀρσενικῶν ὀνομάτων εὑρίσκεται αἰτιατικὴ μονοσύλλαβος μὴ λήγουσα εἰς ν̄, λέγω δὴ τὸ νὴ Δί'· ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀντίκειται ἡμῖν, ἐπειδὴ οὐχ εὑρίσκεται αὐτὴ καθ' ἑαυτὴν ἀλλ' ἐν συντάξει, Phot. *lex.* νὴ Δὶ καὶ νὴ Δία ἑκατέρως. In Aristoph. *eccl.* 778 f. λαμβάνειν | ἡμᾶς μόνον δεῖ νὴ Δία· καὶ γὰρ οἱ θεοί cod. R has νὴ δί' (*sic*). Dindorf here and in Aristoph. *eq.* 319 would restore νὴ Δί. F. Blass in R. Kühner *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] Hannover 1890 i. 177 approves the restoration. But the usage is at best doubtful). The elliptical νὴ τὸν—, μὰ τὸν— (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1480 B, v. 478 B—C) are, sometimes at least, to be filled out with Δία (cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 730 ναὶ τὸν φίλιον with F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.*).

The public, as compared with the private, oath called for greater solemnity (A. Martin *Quomodo Graeci ac peculiariter Athenienses foedera publica jurejurando sanxerint* Paris 1886). Accordingly, we seldom find a public oath by Zeus pure and simple (R. Heberdey in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 48 ff. publishes an archaic inscription from Ephesos ἐγμαρτυρῆσαι ἐπὶ τοῖς δι|κάζουσιν, ὀμνύντα κάπρωι τ|[ὸ(ν)] Ζῆνα ἐγμαρτυρὲν· τὸν δὲ κ|ά[π]ρον παρέχειν, ὃ ἂν τὸ πρῆχ|[μα . . . .]κλε, οἱ δικάζοντες | *κ.τ.λ.*).

More often in such a case Zeus was defined by the use of a cult-epithet (*e.g.* (1) Zeus Ὀλύμπιος in a fifth-century *rhêtra* of Elis (W. Dittenberger and K. Purgold in *Olympia* v. 39 ff. no. 16, 11 f. = Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 119, 11 f., *id. Imagines inscriptionum Graecarum antiquissimarum*[3] Berolini 1907 p. 116 no. 16, 11 f. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 318 ff. no. 1151, 11 f. = Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 295 f. no. 298, 11 f. with Append. p. 370 ff. ὀμόσαντες πο(τ)τὸν θεὸν τὸν Ὀλύν|[πιον]. (2) Zeus Σωτήρ in a third-century decree of Kalaureia (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 178, 28 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 578, 20 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 841, 30 f. καὶ ποτομοσοῦντι τὸν Δία τὸν Σ|ωτῆρα). (3) Zeus Φράτριος in a fourth-century enactment of the Attic phratry Demotionidai (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 841 *B*, 111 f. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 961 *B*, 53 f. = Dittenberger *op. cit.*[2] no. 439, 111 f. ἀληθῆ ταῦτα νὴ τὸν Δία τὸν Φράτριο|ν, cp. *ib.* 1 Διὸς Φρατρίο, 15 ff. διαδικάσαι περὶ αὐτῶν τὸς φράτερ|ας αὐτίκα μάλα, ὑποσχομένος πρὸς τὸ Δ|ιὸς τὸ Φρατρίο, φέροντας τὴν ψῆφον ἀπ|ὸ τὸ βωμό, 22 ff. ὀφε|ιλέτω ἑκατὸν δραχμὰς ἱερὰς·τῶι Διὶ τ|ῶι Φρατρίωι (so 39 f., 48 ff., 54 ff., 90 ff., 99 f.), 74 καὶ ἐπομνύντας τὸν Δία τὸν Φράτριον).

The appeal might be reinforced by the addition of other names appropriate to the place or occasion (*e.g.* (1) J. R. S. Sterrett 'Inscriptions of Assos' in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1882—1883 i. 50 ff. no. 26, 18 ff. with pl. (a bronze tablet recording a decree of Assos passed on the accession of Caligula in 37 A.D.) ὅρκος Ἀσσίων. | ὄμνυμεν Δία Σωτῆρα καὶ θεὸν Καίσαρα Σεβαστὸν (*sc.* Octavianus) καὶ τὴν | πάτριον ἀγνὴν Παρθένον (*sc.* Athena *Poliás*) εὐνοήσειν *κ.τ.λ.* = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 364, 18 ff. (2) Dittenberger *op. cit.*[2] no. 234, 22 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 187, 22 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 419, 22 ff. (a decree of the Messenians *c.* 240 B.C.) [ὅρκ][ος Μεσσανίων· ὀμνύω Δία Ἰθωμάταν, Ἥρα[ν . . . . .] | [. . . . . .]ον καὶ θεὸς ὁρκ[ῶς πάντας ἦ] | [μὰν *κ.τ.λ.*]. Cp. the oath of Demaratos in Hdt. 6. 67 f. ἔθυε τῷ Διὶ βοῦν· θύσας δὲ τὴν μητέρα ἐκάλεσε. ἀπικομένῃ δὲ τῇ μητρὶ ἐσθελς ἐς τὰς χεῖρας οἱ τῶν σπλάγχνων κατικέτευε λέγων τοιάδε· "ὦ μῆτερ, θεῶν σε τῶν τε ἄλλων καταπτόμενος ἱκετεύω καὶ τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τοῦδε, φράσαι μοι τὴν ἀληθηίην," *κ.τ.λ.*).

When several powers are invoked, the name of Zeus normally heads the list—a precedence dating back to epic times (*Il.* 19. 258 = *Od.* 19. 303 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα, θεῶν ὕπατος καὶ ἄριστος, *Od.* 14. 158 = 17. 155 = 20. 230 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα θεῶν). Homer, sometimes content with the witness of Zeus alone (*Il.* 7. 411 ὅρκια δὲ Ζεὺς ἴστω, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης, 10. 328 ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς αὐτός, ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης), more often associates with him either the domestic sanctities of the hearth (*Od.* 19. 303 f.) and table (*Od.* 14. 158 f. = 17. 155 f. = 20. 230 f.) or a variety of cosmic and chthonic divinities (*Il.* 3. 276 ff. Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἴδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε, μέγιστε, | Ἥλιός θ', ὃς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις, | καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ γαῖα καὶ οἳ ὑπένερθε καμόντας | ἀνθρώπους τίνυσθον, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ, | ὑμεῖς μάρτυροι ἔστε, φυλάσσετε δ' ὅρκια πιστά, 19. 258 ff. ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς

πρῶτα... | Γῆ τε καὶ Ἥλιος καὶ Ἐρινύες, αἵ θ' ὑπὸ γαῖαν | ἀνθρώπους τίνυνται, ὅτις κ' ἐπίορκον ὀμόσσῃ with W. Leaf *ad locc.*).

In *s.* iv B.C. and later the witness-group Zeus, Ge, Helios revived (?survived) in public contracts, usually in combination with other deities recognised by the contracting parties (*e.g.* (1) A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 149 ff. line 2 f. (treaty between Maussollos of Karia and Phaselis in Lykia) [– – – ὀμόσ]αντες Δία καὶ Ἄλιον καὶ Γᾶν καὶ | [– – –]. (2) Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1316, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 360, 1 ff. (oath of citizens of Chersonesos Taurike *c.* 300—280 B.C.) ὀμνύω Δία, Γᾶν, Ἄλιον, Παρθένον, | [θ]εοὺς Ὀλυμπίους καὶ Ὀλυμπίας | [κ]αὶ ἥρωας ὅσοι πόλιν καὶ χώραν | καὶ τείχη ἔχοντι τὰ Χερσονασ¦τᾶν, *ib.* 50 f. Ζεῦ καὶ Γᾶ καὶ Ἄλιε [καὶ] | Παρθένε καὶ θεοὶ Ὀλύμπιοι. (3) Michel *op. cit.* no. 15, 20 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 266, 20 ff. (pact of Paramonos and other mercenary leaders with Eumenes i of Pergamon) ὅρκος ὃν ὤμοσεν Παράμονος κ.τ.λ. . . . . ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν, | Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Δήμητρα, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλο[ν] | καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πά[ν]τας καὶ πάσας, *ib.* 51 ff. ὅρκος Εὐμένους· ὀμνύω Δ[ία, Γῆ]ν, | Ἥλιον, Ποσειδῶ, Ἀπόλλω, Δήμητρα, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν [Ταυροπό]λον καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας. (4) Michel *op. cit.* no. 19, 59 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 229, 59 ff. (alliance between Magnesia ad Sipylum and Smyrna *c.* middle of *s.* iii B.C.) ὁμόσαι δὲ τοὺς μὲν ἐμ Μαγνησίαι κατοίκους κ.τ.λ. . . . . ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τὴ[μ] | Μητέρα τὴν Σιπυληνὴν καὶ Ἀπόλλω τὸν ἐμ Πάνδοις καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας καὶ τὴν τοῦ βασιλέως Σελεύκου τύχην, *ib.* 69 ff. ὁμόσαι δὲ καὶ Σμυρναίους τοῖς ἀπὸ Μαγνησίας τὸν ὅρκον | τόνδε· ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρείαν καὶ τὴν Ταυροπόλον καὶ τὴμ Μη[τέρ]α τὴν Σιπυληνὴν καὶ Ἀφροδίτην Στρατονικίδα καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς | πάντας καὶ πάσας. (5) Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 196, 38 f. (Athenian treaty of 356/5 B.C. with the Thracian Ketriporis, the Paeonian Lyppeios, and the Illyrian Grabos) [ὀμνύω Δία καὶ Γῆν] καὶ Ἥλιον καὶ Ποσει[δ]ῶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ | [Ἄρην]. (6) Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] nos. 434—435, 87 f. (Athenian treaty of 266/5 B.C. with Sparta) [ὀμ]νύω Δία, Γ[ῆ]ν, Ἥλιον, Ἄρη, Ἀθηνᾶν Ἀρε¦[ίαν, Ποσειδῶ, Δήμητραν]. (7) Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 532, 8 f. (Paphlagonian oath of allegiance to Augustus in 3 B.C.) ὀμνύω Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, θεοὺς πάντα[ς καὶ πά]σας καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Σεβασ[τ]όν). The same group was concerned in the emancipation of slaves at Thermos in Aitolia (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 no. 412 = Michel *op. cit.* no. 1421 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 837 (deed of enfranchisement, *s.* ii B.C.) Πολύφ(ρ)ων Λύκου Α[ἰνη]σαν τὴν ἰδίαν θρεπτ[ήν] | [ἀπηλ]ευθε[ρ]ωσεν ὑπ[ὸ] Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, μηδε[νὶ] | [μη]δὲν προσήκουσαν κατὰ τοὺς Αἰτωλῶ[ν] | νόμους ἰσοτελῆ καὶ ἔντειμον) and on the N. coast of the Euxine ((1) C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 38 no. 180, 8 ff. = B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 53 ff. no. 54, 8 ff. (deed of enfranchisement in the reign of Sauromates (?v = 231—233 A.D.), obtained at Kerch) μετὰ δὲ τὴν [ζ]ω[ῆ]ν ἡμῶν ἡμῶν (*sic*) εἶναι αὐτὴν ἐλευθέ[ρ]αν ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον, ἀνεπάφη[ν καὶ] | [ἀ]νεπηρέαστην ἀπό τ' ἐμοῦ καὶ παντὸς κληρο[ν]όμου. (2) B. Latyschev *op. cit.* ii 208 f. no. 400, 10 ff. (deed of enfranchisement in 41 A.D., with name of Polemon ii erased; now at Petrograd) ἐφ' ᾧ ἢ ἀνέπα|φος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστο[ς] | ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρον[όμ]ου ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιο[ν]). At Eresos in Lesbos the judges swore by Zeus and Helios (F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i 103 ff. no. 281 B, 54 f. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 358 *C*, 19 f. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 8 *c*, 93 f. (*formula* of oath, end of *s.* iv B.C.) οὔτω ποήσω | ναὶ μὰ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον). H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1903 lviii. 19 notes that in the group Zeus, Ge, Helios the sun-god is on occasion replaced by Apollon (R. Dareste—B. Haussoullier—T. Reinach *Recueil des inscriptions juridiques grecques* Paris 1891 i. 158 ff. no. 10 A, 4 = Michel *op. cit.* no. 1340 *A*, 4 (*formula* of oath for judges at Knidos in *s.* ii or i B.C.) ναὶ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω τὸν Αὐκ[ιον καὶ τὰν Γᾶν]).

At Athens the same tendency to swear by sky-god, sun-god, and earth-goddess can be traced further back (cp. G. Hofmann *De iurandi apud Athenienses formulis* Strassburg 1886 p. 27 f., E. Ziebarth *op. cit.* p. 17 f.), the oath being by Zeus, Apollon, and Demeter ((1) Michel *op. cit.* no 1428, 14 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 41, 14 ff. (decree concerning Erythrai, *c.* 465 B.C.) τῷμ βολευσόντ¦ων ἑξαστον Ἐρυθρᾶσι π[ρὶ]ν ἐσιέναι [ἐς

τὲν] | [ἀρχ]ὲν ὀμνύναι [μὲν Δ]ία καὶ] Ἀπόλλο καὶ Δέμε[τρα], ἐπαρόμ̣ε̣νο[ν ὲξ]|[ὸλ]ειαν ἐα[υτοῖ ἐπιορκ̣ὸντι κ]αὶ παι[σ]ὶν ἐαυτῶ· ὸ[μνύ]ν̣αι δὲ τὸν ὸ[ρ]|[κο]ν κατὰ [h]ιερὸν κ̣αιομ̣ένομ̣ενον. (2) Michel *op. cit.* no. 9, 23 f., 35 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 151, 23 f. (treaty with Korkyra, 375/4 B.C.) ἀλη̣θῆ ταῦτα νὴ τὸ|[ν] Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα, *ib.* 35 f. [ἀλη̣θῆ δὲ ταῦ]τα ν[αὶ τ]ὸν Δία [κα]ὶ | [τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὰν Δά]ματ[ρα]. (3) *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 578, 11 f. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 150, 11 f. (decree of the deme Myrrhinous, *s.* iv B.C.) [νὴ τ]ὸ[ν Δία, νὴ τ]ὸ[ν Ἀ]πόλλω, ν[ὴ] τὴ[ν] | [Δ]ήμ(η)τρα. (4) Aristoph. *eq.* 941 XO. εὖ γε νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα. (5) Dem. *adv. Callipp.* 9 καὶ μὰ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα, οὐ ψεύσομαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί), or by Apollon, Demeter, and Zeus (Demarchos *frag.* 89. 25 Sauppe *ap.* schol. *in* Aischin. *c. Tim.* 114 τοὺς ὁρκίους· Ἀπόλλωνα Πατρῷον καὶ Δήμητραν καὶ Δία, ὡς φησι Δείναρχος ὁ ῥήτωρ. The same order in Poll. 8. 122 ὤμυσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον καὶ Δήμητρα καὶ Δία Βασιλέα: but cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 443, 29 ff. ἐν τούτῳ δὴ τῷ χωρίῳ (*sc.* Ἀρδήττῳ) ὤμνυον οἱ δικασταὶ τὸν δικαστικὸν ὅρκον. τρεῖς δὲ θεοὺς ὤμνυον, Δία, Δήμητραν καὶ Ἥλιον). Whether this group had *ab initio* any cosmic significance is very doubtful. Zeus and Apollon, the ancestral gods of the Attic nobility (Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. 55. 3, cp. Poll. 8. 85, states that the archon was formally asked εἰ ἔστιν αὐτῷ Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος καὶ Ζεὺς Ἑρκεῖος, καὶ ποῦ ταῦτα τὰ ἱερὰ ἐστιν), may well have coöpted Demeter at the time when Eleusis was added to Athens (so J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 45 n. 2, E. Ziebarth *op. cit.* p. 17).

Another Athenian triad equally susceptible of a cosmic interpretation was Zeus, Poseidon, and Demeter, divinities of sky, sea, and land. ((1) The heliastic oath in Dem. *c. Tim.* 151 ἐπομνύναι Δίᾳ, Ποσειδῶ, Δήμητρα: cp. schol. B. L. *Il.* 15. 36 διὰ τριῶν δὲ ἦν ἔθος ὀμνύναι, ὡς Δράκων ἔταξε, Δίᾳ, Ποσειδῶνα, Ἀθηνᾶν· οἱ δὲ Δίᾳ, Ποσειδῶνα, Δήμητραν, ὡς Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Τιμοκράτους. (2) H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1879 iv. 201 no. 4, 16 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 584 *c* B, 16 ff. (decree of the deme Aixone towards the end of *s.* iv B.C.) ἀληθῆ ταῦτα | [ν]ὴ τὸν Δία, νὴ τὸν Πο[σε]ιδῶ, νὴ τὴν Δήμητ[ρα]). This group might be extended by the inclusion of Athena (Michel *op. cit.* no. 95, 66 ff., 79 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 173, 66 ff. (decree of 363/2 B.C. concerning Ioulis in Keos) ταῦτα | [ἐμπεδορκήσω νὴ τὸν] Δία, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνάαν, νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, [ν]ὴ | [τὴν Δήμητρα], *ib.* 79 f. [ταῦτα ἐμπ]εδορκήσω ν[ὴ τὸν Δία, νὴ τὴν Ἀθηνάαν, νὴ τὸν Ποσειδῶ, νὴ τὴν Δ]ήμητρα).

The epic appeal to Zeus, Athena, and Apollon (*supra* p. 458 n. 4) was said by some to be an Athenian oath (schol. A. D. *in Il.* 2. 371 ἴδιον εἶναι τὸν ὅρκον φασὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων, schol. B. L. *in Il.* 2. 371 πάτριοι γὰρ οὗτοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις θεοί, schol. T. *in Il.* 2. 371 πάτριοι τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις οἱ θεοί)—a statement supported by its actual occurrence in Dem. *c. Mid.* 198 ἐμοὶ μὲν νὴ τὸν Δία καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω καὶ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν κ.τ.λ. and perhaps by the context of Plat. *Euthyd.* 302 C—D οὐκ ἔστιν, ἣν δ' ἐγώ, αὕτη ἡ ἐπωνυμία Ἰώνων οὐδενί, οὐθ' ὅσοι ἐκ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως ἀπῳκισμένοι εἰσὶν οὐθ' ἡμῖν, ἀλλὰ Ἀπόλλων Πατρῷος διὰ τὴν τοῦ Ἴωνος γένεσιν· Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν Πατρῷος μὲν οὐ καλεῖται, Ἑρκεῖος δὲ καὶ Φράτριος, καὶ Ἀθηναίη Φρατρία. ἀλλ' ἀρκεῖ γε, ἔφη ὁ Διονυσόδωρος· ἔστι γάρ σοι, ὡς ἔοικεν, Ἀπόλλων τε καὶ Ζεὺς καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ. Ioul. *epist.* 38 p. 68 Heyler ἴστω Ζεύς, ἴστω μέγας Ἥλιος, ἴστω Ἀθηνᾶς κράτος, καὶ πάντες θεοὶ καὶ πᾶσαι, as in private duty bound (*supra* i. 187), puts Helios in the place of Apollon.

H. Usener 'Dreiheit' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1903 lviii. 17 ff. dwells at length on the triplication of Greek oaths. In addition to the foregoing triads he remarks the oath of the Platonic witness (Plat. *legg.* 936 E τοὺς τρεῖς θεοὺς Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ Θέμιν ἀπομόσας ἢ μὴν μὴ εἰδέναι), that of the Thessalian Magnetes (Michel *op. cit.* no. 842 *B*, 5 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 790, I *b* 54 ff. (decree of *s.* i B.C.) ὀμνύω Δία Ἀκραῖον καὶ τὸν Ἀπόλλω[να] | τὸν Κορο̣παῖον καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν τὴν Ἰωλκίαν καὶ τοὺς ἀλ[λους] θε|οὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας), that of the Delphic Labyadai (*supra* p. 233 n. 7), and that of the Achaean League (*supra* i. 16).

Finally we observe that in treaties between state and state the oath-gods of the parties are combined, the result being an impressive series of divine witnesses. Examples of the process have already been given (*supra* i. 149 n. 2 Latos and Olous, i. 729 n. 2 Dreros

Apart from this exceptional case, it is certainly true to say that throughout classical times Zeus becomes less and less the impetuous thunderer, more and more the dignified ruler. He wields both the thunderbolt and the sceptre; but the former decreases, as the latter increases, in relative importance.

This may be illustrated by a short sequence of vase-paintings arranged in roughly chronological order. A 'Chalcidian' *hydría* at

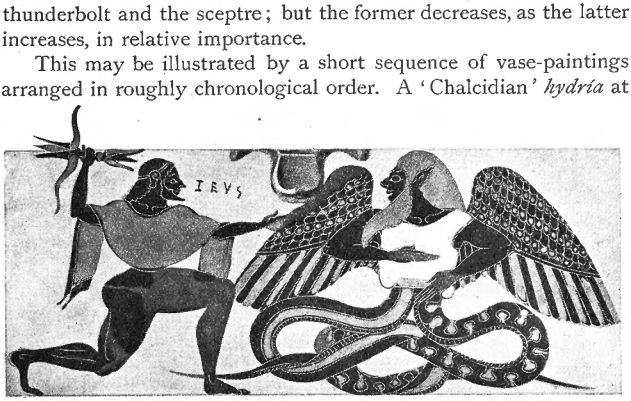


Fig. 663.

Munich, which can be dated *c.* 550 B.C., shows Zeus attacking Typhon (fig. 663)[1]. The god with a mighty thunderbolt gripped by his strong right hand is rushing against his foe in the attitude of rapid movement dear to archaic art. A red-figured *lékythos* at Paris, attributed to Hermonax, a painter of the late archaic period, represents Zeus in pursuit of Semele(?) (fig. 664)[2]. Semele, if it be she,

and Knossos, ii. 723 n. 0 Hierapytna and Lyttos, etc.), and it would be easy to multiply the number (*e.g.* (1) H. G. Lolling 'Symmachievertrag der Phoker und Böoter' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 19 ff. line 14 ff. ὅρκος· | [ὀμνύω τ]ὸν Δία τὸμ Βασιλέα καὶ τὴν Ἥραν τὴμ Βασίλειαν καὶ τὸμ Ποσει[δῶνα καὶ τ]ὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους θεοὺς πάντας καὶ πάσας. (2) Michel *op. cit.* no. 440 *A*, 15 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 427, *a* 15 ff. (treaty of *s.* iv B.C. between Praisos and Stelai in Crete) ὀμνύω Δῆ[να Δικταῖον, Ποτ]ειδῶνα, Ἀθάναν, Ἀπόλλωνα Πύθι[ον], | [καὶ θεοὺς πάντας] καὶ πάσας. (3) F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 230 ff. no. 36, 19 ff. (treaty between Sybrita and Gortyna) [- - - Δί]α or [Τὴν]α Κρηταγενία καὶ [- - -] | [- - -]αν κ' Ἀπέλλωνα Πύ[θιον] or Πύ[τιον - - -] | [- - -'A]θαναίαν Πολιοῦχον [- - -] | [- - -] καὶ Νύμφανς καὶ τ[- - -]).

[1] Sieveking—Hackl *Vasensamml. München* i. 67 ff. no. 596 fig. 77 pl. 24, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 161 ff. pls. 31 and 32 *c* (=my fig. 663), E. Buschor *Greek Vase-painting* trans. G. C. Richards London 1921 p. 75 ff. pl. 34 fig. 68. Zeus is inscribed ΙΕVς. He wears a fillet on his head and a *chlamýs* over his shoulders. Typhon, a monstrous figure with red hair and beard, has the ear of a horse, the wings of a bird, and two snaky tails by way of legs. He wears a short yellow-white *chitón*.

[2] De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii 362 no. 489, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques* (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) Paris 1891 vi[e] classe, xi[e] série ii. pl. 76 (=my fig. 664), J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1914 xxxiv. 197 n. 15 no. 6, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 33 no. 21.

Fig. 664.

appears quaintly enough on the shoulder of the vase[1] as a woman running towards the right but looking behind her. Zeus, occupying the main field of decoration, advances with hasty steps, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. But it is noticeable that, as compared with the previous design, his bolt is not brandished so high and his onset, motived by love not hate, is less furious. On a red-figured *hydría* at Paris, assigned by J. D. Beazley to the 'master of the Berlin amphora,' a painter of the ripe archaic period,

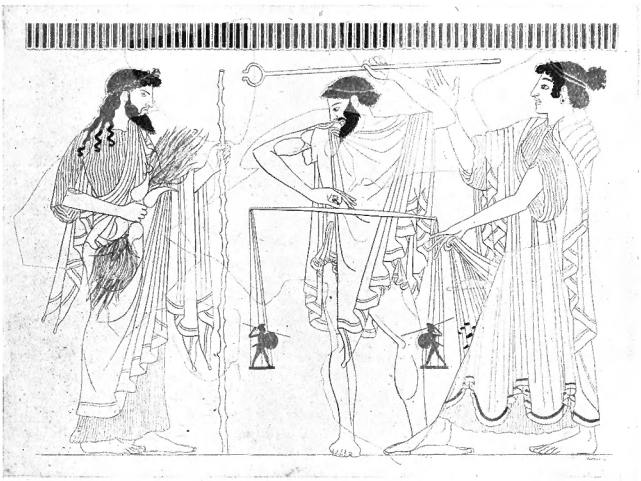


Fig. 665.

the same theme of amorous pursuit is rendered with even greater restraint (fig. 13)[2]. The bolt is held, not in the raised right hand, but in the lowered left.

Contemporary with that vase is a fragmentary *kratér*(?) at Paris, painted in all probability by the artist who worked for the potter Kleophrades. This noble sherd shows Hermes weighing the warrior-souls of Achilles and Memnon in the presence of Zeus (fig. 665)[3].

[1] J. D. Beazley *loc. cit.* notes: 'this is the only lekythos where the figure on the shoulder is related to the figure on the body.'

[2] *Supra* p. 27 n. 0. See J. D. Beazley 'The Master of the Berlin Amphora' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 294 no. 25 *a*, *id. Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 36, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 71 no. 83.

[3] De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 279 no. 385 ('stamnos'), J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1834 vi. 296, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 10, B (=my fig. 665), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 89, 4, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 527 no. 65 Atlas pl. 22, 9, O. Crusius in

734 Gradual elimination of the thunderbolt

The scene was drawn from the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos[1], who made Eos, mother of Memnon, prevail upon Zeus to honour her slain son with the gift of immortality[2]. And here she intervenes, imploring the dread judge[3] for the mitigation of his sentence. He stands by,

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1143 f. fig. 3, J. D. Beazley 'Kleophrades' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 42 no. 4, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 147 no. 34. De Witte, Reinach, de Ridder, and Hoppin are wrong in supposing the *ψυχοστασία* to be that of Hektor and Achilles, for in that case the scales would have been held by Zeus, not Hermes (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 678 n. 6).

[1] F. G. Welcker *Der epische Cyclus* Bonn 1882 ii². 175, Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 681 n. 6.

[2] Prokl. *chrestom.* 2 (G. Kinkel *Epicorum Graecorum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1877 i 33) *ἔπειτα* 'Αχιλλεὺς *Μέμνονα κτείνει· καὶ τούτῳ μὲν* 'Ηὼς *παρὰ Διὸς αἰτησαμένη ἀθανασίαν δίδωσι.*

[3] The belief that the souls of men are weighed in a balance was common to the Greeks, the Egyptians (*supra* p. 99 n. 1), and perhaps the Babylonians (A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 113 f.: but see M. Jastrow *Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 p. 363 f.). It may be connected ultimately with the custom of divining by weight (W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 222 ff.). But the subject is deserving of separate investigation.

The *Iliad* makes Zeus himself hold the scales. He uses *χρύσεια...τάλαντα* to weigh the fates of Trojans and Achaeans (*Il.* 7. 68 ff.) and, again, the fates of Achilles and Hektor (*Il.* 22. 208 ff.). The scales of Zeus were in fact already proverbial (E. Hedén *Homerische Götterstudien* Uppsala 1912 p. 172 f.): when Sarpedon fell before Troy, even Hektor fled, *γνῶ γὰρ Διὸς ἱρὰ τάλαντα* (*Il.* 16. 658); and men weary of the fight, *ἐπὴν κλίνῃσι τάλαντα | Ζεύς* (*Il.* 19. 223 f.). Later, Zeus weighs out to men wealth or poverty (Theogn. 157 f. *Ζεὺς γάρ τοι τὸ τάλαντον ἐπιρρέπει ἄλλοτε ἄλλως, | ἄλλοτε μὲν πλουτεῖν, ἄλλοτε μηδὲν ἔχειν*). Aeschylus too conceives of Zeus as holding the balance (*suppl.* 822 f. *σὸν δ' ἐπίταν ζυγὸν ταλάν|του*), and in his *Ψυχοστασία* showed Zeus aloft on the *theologeîon* (Poll. 4. 130) visibly weighing on his scales the souls of Achilles and Memnon (Plout. *de aud. poet.* 2, schol. A. *Il.* 8. 70, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 699, 31 ff., 1266, 37 f.: see further *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 88 f. Nauck²). Other allusions to the scales of Zeus (Iupiter) in *Anth. Pal.* 6. 267. 3 f. (Diotimos) *οὐ γὰρ ἀφαυρῶς | ἐκ Διὸς ἰθείης οἶδε τάλαντα δίκης*, 11. 380. 3 f. (Makedonios) *ἀλλὰ καὶ αὐτὰ τάλαντα Διὸς πάγχρυσα τελέσθη, | οἷσι ταλαντεύει πάντα νόμον βιότου*, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 553 *ἰσοτύπου δὲ τάλαντα μάχης ἔκλινε Κρονίων*, Typhiod. *excid. Il.* 506 f. *ἤδη δὲ Τρώεσσιν ὀλέθριον εἵλκε τάλαντον | Ζεὺς ταμίης πολέμοιο*, Verg. *Aen.* 12. 725 f. Iupiter ipse duas aequato examine lances | sustinet, et fata inponit diversa duorum, with Serv. *ad loc.* and Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 13. 39.

For Achilles and Memnon as represented in art it is always Hermes that holds the scales (*e.g.* Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1142 f. figs. 1—4). The famous 'Boston relief' has Eros weighing two souls of men (best illustration in the *Ant. Denkm.* iii. 1. 5 ff. pl. 7). Aristophanes in *ran.* 797 f., 1365 ff.,—his parody of the *ψυχοστασία* (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. 81)—makes Plouton superintend the weighing of the rival tragedians. A Campanian *hydria* figures Aphrodite with two Erotes in her scales (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 109 f. no. F 220, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 139 f. fig. 58: cp. *supra* p. 99 n. 1). Eris holds the balance for Achilles and Memnon in Quint. Smyrn. 2. 540 ff. The syncretistic Virgo weighs life and justice in Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5863, 1 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 759, 1 ff. = F. Bücheler *Carmina Latina epigraphica* Lipsiae 1895 i. 15 f. no. 24, 1 ff. (*Caervoran, s.* iii A.D.) imminet Leoni Virgo caelesti situ | spicifera, iusti inventrix, urbium conditrix, | ex quis muneribus nosse contigit deos, | ergo eadem mater divum, Pax, Virtus, Ceres,| dea Syria, lance vitam et iura pensitans. Finally, Roman imperial art even descends to scenes of 'Phallenwägung' (A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 11 f. no. 5, F. Hettner

a grand impartial figure, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, with a knotted staff in his left hand and a red-flaming thunderbolt in his right.

Yet greater dignity attaches to him when he is represented, not only holding a sceptre, but also seated on a throne. And this very enthronement, by reducing his thunderbolt from an actual to a potential weapon (for no one sits to throw thunderbolts[1]), tended to render the god mild as well as majestic. As such he appears on

Fig. 666.

vases that portray the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. A bell-*kratér* from Gela, now at Palermo, referred by Beazley to the 'Altamura painter' at the beginning of the free style[2], shows Zeus seated on a magnificent throne and Herakles encouraged by Athena to draw near (fig. 666)[3]. The artist, who is not very adroit with the palmette on the throne-back, has made his Zeus clasp sceptre and thunderbolt in the same hand—an awkward handful[4]; the thunderbolt is distinctly *de trop*. Accordingly, on a somewhat later vase, a

Die römischen Steindenkmäler des Provinzialmuseums zu Trier Trier 1893 p. 186 f. no. 463 fig., F. Studniczka *loc cit.* p. 139 fig. 57).

[1] *Supra* p. 475, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[2] J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 144 no. 10, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 24 no. 18.

[3] H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1870 xxviii. 43 f. no. 24 pl. 33 (=my fig. 666), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 408, 3. The reverse design is Zeus pursuing a woman (Semele?). Height 0·41m.

[4] This clumsy combination occurs first on a *stámnos* in the Louvre (G 370) by the 'Providence painter' of the ripe archaic period (F. T. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 293—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 157, 2, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 80 no. 43, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 393 no. 34).

splendid *kelébe* at Bologna, sceptre and *phiále* are retained, but the

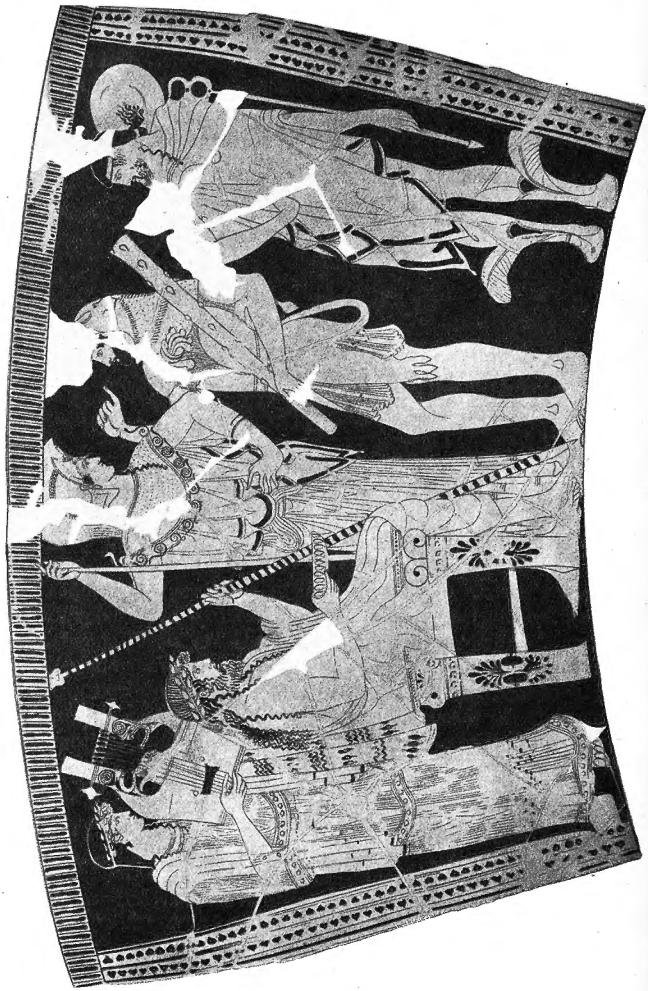


Fig. 667.

bolt is omitted (fig. 667)[1]. The resultant type of benevolent majesty

[1] G. Ghirardini in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 100—117, *Mon. d. Inst.* xi pl. 19 (=my

is found again, with a suggestion of greater repose, on the bell-*kratér* from Falerii in the Villa Giulia at Rome, a vase attributed by G. Nicole[1], P. Ducati[2], and J. C. Hoppin[3] to the 'Talos painter,' and referable to the period of the Peloponnesian War (fig. 668)[4]. Its obverse design represents Herakles, his labours over at last, entering the presence of Zeus. Herakles is followed by Hebe, in whose ear Eros whispers of her coming wedlock. Hera, proud and resentful, will not look at Herakles, but turns her head away and addresses Hermes. Zeus in an attitude of dignified ease worthy of Pheidias[5] receives his heroic son. Wreath, sceptre, throne are there, and rightly there. But the thunderbolt would be out of place, and the god's right hand is empty.

The same transition from might to right in the popular conception of Zeus can be equally well illustrated from the remains of ancient sculpture. His earliest extant effigy, a bronze statuette from Mount Lykaion (*s.* vii B.C.), shows a nude bearded god standing erect with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his outstretched left (*supra* i. 84 fig. 51). It is thus in all probability that we should conceive of such images as the Zeus in hammered gold dedicated at Olympia by Kypselos, tyrant of Corinth (655—625 B.C.)[6], or the Zeus *Hýpatos* in hammered bronze made by

fig. 667), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 222, 1—5; A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2238 f. fig.

[1] G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 93 ff. pl. 6, 3.

[2] P. Ducati *I vasi dipinti nello stile del ceramista Midia* Roma 1909 p. 50, *id.* in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1906 xxi. 126.

[3] Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 450 no. 4.

[4] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 87 ff. pl. 20 (=my fig. 668) Villa Giulia no. 2382. Height 0·40^{m}.

[5] *Supra* i. 91 f., *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[6] Plat. *Phaedr.* 236 B παρὰ τὸ Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα σφυρήλατος ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ στάθητι, Strab. 353 ὧν ἦν καὶ ὁ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατος Ζεύς, ἀνάθημα Κυψέλου, τοῦ Κορινθίων τυράννου, 378 τοῦ δὲ περὶ τὸν οἶκον τοῦτον πλούτου μαρτύριον τὸ Ὀλυμπίασιν ἀνάθημα Κυψέλου, σφυρήλατος χρυσοῦς ἀνδριὰς εὐμεγέθης. Kypselos vowed to Zeus that, if he became master of Corinth, he would dedicate all the property of the Corinthians. On becoming master, he bade them draw up a list of their possessions, took a tenth part from each citizen, and told them to trade with the remainder. As each year came round he did the same thing, till in ten years he had kept his vow (Aristot. *oec.* 2. 2. 1346 a 32 ff.). A Platonic gloss in Phot. *lex. s.v.* Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα = Souid. *s.v.* Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα quotes further from Agaklytos περὶ Ὀλυμπίας (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 288 Müller) the statement that the golden colossus dedicated by Kypselos was kept in the old temple of Hera, from Didymos a moralising account to the effect that Periander made the colossus in order to limit the luxury and audacity of the Corinthians, from Theophr. περὶ καιρῶν 2 (*frag.* 128 Wimmer) a similar allusion, and finally a current epigram (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 4) on the colossus εἰ μὴ (so Cobet for εἰμὶ Phot., αὐτὸς Souid.) ἐγὼ χρυσοῦς σφυρήλατός εἰμι κολοσσός, | ἐξώλης εἴη Κυψελιδῶν γενεά together with the variant given by Apellas Pontikos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 307 Müller) εἰ μὴ (so Cobet for εἰμὶ) ἐγὼ ναστὸς (so S. A. Naber for

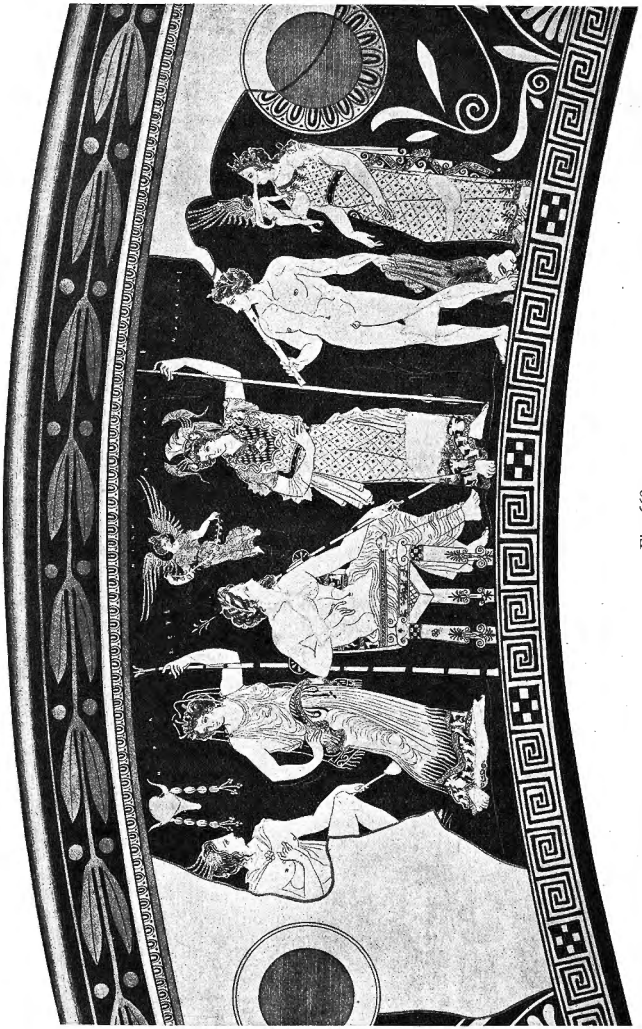


Fig. 668.

Klearchos of Rhegion (*c.* 520 B.C.) and still to be seen at Sparta in the time of Pausanias[1]. Klearchos was said to have learnt his craft from the Cretans Dipoinos and Skyllis; and the type that he employed for Zeus was presumably descended from that of the 'Minoan' fighter with right hand raised to hurl the lance and left outstretched to carry the shield[2].

When archaic sculpture shook off the trammels of strict frontality (*c.* 500 B.C.), one of the first types to attain comparative freedom was that of the fighting-man. A small bronze from Dodona[3] shows him in full armour advancing against the foe, his right arm raised for a spear-thrust, his left extended to support a notched shield. The type again served to represent Zeus the thunderer. Another brilliant little bronze from Dodona (fig. 669)[4], detailed and delicate work, the colour of lapis lazuli, gives us Zeus in a similar pose as conceived by some Aeginetan artist *c.* 490 B.C. Statuettes of the sort were multiplied during the early decades of the fifth century (*supra* i. 84 ff. figs. 52—54), the outstretched hand of the

νάξος Phot., Νάξιος Souid.) *παγχρύσεός εἰμι κολοσσός,* | *κ.τ.λ.* The schol. Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 962 a 44 ff. asserts that the sons of Kypselos, when driven out by the Corinthians, vowed that, if they recovered their power, they would dedicate to the god at Olympia *χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα...ὁλόσφυρον.* Hence in fulfilment of their vow *ἀνέθεσαν ἐκεῖσε μέγιστον ἄγαλμα χρυσοῦν τοῦ Διός.* Ephoros *frag.* 106 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 262 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 1. 96 made Periander vow that, if he won a victory with a four-horse chariot at Olympia, he would dedicate *χρυσοῦν ἀνδριάντα.* He won; but, being short of gold and seeing the women's trinkets at some Corinthian festival, he appropriated their ornaments and so sent his promised offering. Paus. 5. 2. 3 has yet another yarn. Kypselos dedicated the golden image to Zeus at Olympia, but died before he had carved his own name on it. The Corinthians begged leave of the Eleans to grave on it the name of Corinth and, when met by a refusal, showed their anger by warning the Eleans to keep away from the Isthmian games.

From all this we gather that the archaic Zeus of beaten gold was a standing statue of large size, unaccompanied by an inscription, but traditionally connected with Kypselos or his sons and widely known as *τὸ Κυψελιδῶν ἀνάθημα* (? a hexameter tag). It was kept in the Heraion and, if it still existed in Pausanias' day, a description of it may have stood in the *lacuna* (Paus. 5. 17. 4) immediately preceding his description of Kypselos' chest (so A. Flasch in Baumeister *Denkm.* ii. 1104 n. 2: other views in the ed. of Pausanias by H. Hitzig and H. Blümner (Lipsiae 1901) ii. 287).

[1] Paus. 3. 17. 6 *τῆς Χαλκιοίκου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ὑπάτου πεποίηται, παλαιότατον πάντων ὁπόσα ἐστὶ χαλκοῦ· δι' ὅλου γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν εἰργασμένον, ἐληλαμένου δὲ ἰδίᾳ τῶν μερῶν καθ' αὑτὸ ἑκάστου συνήρμοσταί τε πρὸς ἄλληλα, καὶ ἦλοι συνέχουσιν αὐτὰ μὴ διαλυθῆναι.* Κλέαρχον δὲ *ἄνδρα Ῥηγῖνον τὸ ἄγαλμα ποιῆσαι λέγουσιν, δν' Διποίνου καὶ Σκύλλιδος, οἱ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δαιδάλου φασὶν εἶναι μαθητήν.*

[2] *E.g.* Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 752, 757 fig. 353, 758 fig. 354, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 125 fig. 15, 126 fig. 16.

[3] R. Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 23—27 pl. 1, S. Reinach in O. Rayet *Monuments de l'art antique* Paris 1880 i pl. 17, 1 with text p. 5 ff., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz and H. Winnefeld *Bronzen aus Dodona in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin* 1909 pp. 13—19 pl. 2.

[4] *Eid. ib.* pp. 6—12 pl. 1 (part of which = my fig. 669), *supra* i. 86 n. 3.

god being often used to carry his eagle. So, for example, in the case of a statue seen by Pausanias[1] at Olympia:

'A little farther on is a Zeus turned towards the rising sun, holding a bird meant for an eagle and a thunderbolt in the other hand. On his head too is set

Fig. 669.

a wreath, and its flowers are lilies[2]. It is an offering of the Metapontines, the work of Aristonous an Aeginetan. We do not know who was the master of this Aristonous, nor what was his date.'

H. Brunn[3] and J. Overbeck[4] were probably right in contending

[1] Paus. 5. 22. 5.
[2] *Supra* i. 622 n. 10.
[3] H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1853 i. 96.
[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 16 f.

that the statue in question was made before the loss of Aigina's independence in 458 B.C. And there is much to be said for E. Babelon's[1] conjecture that it furnished the reverse design of certain rare Olympian *statêres* (figs. 670—672) referred by C. T. Seltman[2] to the periods *c.* 471—*c.* 452 and *c.* 452—*c.* 432 B.C. respectively[3].

Fig. 670.

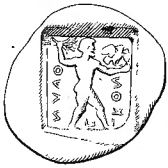


Fig. 671.

Fig. 672.

The statue of Zeus *Ithomátas*, which Hageladas made for the Messenians of Naupaktos[4], presumably not before 455 B.C.[5], seems to have perpetuated the type of the striding antagonist. For silver coins of Messene struck *c.* 369—330 (fig. 673)[6] and *c.* 330—280 B.C.

[1] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 885 ff. no. 1254 pl. 39, 1 (Berlin) = my fig. 672, no. 1255 pl. 39, 2 (Paris).

[2] C. T. Seltman 'The Temple Coins of Olympia' in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 24, 35 f. no. 37 pl. 2, ABα (Paris), 41 ff. no. 72 pl. 3, APβγ (Weber), no. 73 pl. 3, AQβγ (Berlin). Mr Seltman is certainly right in regarding the reverse type of no. 72 f. as a 'restitution' of no. 37. I figure the Paris and McClean specimens of the earlier coin and the Berlin specimen of the later. The legend ΛΟΧΙΠΛΛΛΟ is for 'Ολυνπικῶν (ἀγώνων) or (ἄθλων) : see A. Lambropoulos in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1895 xix. 210, E. Babelon *loc. cit.* p. 893, and C. T. Seltman *loc. cit.* p. 41.

[3] Similar to the work of Aristonous in all probability was the image of Zeus, seven cubits high, holding an eagle in one hand, a thunderbolt in the other, dedicated at Olympia by the Leontines Hippagoras, Phrynon, and Ainesidemos (Paus. 5. 22. 7 with Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*). If *Olympia* v. 735 f. no. 838 ΑΙΝ[---] is really part of its base, we must refer the image to the archaic period.

[4] Paus. 4. 33. 2 τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τοῦ Διὸς Ἀγελάδα μέν ἐστιν ἔργον, ἐποιήθη δὲ ἐξ ἀρχῆς τοῖς οἰκήσασιν ἐν Ναυπάκτῳ Μεσσηνίων. ἱερεὺς δὲ αἱρετὸς κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ἔχει τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας (Clavier cj. ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ, cp. Paus. 3. 13. 3). ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 32)· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεσαν μουσικῆς. κ.τ.λ. *Supra* i. 121 f., *infra* Append. B Messene.

[5] In 455 B.C. the Messenians besieged by the Lacedaemonians on Mt Ithome quitted their stronghold and settled at Naupaktos, a town given them by the Athenians, who had wrested it from the Ozolian Locrians (Paus. 4. 24. 6 f.). These Messenians doubtless commissioned Hageladas to make a statue of Zeus *Ithomátas*, to whose protection they were so deeply indebted, and brought it with them on their ultimate return to Messene, the new city founded by Epameïondas in 369 B.C. (E. Pfuhl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2193).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 109 pl. 22, 1 (= my fig. 673), Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 46 pl. 23, 35, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 431 fig. 236, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 156, 159 pl. 8, 25, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 67 f. pl. P, 4.

(fig. 674)[1] show a bearded Zeus advancing to the right in the same pose and with the same attributes[2]. The sturdy god of the earlier coin and the sinewy god of the later enable us to catch something of the qualities of the famous[3] Argive sculptor, the teacher of both Polykleitos and Myron. Another statue made by him[4] for the in-

Fig. 673.

Fig. 674.

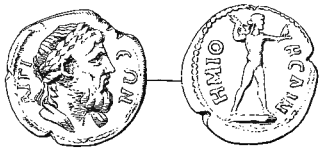


Fig. 675.

Fig. 676.

habitants of Aigion in Achaia, who worshipped Zeus under the remarkable appellation of *Paîs*[5], represented the god—to judge from coppers of the town issued after 146 B.C. (figs. 675—678)[6] and again in imperial times (figs. 679, 680)[7]—as a beardless youth advancing

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 110 pl. 22, 6 (=my fig. 674) and 7, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 64 pl. 32, 24, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 432 fig. 237, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 202 f. pl. 12, 47, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 67 f. pl. P, 5.

[2] Bronze pieces of Messene repeat the type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 110 ff. pl. 22, 5, 10 f., 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 143 f. pl. 38, 20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 432).

[3] A. Frickenhaus 'Hageladas' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 24 ff. attributes the statue of Zeus *Ithomâtas* to a younger Hageladas, supposed grandson of the famous sculptor, working *c.* 450 B.C.

[4] Frickenhaus *loc. cit.* p. 30 f. refers this statue too to his younger Hageladas.

[5] Paus. 7. 24. 4 ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἄλλα Αἰγιεῦσιν ἀγάλματα χαλκοῦ πεποιημένα, Ζεύς τε ἡλικίαν παῖς καὶ Ἡρακλῆς, οὐδὲ οὗτος ἔχων πω γένεια, Ἀγελάδα τέχνη τοῦ Ἀργείου. τούτοις κατὰ ἔτος ἱερεῖς αἱρετοὶ γίνονται, καὶ ἑκάτερον (so H. Hitzig for ἑκάτερα codd.) τῶν ἀγαλμάτων ἐπὶ τῆς οἰκίας (so H. Hitzig for ἐπὶ ταῖς οἰκίαις codd.) μένει τοῦ ἱερωμένου (so ed. Ald. for ἱερουμένου codd.). τὰ δὲ ἔτι παλαιότερα προεκέκριτο ἐκ τῶν παίδων ἱεράσθαι τῷ Διὶ ὁ νικῶν κάλλει· ἀρχομένων δὲ αὐτῷ γενείων ἐς ἄλλον παῖδα ἡ ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει μετῆει τιμή.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 18 pl. 4, 12 (=my fig. 675) and 14 (=my fig. 677), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 84 f. pl. R, 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 413. Fig. 676 is from an uncatalogued specimen in the British Museum, and fig. 678 from another in my own collection.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 19 pl. 4, 17 (=my fig. 679), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 302 pl. 14, 11, W. Wroth in the *Num.*

in the old familiar scheme. Since Zeus *Ithomátas*[1] and Zeus *Patṛ́s*[2] were alike kept in the house of their priest, who held office for a year only[3], we must suppose that they were statues of manageable weight, life-sized figures of thin beaten bronze at the most[4].

Fig. 677.

Fig. 678.

Fig. 679.

Fig. 680.

Zeus militant with bolt and bird occurs sporadically throughout the classical period. He appears in this guise, now as a bronze statuette[5], now in a vase-painting[6], now again as a coin-type[7], now

Chron. Fourth Series 1902 ii. 323 f. no. 13 pl. 15, 13 (=my fig. 680), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 84 f. pl. R, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 413.

[1] *Supra* p. 741 n. 4.

[2] *Supra* p. 742 n. 5.

[3] On the possible implications of such an annual tenure see *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.

[4] E. Pfuhl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2193.

[5] Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 149 ff. pl. 10, 1 (in the collection of M. Cambanis, Athens. Right arm broken off. Height 0·126m). See also Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 1 nos. 4, 5, 7.

[6] *Supra* i. 39 f. fig. 11.

[7] (1) On coppers of Kierion in Thessaly, struck after *c.* 350 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 15 pl. 31, 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 293). (2) On a silver coin of Akarnania, struck *c.* 250 (?)—167 B.C. (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1878 p. 30 f. pl. 1, 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 333). (3) On a Cretan *kistophóros* (*supra* i. 402 f. fig. 300). (4) On a silver coin of Tahai in Karia, struck in early imperial times (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 162 pl. 25, 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 626). (5) On coppers of Attouda in Karia, struck in the time of Septimius Severus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 65 pl. 10, 16, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 611). (6) On a copper of Kyzikos, struck in imperial times (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 267 no. 19). (7) On a copper of Ephesos, struck by Salonina (fig. 681 from a specimen in my collection). (8) On a copper of Pautalia in Thrace, struck by Caracalla

Fig. 681.

on a gem[1]. From time to time efforts were made to soften the rude force of his archaic pose. A little bronze in the British Museum (fig. 682)[2] wraps a *chlamýs* about his arm. A red-figured *amphora*

Fig. 682.

formerly in the Pourtalès collection (fig. 683)[3] gave him a *chitón* as well as a small *himátion*. But the Hellenic Zeus never took kindly to the *chitón*[4], and such a garb (where not a mark of foreign

(Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 392 no. 1133). (9) On a copper of Serdike in Thrace, struck by Caracalla (G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 240).

[1] Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 134 no. 1, 4 pl. 123 (cornelian in the collection of the duc d'Orléans with an affected, archaistic version of the type—Zeus on tiptoe, etc.).

[2] H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 172 no. 927. Restored: right leg below knee; left foot and ankle. Height $3\frac{7}{8}$ ins. Fig. 682 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[3] J. J. Dubois *Description des antiques faisant partie des collections de M. le comte de Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1841 p. 27 no. 123 fig., O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 181, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 365 no. 18, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 29 pl. 2, 9 (=my fig. 683).

[4] In *Il.* 5. 733 ff. =8. 384 ff. Athena, when she arms herself for the fray, puts off her own *péplos* and puts on the *chitón* of Zeus. The passage was admired in antiquity (Eustath.

manners[1]) must be viewed as a concession to the increasing luxury of the age.

In general, the striding god was superseded either by the standing or by the seated god. The transition from stride to stand can be well seen in a Greek bronze from the Peloponnese, now at Paris (fig. 684)[2]. The left arm with the eagle is still outstretched, but the right with the thunderbolt is already lowered.

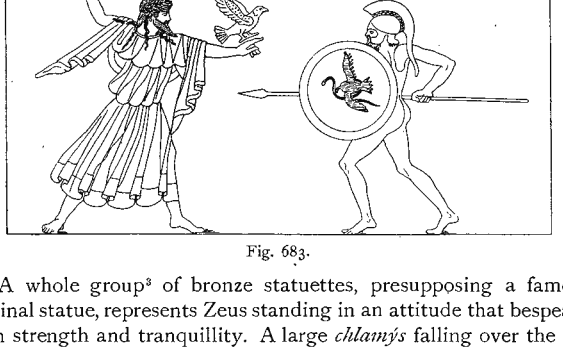


Fig. 683.

A whole group[3] of bronze statuettes, presupposing a famous original statue, represents Zeus standing in an attitude that bespeaks both strength and tranquillity. A large *chlamýs* falling over the left shoulder serves to set off his powerful chest. His right arm, grasping the bolt, has dropped to his side. His left, bent at the elbow, held a long sceptre. The finest extant example of this type, which derives from some great Attic sculptor of the fifth century[4], is in the Uffizi

in Il. p. 599, 32 ff.) and even allegorised (*id. ib.* pp. 600, 3 ff., 719, 21 ff.); but later parallels appear to be lacking.

Greek sculptors rarely represented Zeus in *chitôn* and *himátion* (*supra* i. 86 f. fig. 55 a seated statuette in bronze from Mt Lykaion, *c.* 550—500 B.C.). Greek vase-painters, however, often did so: cp. Spartan vases ('Laconian iv') *c.* 550—500 B.C. (*supra* i. 92 f. fig. 65, 782 pl. xlii) and Attic vases both black-figured (*e.g. infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)) and red-figured (*e.g. supra* i. 707 n. 2 fig. 524, ii. 24 fig. 10, 273 fig. 177, 733 ff. fig. 665 f.). See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 32 f., p. 124 ff. nos. 19—21, p. 129 no. 24, p. 181 ff. A—D, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 124, 133.

[1] *E.g.* Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 f. fig. 137), Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* (i. 570 ff. pl. xxxiii, fig. 440 ff.), the Syrian Zeus (i. 590 fig. 452), Zeus *Dolichaîos* (i. 606 f. fig. 478, cp. p. 611 ff. fig. 480 ff.), Zeus at Maionia (i. 731 f. fig. 540), Zeus *Kataibátes* at Kyrrhos (ii. 16 fig. 3 f.), Zeus *Sabázios* (ii. 282 n. 2 pl. xix, fig. 179 f.), Zeus at Laodikeia (ii. 319 f. fig. 201 ff.), the Carian Zeus (ii. 573 ff. fig. 475 ff., 593 fig. 497, 597 f. pl. xviii), etc.

[2] De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 25 no. 128 pl. 14 (=my fig. 684), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 3. Height: 0·115^{m}.

[3] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 145—147 ('Achte Gruppe') nos. 45—54.

[4] Witness the mild, majestic face with its abundant but not over-abundant tresses, the head turned towards the supporting leg, the correct and clearly-marked musculature of

at Florence (pl. xxxi)[1]. Later modifications of the type made less of

Fig. 684.

the *chlamýs* (fig. 685 and pl. xxxii, 1)[2] or dispensed with it altogether;

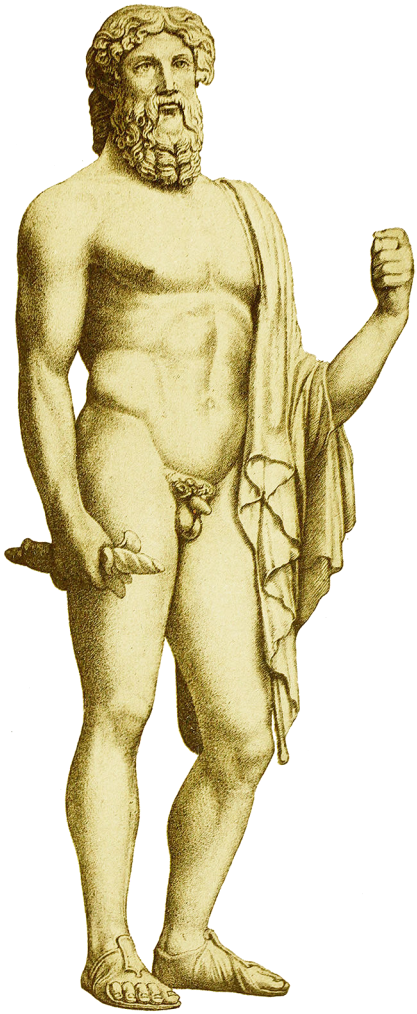
the body, the left leg flexed and turned outwards, the proportion of the head to the whole height, etc. If we may base an opinion on this superb bronze, the original must have been a masterpiece worthy of Pheidias himself.

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 145 f. no. 46 fig. 17 (=my pl. xxxi), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2127 f. fig. 2384, W. Amelung *Florentiner Antiken* München 1893 p. 10, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 9 no. 7. Height: 0·28m.

[2] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 147—149 ('Neunte Gruppe') nos. 55—63.

Fig. 685 is a fine bronze from Paramythia, now in the British Museum (H. B. Walters *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 36 no. 275 pl. 7, 1, *id. British Museum: Select Bronzes* London 1915 pl. 20 with text, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 48 pl. 403 figs. 687, 687 A= Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 189 no. 3), after a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles. Height: 7⅝ ins. *Patina*: light green. A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 81 pl. 3 claimed this statuette as belonging to 'the school of Lysippos.' Cp. with it another from the same locality, preserved at Constantinople and published by M. Collignon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 ix. 42—45 pl. 14.

Pl. xxxii, 1 is a small silver statuette (height: 0·065m, with base 0·1m) found by a vine-grower at Mâcon in 1764 together with other statuettes in the same metal and about 30,000 gold and silver coins, mostly of imperial date, but none later than Gallienus (260—268 A.D.). Nine of the statuettes, including this one, are now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 8 no. 27 pl. 6). The thunderbolt of Zeus has a lotus-bud towards either end. Beside the god is a she-goat (Amaltheia?): cp. *supra* i. 52 fig. 28, 706 fig. 522. Pl. xxxii, 1 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.



Bronze statuette of Zeus in the Uffizi at Florence.

See page 745 f.

1 2

1 Silver statuette from Mâcon, now in the British Museum: Zeus standing with a she-goat (Amaltheia ?) at his side.

See page 746 *n.* 2.

2 Silver-gilt statuette from Mâcon, now in the British Museum: Zeus enthroned.

See page 755.

but tended to move the right hand from the side and raised the left

Fig. 685.

arm higher in order to obtain a more imposing effect (fig. 686)[1]. The

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 150—152 ('Elfte Gruppe') nos. 66—72 with fig. 18. I illustrate Overbeck's no. 69 from Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 1 f. no. 3 fig. (=my fig. 686). This is a statuette of praiseworthy Roman style. Its eyes were inlaid with silver, its nipples with red copper. Height: 0·166m. *Patina*: brown. It was found in 1763 at Chalon-sur-Saône, in an oaken box along with seventeen other bronzes, by a peasant at work on his vineyard. For other examples of careful Roman art see von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* i. 9 pl. 7, 6 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 4 no. 3,

result was merely that the grand degenerated into the grandiose. Another sort of degeneracy produced the eclectic type of a Graeco-

Fig. 686.

Roman bronze in the British Museum (fig. 687)[1]. The beardless face

Einzelaufnahmen no. 1452 with Text v. 105 by H. Bulle=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 2 no. 7, etc. The finest figure of the sort is a bronze in the Antiquarium at Munich, which H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2884 f. fig. 16 and in his *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 113 pl. 59 regards as a Greek 'Poseidon' of 400—350 B.C. Fine too is another in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York, which Miss G. M. A. Richter in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1907 ii. 18—20 fig. 4 and in her *Cat. Bronzes New York* p. 67 f. no. 110 fig. likewise takes to be a 'Poseidon (?),' by 'the school of Lysippos.'

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 172 no. 930. Height: $3\frac{7}{8}$ ins. Fig. 687 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.

recalls Hageladas' *Paîs*[1]. The pose is that of a Polyclitan *doryphóros*, though the left hand, which should carry the spear, is empty and meaningless. The hip is thrown out *à la* Praxiteles. The proportions are Lysippian. And the action of this tasteless aggregate is

Fig. 687.

as insipid as its composition: the would-be deity holds out his thunderbolt like a shopman offering his wares.

Meantime increasing mansuetude had transferred the bolt from the right hand, which could use it, to the left hand, which could not. That is the case with another small

Fig. 688.

[1] *Supra* p. 742 f. A chalcedony at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 246 no. 6714 pl. 48, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 44 (=my fig. 688: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), ii. 207) has a youthful Zeus with a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. Furtwängler justly remarks: 'statuarisches Motiv;...polykletisierende Körperformen.'

group[1] of figures in marble and bronze. Of these the most interesting

Fig. 689.

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 149 f. ('Zehnte Gruppe') nos. 64 and 65.

is a bronze statuette at Vienna (fig. 689)[1], which shows the god, associated with two little Lares, as the kindly guardian of a Roman house. His thunderbolt, despite its size, is reduced to the veriest symbol, a spiral ornament, a quaint old-fashioned curio.

Fig. 690.

Less formidable than the thunderbolt, but still reminiscent of the thunder, was the eagle[2] sometimes carried on the sky-god's hand. For standing figures as represented in sculpture[3] this type was not common, being confined to late reliefs[4] and bronzes (fig. 690)[5]. But it had

[1] Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* i. 6 f. pl. 1 (=my fig. 689), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 9 no. 6. Height: 0·175^{m}. *Patina*: grey-green. This remarkable bronze was found in 1830 beside a spring near Verona together with a seated Hermes (von Sacken *op. cit.* i. 49 f. pl. 20), two water-carriers (*id. ib.* i. 109 f. pl. 44, 2), and two small lamps of acanthus-pattern—the furniture of a *lararium* hardly to be dated earlier than *c.* 150—200 A.D. Iupiter, for so we must call him, stands on a semi-octagonal base or *larophorum* (cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4106, 4 f. with E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 950 fig. 4352), the front of which forms a rounded niche. Beside him a tree-trunk, hollowed at the top, served as a thurible (?) (von Sacken thought it a stoup for holy water). On one side of the niche a short pillar supports the moulding. On the other side, in place of the pillar, was found a little Lar (0·045^{m} high) holding *rhytón* and *situla*. In the niche sits, and doubtless sat, a second Lar stretching his right hand in supplication towards Iupiter.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 15 negant umquam solam hanc alitem fulmine exanimatam. ideo armigeram Iovis consuetudo iudicavit (cp. *ib.* 2. 146), interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 394 aut quia nec aquila nec laurus dicitur fulminari ideo Iovis ales aquila, Iovis coronam lauream accepimus. On the eagle as lightning-bearer see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 2, 8, O. Keller *Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Innsbruck 1887 p. 238 ff., *id. Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 p. 2, E. Oder in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 374, H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 24 ff. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 491 ff.). The most learned account of the eagle in antiquity is still S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1794 ii. 739—770.

[3] As a coin-type, however, it is fairly frequent from the age of Alexander onwards: see the lists in K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (*supra* i. 46 n. 2) Leipzig 1884 pp. 22 f., 27 f. Examples in Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus Münztaf. 2, 18—21, 24, 28 f.

[4] *Supra* i. 731 f. fig. 540.

[5] Eagle in the right hand of Zeus: (1) at Vienna (von Sacken *op. cit.* i. 10 pl. 2, 5 (=my fig. 690), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 7 no. 7. Height 0·06^{m}). (2) at Mont Joux (H. Meyer *Die römischen Alpenstrassen in der Schweiz* Zurich 1861 p. 126 pl. 2, 6, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 8 no. 6). (3) in the Pierpont Morgan collection (*Le Musée* 1907 iv. 140, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 7 no. 1). (4) in the P. du Chatellier collection, Cléden in Brittany (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 6 no. 1).

Eagle in the left hand of Zeus: (1) at Cologne (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 1 no. 3 'Zeus?'). (2) Bronze relief from Chalkedon (C. Friederichs *Kleinere Kunst und Industrie im Alterthum* Düsseldorf 1871 no. 1866). Cp. *supra* p. 246 f. fig. 164.

a long ancestry behind it[1] and its hold upon life must be attributed to the obscure persistence of early ideas. From the first the eagle appearing far up in the blue[2] was a visible manifestation, nay an actual embodiment, of Zeus[3]. To the last it remained his animal counterpart, born when he was born[4] and throughout associated with him in a hundred ways[5].

Fig. 691.

In the absence of both thunderbolt and eagle it is often difficult to decide whether an erect bearded god was meant for Zeus or Poseidon. But a magnificent bronze from Paramythia, now in the British Museum (fig. 691)[6], was rightly judged by E. Braun[7], J. Overbeck[8], and K. Wernicke[9] to be a representation of the former

[1] *Supra* i. 84 f. figs. 51, 53.

[2] Cp. the grand picture of an eagle's flight in Apul. *flor.* 2. When Apuleius describes how the great bird swoops down *fulminis vicem*, we are reminded of Tennyson's fragment *The Eagle* 6 'And like a thunderbolt he falls.'

[3] *Supra* p. 186 ff.

[4] Apostol. 8. 28 Ζεὺς ἀετὸν εἵλετο· ἐπὶ τῶν λυσιτελῆ καὶ καλὰ ἐκλεγομένων· λέγεται γὰρ κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς γέννησιν τὸν ἀετὸν γεννηθῆναι, ἐν δὲ τῇ πρὸς Γίγαντας μάχῃ παραπτῆναι· διόπερ ἐν τῇ διανεμήσει τῶν πτηνῶν Ζεὺς ἀετὸν εἵλετο, ᾧ καὶ προστάσσει καὶ ἀγγέλῳ χρῆται πρὸς ἐκείνους, οὓς ἐπιφανείας ἀξιοῖ (= Arsen. *viol.* p. 260 Walz), schol. *Il.* 8. 247, 24. 293, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1351, 29 ff., *et. Gud.* p. 11, 46 ff. See also pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 30, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 16, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 411, 16 ff. Eyssenhardt.

[5] K. Sittl *op. cit.* pp. 3—42.

[6] H. B. Walters *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* pp. xiv, 36 no. 274 pl. 6, 2. Height: 8⅝ ins., with base (ancient) 10¾ ins. *Patina*: dark green. Fig. 691 is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles.

[7] E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 p. 9 pl. 13.

[8] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 153 no. 74.

[9] Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 22 f. pl. [illegible]2, 2.

deity[1]. The right hand probably held a long sceptre, the left a *phiále*[2]; and Zeus was conceived as the propitious recipient of his worshipper's oblation. The statuette, which in style is post-Lysippian, may well have been a votive object in the neighbouring precinct at Dodona.

The seated types of Zeus are of interest in relation to the work of Pheidias. That great craftsman never lost touch with the past and knew well how to appeal to local sentiment by taking accepted

Fig. 692.

Fig. 693.

forms and transmuting them into something higher with a touch of his own genius. A Pheidiac masterpiece is always on the one side the last term of a creative series, on the other the first term of an imitative series. For example, Zeus enthroned with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left was an old Attic type[3] taken over by Pheidias from the vase-painters[4] and ennobled to serve as the centre-piece of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon (pl. xxxiii)[5].

[1] A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 76 ff. fig. 32 says 'Poseidon,' H. B. Walters *loc. cit.* and in his *British Museum: Select Bronzes* London 1915 pl. 19 with text 'Poseidon (?),' H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2885 'die Beziehung auf Poseidon nicht...sicher... Diese Figur konnte auch für Zeus gehalten werden.'

[2] The fore-finger and the little finger of the left hand, contracted and drawn towards each other, might have held a *phiále*, but could hardly have clasped a model dolphin or tunny. K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* suggests an eagle or a Nike: so far as I can judge from a cast of the statuette, a *phiále* seems more likely.

[3] *E.g.* (1) An early black-figured *amphora* with the birth of Athena (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii 103 ff. no. B 147, W. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 90—103, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii. pl. 44 f. = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 115 f., Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 217 ff. pl. 65 A) gives Zeus both thunderbolt and sceptre (upper part restored). In most vase-paintings of this scene either the bolt or the sceptre is absent, though the hand is held as if its missing attribute were present. (2) A red-figured *amphora* assigned to the Nikoxenos painter, a contemporary of Euthymides (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 137 f. no. 405, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 31 ff. pl. 7 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 21, 7 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 233 no. 6), shows Zeus with thunderbolt and eagle-sceptre seated among an assemblage of deities. (3) A fine red-figured vase from Girgenti, formerly owned by R. Politi (R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1848 p. 5 vignette, p. 11 n. 6, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 527 f. no. 66 Atlas pl. 22, 10, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 28 no. b, Atlas pl. 1, 13 (Zeus only)), had Zeus with winged bolt and sceptre seated between Thetis and Heos, who supplicate him on behalf of their sons. Cp. also *supra* p. 274 fig. 177.

[4] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[5] See pocket at end of vol. ii.

Installed in this unique position it was naturally copied and re-copied by successive generations of artists. Indeed, with sundry slight modifications (the sceptre held higher, the bolt resting in the lap, the throne embellished, the footstool pushed forward) it lasted on

Fig. 694.

Fig. 695.

Fig. 696.

into imperial times, as may be seen, not only from countless coins (*e.g.* fig. 692)[1] and gems (*e.g.* fig. 695)[2], but also from numerous extant marbles and bronzes[3]. The finest of the latter is a statuette at New York (fig. 697)[4], of which Miss G. M. A. Richter well says:

[1] *E.g. supra* i. 44 fig. 13, 69 fig. 44, 90 fig. 62, 124 fig. 91 f., 781 fig. 566, ii. 16 figs. 3—6, etc. I add, on account of their handsome thrones, a couple of coppers issued at Taouion (Tavium) in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 24 pl. 5, 2 (=my fig. 692) time of Titus to Septimius Severus, p. 27 pl. 5, 12 (=my fig. 693) Caracalla, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 749). Tavium (*Böyuk Nefez Keui*) was the chief town of the Galatian tribe of the Trokmoi, ὅπου ὁ τοῦ Διὸς κολοσσὸς χαλκοῦς καὶ τέμενος αὐτοῦ ἄσυλον (Strab. 567): see further J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1883—1884 ii. 310 f. W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. xxiii f. regards the coins here given as figuring the colossal Zeus and suggests that the bull was his victim. He further notes a dedication [Δι]ὶ Ταουιανῷ found at Ankyra (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1885 ix. 114 f. no. 65), another I.o.m. | Taviano | pro salu. | imp. Anto|nini et M. | Aureli Caes. | Gal[at]ae con|sistentes | municipio | posierunt at Napoca (*Klausenburg*) in Dacia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 860 with Suppl. p. 1380=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1285=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2449=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4082), and a third I. o. m. | Taviano | et dis deabusque | pro salute (et) victori[a] | domini n(ostri) sanctissi[m(i)] | Avianus Aug. lib. | subpro(curator) auraria[r(um)] | v. s. a(nimo) [l(ibens)] at Apulum (*Karlsburg*) in Dacia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. no. 1088=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1284).

[2] *E.g. supra* i. 42 fig. 12, ii. 318 fig. 200. I illustrate two Graeco-Roman gems of normal and exceptional design. Fig. 694 is a burnt onyx in the British Museum, formerly in the Mertens and Castellani collections (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 90 no. 577. Scale ½), a thoroughly commonplace specimen such as any Roman tradesman might have worn to bring him luck (cp. Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 266 no. 7132 pl. 54). Fig. 695 is a sapphirine chalcedony, which came to me from the Story-Maskelеyne collection (Sale Catalogue London 1921 p. 16 no. 85) and is here shown to the scale ¾: the corn-ears and *skýphos* set beside the god's throne mark him as the dispenser of food and drink (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 90 no. 576, and *supra* i. 598 n. 2).

[3] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 115—124 ('Erste Classe') nos. 1—18. Other bronzes are listed by Richter *Cat. Bronzes New York* p. 110 f.

[4] Richter *Cat. Bronzes New York* p. 110 f. no. 200 fig., A. Furtwängler *Neue Denkmäler antiker Kunst* (extr. from the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe) München 1905 iii. 267 f. no. 6 pl. 6, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 8 no. 2. Height: 4⅛ ins. I am indebted to Miss Richter for the photograph from which fig. 697 was made.

'It is of Roman execution but must have been made by an artist thoroughly imbued with the Greek spirit[1].' Another choice example is the small seated Zeus in silver with gilded drapery, thunderbolt,

Fig. 697.

Fig. 698.

etc. (pl. xxxii, 2)[2], which formed part of the Mâcon find mentioned in a foregoing note[3]. But more often the Romans were content with very slipshod reproductions of the type: I give (fig. 698)[4] a sample

[1] The same might be said of De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes de la coll. de Clercq* p. 139 f. no. 215 pl. 36, 1 (height: 0·17m).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 10 f. no. 35 pl. 6. Height: 0·072m. The thunderbolt on the lap of Zeus is ornamented with two Corinthian capitals. Pl. xxxii, 2 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.

[3] *Supra* p. 746 n. 2.

[4] A. C. P. de Tubières Comte de Caylus *Recueil d'antiquités égyptiennes, étrusques, grecques, romaines et gauloises* Paris 1767 vii. 286 f. pl. 82, 1 (reversed), Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 9 f. no. 17 fig. (=my fig. 698), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 13 no. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 116 no. 16, p. 122. The eyes are incrusted with silver. Height: 0·122m. *Patina*: dark green.

now at Paris. An interesting variation is a well-preserved but heavy-looking bronze found in Hungary (pl. xxxiv)[1], which—like sundry coins (fig. 696)[2], gems[3], etc.[4]—reverses the type, putting the sceptre

Fig. 699.

in the god's right hand, the thunderbolt in his left. A second little statuette of silver with gilded *himátion*, which passed from the Castellani collection into the British Museum (fig. 699)[5], makes

[1] H. B. Walters *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 170 no. 909 and in his *British Museum: Select Bronzes* London 1915 pl. 39 with text, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 23 f. pl. 398 fig. 668 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 186 no. 4, O. Rayet *Monuments de l'art antique* Paris 1884 i pl. 43 with text p. 4 ff., A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 61 ff. fig. 25, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 121 f., 127 f. no. 23. Restored: sceptre, end of thunderbolt, and both feet. Zeus is wearing a large bay-wreath with central boss. Height: 7¼ ins. *Patina*: blackish. Pl. xxxiv is from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hales.

[2] *E.g. supra* i. 752 fig. 551. Fig. 696 is from a rare coin of Dokimeion (*Ichje Karahissar*), a Macedonian colony in Phrygia (ΔΟΚΙΜΕΩΝ ΜΑΚΕΔΟ ΝΩΝ), struck under Lucilla and now in my collection.

[3] *E.g. supra* i. 235 fig. 172.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 126—128 ('Dritte Classe') nos. 22 and 23 (*supra* n. 1). Cp. *supra* i 42 f. pl. vii.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 11 no. 36 fig. Height: 0·063^{m}. Fig. 699 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.

Bronze statuette found in Hungary, now in the British Museum: Zeus enthroned with a sceptre in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left.

See page 756 *n.* 1.

even more of the sceptre and even less of the thunderbolt; for the former is held yet higher, while the latter has simply disappeared.

Another long-established[1] type was that of Zeus seated on a throne with an eagle flying either to him or from him. Laconian cups of *c.* 550–500 B.C.[2] adopted the former pose[3]; Arcadian coins of *s.* V preferred the latter[4]. This federal coinage, probably struck at Heraia in western Arkadia[5], was not unnaturally imitated at Olympia, hardly more than a dozen miles away, where a very

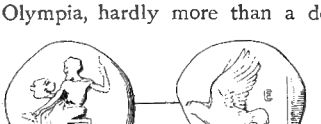


Fig. 700.

Fig. 701.

similar Zeus appears seated on a throne with a *himátion* about his waist, a sceptre in his left hand, a winged thunderbolt in his right, and an eagle flying before him (figs. 700, 701)[6]. The Olympian coins start the third of four series dated by Mr C. T. Seltman between *c.* 452 and *c.* 432 B.C.[7] It is therefore possible, not to say probable, that Pheidias, who quitted Athens for Olympia after the dedication of Athena *Parthénos* in 438[8], took a hint for his

[1] According to T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 105 f. figs. 108, 109, the seated Zeus from the eastern pediment of the old Hekatompedon at Athens held an eagle in his left hand (hand holding bird's claws extant). A. Furtwängler too in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 447 = his *Aegina* München 1906 i. 317 fig. 253 restores Zeus with an eagle in his left hand, a thunderbolt in his right. But G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 62 ff., 73 no. 25, accepting R. Heberdey's reconstruction of the pediment, first suggests that Zeus had a sceptre in his raised left hand, some object unknown in his lowered right, and then adds: 'The figure may be safely recognized as ZEUS holding a sceptre or a thunderbolt, and, probably, an eagle.' *vix liquet.*

[2] *Supra* p. 744 n. 4.

[3] *Supra* i. 92 f. fig. 65, 782 pl. xlii.

[4] *Supra* i. 68 f. fig. 39 ff.

[5] *Supra* i. 68.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 59 pl. 10, 11, P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1879 xix. 236 pl. 11, ii 2 (London), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 707 ff. no. 1049 pl. 229, 11 (London: rev. only), no. 1050 pl. 229, 12 (Pozzi), C. T. Seltman in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 48 f. no. 98 pl. 3, βρ (London: rev. only), no. 99 pl. 3, AΣ βσ (Pozzi), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 420. Fig. 700 is from a cast of the British Museum coin (*rev.* [F AA] E IO [N]); fig. 701 is from the Pozzi example, which is now in my collection (*obv.* countermarks: *Gorgóneion*, hind foot of mule to right, and a third. *rev.* F A retrograde). There is no other known specimen of either piece.

[7] C. T. Seltman in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 43, 57 f.

[8] This at least seems clear from Philochoros *frag.* 97 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 400 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *pax* 605, on the text of which see R. Schöll 'Der Prozess des Phidias' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1888 i. 20 ff. J. Nicole *Le procès de Phidias dans les Chroniques d'Apollodore* Genève 1910 pp. 1—50 with fac-

Olympian Zeus[1] from the local coinage. He retained the throne and the sceptre in the god's left hand, but replaced the winged thunderbolt by a winged Victory, and transferred the eagle to the sceptre-top, thereby suggesting not so much the stormy strength of the thunder-god as the tranquil supremacy of the victor.

A little later than the *statêres* illustrated above are others (fig. 702)[2] with an obverse design of Zeus seated on a rock, the sceptre

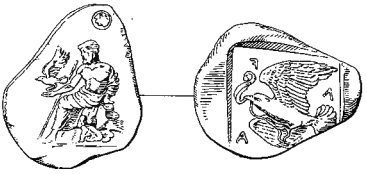


Fig. 702.

leaning against his right shoulder, the eagle about to fly from his right hand, and the thunderbolt omitted. P. Gardner conjectured that the rock was meant for Mount Olympos[3]—Olympos (let us suppose) in the neighbourhood of Olympia[4]. The comparative freedom of the seated figure, the arrangement of the *himátion* over the left upper arm, and the dropping of the thunderbolt were perhaps due to the influence of Pheidias' chryselephantine colossus. If the

simile published two mutilated columns of papyrus (pap. 263 and 264 of the Geneva collection), which contain portions of a life of Pheidias attributed by him to Apollodoros. According to Nicole's interpretation, Pheidias was accused at Athens of stealing the ivory (as Philochoros *loc. cit.* says), not the gold (as Plout. *v. Per.* 31 says), of the *Parthénos*; was released upon heavy bail, forty talents, paid by the Eleans, who wanted him to carry out their commission of the Zeus *Olýmpios*; and, on being condemned about four years later, was compensated by the Eleans with their citizenship. Immediately after this there is a record of the dedication of the Olympian Zeus. Nicole's reading of the papyrus is attacked by L. Pareti 'Il processo di Fidia ed un papiro di Ginevra' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1909 xxiv. 271—316. But Pareti's own views are refuted by H. Lechat in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1911 xiii. 125 ff. And, though Nicole's interpretations are not all reliable (*e.g.* F. Jacoby in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 10, 1910 pp. 1148—1156 shows that the papyrus has nothing to do with Apollodoros), yet it is evident that the new biography supports Philochoros as against Plutarch. See further E. A. Gardner in Ξένια Athènes 1912 p. 49 ff., A. J. B. Wace in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1912 p. 37, A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii. 346—352.

[1] *Infra* Append. O.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 59 pl. 10, 12, P. Gardner in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1879 xix. 236 pl. 11, ii 3 (London), *id. Types of Gk. Coins* p. 111 pl. 3, 41 (London: obv. only), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 707 ff. no. 1048 pl. 229, 10 (London), C. T. Seltman in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 49 no. 100 pl. 3, βρ (Seltman: rev. only), no. 101 pl. 3, BA βτ (London), no. 102 pl. 3, βν (Berlin: rev. only), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 420. Fig. 702 is from a cast of the British Museum coin.

[3] P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 111 ('no doubt mount Olympus').

[4] *Supra* i. 100 n. 3.

Marble statuette of Zeus in the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons.

See page 759 f.

earlier *statêres* were issued before its erection, these of more advanced style were issued after it.

Fig. 703.

Of the temple-statue itself no adequate copies[1] have come down to us. The small marble Zeus in the Musée Lapidaire at Lyons[2],

[1] For the numismatic evidence see R. Weil 'Der Zeus des Pheidias auf elischen Münzen der Kaiserzeit' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1912 xxx. 363—382 pl. 10, and *infra* Append. O.

[2] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 20 pl. 397 fig. 665 (two views) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 186 no. 1 f., E. Wolff in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 52 f. pl. D, O. Benndorf in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii Anz. p. 73*, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4 pl. 1, 8, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 50 f. pl. 4, 14. Restored: left lower arm from elbow, right lower arm with elbow, nose, neck with some locks of hair, front of right foot, parts of throne-back. Height (with base): 0·62m. On the base is ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 6139), presumably a modern inscription (O. Benndorf *loc. cit.*), since the similarity of marble, style, and proportions makes it practically certain that the bearded head belongs to the body of the work.

cited by J. Overbeck[1] as nearer akin to the Pheidiac original than any other extant figure, can claim, if not the calm of conquest, at least a quiet dignity of its own, and must doubtless be classed as a later representative of the Olympian type. The left hand was raised to hold a sceptre. The right, to which the restorer has given a globe, very possibly, as Overbeck suggests, carried a Victory. And the thunderbolt is nowhere to be seen, unless we may detect a stylised form of it in the throne-legs and in the relief-pattern that connects them behind (pl. xxxv)[2]. The once dreaded missile of the sky-god could hardly undergo further attenuation without vanishing altogether.

When Alexander the Great placed upon his silver coinage the design of a seated Zeus, it might have been expected that he would choose for the purpose the great cult-statue at Olympia—and the more so as Mount Olympos was a prominent feature of his own domain. In point of fact, he did nothing of the sort. He set aside all the improvements introduced by Pheidias and deliberately reverted to the old pre-Pheidiac type. A comparison of his tetradrachms (fig. 704)[3] on the one hand with the federal coins of Arkadia, on the other with the Olympian statue, is instructive:

ARCADIAN COINS	PHEIDIAS' STATUE	ALEXANDER'S COINS
Right hand has eagle.	Right hand has Nike.	Right hand has eagle.
Left hand has sceptre held high.	Left hand has sceptre held low.	Left hand has sceptre held high.
Right leg is in advance of left leg.	Left leg is in advance of right leg.	Right leg is in advance of left leg.
Himátion is wrapped about lower limbs only.	*Himátion* covers left upper arm as well.	*Himátion* is wrapped about lower limbs only.
Throne has at first no back.	Throne has high back.	Throne has at first no back.

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 123 f. no. 18.

[2] Pl. xxxv is from a couple of photographs kindly procured for me by Mr S. C. Cockerell. I add, for comparison, four throne-legs of white marble formerly in the collection at Deepdene (*Hope Sale Catalogue* 1917 p. 32 no. 205) and now in the Fitzwilliam Museum (fig. 703 from a photograph by Mr W. H. Hayles). Greatest height: 36½ ins. They are of similar design, but vary in detail and workmanship, and here and there have been patched by a modern restorer. Such legs are frequent in representations of ancient couches and thrones (L. Heuzey—H. Daumet *Mission Archéologique de Macédoine* Paris 1876 Texte p. 261 fig. (eight examples), C. L. Ransome *Studies in Ancient Furniture* Chicago 1905 pp. 20 ff., 44 ff., 72 ff., 90 ff. (with numerous figs.)), and their resemblance to a thunderbolt, though fortuitous in origin, would make them peculiarly suitable to a throne of Zeus (cp. the marble throne-leg at Palermo in Durm *Baukunst der Griechen*[2] p. 253 fig. 175, *ib.*[3] p. 239 fig. 209). The closest parallel to the Cambridge legs is afforded by *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 429 f. no. 1092 a. b., a marble leg which shows traces of red colour and gilding.

[3] From a specimen in my collection.

The inference is clear. Alexander, ignoring the idealised ruler at Olympia, harked back to the more ancient and popular type of Zeus *Lýkaios*. After all, Mount Lykaion too was called Olympos[1]. Yet so immense was the fame of the Pheidiac figure that tetradrachms issued later in the name and with the types of Alexander are increasingly influenced by it. The left leg is advanced instead of the right (figs. 705—707), and the throne is manifestly assimilated to that of Zeus *Olýmpios* (figs. 705, 707)[2]. Coins of the Syrian kings from Seleukos i Nikator to Antiochos ii Theos, and again from Antiochos iv Epiphanes onwards[3], exchange the eagle for Nike and

Fig. 704.

Fig. 705.

Fig. 706.

Fig. 707.

proceed to drape the *himátion* over the left shoulder—in short, frankly adopt the whole Pheidiac design.

So even Alexander failed to arrest the moral evolution of Zeus. What motive led him to make the attempt? Why did he select for his world-wide coinage the old eagle-bearer of Arkadia rather than the newer and nobler creation of Pheidias? Just here an interesting suggestion has been made by Mr C. T. Seltman. He points out to me (Aug. 27, 1921) that on some of the coins struck at Tarsos by Mazaios before 333 B.C.[4] *Ba'al-tars* precisely resembles the

[1] *Supra* i. 68.

[2] Figs. 705, 706 are from specimens in my collection. Fig. 707 is from one in the British Museum (Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 63 pl. 31, 14, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 186 pl. 12, 23), of which I possess a duplicate, formerly in the Pozzi collection.

[3] E. Babelon *Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène* Paris 1890 p. xcv. The coins of Antiochos iv are discussed and illustrated *infra* Append. N *sub fin.*

[4] For the dating see an important monograph by E. T. Newell 'Myriandros—Alex-

eagle-bearing Zeus of Alexander[1], seated as he is on a throne without a back, with an eagle in his right hand, a sceptre in his left, the right leg in advance, and the *himátion* wrapped about his lower limbs. Mr Seltman hazards[2] the brilliant conjecture that Alexander intentionally combined an obverse type, which in the west would represent Herakles, in the east Melqarth, with a reverse type, which in the west would represent Zeus, in the east *Ba'al-tars*, thereby pursuing his usual policy of welding together his Hellenic and barbarian subjects.

Fig. 708.

Lastly Greek art produced on Italian soil a fresh type of seated Zeus, in which the right hand held neither thunderbolt, nor eagle, nor even Victory, but was simply raised to the head in an attitude suggestive of thought. We have already seen that a wall-painting from Pompeii[3] and a well-mouth at Naples[4] presuppose a common exemplar of this type, not impossibly the great statue made by Lysippos for the market-place of the Tarentines. Here for the first time the sculptor endeavours

To bring the invisible full into play!

Fig. 709.

andria Kat'isson' in the *American Journal of Numismatics* 1919 liii. 2. 1—42 with 28 figs. and 2 pls. Babelon's chronology (*supra* i. 596 n. 2) must be revised accordingly.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 172 nos. 57 and 58 pl. 31, 2, E. T. Newell *loc. cit.* p. 9 fig. 9.

[2] This conjecture is hardly to be reconciled with the contention of E. T. Newell 'Alexander Hoards' in *Numismatic Notes and Monographs* 1921 iii. 15 pl. 1, 16, 19, pl. 2, 25 that the first issue of tetradrachms under Alexander at Amphipolis together with the last issue under Philip at the same mint 'probably covered the years 336 to 334 B.C.'

[3] *Supra* i. 34 pl. i and Frontispiece.

[4] *Supra* i. 34 ff., pl. ii.

The sceptre (for both painting and relief postulate a sceptre in the god's left hand) as before symbolises outward sovereignty[1]. But a new note is struck by the gesture betokening inward reflexion. Henceforward omnipotence connotes omniscience, the Almighty

[1] I would here call attention to a very remarkable gold sceptre from Tarentum, formerly in the Castellani collection and now in the British Museum (F. H. Marshall *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 232 f. no. 2070 fig. 65. Length: 0·52^{m}). It consists of a gold tube, covered by a network of gold wire with dots of dark blue or white enamel at each point of contact. The tube ends below in a disk decorated with a flower of fourteen petals, above in a Corinthian capital with leaves, volutes, and flowers all complete. Above the *abacus* is a large quince of opaque, greenish glass, surrounded by eight oak-leaves (F. H. Marshall, apparently misled by the foliage of the capital, takes them to be acanthus-leaves) and surmounted by a small flower of four leaves in gold. Figs. 708 and 709 are from photographs by Mr R. B. Fleming.

This would seem to be the only ancient Greek sceptre in existence (A. Sorlin-Dorigny in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1115 knows of none). Tarentum in the time of Dareios son of Hystaspes had its kings (Hdt. 3. 136 Aristophilides). But the forms of the Corinthian capital point to a much later period, and F. H. Marshall *loc. cit.* says '3rd cent. B.C. (?).' If, as seems probable, the surrounding leaves are really meant for oak, closer identification may be attempted. They suggest that the sceptre belonged originally to some king of Epeiros, who stood for the worship of the Dodonaean Zeus. Now Alexander i of Epeiros, when he invaded Italy to assist the Tarentines against the Lucanians, Bruttians, and Messapians, struck at Tarentum between 334 and 330 B.C. certain exquisite gold *statêres* with *obv.* head of Zeus *Náios*

Fig. 710.

Fig. 711.

of Dodona wearing a wreath of oak, *rev.* ΑΛΕΞΑΝΔΡΟΥ ΤΟΥΝΕΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΥ thunderbolt and spear-head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 110 pl. 20, 1 (=my fig. 710), Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 66 pl. 33, 11, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 149 f. pl. 5, 37, M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 315 pl. IE′, 16). And the Tarentines, when Pyrrhos i of Epeiros had been called in to champion their cause against Rome, issued *c.* 281 B.C. other gold *statêres* with *obv.* laureate head of Zeus *Eleuthérios* to left, or right, and monogram ΝΙΚ, *rev.* ΤΑΡΑΝΤΙΝΩΝ eagle on thunderbolt, usually with symbol and magistrate's name (Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 66 pl. 33, 12 and *Hist. num.*[2] p. 58, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 68 no. 22 pl. 5, 6, M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 331 ff. pl. IZ′, 1—15. My fig. 711 is from a specimen formerly belonging to W. R. Hamilton, of which there is an electrotype in the Leake collection, Cambridge). It is permissible, therefore, to conjecture that the sceptre preserved in the British Museum was a votive offering either of Alexander or, more probably, of Pyrrhos to some Tarentine deity, presumably Zeus *Eleuthérios* (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς· ... *τῶν Μήδων ἐκφυγόντες ἱδρύσαντο τὸν Ἐλευθέριον Δία. τοῦτον δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ Σωτῆρά φασι. τιμᾶται δὲ καὶ ἐν Συρακούσαις καὶ παρὰ Ταραντίνοις καὶ ἐν Πλαταιαῖς καὶ ἐν Καρίᾳ ὁ Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς*). Be that as it may, the quince or apple enclosed by the leaves is a frequent decoration of sceptres (A. Sorlin-Dorigny *loc. cit.* p. 1116), which, at least in many cases, are to be regarded as the conventionalised form of a branch with golden apples (*supra* i. 87 n. 6 and *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 158 ff.).

must needs be the All-wise. And what of the All-terrible? His eagle is relegated to a position near to, yet apart from, himself: it is retained for suitable service. But the thunderbolt, once the outstanding feature in the Zeus-cult of Tarentum[1], has wholly vanished. In its stead we discern, however darkly, the workings of divine Providence.

(β) Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt.

Modifications may be noted, not only in the use of the thunderbolt, but also in its shape. P. Jacobsthal[2] in a monograph devoted to the subject distinguishes two varieties of ancient oriental repre-

Fig. 712.

Fig. 714.

Fig. 713.

Fig. 715.

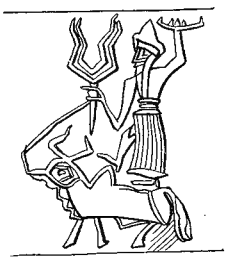


Fig. 716.

sentation. Lightning in Mesopotamian art is either bipartite or tripartite. The bipartite sort, which is the commoner and probably the

[1] *Supra* p. 29 ff.

[2] P. Jacobsthal *Der Blitz in der orientalischen und griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1906 pp. 1—60 with 4 pls. R. Engelmann, reviewing this work in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 13, 1907 p. 877 f., draws attention to an unpublished collection of lightning-shapes in a Vatican manuscript (cod. Ottobon. 3100 fol. 135—173 Raccolta. di. varij. fulmini ‖ delineati. da. gioie. marmi ‖ e. medaglie).

earlier, appears as a fork composed of zig-zags (figs. 712—716)[1]

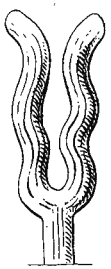


Fig. 717.

Fig. 718.

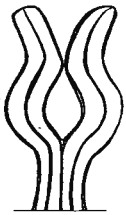


Fig. 719.

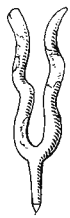


Fig. 720.

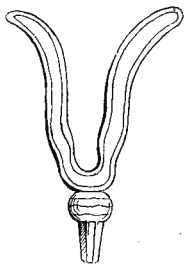


Fig. 721.

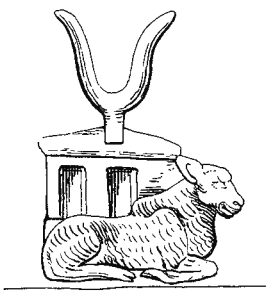


Fig. 722.

Fig. 723.

or curved lines (figs. 717—723)[2]; the tripartite, which is found

[1] Fig. 712 from a haematite cylinder at New York (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 p. 128 f. fig. 368 *b* and in M. Jastrow *Bildermappe zur Religion Babyloniens und Assyriens* Giessen 1912 p. 105 pl. 51, no. 190).

Fig. 713 from a re-cut cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 174 fig. 469).

Fig. 714 from a haematite cylinder in my possession: Ramman seated with the lightning fork in his hand.

Fig. 715 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 171 fig. 456 and in M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 105 pl. 51, no. 189): Ramman standing on a bull with a lightning-fork in either hand.

Fig. 716 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 172 fig. 461): Ramman standing on a humped bull with a lightning-fork in one hand, a scimitar (?) in the other.

[2] Fig. 717 from a *kudurru* or boundary-stone of the time of Meli-Shipak (*c.* 1204—1189 B.C.) in the British Museum no. 90827 (L. W. King *Babylonian Boundary-stones and Memorial-tablets in the British Museum* London 1912 p. 7 ff. pl. 21, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 14 f. pl. 9, no. 30).

Fig. 718 from a *kudurru* of the time of Nebuchadrezzar i (*c.* 1140—1123) found at Nippur (W. J. Hinke *A new boundary stone of Nebuchadrezzar i. from Nippur* (The

first under the Kassite kings, is formed of curves (figs. 724, 725)[1]

Babylonian Expedition of the University of Pennsylvania Series D vol. iv) Philadelphia 1907 p. 120 fig. 47, 16, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 22 f. pl. 12, no. 40).

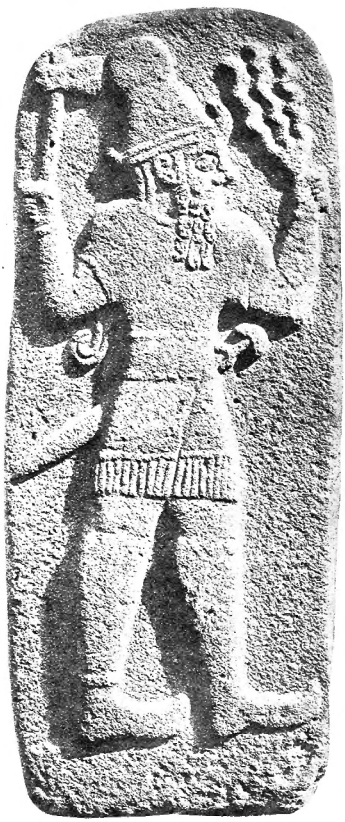


Fig. 724.

Fig. 719 from the *kudurru* of Gula-Eresh of about the time of Enlil-nadin-aplu (*c.* 1123—1117) in the British Museum no. 102485 (L. W. King *op. cit.* p. 76 ff. pl. 3).

Fig. 720 from a *kudurru* of the time of Marduk-nadin-akhê (*c.* 1117—1105) in the British Museum no. 90840 (L. W. King *op. cit.* p. 42 ff. pls. 44 and 50, W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 30 fig. 12, 15).

Fig. 721 from an alabaster tablet of Shamshi-Adad iv (825—812 B.C.) in the British Museum (A. H. Layard *A second series of the Monuments of Nineveh* London 1853 pl. 4, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 68 pl. 32, no. 96).

Fig. 722 from a black limestone tablet of Meli-Shipak (*c.* 1204—1189 B.C.) found at Sousa and now in the Louvre (W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 28 fig. 11, 16, W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. pp. 391 fig. 1286, 399, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 13 f. pl. 8, no. 29): lightning-fork on a shrine borne by a crouching ox.

Fig. 723 from a limestone tablet of the time of Nebuchadrezzar i (*c.* 1140—1123) found at or near Abu-Habba and now in the British Museum no. 90858 (L. W. King *op. cit.* p. 29 ff. pl. 91, W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. pp. 391 fig. 1287, 399, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 22 pl. 12, no. 39): lightning-fork on a crouching ox. Cp. other examples of the same type in W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 25 fig. 10, 14 = M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 20 f. pl. 11, no. 37; W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 91 fig. 28, 16 = W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 390 fig. 1285 *a* = M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 13 pl. 8, no. 28.

[1] First on a fragmentary *kudurru* of the Kassite dynasty (M. J. de Morgan *Délégation en Perse* Mémoires Paris 1900 i. 176 fig. 382, W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* pp. 41 fig. 18, 82): Ramman standing on a humped bull with a lightning-fork in his hand.

Fig. 724 from a Hittite *stéle* of dolerite (height 1·28m), found in Babylon and referred by R. Koldewey to *s.* x B.C. (R. Koldewey 'Die hettitische Inschrift' in the *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* Leipzig 1900 i. 1 ff. pls. 1—3, L. Messerschmidt *Corpus inscriptionum Hettiticarum* Berlin 1900 p. 3 f. pl. 1, 5, *id.*

or straightish lines (figs. 726, 727)[1]. From *s.* ix B.C. onwards there is a tendency to duplicate[2] these forks by giving them prongs at either end (figs. 728—730)[3]. And under the Sargonid dynasty

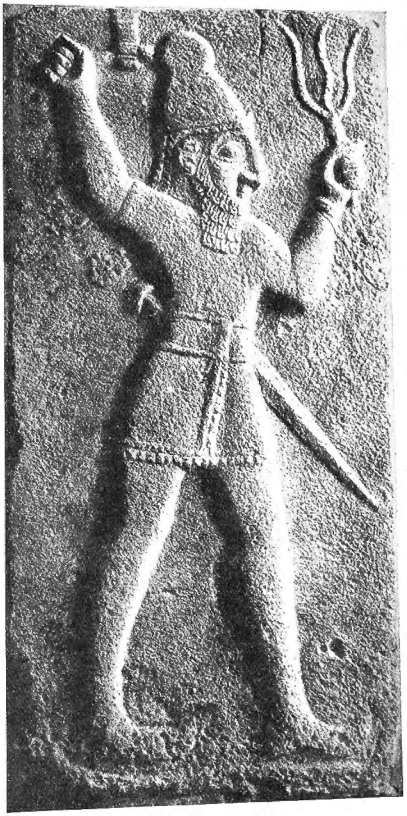


Fig. 725.

Die Hettiter Leipzig 1903 p. 24 f. fig. 25, A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 fig. 12 f., E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 66 ff. fig. 56, R. Koldewey *The Excavations at Babylon* trans. A. S. Johns London 1914 p. 164 f. fig. 103 f.): Tešub standing with axe and lightning-fork.

Fig. 725 from a somewhat later Hittite relief in dolerite (height 1·27m), found at Sinjerli (F. von Luschan *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli* Berlin 1902 iii. 218 f. fig. 114 and pl. 41, a (=my fig. 725), A. Jeremias in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 53 fig. 14, J. Garstang *The Land of the Hittites* London 1910 p. 291 pl. 77, 1, E. Meyer *op. cit.* p. 67 fig. 57): Tešub standing with axe and lightning-fork.

[1] Fig. 726 from a cylinder (W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. pp. 174 fig. 468, 399): lightning-fork on a bull.

Fig. 727 from a northern cylinder (*id. ib.* p. 383 fig. [48 *a*]): Adad seated with the lightning-fork in his hand.

[2] P. E. Newberry 'The Egyptian cult-object ⊰⊙⊱ and the "Thunderbolt"' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1910 iii. 50—52 pl. 19, 1—17 argues that the cult-object, which appears as a double-headed dart on prehistoric vases etc. and in shapes comparable with the Greek thunderbolt on monuments of the Middle Kingdom and later, was 'always used in hieroglyphic inscriptions as a symbol of the god Min.... the original form of Amon... Lord of Heaven and God of Thunder"' and presumably represents the thunderbolt in types derived from flint arrow-heads, stone celts, and belemnites.

[3] Fig. 728 from an alabaster relief found in the N.W. palace of Ashur-naṣir-pal iii

Fig. 728.

Fig. 727.

Fig. 726.

Fig. 729.

Fig. 730.

(*c.* 700 B.C.) the fork, whether single (fig. 731)[1] or double (figs. 732, 733)[2], is stylised into a shape resembling a lotos-flower.

The forms thus evolved in the near east made their way westward through Asia Minor into Ionia, and thence into the mainlands of Greece and Italy, borne on the broad tide of oriental influence, which during the Early Iron Age swept the Mediterranean from

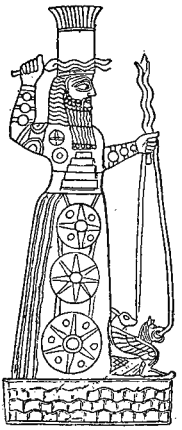


Fig. 731.

Fig. 732.

Fig. 733.

(884—860 B.C.) and now in the British Museum nos. 28, 29 (A. H. Layard *A second series of the Monuments of Nineveh* London 1853 pl. 5, W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders* etc. p. 197 fig. 564, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 87 f. pl. 39, no. 120): fight of a storm-god (Marduk?), holding two double forks, with a lion-headed monster (Tiamat?).

Fig. 729 from the rock-carving of Sennacherib (*c.* 705—682 B.C.) at Bavian north of Mosul (A. H. Layard *Discoveries in the Ruins of Nineveh and Babylon* London 1853 pp. 208—217 fig., W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 88 fig. 25, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 28 pl. 14, no. 46): symbol of Adad.

Fig. 730 from the dolerite *stèle* of Esar-haddon (682—669 B.C.) found at Sinjerli and now at Berlin (F. von Luschan *op. cit.* 1893 i. 11—43 fig. 4 and pl. i, Sir G. Maspero *The Passing of the Empires* London 1900 p. 375 fig., W. J. Hinke *op. cit.* p. 89 fig. 26, M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 30 pl. 14, no. 48): Adad standing on an ox with the double fork in his hand. Cp. the Susian god with bovine horns, axe, and double fork (*supra* i. 578 fig. 447).

[1] Fig. 731 from a cylindrical bar of lapis lazuli (0·2^{m} long) found at Babylon. It was dedicated by Esar-haddon (682—669 B.C.) to Marduk, but is inscribed as 'the seal of the god Adad in the temple of Esagila, belonging to the treasure of the god Marduk.' Adad, who is here conceived as a form of Marduk, holds a lightning-fork in either hand. One of these forks is double, the other treble—approximating at its tip to the shape of a lotos-bud. The god holds also by a couple of cords an ox (the beast of Adad) and a dragon (the beast of Marduk) (M. Jastrow *op. cit.* p. 7 f. pl. 5, no. 15, R. Koldewey *The Excavations at Babylon* trans. A. S. Johns London 1914 p. 221 fig. 134).

[2] Figs. 732, 733 from a rock-cut relief of the Sargonid dynasty (*c.* 700 B.C.) at

end to end. Between 650 and 550 B.C. it brought the potter, for example, a profusion of possible *motifs*—sphinxes, griffins, lions, panthers, the lotos, the palmette, even the Assyrian 'tree of life.' Thus when a 'Caeretan' *hydría* in the Louvre[1] figures a stag-hunt on one side, a pair of winged bulls on the other, we must not jump to the conclusion that its painter had witnessed the chase on the

Fig. 734.

plains of Mesopotamia or passed through the ruined portals of Nineveh: he was but repeating, for the sake of their decorative effect, designs that had been transmitted to him along the caravan-routes of anterior Asia. Accordingly it is not surprising to find that the lotiform lightning-fork of late Assyrian art makes its first[2] appearance as the Greek thunderbolt on the vases of Ionia. An

Malthayiah, 60 miles or so north of Mosul (A. H. Layard *Nineveh and its Remains* London 1849 i. 229—231, V. Place *Ninive et l'Assyrie* Paris 1867—1870 ii. 153—160 pl. 45, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ii. 642—647 fig. 313): two out of a procession of deities confronting the king; they are characterised as deities (Adad? and Marduk?) by the stars above their heads and the animals (ox? and dragon?) beneath their feet.

[1] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 65 no. E 697, *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 257 ff. figs. 7—9, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ix. 518 ff. figs. 250—252.

[2] F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 81 notes that on one of the *týmpana* from the Idaean Cave, referable to *s.* viii B.C., 'Ashur' is holding in either hand objects which may be meant for lightnings (F. Halbherr—P. Orsi *Antichità dell'Antro di Zeus Ideo in Creta* (= *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* ii)

early *kýlix* of 'Chalcidian' style[1] from *Siana* (Mnasyrion?) in Rhodes shows the introduction of Herakles to Olympos, where Zeus and Hera are seated on richly embellished thrones. Zeus (fig. 734) holds in his left hand a thunderbolt looking like a bunch of leaves or petals, while from the upper rail of his throne rises a lotos-bloom of absurdly large dimensions. Another 'Chalcidian' vase-painting already discussed (*supra* p. 731 fig. 663) treats the bolt in the god's hand as itself an unmistakable lotos.

Fig. 735.

And this floriform fashion once started had a considerable vogue throughout the Hellenic world. It lingered on even into imperial times. Indeed, a rare copper of Kibyra in Phrygia, struck by Diadumenianus (217—218 A.D.), actually represents Zeus enthroned with a simple lotos-flower, instead of a thunderbolt, in his right hand (fig. 735)[2].

The popularity of the lotos in this connexion was due in part, no doubt, to its obvious ornamental qualities, but in part also to long-standing significance. Fire in general, as P. Jacobsthal points out, was sometimes regarded by the ancients as a flower[3]. And the

pl. 5 (=my fig. 736)). If so, these are the earliest known lightnings of Greek art. But I suspect that they are rather to be regarded as flowers (cp. *supra* i. 208 figs. 153, 154).

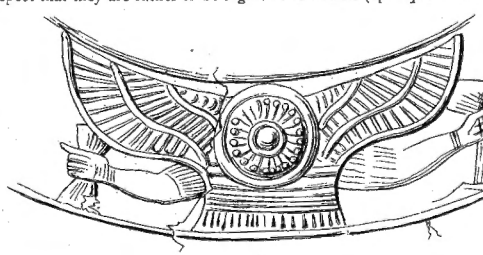


Fig. 736.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 210 ff. no. B 379, Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 220 ff. pls. 40—42, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* ix. 532 n. 1.

[2] Fig. 735 is from a specimen, which came to me from the Rhousopoulos collection.

[3] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 10 ff. quotes *Il.* 9. 212 *αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀπέπταto παύσατο δὲ φλόξ* (so Aristarchos in schol. LTV *ad loc.*, cp. schol. A *ib.*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 748, 41 ff., Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 21, schol. Aisch. *P. v.* 7), Aisch. *P. v.* 7 *τὸ σὸν γὰρ ἄνθος, παντέχνου πυρὸς σέλας, | θνητοῖσι κλέψας ὥπασεν*, Orph. *frag.* 291 Abel *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 451, 20 Diehl *ἐνθεν συρόμενος πρηστὴρ ἀμυδροῖ πυρὸς ἄνθος | κόσμων ἐνθρῴσκων κοιλώμασι* [=G. Kroll *De oraculis Chaldaicis* Vratislaviae 1894 p. 20. Add Prokl. *in* Plat. *Parm.* iii (p. 622 Stallbaum)=Kroll *op. cit.* p. 24 *ἔννοιαι νοεραί, πηγῆς πατρικῆς ἄπο, πουλὺ | δραττόμεναι* (G. Thilo cj. *δρεπτόμεναι*) *πυρὸς ἄνθος ἀκοιμήτου χρόνου*

sun in particular was associated with the lotos in Egyptian[1], if not

ἀκμῇ, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Parm.* ii (p. 596 f. Stallbaum)= Kroll *op. cit.* p. 25 *δεσμῷ Ἔρωτος ἀγητοῦ, ὃς ἐκ νόου ἔκθορε πρῶτος | ἐσσάμενος πέρι* (so Kroll for *πυρί*) *πῦρ συνδέσμιον, ὄφρα κεράσσῃ | πηγαίους κρατῆρας ἑοῦ πυρὸς ἄνθος ἐπισχών*, Paulus Silentiarius *ἔκφρασις τοῦ ἄμβωνος* 195 f. Friedländer *ἧς ἔπι πυρσοκόρυμβα πεπηγότα δένδρεα δήεις, | ἀργυρέων στράπτοντα χύδην πυρὸς ἄνθος ὁράμνων*], Lucr. 1. 900 flammai fulserunt flore coorto, 4. 450 lucernarum florentia lumina flammis, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 276 arcano florentes igne zmaragdos, Apul. *met.* 8. 15 sole florido, Tertull. *apol.* 11 vani erunt homines, nisi certi sint a primordio et pluvias de caelo ruisse et sidera radiasse et lumina floruisse et tonitrua mugisse et ipsum Iovem quae in manu eius inponitis fulmina timuisse, *de patient.* 2 qui florem lucis huius super iustos et iniustos aequaliter spargit, *adv. Marcion.* 4. 42 caelum luminibus floruisset magis sol radiis insultasset, Mart. Cap. 206 his diutissime florem ignis atque illam existentem ex non existentibus veritatem toto pectore deprecata tum visa se cernere apotheosin sacraque meruisse, [571 glaucam dant volucrem quod lumina concolor igni es, | tuque ignis flos es cluis et *γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*].

Primitive belief and, its first cousin, poetic imagination still share the same idea. A. du Bois-Reymond in Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 10 n. 6 adduces Rudyard Kipling *The Jungle Book* London 1898 p. 21 '"Get the Red Flower." By Red Flower Bagheera meant fire, only no creature in the jungle will call fire by its proper name.' So A. C. Swinburne *Atalanta in Calydon* London 1896 p. 13 'I dreamt, and saw the black brand burst on fire | As a branch bursts in flower, and saw the flame | Fade flower-wise,' R. Browning *The Heretic's Tragedy* 9 'Ha ha, John plucketh now at his rose | To rid himself of a sorrow at heart! | Lo,—petal on petal, fierce rays unclose ; | Anther on anther, sharp spikes outstart ; | And with blood for dew, the bosom boils ; | And a gust of sulphur is all its smell ; | And lo, he is horribly in the toils, | Of a coal-black giant flower of hell!'

[1] On the lotos in its various aspects see the collections of A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 202—211, 255, R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 pp. 418—422, 463, J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 pp. 281—283, and especially W. H. Goodyear *The Grammar of the Lotus* London 1891.

The religious significance of the plant was immediately derived from its habits. According to Theophrastos, the white lotos closes its bell and sinks at sunset, but reopens and comes up again at sunrise (Theophr. *hist. plant.* 4. 8. 9, *caus. plant.* 2. 19. 1, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 13. 108, Dioskor. 4. 112 (114) p. 601 f. Sprengel), and Proklos suggests that in so doing it is virtually adoring the sun (Prokl. *de sacrificio et magia* ed. M. Ficinus Leyden 1607 p. 276). In point of fact, the white lotos (*nymphaea lotus*) appears to be night-blooming, since it is said to open just after sunset and to close on the following morning about ten o'clock ; whereas the rose lotos (*nelumbium speciosum*) opens at dawn and closes soon after mid-day, and the blue lotos (*nymphaea caerulea*) opens soon after sunrise and closes an hour or two before sunset : see Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 18 n. 81. The lotos therefore naturally stood for reproduction, resurrection, and rebirth.

As a symbol of reproductive power it surmounts the shrine of the ithyphallic Khem (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 945 f. pl. 333, 2 ; p. 946 f. pl. 334, Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 10 pls. 1, 10 ; 4, 13, 16) and of Âmen-Râ in his ithyphallic form (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 40 f. pl. 20, 1). Androgynous figures depicting the two Niles, Hapi Kema and Hapi Mehit, have lotos-plants springing from their heads (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 521 ff. pls. 198 and 199, A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 425 fig.). A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 211 says: 'En Égypte, on trouve le lotus dans les parties sexuelles des mômies de femmes.'

Again, the lotos symbolised resurrection. It is constantly associated with the mummy (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 10 pls. 2, 12 ; 4, 14, E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii pl. 26) and with the guardians of its *viscera* (Lanzone *op. cit.* pl. 295, 1, Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 10 pls. 2, 3 ; 5, 1, 4, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii pl. 27). In the *Book of the Dead* cap. 81 A the deceased says: 'I am the pure lotus, which

springeth up from the divine splendour that belongeth to the nostrils of *Ra*,' and *ib.* 81 B: 'Hail, thou lotus, thou type of the god *Nefer-Tem*! I am he who knoweth you, and I know your names among the gods, the lords of the Underworld, and I am one of you.' The vignette of version A is a lotos: that of version B is a lotos-plant with a flower and buds growing out of a pool of water, while from the flower springs a human head, the head of the deceased (Goodyear *op. cit.* pl. 2, 9, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 521 f.). Lotos-flowers and -buds are represented as rising out of the mummy Osiris at Philai (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 19 fig. 1) and as connected in various ways with him at Denderah (Lanzone *op. cit.* pls. 268, 292, E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 131 ff. nos. 1, 23). Karystios of Pergamon *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 357 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 684 E quotes from Nikandros the statement that the flower called *ambrosia* sprang from the head of a statue of Alexander in Kos: the flower in question was a species of lily (Nik. *ap.* Athen. 681 B, 683 D: see further *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 377). Various divinities, divinised mortals, etc. appear on coins with head surmounted by a lotos-flower (list in Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1825), *e.g.* Zeus Sarapis (H. P. Weitz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 366 f.) on a bronze coin of Perinthos in Thrace (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. ii. 397 no. 1161. Fig. 737 is from a specimen of mine, formerly in the Prowe collection) and Antinoos on a bronze coin of Alexandreia struck by Hadrian in 135 A.D. (Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 94 pl. 70, 387 = my fig. 738, L. Dietrichson *Antinoos* Christiania 1884 p. 289 ff., G. Blum 'Numismatique d'Antinoos' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1914 xvi. 53, 68 pl. 5,

Fig. 737.

Fig. 738.

Fig. 739.

1 (Berlin). Cp. the lotos-wreath of Antinoos on a relief in the Villa Albani (L. Dietrichson *op. cit.* p. 189 no. 21 pl. 5, 12, L. Julius in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 85 fig. 89, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 672 f. no. 1663, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom* Leipzig 1913 ii. 424 f. no. 1872)). Gold and silver pieces bearing the legend and types of the apotheosized Arsinoe ii Philadelphos represent the reigning queen in a manner calculated to appeal alike to Egyptians and to Greeks. The former would note the horn of Ammon curling round her ear and the lotos-flower rising from her head. The latter would see but a braided tress of hair and the tip of the royal sceptre! (for examples *vide* J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 183 ff. pls. 8—11, 1900 iii. 73 ff. pls. 2, 4, 5. Fig. 739 is from a decadrachm in my collection).

Thirdly, the lotos was associated with the sun and solar deities. Horos is depicted as a young child seated upon an opening lotos (E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i pl. 34, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 26 fig. 33). 'When he rises in brilliance from the lotos, the whole world comes to life' (H. Brugsch *Religion und Mythologie der alten Aegypter* Leipzig 1885 i. 104, citing C. R. Lepsius *Ueber die Götter der 4 Elemente* pl. 1, 1). Egyptian paintings of the infant sun thus rising from the lotos are mentioned by Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 11, *de Pyth. or.* 12. At Denderah a king offers Horos the lotos with the words: 'I offer thee the flower, which was in the beginning, the glorious lily of the great water. Thou camest forth from the midst of its leaves in the town of Chmun (Hermopolis magna) and didst lighten the earth,

also in Indian[1] religion. The Greeks, therefore, who took lightning to be made of the same fiery substance as the sun[2], might well acquiesce in a lotiform thunderbolt. Moreover, the sky-god's older weapon, the double axe of immemorial sanctity, had been combined in most intimate union with the three-petalled lily[3]. Small wonder that its successor, the classical *keraunós*, retained at least a trace of the former affinity[4].

which was still wrapped in darkness' (H. Brugsch *op. cit.* i. 121, citing A. E. Mariette *Denderah* Paris 1880 I, 55, a). Another text at Denderah says: 'The sun, which was from the beginning, rises like a hawk from the midst of its lotos-bud. When the doors of its leaves open in sapphire-coloured brilliance, it has divided the night from the day' (H. Brugsch *op. cit.* i. 103, citing his *Geographische Inschriften altägyptischer Denkmäler* Leipzig 1884 p. 764 no. 55). Many monuments show the hawk, the embodiment of Horos (*supra* i. 241, 341), supported on a lotos (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 f. pls. 1, 5; 5, 5—7; 43, 3, 9; cp. 44, 2, 6), Thothmes iii is portrayed presenting lotos-flowers and geese to a hawk-headed Râ at Amada (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 pl. 1, 8). Amenophis iii similarly presents lotos-flowers to Âmen (*supra* i. 347) at Thebes (Goodyear *op. cit.* p. 6 pl. 1, 6). The third member of the Memphitic triad, Nefer-Tem, a god of the rising sun, was from the earliest times connected with the lotos. In the text of Unâs, a king of the fifth dynasty, the dead ruler is compared (392 ff. ed. Maspero) to a lotos at the nostrils of the Great Sekhem, and it is said: 'Unâs hath risen like *Nefer-Tem* from the lotus to the nostrils of *Ra*, and he goeth forth from the horizon on each day, and the gods are sanctified by the sight of him' (E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* i. 520 f.). Nefer-Tem is commonly represented with a lotos-flower on his head (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 385 ff. pls. 147 and 148, A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* p. 76 fig. 52).

[1] In India the lotos seems to have borne much the same character as in Egypt, though its significance is less readily perceived (on its decorative usage see A. Grünwedel *Buddhist Art in India* trans. A. C. Gibson, rev. J. Burgess London 1901 p. 19 f.).

While Vishnu was musing on his mission, a lotos with the brilliance of a thousand suns sprang from his navel, and in the midst of this lotos appeared Brahmā (*Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* 3. 20. 16). Hence Brahmā is enthroned on a lotos and holds a lotos in his hand (*Vishṇu-Purâṇa* 4. 1). Vishna too has a lotos in one of his four hands (W. J. Wilkins *Hindu Mythology* Calcutta 1882 p. 102); and the rosary of the Vishnu-devotee may be made of lotos-seeds (E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 502 n. 3). Krishna had the mark of a lotos beneath each foot: he decorated himself with the flower, waving a rose lotos in his hand and having a blue lotos attached to his ear (*Bhâgavata-Purâṇa* 10. 23. 22, 10. 30. 25, 10. 32. 2, 10. 35. 16). Sarasvatī, the wife of Brahmā or—according to the Vishnuites in Bengal—of Vishnu, sits upon a lotos (E. W. Hopkins *op. cit.* p. 451) or appears in the middle of a lotos-wreath (W. J. Wilkins *op. cit.* p. 92). Çrī or Lakshmī, the bride of Vishnu, first emerged from the troubled waters of ocean and landed with a lotos in her hand: since that time the lotos has been one of her attributes (C. Joret *Les Plantes dans l'antiquité et au moyen âge* Paris 1904 i. 2. 527 f.). The blue lotos is one of the arrows of Kāma, god of love (*id. ib.* p. 528).

Vishnu is commonly regarded as a solar god. But this is doubtful (H. Oldenberg *La Religion du Véda* trans. V. Henry Paris 1903 p. 190 ff.). With his solarity stands or falls that of Brahmā, and that of Vishnu's *avatar* Krishna.

[2] *Supra* i. 578 n. 3, 777 n. 4, ii. 11.

[3] *Supra* p. 524 ff.

[4] Cp. the relation of Perun to the iris (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 183: 'The South Slavs call the iris *perunik*, Perun's flower,' etc.).

J. Grimm *op. cit.* 1882 i. 183, 1883 iii. 1191, 1888 iv. 1346, 1672, 1790 n. 1, and H.

Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 i. 72 f., 164 ff., 343 collect the names of flowers associated in the Germanic area with thunder or thunder-gods: *e.g.* in Germany the orpine is *Donnerkraut*, the ground-ivy *Donnerrebe*, the stonecrop or houseleek *Donnerbart* (cp. English *Jo-barbe*, *Jubard*, *Jupiter's Beard* (J. Britten—R. Holland *A Dictionary of English Plant-names* London 1879 ii. 280, 281, 282), French *Joubarbe* (P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 472, 495, 507)), the fumitory *Donnerflug*, the field eryngo *Donnerdistel*, and a tangled vegetable growth *Donnerbesen* (*supra* p. 642 f.); in Denmark the burdock is *tordenskreppe*; in Norway the aconite is *Thor-hat* and *Thor-hjalm*; on Dartmoor the *Potentilla Tormentilla*, a plant used as a febrifuge, was *Thor-mantel* (a corruption of *tormentil*); in Somerset the ox-eye daisy is *dun-daisy* or *thunder-daisy*. P. Sébillot *op. cit.* iii. 472 adds French parallels: in the Walloon district the wild poppy is called *fleur du tôni* (at Liège), *fleur di tônir*, *tonir*, *tonoire* and placed in the timbers of the roof, while on the festival of the Assumption (Aug. 15) bunches of St-John's-wort called *Djèn fleur du tônir* are blest and sprigs of it thrown on the fire to keep off lightning; in Béarn a plant with a yellow flower named *periglade*, 'lightning,' is treated in the same way; etc.

The reason for such names is sometimes obscure, but often turns on a fancied resemblance in colour, sound, shape, etc. H. Friend *op. cit.* i. 72 says: 'The Thistle again was sacred to Thor, its blossom being supposed to receive its bright colour from the lightning, from which it consequently protected the person or building placed under its guardianship.' J. Britten—R. Holland *A Dictionary of English Plant-names* London 1884 iii. 468 note that *Silene inflata* is called *Thunderbolts* at Higham in Kent, 'where the children snap the calyxes, which explode with a slight report.' *Eid. ib.* adopt a similar explanation of the fact that in west Cumberland the *Stellaria Holostea* is known as the *Thunnerflower*. *Eid. op. cit.* 1879 ii. 305: '*Papaver Rhœas*...' About Wooler [in Northumberland] it was wont to be called the Thunder-flower or *Lightnings*; and children were afraid to pluck the flower, for if, perchance, the petals fell off in the act, the gatherer became more liable to be struck with lightning; nor was the risk small, for the deciduousness of the petals is almost proverbial." Bot. E. Bord., p. 31.'

Various plants were named after Zeus or Iupiter. Διὸς ἄνθος = some sort of pink, perhaps *Dianthus inodorus*, 'carnation' (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 1. 1, 6. 6. 2, 6. 6. 11, 6. 8. 3 and *ap.* Athen. 680 E, Nik. *ap.* Athen. 684 B, Hesych. and Souid. *s.v.*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 59 and 67 Iovis flos). Διὸς βάλανος usually = *Castanea vesca*, 'chestnut' (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 12. 1, 3. 3. 1, 3. 3. 8, 3. 10. 1, Dioskor. 1. 145 p. 137 Sprengel: see also Hermippos φορμοφόροι *frag.* 1. 20 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 407 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 28 A as glossed by Hesych. *s.v.*, Athen. 53 D, Mnesitheos *ap.* Athen. 54 C), though the Latin equivalent, *iuglans* for *Iovis glans*, means 'walnut' (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 102, Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 86—91, Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 18. 2 ff., *alib.*); but the Greek name was sometimes given to a Pontic variety of nut (Hermonax and Timachidas *ap.* Athen. 53 B—C, cp. Hesych. *loc. cit.*), or applied to nuts in general (Zonar. *lex. s.v.* βαλάνους Διός· τὰ κάρυα· τοῦ Ψελλοῦ· Διὸς βαλάνους λέγουσι τὰ κάρυα οἱ πλείους, cp. Serv. in Verg. *ecl.* 8. 30 nam nuces in tutela sunt Iovis; unde et iuglandes vocantur, quasi Iovis glandes). Διὸς ἠλακάτη = vervain (*supra* p. 397 n. 0: but English *Jupiter's Distaff* is yellow wild clary, and *Jupiter's Staff* is great mullein (J. Britten—R. Holland *op. cit.* ii. 282, H. Friend *op. cit.* i. 164)). Διὸς ὄφρυα = *Chrysanthemum coronarium*, 'ox-eye' (anon. *carmen Graecum de herbis* 132, an Ionic poem of *s.* iii A.D. printed in F. S. Lehrs' ed. of Oppian and Nikandros Parisiis 1846 p. 172, equates it with *βούφθαλμον* and stresses its virtues as a prophylactic etc.). Διόσπυρον = *Diospyros Lotus*, a species of cherry (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 13. 3, Galen *de alimentorum facultatibus* 2. 38 (vi. 621 Kühn)). *Iovis barba* = *Anthyllis Barba-Jovis*, the silver-bush, commonly called 'Jupiter's beard' (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 76). *Iovis flamma* = a flower with red stalks (Plin. *nat. hist.* 27. 44). See further J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 268 f. ('Heilige Blumen des Zeus') and F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1082 f., M. C. P. Schmidt *ib.* v. 1144.

Note also κεραύνιον = *Tuber aestivum*, 'thunder-truffle' (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 6. 5, where κεραύνιον is F. Wimmer's correction of κράνιον codd. The word is quoted by

The lotiform bolt was, however, differently treated in different parts of the Graeco-Italic world. Ionian art in the east and Etruscan art in the west commonly joined lotos-flower to lotos-bud[1]. The Greeks of Greece proper, during the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.,

Fig. 740.

preferred to add flower to flower or bud to bud[2]: the former scheme was a favourite with their vase-painters (fig. 740)[3], the latter was more convenient for their sculptors (fig. 669)[4].

The lightning-lotos on Greek soil underwent three distinct modifications. In the first place its petals, stylised into rays (fig. 740),

Athen. 61 F, 62 A as γεράνειον, cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1017, 19). It was believed that autumn rains, and thunder-peals in particular, hardened these tubers (Theophr. *frag.* 167 *ap.* Athen. 62 B and *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 19. 37, Iuv. 5. 116 ff.)—a notion which Plutarch is at pains to disprove (Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 2).

[1] Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 13 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 23 ff.

[3] Fig. 740 is from a black-figured *kýlix*, found at Corneto, now at Berlin, which has inside a *Gorgóneion* on red ground, outside an assembly of gods on white ground (E. Gerhard *Griechische und etruskische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1843 p. 5 ff. pl. 4—5; Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 449 f. no. 2060): the excerpt shows Zeus and Hera.

For red-figured examples see *e.g. supra* p. 25 pl. i, p. 26 f. fig. 13, p. 732 fig. 664.

[4] *Supra* p. 740 fig. 669.

were soon transformed into naturalistic flames issuing from the floral (fig. 665)[1] or *quasi*-floral calyx (fig. 741)[2]. The vases render such flames in red, and it may be presumed that this variation on the lotos was introduced by some painter with an eye to effective colouring. It spread to other arts because of its obvious suitability. After all, lightning-flashes are more like flames than flowers.

Secondly, the sepals of the calyx developed into wings. At first the calyx itself was feathered. This might happen either to the single calyx, as *e.g.* on the bronze reliefs of the chariot at Perugia[3], or to the double calyx, as *e.g.* on a red-figured *kotýle* signed by the potter Hieron[4]. Later, a pair of wings was detached from the calyx, as on many vase-paintings of the fifth century (figs. 10, 666)[5]. And ultimately a second pair of wings was added to balance the first, as on the coins[6] and vases of south Italy (*supra* i. 337 fig. 269)[7]. There can be little doubt that the winged thunderbolt, repeatedly mentioned or implied in Attic poetry[8], was originally modelled on the eagle, the recognised lightning-bird of the Greeks[9]. Aischylos in an extant fragment of his *Niobe* makes Zeus himself declare:

'Yea, Amphion's house
Will I burn down with eagles bearing fire[10].'

[1] *Supra* p. 733 fig. 665.

[2] From a red-figured *kýlix* at Berlin (E. Gerhard *Griechische und etruskische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1843 p. 14 ff. pl. 8, 2 (interior: Selene), p. 20 ff. pl. 10—11 (exterior: *Gigantomachía*, part of which = my fig. 741), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 361 f. no. 14 Atlas pl. 4, 12 a, 12 b, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 589 ff. no. 2293) attributed to 'the Brygos painter' (J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 94, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 124 no. 19), who was at work during the first third of *s.* v B.C. Zeus, in *chitón* and *chlamýs*, steps on to his four-horse chariot and quits Olympos (pillar), escorted by Herakles, with *tricot*-costume, *chitón*, lion-skin, bow, etc., and by Athena, who already spears Enkelados.

[3] E. Petersen 'Bronzen von Perugia' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1894 ix. 274 ff. fig. 3 and in *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 2. 3 pl. 14, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pls. 588, 589 with text by A. Furtwängler, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 102 no. 1. Date: *s.* vi B.C.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 137 ff. no. E 140, R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 226 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 43, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 7, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1856 f. fig. 1958, J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 102, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 60 f. no. 13 fig. Date: first third of *s.* v B.C.

[5] *Supra* p. 24 fig. 10, p. 735 fig. 666 (with which cp. the *stámnos* in the Louvre (G 370) noted *supra* p. 735 n. 4).

[6] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 37 n. 1.

[7] *Id. ib.*

[8] Soph. *O.C.* 1460 f., Eur. *suppl.* 860, *H.f.* 177 ff., *Bacch.* 90, Aristoph. *av.* 1714 with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Lucr. 6. 383, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 319 with Serv. *ad loc.*, Val. Flacc. 6. 55 f., Claud. *de raptu Proserpinae* 2. 228 f.

[9] *Supra*, p. 751 n. 2.

[10] Aisch. *Niob. frag.* 160 Nauck[2] *ap.* Aristoph. *av.* 1247 f. with schol. *ad loc.*

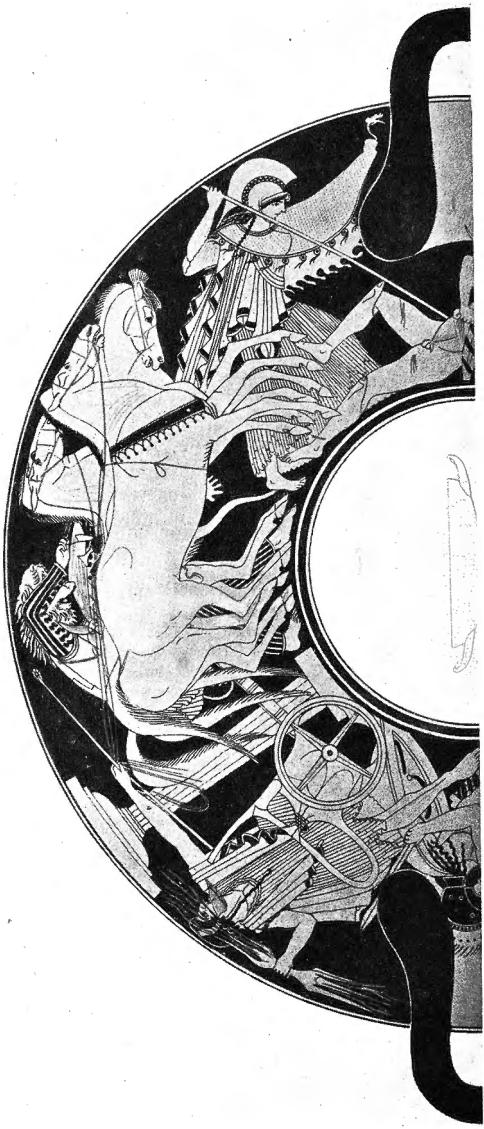


Fig. 741.

And H. Usener[1] rightly insisted that the phrase attests a long-standing popular belief. Those who regarded the eagle as the natural bringer of the lightning would of course take the wings of the thunderbolt to be eagle's pinions[2].

Thirdly, the central spike of the lotos came to be spirally twisted —a variation in shape which has been diversely explained. T. H. Martin[3], followed by G. Fougères[4], recalls the twist of tow wound round incendiary arrows. A. Conze and P. Jacobsthal[5] suggest a rendering of curled flames. P. Sarasin[6] contends that lightning in particular was often symbolised by a spiral line. Personally I suspect that lightning was from of old believed to strike with a screw-like or helical movement. This, as R. F. Crook[7] argues, is really implied by the Homeric epithet of Zeus, *terpikéraunos*[8], 'who twisteth the thunderbolt[9],' and its Virgilian equivalent, *cum fulmina torques*[10], 'when thou twistest thy bolt.' Such a belief might be strengthened by the occasional appearance of lightning in spiral form. As to this, Aischylos is explicit:

> Forth flash
> The lightning's fiery spirals[11].

And Mr C. T. R. Wilson, our first authority on the subject of electrical meteorology, tells me (Nov. 4, 1921) that he has himself seen lightning 'quite spiral.' But, be the explanation what it may, the spiral twine with its suggestion of rotatory, penetrating flight

[1] H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 26 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 493).

[2] We need not, however, imagine with A. H. Sayce 'The winged thunderbolt' in *The Academy* (*quando?*) that the winged bolt on the coins of Elis is derived from the double eagle of the Hittites.

[3] T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 389 ff.

[4] G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1358 f.

[5] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 23.

[6] P. Sarasin in the *Festschrift für Fritz Sarasin* Basel 1919 cited by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 203 f. Cp. *e.g. supra* i. 289 fig. 209.

[7] R. F. Crook 'Did the ancient Greeks and Romans understand the importance of the effect produced by rifling in modern guns?' in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 46 ff.

[8] Eight times in the *Iliad* (1. 419, 2. 478, 781, 8. 2, 11. 773, 12. 252, 16. 232, 24. 529), seven in the *Odyssey* (7. 164, 180, 14. 268, 17. 437, 19. 365, 20. 75, 24. 24); five times in the *hymns* (*h. Dion.* 4, *h. Dem.* 485, *h. Ap.* 5, *h. Aphr.* 36, *h. Her.* 5), thrice in Hesiod (*o.d.* 52, 273 (*v.l.*), *frag.* 5. 1 Rzach), and sporadically later (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 141).

[9] So G. Meyer in G. Curtius *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* 1875 vii. 181 ff., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 456. But F. Bechtel in *Glotta* 1907 i. 74 f. and in his *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 312, followed by Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 958, still renders 'whose joy is the thunderbolt.'

[10] Verg. *Aen.* 4. 208, cp. 6. 592 f., 9. 705 f., *alib.*

[11] Aisch. *P. v.* 1083 f. ἕλικες δ' ἐκλάμπουσι | στεροπῆς ζάπυροι.

became extremely popular in Hellenistic[1] and Roman times (*supra* i. 607 fig. 478, ii. 750 fig. 689, pl. xxxiv).

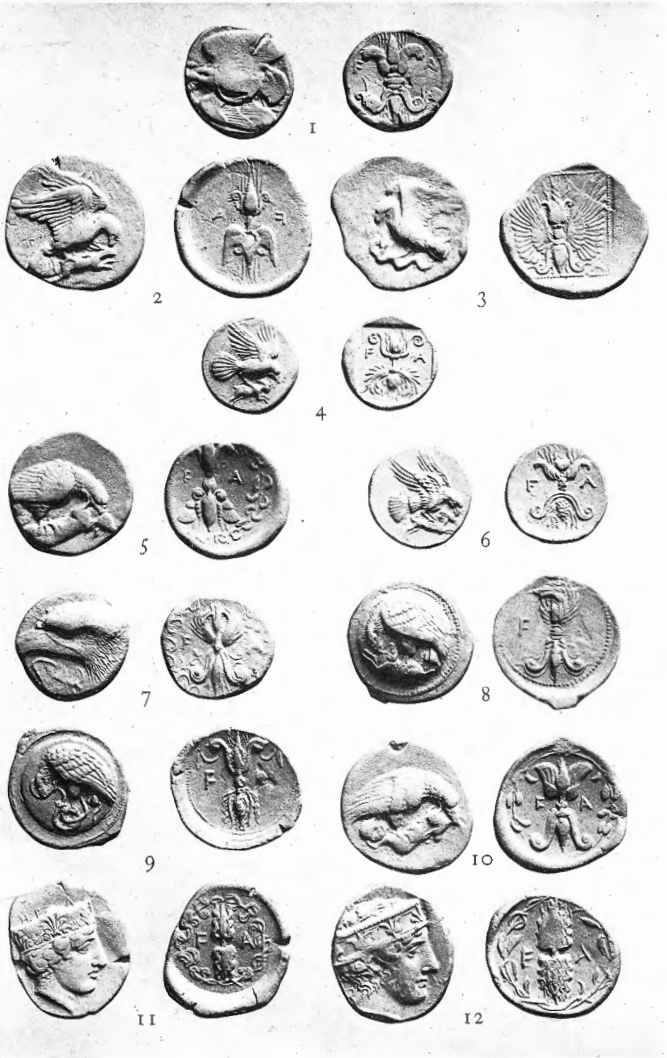
These three modifications of the lotos—flames, wings, and spiral twist—are all to be found on the wonderful series of silver coins struck by the temple-mints at Olympia (pl. xxxvi)[2]. The coins in question form the subject of an important monograph by C. T. Seltman, who has devoted a special section to their treatment of the thunderbolt[3]. It appears that the basis of the Olympian design was, from first to last, the duplicated lotos. Flame-lines, commencing as a detail on coins issued from *c.* 510 B.C. by the mint of Zeus (pl. xxxvi, 1 ff.), end by becoming the principal feature on coins issued from *c.* 421 B.C. by the mint of Hera (pl. xxxvi, 11 f.). Wings, which begin as a mere feathering of the calyx (pl. xxxvi, 1), develop into pinions of various shapes and sizes. The thunderbolt is, in fact, transformed before our eyes into a winged creature instinct with a life of its own. Now it spreads its glorious vanes like a

[1] *E.g.* on an Apulian *kratér* at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 591 ff. no. 3256, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 99 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pls. 30—32, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 182 ff. (N), Atlas pl. 1, 26 (Zeus only), C. Robert *Die Marathonschlacht in der Poikile und weiteres über Polygnot* Halle 1895 p. 36 ff. (omitting restorations), Reinach *Rép.* Vases i. 98—100).

[2] The arrangement of the coins on pl. xxxvi is not primarily chronological, but typological: nos. 1—4 = flower + flame + wings; nos. 5, 6 = two exceptional forms; nos. 7, 8 = closing wings; no. 9 = flower + flame, without wings; no. 10 = flower + wings, with flame reduced to a *minimum*; nos. 11, 12 = flames increased to a *maximum*. The specimens figured are the following:

1 McLean collection = Seltman no. 14, a pl. 1, K μ of Series ii (*c.* 510—*c.* 471 B.C.).
2 McLean collection = Seltman no. 131, a pl. 4, BK $\gamma\delta$ of Series xiii (*c.* 432—*c.* 421 B.C.).
3 McLean collection = Seltman no. 124, c pl. 4, BH $\beta\chi$ of Series xii (*c.* 452—*c.* 432 B.C.).
4 McLean collection, cp. Seltman p. 57 pl. 8, 7 of Series x (*c.* 452—*c.* 432 B.C.).
5 McLean collection = Seltman no. 143, a pl. 5, BP $\gamma\nu$ of Series xv (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
6 McLean collection, cp. Seltman p. 32 f. pl. 8, 35 of Series xxv (*c.* 191 B.C. —).
7 McLean collection = Seltman no. 154, c pl. 5, BT^2 $\gamma\phi$ of Series xvii (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
8 British Museum = Seltman no. 172, e pl. 5, BX $\delta\theta$ of Series xviii (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
9 McLean collection = Seltman no. 164, a pl. 5, BV $\delta\zeta$ of Series xviii (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
10 McLean electrotype of specimen at Vienna = Seltman no. 141, c pl. 5, BO $\gamma\lambda$ of Series xv (*c.* 421—*c.* 365 B.C.).
11 Leake collection = Seltman no. 242, a pl. 9, EA $\eta\alpha$ of Series xxvi (*c.* 421—*c.* 385 B.C.).
12 McLean collection = Seltman no. 266, a pl. 9, EH $\eta\pi$ of Series xxvii (*c.* 421—*c.* 385 B.C.).

[3] C. T. Seltman 'The Temple Coins of Olympia' in *Nomisma* 1913 viii. 23—65 pls. 1—4, *ib.* 1914 ix. 1—33 pls. 5—8, *ib.* 1921 xi. 75—117 pls. 9—12.



Silver coins struck by the temple-mints at Olympia, showing various types of Thunderbolt.

See page 780 f.

butterfly in the sunlight (pl. xxxvi, 3). Now it half-closes them (pl. xxxvi, 7). Now again it furls them completely and relapses into rest (pl. xxxvi, 8). The wings, according to Seltman, are either those of Nike or those of a bird, usually of an eagle the lightning-bird, but sometimes perhaps of a swallow (pl. xxxvi, 2) the harbinger of rain[1]. The spiral twist is introduced soon after the middle of *s.* v B.C. It first affects the central spike of the lotos (pl. xxxvi, 3), but early in *s.* iv involves the wings and sepals as well (fig. 742), 'so that the thunderbolt may be thought of as spinning while it hurtles through the air[2].'

Two curious types discovered by Mr Seltman call for separate notice. A *statér* issued by the mint of Zeus between *c.* 471 and *c.* 452 B.C. makes the sepals on the upper half of the bolt curl over to form serpent-heads (fig. 743)[3]. These must be regarded as an

Fig. 742.

Fig. 743.

arbitrary, but not altogether inappropriate, variation of the tendrils, which on many specimens occupy a like position. If Aischylos could describe the arrow of Apollon as 'a winged glistering snake[4],' an artist contemporary with the poet might well conceive the thunderbolt of Zeus as in part serpentiform. The lord of the *aigís* had snakes enough and to spare.

Another *statér*, issued by the mint of Zeus *c.* 421 B.C., is of greater interest. The lower half of the bolt is here an unmistakable fly with head, eyes, body, wings, and legs complete (pl. xxxvi, 5). This is rightly, I think, interpreted by Mr Seltman[5] as an allusion to the local cult of Zeus *Apómyios*. Since the said cult has often been misunderstood, it is worth while to state the main facts concerning it. When animal sacrifices were offered in hot weather, flies of course arrived in swarms and fastened on the carcases. This

[1] After P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 25 ('Schwalbenflügel'), cp. D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 192 [add Geopon. 1. 3. 8].

[2] C. T. Seltman *loc. cit.* 1921 xi. 108 with no. 157 pl. 5, BT[3] γω (=my fig. 742) and no. 158 pl. 5, BT[3] δα.

[3] C. T. Seltman *loc. cit.* 1913 viii. 36 f. no. 42 pl. 2, AF αν (=my fig. 743), 1921 xi. 107.

[4] Aisch. *Eum.* 181 *πτηνὸν ἀργηστὴν ὄφιν.*

[5] C. T. Seltman *loc. cit.* 1914 ix. 10, 1921 xi. 107.

tended to disturb the ritual and was therefore undesirable. But to the superstitious Greek the buzzing myriads that claimed their share in the sacred feast seemed something of a divine visitation. If not the god himself[1], they might at least be his emissaries[2]. Biting flies meant coming storm[3]—and who could tell? The safest course was to placate the little pests. Accordingly the Leucadians, before celebrating the festival of Apollon *Áktios*, first sacrificed an ox to the flies[4]—an almost unique example of direct sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil[5]. Aelian tells us that the flies, when gorged with the blood of the ox, took themselves off, and contrasts their mercenary conduct with that of the flies at Olympia, which did the right thing through sheer respect for the god[6]. Olympic flies, it would seem, though countless victims were offered, blood poured out, and flesh hung up, yet retired discreetly across the Alpheios, returning only when the festival was over[7]. Aelian, being a pious priest, is fond of edifying conclusions[8]. Unfortunately Antiphanes the comedian, who lived five centuries and more before Aelian, had long since spoilt the moral: parasites—he says—ought to be treated like the uninvited flies at Olympia, for which an ox is cut up by way of preliminary sacrifice[9]. We gather, then, that in *s.* iv B.C. the Olympians, like the Leucadians, slew an ox for the special benefit of the flies. As time passed and men ceased to believe in the divinity of flies, their expulsion would be attributed to some local hero or god. Thus Pausanias informs us that the inhabitants of Aliphera in Arkadia, before keeping their festival of Athena (?), sacrificed to a hero *Myíagros*, the 'Fly-catcher[10].' Simi-

[1] I have suggested that Zeus became a fly in pursuit of Io (*supra* i. 532). Parallels are cited by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 iii. 998 f. ('*Fly-shape*'), 1888 iv. 1604 f., G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 30 n. 3, M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2745 f.

[2] In some parts of South Germany the stag-beetle is called *donnergwig*, *donnergüge*, *donnerpuppe*, perhaps because he likes to live in oak-trees, and it is believed that lightning will strike a house into which he is carried (J. Grimm *op. cit.* 1882 i. 183, 1883 ii. 692).

[3] Theophr. *de signis tempestatum* 23 καὶ τὸ δημόσιον τὸ περὶ τὰς μυίας λεγόμενον ἀληθές· ὅταν γὰρ δάκνωσι σφόδρα, ὕδατος σημεῖον, Geopon. 1. 3. 9 καὶ μυῖαι ἐπὶ πλέον δάκνουσαι (*sc.* ὄμβρον σημαίνουσι).

[4] Herakleides Pontikos κτίσεις ἱερῶν *frag.* 1 Tresp (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 197 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 8 p. 30, 7 ff. Stählin Ἡρακλείδης δὲ ἐν Κτίσεσιν ἱερῶν περὶ τὴν Ἀκαρνανίαν φησίν, ἔνθα τὸ Ἄκτιόν ἐστιν ἀκρωτήριον καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀκτίου τὸ ἱερόν, ταῖς μυίαις προθύεσθαι βοῦν.

[5] Cp. the Praisian sacrifice to a pig (*supra* i. 653 n. 3).

[6] Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 8 (θύουσι βοῦν ταῖς μυίαις, αἱ δὲ ἐμπλησθεῖσαι τοῦ αἵματος ἀφανίζονται).

[7] Ail. *de nat. an.* 5. 17.

[8] Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 336 f.

[9] Antiphanes *fab. incert. frag.* 5 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 134 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 4 F—5 A.

[10] Paus. 8. 26. 7, cp. Souid. *s.v.* μυίαγρος· ὁ μυιοθήρας.

larly Pliny states that at the Olympic festival a bull was immolated to a god named Myiodes, after which clouds of flies departed from the locality[1]. Elsewhere he says that, when swarms of flies bring disease, the Eleans invoke a god called Myiacores and that, if he accepts their offering, the flies forthwith perish[2]. At Rome neither fly nor dog would enter the temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium[3]; for the hero, on distributing the flesh of the sacrifice, had summoned the god Myiagrus, who kept the flies away, and had left his club in the porch, which frightened the dogs[4]. We are further told that the Romans sacrificed to Herakles *Apómyios*,

Fig. 744.

Fig. 745.

'Averter of Flies,' the Eleans to Zeus *Apómyios*[5]. Both Herakles and Zeus figure in the version preserved by Pausanias[6]:

'They say that Herakles the son of Alkmene, when sacrificing at Olympia, was worried by the flies. Thereupon it occurred to him, or perhaps somebody suggested to him, that he should sacrifice to Zeus *Apómyios*. And so the flies were sent packing across the Alpheios. The Eleans too are said to sacrifice in the same way to Zeus *Apómyios*, when they drive the flies out of Olympia.'

Thus by a strange, yet wholly understandable, *peripéteia* the sacrifice originally paid to the flies came ultimately to be paid to Zeus who drove them out[7].

Theriomorphism in the long run gives place to anthropomorphism, and the winged thunderbolts of Greek art lead up to a *quasi*-human form. Square bronze coins struck by Maues, a Scythic

[1] Plin. *nat. hist.* 29. 106.

[2] *Id. ib.* 10. 75.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 79, Solin. 1. 11. The source may be Varro, cp. Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 90. Did *κύων* suggest *κυνόμυια*? Similarly flies kept away from the temple of Aphrodite at Paphos (Andron of Halikarnassos *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 352 Müller) *ap.* Apollon. *hist. mir.* 8), and from Mt Carina (*v.l.* Carma) in Crete (Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 79).

[4] Solin. 1. 11.

[5] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 38. 4 p. 28, 25 f. Stählin *ἐνταῦθα* (*sc.* *ἐν* Ἠλιδι) Ἀπομυίῳ *Διὶ θύουσιν* Ἠλεῖοι· Ῥωμαῖοι δὲ Ἀπομυίῳ Ἡρακλεῖ.

[6] Paus. 5. 14. 1. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 131, 23 f. Ἀπόμυιος· οὕτως ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς Ἠλείοις τιμᾶται, Ἡρακλέους ἱδρυσαμένου ἐπὶ ἀποτροπῇ τῶν μυιῶν, Schöll-Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός 10 ἀπομυίου.

[7] H. K. E. Köhler's attempt to identify '*Jupiter Apomyos*' on an engraved gem of the Orleans collection (Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 138 no. 59 pl. 126, E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1153) was wholly misleading.

conqueror of the Greeks in northern India (? *c.* 130 B.C.), have for obverse design Zeus enthroned, holding a sceptre in his left hand and extending his right towards a small male figure, who seems to be an embodiment of the thunderbolt (figs. 744, 745)[1]. This humanised missile we may venture to name Keraunos[2].

Flames, wings, and spiral twist remained as characteristic traits of the thunderbolt throughout the classical period. Virgil[3] works all three into his description of Volcanus' smithy :

> Iron the Cyclops forged in that great cave—
> Brontes and Steropes and bare-limbed Pyracmon.
> Thereof their hands had wrought a thunderbolt
> Of such sort as the Sire oft hurls from heaven
> To earth, part burnished—part was yet to make.
> Three rays of twisted rain, three more of cloud,
> Three of red fire and the winged southern wind,
> They blent with flashes fell and sound and fear
> And fury with its still pursuing flames.

The Virgilian Cyclopes were fashioning their thunderbolt like armourers at work on some complicated engine of destruction. It was indeed natural that the sky-god's bolt should borrow some at least of its features from weapons wielded by human hands. In Italy and Sicily, as Jacobsthal[4] observed, the central spike of the lotos, and likewise the lotos-bud, developed into a dagger-blade (fig. 746)[5] or an arrow-head (fig. 747)[6]. Also in the same region half arrow-heads or hooks came to be added on the side spikes of the bolt (fig. 748)[7]. The earliest examples of such treatment are,

[1] P. Gardner in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. lviii, 70 pl. 16, 9, *id. Types of Gk. Coins* p. 210 pl. 14, 24 (=my fig. 744). In his description of both plates Prof. Gardner speaks of a 'female figure'; but in *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 210 he tacitly corrects his own blunder and says: 'we see a male figure, evidently an impersonation of the thunderbolt which is indeed not entirely transmuted into his form, but partly appears over his head and at his sides. This is a very interesting invention of the Indo-Greeks.' Fig. 745 is from another specimen in the British Museum.

[2] *Supra* p. 11 ff. Whether the naked boy with a torch, who on the Naples Prometheus-*sarcophagus* (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* i. 304 ff. pl. 61, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 286 ff. pl. 14, K. Bapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3108 f.) appears to be leaping down from the head of Zeus towards Hephaistos, is rightly regarded as the thunderbolt personified (so E. Petersen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 126) is very doubtful.

[3] Verg. *Aen.* 8. 424 ff.

[4] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* p. 21 f.

[5] From Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 10 f. pl. 282.

[6] From Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 75 ff. pl. 74.

[7] P. Jacobsthal *op. cit.* pp. 22, 43 n. 2. I figure the reverse of a bronze coin of Kentoripai dating from the latter half of *s.* iii B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 55 nos. 3—6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 177 nos. 2, 3 pl. 13, 2, 4—6, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 219 pl. 14, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 135).

however, to be found on Attic black-figured vases belonging to the close of *s.* vi B.C. A *kýlix* from Vulci signed by the potter Phrynos shows the birth of Athena from the head of Zeus[1]: the thunderbolt

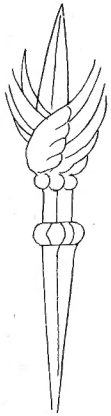


Fig. 746.

Fig. 748.

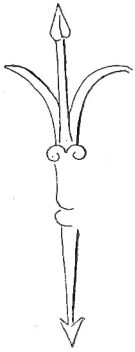


Fig. 747.

in the god's right hand has a heart-shaped pistil, probably meant for an arrow-head, starting from the centre of its lotos-flower. And a similar *kýlix* from Vulci signed by the potter Xenokles represents the three sons of Kronos standing side by side between two winged

Fig. 749.

horses (fig. 749)[2]. Poseidon, the central figure, carries a large trident; Zeus, a thunderbolt with hooked prongs; Hades, an uncertain object, perhaps a horn[3].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 no. B 424, figured *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 f. no. B 425, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 43 ff. pl. 24 A (=my fig. 749), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 28 ff. (S), C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1797 ff.

[3] I have not reproduced the red-figured *stámnos* of 'strong' style from Chiusi usually compared with this vase (T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1851 ix. 305 ff. pl. 27, C. von Paucker *ib.* p. 376 ff., T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1854* Phil.-hist. Classe

(γ) The thunderbolt of Zeus and the trident of Poseidon.

The vase-painting just described raises a problem of considerable interest. Was the trident of Poseidon originally identical with the thunderbolt of Zeus?

It is commonly supposed that the trident was what Aischylos calls it—the 'fish-striking device' of a sea-god[1]. Indeed it can hardly be doubted that classical antiquity as a whole viewed the trident in this way[2]. But the point is not, what the Greeks and Romans of the classical age took the trident to be, but what it originally was. And here there is room for divergence of opinion.

In the middle of last century F. G. Welcker[3] argued that the trident, properly considered, was not a mere fish-spear, but rather a sign and symbol that Poseidon was lord over a third portion of the world. Welcker, who usually took a sane view of facts, has here been deserted by his better judgment. He is following the erroneous guidance of Plutarch and other allegorists of Graeco-Roman times[4].

H. B. Walters[5] in 1893 struck out a new line of investigation. Observing that Poseidon's trident, as represented on votive *pínakes* or terra-cotta tablets found at Penteskuphia near Corinth and referable to the period 650—550 B.C.[6], was often, especially on the earlier examples, shaped like a lotos, he inferred that the art-type of the trident had been developed out of the art-type of a lotiform sceptre. Poseidon—he suggested—was at first simply Zeus in his maritime aspect. Both deities were then entitled to bear the sceptre. But by a gradual process of differentiation Poseidon's sceptre was transformed into a trident, this transformation being prompted by another of the god's attributes, namely his tunny-fish. Thus the

p. 579 ff. pl. 3, 16, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 373, 2, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 260 ff.), because it appears to have been, not merely extensively restored, but fundamentally transformed. According to K. Wernicke (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 40 f. pl. 4, 1), its reverse showed originally three bearded men with long thorn-sticks: this commonplace *genre* scene the forger altered into a mythological group of deep significance, by giving each man a lotiform thunderbolt with dagger-blade ends, two of them a very suspicious lightning-flash, and the third a trident! Unfortunately the vase itself has disappeared, so that Wernicke's contention cannot be proved: still, it is all too probable, and the vase-painting must remain suspect.

[1] Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 130 f. *ὅ θ' ἵππιος ποντομέδων ἄναξ | ἰχθυβόλῳ μαχανᾷ Ποσειδάν.*

[2] See *e.g.* Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 570, F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 60.

[3] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 628 ff.

[4] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 76, schol. Aisch. *P. v.* 922, Serv. in Verg. *Aen.* 1. 133, Myth. Vat. 3. 5. 1, 3. 6. 22.

[5] H. B. Walters 'Poseidon's Trident' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1893 xiii. 13 ff.

[6] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 47 ff. nos. 347—955, Fränkel in the *Ant. Denkm.* i. 3 f. pls. 7, 8.

evolution of Poseidon from Zeus was followed by the evolution of the trident from the sceptre. Two thorny questions are here intertwined—the relation of Poseidon to Zeus and that of the trident to

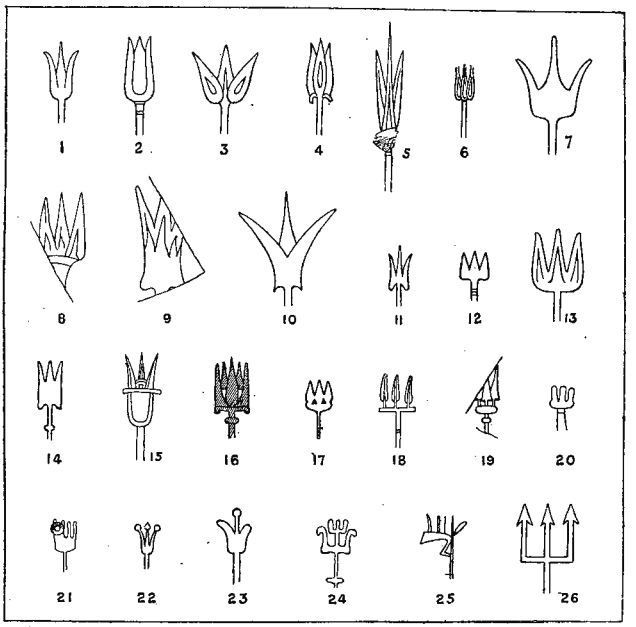


Fig. 750.

the sceptre. On the former and larger question I have already touched[1]. On the latter Mr Walters has got together a considerable array of evidence (fig. 750)[2]. But his facts, it seems to me, are

[1] *Supra* p. 582 ff.

[2] I reprint the illustration given by Mr Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1893 xiii. 17. Nos. 1—21 are taken from the Penteskuphia *pinakes* at Berlin, nos. 22—26 from vases in the British Museum:

No. 1 = Furtwängler *Vasens. Berlin* i. 85 f. no. 802.
2 = ,, ,, ,, i. 52 no. 384.
3 = ,, ,, ,, i. 49 no. 348.
4 = ,, ,, ,, i. 50 no. 368, Fränkel in *Ant. Denkm.* i. 3 pl. 7, 28.
5 = ,, ,, ,, i. 58 no. 471, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 3.
6 = ,, ,, ,, i. 59 f. no. 485, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 11.
7 = ,, ,, ,, i. 92 no. 843.
8 = ,, ,, ,, i. 55 no. 453.

susceptible of a different interpretation. Trident and sceptre alike were lotiform. Why? Possibly because the lotos was a prevalent *motif* of decoration[1]. The thunderbolt too, as we have seen[2], was lotiform, and largely for the same reason. There is therefore, so far

9 = Furtwängler *Vasens. Berlin* i. 91 no. 838.
10 = ,, ,, ,, i. 52 no. 387, Fränkel in *Ant. Denkm.* i. 3 pl. 7, 18.
11 = ,, ,, ,, i. 65 f. no. 539, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 21.
12 = ,, ,, ,, i. 81 no. 780, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 26.
13 = ,, ,, ,, i. 51 no. 371.
14 = ,, ,, ,, i. 86 no. 803.
15 = ,, ,, ,, i. 55 no. 450.
16 = ,, ,, ,, i. 56 no. 460, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 24.
17 = ,, ,, ,, i. 61 no. 489, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 20.
18 = ,, ,, ,, i. 100 no. 899, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 27.
19 = ,, ,, ,, i. 58 no. 475, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 17.
20 = ,, ,, ,, i. 58 no. 474, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 19.
21 = ,, ,, ,, i. 57 no. 464, ,, ,, ,, i. 3 pl. 7, 2.
22 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 66 f. no. B 57 (Ionic *amphora*) trident held by Poseidon.
23 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 156 no. B 246 (black-figured *amphora*) sceptre held by Ariadne (?).
24 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 24 fig. 32, 117 no. B 166 (black-figured *amphora*) sceptre held by Zeus.
25 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 no. B 424 (black-figured *kylix*) sceptre held by Zeus.
26 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 227 no. B 428 (later black-figured *kylix*) trident held by Nereus.

Of the forms here tabulated the most abnormal is no. 25, which occurs on the *kylix* by Phrynos cited above (Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 192 f. pl. 56, B = my fig. 751 : introduction of Herakles to Olympos). The four-pronged trident, no. 21, can be

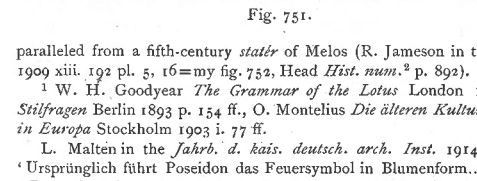


Fig. 751.

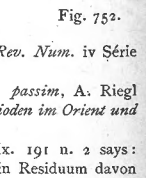


Fig. 752.

paralleled from a fifth-century *statér* of Melos (R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1909 xiii. 192 pl. 5, 16 = my fig. 752, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 892).

[1] W. H. Goodyear *The Grammar of the Lotus* London 1891 *passim*, A. Riegl *Stilfragen* Berlin 1893 p. 154 ff., O. Montelius *Die älteren Kulturperioden im Orient und in Europa* Stockholm 1903 i. 77 ff.

L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 191 n. 2 says: 'Ursprünglich führt Poseidon das Feuersymbol in Blumenform..., ein Residuum davon z.B. noch auf den korinthischen Pinakes..., wo die florale Bildung der Poseidonwaffe nicht sekundäre Ornamentalisierung ist, sondern Rest der alten Blumenbildung.'

[2] *Supra* p. 769 ff.

as the lotos is concerned, no more cause to connect the trident with the sceptre than to connect it with the thunderbolt.

In 1898 O. Gilbert, undeterred by an emphatic protest on the part of C. Robert[1], announced that Poseidon's trident 'must be essentially identical with the lightning[2].' He pointed out that the *Iliad* describes Poseidon as—

> Holding in his stout hand a dread long-edged
> Sword like the lightning[3]—

and that the mark of Poseidon's trident to be seen on the Akropolis at Athens[4] is comparable with the *elýsia* or *enelýsia* caused by the lightning of Zeus[5]. H. Usener in 1905 likewise declared for the 'original identity of the Poseidonian trident with the thunderbolt[6].' He too quoted the lines from the *Iliad* and laid stress on the resemblance of the hypaethral[7] trident-mark at Athens to the hypaethral[8] *bidental* or lightning-monument of the Romans. Lastly he stated, on the authority of G. Loeschcke, that the weapon of Zeus is sometimes tridentiform[9]. Similar views were expressed in 1907 by the mythologist E. H. Meyer[10] and in 1909 by the historian E. Meyer[11].

[1] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 570.

[2] Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 170.

[3] *Il.* 14. 384 ff. ἦρχε δ' ἄρα σφι Ποσειδάων ἐνοσίχθων, | δεινὸν ἄορ τανύηκες ἔχων ἐν χειρὶ παχείῃ, | εἰκελον ἀστεροπῇ with schol. T.V. *ad loc.* τινὲς τὴν τρίαιναν, ἐπεὶ καὶ Ἀρκάδες καὶ Αἰτωλοὶ πᾶν ὅπλον "ἄορ" καλοῦσιν· κ.τ.λ.

[4] Hegesias *frag.* 7 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 143 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 396, Apollod. 3. 14. 1, Paus. 1. 26. 5. See W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250, M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 208.

[5] *Supra* p. 21 f.

[6] H. Usener 'Keraunos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 23 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 490 f.).

[7] Not only was the pavement of the north porch of the Erechtheion left open so as to show the trident-mark in the rock beneath it, but there was a corresponding hole contrived in the roof above it (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxviii. 466 ff., M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 208 f.).

M. P. Nilsson 'The Σχῆμα Τριαίνης in the Erechtheion' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 325—333 places the trident-mark in the north-west corner of the crypt of the west *cella*: but his view has not found acceptance (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250 n. 9).

[8] Fest. p. 333 *b* 30 ff. Müller, p. 450, 2 ff. Lindsay, Vitr. 1. 2. 5; cp. Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 66, *Catus vel de liberis educandis ap.* Non. Marc. p. 793, 23 ff. Lindsay, Ov. *fast.* 2. 671 f., Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 28. *Supra* i. 53, *infra* § 3 (c) iv (α).

[9] I suppose that Loeschcke had in mind the *kýlix* signed by Xenokles (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 f. no. B 425, *supra* p. 785 fig. 749). H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 27 n. 92 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 494 n. 92) observes that on a coin of Taouion (Tavium) in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia etc. p. 27 pl. 5, 12, figured *infra* § 3 (c) iv (α)) Zeus holds 'dreizackigen Donnerkeil.'

[10] E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2797 ('Dann fasst er (*sc.* Poseidon) seinen Dreizack, ein Sinnbild...des dreizackigen in eine Thunfischergabel umgestalteten Blitzes oder Sturmgeschosses').

[11] E. Meyer *Geschichte des Altertums*[2] Stuttgart—Berlin 1909 i. 2. 638 ('Als Attribut

In 1911 C. Blinkenberg[1] devoted a chapter to the subject and concluded that Poseidon's trident 'is an adaptation of the Hittite and Babylonian thunderweapon[2],' which entered Greece shortly after the Mycenaean age, that it was soon supplanted by the double form

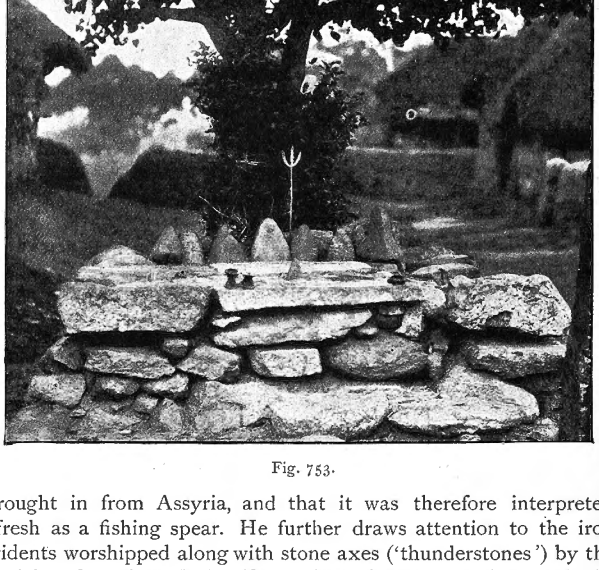


Fig. 753.

brought in from Assyria, and that it was therefore interpreted afresh as a fishing spear. He further draws attention to the iron tridents worshipped along with stone axes ('thunderstones') by the pariahs of southern India (fig. 753)[3], and compares them with the *trisula* or trident of Çiva, the post-Vedic successor of the Vedic

trägt er (*sc.* Zeus Osogô) den Dreizack, vielleicht erst unter griechischem Einfluss—oder ist etwa der Dreizack des Poseidon als sein Attribut nur aus dem Blitz umgedeutet?').

[1] C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 pp. 50—57.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 55, cp. *ib.* p. 57: 'Briefly, then, the development was as follows:—from the old Babylonian representation of the lightning, *i.e.* two or three zigzag lines representing flames, a tripartite thunderweapon was evolved and was carried east and west from that ancient seat of civilization. Together with the axe (in western Asia Minor the double-edged and towards the centre of Asia the single-edged axe) it became a regular attribute of the Asiatic thundergods. The extreme limits of its extension are India in the east and Greece in the west. The Indian trisula and the Greek triaina are both its descendants.'

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 8 ff. figs. 1, 2 (=my fig. 753), 3, p. 55 f. The figure here reproduced shows an 'earth-temple' in a pariah quarter belonging to the village of Agrāvaram near Vellore. Dr Blinkenberg says: 'The actual altar is 2½ feet high, its surface 7½ × 9½ feet. On the altar are seen seven thunderstones... The trisula owes its white colour to the remains of

storm-god Rudra, as represented on coins of the Indo-Bactrian kings[1] (fig. 754)[2] and—I may add—as still to be seen in Çiva-shrines (fig. 755)[3]. That the trident of Poseidon was originally a lightning-fork, later re-interpreted as a fish-spear, is an opinion which has commended itself to an increasing number of scholars. C. Fries in 1911[4], Miss J. E. Harrison in 1912[5], L. Malten in 1914[6], O. Gruppe in 1918[7] and 1921[8], all accept this hypothesis, which—despite the efforts of reactionary criticism—continues to gain ground.

The arguments advanced in its support are not all equally valid. For instance, we must not, I think, attach importance to the passage cited from Homer; for it may refer to a sword of the usual pattern, not to a trident at all. More to the

the holy ashes (burnt cow-dung), of which something has been left from the last occasion of worship.'

Fig. 754.

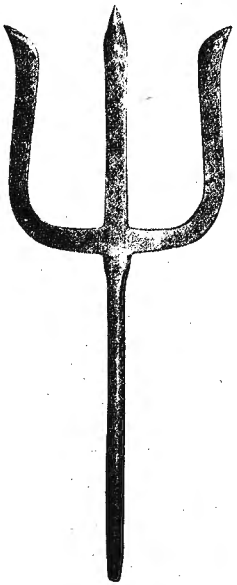


Fig. 755.

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 55 f. figs. 28—30.

[2] I figure the reverse of a gold coin of Huvishka (*c.* 111—129 A.D.) in my collection. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 159 f. pl. 29, 10. Çiva, with three faces and two arms, stands beside his bull Nandi (*supra* i. 637), holding a wreath and a trident. The legend OHÞO=*oēsho*, which may be a Prakrit **havesa* representing the Sanskrit *bhaveśa*, 'the Lord of being,'—a title of Çiva (E. J. Rapson in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* 1897 p. 322 ff.).

[3] The iron trident (*tālah*) here shown was obtained for me by Mr H. B. Thompson of Queens' College, Cambridge, who stated that it 'belongs to the worship of Siva,' but held that it was of phallic origin. Height: 8⅝ ins.

[4] C. Fries *Die griechischen Götter und Heroen vom astralmythologischen Standpunkte aus betrachtet* Berlin 1911 p. 163 ff.

[5] J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1912 xxvi. 197.

[6] L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 191.

[7] O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 297.

[8] Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 157.

point are the parallels adduced from the Indian area, where the association of iron tridents with 'thunderstones' is a very noteworthy fact. But most cogent of all is the analogy of the hypaethral trident-mark to the hypaethral *bidental*, and indeed the whole history of the Athenian Erechtheion.

The marks beneath its northern porch (fig. 756)[1] comprise

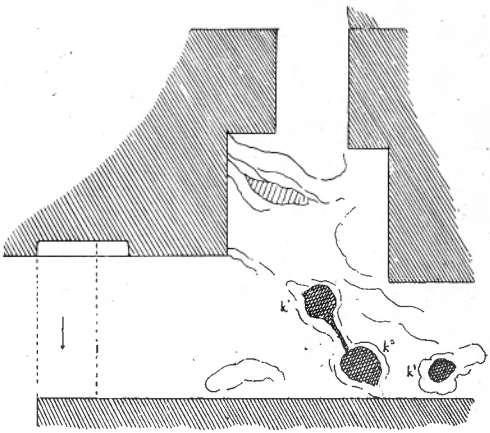


Fig. 756.

three small holes lying on a curve together with a fourth, larger and more irregular, at a little distance from them. These marks—I am disposed to conjecture—were originally a series of neolithic 'cup-marks[2].' If so, they are of peculiar interest as being the oldest traces of cult on the Athenian Akropolis. The exact significance of 'cup-marks' is unknown[3]; but it is noticeable that, wherever

[1] The plan given in the Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθείου ἐπιτροπῆς Athens 1853 pl. 3 is improved and completed by A. Michaelis in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1902 xvii. 19 fig. 5 (=my fig. 756). Of the three trident-holes k^1 is 1·25^m deep, k^3 is 2·79^m, while k^2 is plugged at a depth of 0·70^m. These dimensions imply that the original 'cup-marks' had at some later time been bored much deeper to suit the trident-story. The Athenians were not above a γενναῖον ψεῦδος.

[2] Bibliography in J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 500—504 figs a—d, J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1908 i. 618 n. 2. See also T. Rice Holmes *Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar* Oxford 1907 p. 205 n. 4.

[3] The Abbé Breuil suggested to me once in conversation that concentric circles with a prolonged radius may be highly stylised human figures, such as are met with in the neolithic and aeneolithic art of Spain (M. C. Burkitt *Prehistory* Cambridge 1921 pl. 38).

they occur, there is a tendency to explain them as the imprint of this, that, or the other superhuman power. P. Sébillot[1] has collected many cases of such popular interpretations. For example, at Pont-d'Aisy a 'cup-marked' stone is known as 'the Fairy's Kettle' or 'the Kettle of Giant Galaffre[2]'; and at Faux-la-Montagne the impress of the Devil's spoon and fork is yet visible on a dolmen where he dined[3]. Similarly the Greeks regarded these mysterious marks beneath the Erechtheion as the traces left by the trident of Poseidon, when he struck the Akropolis-rock and thereby created his 'sea[4].'

But Poseidon was not the first occupant of the Erechtheion. Before him, as H. Usener[5] showed, came Erechtheus, the true lord and owner of the building. And who was Erechtheus? Lykophron in one passage probably[6], in another certainly[7], uses *Erechtheús* as a synonym of Zeus. More than that, a learned *schólion* on the second passage states quite definitely that both at Athens and in Arkadia Zeus was called *Erechtheús*[8]. There is therefore much to be said for E. Petersen's contention[9] that *Erechtheús*, the 'Cleaver[10],' was in fact a lightning-god like Zeus *Kataibátes*[11], who during the fifth century B.C., if not earlier, was identified with Poseidon[12]. Two

[1] P. Sébillot *Le Folklore de France* Paris 1904 i. 395 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* i. 396.

[3] *Id. ib.* i. 398.

[4] A good parallel is furnished by the sacred rock that juts up in the centre of the *Kubbet es-Sachra* in Jerusalem. Certain round holes, apparently 'cup-marks,' on its west side are said to be the finger-prints of the angel Gabriel: others of a like sort in the south-west corner are explained as the foot-prints of the prophet Muhammed (R. Kittel *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1908 p. 19).

[5] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 139 ff.

[6] Lyk. *Al.* 156 ff. *ὃν* (*sc.* Pelops) *δὴ δὶς ἡβήσαντα, καὶ βαρὺν πόθον φυγόντα* Ναυμέδοντος (*sc.* Poseidon) *ἁρπακτήριον, ἔστειλ'* Ἐρεχθεὺς (*sc.* Zeus) *εἰς Λετριναίους γύας κ.τ.λ.* with scholl. *ad loc.* and C. von Holzinger's note.

[7] Lyk. *Al.* 431 *τὸν δ' αὖ, τέταρτον ἐγγόνων* Ἐρεχθέως (*sc.* Idomeneus, son of Deukalion, son of Minos, son of Zeus).

[8] Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 431 Ἐρεχθεὺς γὰρ καλεῖται ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Ἀθήναις καὶ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ ἢ διὰ τὸ ὀρέξαι τὴν Ῥέαν τῷ Κρόνῳ λίθον ἀντὶ Διός, ἢ παρὰ τὸ ἐρέχθω τὸ κινῶ· δι' αὐτοῦ γὰρ οἱ σεισμοί. The association of Athens with Arkadia is noteworthy and points perhaps to a joint Pelasgian usage.

[9] E. Petersen *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia* Berlin 1907 pp. 61—93.

[10] H. Usener *op. cit.* p. 140 f. took the name to mean the 'Breaker' in the agricultural sense of a clod-'breaker': E. Petersen *op. cit.* understands it as the 'Render' or 'Cleaver' used of a lightning-god. In either case Ἐρεχθεύς is to be connected with ἐρέχθω (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 155, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 277 f.).

[11] *Supra* p. 13 ff.

[12] See the inscriptions and texts cited by O. Jahn—A. Michaelis *Arx Athenarum* Bonnae 1901 p. 66 f. on Paus. 1. 26. 5. Erechtheus is already replaced by Poseidon in Hes. *frag.* 40 Flach, 101 Rzach[3] *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 13, 44 f. *ἦν δέ, φασι,* Βούτης *υἱὸς*

versions were current concerning Erechtheus' death. According to Euripides, he was slain by a blow of Poseidon's trident and hidden in a chasm of earth[1]. According to Hyginus, he was slain by a thunderbolt from Zeus at the request of Poseidon[2]. Hence Petersen concludes that Erechtheus was a figure essentially resembling 'Zeus-Amphiaraos, Zeus-Asklepios, Zeus-Trophonios[3]'; that the hypaethral opening in the Erechtheion floor was the chasm where he, the lightning-god, had entered the earth; and that this same chasm, on the advent of Poseidon, had been re-interpreted as his trident-mark[4]. The whole story thus becomes coherent, and I for one accept Petersen's reading of it—though I should stipulate that

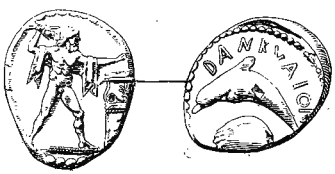


Fig. 757.

the epic Erechtheus was not a lightning-god, but a human king regarded as the lightning-god incarnate.

Now the transition from the cult of Erechtheus to that of Poseidon is much facilitated, if we may suppose that the latter, like the former, wielded the lightning,—that his trident, in short, was originally the thunderbolt.

So far, however, we have not met with any direct proof that Poseidon was a lightning-god. Once, and once only, in the extant remains of Greek art is he represented brandishing a bolt as though he were Zeus. A remarkable tetradrachm of Messana, formerly in the Hirsch collection and now at Brussels (fig. 757)[5], has for its obverse design a god wearing a *chlamýs* over his upper arms in the

Ποσειδῶνος, ὡς Ἡσίοδος ἐν Καταλόγῳ = Favorin. *ecl.* in W. Dindorf *Grammatici Græci* Lipsiae 1823 i. 361, 8 f. The oldest monumental evidence is that of a black-figured *amphora* by Amasis (*c.* 550—530 B.C.), now at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 129 ff. no. 222. Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 254 ff. pl. 78), which shows Athena with her lance and Poseidon with his trident standing opposite to each other in peaceful attitudes. E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 65 observes that the scene presupposes reconciliation after the contest at the Erechtheion—'also Poseidon statt des Erechtheus.'

[1] Eur. *Ion* 281 f.

[2] Hyg. *fab.* 46. *Supra* p. 24.

[3] E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 73 ff.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 68 ff.

[5] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1896 xvi. 109 ff. pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 757), G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 70 pl. 4, 8, *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 32 n. 1 ('Poseidon'), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 143 f. pl. 5, 12 ('Poseidon'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 154 fig. 82 ('Poseidon (?)').

manner of Poseidon and striding forward to a decorated altar with uplifted thunderbolt in the attitude of Zeus. Since the great god of Messana was Poseidon, not Zeus, we should interpret this unique type as Poseidon fulminant—an interpretation confirmed by the dolphin and scallop-shell of the reverse side. On grounds of style and *motif* the coin has been assigned to the middle of the fifth century B.C. Sir A. J. Evans[1] justly inferred from its legend *Danklaton* that, about the year 450, the old Zanclaean elements in the

Fig. 758.

Fig. 759.

Fig. 760.

Fig. 761.

population of Messana must have succeeded in regaining for a while their predominance: naturally they restored the earliest name of the town and, along with it, their former coin-types of the dolphin and the scallop. Now Zankle was an ancient foundation of the Sikels[2]. Here then, if anywhere, we should look to find Poseidon in his earliest form. And here we do find him with a thunderbolt, not a trident, in his hand—a god who bears a significant resemblance to Zeus[3].

[1] Sir A. J. Evans *loc. cit.*

[2] Thouk. 6. 4, Steph. Byz. *s. v.* Ζάγκλη.

[3] Coins of Poseidonia (*e.g.* Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 178 pl. 121, 29, 30, 31 = my figs. 762—764) show Poseidon brandishing his trident and Zeus brandishing his thunderbolt in precisely the same attitude. The resemblance is suggestive, though not of course conclusive.

Fig. 762.

Fig. 763.

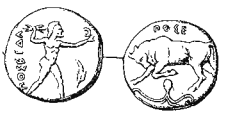


Fig. 764.

Garrucci says of the last piece: 'Nettuno qual Giove fulminante a d. dinanzi un delfino, a sin. ΠΟΣΕΙΔΑ.' *Id. ib.* p. 176 f. pl. 120, 8 wrongly infers from an early drachm

Different in character from this early representation are the attempts made occasionally throughout the classical period to equip

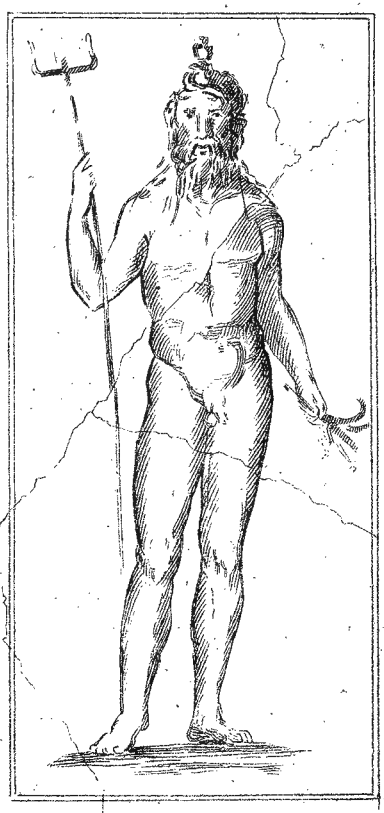


Fig. 765.

Poseidon with the attributes of Zeus, attempts possibly prompted by the lingering belief that the former was fundamentally akin to

inscribed ΠΟΜ ΟϟΔ that Poseidon is actually dubbed Διὸ(ς) (ἄγαλμα). Why not read Ποσσοιδ(ᾶν)? Cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1431 f. no. 2132 with n. 3, and F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 350 f.

the latter. Thus silver coins of Troizen, struck *c.* 400—322 B.C., duplicate the trident-head so that it looks much like a thunderbolt

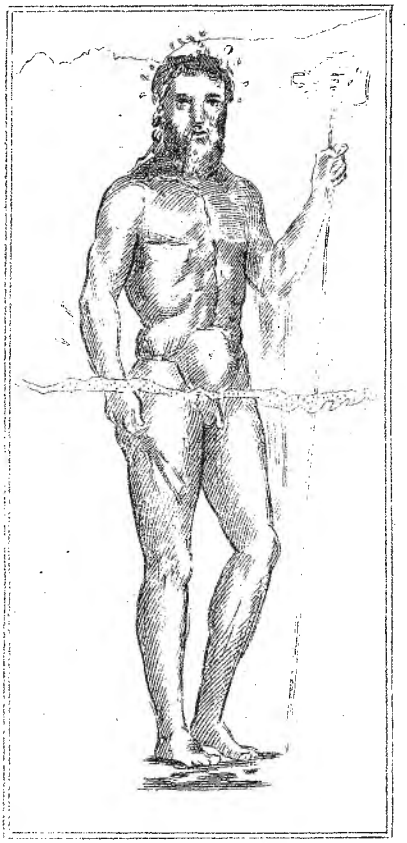


Fig. 766.

(fig. 758)[1]. The duplication was, however, presumably intended *in primis* to show that the coins were diobols. Certain rare coppers of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 166 pl. 30, 21 (=my fig. 758) and 22, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 443.

Byzantion, issued *c.* 221 B.C., figure Poseidon erect with a trident in his left hand, but Nike crowning the magistrate's name in his right (fig. 759)[1]. A chalcedony scarab of late Etruscan style, formerly in the Dehn collection (fig. 760)[2], portrays an unbearded god, with a *himátion* over his left arm, in the act of stepping into a chariot. He grasps a thunderbolt in his right hand, and a trident in his left, while at his feet is a small sea-monster. The fusion of Poseidon with Zeus is complete. Similarly on a brown paste at Berlin (fig. 761)[3] we see the equivocal Zeus-Poseidon holding the thunderbolt in his right hand, the trident in his left, with an eagle perched before him. Finally, two deities painted in the Augustan house near the *Villa Farnesina* are—if we may trust Mau's publication (figs. 765, 766)[4]—perhaps to be described as Poseidon with the thunderbolt of Zeus (?) and Zeus with the trident of Poseidon (??)[5].

(δ) The thunderbolt of Zeus and the fork of Hades.

Zeus had a thunderbolt, and Poseidon a trident. It is sometimes contended that Hades, as his corresponding weapon, had a fork or two-pronged spear. But neither the existence nor the significance of this attribute is free from serious doubt, and some of our more cautious mythologists are inclined to dismiss it as altogether fictitious[6]. The evidence therefore must be scrutinized with care.

In the first place it may be conceded that weapons of the sort were not unknown in the Mediterranean area. Apart from mere

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1638, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 394 pl. 26, 16, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 148 no. 57. Fig. 759 is from a specimen in my collection: ΒΥΣΑΝΤ[ΙΩΝ] Ε[ΠΙ] ΑΣΩΠ[ΙΟΥ] with two countermarks (*obv.* Γ and helmet, *rev.* ear of corn).

[2] G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 i. 3 no. 3, T. Panofka 'Über verlegene Mythen' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1839* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 35 pl. 1, 5, F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 1. 204 pl. 6, 27, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 162 n. 5, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 93 n. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 259 Gemmentaf. 3, 7, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 18, 6 (=my fig. 760), ii. 87, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 361 fig. 1 ('the threefold Pelasgian god'—a view which I here recant), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 60 pl. 2, *b*.

A similar scarab of brown sard cited by most authorities (Panofka *loc. cit.* p. 33 ff. pl. 1, 4, Creuzer *op. cit.* iii. 1. 204 pl. 6, 26, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 259 Gemmentaf. 3, 8, Farnell *op. cit.* iv. 60 pl. 2, *b*) is a modern forgery (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 332 no. 9330, *id. Ant. Gemmen* ii. 87).

[3] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 150 no. 3447 pl. 28 (=my fig. 761: scale 2/1).

[4] A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 320, *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pl. 7, 3 and 5 (=my figs. 765 and 766). The paintings are now in the Terme Museum at Rome.

[5] A. Mau *loc. cit.*: 'Nelle due figure di Nettuno (3) e di Giove (5) non è chiaro nè l'oggetto che Nettuno regge nella sin., nè ciò che sta in cima allo scettro di Giove.'

[6] *E.g.* Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1182 n. 2.

forks of bone[1] or bronze[2], and from forked spear-butts of bronze[3], a double-pointed spear-head of copper was found in the sepulchral deposit of Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos[4], and a double-pointed lance is held by a Lycaonian warrior carved on the *stéle* of Ikonion[5].

Again, a weapon of this type figures in Greek mythology. Lesches the Lesbian, who wrote the *Little Iliad* about the middle of *s.* vii B.C., described the spear of Achilles as of similar make :

> The ring of gold
> Flashed lightning round, and o'er it the forked blade[6].

Aischylos in his *Nereids* said of the same weapon :

> The shaft, the shaft with its double tongue, will come[7].

And Sophokles mentioned it in his *Lovers of Achilles* :

> Or the two-mouthed striker, the spear ;
> For it rent him—the twofold pang
> Of the spear that Achilles bore[8].

The hero had been taught to use this engine by Peleus, and Peleus in turn by Cheiron[9],—a pedigree which points to Thessaly as its home. It is then not inappropriate that Kastor, depicted on a black-figured *amphora* from Corneto as advancing side by side with Peleus against the Calydonian boar, plunges a two-pronged spear into the monster's head[10].

[1] R. Munro *The Lake Dwellings of Europe* London, Paris, and Melbourne 1890 p. 157 fig. 39, 12, L. Savignoni in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 93 f. fig. 6 (from a pile-dwelling on the Mondsee, Austria).

[2] C. A. de Bode in *Archaeologia* 1844 xxx. 250 pl. 16, 11, L. Savignoni *loc. cit.* p. 93 fig. 5 (from a *tumulus* near Asterabad at the S.E. corner of the Caspian Sea).

[3] Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 273 ('spear-heads...of the forked form' from graves at Nebesheh dated *c.* 650—500 B.C. and regarded as those of the Carian mercenaries of Psammetichos), *id. Tools and Weapons* London 1917 p. 33 pl. 39 f., 182 ff. ('forked butts'). An example in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge, described on the label by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie as a two-pronged spear, is almost certainly a spear-butt.

[4] Sir A. J. Evans *Cretan Pictographs and prae-Phoenician Script* London—New York 1895 p. 135 f. fig. 139, L. Savignoni *loc. cit.* p. 99 fig. 7 ('più accurato'), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 100 f. fig. 72.

[5] C. F. M. Texier *Description de l'Asie Mineure* Paris 1849 ii. 148 f. pl. 103, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 741 f. fig. 359, Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities of St. Paul* London 1907 p. 333 f. fig. 43.

The *διβολία* of the Cimbri (Plout. *v. Mar.* 25) probably involved a pair of lances (cp. Aristoph. *frag.* 401 *ap.* Poll. 7. 157, Herodian. 2. 13. 4).

[6] *Ilias parva frag.* 5 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 6. 85 and schol. *Il.* 16. 142 *ἀμφὶ δὲ πόρκης | χρύσεος ἀστράπτει καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ δίκροος ἄρδις.*

[7] Aisch. *Nereides frag.* 152 Nauck[2] *κάμακος εἶσι κάμακος γλῶσσημα διπλάσιον.*

[8] Soph. *Achilleos erastai frag.* 156 Nauck[2], 152 Jebb *ἢ δορὸς διχόστομον πλᾶκτρον· | δίπτυχοι γὰρ ὀδύναι μιν ἥρικον | Ἀχιλλήϊον δόρατος.* On the text see A. C. Pearson's note.

[9] Schol. *Il.* 16. 142.

[10] E. Petersen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 284 f. ('un bidente'), *Mon. d. Inst.* xii pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 230, 3 ('une fourche').

But neither Achilles nor Kastor spells Hades, and the only evidence adduced for the forked spear as an attribute of this deity will not bear inspection. A *kýlix* signed by the potter Brygos, found at Vulci, and now preserved in the Städel'sches Kunstinstitut at Frankfurt, has for its central design a bearded male

Fig. 767.

figure with a two-pronged spear or fork pursuing a woman (fig. 767)[1]. F. G. Welcker took the pair to be Plouton and Persephone[2]. But in point of fact they are Poseidon and Aithra (or Amymone). For later and more careful investigation[3] has shown that essential parts of the design are due to some modern restorer, who has *inter*

[1] E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 20 ff. pl. A—B (=my fig. 767). Bibliography in Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 108 f. no. 3* fig.

[2] F. T. Welcker 'Le nozze di Plutone e Proserpina' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 109—118 pl. G, *id. Alt. Denkm.* iii. 93—104 ('Der Ehebund der Persephone mit dem Pluton') pl. 12, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 286, 1.

[3] *Wien. Vorlegebl.* viii pl. 2 (=my fig. 768), Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 109 fig.

alia supplied Aithra's face and painted out half of Poseidon's trident-head! In view of this shameless tampering we cannot put much trust in an early publication of a bronze coin struck by Domitian at Nysa in Lydia, which purports to show Plouton, fork in hand, carrying off Persephone upon a four-horse chariot (fig. 769)[1].

Fig. 768.

The type is common enough on the coinage of Lydia[2]; but Plouton, where his attribute can be made out, regularly carries a sceptre, not a fork. I do not doubt that the specimen figured below has been tooled by some unscrupulous hand.

On Greek soil, then, there is no relevant evidence. It remains to enquire whether Italy is equally barren.

E. Braun in 1837 drew attention to the fact that Rafael and

[1] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 485 ('Neptunus...rapiens Nympham Amymonem') pl. 21, 28.

[2] See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 393 Index, F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 209 Index.

other painters represented Pluto with a two-pronged fork in his hand, and conjectured that this detail must have been taken from ancient monuments since lost[1]. F. G. Welcker in 1851[2], and again in 1857[3], confirmed his opinion, citing definite works of renaissance art in which Pluto is so portrayed[4]. These scholars and others following in their steps were also able to name a certain number of would-be classical monuments in support of their contention. But a more rigorous criticism would have curtailed or cancelled the list. Thus a statuette of Italian marble in the Pio-Clementino collection shows Pluto enthroned: he wears on his head a *modius* decorated with oak-leaves and acorns; he has at his right side a three-headed Cerberus, and in his left hand a two-pronged fork. But, as Visconti indicates, the fork together with the hand that holds it is a modern restoration[5]. Again, a desk-shaped terra cotta at Woburn Abbey has its slanting surface adorned with three bearded heads wearing the *modius*: they are characterised as Poseidon, Zeus, and Plouton by the attributes added below on the front—a trident, a thunderbolt, and a two-pronged fork. Beneath the thunderbolt is an inscription in raised letters:

Fig. 769.

Diis propi-	To the propitious gods
M· Herennii	of Marcus Herennius.
vivatis	Long life to you[6].

Replicas of this curious monument have been reported from Vienna[7], Paris[8], and Würzburg[9]. Unfortunately their genuineness is far from established[10]. Finally, a two-pronged fork figures among the amulets on a Tarentine cake-mould in the British Museum[11]. O. Jahn, who published this mould in 1855, thought that the fork might be a symbol of Hades, but regarded it as doubtful[12].

[1] E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 274.

[2] Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 95. [3] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 630 f. n. 28.

[4] See also J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1905 pp. 25, 29.

[5] Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* ii. 17 ff. pl. 1, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 440 no. 1.

[6] A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 745 Woburn Abbey no. 182.

[7] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 630 n. 28.

[8] F. Wieseler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1859 xvii Anz. p. 115* f. Pourtalès—Gorgier collection no. 826. [9] A. Michaelis *op. cit.* p. 745.

[10] Michaelis described the Woburn Abbey specimen as 'new': Dubois, Wieseler, and Gerhard doubted the antiquity of those from Paris and Würzburg.

[11] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 446 no. E 129, *supra* p. 131 n. 1 no. (1).

[12] O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1854 p. 52 n. 93 pl. 5, 3.

The failure of the proofs so far considered throws into relief the one valid piece of evidence that has been adduced[1]. At Urbs Salvia (*Urbisaglia*) in Picenum there came to light in 1853 portions of an ancient Roman aqueduct. Near it the year after were found four *tegulae mammatae*, which seem to have been used as covering tiles for the channel. When placed in position they had been painted, apparently by some encaustic process, with a series of figures representing, from left to right, Iuno (?), Iupiter, Minerva, and Victoria. To judge from the style, these deities were referable to early imperial times. And there can be little doubt that they were intended to protect the water of the aqueduct against all contamination. We are concerned only with the central figure of the Capitoline triad (fig. 770). Iupiter, with a violet mantle draped over his ochre body, confronts us fairly bristling with weapons: he has a thunderbolt and a trident in his left hand, and a two-pronged fork in his right, while a dolphin appears at his side. Clearly he is conceived as sky-god (thunderbolt), sea-god (trident, dolphin), and earth-god (fork) rolled into one—a deity competent to keep all evil at a distance. He is accompanied by the inscription IOVE · IVTOR ·, 'to Iupiter *the Helper*[2].'

J. Schmidt, to whom we are indebted for the first publication of this interesting tile, thinks[3] that Iupiter as earth-god got his fork from the Etruscan Charon[4]. But O. Waser in his monograph on Charon recognises no such attribute[5]. We cannot even admit the contention of J. A. Ambrosch that at least one Etruscan sepulchral relief equips a demon of the Underworld with a pitch-fork[6]. The ecclesiastical paintings of the middle ages did so[7]. But the alleged Etruscan example is illusory: the supposed fork is merely a flaming torch[8]. Again, we shall hardly venture to connect

[1] G. Schmidt 'Tre mattoni dipinti di Urbisaglia' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 59—73, *Mon. d. Inst.* xi pl. 17, 1—3, *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 374 fig. 6. Length 0.47^{m}; breadth 0.31^{m}; thickness 0.05^{m} (nos. 1, 2), 0.045^{m} (no. 3).

[2] Th. Mommsen in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 5531, followed by Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3031, reads *Iove Iutori*. But Schmidt *loc. cit.* p. 63 n. 2 is positive that he has transcribed the lettering with absolute accuracy. In any case *Iove Iutor(i)* must be taken as a dative case: cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 4766, 11 f. = Dessau *op. cit.* no. 4911, 11 f. (near Spoletium) *Iove bovid | piaclum datod, ib.* 15 f. *Iovei bovid piaclum | datod.*

[3] Schmidt *loc. cit.* p. 67 f.

[4] E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 256, 257, 274, G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*[3] London 1883 ii. 192.

[5] O. Waser *Charon, Charun, Charos* Berlin 1898 p. 80 ff.

[6] J. A. Ambrosch *De Charonte Etrusco* Vratislaviae 1837 pp. 15, 18.

[7] *Supra* p. 136 n. 4 pl. viii.

[8] F. Inghirami *Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome* Poligrafia Fiesolana 1821 i. 284 ff. pl. 32, O. Waser *op. cit.* p. 142 no. 32, G. Dennis *op. cit.*[3] ii. 183 f. Similarly the bearded personage, who wears a large hat inscribed ICTO and carries 'un bastone bifor-

Fig. 770.

cuto in cima,' on a red-figured *kratér* noted by G. Henzen in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1856 p. 41 f. is not Plouton with a forked sceptre (*id. ib.* p. 42 n. 1, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 632), but Hermes with his *caduceus*, perhaps wrongly inscribed [HΦA]ICTO[C].

Iupiter with the Getic Gebeleizis, whose name conceivably meant 'the god with a Fork[1].' Still less shall we maintain that he took over this implement from the fork-bearing figures of early Sardinia[2]. For most of these little bronzes are demonstrable forgeries[3].

Brushing aside such inadequate hypotheses, we approach the problem along other lines. The Etruscans believed in lightnings that sprang from the ground (*fulgura inferna*[4], *fulmina infera* or *terrena*[5]), wielded presumably by some chthonian deity[6]. And C. O. Thulin, the chief modern exponent of their lightning-lore, argues that the Etruscan word for 'lightning' was rendered by the Latin *bidens*[7]. Antecedently that is probable enough. 'Forked lightning,' as we call it, might well be represented by a lightning-fork. Moreover, the Romans, who in all matters of divination relied upon the wisdom of Etruria, habitually spoke of a place struck by lightning as *bidental*[8]. Hence H. Usener infers that they must have symbolised the flash as a *bidens* or 'two-pronged

[1] *Supra* p. 227 n. 4. For a better reading and rendering of the Getic name see *infra* p. 822 f.

[2] Le C^te^ A. de La Marmora *Voyage en Sardaigne*[2] Paris 1839—1857 Atlas pl. 17 ff., E. Gerhard *Über die Kunst der Phönicier* Berlin 1848 p. 38 f. pl. 5, 1 and 7.

[3] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 65.

[4] A. Caecina *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 2. 49. 3. *Supra* p. 641 n. 3.

[5] A. Caecina *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138.

[6] C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 p. 47.

It may at first sight seem rash to suppose that a chthonian god was ever armed with atmospheric terrors. But some at least of the Greek philosophers—in particular, Herakleitos, Aristotle, and Poseidonios—held that lightning was primarily due to telluric exhalations (O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 627 ff., 629 f., 634 ff.), thereby anticipating, not only the belief in electrical interaction between earth and sky, but also the part played by evaporation in modern theories of lightning (*id. ib.* p. 637). Besides, these philosophers, after their manner, were merely elaborating popular opinion. Greek literature makes frequent mention of chthonian thunder (Aisch. *P.v.* 993 f., *Edonoi frag.* 57, 10 f. Nauck[2], Soph. *O.C.* 1606, Eur. *El.* 748, *Hipp.* 1201, Aristoph. *av.* 1747, 1752. J. P. Mahaffy, as quoted by J. E. Harry on Eur. *Hipp.* 1201, states that '*βρόντειον* is used by the modern Boeotians of a mountain north of Thebes which constantly makes a rumbling sound.' See also *infra* § 4 (d) Zeus Βροντῶν), and Greek art on occasion treats lightning as the attribute of such chthonian powers as the Kyklopes (*supra* i. 318 f. figs. 252, 253) or Typhon (The three-bodied monster, from the right half of an archaic pedimental group, found on the Akropolis at Athens, holds in two of his left hands an attribute which has been variously interpreted: see G. Dickins in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 78 ff. no. 35. The most probable view is still that of Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 208 'une sorte de foudre.' Good illustrations in Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii pl. 3, T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 pl. 4, R. Heberdey *Altattische Porosskulptur* Wien 1919 pl. 3, 2 and pl. 4).

[7] C. O. Thulin *op. cit.* p. 96 f., quoting A. Caecina *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 2. 49. 1 dentanea (*sc.* fulgura), quae speciem periculi sine periculo adferunt.

[8] G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 429 ff.

fork[1].' True, several of the ancient grammarians expressly derive the term *bidental* from the fact that sheep (*bidentes*) were sacrificed on the spot[2]. But that explanation is rejected by Pomponius Porphyrio[3] (*s.* iii A.D.); and the learned scholiast on Persius couples it with another, namely, that the thunderbolt itself had two teeth[4]. Probably sheep with their two prominent fore-teeth[5] were sacrificed at the *bidental* just because their peculiarity connected them in the sacerdotal mind with the two-toothed lightning.

In short, it would appear that Iupiter on the Picentine tile has borrowed his *bidens* from an Etruscan god of the Underworld—the Etruscan bident being the exact counterpart of the Greek trident[6] in its original character of lightning-fork. If we may assume, as we are almost certainly entitled to do, that the Etruscans themselves hailed from Lydia, it becomes highly probable that the bident of Italy and the trident of Greece were respectively descended from the bipartite and tripartite forms of Mesopotamian lightning[7].

(*e*) Zeus *Keraunobólos, Keraúnios; Astrapaîos, Astrápton.*

As lord of the lightning Zeus was saluted by the poets with a variety of sounding epithets, which need not here detain us[8].

[1] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 22 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 490).

A Greek parallel perhaps underlies Aristoph. *av.* 1239 f. ὅπως μή σου γένος παν-ώλεθρον | Διὸς μακέλλῃ πᾶν ἀναστρέψῃ Δίκη with schol. *ad loc.* τοῦτό φησι παρὰ τὸ Σοφόκλειον "χρυσῇ μακέλλῃ Ζηνὸς ἐξαναστραφῇ," where Fritzsche's ingenious cj. ἐν Χρύσῃ is accepted by A. Nauck (Soph. *frag.* 659) and A. C. Pearson (Soph. *frag.* 727 Jebb). Retaining the text with W. Dindorf (Soph. *frag.* 767), we may adopt the suggestion of F. Ellendt *Lexicon Sophocleum* Regimontii Prussorum 1835 ii. 48 '*fulmen* intellexit coruscum cum ligonis dentibus comparatum.' Mr A. D. Nock suggests to me (Dec. 15, 1921) that Aristophanes was thinking rather of Aisch. *Ag.* 525 f. Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου | Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον, or possibly of both the Aeschylean and the Sophoclean passages. As to the shape of a μάκελλα opinion varied: Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 109, 33 μάκελλαν δίκελλαν, κακῶς· ἔστι γὰρ τὸ πλατὺ σκαφεῖον, Hesych. *s.v.* μακέλλη· δίκελλα. πλατὺ σκαφίον..., Phot. *lex. s.v.* μάκελλα· δίκελλα, Souid. *s.v.* μάκελλα· δίκελλα, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 7 μάκελλα δὲ ἡ μονόθεν κέλλουσα ἤγουν τέμνουσα, δίκελλα δὲ ἡ διχόθεν = Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1235, 56 f.

[2] Paul. ex Fest. p. 33, 10 f. Müller, p. 30, 17 ff. Lindsay, P. Nigidius Figulus *de extis frag.* 39[a] Funaioli *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 75, 23 f. Lindsay, Fronto *de diff. vocab.* p. 523, 24 f. Keil.

[3] Porphyr. *in* Hor. *art. poet.* 471, cp. Acron *ib.*

[4] Schol. Pers. *sat.* 2. 27.

[5] F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 427.

[6] Bident and trident are sometimes exchanged. Sen. *H. f.* 564 ff. makes Hades attack Herakles with a trident (*telum tergemina cuspide praeferens*). *En revanche* the late schol. Augustan. *in* Eur. *Phoen.* 188 arms Poseidon with a bident (τρίαινά ἐστι τὸ δόρυ < οὗ (ins. L. C. Valckenaer) > τὸ ἓν σίδηρον ὀρθόν, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον στρεβλόν).

[7] *Supra* p. 764 ff.

[8] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1111 n. 3 has collected examples of the following: ἀργικέραυνος, κεραύνειος, κεραυνοβρόντης, τερπικέραυνος; ἀστεροπήτης, ἀστράπιος, στεροπη-γερέτα, φοινικοστερόπας.

Of greater moment are the titles of similar meaning sanctioned by actual cult; for these afford proof that the zoïstic conception of Zeus as the downward-flashing bolt passed into the anthropomorphic conception of him as hurler of the same. Thus Mantineia in Greek times worshipped Zeus *Keraunós*, 'the Thunderbolt[1].' But Tegea in Roman times worshipped Zeus *Keraunobólos*, 'the Hurler of the Thunderbolt[2].'

As the somewhat vaguer[3] god 'of the Thunderbolt' (*Keraúnios*) Zeus was recognised in literature[4] and had numerous cults from Palmyra in the east to Rome in the west[5].

[1] *Supra* p. 12 f.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 37 [οἵδε νικήσαντες ἐν Τεγέᾳ] | ἐν ἀγ(ῶ)σι τοῖς Ὀλυμπιακοῖς | τῷ Μεγίστῳ καὶ Κεραυνοβόλῳ Διὶ | ἀνατε(τ)θειμένοις | ἐκομίσαντο τοὺς στεφάν(ο)υς, which together with no. 36=C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 11 ff. no. 156=F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 888. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 4 f. would identify the Tegeate Zeus Κεραυνοβόλος with Zeus Κλάριος (*infra* Append. B Arkadia). Cp. Loukian. *philopatr.* 4 ὁ βροντοποιὸς καὶ κεραυνοβόλος σου Ζεύς.

[3] (1) A tomb-inscription from Kition in Kypros associates Κεραύνιος with Κεραυνία (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2739 Explic. p. 635 κ]εχολωμένου τύχοι τοῦ Κεραυνίου. ἂν τις αὐτὴν ἄψῃ, κ[ε]χ[ο]λωμένης τύχοι· ἂν τι[ς] βάλῃ κόπρια, κεχολωμένης τύχοι τῆς Κεραυνίας). O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1116 takes Κεραύνιος to be Zeus, Κεραυνία an unknown goddess. W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 1117 detects Rešef Ḫeṣ and Anat. H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 14 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 482) recognises 'den Sondergott...mit dem weiblichen Seitenstück.'

(2) A fragmentary inscription at *El-Mâlikîye* (*El-Malka*) in Syria mentions Κεραύνιος only (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. iii no. 2195 Explic. p. 511 [....]ον | Μαλέ[χου ἐπ]όησε[ν Κερ]αυνίῳ on a small *stéle* broken at the top).

(3) A dedication built into the fortress-wall of Mytilene runs: Ζωσίμη Διευνόρου(?) | Θεῶ Κεραυνίῳ Ὑψίστω | εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 126). Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 267 infers from the use of Ὕψιστος that this was an oriental cult.

[4] Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 17, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 9 (cp. *supra* p. 12 n. 3), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός (52) κεραυνίου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός (47) κεραυνίου, 274 Ἐπίθετα Διός·...κεραύνιος, 281 Ἐπίθετα τοῦ Διός...κεραύνιος. Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 49. 2 (Bianor) Ζανὶ κεραυνείῳ (*supra* p. 9).

[5] (1) Palmyra (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4501=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 631 a dedication of Hadrianic date Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Κεραυ|νίῳ κ.τ.λ.).

(2) Damaskos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4520, 3 ff. ἱερεὺ[ς]| Διὸς Κεραυ|νίο[υ] ἑαυτῷ | τὸ μνῆμα inscription of a rock-cut tomb).

(3) Seleukeia Pieria (*infra* p. 809 n. 6 f.).

(4) Kition in Kypros (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2641, 2 ff. Διὶ Κεραυνίωι---|'Αφροδίτηι, πόλει, | δήμωι, ὁμονοίαι, | κ.τ.λ. on a marble base of Roman date. See also *supra* n. 3 no. (1)).

(5) Phrygia (G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 503 publishes an astragalomantic inscription on a marble block at Ormelle (*Tefeny*), of which face iii, 7 reads [Διὸς Κ]εραυνίου).

(6) Lydia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3446=Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 1674, 3 ff. Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ ἀθλ.|βο(λ)ηθέντων σω|μάτων δύο κ.τ.λ., where K. Keil in *Philologus* 1863 Suppl. ii. 609 ff. proposes ἀστροβοληθέντων in the sense of 'struck by lightning' and H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 15 n. 1 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 483 n. 44) would read ἀσβοληθέντων, 'scorched.' In any case Keil *loc. cit.* saw

rightly that this votive altar, at *Ghieuldiz* near *Kula*, was dedicated to Zeus Κεραύνιος by a master who had escaped when two of his slaves were struck: cp. Suet. *Aug.* 29. M. Clerc in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 401 no. 4 Διὸς | Κεραυνίου | δύναμις a stone at Thyateira bearing this inscription with a thunderbolt carved above it. The stone probably marks a spot struck by lightning, which, as being a power proceeding from Zeus, is here called his *δύναμις*. G. Radet *ib.* 1887 xi. 469 f. no. 36 Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ | Τειμόθεος | ὑπὲρ τοῦ θρέψαντος | εὐχήν on a small marble pillar at *Yaguerdé* near Thyateira. J. Keil—A. von Premerstein in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 17 no. 24 [Σω]κράτης Διὶ Κεραυ|νίῳ εὐχήν on a broken block of bluish marble at *Sünetdji* near Thyateira, in lettering of *s.* ii A.D., *cid. ib.* 1914 i Abh. p. 12 no. 11 Ϛ ἔτους τη′, μη(νὸς) Γορ|πιαίου δ ά(πίόντος). Διὶ [illegible] Ἀερίω Ἀμμι|ανὸς σαλτουά|ριος εὐχαριστή|ριον Ϛ at *Topalar*, below a relief representing an eagle (the appellative Ἀερίω is on an erasure of Κε|ραυνίω), p. 13 no. 13 [– – – – –] | [– – Διὶ] Κεραυνίω at *Oraklar*, two hours S. of *Borlu*).

(7) Priene (F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Inschriften von Priene* Berlin 1906 no. 113, 80 ff. [τ]οῦ τε μηνὸς τοῦ | Ἀρτεμισιῶνος τῆι δ[ω]δεκάτηι παραστήσας τὴν εἰθισμένη[ν] γείνεσθαι τῶι Διὶ | τῶι Κεραυνίωι θυσίαν μετέδωκεν μὲν τῶν ἱερῶν τοῖ[ς] τε πολίταις καὶ παροί|κοις καὶ κατοίκοις καὶ ξένοις καὶ Ῥωμαίοις καὶ δούλοις, τοὺς δὲ β[ο]ηλευτὰς καὶ τὰς συναρχί|ας καὶ ἐδείπνισεν ἐν τῷ [τ]οῦ θεοῦ τόπωι after 84 B.C.).

(8) Pergamon (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1890 i. 134 no. 232 Διὶ Κερα[υ]νίῳ | – – – on a marble base with oak-wreath and fillets, *ib.* ii. 243 no. 329 Δ[ὶ] | Κεραυνίω[ι] | Γ. Ἰούλιος | Δῶρος on a small altar of white marble).

(9) Nikopolis on the Danube, in Moesia Inferior (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 242 no. 7, 2 ff. Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ | εὐχαριστοῦ (*sic*) | ἡ πόλις ἀνέστησεν | κ.τ.λ. on an altar of 233 A.D. at *Jeni-Nikup*).

(10) Thasos (E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 425 no. 29 = S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 256 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 362 Διὸς Κεραυνίου followed by a carved thunderbolt).

(11) Kalymna (C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 99 f. no. 321, 8 ff. τὸν πάντων | [καρ]πῶν τ[ὸν δ]ιηνεκῆ σωτῆρα Δ[ία] | [Κε]ραύνιον καὶ τοὺς λοιποὺς θ[εοὺς] κ.τ.λ. on a marble *stèle* found in the temple of Apollon; lettering crowded and late).

(12) Melos (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. no. 3544 p. 1846 cited by K. Keil in *Philologus* 1863 Suppl. ii. 611 f. Νέρωνι (Ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ) Σεβασ[τ]ῷ | Μάρκος Ἀντώνιος [Γ]λαῦκος | ἱερεὺς Διὸς Κεραυνίου καὶ θε|ῶν οὐρανίων ὑπηρέτης περιοι|κοδόμηκα Διὶ καὶ θεοῖς οὐρανίοις | ἰδίαις δαπάναις ἱερὸν καὶ ἄσυ|λον Σεβαστῆον).

(13) Elasson in Thessaly (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1275, A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 162 fig. 16).

(14) Argos (P. Roussel—J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 510 no. 27 a small round altar of marble inscribed in late lettering Διὸς | Κεραυ|νίου).

(15) Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 7 ἔνθα δὲ τῆς οἰκίας τὰ θεμέλιά ἐστι τῆς Οἰνομάου, δύο ἐνταῦθά εἰσι βωμοί, Διός τε Ἐρκείου—τοῦτον ὁ Οἰνόμαος ἐφαίνετο αὐτὸς οἰκοδομήσασθαι—, τῷ δὲ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ὕστερον ἐποιήσαντο ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν βωμόν, ὅτ' ἐς τοῦ Οἰνομάου τὴν οἰκίαν κατέσκηψεν ὁ κεραυνός).

(16) Alban Mt (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1118 Διὶ Κεραυνίωι on a rude altar found at the foot of the mountain).

(17) Rome (P. Gauckler in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 p. 148 ff. records an altar in white marble (height 0·92^{m}), found in the grove of Furrina on the east slope of the Ianiculum, adorned with two eagles, two Ammon-masks, two *bucrania*, festoons, ewer, *patera*, *Gorgóneion*, etc. and inscribed Διὶ | Κεραυνίῳ | Ἄρτεμις | ἡ καὶ Σιδωνία | Κυπρία | ἐξ ἐπιταγῆς | ἀνέθηκεν | καὶ Νύνφες (*sic*) | Φορρίνες (*sic*), *i.e.* a dedication to Zeus Κεραύνιος and the Nymphae Forrinae by a Phoenician woman of Kypros, called Artemis the Sidonian. The Gorgon's head perhaps symbolises the *Forrinae* assimilated to the *Furiae*. See further G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 383).

(18) Sicily (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2407, 3*a*—*d*: see *infra* p. 812 ff.).

Of these the most instructive is that of Seleukeia in Syria, the port of Antiocheia. Here—says Appian[1]—Seleukos i Nikator, when founding the city, followed the guidance of a thunderbolt, regarding it as a 'Zeus-sign' (*Diosemía*)[2]. He therefore bade the citizens treat the thunderbolt as a god: which they did, worshipping it with ritual and hymns. Probably the object of their veneration was an actual bolt wrought of gold, like those that were borne along in the great pageant of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos[3]. In favour of this supposition is the fact that at Seleukeia in the reign of Seleukos iv

Fig. 771.

Fig. 772.

Philopator (187—175 B.C.) certain priests were annually appointed to act as *keraunophóroi* or 'thunderbolt-bearers[4].' Silver and bronze coins of Seleukeia from *c.* 108 B.C. onwards have as their reverse type (fig. 771) a large thunderbolt bound with a fillet and placed on a cushioned stool[5]. That this was the missile of Zeus *Keraúnios* appears, not only from a gloss in Hesychios[6], but also from sundry bronze coins on which the same type is accompanied by the name of the god (fig. 772)[7].

[1] Appian. *Syr.* 58.

[2] *Supra* p. 4 ff.

[3] Athen. 202 E *κεραυνοὺς χρυσοῦς δεκαπήχεις δύο καὶ στέφανον δρυὸς διάλιθον.*

[4] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4458, 23 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 245, 47 *κεραυνοφόροι | κ.τ.λ.*

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxxii f., 270 ff. pl. 32, 6—8, 10, pl. 33, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 213 ff. pl. 74, 29, 31, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 55 f. nos. 568—578 pl. 10 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 782 f. Fig. 771 is from a tetradrachm in my collection: ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ ΤΗΣΙΕΡΑΣ ΚΑΙ ΑΥΤΟΝΟΜΟΥ; beneath stool ΗΙ (the year 18, reckoned from the beginning of the city's autonomy in 108 or 109 B.C.); in field monogram.

Bronze coins of Demetrios iii Philopator (95—88 B.C.), probably struck at Seleukeia, have *rev.* a thunderbolt bound with a fillet and placed on a low stool (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings etc. p. 101 pl. 26, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 55 no. 567, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 114 nos. 2—4, E. Babelon *Catalogue des monnaies grecques de la bibliothèque nationale* Les Rois de Syrie, d'Arménie et de Commagène Paris 1890 p. 207 nos. 1571—1573 pl. 28, 5).

[6] Hesych. *s.v. κεραύνιος·...καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν Σελευκίᾳ.*

[7] Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 456 Æ 2 autonomous, 470 Antoninus Pius, 471 Æ 3 Septimius Severus, Æ 2 Caracalla, xi. 1258. W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*

With these coins of Seleukeia must be compared bronze pieces of Diokaisareia in Kilikia, struck by Iulia Domna (figs. 773, 774)[1] and M. Iulius Philippus the younger[2]. Their reverse type shows a high-backed throne: its foreposts are surmounted by two lions, and on its box-like seat is a winged thunderbolt erect in a *quasi*-human attitude. The lions suggest that Zeus had here taken over the throne of the Anatolian mother-goddess[3] or her consort[4]. And the thunder-

Fig. 773.

Fig. 774.

bolt was appropriate, not only to Zeus, but also to the reigning representative of the *gens Iulia*[5].

H. Usener has collected analogous designs from the coinage and sculpture of the west[6]. A silver coin of Vespasian issued in the year 77 or 78 A.D. represents a winged thunderbolt lying on a draped stool[7]. This has been regarded[8] as an allusion to Vespasian's rebuilding of the temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*[9], which contained a golden thunderbolt of fifty pounds' weight presented on the advice of the *decemviri* in 217 B.C.[10] But the type probably hints that Vespasian himself was Iupiter's vicegerent[11]. Titus in 80 A.D. issued gold[12] and silver coins with the same design (fig. 775)[13]. Trajan, a

Galatia, etc. p. 276 no. 56 Caracalla pl. 33, 6 (=my fig. 772) gives a different description of the type ('Large thunderbolt of Zeus Keraunios resting on roof of shrine [within which, sacred stone of Zeus Kasios?]') and is followed by Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 783, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 57 no. 587 pl. 11: CЄΛЄVK ... [ZЄV]C KЄPAVNIOC.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. lvi, 73 pl. 13, 1 (=my fig. 773), Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlvi* Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u.a.) Wien 1914 p. 103 no. 2220 (misread ...OΛBЄΩN) pl. 36 (=my fig. 774). AΔPΔIOKAI CAPЄΩN='Αδρ[ιανῶν] Διοκαισαρέων.

[2] Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iii. 577 f. no. 197.

[3] *Supra* i. 553, ii. 406 ff. n. 0, 552 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* p. 550 ff.

[5] *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 363, 371, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 286 f., 308 ff.

[6] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 6 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 475 f.).

[7] Morell. *Thes. Num. Imp. Rom.* ii. 299 pl. 10, 40, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 400 fig. Not recognised by Cohen, and therefore suspect.

[8] Morell. *loc. cit.*

[9] *Supra* i. 44 f.

[10] Liv. 22. 1.

[11] *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 313.

[12] Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 353 pl. 6, 54, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] i. 455 no. 315.

[13] Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 366 pl. 8, 70, Cohen *op. cit.*[2] i. 455 nos. 314, 316. Fig. 775 is from a specimen in my collection.

would-be Iupiter[1], 'restored' the types of Vespasian[2] and Titus[3] in gold. Domitian, who was often called Iupiter[4] by the poets of his day and sometimes *Tonans*[5], naturally made the device his own[6]. And Antoninus Pius, another pretender to the sky-god's

Fig. 775.

Fig. 776.

honours[7], issued silver coins of similar stamp (fig. 776)[8], on which however the thunderbolt is unwinged. Lastly[9], a relief in the museum at Mantua (fig. 778)[10] portrays the *regalia*, as it were, of

[1] *Supra* p. 100 n. 6.

[2] Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 274 pl. 5, 28, Cohen *op. cit.*[2] i. 419 no. 650, *Collection de Ponton d'Amécourt* Paris 1887 pl. 6, 149.

[3] Cohen *op. cit.*[1] i. 380 no. 318 pl. 16, *ib.*[2] i. 462 no. 403 fig.

[4] Stat. *silv.* i. 6. 27, Mart. *ep.* 9. 28. 10, 9. 86. 8, 14. 1. 2, cp. Dionys. *per.* 210 οὓς Διὸς οὐκ ἀλέγοντας ἀπώλεσεν Αὐσονὶς αἰχμή.

[5] Mart. *ep.* 6. 10. 9, 7. 56. 4 (*supra* i. 751 n. 8), 7. 99. 1, 9. 39. 1, 9. 65. 1, 9. 86. 7, 10. 51. 13.

Bronze coins of Domitian, issued 85—95 A.D., show him standing towards the left, in military attire, with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a headless spear in his left, while a palm-bearing Victory places a wreath on his head (Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 461 pl. 15, 23 and 24, Cohen *op. cit.*[2] i. 512 nos. 509—515).

Fig. 777.

An engraved cornelian in my possession (fig. 777. Scale 2/1) represents Domitian (?) as a youthful Iupiter standing in a similar pose, with the same attributes in his hands, an *aigís* round his neck, and an eagle at his feet.

[6] Morell. *op. cit.* ii. 436 pl. 9, 28 (silver of 81 A.D.), 437 pl. 9, 33 and 37 (silver of 81 A.D.), 438 pl. 10, 7 (silver of 82 A.D.), Cohen *op. cit.*[2] i. 475 nos. 61 (gold of 80 A.D.) and 62 (silver of 80 A.D.), 517 no. 554 (silver of 80 A.D.), 518 nos. 574 (gold of 81 A.D.) and 575 (silver of 81 A.D.), 519 no. 597 (silver of 82 A.D.).

[7] *Supra* p. 101 n. 5.

[8] Cohen *op. cit.*[2] ii. 304 no. 345 (silver of 145 A.D.). I figure a specimen in my collection.

[9] A relief said to have come from the amphitheatre at Rome (Gruter *Inscr. ant. tot. orb. Rom.* i. 7 no. 1 with pl. after Boissard *Antiqq.* iii. 128, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 32 f. pl. 12 no. 5) amplifies the coin-type: an eagle is perched on the thunderbolt, and the throne is flanked by a pair of globes. The accompanying inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 3139*) purports to record a vow made by Iulius Pudens Severianus to Iupiter *Optimus Maximus* and to Iuno *Regina* for the health of M. Aurelius Antoninus Pius Felix Augustus and Iulia Augusta, *i.e.* Caracalla and his mother, or Elagabalos and one of his wives (Iulia Paula? Iulia Aquilia Severa?). But the whole monument appears to be an impudent forgery (cp. *supra* i. 714 n. 4).

[10] D. G. Labus *Museo della Reale Accademia di Mantova* Mantova 1830 i. 69 f. pl. 20 (=my fig. 778), E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 p. 5 pl. 6.

the king of gods and men. On a stool or couch, the posts of which were once topped by a pair of kneeling Giants, is spread the royal mantle. Upon this lies a great winged thunderbolt; beyond

Fig. 778.

it is seen a transverse sceptre; and a powerful eagle mounts guard over all.

Sling bullets of lead marked with a thunderbolt and inscribed—

Victory of Zeus *Keraúnios*—

have occasionally been found in Sicily (fig. 779)[1]. They were doubt-

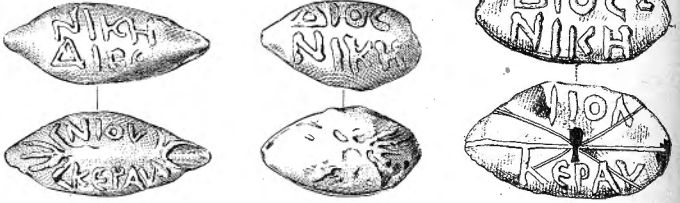


Fig. 779, *a*—*c*.

less used in the second Servile War (103—100 B.C.) by the insurgent

[1] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2407, 3 *a*—*d*. See further A. Salinas 'Catalogo di ghiande missili siciliane' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1878 l. 32 f. nos. 6 and 7 pl. F (=my fig. 779, *a*, *b*): ΝΙΚΗ | ΔΙΟC || ΚΕΡΑV|ΝΙΟV and ΔΙΟC | ΝΙΚΗ || [ΚΕΡΑVΝΙΟV]. Both bullets are in the Museum at Palermo. T. Bergk *Inschriften römischer Schleudergeschosse* Leipzig 1876 pp. 95 ff., 134 no. 143 pl. 2, 39 (=my fig. 779, *c*) adds a similar example from Cumae in Campania: ΔΙΟC | ΝΙΚΗ || ΚЄΡΑΥ|ΝΙΟΥ (retrograde).

slaves[1], who attempted thus to invest their puny missiles with the terrors of the thunderbolt[2]. The slave-leader Athenion, who posed

Fig. 780.

[1] G. Kaibel in the *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* p. 608.

[2] For the thunderbolt as a device on sling-bullets see also *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2407, 4 *b*, *c* (with inscription ΔΙΟC | ΝΙΚΗ), G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1610 fig. 3624 (with inscription ACIPE (?) for *accipe*, retrograde; found in Spain, and probably used in the war of Caesar against Pompey, cp. *bell. Hisp.* 13 and 18), fig. 3628 (with inscription ΔΕΞΑ[Ι], cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8529, a; found on the Akropolis at Athens), *British Museum: A Guide to the exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life* London 1908 pp. 99, 105 no. 220 fig. 86 (with inscription ΖΩΙΛΟΥ; found on the battle-field of Marathon), and many others listed by C. Zangemeister 'Glandes plumbeae Latine inscriptae' in the *Ephemeris epigraphica* 1885 vi p. xlv *s.v.* '*fulmen*.'

as king[1] with purple robe, silver sceptre, and regal diadem[2] was a Cilician by birth, and had perhaps brought the cult of the lightning-god with him from Asia Minor.

In view of the foregoing examples it may be maintained that the Graeco-Roman age witnessed, not indeed a recrudescence of the old zoïstic conception of Zeus *Keraunós*[3], but the rise and spread of a new theistic conception—that of Zeus *Keraúnios*, a deity too sublime to be represented in human form[4], whose potency might yet be inferred from the shape of his dreaded weapon. In a word, the thunderbolt, once a primitive fetish, had become, not merely the attribute of a human, but the symbol of a superhuman, power.

At Tegea in Arkadia there have from time to time been found numerous small four-sided pillars of Doliana marble, capped in each case by a diminutive pyramid and often inscribed with the

An eagle on a thunderbolt is the device of a sling-bullet published by W. Vischer 'Antike Schleudergeschosse' in his *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig 1878 ii. 362 f. no. 32 pl. 14=G. Fougères *loc. cit.* fig. 3626 (with inscription [Δ]ΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ, perhaps Demetrios Poliorketes).

[1] Appian. *Mithr.* 59.

[2] Flor. 2. 7. 10.

[3] A fragmentary relief from Emesa (*Homs*), now at Brussels (F. Cumont *Catalogue des sculptures & inscriptions antiques* (*monuments lapidaires*) *des Musées Royaux du Cinquantenaire*[2] Bruxelles 1913 p. 68 ff. no. 55 fig.: height 0·41 m, breadth 0·32 m), represents a series of at least four Syrian deities, from left to right—(*a*) a divinity of whom one foot only remains; (*b*) a god in Roman military costume, with a spear in his right hand, a thunderbolt (?) in his left, and a rayed *nimbus* round his head; (*c*) a veiled goddess, with a javelin or sceptre in her left hand, a necklace round her throat, and an oval shield partly hidden by her head; (*d*) a god in oriental military costume, with a lance in his right hand, a circular shield on his left arm, and a turban (?) round his head. Above (*c*) and (*d*) are the dedications ΑΘΗΝΑ and ΚΕΡΑΥ|ΝΩ. Below (*a*)—(*d*) runs a longer inscription: [- - - -]λῳ, Ἰαρεβώλῳ, Ἀγλιβώλῳ, καὶ Σε[. . . .] | [- - - -] ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κὲ τ[ῶν ἰδίων]. This has been variously completed. S. Ronzevalle in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 i. 387 ff. and in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1902 p. 235 ff. with pl. (=my fig. 780), 1903 p. 276 ff. proposes: [θεοῖς πατρῴοις Βήλῳ, Ἰαριβώλῳ, Ἀγλιβώλῳ καὶ Σεμ[ιράμει]. | [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κὲ τ[ῶν τέκνων (?) ἀνέθηκεν]. Semiramis is here the goddess Semea or Sima, on whom see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 660 ff. R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 143 f., 1904 i. 206 ff., *id. Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1903 p. 104 ff. fig. 27 (=Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 163 no. 3), *id. Les Arabes en Syrie avant l'Islam* Paris 1907 p. 130 ff. fig. 28 suggests: [θεοῖς πατρῴοις Βήλῳ Ἰαριβώλῳ, Ἀγλιβώλῳ | Ἀθηνᾷ, Κεραυνῷ | καὶ Σε[μίᾳ] | [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ κὲ τ[ῶν τέκνων]. F. Cumont *loc. cit.* would read: [θεοῖς πατρίοις Μαλαχβήλ?]ῳ, Ἰαρεβώλῳ, Ἀγλιβώλῳ καὶ Σε[μίᾳ] [ὁ δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος] ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ, (*sic*) κὲ τ[ῶν ἰδίων], but hesitates between Μαλαχβήλῳ, Βήλῳ, and Ἐλαγαβάλῳ. He would identify (*b*) with *Iarhibol*, 'Lord of the Months,' an originally lunar but later solar god of Palmyra (*id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 750 f.), (*c*) perhaps with Seimia, and (*d*) possibly—but not very probably—with some form of *Ba'al* heading the dedication. Amid much that remains uncertain it is clear that Keraunos is here conceived as a god of military aspect, equipped with lance and shield,—a great advance upon primitive zoïsm.

[4] See, however, *supra* p. 808 n. o no. (13).

name of a god or goddess[1]. The oldest of the series is the fifth-century pillar of Zeus *Storpâos* (fig. 781)[2], whose appellative denotes the god 'of the Lightning-flash[3].'

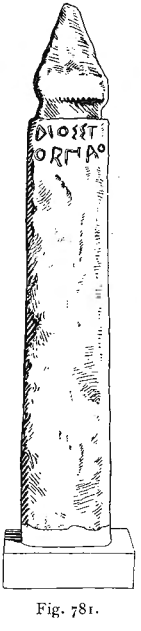


Fig. 781.

Another form of the same title was *Astrapaîos*, applied to Zeus both in literature[4] and in cult. His worship is attested for Bithynia by inscriptions of the second century A.D.[5] At Antandros in Mysia he had a festival lasting more days than one[6]. At Athens there was a hearth (*eschára*) of Zeus *Astrapaîos* on the city wall between the Pythion and the Olympion: here, for three days and nights in each of three successive months, the Pythaïstai watched a place near Phyle known as the Chariot (*Hárma*); if they saw a flash of lightning above it, they had to send a certain sacrifice to Delphoi[7]. The custom must

[1] *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii nos. 59—66, O. Kern *Inscriptiones Graecae* Bonnae 1913 p. x pl. 11, 3, *supra* i. 520 n. 2. Cp. the *kúrbeis* discussed *infra* Append. M.

[2] A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1906 p. 63 f. fig. (inscription only), K. A. Rhomaios *ib.* 1911 p. 150 fig. 1 (=my fig. 781), *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 64 fig. (inscription only). Height: 0·67 m.

[3] Hesych. *s.vv. στορπάν* (so J. Alberti for *στορτίαν* cod.)· *τὴν ἀστραπήν* and *στροπά* (so T. Bergk for *στροπή* cod.)· *ἀστραπή. Πάφιοι.* See F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 351.

[4] Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 16 f. (Apul. *de mundo* 37 translates *ἀστραπαῖος* by *fulgurator*), Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 13 Lang, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 786, 4, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* (6) *ἀστραπαίου*, 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* (17) *ἀστραπαίου.* In Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 9, *h. Zeus Astrápios* 20. 5 metre demands *ἀστράπιε, ἀστράπιον* for *ἀστραπαῖε, ἀστραπαῖον* codd.: in the title of the latter hymn E. Abel restored *ἀστραπίου* for *αστραπέως* codd.

[5] P. E. Legrand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 539 f. no. 16 (at *Tchelidjik* near Kios) *ἀγαθῇ τύχῃι,* | *Διὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ καὶ Ἀστρα|παίῳ καὶ Δήμητρι Καρ|ποφόρῳ Φίλητος εὐ|χὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν δεσπο|τῶν. καθιερώθη δὲ ὁ* | *θεὸς ὑπὸ Χαρμιδεανῶν* (unknown) | *τοῦ δήμου ἐν τῷ πρώτῳ* | *ἔτει ἐπὶ Τίτου Ἀντωνεί|νου Καίσαρος* (138 A.D.), G. Mendel *ib.* 1900 xxiv. 383 f. no. 33 (at *Ieni-Keui* on the northern shore of the lake of Nikaia) [*ἀγα*]*θῇ τύχῃι* | [---] *Ζεὺς Ἀσ(σ)τραπαῖος.* | [*ὁ*] *δῆμος ἐτείμησεν Κάσ|σιον Ἀναῖον τὸν ἔκδι|κον κ.τ.λ.*

[6] F. Lenormant in the *Rev. Arch.* 1864 ii. 49 *ἔδοξε τῇι βουλῃι καὶ τῶι δήμωι* | *Ἀνταν|δρίων στεφανῶσαι* | *Πολυκράτην Πολυκράτους* | *Ἀθηναῖον τὴν πρώτηι τῆς*| | *ἑορτῆς Διὸς Ἀστραπαίου* | *κ.τ.λ.*

[7] Strab. 404 *ὡς δ' αὖτως καὶ τὸ Ἅρμα, τῆς Ταναγραϊκῆς κώμη ἔρημος περὶ τὴν Μυκαληττόν, ἀπὸ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου ἅρματος λαβοῦσα τοὔνομα, ἑτέρα οὖσα τοῦ Ἅρματος τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ὃ ἐστι περὶ Φυλήν, δῆμον τῆς Ἀττικῆς ὅμορον τῇ Τανάγρᾳ. ἐντεῦθεν δὲ ἡ παροιμία τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔσχεν ἡ λέγουσα "ὁπόταν δι' Ἅρματος ἀστράψῃ," ἀστραπήν τινα σημειουμένων κατὰ χρησμὸν τῶν λεγομένων Πυθαϊστῶν, βλεπόντων ὡς ἐπὶ τὸ Ἅρμα καὶ τότε πεμπόντων τὴν θυσίαν εἰς Δελφούς, ὅταν ἀστράψαντα ἴδωσιν· ἐτήρουν δ' ἐπὶ τρεῖς μῆνας, καθ' ἕκαστον μῆνα ἐπὶ τρεῖς*

have been an ancient one, for it had already passed into a proverb in the fifth century B.C.[1] Indeed, it not improbably dates back to the time when Zeus the lightning-god was lord of Pytho[2]. Apollon, who took over so much from his predecessors[3], may well have retained the ominous flash of Zeus[4]. As to the ritual of the ensuing sacrifice, inscriptions of the second and first centuries B.C. tell how Pythaïstai of various noble families took first-fruits from Athens to Delphoi, and brought back a sacred tripod on a chariot, together with a priestess called the Fire-bearer[5]. The rites thus practised in

ἡμέρας καὶ νύκτας, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐσχάρας τοῦ Ἀστραπαίου Διός· ἔστι δ' αὕτη ἐν τῷ τείχει μεταξὺ τοῦ Πυθίου καὶ τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου. B. Niese 'Apollodors Commentar zum Schiffskataloge als Quelle Strabo's' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1877 xxxii. 267 ff. showed that Strabon drew his information from Apollodoros' note on the Boeotian Harma (*Il.* 2. 499) in his work *περὶ νεῶν καταλόγου*. Strabon in turn was the source of Steph. Byz. *s.v.* "Αρμα and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 235, 44 ff., p. 266, 33 ff.

[1] *Frag. com. anon.* 110 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 631 f. Meineke) *ap.* Hesych. *ἀστράψῃ διὰ Πυκνός· ἀντὶ τοῦ δι' "Αρματος.* The subject of *ἀστράψῃ*, as Meineke saw, is probably Perikles in his character of human Zeus: cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 530 f.

The proverb is recorded by Zenob. 1. 37 (cod. M) *ὅταν δι' "Αρματος ἀστράψῃ· ἡ παροιμία εἴρηται ἐπὶ τῶν χρονίως γινομένων· ἐπειδὴ Ἀθηναῖοι εἰώθασι πέμπειν εἰς Δελφοὺς θυσίαν, τηρήσαντες ἀστραπὴν ἀπό τινος τόπου φανεῖσαν, ὃν "Αρμα προσαγορεύουσιν* (cp. Souid. *s.v.* "Αρμα, Hesych. *s.vv. ἀστραπὴ δι' "Αρματος* and *δι' "Αρματος*, Bekker *anecd.* i. 212, 16 f.), who is known to have epitomised the proverbs of Didymos and Loukillos of Tarrha (Souid. *s.v.* Ζηνόβιος, cp. schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 134). It is used by Plout. *symp.* 5. 5. 2 *οἱ γὰρ σπανίως καὶ "δι' "Αρματος," ὥς φασιν, ἐστιῶντες κ.τ.λ.*

[2] *Supra* pp. 179 f., 186 ff., 231 ff., 267.

[3] *Supra* pp. 231, 266.

[4] Lightning was occasionally connected with Apollon (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1226 n. 1): see *e.g.* Eur. *Ion* 285 *τιμᾷ σφε* (*sc.* the Long Cliffs on the N. side of the Akropolis at Athens) *Πύθιος ἀστραπαί τε Πύθιαι*; Apollod. 1. 9. 26 *πλέοντες δὲ νυκτὸς σφοδρῷ περιπίπτουσι χειμῶνι. Ἀπόλλων δὲ στὰς ἐπὶ τὰς Μελαντίους δειράς, τοξεύσας τῷ βέλει εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν κατήστραψεν. οἱ δὲ πλησίον ἐθεάσαντο νῆσον, τῷ δὲ παρὰ προσδοκίαν ἀναφανῆναι προσορμισθέντες Ἀνάφην ἐκάλεσαν. ἱδρυσάμενοι δὲ βωμὸν Ἀπόλλωνος Αἰγλήτου καὶ θυσιάσαντες ἐπ' εὐωχίαν ἐτράπησαν* (cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1701 ff., Orph. *Arg.* 1353 ff.). Coins of Axos in Crete, struck in *s.* iv. B.C., have *obv.* head of Apollon, *rev.* tripod; but from *c.* 300 B.C. onwards the head of Apollon is replaced usually by a head of Zeus, and the tripod sometimes gives place to a thunderbolt, sometimes has a thunderbolt resting upon it (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 14 f. pl. 3, 12, 17, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 p. 40 pl. 3, 10 and 11, cp. p. 38 pl. 3, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 459). Similarly a copper of Antiochos xi Epiphanes (? Antiochos viii Grypos) has *rev.* a winged thunderbolt resting on a tripod (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 99 pl. 26, 7).

[5] L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 90 ff. no. 10, 2 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 266, 2 ff. = J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 872 f. no. 2728, 2 ff. = *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 no. 33, 2 ff., cp. *ib.* p. 290, = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 697 *L*, 2 ff. (from the wall of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphoi, relating to the second Pythaïs, that of 128/7 B.C.) *[ἐπεὶ Ἀλ]κίδαμος Εὐφάνους [ὁ ὑμέτερος] πολίτας, εὐσεβῶς καὶ ὁσίως διακείμενος ποτί τε τὸν θεὸν | [καὶ ποτὶ] τὰν πόλιν ἁμῶν, ἀγαγ[ὼν δὲ κ]αὶ τὸν τρίποδα ἐφ' ἅρματος ἀξίως τοῦ τε θεοῦ καὶ τοῦ ὑμετέρου | [δάμου κ]αὶ ἁμῶν, τάν τε παρέπιδαμίαν [καὶ] ἀναστροφὰν ἐποιήσατο ὡς ἐνδέχεται κάλλιστα· κ.τ.λ.*

A. Nikitsky in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 619 ff. = *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 no. 13, 1 ff., cp. *ib.* p. 290, = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 711 *D*, 22 ff. (from the wall of the Treasury

the Hellenistic age—the offering of first-fruits, the carrying of the tripod, and the fetching of need-fire—were doubtless a later revival of earlier usage. But the only fifth-century evidence is Aischylos' allusion to 'the road-making sons of Hephaistos' as expounded by the scholiast, who informs us that sacred processions from Athens to Delphoi were headed by men bearing double axes[1]. The weapon, whatever its precise usage in the ceremony, confirms us in the impression that we have here to do with an ancient cult of Zeus.

Near Laodikeia Katakekaumene in Lykaonia Zeus was worshipped under the fuller title 'He that Thunders and Lightens[2].' The combination of these alternative epithets is unusual, but occurs again on an oblong altar of Roman date found in Thera[3].

(ζ) Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos*.

G. Seure, who during the last five and twenty years has done more than any man to help forward the study of Thracian archaeology, published in 1913 a whole series of monuments relating to the cult of Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos*, and added an important discussion of

of the Athenians at Delphoi, relating to the third Pythaïs, that in the spring of 105 B.C.) πυρφόρος ἡ ἐγ Δελφῶ[ν]· | Τιμώ. | Πυθαϊσταὶ ἐξ Εὐπατ[ριδῶν]· | four names. | ἐκ Πυρρακιδῶν· | one name (a later addition). | ἐκ Κηρύκων· | three names followed by a blank line. | ἐξ Εὐνειδῶν· | three names. | ἐκ Τετραπολέων· | one name. | ὁ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀπαρχάς· | Ἀμφικράτης Ἐπ[ιστράτ]ου.

L. Couve in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 87 ff. no. 9, 2 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1285, 2 ff. = *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2 no. 32, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 728 *I*, 2 ff. (from the wall of the Treasury of the Athenians at Delphoi, relating to the fourth Pythaïs, that in the spring of 96 B.C.) ἐπὶ Μέντορος ἄρχοντος ἐν Δελφοῖς, ἐν δὲ Ἀθήναις | Ἀργείου, ἑλαβεν τὸν ἱερὸν τρίποδα ἐκ Δελφῶν καὶ ἀπε|κόμισεν, καὶ τὴν πυρφόρον ἤγαγεν Ἀμφικράτης Ἐπι|στράτου Ἀθηναῖος.

The evidence for the Pythaïs has been collected and discussed by J. Toepffer 'Die attischen Pythaisten und Deliasten' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 321 ff., 633, V. von Schoeffer *De Deli insulae rebus* (*Studien für classische Philologie und Archäologie* ix. 1) Berlin 1889 p. 11 f., E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 p. 104 ff., G. Colin *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* Paris 1905 p. 1 ff., W. S. Ferguson 'Researches in Athenian and Delian Documents. III' in *Klio* 1909 ix. 304 ff., A. Boëthius *Die Pythaïs: Studien zur Geschichte der Verbindungen zwischen Athen und Delphi* Uppsala 1918 pp. 1—172 (a comprehensive and satisfactory handling of an intricate subject). A convenient summary of facts is given by Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] ii. 298—301, and a good popular sketch by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 32 f. and W. S. Ferguson *Hellenistic Athens* London 1911 p. 372 f. (though Sir J. G. Frazer is probably mistaken in supposing that the need-fire was carried in the tripod: see Boëthius *op. cit.* p. 72 ff.).

[1] *Supra* p. 628.

[2] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 235 f. no. 1 (*Khadyn Khan*) Μηνόδ[ω][ρ]ος ἀρχιε[ρ][εὺ]ς Διὶ Βρον|τῶντι καὶ Ἀ|στραπτο[ῦ]ντι ▩▩▩ | [εὐχή]ν. Menodoros, as Sir William remarks, was perhaps high-priest of an imperial cult.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1359 Διὸς Βροντῶντος καὶ | Ἀστράπτοντος. Cp. Orph. *h. Zeus Astrápios* 20. 3 ἀστράπτοντα σέλας νεφέων παταγοδρόμῳ αὐδῇ.

his name and nature[1]. The monuments in question comprise seven reliefs, two coins, and three votive inscriptions.

Of the reliefs there are three distinct types. The first, represented by five examples[2], shows a bearded god, usually clad in a

Fig. 782.

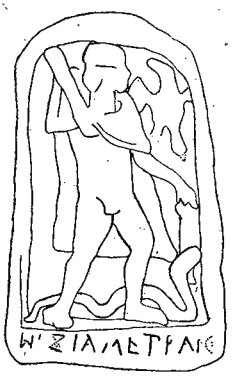


Fig. 783.

chlamýs, advancing from left to right with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his outstretched left arm. Beneath his left hand there is a pillar (figs. 782, 783) or altar (fig. 784), and at his

[1] G. Seure 'Les images thraces de Zeus Kéraunos ΖΒΕΛΣΟΥΡΔΟΣ, ΓΕΒΕΛΕΙΖΙΣ, ΖΑΛΜΟΞΙΣ' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 225—261.

[2] (1) Relief in white marble, at Sofia (G. Seure *loc. cit.* p. 226 f. fig. 1), inscribed ΡΘΜΙSΡΔ (?), of which the only traces now legible are ⌊∠ of the last two letters. The original reading may have been [Ζιβε]ρθ[ιού]ρδ[ω] (*id. ib.* p. 242 n. 3): cp. *infra* p. 821 f. Nude bearded (?) god, brandishing bolt (?) in raised right hand and extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, over a four-sided pillar. Height: 0·16m.

(2) Marble relief from *Pascalevetz* near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 157 no. 1 (=my fig. 782), G. Seure *loc. cit.* p. 228 f. fig. 2), inscribed Σούρα εὐχήν. Bearded god, with *chlamýs*, brandishing bolt in raised right hand and extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, over a pillar (probably not a tree). At his feet, a snake. Height: 0·20m.

(3) Marble relief from *Samovoden* near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 52 f. no. 53, *id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 229 f. fig. 3 (=my fig. 783)), with an inscription, which was read by Dobrousky as Δι[ΐ] Ζιαμέγρα, by Seure first as Δι[ΐ] Ζιαμέτρα and later as [θε]ῶι Ζιαμέτρ[α]λις with *compendium* of αλ. Bearded god, with *chlamýs*, brandishing club-like bolt in raised right hand and extending left arm, over which is an eagle, to touch a pillar with moulded top. At his feet, a snake. Height: 0·205m.

(4) Marble relief from *Biéla Tcherkva* near Nikopolis in Moesia, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1908 ii. 75 no. 5, *id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 231 ff. fig. 4), uninscribed. Bearded god, with *chlamýs*, brandishing bolt in raised right hand and

feet two of the reliefs give a gliding snake (figs. 782, 783). In the main this type is clearly adapted from a common Hellenic scheme, that of Zeus advancing to the attack[1]. Accordingly, its least barbaric

Fig. 784.

example (fig. 784) is accompanied by the dedication 'To Zeus *Zbelthioûrdos*.'

The second type, of which there is but one specimen (fig. 785)[2],

extending left arm, on which an eagle is perched, to touch a pillar. At his right side, on a smaller scale, stands a draped female figure. Height: 0·17m.

(5) Marble relief from *Bouzadjilar* in the district of *Sliven*, now at Sofia (S. Reinach in the *Bulletin archéologique du comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* 1894 p. 425 f. pl. 20, 1 (=my fig. 784), P. Perdrizet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1899 p. 23 no. 2, G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 235 f. fig. 6), inscribed Διὶ Ζβελθιούρδ[ω] | Μοκάπορις δῶρον. Zeus, bearded and wearing *himátion*, stands towards the right, with a twisted bolt in his raised right hand and an eagle on his extended left, beneath which is a small rectangular altar. Height: 0·35m.

[1] *Supra* p. 739 ff.

[2] Marble relief from *Soukhatché* in the district of *Bièla Slatina*, now at Sofia (G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 233 ff. fig. 5 (=my fig. 785)), uninscribed. Height: 0·19m.

shows the same god still brandishing his bolt, but mounted on a two-horse chariot, which carries also a draped and veiled goddess. She holds in both hands attributes hard to determine—in her right perhaps two ears of wheat (? a *cornu copiae*), in her left perhaps a long torch (? a sceptre). The chariot is preceded by the snake, of which the tail alone is visible. This relief, despite its extreme clumsiness, is again composed of Hellenic elements, the *motif* of Zeus fulminant in a chariot with a snaky tail before him being

Fig. 785.

probably drawn from the Gigantomachy[1]. And here it is of interest to remember that in the neighbourhood of Constantinople thunder is nowadays attributed to St Elias, who drives his chariot across the sky in pursuit of a dragon, and that the modern Greek as like as not will say 'The lightning is chasing the snakes[2].'

The third type, again represented by a single relief (fig. 786)[3], shows the Thracian god once more in the guise of a Greek Zeus[4], a nude, bearded figure facing us with sceptre held high and lowered

[1] For an analogous case see *supra* p. 82 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 183.

[3] Marble relief, found in 1875 near the church of S. Eusebio at Rome, *i.e.* on a part of the Esquiline where foreign troops, including Thracians, had their barracks, and now to be seen in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (R. Lanciani in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1880 viii. 12 no. 157.pl. 1 (=my fig. 786), Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 146 no. 3771, P. Perdrizet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1899 p. 24 no. 4, G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 236 ff. fig. 7, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 203 no. 3), inscribed *θεῷ Ζβερθούρδῳ καὶ Ἰαμβαδούλῃ ἐπιφα|νεστάτοις Αὐρ(ηλιος) Διονύσιος στρατ(ιώτης) χώ(ρ)της | τοῦ πραιτ(ωριανοῦ) ἑκατοντάρχ(ου) Φλωρεντίνου θέλω[ν] | ἀνέθηκα=Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 981. After *χώ(ρ)της* there is space for a missing numeral.

[4] *Supra* p. 749 ff.

bolt. But this time he is grouped with a younger god on horseback, recognisable by his effeminate limbs and abundant hair. G. Seure does not hesitate to name him Dionysos, a hypostasis or by-form of the Thracian rider. He points out that the relief was dedicated by one Dionysios (*nomen omen*) 'to the god *Zberthoûrdos* and to *Iambadoúles*'—a title which recalls the horse-riding Dionysos, 'the

Fig. 786.

god *Asdoúles*,' of the Brussels relief[1]. I may add[2] that the curious tradition of *Iámbe* the *doúle*[3] or 'slave,' who beguiled Demeter by her jokes and is herself described as a Thracian[4] or a Bacchant[5], was not improbably founded on a misunderstanding of this cult-epithet.

The coins of Serdike and Pautalia in Thrace adduced by Seure[6] are only variants of a wide-spread numismatic type[7] and do not

[1] *Supra* p. 270 n. 3.

[2] Since this paragraph was penned I find that I have been anticipated in the suggestion by Seure himself (*Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 257 n. 4).

[3] Schol. Eur. *Or.* 964 = schol. Nik. *alex.* 130 Ἰάμβη δέ τις δούλη τῆς Μετανείρας κ.τ.λ.

[4] Nik. *alex.* 132 with scholl. *ad loc.* (cited *supra* i. 681 n. 4), schol. Eur. *Or.* 964, Prokl. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 319 b 17 f.

[5] *Et. mag.* p. 463, 28 f. ἢ ἀπὸ τῆς εὑρούσης γυναικὸς Βάκχης τινός, Ἰάμβης καλουμένης.

[6] G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 240.

[7] *Supra* p. 743 n. 7.

increase our knowledge of the Thracian god. But the inscriptions[1] contribute other spellings of his name: Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos*[2], Zeus *Zlethoûrdos*[3], the god *Zberturdus*[4].

The name is presumably a compound. But attempts to fix its meaning are precarious. Tomaschek[5] thought that the first element was akin to the Lithuanian *žaîbas*, 'lightning,' *žiburỹs*, 'light, torch,' etc. and might denote either 'brilliance' or 'lightning.' For the second he suggested some connexion, near or remote, with the Slavonic *sver-d-*, 'to twist, to bore.' On this showing we should, I suppose, obtain a Thracian equivalent of *terpikéraunos*[6]. Baron Nopcsa believes that Zibel-*Thiurdos* lives on in Šn *Šurdh*, 'Saint Deaf' (*surdus*), whom he describes as the storm-god of the modern Albanians[7]. G. Seure[8], with far greater circumspection, argues that the original form of the Thracian name was **Zibelesoûrdos*, which by a double syncopation became *Zbelsoûrdos*. He finds the same first element in *Zibeleîzis*, a well-attested variant[9] of the Getic *Gebeleîzis*[10], and urges that **Zibelesoûrdos*, *Zibeleîzis*, and *Zalmóxis* were three of the epithets attached to the great national god of Thrace, a Zeus-like deity whose name is unknown[11]. The second element *Soûrdos* he regards as the patronymic of *Soûras* (*Soúris*, *Surus*, *Surio*), pointing out that on one of the reliefs already mentioned (fig. 782) the name *Soûra* may possibly be that of the god[12], and emending a disputed sentence of Cicero's accordingly[13].

[1] G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 242 f.

[2] A statue of Domitian erected by a trierarch of the Perinthian fleet was dedicated Διὶ Ζβελσούρδῳ (A. Dumont—T. Homolle *Inscriptions et monuments figurés de la Thrace* Paris 1876 p. 381 no. 72 a). But the Ashburnham MS. of Ciriaco de' Pizzicolli (Cyriacus of Ancona), to whom we owe the preservation of this title, reads ΔII ZIBEΛCOYPΔωI (Th. Mommsen in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1877 iii. 236 no. 8).

[3] A votive column, found at *Chaprovo* near *Doubnitza*, is inscribed in coarsely cut letters ΔIIZΛC|ΘOYPΔω| *τῶ κυρίω* | Βολβαβρι|ηνοὶ κω|μῆται ἀνέθη|καν (G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 242, 247).

[4] A Latin dedication, found at *Ljubanze* near *Uskub* in Makedonia, reads: [d]eo Zb[er]turd[o sacr.][S]ex. Fl. F[la]|mina[lis][v.] l. [p.] (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 8191 with correction on p. 2250, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4077 with correction *ib.* iii. 2 p. clxxxi).

[5] W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx. 11, 60 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 779.

[7] F. Nopcsa in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1911 xliii. 918: 'Šn Šurdh ist der Gewittergott der heutigen Albaner, *Zibel thiurdos* ein thrakischer Gott. Die Verehrung des Šn Šurdh zeigt thrakische Züge.'

[8] G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 247 ff.

[9] So codd. A. B. C. (the older, 'Florentine,' family) in Hdt. 4. 94.

[10] *Supra* p. 227 n. 4.

[11] See, however, *supra* p. 276 f.

[12] Σούρα, if nominative, is the dedicator; if genitive, the dedicator's father; if dative, the god to whom the dedication is made.

[13] In Cic. *in Pis.* 85 a te Iovis Velsuri fanum antiquissimum barbarorum sanctis-

These tentatives, however, are at best unconvincing. Indeed, scientific etymology is hopelessly handicapped by our comparative ignorance of the Thracian tongue. But, if the name of the god escapes us, his nature does not. Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos* was at once a sky-power and an earth-power—witness on the one hand his thunder-bolt, on the other his snake. His consort was a goddess perhaps akin to Demeter or to Semele. His offspring was *Iambadoúles*, Dionysos in the likeness of the Thracian rider-god[1]. For further knowledge we must be content to wait till Thrace yields up more of her buried secrets.

Thus much I had written, in some despondency, when I received (Jan. 24, 1922) a most encouraging communication from Mr B. F. C. Atkinson of Magdalene College, Cambridge. Knowing him to have made a special study of things Illyrian, I had challenged him to furnish me with a possible derivation of *Zbelsoûrdos*.

I append his reply: 'With regard to the variant form *Zibel-* of the first part of this compound, it has occurred to me'—he says—'that we may have here simply the root *div-* with suffix *-el-*. There is some reason to believe that original unaspirated voiced stops became in the Thracian and Illyrian dialects spirants; and it is reasonable to suppose that *zeta* was the symbol used by the Greeks to represent this sound (similar to the initial sound of English *then*), which did not normally occur in most Greek dialects. If this is the explanation of the *zeta* used in the Elean dialect in words such as *zíkaia*, *zé* (in three early inscriptions), where *delta* would be normal, we have a parallel use of the sound and of the symbol *zeta* to express it. We may compare the much later similar development of *delta*, which is a spirant in Modern Greek. As to the suffix *-el-*, I suggest that *Zibel-* is a parallel form to *Iûvil-*as, several times occurring in dedicatory inscriptions in Campania (vd. Conway *Italic Dialects* i. 101 ff.). The use of *beta* to express a *w-* or *v*-sound is of course comparatively common.

simumque direptum est Turnebus cj. *Iovis* [*vels*] *Uri*<*i*>, J. H. Mordtmann in the *Rev. Arch.* 1878 ii. 302 cj. *Iovis* <*S*>*velsur*<*d*>*i*; G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 243 ff., 249 divides *Iovis vel Suri*—a restoration more ingenious than probable.

[1] This conception of Dionysos may account for the use of the word ἥρως as applied to him in the chant of the Elean women (*carm. pop.* 5 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 36 ἐλθεῖν, ἥρω Διόνυσε, | κ.τ.λ.). My former attempt to re-cast the line (in Miss Harrison's *Themis* Cambridge 1912 p. 205 n. 1 ἐλθεῖν ἦρ', ὦ Διόνυσε, | κ.τ.λ.) was, I now think, ill-advised.

Since Dionysos was essentially a younger form of his own father (*supra* p. 287 ff.), it is not surprising to find that the word ἥρως attached to the older god likewise: (1) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 7534=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4063 (Tomoi) I. O. M. | Heroi | Q. Trebellius | Q. f. (F)ab. Maxi|mus Roma, | 7 leg. V Mac. | trecenarius | coh. III pr. | v. s. (2) G. Seure in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 239 n. 10 (Pannonia) I. O. M. Heroni.

This leaves the second half of the compound still to be determined[1]. But it may be observed that it strengthens the conjecture [*supra* p. 277 ff.] that the Thracian form of the name of Zeus was **Di(v)-os.*'

v. The whip of Zeus.

Dr Rendel Harris in a brief but important chapter[2] collects evidence from China, India, and Wallachia of lightning conceived as a whip. He holds that the same conception has left traces of itself in Greek mythology, but does not quote some definite statements, which might be adduced from Greek authors.

Kapaneus, when attacking the Electran gate of Thebes, defied Zeus and compared his lightning to mere midday heat[3]. Thereupon Zeus struck him down with a thunderbolt. The incident was notorious; but Lykophron[4] the pedant adds interest to it by describing Kapaneus as lashed with a lightning-whip:

> The third[5] is son of him who undermined
> With his rude mattock the Ectenian[6] towers.
> The Thunderer[7], Adviser[8], God of Mills[9],

[1] Mr Atkinson subsequently supplied me with a '*Further Note on* Ζβελσοῦρδος. The second part of the compound presents greater difficulty owing to the variant readings. It is hard to resist the conclusion that the sound represented now by σ, now by θ, is the unvoiced dental spirant. The ι which is supposed by some to be present after the θ is, I understand, a doubtful factor. Seure (*Revue des Études Grecques*, 1913 p. 247) rejects it, and thus simplifies matters, making the form a variant between *-σουρδος* and *-θουρδος*. If the initial sound is the unvoiced dental spirant, the form may well be connected with the root appearing in Sanskrit as √*tṛd*, *tṛṇatti*, which is commonly used of Indra "splitting" or "cleaving" with his bolt (*e.g.* vájreṇa khány atṛṇan nadīnām = "with his bolt he split open the clefts of the waters," RV II. 15). The root *tṛd* is commonly supposed to be an extension of the root *tṛ*, I-E. *√*ter*, seen in Greek *τείρω*, *ἔτορε*, Lat. *tero*, *terebra*, etc. The Thracian change of *t* to þ, though not resting upon any established or tested sound-law, is not inconsistent with other evidence, scanty as it is, and we may compare the similar change in Avestan especially under the influence of a liquid. If this etymology is well-founded, we thus have as the meaning of the whole compound "Zeus," or "the son of Zeus, the Splitter" (referring of course to the thunderbolt).'

[2] J. Rendel Harris *Picus who is also Zeus* Cambridge 1916 p. 57 ff., cp. *ib.* p. 55.

[3] Aisch. *s. c. Th.* 422 ff.

[4] Lyk. *Al.* 433 ff. *τρίτον δέ, τοῦ μόσσυνας Ἐκτήνων ποτὲ | στερρᾷ δικέλλῃ βουσκαφήσαντος γόνον, | ὃν Γογγυλάτης εἶλε Βουλαῖος Μυλεύς, | ἀγηλάτῳ μάστιγι συνθραύσας κάρα, | ἥμος ξυναίμους πατρὸς αἱ Νυκτὸς κόραι | πρὸς αὐτοφόντην στρῆνον ὤπλισαν μόρου.* The version printed above is by G. W. Mooney.

[5] Sthenelos, son of Kapaneus.

[6] The Ἔκτηρες were the first inhabitants of Thebes, their king Ogygos being autochthonous (Paus. 9. 5. 1).

[7] Mooney follows C. von Holzinger, who on the strength of Hesych. *γογγυλεῖν* (C. G. Cobet cj. *γογγύλλειν*)· *συστρέφειν* (M. Schmidt cj. *συστρέψειν*) translates 'Blitzeschleuderer.' Tzetz. *ad loc.* says *ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Γογγυλάτης, δι' οὗ αἱ γογγύλαι καὶ συνεσφιγμέναι χεῖρες κινοῦνται*—a desperate guess. In all probability (*supra* p. 260) Γογγυλάτης was a local appellative from * Γογγύλη, the 'Round' Rock or Island (cp. Στρογγύλη = *Stromboli*), a site as yet unidentified.

[8] *Supra* p. 258 n. 3.

[9] *Supra* p. 260 *sub fin.*

Crushed in his head with his avenging scourge,
What time Night's daughters[1] armed with fell desire
The father's brothers[2] to shed brother's blood.

The scholiast[3], commenting on Lykophron's word 'scourge,' remarks simply: 'he means "with his thunderbolt."'

Oppian[4] (*c.* 170 A.D.) describes a storm at sea in similar terms:

Beneath the scourge of Zeus etherial fire
Strikes the sea-farer's keel, and the burning stroke
Devours it, while the sea blent with dread flames
Still higher tosses and still onward drives.

Again the scholiast[5] observes: '"scourge," that is, "thunderbolt."'

Now learned poets of the Hellenistic age would hardly have ventured upon such a locution, unless they had (or fancied they had) some warrant for it in earlier Hellenic poetry. Accordingly we find Hesychios noting the Homeric phrase 'by the scourge of Zeus' and carefully explaining that this means 'by the thunderbolt[6].' Unfortunately his explanation is wrong. The phrase occurs twice in the *Iliad*, and in neither passage is there the least allusion to a thunderstorm[7]. The fact is, Homer's language was already old, and this particular expression even in his day had lost much of its original force. 'The scourge of Zeus,' scholiasts[8] and lexicographers[9] notwithstanding, was the merest metaphor for the driving power of the god. For all that, the phrase must have arisen at a time (? Early Iron Age) and in a place (? Thessaly) when and where Zeus was conceived as the driver of a celestial chariot. His cracking whip made the lightning; his echoing wheels, the thunder. Salmoneus, who during the Early Iron Age came from Thessaly to Elis[10], was an adept at the self-same art.

A vague remembrance of Zeus the charioteer with his lightning-lash clings about the tradition of his primeval contests. In representations of the Gigantomachy we frequently see him fulminant on a four-horse chariot[11]. More than that, his lightning-lash was not

[1] The Furies.

[2] Eteokles and Polyneikes, both sons and brothers of Oidipous.

[3] Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 433=*et. mag.* p. 10, 2 λέγει δὲ τῷ κεραυνῷ.

[4] Opp. *de pisc.* 5. 282 ff. ὡς δὲ Διὸς μάστιγι λάβῃ τρόπιν αἰθέριον πῦρ | κ.τ.λ.

[5] Schol. Opp. *de pisc.* 5. 282 μάστιγι· κεραυνός.

[6] Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς μάστιγι· τῷ κεραυνῷ.

[7] *Il.* 12. 37 f. Ἀργεῖοι δὲ Διὸς μάστιγι δαμέντες | νηυσὶν ἔπι γλαφυρῇσιν ἐελμένοι ἰσχανόωντο, 13. 811 f. οὔ τοί τι μάχης ἀδαήμονές εἰμεν, | ἀλλὰ Διὸς μάστιγι κακῇ ἐδάμημεν Ἀχαιοί.

[8] Schol. A. D. *Il.* 12. 37 Διὸς δὲ μάστιξ ὁ κεραυνός, schol. T. *ib.* τῷ κεραυνῷ.

[9] Hesych. *loc. cit.* J. Alberti *ad loc.* cites 'Gloss. Rutgers. Μάστιξ. κεραυνός.'

[10] Apollod. 1. 9. 7, cp. Strab. 356.

[11] *E.g. supra* p. 82 fig. 44, p. 84 fig. 46, p. 778 fig. 741.

forgotten by poets who told of his fight with Typhoeus. Homer[1] himself works it into the *simile* with which he concludes the list of the Greek combatants before Troy:

> They marched as though the land were all devoured
> With fire. Earth groaned beneath them as when Zeus
> In anger twists his bolt and plies his lash
> About Typhoeus—him who lies abed
> (Men say) i' the land of Arima. Even so
> Beneath their feet, as on they came, earth groaned,
> And speedily they passed across the plain.

Hesiod[2], relating the same myth, is even more explicit:

> Zeus armed his might and all his weapons took,
> Thunder and lightning and fierce levin-bolt,
> Sprang from Olympos, struck, and blasted all
> The wondrous heads of the monster. He at length
> Laid low by strokes of the lash fainted and fell
> Maimed of his power, and monstrous earth made moan.

This old belief in the whip of the lightning-god accounts for a curious dedication in the precinct of Zeus *Nάios*. According to Aristotle[3], there was at Dodona a couple of columns, which supported respectively a caldron (*lébes*) and a boy (*paîs*) grasping a whip. The bronze lashes of the whip, when swayed by the wind, struck the caldron and produced a reverberant sound. Strabon[4], probably following Apollodoros[5], adds that the whip was dedicated by the Corcyraeans, that it consisted of three chains tipped with buttons, and that you could count four hundred before the echo died away. Now Sir James Frazer has conjectured that the Dodonaean gong was 'meant to mimick the thunder that might so often be heard rolling and rumbling in the coombs of the stern and barren mountains which shut in the gloomy valley[6].' If so, the Corcyraean whip, which lashed its silence into sound, was an equally vivid and appropriate emblem of the lightning.

[1] *Il.* 2. 780 ff.

[2] Hes. *theog.* 853 ff. Nonnos on the same theme repeats the metaphor *ad nauseam* (*Dion.* 2. 533, 535, 541, 548).

[3] Aristot. *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* Δωδωναῖον χαλκεῖον, Apostol. 6. 43, cod. Coislin. 177, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1760, 58 ff. I have quoted and discussed these passages in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 8 f., adding (*ib.* p. 12) a conjectural restoration of the famous gong.

[4] Strab. *lib.* 7 *frag.* 3.

[5] See *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 12.

[6] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 358 f. Sir James Frazer's further conjecture (*ib.* p. 358 n. 4) that 'the bronze statuette...would represent Zeus himself making his thunder' would have to meet the objection that the said statuette is described as *παῖς*, *παιδάριον*, or at most *νεανίας* (see the passages adduced in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 8 f.). But cp. the Zeus Παῖς of Aigion (*supra* p. 742 f.).

§ 4. *Zeus and the Thunder.*

(*a*) Thunder as a sound independent of Zeus.

Thunder was sometimes, perhaps originally[1], venerated as an independent phenomenon, not connected, or at least not expressly connected, with the name of Zeus. Thus at Bathos in Arkadia, where—according to local tradition—the battle of the gods and giants took place, sacrifices were offered to Lightnings, Storms, and Thunders[2]. Similarly the writer of the proëm to the Orphic *Hymns* addresses his prayer to 'Winds, Thunders, and parts of the four-pillared World[3].'

This conception of Lightnings and Thunders as *Augenblicksgötter* has left a trace of itself in a custom common to both Greeks and Romans. When a lightning-flash was seen, folk at once made a loud smacking noise with their lips[4]. Why? Pliny seems to have thought that the worshipper was thus, so to speak, blowing a kiss to his god: 'the nations by common consent,' he says, 'adore the Lightnings with smacking sounds[5].' More probably the sounds in question were prophylactic[6] and meant to avert the danger of being struck by the lightning[7]. To the same primitive stage of formless fear belongs one of the strange taboos[8] by which the wife of the

[1] So H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 13 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 482). See further *supra* p. 13 n. 1.

[2] Paus. 8. 29. 1 *θύουσιν Ἀστραπαῖς αὐτόθι καὶ Θυέλλαις τε καὶ Βρονταῖς* with the notes of Sir J. G. Frazer, H. Hitzig and H. Blümner. A. G. Bather and V. W. Yorke in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1892—3 xiii. 231 attribute the localisation of the Gigantomachy to the prevalence of earthquakes, the existence of an intermittent spring, the frequent firing of peat-fields, and the finding of mammoth-bones.

[3] Orph. *εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 38 f. (quoted *supra* p. 141 n. 1).

[4] Aristoph. *vesp.* 626 *κἂν ἀστράψω, ποππύζουσιν* with schol. *ἔθος γὰρ ταῖς ἀστραπαῖς ποππύζειν. παρὰ δὲ τὰ εἰωθότα λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐπὶ τοῦ ὑπερβάλλοντος φόβου λέγει, ὅτε βρονταὶ καὶ ἀστραπαὶ γίνονται, παίζων.*

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 25 fulgetras poppysmis adorare consensus gentium est. So C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 185 interprets the action as a blandishment: 'Der Blitz, meint man, fühlt sich geschmeichelt, wenn der Mensch, statt zu erschrecken, sein Wohlgefallen ausdrückt.'

[6] C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 35 pap. Par. 561 f. *ἔπειτα σύρισον μακρὸν σ σ, ἔπειτα πόππυσον λέγων κ.τ.λ.*, *id. Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 48 pap. 121. 833 ff. *ποππυσμός, στεναγμός, συριγμός, κ.τ.λ.*, *alib.* Cp. C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 p. 125.

[7] E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 42 f. (on the strength of Aristot. *anal. post.* 2. 11. 94 b 32 ff. *ὥσπερ εἰ βροντῷ ἀποσβενὺμένου τε τοῦ πυρὸς ἀνάγκη σίζειν καὶ ψοφεῖν, καὶ εἰ ὡς οἱ Πυθαγόρειοί φασιν ἀπειλῆς ἕνεκα τοῖς ἐν τῷ Ταρτάρῳ, ὅπως φοβῶνται* and Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 156 *ὅταν δὲ βροντήσῃ, τῆς γῆς ἅψασθαι παρήγγελλε*) supposes that a thunderstorm was regarded as a repetition of the Titanomachy and that men could help the gods to win by these apotropaeic noises.

[8] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 14.

flamen Dialis was bound. If she chanced to hear a peal of thunder, she was incapacitated for duty till she had pacified the gods[1].

But Thunder and Lightning early developed into *Sondergötter*. At first, as we might have anticipated, they took shape as divine animals. For, not only does Hesiod make Pegasos the bearer of thunder and lightning[2], but Eumelos (*s.* viii B.C.), using the self-same words, calls two of the sun's horses *Bronte*, 'Thunder,' and *Steropē*, 'Lightning[3].' Already, however, in Hesiod's time this theriomorphic conception was giving way before the ubiquitous advance of anthropomorphism. The *Theogony* speaks of 'Brontes and Steropes and strong-souled Arges' as Kyklopes resembling the gods in all points, except for the single eye set in their forehead[4]. Even this *non*-human trait disappeared in due course. Pliny says of Apelles: 'He painted the unpaintable too—thunders, lightnings, and thunderbolts, Bronte, Astrape, and Ceraunobolia, as they are called[5].' The reference here is certainly[6] to allegorical female figures such as those introduced by Philostratos into his picture of Semele—'stern-looking Thunder and Lightning with flashing eyes[7].' Finally these daemonic personifications are transformed into angels, or at least controlled by angelic powers. Ioannes of Gaza (*c.* 536 A.D.)[8] in his description of the cosmic picture, which adorned the Winter Bath of that town, represents Bronte and Sterope surrounded by clouds[9]. Bronte has her hands held behind her by an angel; Sterope, hurling her flash, is directed by another angel—an ingenious way of suggesting that we see the lightning before we hear the thunder[10].

The lively imagination that inspired such figures is not yet extinct. A folk-song well known throughout Greek lands[11] involves the following plot. A Dragon (*Drákontas*) threatens to devour a young man. But his victim's lover by claiming to be the daughter of Lightning and Thunder so scares the Dragon[12] that he lets the young man go free. Similarly in a song from Epeiros a Lamia, disguised as a woman, begs a widow's son to recover her ring,

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* i. 16. 8.

[2] Hes. *theog.* 285 f. *Supra* pp. 716, 721, *infra* Append. F *sub fin.*

[3] *Supra* i. 337 n. 3.

[4] Hes. *theog.* 139 ff. *Supra* i. 303 n. 2, 312 n. 1, 314, 317 f.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 96.

[6] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1503.

[7] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* i. 14. 1 (*supra* p. 28).

[8] Thiele in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1747.

[9] Io. Gaz. 2. 160 ff.

[10] P. Friedländer *Johannes von Gaza und Paulus Silentiarius* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 202. *Id. ib.* pl. 1 gives a reconstruction of the wall-painting.

[11] N. G. Polites Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι (extract from Παρνασσός) Athens 1880 p. 9 f. quotes variants from Kypros, Crete, the mainland of Greece, and Korkyra.

[12] Since it is a long-standing belief that snakes are chased by the lightning (*supra* i. 183, ii. 820).

which has dropped inside a willow-tree, all blackened by lightning. She lowers him into the hollow trunk, where he finds nothing but snakes, and refuses to draw him up:

'"Now thou art in, my pretty youth, forth shalt thou come, ah, never!
For I'm the Lamia of the Sea, devourer of the Heroes!"
"And I, I am the Lightning's Son, I'll lighten, and will burn thee!"
She of the Lightning was afraid, and up again she drew him[1].'

Even more suggestive of a *Sondergott* is the question put to Mr J. C. Lawson by an aged crone, who was rain-making on the edge of the cliff in Thera (*Santorini*). She knew 'the god above and the god below,' but 'One thing she could not make out—who was the god that caused the thunder; did I know?[2]'

(*b*) Thunder as a sound uttered by Zeus.

Usually, however, thunder was brought into some direct connexion with Zeus. The modern mind, steeped in Semitic thought[3], readily conceives thunder as the voice of God[4]. But this was not a classical conception. Thunder was at most an ominous sound preceding divine speech. Thus, when Oidipous the aged wanderer of the Sophoclean play is about to be translated, Zeus *Chthónios* thunders; after which there is silence for a while, and then the god cries in ringing tones:

Oidipous, Oidipous, why tarry we
To go? Too long already they delay[5]!

Phaedrus also, describing a scene on the Roman stage, says:

The curtain dropped, the thunder was rolled down,
And the gods spoke as they are wont to speak[6].

But, though the Greeks of the classical age did not regard thunder as the articulate voice of Zeus, they thought of it sometimes in a more homely fashion as an inarticulate sound proceeding from his body[7].

[1] L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 i. 103 ff. (from G. Ch. Chasiotes Συλλογὴ τῶν κατὰ τὴν Ἤπειρον δημοτικῶν ᾀσμάτων Athens 1866 p. 137 f.). Cp. N. G. Polites *loc. cit.* p. 10.

[2] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 49 f.

[3] Job 37. 5 'God thundereth marvellously with his voice' (cp. *ib.* 37. 4, 40. 9, Ps. 77. 18, 104. 7, John 12. 29, Rev. 10. 3 f., 14. 2, 19. 6). E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 ii. 264: 'Among certain Moslem schismatics, it is even the historical Ali, cousin of Mohammed, who is enthroned in the clouds, where the thunder is his voice,' etc.

[4] *E.g.* R. Browning *An Epistle sub fin.*: 'So, through the thunder comes a human voice,' F. W. H. Myers *Saint Paul* London 1887 p. 41 'Lo if some strange intelligible thunder | Sang to the earth the secret of a star.'

[5] Soph. *O. C.* 1604 ff.

[6] Phaedr. 5. 7. 23 f.

[7] See the conversation between Strepsiades and Sokrates in Aristoph. *nub.* 382 ff., which is probably based upon folk-belief (cp. Strab. 675, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 5. 4. 2).

(*c*) Thunder as a sound caused by the Chariot of Zeus.

According to another popular belief, thunder was the noise made by the chariot of Zeus as it rattled across the sky. Of this conception there is no certain trace in epic verse[1]. But Pindar began one of his lost poems with the words:

'Thunder-driving son of Rhea[2].'

On which Hesychios comments: 'The thunder is thought to be the chariot of Zeus[3].' A second Pindaric exordium was as follows:

'Driver on high of the tireless-footed thunder,
Zeus,' etc.[4].

Hereupon one scholiast remarks: 'Recent writers assign the thunder to Zeus as his chariot and say "O Zeus the Charioteer."' Another: 'Pindar takes the thunder to be the horse of Zeus, and so calls it "tireless-footed."' A third: 'Recent writers after a manner of their own hold the thunder to be the chariot and horse of Zeus[5].' The reference to recent writers is meant to include such poets as Horace[6]. But we can hardly doubt that the Thunderer's chariot was genuinely Greek. For, not only does it occur elsewhere in literature[7]

[1] Zeus in the *Iliad* has his 'well-wheeled chariot and horses' (*supra* i. 338 n. 1, where —as Mr C. T. Seltman points out to me—I should have noted *Il.* 8. 41 ff. rather than *Il.* 8. 438 ff. as the earliest allusion); but they are not said to cause thunder.

Τψίζυγος, an epic epithet of Zeus (*Il.* 4. 166, 7. 69, 11. 544, 18. 185, Hes. *o. d.* 18, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 373. 1), might conceivably be rendered 'who driveth his team aloft' (though it would describe horse or chariot more naturally than driver) and viewed as a virtual equivalent of ὑψιβρεμέτης, 'who thundereth aloft' (*Il.* 1. 354, 12. 68, 14. 54, 16. 121, *Od.* 5. 4, 23. 331, *h. Herm.* 329, Hes. *o. d.* 8, *theog.* 568, 601, Aristoph. *Lys.* 773, Orph. *Arg.* 1278, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 95. 3, 6. 210. 2, Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 5. 75: cp. Orph. *h. Ker.* 19. 1, where J. Pierson cj. ὑψίβρομον for ὑψίδρομον). But ὑψίζυγος is traditionally taken to mean 'who sitteth aloft' (H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1880 ii. 396)—an epithet appropriate to a steersman (Noumenios *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 11. 18. 24, Euseb. *de laud. Const.* 10 p. 223, 12 f. Heikel), which may well have descended to Homer from the days of the 'Minoan' thalassocracy.

[2] Pind. *frag.* 144 Schröder *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* ἐλασίβροντ' ἀναρρηγνὺς ἔπη (=schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 624) "ἐλασίβροντα παῖ Ῥέας."

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* ἐλασίβροντα·...ἐπεὶ δοκεῖ ὄχημα τοῦ Διὸς ἡ βροντὴ εἶναι.

[4] Pind. *Ol.* 4. 1 f. ἐλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος | Ζεῦ.

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 4. 1 *d*, 1 *k*, 1 *a*.

[6] Hor. *od.* 1. 34. 5 ff. Diespiter | ...per purum tonantis | egit equos volucremque currum (cp. *ib.* 1. 12. 58 ff.) with Porphyrion *ad loc.* dicuntur tonitrua strepitus esse currus et quadrigarum Iovis.

[7] Eur. *H. f.* 177 ff. Διὸς κεραυνὸν δ' ἡρόμην τέθριππά τε, | ἐν οἷς βεβηκὼς τοῖσι γῆς βλαστήμασι | Τίγασι, πλευροῖς πτήν' ἐναρμόσας βέλη, | τὸν καλλίνικον μετὰ θεῶν ἐκώμασε, *Bellerophontes frag.* 312 Nauck[2] ὑφ' ἅρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ (*sc.* Pegasos: *supra* p. 828 n. 2), Quint. Smyrn. 12. 189 ff. Διὸς δ' ἐπὶ πείρασι γαίης | οὐ λάθον ἠὐ νόημα· λιπὼν δ' ἄφαρ ὠκειονοῖο | χεύματ' ἐς οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἀνήιε· τὸν δὲ φέρεσκον | Εὖρος καὶ Βορέης, Ζέφυρος δ' ἐπὶ τοῖσι Νότος τε· | τοὺς δ' ὑπὸ θεσπέσιον ζυγὸν αἰόλος ἤγαγεν Ἶρις | ἅρματος αἰὲν ἐόντος, ὅ οἱ κάμεν ἄμβροτος Αἰὼν | χερσὶν ὑπ' ἀκαμάτῃσιν ἀτειρέος ἐξ ἀδάμαντος κ.τ.λ., Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 420 ff. ἐπαιγίζων δὲ θυέλλαις | ἠερόθεν πεφόρητο μετάρσιος αἰγίοχος Ζεύς, | ἑζόμενος πτερό-

Terra-cotta group from Gnathia, now in the British Museum: Zeus in a four-horse chariot.

See page 831 *n.* 1.

and art[1], but it enters into ritual and mythology of long standing.

The inhabitants of Krannon in Thessaly kept as a sacred object

εντι Χρόνου τετράζυγι δίφρῳ· ἵπποι δὲ Κρονίωνος ὁμόζυγες ἦσαν ἀῆται. | καὶ πῇ μὲν στεροπῇσι κορύσσετο, πῇ δὲ κεραυνῷ, | ἄλλοτε δὲ βροντῇσιν ἐπέχραεν, ἄλλοτε δ' ὄμβρων | πηγνυμένης προχέων πετρούμενα νῶτα χαλάζης | ὁμβρηροῖς βελέεσσι, cp. id. 36. 422 f. καὶ τότε τετραπόροιο Χρόνου στροφάλιγγα κυλίνδων, | ἱππεύων ἕτος ἕκτον, ἐλίσσετο καμπύλος Αἰών... M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1496 f. justly notes the Orphic colouring of the passages from Nonnos and compares Eur. *frag.* 943 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* i. 17. 59 *πυριγενὴς δὲ δράκων ὁδὸν ἡγεῖται [ταῖς] τετραμόρφοις | ὥραις ζευγνὺς ἁρμονίᾳ πολύκαρπον ὄχημα.* See also *supra* i. 337 f., and cp. the place "Αρμα on Mt Parnes (Append. B Attike).

[1] Throughout the whole range of classical art Zeus (Iupiter) is often represented in—sometimes, beside—his chariot, grasping or hurling a thunderbolt. The scene is usually, but not always, a Gigantomachy. I append a few examples:

(1) Gems (Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 5 no. 13 pl. 3, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 18, 6 (=my fig. 760), ii. 87; i pl. 57, 2 (=my fig. 44), ii. 259, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 229 no. 6255 pl. 43, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 92 no. 591 (*infra* § 9 (c))).

(2) Coins (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1196 f., Suppl. iii. 266 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 387 f. Münztaf. 5, 9 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy pp. 67 Aesernia, 74 Atella, 81 Capua, 331 f. Bruttii, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 22 Aesernia, 26 Atella, 125 Bruttii pl. 9, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 27, 31, 33 f., Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 636 and 654 Index *s.vv.* 'Jupiter,' 'Quadrige.' I give (fig. 787) an autonomous copper of Capua after Garrucci *Mon. It. Ant.* p. 89 pl. 87, 7. The finest numismatic types are, however, those of the Roman medallions: *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 11 no. 24 pl. 15, 1 Antoninus Pius, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 68 fig. Antoninus Pius, p. 157 fig. Septimius Severus, Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 5 no. 36 pl. 3 Antoninus Pius, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* i. 45 no. 1 pl. 22, 2 Septimius Severus, ii. 10 no. 12 pl. 43, 10 Antoninus Pius, ii. 14 f. no. 49 pl. 49, 1 Antoninus Pius, ii. 28 no. 11 pl. 60, 1 M. Aurelius).

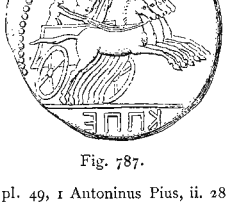


Fig. 787.

(3) Vases (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 4 pl. 1—2 the 'François'-vase, ii. 194 pl. 96 a red-figured *amphora* in the Louvre, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 27 pl. 13 a red-figured *amphora* from the Hamilton collection = Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 287, 1, cp. H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 18, 188).

(4) Reliefs (*Fouilles de Delphes* iv pl. 13—14, 2, col. pl. 21—23, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 374 fig. 175, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 136 f. fig. 55 north frieze of the Siphnian Treasury; *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pls. 14, 15, *Pergamon* iii. 2. 48 ff. Atlas pl. 10 f.).

A Hellenistic group in terra cotta, found at Gnathia (*Fasano*) in Apulia and bequeathed by Sir W. Temple to the national collection, is described as follows by H. B. Walters (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 324 no. D 157. My pl. xxxvii is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming): 'Zeus in four-horse chariot, on a large plinth. His figure is visible as far as the knees; his head is inclined to his l., r. hand extended with open palm, and in l. he holds up an apple (?). He has a thick straight beard and curly hair with laurel-wreath; drapery is twisted round his waist and l. arm, covering the l. leg. The body of the chariot is represented by a high narrow box on a base, with an arched railing round the front and sides; the horses together with the pole and yoke of the chariot are much restored, as are the wheels of the chariot, from the axles of which project lions' heads. Ht. of Zeus (with base), 11¼ in... Back of Zeus slightly modelled.'

a bronze car. In time of drought they shook this car and prayed the god for rain. The *parásemon* or 'badge' of their city showed two ravens perched on the car; and enquirers were told that two ravens, never more than two, were to be seen at Krannon. Theopompos stated that these two stayed till they had chicks, and then left[1]. Ktesias told a similar tale about Ekbatana[2]. And Myrsilos of Methymna said that on Lepetymnos, a mountain of Lesbos, there was a temple of Apollon and a shrine of the eponymous hero Lepetymnos, on which again two ravens perched and no more[3].

Fig. 788.

Fig. 789.

Fig. 790.

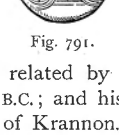


Fig. 791.

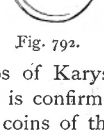


Fig. 792.

All this is duly related by Antigonos of Karystos, a paradoxographer of *s.* iii B.C.; and his account is confirmed by the fourth-century coinage of Krannon. Bronze coins of that town have for their reverse type an *amphora* resting on a car (fig. 788)[4]. Some specimens show a raven seated on the right-hand wheel (figs. 789—791)[5]; others, a pair of ravens on the two wheels (fig. 792)[6]. A. Furtwängler made it probable that the ravens were believed to bring rain from the sky[7], and that water was spilt from the *amphora* as a

[1] Theopomp. *frag.* 85 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 292 Müller) *ap.* Antig. Karyst. *hist. mir.* 15.

[2] Ktes. *ap.* Antig. Karyst. *hist. mir.* 15.

[3] Myrs. Methymn. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 459 Müller) *ap.* Antig. Karyst. *hist. mir.* 15.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 16 pl. 2, 13. Fig. 788 is from a specimen in my collection.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 16 nos. 3 and 4, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 469 n. 7. Fig. 789=W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 43; fig. 790=*ib.* Fig. 791 is from the McClean collection.

[6] Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 469 fig. 186. My fig. 792=W. M. Leake *op. cit.* European Greece p. 43 (wrongly described) KPANNOYNIOYN.

[7] He refers to Ail. *de nat. an.* i. 47 (Apollon sent the raven to get water. He found a green cornfield and, wishing to eat the grain, waited till it grew dry, thereby forgetting his errand. Hence he is punished by thirst in the summer, and proclaims his punishment by croaking), pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 41 (When the gods were sacrificing, the raven was sent to get water for a libation from a fountain. He saw beside it a fig-tree and waited for

rain charm[1]. Sir J. G. Frazer added that the rattling of the car was probably meant to imitate thunder[2]. We are not indeed told that this was the car of Zeus: but, since Zeus was the Greek rain-god[3], that is a legitimate assumption; he appears, moreover, on later coins of Krannon[4].

A similar imitation of the thunders of Zeus by means of a rattling chariot is found in the myth of Salmoneus, who likewise hailed from Thessaly[5].

Lastly, it will be remembered that the Thracian Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos* was at once a thunder-god and a charioteer (fig. 785)[6].

(*d*) Zeus *Brontaîos, Brontôn, Brontésios.*

Zeus *Brontaîos*, the god 'of Thunder,' figures in late literature[7] and twice at least on monuments of the Kyzikos district. A marble *stéle* from Mihallitch, preserved at Constantinople[8], is decorated with a relief of *s.* ii or iii A.D. (fig. 793)[9]. It shows Zeus standing on a broad pedestal, with a thunderbolt in his raised right hand, a sceptre in his lowered left, and an eagle at his feet. Near him, on a smaller

the figs to ripen. Then, realising his fault, he caught the water-snake of the fountain, brought it along with the bowl, and explained that the snake daily drank the water of the fountain. Apollon punished him with thirst, as is stated by Aristotle [*frag.* 329 Rose] and Archelaos in his 'Ιδιοφυῆ) [A similar account is given by schol. Arat. *phaen.* 449, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 419, 15 ff. Eyssenhardt, Ov. *fast.* 2. 243 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 40, Myth. Vat. 1. 115], Cramer *anecd. Paris.* i. 25, 20 ff. = Dionysios περὶ ὀρνίθων (When Koronis was bearing Asklepios at Trikke, the raven was told to bring water. Instead of that, he indulged in lust. Apollon in anger turned him black and so shaped his crop that he cannot bring water to his chicks) [Cp. Hyg. *fab.* 202, *poet. astr.* 2. 40, Myth. Vat. 1. 115, 2. 22, 2. 128].

On the raven as a weather-prophet in antiquity see *supra* p. 518 n. 4.

[1] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 471 suggests the same use for the problematic *Kesselwagen* or 'caldron-chariots' of the late Bronze Age and the Early Iron Age. These are bowls mounted on carriages of four wheels apiece and frequently decorated with birds or birds' heads. For examples and bibliography see J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 282—286. Cp. also R. Kittel *Studien zur hebräischen Archäologie und Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1908 pp. 189—242 ('Die Kesselwagen des salomonischen Tempels'—an interesting discussion leading up to the conclusion: 'Sie sind die Symbole der regenspendenden Gottheit'), J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 284 ff. fig. 107, 442 ff. fig. 183.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 309.

[3] *Infra* § 9.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 17 pl. 2, 14, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 294.

[5] *Infra* Append. L *sub fin.*

[6] *Supra* p. 820.

[7] Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 17, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 9. Cp. Athena Βελονίκη daughter of Βρονταῖος (Eudok. *viol.* 355), Athena Βελενίκη daughter of Βροντᾶος (Favorin. *lex.* p. 750, 19 f.), Athena Βαλενίκη daughter of Βροντέας (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 111).

[8] A. Joubin *Musée impérial ottoman: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines, byzantines et franques* Constantinople 1893 no. 126, G. Mendel *Musées Impériaux Ottomans: Catalogue des sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* Constantinople iii ('sous presse').

[9] Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 115 pl. 133, 2 (= my fig. 793).

pedestal, is a terminal Hermes, with a *caduceus* over his right shoulder[1]. Between the two deities appears a flaming altar. And below is the figure of a man lying prone on his face. The inscription

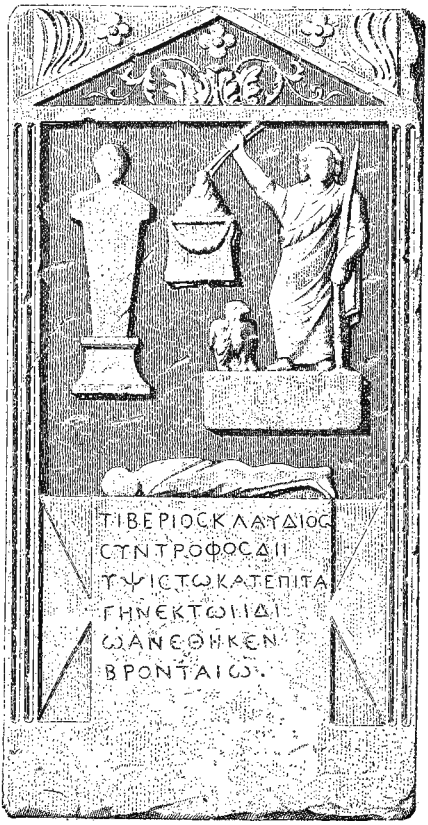


Fig. 793.

underneath runs: 'Tiberius Claudius Syntrophus to Zeus *Hýpsistos*, bidden (by the god), at his own cost dedicated (this), to *Brontaîos*[2].'

[1] This detail is omitted in the drawing by E. Landron here reproduced.

[2] Τιβέριος Κλαύδιος | Σύντροφος Διὶ | Ὑψίστῳ κατ' ἐπιτα|γὴν ἐκ τῶ(ν) ἰδί|ω[ν] ἀνέθηκεν | Βρονταίῳ (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 1099, J. Schmidt in the *Ath. Mitth.*

Perhaps Syntrophus, like Pythagoras[1], had been 'purified with the thunder-stone' and 'lying prone' in the appointed place had been warned to erect this monument to Zeus *Hýpsistos Brontaîos*. Another marble *stéle*, found between Tchakyrdja and Hadji Paon, represents in relief an altar, the sacrifice of a bull, and four worshippers. Below is the inscription: 'Meleagros and Theoxenos and Menandros, the sons of Protomachos, (discharged) a vow to Zeus *Brontaîos*[2].'

Thunder, says Sir William Ramsay, 'in early summer is exceedingly common on the Phrygian uplands[3].' Hence one of the chief cults of northern and eastern Phrygia was that of Zeus *Brontôn*, 'He that Thunders.' Scores of inscriptions from this[4] and adjoining districts[5] make mention of him; and his worship, thanks to the traffic in Phrygian slaves, spread at a comparatively early date to Rome[6].

As to the character of this deity, apart from vague epithets such

1881 vi. 134 f. no. 3). The order of the words suggests that Βροντᾶῖ was added as an afterthought.

[1] *Supra* i. 646.

[2] F. W. Hasluck in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 66 no. 12 Μελέαγρος καὶ Θεόξενος | καὶ Μένανδρος οἱ Πρωτομάχου | Διὶ Βροντᾶίωι εὐχήν.

[3] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 124.

[4] At and near Nakoleia (Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 f., 1884 v. 257 f.), Dorylaeion (*id. ib.* 1882 iii. 123, 1884 v. 255 ff., *id.* in *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 276 f. nos. 7, 10, 11, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3810, Add. no. 3817*b*, A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 174 ff. nos. 14, 16, 18, 29, 33, T. Preger in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 310 f. nos. 9—11. See further *supra* p. 280 n. 1), Prymnessos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3819), *Kymak* (*ib.* iii no. 3822), Kotiaeion (G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 116 f. no. 77), *Kurthöi* (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 441 ff. nos. 35—37), *Günjarik* (*id. ib.* 1899 xxiv. 443 f. no. 38), *Inhissar* (*id. ib.* 1899 xxiv. 446 f. no. 44), *Bunarbashi* (*id. ib.* 1900 xxv. 409 f. no. 19), *Gümbet* (*id. ib.* 1900 xxv. 416 f. no. 29), at and near *Inönü* (*id. ib.* 1900 xxv. 417 f. nos. 27—30).

[5] Bithynia (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 411 no. 103 *Essir-keui*, 413 no. 106 *Koujounlou*), Galatia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4135 *Ogur* or *Ogut*, Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 258 Ankyra, J. G. C. Anderson *ib.* 1899 xix. 73 no. 24 *Iki kilisse*), Lykaonia (*supra* p. 817 Laodikeia Katakekaumene).

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5931 = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 982 (Rome) Γναῖος Κλαύδιος Εὐτύχης θεῶ Μεγάλω | Βροντῶντι δῶρον ἀνέθηκεν, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5933 = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 983 (Rome) θεῶ Ἐπηκόω [Βρ]οντῶντι Α[..][..] Πείσων εὐ[χήν], *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 432 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3046 (Rome) Iovi Sancto Brontonti Aur. Poplius &c., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 733 = Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 130 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4226 (Rome) deo Soli Invicto Mitrhe (*sic*) | Fl. Septimius Zosimus v.p., | sacerdus dei Brontontis | et Aecate (*sic*), hoc speleum | constituit, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2241 (Rome) L. Iulius L. f. Clau(dia tribu) | Pollitianus sacer(dos) | dei Brontontis | donum d. d.

The Roman Iupiter *Tonans*, a very different deity, was likewise represented in Greek by Zeus Βροντῶν (Dion Cass. 54. 4) or Βροντήσιος (*res gestae divi Augusti* 19 p. 22 f. Diehl cited *supra* p. 111 n. 0, *ib.* 2 p. 38 f. Diehl).

as 'Great' and 'Holy[1]' and 'Hearer of Prayer,' he is called 'the Father god[2]' and 'the Victorious Father[3],' on the strength of which appellations he has been identified[4] with the Phrygian *Pápas* or *Papâs*[5]. His art-type was that of a late provincial Zeus—witness a crude bust from Dorylaeion (*Eskishehir*) in the British Museum (fig. 794)[6]. A marble altar from *Gümbet* in Phrygia, described by A. Körte[7], makes it clear, however, that Zeus *Brontôn*—like Zeus *Díos* of the same region[8]—had also a Dionysiac aspect. The altar-front is adorned with a lunar crescent, beneath which is a bearded bust of Zeus in relief, with an eagle perched on his right shoulder. The altar-back shows two ox-heads with a plough below them. The small sides of the monument have vases and a vine-stem. Other altars dedicated to Zeus *Brontôn* at or near *Inönü* repeat the elements of this decoration—eagle, plough, vine, etc.[9] And it cannot be a mere coincidence that a whole series of tombstones from *Altyntach* represents the deceased surrounded by the same sacred emblems—eagle, plough, and vine[10]. Presumably Zeus *Brontôn* was not only a celestial but also a terrestrial power. Indeed, his chthonian character is fairly established by the fact that almost every inscription from Phrygia in which he is mentioned occurs on a gravestone[11]. Those who had worshipped him in life would naturally claim his protection in death.

What forms his worship took we are not expressly told. But there is good reason to suppose that he was served with mystic rites in a cave. *Inönü*, a stronghold of his cult, derives its name ('Cave-front') from a great cavern visible in the rock above the village. The cavern comprises an upper and a lower chamber, con-

[1] W. Link *De vocis* "Sanctus" *usu pagano* Königsberg 1910.

[2] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 (Nakoleia) Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Πατρὶ θεῷ.

[3] *Id. ib.* 1882 iii. 124 (Nakoleia) Νεικήτωρ Πατήρ.

[4] *Id. ib.* 1882 iii. 124. But see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 891.

[5] *Supra* p. 292 n. 4.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 3 no. 1521 inscribed Διὶ Βροντῶντι | Ἀγησίλαος κα|τὰ ἐπιταγήν (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3817 *b*). Hard limestone. Height: 2 ft 3 ins. Fig. 794 is from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming.

[7] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 416 f. no. 26.

[8] *Supra* p. 280 f.

[9] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 417 f. nos. 27, 28, 29.

[10] G. Mendel 'Catalogue des monuments grecs, romains et byzantins du musée impérial ottoman de Brousse' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 283 ff. nos. 45—52 figs. 17—24, G. Rodenwaldt 'Zeus Bronton' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1919 xxxiv. 79 fig. 3.

[11] Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 257, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 891. See, however, G. Rodenwaldt in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1919 xxxiv. 82 n. 1.

nected by means of a steep shaft. Close by stood a limestone altar dedicated 'To Zeus from the Cave, Hearer of Prayer[1].' Another

Fig. 794.

[1] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 419 ff. no. 32 Διὶ ἐξ αὐλῆς ἐ|πηκόῳ θεῷ | κ.τ.λ. *Supra* p. 249 n. 2.

limestone altar, decked with the god's emblems (an eagle, two *bucrania*, a garland, a vine-stem) and bearing an inscription 'to Zeus *Telesphóros*,' is built into a fountain at the north-east end of the village[1]. Moreover, a priest of *Bronton* and Hekate is known to have consecrated a cave (*speleum*) to Mithras at Rome[2]. Hence it is highly probable that the cult of the Phrygian cave-Zeus resembled that of the Cretan cave-Zeus. As the mystics of Zeus *Idaîos* had themselves to make the thunders of nocturnal Zagreus before attaining the sanctity of their god[3], so in all likelihood the devotees of Zeus *Brontôn* by some *mímesis* of his thunder sought to become partakers of his godhead. This assumes, no doubt, that the Phrygians, like the Greeks[4], recognised subterranean thunders. But it will be remembered that in Orphic, and therefore Thraco-Phrygian, story the infant Zagreus sat on a throne grasping the thunderbolt of Zeus[5]. If Zeus was *hypsibremétes*[6], Dionysos at least was *Brómios*[7].

Bearing in mind, then, the Dionysiac and *quasi*-Orphic nature of Zeus *Brontôn*, we are better able to appreciate a votive relief in the Villa Panfili (fig. 795) dedicated to him under the title of Iupiter *Sanctus Bronton*[8]. This monument, purely Greek in its design, shows a youthful lyre-player seated on a rock-cut throne, against the side of which appears a female panther. Before him stand two women carrying a jug and a bowl respectively. Panther, jug, and bowl betoken a Dionysiac company. The rock-cut throne recalls the throne of Zeus in the Idaean Cave[9]. And it is reasonable to surmise that the scene as a whole portrays the ritual enthronement of a worshipper in the cave of Zeus *Brontôn*. If it be urged that the seated figure resembles Apollon rather than Dionysos, we might reply that Dionysos from *s.* v B.C. onwards tends to become Apolline and is sometimes equipped with the lyre[10]. But it would, I think, be

[1] A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 176 no. 22 (incomplete), A. Körte *loc. cit.* 1900 xxv. 418 f. no. 31 Εὐίλκιος Ἰακίν|θου περὶ αὐτοῦ | καὶ τῶν εἰδίων | Δὶ Τελεσφόρω | εὐχῆς χάριν.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 733 (quoted *supra* p. 835 n. 6).

[3] *Supra* i. 648 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 829.

[5] *Supra* i. 398, 647.

[6] *Supra* p. 830 n. 1.

[7] I take Βρόμιος to denote 'god of the roaring Thunder' (βρέμω, βρόμος, βροντή < *βρομ-τᾱ: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 84, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 132). Other views are noted by O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 888 f.

[8] Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 321 f. pl. 82, 1 (=my fig. 795) (a Bacchic Apollon engaged in the Mysteries), G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 i. 63 f. pl. 50 (Orpheus in the Underworld, which is represented by a tiger-like Kerberos and two Danaïdes (!)), Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 147 f. no. 3773 ('Iuppiter Bronton' with two youthful female figures), Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 123 f. ('Apollo Citharoedus...with a panther and two choephoroi'). The dedication is given *supra* p. 835 n. 6.

[9] *Supra* i. 646.

[10] *Supra* p. 244 with n. 5.

more relevant to observe that the cult of Zeus *Brontôn* stood in some relation to that of Phoibos. A marble altar found near *Kurshumlu*, between Brouzos and Dorylaeion, was dedicated to Zeus *Brontôn* by two brothers Paulos and Phoibos together with their mother Rufina 'in accordance with a command of the god Phoibos[1].' Here it is clear that the dedicant Phoibos is directed by his namesake god; and it is at least possible that in Phrygia, as at Delphoi[2],

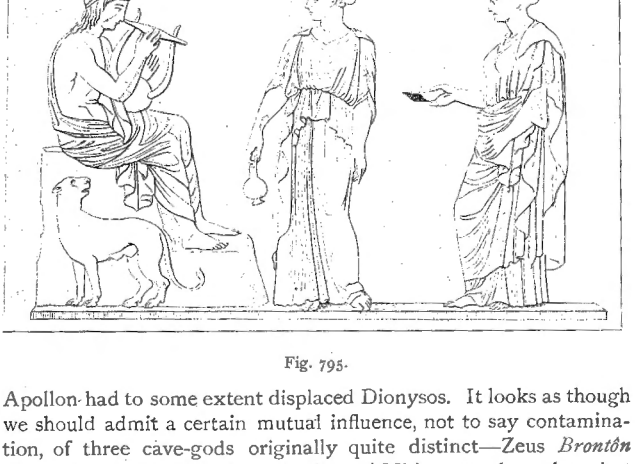


Fig. 795.

Apollon had to some extent displaced Dionysos. It looks as though we should admit a certain mutual influence, not to say contamination, of three cave-gods originally quite distinct—Zeus *Brontôn* whose thunders issued 'from the Cave[3],' Mithras to whom the priest of *Bronton* dedicated a *speleum*[4], and Phoibos the last occupant of the Delphic *ádyton*. In this accommodating system it may well be that the worshipper, playing the lyre of Phoibos '.the Pure[5],' was believed to be making the thunders[6] of the reborn Zeus.

[1] A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1883 vii. 174 no. 14 [ἀγαθῇ] τύχῃ· | Δεὶ Βροντῶντι Παῦ|λος καὶ Φοῖβος υ (=οἱ?) ἀ|δελφοὶ κατὰ κέλε|υσιν τοῦ θεοῦ Φο(ί)|βου ἐκ τῶν ἰδίω|ν τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέ|στησαν μετὰ τῆ|ς μητρὸς Ῥουφείνας.

[2] *Supra* p. 243 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 837 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* p. 835 n. 6.

[5] *Supra* p. 500.

[6] In Nonn. *Dion.* i. 427 ff. (*supra* p. 449 n. 2 (2)) Typhoeus describes the thunders of Zeus as a musical instrument (432 ὄργανον αὐτοβόητον Ὀλύμπιον).

Retrospect.

Most of the evidence available for a study of Zeus as god of Thunder and Lightning now lies behind us. But, lest I be accused of inveigling my readers into an irremeable labyrinth of detail, I shall endeavour in a few concluding paragraphs to emphasise afresh the main outlines and salient points of my design.

Zeús, 'the Bright One,' was originally nothing but the day-light Sky, conceived in zoïstic fashion as alive with a life of its own; and traces of that primitive conception could be detected here and there throughout the classical period. But already in Homeric days, indeed long before Homer, the divine Sky had developed into the Sky-god, a weather-making ruler, who dwelt in upper glory (*aithér*). As such he became the recognised head of the Hellenic pantheon, and in the Hellenistic age was brought into connexion with other manifestations of celestial brightness—sun, moon, and stars alike.

So much had been made clear in the first volume of this work. The second, beginning with the obvious reflexion that the sky is not always bright, went on to observe that Zeus god of the bright sky naturally became god of the weather in general[1], any sudden atmospheric change being interpreted as an ominous 'Zeus-sign' (*Diosemía*)[2].

Of such changes the most momentous was the thunder-storm. For it was then, when all was dark, that Zeus would rend the heavens and come down in the form of a bright blinding flash (Zeus *Keraunós*)[3].

Investigation of Zeus *Kataibátes*, 'who descends' in the lightning[4], and of his *elýsia* or *enelýsia*, sacred precincts where none might tread[5], led us to examine into the curious belief that the 'Zeus-struck' man (*Dióbletos*), though he lay blasted and blackened on the ground, was for all that a divinised mortal even now 'in Elysium' (*enelýsios*)[6].

Hence a long but necessary digression on the Elysian Way from earth to heaven, 'the road of Zeus' as Pindar called it, in plain prose the Galaxy, which was regarded by Pythagoreans as a soul-path and associated by Platon in Pythagorising mood with 'a straight light like a pillar' stretched along the axis of the universe[7]. This enquiry disclosed a new and not unimportant conception of the sky as resting on a sky-prop[8]—a conception which helped to explain, not only the Iupiter-columns of Rhenic Germany[9], but also such monúments as the column of Mayence[10], and even the great commemorative columns of Rome and Constantinople[11].

[1] *Supra* p. 1 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 4 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 11 ff. [4] *Supra* p. 13 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 21 f. [6] *Supra* p. 22 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 36 ff. [8] *Supra* p. 50 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 57 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 93 ff. [11] *Supra* p. 100 ff.

Further consideration of the sky-prop, as exemplified by the Diana-pillars of Italy[1] and the *Agyieús*-pillars of Greece[2], threw light on some perplexing phenomena of popular cult, *e.g.* the wooden balusters of Diana *Nemorensis*[3] and the *dókana* of the Dioskouroi[4]. Moreover, the occurrence of an *Agyieús*-pillar set on an *omphalós* at Byzantion[5] turned our thoughts to Delphoi[6], where the *omphalós* lately discovered by F. Courby[7] was seen to be the base of an *Agyieús*-post[8] covering the navel-string of Zeus, in accordance with a custom still traceable in various parts of Greece[9], and safeguarded by the eagles that betokened his presence[10]. The Delphic *Agyieús*-pillar was in a manner duplicated by the Delphic tripod with its central stem[11]. On this sat the *Pythía* as bride of Apollon[12]—a usage implying the caldron of apotheosis[13], which an Orphic myth located at Delphoi and connected with the death of Dionysos[14].

And here an attempt was made to determine the stratification of this very complex cult[15]. It appeared that the first Hellenic occupants of the oracular seat were the sky-god Zeus *Aphésios* (?), 'He that lets fly[16],' and the earth-goddess Ge *Thémis* (?), 'She that produces[17],' their respective tokens being the eagles and the *omphalós*. Then followed Dionysos, brought in by a wave of Thracian immigrants[18], who told how their god was done to death by the Titans, boiled in the Delphic tripod, and buried beside it[19]. Thus the *sanctum sanctorum* in the Pythian temple contained, not only the *omphalós* with its eagles attesting the joint worship of Zeus and Ge, but also the tripod and tomb of Dionysos[20]. Finally, Apollon to a large extent displaced Dionysos[21], who however down to the close of antiquity retained at least the wintry quarter of the Delphic year[22]. The latest comer was fittingly affiliated to Zeus as his *prophétes*[23] (if the one was *Aphésios*, the other was *aphétor*[24]) and took over the properties of his various predecessors—the eagles of Zeus, the *omphalós* of Ge, the tripod of Dionysos—importing in addition his own Thessalian bay[25]. His installation was completed before the epic age[26].

Delphoi is vital. Here, if anywhere, we touch the very heart of Greek religion. And the gods whom the Delphic succession associated with Zeus demand closer scrutiny than they have yet received. It seemed worth while therefore to tackle afresh a whole

[1] *Supra* p. 143 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 160 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 143 ff. [4] *Supra* pp. 160, 161.
[5] *Supra* p. 166 ff. [6] *Supra* p. 169 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 174 ff. [8] *Supra* p. 177 f.
[9] *Supra* p. 189 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 179 ff. [11] *Supra* p. 193 ff. [12] *Supra* p. 207 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 210 ff. [14] *Supra* p. 218 ff. [15] *Supra* p. 266 f.
[16] *Supra* pp. 179 f., 266 f. [17] *Supra* p. 267 f. [18] *Supra* p. 268.
[19] *Supra* p. 218 ff. [20] *Supra* p. 239. [21] *Supra* p. 243 ff. [22] *Supra* p. 235 f.
[23] *Supra* p. 204. [24] *Supra* p. 180. [25] *Supra* p. 486. [26] *Supra* p. 239.

series of problems concerned with the relation of Zeus on the one hand to Dionysos, on the other to Apollon.

Zeus and Ge were purely Hellenic. Their counterparts in the Thraco-Phrygian area proved to be a sky-god Dios and an earth-goddess Zemela, whose son was known as Dios *Nysos*, that is Dios 'the Younger[1].' From inscriptions and literary sources we learnt that these names were Grecised as Zeus *Dios*, Semele, and Dionysos[2]. Further, it was pointed out that the Thraco-Phrygians conceived Dios the son to be a rebirth of Dios the father. And this conception, to which parallels could be adduced from many backward races[3], served to explain the odd fact that the youthful consort of Kybele was commonly called *Attis*, 'Daddy,' or *Papas*, 'Papa[4].' It accounted also satisfactorily for a feature of old Anatolian worship often noticed but hitherto not fully understood—the constant grouping of the mother-goddess with a youthful *paredros*, at once her husband and her child[5]. It even suggested a reason for the speed and success with which early Christianity permeated the regions of Phrygia and Thrace[6].

Akin to the Thracian Father and Son were the Samothracian Kabeiroi or Megaloi Theoi[7], consideration of whom led to a discussion of the double Zeus[8] and the Dioskouroi[9].

After dealing with the Phrygian Zeus *Tetraotos*[10], the Celtic Janiform god[11], Iupiter *Ambisagrus* and Iupiter *Dianus* at Aquileia[12], we proceeded to examine the relationship of Ianus to Iupiter[13]. The view here maintained is that an ancient Illyrian (?) sky-god was worshipped on the west of the Adriatic as Ianus or Ian, on the east as Zan. Ianus was in effect an older Iupiter[14], Zan an older Zeus[15]. Neither Zan nor Ianus was, to begin with, anthropomorphic. Zan as being the broad Sky had the title *Megas*[16], but was left without an effigy[17]. Ianus was represented as a vault or archway with four supporting pillars[18]—a mimic sky which gave rise to the Roman triumphal arch[19]. When Ianus became iconic, he was figured as a double-faced deity standing beneath his arch[20]. The double face, a characteristic of other sky-gods, showed a tendency towards differentiation[21] (beardless *v.* bearded, blonde *v.* black-haired, etc.) and perhaps signified that the divine Sky was bright by day and dark by night[22]. Among differentiated types was that of Virbius as Dianus or Ianus, the consort of Diana at Nemi[23]: he was plastered

[1] *Supra* p. 267 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 277 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 294 n. 1. [4] *Supra* p. 292 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 294 ff. [6] *Supra* pp. 288 ff., 303 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 313 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 316 ff. [9] *Supra* p. 422 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 322. [11] *Supra* p. 323 ff.
[12] *Supra* p. 326 ff. [13] *Supra* p. 328 ff. [14] *Supra* p. 335 ff. [15] *Supra* p. 340 ff.
[16] *Supra* p. 344 ff. [17] *Supra* p. 353 f. [18] *Supra* p. 354 ff. [19] *Supra* p. 359 ff.
[20] *Supra* p. 365 ff. [21] *Supra* p. 387 ff. [22] *Supra* p. 378 ff. [23] *Supra* p. 392 ff.

over with oak-leaves because she was an oak-goddess[1], whose sacred tree, or a descendant of the same, was subsisting as late as the eighteenth century[2].

A section on Zeus and the Twins showed first how the supports of the Sky were gradually transformed into its supporters, passing through successive stages as pillars, pillars with personal names, pillars with individual effigies, and pillars in the shape of the Dioskouroi[3]. When the old popular belief in a flat earth overarched by a solid sky resting on side-props gave place to the philosophic idea of a globe enclosed in a sphere half light, half dark, room was still found for the Dioskouroi by a daring personification of the two hemispheres[4]. Next it was contended that the Sky, appearing alternately as Day and Night, is essentially of a twin character. Hence the savage notion that twins in general are 'Children of the Sky[5].' Hence too the contrast between numerous mythical pairs of Twins[6], for instance Kastor and Polydeukes[7], Romulus and Remus[8], Zetes and Kalaïs[9], Zethos and Amphion[10], Herakles and Iphikles[11]. A recurring feature in such cases is the comparative feebleness of one of the Twins, a feebleness sometimes amounting to effeminacy, which therefore paves the way for the recognition of Twins male and female[12]. Lastly, in this connexion we investigated the supposed twinship of Apollon and Artemis[13]. A survey of recent opinions with regard to the *provenance* of Apollon[14] was followed by a detailed discussion of the crucial Hyperborean myth[15]. The 'wondrous way' to the land of the Hyperboreoi mentioned by Pindar was held to be none other than the celestial 'road of Zeus,' but the Hyperborean sacrifice of asses to Apollon suggested rather a terrestrial abode in or near Thrace[16]. And this bilocation squared with other mythical happenings—Herakles' capture of the hind with golden horns among the Hyperboreoi of 'the Istrian land[17],' his introduction of the white-poplar to Olympia from Thesprotia[18], and the metamorphosis of the Heliades into black-poplars on the banks of the Eridanos[19]—the poplar, white or black, being a Borderland or Otherworld tree[20]. Special attention was here drawn to a neglected statement by Apollonios of Rhodes to the effect that the Keltoi took amber to be the tears, not of the poplars, but of Apollon, when banished by Zeus to the Hyperborean haunts[21].

[1] *Supra* p. 400 ff.
[2] *Supra* p. 417 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 422 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 432 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 434 f.
[6] *Supra* p. 435 ff., cp. p. 317.
[7] *Supra* p. 436 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 440 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 444 f.
[10] *Supra* p. 445.
[11] *Supra* p. 445 ff.
[12] *Supra* p. 447 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 452 ff.
[14] *Supra* p. 453 ff.
[15] *Supra* p. 459 ff.
[16] *Supra* p. 462 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 465 f.
[18] *Supra* p. 467 ff.
[19] *Supra* p. 472 ff.
[20] *Supra* p. 470 ff.
[21] *Supra* p. 484.

Ultimately the following conclusions were reached: (1) that Apollon came to Greece from the land of the Hyperboreoi, dwellers 'Beyond the Mountains,' about the source of the Danube[1]; (2) that the road to their northern home was described sometimes as an earthly, sometimes as a heavenly track, the former being the old trade-route for amber along the eastern shore of the Adriatic, the latter its aërial counterpart the Milky Way[2]; (3) that the *Agyieús*-pillars of Illyria and Epeiros marked out the 'Way' by which the god travelled, and pointed onwards to Delphoi, where his oracle was established by the Hyperboreans Pagasos and Agyieus[3]; (4) that on his journey southward he was associated with different trees in different regions—possibly, as Dr Rendel Harris urges, with the apple-tree[4] in north Europe (Balder?[5], Phol??[6]), probably with the black-poplar (*ápellon*) in the Balkans[7], certainly with the bay in Thessaly[8]; (5) that Phoibos *Apóllon*—for such was his full name—may have been originally a sky-god, who was affiliated to Zeus at Delphoi and specialised by the Greeks into a sun-god[9]; (6) that he met Artemis first in Asia Minor or the Archipelago, where she originated as the younger form of the Anatolian mother-goddess[10]. Thus at the close of a somewhat lengthy excursion we were brought back—like Apollon himself—by the Elysian route to Delphoi.

Resuming the main thread of our argument, we next dealt with lightning as a flash from an eye, the evil ~~eye, of~~ Zeus[11]. The subject afforded an opportunity of explaining the superstition, not only of the evil eye, but of the good eye also[12].

Then followed a study of lightning as the weapon of Zeus—axe, spear, sword, or what not? A notice of neolithic celts, which the Greeks still term 'lightning-axes' (*astrapopelékia, astropelékia*)[13], prefaced a collection and discussion of the *data* with regard to the double axe in 'Minoan' and post-'Minoan' times[14]. This implement

[1] *Supra* p. 494 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 496 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 499.
[4] *Supra* p. 487 ff., cp. Addenda *ad loc.*
[5] J. Rendel Harris *The Ascent of Olympus* Manchester 1917 p. 64 f., *id. Origin and Meaning of Apple Cults* (extr. from the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library Manchester* August 1918 to March 1919) Manchester 1919 p. 43 ff.
[6] For Phol (Pôl *cod.*) in the Second Merseburg Charm see K. Müllenhoff—W. Scherer *Denkmäler deutscher Poesie und Prosa aus dem viii—xii Jahrhundert*[3] Berlin 1892 p. 16 (Text), J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 224 ff., 1883 ii. 614, iii. 1231 f. (Text), 1268 Index, 1888 iv. 1358, 1882 Index, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 262; E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 324, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 127 f., R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 311 f., R. A. S. Macalister in the *Proceedings of the Royal Irish Academy* 1919 xxxiv. 374 ff. (Text).
[7] *Supra* p. 484 ff. [8] *Supra* p. 486. [9] *Supra* p. 500. [10] *Supra* p. 501.
[11] *Supra* p. 501 ff. [12] *Supra* p. 504 f. [13] *Supra* p. 505 ff. [14] *Supra* p. 513 ff.

was seen falling from heaven to earth, as on a gold ring from Mykenai[1], incorporated with tree- or plant-forms, as on the *sarcophagus* from *Hagia Triada* (here interpreted afresh)[2] and on that from *Palaikastro*[3], stuck into the pillars of a sacred building, as at Knossos[4], or into the stalactite columns of a cave, as on Mount Dikte[5], set up between a pair of bovine horns, as in Cretan art *passim*[6],—*motifs* appropriate each and all to the weapon of a sky-god. A lenticular gem, hitherto unpublished, showed this god posting along through the air with wings on shoulders and heels and a double axe in his hand[7]. We identified him with Kronos, the husband of Rhea, and conjectured that the Greeks took his name to mean 'Chopper[8].' The Homeric Kronos *ankylométes*, 'of the crooked blade' (for so it should be rendered), passed on his *hárpe* to the Italian Saturn[9]. An analogous figure, part deity, part dirk, was recognised among the Hittite carvings at Boghaz-Keui[10]. The multiple wings could be paralleled from the coins of Mallos and Byblos; the double axe and *hárpe*, from the coins of Ake or Ptolemaïs[11].

When the Bronze Age succumbed to the Iron Age, the 'Minoan' Kronos was succeeded by the Hellenic Zeus, another storm-god of like proclivities[12], who became the inheritor of the double axe over a wide area of the ancient world.

At Tarentum 'bolts from heaven forged of bronze,' traditionally connected with early settlers from Crete, were taken over by Zeus *Kataibátes*[13].

In Asia Minor, if we may trust Plutarch, the double axe (*lábrys*) belonged in turn to the Amazons, the Lydians, and the Carians, being eventually placed by Arselis of Mylasa in the hand of Zeus *Labradeús*[14]. The statement is broadly correct. The Amazonian axe was in fact of Hittite origin: it is borne by the youthful god at Boghaz-Keui and by his successor Herakles (Sandas) at Tarsos[15]. On coins of Thyateira and other Lydian towns it is carried by the local hero (Tyrimnos or the like), who in Graeco-Roman times tends to be identified with Apollon and Helios[16]. Similar coin-types prevail in Phrygia, where again the axe-bearing hero (Lairbenos, Lairmenos, etc.) is equated with the same divinities. Not improbably these are all Hellenised forms of the younger Hittite sky-god[17]. As to the Carians, Hekatomnos early in *s.* iv B.C. struck coins with

[1] *Supra* p. 514 ff.
[2] *Supra* p. 516 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 524 f.
[4] *Supra* p. 528 f.
[5] *Supra* p. 530 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 535 ff.
[7] *Supra* p. 543 f.
[8] *Supra* p. 548 f.
[9] *Supra* p. 549 f.
[10] *Supra* p. 550 ff.
[11] *Supra* p. 552 ff.
[12] *Supra* p. 554 ff.
[13] *Supra* pp. 29 ff., 559.
[14] *Supra* p. 559 f.
[15] *Supra* p. 560.
[16] *Supra* p. 561 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 565 ff.

the type of Zeus shouldering a double axe. This was an adaptation from the cult-image of Zeus *Strátios* or *Labráyndos* (*Labrandeús, Labrandenós*, etc.), who was worshipped at Labranda near Mylasa[1]. The Mylasians just outside their city had a second sanctuary, that of Zeus *Osogóa*, whose attributes the eagle, the trident, and the crab procured for him the title *Zenoposeidôn*[2].

And here, by way of parenthesis, we contended that the Hellenic Poseidon himself was but a specialised form of Zeus, his name *Potei-Dán*, etc., denoting originally 'Lord Zeus,' just as *pótnia Hére* meant 'lady Hera[3].'

In Karia the cult of Zeus had probably been superposed on that of an indigenous earth-mother, whose characteristics he had to some extent absorbed. Two queer reliefs show the Zeus of Labranda grasping a double axe but equipped with female breasts[4]—an abnormal figure, which recurs at *Suwasa* in Kappadokia[5] and is balanced by a bearded goddess brandishing a thunderbolt at *Zogui* in Pontos[6].

A short section followed in which, accepting M. Mayer's connexion of *lábrys* and *Labýrinthos*, we maintained (1) that the Carian *Labráynda, Lábranda* and the Cretan *Labýrinthos* both denoted a place where lightning, the sky-god's *lábrys*, had fallen, and (2) that in Karia and Crete alike the *lábrys* was primarily the attribute of a god and only secondarily, if at all[7], the attribute of a goddess[8].

More space was devoted to E. Conybeare's suggestion that the *labarum* was derived from the *lábrys*, and a fresh attempt was made to trace the steps by which the pagan symbol developed into the Christian monogram[9]. It was shown (1) that the old Anatolian double axe was still recognised as a sacred object or sign throughout the Levant in the opening centuries of our era—witness the coin-types and reliefs discussed above, the reputed axe of Noah[10], the Ophite diagram[11], the Gnostic mystery of the double axe[12], and (2) that the pictograph of the *lábrys*, having already given rise to a variety of syllabic and alphabetic characters, might readily be adapted to other significant uses[13]. Accordingly it was suggested that Constantine, who during his stay in the east had observed the *lábrys* and noted its possibilities, later deliberately transformed it into the *labarum*, an emblem at once old and new, pagan and Christian, in a word thoroughly Constantinian[14].

[1] *Supra* pp. 573 ff., 585 ff.
[2] *Supra* p. 576 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 582 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 592 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 594 f.
[6] *Supra* p. 595 f.
[7] *Supra* p. 622 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 600 f.
[9] *Supra* p. 601 ff.
[10] *Supra* p. 609 f.
[11] *Supra* p. 610 f.
[12] *Supra* p. 611 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 613, cp. p. 607 f.
[14] *Supra* p. 613 f.

Further examples of the double axe in the east[1] and in the west[2] did not detain us long; and we passed on to discuss the axes carried by priests and priestesses in Greece and Italy[3]. Traces of the 'Minoan' *lábrys* were detected in the double axe of Athena[4], the double axe of Theseus[5], the double axes taken in procession from Athens to Delphoi[6], etc. Attention was also drawn to Italian pontifical axes[7]. And it was held that the lictor's axe in particular had been a sacred weapon borne before the king as representative of the sky-god: the rods bound round it and so charged with its virtue would be potent to expel evil from a malefactor[8].

Sacred axes, from neolithic times onward, have been distinguished by their colour, or size, or decorative design[9]. The decoration often consists in diagonals and zig-zags probably derived from lashings[10], sometimes in dendritic patterns resembling the 'thunder-besom[11],' or in stylised moths with circular 'eyes[12].' Such embellishment indicated the presence of a soul in the axe, and simultaneously protected it from possible harm. Further progress towards anthropomorphism was discernible in the Early Iron Age, when small axes of bronze became axe-shaped pendants and took on sundry animal or human features[13]. Finally the pendant was modified into a gong and thus endowed with divine utterance[14].

A marked trait in the 'Minoan' axe was its tendency towards duplication. Without denying that a pair of axes might be used to symbolise a pair of deities, we concluded that in general double or multiple blades were intended to augment the striking-power of the god that wielded them[15].

We next handled at some length the difficult but interesting case of Tenedos[16], and saw that to treat the double axe on its coins merely as a barter-unit[17] involved a very partial and inadequate hypothesis, contradicted alike by the coin-types themselves[18] and by the express testimony of the ancients, who record a definite cult of two axes in the island[19]. Rather there was reason to suppose that here the 'Minoan' weapon had passed into the hands of a Dionysiac Zeus or a Zeus-like Dionysos, paired as usual with the earth-goddess[20]. Their local names were Tennes and Hemithea, and their effigies were combined in the male-*plus*-female head, which appeared on the obverse of the Tenedian coins[21].

[1] *Supra* p. 614 ff.
[2] *Supra* p. 617 ff.
[3] *Supra* p. 620 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 625 f.
[5] *Supra* p. 626 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 628.
[7] *Supra* p. 630 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 633 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 635 ff.
[10] *Supra* p. 639 ff.
[11] *Supra* p. 642 f.
[12] *Supra* p. 643 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 647 ff.
[14] *Supra* p. 649 ff.
[15] *Supra* p. 652 ff.
[16] *Supra* p. 654 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 655 n. 1.
[18] *Supra* p. 655 ff
[19] *Supra* p. 668.
[20] *Supra* pp. 662 f., 673.
[21] *Supra* p. 668 ff.

The 'Minoan' conception of the sky-father's weapon imbedded in the earth-mother's tree[1] could be traced here and there in Hellenic cult and myth. In this connexion we discussed the axe of Hellos in the oak at Dodona[2], the sword of Orestes in the tree at Rhegion[3], the sword of Kinyras in the myrrh-tree[4], the axes of Erysichthon's comrades in the oaks at Dotion[5], and the knife of Phylakos in the oak at Phylake[6]. Scandinavian saga and Celtic folk-tale attested a similar relation of weapon to tree[7]; and confirmatory evidence was sought in the megalithic art of western Europe[8]. Penelope's marriage-test perhaps presupposed the same set of half-forgotten ideas[9]. And the sanctity of the sky-god's axe may even be regarded as the ultimate ground of more than one modern superstition[10].

As civilisation advanced, the double axe gave place to spear and sword. Lightning therefore came to be viewed on occasion as the spear of Zeus—a view which facilitated his transition from storm-god to war-god[11]. Zeus *Labráyndos* of Mylasa bore, not only an axe, but a spear and a sword to boot, and was worshipped by the martial Carians as *Strátios*, 'Lord of Hosts[12].' Zeus *Áreios* of Hydisos is represented in military costume, now brandishing a thunderbolt, now resting on a spear[13]. Zeus *Strategós* of Amastris likewise holds a spear[14]. Analogous figures in Roman religion were Iupiter *Militaris*, Iupiter *Imperator*, Iupiter *Victor*, etc.[15]. And the spear in the god's hand was illustrated from an Etruscan mirror, a Gallo-Roman statuette, and the handle of a Roman lamp[16].

More rarely lightning was symbolised by a sword[17]. Comparable with the cult of Zeus *Strátios* at Mylasa was the cult of Zeus *Chrysaoreús* or *Chrysaórios* at Stratonikeia. This title, perhaps of Semitic origin, was presumably taken by the Greeks to mean 'Bearer of a Golden Sword,' that is, of the lightning[18].

Axe, spear, and sword by no means exhausted the armoury of Zeus. Far more frequent than any of them as his attribute in literature and art is the thunderbolt (*keraunós*)[19]. Nevertheless from *s.* vi B.C. onwards this tremendous tool, as O. Gruppe observed, falls gradually into the background[20]. Little by little the thunderbolt gives way to the sceptre, and the impetuous thunderer in time becomes the dignified ruler—a change sufficiently evidenced by vase-paintings[21], statues, and other works of art[22]. To this moral development there was one notable exception. At Olympia Zeus

[1] *Supra* p. 677. [2] *Supra* p. 677 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 680. [4] *Supra* p. 680 ff.
[5] *Supra* p. 683 f. [6] *Supra* p. 684 f. [7] *Supra* p. 682 f. [8] *Supra* p. 685 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 690 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 698 ff. [11] *Supra* p. 704 f. [12] *Supra* p. 705.
[13] *Supra* p. 705 f. [14] *Supra* p. 707. [15] *Supra* p. 706 ff. [16] *Supra* p. 709 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 712 ff. [18] *Supra* p. 714 ff. [19] *Supra* p. 722. [20] *Ib.*
[21] *Supra* p. 731 ff. [22] *Supra* p. 737 ff.

Hórkios, 'God of Oaths,' continued to grasp a thunderbolt in either hand. But that primitive insistence on the storm-god's power was not after all devoid of ethical significance; it served, says Pausanias, 'to strike terror into perjurers[1].' In this context we discussed the part played by Zeus in relation to Greek oaths, private and public[2]. We also investigated the disputed personality of Dius *Fidius* and found him to be an old lightning-god with an appellative originally denoting 'the Cleaver' (*findo*) but later misinterpreted as 'Protector of Pledges' (*fides*)[3]. Our survey of the monuments enabled us to follow through several centuries the successive art-types of Zeus—striding, standing, seated—till they culminated in the masterpiece at Olympia. It was shown that Pheidias in all probability took a hint for his great statue from the seated Zeus of the local coinage, replacing the winged thunderbolt by a winged Victory to emphasise tranquil supremacy rather than stormy strength[4]. Further, it appeared that Alexander, ignoring this elevated conception of the godhead, deliberately reverted to an old pre-Pheidiac type and placed upon his silver money a seated Zeus, with eagle and sceptre, closely resembling Zeus *Lýkaios* on the federal coins of Arkadia. His purpose in so doing is problematic: we noted a possible explanation[5]. Finally, on Italian soil Greek art portrayed the sceptred Zeus in a pose suggestive of inward reflexion. The outward symbols of the storm-god had wholly disappeared. The worshipper was confronted with Providence incarnate[6].

The thunderbolt was a conventional representation of lightning and as such underwent modifications of shape from time to time and from place to place. In Mesopotamian art it was first a bipartite and then a tripartite fork, composed of zig-zags or curved lines[7]. These forks, duplicated in *s.* ix B.C., were subsequently (*c.* 700 B.C.) stylised into the shape of a lotos-flower[8]. In that form they made their way through Asia Minor into Greece (650—550 B.C.), appearing there for the first time on vases of Ionian fabric[9]. Among the Greeks the lotiform bolt ran through three changes. Its petals became rays or flames[10]. Its sepals developed into wings—eagle's wings, for the eagle was the lightning-bearer[11]. And its central spike took on a spiral twist, to suggest the lightning's rotatory flight[12]. These changes can all be exemplified from the coinage of the temple-mints at Olympia[13]. Ultimately, in the east the

[1] *Supra* p. 722 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 727 n. 3. [3] *Supra* p. 724 ff. n. o.
[4] *Supra* p. 757 f. [5] *Supra* p. 760 ff. [6] *Supra* p. 762 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 764 ff.
[8] *Supra* p. 767 ff. [9] *Supra* p. 769 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 776 f. [11] *Supra* p. 777 ff.
[12] *Supra* p. 779 f. [13] *Supra* p. 780 f.

thunderbolt was anthropomorphised into a youthful male divinity[1], in the west skeuomorphised into a barbed or hamate missile[2]. In discussing these various transformations we touched incidentally on the symbolism of the lotos[3], collected the names of thunder-flowers[4], and examined the singular cult of Zeus *Apómyios*[5].

Our next business was to consider whether the thunderbolt of Zeus bore any ascertainable relation to the trident of Poseidon, or to the alleged fork of Hades. With regard to the first question we concluded (1) that Greeks and Romans of the classical age doubtless took the trident of Poseidon to be the fish-spear of a sea-god[6], but (2) that originally Poseidon had been a by-form of Zeus[7] and his trident almost certainly a lightning-fork[8]. The latter contention was supported on the one hand by parallels from India[9], on the other by the similarity of the hypaethral trident-mark at Athens to the hypaethral lightning-shrines of Rome[10]. Besides, if Poseidon had been *ab origine* a lightning-god, we can understand why he was represented as fulminant on a fifth-century coin of Zankle[11], and we can see some fitness in the later fusion of Zeus-Poseidon into a single syncretistic type[12].

With regard to the second question it appeared (1) that no valid evidence could be produced for the fork as an attribute of the Greek Hades[13], but (2) that Iupiter *Iutor* was actually depicted with thunderbolt, trident, and fork—this last implement being probably borrowed from an Etruscan god of the Underworld[14].

In short, it was argued that the bident of Italy and the trident of Greece were respectively descended from the bipartite and tripartite forms of Mesopotamian lightning[15].

A bunch of cult-titles designated Zeus as god of the Thunderbolt (*Keraunós, Keraunobólos, Keraúnios*) or god of Lightning (*Storpâos, Astrapaîos, Astrápton*)[16]. The cults in question had their features of interest. The Arcadians in *s.* v B.C. worshipped Zeus *Storpâos* under the form of an aniconic pillar topped by a small pyramid[17]. Sling-bullets used in Sicily by the slave-troops of Athenion (103—100 B.C.) bore the device of a thunderbolt and the name of Zeus *Keraúnios*[18]. Coins of Seleukeia in Syria showed his bolt bound with a fillet and resting on a cushioned stool[19]—a type that recurs on the Roman mintages of Vespasian, Titus, and other

[1] *Supra* p. 783 f.
[2] *Supra* p. 784 f.
[3] *Supra* p. 771 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 774 n. 4.
[5] *Supra* p. 781 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 786.
[7] *Supra* pp. 582 ff., 786 f.
[8] *Supra* p. 789 ff.
[9] *Supra* p. 790 ff.
[10] *Supra* pp. 789, 792 ff.
[11] *Supra* p. 794 f.
[12] *Supra* p. 796 ff.
[13] *Supra* p. 798 ff.
[14] *Supra* p. 803 ff.
[15] *Supra* p. 806.
[16] *Supra* p. 806 ff.
[17] *Supra* p. 814 f.
[18] *Supra* p. 812 ff.
[19] *Supra* p. 809.

emperors[1]. Coins of Diokaisareia in Kilikia even figure the thunderbolt enthroned in a would-be human attitude[2].

It remained to deal with the Thracian Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos*, who is represented by several semi-barbaric reliefs as advancing to the attack with a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle on his left, and a snake at his feet[3]. One relief showed him in his chariot escorting a draped and veiled goddess[4]. Another grouped him as a standing Zeus with a youthful rider named *Iambadoúles*[5]. The elder god, the goddess, and the younger god give us the familiar Thracian triad of the sky-father, the earth-mother, and their son Dionysos. The two appellations, outlandish enough in appearance, were provocative of further enquiries. *Iambadoúles*, as G. Seure pointed out, can hardly be dissociated from *Iámbe* the *doúle* of Demeter—a mythical figure born of a misconception[6]. And *Zbelsoûrdos*, with which Seure rightly connected *Zibeleïzis*, a Getic name of Salmoxis[7], has been here for the first time elucidated by Mr B. F. C. Atkinson, who takes it to mean 'Zeus' or 'the son of Zeus, the Splitter,' with reference to the thunderbolt in the god's right hand[8].

In conclusion, the lightning, as Dr Rendel Harris surmised, was sometimes deemed the whip of Zeus—a notion which not only left its mark on Greek poetry from Homer to Oppian[9], but called forth at least one memorable dedication, 'the Corcyraean whip' at Dodona[10].

So much for Zeus as lord of the lightning. We had yet to investigate his relation to the thunder[11]. Lightnings and Thunders were on occasion treated by the ancients as momentary gods (Usener's *Augenblicksgötter*) independent of Zeus[12]. From this primitive stage they soon developed into departmental gods (*Sondergötter*), being conceived as divine animals, the horses Bronte and Sterope, or as monstrous giants, the Kyklopes Brontes and Steropes, before they became wholly human figures, the personifications Bronte and Astrape or Sterope. These allegorical powers still survive in the folk-poetry of modern Greece[13]. Commonly, however, thunder was connected with a personal god (*persönlicher Gott*), Zeus the thunderer, not indeed as his voice, but as an inarticulate sound proceeding from him[14], or more often as the rumble of his chariot rolling rapidly across the sky[15]—a belief which, originating perhaps in Thessaly[16], certainly entered into Thessalian ritual[17] and myth[18].

[1] *Supra* p. 810 f. [2] *Supra* p. 810. [3] *Supra* p. 817 ff. [4] *Supra* p. 819 f.
[5] *Supra* p. 820 f. [6] *Supra* p. 821. [7] *Supra* p. 822. [8] *Supra* p. 823 f.
[9] *Supra* p. 824 ff. [10] *Supra* p. 826. [11] *Supra* p. 827 ff. [12] *Supra* p. 827 f.
[13] *Supra* p. 828 f. [14] *Supra* p. 829. [15] *Supra* p. 830 ff. [16] *Supra* p. 825.
[17] *Supra* p. 831 ff. [18] *Supra* p. 833.

Zeus as god of Thunder had a wide vogue in the north-western parts of Asia Minor. He bore the title of *Brontaîos* in the Kyzikos district[1], that of *Brontôn* in northern and eastern Phrygia[2]. As *Brontôn*, if not also as *Brontaîos*, he was served with mystic rites in a cave, being a divinity akin to Zagreus or Dionysos, whose appellative *Brómios* seems to have meant 'god of the roaring Thunder[3].' We gather that in Phrygia, as in Crete, the worshipper, seated on the rocky throne of his god, himself imitated the thunders of the reborn Zeus. Cretan timbrel and Phrygian lyre had between them transformed the thunder into something strangely like music[4].

* *
*

And here we pause. It might have been supposed that the religion of Zeus, a god of Thunder and Lightning, would be throughout a religion of terror. It was not so. The populace, taught by the playwrights, was vaguely conscious that above the shifting scenes of human life somewhere and somehow Zeus sat enthroned to mete out justice with impartial balance. If he used his thunderbolt, it would be to punish the proud and to lay their towering ambitions in the dust. The philosophers with clearer insight perceived that Zeus must be all or nought. Most of them, amid much diversity of detail, grasped the same essential fact that there is a Power Supreme, which in every place and at every moment is engaged on the godlike task of turning chaos into cosmos. Not a few of them—Pherekydes[5], Herakleitos[6], Empedokles[7], Platon[8], the Stoics[9]—spoke of It, spoke of Him, as Zeus. And to these the thunderbolt was but a symbol of his omnipotence.

It would be easy to parade both the popular and the philosophic view by marshalling an array of quotations. I choose rather to exemplify each by a single characteristic product—on the one hand a picture, on the other a poem.

The Dareios-vase is an Apulian *kratér* of magnificent proportions, found at Canusium (*Canosa*) in 1851 and now preserved in the Museum at Naples[10]. Its principal design (pl. xxxviii)[11] represents the tragic downfall of the Great King, as the result of his presumptuous invasion of Greece. Two and twenty figures are disposed

[1] *Supra* p. 833 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 835 ff. [3] *Supra* p. 838 n. 7. [4] *Supra* p. 839.
[5] *Supra* i. 27 f., ii. 315 f. [6] *Supra* i. 28 ff., ii. 12. [7] *Supra* i. 31 f.
[8] *Supra* i. 311, ii. 43 f., 63 n. 0, 100. [9] *Supra* i. 29 ff.
[10] Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 571 ff. no. 3253. Height 1.30^{m}; girth 1.93^{m}.
[11] H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 22 ff. pls. B—C, D, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 50—51, 52, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 194, 195, 1, 330, 1, 2, A. Conze in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* vii pls. 6^{a}, 6^{b}, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 408 ff. fig. 449, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 142 ff. pl. 88 (= my pl. xxxviii).

The main design on a *kratér* from Canusium[w] in the Museum at Naples: the doom of Dareios.

See page 852 ff.

[From Furtwängler—Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmal*[38] by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

in three registers, of which the lowest shows the vast resources available for the expedition. The royal treasurer is seated at a table, on which are letters corresponding with our £ *s. d.*[1] His right hand arranges the pebbles in their proper columns. His left holds an open wax-diptych inscribed '100 talents[2].' From both sides approach the satraps: one brings a pile of golden bowls, another a sack full of money, while three others empty-handed prostrate themselves in attitudes of grovelling submission. We gather that tribute will be exacted to the uttermost farthing: the royal project must be carried out, cost what it may. The second register reveals the king in council. In the centre is Dareios himself, serene and splendid. He is seated, with tiara, sceptre, and sword, on a throne worthy of a god. Indeed we recall how Aischylos described him as 'peer of the gods[3]' and how Gorgias called his son 'the Persian Zeus[4].' To left and right are grouped five of his chosen councillors, partly in Greek, partly in oriental, attire: their faces display eager interest and concern, not unmixed with doubt. Before Dareios on a circular plinth of gold stands an anxious-looking man in traveller's dress, who uplifts a warning hand. He alone dares to dissuade the king from his purpose. If successful, he will receive the brick of gold as his reward, but will be scourged for opposing the king's expressed intent[5]. If unsuccessful,—there waits the executioner with a drawn sword in his hand. In the council-chamber, then, there is debate and foreboding. The third register transports us to a higher level, where the issue has been already determined. We see the gods assembled on the summit of Olympos, here indicated simply by the rising ground-line and a couple of stars. Above the head of Dareios is seated the genuine Zeus, a thunderbolt winged for swift service at his side. Nike, leaning on his lap, points to a stately draped figure led forward by Athena. She is Hellas, presented to Zeus as the coming victor.

[1] The letters are M (*μύριοι*), Ψ (*χίλιοι*), H (*ἑκατόν*), ▷ (*δέκα*), Γ (*πέντε*), O (*ὁβολός*), < (*ἡμιωβέλιον*), T (*τεταρτημόριον*). The western Ψ is retained as a numeral, though superseded for alphabetic purposes by the eastern X (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 148).

[2] The inscription should be read ΤΑΛΝ | ΤΑ: Η, that is *τάλ(α)ν|τα : (ἑκατόν)* (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 213).

[3] Aisch. *Pers.* 633 *μακαρίτας ἰσοδαίμων βασιλεύς.*

[4] Gorg. *frag.* 2 Thompson *ap.* Longin. *de sublim.* 3. 2 *Ξέρξης ὁ τῶν Περσῶν Ζεύς* (*supra* i. 338 n. 2).

[5] Ail. *var. hist.* 12. 62. So Com. Quaranta in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 170, H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 30, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 408. But A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 146f. objects that the circular plinth is of the wrong shape for a brick of gold and must be viewed as an orator's platform (*βῆμα*). Furtwängler's objection would, I think, apply at least as forcibly to his own proposal.

On the left are Artemis riding a horned doe[1] and Apollon with a swan on his knee. Artemis may hint at Marathon, where the battle took place on her festival[2], or may anticipate the sea-fight off Artemision[3], and the full moon that shone on Salamis[4]. Apollon recalls the Delian confederacy. On the right Asia, with crown and sceptre, has fled for refuge to the altar of a terminal goddess, perhaps Aphrodite *Ourania*[5]. Before her stands a sinister figure in the guise of a Fury with a panther-skin round her shoulders, snakes in her hair, and a pair of torches in her hands. This is *Apá*[*te*] 'Deception,' a lying spirit[6] whose mission is to lure Asia away from the protection of the Asiatic goddess[7]. So the three zones of decoration present us with three acts from one historic drama. The vase-painter must have been inspired by some lost tragedy, not improbably the *Persians* of Phrynichos[8], for on the circular plinth in the very centre of his design is written the single word *Pérsai.*

The populace, assembled in the theatre, regarded Zeus god of Thunder and Lightning as a power that on sundry momentous occasions had intervened to punish pride. And what of the philosophers? They saw in the 'ever-living bolt' a pledge and promise of continuous divine activity—witness one nearly contemporary document, the Stoic *Hymn to Zeus*[9]. Let us, before closing the volume, join Kleanthes in that great ascription of praise:

[1] *Supra* p. 465 f.

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 175 ff.

[3] G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1443.

[4] Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 7, cited by H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 42 and in his *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 578 n. 9.

[5] H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 38 f., A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 409.

[6] Cp. 1 Kings 22. 22.

[7] A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 149 aptly quotes Aisch. *Pers.* 93 f. δολόμητιν δ' ἀπάταν θεοῦ τίς ἀνὴρ θνατὸς ἀλύξει; *Id. ib.* ii. 148 interprets the action of Apate aright ('Die Bewegung der Apate ist wohl so zu erklären, dass sie Asia auffordert, aufzustehen und ihr zu folgen dahinüber, wo sie hinschielt, nach der Hellas').

[8] O. Jahn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1860 xviii. 41 ff. suggested the Δίκαιοι ἢ Πέρσαι ἢ Σύνθωκοι of Phrynichos (Souid. *s.v.* Φρύνιχος); A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 149, a later adaptation of the same.

[9] Kleanthes *frag.* 48 Pearson *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 12 p. 25, 3 ff. Wachsmuth. For the text I follow the excellent edition of A. C. Pearson *The Fragments of Zeno and Cleanthes* London 1891 p. 274 ff. There is much useful matter in the earlier commentaries of G. C. F. Mohnike *Kleanthes der Stoiker* Greifswald 1814 i. 3 ff., J. F. H. Schwabe *Specimen theologiae comparativae exhibens* ΚΛΕΑΝΘΟΥΣ ΤΜΝΟΝ ΕΙΣ ΔΙΑ, *cum disciplina Christiana comparatum*, etc. Jenae 1819 p. 7 ff., C. Petersen *Cleanthis Stoici Hymnus in Jovem auctori suo vindicatus ad eiusque doctrinam enarratus* Hamburgi 1829 p. 1 ff. See also U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Commentariolum grammaticum* III (1. Cleanthes) Gottingae 1889 p. 3 ff., W. L. Newman, 'Cleanthes' Hymn to Zeus' in the *Class. Rev.* 1892 vi. 181, J. von Arnim *Stoicorum veterum fragmenta* Leipzig 1905 i. 121 ff. o. 537, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 558 ff.

κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων, πολυώνυμε, παγκρατὲς αἰεί,
Ζεῦ, φύσεως ἀρχηγέ, νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν,
χαῖρε· σὲ γὰρ πάντεσσι θέμις θνητοῖσι προσαυδᾶν.
ἐκ σοῦ γὰρ γένος ἐσμέν, † ἧχου[1] μίμημα λαχόντες
μοῦνοι, ὅσα ζώει τε καὶ ἕρπει θνήτ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν·
τῷ σε καθυμνήσω καὶ σὸν κράτος αἰὲν ἀείσω.

Most glorious of immortals, many-named[2],
Almighty Zeus, creation's primal lord,
Whose lawful government is over all,
Hail!—for we mortals unto thee may speak.
We are thine offspring[3]; we alone of all things
That live and move on earth can copy God.
Thee therefore I will praise, thy power will sing.

[1] Corrections either save or sacrifice *γένος ἐσμέν*. On the one hand, J. J. Scaliger cj. *ὄχου* ('corpus enim *ὄχημα ψυχῆς*'), R. F. P. Brunck cj. *ἴῆς*, C. W. Ahlwardt cj. *ἴσου* ('wir sind theilhaftig geworden des Bildes deiner Gleichheit, des Bildes von dir selber'), C. Petersen cj. *ὃ σοῦ*, T. Bergk cj. *ὅλου*, H. Usener cj. **ὑδῆς* (cp. *ὑδεῖν* etc.), C. Wachsmuth cj. *νοῦ σοῦ τμῆμα* or *ἃ δὴ σοῦ τμῆμα*, W. L. Newman cj. *ἀγοῦ* ('leader'), E. B. Birks cj. *ἴχνους*. On the other hand, F. Gedike cj. *ἐκ σοῦ*, A. Meineke cj. *γενόμεσθα λόγου*, C. Wachsmuth cj. *ἦχου τίμημα* ('linguae honorem'), A. C. Pearson formerly cj. *γενόμεσθα μόνου* or *ἐκ σοῦ*, J. von Arnim cj. *γένος εἶσ' ἦχου μίμημα*.

I am indebted to Prof. Pearson for the following new and attractive solution (June 17, 1922): 'I have looked up my notes and find that I have suggested *θεοῦ* to Powell and E. V. Arnold... I should account for the mysterious *ἧχου* as a supra-linear gloss *i.e.* *ἡ Χου* = *ἡ Χριστοῦ*. That this would be a natural Christian gloss may perhaps be supported by 1 Cor. xi. 1 *μιμηταί μου γίνεσθε καθὼς κἀγὼ Χριστοῦ*, Eph. v. 1 *γίνεσθε οὖν μιμηταὶ τοῦ θεοῦ*, 1 Th. i. 6 *μιμηταὶ ἡμῶν ἐγενήθητε καὶ τοῦ Κυρίου*. Now from the Stoic point of view *cf.* Musonius *ap.* *Stob. flor.* 117. 8 *ἄνθρωπος μίμημα θεοῦ μόνον τῶν ἐπιγείων*, which sounds like an echo of Cleanthes. The only objection I see is that it involves the adoption of *γενόμεσθα*, and I don't like to suggest confusion with Aratus.'

[2] E. Zeller *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*[2] trans. O. J. Reichel London 1880 p. 358: 'To the Stoics, as to their predecessor Heraclitus, Zeus is the one primary Being, who has engendered, and again absorbs into himself, all things and all Gods. He is the universe as a unity, the primary fire, the ether, the spirit of the world, the universal reason, the general law or destiny. All other Gods, as being parts of the world, are only parts and manifestations of Zeus—only special names of the one God who has many names.' *Id. ib.* p. 358 n. 2 cp. Diog. Laert. 7. 147 *θεὸν δ' εἶναι ζῷον ἀθάνατον, λογικόν, τέλειον ἢ νοερὸν ἐν εὐδαιμονίᾳ, κακοῦ παντὸς ἀνεπίδεκτον, προνοητικὸν κόσμου τε καὶ τῶν ἐν κόσμῳ· μὴ εἶναι μέντοι ἀνθρωπόμορφον. εἶναι δὲ τὸν μὲν δημιουργὸν τῶν ὅλων καὶ ὥσπερ πατέρα πάντων κοινῶς τε καὶ τὸ μέρος αὐτοῦ τὸ διῆκον διὰ πάντων, ὃ πολλαῖς προσηγορίαις προσονομάζεσθαι κατὰ τὰς δυνάμεις. Δία μὲν γάρ φασι δι' ὃν τὰ πάντα, Ζῆνα δὲ καλοῦσι παρ' ὅσον τοῦ ζῆν αἴτιός ἐστιν ἢ διὰ τοῦ ζῆν κεχώρηκεν, κ.τ.λ.* For Kleanthes in particular see Plout. *de comm. not.* 31 *ἀλλὰ Χρύσιππος καὶ Κλεάνθης ἐμπεπληκότες, ὡς ἔπος εἰπεῖν, τῷ λόγῳ θεῶν τὸν οὐρανόν, τὴν γῆν, τὸν ἀέρα, τὴν θάλατταν, οὐδένα τῶν τοσούτων ἄφθαρτον οὐδ' ἀΐδιον ἀπολελοίπασι, πλὴν μόνου τοῦ Διός, εἰς ὃν πάντας καταναλίσκουσι τοὺς ἄλλους*, Plout. *de aud. poet.* 11 *δεῖ δὲ μηδὲ τῶν ὀνομάτων ἀμελῶς ἀκούειν, ἀλλὰ τὴν μὲν Κλεάνθους παιδιὰν παραιτεῖσθαι. κατειρωνεύεται γὰρ ἔστιν ὅτε προσποιούμενος ἐξηγεῖσθαι τὸ (Il. 3. 320) "Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδηθεν μεδέων" καὶ τὸ (Il. 16. 233) "Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε," κελεύων ἀναγιγνώσκειν ὑφ' ἓν, ὡς τὸν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναθυμιώμενον ἀέρα διὰ τὴν ἀνάδοσιν ἀναδωδωναῖον ὄντα*, schol. B. L. T. *Il.* 16. 233 *τινὲς δὲ "ἀναδωδωναῖε" ὑφ' ἓν, παρὰ τὴν ἀνάδοσιν τῶν ἀγαθῶν.*

[3] *Supra* i. 664 n. 3.

σοὶ δὴ πᾶς ὅδε κόσμος, ἑλισσόμενος περὶ γαῖαν,
πείθεται, ᾗ κεν ἄγῃς, καὶ ἑκὼν ὑπὸ σεῖο κρατεῖται·
τοῖον ἔχεις ὑποεργὸν ἀνικήτοις ἐνὶ[1] χερσὶν
ἀμφήκη, πυρόεντ', ἀειζώοντα[2] κεραυνόν·
τοῦ γὰρ ὑπὸ πληγῆς φύσεως πάντ' ἐρρίγα<σιν>[3]·
ᾧ σὺ κατευθύνεις κοινὸν λόγον, ὃς διὰ πάντων
φοιτᾷ, μιγνύμενος μεγάλοις μικροῖς τε φάεσσι·
[ὡς τόσσος γεγαὼς ὕπατος βασιλεὺς διὰ παντός,][4]
οὐδέ τι γίγνεται ἔργον ἐπὶ χθονὶ σοῦ δίχα, δαῖμον,
οὔτε κατ' αἰθέριον θεῖον πόλον οὔτ' ἐνὶ[5] πόντῳ,
πλὴν ὁπόσα ῥέζουσι κακοὶ σφετέρῃσιν[6] ἀνοίαις·

Lo, the whole world[7] revolving round the earth
Obeys thy lead and wills to do thy will[8].
Such the strong help thou hast in hands supreme,
A two-edged, fiery, ever-living bolt[9].
Beneath its blows all nature shuddering reels.
Herewith thou makest one great law to rule
The universe, larger and lesser lights.
[So vast the power of thy kingly sway.]
Nay, nought on earth befalls apart from thee,
Nor in the heaven above, nor in the deep,
Save folly wrought by the wicked[10]. Yet here too

[1] J. von Arnim keeps *ὑπὸ* as read by cod. F. R. F. P. Brunck cj. *ἐνὶ*, A. Meineke cj. *μετὰ*.

[2] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff and J. von Arnim keep the *πυρόεντα ἀειζώοντα* of cod. F, the hiatus notwithstanding. C. Wachsmuth corr. *πυρόεντ', αἰειζώοντα*. A. C. Pearson's *ἀειζώοντα* might be defended by *Od.* 13. 109 *ἀενάοντα* and the like.

[3] Cod. F has *ἔρηγα* followed by space for ten letters. Fulvius Ursinus cj. *ἐῤῥίγασιν*. C. Wachsmuth says: 'num fuit *Ζεῦ, πάντ' ἐρριγεν*?' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cj. *πληγῇ φύσεως ἔρριγε τὰ πάντα*. A. C. Pearson cj. *ἔργα <δαμάσθη>*. J. von Arnim cj. *πάντ' ἔργα <τελεῖται>*.

[4] A. Meineke assumed a lacuna before this line. A. C. Pearson condemned the line as spurious or corrupt. J. von Arnim cj. *ᾧ σὺ τόσος γεγαὼς ὕπατος βασιλεὺς διὰ παντός*.

[5] So R. F. P. Brunck for *ἐπὶ* cod. F.

[6] Cod. F, followed by J. von Arnim, reads *σφετέραισιν*.

[7] Diog. Laert. 7. 138 *καὶ αὐτὴν δὲ τὴν διακόσμησιν τῶν ἀστέρων κόσμον εἶναι λέγουσι.*

[8] Cp. Kleanthes *frag.* 91 Pearson *ap.* Epiktet. *man.* 53 *ἄγου δέ μ', ὦ Ζεῦ, καὶ σύγ' ἡ πεπρωμένη, | οποι ποθ' ὑμῖν εἰμὶ διατεταγμένος, | ὡς ἕψομαί γ' ἄοκνος· ἢν δὲ μὴ θέλω | κακὸς γενόμενος, οὐδὲν ἧττον ἕψομαι* with A. C. Pearson's commentary.

[9] Kleanthes is building on the foundations of Herakleitos (*supra* i. 28 n. 6).

[10] A. C. Pearson *ad loc.*: 'The explanations given by the Stoics of this weak point in their system are hopelessly confused and contradictory, as may be seen from an examination of the passages cited in the notes to Zeller, p. 189—193.... we may perhaps suppose that Cleanthes accounted for the existence of moral evil somewhat as follows:—evil is not directly due to God, but is a necessary accompaniment of the process, whereby he created the world out of himself. At the same time, the omnipotence of God is vindicated by the consideration that evil is ultimately swallowed up in good,

ἀλλὰ σὺ καὶ τὰ περισσά <τ'[1]> *ἐπίστασαι ἄρτια θεῖναι,*
καὶ κοσμεῖν τἄκοσμα καὶ οὐ φίλα σοὶ φίλα ἐστίν[2]*,*
ὧδε γὰρ εἰς ἓν πάντα[3] *συνήρμοκας ἐσθλὰ κακοῖσιν,*
ὥσθ' ἕνα γίγνεσθαι πάντων λόγον αἰὲν ἐόντα,
ὃν φεύγοντες ἐῶσιν[4] *ὅσοι θνητῶν κακοί εἰσι,*
δύσμοροι, οἵ τ' ἀγαθῶν μὲν ἀεὶ κτῆσιν ποθέοντες
οὔτ' ἐσορῶσι θεοῦ κοινὸν νόμον, οὔτε κλύουσιν,
ᾧ κεν πειθόμενοι σὺν νῷ βίον ἐσθλὸν ἔχοιεν.
αὐτοὶ δ' αὖθ' ὁρμῶσιν ἄνοι κακὸν ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλο[5]*,*
οἱ μὲν ὑπὲρ δόξης σπουδὴν δυσέριστον ἔχοντες,
οἱ δ' ἐπὶ κερδοσύνας τετραμμένοι οὐδενὶ κόσμῳ,
ἄλλοι δ' εἰς ἄνεσιν καὶ σώματος ἡδέα ἔργα
Thou knowest how to even up the odd,
Order disorder, and turn hate to love[6].
Thou hast so welded all things into one,
Joined good with evil, that there runs for ever
One law through all, which bad men scorn and scape.
Ill-fated folk! They hanker after wealth,
And neither see God's universal law,
Nor hear it and in wise obedience
Attain the life worth living. But themselves
Speed their own witless way to diverse ills—
Some sunk in desperate strife for glory vain,
Some bent on money-making's reckless quest,
Others on ease and bodily delights.

and that the apparent irregularity of nature is in reality only a phase in the working of a higher law.'

[1] So H. Sauppe for *περισσὰ ἐπίστασαι* cod. F, which is kept by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

[2] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cj. *τεύχειν* for *ἐστίν*, to escape the hiatus.

[3] R. F. P. Brunck cj. *ἅπαντα*.

[4] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff suspects *ἐῶσιν*.

[5] Cod. F has *ἄνευ κακοῦ ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλα*. Fulvius Ursinus cj. *καλοῦ*. H. Sauppe corr. *κακὸν* and *ἄλλο*. C. Wachsmuth restored *ἄνοι κακὸν ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλο*. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, on the ground that honours, wealth, and pleasure were not *κακὰ* but *ἀδιάφορα*, would read *ἄνευ λόγου ἄλλος ἐπ' ἄλλα*.

[6] It is interesting to remember that Kleanthes hailed from Assos, where there was a cult of Zeus Ὁμονῶος (J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1882—1883 i. 35 ff. no. 15, 1 ff. *ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ θ|εοῦ Καίσαρος, ὁ δὲ αὖ[τ]|ὸς καὶ πάτριος βασιλεὺ|ς καὶ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τ|οῦ Ὁμονώ(ι)ου, καὶ γυμ|νασίαρχος, Κοΐντος Λό|λλιος Φιλέταιρος τὴν | στοὰν ἀνέθηκεν θεῷ Κ|αίσαρι Σεβαστῷ καὶ τῷ δή|μῳ* κ.τ.λ.), whose title—perhaps a variant form of Ὁμολώϊος, Ὁμολῶος (A. Boeckh on the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3569, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 309 n. 9, 1117 n. 1, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2263 f., 2269. See further *infra* Append. B Boiotia)—was probably connected by folk-etymology with *ὁμόνοια* (cp. Istros *ap.* Phot. *lex.*, Souid. *s.v.* Ὁμολώϊος *Ζεύς*·... *Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ ιβ' τῆς Συναγωγῆς, διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσι τὸ ὁμονοητικὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν ὅμολον λέγεσθαι*).

.....ἐπ' ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλα φέροντες[1],
σπεύδοντες μάλα πάμπαν ἐναντία τῶνδε γενέσθαι.
ἀλλὰ Ζεῦ πάνδωρε, κελαινεφές, ἀργικέραυνε[2],
ἀνθρώπους <μὲν[3]> ῥύου ἀπειροσύνης ἀπὸ λυγρῆς,
ἣν σύ, πάτερ, σκέδασον ψυχῆς ἄπο, δὸς δὲ κυρῆσαι
γνώμης, ᾗ πίσυνος σὺ δίκης μέτα πάντα κυβερνᾷς[4],
ὄφρ' ἂν τιμηθέντες ἀμειβώμεσθά σε τιμῇ,
ὑμνοῦντες τὰ σὰ ἔργα διηνεκές, ὡς ἐπέοικε
θνητὸν ἐόντ', ἐπεὶ οὔτε βροτοῖς γέρας ἄλλο τι μεῖζον,
οὔτε θεοῖς, ἢ κοινὸν ἀεὶ νόμον ἐν δίκῃ ὑμνεῖν.

Yea, diverse ills they reap, now this, now that,
Though fain to win the very opposite.
But thou, Zeus, giver of all, with thy black cloud
And glittering bolt[5], save men from folly's bane.
O Father, cleanse our soul, grant us to find
Wisdom wherewith thou governest all aright[6],
That honoured thus we too may honour thee,
Hymning thy deeds for ever, as befits
A mortal man; for, mortal or immortal,
None hath a greater guerdon than to hymn
The common rule rightly for evermore.

[1] So cod. F with space for sixteen letters at the beginning of the line. A. H. L. Heeren cj. *ἄλλοτέ γ'*. H. Usener cj. *ἄλλοτεν*. A. Meineke cj. *φέρονται*. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff prints <*οὐδέ ποτ' ἐς τέλος ἦλθον,*> *ἐπ' ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλα φέρονται*. J. von Arnim 'exempli causa' supplies <*ἀλλὰ κακοῖς ἐπέκυρσαν*>, *ἐπ' ἄλλοτε δ' ἄλλα φέρονται*.

[2] So A. Meineke for *ἀρχικέραυνε* cod. F, which is kept by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff.

[3] J. J. Scaliger add. *μὲν*. C. Petersen cj. *εἴρυσσαι*. A. C. Pearson cj. *ἐκρύου*. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff transposes *ῥύου μὲν*, which may be right.

[4] C. Wachsmuth, A. C. Pearson, and J. von Arnim prefer the spelling *κυβερνᾶς*.

[5] *Supra* i. 31 n. 4.

[6] Herakleitos again (*frag.* 19 Bywater, 41 Diels *ap.* Diog. Laert. 9. 1 *εἶναι γὰρ ἓν τὸ σοφόν, ἐπίστασθαι γνώμην, ὁτέη ἐκυβέρνησε πάντα διὰ πάντων*).

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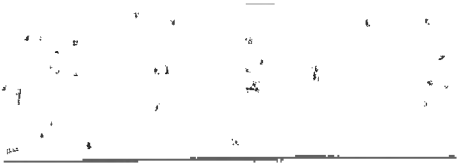

ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME II

PART II

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

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OF CAMBRIDGE

VOLUME II

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(THUNDER AND LIGHTNING)

χὠ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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APPENDIX A.

KAIROS.

Kairos as a distinct personification first emerges in the middle of *s.* V B.C., when Ion of Chios composed a hymn in his honour. Pausanias[1] mentions it *à propos* of an altar to him in the north-eastern part of the *Áltis*: 'Hard by the entrance into the *Stádion* are two altars. One they call the altar of Hermes *Enagónios*, the other that of Kairos. I am aware that Ion of Chios actually made a hymn to Kairos and in his hymn gives the genealogy of Kairos as the youngest of the sons of Zeus.' It has been conjectured with some probability that this hymn was written for the original dedication of the Kairos-altar at Olympia[2].

Whether Kairos was definitely worshipped elsewhere, we cannot say. Menandros 'spoke of him as a god[3],' and Lysippos 'enrolled him among the gods[4]' by making his famous effigy. But neither phrase can be pressed to imply a practical cult.

Of the Lysippean Kairos numerous late descriptions and copies are extant[5]. These, however, differ widely among themselves: some must, many may, all might, refer to subsequent modifications of the type. Our earliest and most trustworthy source is Poseidippos (*c.* 270 B.C.), who devotes an epigram to the statue[6]. He informs us that it was fashioned by Lysippos of Sikyon, that it stood on tip-toe as a runner with wings attached to its feet, that it carried a razor in its right hand, that it was long-haired in front but bald behind, and that it was set up 'in the vestibule'—presumably of some Sicyonian building.

But how came Lysippos, the sculptor of athletes, to attempt such a curious piece of allegory? That is a problem which has never been squarely faced. My own conviction is that the statue was not, to speak strictly, allegorical at all. Lysippos, who excelled in the rendering of graceful male forms and is said to have paid special attention to the hair[7], wished simply to portray the Age of Puberty. He therefore modelled a youthful runner, with wings[8] on his feet, holding the razor[9] that had shorn his votive tress for the well known puberty-

[1] Paus. 5. 14. 9.

[2] O. Benndorf 'Über eine Statue des Polyklet' in the *Gesammelte Studien zur Kunstgeschichte, eine Festgabe zum 4 Mai 1885 für Anton Springer* Leipzig 1885 p. 11.

[3] Anth. Pal. 10. 52. 1 (Palladas) *εὖ γε λέγων τὸν Καιρὸν ἔφης θεόν, εὖ γε, Μένανδρε,* | *κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Himer. *ecl.* 14. 1 *ἐγγράφει τοῖς θεοῖς τὸν Καιρόν, κ.τ.λ.*

[5] The fullest list is given by Lamer in his admirable article in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1508—1521.

[6] *Anth. Pal.* 16. 275. 1 ff. (Poseidippos).

[7] Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 65.

[8] These may of course have been a later addition; but similar wings are attached to the feet of the 'Resting Hermes' at Naples (*Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 208 f. no. 841, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 282), which—in the opinion of most critics (*e.g.* M. Collignon *Lysippe* Paris 1904 pp. 112, 115 with fig. 24)—emanated from the school, and reflects the style, of Lysippos.

[9] Lamer *loc. cit.* p. 1516 on grounds which to me seem inadequate denies that Lysippos' Kairos held a razor, and hence infers that even Poseidippos was not describing the original statue.

rite[1]. The resultant figure took the popular fancy, and moralists soon[2] discovered a deep significance in the contrast between the front hair and the back, a significance hardly intended by the sculptor. A further aptitude was perhaps found[3] in the fact that the name *Kairós* is related to the verb *keiro*, 'I shave[4].'

Symbolism, once introduced, grew apace. Gems of the Hellenistic age[5],

Fig. 796.

Fig. 798.

Fig. 797.

when Eros and Psyche were prime favourites[6], added wings on the shoulders (fig. 796 ff.) and a butterfly on the hand (fig. 796 f.). The globe beneath the foot[7] (fig. 798) and the balance suspended in the air (fig. 796 f.) or poised on the razor's edge (fig. 798), are attributes appropriate to divinities of fate such as Nike[8] and

[1] *Supra* i. 23 n. 6.

[2] First in Poseidippos' epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 275. 7 ff.).

[3] Cp. Poll. 2. 33 *ἀκαρὴς καιρός* and context.

[4] So P. Persson in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 288 (*καιρός* < *καρ-ιο-*). Dr Giles too told me (Oct. 22, 1911) that, starting from the root of *κείρω* in the weak grade *κρ-*, we could assume *kr̥-i̯o-s* > *καρ-ιο-s* > *καιρός*, cp. *khr̥-i̯ō* > *χαρ-ιω* > *χαίρω*.

[5] (*a*) Convex cornelian in the collection of C. Newton-Robinson. Kairos, bearded, with forelock and bald head, wings on shoulders and heels, steps towards the right, holding a butterfly in his right hand and supporting with his left the depressed pan of a balance suspended before him (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 49 (=my fig. 796), ii. 207).

(*b*) Gem with the design of (*a*) reversed (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 51, ii. 208). This gem appears to be identical with (*b'*).

(*b'*) Gem from the Blacas collection. 'Kairos, bearded, with wings on shoulders and on heels, holding out pair of scales, and a butterfly' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 143 no. 1199. My fig. 797 is from a cast kindly furnished by Mr A. H. Smith).

(*c*) Convex gem in an unknown collection. Kairos, bearded, with wings on shoulders and heels, runs towards the right. His right foot rests on a ball. His right hand carries a razor, on the edge of which is poised a balance. His left hand is held beneath one of its pans (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 50, ii. 207 f.). This gem appears to be identical with (*c'*).

(*c'*) Convex onyx from the Blacas collection. 'Kairos, bald on back of head, bearded, wings on shoulders and heels; runs to r. [with right foot on ball], holding out scales in front [balanced on razor], but without butterfly' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 143 no. 1200. My fig. 798 is from a cast kindly furnished by Mr A. H. Smith).

[6] *Infra* Append. G *sub fin.* and *supra* p. 645 n. 4.

[7] Kallistrat. *ἐκφράσεις* 6. 1—4 ('On the statue of Kairos at Sikyon') states that the figure wrought by Lysippos for the Sicyonians was a bronze boy in the bloom of youth, for the most part resembling Dionysos, but with unusual hair—long in front and at the sides, free of tresses at the back—and with winged heels set on a sphere. Nothing is said of razor or scales.

[8] F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgoettin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 4, 23, 26 f. See also *supra* i. 48 f. figs. 20, 22.

Nemesis[1]. But the most remarkable innovation of the period remains to be mentioned. The gems in question all represent the nude and agile figure, not merely with well-marked forelock and smooth occiput, but also with a full beard. This can only mean that the verbal misuse of *kairós* for *chrónos*[2] has led to a corresponding typological confusion of Kairos with Chronos.

It is, indeed, likely that confusion became more confounded, since Chronos was constantly interchanged with Kronos[3] and Kronos too appears as a bald-

Fig. 799.

headed god hastening along with a sickle-knife in his hand[4]. Thus we reach the singular result that Kairos 'youngest of the sons of Zeus' has actually been transformed into a figure resembling that of his own grandfather Kronos[5], while by a further surprising coincidence *Krónos*, as we have seen[6], is derivable from the same root as *Kairós*.

Others distinguished the types and continued to portray Kairos as a youthful god. A relief at Turin (fig. 799)[7] shows him, with forelock and tonsure, balancing

[1] H. Posnansky *Nemesis und Adrasteia* Breslau 1890 p. 113. See also *supra* pp. 99 n. 1, 734 n. 3.

[2] C. A. Lobeck in his ed. of Soph. *Ai.* Lipsiae 1835 p. 85 n.*.

[3] *Supra* p. 374.

[4] *Supra* p. 550 fig. 426.

[5] We are almost reminded of Zagreus the shape-shifter, who appeared now as a youthful Zeus, now as an aged Kronos (*supra* i. 398 f., 647).

[6] *Supra* p. 549 n. 6.

[7] A. Rivautella—J. P. Ricolvi *Monumenta Taurinensia* Augustæ Taurinorum 1747 ii. 4 ff. no. 22 with pl., E. Curtius 'Die Darstellungen des Kairos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 5 f. pl. 1, 1 (photograph of cast=my fig. 799), H. Heydemann *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1879 p. 35 Turin: Museo Lapidario no. 1 (thinks the slab a modern copy of an ancient relief: unconvincing), H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1880 iv. 73 f. no. 117, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 751 no. 1897, A. Baumeister

the scales on the edge of a razor and depressing one pan with his finger[1]. The would-be archaic wings, floating tresses, muscular body, and barocco pose all point to Pergamene influence.

Equipoise on the razor was a trait naturally suggested by the old Greek proverb 'it stands on the razor's edge[2].' An engraved cornelian of imperial date in the Berlin collection figures Kairos himself, scales in hand, treading gingerly along the narrow loom of a steersman's paddle (fig. 800)[3]. And Phaedrus must have seen similar representations in which the light-footed god even trod the razor's edge—*cursu volucri, pendens in novacula*[4],—unless indeed we venture with G. Thiele[5] to translate the last phrase '*weighing* on the razor's edge,' in which case Phaedrus and the Turin relief would be in exact agreement.

Fig. 800.

The recognition of Kairos on Italian soil was attended by a certain grammatical awkwardness. Phaedrus describes the god in words of the masculine gender[6], but names him *Tempus* in the neuter[7], and says that he signifies *occasionem rerum...brevem*[8]. *Occasio*, as the Latin equivalent of *Kairós*, was in fact the name current during the third[9] and fourth[10] centuries of our era; and, being a feminine term, it entailed a change of sex. Ausonius in one of his epigrams[11] professes to expound a group of Kairos and Metanoia carved by in his *Denkm.* ii. 771 f. fig. 823 ('aus spät-römischer Zeit, aber unzweifelhaft echt'), B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 900 fig., F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 787 fig. 4251 ('la reproduction d'un original grec'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 423 no. 3. Italian marble. Height 0·60^{m}; breadth 0·65^{m}.

For an exact *replica* on sale at Florence see Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 751 f. no. 1898 n.; and for a fragmentary relief of the same type at Athens, E. Curtius *loc. cit.* 1875 xxxiii. 6 pl. 2, 4, L. von Sybel *Katalog der Sculpturen zu Athen* Marburg 1881 p. 375 no. 5987, Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 751 f. no. 1898.

[1] Cp. Himer. *ecl.* 14. 1 ποιεῖ (*sc.* ὁ Λύσιππος) παῖδα τὸ εἶδος ἁβρόν, τὴν ἀκμὴν ἔφηβον, κομῶντα μὲν τὸ ἐκ κροτάφων εἰς μέτωπον, γυμνὸν δὲ τὸ ὅσον ἐκεῖθεν ἐπὶ τὰ νῶτα μερίζεται· σιδήρῳ τὴν δεξιὰν ὡπλισμένον, ζυγὸ τὴν λαιὰν ἐπέχοντα, πτερωτὸν τὰ σφυρά, οὐχ ὡς μετάρσιον ὑπὲρ γῆς ἄνω κουφίζεσθαι, ἀλλ' ἵνα δοκῶν ἐπιψαύειν τῆς γῆς λανθάνῃ κλέπτων τὸ μὴ κατὰ γῆς ἐπερείδεσθαι.

[2] First in *Il.* 10. 173 ἐπὶ ξυροῦ ἵσταται ἀκμῆς. See further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1692 B—D.

[3] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 273 no. 7358 pl. 55, E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 4 pl. 2, 2 (=my fig. 800).

[4] Phaedr. 5. 8. 1.

[5] G. Thiele 'Phaedrus-Studien' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 577 ff. Dr J. P. Postgate in a letter to me (Aug. 30, 1917) says: 'The absolute use of *pendēre* is certainly possible though at first strange, and this perhaps bas led to the belief that the participle comes from *pendere*. The expression of the thought is compressed in other respects; and Havet reads Curs*or* uolucri pendens in nouacula, Caluus comosa fronte, nudo *occipitio* for curs*u*.' Dr Postgate adds that in *Il.* 10. 173 ἵσταται 'should I suppose be understood of "weighing," a common meaning of ἵστημι, though the commentators do not say so.'

[6] Phaedr. 5. 8. 2 f. [7] *Id.* 5. 8 *titulus*, 5. 8. 7. [8] *Id.* 5. 8. 5.

[9] Cato *disticha* 2. 26. 2 fronte capillata, post est Occasio calva.

[10] Paulin. Nolan. *epist.* 16. 4 (lxi. 230 B Migne) unde et Spes et Nemesis et Amor atque etiam Furor in simulacris coluntur, et occipiti calvo sacratur Occasio, et tua ista Fortuna lubrico male nixa globo fingitur (*figuratur* codd. F.P.U.). nec minore mendacio Fata simulantur vitas hominum nere de calathis aut trutinare de lancibus.

[11] Aus. *epigr.* 33 Peiper.

Pheidias (!). *Metánoia* is comfortably Latinised as *Paenitentia.* But the god *Kairós* must needs become the goddess *Occasio,* poised on a little wheel[1], with winged feet and the traditional *coiffure.*

[1] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 38, ii. 149 publishes a gem, on which Kairos as a nude youthful runner, with wings on shoulders, winglets on ankles, small round mirror (?) in right hand and whip in left, sets one foot on a four-spoked wheel. Inscription: **L · S · P.**

A limestone relief (height on left 0·40^{m}, breadth at bottom 0·27^{m}) of *s.* iii or iv from Thebes, now at Cairo, shows a youthful figure in military costume, with wreath, shoulder-wings, knife, wheel, and balance, running towards the right. Below are two females, one flying at the same pace, the other left behind in an attitude of dejection. J. Strzygowski *Koptische Kunst* (*Service des Antiquités de l'Égypte: Catalogue général des Antiquités Égyptiennes du Musée du Caire*) Vienne 1904 p. 103 f. no. 8757 fig. 159 calls them Kairos, *πρόνοια* and *μετάνοια.* Cp. A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1905 viii. 150 fig. 5, O. M.

Fig. 801.

Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 158 with fig. 65 (=my fig. 801). But P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 263 ff. fig. 1 takes the subject to be Nemesis trampling on Hybris (*supra* i. 269 fig. 195), with Metanoia behind. Cp. Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1514. The latter interpretation is probably correct, though the type of Nemesis here is influenced by that of Kairos.

A relief from Thasos, now at Constantinople, has two niches side by side. In the one stands a youthful winged figure in short *chitón* and *himátion,* with balance in right hand and wheel beneath feet. In the other is a pair of draped females, touching bosom of dress with right hand and holding short rod in left. A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1906 ix. 212 ff. fig. 1 viewed them as Kairos (or Bios) with Pronoia and Metanoia. But O. Rossbach in

Having rung the changes from youth to eld and from male to female, this Protean personage reappears in Byzantine letters and art, sometimes under the old name of Chronos, sometimes under the new name of Bios.

Georgios Kedrenos (*c.* 1100 A.D.) states that the masterpieces collected in the House of Lausos[1] at Constantinople included 'the figure by Lysippos representing Chronos, bald behind, long-haired before[2].' Kedrenos' statement is very possibly true[3], though Lamer infers from the name Chronos that we have here to do, not with the original Lysippean figure, but with a bearded copy of it[4] Again, Ioannes Tzetzes (born *c.* 1110 A.D.) in his historical poem twice over nforms us that, when Alexander had let slip an opportunity, Lysippos of Sikyon made him an effigy of Chronos

> 'Deaf, bald behind, wing-footed on a sphere,
> And offering naught but a knife to his follower[5].'

Tzetzes further spends a score of lines on insisting that this was Chronos, not, as sundry wiseacres maintained, Bios[6]. He had already said the same thing in greater detail in one of his letters[7]. And, after him, Nikephoros Blemmydes (1197/8—1272 A.D.) describes the group in almost identical terms[8]. We gather

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 157 f. fig. 6 proved that they are Nemesis and the Nemeseis; and P. Perdrizet *loc. cit.* p. 267 suggested the Nemesis of Alexandreia and the Nemeseis of Smyrna (*supra* i. 270 fig. 197, 273). Cp. A. Legrand in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 54 fig. 5300, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 174 no. 3, Lamer *loc. cit.*

[1] On this see Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 21 C (p. 37 f. Bekker) = Anonymos *patria* 2. 36 (p. 170, 4 ff. Preger).

[2] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 322 C (i. 564 Bekker) *καὶ τὸ τὸν χρόνον μιμούμενον ἄγαλμα, ἔργον Λυσίππου, ὄπισθεν μὲν φαλακρόν, ἔμπροσθεν δὲ κομῶν.*

[3] See A. Frickenhaus in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1915 xxx. 127.

[4] Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1511 f.

[5] Tzetz. *chil.* 8. 428 ff., 10. 264 ff.

[6] Tzetz. *chil.* 10. 275 ff.

[7] Tzetz. *epist.* 70 (p. 61 Pressel) *Ἀλεξάνδρῳ ποτὲ τῶν Μακεδόνων τῷ βασιλεῖ παραδραμόντι καιρὸν καὶ μεταμέλου πεῖραν λαβόντι παρὼν ἐκεῖνος ὁ πλάστης ὁ Λύσιππος, Σικυώνιος δ' ἦν ὁ ἀνήρ, θειότατε δέσποτα, ὡς οὔτ' ἀκίνδυνον ἐώρα τὸν βασιλέα ἐλέγχειν, οὔτε μὴν πάντη ἀζήμιον τὸ μὴ τὴν ἐτέρων διαμαρτίαν ἑτέροις ποιεῖσθαι διδάσκαλον, τὴν ἀμφοτέρων κακίαν ἐκπεφευγὼς σοφῶς ἀμφότερα ἔδρασεν. ἐν εἰκόνι καὶ γὰρ τὸν χρόνον ἀγαλματώσας τόν τε βασιλέα τῷ μὴ δοκεῖν ἐλέγχειν κοσμίως ἐξήλεγξε καὶ τῷ κοινῷ τῶν ἀνθρώπων πρακτικὴν τοῦ λοιποῦ τὴν εἰκόνα παραίνεσιν καταλέλοιπεν. ἔχει δὲ οὐτωσὶ τὸ εἰκόνισμα. ἄνθρωπός τις ὁ Χρόνος ἐκείνῳ δεδημιούργηται προκόμιον ἔχων βραχύ, τὰ δ' ἄλλα ὀπισθοφάλακρος καὶ κωφὸς ἱκανῶς, ὡς ἐστιν εἰκάσαι, καὶ γυμνός ἐστιν ὡς διολισθαίνων καὶ ἀναφής· βέβηκε δὲ ἐπὶ σφαίρας εὐδρόμου τινὸς μεταιπτάζων αὐτοῦ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐκείνην ὀξυκινήτως, ὡς ἡ τῶν ποδῶν ὑπαινίττεται πτέρωσις. ἐκείνου δὲ κατόπιν ἕτερος δεδημιούργηται ἄνθρωπος εὐτόνῳ κεχρημένος βαδίσματι, χεῖρά τε ἰδίαν ἐκτείνων, ἐκεῖνον ὡς συλληψόμενος καὶ τοῦτον μετακαλούμενος, ὡς τὸ ἀνεσπασμένον αὐτοῦ τῶν χειλέων δηλοῖ· ὁ δὲ παρέρχεταί τε καὶ οἴχεται καὶ κωφεύων οὐκ ἐπαΐει, μάχαιραν δὲ ὁρέγει πρὸς τὸ κατόπιν ἐπανατείνων τὴν χεῖρα, κατακαρδίους πληγὰς αἰνιττόμενος, αἵπερ ἐγγίνονται τοῖς χρόνου καθυστερίζουσιν. οὕτω πως σοφῶς ὁ Λύσιππος ἐνουθέτησε μὴ καθυστερίζειν καιροῦ, τοιαύτῃ τὸν Χρόνον ἀναστηλώσας γραφῇ, κἂν ἀκαιρηγοροῦντες δοκητίαι τινὲς ἀκρίτως εἶναι βίου ταύτην παραληρῶσιν εἰκόνισμα, μὴ συνιέντες ὡς κ.τ.λ.* Cp. *epist.* 95 (p. 86 Pressel) *κωφὸν· οἷον τὸν παροιχόμενον χρόνον Λύσιππος μὲν ἐζωγράφησε, κ.τ.λ.* with schol. A.B. *ἐζωγράφησε· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἠνδριαντούργησεν· ὁ Λύσιππος γὰρ ἀνδριαντοποιός, οὐ ζωγράφος.*

[8] Nikeph. Blemmyd. *oratio qualem oporteat esse regem* 10 (in A. Mai *Scriptorum veterum nova collectio* Romae 1827 ii. 638) *λέγουσί τινες ὅτι καὶ Λύσιππος ὁ ζωγράφος ἐκεῖνος ὁ Σικυωνίοις (leg. Σικυώνιος) βουληθεὶς ζωγραφῆσαι καὶ ὡς ἐν παραδείγματι δεῖξαι (leg. δεῖξαι)*

that some copy of Lysippos' runner, mounted on a ball, had been amplified by the addition of a second figure portraying the man who has allowed his opportunity to pass by and now pursues it in vain.

Among the wiseacres denounced by Tzetzes must be reckoned his contemporary Theodoros Prodromos (first half of *s.* xii A.D.), who in an extant epigram[1] describes Bios as a naked man, with wheels beneath his feet and wings about his shins, bearing a balance in his hand, and easily escaping from his pursuer, though holding out hopes of return. The poem is well illustrated by a fragmentary relief (fig. 802)[2] let into the pavement under the steps of the ambo in

ὁποίαν ἔχει τὴν φυγὴν ὁ χρόνος ἐποίησε τοῦτον κωφόν, ὀπιστοφάλακρον (*leg.* *ὀπισθοφάλακρον*), *πτερόποδα, καὶ ἐπάνω τοῦ τροχοῦ βεβηκότα, μάχαιραν διδόντα κάτωθεν ἱσταμένῳ τινί· κωφὸν μέν, ὡς πρὸς τοὺς αὐτὸν φωνοῦντας, μηδαμῶς αἰσθανόμενον· φαλακρὸν δὲ τὰ ὄπισθεν, ὡς ἀδυνάτου ὄντος ὄπισθεν διώκοντα τινὰ κρατῆσαι αὐτόν· πῶς δέ τις αὐτὸν παραδραμόντα φθάσαι ἰσχύσειε πτερόποδα ὄντα καὶ ἐπὶ σφαίρας ἱστάμενον; διδόντα δὲ ξίφος, διότι οἱ μήτε δυνάμενοι τῆς κόμης κρατῆσαι μήτε φθάσαι φεύγοντα τιτρώσκονται τῷ βέλει τῆς λύπης ὡς τῆς ζημίας ἐπαισθανόμενοι. Id.* βασιλικὸς ἀνδριὰς 10 (ii. 667 Mai) *Λύσιππος ὅθεν ὁ Σικυώνιος, ὅ τι ποτὲ ἐστιν ὁ χρόνος καλῶς συμβολογραφῶν, κωφὸν αὐτὸν ἠγαλμάτωσεν, ὀπισθοφάλακρον, πτερόποδά τε κἀπὶ σφαίρας βεβηκότα, μάχαιράν τινι πρὸς τὸ κατόπιν ὀρέγοντα, δηλῶν ἐντεῦθεν ὡς οὐκ ἂν ἐπισταφείη καλούμενος, διότι κεκώφευκεν· οὔτε τις αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ ὀπίσω παρακατάσχοι δεδραγμένος τῆς κόμης, τὸ γὰρ ὀπισθόκρανον κατεψίλωτο· πῶς δὲ καὶ ὅλως παραδραμόντα τις καταλήψαιτο, τὴν ὀξυκινησίαν τοσαύτην φέροντα κἀκ τῶν ποδῶν κἀκ τῆς βάσεως; ῥομφαίαν* (*ins.* ἂν) *σπάσαιτο λύπης ὥστε θυμὸν ἀμύσσειν ὁ τῆς ζημίας αἰσθόμενος.*

[1] Theod. Prodr. *εἰς εἰκονισμένον τὸν βίον* (cxxxiii. 1419 A—1420 A Migne)

ἐμὲ τὸν Βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παραινέτην.
ἔτυχες, εὗρες, ἔλαβες, κατέσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;
μὴ πρὸς ῥᾳστώνην ἐκδοθῇς, μὴ πρὸς τρυφὴν χωρήσῃς,
μηδὲ φρονήσῃς ὑψηλὰ καὶ πέρα τοῦ μετρίου.
γυμνόν με βλέπεις· νόησον γυμνόν μου καὶ τὸ τέλος.
ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· φρίττε μὴ κυλισθῶσι.
περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· φεύγω, παρίπταμαί σε.
ζυγὰ κατέχω τῇ χειρί· φοβοῦ τὰς μετακλίσεις.
τί με κρατεῖς; σκιὰν κρατεῖς· πνοὴν κρατεῖς ἀνέμου.
τί με κρατεῖς; καπνὸν κρατεῖς, ὄνειρον, ἔχνος πλοίου.
ἐμὲ τὸν Βίον, ἄνθρωπε, δέξαι σου παραινέτην.
οὐκ ἔτυχες, οὐκ ἔλαβες, οὐκ ἔσχες μου τὰς τρίχας;
μὴ σκυθρωπάσῃς τοῦ λοιποῦ, μηδὲ δυσελπιστήσῃς.
γυμνός εἰμι, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν ἐξολισθήσας τούτων
ἴσως μεταρρυήσομαι πρὸς σὲ καὶ μεταπέσω.
ὑπὸ τοὺς πόδας μου τροχοί· τάχα σοι κυλισθῶσι.
περὶ τὰς κνήμας μου πτερά· τρέχω, προσίπταμαί σοι.
ζυγὰ κατέχω· τάχα σοι τὴν πλάστιγγα χαλάσω.
μὴ τοίνυν ἀποπροσποιοῦ τὰς ἀγαθὰς ἐλπίδας.

There is a line lost from the second of the two stanzas, which were clearly meant to correspond.

[2] O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1853 pp. 49—59 pl. 4, E. Curtius 'Die Darstellungen des Kairos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 6 f. pl. 1, 2, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 752 no. 1899, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 772 fig. 824, B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 900 fig., F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 787 f. fig. 4252, A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 ff. fig. 4, O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 158 f. fig. 91, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 422 no. 3.

A further fragment of the relief, found by the architect R. Cattaneo in a mason's shop at Venice, was published by him in the drawing here reproduced (R. Cattaneo *L'architettura*

the Duomo at Torcello near Venice. The relief, which may be dated *c.* 1100 A.D., represents Bios as a half-naked youth hastening on winged wheels from right to left. His left hand, stretched forward, carries the scales; his right, drawn backward, brandishes a knife. In front of him stands a young man, who succeeds in grasping his hair. Behind him stands an old man, who fails in the attempt. To

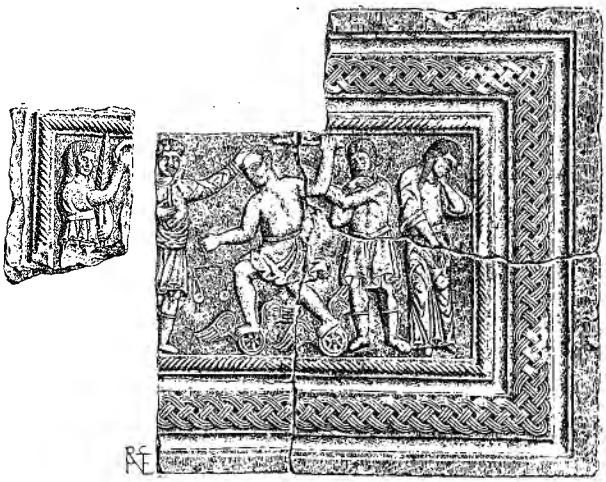


Fig. 802.

the left of the former is Nike with wreath and palm; to the right of the latter is Metanoia in an attitude of despair. Less elaborate is the symbolism of a later epigram on the same subject by Manuel Philes (*c.* 1275—*c.* 1345), who speaks of life (*bios*) as a nude youth, with bald head and winged feet, admonishing a frustrated follower[1].

in Italia dal secolo VI al mille circa Venezia 1888 p. 287 fig., trans. Contessa I. Curtis-Cholmeley in Bermani London 1896 p. 334 ff. fig. 165=my fig. 802) and by A. Muñoz from a photograph (A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1906 ix. 214 f. fig. 2). The completed design is discussed by R. von Schneider 'Ueber das Kairosrelief in Torcello und ihm verwandte Bildwerke' in the *Serta Harteliana* Wien 1896 pp. 279—292 with figs., P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1912 xxxvi. 264 ff. fig. 2, Lamer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1513 f.

R. Cattaneo *loc. cit.* was the first to assign this relief to its right place among the decorative sculptures of *s.* x and *s.* xi A.D. A. Muñoz *locc. citt.* first showed that the central figure was that of Bios.

[1] Philes *carm.* 67 (i. 32 Miller) *εἰς μειράκιον γυμνόν, εἰκόνα φέρον τοῦ βίου*

φεύγω, πτερωτός εἰμι· τί λαβεῖν θέλεις;
τὰς τρίχας; ἀλλ' ἔρρευσαν. ἀλλὰ τοὺς πόδας;
καὶ πῶς πτερωτοὺς εὑρεθέντας ἂν λάβοις;
τὸ σῶμα; γύμνόν ἐστι· τί σπεύδεις μάτην;

Yet another turn of the kaleidoscope, and this shifting personality puts on, if not a fresh form, at least a new colouring. Bios the naked runner on winged wheels, who has hitherto, in accordance with pagan thought, been represented as a good thing eagerly pursued by mankind, is now, within the pale of the medieval Church, viewed as a bad thing itself in hot pursuit of men. A Vatican manuscript of the *Ladder of Paradise* by Saint John Klimax[1], written about the close of *s.* xi A.D., has two relevant miniatures. In the one[2] Bios, a naked youth on wheels, makes after a monk, who bearing a small basket on his shoulder and looking behind him in terror does his best to escape, under the escort of a woman in blue and violet dress called *Aprospátheia*, 'Indifference to the World.' In the

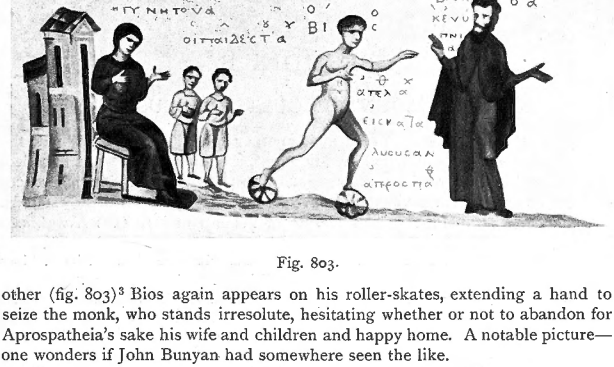


Fig. 803.

other (fig. 803)[3] Bios again appears on his roller-skates, extending a hand to seize the monk, who stands irresolute, hesitating whether or not to abandon for Aprospatheia's sake his wife and children and happy home. A notable picture—one wonders if John Bunyan had somewhere seen the like.

We have traced the career of Kairos *alias* Chronos *alias* Bios for close upon eighteen centuries. It is possible that further investigation might find him with us still, 'offering' as of old 'naught but a knife to his follower.' 'It would be interesting to know,' says Prof. E. A. Gardner[4], 'whether the scythe of Time is the ultimate development of this same symbol, and his hour-glass of the balance.'

> *ἄνθρωπε ταλαίπωρε, λῆξον τοῦ δρόμου,*
> *μὴ κατενεχθῆς τῷ δοκεῖν τι λαμβάνειν.*
> *σκιὰ γάρ εἰμι, κἂν δοκῶ τέως μένειν.*
> *ἀφίπταμαί σου καὶ πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐκτρέχω,*
> *καὶ γίνομαι ῥοῦς ἂν συνέξῃς δακτύλοις.*

Another MS. of Philes (cod. Paris.) has the *lemma εἰς τὸν βίον μειράκιον ἐζωγραφημένον*, whence A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 131 n. 2 justly concludes that the poem alludes to some work of art.

[1] *Supra* p. 134 f. The MS. is cod. Vat. Gr. 394.

[2] A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 with fig. 2. The three characters are inscribed *ὁ βίος*, *ὁ μοναχός*, and *ἡ ἀπροσπάθεια*, above whose name is written *ἡ φυγὴ κόσμου*.

[3] A. Muñoz in *L'Arte* 1904 vii. 132 with fig. 3 (part of which = my fig. 803). The inscriptions are *ἡ γυνὴ τοῦ μοναχοῦ*, *οἱ παῖδες τοῦ μοναχοῦ*, *ὁ βίος*, *ὁ μοναχός*, and in the field *ἄπελθε μοναχὲ εἰς καταλύουσαν ἀπροσπάθειαν* and *ὁ δὲ βίος σκιὰ καὶ ἐνύπνια*.

[4] E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 411 n. 1.

The scythe of Time[1] should, I think, rather be derived from the scythe of Death, who was often conceived as a reaper or mower[2] and in folk-celebrations of Mid-Lent was sometimes represented by a straw puppet with a scythe in his hand[3]. The hour-glass of Time likewise copies the hour-glass of Death so frequently figured in the *Danse Macabre*[4] of the Middle Ages. But Time himself is presumably the lineal descendant of the Byzantine Chronos or Bios. And it may well be that the knife, if not the balance, of Bios was modified to suit the popular effigy of Death. After all, the Church's idea of Life has often borne a suspicious resemblance to the world's idea of Death. *τίς δ' οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μέν ἐστι κατθανεῖν, | τὸ κατθανεῖν δὲ ζῆν κάτω νομίζεται*[5]*;*

If the main lines of the pedigree are as I have supposed, a further point may be descried. As at the first the razor of Kairos, so at the last the scythe of Time, was a symbol drawn from ritual usage. Such symbols live longest.

APPENDIX B.

THE MOUNTAIN-CULTS OF ZEUS.

Since the mountain-cults of Zeus have not, even in Germany, been made the subject of separate and detailed investigation[6], it seemed worth while to collect the evidence both literary and monumental bearing upon them. The inferences that can be drawn from the evidence have for the most part been already stated[7].

The Greeks worshipped Zeus *Óreios* 'of the Mountain[8],' Zeus *Koryphaîos*

[1] Ancient, medieval, and modern representations of Time are discussed by F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 i. 2. 389—409.

[2] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 848, 1888 iv. 1558, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*[5] Bonn 1878 p. 479.

[3] J. Grimm *op. cit.* 1883 ii. 772, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 155 f., 412, 418, 421, cp. 420, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 247.

[4] On the various forms of the *Danse Macabre* see F. Douce *The Dance of Death* London 1833 with 54 pls., E. H. Langlois *Essai historique, philosophique et pittoresque sur les Danses des morts* Rouen 1852 in 2 vols. with 54 pls. and many figs., J. G. Kastner *Les Danses des morts* Paris 1852 with 20 pls. Bibliography in H. F. Massmann *Literatur der Todtentänze* Leipzig 1840 and E. Vinet *Bibliographie méthodique et raisonnée des beaux-arts* Paris 1874 pp. 116—121.

[5] Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nauck[2]. See further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1477, *infra* Append. N *init.*

[6] R. Beer *Heilige Höhen der alten Griechen und Römer* Wien 1891 pp. x, 86, written as a supplement to F. v. Andrian *Der Höhencultus asiatischer und europäischer Völker* Wien 1891, is a slight and disappointing book. C. Albers *De diis in locis editis cultis apud Graecos* Zutphaniae 1901 pp. 1—92 is likewise quite inadequate (see Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 115, 316). The lists given by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 169 ff., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 116 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 50 ff., 152 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1103 f., though useful, are incomplete.

[7] *Supra* i. 117 ff. *et passim.*

[8] Zeus Ὄρειος. E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 396 f. recorded two identical inscriptions on blocks of gritstone formerly used for the lintel of the church-door at *Halalieh*: *ἔτους ζγϛ', μηνὸς Ἀπελλαίου ιε', Θρεπτίων (Ν)είκωνος τοῦ Σωσίππου τοὺς δύο | λέοντας Διὶ Ὀρείῳ, κατ' ὄναρ, ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων, εὐσεβῶν ἀνέθηκεν.* The year 257 in the Seleucid era would be 55 B.C., in that of Antioch 209 A.D., in that of Sidon 147 A.D. Renan held

'of the Peak[1],' Zeus *Aktaîos* 'of the Point[2],' Zeus *Akraîos* 'of the Summit[3],'

that the last date agrees best with the lettering. He pointed out that a little lion in white stone, found in 1863 at the foot of the hill on which the church stands, may well have been one of the two lions here mentioned. G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 57 notes that 'the lion, as an inhabitant of the mountain rather than the plain, is naturally sacred to the mountain deity' [cp. 2 Kings 17. 25 f.], in this case to the Mountain Baal, Hellenised as Zeus Ὄρειος, whose consort Astarte (?) rides a lion on coppers of Sidon struck by Severus Alexander (G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxiii n. 6, 198 pl. 25, 8).

Zeus Ὀρομπάτας. E. Sittig in *Hermes* 1915 l. 158 f. publishes a dedication on a block of dark limestone at Amathous in Kypros: Κυπρ////////// | Πολυξένου: Αἰνιᾶν[ος θυ]γάτηρ: Εὐβιότα | Παναίτιον Πολυξένου Αἰνιᾶνα, | Διὸς Ὀρομπάτα ἱερέα, τὸν αὐτῆς ἄνδρα, | αὐτὴ καὶ τὰ παιδία. The lettering suggests *s.* iii B.C.; and Sittig regards Ὀρο-μπάτας as = ὀρειβάτης ('Offenbar neigte das Kyprische dazu, *β* spirantisch zu sprechen; da in dem Dialekte der Ainianen *β* Verschlusslaut blieb, vollends in einem sakralen Worte, so half man sich bei der Schreibung so, dass man ΜΠ statt des B setzte, mit dem die Eingeborenen einen anderen Lautwert verbanden'). This is ingenious; but, apart from the fact that *μπ* for *β* is unexampled at so early a date, ὀρειβάτης is an epithet which suits Pan (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 226. 1 (Alkaios of Messene)) rather than Zeus. I suspect that Zeus Ὀρομπάτας was a god of streams worshipped by the Ainianes. We hear of Ainianes as settled in Kirrha the harbour of Delphoi (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 13 and 26), and of ὀρεμπότης as a Delphic term for 'river' (Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 24 ἀπέπαυσε δὲ τὴν Πυθίαν ὁ θεὸς πυρικάους μὲν ὀνομάζουσαν τοὺς αὐτῆς πολίτας, ὀφιοβόρους δὲ τοὺς Σπαρτιάτας, ὀρεᾶνας δὲ τοὺς ἄνδρας, ὀρεμπότας δὲ τοὺς ποταμούς). On this showing Zeus Ὀρομπάτας resembled his neighbour Zeus Νάιος, a god 'of Streaming Water' (*supra* i. 369). The head of Zeus on coins of the Ainianes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 10 ff. pl. 2, 1, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 292), which in the case of coppers struck *c.* 168—146 B.C. often has a thunderbolt in the field (so on two specimens in my collection), may be that of Zeus Ὀρομπάτας.

[1] Zeus Κορυφαῖος. Seleukeia Pieria, at the foot of Mt Koryphaion (Polyb. 5. 59. 4), had a priest of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4458, 3 f., 3 ff., = Dittenherger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 245, 3 f. Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου | καὶ Διὸς Κορυφαίου, 27 ff. Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου [καὶ] | τῶν θεῶν τῶν | Σωτήρ[ων] καὶ Διὸς | Κ[ορυφ]αίου, cp. Liban. *legat. ad Iulian.* 79 (ii. 152, 10 f. Foerster) τὸν Δία τὸν τε ἐπὶ τῆς κορυφῆς καὶ τὸν ἐν ἄστει, παρ' ὃν εἰσῆλθες ὕπατος, ὅθεν ἐξῆλθες θαρρῶν, ᾧ γέγονας ὀφειλέτης). Philadelpheia in Lydia, at the base of Mt Tmolos, also had a cult of Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*supra* p. 285 n. 0 no. (3) and Addenda *ad loc.*), whose head is seen on an imperial bronze coin of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 190 pl. 21, 9 = my fig. 804 (from a cast), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 655). The title has a variety of meanings in Paus. 2. 4. 5 (Corinth) ὑπὲρ δὲ τὸ θέατρόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν Διὸς Καπετωλίου φωνῇ τῇ Ῥωμαίων· κατὰ Ἑλλάδα δὲ γλῶσσαν Κορυφαῖος ὀνομάζιοτο ἄν, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf) οὗτος βασιλεύς, πολιεύς, καταιβάτης, ὑέτιος, οὐράνιος, κορυφαῖος, πάνθ' ὅσα αὐτὸς εὗρε μεγάλα καὶ ἑαυτῷ πρέποντα ὀνόματα, Max. Tyr. *diss.* 41. 2 Dübner τὸν Δία...τὸν κορυφαῖον τῆς τῶν ἄστρων περιφορᾶς καὶ διηγήσεως καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμου, cp. Ioul. *or.* 7. 230 D ἀγαγὼν δὲ αὐτὸν ἐπί τι μέγα καὶ ὑψηλὸν ὄρος, Ἐπὶ τούτου, ἔφη, τῆς κορυφῆς ὁ πατὴρ πάντων κάθηται τῶν θεῶν, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59 (Minerva) quarta Iove nata et Coryphe, Oceani filia, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 1 f. Stählin (*supra* i. 155 n. 10, to which add Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 and 16), Orph. *h. Poseid.* 17 b. 3 (Poseidon) ὃς ναίεις κορυφαῖος ἐπ' Οὐλύμποιο καρήνων, Paus. 2. 28. 2 ἐπὶ δὲ τῇ ἄκρᾳ τοῦ ὄρους (*sc.* of Mt Koryphon near Epidauros) Κορυφαίας ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἀρτέμιδος, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κορυφαῖον· ὄρος ἐπὶ τῷ Ἐπιδαυρίῳ, ἐν ᾧ τιμᾶται Ἄρτεμις Κορυφαία.

Fig. 804.

[2] Zeus Ἀκταῖος. Dikaiarch. 2. 8 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 107 Müller) ἐπ' ἄκρας δὲ τῆς τοῦ ὄρους (*sc.* of Mt Pelion) κορυφῆς σπηλαῖόν ἐστι τὸ καλούμενον Χειρώνιον, καὶ Διὸς Ἀκταίου

[3 For note 3 see p. 871.]

(F. Osann, followed by C. Müller, cj. *Ἀκραίου) ἱερόν, ἐφ' ὃ κατὰ κυνὸς ἀνατολὴν κατὰ τὸ ἀκμαιότατον καῦμα ἀναβαίνουσι τῶν πολιτῶν οἱ ἐπιφανέστατοι καὶ ταῖς ἡλικίαις ἀκμάζοντες, ἐπιλεχθέντες ἐπὶ τοῦ ἱερέως, ἐνεζωσμένοι κώδια τρίποκα καινά· τοιοῦτον συμβαίνει ἐπὶ τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ψῦχος εἶναι.* On this passage see *supra* i. 420 f. The sanctuary of Zeus *Ἀκταῖος* has been located and partially explored by A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ.* 1911 pp. 305—312 fig. 5 (=my fig. 805). The discoveries there described may be here summarised (brief notice also in *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 109):

The highest peak of Pelion (1635^{m}), now called *Plissídi* or *Pliassídi*, has been repeatedly ransacked by treasure-seekers, some of whom coming from *Drákeia* are said to have been devoured by wolves. The rocky eastern side of the summit shows traces of ancient hewn habitations, like those of Demetrias, Pagasai, Phthiotic Thebes, etc., with holes for roof-timbers and coarse tiles perhaps manufactured on the spot. These dwellings are called by the shepherds *Skoleió*, because they resemble the benches in a school.

Close by is a ruined gate of hewn stone (E) with two towers (Π, Π), continued as a wall some 3^{m} thick, which forms a large elliptical precinct and probably had another gate on the south, though most of the stones have here disappeared. The wall and towers may date from *s.* v B.C. Adjoining this precinct, on the south-east, is another, of whose

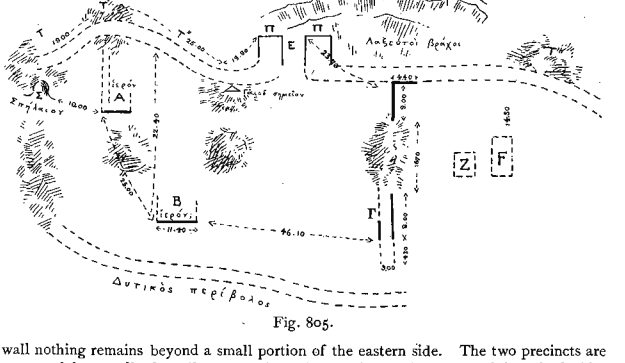


Fig. 805.

wall nothing remains beyond a small portion of the eastern side. The two precincts are separated by a wall of small stones (Γ), again 3^{m} thick, which was roofed on both sides so as to make a *stoá* for the sale of commodities during festival seasons.

At the north-west end of the large precinct is a steep rock-face, in which is the mouth of a cave (Σ), 2^{m} across, blocked with stones by the natives in recent times. The walls of the cave appear to have been hewn. Near it are traces of a building (A), which seems to have been of apsidal or horse-shoe shape, like the temple of Athena *Poliás* at Gonnoi (Arvanitopoullos *loc. cit.* p. 316 fig. 6), and was presumably the temple of the divinity worshipped in the cave. Further west was the quadrilateral temple (B) of another related deity: this was on a larger scale, one side partly excavated reaching a length of 11·40^{m} with a wall 0·55^{m} thick. Both buildings were carefully constructed of clay, the roofs being supported on trunks of trees. Numerous red tiles and black cover-tiles remain. Miscellaneous finds in this area include small cups of *s.* v—iv B.C., a copper coin of Chalkis of *s.* iv, butts and blades of iron lances, a flat unpainted idol like those of island make, three fragments of votive marble *stêlai*, six *amphorae* buried full of embers and ashes. In the gateway (E) was a fragmentary *stêle* of hard white limestone inscribed in lettering of *s.* iv B.C. *[οἱ δεῖνες ἀνέθηκ]αν Μ[ούσ(?)]αις.*

Inside the second precinct are two buildings (F and Z). Of these one (F) is a rect-

angular structure, built of large hewn blocks, with many roof-tiles. It stands on a slight elevation and, as the finest building on the site, is probably to be identified with the temple of Zeus Ἀκραῖος. Its position outside the large precinct is curious [and may imply that Zeus was a later comer than the deity worshipped in the cave—Cheiron son of Kronos and Philyra (?) A. B. C.]. Arvanitopoullos was unable to complete the excavation of this temple, because at midnight on Aug. 15, 1911, a storm burst on the summit of the mountain, inundated his tent, and forced him to beat a retreat. The small neighbouring structure (Z) was left wholly unexcavated.

[3] Zeus Ἀκραῖος. (1) The cult of Zeus Ἀκραῖος on Mt Pelion is attested by an inscription found near *Bupha* on the Gulf of Pagasai and now in the Museum at *Volo* (J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 82, 1 ff. = O. Kern in the *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1110, 1 ff. [---- παριστάναι τὰ θύμα]τα λευκὰ ὁλόκληρα [κα][θαρὰ ἃ δεῖ θύ]εσθαι τῶι θεῶι καὶ τὰ ἄλλα τὰ ἐθιζόμενα καθὼς [καὶ] | [πρὶν ἐ]γίνετο, τὰς δὲ τούτων δορὰς πωλεῖσθαι ἀπὸ τοῦ [νῦν χρό][νου κα]τ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ κήρυκα τῆι ἕκτηι ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Ἀρτεμισι[ῶνος μη][νὸς πρὸ τῆς ἐκκλησίας γινομένης ἐννόμου ἀπὸ τοῦ -----|ρίου ὑπὸ τῶν προγεγραμμένων ἀρχόντων, συμπαρόντων καὶ τοῦ ἱερέως τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου καὶ τῶν ἐξεταστῶν, καὶ τὸ ἐκ τούτων | γενόμενον διάφ[ορον ἱερὸν εἶναι] τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου . . . . . |νου τὰς ἀγορὰς ------ αμα τῶι θεῶι συναχθείσηι | --- κ.τ.λ. (eight lines badly mutilated)) : on this see *supra* i. 421 f. In *s.* ii B.C. the priest of Zeus Ἀκραῖος was a personage of importance, who proposed decrees along with the chief magistrates of the Magnetes (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 307, 7 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1103, 7 f. Ἀδαῖος Ἀδύμο[υ] ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ [Ἀ]κραίου, *ib.* iii. 2 no. 1105, 11, 6 f. Θηβαγένης Ἀπολλωνίου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ | Ἀκραίου, Michel *op. cit.* no. 309, 6 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1108, 6 [Αὐ]σίας Ἐπιτέλου ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου). About 100 B.C. the priest of Zeus Ἀκραῖος was eponymous magistrate of the Magnetes, and those who were charged with the up-keep of the oracle of Apollon Κοροπαῖος took oath by Zeus Ἀκραῖος, Apollon Κοροπαῖος, and Artemis Ἰωλκία (Michel *op. cit.* no. 842 *A*, 1 ff., *B*, 5 ff., 21 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1157, 1 *a*, 1 ff., 1 *bc*, 54 ff., 1 *d*, 70 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1109, 1, 1 ff. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, μηνὸς Ἀρείου δεκάτηι, | Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὁμολιεὺς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραί[ου κ.τ.λ., 54 ff. (cited *supra* p. 730 n. 0 *sub fin.*), 11, 70 f. ἱερέως Κρίνωνος τοῦ Παρμενίωνος, μηνὸς Ἀρτεμισιῶνος δεκάτηι, | Κρίνων Παρμενίωνος Ὁμολιεὺς ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἀκραίου κ.τ.λ.). Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1128, 1 ff. Αὐρ. Τειμασίθεος | Κενταύριος ὁ ἱερ[εὺς τῷ Ἀκραίῳ Δι[ί].

(2) On the Pindos range between Thessaly and Epeiros there was a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀκραῖος (Liv. 38. 2 templum Iovis Acraei), whose figure seated on a rock or throne appears on coins of Gomphoi or Philippopolis (*supra* i. 124 figs. 90—92).

(3) At Trapezous in Arkadia, heneath Mt Lykaion, sacrifices were offered to Zeus Ἀκραῖος (Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 39 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 377 Müller) ταχὺ δὲ καὶ τοὺς υἱεῖς (*sc.* Κρεσφόντου) ἤθελον (*sc.* οἱ ἐγχώριοι ἀποκτεῖναι), οὓς τότε ὁ μητροπάτωρ (*sc.* Κύψελος) ἅμα τῇ θυγατρὶ κυούσῃ θύειν μέλλων Διὶ Ἀκραίῳ εἰς Τραπεζοῦντα μετεπέμψατο).

(4) At Praisos in eastern Crete, where there was a temple of Zeus Δικταῖος (*supra* i. 660), the god seems to have borne the second appellative Ἀκραῖος. He appears on silver

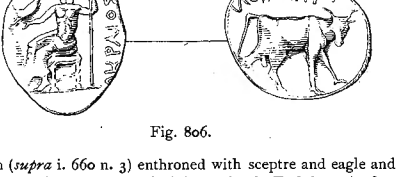


Fig. 806.

coins of the town (*supra* i. 660 n. 3) enthroned with sceptre and eagle and accompanied by the title ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ (first correctly deciphered by C. T. Seltman) : fig. 806 is from a

specimen in my collection. Since the coins in question go back to a date *c.* 400 B.C., this is the earliest known example of ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ as a numismatic legend.

(5) At Halikarnassos Aphrodite, who shared a temple with Hermes on high ground beside the spring Salmakis (Vitr. 2. 8. 11), probably bore the title Ἀκραία, since the Halicarnassians are known to have built a temple of Aphrodite Ἀκραία beneath the *akrópolis* of their mother-city Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 6). Zeus too was worshipped at Halikarnassos under the same title (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 501 Διονύσιος | Διὶ Ἀκραίωι εὐχή[ν]). T. Bergk *Exercitationum criticarum specimen VI* Marburgi 1850 p. vi (=*id. Kleine philologische Schriften* ed. R. Peppmüller Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 297), K. Keil in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 454, and G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1193, would read Ἀκραίῳ for Ἀσκραίῳ in Apollon. *hist. mir.* 13 ἐν τῷ κατὰ τόπους μυθικῷ· ἐν Ἁλικαρνασσῷ θυσίας τινὸς τῷ Διὶ τῷ Ἀσκραίῳ συντελουμένης ἀγέλην αἰγῶν ἄγεσθαι πρὸ τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ ἱστασθαι· τῶν δὲ κατευχῶν συντελεσθεισῶν προβαίνειν μίαν αἶγα ὑπὸ μηδενὸς ἀγομένην καὶ προσέρχεσθαι τῷ βωμῷ, τὸν δὲ ἱερέα λαβόμενον αὐτῆς καλλιερεῖν. But I have argued in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 415 f. that Zeus Ἀσκραῖος, to whom the Lydians brought their first-fruits (Plout. *animine an corporis affectiones sint peiores* 4 οὗτοι συνελθόντασι...οὐκ

Fig. 807.

Fig. 808.

Fig. 809.

Fig. 810.

Fig. 811.

Ἀσκραίῳ Διὶ Λυδίων καρπῶν ἀπαρχὰς φέροντες), had a cult in Halikarnassos also; that he was an oak-Zeus (Hesych. ἄσκρα· δρῦς ἄκαρπος, cp. O. Schrader *Prehistoric Antiquities of the Aryan Peoples* trans. F. B. Jevons London 1890 p. 226, Prellwitz *Etym. Worterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 59, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 90); and that he is to be seen on imperial coppers of the town as a bearded god crowned with rays and standing between two oak-trees, on each of which is a bird (raven? dove?) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 110 no. 83 pl. 19, 2 (=my fig. 807) Trajan, no. 85 (=my fig. 808) Antoninus Pius, p. 111 no. 88 (=my fig. 810) Septimius Severus, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 64 (=my fig. 809) Commodus, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 210 f. Münztaf. 3, 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 619 fig. 305. Fig. 811 Gordianus Pius is from a specimen in my collection). It is of course possible that Ἀκραῖος was a second appellative of Zeus Ἀσκραῖος (cp. *supra* no. (4)).

(6) W. R. Paton in the *Class. Rev.* 1907 xxi. 47 f. publishes an inscription, in lettering of about *s.* i B.C. or *s.* i A.D., found at Myndos: [Πο]σίδεος Κλεωνύμου καθ' ὑοθεσία[ν] | [δὲ] Ποσιδέου καὶ ἡ γυνὴ Ἡδεῖα Ἀπολλωνίδου | [καὶ] οἱ υἱοὶ Κλεώνυμος καὶ Ἀπολλωνίδης | [Ἀλ]ικαρνασσεῖς Διὶ Ἀκραίῳ. Paton proposes Ἀκραίῳ for Ἀσκραίῳ, not only in Apollon.

Zeus *Epákrios* 'on the Summit[1],' Zeus *Karaiós* 'of the Head[2],' Zeus *Lopheítes* *loc. cit.*, but also in Plout. *loc. cit.* Both passages were emended in the same manner 224 years before by G. Cuper *Apotheosis vel consecratio Homeri* Amstelodami 1683 p. 16.

(7) Imperial coppers of Magnesia ad Maeandrum show Zeus 'Ακραῖος as a nude standing figure, with right hand supported on sceptre, left holding thunderbolt (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 120 no. 312 ΑΚΡΑΙΟC ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩΝ Geta, *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 79 no. 27 ΜΑΓΝΗΤΩ Ν ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟC Antoninus Pius).

(8) At Smyrna Ulpius Traianus, father of the emperor Trajan, brought an aqueduct to the precinct of Zeus 'Ακραῖος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3146, 1 ff. *ἐκ τοῦ εἰσαχθέντος | ὕδατος ἐπὶ τὸν Δία τὸν | 'Ακραῖον ἐπὶ Οὐλπίου | Τραϊανοῦ τοῦ ἀνθυπάτου,* | *κ.τ.λ.*). *Quasi*-autonomous and imperial coppers show the god's head, usually inscribed ΖΕΥC ΑΚΡΑΙΟC or ΖΕVC ΑΚΡΑΙΟC or ΖΕVC ΑΚΡΑΙΟC (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 253 ff. pl. 27, 1, 2, 5, 6, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 368 ff. pl. 52, 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 594.

Fig. 812.

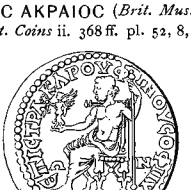


Fig. 813.

Fig. 814.

Fig. 812 is from a specimen of mine), or seated figure holding Nike and sceptre, sometimes inscribed ΑΚΡΑΙΟC or ΑΚΡΑΙΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia pp. 250 pl. 26, 8, 266, 272 pl. 28, 15, 287 pl. 29, 12 (=my fig. 813), 297, 302 pl. 39, 5, 307 pl. 39, 11 (=*supra* p. 319 fig. 201), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 378 no. 202, 379 no. 203, 389 pl. 52, 18, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 594).

(9) At Temnos in Aiolis, on a hill above the Hermos, *quasi*-autonomous coppers of *s.* iii A.D. bear the bust of Zeus 'Ακραῖος, inscribed ΣΕVC ΑΚΡΑΙΟ C (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 145 no. 22, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 311 no. 7, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 557. Fig. 814 is from a specimen of mine).

(10) L. Holstein on Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μυτιλήνη (ed. Lipsiae 1825 ii. 457) says: 'In Cimeliarchio Mediceo nummus habetur, in cuius uno latere circum Iovem, Neptunum et Plutonem: ΘΕΟΙ ΑΚΡΑΙΟΙ ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑΙΩΝ. in averso circum caput Iovis: ΖΕΥC ΒΟΥΛΑΙΟC. quinam sint Θεοὶ ἀκραῖοι...docet Pollux lib. IX. cap. 5. his verbis: *Τὰ δὲ δημόσια, ἀκρόπολις· ἣν καὶ ἄκρον ἂν εἴποις καὶ πόλιν· καὶ τοὺς ἐν αὐτῇ θεούς, ἀκραίους καὶ πολιεῖς.*' This coin, cited by numismatists from Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 504 to Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 488 inclusive, has disappeared from Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 562 f.

(11) At Akrai (*Palazzolo*) in Sicily the Museum of Baron Judica had a base inscribed ΔΙΟΣ | [ ]ΡΑΙΟΥ. J. Schubring in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* Suppl. 1867 iv. 672 fig. 2 supplies ['Αγο]*ραίου*. But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 203 with greater probability cj. ['Ακ]*ραίου*.

See further Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* (20) *ἀκραίου*, Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 f. *ἴζεο δ' αὐτὸς | ἄκρης ἐν πολίεσσιν*, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 6 (i. 7 Dindorf) *τὰς ἀκροπόλεις ἐξεῖλον Διί, κ.τ.λ.*

[1] Zeus *Ἐπάκριος*. Polyzelos *Μουσῶν γονὰ frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 869 f. Meineke) *ap. et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. *Ἐπάκριος Ζεύς· ἐπ' ἄκρας γὰρ τῶν ὀρῶν ἱδρύοντο βωμοὺς τῷ Διί, οἷον τοῦ Τμηττίου, τοῦ Παρνηθίου. Πολύζηλος Μουσῶν γοναῖς· "ἱερὸν γὰρ ὄν* (A. Meineke cj. *ἱερεὺς γὰρ ὤν*, cp. Metagenes *Αὖραι frag.* 4 Meineke *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 873) *τετύχηκας Ἐπακρίου Διός."* So Hesych. *s.v.* *Ἐπάκριος· Ζεύς. ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἄκρων τῶν ὀρῶν*

[2] For note 2 see p. 874.]

'of the Crest[1].' These titles, and perhaps certain others[2], proclaim him to be a

ἱδρυμένος. ἐπὶ γὰρ τῶν ὀρῶν τοὺς βωμοὺς αὐτῷ ἵδρυον ὡς ἐπιπολύ, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1747, 59 *ὅθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἐπάκριος, ᾧ ἐπ' ἄκρων ὀρέων ἱδρύοντο βωμοί*. E. Ziebarth in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1900 lv. 502 f. published an inscription from Athens, in which certain *ὀργεῶνες* let on lease (?) [*τὸ ἱερὸν τ*]*οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐπα*[*κρίου*]. But the reading of the appellative is doubtful: ΕΠ / are the only surviving letters.

[2] Zeus Καραιός. Hesych. *s.v.* Καραιός· Ζεὺς παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς οὕτω προσαγορεύεται· ὡς μέν τινές φασι διὰ τὸ ὑψηλὸς εἶναι, ἀπὸ τοῦ κάρα, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3208 on a small unfluted column at Orchomenos in Boiotia [*Διὶ*] Καραιοῖ | [· · · · · · · · ἀρχ]οντος Κλωνίω (W. Dittenberger *ad loc.* says: 'Vocem ἄρχοντος (aut ἱαραρχίοντος, ἱαρατεύοντος) mediam sumpsi interpositam fuisse inter nomen proprium et adiectivum patronymicum. Sed id quoque fieri potest, ut [*Αἰ*]*οντος*, [*Σπένδ*]*οντος* aut aliud simile nomen proprium fuerit'). Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 6 draws attention to the proper names derived from this appellative: Καραιόγειτος (Thespiai), Καραΐς (Anthedon), Καράϊχος (Lebadeia, Orchomenos), Καραῖων (Orchomenos). E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 13 extends the list, adding Καραῖος (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 1045, 5 (Athens), *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 729, 16 (Hermione), F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 235 f. no. 4942 *a*, 10 (Aptara in Crete)). The title suits a mountain-god, cp. *Il.* 20. 5 *κρατὸς ἀπ'* Οὐλύμποιο, 1. 44 *κατ'* Οὐλύμποιο *καρήνων* (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1193, 9 f., Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 95, 22 ff. Bekker), *alib.* On Kratinos *Nemesis frag.* 10 see *supra* i. 280 n. 4. Phot. *lex.* Κάριος Ζεύς· ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ καὶ Βοιωτίᾳ refers more probably to the Carian Zeus (*supra* p. 577), cp. the Boeotian name Καρίων (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2787, 5 Kopai, 2974 Koroneia).

Zeus Κλάριος (Aisch. *suppl.* 359 f. ἵδοιτο δῆτ' ἄνατον φυγὰν | *ἱκεσία Θέμις* Διὸς Κλαρίου, Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. τὸ δὲ χωρίον τὸ ὑψηλόν, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ βωμοὶ Τεγεάταις εἰσὶν οἱ πολλοί, καλεῖται μὲν Διὸς Κλαρίου (*καρίου* codd. Vb. M.), *δῆλα δὲ ὡς ἐγένετο ἡ ἐπίκλησις τῷ θεῷ τοῦ κλήρου τῶν παίδων ἕνεκα τῶν* Ἡρκάδος. *ἄγουσι δὲ ἑορτὴν αὐτόθι Τεγεᾶται κατὰ ἔτος· κ.τ.λ.*). Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 56, 71 takes Κλάριος to mean 'he who sanctified the original allotment of land,' 'the god of allotments' (*κλῆροι*) (so already Paus. *loc. cit.* and schol. Aisch. *loc. cit. παντάπασι* (H. Weil corr. *πάντα πᾶσι*) *κληροῦντος καὶ κραίνοντος*). W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 666 cite Hesych. *κλάρες· αἱ ἐπὶ ἐδάφου(ς) ἐσχάραι*, which might be held to justify Κλάριος = *ἐφέστιος* (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1212). But F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 157 f., observing that the Tegeate tribe Κλαρεῶτις (Paus. 8. 53. 6: Schwedler cj. Κλαριῶτις) had tribesmen Κραριῶται (F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231, 357 ff. no. 1247), and that the names of the three other tribes Ἱπποθοῖτις, Ἀπολλωνιᾶτις, Ἀθανεᾶτις are all derived from deities, contends that Zeus Κλάριος is for Zeus *Κράριος, 'ein "höchster Zeus" oder ein "Zeus der Bergeshöhe."' His view is accepted by Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 552 and may well be right.

Zeus Κλάριος of Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 444 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Κλαρίου μαντεῖον εἶναι *αὐτόθι* (*sc.* at Κλάρος near Kolophon) must not be confounded with Zeus Κλάριος.

[1] Zeus Λοφείτης. A cult of this deity at Perinthos (later known as Herakleia) on the Propontis is evidenced by the following inscriptions: (1) on the back of a rectangular marble altar, between *Rodosto* and *Eregli* (Perinthos), in letters of *s.* ii A.D. Διὶ Λοφείτῃ Ε[ὐ(?)]*δίων* Φιλλόδ[ου] | *ἱερεὺς νέοις* λυ|· · ·*ρίοις δῶρον* (E. Kalinka in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1896 xix. 67 f., F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 565. Kalinka suggests that the altar was a gift to a corporation of *νέοι αὐράριοι*). (2) From Perinthos: Διὶ Λοφείτῃ | *ὑπὲρ* Οὐα(τ)ει|νίου Καλλιμά|χου οἱ φίλοι καὶ | οἰκιακοὶ *εὐχήν* (A. Baumeister in *Philologus* 1854 ix. 392 f. no. 15, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 565, *id. ib.* 1908 xxxiii. 161 f. Baumeister wrongly supposed that this inscription had come from Herakleia, the small island off the coast of Naxos). (3) From Perinthos: gable with garland, beneath which [Διὶ] Λοφείτ(ῃ)ι καὶ | [συ]ναγωγῆι ⁻NA | · · ων *νέων* Ιρεῖ[σκ]ος *ἐκ τῶν* (*εἰδ*)*ίων* | *καθιέρω*[*σε*]ν (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.*

[2 For note 2 see p. 875.]

god of mountain-tops. And, when he is called *Hýpatos* 'the High[1]' or

1908 xxxiii. 162 suspects an allusion to the *νέοι αὐράριοι* (?) of (1) and proposes [*συ*]*ναγωγῇ* (*τῶν*) *ν* Α[*ὐ* – –][*ρί*]*ων νέων*). The title *Λοφείτης* was due to the situation of the town: *ἡ γὰρ Πέρινθος κεῖται μὲν παρὰ θάλατταν ἐπί τινος αὐχένος ὑψηλοῦ χερρονήσου, σταδιαῖον ἐχούσης τὸν αὐχένα· τὰς δ' οἰκίας ἔχει πεπυκνωμένας καὶ τοῖς ὕψεσι διαφερούσας. αὗται δὲ ταῖς οἰκοδομαῖς ἀεὶ κατὰ τὴν εἰς τὸν λόφον ἀνάβασιν ἀλλήλων ὑπερέχουσι, καὶ τὸ σχῆμα τῆς ὅλης πόλεως θεατροειδὲς ἀποτελοῦσι* (Diod. 16. 76). For Zeus *Ἐπιλόφιος* at Naïssos see *infra* Moesia.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1103 n. 2 suggests that Zeus *Φαλακρός* at Argos (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 2 p. 29, 6 f. Stählin *οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς φαλακρὸς ἐν "Αργει, τιμωρὸς δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθον;*) was a mountain-god. This is probable enough, for the summit of Mt Ida was called *Φάλακρον*, *Φάλακρα*, *Φαλάκρα*, *Φαλάκραι*, a promontory in Korkyra *Φάλακρον*, *Φαλακρὸν ἄκρον*, another in Epeiros *Φάλακρον*, another in Euboia *Φαλάκραι* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 604 B—D). For Zeus *Κλάριος* see *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

[1] Zeus *Ὕπατος* was worshipped (1) on Mt Hypatos above Glisas in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 19. 3 *ὑπὲρ δὲ Γλισάντός ἐστιν ὄρος Ὕπατος καλούμενον, ἐπὶ δὲ αὐτῷ Διὸς Ὑπάτου ναὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα*). The mountain, now called *Sagmatás*, rises to a height of 749[m]: 'it is bold and rocky, and has a flat summit which is crowned with a monastery of the Transfiguration, founded by Alexis Comnenus. The church of the monastery contains fine mosaics, and stands on the foundations of the temple of Zeus. Both the church and the monastery, as well as two neighbouring chapels, contain many considerable fragments of antiquity built into the walls. The dome of the church is supported by two ancient monolithic columns, with their bases and capitals' (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 61). The view from the monastery embraces the three lakes Kopaïs, Hylike, Paralimne, the Euboean sea, and on the horizon a whole series of mountains—Messapion, Dirphys, Parnes, Kithairon, Helikon, Sphingion, Parnassos, Ptoion (H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Berlin 1863 ii. 28 f.). Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 6 notes the frequent Boeotian name *Ὑπατόδωρος*. E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 13 f. quotes examples of *Ὑπατόδωρος* from Thebes, Tanagra, Delphoi, Smyrna, of *Ὑπατίας* from Thebes, of *Ὑπατοκλῆς* from Rhodes.

(2) He had an altar, founded by Kekrops 'in front of the entry' to the Erechtheion at Athens, where he was served with cakes but no wine- or animal-offerings (Paus. 1. 26. 5 *ἔστι δὲ καὶ οἴκημα Ἐρέχθειον καλούμενον· πρὸ δὲ τῆς εἰσόδου Διός ἐστι βωμὸς Ὑπάτου, ἔνθα ἔμψυχον θύουσιν οὐδέν, πέμματα δὲ θέντες οὐδὲν ἔτι οἴνῳ χρήσασθαι νομίζουσιν*, 8. 2. 3 *ὁ μὲν γὰρ* (*sc.* Κέκροψ) *Δία τε ὠνόμασεν Ὕπατον πρῶτος* (*πρῶτον* cod. La.), *καὶ ὁπόσα ἔχει ψυχήν, τούτων μὲν ἠξίωσεν οὐδὲν θῦσαι, πέμματα δὲ ἐπιχώρια ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ καθήγισεν, ἃ πελάνους καλοῦσιν ἔτι καὶ ἐς ἡμᾶς Ἀθηναῖοι*). He was on occasion associated with Athena *Ὑπάτη* and other deities (Dem. *c. Macart.* 66 (a Delphic response) *συμφέρει Ἀθηναίοις περὶ τοῦ σημείου τοῦ ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ γενομένου θύοντας καλλιερεῖν Διὶ Ὑπάτῳ, Ἀθηνᾷ Ὑπάτῃ, Ἡρακλεῖ, Ἀπόλλωνι Σωτῆρι, καὶ ἀποπέμπειν Ἀμφιόνεσσι*). Cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 201. 1 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 170, 2 ff. *Ὑψιμέδων Ὕπατε, πάτερ εἰρήνης βαθυκάῤῥου[ντος,] | σὸν Ἐλαίου* (for *Ἐλέου*) *βωμὸν ἱκετεύομεν ἡμεῖς*, (scansion!) *| Θρῃΐκες οἱ ναίοντες ἀγάκλυτον ἄστυ τὸ [Σά]ῤῥδε[ων(?),] | κ.τ.λ.*

(3) The tetrapolis of Marathon sacrificed to him in Gamelion (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. 2, 13 *Διὶ ὑπ[άτῳ οἷς* Δ⊢⊢(?)] = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26, B 13 *Διὶ Ὑπ[άτωι – – – –]*).

(4) At Sparta he had a statue of hammered bronze by Klearchos of Rhegion (Paus. 3. 17. 6 (*supra* p. 739 n. 1), 8. 14. 7 *τοῦ ἐς Σπαρτιάτας λόγου τὰ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἀγάλματος τοῦ Ὑπάτου Διός*).

(5) In Paros on the top of Mt *Kounádos* the little church of the Prophet Elias has built into it boundary-stones belonging to Zeus *Ὕπατος*, to Aphrodite, to Histie *Δημίη* (O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 215). The first of these, a rough block of white marble, is inscribed in lettering of *s.* v B.C. [*ὅ*]*ρος Ὑπάτο· δ*[*τε*]|[*λ*]*έστοι οὐ θέμ*[*ι*]*ς οὐδὲ γυναι*[*κ*]*ί* (*sc.* *εἰσελθεῖν*) (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 183 with fig.).

Hýpsistos 'the Most High[1],' there is reason to suspect that the epithet had originally a literal rather than a metaphorical sense.

(6) At Rome the road between the Curia and the Basilica Aemilia yielded a block inscribed Διὶ Ὑπάτωι (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 994).

(7) An honorary inscription of *s.* ii A.D. found at Priene contains the clause ἀναγραψάτω (*sic*) (τὸ)δε [τ]ὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λευ|κοῦ λίθου καὶ ἀνατεθῆ[τ]ω ἐν τῶι ἱερῶ[ι τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὑπάτου (*sc.* in Thessaly (?)) (F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Inschriften von Priene* Berlin 1906 no. 71, 28 f.).

(8) M. Schweisthal 'L'image de Niobé et l'autel de Zeus Hypatos au mont Sipyle' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 224 argues that Zeus on Mt Sipylos was invoked under the name of Ὕπατος, cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 533 ff. ὀψὲ δὲ δύσνιφον οἶδμα καὶ ὑδατόεσσαν ἀνάγκην | Ζεὺς ὕπατος (ὕδατος codd. F. M.) πρήνυε, καὶ ἑκ Σιπύλοιο καρήνων | κλυζομένης Φρυγίης παλιν-άγρετον ἤλασεν ὕδωρ. But ὕπατος is a commonish epithet of Zeus in the poets (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 141) and is used elsewhere by Nonnos (*Dion.* 33. 162 Ζεὺς ὕπατος καὶ θοῦρος Ἄρης καὶ θέσμιος Ἑρμῆς) without local significance.

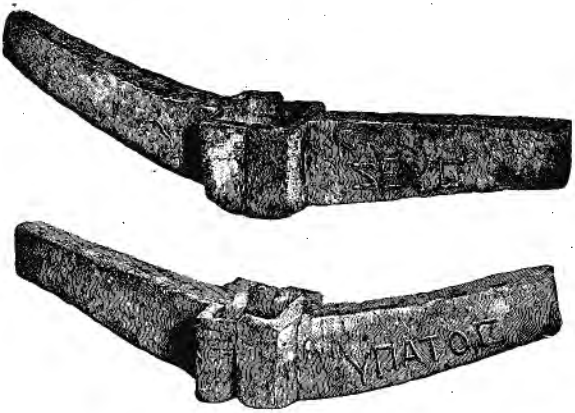


Fig. 815.

A leaden anchor, found off the coast of Kyrene and now in the British Museum, bears in relief the ship's name ΣΕΥΣ ΥΠΑΤΟΣ (C. Torr *Ancient Ships* Cambridge 1894 p. 71 f. pl. 8, 45, 46 and 47 (=my fig. 815)). The lettering points to *s.* i A.D.

According to schol. T. *Il.* 13. 837 some persons understood Διὸς αὐγάς as denoting τὰ ὑψηλὰ τῶν ὀρῶν!

[1] Examples of this appellative have been collected, classified, and discussed by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 pp. 200—225 and F. Cumont *Hypsistos* (Supplément à la *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1897) Bruxelles 1897 pp. 1—15, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 444—450 *s.v.* Ὕψιστος. I am under deep obligation to their labours, as the following list will show.

Zeus Ὕψιστος was worshipped (1) at Athens in the Pnyx. For a good survey of the problems that cluster about this much-disputed site see *in primis* J. M. Crow and J. Thacher Clarke 'The Athenian Pnyx' in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1885—1886 iv. 205—260. The view adopted from H. N. Ulrichs by

F. G. Welcker *Der Felsaltar des Höchsten Zeus oder das Pelasgikon zu Athen, bisher genannt die Pnyx* Berlin 1852 pp. 1—75 with pl., *id.* 'Pnyx oder Pelasgikon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 30—76, *id.* 'Ueber C. Bursians "Athenische Pnyx"' *ib.* 1856 x. 591—610, and defended especially by E. Curtius *Attische Studien* i Pnyx und Stadtmauer in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1862 xi. 53—132 with pls. 1, 2, *viz.* that the so-called Pnyx was an ancient sanctuary of Zeus Ὕψιστος with the so-called *bêma* for its altar, is nowadays discredited. But it is generally admitted that in imperial times, when the Pnyx had long ceased to be used for public assemblies, a cult of Zeus Ὕψιστος as a healing god was here carried on. In the rock-cut back-wall of the Pnyx, between its eastern angle and the *bêma*, there are more than fifty rectangular niches cut to receive tablets. Many of the tablets that had been in the niches were found by Lord Aberdeen in 1803 buried in the earth at the foot of the wall and are now in the British Museum (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i nos. 497—506, C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1874 i nos. 60—70, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 nos. 147—156, 237, 238). They are dedications, mostly by women of the lower class, to Zeus Ὕψιστος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 148 Σύντροφος | Ὑψίστῳ Διὶ | χαριστήριον,

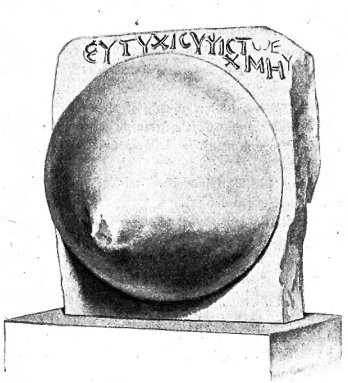


Fig. 816.

no. 153 Ὀνησίμη εὐχὴν | Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ with relief representing a female breast) or to θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*ib.* no. 237 .....α θεῷ Ὑψ[ιστω] | [ε]ὐχήν with relief of part of a shoulder) or more often to Ὕψιστος alone (*ib.* no. 149 Εὔοδος Ὑψίστου εὐχὴν with relief of a pair of eyes (cp. *ib.* no. 238=C. T. Newton *loc. cit.* no. 69), no. 150 Ὀλυμπιὰς Ὑψίστου | εὐχήν with relief of a woman's abdomen, no. 151 Τερτία Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχήν with relief of a face from the bridge of the nose downwards, no. 152 Κλαυδία Πρέπουσα | εὐχαριστῶ Ὑψίστῳ with relief of a pair of arms, no. 154 Εὐτυχὶς Ὑψίστῳ εὐ|χ(ήν) with relief of a female breast (=my fig. 816), no. 155 Εἰσιὰς Ὑψ[ίστω] | εὐ[χήν] with relief of a female breast).

Sporadic inscriptions attest the existence of the same cult elsewhere in Athens. L. Ross *Die Pnyx und das Pelasgikon in Athen* Braunschweig 1853 p. 15 cites three inscriptions discovered in the foundations of a house on the northern slope of the Akropolis (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 330 ff.) and now at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 270 no. 718 Εὐτυχία | Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχήν with relief of a female breast, no. 719 Εὐπραξ[ι]ς | εὐχήν with relief of a female breast, no. 720 Εἰσιδότη Διὶ Ὑ|ψίστῳ with relief of eyebrows, eyes, and bridge of nose. Cp. no. 721 an uninscribed relief from the same spot, representing the middle part of the body of a nude female). A column of Pentelic marble, found to the

west of the *Propylaia*, has Γλαῦκος, | Τρύφαινα, | Δέων | [Τ]ψίστῳ | [εὐχὴν] ὑπὲρ | [τῶν γονέων(?)] (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 146). A small Ionic capital from the southern slope of the *Akropolis* is surmounted by a broken eagle, beneath which is inscribed ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | Ἰουλ(ία) Ἀσκληπιανὴ | θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ ὑπέ[ρ] | Μαξίμου τοῦ υἱ[οῦ] | εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

(2) At Thebes near the Hypsistan Gates (Paus. 9. 8. 5 πρὸς δὲ ταῖς Ὑψίσταις Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησίν ἐστιν Ὑψίστου). H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* note that these Gates are assumed to have been on the soutb-western side of the city, where they are shown, adjoining a hill of Zeus Ὕψιστος, in the map given by Frazer *Pausanias* v. 32.

(3) At Corinth three statues of Zeus stood in the open air. One of them had no special title; the second was Χθόνιος; the third, Ὕψιστος (Paus. 2. 2. 8 τὰ δὲ τοῦ Διός, καὶ ταῦτα ὄντα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ, τὸ μὲν ἐπίκλησιν οὐκ εἶχε, τὸν δὲ αὐτῶν Χθόνιον καὶ τὸν τρίτον καλοῦσιν Ὕψιστον). We are hardly justified in asserting with Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 87 that the nameless Zeus was 'ohne Zweifel ein...Zenoposeidon,' or in conjecturing with P. Odelberg *Sacra Corinthia, Sicyonia, Phliasia* Upsala 1896 p. 7 that he was a Zeus ἐνάλιος. Such a god would surely have had a distinctive appellation. See, however, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1094 n. 27, *supra* p. 582 ff.

(4) At Argos Smyrna, the wife of Maenius Apollonius and apparently priestess of Zeus, in an interesting epitaph describes her tomb as a barrow adjoining the sanctuary of Zeus Ὕψιστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 ὑψίστου δ' ἡρίον ἄγχι Διός]).

(5) At Olympia Zeus Ὕψιστος had a couple of altars on the way to the Hippodrome (Paus. 5. 15. 5 πλησίον δὲ καὶ Μοιρῶν βωμός ἐστιν ἐπιμήκης, μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν Ἑρμοῦ, καὶ δύο ἑφεξῆς Διὸς Ὑψίστου. K. Wernicke's cj. μετὰ δὲ αὐτὸν δύο ἑφεξῆς Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Διὸς Ὑψίστου is unnecessary).

(6) In Skiathos is a marble slab inscribed with a dedication [Διὶ Ὑ]ψίστῳ καὶ τῇ Πόλει | κ.τ.λ. (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 631).

(7) At Hephaistia in Lemnos is a round altar of white marble inscribed in lettering of *s.* ii or iii A.D. Ἐπηκόῳ | θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ | Βεῖθυς ὁ καὶ | Ἄδωνις | εὐχήν (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 24).

(8) In Imbros was a slab of white marble, broken at the right side, with the inscription Διὶ Ὑψίσ[τῳ] | Ἀθηναίῳ[ν] | Ἀρίστωρ[os] | εὐχ<ης>ήν (A. Conze *Reise auf den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres* Hannover 1860 p. 90 pl. 15, 2, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* viii no. 78. In line 4 Conze suggests εὐχῆς (ἕ)ν[εκα]. Wilamowitz says: 'Fortasse Διὶ ὑψίστωι [ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τῶν vel καὶ τῶι δήμωι τῶι] Ἀθηναίω[ν τῶν ἐν Ἴμβρωι ἀνέθηκεν] Ἀρίστων [patris ἑξ] εὐχῆς ἣν [εὔξατο ὁ δεῖνα]').

(9) Makedonia has furnished dedications from Aigai (L. Duchesne—C. Bayet *Mémoire sur une mission au mont Athos* Paris 1877 no. 136 Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχὴν Μάκρος Διβύρνιος Οὐάλης, no. 137 Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ Πο. Αἴλιος Τερεντιανὸς Ἀττικὸς κατ' ὄναρ), Kerdylion (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 110 M. Λευκεΐλιο[ς] | Μακλᾶς θεῷ[ι] | Ὑψίστωι χα|ριστήριον), and elsewhere (Delacoulonche *Le berceau de la puissance macédonienne* no. 20 to Zeus Ὕψιστος, cited by P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 347 n. 2).

(10) In Thrace we have inscriptions from Anchialos (C. Jireček in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 173 no. 3 ΔΗΥΨΙΣΙΙΔΕΣ▩ | ΓΗΠΟΛΥΠΡΟΣ▩ | ▩ΟΝΤΕΙΙΝΩΝ-ΚΑΙΣ | ΑΥΤΟΥΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΗ | PION, which is read by O. Benndorf *ib.* n. 32[a] as Διὶ ὑψίσ[τῳ] ἐ[πόπ]τῃ(?) Πολύ[βι]ος [τ]ῶν τέ[κ]νων καὶ [ἑ]αυτοῦ εὐχαριστήριον) and Selymbria (R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 255 no. 777 Θεῶι ἀγίωι ὑψίστωι | ὑπὲρ τῆς Ῥωιμη|τάλκου καὶ Πυθο|δωρίδος ἐκ τῶν κα|τὰ τὸν Κοιλα[λ]ητικὸν | πόλεμον κινδύνου | σωτηρίας εὐξάμενος | καὶ ἐπιτυχὼν Γάιος | Ἰούλιος Πρόκ(λ)ος χαρι|στ[ήρι]ον).

(11) Moesia. An altar of reddish limestone, found among Roman remains between the villages of *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*, and now in the Museum at *Sofia*, is inscribed Ὦ θεῶι Ὑψί[στωι] | ὑπὲρ Αὐφιδίων οἴκων | [·····Αὐ]φίδιο[s·····] (E. Kalinka *Antike Denkmäler in Bulgarien* Wien 1906 p. 133 f. no. 145). A limestone altar at *Pirot* reads ἀγαθῇ [τύ]χ[ῃ] | Θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ ὑψίστῳ | εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν | τὸ κοινὸν ἐκ τῶν ἰ|δίων διὰ

ἱερέως | Ἑρμογένους καὶ προ|στάτου Αὐγουστιανοῦ | Ἀχιλλεύς, Αὐρ̣ήλις, Δῖο(ς), Ἀλέ|ξανδρος, Μόκας, Μο[κι]ανός, | Δομ̣ῆτις, Σοφεῖνος, Παυ|λεῖνος, Πύρος, Ἀπολινά|ρις, Μοκιανός, [Σ(?)]ῆ-λυς | καὶ Ἀλέξανδρος Ἀσκ|ληπιάδου· θία[σος (?)] Σεβαζ[ιανὸς θη[…]τουτας | – – (A. von Domaszewski in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1886 x. 238 f. no. 2).

(12) Korkyra (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1869 Φαιακοσίνη Διεὶ Ὑψίστω | εὐχήν).

(13) Rome. A round base in the Galleria Lapidaria of the Vatican is inscribed Θεῶι Ὑψίστωι εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκεν | Κλαυδία Πίστη (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 995).

(14) Crete. T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 ii. 414 no. 1 pl. I, 1 Κο[ί]ρανος θε|ῶι ὑψίστωι | εὐχὴν δη|μόσιος (C. Babington's reading *ib.* is wrong) from Knossos.

(15) Kypros. Dedications to the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος have come to light at *Hagios Tychon* near Amathous (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 167 a round *cippus* inscribed Θεῷ ὑψίστῳ | Νεικόδημος | κατ[ὰ] χρηματισ|μόν), Golgoi (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 361 ff. published a series of tablets in yellowish tufa, with holes for suspension; said to have come from a spot near *Athienou* and then in the hands of Z. Malis at *Larnaka*: no. 1 Θεῶ Ὑψίστω ἀνέθη|κεν Πρόκτυος εὐξαμέ|[ν]ῃ with relief of two female breasts. no. 2 Θεῶ Ὑψίστω εὐξαμέ|[νη – – –] with two eyes painted in black, cp. no. 3 three square tablets with *phallós* in relief but without inscription, no. 4 several fragmentary tablets of larger size with remains of painting or drawing, *e.g.* horse), and Kition (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2740 read by Perdrizet *loc. cit.* [Θεῶ Ὑ]ψίστω Θέων οἰκοδόμος εὐχήν).

(16) Pisidia. At Oinoanda is a dedication built into the wall near the town-gate (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 4380 *n*[2] Χρ(ω)μα|τὶς θεῶ | Ὑψίστω | τὸν λύ|χνον | εὐχ[ήν]= Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 1231). At Termessos a *cippus*, which once supported a votive foot (commemorating a visitation or epiphany of the god), is inscribed Θεῶ ἐπηκόῳ Ὑ|ψιστότυχος ὁ καὶ Ἀττα|λιανὸς Ἐρ(μαῖος) β′ | Σύρου π̄ᾱτ̄ κα|τὰ κέλευσιν | αὐτοῦ ἔστη | ᾧ σεν ☿ | σὺν τῷ ἐπόντι | ἴχνει θεοῦ (K. Lanckoroński—G. Niemann—E. Petersen *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* Wien 1892 ii. 76 fig. 27, 220 no. 178. *Eid. ib.* p. 32 rather doubtfully take the name of the dedicator to be 'Hephaistotychos.' F. Cumont *Hypsistos* (Supplément à la *Revue de l'instruction publique en Belgique*, 1897) Bruxelles 1897 p. 14 reads Θεῷ ἐπηκόῳ Ὑ(ψ)ιστ(ῳ) Τυχ(ί)ος and Σύρου πά(π που(?))).

(17) Karia. Zeus Ὕψιστος had cults in Iasos (B. Haussoullier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 456 a boundary-stone of white marble inscribed Διὸς Ὑψίστου. Zeus had a temple at Iasos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2671, 26=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 462, 26)), Lagina (C. Diehl—G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 159 no. 67 Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ | καὶ θειωσ[···]σιλικω Σ[τε]|φανίων ὑπὲρ | αὐτοῦ καὶ | τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων εὐ|χαριστήρι[ον]. I should conjecture Θείῳ (as at Stratonikeia: see below) τῷ βασιλικῷ, 'the royal Zeus Ὕψιστος καὶ Θεῖος'), Miletos (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 267 no. 1 a column of white marble, found at *Palatia* near the big mosque, inscribed Διὸς | Ὑψίστου, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 755 built into a Byzantine church τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ ἁγιωτά|του [Θεοῦ Ὑψ]ίστου Σωτῆρος | Οὐλπιον Κάρπον | βουλευτὴν ὁ στατίων (*sc.* assembly) | τῶν κατὰ πόλιν κηπου|ρῶν τὸν ἴδιον εὐεργέτη[ν] | ὑπὲρ τῆς ἑαυτῶν σωτηρί[ας], no. 756 built into the same Byzantine church Οὐλπιον Κάρπον, | τὸν προφήτην τοῦ | ἁγιωτάτου Θεοῦ | Ὑψίστου, | ὁ στόλος τῶν σωληνο|κεντῶν (*sc.* spikers of razor-fish) τὸν ἴδιον εὐ|εργέτην διὰ πάντων. T. Wiegand in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1904 p. 87 infers from these two inscriptions that in early Byzantine days a Christian church was founded on the site of a temple dedicated to the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος), Mylasa (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2693 *e*, 1 f. = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 416, 1 f. = A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 107 ff. no. 11, B, 1 f. ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου | Ἀριστέου τοῦ Μέλανος τοῦ Ἀπολλωνίου ἱερέως Διὸς Ὑψίστου καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς, Panamara (G. Deschamps —G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 271 f. no. 57 [Διὶ] Ὑψίστῳ | καὶ Ἑκάτῃ Σω[τείρᾳ] | [κ]αὶ Διὶ Καπε[τωλίῳ] | [κ]αὶ Τύχῃ τοῦ μ[εγίστου] | [Αὐτ]οκράτορος Κ[αίσαρος] | [Τίτου] Αἰλίου Ἀδριανοῦ [Ἀντω][νίνου] Σεβαστοῦ | [···κα]ὶ ταῖς τοῦ Δι[ὸς····] | [·····τολε – – –]), Stratonikeia (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 515 on a *stèle* in the form of an altar, with a horse (*supra* i. 20) advancing below, Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ |

'Αγαθῷ 'Ανγέλῳ, | Κλαύδιος 'Αχιλ(λ)εὺς καὶ Γαλατ[ί]α ὑπὲρ σωτηρί[ας] | μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων | πάντων, χαριστ[ή]ριον, A. Hauvette-Besnault—M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 182 f. no. 3 Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ | καὶ Θείῳ 'Αγ|γέλῳ Νέων | καὶ Εὐφροσύ|νῃ ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων, no. 4 [Διὶ(?)] Ὑψίστῳ καὶ | Θείῳ Φρό|νιμος καὶ | Πειθὼ κα[ὶ](*sic*) | ὑπὲρ τῶν [ἰ]δίων χαρι|στήριον, G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1891 xv. 418 f. no. 1 at *Djîdé* [Δ]ιὶ Ὑψίστ[ῳ] | καὶ Θείῳ Εὐ|τύχης καὶ Σ[υν]|φιλοῦσα, 'Αν|δρέας, 'Αν|τίοχος ὑ|πὲρ ἑαυτῶ[ν] | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων χαριστή|ριον), and Tralleis (I. Misthos in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ 1873—1875 p. 95 no. 89 Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ | κατ' ὄναρ on a small quadrilateral *stéle*).

(18) Kos. W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 116 no. 63 record a small *stéle*, with *aedicula* and rosette, inscribed Θεανὸς | Θεῷ Ὑψί|στῳ εὐ|χήν.

(19) Delos. Two votive inscriptions, the one certainly, the other probably, from Rheneia, both dating from the close of *s.* ii B.C. and couched in terms so similar as to be practically identical, record prayers to the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος for speedy vengeance on behalf of

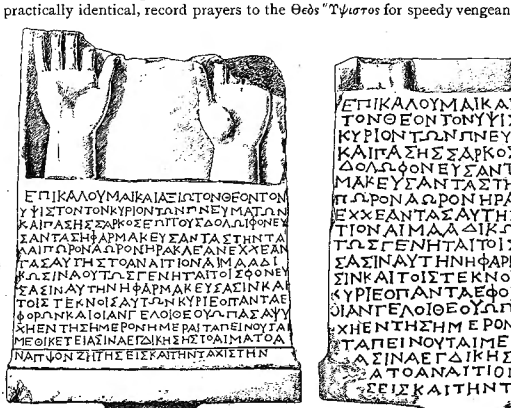


Fig. 817.

two Jewish maidens named Marthine and Heraklea respectively (the names recur in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2322 *b*[68] and no. 2322 *b*[69] = Lebas—Foucart *Îles* no. 2041 and no. 2039), who had been done to death by violence or witchcraft. The Marthine-inscription, much mutilated, is now in the National Museum at Athens (best published by A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv Beiblatt p. 9 ff. fig. 2). The Heraklea-inscription, better preserved, is in the Museum at Bucharest (*id. ib.* p. 9 ff. fig. 3 = my fig. 817): its text and relief are repeated on the back as well as on the front of the *stéle* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1181, 1 ff. ἐπικαλοῦμαι καὶ ἀξιῶ τὸν Θεὸν τὸν | Ὕψιστον, τὸν κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων | καὶ πάσης σαρκός, ἐπὶ τοὺς δόλῳ φονεύ|σαντας ἢ φαρμακεύσαντας τὴν τα|λαίπωρον ἥρωα Ἡράκλεαν, ἐχχέαν|τας αὐτῆς τὸ ἀναίτιον αἷμα ἀδίκως, ἵνα οὕτως γένηται τοῖς φονεύ|σασιν αὐτὴν ἢ φαρμακεύσασιν καὶ | τοῖς τέκνοις αὐτῶν, κύριε ὁ πάντα ἐ|φορῶν καὶ οἱ ἄνγελοι Θεοῦ, ᾧ πᾶσα ψυ|χὴ ἐν τῇ σήμερον ἡμέραι ταπεινοῦται | μεθ' ἱκετείας, ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον ζητήσεις καὶ τὴν ταχίστην (Dittenberger *op. cit.*[2] on no. 816 says: 'Exspectes ἵνα ζητήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ ἐγδικήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην.' The Marthine-text, however, runs: ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃ[ς] | τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ τὴν ταχίστη[ν],

Marble *stéle* from Panormos near Kyzikos, now in the British Museum, with dedication to Zeus *Hýpsistos* and votive reliefs representing Zeus, Artemis (?), Apollon and a banquet.

See page 881.

omitting the second verb altogether. A. Deissmann, who has a detailed discussion of both *stēlai* in his *Licht vom Osten* Tübingen 1908 pp. 305—316 figs. 55—57, thinks that the archetype had ἵνα ἐγδικήσῃς τὸ αἷμα τὸ ἀναίτιον καὶ ζητήσῃς τὴν ταχίστην)). The uplifted hands are those of the suppliant : cp. *infra* no. (33) Aigyptos.

(20) Lydia. Hierokaisareia (A. M. Fontrier in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ 1886 p. 33 no. *φί* = P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 95 no. 16 at *Sasoba* Λούκιος Θε|ῷ Ὑψίστῳ ε|ὐχήν). Koloe in Maionia (M. Tsakyroglou in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ 1878—1880 p. 161 no. *πκδ'* Ἀπολλωνίσκος | ὑπὲρ τοῦ υἱοῦ Ἐρ|μογένους Θεῷ | Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν). Philadelpheia (*Ala-Shehir*) (J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1910 ii Abh. p. 27 no. 39 on a *stēle* with gabled top *ἔτους σξθ'* (269 of Actian era = 238/9 A.D., of Sullan era = 184/5 A.D.), *μη(νὸς)* | Αὐδ(ν)αίου *ί.* Φλα|βία Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχήν). *Sari-Tsam* (A. M. Fontrier *ib.* 1886 p. 68 no. *φνζ'* = P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 84 f. no. 4, *a* Τειμόθεος Διαγόρου | Λαβραντίδης (Foucart justly cp. the epithet Λαβρανδεύς) καὶ Μόσχιο[ν] | Τειμοθέου ἡ γυνὴ αὐτοῦ | Θεῶι Ὑψίστωι εὐχὴν τὸν | βωμόν, *b* (by another hand) Διαγόρας, Τειμόθεος, Πύθεος | οἱ Τιμοθέου τοῦ Διαγόρου υἱο[ί] | Λαβραντίδαι τὰς λυχναψίας | Ὑψίστῳ (Ὑψίστωι Fontrier) ἀνέθηκαν). Silandos (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 708 Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχὴν ἀνέθη|κε Ἑλένη ὑ|πὲρ Θρασυβού|λου τοῦ υἱοῦ | Θρασυβούλ|ου). *Tchatal Tepe* (K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 119 no. 57 on a small marble altar Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ Ἀ|γαθόπους καὶ | Τελέσειρα εὐ|χὴν· ἔτους σν' | *μη(νὸς)* Δαισίου *κ'*). *Phata*, three hours east of *Theira* (A. M. Fontrier in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ 1876—1878 p. 32 on an altar-step Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ. | Νεικηφόρος Ἐρμοκράτου ἱερε[ὺ]ς σὺν καὶ Ἑρμο[κρ]άτει τῷ ἀδ[ελ][φῷ] τὸν βωμὸ[ν][ἀνέσ]τησαν· | [ἔτ]ους σκ'). Thyateira (A. Wagener in the *Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences, des lettres et des beaux-arts de Belgique* Série in 4° Classe de Lettres 1861 xxx. 39 = A. M. Fontrier in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1902 iv. 239 no. 4 a relief of an eagle: on the base is inscribed Μοσχιανὸς Βασιλεὺς | Ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ εὐχήν. J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 17 f. no. 28 on a small altar of bluish marble in lettering of the end of *s.* ii or *s.* iii A.D. Εὐελ(πί)στ[η] | [Θ]εῶ Ὑψ[ισ][τ]ω εὐχὴ[ν][ἀν]έθη[κεν] | [εὐτ]υχῶ[ς], no. 29 on a small altar of similar material and date [Τ]ρυφῶσα | [Θ]εῶ Ὑψίστω | εὐχήν). Cp. *Ak Tash* (Temenothyrai ?) (*eid. ib.* p. 129 no. 237 on a *stēle* of whitish marble with gabled top, in lettering of *s.* ii A.D., beneath an incised wreath Τύρανις Ἀφ[ρι]|άδος Ὑ[ίστω] | εὐ[χήν]) and *Gjölde* near Koloe (*eid. ib.* p. 97 no. 189 on a *stēle* of whitish marble, in lettering of *s.* i or ii A.D., beneath a sunk panel representing in front view a male (?), with *chitōn* and *himātion*, raising the right hand in adoration and holding a staff in the lowered left Θεᾶ Ὑ[ίστη Γλύκων | εὐχήν). The references to J. Keil—A. von Premerstein were kindly furnished to me by Mr A. D. Nock.

(21) Mysia. At Kyzikos a small cubical base of pink St Simeon marble, found near the theatre, reads [Σ]ωγ[ένης(?)] | Νεικάνδ[ρου] | Διὶ Ὑ[ίστῳ] | εὐχήν (Sir C. Smith—R. de Rustafjaell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 207 no. 14, F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 271 no. 11). From Panormos (*Panderma*) near Kyzikos came a votive *stēle* of white marble, presented by A. van Branteghem in 1890 to the British Museum (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 374 f. no. 817, F. H. Marshall in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1916 iv. 2. 153 no. 1007 with fig. I am indebted to Mr Smith for the photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming from which my pl. xxxix is taken). This relief, which has aroused much interest (see *e.g.* A. S. Murray in the *Rev. Arch.* 1891 i. 10 f. no. 1, H. Lechat—G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 520 f., F. Cumont *Hypsistos* Bruxelles 1897 p. 12 no. 3 pl., P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 592 f. pl. 4, E. Ziebarth 'ΧΟΤΣ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 145 f., F. Poland *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* Leipzig 1909 p. 370, F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 pp. 207, 271 no. 13, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 3), represents three deities standing side by side in a sunk panel—Zeus in *chitōn* and *himātion*, with a *phiale* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left; Artemis (Persephone, or perhaps

Hekate, according to Murray *loc. cit.* Dionysos, according to Smith and Reinach *locc. citt.*) in short *chitón, chlamýs,* and high boots, with a *phiále* in her right hand, a torch in her left; Apollon in long *chitón* and *himátion*, with a *phiále* in his right hand, a *kithára* in his left, and a snake-twined *omphalós* beside him. Beneath, in low relief, is a banquet of six men, who recline on cushions placed upon a long mattress. On the right a cup-bearer, in a short *chitón*, holds an *oinochóe* in one hand, an *askós* in the other, and draws wine from a large *kratér* partially sunk in the floor. On the left a seated musician plays two flutes, one straight, one curved, while his feet beat time with *krousmáai*. In the centre a girl, stark naked, is dancing, and a man in the costume of a mime-performer, with a pair of long *krótala* in his hands, is running round her at a lively pace. The pediment above is filled with an inscription, whose ligatures point to a date in *s.* ii A.D. Δι·ἰ· Ὑ·|ψίστῳ·κ(αὶ)· | τῷ χώρῳ Θάλλος | ἐπώνυμος·τὸν· | τελαμῶνα·ἀπέδωκα, 'I Thallos, the name-giver (of the *thíasos*), duly presented the relief to Zeus *Most High* and to the Place (where the *thiasôtai* assemble).' So Marshall *loc. cit.* Perdrizet *loc. cit.* understood: 'Thallos, magistrat éponyme, a voué ce cippe à Zeus céleste et au bourg.' Murray, Smith, and Cumont *locc. citt.* thought χώρῳ a blunder for χορῷ (to which not one of them gives the right accent). Ziebarth *loc. cit.*, following T. Reinach in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1894 vii 391, will have it that χῷ was the name of the *thíasos*, cp. T. Wiegand in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 316 an altar-shaped base of white marble from *Nuserat*, one hour south of *Kebsud* in Mysia, inscribed τὸν Βρομίου μύστην | [ἱ]ερῶν, ἄρξαντα χοῦ, | κ.τ.λ. At Pergamon the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος, presumably Zeus (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 243 f. no. 331 on a small altar of white marble Γλύκινα | Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχὴν ἀνέθηκα, ἐρωμένη μετὰ τὸν | [ὄνειρον(?) – – –] | [– – – – –] (the last two lines covered with white daub)), was further identified with Helios (*id. ib.* ii. 243 no. 330 on a small altar of white marble from the precinct of Athena [Ἡλ]ίωι, | Θ[ε]ᾷ· | Τ̣ψ̣[ί]στωι, | Τάτιον | ε[ὐ]χήν). At Plakia near Kyzikos was another thank-offering to the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3669 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | Γ. Πεσκέννιος Ὀνήσιμος | Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ σωθεὶς ἀνέθηκα ἐκ μεγάλου κιν|δύνου μετὰ τῶν ἰδίων. | νείκης εὐχαριστήριον | ἀναθεῖναι (the last two lines are incomplete: *sc.* ἐπέταξεν ὁ θεός or the like). On the remarkable dedication to Zeus Ὕψιστος Βρονταῖος, now in the Tchinili Kiosk at Constantinople, but probably derived from the Cyzicene district, see *supra* p. 833 ff. fig. 793.

(22) Lesbos. Several dedications to the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος have been found at Mytilene (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 115 on a large base or altar of white marble, above and below a relief representing an eagle with spread wings in a great olive-wreath Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ ε[ὐ]χ[α]ριστήριον Μάρκος || Πομπήιος Λυκάων μ[ετ]ὰ τῆς συμβίου Φοίβης | καὶ τῶν ἰδίων, no. 119 on a small base or altar Γ. Κορνήλι(ο)ς | Χρηστίων, Κορ|νηλία Θάλλου|σα, Γ. Κορν<ι>ήλιος | Σεκοῦνδος χει|μασθέντες ἐν | πελάγει Θεῷ Ὑ[ψίστῳ χρηστήρι]ον (the last word a blunder for χαριστήριον), no. 125 (=A. Conze *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* Hannover 1865 pp. 5, 12 pl. 5, 3) Θεῷ | Ὑψίστῳ | Π. Αἴλιος Ἀρ|ριανὸς Ἀλ[έ]|ξανδρος, | βουλευ(τὴς) | Δακίας κο|λωνείας | Ζερμιζεγ[ε]|θούσης, εὐχὴ[ν] | ἀνέθηκεν), and one of these by adding the title Κεραύνιος makes it clear that Zeus is meant (*supra* p. 807 n. 3 no. (3)).

(23) Phrygia. Here too the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος had a considerable vogue—at Aizanoi (Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 987 = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3842 *d* [ὁ δεῖνα] Ἀλε[ξά]νδρου |Ε|όνιος ([Π]ειδνιος Lebas. Cp. Πειονίου = *Pioni* in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1363, 5 ff., Πιονίου in the *Corp. Inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8866, 9. A. B. C.) | [Θεῷ *vel* Διὶ] Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν), at *Hadji-keui* near Aizanoi (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 405 no. 9 on an altar of half-marble Αὐρ. Ἀσκληπιάδ[ης] | ἐλεηθεὶς ἀπ' ὄλλων (!) τῶν παθημάτ[ων] | εὐξάμενος Θεῷ Ὑ[ψ]ίστῳ μετὰ | τῶν εἰδίων (so Körte. Better ἀπὸ <πο>λλῶν by lipography. A. B. C.), at *Yenije* near Akmoneia (W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 ii. 652 f. no. 563 [ἐὰν δέ τις ἕτερον σῶμα εἰσενέγκῃ, ἔσ]ται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον, καὶ τὸ ἀρᾶς δρέπανον εἰς τὸν ὄκον αὐτοῦ [εἰσέλθοιτο καὶ μηδέναν ἐκκατα-λείψαιτο], where the *formula* ἔσται αὐτῷ πρὸς τὸν θεόν and the phrase τὸν θεὸν τὸν ὕψιστον suit the epitaph of a Jew or perhaps a Jewish Christian), at *Hadji-Eyub-li* near Laodikeia (W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* 1895 i. 78 no. 14 [. . . .]s Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν), at Nakoleia (*Seidi Ghazi*) (W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 258 n. 2 no. 9 on a small

slab of marble Θεῷ Ὑψίσ|τῳ εὐ|χὴν Αὐ|ρήλιος | Ἀσκλάπω|ν, ἣν ὁμο|λό(γ)ησεν ἐ[ν] | Ῥώμῃ), at *Arslan Apa* in the upper valley of the river Tembrogios or Tembrios (J. G. C. Anderson in W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* Aberdeen 1906 p. 211 no. 9 on an altar with a garland in relief [. . . . η] Νικο[μά(?)]χου [. .] | [ἔτου]ς πλη' (=253/4 A.D.)· Αὐρ. Ἰάσων Θεῷ | Ὑψίστῳ εὐχήν). The Θεὸς Ὕψιστος was here, as Anderson saw, Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς the native god of the district (W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1884 v. 259 f. no. 11 on a marble *cippus* from *Karagatch Euren* near *Altyntash*, below a relief representing a bunch of grapes, an eagle, and a radiate head of the sun-god Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Διογένης ὑπὲρ | Διογένους πάππου | καὶ Κλ. Χρυσίου | μάμμης καὶ τῶν | κατοικούντων | ἐν Ἰσκόμῃ καθιέρω|σεν. | Ἀπολλώνιος Ἰσγερεανὸς ἐποίει. Ramsay refers the *cippus* 'most probably to the second century after Christ,' adding 'I understand this inscription to be placed by Diogenes on the grave of his grandparents; in preparing the grave Diogenes considers that he is dedicating the spot to Zeus Bennios. The grave is a shrine of Zeus, and the funeral offerings to the dead were considered at the same time as offerings to Zeus.' *Id. ib.* p. 258 f. no. 10 on a *stèle* at Serea (*Kuyujak*), three hours north-west of Nakoleia Μάρκος | Μάρκου | Διὶ Βροντῶν|τι καὶ Βεννεῖ | Σερεανῷ στ|έφανον. Ramsay remarks: 'Here it is evident that Benni-s, or Zeus Benneus, the god of the western side [of the mountains], and Papas, or Zeus Bronton, the god of the eastern side, are expressly identified.' Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 774=*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3857 *l*=G. Perrot—E. Guillaume—J. Delbet *Exploration archéologique de la Galatie et de la Bithynie* etc. Paris 1872 i. 122 f. no. 86 on a cylindrical *cippus* at *Altyntash* ὑπὲρ τῆς αὐτοκράτορος | Νερούα Τραϊανοῦ Καίσαρος | Σεβαστοῦ Γερμανικοῦ | Δακικοῦ νείκης Διὶ Βεννίῳ | Μηνοφάνης Τειμολάου | τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέστησεν | Βεννεισοηνῶν. W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (*Royal Geographical Society: Supplementary Papers* iv) London 1890 p. 144 f. (cp. S. Reinach *Chroniques d'orient* Paris 1891 p. 498) was the first to read the concluding line aright as Βεννεῖ Σοηνῶν, Soa being the chief town of the Praipenisseis in the neighbourhood of *Altyntash*), whose priests, the Βεννεῖται, are mentioned in another inscription from the same locality (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3857 between Aizanoi and Kotiaeion Τρύφων Μενίσκου Διὶ | καὶ τοῖς Βεννείταις). W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 512 f. takes Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς to mean 'he who stands on a Car,' cp. the Gallic (Paul. ex Fest. p. 32, 14 Müller, p. 29, 24 f. Lindsay benna lingua Gallica genus vehiculi appellatur, unde vocantur conbennones in eadem benna sedentes), Messapian (W. Deecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1882 xxxvii. 385 f. no. 22), and Thraco-Illyrian word *benna* (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βέννα, πόλις Θράκης, κ.τ.λ., *Thes. Ling. Lat.* ii. 1907, 48 ff. Bennius, 69 f. Bennus).

(24) Bithynia (?). J. H. Mordtmann in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1885 viii. 198 no. 18 publishes a miniature base from the coast of Asia Minor inscribed ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· | Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ | Ἀσκληπιόδο|τος Σωσιπά|τρου κατὰ ὄ|ναρ.

(25) Paphlagonia. Inscriptions from the district of Sinope record the cult of the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 303 f. no. 7=D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 306 no. 29 Θεῷ Ὑψίσ[τῳ] | Αἴλιος Θρεπτίων, | Ποντιανός, Σευ|ῆρος, Μάκερ, οἱ | ἀδελφοὶ ('brethren' in a religious sense) εὐξάμενοι) or Θεὸς Μέγας Ὕψιστος (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 333 no. 49=D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 304 no. 26 with fig. on a marble altar pierced to serve as base for a post at *Emirlè* near *Chalabdé* Θεῷ Μεγάλ[ῳ] | Ὑψίστῳ εὐχῆ[ς] | χά[ριν ἀνέ]θη|κε ....[λ]ος | μετὰ [τῆς γυ]ναι[κ]ὸς Ῥου[φ]ει[νης]).

(26) Pontos. J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles ii no. 284 Sebastopolis (cited by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 448).

(27) Bosporos Kimmerios. Gorgippia (*Anapa*) (B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 208 ff. no. 400, 1 ff. (manumission of a slave) Θεῶι Ὑψίστωι παντο|κράτορι εὐλογητῷ, βα|σιλεύοντος βασιλέ|ως [Πολέμωνος] φιλο|γερμα[νι]κοῦ καὶ φιλοπάτ|ριδος, ἔτους ηλ' (338 of the Bosporan era =41 A.D.), μη|νὸς Δείου, Πίθος Στ[]ράτ|ωνος ἀνέθηκεν <ἐν> |τῆι [προσ]ευχῆι κατ' εὐχ[ὴ]|ν θρεπτὴν ἑαυτοῦ, ᾗ ὑνο|μα Χρύσα, ἐφ' ᾧ ᾗ ἀνέπα|φος καὶ ἀνεπηρέαστο[ς] | ἀπὸ παντὸς κληρο-

ν[όμ]ου ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιο[ν] (cp. *supra* p. 729 n. o), no. 401, 1 ff. = R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 299 no. 911 (manumission of a slave) [Θεῷ Ὑψ]ίσ[τῳ παν][τοκράτ]ορι εὐλο[γη][τ]ῷ· βασιλέωντ[ος] | βασιλέως Τιβερίου Ἰ<ω>ουλίου<λίου> Σαυρομά[του (*sc.* Tib. Iulius Sauromates ii, king of Bosporos in the time of Caracalla) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ φι[λορωμαίου εὐσεβοῦς | Τειμόθεος Νυμφα[γόρου Μακαρίου σὺν | ἀδελφῇ Ἡλιδος γν[ησιακὸς Ναυοβαλα[μύρου κατὰ εὐχὴν | πατρὸς ἡμῶν Νυμ[φαγόρου Μακαρίου | ἀφείομεν τὴν θρε[τὴν ἡμῶν Δ]ωρέαν | [ἐλευθέραν – – –], B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1901 iv. 249 ff. no. 436 *b*, 4 Θεῷ Ὑψί[στῳ – –], 15 [– –] Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ Ποθῆν[ος – –] *i.e.* the name of the god inserted twice in a list of his worshippers).

Tanais (B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1890 ii. 246 ff. nos. 437—467, R. Cagnat *op. cit.* i. 300 ff. nos. 915—921, of which some samples must serve: no. 437, 1 ff. = no. 915, 1 ff. (topped by relief of gable with shield inside and eagle on apex: see L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1870—1871 p. 230 f. fig.) [Θε]ῷ Ὑψίστωι ☿ ε[ὐχή]. | [β]ασιλεύοντος βα[σιλέως Τιβερίου][Ἰ]ουλίου Ῥοιμητάλκο[υ (*sc.* Tib. Iulius Rhoemetalces, king of Bosporos in the time of Hadrian) φιλοκαίσαρος καὶ] | φιλορωμαίου εὐσε[βοῦς, ἐν τῷ…ἔτει.] | μηνὸς Περειτίου η', [ἡ σύνοδος ἡ περὶ] | ἱερέα Πόπλιον Χαρ[ίτωνος (?) καὶ πατέρα συν][ήδου Ἀντ]μαχον τοῦ δεῖνος – – –], no. 447, 1 ff. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· | Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόωι ἡ σύνοδος πε[ρὶ Θεὸν Ὕψιστον καὶ ἱερέα Χόφρασμον | Φοργαβάκου καὶ συναγωγὸν Εὐπρέπην | Συμφόρου καὶ φιλ-άγαθον Ἀντίμαχον Πα[σίωνος καὶ παραφιλάγαθον Σύμφορον Δημη[τρίου καὶ γυμνασιάρχην Β[αλ]ῶδιν Δημητρίου | καὶ νιανισκάρχην Σανάνων Χοφράσμου καὶ οἱ | λοιποὶ θιασῶται· κ.τ.λ., no. 449, 1 ff. = no. 918, 1 ff. (with incised decoration of two eagles and a wreath between them: see L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 254 ff. fig.) Θεῶι [Ὑψίστωι] | βασιλεύοντος β[ασιλέως Τιβερίου] | Ἰουλίου Ῥησκουπ̣ό[ριδος (*sc.* Tib. Iulius Rhescuporis, king of Bosporos 212—229 A.D.) φιλοκαί[σαρος καὶ φιλορωμ[αίου εὐσεβοῦς] | ἱσποιητοὶ (= εἰσποιητοί, 'adoptivi') ἀδελφο[ὶ σεβόμενοι] | [Θεὸ]ν Ὕψιστον ἀν[έστησαν τὸν] | τελαμῶνα ἐν[γράψαντες ἑαυτῶν] | τὰ ὀνόματα· | κ.τ.λ., no. 452, 1 ff. = no. 920, 1 ff. [ἀγαθῇ]ι τύχῃ· | Θε[ῷ Ὑ]ψίστῳ ε[ὐχή.] | βασιλεύοντ[ο]ς βασιλέ[ως Τιβερίου] | [Ἰ]ουλίου [Κό]τυος (*sc.* Tib. Iulius Cotys, king of Bosporos *c.* 228—234 A.D.) φιλοκα[ίσαρο]ς καὶ φι[λορωμαίο]υ εὐσεβοῦς εἰσποιητοὶ | ἀδ[ελφοὶ σ]εβόμενοι Θεὸν Ὕψιστον | ἐνγρά[ψαντ]ες ἑαυτῶν τὰ ὀνόματα | περὶ πρεσβύτερον (*sc.* the senior of the adoptive brethren) Μ……Η]ρακλ[είδ]ου καὶ Ἀρίστωνα [Μ]ενε-στράτου καὶ Καλλι[γ[έν]ην Μύ[ρ]ωνος, Ἀλεξίωνα Πατρόκλου, *κ.τ.λ.* (list of names), 17 τὸν δὲ τελαμῶ[ν]α ἐδωρήσατο τοῖς ἀδελ[φ]οῖς Σαμ[βίω]ν Ἐλπιδίωνος. Φούρτας Ἀγαθοῦ, Ἀγα-θῆμερος Ποπλίου. | ἐν τῷ εκφ' ἔτει (525 of the Bosporan era = 228 A.D.), Γορπιαίου α', no. 454, 1 ff. ἀγαθῇι τύχηι· | Θε[ῷ Ὑψίστ]ῳ ἐπηκόῳ εὐχῆι· ἡ σύνοδος περὶ | ἱερέα Πάπαν Χρήστου καὶ [σ]υναγωγὸν Νυμ[φέρωτα Ὀχωζιάκου κ[α]ὶ φιλάγαθον Θέωνα | Φαζινάμου κ[α]ὶ παραφι[λ]ά(γ)αθον Φαζίναμ[ον Καλλιστί[ω]νος κ[αὶ γ]υμνασιάρχην Μακάρι[ον Μαστοῦ καὶ νεανισκάρχην Ζήθον Ζήθου | κ[α]ὶ οἱ λοιποὶ θι[α]σῶται· κ.τ.λ.

These inscriptions have been studied by L. Stephani, I. V. Pomjalóvskij, V. V. Látyshev, E. Schürer, E. H. Minns, and others. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1870—1871 p. 228 ff. argued that the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος, whose emblem was an eagle, must have been the Greek Zeus, but that the regular omission of the name Zeus implies an incipient Christianisation of his cult. I. V. Pomjalóvskij in the *Transactions of the Sixth* (1884) *Archaeological Congress at Odessa* (published in Russian) Odessa 1888 ii. 24 ff. compared the god with Zeus Σωτήρ, Zeus Στράτιος, Zeus Λαβράϋνδος, Zeus Χρυσαορεύς, etc. and saw no reason to regard his epithets Ὕψιστος, Ἐπήκοος as indicative of Christian influence. B. Latyschev *op. cit.* Petropoli 1890 ii 246 f., in view of the dedication Θεῷ Ἐπηκόῳ Ὑψίστῳ by a θίασος Σεβαζιανός (*supra* no. (11)), concluded that here too the god worshipped was *Sabázios*—a possible link between Zeus and the κύριος Σαβαώθ (*supra* i. 234 n. 4, 400 n. 6, 425 n. 2). But E. Schürer 'Die Juden im bosporanischen Reiche und die Genossenschaften der σεβόμενοι θεὸν ὕψιστον ehendaselbst' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 200 ff. (followed *e.g.* by E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 620 ff. and F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 448) has made it clear that the worshippers were Bosporan Jews, who however did not scruple to use the gentile *formula* ὑπὸ Δία, Γῆν, Ἥλιον. Their worship was a compromise between the strictly Semitic and the strictly Hellenic ('weder Judenthum noch Heidenthum, son-

dern eine Neutralisirung beider'). At Tanais, for example, there were several small religious societies (*θίασοι, σύνοδοι*), each comprising some 15 to 40 members (*θιασῶται, θιασῖται, θιασεῖται, συνοδεῖται*). These members were either of recent introduction (*εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί*) or of senior standing (*πρεσβύτερος*). Their officers in descending order were *ἱερεύς, πατὴρ συνόδου, συναγωγός, φιλάγαθος, παραφιλάγαθος, γυμνασιάρχης, νεανισκάρχης, γραμματεύς* (omissions and transpositions occur). Their aims included the cult of the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος, the education of the young, and (to judge from similar inscriptions at Pantikapaion) the due burial of the brethren.

(28) Kappadokia. An analogous blend of Jewish and Persian beliefs is found in the case of the Ὑψιστάριοι, according to Gregory of Nazianzos, whose own father had belonged originally to this sect (Greg. Naz. *or.* 18. 5 (xxxv. 989 D—992 A Migne) *ἐκεῖνος τοίνυν... ῥίζης ἐγένετο βλάστημα οὐκ ἐπαινετῆς...ἐκ δυοῖν τοῖν ἐναντιωτάτοιν συγκεκραμένης, Ἑλληνικῆς τε πλάνης καὶ νομικῆς τερατείας· ὧν ἀμφοτέρων τὰ μέρη φυγὼν ἐκ μερῶν συνετέθη. τῆς μὲν γὰρ τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ τὰς θυσίας ἀποπεμπόμενος τιμῶσι τὸ πῦρ καὶ τὰ λύχνα· τῆς δὲ τὸ σάββατον αἰδούμενος καὶ τὴν περὶ τὰ βρώματα ἔστιν ἃ μικρολογίαν τὴν περιτομὴν ἀτιμάζουσιν. Ὑψιστάριοι τοῖς ταπεινοῖς ὄνομα, καὶ ὁ Παντοκράτωρ δὴ μόνος αὐτοῖς σεβάσμιος*). Gregory of Nyssa speaks of the same sect as *Ὑψιστιανοί* (Greg. Nyss. *contra Eunomium* 2 (xlv. 481 D—484 A Migne) *ὁ γὰρ ὁμολογῶν τὸν πατέρα πάντοτε καὶ ὡσαύτως ἔχειν, ἕνα καὶ μόνον ὄντα, τὸν τῆς εὐσεβείας κρατύνει λόγον...εἰ δὲ ἄλλον τινὰ παρὰ τὸν πατέρα θεὸν ἀναπλάσσει, Ἰουδαίοις διαλεγέσθω ἢ τοῖς λεγομένοις Ὑψιστιανοῖς· ὧν αὕτη ἐστὶν ἡ πρὸς τοὺς Χριστιανοὺς διαφορά, τὸ θεὸν μὲν αὐτοὺς ὁμολογεῖν εἶναί τινα, δν ὀνομάζουσιν Ὕψιστον ἢ Παντοκράτορα· πατέρα δὲ αὐτὸν εἶναι μὴ παραδέχεσθαι*). See further C. Ullmann *De Hypsistariis, seculi post Christum natum quarti secta, commentatio* Heidelbergae 1823 pp. 1—34, G. Boehmer *De Hypsistariis opinionibusque, quae super eis propositae sunt, commentationem* etc. Berolini 1824 pp. 1—102, W. Boehmer *Einige Bemerkungen zu den von dem Herrn Prof. Dr. Ullmann und mir aufgestellten Ansichten über den Ursprung und den Charakter der Hypsistarier* Hamburg 1826 pp. 1—75, G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iii. 188 f.

(29) Syria. Palmyra (*Tadmor*) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4503 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 2571 *b* on a bilingual altar now at Oxford *Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ* [Ἐ]*πηκόῳ* Ἰούλ(λιος) Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἀ|*ντίπατρος ὁ καὶ* | Ἀλαφάνας Ἀαλ|αμεῖ τοῦ Ζηνοβίλου τοῦ Ἀκοπάου | *εὐξάμενος ἀνέ|θηκεν, ἔτους δμφ', | Αὐδυναίου κδ'* (= Jan. 24, 233 A.D.) = C. J. M. de Vogüé *Inscriptions sémitiques* Paris 1868 p. 74 no. 123*a* iii with translation of the Palmyrene text 'Action de grâces à celui dont le nom est béni dans l'éternité' etc. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4502 = Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2571 *c* = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr.* no. 634 on an altar near the great sulphurous spring at the entrance to the town *Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ Μεγίστῳ Ἐπηκόῳ* Βωλανὸς Ζηνοβίου[1] *τοῦ Αἰράνου τοῦ Μοκίμου τοῦ Μαθθᾶ, ἐπιμελητὴς | αἱρεθεὶς Ἐφκας πηγῆς* (I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2859) *ὑπὸ* Ἰαριβώλου *τοῦ θεοῦ* (*supra* p. 814 n. 3) *τὸν βω(μὸ)ν | ἐξ ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν, ἔτους δου', μηνὸς* Ὑπερβερεταίου *κ'* (= Oct. 20, 162 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2572 on an altar in the Mohammedan cemetery *Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθη|κεν* Ἰούλιος Σ.ιις ἀπε|λεύθερο(ς) Γαΐου <ς> Ἰου|λίου Βάσσου *ὑπὲρ σω|τηρίας* Ἰλείβας *υἱο(ῦ) | αὐτοῦ, ἔτους μϛ', μη|νὸς* Ξανδικοῦ (= April 179 A.D.). Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2573 on a fragmentary altar from the same site *Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ* Α[ὐρ.] Διογένης Σωσιβίου ἄμα | *Δόμνη εὐξάμενοι καὶ ἐπακουσθέν|τες* [– – –] | [– – –]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2574 on a small altar from the same site *Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ | καὶ* Ἐπηκόῳ | *εὐξάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν* | Α···*ευρος καὶ* | Σώπατρος *καὶ* | Θεῷ Μεγάλῳ | Σαλλούντῳ (?) | *Ἐνευάρει* (?) | [– – –]. Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2575 on a small bilingual altar from the same site *Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ* Ἐπηκόῳ *τὸν βωμὸν ἀν*[*έθηκεν*] *εὐχαριστ*[ῶ]‖[*ν ὁ δεῖνα*] | [– – –] = C. J. M. de Vogüé *op. cit.* p. 68 no. 101, who reads *εὐχαρίστ*[*ω*]‖[*ς* – – –] and renders the Palmyrene text 'Que soit béni son nom à toujours : le bon et le miséricordieux !' etc. M. Sobernheim *Palmyrenische Inschriften* (*Mitteilungen der Vorderasiatischen Gesellschaft* 1905 x, 2) Berlin 1905 p. 38 f. no. 31 on a *stèle* built into the western wall of the steps leading up to the roof of the 'Fahnenheiligtum'; the pilasters of the *stèle* have Corinthian capitals adorned with filleted wreath and winged thunderbolt [*Διὶ Ὑψί*]*στ*[*ῳ καὶ*] Ἐ[*πηκόῳ* – – –] | [– – –] *τῶν κα*[*ρ*]*πῶν, οὓς* [*ἐ*]*κ* [*ταύτ*]*ης* · [*τῆς χώρας*] | [– – –] *κατ' ἔτος τ*[*ε ἀ*]*γαθῇ ἡμέρᾳ διὰ π*[*α*]*ντὸς ε*[– – –]

[– – – ἔτους] δου', μηνὶ Ξανδικῷ ϛ (= April 6, 163 A.D.). M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* p. 40 no. 20 on a *cippus* built into the eastern wall of the small court in front of the 'Fahnenheiligtum' Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐ[πηκόῳ ὁ δεῖνα] | ὁ καὶ Ἰαριβω[λέης τοῦ δεῖνα]. M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* p. 40 ff. no. 34 pls. 16, 17 on a bilingual *cippus* in the court before the 'Fahnenheiligtum' Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκ[όῳ τὸν βωμὸν] | ἀνέθηκεν Ζαβδίβω[λος τοῦ] Ἰαριβωλέους] | τοῦ Λισαμσαίου τοῦ Αἰ[ράνου ὑπὲρ τῆς] | ὑγείας αὐτοῦ καὶ τέκνω[ν καὶ] | ἀδελφῶν, ἔτους δμυ' Ἁ[περβερεταίου] (= October 132 A.D.) followed by a Palmyrene text, which he translates 'Diesen [Altar] brachte dar dem, dessen Namen in Ewigkeit gesegnet sei,' etc. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4500 = Lebas—Waddington *op. cit.* iii no. 2627. Some 3½ hours from Palmyra on the road to Emesa are three large altars of similar size placed close together; that on the east has a relief representing a large thunderbolt and a bilingual inscription; that on the west has a similar relief and inscription, except for a variant in the Palmyrene text; that in the centre is damaged and appears to have a different emblem but the same inscription Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ Ἐπηκόῳ ἡ πόλις εὐχήν· | ἔτους εκυ', Δύστρου ακ' (= March 21, 114 A.D.), ἐπὶ ἀργυροταμιῶν Ζεβείδου Θαιμοαμέδου καὶ | Μοκίμου Ἰαριβωλέους καὶ Ἰαραίου Νουρβήλου καὶ Ἀνάνιδος Μάλχου = C. J. M. de Vogüé *op. cit.* p. 74 f. no. 124, who renders the Palmyrene text 'La ville (de Thadmor) a élevé (cet autel) à celui dont le nom est béni à toujours,' etc. R. Dussaud *Mission dans les régions désertiques de la Syrie* (extr. from the *Nouvelles Archives des missions scientifiques et littéraires* x) Paris 1903 p. 238 no. 2 a dedication, south of Damaskos, Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Ὑψίστῳ (quoted by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 445). The Syrian Zeus Ὕψιστος is probably *Ba'al-šamin* (M. Sobernheim *op. cit.* pp. 41, 43, 44 f.; *supra* i. 8, 191 f.).

(30) Phoinike. Sanchouniathon of Berytos (*supra* i. 191) in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 12 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 14 f. κατὰ τούτους γίνεταί τις Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος καὶ θήλεια λεγομένη Βηρούθ, οἳ καὶ κατῴκουν περὶ Βύβλον. ἐξ ὧν γενῆται Ἐπίγειος ἢ Αὐτόχθων (W. Dindorf reads Ἐπίγειος αὐτόχθων), ὃν ὕστερον ἐκάλεσαν Οὐρανόν· ὡς ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καὶ τὸ ὑπὲρ ἡμᾶς στοιχεῖον δι' ὑπερβολὴν τοῦ κάλλους ὀνομάζειν οὐρανόν. γενῆται δὲ τούτῳ ἀδελφὴ ἐκ τῶν προειρημένων, ἣ καὶ ἐκλήθη Γῆ, καὶ διὰ τὸ κάλλος ἀπ' αὐτῆς, φησίν, ἐκάλεσαν τὴν ὁμώνυμον γῆν. ὁ δὲ τούτων πατὴρ ὁ Ὕψιστος ἐν συμβολῇ θηρίων τελευτήσας ἀφιερώθη, ᾧ χοὰς καὶ θυσίας οἱ παῖδες ἐτέλεσαν. Here Ἐλιοῦν is but the Phoenician for Ὕψιστος, who naturally weds Βηρούθ because he is the solar Ba'al of Berytos (R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 140 f.). W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 p. 76 supposes a blend of Adonis (killed by the boar) with the 'Kronos' of Byblos. Two votive hands of bronze formerly in the collection of M. Péretié at *Beirut* are dedicated to the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (M. Beaudouin—E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 265 no. 20 [ἡ δεῖνα] | εὐξ[α]μένη ὑπὲρ αὐτῆ[ς] | καὶ Θ[ε]οδώρου ἀνδρὸ[ς] | καὶ τέκνων | Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ, *ib.* no. 21 Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ Γηρίων εὐξά[μ]ενος ἀνέθη[κ]εν in dotted letters), as is a third described in the *Catalogue de la Collection Hoffmann*, Bronzes, no. 570 (F. Cumont in R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* p. 122). The god in question is presumably Adad or Ramman, the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis (R. Dussaud *ib.* p. 123 f., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 445). Possibly some confusion of *Ramman* (*supra* i. 576) with *Rama, Ramath, Ramatha*, 'Height' (Beer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 132), underlies the glosses in Hesych. ῥαμά· ὑψηλή, ῥαμάς· ὁ ὕψιστος θεός, and the aetiological tale in Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαοδίκεια· πόλις τῆς Συρίας, ἡ πρότερον Λευκὴ ἀκτὴ λεγομένη καὶ πρὸ τούτου Ῥάμιθα. κεραυνωθεὶς γάρ τις ἐν αὐτῇ ποιμὴν ἔλεγε ῥαμάνθας, τουτέστιν ἀφ' ὕψους ὁ θεός· ῥάμαν γὰρ τὸ ὕψος, ἄθας δὲ ὁ θεός. οὕτω Φίλων. At *Sahin*, five hours from Antarados (*Tortosa, Tartûs*), is the dedication [Θε]ῷ Ὑψίστῳ Οὐρανίῳ Τ[πάτῳ καὶ Ἡλίῳ Ἀνικήτῳ (?)] | [Μί]θρᾳ ὁ βωμὸς ἐκτισθ[η·····] | [δ]ρθῶς ἐν τῷ κφ' (= 208 A.D.), ἐπ[ικρατείας (?)·····] | [ὑπέ]ρ σωτηρίας Θεο[φ]ρά[στου·····] | ἐπὶ ἀρχῆς Σολωμάνο[υ····] (E. Renan *Mission de Phénicie* Paris 1864 p. 103 f., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 92 no. 5).

At *Abédat* above the door of the church of Mar-Eusebios is a block inscribed ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· | ἔτους ιζ' Καίσαρος Ἀντωνείνου τοῦ κυρίου, | μηνὸς Λώου (= August 154 A.D.), Διὶ Οὐρανίῳ Ὑψίστῳ Σααρναίῳ (a title derived from the ancient name of the village (?)) Ἐπηκόῳ | Γ. Φλάουιος [Γλ]άφυρος ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων τὸν βωμὸν ἀνέθηκα (E. Renan *op. cit.*

p. 234 ff. = R. Cagnat—G. Lafaye *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1906 iii. 406 no. 1060). At Byblos (*Djebeil*), some six hours north of Berytos, is a square statue-base lettered Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ | Πεκουλιάριος [Μάρθας Δ(ημ)η[τρίου (?)]. The upper part of the base shows in relief a bust of the god, facing. He is bearded, and clad in *chitôn* and *himâtion*, with thunderbolt and sceptre to his right and left (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 f. with fig. (inadequate), S. Ronzevalle in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1903 xii. 405 ff. with photographic cut). Ronzevalle *loc. cit.* contends 'que l'*Hypsistos* de Byblos n'est autre que l'antique *Moloch-Kronos* de la même ville': cp. W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* p. 76 n. 4.

(31) Samaria. On Mt Argarizon (Gerizim) near Neapolis (*Nablûs*) was a sanctuary of Zeus Ὕψιστος, to whom Abraham had devoted himself (Marinos in Damask. *v. Isid. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 345 b 18 ff. Bekker ὅτι ὁ διάδοχος Πρόκλου, φησίν, ὁ Μαρῖνος, γένος ἦν ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν Παλαιστίνῃ Νέας πόλεως, πρὸς ὄρει κατῳκισμένης τῷ Ἀργαρίζῳ καλουμένῳ. εἶτα βλασφημῶν ὁ δυσσεβὴς φησιν ὁ συγγραφεύς, ἐν ᾧ Διὸς Ὑψίστου ἁγιώτατον ἱερόν, ᾧ καθιέρωτο Ἄβραμος ὁ τῶν πάλαι Ἑβραίων πρόγονος, ὡς αὐτὸς ἔλεγεν ὁ Μαρῖνος); cp. Deut. 11. 29, 27. 12 with Gen. 12. 6 f.: Jehovah, from the heathen point of view, was 'a god of the hills' (1 Kings 20. 23). Sanballat built a temple on Mt Gerizim (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 11. 8. 4), which during the persecutions of Antiochos iv Epiphanes was dedicated to Zeus Ἑλλήνιος (*id. ib.* 12. 5. 5, Zonar. 4. 19 (i. 317 Dindorf)) or Ξένιος (2 Macc. 6. 2, Euseb. *chron. ann. Abr.* 1850 versio Armenia (ii. 126 Schoene) = Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 1849 (ii. 127

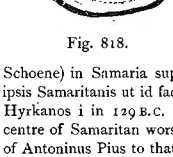


Fig. 818.

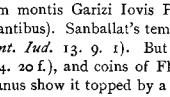


Fig. 819.

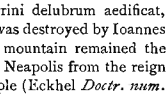


Fig. 820.

Schoene) in Samaria super verticem montis Garizi Iovis Peregrini delubrum aedificat, ipsis Samaritanis ut id faceret praecantibus). Sanballat's temple was destroyed by Ioannes Hyrkanos i in 129 B.C. (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 13. 9. 1). But the mountain remained the centre of Samaritan worship (John 4. 20 f.), and coins of Flavia Neapolis from the reign of Antoninus Pius to that of Volusianus show it topped by a temple (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 433 ff., T. L. Donaldson *Architectura Numismatica* London 1859 p. 116 ff. no. 33, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. xxviii ff., 48 f. pl. 5, 14—16 Antoninus Pius, 59 pl. 6, 12 Macrinus, 60 f. nos. 94—100 Elagabalos, 63 nos. 112—115 Severus Alexander, no. 116 f. Philippus Senior, 66 f. pl. 7, 5 Philippus Senior and Philippus Iunior, 68 no. 135 Otacilia Severa, 69 pl. 7, 9 Philippus Iunior, 70 f. pl. 7, 13 Trebonianus Gallus, 73 pl. 7, 19 Volusianus; cp. pl. 39, 7 f., 12, pl. 40, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 278 pl. 77, 25 Antoninus Pius, 281 pl. 77, 27 Volusianus, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 803. My figs. 818 and 820 are from F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 247 f. pl. 13, 1 Antoninus Pius and pl. 14, 2 Volusianus. Fig. 819 is from a specimen struck by Macrinus, in my collection. Mt Gerizim is often supported by an eagle (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. 63 no. 116 f. Philippus Senior, 66 f. pl. 7, 5 Philippus Senior and Philippus Iunior, 69 pl. 7, 9 Philippus Iunior, 73 pl. 7, 19 Volusianus) and sometimes flanked by a star (sun ?) on the left and a crescent (moon) on the right (*ib.* p. 71 no. 153 f. Trebonianus Gallus): eagle and heavenly bodies would alike suit the worship of Zeus). Mr G. F. Hill *loc. cit.* p. xxviii f. describes the coin-type as follows: 'It shows two distinct peaks, the steepness of which is certainly exaggerated. On the left-hand peak is the

temple which, since it first appears on coins of Pius, is doubtless the temple of Zeus Hypsistos built by Hadrian [E. N. Adler—M. Séligsohn 'Une nouvelle chronique samaritaine' in the *Revue des études juives* 1902 xlv. 82 'le roi Hadrien vint à Sichem et fit du bien aux Samaritains; il fit construire pour lui un grand temple près du mont Garizim et le nomma Temple de Saphis...Le roi Hadrien prit les battants d'airain qui avaient été mis à la porte du temple de Salomon, fils de David, et les plaça à la porte du temple de Saphis,' *ib.* p. 233 'les battants d'airain que les gens de l'empereur Hadrien avaient enlevés du temple des Juifs à Jérusalem et placés dans le temple construit sur l'ordre d'Hadrien dans l'endroit choisi, le Mont Garizim...les battants d'airain enlevés par Hadrien au temple juif et placés par lui au temple qu'il a construit au pied du Mont Garizim.' Cp. the parallel passages in E. Vilmar *Abulfathi annales Samaritani* Gothæ 1865 and T. G. J. Juynboll *Chronicon Samaritanum, Arabice conscriptum, cui titulus est Liber Josuae* Lugduni Batavorum 1848 cap. 47 p. 188. But the chroniclers' description can hardly refer to a temple on the mountain-*top*. And C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Journal des Savants* Nouvelle Série 1904 ii. 40 f., in view of the variants *saqaras* lib. Jos., *sapîs*, *sîpas* Abu'l Fath, *sapîs* chron. Adler, concludes that the god established by Hadrian was Iupiter Sarapis. This is certainly better than Iupiter *Sospes* the conjecture of E. N. Adler—M. Séligsohn *loc. cit.* p. 82 n. 2 or *Caesaris* the suggestion of T. G. J. Juynboll *op. cit.* p. 334 f.]. Behind it is a small erection which may be an external altar. On the other (right-hand) peak is a construction which seems again to be rather an altar than a small temple. Since the mountain is doubtless supposed to be seen from the town, i.e. from the north, this smaller peak must lie to the west of the larger. We may perhaps identify it with the spur west of the main summit on which are the ruins known as *Khûrbet Lôzeh* or *Luzah*, where is still the Samaritans' sacrificing place. The 300 steps by which, in the time of the Bordeaux Pilgrim (A.D. 333), one ascended to the summit [*Palestine Pilgrims' Text Society: Itinerary from Bordeaux to Jerusalem* trans. A. Stewart annot. Sir C. W. Wilson London 1887 p. 18], are indicated on the coins, with chapels at intervals, as on many another *sacro monte*; but no trace of them has been recorded as surviving to the present day. Along the foot of the mountain was a long colonnade; an opening gave access to the foot of the stair and to the road, perhaps for wheeled traffic, which wound up the hill between the two peaks, branching about half-way up.' Prokop. *de aed.* 5. 7. 2 states that the Samaritans worshipped the actual mountain-top, but denies that they had ever built a temple on it (*τοῦτο δὲ τὸ ὄρος κατ' ἀρχὰς μὲν οἱ Σαμαρεῖται εἶχον· ὡς εὐξόμενοί τε ἀνέβαινον ἐς τὴν τοῦ ὄρους ὑπερβολήν, οὐδένα ἀνιέντες καιρόν· οὐχ ὅτι νεών τινα ἐνταῦθα ᾠκοδομήσαντο πώποτε, ἀλλὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν αὐτὴν σεβόμενοι ἐτεθήπεσαν πάντων μάλιστα*). He goes on to say (*ib.* 5. 7. 7) that Zenon, emperor of the East, expelled the Samaritans from the mountain, handed it over to the Christians, and built on the summit a church dedicated to the Virgin (*τῇ θεοτόκῳ*) with a wall, or rather a fence, about it. The *Chronicon Paschale* 327 B (i. 604 Dindorf) for the year 484 A.D. remarks *ὁ δὲ βασιλεὺς Ζήνων εὐθέως ἐποίησε τὴν συναγωγὴν αὐτῶν τὴν οὖσαν εἰς τὸ καλούμενον Γαργαρίδην εὐκτήριον οἶκον μέγαν τῆς δεσποίνης ἡμῶν τῆς θεοτόκου καὶ ἀειπαρθένου Μαρίας*=Io. Malal. *chron.* 15 p. 382 f. Dindorf. For an account of the ruins still traceable on the mountain see Sir C. W. Wilson 'Ebal and Gerizim, 1866' in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1873* pp. 66—71 with plan, and for modern celebrations on the site J. A. Montgomery *The Samaritans* Philadelphia 1907 p. 34 ff. with photographic view (*ib.* pp. 322—346 Samaritan bibliography). I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 767 comments: 'Der Berg verdankt den heiligen Charakter seiner kosmischen Bedeutung: Ebal und G. zusammen sind für Palästina der doppelgipfelige Weltberg, der Gottesberg mit dem Pass dazwischen' —a dogmatic statement of a possible (cp. *supra* p. 422 ff.), but by no means proven, hypothesis.

(32) Ioudaia. The Hebrew Godhead in the later books of the Old Testament, in the Apokrypha, and in the New Testament is often styled (ὁ) Ὕψιστος, sometimes (ὁ) Θεὸς (ὁ) Ὕψιστος or Κύριος (ὁ) Ὕψιστος (details and statistics by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 214 f.). Cp. Philon *in Flaccum* 7 *ὁ τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ νεώς*, *leg. ad Gaium* 23 *ἀπαρχὴν τῷ Ὑψίστῳ Θεῷ*, 40 *θυσίας ἐντελεῖς ὁλοκαύτους τῷ Ὑψίστῳ*

Hýpsistos, however, was obviously susceptible of a less material interpretation. Accordingly, in Hellenistic times, the name of Zeus *Hýpsistos* became attached to the supreme deity of more than one non-Hellenic area. In Syria it meant *Ba'al-šamin*. In Samaria it meant Jehovah. Further denationalised, but still recognisable by his eagle (Athens, Thyateira, Mytilene, Tanais), the *Theòs Hýpsistos*—often called *Hýpsistos* and nothing more—was worshipped throughout the Greek-speaking world in early imperial days. The propagation of his cult was due, partly perhaps to a general trend towards monotheism, but mainly to definite Jewish influence. The Jews of the Dispersion, accustomed to use the term *Hýpsistos* of their own august Godhead, carried it with them into Gentile lands, where they formed small and—truth to tell—somewhat accommodating circles of worshippers (Moesia, Bosporos Kimmerios, Kappadokia). Here and there they continued to light their ceremonial lamps (Pisidia, Lydia); but they could hardly be described as whole-hearted devotees of the Mosaic law. Thus

Θεῷ καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν, Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 16. 6. 2 ἀρχιερέως Θεοῦ Ὑψίστου, Celsus *ap.* Orig. *c. Cels.* 1. 24 μετὰ ταῦτά φησιν ὅτι οἱ αἰπόλοι καὶ ποιμένες ἕνα ἐνόμισαν θεόν, εἴτε Ὕψιστον εἴτ' Ἀδωναΐ εἴτ' Οὐράνιον εἴτε Σαβαώθ, εἴτε καὶ ὅπῃ καὶ ὅπως χαίρουσιν ὀνομάζοντες τόνδε τὸν κόσμον, 5. 41 οὐδὲν οὖν οἶμαι διαφέρειν Δία Ὕψιστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαὼθ ἢ Ἀμοῦν, ὡς Λίγύπτιοι, ἢ Παπαῖον, ὡς Σκύθαι, 45 Κέλσος οἴεται μηδὲν διαφέρειν Δία Ὕψιστον καλεῖν ἢ Ζῆνα ἢ Ἀδωναῖον ἢ Σαβαὼθ ἤ, ὡς Λίγύπτιοι, Ἀμοῦν ἤ, ὡς Σκύθαι, Παπαῖον, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 53 p. 110, 4 ff. Wünsch καὶ Ἰουλιανὸς δὲ ὁ βασιλεύς, ὅτε πρὸς Πέρσας ἐστρατεύετο, γράφων Ἰουδαίοις οὕτω φησίν· ' ἀνεγείρω γὰρ μετὰ πάσης προθυμίας τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ,' A. Dieterich 'Papyrus magica musei Lugdunensis Batavi' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1888 xvi. 797 verse 23 ff. κατ' ἐπιταγὴν τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ Ἰάω Ἀδωναὶ αβ[λα]ναθαναλβα (cp. A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae* Luteciae Parisiorum 1904 p. 500 f.), | σὺ εἶ ὁ περιέχων τὰς χάριτας | [ἐ]ν τῇ κορυφῇ λαμπρᾷ, C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 47 pap. Par. 1068 καλὸν καὶ ἱερὸν φῶς τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *ib.* p. 104 Brit. Mus. pap. 46. 45 ff. = F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 66 no. 46, 44 ff. καὶ διατήρησόν με καὶ τὸν παῖδα | τοῦτον ἀπημάντους ἐν ὀνόματι | τοῦ Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ, *oracl. Sib.* 2. 245 Geffcken ἥξει καὶ Μωσῆς ὁ μέγας φίλος Ὑψίστοιο. Aisch. *frag.* 464. 12 Nauck² *ap.* Iust. Mart. *de monarch.* 2 δόξα δ' Ὑψίστου Θεοῦ (δ' om. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 415, 15 Stählin = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 60) is a Jewish forgery.

(33) Aigyptos. The Jews of Athribis (*Bencha*) in Lower Egypt dedicated a house of prayer to the Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (S. Reinach in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 178 ff. no. 1, cp. *id. Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 579, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 96 ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου (*sc.* Ptolemy v Epiphanes (205—181 B.C.) or Ptolemy vi Philometor (181—146 B.C.)) | καὶ βασιλίσσης Κλεοπάτρας | Πτολεμαίδος Ἐπικύδου | ὁ ἐπιστάτης τῶν φυλακιτῶν | καὶ οἱ ἐν Ἀθρίβει Ἰουδαῖοι | τὴν προσευχὴν | Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ). A woman of Alexandreia invokes his aid (*Bulletin de l'Institut Egyptien* 1872—1873 no. 12 p. 116 f. cited by E. Schürer in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1897 p. 213 and by J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des Inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i. 17 Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτῃ καὶ Ἡλίῳ καὶ Νεμέσεσι αἴρει Ἀρσενόη ἄωρος τὰς χεῖρας· ἢ (= εἰ) τις αὐτῇ φάρμακα ἐποίησε ἢ καὶ ἐπέχαρέ τις αὐτῆς τῷ θανάτῳ ἢ ἐπιχαρεῖ, μετέλθετε αὐτούς. For the raised hands cp. *supra* no. (19) Rheneia).

(34) Africa. At Hadrumetum in Byzacium several curse-tablets invoke the *Deus Pelagicus Aerius Altissimus* Ἰάω (A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae* Luteciae Parisiorum 1904 p. 403 ff. no. 290 ff., *e.g.* no. 293, B adiuro te demon | quicunque es et de|mando tibi ex hanc | die ex hanc ora ex oc·| momento ut crucie|tur; adiuro te per eum | qui te resolvit ex vite | temporibus deum pela|gicum aerium altissimu[m] | Ιαω οι ου ιαιαα ιωιωε | ο οριυω αηια | Lynceus (*sc.* the name of the horse to be cursed)). *Altissimus* = Ὕψιστος (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 449).

their *milieu* on occasion provided a congenial soil for the growth of the Christian church. Indeed, it is sometimes difficult to decide whether a given dedication to the *Theòs Hýpsístos* was the work of a Jew or of a Jewish Christian (Phrygia). After all, *Hýpsistos* was a title that any honest man could use with a clear conscience[1].

Zeus appears as a mountain-god in connexion with the following localities:

Lakonike

Mount Taleton, a peak of Mount Taygeton[2].
The *Akrópolis* at Sparta[3].
Cape Malea[4].
Cape Tainaros (?)[5].

Messene

Mount Ithome[6].

[1] For ὕψιστος as applied to Zeus by the Greek poets see Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 142.

[2] A broken *stéle* of white marble, now at Sparta (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 43 f. no. 222), mentions Zeus Ταλετίτας along with Auxesia and Damoia (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 35 f. no. 14, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 363, 1 f. cited *supra* i. 730 n. 6). The god derived his title from Mt Taleton (*supra* i. 155 f. pl. xiv), on which horses were sacrificed to Helios (Paus. 3. 20. 4 ἄκρα δὲ τοῦ Ταϋγέτου Ταλετὸν ὑπὲρ Βρυσεῶν ἀνέχει. ταύτην Ἡλίου καλοῦσιν ἱεράν, καὶ ἄλλα τε αὐτόθι Ἡλίῳ θύουσι καὶ ἵππους· τὸ δὲ αὐτὸ καὶ Πέρσας οἶδα θύειν νομίζοντας. *Supra* i. 180 n. 5): cp. the Cretan sun-god Talos (*supra* i. 719 ff.). The goddesses, Peloponnesian equivalents of Demeter and Kore, were worshipped at the foot of the mountain in Bryseai (*Kalybia Sochiotika*), where traces of an Eleusinion have come to light (H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 8. *Id. ib.* p. 7 holds that Taleton was not the very summit of Taygeton, but a lower and more accessible crest).

[3] Zeus Ὕπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (4)).

[4] Zeus Μαλειαῖος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μαλέα· ... καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Μάλεια Μαλειαῖος Ζεύς).

[5] Tainaros, who founded the Taenarian temple of Poseidon, was the son of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ταίναρος). *Supra* i. 156.

[6] Zeus Ἰθωμάτας had a cult, but no actual temple (D. Fimmen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2306 quoting Oikonomakis Τὰ σωζόμενα Ἰθώμης, Μεσσήνης 1879 p. 14 f.), on the top of Mt Ithome, where he had been brought up by the nymphs Ithome and Neda (Thouk. 1. 103, Paus. 4. 3. 9, 4. 12. 7 ff., 4. 27. 6, 4. 33. 1 f.). Water was carried daily from the spring Klepsydra to his sanctuary (Paus. 4. 33. 1). The statue of him made by Hageladas for the Messenians of Naupaktos was kept in the house of a priest annually chosen (Paus. 4. 33. 2 cited *supra* p. 741 n. 4): its type is reflected on coins of Messene (*supra* p. 741 f. figs. 673, 674). At Messene (M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 53 f. no. 11, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1399, 1 ff. τειχιόεσ|σα παρ' ἀγλαὸν | ἱρὸν Ἰθώμης Μεσ|σήνη) in *s.* i—ii A.D. the priest of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας was eponymous magistrate (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1468, 4 ff. ἐπὶ ἱερέος τοῦ | Διὸς τοῦ Ἰθω|μάτου Ἀπελ|λίωνος τοῦ Φι|λίπου, cp. *ib.* no. 1467, 1 and no. 1469, 1). The yearly festival (*ib.* nos. 1467—1469 record as its officials ἀγωνοθέτης, ἱεροθύται, γραμματεύς, χαλειδοφόρος (= ἀκρατοφόρος, cp. χάλις, 'pure wine')) was called Ἰθωμαῖα (Paus. 4. 33. 2), Ἰθωμαία or Ἰθωμαῖς (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰθώμη· ... καὶ Ζεὺς Ἰθωμάτας, καὶ ἑορτὴ Ἰθωμαία καὶ Ἰθωμαῖς). It dates back to the time of Eumelos (*s.* viii B.C.), and originally involved a musical competition (Paus. 4. 33. 2 ἄγουσι δὲ καὶ ἑορτὴν ἐπέτειον Ἰθωμαῖα· τὸ δὲ ἀρχαῖον καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐτίθεσαν μουσικῆς. τεκμαίρεσθαι δ' ἔστιν ἄλλοις τε καὶ Εὐμήλου τοῖς ἔπεσιν· ἐποίησε γοῦν καὶ τάδε ἐν τῷ προσοδίῳ τῷ ἐς Δῆλον (Eumel. *frag.* 13 Kinkel, cp. Paus. 4. 4. 1, 5. 19. 10)· 'τῷ γὰρ Ἰθωμάτᾳ καταθύμιος ἔπλετο Μοῖσα | ἀ καθαρὰ <ν κίθαριν (ins. T. Bergk; but see H. W. Smyth *ad loc.*) > καὶ ἐλεύθερα σάμβαλ' ἔχοισα.' οὐκοῦν ποιῆσαί μοι δοκεῖ τὰ ἔπη καὶ μουσικῆς ἀγῶνα ἐπιστάμενος τιθέντας). A tradition of human sacrifice (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 32) attached

Elis

Mount Olympos[1].

Olympia[2].

Arkadia

Mount Lykaion[3].

to Mt Ithome, as to Mt Lykaion (*supra* i. 70 ff.); for Aristomenes is said to have slain 300 persons, including Theopompos king of Sparta, as an offering to Zeus Ἰθωμάτας (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 42. 2 p. 31, 23 ff. Stählin (=Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 12) Ἀριστομένης γοῦν ὁ Μεσσήνιος τῷ Ἰθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίους ἀπέσφαξεν, τοσαύτας ὁμοῦ καὶ τοιαύτας καλλιερεῖν οἰόμενος ἑκατόμβας· ἐν οἷς καὶ Θεόπομπος ἦν < ὁ (Euseb.) > Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύς, ἱερεῖον εὐγενές, Kyrill. Al. *c. Iul.* 4 (lxxvi. 696 D—697 A Migne) Ἀριστομένης μὲν γὰρ ὁ Μεσήνιος τῷ ἐπίκλην Ἰθωμήτῃ Διὶ τριακοσίους ὁμοῦ νεκροὺς ἐχαρίζετο· προσετίθει δὲ τούτοις καὶ τῶν Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεύσαντα· Θεόπομπος οὗτος ἦν. ἀξιάγαστος ἐντεῦθεν ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὕπατός τε καὶ ὑπέρτατος. ἐπεμειδία γὰρ κατὰ τὸ εἰωθὸς ἀνδράσιν ἀθλίως διολωλόσι, καὶ πλήρη βλέπων τὸν ἐκείνων βωμὸν δαιτὸς ἔδεσης. ἐντρυφᾶν γὰρ ἔθος αὐτοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων συμφοραῖς). Philippos v of Makedonia (in 214 B.C.?) sacrificed to Zeus on Mt Ithome, took the entrails of the ox in both hands, and showed them to Aratos of Sikyon and Demetrios of Pharos, asking each for his interpretation of the omens (Plout. *v. Arat.* 50). The latest notice of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας is in Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός (51) ἰθωμήτου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός (43) ἰθωμήτου. Nowadays on the highest peak of Ithome the traveller sees a ruined monastery, a branch from that at *Vourkano*: its paved threshing-floor is the scene of the annual festival of the Panagia [Aug. 15], at which the peasants dance crowned with oleander-blossom (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 437). Among the ruins lives a solitary monk (D. Fimmen *loc. cit.* p. 2307).

Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 22 infers a tree-cult of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας at Leuktron or Leuktra (*Leftro*) in Lakonike from Paus. 3. 26. 6 ὃ δὲ οἶδα ἐν τῇ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ χώρᾳ τῆς Λευκτρικῆς ἐπ' ἐμοῦ συμβάν, γράψω. ἄνεμος πῦρ ἐς ὕλην ἐνεγκὼν τὰ πολλὰ ἠφάνισε τῶν δένδρων· ὡς δὲ ἀνεφάνη τὸ χωρίον ψιλόν, ἄγαλμα ἐνταῦθα ἱδρυμένον εὑρέθη Διὸς Ἰθωμάτα. τοῦτο οἱ Μεσσήνιοί φασι μαρτύριον εἶναί σφισι τὰ Λεῦκτρα τὸ ἀρχαῖον τῆς Μεσσηνίας εἶναι. δύναιτο δ' ἂν καὶ Λακεδαιμονίων τὰ Λεῦκτρα ἐξ ἀρχῆς οἰκούντων ὁ Ἰθωμάτας Ζεὺς παρ' αὐτοῖς ἔχειν τιμάς. He justly cp. the figure of Dionysos found in a plane-tree broken by the wind at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 330 ff. no. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 856). We might also cite in this connexion a modern parallel from Ithome itself. Miss M. Hamilton (Mrs G. Dickins) *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 170 f. writes: 'According to the popular legend, the monks of the monastery of St. Basil on Mount Eva, opposite Ithome, saw one night a flaming tree on the opposite ridge. They crossed the valley and found this ikon of the Panagia on a tree, with a lighted candle beside it. They conveyed it across to their monastery, but it transferred itself miraculously back to the place at which it was found, and the monks believed themselves forced to change to the other ridge. Since then the monastery of St. Basil has been deserted. The trunk of the tree was made into the lintel of the monastery door, and it is said that at the festival it is hacked by the faithful, who take pieces of it as a cure for fever. The ikon is inscribed with reference to the legend—The Guide to the Hill of Ithome—Ὁδηγήτρια τῷ ὄρει Ἰθωμάτει. In celebration of the festival this ikon makes a short tour of the country. On 12th August it goes up from Voulkano to its old home with pomp and ceremony, accompanied by the monks and its worshippers, a goodly company, comprising a large number of babies brought to be baptised on the top of Ithome ... On the 15th a solemn procession reconducts the ikon to the lower monastery, and nine days later it is taken to Nisi, near Kalamata, where a fair ends the celebrations of the district. The rest of the year the ikon remains at Voulkano.'

[1] *Supra* i. 100, ii. 758.

[2] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (5)).

[3] Zeus Λύκαιος (*supra* i. 63—99, 154 f., 177 f.).

A hill near Tegea[1].
Trapezous[2].

Korinthos
Corinth[3].

Phliasia
Mount Apesas[4].

Argolis
The Larisa at Argos[5].

[1] The high place on which stood most of the altars of the Tegeates was called after Zeus Κλάριος (Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2). Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* identify this eminence with the hill of St Sostis. See further *supra* p. 807 n. 2.

[2] Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 871 n. 0 no. (3)).

[3] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (3)).

[4] Apesas (*Phouka*) is a mountain which rises north of Nemea to a height of 873^{m}. It figured in two distinct myths. On the one hand, Perseus here sacrificed for the first time to Zeus Ἀπεσάντιος (Paus. 2. 15. 3 *καὶ ὄρος* Ἀπέσας *ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τὴν Νεμέαν, ἔνθα Περσέα πρῶτον Διὶ θῦσαι λέγουσιν* Ἀπεσαντίῳ, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 3. 460 ff., 633 ff.), also known as Zeus Ἀπέσας (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀπέσας· *ὄρος τῆς Νεμέας, ὡς Πίνδαρος* (*frag.* 295 Bergk[4]) *καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν τρίτῃ* (*frag.* 29 Schneider), *ἀπὸ* Ἀφέσαντος (*sic*) *ἥρωος βασιλεύσαντος τῆς χώρας, ἢ διὰ τὴν ἄφεσιν τῶν ἁρμάτων ἢ τοῦ λέοντος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ ἐκ τῆς σελήνης ἀφείθη. ἀφ' οὗ Ζεὺς* Ἀπεσάντιος. Καλλίμαχος *δὲ ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις* (*frag.* 82 Schneider) *τὸ ἐθνικὸν* Ἀπέσας *φησί* 'κοὐχ ὧδ' Ἀρείων *τῷ* Ἀπέσαντι *πὰρ Διὶ | ἔθυσεν* Ἀρκὰς Ἵππος'). On the other hand, Deukalion on escaping from the deluge here built an altar of Zeus Ἀφέσιος (*et. mag.* p. 176, 33 ff. Ἀφέσιος Ζεὺς *ἐν* Ἄργει *τιμᾶται. εἴρηται δὲ ὅτι Δευκαλίων τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ γενομένου διαφυγὼν καὶ εἰς τὴν ἄκραν τὴν* Ἄργου (so H. Usener for Ἀργοῦς) *διασωθεὶς ἱδρύσατο βωμὸν* Ἀφεσίου Διός, *ὅτι ἀφείθη ἐκ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ. ἡ δὲ ἄκρα ὕστερον Νεμέα ἐκλήθη ἀπὸ τῶν* (τοῦ add. cod. V) Ἄργου *βοσκημάτων ἐκεῖ νεμομένων. οὕτως* Ἀρτεμιδώρου *ἐτυμολογεῖ ἐν τῷ β' τῶν Βιθυνιακῶν* (Arrian. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 591 Müller))). H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 65 ff., 233 (cp. *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1901 lvi. 482 ff. = *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 383 ff.) contends that Δευκαλίων presupposes a simpler form *Δεύ-καλος (whence Δευκαλίδαι), 'kleiner Zeus,' 'Zeusknäblein.' Other views are collected by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 275 f. and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 446 n. 7, 718 e, 1100 n. 1, 1608 n. 3, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 456. Imperial coppers of Kleonai represent Mt Apesas as a rock surmounted by an altar with an eagle perched upon it (Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 1836 Septimius Severus, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 155 pl. 29, 8 = Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 9 no. 57 pl. 2 Iulia Domna, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 1 Geta, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 33 f. Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna, Geta). Traces of the altar of Zeus are still to be seen on the flat rocky summit (É. Puillon Boblaye *Recherches Géographiques sur les ruines de la Morée* Paris 1836 ii. 41 'M. Peytier y a vu quelques ruines qui doivent avoir appartenu à l'autel de Jupiter Apésantius,' E. Curtius *Peloponnesos* Gotha 1852 ii. 505 'der Apesas, auf dem sich bei einer verfallenen Kapelle Paläá Ekklesía genannt, noch Ruinen vom Heiligthume des Zeus Apesantios finden').

[5] Zeus Λαρισαῖος had a roofless *naós* with a wooden statue on the top of the Larisa at Argos (Paus. 2. 24. 3 *ἐπ' ἄκρᾳ δέ ἐστι τῇ Λαρίσῃ Διὸς ἐπίκλησιν Λαρισαίου ναός, οὐκ ἔχων ὄροφον· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα ξύλου πεποιημένον οὐκέτι ἐστηκὸς ἦν ἐπὶ τῷ βάθρῳ*). Near it was a *naós* of Athena containing a three-eyed *xóanon* of Zeus, said to have been the paternal god of Priamos (Paus. 2. 24. 3 f. continues *καὶ* Ἀθηνᾶς *δὲ ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος· ἐνταῦθα ἀναθήματα κεῖται καὶ ἄλλα καὶ Διὸς ξόανον, δύο μὲν ἢ πεφύκαμεν ἔχον ὀφθαλμούς, τρίτον δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου. τοῦτον τὸν Δία Πριάμῳ φασὶν εἶναι τῷ Λαομέδοντος πατρῷον, ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ τῆς αὐλῆς ἱδρυμένον, καὶ ὅτε ἠλίσκετο ὑπὸ Ἑλλήνων Ἴλιον, ἐπὶ τούτου κατέφυγεν ὁ Πρίαμος τὸν βωμόν. ἐπεὶ δὲ τὰ λάφυρα ἐνέμοντο λαμβάνει Σθένελος ὁ Καπανέως αὐτόν, καὶ ἀνάκειται*

Phalakron (?)[1].
Mount Kokkygion[2].

μὲν διὰ τοῦτο ἐνταῦθα· τρεῖς δὲ ὀφθαλμοὺς ἔχειν ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄν τις τεκμαίροιτο αὐτόν. Δία γὰρ ἐν οὐρανῷ βασιλεύειν, οὗτος μὲν λόγος κοινὸς πάντων ἐστὶν ἀνθρώπων. ὃν δὲ ἄρχειν φασὶν ὑπὸ γῆς, ἔστιν ἔπος τῶν Ὁμήρου (Il. 9. 457) Δία ὀνομάζον καὶ τοῦτον· 'Ζεύς τε καταχθόνιος καὶ ἐπαινὴ Περσεφόνεια.' Αἰσχύλος δὲ ὁ Εὐφορίωνος (frag. 436 b Dindorf, who cp. Prokl. in Plat. Crat. 148 p. 83, 28 f. Pasquali ὁ δὲ δεύτερος δυαδικῶς καλεῖται Ζεὺς ἐνάλιος καὶ Ποσειδῶν) καλεῖ Δία καὶ τὸν ἐν θαλάσσῃ. τρισὶν οὖν ὁρῶντα ἐποίησεν ὀφθαλμοῖς ὅστις δὴ ἦν ὁ ποιήσας, ἅτε ἐν ταῖς τρισὶ ταῖς λεγομέναις λήξεσιν ἄρχοντα τὸν αὐτὸν τοῦτον θεόν. This remarkable figure is mentioned also in schol. Eur. *Tro.* 16 *τὸν δὲ ἔρκειον Δία ἄλλοι ἱστορικοὶ ἀναγράφουσιν ἰδίαν τινὰ σχέσιν περὶ αὐτοῦ ἱστοροῦντες, τρισὶν ὀφθαλμοῖς αὐτὸν κεχρῆσθαί φασιν, ὡς οἱ περὶ Ἀγίαν (frag. 3 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 292 f. Müller)) καὶ Δερκύλον (frag. 1 (Frag. hist. Gr. iv. 386 Müller)).* I formerly accepted Pausanias' explanation of the three eyes (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 174 f., 1904 xviii. 75 f., 325), but later came to the conclusion that it was merely a sophisticated attempt to account for a very primitive feature, plurality of eyes implying superhuman powers of sight and three being a typical plurality (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 282 ff., 1905 xvi. 275 f.). Excavations in the large court of the Venetian castle on the Larisa have brought to light the tufa foundations (11·70^{m} broad) of a building orientated towards the east. On the rock were sherds of geometric ware, and 14^{m} east of the building was a fifth-century inscription mentioning the Θαλεῖς (W. Vollgraff in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904 xxviii. 429 no. 11). On the lower terrace of the Larisa, to the east, are the ruined foundations of a second building. These two may well be the temples of Zeus Λαρισαῖος and of Athena respectively (*id. ib.* 1907 xxxi. 149). Steph. Byz. *s.v. Λάρισσα·...καὶ ἡ ἀκρόπολις τοῦ Ἄργους Λάρισσα. καὶ ὁ πολίτης Λαρισσαῖος καὶ Λαρισσεὺς Ζεύς.*

[1] Zeus Φαλακρός (*supra* p. 875 n. 2).

[2] There was a sanctuary of Zeus on the top of Mt Kokkygion (Paus. 2. 36. 2 *ἱερὰ δὲ καὶ ἐς τόδε ἐπὶ ἄκρων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἐπὶ μὲν τῷ Κοκκυγίῳ Διός, ἐν δὲ τῷ Πρωνί ἐστιν Ἥρας*), where Zeus had become a cuckoo in order to woo Hera (schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 *Ἀριστοτέλης δὲ ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἑρμιόνης ἱερῶν (frag. 287 (Frag. hist. Gr. ii. 190 f. Müller) = Aristokles frag. (id. iv. 330 f. Müller)*: but Grashof's cj. *Ἀριστοκλῆς* (cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 11. 4) for *Ἀριστοτέλης* codd. is far from certain) *ἰδιωτέρως ἱστορεῖ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ [τοῦ τῆς* (om. Wilamowitz)*] Ἥρας γάμου. τὸν γὰρ Δία μυθολογεῖται ἐπιβουλεύειν τῇ Ἥρᾳ μιγῆναι, ὅτε αὐτὴν ἴδοι χωρισθεῖσαν ἀπὸ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν. βουλόμενος δὲ ἀφανὴς γενέσθαι καὶ μὴ ὀφθῆναι ὑπ' αὐτῆς τὴν ὄψιν μεταβάλλει εἰς κόκκυγα καὶ καθέζεται εἰς ὄρος, ὃ πρῶτον μὲν Θρήνακ* (Hemsterhuys cj. *Θόρνακ* (cp. Paus. 2. 36. 1)) *ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δὲ Κόκκυξ. τὸν δὲ Δία χειμῶνα δεινὸν ποιῆσαι τῇ ἡμέρᾳ ἐκείνῃ· τὴν δὲ Ἥραν πορευομένην μόνην ἀφικέσθαι πρὸς τὸ ὄρος καὶ καθέζεσθαι εἰς αὐτό, ὅπου νῦν ἐστιν ἱερὸν Ἥρας Τελείας. τὸν δὲ κόκκυγα ἰδόντα καταπεπασθῆναι καὶ καθεσθῆναι ἐπὶ τὰ γόνατα αὐτῆς πεφρικότα καὶ ῥιγῶντα ὑπὸ τοῦ χειμῶνος. τὴν δὲ Ἥραν ἰδοῦσαν αὐτὸν οἰκτεῖραι καὶ περιβαλεῖν τῇ ἀμπεχόνῃ. τὸν δὲ Δία εὐθέως μεταβαλεῖν τὴν ὄψιν καὶ ἐπιλαβέσθαι τῆς Ἥρας. τῆς δὲ τὴν μίξιν παραιτουμένης διὰ τὴν μητέρα, αὐτὸν ὑποσχέσθαι γυναῖκα αὐτὴν ποιήσασθαι. καὶ παρ' Ἀργείοις δέ, οἱ μέγιστα (οἱ μέγιστοι* codd. Hemsterhuys cj. *οἳ μέγιστον* vel *μάλιστα*. Ahrens cj. *οἳ μέγιστα*) *τῶν Ἑλλήνων τιμῶσι τὴν θεόν, τὸ [δὲ* (om. Hemsterhuys)*] ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῷ ναῷ καθήμενον ἐν [τῷ* (om. Wendel)*] θρόνῳ τῇ χειρὶ ἔχει σκῆπτρον, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτῷ τῷ σκήπτρῳ κόκκυξ* = Eudok. *viol.* 414^{h}, cp. Paus. 2. 17. 4, 2. 36. 1). For the chryselephantine statue by Polykleitos see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 166 f. nos. 932—939, *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 509—511, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 509—512, 516, C. Waldstein (Sir C. Walston) 'The Argive Hera of Polycleitus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 30—44 with pls. 2, 3, A. B. Cook '*Nephelokokkygia*' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221 with pl. Cp. *supra* i. 532. The old name of the mountain, *Θόρναξ* or *Θρόναξ*, is said to have meant 'foot-stool' (Hesych. *s.v. θόρναξ*) and perhaps implies an ancient throne-cult (*supra* i. 134 f.). On Mt Thornax in Lakonike was a statue of Apollon Θορνάκιος (Hesych. *s.v. θόρναξ*, cp. Stcph. Byz. *s.v. Θόρναξ*) or Πυθαεύς resembling that at

Mount Arachnaion[1].
Epidauros[2].

Aigina
The mountain of Zeus *Panhellénios*[3].

Amyklai (Hdt. 1. 69, Paus. 3. 10. 8), *i.e.* standing on a throne (Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 351 ff.). The hero Bouphagos shot by Artemis on Mt Pholoe was the son of Iapetos and Thornax (Paus. 8. 27. 17).

[1] Mt Arachnaion above Lessa had altars of Zeus and Hera, on which sacrifices were offered when there was a dearth of rain (Paus. 2. 25. 10 cited *supra* p. 467 n. 2). Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 233 f. says: 'This is the high, naked range on the left or northern side of the road as you go to the Epidaurian sanctuary from Argos. The most remarkable peak is Mt. *Arna*, the pointed rocky summit which rises immediately above the village of *Ligourio*. It is 3540 feet high. The western summit, Mt. *St. Elias*, is a little higher (3930 ft.)... The name Arachnaea is said to have been still used by the peasantry in the early part of this century. The altars of Zeus and Hera...appear to have stood in the hollow between the peaks of *Arna* and *St. Elias*, for there is here a square enclosure of Cyclopean masonry which would appear to have been an ancient place of worship.'

[2] Zeus Κάσιος (P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1883 p. 87 no. 22 = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 150 no. 3330 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1287 a rectangular base of limestone inscribed Διὶ Κασίωι | 'Ελλανοκράτης | 'Ηρακλείδου with the numeral λα' and the symbol , on which see *infra* Append. L *init.*). M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 286 observes: 'Iuppiter Casius notus erat in Graecia, postquam Traianus spolia e victoria contra Getas reportata in eius templum in Cario (*sic*) monte ad Euphratem situm dedicavit [*infra* Append. B Syria]... Hadriani fere aetate collocatus fuerit lapis noster.'

[3] The highest peak in Aigina (531^{m}), a landmark for many miles around, is known nowadays as the *Oros*, sometimes also as *Hagios Elias* from the little chapel that crowns its summit. A. Furtwängler *Aegina* München 1906 i. 473 f. reports that excavations carried out in the spring of 1905 discovered an ancient settlement on the mountain-top. The site yielded a quantity of local ware, not unlike that from Troy, and also imported vases of late Mycenaean make. The inhabitants appear to have been Myrmidones, a division of the Thessalian Hellenes (C. Mueller *Aegineticorum liber* Berolini 1817 p. 14 ff.), whose heroes were Aiakos and the Aiakidai. They brought with them the cult of their Zeus 'Ελλάνιος, and Pindar represents the sons of Aiakos, when they prayed for the welfare of Aigina, as standing πὰρ βωμὸν πατέρος 'Ελλανίου (*Nem.* 5. 19). Zeus being a weather-god (*supra* p. 1 ff.), his mountain served as a public barometer (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 24 καὶ ἐὰν ἐν Αἰγίνῃ [καὶ (om. J. G. Schneider)] ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ελλανίου νεφέλη καθίζηται, ὡς τὰ πολλὰ ὕδωρ γίνεται). Tradition said that during a great drought the foremost Hellenes besought Aiakos, as son of Zeus by Aigina daughter of Asopos, to intercede with his father on behalf of all, that Aiakos did so with success, and that on the spot where he had prayed the whole people raised a common sanctuary (Isokr. 9 *Euagoras* 14 f., Diod. 4. 61, Apollod. 3. 12. 6, Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 444, 13 ff. Stählin, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 17, Eudok. *viol.* 13). Accordingly this came to be called the sanctuary of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (Paus. 1. 44. 9 cited *infra* p. 895 n. 1, 2. 29. 7 f., 2. 30. 3 f.). Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 265 describes the site: 'On the northern slope of Mt. *Oros*..., in a wild and lonely valley, there is a terrace supported upon walls of great blocks of trachyte. On this terrace there is a ruined chapel of the Hagios Asomatos (the Archangel Michael), which is entirely built of fine pieces of ancient architecture. About the middle of the terrace there are a number of large flat stones laid at equal intervals, as if they had been the bases of columns.' In the ruins of St Michael's chapel was found a stone block bearing an

Megaris

A height near Megara[1].

archaic Greek inscription (Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 352, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 146 f. no. 120, F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 195 no. 3408, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 6 Κωλιάδαις Ἀβλίων ἐποίησε Ἀντίλλου), perhaps the base of some offering to Zeus, whose cult was in time superseded by that of the Archangel (cp. G. F. Hill 'Apollo and St. Michael: some analogies' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 134 ff., especially p. 145). It was however reserved for Furtwängler by the latest excavations of 1905 to produce definite epigraphic evidence that the terrace of Hagios Asomatos was indeed the sanctuary of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (A. Furtwängler *op. cit.* i. 5 f. with the excellent map by H. Thiersch appended to the volume). For Zeus Ἑλλήνιος in the wider sense of the 'Hellenic,' *i.e.* national as opposed to foreign, god see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 176.

[1] Paus. i. 44. 9 ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ ὄρους τῇ ἄκρᾳ (above the Scironian Rocks) Διός ἐστιν Ἀφεσίου καλουμένου ναός· φασὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ (H. Hitzig cj. ἐπί του) συμβάντος ποτὲ τοῖς Ἕλλησιν αὐχμοῦ θύσαντος Αἰακοῦ κατά τι δὴ λόγιον τῷ Πανελληνίῳ Διὶ ἐν Αἰγίνῃ †κομίσαντα δὲ ἀφεῖναι καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Ἀφέσιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Δία. Many attempts have been made to mend this broken passage. T. Panofka *Der Tod des Skiron und des Patroclus* Berlin 1836 pp. 4, 17 would read κομίσαντα δὲ <ἄετον (*sic*) τὴν χελώνην> ἀφεῖναι on the strength of an engraved chalcedony at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 121 f. no. 2614 pl. 23, T. Panofka *op. cit.* p. 23 pl. 4, 7, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1836 viii. 317 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 267 Gemmentaf. 3, 10=my fig. 821), which represents Zeus with a sceptre in his left hand, a tortoise in his right, and an eagle at his feet. This is ingenious; for ἠφίει... ἀφεθέντα... used in Paus. i. 44. 8 of Skiron and his tortoise prepare us for a second tortoise-story in explanation of the title Ἀφέσιος: but, as Frazer *Pausanias* i. 567 f. points out, the sentence remains ungrammatical. C. L. Kayser in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1848 vi. 503 cj. ἐν Αἰγίνῃ <καὶ εὐξαμένου ὕδωρ ἀφεῖναι ἐς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γῆν ὑπα> κούσαντά τε ἀφεῖναι. H. G. Lolling in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887 p. 214 proposed ἐν Αἰγίνῃ <ἀετὸν ἁρπάσαι τὸ ἱερεῖον εἰς δὲ τὴν ἄκραν> κομίσαντα ἀφεῖναι, cp. schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 52. L. C. Valckenaer (see H. Hitzig in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1889 xxxv. 819) had suggested κομίσαντα <ἐνθά> δε, which 'would still leave the verb ἀφεῖναι without either subject or object' (Frazer *loc. cit.*). And J. F. Facius in his edition (Lipsiae 1794 i. 173) had cj. Αἰγίνῃ καὶ ὕσαντά τε ἀφεῖναι. After all this stirabout H. Hitzig and F. Spiro are content to print the passage as it stands.

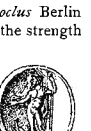


Fig. 821.

In 1887 H. G. Lolling recognised the site of this sanctuary, about an hour and a half to the south-west of Megara, at a place called *Sta Marmara*, some 850 ft above sea-level, though far below the mountain-crest (H. G. Lolling in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1887 p. 213 ff. with sketch-plan). D. Philios, who excavated it in 1889, discovered a small prostyle temple ($6{\cdot}40^{m} \times 4{\cdot}75^{m}$) facing south-east. Of this nothing remained except three foundation-courses and the pavement; but the temple appears to have been of stone and certainly had stone triglyphs. To the north was a Christian tomb (T), long since rifled, showing that sanctity still attached to the spot in Byzantine times: terra-cotta lamps were found, marked with a cross. To the south was a cistern (N), and further east a circular structure (K), three bases (Θ), and a large oblong altar (?)(H). Adjoining this was a line of plinths (M) and a wall (Π—P). West of the precinct, if so it may be termed, lay a complex of chambers built round a court-yard. One chamber (A), which had stone couches set against its walls, contained two pits (α, β) full of ashes. Two other chambers (7 and 8), entered from a *stoá* with bases for pillars (τ, υ, φ (?)), were likewise lined with stone couches. A short staircase led from the *stoá* into another room (9), the centre of which was occupied by a shallow circular depression with a flooring of baked brickwork. From this a channel of baked brick ran into a pit about $0{\cdot}10^{m}$ deep. On the rim of the large sinking, towards the north, was set a square base $0{\cdot}50^{m}$ high. The next room (10) again disclosed a pit

0·13m deep and beside it a base about 0·50m high. The largest chamber of all (11) was probably entered from the court by a door on the south. Round three sides of it were remains of stone seats. The north-east and north-west corners showed traces of a rough mosaic paving. The middle of the floor had five slabs, which had probably served as bases for pillars. Six lesser apartments (1—6) at the south-east angle were built of small stones bonded with clay and were clearly of later construction. The court also contained a hearth of baked bricks (ο), another pit full of ashes (ν), etc. The western portion of the building was protected against water pouring down from a higher level by an extra wall (Γ—Β—Δ), part of which (Β—Δ) was specially strong. And on the southern side the foundations were strengthened by a retaining wall (Ε—Ζ). Miscellaneous finds (at Ω and elsewhere) included the relief of a griffin in limestone, animals in clay (leonine foot, pig's snout), the head of a dove (?) in Pentelic marble, etc. No Mycenaean vases were discovered, but fragments of large *pithoi* with impressed geometric designs, also Corinthian ware in some abundance, and sherds of black-figured and red-figured technique. A few broken vases etc. were inscribed (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i nos. 3492—3497), of which the most important were a *kylix*-foot incised ΦΕΣ or ΦΕΣ=[Διὸς Ἀ]φεσ[ίου], or [Διὶ Ἀ]φεσ[ίῳ] (no. 3494) and a stone slab reading ΗΒΡΟ.....="Ηρω[ος] or "Ηρω[ι] (no. 3492). See further D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890 pp. 35 ff. (with careful plans and illustrations: pl. 4, 3=my fig. 822), 63 f., H. G. Lolling *ib.* 1890 p. 55 ff., D. Philios in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ.

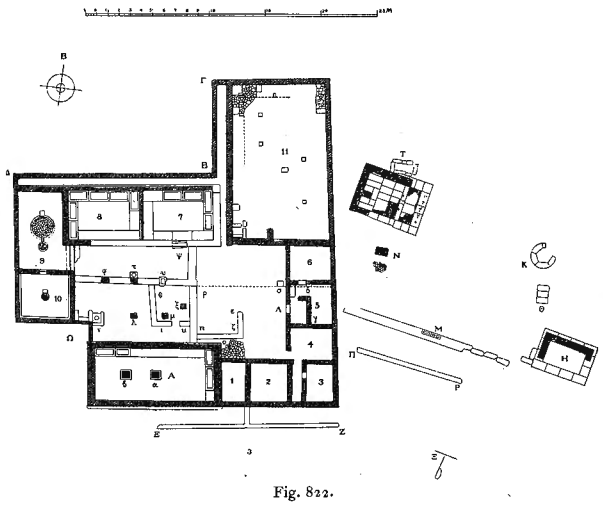


Fig. 822.

ἐτ. 1889 p. 26, W. Doerpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 327, and Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 550 f.

The interpretation of the western group of buildings is disputed. H. G. Lolling held that it was originally a private dwelling-house, to which a sanctuary had afterwards been attached; D. Philios, that it was from the first an edifice containing chambers for the priest and the temple-attendants (cp. Paus. 10. 34. 7). I incline to think that the chambers with stone couches (A, 7, 8) were used for incubation, and that the rooms with circular

Mount Gerania (?)[1].

Attike

The *Akrópolis* at Athens[2].
The Pnyx at Athens[3].
Mount Anchesmos[4].
Mount Hymettos[5].
Mount Parnes[6].

pits and rectangular bases (9, 10) betoken a chthonian cult. On this showing the worship of Zeus Ἀφέσιος was associated with that of a local Megarian hero (cp. F. Pfister *Der Reliquienkult im Altertum* Giessen 1909 i. 1 ff. 'Die mythische Königsliste von Megara'), who not impossibly had been regarded as Zeus incarnate. A similar combination occurs *e.g.* at Olympia, and the surviving inscriptions [Διὸς Ἀ]φεσ[ίου] and Ἥρω[ος] are decidedly suggestive.

[1] Paus. 1. 40. 1 *τὰς δὲ Σιθνίδας νύμφας λέγουσι Μεγαρεῖς εἶναι μέν σφισιν ἐπιχωρίας, μιᾷ δὲ αὐτῶν* [*θυγατρὶ* (secl. C. G. Siebelis)] *συγγενέσθαι Δία, Μέγαρόν τε παῖδα ὄντα Διὸς καὶ ταύτης δὴ τῆς νύμφης ἐκφυγεῖν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνός ποτε ἐπομβρίαν, ἐκφυγεῖν δὲ πρὸς τὰ ἄκρα τῆς Γερανίας* (*Makri Plagi* 1370[m] above sea-level), *οὐκ ἔχοντός πω τοῦ ὄρους τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο, κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Dieuchidas of Megara *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 388 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 2 p. 443, 9 f. Stählin and *frag.* 11 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* iv. 290 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Γερανία. *Et. mag.* p. 228, 22 ff., telling the same tale, speaks of Μεγαρεὺς *ὁ Διὸς καὶ μιᾶς τῶν καλουμένων θηίδων* (L. Dindorf corr. *Σιθνίδων*) *νυμφῶν.*

[2] Zeus Ὕπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (2)). Zeus Πολιεύς (*infra* § 9 (h) ii).

[3] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 876 f. n. 1 no. (1)). The Siphnian Zeus Ἐπιβήμιος probably implies a statue of the god on the orator's platform (*infra* Append. N *med.*); but it would be unsafe to argue from Siphnos to Athens, and in any case it was not as mountain-god that Zeus supported the speaker (Plout. *praecept. gerend. reip.* 26 *κοινόν ἐστιν ἱερὸν τὸ βῆμα Βουλαίου τε Διὸς καὶ Πολιέως καὶ Θέμιδος καὶ Δίκης*).

[4] Anchesmos is commonly identified with *Turkovuni*, a range of rocky hills which divides the Attic plain into two unequal parts watered by the Kephisos and the Ilisos respectively (C. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2103, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 1. 32. 2). It attains a height of 733[m]. Somewhere on this range was a statue of Zeus Ἀγχέσμιος (Paus. 1. 32. 2 *καὶ Ἀγχεσμὸς ὄρος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγα καὶ Διὸς ἄγαλμα Ἀγχεσμίου*). A. S. Georgiades in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1920 p. 59 notes foundations on its E. slopes.

[5] On the top of Mt Hymettos (*Monte Matto* or *Trelo-Vuni* 1027·10[m]) was an altar (*et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. cited *supra* p. 873 n. 1) and statue of Zeus Ὑμήττιος, also altars of Zeus Ὄμβριος and Apollon Προόψιος (Paus. 1. 32. 2 *ἐν Ὑμηττῷ δὲ ἄγαλμά ἐστιν Ὑμηττίου Διός· βωμοὶ δὲ καὶ Ὀμβρίου Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνός εἰσι Προοψίου*). Hesych. Ὑμήττιος· *Ζεὺς παρὰ Ἀττικοῖς.* Clouds on Hymettos portended rain (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 20 and 24), wind (*id. ib.* 2. 9), and storm (*id. ib.* 3. 6). W. Kolbe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 138 f. thinks it very probable that the statue of Zeus Ὑμήττιος stood on the small plateau close to the highest point of the mountain, and that the cult of Zeus Ὄμβριος is perpetuated on its ancient site by the chapel of St Elias perched upon a conspicuous crest (508[m]) on the eastern slope of the main *massif*, above Sphettos, north of the *Pirnari* Pass, to which chapel in times of drought whole troops of pilgrims still resort (A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1883 Text ii. 32).

[6] On Mt Parnes was a bronze statue of Zeus Παρνήθιος and an altar of Zeus Σημαλέος; also another altar on which sacrifices were made sometimes to Zeus Ὄμβριος, sometimes to Zeus Ἀπήμιος (Paus. 1. 32. 2 *καὶ ἐν Πάρνηθι Παρνήθιος Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς ἑστι, καὶ βωμὸς Σημαλέου Διός. ἔστι δὲ ἐν τῇ Πάρνηθι καὶ ἄλλος βωμός, θύουσι δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ τοτὲ μὲν Ὄμβριον τοτὲ δὲ Ἀπήμιον καλοῦντες Δία, et. mag.* p. 352, 49 ff. cited *supra* p. 873 n. 1). Parnes (*Ozea*) is at once the highest (1413[m]) and the most extensive mountain in Attike. C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 252 would locate the statue of Zeus Παρνήθιος and the altar of Zeus Σημαλέος (*supra* p. 4) near Phyle, on the bare rocky ridge

Marathon[1].

Boiotia

Mount Hypatos[2].
Thebes[3].
Orchomenos[4].
Mount Helikon[5].
Mount Kithairon[6].

which the ancients on account of its shape called the Chariot (*supra* p. 815 f.), but the altar of Zeus Ὄμβριος and Ἀπήμιος on some other eminence. Lightning over Parnes, Brilettos, and Hymettos betokened a big storm; over two of the three, a less serious storm; over Parnes alone, fair weather (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 3. 6). Clouds over the western side of Parnes and Phyle, with a north wind blowing, meant stormy weather (*id. ib.* 3. 10).

[1] Zeus Ὕπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (3)).

[2] Zeus Ὕπατος (*supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (1)).

[3] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (2)).

[4] Zeus Καραιός (*supra* p. 874 n. 2).

[5] Zeus Ἑλικώνιος had an altar on Mt Helikon, near the spring Hippokrene, round which the Muses danced (Hes. *theog.* 1 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* 2 ἐν τῷ αὐτῷ γὰρ ὄρει καὶ κρήνη ἦν καὶ βωμός, 4 ἐν Ἑλικῶνι δὲ ἦν ὁ βωμός, ὡς εἴρηται, τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ἑλικωνίου). On the north-eastern summit of Helikon (*Zagora* 1527[m]) now stands a little roofless chapel of St Elias: it is surrounded by fir-trees, and its walls of small well-jointed polygonal stones probably formed in antiquity the *peribolos* of the altar of Zeus (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 239, H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Berlin 1863 ii. 99, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 158, Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 7). See also *supra* i. 132.

[6] Mt Kithairon was sacred to Zeus Κιθαιρώνιος (Paus. 9. 2. 4 ὁ δὲ Κιθαιρὼν τὸ ὄρος Διὸς ἱερὸν Κιθαιρωνίου ἐστίν. This sentence is out of place in its context. H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz excised it as a gloss. C. L. Kayser in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1850 viii. 392 transposed it to stand before καθότι δὲ τοῦ Κιθαιρῶνος κ.τ.λ.). Nominally every sixth year, but really at shorter intervals, the Plataeans held a festival called Δαίδαλα μικρά. Going to an oak-wood near Alalkomenai they set out pieces of boiled flesh, followed the crow that pounced on the flesh, felled the tree on which it perched, and made of it a wooden image called a δαίδαλον. Every fifty-ninth year the Plataeans joined with the Boeotians to celebrate the Δαίδαλα μεγάλα. The various townships drew lots for the fourteen wooden images provided by the Δαίδαλα μικρά. Apparently each township took its image to the river Asopos and placed it on a waggon along with a bridesmaid. Again casting lots for order of precedence, they drove the waggons from the river to the top of Kithairon. Here an altar had been built of blocks of wood with brushwood piled on it. Each township then sacrificed a cow to Hera and a bull to Zeus, and, filling these victims with wine and incense, burnt them along with the images on the altar. The result was a huge column of flame visible at a great distance. The local myth explained that Hera, enraged with Zeus, had once retired to Euboia, and that Zeus, at the advice of Kithairon king of Plataiai, had made a wooden image and put it wrapped up on a bullock-cart, giving out that he was taking to wife Plataia, daughter of Asopos: Hera had flown to the spot, discovered the trickery, and made it up with Zeus (Paus. 9. 3. 1—8). According to Plutarch, Hera had been in hiding on Mt Kithairon (not in Euboia), and the stratagem was suggested to Zeus by Alalkomeneus the autochthon (not by Kithairon): together they cut down a fine oak, shaped it and decked it as a bride and called it Δαιδάλη; the wedding chant was raised, the Tritonid nymphs brought water for the bath, and Boiotia furnished flutes and the band of revellers. Hera with the women of Plataiai in her train came down from Mt Kithairon in jealous anger, but laughed at the ruse and was reconciled to Zeus (Plout. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 1. 6). Aristeides before

Mount Laphystion[1].
A mountain near Lebadeia[2].

the battle of Plataiai (479 B.C.) was bidden by the Delphic oracle to pray to Zeus, Hera Κιθαιρωνία, Pan, and the Sphragitid nymphs (Plout. *v. Aristid.* 11): Pausanias, turning towards the Heraion outside Plataiai, prayed to Hera Κιθαιρωνία and the other deities of the Plataean land (*id. ib.* 18). The image of Hera Κιθαιρωνία at Thespiai was a lopped tree-trunk (Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 46. 3 καὶ τῆς Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐν Θεσπείᾳ πρέμνον ἐκκεκομμένον, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11 ramum pro Cinxia Thespios). She had a sanctuary also at Thebes (schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 24 ἢ ὅτι Κιθαιρωνίας Ἥρας ἐστὶν ἐν Θήβαις ἱερόν). Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 Ἐπίθετα Ἥρας (10) κιθαιρωνίας.

In the traditional singing-match between Kithairon and Helikon (for which see Demetrios of Phaleron *ap.* schol. *Od.* 3. 267 and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1466, 56 ff., Lysimachos (? Lysanias) of Kyrene *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 342 Müller) *ap.* schol. Hes. *o.d.* p. 33, 4 ff. Gaisford, cp. Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 917 ff., Hermesianax of Kypros *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Müller) *ap.* Plout. *de fluv.* 2. 3) the former sang of the childhood of Zeus (Korinna in the *Berliner Klassikertexte* Berlin 1907 v. 2. 19 ff. no. 284, cp. *ib.* p. 47, =*frag.* 1 Diehl[3]).

[1] On Mt Laphystion near Orchomenos was a precinct and stone statue of Zeus Λαφύστιος. It was here that Athamas was about to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle, when Zeus sent the ram with the golden fleece to aid their escape (Paus. 9. 34. 5, cp. 1. 24. 2). Higher up on the mountain-side was a Herakles Χάροψ; for here, according to the Boeotians, Herakles had brought up the hound of Hades (Paus. 9. 34. 5). Dionysos too was worshipped on the mountain as Λαφύστιος (*et. mag.* p. 557, 51 f. Λαφύστιος· ὁ Διόνυσος, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Λαφυστίου ὄρους=Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1237), and his Maenads were Λαφύστιαι (Lyk. *Al.* 1237 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*).

Laphystion has been identified with *Granitsa*, a steep mountain (896[m]) of reddish stone with a summit like a crater and warm springs at its north-eastern foot (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 235 f., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 172, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 34. 5).

That Λαφύστιος must be connected with λαφύσσειν, 'to devour,' is commonly admitted. But beyond this point agreement ceases. Was the god named after the mountain, or the mountain after the god? (1) U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in his ed. 2 of Eur. *H.f.* Berlin 1895 i. 34 n. 67 holds that Mt Laphystion got its name from the crater that engulfed the unwary. And doubtless Zeus Λαφύστιος could have derived his appellation from Mt Laphystion. But we have already (*supra* i. 416 f., 428) seen reason to think that Zeus Λαφύστιος was originally a Thessalian god, and we hear of no Mt Laphystion in Thessaly. (2) Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 8 conversely assumes that Mt Laphystion derived its name from Zeus Λαφύστιος. It is then open to us to interpret Λαφύστιος as 'Devouring' with allusion to human sacrifice. For that grim tradition attached to the cult of Zeus Λαφύστιος, not only in Boiotia, but also in Thessaly (*infra* Append. B Thessalia); and the Dionysos of Orchomenos had an equally sinister reputation (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 38, Ant. Lib. 10, Ov. *met.* 4. 1 ff. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 163 f.). See further P. Buttmann *Mythologus* Berlin 1829 ii. 230, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1850 f., J. W. Hewitt in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1908 xix. 102 f.

[2] Paus. 9. 39. 4 ἀναβᾶσι δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ μαντεῖον (*sc.* τοῦ Τροφωνίου) καὶ αὐτόθεν ἰοῦσιν ἐς τὸ πρόσω τοῦ ὄρους, Κόρης ἐστὶ καλουμένη θήρα (καλουμένης θήρας codd. fam. L[1]. K. Goldhagen cj. καλουμένης Σωτείρας. H. N. Ulrichs cj. καλουμένης Ἥρας. F. Spiro: 'an θύρα?') καὶ Διὸς Βασιλέως ναός. τοῦτον μὲν δὴ διὰ τὸ μέγεθος ἢ καὶ τῶν πολέμων τὸ ἀλλεπάλληλον ἀφείκασιν ἡμίεργον· ἐν δὲ ἑτέρῳ ναῷ Κρόνου καὶ Ἥρας καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος ἱερόν. The unfinished temple of Zeus Βασιλεύς is believed to have stood on Mt St Elias, a height which rises west of the castle-hill of *Livadia* at a distance of half an hour from the town. Here the ground is still strewn with big building-blocks, though most of the material was carried off in Turkish times (Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). The temple seems to have been 46·02[m] in length (E. Fabricius *ap.* H. Nissen

Mount Homoloïon (?)[1].

in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1887 xlii. 54). A long inscription, of 175—172 B.C., relating to this temple was found built into the wall of a blacksmith's forge at *Livadia* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3073 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 589 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 972). It specifies the conditions under which the custodians (*ναοποιοί*) of the temple of Zeus Βασιλεύς are prepared to place the building-contract with the contractors (*ἐργῶναι*). The first section (*vv.* 1—89) deals with the slabs (*στῆλαι*) on which the specification is to be inscribed; the second (*vv.* 89—164) with the paving-stones to be laid in one of the external colonnades (*v.* 89 ff. *εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ* | *Διὸς τοῦ* Βασιλέως *εἰς τὴν ἔξω περίστασιν τοῦ σηκοῦ* | *τῶν εἰς τὴν μακρὰν πλευρὰν καταστρωτήρων ἐργα*|*σία καὶ σύνθεσις*). It appears that the temple was constructed, not by the inhabitants of Lebadeia only, but by the Boeotians in common (*v.* 156 f.), probably—as A. Wilhelm saw—with money supplied by Antiochos iv Epiphanes. Other fragments of the same contract are *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i nos. 3074—3076, A. de Ridder and Choisy 'Devis de Livadie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 318—335 (*v.* 58 *εἰς τὸ* <*ν*> [*ἡμι*]*κύκλιον* is taken to imply an apsidal end to the temple: restoration *ib.* pl. 9. Other Boeotian examples at Arne, Ptoion, Kabeirion, Thespiai are noted by F. Noack in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 424: cp. *supra* i. 120), A. Wilhelm 'Bauinschrift aus Lebadeia' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 179—182.

The Boeotians after vanquishing the Spartans at Leuktra (371 B.C.) established at Lebadeia an *ἀγὼν στεφανίτης* in honour of Zeus Βασιλεύς (Diod. 15. 53). These games, known as the *Βασίλεια*, are repeatedly mentioned in inscriptions (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i Index p. 761, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 82), one of which has ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ within a bay-wreath (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2487). If, as seems probable, Zeus Βασιλεύς was associated with Hera Βασιλίς, the games were quadriennial (*ib.* i no. 3097). Plutarch's story about Aristokleia the *κανηφόρος* of Zeus Βασιλεύς (Plout. *amat. narr.* 1) implies a ritual procession (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 34).

On the relation of Zeus Βασιλεύς to Trophonios see *infra* Append. K.

[1] Zeus Ὁμολώιος was worshipped in Boiotia (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ὁμόλη), particularly at Thebes (Hesych. *s.v.* Ὁμολώιος (Ὅμολλος cod.) *Ζεὺς· Θήβησιν οὕτω προσαγορεύεται ὁ Ζεύς*); and Aristodemos of Alexandreia, who wrote a learned work on Theban antiquities, appears to have derived the name of the *Ὁμολωΐδες πύλαι* at Thebes from their proximity to a Ὁμολώιον ὄρος (Aristodem. Theb. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 309 Müller) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Phoen.* 1119, cp. Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*). It may be inferred, though not with certainty, that there was a cult of Zeus on this hill (see Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 9 f.). A small column, found at Thebes and now in the local Museum, has inscribed in archaic letters on its fluting *Διὶ Ὁμολῶϊοι* | *Ἀγειμώνδας ἀπὸ δεκά[τας]* (P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 130 ff., Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 191, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 227 no. 665, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 212 no. 198, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2456), which is perhaps a clumsy attempt at a hexameter line. Doubtless this column once supported a votive offering in the Theban sanctuary of Zeus Ὁμολώιος. His festival the Ὁμολώια, mentioned in lists of victors from Megara (*ib.* i no. 48, 2) and from Orchomenos in Boiotia (*ib.* i no. 3196, 24 f., no. 3197, 36 f.), was specially discussed by Aristodemos (Aristodem. Theb. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 309 Müller) *ap.* schol. Theokr. 7. 103). The same god was worshipped, not only in Boiotia, but also in Thessaly (Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ὁμολῷος *Ζεύς· ἐν Θήβαις καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις πόλεσι Βοιωτίας· καὶ ὁ ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ ἀπὸ Ὁμολῴας προφήτιδος τῆς Ἐννέως, ἣν προφῆτιν εἰς Δελφοὺς πεμφθῆναι ὁ Ἀριστοφάνης* (*sic cod.* S. A. Naber *corr.* Ἀριστόδημος, *sc.* Aristodem. Theb. *loc. cit.*) *ἐν δευτέρῳ Θηβαϊκῶν· Ἴστρος δὲ ἐν τῇ δωδεκάτῃ τῆς συναγωγῆς διὰ τὸ παρ' Αἰολεῦσιν τὸ ὁμονοητικὸν καὶ εἰρηνικὸν ὅμολον λέγεσθαι* (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 419 Müller)). *ἔστι δὲ Δημήτηρ* Ὁμολῴα *ἐν Θήβαις* = Souid. *s.v.* Ὁμολώιος Ζεύς, cp. Apostol. 12. 67, Arsen. *viol.* p. 381 Walz, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1358, 38 ff., Eudok. *viol.* 414[E] p. 314, 10 ff. Flach). O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2263 f. remarks that the name of the month Ὁμολώιος, Ὁμολῶος, Ὁμολούιος found in Boiotia, Aitolia, and Thessaly (E. Bischoff *ib.* viii. 2264) implies a wide-spread cult of deities with this appellative, such as Zeus Ὁμολώιος,

Mount Petrachos[1].

Phokis

Delphoi[2].

Demeter Ὁμολώια (*supra*), and Athena Ὁμολωίς (Lyk. *Al.* 520 with schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*), and concludes: 'Da der Boiotien und Thessalien gemeinsame Monatsname einen gemeinsamen Kult des Zeus H. wahrscheinlich machen, dürfte Zeus H. ähnlich wie Zeus Olympios von Thessalien nach Mittelgriechenland gekommen sein.' His cult reached Eretria also; for a fragmentary slab discovered close to the western gate of Eretria is inscribed in lettering of *s.* iii. B.C. Διὸς Ὁμ[ο]|λωΐο[υ] (K. Kourouniotes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897 p. 150 n. 3, who cp. the Theban Ὁμολωΐδες πύλαι). See further O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 105 f. (Λώϊος=Ὁμολώϊος), E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 14 f. (collects derivatives of Ὁμολώιος, Λώιος, and infers from the occurrence of the month Ὁμολόϊος at Eresos in Lesbos (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 527, 44) 'Iovem omnes Aeoles, priusquam discesserint, hoc cognomine esse venerato'), F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 19, 142, 264. *Supra* p. 857 n. 6, *infra* Append. B Thessalia.

[1] The *Akrópolis* of Chaironeia was a sharp rocky summit named Petrachos (Plout. *v. Sull.* 17). Here Kronos received from Rhea a stone instead of Zeus; and there was a small statue of Zeus on the top of the mountain (Paus. 9. 41. 6 ἔστι δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν πόλιν κρημνὸς Πετραχὸς καλούμενος· Κρόνον δὲ ἐθέλουσιν ἐνταῦθα ἀπατηθῆναι δεξάμενον ἀντὶ Διὸς πέτρον παρὰ τῆς Ῥέας, καὶ ἄγαλμα Διὸς οὐ μέγα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους). For the extant remains of Chaironeia see C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 205 f., Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 40. 5, and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 40. 7; for the history of the town, E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2033 ff.

[2] The Delphians originally occupied a town Λυκώρεια higher up on the side of Mt Parnassos (Strab. 418, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1490, Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 1 where W. R. Paton cj. Λυκώρειαν for Λυκουρίαν). H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 120 and C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1862 i. 179 f. found traces of Λυκώρεια in sundry Hellenic walls still visible on a height to the west of the Corycian Cave. W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1841 ii. 579 with truer topographical instinct identified the site of the ancient city with the village of *Liakouri*. Here Deukalion had reigned as king (*marm. Par. ep.* 2 p. 3 Jacoby, *ep.* 4 p. 3 f.)—indeed, the town had been founded by survivors of his deluge, who followed the 'howling of wolves,' λύκων ὠρυγαῖς, to the mountain-top (Paus. 10. 6. 2). Another account made its founder Λύκωρος, son of Apollon by the nymph Korykia (Paus. *ib.*, cp. *et. mag.* p. 571, 47 ff.). He is called Λυκωρεύς by schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 711 (cp. Hyg. *fab.* 161), who adds ἀφ' οὗ Λυκωρεῖς οἱ Δελφοί. Finally Anaxandrides (*supra* p. 238 n. 1) of Delphoi, who wrote a monograph περὶ Λυκωρείας, spoke of Λυκωρεύς as a king (Alexandrides *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 107 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυκώρεια).

The town had a cult of Apollon (*et. mag.* p. 571, 47 ff.), who is mentioned as Phoibos Λυκώρειος (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1490), Apollon Λυκωρεύς (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀνεμώρεια), Phoibos Λυκωρεύς (Euphorion *frag.* 53 in A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 95 f., Kallim. *h. Ap.* 19, Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 1, *oracul. ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 14. 5=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 82. 9 f.), or Λυκωρεύς alone (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 54. 1 (Paulus Silentiarius)). There was also a Zeus Λυκώρειος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυκώρεια· ...ἔστι καὶ Λυκώρειος Ζεὺς καὶ Λυκώρειον διὰ διφθόγγου), who was presumably worshipped on the peak known as Λυκώρειον (*id. ib.*) or Λυκωρεύς (Loukian. *Tim.* 3, where for τῷ Λυκωρεῖ I should restore τῷ Λυκωρείῳ), later Λυκορί (schol. rec. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 70). The highest point of Parnassos (2459^{m}) is still called τὸ Λυκέρι. J. Murray *Handbook for travellers in Greece*[7] London 1900 p. 540 f. says: 'The...summit, locally called Lykeri (8070 ft.), is marked with a wooden cross. At the top of the mountain is a small plain, enclosed in a crater-like basin, and containing a pool generally frozen over... The view on a clear day exceeds in grandeur and interest almost every other prospect of the kind. To the N., beyond the plains of Thessaly, appears Olympus with its snowy tops brilliant in sunlight. Further W.

Euboia

Mount Oche[1].
Mount Kenaion[2].

is seen the long chain of Pindus; on the E. rises Helicon, with other Boeotian mountains. To the S. the summit of Panachaicon is very conspicuous; Achaia, Argolis, Elis and Arcadia are seen as in a map, while the Gulf of Corinth looks like a large pond. The Aegean and Ionian seas bound the horizon E. and W.' It appears probable that the cult of Zeus Λυκώρειος was displaced or overshadowed by that of Apollon Λυκώρειος. Their common epithet may be connected either with λύκος, 'a wolf' (according to H. N. Ulrichs *op. cit.* i. 118 wolves still haunt the woods of Parnassos: 'In Chrysó sah ich vier Hirten, von denen jeder eine Wolfshaut an einem langen Stocke trug, dessen oberstes Ende aus dem geöffneten Rachen des Thiers hervorsteckte. Sie zogen von Dorf zu Dorf und empfingen an jedem Hause freigebige Geschenke für die Befreiung von diesem gefährlichen Feinde der Herden.' Paus. 10. 14. 7, Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 26, 12. 40, Plout. *v. Per.* 21 associate wolves with the Delphian Apollon), or with Λύκος, an ancient name for the god of the daylight (?) (*supra* i. 64 n. 3).

When Deukalion, after traversing the flood for nine days and nights in his ark, landed at length on Mt Parnassos, he sacrificed there to Zeus Φύξιος (Apollod. 1. 7. 2, cp. schol. cod. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1147 Φύξιον δὲ τὸν Δία οἱ Θεσσαλοὶ ἔλεγον, ἤτοι ὅτι ἐπὶ τοῦ Δευκαλίωνος κατακλυσμοῦ κατέφυγον εἰς αὐτόν, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὸν Φρίξον καταφυγεῖν εἰς αὐτόν). This title too is found attached to Apollon (Philostr. *her.* p. 711 Palamedes prays Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκίῳ τε καὶ Φυξίῳ to be delivered from wolves, cp. Souid. *s.v.* Φύξιος).

For Zeus at Delphoi see further *supra* pp. 179 ff., 189 ff., 231 ff., 266 f.

[1] Popular etymology derived the name of Mt Oche (Ὄχη) from the union (ὀχή = ὀχεία) of Zeus and Hera, which was said to have taken place there (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάρυστος· ... ἐκλήθη δὲ τὸ ὄρος ἀπὸ τῆς ἐκεῖ ὀχείας, ἤτοι τῶν θεῶν μίξεως Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας, ἢ διὰ τὸ τὰ πρόβατα κυίσκεσθαι ὀχευόμενα ἐν τῷ τόπῳ· οἱ γὰρ Ἀχαιοὶ τὴν τροφὴν ὀχὴν φασι). The summit of the mountain (1475[m]) is nowadays known as *Hagios Elias* (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 398).

[2] On the top of Mt Kenaion (677[m]), a height untouched by clouds (Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 786 f. hic rupe celsa nulla quam nubes ferit | annosa fulgent templa Cenaei Iovis), was an altar and sanctuary of Zeus Κήναιος (Aisch. Γλαῦκος πόντιος *frag.* 30 Nauck[2] *ap.* Strab. 447, Soph. *Trach.* 237 f., 752 ff., 993 ff., Skyl. *per.* 58 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 47 Müller), Apollod. 2. 7. 7, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάναι· ... Καναῖος Ζεὺς οὐ μόνον ἀπὸ τοῦ Καναίου, ἀλλὰ καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς Κάνης, Souid. *s.v.* Κηναῖος· ὁ Ζεύς, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός (57) κηναίου, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός (49) κηναίου, 274 Ἐπίθετα Διός· ... κηναῖος (καναῖος codd. C[1].O[1].), Ov. *met.* 9. 136 f., Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 102, 786 f.). According to Sophokles, Herakles after sacking Oichalia dedicated here altars and a leafy precinct to Zeus Πατρῷος. He offered 100 victims on a pyre of oak, including twelve bulls free from blemish, and put on for the purpose the deadly robe brought to him by Lichas (Soph. *Trach.* 750 ff.). According to Bakchylides, he offered from the spoils of Oichalia nine bulls to Zeus Κήναιος, 'lord of the far-spread clouds,' two to Poseidon, and a cow to Athena (Bakchyl. 15. 17 ff.). Cp. Diod. 4. 37 f., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 50 f., Eudok. *viol.* 436. Fragments of a volute-*krater* from *Kerch* show Herakles (... ΚΛΗΣ) holding a sacrificial fillet for one of these victims in the presence of ΛΙΧΑΣ and Hyllos (?). All these are wreathed with bay or olive. At their feet is a pile of stones; in the background, a tripod on a column and a pillar decorated with acanthus-leaves (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869 p. 179 pl. 4, 1, *ib.* 1876 p. 161 pl. 5, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 31, 12, *ib.* i. 50, 3. This vase-painting was attributed by F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 53 f. fig. 24 to the painter Aristophanes *c.* 400 B.C., by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 to a contemporary artist, 'the painter of the New York Centauromachy' (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 217 no. 4)). A fragmentary bell-*krater* in the British Museum has Herakles wreathed with olive and wearing

Cape Geraistos (?)[1].

Thessalia

Mount Oite[2].

a *himátion*. Behind him hangs the poisoned robe (?). In front an altar of unworked stones supports four tiers of blazing logs with the horns of some animal on the top. To left and right of this altar are two youths, Philoktetes (ΦΙΛΟΣΚΕΤ) and Lichas (ΛΙ...), holding meat on spits over the fire. By the altar is an olive-tree, from which hang votive tablets representing a Satyr, a Maenad, and two horsemen; also, the image of a goddess draped and mounted on a Doric column. To the right is a draped female figure, perhaps Nike, and beyond her Athena (... Ν.) with *aigís*, spear, and helmet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 300 ff. no. E 494 pl. 16). Both vases may depict the sacrifice on Mt Kenaion (A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 274 ff.). An inscription from the *Akrópolis* at Athens records an Eretrian coin belonging to Zeus Κήναιος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 208, 8 f. [Ἐρ]ετρικὸν | [Δι]ὸς Κηναίου). *Lithadá*, the modern name of Mt Kenaion, is derived from Λιχάδες, the small islands off the point, and appears in Latin documents of *s.* xiii A.D. as *Ponta* (*Punta*) *Litadi* or *Litaldi* (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 401 n. 2).

[1] Geraistos, the eponym of Cape Geraistos (*Kavo Mandilo*), was the son of Zeus and brother of Tainaros (Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Γεραιστός, Ταίναρος).

[2] Mt Oite (*Katavothra*) rises to a height of 2158^{m} (Lieut.-Col. Baker in *The Journal of the Royal Geographical Society of London* 1837 vii. 94 says 7071 ft). It was sacred to Zeus (Soph. *Trach.* 1191 τὸν Οἴτης Ζηνὸς ὕψιστον πάγον), whose lightnings played about it (*id. ib.* 436 f., *Phil.* 729 Jebb); and the meadows high on the mountain, since they belonged to him, might not be mown (*id. Trach.* 200 ὦ Ζεῦ, τὸν Οἴτης ἄτομον ὃς λειμῶν' ἔχεις).

The traditional pyre of Herakles, son of Zeus, was on the south-eastern shoulder of Oite, known to the ancients as Phrygia (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 159 ὅ γε Φρυγίῃ περ ὑπὸ δρυὶ γυῖα θεωθείς with schol. *ad loc.* Φρυγία· δρος Τραχῖνος, ἔνθα ἐκάη ὁ Ἡρακλῆς, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φρυγία·... ἔστι καὶ Φρυγία τόπος τῆς Οἴτης ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ πεφρύχθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα) or Pyra (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 9. 10. 2 white hellebore gathered there for the Amphictionic πυλαία, Liv. 36. 30 M'. Acilius Glabrio offered sacrifice there to Herakles in 191 B.C.) and to the moderns as *Xerovouni* near *Pauliane*. Here, at a spot called *Marmari*, N. Pappadakis in 1920—1921 discovered the remains of a great precinct-wall in *pôros*, within which was a smaller oblong (*c.* 20^{m} × 30^{m}) marking the limits of the pyre. A bed of ashes (0·40^{m} to 0·80^{m} thick) contained bones of animals, bronze weapons, implements, etc., and pottery ranging from archaic Greek to Roman times. Some of the black-figured sherds bore dedications ΒΡΑΚΛΕΒΙ or [· · ·]ΚΛΕΒΙ, and two archaic bronze statuettes (0·09^{m} and 0·10^{m} high) represented the hero, with club and bow (?), in violent action. Miscellaneous finds comprised a bronze club, painted architectural tiles, Roman and Thessalian lamps, Megarian bowls, etc. The principal edifice was of Aetolian date, built with large blocks on an older structure of *pôros*: of it there remains the *euthynteria*, part of the west side, and one step of the south side, also part of the paving and of the stereobate for the cult-statue, which seems to have been of the late Roman period. Close by was a Doric *templum in antis* (14^{m} long) with an altar before it: Pappadakis' suggestion that this building was a treasury is hardly borne out by the presence of the altar. Coins from the site included six or seven coppers belonging to the time of the Aetolian League and silver pieces of the Roman imperial series down to Maximian (286—305 A.D.) [Diocletian, who styled himself *Iovius* (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 315), conferred on Maximian the title *Herculius*]. Of two fragmentary inscriptions one mentions the emperor Commodus (?) [another would-be Herakles (P. v. Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2470, 2478 f. See also J. de Witte 'De quelques empereurs romains qui ont pris les attributs d'Hercule' in the *Rev. Num.* 1845 pp. 266—272 pl. 13 f.)]. Lastly, to the north at a higher level was a *stoá*, reconstructed in Aetolian times on the site of an older building. Seven chambers for

Halos[1].
Mount Pelion[2].
Mount Ossa (?)[3].
Mount Homole (?)[4].
Mount Pindos[5].

Makedonia
Mount Olympos[6].

the accommodation of priests and pilgrims opened into a colonnade (40m long) with octagonal columns. Sundry tiles of this *stoá* are inscribed ΙΗΡΑΗ or ΙΗΡΟCΗ = *ἱερά, ἱερὸς Ἡρακλέους* (N. Pappadakis in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1920 xliv. 392 f., 1921 xlv. 523).

[1] Halos at the foot of Mt Othrys was founded by Athamas (Strab. 433). There was here a sanctuary and grove of Zeus *Λαφύστιος*. Tradition said that Athamas, son of Aiolos, had together with Ino plotted the death of Phrixos. The Achaeans were bidden by an oracle to enjoin that the eldest of Athamas' descendants should never enter the Prytaneion. They mounted guard over it, and their rule was that, if any such person entered it, he might leave it only in order to be sacrificed. Many fearing the rule had fled to other lands. If they returned and entered the Prytaneion, they were covered all over with fillets and led out in procession to be slain. The reason given for this strange custom was that once, when the Achaeans in accordance with an oracle were treating Athamas as a scape-goat for the land and were about to sacrifice him, Kytissoros, son of Phrixos, came from Aia in Kolchis and rescued him, thereby drawing down the wrath of the god on his own descendants (Hdt. 7. 197, cp. Plat. *Min.* 315 c). When Phrixos came to Kolchis, he was received by Dipsakos, son of the river-god Phyllis and a local nymph. Phrixos there sacrificed the ram, on which he had escaped, to Zeus *Λαφύστιος*, and it was a custom for one of his descendants to enter the Prytaneion and sacrifice to the said Zeus (so schol. vulg. Ap. Rhod. 2. 653 *καὶ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν νόμος ἕνα τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων εἰσιέναι εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον, καὶ θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Διΐ*. But there is an important variant in schol. cod. Paris. *καὶ μέχρι νῦν νόμος εἰσελθόντα εἰς τὸ πρυτανεῖον ἕνα τῶν Φρίξου ἀπογόνων θύειν τῷ εἰρημένῳ Διΐ*. The accusative *εἰσελθόντα...ἕνα* is ambiguous. It might be the subject of *θύειν* and mean that the man sacrificed to Zeus. It might be the object of *θύειν* and mean that the man was sacrificed to Zeus. In view of the custom at Halos, the latter alternative is more probable than the former. If so, amend Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 165 n. 1). *Supra* i. 416, ii. p. 899 n. 1.

Coins of Halos show the head of Zeus *Λαφύστιος*, sometimes filleted, sometimes laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 13 pls. 2, 6, 31, 1). On occasion a thunderbolt is added in front of the head on the obverse (W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1899 xix. 91 pl. 7, 1) or below Phrixos and the ram on the reverse (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 13 no. 3). The coins are coppers of two periods, 400—344 B.C. and 300—200 B.C. (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 295 f.).

[2] Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* p. 871 n. 3 no. (1)) and *Ἀκταῖος* (*supra* p. 869 n. 2). A cloud on Pelion meant rain or wind (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 22).

[3] Zeus *Ὀσσαιος* (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* (76) *ὁσσαίου*, 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* (68) *ὁσσαίου*) is not necessarily to be taken as the god of Mt Ossa (1950m). He may be the sender of Rumour (*Ὄσσα*) the 'messenger of Zeus' (*Il.* 2. 93 f. *μετὰ δέ σφισιν Ὄσσα δεδήει | ὀτρύνουσ' ἰέναι, Διὸς ἄγγελος*, cp. *Od.* 1. 282 f., 2. 216 f., 24. 413).

[4] Homole or Homolos, one of the northern spurs of Mt Ossa in Magnesia, on which stood the town Homolion (Stählin in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2259 ff.), was 'the most fertile and best watered of the Thessalian mountains' (Paus. 9. 8. 6, cp. Strab. 443). The *Ὁμολωΐδες πύλαι* of Thebes were said to have been called after it (Paus. 9. 8. 6 f.; but see *supra* p. 900 n. 1). It is possible that the Theban cult of Zeus *Ὁμολώιος* had spread southwards from Mt Homole (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 12 f., *supra* p. 900 n. 1).

[5] Zeus *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* p. 871 n. 3 no. (2)).

[6] The cult of Zeus on Mt Olympos has been discussed at some length *supra* i. 100—

Plate XL

The summit of Mount Olympos.

See page 905 n. 0 f.

[By permission of Messrs Boissonnas, Geneva.]

117. My statement that the published illustrations of the mountain are very inadequate (i. 101 n. 3) no longer holds good. A. J. Mann—W. T. Wood *The Salonika Front* London 1920 pl. 7 give a coloured silhouette of Olympos as seen from *Mikra*, the reproduction of a fine original owned by Lieut.-Col. G. Windsor-Clive. And the noble view of the summit here shown (pl. xl) is from a large heliogravure of exceptional merit published by F. Boissonnas of Geneva.

D. Urquhart *The Spirit of the East* London 1838 i. 398 ff. describes with much enthusiasm, but little precision, his ascent of Olympos in 1830: 'I spent no more than an hour at this giddy height, where the craving of my eyes would not have been satisfied under a week. I seemed to stand perpendicularly over the sea, at the height of 10,000 feet. Salonica was quite distinguishable, lying north-east; Larissa appeared under my very feet. The whole horizon, from north to south-west was occupied by mountains, hanging on, as it were, to Olympus. This is the range that runs westward along the north of Thessaly, ending in the Pindus. The line of bearing of these heaved-up strata seems to correspond with that of the Pindus, that is, to run north and south, and they presented their escarpment to Olympus. Ossa, which lay like a hillock beneath, stretched away at right angles to the south; and, in the interval, spread far, far in the red distance, the level lands of Thessaly, under that peculiar dusty mist which makes nature look like a gigantic imitation of an unnatural effect produced on the scene of a theatre. When I first reached the summit, and looked over the warm plains of Thessaly, this haze was of a pale yellow hue. It deepened gradually, and became red, then brown, while similar tints, far more vivid, were reproduced higher in the sky. But, when I turned round to the east, up which the vast shadows of night were travelling, the cold ocean looked like a plain of lead; the shadow of the mighty mass of Olympus was projected twenty miles along its surface; and I stood on the very edge, and on my tiptoes' (*ib.* i. 429 f.). On enquiry he found that the shepherds of Olympos 'had no recollection of the "Thunderer" ...but they told me,' he adds, 'that "the stars came down at night on Olympus!" "that heaven and earth had once met upon its summit, but that since men had grown wicked, God had gone higher up"' (*ib.* i. 437, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 35, N. G. Polites Δημώδεις κοσμογονικοὶ μῦθοι Athens 1894 p. 7, cp. p. 41 ff., *id.* Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 122 no. 217, ii. 805).

Later and more scientific ascents were made by L. Heuzey (1856), H. Barth (1862), and H. F. Tozer (1864). Then followed an interval during which brigandage made mountaineering extremely hazardous: for example, in 1911 E. Richter, an engineer of Jena, had to be ransomed by the Porte at a cost of 500,000 francs. But by 1913 political changes had improved the conditions, and the series of ascents was resumed—D. Baud-Bovy and F. Boissonnas (1913), Profs. E. P. Farquhar and A. E. Phoutrides (1914), Major-General Sir W. Rycroft (1918), D. Baud-Bovy, F. Boissonnas, and the son of the latter (1920), M. Kurz and the chamois-hunter Ch. Kakkalos (1921). See further L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860, H. Barth *Reise durch das Innere der Europäischen Türkei* Berlin 1864, H. F. Tozer *Researches in the Highlands of Turkey* London 1869, E. Richter *Meine Erlebnisse in der Gefangenschaft am Olymp* Leipzig 1911, Profs. E. P. Farquhar and A. E. Phoutrides in *Scribner's Magazine* for November 1915 (good photographs), D. W. Freshfield 'The summits of Olympus' in *The Geographical Journal* 1916 xlvii. 293—297, C. F. Meade 'Mount Olympus' in *The Alpine Journal* 1919 xxxii. 326—328 (with photographs taken by Lieutenant-Colonel Wood, R.E., from an aeroplane piloted by Lieutenant-Colonel Todd, R.A.F.), D. Baud-Bovy 'The mountain-group of Olympus: an essay in nomenclature' in *The Geographical Journal* 1921 lvii. 204—213 (with a sketch-map of the *massif* of Olympos and four fine photographs of the summits by F. Boissonnas).

D. Baud-Bovy *loc. cit.* concludes: 'Thus, to sum up, the High Olympus is constituted by two ranges, which, though not parallel, run generally east and west. The northern range is that of Kokkino-Vrako, the southern, that of Bichtes. A high rocky barrier running north and south contains three "stones," three "pipes," or three "brothers," quite separated from each other, the Tarpeian Rock in the south, the Throne of Zeus in

Mount Athos[1].
Aigai, Kerdylion, etc. (?)[2].

Korkyra
Kassiope[3].

the north, and in the centre the Venizelos peak, the highest of the three. The point of junction between this barrier and the northern range is the St. Elias. The joint which unites the central peaks with the southern range is more complicated. It includes the Skolion, which forms the counterpart to the St. Elias on the opposite side of the Megali-Gurna, and the Isto-Cristaci more to the west. The St. Anthony and the domes of Stavoïdia link these two summits to those at the western end of the southern range, of which the Sarai is the most important.' [The peaks seen in pl. xl, from left to right, are —according to Baud-Bovy's nomenclature—(*a*) the Throne of Zeus (capped by cloud), (*b*) Peak Venizelos (the true summit), (*c*) the Cock's Comb, (*d*) the Virgin, (*e*) the Tarpeian Rock.]

M. Kurz in *The Alpine Journal* 1921 xxxiv. 173 f. reports that in August 1921 he surveyed the whole mass of Olympos with a photo-theodolite and that he has in preparation a map, covering an area of *c.* 100 square kilometers, on a scale of 1 : 20,000. The heights calculated to date are: Skolion = Δ 2905.45^{m}, Pic Venizelos (*Mitka;* 'Needle') = 2917.85^{m}, Throne of Zeus (*Stephani*) = 2909.94^{m}.

[1] Zeus Ἀθῷος (Soph. *Thamyras frag.* 216 Nauck^{2}, 237 Jebb *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 358, 40 f. Θρῇσσαν σκοπιὰν Ζηνὸς Ἀθῴου, cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 285 Ἀθῷον αἶπος Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο) was worshipped on Mt Athos (Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 218, 3, 358, 43 f., 953, 45 f., schol. *Il.* 14. 229), where he had a statue (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀθῷος· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἄθω τοῦ ὄρους ἱδρυμένος ἀνδριάς, ὁ Ζεύς) and a sanctuary on the summit (*et. mag.* p. 26, 47 f. Ἀθῴου Διός· Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν ἄκρῳ Ἄθῳ τῷ ὄρει, Ἀθῴου καλουμένου). For beliefs concerning the mountain-top and its altars see *supra* i. 82 n. 1, 103 n. 4 (Solin. 11. 3 there adduced is dependent on Mela 2. 31). The presence or absence of clouds on Mt Athos betokened rain or fine weather (Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 3. 6, 4. 2). Other allusions are collected by W. Capelle *Berges- und Wolkenhöhen bei griechischen Physikern* (Στοιχεῖα v) Leipzig—Berlin 1916 pp. 1, 27, 32 n. 5, 37, 39. On the various monasteries of this Ἅγιον Ὄρος see the literature cited by E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2068 f. and by C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 120.

[2] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (9)).

[3] Kassiope, a town and promontory (Ptol. 3. 13. 9 Κασσιόπη πόλις καὶ ἄκρα) in the north-eastern corner of Korkyra, is still called *Kassiopi.* As a convenient haven it figures from time to time in ancient records (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2314 f., xi. 1413). It possessed a temple of Iupiter *Cassius* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 52 et oppido Cassiope temploque Cassi Iovis), at whose altar Nero sang (Suet. *Ner.* 22 ut primum Cassiopen traiecit, statim ad aram Iovis Cassii cantare auspicatus certamina deinceps obiit omnia). Two dedications to Iupiter *Casius* have been found in Korkyra (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 576 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1224 P. Hetereius | Rufio | Iovi Casio sac(rum), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 577 (cp. p. 989) = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4043 M. Valerius Corvi[ni] | [i. L]orico | Iovi Casio v. s.). A ship built of marble and dedicated by a merchant to Zeus Κάσιος was sometimes regarded as the raft of Odysseus, and is compared with the stone ship made by Tynnichos and dedicated by Agamemnon to Artemis Βολοσία at Geraistos (Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 4. 22 καίτοι οὐ μονοειδὲς τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτό ἐστιν, ἀλλὰ ἐκ λίθων ὅτι μάλιστα πολλῶν ξύγκειται. καὶ γράμματα ἐν αὐτῷ ἐγκεκόλαπται καὶ διαρρήδην βοᾷ τῶν τινα ἐμπόρων ἐν τοῖς ἄνω χρόνοις ἱδρύσασθαι τὸ ἀνάθημα τοῦτο Διὶ τῷ Κασίῳ. Δία γὰρ Κάσιον ἐτίμων ποτὲ οἱ τῇδε ἄνθρωποι, ἐπεὶ καὶ ἡ πόλις, ἐν ᾗ τὸ πλοῖον τοῦτο ἕστηκεν, ἐς τόνδε τὸν χρόνον Κασώπη (*sic*) ἐπικαλεῖται. κ.τ.λ.).

Autonomous bronze coins of Korkyra from 48 B.C. to 138 A.D. often have for reverse or obverse type the figure of ZEVC KACIOC (occasionally ZEVC KACCIOC) seated on a high-backed throne with a sceptre in one hand and sometimes a *phiale* in the other

Korkyra (?)[1].

Kephallenia

Mount Ainos[2].

(*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 153 ff. pl. 25, 5 (=my fig. 823), 6—11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 21 pl. 32, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 328). Imperial coppers from Antoninus Pius to Geta (138—222 A.D.) repeat the type with legend ΖΕVC ΚΑCIOC Antoninus Pius, ΚΟΡΚVΡΑΙΩΝ ΚΑCCIOC M. Aurelius, or ΚΟΡΚVΡΑΙΩΝ M. Aurelius to Geta (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 158 ff. pl. 26, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 21

Fig. 823.

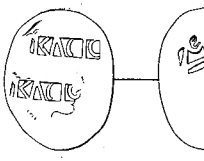


Fig. 824.

no. 53, 23 nos. 65, 67, 72, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 328). Coins of Korkyra, Lakedaimon, Knidos, etc. are found countermarked with various abbreviations of the words Διὸς Κασίου and were probably dedicated in his temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 158 pl. 25, 14 (=my fig. 824) and 15, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 647, 676 f.).

Zeus Κάσιος, an oriental deity (Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2265—2267 and A. Salač 'ΖΕΤΣ ΚΑΣΙΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 160—189) whose cult had been introduced, perhaps *viâ* Delos (A. Salač *ib.* pp. 165, 189), either from Mt Kasion on the Orontes (*infra* Append. B Syria) or from Mt Kasion near Pelousion (*infra* Append. B Aigyptos), was in Korkyra readily identified with the Zeus of Kassiope, a Hellenic god probably connected with Mt Pantokrator (911m) behind the town. The accidental resemblance of Κάσιος to Κασσιόπη would suffice to ensure his popularity.

[1] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (12)).

[2] Mt Ainos, the chief mountain of Kephallenia, rises to a height of 1620m and is known as *Elatovouno* or *Monte Nero* from the dark fir-trees with which it was formerly clad (C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1872 ii. 372). On it was the sanctuary of Zeus Αἰνήσιος (Strab. 456 *μέγιστον δ' ὄρος ἐν αὐτῇ <* Αἶνος (*ins.* Xylander)*>, ἐν ᾧ τὸ* Διὸς Αἰνησίου *ἱερόν*), to whom the Boreadai prayed when pursuing the Harpyiai (schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 *ὅτι δὲ ηὔξαντο οἱ περὶ Ζήτην τῷ Διὶ στραφέντες λέγει καὶ* Ἡσίοδος (*frag.* 57 Rzach) *'ἔνθ' οἵ γ' εὐχέσθην Αἰνησίῳ ὑψιμέδοντι.' ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Αἶνος ὄρος τῆς Κεφαλληνίας, ὅπου* Αἰνησίου Διὸς *ἱερόν ἐστιν· οὗ μνημονεύει καὶ Δέων ἐν Περίπλῳ* (Leon of Byzantion *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 330 f. Müller)) *καὶ Δημοσθένης ἐν τοῖς Λιμέσιν* (? Demosthenes of Bithynia (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 384 Müller)). But Müller *op. cit.* ii. 331, iv. 365 emends the text to *οὗ μνημονεύει* Κλέων *ἐν τῷ Περὶ λιμένων καὶ* Τιμοσθένης *ἐν τοῖς Λιμέσιν*. The emendation Κλέων is confirmed by *et. gen. s.v. ἀρετάν·...καὶ* Κλέων *ἐν τῷ Περίπλῳ* (E. Miller *Mélanges de littérature grecque* Paris 1868 p. 41), and Kleon of Syracuse was associated with Timosthenes (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 365 Müller)).

Bronze coins of Pronnoi on the south-eastern coast of Kephallenia, from *c.* 370 B.C. onwards, have *obv.* head of Zeus Αἰνήσιος, laureate, *rev.* a fir-cone, sometimes with twigs (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1205, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 89 pl. 18, 7 and 8, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 807 f. pl. 238, 26 and 27, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 428).

D. T. Ansted *The Ionian Islands in the year 1863* London 1863 p. 345 f. describes his ascent of Mt Ainos: 'Through a couple of miles of forest of these noble trees, through two or three miles also of hard, granulated snow and some snow recently fallen and very soft, I made my way from the cottage to the top of the mountain. The path is long, but

Sicily

Mount Aitne[1].

nowhere steep. It conducts by a succession of slopes and terraces to the culminating ridge, which is itself of considerable length, and comprises at least half a dozen points of rock, all within twenty feet of the highest point. There is a cairn of stones at the last of these, and the remains of an altar dedicated to Jupiter Enos. Numerous fragments of calcined bones have been taken from the ground at the foot of the altar, where there seems to be a large deposit. This point is not really the highest, being a little to the east of it and ten or fifteen feet lower; the culminating point is about 5,400 feet above the sea. The view from this summit when everything is favourable must be exceedingly grand, as, except the Pindus range which is distant, there is nothing to intercept the view. All around is a rich panorama of islands: Zante at one's feet in all its elegant beauty of form; Ithaca to the east; beyond it a silver strip of ocean, and then the gulf of Patras, which is seen in all its length to the bay of Lepanto, in the vicinity of Corinth. Athens is not much further in the same direction. A noble chain of snowy mountains shuts in this view towards the south east. Looking down in the direction of Argostoli a minute speck is seen in the water. On the island called Διος (Thios), that looks so small, was once a temple to the father of the gods, and when sacrifice was offered and the smoke was seen by the priests stationed at the altar on this summit, another sacrifice was here made, and the curling incense rising from this lofty point in the thin air was a sign, far and wide, of the completion of the offering. Here above remain the stones of the altar and the burnt bones of the bulls and the goats; there below, at a distance of several miles, the more solid and beautiful temple is gone—not one stone remains upon another, and there is nothing but the story, probable enough for that matter, to connect the two localities.'

[1] Aitne, the greatest volcano of the ancient world, rises to a height of 10,758 ft (according to the geodetic survey of 1900) and covers not less than 460 square miles, its base being about 90 miles in circumference (K. Baedeker *Southern Italy and Sicily*[16] Leipzig 1912 p. 423. For full details see W. Sartorius Freiherr von Waltershausen *Der Aetna* herausg. von A. von Lasaulx Leipzig 1880 i. ii.).

On the sea-coast at the southern foot of Mt Aitne lay the old town of Katane. And when in 476/5 B.C. Hieron i drove out its inhabitants, settled in their stead 5000 Syracusans with 5000 Peloponnesians, and renamed the place Aitne (Diod. 11. 49), he seems to have erected there a statue of Zeus Αἰτναῖος and instituted a festival called Αἰτναῖα (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 162a ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ Διὸς Αἰτναίου ἄγαλμα ἵδρυται, καὶ ἑορτὴ Αἰτναῖα καλεῖται, *ib.* 162 c περιέπει δὲ καὶ θεραπεύει ὁ Ἱέρων καὶ τὸ κράτος τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην τιμωμένου, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 6 Διὸς ἕνεκεν τοῦ ἐν τῇ Αἴτνῃ· Διὶ γὰρ ἀνάκειται καὶ οὗτος ὁ ἀγών· ἐν γὰρ τῇ Αἴτνῃ Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστι, *ib.* 7 ἐν τῷ ἀγῶνι καὶ ἐν τῇ πανηγύρει τοῦ Αἰτναίου Διὸς ἦγον οἱ περὶ τὸν Ἱέρωνα τοὺς ἐπὶ τοῖς στεφανίταις ἀγῶσι πεποιημένους ἐπινίκους καὶ ᾠδον. κ.τ.λ.). Accordingly Pindar, in odes composed soon after Hieron's new foundation, dwells on the recently established cult (*Nem.* 1. 6 Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου χάριν, *Ol.* 6. 96 Ζηνὸς Αἰτναίου κράτος, *Pyth.* 1. 29 f. Ζεῦ, ... | ὃς τοῦτ' ἐφέπεις ὄρος, κ.τ.λ., cp. *Ol.* 4. 6 ὦ Κρόνου παῖ, ὃς Αἴτναν ἔχεις κ.τ.λ.). In 461 B.C. the settlers at Katane, driven out in their turn by Douketios and his Sikeloi, captured the Sikel town Inessa (*S. Maria di Licodia*) on the south-western slope of the mountain and transferred to it the name of Hieron's settlement Aitne (Diod. 11. 76); but whether they transferred thither the cult of Zeus Αἰτναῖος also we do not know. Perhaps they did, for in Roman times it seems to have been widely spread. E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell'antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 pp. 34 f., 145 f. cp. Diod. 34. 10 ὅτι ἡ σύγκλητος δεισιδαιμονοῦσα ἐξαπέστειλεν εἰς Σικελίαν περὶ τοὺς Σιβύλλης χρησμοὺς κατὰ Σιβυλλιακὸν λόγιον· οἱ δὲ ἐπελθόντες καθ' ὅλην τὴν Σικελίαν τοὺς τῷ Αἰτναίῳ Διὶ καθιδρυμένους βωμοὺς θυσιάσαντες, καὶ περιφράγματα ποιήσαντες, ἀβάτους ἀπεδείκνυον τοὺς τόπους πλὴν τοῖς ἔχουσι καθ' ἕκαστον πολίτευμα πατρίους θύειν θυσίας.

The cult at Katane-Aitne is attested by coins of the town, issued from shortly before 476 to shortly before 461 B.C. Silver *Litrai* have *obv.* the head of a bald Silenos, *rev.* a thunderbolt with two curled wings and the legend KATA NE often abbreviated (*Brit.*

Mus. Cat. Coins Sicily p. 42 nos. 8—11, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 171 nos. 1—5, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 43 pl. 3, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 131) or AIT NAI likewise abbreviated (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 43 no. 12 fig., nos. 13—16, G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 44, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 132). And a unique silver tetradrachm in the Hirsch collection at Brussels (*supra* i. 90 f. fig. 62) shows *obv.* AITNA ION the head of a bald Silenos wearing an ivy-wreath (Eur. *Cycl.* 18 ff. Silenos as slave of Polyphemos dwells in a cave on Mt Aitne), with a beetle beneath (Aristoph. *pax* 73 *Αἰτναῖον μέγιστον κάνθαρον* and schol. *ad loc.*), *rev.* Zeus *Αἰτναῖος* sitting on a throne spread with a lion-skin. He is clad in a *himátion*. His right hand rests on a vine-staff (Strab. 269 *ἔχειν τι οἰκείωμα πρὸς τὴν ἄμπελον εἰκὸς τὴν Αἰτναίαν σποδόν*); his left holds a thunderbolt with two curled wings. In the field is an eagle perched on a pine-tree (Diod. 14. 42 *εἰς τὸ κατὰ τὴν Αἴτνην ὄρος ἀπέστειλε γέμον κατ' ἐκείνους τοὺς χρόνους πολυτελοῦς ἐλάτης τε καὶ πεύκης*). On this remarkable coin, which has been taken to represent the cult-statue of Zeus *Αἰτναῖος* (Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2475 f.), see further Baron L. de Hirsch in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1883 iii. 165 f. pl. 9, 1, B. V. Head *ib.* p. 171 ff., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 74 f. pl. 4, 13, *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 43 ff. pl. 3, 22, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 94 f., 97 pl. 3, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 131 f. fig. 70. The types of the tetradrachm recall the famous scene in Aristoph. *pax* 62 ff., where Trygaios tries to reach Zeus, first by clambering up light ladders towards the sky (*supra* p. 130), and then by mounting an Aetnaean beetle as a sort of Pegasos. Not improbably there were Dionysiac traits in the cult of Zeus on Mt Aitne, as there were in his cult on Mt Olympos (*supra* i. 104 ff.).

There is, however, no evidence of a Zeus-cult on Aitne earlier than *s.* v B.C. Hence the paucity of myths connecting this god with the mountain. Zeus is indeed sometimes said to have piled Aitne on Typhon (Aisch. *P. v.* 351 ff., Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 13 ff., cp. Strab. 626 f.) or on Enkelados (Lucilius (?) *Aetna* 71 ff., Stat. *Theb.* 11. 8, cp. Verg. *Aen.* 3. 578 ff., Opp. *de venat.* 1. 273 ff.); but Typhon is more properly located in the land of Arima (*supra* p. 826) or in the Corycian Cave (*supra* p. 448 n. 2), and Enkelados is commonly described as the victim of Athena, not of Zeus. Again, the Palikoi, autochthonous deities (Polemon *frag.* 83 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 140 f. Müller) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 26) of the two volcanic springs in the *Lago dei Palici* (*supra* i. 156. See further L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1281—1295), were fathered upon Zeus. Aisch. *Αἰτναῖαι frag.* 7 Nauck[2] *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παλική made them the children of Zeus by Thaleia daughter of Hephaistos. *Id. ib. frag.* 6 Nauck[2] *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 24 added that Zeus had named them Παλικοί because they would 'come again' from darkness into light. The context in Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 19. 17 ff. preserves the Aeschylean version of their myth. The nymph Thaleia, embraced by Zeus near the Sicilian river Symaithos, became pregnant and, through fear of Hera, prayed that the earth might swallow her. It did so. But in due time it opened up and Thaleia's twin sons the Παλικοί 'came again' to light. The self-transformation of Zeus into a vulture (or eagle?) in order to win the nymph (Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 and Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne)—both cited *supra* i. 106 n. 2 f.) is a feature of the story, which would have appealed to Aischylos' love of spectacular effect (cp. the vase-painting *supra* i. 105 f. fig. 76). The so-called interpolator of Servius (Donatus?) knows the tale of Zeus and Thaleia, though he is muddle-headed about the eagle. But Servius himself makes the Palikoi the children of Zeus by the nymph Aitne (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 9. 584 Symaethos fluvius est Siciliae [a rege Symaetho dictus], haud longe ab urbe Carinensi (*leg.* Catinensi), circa quem sunt Palici dei, quorum talis est fabula: Aetnam nympham [vel, ut quidam volunt, Thaliam] Iuppiter cum vitiasset et fecisset gravidam, timens Iunonem, secundum alios ipsam puellam, Terrae commendavit, et illic enixa est. secundum alios partum eius, postea cum de Terra erupissent duo pueri, Palici dicti sunt, quasi iterum venientes. nam *πάλιν ἥκειν* est iterum venire. hi primo humanis hostiis placabantur, postea quibusdam sacris mitigati sunt et eorum immutata sacrificia. inde ergo 'placabilis ara,' quia mitigata sunt eorum numina. [Palicos nauticos deos Varro appellat. alii dicunt Iovem hunc Palicum propter Iunonis iracundiam in aquilam commutasse. alii Vulcani et Aetnae filium tradunt, sed etc.]). Another line of

Akragas[1].

tradition or conjecture speaks of Hephaistos, not Zeus, as father of the Palikoi (Silenos *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 101 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Παλική). Yet another prefers Adranos (Hesych. *s.v.* Παλικοί, cp. Plout. *v. Timol.* 12), the Syrian Hadran (*supra* i. 232 n. 1, ii. 630). It may be surmised that their original connexion was with the Earth rather than with the Sky.

Be that as it may, the cult of Zeus as a mountain-god in the region of Aitne is hardly of great antiquity. The ancient god of the district was the 'Minoan' Kronos (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 154 p. 170, 6 ff. Wünsch cited *supra* p. 554 n. 3).

[1] Akragas, a joint colony from Rhodes and Gela (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1188), had an *akrópolis* named Mt Atabyrion (J. Schubring *Historische Topographie von Akragas in Sicilien während der klassischen Zeit* Leipzig 1870 pp. 21—28 'Die Akropolis'). On the top of it was a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀταβύριος resembling that at Rhodes (Polyb. 9. 27. 7 f. ἐπὶ δὲ τῆς κορυφῆς Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἔκτισται καὶ Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, καθάπερ καὶ παρὰ Ῥοδίοις· τοῦ γὰρ Ἀκράγαντος ὑπὸ Ῥοδίων ἀπῳκισμένου, εἰκότως ὁ θεὸς οὗτος τὴν αὐτὴν ἔχει προσηγορίαν ἣν καὶ παρὰ τοῖς Ῥοδίοις). With Zeus Ἀταβύριος must be identified Zeus Πολιεύς (J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24), whose temple on the highest point of the rocky site was built by Phalaris (Polyain. 5. 1. 1 cited *supra* i. 122) in the first half of *s.* vi B.C. Phalaris' famous bull of bronze (Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 95 f., *alib.*) seems to have been the sacred beast of Zeus Ἀταβύριος, the Hellenic successor of a Hittite bull-god (*supra* i. 643 f., cp. 784 f. figs. 567—569. F. Hrozny *Hethitische Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi* Leipzig 1919 i. 1 ff. no. 1 a list of Tešub-cults recording a great bull of silver (i, 34 f.) and several great bulls of iron (ii, 12, 24, 34, 41, iii, 2, 8), one of them with gilded eyes (iv, 3)). The Carthaginians, on capturing Akragas (405 B.C.), carried off the bull, which had a trap-door between its shoulders and pipes in its nostrils (Polyb. 12. 25. 3, Diod. 9. 19 *ap.* Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 646 ff.), to Carthage (Polyb. 12. 25. 3, Diod. 13. 90). Timaios, according to one account, denied that the bull at Carthage had come from Akragas, declaring that the Agrigentines had never possessed the like (Tim. *frags.* 116, 117 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 221 f., 222 Müller) *ap.* Polyb. 12. 25. 1 ff., Diod. 13. 90). But, according to another account, he stated that they had flung the original bull into the sea, and that the bull exhibited at Akragas was only an effigy of the river Gelas (Tim. *frag.* 118 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 222 Müller) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 185). Scipio brought the bull back from Carthage to Akragas (Cic. *Verr.* 4. 73, Diod. 13. 90), where it was still to be seen *c.* 60 B.C. (Diod. 13. 90). See further J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24 ff., G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1893 i[2]. 422 n. 4.

The temple of Zeus Ἀταβύριος οἱ Πολιεύς is in all probability to be sought beneath the Cathedral of S. Gerlando (bishop of Agrigentum; died Feb. 25, 1101 A.D. Cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Februarius iii. 592 C (Pirrus e gestis S. Gerlandi) Cathedrale templum quadrato lapide ac nobili structurâ à fundamentis excitavit, illudque D. Mariæ (uti à D. Petro fuerat olim dicatum) & D. Iacobo Apostolo consecravit iv die Aprilis) on the highest part of modern *Girgenti* (C. Hülsen *loc. cit.*). J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 24 says 'dass S. Gerlando auf den Substruktionen eines alten Tempels erbaut ist und unbedenklich erkläre ich die grossen Stufen und Quaderbauten, die aus dem Boden hervorragen, für antike Reste.' But R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 i. 139, while agreeing that S. Gerlando marks the site of the temple, add: 'Leider ist von diesem Bau des Phalaris, dem einzigen sicilischen Tempel des 6. Jahrhunderts v. Chr., über den wir eine historische Nachricht haben, nichts erhalten.' Excavation may yet find traces of it. The substantial remains of a Doric hexastyle peripteral temple of *s.* v B.C. beneath the neighbouring church of S. Maria de' Greci were published by Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1836 iii. 86 f. pls. 43, 44 as belonging to the temple of Zeus Πολιεύς, but should rather be identified with the temple of Athena (J. Schubring *op. cit.* p. 26, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 140 ff., ii pl. 20).

On a hill (75[m] high) to the west of the so-called *Porta Aurea*, which led through the

southern wall of the lower city towards the sea (Liv. 26. 40), was the vast but unfinished temple of Zeus 'Ολύμπιος (Polyb. 9. 27. 9 καὶ ὁ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου νεὼς παντέλειαν (so J. A. Ernesti, followed by F. Hultsch, for πολυτέλειαν codd. F.S. Cluverius cj. συντέλειαν) μὲν οὐκ εἴληφε, κατὰ δὲ τὴν ἐπιβολὴν καὶ τὸ μέγεθος οὐδ' ὁποίου τῶν κατὰ τὴν 'Ελλάδα δοκεῖ λείπεσθαι). When Theron, making common cause with Gelon, had vanquished the huge host of the Carthaginians at Himera (480 B.C.), the Agrigentines used their numerous prisoners of war to hew stone for the construction of their largest temples (Diod. 11. 25). The Olympion must have taken many years to build; indeed, it was not yet roofed when in 405 B.C. Akragas was captured by the Carthaginians, and roofless it remained (Diod. 13. 82). In 255 B.C., during the First Punic War, Karthalon besieged and took Akragas; whereupon the remnant of the population fled for refuge to the Olympion (Diod. 23. 14). This great fabric fell gradually into decay. But part of it, supported by three Giants and certain columns, did not collapse till Dec. 9, 1401 A.D. Hence the arms of *Girgenti* (a turreted wall resting on three naked Giants), the mediaeval line *signat Agrigentum mirabilis aula Gigantum*, and the popular name of the ruins *Palazzo de Giganti* (T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis* Panormi 1558 p. 127 (dec. 1 lib. 6 cap. 1)). In modern times the temple has served as a public quarry, the mole of *Porto Empedocle* being built of its blocks (1749—1763 A.D.) (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 154).

There is a detailed account of the Olympion in Diod. 13. 82 ἥ τε γὰρ τῶν ἱερῶν κατασκευὴ καὶ μάλιστα ὁ τοῦ Διὸς νεὼς ἐμφαίνει τὴν μεγαλοπρέπειαν τῶν τότε ἀνθρώπων· τῶν μὲν οὖν (so F. Vogel for γὰρ codd.) ἄλλων ἱερῶν τὰ μὲν κατεκαύθη, τὰ δὲ τελείως κατεσκάφη διὰ τὸ πολλάκις ἠλωκέναι τὴν πόλιν, τὸ δ' (so F. Vogel for δ' οὖν codd.) 'Ολύμπιον μέλλον λαμβάνειν τὴν ὀροφὴν ὁ πόλεμος ἐκώλυσεν· ἐξ οὗ τῆς πόλεως κατασκαφείσης οὐδέποτε ὕστερον ἴσχυσαν 'Ακραγαντῖνοι τέλος ἐπιθεῖναι τοῖς οἰκοδομήμασιν. ἔστι δὲ ὁ νεὼς ἔχων τὸ μὲν μῆκος πόδας τριακοσίους τεσσαράκοντα, τὸ δὲ πλάτος <ἑκατὸν (ins. T. Kidd, J. Schubring) > ἐξήκοντα, τὸ δὲ ὕψος ἑκατὸν εἴκοσι χωρὶς τοῦ κρηπιδώματος. μέγιστος δ' ὢν τῶν ἐν Σικελίᾳ καὶ τοῖς ἐκτὸς οὐκ ἀλόγως ἂν συγκρίνοιτο κατὰ τὸ μέγεθος τῆς ὑποστάσεως· καὶ γὰρ εἰ μὴ τέλος λαβεῖν συνέβη τὴν ἐπιβολήν, ἥ γε προαίρεσις (so J. J. Reiske for προδιαίρεσις codd.) ὑπάρχει φανερά. τῶν δ' ἄλλων ἢ μέχρι τοίχων (sic codd. J. J. Reiske cj. μετὰ τοίχων. L. Dindorf cj. μέχρι θριγκῶν. F. Vogel cj. μέχρι τεγῶν vel συνεχεῖ τοίχῳ) τοὺς νεὼς οἰκοδομούντων ἢ κύκλῳ κίοσι (so P. Wesseling, followed by F. Vogel, for ἢ κύκλωσις or κυκλώσει codd. Stephanus cj. ἢ κίοσι) τοὺς σηκοὺς (so J. J. Reiske, followed by F. Vogel, for οἴκους codd. Stephanus cj. τοίχους) περιλαμβανόντων, οὗτος ἑκατέρας τούτων μετέχει τῶν ὑποστάσεων· συνῳκοδομοῦντο γὰρ τοῖς τοίχοις οἱ κίονες (so L. Dindorf for οἱ τοῖχοι τοῖς κίοσιν codd.), ἔξωθεν μὲν στρογγύλοι, τὸ δ' ἐντὸς τοῦ νεὼ ἔχοντες τετράγωνον· καὶ τοῦ μὲν ἐκτὸς μέρους ἔστιν αὐτῶν ἡ περιφέρεια ποδῶν εἴκοσι, καθ' ἣν εἰς τὰ διαξύσματα δύναται ἀνθρώπινον ἐναρμόζεσθαι σῶμα, τὸ (L. Dindorf cj. τοῦ) δ' ἐντὸς ποδῶν δώδεκα. τῶν δὲ στοῶν τὸ μέγεθος καὶ τὸ ὕψος ἐξαίσιον ἐχουσῶν, ἐν μὲν τῷ πρὸς ἕω μέρει τὴν Γιγαντομαχίαν ἐποιήσαντο γλυφαῖς (so L. Dindorf for ταῖς γλυφαῖς codd. F.K. ταῖς τε γλυφαῖς cett. codd.) καὶ τῷ μεγέθει καὶ τῷ κάλλει διαφερούσαις (so L. Dindorf for διαφερούσας codd. P.A.K. διαφέρουσαν cett. codd.), ἐν δὲ τῷ πρὸς δυσμὰς τὴν ἅλωσιν τῆς Τροίας, ἐν ᾗ τῶν ἡρώων ἕκαστον ἰδεῖν ἔστιν οἰκεῖως τῆς περιστάσεως δεδημιουργημένον.

The temple, of which substantial remains still strew the ground, was a Doric pseudo-peripteral building with seven half-columns on the short side and fourteen half-columns on the long side. These columns (lower diameter 4·30^{m}, upper diameter 3·10^{m}), engaged externally in the wall of the *naós*, appear internally as rectangular pilasters. If completed, they would have the normal number of twenty flutes, flutes of so vast a size (0·55^{m} broad) that a man can easily stand in each as in a niche. Beneath the half-column is a moulded base, which is continued along the intercolumniation-wall as a moulded plinth. The stylobate, of four steps surmounted by a projecting cornice, rests on a stereobate measuring 113·45^{m} × 56·30^{m}. The architrave (3·20^{m} high) was formed of three superposed courses of stone. The metopes were single slabs left plain. The pediments were filled with groups representing the Gigantomachy at the eastern end and the capture of Troy at the western end (a few fragments only preserved). The building was throughout of yellowish shell-limestone covered with a fine skin of stucco and decorated with the usual patterns in paint.

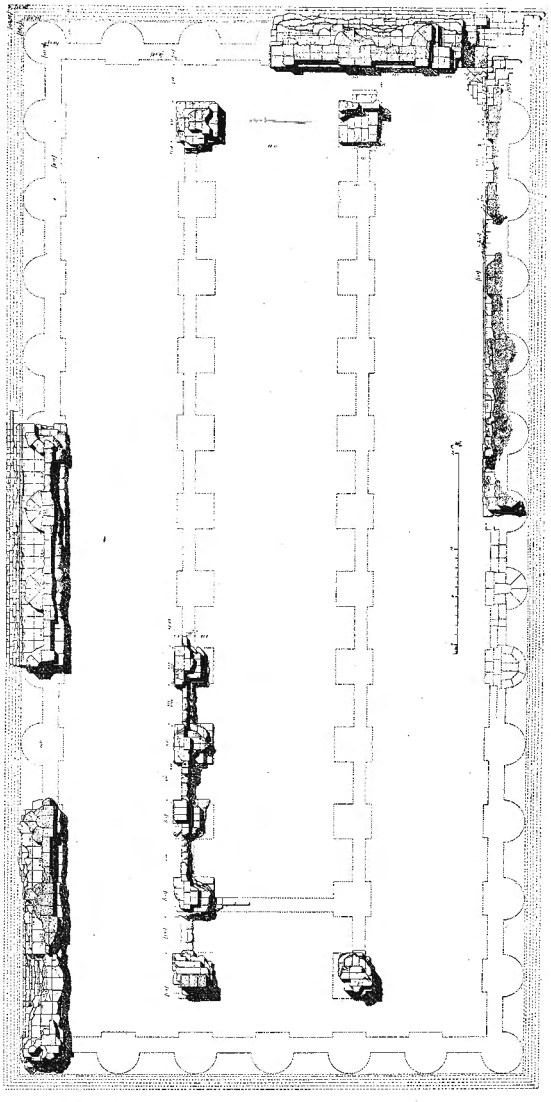


Fig. 825.

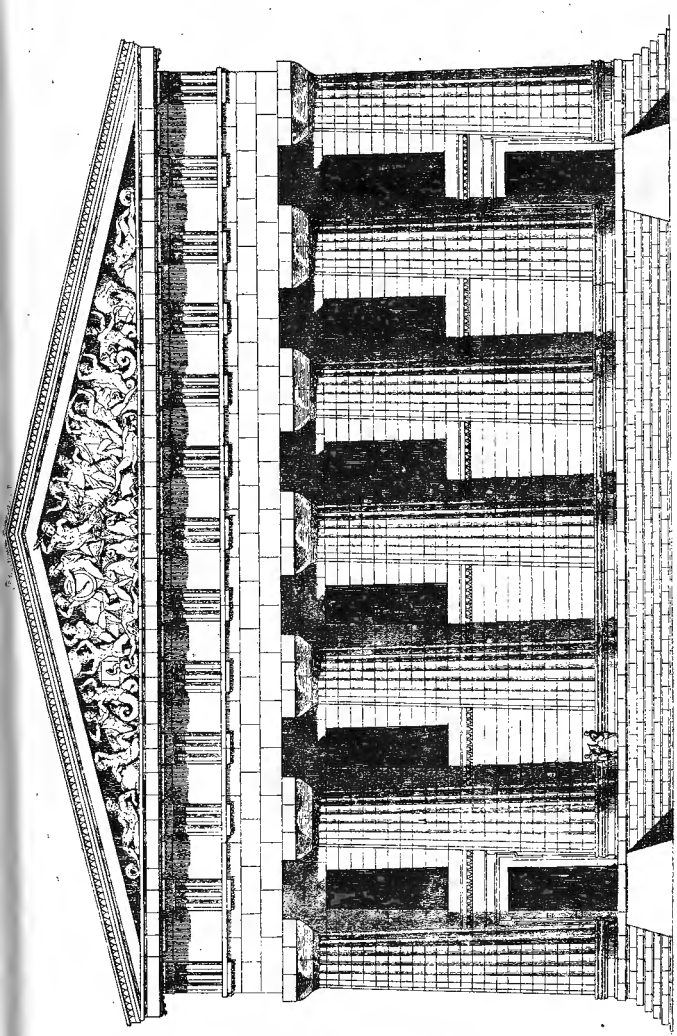


Fig. 826.

Inside, the *naós* (101·16^{m} × 44·01^{m}) is divided into a nave and two side-aisles by means of two parallel walls, each of which has twelve square pillars engaged in it and forming a series of lateral niches. A cross-wall towards the western end is extant for part of its length. The great altar, as broad as the temple itself, was situated in front of the eastern *façade* at a distance of 50·8^{m}.

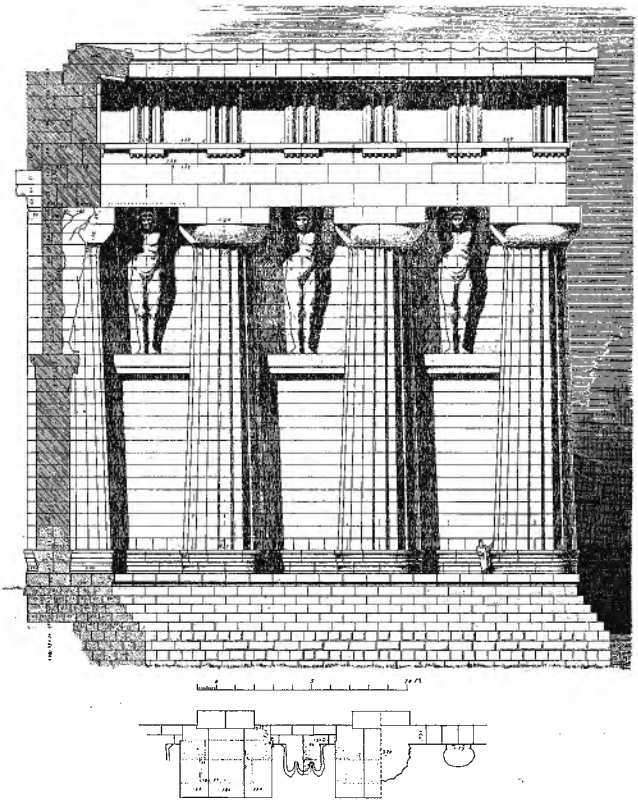
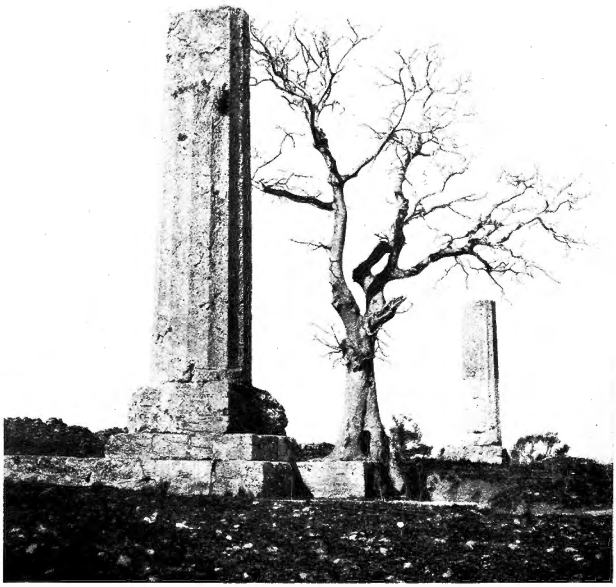


Fig. 827.

Several points are still unsettled. (1) The temple was in all probability entered at the eastern end through the two outermost intercolumniations (C. R. Cockerell, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein), not at the western end through a large central doorway (Serradifalco, A. Holm). But it is not clear whether we should assume the existence of two ramps leading up to the side-entries (C. R. Cockerell). (2) The two walls dividing the *naós* into



The Olympieion at Syracuse.

See page 915 *n.* 2.

Akrai[1].
Syracuse[2].

nave and aisles were either prolonged to meet the western wall of the temple, in which case the cross-wall marked the beginning of an inner sanctuary or *ádyton* (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein), or stopped before reaching the western wall, in which case the cross-wall marked the beginning of an *opisthódomos* (C. R. Cockerell, Serradifalco, J. Durm, G. Perrot—C. Chipiez). (3) Many sections of huge Atlantes (7·68m high) have been found in the temple, and one reconstructed Atlas now lies on his back within the building. But they are not mentioned by Diodoros, and their original position has been much debated. C. R. Cockerell (1830) supposed that they stood above the pillars of the nave, supporting on their upturned arms an entablature intended to carry the transverse beams of the roof. Serradifalco (1836) was inclined to place them against the pillars of the nave, but at a lower level. J. Durm (1892), G. Perrot—C. Chipiez (1898), and A. Choisy (1898) reverted to the position advocated by Cockerell. But R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein (1899), observing that the southern wall of the temple had fallen outwards and that its ruins included several blocks belonging to Atlantes, proposed a fresh reconstruction according to which these gigantic figures were placed high up in the external intercolumniations, each standing on a cornice and supporting the architrave above his head. J. Durm (1910) finally accepted Puchstein's restoration in preference to his own. (4) Koldewey and Puchstein speak of Atlantes and Caryatids. The existence of the latter is inferred, partly from the survival of a single apparently female head (Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii pl. 25, 2), partly from the fact that the arms of *Girgenti* figure one female standing between two male Giants—Fama between Enceladus and Caeus (Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii. 3 fig.).

See further C. R. Cockerell in J. Stuart—N. Revett *Antiquities of Athens and other places in Greece Sicily etc.* London 1830 iv. 1—10 with frontispiece, vignette, and pls. 1—8 (my fig. 826 is from part of pl. 2), Serradifalco *op. cit.* iii. 52—69 with pls. 20—27, Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[2] p. 210 f. figs. 138—140 and Index p. 368, *ib.*[3] pp. 104 fig. 72, 141 fig. 112, 401—406 figs. 369—372, 428 with fig. 389, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 400 f. pl. 18 and Index p. 673, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 153—166 with figs. 134—144 (my fig. 827 is from their fig. 143), ii pls. 22 and 23, B. Pace 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico in Agrigento' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1922 xxviii ('in corso di stampa').

[1] Zeus 'Ακραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. o no. (11)).

[2] On a hill (60 ft. high) half-surrounded by the *Fiume Ciani* and overlooking the *Porto Grande* of Syracuse stand two weather-worn columns on a broken stylobate—all that today remains of the once famous temple of Zeus 'Ολύμπιος. This was a Doric peripteral structure of coarse shell-limestone. It had six columns at either end and seventeen down either side, being about three times as long as it was broad. The columns were short and thick: one, without a capital, measures *c.* 6·50m in height and *c.* 1·85m in diameter. They were monolithic and had no *éntasis*. The flutes were sixteen in number; and round the foot ran a small unfluted band, a feature possibly derived from the circular stone base of a timber prototype. Cornice and gutter were embellished with a revetment of painted terra cotta. The roofing was of large flat tiles and round cover-tiles. In short, the building shows every sign of archaism and must be dated *c.* 600 B.C. It is thus one of the earliest of all Greek temples and quite the oldest surviving temple of Zeus.

It has been supposed that the cult at Syracuse was descended from the cult at Olympia (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *Die griechischen Tempel in Unteritalien und Sicilien* Berlin 1899 i. 59). But this is far from clear. No doubt the rulers of Syracuse made repeated dedications in the Olympian *Altis* (Paus. 6. 12. 1 ff., 6. 19. 7, *Olympia* v. 363 ff. no. 249, 675 f. no. 661). But is it likely that the filial cult dignified the god with a stone-built temple more than a century before the parent followed suit? I would rather assume (with E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell' antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 p. 138) that the Syracusans brought the cult from their *metrópolis* Corinth. For just outside Corinth, on the left of the road leading to Sikyon, Pausanias noted a temple which had been burnt down. Some said that it belonged to Apollon and had been fired by Pyrrhos son of

Achilles; others, that it was the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and had been accidentally burnt (Paus. 2. 5. 5)—an ominous occurrence which deterred the Corinthians from joining the expedition of Agesilaos against Artaxerxes Mnemon in 396 B.C. (Paus. 3. 9. 2). Of the burnt temple, if I am not mistaken, sundry fragments still subsist. An archaic column-drum and architrave-block of limestone, built into the wall of a late edifice some 500^{m} to the north of the 'Old Temple,' are attributed by W. Dörpfeld to an ancient Doric fane of even larger size. They resemble in dimensions (cp. W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 iii. 247 f.) the corresponding members of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Dörpfeld suggested that they came from the temple of Apollon mentioned by Paus. 2. 3. 6 (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 307 f.). But, thanks to the excavations of the American School, we now know that this temple of Apollon is none other than the extant 'Old Temple' (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 464, 1900 iv. 225 f., B. Powell 'The Temple of Apollo at Corinth' *ib.* 1905 ix. 51, 53). Accordingly I should conjecture that the archaic drum and architrave really came from the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος on the left of the Sicyonian road, and that this was in fact the parent of the Syracusan Olympieion. Further excavation will some day test the accuracy of my surmise.

Whatever its precise pedigree, the Syracusan sanctuary was held in high esteem. Here were preserved the tribal lists of Syracuse (Plout. *v. Nic.* 14), and in the *formula* of the civic oath Zeus Ὀλύμπιος took precedence of all other deities except the venerable goddess of hearth and home (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 7 ii, 6 ff. in lettering later than the time of Hieron ii *ὅρκιον βουλᾶς κα[ὶ ἀρχόντων (?)] | καὶ τῶν ἄλλων [πολιτᾶν·] | ὁμνύω τὰν Ἰστίαν τῶ[ν Συρακοσίων καὶ τὸν Ἅ]ϝηα] | τὸν Ὀλύμπιον καὶ τὰν [. . . . . καὶ τὸν] | Ποσει-δ[ῶνα – – –]*). Moreover, for some three hundred years the *ἀμφίπολος* or priest of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος was eponymous magistrate of the city (Diod. 16. 70 *κατέστησε δὲ* (*sc.* Timoleon in 343 B.C.) *καὶ τὴν κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἐντιμοτάτην ἀρχήν, ἣν ἀμφιπολίαν Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου οἱ Συρακούσιοι καλοῦσι. καὶ ἠρέθη πρῶτος ἀμφίπολος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου Καλλιμένης, καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν διετέλεσαν οἱ Συρακούσιοι τοὺς ἐνιαυτοὺς ἐπιγράφοντες τούτοις τοῖς ἄρχουσι μέχρι τῶνδε τῶν ἱστοριῶν γραφομένων καὶ τῆς κατὰ τὴν πολιτείαν ἀλλαγῆς. τῶν γὰρ Ῥωμαίων μεταδόντων τοῖς Σικελιώταις τῆς πολιτείας* (*sc.* in 44 B.C.) *ἡ τῶν ἀμφιπόλων ἀρχὴ ἐταπεινώθη, διαμείνασα ἔτη πλείω τῶν τριακοσίων*). Every year three candidates, chosen by vote from three clans (*ex tribus generibus*, on which see E. Ciaceri *op. cit.* p. 136 n. 1), cast lots for the office of priest—a rule of succession which was jealously guarded (Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 2. 126 f., cp. 2. 4. 137).

Round the temple grew up a settlement known as Πολίχνα or 'Small Town' (Thouk. 7. 4, Diod. 13. 7, 14. 72), which, never permanently fortified by the Syracusans, was frequently occupied by forces attacking their city.

Hippokrates tyrant of Gela, after vanquishing the Syracusans in the battle on the Heloros (493/2 B.C.), encamped in the sanctuary of Zeus. Having caught the priest and certain Syracusans trying to carry off various votive offerings of gold and in particular the golden *himátion* of Zeus, he taxed them with sacrilege, bade them depart to the city, and would not himself lay hands on the sacred objects (Diod. 10. 28). Others, however, state that the golden *himátion*, which weighed no less than 85 talents (Ail. *var. hist.* 1. 20), was dedicated by Gelon or Hieron after the battle of Himera in 480 B.C. and carried off by Dionysios i (405—367 B.C.), who left a woollen one in its stead with the caustic remark that in summer it would be lighter and in winter warmer wear (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 83 (where *ad Peloponnesum* etc. is due to an obvious confusion), Val. Max. 1. 1. ext. 3, Lact. *div. inst.* 2. 4). The jest is attributed sometimes to Dionysios ii (367—343 B.C.) (Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 52. 2 p. 40, 18 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 21). If these tales are to be trusted, it would seem that Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Syracuse had a golden *himátion* long before 438 B.C., the year in which Pheidias began his chryselephantine Zeus at Olympia (*supra* p. 757).

The Athenians, when attacking Syracuse in 415 B.C., landed near the Olympieion and encamped there (Thouk. 6. 64 f.). After the fight the Syracusans, though defeated, sent men to guard the Olympieion, lest its treasures should be plundered by the Athenians (Thouk. 6. 70). But the Athenians returned to Katane, and did not go to the sanctuary

Tyndaris[1].

(Thouk. 6. 71), or, if they did, disturbed none of the votive offerings and left the Syracusan priest in charge of them (Paus. 10. 28. 6). That same winter the Syracusans put a garrison in the Olympieion and erected a stockade on the sea-shore to prevent a possible landing (Thouk. 6. 75). In the following year (414 B.C.) a third part of the Syracusan cavalry was posted at Polichna to control the movements of the Athenians at Plemmyrion (Thouk. 7. 4).

Again, in 396 B.C. Himilkon, on his expedition against Dionysios i, took up his quarters in the temple and encamped his forces near by, at a distance of twelve stades from the city (Diod. 14. 62 f.). But Dionysios captured Polichna by storm and in turn pitched his camp at the sanctuary (Diod. 14. 72 and 74).

In 345 B.C. Hiketas tyrant of Leontinoi, in the course of his operations against Dionysios ii, fortified the Olympion with a palisade (Diod. 16. 68).

In 309 B.C. Hamilkar son of Geskon, again with a view to attacking Syracuse, seized *τοὺς περὶ τὸ Ὀλύμπιον τόπους* (Diod. 20. 29).

In 214 B.C. the Romans, who under M. Claudius Marcellus were then besieging Syracuse, likewise encamped *ad Olympium—Iovis id templum est—mille et quingentos passus ab urbe* (Liv. 24. 33).

The Olympieion was, in fact, a constant centre of military activity. Hence, when we read that Verres at Syracuse carried off *ex aede Iovis religiosissimum simulacrum Iovis Imperatoris, quem Graeci Οὔριον nominant, pulcherrime factum* (Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 128, *supra* p. 708), I am inclined to think that the masterpiece in question was a votive figure in the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, whose position enabled him to control winds and wars alike, rather than a cult-statue erected in some hypothetical temple believed to have stood near the shore adjoining the *empórion* of Achradine (R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 57).

See further T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis* Panormi 1558 p. 107 (dec. 1 lib. 4 cap. 1 'Templum hoc prostratum est hodie. Cuius iacentes plures, & erectæ quædam cernuntur columnæ, sed præterea nihil'), V. Mirabella *Dichiarazioni della pianta dell' antiche Siracuse*, etc. Napoli 1613 p. 72 f. ('Di questo Tempio appariscono oggi nõ picciole reliquie, sendovi anco in piede molte colonne scannellate di lavor dorico'), P. Cluverius *Sicilia antiqua*; etc. Lugduni Batavorum 1619 p. 179 ('Exstant hodiéq; eius fani...VII reliquæ columnæ prægrandes, cum aliis quadratorum saxorum fragmentis'), J. Houel *Voyage pittoresque des isles de Sicile, de Malte et de Lipari* Paris 1785 iii. 95 f. pl. 192 (view of remains visible in 1770: 'Il y avoit alors plusieurs colonnes renversées par terre, avec les chapiteaux: deux seules colonnes étoient encore debout; mais elles n'avoient plus de chapiteaux'), Serradifalco *op. cit.* iv. 153 f. pls. 28 (view) and 29 (plan, elevation), F. S. Cavallari—A. Holm *Topografia archeologica di Siracusa* Palermo 1883 pp. 24, 53 f., 104, 166 ff., 263 f., 283, 327, 379 f., R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 58—60, 66—68, ii pl. 8 (careful ground-plan), P. Orsi 'L'Olympieion di Siracusa' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1903 xiii. 369—392 with figs. 1—6 and pl. 17 (=my pl. xli), E. Ciaceri *op. cit.* p. 136 ff.

Another handsome temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος was founded by Hieron ii in the *Agorá* of Achradine (Diod. 16. 83, Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 119). The Gallic and Illyrian spoils presented to Hieron by the people of Rome (Plout. *v. Marc.* 8) were hung in this temple, but were commandeered by the insurgents under Theodotos and Sosis in 214 B.C. (Liv. 24. 21). The central *kerkís* of the Syracusan theatre bears the name of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 3, 5 Δ Ι Ο Σ Ο Λ Υ Μ Π Ι Ο Υ 'litteris cubitalibus,' cp. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 pp. 49 f., 86, 181) in allusion to the god of Hieron's new temple (F. S. Cavallari—A. Holm *op. cit.* p. 287, R. Koldewey—O. Puchstein *op. cit.* i. 57).

[1] Coppers of Tyndaris struck *c.* 254—210 B.C. or later have sometimes *obv.* a female head (Tyndaris) with *stephánē* or corn-ear (?) and veil, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ Zeus, half-draped, standing to left, with a thunderbolt in his outstretched right hand and a transverse sceptre in his left (F. von Duhn in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1876 iii. 30 no. 7, cp.

Naxos
Mount Drios[1].

Paros
Mount *Kounádos*[2].

Delos
Mount Kynthos[3].

Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 527); or *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ the Dioskouroi standing with, or without, their horses (F. von Duhn *loc. cit.* p. 30 no. 10, p. 30 f. no. 11, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 236 nos. 9 and 10); or *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, with star of eight rays behind it, *rev.* ΤΥΝΔΑΡΙΤΑΝ eagle to right, standing with open wings on a thunderbolt (F. von Duhn *loc. cit.* p. 31 no. 12, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 236 no. 11). See further Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 33 f., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 201 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 190. These coins imply the cult, not only of Tyndaris (Helene) and the Tyndaridai (Kastor and Polydeukes), but also of Zeus to whom the children of Tyndareos were early affiliated (*supra* i. 279 f., 780).

Among the ruins of Tyndaris (for which see Serradifalco *op. cit.* v. 48 ff. pls. 29—35) was found a colossal statue of Zeus, finely carved in Greek marble. It is now in the *Cortile Grande* of the Museo Nazionale at Palermo. The head, right arm, left leg, and lower part of right leg were restored by the local sculptor Villareale. But enough of the original remains to show that Zeus stood erect, his right arm raised to hold a long spear or sceptre, his left wholly enveloped in the *himátion* that covered him from the waist downwards. W. Abeken 'Giove Imperatore ossia Urio' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 62—72 pl. A, 1—3 justly compared the figures of Zeus Στρατηγός on a coin of Amastris (*supra* p. 707 fig. 639) and of Zeus Οὔριος on a coin of Syracuse (*supra* p. 708 fig. 643)—a comparison accepted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 130—132 no. 25 fig. 12, who ranges the statue from Tyndaris with another colossal statue in the Louvre (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 42 pl. 311 fig. 683) as forming the first group of his 'Vierte Classe.' Probably the inhabitants of Tyndaris had dedicated to Zeus a copy of the Syracusan masterpiece carried off by Verres (*supra* pp. 708, 917 n. 0).

The temple of the god is said to have stood on a steep height to the west of the town, which in 1558 A.D. was still known as the Mount of Jove (T. Fazellus *de rebus Siculis* Panormi 1558 p. 205 (dec. 1 lib. 9 cap. 7) 'Extra vrbem occidentem versus, in colle vicino, & vndiq; præciso, qui ab accolis adhuc hodie mons Iouis appellatur, templi Iouis mirabiles cernuntur ruinæ').

[1] Zeus Μηλώσιος (*supra* i. 164 f., 520 n. 2). F. Solmsen in *Glotta* 1909 i. 80 connects Zeus Μηλώσιος with **μηλώτης*, Ep. Hesych. *s.vv. μηλατάν· τὸν ποιμένα.* Βοιωτοί and *μηλόται· ποιμένες* (on which glosses see M. Schmidt *ad locc.*). Different is Zeus Μήλιος on an imperial copper of Nikaia in Bithynia (P. Piovene *I Cesari in metallo mezzano e piccolo raccolti nel Museo Farnese* Parma 1724 ix. 238 pl. 8, 21, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. v. 84 no. 427 (in the Farnese collection) *obv.* ..... ΜΙΤΙΑΝΟC head of Domitian, laureate, with countermark of an animal running; *rev.* ΖΕΥϹ ΜΗΛΙΟϹ Zeus seated, holding thunderbolt and sceptre, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 406 n. 2). O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1203 cp. Zeus Ἄρνειος (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* no. (1) *ἀρνείου*, 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* no. (15) *ἀρνείου*).

[2] *Supra* p. 875 n. 1 no. (5).

[3] Mt Kynthos in the centre of Delos is a granitic cone, which rises to a height of 112·60m (*Délos* i pl. 1. View from the west *ib.* iv. 1 fig. 1). Strab. 485 describes it as *ὄρος ὑψηλὸν...καὶ τραχύ*, where G. Kramer alters *ὑψηλόν*, 'high,' into *ψιλόν*, 'bare.' It is true that the granite and gneiss, of which the mountain is composed (geological detail in *Délos* iv. 1), do not afford the earth required by tree-roots. But, for all that, *ὑψηλόν* is correct: Kynthos, partly because of its dominating position, partly because of its proximity

to the sea, looks more of a mountain than it really is (*Délos* iv. 1. 196 f.). On the summit is a small plateau, which commands a magnificent view of the Kyklades. When I visited the spot in 1901, it was carpeted with crimson anemones and surrounded by stretches of azure sea.

Here in antiquity was the precinct of Zeus Κύνθιος and Athena Κυνθία (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2473) first excavated by Lebègue in 1873 (J. A. Lebègue *Recherches sur Délos* Paris 1876 pp. 127—172 with plan on p. 127 (=my fig. 828) and list of inscriptions from the sanctuary). Three separate roads (A, B, C), probably processional paths bordered with *stêlai* and statues, led up to the western side of the precinct, where was a gateway (E). Within was a rocky elevation (F) with cuttings for votive slabs etc. (G). The plateau was enclosed by a precinct-wall (I), much of which remains standing on the north, west, and east. At its south-eastern corner was a small temple (S) of late date.

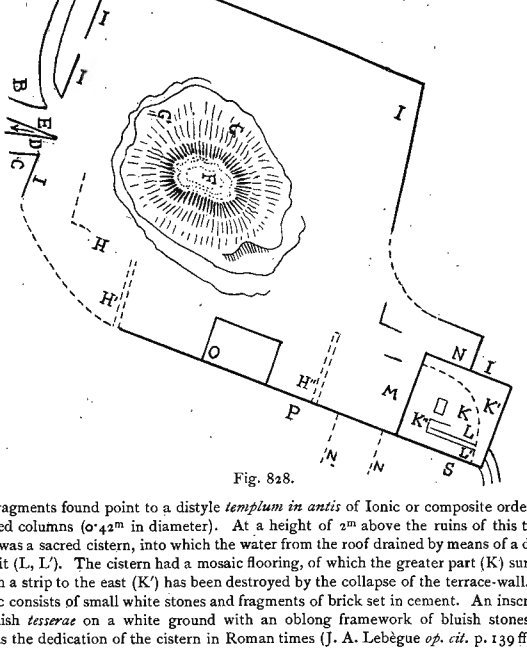


Fig. 828.

The fragments found point to a distyle *templum in antis* of Ionic or composite order with unfluted columns (0·42^{m} in diameter). At a height of 2^{m} above the ruins of this temple there was a sacred cistern, into which the water from the roof drained by means of a double conduit (L, L'). The cistern had a mosaic flooring, of which the greater part (K) survives, though a strip to the east (K') has been destroyed by the collapse of the terrace-wall. The mosaic consists of small white stones and fragments of brick set in cement. An inscription in bluish *tesserae* on a white ground with an oblong framework of bluish stones (K'') records the dedication of the cistern in Roman times (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 139 ff. no. 1 Διὶ Κυνθίῳ καὶ Ἀθηνᾷ Κυνθίᾳ | Ἀπολλωνίδης Θεογείτονος | Λαοδικεύς, ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ | τῶν ἑταίρων, τὸ κατάκλυσ|τον ('cistern'), ἐπὶ ἱερέως Ἀριστομάχου, | ζακορεύοντος Νικηφόρου (after 88/7 B.C.), | ἐπὶ δὲ ἐπιμελητοῦ Κοΐντου Ἀζη(νιέως). My fig. 829 is from photograph no. 1302 in the collection of the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies). Adjoining the cistern was a platform (N), where ashes and fragments of bone, the *débris* of sacrifices,

were buried. South of the rocky summit was an enclosure (O) walled in on the north by blocks of schist, on the other sides by architectural fragments, *stêlai*, and broken statues. It contained some thirty urns filled with ashes and animal bones. The urns measured 0·60^{m} to 0·70^{m} in height, having rounded handles and a foot, not a pointed base. Miscellaneous finds included a small terra-cotta palmette from the pediment of an *aedicula*, a

Fig. 829.

colossal hand in Pentelic marble apparently holding a thunderbolt (Zeus Κύνθιος?), a small head in Parian marble (Apollon?), the lower half of a sun-dial, several altars large and small (two decorated with *bucrania* and inscriptions were found at some distance from the temple: J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* pp. 137, 166 f. nos. 21, 22), etc.

The history of the sanctuary has been well worked out from inscriptions by P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 pp. 223—228, 290 f., 335, 434 f., whose results are here summarised (with a few additions in square brackets).

Zeus and Athena, though their association on *akropóleis* etc. is old (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1217 f.), were not the original occupants of the summit. [In 'Minoan' times it was probably tenanted by the sky-father (Kronos) and the earth-mother (Rhea), the cave-temple beneath it (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 49 ff. pls. 1, 2) being a Delian parallel to the sacred caves of Mt Dikte and Mt Ide. The cult of Kronos, however, has left no trace, unless we can claim as such a broken sherd bearing the letters KPO, which was found buried in charcoal under a limestone slab outside the south-west angle of the cave-temple (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 65 f.). Rhea presumably had lions; and in this connexion it should be noted, not only that the late marble statue of a youthful god (Apollon?) erected on the ancient granite libation-table (?) of the cave-temple had a tree-support covered with a lion-skin (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* pp. 60, 63 ff.), but also that a whole row of lions in Naxian marble, comparable with the lions of Branchidai (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 22 f. nos. 17 and 18: no. 17 has on its back a *βουστροφηδόν* dedication to Apollon in lettering of early *s.* vi B.C. (Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 483, Roberts *Gr. Epigr.* i. 161 f. no. 133, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1206, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*^{3} no. 3*a*)) and Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. p. 183 f., *id. Die Insel Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 28 figs. 16 and 17, 57 regards as a gift to Apollon the marble lion, bearing a mutilated inscription of *s.* vii B.C. (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1380), which stood on a terrace overlooking the *Agorá* and was later copied

by Artemidoros (*infra*)), adorned a terrace west of the *Límne Trochoeidés* (P. Leroux in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 pp. 348—353, *ib.* 1908 plan opposite to p. 162). Apparently Rhea had, here as elsewhere (Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 47. 4 p. 36, 6 ff. Stählin *μηδ' (sc. ἀμφιβάλλητε) εἰ τὰ ἐν Πατάροις τῆς Λυκίας ἀγάλματα Διὸς καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος Φειδίας πάλιν ἐκεῖνος [τὰ ἀγάλματα] καθάπερ τοὺς λέοντας τοὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς ἀνακειμένους εἴργασται· εἰ δέ, ὥς φασί τινες, Βρυάξιος ἡ τέχνη, οὐ διαφέρομαι· κ.τ.λ.*, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1346 the rock-cut relief of a lion inscribed in *s.* iii B.C. (*supra* i. 117 n. 1) *a'* Ἀπόλλωνι | Στεφανηφόρωι, *b* [τ]εῦξ[ε] λέοντα θεοῖς κεχαρισμένον Ἀρτεμίδωρος | ἐν σεμνῶι τεμένει μητρὸς σύνοον πόλεως. Cp. a statue of Apollon, seated on a tripod over a lion, now in the Villa Albani (S. Raffei *Ricerche sopra un Apolline della Villa Albani* Roma 1821, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 216 f. pl. 486 *b* fig. 937 *A* (wrongly numbered 737 *A*)=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 249 no. 6, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 231 ff. no. 3 Atlas pl. 23, 30, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 3. 309 pl. 25, 14, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 409 f. no. 1848)), passed on her lions to Apollon.]

Τὸ *ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Κυνθίου* (*e.g. Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161, *A* 77 f.) or more briefly τὸ Κύνθιον (*e.g. ib.* ii no. 199, *A* 90) does not appear in the extant documents till the very end of *s.* iv B.C. (*ib.* ii no. 145, 1 f., no. 154, *A* 45 f.). Early in *s.* iii (*c.* 281—269 B.C.) the precinct was to a large extent reconstructed and thenceforward contained two small οἶκοι or 'sacred buildings' (F. Dürrbach in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 250), on a platform bounded by a strong retaining-wall (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 165, 33), together with a ἑστιατόριον or 'banqueting-hall' (*ib.* ii no. 163, *A* 34, cp. T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 507). The accounts of the ἱεροποιοί for *s.* iii and *s.* ii record various sums spent on repairs to these buildings (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* iii no. 440, *A* 84 f.), but no expenditure on the cult, which seems to have languished (but see *ib.* iii no. 372, *B* 10). According to an inventory of 157/6 B.C., one of the οἶκοι contained a cult-statuette of bronze, eighteen inches high, on a marble base, a bronze incense-burner for processional use, a *kratér* of Corinthian bronze, a marble mortar, twelve wooden couches with small tables beneath them, and sundry portraits and votive paintings (P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 225 n. 3); the other οἶκος contained a second dozen of wooden couches with small draw-tables beneath them, an old bronze brazier with no bottom to it, two tridents, one of which lacked a tooth, and old iron tongs (*id. ib.* p. 225 n. 4). Despite this poverty, the priest of Zeus Κύνθιος and Athena Κυνθία held the third place in the Delian hierarchy (P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 438 f. no. 64, 11 f. and *op. cit.* p. 202).

Better times began in 166 B.C., when Delos became an Athenian colony (P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 1 ff.). An inventory of 147/6 B.C. records a pair of bronze figures, about a foot in height, representing Zeus and Athena, a table of bronze, another of marble, a tripod, lamps, linen hangings, but no couches; also a gold ring on a ribband, and a silver incense-burner (*id. ib.* pp. 225 nn. 7—9, 401). Other inscriptions, ranging from 158/7 to the middle of *s.* i B.C. or later, show that the *personnel* of the cult consisted in a ἱερεύς, a ζακόρος, and a κλειδοῦχος (lists in P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 226 [Note the preponderance of well-omened names]). Of these the ἱερεύς held office for a year. So, probably, did the κλειδοῦχος. But the ζακόρος [Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 306 suggests that ζακόρος is for **δακορος* < **δηϝ-κορος*, cp. *νεωκόρος, σηκοκόρος* (*κορέω*, 'I sweep') and *δάπεδον*: ζάπεδον] could have his tenure prolonged.

So far the cult seems to have had no regular temple. But *c.* 120 B.C. Charmikos, a native of the Attic deme Kikynna, who was priest of Zeus Κύνθιος and Athena Κυνθία, dedicated a *xóanon* (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 160 no. 14); and in all probability it was the same native of Kikynna who dedicated the *naós* to Zeus Κύνθιος (*id. ib.* p. 161 no. 15), *i.e.* the small Ionic or composite temple noted above. This attracted the attention, not only of Athenians (P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 422 f. no. 21, 429 no. 38), but of foreigners—witness a statue of Ptolemy x Soter ii here set up by Areios a notable of Alexandreia (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 156 f. no. 11, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1162, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 171) and an altar presented by Philostratos a wealthy banker of Askalon (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 166 f. no. 21,

Imbros
Imbros[1].

Skiathos
Skiathos[2].

Lesbos
Mytilene[3].

Chios
Mount Pelinnaion[4].

Rhodes
Mount Atabyrion[5].

P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 227 n. 6). Orientals would naturally regard the mountain-top as one of their own high places. Hence Zeus Κύνθιος came to be associated with the Egyptian divinities (A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 328 f. no. 23 a small column (1^{m} high) inscribed Διὶ Κυνθίωι, | Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι, | *κατὰ πρόσταγμα,* | Νεοπτόλεμος | Φιλωνίδου. | *ἐπὶ* ἱερέως Δικαίου | *τοῦ* Δικαίου Ἰωνίδου, | *κλειδουχοῦντος* | Εὐκράτου Διονυσίου *τοῦ* Σεύθου, | *ζακορεύοντος* | Ἀπολλωνίου | *τοῦ* Δικαίου), and his priest figures among the worshippers of the Syrian Aphrodite Ἀγνή (P. Roussel *op. cit.* pp. 227 n. 8, 266 f., 416 ff. no. 21, *A* col. i, 28). The sanctuary on Mt Kynthos, seemingly untouched by the catastrophe of 88 B.C. (Strab. 486, Plout. *v. Sull.* 11, Appian. *Mithr.* 28, Paus. 3. 23. 3 f.), continued to receive gifts, now a cistern-mosaic (*supra*), now a table etc. (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 141 ff. no. 2, P. Roussel *op. cit.* p. 226 n. 14). Finally, about the middle of *s.* i B.C. a priest published on a marble *stèle* the rules of ceremonial purity to be observed by all visitors entering the precinct (J. A. Lebègue *op. cit.* p. 158 f. no. 12, J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1906 ii. 259 no. 91, P. Roussel in the *Mélanges Holleaux* Paris 1913 p. 276 f. no. 4 and *op. cit.* p. 228 n. 4. Lines 11 ff. run : *ἰέναι εἰς τὸ ἱε*[*ρὸν τοῦ*] Διὸς *τοῦ* Κυνθίου | [*καὶ τῆ*]ς Ἀθηνᾶς *τῆς* Κυνθί[*ας, χερ*]*σὶν καὶ ψυχῆ καθα*[*ρᾶ, ἕ*]*χοντας ἐσθῆτα λευ*[*κήν, ἀνυ*]*ποδέτους, ἀγνεύοντα*[*ς*] | [*ἀπὸ γυν*]*αικὸς καὶ κρέων·* | [*μηδὲ . . . .*] *εἰσ*[*φ*]*έρει*[*ν*] | *κ.τ.λ.*).

[The Delian cult had spread to Paros as early as *s.* vi B.C. O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 216 reported that on a hill-top (200^{m} high) called *Vigla* or *Kastro* in the north-west of that island, the nearest point from which the inhabitants of the town Paros could get a glimpse of Delos, he had discovered a sanctuary with votive inscriptions including an archaic *stèle* lettered ΑΘΗΝΑΙΗΚΥΝΘΙΗ (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 210, cp. *ib.* nos. 211, 214). This makes it certain that Athena's connexion with Mt Kynthion was centuries older than the Athenian protectorate. Not impossibly in Delos as at Athens Athena was the legitimate successor of the old 'Minoan' goddess.]

[1] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (8)).

[2] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (6)).

[3] Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (10)).

[4] Mt Pelinnaion (*Hagios Elias*), the highest point (1260^{m}) of Chios (Strab. 645, Dionys. *per.* 535), derived its name from the leaden grey (*πελιτνός, πελιδνός*) colour of its rock (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2288, cp. 2290). On it was a cult of Zeus Πελινναῖος (Hesych. *s.v.* Πελινναῖος· *ὁ* Ζεὺς *ἐν* Χίῳ), whose Christian supersessor was Saint Elias (*supra* i. 177 ff.).

[5] Mt Atabyrion (*Atayros*), the highest mountain in Rhodes, was crowned with a sanctuary of Zeus Ἀταβύριος (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 87 f. ἀλλ', ὦ Ζεῦ πάτερ, νώτοισιν Ἀταβυρίου | *μεδέων*, *κ.τ.λ.* with schol. vet. *ad loc.* *ἐπάνω γὰρ τοῦ ὄρους ἵδρυται ὁ* Ζεύς {Ἀταβύριον ὄρος *ὑψηλότατον* Ῥόδου *οὗ ἄνωθεν ἵδρυται* Ζεύς cod. C.), Strab. 655 *εἶθ'* ὁ Ἀτάβυρις (τάβυρις cod. F.), ὄρος *τῶν ἐνταῦθα ὑψηλότατον, ἱερὸν* Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 cited *supra* p. 588 n. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀτάβυρον· ὄρος Ῥόδου. Ῥιανὸς ἕκτῳ Μεσσηνιακῶν (=Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 13 (i. 387, 8 f. Lentz)). *τὸ ἐθνικὸν* Ἀταβύριος, *ἐξ οὗ καὶ* Ἀταβύριος Ζεύς, *id. s.v.* Κρητηνία· τόπος Ῥόδου, *ἐν ᾧ ᾤκουν οἱ περὶ* Ἀλθαιμένην, *ὃς*

χρησθεὶς ὅτι τὸν πατέρα ἀποκτενεῖ ἔφυγε, καὶ νυκτὶ πλοίῳ συνάντῃ ἐν Ῥόδῳ, καὶ ὡς ληστὰς νομίσας ἀναιρεῖ τὸν πατέρα. εἰσὶ δὲ ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τὰ Ἀταβύρια ὄρη, ἀφ' ὧν Ζεὺς Ἀταβύριος).

The mountain, as modern travellers report, is a mass of schistose limestone, well wooded below and dotted with a few large evergreen oaks and pines above. The sanctuary of Zeus is situated on a rounded crest about hundred paces south-east of the actual summit. Here at a point 4070 ft above the sea is a walled precinct 120 ft in length, and within it a pile of ruins lying 3 to 4 ft deep. Bluish blocks quarried on the mountain, the largest of them 5 ft long, prove the former existence of a Hellenic building on the site. But no columns have survived, and only a single architrave-block with a simple moulding. The Greek temple was long since reconstructed as a monastery. But this in turn fell into decay, and nowadays even the little chapel of Hagios Ioannes, which stands in the middle of the ruins, has lost its roof. North-east of the precinct, somewhat lower down, in a hollow are the remains of other ancient structures, including a large vaulted cistern. L. Ross, followed by C. Torr, thought that here may have been a temple of Athena; but the argument which he drew from Polyb. 9. 27. 7 (cited *supra* p. 910 n. 1) is insecure. See further W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 ii. 61 ff. (ascent from *Embona* Jan. 31, 1837), L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1845 iii. 105 ff. (ascent from *Embona* Sept. 27, 1843), C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 pp. 1, 75, H. F. Tozer *The Islands of the Aegean* Oxford 1890 p. 220 f.

The local myth is told most fully by Apollod. 3. 2. 1 f. Katreus, son of Minos, was fated to be killed by one of his own sons. Althaimenes, son of Katreus, to avoid killing his father, fled from Crete to Rhodes with his sister Apemosyne. He put in at a certain place which he named Kretenia (*κρητινίαν* cod. R., followed by R. Hercher and R. Wagner. *κρατινίαν* codd. plerique. C. G. Heyne cj. *Κρητηνίαν*, cp. Steph. Byz. *loc. cit.*). On climbing Mt Atabyrion he got a view of Crete, and, in memory of his ancestral deities, built there an altar of Zeus Ἀταβύριος. Soon afterwards Hermes fell in love with Apemosyne and, when he could not catch her (for she was fleet of foot), strewed freshly-flayed hides in the road. On these she slipped, and thus was violated by her pursuer. Althaimenes, hearing of her fall, believed the tale about Hermes to be a mere excuse and killed his sister by leaping upon her. Later, Katreus, anxious to leave his kingdom to Althaimenes, came to Rhodes and was mistaken for a pirate by the ox-herds, who chased and pelted him. Katreus told them the truth, but could not gain a hearing because the dogs were barking. So Althaimenes all unwittingly speared him. On learning what he had done he uttered a prayer, and in answer thereto was engulfed in a chasm. Diod. 5. 59, however, probably borrowing his account not from Zenon of Rhodes (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 177 f. Müller)) but from a later source dependent on Polyzalos etc. (Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 389), says that Althaimenes wandered in the desert till he died of grief and was afterwards, in obedience to an oracle, honoured as a hero by the Rhodians.

This myth deserves analysis. There is in it, to begin with, a *substratum* of historic, or at least prehistoric, fact—the intimate relations between 'Minoan' Crete and Rhodes (H. van Gelder *Geschichte der alten Rhodier* Haag 1900 p. 30 ff., D. Mackenzie in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905–1906 xii. 222, C. Blinkenberg in *Hermes* 1913 xlviii. 246 f., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 380): Minos himself was believed to have dedicated a silver cup to Athena Πολιάς and Zeus Πολιεύς at Lindos (C. Blinkenberg *Die lindische Tempelchronik* Bonn 1915 p. 8 ff. B, 18 ff. *Μίνωος ἀργύρεον ποτήριον, ἐφ' οὗ ἐπεγέγραπτο· "Μίνως Ἀθάναι Πολιάδι καὶ Διὶ Πολιεῖ," ὥς φατι | Ξεναγόρας ἐν τᾶι Α τᾶς χρονικᾶς συντάξιος, | Τόργων ἐν τᾶι Ā τᾶν περὶ Ῥόδου, Γοργοσθένης | ἐν τᾶι ἐπιστολᾶι, Ἱερόβουλος ἐν τᾶι ἐπιστολᾶι*). There is also an element of folk-tale, the story of Katreus fated to be slain by his own son recalling the *motif* of Odysseus and Telegonos (A. C. Pearson *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 ii. 105 ff.) or of Laios and Oidipous (C. Robert *Oidipus* Berlin 1915 i. 66 ff.). Lastly there are definite points of aetiology. Apemosyne, a woman of the royal house, who flees at full speed, falls on the fresh hides, and is then

brutally dispatched by her kinsman, presupposes—I think—a bygone custom or rite (? in the Rhodian month Agrianios) resembling that of the Minyan Oleiai and Psoloeis at the Agrionia of Orchomenos in Boiotia (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 38 with Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 163 f.). Her name implies that 'freedom from trouble' was thought to depend on her sacrifice. And the statement that she slipped on freshly-flayed hides suggests that the human victim was wrapped in the skin of the sacred animal (*supra* i. 67 n. 3, cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 155 ff.).

Small bronze bulls, which probably served as offerings to Zeus, are sometimes found on Mt Atabyrion (*supra* i. 643 fig. 502). And we have already conjectured that Zeus had here inherited the bronze bulls of the Hittite Tešub (*supra* i. 642 f., ii. 910 n. 1). The common tradition was that certain bronze kine on Mt Atabyrion bellowed when any evil was about to befall Rhodes (schol. vet. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 159 f. εἰσὶ δὲ χαλκαῖ βόες ἐν αὐτῷ, αἵτινες ὅταν μέλλῃ ἄτοπόν τι γενέσθαι, μυκῶνται, 160 c εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ βόες χαλκοῖ ἐπὶ τῷ ὄρει τῆς Ῥόδου, οἳ ὅταν μέλλῃ τι τῇ πόλει γίνεσθαι κακὸν μυκῶνται, Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 390—393 (=4. 704—706) Ῥόδιόν ἐστιν ὄρος, | τὴν κλῆσιν Ἀταβύριον, χαλκᾶς πρὶν ἔχον βόας, | αἳ μυκηθμὸν ἐξέπεμπον χωρούσης Ῥόδῳ βλάβης· | Πίνδαρος (? *Ol.* 7. 87 f.) καὶ Καλλίμαχος (*frag.* 413 Schneider) γράφει τὴν ἱστορίαν). But one authority spoke of a single bull, that of Zeus, as uttering a human voice (Isigonos of Nikaia *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 435) *ap.* Kyrill. Al. *c. Iulian.* 3 p. 88 c Aubert (lxxvi. 636 A Migne) καὶ μὴν καὶ Ἰσίγονος ὁ Κιττιεὺς (C. Müller cj. ὁ Νικαιεὺς) ἐν Ῥόδῳ τῇ νήσῳ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς ταῦρόν φησιν οὐκ ἀμοιρῆσαι λόγου τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς). Both versions bear a sinister resemblance to the accounts of the bronze bull made by Perillos for Phalaris at Akragas (*supra* i. 643 f., ii. 910 n. 1) and may likewise be taken to cover a reminiscence of human sacrifice. If the early Cretans tolerated, for ritual purposes, the enclosing of their queen in a wooden cow (*supra* i. 523), the early Rhodians would hardly shrink from burning a *pharmakós* in a bronze bull. Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* London 1921 i. 307 concludes: 'Atabyrian Zeus would seem to have been worshipped in the form of a bull.' That may have been so, no doubt, in the remote past. But in classical times he was almost certainly anthropomorphic. Rhodian coppers of *c.* 304—189 B.C. or later have *obv.* head of Zeus, wearing bay-wreath, to right; *rev.* PO rose, often surmounted by radiate solar disk (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 250 pl. 39, 15 and 16, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 441 no. 38, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 640. I have two specimens of the sort in my collection): the head is presumably that of Zeus Ἀταβύριος. Cp. also *supra* i. 132.

It was not, of course, to be expected that in busy Hellenistic times the good folk of Rhodes would toil up a steep mountain 4000 ft high in order to pay their respects to Zeus. Accordingly we find a chapel of ease built on a more manageable hill adjoining the city-wall (Appian. *Mithr.* 26 αὐτομόλων δ' αὐτῷ (*sc.* Mithridates vi Eupator, in 88 B.C.) λόφον ὑποδεξάντων ἐπιβατόν, ᾗ Ἀταβυρίου Διὸς ἱερὸν ἦν, καὶ κολοβῶν τειχίον ἐπ' αὐτοῦ, τὴν στρατιὰν ἐς τὰς ναῦς νυκτὸς ἐπέβησε, καὶ ἑτέροις ἀναδοὺς κλίμακας ἐκέλευσε χωρεῖν ἑκατέρους μετὰ σιωπῆς μέχρι τινὲς αὐτοῖς πυρσεύσειαν ἐκ τοῦ Ἀταβυρίου· κ.τ.λ.). A relic of this urban cult is a block of bluish marble formerly 'built into the wall of a field to the south-west of St. Stephen's Hill, near Rhodes' and now in the British Museum (Sir C. T. Newton in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 121 no. 346 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 31 [δόγματι τοῦ κοινοῦ] | [τῶν Διοσταβυρι][αστᾶν τῶν τᾶς πό]λ[ι]ος δούλων, Εὐλέ[μ]ενος γραμματεὺς | [δα]μόσιος ἱερατεύ[σας] Διὸς Ἀταβυρίου | [ὑπὲρ τ]ῶν κυρίων Πο[δίων ἀν]έθηκε Διὶ Ἀ[ταβυρίᾳ] τοὺ(ς) βοῦς | [χαριστήρ]ιον Ὃ. W. Dittenberger *De sacris Rhodiorum* commentatio ii Halis Saxonum 1887 p. viii f. restored the opening lines as above, and proposed for the closing lines [ἀν]έθηκε Διὶ Ἀ[ταβυρίᾳ] τοῦ βουσ[τάθμου τὸ τειχ]ίον, which is ingenious but less probable). Hence we learn that Eulimenos, a state slave who had been priest of Zeus Ἀταβύριος, dedicated to the god on behalf of the citizens the customary kine, *i.e.* small votive bulls of bronze. He describes himself as commissioned to do so by the public servants, who composed an association of Διοσταβυριασταί.

Of such associations or religious circles there were at least two in the island. One, in

Crete

Mount Aigaion[1].

the town of Rhodes, founded by a certain Philon, was devoted to Zeus 'Αταβύριος and to the Agathos Daimon (*infra* Append. M) in common (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 161, 5 f. = H. van Gelder in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 478 f. no. 3842, 5 f. ('In oppido hodierno, prope hospitium equitum D. Ioannis in basi oblonga marmoris caerulei') καὶ ὑπὸ [Διοσ]αταβυριαστᾶν 'Αγαθοδαιμονιαστᾶν Φιλ(ω)νείων κοινοῦ | θαλλῶι στεφάνωι). The other, at Lindos, established by a man named Euphranor and later headed by one Athenaios of Knidos, worshipped Dionysos, Athena, and Zeus 'Αταβύριος (Sir C. T. Newton *loc. cit.* ii. 135 f. no. 358, 2 ff., 12 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 937, 2 ff., 12 ff. = H. van Gelder *loc. cit.* iii. 1. 568 f. no. 4239, 2 ff. ('Found at Mallona near Lindos in 1863... On a circular altar or pedestal of white marble, which has been hollowed out, probably to form a mortar with a hole at the bottom') [- - - - τ]ε[ίμα]θέντα ὑπὸ | τοῦ κοινοῦ τοῦ Διονυσιαστᾶν 'Αθαναϊσταῖν Διοσ|αταβυριαστᾶν Εὐφρανορ[ίω]ν τῶν σὺν 'Αθηναίῳ Κνιδίῳ | χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ καὶ ἀναγορεύσεσιν ἰσο τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον. | κ.τ.λ., 12 ff. καὶ τᾶς γυναικὸς αὐτοῦ 'Αρέτης μὲν τειμαθείσας ὑπὸ τοῦ κοινοῦ τ[οῦ Διον]υσιαστᾶν 'Αθαν[αΐ]σταῖν Διοσταβυριαστᾶν | Εὐφρανορίων τῶν σ[ὺν 'Αθηναίῳ Κνιδίῳ καὶ ἀν]αθείσας τῷ κοινῷ (τῷ) | 'Αθανα[ϊσταῖν - - - - τῶ]ν ἀναλωμάτων [- -]). A mutilated inscription on a slab of blackish marble at Netteia (*Apollakia*) near Lindos, where it serves as a threshold in the church of Saint Georgios, contains ritual rules in lettering of *s.* ii B.C. and includes a reference to Zeus 'Αταβύριος (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 891, 7 [· · · · ·]θ[ε]ὲ[π][α]ι χο[ρ]εύετα[ι καὶ Διὶ] 'Ατα[β]υρίω[ι - -]). See further F. Poland *Geschichte des griechischen Vereinswesens* Leipzig 1909 pp. 58 f., 181, 237.

The cult of the Rhodian Zeus even found its way to Skythia. At *Kermenchik* (Neapolis?) near *Sympheropol* three inscriptions have come to light recording dedications made *c. s.* i B.C. (?) by one Posideos to Zeus 'Αταβύριος (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103*b* = B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1885 i. 216 no. 242 on a base of grey marble now in the Museum at Odessa Διὶ 'Αταβυρίωι Ποσίδεος Ποσιδέου | χαριστήριον), to Athena Αἰνδία (*ib.* i. 216 f. no. 243), and to Achilles 'Lord of the Island' (*sc.* Leuke) (*ib.* i. 217 no. 244). E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476, 479 treats Posideos, not as a Rhodian, but as an Olbiopolite living at Neapolis and trading with Rhodes. See also M. Rostovtzeff *Iranians & Greeks in South Russia* Oxford 1922 p. 163.

[1] Rhea, when about to bear her youngest son Zeus (Ζῆνα μέγαν, cp. *supra* p. 344 f.), was sent by her parents Ouranos and Gaia to Lyktos, and Gaia received the child to bring him up in Crete. So Rhea came by night first to Lyktos and hid the babe in a steep underground cave on the well-wooded Mt Aigaion (Hes. *theog.* 477 ff. πέμψαν δ' ἐς Λύκτον (γρ. δί (= δίκτον) in marg. cod. E.), Κρήτης ἐς πίονα δῆμον, | ὁππότ' ἄρ' ὁπλότατον παίδων τέξεσθαι ἔμελλε (so G. Kinkel for ἤμελλε τεκέσθαι), | Ζῆνα μέγαν· τὸν μέν οἱ ἐδέξατο Γαῖα πελώρη | Κρήτῃ ἐν εὐρείῃ τραφέμεν ἀτιταλλέμεναί τε. | ἔνθα μιν (so J. G. J. Hermann for μὲν codd., cp. schol. *ad loc.*) ἶκτο φέρουσα θοὴν διὰ νύκτα μέλαιναν | πρώτην ἐς Λύκτον (G. F. Schömann's cj. Δίκτην is mischievous)· κρύψεν δέ ἑ χερσὶ λαβοῦσα | ἄντρῳ ἐν ἠλιβάτῳ, ζαθέης ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίης, | Αἰγαίῳ (Salmasius cj. αἰγείῳ, Wilamowitz cj. Αἰγείῳ. But see G. M. Columba *Aigaion* (extr. from the *Memorie della R. Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle Arti* 1914 iii) Napoli 1914 p. 21 n. 3) ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλήεντι).

Hesiod's connexion of the cave on Mt Aigaion with Lyktos makes it practically certain (*pace* W. Aly in *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 461) that this was the *Psychro* Cave on Mt *Lasithi*, some 4½ hours from the ruins of Lyktos, with which it is linked by an ancient road still traceable (so K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 435 and especially J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 290 f., followed by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 377). It was partially explored by F. Halbherr and J. Hazzidakis in 1886 (F. Halbherr—P. Orsi 'Scoperte nell' antro di Psychro' in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1888 ii. 905—910 pl. 13, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1899 ix. 411 f.), by Sir A. J. Evans and J. L. Myres in 1894, 1895, 1896 (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 350—361 ('Inscribed Libation Table from the Diktaean Cave')), by

J. Demargne in 1897 (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 629), and fully by D. G. Hogarth in 1899—1900 (D. G. Hogarth 'The Dictaean Cave' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 94—116 with pls. 8—11 and figs. 27—50, *id.* 'The Birth Cave of Zeus' in *The Monthly Review* 1901 pp. 49—62 with 10 pls.). But these explorers (whom I wrongly followed *supra* i. 150 n. 2, ii. 530) assumed without definite proof that the *Psychro* Cave was the Dictaean Cave—an assumption denounced by W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 47 and simultaneously refuted by K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 433—435 ('Dikte') and by J. Toutain 'L'antre de Psychro et le ΔΙΚΤΑΙΟΝ ΑΝΤΡΟΝ' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 277—291 (see *infra* n. on Mt Dikte).

The *Psychro* Cave shows as a dark spot on the mountain-side (*The Monthly Review loc. cit.* pl. 6, 1) some 500 ft above *Psychro*, a village of the inner *Lasithi*-plain (*ib.* pl. 1, 2, pl. 2, 1 f.). It was perhaps originally a swallow-hole, at the time when the *Lasithi*-plain was an upland lake, and an icy pool still remains in its depths. But its religious history was a long one; for the finds begin with sherds of 'Kamares'-ware in the 'Middle Minoan ii' period (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 101 f. fig. 27) and end with sundry Roman lamps and a silver Byzantine cross. Of the votive bronzes, some are probably 'Middle Minoan' in date, many more 'Late Minoan.' Greek relics of a time subsequent to *c.* 800 B.C. are scarce.

The Cave itself consists of an upper grotto and a steep slope of *c.* 200 ft leading down to a subterranean pool and a series of stalactite halls (plan of grotto *supra* p. 531 fig. 401). The upper grotto contained an altar (3 ft high) of roughly squared stones, close to which lay a libation-table in steatite inscribed with three linear characters (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 114 fig. 50). An adjoining gateway gave access to a paved *témenos* enclosed by a massive 'Cyclopean' wall. At the back of the enclosure were the mouths of natural funnels communicating probably with the lower halls and water-channels in the heart of the hill. In the upper grotto, especially round the altar, the topmost *strata* yielded swords, knives, axes, bracelets, etc. of iron with remains of the earliest Hellenic pottery; the lower *strata* had scattered objects mainly in bronze—the model of a two-wheeled car drawn by an ox and a ram and intended to carry one or more little figurines (*ib.* p. 108 fig. 39), images of bulls, a knife with a handle ending in a human head (*ib.* p. 111 fig. 44), long hair-pins with ornate ends, lance-points, darts, knives, wire needles, rings, miniature circular shields (?) (*ib.* p. 109 fig. 41), etc.; also hundreds of little plain earthenware cups for food or incense; a small clay mask with lips, eyelids, and lashes painted in ochre (*ib.* p. 106 fig. 37, 3); a great stoup patterned with checker-work etc. and a polyp in lustreless red (*ib.* p. 103 f. figs 31, 32); ivory ornaments from sword-hilts, bone articles of the toilet; small altar-like tables in steatite and limestone, three of which bore linear inscriptions (*ib.* p. 114 pl. xi). The *témenos* was less rich in metal, but extraordinarily prolific in sherds of 'Minoan' pottery, *e.g.* fragments of large unpainted *pithoi* with a band of decoration in relief under the rim—embossed double-axe, head of wild goat, rows of *bucrania*, an altar laden with fruit, etc. (p. 104 f. fig. 34). Here too were found the skulls and bones of oxen, wild goats, sheep, large deer, swine, and dogs—clearly the *débris* of animal sacrifices (W. Boyd-Dawkins in *Man* 1902 ii. 162—165 no. 114 identifies *bos domesticus creticus*, *capra ægagrus*, *ovis aries*, *cervus dama*, *sus scrofa*, *canis familiaris*).

From the *talus* in the lower halls came other bronzes, including a small statuette crowned with the plumes of Âmen-Râ (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 1 f.). This was good early work of the New Empire (*c.* 900 B.C.) and recalls the classical identification of Zeus with Âmen-Râ (*supra* i. 348 ff.).

From the floor of the subterranean pool were dredged many rude bronze statuettes, male and female, nude and draped, with the arms folded on the breast or with one hand raised to the head in a gesture of adoration (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 4—14); a similar figure in lead (*ib.* p. 107 pl. x, 3); sards and other signet stones engraved with wild goats, bulls, and a geometric labyrinth-design (*ib.* p. 112); rings, pins, blades, needles. At the head of the pool and in a little lateral chamber opening to

Mount Dikte[1].

the left the crevices and crannies of the stalactite columns, up to the height of a man, were found to be crammed with votive bronzes—blades, pins, tweezers, *fibulae* (*The Monthly Review loc. cit.* pl. 9), with here and there a double axe (*ib.* pl. 8). See *supra* p. 530 ff.

D. G. Hogarth concludes: 'About the pre-eminently sacred character of this Cave there can remain no shadow of doubt, and the *simulacra* of axes, fashioned in bronze and moulded or painted on vases, clearly indicate Zeus of the *labrys* or Labyrinth as the deity there honoured' (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 114).

Among the more important objects obtained from the Cave by Sir A. J. Evans are half the top of a libation-table in black steatite bearing an inscription in two lines (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 350—361 figs. 25 *a*—27 and tab. i), one of which is further extended by a small fragment found by J. Demargne in 1897 (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 625—631 figs. 465—467), and a remarkable votive tablet of bronze perhaps of the period 'Late Minoan i' (*id. ib.* p. 632 f. fig. 470 re-

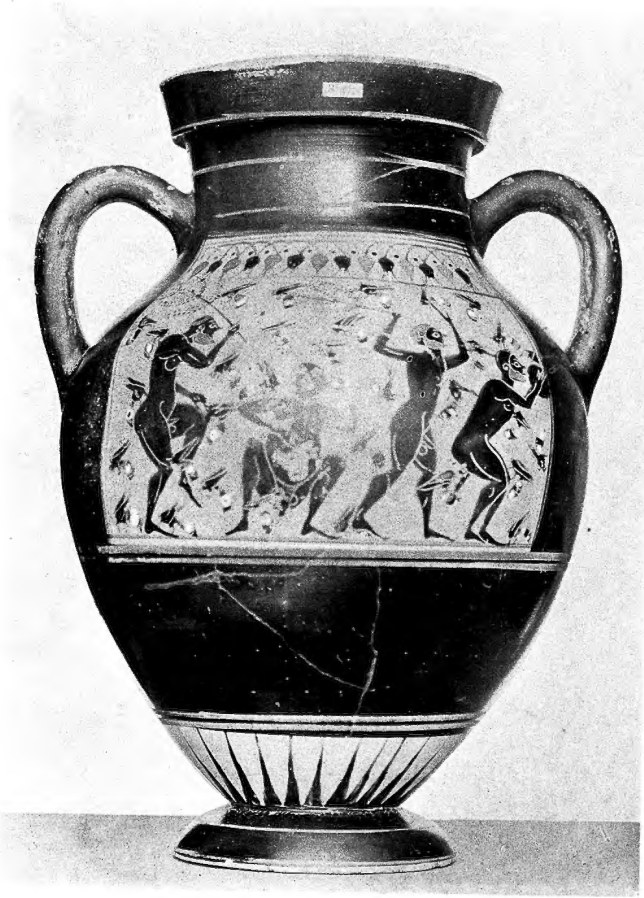
Fig. 830.

versed = my fig. 830). The latter, like a lentoid seal of rock crystal found in the Idaean Cave (L. Mariani in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1895 vi. 178 fig. 12, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 47 fig. 22, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 141 f. fig. 25), represents the worship of a sacred tree or trees. The ring-dove or wood-pigeon (*columba palumbus*), here perched on one of the three sprays rising from ritual horns, may depict the presence of the deity (? Aphrodite, or her Cretan equivalent Ariadne (cp. *supra* i. 481)). Sun and moon betoken the sky. But the exact significance of the remaining symbols (? cp. *supra* i. 583 n. 4) and linear characters is obscure. The cult of a goddess associated with sacred trees is just what we should expect *ἐν ὄρει πεπυκασμένῳ ὑλήεντι*. Doves reappear in connexion with the Dictaean Cave (*infra* n. 1).

[1] Zeus Δικταῖος (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 4 *πῶς καὶ νῦν* (so O. Schneider for *καί νιν* codd. and earlier edd. A. W. Mair cj. *καί μιν*), Δικταῖον *ἀείσομεν ἠὲ* Λυκαῖον; Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διός* no. (22) *δικταῖον*, Mart. *ep.* 4. 1. 1 f. Caesaris (*sc.* Domitiani) alma dies et luce sacratior illa, | conscia Dictaeum qua tulit Ida Iovem, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 21. 1 ob merita virtutis aut muneris deos habitos Euhemerus exsequitur, et eorum natales, patrias, sepulcra dinumerat et per provincias monstrat, Dictaei Iovis et Apollinis Delphici

et Phariae Isidis et Cereris Eleusiniae, cp. Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis, Stat. *Theb.* 3. 481 f. ditior ille animi, cui tu, Dictaee, secundas | impuleris manifestus aves) derived his title from a cave in Mt Dikte, where he was born (Agathokles *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 375 F cited *supra* i. 653 n. 3, Apollod. 1. 1. 6 ὀργισθεῖσα δὲ ἐπὶ τούτοις Ῥέα παραγίνεται μὲν εἰς Κρήτην, ὀπηνίκα τὸν Δία ἐγκυμονοῦσα ἐτύγχανε, γεννᾷ δὲ ἐν ἄντρῳ τῆς Δίκτης Δία, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 ἐγεννήθη μὲν ἐν τῇ Δίκτῃ, μετεκομίσθη δὲ ἐπὶ τὸ ἄντρον τῆς Ἴδης, Diod. 5. 70 τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν ἀγανακτήσασαν, καὶ μὴ δυναμένην μεταθεῖναι τὴν προαίρεσιν τἀνδρός, τὸν Δία τεκοῦσαν ἐν τῇ τεκοσυναγορευομένῃ Ἴδῃ (Δίκτῃ codd. C. F. G.) κλέψαι καὶ δοῦναι λάθρᾳ τοῖς Κούρησιν ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἴδης... ἀνδρωθέντα δ' αὐτὸν φασι πρῶτον πόλιν κτίσαι περὶ τὴν Δίκταν, ὅπου καὶ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτοῦ γενέσθαι μυθολογοῦσιν· ἧς ἐκλειφθείσης ἐν τοῖς ὕστερον χρόνοις διαμένειν ἔτι καὶ νῦν ἔρματα τῶν θεμελίων, *et. mag.* p. 276, 12 ff. Δίκτη· ὄρος τῆς Κρήτης, καὶ ἄκρα κειμένη κατὰ τὸ Λιβυκὸν πέλαγος... εἵρηται παρὰ τὸ τέκω τίκτω, τίκτα τὶς οὖσα, ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐκεῖ τεχθῆναι τὸν Δία) and reared (Ap. Rhod. 1. 508 f. ὄφρα Ζεὺς ἔτι κοῦρος, ἔτι φρεσὶ νήπια εἰδώς, | Δικταῖον ναίεσκεν ὑπὸ σπέος with schol. *ad loc.*, Arat. *phaen.* 30 ff. εἰ ἐτεὸν δή, | Κρήτηθεν κεῖναί γε (*sc.* the two Bears) Διὸς μεγάλου ὑότητι | οὐρανὸν εἰσανέβησαν, ὅ μιν τότε κουρίζοντα | Δίκτῳ (Zenodotos of Mallos read δίκτῳ=δικτάμνῳ) ἐν εὐώδει, ὄρεος σχεδὸν Ἰδαίοιο, | ἄντρῳ ἐγκατέθεντο καὶ ἔτρεφον εἰς ἐνιαυτόν, | Δικταίοι Κούρητες ὅτε Κρόνου ἐψεύδοντο with schol. *ad loc.*, Lucr. 2. 633 f. Dictaeos referunt Curetas qui Iovis illum | vagitum in Creta quondam occultasse feruntur (cp. Sil. It. 17. 21 qui Dictaeo bacchantur in antro), Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 61 cited *infra*, Arrian. *frag.* 70 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 498 Ἀρριανὸς δέ φησι· Κρήτη, οὗ Κρήτη ἐπώνυμος, ὁ τὸν Δία κρύψας ἐν ὄρει Δικταίῳ, ὅτε Κρόνος ἐμάστευεν ἐθέλων ἀφανίσαι αὐτόν,' Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ante quam regnaret Iuppiter, qui est in Dictaeo, Cretae monte, nutritus), being fed by bees (Verg. *georg.* 4. 149 ff. nunc age, naturas apibus quas Iuppiter ipse | addidit expediam, pro qua mercede, canoros | Curetum sonitus crepitantiaque aera secutae, | Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro, Colum. *de re rust.* 9. 2 nec sane rustico dignum est sciscitari, fueritne mulier pulcherrima specie Melissa, quam Iuppiter in apem convertit, an (ut Euhemerus poeta dicit) crabronibus et sole genitas apes, quas nymphae Phryxonides educaverunt, mox Dictaeo specu Iovis exstitisse nutrices, easque pabula munere dei sortitas, quibus ipsae parvum educaverant alumnum. ista enim, quamvis non dedeceant poetam, summatim tamen et uno tantummodo versiculo leviter attigit Virgilius, cum sic ait: 'Dictaeo caeli regem pavere sub antro,' Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 104 sane nati Iovis fabula haec est: Saturnus post quam a Themide oraculo comperit a filio se posse regno depelli natos ex Rhea uxore devorabat, quae natum Iovem pulchritudine delectata nymphis commendavit in monte Cretae Dictaeo; ubi eum aluerunt apes = Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Ach.* 387 = Myth. Vat. 1. 104, cp. 2. 16. See further L. Weniger and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2637 ff. *s.vv.* Melissa, Melissaios, Melisseus, Melissos) or a goat (*supra* i. 112 n. 3, 529 n. 4, 653 n. 3, 665 n. 3. See further E. Neustadt *De Jove Cretico* Berolini 1906 pp. 18—43 ('De Amalthea')) or a pig (*supra* i. 653 n. 3) or doves (Moiro of Byzantion *c.* 300 B.C. *frag.*[1] *ap.* Athen. 491 A—B Ζεὺς δ' ἄρ' ἐνὶ Κρήτῃ τρέφετο μέγας, οὐδ' ἄρα τίς νιν | ἠείδει μακάρων· ὁ δ' ἀέξετο πᾶσι μέλεσσι. | τὸν μὲν ἄρα τρήρωνες ὑπὸ ζαθέῳ τράφον ἄντρῳ, | ἀμβροσίην φορέουσαι ἀπ' Ὠκεανοῖο ῥοάων· | νέκταρ δ' ἐκ πέτρης μέγας αἰετὸς αἰὲν ἀφύσσων | γαμφηλῇς, φορέεσκε ποτὸν Διὶ μητιόεντι. *Supra* i. 182 n. 8), while the Kouretes, or by later confusion the Korybantes, drowned his infant cries with the clashing of their weapons (*supra* i. 150, 530 n. 0, 534, 659, 709. See further O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1587 ff., J. Poerner *De Curetibus et Corybantibus* (*Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* xxii. 2) Halis Saxonum 1913 pp. 245—428, Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa xi. 1441 ff., 2202 ff.).

Ant. Lib. 19 quotes from the *Ornithogonia* of 'Boios' (*supra* p. 463 n. 1) a queer tale, which relates apparently to the Dictaean Cave: 'In Crete, they say, there is a cave sacred to bees. Tradition has it that in this cave Rhea gave birth to Zeus, and neither god nor man may enter it. Every year at a definite time there is seen a great glare of fire from the cavern. This happens, so the story goes, when the blood from the birth of Zeus boils out (ἐκζέῃ with allusion to Ζεύς (*supra* i. 31 n. 3)). The cave is occupied by sacred bees,



Amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum: Laïos, Keleos, Kerberos, and Aigolios stung by bees in the Dictaean Cave.

See page 929 *n.* 0.

the nurses of Zeus. Laïos, Keleos, Kerberos, and Aigolios dared to enter it that they might draw as much honey as they could. They encased their bodies in bronze, drew the honey of the bees, and saw the swathing-bands of Zeus. Whereupon their bronze armour burst asunder. Zeus thundered aloud and raised his bolt. But the Moirai and Themis intervened; for none might die in that spot. So Zeus made them all into birds, and from them sprang the tribe of birds—blue thrushes (λάιοι), green woodpeckers (κελεοί), birds of an unknown species (*κέρβεροι*), and owls (αἰγωλιοί). These are good birds to appear and reliable beyond all other birds, because they saw the blood of Zeus.' See further *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 388 f. A black-figured *amphora* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 122 f. no. B 177 from *Vulci*), hitherto unpublished, has (*a*) the four marauders stung by the bees in the cave (pl. xlii from a photograph by Mr R. B. Fleming): (*b*) dancing Maenads and Satyrs.

Other myths attached to the same sacred cavern. Here Anchiale bore the Idaean Daktyloi (Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129 ff. Δάκτυλοι Ἰδαῖοι Κρηταιέες, οὓς ποτε νύμφη | Ἀγχιάλη Δικταῖον ἀνὰ σπέος ἀμφοτέρῃσιν | δραξαμένη γαίης Οἰαξίδος ἐβλάστησεν with schol. *ad loc.*, translated by Varr. *frag.* 3 Baehrens *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 1. 66 quos magno Anchiale partus adducta dolore | et geminis capiens tellurem Oaxida palmis | edidit in Dicta, cp. Vib. Seq. p. 15 Oberlin *s.v.* 'Oaxes'). Here too Zeus, according to one late account, lay with Europe (Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 4 ταῦτα ἐκ Φοινίκης ἄχρι τῆς Κρήτης ἐγένετο· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἐπέβη τῇ νήσῳ, ὁ μὲν ταῦρος οὐκέτι ἐφαίνετο, ἐπιλαβόμενος δὲ τῆς χειρὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ἀπῆγε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἐς τὸ Δικταῖον ἄντρον ἐρυθριῶσαν καὶ κάτω ὁρῶσαν· ἠπίστατο γὰρ ἤδη ἐφ' ὅτῳ ἄγοιτο). Minos, their son, used to descend into the Dictaean Cave and thence return with the laws of Zeus (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 61 ὧν ὁ μὲν (*sc.* Minos) ὁμιλητὴς ἔφη γενέσθαι τοῦ Διός, καὶ φοιτῶν εἰς τὸ Δικταῖον ὄρος, ἐν ᾧ τραφῆναι τὸν Δία μυθολογοῦσιν οἱ Κρῆτες ὑπὸ τῶν Κουρήτων ἔτι νεογνὸν ὄντα, κατέβαινεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν ἄντρον, καὶ τοὺς νόμους ἐκεῖ συνθεὶς ἐκόμιζεν, οὓς ἀπέφαινε παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς λαμβάνειν). Lastly Epimenides claimed to have slept for years in the Cave and to have had visions there (Max. Tyr. 16. 1 ἀφίκετό ποτε Ἀθήναζε Κρὴς ἀνήρ, ὄνομα Ἐπιμενίδης, κομίζων λόγον, οὐτωσὶ ῥηθέντα, πιστεύεσθαι χαλεπόν· ἐν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου τῷ ἄντρῳ κείμενος ὑπνῳ βαθεῖ ἔτη συχνά, ὅναρ ἔφη ἐντυχεῖν αὐτὸς θεοῖς καὶ θεῶν λόγοις καὶ ἀληθείᾳ καὶ δίκῃ. κ.τ.λ.).

Sir A. J. Evans at first identified Mt Dikte with Mt *Lasithi*, the Dictaean Cave with the *Psychro* Cave, and the city built by Zeus (Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra*) with the ruins at *Goulas* on an outlying spur of the *Lasithi-massif* (Sir A. J. Evans 'Goulas: The City of Zeus' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1895—1896 ii. 169 ff.). This made an attractive combination and found many adherents (*supra* p. 925 n.' 1). Unfortunately it ignored two essential factors in the situation—the definite statements of ancient topographers (*in primis* Strab. 478 f., Ptol. 3. 15. 3 and 6, cp. Agathokles *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 289 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 375 F, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 f.; *in secundis* Ap. Rhod. 4. 1635 ff., Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 4) and the *provenance* of inscriptions relating to the cult of Zeus Δικταῖος. Discussion of the evidence along these lines led K. J. Beloch in *Klio* 1911 xi. 433 ff. and J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiv. 277 ff. to reject the identification of Dikte with *Lasithi* and to insist that Dikte must have been a mountain near Praisos at the eastern end of Crete. Apparently Sir A. J. Evans has himself now given in to this view, for the map prefixed to vol. i of *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* adopts the new equation Aigaion = *Lasithi* and, rightly as I conceive, assigns the name 'Mt Dikta' to the range situated south-west of Praisos. If so, the true Dictaean Cave is still to seek.

The cult of Zeus Δικταῖος in eastern Crete is attested by (1) the civic oath of Itanos in *s.* iii B.C. (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 462, 2 ff., *ib.*[3] no. 526, 2 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 324 f. no. 5058, 2 ff. found at *Erenopoli* [τάδ]ε ὤμοσαν τοὶ Ἰτάνιοι πά[ρ][τες] Δία Δικταῖον καὶ Ἥραν καὶ θ[εο]ὺς τοὺς ἐν Δίκται καὶ Ἄθαν[α]ίαν Πολιάδα καὶ θεούς, δσσο[ι][s] ἐν Ἀθαναίαι θύεται, π[ά]ντας | [κ]αὶ Δία Ἀγοραῖον καὶ Ἀπόλλω[ν]α Πύθιον καθ' ἱερῶν νεοκά[ρ]ων· κ.τ.λ.): (2) the oath of allegiance taken by settlers from Hierapytna, sent probably to occupy conquered territory (Praisos?) (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2555, 11 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 ff. cited *supra* p. 723 n. o): (3) the oath to be taken each year in the month

Dionysios by the *kósmos* or chief magistrate of Praisos in accordance with a treaty of *s.* iii B.C. between that town and Stelai (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 440 *A*, 15 ff. =Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 427, *a* 15 ff., *ib.*[3] no. 524, *a* 15 ff. cited *supra* p. 731 n. 0. The restoration *ὁμώω Δῆ*[να *Δικταῖον*] exactly fills the gap and is justified by Strab. 475 *τούτων* (*sc. Od.* 19. 175—177) *φησὶ Σπάφυλος* (*frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 507 Müller)) *τὸ μὲν πρὸς ἕω Δωριεῖς κατέχειν, τὸ δὲ δυσμικὸν Κύδωνας, τὸ <δὲ> νότιον Ἐτεόκρητας, ὧν εἶναι πολίχνιον Πρᾶσον, ὅπου τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν, id.* 478 *εἰρῆται δέ, ὅτι τῶν Ἐτεοκρήτων ὑπῆρχεν ἡ Πρᾶσος, καὶ διότι ἐνταῦθα τὸ τοῦ Δικταίου Διὸς ἱερόν· κ.τ.λ.*): (4) a long inscription, dated in 139 B.C., of which one copy was found near Itanos, another at Magnesia ad Maeandrum (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 929, *ib.*[3] no. 685 =R. Cagnat *Inscriptiones Graecae ad res Romanas pertinentes* Paris 1911 i. 345 ff. no. 1021). It deals with a dispute between Itanos and Praisos—later between Itanos and Hierapytna—respecting the territory of Heleia and the island of Leuke. Itanos ultimately appealed to the Roman senate, which entrusted arbitration in the matter to Magnesia. The document in delimiting the territory of Itanos more than once mentions the sanctuary of Zeus *Δικταῖος*, which must have lain on the border-line of Itanos and Praisos (ii, 37 ff. *Ἰτάνιοι πόλιν οἰκοῦν|τες ἐπιθαλάσσιον καὶ χώραν ἔχοντες προγονικὴν γειτονοῦσαν τῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου ἱερῶι, ἔχον|τες δὲ καὶ νήσους καὶ νεμόμενοι, ἐν αἷς καὶ τὴν καλουμένην Λεύκην*, 47 ff. *οὕτως Ἱεραπύτνιοι τῆς τε νήσου καὶ τῆς χώρας ἀμφισβητεῖν Ἰτανίοις ἐπεβάλαντο, φάμε|νοι τὴν μὲν χώραν εἶναι ἱερὰν τοῦ Ζηνὸς τοῦ Δικταίου, τὴν δὲ νῆσον προγονικὴν ἑαυτῶν ὑπάρ|χειν*, iii, 69 ff. *τοῦ δὲ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς ἐκτὸς τῆς διαμφισβητουμένης | χώρας ὄντος καὶ περιοικοδομήμασιν καὶ ἑτέροις πλείοσι[ν ἀ]ποδεικτικοῖς καὶ σημείοις περιλα[μ]βανομένου*, 81 f. *νόμοις γὰρ ἱεροῖς καὶ ἀραῖς καὶ ἐπιτίμοις ἄνωθεν διεκεκώλυτο ἵνα μηθεὶς ἐν τῶ ἱ|ερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Δικταίου μήτε ἐννέμηι μήτε ἐναυλοστατῆι μήτε σπείρηι μήτε ξυλεύηι*).

Finally, excavations of the British School at Athens undertaken in 1902 at Heleia (*Palaikastro*) on the eastern coast, south of Itanos (*Eremopoli*) and east of Praisos, located the actual site of the Hellenic temple (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 286 ff.). This was partially explored in 1903 and 1904 (*id. ib.* 1902—1903 ix. 280, *ib.* 1903—1904 x. 246) and fully cleared in 1905 (*id. ib.* 1904—1905 xi. 298 ff.).

The site was an artificially levelled platform half-way down the south-eastern side of a hill. The *témenos* was enclosed by a wall of undressed stones, of which a few courses survive, and can be traced along the north and north-eastern face of the slope for a distance of 36[m]. The temple itself has wholly vanished, huge blocks of freestone having been carried off by the villagers of *Palaikastro* about a generation ago. But the position of the altar is fixed by a bed of grey wood-ash, at least 3[m] long by 0·25[m] thick. Round it were found bronze bowls, miniature shields, and an archaic scarabaeoid seal.

More widely scattered were tiles and architectural terracottas of two distinct periods: (*a*) *Archaic.* Many pieces of a *sima* in low relief decorated with the *motif* of a two-horse chariot, driver, two hoplites, and hound (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 300 ff. pl. 15). Antefixes in the form of a *Gorgóneion* (*ib.* p. 303 fig. 20). *Akrotéria* (?) of large birds (eagles?). The leg of a crouching or running human figure in high relief, probably from the pediment (*ib.* p. 300 fig. 18). Transitional in character is an antefix representing the Gorgon with two snakes rising from her shoulders and two others held in her hands—a pose which recalls that of the 'Minoan' snake-goddess (*ib.* p. 304 fig. 22). (*b*) *Developed style.* Fragments of a deeper *sima* with lion-heads etc. of the conventional sort. Fragments of palmette-shaped antefixes (*ib.* p. 304 fig. 21).

The votive offerings belong mostly to the archaic period (*s.* vii—v B.C.) and comprise: (i) *Bronzes.* At least four large shields decorated with zones of animals. One (0·49[m] across) had as central boss the head and forepart of a lion, which pins down a couple of sphinxes and is flanked by two lions rampant on either side of a 'tree-of-life.' A dozen small shields, a miniature cuirass, a miniature helmet. Parts of about fourteen tripods. Eight bowls. Numerous small figures of oxen. (ii) *Terracottas.* About forty lamps and twelve torch-holders (*ib.* p. 307 fig. 23). About thirty large cups or bowls.

A mile to the north-west of the site there was found in 1907 a slab, which records the restoration by Hierapytna (*c.* 145—139 B.C.) of certain statues in the temple of Zeus

Δικταῖος (R. C. Bosanquet *ib.* 1908—1909 xv. 340, S. A. Xanthoudides in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908 p. 197 ff. no. 1 fig. 1 *ἐπὶ τᾶς* Καμρίδος (*sc.* a tribe at Hierapytna, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἱεράπυτνα) *κοσμόντων | τῶν σὺμ Βουάω τῶ Ἀμφέροντος, | ἐπεμέληθεν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῶ | [Ζ (or Τ)]ηνὸς Δικταίω, τὰ ἀρχαῖα | [ά]γάλματα θαραπεύσαντες, | [θεὸ]ς ἐπισκευῶσαι καὶ χρυσῶ[σαι] | Ἀθαναίαν, Ἄρτεμιν, Ἄτλαν[τα, τ]ὰς Σφίγγας ἀστραγαλίσ[αι] ἐπὶ τῶν ὑποποδίων, καὶ | [? Ποσ]ειδᾶ, Δία, Ἥρας πρόσωπον, | [? Δατὼ]ν καὶ Νίκαν ἀναγράψαι· | [οἶδ' ἐκ]ὸσ(μ)ιον, Βούαος Ἀμφέ[ροντος, Ἀκ]άσσων Βραμισάλ|.....ς Εὐρυκάρτεος, | .....Εὐρυκάρτεος, | .....υθεος, | .....ς Μοιρίλ[ω]|- - -*). A mutilated inscription recording an agreement between Knossos and Hierapytna, which was found in the church of St Nikolaos near *Palaikastro* (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1890 iii. 612 ff. no. 36), must likewise have come from the precinct of Zeus Δικταῖος, where it had probably been set up during the same period of Hierapytna's supremacy.

But by far the most important epigraphic discovery connected with the site was that of the now famous hymn to Zeus Δικταῖος, first published by R. C. Bosanquet (*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 339—356 pl. 20), restored and translated by G. Murray (*ib.* pp. 357—365), and expounded at large by Miss J. E. Harrison ('The Kouretes and Zeus Kouros' *ib.* pp. 308—338, *ead. Themis* Cambridge 1912 pp. 1—29 ('The Hymn of the Kouretes')). With one exception, already noted (*supra* i. 15 n. 6), I give the text as printed by G. Murray:

Ἰώ,
Μέγιστε Κοῦρε, χαῖρέ μοι,
Κρόνιε, παγκρατὲς γάνος,
βέβακες
δαιμόνων ἀγώμενος·
Δίκταν ἐς ἐνιαυτὸν ἕρ-
πε καὶ γέγαθι μολπᾷ,
Τάν τοι κρέκομεν πακτίσι
μείξαντες ἄμ' αὐλοῖσιν,
καὶ στάντες ἀείδομεν τεὸν
ἀμφὶ βωμὸν εὐερκῆ.
Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.
Ἔνθα γὰρ σέ, παῖδ' ἄμβροτον,
ἀσπιδ[ηφόροι τροφῆες]
παρ' Ῥέας λαβόντες πόδα
κ[ρούοντες ἀπέκρυψαν].
Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.
. . . . .
. . . . .
. . . . .
. . . τᾶ]ς καλᾶς Ἀο(ῦ)ς.

Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.
[Ὧραι δὲ βρ]όον κατῆτος
καὶ βροτο(ὐ)ς Δίκα κατῆχε
[πάντα τ' ἄγρι' ἀμφεπ]ε ζῷ'
ἀ φίλολβος Εἰρήνα.
Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.
Ἀ[μιν θόρε, κές στα]μνία,
καὶ θόρ' εὔποκ' ε[ς πόμνια,
κές λήϊ]α καρτῶν θόρε,
κές τελεσ[φόρους σίμβλους].
Ἰώ, κ.τ.λ.
[Θόρε κές] πόληας ἀμῶν,
κές ποντοφόρο(υ)ς νᾶας,
θόρε κές ν[έους πολ]είτας,
θόρε κές Θέμιν κ[αλάν].

This hymn, engraved *c.* 200 A.D. but composed *c.* 300 B.C., expresses in cultured poetical Greek, with a dash of Doric dialect, beliefs that had descended from much earlier times. It invokes Zeus as the 'greatest Lad of Kronos' line' to come to Dikte for the new year at the head of the *daimones* (perhaps the gods in general (Plat. *Phaedr.* 246 E στρατιὰ θεῶν τε καὶ δαιμόνων, cp. *supra* pp. 43, 63 n. 9) rather than the Kouretes in particular (Strab. 466 δαίμονας ἢ προπόλους θεῶν)) and to take delight in the dance about his altar—a dance accompanied by harps and pipes. It goes on to tell how the Kouretes once received him as a babe from Rhea and hid him in safety with the sound of their beating feet, [how under the reign of Zeus foul Darkness was followed by] fair Dawn, the Seasons began to be fruitful year by year, Justice spread over the world, and Peace brought wealth in its train. And now once more comes the invitation to leap in the ritual dance, which shall ensure full jars, fleecy flocks, crops in the fields, and honey in the hives, prosperity alike on land and sea, youthful citizens and established Right.

Mount Ide[1].

The god here invoked is clearly thought of as coming from afar to witness, or even to join in, his worshippers' dance—a dance which very possibly originated as a piece of pure magic. But I do not on that account see in him 'a Kouros who is obviously but a reflection or impersonation of the body of Kouretes' (Miss J. E. Harrison *Themis* p. 27) any more than I regard the Bull Dionysos, who is invited to visit his temple at Elis (*carm. pop.* 5 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 36), as a projection of the Elean women. The *Creator Spiritus* is not lightly to be identified with the *spiritus creatorum*.

[1] Mt Ide bore a name (Ἴδη) which, like many mountain-names (Schrader *Reallex.*[2] p. 88 f.), means 'forest, wood' (F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1908 xxvi. 109 ff., A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 10, *id. Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 11 f. ('Ida'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 365 f.). It had flourishing oak-trees (Dionys. *per.* 503). And it was famous for its cypresses (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 2. 6, 4. 1. 3, Nik. *ther.* 585, Verg. *georg.* 2. 84, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 142. Claud. *de rapt. Pros.* 3. 370 ff. confuses Mt Ide in the Troad), which probably stood in some relation to the cult of Rhea (*supra* i. 649 n. 1) or of Zeus (F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1920, 1924, 1926, *supra* i. 558 n. 5); for not only were Cretan cypresses called δρυῖται (Theophr. *caus. pl.* 1. 2. 2), but beams of cypress were used to roof the temple in which were celebrated the rites of Rhea and Zagreus (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck[2] *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1). A fruit-bearing poplar grew in the mouth of the Idaean Cave (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 ἐν Κρήτῃ δὲ καὶ αἴγειροι κάρπιμοι πλείους εἰσί· μία μὲν ἐν τῷ στομίῳ τοῦ ἄντρου τοῦ ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ (so J. G. Schneider for τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἴδῃ cod. U. τοῦ ἐν τῷ Ἴδης codd. M. V. ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ edd. Ald. Heins.), ἐν ᾧ τὰ ἀναθήματα ἀνάκειται, ἄλλη δὲ μικρὰ πλησίον· κ.τ.λ., cp. *id.* 2. 2. 10, Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 69), though Pliny describes it as a willow (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110 salix...una tamen proditur ad maturitatem perferre solita in Creta insula ipso descensu Iovis speluncae durum ligneumque (*sc.* semen), magnitudine ciceris). Iron-coloured stones shaped like the human thumb were found in Crete and known as *Idaei dactyli* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170, Isid. *orig.* 16. 15. 12, Solin. 11. 14); if these were fossil belemnites (E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1465), they were doubtless viewed as thunderbolts (C. Blinkenberg *The Thunderweapon in Religion and Folklore* Cambridge 1911 p. 76 f. ('Thunderstones (Belemnites)')).

Mt Ide, which, as the ancients said, sees the sun before the sunrise (Solin. 11. 6, Prisc. *per.* 527 f. (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 194 Müller)), was not unnaturally associated with the Hellenic sky-god. From *s.* v B.C. onwards we hear of Zeus Ἰδαῖος (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck[2] *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1, Polyb. 28. 14. 3 περὶ τούτων κειμένης ἐνόρκου συνθήκης παρὰ τὸν Δία τὸν Ἰδαῖον, cp. Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. Ἐπίθετα Διός no. (50) ἰδαῖον, 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. (42) ἰδαῖον, 281 Ἐπίθετα τοῦ Διός... ἰδαῖος. In Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 236 καὶ χθόνα Νωδαίοιο Διὸς κ.τ.λ. G. Falkenburg, G. H. Moser, and Count de Marcellus would read χθονὸς Ἰδαίοιο. J. J. Scaliger cj. χθονὸς ὠδαίοιο. F. Graefe cj. χθόνα Δικταίοιο).

Zeus is never said to have been born on Mt Ide (in Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra* p. 928 n. 0 the right reading appears to be Δίκτῃ, not Ἴδῃ: at most we have Mart. *ep.* 4. 1. 2 Dictaeum...tulit Ida Iovem); the claims of Mt Aigaion (*supra* p. 925 n. 1) and Mt Dikte (*supra* p. 927 n. 1) were too strong. He is, however, said to have been brought by the Kouretes living near Mt Ide to a cave and to have been nurtured there by the nymphs on honey and the milk of the goat Amaltheia (Diod. 5. 70 τὴν δὲ Ῥέαν...τὸν Δία τεκοῦσαν... κλέψαι καὶ δοῦναι λάθρᾳ τοῖς Κούρησιν ἐκθρέψαι τοῖς κατοικοῦσι πλησίον ὄρους τῆς Ἴδης. τούτους δ' ἀπενέγκαντας εἴς τι ἄντρον παραδοῦναι ταῖς Νύμφαις, παρακελευσαμένους τὴν πᾶσαν ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτοῦ ποιεῖσθαι. αὗται δὲ μέλι καὶ γάλα μίσγουσαι τὸ παιδίον ἔθρεψαν καὶ τῆς αἰγὸς τῆς ὀνομαζομένης Ἀμαλθείας τὸν μαστὸν εἰς διατροφὴν παρείχοντο, Ov. *fast.* 5. 115 f Naïs Amalthea, Cretaea nobilis Ida, | dicitur in silvis occuluisse Iovem, Iuv. 13. 41 et privatus adhuc Idaeis Iuppiter antris) together with Aigokeros or Capricornus (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 27 p. 237 f. Maass <Αἰγοκέρωτος.> οὗτός ἐστι τῷ εἴδει δμοιος τῷ Αἰγίπανι. ἐξ ἐκείνου

δὲ γέγονεν. ἔχει δὲ θηρίου τὰ κάτω μέρη καὶ κέρατα ἐπὶ τῇ κεφαλῇ. ἐτιμήθη δὲ διὰ τὸ σύντροφος εἶναι τῷ Διί, καθάπερ Ἐπιμενίδης ὁ τὰ Κρητικὰ ἱστορῶν φησιν, ὅτι ἐν τῇ Ἴδῃ συνῆν αὐτῷ, ὅτε ἐπὶ τοὺς Τιτᾶνας ἐστράτευσεν (οὗτος δὲ δοκεῖ εὑρεῖν τὸν κόχλον, [ἐν] ᾧ τοὺς συμμάχους καθώπλισεν), <ἢ> διὰ τὸ τοῦ ἤχου Πανικὸν καλούμενον, ὃ οἱ Τιτᾶνες ἔφευγον. παραλαβὼν δὲ τὴν ἀρχὴν ἐν τοῖς ἄστροις αὐτὸν ἔθηκε καὶ τὴν αἶγα τὴν μητέρα. διὰ δὲ τὸν κόχλον τὸν θαλάσσιον παράσημον ἔχει ἰχθύος, cp. schol. Arat. *phaen.* 284, Arat. Lat. p. 237 f. Maass, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 407, 9 ff. Eyssenhardt, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 28). Adrasteia his nurse made him a golden ball (Ap. Rhod. 3. 132 ff. *καί κέν τοι ὑπάσαιμι Διὸς περικαλλὲς ἄθυρμα* | *κεῖνο, τό οἱ ποίησε φίλη τροφὸς Ἀδρήστεια* | *ἄντρῳ ἐν Ἰδαίῳ ἔτι νήπια κουρίζοντι,* | *σφαῖραν ἐυτρόχαλον...* | ... | *χρύσεα μέν οἱ κύκλα τετεύχαται· ἀμφὶ δ' ἑκάστῳ* | *διπλόαι ἀψῖδες περιηγέες εἰλίσσονται·* | *κρυπταὶ δὲ ῥαφαί εἰσιν· ἔλιξ δ' ἐπιδέδρομε πάσαις* | *κυανέη. ἀτὰρ εἴ μιν ἔαῖς ἐνὶ χερσὶ βάλοιο,* | *ἀστὴρ ὥς, φλεγέθοντα δι' ἠέρος ὅλκὸν ἴησιν.* H. Posnansky *Nemesis und Adrasteia* Breslau 1890 p. 175 f. finds Adrasteia, the infant Zeus, and his ball on a coin of Laodikeia illustrated *supra* i. 153 fig. 129. More *ad rem* are the cointypes discussed *supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28, 547; for there the cosmic significance of the ball (K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* Leipzig 1884 p. 45 ff.) is apparent) and put him to sleep in a golden *Iîknon* (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 46 ff. *Ζεῦ, σὲ δὲ Κυρβάντων ἑτάραι προσεπηχύναντο* | *Δικταῖαι Μελίαι, σὲ δ' ἐκοίμισεν Ἀδρήστεια* | *λίκνῳ ἐνὶ χρυσέῳ, σὺ δ' ἐθήσαο πίονα μαζὸν* | *αἰγὸς Ἀμαλθείης, ἐπὶ δὲ γλυκὺ κηρίον ἔβρως.* | *γέντο γὰρ ἐξαπίνας Πανακρίδος ἔργα μελίσσης* | *Ἰδαίοις ἐν ὄρεσσι, τά τε κλείουσι Πάνακρα).* Hence in the Rhapsodic theogony Adrasteia, daughter of Melissos and Amaltheia, is associated with her sister Eide (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1086 n. 0: 'die Göttin Ida?') as protectress of all laws including those of Zeus and Kronos (Orph. *frag.* 109 Abel *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 148 (p. 161, 15 ff. Couvreur)). Lastly, Zeus was first served in the Idaean Cave by Aetos the beautiful child of Earth (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 394 est et alia fabula. apud Graecos legitur, puerum quendam terra editum admodum pulchrum membris omnibus fuisse, qui Ἀετὸς sit vocatus. hic cum Iuppiter propter patrem Saturnum, qui suos filios devorabat, in Creta insula in Idaeo antro nutriretur, primus in obsequium Iovis se dedit, post vero cum adolevisset Iuppiter et patrem regno pepulisset, Iuno permota forma pueri velut paelicatus dolore eum in avem vertit, quae ab ipso ἀετὸς dicitur Graece, a nobis aquila propter aquilum colorem, qui ater est. quam semper Iuppiter sibi inhaerere praecepit et fulmina gestare: per hanc etiam Ganymedes cum amaretur a Iove dicitur raptus, quos Iuppiter inter sidera collocavit. Cp. *supra* pp. 751 n. 2, 777). Copper coins of Crete issued by Titus (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 306, Suppl. ii. 262) and Domitian (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 344 pl. 33, 22 (=my fig. 831), Head *Hist. num.*² p. 479) have for reverse type an eagle inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΙΔΑΙΟΥ.

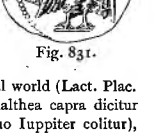


Fig. 831.

Other myths were readily attached to the same locality. It was 'in Idaean caves' that Hermaphroditos was reared by Naiad nymphs (Ov. *met.* 4. 288 f.) and that the Telchines were wont to work (Stat. *silv.* 4. 6. 47).

The worship of Zeus on Mt Ide, famous throughout the classical world (Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 4. 105 Olenos Arcadiae civitas, in qua Iovem Amalthea capra dicitur nutrisse, quae in cultum Iovis Idam provocat, montem Cretae, in quo Iuppiter colitur), centred about the Idaean Cave. This was distant from Knossos some twenty miles as the crow flies; but the two were connected by a tolerable road and pilgrims could rest in the shade of trees by the wayside (Plat. *legg.* 625 A—B). The Cave itself was sacred to Zeus and the meadows near it were regarded as his (Diod. 5. 70 *κατὰ δὲ τὴν Ἴδην, ἐν ᾗ συνέβη τραφῆναι τὸν θεόν, τό τε ἄντρον ἐν ᾧ τὴν δίαιταν εἶχε καθιέρωται καὶ οἱ περὶ αὐτὸ λειμῶνες ὁμοίως ἀνεῖνται περὶ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν ὄντες*). He had repaid his debt to the bees by turning them gold-bronze in colour and making them impervious to wintry weather (*id. ib.*). Concerning the cavern-ritual we know but little. Votive offerings were to be seen in the entry (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 quoted *supra*). Pythagoras is said to have gone down into the Cave with Epimenides (Diog. Laert. 8. 3 *εἶτ' ἐν Κρήτῃ σὺν Ἐπιμενίδῃ κατῆλθεν*

εἰς τὸ Ἰδαῖον ἄντρον), who was both a Cretan and a Koures (*supra* p. 191). Fortunately further details are given us by Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 (cited *supra* i. 646 n. 3). It appears that Pythagoras first repaired to the mystics of Morges, one of the Idaean Daktyloi, by whom he was purified with the thunder-stone (*τῇ κεραυνίᾳ λίθῳ*—probably a belemnite. (*supra*)), at daybreak lying prone beside the sea and at night beside a river, his head wrapped in the fleece of a black ram. He then descended into the Idaean Cave wearing black wool, spent there the customary thrice nine days, made a funeral offering (*καθήγισε*) to Zeus, saw the throne which was strown for the god once a year, and inscribed on his tomb an epigram entitled 'Pythagoras to Zeus,' which begins *ὧδε θανὼν κεῖται Ζάν, ὃν Δία κικλήσκουσιν* (*supra* i. 158 n. 2, 646 n. 3, ii. 341 n. 6, 345 n. 1). It is abundantly clear that the cavern-rites were concerned with death as well as birth. Zan or Zeus lay dead. Yet yearly a throne was spread for him, *i.e.* for Zeus come to life again as Zagreus (*supra* i. 646 f.). Pythagoras sought to share his death and resurrection.

Apart from the cave-sanctuary there were in *s.* v B.C.—if we may trust the *Cretans* of Euripides—temples of Zeus Ἰδαῖος roofed with cypress-planks, which were fastened together with glue made of bull's hide. Here the mystics of the god made thunder like Zagreus, feasted on raw flesh, brandished torches for the mountain-mother, and transformed from Kouretes into Bakchoi led thenceforward a life of ceremonial purity (Eur. *Cretes frag.* 472 Nauck[2] *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 4. 19 cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1). The significance of these rites has already been discussed (*supra* i. 648 ff.).

An archaic *boustrophedón* inscription recording a convention between Gortyna and Rhizenia stipulates that the Rhizeniates shall send the victims to Mt Ide, every other year, to the value of 350 *statêres* (F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1897 i. 204 ff. no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 257 f. no. 4985, S. A. Xanthoudides in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908 p. 236 *θιοί. ἐπὶ τοῖδ(δ)ε Ῥι[ττέν]ι[οι Γ]ορ[τυνίοις αὐτ]όν[ο]μ[ο]ι καὶ[τ]όδικοι* (space) *[τ]ὰ θ[ί]ματα παρέκοντες ἐς Βίδαν [τρ][τ]οι [Fέ]ρει τριακατίοις στατέρανς καὶ πεν|τέκοντα*). We infer that the celebration on Mt Ide was trieteric (*supra* i. 662, 690 ff., 695 n. 8).

In Hellenistic times the appellative of Zeus was spelled Βιδάτας (=*Fιδάτας*, the god of Mt Ide. So first J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1863 xii. 217 Βιδάτας ('Ἰδήτης?), cp. S. A. Xanthoudides *loc. cit.* H. B. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273 wrongly assumed connexion with the Phrygian and Macedonian *βέδυ* (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 357, 11 ff. Stählin) and concluded that Βιδάτας meant *ὑέτιος, ὄμβριος*). A treaty of *c.* 150 B.C. between Lyttos and Olous makes the Lyttians swear by Zeus Βιδάτας (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 549*b*, 5 ff. = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147*b*, 5 ff. [*ὀμνύω τὰν Ἑστίαν κ*]*αὶ Τῆνα Βιδάταν καὶ Τῆνα* [--] | [--*καὶ Ἀπέλλω*]*να Πύτιον καὶ Λατῶν καὶ* [*Α*]*ρ*[*τεμιν* - -] | [- - *κ*]*αὶ τὰν Βριτόμαρτιν καὶ τὸς ἄ*[*λλος θιός* - -]. Another treaty, of *c.* 100 B.C., between Gortyna and Hierapytna on the one side and Priansos on the other, mentions a temple of Zeus Βιδάτας on the frontier of Priansos (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 22 f. [- - *ἐς τὸ ἱαρὸν τῶ? Τπη*][*νὸς*]*τῶ Βιδατάω κὴς τὰνς Ἀντρι*[- -]. Cp. *ib.* 60 and 77 (cited *supra* p. 723 n. 0)).

The oldest cult-cavern of Mt Ide seems to have been the grotto, known locally as *Maurospelaion*, high up on the two-peaked mountain of *Kamares*, the southernmost bastion of the Idaean *massif*. This was first visited in 1894 by A. Taramelli ('A visit to the Grotto of Camares on Mount Ida' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 437—451 with map, elevation, plan, and section (map and plan copied by L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 859 f.)). It was thoroughly explored in 1913 by a party from the British School at Athens (R. M. Dawkins and M. L. W. Laistner 'The Excavation of the Kamares Cave in Crete' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913 xix. 1—34 with figs. 1—8 and pls. 1 (view), 2 (plan), 3 (section), 4—12 (pottery)). The finds included a couple of neolithic sherds, a few pieces of 'Early Minoan' spouted vessels, many hand-some vases of 'Middle Minoan i and ii' date, a little 'Middle Minoan iii' ware, and a very little 'Late Minoan,' the series ending with two *Bügelkannen*. The grotto, which is free from snow for only a few months in the year, can hardly have been a dwelling and must rather be regarded as a sanctuary, presumably of the 'Minoan' mountain-goddess Rhea.

A. Taramelli in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 434 held that it was the cult-centre of Zeus Ἰδαῖος for the whole commune of Phaistos. But there is no real evidence to connect it with Zeus at all.

The Idaean Cave of classical times has been identified beyond all doubt with the great cavern 500 ft above the plateau of *Nida* (τὰν Ἴδαν), a fresh grassy level lying to the east of the mountain-top. The actual summit of Ide (*Psiloriti* for Ὑψηλωρείτης), which attains the height of 8060 ft, is occupied by a small Greek monastery of the Holy Cross (*Timios Stauros*). Mr T. Fyfe, who spent a night on the summit, tells me (Jan. 9, 1923) that of the monastery little now remains except the church. This has a western domed compartment (13 ft 6 ins in diameter) with a narrow door leading to an oblong nave (11 ft 6 ins long by 8 ft 3 ins broad) covered by an elliptical dome. Eastwards of this is the sanctuary, entered by a semicircular arch and containing an aumbry opposite to a shallow recess for a seat. At the extreme east end is a built-in altar-table. The whole is very roughly constructed of rubble stone-work and is probably not very ancient, though the circular

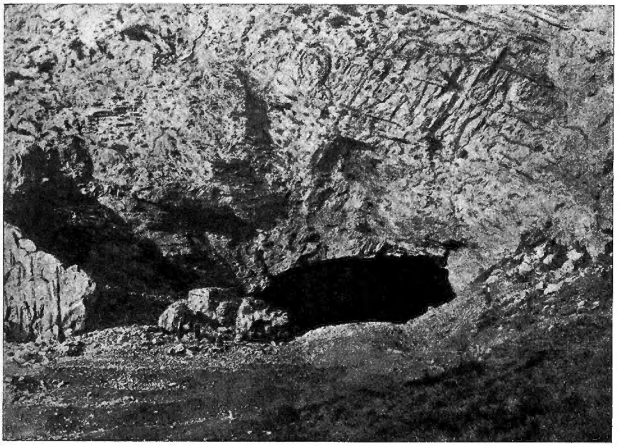


Fig. 832.

western portion is said to be older than the remainder. About 3060 ft below the summit, but still at an altitude of some 5000 ft, lies *Nida*. And the Cave in the western side of its mountain-wall is used as a shelter both by shepherds and by travellers making the ascent from *Anogeia* (T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 9, 19. For *Anogeia* see *supra* i. 163 n. 1). In the summer of 1884 a shepherd named G. Pasparaki, grubbing in the cavern with a stick, chanced to find fragments of terra-cotta lamps, a few pieces of gold foil, and sundry small bronzes. These finds, being talked about, led to a visit the same year from E. Fabricius ('Alterthümer auf Kreta. II Die Idäische Zeusgrotte' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 59—72 with plan and 9 figs., *id.* 'Zur Idäischen Zeusgrotte' *ib.* p. 280 f.) and to a systematic exploration in 1885 by F. Halbherr and G. Aeraki under the auspices of J. Hazzidakis and the Syllogos of Kandia (F. Halbherr 'Scavi e trovamenti nell' antro di Zeus sul monte Ida in Creta' in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1888 ii. 689—768 with numerous figs., pls. 11 (two photographs, of which the second = my fig. 832), 12 (*a* plan, *b*—*d* sections = my figs. 833—836), and an Atlas of 12 pls., P. Orsi

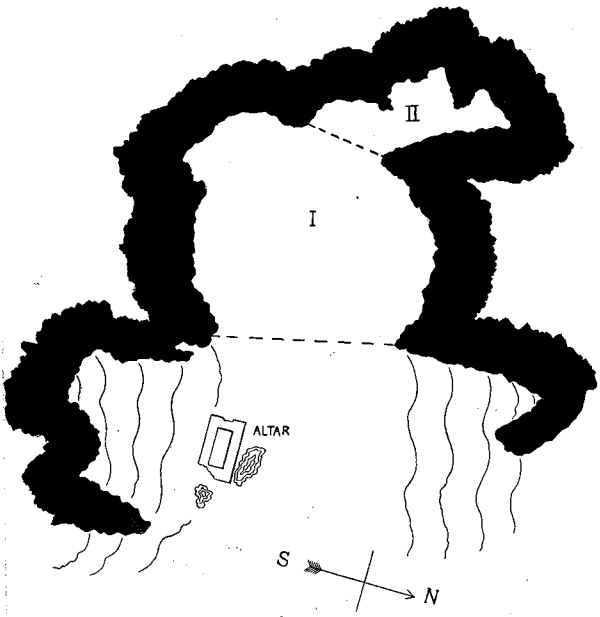


Fig. 833.

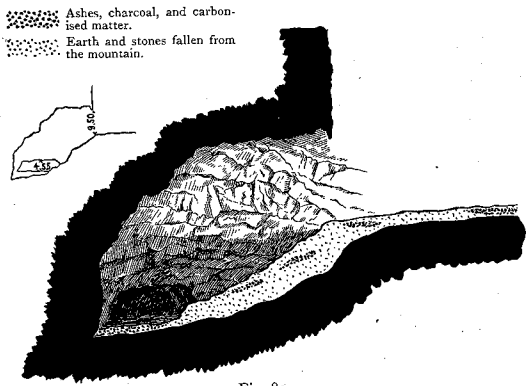


Fig. 834.

'Studi illustrativi sui bronzi arcaici trovati nell' antro di Zeus Ideo' *ib.* pp. 769—904 with a few figs., A. L. Frothingham 'Early Bronzes recently discovered on Mount Ida in Krete' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 431—449 with figs. 13—16 and pls. 16—20, H. Thiersch 'Altkretisches Kuretengerät' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii Arch. Anz. pp. 47—53 with fig. 1).

The Cave comprises three well-marked divisions: (*a*) the entry; (*b*) chamber I, the *sanctum*; (*c*) chamber II, the *sanctum sanctorum*.

(*a*) On the south side of the entry is a great fallen rock shaped into an altar, the top of which forms an oblong mass (4·80^{m} long, 1·95^{m} broad, 0·88^{m} high) with a wide step all round it (*c.* 1·45^{m} broad, *c.* 3^{m} high). Beside it are fragments split off from the parent block and forming deep crannies and cavities, in which many small votive offerings came to light. On the north side are limestone bases of bronze statues etc. formerly erected on

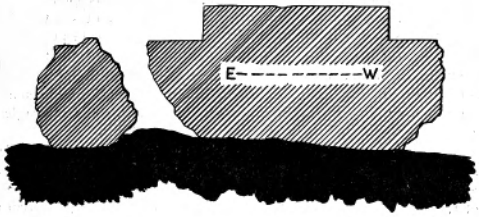


Fig. 835.

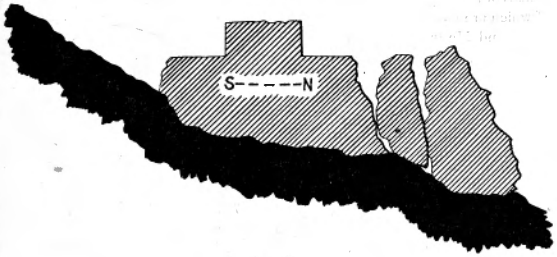


Fig. 836.

the stair-like rocky slope (cp. Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 3. 4 cited *supra*). Immediately in front of the Cave numerous objects in bronze, silver, and gold were unearthed.

(*b*) The *sanctum*, entered through a broad yawning aperture (9·50^{m} high), forms a wide hall (25^{m} to 31^{m} across) with rocky walls showing no trace of artificial niches. Snow-drifts have carried down into it a thick bed of earth and stones. This contains patches of black carbonised matter, and has yielded the bulk of the articles in plate-bronze.

(*c*) The *sanctum sanctorum* is a smaller chamber (22^{m} long, 8^{m} broad, over 4·50^{m} high), opening out of the *sanctum* but almost entirely dark. The floor is covered to a depth of several feet with a layer of ashes and charcoal, in which were found fragments of animal-bones half-burnt, several ox-skulls with horns attached, and many terra-cotta lamps.

Below the Cave, on the western edge of the *Nida*-plain, are the foundations of a Roman house once occupied by the custodians of the sanctuary.

The only 'Minoan' object known to have been found in the Cave is a lenticular gem of rock crystal representing a woman, who blows a conch-shell before a group of three sacred trees (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 47 fig. 22, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 221 fig. 167, *supra* i. 649 n. 3). This is interesting in view of the tradition that Aigokeros, the *connutricius...Iovis* (Arat. Lat. p. 237 Maass) in the Idaean Cave, was the discoverer of the conch (*supra*). I should conjecture that it was used to make mock-thunder in the rites of Zagreus, the re-born Zeus. It may also be pointed out that Aigokeros or Capricornus was derived from Mesopotamia, where he figures as the constellation *Suḫur-mâš*, the 'Fish-goat' (A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 117 figs. 94—96 and Index p. 362, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1463 f. figs. 24, 26—29). It is therefore tempting to suppose that Aigokeros came to Crete from the same quarter and along the same route as Zagreus (*supra* i. 651). Further, in Mesopotamian star-lore the constellation *Suḫur-mâš* is so intimately related to the constellation *Našru*, Aquila, that the 'Eagle' on occasion takes the place of the 'Fish-goat' (A. Jeremias *locc. citt.*); and the 'Eagle' is personified as the god Zamama (A. Jeremias *Handbuch* p. 129, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1492). It might be contended, without undue rashness, that we have here the ultimate reason for the Cretan association of Aigokeros with Zeus. But Jeremias goes far beyond this, when he suggests that Zamama and his 'Eagle' are actually the *Urbild* of Zeus and his eagle (*id. ib.*). *Panbabylonismus*!

Votive objects found in the Cave include the following: (1) Convex circular shields of thin bronze, with central boss representing lion's head, eagle or hawk, etc. in high relief and concentric zones of decoration (F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 695 ff. nos. 1—9 Atlas pls. 2—5, 9, 1, 10, 3 f.). (2) A *tympanon* of thin bronze with a *quasi*-Assyrian representation of Zeus and the Kouretes (*id. ib.* p. 709 f. no. 10 Atlas pl. 1 = *supra* i. 645 pl. xxxv). (3) Cymbals of thin bronze (*id. ib.* p. 712 ff. nos. 1—10 with figs.). (4) Bronze *phiálai*, eight of which are embellished with low reliefs in three distinct styles—Cypriote, Egypto-Phoenician, and Mesopotamian (*id. ib.* p. 718 ff. nos. 1—7 Atlas pls. 6, 7, 8, 9, 2 f., 10, 1 f., 12, 8, 10). (5) Bronze *oinochóai* (*id. ib.* p. 725 Atlas pl. 12, 9, 12 f.). (6) Bronze *lébetes* (*id. ib.* p. 725 ff. nos. 1—5 Atlas pl. 12, 4). (7) Very archaic groups of decorative figures in cast bronze, *e.g.* war-ship with rowers, chariots, warriors, man milking cow, hounds, etc. (*id. ib.* p. 727 ff. nos. 1—14 Atlas pl. 11). (8) Archaic bronze statuettes of nude male and female figures (*id. ib.* p. 732 ff. nos. 1—5 with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 1 f.). (9) Votive animals in bronze (*id. ib.* p. 736 f. nos. 1 sheep (?) with fig., 2 bull, 3 bulls' horns, 4 goats Atlas pl. 12, 3). (10) Ornamental figures in bronze, *e.g.* sphinxes, lion, horse, doves, snakes (*id. ib.* p. 745 ff. with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 18). (11) Handles of vases, rings and feet of tripods, etc. in bronze (*id. ib.* p. 737 ff. with figs. Atlas pl. 12, 11, 14—17, 19 f.). (12) Disks of thin gold decorated with dots or rays (*id. ib.* p. 749 ff. with figs.). A small plaque of thin gold stamped in relief with a procession of four warriors bearing circular shields, within an oblong framework of spirals (*id. ib.* p. 751 with fig.): this may be of sub-'Minoan' date. Another plaque of gold inscribed ΙΟΥΩΗ | ϽΑΙΙΗ | ..... | ⊀ΟϽϽΑ, apparently a 'Gnostic' charm ending with [φυλ]άσσου. A few pieces of jewellery, *e.g.* an oblong plate of gold to which three draped female figures, with *bucrania* between them, are soldered; from the plate hangs a snake biting its own tail (*id. ib.* p. 752). (13) A small bearded (?) head in amber (*id. ib.* p. 753 f. Atlas pl. 12, 6). (14) Sundry objects in ivory, *e.g.* a bull carved in the round (*id. ib.* p. 754 no. 1 Atlas pl. 12, 7) and a perfume-bottle (?) in the shape of a headless female body (*id. ib.* p. 753 f. no. 2 with figs.). (15) Two pieces of rock-crystal shaped like plano-convex lenses (*id. ib.* p. 756. On the vexed question of classical lenses see H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1884 iii. 298 ff.). (16) Two small oblong seal-stones of steatite (F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 757 f. with fig.). (17) Phoenician or pseudo-Egyptian majolicas (*id. ib.* p. 758 ff. with figs.). (18) Objects in terra cotta, *e.g.* the archaic figurine of a bull; the two heads of a god, with a *modius*, and a goddess, with a diadem, embracing; lamps with acanthus-leaf handles (*id. ib.* p. 759 ff. with fig.). (19) Arrow-heads and lance-heads of iron (*id. ib.* p. 764 with figs.).

Mount Juktas, as seen from the west, showing the profile of the 'Pursuer' (Διώκτας).

See page 939 n. 1.

Mount Juktas[1].

(20) A tablet of terra cotta bearing in rubricated characters of Roman date the crucial inscription Δὶ Ἰδαί[ῳ] | εὐχὴν | Ἀστὴρ [Ἀ]λεξάν|δρου (E. Fabricius in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 280 f., F. Halbherr *loc. cit.* p. 766).

Thus for more than a millennium—from 'Minoan' to Roman times—men paid their vows to Zeus Ἰδαῖος in the shadow of a great rock and turned again, well content, to the duties that awaited them in the sunlight five thousand feet below.

The cave on Mt Ide called *Arkesion* (*supra* p. 548 f.) has been identified tentatively with the *Kamares* grotto (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 861). But its traditional connexion with the Kouretes (*supra* p. 549 n. 1) points rather to identification with the better known Idaean Cave, where in fact the Curetic *týmpanon* was found (*supra*). The name Ἀρκέσιον has been interpreted (L. Bürchner *loc. cit.*) as the 'Bear's Hole' (from ἄρκος, a doublet of ἄρκτος: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 53, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 78 f.)—a view which might be supported by the existence of a cavern usually described as that of the Bear (*Arkhoudhes*) in the promontory of *Akrotiri*, east of Kydonia (Canea) (Miss D. M. A. Bate in A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 248). After all, bears had some claim to be regarded as the nurses of the infant Zeus (*supra* i. 112 n. 5).

Mr Trevor-Battye *op. cit.* p. 108 ff. describes and illustrates his ascent of the mountain. He says (p. 119 ff.): 'The actual summit of Ida is a blunted cone with rounded sides. Most of the summit was clear of snow, but on the southern and western sides lay some large melting drifts. The loose stones that pave this cone are laid down flat by the wind. The summit, 8,193 feet higb, is now called Stavros... On the tip-top of Ida is a "monastery": every church in Crete is called a monastery. This particular one is a tiny little building made very strong against the wind; it is built on the same principle as the mountain-shepherds' huts—of slabs of stone laid one upon the other. At one point only has any mortar been used, just at the springing of the chancel dome. There were tapers inside for the devotees to burn before the ikons... I gathered...that a priest comes once a year to hold a service in this church. The church is surrounded by a walled enclosure that also includes a well of excellent ice-cold water... Beyond the enclosure a circle bad been cleared of stones, and here, said Ianni, once a year the people danced. Spratt tells how, as he went up to Ida, he saw forty ibex, and that a group were actually browsing on the summit; but that was over fifty years ago. I scanned the rocks in every direction in vain.'

[1] Mt Juktas, an isolated ridge running from south to north towards Knossos and the sea, attains a height of 2720 ft. Its modern Greek name Γιούχτας or Γιούκτας derives from an earlier Διώκτας and means the 'Pursuer' (διώκτης). Such a name of course presupposes a myth, and very fortunately the myth is preserved for us by Kallimachos, who describes the 'pursuit' (διωκτύν) of Britomartis by Minos (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 189 ff., *supra* i. 527 n. 1: cp. Diod. 5. 76 διωκομένην ὑπὸ Μίνω). The poet tells how Britomartis, to escape the embraces of Minos, plunged from the top of Mt Dikte into the sea, but omits to state what became of her disappointed lover. In all probability he was transformed into the mountain still called the 'Pursuer.' For the outline of Juktas, as seen from the west, is suggestive of a human face. A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 184 with pl. (my pl. xliii is reproduced from a photograph very kindly given me by Mr C. R. Haines) remarks: 'Rocks and mountains often bear a likeness to human lineaments; every traveller can recall many such resemblances, but none that I have seen have the convincing dignity of the face on Iuktas. The bearded face and the drapery or pillow on which the head reposes occupy the whole of the mountain-top. Seen in the flatness of the mid-day light it is an interesting outline and no more, but at turn of the sun the sculpturing begins. The sun works in masses, as Michelangelo worked; it carves out the planes of the face as Donatello carved them, letting detail go. So the chiselling continues, a high light here, a deepening shadow there, till with closed eyes the head has sunk down upon its pillow just as the sun is low.' Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i.

156 with fig. 112 informs us 'that the long ridge of the mountain rising in successive peaks has given rise to a widespread belief in the island that it reproduces the profile of the native Zeus.' It would seem, then, that in the popular interpretation of this natural phenomenon Minos has been dispossessed by Zeus.

The same process of religious expropriation can perhaps be detected in another famous feature of Mt Juktas—the so-called tomb of Zeus. It may be that this celebrated monument really was, as the schol. Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 (*supra* i. 158 n. 2, cited *infra*) declares it to have been, *ab origine* the tomb of Minos (cp. Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 121 n. 3, *id. The Palace of Minos at Knossos* i. 154). The transition from king to god, always possible, becomes peculiarly probable in the case of one who was Διὸς μεγάλου ἀριστῆς (*Od.* 19. 179). A lawgiver who claimed to speak with the authority of Zeus might readily be regarded as Zeus incarnate (*supra* i. 662 with n. 1). The tomb has already engaged our attention at some length (*supra* i. 157—163). I shall therefore be content to collect here the ancient allusions to it—a task well, but not quite adequately, performed by J. Meursius *Creta, Cyprus, Rhodus* Amstelodami 1675 pp. 77—81—and to add a brief account of the excavations carried out on the site in 1909 by Sir A. J. Evans and Dr D. Mackenzie (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 154 ff. figs. 112—114).

Epimenides (?) *ap.* the *Gannat Busamé* (cited *supra* i. 157 n. 3) and *ap.* Isho'dad (cited *supra* i. 663 n. 2). Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f. Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο | Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί with schol. τάφον· ἐν Κρήτῃ ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ Μίνωος ἐπεγέγραπτο "Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος"· τῷ χρόνῳ δὲ τὸ τοῦ Μίνωος (A. Meineke cj. τὸ "Μίνωος τοῦ") ἀπηλείφθη (Meineke cj. ἀπηλίφη) ὥστε περιλειφθῆναι <"τοῦ (ins. O. Schneider) > Διὸς τάφος." ἐκ τούτου οὖν ἔχειν λέγουσι Κρῆτες τὸν τάφον τοῦ Διός. ἢ ὅτι Κορύβαντες λαβόντες αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ (so Meineke for τοῦ cod. E, τὸ vulg.) κρύψαι διὰ τὸν Κρόνον προσεποιήσαντο τάφον αὐτῷ. Enn. *sacr. hist. frag.* 526 Baehrens *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 Ennius in Sacra Historia descriptis omnibus quae in vita sua gessit ad ultimum sic ait: 'deinde Iuppiter postquam quinquies terras circuivit omnibusque amicis atque cognatis suis imperia divisit reliquitque hominibus leges mores frumentaque paravit multaque alia bona fecit, inmortali gloria memoriaque adfectus sempiterna monumenta sui reliquit. aetate pessum acta in Creta vitam commutavit et ad deos abiit eumque Curetes filii sui curaverunt decoraveruntque eum (W. von Hartel cj. < ut d > eum); et sepulchrum eius est in Creta in oppido Gnosso et dicitur Vesta hanc urbem creavisse; inque sepulchro eius est inscriptum antiquis litteris Graecis ΖΑΝ ΚΡΟΝΟΥ id est Latine Iuppiter Saturni.' hoc certe non poetae tradunt, sed antiquarum rerum scriptores. quae adeo vera sunt, ut ea Sibyllinis versibus confirmentur, qui sunt tales: δαίμονας ἀψύχους, νεκύων εἴδωλα καμόντων, | ὧν Κρήτη καύχημα τάφους ἡ δύσμορος ἕξει (= *oracl. Sibyll.* 8. 47 f. The passage continues, after a comma, θρησκεύουσα θρόνωσιν ἀναισθήτοις νεκύεσσιν). etc. Varr. *ap.* Solin. 11. 7 Varro in opere quod de litoralibus est etiam suis temporibus adfirmat sepulcrum Iovis ibi visitatum (C. Cichorius *Römische Studien* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 212 argues, from a comparison of Varr. *frag.* 364 Bücheler *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 775, 14 ff. Lindsay, that Varro had himself seen the tomb). Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 tertium (*sc.* Iovem) Cretensem, Saturni filium, cuius in illa insula sepulcrum ostenditur (quoted by Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11). Diod. 3. 61 γεγονέναι δὲ καὶ ἕτερον Δία, τὸν ἀδελφὸν μὲν Οὐρανοῦ, τῆς δὲ Κρήτης βασιλεύσαντα, τῇ δόξῃ πολὺ λειπόμενον τοῦ μεταγενεστέρου. τοῦτον μὲν οὖν βασιλεῦσαι τοῦ σύμπαντος κόσμου, τὸν δὲ προγενέστερον, δυναστεύοντα τῆς προειρημένης νήσου, δέκα παῖδας γεννῆσαι τοὺς ὀνομασθέντας Κούρητας· προσαγορεῦσαι δὲ καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἀπὸ τῆς γυναικὸς Ἰδαίαν, ἐν ᾗ καὶ τελευτήσαντα ταφῆναι, δεικνυμένου τοῦ τὴν ταφὴν δεξαμένου τόπου μέχρι τῶν καθ' ἡμᾶς χρόνων, *id.* 6. 5 Vogel (*infra*). *Anth. Pal.* 7. 275. 5 f. (Gaetulicus) τὸν ψεύσταν δέ με τύμβον ἐπὶ χθονὶ θέντο. τί θαῦμα; | Κρῆτες ὅπου ψεῦσται, καὶ Διός ἐστι τάφος (for the cenotaph of Astydamas, a Cydonian drowned between Cape Malea and Crete). Lucan. 8. 871 f. atque erit Aegyptus populis fortasse nepotum | tam mendax Magni tumulo quam Creta Tonantis. Mela 2. 112 Crete...multis famigerata fabulis...maxime tamen eo quod ibi sepulti Iovis paene clarum vestigium, sepulcrum cui nomen eius insculptum est adcolae ostendunt. Stat. *Theb.* 1. 278 f. (Iuno to Iupiter) placet Ida nocens

mentitaque manes ‖ Creta tuos. Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 44 τάφος τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸς καθ' ὑμᾶς δείκνυται, κἂν ψεύδεσθαί τις τοὺς Κρῆτας λέγῃ. Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 45 εἰ δ' ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ βροντῶν ἐστι, σὺ ἀμεινον ἂν εἰδείης ἐκεῖθέν ποθεν παρὰ τῶν θεῶν ἀφιγμένος, ἐπεὶ οἵ γε ἐκ Κρήτης ἥκοντες ἄλλα ἡμῖν διηγοῦνται, τάφον τινὰ ἐκεῖθι δείκνυσθαι καὶ στήλην ἐφεστάναι δηλοῦσαν ὡς οὐκέτι βροντήσειεν ἂν ὁ Ζεὺς πάλαι τεθνεώς, *de sacrif.* 10 οἱ δ' αὖ Κρῆτες οὐ γενέσθαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ τραφῆναι μόνον τὸν Δία λέγουσιν, ἀλλὰ καὶ τάφον αὐτοῦ δεικνύουσι· καὶ ἡμεῖς ἄρα τοσοῦτον ἠπατήμεθα χρόνον οἰόμενοι τὸν Δία βροντᾶν τε καὶ ὕειν καὶ τἆλλα πάντα ἐπιτελεῖν, ὁ δὲ ἐλελήθει πάλαι τεθνεὼς παρὰ Κρησὶ τεθαμμένος, *philopatr.* 10 ἀλλ' ἔτι ἀνεμνήσθην τὰ τῶν Κρητῶν, οἳ τάφον ἐπεδείκνυντό μοι τοῦ Διός σου καὶ τὰ τὴν μητέρα θρέψαντα λόχμια (so M. Solanus and F. Guyet for δόχμια), ὡς ἀειθαλεῖς αἱ λόχμαι αὗται διαμένουσι, *philopseud.* 3 τὸ δὲ καὶ πόλεις ἤδη καὶ ἔθνη πολλὰ κοινῇ καὶ δημοσίᾳ ψεύδεσθαι πῶς οὐ γελοῖον; εἰ Κρῆτες μὲν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον δεικνύοντες οὐκ αἰσχύνονται, κ.τ.λ., *Timon* 6 ἤδη ποτὲ οὖν, ὦ Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας υἱέ, τὸν βαθὺν τοῦτον ὕπνον ἀποσεισάμενος καὶ νήδυμον—ὑπὲρ τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην γὰρ κεκοίμησαι—καὶ ἀναρπίσας τὸν κεραυνὸν ἢ ἐκ τῆς Οἴτης ἐνανσάμενος μεγάλην ποιήσας τὴν φλόγα ἐπιδεῖξαί τινα χολὴν ἀνδρώδους καὶ νεανικοῦ Διός, εἰ μὴ ἀληθῆ ἐστι τὰ ὑπὸ Κρητῶν περὶ σοῦ καὶ τῆς ἐκεῖ ταφῆς μυθολογούμενα. Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 30 p. 40 f. Schwartz (after quoting Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.) πιστεύων, Καλλίμαχε, ταῖς γοναῖς τοῦ Διὸς ἀπιστεῖς αὐτοῦ τῷ τάφῳ καὶ νομίζων ἐπισκιάσειν τἀληθὲς καὶ τοῖς ἀγνοοῦσι κηρύσσεις τὸν τεθνηκότα κἂν μὲν τὸ ἄντρον βλέπῃς, τὸν Ῥέας ὑπομιμνήσκῃ τόκον, ἂν δὲ τὴν σορὸν ἴδῃς, ἐπισκοτεῖς τῷ τεθνηκότι, οὐκ εἰδὼς ὅτι μόνος ἀΐδιος ὁ ἀγένητος θεός. Theophil. *ad Autol.* 1. 10 πεύσομαι δέ σου κἀγώ, ὦ ἄνθρωπε, πόσοι Ζῆνες εὑρίσκονται· Ζεὺς μὲν γὰρ ἐν πρώτοις προαγορεύεται Ὀλύμπιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Λατεάριος (*leg.* Λατιάριος), καὶ Ζεὺς Κάσιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Κεραύνιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Προπάτωρ, καὶ Ζεὺς Πανύχιος, καὶ Ζεὺς Πολιοῦχος, καὶ Ζεὺς Καπετώλιος· καὶ ὁ μὲν Ζεὺς παῖς Κρόνου, βασιλεὺς Κρητῶν γενόμενος, ἔχει τάφον ἐν Κρήτῃ· οἱ δὲ λοιποὶ ἴσως οὐδὲ ταφῆς κατηξιώθησαν, *ib.* 2. 3 πρὸς τί δὲ καὶ καταλέλοιπεν ὁ Ζεὺς τὴν Ἴδην; πότερον τελευτήσας, ἢ οὐκ ἔτι ἤρεσεν αὐτῷ ἐκεῖνο τὸ ὄρος; ποῦ δὲ καὶ ἐπορεύθη; εἰς οὐρανούς; οὐχί. ἀλλὰ ἐρεῖς εἰς Κρήτην; ναί, ὅπου καὶ τάφος αὐτῷ ἕως τοῦ δεῦρο δείκνυται. Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 4 p. 28, 6 ff. Stählin ζήτει σου τὸν Δία· μὴ τὸν οὐρανόν, ἀλλὰ τὴν γῆν πολυπραγμόνει. ὁ Κρὴς σοι διηγήσεται, παρ' ᾧ καὶ τέθαπται· Καλλίμαχος ἐν ὕμνοις (*h. Zeus* 8 f.) "καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῖο ‖ Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο." τέθνηκε γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς (μὴ δυσφόρει) ὡς Λήδα (J. Markland cj. ὦ Λήδα), ὡς κύκνος, ὡς ἀετός, ὡς ἄνθρωπος ἐρωτικός, ὡς δράκων. Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 4 p. 74 Kayser (Antiochos, a sophist of Aigai in Kilikia, *s.* ii A.D.) ἄριστα δὲ καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν Κρητῶν ἀπολελόγηται, τῶν κρινομένων ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς σήματι, φυσιολογίᾳ τε καὶ θεολογίᾳ πάσῃ ἐναγωνισάμενος λαμπρῶς. Orig. *c. Cels.* 3. 43 μετὰ ταῦτα λέγει (*sc.* ὁ Κέλσος) περὶ ἡμῶν ὅτι καταγελῶμεν τῶν προσκυνούντων τὸν Δία, ἐπεὶ τάφος αὐτοῦ ἐν Κρήτῃ δείκνυται, καὶ οὐδὲν ἧττον σέβομεν τὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, οὐκ εἰδότες, πῶς καὶ καθὸ Κρῆτες τὸ τοιοῦτον ποιοῦσιν. ὅρα οὖν ὅτι ἐν τούτοις ἀπολογεῖται μὲν περὶ Κρητῶν καὶ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ, αἰνιττόμενος τροπικὰς ὑπονοίας, καθ' ἃς πεπλάσθαι λέγεται ὁ περὶ τοῦ Διὸς μῦθος· ἡμῶν δὲ κατηγορεῖ, ὁμολογούντων μὲν τετάφθαι τὸν ἡμέτερον Ἰησοῦν φασκόντων δὲ καὶ ἐγηγέρθαι αὐτὸν ἀπὸ τοῦ τάφου, ὅπερ Κρῆτες οὐκέτι περὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἱστοροῦσιν. ἐπεὶ δὲ δοκεῖ συναγορεύειν τῷ ἐκ Κρήτης τάφῳ τοῦ Διὸς λέγων· ὅπως μὲν καὶ καθότι Κρῆτες τοῦτο ποιοῦσιν, οὐκ εἰδότες, φήσομεν ὅτι καὶ ὁ Κυρηναῖος Καλλίμαχος, πλεῖστα ὅσα ἀναγουὸς ποιήματα καὶ ἱστορίαν σχεδὸν πᾶσαν ἀναλεξάμενος Ἑλληνικήν, οὐδεμίαν οἶδε τροπολογίαν ἐν τοῖς περὶ Διὸς καὶ τοῦ τάφου αὐτοῦ. κ.τ.λ. (a quotation and discussion of Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f., 10, 6 ff.). Min. Fel. *Oct.* 21. 8 eius (*sc.* Saturni) filius Iuppiter Cretae excluso parente regnavit, illic obiit, illic filios habuit: adhuc (C. A. Heumann cj. illic adhuc) antrum Iovis visitur et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ipsis sacris suis humanitatis arguitur. Cypr. *de idol. van.* 2 (iv. 567 A Migne) antrum Iovis in Creta visitur (uisitur cod. L. uisitor cod. C^1. uisitator cod. C^2. uidetur cod. P. dicitur cod. M. mittitur cod. B.), et sepulcrum eius ostenditur, et ab eo Saturnum fugatum manifestum est. Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17 (cited *supra* i. 646 n. 3). Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 aiunt igitur theologi vestri et vetustatis absconditae conditores, tris (*v.l.* tres) in rerum natura Ioves esse, ex quibus uuus Aethere sit patre progenitus, alter Caelo, tertius vero Saturno apud insulam Cretam et sepulturae traditus et procreatus, *ib.* 4. 25 apud insulam Cretam sepulturae esse mandatum Iovem nobis editum traditur? Firm. Mat. 7. 6 et a vanis Cretensibus adhuc mortui Iovis tumulus adoratur.

Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 180 antiqui reges nomina sibi plerumque vindicabant deorum...hinc est quod apud Cretam esse dicitur Iovis sepulcrum. Epiphan. *adv. haer.* 1. 3. 42 (ii. 376 Dindorf) καὶ πάλιν φήσαντος (Titus 1. 12) "εἶπέ τις ἴδιος αὐτῶν προφήτης, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται, κακὰ θηρία, γαστέρες ἀργαί," ἵνα τὸν Ἐπιμενίδην δείξῃ, ἀρχαῖον ὄντα φιλόσοφον, καὶ Μίθρα (*leg.* μάρτυρα) τοῦ παρὰ Κρησὶν εἰδώλου (*v.l.* εἰδωλίου)· ἀφ' οὗπερ καὶ Καλλίμαχος ὁ Λίβυς τὴν μαρτυρίαν εἰς ἑαυτὸν συνανέτευνε, ψευδῶς περὶ Διὸς λέγων, Κρῆτες ἀεὶ ψεῦσται· κ.τ.λ. (Kallim. *h. Zeus* 8 f.). Hieron. *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1 (xxvi. 573 A—C Migne) sunt qui putent hunc versum de Callimacho Cyrenensi poeta sumptum, et aliqua ex parte non errant. siquidem et ipse in laudibus Iovis adversus Cretenses scriptitans, qui sepulcrum eius se ostendere gloriantur, ait : 'Cretenses semper mendaces ; qui et sepulcrum eius sacrilega mente fabricati sunt.' verum, ut supra diximus, integer versus de Epimenide poeta ab apostolo sumptus est ; et eius Callimachus in suo poemate est usus exordio. sive vulgare proverbium, quo Cretenses fallaces appellabantur, sine furto alieni operis in metrum retulit. putant quidam apostolum reprehendendum quod imprudenter lapsus sit et (*alii* ut), dum falsos doctores arguit, illum versiculum comprobarit, quod propterea Cretenses dicuntur (*alii* dicunt) esse fallaces quod Iovis sepulcrum inane construxerint. si enim, inquiunt, Epimenides sive Callimachus propterea Cretenses fallaces et malas bestias arguunt et ventres pigros quod divina non sentiant et Iovem qui regnet in cœlo in sua insula fingant sepultum, et hoc quod illi dixerunt esse verum apostoli sententia comprobatur, sequitur Iovem non mortuum esse sed vivum. Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 23 ipsius denique parricidae, qui et patruos peremit et uxores eorum vitiavit, sororibus stuprum intulit, multiformis magi sepulcrum evidens est apud Cretenses, qui tamen scientes et confitentes infanda eius atque incesta opera et omnibus enarrantes ipsi eum confiteri deum non erubescunt. Caesarius (youngest brother of Gregorios Nazianzenos) *dial.* 2. respons. ad interrogat. 112 (xxxviii. 992 Migne) οἱ δὲ τούτοις πειθόμενοι οὐ θεῷ ἀλλὰ σποδῷ προσκυνοῦσι Διὸς (so Cotelerius for διὰ) τοῦ πατραλοίου καὶ τῶν οἰκείων τέκνων τοὺς γάμους φθείραντος καὶ ἐν τάφῳ παρὰ Κρησὶ (so Cotelerius for κρίσει) φθαρέντος, ὅπερ οὐκ ἔστι θεοῦ. Chrysost. *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 3. 1 (lxii. 676 f. Migne) καὶ γὰρ ὅτε τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις διελέγετο, μεταξὺ τῆς δημηγορίας φησίν, "Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ"· καὶ πάλιν, "τοῦ γὰρ καὶ γένος ἐσμέν, ὡς καί τινες τῶν καθ' ὑμᾶς ποιητῶν εἰρήκασιν." Ἐπιμενίδης οὖν ἐστιν ὁ εἰρηκώς, Κρὴς καὶ αὐτὸς ὤν· ἀλλὰ πόθεν κινούμενος, ἀναγκαῖον εἰπεῖν τὴν ὑπόθεσιν πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἔχει δὲ οὕτως· οἱ Κρῆτες τάφον ἔχουσι τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιγραφέντα τοῦτο· "ἐνταῦθα Ζὰν κεῖται, ὃν (*leg.* τὸν) Δία κικλήσκουσι." διὰ ταύτην οὖν τὴν ἐπιγραφὴν ὁ ποιητὴς ψεύστας τοὺς Κρῆτας κωμῳδῶν, προῶν πάλιν ἐπάγει, αὖξων μᾶλλον τὴν κωμῳδίαν· "καὶ γὰρ τάφον, ὦ ἄνα, σεῦο | Κρῆτες ἐτεκτήναντο· σὺ δ' οὐ θάνες, ἐσσὶ γὰρ αἰεί." κ.τ.λ. Paulin. Nol. 19. 84 ff. (lxi. 515 Migne) Marcus, Alexandrea, tibi datus, ut bove pulso | cum Iove nec pecudes Aegyptus in Apide demens, | in Iove nec civem coleret male Creta sepultum. Kyrill. Al. *c. Julian.* 10. 342 (lxxvi. 1028 B Migne) γέγραφε δὲ πάλιν περὶ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ Πυθαγόρου) Πορφύριος (*v. Pyth.* 17)· "εἰς δὲ τὸ Ἰδαῖον καλούμενον ἄντρον καταβάς, ἔρια ἔχων μέλανα, τὰς νενομισμένας τριττὰς ἐννέα ἡμέρας ἐκεῖ διέτριψε καὶ καθήγισε τῷ Διΐ, τόν τε στορνύμενον αὐτῷ κατ' ἔτος θρόνον ἐθέσατο, ἐπίγραμμά τε (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 746 cited *supra* p. 345 n. 1) ἐνεχάραξεν ἐν τάφῳ, ἐπιγράψας ΠΥΘΑΓΟΡΑΣ ΤΩι ΔΙΙ, οὗ ἡ ἀρχή,—ὧδε μέγας κεῖται ΖΑΝ, ὃν ΔΙΑ κικλήσκουσιν." κ.τ.λ. Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 114 ff. ἀλλ' ὅτε Δικταίης Κορυβαντίδος ὑψόθι πέτρης | γείτονος Ἀμνισοῖο λεχώιον ἔδρακεν (*sc.* Ἥρη) ὕδωρ, | ἔνθα οἱ ἀλλοπρόσαλλος ὀρεστιὰς ἤντετο δαίμων (*sc.* Ἀπάτη)· | καὶ γὰρ ἀεὶ παρέμιμνε Διὸς ψευδήμονι τύμβῳ | τερπομένη Κρήτεσσιν, ἐπεὶ πέλον ἠπεροπῆες. Theodoret. *interp. ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1. 12 f. (lxxxii. 861 B Migne) οὐ γὰρ Ἰουδαίων προφήτης Καλλίμαχος ἦν (αὐτοῦ γὰρ ἡ τοῦ ἔπους ἀρχή), ἀλλ' Ἑλλήνων ἦν ποιητής. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ποιητὴς διὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τάφον τοὺς Κρῆτας ὠνόμασε ψεύστας. ὁ δὲ θεῖος ἀπόστολος ἀληθῆ τὴν μαρτυρίαν ἐκάλεσεν, οὐ τὴν ποιητικὴν βεβαιῶν μυθολογίαν, ἀλλὰ τῶν Κρητῶν διελέγχων τὸ τῆς γνώμης ἀβέβαιον· ἀντὶ τοῦ, καλῶς ὑμᾶς προσηγόρευσε ψεύστας· τοιοῦτοι γὰρ καθεστήκατε. εἰκὸς δὲ καὶ ἑτέρωθι τὸν καλούμενον Δία τεθνάναι καὶ τούτους μάτην οἰκοδομῆσαι τὸν τάφον. Sedulius Scotus *in ep. Paul. ad Tit.* 1 (ciii. 244 C Migne) *Cretenses semper mendaces.* hoc Epimenides sive Callimachus Cyrenensis de laudibus Iovis contra Cretenses dixit, qui dicebant apud eos sepultum quem raptum putabant in cœlum. Schol. Bern. Lucan. 8. 872 (cited *supra* p. 342). Souid. *s.v.* Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς παραδοὺς τὴν τῆς δύσεως ἀρχὴν τῷ ἰδίῳ υἱῷ Ἑρμῇ τελευτᾷ, ζήσας

κ' καὶ ἑκατὸν ἔτη· καὶ τελευτὼν ἐκέλευσεν ἀποτεθῆναι τὸ ἑαυτοῦ σῶμα ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ τῇ νήσῳ <ἐν μνήματι>, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται· ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς. μέμνηνται τοῦ τάφου τούτου πλεῖστοι ἐν τοῖς ἰδίοις συγγράμμασι. Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 D—16 A (i. 28 f. Bekker) ὁ δὲ Κρόνος ἐξωσθεὶς τῆς βασιλείας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰδίου υἱοῦ Διός, κατελθὼν ἐν τῇ δύσει κρατεῖ τῆς Ἰταλίας. εἶτα ὁ Ζεὺς ὑποχωρήσας τῶν Ἀσσυρίων παραγίνεται πρὸς τὸν πατέρα· ὁ δὲ παραχωρεῖ αὐτῷ βασιλεύειν τῆς Ἰταλίας. καὶ πολλοῖς ἔτεσι βασιλεύσας εἶτα τελευτήσας κατατίθεται ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ...μετὰ δὲ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς τελευτὴν Φαῦνος ὁ υἱὸς αὐτοῦ ἐβασίλευσεν, ὃς μετωνομάσθη Ἑρμῆς. An attempt to trace the antecedents of the version common to Souidas and Kedrenos will be found *supra* p. 693 n. 4. The sources that mention the burial in Crete are Cramer *anecd. Paris.* ii. 236, 15 ff. (=Diod. 6. 5 Vogel) μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκέλευσε τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ· καὶ κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ· ὅπερ μνῆμά ἐστι μέχρι τῆς σήμερον, ᾧ καὶ ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθάδε κατάκειται Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι,' περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος, *ib.* ii. 257, 33 ff. (cited *supra* p. 695), Io. Antioch. *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 542 Müller) (cited *supra* p. 695) and *frag.* 6. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 542 Müller) μέλλων δὲ τελευτᾶν ἐκέλευσε τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ τεθῆναι· καὶ κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ ἐν μνήματι· ὅπερ μνῆμα ἔστιν ἕως τοῦ παρόντος ἐν Κρήτῃ. ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἔνθα κεῖται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσι,' the *Chronicon Paschale* 44 B—C (i. 80 Dindorf) ἐν ᾧ χρόνῳ Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεὺς ἐτελεύτα, ἐκέλευσεν τὸ λείψανον αὐτοῦ ταφὲν τεθῆναι ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ· καὶ κτίσαντες αὐτῷ ναὸν οἱ αὐτοῦ παῖδες ἔθηκαν αὐτὸν ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ νήσῳ ἐν μνήματι· ὅπερ μνῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Κρήτῃ κείμενον ἕως τοῦ παρόντος, ἐν ᾧ ἐπιγέγραπται, 'ἐνθάδε κεῖται θανὼν Πῆκος ὁ καὶ Ζεύς, ὃν καὶ Δία καλοῦσιν'· περὶ οὗ συνεγράψατο Διόδωρος ὁ σοφώτατος χρονογράφος, ὃς καὶ ἐν τῇ ἑκθέσει τοῦ συγγράμματος αὐτοῦ τοῦ περὶ θεῶν εἶπεν ὅτι Ζεὺς ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου υἱὸς ἐν τῇ Κρήτῃ κεῖται (Diod. 3. 61 *supra*). Psell. ἀναγωγὴ εἰς τὸν Τάνταλον (*supra* i. 158 n. 4) p. 348 Boissonade τοιαύτη μὲν καὶ ἡ δευτέρα δόξα περὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῖς Ἕλλησιν· ἡ δὲ τρίτη ἱστορικωτέρα, καὶ ἴσως ἀληθεστέρα. αὐτόν τε γὰρ καὶ τὸν τούτου πατέρα τὸν Κρόνον οἱ μῦθοι ὁμόθεν ἀπὸ Κρήτης γεννῶσι, καὶ τὸν μὲν οὐκ ἴσασιν ὅπου γῆς κατορώρυκται, τοῦ δὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ τάφῳ δεικνύουσι κολωνόν· εἶτα, τὴν θνητὴν ὑπεραναβάντες φύσιν, ἀγχισπόρους ποιοῦσι τῆς οὐσίας τῆς κρείττονος, καὶ πρὸς τὸ τῆς θειότητος εἶδος μεταβιβάζουσι. τούτῳ δὴ τῷ λόγῳ καὶ Ἑρμῆς προστίθεται ὁ Τρισμέγιστος. τἄλλα γὰρ παραθεωρῶν τοὺς μύθους, τοῦτον δὴ μόνον γυμνὸν ἐξεδέξατο, καὶ πρὸς τὴν ἐκείνου μίμησιν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ παῖδα διερεθίζει τὸν Τάτ (so J. F. Boissonade for τα cod. A. Τάνταλον cod. B).

For references to the tomb of Zeus in writers of the Renaissance and of modern times see *supra* i. 158 ff. A fifteenth-century map of Crete in the British Museum (MS. Add. 15, 760, *f.* 11), published by F. W. Hasluck in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 214 f. pl. 1, not only marks the *Sepulcru(m) Iouis* but adds a view of it, though—to judge from the representation of the neighbouring *Laberintus* as a circular maze-like structure—this is in the nature of a fancy-sketch.

A. Taramelli in 1899 published a rough plan of Mt. Juktas (*supra* i. 159 fig. 130), and drew special attention to the precinct-wall of 'Cyclopean' masonry, which crowns its northern summit at a height of *c.* 2300 ft above the sea (*supra* i. 160 fig. 132, 161 fig. 133). Within the wall he duly noted the scattered traces of a building, together with much broken pottery including pieces of 'Minoan' *pithoi* (*supra* i. 161 n. 1).

Sir A. J. Evans in 1909 determined the approximate date of the precinct-wall by finding in its inner interstices sherds of 'Middle Minoan i *a*' ware. 'Middle Minoan i' sherds were also abundant over the rocky surface enclosed by the wall. The cult here carried on passed through two well-marked phases, of 'Middle Minoan' and 'Late Minoan' date respectively.

During the earlier phase offerings were made in the open air at a great altar of ashes. This is represented by two *strata*—a layer of grey ashes yielding ceramic remains of the periods 'Middle Minoan i and ii,' and above it a layer of reddish burnt earth yielding sherds of 'Middle Minoan iii' date. Throughout both *strata* were votive relics in terra cotta—among the ashes, male and female figures, oxen, goats, human limbs (an arm perforated for suspension, two legs joined together), parts of animals (numerous clay ox-horns),

'prayer-pellets' like those of Petsofà (J. L. Myres in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 382); in the burnt earth, larger goats and oxen, the raised arms of a worshipper, clay locks of human hair, flat shell-like coils, and a limestone ladle with traces of an inscription in linear characters (class A). A similar ladle likewise inscribed was found in a deposit of the same date on *Troullos*, a foot-hill of Mt Juktas (S. A. Xanthoudides in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1909 p. 179 ff. figs. 1—4).

The later phase of the cult ('Late Minoan') witnessed the foundation of a rectangular building with walls of ashlar blocks and outer terrace-walls of rougher construction. The building was approached by an ascent (A—A) and comprised an entrance-chamber (B 1), a magazine (?) (B 2), and an inner room (C). In the floor of B 1 a large hollow has been dug by treasure-hunters. On the walls of B 2 fragments of a plaster-facing are still to be seen. And in C are remains of a paving in white-faced cement. The whole building 'seems to have reproduced the arrangement of a small house of the early Cretan and Aegean "but and ben" type, about 16 × 10 metres in its exterior dimensions' (Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 158 with fig. 114 = my fig. 837).

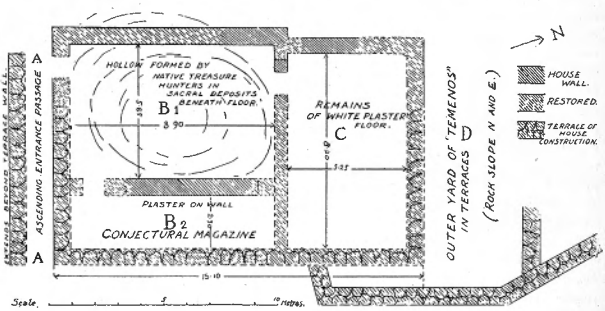


Fig. 837.

Outside the building, to the north, lay a *témenos* of roughly triangular shape supported by terrace-walls.

Here knowledge ends and conjecture begins. Sir Arthur Evans (*op. cit.* p. 158 ff.) surmises that the building described above 'was a little house of shelter and refection for the Goddess on her mountain top, a "Casa Santa,"' etc., and that the *témenos* was 'the hypaethral part of the Sanctuary, well adapted for the exposure of a pillar form of the divinity.' Further, he thinks that a gold signet from Knossos (*supra* p. 48 fig. 19), referable to the period 'Late Minoan ii,' represents 'the Minoan Mother Goddess...bringing down the warrior youth, whether her paramour or actual son, in front of his sacred pillar'—a scene which 'may be even taken to foreshadow the "Tomb of Zeus,"' for 'A later age seems to have regarded these baetylic pillars as actual tombs of divinities.'

Personally I should rather suppose that, just as Kinyras and his descendants were buried in the sanctuary of Aphrodite at Paphos (Ptolemaios of Megalopolis *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 66 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 45. 4 p. 35, 1 ff. Stählin and *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6), just as Erichthonios was buried in the precinct of Athena at Athens (Apollod. 3. 14. 7, *alib.*), just as Hippolytos was buried beside the temple of Aphrodite *Kataskopia* at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 3 f., cp. L. R. Farnell *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* Oxford 1921 p. 66)—and the list could be lengthened (see Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 44. 4 ff. p. 34, 7 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6)—, so Minos the priestly king of Knossos lay buried within the circuit-wall of the mountain-goddess. I should conjecture that during his lifetime he had played the part of Zeus (*supra* i. 662 n. 1, cp. 527 n. 1),

Mount Alysis (?)[1].
Mount Arbios[2].

or rather of Zan the older form of Zeus (*supra* p. 340 ff.), and that after his death he continued to be venerated as Zan or Zeus incarnate. Hence the persistent tradition that the tomb was inscribed ZAN KPONOY (Enn. *loc. cit.*), TAN KPONOY (schol. Bern. Lucan. *loc. cit.*), or ὧδε *μέγας κεῖται* ΖΑΝ *ὃν* ΔΙΑ *κικλήσκουσι* (*supra* p. 345). Hence too the ingenious guess of a late grammarian that the inscription originally ran *Μίνωος τοῦ Διὸς τάφος* (schol. Kallim. *loc. cit.*).

Paganism in due course was superseded by, or at least overlaid with, Christianity. The southern and higher summit of Mt Juktas is topped by a church of *Αὐθέντης Χριστός*, 'Christ the Lord,' to which there is an annual pilgrimage on August 6, the feast of the *Μεταμόρφωσις* or 'Transfiguration.' The church contains a chapel of the Panagia (Sir A. J. Evans *op. cit.* i. 154 with n. 7, *supra* i. 162 n. 1).

[1] Schol. Arat. *phaen.* 33 *Δίκτῳ· Δίκτον* (*Δίκτον* om. cod. M.) *ἀκρωτήριον τῆς Κρήτης πλησίον τῆς Ἴδης τοῦ Κρητικοῦ ὄρους, ἔνθα ἐστὶν Ἄλυσίου Διὸς τέμενος παρὰ τὸ παρακείμενον ἐκεῖ ὄρος Ἄλυσις* (so ed. Ald. *περὶ τὸ περικείμενον ἅλσος*, with *ἡ ἄλυσος* above *ἅλσος* cod. A. *περὶ τὸ περικείμενον ἅλσος* cod. M.). E. Maass cj. *ἔνθα ἐστὶν Ἀλσείου Διὸς τέμενος.* < *ἐκλήθη δὲ οὗτος* > *παρὰ τὸ περικείμενον ἅλσος.* Ἀλύσιος as a hyperdorism for Ἠλύσιος is improbable.

[2] Zeus Ἄρβιος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄρβις· *...ἔστι καὶ ἐν Κρήτῃ Ἄρβιος ὄρος, ἔνθα τιμᾶται Ἄρβιος Ζεύς*). C. Müller in his commentary on Ptol. 3. 15. 3 *Ἴνατος πόλις...Ἱερὸν ὄρος...Ἱεράπυτνα* and on Anon. *stadiasm. Mar. Magn.* 320 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 506 Müller) identifies *Ἱερὸν ὄρος* with the mountain of Zeus Ἄρβιος—a view accepted by L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real.-Enc.* viii. 1530 ('Zeus Orbios'!), *ib.* xi. 1814.

R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge—London 1837 i. 285 and T. A. B. Spratt *Travels and Researches in Crete* London 1865 i. 295 give illustrations of the cleft at Arvi. Pashley *op. cit.* p. 275 f. would locate the cult of Zeus Ἄρβιος at a point near the shore, where—as he was assured by the villagers of Haghio Vasili—ancient walls, since chiefly used in building the church, were formerly to be seen. Spratt *op. cit.* i. 294 concurred in this opinion. A. Trevor-Battye *Camping in Crete* London 1913 p. 147 f. was even more successful; for he found the memory of Zeus yet living in the locality. He spent an uncomfortable night in a general store at the village of Kalami, where he wanted to skin birds, press plants, and write. The natives, however, dropped in to talk. 'And I am not likely'—he says—'to forget the story of the Hammer of Zeus, for a hammer used to illustrate the story frequently fell very near my head as I skinned a bird on an inverted packing-case. They said that between us and the sea was a gorge in which, in its ultimate and very narrow ravine, one heard the hammer of Zeus. They told me that when the mountain wind was well astir, blow after blow fell upon this chasm with the sound and shock of a titanic hammer. The noise of these repeated blows they said was awe-inspiring. Now the only gorge of this character near there appears to be that which lies below Peuko and runs thence to the sea.... Spratt says of this ravine, that the rock is "singularly rent from summit to base by a yawning fissure, nearly 1000 feet high*." [**Travels and Researches*, I 293.] He connects this rent with volcanic action evidenced in the rocks of the neighbouring valley (Myrtos), and proceeds: "In this remarkable feature, we probably see the reason for the erection of a temple to the God of Thunder at this locality, under the name of Jupiter Arbius. To whom but the God of Thunder could a temple be so appropriately dedicated when associated with such an apparent fracture from some great volcanic movement," etc. I venture to believe that could this distinguished seaman and geologist have listened to the men in the store that night, he would have accepted their story as a much more promising explanation of the temple of Zeus the Thunderer.'

Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 630 f., *à propos* of 'Minoan' libation-tables, says: 'a good specimen of a mottled steatite table of similar shape, though apparently uninscribed, was obtained by me in 1894 from the Knoll of Tartari in the striking cleft of Arvi on the South Coast[2] [[2]Near Viano. The libation table is now in the Ashmolean Museum.], where in later times was a sanctuary of the indigenous

God under the name of Zeus Arbios.' *Id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 285 f. fig. 16 publishes a green steatite pendant, inscribed with two linear characters, which he got from an early cist-grave at Arvi. There was clearly a 'Minoan' settlement on the site.

The name Ἄρβιος is of doubtful significance. One is tempted to compare it with the Latin *arbor*, since the district abounds in trees. Peuko 'was once a fine pine forest,' and the hollow leading to Kalami 'is filled with ilex, myrtle, pine, oaks and poplars. Lower down near the village grow figs, pomegranates, mulberry, and other more or less cultivated trees' (A. Trevor-Battye *op. cit.* p. 145 f.). Besides, Zeus is known to have been a tree-god in Crete; for he bore the title Ἐπιρρύτιος (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπιρρύτιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Κρήτῃ), which means either metaphorically 'set over the Growing Plants' (H. Voretzsch in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 273, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 130 n. 3, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1109 n. 2, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 198) or literally 'on the Tree' (as I rendered it in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 n. 1, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Ἔνδενδρος· παρὰ Ῥοδίοις Ζεύς· καὶ Διόνυσος ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ), being derived from ἐπί + *ῥρυς for ἔρρυς = ἔρρος (P. Kretschmer in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1890 xxx. 584 'von ἔρυτες.' Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 161 wrongly prefers the spelling ἐπερρύτιος).

In this connexion we should note that silver *statêres* of Phaistos struck *c.* 360—300 B.C. have *obv.* ƎOИAXAƎ] A youthful, beardless god seated to the left amid the branches of a leafless tree; his right hand caresses a cock perched on his knee; his left hand rests on an animal's skin, which passes beneath him and falls over the upper part of his right leg: *rev.* IT3IAΦ or ΦAIƐTION (ΦAIƐ) A bull standing to the left, or plunging to the right, sometimes with a gad-fly on its back, sometimes surrounded with a bay-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 63 pl. 15, 10 and 12, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 28 pl. 14, 37, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 473 fig. 253, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 193 no. 4, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 259 f. pl. 23, 24—26

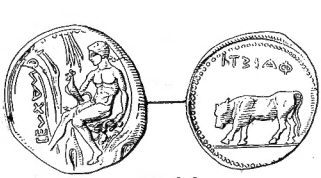


Fig. 838.

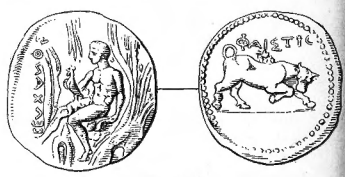


Fig. 839.

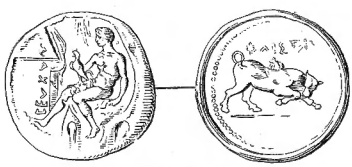


Fig. 840.

Fig. 841.

(≐my figs. 839, 841, 838), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 987 ff. pl. 256, 1—3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 197 Münztaf. 3, 3, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 f. pl. 9, 17, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 412 f. fig. 8. My fig. 840 is from a specimen in the McClean collection). Since the tree on these coins of Phaistos is clearly copied from the tree on the Europe-coins of Gortyna (*supra* i. 527 ff. fig. 391 ff.), J. N. Svoronos in the *Rev. Belge de Num.* 1894 pp. 127, 137 infers that it is an oak; but I adhere to my contention (*supra* i. 527 n. 1) that it is the crown of a pollard willow. Comparison with other Phaestian coins (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* i. 260 f. pl. 24, 1 f., 6 f., Babelon

Monn. gr. rom. ii. 3. 989 ff. pl. 256, 4—8) makes it fairly certain that beneath the god is spread a lion (?)-skin, the head of which is touched by his left hand. That we have here to do with a youthful Zeus appears from Hesych. *s.v.* Γελχάνος (for *Γελχάνος*)· *ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κρησίν* (so J. V. Perger for *κρισίω* cod. Musurus cj. *'Ακρισίῳ*). We must, I think, conclude that, as at Gortyna Zeus took Europe to wife on a willow-tree (*supra* i. 526 ff.), so in the neighbouring town of Phaistos he had the same or a similar willow-bride.

And here I cannot avoid adding a word on the meaning of the appellative *Γελχάνος*, which has been often discussed and always misunderstood. Leaving out of account impossible conjectures (for which see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 969 f.), we have before us two more or less improbable alternatives. (1) Some scholars assume the existence of a Cretan word *Γέλκος*, a 'cock,' evidenced by the Phaestian coin-type of *Γελχάνος* holding a cock and by the occurrence of Γέλκος (? *Γέλκος* misread) as the name of a cock on a late Corinthian vase (Roulez *Vases de Leide* p. 39 n. 4 pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 271, *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413). But the vase-inscription is now read as *'γεκκος?'* (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden.* Afdeeling Griekenland en Italie. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 62). And to bring in the Hesychian glosses *ἡικανός· ὁ ἀλεκτρυών* (A. J. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1910 xxi. 76) and *σέρκος· ἀλεκτρυών. καὶ ἀλεκτορίδες σέλκες* with Σελχροί· *Πέρσαι* (T. Panofka in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1840* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 348) is only to darken counsel. (2) Others assume that *Γελχάνος* is related to *Volcanus*—an assumption made first by G. Secchi 'Giove ΓΕΛΧΑΝΟΣ e l'oracolo suo nell' antro Ideo' in the *Dissertazioni della Pontifica Accademia Romana di Archeologia* Roma 1842 x. 331 ff., later by A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1879 iii. 166 f. ('Vielmehr ist *Γελχανος* von *γέλκ* glänzen abzuleiten, das in der Form *γλεκ* auch in dem Gottesnamen *Ἠλέκτωρ Ὑπερίων* der Sonnengott bei Homer wie in den mythischen Namen *Ἠλέκτρα* und *Ἠλεκτρύων* erscheint. Gleichen Stammes ist auch *ἄβλαξ* (=*ἀ-γλαξ*)· *λαμπρῶς. Κύπριοι* bei Hesych, welches für Digamma beweist.' He defends *χ* for *κ* as a Cretan peculiarity, cp. H. Helbig *De dialecto Cretica* Plaviae 1873 p. 13), *id. Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*[4] Göttingen 1890 i. 133 ('*Γελχάνος*=Vulcānus'), and last by Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 853 f. ('Doch sind die angeführten Stützen für ein **μελγ-* karg und etwas unsicher, dagegen der Anklang von *Γελχάνος* (mit seinem auffälligen *χ*) und *Volcanus* so weitgehend, dass beide wohl als identisch und als Lehnworte aus dem Orient zu betrachten sind'). The equation, however, does not satisfactorily explain the *χ* of *Γελχάνος*.

Mr B. F. C. Atkinson and I, after a joint consideration of all the *data*, have rejected both these alternatives and reached the conclusion (Feb. 9, 1923) that *Γελχάνος* means simply 'god of the Willow-tree,' being in fact akin to the English word *willow* (Middle English *wilow, wilwe*, Anglo-Saxon *welig*, Dutch *wilg*, Low German *wilge*). My contention that Zeus at Phaistos, as at Gortyna, was the consort of a willow-goddess is thus strikingly confirmed. Instead of his usual eagle he has a cock, because that bird as the crest of the Phaestian Idomeneus had a long-standing mythical connexion with the town. Pausanias in describing certain statues by Onatas, which the Achaeans dedicated to Zeus at Olympia, says: 'The one with the scutcheon of the cock on the shield is Idomeneus, the descendant of Minos. They say that Idomeneus was descended from the Sun, who was the sire of Pasiphae, and that the cock is sacred to the Sun and heralds his rising' (Paus. 5. 25. 9 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer). See further G. H. Chase 'The Shield Devices of the Greeks' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 74, 101 f. (nos. lxxvii and lxxviii=eleven vases with cock as shield-sign, one with cock and rosette) and E. Baethgen *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* Gottingae 1887 p. 11 f. ('Sol—Apollo').

The cult of Zeus *Γελχάνος* has left traces of itself in other places beside Phaistos: (1) *Hagia Triada* (F. Halbherr in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1905 xiv. 381 notes the discovery at *Hagia Triada* of numerous tiles incised with the name of the god *Γευχάνος*, a dialect form of *Γελχάνος*). (2) Gortyna (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 42 f. no. 20, 1=F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 248 no. 4963,

The Tallaia range[1].

Bosporos Kimmerios

Gorgippia[2].

Tanais[3].

Moesia

Naissos[4].

Pirot[5].

1 a very archaic inscription in retrograde lettering from the Pythion (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πύθιον)—[*ἰα*]ρὰ | τετελημέ[να] . . . . . *νι* | *τῶι* [*F*]ελχανί[ωι] – – *αι* | *ἐν τᾶι πένπτα*[*ι*] – – | *κ.τ.λ.*). (3) Knossos (F. Dürrbach—A. Jardé in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905 xxix. 204 ff. no. 67, 1 ff. a decree of Lato and Olous *ἐπὶ τῶν Αἰθαλέων κοσμιόντων* Κνωσοὶ *μὲν τῶν* | *σὺν Κύδαντι* [*τ*]*ῶ*(*ι*) *Κύδαντος μηνὸς* Ἐλχανίω, Λατοῖ *δὲ ἐπὶ τῶν* | *σὺν Διοκλεῖ τῶ*(*ι*) Ἡρώδα *μηνὸς Βακινθίω*, *ἐν δὲ* Ὀλόντι *τῶν σὺν* Τη|λεμάχω(*ι*) *τῶ*(*ι*) Γνώμιος *μηνὸ*[*ς*] Ἀ . . . *νίω*, *κ.τ.λ.*, where the month Ἐλχάνιος probably corresponded with our May—June). (4) Lyttos (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 61 ff. no. 6, 1 ff. – – –|[*τ*]*ῆ*ς *δόσεως τοῖς σταρτοῖς* (=*στρατοῖς*, the classes of the Lyttian population) *κατὰ* | *τὰ πάτρια καὶ Θεοδαισίοις καὶ* | Βελχανίοις· *κ.τ.λ.* From the sequel it seems likely that the festival Βελχάνια took place on the kalends of May). (5) Golgoi in Cypros (O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 82 f. no. 160, 4 *va la ka ni o*=*Fαλκάνιο* nom., cp. *ib.* pp. 133, 193. B. Keil in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1895 p. 361 n. 1 transcribes *Fαλχανίω*).

At Magnesia on the Maiandros, a colony from Crete (*supra* i. 483 n. 8), this youthful god was identified with Apollon (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 438, 1 ff., 25 ff.= O. Kern *Die Inschriften von Magnesia am Maeander* Berlin 1900 p. 16 f. no. 20, 1 ff. an inscription dating from the end of *s.* iii B.C., which purports to be a decree of the ancient Cretan confederation in honour of Leukippos the founder of Magnesia π*α*[*ρ*]*ὰ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῶν Κρητῶν·* | [*ἔ*]*δοξεν* Κ[*ρ*]*ηταιέων τῶι κοινῶι συνε*λ|[*θ*]*ουσᾶν* [*τ*]*ᾶμ πολίων πασᾶν ἐς* Βίλκω|*να* (an unknown place in Crete) *ἐς τὸ ἰε*[*ρ*]*ὸν τῶ Ἀπέλλωνος τῶ* Βιλ|*κωνίω*, *ἀγουμένων* Γορτυνίων *ἐπὶ* | *κόσμω*(*ι*) Κύδαντος *τῶ* Κυνίω· *κ.τ.λ.*, *ib.* 25 ff. *τὸ δὲ ψάφισμα τόδε εἰστάλαν λιθίναν* | *ἀναγράψαντας ἀναθέμεν εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῶ* | Ἀ[πε*λ*]*λωνος τῶ* Βιλκωνίω, *κ.τ.λ.* See further O. Kern *Die Gründungsgeschichte von Magnesia am Maiandros* Berlin 1894 p. 14 ff. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 472, W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 54 n. 2).

1 The Tallaia range, midway between Oaxos and the sea, reaches a maximum height of 1092^{m}. Here Hermes was worshipped (*supra* i. 730 n. 1) in the wonderful stalactite cavern of *Melidhoni* described and drawn by R. Pashley *Travels in Crete* Cambridge—London 1837 i. 126 ff. with pl. Zeus too bore the title Ταλαιός (Hesych. *s.v.* Ταλαιός cited *supra* i. 729 n. 1) or Ταλλαῖος at Dreros (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*^{2} no. 463 (*ib.*^{3} no. 527), 14 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 2) and at Olous (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*^{2} no. 514 (*ib.*^{3} no. 712), 14 cited *supra* i. 729 n. 3, J. Demargne in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 227 no. 1 *C* 57 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 4. Add F. Dürrbach—A. Jardé in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1905 xxix. 204 ff. no. 67, 18 f. a decree of Lato and Olous *ἐ*[*ν δὲ*]| [Ὀλόν*τ*]ι *ἐν τῶι ἰαρῶ*(*ι*) *τῶ Διηνὸς τῶ* [Ταλλ]*αίω*). He was thus, like the Laconian Zeus Ταλεῖτας (*supra* i. 730, ii. 890 n. 2), related to the Cretan sun-god Talos (*supra* i. 728 ff.).

2 Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 883 n. 0 no. (27)).

3 Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 884 n. 0 no. (27)).

4 At Naissos (*Niš*) in Moesia Superior was found a limestone altar inscribed I. O. M. Pa|terno Ae|pilofio | Sanc(tinius?) Oriens, | Cor(nelia) Mide, P. | Ael(ius) Cocaius | vet(eranus) leg(ionis) VII Cl(audiae) Sev(erianae) | ex voto posu(erunt) | Maximo et Aeli|ano co(n)s(ulibus)=223 A.D. A. v. Premerstein and N. Vulić, who publish the inscription in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii Beiblatt p. 130 f. no. 30, take Iupiter *Paternus Aepilofius* to be the Latin rendering of a local Dardanian or Thracian Zeus Πατρῷος Ἐπιλόφιος ('on the Crest': cp. *supra* p. 873 f.).

5 Θεὸς Ἐπήκοος Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (11)).

Between *Selenigrad* and *Miloslavci*[1].

Thrace
Anchialos[2].
Perinthos[3].
Selymbria[4].

Troas
Mount Ide[5].

[1] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (11)).
[2] Zeus Ὕψιστος Ἐπόπτης (?) (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).
[3] Zeus Λοφείτης (*supra* p. 874 n. 1).
[4] Θεὸς Ἅγιος Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 878 n. o no. (10)).
[5] Mt Ide, a long range with numerous foot-hills (Strab. 583 σκολοπενδρώδης) and springs (πολυπίδαξ eight times in the *Il.*, cp. Plat. *legg.* 682 B), derived its name (*supra* p. 932 n. 1) from abundant woods of pine (schol. *Il.* 12. 20), pitch-pine (Plin. *nat. hist.* 14. 128), terebinth (*id. ib.* 13. 54), larch (*id. ib.* 16. 48), ash (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 11. 4, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 62), bay (*id. ib.* 15. 131, Dioskor. 4. 145 (147) p. 624 f. Sprengel), fig (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 68), and raspberry (*id. ib.* 16. 180). Its inhabitants were familiar with silver fir, oak, plum, filbert, maple, ash, Phoenician cedar, prickly cedar, alder, beech, and sorb (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 6. 5). Here grew the magic herb *aithiopis* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 27. 12, Dioskor. 4. 103 (105) p. 597 Sprengel) and flowers galore (*Il.* 14. 347 ff.). So well-wooded was the mountain that Homer even speaks of a silver fir on its summit reaching through *aêr* to *aithêr* (*Il.* 14. 286 ff.). A conflagration of the forests on Ide in 1460 B.C. was remembered as an epoch-making event, which led to the discovery of iron by the Idaean Daktyloi (Thrasyllos of Mendes *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 503 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 21 p. 85, 2 ff. Stählin. Cp. the *Phoronis frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129). Here too the herdsman Magnes discovered the loadstone, to which his hobnails and ferule stuck fast (Nikandros *frag.* 101 Schneider *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 127).

Diod. 17. 7 (after Kleitarchos (?): see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 683 f.) gives an interesting account of Mt Ide: 'There is a tradition that this mountain got its name from Ide daughter of Melisseus. It is the greatest of the ranges near the Hellespont and has in the midst of it a sacred cavern in which, they affirm, the goddesses were judged by Alexandros [Cp. bronze coins of Skepsis, struck by Caracalla, which show the judgment of Eros in place of Paris on Mt ΙΔΗ (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1883 x. 155 f. fig., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 291 f. pl. 9, 20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 549)]. It is said that the Idaean Daktyloi too were born here, the first workers of iron, who learnt their craft from the Mother of the Gods. A peculiar phenomenon attaches to this mountain. When the dog-star rises, on the topmost summit so still is the surrounding air that the peak soars higher than the breath of the winds, and the sun is seen coming up before night is over. Its rays are not rounded into a regular disk, but its flame is dispersed in diverse directions so that several fires appear to touch the earth's horizon. A little later and these gather into a single whole, which grows until it becomes 300 ft in diameter. Then, as day increases, the normal size of the sun is completed and produces daylight as usual.' Cp. Lucr. 5. 663 ff., Mela 1. 94 f. The Cretan Ide too (? by confusion with this mountain) was said to see the sun before the sunrise (*supra* p. 932 n. 1).

Coppers of Skamandria struck in *s.* iv B.C. have *obv.* head of Ide wreathed with fir, *rev.* ΣΚΑ (variously arranged) fir-tree or fir-cone (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 79 pl. 14, 12—14, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 548). One specimen names the head ΙΔΗ (Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 139 no. 1 pl. 4, 15 and in his *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 42 no. 2 pl. 2, 2).

One of Mt Ide's summits was known as Γάργαρον or Γάργαρα—probably a Lelegian name, for the Leleges are said to have occupied the district Γαργαρίς (Strab. 610) and the

mountain-town Γάργαρος (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάργαρα, *et. mag.* p. 221, 26 f. L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 757 f. cp. *Gargissa* some 33 kilometers to the north-east of it). Mt Ide in general was an important centre for the cult of Kybele (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1653, W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 2859, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 864 f., Schwenn *ib.* xi. 2287), who as Μήτηρ Ἰδαία (first in Eur. *Or.* 1453), *Mater Idaea*, was worshipped far and wide throughout the Roman empire (H. Graillot *Le culte de Cybèle Mère des dieux à Rome et dans l'empire romain* Paris 1912 Index p. 582 *s.v.* 'Ida (mont)'). But Gargaron in particular was connected rather with the myth and ritual of Zeus. It was on the height of Gargaron that Here found Zeus the cloud-gatherer (*Il.* 14. 292 f., cp. 352) and enticed him into the famous dalliance (*supra* i. 154). It was there that Apollon and Iris saw him sitting in the midst of a fragrant cloud (*Il.* 15. 152 f.). There in Homeric days Zeus had a precinct and altar (*Il.* 8. 47 ff. Ἴδην δ' ἵκανεν πολυπίδακα, μητέρα θηρῶν, | Γάργαρον· ἔνθα δέ οἱ τέμενος βωμός τε θυήεις. | ἔνθ' ἵππους ἔστησε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | λύσας ἐξ ὀχέων, κατὰ δ' ἠέρα πουλὺν ἔχευεν. | αὐτὸς δ' ἐν κορυφῇσι καθέζετο κύδεϊ γαίων, | εἰσορόων Τρώων τε πόλιν καὶ νῆας Ἀχαιῶν), on which as on the top of Troy Hektor used to burn for him the thigh-pieces of oxen (*Il.* 22. 169 ff. ἐμὸν δ' ὀλοφύρεται ἦτορ | Ἕκτορος, ὅς μοι πολλὰ βοῶν ἐπὶ μηρί' ἔκηεν | Ἴδης ἐν κορυφῇσι πολυπτύχου, ἄλλοτε δ' αὖτε | ἐν πόλει ἀκροτάτῃ). For the altar was served by those who claimed to be akin to Zeus and to have his blood running in their veins (Aisch. *Niobe frag.* 162 Nauck² *ap.* Plat. *remp.* 391 E, cp. Strab. 580, Loukian. *Dem. enc.* 13, οἱ θεῶν ἀγχίσποροι | οἱ Ζηνὸς ἐγγύς, ὧν κατ' Ἰδαῖον πάγον | Διὸς πατρῴου βωμός ἐστ' ἐν αἰθέρι, | κοὔπω σφιν ἐξίτηλον αἷμα δαιμόνων). Gargaros, eponym of the town, was the son of Zeus (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάργαρα·... ὠνομάσθη δ' ἀπὸ Γαργάρου τοῦ Διός, τοῦ ἐκ τῆς Λαρίσσης ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ=*et. mag.* p. 221, 31 f. ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ Γαργάρου τοῦ Διός, ὡς δηλοῖ Νυμφίος (*leg.* Νύμφις) ὁ φιλόσοφος (Nymphis *frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 14 Müller)). οὕτως Ἐπαφρόδιτος ἐν ὑπομνήματι θ' Ἰλιάδος, παρατιθέμενος Κλείταρχον Αἰγινήτην λεξικογράφον). And Onetor, priest of Zeus 'Ἰδαῖος, was 'honoured as a god' by the Trojans (*Il.* 16. 604 f. Ὀνήτορος, ὅς Διὸς ἱρεὺς | Ἰδαίου ἐτέτυκτο, θεὸς δ' ὡς τίετο δήμῳ). Epicharmos in his *Troes* made one of his characters pray to the Zeus of Gargara (Epicharm. *frag.* 130 Kaibel *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 20. 5 Ζεὺς ἄναξ, ἀν' ἄκρα (ανααδαν cod. G. Kaibel cj. ἀν' ἄκρα. F. G. Schneidewin cj. ἀν' Ἴδαν) ναίων Γαργάρων (so A. Meineke for γαργαρα cod.) ἀγάννιφα). Quintus Smyrnaeus did the same in the case of Priam (Quint. Smyrn. 1. 184 f. εὔχετ' ἐς ἱερὸν αἰπὺ τετραμμένος Ἰδαῖοιο | Ζηνός, ὃς Ἴλιον αἰὲν ἐοῖς ἐπιδέρκεται ὄσσοις); for which he had good Homeric authority, since Hekabe bade Priam, when he set out for the hut of Achilles, pour a libation and offer a prayer to Zeus 'Ἰδαῖος (*Il.* 24. 287 τῇ, σπεῖσον Διὶ πατρί, καὶ εὔχεο οἶκαδ' ἰκέσθαι κ.τ.λ., 290 f. ἀλλ' εὔχεο σύ γ' ἔπειτα κελαινεφέϊ Κρονίωνι | Ἰδαίῳ, ὃς τε Τροίην κατὰ πᾶσαν ὁρᾶται, κ.τ.λ.), and Priam took her advice (*Il.* 24. 306 ff. εὔχετ' ἔπειτα στὰς μέσῳ ἕρκεϊ, λεῖβε δὲ οἶνον | οὐρανὸν εἰσανιδών, καὶ φωνήσας ἔπος ηὔδα· | 'Ζεῦ πάτερ, Ἰδηθεν μεδέων, κύδιστε μέγιστε, | δός μ' ἐς Ἀχιλλῆος φίλον ἐλθεῖν ἠδ' ἐλεεινόν, | πέμψον δ' οἰωνόν, ταχὺν ἄγγελον,' κ.τ.λ.). Virgil and the pseudo-Plutarch associate the cult of Zeus 'Ἰδαῖος with that of the Phrygian mother-goddess (Verg. *Aen.* 7. 139 f. Idaeumque Iovem Phrygiamque ex ordine Matrem | invocat (*sc.* Aeneas), Plout. *de fluv.* 13. 3 παράκειται δ' αὐτῷ (*sc.* τῷ Σκαμάνδρῳ) ὄρος Ἴδη, τὸ πρότερον δὲ ἑκαλεῖτο Γάργαρον· ὅπου Διὸς καὶ Μητρὸς Θεῶν βωμοὶ τυγχάνουσιν). Lastly, writers of the Graeco-Roman age treat Gargaron as an appropriate background for the myth of Ganymedes (Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 2, *Charid.* 7) or that of Paris (Ov. *her.* 16. 107 f., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 20. 1).

Imperial bronze coins of Ilion, struck by Faustina Iunior (H. von Fritze in W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 ii. 490 f., 517 pl. 63, 65) and Iulia Domna (fig. 842 from a specimen in my collection), have as reverse type Zeus sitting, with a long sceptre in his right hand and the cult-image of Athena Ἰλιάς in his left, accompanied by the honorific *formula* ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΛΙΕΙϹ. W. Kubitschek 'Heroenstatuen in Ilion' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 187 suggests that the coin is one of a series struck by Commodus and his successors to commemorate certain statues of gods and heroes, from which at least three inscribed bases are extant. Accordingly G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 186 n. 3 would complete the *formula* by supplying

some such word as *ἀνέστησαν*. See further G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 170.

Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* was worshipped at Skepsis also. Bronze coins of the town, struck by Commodus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 84 no. 30) and Caracalla (*ib.* p. 84 pl. 16, 1 = my fig. 843), show ZEVC ЄIΔAIO(C) CKHΨIΩN clad in a *himátion*, standing with an eagle in his right hand and a long sceptre in his left. An inscription from Skepsis (*Kurshunlu Tepe*) records a priest of Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* (J. A. R. Munro in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 236 on a square marble base [*ἡ γ*]*ερουσία* | [*τὸν*] *ἱερέα τοῦ Δι*[*ὸς τ*]*οῦ Ἰδαίου καὶ* | [*τῶν Σεβαστῶν Γ*[*ν*]][*αῖ*]*ον Φλάβιον Ὀλυ*[*μ*]][*πι*]*οδώρου υἱὸν* | [*Ὀλ*]*υμ-*

Fig. 842.

Fig. 843.

πιόδωρον, | [*τὸ*]*ν ἐκ προγόνω*[*ν*] | [*τῆ*]*ς πατρίδος εὐ*[*εργέ*]*τ*(*η*)*ν καὶ ἐαυ*[*τῆς σ*]*υ*(*μ*)*ποσιάρχην*). Demetrios of Skepsis, who *c.* 150 B.C. compiled an encyclopaedic commentary on *Il.* 2. 814—877, mentions the Trojan claim to possession of the cave where Zeus was born (schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 134 *ἄντρῳ ἐν Ἰδαίῳ· ἢ τῷ τῆς Κρήτης, ἢ τῷ τῆς Τροίας. ἀντιποιοῦνται γὰρ καὶ Τρῶες τῆς τοῦ Διὸς γενέσεως, καθά φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Σκήψιος*): cp. *supra* i. 154 n. 2. Other coin-types of Skepsis referable to the same cult are a standing eagle (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 45 no. 4), an eagle with open wings in an oak-wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 83 pl. 15, 13, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 628 no. 230 pl. 8, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 549), an eagle standing beside a leafy tree (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 46 no. 5 pl. 2, 6).

A noteworthy bust of Zeus in white marble, formerly in the Stroganoff collection, represents the god upborne on the spread wings of an eagle. He is draped in a *himátion* and wears a wreath of pine. Restored: nose, tip of pine-wreath, right foot of eagle. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 p. 200 ff. Atlas pl. 7, 2 (= my fig. 844) regards this as an effigy of Zeus *Ἰδαῖος* dating from *s.* i or ii A.D. The association of a Zeus-head with Attis (*supra* p. 297 fig. 189) prepares us to see in the pine-wreath a reminiscence of the tree that figures so largely in the religion of Attis and Kybele (Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 142—147, 263 fig. 11, J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 117 f., H. Graillot *op. cit.* p. 121 ff. and Index p. 597 *s.vv.* 'Pin,' 'Pin (pomme de)'). And this connexion certainly seems more probable than any reference to the pine-wreath of the Isthmian victor.

Attempts have been made in modern times to locate the cult-centre of Zeus *Ἰδαῖος*. J. Thacher Clarke 'Gargara, Lamponia and Pionia: towns of the Troad' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1888 iv. 291—319 notes (*a*) *et. mag.* p. 221, 26 ff. *Γάργαρος· πόλις τῆς Ἴδης ἐν ὑψηλῷ τόπῳ κειμένη, ἣν κατῴκουν Λέλεγες· ἐξ ἧς διὰ τὸ κρυῶδες ὑποκατέβησαν οἱ Γαργαρεῖς, καὶ ᾤκισαν αὐτὴν ὑπὸ πεδίον* (*an leg. αὖ τὴν ὑποπόδιον*? A.B.C.) *Γάργαρον. ἐκείνη δὲ ἐρημωθεῖσα καλεῖται Παλαιὰ Γάργαρος· κ.τ.λ.*: (*b*) Strab. 606 *μετὰ γὰρ τὸ Λεκτὸν τὸ Πολυμήδιόν ἐστι χωρίον τι ἐν τετταράκοντα σταδίοις, εἶτ' ἐν ὀγδοήκοντα Ἄσσος* (so C. Mannert for *ἅλσος* codd.), *μικρὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς θαλάττης, εἶτ' ἐν ἑκατὸν καὶ τετταράκοντα Γάργαρα· κεῖται δὲ τὰ Γάργαρα ἐπ' ἄκρας ποιούσης τὸν ἰδίως Ἀδραμυττηνὸν καλούμενον κόλπον*. Assuming Strabon's distances to be cumulative, not consecutive, he infers that Palaia Gargaros is the ruined town with walls of polygonal masonry still to be seen on the top of *Kozlu Dagh* 10 kilometers east-north-east from Assos, that Gargaros on the plain below is the large field of later ruins at the foot of the slope on which lies the Turkish town of *Saely*, and that the cape mentioned by Strabon is *Katerga Burnu* near Assos.

W. Judeich 'Gargara und der Altar des idäischen Zeus' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1901 iv. 111—125 figs. 160—163 replies that Strabon's distances are regularly consecutive, not cumulative. Hence Gargaros must be placed further east in the vicinity of *Tschibne*, and Palaia Gargaros should be identified with a ruined stronghold on *Odjak Kaya*, the most westerly summit of the *Dikeli Dagh*, which rises immediately behind *Tschibne* to a height of 780m. Palaia Gargaros (wrongly equated by Clarke with Lamponeia) was visited by E. Fabricius, who reports that it has terrace-walls of 'Cyclopean'

Fig. 844.

masonry well adapted for the erection of houses and an elliptical *akrópolis* enclosed by a ring-wall (now *c.* 1m high, *c.* 3m thick) some 500m round. On the west side of this wall is a gateway (2·35m wide) with a square tower. Within, the *akrópolis* is divided by another wall into two unequal parts. In the southern and smaller part, on the highest point of the mountain, are the foundations of a big building, probably a temple. The fragments visible are all of pre-Hellenistic date. When Palaia Gargaros was abandoned, the inhabitants of the new town found it difficult to keep up the cult on the mountain-top and chose a new site for their worship on the southern point of the neighbouring hill *Adatepe* (*c.* 260m).

Mysia
Kyzikos[1].
Mount Olympos[2].
Pergamon[3].

Here Judeich discovered a rock-cut altar (*loc. cit.* p. 111 ff. figs. 160 view and 161 plan (=my fig. 845)) measuring *c.* $13^m \times 15^m$ and approached by three flights of steps on the

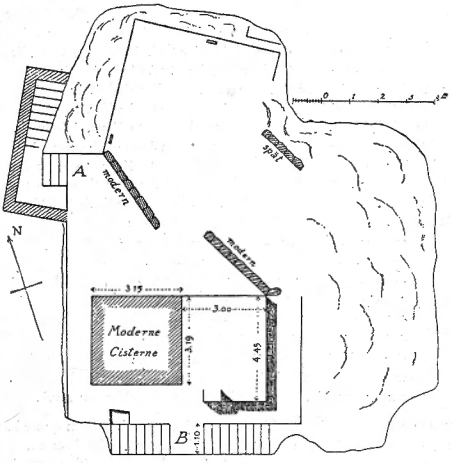


Fig. 845.

west and south sides. A modern cistern constructed on the spot is believed to work cures with its water and probably preserves the sanctity of the ancient altar.

[1] Zeus Ὕψιστος and Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 881 n. o no. (21)).

[2] Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (Mnaseas *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 154 Müller) *ap.* schol. T. *Il.* 20. 234 Μνασέας μέν φησιν ὑπὸ Ταντάλου ἠρπάσθαι (sc. Γανυμήδην) καὶ ἐν κυνηγεσίῳ πεσόντα ταφῆναι ἐν τῷ Μυσίῳ Ὀλύμπῳ κατὰ τὸ ἱερὸν τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου Διός). *Supra* i. 116 n. 8, 124.

[3] The district of Pergamon was of old sacred to the Kabeiroi (Paus. 1. 4. 6 ἣν δὲ νέμονται οἱ Περγαμηνοί, Καβείρων ἱερὰν φασιν εἶναι τὸ ἀρχαῖον), who as the most ancient deities of the land were worshipped with mystic rites and invoked in stormy weather (Aristeid. *or.* 55 (ii. 709 Dindorf) τοῦτό μοι (Grauert cj. μὲν) πρεσβύτατοι δαιμόνων ἐνταῦθα λέγονται γενέσθαι Κάβειροι, καὶ τελεταὶ τούτοις καὶ μυστήρια, ἃ τοσαύτην ἰσχὺν ἔχειν πεπίστευται ὥστε χειμώνων τε ἐξαισίων (with which word the fragmentary oration ends)). Their cult, attested by the name of a *hrȳtanis* Κάβειρος (M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* Berlin 1895 ii. 177 ff. no. 251, 1 and 34, cp. E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 143 f.), was perhaps at one time carried on in connexion with the apsidal building hidden by the foundations of the great Pergamene altar (*supra* i. 120). They are represented on the large frieze of that altar as two youthful warriors attacking a huge bovine giant with double axe and sword respectively (*supra* i. 110 n. 4). Coppers of Severus Alexander (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 158 pl. 32, 3) and Gallienus (*ib.* p. 162 pl. 32, 8) show two youthful male figures standing on either side of an altar: one

is handing to the other a ram's head. H. von Fritze in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 120 ff. and in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1910* Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 63 f. pl. 6, 1 identifies them with the Kabeiroi, aptly citing a Pergamene decree first published by B. Schroeder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 152 ff. no. 1 (Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 764, 6 *μυστηρίων κατὰ τὰ πάτρια τοῖς μεγάλοις θεοῖς Καβείροις κ.τ.λ., ib.* 27 *καὶ τὰ κριοβόλια τῆς τῶν ἐφήβων μεταπαιδιᾶς πρὸς ἀλλήλους ἔνεκεν*). See further E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 pp. 263—270 ('Die pergamenischen Kabiren').

The Kabeiroi witnessed the birth of Zeus the lightning-god on the summit of Pergamon, according to an oracle of Apollon (not Apollon Γρύνειος as F. G. Welcker *Sylloge epigrammatum Graecorum*[2] Bonnae 1828 p. 231 and A. Boeckh on *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538 supposed, nor Apollon Χρηστήριος of Aigai as M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 239 thought probable, but Apollon Κλάριος as C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 190 ff. and in his *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 461 n. 4, 673 has definitely proved), which bade the Pergamenes, if they would be rid of a plague (that of 166 A.D. (Amm. Marc. 23. 6. 24)), divide their *éphèboi* into four groups, chant hymns to Zeus, Dionysos, Athena, and Asklepios, and then for seven days offer thighs on the altars of the same deities, sacrificing a two-year-old heifer to Athena, a three-year-old ox to Zeus, to Zeus Βάκχος (=Zeus Σαβάζιος: *supra* p. 287 n. 2), and to Asklepios, and feasting themselves on bull's flesh (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3538=M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 239 f.=Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1035 =Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 172). The oracle begins:

Τηλεφίδαις, οἳ Ζηνὶ πλέον Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ
ἐξ ἄλλων τιεσκόμενοι Τευθραντίδα γαῖαν
ναίουσιν καὶ Ζηνὸς ἐριαμάραγοιο γενέθλῃ
ἡμὲν Ἀθηναίῃ πολεμηδόκωι ἀρτυνώῃ
ἠδὲ Δι(ω)νύσωι λαθικηδέι φυσιζόωι
ἠδὲ καὶ εἰητῆρι νόσ(ω)ν Παιήονι λυγρῶν·
οἵσι πάρ' Οὐρανοῦ υἷες ἐθηήσαντο Κάβειροι
πρῶτοι Περγαμίης ὑπὲρ ἄκ(ρι)ος ἀ(σ)τε(ρ)ο(πητ)ὴ(ν)
τικτόμενον Δία, μητρώιην ὅτε (γα)στ(έρα) λῦσ(εν)· κ.τ.λ.

The later passage concerning the sacrifices to the four gods has been quoted *supra* p. 287 n. 2. Of the hymns prescribed one only, that to Zeus, has survived on a fragmentary *stéle* of white marble found on the western terrace of the Akropolis. The text, which is surmounted by a pediment containing reliefs of a *phiále* with two shield-like ornaments, is thus restored by M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 237 ff. no. 324:

[ἀγ]αθῆι τύχηι.
[Οὐλύμποιο] μέτωπον, ἄκρην Τειτηνίδα, ναίων,
[ὦ Ζεῦ δέσποτα,] χαῖρε. λιταχομένωμ πολιητέων
[κλῦθι, πάτερ μ]ακάρων τε καὶ ἀτρυγέτων ἀνθρώπων,
[λαμπρῶς οὐραν]ίην ἐφέπων ἴτυν αἰγλήεσσαν,
[δῆμιοεργὲ βίον] πεφατισμένε σοῖς ὑπὸ φύλοις·
[τῶν ἀγαθῶν γὰρ] φαῦλα διακρείνας πάρος ὕλης
[πᾶσιν ἔδωκας χ]ρῆσιν ἐπάρκιον ἠμερίοισιν,
[νείμας καὶ γαῖάν] τε πολύκλυστόν τε θάλασσαν,
[αἰθέρα καὶ πά]ντ' ἄλλα, τὰ σὴ ποιήσατο μῆτις.
[ἐλθέ σε κληίζ]ουσι, μάκαρ, μάκαρ, εἶλαος ἡμῖν
καὶ πτό[λιν ἰθύνο]υσιν ἀμύμοσιν Περγαμίδαισιν,
ἐλθὲ σὺν ἰητῆρι θεῶμ Παιήονι κλειτῶι
θεσπεσίην Ὑγίειαν ἐς ἀγλαὰ δώματ' ἄγοντι
Εὐνομίηι τε καὶ Εὐστασίηι λιπαρῆς τ' Εἰρήνηι
Ἥρηι τε ζυγίηι, ἁλόχῳ σέο κυδηέσσηι,
καὶ Θέμιδι ἀρχ[εγ]όνωι, προυφητίδι καρτεροβούλωι,
καὶ γάμον [ἀ]ο]μένηι γλαυκώπιδι Τριτογενείηι
κ[α]ὶ [παίδων μεδ]έοντι διακτόρωι Ἑρμάωνι
[καὶ Μοίραις κλυμέ]νηισιν ἀμύμοσιν Ἀδ[ρηστ]είαις.

[κοίρανος οὐρα]νίαισι κεκασμένος ἥνε[κ]ες ὥραις,
[ἦρι περιστέλλο]ντι κ[ό]μην εὐθρεπτον ά[ρ]ούραις
[ἠδὲ θέρει καρπὸν πολ]ύσταχυν ἀμώοντ[ι]
[πορφύρεόν τε τρυγῶν]τι βότρυν λιπαρῶι μ[ε]θοπώρω[ι]
[καὶ χειμῶνι βροτοῖς] ὥρην εὔκρητον ἄγο[ντ]ι,
[ἐλθὲ πόλιν σώ]ζ'εἰμ, μάκαρ, ὄλβιε, καὶ λ[ύε τ]ῆμα,
[ὅττι κακῶς ὠμῶς τ]ε κατὰ φρένας ἔλλ[αβεν ἡμᾶς.]
[ταρβέομεν γὰρ πάν]τες ἀεὶ κήτεια [πέλωρα]
[λοίμης· ἢ μάλα λ]αὸν ἄρειον ἀμ[ύμονα τρύχει,]
[οἰστρωι λυσσηέ]ντι κατ[ασκήπτουσα πολίτας.]
[ἀλλὰ σύ, κάρπιμε] Παι[άν, – – – –].

The older and simpler altar of Zeus, consisting of ashes from the thighs of victims sacrificed to the god (Paus. 5. 13. 8 *πεποίηται δὲ* (*sc.* the altar of Zeus at Olympia) *ἱερείων τῶν θυομένων τῷ Διὶ ἀπὸ τῆς τέφρας τῶν μηρῶν, καθάπερ γε καὶ ἐν Περγάμῳ· κ.τ.λ.*), probably occupied the actual summit of the hill (*supra* i. 120 f. fig. 89). The magnificent altar built by Eumenes ii was situated near the top, on a broad terrace seventy or eighty feet below the temple of Athena (*supra* i. 118 ff. pl. x and figs. 87, 88). This altar has often been identified with *ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Σατανᾶ* (Rev. 2. 13); but the phrase refers rather to Pergamon as the centre of the imperial cult (R. H. Charles *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Revelation of St. John* Edinburgh 1920 i. 60 f.).

Zeus was associated with Athena (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* 1890 i. 29 ff. no. 29 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1215 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 280 a dedication of *c.* 223 B.C. *βασιλέα Ἄτταλον* (*sc.* Attalos i) | *Ἐπιγέν[η]ς καὶ οἱ ἡγεμόνες καὶ στρατ[ιῶ]ται* | *οἱ συναγωνισάμενοι τὰς πρὸς τοὺς Γ[αλ]άτας* | *καὶ Ἀντίοχον μάχας χαρισ[τ]ήρια* | *Διί, Ἀθηνᾶι.* | *Ἐ(π)ιγόνου ἔργα*) or more often with Athena *Νικηφόρος* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 32 ff. nos. 33—37, 43 ff. nos. 51—56, 46 no. 58, 50 f. no. 63, 52 f. no. 65 f., 54 f. no. 69, 124 ff. nos. 214—216, 130 ff. no. 225—the *formula* in each case being *Διὶ καὶ Ἀθηνᾶι Νικηφόρωι*). E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 pp. 223—227 infers from their association that the temple of Athena, which is divided by a cross-wall into two approximately equal halves (J. L. Ussing *Pergamos* Berlin—Stuttgart 1899 pl. 3 after *Pergamon* ii pl. 3), was in reality a double temple of Zeus and Athena. He notes the Pergamene coin-type of Athena's owl on the thunderbolt of Zeus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 132 pl. 27, 13 ΑΘΗ ΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗ ΦΟΡΟΥ, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 536: cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 84 pl. 19, 5, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 136 pl. 18, 8 similar type on a coin of Amastris) and suspects an allusion to their joint temple in a couplet on the base of a marble herm from the Byzantine wall on the south side of the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 242 no. 325 *Ἑρμῆν θυραῖον Ῥοῦφος ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς* | *εἵδρυσε φύλακα τοῦ νεῶ καὶ ῥύτορα*). But his views have not been adopted by the authors of the official Berlin publication.

Zeus figures of course in Pergamene oaths. Eumenes i and the mercenary leaders who rose against him in 263 B.C. swore by Zeus, Ge, Helios, Poseidon, Demeter, Ares, Athena *Ἀρεία* and *ἡ Ταυροπόλος* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 10 ff. no. 13 = Michel *op. cit.* no. 15 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 266 quoted *supra* p. 729 n. 0 no. (3)). Towards the end of *s.* ii B.C. public oaths were administered at the altar of Zeus *Σωτήρ* in the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 177 ff. no. 251, 27 ff. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 519, 27 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 592, 27 ff. *ὅπως δὲ ταῦτα εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον διαμένηι* | *βέβαια Ἀσκληπιάδηι καὶ τοῖς ἀπογόνοις τοῖς* | *Ἀσκληπιάδου, ἐπιτελεῖν ὁρκωμόσιον τὴν πόλιν* | *ἐν τῆι ἀγορᾶι ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Σωτῆρος τῶι βωμῶ[ι]* | *καὶ ὀμόσαι τὰς τιμουχίας, ἢ μὴν ἐμμενεῖν κ.τ.λ.*). Among the honours decreed to Attalos iii by Elaia was a golden equestrian statue to be set up on a marble column beside the altar of Zeus *Σωτήρ* in the *agorá* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 153 ff. no. 246, 9 ff. = Michel *op. cit.* no. 515, 9 ff. = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 332, 9 ff. *στῆσαι δὲ αὐτοῦ καὶ εἰκόνα χρυσῆν ἔφιππον ἐπὶ στυ*|*λίδος μαρμαρίνης παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς* [*τ*]*οῦ Σωτῆρος βωμόν, ὅπως ὑπάρχηι ἡ* | *εἰκὼν ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανε·στάτωι τόπωι τῆς ἀγορᾶς, κ.τ.λ.*); but this must refer to the *agorá* at Elaia, not at Pergamon (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 156).

Aiolis

Temnos[1].

Lydia

Mount Sipylos[2].

Zeus was worshipped at Pergamon under several other appellatives. The water-supply of the town was a grave matter necessitating repeated changes and improvements to meet the needs of the growing population (F. Gräber *Die Wasserleitungen* (*Pergamon* i. 3) Berlin 1913 Beiblatt 88 bird's-eye view of three conduits and aqueduct). P. Aelius Aristeides (*supra* p. 127) in an epideictic harangue entitled *παηγυρικὸς ἐπὶ τῷ ὕδατι ἐν Περγάμῳ* describes how all Asia rejoiced with the Pergamenes when a copious flow of pure water was secured at last, and how he welcomed the good news as a special favour vouchsafed by Zeus *Εὐαγγέλιος* and Asklepios *Σωτήρ* (Aristeid. *or.* 55 (ii. 708 Dindorf) *εἶναι γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ πλήθει τε πλεῖστον καὶ κάλλει κάλλιστον ὅσων ἔλαχον πόλεις. ἦγον οὖν οὐχ ὅσον ἡρινὴν ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' οἵαν εἰκὸς ἄγειν Διός τε Εὐαγγελίου καὶ Ἀσκληπιοῦ Σωτῆρος πανταχῇ τιμῶντος. κ.τ.λ.*). Zeus *Κεραύνιος* is represented by two dedications (*supra* p. 808 n. 0 no. (8)), Zeus *Μέγιστος* by a small altar of trachyte (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 243 no. 328, 1 ff. *Διὶ Μεγ[ίστῳ Πύρ[ε]][σ]ι[ς?]*, cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4885, 1), Zeus *Μέγιστος Σωτήρ* by another of white marble (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 242 no. 327, 1 ff. *Διὶ Μεγίστῳ Σωτῆρι||* (relief of an eagle in a niche surrounded by tendrils)*||Καπίτων | κατ' ὄνειρον*). L. Cuspius Rufinus, the consul of 197 A.D., was priest of Zeus *Ὀλύμπιος* (M. Fränkel *op. cit.* ii. 297 f. no. 434, 1 ff. a base of white marble inscribed *Λ(ούκιον) Κούσπιον Πακτουμήϊ[ον] | Ῥουφῖνον, ὕπατον, ἱερέα Διὸς | Ὀλυμπίου καὶ κτίστην τῆς πατρίδος, | οἱ τὴν ἀκρόπολιν κατοικοῦντες*), whose cult was probably introduced in the days of Hadrian the 'Olympian' (*id. ib.* p. 298). H. von Fritze in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1910* Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 55 f. pl. 4, 8 (=my fig. 846) detects the statuary type of the god on a Pergamene coin struck by Hadrian (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 163 Münztaf. 2, 23 with eagle beside the right foot of Zeus). For Zeus *Τροπαῖος* see *supra* p. 110 n. 9 (add M. Fränkel *op. cit.* i. 137 f. no. 239, 2), for Zeus (?) *Ὕψιστος supra* p. 882 n. 0 no. (21), for Zeus *Φίλιος infra* Append. N *med.* Coins of Antoninus Pius and Marcus Aurelius, issued at Pergamon, show Zeus enthroned with Nike on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left (H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 12, cp. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 602 no. 585).

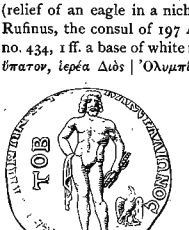


Fig. 846.

[1] Zeus' *Ακραῖος* (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (9)).

[2] It has been maintained, though without sufficient reason, that there was a cult of Zeus *Ὕπατος* on Mt Sipylos (*supra* p. 876 n. 0 no. (8)), where Zeus was said to have been born (Aristeid. *or.* 22. 270 (i. 440 Dindorf) *τὰ μὲν οὖν παλαιὰ μέμνησαι κατὰ τὴν πρώτην ἀκούσας ἀρχήν, ἣν τῷ πατρὶ συνῆρχες, Διός τινα γένεσιν καὶ χορείας Κουρήτων καὶ Ταντάλου καὶ Πέλοπος οἰκισμὸν τῆς πρώτης πόλεως ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ γερομένης*, cp. *or.* 15. 229 (i. 371 f. Dindorf) *ἡ μὲν οὖν πρεσβυτάτη πόλις ἐν τῷ Σιπύλῳ κτίζεται, οὗ δὴ τάς τε θεῶν εὐνὰς εἶναι λέγουσι καὶ τοὺς Κουρήτων χορούς περὶ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς μητέρα, or.* 20. 260 (i. 425 Dindorf) *τὰ μὲν ἀρχαῖα Κουρήτων χοροὶ καὶ τροφαὶ καὶ γενέσεις θεῶν καὶ Πέλοπες διαβαίνοντες ἐνθένδε*) and to have lain with Semele (schol. B, *Il.* 24. 615 *Σίπυλος πόλις ἐστὶ Λυδίας καὶ Ἀχελῷος ποταμὸς ἐκεῖ παρακείμενος. "θεάων" δὲ "εὐνάς," ὅτι ἐκείσε Σεμέλη ὁ Ζεὺς συνεκοιμήθη*).

A remarkable crag on Mt Sipylos is topped by a rock-cut seat known to the ancients as the 'throne of Pelops' (Paus. 5. 13. 7 *Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος ἐν κορυφῇ τοῦ ὄρους ἐστὶν ὑπὲρ τῆς Πλαστήνης μητρὸς τὸ ἱερόν*. See further *supra* i. 137 ff. fig. 103), and the sceptre of Pelops was the sceptre of Zeus (*Il.* 2. 100 ff. *ἀνὰ δὲ κρείων Ἀγαμέμνων | ἔστη σκῆπτρον ἔχων, τὸ μὲν Ἥφαιστος κάμε τεύχων. | Ἥφαιστος μὲν δῶκε Διὶ Κρονίωνι ἄνακτι, | αὐτὰρ ἅρα Ζεὺς δῶκε διακτόρῳ ἀργεϊφόντῃ· | Ἑρμείας δὲ ἄναξ δῶκεν Πέλοπι πληξίππῳ, | αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Πέλοψ δῶκ' Ἀτρέϊ, ποιμένι λαῶν· | Ἀτρεὺς δὲ θνήσκων ἔλιπεν πολύαρνι Θυέστῃ, | αὐτὰρ ὁ αὖτε Θυέστ' Ἀγαμέμνονι λεῖπε φορῆναι, | πολλῇσιν νήσοισι καὶ Ἀργεϊ παντὶ ἀνάσσειν*, Paus.

Philadelpheia[1].
Mount Tmolos[2].
Tralleis[3].

9. 40. 11 (*supra* i. 406), Quint. *inst. or.* 9. 3. 57 invenitur apud poetas quoque (*sc.* gradatio) ut apud Homerum de sceptro, quod a Iove ad Agamemnonem usque deducit: et apud nostrum etiam tragicum (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 288 f. Ribbeck) 'Iove propagatus (O. Ribbeck cj. *patre prognatus*) est, ut perhibent, Tantalus, | ex Tantalo ortus Pelops, ex Pelope autem satus | Atreus, qui nostrum porro propagat genus' = Diom. *ars gramm.* 2 p. 448, 25 ff. Keil, Quint. *inst. or.* 9. 4. 140 (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 289 Ribbeck) 'en impero Argis, sceptra (Sen. *epist.* 80. 7 quotes the line with *regna* for *sceptra*) mihi liquit Pelops').

Coppers of Magnesia ad Sipylum, struck in *s.* ii—i B.C., have *obv.* head of Zeus (or perhaps of Mt Sipylos ?) to right, laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 137 pl. 15, 1 and 2, p. 139 pl. 15, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 455 no. 3), or *rev.* Zeus standing, in *chitôn* and *himation*, with an eagle on his extended right hand, a transverse sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 137 pl. 15, 3), or Zeus and Hermes (?) joining hands with a spear between them (*ib.* p. 138 pl. 15, 4). *Quasi*-autonomous coppers of imperial date (M. Aurelius to Gallienus) repeat the *obv.* head of Zeus (or Mt Sipylos: see *supra* i. 102 n. 5 fig. 75) to right, laureate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 139 ff. pl. 16, 2 f., Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 521 no. 1). A copper of Philippus Senior has *rev.* a naked Zeus holding a thunderbolt in his left hand and resting with his right on a spear (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 151 no. 80).

[1] Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*supra* p. 285 n. 0 no. (3), p. 869 n. 1 fig. 804).

[2] According to Eumelos, Zeus was born in Lydia; and on the top of Mt Tmolos, west of Sardeis, was a place called Γοναὶ Διὸς Τετίου and subsequently Δεύσιον (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 71 p. 123, 14 ff. Wünsch Εὔμηλος δὲ ὁ Κορίνθιος (*frag.* 18 Kinkel) τὸν Δία ἐν τῇ καθ' ἡμᾶς Λυδίᾳ τεχθῆναι βούλεται, καὶ μᾶλλον ἀληθεύει ὅσον ἐν ἱστορίᾳ· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν πρὸς τῷ δυτικῷ τῆς Σαρδιανῶν πόλεως μέρει ἐπ' ἀκρωρείας τοῦ Τμώλου τόπος ἐστίν, ὃς πάλαι μὲν Γοναὶ Διὸς Τετίου νῦν δὲ παρατραπείσης τῷ χρόνῳ τῆς λέξεως Δεύσιον (G. Kinkel prints Δευσίου and is followed by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 281) προσαγορεύεται). A bronze coin of Sardeis, struck under Iulia Domna, has for its reverse type an infant Zeus seated on the ground with an eagle hovering above him (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 261 pl. 27, 6 = *supra* i. 151 fig. 118). Zeus Σαβάζιος brought the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos (Orph. *h. Sabaz.* 48. 1 ff. κλῦθι, πάτερ, Κρόνου υἱέ, Σαβάζιε, κύδιμε δαῖμον, | ὃς Βάκχον Διόνυσον, ἐρίβρομον, εἰραφιώτην | μητρῷ ἐγκατέραψας, ὅπως τετελεσμένος ἔλθῃ | Τμῶλον ἐς ἠγάθεον παρά θ' Ἵπταν (παρ' ἵππαν codd.) καλλιπάρῃον. So O. Kern in *Genethliakon* Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 überreicht von der Graeca Halensis Berlin 1910 p. 90 f. and in his *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 222 f., W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 257 f.). See further K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 16 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 284 n. 11.

[3] Tralleis (*Aïdin*) occupied a high plateau on a southern spur of Mt Messogis. Its *akrópolis* (320^{m}) overlooks the little river Eudonos, a tributary of the Maiandros (map by C. Humann and W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 395 ff. pl. 12). The town was said to have been founded by Argives and Thracians (Strab. 649 κτίσμα δέ φασιν εἶναι τὰς Τράλλεις Ἀργείων καί τινων Θρᾳκῶν Τραλλίων, ἀφ' ὧν τοὔνομα, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τραλλία and Diod. 17. 65). A bronze coin struck by M. Aurelius has for reverse type ΤΡΑΛΛΕΥ C ΚΤΙCCΤΗC (*sic*) Tralleus as a soldier, standing to left, with right hand outstretched and left supported on spear (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 203 no. 642 b, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 661).

Larisa, a village higher up on the slopes of Messogis, thirty stades from Tralleis, gave its name to Zeus Λαρίσιος (Strab. 440 (in a list of towns called Λαρίσα) καὶ τῶν Τραλλέων διέχουσα κώμη τριάκοντα σταδίους ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως ἐπὶ Καΰστρου πεδίον διὰ τῆς Μεσωγίδος ἰόντων κατὰ τὸ τῆς Ἰσοδρόμης Μητρὸς ἱερόν, ὁμοίαν τὴν θέσιν καὶ τὴν ἀρετὴν ἔχουσα τῇ Κρεμαστῇ Λαρίσῃ (so cod. A, with another *σ* added by the second hand. Λαρίσσῃ cett. codd.)· καὶ γὰρ εὔυδρος καὶ ἀμπελόφυτος· ἴσως δὲ καὶ ὁ Λαρίσιος (so cod. A, with another

σ added by the second hand. λαρίσσιος cett. codd.) Ζεὺς ἐκεῖθεν ἐπωνόμασται), as did Larisa on the Caystrian Plain to Apollon Λαρισηνός (Strab. 620 : *id. ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λάρισσα has Λαρισσηνός). Pythodoros of Tralleis, the friend of Pompey, is mentioned along with Μηνόδωρος, ἀνὴρ λόγιος καὶ ἄλλως σεμνὸς καὶ βαρύς, ἔχων τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρισαίου (Strab. 649). The name Λάρισα seems, however, to have been assimilated to the Carian place-names Ἄρπασα, Βάργασα, Μύλασα, Πήδασα, etc. (cp. Ptol. 6. 2. 13 Λάρασα in Media); for Zeus Λαρίσιος or Λαρισαῖος regularly all appears on coins and in inscriptions as Zeus Λαράσιος. His cult, the most important of all cults at Tralleis, has been well studied by J. O. Schaefer *De Iove apud Cares culto* Halis Saxonum 1912 pp. 455—466, to whose collection of evidence I am much indebted.

Tralleis was formerly called Δία (*et. mag.* p. 389, 55 f. cited *supra* p. 587 n. 2, cp. Ltz. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 299) and was officially described as Zeus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2926 (of *s.* iii A.D.) Τ. Κλ. Γλύπτον, | Ἀνδρονίκου (*vi*)όν, | τὸν ἀγορανόμον, | τὸν ὑπέρτατον | λογιστ(ὴ)ν καὶ | σωτῆρα καὶ | κτίστην τῆς | πατρίδος, | τῆς λαμπροτάτης | πόλε(ω)ς τῆς νε|ωκόρου τῶν Σεβαστῶν, | ἱερᾶς τοῦ Διός, κα|τὰ τὰ δόγματα τῆς| συνκλήτου Τραλ|λιανῶν | οἱ μύσται | τῶν ἱερῶν (Lebas—Waddington iii. 203 no. 604 read οἱ μύσται τὸν εὐε[ργέτην]) or to Zeus Λαράσιος (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 111 ff. no. 12 (time of Caracalla) Φλάουιον Φ[λ](αουίου) | Διαδούμενον | (ἐπίτροπον?) | τοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ὑπ[α]τικῶν συνγενῆ | ἡ κρατίστη<ι> Κλαυδία | βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆ[μο]ς [τῆς] | λαμπροτάτη[ς μητρο]πόλεως τῆς [Ἀσίας καὶ] | νεωκόρου τῶ[ν Σεβαστῶν] | καὶ ἱερᾶς τοῦ [Διὸς τοῦ Λα]ραsίου κ[ατὰ τὰ δόγματα] | τῆς ἱερωτά[της συνκλή]|του Καισα[ρέων Τραλλια][νῶν πόλ[εως] | διὰ τὴν (ὑ)περ(τ)ά[την?] | ἐν ταῖς ἀρχαῖ[ς καὶ λειτουρ]|γίαις εὔνοια[ν καὶ] | φιλοτιμία[ν]). Decrees were set up in the sanctuary of Zeus (A. E. Kontoleon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 516 no. 4, 2 ff. τὸ δὲ ψήφισμα | [τό]δε ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην καὶ στῆσαι | ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διός, M. Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις ἤτοι συλλογὴ Τραλλιανῶν ἐπιγραφῶν Athens 1895 no. 42 (of *s.* iii B.C.) ὁ δῆμος ὁ Σελευκείων (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 108) . . . ἀναγράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε ἐν στήλῃ λιθίνῃ καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῷ [? *pro* (suppl. J. O. Schäfer)] νάῳ τοῦ Διὸς ἐν τῷ ἐπιφανεστάτῳ τόπῳ) or Zeus Λαράσιος (A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 466 ff., v. 11 ff. (of *s.* iii B.C.) [ἀναγ]ράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε ε[ἰς τ]ὰς περὶ τούτων ἐπι[σκευασθείσας στήλας καὶ στ]ῆσαι μίαν μὲν ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαρ[ασ]ί[ο]υ, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν | [ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τῆ]ς Ἀθη[ᾶς, M. Pappakonstantinou in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 411 no. 2, 5 ff. ἀνα[γράψ]αι δ(ὲ) αὐτὸν καὶ εὐεργέτην τῆς πόλε[ως ὡς καὶ] τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην | [καὶ στῆ]σαι ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαραsίου, κ.τ.λ., A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 318 ff. no. 143, 66 ff. (a decree of Seleukeia (Tralleis) cited in a pact of 212/11 B.C. between Miletos and Seleukeia) ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖς ἐψηφισμένοις συμ[τελέσαι θυσίαν] τῶι Διὶ τῶι Λαρασίωι καὶ τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι τοὺς ἱερομνήμονας κα[ὶ] | [τοὺς (8—10 letters missing) καὶ τοὺς θ]ε[ορ]ὸ[λου]ς ἐπ[ε]υχομένους συνενεγκεῖν ἀμφοτέραις | [ταῖς πόλεσι τὰ ἐψηφισμένα καὶ εἶναι] ἐπὶ σωτηρίαι καὶ εὐτυχίαι· ἀνα[γράψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα εἰς στήλην λιθίνην]ν καὶ στ[ῆσαι ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ | [Διὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου· κ.τ.λ.], T. Macridy in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1912 xv. 59 f. (a *stèle* of Hellenistic date from Notion) A, 3 ff. ἀναγράφουσι τὰ ψηφί[σ]ι[μ]ατα εἰς στήλας λιθίνας δύο καὶ ἱστᾶσι τὴμ μὲν μίαν παρ' αὐτοῖς ἐν τῶι ἱρῶι τ[οῦ] | [Δ]ιὸς τοῦ Λαρασίου ἐν τῶι ἐπιφανεστάτωι τόπωι, τὴν δὲ ἑτέραν παρ' ἡμῖν κ.τ.λ.). And votive offerings to the god included a couple of eagles (C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 19=*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii Add. no. 2923 *b*=Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii. 200 no. 597 (beneath a well-carved eagle *minus* its head) Διογένης Ὀρθ[ων]ος Θεῷ Διὶ εὐχα[ρ]ι|ιστῶν τούτους | δύ' ἀετοὺς ἀνέ|θηκε. The *formula* Θεῷ Διί is exceptional and sounds like a Latinism, cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 80, 1 f. *deo* | *Iovi* and the like) and an effigy of Dionysos (M. Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις κ.τ.λ. no. 150 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· τῶι Διὶ τὸν Διόνυσον Ἀγαθήμερος ἱερός (on this title see G. Cardinali 'Note di terminologia epigrafica II Ἱερεύς' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1908 xvii. 165 ff., O. Kern 'Hieroi und Hierai' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 300 ff., Link in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1471 ff.)).

The priest of the city, presumably the priest of Zeus Λαράσιος, regularly dwelt in the brick palace built there by the kings of Pergamon (Vitr. 2. 8. 9 Trallibus domum regibus Attalicis factam quae ad habitandum sempeř datur ei qui civitatis gerit sacerdotium). He

held office for life (E. Loewy in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 203 f. no. 1 = A. E. Kontoleon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 456 f. no. 8 = J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* 1888 ii. 325 no. 379 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 499 'On the base or capital of a column' [Γ.] 'Ιούλιον, [Γ.] 'Ιουλίου Φιλίππου ἀρχιερέως | 'Ασίας υἱόν, Οὐελίνᾳ, Φιλίππου, ἱππέα 'Ρωμαίων (Loewy and Dittenberger give 'Ρω|μαίων), τῶν ἑκλεκτῶν ἐν 'Ρώμ[ῃ]ι δικαστῶν, | ἐπίτροπον τῶν Σεβαστῶν, πατέρα 'Ιουλί[ου] | Φιλίππου συγκλητικοῦ, στρατηγοῦ 'Ρωμαί|ων, ἱερέα διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαφαισίου, J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 330 ff. no. 11, 14 ff. = *id.* in the *Papers of the American School* 1885 i. 110 ff. no. 11, 14 ff. (*c.* 200 A.D.) ἐπὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ Δι|ὸς τοῦ Λαφαισίου Φλαουίου | Κλειτοσθένους τοῦ κρατ|ίστου δὶς 'Ασιάρχου, πρώτο[υ] | 'Ασίας, πατρὸς ὑπατικοῦ κα[ὶ] | πάππου συνκλητικῶν, τῆς | θ' αὐτοῦ πενταετηρίδος, M. Pappakonstantinou Αἱ Τράλλεις *κ.τ.λ.* no. 12 (a similar inscription) ἐπὶ ἱερέως διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαφαισίου Φλαουίου Κλειτοσθένους *κ.τ.λ.*, *id.* in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 239 no. 4 (on a four-sided marble base) [Τ. Φλάουιον] | Στασικλέα Μητροφά|νη τὸν κράτιστον | ἱερέα διὰ βίου τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Λαφαισίου καὶ ἀγωνοθέτη[ν] | τῶν μεγάλων Ὀ ἱερῶν | εἰσελαστικῶν εἰς ἅπασαν | τὴν οἰκουμένην ~ | ἀγώνων πρώτων Πυθίων | ὐὸν Τ. Φλ. Κλειτοσθένους | ὑπατικοῦ ~ ἔγγονον ~ | Τ. Φλ. Κλειτοσθένους, πατρὸς | [ὑπατικοῦ – – – – –]). When, in *s.* ii A.D., Tralleis was visited by an earthquake, a Pythian oracle delivered to the priest Kleitosthenes represented the disaster as due to the wrath of Zeus for the city's neglect of Poseidon the earthquake-god and directed that ample atonement should be made to both deities (A. Hauvette-Besnault and Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 340 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* Add. 6. 104*b* = O. Kern in *Genethliakon* Carl Robert zum 8. März 1910 überreicht von der Graeca Halensis Berlin 1910 p. 98 ff. with pl. χρησμὸς τοῦ Πυθίου | δοθεὶς Κλειτοσθένει τῷ | ἱερεῖ τοῦ Διὸς ὑπὲρ τῆς | σωτηρίας τῆς πόλεως· |

χειλιετὲς μήνεμα πάτρης Διὸς ἐξαναλύσας
μειλιχίῃ Σεισίχθονι ἐν ἅλσεῖ βωμὸν ἐνείρας
θύεο, μὴ διερεύνω μ' ὦ πόλις, εἰναλίῳ νῦν
ἐννομίην Κρονίδῃ, φοιβῇ χερὶ δὲ ἀρητῆρος,
πυρῶν καὶ καρπῶν τ' ἐπιδράγματα πάντα· καλείσθω
ἀσφάλιος, τεμενοῦχος, ἀπότροπος, ἵππιος, ἀργῆς·
ὥδε, πόλις, δὲ ὑμνεῖτε δεδραγμένον εἶφι βεβῶτα
οὗ τε βάθρῳ κύκνειον ὅσοι γέρας ἀμφιπένεσθὲ
ἐν χορῷ εὖ αἰνεῖν Σεισίχθονα ϛαὶ Δ[ί]α μείλαξ

(The last word is a puzzle. O. Kern *loc. cit.* p. 101 n. 1 holds that it is either an unknown adverb or a form comparable with Hesych. μίλαξ· ἡλικία. ἔνιοι δὲ μέλλαξ· καὶ παρ' Ἕρμίππῳ ἐν Θεοῖς (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 392 Meineke)), ἀγνοήσας 'Αρτεμίδωρος· ἐκεῖ γὰρ μίλαξ ἐστιν. δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν δημοτικόν. J. O. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 464 f. prefers the first alternative and assumes μείλαξ = μειλιχίῃ. No allusion to the botanical μίλαξ is probable.) Another priest of *s.* ii A.D., Claudius Meliton, made a dedication to Zeus Λαφάσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενής (J. R. S. Sterrett in the *Papers of the American School* 1888 ii. 326 f. no. 381 Διὶ Λαφαισ|ῳ Σεβαστῷ | Εὐμενεῖ Κλαύ|δι(ο)ς Μελί[των ὁ ἱερεὺς | ἀποκατέ|στησεν), *i.e.* to the emperor Hadrian, who in 129 A.D. came to Tralleis (W. M. Ramsay *ib.* 1885 i. 102) and was there identified with Zeus Λαφάσιος (J. B. Lightfoot *The Apostolic Fathers* London 1885 ii. 1. 617 n. 1, J. R. S. Sterrett *loc. cit.* 1888 ii. 327), just as in 128 A.D. he came to Athens and was there identified with Zeus 'Ολύμπιος (P. v. Rohden in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 509), or just as in 132 A.D. he came to Dodona and was there identified with Zeus Δωδωναῖος (*id. ib.* i. 512, on the strength of *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1822 cited *infra* Append. M. *med.*).

Special interest attaches to the inscription on a small marble base from *Aïdin* in the Purser collection at Smyrna (W. M. Ramsay in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 276 f. no. 19, *id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 94 ff., 115 no. 18 [ἀγ]αθῇ τύχῃ· | Α. Αὐρηλία Αἰ[μ]ιλία ἐκ προ|γόνων παλλα|κίδων καὶ ἀνε|πτοπόδων θ[υ]γάτηρ Λ. Αὐρ. Σ[ε]|κούνδου Ση[σ]ίου παλλακεύσα|σα καὶ κατὰ χρη|σμὸν (space) | (space) Διὶ Ὑ). Sir William Ramsay comments: 'Aurelia Aemilia belonged to a family in which the ancient custom was retained that the women should in their youth be *hetairai* in the service of the temple.

This custom was common in the native religions of Asia Minor (1) [(1) Strab. p. 559 and 532–3.], but it is somewhat remarkable to find it actually practised by a family bearing Roman names perhaps as late as the third century B.C.' Cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 1 Λυδοῖς ἦν ἔθος πρὸ τοῦ συνοικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἑταιρεῖν, ἅπαξ δὲ καταζευχθεῖσας σωφρονεῖν· τὴν δὲ ἁμαρτάνουσαν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ἦν (but hardly the references collected by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 915 n. 6). The significance of such customs in general is disputed (see *e.g.* M. P. Nilsson *Studia de Dionysiis Atticis* Lundae 1900 pp. 119—121, *id. Gr. Feste* pp. 365—367, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 914—917, F. Cumont *Les Religions Orientales dans le Paganisme Romain*[2] Paris 1909 pp. 143—286, H. Ploss—M. Bartels *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*[10] Leipzig 1913 i. 614—616, 648—654, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 36 ff., 57 ff.) and investigators have been apt to confuse similar effects produced by dissimilar causes (see E. S. Hartland 'Concerning the Rite at the Temple of Mylitta' in *Anthropological Essays presented to Edward Burnett Tylor* Oxford 1907 pp. 189—202). The Trallian inscription perhaps implies that women, believed to represent a mother-goddess, used to mate with men, believed to represent a father-god, their union being thought to promote the fruitfulness of the land and its occupants. If so, the παλλακίδες may have been comparable with the Egyptian παλλακίδες of Zeus Θηβαιεύς (Hdt. 1. 182 (*supra* i. 348 n. 1), cp. Hekataios of Abdera *frag.* 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 390 Müller) *ap.* Diod. 1. 47 ἀπὸ γὰρ τῶν πρώτων τάφων, ἐν οἷς παραδέδοται τὰς παλλακίδας τοῦ Διὸς τεθάφθαι, κ.τ.λ., Strab. 816 τῷ δὲ Διί, ὃν μάλιστα τιμῶσιν, εὐειδεστάτη καὶ γένους λαμπροτάτου παρθένος ἱερᾶται, ἃς καλοῦσιν οἱ Ἕλληνες παλλάδας (Xylander cj. παλλακάς. W. Dindorf cj. παλλακίδας. But see G. Kramer *ad loc.*)· αὕτη δὲ καὶ παλλακεύει καὶ σύνεστιν οἷς βούλεται, μέχρις ἂν ἡ φυσικὴ γένηται κάθαρσις τοῦ σώματος· μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δίδοται πρὸς ἄνδρα· πρὶν δὲ δοθῆναι, πένθος αὐτῆς ἄγεται μετὰ τὸν τῆς παλλακείας καιρόν). And the ἀνιπτόποδες recall the priests of Zeus at Dodona (*Il.* 16. 234 ff. Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, τηλόθι ναίων, | Δωδώνης μεδέων δυσχειμέρου· ἀμφὶ δὲ Σελλοὶ | σοὶ ναίουσ' ὑποφῆται ἀνιπτόποδες, χαμαιεῦναι), who went with unwashen feet and lay on the ground in order that they might be in constant contact with Mother Earth (J. O. Schaefer *op. cit.* p. 462 f. I had hit upon the same explanation years before and published it in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 180). The combination of a rite reminiscent of Egyptian Thebes with a rite reminiscent of Dodona is not surprising in view of the analogy already traced between the usages of these two cult-centres (*supra* i. 363 ff.).

Coppers of Seleukeia (Tralleis) first struck late in *s.* iii B.C. (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 659) have *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* humped bull, with ΣΕΛΕΥΚΕΩΝ above and magistrate's name below, all within maeander-border (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* Genf—Leipzig 1897 p. 169 pl. 7, 7). Some specimens add ΔΙΟΣ above and ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ below the bull (*id. ib.* p. 169 no. 3). One, in place of the maeander, gives ΔΙΟΣ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ ΔΙΟΣ ΕΥΜΕΝΟΥ (*sic*) (*id. ib.* p. 169 f. no. 4), cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 985, 6 ff. (Philadelpheia in Lydia: *s.* i B.C.) Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτωι] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς καὶ Ἑστίας τ[ῆς παρέδρου αὐ]|τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων κ.τ.λ.] and the dedication to Hadrianas Zeus Λαράσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενής cited *supra*. The inference is that Eumenes i was divinised after his death as Zeus Εὐμενής: cp. the divinisation of Eumenes ii in Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 515, 22 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 332, 22 θεοῦ βασιλέως Εὐμένου Σωτῆρος (*id.* 24 f., 27 f., 45). Coppers of Tralleis struck in early imperial times have sometimes *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right; *rev.* Δ[ΙΟ]Σ ΛΑΡΑΣΙΟΥ ΚΑΙ[ΣΑ]ΡΕΩΝ humped bull standing to left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 339 no. 87: my fig. 847 is from a cast of this specimen). Later we find *obv.* ΣΕΥCΛΑ PAĊIOC bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.* ΤΡΑΛ ΛΙΑΝΩΝ Dionysos standing to front, naked, with grape-bunch in raised right hand, *kántharos* in lowered left, within border of dots (*id.* p. 341 no. 100), or *obv.* ΖЄ VC

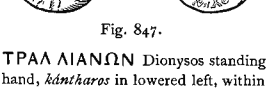


Fig. 847.

bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, within border of dots; *rev.* ΤΡΑΛΛΙΑΝΩΝ humped bull walking to right, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 342 no. 101 f.), or ΤΡΑΛΛ ΙΑΝΩΝ bunch of grapes, within border of dots (*ib.* p. 342 no. 103). Other imperial coppers represent Zeus *Λαράσιος* as a seated figure, who wears a *himátion* round his legs, holds Nike on his outstretched right hand, and rests upon a sceptre with his left (*ib.* p. 340 no. 93 ΛΑΡΑCΙΟC ΚΑΙCΑΡΕ ΩΝ time of Nero—Domitian, p. 345 no. 129 ΚΑΙCΑΡΕΩ ΝΛΑΡΑCΙ ΟC Domitian, cp. p. 354 pl. 37, 7 Gordianus Pius, p. 357 pl. 37, 11 Philippus Senior, p. 362 pl. 41, 11 Gordianus Pius), sometimes with an eagle at his feet (*ib.* p. 350 pl. 37, 2 L. Verus).

Other coins of the town illustrate the myth of Zeus: (1) a copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* ΔΙΟCΓΟΝΑΙ the infant Zeus asleep on a mountain with an eagle hovering above him (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 337 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 661. *Supra* i. 151 fig. 119, 535 n. o). Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* London 1890 p. 13 rightly rejects B. V. Head's former view that the legend is *Διὸς Γοναί(ου)*. Cp. Aristodemos of Thebes *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 310 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 13. 1 *μετὰ δὲ τὴν Ἴλιου πόρθησιν Ἕκτωρ ὁ Πριάμου καὶ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τὴν ἀπὸ θεῶν εὐτύχησε τιμήν. οἱ γὰρ ἐν Βοιωτίᾳ Θηβαῖοι πιεζόμενοι κακοῖς ἐμαντεύοντο περὶ ἀπαλλαγῆς. χρησμὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς ἐδόθη παύσεσθαι τὰ δεινά, ἐὰν ἐξ Ὀφρυνίου τῆς Τρωάδος τὰ Ἕκτορος ὀστᾶ διακομισθῶσιν εἰς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς καλούμενον τόπον Διὸς Γονάς. οἱ δὲ τοῦτο ποιήσαντες καὶ τῶν κακῶν ἀπαλλαγέντες διὰ τιμῆς ἔσχον Ἕκτορα, κατά τε τοὺς ἐπείγοντας καιροὺς ἐπικαλοῦνται τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν αὐτοῦ. ἡ ἱστορία παρὰ Ἀριστοδήμῳ*=Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 18, 7 ff. with Bölte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1585. (2) A copper of M. Aurelius has *rev.* the infant Zeus suckled by a goat (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 472 no. 723). (3) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* the infant Zeus nursed by Rhea, with an eagle on the ground at her feet and three Kouretes clashing their shields about her (F. Imhoof-Blumer *Lydische Stadtmünzen* p. 177 f. pl. 7, 15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 347 pl. 36, 5 (*supra* i. 151 fig. 121 from a cast), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 661). (4) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* ЄΙΟVCΓΑΜΟ[Ι] Io in long robe and bridal veil led towards the left by Hermes, who wears a *chlamýs* and holds a *caduceus* in his right hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 348 pl. 36, 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 661). (5) A copper of Antoninus Pius has *rev.* a veiled figure (Io?) sitting in a two-wheeled hooded chariot, which is drawn by a pair of humped bulls and conducted by a naked figure (Hermes?) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 348 no. 141). (6) A copper of Tranquillina, now in the British Museum, has *rev.* a male figure (Zeus?) clad in a *himátion* extending his right hand to a fully draped and veiled female figure (Io?), who stands in the entrance of a wattle shed or hut (perhaps the *βούστασις* of Aisch. *P. v.* 651 ff. *σὺ δ', ὦ παῖ, μὴ 'πολακτίσῃς λέχος | τὸ Ζηνός, ἀλλ' ἐξελθὲ πρὸς Λέρνης βαθὺν | λειμῶνα, ποίμνας βουστάσεις τε πρὸς πατρός, | ὡς ἂν τὸ Δῖον ὄμμα λωφήσῃ πόθου*) (so B. V. Head and W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1903 iii. 337 f. no. 30 pl. 12, 1 (=my fig. 848 from a cast) with the alternative suggestion (*ib.* p. 338 n. 45): 'Or the scene...may possibly refer to a later incident, when Io, at the Egyptian Canobus, is restored to sanity by the gentle touch of Zeus's hand and becomes the mother of Epaphus the ancestor of the Argive Danaoi' [Aisch. *P. v.* 846 ff.], Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 661). *À propos* of the whole series B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. cxlvi observes: 'Evidently on these coins we have representations of successive scenes in certain religious mysteries connected with the Io legend, and celebrated by the Trallians in commemoration of their Argive descent, Argos having been the original home of the Io myth.' I doubt the Io-'mysteries.' The coin-types, inscriptions and all, could be equally well explained as copying the subjects of the frescoes or reliefs with which some public edifice at Tralleis was adorned, *e.g.* the octostyle temple (? of Zeus. It has an eagle in its pediment, but a *caduceus* beside

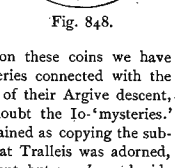


Fig. 848.

Ionia

Smyrna[1].
Ephesos[2].

it or within it) figured on imperial coppers (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 338 pl. 35, 1, p. 353 no. 161).

The cult of Zeus Λαράσιος spread to Miletos, where a small domestic altar dedicated to him has come to light (T. Wiegand in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1908* Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 27 'am zahlreichsten sind die Zeuskulte, natürlich wiegen die karischen vor, so dass Zeus Labraundios (einmal Λαβρένδιος) durch sechs mit der Doppelaxt geschmückte Altäre vertreten ist, Larasios und Zeus Lepsynos einmal, ebenso der Ὀλύμπιος Πεισαῖος, Κεραύνιος Σωτήρ, Τερμινθεύς, Ὁμοβούλιος und Καταιβάτης; endlich ist ein kleiner Altar Διὸς ἐλπίδων gefunden').

Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 880 n. 0 no. (17)).

[1] Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (8)).

[2] The Zeus-cult of the Ephesians can be traced back to the first half of *s.* vii B.C. (Kallin. *frag.* 4 Bergk[4], 2 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Strab. 633 *ἡνίκα καὶ Σμύρνα ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ Ἔφεσος· καὶ Καλλῖνός που οὕτως ὠνόμακεν αὐτήν, Σμυρναίους τοὺς Ἐφεσίους καλῶν ἐν τῷ πρὸς τὸν Δία λόγῳ· 'Σμυρναίους δ' ἐλέηεσον'· καὶ πάλιν· 'μνῆσαι δ' εἴ κοτέ τοι μηρία καλὰ βοῶν | <Σμυρναῖοι κατέκηαν (ins.* I. Casaubon*)>'* κ.τ.λ.). But here Zeus was always of less importance than Artemis; and the tradition which located her birth at Ortygia (the glen of *Arvalia*: see O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 76 ff.) boldly appropriated his Kouretes (C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 277 ff., 423 ff.), installing them on Mt Solmissos (Strab. 640 *ὑπέρκειται δὲ τοῦ ἄλσους ὄρος ὁ Σολμισσός, ὅπου στάντας φασὶ τοὺς Κουρῆτας τῷ ψόφῳ τῶν ὅπλων ἐκπλῆξαι τὴν Ἥραν ζητοτύπως ἐφεδρεύουσαν, καὶ λαθεῖν συμπράξαντας τὴν λοχείαν τῇ Λητοῖ.* κ.τ.λ.).

A bronze coin of Ephesos, struck by Antoninus Pius, has *rev.* Zeus enthroned on a mountain-top (Mt Koressos). He holds in his left hand a thunderbolt and pours from his raised right hand a shower of rain upon a recumbent mountain-god inscribed ΠΕΙΩΝ, who bears a *cornu copiae*. In front of the principal mountain, on the level of the plain, is a distyle temple, above which, in the background, are cypress-trees and two three-storeyed buildings, perched upon rocks. To the left of the same mountain is another three-storeyed building (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 79 pl. 13, 9 (=*supra* i. 134 fig. 100 from a cast), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 167 f. pl. 6, 9; A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 10 no. 2 pl. 1, 17; O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* i. 56 fig. 18 *a* Löbbecke, *b* Cabinet des médailles Paris, *c* British Museum, *d* Gréau collection; Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 577). High up on the south-eastern side of Mt Koressos is a rock-cut throne, once perhaps regarded as the throne of Zeus (*supra* i. 140 f. fig. 104 f.).

Bronze coins issued at Ephesos by Domitian (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 75 no. 215) and Severus Alexander (*ib.* p. 93 pl. 14, 7 (=my fig. 849 from a cast)) show Zeus Ὀλύμπιος seated to the left, holding the cult-statue of Artemis Ἐφεσία in one hand and a long sceptre in the other. Coppers of Caracalla (*ib.* p. 85 no. 272) and Valerianus Senior (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 337 no. 75) repeat the type, but omit the name of the god. He was worshipped in the Olympieion (Paus. 7. 2. 9 *κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν τὴν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ παρὰ τὸ Ὀλυμπιεῖον καὶ ἐπὶ πύλας τὰς Μαγνήτιδας*). And Hadrian as his vicegerent shared the honours of his festival (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2810, 17 f. Ἀδριανὰ Ὀ|λύμπια *ἐν* Ἐφέσωι, iii no. 5913, 30 f. =*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1102, 30 f. Ἔφεσον τρὶς· Ἀδριάνια Ὀλύμ|πια, Βαρβίλληα κ.τ.λ.).

Fig. 849.

A bronze coin at Ephesos struck by Septimius Severus has *rev.* ΖΕΥC ΕΦΕCΙΟC ΠΡΩΤΟC ΑCΙΑC Zeus standing with the cult-statue of Artemis Ἐφεσία (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 675, vii. 355, xi. 1256, Eckhel *Doctr. num.*

Magnesia ad Maeandrum[1].
Miletos[2].

Karia

Halikarnassos[3].
Myndos[4].
Iasos[5].
Lagina[6].
Mylasa[7].
Panamara[8].
Stratonikeia[9].

vet.[2] ii. 514). Others struck by Valerianus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 101 no. 357) and Salonina (*supra* p. 743 n. 7 fig. 681) show Zeus naked, striding to right, with thunderbolt in uplifted right hand and eagle on outstretched left.

Finally, the cult-statue of Artemis was called Διοπετές as having fallen from Zeus (Acts 19. 35 *τίς γάρ ἐστιν ἀνθρώπων ὃς οὐ γινώσκει τὴν Ἐφεσίων πόλιν νεωκόρον οὖσαν τῆς μεγάλης Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τοῦ διοπετοῦς;* Oikoumenios *comm. in acta apost.* 19. 18—34 (cxviii. 253 Migne) *δείκνυσι πολλὴν εἶναι τὴν δεισιδαιμονίαν τῶν Ἐφεσίων ὁ γραμματεὺς ἔκ τε τοῦ κοσμεῖν τὸν ναὸν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ τὸ εἴδωλον αὐτῆς τιμᾶν, ὅπερ καὶ Διοπετὲς ἔλεγον ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς πεπτωκός. ἤτοι γὰρ τὸ ὄστρακον ἔλεγον ἐκεῖνο πάντες* (*leg.* πάντως) *Διοπετὲς τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς πεμφθέν, ἤτοι καταπτὰν καὶ γενόμενον ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ ἄγαλμα, ἤτοι τὸ Παλλάδιον, καθὼς ἐμύθευον οἱ Ἕλληνες πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἀκεραιοτέρων, ὅπερ ἄνωθεν ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς διαπλασθῆναι ᾤοντο καὶ οὐκ ἐξ ἀνθρώπων. ἢ Διοπετοῦς τοῦ ναοῦ τοῦ Διός, ἤτοι τοῦ στρογγυλοειδοῦς. ἢ καὶ ἱερὸν ἕτερον οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο παρ' αὐτοῖς* = Theophylaktos archbishop of Bulgaria *expos. in acta* text. alt. 29 (cxxv. 1013 Migne) *'καὶ τοῦ Διοπετοῦς.' τὸ εἴδωλον τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐκαλεῖτο Διοπετὲς ὡς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς πεπτωκός· ἤτοι τὸ ὄστρακον* [*ἔλεγον*] *ἐκεῖνο πάντως Διοπετὲς τὸ ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς πεμφθὲν ἤτοι καταπτὰν* (*leg.* καταπτὰν) *καὶ οὐ γενόμενον ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπου ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος, καθὼς ἐμύθευον Ἕλληνες,* Isidoros of Pelousion 4 *epist.* 207 (lxxviii. 1299 Migne) *οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι τὰ ξόανα κατασκευάσαντες, φόβον ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς ὁρῶσι βουλόμενοι, ἔφασκον ὅτι ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέμφθη ἡ κατέπτη, κρεῖττον ἁπάσης ἀνθρωπίνης χειρός. διὸ καὶ διοπετὲς αὐτὸ καὶ οὐράνιον βρέτας προσηγόρευον* = Souid. *s.v. διοπετές· ἐξ οὐρανοῦ κατερχόμενον. ὅτι οἱ παρ' Ἕλλησι τὰ ξόανα κατασκευάζοντες, φόβον ἐμποιῆσαι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν βουλόμενοι τοῖς ὁρῶσιν, ἔφασκον ὅτι τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐξ οὐρανοῦ παρὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἐπέμφθη καὶ κατέπτη, κρεῖττον ὑπάρχον πάσης ἀνθρωπίνης χειρὸς καὶ ἀνάλωτον. ὅθεν καὶ διοπετὲς αὐτὸ καὶ οὐράνιον βρέτας ἐκάλουν,* Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 2. 5 (lxvii. 945 C Migne) *γυμνωθέντας δὲ τῆς τοῦ πλήθους ῥοπῆς οἱ νεωκόροι καὶ οἱ ἱερεῖς προὔδωκαν τὰ παρ' αὐτοῖς τιμιώτατα καὶ τὰ διοπετῆ καλούμενα*). Cp. the passages cited by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* ii. 1527 C, to which add Apollod. 3. 12. 3 *τὸ διπετὲς* Παλλάδιον, Konon *narr.* 34 *τὸ διοπετὲς Ἀθηνᾶς* Παλλάδιον, Io. Philop. *περὶ ἀγαλμάτων ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 173 b 10 f. *διοπετῆ ἐπωνόμασαν*. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 774 n. 2 and P. Saintyves 'Talismans et reliques tombés du ciel' in the *Revue des Études Ethnographiques et Sociologiques* 1909 ii. 175 ff., *Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie* 1910 i. 50 ff., 103 ff.

[1] Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 873 n. 0 no. (7)).
[2] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).
[3] Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 872 n. 0 no. (5)).
[4] Zeus Ἀκραῖος (*supra* p. 872 n. 0 no. (6)).
[5] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).
[6] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).
[7] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)). For Zeus Ὀσογῶα or Ζηνοποσειδῶν see *supra* p. 576 ff.; and for Zeus Λαβράϋνδος or Zeus Στράτιος, *supra* pp. 576 ff., 585 ff., 705.
[8] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)). For Zeus Πανάμαρος, Πανήμερος, Πανημέριος see *supra* i. 18 ff.
[9] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (17)).

Kos

Kos[1].

Bithynia

Prousa ad Olympum[2].

Phrygia

Aizanoi[3].

[1] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 880 n. o no. (18)).

[2] Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*supra* i. 116 n. 8, 124). The cult-statue of the god appears on a bronze coin of Prousa, struck by Trajan, with *rev.* ΠΡΟΥCΑΕΙC ΔΙΑ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟΝ Zeus enthroned to right, resting his right hand on a long sceptre and holding in his left a globe, on which stands a small wreath-bearing Nike (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 577 pl. 99, 7 (=my fig. 850), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 517). A later coin-type gives two agonistic urns, with palms and five balls (? apples, cp. *supra* p. 490 n. o no. (5)) respectively, inscribed ΟΛΥΜΠΙΑ ΠΥΘΙΑ (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 600 f. pl. 103, 11 Valerianus Senior, 13 Gallienus, 14 Salonina).

A copper of Caracalla shows a youthful figure, in military costume, carrying a sceptre in his left hand and with his right holding a *phiále* above an altar, garlanded and kindled, towards which leaps a boar beneath a fruitful fig (?)-tree with an eagle in its branches (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 197 pl. 35, 7, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 589 pl. 101, 13 (=my fig. 851)). A similar copper of Geta has

Fig. 850.

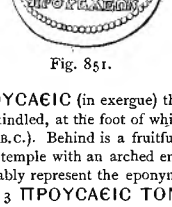


Fig. 851.

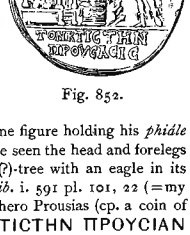


Fig. 852.

rev. ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΥCΑΕΙC (in exergue) the same figure holding his *phiále* above an altar, garlanded and kindled, at the foot of which are seen the head and forelegs of the sacrificial bull (? boar A.B.C.). Behind is a fruitful fig (?)-tree with an eagle in its branches; to the left, a round temple with an arched entry (*ib.* i. 591 pl. 101, 22 (=my fig. 852)). These coins presumably represent the eponymous hero Prousias (cp. a coin of Commodus *ib.* i. 582 pl. 100, 3 ΠΡΟΥCΑΕΙC ΤΟΝ ΚΤΙCΤΗΝ ΠΡΟΥCΙΑΝ beardless head of hero to right) worshipping Zeus.

[3] Aizanoi (*Tchavdir-Hissar*) (Αἰζανίς only Ptol. 5. 2. 17 *ed. pr.*), the chief town of Aizanitis in Phrygia Epiktetos (Strab. 576), is situated on a high plateau (1085^{m} above the sea) near the sources of the river Rhyndakos. Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 1 (i. 15, 6 f. Lentz) (cp. *περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (ii. 468, 29 Lentz)) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀζανοί stated that Aizanoi received its name from Aizen son of Tantalos. Others seem to have held that the town was founded by Azan son of Arkas (Paus. 8. 4. 3). But Hermogenes of Smyrna (?) *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 524 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀζανοί was not content with such commonplace conjectures. He reports the tradition that once in time of dearth the shepherds of the district sacrificed to the gods for fertility, but in vain, till one Euphorbos offered a fox (*οὐανοῦν*) and a hedgehog (*ἐξιν*). The gods were satisfied and sent fertility again. Thereupon the people chose Euphorbos as their priest and ruler (*ἱερέα καὶ ἄρχοντα*), the town being called Ἐξουάνουν after his sacrifice. Cp. the coins of Aizanoi (second half

of *s.* i B.C.) inscribed ΕΖΕΑΝΙΤΩΝ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. xxiv). Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 192 comments: 'The legend points to the existence of a race of priestly kings or popes, with spiritual and temporal power, such as reigned at Pessinus, Comana, and other cities of Asia Minor (W. M. Ramsay, *Historical Geogr. of Asia Minor*, p. 146 *sq.*).'

The *témenos* of Zeus, which occupies a square terrace (146·46^{m} × 162·96^{m}) contrived on a natural hill-top, had a *façade* of twenty-two marble-clad arches with a broad stairway (30^{m} across) in their midst. This gave access to a square *stoá* consisting of a double range of Corinthian columns with a handsome *propýlaion* opposite to the stairway. Outside the *stoá* were gardens, *exédrai*, and statues. Inside the *stoá*, on a stylobate of seven steps, rose the temple, a beautifully finished Ionic structure in blue-grey half-marble, dating apparently from Hadrianic times (A. Körte 'Das Alter des Zeustempels von Aizanoi' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 209—214 with pl. 11 (=my

Fig. 853.

fig. 853)) and in various points inspired by the Athenian Erechtheion. The building was octostyle and pseudo-dipteral with fifteen columns down the long side, two in the *prónaos*, and two in the *opisthódomos*. These last are of interest as having a band of acanthus-leaves beneath their Ionic volutes—a feature which W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Greece and Rome* London 1902 pp. 98, 154 refer to *s.* i B.C. and claim as the origin of the 'composite' order. The columns are fluted monoliths (height of shaft 8·520^{m}: total height 9·504^{m}) with a small vase in relief at the top of each flute: sixteen of them are still standing, ten on the northern side and six more at the western end. Oak-leaves and acorns appear among the mouldings of the temple. Round the outside of the *naós*-wall runs a frieze-like band (0·62^{m} high), with a moulding above and a maeander below, ready to receive inscriptions and already in part inscribed (inside the right *anta* of the *prónaos* and outside the north wall of the *naós*). Under the *naós* is a chamber (16·157^{m} × 9·120^{m}) with a semicircular vault, reached by steps from the *opisthódomos* and probably used for the safeguarding of the temple-treasure. It is possible that some dim

recollection of this treasure lingered in folk-memory; for the peasants in comparatively modern times, believing that the columns were cast in stone and full of gold, attacked them with pickaxe and hammer, nor did they desist from their futile search till they had filled the temple with faggots and fired the lot! See further C. Texier *Description de l'Asie Mineure* Paris 1839 i. 95—127 pls. 23—34, W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia*

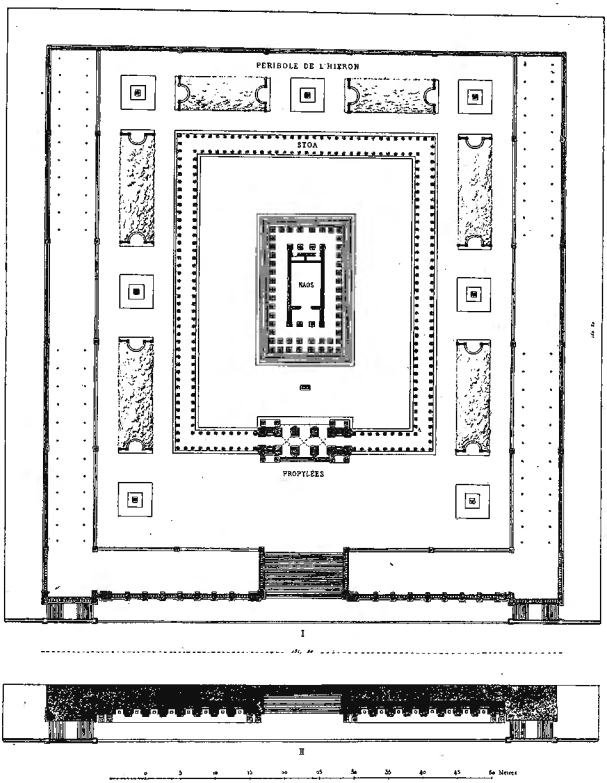


Fig. 854.

Minor, Pontus, and Armenia London 1842 i. 101—104, P. Le Bas *Voyage archéologique en Grèce et en Asie Mineure* Paris 1858 Architecture Asie Mineure i pls. 18—32, Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 142 ff. Archit. i pls. 18 (= my fig. 854), 19—24, 25 (= my fig. 855), 26—32, F. von Duhn in Durm *Baukunst d. Gr.*[2] Register p. 367 f.

Inscriptions record a priest of Zeus (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3831 *a*[1], 2 ff. Μηνό-φιλον Νεικοστράτου | ἱερατεύσαντα τοῦ Δι|ὸς δεκάκις, no. 3831 *a*[3], 2 ff. Μενεκλέα | Μενε-κλέους, υἱὸν τῆς | πόλεως, ἱερατεύσαντα | δὶς τοῦ Διός, no. 3831 *a*[9], 7 f. ἱερατεύσαντα τοῦ |

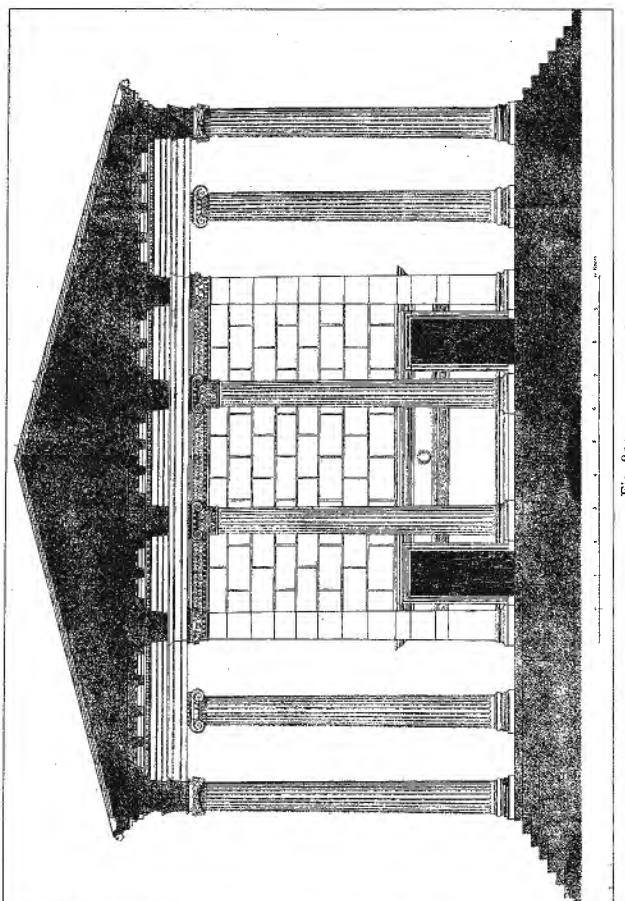


Fig. 855.

[Διός]) and a νεωκόρος of Zeus (*ib.* no. 3831 *a*[4], 4 ff. Ἰουλι|ανὸν Τρύφω|νος, νεωκό|ρον τοῦ Διὸς | διὰ βίου, no. 3831 *a*[7], 2 f. Ὀρδ(εώ)νιον Ἀντιόχου, νε|[ωκ]ό[ρ]ον [τ]ο(ῦ Δ)ιός, cp. no. 3841 *d*, 8 ff. ὁ νεωκόρ[ος] | τ(οῦ Δ)ιός, ἱερὸς | καὶ ⟨ἄσυλ⟩ος (Δ)ι(ὶξα)|[νειτ](ῶν) δῆμος | [ἐκ

Akmoneia[1].
Apameia[2].
Laodikeia ad Lycum[3].

τῶ]ν ἰδίων θεοῦ, no. 3841 *g*, 1 ff. [τῆς ἱερᾶς καὶ] ἀσύλου καὶ | [νεωκόρο]υ τοῦ Διὸς | [Αἰζανει]τῶν πόλεως | [ἡ φιλοσέβα]στος βουλὴ | [καὶ ὁ νεωκόρ[ος δῆμος | --- | ---). Inside the right *anta* of the *prónaos* is inscribed a letter, in which Avidius Quietus, proconsul of Asia (125—126 A.D.), informs the people of Aizanoi that a long-standing dispute with regard to the temple-estates has been happily settled. He adds three Latin documents dealing with the matter—(*A*) the emperor's rescript, (*B*) his own letter to the imperial procurator, (*C*) the beginning of the procurator's reply (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3835 (cp. *ib.* p. 1064 f.) = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 355 = Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii nos. 860—863 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 6955 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 502, 1 ff. 'Αουίδιος Κουιῆτος Αἰζανειτῶν ἄρχουσι βουλῆι | δήμωι χαίρειν· ἀμφισβήτησις περὶ χώρας ἱερᾶς, ἀνα|τεθείσης πάλαι τῶι Διί, τρειβομένη πολλῶν ἐτῶν, τῆι προνοίᾳ τοῦ | μεγίστου αὐτοκράτορος τέλους ἔτυχε. κ.τ.λ., *A*, 3 f. ager Aezanen|si Iovi dicatus, *B*, 6 f. in ea re[gione], quae Iovi Aezanitico dicata dicitur).

The neocorate is further evidenced by coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 28 no. 34 ἐπὶ Ἰου. Οὐλπι. Σευηρείνου ἀρχινεωκόρω (*sic*), no. 35 pl. 5, 6 ἐπὶ Ἰου. Σευηρείνου ἀρχινεωκόρ. with B. V. Head's remarks *ib.* p. xxvi. *Id. ib.*: 'On a coin of Commodus (*Invent. Wadd.*, Pl. xv. 7) the city claims the title of Neokorate of this divinity (ΝΕΩΚΟΡΩΝ ΤΟΥ ΔΙΟC).' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 664).

A copper of Phrygia Epiktetos, struck at Aizanoi (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 202) probably after 133 B.C., has *obv.* bust of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* ΕΠΙΚΤΗ ΤΕΩΝ eagle on thunderbolt (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 200 pl. 26, 2). *Quasi*-autonomous and imperial coppers of Aizanoi show Zeus standing to left, half-draped in a *himátion*, with an eagle in his right hand, and a long sceptre in his left (*ib.* p. 28 no. 33 f. time of Gallienus; pp. 30 ff., 38 f., 41 f. pl. 5, 8 Augustus, 9 Claudius. Fig. 856 is from a specimen, struck by Caligula, in my collection),

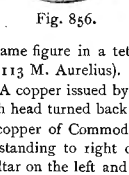


Fig. 856.

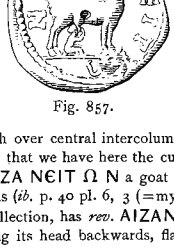


Fig. 857.

also the same figure in a tetrastyle temple with arch over central intercolumniation (*ib.* p. 39 no. 113 M. Aurelius). There can be no doubt that we have here the cult-statue of the god. A copper issued by Commodus has *rev.* ΑΙΖΑ ΝΕΙΤ Ω Ν a goat standing to right, with head turned back, suckling the infant Zeus (*ib.* p. 40 pl. 6, 3 (=my fig. 857)). Another copper of Commodus, in the Löbbecke collection, has *rev.* ΑΙΖΑΝΕΙ ΤΩΝ an eagle standing to right on a column, but turning its head backwards, flanked by a flaming altar on the left and a tree on the right (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 191 no. 11).

Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. 0 no. (23)).

[1] Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. figs. 122, 123). Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. 0 no. (23)).

[2] Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 124).

[3] Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 129). Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. 0 no. (23)).

Nakoleia[1].
Synnada[2].
Upper valley of the Tembrogios or Tembrios[3].

Galatia

Mount Agdos[4].

[1] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 882 n. 0 no. (23)).

[2] Infancy of Zeus on a Phrygian mountain (*supra* i. 151 f. fig. 120).

[3] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος = Zeus Βέννιος or Βεννεύς (*supra* p. 883 n. 0 no. (23)).

[4] The myth of Attis has two principal forms—a Lydian version, in which Attis is killed by a boar, and a Phrygian version, in which he mutilates himself under a pine-tree. Since the cult of the Great Mother came to Rome from Pessinous in Phrygia, the Phrygian became the official version and gradually eclipsed its Lydian rival (H. Hepding *Attis seine Mythen und sein Kult* Gieszen 1903 p. 121 f.). The Pessinuntine tradition has been preserved for us by Paus. 7. 17. 10—12 and Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5—7. H. Hepding *op. cit.* p. 37 ff. prints the texts in parallel columns and *ib.* p. 103 ff. discusses their relations and respective sources. Pausanias professes to give the 'local story' (Paus. 7. 17. 10 ἐπιχώριος...λόγος); Arnobius, to derive his information from Timotheos the theologian and other equally learned persons, among whom he mentions the priest Valerius (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5 apud Timotheum, non ignobilem theologorum unum, nec non apud alios aeque doctos super Magna deorum Matre superque sacris eius origo haec sita est, ex reconditis antiquitatum libris et ex intimis eruta, quemadmodum ipse scribit insinuatque, mysteriis, 5. 7 quam Valerius pontifex Iam nomine fuisse conscribit). A. Kalkmann *Pausanias der Perieget* Berlin 1886 p. 247 ff. showed that Pausanias and Arnobius are really dependent on Alexandros Polyhistor, who in turn got his facts from Timotheos, Promathidas, etc. (see Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 47 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 233 Müller, cp. *ib.* p. 202) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Γάλλος), and that Arnobius, in addition to Polyhistor, used a Roman source, probably the priest Valerius, thereby contaminating the Pessinuntine tradition of Agdistis with current tales of the Mater Magna and Attis. Hepding summarises the resultant myth, enclosing within square brackets points of divergence between Pausanias and Arnobius:

Zeus let fall seed on the ground [in his sleep (Paus.), when attempting to lie with the Magna Mater who was asleep on the sunmit of Mt Agdos (Arnob.)]. In due time the earth bore a wild bisexual being named Agdistis. [The gods, fearing him, cut off his male organ of generation (Paus.). He, having irresistible strength and ferocity, did much mischief, till Liber mingled strong wine with the spring at which he used to slake his thirst and thus threw him into a deep sleep. Liber then took an ingenious noose made of bristles and slipped one end round his foot (*plantae*. Hepding translates: 'an einem Baum'), the other round his genitals. The monster, starting up from sleep, drew the noose tight and so castrated himself (Arnob.).] The blood flowed fast, and from the severed member sprang a fruit-tree, [an almond (Paus.), a pomegranate (*malum...cum pomis...punicum*) (Arnob.).] A daughter of the river Sangarios [Nana by name (Arnob.)] picked the fruit and put it in her bosom. [The fruit immediately vanished (Paus.)] and she conceived. [Thereupon her father kept her shut up and tried to starve her; but the Mother fed her on pomegranates (*pomis*) and other food of the gods (Arnob.).] So she brought forth an infant son, who was exposed [by Sangarios' orders (Arnob.), but tended by a he-goat (Paus.), or found by some one and nurtured on goat's milk (Arnob.: text corrupt). He was called Attis because the Lydian word *attis* means 'scitulus' or because the Phrygian *attagus* means 'hircus' (Arnob.)]. [As the boy grew up, his beauty was more than human, and Agdistis loved him (Paus.). The Mother of the gods loved him for his good looks. So did Agdistis, who ever at his side led him through the woods and presented him with spoils of the chase. Young Attis at first boasted that he had won these himself, but later, under the influence of wine, admitted that they were love-gifts from Agdistis. Hence those that are polluted with wine may not enter his sanctuary (Arnob.).] When Attis was fully grown, he went to Pessinous to wed the king's daughter, [being sent thither by his kinsfolk (Paus.), or summoned by Midas king of Pessinous, who disapproved

of the alliance with Agdistis and closed the town to prevent any untoward interruption of the wedding. But the Mother of the gods, aware that the young man's safety depended on his freedom from wedlock, entered the town, uplifting its walls on her head, which has worn a mural crown ever since (Arnob.)]. While the bridal hymn was being sung, Agdistis appeared and drove the whole company mad. [Attis cut off his genitals and so did the father of his bride (Paus.). Gallos mutilated himself and the daughter of his concubine cut off her breasts (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 13: the text of 5. 7 is confused. A. Kalkmann *op. cit.* p. 248 f. makes it probable that Gallos was king of Pessinous and father of the bride: Midas has been imported from an extraneous source). Attis snatched the pipe borne by Agdistis, and full of frenzy flung himself forth. Falling at length beneath a pine-tree he shore off his genitals and cried: 'Take these, Agdistis,—'twas for their sake thou didst stir up this storm of frenzied mischance.' Attis died from loss of blood. But the Great Mother of the gods collected the severed parts, wrapped them in his garment, and buried them in the ground. Violets sprang from his blood and wreathed the tree. Hence the sacred pines are still covered with garlands. The maiden betrothed to him—Valerius the priest calls her Ia—covered his bosom with soft wool, wept for his hard fate (Arnob.)], as did Agdistis, [and then slew herself. Her blood became purple violets. The Mother of the gods dug beneath Ia (text doubtful), and up came an almond, signifying the bitterness of death. Then she carried the pine, under which Attis had mutilated himself, to her cave, and in company with Agdistis beat her breast about its trunk (text doubtful) (Arnob.)]. Zeus, when asked by Agdistis to bring Attis to life, refused, but consented that his body should remain incorruptible, [his hair always grow, and his little finger be endowed with perpetual movement. Satisfied with this, Agdistis consecrated Attis' body at Pessinous, and honoured it with yearly rites and a priesthood (Arnob.)].

Throughout this narrative (with which cp. Paus. 1. 4. 5) it is clear that Agdistis is only a Pessinuntine appellation of the Great Mother. So Strab. 469 *οἱ δὲ Βερέκυντες, Φρυγῶν τι φῦλον, καὶ ἁπλῶς οἱ Φρύγες καὶ τῶν Τρώων οἱ περὶ τὴν Ἴδην κατοικοῦντες Ῥέαν μὲν καὶ αὐτοὶ τιμῶσι καὶ ὀργιάζουσι ταύτῃ, Μητέρα καλοῦντες θεῶν καὶ Ἄγδιστιν* (so I. Casaubon for *ἄγεστιν* epit. Palat. *αἴεστιν* codd. plerique) *καὶ Φρυγίαν θεὸν μεγάλην, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν τόπων Ἰδαίαν καὶ Δινδυμήνην καὶ Σιπυλήνην καὶ Πεσσινουντίδα καὶ Κυβέλην*, 567 *Πεσσινοῦς δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον τῶν ταύτῃ μέγιστον, ἱερὸν ἔχον τῆς Μητρὸς τῶν θεῶν σεβασμοῦ μεγάλου τυγχάνον· καλοῦσι δ' αὐτὴν Ἄγδιστιν* (so I. Casaubon for *ἀγδίστην* codd. *r.o.* *ἀγγιδίστην* (with *ι* added over the *η*) cod. D. *ἀγγίδιστιν* codd. rell. *Angidistam* Guarino da Verona), Hesych. *s.v.* *Ἀγδιστις· ἡ αὐτὴ τῇ Μητρὶ τῶν θεῶν.* In Plout. *de fluv.* 13. 3 *Αἰγέσθιος ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Διοσφόρου, κόρης Ἴδης ἐρασθείς, συνῆλθεν τῇ προειρημένῃ καὶ ἐγέννησεν ἐξ αὐτῆς τοὺς εἰρημένους Ἰδαίους Δακτύλους. γενομένης δ' αὐτῆς ἄφορνος ἐν τῷ τῆς Ῥέας ἀδύτῳ, Αἰγέσθιος εἰς τιμὴν τῆς προειρημένης τὸ ὄρος Ἴδην μετωνόμασεν* R. Unger acutely cj. *Ἀγδίστιος* (*Ἄγδεστις*? A.B.C.) *ὁ γεννηθεὶς ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς σπόρου.* The same divine name occurs in several inscriptions: (1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3886, 1 ff. = P. Paris in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 237 f. no. 7, 1 ff. (Eumeneia) *ὁ δῆμος ἐτεί[μησεν] | Μόνιμον Ἀρίστων[ος,] | τὸν λαμπαδάρχην, τ[ερέα Διὸς] | Σωτῆρος καὶ Ἀπόλλ[ωνος καί] | Μητρὸς Ἀσκληποῦ [καὶ Μητρὸς] | θεῶν Ἀνγδίστεω[ς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ] | Δαίμονος καὶ ε[ὐ]σε[βεστάτης Σε]|βαστῆς Εἰρήνης, κ.τ.λ.* (2) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 3993, 1 ff. (Ikonion) *[θ]ε[ο]ὺς σωτῆρας τήν τε Ἄγγ|διστιν καὶ τὴν Μ[ητέ]ρα Βοη|θηνὴν καὶ θεῶν τὴν Μη|τέρα κ.τ.λ.* (3) *Ib.* iv no. 6837 (beneath a relief of Kybele, with a pair of lions, seated in an *aedicula* (R. Pococke *A Description of the East, and Some other Countries* London 1745 ii. 2. 212 pl. 98)) *Μητρὶ θεῶν Ἀγγίστει Ἀμέρμνος οἰκονόμος τῆς πόλεως | εὐχήν.* (4) B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae Orae Septentrionalis Ponti Euxini Graecae et Latinae* Petropoli 1890 ii. 32 no. 31 (of Roman date; beneath a relief representing two draped female figures facing, with a girl standing on their right) *Πλουσία ὑπὲρ τῶν θυγατέρων κατὰ πρόσταγμα | Ἀγγίσ(τε)ι* (the stone has ΑΓΓΙCCCΙ) *ἀνέθηκε.* On Agdistis see further K. Keil in *Philologus* 1852 vii. 198—201, W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 204 f., 207 f., 216, G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 767 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1528 n. 1, 1547.

Another myth connected with Mt Agdos was that of Deukalion (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 5

Ankyra[1].

Lykia

Mount Kragos[2].

in Phrygiae finibus inauditae per omnia vastitatis petra, inquit (*sc.* Timotheus), est quaedam, cui nomen est Agdus, regionis eius ab indigenis sic vocatae. ex ea lapides sumptos, sicut Themis mandaverat praecinens, in orbem mortalibus vacuum Deucalion iactavit et Pyrrha, ex quibus cum ceteris et haec Magna quae dicitur informata est Mater atque animata divinitus). Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 444 n. 4 well cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 522—545.

[1] Coin-type of Zeus seated on a rock (*supra* i. 124).

[2] Mt Kragos is a continuation of Mt Tauros, forming a promontory (*Yedi-Burún*, the 'Seven Capes') on the south-western coast of Lykia. North of it is the range of Anti-kragos. T. A. B. Spratt—E. Forbes *Travels in Lycia, Milyas, and the Cibyratis* London 1847 i. 300 ff. describe their ascent of Kragos (1842): 'In the afternoon we made our way to the opening of a pass leading between the summits of Cragus and Anticragus, now called Mendos and Baba-dagh;...at daybreak, next morning, (May 27th,) we ascended to a plain which lies between the two chief peaks at a height of four thousand feet... Leaving our attendants and horses...we commenced the ascent of the highest peak of Cragus, which rose precipitously more than two thousand five hundred feet above this alpine plain. The first half of the way was through a thick zone of forest; the remainder was among precipices of bare rock, in the crevices of which lay the accumulated snow of winter... From the sharp and narrow summit of this lofty peak we enjoyed our last look over Lycia; below us lay the whole expanse of the Xanthian plain, and beyond we could see far into the gorges and yailahs ['summer encampments'] of Massicytus... Such is the steepness of Cragus, that its precipices plunge from the snowy summit to the sea, and from the lofty pinnacle on which we stood we could see the waves breaking white against its base.' Ancient allusions are collected by W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1567. Strab. 665 is worth quoting: *εἶθ' ἑξῆς ὁ Ἀντίκραγος...καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον ὁ Κράγος, ἔχων ἄκρας ὀκτὼ (κράγας ὀκτὼ* codd. *ἄκρας ὀκτὼ* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 847. *ἄκρας δύο* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 635, 19. We should probably translate 'eight summits,' not 'eight headlands') *καὶ πόλιν ὁμώνυμον. περὶ ταῦτα μυθεύεται τὰ ὄρη τὰ περὶ τῆς Χιμαίρας· ἔστι δ' οὐκ ἄπωθεν καὶ ἡ Χίμαιρα φάραγξ τις, ἀπὸ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἀνατείνουσα* (the glen of *Avlan*: see O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Reisen in Lykien und Karien* Wien 1884 p. 82 f.).

Kragos had certain caverns known as the *θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα*. These 'wild gods' appear to have been the eponym Kragos and his family (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κράγος, *ὄρος Λυκίας. Ἀλέξανδρος δευτέρῳ Λυκιακῶν* (Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 75 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 235 Müller)). *ἀπὸ Κράγου τοῦ Τρεμίλου υἱοῦ, μητρὸς δὲ Πραξιδίκης νύμφης. ἐνταῦθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τὰ ἐπονομαζόμενα θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα. ἀπαθανατισθῆναι γάρ φασι τοὺς περὶ τὸν Κράγον*, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 847 *τὸν δὲ ἐνταῦθα Ταῦρον τὸ ὄρος καὶ Κράγον φησὶ φημίζεσθαι, ἀπὸ Κράγου τινὸς ἐπιφανοῦς ἀνδρός, ὃς αὐτόθι θανὼν τιμᾶται. ἐν τούτῳ δέ φασιν οἱ παλαιοὶ τῷ Κράγῳ θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα εἶναι*). Kragos and his kin are mentioned also in Panyasis *frag.* 18 Kinkel *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τρεμίλη, in Timagenes *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 322 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μιλύαι, and in an important inscription from Sidyma (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *op. cit.* p. 75 ff. no. 53 A, 15 ff. *τὴν πρὸς ὑμᾶ[ς καὶ Τλωεῖς καὶ]* | *Πιναρεῖς γενεαλ[ογίαν Τρεμί][λ]ου καὶ Πραξιδίκης, ἐξ ὧν Τλῶ[ος καὶ]* | *[Κ]ράγος καὶ Πίναλος ἀνῆκον, δι[αδή][λ]ης γενεαλο[γί]ας καὶ ὑπ' ἐμοῦ πολ|λάκις δεδηλωμένης κατὰ τὰς Πο|[λ]υχάρμου καὶ ἑτέρων ἱστορίας, ib.* C, 9 ff. *ἐν δὲ Σιδύμοις, κτίσματι Σιδύμου* | *υἱοῦ Τλώου καὶ Χελειδόνος τῆς* | *Κράγου, Ἀπόλλωνα τόπῳ πρὸς* | *θαλάσσῃ Λοπτοῖς σπηλαίῳ* | *ἀποκρύφῳ δυσειςόδῳ ἐκ κορυ|φῆς δὲ φωτοῦλκον ἄνοιγμα* | *μεικρὸν ἔχοντι. μέσον εἰς δ κα|θοπτεῦσαι θελήσασά τις ἄφνως* | *ἀψοφητὶ τὸν θεὸν κατη|ψέχθη, καὶ λίθος κεῖται πτῶμα* | *φόβου δεῖγμα κατασκόπων·* | *διὸ καὶ κρο[οῦ]ν[τε]ς ἐπ' ἄσματι* | *'χαῖρε, Ἄπολλον, ὁ ἐγ Λοπτῶν'* | *εἰσερχόμενοι φωνοῦμεν* | *τήνδε*. The cave-cult of Apollon at Lopta described in this curious record may give us some notion of the *θεῶν ἀγρίων ἄντρα*: indeed, Apollon himself is on occasion *ἄγριος* (Orph. *h. Ap.* 34. 5). The Titans too bore the same title (Hesych. *ἄγριοι θεοί· οἱ Τιτᾶνες*), perhaps as being chieftains or kings (*supra* i. 655 f.). Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1186 n.[i]

Mount Olympos (?)[1].

Pisidia

Prostanna (?)[2].

justly cp. Plout. *de def. or.* 21 (quoted by Theodoret. *Gr. aff. cur.* p. 129 Gaisford) *ἐπεὶ καὶ Σολύμους πυνθάνομαι τοὺς Λυκίων προσοίκους ἐν τοῖς μάλιστα τιμᾶν τὸν Κρόνον· ἐπεὶ δὲ ἀποκτείνας τοὺς ἄρχοντας αὐτῶν, Ἄρσαλον καὶ Δρύον* (*Ἄρυον* Theodoret.) *καὶ Τόσοβιν, ἔφυγε καὶ μετεχώρησεν ὁποιδήποτε* (*τοῦτο γὰρ οὐκ ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν*), *ἐκεῖνον μὲν ἀμεληθῆναι, τοὺς δὲ περὶ τὸν Ἄρσαλον σκληροὺς* (*σκιρροὺς* Theodoret.) *θεοὺς προσαγορεύεσθαι, καὶ τὰς κατάρας ἐπὶ τούτων ποιεῖσθαι δημοσίᾳ καὶ ἰδίᾳ Λυκίους.*

It would seem, then, that Kragos and his relatives were, not only heroified, but actually deified. More than that. Kragos was eventually identified with Zeus himself. For Lyk. *Al.* 541 f. *ἔν τε δαιτὶ καὶ θαλυσίοις | λοιβαῖσι μειλίσσωσιν ἀστεργῆ Κράγον* is thus expounded by Tzetz. *ad loc.*: *ἀστεργῆ δὲ Κράγον τὸν Δία λέγει ἐπεὶ μὴ ἔστερξε τὴν θυσίαν αὐτῶν. λέγονται δὲ θύοντες τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς ἐπιλαθέσθαι τοῦ Διός, ὅθεν φιλονεικίαν αὐτοῖς ἐνέβαλε. Κράγος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λυκίᾳ τιμᾶται.*

[1] *Supra* i. 100 n. 11. Methodios, bishop of the Lycian-town Olympos at the beginning of *s.* iv. A.D., claims to have seen on the summit of this mountain *agnus castus* growing, quite unharmed, round a fire that sprang from the earth (Method. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 298 b 23 ff. Bekker *ἐθεασάμην ἐν Ὀλύμπῳ ἐγώ* (*ὄρος δέ ἐστιν ὁ Ὄλυμπος τῆς Λυκίας*) *πῦρ αὐτομάτως κατὰ τὴν ἀκρώρειαν τοῦ ὄρους κάτωθεν ἐκ τῆς γῆς ἀναδιδόμενον, περὶ ὃ πῦρ ἄγνος φυτόν ἐστιν, οὕτω μὲν εὐθαλὲς καὶ χλοερόν, οὕτω δὲ σύσκιον, ὡς ὑπὸ πηγῆς μᾶλλον αὐτὸ δοκεῖν βεβλαστηκέναι. κ.τ.λ.*) The good bishop describes the phaenomenon in terms reminiscent of Moses and the burning bush; and it is noteworthy that Mt Olympos, otherwise called Phoinikous (Strab. 666), is nowadays named *Musa Dagh*, the 'mountain of Moses.' This mountain rises to a height of *c.* 1000^{m} due south of the town Olympos on the eastern coast of Lykia. But the perpetual fire is commonly associated with Mt Chimaira (*Yanâr-tash*), a height of some 250^{m} due north of the same town. Here in fact it is still to be seen—a strong jet of flaming gas that leaps up like a fountain from crevices in the rock. The immediate neighbourhood of the vent is bare of vegetation, but all around, a few paces off, is greenery in abundance. For classical references see W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2281; and for modern description and discussion, E. Petersen—F. von Luschan *Reisen in Lykien Milyas und Kibyratis* Wien 1889 pp. 138—142 ('Die Chimaira') with fig. 65 and pl. 17. In antiquity several such fiery jets were known and the site was called Hephaistion (Sen. *epist.* 79. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 100), Hephaistia (Solin. 39. 1), or the mountains of Hephaistos (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 236). Skyl. *per.* 100 speaks of a sanctuary of Hephaistos above the harbour Siderous: *ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστὶν ἱερὸν Ἡφαίστου ἐν τῷ ὄρει καὶ πῦρ πολὺ αὐτόματον ἐκ τῆς γῆς καίεται καὶ οὐδέποτε σβέννυται.* Hence Hephaistos appears, forging the shield of Achilles, on a copper of Olympos struck by Gordianus iii Pius (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 326 f. no. 10 pl. F, 14).

It was, however, only natural that in this town, which lay between Mt Olympos and Hephaistion, there should have been a joint recognition of Zeus and Hephaistos. R. Heberdey—E. Kalinka *Bericht über zwei Reisen in S.W. Kleinasien* Wien 1896 p. 34 no. 42 publish an inscription, in which mention is made of a fine payable *θεοῖς Ὀλυμπίοις Διὶ καὶ Ἡφαίστῳ*. G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. lxvi compares with it a bronze coin of Olympos at Paris with *obv.* head of Athena to right, *rev.* the ethnic and a thunderbolt.

[2] Prostanna (*Egherdîr*) was situated on the shore of Limnai, at the foot of Mt Viarus (Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* London 1890 p. 407). Imperial coppers of the town have *obv.* Mt Viarus, *rev.* ΠΡ OC a tree (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. cvi, 238 pl. 37, 9, Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 175 no. 502 pl. 10, 27), and *rev.* ΠΡΟCΤΑΝ ΝΕΩΝ Mt Viarus with three trees growing on it and ΟΥΙΑΡΟC below (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 239 pl. 37, 13 Claudius ii) or Mt Viarus with a pine-tree on its summit and ΒΙΑΡΟC below (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas.*

Mount Solymos[1].

Münzen ii. 391 no. 10 pl. 14, 5, A. Markl in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1900 xxxii. 157 no. 4 pl. 7, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 709). Since another coin-type of Prostanna shows Zeus seated with Demeter (?) behind him (G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. cvi n. †, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 709), it is possible that the cult of the god was connected with the mountain which dominates the town (for views see A. de Laborde, Becker, Hall et L. de Laborde *Voyage de l'Asie Mineure* Paris 1838 p. 111).

[1] Termessos (Termessus Maior) was built, a good 1000[m] above sea-level, on Mt Solymos (Strab. 630) or Solyma (*id.* 666), the modern *Güldere Dagh* or *Güllük Dagh*. It was an ideally placed stronghold of the Solymoi, whose eponym Solymos figures on imperial coppers of the town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. xc, 271 no. 27 pl. 41, 12 *rev.* ΣΟΛΥ ΜΟΣ Solymos standing to left, with cuirass, spear, and short sword, 272 no. 36 pl. 41, 14 ΣΟΛΥ ΜΟΣ Solymos enthroned to left, with crested helmet and right hand raised to face, cp. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 410 no. 6 pl. 15, 15 and 411 no. 10 pl. 15, 17, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 712). As a warlike hero he was affiliated sometimes to Zeus (Antimachos *frag.* 16 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. P.T. *Od.* 5. 283 ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι ὠνομάσθησαν (δὲ add. T., omissis ὅθεν καὶ οἱ Σόλυμοι) ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Καλχηδονίας, ὡς Ἀντίμαχος δηλοῖ, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 (Iupiter vitiat) Chalceam nympham, ex qua nascitur Olympus (where O. Höfer cj. *Chalcedonian* and *Solymus*: see his remarks in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1154), Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πισιδία· οἱ Πισίδαι πρότερον Σόλυμοι, ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Χαλδήνης), sometimes to Ares (*et. mag.* p. 721, 43 ff. Σόλυμοι (so T. Gaisford for Σόλυμος)· ἔθνος περὶ Κιλικίαν· ἀπὸ Σολύμου τοῦ Καλδήνης τῆς Πισίου καὶ Ἄρεως· οἱ νῦν Ἴσαυροι).

The principal deity of the town in classical times was Zeus Σολυμεύς. Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* Suppl. vii. 138 no. 228 gives (after Sestini) a coin reading ΖΕΥC ΣΟΛΥΜΕΥC, and J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1885 xii. 6 figures another, at Berlin, with *obv.* Δ|[ΟΣ] ΣΟΛΥΜΕΩ[Σ] bust of Zeus Σολυμεύς (but see G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. xc n. ‖). The head of Zeus appears as the normal Termessian coin-type *c.* 71—39 B.C., in the time of the Antonines, and from Gordian to Gallienus (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 268 ff. pl. 41, 8—11, pl. 42, 1 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 712). E. Petersen in K. Lanckoroński *Städte Pamphyliens und Pisidiens* Wien 1892 ii. 47 ff. describes the remains of what was probably the temple of Zeus Σολυμεύς. The site is a raised terrace (1054[m]) adjoining the southernmost part of the gymnasium and close to a group of other temples (N 3 on the large plan opposite p. 21). Here were found Doric column-drums, Attic bases with portions of shafts and plinths, architrave-blocks, coffering, the right-hand end-block of a pediment, statue-pedestals, and two reliefs from a frieze representing a Gigantomachy (Zeus and Apollon *v.* Giants with serpentine legs). These last were published by G. Hirschfeld in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 157—160 figs. *A*, *B*. Further, a cylindrical base (1·18[m] high), which once supported a bronze statue (of Zeus ?), is adorned with a relief of a priest presiding at the sacrifice of a humped bull (E. Petersen *op. cit.* ii. 32, 48 f. figs. 7 and 8) and bears the inscription Ὀτάνις ΙΟΓΑΚ | ἱερ(ε)ὺ]ς | Διὶ Σολυμεῖ· | Διονύσιος Ἡρακλε[ίδου] | Ἀλεξά[ν]-δρε[ὺ]ς [ἐποίει (?)] (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 206 no. 78). Another base from the same site was set up when a certain Strabon was priest of Zeus Σολυμεύς (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 80, 15 ff. ἀνεστάθη | ἐπὶ ἱερέως | Σολυμέως Δι[ὸς] | Στράβωνος [β′]). Another carried the statue of a distinguished priest (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 79, 1 ff. ἀρχιερέα καὶ ἱερέα Διὸς Σολ[υμέως] | γενόμενον Λαέρτην Να[ναμόου] | Λαέρτου κ.τ.λ., cp. 207 no. 85, 2 ff. [ἀρ]χιερέα αὐτοκράτ-ορος Καίσαρος Σεβαστοῦ | [ἱερ]έα Διὸς Σολυμέως διὰ βίου Λαέ[ρ]την | [Ναναμό]ου φιλόπατριν καὶ πατέρα πόλεως). Other life-priests of Zeus Σολυμεύς are recorded (*id. ib.* ii. 200 no. 39, 4 f. Τι. Κλ. Τειμόδωρον, 200 no. 41, 4 Τι. Κλ. Τειμόδωρον, 201 no. 48, 6 ff. Μᾶρ. Αὐρ. Μειδια|νὸν Πλατωνιανὸν | Οὐᾶρον, 208 no. 93, 4 ff. Μᾶρ. | Αὐρ. Μειδιανὸν | Οὐᾶρον).

The same deity was believed to have under his special protection the tombs of the dead, for any violation of their sanctity was punished with a fine usually payable to him. Numerous inscriptions of the sort are given by G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899

Pontos

Beuyuk Evlia[1].

xxiii. 165—192, 280—286 (*e.g.* p. 169 no. 7, 9 f. *ὁ τούτων τι πειράσας ὑπεύθυνος ἔσ|ται Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✳ ,α*, p. 171 no. 13, 7 f. *ὁ πειράσας ἐκτεί|σει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✳ ,α*, p. 173 no. 18, 2 *δώσει ὁ πειράσας προστείμου Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✳ ,β*, p. 182 f. no. 41, 5 ff. *ὁ τολμήσας | ἢ παραενχειρήσας ἀποτείσει | Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ιε|ρὰς καὶ ἀπαραι|τήτους δρα|χμὰς δισχιλίας πεντακοσίας*, p. 184 f. no. 44, 5 f. *ὁ πειράσας ἐνοχεθήσεται ἐνκλήματι | τυμβωρυχίας καὶ ἐκτείσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✳ ,αφ'*, p. 188 no. 52, 3 f. *ὁ πειράσας ἐκτείσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✳ ,η καὶ τῷ ἱερωτά|τῳ ταμιείῳ ✳ ,η*, p. 189 f. no. 54, 7 ff. *ὁ τού|των τι πειράσας ἔνοχος ἔσ|ται ἐνκλήματι τυμβωρυχί|ας καὶ ἀραῖς ταῖς εἰς τοὺς κα|τοιχομένους καὶ προσαπο|τείσει Διὶ Σολυμεῖ ✳ ,α*. See also pp. 167 f. no. 4, 7 ff., 170 no. 10, 7 f., 171 f. no. 14, 4 ff., 172 no. 15, 8 f., 173 f. no. 20, 10 f., 175 no. 24, 2 ff., 175 f. no. 25, 10 f., 176 no. 26, 7 f., 179 f. no. 34, 7 f., 183 f. no. 43, 9 f., 185 no. 45, 3 ff., 186 f. no. 48, 9 ff., 187 no. 49, 5 ff., 187 no. 50, 3 ff., 187 f. no. 51, 9 f., 188 f. no. 53, 11 f., 191 no. 57, 5 ff., 280 f. no. 62, 6 ff., 283 no. 64, 7 ff., 284 no. 66, 10 f., 285 no. 67, 8 ff., 285 f. no. 68, 9 f.), and a few by K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 217 no. 154*, 2 f., 218 no. 167, 6 ff., 218 no. 171[a] (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 *k*), 9 f., 219 no. 173, 16 ff., 219 no. 174, 7 f.

G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 127 f. publishes, among inscriptions copied by E. T. Daniell and Sir C. Fellows, no. 24, 3 ff. *ἐκτείσι | τῷ ἱερωτάτῳ ταμίῳ | ✳ ,μ' κὲ τῶ Διὶ | Σολύμῳ ✳ ,μ'*, adding: 'The form Σόλυμος for Σολυμεύς is unusual; it occurs again on an inscription on p. 493 [of a MS. volume transcribed by S. Birch].' The form suggests that the eponymous hero Solymos, by a process already exemplified in the case of Kragos (*supra* p. 971 n. 2), had been raised to the rank of Zeus.

Other inscriptions from Termessos attest a cult of Zeus and Dione (*id. ib.* ii. 206 no. 77 on a lintel from the southernmost part of the gymnasium *[τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασ]αμένου Διὸς καὶ Διώνης Ἀλφείδου Μολέους | [τὸν ναὸν καὶ τ]ὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἱερὰ καὶ ἀγάλματα ὁ δῆμος ἐκ τῆς | ὑποστάσεως (i.e. ἐκ τῆς ὑποστάσεως τοῦ πρώτου ἱερασαμένου κ.τ.λ.)*, 219 no. 175[a] (= *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4366 *m*) completed by G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 192 no. 60 on a sarcophagus at the first Gate *ἱερεὺς Διὸς καὶ Διώνης | Γαΐος Διοτείμου Ἐρ. | Τρ. Γαίου Γειν(ίου) Χυ. τὴν | σωματοθήκην ἑαυτῷ καὶ | Ἀρτέμει Ἐρ. Τρ. Γαίου Γειν(ίου) Π. αὐτοῦ· κ.τ.λ.*) and a cult of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (K. Lanckoroński *op. cit.* ii. 203 no. 58, 26 *ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ἐλευθερίου Διόδοτος Ἑρμαίου Ἀρ|τείμου ✳ φ'*, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. lxxxix n. ¶, xcii with n.*, 275 no. 55 pl. 42, 2 *obv.* ΤΕΡ ΜΗCCΕΩΝ head of Zeus, laureate, to right, with Θ below; *rev.* ΕΛΕV ΘΕΡΑΤΕ ΡΜΗCCΕ ΗΤΟΚΑΠ ΟVCΕΧΟ VCA in wreath = *ἐλευθέρα Τερμησσὲ | ἡ το(ὺς) κάπους ἔχουσα*, which I take to be a tag from some popular chorus (hence the *quasi*-Doric *κάπους*) performed at a festival of Zeus Ἐλευθέριος).

[1] In 82 B.C. Mithridates vi Eupator, having cleared Kappadokia of the Roman forces, offered a solemn sacrifice to Zeus *Στράτιος*. Appian. *Mithr.* 66, perhaps following Nikolaos of Damaskos (T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 445 f.), describes the scene in detail (trans. H. White): 'The news of this brilliant and decisive victory spread quickly and caused many to change sides to Mithridates. The latter drove all of Murena's garrisons out of Cappadocia and offered sacrifice to Zeus Stratius on a lofty pile of wood on a high hill, according to the fashion of his country, which is as follows. First, the kings themselves carry wood to the heap. Then they make a smaller pile encircling the other one, on which they pour milk, honey, wine, oil, and various kinds of incense. A banquet is spread on the ground for those present (as at the sacrifices of the Persian kings at Pasargadae) and then they set fire to the wood. The height of the flame is such that it can be seen at a distance of 1000 stades from the sea, and they say that nobody can come near it for several days on account of the heat. Mithridates performed a sacrifice of this kind according to the custom of his country.' In 74 B.C., when about to enter Paphlagonia, Mithridates repeated the offering. Appian. *Mithr.* 70 (trans. White) says: 'At the beginning of spring Mithridates made trial of his navy and sacrificed to Zeus

Stratius in the customary manner, and also to Poseidon by plunging a chariot with white horses into the sea.'

Imperial coppers of Amaseia, the residence of the Pontic kings (Strab. 561), have been rightly interpreted as referring to this cult (C. Cavedoni in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1840 p. 70 f.). They exhibit a large altar, sometimes of two stages and flaming. Beside it are two trees with twisted trunks. Above it on some specimens there hovers an eagle, or the sun-god in his *quadriga*, or both. Occasionally a bull is shown lying dead on the upper stage (*supra* i. 602 n. 2.. I illustrate four examples. Fig. 858 = Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 38 no. 78 pl. 5, 26 (Paris) Caracalla 206 A.D. ('une victime qui paraît être un chien'!). Fig. 859 = *eid. ib.* i. 38 no. 79 pl. 6, 1 (Paris) Caracalla 206 A.D. Fig. 860 = *eid. ib.* i. 40 no. 96 pl. 6, 7 (A. Löbbecke) Geta 206 A.D. ('un taureau mort'). Fig. 861 is from a specimen, in my collection, struck by Severus Alexander in 232 A.D.).

F. Cumont—E. Cumont *Voyage d'exploration archéologique dans le Pont et la Petite Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* ii) Bruxelles 1906 pp. 136—184 devote a chapter to Amaseia, including a valuable discussion (pp. 145 f., 172 ff.) of Zeus Στράτιος and his cult. Their

Fig. 858.

Fig. 859.

Fig. 860.

Fig. 861.

discoveries may be resumed as follows. Some four miles due east of Amaseia rises a rounded hill (1350m) known as *Beuyuk Evlia*, 'The Great Saint' (map xiii), and reputed to be the burial-place of a santon or Turkish saint. Every year in May the peasants repair to this otherwise deserted height, slaughter fowls and sheep, and feast merrily in honour of the *Proftt Iliyâ*. A clump of large pines crowns the hill-top, venerable trees which are held in such respect that no one will touch them with an axe. (By way of an ancient parallel F. Cumont cites M. Tsakuroglou in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ 1878—1880 p. 164 no. ΤΛΒ′ = S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 157 an inscription from *Divlit* near Koloë (*Koula*) in Lydia ἔτους τκ′, μη[νὸς] Περειτίου β′, Αὐρ. | Στρατόνεικος β′, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ ἄγνοιαν ἐκ τοῦ ἄλσου[ς] ἔκοψα | δένδρα θεῶν Διὸς Σαβαζίου καὶ | Ἀρτέμιδος Ἀναειτις κολασ|θεὶς, εὐξάμενος εὐχαριστήριον ἀνέστησα with Tsakuroglou's note: 'Au-dessus est représenté un homme; à côté de lui, sur la droite, deux arbres, et un seul à gauche. Il est remarquable que la défense de couper du bois dans le bois sacré de Sabazios et d'Artémis Anaïtis subsiste encore aujourd'hui, car les habitants turcs de Santal près de Divlit croient que celui qui coupe du bois est puni par quelque maladie.'

[See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 40—45.] The summit of the hill forms a flattish space *c.* 250[m] across and was enclosed by a *peribolos*-wall, which can still be traced, especially to the south-west. In the middle of the open space a square mound (*c.* 40[m] each side) evidently covers some construction, for bits of moulding and the *débris* of cut marble are scattered over the ground. Here in all probability stood a monumental altar. A marble base found on the spot records the name of Cn. Claudius Philon as priest for life (J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i no. 142 τὸ ἀ[νάθημα] (or ἀ[γαλμα]) | ἐκ τῶν τ[οῦ] | θεοῦ Γναΐ|ος Κλ(αύδιος) Φίλων | ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου) and two inscriptions from the neighbouring village of *Ebimi* preserve dedications to Zeus Στράτιος (*eid. ib.* i no. 140 on a small limestone altar Διὶ | Στρα|τίῳ | Βασι|λεὺς (a frequent name in Pontos) | εὐχῇ, no. 141 on two portions of a limestone balustrade Διὶ Στρατίῳ [ὁ δῆμος ἐν ἐκκλησίᾳ] κυρίᾳ ἐπὶ τῆς συνὀ|αρχίας Πομ[πωνίου . . . . . τοῦ ?] Καν̣δίδου, νεωκο|ροῦντος γ' [. . . . . ο]υ Ἀγριππιανοῦ, ἐκ | τῶν συν(λ)ε|λεγμένων χρημάτω]ν ϛ ἔτους ϛ ρα̣ ϛ (=98/99 A.D.). In line 4 συνα[θροισθέντων κ.τ.λ.] is possible). From these inscriptions we gather that in the year 99 A.D. the cult was administered by *συνάρχοντες* and *νεωκόροι*. To the west of the precinct is rising ground formerly covered with buildings. The festivities there celebrated seem to have included dramatic shows—witness the epitaph of the strolling player Gemellos, found at *Ebimi* (F. Cumont in the *Festschrift zu Otto Hirschfelds sechzigstem Geburtstage* Berlin 1903 p. 277 ff. = J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *op. cit.* i no. 143 κεῖμε Γεμέλλος ἐγὼ | ὁ πολλοῖς θεάτροις | πολλὰ λαλήσας | καὶ πολλὰς ὁδοὺς | αὐτὸς ὁδεύσας, | καὶ οὐκέτι μου στόμα | φωνὰ[ς] ἀπολύει, | οὐδὲ χειρῶν κρότος | ἔρχετε, ἀλλ' ἀποδοὺς | τὸ δάνιον ('my debt to nature') πεπόρευμε. | ταῦτα πάντα κόνις. The man is as full of quotations as Dikaiopolis).

Other traces of the same cult came to light at *Ghel-Ghiraz*, some sixteen miles west of Amaseia, on the edge of the plain Chiliokomon (*Soulou-Ova*). Here was found a marble altar of *s.* i (?) A.D. dedicated to Zeus Στράτιος (*eid. ib.* i no. 152 Διὶ Στρατίῳ εὐ[χ]ῆς | καὶ εὐσεβίας [χ]άριν Κῦρος καὶ | Φιλέταιρος οἱ | Κλάρου. The letters χ, χ, being crosses, have been effaced by some zealous Mohammedan) and sundry remnants of his temple (Ionic and Corinthian capitals, a column-shaft in red marble, fragments of cornice, blocks of marble) scattered through the village. The temple itself probably stood on a small polygonal plateau cut out on a spur of the mountainous heights above *Ghel-Ghiraz* (map xii).

Lastly, an inscription of Roman date from Athens mentions an offering to Zeus Στράτιος made by four citizens of Amaseia (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. i no. 201 ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· | Διὶ Στρατί[ῳ] | Διότιμος, Ὑψικράτη[ς], | Δρόσερος, Σεύηρος | οἱ Ἀμασεῖς).

F. Cumont justly regards the sacred pines still growing on *Beuyuk Evlia* as comparable with the trees beside the altar on the coins of Amaseia (*supra* figs. 858—861), with the two oaks planted by Herakles at Herakleia Pontike by the altars of Zeus Στράτιος (Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 239 in Ponto citra Heracleam arae sunt Iovis Στρατίου cognomine, ibi quercus duae ab Hercule satae), and with the sacred plane-trees of Zeus Στράτιος at Labranda (*supra* p. 590). But with equal justice Cumont refuses to see in *Beuyuk Evlia* the scene of Mithridates' pyre, which was visible far out at sea and must therefore have been raised on some such peak as *Ak-Dagh*, the highest summit of the country. As to the nature of Zeus Στράτιος, after renewed consideration of the available *data* (cp. F. Cumont 'Le Zeus Stratios de Mithridate' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1901 xliii. 47—57), he arrives at the following conclusion: 'Peut-être était-il à l'origine la divinité locale de quelque tribu indigène de la vallée de l'Iris, qui s'assemblait pour l'adorer sur le sommet d'une montagne voisine. A leur arrivée dans le pays, les colons grecs auraient alors, suivant une coutume constante, transformé cette divinité barbare en un Zeus guerrier. Puis, quand une maison d'origine iranienne fonda un royaume dans cette région, elle aurait prétendu reconnaître dans ce Zeus son Ahoura-Mazda, et lui aurait offert des sacrifices nouveaux, imités de ceux qu'accomplissaient les monarques perses. La nature du dieu serait donc composite; elle serait formée d'une réunion des trois éléments,

Kappadokia

Mount Argaios (?)[1].

pontique, grec et iranien, dont la combinaison caractérise la religion comme la civilisation de ces contrées.'

To this I would add but two remarks. Doubtless, as Cumont says, the pyre of Mithridates on the Pontic mountain bears some resemblance to the perpetual fire on the mountain of Zoroastres (Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 92 f. Reiske cited *supra* i. 783 f., ii. 33), and the offering of milk, honey, wine, and oil by Mithridates recalls the offering of oil, milk, and honey by the Magoi (Strab. 733). But these practices can be paralleled from Greek as well as from Persian usage. The big blaze reminds us of the bonfire on the top of Mt Kithairon kindled once in sixty years at the Great Daidala, when the oak-brides of Zeus were burnt (Paus. 9. 3. 1 ff. cited *supra* p. 898 n. 6). And the offering of milk, honey, wine, and oil is suggestive of the usual Hellenic gifts to the dead (see *e.g.* P. Stengel *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3] München 1920 p. 149 'Man spendet Wein, Wasser, Milch, Honig und Öl, doch selten alles zugleich.' Is the ritual of Aisch. *Pers.* 610 ff. Persian or Greek?). There may after all have been some historica foundation for the folk-belief that a saint lies buried on *Beuyuk Evlia*.

Mt Argaios (*Erjäus*), the culminating point of Antitauros and the highest (3840^{m}) peak in Asia Minor, has its summit covered with perpetual snow (Strab. 538, Solin. 45. 4). On the side facing Kaisareia (*Kaiserieh*) this forms a vast slope of glittering white—a fact which perhaps gave its name to the mountain (for ἀργός, ἀργής, ἀργῆεις, etc. see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 49 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 74 f.).

In antiquity few persons reached the summit, and those who did declared that in clear weather they could see both the Euxine and the bay of Issos (Strab. 538)! The ascent readily won its way into the region of the mythical. W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 ii. 275 reports the following tale: 'A traveller once came from Frangistan, in search of a rare plant which grew only on the summit of Argaeus, having ten leaves round its stalk and a flower in the centre. Here it was said to be guarded by a watchful serpent, which only slept one hour out of the four-and-twenty. The traveller in vain tried to persuade some of the natives to accompany him, and point out the way; none of them would venture, and at length he made the ascent alone. Failing, however, in his attempt to surprise the dragon, he was himself destroyed. The story adds that he was afterwards discovered, transformed into a book, which was taken to Caesareia, and thence found its way back into Frangistan.'

In modern times ascents have been made by Hamilton (1837), Tchihatcheff (1848), and H. F. Tozer with T. M. Crowder (1879). See W. J. Hamilton *op. cit.* ii. 274 ff. (with lithographic pl. view of Mt Argaios as seen from *Kara Hissar*), P. de Tchihatcheff *Asie Mineure* Paris 1853 i. 439 ff. (with fig. 9 view of Mt Argaios, fig. 10 do. as seen from *Erkelet*, fig. 11 do. as seen from *Tomarsé*, fig. 14 plan of Mt Argaios), H. F. Tozer *Turkish Armenia and Eastern Asia Minor* London 1881 pp. 106—131. Tozer says of the summit (*ib.* p. 125 f.): 'The view was quite clear and very extensive, including the long line of the Anti-Taurus to the east, the Allah Dagh and other mountains that run down towards Lycaonia to the south-west, and to the north the vast undulating plains of the interior which we had crossed in coming from Yeuzgatt. One or two small lakes were visible.... We could also trace the depression in which the Halys runs, though the river itself was not in sight. Kaiserieh lay below us...like a dark carpet spread on the bare plain. But far the most remarkable feature was the mountain itself, for the lofty pinnacles of red porphyritic rock, rising from among the snows around and beneath us, veritable *aiguilles*, were as wonderful a sight as can well be conceived [Tozer here gives a striking view of these three needles, which are *c.* 50 feet in height]. The crater or craters, which once occupied the summit, are too much broken away to be easily traceable, the best-marked being that which faces east; but below, all round the base of the mountain, is a belt of volcanic cones. The idea that prevailed among the ancients, that on clear days both the Euxine and the Mediterranean were visible from here, is wholly impossible on account of

the distance, and the height of the intervening mountains.' Tozer adds (*ib.* p. 126 f.): 'As we were climbing about the rocks close by, we found to our great surprise that in places they were perforated with ancient human habitations. One of these wound inwards to a considerable depth with rude niches hollowed in the sides like those which we had seen on the banks of the Halys.... Anyhow there was no question of their being artificial abodes, for besides the niches, the marks of some hard instrument were evident on the roof and sides.'

The capital of Kappadokia, built at the base of Mt Argaios, was named successively Mazaka, Eusebeia, and Kaisareia (Strab. 537 f., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καισάρεια). Bronze coins of Eusebeia, struck by Archelaos king of Kappadokia 36 B.C.—17 A.D., have *rev.* Mt Argaios (*Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 581 no. 1 pl. 62, 15), sometimes with an eagle on its summit (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 45 no. 2 pl. 8, 1 (=my fig. 862)). Imperial coins of Kaisareia, in silver and bronze, from Tiberius to Gordianus iii, repeat the type with many interesting variations (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 46 ff. pl. 8, 8, 12, pl. 9, 6, 7, 21, pl. 10, 6, 7 (=my fig. 864), 8, 14, 17, 18, 20, pl. 11, 1 (=my fig. 865), 4, 6, 7, 9, 11, 13 (=my fig. 869), 15—19, pl. 12, 1, 2, 3 (=my fig. 873), 4, 7, 9, 12, pl. 13, 1, 2 (=my fig. 875), 3, 4 (=my fig. 877), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 582 ff. pl. 62, 16, 19, 22—24, 25 (=my fig. 868), 26—28, 29 (=my fig. 874), Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 417 ff. no. 183 ff. pl. H, 1—4, 5 (=my fig. 872), G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 167 ff. pl. 6, 10, 11, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 752 f. fig. 331. Figs. 863, 866, 867, 870, 871, 876 are from specimens in my collection. See also *supra* i. 603 n. 2). Cp. a red jasper intaglio in the British Museum, which shows Mt Argaios with a wreath above it and a goat's head below (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 135 no. 1107), another from the Blacas collection, which represents the mountain inscribed ΑΡΓΑΙΟC and topped by a radiate figure holding a *patera* in his left hand, a sceptre in his right (*ib.* p. 135 no. 1105), and a third at Berlin, which crowns the summit with an eagle holding a wreath in its beak (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 313 no. 8558 pl. 61).

This famous type has been discussed at length by W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. xxxviii—xli and by O. Rossbach in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1901 vii. 406—409. The general shape of the mountain with its crater above and volcanic cones below is adequately rendered. The woods which formerly fringed its sides (Strab. 538 ἀξύλου γὰρ ὑπαρχούσης σχεδόν τι τῆς συμπάσης Καππαδοκίας, ὁ Ἀργαῖος ἔχει περικείμενον δρυμόν, κ.τ.λ.) are represented by trees (figs. 866, 869 ff.). The game inhabiting them is suggested by the lively little picture of the hound chasing the goat or stag (fig. 863). But Argaios was more than a picturesque object or happy hunting-ground. It was to the Cappadocians καὶ θεὸς καὶ ὅρκος καὶ ἄγαλμα (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner cited *supra* i. 102 n. 5). As an ἄγαλμα it is seen on an altar (fig. 869 ff.) or within a temple (fig. 876). It is even worn as a head-dress by Tranquillina (fig. 877), who thus appears as the Tyche of Kaisareia (H. Dressel in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1901 xxiv. 86 f.). Its claim to divinity is stated somewhat differently by Solin. 45. 4 Mazacam sub Argaeo sitam Cappadoces matrem urbium numerant; qui Argaeus nivalibus iugis arduus ne aestivo quidem torrente pruinis caret quemque indidem populi habitari deo (*habitare deum* cod. G) credunt. It remains therefore to ask what deity was believed to inhabit the mountain. W. Wroth rightly rules out Sarapis, though a coin at Paris shows that god holding the mountain in his hand (J. A. Blanchet in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1895 xiii. 74 f. pl. 3, 15). This, like the Egyptian symbol (?lotos: cp. *supra* p. 773 fig. 737) which tops the mountain on a coin of Trajan (fig. 863), merely proves that from time to time Sarapis bulked big at Kaisareia. Wroth himself concludes (as does Rossbach *loc. cit.* p. 407 f.) that the naked male figure, who appears on the mountain-top holding globe and sceptre (fig. 867) and sometimes wearing a crown of rays (cp. fig. 868), is the deified emperor. Accordingly he takes the eagle on the mountain (fig. 862) or on the mountain-altar (fig. 869) to be the Roman eagle, interprets the 'two or more figures' sometimes seen on the summit (figs. 870, 872) as 'Imperial personages?,' and draws attention to a coin of Caracalla at Berlin (J. Friedlaender in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1884 xi. 52 pl. 1, 5, better read by B. Pick in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 455 ff.) which shows Mt Argaios and a distyle

Fig. 862.

Fig. 863.

Fig. 864.

Fig. 865.

Fig. 866.

Fig. 867.

Fig. 868.

Fig. 869.

Fig. 870.

Fig. 871.

Fig. 872.

Fig. 873.

Fig. 874.

Fig. 875.

Fig. 876.

Fig. 877.

Kilikia
Anazarbos[1].
Mount Olympos (?)[2].

Kypros
Amathous, Golgoi, Kition[3].
Mount Olympos (?)[4].

Assyria
Mount Zagros[5].

Kommagene
Nemroud Dagh[6].

Syria
Chalkis sub Libano (?)[7].

temple below with a star in its pediment and between its columns the inscription ЄΙϹ ЄΩ|ΝΑ ΤΟΥ|Ϲ ΚΥΡΙΟΥ (=*εἰς αἰῶνα τοὺς κυρίους*, an acclamation of the imperial house). Wroth, however, admits 'that before the Imperial age some local divinity—perhaps a mountain-god—was worshipped in connection with Argaeus.'

This is unsatisfactory. The eagle on the mountain-top occurs before the town was renamed Kaisareia (fig. 862 inscribed ЄΥΣ[Ε] ΒЄΙ[Α]), and the eagle on the mountain-altar is much too prominent to be merely a Roman eagle (fig. 869). Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 166, 174 f. did not scruple to speak of a 'Zeus Argäos.' And, though the exact appellation has not yet been found (for Zeus *ἀργής* see *supra* i. 31 f., 317 f.), he was in all probability on the right track. At least the naked figure with globe and sceptre, the radiate crown, the sun and moon (figs. 869, 873), the star (figs. 871, 876) or stars (fig. 864)—to say nothing of the eagle—are all appropriate to a Hellenistic Zeus. At Kaisareia such an one would readily take on oriental features, *e.g.* the tall headdress with which he appears on a silver coin of Trajan (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 52 no. 46 ('Zeus?') pl. 9, 8 (=my fig. 878)). Besides, the two supporters with lances (fig. 870) can then be reasonably explained as the Dioskouroi. It would seem, in fact, that the three rocky pinnacles of the mountain-top were connected with Zeus and the Dioskouroi respectively. I should go further and claim that here, as elsewhere (*supra* pp. 160, 431 f.), the Dioskouroi are anthropomorphic sky-pillars. And I should conjecture that their older aniconic forms were perpetuated by local piety in the curious pillars to right and left of the sacred mountain (figs. 874, 875). The rays that crown these pillars are no accidental adornment. It must often have happened that Dioscuric stars (St Elmo's fires) were to be seen in stormy weather flickering about the *aiguilles* of the summit.

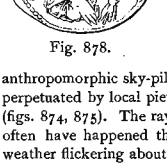


Fig. 878.

Even so we have hardly exhausted the significance of the coin-types. One of them (fig. 867) apparently attaches a goat's head to the outline of the mountain, low down on its left hand side,—a detail which recalls the goat's head on the gem in the British Museum (*supra*), but is not easy to explain. And what are we to make of the star-like flower or rosette that is found so frequently in the centre of the design? Is this only a stylised rendering of rocks or bushes? Or dare we surmise that popular belief connected the mountain with some magical or mythical flower such as that mentioned by W. J. Hamilton in the tale already told?

[1] Zeus Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβρις (*supra* i. 597 n. 4).
[2] *Supra* i. 100 n. 12.
[3] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 879 n. 0 no. (15)).
[4] *Supra* i. 100 n. 14.
[5] Zagreus (*supra* i. 651), whose art-type was borrowed by the Cretan Zeus Ἰδαῖος (*supra* i. 644 ff. pl. xxxv).
[6] Zeus Ἀρομάσδης (*supra* i. 741 ff.).
[7] A bronze coin of *s.* i B.C., probably struck at Chalkis sub Libano (*Anjar*) near

Mount Kasion[1].

Heliopolis (*Ba'albek*), has *obv.* head of Zeus, laureate, to right, *rev.* a temple with two columns, from each of which hangs a fillet, and two steps, on which is the inscription ΧΑΛΚΙ ΔЄΩΝ. Within the temple is a conical stone bound with a fillet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. liv, 279 no. 1 pl. 33, 10 (=my fig. 879), Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 655 (but not *ib.*[2] p. 783)). W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 41 had assigned a similar specimen in his collection to Chalkis (*Kinnesrin*) near Beroia (*Aleppo*). De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 41 f., 167 treats this conical stone as a primitive ἄγαλμα of Zeus. And he may well be right (*supra* i. 521 n. 0), though it should be remembered that Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 222 f. referred bronze coins with a like *rev.* and *obv.* dolphin round trident (p. 222 no. 60) or head of Hera (p. 223 nos. 63 and 64) to Chalkis in Euboia (so also Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 360, Anson, *Num. Gr.* v. 19 nos. 133–135).

Fig. 879.

[1] Mt Kasion (*Djebel-el-Akrâ*) rises abruptly from the sea to a height of 5318 ft. The ancients declared that from its summit the sun could be seen in the fourth watch of the night (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 80, Solin. 36. 3, Mela 1. 61 (confuses with Mt Kasion in Egypt), Mart. Cap. 680) or at second cock-crow (Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 4). According to Euhemeros the mountain derived its name from a certain king Kasios, who had entertained Zeus (Euhem. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 2. 61, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 22 cited *supra* p. 588 n. 1). Sanchouniathon, as reported by Philon of Byblos, held that Aion and Protogonos had descendants as mortal as themselves named Phos, Pyr, and Phlox, who discovered and taught how to make fire from the friction of wood on wood. They in turn had gigantic sons, who gave their names to the mountains that they occupied—Kassion, Libanos, Antilibanos, and Brathy (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 102 herba Sabina, brathy appellata a Graecis, duorum generum est, altera tamarici folio similis, altera cupresso; quare quidam Creticam cupressum dixerunt). Hence sprang Samemroumos (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* renders 'der hohe Herr des Himmels'), also called Hypsouranios, <and Ousoös (on whom see Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 392)>, who were named after their mothers, the women of that age being free to mingle with any whom they met (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 9). Synkellos states that Kasos and Belos, sons of Inachos, founded Antiocheia on the Orontes (Synkell. *chron.* 126 A (i. 237 Dindorf), cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 28 Dindorf). Stephanos of Byzantion declares that Mt Kasion in Syria was colonised from Kasos, one of the Kyklades, which was called after Kasos the father of Kleomachos (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσος, but cp. *id. s.v.* Κάσιον where much the same is said of Mt Kasion in Egypt). The true derivation of the name is still to seek: for modern conjectures see W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 238 f., Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266 f.

Several myths attached to the mountain. Zeus pursued Typhon to Mt Kasion (Apollod. 1. 6. 3 cited *supra* p. 448 n. 2). The inhabitants of the district, when locusts devastated their crops, besought Zeus to send the *Seleucides aves* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 75 Seleucides aves vocantur quarum adventum ab Iove precibus inpetrant Casii (so Hermolaus Barbarus for *casini* edd. vett. *casmi* cod. F[2]. C. Mayhoff prints *Cadmi*) montis incolae fruges eorum locustis vastantibus. nec unde veniant quove abeant compertum, numquam conspectis nisi cum praesidio earum indigetur). The Antiochenes honoured Triptolemos as a hero with a festival on Mt Kasion (Strab. 750). Some said that Kyparissos, a Cretan boy of great beauty and purity, fled from Apollon or Zephyros to the river Orontes and Mt Kasion, where he was changed into a cypress-tree (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 680).

In historical times we get repeated allusions to the cult of Zeus on this mountain. When Seleukos i Nikator founded Seleukeia Pieria, he first on the twenty-third day of

the month Xanthikos (April) offered sacrifice to Zeus Κάσιος upon Mt Kasion: an eagle carried off a morsel of the sacrificed flesh towards the sea-shore and so showed him the right site (Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 Dindorf, cp. *ib.* pp. 199 f., 202 f. *Infra* Append. N *med.*). Trajan, accompanied by Hadrian, visited Seleukeia in the month Apellaios (December) 113 A.D. on his way to fight the Persians (Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 270 Dindorf). Here Trajan dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος silver bowls and a great gilded ox-horn for his victory over the Getai (Souid. *s.v.* Κάσιον ὄρος), while Hadrian commemorated the occasion in a tactful epigram (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 332 (Adrianos) *Ζηνὶ τόδ' Αἰνεάδης Κασίῳ Τραϊανὸς ἄγαλμα, | κοίρανος ἀνθρώπων κοιράνῳ ἀθανάτων, | ἄνθετο, δοιὰ δέπα πολυδαίδαλα καὶ βοὸς οὖρου | ἀσκητὸν χρυσῷ παμφανόωντι κέρας, | ἕξαιτα προτέρης ἀπὸ λῃδος, ἦμος ἀτειρὴς | πέρσεν ὑπερθύμους ᾧ ὑπὸ δουρὶ Γέτας. | ἀλλὰ σύ οἱ καὶ τήνδε, κελαινεφές, ἐγγυάλιξον | κρῆναι ἐυκλειῶς δῆριν' Ἀχαιμενίην, | ὄφρα τοι εἰσορόωντι διάνδιχα θυμὸν ἰαίνῃ | δοιά, τὰ μὲν Γετέων σκῦλα, τὰ δ' Ἀρσακιδέων*). In 129 A.D. Hadrian climbed the mountain by night to witness the sunrise; but rain came on and, as he was sacrificing, a thunderbolt fell and destroyed both victim and priest (Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 3). Perhaps Lucius Verus too paid homage to Zeus Κάσιος, for a medallion, struck in 167 A.D. on account of the victories won in the east by Avidius Cassius, shows the emperor offering Nike to Zeus who is seated on a mountain (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 197 no. 291, *supra* i. 133 f. fig. 99): this inference, defended by W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 971 f., is questioned by Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2265. In the spring of 363 A.D. Julian ascended Mt Kasion on a festal day and there sacrificed a hecatomb to Zeus Κάσιος (Amm. Marc. 22. 14. 4, Io. Malal. *chron.* 13. p. 327 Dindorf, cp. Ioul. *misop.* 361 D, Liban. *or.* 14. 69 (ii. 112, 14 Foerster)): he made the ascent at midday, saw the god (?in a dream), rose up, and received some useful advice (Liban. *or.* 18. 172 (ii. 310, 18 ff. Foerster) *εἰς τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος παρὰ τὸν Κάσσιον ἀναβὰς Δία μεσημβρίας σταθερᾶς εἶδέ τε τὸν θεὸν καὶ ἰδὼν ἀνέστη καὶ συμβουλὴν ἐδέξατο, δι' ἧς πάλιν διαφεύγει λόχον*).

But the most interesting evidence with regard to the cult is supplied by the coin-types of Seleukeia. Coppers struck by Trajan and Antoninus Pius have *rev.* a shrine with pyramidal roof resting on four pillars and enclosing a sacred stone, which is filleted. On

Fig. 880.

Fig. 881.

Fig. 882.

Fig. 883.

Fig. 884.

the roof is an eagle with spread wings, and beneath the shrine ΣϵYC KACIOC (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 274 pl. 33, 3 (=my fig. 880) Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 216 f. pl. 74, 32 Trajan) or ΣϵVC KACIOC with star in field (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 275 pl. 33, 4 (=my fig. 882), Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 53 no. 354 pl. 8

Kyrrhos[1].
Palmyra[2].
Seleukeia Pieria[3].

Phoinike

Abédat[4].
Berytos[5].
Byblos[6].
Libanos[7].
Sahin[8].

Samaria

Mount Gerizim[9].

Antoninus Pius). Later specimens omit the god's name (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 217 no. 43 Commodus), but show the stone in a tetrastyle temple (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 275 no. 50 Septimius Severus, p. 276 no. 52 Caracalla) and add crescent and star in the pediment (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 277 no. 57 pl. 33, 7 Elagabalos, no. 58 pl. 33, 8 (=my fig. 884) Severus Alexander (OBO=*ὀβολός*), Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 53 no. 356 pl. 8 Elagabalos, no. 357 pl. 8 Severus Alexander). Figs. 881, 883 are from examples in my collection.

Zeus Κάσιος must not be confounded with Zeus Κεραύνιος (*supra* p. 809); the stone in the shrine is no thunderbolt. Nor is there any real reason to think with F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 935 fig. 1206 that the stone was an aerolite worshipped as the Aramaean god Ḳaṣiu (but see Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266) and Hellenised as Zeus Κάσιος. W. W. Baudissin *op. cit.* ii. 242 observes curtly: 'Der Stein ist Bild des heiligen Berges.' W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. lxxii says: 'the conical object has a cavity in the side, which seems further to show that the representation is that of a mountain or the agalma of a mountain.' Accordingly, he takes it to be 'the mountain-Kasios—or rather an *agalma* of the mountain' and compares Mt Argaion on the coins of Kaisareia (*supra* p. 979). A. Salač 'ΖΕΤΣ ΚΑΣΙΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 176 f. rejects the view of Baudissin and Wroth, remarking very justly that on the later coins (figs. 883, 884) the cavity in the sacred stone disappears, the resultant shape being that of an *omphalós* (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 553 n. 4). On the whole it seems safest to conclude that the sacred stone did duty as the god's altar (*supra* i. 521), the hollow in it (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 206 *βωμοῖο θέναρ*) being used for libations (*supra* p. 193). A parallel might be found in the sacred stone with a cup-like top represented on some of the earliest *statêres* of Mallos in Kilikia (?) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 95 pl. 15, 10—12, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 557 f. pl. 25, 11, Anson *Num. Gr.* v. 17 nos. 117 and 118 pl. 3: on the doubtful attribution see Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* ii. 435 f. and Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 1. 561 ff.). The pyramidal or triangular roof topped by an eagle recalls the pyramid of Sandas and would suit a mountain-god (*supra* i. 600 ff.).

A votive inscription from Heddernheim—*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiii no. 7330 Deo | Casio | Ovinius | v.s.l.m.—has been connected with this Syrian cult (Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2267, A. Salač *loc. cit.* p. 187 f.).

[1] Zeus Καταιβάτης seated on a rock (*supra* i. 124, ii. 15 f. figs. 3 and 4).

[2] Zeus Ὕψιστος καὶ Ἐπήκοος, less often Zeus Ὕψιστος, Zeus Μέγιστος Ὕψιστος, Zeus Ὕψιστος Μέγιστος Ἐπήκοος (*supra* p. 885 n. 0 n. (29)).

[3] Zeus Κορυφαῖος (*supra* p. 869 n. 1).

[4] Zeus Οὐράνιος Ὕψιστος Σααρναῖος Ἐπήκοος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

[5] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

[6] Zeus Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 887 n. 0 no. (30)).

[7] *Supra* i. 551 with i. 581 f.

[8] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος Οὐράνιος Ὕπατος (*supra* p. 886 n. 0 no. (30)).

[9] Zeus Ἑλλήνιος or Ξένιος, Zeus Ὕψιστος, Iupiter Sarapis (?) (*supra* p. 887 n. 0 no. (31)).

Ioudaia
Jerusalem[1].
Aigyptos
Alexandreia[2].
Athribis[3].
Mount Kasion[4].

[1] Hadrian attempted to crush Christianity by erecting a statue of Aphrodite on the site of the Crucifixion and an image of Zeus on the site of the Resurrection (Hieron. *epist.* 58. 3 *ad Paulinum* (xxii. 581 Migne) ab Hadriani temporibus usque ad imperium Constantini, per annos circiter centum octoginta, in loco resurrectionis simulacrum Iovis, in crucis rupe statua ex marmore Veneris a gentibus posita colebatur, existimantibus persecutionis auctoribus quod tollerent nobis fidem resurrectionis et crucis, si loca sancta per idola polluissent. Bethleem nunc nostram et augustissimum orbis locum, de quo Psalmista canit 'Veritas de terra orta est' (Ps. 85. 11), lucus inumbrabat Thamuz, id est Adonidis, et in specu, ubi quondam Christus parvulus vagiit, Veneris amasius plangebatur = Paulin. Nolan. *epist.* 31. 3 (lxi. 326 C—327 A Migne) nam Hadrianus imperator, existimans se fidem Christianam loci iniuria perempturum, in loco passionis <statuam Veneris, in loco resurrectionis (*ins.* A.B.C.)> simulacrum Iovis consecravit, et Bethlehem Adonidis fano profanata est, ut quasi radix et fundamentum ecclesiae tolleretur, si in iis locis idola colerentur, in quibus Christus natus est ut pateretur, passus est ut resurgeret, surrexit ut regnaret iudicatus).

So even the pagans realised that the Cross meant Love Divine and the empty Tomb Omnipotence.

[2] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος καὶ πάντων Ἐπόπτης (*supra* p. 889 n. 0 no. (33)).

[3] Θεὸς Ὕψιστος (*supra* p. 889 n. 0 no. (33).

[4] Mt Kasion, a barren sand-dune adjoining Lake Sirbonis, was famous for its sanctuary of Zeus Κάσιος (Strab. 760, Lucan. 8. 858, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 68, Solin. 34. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσιον). According to Sanchouniathon as reported by Philon of Byblos, the descendants of the Dioskouroi, when shipwrecked, were cast up on Mt Kasion and dedicated a temple there (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 20 *κατὰ τοῦτον τὸν χρόνον οἱ ἀπὸ τῶν Διοσκούρων σχεδίας καὶ πλοῖα συνθέντες ἔπλευσαν, καὶ ἐκριφέντες περὶ τὸ Κάσιον ὄρος ναὸν αὐτόθι ἀφιέρωσαν*). The story is late, but the sanctuary must indeed have received many a dedication from travellers who had escaped the dangers of the shallow sea and the shifting sand (T. Wiegand in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv Arch. Anz. p. 87 f.). Near this spot Cn. Pompeius Magnus the triumvir was murdered as he stepped ashore, on Sept. 29, 48 B.C., and here he was buried (Strab. 760, Vell. Pat. 2. 53, Lucan. 8. 560 ff., Plout. *v. Pomp.* 78—80, Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 84—86, Dion Cass. 42. 3—5, *alib.*). His partisans erected bronze statues to his memory near Mt Kasion (Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 86). In the winter of 69—70 A.D. Titus and his army passed from Pelousion to the sanctuary of Zeus Κάσιος, and thence to Ostrakine, Rhinokoroura, etc. *en route* for Jerusalem (Ioseph. *bell. Iud.* 4. 11. 5). In 130 A.D. Hadrian, on his way from Palestine to Egypt, offered a sacrifice (*ἐνήγισε*) to Pompeius and rebuilt his ruined tomb (Dion Cass. 69. 11, Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 4), clearing it of sand and replacing the bronze statues, which had been removed to the *ádyton* of the sanctuary (Appian. *bell. civ.* 2. 86). Hadrian's epigram on the tomb is still extant (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 402 (Adrianos) *τῷ ναοὶς βρίθοντι πόση σπάνις ἔπλετο τύμβου*).

The little town of Kasion made a *spécialité* of intricate woodwork; whence the proverb Κασιωτικὸν ἄμμα (Diogeneian. 5. 44, Apostol. 9. 46, *prov. Bodl.* 527 p. 62 Gaisford, Souid. *s.vv.* ἄμματα, Κάσιον ὄρος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἄμματα). A papyrus of 283 A.D. mentions Casiotic joiners (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1898 i. 112 ff. no. 55, 6 Κασιωδῶν). We might have supposed that the local manufacture of Κασιωτικὰ ἱμάτια (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κάσιον) or Κασιανὰ ὑφάσματα (Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 260) rested on a blunder (ἱμάτια or ὑφάσματα for ἄμματα). But Makrisi too speaks of certain fabrics called *qassiah* as made on the spot (Maqrizi *Description topographique et historique de l'Égypte* trad. U. Bouriant Paris 1900 p. 520). Early in *s.* i B.C., if not in

Pelousion[1].

s. ii. B.C., a native of the town made a double dedication in Delos to Zeus Κάσιος along with the Θεὸς Μέγας (*quis*? See *infra* Index i *s.v.* Odessos) and Tacbnepsis (a deity new to Egyptologists) (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 95 ff. no. 16 Θεῶι Μεγάλωι | καὶ Διὶ Κασίωι καὶ Ταχνήψει | Ἥρος Ἥρου Κασιώτης | ὑπὲρ Λευκίου Γρανίου | τοῦ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαίου· | γυναῖκα μὴ προσάγειν | μηδὲ ἐν ἐρέοις ἄνδρα· | κατὰ πρόσταγμα, no. 16 *bis* [Θεῶ]ι | [Μεγά]λωι | [καὶ Διὶ Κ]ασίωι καὶ | [Τα]χνήψει | [Ἥρο]ς Ἥρου Κασ(ι)ώτης | [ὑ]πὲρ Λευκίου Γρανίου | τοῦ Ποπλίου Ῥωμαίου, | κατὰ πρόσταγμα· | γυναῖκα δὲ μὴ προσάγειν | μηδὲ ἐν ἐρέοις ἄνδρα). Similarly a native of Berytos gave a thankoffering in Delos to Zeus Κάσιος (*id. ib.* p. 97 no. 17 Ξενοφῶν | Διονυσίου | Βηρύτιος | Διὶ Κασίωι | χαριστήριον). And, as Roussel remarks, Zeus Κάσιος is again grouped with Egyptian divinities in an inscription from Athens (A. Wilhelm *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* Wien 1909 p. 136 'sie nennt in den ersten erhaltenen Zeilen Priester verschiedener Gottheiten, so des Ὅρος, Θεὸς Ἀγαθός, Ζεὺς Κάσιος, Ἀπόλλων, Διόνυσος, des [Διόνυσος und der] Ἀριάγ[νη?, der Μήτηρ θεῶν, der [Οὐρ]ανία Ἀφροδείτη Νείκη ἐν Κανώπῳ.' A. Salač, who publishes the inscription in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 182—187, revises this list as follows: *vv.* 3 f. [Ἄρπο]κράτους, 5 Ὅρου, 6 Ἀγαθοῦ δεοῦ, 7 Διὸς Κασίο[υ], 9 Ἀπόλλωνος, 11 Διονύσο[υ]——Μητρὸς θεῶν, 13 ἐν Κ[α]νώπῳ (*i.e.* Sarapis at Kanopos (Strab. 801))——[Οὐρ]ανίας Ἀφροδείτης, 14 [Ἴσιδος Ταποσ]ειριάδος).

J. Clédat in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1905 pp. 602—611, *ib.* 1909 pp. 764—774, *ib.* 1911 p. 433 proves that Mt Kasion was not situated, as is commonly held, at *Ras-Bouroun* on the narrow strip of land between the sea and the lake, but at *Mahemdiah* (*Mohamedieh*) some 40 kilometers further to the west, that is, about 15 kilometers east of Pelousion. Here at the western end of the lake and close to the sea rises a rounded sandhill (maximum height 13·30^{m}: Lucan. 10. 434 f. exaggerates), on which he detected and partially excavated (1) a large (*c.* 20·0^{m} × 20·0^{m}) public bath, built of gypsum and baked brick in late Roman times; (2) a small (9·60^{m} × 6·0^{m}) tetrastyle temple facing east, built of gypsum at the eastern extremity of the hill; (3) numerous tombs, some on the hill, others on the plain, belonging to two Roman and two Byzantine cemeteries. Moreover, in 1909 he noted that a *cippus* of Roman date bore the name of an inhabitant called KACIOC (*loc. cit.* 1909 p. 774). And finally in 1911 he was able to report 'un petit sanctuaire avec niche d'autel en albâtre portant une inscription nabatéenne au nom de Zeus Cassius' (*loc. cit.* 1911 p. 433).

[1] We are further indebted to J. Clédat for the discovery of a temple dedicated to Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion (J. Clédat 'Le temple de Zeus Cassios à Péluse' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1914 xiii. 79—85 with figs. 1—3 and pl. 11). Towards the western end of an elongated mound called by the Arabs *Tell el-Faramah* (Coptic **ⲡⲉⲣⲙⲟⲩⲑⲓ**) he found the walled camp (*el Kasr*) of the *equites Stablesiani* and to the west of this, at a point but little raised above the level of the surrounding morass, the last remains of a temple built in rosy granite. On the ground lay two columns (7·80^{m} in length, 1·0^{m} in diameter) and two architrave-blocks (1·80^{m} long, 0·96^{m} high, 0·80^{m} deep) bearing the central part of a deeply incised inscription, which may be restored *exempli gratia* as follows: [ὑπὲρ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος Τραϊανοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σε]βαστοῦ καὶ τοῦ σ[ύμπαν]τος αὐτοῦ οἴκ[ο]υ Διὶ Κασίῳ Μ[εγίστῳ θεῷ Πηλουσίου καὶ τοῖς συννάοις θεοῖς] | [ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυΐου Τιτιανοῦ ἐπιτροπεύοντος τοῦ ἱε]ροῦ ἀνέθηκεν Κα[ιλι]ος Κάσιος Δί[ων Ἀπο]λλωνίου. τ[οῦ———] | [τὸν σηκὸν τοῦ ἱεροῦ καὶ τὸ πρόναον καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτοῖς πάντα κοσ[μήσα]ντος συνοροσηκ[.....]μωματι[———] | [———αὐ]τοῦ. I cannot make head or tail of the concluding words, unless we may suppose κοσ[μήσα]ς, τὴν ὀροφὴν [τῷ κομ]μώματι [διαποικίλας κ.τ.λ.] or the like. A fragment found to the left of the first block is inscribed ΑΝΟ with CΙ beneath it: this might be a portion of [Τραϊ]ανο[ῦ] and [ἐπιτροπεύοντο]ς τ[οῦ]. Another architectural block (2·50^{m} long, 0·49^{m} high, 0·90^{m} deep) bears the central part of a second inscription: [———τ]οῦ προγεγραμμένου [———] | [———] ἐπὶ Τίτου Φλαυΐου Τιτ[ιανοῦ———].

A. Salač in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 166—176 ('*Zeus Kasios en Égypte*'), not only improves on Clédat's reading of the temple-dedication, but also contrives to throw a good deal of light on its occasion and significance. Hadrian came to Pelousion after his journey in Arabia (Spart. *v. Hadr.* 14. 4), that is, in 130 A.D. (W. Weber *Untersuchungen zur Geschichte des Kaisers Hadrianus* Leipzig 1907 p. 246). By the fall of the thunderbolt on the Syrian Mt Kasion (*supra* p. 982 n. o) he had already been designated as the favourite of Zeus Κάσιος (*supra* p. 22 ff.)—an honour comparable with the adoption of Alexander the Great by Zeus Ἄμμων. Hence the foundation of a temple of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion would glorify the emperor as well as the god (W. Weber *op. cit.* p. 235 f.).

Salač *loc. cit.* further contends that the cult-statue of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelousion, a youthful figure holding a pomegranate (Ach. Tat. 3. 6 ἔστι δ' ἐν τῷ Πηλουσίῳ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἄγαλμα Κασίου· τὸ δ' ἄγαλμα νεανίσκος, Ἀπόλλωνι μᾶλλον ἐοικώς· οὕτω γὰρ ἡλικίας εἶχε· προβέβληται δὲ τὴν χεῖρα καὶ ἔχει ῥοιὰν ἐπ' αὐτῇ· τῆς δὲ ῥοιᾶς ὁ λόγος μυστικός. προσευξάμενοι δὴ τῷ θεῷ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Κλεινίου καὶ τοῦ Σατύρου σύμβολον ἐξαιτήσαντες (καὶ γὰρ ἔλεγον μαντικὸν εἶναι τὸν θεόν) περιήειμεν τὸν νεών. κατὰ δὲ τὸν ὀπισθόδομον ὁρῶμεν εἰκόνα διπλῆν· καὶ ὁ γραφεὺς ἐνεγέγραπτο· Εὐάνθης μὲν ὁ γραφεύς, ἡ δ' εἰκὼν Ἀνδρομέδα καὶ Προμηθεύς, κ.τ.λ., 8 ἑξῆς δὲ τὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως ἐγεγόνει. κ.τ.λ.), was modelled upon a previously existing cult-statue of Harpokrates, the youthful Horos. This contention is strongly supported by numismatic evidence. In fact, a coin of Pelousion, struck by Trajan, actually shows Harpokrates standing with a sceptre in his left hand and a pomegranate in his right, towards which a little Pan stretches out his hands (G. Dattari *Numi Augg. Alexandrini* Cairo 1901 i. 418 no. 6345 pl. 34). Other coins of the same town, struck by Hadrian in 126/7 A.D., have *obv.* head of the emperor to right, laureate; *rev.* head of Harpokrates to right, wearing the *hem-hem* crown and fillet (V. Langlois *Numismatique des nomes d'Égypte sous l'administration romaine* Paris 1852 p. 39 no. 69 (wrongly described) pl. 3, 1, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 351 nos. 44 and 45), or *rev.* a pomegranate (Langlois *op. cit.* p. 39 no. 70, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 351 no. 46), while coins of Alexandreia, struck by Hadrian in 137/8 A.D., have *obv.* head of the emperor to right, laureate, with *paludamentum* over shoulder; *rev.* bust of Harpokrates of Pelousion to right, wearing *hem-hem* crown, with *himátion* over left shoulder and pomegranate in front (*ib.* p. 90 nos. 764 pl. 17 and 765, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 457 no. 391). An Egyptian connexion is again presupposed by the statement that Malkandros king of Byblos had a son Palaistinos or Pelousios, who was nurtured by Isis and gave his name to the town that she founded (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 17. Skyl. *per.* 106 makes Pelousios come ἐπὶ τὸ Κάσιον; Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 209, 30 Dindorf) makes Kasios worshipped παρὰ Πηλουσιώταις).

But, granting this Egyptian background, we have yet to explain why Zeus in particular was chosen as the successor of the youthful Horos. And here I should conjecture that we must take into account the influence of Crete, where a youthful Zeus had long been recognised. It is noteworthy that, whereas the nursling of Isis is called Horos by Diod. 1. 25 and Pelousios by Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 17, he is described as Diktys by Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 8. The name, whatever its origin (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1283 n. 4), recalls the Cretan Diktynna and Mt Dikte and the infant Zeus (*supra* p. 927). It may be objected that Diktys is not expressly associated with Pelousion. But he is expressly associated with the Egyptian taboo on onions (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 8 τὸ γὰρ ἐμπεσεῖν εἰς τὸν ποταμὸν καὶ ἀπολέσθαι τὸν τῆς Ἴσιδος τρόφιμον Δίκτυν τῶν κρομμύων ἐπιδραττόμενον ἐσχάτως ἀπίθανον· οἱ δὲ ἱερεῖς ἀφοσιοῦνται καὶ δυσχεραίνουσι τὸ κρόμμυον παραφυλάττοντες, ὅτι τῆς σελήνης φθινούσης μόνον εὐτροφεῖν τοῦτο καὶ τεθηλέναι πέφυκεν. ἔστι δὲ πρόσφορον οὔτε ἀγνεύουσιν οὔτε ἑορτάζουσι, τοῖς μὲν ὅτι διψῆν, τοῖς δὲ ὅτι δακρύειν ποιεῖ τοὺς προσφερομένους), and that taboo (as to which see the references collected by J. E. B. Mayor on Iuv. 15. 9) was specially characteristic of Pelousion (Plout. *comm. in Hes. frag.* 11. 52 Dübner *ap.* Gell. 20. 8. 7 'id etiam,' inquit, 'multo mirandum est magis, quod apud Plutarchum in quarto in Hesiodum commentario legi: "cepetum revirescit et congerminat decedente luna, contra autem inarescit adolescente. eam causam esse dicunt sacerdotes Aegyptii, cur Pelusiotae cepe non edint, quia solum olerum omnium contra lunae augmenta atque

Uncertain locality

Mount Hynnarion[1].

damna vices minuendi et augendi habeat contrarias,"' Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 *ἰδίᾳ δὲ Μεμφίταις μὲν ὁ βοῦς θεός, Πηλουσιώταις δὲ κρόμμυον, καὶ ἄλλοις ἴβις ἢ κροκόδειλος, καὶ ἄλλοις κυνοκέφαλος ἢ αἴλουρος ἢ πίθηκος*, Hieron. *comm. in Isa. proph.* 13 (xxiv. 450 C—D Migne) non quo simulacra gentilium in praedam bestiarum et iumentorum exposita sint; sed quo religio nationum simulacra sint bestiarum et brutorum animantium, quae maxime in Aegypto divino cultui consecrata sunt... nam et pleraque oppida eorum ex bestiis et iumentis habent nomina, *Κύνων* a cane, *Λέων* a leone, *Θμοῦϊς* lingua Aegyptia ab hirco, *Λύκων* a lupo, ut taceam de formidoloso et horribili caepe, et crepitu ventris inflati, quae Pelusiaca religio est, Hieron. *adv. Iovinian.* 2. 7 (xiii. 296 B Migne) coge Aegyptium ut ovium lacte vescatur; impelle, si vales, Pelusioten ut manducet caepe). Indeed we are told by Sextus Empiricus that no devotee of Zeus *Κάσιος* in that town would eat an onion (Sext. *Pyrrhon. hyp.* 3. 24. 224 *κρόμμυον δὲ οὐκ ἄν τις προσενέγκαιτο τῶν καθιερουμένων τῷ κατὰ Πηλούσιον Κασίῳ Διί, ὥσπερ οὐδὲ ἱερεὺς τῆς κατὰ Λιβύην Ἀφροδίτης σκορόδου γεύσαιτο ἄν. ἀπέχονται δὲ ἐν μὲν ἱεροῖς μίνθης, ἐν οἷς δὲ ἡδυόσμου, ἐν οἷς δὲ σελίνου*). Sextus' phrase *τῶν καθιερουμένων τῷ...Κασίῳ Διί* coupled with that of Achilleus Tatios (*supra*) *τῆς δὲ ῥοιᾶς ὁ λόγος μυστικός* may fairly be taken to imply that Zeus *Κάσιος* had mystic rites of initiation—another point of contact with the Cretan Zeus (*supra* i. 648 ff., 663 ff.).

U. Wilcken in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1901 i. 555 draws attention to a letter, written from Pélousion by an unskilled hand at some uncertain date (? *s.* ii A.D.), found in the *Fayoum*, and now preserved at Berlin, in which mention is made of Zeus *Κάσιος* (Zerekli in *Aegyptische Urkunden aus den koeniglichen Museen zu Berlin* herausg. von der Generalverwaltung: Griechische Urkunden no. 827 (P. 7150), 1 ff. *Ζωΐς Ἀπ[ολ]λωρίῳ τῷ ἀδελ|φῷ χαί[ρ]ειν. τὸ προσκύνημά | σου παρὰ τῷ Δὶ τῷ Κασίῳ. γι|νώσκειν σε θέλω ὅτι εὗρη|κα τὴν γυναῖ<κα> τοῦ Ἄχαρις (?) | κα[ι] δέδωκα αὐτῇ τὰ γεγρα|μμένα πάντα κ.τ.λ.* addressed on the back *ἀπό(δος) Ἀπολινα|ρίῳ ἀ|πὸ Πετρωνίου δρομι|δαρίου ἀπὸ Πη|λουσίου*). A circular bronze stamp with long handle in the Leyden Museum shows an Egyptian head-dress, consisting of three bunches of plants with a disk on each, and is inscribed *Διὸς Κα|σίου, Ἀθην|ᾶς Ἀπι|ανοῦ ι[....]* (C. Leemans *Description raisonnée des monumens Égyptiens du Musée d'Antiquités des Pays-Bas, à Leide* Leide 1840 p. 111 no. 342, *id. Animadversiones in Musei Antiquarii Lugduno-Batavi inscriptiones Graecas et Latinas* Lugduni Batavorum 1842 p. 28, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7044 *b*, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 973 'Bronzespiegel' (!), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1104 n. 1 'Gemme' (!)).

W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1878 ii. 243 infers from Epiphan. *loc. cit.* (*Κάσιος δὲ ὁ ναύκληρος παρὰ Πηλουσιώταις* (*sc.* *τιμᾶται*)) that Zeus Κάσιος was worshipped by sea-faring men. On which Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2266 remarks: 'Daher darf wohl mit dem pelusischen Kulte ein Fund bei Palos in Spanien in Verbindung gesetzt werden; im Meere wurden antike Bleianker aufgefischt mit hebräischen, lateinischen und zwei griechischen Inschriften; die eine galt Aphrodite *σώζουσα*, die andere *Ζεὺς Κάσις σωζ<ων>* (die Ergänzung der zwei letzten Buchstaben unsicher), Boletin d. l. Real Ac. d. Historia 1906, XLVIII 157 f.'

Baudissin *op. cit.* ii. 240 was inclined to derive the Pelusiac from the Syrian cult of Zeus *Κάσιος*, though he added: 'Es ist aber nicbt unmöglich, dass der Dienst des Kasios ein *alt*semitischer war, welchen verschiedene semitische Völker aus der gemeinsamen Heimat herübernahmen.' Frau Adler *loc. cit.* adopts the latter view, 'dass beide Kulte auf gemeinsame, ursemitische Wurzel zurückzuführen sind.' But Salač in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 180, 188 definitely returns to the former view: 'En somme, le culte de *Ζεὺς Κάσιος* paraît d'origine syrienne; le culte du Mons Casius égyptien semble dérivé de la Syrie.'

[1] Hesych. *s.vv.* *Τυναρεύς· Ζεὺς ἀπὸ τοῦ Τυναρίου ὄρους, ὑννάς· αἶξ ἀγρία, ὑννή· αἶξ. καὶ τὸ τοῦ ἀρότρου σιδήριον τὸ τέμνον τὴν γῆν <ὕννη>. καὶ ὔννις ὁμοίως, ὔννος· πῶλος ὁ ἐν τῇ γαστρὶ νοσήσας, πρὶν κυνηθῆναι <ἵννός>.* Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 824 n. 7 concludes that Zeus *Τυναριεύς* (*sic*) derived his appellative from the goat.

APPENDIX E.

THE KYKLOPS IN FOLK-TALES.

Tales resembling that of Polyphemos have, during the last seventy years, been collected and discussed by a whole series of eminent folklorists. W. Grimm (1857)[1], C. Nyrop (1881)[2], G. Krek (1887)[3], L. Laistner (1889)[4], G. Polívka (1898, 1918)[5], N. G. Polites (1904)[6], P. Sébillot (1904)[7], W. R. Halliday (1916)[8], F. Settegast (1917)[9], and Sir J. G. Frazer (1921)[10] have all said their say, most of them making valuable contributions to the subject. But the palm must be awarded to O. Hackman (1904)[11], who in an exemplary monograph has not merely summarised two hundred and twenty-one variants, but has also added a lucid and logical study of their contents.

Hackman arranges the tales in three groups—A, B, and C. Group A (124 variants) commonly involves two episodes and frequently adds a third:

i The blinding of the giant, which is contrived
either (*a*) during his sleep by means of a red-hot stake, iron spit, knife, sword, etc. plunged into his one eye,
or (*β*) as a pretended cure for his defective sight by means of molten tin, lead, oil, pitch, boiling water, etc. poured into his eye.
The former alternative, (*a*), prevails in southern and western Europe; the latter, (*β*), in northern and eastern Europe. It is probable that (*β*) was not a modification of (*a*), but had a separate and independent origin[12].

[1] W. Grimm 'Die Sage von Polyphem' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1857* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 1—30 (=*Kleinere Schriften* Gütersloh 1887 iv. 428—462). W. W. Merry in Appendix ii 'On some various forms of the legend of the blinded Cyclops' to his edition of the *Odyssey* Oxford 1886 i.[2] 550—554 summarises nine tales after J. F. Lauer *Homerische Studien* Berlin 1851 p. 319 ff. and W. Grimm *loc. cit.*

[2] C. Nyrop 'Sagnet om Odysseus og Polyphem' in the *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi* 1881 v. 216—255.

[3] G. Krek *Einleitung in die slavische Litteraturgeschichte*[2] Graz 1887 pp. 665—759.

[4] L. Laistner 'Polyphem' in his *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 ii. 1—168.

[5] G. Polívka 'Nachträge zur Polyphemsage' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1898 i. 305—336, 378, J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 374—378.

[6] N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 ii. 1338—1342 (n. on no. 624).

[7] P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 434 f.

[8] W. R. Halliday in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 217.

[9] F. Settegast *Das Polyphemmärchen in altfranzösischen Gedichten*, eine folkloristisch-literargeschichtliche Untersuchung Leipzig 1917 pp. 1—167. Review by J. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1917 xxvii. 275 f.

[10] Sir J. G. Frazer in Appendix xiii 'Ulysses and Polyphemus' to his edition of Apollodoros London 1921 ii. 404—455 gives an admirable selection of thirty-six variants—quite enough, as he remarks, 'to illustrate the wide diffusion of the tale and the general similarity of the versions.'

[11] O. Hackman *Die Polyphemsage in der Volksüberlieferung* Helsingfors 1904 pp. 1—241. Review by J. Bolte in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1905 xv. 460 f. Review by A. van Gennep 'La Légende de Polyphème' reprinted in his *Religions, Mœurs et Légendes* Paris 1908 i. 155—164.

[12] O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 166 f.

ii The escape of the hero, who gets off
either (α) by clinging under a sheep, goat, ox, etc.,
or more often (β) by putting on a sheep-skin, goat-skin, ox-hide, etc.
Of these alternatives (α), which implies gigantic sheep, was earlier than (β), which makes less demand on the hearer's credulity.

iii The attempt of the giant to recapture the hero by flinging after him a magical ring (Dolopathos, Italy, Argyllshire, Basses-Pyrénées, Siebenbürgen, Bohemia),
a golden staff (Poland, Servia),
an axe with a golden or silver haft (Russia, Lithuania, Wotyaks),
a sabre (Great Russia),
a copper coin (Little Russia),
a white stone (Altai Mts.).
This episode, which probably formed part of the original tale[1], bulks big in Russia, Galicia, Italy, and Basses-Pyrénées, but does not occur at all in Greece.

Group B (50 variants) is marked by another episode:

iv The hero escapes detection by giving his name as 'Self' or 'Myself,' rarely as 'Nobody' (*Odyssey*, Anjou)[2].
This *motif* belonged originally to a distinct tale, current in northern and central Europe, which told how a man injured an elfish creature of some sort—mermaid (Sweden), water-nixie (Germany), wood-nymph (Sweden), fairy (France), kobold (Rügen), dwarf (Germany), or devil (eastern Europe)—commonly by means of fire or something hot, and then eluded the vengeance of his victim's companions by giving his name as 'Myself' or the like[3].

Group C (47 variants) is a late combination of i (β), the blinding of the giant by way of cure, with iv, the name-trick. It is found only in Finland, Lettland, and Esthonia[4].

It will be seen from this analysis that the story of Polyphemos, as related by Homer, includes episode i, the blinding of the giant, in its south-European form, and episode ii, the escape of the hero, in its earlier and more miraculous aspect, but omits episode iii, that of the magical ring, altogether[5], substituting for it episode iv, the originally alien *motif* of the name. Homer, in short, picks and chooses. He may tolerate a monstrous ram, but he omits mere magic, and prefers to insert a conspicuous example of human cunning.

As regards the vexed question of ultimate significance Hackman, after admitting that almost all investigators of the tale (Grimm, Krek, Jubainville, Cerquand, etc.) have taken the single eye of Polyphemos to be the sun[6], reaches the cautious conclusion: 'Das Stirnauge des Riesen, das jedenfalls schon der Grundform angehört hat, war wohl ursprünglich ein die Sonne symbolisirendes Attribut des Himmels- oder Sonnengottes. Doch hat diese frühzeitig in Vergessenheit geratene mythologische Bedeutung des Stirnauges nichts mit der Sage im Übrigen zu tun[7].'

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 177 ff. [2] *Id. ib.* p. 204. [3] *Id. ib.* p. 189 ff. [4] *Id. ib.* p. 206 ff.

[5] Unless indeed we may suppose that a trace of the ring-throwing subsists in the stone-throwing of Polyphemos (A. B. C.). C. Nyrop *loc. cit.* p. 218 suggests *e contra* that the ring-episode is itself an expansion of the Homeric stone-throwing—a view rejected by Hackman *op. cit.* p. 177 n. 1.

[6] *Id. ib.* pp. 3 ff., 217 f. [7] *Id. ib.* p. 221 (cp. also p. 218).

With this decision I find myself in substantial agreement. I have already urged, not only that the Kyklops' eye stood for the sun in heaven[1], but also that the Kyklops himself was in the far past a sky-god like Zeus[2]. Moreover I have ventured to compare Odysseus, who plunged a heated bar into the Kyklops' eye, with Prometheus, who thrust a torch into the solar wheel[3]. The comparison might be further strengthened. It now appears that an integral part of the Kyklops-tale was the giant's gift to the hero of a magical ring[4]. This recalls the curious legend that Zeus presented Prometheus with a ring fashioned out of his chains[5]. In Germanic belief, too, the one-eyed Wodan possessed a gold ring from which every ninth night dripped eight other rings of equal weight[6]. It is difficult to avoid the conclusion that the golden rings thrown or dropped by the sky-god were at first but a naïve expression for the daily movement of the solar disk. Nevertheless I concur with Hackman's opinion that the mythological significance of these one-eyed beings had passed into oblivion long before Homer told his immortal tale. *A fortiori* it would be fatuous to seek any such hidden meaning in the modern *Märchen*. I append a few samples from Greece and Italy.

Versions from the Greek area are all more or less defective. At most they preserve episode i (*a*) together with its sequel ii (*a*) or ii (*β*). That is the case with a folk-tale from Athens and with another from Kappadokia:

(1) **The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Athens**[7].

Once upon a time there was a king, whose daughter was so lovely that, if—

'She bade the sun, he would stand still,
The morning star, he 'ld twinkle.'

All the princes were eager to marry her. But she refused each one who proffered his love: only the handsomest of them, who had been blessed by his mother, touched her heart at all. In the end she agreed to wed him who should bring her the golden wand of the Famous Drakos[8]. The Famous[9] Drakos was the strongest and fiercest of all the Drakoi; he had one eye in his forehead, which remained open even when he was asleep, so that none could approach him without being eaten by him. His golden wand, if leant against a door, made it at once fly open. The princes on hearing the terms of betrothal shook with terror. But the handsome prince resolved to obtain the golden wand, or

[1] *Supra* i. 313, 323, 462.
[2] *Supra* i. 320.
[3] *Supra* i. 325 ff.
[4] *Supra* p. 989 n. 1.
[5] *Supra* i. 329 n. 0.
[6] *Supra* p. 62 n. 1.

[7] Text in the Δελτίον τῆς Ἱστορικῆς καὶ Ἐθνολογικῆς Ἑταιρίας τῆς Ἑλλάδος Athens 1883 i. 147 ff. Translation (here condensed) in L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 ii. 80—87, 444 f. Cp. a very similar tale from Attike in G. Drosinis *Land und Leute in Nord-Euböa* trans. A. Boltz Leipzig 1884 p. 170 ff. ('Die Polyphem-Sage in modern hellenischer Gestalt aus den "Athenischen Märchen" von Frl. Maria Kampúroglu')=Hackman *op. cit.* p. 9 f. no. 1=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 439 f. no. 24.

[8] On the Δράκος or Δράκοντας of the modern Greek see B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 190—195, N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1871 i. 154—172 ('Δράκοντες'), *id.* Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 219—228 ('Δράκοι'), ii. 990—1002, J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 280—283, W. R. Halliday in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 pp. 219, 225 ff.

[9] With his fixed epithet 'Famous' cp. the Homeric Πολύφημος.

die in the attempt. So he took the long road, and walked on till he was tired. He sat down under a tree and fell asleep. When he woke, he saw an old woman sifting flour into a great baking-pan. But the flour dropped on to the ground, not into the pan; for the old woman was blind. The prince sifted the flour for her, put it into her sack, and offered to help her carry it. Pleased with his kindness, she asked what she could do for him in return. He begged her blessing and told her of his quest. 'Listen, my son,' said the old woman: 'thou hast undertaken a hard task, but thy parents' blessing and mine will give thee courage. Go straight along this road to a place where there is much grass, for no man has ever trodden it. Beyond the rising ground to which it leads thou wilt see mountains and ravines; and thence thou wilt descry afar off a great cavern. Draw near; and, if thou hear sounds of snoring, thou wilt know that the Drakos is asleep within. Then remain at a distance till the door of the cavern opens; for he has his flocks inside, and puts in front a great rock, which no man can move. Wait till the Drakos drives out his flock, and then find means to hide thyself in the cavern. When he comes back to sleep and folds his flocks and closes the cavern again, then listen and from the snoring thou wilt know that he is no longer awake. Come down from thy hiding-place and step up to him. Tied to his beard is a golden key. Take these scissors that I give thee, and with them cut the beard and the key together. Then, when he opens the cavern, do thou too go out. Having escaped, take once more the grass-grown road. There thou wilt see a great palace. Lean the key against the door of the palace, and it will open to thee. Upstairs in a great chamber there will be a horse and a dog: before the horse are bones to eat; before the dog is straw. Change them without a word, giving the bones to the dog; and the rest thou wilt learn later from the horse.' The prince thanked the old woman, gave her some sequins, and set off. He found the cavern, but heard no snoring. He peeped in, and no one was there. But, seeing within a great caldron full of milk and a bannock as big as a mill-stone, he cut a piece of the bannock, dipped it in the milk, and ate till his hunger was satisfied. Afterwards he espied a hollow high up in the rock, climbed up, and got in. A little later he heard sheep-bells, and concluded that the Drakos was returning with his flocks. So he drew back in his hiding-place, and prayed God to help him. The Drakos entered, pulled-to the rock that closed the cavern, and sat down to eat; but found that neither the milk nor the bannock satisfied him as usual. Now the old woman had given the prince a powder to throw into the *raki*[1] jar, so that the Drakos might sleep heavily. When, therefore, the Drakos had finished his meal and stirred the fire, he was soon snoring. The prince came softly down, cut the hairs, took the key, and climbed up again into his hiding-place. But, realising that the Drakos, when he found his key gone, would look for it, he got down and took a long pole, sharpened it, put it in the fire and, as soon as it was red-hot, stuck it into the eye of the Drakos. He, being blinded, began to roar. The other Drakoi came running to see what was the matter with their chief. But they could not remove the rock; and, when they heard his cries, they concluded that he was drunk and went home. Then the Drakos pushed away the stone, sat at the mouth of the cave, and began to fondle and let out his sheep one by one. There was one big, woolly, ram; and the prince placed himself on his stomach under the wool, and, while the Drakos was fondling it, managed to get out of the cave. Following the old woman's advice, he found the palace, unlocked its door with his key, and saw upstairs a splendid horse fastened with chains and a fine big dog. He

[1] A spirit made from grapes (ῥάξ, ῥαγίζω) and flavoured with aniseed.

duly gave the horse's pile of bones to the dog and the dog's heap of straw to the horse. Whereupon they both ate, and then began to talk. The prince related his adventures to them. And they informed him that the old woman was the Good Fate, blinded by the other Fates for her goodness and destined never to recover her sight till she found somebody to love and pity her. They further showed him a chamber containing two beautiful captive princesses, whom he was to set free. The youth did so; and the princesses gave him the golden wand as his reward. He next loosed the horse and the dog by leaning the wand against them. Then he led the princesses downstairs, placed them on the horse, and took the dog also. But, as he was leaving the palace, the horse and the dog said: 'Look out of the window and see all those different animals. They were once handsome princes, who went out hunting, found this palace door open, and stepped inside. The Drakos saw them and, sprinkling them with a liquid, transformed them into various animals. Now touch them lightly on their backs with the wand, and they will become as they were before.' The prince did as he was bidden; and the victims of the Drakos, thus restored to human shape, embraced their deliverer and set out for their respective palaces. The prince with the horse and the dog, after locking the Drakos' palace, returned the two princesses to their parents. He also changed the horse and the dog into two princes, who explained that they, in attempting to rescue the princesses of their choice from the Drakos, had been turned into animals by him, but now begged to become the king's sons-in-law. The king bestowed his daughters upon them, and escorted the prince that had saved them all to the door of the princess of whom he was enamoured. She lay dying of grief for his absence, and all the doors of her palace were shut in token of mourning. The prince at once leant the golden wand against each door in turn, reached the princess, and presented her with the wand. The princess embraced him, and they were married with music, drums, and great rejoicings.

(2) **The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Pharasa in Kappadokia**[1].

'In a time of old there was a priest. He went to find a goat. He went to a village. There was another priest. He said: "Where are you going?" The priest said: "I am going to find a goat." He said: "Let me come too, that I also may get a goat." They rose up. They went to another village. There was there another priest. And the three of them went to another village. They found another priest. They took that priest also (with them). They went on. They became seven priests. Whilst they were on their way to a village, there was a woman. She was collecting wood. There was also a Tepekozis[2]. The Tepekozis hastened (and) seized the seven priests (and) carried them to his house. In the evening he cooked one priest. He ate him. He was fat. He ate him. He got drunk. The six priests rose up. They heated the spit. They drove it into the Tepekozis' eye. They blinded the Tepekozis. They went into the

[1] I am indebted for this tale to the kindness of my friend Prof. R. M. Dawkins, who took it down at Pharasa in the Antitauros district of Kappadokia (July 23–25, 1911) from the mouth of an urchin named Thomâs Stephánou and dictated the above rendering to me (Nov. 21, 1911). The original is in the local dialect of Greek with some admixture of Turkish words. Text and translation in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 550 f. no. 25 (cp. W. R. Halliday *ib.* p. 217) = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 23.

[2] *Tepe* means 'hill' and here, presumably, 'head.' *Koz* is for *güz*, 'eye.' The name, therefore, appears to be 'Head-eye' or 'Eye-in-head'—a Turkish Kyklops.

stable. The Tepekozis had seven hundred sheep. They entered the stable. They flayed six sheep. They left the heads and the tails (with the skins). They crawled into the skins. In the morning the Tepekozis rose up. He drove out the sheep. He took them by the head and by the tail. He drove out the seven hundred sheep. He shut the doors[1]. He went inside. He looked for the six priests. He could not find them. He found the six sheep killed. The six priests took the seven hundred sheep. They went to their houses. They gave also a hundred sheep to the wife of the priest whom the Tepekozis had eaten. The woman said: "Where is my priest?" They said: "He has stopped behind to make further gains." And the six priests took a hundred sheep apiece. They went to their houses. They ate. They drank. They attained their destinies.'

More often we meet with single episodes of the Kyklops-tale isolated from their proper context and worked into other narratives. For example, episode i (*a*), the blinding of the giant with a red-hot spit or the like, was a thrilling incident suitable to a variety of situations and sure to please. It occurs alone on the Greek mainland:

(3) **The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Gortynia**[2].

'One of us men in olden days wanted to travel through the whole world. In a certain region he found men who were very tall but had only one eye apiece. The wife of a One-eye, in whose house he lodged, hid him in the evening; for in the daytime her husband was not there—he was a bad character and ate men. When her husband came home and entered the house, he told her that he smelt something; but his wife said it was nothing at all. The One-eye didn't believe her. He got up, groped about, found the man, and wanted to eat him. He put him in his apron along with his supper. But when he tasted his bread, without noticing, for his thoughts were elsewhere, he grasped the man too in the hollow of his hand and thrust him into his mouth. But he stuck in a hole of his tooth, without the tooth getting a real grip on him. After he had pulled him out he let him live, to please his wife, since he was hardly worth eating. But next day he changed his mind and again wanted to eat him. His wife then made her husband drunk, got the stranger out secretly and sent him packing. But, before the wife sent him off, he thrust a big burning coal into the eye of the drunken One-eye and blinded him. And so he punished the bad character, who could no longer see to eat men. When he left, the wife asked his name, and he said: "They call me World-traveller[3]"; for he had seen and learnt much of the world.'

[1] *θύρε*, plural of *θύρι*: cp. *Od.* 9. 240, 313, 340 *θυρεὸν μέγαν*.

[2] Text in N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 70 f. no. 134 Ὁ μονομάτης, ii. 752 ff. (recorded at Lasta in the deme Mylaon in Gortynia, a district of the Morea). Translation by K. Dieterich in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1905 xv. 381 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 441 no. 26. I follow Dieterich.

At Arachova on Mt Parnassos the name Μονόματοι (or Μονόματοι) is given to a race of wild and impious men believed to inhabit a foreign land of unknown situation and to have but a single eye in their forehead. The same expression is applied to people, who in character and behaviour resemble these mythical savages (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 203). For instance, in Akarnania the natives of Xeromeros detest the uncivilised and unsociable mountaineers of Baltos and speak of them as *μονομάται*, 'one-eyed' monsters (L. Heuzey *Le Mont Olympe et l'Acarnanie* Paris 1860 p. 259).

[3] "Μὲ λένε Κοσμοτριγυριστή." Cp. *Od.* 1. 1 ff.

The same *motif* is woven into tales of different texture from Zakynthos and Kypros:

(4) **The Blinding of the Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Zakynthos**[1].

Once upon a time there was a certain king's daughter. Three days after her birth came the Fates, who declared that during the fifteenth year of her life she must hide herself from the sun, on pain of becoming a lizard, falling into the sea, and remaining there for five months. As the destined time drew near, the maid saddened and her father tried to divert his thoughts by travelling. Before he set out on his journey he asked his daughter what he could do for her. She begged him to contract a marriage on her behalf with the Giant of the Mountain[2]. The king then went abroad and reached at last the Giant's town, where he heard say that the Giant meant to marry the fairest maiden in the world. He also made friends with the barber that clipped the Giant's beard and enjoyed the Giant's confidence. The Giant himself proved to be a one-eyed monster, who wore seven veils over his face: he lived with many others of his kind in a hollow mountain, where they dug for treasure and hewed out vast building-stones for their houses. Prompted by the barber, the king claimed to be the Giant's son, and, in proof of his assertion, let the giant strike him with a huge pole: he evaded the blow by receiving it on a big leather bag[3]. He then removed the Giant's veils, and was thanked for his pains. When he broached the subject of his errand, the Giant took him into a chamber apart, showed him many paintings of maidens, and asked whether his daughter resembled any of them. The king replied that these were not worthy even to wash his daughter's feet. The Giant next drew from his breast a miniature, and repeated his question. The king again answered that his daughter's chamber-maid looked like that. So the Giant agreed to wed the king's daughter, if she was as beautiful as her father declared[4]. The king went home and reported his success. His daughter made herself ready, and, in order to avoid the sun-light, came in a litter with her nurse and her nurse's daughter. But, when they were on board ship nearing the coast, the nurse dropped a costly kerchief and begged the princess to have the door of the litter opened that she might recover it. Here-

[1] Text unpublished. Translation (here summarised) in B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 pp. 98—104 no. 13 ('Der Riese vom Berge'), 230 f. = Hackman *op. cit.* p. 11 f. no. 3. The tale is a variant of a type first described by R. Köhler in L. Gonzenbach *Sicilianische Märchen* Leipzig 1870 ii. 225 ff. as 'das M. von dem Bruder und seiner schönen Schwester' and later studied in detail by P. Arfert *Das Motiv von der unterschobenen Braut in der internationalen Erzählungsliteratur* Rostock 1897: see J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 79 ff., 1918 iii. 85 ff.

[2] *τὸν γίγαντα τοῦ βουνοῦ*. In Zakynthos giants, with a long beard on their chin and a single eye that sparkles like fire in their forehead, are said to live underground, where they quarry huge stones for building towers and cause the earthquakes that are so frequent in this island. They are the children of a devil and a *Lámnissa* (Lamia) or a witch; and their wives spin yarn with spindles of such monstrous size and weight that once, when the giants made war on a certain king, their wives flung these spindles at the enemy and so slew thousands (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 200 f.).

[3] For a similar incident see 'The Scab-pate,' a folk-tale from Astypalaia (J. Pio ΝΕΟΕΛΛΗΝΙΚΑ ΠΑΡΑΜΥΘΙΑ *Contes populaires grecs* Copenhague 1879 p. 162 f., E. M. Geldart *Folk-Lore of Modern Greece* London 1884 p. 157).

[4] A similar situation occurs in a folk-tale from Epeiros (J. Pio *op. cit.* p. 17, E. M. Geldart *op. cit.* p. 37 f. 'The Golden Wand').

upon the sun shone in, and the princess, transformed at once into a lizard, fell into the sea. The nurse, having thus gained her end, substituted her own daughter for the princess. The Giant of the Mountain came out to meet them, riding on a high horse, with a sceptre in his right hand and a sword in his left. On opening the litter, he and the father of the bride were equally astonished to find an ugly wench instead of a beautiful princess. But, as the nurse explained that in five months' time the bride would regain her good looks, the Giant received her into his mountain along with her mother, though he punished the king by making him an ostler for a term of five years. The Giant's practice was to leave the mountain at dawn and return to it in the evening. He told his young wife that she might enter all the rooms of his castle except one. Curiosity forced her to enter the forbidden apartment, where she found the mother of the giants. This portentous creature was sitting on a stool, holding in one hand a large stone set in plates of gold and in the other an iron staff. Being able to predict the future, she told the would-be queen that she would live to rue her deceit, since the real princess was yet alive and already on her track. The maid fled and told her mother, who, to secure the death of the princess, informed the Giant that his wife was ill and wished all the fish in the harbour to be burnt before her eyes. This was done; but the princess had already escaped the water and been restored to her former shape. She found her father, who brought her to the Giant. The mother of the giants bade her son treat the nurse's daughter as the nurse's daughter had been minded to treat the princess; and the false bride was accordingly burnt. The Giant then married the princess and sent her father home a free man. Some months later the giant began to ill-treat his wife, because she was more friendly with his mother than he cared to be. The Giant's wife therefore fled on a ship to her former home. The Giant himself followed her, and bribed a goldsmith to shut him in a large golden coffer and sell him as a saint's relic to the king's daughter. The king's daughter bought the coffer, and proceeded to say her prayers before it. But, while thus engaged, she heard a slight noise, *zicki zicki*, and detected the Giant within. She shrieked aloud. Soldiers came up, ran a red-hot spit through the key-hole of the coffer, and so bored out the eye of the Giant inside it[1]. They then took him and struck him on the ankle-bones till he died.

(5) **The Three-eyed Ogre in a Folk-tale from Kypros[2].**

A woodcutter's eldest daughter once married a passing merchant, who gave her a hundred and one keys. She might open a hundred chambers in his house, but not the one over. For all that, she opened it. Looking from its window she saw a ghastly sight. First, a corpse was borne out to burial without friends or mourners. Then, her husband appeared among the tombs, made himself a head as big as a sieve, three eyes, enormously long arms and hideous nails. With

[1] In a folk-tale from Syra (E. M. Geldart *op. cit.* p. 16 f. 'The two brothers and the forty-nine dragons') the hero kills the Drakoi by thrusting red-hot spits through the chests in which they are concealed.

[2] Text in A. Sakellarios Τὰ Κυπριακά Athens 1868 iii. 136 ff. Translation (here condensed) in É. Legrand *Recueil de contes populaires grecs* Paris 1881 pp. xiv, 115—131 'Le Trimmatos ou l'ogre aux trois yeux.' The tale falls under the thirtieth or 'Bluebeard'-*formula* of J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 56, on which see T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 p. 77 ff. and J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 13 ff., 370 ff., and especially 398 ff.

these he dug up the dead body and devoured it. At this she fell sick of a fever. Her husband returned, and found reason to suspect her of entering the forbidden room. He transformed himself successively into her mother, her relatives, and her nurse. In this final disguise he induced her to say what she had seen. He then suddenly turned into a Trimmatos or 'Three-eyed' ogre again, and prepared to eat her for not having kept his secret. Kindling a brasier, the flames of which licked the sky, he thrust into it a spit till it became red-hot, and went to fetch his wife. She begged for two hours' respite, slipped out of the window, and besought first a carter and next a camel-driver to hide her from the Trimmatos. The camel-driver took pity on her and concealed her in a bale of cotton. Meantime the ogre had discovered her escape. Starting in pursuit, he soon came up with the carter, who sent him on to the camel-driver. He thrust his glowing spit into each bale belonging to the latter before he was satisfied and took his departure. The spit had wounded his wife's foot. But the camel-driver took her, still in the bale, to the king's palace and told the king her story. The royal physician cured her foot; and she showed such skill in embroidery that the king and queen chose her as their daughter-in-law. She, fearing the vengeance of the ogre, bargained that the wedding should take place at night, that a bridal chamber should be built reached by seven flights of steps, that these steps should be strewn with chick-peas, that two pits should be dug at the bottom of the lowest flight and covered with matting, and that no one should be told a word about it all. Nevertheless the matter came to the ears of the Trimmatos, who, disguised as a merchant, repaired to the palace with negroes in his sacks. His former wife saw through his disguise, and signed to the queen to ask him what wares he had brought. He replied that he had pistachio-nuts, dried apricots, and chestnuts. The bride then said that she was indisposed and would like some of these fruits. The merchant tried to put her off till the morrow; but the king's jester, who was at table, went out to sample the wares and brought back word about the negroes. These were at once put to death. The merchant, however, made his escape. The same night he took the form of a Trimmatos once more, mounted to the bridal chamber, cast the dust of a corpse on the bride-groom to make him sleep soundly, seized the bride and dragged her off to be spitted for his meal. But on the way she gave him a sudden push; he slipped on the chick-peas, and fell into the pit, where he was devoured himself by a lion and a tiger. The bride fainted on the staircase. Next morning the physician brought the happy couple to their senses again; and the subsequent festivities lasted forty days and forty nights.

Again, episode ii (β), the escape of the hero in a sheep-skin, forms part of a wonder-voyage entitled *George and the Storks*, which was related to L. Ross by a native of Psara or Ipsara, an island off the west coast of Chios:

(6) **The Blind Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Psara**[1].

Long, long ago there lived at Therapia near Constantinople a poor sailor, who bade three of his children—Dimitri, Michael, and George—go out into the world and seek their fortunes. So they took service with a captain and made many trips to Marseilles, Leghorn, Trieste, to Smyrna, to Alexandria, and to other Mediterranean ports. After two years they joined the crew of a fine frigate bound on a voyage of discovery. Passing through the Straits of

[1] L. Ross *Erinnerung und Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* Berlin 1863 pp. 279—298 'Georg und die Störche'=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 10 f. no. 2=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 440 f. no. 25. I abbreviate from Ross.

Gibraltar into the ocean beyond, they were caught by a terrible storm and driven for months before it. Their provisions were spent and they were starving. When one of their company died, the rest cut up, cooked, and ate his body. Then day by day they drew lots to determine who should be killed and eaten. Some ten days had elapsed when the lot fell on George, who had just had a happy dream of reaching shore. He persuaded his shipmates to spare him till the evening, and at midday land was sighted on the horizon. The crew, overjoyed, thanked God and St Nikolaos, and hastily rowed ashore. Here the three brothers got separated from the others, lost their way, and had to spend the night up a tree. The same thing happened on the morrow, and it was not till the morning of the third day that they got out of the wood.

On the plain beyond they saw a magnificent castle. A narrow door led into a wide courtyard, in which they found a great flock of sheep, but no trace of human beings. The castle too seemed quite unoccupied. They passed from room to room till they entered a banqueting-hall, where a feast was set out. Unable to make anybody hear, they at last sat down to eat, when suddenly through the door came a monstrous, misshapen, blind Drakos. In a voice which froze the blood in their veins he cried: 'I smell the flesh of men, I smell the flesh of men!' Pale with terror, they sprang from their seats. But the Drakos, guided by the sound, stretched out his hideous long claws and seized by the neck first Dimitri and then Michael. He dashed them to pieces on the floor. George alone escaped, being nimble, and slipped out into the courtyard. He found the little door fast-closed and the walls too high to climb. What was he to do? Terror suggested a plan. Whether it was that he had heard of the famous hero Odysseus[1], or thought of it now for himself, he drew his sharp seaman's knife, killed the biggest ram in the flock, stripped off its skin, threw the carcase into a well, wrapped himself in the skin, and attempted to creep out on all fours, as if he were a ram. Meantime the Drakos had finished his horrible meal, and came waddling down the marble steps, shouting: 'You shall not escape me, you shall make me a tasty supper!' He crossed the court to the little door, threw it open, and blocked the way with his ungainly body, leaving just room enough for one sheep to pass. Then he called his ewes one by one, milked them, and let them go through. Last came the rams, with George in their midst. He approached with fear and trembling. But the Drakos only stroked his back, praised his size and strength, and set him too at liberty.

Once safely outside, George fled to the nearest wood, wandered about in it, and on the third day reached a wide plain, where there was a large town built round a king's castle. But again all seemed empty and deserted. This time he did not venture into the castle, but lodged in an ordinary house. He had stayed there for rather more than five months, when one day he caught sight of a great army crossing the plain. He fled in alarm to a bakery and hid in the kneading-trough. Here he was discovered on the third day by the baker and taken before the king, by whom he was kindly treated. For six months he lived with the baker and helped in his work. Then one morning the inhabitants all collected on the plain, and the king despatched his people in troops to England, France, Italy, Smyrna, and the Dardanelles. Before George could ask the reason, they all went off towards a broad river at some distance from the town,

[1] It may be thought that this allusion proves the influence of the Homeric narrative. But observe that Odysseus' expedient was *not* that adopted by George. The former clung on beneath a living ram (ii (*α*)), the latter donned the fleece of a dead ram (ii (*β*)).

plunged into it, and emerged on the other side as so many bands of storks! George now woke up to the fact that this was the land of the storks. Six months later he witnessed their return. A whole cloud of them settled on the further bank of the river, dived into it, and came out on the near side as men[1]. He eagerly questioned them about Therapia, and begged the king to send him thither. The king assured him that this was impossible, unless he would consent to become a stork himself. Anxious to revisit his home, George agreed. So, when spring came round, he too dived into the river of transformation, and came out as a fine stork with long red beak, white feathers, and black wings. He flew to Therapia, married a beautiful she-bird, and built his nest on the roof of his father's house. He was so tame that he was soon welcomed in, and picked up crumbs under the low table with his long beak. When his old mother stroked his head and fed him with tit-bits, he chattered his best and made a hundred grotesque gestures to show his love and gratitude. But he could not make his kinsfolk understand that he was their long-lost George. At length he resolved to play a trick upon his sister Kathinko. She had a pair of silver armlets, which she had inherited from her grandmother. Waiting his opportunity, he carried off one of these and hid it in his nest. Kathinko and her mother looked for it in vain; they never thought of the stork. Meantime summer slipped away, and the storks departed—George among them. On reaching the land of the storks he begged the king to contrive his home-coming. So some weeks later the king had a boat built, laden with food, and launched on a river which flowed behind the town. He gave George a sack full of his costliest gems, and let him drift down the strong stream. After some hours the river plunged into a *katabóthra* and flowed for many hundreds of miles through a rocky channel. This must have taken weeks, though George lost count of days and nights in the darkness. At last he saw in the distance a star, which proved to be the daylight at the end of the channel. His boat was swept out into the open, and he saw before him the town of Smyrna; in fact, he found himself on the river[2] which gushes out of the rocks near that town. He went into the town and secured a lodging, but returned to his boat the same evening and fetched his bag of precious stones. Next day he sold a dozen of them to some Jews for two tons of gold. With this he bought fine clothes, a number of necessaries, and a big frigate, in which he sailed for Constantinople. He cast anchor off Therapia, saluted his birthplace by firing a number of guns, and invited on board the elders of the place. They came in their best clothes, and it so chanced that George's old father brought their boat alongside. George welcomed them to his table, but insisted that the old sailor must join their company and gave him a seat next himself. He sent each man away with a handful of gold pieces, and bade them come and feast with him on the morrow, only bargaining that the old sailor should bring his family with him[3]. When the hour arrived, he set wine before them and told them all of his wonderful experiences. 'Among other things,' said he, 'I was once a stork, and that here in Therapia.' At this all laughed and thought it a mere joke. But George proved the truth of his words by bidding a

[1] The metamorphosis of storks into men in return for their filial piety is already noticed by Alexander of Myndos (*c.* 1—50 A.D.) (Ail. *de nat. an.* 3. 23 Ἀλέξανδρος δὲ ὁ Μύνδιός φησιν, ὅταν ἐς γῆρας ἀφίκωνται (*sc.* οἱ πελαργοί), παρελθόντας αὐτοὺς ἐς τὰς Ὠκεανίτιδας νήσους ἀμείβειν τὰ εἴδη ἐς ἀνθρώπου μορφήν, καὶ εὐσεβείας γε τῆς ἐς τοὺς γειναμένους ἆθλον τοῦτο ἴσχειν, κ.τ.λ. See further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 129 and O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 196 f.

[2] The river Meles.

[3] Perhaps a reminiscence of Gen. 42. 14 ff.

servant mount the old sailor's roof and fetch thence the armlet hidden in a stork's nest. He did so, and Kathinka recognised her trinket. Hereupon the old mother would have died of surprise, had she not been kept alive by joy at the recovery of her son. George settled in Therapia, built a fine house there, and maintained his parents in plenty. He endowed his sisters well and married them to honest men. He put up monuments to his luckless brothers and gave a donation to a church for masses to be said on their behalf. His descendants are well-to-do folk still living at Therapia and in the neighbourhood.

Lastly, episode iv, the name-trick, is the main feature of *The Three Thieves*, a very much transmogrified tale from Lesbos :

(7) **The Name-trick in a Folk-tale from Lesbos**[1].

'Once there was a good man whose fortune was in the sun[2]. He went out on the hill, and saw three thieves who had killed a goat. They told him to cook it. Well, as they say, "a thief among thieves, and a liar among liars[3]"; so he nodded without speaking, and did as he was bid. They asked him his name, and he said 'Απατός—"Mr Self." When he had cooked the goat, he beat the three thieves soundly with the spit[4], and they ran off howling. People asked them who did it? "Self!" said they, and got laughed at for their pains.'

An Albanian version, recorded at Piana de' Greci near Palermo, recognises two Kyklopes and gives each of them two pairs of eyes :

(8) **The Kyklopes in an Albanian Folk-tale**[5].

'Once on a time there were two men travelling. Night fell upon them by the way, and it rained and thundered. Poor fellows, just think what a plight they were in! They saw a light far off and said, "Let's go and see if we can pass the night where that light is." And they went and came to the cave, for a cave it was where the light shone. They went in and saw that there were sheep and rams and two Cyclopes[6], who had two eyes in front and two behind. The Cyclopes saw them come in and said one to the other, "Go to, here we have got something to eat." And they proposed to eat the two men. The poor fellows stayed there two days; then the Cyclopes felt the back of their necks and said, "Good! We'll eat one of them to-morrow." Meantime they made them eat to fatten them. For in the evening they would take a sheep and a ram, roast them on spits over the fire, and compel the poor wretches to devour them, entrails and all, just to fatten them. And every now and then they would feel the back of their necks, and one would say to the other, "They're getting on very well!" But the two men said to each other by words or signs, "Let us see whether we can escape." Now, as I said, two days passed, and on the second day the Cyclopes fell asleep and slumbered with all their eyes open. Nevertheless, when the two men saw the Cyclopes sleeping, they took the spits on which the sheep had been roasted, and they heated them in the fire. Then they took rams' skins

[1] Reported by W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1896 vii. 154 f. = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 107 no. 125.

[2] *ἡ τύχη του ἦτο 'ς τὸν ἥλιον*, *i.e.* he had no means of subsistence.

[3] *κλέφτης μὲ τοὺς κλέφταις, καὶ ψεύτης μὲ τοὺς ψεύταις*, *i.e.* do at Rome as the Romans do.

[4] An attentuated form of episode i (*a*).

[5] D. Comparetti *Novelline popolari Italiane* Torino 1875 pp. 308—310 no. 70 = O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 12 f. no. 4 = Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 441 f. no. 27. I transcribe Frazer's rendering.

[6] O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 13 takes *ciclopi* to be a popular, not a learned, appellation : he cites *ciropiddhu* as a dialect form from Messina (*ib.* p. 16 no. 9 and p. 169).

and clothed themselves in them, and going down on all fours they walked about in the rams' skins. Meanwhile the spits were heated, and each of the men took two, and going softly up to the sleeping Cyclopes, they jabbed the hot spits into their eyes. After that, they went down on all fours like sheep. The Cyclopes awoke blind, and gave themselves up for lost. But they took their stand at the door, each at a doorpost, just as they were, with all the spits sticking in their eyes. They let out all the sheep that were in the cave, saying, "The sheep will go out, and the men will stay in," and they felt the fleeces of the sheep to see whether the men were going out too. But the men had the sheep-skins on their backs, and they went on all fours, and when the Cyclopes felt them, they thought they were sheep. So the men escaped with their life, and when they were some way off, they put off the skins. Either the Cyclopes died or they know themselves what they did. That is the end of the story.'

A Sicilian tale from Erice, which G. Pitrè had from the lips of a girl only eight years old, contains the same two episodes—i (*α*), the blinding of the giant by means of a hot poker, and ii (*β*), the escape of the hero by putting on a sheep-skin :

(9) **The Kyklops in a Sicilian Folk-tale**[1].

'A couple of monks, one big, the other little, were once off on their yearly round, begging for the church, when they lost their way. However, they pushed on and came to a large cave, where a strange creature, a devil if they had but known it, was engaged in making a fire. Hoping to obtain shelter for the night, they entered the cave, and found the monster killing a sheep and roasting it. He had already killed and roasted a score of them, for he kept sheep in his cave. The monster bade the monks eat. At first they refused, saying that they were not hungry. But he forced them to fall to and finish the meal. They then went to bed. The monster took an enormous rock and placed it in front of the cave. Next he seized a huge iron poker with a sharp point, heated it, and thrust it through the neck of the bigger monk. He roasted the body, and asked his companion whether he would help eat it. The little monk said that he would not, because he was already full. The monster thereupon threatened to murder him, unless he would get up and eat. So in sheer terror he sprang up, sat at the table, and took a tiny morsel, but at once cast it on the floor. "Maria!" he cried, "I'm full, I am indeed!" In the course of the night the good man himself got hold of the poker, heated it, and stuck it into the monster's eyes, which gushed out of his head. The monster cried out in pain ; and the monk in alarm slipped on a sheep-skin. Afterwards the monster, feeling his way to the mouth of the cave, raised the stone by which it was shut, and let his sheep out one by one. The monk made his escape among them, and got away to the coast at Trapani, where he told his story to some fishermen. Finally, the monster went fishing, but, being blind, fell over a rock and broke his skull. The sea grew red with his blood. Thus the young man went off, while the monster stayed there.'

Italian versions of the tale, as compared with Greek, are at once more numerous and less defective—a fact which suggests that the original centre of diffusion was Italy rather than Greece. Examples from the Abruzzo and from

[1] G. Pitrè *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (=*Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) p. lxxxviii ff., ii. 1 ff. no. 51 'Lu munacheddu' (for the dialect see A. Traina *Nuovo vocabolario siciliano-italiano* Palermo 1868)=T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 pp. 89 f., 345 n. 31=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 15 no. 8=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 437 f. no. 22. I translate from Pitrè.

the neighbourhood of Rome contain, not only episodes i (*a*), the blinding, and ii (*β*), the escape, but also iii, the *motif* of the magical ring :

(10) **The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from Roccàscalegna in the Abruzzo**[1].

'Four and twenty school-boys once went out for a walk. When they had gone a good distance, night came on. "We had better return," said the youngest of them, "or our master will scold us." "No," cried all the rest, "let us go to yonder inn." They did so, and knocked at the door. A voice from within asked : "Who is it?" "Friends," they replied. "I'm so glad you've come!" said Eye-on-forehead. He then made them enter and set about cooking a sheep in a caldron without skinning it first. The boys, disgusted, would not eat. Next day Eye-on-forehead seized a boy, and set about cooking him in the caldron ; but the others would not eat him either. One by one Eye-on-forehead ate them all. Only one was left, the shrewdest of them all, and he said to Eye-on-forehead : "Why do you eat human flesh?" And Eye-on-forehead answered him : "Out of spite, because I've only one eye." "Then," continued the school-boy, "if I grow you another eye[2], will you let me go free?" "Yes," replied Eye-on-forehead. Thereupon the boy made the spit red-hot on the hearth, and said to Eye-on-forehead : "Shut your eye." He took that spit and drove it into the eye till it came out the other side. Eye-on-forehead was furious and wanted to eat him ; but how could he see where the rascal was standing? Every day he used to send his sheep out to pasture, and seated himself in the door-way so as to prevent the boy from getting past ; and he felt each sheep as it went by him. One day the boy dropped into the pen, skinned a sheep, put on its fleece and tried walking on all fours. When the time for pasture had come, Eye-on-forehead, thinking he was a sheep, sent him out. Once outside, the boy began to shout : "I'm out! I'm out!" Eye-on-forehead, thus informed, took and flung a ring. This ring went straight on to the finger of the boy and he could not stir from where he stood. What could he do? Eye-on-forehead, groping round, was like to catch him again. But an idea struck him : he would cut off the finger, on which that cursed ring was ; and so he did. Having cut it off, he began to hurry away. Eye-on-forehead found the finger, ate it, and said to the boy as he ran : "So you didn't want me to eat your flesh? But for all that I've had a taste of it!" The boy got back home and told his mother all about it.'

(11) **The Kyklops in a Folk-tale from the vicinity of Rome**[3].

A master was travelling with his servant through a wide wood. They came to a great cavern, where dwelt the Occhiaro ('Bright-eye'), a monster with only

[1] G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1882 i (Novelle) 190 f. no. 38 'Lu fatte dell' uocchie-'n-frónde'=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 17 no. 10. I translate from Finamore. For a very similar version (i (*a*)+ii (*β*)+iii), likewise from the Abruzzo, see A. de Nino *'Usi e costumi Abruzzesi* Firenze 1883 iii (Fiabe) 305—307=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 416 ff. no. 7.

[2] Episode i (*a*) is here crossed by episode i (*β*), the southern by the northern form (*supra* p. 988). The same contamination is found in a variant from Vasto in the Abruzzo (G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1886 ii (Novelle) 57 f. no. 68 'La favulette dell' ucchie-'m-brande'=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 17 f. no. 11). Episode i (*β*) takes the place of i (*a*) in a version recorded at Pisa (D. Comparetti (*Novelline popolari Italiane* Torino 1875 pp. 192—195 no. 44 'Il Fiorentino'=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 18 f. no. 12=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 418 f. no. 8).

[3] C. Nyrop 'Sagnet om Odysseus og Polyphem' in the *Nordisk Tidskrift for Filologi* 1881 v. 239—240=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 13 f. no. 5. I translate from Hackman.

one big brilliant eye. The Occhiaro closed the cavern with a great stone, and then slaughtered the servant and ate him up. After that he lay down and went to sleep. The master drew his sword, plunged it into the Occhiaro's eye, and so blinded him. The Occhiaro howled till the cavern rang again. In the night the man slaughtered a sheep and wrapped himself in its skin. Next morning the Occhiaro let the sheep out of the cavern one by one and felt them as he did it. The man in the sheep-skin luckily got out and then mocked at the Occhiaro. He flung him a ring, with which to make himself invisible. The man stuck the ring on his finger. Thereupon the Occhiaro cried : ' Hold fast, ring, till I come.' The man could no longer stir from the spot ; so he chopped the finger off with his sword and made his escape.

To pursue the subject beyond the limits of Greece and Italy would be beside my purpose. But it must of course be borne in mind that the variants noted in classical lands are essentially similar to those collected from the rest of Europe. A single specimen will suffice to make this clear, and may at the same time show how such a tale, drifting along the current of popular mouth-to-mouth transmission, may attach itself to some landmark or salient feature of the countryside and become fixed as a local legend with names of persons and places all complete.

(12) The Kyklops in an English Folk-tale.

In 1879 S. Baring-Gould contributed the following paragraph to W. Henderson's *Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties*[1] : 'At Dalton, near Thirsk, in Yorkshire, is a mill. It has quite recently been rebuilt, but when I was at Dalton, six years ago, the old building stood. In front of the house was a long mound, which went by the name of "the giant's grave[2]," and in the mill was shown a long blade of iron something like a scythe-blade, but not curved, which was said to have been the giant's knife[3]. A curious story was told of this knife. There lived a giant at this mill, and he ground men's bones to make his bread. One day he captured a lad on Pilmoor, and instead of grinding him in the mill he kept him as his servant and never let him get away. Jack served the giant many years and never was allowed a holiday. At last he could bear it no longer. Topcliffe fair was coming on, and the lad entreated that he might be allowed to go there to see the lasses and buy some spice. The giant surlily refused leave ; Jack resolved to take it. The day was hot, and after dinner the giant lay down in the mill with his head on a sack and dozed. He had been eating in the mill and had laid down a great loaf of bone bread by his side, and the knife was in his hand, but his fingers relaxed their hold of it in sleep. Jack seized the moment, drew the knife away, and holding it with both hands drove the blade into the single eye of the giant, who woke with a howl of agony, and starting up

[1] W. Henderson *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* London 1879 p. 194 f., S. Baring-Gould 'The Giant of New Mills, Sessay' [Dalton is in the parish of Sessay] in *Folk-Lore* 1890 i. 130=O. Hackman *op. cit.* p. 33 no. 28=Sir J. G. Frazer *loc. cit.* p. 430 f. no. 18.

[2] S. Baring-Gould in W. Henderson *op. cit.* p. 196 n. adds: 'I am told by one of our servants from Dalton that at the rebuilding of the farm the mound was opened, and a stone coffin found in it; but whether this be a kistvaen or a mediæval sarcophagus I cannot tell.'

[3] *Id.* in *Folk-Lore loc. cit.* says further: 'in the mill was shown...the giant's...stone porridge-basin or lather-dish.'

barred the door. Jack was again in difficulties, but he soon found a way out of them. The giant had a favourite dog which had also been sleeping when his master was blinded. Jack killed the dog, skinned it, and throwing the hide over his back ran on all fours barking between the legs of the giant, and so escaped.'

APPENDIX F.

THE DIOSKOUROI AND HELENE IN MODERN FOLK-TALES.

Attention may here be called to a group of modern Greek and Italian folk-tales, which are related to the myth of the Dioskouroi, as I shall presently point out. The group was first recognised as such by that excellent investigator J. G. von Hahn, who included it under his fourth or 'expulsion' *formula*, though he failed fully to perceive its affinity with classical myths[1].

(α) Sun, Moon, and Star in a Folk-tale from Greece.

(1) A good example of the group in question is the modern Greek story of the *Tzitzinaina*, which runs as follows[2]. An old woman once had three daughters, poor and hard-working girls. The eldest said: 'If I had for husband the king's pastry-man, I should eat cake.' The second said: 'If I had his cook, I should taste all the royal dishes.' The third said: 'I would like the king himself. Then I should have all his treasures, and should bear him three children, Sun, Moon, and Star.' It so chanced that the king overheard them talking and granted their several desires. But when the third sister became queen, she was hated by the king's mother. She was about to bring forth Sun, when the king was called off to a war and entrusted her to his mother. This cruel woman bade the midwife put the new-born babe in a box, fling it into the sea, and place a puppy dog instead beside the queen. The same sorry scene was enacted a second and a third time. A cat was substituted for Moon, and a snake for Star, the children being each in turn sent adrift on the sea. The king, disappointed and angry, walled up the queen in the jakes. The children one after the other were washed up at the foot of a mountain, on which dwelt a hermit. He cared for them till they were grown and then sent the two brothers Sun and Moon with their sister Star to the neighbouring town. Meantime the midwife had learnt of the children's escape and, wishing to destroy them, sought out Star and told her that she was beautiful but might be more so, if only she possessed the golden apple kept by forty dragons in a garden. Sun, who had been out to the bazar and bought of a Jew a mysterious box, now opened it, found inside a green winged horse and set out upon him to get the golden apple. The horse caused a flash of lightning and a clap of thunder, under cover of which Sun secured the apple and brought it back to Star. Again the midwife passed by and told Star that she needed, to make her more beautiful still, the golden bough on which all the birds of the world met to sing. Sun remounted his horse, which, as before, promised to lighten and thunder and advised

[1] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 46, T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 pp. 17, 325. On the 'expulsion' *formula* see *infra* p. 1012.

[2] Text by G. Ch. B. in the Νεοελληνικὰ ἀνάλεκτα Athens 1871 i. 17 ff., French translation by É. Legrand *Recueil de contes populaires grecs* Paris 1881 pp. 77—93. I have condensed Legrand's version.

his master to take a hatchet to cut a branch from the tree. Sun did so, and returned in safety with the golden bough. Once more the midwife passed by, and this time suggested that Star, to perfect her beauty, needed the Tzitzinaina, who knew the language of the birds and could explain their song. But to obtain the Tzitzinaina proved a harder task. For, when Sun and his horse reached her house and thrice summoned her to come forth, she turned them both into marble, first up to the knees, next up to the thighs, and then up to the waist. At this crisis the young man remembered that he had about him some hairs from the beard of the hermit, which he was to burn if ever he required assistance. He burnt one now. The hermit appeared, and bade the Tzitzinaina restore to life all those whom she had petrified. She sprinkled them with water of immortality and so recovered them. Among the rescued was Moon, whom his brother and sister had lost. The hermit now made the Tzitzinaina act as their mother. She explained to them the language of the birds and everything else that they wanted to know. One day the king met them out and asked them to dine with him on the morrow. The Tzitzinaina told them to take a puppy with them and give it a slice. They did so, and the puppy died. The young folk protested that they had no wish to be poisoned, and invited the king to dine with them on the next day. The Tzitzinaina, when the king sat down to their empty table, clapped her hands thrice and a grand meal appeared. After dinner the king asked Sun, Moon, and Star what they wished for most. They, instructed by the Tzitzinaina, craved the release of the woman hidden in the jakes. She was brought out, washed, clothed, and presented to the king by the Tzitzinaina, who told him all the facts. Thereupon the king in high delight took back his queen to the palace. But the king's mother and the midwife were fastened to four horses, which dragged them along the road and, on being lashed, tore them asunder.

(β) Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in a Folk-tale from Syra.

(2) A Greek tale from Syra is very similar[1]. A poor old couple once had three hard-working daughters. The eldest of them wished that she had for husband the king's cook: then she would eat of the good things on his table. The next wished for the king's treasurer: then she would have plenty of money. The youngest, for the king himself: then she would bear him three children, Sun, Moon, and Morning-star. The prince[2] overheard them wishing, granted their desires, and married the youngest of them, much against his mother's will. When the young queen was about to bear the children, her mother-in-law bade the midwife substitute a dog, a cat, and a mouse for them, and fling the three children into the river. But the midwife had pity on the little brats and laid them down on a bed of rushes. Here a childless herdsman found them fed by one of his goats. He brought them to his wife, who tended them carefully; and, when they were grown up, he built them a tower to live in. As for the queen, at the time of her confinement the king was absent on a campaign. So his mother put her in the hen-house, and told him on his return that his wife, instead of Sun, Moon, and Morning-star, had given birth to a dog, a cat, and a mouse. The king was so upset that he did not ask what had become of the queen. For long he was inconsolable. At last one day he roused himself, went for a ride, and saw Sun and Morning-star exercising their horses near the tower and Moon watching them from a window. He thought the young folk just like those whom his wife had

[1] Text unpublished, German translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 40 ff. I have condensed the version of von Hahn.

[2] In the sequel he is called king.

promised to bear, and that night he told his mother about them. She taxed the midwife with neglecting her orders. So the midwife went off, obtained by guile an entrance into the tower, and told Moon that she was indeed beautiful, but that she needed one thing to complete her happiness—the branch that makes music. Her brothers Sun and Morning-star consented to get it. They set off, and met a monk, who told them all about it. It was kept by two dragons, who would swallow them if they approached by day, but who snored with open mouth at midnight and might then be shot. The young men followed the monk's directions, shot the dragons, broke off the branch, and brought it back to their sister. The king, who on his rides past the tower had missed them, now told his mother of their return. She again sent the midwife, who paid a second visit to the tower. The girl Moon showed her a tree outside the house, which had grown apace from the planted branch making music continually and producing every morning a dishful of precious stones. The midwife, duly astonished, said that she still needed a mirror showing all towns, villages, lands, and princes. The brothers went off to seek it, and again met the monk. He told them that it was guarded by forty dragons, who by day kept watch, twenty on one side, twenty on the other, and by night slept in a row. About midnight they snored so loud that the mountains re-echoed. The brothers must then tread across their bodies with the greatest care. This they did, and brought the mirror to their sister. The king again noticed their absence and their return. He told his mother. She sent the midwife once more, who said to Moon that the only thing now lacking was the bird Dikjeretto: he understood all languages and by looking in the mirror would be able to tell her what people were saying all the world over. The brothers suspected that this quest would be the death of them. So they gave their sister two shirts, which she was to look at daily: if the shirts turned black, she would know that they had failed. This time, when they met the monk, he refused to help them. However, they pressed on, and the bird by his glance turned first one and then the other into stone. Moon knew of the disaster because the two shirts turned as black as coal. In her grief she set out on horseback to die with her brothers. The monk met her, had compassion on her, and explained that many a prince had failed in this enterprise because they had made the attempt in their clothes. She must strip herself of everything, attack the bird from behind before he was aware of her presence through the rustling of her clothes, and so grasp him by the feet. She did as she was bidden, caught the bird, and asked him where her brothers were. He showed her where they stood, and pointed out a mountain which opened at midday and contained a spring: if she were quick enough, she might slip in and get the water of life from the spring; if not, the mountain would close upon her, and they would be ruined. The maiden with the bird on her hand performed the feat with the utmost speed; but even so the mountain as it closed caught a piece of her clothing, and she had to draw her sword and cut it off. She sprinkled her brothers with the water, and they awoke as from a deep sleep. All who had been petrified on the spot were now in turn sprinkled and accompanied the happy party back to the tower, where the herdsman overjoyed at the return of his fosterlings slew forty lambs and poured out wine in abundance: the feasting lasted three days and three nights. The king, hearing of it, went out to see whether the children were there. They showed him the greatest respect, and he invited them to be his guests on the following Sunday. The bird told the young people to take him too along with them, adding that the king was their father. At the royal table both the king's mother and the midwife were present, when the bird from his cage revealed the whole tale. The king sprang up and kissed

his children. His wife was fetched from the hen-house, clad in queenly garments, and brought to her children Sun, Moon, and Morning-star. The midwife had her head cut off; and the king's mother was banished from the palace.

(γ) Morning-Star and Evening-Star in a Folk-tale from Epeiros.

(3) A tale from the village of Çagori in Epeiros has some variations of interest[1]. Three sisters once sat on a balcony near the king's castle. The eldest said: 'I wish I sat at the king's table; how I should relish it!' The second said: 'I wish I were in the king's treasury; how I should help myself to money!' The youngest said: 'I wish I were married to the prince; I would bear him a boy and a girl as beautiful as the morning-star and the evening-star[2].' The prince overheard them wishing and granted all their wishes. But, when his young wife was about to be delivered of the children, he had to go off to a war. He entrusted her, therefore, to his mother. She, however, as soon as the little ones were born, put them in a basket and bade the midwife fling it into the river. She also slipped a dog and a cat into the cradle. When the poor wife wanted to see her offspring, she was dismayed indeed at their appearance. The prince now returned victorious from the war, but was so shocked at the news with which he was greeted that for three days he was speechless. Then he gave orders that his wife, who could deny nothing, should be walled up at the entrance of his castle so that only her head showed, and that every one who passed by should spit at her and strike her in the face. Meantime the basket in which the children lay floated to the house of certain dragons, who pulled it out of the water. They kept the children till the age of ten, then put them on a lame horse, and left them in the streets of the town to their fate. People wanted to know where they came from; and the children replied that they themselves did not know. At last the lame nag brought them to the house of a poor old woman, who out of pity took them in. Next morning she was astonished to find a handful of gold coins on the spot where the children had slept. The same thing occurred every morning, and she and they lived happily on the money. One day the king came by and noticed the morning-star on the face of the boy and the evening-star on that of the girl. He sighed and thought of the children that his wife had promised him. Indeed, he became so fond of these two that he brought them into his palace, hunted with them, and would never be without them. But his mother at once perceived who they were, and consulted with the midwife how best to get rid of them. The midwife came to the girl and said: 'You are a beautiful maiden, but you would be more beautiful still, if your brother had the winged horse of the plain.' The brother readily promised to go in quest of it. He rode forth and met an old woman, who told him of a plain near by so large that it took a man six days to cross it, though the winged horse was across it in one. The said horse ate men and beasts. If he would capture it, he must hide behind the thicket by the spring from which it drank, and at the moment when it stooped its head in drinking must leap on to its back and never dismount till it swore by its brother to serve him. The lad carried out her advice to the letter. The horse swore to serve him by its head—by its tail—by its saddle—by its foot—and lastly by its brother. The boy then dismounted, put a bridle on it, and brought it back to his

[1] Text unpublished, German translation by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 287 ff. As before, I have condensed from von Hahn.

[2] πούλια (*sic*) is the original word, according to von Hahn. But N. Contopoulos *Greek-English Lexicon*[5] Athens 1903 makes πούλια, -ας, mean 'the pleiades, the seven stars in the constellation Taurus.'

sister. The king was so pleased at his success that he gave him a small kingdom. But the grandmother again plotted with the nurse for his destruction. The nurse went a second time to the girl and said: 'You are beautiful, sweetheart, but you would be more beautiful still, if you had the Beauty of the Land.' The brother set out to get her without delay. The Beauty of the Land was a woman beautiful beyond compare, who lived on the far side of a river. Whoever wanted to carry her off had to traverse the dry bed of the river: his horse must there whinny aloud, and, if she heard it whinnying, he would be able to ride through, but, if she heard it not, he and his horse would there and then be turned into stone. When the lad came to the dried up river, he bade the winged horse whinny his loudest. The horse did so, but the Beauty of the Land heard nothing. 'We are lost!' cried the horse. 'Courage!' said the lad, 'whinny once more.' This time the Beauty of the Land heard and answered. The lad rode over and carried her off; and, as they crossed the dry river-bed, a number of people who were petrified there came to life again and escorted them home, remaining with them till the marriage between the young man and the Beauty of the Land was celebrated. The king was greatly delighted at all this. But the king's mother plotted once again with the nurse to poison the young people. Soon afterwards the king invited them to a feast. Before they went, the Beauty of the Land revealed everything to her husband, counseling him not to strike in the face the poor walled up woman who was his own mother and at table to eat only of those dishes of which she herself ate. When the bride, the bridegroom, and the bridegroom's sister ate only of the dishes set before the king, the king pressed them to eat of others also. They told him that the rest were poisoned. He hurled the whole meal out of the window with his own hand and ordered another. Afterwards the Beauty of the Land begged him to send for the walled up woman. On her arrival the three young folk stood up and kissed her. The Beauty of the Land told the whole tale to the king, who embraced his children and his wife. But he had his mother and the midwife each bound to four horses and torn into quarters.

(δ) **Three Golden Children in a Folk-tale from Euboia.**

(4) A variant hails from Hagia Anna, a small town in the north-east of Euboia[1]. The third sister said: 'I would bear the prince three golden children.' She oore a golden child, while her husband was on a campaign; but the cruel mother-in-law flung it into the hen-house and substituted for it a small dog. When her son returned and asked after the child that his wife had borne, she replied: 'What is to be done? She is a dog and a dog she has borne.' And the prince made answer: 'Dog though it be, it will watch my house.' The second child she flung into the hen-house and replaced by a cat; and the prince on his return was told of it and replied: 'Cat though it be, it will clear my house of mice.' For the third child she substituted a snake. Then the prince came back and gave orders that his wife should be flung into the hen-house. There the mother-in-law, who did not want her to die of hunger, brought her food in secret. When the boys had grown up, one day the king bade his heralds summon all his people to assemble before his castle. The boys heard of it, broke their way out of the hen-house and went to the assembly. The king noticed them, and was so pleased with them that he wanted to take them into his castle. But they said that they could not come without their mother; and, when the king asked 'Who is your mother?,' they replied 'She is the woman whom you shut up in the hen-house'

[1] Text unpublished, German summary by J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 291 f. I translate from von Hahn.

and told him all that had happened. Thereupon he brought his wife out of the hen-house, but had his mother bound to two vicious mules and torn asunder by them.

(e) Two Sons with Apples and a Daughter with a Star in a Folk-tale from Sicily.

(5) A Sicilian parallel to the foregoing tales is entitled *The Herb-gatherer's Daughters*[1]. A herb-gatherer died and left three daughters alone in the world. The eldest said: 'If I were the wife of the royal butler, I would give the whole court to drink out of one glass of water, and there would be some left.' The second said: 'If I were the wife of the keeper of the royal wardrobe, with one piece of cloth I would clothe all the attendants, and have some left.' The youngest said: 'Were I the king's wife, I would bear him three children—two sons with apples in their hands, and a daughter with a star on her brow.' The king happened to overhear them talking and sent for them next morning. The eldest and the second sister made good their promises and received in marriage the royal butler and the keeper of the royal wardrobe. The youngest became queen on condition that, if she failed to bear two sons with apples in their hands and a daughter with a star on her brow, she should be put to death. A few months before the queen's children were born the king went on a campaign. When they were born as she had foretold, the two elder sisters, jealous of her lot, bribed the nurse to substitute little dogs for them and sent word to the king that his wife had given birth to three puppies. He wrote back that she should be taken care of for two weeks and then put into a tread-mill. Meanwhile the nurse carried the babies out of doors and left them for the dogs to eat. Three fairies passed by, admired them, and gave them three gifts—a deer to nurse them, a purse always full of money, and a ring that would change colour when any misfortune befell one of them. The deer nursed the children till they were grown up. Then the fairy that had given the deer came and said: 'Now that you have grown up, how can you stay here any longer?' 'Very well,' said one of the brothers, 'I will go to the city and hire a house.' 'Take care,' said the deer, 'that you hire one opposite the royal palace.' So they all went to the city and hired a palace as directed. The aunts, seeing the apples in the hands of the boys and the star on the brow of the girl, recognised them at once and told the nurse. The nurse visited the girl and said that, to be really happy, she needed the Dancing Water. One of the brothers rode off to get it. On the way he met a hermit, who said: 'You are going to your death, my son; but keep on until you find a hermit older than I.' He met another hermit, who gave him the same direction. He met a third hermit older than the other two, who said: 'You must climb yonder mountain. On the top of it you will find a great plain and a house with a beautiful gate. Before the gate you will see four giants with swords in their hands. When the giants have their eyes closed, do not enter; when they have their eyes open, enter. Then you will come to a door. If you find it open, do not enter; if you find it shut, push it open and enter. Then you will find four lions. When they have their eyes shut, do not enter; when their eyes are open, enter, and you will see the Dancing Water.' The lad followed these instructions, filled his bottles with the Dancing Water, and returned in safety to his sister. They had two

[1] G. Pitrè *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (=*Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) 316 ff. no. 36 'Li figghi di lu Cavuliciddaru' (Palermo). There is a slightly condensed translation of this tale in T. F. Crane *Italian popular tales* London 1885 p. 17 ff. I have abbreviated T. F. Crane's version.

golden basons made, and the Dancing Water leaped from one to the other. Again the aunts told the nurse, and again the nurse visited the girl and said that now she wanted the Singing Apple. The same brother rode off to get it. After a time he met the first hermit, who sent him to an older one, <who sent him to an older one still>. He said: 'Climb the mountain; beware of the giants, the door, and the lions; then you will find a little door and a pair of shears in it; if the shears are open, enter; if closed, do not risk it.' The lad did so, and found everything favourable. When he saw the shears open, he went into a room and saw a wonderful tree, on the top of which was an apple. He climbed up and tried to pick the apple, but the top of the tree swayed now this way, now that. He waited until it was still a moment, seized the branch, and picked the apple. He got away in safety and, as he rode home, the apple kept making a sound. Once more the aunts told the nurse, and once more the nurse visited the girl and said that, should she set eyes on the Speaking Bird, there would be nothing left for her to see. The same brother undertook the quest. As before, he met the first hermit, who sent him to the second, who sent him to the third, who said: 'Climb the mountain and enter the palace. You will find many statues. Then you will come to a garden, in the midst of which is a fountain, and on the bason is the Speaking Bird. If it should say anything to you, do not answer. Pick a feather from the bird's wing, dip it into a jar that you will find there, and anoint all the statues. Keep your eyes open, and all will go well.' The lad soon found the garden and the bird. But, when the bird exclaimed 'Your mother has been sent to the tread-mill,' 'My mother in the tread-mill?' he cried, and straightway became a statue like all the rest. In the meantime his sister at home looked at her ring and saw that it had changed its colour to blue. So she sent the second brother after the first. Everything happened to him in the same way. He too met the hermits, found the palace, saw the garden with the statues, and heard the Speaking Bird. And, when the bird said 'What has become of your brother? Your mother has been sent to the tread-mill,' he too cried out 'Alas, my mother in the tread-mill!' and became a statue. The sister now looked at her ring again, and it was black. Thereupon she dressed herself like a page and set out. She met the hermits and received their instructions. The third ended by saying: 'Beware, for, if you answer when the bird speaks, you will lose your life.' When she reached the garden, the bird exclaimed: 'Ah! you here, too? Now you will meet the same fate as your brothers. Do you see them? One, two, and you make three. Your father is at the war. Your mother is in the tread-mill. Your aunts are rejoicing.' She made no answer, but caught it, pulled a feather from its wing, dipped it into the jar, and anointed her brothers' nostrils. The brothers at once came to life again. Then she did the same to all the other statues, the lions, and the giants: all were restored to life. After that she departed with her brothers; and all the noblemen, princes, barons, and kings' sons rejoiced greatly. When they had recovered their life, the palace disappeared; and so did the hermits, for they were the three fairies. On reaching the city they had a gold chain made for the bird; and, the next time that the aunts looked out, they saw in the window of the palace opposite the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Speaking Bird. 'Well,' said they, 'the real trouble is coming now!' At length the king returned from the war and noticed the palace opposite equipped more magnificently than his own. When he saw the brothers with apples in their hands and the sister with a star on her brow, he cried: 'Gracious! If I did not know that my wife had given birth to three puppies, I should say that those were my children.' Another day, as he stood by the window and enjoyed the Dancing Water and the Singing

Apple, the Speaking Bird spoke to him and bade the sister and brothers invite him to a grand dinner on Sunday. At the dinner the bird got a counter-invitation for them all to dine with the king on the Sunday following. When they were assembled at the king's table, the bird related the whole story, ending with the words: 'These are your children, and your wife was sent to the mill and is dying.' The king at once embraced his children, and went to find his wife, who was at the point of death. He knelt before her and begged her pardon. Then he asked the bird to pronounce sentence on the aunts and the nurse. The bird sentenced the nurse to be thrown out of the window and the aunts to be cast into a caldron of boiling oil. This was done forthwith. Then the bird departed; and the king lived in peace with his children and his wife.

(ζ) Two Sons with a Gold Star and a Daughter with a Silver Star in a Folk-tale from Brittany.

(6) It must not be supposed that tales of this type are found only in the Greek and Italian area. Here, for example, is a version entitled *The Baker's Three Daughters* from Plouaret in Brittany[1]. An old baker had three daughters, who one evening after supper were talking confidences. The eldest said that she loved the king's gardener. The next, that she loved the king's valet. The youngest, that she loved the king's son, and, what was more, that she would have by him three children—two boys with a gold star on their foreheads and a girl with a silver star. The prince chanced to be taking a walk that evening, accompanied by his gardener and his valet. He overheard the conversation, summoned the girls to his presence next morning, and granted the desires of them all. The young queen was delivered of a fine boy with a gold star in the middle of his forehead. But the jealous sisters, acting on the advice of an old fairy, had secured a midwife, who exposed the babe in a basket on the Seine and substituted a puppy for him. The prince was much distressed, but bowed to the will of God. The babe floated down the river, was picked up by the king's gardener, and reared by the gardener's wife. Again the queen bore a boy with a gold star on his forehead. The midwife exposed him too in a basket on the Seine, and substituted a puppy for him. The prince, who by this time owing to the death of his father was king, was again deeply distressed, but submissive to the will of God. The second boy, like the first, floated down stream, was found by the gardener, and given to the gardener's wife. Once more the queen bore a child—a girl with a silver star in the middle of her forehead. The midwife exposed her in the same manner and substituted a puppy for her. This time the king was very angry: he felt that it was not God's doing, but that there was some mystery behind it all. So he had the queen shut up in a tower, with nothing but bread and water to live upon and a little book to read. The girl, like the boys, was found on the water by the gardener and reared by his wife. In due time their foster-parents died, and the children were taken into the palace by the king, who liked to have them about him. Every Sunday they were to be seen in the royal pew at church, each wearing a head-band to cover up the star: these head-bands puzzled people. One day, when the king was out hunting, an old woman (it was the midwife disguised as a beggar) came to the palace and began to compliment the girl: she was fair indeed, but if only she had the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth, there would not be her like upon earth! Her eldest brother set out to seek these marvels for her, and, before

[1] Text unpublished, French translation by F. M. Luzel in *Mélusine* 1878 i. 206 ff. I have abridged F. M. Luzel's rendering.

he went, gave her a dagger: she was to pull it out of its sheath several times daily for a year and a day; if ever it would not come out, she might know that he was dead. A day arrived when she failed to draw the dagger: her eldest brother must be dead. The second brother now set out to seek him, and, before he went, gave her a rosary: she was to tell the beads constantly; if one stuck, she might know that he was dead. A day came when one did stick: he too must be dead. So she bought a horse, dressed as a cavalier, and set out herself in quest of them. She went on and on till she reached a large plain. Here in the hollow of an old tree she saw a little man with a long white beard, who saluted her as the daughter of the king of France. She denied the title, but offered to clip his beard, which must be in his way, she thought. By so doing she delivered him: for five hundred years people had passed that way and no one had helped him. He therefore gave her his blessing, and told her how to find her brothers. Sixty leagues off was a road-side inn, where she was to eat, drink, and leave her horse. Soon afterwards she would find herself close to a very high mountain, terribly hard to climb. A wild wind would burst upon her. There would be hail, snow, ice, and cruel cold to contend with. On either side of the path would be seen many stone pillars—men, who had essayed to climb the mountain, lost heart, and been petrified on the spot. Once at the top, she would see a plain covered with turf and May flowers. Beneath an apple-tree would appear a golden seat. On this she was to sit and feign sleep. A blackbird would then hop down from branch to branch of the apple-tree, and enter a cage beneath it. She was to shut the cage quickly, and would so have secured the Bird of Truth. Next she would cut a branch from the apple-tree with an apple on it; it would be the Singing Apple. Lastly, she was to fill a phial with water from a fountain beneath the tree; this was the Dancing Water. On her way down the mountain she was to spill a drop of water on each stone pillar: from every one would come a cavalier, her own two brothers among them. All these directions she faithfully carried out. Passing through the intense cold on the mountain-side she reached the top, where the sky was clear and the air warm, as though it were summer. She sat on the golden seat below the apple-tree, feigned sleep, and duly secured the Bird of Truth, which again addressed her as daughter of the king of France. She next cut a branch of the apple-tree with one apple on it, filled her phial with water from the fountain, sprinkled and set free all the princes, dukes, barons, and cavaliers, who had been turned into stones, and last of all restored to life her own two brothers. They did not recognise their sister: so she hurried on, and got home first. On their arrival they told her how they had failed in the quest, and spoke of a young cavalier of surpassing beauty who had freed them from their fate. Meantime the old king, who loved the children, as he supposed, of his sister-in-law, was glad to see them all back again, and invited them to a banquet. Towards the end of it the young girl placed on the table the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth, and bade them do their business. So the Water danced, the Apple sang, and the Bird told the whole story to the assembled company. To prove the truth of it he bade the head-bands be removed from the two brothers and their sister: whereupon it was seen that each of the lads had a gold star on his forehead, and the young girl a silver star. The king fainted away. Recovering himself, he went and fetched the queen from her solitary tower. Despite twenty years' imprisonment, she was still beautiful and gracious. She ate and drank a little, and then—died where she sat! The king, mad with grief and rage, had a furnace heated in the field, into which his sister-in-law and the midwife were cast.

(η) **The Myth of Zethos and Amphion as an 'Expulsion' Tale.**

It would be easy, but needless, to cite other variants. Tales of this type are, in fact, spread throughout the south of Europe, and with sundry modifications and adaptations could be traced yet further afield[1]. J. G. von Hahn, regarding them as essentially tales of 'expulsion' (*Verstossung*), formulated their common characteristics as follows[2]:

(*a*) Jealous relatives deprive the mother of her new-born children, who are found and brought up at a distance from the father's home by a childless foster-parent.

(*b*) Beasts are substituted for the new-born children; or the mother is accused of having devoured them.

(*c*) Expulsion or punishment of the mother.

(*d*) The children, found again by the father, deliver the mother.

Von Hahn has done good service by thus emphasising the permanent features of the tale. But, when he states that they cannot be illustrated from Greek mythology[3], he has somewhat seriously misconceived the situation and has thereby missed a certain number of interesting parallels. Ancient Greek folk-tales have for the most part come down to us through the discriminating sieve of ancient Greek literature. Sometimes, as in the case of Sophokles, that sieve had a very fine mesh, the result being that the primitive traits still to be seen in Sophoclean dramas are but few. Sometimes, as in the case of Euripides, the mesh was broad, and traits of this kind are comparatively numerous. Nevertheless, Euripides too made his appeal to one of the most aesthetically cultivated audiences of all time; and it is certain that he would not have thought the folk-tale as outlined above immediately suitable for dramatic presentation in the theatre at Athens. How, then, would Euripides, say, have manipulated such a theme to suit his purpose? We may here with some assurance hazard a twofold guess. On the one hand, he would have excised the whole of the second or bestial episode: nowhere in Greek tragedy do we find any precedent for a scene which, to Euripides' gener-

[1] See L. Gonzenbach *Sicilianische Märchen* Leipzig 1870 i. 19 ff. no. 5 'Die verstossene Königin und ihre beiden ausgesetzten Kinder,' *ib.* ii. 206 f., G. Pitrè *Fiabe novelle e racconti popolari siciliani* Palermo 1875 i (= *Biblioteca delle tradizioni popolari siciliane* iv) 328 f. 'La cammisa di lu gran jucaturi e l' auceddu parlanti' (Montevago), *ib.* 330 'Suli e Luna' (Capaci), *ib.* 330 f. 'Stilla d' oru e Stilla Diana' (Casteltermini), *ib.* 331 'Lu Re Turcu' (Noto), *ib.* 331 ff., G. Pitrè *Nuovo saggio di fiabe e novelle popolari siciliane* Imola 1873 (= *Rivista di Filologia Romanza* vol. i fasc. 2 f.) no. 1 'Re Sonnu' (Palermo), G. Finamore *Tradizioni popolari Abruzzesi* Lanciano 1882 i (Novelle) 192 ff. no. 39 'Lu fatte de le tré ssurèlle,' *Il Pentamerone* trans. by Sir R. Burton London 1893 i. 390 ff. 'Fifth Diversion of the Fourth Day,' F. M. Luzel 'Les trois filles du boulanger' (Plouaret) variants in *Mélusine* 1878 i. 209 n. 1, 210 n. 1, R. Koehler *ib.* 213 f., T. F. Crane *Italian Popular Tales* London 1885 p. 325 f., J. F. Campbell *Popular Tales of the West Highlands* Edinburgh 1860 i. p. lxxxiii f., J. Curtin *Fairy Tales of Eastern Europe* London s.a. pp. 91—119 'The Golden Fish, the Wonder-working Tree, and the Golden Bird' (a Hungarian tale of a prince with a golden sun on his breast and a princess with a golden moon on her bosom, who sought a Golden Fish, a branch cut from a Music-tree, and a Golden Bird, all kept in the Glass Mountain beyond the Crimson Sea: the old queen is burned on the public square), L. A. Magnus *Russian Folk-tales* London 1915 pp. 269—273 'The Singing-Tree and the Speaking-Bird' (two princes and a princess seek the Talking-Bird, the Singing-Tree, and the Water of Life on the top of a steep mountain). Most of these authors refer to further sources.

[2] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 46.

[3] *Id.* *ib.* 'Hellenische und germanische Sage: fehlt.'

ation at least, would have been so outrageous and so unconvincing as that of the supposititious animals or the cannibalistic mother. On the other hand, the poet would have expanded such parts of the story as were susceptible of pathetic treatment, and in particular would have elaborated the final scene of recognition[1]. But I need not follow out this *à priori* enquiry; for it so happens that there is extant, not indeed a play of Euripides, but at least the summary of a Euripidean play, on a strictly analogous theme.

Apollodoros, who is paraphrasing Euripides' *Antiope*[2], tells the tale of that heroine in these words[3]: 'Antiope was the daughter of Nykteus. Zeus consorted with her, and she, when pregnant, to avoid her father's threats, fled to Epopeus at Sikyon and married him. Nykteus in despair took his own life, after laying his behest upon Lykos to exact vengeance from Epopeus and Antiope. So Lykos made an expedition against Sikyon and captured it: Epopeus he slew, but Antiope he took captive. As she was being led along, at Eleutherai in Boiotia, she gave birth to two sons. They were exposed; but a herdsman found them and reared them, calling the one Zethos, the other Amphion. Zethos gave his attention to herds of cattle; but Amphion used to practise harp-playing, for Hermes gave him a lyre. Lykos shut up Antiope and evil intreated her, as did Dirke his wife. At last her bonds dropped off of their own accord, and she escaped by stealth to her sons' homestead, eager to be welcomed by them. They recognised their mother, slew Lykos, bound Dirke to a bull, and, when she had been killed, flung her into a spring that is called Dirke after her.'

The general similarity of Euripides' play to the 'expulsion' *formula* of J. G. von Hahn is sufficiently obvious. The main discrepancy lies in the fact that, according to von Hahn's *formula*, the father of Zethos and Amphion ought to have been Lykos rather than Zeus. But this difficulty vanishes, if with H. Usener we suppose (indeed, we have already supposed it[4]) that *Lýkos* was an ancient god of daylight comparable with Zeus *Lýkaios*: the Theban Lykos will then be a doublet of the Sicyonian Epopeus, two kings bearing the name of the local god. Again, it might be objected that, on von Hahn's showing, Zethos and Amphion should have slain Dirke, but not Lykos. Here the explanation of the difficulty is simpler still. Hyginus, our ultimate authority for the Euripidean character of the narrative[5], has a different ending to it: 'They bound Dirce,' he says, 'by her hair to a bull and slew her. When they were about to slay Lycus, Mercurius forbade them and at the same time ordered Lycus to yield his kingdom to Amphion[6].' Euripides, in short, preserved the main outlines of the old-world tale.

[1] On *ἀναγνώρισις* as a strong point with Euripides see *e.g.* M. Croiset *Histoire de la littérature grecque* Paris 1891 iii. 315 f. Karkinos in his *Thyestes* (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 797 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Aristot. *poet.* 16. 1454 b 21 ff. used certain congenital signs in the shape of stars (*ἀστέρας*) as the means of effecting such a recognition: this is a parallel to the Breton tale *supra* p. 1011.

[2] This appears from a comparison of Apollod. 3. 5. 5 with Hyg. *fab.* 8, which is headed *eadem Euripidis, quam scribit Ennius.* See also schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090, and the remarks of A. Nauck *Trag. Gr. frag.*[2] p. 410 ff. An analogous version by Kephalion, a rhetorical historian of Hadrian's age, is preserved by Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 pp. 45—49 Dindorf.

[3] Apollod. 3. 5. 5.

[4] *Supra* i. 64 n. 3, 738.

[5] *Supra* n. 2.

[6] Hyg. *fab.* 8. So the schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1090.

(θ) Stellar names of the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.

Now Zethos and Amphion were the Theban Dioskouroi[1]. It seems worth while, therefore, to consider whether the features common to the 'expulsion' tales can be paralleled from the numerous classical myths with regard to heroic twins. To begin with, one characteristic of the six 'expulsion' tales cited above is a certain peculiarity of nomenclature. The king's wife bears him children as follows:

1. A boy called *Sun*, a boy called *Moon*, a girl called *Star* (successively).
2. A boy called *Sun*, a girl called *Moon*, a boy called *Morning-star* (simultaneously).
3. A boy with the *Morning-star* on his face, a girl with the *Evening-star* on her face (simultaneously).
4. Three golden children, of whom two at least were boys (successively).
5. Two boys with golden apples in their hands, a girl with a *star* on her brow (simultaneously).
6. Two boys with *golden stars* on their brows, a girl with a *silver star* on her brow (successively).

The children, then, are definitely stellar; and a comparison of the last two tales shows beyond all doubt that the golden apples are tantamount to golden stars. Further, in four, perhaps five, out of the six tales the children consist of two boys and a girl. On both grounds we are forced to compare them with Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene[2]. Zethos and Amphion too were, as we have before seen[3], intimately related to sun, moon, and stars. Even Romulus and Remus on Roman imperial coins are treated as Dioskouroi and surmounted by a couple of stars[4].

(ι) Exposure of the children and Punishment of the mother in 'Expulsion' Tales.

J. Rendel Harris in *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* argues well in defence of the thesis 'That, in the earliest stages of human evolution, twins are taboo, without distinction between them, and that their mother shares the taboo with them[5].' In conformity with this rule the children of the 'expulsion' tales are regularly exposed as castaways:

1. They are put into boxes and flung into the sea.
2. Orders are given that they should be flung into a river; but they are actually left on a bed of rushes.

[1] *Supra* i. 739, ii. 317, 445.

[2] If this comparison be well founded, the relation of the children to horses may be more than fortuitous:

(1) Sun rides a green winged horse, which can thunder and lighten.
(2) Sun and Morning-star spend their time in exercising their horses: Moon also rides on horseback.
(3) Morning-star and Evening-star are abandoned on a lame horse: Morning-star secures the winged horse of the plain, which eats men and beasts.
(5) The brothers with golden apples and the sister with a star all ride on horseback.
(6) The brothers with golden stars and the sister with a silver star all ride on horseback as cavaliers.

[3] *Supra* i. 739.

[4] Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* pp. 761, 914 f., *supra* p. 443 f. figs. 349—351.

[5] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 10 ff.

3. They are put into a basket and flung into a river.
4. They are flung into a hen-house.
5. They are thrown out for the dogs to eat.
6. They are put into baskets and floated down the Seine.

Their mother too is (1) walled up in the jakes, or (3) partially walled up at the entrance to the castle, or (6) shut up in a tower, or (5) put into a tread-mill, or (2 and 4) thrown into the hen-house. Here again classical parallels are not far to seek. According to Kephalion, Lykos had the twins Zethos and Amphion exposed near Mount Kithairon, where a childless labourer named Ordion found and reared them; Dirke took their mother Antiope to the same place, fastened a torch to the horns of a wild bull, and gave orders that Antiope should be roped to its neck and so dragged to death, when in the nick of time the twins learned the victim's name from Ordion, set free their mother, and at her request bound Dirke to the bull[1]. As to Kastor, Polydeukes, and Helene, an anonymous narrative, probably drawn from the *Kypria*[2], said that Zeus under the form of a swan had mated with Nemesis under the form of a goose, that Nemesis had laid an egg and left it in the marsh, that a certain shepherd had found it there and brought it to Leda, who kept it carefully in a chest, and that in time Helene was born from this egg and brought up as the child of Leda[3]. A tradition, late in date[4] but early in character[5], added that Kastor and Polydeukes were born of the same egg[6], and used the halves of it as conical caps[7]. Ibykos, a sixth-century lyrical poet, introduced some speaker, presumably Herakles, saying of the twin Moliones:

> The white-horsed youths,
> Sons of Molione, I slew,
> Like-aged and equal-headed and one-bodied,
> Both born in a silver egg[8].

[1] Kephalion *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 628 ff. Müller) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 45 ff. Dindorf.

[2] See O. Rossbach in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 118 ff.

[3] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 88, Apollod. 3. 10. 7. The egg was left ἐν τῷ ἕλει (Tzetz.), ἐν τοῖς ἅλσεσιν (Apollod.: ἄλσεσιν cod. S. ἕλεσιν Preller, δάσεσιν Bekker).

[4] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1159.

[5] E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1113.

[6] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 88, 506, schol. Kallim. *h. Artem.* 232, schol. *Od.* 11. 298, Hor. *sat.* 2. 1. 26, *ars poet.* 147 with Acron *ad locc.*, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 328, Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 16, Myth. Vat. 1. 78, 3. 3. 6.

[7] Lyk. *Al.* 506 f., Loukian. *dial. deor.* 26. 1.

Another account said that Iupiter as a swan consorted with Leda, who laid two eggs, one of them containing Castor and Pollux, the other Clytemnestra and Helena (Myth. Vat. 1. 204).

In a sanctuary of Hilaeira and Phoibe at Sparta an egg, hung from the roof by ribbons, was shown as that to which Leda had given birth (Paus. 3. 16. 1). Its position, slung in mid air, suggests that it may have symbolised the moon. Neokles of Kroton stated that the egg from which Helene was born had fallen from the moon, the women there being oviparous and their offspring fifteen times as large as we are, according to Herodoros of Herakleia (*frag.* 28 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 35, where see C. Müller's note).

[8] Ibyk. *frag.* 16 Bergk[4] *ap.* Athen. 57 F f., cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1321, 33 ff., *in Od.* p. 1686, 45 ff. According to Pherekydes *frag.* 36 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 81 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 11. 709, Kteatos and Eurytos were the sons of Molione, daughter of Molos, nominally by Aktor, but really by Poseidon; each of them had two heads, four hands, four feet, and one body. They thus closely resembled the composite beings, whom Plato related to the

But whether this egg, like that of Helene, was left in the wilds, we do not know. Far more familiar is the fate of Romulus and Remus. Amulius, king of Alba Longa, gave orders that they together with their mother, the Vestal Ilia, should be thrown into the Tiber. The twins were washed up on the bank, where the shepherd Faustulus found them, suckled by a she-wolf and attended by a woodpecker and a jay. He took them to his wife Acca Laurentia, who reared them. Their mother Ilia became the wife of the river-god Anien or Tiberis[1]. According to another account, Amulius doomed the guilty mother to be flogged to death. Others again said that, owing to the entreaties of his daughter Antho, Amulius commuted her punishment into close imprisonment, but that after his death she was let out[2].

(κ) Quests undertaken by the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.

The quests undertaken by the children in the 'expulsion' tales are not regarded by J. G. von Hahn as essential to this type of story; and in point of fact they are absent altogether from the Eubœan version (4). Still, where they are present, they are likely to repay investigation. Indeed, I suspect that ultimately they will prove to be quite the most interesting portion of the whole. For purposes of comparison, let us enumerate them in order:

1. (*a*) A golden apple kept by forty dragons.
   (*b*) A golden bough, on which all the birds of the world meet to sing.
   (*c*) The Tzitzinaina, who knows the language of all birds and can turn men into stone.
2. (*a*) A branch, which makes music and is kept by two dragons.
   (*b*) A mirror, which shows the whole world and is kept by forty dragons.
   (*c*) The bird Dikjeretto, which can turn men into stone.
3. (*a*) The Winged Horse of the Plain, which swears by its brother.
   (*b*) The Beauty of the Land, who can turn men into stone.
5. (*a*) The Dancing Water, which is guarded by four giants and four lions.
   (*b*) The Singing Apple, which grows on the top of a wonderful tree with shears before it.
   (*c*) The Speaking Bird, which is perched on the bason of a fountain in a garden and can turn men into statues.
6. (*a*)+(*b*)+(*c*) The Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth. The Dancing Water comes from a fountain beneath an apple-tree. On a branch of the tree grows the Singing Apple. A blackbird on the tree is the Bird of Truth. Beside the tree is a golden seat. All these are found in a summery plain on the top of a wintry mountain, the path up which is bordered by cavaliers turned into stone.

It will be seen that the last tale gives the most coherent account of the various objects to be sought. Moreover, it alone makes mention of one detail, the golden seat, which affords a clue to the meaning of all the rest. Whoever can sit on that golden throne thereby establishes his claim to be king, the Dancing Water, the Singing Apple, and the Bird of Truth being in some sort his *regalia*. But this is a matter for further investigation. For the moment I content myself with observing that traces, substantial traces, of similar quests are to be found

sun and moon (*supra* i. 311). Cp. Plout. *de frat. am.* 1 τοὺς Μολιονίδας ἐκείνους, συμφυεῖς τοῖς σώμασι γεγονέναι δοκοῦντας.

[1] Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 273.

[2] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 78 f., Plout. *v. Rom.* 3, Liv. 1. 4. 3.

throughout ancient Greek mythology. The folk-tale hero rides off to get the golden apple kept by forty dragons in a garden[1]. We think of Herakles, the great twin brother of Iphikles, who seeks the golden apples of the Hesperides, apples that grow in the garden of Zeus and are kept by the dragon Ladon[2]. The same folk-tale hero rides a green winged horse, which can thunder and lighten[3]. We are familiar with the winged horse Pegasos, of whom Hesiod wrote:

> In Zeus' home he dwells
> Bearing the thunder-peal and lightning-flash
> For Zeus the wise[4].

[1] *Supra* p. 1003.

[2] K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2594 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 1003.

[4] Hes. *theog.* 285 f., cp. Eur. *Bellerophontes frag.* 312 Nauck[2] *ὑφ' ἅρματ' ἐλθὼν Ζηνὸς ἀστραπηφορεῖ.* I do not know any ancient representation of Pegasos as lightning-bearer. But a very remarkable red-figured *hydria* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 343 no. 449, J. B. Biot in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 184 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 39, 2 (=my fig. 885), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 129. 4. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München

Fig. 885.

1910 i. 84 n. 2 fig. 26 ('Apotropäische Darstellung einer Sonnenfinsternis')) appears to represent him as a constellation in the sky. My friend Prof. E. T. Whittaker, late Astronomer Royal of Ireland, has kindly supplied me with the following note on this unique vase-painting:

'Four stars of approximately equal magnitude will be noticed forming a rectangular figure flanked by two other stars. There are in the northern sky two well-known instances of stars disposed in a rectangle, *viz.* the body of the Plough (Ursa Major) and the great square of Pegasus. Here the addition of Pegasus himself puts the meaning beyond doubt.

The fact that the moon appears as a comparatively thin crescent shows that a time

The hero of another folk-tale captures the Winged Horse of the Plain: he waits till it stoops its head in drinking from a spring, then leaps on to its back, and makes it swear by its brother to serve him[1]. He too can be paralleled by Bellerophontes, who captures Pegasos while drinking at the spring Peirene[2]; and Pegasos, we remember, has Chrysaor for brother[3]. Lastly, the folk-tale hero, who as a new-born babe is put into a box and flung into the sea, while his mother is walled up in the jakes[4], recalls the classical myth of Danae, first shut up in an underground chamber and then sent adrift in a chest on the sea

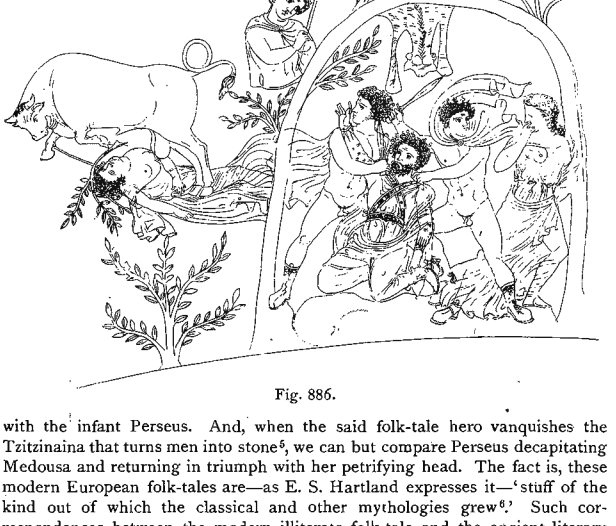


Fig. 886.

with the infant Perseus. And, when the said folk-tale hero vanquishes the Tzitzinaina that turns men into stone[5], we can but compare Perseus decapitating Medousa and returning in triumph with her petrifying head. The fact is, these modern European folk-tales are—as E. S. Hartland expresses it—'stuff of the kind out of which the classical and other mythologies grew[6].' Such correspondences between the modern illiterate folk-tale and the ancient literary myth are, therefore, to be expected. Parian marble must needs bear a certain resemblance to the Hermes of Praxiteles[7].

either quite early or quite late in the lunation is intended. If the former, the vase must represent the western horizon soon after sunset in spring. If the latter, it represents the eastern sky shortly before sunrise in autumn. No obvious meaning attaches to the short curved lines within or without the moon's disc. The scale on which the moon is represented is much larger than that on which the great square of Pegasus appears.'

[1] *Supra* p. 1006. [2] Strab. 379.

[3] O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2484, H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 900, F. Hannig *ib.* iii. 1749. *Supra* p. 716 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 1003 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 1004.

[6] E. S. Hartland *Mythology and Folktales* London 1900 p. 35.

[7] We must, however, bear in mind the warning uttered by that careful student of Greek

(λ) **Penalties exacted by the children in 'Expulsion' Tales.**

It remains but to notice the extreme savagery with which, in the folk-tales, the guilty parties are punished:

1. The king's mother and the midwife are torn asunder by horses.
2. The king's mother is banished from the palace: the midwife is beheaded.
3. The king's mother and the midwife are torn asunder by horses.
4. The king's mother is torn asunder by mules.
5. The jealous sisters are thrown into a caldron of boiling oil: the nurse is flung from the window.
6. The jealous sister and the midwife are cast into a furnace.

Even here classical mythology, for all its refinement and polish, can offer a gruesome analogy. Zethos and Amphion, as we have already heard[1], bind the ill-starred Dirke to a wild bull, by which she is dragged to death. Nay worse, the scene of her agony was a favourite subject with the sensational art of the Hellenistic age (fig. 886)[2].

APPENDIX G.

ORPHIC THEOGONIES AND THE COSMOGONIC EROS.

The Orphic fragments were collected and discussed with marvellous insight by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* Regimontii Prussorum 1829 i. 411—ii. 964. A somewhat fuller and handier collection is that of E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae-Pragae 1885 pp. 137—273, who, however, does not add a commentary and occasionally refers a fragment to the wrong context. An important supplement is G. Murray 'Critical Appendix on the Orphic Tablets' in Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 659—673 (*supra* p. 118 n. 2). Recently O. Kern in his *Orphicorum fragmenta* Berolini 1922 has produced an admirably careful and complete edition, which includes 'Testimonia' (pp. 1—79), 'Fragmenta' (pp. 80—344), bibliography (pp. 345—350), reference-tables (pp. 351—353), and 'Indices' (pp. 360—407). But the subject is even now far from being exhausted, and a *Corpus* of the monu-

folk-tales, Prof. W. R. Halliday, in R. M. Dawkins *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* Cambridge 1916 p. 216 f.: 'It cannot be too strongly insisted that there is no special connexion at all between ancient mythology and modern Greek folk-tales. Wherever it has been traced, there is obvious to the impartial observer either a straining of the evidence or a palpable mistake.'

[1] *Supra* pp. 1013, 1015.

[2] See *e.g.* Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 532 ff., Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 43 Text p. 55, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1170.

I figure *e.g.* the principal design on an Apulian *kratêr* from Palazzuolo near Syracuse, now in Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 926 f. no. 3296 K. Dilthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxvi. 42 ff. pls. 7 (=my fig. 886) and 8, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 421, 2, O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2184 ff. fig. 1, J. H. Huddilston *Greek Tragedy in the light of Vase Paintings* London 1898 p. 9 n. 1). On the left Dirke, a pathetic figure with bared breast, is dragged to death by the raging bull. On the right Lykos, caught skulking in a cave by Zethos and Amphion, is about to be dispatched, when Hermes—as in the Euripidean version (*supra* p. 1013)—suddenly intervenes to stay the slaugbter. Antiope escapes to the right. The panther-skin hung on the wall of the cave hints at the Dionysiac character of Antiope (*supra* i. 735).

mental evidence is still sorely needed. Of scholars that in modern times have devoted special attention to the Orphic theogonies (P. R. Schuster *De veteris Orphicae theogoniae indole atque origine* Lipsiae 1869, O. Kern *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888, *id.* 'Theogoniae Orphicae fragmenta nova' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 481—488, F. Susemihl 'Die Orphische theogonie' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1874 xx. 666—676, *id. De theogoniae Orphicae forma antiquissima* Gryphiswaldiae 1890, *id.* 'Zu den orphischen Theogonien' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1890 xxxvi. 820—826, *id. Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* Leipzig 1891 i. 896, F. Lukas *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker* Leipzig 1893, pp. 178—195, A. E. J. Holwerda 'De Theogonia Orphica' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1894 xxii. 286—329, 361—385, W. Kroll 'De Orphicis addendum' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 561, P. Tannery 'Sur la première theogonie Orphique' in the *Archiv für Geschichte der Philosophie* 1897 xi. 13—17, Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 414—417, and others) none has done better service than O. Gruppe (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 612—675, 'Berichtigung' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1888 xxxiv Anhang 1 f., 'Die rhapsodische Theogonie und ihre Bedeutung innerhalb der orphischen Litteratur' *ib.* 1890 Suppl. xvii. 687—747, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 419—423, 430—432, 'Älteste orphische Theogonie' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1120—1124, 'Die Lehre von der periodischen Welterneuerung' *ib.* iii. 1139—1149, *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 215 f.), whose views—with sundry modifications—are here summarised.

(1) The earliest Orphic Theogony.

Quotations in authors of the classical age (cp. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 167 ff. 'Altbezeugte Fragmente') postulate the existence of an early Orphic theogony, to which even Homer, at least in the Διὸς ἀπάτη, was indebted (*Il.* 14. 201 cp. Plat. *Cratyl.* 402 B—C; *Il.* 14. 246 cp. Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20 Schwartz, Krates *ap.* Plout. *de fac. in orbe lun.* 25, Orph. *h. Okean.* 83. 1 f., Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 148 Duncker—Schneidewin, 8. 12 p. 424; but hardly *Il.* 14. 259 ff. cp. Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 319, 8 ff. Ruelle)). The contents of the poem can be partially reconstructed as follows:—In the beginning was Nyx (Aristot. *met.* 12. 6. 1071 b 26 f., 14. 4. 1091 b 4 ff., Eudemos of Rhodes *ap.* Damaskios *loc. cit.*, Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 8 p. 26, 1 ff. Wünsch). Black-winged Nyx laid a wind-egg, from which in due time sprang gold-winged Eros (Aristoph. *av.* 695 ff.). Apparently heaven and earth were regarded as the upper and lower halves of the vast egg (so in the later theogony of Orph. *frag.* 57 Kern *ap.* Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20 f. Schwartz, cp. Varro *frag.* 109 Funaioli *ap.* Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 31 p. 354 Lion). Ouranos (Aristot. *met.* 14. 4. 1091 b 5) and Ge (Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 8 p. 26, 2 f. Wünsch) together produced as their offspring Okeanos and Tethys (Plat. *Tim.* 40 E). Fair-flowing Okeanos took to wife Tethys, his sister by the same mother, and so was the first to begin regular wedlock (Orph. *frag.* 15 Kern *ap.* Plat. *Cratyl.* 402 B—C, cp. Aristot. *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 30 f.). Their children were Phorkys, Kronos, Rhea, and others (Plat. *Tim.* 40 E, Cic. *Tim.* 11). The sequel can perhaps be surmised from the Διὸς ἀπάτη. Rhea took Hera to Okeanos and Tethys, who brought up the child in their abode; and Zeus thrust Kronos down below the earth and the sea (*Il.* 14. 200 ff.). Zeus used to visit Hera clandestinely (*Il.* 14. 294 ff.), repairing to Okeanos for the purpose (Orph. περὶ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας *frag.* 115 Kern *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 1). Not improbably the poem told how, to grace this 'sacred marriage' (Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 99 Reiske, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 49, 13 f. Diehl cp. *ib.* iii. 248, 5 ff.), Ge sent up golden apples

(Asklepiades of Mende *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 306 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 83 c) or apple-trees bearing golden fruit in Okeanos (Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1396), or came with branches of golden apples to the wedding and allowed Hera to plant them in her garden by Mt Atlas, where they were protected by the Hesperides and the snake (Pherekydes of Leros *frag.* 33 a (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Müller) *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 383, 1 ff. Eyssenhardt : *id. ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3 calls it the garden of the gods ; others, the gardens of Zeus (Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck², 320 Jebb, *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 103. 10 (ed. Gaisford iii. 292) ἐν Διὸς κήποις ἀροῦσθαι (T. Bergk cj. ἀρύεσθαι) μόνον εὐδαίμονος (leg. εὐδαίμονας) ὄλβους) or the plain of Zeus (Aristoph. *av.* 1758 πέδον Διὸς καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον, cp. Eur. *Hipp.* 749 Ζανὸς μελάθρων παρὰ κοίταις (J. G. J. Hermann cj. παρ' εὐναῖς)), or the gardens of Father Okeanos (Aristoph. *nub.* 271), or the meadow of Hera (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164)). The poem concluded with the sixth generation (Orph. *frag.* 14 Kern *ap.* Plat. *Phileb.* 66 c). O. Gruppe thinks that it was probably composed towards the end of *s.* vii B.C. at Kroton, where Hera *Lakinia* had a garden (Lyk. *Al.* 856 ff. ὄρχατον with Tzetz. *ad loc.* ὅλον τὸν κῆπον λέγειν) and a temple of the Muses (Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 50 after Timaios?) may betoken Orphic influence.

[Here I dissent. It seems to me that clear indications point to an earlier age and a very different locality. If the Διὸς ἀπάτη really presupposes an Orphic theogony, that theogony can hardly be later than *s.* x (see the sober estimates of W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*⁶ München 1908 i. 59—62)—a period which accords well with the epic metre and dialect of the extant fragments, not to lay stress on the remote traditional dates of Orpheus himself (O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1064—1073). Moreover, our attention is drawn eastwards rather than westwards : the scene of the Διὸς ἀπάτη is laid on Mt Ide in Phrygia (*supra* i. 154, ii. 950) ; the position assigned by the theogony to Nyx recalls the archaic (*s.* vi) figure of Nyx by Rhoikos at Ephesos (Paus. 10. 38. 6 f.) ; Okeanos and Tethys as forbears are compared by Aristotle with water as the primal substance assumed by Thales of Miletos (Aristot. *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 20 ff.) ; and the cosmic egg, not to mention other points of resemblance, occurs also in the Phoenician theogony (Sanchouniathon as translated by Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 2 ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ᾠοῦ σχήματι κ.τ.λ., cp. *supra* i. 583 n. 4, 785, and Mochos *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 6 ff. Ruelle) ᾠόν...τὸ δὲ ᾠὸν ὁ οὐρανός). I infer that the Orphic poem took shape somewhere in Asia Minor as the result of early Ionian speculation brought to bear on primitive Thraco-Phrygian beliefs. A trace of such beliefs may be found in the Lesbian tale of Enorches. A certain Thyestes consorting with his sister Daita or Daito (*v.l.* Daïso, cp. the Lesbian Theodaisia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 280 n. 2, 472 n. 2)) produced from an egg a son called Enorches, who founded a temple for Dionysos and called the god after himself Dionysos Ἐνόρχης (Eudok. *viol.* 345, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 212)—a title borne by Dionysos in Samos also (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐνόρχης) and obviously derived from ὄρχεις, 'testicles' (ἐνόρχης, ἔνορχος, ἔνορχις is elsewhere used *e.g.* of a ram (*Il.* 23. 147, Synes. *epist.* 148) or he-goat (Theokr. 3. 4, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 1) or bull (Aristot. *hist. an.* 9.50. 632 a 20)). Now the names Thyestes and Daito recall at once the banquet of Thyestes, son of Pelops the Phrygian (Bakchyl. 7. 5, Hdt. 7. 8 and 11, Telestes *frag.* 5 Bergk⁴ *ap.* Athen. 625 E—626 A, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 15 a), and imply that in Lesbos as at Mykenai there lingered the memory of ritual cannibalism. H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen

1861 ii. 154—158 argues that the Mycenaean myth points back to a human sacrifice offered to a Zeus-like deity Θυέστης, the 'Dashing' storm-god (*θύω, θύελλα*). This etymology is possible (Dionysios i of Syracuse *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 532 b 32 ff. Bekker *θυέστην τὸν δοίδυκα ἐκάλει*, a pestle being a 'dasher' or 'bruiser': see Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 355), though the Lesbian Thyestes appears in a Dionysiac context (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 660 n. 1) which relates his name to *θυιάδες, θυστάδες*, Θυώνη, etc. Be that as it may, the association of human sacrifice with the cult of Dionysos takes us from Lesbos (*supra* i. 656 n. 4: see also the story told by Ail. *var. hist.* 13. 2 of the Mytilenaean Makareus, priest of Dionysos, and his sons, who *μιμούμενοι τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς ἱερουργίαν τῷ βωμῷ τῷ πατρῴῳ προσῆλθον ἔτι καομένων τῶν ἐμπύρων· καὶ ὁ μὲν νεώτερος παρέσχε τὸν τράχηλον, ὁ δὲ πρεσβύτερος ἠμελημένην εὑρὼν σφαγίδα τὸν ἀδελφὸν ἀπέκτεινεν ὡς ἱερεῖον*) to Thrace, where the devouring of a dismembered child was not unknown (*supra*, i. 656). Others explained the title Ἐνόρχης by the tale of Polyhymnos (Eudok. *viol.* 345, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 212: O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2657—2661, 3154 f. discusses variants). Dionysos, when his mother was struck by the thunderbolt, groped about for her. A young man named Polyhymnos undertook to show him the way to her, if allowed to consort with him. Dionysos agreed, provided that he found his mother first. Following the advice of Polyhymnos, he went down to Hades and brought her up from the spring at Lerna. Polyhymnos having died, Dionysos by way of keeping his promise attached genitals of fig-wood to himself and leathern *phalloi* of deer-skin. Hence his title Ἐνόρχης. The clue to the understanding of this narrative is the fact that *πολύυμνος* was an appellative of Dionysos himself (*h. Dion.* 26. 7, Eur. *Ion* 1074 f.), kindred names being found in his *entourage* (Polyhymno his Dodonaean nurse (*supra* i. 111 n. 6), Polymnia mother of Orpheus (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 23) and of Triptolemos (schol. *Il.* 10. 435, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 817, 32, Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o. d.* 1 p. 28, 6 f. Gaisford)). The descent of Dionysos and Polyhymnos is therefore tantamount to a descent of Dionysos Πολύυμνος; and the obscene pact between the two, which is missing in the version given by Paus. 2. 37. 5, is a piece of aetiology meant to elucidate the Lernaean Φαλλαγώγια. The quest of Dionysos for Semele thus becomes comparable with that of Orpheus for Eurydike (see Harrison *Themis* pp. 420, 523) and again points Thrace-wards.]

(2) The Orphic Theogony of Hieronymos and Hellanikos.

Another Orphic theogony, distinguished as *ἡ...κατὰ τὸν Ἱερώνυμον φερομένη καὶ Ἑλλάνικον, εἴπερ μὴ καὶ ὁ αὐτός ἐστιν*, is set forth by Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 123 *bis* (i. 317, 15 ff. Ruelle):—In the beginning was water and slime (Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 484, followed by F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 83, rightly cj. *ἰλύς* for *ὕλη*; but cp. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 249 B—C) which thickened into earth. Water, the combining element, and earth, the scattered, together produced a snake with three heads, in the middle that of a god, to one side that of a bull, to the other that of a lion. The snake had wings on its shoulders and was named Chronos the ageless and Herakles (cp. Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12). With it consorted Ananke or Adrasteia, a bodiless being whose arms stretch throughout the world and clasp its extremities: she is described as at once male and female. The snake Chronos begat intelligent (but Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 486 n. † cj. *νοτερόν* for *νοερόν*, and C. E. Ruelle *ad loc.* approves the change) Aither, boundless Chaos, and misty Erebos. Among these Chronos produced an egg containing male and female elements, a multiplicity of seeds, and a bodiless god (*supra* i. 311 n. 5: see also

O. Kern *De Orphei Epimenidis Pherecydis theogoniis quaestiones criticae* Berolini 1888 p. 25 f.) with golden wings on his shoulders, the heads of bulls attached to his sides (cp. Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 3 *ταυροβόαν*), and on his head a monstrous snake resembling all manner of wild beasts. This god is named Protogonos or Zeus the arranger of all or Pan (*Πρωτόγονον ἀνυμνεῖ καὶ Δία καλεῖ πάντων διατάκτορα καὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου, διὸ καὶ Πᾶνα καλεῖσθαι* (cp. Orph. *h. Pan.* 11. 12 *ἀληθὴς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης*)). The account given by Damaskios is borne out by Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 18 p. 20, 22 ff. Schwartz and schol. Greg. Naz. *or.* 31. 16 (E. Norden in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 614 f.), who, however, omit the bovine head of the snake, ascribing to it the head of a god between the heads of a snake and a lion, and say nothing of Aither, Chaos, and Erebos. The snake Herakles—they declare—produced a huge egg, which, filled with his force, cracked and broke into halves—the upper heaven, the lower earth. Forth from the egg came a bodiless god (*supra*), Phanes by name. Athenag. *loc. cit.* p. 21, 1 ff. Schwartz adds the sequel. Ouranos and Ge had as their daughters Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos, as their sons the Hekatoncheires Kottos, Gyges, Briareos, and the Kyklopes Brontes, Steropes, Arges. These Ouranos bound and flung into Tartaros, having heard that his sons would dethrone him. Thereupon Ge was angered and bare the Titans, so called 'because they took vengeance (*τισάσθην*) on great Ouranos the starry' (Orph. *frag.* 57 Kern).

[As to the date and *provenance* of the theogony, we are reduced to guesswork. C. Müller *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 450 n.** cj. that Hieronymos was *Ἱερώνυμος ὁ Αἰγύπτιος ὁ τὴν ἀρχαιολογίαν τὴν Φοινικικὴν συγγραψάμενος* (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 1. 3. 6, cp. 1. 3. 9, = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 9. 11. 3, cp. 9. 13. 5, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 11 b C (i. 23 Bekker)), and he is followed *e.g.* by F. Susemihl *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur in der Alexandrinerzeit* Leipzig 1891 i. 376 n. 6 ; but A. Gudeman in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1564 enters a *caveat.* Hellanikos is commonly regarded as pseudo-Hellanikos ; but Gudeman *loc. cit.* viii. 121 thinks that the theogony current under his name 'war sicher kein besonderes Buch, sondern der Bericht über die Entstehung der Welt nach einem orphischen Gedicht. H. kann ihn recht gut irgendwo gegeben haben.' If so, the Orphic poem itself cannot have been composed later than *c.* 450 B.C. and may have been a good deal earlier. It exhibits various traces of oriental cosmogony and of Greek philosophy. The complex monsters are more Semitic than Hellenic. The world-creating Herakles is perhaps Phoenician (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 499 ; but see *eund.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1141). So, as was pointed out by E. Zeller (*A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 i. 102 n. 4 *fin.*), is primeval slime (Sanchouniathon in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 1 f. *καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μώτ· τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ὑδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν,* with which Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 386 f. well cp. Diod. 1. 10 *φασὶ τοίνυν Αἰγύπτιοι κατὰ τὴν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῶν ὅλων γένεσιν πρώτους ἀνθρώπους γενέσθαι κατὰ τὴν Αἴγυπτον διά τε τὴν εὐκρασίαν τῆς χώρας καὶ διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ Νείλου. τοῦτον γὰρ πολύγονον ὄντα καὶ τὰς τροφὰς αὐτοφυεῖς παρεχόμενον ῥᾳδίως ἐκτρέφειν τὰ ζωογονηθέντα... ὅταν γὰρ τοῦ ποταμοῦ τὴν ἀναχώρησιν ποιουμένου τὴν πρώτην τῆς ἰλύος ὁ ἥλιος διαξηράνῃ, φασὶ συνίστασθαι ζῷα, τινὰ μὲν εἰς τέλος ἀπηρτισμένα, τινὰ δὲ ἡμιτελῆ καὶ πρὸς αὐτῇ συμφυῆ τῇ γῇ, ἰδ.* 12 *τὸ μὲν οὖν πνεῦμα Δία προσαγορεῦσαι μεθερμηνευομένης τῆς λέξεως, ὃν αἴτιον ὄντα τοῦ ψυχικοῦ τοῖς ζῴοις ἐνόμισαν ὑπάρχειν πάντων οἱονεί τινα πατέρα... τὴν δὲ γῆν ὥσπερ ἀγγεῖόν τι τῶν φυομένων ὑπολαμβάνοντας μητέρα προσαγορεῦσαι,* the Egyptian word for 'mother' being *μούθ* (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 56)=Sanchouniathon's Μώτ: *id. Gr. Myth. Rel.*

p. 431 n. 3 further cites the thickening of water into slime and earth in Mandaite speculation (A. J. H. W. Brandt *Die mandäische Religion* Leipzig 1889 p. 50 ff.)). But a similar view was held by Anaximandros (E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 255 f.), Diogenes of Apollonia (*id. ib.* i. 294, 296), and Anaxagoras (*id. ib.* ii. 356). Empedokles too had spoken of water as a combining element (*frag.* 34 Diels ἄλφιτον ὕδατι κολλήσας). And the equation of Zeus with Pan is again suggestive of philosophical influence (E. Zeller *op. cit.* i. 101), conceivably that of Herakleitos (*supra* i. 28 ff.). On the whole we may conclude that the Orphic theogony bearing the name of Hieronymos or Hellanikos was the summary of an epic poem drafted somewhere in Ionia *c.* 500 B.C.]

(3) The Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies.

But the bulk of the Orphic fragments, quoted by neo-Platonists and others, belongs to a third theogony probably called the ἱερὸς λόγος (Orph. *frag.* 63 Kern *ap. et. mag.* p. 231, 22 ff.) or ἱεροὶ λόγοι (Souid. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς) and contained in 24 Rhapsodies ascribed by some to Theognetos the Thessalian, by others to Kerkops the Pythagorean (*id. ib.*). Of Theognetos nothing more is known. Epigenes in his work *On poetry attributed to Orpheus* (*ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* i. 21 p. 81, 11 ff. Stählin) regarded Kerkops the Pythagorean as the author of the Orphic εἰς Ἅιδου κατάβασις and ἱερὸς λόγος (cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* i. 107). And Pythagorean authorship is not impossible, or even improbable; for Herakleides Lembos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 169 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 7 cites the opening hexameter of a ἱερὸς λόγος ascribed to Pythagoras; Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 146 quotes from another ἱερὸς λόγος or περὶ θεῶν λόγος, believed to be by Pythagoras himself or by his son Telauges, a passage of Doric prose, in which Pythagoras declares that he was initiated at Libethra in Thrace by Aglaophamos and there learnt that Orpheus son of Kalliope, taught by his mother on Mt Pangaion, had enunciated the fundamental significance of number etc.; *id. ib.* 258 f. tells how the rhetorician Ninon professed to divulge Pythagorean secrets contained in a work entitled λόγος ἱερός; Souid. *s.v.* Ἀριγνώτη = Eudok. *viol.* 173 speaks of a ἱερὸς λόγος written by the Pythagorean Arignote; and Plout. *de gen. Socr.* 24 makes Theanor the Pythagorean describe Simmias' story of Timarchos' visit to the Underworld as λόγον...ἱερόν: see further A. Delatte *Études sur la littérature pythagoricienne* Paris 1915 pp. 1—79 ('Un ΙΕΡΟΣ ΛΟΓΟΣ pythagoricien'). The Rhapsodic theogony, according to Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 123 (i. 316, 18 ff. Ruelle), cp. *ib.* 50 (i. 100, 19 f.), 123 *bis* (i. 318, 6 ff.), gave the following sequence of events:—In the beginning was Chronos the ageless, father of Aither and Chaos. Then came the cosmic egg, called also 'the brilliant *chitôn*' or 'the cloud' (*ib.* 123 (i. 317, 2 f.) ἤτοι τὸ κυούμενον καὶ τὸ κύον ὠὸν τὸν θεόν, ἢ τὸν ἀργῆτα χιτῶνα, ἢ τὴν νεφέλην), from which sprang Phanes, otherwise known as Metis or Erikepaios. [As to the meaning of these names valuable information is preserved to us by Io. Malal. *chron.* 4 p. 74 Dindorf ἔφρασε δὲ ὅτι τὸ φῶς ῥῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα ἐφώτισε τὴν γῆν καὶ πᾶσαν τὴν κτίσιν, εἰπὼν ἐκεῖνο εἶναι τὸ φῶς τὸ ῥῆξαν τὸν αἰθέρα τὸ προειρημένον, τὸ ὑπέρτατον πάντων, οὗ ὄνομα ὁ αὐτὸς Ὀρφεὺς ἀκούσας ἐκ τῆς μαντείας ἐξεῖπε, Μῆτιν, Φάνητα, Ἐρικεπαῖον (*sic*)· ὅπερ ἑρμηνεύεται τῇ κοινῇ γλώσσῃ βουλή, φῶς, ζωοδοτήρ (=Kedren. *hist. comp.* 57 D (i. 102 Bekker) βουλή, φῶς, ζωοδοτήρ, cp. Souid. *s.v.* Ὀρφεύς 7 βουλήν, φῶς, ζωήν=Kedren. *hist. comp.* 84 B (i. 148) βουλή, φῶς, ζωή) and by Nonnos Abbas *collectio et explicatio historiarum quibus Gregorius Nazianzenus in priore invectiva in Julianum usus est* 78 (xxxvi. 1028 C Migne) Περὶ Φάνητος καὶ Ἡρικαπαίου. ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς ποιήμασιν εἰσηνέχθη τὰ δύο ταῦτα ὀνόματα μετὰ καὶ ἄλλων πολλῶν· ὧν τὸν Φάνητα εἰσφέρει αἰδοῖον ἔχοντα

ὀπίσω περὶ τὴν πυγήν. λέγουσι δὲ αὐτὸν ἔφορον εἶναι τῆς ζωογόνου δυνάμεως· ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἡρικεπαῖον λέγουσιν ἑτέρας ἔφορον εἶναι δυνάμεως (repeated in a corrupt form by Souid. *s.v. Φάνης*: see G. Bernhardy *ad loc.*). From this it appears that the names Μῆτις and Φάνης had an obvious sense for Greek ears, but that Ἡρικεπαῖος or Ἡρικαπαῖος had not. Presumably Μῆτις (masc.) was a *Kosename* either for *πολύμητις*, which occurs as an Orphic designation of this deity (Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 10), or—and this I regard as the more probable view—for *μητίετα*, the epic appellative of Zeus (*supra* i. 14 n. 1). *Φάνης* was certainly taken by the Greeks to denote a god of light or daylight or sunlight (*supra* i. 7 n. 6): but of course it remains possible that his name was originally non-Greek; it may *e.g.* have been Thraco-Phrygian, cp. Auson. *epigr.* 48. 3 Mysi Phanacen nominant, 49. 1 Μυσῶν δὲ Φανάκης (F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 226, 1842 iv. 80, Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 478 n. [i], O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2248). Ἡρικεπαῖος or Ἡρικαπαῖος is a well-known *crux* (for older views see K. W. Goettling *De Ericapaeo Orphicorum numine* Jenae 1862 (=*id. Opuscula academica* Lipsiae 1869 pp. 206—214); for newer, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 452 f. and K. Beth 'Über die Herkunft der orphischen Erikepaios' (god of *Ericibba*=Eridu) in the *Wiener Studien* 1912 xxxiv. 288—300). If we may rely on Malalas' interpretation *ζωοδοτήρ*, it is clear that the name was not Greek. I incline to think that it was Thracian or Thraco-Phrygian. Hence its occurrence as a cult-title of Dionysos at Hierokaisareia in Lydia (J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein 'Bericht über eine Reise in Lydien und der südlichen Aiolis' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1910 ii. Abh. p. 54 f. no. 112 fig. 51=W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 181 a round altar of white marble inscribed in lettering of *s.* ii A.D. *ἐπὶ ἱεροφάντου* | Ἀρτεμιδώρου τοῦ Ἀπολ|λωνίου Μηνόφιλος, Περη|λίας καὶ Σεκοῦνδος Ἀπολ|λωνίου οἱ συνγενεῖς Διο|νύσῳ Ἡρικεπαίῳ τὸν βωμόν with wreath below and two garlands supported on ram's-heads). The second element in the compound might be paralleled, as O. Gruppe saw (in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2268), from Παντικάπης the river in European Sarmatia and Παντικάπαιον the town in the Tauric Chersonesos: The first element, it seems to me, recurs in the name of the river Ἠριδανός (with which A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 129 and *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 37 compared the river-names Ἀπιδανός in Thessaly, Ἰάρδανος in Lydia, Crete, and Elis). Indeed, if Ἠρι-κεπαῖος meant 'Giver of Life,' I would venture to translate Ἠρι-δανός by 'River of Life'—an appellation suited to that mythical stream (Strab. 215 *περὶ τὸν Ἠριδανόν, τὸν μηδαμοῦ γῆς ὄντα, πλησίον δὲ τοῦ Ἅιδου λεγόμενον*, cp. Hdt. 3. 115, Polyb. 2. 16. 6, Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 31), which was not only a river on earth but also a constellation in heaven (Hes. *frag.* 199 Rzach *ap.* Hyg. *fab.* 152 b, 154, schol. Strozziana *in* Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 174, 6 ff. (cp. p. 185, 4 ff.) Breysig, Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 2. 2 f., Arat. *phaen.* 359 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* 355, 359, pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 37, Caes. Germ. *Aratea* 367 ff., Cic. *Aratea* 143 ff. Baehrens (387 ff.), Mart. Cap. 838, 841, 842, Claudian. *de sext. cons. Hon. Aug.* 175 ff., *Anth. Lat.* i. 2 no. 679. 12 Riese (Priscianus), Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 326 f., 23. 298 ff., 38. 429 ff., Myth. Vat. 3. 6. 21, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 288) by some called Okeanos (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32) or the Nile (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32, pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 37, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 359, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 417, 19 Eyssenhardt): see further R. Brown *Eridanus: river and constellation* London 1883, G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 pp. 5, 29 f., 39 f., 49, 124 ff. fig. 50, 147, 164 ff. fig. 72, pls. 2, 4, A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 pp. 60, 189, *id.* in

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1468 fig. 35.] Phanes was also spoken of as Πρωτόγονος (Orph. *frag.* 86 Kern *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 141 (p. 148, 25 ff. Couvreur), Orph. *frag.* 85 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 33, 3 ff. Pasquali, *eund. in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 9 ff. Diehl, i. 451, 11 ff., iii. 209, 1 f., Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 53 (i. 107, 13 f. Ruelle), 89 (i. 217, 26 f.), 98 (i. 251, 18 ff.), 111 (i. 286, 15 f.), Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 1, *h. Rhe.* 14. 1, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 20 p. 23 Schwartz, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 5, Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 141 (cp. 157 αὐτογόνου), 12. 34 : see further O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2257 f., O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 3183 f.), Ἀνταύγης (Orph. *frag.* 237, 4 Kern *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12, Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 9), Φαέθων (Orph. *frag.* 73 Kern *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 5), Διόνυσος (Orph. *frag.* 237, 3 Kern *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12 f., Orph. *frag.* 237 p. 250 Kern *ap.* Diod. 1. 11, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 336, 15 f. Diehl, cp. Orph. *frag.* 239 b, 1 Kern *ap.* Iust. *cohort.* 15 and *frag.* 239 b Kern *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 18 cited *supra* i. 187 n. 4, i. 234 n. 4 : see also O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2260), Εὐβουλεύς (Orph. *frag.* 237, 4 Kern *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 18. 12 and 17, cp. Orph. *h. Adon.* 56. 3), Πρίηπος ἄναξ (Orph. *h. Protog.* 6. 9), and Ἔρως (*e.g.* Orph. *frag.* 74 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 433, 31 ff. Diehl, Orph. *frag.* 37 Kern *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 26, Orph. *frag.* 82 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 101, 20 ff. Diehl, Orph. *frag.* 83 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 66 Creuzer, Orph. *frag.* 170 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 336, 11 ff. Diehl and *ap. eund. in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 233 Creuzer, cp. Orph. *Arg.* 14 ff.). As μονογενής he was in the time of the emperor Zenon (474—491 A.D.) compared with Christ Himself (*theosoph. Tubing.* 61 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 116 f. ὅτι ἐν πολλοῖς Φάνητα φερωνύμως ὁ Ὀρφεὺς προσαγορεύει τὸν μονογενῆ, τὸν υἱὸν τοῦ θεοῦ. κ.τ.λ.). Phanes, when he emerged from the 'white egg' (Orph. *frag.* 70 Kern *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 55 (i. 111, 17 ff. Ruelle) ἔπειτα δ' ἔτευξε μέγας Χρόνος (so C. A. Lobeck for Κρόνος codd.) *alθέρι δίῳ* | ὠεὸν ἀργύφεον), contained within him the seed of the gods (Orph. *frag.* 85 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 33, 5 f. Pasquali Μῆτιν σπέρμα φέροντα θεῶν κλυτόν, ὃν τε Φάνητα | πρωτόγονον μάκαρες κάλεον κατὰ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον). Being female as well as male, he begat Nyx, and subsequently consorted with her (Orph. *frag.* 98 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 22 ff. Diehl, Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 244 (ii. 116, 4 Ruelle), cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 170, 4 f. Diehl, Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 209 (ii. 92, 22 f. Ruelle)) and by her had three successive pairs of children—Ge or Gaia and Ouranos (Orph. *frag.* 109 Kern *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* pp. 141, 144 (pp. 148, 17 ff., 154, 23 ff. Couvreur)), Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 244 (ii. 116, 5 ff. Ruelle)). Nyx as queen (Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 209 (ii. 92, 25 ff. Ruelle)) received the sceptre of Phanes or Erikepaios, and in her turn transmitted it to Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus, Dionysos (Orph. *frag.* 107 Kern *ap.* Syrian. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 182, 9 ff. Kroll, Alex. Aphr. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 821, 5 ff. Hayduck, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 306, 12 f. and iii. 168, 15 ff. Diehl, Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 143 (p. 152, 15 ff. Couvreur), Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* 61 C p. 2, 21 ff. Norvin, Michael Ephes. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 (ed. Berolin. iv. 828 a 8 ff.), Orph. *frag.* 101 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 54, 28 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 102 Kern *ap.* Alex. Aphr. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 821, 19 ff. Hayduck, Syrian. *in* Aristot. *met.* N. 4. 1091 b 4 p. 182, 14 f. Kroll) ; she also had the gift of prophecy (Orph. *frag.* 103 Kern *ap.* Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 140 (p. 147, 20 ff. Couvreur)). The gods saw with wonderment the light of their creator Phanes shining in the *aithêr* (Orph. *frag.* 86 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 435, 3 ff. Diehl (cp. *ib.* iii. 83, 4 ff.), Prokl. *in* Plat. *theol.* 3. 21 p. 161 Portus, Damask

quaest. de primis principiis 113 (i. 291, 18 ff. Ruelle), Herm. *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 141 (p. 148, 25 ff. Couvreur), cp. Wolf *anecd.* iii. 209). But Zeus with a view to the ordering of all things consulted both Nyx and Kronos, whom he had already bound (Orph. *frag.* 164 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 206, 26 ff. Diehl, *id. in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 30 f.) and mutilated after making him drunk on honey (Orph. *frag.* 154 Kern *ap.* Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 16 παρὰ δὲ τῷ Ὀρφεῖ ὁ Κρόνος μέλιτι ὑπὸ Διὸς ἐνεδρεύεται· πλησθεὶς γὰρ μέλιτος μεθύει καὶ σκοτοῦται ὡς ἀπὸ (Lobeck cj. ὑπὸ) οἴνου καὶ ὑπνοῖ ὡς παρὰ Πλάτωνι (*symp.* 203 B ὁ οὖν Πόρος μεθυσθεὶς τοῦ νέκταρος, οἶνος γὰρ οὔπω ἦν, εἰς τὸν τοῦ Διὸς κῆπον εἰσελθὼν βεβαρημένος ηὗδεν) ὁ Πόρος τοῦ νέκταρος πλησθείς· οὔπω γὰρ οἶνος ἦν. φησὶ γὰρ παρ' Ὀρφεῖ ἡ Νὺξ τῷ Διὶ ὑποτιθεμένη τὸν διὰ μέλιτος δόλον· εὖτ' ἂν δή μιν ἴδηαι ὑπὸ δρυσὶν ὑψικόμοισιν | ἔργοισιν μεθύοντα μελισσάων ἐριβόμβων, | δῆσον αὐτὸν (Barnes cj. αὐτίκα μιν δῆσον). ὃ καὶ πάσχει ὁ Κρόνος καὶ δεθεὶς ἐκτέμνεται ὡς ὁ Οὐρανός, cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* pp. 54, 19 and 62, 3 ff. Pasquali). At the advice of Nyx Zeus leapt upon Phanes and swallowed him (Orph. *frag.* 82 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 102, 2 f. Diehl ὁ δὲ Ὀρφεὺς καὶ ἐπιτηδᾶν αὐτῷ καὶ καταπίνειν δειξάσης μέντοι τῆς Νυκτός, Orph. *frag.* 167 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 324, 14 ff. Diehl ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεὺς ἐνδεικνύμενος καταπίνεσθαι τὸν νοητὸν θεὸν ἔφατο παρὰ τοῦ δημιουργοῦ τῶν ὅλων· ...ὁ δὲ θεολόγος καὶ οἷον ἐπιπηδᾶν αὐτὸν τῷ νοητῷ καὶ καταπίνειν, ὡς ὁ μῦθος ἔφησεν). Having thus with wide open jaws devoured Phanes, Zeus had within his own belly the body of all things, and, since he had digested the power of that creative god, was himself able to create the universe anew (Orph. *frag.* 167 a Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 324, 29 ff. Diehl ὡς τότε Πρωτογόνοιο χανὼν μένος Ἠρικεπαίου | τῶν πάντων δέμας εἶχεν ἑῇ ἐνὶ γαστέρι κοίλῃ, | μίξε δ' ἑοῖς μελέεσσι θεοῦ δύναμίν τε καὶ ἀλκήν, | τοὔνεκα σύν τῷ πάντα (παρὰ codd. E. Abel prints παντὶ E. Diehl cj. πάντα) Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη.|...πάντα τάδε κρύψας αὖθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθές | μέλλεν ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πάλι θέσκελα ῥέζων, cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 62, 3 ff. Pasquali). Inside Zeus were made afresh the world and all its contents, including gods and goddesses (Orph. *frag.* 167 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 313, 9 ff. Diehl τοὔνεκα σὺν τῷ πάντα (E. Abel gives παντὶ) Διὸς πάλιν ἐντὸς ἐτύχθη | αἰθέρος εὐρείης ἠδ' οὐρανοῦ ἀγλαὸν ὕψος, | πόντου τ' ἀρργνέτου γαίης τ' ἐρικυδέος ἔδρη (E. Abel has εὕρη), | Ὠκεανός τε μέγας καὶ νείατα τάρταρα γαίης | καὶ ποταμοὶ καὶ πόντος ἀπείριτος ἄλλα τε πάντα | πάντες τ' ἀθάνατοι μάκαρες θεοὶ ἠδὲ θέαιναι, | ὅσσα τ' ἦην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὕστερον ὁππόσ' ἔμελλεν, | ἐνγένετο, Ζηνὸς δ' ἐνὶ γαστέρι σύρρα πεφύκει, cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Parm.* iii (p. 621 Stallbaum), Orph. *frag.* 169 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Parm.* iv (p. 750 Stallbaum) οὕτως δὲ Ζηνὸς καὶ ἐν ὄμμασι πατρὸς ἄνακτος | ναίουσ' ἀθάνατοί τε θεοὶ θνητοί τ' ἄνθρωποι | ὅσσα τ' ἦην γεγαῶτα καὶ ὕστερον ὁππόσ' ἔμελλε, cp. *theosoph. Tubing.* 50 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 109 f.). Accordingly Zeus himself was described by the Orphists in pantheistic terms (Orph. *frag.* 21 a Kern *ap.* Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 27 ff. (cp. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 409, 4 ff. Stählin) διὸ καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς οὐ κακῶς λέγεται·—

> Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέραυνος·
> Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
> Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
> Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄμβροτος ἔπλετο νύμφη·
> Ζεὺς πνοιὴ πάντων, Ζεὺς ἀκαμάτου πυρὸς ὁρμή·
> Ζεὺς πόντου ῥίζα, Ζεὺς ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη·
> Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, Ζεὺς ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων ἀργικέραυνος·
> πάντας γὰρ κρύψας αὖθις φάος ἐς πολυγηθὲς
> ἐξ ἱερῆς κραδίης ἀνενέγκατο μέρμερα ῥέζων.

A fuller version of these lines is found in Orph. *frag.* 168 Kern *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 9. 1—3=Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 23 p. 29, 9 ff. Wachsmuth (cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 233 Creuzer, *id. in* Plat. *Parm.* iii (p. 621 Stallbaum), *id. in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 313, 18 ff. Diehl, *ib.* i. 161, 23 ff., i. 307, 28 ff.) τὸν γὰρ Δία τὸν νοῦν τοῦ κόσμου ὑπολαμβάνοντες, ὃς τὰ ἐν αὐτῷ ἐδημιούργησεν ἔχων τὸν κόσμον, ἐν μὲν ταῖς θεολογίαις ταύτῃ περὶ αὐτοῦ παραδεδώκασιν οἱ τὰ Ὀρφέως εἰπόντες·

Ζεὺς πρῶτος γένετο, Ζεὺς ὕστατος ἀργικέραυνος·
Ζεὺς κεφαλή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται·
Ζεὺς ἄρσην γένετο, Ζεὺς ἄφθιτος[1] ἔπλετο νύμφη·
Ζεὺς πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος·
Ζεὺς βασιλεύς, Ζεὺς αὐτὸς ἁπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος.
ἓν κράτος, εἷς δαίμων γένετο, μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων,
ἓν δὲ[2] δέμας βασίλειον, ἐν ᾧ τάδε πάντα κυκλεῖται,
πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἦμαρ,
καὶ Μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ[3] καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής·
πάντα γὰρ ἐν μεγάλῳ Ζηνὸς[4] τάδε σώματι[5] κεῖται.
τοῦ δή τοι κεφαλὴ[6] μὲν ἰδεῖν καὶ καλὰ πρόσωπα
οὐρανὸς αἰγλήεις, ὃν χρύσεαι ἀμφὶς ἔθειραι
ἄστρων μαρμαρέων περικαλλέες ἠερέθονται·
ταύρεα δ' ἀμφοτέρωθε δύο χρύσεια κέρατα,
ἀντολίη τε δύσις τε, θεῶν ὁδοὶ οὐρανιώνων·
ὄμματα δ' ἠέλιός τε καὶ ἀντιόωσα[7] σελήνη·
νοῦς[8] δέ <οἱ[9]> ἀψευδής, βασιλήϊος[10], ἄφθιτος αἰθήρ,
ᾧ δὴ πάντα κλύει[11] καὶ φράζεται, οὐδέ τις ἐστὶν
αὐδὴ οὔτ'[12] ἐνοπὴ οὔτε[13] κτύπος οὐδὲ[14] μὲν ὅσσα
ἢ λήθει Διὸς οὖας ὑπερμενέος Κρονίωνος.
ὧδε μὲν ἀθανάτην κεφαλὴν ἔχει ἠδὲ νόημα·
σῶμα[15] δέ οἱ περιφεγγές[16], ἀπείριτον, ἀστυφέλικτον,
ὄβριμον[17], ὀβριμόγυιον, ὑπερμενὲς ὧδε τέτυκται·
ὦμοι μὲν καὶ στέρνα καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θεοῖο
ἀὴρ εὐρυβίης· πτέρυγες δέ οἱ ἐξεφύοντο,
τῇς ἐπὶ πάντα ποτᾶθ'· ἱερὴ δέ οἱ ἔπλετο νηδὺς
γαῖά τε παμμήτειρ' ὀρέων τ' αἰπεινὰ κάρηνα·
μέσση δὲ ζώνη βαρυηχέος[18] οἶδμα θαλάσσης
καὶ πόντου· πυμάτη δὲ βάσις χθονὸς ἔνδοθι ῥίζαι
τάρταρά τ' εὐρώεντα καὶ ἔσχατα πείρατα γαίης.
πάντα δ' ἀποκρύψας[19] αὖθις φίος ἐς πολυγηθὲς
μέλλεν[20] ἀπὸ κραδίης προφέρειν πάλι, θέσκελα ῥέζων.

Ζεὺς οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῷον ἐκ ζῴων καὶ θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν· Ζεὺς δέ, καθὸ νοῦς, ἀφ' οὗ

[1] ἄμβροτος Stob.
[2] δὲ om. Stob.
[3] So Prokl. *πρωτογενέτωρ* codd. *A* Euseb., F Stob.
[4] *Ζηνὸς μεγάλῳ* Stob. *Ζηνὸς μεγάλου* Prokl.
[5] *δώματι* Prokl.
[6] *δ' ἤτοι κεφαλὴ* Prokl. *δή τοι κεφαλὴν* Euseb.
[7] Heringa cj. *ἀνταυγοῦσα.*
[8] Heringa cj. *σῆς.*
[9] So Prokl. Om. Euseb., cod. F Stob.
[10] Heringa cj. *ἀψευδὲς βασιλήιον.*
[11] *κλύει* cod. F Stob. and Prokl. *κυκλεῖ* Euseb.
[12] *οὐδ'* Stob.
[13] *οὐδὲ* Stob. *οὐδ' αὖ* Prokl.
[14] So Prokl. *οὔτε* Euseb.
[15] *σῆμα* cod. F Stob.
[16] *πυριφεγγὲς* Prokl.
[17] *ἄτρομον* Stob.
[18] *βαθυηχέος* Prokl.
[19] *τάδε κρύψας* Prokl.
[20] So cod. F Stob., cp. Prokl. *μέλλει* Euseb.

προφέρει πάντα καὶ δημιουργεῖ τοῖς νοήμασι. κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 3. 9. 10 f. δι' ὧν ἀνεπικαλύπτως ζῷον μέγα τὸν κόσμον ὑποθέμενος, καὶ τοῦτον Δία προσειπών, νοῦν μὲν αὐτοῦ τὸν αἰθέρα, σῶμα δὲ τὰ λοιπὰ τοῦ κόσμου μέρη ἀπεφήνατο εἶναι. τοιοῦτος μέν τις ὁ διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ὑπογραφόμενος τυγχάνει Ζεύς. ὁ δὲ τῶν ἐπῶν ἐξηγητὴς ἀρξάμενος μὲν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἀκολούθως λέγει, Ζεὺς οὖν ὁ πᾶς κόσμος, ζῷον ἐκ ζῴων, θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν· σαφῶς τὸν θεολογούμενον Δία οὐδὲ ἄλλον ἢ τὸν ὁρώμενον καὶ αἰσθητὸν κόσμον δηλοῦσθαι διὰ τῶν ἐπῶν ἑρμηνεύσας). Having asked of Nyx how all things might be both one and divided, he was bidden to wrap *aithér* round the world and tie up the bundle with the 'golden cord' (Orph. *frag.* 165 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 313, 31 ff. Diehl, ii. 24, 23 ff., ii. 112, 3 ff.: cp. *Il.* 8. 18 ff. with the sensible remarks of Dr W. Leaf *ad loc.*). In arranging the universe he was helped by Dike (Orph. *frag.* 158 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 144, 29 ff. Kroll, *in* Plat. *theol.* 6. 8 p. 363 Portus) and Nomos (Orph. *frag.* 160 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 315, 11 ff. Diehl, *id. in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 219 f. Creuzer). Rhea, as the mother of Zeus, was named Demeter (Orph. *frag.* 145 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* pp. 80, 10 ff. and 90, 28 ff. Pasquali, *in* Plat. *theol.* 5. 11 p. 267 Portus). Athena in full armour sprang from the head of Zeus (Orph. *frag.* 174 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 166, 21 ff. Diehl, cp. Orph. *frag.* 176 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 169, 1 ff. Diehl) and, as 'leader of the Kouretes,' taught them rhythmic dancing (Orph. *frag.* 185 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 112, 16 ff. Pasquali): hence the first Kouretes are said to have been wreathed with olive (Orph. *frag.* 186 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* i. 138, 12 ff. Kroll). Athena was also the best of the goddesses at weaving and spinning (Orph. *frag.* 178 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 21, 13 ff. Pasquali). Being herself the wisdom of the creator and the virtue of the leading gods, she bore the name of Arete (Orph. *frag.* 175 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 170, 3 ff. Diehl, cp. i. 185, 1 ff.). Artemis, the lover of virginity (Orph. *frag.* 187 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 105, 18 ff. Pasquali), was also called Hekate (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 106, 25 ff. Pasquali). Zeus and Dione between them produced Aphrodite, who arose—like her namesake the daughter of Ouranos—from the seed of the god falling into the sea (cp. Orph. *frag.* 127 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 110, 15 ff. Pasquali μήδεα δ' ἐς πέλαγος πέσεν ὑψόθεν, ἀμφὶ δὲ τοῖσι | λευκὸς ἐπιπλώουσιν ἑλίσσετο πάντοθεν ἀφρός· | ἐν δὲ περιπλομένοις ὥραις ἐνιαυτὸς ἔτικτεν | παρθένον αἰδοίην, ἣν δὴ παλάμαις ὑπέδεκτο | γεινομένην τὸ πρῶτον ὁμοῦ Ζῆλός τ' Ἀπάτη τε of the first Aphrodite with Orph. *frag.* 183 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 110, 23 ff. Pasquali τὸν δὲ πόθος πλέον εἶλ', ἀπὸ δ' ἔκθορε πατρὶ μεγίστῳ | αἰδοίων ἀφροῖο γονή, ὑπέδεκτο δὲ πόντος | σπέρμα Διὸς μεγάλου· περιτελλομένου δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ | ὥραις καλλιφύτοις τέκ' ἐγερσιγέλωτ' Ἀφροδίτην | ἀφρογενῆ of the second). Zeus also mated with his sister Hera, who was said to be ἰσοτελής, 'of equal rank,' with him (Orph. *frag.* 163 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 20 ff. Diehl, cp. *ib.* iii. 249, 2 ff. So also Orph. εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον 16, *id. h. Her.* 16. 2, *id. frag.* 115 Kern *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 1, Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 99 Reiske). O. Gruppe (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 637 ff., in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1890 Suppl. xvii. 716 ff., *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 432, in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1140 f.) contends that the Rhapsodic theogony further included much that E. Abel (*Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 224 ff.) assigns to the Τελεταί, in particular the whole story of Dionysos. Zeus consorted with his own mother Rhea or Demeter, both he and she being in the form of snakes, and had by her a horned, four-eyed, two-faced daughter Phersephone or Kore, with whom he, again in snake-form, consorted and had for offspring a horned babe, the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus (*supra* i. 398: other notices of

the myth in Ov. *met.* 6. 114, Philostr. *epist.* 30 (58) Hercher, Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 563 ff., Orph. *frag.* 195 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 85, 19 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 198 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *theol.* 6. 11 p. 371 Portus, cp. Orph. *frags.* 180, 192 f. Kern with the remarks of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 550 ff. and Orph. *frag.* 43 Kern). Zeus installed Dionysos or Zagreus on his own throne as king of the gods, allowing him to hold the sceptre and wield the lightning, the thunder, and the rain (*supra* i. 398 f., 647 n. 3). The decrees of the Father were confirmed by the Son (Orph. *frag.* 218 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 316, 3 ff. Diehl κραίνε μὲν οὖν Ζεὺς πάντα πατήρ, Βάκχος δ' ἐπέκραινε, with which Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 432 n. 1 aptly cp. Damaskios *quaest. de primis principiis* 245 (ii. 117, 2 ff. Ruelle) καὶ δὴ καὶ ὁ Διόνυσος ἐπικραίνει τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἔργα, φησὶν Ὀρφεύς, ὁλοποιοῦ τοῦ Διὸς ὄντος). Apollon (Orph. *frag.* 211 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 83 Creuzer) and the Kouretes (Orph. *frag.* 151 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 58, 1 ff. Pasquali, *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 317, 11 ff. Diehl, *in* Plat. *theol.* 5. 3 p. 253 Portus and 5. 35 p. 322 Portus) were set to keep watch and ward over the infant king, who was nurtured by the Nymphs (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 24. 43 ff.) like a fruitful olive (Orph. *frag.* 206 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 2 p. 442, 8 ff. Stählin) till his sixth (?) year (Orph. *frag.* 257 Kern *ap.* Tzetz. *exeg. Il.* p. 26 (ed. G. Hermann Leipzig 1812), cited in this connexion by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 554). But Hera in anger got the Titans to trick the boy by means of certain toys (Orph. *frag.* 34 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 17. 2 f. p. 14, 7 ff. Stählin (=Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 23 f.) τὰ γὰρ Διονύσου μυστήρια τέλεον ἀπάνθρωπα· ὃν εἰσέτι παῖδα ὄντα ἐνόπλῳ κινήσει περιχορευόντων Κουρήτων, δόλῳ δὲ ὑποδύντων Τιτάνων, ἀπατήσαντες παιδαριώδεσιν ἀθύρμασιν, οὗτοι δὴ οἱ Τιτᾶνες διέσπασαν, ἔτι νηπίαχον ὄντα, ὡς ὁ τῆς Τελετῆς ποιητὴς Ὀρφεύς φησιν ὁ Θρᾴκιος· "κῶνος καὶ ῥόμβος καὶ παίγνια καμπεσίγυια, | μῆλά τε χρύσεα καλὰ παρ' Ἑσπερίδων λιγυφώνων." καὶ τῇσδε ὑμῖν τῆς τελετῆς τὰ ἀχρεῖα σύμβολα οὐκ ἀχρεῖον εἰς κατάγνωσιν παραθέσθαι· ἀστράγαλος, σφαῖρα, στρόβιλος, μῆλα, ῥόμβος, ἔσοπτρον, πόκος, cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 19 cuius rei testimonium argumentumque fortunae suis prodidit in carminibus Thracius talos, speculum, turbines, volubiles rotulas et teretis pilas et virginibus aurea sumpta ab Hesperidibus mala, *supra* i. 661: on these 'toys' see further Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 699 ff. and Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 490 f.) including a mirror made by Hephaistos (Orph. *frag.* 209 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 80, 19 ff. Diehl). He was looking at himself in this mirror (Plotin. *enn.* 4. 3. 12, Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 173), when the Titans, having first smeared their faces with gypsum, attacked him with a knife (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 169 ff., cp. *supra* i. 398, 655 n. 2). To escape them he became a youthful Zeus, an aged Kronos, a babe, a youth, a lion, a horse, a horned snake, a tiger, and a bull (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 174 ff., cp. *supra* i. 398). A bellowing in mid air from the throat of Hera was the signal for his fate: the Titans with their knife cut up his bovine form (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 200 ff.) into seven portions (Orph. *frag.* 210 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 146, 9 ff. Diehl), one for each of themselves (Orph. *frag.* 114, 1 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 450, 16 ff. Diehl, Orph. *frag.* 114, 3 ff. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 184, 3 ff. Diehl, cp. Orph. *frag.* 107 p. 171 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 169, 3 ff. Diehl: similarly Typhon divided the body of Osiris into fourteen (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 18, 42: see Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 129 n. 4, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 174 ff.) or twenty-six pieces, one for each of his assailants (Diod. 1. 21=Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 1. 16: Diod. 4. 6 calls the assailants Titans)); they then set a caldron on a tripod, boiled the portions, pierced them with spits, held them over the fire (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 1 p. 14, 17 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218, cp. Firm.

Mat. 8. 2), and finally devoured them (Firm. Mat. 6. 3 cited *supra* i. 661 f., Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* 61 C pp. 2, 26 and 3, 4 f. Norvin). Thereupon Hekate went to Olympos (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 107, 1 ff. Pasquali), Zeus appeared, struck the Titans with a thunderbolt, and gave the limbs of Dionysos to Apollon for burial (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 20 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218). Apollon, at the behest of Zeus, arranged all the limbs in order (Orph. *frag.* 216 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 108, 17 f. Pasquali Οἶνου (=Διονύσου) *πάντα μέλη κόσμῳ λαβὲ καί μοι ἔνεικε*, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 198, 11 ff. Diehl, cp. *ib.* ii. 197, 18 ff.) and took them to Parnassos (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 24 f. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218)—the Titanic caldron being identified with the Delphic tripod (*supra* p. 218 ff.). The Titans had left intact the heart of Dionysos, and this was rescued by Athena (Orph. *frag.* 210 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 145, 18 ff. Diehl, cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 109, 19 ff. Pasquali), who was named Παλλάς because she brandished it (*πάλλειν*) or because it still beat (*πάλλεσθαι*) as she brought it to Zeus (Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 1 p. 14, 16 f. Stählin, schol. *Il.* 1. 200, *et. mag.* p. 649, 56 f., *et. Gud.* p. 450, 9 f., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Παλλάς, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 355, Eudok. *viol.* 746, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1417, 26 ff.: Eustath. *in Il.* p. 84, 43 f. transfers the incident to the Theban Dionysos, and *et. Gud.* p. 450, 11 ff. makes Athena drive off the Titans by 'brandishing' her spear. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 560 n.[e] quotes Souid. *s.v.* *κωνοφόροι* for the connexion of the heart with Dionysos, and Cornut. *theol.* 6 p. 6, 7 f. Lang for its relation to Rhea). As to what Zeus did with the heart, opinions differed: some said that he placed it in a gypsum image of the boy (Firm. Mat. 6. 4 cited *supra* i. 662), but the common view was that he pounded it into a potion and gave it to Semele to drink, that she conceived thereby, and that Zagreus thus came to life again as Dionysos (Hyg. *fab.* 167 Liber Iovis et Proserpinae filius a Titanis est distractus, cuius cor contritum Iovis Semelae dedit in potionem. ex eo praegnans cum esset facta, Iuno in Beroen nutricem Semeles se commutavit et ait: 'alumna, pete a Iove ut sic ad te veniat, quem ad modum ad Iunonem, ut scias quae voluptas est (J. Scheffer cj. *sit* cp. *fab.* 179) cum deo concumbere.' illa autem instigata petit ab Iove, et fulmine est icta. ex cuius utero Liberum exuit et Nyso dedit nutriendum unde Dionysus est appellatus et Bimater est dictus, Orph. *frag.* 210 p. 231 f. Kern *ap.* Prokl. *h. Ath. Polym.* 7. 11 ff. (E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 282) *ἡ κραδίην ἐσάωσας ἀμιστύλλευτον ἄνακτος | αἰθέρος ἐν γυάλοισι μεριζομένου ποτὲ Βάκχου | Τιτήνων ὑπὸ χερσί· πόρες δέ ἑ πατρὶ φέρουσα, | ὄφρα νέος βουλῆσιν ὑπ' ἀρρήτοισι τοκῆος | ἐκ Σεμέλης περὶ* (Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 561 prints *κατὰ*) *κόσμον ἀνηβήσῃ Διόνυσος*, Nonn. *Dion.* 24. 47 ff. (Hydaspes to Dionysos) *καὶ σὺ φέρεις Ζαγρῆος ὅλον δέμας· ἀλλὰ σὺ κείνῳ | δὸς χάριν ὑψιτέλεστον, ὅθεν πέλες· ἀρχεγόνου γὰρ | ἐκ κραδίης ἀνέτελλες, ἀειδομένου Διονύσου* (H. Koechly cj. *ἀεξόμενος Διονύσου*, but see Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 12), Commod. *instructiones* (an acrostich LIBER PATER etc.) 1. 12. 1 ff. Liberum Patrem certe bis genitum dicitis ipsi. | In India natus ex Iove Proserpina primum | Belligerans contra Titanas profuso cruore | Expiravit enim sicut ex mortalibus unus. | Rursus flato (B. Dombart *ad loc.* notes 'spiritui, animae, vitae?' *flato* C (*l* altera (?) manu expunctum). B A^{m}.*r*^{1}. *fato* A^{1}.*r.v.*) suo redditus (F. Oehler cj. *redditur*) in altero ventre. | Percepit (so B. Dombart for *percipit* codd.) hoc Semele iterum Iovis altera moecha (*Maia r.* Oehler), | Absciso (so C. *Abscisso* B.A.*r.v.*) cuius utero prope partu (*partum r*^{2}. Oehler) defunctae | Tollitur et datur Niso nutriendus alumnus. | Ex eo bis natus Dionysus ille vocatur, | Religio cuius in vacuo falsa curatur, | etc.). Thus the

upshot of the Titans' murderous onslaught was that their victim was put together again (Cornut. *theol.* 31 p. 62, 10 f. Lang *μυθολογεῖται δ' ὅτι διασπασθεὶς ὑπὸ τῶν Τιτάνων συνετέθη πάλιν ὑπὸ τῆς 'Ρέας, κ.τ.λ.* = Eudok. *viol.* 272 p. 210, 10 ff. Flach, Ioul. *ap.* Kyrill. Al. *c. Iul.* 2. 44 (lxxvi. 568 B—C Migne) *<τῇ> μητρὶ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐμίχθη καὶ παιδοποιησάμενος ἐξ αὐτῆς ἔγημεν αὐτὸς τὴν αὐτοῦ θυγατέρα <οὐδὲ κατέσχεν* vel simile quiddam ins. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 562 n. [f]*>, ἀλλὰ μιχθεὶς ἁπλῶς ἄλλῳ παραδέδωκεν αὐτήν. εἶτα οἱ Διονύσου σπαραγμοὶ καὶ μελῶν κολλήσεις*) and attained a joyful resurrection (Orph. *frags.* 205, 213, 240 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 241, 5 ff. Diehl, Iust. Mart. *apol.* 1. 21 (vi. 360 A Migne), 1. 54 (vi. 410 A—B Migne), *cum Tryph. Iud. dial.* 69 (vi. 636 C—638 A Migne), Myth. Vat. 3. 12. 5, Macrob. *comm. in somn. Scip.* 1. 12. 12), whilst the aggressors were visited with condign punishment (Nonn. *Dion.* 6. 206 ff. makes Zeus fling them into Tartaros, as does Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 188, 26 ff., cp. Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* i. 93, 22 ff. Kroll; but various offenders, *e.g.* Atlas, were reserved for special fates (Orph. *frag.* 215 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 173, 1 ff. Diehl, Simpl. *in* Aristot. *de cael.* 2. 1. 284 a 1 p. 375, 12 ff. Heiberg, cp. Firm. Mat. 6. 4 cited *supra* i. 662). The bodies of those that had been struck by the thunderbolts were reduced to powder, hence called *τίτανος* (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 332, 23 ff.: see *supra* i. 655 n. 2), and from their smoking ashes men were made (Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Phaed.* 61 C p. 2, 27 ff. Norvin *καὶ τούτους ὀργισθεὶς ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεραύνωσε, καὶ ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν ἀτμῶν τῶν ἀναδοθέντων ἐξ αὐτῶν ὕλης γενομένης γενέσθαι τοὺς ἀνθρώπους*, cp. Dion Chrys. *or.* 30 p. 550 Reiske *ὅτι τοῦ τῶν Τιτάνων αἵματος ἐσμὲν ἡμεῖς ἅπαντες οἱ ἄνθρωποι*). It follows that we are part and parcel of Dionysus (Olympiod. *ib.* p. 3, 2 ff. Norvin *οὐ δεῖ ἐξάγειν ἡμᾶς ἑαυτοὺς ὡς τοῦ σώματος ἡμῶν Διονυσιακοῦ ὄντος· μέρος γάρ αὐτοῦ ἐσμεν, εἴ γε ἐκ τῆς αἰθάλης τῶν Τιτάνων συγκείμεθα γενσαμένων τῶν σαρκῶν τούτου*), or he of us (Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 77, 24 ff. Pasquali *ὅτι ὁ ἐν ἡμῖν νοῦς Διονυσιακός ἐστιν καὶ ἄγαλμα ὄντως τοῦ Διονύσου. κ.τ.λ.*). Others taught that men arose from the blood of the Giants (Ov. *met.* 1. 154 ff., interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 6. 41) or from a rain of blood-drops let fall by Zeus (Ioul. *frag. epist.* i. 375, 21 ff. Hertlein *ἀποβλέψαντα...εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμει τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἵματος ἱεροῦ πεσουσῶν, ἐξ ὧν που τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσειε γένος*).

The Rhapsodies, which—as the foregoing summary shows—began with theogony and ended with anthropogony, are supposed by O. Gruppe (*Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 430, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1141 ff., cp. *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 215) to have been put together at Athens between 550 and 300 B.C., though they did not obtain much recognition till the time of the neo-Pythagoreans. A *provenance* in Pisistratic Athens is suggested, he thinks, by the dedication of this Orphic poem to Mousaios (*theosoph. Tubing.* 61 in K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 117, 3), by the identification of Phanes with Metis which allowed Athena (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (μ)) to be viewed as one aspect of the reborn Erikepaios, by the affiliation of Artemis or Hekate (*supra* p. 1029) to Demeter (Orph. *frag.* 188 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 106, 25 ff. Pasquali, Orph. *frag.* 41 Kern *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 467, cp. Kallim. *frag.* 556 Schneider *ap.* schol. Theokr. 2. 12) —a genealogy known to Aischylos (*supra* p. 252), and by the equation of Rhea with Demeter (*supra* i. 398, ii. 1029) which appears also in Euripides (Eur. *Hel.* 1301 ff.) and other fifth-century poets (Pind. *Isthm.* 7 (6). 3 f., Melanippid. *frag.* 10 Bergk[4] *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 51, 11 ff. p. 23 Gomperz: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1169 n. 7, O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2755, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 32, 312). Bendis (Orph. *frag.* 200 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* i. 18, 12 ff. Kroll), the one barbaric deity mentioned in

the poem, was worshipped at Athens in 403 B.C. (*supra* p. 115), if not earlier (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 780, G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 269 f.: Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1142 suggests that her cult was introduced 'wahrscheinlich durch Peisistratos' thrakische Unternehmungen'). M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 239 f. (cp. *ib.* p. 3 n. 2) notes that Kratinos the younger, a contemporary of Platon the philosopher, in his *Gigantes frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 374 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 661 E—F *ἐνθυμεῖσθε* (so A. Meineke for *ἐνθύμει δὲ* codd. K. W. Dindorf cj. *ἐνθυμοῦ* (?) *δὲ*) *τῆς γῆς ὡς γλυκύ | ὄζει, καπνός τ' ἐξέρχετ' εὐωδέστερος* (T. Bergk cj. *εὐωδέστατος*); | *οἰκεῖ τις ὡς ἔοικεν ἐν τῷ χάσματι | λιβανωτοπώλης ἢ μάγειρος Σικελικός* makes fun of the scene in which Zeus was attracted to the Titans' feast by the smell of roast flesh (Orph. *frag.* 34 Kern *ap.* Arnoh. *adv. nat.* 5. 19, Orph. *frag.* 35 Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 18. 2 p. 14, 20 ff. Stählin cited *supra* p. 218) and works in a not very appropriate allusion to the *χάσμα* (Orph. *frag.* 66 a Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* ii. 138, 8 ff. Kroll, Syrian. *in* Aristot. *met.* 2. 4. 1000 b 14 p. 43, 30 f. Kroll, Simplic. *in* Aristot. *phys.* 4. 1. 208 b 29 p. 528, 14 f. Diels, Orph. *frag.* 66 b Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 385, 29 ff. Diehl). Further evidence as to date is at best doubtful. Platon himself has no direct allusion to the Rhapsodies[1]; but it must not be inferred that therefore they are post-Platonic, for they in turn are apparently uninfluenced either by Platon or by later philosophers. Their principal trait, the conception of a world born and re-born, first created by Phanes and then re-created by Zeus, points rather—as Gruppe saw (*Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 643 ff., *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 428 ff., and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1143 ff.)—to ideas that were current in Greece (Anaximandros, Herakleitos, Empedokles) between, say, 550 and 450 B.C. On the whole, then, it may be concluded that the Rhapsodic Theogony was composed at Athens (?) *c.* 500 B.C. (?), and consisted in a rehandling of older Orphic materials by a Pythagorising (?) poet. Hence its vogue among neo-Pythagorean writers of the Graeco-Roman age.

(4) Conspectus of the Orphic Theogonies.

For clearness' sake I add a conspectus showing the three chief forms of Orphic theogony. The letters at the side indicate the creation (A) and re-creation (B) of the world: the numerals give the sequence of mythical generations (1—6).

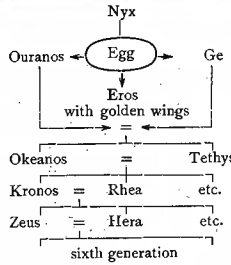
(5) The Cosmic Egg.

The most striking feature of these theogonies is the cosmic egg—a conception discussed by R. G. Latham *Descriptive Ethnology* London 1859 i. 439—441, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 559 n. 4, Costantin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 355 ff. fig. 6 f., L. Frobenius *Das Zeitalter des Sonnengottes* Berlin 1904 i. 269—271 ('Die Ureimythe'), M. P. Nilsson 'Das Ei im Totenkult der Alten' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1908 xi. 543 and 544 f., and especially F. Lukas 'Das Ei als kosmogonische Vorstellung' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1894 iv. 227—243 (this author attempts, not altogether successfully, to distinguish three aspects of the egg in ancient and modern cosmogonies: (1) the world in general is egg-shaped and

[1] Mr F. M. Cornford, however, points out to me that Plat. *legg.* 715 E—716 A is apparently paraphrasing not only, as the schol. *ad loc.* saw, Orph. *frag.* 21 Kern *Ζεὺς ἀρχή, Ζεὺς μέσσα, Διὸς δ' ἐκ πάντα τέτυκται*, but also Orph. *frag.* 158 Kern *τῷ δὲ Δίκη πολύποινος ἐφεῖπετο πᾶσιν ἀρωγός*—both lines being probably extant in the Rhapsodic Theogony (cp. E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 157 n. 1).

EARLY ORPHIC THEOGONY

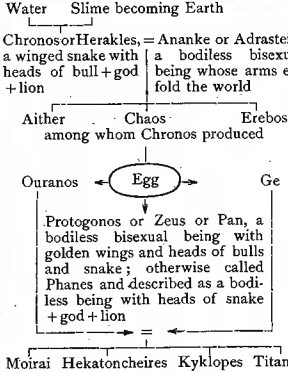
composed in Asia Minor (?) *c.* 5. X B.C. (?) as the result of Ionic speculation on Thraco-Phrygian beliefs.



A 1
2
3
4
5
6

ORPHIC THEOGONY OF HELLANIKOS

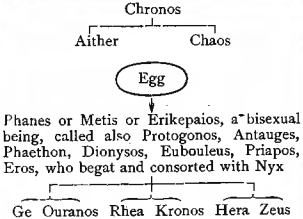
i.e. Hellanikos' summary of a poem composed in Ionia (?) *c.* 500 B.C. (?) under the influence of oriental cosmogony and of Greek philosophy.



A o
1
2
3

RHAPSODIC THEOGONY

composed at Athens (?) *c.* 500 B.C. (?) by a Pythagorising (?) poet in touch with the doctrines of other Greek philosophers.



A 1
2
3

Zeus, at the advice of Nyx, swallows Phanes and creates the world anew inside himself. — B
He produces out of his own head Athena who is also Arete. — 4
His union with his sister Hera remains unfruitful.
His union with Dione produces Aphrodite. — 4
His union with Semele produces Dionysos. — 4

Zeus as a snake = his mother Rhea or Demeter as a snake

Zeus as a snake = Phersephone or Kore, a horned, four-eyed, two-faced daughter — 4

The chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus, a horned babe, whose murderers the Titanes were slain by Zeus. From their ashes sprang — 5

Men — 6

was originally an egg ('*Weltei*') ; (2) the sun in particular is egg-shaped and was originally an egg ('*Lichtei*', '*Sonnenei*') : (3) the life of all things has been developed like that of a chicken from an egg ('*das Ei als Embryonalzustand*')).

Confining our attention to old-world examples, we note the following : (*a*) EGYPT. Râ as a phoenix (*supra* i. 341) came out of the great egg produced by Seb and Nut (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 95 f., 107 n. 1, 110, cp. A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 pp. 26, 81, 157). Ptaḥ the 'Padre dei principii creatore dell' uovo del sole e della Luna' (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 239) was represented as a potter shaping on his wheel the cosmic egg (*id. ib.* p. 250 f. pl. 94, 1). Cp. Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 128 with *id. The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 168 n. 1.

(*b*) INDIA. In Vedic cosmogony Aditi had eight sons, but the eighth, Mârtâṇḍa, the 'Egg-born,' she cast away, having brought him forth to be born and to die (*i.e.* to rise and to set : see the *Rig-Veda* 10. 72. 8 and the remarks of E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 208 n. 2, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 13, H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 156 n. 2). Again, according to the *Rig-Veda* 10. 121. 1 (*Vedic Hymns* trans. F. Max Müller (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxxii) Oxford 1891 p. 1), 'In the beginning there arose the Golden Child (Hiraṇyagarbha) ; as soon as born, he alone was the lord of all that is'..., on which Max Müller *ib.* p. 6 observes that the epithet *Hiraṇyagarbha* 'means literally the golden embryo, the golden germ or child, or born of a golden womb, and was no doubt an attempt at naming the sun'—a view endorsed by A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 pp. 13, 119 : 'In the last verse of this hymn, he is called Prajâpati, "lord of created beings," the name which became that of the chief god of the Brâhmaṇas.' 'This is the only occurrence of the name [*Hiraṇyagarbha*] in the RV., but it is mentioned several times in the AV. and the literature of the Brâhmaṇa period (cp. p. 13). Hiraṇyagarbha is also alluded to in a passage of the AV. (4, 2^8) where it is stated that the waters produced an embryo, which as it was being born, was enveloped in a golden covering. In the TS. (5, 5, 1^2) Hiraṇyagarbha is expressly identified with Prajâpati. In the later literature he is chiefly a designation of the personal Brahmâ.' A. A. Macdonell *op. cit.* p. 14 : 'The account given in the Chândogya Brâhmaṇa (5, 19) is that not-being became being ; the latter changed into an egg, which after a year by splitting in two became heaven and earth ; whatever was produced is the sun, which is Brahma'... Similarly in the *Kh*ândogya-upanishad 3. 19. 1 ff. (*The Upanishads* trans. F. Max Müller (*The Sacred Books of the East* i) Oxford 1879 p. 54 f.) : '1. Âditya (the sun) is Brahman... In the beginning this was non-existent. It became existent, it grew. It turned into an egg. The egg lay for the time of a year. The egg broke open. The two halves were one of silver, the other of gold. 2. The silver one became this earth, the golden one the sky, the thick membrane (of the white) the mountains, the thin membrane (of the yoke [*sic!*]) the mist with the clouds, the small veins the rivers, the fluid the sea. 3. And what was born from it that was Âditya, the sun'... Cp. the birth of Prajâpati as described in the *Çatapatha Brâhmaṇa* 11. 1. 6. 1 f. (*The Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part v (*The Sacred Books of the East* xliv) Oxford 1900 p. 12) : '1 Verily, in the beginning this (universe) was water, nothing but a sea of water. The waters desired, "How can we be reproduced?" They toiled and performed fervid devotions[1] ([1] Or, they toiled and became heated (with fervid devotion).), when they were becoming heated, a golden egg was produced. The

year, indeed, was not then in existence: this golden egg floated about for as long as the space of a year. 2 In a year's time a man, this Pragâpati, was produced therefrom... He broke open this golden egg'... or the birth of Brahma as related in the *Laws of Manu* 1. 5 ff. (*The Laws of Manu* trans. G. Bühler (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxv) Oxford 1886 p. 2 ff.): '5 This (universe) existed in the shape of Darkness... 6 Then the divine Self-existent (Svayambhû, himself)... appeared, dispelling the darkness... 8 He, desiring to produce beings of many kinds from his own body, first with a thought created the waters, and placed his seed in them. 9 That (seed) became a golden egg, in brilliancy equal to the sun; in that (egg) he himself was born as Brahman, the progenitor of the whole world... 12 The divine one resided in that egg during a whole year, then he himself by his thought (alone) divided it into two halves; 13 And out of those two halves he formed heaven and earth, between them the middle sphere, the eight points of the horizon, and the eternal abode of the waters.' Later Hinduism sometimes represented Brahma as born in a golden egg (*Mahâ-Bhârata* 12. 312. 1—7 cited by E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 411), and spoke of a bubble, which contained Viṣṇu as Brahma (*Viṣṇu Purâṇa* 1. 2. 45 f.). See further H. Jacobi in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 156—160 and the monograph of K. F. Geldner *Zur Kosmogonie des Rigveda* Marburg 1908.

(*c*) PERSIA. In Parsi speculation of Sassanian date Ahura the creator made heaven like an egg with the earth for its yolk. *Minokhired* 44. 8—11 (*Dînâ-î Maînôg-î Khirad* trans. E. W. West (*The Sacred Books of the East* xxiv) Oxford 1885 p. 84 f.): 'The sky and earth and water, and whatever else is within them are egg-like (khâîyak-dîs), just as it were like the egg of a bird. 9. The sky is arranged above the earth (L 19 adds 'and below the earth'), like an egg, by the handiwork of the creator Aûharmazd; (10) and the semblance of the earth, in the midst of the sky (L 19 has 'and the earth within the sky'), is just like as it were the yolk amid the egg; [(11) and the water within the earth and sky is such as the water within the egg.]'. Cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 47 *εἶθ' ὁ μὲν Ὡρομάζης τρὶς ἑαυτὸν αὐξήσας ἀπέστησε τοῦ ἡλίου τοσοῦτον ὅσον ὁ ἥλιος τῆς γῆς ἀφέστηκε, καὶ τὸν οὐρανὸν ἄστροις ἐκόσμησεν· ἕνα δὲ ἀστέρα πρὸ πάντων οἷον φύλακα καὶ προόπτην ἐγκατέστησε τὸν σείριον, ἄλλους δὲ ποιήσας τέτταρας καὶ εἴκοσι θεοὺς εἰς ὠὸν ἔθηκεν. οἱ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀρειμανίου γενόμενοι καὶ αὐτοὶ τοσοῦτοι διέτρησαν τὸ ὠόν· ὅθεν* (so D. Wyttenbach, after Xylander, for *διατρήσαντος τὸ ὠὸν γανωθὲν*) *ἀναμέμικται τὰ κακὰ τοῖς ἀγαθοῖς* with the comments of R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 pp. 410 n. 2 f., 414 n. 2, 537 and J. H. Moulton *Early Zoroastrianism* London 1913 p. 402 n. 4.

(*d*) PHOINIKE. Of the Phoenician cosmogony we have a threefold account. (i) Eudemos of Rhodes *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 1 ff. Ruelle) *Σιδώνιοι δὲ κατὰ τὸν αὐτὸν συγγραφέα πρὸ πάντων Χρόνον ὑποτίθενται καὶ Πόθον καὶ Ὁμίχλην, Πόθου δὲ καὶ Ὁμίχλης μιγέντων ὡς δυεῖν ἀρχῶν Ἀέρα γενέσθαι καὶ Αὔραν, Ἀέρα μὲν ἄκρατον τοῦ νοητοῦ παραδηλοῦντες, Αὔραν δὲ τὸ ἐξ αὐτοῦ κινούμενον τοῦ νοητοῦ ζωτικὸν προτύπωμα. πάλιν δὲ ἐκ τούτων ἀμφοῖν Ὦτον γεννηθῆναι κατὰ τὸν νοῦν, οἶμαι τὸν νοητόν.* Ὦτος is hardly to be identified with either of the mythical personages so named (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1231 f.); nor shall we venture with Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 349 to take the word as *ὦτος*, 'the horned owl' (though this bird with crook and flail appears on the coinage of Tyre: see Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 32 pl. 5, 22, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 38 f. pl. 1, 8—other

examples in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxxvii, 227—233 pls. 28, 9—29, 17, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 263 pl. 76, 31, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 41 pl. 20, 46, p. 61 pl. 29, 36, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 799 fig. 352); nor yet to treat Ὦτον as a corruption of ᾠόν, the cosmic 'egg' (J. Kopp in his ed. of Damaskios (Frankfurt-am-Main 1826) cj. ᾠόν, and so did F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 345 n. 2), though we should thereby reduce all the names in this genealogy to common Greek substantives—*χρόνος, πόθος, ὁμίχλη, ἀήρ, αὔρα, ᾠόν*. If any change is required, I would rather correct Ὦτον to Μῶτον = the Μώτ of Sanchouniathon's cosmogony (*infra* (iii)). (ii) Mochos of Sidon (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 p. 969 f.) *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 125 *ter* (i. 323, 6 ff. Ruelle) *ὡς δὲ ἔξωθεν* Εὐδήμου *τὴν Φοινίκων εὑρίσκομεν κατὰ* Μῶχον *μυθολογίαν, Αἰθὴρ ἦν τὸ πρῶτον καὶ* Ἀὴρ *αἱ δύο αὖται ἀρχαί, ἐξ ὧν γεννᾶται* Οὐλωμός, *ὁ νοητὸς θεός, αὐτό, οἶμαι, τὸ ἄκρον τοῦ νοητοῦ· ἐξ οὗ ἑαυτῷ συνελθόντος γεννηθῆναί φασι* Χουσωρόν, *ἀνοιγέα πρῶτον, εἶτα ᾠόν, τοῦτον μέν, οἶμαι, τὸν νοητὸν νοῦν λέγοντες, τὸν δὲ ἀνοιγέα* Χουσωρόν, *τὴν νοητὴν δύναμιν ἅτε πρώτην διακρίνασαν τὴν ἀδιάκριτον φύσιν, εἰ μὴ ἄρα μετὰ τὰς δύο ἀρχὰς τὸ μὲν ἄκρον ἐστὶν* Ἄνεμος *ὁ εἷς, τὸ δὲ μέσον οἱ δύο ἄνεμοι Λίψ τε καὶ* Νότος· *ποιοῦσι γάρ πως καὶ τούτους πρὸ τοῦ* Οὐλωμοῦ· *ὁ δὲ* Οὐλωμὸς *αὐτὸς ὁ νοητὸς εἴη νοῦς, ὁ δὲ ἀνοιγεὺς* Χουσωρὸς *ἡ μετὰ τὸ νοητὸν πρώτη τάξις, τὸ δὲ* Ὠὸν *ὁ οὐρανός· λέγεται γὰρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ ῥαγέντος εἰς δύο γενέσθαι* Οὐρανὸν *καὶ* Γῆ, *τῶν διχοτομημάτων ἑκάτερον*. The names Οὐλωμός and Χουσωρός are presumably Phoenician, not Greek. Οὐλωμός is commonly regarded as the transliteration of the Hebrew עוֹלָם (*ōlām*), 'eternity,' though Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 514 (cp. i. 349, 642) says: 'Dies Wesen war höchst wahrscheinlich zweigeschlechtig gedacht, da es mit sich selbst den Χουσωρός erzeugt... Demnach scheint es mir (trotz der von Schuster *de vet. Orph. theog. ind. atq. or.* S. 98. Anm. 1 citirten *Kabbala*stelle) zweifellos, dass Οὐλωμός nicht... von עלם "Ewigkeit,' sondern von עלם "Geschlechtstrieb empfinden" abgeleitet ist.' Mr N. McLean, to whom I have referred the point, tells me (Sept. 13, 1916) that Οὐλωμός might perhaps be connected with אוּלָם (*ūlām*), 'the front, that which is first,' but is more probably the Grecised form of עוֹלָם ('*ōlām*), 'eternity.' Similarly Count Baudissin sees in 'Οὐλωμός (wohl עוֹלָם)' 'Den Gott der Vorzeit' (W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 503 and 488). Cp. Gen. 21. 33 'And *Abraham* planted a tamarisk tree in Beer-sheba, and called there on the name of the LORD, the Everlasting God' with J. Skinner's note *ad loc.*: ''*El* '*Ôlâm*] presumably the pre-Israelite name of the local *numen*, here identified with Yahwe' etc. Χουσωρός, 'the Opener,' remains obscure. H. Ewald 'Über die phönikischen Ansichten von der Weltschöpfung und den geschichtlichen Werth Sanchuniathon's' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. 1851—1852* Phil.-hist. Classe v. 17 would read Χουσώρ for Χρυσώρ in the anthropogony of Sanchouniathon as given by Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 11 f. *χρόνοις δὲ ὕστερον πολλοῖς ἀπὸ τῆς* Ὑψουρανίου *γενεᾶς γενέσθαι* Ἀγρέα *καὶ* Ἁλιέα, *τοὺς ἄγρας καὶ ἁλιείας εὑρετάς, ἐξ ὧν κληθῆναι ἀγρευτὰς καὶ ἁλιεῖς· ἐξ ὧν γενέσθαι δύο ἀδελφοὺς σιδήρου εὑρετὰς καὶ τῆς τούτου ἐργασίας, ὧν θάτερον τὸν* Χρυσὼρ *λόγους ἀσκῆσαι καὶ ἐπῳδὰς καὶ μαντείας· εἶναι δὲ τοῦτον τὸν* Ἥφαιστον, *εὑρεῖν δὲ καὶ ἄγκιστρον καὶ δέλεαρ καὶ ὁρμιὰν καὶ σχεδίαν, πρῶτόν τε πάντων ἀνθρώπων πλεῦσαι· διὸ καὶ ὡς θεὸν αὐτὸν μετὰ θάνατον ἐσεβάσθησαν· καλεῖσθαι δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Δία* Μειλίχιον. κ.τ.λ. But Χρυσώρ may well be an attempt to make the Phoenician Χουσωρός intelligible to Greek readers. Be that as it may, Χουσωρός was doubtless 'the Opener' of the cosmic egg (so F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig

and Darmstadt 1840 ii. 347, 1842 iv. 250, W. Robertson Smith in T. K. Cheyne —J. S. Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* London 1899 i. 942 n. 9, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 440 n. 6). (iii) Sanchouniathon in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 1 f. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 565 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 1 f. *τὴν τῶν ὅλων ἀρχὴν ὑποτίθεται ἀέρα ζοφώδη καὶ πνευματώδη, ἢ πνοὴν ἀέρος ζοφώδους, καὶ χάος θολερόν, ἐρεβῶδες· ταῦτα δὲ εἶναι ἄπειρα, καὶ διὰ πολὺν αἰῶνα μὴ ἔχειν πέρας. 'ὅτε δέ,' φησίν, 'ἠράσθη τὸ πνεῦμα τῶν ἰδίων ἀρχῶν, καὶ ἐγένετο σύγκρασις, ἡ πλοκὴ ἐκείνη ἐκλήθη πόθος. αὕτη δὲ ἀρχὴ κτίσεως ἁπάντων. αὐτὸ δὲ οὐκ ἐγίνωσκε τὴν αὐτοῦ κτίσιν· καὶ ἐκ τῆς αὐτοῦ συμπλοκῆς τοῦ πνεύματος ἐγένετο Μώτ· τοῦτό τινές φασιν ἰλύν, οἱ δὲ ὑδατώδους μίξεως σῆψιν. καὶ ἐκ ταύτης ἐγένετο πᾶσα σπορὰ κτίσεως καὶ γένεσις τῶν ὅλων. ἦν δέ τινα ζῷα οὐκ ἔχοντα αἴσθησιν, ἐξ ὧν ἐγένετο ζῷα νοερά, καὶ ἐκλήθη Ζωφασημίν* (Ζωφισημὰν cod. H.), *τοῦτ' ἔστιν οὐρανοῦ κατόπται. καὶ ἀνεπλάσθη ὁμοίως ᾠοῦ σχήματι. καὶ ἐξέλαμψε Μὼτ ἥλιός τε καὶ σελήνη ἀστέρες τε καὶ ἄστρα μεγάλα.'* Μώτ is another conundrum, of which very various interpretations have been given (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3222 f.). F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 136 equated it with the Egyptian Μούθ, 'Mother' (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 56 : see further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 C—D). H. Ewald *loc. cit.* v. 30 connected it with the Arabic *mâdda*, 'stuff, matter.' W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 11 f., 195 supposes מוֹ = מַי 'water'; and Sir G. Maspero *The Struggle of the Nations* London 1896 p. 168 n. 1 likewise says : 'Môt ... is probably a Phœnician form of a word which means *water* in the Semitic languages (ROTH, *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie*, vol. i. p. 251 ; SCHRÖDER, *Die Phönizische Sprache*, p. 133).' C. C. J. von Bunsen *Aegyptens Stelle in der Weltgeschichte* Gotha 1857 v. 3. 257 n. 25 would correct Μώτ to Μώχ = מָוֶת 'mud.' J. Halévy 'Les principes cosmogoniques phéniciens *πόθος* et *μώτ*' in the *Mélanges Graux* Paris 1884 p. 59 f. assumes haplography *ἐγένετο* [ΤΟ]ΜΩΤ and takes Τομώτ to be a Phoenician *Tehômôt* formed with the feminine ending from the Hebrew *Tehôm*, 'deep,' thus obtaining a Phoenician equivalent of the Babylonian Tiāmat. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 440 n. 6 is content with the old (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1219 D) transcription Μώτ = מוות *mavet*, 'death.' Mr N. McLean, who has kindly considered the matter for me, inclines (Sept. 13, 1916) to think that מָק (*maḳ*), 'rottenness,' might have an infinitival form מֹק (*mōḳ*), which would be represented by Μώκ (not Μώχ, as Bunsen proposed). He further notes that Ζωφασημίν is a fairly correct transliteration of צוֹפֵי שָׁמַיִם (*ṣōphē šāmayim*), 'observers of heaven.' The three versions of the Phoenician cosmogony may be set out as follows :

EUDEMOS	MOCHOS	SANCHOUNIATHON
Χρόνος	Ἄνεμος	Ἀὴρ ζοφώδης καὶ = Χάος θολερόν,
Πόθος = Ὁμίχλη	Λίψ Νότος	πνευματώδης ἐρεβῶδες
	or Αἰθήρ = Ἀήρ	(Πόθος)
Ἀήρ = Ἀδρα	Οὐλωμός	Μώτ
? Μῶτος	Χουσωρός	Ζωφασημίν
	Οὐρανός ← Ὠόν → Γῆ	Ὠόν

(6) **The Cosmogonic Eros.**

It will be observed that in several respects the Indian and the Phoenician cosmogonies recall Orphic speculation. In particular, they assign the same

primary position to cosmic Desire or Love. According to the *Çatapatha Brāhmaṇa* (*supra* p. 1035) the golden egg was caused by the desire of the waters for reproduction; according to *The Laws of Manu* (*supra* p. 1036) it was occasioned by similar desire on the part of the divine Self-existent. Eudemos (*supra* p. 1036) spoke of *Póthos* as uniting with Mist to beget Air and Breeze; Sanchouniathon (*supra* p. 1038) applied the same term *Póthos* to the love of the primeval Wind. These conceptions are akin to that of Eros, who in the early Orphic scheme sprang from the wind-egg laid by Nyx. True, the theogony of Hellanikos dropped the name Eros and substituted for it Protogonos or Zeus or Pan. But the Rhapsodies retained both Eros and Protogonos as alternative appellations of their Phanes or Metis or Erikepaios. It looks as though Eros were in some sense the very soul or self of a deity variously named. Hence his intimate connexion with Wind—a common form of soul (W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 54 ff., Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 248 n. 1, ii. 264 n. 2, C. H. Toy *Introduction to the History of Religions* Boston etc. 1913 p. 22 f., S. Feist *Kultur Ausbreitung und Herkunft der Indogermanen* Berlin 1913 p. 99, W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 40 ff., *id. Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London 1916 p. 212 f., *infra* § 7 (a)). Miss J. E. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 625 n. 3 rightly suspected that a definite doctrine underlay Aristophanes' travesty of the 'wind-egg.' We must, I think, conclude that the Orphic cosmogonies rest in part upon a primitive psychology, which explained desire (*ἔρος, ἔρως*) as the issuing of the soul from the mouth in the form of a small winged being. That the early Greeks should have entertained such a belief is well within the bounds of possibility: cp. A. E. Crawley *The Idea of the Soul* London 1909 pp. 278 and 280 'In order to see the spiritual world, the savage either anoints his eyes to acquire an extension of sight, or "sends out his soul" to see it. The latter occurs as a theory of imagination[1]. ([1] De Groot, *The Religious System of China*, iv. 105)....' 'The savage holds that when a man desires a thing his soul leaves his body and goes to it. The process is identical with imagination and with magic'... Homeric diction still shows traces of analogous notions. The stock phrase *ἔπεα πτερόεντα* together with certain less frequent expressions (*Od.* 17. 57, 19. 29, 21. 386, 22. 398 *τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος*, and perhaps *Od.* 7. 36 *ὡκεῖαι ὡς εἰ πτερὸν ἠὲ νόημα*) presupposes the view that words had actual wings and flew across from speaker to listener, while the *formula πόσιος καὶ ἐδητύος ἐξ ἔρον ἔντο* (*Il.* 1. 469, 2. 432, 7. 323, 9. 92, 23. 57, 24. 628, *Od.* 1. 150, 3. 67, 473, 4. 68, 8. 72, 485, 12. 308, 14. 454, 15. 143, 303, 501, 16. 55, 480, 17. 99, *h. Ap.* 513, cp. *Od.* 24. 489, *h. Ap.* 499) or the like (*Il.* 13. 636 ff., 24. 227, Theog. 1064) implies, if pressed, a physical expulsion or dismissal of desire. Not improbably, therefore, the Hesiodic idea that Eros had issued from Chaos (*supra* p. 315), could we trace it to its ultimate origin in the mind of unsophisticated folk, would be found to involve the conviction that the vast void between heaven and earth was a gaping or yawning mouth (*χάος* for **χάϝος* connected with *χαῦνος, χάσκω*, etc.: cp. *οὐρανός, οὐρανίσκος* in the sense of 'the mouth's palate' with the remarks of Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 2405 B—C) from which the divine soul, desirous to create, had flown forth in the guise of Eros. Since winged things in general emerge from eggs, such a belief would naturally, though illogically, be fused with an egg-cosmogony.

Some support for the opinions here advanced is furnished, not indeed by the painted tablet from Tarragona (on which see Addenda to ii. 2 n. 4), but by the occasional numismatic representation of Desire or Love as a winged mannikin proceeding out of the mouth. At Emporion (*Ampurias*) in Hispania Tarra-

conensis the earliest coins (*s.* iii B.C.), copying the Siculo-Punic *drachmai*, show a head of Persephone on the obverse and a standing horse crowned by a flying Nike on the reverse side (fig. 887, *a*=A. Heiss *Description générale des monnaies antiques de l'Espagne* Paris 1870 pp. 86, 90 pl. 1 Emporiae 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 2). Later silver and copper coins of the same town exhibit a most remarkable modification of this originally Carthaginian horse. First, he is transformed into a winged and prancing Pegasos (fig. 887, *b*=Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 2). Then there emerges from his head a small human head wearing a *pétasos* (Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 3, cp. 4 f.=fig. 887, *c*, *d*). Finally,

Fig. 887.

this little personage becomes an obvious Eros, his wing formed by the horse's ear, his back by the horse's cheek, his arm and leg by the horse's muzzle (fig. 887, *e*, *f*=Heiss *op. cit.* p. 87 pl. 1 Emporiae 7 f., cp. *ib.* p. 89 f. pl. 2 Emporiae 23—29, 31—35, p. 93 pl. 4 Emporiae 37—43, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 2). Gallic imitations of the type sometimes show the winged figure riding the horse (R. Forrer *Keltische Numismatik der Rhein- und Donaulande* Strassburg 1908 p. 39 fig. 68 Pictones, p. 77 f. fig. 144 Pictones).

Once launched from the lips, the small figure representing the desire of the deity might run along his arm and so fare forth into the world to work his will. Silver coins of Kaulonia from *c.* 550 B.C. onwards have as their obverse design a naked male with hair in long ringlets and left foot advanced. In his uplifted right hand is a stalk with pinnate leaves: on or over his outstretched left arm runs a diminutive figure carrying a similar stalk in one (fig. 888) or both hands (figs. 889, 890) and sometimes equipped with a *chlamýs* over his shoulders and wings on his heels (fig. 888). In the field stands a stag, beneath which on many specimens is another stalk of the plant springing from the ground (figs. 889, 890). The design is repeated, incuse, on the reverse side of the coin, though here the small runner is mostly omitted. One specimen (fig. 890) is known bearing the additional legend ΙΚΕΤΕΣΙ(Α), with which festival-name cp. *Od.* 13. 213 *Ζεύς σφεας*

τίσαιτο ἱκετήσιος and the evidence collected by O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1592 f. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 334 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 126 pl. 9, 8, cp. i. 127 f. pl. 9, 9 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1460 ff. pls. 70, 14 f., 71, 1—6, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 155 f. pl. 111, 11—14, p. 186 pl. 125, 17 = my fig. 890, cp. p. 156 f. pl. 111, 15 ff., p. 186 pl. 125, 16, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 15 pl. 8, 17 = my fig. 888, cp. p. 15 pl. 8, 18, p. 30 pl. 15, 9, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 92 ff. figs. 50 f., G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 36, 97, 132 pl. 3, 7, cp. p. 132 f. pl. 5, 10. Fig. 889 is drawn from a specimen in my collection). 'Many and wonderful are the explanations of this remarkable

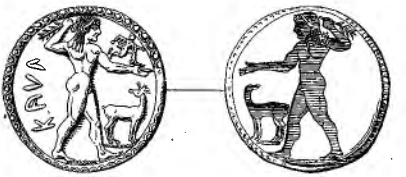


Fig. 888.

Fig. 889.

Fig. 890.

type that have been put forward (for a full list see now Oldfather in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 80—85): *e.g.* Iupiter *Tonans* brandishing a thunderbolt (J. Hardouin *Nummi antiqui populorum et urbium illustrati* Parisiis 1684 p. 244, A. S. Mazzocchi *In Regii Herculanensis Musei Aeneas Tabulas Heracleenses Commentarii* Neapoli 1754 p. 527 f.: see Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] i. 168 f.), Dionysos with Οἰστρος (F. M. Avellino in the *Giornale numismatico* 1811—1812 ii. 24 and in his *Opuscoli diversi* Napoli 1833 ii. 108 ff. citing *inter alia* Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 263 f. where Ino lashes the Maenads with sprays of ivy. Note that in *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 127 pl. 9, 10 = my fig. 891 the small runner is replaced by an ivy-leaf with a long stalk, an attribute which appears again on the reverse of the same coin), Herakles returning from the Hyperboreoi

with one of the Kerkopes (F. Streber 'Ueber die Münzen von Caulonia' in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1837* Philos.-philol. Classe ii. 709 ff.), Apollon with laurel-branch and the purified Orestes (K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*[2] Breslau 1835 p. 516, *id. Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 i. 8 pl. 16, 72), Apollon as καθαρτής or καθάρσιος with Aristaios (Honoré d'Albert duc de Luynes in the *Nouv. Ann.* i. 426), Apollon with Daphnis or Hyakinthos (J. de Witte in the *Rev. Num.* 1845 p. 400 ff. makes these suggestions, but prefers to follow T. Panofka : see *infra*), Apollon as καθαρτής—or else the Demos of Kaulonia—performing the act of lustration with the genius of ἁγνισμός or καθαρμός on his arm (R. Rochette *Mémoires de Numismatique et d'antiquité* Paris 1840 p. 1 ff. followed by C. Cavedoni in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1842 p. 90 f.), Apollon as sun-god with a lustral branch and a wind-god dispersing miasmas (W. Watkiss Lloyd 'On the types of the coins of Caulonia' in the *Num. Chron.* 1847 x. 1 ff. followed by P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 85 pl. 1, 1, cp. G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 171 pl. 3, 3), Apollon chasing the thief Hermes (S. Birch 'Notes on types of Caulonia' in the *Num. Chron.* 1845 viii. 163 ff.), the headland Kokinthos with the wind-god Zephyros (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 186), 'Some local myth, which has not been handed down to us' (Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 79 after Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] i. 169). Specially ingenious was the view of T. Panofka 'Über die Münztypen von Kaulonia' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 165 ff.: accepting the identification of the larger figure with Apollon, he regarded the smaller as Kaulon (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καυλωνία) or Kaulos, son of the Amazon Kleite and eponymous founder of the town (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 153), and suggested that both figures bear an olive-branch not without a punning allusion to καυλός, *caulis*. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 93 does not mention Panofka, but adopts and modifies his interpretation: the main figure is the founder Καῦλος, who carries as his emblem a καυλός or 'parsnip' (*pastinaca sativa*); the running genius is 'Αγών (G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 80, cp. W. Wroth *ib.* 1907 xxvii. 92), or Hermes 'Αγώνιος (Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 85, cp. *Ol.* 6. 133 ff. with scholl. *ad locc.*) or Δρόμιος (G. Doublet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 69 f. publishes an inscription from Polyrrhenion Ἑρμᾶι Δρομίωι, with which S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 755 cp. Hesych. οὔνιος·...δρομεύς), carrying apparently the same emblem, which is also shown growing beneath the stag. P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 86 came nearer to the truth, when he wrote: 'The most plausible alternative view would be to regard him [the small figure] as an embodiment of the χόλος or wrath of the Apollo, who is about to attack the enemies of the deity....' I hold that he is in fact the soul of the god sent forth to work the divine will. The god himself is Apollon, whose epithets ἑκάεργος, ἑκατηβελέτης, ἑκατηβόλος, ἕκατος, ἑκηβόλος are all connected with ἑκών (A. Fick—F. Bechtel *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 pp. 107, 127, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 133, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 236 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2664 f., 2799 f., 2800 ff., F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 pp. 114—117) and betoken his magical will-power (cp. *supra* i. 12 n. 1, 14 n. 1). Apollon ἑκηβόλος would thus mean Apollon 'who strikes what he wills' (less probably 'who projects his will'). And I am reminded by Mr F. M. Cornford that Plat. *Cratyl.* 420 c

Fig. 891.

sought to connect *βουλή* with *βολή*—a notion well worth weighing (Boisacq *op. cit.* pp. 114, 129). However that may be, the *καυλός* in the hand of the god or of the god's soul is presumably the magician's rod; its precise botanical character can hardly be determined.

The nearest analogue to the Cauloniate sprite occurs on a fragmentary votive *pínax* of terra cotta found at Rosarno in Calabria and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Munich (A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 93—104 pl. D, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1352 f., Christ—Lauth *Führer durch d. k. Antiquarium in München* 1891 p. 16 cited by O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 498 f. Fig. 892 is a fresh drawing made from the cast at Cambridge). This relief, which Furtwängler *loc. cit.* assigned to the period *c.* 450—440 B.C., shows Hermes confronting Aphrodite. The type of the goddess is obviously derived from a cult-statue—witness the rose in her hand and the

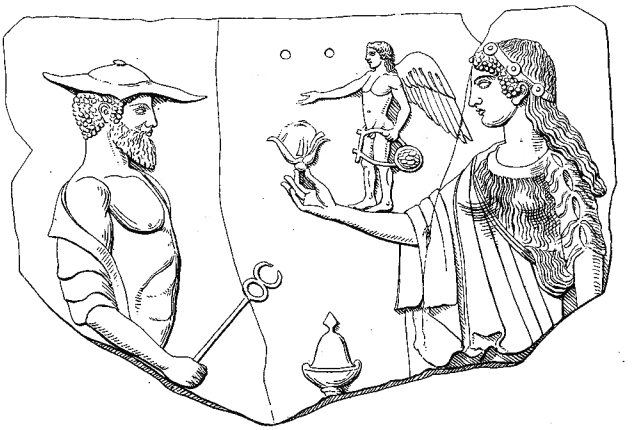


Fig. 892.

thymiatérion before her. But the chief interest of the design lies in the little figure of Eros, who stands on the arm of the goddess and with outstretched hand expresses her feelings towards the god (Plout. *praec. coniug.* 1 καὶ γὰρ οἱ παλαιοὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ τὸν Ἑρμῆν συγκαθίδρυσαν, ὡς τῆς περὶ τὸν γάμον ἡδονῆς μάλιστα λόγου δεομένης, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ψιθυριστὴς Ἑρμῆς· Δημοσθένης ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας (39). ἦν τις Ἀθήνησιν Ἑρμῆς οὕτω καλούμενος· ἐτιμᾶτο δὲ Ἀθήνησι καὶ Ψίθυρος Ἀφροδίτη καὶ Ἔρως Ψίθυρος = Souid. *s.v.* Ψιθυριστὴς Ἑρμῆς, *id. s.v.* Ψιθυριστοῦ Ἑρμοῦ καὶ Ἔρωτος καὶ Ἀφροδίτης· ἅπερ πρῶτος ἐποίησεν, ὥς φησι Ζώπυρος (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 533 Müller), Θησεύς, ἐπεὶ Φαίδρα ὥς φασιν ἐψιθύριζε Θησεῖ κατὰ Ἱππολύτου, διαβάλλουσα αὐτόν. οἱ δὲ ἀνθρωπινώτερόν φασιν Ἑρμῆν Ψιθυριστήν, παρὰ τὸ ἀνθρώπους ἐκεῖ συνερχομένους τὰ ἀπόρρητα συντίθεσθαι, καὶ ψιθυρίζειν ἀλλήλοις περὶ ὧν βούλονται = Bekker *anecd.* i. 317, 11 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1881, 1 ff. διὸ καὶ Ψιθύρου Ἀφροδίτης κατὰ Παυσανίαν (*sc.* the lexicographer Pausanias rather than a slip for Harpokration) ἱερὸν ἦν Ἀθήνησι καὶ Ἔρωτος δέ· οὗ καὶ Δημοσθένης, φησί, μέμνηται ἐν τῷ κατὰ Νεαίρας (39). ἐκαλεῖτο δέ, φασι, Ψίθυρος διὰ τὸ τὰς εὐχομένας αὐτῇ πρὸς

τὸ οὖς λέγειν, κ.τ.λ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3198 f. The genesis of the hero Psithyros at Athens (Hesych. *s.v.* ψιθύρα) and of the god Psithyros at Lindos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 185 f., H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1904 lix. 623 f. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 467 ff.) in an inscription of early imperial date found by R. F. Kinch near the north angle of the temple of Athena: τῷ Ψιθύρῳ νηὸν πολυκείονα τεῦξε Σέλευκος κ.τ.λ.) appears to have resembled that of Eros himself; the whispered prayer of the worshipper (S. Sudhaus 'Lautes und leises Beten' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 185—200), like the heartfelt desire of the deity, was projected in visible form).

Similarly a metope from the north side of the Parthenon (slab no. xxv) shows a diminutive Eros stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite towards Menelaos, who on the adjoining metope (slab no. xxiv) drops his sword at the sight of Helene clinging to the Palladion (A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1870 p. 139 Atlas pl. 4, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 265 no. 590, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 424 n.*, A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 79 (misleading) pl. 12, 25 as drawn by Carrey, A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 42 fig. 81 photographic view of metope *in situ*, *ib.* fig. 82 photograph of Eros from the cast at Berlin, C. Prasch-

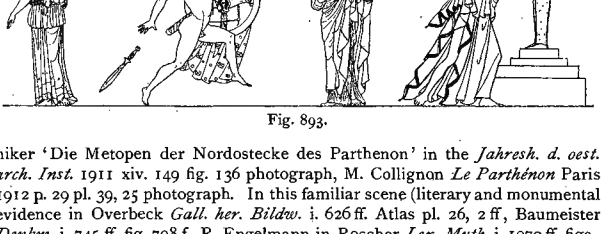


Fig. 893.

niker 'Die Metopen der Nordostecke des Parthenon' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1911 xiv. 149 fig. 136 photograph, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1912 p. 29 pl. 39, 25 photograph. In this familiar scene (literary and monumental evidence in Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 626 ff. Atlas pl. 26, 2 ff, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 745 ff. fig. 798 f., R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1970 ff. figs., H. W. Stoll *ib.* ii. 2786 f. figs. 4—6, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2832, 2835), especially as represented on the fine red-figured *oinochóe* from Vulci now in the Vatican (fig. 893=*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 5, 2[a], Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 631 f. pl. 26, 12, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 745 f. fig. 798, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1800 f. fig. 3, J. H. Huddilston *Lessons from Greek Pottery* New York 1902 p. 86 f. fig. 16, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 347 no. 7 (by 'The Painter of the Epinetron from Eretria in Athens')), Eros is already so far detached from Aphrodite that he signifies, not the love felt by the goddess, but the love caused by her in the heart of Menelaos. We are well on the way towards later conceptions of the love-god.

In Hellenistic times the favourite types of Eros were those of a boy (*e.g. Ausgewählte griechische Terrakotten im Antiquarium der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 p. 17 pl. 20, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 325 fig. 6 a flying Eros, said to be from Pagai in Megaris, now at Berlin, holding grapes in his raised right hand and other fruits in a fold of his *chlamýs*: height 0·275[m])

or a mere child (*e.g.* O. Rayet *Monuments de l'art antique* Paris 1884 ii pl. (40), 7 with text, L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 21 pl. 35bis, 5, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1607 fig. 2188, E. Pottier *Les statuettes de terre cuite dans l'antiquité* Paris 1890 p. 129 fig. 44, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 320 no. 12 *b* a walking Eros, from Tanagra, formerly in the Barre collection (no. 449), now in the Louvre, with his *chlamys* drawn over his head: height 0·07^{m}) or even a babe (*e.g.* L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1864 p. 202 f. Atlas pl. 6, 2, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 313 fig. 4 Eros clinging on to the neck of a swan, found at *Kerch* and now in the Hermitage at Petrograd: height 0·075^{m}); and it is usually assumed that his progressive diminution in size was the natural outcome of fourth-century art with its well-defined *penchant* for youth and beauty (see *e.g.* the clear and sensible statements of O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 496 f., 502, 509). It must not, however, be forgotten that this tendency, which was undoubtedly a *vera causa*, gave fresh effect to the very ancient belief in the soul as a tiny winged form sent forth from the lover to compass his desires. That is the ultimate reason—I take it—why Eros with crossed legs and torch reversed became the commonest of all symbols for Death (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1369, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1610 fig. 2192 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 508 f., F. Lübker *Reallexikon des klassischen Altertums*^{8} Berlin 1914 p. 1028, C. Robert *Thanatos* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xxxix) Berlin 1879 p. 44, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 845, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1050 n. 5, *supra* p. 309): a resting Eros meant a restful soul. Again, that is why Eros was so constantly associated with Psyche (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 pp. 53—219, M. Collignon *Essai sur les monuments grecs et romains relatifs au mythe de Psyché* Paris 1877 (inadequate), A. Zinzow *Psyche und Eros* Halle 1881, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1370—1372, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 531—542 and in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3237—3256): *quasi*-bird and *quasi*-butterfly were kindred conceptions of the soul. Finally, we may discover here one ground at least for the astonishing variety of *genre* occupations attributed to Eros and the Erotes in the Graeco-Roman age. Readers of these lines will probably remember an eloquent passage in which J. W. Mackail *Select Epigrams from the Greek Anthology* London 1890 p. 34 f. describes the wealth of imagination lavished by a single writer, Meleagros, upon the figure of Eros. The poet's words could be illustrated by scores of extant works of art, especially terra-cotta statuettes, engraved gems, and mural paintings. By way of relaxation at the end of a somewhat stiff and stodgy Appendix I subjoin a few specimens.

Eros pervaded the universe and swayed all hearts from the highest to the lowest. Time was when Alkibiades had given offence by carrying a shield of gold and ivory with the device of Eros fulminant (Plout. *v. Alcib.* 16, Athen. 534 E), and an onyx at Berlin dating from the first half of *s.* iv (?) B.C. very possibly shows this deity with his *protégé* (fig. 894=C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 2. 35 pl. 39, 451, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 35 no. 355 pl. 7). But in *s.* i B.C. Eros was represented not merely holding a thunderbolt (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 160 no. 3708 pl. 29 brown paste: Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt (?) in right hand, sceptre in left and an altar (?) below, *id. ib.* p. 159 no. 3700 pl. 29 dark brown paste: Eros with thunderbolt in right hand, trident in left) but actually breaking it across his knee (fig. 895=Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 31, ii. 149 a cornelian in the royal collection at The Hague, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 90 no. 1628 pl. 17

paste, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 52 no. 16, 1 pl. 51 banded agate, cp. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 8 no. 7 fig. reverse type of a *quinarius* struck by L. Iulius Bursio in 88 B.C.). A sardonyx formerly in the Poniatowski cabinet shows Eros posing as Zeus himself with thunderbolt and sceptre (fig. 896=T. Cades *Collezione di N°* 1400 *Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa* I^ma^ Classe, A 6, 34 'Genio di Giove': genuine? Lippold *Gemmen* p. 171 pl. 28, 4 says

Fig. 894.

Fig. 895.

'Römisch'). If Eros thus usurped the position of the strongest god, *a fortiori* he superseded the strongest hero. Lysippos is said to have represented Herakles as stripped of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Pal.* 16. 103. 1 ff. (Tullius Geminus), cp. 16. 104. 1 ff. (Philippos)); and the incident became a commonplace of later art (see *e.g.* M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1606 fig. 2184, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1366, 2248 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 510, 513 f.). Hence Eros is arrayed in the hero's spoils

Fig. 896.

Fig. 897.

(fig. 897=Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 64, 19, ii. 290 a sardonyx cameo of three layers—translucent ground, figure in opaque white, upper surface brown—at Munich; of Roman date. Cp. Furtwängler *ib.* i pl. 62, 2, ii. 280, *id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 73 no. 1111 pl. 14 (shown more clearly in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 13 pl. 51, 636) small convex garnet, p. 135 no. 3020 pl. 25 cornelian, p. 135 nos. 3021—3028 pl. 25 pastes, p. 160 nos. 3713—3716 pastes, p. 237 no. 6482 (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1821 i. 39 f. κληδοῦχος! pl. 32) sardonyx), or combines

them with those of Zeus in a pantheistic scheme (fig. 898=Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 61, ii. 210). In short, Eros plants his foot upon the world (C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 13 pl. 51, 633, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 276 no. 7440 pl. 55 flat cornelian of imperial date. The *motif* occurs also in sculpture: see A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1913 i. 87 no. 613=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 446 no. 7, Von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* pl. 14, 1=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 447 no. 1, L. Urlichs in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1846 ix. 155 pl. 5, 4=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 431 no. 4), or takes his seat thereon (fig. 899=Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 30, 37, ii. 149), or with a mighty effort carries the globe as if it were a mere ball

Fig. 898.

Fig. 899.

Fig. 900.

(fig. 900=Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 160 no. 3722 pl. 29 black paste with bluish band). We are meant to draw the moral: *omnia vincit Amor; et nos cedamus Amori* (Verg. *ecl.* 10. 69). Psyche is no match for the matchless one. Of countless illustrations I give but two: a convex banded agate in my daughter's possession shows Eros with one foot raised on a step in hot pursuit of a butterfly, the animal form of Psyche (fig. 901); and a flat cornelian in my own collection portrays him riding her round a race-course, the goals of which are marked by her butterfly and his weapons respectively (fig. 902). Such allegories, not to say 'sermons in stones,' were keenly relished in the early imperial age. If Eros thus masters the human soul, he enters into all the pleasures and pains of man. Sometimes he is represented as a veritable fay, doing the deeds of mortals with more

Fig. 901.

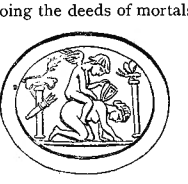


Fig. 902.

than mortal skill. Thus, like 'the merry Grecian coaster' he sails the blue waters of the Mediterranean, but his boat is nothing more than a wine-jar—no wonder he bears the palm (fig. 903=T. Cades *op. cit.* I^ma^ Classe, A 6, 57, C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 23 f. pl. 55, 702 a cornelian in the Poniatowski collection), or even a *murex*—a cockleshell, as we might say (fig. 904=T. Cades *op. cit.* I^ma^ Classe, A 6, 59 of unknown *provenance*). Sometimes, again, Erotes and Psychai play the part of ordinary men and women with no trace of divinity beyond the tell-tale wings of bird or butterfly or beetle and a certain exquisite grace that idealizes all—witness a wonderful band of decoration below the main panels on the wall of a dining-room in the house of the Vettii, which pictures Erotes and Psychai as twining garlands, making oil, coining

money (?), fulling clothes, and selling wine (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pls. 22, 24, 25 Text pp. 34—39, A. Mau *Pompeii its life and art*[2] trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 pp. 331—337 figs. 163, 165—169, A. Mau *Pompeji in Leben und Kunst* Anhang zur zweiten Auflage Leipzig 1913 p. 48, P. Gusman *Pompéi* Paris 1899 p. 339 with col. pl. 11 opposite p. 388, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Romans* London 1911 p. 102 f. pl. 43). Eros can be the schoolmaster and wield the whip

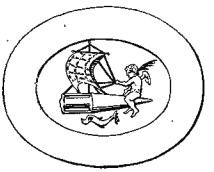


Fig. 903.

Fig. 904.

Fig. 905.

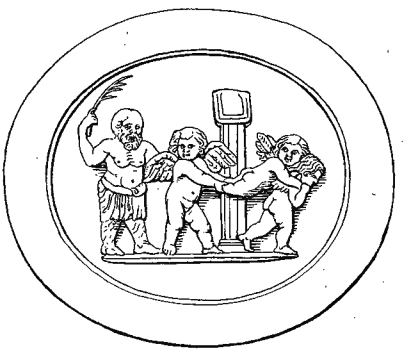


Fig. 906.

(fig. 905 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 50, 36, ii. 244, E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1834 p. 124 no. 31 a cornelian from the Nott collection); Eros can be the schoolboy and suffer the whipping (fig. 906 = T. Cades *op. cit.* I[ma] Classe, A 3, 59 'nel Museo Blacas,' *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 127 no. 1005 an onyx cameo from the Castellani collection).

Fig. 907.

It seems a far call from Eros as a great cosmogonic deity to Eros as a diminutive fairy. But *ξυνὸν ἀρχὴ καὶ πέρας*, and the expression of the one belief may be curiously like the expression of the other. Thus a cornelian formerly in the collection of Sir Henry Russell represents the Orphic Eros seated in the world-egg, already split open to form heaven and earth (fig. 907 = C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835 ii. 3. 12 pl. 50, 628, E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 107 no. 100,

M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1595 f. fig. 2142, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1357, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 50, 37, ii. 244), while one of the most charming of all Pompeian frescoes shows a pair of lovers examining a nestful of tiny Erotes (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 24, L. Hirt 'Il nido. Idillio' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 251 ff. pl. E, 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* Text p. 26 fig. 5, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 163 no. 821, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 313 no. 1324, from the *Casa del poeta tragico.*

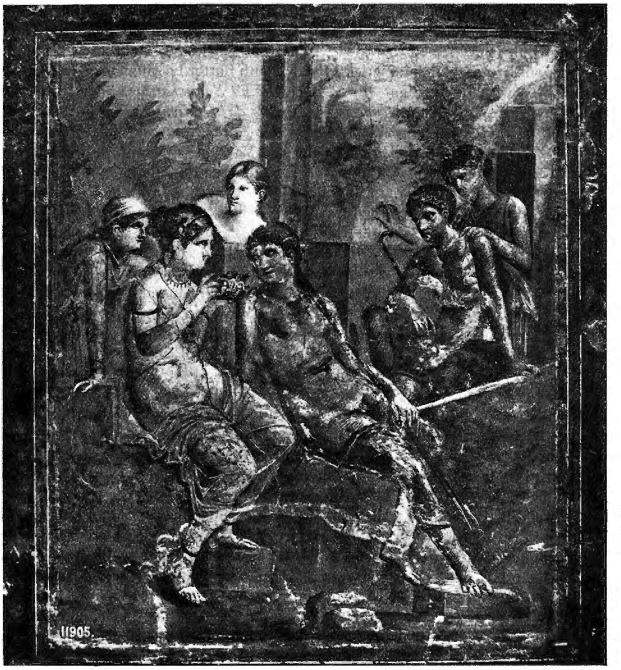


Fig. 908.

Fig. 908, a *replica* from Pompeii *reg.* vii. 12. 26, well published by Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 17 Text p. 26 = Helbig *op. cit.* p. 164 no. 823, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 152 ff. fig. 25, is more completely preserved, but less fine: it has only two Erotes in the nest. A second *replica*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 164 no 822, omits the girl in the background to the right. See also J. Overbeck—A. Mau *Pompeji*[4] Leipzig 1884 pp. 288, 293, 581).

It was pointed out by F. Piper *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* Weimar

1847 i. 214—217 that scenes representing Eros and Psyche passed from pagan to Christian *sarcophagi* ((1) R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1879 v. 12 f. pl. 302, 2—5, J. Ficker *Die altchristlichen Bildwerke im christlichen Museum des Laterans* Leipzig 1890 no. 181, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archæology* New York 1901 p. 254 fig. 93, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 44, 70, 72, 98 n. 1, 103 n. 1, 194, 226 fig. 45, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 498 fig. 193=a marble *sarcophagus*, found near the catacomb of Praetextatus and now preserved in the Lateran Museum: it dates from the end of *s.* iii or the beginning of *s.* iv A.D. and shows on its main face the Good Shepherd, thrice repeated (bearded in centre, beardless to right and left), amid a vintage of Erotes, which includes a Psyche with butterfly-wings bringing grapes to an Eros with bird-wings. (2) A. Bosio *Roma Sotterranea* Roma 1632 p. 75 fig., G. Bottari *Sculture e pitture sagre estratte dai cimiterj di Roma* Roma 1737 i. 105 pl. 28 f., E. Z. Platner *Beschreibung der Stadt Rom* Stuttgart 1830—1842 ii. 1. 192 f.=a marble *sarcophagus* from the Vatican catacomb, now under an altar in the chapel of the Madonna della Colonna in St. Peter's: Christ, amid the apostles, adored by a man and his wife; beneath, a large lamb flanked by twelve smaller lambs; behind, vines and two palm-trees (phoenix on left palm); Christ stands in front of a gateway, the arch of which has a Psyche with butterfly-wings on the left, a wingless Eros with torch on the right. [But R. Garrucci *op. cit.* v. 50 f. pl. 327, 2—4 shows that these figures really represent Sol and Luna respectively.] (3) J. B. L. G. Séroux d'Agincourt *Histoire de l'Art par les monumens* Paris 1823 iii Sculpture p. 4 pl. 4, 3, 5=a *sarcophagus* from the catacomb of S. Pietro e Marcellino (Torrepignatarra): the column which divides the front bears a relief of Eros embracing Psyche; the inscription reads *Zacinie cesque* (for *quiesce*) *in pace.* (4) E. Z. Platner *op. cit.* iii. 2. 450=a *sarcophagus* in the Convent of S. Agnese at Rome: both ends show Eros and Psyche with reed and urn to betoken water, and a *cornu copiae* for earth, beneath them; the centre has inlaid a Christian medallion of S. Agnese. [(5) R. Garrucci *op. cit.* v. 138 pl. 395, 3, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii. 96 fig. 11=a fragmentary *sarcophagus*-lid from the catacomb of S. Callisto at Rome with a medallion supported by two Erotes, adjoining which is the group of Eros and Psyche.] Indeed, early Christian art made constant use of Erotes, winged or wingless, in a variety of *motifs* derived from classical sources (see the examples collected by L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i col. pl. 1, 2, 169 fig., 175 f. with 176 n. 1, 179, 1909 ii. 96 n. 3). Eros still figured largely in Byzantine carvings and paintings (*e.g.* O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 p. 216 fig. 130, p. 281 fig. 171). He survived in the *putto* of the early renaissance (F. Wickhoff 'Die Gestalt Amors in der Phantasie des italienischen Mittelalters' in the *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen* 1890 xi. 41—53, S. Weber *Die Entwicklung des Putto in der Plastik der Frührenaissance* Heidelberg 1898, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 516), and is still recognizable on our valentines and Christmas-cards.

It would seem, then, that from first to last Eros was simply and essentially a soul-type. If we raise the further question—Whose soul was represented by the Orphic Eros?—, we get an uncertain reply. According to the early Orphic scheme (*supra* pp. 1020, 1034), golden-winged Eros sprang from the egg laid by black-winged Nyx Ἐρέβους...ἐν ἀπείροσι κόλποις (Aristoph. *av.* 695). But who was the consort of Nyx? We are not definitely told. Presumably it was Erebos (so in Hes. *theog.* 123 ff., Akousilaos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 100

Müller) *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 124 (i. 320, 10 ff. Ruelle)—though schol. Theokr. 13. 1 f. says Ἀκουσίλλας (Kallierges corr. Ἀκουσίλαος) Νυκτὸς καὶ Αἰθέρος (*sc. υἱὸν εἶπεν τὸν* Ἔρωτα), Antagoras *ap.* Diog. Laert. 4. 26, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 44, Hyg. *fab.* praef. p. 9, 3 ff. Schmidt). But the later Orphic theogonies (*supra* pp. 1022, 1024, 1034) appear to have regarded Chronos as the maker of the cosmic egg. In any case—and this is the main point—it was not Zeus. In the early Orphic theogony Zeus does not figure at all till the fourth generation (*supra* pp. 1020, 1034). In the theogony of Hellanikos he is a name for Protogonos in the second generation (*supra* pp. 1023, 1034). In the Rhapsodies he is one of the children of Phanes in the third generation (*supra* pp. 1026 ff., 1034). We may reasonably infer that the original form of the Orphic cosmogony was independent of, and perhaps anterior to, the recognition of Zeus.

The later Orphists, however, made much of Zeus and viewed him as a pantheistic power (*supra* p. 1027 ff.). The primitive notion of Chaos as a gaping or yawning mouth (*supra* p. 1039) was transferred to Zeus who, according to the Rhapsodies, opened his jaws wide and swallowed Phanes whole (*supra* p. 1027). Phanes himself was conceived as in some sort a Zeus (*supra* i. 7 n. 6); for Phanes was Protogonos (*supra* p. 1026), and Protogonos was 'Zeus the arranger of all' (*supra* p. 1023). This equation is presupposed by a relief (fig. 909), which seems to have come more than a century since from Rome and is now exhibited in the Royal Museum (no. 2676) at Modena (C. Cavedoni 'Dichiarazione di un bassorilievo Mitriaco della R. Galleria Palatina di Modena' in the *Atti e Memorie delle RR. deputazioni di storia patria per le provincie Modenesi e Parmensi* Modena 1863 i. 1—4 with lithographic pl., A. Venturi *La R. Galleria Estense in Modena* Modena 1883 p. 360 fig. 94, F. Cumont in the *Rev. Arch.* 1902 i. 1—10 with photographic pl. 1, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 399 ff. fig. 47, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 61 no. 1). On a thick slab of white marble (0.71^{m} high, 0.49^{m} wide) is an oval band enclosing an egg-shaped recess. The band is decorated with the twelve signs of the zodiac, and grouped about it are winged heads representing the four winds of heaven. Within the recess stands a nude youth encumbered with a plethora of attributes. Above his head and beneath his feet are the two halves of an egg, from each of which flames are bursting. A snake coiled round him rears its head on to the upper egg-shell. He has two large wings and a crescent on his back, the head of a lion growing from his front, and the heads of a goat and a ram projecting from his right and left sides. Instead of feet he has cloven hoofs. In his right hand he grasps a thunderbolt, in his left a sceptre. Cavedoni, followed by Cumont, regarded this singular figure as primarily Mithraic, though both admitted the presence of features susceptible of an Orphic interpretation. R. Eisler has done good service by insisting on its Orphic character. The egg-like recess in which the god is placed, the upper and lower shells from which he has emerged, the strange animal-heads on his flanks (*supra* p. 1022 f.), the snake's head appearing above his face (*supra* p. 1023), all mark him as Phanes. He bears thunderbolt and sceptre, because Phanes was one with Zeus. His face is that of the sun-god in Rhodian art, for Phanes was not only called Antauges and Phaethon (*supra* p. 1026) but also identified with Helios (*supra* i. 7 n. 6, 311). Cavedoni took the cloven hoofs to be those of a goat: if so, they hint that Phanes was Pan (*supra* p. 1023). Cumont and Eisler think them bovine: if so, they denote him as Dionysos (*supra* p. 1026). The relief bears two inscriptions. The first, [E]YPHROSY[NE ET] FELIX on the background of the recess, has been intentionally effaced. The second, P P | FELIX PATER on

Fig. 909.

either side of the zodiac, must be completed as *p(ecunia) p(osuit) Felix pater (sacrorum)*. Eisler ingeniously suggests that the relief in question originally adorned the Orphic sanctuary of a certain Felix and Euphrosyne and was subsequently re-dedicated in a Mithraic temple by Felix alone, since women were excluded from the rites of Mithras. That an Orphic monument should thus be re-consecrated in a Mithraic shrine seems likely enough in view of the fact that at Borcovicium (*Housesteads* on Hadrian's Wall) Mithras himself was represented in an oval zodiac with an egg-shell on his head (J. C. Bruce *The Roman Wall*[3] London 1867 p. 399 with fig. on p. 398, *id. Lapidarium Septentrionale* Newcastle-upon-Tyne 1871 ii. 96—98 no. 188 fig., F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 i. 395 fig. 315, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 ff. fig. 48 a relief, 1.40[m] high, 0.77[m] wide, found *in situ* between two Mithraic altars = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii nos. 645, 646: Mithras' body emerges from the *Petra genetrix* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4244, 4248, 4250, cp. 4249); his arms are broken, but his right hand still holds a knife, his left hand a lighted torch), while the lion-headed god, usually described as the Mithraic Kronos or Aion, but more probably explained as Areimanios or Areimanes, the Mithraists' equivalent for Ahriman (F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 254 f.), appears with a snake coiled about him, wings attached to his shoulders and haunches, a sceptre held in his left hand, and a thunderbolt on his breast or at his side (*e.g.* Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 559 fig. 1193, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 296 no. 3, F. Lajard *Introduction à l'étude du culte public et des mystères de Mithra en orient et en occident* Paris 1847 pl. 70, C. O. Müller *Denkmäler*

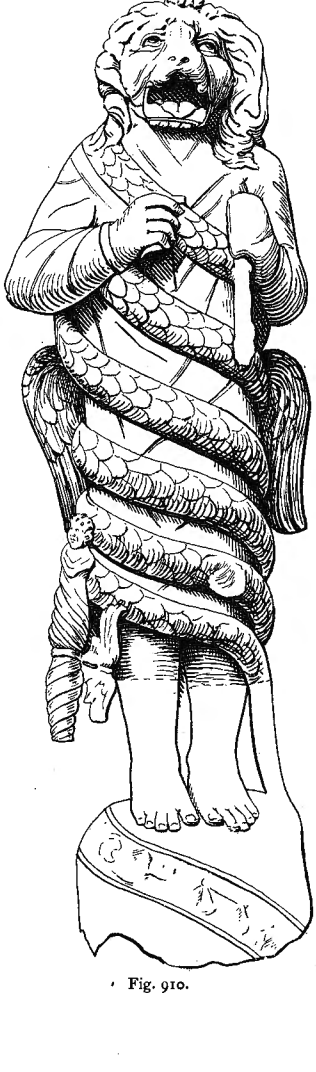


Fig. 910.

der alten Kunst Göttingen 1835 ii. 4. 71 f. pl. 75, 967, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 238 f. fig. 68, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3039 fig. 1, R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 412 f. fig. 50 a statue in white marble (1.65^{m} high, 0.47^{m} wide at base), found at Ostia in 1797 by the English painter R. Fagan and now erected at the entrance of the Vatican Library: the four wings are adorned with symbols of the seasons, *viz.* the left upper wing with dove and swan, the right upper wing with corn-ears, the right lower wing with grapes, the left lower wing with two palm-trees and reeds; the hands hold keys and a sceptre; the breast is marked with a thunderbolt; the supporting slab shows hammer and tongs to left, *caduceus*, cock, and pine-cone to right, with an inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 65 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4212 C. Valeri|us Heracles pat(er) | et C. Valerii | Vitalis et Nico|mes (*sic*) sacerdo|tes s(ua) p(e)c(unia) p(o)s(ue)r(unt) | D. d. idi. Aug. imp. | Com. | VI et | Septi|miano | cos. = Aug. 13, 190 A.D.). H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1878 iii. 180 f. no. 367, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles 1896 ii. 258 f. fig. 96, *id. Die Mysterien des Mithra*[2] trans. G. Gehrich Leipzig 1911 p. 215 n. 1 pl. 2, 4 (= my fig. 910), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 477 no. 7 a statue in white Italian marble (1.15^{m} high, 0.35^{m} wide) in the Uffizi at Florence: the god wears a sleeved garment; two slot-holes in his back show where the shoulder-wings were attached; his right hand held a key, his left a sceptre; the upper part of the thunderbolt at his side takes the form of a human head; his feet with the sphere on which he stands are restored).

APPENDIX H.

ZEUS *KTÉSIOS.*

(1) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios.*

Any discussion of Zeus *Ktésios* must start from the *locus classicus* in Athen. 473 B—C ΚΑΔΙΣΚΟΣ. *Φιλήμων ἐν τῷ προειρημένῳ συγγράμματι* (*sc.* Philemon the Atticist, on whom see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 771 n. 3) *ποτηρίου εἶδος. ἀγγεῖον δ' ἐστὶν ἐν* (M. P. Nilsson would delete *ἐν*) *ᾧ τοὺς Κτησίους Δίας ἐγκαθιδρύουσιν, ὡς Ἀντικλείδης φησὶν ἐν τῷ Ἐξηγητικῷ* (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2426, ii. 2597 f. makes it highly probable that the reference is to the *Ἐξηγητικόν* of Autokleides, not Antikleides,—a valuable source for traditional rites) *γράφων οὕτως "Διὸς Κτησίου σημεῖα* (G. Kaibel cj. *σιπύας*) *ἱδρύεσθαι χρὴ ὧδε. καδίσκον καινὸν* (*κενὸν* with *αι* above *ε* cod. P.) *δίωτον ἐπιθηματοῦντα στέψαι τὰ* (so Villebrun and C. F. W. Jacobs for *στέψαντα*. K. W. Dindorf would follow Jacobs, or else read *στέψαντα τὰ*) *ὄτα ἐρίῳ λευκῷ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ κροκίου*[1] *καὶ* (K. W. Dindorf would omit *καὶ*) *ἐσθεῖναι* (so codd. A.B. *ἐσθῆναι* cod. P. edd. V. L.) *ὅ τι ἂν εὕρῃς καὶ εἰσχέαι* (so J. Schweighäuser for *εἴσχεαι* cod. C. *ἴσχεται* cod. P. edd. V. L.) *ἀμβροσίαν. ἡ δ' ἀμβροσία ὕδωρ ἀκραιφνές, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία. ἅπερ ἔμβαλε.*" Cod. C. epitomizes as follows: *φησί που Διογένης. εἶτα εἴσχεαι ἀμβροσίαν. ἡ δ' ἀμβροσία, ὕδωρ ἀκραιφνὲς, ἔλαιον, παγκαρπία· ἅπερ ἔμβαλε.* For the word *τοῦ κροκίου*[1], which I have marked as corrupt, no very satisfactory emenda-

Fig. 911.

tion has been proposed. I. Casaubon cj. *ἄωτον κρόκινον κρεμαννύναι*, 'lanam suspendito coloris crocei.' Villebrun cj. *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ τε καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τι κρόκινον ἀρθῆναι* (meaning *ἀρτηθῆναι*!), *ὅ τι ἂν εὕρῃς*. C. F. W. Jacobs cj. *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ τοῦ θεοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κρόκινον κάλυμμα ἐσθῆναι*. G. Kaibel cj. *< καθέσθαι τὰ ἄκρα > τοῦ κροκίου*, 'to let down the ends of the thread.' Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 47 keeps *ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου τοῦ κροκίου*, taking *κροκίου* in the sense of *κροκίνου*, 'from its forehead smeared with saffron.' But '*τοῦ κροκίου*' is a *vox nihili*; and there is, to my thinking, much difficulty in *ἐσθεῖναι ὅ τι ἂν εὕρῃς*. I suspect that we ought to read *καὶ ἐκ τοῦ ὤμου τοῦ δεξιοῦ καὶ ἐκ τοῦ μετώπου κρόκινόν τι ἐκτεῖναι, ὅ τι ἂν εὕρῃς*, and to translate the whole extract as follows: 'The right way to set up the signs of Zeus *Ktésios* is this. Take a new jar with two ears and a lid to it (*ἐπιθηματοῦντα* is adj.) and wreath its ears with white wool, and stretch a piece of yellow—anything you can find—from its right shoulder and its forehead, and pour ambrosia into it. Ambrosia is a mixture of pure water, olive oil, and all manner of fruits: empty these ingredients in.'

(2) The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios* funereal in character.

The use of the terms *ὦτα*, *ὦμος*, *μέτωπον* reminded Miss Harrison (*Themis* p. 299) 'of the anthropoid vases of the Troad.' But, though such language may have originated in connexion with *Gesichtsurnen* (*vide* Forrer *Reallex.* pp. 275, 419 and especially J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 pp. 173—176 figs. a—i), we cannot safely infer that the *kadiskos* of Zeus *Ktésios* was of human or partially human shape. The description of it given above recalls rather certain vase-forms developed out of the primitive *píthos* (H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 159) such as the large lidded *amphora* of the 'Dipylon' style, or its lineal descendants (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 177 f., A. Brückner—E. Pernice *ib.* 1893 xviii. 143 ff., P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 128 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1905 pp. 18 ff., 45 ff.) the *próthesis*-vase of the sixth century and the *loutrophóros* of the fifth. Now all these vases were connected with death and the grave. The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, of which I figure a typical specimen (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 40 f. no. 196 Planches p. 5 pl. 11, A. Furtwängler in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 131, 139 figs., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 174 fig. 58, 226 fig. 98, S. Wide in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 196 f. fig. 61. My fig. 911 is from a photograph. Height with lid 0·90^{m}), stood half-sunk beneath the surface of the ground (cp. A. Brückner—E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 92 fig. 4 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 56 fig. 4) and—since its bottom is holed—served to convey liquid offerings to the dead beneath it (F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 19 'die Vase diente als Hohlaltar, durch welchen man die flüssigen Opfer Milch und Honig, Öl und Wein, vielleicht auch das Blut der Opfertiere hinabströmen lassen konnte'). The lid with its handle in the shape of a vase turned upside down is suggestive of drink-offerings. The procession of chariots above and warriors below would delight the heart of the dead. And snakes moulded in relief round the rim, round the base of the neck, and up either handle sufficiently indicate the funereal character of the whole. The *próthesis*-vase was likewise set up over the grave, as we see from a very remarkable example found at Cape Kolias and now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 212 ff. no. 688 Planches p. 14 f. pl. 30; A. Conze in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 183 ff. with fig., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 4, 1^{a}—1^{e}, pl. 5, 1^{f}—1^{h} = Reinach *Rép. Vases*

i. 164, 1—5, 165, 1—3, H. von Rohden in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1974 f. fig. 2114, É. Michon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1333 fig. 3280, É. Cuq *ib.* ii. 1377 fig. 3345, 1378 fig. 3346, M. Collignon *ib.* iii. 1319 fig. 4561, O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1149 fig. 5, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 379 no. 11 fig., Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 219 fig. 4, *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 235 fig. 53, *Themis* p. 290 f. fig. 77. I reproduce the drawings given in the *Mon. d. Inst. loc. cit.* Height 0·64[m]). The body of the vase shows two successive scenes: (A) the dead man, laid out on a bed, is surrounded by mourners; beside one of them is the word ΟΙΑΡΟΙ (S. Reinach

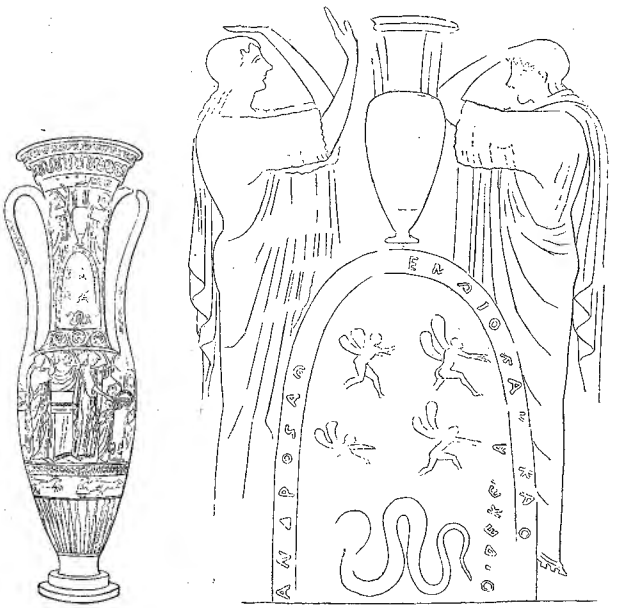


Fig. 912.

loc. cit. suggests *οἶμοι* (?); but cp. Souid. *s.v. οἴαροι· γυναῖκες*). (B) The coffin is lowered into the grave by four men, one of whom removes the pall. Mourners stand to right and left; and there is a tree in the background. Beneath both scenes is a race of four chariots, the goal appearing between two of them. The neck of the vase continues the same sequence of scenes: (A′) In the centre rises an omphaloid tomb painted white. Within it flit four souls represented as small winged *eídola*; below them is a snake. Round the edge of the tomb runs an inscription, which P. Pervanoglu took to be

ΑΝΔΡΟϟΛ.....ΟΙΟΓΑV·ΚΑ·ΟΙΕΝΘΑΔΕ ΚΕΙΜΑΙ

S. A. Kumanudis (*Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 197 n. 2) transcribed the latter part of it as follows :

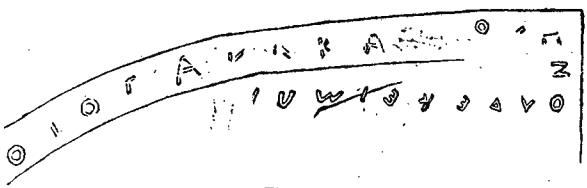


Fig. 913.

A. Conze's illustration is based on a copy by A. Postolakkas. The line was convincingly read by C. Keil: *ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένοιο ῥάκος κακὸν ἐνθάδε κεῖμαι*—a curiously cynical hexameter. The use of *ῥάκος* to denote a corpse is defended by *Anth. Pal.* 7. 380. 6 f. (Krinagoras) *κεῖται δὲ τῇδε τὠλιγηπελὲς ῥάκος | Εὐνικίδαο, σήπεται δ' ὑπὸ σποδῷ*, cp. *ib.* 5. 20. 3 (Rufinus) *σῶμα ῥακῶδες* and Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 2334 D f. On the tomb is placed a vase resembling in shape that which is here described ; and mourners to right and left make lamentation. (B') A procession of four mourners, two of whom bear offerings (?), approaches the grave. Among the patterns surrounding the neck of the vase will be seen a wavy line clearly derived from the old sepulchral snake. The paintings of this important vase have, unfortunately, suffered much since its discovery: nothing now remains of the inscriptions, the winged souls, or the snake, and little is left of the tomb. Finally, the *loutrophóros* was carved or painted over the tomb of the unmarried (*infra* § 9 (d) ii (*β*)). 'So war die Grabvase, deren Entwickelung von Hohlaltar zu Monument wir verfolgt haben, aus einem Monument zum Symbol geworden' (F. Poulsen *op. cit.* p. 47).

The 'Dipylon' *amphora*, the *próthesis*-vase, the *loutrophóros*, each in turn served as the *σῆμα* or *σημεῖον* of the dead beneath it. In view of these facts how are we to interpret the jars called by Autokleides the *σημεῖα* of Zeus *Ktésios*? They too may well have been funereal in character. Hence their prophylactic wreathing with white wool and yellow stuff (?). Hence too the necessity for filling them with a mixture of water, oil, and seeds, known as *ambrosía* (cp. Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 976, 4 f. *κατὰ Παυσανίαν, ὃς λέγει καὶ ὅτι ἀμβροσία γένος τι συνθέσεως ἐξ ὕδατος ἀκραιφνοῦς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ ἐλαίου < καὶ (inserui) > παγκαρπίας*): such offerings had come to be conceived as food given by the living to the dead (see *e.g.* P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 129 ff., 183 ff.), but were originally a magical means of enabling the dead to make food for the living (see Miss J. E. Harrison *Themis* p. 291 ff.). Similar in character was the offering made to the chthonian Zeus in Eur. *frag.* 912 Nauck² (from the *Cretes*, according to L. C. Valckenaer) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 11 p. 373, 3 ff. Stählin *σοὶ τῶν πάντων μεδέοντι χοὴν | πέλανόν τε φέρω* (so H. Grotius for *φέρων* cod. L.), *Ζεὺς εἴτ' Ἀΐδης | ὀνομαζόμενος στέργεις· σὺ δέ μοι | θυσίαν ἄπυρον* (so Abresch for *ἄπορον* L.) *παγκαρπείας* (so Grotius for *παγκαρπίας* L.) | *δέξαι πλήρη προχυθεῖσαν* (so Valckenaer for *προχυτίαν* L.). | *σὺ γὰρ ἔν τε θεοῖς τοῖς οὐρανίδαις | σκῆπτρον τὸ Διὸς μεταχειρίζεις* (so H. van Herwerden for *μεταχειρίζων* L.) | *χθονίων τ'* (so F. Sylburg for *δ'* L.) *Ἀΐδῃ* (*ἄιδῃ* L.) *μετέχεις ἀρχῆς.* | *πέμψον δ' ἐς* (so A. Nauck for *μὲν* L.) *φῶς ψυχὰς ἐνέρων* (so Nauck for *ἀνέρων* L.) | *τοῖς βουλομένοις* (Grotius cj. *πέμψον μὲν φῶς ψυχαῖς ἀνέρων ταῖς βουλομέναις*) *ἄθλους· προμαθεῖν* (so Grotius for *προσμαθεῖν* L.) |

πόθεν ἔβλαστον, τίς ῥίζα κακῶν, | *τίνα* (F. H. M. Blaydes cj. *τίνι*) *δεῖ* (so Grotius for *δὴ* L.) *μακάρων ἐκθυσαμένους* (so Valckenaer for *ἐκθυσαμένοις* L.) | *εὑρεῖν μοχθῶν ἀνάπαυλαν.*

(3) Zeus *Ktésios* as Forefather buried in the House.

Accordingly I would venture to put forward the following hypothesis with regard to Zeus *Ktésios* and his jars. In Italy the forefather of the family, once buried in the house (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 64 etiam domi suae sepeliebantur: unde orta est consuetudo ut dii Penates colantur in domibus, *ib.* 6. 152 apud maiores...omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur. unde [ortum est ut Lares colerentur in domibus, unde] etiam umbras larvas vocamus, nam dii Penates alii sunt. inde est quod etiam Dido cenotaphium domi fecit marito, Isid. *orig.* 15. 11. 1 prius autem quisque in domo sua sepeliebatur. These statements are supported by the custom of burying infants less than forty days old in a *subgrundarium* (Fulgent. *expos. serm. ant.* 7; cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 27571 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4545 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 7938) and by the myths concerning the birth of Romulus (Plout. *v. Rom.* 2), Servius Tullius (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 204), and Caeculus (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 678). They are rightly emphasised by F. Granger *The Worship of the Romans viewed in relation to the Roman Temperament* London 1895 p. 60, *id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1897 xi. 32 f. W. Warde Fowler *ib.* 1896 x. 394 f., 1897 xi. 33 ff. attempted to minimise their force. But J. E. King *ib.* 1903 xvii. 83 f. suggested that infants were so buried in order to ensure their re-birth, and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 105 n. 4 extends his suggestion to cover 'The widespread custom of burying the dead in the house.' A good example of this practice in the Semitic area is the case of Samuel, who was 'buried...in his house at Ramah' (1 Sam. 25. 1). At Bibracte the capital of the Aedui (*Mont Beuvray* in *Saône-et-Loire*) Gallic graves of the third La Tène period (*s.* i B.C.) were found beneath the houses, often under the hearth: see M. Hoernes *Natur- und Urgeschichte des Menschen* Wien und Leipzig 1909 ii. 128, 440, cp. J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1914 ii. 3. 948 ff. for an *aperçu* of the town), was known as the Lar or Genius of the home (Plaut. *merc.* 834 familiai Lar pater, Laberius *frag.* 54 *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 172, 26 f. Lindsay Laberius in Imagine: Genius generis nostri parens. For the identification of the Lar with the Genius see further Censorin. *de die nat.* 3. 2 eundem esse Genium et Larem multi veteres memoriae prodiderunt, in quis etiam Granius Flaccus in libro quem ad Caesarem de indigitamentis scriptum reliquit, interp. Serv. (*i.e.* Donatus, according to E. K. Rand in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 158 ff.) *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 63 Appuleius de Daemonio Socratis (? a paraphrase of Apul. *de deo Socr.* p. 152 f. Oudendorp): 'Manes,' inquit, 'animae dicuntur melioris meriti, quae in corpore nostro Genii dicuntur, corpori renuntiantes Lemures; cum domos incursionibus infestarent, Larvae appellabantur; contra, si aequi et faventes essent, Lares familiares,' Auson. *technop. de dis* 9 nec Genius domuum, Larunda progenitus Lar, cp. Ov. *fast.* 3. 57 f. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 175 denies their identity on grounds that seem to me inadequate) and was conceived as a Iupiter (so at least I have argued in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 296 ff. noting that the Genius of a man corresponded with the Iuno of a woman (T. Birt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1614 f., M. Ihm *ib.* ii. 615 ff.), that according to Caesius (Bassus?), who professed to follow Etruscan authorities, the Penates were Fortuna, Ceres, the Genius Iovialis, and the masculine Pales (Caesius *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 3. 40, cp. *ib.* 3. 43 Ceres, Pales, Fortuna, Iovialis aut Genius)—this Genius Iovialis being

evidently a family god of some kind, not to be confused with the Genius Iovis (Min. Fel. *Oct.* 29. 5, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i no. 603, 16 with tab. lith. 82=ix no. 3513, 16=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2488 *fin.*, cp. no. 1730,=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 105, 25=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4906, 16) who was but the Genius of an anthropomorphic Iupiter—, that the Genius was not only affiliated to Iupiter (Fest. p. 359 *a* 14 f. Müller, p. 492, 6 f. Lindsay Tages nomine, Geni filius, nepos Iovis) but actually identified with Iupiter (Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 13 quid est Genius? ...hic est igitur quem appellant Iovem. This, however, is a quasi-philosophical conclusion based on the general similarity between the functions of the Genius and those of Iupiter as conceived by Valerius Soranus in his famous couplet (*ib.* 7. 9, cp. Myth. Vat. 3 prooem. p. 152, 28 ff. Bode): Iuppiter omnipotens, regum rerumque deumque (*rerum regumque repertor* Myth. Vat. G. H. Bode cj. *creator*) | progenitor genetrixque (*genitrixque* Myth. Vat.) deum, deus unus et omnes (*idem* Myth. Vat.)), etc.), who appeared in the form of a snake (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 48 Text p. 59, A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1896 xi. 29, *id. Pompeii: its Life and Art*[2] trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 271 f. fig. 127, A. Sogliano in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1898 viii. 268, Talfourd Ely in *Archæologia* 1897 lv. 305 ff. a painting on the back wall of a shrine in the *Casa dei Vettii* at Pompeii, which shows the Genius with *patera* in right hand, *acerra* opened in left, and a face resembling that of Nero (*supra* p. 96); he stands between two dancing Lares, each of whom bears a goat-*rhytón* (cp. *supra* i. 108) and a pail; beneath him a great bearded and crested snake approaches an altar, on which is an egg and fruit. For the snake as a manifestation of the Genius see further T. Birt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1623 ff. fig., J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1490 with fig. 3543, W. F. Otto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1161 f., E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 pp. 146 n. 3, 153 f.; and for the egg as an offering to the dead, M. P. Nilsson *Das Ei im Totenkultus der Griechen* Lund 1901 pp. 3—12 figs. 1, 2 (Sonderabdruck aus *Från Filologiska Föreningen i Lund, Språkliga uppsatser* ii Lund 1902)).

Similarly we may suppose without any undue temerity that in Greece the forefather of the family, once buried in the house (Plat. *Minos* 315 D *οἱ δ' αὖ ἐκείνων ἔτι πρότεροι αὐτοῦ καὶ ἔθαπτον ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας.* No other literary testimony to this custom can be cited; but the assertion here made is fully borne out by actual remains. H. Bulle *Orchomenos* München 1907 i. 67 f. shows that at Orchomenos in Boiotia during early Mycenaean times (*c.* 1700—1500 B.C.) the dead were buried as a rule inside the houses, and quotes parallels from Thorikos, Athens, and Eleusis. In the small settlement of early Mycenaean date on the summit of Mt *Velatouri* at Thorikos round, or in two cases oblong, holes were found hewn in the rock within the houses: the round holes had certainly served as graves, for in them stood large *ptíthoi* the upper parts of which were safeguarded by circular walls, and in these *ptíthoi* were remains of human bones (B. Staes in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ.* 1893 p. 15 f. pl. B, 3, *id.* in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1895 p. 228 ff. pl. 11, 3, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 524 f., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 222). At Athens a grave of unbaked brick, dating from the same period and containing four bodies, one of them in a crouching attitude, was discovered between 'Pelasgian' house-walls on the S. slope of the Akropolis (A. N. Skias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1902 p. 123 ff. figs. 1—4, A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 221). In the nekropolis at Eleusis two graves of unbaked brick were found under hearths and mistaken for small altars (A. N. Skias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1898 p. 49 ff.

with pl., A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 222). At Tiryns beneath the walls of the older Mycenaean palace five small stone-built graves with crouched bodies have come to light (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1907 xxxii p. iii, R. M. Dawkins in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1907 p. 14). In Thessaly graves have been repeatedly found within houses of the bronze age (Ch. Tsountas Αἱ προϊστορικαὶ ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου Athens 1908 p. 131 'οἱ νεκροὶ ἐθάπτοντο ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν ἢ παρ' αὐτάς,' *ib.* p. 383 'τὸ ἔθιμον νὰ θάπτωσι τοὺς νεκροὺς ἐντὸς τῶν οἰκιῶν'), was viewed as Zeus; for in prehistoric times he had been the representative of the sky-god to his clan. Herein, I take it, lies the ultimate explanation of such cults as that of Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων, who was worshipped at Sparta, if not at Athens (Append. I), Zeus Ἀμφιάραος, who had a popular sanctuary at Oropos (Append. J), Zeus Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος, the great oracular deity of Lebadeia (Append. K), and Zeus Ἀσκληπιός, the healer of Epidauros, Hermione, and Pergamon (Append. L). The same conception will afford us a clue to the cults of Zeus Μειλίχιος and Zeus Φίλιος as well as to the myth of Periphas (Append. M). Most of these buried kings appeared in the guise of snakes. And it is important to observe that Zeus *Ktésios* did so too. A marble *stéle* from Thespiai, now in the Museum at Thebes (inv. no. 330), bears the inscription ΔΙΟΣ | ΚΤΗΣΙΟΥ in lettering of *s.* iii (?) B.C. and below it a relief, partially chipped away to make the block available for building purposes, but still plainly portraying a coiled snake with crest and beard (M. P. Nilsson 'Schlangenstele des Zeus Ktesios' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 279—288 fig.=my fig. 914, Harrison *Themis* p. 297 ff. fig. 79). The discovery of this *stéle* confirmed, as M. P. Nilsson notes, the acute surmise of E. Gerhard *Über Agathodämon und Bona Dea* Berlin 1849 pp. 3, 23 (*Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen* Berlin 1868 ii. 45 with n. 28) that Zeus *Ktésios* was probably represented as a snake.

Fig. 914.

(4) **The Jars of Zeus *Ktésios* compared with the Jars of the Dioskouroi.**

Gerhard further maintained that the jars of Zeus *Ktésios* were comparable with those of the Dioskouroi at Sparta (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 122 pl. 24, 6 a silver coin of 250—146 B.C. with rev. Λ Λ a lidded *amphora* with a snake twining round it, between the caps of the Dioskouroi surmounted by stars; in the field a monogram and A. *Ib.* p. 125 pl. 24, 14 a copper of 146—32 B.C. with rev. ΛΑΚΕΔΑΙ Μ·ΝΙΩΝ two *amphorae* with snakes twining round them; in the field two monograms. Fig. 915 = *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1311, E. Cahen in the *Bull. Corr.*

Fig. 915.

Hell. 1899 xxiii. 599 f. fig. 1 (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 442 f. fig. 216) an archaic relief—'sculpture par silhouettage ou découpage'—at Sparta (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 191 no. 575 fig. 65), which has in the gable an egg (that of Leda??) flanked by two snakes, and in the space below the Dioskouroi facing each other with two lidded *amphorae* between them. Fig. 916—drawn from a photograph kindly given me by Miss J. E. Harrison—shows the relief of Argenidas in the Museo Lapidario at Verona (no. 555, height 0·40^{m}, breadth 0·72^{m}. Montfaucon *Antiquity Ex-*

plained trans. D. Humphreys London 1725 Suppl. i. 103 f. pl. 27 no. 1 (inexact), S. Maffei *Museum Veronense* Veronae 1749 p. 47 fig. 7 (bad) with p. 56, A. Michaelis in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1871 xxix. 145 n. 37, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* iv pl. 9, 8 *a*, H. Dütschke *Antike Bildwerke in Oberitalien* Leipzig 1880 iv. 237 no. 538, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1170 f. fig., M. N. Tod—A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 113 f. fig. 14, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 436 no. 4, Harrison *Themis* p. 304 f. fig. 84). On a base to the left are statues of the Dioskouroi wearing *pîloi*, *chitônes* (?), and *chlamýdes* (?). Before them is a rectangular altar decorated with a boar in relief. Behind the altar a large pedestal carries two lidded *amphorae*. On a step or low base to the right stands a man, clad in *chitôn* and *himátion* (?), who holds a *phiále* (see H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 5) in his right hand extended over the altar (?). Away to the right is seen a rocky coast forming a bay, in which floats a vessel close to the shore. Near the vessel's stern are the heads of two horned animals (oxen ?). On the further side of the bay two sets

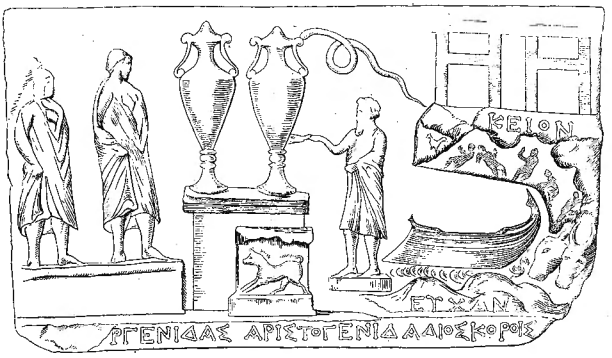


Fig. 916.

of *dókana* (*supra* i. 766 ff.) are set up over a cavern. In the cavern two male figures are reclining; a third raises his hand with a gesture of surprise or greeting; a fourth (?) and possibly a fifth (??) follow him into the cave. On the rocky point to the left of the cave is a cock. And from the *dókana* a snake makes its way towards the *amphorae*. The scene is accompanied by the inscriptions [ΑΝΑ]ΚΕΙΟΝ below the *dókana* and [Α]ΡΓΕΝΙΔΑΣ ΑΡΙΣΤΟΓΕΝΙΔΑ ΔΙΟΣΚΟΡΟΙΣ | ΕΥΧΑΝ along the lower edge of the slab in lettering of *s.* ii B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1949). This relief, found in 1710 A.D. at Ateste (*Este*) in the country of the Veneti, had perhaps been brought thither from Venice (A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr. loc. cit.*). It records the gratitude of one Argenidas, a Spartan (?), who having crossed the sea to Venetia (?) in safety dedicates a thank-offering to the Dioskouroi. It is thus the monumental counterpart of Catullus' famous poem on his yacht (Cat. 4). The foreground of the relief shows Argenidas pouring a libation at the altar, which—like many examples of Italian *aes grave* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy Index p. 406)—bears the figure of a boar, and the heads of two sacrificed animals lying on the rocky

shore. The distance gives a very interesting view of the Anakeion (*supra* i. 107 n. 7) or sanctuary at Therapne (?), where the Dioskouroi lived on underground (Alkm. *frag.* 5 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. Eur. *Tro.* 210, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 103 f. with schol. *ad loc.*). The reclining figures are the buried heroes themselves. The snake containing their *numen* creeps across from the old sanctuary to the new, intent on tasting the libation of Argenidas), at the Spartan colony Tarentum (see *e.g.* Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 130 pl. 100, 48, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 160 nos. 1—3, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 66 pl. 33, 12, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 58, and especially M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 331 f. pl. 17, 1—6 gold *statêres* of Tarentum struck *c.* 281 B.C.: obv. head of Zeus to left with NIK as monogram in the field to right; rev. TAPANTINΩN and NIKAP and on one specimen ΦI, eagle to right on thunderbolt with two *amphorae*, sometimes surmounted by stars, in the field to right, *id. ib.* 1899 ii. 333 f. pl. 17, 16—18 quarter *statêres* of gold with same reverse type, but obverse showing laureate head of Apollon. The presence of the *amphorae* as symbols on these coins is explained by the fact that at Tarentum there was a cult of the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 n. 6 fig. 8). In 1880 A.D. numerous terra-cottas were found at Tarentum, including a series of votive tablets studied by E. Petersen 'Dioskuren in Tarent' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 3—61 with 2 pls. and many figs. and by G. Gastinel 'Cinq reliefs Tarentins' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1901 i. 46—58 with 4 figs. The tablets are in the form of *naîskoi* and were originally painted. As classified by Petersen, they comprise the following types:

A. The Dioskouroi standing without horses (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 7 fig. 1 and p. 8 fig. 3).
B. The Dioskouroi standing by their horses (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 15 fig. 1).
C. The Dioskouroi riding (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 18 fig. 2).
D. The Dioskouroi driving (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 23 fig. 1).
E. The Dioskouroi on horse-back coming to the *Theoxénia* (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 24 fig. 6).
F. The Dioskouroi reclining at the feast (Petersen *loc. cit.* p. 27 fig. 2).

It should be observed that the *amphorae* are a constant feature of the Tarentine reliefs (G. Gastinel *loc. cit.* p. 55 cp. the *amphorae* on the cake-moulds from Tarentum: *supra* p. 131), being placed usually on the ground, but sometimes on the *dôkana* (cp. *supra* p. 158 ff. fig. 99), or on pillars), in Etruria (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 42 pl. 48, 6 and 8, cp. *supra* i. 770 fig. 564), and at Tauion in Galatia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 24 pl. 5, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 749 coppers of *s.* i. B.C.).

These Dioscuric *amphorae* have been variously explained. E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 41 calls them 'agonistisch' and supposes that jars of wine were given as prizes and contained the drink required for the *Theoxénia* (schol. Pind. *Ol.* 3 argum., 1, cp. 72: see further Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 418 ff.). A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1171 hesitates whether to regard them as 'Weinamphoren' implying a ritual use or as merely 'sepulkrale Symbole.' E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1108 takes them to be bottomless vessels, like the great 'Dipylon' vases (cp. *supra* i. 766 n. 9), set up over the grave for the reception of funereal offerings. Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 524 f. long ago described them as 'Aschengefässe.' My friend Dr J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 377 f. acutely conjectures that in them we have a Greek parallel to the pots used throughout Africa etc. for the burial of a twin or of a twin's *placenta*. Personally I should be content to say that the *amphorae* both of Zeus *Ktésios* and of the Dioskouroi presuppose the custom of *pithos*-burial, and

were retained as signs of the divinised dead long after the custom in question had ceased to be. If Zeus *Ktésios* was, as I maintain, an early Greek king buried in his own house, it is certainly permissible to assume that he was buried in a *píthos*. Platon, who states that the primitive Athenians used to bury the dead in their houses (*supra* p. 1060), informs us in the same context that their successors among other old-fashioned burial rites 'sent for women to fill the jars' (Plat. *Minos* 315 C *ὥσπερ καὶ ἡμᾶς αὐτοὺς οἶσθά που καὶ αὐτὸς ἀκούων, οἵοις νόμοις ἐχρώμεθα πρὸ τοῦ περὶ τοὺς ἀποθανόντας, ἱερεία τε προσφάττοντες πρὸ τῆς ἐκφορᾶς τοῦ νεκροῦ καὶ ἐγχυτριστρίας μεταπεμπόμενοι* with schol. *ad loc. τὰς χοὰς τοῖς τετελευτηκόσιν ἐπιφερούσας, ὡς ἐπὶ τοῦδε. ἔλεγον δὲ καὶ τὸ βλάψαι (βάψαι* Zonaras. C. A. Lobeck cj. *θάψαι*) *καταχυτρίσαι* (J. G. Baiter cj. *ἐγχυτρίσαι*), *ὡς* 'Αριστοφάνης (Aristoph. *vesp.* 289 *ὃν ὅπως ἐγχυτριεῖς*). *λέγονται δὲ καὶ ὅσαι τοὺς ἐναγεῖς καθαίρουσιν, αἷμα ἐπιχέουσαι τοῦ ἱερείου. ἔτι δὲ καὶ αἱ θρηνήτριαι, καὶ δὴ καὶ αἱ μαῖαι αἱ ἐκτιθεῖσαι ἐν χύτραις τὰ βρέφη* = Souid. *s.v. ἐγχυτρίστριαι* = *et. mag.* p. 313, 41 ff. (cp. 39 f.) = Zonar. *lex. s.v. ἐγχυτρίστριαι* (cp. *s.v. ἐγχυτρίζειν*), cp. Hesych. *s.vv. ἐγχυτριεῖς, ἐγχυτρίζειν*, schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 289, Moiris *lex. s.v. ἐγχυτρισμός*, Thom. Mag. p. 264). It seems reasonable to infer that, when *píthos*-burial within the house was abandoned, offerings to the dead were still placed in memorial jars by a special class of mourning-women. My contention is that the *σημεῖα* of Zeus *Ktésios* were just such memorial jars retained in the house, though their original significance had long been forgotten. The divinity whose presence they betokened would naturally be deemed the guardian of the household stores; for the master, himself buried in a *píthos*, would know how to protect his own goods bestowed in other *píthoi*.

(5) Zeus *Ktésios* in Literature and Cult.

Hence his title *Ktésios*, 'god of Property,' which occurs in literature from *s.* V B.C. onwards (Aisch. *suppl.* 443 ff. *καὶ χρημάτων μὲν ἐκ δόμων πορθουμένων | ... γένοιτ' ἂν ἄλλα Κτησίου Διὸς χάριν*, Hippokr. *de insomniis* 4 (xxii. 10 Kühn) *καὶ τοῖς θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι, ἐπὶ μὲν τοῖσιν ἀγαθοῖσιν* Ἡλίῳ, *Διὶ Οὐρανίῳ, Διὶ Κτησίῳ,* Ἀθηνᾷ *Κτησίῃ,* Ἑρμῇ, Ἀπόλλωνι, *ἐπὶ δὲ τοῖσιν ἐναντίοισι τοίσιν ἀποτροπίοισι καὶ Γῇ καὶ ἥρωσιν κ.τ.λ.*, Hypereid. *πρὸς Ἀπελλαῖον frag.* 13 Blass[2] *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v. Κτησίου Διός* who adds *Κτήσιον Δία ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἵδρυντο*, Menand. *Pseudherakles frag.* 2, 2 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 223 f. Meineke) *ap.* Harpokr. *loc. cit. τὸν δὲ Δία τὸν Κτήσιον | ἔχοντα τὸ ταμεῖον οὐ κεκλεισμένον*, Autokleides (?) *ap.* Athen. 473 B—C (*supra* p. 1054 ff.), Plout. *de repugn. Stoic.* 30 *ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς γελοῖος, εἰ Κτήσιος χαίρει καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος καὶ Χαριδότης προσαγορευόμενος, ὅτι δηλαδὴ χρυσᾶς ἀμίδας καὶ χρυσᾶ κράσπεδα χαρίζεται τοῖς φαύλοις, τοῖς δ' ἀγαθοῖς ἄξια δραχμῆς ὅταν πλούσιοι γένωνται κατὰ τὴν τοῦ Διὸς πρόνοιαν*, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 16 f. Lang *καὶ Κτήσιον...αὐτὸν* (*sc.* Δία) *προσαγορεύουσιν*, Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 57 Reiske *Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος ἅτε τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος καὶ δοτὴρ πλούτου καὶ κτήσεως, οὐ πενίας οὐδὲ ἀπορίας, or.* 12 p. 413 Reiske *Κτήσιος δὲ καὶ Ἐπικάρπιος ἅτε τῶν καρπῶν αἴτιος καὶ δοτὴρ πλούτου καὶ δυνάμεως*, Souid. *s.vv. Διὸς κώδιον* (*supra* i. 423 n. 1 = Apostol. 6. 10), *Ζεὺς Κτήσιος· ὃν καὶ ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἱδρύοντο ὡς πλουτοδότην, Κτήσιος· ὁ Ζεύς, Κτησίου Διός· τὸν Κτήσιον Δία ἐν τοῖς ταμείοις ἱδρύοντο*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 266 no. 51 (Διός) *Κτησίου*).

Under this title Zeus was worshipped at Athens (Dem. *in Mid.* 53 *Διὶ Κτησίῳ βοῦν λευκόν* (*supra* i. 717 n. 2), *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 2 no. 3854, 1 f. from the Asklepieion [. .κ]αὶ Διὸς | [Κ]τησίου) including the Peiraieus (Antiph. *or.* 1. 16 *μετὰ ταῦτα ἔτυχε τῷ Φιλόνεῳ ἐν Πειραιεῖ ὄντα ἱερὰ* (C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 n. 1 would read *ὄντι θύειν ἱερὰ*) *Διὶ Κτησίῳ, ὁ δὲ πατὴρ ὁ ἐμὸς εἰς Νάξον πλεῖν ἔμελλεν. κάλλιστον οὖν ἐδόκει εἶναι τῷ Φιλόνεῳ τῆς*

αὐτῆς ὁδοῦ ἅμα μὲν προπέμψαι εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ τὸν πατέρα τὸν ἐμὸν φίλον ὄντα ἑαυτῷ, ἅμα δὲ θύσαντα τὰ ἱερὰ ἑστιᾶσαι ἐκεῖνον, *ib.* 18 ἐπειδὴ γὰρ ἐδεδειπνήκεσαν, οἷον εἰκός, ὁ μὲν θύων Διὶ Κτησίῳ κἀκεῖνον ὑποδεχόμενος, ὁ δ' ἐκπλεῖν τε μέλλων καὶ παρ' ἀνδρὶ ἑταίρῳ αὐτοῦ δειπνῶν, κ.τ.λ., cp. for the domestic celebration Isai. *or.* 8. 16 καὶ τὰς ἑορτὰς ἤγομεν παρ' ἐκεῖνον πάσας· τῷ Διί τε θύων τῷ Κτησίῳ, περὶ ἣν μάλιστ' ἐκεῖνος θυσίαν ἐσπούδαζε καὶ οὔτε δούλους προσῆγεν οὔτε ἐλευθέρους ὀθνείους, ἀλλ' αὐτὸς δι' ἑαυτοῦ πάντ' ἐποίει, ταύτης ἡμεῖς ἐκοινωνοῦμεν καὶ τὰ ἱερὰ συνεχειρουργοῦμεν καὶ συνεπετίθεμεν καὶ τἄλλα συνεποιοῦμεν, καὶ ἠῦχετο ἡμῖν ὑγίειαν διδόναι καὶ κτῆσιν ἀγαθήν, ὥσπερ εἰκὸς ὄντα πάππον) and Phlyeis (Paus. 1. 31. 4 Φλυεῦσι δέ...ναὸς δὲ ἕτερος ἔχει βωμοὺς Δήμητρος Ἀνησιδώρας < καὶ ins. Siebelis > Διὸς Κτησίου καὶ Τιθρωνῆς (Siebelis cj. Τριτώνης) Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ Κόρης Πρωτογόνης καὶ Σεμνῶν ὀνομαζομένων θεῶν), at Thespiai (*supra* p. 1061), at Epidauros (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 121 = *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1288 a limestone slab inscribed Διὶ | Κτησίοι Κράτων. | μη'), at *Kárien* between Mt Pangaion and the sea (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 441 ff. no. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 774 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 576 a white marble boundary-stone inscribed in lettering of *c.* 400 B.C. Διὸς Ἑρκε[ίο Πατρώ[ο ; καὶ Διὸ]ς Κτησίο), in the Kykládes Syros (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 670 an altar from *Psarriana* inscribed in late lettering Διὸς | Κτησίου), Thera (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1361 fig. = my

Fig. 917.

fig. 917 a small altar or *ἐσχάρα* of volcanic stone inscribed Ζεὺς Κτή(σιος)), Anaphe (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2477, 17 [Διὸς ?] τοῦ Κτησίου, which is corrected *ib.* p. 1091 to [ὁ]πεῖ ὁ [βω]μὸς τοῦ Κτησίου καὶ τὸ ξο[άνι]ον and in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 201 ff. no. 3430, 12 to [ὁ]πεῖ ὁ βωμὸς τοῦ Κτησίου καὶ τὸ ξοάνιον = F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 248, 13 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 853, 12 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 555, 13 = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 122, 13. This inscription, which can be dated *c.* 100 B.C., tells how one Timotheos, anxious to erect a temple of Aphrodite, was bidden by an oracle to do so in the precinct of Apollon *Asgelátas* : the building-operations necessitated the temporary removal of an altar of *Ktésios* and an adjacent statuette. It is not certain that the statuette belonged to *Ktésios*, still less that it represented him. L. Ziehen even denies that *Ktésios* was originally Zeus *Ktésios*. In this, however, he is over-sceptical, though no doubt *Ktésios* was a title applicable to other deities besides Zeus (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1578 f.)), at Panamara in Karia (G. Deschamps —G. Cousin 'Inscriptions du temple de Zeus Panamaros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 269 f. no. 54, 7 ff. a *stéle* dedicated by Kleoboulos and Strateia to a series of deities καὶ τοῖς ἐνοικιδίοις θεοῖς Διὶ Κτησίῳ καὶ Τύχῃ καὶ | Ἀσκληπιῷ), at Teos in Ionia (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3074 on an altar or base of *s.* ii B.C. Διὸς Κτησίου, | Διὸς Καπετωλίου, | Ῥώμης, | Ἀγαθοῦ δαίμονος = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr.*

gr. no. 806), in Phrygia (G. Cousin 'Inscription d'Ormellé de Phrygie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 503 part of an astragalomantic inscription found at *Tefeny* col. iii, 19 δδδς'α ☌ ιθ' ☌ Διὸς Κτησίου ☌ (*i.e.* the throw 4 + 4 + 4 + 6 + 1 = 19 is that of Zeus *Ktésios*) followed by the hexameters *θαρσῶν ἐν χειρεὶ καὶ ἐ[π' ἐ]|λπίδος ἐστὶν ὁ χρησμός, ὡς..... | μανύει καὶ τὸν νοσέοντ[α δὲ σώσ|ει· εἰ δέ τι μαντεύῃ χρ[ησμὸς...|. δ]εις ἀπολήψῃ.* I should venture to restore and read the lines as follows : *θαρσῶν ἐνχείρει, καὶ ἐπ' ἐλπίδος ἐστὶν ὁ χρησμός,* | *ὡς καλὰ μανύει καὶ τὸν νοσέοντα δὲ σώσει·* | *εἰ δέ τι μαντεύῃ, χρησμοὺς ἠδεῖς ἀπολήψῃ.* See further the clear and helpful observations of W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 213 ff. A. Wagener 'Inscriptions grecques recueillies en Asie Mineure' in the *Mémoires couronnés et mémoires des savants étrangers, publiés par l'Académie Royale des Sciences, des Lettres et des Beaux-Arts de Belgique* 1858—1861 xxx Classe des Lettres 2. 19 f. no. 2 pl. A inscribed on a white marble *stèle* found at Koloe (*Koula*) with the prefatory remarks of J. de Witte *ib.* p. viii *Διὰ Κτήσιον Τατία* | *Παπίαν τὸν ἑαυτῆ[ς]* | *ἄνδρα, Τεμοκράτη[ς]* | *τὸν πατέρα, Καρποφό|ρος τὸν θρέψαντα* | *κατειέρωσαν.* | *ἔτους σοα' μη(νὸς)* | *Αὐδναίου η';* from which it appears that in 175 A.D. (=261 of the Sullan era) Tatia definitely consecrated her deceased husband Papias as Zeus *Ktésios*—a striking vindication of my view that Zeus *Ktésios* was but the buried ancestor of the clan), at Pergamon in Mysia (H. Hepding in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 452 no. 35 a marble altar inscribed [Διὶ Κ]*τησίωι* | [Μ.] *Αὐρήλιος* | *Μηνογένης* | *ὁ ἱεροφάντης*), and doubtless elsewhere also. At Amastris in Paphlagonia he was recognised as Zeus *Panktésios* (G. Hirschfeld 'Inschriften aus dem Norden Kleinasiens besonders aus Bithynien und Paphlagonien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1888 p. 878 no. 31 on a small marble altar at Amastris inscribed ☌ ΔΙΙ ☌ | ΠΑΝΚΤΗ|CΙΩ ☌). But this was an exceptional flourish. As a rule, Zeus *Ktésios* was a homely power content with worship in a small way—he never has a temple or a statue, but puts up with a jar or a hearth or at most a trumpery altar. I doubt if he ever received a handsomer offering than that of the white ox mentioned by Demosthenes.

(6) The Jars of Zeus in the *Iliad*.

One interesting possibility must not be neglected. We have traced Zeus *Ktésios* back to the days of Aischylos. But the very nature of his cult postulates a hoary antiquity. There is therefore much to be said for an acute suggestion made by Miss Harrison (*Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 642), *viz.* that we have a reminiscence of the self-same cult in the Homeric description of the jars of Zeus (*Il.* 24. 527 ff. *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει* | *δώρων, οἷα δίδωσι, κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων·* | *ᾧ μέν κ' ἀμμίξας δώῃ Ζεὺς τερπικέραυνος,* | *ἄλλοτε μέν τε κακῷ ὅ γε κύρεται, ἄλλοτε δ' ἐσθλῷ·* | *ᾧ δέ κε τῶν λυγρῶν δώῃ, λωβητὸν ἔθηκε·* | *καί ἑ κακὴ βούβρωστις ἐπὶ χθόνα δίαν ἐλαύνει,* | *φοιτᾷ δ' οὔτε θεοῖσι τετιμένος οὔτε βροτοῖσιν.* For full *apparatus criticus* see A. Ludwich *ad loc.* The most important variants are the omission of line 528 in cod. T. and the substitution of *κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν* in the passage as quoted by Plat. *rep.* 379 D, Plout. *quo modo adolescens poetas audire debeat* 6 (but cp. *consolat. ad Apollon.* 7), Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 3. 12 (from Plat. *loc. cit.*), Prokl. *in* Plat. *remp.* i. 96, 14 f. Kroll. Dr W. Leaf in 1888 printed *δοιοὶ γάρ τε πίθοι κατακείαται ἐν Διὸς οὔδει* | *δώρων οἷα δίδωσι κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων·* | κ.τ.λ. and supposed that 'Zeus has two jars of evil for one of good' (cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 143 ff. *ἓν παρ' ἐσλὸν πήματα σύνδυο δαίονται βροτοῖς* | *ἀθάνατοι*). But in 1898, collaborating with Mr M. A. Bayfield, he was more disposed to admit the possibility that 'there are only two jars spoken of, one of ills and one of blessings.' For *κακῶν, ἕτερος*

δὲ ἑάων = ἕτερος μὲν κακῶν, ἕτερος δὲ ἑάων he cited *Il.* 7. 417 f. But the idiom is by no means rare: to the examples adduced by R. Kühner—B. Gerth *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache* Hannover and Leipzig 1904 ii. 266 add Aristot. *poet.* 1. 1447 b 14 ἐλεγειοποιοὺς τοὺς δὲ ἐποποιοὺς ὀνομάζουσιν, *pol.* 2. 4. 1262 a 26 f. φόνους ἀκουσίους, τοὺς δὲ ἑκουσίους. Moreover, the existence of the variant κηρῶν ἔμπλειοι, ὁ μὲν ἐσθλῶν, αὐτὰρ ὁ δειλῶν, which is not of course 'more careless than the average of Plato's citations' but good evidence of the pre-Aristarchean text, makes it practically certain that the jars were conceived as two in number):

> Two jars lie buried in the floor of Zeus
> Filled with the gifts he gives—evil in this,
> Good in the other. Whensoever Zeus
> The lightning-hurler gives a mingled lot,
> He that receives it falls on evil now
> And now on good. But he to whom Zeus gives
> Of the sorry store is made a very scorn:
> Him evil hunger drives o'er the bright earth,
> Nor gods nor mortals honour him as he goes.

(7) Zeus *Ktésios* compared with the *Di Penates*.

Finally, it should be observed that sundry Greek antiquarians described the Roman *di Penates* as *theoὶ Ktésioi* (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 67 τοὺς δὲ θεοὺς τούτους Ῥωμαῖοι μὲν Πενάτας καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ ἑξερμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα γλῶσσαν τοὔνομα οἱ μὲν Πατρῴους ἀποφαίνουσιν, οἱ δὲ Γενεθλίους, εἰσὶ δ' οἳ Κτησίους, ἄλλοι δὲ Μυχίους, οἱ δὲ Ἑρκίους, cp. *ib.* 8. 41 καὶ ὑμεῖς, ὦ θεοὶ Κτήσιοι καὶ ἑστία πατρῴα καὶ δαίμονες οἱ κατέχοντες τοῦτον τὸν τόπον, χαίρετε). The description was apposite; for the *di Penates*, as divinised ancestors (?? see *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 293 ff.) keeping watch over the *penus*, were in function at least strictly analogous to Zeus *Ktésios*. Perhaps indeed the likeness extended to the signs and symbols of their presence; for the *Penates* of Lavinium were represented by '*caducei* of iron and bronze together with Trojan pottery' (Timaios *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 197 Müller) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 67 σχήματος δὲ καὶ μορφῆς αὐτῶν πέρι Τίμαιος μὲν ὁ συγγραφεὺς ὧδε ἀποφαίνεται· κηρύκια σιδηρᾶ καὶ χαλκᾶ καὶ κέραμον Τρωϊκὸν εἶναι τὰ ἐν τοῖς ἀδύτοις τοῖς ἐν Λαουϊνίῳ κείμενα ἱερά. πυθέσθαι δὲ αὐτὸς ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων), which presumably implies metal snakes coiled about a staff and an earthenware jar (*N.B.* The *tabula Iliaca* in three separate places represents Aineias and Anchises as carrying the *sacra* of Troy in a cylindrical jar (?) with a domed lid: see O. Jahn *Griechische Bilderchroniken* Bonn 1873 p. 35 pl. 1, and cp. Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 310 no. 1380, *id.* in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1879 p. 76 f., Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] ii. 322 n. 2). The mention of *caducei* in this connexion sets us thinking. Is it possible that Hermes himself with his chthonian and his phallic traits was of kindred origin? The idea should not be scouted without a careful consideration of the facts brought together by Mr A. L. Frothingham (in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 175—211 and a sequel as yet unpublished). See further *supra* p. 383 n. 7.

APPENDIX I.

ZEUS *AGAMÉMNON.*

The evidence for the cult of Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων at Sparta is as follows: Lyk. *Al.* 335 states that Priamos was killed (*supra* i. 39 n. 2 and n. 6) ἀμφὶ τύμβῳ τἀγαμέμνονος, on which Tzetzes remarks Ἀγαμέμνων ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Λακεδαιμονίᾳ. This is confirmed by Lyk. *Al.* 1124 Ζεὺς Σπαρτιάταις αἰμύλοις κληθήσεται (*sc.* ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων) with Tzetz. *ad loc.* ὅτι Λακεδαιμόνιοι ἱδρύσαντο Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἱερὸν εἰς τιμὴν τοῦ ἥρωος, Staphylos *frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 506 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 38. 2 p. 28, 17 f. Stählin Ἀγαμέμνονα γοῦν τινα Δία ἐν Σπάρτῃ τιμᾶσθαι Στάφυλος ἱστορεῖ, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1 Schwartz ὁ δὲ Λακεδαιμόνιος Ἀγαμέμνονα Δία...σέβει.

For his cult at Athens the evidence is slighter: Lyk. *Al.* 1369 ff. πρῶτος μὲν ἥξει Ζηνὶ τῷ Λαπερσίῳ | ὁμώνυμος Ζεύς, ὃς καταιβάτης μολὼν | σκηπτῷ πυρώσει πάντα δυσμενῶν σταθμά with Tzetz. *ad loc.* Λαπέρσαι δῆμος τῆς Ἀττικῆς (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cj. Λακωνικῆς), ἔνθα Ἀγαμέμνονος Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν. ᾧ ὁμώνυμος οὖν τῷ Λαπερσίῳ Διὶ ὁ Ἀγαμέμνων, κ.τ.λ. The cj. Λακωνικῆς is supported by Soph. *frag.* 871 Nauck², 957 Jebb, *ap.* Strab. 364 νὴ τὼ Λαπέρσα (*sc.* the Dioskouroi), νὴ τὸν Εὐρώταν τρίτον, | νὴ τοὺς ἐν Ἄργει καὶ κατὰ Σπάρτην θεούς, Rhian. *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λαπέρσα θηλυκῶς, ὄρος Λακωνικῆς, οὗ μέμνηται Ῥιανὸς ἐν Ἡλιακῶν πρώτῳ· ἀπὸ τῶν Λαπερσῶν Διοσκούρων. τὸ ἐθνικὸν Λαπερσαῖος. See further W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*³ Braunschweig 1875 ii. 773.

With regard to the interpretation of this evidence ancient and modern views have differed widely: Metrodoros of Lampsakos, who allegorized Homer (Tatian. *or. adv. Graec.* 37), took Agamemnon to be the *aithér* (Hesych. Ἀγαμέμνονα· τὸν αἰθέρα Μητρόδωρος ἀλληγορικῶς)· Eustath. *in Il.* p. 168, 11 ff. is hardly more satisfactory: δοκεῖ εὐλόγως παρὰ Δάκωσι Ζεὺς Ἀγαμέμνων ἐπιθετικῶς εἶναι, ὡς ὁ Λυκόφρων λαλεῖ· Ἀγαμέμνων τε γὰρ εὐρυκρείων καὶ Ζεὺς εὐρυμέδων. εἰ δὴ ταὐτὸν εὐρυκρείων καὶ εὐρυμέδων, λέγοιτ' ἂν διὰ τοῦτο διθυραμβικώτερον καὶ Ἀγαμέμνων Ζεύς, καθότι καὶ εὐρυκρείων. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 183 regards Ἀγαμέμνων as a title of Zeus, 'Erzwalter.' Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 157 renders 'Zeus...der "grosse Sinner"' and *ib.* n. 22 cites the vase inscriptions ΑΛΑΜΕΣΜΟΝ and ΑΛ·ΜΕΣΜΟ·(P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 168 ff.) as implying an original *Ἀγαμέδμων (W. Prellwitz in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1891 xvii. 171 f., 1894 xx. 306 f., *id. Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*² p. 3) with which he compares such names as Ἀγαμήδης, Ἀγαμήστωρ. Wide *Lakon. Kulte* pp. 12 f., 333 f., following F. Deneken in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2449 f., holds that a god' Ἀγαμέμνων (ἀγα-+μεμ-), 'der viel sinnende, viel Sorge tragende, mächtig schirmende und schützende,' whose partner was originally Ἀλεξάνδρα, came to be identified with Zeus. On the etymology see, however, K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*⁴ München 1913 p. 89: 'Dass uridg. *-nm-* auch zu *-mn-* geworden sei, glauben wir nicht. Man nimmt an, Ἀγα-μέμνων sei aus *-μενμων (zu ai. *mánman-*) entstanden (DE SAUSSURE, Mém. 4, 432). Wäre das richtig, so könnte die besondere Behandlung der Gruppe *-nm-* aus der Mitwirkung der anderen Nasale des Wortes oder aus Volksetymologie (vgl. θρασυ-μέμνων 'mutig standhaltend') erklärt werden. Aber die attische Nebenform Ἀγαμέσμων (KRETSCHMER, Vas. 168 f.) weist auf *Ἀγα-μέδμων als Grundform (vgl. PRELLWITZ, BB. 17, 171 f.

20, 306 f.). Hieraus ging einerseits durch Anlehnung an Πολυ-φράσμων u. a. (§ 88 Anm. 2) die Form Ἀγαμέσμων hervor; Ἀγαμέμνων anderseits zeigt die gleiche Behandlung des δμ wie att. *μεσό-μνη* neben ion. *μεσό-δμη* (§ 58), *ὕμνος* aus **ὑδμος* (falls zu ὕδω, ὑδέω, s. W. SCHMID, Rhein. Mus. 61, 480; anders, aber unwahrscheinlich EHRLICH, Rhein. Mus. 62, 321 ff., vgl. ferner P. MAAS, Philol. 66, 590 ff.), kret. *μνῴα* neben ion. δμώς: in einzelnen griechischen Dialekten wurde also δμ zu νμ (vgl. neuir. *meamna*=altir. *menme* 'mens') zu einer Zeit, wo der Wandel von uridg. *-nm-* zu *-μμ-* schon längst vollzogen war[1]. ([1]Dass *dm-* schon uridg. zu *nm-* geworden sei und hierauf unser μν beruhe (so zuletzt JOHANSSON, IF. 3, 227), ist unwahrscheinlich.) Aus diesem Dialektgebiet stammt die Form Ἀγα-μέμνων. Anders KRETSCHMER a. a. O., FICK, Gött. gel. Anz. 1894 S. 234. 241 (der in *μεσό-μνη* ursprüngliches *-δμν-* vermutet) und SCHULZE, Gött. gel. Anz. 1896 S. 236 (der in *μεσόμνη*, Ἀγαμέμνων "durch eine Art von Metathesis δμ zu βν und weiter zu μν" geworden sein lässt unter Mitwirkung' des in den beiden Wörtern vorausgehenden μ); vgl. aber auch STOLZ, Innsbrucker Festschr. zur 50. Philol.-Vers. (1909) 13 ff.' Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 50 without venturing upon philological ground assumes that 'the two names [Ζεύς and Ἀγαμέμνων] were originally quite distinct and became conjoined owing to some later fusion of cults.' But A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 96 'ein chthonischer Zeus' and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* i. 721 'vielleicht ein chthonischer Gott' had already pointed the way to a better solution of the problem. In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 277, cp. *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 299, 301, I contended that the hero was a Zeus all along, the local champion or king being as such the embodiment of the god. Even in Homer there are traces of this belief. Agamemnon's stock epithet *ἄναξ ἀνδρῶν* is suggestive of a divine appellation (cp. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 65 divom pater atque hominum rex, Hes. *theog.* 923 *θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν*), and in *Il.* 2 478 he is described as *ὄμματα καὶ κεφαλὴν* (S. A. Naber cj. *φθογγὴν*) *ἴκελος Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ*. See further *supra* p. 1060 f.

APPENDIX J.

ZEUS *AMPHIÁRAOS*.

The worship of Zeus Ἀμφιάραος at Oropos is attested by Dikaiarch. 1. 6 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 100 Müller) *ἐντεῦθεν εἰς Ὠρωπὸν δι' Ἀφιδνῶν καὶ τοῦ Ἀμφιαράου Διὸς ἱεροῦ ὁδὸν ἐλευθέρῳ βαδίζοντι σχεδὸν ἡμέρας προσάντη πάντα.* The text is not free from corruption. For the manuscript's *διαδαφνιδὸν* L. Holstein and others read *διὰ Δελφίνιον* (cp. Strab. 403), C. Müller in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 256 *διὰ Ψαφιδῶν* (cp. Strab. 399); *id.* in *Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 100 accepts C. Wordsworth's cj. *δι' Ἀφιδνῶν* or else *δι' Ἀφίδνων*. For the manuscript's *ὁδὸν...πρόσαντα* C. Müller, after I. Casaubon, proposes *ὁδὸς...προσάντης πᾶσα*, but prints *ὁδὸν... προσάντη [πάντα]*. Casaubon wanted to expunge *Διός*. But he was certainly wrong. The hero Amphiaraos had come to be reckoned as a god: cp. Soph. *El.* 836 ff. *οἶδα γὰρ ἄνακτ' Ἀμφιάρεων χρυσοδέτοις | ἔρκεσι κρυφθέντα γυναικῶν· καὶ νῦν ὑπὸ γαίας | ... | πάμψυχος ἀνάσσει* with Cic. *de div.* 1. 88 Amphiaraum autem sic honoravit fama Graeciae, deus ut haberetur, atque ut ab eius solo, in quo est humatus, oracula peterentur, Paus. 1. 34. 2 *θεὸν δὲ Ἀμφιάραον πρώτοις Ὠρωπίοις κατέστη νομίζειν, ὕστερον δὲ καὶ οἱ πάντες Ἕλληνες ἥγηνται.* That he was

under the protection of Zeus appears from Pind. *Nem.* 9. 58 ff. ὁ δ' Ἀμφιάρη σχίσσεν κεραυνῷ παμβίᾳ | Ζεὺς τὰν βαθύστερνον χθόνα, κρύψεν δ' ἅμ' ἵπποις, | δουρὶ Περικλυμένου πρὶν νῶτα τυπέντα μαχατὰν | θυμὸν αἰσχυνθῆμεν, 10. 13 ff. γαῖα δ' ἐν Θήβαις ὑπέδεκτο κεραυνωθεῖσα Διὸς βέλεσιν | μάντιν Οἰκλείδαν, πολέμοιο νέφος, Apollod. 3. 6. 8 Ἀμφιαράῳ δὲ φεύγοντι παρὰ ποταμὸν Ἰσμηνόν, πρὶν ὑπὸ Περικλυμένου τὰ νῶτα τρωθῆ, Ζεὺς κεραυνὸν βαλὼν τὴν γῆν διέστησεν. ὁ δὲ σὺν τῷ ἅρματι καὶ τῷ ἡνιόχῳ Βάτωνι, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι Ἐλάτωνι (so R. Wagner after Sommer, who suggested Ἐλάτωνι or Ἐλατίῳ. L. Dindorf cj. Ἐλάτῳ. ἐλάττῳ R. ἐλάττωνι *R^a. ἐλάττωνον P. R^b. R^c. ἐλάττω V. L. N. T.), ἐκρύφθη, καὶ Ζεὺς ἀθάνατον αὐτὸν ἐποίησεν.

As a parallel to this famous scene H. Usener in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 cxxxvii. 3. 2, 4, 37 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 200 ff., 234) cites the belief that Theodoric the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, did not die in 526 A.D., but entered the earth as a living man seated on his black charger. I am, however, inclined to lay more stress on analogies drawn from the classical area, *e.g.* that of Erechtheus (*supra* p. 793 f.) or those of Latinus and Aeneas (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 363, *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 286). Such cases may be taken to imply that the early king, who during his life had been credited with magical powers of making a thunderstorm, was after his death frankly identified with the weather-god. Moreover dead kings, being chthonian powers, can give oracles, send dreams, and bestow health on those that consult them in the right way. Hence at the popular Amphiareion near

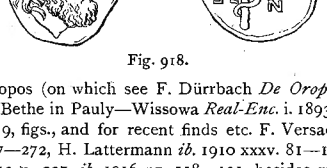


Fig. 918.

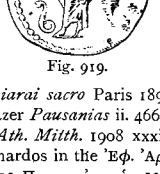


Fig. 919.

Oropos (on which see F. Dürrbach *De Oropo et Amphiarai sacro* Paris 1890, E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1893 ff. fig., Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 466 ff. pl. 9, figs., and for recent finds etc. F. Versace in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 247—272, H. Lattermann *ib.* 1910 xxxv. 81—102, B. Leonardos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 237, *ib.* 1916 pp. 118—121, besides reports in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1903 p. 33 f., 1904 p. 27 f., 1906 p. 83 f., 1913 p. 114) the marble cult-statue of Amphiaraos (Paus. 1. 34. 2) appears to have borne a close resemblance to Asklepios. An autonomous copper of the town, dating from *s.* ii B.C. or later, has for obverse type the head of Amphiaraos bearded and laureate, and for reverse a snake coiled round a staff with the legend Ω ΡΩ ΠΙΩ Ν (É. de Cadalvène *Recueil de médailles grecques inédites* Paris 1828 p. 168 no. 1 = Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 151 Atlas pl. 6, 10 = my fig. 918. Other specimens show *obv.* a beardless head described as Apollon (A. v. Sallet in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 208 f. pl. 4, 10) or Amphiaraos (Head *Hist. num.*^{2} p. 392—a bad guess, unless the head is really bearded, as stated by Cadalvène *op. cit.* p. 168 no. 2, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 115 pl. 20, 5) or even a female (U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1879 iv. 250 f. fig., 259 ff.), *rev.* a dolphin coiled round a trident with the legend ΩΡΩ ΠΙΩΝ). Another copper of Oropos, struck by Gallienus, has *rev.* ΩΡΩ[Π Ι Ω]Ν Amphiaraos enthroned to left, his left hand grasping a sceptre and his right extended over a snake (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 115 pl. 20, 6, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 153 pl. EE, 18

=my fig. 919). Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner justly remark that 'On these coins Amphiaraus is represented exactly in the guise of Asclepius, as a god rather than as a hero.' B. I. Leonardos in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1887 p. 62 f. reports the discovery in the Amphiareion at Oropos of a small statue, *minus* head and extremities, '*παριστὰν δὲ βεβαίως τὸν Ἀμφιάραον ὡς τὸν Ἀσκληπιόν, στηριζόμενον ἐπὶ ῥάβδου περὶ ἣν ἑλίσσεται ὄφις*,' and of a small relief representing a similar Amphiaraos and Hygieia seated on a rock beside him (cp. Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 102 no. 4, 3=*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 311, 3, Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 106 no. 6, 3=*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 372, 3, *ib.* i no. 412, 11), while above them appears the head of Pan another partner in their cult (Paus. 1. 34. 3).

The hero's name offers a variety of problems. Ἀμφιάραος had a clipped form Ἄμφις (Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 104 (ii. 205, 16 ff. Lentz) *ap. et. mag.* p. 93, 50 ff. = Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἀμφίς, cp. *et. mag.* p. 159, 31, cites Aisch. *frag.* 412 Nauck²). A possible doublet is Ἄμφιος, brother of Adrastos and son of Merops the seer of Perkote who foresaw the doom of his sons at Troy (*Il.* 2. 830 ff., 11. 328 ff.); and he in turn has been regarded (E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1949) as originally identical with Ἄμφιος, son of Selagos, who lived at Paisos and was slain at Troy (*Il.* 5. 612 ff., Tzetz. *Hom.* 89 f. *N.B.*: *Il.* 2. 828 Ἀπαισοῦ =*Il.* 5. 612 Παισῷ). See further H. Usener in E. Bethe *Thebanische Heldenlieder* Leipzig 1891 p. 65, *id. Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 355, *id.* in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 cxxxvii. 3. 40 ff. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 237 ff.), who holds that Ἄμφιος gave rise, on the one hand to Ἀμφίων (cp. *et. mag.* p. 92, 41 ff.), on the other to Ἀμφιάραος, Ἀμφιάρεως, Ἀμφιάρης. It may, however, be doubted whether Usener has said the last word on the subject; for the etymology of the name Ἀμφιάραος is still far from clear. F. G. Welcker *Der epische Cyclus*² Bonn 1882 p. 322 takes Ἀμφιάραος to mean 'der Beter' (*ἀράομαι*). P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 pp. 32, 123 argues that Ἀμφιάρης, for *Ἀμφιάρηϝος, was derived from *ἰαρεύς* (stem *ἰαρηϝ-*) and meant *ἀρχιέρεως*, but that Ἀμφιάραος was formed by popular etymologizing from *ἀράομαι*. A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*² Göttingen 1894 p. 438 f. connects with Ἄρης: 'Dasselbe Element ist in *ἀμφι-άρης* Zeus.' Similarly J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 p. 225 suggests that at Argos Areïos (Ap. Rhod. 1. 118, Orph. *Arg.* 148, cp. Pherekyd. *frag.* 75 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 90 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 11. 289) and Amphiaraos were twin-brothers. But all these views are *risquées*. At most we can assert that there is a tendency (satirised in the person of Ἀμφίθεος by Aristoph. *Ach.* 46 ff.) for divine and heroic names to begin with Ἀμφι-. Such names need not point to the existence of twins (*pace* J. Rendel Harris *op. cit.* p. 224 f.), but might on occasion refer to some twofold aspect of Zeus (*supra* p. 445), who is *e.g.* *ἀμφιθαλής*, 'god of both parents,' in Aisch. *cho.* 394 f. *καὶ πόθ' ἂν ἀμφιθαλὴς | Ζεὺς ἐπὶ χεῖρα βάλοι*; (see a good note by T. G. Tucker *ad loc.*). Thus H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 336 f. (=*id Kleine Schriften* iv. 266 f.) regards Ἀμφιτρύων (*τρύω, τρυπᾶν*, κ.τ.λ.) as 'der nach Osten und Westen den Donnerkeil entsendende und damit durchbohrende Gewittergott,' an ancient *Sondergott* (*supra* p. 13 n. 1) absorbed into the all-prevailing personality of Zeus. I should myself put the matter somewhat differently. To my thinking Amphitryon, like Amphiaraos, was a king who played the part of a human Zeus and was named accordingly.

APPENDIX K.

ZEUS *TREPHÓNIOS* OR *TROPHÓNIOS*.

For the cult of Zeus Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος at Lebadeia Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 125 n. 1 cites the following evidence: Strab. 414 Λεβάδεια δ' ἐστίν, ὅπου Διὸς Τροφωνίου μαντεῖον ἵδρυται, χάσματος ὑπονόμου κατάβασιν ἔχον, καταβαίνει δ' αὐτὸς ὁ χρηστηριαζόμενος, Liv. 45. 27 Lebadiae quoque templum Iovis Trophonii adit (*sc.* L. Aimilius Paullus in 167 B.C.): ibi cum vidisset os specus, per quod oraculo utentes sciscitatum deos descendunt, sacrificio Iovi Hercynnaeque facto, quorum ibi templum est, etc., Iul. Obseq. *prod.* 110 (96 B.C.) Lebadiae Eutychides in templum Iovis Trophonii digressus tabulam aeneam extulit, in qua scripta erant quae ad res Romanas pertinerent, [add Ampel. 8. 3 ibi (*sc. Argis in Epiro!*—unless we may assume that a mention of Lebadeia has dropped out of the text, or that *pictum est* is to be supplied from the preceding clause) Iovis templum Trophonii (so D. *hyphonis* C.), unde est ad inferos descensus ad tollendas sortes: in quo loco dicuntur ii qui descenderunt Iovem ipsum videre], Hesych. *s.v.* Λεβάδεια· πόλις Βοιωτ[ε]ίας, ἔνθα καὶ μαντεῖον Διὸς τὸ ἱερὸν κατεσκεύαστο [*? leg.* μαντεῖον Διός, <Τροφωνίου> τὸ ἱερὸν κατασκευάσαντος], Phot. *lex.* (p. 154 Hermann) *s.v.* Λεβαδία· πόλις Βοιωτίας, ἐν ᾗ Διὸς μαντεῖον, Τροφωνίου κατασκευάσαντος, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3090=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 162 f. no. 423 Ἵππων Ἐπινίκαν Νικίαο | Διὶ Τρεφωνίοι on a square base formerly supporting a statue of Epinike (on the back of the same base was recorded the manumission of Athanon (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3080 *infra*); on its right side, that of Hermaïa (*ib.* no. 3081 *infra*): later the base was used for a statue of Drusus Caesar (*ib.* no. 3103)), *ib.* no. 3098=L. Stephani *Reise durch einige Gegenden des nördlichen Griechenlandes* Leipzig 1843 p. 70 f. no. 47 pl. 5 Διονύσῳ Εὐσταφύλῳ | κατὰ χρησμὸν Διὸς | Τροφωνίου, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3077, 3 ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Τροφωνίου Τροφωνιανός (the priest being named after his god, as Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 11 f. remarks).

Further, at Lebadeia—as I urged in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 301—Zeus bore the significant title Βασιλεύς (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3073, 89 f. and 93=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 589, 89 f. and 93=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 972, 89 f. and 93 εἰς τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Βασιλέως in an important inscription of *s.* ii B.C. dealing with the half-built temple on Mt St. Elias to the W. of *Livadia* (Paus. 9. 39. 4, *supra* p. 900 n. 0), *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3080, 1 ff. =R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 165 no. 430, 1 ff. [τὸ Γί]διο[ν] δουλι[κὸν | π]αιδάριον Ἀθάνωνα τῦ Δὶ τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κὴ τεῖ Τρεφωνίει ἰαρὸν εἶμεν τὸν πάν[τα | χ]ρόνον ἀπὸ τᾶσδε τᾶς ἁμέρας, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3081, 2 f. =R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 164 f. no. 429, 2 f. τὰν Γιδίαν δούλαν Ἑρμαΐαν τεῖ Δὶ τεῖ Βασιλεῖ κὴ τῦ Τρε[φ]ωνίν ἰαρὰν εἶμ[εν] | τὸν πάντα χρόνον, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3083, 6 ff.=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 163 no. 425, 6 ff.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1392, 6 ff. τὸν | Γίδιον θεράποντα Ἀν|δρικὸν τῦ Δὶ τῦ Βασιλεῦι | κὴ τῦ Τρεφωνίν ἰαρὸν εἶ]μεν παρμείναντα πὰρ | τὰν ματέρα Ἀθανοδώ|ραν Γέτια δέκα, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3085, 2 ff. τὸ ἴδιον δουλικὸν παι[δάριον | Σωκράτην, παραμείναντα Κι.....] καὶ Ἀριστοκίδι, τὸ[ν πάντα | χρόνον ἱερὸν κατὰ τὴν] ἀνάθ[ε]σιν τῷ Διὶ τῷ Βα[σιλεῖ], *ib.* no. 3091, 1 ff. =R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 162 no. 422, 1 ff.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1115, 1 ff. Νέων Γασκώ[νδαο] | ἀγωνοθετεί[σας] | τὰ Βασίλεια | τὸ ἑληοχρίσ[τιον] | ἀνέθεικε τοῖ [Δὶ] | τοῖ Βασιλε[ῖι] κ[ὴ τῆ] | πόλι in an inscription

which can be dated shortly after 250 B.C., cp. Polyb. 20. 5. 5, 8, 14, *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3096, 1 f. Διὶ Βασιλεῖ | καὶ τῇ πόλει Λεβαδέων | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* no. 4136, 1 ff. = M. Holleaux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 19 ff. no. 10, 27 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 635 *B*, 27 ff. Καλλικλίδας Λοκρὸς ἐσς Ὀπόεντος καταβὰς ἐν Τρεφών|νιον ἀνάγγειλε Λεπάδειαν τοῖ Διὶ τοῖ Βασιλεῖι ἀνθέμεν | κὴ τοῖ Τρεφωνίοι, κ.τ.λ., 32 f. ὅστις δέ κα τῶ | Διὸς τῶ Βασιλείος ἐπιμελειθείει τῶ ναῶ, τὸν στέφανον | ὕσστη in the record of an oracle delivered soon after 178 B.C.).

In view of the foregoing passages and inscriptions I would venture to reconstruct the story of the Lebadean cult as follows. Once upon a time there lived in the locality a king of the old magical sort (*supra* i. 12 ff.), who controlled the weather for his people (*supra* i. 79) and passed as a human Zeus (*supra* i. 247 (?), 545 n. 5, 547 (?), 662, 737 (?), ii. 24, 192, 794, 833, 897 n. 0, 940 n. 0, 944 f. n. 0, Append. H (3) and (4), Append. I, Append. J, *infra* Append. L *sub fin.*, Append. M *med.*)—one of those who in epic days came to be called Διοτρεφέες βασιλῆες (*Il.* 1. 176, 2. 98, 196, 445, 14. 27, *Od.* 3. 480, 4. 44, 63, 7. 49, *h. Dion.* 11, Hes. *theog.* 82, 992: see H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 311 f.) because it was remembered that they were at least intimately related to the sky-god (either by descent (schol. *Il.* 1. 176 citing Hes. *theog.* 96 ἐκ δὲ Διὸς βασιλῆες, Hesych. *s.v.* Διοτρεφέων), or by special favour (*Il.* 2. 196 f. with Eustath. *in Il.* p. 199, 20 ff. ἐνταῦθα δὲ καὶ ἐφερμηνέυει, διὰ τί Διογενεῖς καὶ Διοτρεφεῖς τοὺς βασιλεῖς λέγει, οὐχ ὅτι ἐκ Διὸς τὸ γένος ἕλκουσιν, ἀλλ' ὅτι ἐξ ἐκείνου αὐτοῖς ἡ τιμή. φησὶ γάρ· "τιμὴ δ' ἐκ Διός ἐστιν," ἡ τῆς βασιλείας δηλαδή. ἀφιδρύματα γὰρ ὡσανεὶ Διὸς ἐδόκουν εἶναι οἱ βασιλεῖς, cp. *ib.* p. 316, 33 f.): the relation is moralised by Themist. *or.* 6 p. 79 A—B ἡ δὲ εἰς ἀνθρώπους ἀρετὴ καὶ πρᾳότης καὶ εὐμένεια...μὴ καὶ μᾶλλόν ἐστιν ἐγγυτέρα τῷ κοινωνοῦντι τῆς φύσεως; αὕτη ποιεῖ θεοείκελον, αὕτη θεοειδῆ, οὕτω Διοτρεφὴς γίνεται βασιλεύς, οὕτω Διογενής, οὕτως αὐτῷ τὴν θειότητα ἐπιφημίζοντες οὐ ψευσόμεθα). Now Διοτρέφης, Διειτρέφης, and similar names have a shortened form Τρέφων (A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 269), and Τρέφων by the addition of a common suffix would become Τρεφώνιος. Hence our local king, when dead and buried, was still consulted as Zeus Τρεφώνιος or—since he was responsible for the crops (*supra* i. 79)—as Zeus Τροφώνιος (Max. Tyr. 41. 2 τὸν Δία...τὸν καρπῶν τροφέα, cp. Zeus Ὀπωρεύς in *Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2733 = Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 151 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 213, 396 no. 567 an early inscription from Akraiphia Κρίτων καὶ Θειόσδοτος τοῖ | Διὶ τὠπωρεῖι. Other appellatives of Zeus with the same general significance are collected and discussed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 243 n. 67, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1109 n. 1). In support of this explanation it should be noted that, when Q. Titius and Salvenius obtained from Trophonios at Lebadeia prophecies concerning Sulla, ἀμφότεροι...ταὐτὰ περὶ τῆς ὀμφῆς ἔφραζον· τῷ γὰρ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διὶ καὶ τὸ κάλλος καὶ τὸ μέγεθος παραπλήσιον ἰδεῖν ἔφασαν (L. Cornelius Sulla *rer. gestar. frag.* 16 Peter *ap.* Plout. *v. Sull.* 17). Further, Paus. 9. 39. 10 compares the oracular building to a κρίβανος or 'baking jar,' *i.e.* one of the domical earthen ovens still used in the east for baking bread (J. H. Middleton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1888 ix. 313 f.). It was in fact the *thólos*-tomb of an old Boeotian king (cp. schol. Loukian. p. 255, 21 ff. Rabe). Those who descended into it to consult the divinised dead took honey-cakes in their hands (Aristoph. *nub.* 506 ff., Paus. 9. 39. 11, Poll. 6. 76, Loukian. *dial. mort.* 3. 2, Max. Tyr. 14. 2, Hesych. *s.v.* μαγίδες) for the reptiles that they might encounter (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 19 p. 335 Kayser, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 = Souid. *s.v.* Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια, Eudok. *viol.* 930) because the man who first penetrated its recesses found there

two snakes and appeased them with honey-cakes (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508). It was even said that the oracle was delivered by a snake (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508=Souid. *s.v.* *Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια*) or snakes (Souid. *s.v.* *μελιτοῦττα*), to which the inhabitants threw honey-cakes. Snakes, it would seem, were as sacred to Trophonios as they were to Asklepios (Paus. 9. 39. 3): indeed, in the cave from which flowed the stream Herkyna there stood images of Trophonios and Herkyna with snakes coiled about their staves so that they resembled Asklepios and Hygieia (Paus. *ib.*). According to the story current in the district, Herkyna (a sort of Demeter, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 152 f. *Ἐνναία...* | *Ἕρκυνν' Ἐρινὺς κ.τ.λ.* with Tzetz. *ad loc.* *Ἕρκυνν' Ἐρινὺς ἐπώνυμα Δήμητρος. κ.τ.λ.*, Hesych. *Ἑρκύνια* (so S. Potter for *Ἑρκήνια*)· *ἑορτὴ Δήμητρος.* Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 353 says: 'wohl eine Fruchtbarkeit spendende Quellgöttin, der arkadischen Demeter ähnlich'), playing with Kore, had lost a goose, which flew into a cave and hid beneath a stone till Kore came in and found it: the stream springing from the spot, whence Kore had lifted the stone, was called Herkyna. And in the temple of Herkyna near the bank of the stream a maiden was still to be seen with a goose in her hands (Paus. 9. 39. 2 f.). The story reminds us that Zeus, to win Nemesis or Leda, transformed himself into a goose (*supra* i. 279 n. 4, 760 n. 2). It may, I think, be divined that the goose in the hands of the maiden was Zeus himself in animal form. For that Zeus was associated with Herkyna appears from Paullus' sacrifice 'Iovi Hercynnaeque' (*supra* p. 1073). L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 94 finds an illustration of the Lebadean tale on a *rhytón*, shaped like a bull's head, found at Ruvo and now in the Jatta collection, which shows (*a*) Zeus seated with thunderbolt and sceptre, and (*b*) a maiden pursuing a goose (published by T. Avellino in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1856 Nuova Serie iv. 114 f. pl. 11, 2, 1, 3=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 483, 4, 3, 6): but this is perhaps a mere juxtaposition of the sublime with the ridiculous (Maybaum *Der Zeuskult in Boeotien* Doberan 1901 p. 19 detects 'eine Genrescene'). Be that as it may, Trophonios was not only a dead man, but also a living god (Loukian. *dial. mort.* 3. 1 f.), and as such received the rites due to a god (Charax *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 637 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508 *καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ ὡς θεῷ*), being, as we have seen, frequently identified with Zeus (in Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 55, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14, with a chthonian Hermes: cp. Paus. 9. 39. 7). This, however, does not preclude a certain likeness to Amphiaraos; for Trophonios too was swallowed by the earth at a place in Lebadeia, where there was a hole (*βόθρος*) of Agamedes and a *stéle* beside it (Paus. 9. 37. 7, cp. 9. 39. 6?). The name *Καταβάσιον* sometimes given to the oracular building (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 508=Souid. *s.v.* *Τροφωνίου κατὰ γῆς παίγνια*) bears a superficial resemblance to that of Zeus *Καταβάτης*, but means presumably the sacred spot 'to which men descend' (cp. Dikaiarchos *περὶ τῆς εἰς Τροφωνίου καταβάσεως* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 266 ff. Müller), and a work by Plutarch with the same title—no. 181 in the catalogue of Lamprias (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1911 ii. 1. 371 n. 4)). J. Vürtheim 'De Eugammonis Cyrenaei Telegonia' in *Mnemosyne* 1901 xxix. 27—30 regards both Agamedes and Trophonios as hypostases of Zeus: 'Sed indigetando ex uno hoc Iove (vel Mercurio) dii tres sunt facti, e quibus unus Clymenus (i.e. *Ζεὺς Κλύμενος* vel *Περικλύμενος*) avum repraesentabat, secundus Trophonius antiquo nomine servato vates fiebat, tertius Agamedes (i.e. sagacissimus) indolem prudentem *τοῦ χθονίου θεοῦ* indicabat; deinde e dis mutati in reges mythicos (ut Amphiaraus ille)' etc....'Vidimus igitur Iovem *τροφώνιον χθόνιον* e spelunca sua in lucem quasi protractum in duos heroas abiisse, quemadmodum Amphiaraus est natus

e Iove Amphiarao et subterraneus Iuppiter plurimis locis *cognominibus variis* invocabatur, qualia sunt Ζεὺς Εὔβουλος vel Εὐβουλεύς, Βουλαῖος, Κλύμενος' etc. But this explanation leaves unexplained the peculiar character of the Καταβάσιον. I much prefer to suppose that it was the *thólos* of an ancient Lebadean king, who in his day played the part of Zeus. The worship of Zeus Βασιλεύς, which—as we have seen—flourished at Lebadeia, implies a similar, though not identical, tradition. We may, in fact, conceive of the local cult as having developed along the following divergent lines:

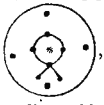
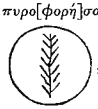
Trophonios is said to have been succeeded at Lebadeia by St Christopher the martyr (schol. Loukian. p. 255, 15 ff. Rabe); but see Frazer *Pausanias* v. 198 f. and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 39. 4.

APPENDIX L.

ZEUS *ASKLEPIÓS.*

The cult of Zeus Ἀσκληπιός at Epidauros, Hermione, and Pergamon is attested by a considerable body of evidence, inscriptional, literary, and monumental.

(1) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Inscriptions.

M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1000 Epidauros [Γᾶ(?)]ος Ἰο[ύ]λιος Ἀ[σια]]τικός, *ἱεραπολή|σας ἔτους πα'*, | *κελεύσα[ν]τι* | *Διὶ* Ἀσκληπιῷ | Σωτῆρι. | with the numeral *ιϑ'* and the symbol  , which—as C. Blinkenberg in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 175 ff. and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 384, 391 showed—represents the wreath of Asklepios. P. Kabbadias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1884 p. 24 no. 65=*id. Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 58 no. 136 inserted a comma between *Διὶ* and Ἀσκληπιῷ, but E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1661 and M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* rightly reject it. M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1022 Epidauros – – – – – – – *ν* – – – – | – – – – *ος Διογνήτου ἱερεὺς* | Ἀσκληπιῷ *Διὶ κατὰ ὄναρ.* | with the numeral *ϙς'*. *Id. ib.* i no. 1086 Epidauros Παταῖος – – – | *πυρο[φορή]σας* | Ἀσκληπιῶι | *Διὶ* Τελείωι. | with the numeral *ϙζ'* and the symbol  , which C. Blinkenberg in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 175 f. took to be 'le rameau...comme un signe de la soumission et du respect

le plus profond' and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 385, 392 described as 'Zweig (oder Baum?),' 'wahrscheinlich...ein Palmenzweig,' while M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 188 calls it 'Ramus olivae s. quercus.' C. Blinkenberg in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 385 n. 2 read the name of the dedicator as ΠΑΙΛΙΟΣ *i.e.* Πόπλιος Αἴλιος and put a comma between Ἀσκληπιῶι and *Διί*. M. Fränkel in his note on the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1086 thinks Blinkenberg's reading possible, but demurs to his punctuation. The inventory-symbols, which appear to have been added to the inscriptions *c.* 306 A.D. (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i. 186), suffice to prove that at Epidauros Asklepios was then known as Zeus Ἀσκληπιὸς Σωτήρ and Zeus as Asklepios Ζεὺς Τέλειος. A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1198=M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 692=W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 185 no. 3396 Hermione Ξενότιμος Πολυκλέος | Δάματρι Χθονίαι, Διὶ Ἀ(σκ)λαπιῶι, where K. O. Müller *Die Dorier*[2] Breslau 1844 i. 403 n. 3 corrected M. Fourmont's reading ΔΙΙΑΡΓΙΛΑΠΙΩΙ to ΔΙΙΑΣΚΛΑΠΙΩΙ. P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* i. 58 and W. Prellwitz *loc. cit.* assume a series of three deities; but A. Boeckh *loc. cit.* and M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* treat Διὶ Ἀσκλαπιῶι as one god.

(2) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Literature.

Their view is supported by E. Thraemer *loc. cit.*, who adds: 'Besonders häufig findet sich Zeus A. bei Aristeides, nicht etwa ein blos rhetorischer Ausdruck für die Hoheit des Gottes, sondern Anlehnung an einen ganz bestimmten Kult der Stadt Pergamos. Dieser hat mit dem schon in hellenistischer Zeit blühenden vorstädtischen Asklepieion freilich nichts zu thun, ist vielmehr eine Neuschöpfung des 2. Jhdts. v. Chr., seine Stätte die grösste Ruine der Unterstadt, die früher Basilika genannte, jetzt in Berlin für Thermen gehaltene Anlage über dem Selinos. Dass wir es hier mit dem Tempel und ἄλσος des Zeus A. zu thun haben, werde ich demnächst an anderem Orte nachweisen.' See further K. Pilling *Pergamenische Kulte* Naumburg a. S. 1903 p. 23 ff. (cited by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 271) and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 295, 1094 n. 19, 1456 n. 4. Cp. Aristeid. *or.* 6. 37 (i. 64 f. Dindorf) καὶ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ νεὼν οὐκ ἄλλως οἱ τῇδε ἱδρύσαντο. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐμοὶ σαφὴς ὁ διδάσκαλος, εἰκὸς δὲ παντὸς μᾶλλον, ἐν ὅτῳ δὲ ταῦτ' ἐδίδαξε τρόπῳ καὶ ὅπως ἐν τοῖς ἱεροῖς λόγοις εἴρηται, οὗτός ἐσθ' ὁ τὸ πᾶν ἄγων καὶ νέμων σωτὴρ τῶν ὅλων καὶ φύλαξ τῶν ἀθανάτων, εἰ δὲ θέλεις τραγικώτερον εἰπεῖν, ἔφορος οἰάκων, σώζων τά τε ὄντα ἀεὶ καὶ τὰ γιγνόμενα. εἰ δ' Ἀπόλλωνος παῖδα καὶ τρίτον ἀπὸ Διὸς νομίζομεν αὐτόν, αὖθις αὖ καὶ συνάπτομεν τοῖς ὀνόμασιν, ἐπεί τοι καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν Δία γενέσθαι λέγουσί ποτε, πάλιν δὲ αὐτὸν ἀποφαίνουσιν ὄντα τῶν ὄντων πατέρα καὶ ποιητήν, *or.* 23. 283 (i. 456 Dindorf) ὁ δὲ στέφανος ἦν ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ (for the wreath of Asklepios C. Blinkenberg in the *Nordisk Tidsskrift for Filologi* Tredie Række 1894—1895 iii. 176 f. and in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 391 cites, not only the Epidaurian symbol, but also a red-figured *kratér* from Boiotia, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 626 f. no. 1926), published by O. Kern in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 131 ff. pl. 7=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 515, 1 f., which shows (*a*) Asklepios on a couch feeding a huge snake from a Boeotian cup in his right hand and holding an egg in his left hand, the wall hung with four garlands, (*b*) Hygieia seated, grasping a sceptre with her left hand and extending her right towards a girl, who carries a basket of fruits and cakes and an *oinochóe*, the wall hung with three garlands and votive limbs, and a Messenian copper of Roman date (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 112 pl. 22, 16, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 66 pl. P, 1 f.), on which

Asklepios appears with a large wreath by his side), *or.* 23. 290 (i. 464 Dindorf) καὶ ἅμα λαμβάνω τινὰ ἐπιστολὴν πρὸ ποδῶν κειμένην τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, *or.* 26. 332 (i. 516 Dindorf) μετὰ δὲ ταῦτα βουλομένοις ἡμῖν κοινῇ περὶ τοῦ ἀναθήματος συνεδόκει καὶ τῷ ἱερεῖ καὶ τοῖς νεωκόροις ἀναθεῖναι ἐν Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, ταύτης γὰρ οὐκ εἶναι χώραν καλλίω· καὶ οὕτω δὴ τοῦ ὀνείρατος ἡ φήμη ἐξέβη. καὶ ἔστιν ὁ τρίπους ὑπὸ τῇ δεξιᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ, εἰκόνας χρυσᾶς ἔχων τρεῖς, μίαν καθ' ἕκαστον τὸν πόδα, Ἀσκληπιοῦ, τὴν δὲ Ὑγιείας, τὴν δὲ Τελεσφόρου. κ.τ.λ.

(3) Zeus *Asklepiós* in Art.

In art the type of Asklepios was not uninfluenced by that of Zeus. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 186 ff. regards a whole series of standing Asklepios-statues as copies of a Myronian original representing Zeus (Strab. 637 notes a Zeus by Myron formerly grouped with an Athena and a Herakles by the same sculptor at Samos, but later erected by Augustus in an *aedicula* on the Capitol at Rome): 'The restful conception that marks the older type of Zeus exactly suited the mild character of Asklepios.' Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 379 holds that 'das Ideal des Asklepios wesentlich als eine geistreiche Umbildung des von Phidias ausgeprägten Zeusideales erscheint, eine Umbildung, die unter Beibehaltung der meisten charakteristischen Formen doch vermöge ihrer Herabsetzung auf ein reiner Menschliches die Hoheit des Weltregierers durch die herzliche Milde und Klugheit des hilfreichen Heilgottes zu ersetzen weiss': accordingly he traces the canonical bearded type of Asklepios to the cult-statue of the god by Pheidias' pupil Alkamenes at Mantineia (Paus. 8. 9. 1). E. Reisch in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 p. 21 f. assumes that this statue showed the god standing as on imperial coppers of Mantineia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 187 pl. 35, 9, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 93 pl. S, 15, Rasche *Lex. Num.* v. 183 f.), and that the same figure appearing with inverted sides on Athenian silver ((i) ΜΕΝΕΔ ΕΠΙΓΕΝΟ *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. pp. xliv, 63 pl. 11, 6, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 150 pl. EE, 2, E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 331 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 383 accepting J. Sundwall's date, 177 B.C.; (ii) ΔΙΟΚΛΗΣ ΛΕΩΝΙΔΗΣ E. Beulé *op. cit.* p. 401, Head *op. cit.*[2] p. 386 dating *c.* 86 B.C. to time of Augustus) and copper coins (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 109 pl. 19, 4, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 150 pl. EE, 3 f., E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 331) attests the existence in the Asklepieion at Athens of a similar statue by Alkamenes or one of his pupils. But, after all, the coins adduced by Reisch exhibit common poses of Asklepios (the coppers of Mantineia show *schema* iii of E. Thraemer's classification in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 636; the silver and copper coins of Athens, *schema* i *ib.* i. 634 f.), and it is far from certain that they were intended to portray cult-statues, let alone works by Alkamenes. We are on firmer ground in observing that Kolotes, who helped Pheidias with his Zeus at Olympia (Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 87, 35. 54), made a wonderful ivory statue of Asklepios for Kyllene (Strab. 337). If this, like Zeus at Olympia, was a seated figure, Kolotes paved the way for Thrasymedes of Paros, whose chryselephantine Asklepios at Epidauros (bibliography in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 148 n. 1) was half the size of the Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Athens (Paus. 2. 27. 2) and was, by a natural blunder, attributed to Pheidias himself (Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 17 p. 19, 15 f. Schwartz). Thrasymedes' cult-statue was decidedly Zeus-like in appearance—witness the silver (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 156 pl. 29, 14, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner

Num. Comm. Paus. i. 43 pl. L, 3, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1892 xii. 14 f. pl. 1, 17, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 11 fig. 6 enlarged=*id. Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 150 fig. 104, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 441) and copper coins of Epidauros (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 159 pl. 29, 22 f., cp. *ib.* p. 158 pl. 29, 19, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 43 pl. L, 4 f., J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 10 f. figs. 3—5 enlarged=*id. Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 150 f. figs. 105—107, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 442), and an imperial copper of Kleonai (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 133, *id.* and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 32, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 441). The god is seated to the left with his left foot advanced, holding a long sceptre high up in his left hand and extending his right hand over the head of a coiled snake. Beneath his seat (silver coins) or behind it (coppers) lies a dog (see H. Gaidoz 'À propos des chiens d'Épidaure' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1884 ii. 218—222, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 141, F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2576 f.). The seat itself is sometimes a high-backed throne (silver and copper coins), sometimes a mere stool (silver coins). Other Zeus-like types of Asklepios seated occur on coppers of Argos—perhaps after the group by Xenophilos and Straton (Paus. 2. 23. 4), which followed the main lines of Thrasymedes' work (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 40 f. pl. K, 47, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 151 no. 166),

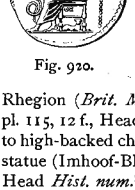


Fig. 920.

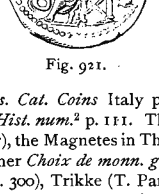


Fig. 921.

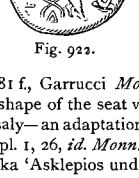


Fig. 922.

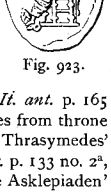


Fig. 923.

Rhegion (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 381 f., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 165 pl. 115, 12 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 111. The shape of the seat varies from throne to high-backed chair), the Magnetes in Thessaly—an adaptation of Thrasymedes' statue (Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de monn. gr.*[1] pl. 1, 26, *id. Monn. gr.* p. 133 no. 2[a], Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 300), Trikke (T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 353 pl. 1, 13, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 52 pl. 11, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 311 'Asklepios seated, feeding serpent with bird, or resting on crooked staff'! Fig. 922, from a well-preserved specimen of mine, shows the god to have a sceptre and the bird to be a goose (cp. Loukian. *Alex.* 13 f. cited *infra*)), Ainos (*Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 199 pl. 5, 28), Anchialos (*ib.* ii. 1. 1. 272 pl. 8, 2), Bizye (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, 1548, Suppl. i. 295), Serdike (*ib.* viii. 673, Suppl. i. 295), Mytilene (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 201 pl. 40, 3=*supra* p. 260 fig. 172, p. 206 pl. 41, 4), Pergamon—perhaps after the statue of Phyromachos (Polyb. 32. 27. 4, Diod. 31 *frag.* 46 Bekker (ii. 2. 128 Dindorf), Souid. *s.v.* Προυσίας *bis*: diverse possibilities are mooted by P. Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* iii. 608, W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1882 ii. 14 ff., W. Amelung 'Der Asklepios des Phyromachos zu Pergamon' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1903 xviii. 1 ff., H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1908 ii. 19 f. Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 604 no. 595, Suppl. v. 443 no. 1018, T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 352 f.

pl. 1, 8, p. 353 pl. 1, 17, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Asiatic Greece p. 98, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 121 pl. 25, 9, cp. *ib.* p. 156 pl. 32, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 534), Herakleia Salbake (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. pp. 116, 120 pl. 20, 9), Neapolis in Samaria (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. 65 f. pl. 7, 3): cp. coins of Antoninus Pius (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 154, Suppl. i. 295 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 381 no. 1138). The same Zeus-like figure appears on gems (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 111 no. 2356, *supra*

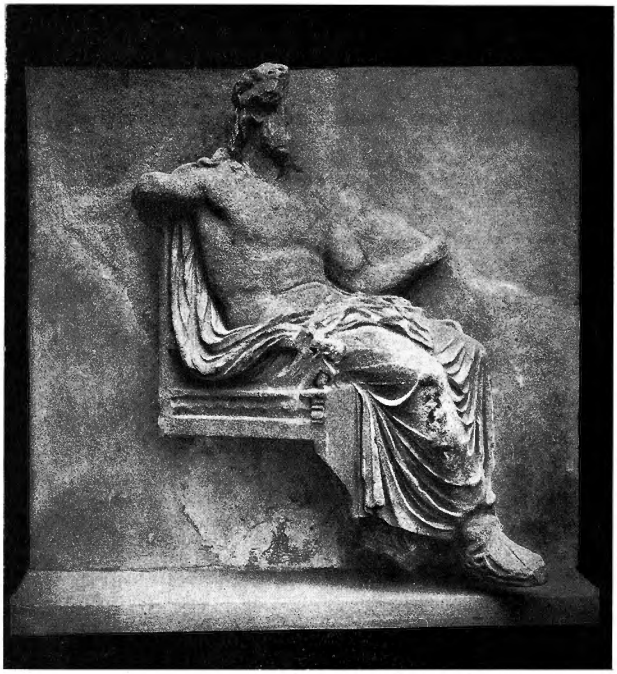


Fig. 924.

i. 357 n. 4, a small convex 'plasma,' which I reproduce in fig. 923 from T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 289 pl. 1, 10. Asklepios (? Zeus Ἀσκληπιός) is enthroned to the left with serpent-sceptre: on the back of the throne, behind his head, stands a Nike; beneath his left foot lies a ram's-head; in his right hand is a pine-cone, possibly resting on a *phiále* (?); before his feet is a second pine-cone (cp. Asklepios at Sikyon as described by Paus. 2. 10. 3 *ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ ὁ θεός ἐστιν οὐκ ἔχων γένεια,*

χρυσοῦ καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Καλάμιδος δὲ ἔργον· ἔχει δὲ καὶ σκῆπτρον καὶ ἐπὶ τῆς ἑτέρας χειρὸς πίτυος καρπὸν τῆς ἡμέρου with Sir J. G. Frazer's note *ad loc.*). Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 124 no. 2677 pl. 24 a cornelian = Asklepios (?) seated on a stool gazing at a beardless head held in his right hand, a serpent-staff before him, *ib.* p. 248 no. 6753 pl. 48 a cornelian = Asklepios (?) with portrait features, seated on a stool, plucking fruit and placing it in a basket on an altar (?), a serpent-staff before him). Indeed, Asklepios was commonly conceived as a kindly, human Zeus,

Fig. 925.

conversant with the ways of men and able to cure their ailments. The difference between Zeus and Asklepios may be readily grasped, if we set side by side two reliefs of Pentelic marble found in the precinct at Epidauros (Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 42 f. no. 173 f., P. Kabbadias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 48 ff. pl. 2, 6 and 1894 p. 11 ff. pl. 1, *id. Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 22 pl. 9, 21, A. Defrasse—H. Lechat *Épidaure* Paris 1895 p. 83 ff. with figs., Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 3, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt.*

gr. ii. 186 f. fig. 88). Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 148—154 no. 173 f. pl. 31 (cp. my figs. 924, 925) has made out a strong case for supposing that they were metopes from the temple of Asklepios, carved in *s.* iv B.C. On his showing the one (fig. 924) represents Zeus seated on a throne, the arms of which are supported by winged sphinxes and end in rams'-heads. His right hand held a sceptre; his left was extended. An ample *himátion*, draped over the back of the throne and round the legs of the god, left bare his broad chest. His head wore a metal wreath (holes for attachment remain), and his feet were shod with sandals of strap-work. Altogether he was an august and imposing figure. The other relief (fig. 925) shows Asklepios, very similar in attitude and costume, but curiously diverse in effect. A comfortable man with soft, podgy body, he sits on a cushioned chair with easy back, crosses his feet, and talks with a gesture of his right hand. He might be a Harley Street consultant prescribing for a patient. The same humanity and affability are characteristic of Asklepios, even when an attempt is made to emphasise his Zeus-hood by means of external attributes. For instance, an alliance-copper of Pergamon and Ephesos, struck by Commodus, has Asklepios standing, in his right hand the serpent-staff, in his left a Nike, who offers a wreath to Artemis (Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 888, Suppl. i. 295: but cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 164 pl. 33, 4), while coppers of Caracalla show Asklepios with little Telesphoros to the left and the cosmic globe to the right (Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 158, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 775 f., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 178 no. 329 f. P·M·TR·P·XVIII·IMP·III·COS·IIII·P·P·S·C· first brass, cp. *ib.* iv. 179 no. 331 do. do. without Telesphoros. Fig. 926 is from a second brass in my collection. For other examples of Asklepios with the globe see Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 298 f.: E. Loewe *De Aesculapi figura* Strassburg 1887 p. 75 n. 7).

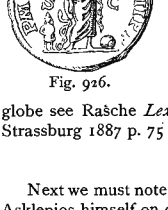


Fig. 926.

(4) *Asklepiós* and the Snake.

Next we must note the constant association of this human Zeus with a snake. Asklepios himself on occasion took that form. He travelled from Epidauros to Sikyon as a snake drawn by mules; and from the roof of his temple in the latter town hung a small figure of Aristodama, the mother of his son Aratos, riding on a snake (Paus. 2. 10. 3): the creature so ridden was presumably none other than the god, who was believed to have consorted with Aristodama in snake-form (Paus. 4. 14. 7 f., cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 866 n. 1). Again, it was as a snake that Asklepios came from Epidauros to Epidauros Limera on the east coast of Lakonike: he slipped out of the ship and dived into the earth not far from the sea at a place where altars, planted about with olive trees, were erected to him (Paus. 3. 23. 7: see F. W. Hasluck in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 179). At Lebena in Crete there was a famous temple of Asklepios (Paus. 2. 26. 9, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 34 p. 152 f. Kayser), where incubation was practised (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 839, 1 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 303. 1 f.): the divine snake sent by Asklepios to guide his priest the son of Aristonymos to the temple-spring and forty-seven years later sent on a similar errand to show Soarchos, priest in his father's room, how to replenish the failing spring (see the interesting inscription from Lebena (*Leda*) published by T. Baunack in *Philologus* 1890 xlix. 578 ff. and R. Meister *ib.* 1891 l. 570 ff.) should probably be viewed 'als Inkarnation des Gottes selbst' (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.*

p. 1448 n. 7). Whether the snake followed by Antinoe, daughter of Kepheus and granddaughter of Aleos, when she refounded Mantineia on its historical site (Paus. 8. 8. 4 f.), was Asklepios (as Miss Harrison apparently assumes in *Themis* p. 381 n. 5) is very doubtful. In 293—291 B.C. Asklepios was fetched from Epidauros to Rome and duly domiciled on the island in the Tiber; he arrived in the guise of a golden snake (Liv. 10. 47. 7, *per.* 11 Aesculapi signum... anguem...in quo ipsum numen esse constabat, Ov. *met.* 15. 622 ff. especially 669 f. cristis aureus altis | in serpente deus etc., 737 erigitur serpens, etc., cp. *fast.* 1. 291 f., Val. Max. 1. 8. 2 anguis, Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 94 τοῦ δράκοντος, Plin. *nat. hist.* 29. 72 anguis, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 22. 1—3 anguis, Sidon. *epist.* 1. 7. 12 serpentis Epidaurii: see further O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 282 f., H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 633—635)—a belief commemorated on coppers of the *gens Rubria* (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 406 ff. nos. 5 f. and 9 figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 312 pl. 38, 5, i. 313 n. 1 fig. under date *c.* 86 B.C.) and on bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 9 pl. 43, 1 = my fig. 927 and ii. 9 pl. 43, 2, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 7 no. 4 pl. 8, 3, cp. p. 7 no. 5, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 51 ff. figs., Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 140 fig. 150, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 20 fig. Father Tiber, reclining amid his waters, rests his left elbow on an urn, holds a reed in his left hand, and extends his right to greet the snake on its arrival. The galley, whose steersman and rowers(?) are visible, passes under the Pons Fabricius towards the island, where buildings and a tree mark the new home of the god). Lastly, Lucian in his *Alexandros or the Sham Seer* tells how an impostor from Abonou Teichos, a coast-town in Paphlagonia, purchased a large tame snake at Pella in Makedonia (Loukian. *Alex.* 7), and with the aid of a confederate spread the news that Asklepios and his father Apollon were about to visit the Abonotichians (*ib.* 10). The rascals had made a snake's head of linen, painted it with a human expression, given it a mouth that could open and shut by means of horse-hairs, and added a black forked tongue that worked in the same way (*ib.* 12). Thus equipped Alexandros went to Abonou Teichos, where the worthy inhabitants were already digging the foundations of a new temple to greet the advent of the gods, buried a goose's egg containing a young reptile in the mud after dark (*ib.* 13) and duly discovered 'the new-born Asklepios' next morning to the astonishment of the bystanders (*ib.* 14). Alexandros now became the exhibitor of the god. He took into his bosom 'the Asklepios from Pella,' twined its body round his neck and let its tail hang down, but kept its head hidden under his armpit and showed the linen mask instead (*ib.* 15). The people were astounded at the miraculously rapid growth of the snake (*ib.* 16). Bithynians, Galatians, Thracians came flocking in; pictures, portraits, and images, some of bronze, some of silver, were made; and the god was named Glykon in obedience to an oracle of his own (*ib.* 18 εἰμὶ Γλύκων, τρίτον αἷμα Διός, φάος ἀνθρώποισι). From this time onwards Alexandros drove a roaring trade in oracles (*ib.* 19 ff.). A tube consisting of the windpipes of cranes introduced into the artificial head enabled an assistant outside to make 'the linen Asklepios' answer questions and deliver 'autophone

Fig. 927.

oracles'' (*ib.* 26). The fame of Glykon spread to Italy and made a sensation at Rome (*ib.* 30 ff.). Mysteries were instituted with hierophants, *daidoûchoi*, and a full ceremonial lasting three days (*ib.* 38 ff.). Alexandros even petitioned the emperor that new coins might be struck with an obverse design of Glykon and a reverse of himself bearing the *stémmata* of Asklepios and the *hárpe* of Perseus (*ib.* 58). The whole narrative is sufficiently amazing. But perhaps more amazing still is the fact that much collateral evidence can be quoted in its support. Copper coins of Abonou Teichos from the reigns of Antoninus Pius, Lucius Verus, Geta, Severus Alexander, Gordianus Pius, and Trebonianus Gallus represent the new-fangled god as a snake with a more or less human face (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 83 pl. 19, 1 = my fig. 928, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 129 ff. pl. 17, 12, 13, 16 (= my fig. 929), 19 with legend ΓΛΥΚΩΝ, cp. pl. 17, 20, 21, 22, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 505). Coppers of Nikomedeia in Bithynia struck by Caracalla and Maximus give the snake a definitely human head (M. Dumersan *Description des médailles antiques du cabinet de feu M. Allier de Hauteroche* Paris 1829 p. 70 pl. 11, 10, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 187 no. 48, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 513, 545 pl. 94, 12 = my fig. 930, pl. 94, 13 f.,

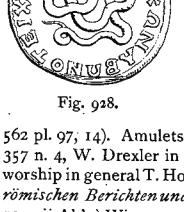


Fig. 928.

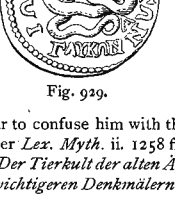


Fig. 929.

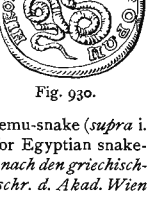


Fig. 930.

562 pl. 97, 14). Amulets appear to confuse him with the Khnemu-snake (*supra* i. 357 n. 4, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1258 ff., cp. for Egyptian snake-worship in general T. Hopfner *Der Tierkult der alten Ägypter nach den griechisch-römischen Berichten und den wichtigeren Denkmälern* (*Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1913 ii Abh.) Wien 1913 p. 136 ff.). Thus an agate in the Behr collection showed Khnemu as a lion-headed snake, with a radiate crown, accompanied by several inscriptions—ΧΝΟΥΒΙC in the field, ΓΛΥΚΩΝΑ in front, ΙΑΩ beneath, and a magical *formula* on the other side of the stone (F. Lenormant *Description des médailles et antiquités composantes le cabinet de M. le baron Behr* Paris 1857 p. 228 no. 76, *id.* in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 183, E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 28 fig. 6). Again, a red jasper in the Sorlin-Dorigny collection at Constantinople has Asklepios standing with a raven(?) behind his shoulder and a human-headed or lion-headed snake before him (F. Lenormant 'Un monument du culte de Glycon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1878 iv. 179 ff. with fig., E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 27 f. fig. 5). Two inscriptions from Apulum (*Carlsburg*) prove that the cult of Glykon reached Dacia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1021 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4079 Glyconi | M. Ant. | Onesas | iusso dei | l. p., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1022 Gl(y)co | M. Aur. | Theodo|tus ius|so dei p.). A third inscription found at *Blatsche* between Skoupoi (*Uskub*) and Stoboi associates the beast with the false prophet (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 8238 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no 4080 Iovi et Iuno|n. [et] Dracco|n. et Dracce|nae et Ale|xandro Epi|tynchanus [C. | F]uri Octavi[ani] | c. v.

posuit). See further F. Cumont 'Alexandre d'Abonotichos' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie Royale des Sciences de Belgique* 1887 xl. 13 ff., 37 ff. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1634 f., vii. 1468 f., E. Babelon 'Le faux prophète Alexandre d'Abonotichos' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1900 iv. 1—30 with 6 figs., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1692 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1487, O. Weinreich 'Alexandros der Lügenprophet und seine Stellung in der Religiosität des II. Jahrhunderts n. Chr.' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1921 xlvii. 129—151. The main point to bear in mind—a point commonly missed—is that the populace regarded Asklepios as essentially serpentiform.

(5) The Name *Asklepiós.*

This leads us to consider the question whether Ἀσκληπιός originally meant 'Snake' and nothing more. The name occurs in a puzzling variety of forms:

Ἀγλαόπης (Hesych. Ἀγλαόπης· ὁ Ἀσκληπιός. Λάκωνες. So Musurus for .γλαόπης cod., cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 329, 23, Souid. *s.v.* ἄγμασι, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἄγμασι).

Ἀγλαπιός (G. Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 131 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a *stéle* at Thalamai (*Koutiphari*) inscribed ΛΑΝΙΚΙΑ | ΑΝΕΘΗΚΕ | ΤΩΙΑΓΛΑΠΙΩΙ in lettering which M. N. Tod *ib.* assigns to *c.* 350 B.C. and W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1313 to *s.* v B.C.).

Ἀσκληπιός in epic, Ionic, Attic. Ἀσσκληπιός thrice in Attic inscriptions (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 89 n. 770), cp. Ἀσσκληπιάδης (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 771), Ἀσσκληπιόδωρος (*id. ib.* p. 89 n. 772).

Ἀσκλαπιός in non-Ionic dialects. Ἀσκαλπιός in a Gortynian inscription (F. Halbherr in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1889 i. 38 ff. C, 7 ΑΣΚΑΛΠΙΟΝ). Ἀσκλειπιός in a Spartan inscription (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1444, 10 ΑΣΚΛΕΙΠΙΟΥ) turns out to be a mistaken reading (H. J. W. Tillyard and A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 212 ΑΣΚΛΗΠΙΟΥ, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 602, 10).

Ἀσχλαπιός in a Boeotian inscription (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3191 f., 3 ΑΣΧΛΑΠΙΩ, 37 f. [ΑΣΧ]ΛΑΠΙΩ Orchomenos), cp. Ἀσχλάπων (Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 397 no. 571[a], 10 Akraiphia), but Ἀσκλαπίχιος (*ib.* i. 174 no. 476, 40 Orchomenos).

Αἰσχλαβιός in the alphabet of Megara or Corinth on the leg of an archaic bronze statuette from Bologna (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 6737, 2, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 549, 2, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 356, 2, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 146 no. 118 (*c*), 2 ΑΙΣΧΛΑΒΙΟΙ).

Αἰσκλαπιός in the oldest Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 8 on a bronze *phiále*, to be dated at the beginning of *s.* v B.C., if not earlier still, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1202 ΤΟΙΑΙΜΚΛΑΠΙΟΙ) and in an inscription from Troizen (E. Legrand in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 90 ff. no. 4, 3, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 771, 3 ΤΩΙΑΙΣΚΛΑΠ[ΙΩΙ]).

Αἰσκλαπιεύς in another early Epidaurian inscription (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 37 no. 10 from the rim of a bronze vessel ΙΙΙΙΜΙΞΙΓΛΑϒΚΙΑ⊣=τ' Αἰσκλαπιεῖ μ' [ἀνέθηκε—]).

Aisclapius in an inscription painted on an Etruscan cup (H. Jordan in the

Ann. d. Inst. 1884 lvi. 357 f. pl. R, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 2827 *b*, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2958 𐤀𐤔𐤒𐤋𐤐𐤉).

Aesclapius in an inscription at Narona (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 1766 AESCLAPIO, cp. *ib.* iii no. 1767, 1 [AE]SCLAPIO).

Aiscolapius in an inscription found in the Tiber (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30846, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3833).

Aescolapius in a trilingual (Latin, Greek, Phoenician) inscription on the base of a bronze column at *Santuacci* in Sardinia (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 7856, 1, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1874, 1, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 608, 1 AESCOLAPIO) and in two inscriptions from Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30849, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3834; *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 30847, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3835).

Aisculapius in an inscription from the Tiber-island (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 12, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3837).

Aesculapius, the normal form in Latin.

Esculapius on a bronze plate from the *ager Praenestinus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 2846, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3838).

In view of Asklepios' early connexion with Thessaly, special importance must be attached to the names Ἀσκαλαπιάδας at Iolkos (H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 115 no. 9, 1, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 378 no. 1284, 1 [Ἀσ]καλαπιάδ[ας]) and Ἀσκαλαπιόδωρος at Phalanna (H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 109 f. line 3, Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 384 no. 1330, 5 ΑΣΚΑΛΑΠΙΟΔΟΥΡΟΙ), since these point to an original Thessalian *Ἀσκαλαπιος (E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1642): cp. Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 186 no. 3398 *b*, 21 Hermione ΑΣΚΛΑΛΑ gen. of Ἀσκαλᾶς, J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1885 x. 13 no. 1 near Kotiaeion Ἀσκλᾶς καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶ[ς] | οἱ Ἀσκληπᾶ (A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 319). The ultimate meaning of Ἀσκληπιός has been much debated, and is still questionable. The ancients—children in philology—jumped to the conclusion that the second element in the name was ἥπιος, 'mild,' and used this word (Lyk. *Al.* 1054 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, *et. mag.* pp. 154, 45 ff., 434, 15 ff., Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 991, 10. 712, Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 463, 34 f., 860, 9 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 48 f., Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 70, 5 ff. Lang (?), cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 Add. no. 171 *b*, 8 and 13=*carm. pop.* 47, 6 and 11 Bergk⁴=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 53. 4 and 9) or its compounds ἠπιοδώτης, ἠπιόδωρος, ἠπιόφρων (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 51, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441) of the god himself—Demosthenes is even said to have sworn by Ἀσκλήπιος, not Ἀσκληπιός (Plout. *de vit. decem orat.* 8, Herodian. περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας 5 (i. 123, 1 ff. Lentz), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 37 ff., *in Od.* p. 1447, 64 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 40 f.),—and Ἠπιώνη, Ἠπιώ of his partner (Cornut. *theol.* 33 p. 71, 2 ff. Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1441 n. 9, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 186 ff.). But the first element puzzled them. They tried ἀσκεῖν (schol. *Il.* 4. 195, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 35 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 43 f.), ἀσκελές (*et. mag.* p. 154, 43 ff., 47 f., *et. Gud.* p. 83, 39 ff., Orion p. 9, 14 ff., Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 38 ff.), Ἄσκλης a supposed king of Epidauros (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1054, Favorin. *lex.* p. 296, 41 ff., cp. *et. mag.* p. 154, 45 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* p. 463, 34 f.), Αἴγλη the mother of Asklepios (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 35 f. no. 7, 50 ff.=Isyll. 19 f. Weir Smyth). Modern scholars have gone from bad to worse, starting with ἄλκω, 'I help,' whence an assumed *Ἀλξηπιος (A. F. Pott in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1857 vi. 401), and, after numerous blind alleys (see E. Thraemer in

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 616 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1643), ending in the *quartier juif* with *ish-kalbi*, 'l'homme-chien' (C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Revue critique* 1884 p. 502). Much more attractive is the view first put forward in 1860 by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 736, *viz.* that Ἀσκληπιός is akin to ἀσκάλαβος, 'lizard,'—a word which may well have had at one time a wider meaning and denoted 'snake.' This idea has commended itself, not only to mythologists (J. Maehly *Die Schlange im Mythus und Cultus der classischen Völker* Basel 1867 pp. 6, 8 f., M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 p. 93 n. 105, L. Deubner *De incubatione* Lipsiae 1900 p. 37, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1443 ff.), but also to philologists. C. Angermann in *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* herausgegeben von G. Curtius und K. Brugmann 1876 ix. 247 f. would trace both Ἀσκληπιός and ἀσκάλαβος, ἀσκαλαβώτης (perhaps also the bird-names ἀσκαλώπας, σκολόπαξ, and the insect-name σκολόπενδρα) to a root *skalp* or *skarp*, a lengthened form of *skar*, 'springen, sich hin und her bewegen.' A. Vaníček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 1079 says: '(σκαλ-π, σκλα-π, σκλη-π) Ἀ-σκληπ-ιό-ς m. (urspr. Schlange).' A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 313—323 'Asklepios und die heilschlange,' followed by Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 58, holds that Asklepios was originally a snake and explains the Thessalian *Ἀσκαλαπιος and the Cretan Ἀσκαλπιός by the help of the Hesychian glosses σκαλαπάζει· ῥέμβεται and σκαλπάζειν· ῥεμβωδῶς βαδίζειν. Thus Ἀσκληπιός would mean 'Creepy-crawly'—a likely enough name for a snake. Ἀσκάλαβος, 'lizard,' and ἀσκάλαφος, a species of 'owl' (Apollod. 2. 5. 12, Ov. *met.* 5. 538 ff., interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 462 f.) that haunts holes in the rock (cp. Apollod. 1. 5. 3, 2. 5. 12: see further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 36), are very possibly related forms, if not also σκολόπαξ, ἀσκολόπας, ἀσκαλώπας, 'woodcock' (*id. ib.* pp. 36, 155).

(6) Thessalian Kings as impersonations of Zeus.

The explanation of Ἀσκληπιός as formerly denoting a snake is perfectly compatible with the belief that the original bearer of the name was a Thessalian king. Drakon of Thebes, Ophis of Salamis, Python of Delphoi, etc. were all recognised as kings by Euhemeristic writers (see W. H. Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1201, O. Höfer *ib.* iii. 925 f., R. Wagner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1646 f.). But here, as elsewhere (*supra* i. 662), Euhemerism had a foundation in fact. Greeks and Romans alike regarded the soul of the dead as able to manifest itself in the form of a snake (the evidence is conveniently summarised by E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 62 ff., cp. W. Wundt *Völkerpsychologie* Leipzig 1906 ii. 2. 72 ff., *id. Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London—New York 1916 pp. 190 ff., 214, 368, O. Waser 'Über die äussere Erscheinung der Seele' etc. in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 354 ff.). A deceased king might well appear as a great beneficent snake, or at least be accompanied by such. And, when his soul-animal had come to be viewed as a mere attendant or attribute, explanatory myths would arise. Thus Asklepios was said to have reared his snake in an oak growing in a glen of Mt Pelion called Pelethronion (Nik. *ther.* 438 ff. with schol. and Eutekn. *ad loc.*: *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 83. Cp. the story told of Melampous by Apollod. 1. 9. 11), or again to have been placed by Zeus in the sky as the constellation Ophiuchus (*supra* i. 755 n. 9) because he had raised from the dead Hippolytos son of Theseus (pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 6, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14) or Glaukos son of Minos (Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 14). Such tales are late and of little value. It

is more important to note that the earliest home of Asklepios was in central Thessaly (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 623 and more fully in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1643 ff., 1662 f.), and that at Trikke he had an underground *ádyton* (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 34 ff. no. 7, 27 ff. *πρῶτος Μᾶλος ἔτευξεν Ἀπόλλωνος Μαλεάτα | βωμὸν καὶ θυσίαις ἠγλάϊσεν τέμενος. | οὐδέ κε Θεσσαλίας ἐν Τρίκκῃ πειραθείης | εἰς ἄδυτον καταβὰς Ἀσκληπιοῦ, εἰ μὴ ἐφ' ἁγνοῦ | πρῶτον Ἀπόλλωνος βωμοῦ θύσαις Μαλεάτα.* Cp. J. Ziehen 'Über die Lager des Asklepiosheiligtums von Trikka' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 195—197 and especially P. Kastriotes *Τὸ ἐν Τρίκκῃ τῆς Θεσσαλίας Ἀσκληπιεῖον* Athens 1903, *id.* *Τρίκκης Ἀσκληπιεῖον* in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1918 pp. 65—73) comparable with the *Καταβάσιον* of Trophonios at Lebadeia, which we have already (*supra* p. 1076) taken to be the *thólos* of an ancient king (A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 272 Index record *thólos*-tombs at Dhimini, Ghura, Kapakli, Marmariani, Rakhmani (?), Sesklo, Zerelia (?)). Moreover, there is reason to think that in early days Thessalian kings were wont to pose as Zeus. Salmoneus, the very type of a would-be Zeus (*supra* i. 12, 318), was a king hailing from Thessaly (Apollod. i. 9. 7, schol. Aristoph. *ran.* argum. 4, Souid. *s.v.* *Σαλμωνεύς*. See further J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 290). Keyx, who declared that his wife was Hera, and Alkyone, who dubbed her husband Zeus (Apollod. i. 7. 4, schol. *Il.* 9. 562, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 776, 19 ff., schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250. K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1580 f. suggests that the story in this form goes back to the Hesiodic *Κήυκος γάμος*), were commonly described as king and queen of Trachis in south Thessaly (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 250, Loukian. *Alcyon* 1, Ov. *met.* 11. 268 ff., 382 ff., Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 11. 10. See further K. Wernicke *loc. cit.* and H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 249 ff., ii. 1181 f.). Ixion, king of the Thessalian Lapithai, aspired to the hand of Hera, while conversely Zeus was enamoured of Ixion's wife Dia (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 420, 1906 xx. 378)—a case paralleled by that of Hera in love with the Thessalian Iason and Zeus in love with Medeia (*supra* i. 248). Now it is a very noteworthy fact that all these names, indeed the great bulk of the personages considered in the present discussion,—Amphiaraos, Trophonios, Asklepios, Askalaphos, Salmoneus, Alkyone, Ixion, Iason—belonged to the family of Aiolos (see the pedigree conveniently set forth by Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 223 ff.). The inference is that this custom of regarding the king as Zeus was characteristic of the Aeolians settled in Thessaly and central Greece. Asklepios, like the rest, was *ab origine* a king (he is *ἄναξ* in *h. Asklep.* 5, Aristoph. *Plout.* 748, Herond. 4. 1 and 18, P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 36 no. 7, 79, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 2292, 1 (Delos) = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 803. 1 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 225. 1 (see R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1904 vii. 95 ff.); *βασιλεύς* in *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5974 B, 1 (Rome) = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 967 *b*, 1 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* Add. no. 805 a, b *tit.* = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 247 *β* n., Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 33, Orph. *εὐχὴ πρὸς Μουσαῖον* 37, Cougny *op. cit.* 6. 180. 2 f. *Ἀσκλαπιὸς Καῖσαρ* in W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 130 no. 92, 5 f., *ib.* p. 153 no. 130, 4 f. = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 375 f. no. 3672, 5 f. is the deified Claudius), who played the part of Zeus during his life and was worshipped as Zeus after his death (E. Thraemer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 620 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1654 f. draws attention to the fact that several Greek localities could point to an alleged grave of Asklepios: Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 Aesculapiorum...secundus, secundi Mercurii frater. is, fulmine percussus, dicitur humatus esse Cynosuris, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 30. 3 p. 22, 14 Stählin *οὗτος μὲν οὖν κεῖται κεραυνωθεὶς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος ὄρεσι*

with schol. *ad loc.* p. 305, 31 Stählin κώμη Λακεδαίμονος, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 8 ff. Wünsch δεύτερος Ἰσχύος τοῦ Ἐλάτου καὶ Κορωνίδος,<ὃς ἐν τοῖς Κυνοσουρίδος suppl. C. B. Hase> ὁρίοις ἐτάφη, cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Octobris ix. 546 ('Passio S. Philippi episc., Severi presb. et Hermæ diac.' 1. 8) ignis ille divinus...et Scolapium medicum in monte Cynozuridos fulminatum consecrationem mereri in gentibus fecit, where cod. Bodecense rightly reads *Æsculapium* and the Bollandist editors wrongly (?) comment: 'apud Cynozurim Thessaliæ urbem sepultus' (*ib.* ix. 549). Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 57 tertius, Arsippi et Arsinoae,...cuius in Arcadia non longe a Lusio flumine sepulcrum et lucus ostenditur, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 142 p. 164, 10 ff. Wünsch τρίτος Ἀρσίππου καὶ Ἀρσινόης τῆς Λευκίππου·...καὶ τάφος αὐτῷ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. Clem. Rom. *hom.* 6. 21 (ii. 213 Migne) Ἀσκληπιὸς ἐν Ἐπιδαύρῳ (*sc.* κεῖται), Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 24 in Epidauro Aesculapii (*sc.* sepulcrum demonstratur). Cp. Tert. *ad nat.* 2. 14 Athenienses...Aesculapio et matri inter mortuos parentant with Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 217 n. 4, 218, 222 and F. Kutsch *Attische Heilgötter und Heilheroen* Giessen 1913 p. 16 ff.).

(7) Telesphoros.

Such an one might even be called Zeus Τέλεως (cp. the dedication Ἀσκληπιῶι Διὶ Τελείωι *supra* p. 1076). Further, the title τελεσφόρος, 'bringing the end, bringing to maturity' (see Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1971 C ff.), appropriate to the divine monarch (*h. Zeus* 1. f. Ζῆνα θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον ἀείσομαι ἠδὲ μέγιστον, |εὐρύοπα, κρείοντα, τελεσφόρον, κ.τ.λ.) and actually found on a Phrygian altar as his appellative (*supra* p. 838 n. 1), was a likely epithet of his human counterpart. And here it will be remembered that antiquity often associates with Asklepios a subordinate deity Telesphoros, who has been the subject of much speculation (L. Schenck *De Telesphoro deo* Göttingen 1888, W. Wroth 'Telesphorus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 283—300, *ib.* 1883 iv. 161 f., *ib.* 1884 v. 82 n. 2, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 70 f., S. Reinach 'Télesphore' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 343—349=*id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1455 n. 1, *alib.*, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 622, Harrison *Themis* p. 382 f.). We shall not be far wrong, if we regard him as the procreative power of Asklepios, split off from the god, to whom he at first belonged by way of appellative, and endowed with a separate and secondary personality. The existence of *Grabphalli* (*supra* i. 53 n. 1) and the birth-myths of Romulus and Servius Tullius (*supra* p. 1059) lead us to suppose that the buried ancestor in his procreative capacity might take the form of a simple *phallós* (with this interchange of human and phallic shapes cp. the statue of Nabu at Calah figured in two aspects by C. F. Lehmann-Haupt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 685 f.). Accordingly we sometimes meet with representations of Telesphoros as a *phallós* draped to look like a man or a boy. C. M. Grivaud de la Vincelle *Recueil de monumens antiques, la plupart inédits, et découverts dans l'ancienne Gaule* Paris 1817 i. 86 f., ii. pl. 10, 1—5 (of which 1, 3=my fig. 931) and pl. 11, 5 (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 75 no. 1, J. A. Dulaure *Histoire abrégée de différens cultes*[2] Paris 1825 ii. 242 f.) published a bronze statuette, found some forty years earlier in a tomb near Amiens, which shows a bearded male figure clad in a short tunic, a cape with a peaked hood (*bardocucullus*), and boots (*caligae*): the upper part—head, hood, and cape—can be lifted off, revealing a body that consists in an erect *phallós*. Similarly T. Panofka 'Asklepios und die Asklepiaden' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 324, 357 pl. 6, 5 and 5 a (=my fig. 932, C. O. Müller—F. Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* Göttingen 1856 ii. 4. 4 pl. 61, 789, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii.

469 no. 8 f.) published a bronze statuette at Copenhagen (L. Müller *Description des antiquités du Musée-Thorvaldsen* Section i et ii Copenhague 1847 p. 162 f. no. 50 height without the peak 3 Danish inches, with it 4, S. B. Smith *Kort Veiledning i Antikkabinettet i Kjøbenhavn* Kjöbenhavn 1864 p. 38 no. 123a), which repeats the type, except that the figure is a beardless youth and wears no sandals. One whose function is to bring to maturity might well be portrayed as either man or boy. Asklepios himself was beardless on occasion (Paus. 2. 10. 3 Sikyon (*supra* p. 1080), 2. 13. 5 Phlious, 8. 28. 1 Gortys. Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* pp. 277 n. 5, 300, E. Thraemer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1690 f., 1693 ff.) or even infantile (Paus. 8. 25. 11 Thelpousa, 8. 32. 5 Megalopolis. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5974 A, B (Rome)=*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 967

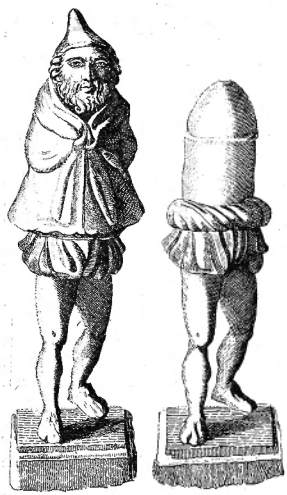


Fig. 931.

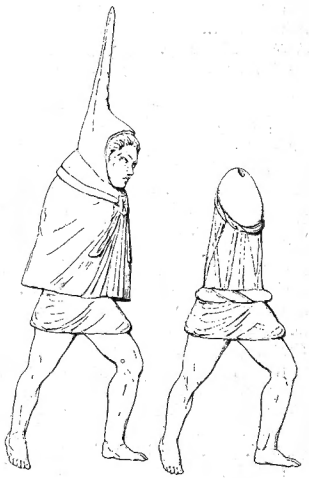


Fig. 932.

a, *b* = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* Add. no. 805 a, b = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 247 *a*, *β*: Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii, 181). The Copenhagen bronze is inscribed OMORION (Panofka *loc. cit.*), which could be connected with Zeus Ὁμόριος (Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1984 A quotes the title from Polyb. 2. 39. 6; but see *supra* i. 17 n. 4) or Ὅριος (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 74)=Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis* (*supra* i. 53, 520 n. 2. Cp. Aug. *de civ. Dei* 4. 11 ipse in aethere sit Iuppiter,... in Iano initiator, in Termino terminator. E. Samter 'Die Entwickelung des Terminuskultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 argues that the boundary-stone could not have been originally sacred to Iupiter, because at its erection offerings were placed in the hole prepared for it (Siculus Flaccus in the *Grom. vet.* i. 141 Lachmann)—a procedure suggestive of a chthonian rather than of a celestial power. But the lord of the property, who had been a celestial Iupiter during his life would be a chthonian Iupiter after his death). B. Borghesi in the *Bull. d. Inst.*

1831 p. 182 ff. and E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1846 xviii. pl. S, *ib.* 1847 xix. 327 ff. drew attention to a white marble Hermaphrodite-term, found near Ravenna, which is inscribed (Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5648 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi no. 351) IOV · TER · M | VAL · ANT · | AN · TI · CO · | V · L · S · | ☿ *ramus, i.e.*, according to Borghesi, Iov(i) Ter(minali) M(arcus) Val(erius) Ant(onius) Antico v(otum) l(ibens) s(olvit), or, as Mommsen suggested, M. Val(erius) Ant(iochus) An(nii) Ti(beriani) co(mes). It should be noted also that a *denarius* of Augustus, struck

Fig. 933.

Fig. 934.

c. 29—27 B.C., has *obv.* head of Octavian, *rev.* IMP | CAESAR an ithyphallic term of Octavian with a bay-wreath on his head and a winged thunderbolt at his feet (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 64 no. 153 fig., cp. *ib.* ii. 65 no. 155 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 16 no. 4360 f. pl. 60, 5 f., cp. *ib.* ii. 16 no. 4362 pl. 60, 7 = my fig. 933, Emp. i. pp. cxxiii f., 102 nos. 628—630 pl. 15, 10 f., cp. *ib.* i. 104 no. 637 pl. 15, 16, A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire numismatique* Leipzig 1881 i. 333 f. no. 732, cp. *ib.* i. 334 no. 733. Fig. 934 is from a specimen in my collection),—an excellent illustration of a mortal monarch aping the sky-god and credited with superhuman propagatory powers. See also Addenda *ad loc.*

APPENDIX M.

ZEUS *MEILÍCHIOS.*

(1) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Kephisos.

Zeus was worshipped under the title *Meilíchios* far and wide through the Hellenic world. *In primis* Athens had long been a centre of his cult. Pausanias, noting the objects of interest along the Sacred Way from Athens to Eleusis, remarks :

'When you have crossed the Kephisos there is an ancient altar of Zeus *Meilíchios*. At this altar Theseus was purified by the descendants of Phytalos after he had slain various brigands including Sinis, who was related to him through Pittheus[1].'

Plutarch's account is rather fuller :

'So Theseus went on and came to the Kephisos. Here he was met by men of the clan Phytalidai, who were the first to salute him. He begged them to purify him. Thereupon they cleansed him with the customary rites, offered Milichian sacrifices, and feasted him in their home, whereas up to that time no man had shown him hospitality by the way. His return is said to have fallen on the eighth day of the month Kronios, Hekatombaion as it is called nowadays[2].'

Dates of this sort are not invented at random, and we may fairly suppose that the local festival of Zeus *Meilíchios* was celebrated by the Phytalidai in their

[1] Paus. 1. 37. 4. [2] Plout. *v. Thes.* 12.

ancestral house[1] on Hekatombaion 8[2]. Plutarch adds that, in return for their entertainment, Theseus gave them charge over a sacrifice at the Oschophoria[3].

In the old Attic myth two points deserve to be stressed. On the one hand, Zeus *Meilíchios* was a god able to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed: we have already noted that the skins of animals sacrificed to him were used in purificatory rites[4]. On the other hand, the festival of this god was observed 'at home[5]' by a clan traditionally associated with the fig-tree and its fruit[6]: in fact, the descendants of Phytalos appear to have had special duties in regard to Zeus *Meilíchios*, much as the descendants of Anthos had in regard to Zeus *Lýkaios*[7].

(2) The Title *Meilíchios*.

We are, therefore, at once confronted with the difficult question: What is the meaning of *Meilíchios*? Does it denote 'the Kindly One' (*meílichos*, *meilíchios*)[8], a deity whose wrath could be readily appeased by the quaking man-slayer? Or does it rather signify 'the god of Figs' (*meílicha*)[9] with special

[1] Cp. Paus. 1. 37. 2 quoted *infra* n. 6.

[2] In the calendar of Mykonos (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 13 ff. no. 4, 29 ff., Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 29 ff., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 615, 29 ff.) Hekatombaion 7 is marked by the sacrifice of a bull and ten lambs to Apollon Ἑκατόμβαιος and by the sacrifice of a full-grown victim and ten lambs to Acheloios—a god who at Athens was closely connected with Zeus Μειλίχιος (*infra* p. 1117 f.). It seems possible that this Myconian festival on Hekatombaion 7 was the equivalent of an Athenian festival on Hekatombaion 8. But further evidence is lacking.

[3] Plout. *v. Thes.* 23: see J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 251 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 286 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* i. 422 ff.

[5] Plout. *v. Thes.* 12 καὶ δεομένου καθαρθῆναι τοῖς νενομισμένοις ἀγνίσαντες καὶ Μειλίχια θύσαντες εἱστίασαν οἴκοι.

[6] Paus. 1. 37. 2 ἐν τούτῳ τῷ χωρίῳ Φύταλόν φασιν οἰκῳ Δήμητρα δέξασθαι, καὶ τὴν θεὸν ἀντὶ τούτων δοῦναί οἱ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς συκῆς· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι τῷ λόγῳ τὸ ἐπίγραμμα (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 24) τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ Φυτάλου τἀφῳ· ἐνθάδ' ἄναξ ἥρως Φύταλός ποτε δέξατο σεμνὴν | Δήμητραν, ὅτε (A. Meineke cj. Δήμητρ' ᾧ τότε L. Dindorf and C. G. Cobet cjj. Δήμητρ' ὅπποτε) πρῶτον ὀπώρας καρπὸν ἔφηνεν, | ἣν ἱερὰν συκῆν θνητῶν γένος ἐξονομάζει· | ἐξ οὗ δὴ τιμὰς Φυτάλου γένος ἔσχεν ἀγήρως. *Infra* p. 1103 n. 3.

[7] *Supra* i. 71 ff.

[8] Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 12, 2 ff. Lang προσαγορεύουσι δὲ καὶ μείλιχον (F. Osann cj. μειλίχιον; but Aristeid. *or.* 1. 3 (i. 4 Dindorf) has εἰ δέ πῃ σφαλλόμεθα, ὁ μείλιχος (*sc.* Zeus) ἡμῶν κεκλήσθω) τὸν Δία, εὐμείλικτον ὄντα τοῖς ἐξ ἀδικίας μετατιθεμένοις, οὐ δέοντος ἀδιαλλάκτως ἔχειν πρὸς αὐτούς: cp. Liban. *or.* 57. 12 (iv. 154 Foerster) Σενήρος δὲ χρηστός τε ἦν ἐν τοῖς ῥήμασι καὶ τιμήσειν ἔλεγε τῇ πρρότητι τὸν Μειλίχιον Δία, κ.τ.λ., *Anth. Pal.* 9. 581. 4 f. (Leon Philosophos?) μηδὲ νοήσω, | Ζηνὸς Μειλιχίοιο λαχὼν θρόνον, ἀνέρος οἶτον. A highly moral explanation: but high morals are out of place in an early cult-title. Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (on whom see Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 323 ff.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34, 12 ff. Δικαιόσυνος Ζεύς· ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς δίκαιά τε καὶ ἄδικα δρῶσι τεταγμένος. ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς μείλιχα μειλίχιος καὶ ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς φίλα φίλιος adduces would-be parallels. But Zeus Δικαίόσυνος is a late divinity (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 302 no. 24 near *Ghereh* (Karousa) Διὶ Δικαιοσύνωι | Μεγάλωι | Πύθης Διονυσίου | στρατηγῶν | χαριστήριον, cp. schol. *Il.* 13. 29, Eustath. in *Il.* p. 918, 47), and Zeus Φίλιος is probably euphemistic (Append. N). On Zeus Ἅγιος see *supra* i. 192, 400 n. 6, 565 n. 2.

[9] Figs were called μείλιχα, 'sweets,' in Naxos—witness Athen. 78 c Νάξιοι δέ, ὡς Ἀνδρίσκος (*frag.* 3 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 304 Müller) ἔτι δ' Ἀγλαοσθένης (*frag.* 5 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 294 Müller) ἱστοροῦσι, Μειλίχιον καλεῖσθαι τὸν Διόνυσον διὰ τὴν τοῦ συκίνου

reference to the Phytalidai and their fig-culture? Arguments in support of either interpretation lie near to hand.

In may be urged that Zeus was notoriously sympathetic with the outcast and the vagabond. He was worshipped as *Hikésios*, 'the Suppliant's god[1],'

καρποῦ παράδοσιν. διὸ καὶ πρόσωπον τοῦ θεοῦ παρὰ τοῖς Ναξίοις τὸ μὲν τοῦ Βακχέως Διονύσου καλουμένου εἶναι ἀμπέλινον, τὸ δὲ τοῦ Μειλιχίου σύκινον. τὰ γὰρ σῦκα μείλιχα καλεῖσθαι, where T. Reinesius' proposed alteration of Μειλίχιον...Μειλιχίου...μείλιχα into Μόρυχον...Μορύχου...μόρυχα (cp. Souid. *s.vv.* Μόρυχος, μωρότερος Μορύχου) is a good example of misplaced ingenuity.

[1] At Athens in *s.* vi B.C. (Poll. 8. 142 τρεῖς θεοὺς ὀμνύναι κελεύει Σόλων, Ἱκέσιον, Καθάρσιον, Ἑξακεστῆρα, *i.e.* Zeus under three diverse aspects (cp. Poll. 1. 24), as observed by W. Dindorf *ad loc.*, G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*[4] Berlin 1902 ii. 145, 276=*id. Antiquités recques* trans. C. Galuski Paris 1887 ii. 185, 331, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1592. The recognition of Zeus Ἐξακεστήρ (Hesych. Ἐξακεστήριος· ὁ Ζεύς. καὶ ἡ Ἥρα) is perhaps not unconnected with the fact that Solon's own father was Ἐξηκεστίδης. The oath by this triad of Zeuses was inscribed on the ἄξονες (Hesych. τρεῖς θεοί· παρὰ Σόλωνι ἐν τοῖς ἄξοσιν

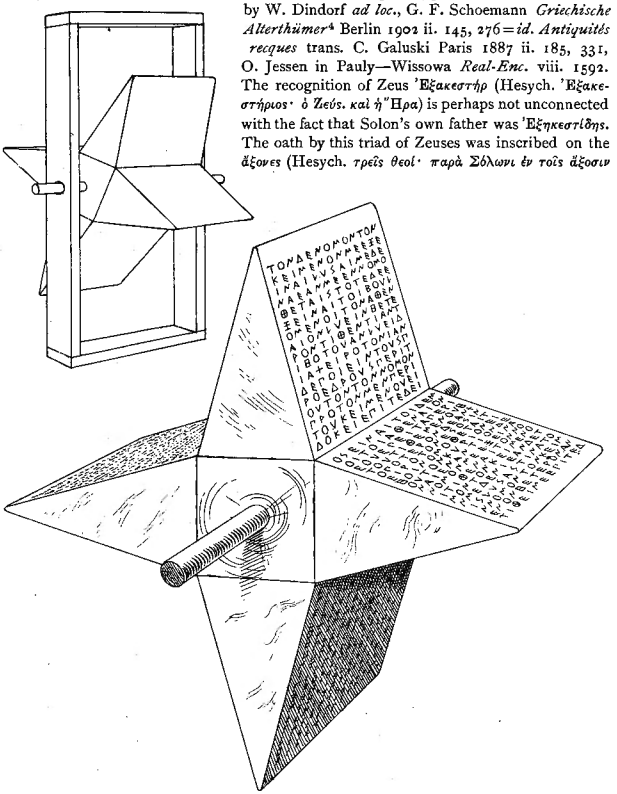


Fig. 935.

ὅρκῳ πέτακται <τρεῖς θεοὺς ἐπιμαρτύρεσθαι?>. ἔνιοι κατὰ τὸ Ὁμηρικόν (*sc. Il.* 2. 371, 4. 288, 7. 132, 16. 97, *Od.* 4. 341, 7. 311, 17. 132, 18. 235, 24. 376 αἲ γάρ, Ζεῦ τε πάτερ καὶ Ἀθηναίη καὶ Ἄπολλον)), which are said to have been wooden axles revolving in oblong frames kept in the Prytaneion (Plout. *v. Sol.* 25 καὶ κατεγράφησαν εἰς ξυλίνους ἄξονας ἐν πλαισίοις περιέχουσι στρεφομένους, ὧν ἔτι καθ' ἡμᾶς ἐν Πρυτανείῳ λείψανα μικρὰ διεσώζετο). Another account says rather enigmatically that they were square in shape, but that when laid in the direction of their acute angle they produced a triangular appearance (Polemon *frag.* 48 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 130 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* ἄξονι· οἱ Σόλωνος νόμοι ἐν ξυλίνοις ἦσαν ἄξοσι γεγραμμένοι...ἦσαν δέ, ὥς φησι Πολέμων ἐν τοῖς πρὸς Ἐρατοσθένην, τετράγωνοι τὸ σχῆμα. διασώζονται δὲ ἐν τῷ Πρυτανείῳ, γεγραμμένοι κατὰ πάντα τὰ μέρη. ποιοῦσι δ' ἐνίοτε φαντασίαν τρίγωνον, ὅταν ἐπὶ τὸ στενὸν κλιθῶσι τῆς γωνίας). The Solonian laws were also inscribed on *κύρβεις* set up in the Stoa Basileios (Aristot. *resp. Ath.* 7. 1 = Aristot. *frag.* 352 Rose *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v. κύρβεις*, Souid. *s.v. κύρβεις*, Plout. *v. Sol.* 25, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1354, cp. Aristot. *de mundo* 6. 400 b 30 f.), and these *κύρβεις* are described as stones standing upright like pillars, surmounted by an apex or cap (Apollod. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 432 f. Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v. κύρβεις*· ...κύρβεις φησὶν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς περὶ θεῶν ἔχειν ἐγγεγραμμένους τοὺς νόμους. εἶναι δ' αὐτοὺς λίθους ὀρθοὺς ἑστῶτας, ὡς ἀπὸ μὲν τῆς στάσεως στήλας, ἀπὸ δὲ τῆς εἰς ὕψος ἀναστάσεως (*leg.* ἀνατάσεως) διὰ τὸ κεκορυφῶσθαι κύρβεις ἐκάλουν, ὥσπερ καὶ κυρβασίαν τὴν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τιθεμένην, cp. Souid. *s.v. κύρβεις*, Phot. *lex. s.v. κύρβεις*, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1354). One ancient grammarian attempts to identify the *κύρβεις* with the *ἄξονες*, stating that in both cases a large brick-shaped body as long as a man had fitted

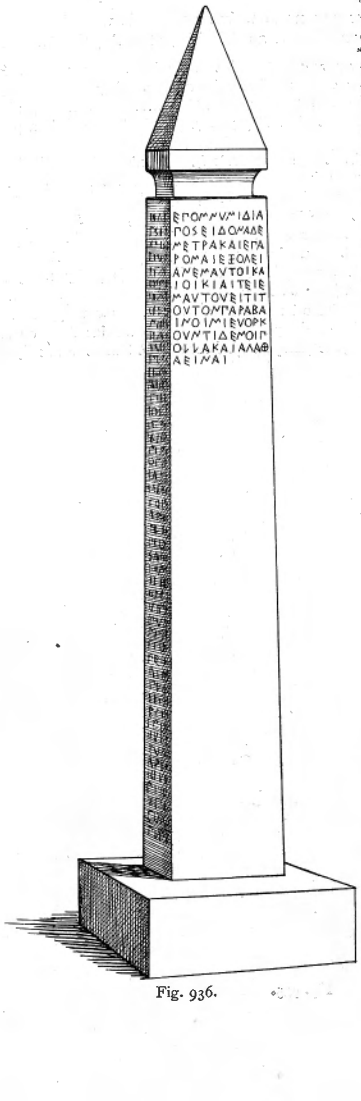


Fig. 936.

to it quadrangular pieces of wood, whose sides were flat and covered with lettering, and that pivots at either end enabled readers to move and turn about the text (Aristophanes (of Byzantion) *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* κύρβεις·...'Αριστοφάνης δὲ ὁμοίας εἶναί φησι τοῖς ἄξοσι·...ἀμφοτέρων δὲ τὸ κατασκεύασμα τοιοῦτον· πλινθίον τι μέγα, ἀνδρόμηκες, ἡρμοσμένα ἔχον τετράγωνα ξύλα, τὰς πλευρὰς πλατείας ἔχοντα καὶ γραμμάτων πλήρεις· ἑκατέρωθεν δὲ κυρώδακας, ὥστε κινεῖσθαι καὶ μεταστρέφεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἀναγινωσκόντων). On the whole it seems clear that the wooden ἄξονες of the Prytaneion are to be distinguished from the stone κύρβεις of the Stoa Basileios. The ἄξονες were apparently shaped as in fig. 935, the κύρβεις as in fig. 936 (on the former is inscribed *frag.* 149 (I. B. Télfy Συναγωγὴ τῶν 'Αττικῶν νόμων *Corpus iuris Attici* Pestini et Lipsiae 1868 p. 39 f.) *ap.* Dem. *c. Timocr.* 33; on the latter, *frag.* 562 (Télfy *op. cit.* p. 137) *ap.* Dem. *c. Timocr.* 151). Neither shape was chosen at random. The wheel of Nemesis (*supra* i. 269 ff.) had a long history behind it and was related (*supra* i. 267) to that wheel, which in India symbolised *ṛta*, the course of nature, the right path, in short, law and order (W. Simpson *The Buddhist Praying-wheel* London 1896 p. 89 ff., H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 163 ff., Harrison *Themis* p. 526 f., F. M. Cornford *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912 p. 172 ff.). It seems highly probable that Solon inscribed his laws on wooden ἄξονες because he wished to represent them as the σεμνὰ θέμεθλα Δίκης (Solon *frag.* 2. 14 Hiller—Crusius). At the same time the shape chosen would be convenient for purposes of reference or consultation: my friend Dr P. Giles tells me that in the parish church of Great Yarmouth documents are, or were, arranged *à la* Solon. Individual enactments appear to have been copied on stones of the characteristic wedge-like form, as may be seen from an extant fragment (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 2 no. 559 with figs.) first published by S. A. Koumanoudes, to whose brilliant article in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1885 pp. 215—218 figs. 1—3 I am indebted for the main idea of my restoration in fig. 935 (Koumanoudes fits his wedges on to an axle that is circular, not square, in section). Again, it seems likely that the κύρβεις—as indeed I conjectured in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 86—copied the primitive idols of Zeus. Their shape, to judge from Apollodoros' words (*supra* p. 1094 n. 0), was identical with that of Zeus Στορπαῖος, Zeus Πάσιος, Zeus Πατρῷος, etc. (*supra* i. 520 n. 2, ii. 815 fig. 781). If so, the implication is that the laws were the very voice of Zeus (cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 426 n. 1, 1001 n. 5). There was a tradition that Solon had tried to express his laws in hexameter verse and had begun with a couplet invoking Zeus: πρῶτα μὲν εὐχώμεσθα Διὶ Κρονίδῃ βασιλῆϊ | θεσμοῖς τοῖσδε τύχην ἀγαθὴν καὶ κῦδος ὀπάσσαι (Plout. *v. Sol.* 3). The original form of his famous oath may have been πρὸς Διὸς ἱκεσίου καθαρσίου ἐξακέσαντος (cp. for the last word Pyth. *carm. aur.* 66) or the like. Analogous to the κύρβεις as inscribed obelisks were the Egyptian κύρβεις of the Colchians (Ap. Rhod. 4. 279 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*), not to mention the pillar of Zeus Τριφύλιος (*supra* i. 662). Cp. also the marble obelisk from Kition, the base of which bears a votive inscription for Esmun (*Corp. inscr. Sem.* i no. 44 pl. 8 fig. 44, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 385 fig. 203, Ohnefalsch—Richter *Kypros* pp. 173 ff., 416 pl. 80, 5. Seleukos, a grammarian of Alexandreia, wrote a whole treatise τῶν Σόλωνος ἀξόνων (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 500 Müller), and modern writers have devoted much attention to them, *e.g.* E. Caillemer in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 589, G. Busolt *Griechische Geschichte* Gotha 1895 ii.[2] 290 ff., E. Szanto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2636, Lübker *Reallex.*[8] pp. 153, 963 f., and the literature there cited. E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 399 f. fig. would recognize Solon with one of his ἄξονες on a copper coin of Athens: but see K. Lange in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 vi. 68 f. fig., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 152 pl. EE, 16 f.).

Similarly at Thera in *s.* vi B.C. the same appellative occurs without the name of Zeus (*supra* i. 143 in three rock-cut inscriptions). Elsewhere name and title appear together: so at Kos in *s.* iv B.C. (A. Hauvette-Besnault and M. Dubois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1881 v. 224 no. 12 on a slab fixed in the pavement of an ancient chapel of S. John Διὸς 'Ικεσίου | Σιμωνιδᾶν=W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 161 no. 149=Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 376 no. 3674=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 796=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 929) and at Delos in *s.* iii B.C.

and even as *Hikétas*, himself 'the Suppliant[1],'—a remarkable title dependent, I think[2], upon the very primitive notion[3] that a stranger suddenly appearing in the midst of the community may well be a god on his travels[4].

(T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 471 f. no. 4 on a square base of white marble Διονύσιος Νίκωνος | Παλληνεὺς ἐπιμελητὴς | γενόμενος Δήλου | ὑπὲρ τοῦ δήμου τοῦ | Ἀθηναίων Διὶ Ἱκεσίῳ). More doubtful is an inscription of *s.* ii B.C. from Netteia in Rhodes (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 891, 2 on a slab of blackish marble [*οἱ ἐπιμήν*]*ιοι ἀεὶ τοὶ αἰ*[*ρ*]*εθέ*[*ντες* Ἱκε]*σίωι φθόϊ*[*ς*] *ἐγ* λ– , where F. Hiller von Gaertringen *ad loc.* supplies *Διΐ* and notes that *φθόϊς* = *φθόϊας*, 'cakes').

[1] Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* Add. nov. no. 49*a* with fig. = my fig. 937 a rough calcareous boundary-stone (0·35^{m} long, 0·30^{m} high, 0·10^{m}—0·11^{m} thick), found at Sparta and preserved in the Museum at Teuthis (*Dimitzana*), bearing the retrograde inscription Διοικέτα, | Διϝλευθερ[ω] = Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 249 no. 244 = R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 6 no. 4407. E. S. Roberts *ad loc.* remarks: 'The change of the final *σ* of Διὸς in l. 1 to the *spiritus asper* is remarkable; still more so the contraction in Διϝλ. of l. 2 after disappearance of the *h* = *σ*. Stolz (*Wiener Stud.* VIII. 1886, p. 160), who summarily rejects this explanation, suggests a genitive Δίω on the analogy of *o*-stems, and compares Lat. *Iovos*, *Eph. ep.* I. 14 no. 21, *Iovo*, *Herm.* XIX. 453. Elsewhere certainly final *σ* does not disappear in Laconian, even where the next word begins with a vowel.' But R. Meister *ad loc.* is content to assume the change of *σ* into *h*; and so is A. Thumb in K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 171, citing Cypriote parallels.

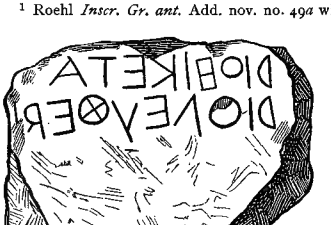


Fig. 937.

[2] H. Roehl *loc. cit.* refers to Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1807, 9 f. καὶ ὁ ἱκετεύσας καὶ ὁ τὴν ἱκετείαν δεξάμενος ἤτοι κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς εἰπεῖν ἱκετοδόχος ἱκέται εἰσὶν ἀλλήλοις. For the supposed reciprocal sense Eustathios cp. *ξένος*, *προστρόπαιος*, *χρήστης*.

G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic*[2] Oxford 1911 p. 291 ('this Zeus of Aeschylus is himself the suppliant; the prayer which you reject is his very prayer, and in turning from your door the helpless or the outcast you have turned away the most high God. The belief was immemorially old') comes much nearer the mark, though I cannot accept the explanation which he adds in a footnote *ib.* p. 291 n. 1 ('Ζεὺς Ἀφίκτωρ...is a "projection" of the rite of Supplication').

[3] Frazer, *Golden Bough*[2]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 216 ff., 252 f. (the story of Lityerses compared with the harvest customs of Europe, after W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 18 ff.).

[4] This is definitely stated in *Od.* 17. 483 ff. Ἀντίνο', οὐ μὲν κάλ' ἔβαλες δύστηνον ἀλήτην· | οὐλόμεν', εἰ δή πού τις ἐπουράνιος θεὸς ἐστι,— | καί τε θεοὶ ξείνοισιν ἐοικότες ἀλλοδαποῖσι, | παντοῖοι τελέθοντες, ἐπιστρωφῶσι πόληας, | ἀνθρώπων ὕβριν τε καὶ εὐνομίην ἐφορῶντες (cp. Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff.), and is implied in the history of Barnabas and Paul (*supra* i. 193 n. 3. See too Acts 28. 1—6), the myths of Philemon and Baucis (Ov. *met.* 8. 616 ff., Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 8. 7—9), Pelargus or Pelasgus (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 81 f.), Lykaon (*supra* i. 79 n. 6. There is a reminiscence of the Homeric passage in Nikolaos Damask. *frag.* 43 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 378 Müller) ὅτι Λυκάων ὁ Πελασγοῦ υἱός, βασιλεὺς Ἀρκάδων, ἐφύλαττε τὰ τοῦ πατρὸς εἰσηγήματα ἐν δικαιοσύνῃ. ἀποστῆσαι <δὲ> βουλόμενος καὶ αὐτὸς τῆς ἀδικίας τοὺς ἀρχομένους, ἔφη τὸν Δία ἑκάστοτε φοιτᾶν παρ' αὐτὸν ἀνδρὶ ξένῳ μοιούμενον εἰς ἔπόψιν τῶν δικαίων τε καὶ ἀδίκων = Souid. *s.v.* Λυκάων), and many others.

Similarly the poets spoke of Zeus, not only as *hiketésios*[1], *hikésios*[2], and

It is reasonable to surmise that the possible divinity of the stranger even helped to establish the law of hospitality (other contributory causes in Schrader *Reallex.* p. 269 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 130, W. Wundt *Elements of Folk Psychology* trans. E. L. Schaub London 1916 p. 340 ff.). Ἱκέτης or ξένος—who could tell?—might turn out to be Zeus himself. 'Some have entertained angels unawares' (Heb. 13. 2).

At a later stage of religious development Zeus is conceived, not as the actual *ἱκέτης* or *ξένος*, but as his unseen attendant. Thus *e.g.* the Phaecian Echeneos says to Alkinoos: ἀλλ' ἄγε δὴ ξεῖνον μὲν ἐπὶ θρόνου ἀργυροήλου | εἶσον ἀναστήσας, σὺ δὲ κηρύκεσσι κέλευσον | οἶνον ἐπικρῆναι, ἵνα καὶ Διὶ τερπικεραύνῳ | σπείσομεν, ὅς θ' ἱκέτῃσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ· | κ.τ.λ. (*Od.* 7. 162 ff. with the sequel in line 178 ff.), and Odysseus to Polyphemos: ἀλλ' αἰδεῖο, φέριστε, θεούς· ἱκέται δέ τοί εἰμεν. | Ζεὺς δ' ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε, | ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ (*Od.* 9. 269 ff.). Cp. *Od.* 14. 158 f., a variant of *Od.* 19. 303 f.

Ultimately Zeus becomes Ἱκέσιος and Ξένιος (cp. Ap. Rhod. 2. 378 Ζηνὸς Ἐυξείνοιο Γενηταίην ὑπὲρ ἄκρην with schol. *ad loc.* cited *supra* p. 617 n. 1), the god who protects suppliants and strangers in general.

[1] *Od.* 13. 213 f. Ζεύς σφεας τίσαιτο (C. G. Cobet cj. Ζεὺς δέ σφεας τίσαιθ') ἱκετήσιος, ὅς τε καὶ ἄλλους | ἀνθρώπους ἐφορᾷ καὶ τίνυται ὅς τις ἁμάρτῃ with schol. *ad loc.* ἱκέσιος· ἱκετῶν ἐπόπτης and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1739, 18 f. ἱκετήσιος δὲ Ζεὺς δοκεῖ πρωτότυπον εἶναι τοῦ ἱκέσιος (*id. ib.* p. 1576, 14), Tzetz. *allég. Od.* 13. 46 ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἱκετήσιος, Hesych. *s.v.* ἱκετήσιος· ὁ ἐπὶ τῶν ἱκετῶν Ζεύς· ἢ ὁ τοὺς ἱκέτας ἐλεῶν.

[2] Aisch. *suppl.* 343 βαρύς γε μέντοι Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου κότος, 616 f. ἱκεσίου Ζηνὸς κότον | μέγαν προφωνῶν κ.τ.λ., Soph. *Phil.* 484 πρὸς αὐτοῦ Ζηνὸς ἱκεσίου, Eur. *Hec.* 345 πέφευγας τὸν ἐμὸν ἱκέσιον Δία, Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 f. καθάρσιός τε καὶ παλαμναῖος καὶ ἱκέσιος καὶ μειλίχιος, ὥσπερ οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 f. Wachsmuth, Ap. Rhod. 2. 215 ff. ἱκεσίου πρὸς Ζηνός, ὅτις ῥίγιστος ἁλιτροῖς | ἀνδράσι,... | λίσσομαι with schol. *ad loc.*, 2. 1131 ff. ἀλλ' ἱκέτας ξείνους Διὸς εἵνεκεν αἰδέσσασθε | ξεινίου ἱκεσίου τε· Διὸς δ' ἄμφω ἱκέται τε | καὶ ξεῖνοι· ὁ δέ που καὶ ἐπόψιος ἄμμι τέτυκται, 4. 358 f. ποῦ τοι Διὸς ἱκεσίοιο | ὅρκια; 4. 700 ff. τῶ καὶ ὀπιζομένη Ζηνὸς θέμιν ἱκεσίοιο, | ὅς μέγα μὲν κοτέει, μέγα δ' ἀνδροφόνοισιν ἀρήγει, | ῥέζε θυηπολίην with the whole context (Iason and Medeia, on reaching the hall of Kirke, sit in silence at her hearth as is the wont of suppliants. Medeia hides her face in both hands; and Iason fixes in the ground the sword with which he has slain Apsyrtos. Kirke understands, and performs the appropriate rites of atonement. She holds above their heads a young pig, slits its throat, and sprinkles their hands with its blood. Then she makes propitiation with drink-offerings, καθάρσιον ἀγκαλέουσα Ἑκάτην, παλαμναίων τιμήορον ἱκεσιάων (708 f.). Her attendants carry forth all defilement (cp. *Il.* 1. 314), while she, standing by the hearth, burns *pélanoi* and expiatory offerings without wine as she prays to the Erinyes and Zeus. Finally, she raises Iason and Medeia, and bids them sit on seats to question them), Cornut. *theol.* 11 f. p. 12, 4 ff. Lang (sequel to passage cited *supra* p. 1092 n. 8) διὰ τοῦτο γὰρ καὶ ἱκεσίου Διὸς εἶσι βωμοὶ καὶ τὰς Λιτὰς ὁ ποιητὴς ἔφη τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι θυγατέρας, κ.τ.λ., Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ τούτοις Ἱκέσιός τε καὶ Φύξιος καὶ Ξένιος...Ἱκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἂν (Reiske suggests ὧν for ἂν) ἐπήκοός τε καὶ ἵλεως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφευξιν (L. Dindorf restores ἀπόφυξιν), Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι καὶ τοῦτο ἀρχὴ φιλίας μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖσθαι μηδένα ἄνθρωπον = *or.* 12 p. 413 Reiske (of Zeus) πρὸς δὲ αὐτοῖς Ἱκέσιός τε καὶ <Φύξιος καὶ> Ξένιος...Ἱκέσιος δὲ ὡς ἂν ἐπήκοός τε καὶ ἵλεως τοῖς δεομένοις, Φύξιος δὲ διὰ τὴν τῶν κακῶν ἀπόφυξιν, Ξένιος δὲ ὅτι δεῖ μηδὲ τῶν ξένων ἀμελεῖν μηδὲ ἀλλότριον ἡγεῖσθαι ἀνθρώπων μηδένα, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 1 p. 27, 23 f. Stählin καλὸς γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ μαντικός, ὁ ξένιος, ὁ ἱκέσιος, ὁ μειλίχιος, ὁ πανομφαῖος, ὁ προστροπαῖος, Heliod. 2. 22 ὁ δὲ Κνήμων θαυμάσας, Ἀλλ' ἦ Ξενίου Διός, ὡς ἔοικεν, εἰς αὐλὰς ἥκομεν, ὦ πάτερ, οὕτως ἀπροφάσιστος ἡ θεραπεία καὶ πολὺ τὸ εὐνοῦν τῆς γνώμης ἐμφαίνουσα. Οὐκ εἰς Διός, ἔφη, ἀλλ' εἰς ἀνδρὸς Δία τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Ἱκέσιον ἀκριβοῦντος, *Anth. Pal.* 11. 351. 7 f. (Palladas) ἀλλά σε πρὸς πύκτου Πολυδεύκεος ἠδὲ καὶ αὐτοῦ | Κάστορος ἱκνοῦμαι καὶ Διὸς ἱκεσίου, Orph. *Arg.* 107 f. οὐ γὰρ

hiktaîos (?)[1], 'the god of suppliants,' but also as *hiktér*[2], and *aphíktor*[3], 'the suppliant.' Again, Zeus was known as *alástoros*[4] or *alástor*[5], 'he that brings a curse[6],' *Palamnaîos*, 'he of the Violent Hand[7],' *prostrópaios*, 'he of the

ἄτιμοι | ἱκεσίου Ζηνὸς κοῦραι Λιταί, Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 18 πρὸς Διὸς ἱκεσίοιο, τεοῦ, Διόνυσε, τοκῆος, Tryphiod. *exc. Il.* 278 πεφύλαξο Διὸς σέβας ἱκεσίοιο, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 (Διός) 49 ἱκεσίου, *ib.* i. 266 (Διός) 44 ἱκεσίου.

[1] Aisch. *suppl.* 385 μένει τοι Ζηνὸς ἱκταίου κότος. So U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (1914) with cod. M. E. Fraenkel in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1913 xlv. 168 n. 2 accepts Dindorf's cj. ἱκτίου 'das wohl eine Kompromissbildung zwischen *ἱκέσιος* und *ἱκτήριος* ist genau wie Lykophrons ἵκτης, ἵκτιδες eine solche zwischen *ἱκέτης*, *-τις* und *ἱκτήρ*; vgl. auch die umgekehrte Beeinflussung, die *ἱκετηρία* (im Gegensatz zu *ἱκτήριος*) durch *ἱκεσία*, *ἱκετεία* erfahren hat ([E. Fraenkel *Griechische Nomina agentis* Strassburg 1910] I, S. 52 ff. mit Anm. 2).'

[2] Aisch. *suppl.* 478 f. ὄμως δ' ἀνάγκη Ζηνὸς αἰδεῖσθαι κότον | ἱκτῆρος· ὕψιστος γὰρ ἐν βροτοῖς φόβος. W. Headlam renders 'Zeus Petitionary.'

[3] Aisch. *suppl.* 1 f. Ζεὺς μὲν ἀφίκτωρ ἑπίδοι προφρόνως | στόλον ἡμέτερον. 'Zeus Petitionary' (W. Headlam).

[4] Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 62, 10 ff. παρὰ δὲ τὸ ἀλαστῶ ῥῆμα, ἀλάστωρ ὁ Ζεύς, ἐπὶ τῶν χαλεπῶν τι πρασσόντων· παρηκτικὴ δὲ ἡ εὐθεῖα παρὰ τὴν ἀλάστορος γενικήν· Αἰσχύλος Ἰξίονι (*frag.* 92 Nauck[2]) "πρευμενὴς ἀλάστορος," καὶ Φερεκύδης (*frag.* 114[a] (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 99 Müller)) "ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ Ἱκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστορος καλεῖται." With πρευμενὴς ἀλάστορος A. Nauck *ad loc.* cp. Aisch. *Eum.* 236 (Orestes to Athena) δέχου δὲ πρευμενοῦς ἀλάστορα | κ.τ.λ. and Bekker *anecd.* i. 382, 29 f. ἀλάστορον· ἀντὶ τοῦ ἀλάστορα, ἀπὸ εὐθείας τῆς ὁ ἀλάστορος, Αἰσχύλος (*frag.* 294 Nauck[2]) "μέγαν ἀλάστορον" εἶπεν. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 67 reasonably supposes that Pherekydes spoke of Zeus *ἱκέσιος καὶ ἀλάστωρ* (*sic*) in relation to Ixion (*supra* i. 198 n. 3).

[5] Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 2 ff. cited *infra* Append. M *fin.*, cp. *supra* i. 504 n. 2. The title provoked much learned discussion: Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang λέγεται δ' (*sc.* ὁ Ζεύς) ὑπό τινων καὶ ἀλάστωρ καὶ παλαμναῖος τῷ τοὺς ἀλάστορας καὶ παλαμναίους κολάζειν, τῶν μὲν ὠνομασμένων ἀπὸ τοῦ τοιαῦτα ἁμαρτάνειν ἐφ' οἷς ἔστιν ἀλαστῆσαι καὶ στενάξαι, τῶν δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ ταῖς παλάμαις μιάσματα ἀνέκθυτα (ἀνέκπλυτα codd. N. B. G.) ἀποτελεῖν = Eudok. *viol.* 414[g], Hesych. *s.v.* ἀλάστωρ· πικρὸς δαίμων. Ζεύς, *et. Gud.* p. 32, 35 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἐποπτεύων τοὺς ἀλαστὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ ποιοῦντας. ἢ ὁ ἀσεβῆς, ἢ ὁ κακοποιός. οὕτως Ἡρωδιανός (περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας 2 = i. 49, 13 f. Lentz reading ὑποπτεύων for ἐποπτεύων; cp. ii. 937, 27 n. Lentz), *et. mag.* p. 57, 25 ff. ἀλάστωρ· ὁ ἀμαρτωλός, ἢ ὁ φονεύς, ἢ ὁ ἐφορῶν τοὺς φόνους Ζεύς...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ Διός, οἷον ἀλάστωρ Ζεύς, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοὺς τὰ ἀλαστὰ πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνειν· ἢ ὁ τὰ ἀλαστὰ (τουτέστι τὰ χαλεπὰ) τηρῶν, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 474, 22 f. παρὰ δὲ τοῖς ὕστερον καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ, ὃν ἐλάνθανεν οὐδέν, ἢ ὁ τοῖς ἄλαστα πάσχουσιν ἐπαμύνων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιούς, *ib.* p. 763, 36 f. δθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ φθόνος καὶ δαίμων ἀλάστωρ ἐπενοήθη λέγεσθαι = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1692, 43 f. δθεν καὶ Ζεὺς ἀλάστωρ καὶ ὁ φθονερὸς δαίμων ἐπενοήθη λέγεσθαι.

[6] The derivation of the word is doubtful (cjj. in A. Vaníček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 788 f., L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 293 f., Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 23, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 41), but its meaning is sufficiently clear (see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1292 f.).

[7] Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 10, 20 ff. Lang (cited *supra* p. 1098 n. 5), Orion in F. W. Sturz's ed. of *et. Gud.* p. 628, 17 ff. παλαμναῖος ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενός καὶ Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. Gud.* p. 448, 28 ff. παλαμναῖος· σημαίνει δὲ δύο, ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειριφονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος καὶ ὁ ἐπί τινι βιάσματι κατεχόμενος, *ib.* p. 449, 21 f. καὶ Ζεὺς δὲ Παλαμναῖος λέγεται ἐν Χαλκίδι, *et. mag.* p. 647, 43 f. παλαμναῖος· ὁ τοὺς αὐτοχειρὶ φονεύσαντας τιμωρούμενος, Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος. λέγεται καὶ ἐν Χαλκίδι Παλαμναῖος (cod. D. omits the last word), Souid. *s.v.* παλαμναῖος = Phot. *lex. s.v.* παλαμ-

appeal[1],'—titles which applied primarily to the sinner, secondarily to the god concerned with his sin. Less ambiguous and further removed from primitive conceptions are the cult-names *Litaîos*, 'god of Prayers[2],' and *Kathársios*, 'god

ναῖος· φονεὺς ἢ μιαρός· παλαμναῖοι γὰρ λέγονται οἱ διὰ χειρὸς ἀνδροφονοῦντες· παρὰ τὴν παλάμην· καὶ Ζεὺς Παλαμναῖος, ὁ τοὺς τοιούτους τιμωρούμενος· καὶ προστροπαῖος ὁ προστρέπων τὸ ἄγος αὐτοῖς, Favorin. *lex.* p. 221, 54 *καὶ Ζεὺς δέ φασι Παλαμναῖος, ὁ τοὺς φονεῖς καταρρίπτων*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 (*Διός*) 87 *παλαμναίου, ib.* i. 266 (*Διός*) 69 *παλαμναίου*. Cp. Ap. Rhod. 4. 708 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) and Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 39. 2 p. 29, 6 f. Stählin *οὐχὶ μέντοι Ζεὺς Φαλακρὸς ἐν Ἄργει, Τιμωρὸς* (J. Bernays cj. *σινάμωρος*) *δὲ ἄλλος ἐν Κύπρῳ τετίμησθον;*

In a church near Gomphoi (*Musákri*) Leake found a plain quadrangular altar inscribed in large deeply-cut letters ΖΗΝΙ | ΠΑΛΑΜΝΙΩ (W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* London 1835 iv. 523 f. pl. 44 no. 220, Lebas—Foucart *Peloponnèse* ii no. 1194, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 291).

[1] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 37. 1 p. 27, 23 f. Stählin (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2), Souid. *s.v.* παλαμναῖος = Phot. *lex. s.v.* παλαμναῖος (cited *supra* p. 1098 n. 7), Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1807, 11 f. *προστρόπαιός τε γὰρ Ζεὺς ἐν ῥητορικῷ λεξικῷ* (E. Schwabe *Aelii Dionysii et Pausaniae Atticistarum fragmenta* Lipsiae 1890 p. 254, 7 ff.: see further Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 323 and L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1478 ff.), *ᾧ ἄν τις, φασί, προστρέποιτο δεόμενος. καὶ προστρόπαιος ὁ ἱκέτης, ὁ πρός τινα δηλαδὴ δεητικῶς τρεπόμενος* (*supra* p. 1096 n. 2). It follows that Zeus, who in one respect was *προστρόπαιος*, in another was *ἀποτρόπαιος*: cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 427, 5 f. *ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαι· ἀποπέμπεσθαι πρὸς τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἱονεὶ καθαίρεσθαι ἢ ἱλάσκεσθαι*, schol. Plat. *Crat.* 396 E *ἀποδιοπομπεῖσθαί φασι τὸ ἀποτρέπεσθαι τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἱονεὶ καθαίρεσθαι τὰ δεινά*, schol. Plat. *legg.* 854 B *ἀποδιοπομπήσεις· τὰς ἀποστροφὰς τὰς γιγνομένας ὑπὸ τοῦ ἀποτροπαίου Διός, διὰ τὸ καθαίρεσθαι τὰ δεινά· ἢ τὰς ἀποπομπὰς τὰς πρὸς τὸν προστρόπαιον Δία καὶ οἱονεὶ καθάρσεις καὶ ἱλασμούς*, schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 323 *προστρόπαιός ἐστιν ὁ εἰς ἑαυτὸν ἐπισπώμενος τὰ κακά, ὅπερ ἐστὶν ἐναντίον τοῦ* (so H. Sauppe for *τῷ* cod. f.) *ἀποτρόπαιος, τοῦ ἀποτρέποντος τὰ κακά. διὸ καὶ Διὶ ἀποτροπαίῳ θύομεν, οὐκέτι μέντοι καὶ προστροπαίῳ* (on which see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3154).

The essence of a *προστροπή* was that the supplicator and the supplicated should both be turned towards each other and thus brought into such immediate connexion that the thing asked must needs be granted. If possible, direct contact was established by the clasping of knees, chin, etc. (C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 163 ff., 282 f.). Failing that, *quasi*-contact was made by means of outstretched arms, etc. (*id. ib.* pp. 186 ff., 283, 296). But in any case the two parties were face to face.

[2] Coppers of Nikaia in Bithynia, struck by Nero (M. P. Lambros in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 508 f. pl. 24, 1 = my fig. 938 ΔΙΟΣ | ΛΙΤΑ||ΙΟΥ) and Antoninus Pius (*supra* i. 37 n. 1 ΔΙ||ΟC || ΛΙΤΑΙΟΥ), show the altar of Zeus Λιταῖος (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 517). O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2064 explains the title as 'Father of the Litai' with reference to the remarkable passage in *Il.* 9. 502 ff. *καὶ γὰρ τε Λιταί εἰσι, Διὸς κοῦραι μεγάλοιο, | χωλαί τε ῥυσαί τε παραβλῶπές τ' ὀφθαλμώ, | αἳ ῥά τε καὶ μετόπισθ' Ἄτης ἀλέγουσι κιοῦσαι. | ἡ δ' Ἄτη σθεναρή τε καὶ ἀρτίπος, οὕνεκα πάσας | πολλὸν ὑπεκπροθέει, φθάνει δέ τε πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν | βλάπτουσ' ἀνθρώπους· αἱ δ' ἐξακέονται ὀπίσσω. | ὃς μέν τ' αἰδέσεται κούρας Διὸς ἄσσον ἰούσας, | τὸν δὲ μέγ' ὤνησαν καί τ' ἔκλυον εὐχομένοιο· | ὃς δέ κ' ἀνήνηται καί τε στερεῶς ἀπόείπῃ, | λίσσονται δ' ἆρα ταί γε Διὰ Κρονίωνα κιοῦσαι | τῷ Ἄτην ἅμ' ἕπεσθαι, ἵνα βλαφθεὶς ἀποτίσῃ* (see for variants A. Ludwich *ad loc.*, for imitations Quint. Smyrn. 10. 300 ff. *Λιταῖς δ' ἀποθύμια ῥέξεις, | αἳ ῥα καὶ αὐταὶ Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο θύγατρες | εἰσί, κ.τ.λ.*, Orph.

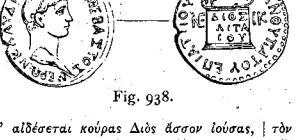


Fig. 938.

of Purification[1].' The exact relationship of all these appellatives and the growth of the religious beliefs implied by them are still far from clear. Perhaps we shall come within measurable distance of the truth by assuming that development proceeded on some such lines as follow:

Arg. 107 f. cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2, and for a parody *Anth. Pal.* 11. 361. 1 ff. (Automedon)). How Zeus could have begotten such creatures, 'halt wrinkled squinting,' was a puzzle (Bion Borysthenites *frag.* 44 Mullach *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 56. 1 p. 43, 29 ff. Stählin, Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, Porph. *quaest. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 768, 28 ff.). But symbolism proved a ready solvent (*vide* the comments of Herakleitos *quaestt. Hom.* 37, schol. *Il.* 9. 502 f., Porph. *quaestt. Il.* 97, 21, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 767, 60 ff., Cornut. *theol.* 12 p. 12, 5 ff. Lang, Eudok. *viol.* 606, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 239, 32 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Αἶται (H. Stephanus restored Λιταί)). Dr W. Leaf *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 185 can still write: 'The epithets applied to them indicate the attitude of the penitent: halting, because he comes with hesitating steps; wrinkled, because his face betrays the inward struggle; and of eyes askance, because he dares not look in the face the man he has wronged' (cp. the same scholar's note on *Il.* 9. 503, repeated in his joint ed. with the Rev. M. A. Bayfield). I am sorry to dissent from Dr Leaf, to whom all lovers of Homer are so deeply indebted. But to me it seems far more probable that the Litai were physically deformed and loathsome like the Erinyes, to whom they were akin. I suppose them to have been essentially the prayers of the injured man taking shape as vengeful sprites. In the last analysis they were simply the soul of the victim issuing from his mouth in visible form, maimed because he was maimed, and clamouring for vengeance. The personification is not unlike that implied in Gen. 4. 10 'the voice of thy brother's blood crieth unto me from the ground' (with Dr J. Skinner's note *ad loc.*). For the soul as Erinys see Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 213 ff. No doubt all this belongs to the dim background of Greek religion and has already been half-forgotten by the Homeric writer, who conceives the Litai, not as the wrathful prayers of the injured man, but as the penitential prayers of his injurer. The apologue thus acquires a new moral value. It is, however, largely couched in language appropriate to the earlier conception (Ate, swift of foot, drives many a man to do mad deeds. Then come the Litai and effect the cure. If a man respects them, they help him and hear his prayer. If a man flouts them, they go and pray to Zeus that Ate may fall upon such an one, drive him mad, and make him pay the price), and in particular its description of the Litai as misshapen and hideous is an abiding relic of its former significance. The passage is, in fact, an αἶνος (like *Il.* 19. 91 ff. or the oracle in Hdt. 6. 86) misinterpreted and misapplied by a later moralist. But, however understood, it contributes little or nothing to an explanation of Zeus Λιταῖος. The altar at Nikaia was surely voted to him as 'Hearer of Prayers' for the restored health of the emperor or for some other benefit vouchsafed to a grateful public.

[1] Zeus was worshipped as Καθάρσιος at Athens (Poll. 8. 142 (cp. 1. 24) cited *supra* p. 1093 n. 1) and at Olympia (Paus. 5. 14. 8 πρὸς αὐτῷ δέ ἐστιν Ἀγνώστων θεῶν βωμός, καὶ μετὰ τοῦτον Καθαρσίου Διὸς καὶ Νίκης, καὶ αὖθις Διὸς ἐπωνυμίαν Χθονίου. E. Curtius *Die Altäre von Olympia* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1881* Phil.-hist. Classe) Berlin 1882 p. 39 no. 21 rightly assumes that Zeus Καθάρσιος and Nike had here a common altar. So, with some hesitation, does W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* i. 83 no. 18. C. Maurer *De aris Graecorum pluribus deis in commune positis* Darmstadii 1885 p. 17 adopts the same view. But K. Wernicke 'Olympische Beiträge i' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 96 no. 18 f. thinks otherwise). For literary allusions see Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 23 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2) = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 21 Wachsmuth, Ap. Rhod. 4. 708 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2), Plout. *de carn. esu* 2. 1 ὦ Ζεῦ καθάρσιε, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 8 f. σεισίχθων, αὐξητά, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα, | ἀστράπιε (so G. Hermann for ἀστραπαῖε), βρονταῖε, κεραύνιε, φυτάλιε Ζεῦ.

MAN-SLAYER.

(1) The bloodguilty man, appearing suddenly as a suppliant stranger, is deemed a god (Zeus Ἱκέτας, ἱκτήρ, ἀφίκτωρ, ἀλάστωρ, κ.τ.λ.)[1].

(2) The suppliant or stranger is not himself mistaken for a god, but is thought to have a divine escort (Zeus ὅς θ' ἱκέτῃσιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ, Zeus ὃς ξείνοισιν ἅμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ)[2].

(3) Suppliants and strangers in general are supposed to be *protégés* of the god (Zeus Ἱκέσιος, ἱκετήσιος, ἱκταῖος (?), Zeus Ξένιος)[3].

VICTIM.

(1) The soul (κῆρ) of the murdered man becomes a wrathful spirit (ἐρινύς). His curses (ἀραί), prayers (λιταί), and penalties (ποιναί) all pursue the guilty.

(2) Hence arises the whole tribe of avenging deities (Κῆρες, Ἐρινύες, Ἀραί, Ἀράντιδες[4], Λιταί[5], Ποιναί, κ.τ.λ.).

(3) With the progress of religion deities of this low type are subordinated to a high god[6], especially to Zeus[7] (cp. Zeus Τιμωρός[8]).

The protective and the punitive powers of Zeus are fused (Zeus Ἱκέσιος, Παλαμναῖος, προστρόπαιος).

[1] *Supra* pp. 1096, 1098. [2] *Supra* p. 1097 n. 0.

[3] *Supra* pp. 1093, 1097, 1097 n. 0, 1097 n. 2.

A marble statue of Zeus Ξένιος by Papylos, a pupil of Praxiteles, was owned by C. Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 34 Iuppiter hospitalis Papyli (*pamphili* Gelenius),

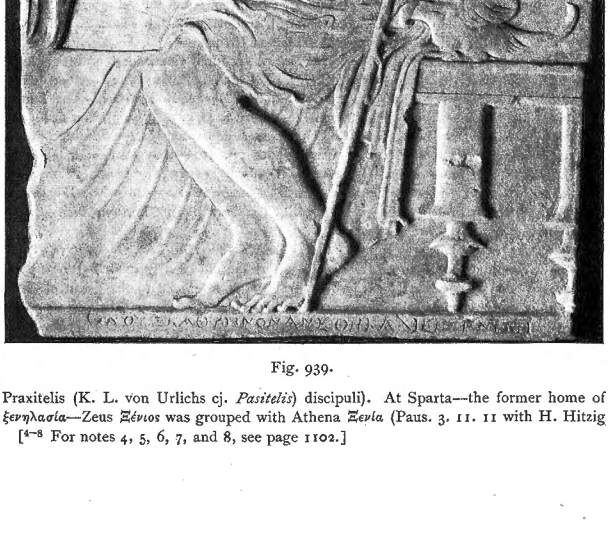


Fig. 939.

Praxitelis (K. L. von Urlichs cj. *Pasitelis*) discipuli). At Sparta—the former home of ξενηλασία—Zeus Ξένιος was grouped with Athena Ξενία (Paus. 3. 11. 11 with H. Hitzig

[4–8] For notes 4, 5, 6, 7, and 8, see page 1102.]

Zeus *Meilichios* as an angry god readily appeased by the man-slayer might conveniently be ranged under this joint-category, his title being interpreted as 'the Kindly One.'

and H. Blümner *ad loc.* Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 9 aptly cites Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 31 p. 149 Kayser περιστάντες δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Λακεδαιμόνιοι ξένον τε παρὰ τῷ Διὶ ἐποιοῦντο κ.τ.λ.). A broken relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) shows Zeus Ξένιος as a traveller sitting with a rumpled *himátion* over his knees and a knotted stick in his left hand, while he extends his right in welcome to a draped figure before him and offers a seat on his own eagle-decked couch (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 146 f. no. 3772, P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 64 fig. 34, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 330 no. 2, R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e Il Museo Nazionale Romano*[4] Roma 1922 p. 217 no. 546). The lower border of the relief bears an archaising inscription, which G. Kaibel in *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 990 transcribes [ὁ δεῖνα ...]ρους καθ' ὕπνον ἀνέθηκα Διεὶ Ξενίωι ... (facsimile in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 173 ff. no 1405 fig. 38).

[4] Hesych. Ἀράντισιν (Musurus cj. ἀραντίσιν)· Ἐρινύσι. Μακεδόνες. See O. Crusius in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 470, ii. 1165, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 379, O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 95 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 1099 n. 2.

[6] A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1328.

[7] This can be best made out in the case of the Erinyes. The following sequence of extracts attests their increasing subordination to Zeus: *Il.* 19. 86 ff. ἐγὼ δ' οὐκ αἴτιός εἰμι, | ἀλλὰ Ζεὺς καὶ Μοῖρα καὶ ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς, | οἵ τέ μοι ἐν ἀγορῇ φρεσὶν ἐμβάλον ἄγριον ἄτην | κ.τ.λ. (see further E. Hedén *Homerische Götterstudien* Uppsala 1912 p. 134 f.), Aisch. *Ag.* 55 ff. ὕπατος δ' ἀίων ἤ τις Ἀπόλλων | ἢ Πὰν ἢ Ζεὺς... | ὑστερόκοτον | πέμπει παραβάσιν Ἐρινύν, 744 ff. παρακλίνας' ἐπέκρανεν | δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς, | δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος | συμένα Πριαμίδαισιν, | πομπᾷ Διὸς ξενίου | νυμφόκλαυτος Ἐρινύς (see W. Kausche 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 182 f.), Verg. *Aen.* 12. 849 ff. hae (*sc.* the three Furies) Iovis ad solium saevique in limine regis | apparent, acuuntque metum mortalibus aegris, | si quando letum horrificum morbosque deum rex | molitur, meritas aut bello territat urbes. | harum unam celerem demisit ab aethere summo | Iupiter, etc., Val. Flacc. 4. 74 f. gravis orantem procul arcet Erinys, | respiciens celsi legem Iovis.

[8] *Supra* p. 1099 n. 0. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1116 n. 9 cites as a doubtful analogue Hesych. Ζητήρ· Ζεὺ(ς) ἐν Κύπρῳ = Favorin. *lex.* p. 828, 36 f. F. Guyet in J. Alberti's note on Hesych. *loc. cit.* says: 'An Ζητὴρ a ζάω, unde Ζὰν, Ζῆν, & Ζεὺς, a ζέω.' This derivation would have satisfied the Greeks themselves (*supra* i. 11 n. 5, 31 n. 3), and in Kypros a Zeus Ζητήρ might have been regarded as a Grecised equivalent of the Semitic θεὸς ζῶν (W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 450—510 'Jahwe der lebendige Gott'). But it is far more probable that Ζητήρ means 'Avenger' and is related to ζη-μία, ζη-τρός, κ.τ.λ. (on which see A. Vaníček *Griechisch-lateinisches etymologisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 i. 756, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 168, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 309). *Supra* p. 444 n. 7.

His Roman equivalent was Iupiter *Ultor.* Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9239 (a dedication found at Clunia in Spain) Iovi Aug. | Ultori sacrum | L. Valerius Paternus | mil. leg. X Gem. | optio 7 Censoris exs | voto perhaps has reference to the death of Nero. Pertinax at the last besought Iupiter *Ultor* to avenge his assassination (Iul. Capit. *v. Pert.* 11. 10). Domitian, Septimius Severus, Alexander Severus, Pupienus, and Gallienus issued coins with the legend IOVI VLTORI (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 902 ff., Suppl. iii. 158 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 486 fig.). I figure a 'first brass' of Alexander Severus in my collection (fig. 940) and a medallion struck in two bronzes by the same emperor, 224 A.D. (F. Gnecchi in the *Rivista italiana di numismatica* 1888 i. 286 no. 12 pl. 8, 7 (=my fig. 941) *rev.*: IOVI VLTORI P·M·TR·P·III· and COSPP· Hexastyle temple with triumphal chariot and statues as *akrotéria*; statuary

Very different is the explanation propounded by Monsieur S. Reinach in an able and persuasive paper already noticed[1]. The altar of Zeus *Meilíchios*, at which the Phytalidai purified Theseus[2], was not far from the spot called *Hierà Sykê*, the 'Sacred Fig-tree,' where Demeter first revealed to Phytalos the fruit of the fig[3]. It is, therefore, tempting to surmise that Theseus was purified 'avec du suc des figuiers sacrés (?)[4]' and that *Meilíchios* meant originally the 'god of Figs' (*meilicha*)[5]. Whether we accept Monsieur Reinach's further contention that the word *sykophántes* meant the hierophant of this fig-cult[6], or not, we must admit that the contiguity of a place named the 'Sacred Fig-tree' affords strong support to his derivation of *Meilíchios*. Moreover, Zeus *Meilíchios* was, according to the myth, a purificatory power, and another purifying Zeus bore the title *Sykásios*, which presumably denotes the 'god of Fig-gathering' (*sykázein*)[7]. The case for a local fig-cult might indeed be made even stronger. When Plouton carried off Kore, he was said to have descended into the earth beside the Eleusinian Kephisos at a point known as *Erineós*, the 'Wild Fig-tree[8].' Again, Sir James Frazer thinks that the site of the ancient altar dedicated

also in pediment. Within the temple sits Iupiter *Ultor* with thunderbolt and sceptre.

Fig. 940.

Fig. 941.

Round the temple is a large *porticus* with eight arches a side, and three arched entrances surmounted by statues).

[1] *Supra* p. 291 n. 2. [2] *Supra* p. 1091 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 1092 n. 6. Cp. Plout. *symp.* 7. 4. 4, Athen. 74 D, Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 20, Hesych. *s.v. ierá*, Phot. *lex. s.v. ierà sukê*, *et. mag.* p. 469, 17, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1964, 12 f.

[4] On figs as a means of purification see Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 437 f., J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 pp. 249 f., 252, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 910, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2148 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 1092. [6] *Supra* p. 291 n. 2.

[7] Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1572, 58 f. λέγεται δὲ καὶ Συκάσιος Ζεὺς παρὰ τοῖς παλαιοῖς, ὁ Καθάρσιος. τῇ γὰρ συκῇ ἐχρῶντο φασὶν ἐν καθαρμοῖς, Hesych. Διὶ Συκασίῳ (so Musurus for διϊσκασίῳ cod.)· παραπεποίηται παρὰ τὸ συκοφαντεῖν. From these two passages it may be inferred that there was a cult of Zeus Συκάσιος with cathartic rites, and that some comedian had used the phrase Διὶ Συκασίῳ with a sly reference to *συκάζειν* in the sense of *συκοφαντεῖν* or worse (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 1014 A).

[8] Paus. 1. 38. 5, cp. Plat. *Theaet.* 143 B.

When Zeus was pursuing a Titan named Sykeas or Sykeus, Ge rescued her son by sending up a fig-tree to shelter him: the scene was laid at Sykea in Kilikia (Athen. 78 A—B περὶ δὲ τῆς προσηγορίας τῶν σύκων λέγων Τρύφων ἐν δευτέρῳ φυτῶν ἱστορίας Δωρίωνά φησιν ἐν Γεωργικῷ ἱστορεῖν Συκέαν, ἕνα τινὰ τῶν Τιτάνων, διωκόμενον ὑπὸ Διὸς τὴν μητέρα Γῆν ὑποδέξασθαι καὶ ἀνεῦναι τὸ φυτὸν εἰς διατριβὴν τῷ παιδί, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Συκέαν πόλιν εἶναι ἐν Κιλικίᾳ, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Συκαί, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1764, 13 ff.). Kreuzer in

to Zeus *Meilichios* may now be covered by the church of Saint Sabas[1]. If so[2], is it a mere coincidence that this Greek martyr, whose festival falls on the first of May, was said to have been hung by his hands upon a fig-tree[3]?

There is, it would seem, much to be said in favour of both these views—that which regards Zeus *Meilichios* as a god 'Kindly' towards the fugitive man-slayer and that which takes him to have been originally a 'god of Figs.' Nevertheless I find myself unable to adopt either opinion; for both alike are based on the circumstances of one particular cult-centre without regard to the other localities in which Zeus *Meilichios* is known to have been worshipped. Our survey must be wider before we can safely venture on an interpretation of the disputed appellative.

(3) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Attic coast.

Between the harbours of Zea and Mounichia the Attic coastline shows various groups of rock-cut niches[4]. At one point[5], four hundred metres in a north-westerly direction from the island of *Stalida*, the foothill displays a grotto and beside it a recess, originally lined with red stucco and still framed by pilasters and an architrave with palmettes above it. The decoration appears to date from the fourth century B.C. Some ninety metres further towards the west other niches of different shapes and sizes are to be seen carved in an old quarry-face[6]. To judge from votive reliefs found in the vicinity, the whole site was once sacred to Zeus *Meilichios* and to a kindred deity Zeus *Philios*[7]. Agathe Tyche, regarded

Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1617 connects this myth with the belief that the fig-tree was lightning-proof (Plout. *symp.* 4. 2. 1, 5. 9, Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 52 p. 49, 22 Bekker=*ib.* 4. 96 p. 111, 3 f. Bekker=p. 181, 18 f. Wünsch, 4. 4 p. 69, 1 Wünsch, *de ostent.* 45 p. 98, 15 ff. Wachsmuth, Theophanes Nonnos *epitome de curatione morborum* 259, *Geopon.* 11. 2. 7, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 77: see Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 406 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 785 n. 6, F. Olck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2145, and especially T. H. Martin *La foudre l'électricité et le magnétisme chez les anciens* Paris 1866 p. 194 f.).

[1] Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 493.

[2] F. Lenormant *Monographie de la Voie Sacrée Éleusinienne* Paris 1864 p. 312 accepts the view of F. C. H. Kruse *Hellas* Leipzig 1826 ii. 1. 173 that the site of the altar is marked by the little church of St Blasios (Sir W. Gell *The Itinerary of Greece* London 1819 p. 31).

[3] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii i. 46 (De Sancto Saba, martyre apud Græcos.) *Antiqua MSS. Menæa, quæ Divione apud Patrum Franciscum Societatis Iesu asservari reperimus anno* MDCLXII, *referunt hisce Kalendis Maji* S. Sabam, in fico digitis suis appensum, & sic gloriosa vita functum, *& addunt hoc distichon.*

Ἤνεγκε καρπὸν πρωϊμένης συκῆς
Κλάδος τὸν χειροδεσμοῖς ἐκκρεμαμένον
Σάβαν.

[*lege* Ἤνεγκε καρπὸν πρωΐμης συκῆς κλάδος
Τὸν χειροδέσμοις ἐκκρεμαμένον (*sic*) Σάβαν.]

Attulit fructum præmaturæ ficus
Ramus, suspensum è digitis vinctis Saban.

M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 113 confuse this St Sabas with St Sabas the Gothic martyr (April 12), who suffered under Athanaricus in 372 A.D. (G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 566).

[4] A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius—J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1881 Erläuternder Text Heft i p. 60 f., C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 146 ff., A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 p. 406 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 383.

[5] E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 35 pl. 12, 1.

[6] E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *op. cit.* p. 35 pl. 12, 2.

[7] *Infra* Append. N *med.*

as consort of the latter[1], had a separate precinct near by[2], as had also on a larger scale Asklepios[3].

Zeus *Meilichios* was sometimes represented as a kingly figure enthroned. A fourth-century relief of white stone, found near the Tsocha theatre in the Peiraieus and now in the National Museum at Athens, shows him approached by three devotees (fig. 942)[4]. Within an architectural framework the god is seated towards the right on a throne, the arm of which is adorned with the usual sphinx and ram's-head (?)[5]. Clad in a *himátion* only, he holds a sceptre in one hand, a *phiále* in the other. Before him is a rectangular altar. From the right draws near a simple family-group of man[6], woman, and child, with gestures of greeting. Above, on the architrave, is the dedication:

'Aristarche, to Zeus *Meilichios*[7].'

A second relief from the same find-spot adds more to our knowledge of the god (fig. 943)[8]. As before, he is seen within a framework of architecture, which bears the inscription:

'——toboule, to Zeus *Milichios*[9].'

As before, he is enthroned on the left with a *phiále* in his right hand[10], while a group of worshippers advances towards him from the right. But this time he grasps a *cornu copiae* in his left hand, and they bring a pig to sacrifice at his altar. Behind the altar stands a boy with something in a shallow basket: between the man and woman is seen a grown girl supporting a deep basket on her head. The *cornu copiae*, one of the rarer attributes of Zeus[11], marks him as a sort of Plouton, able to dispense abundance. The pig, again, though its bones strewed the altar of Zeus *Lýkaios*[12], was an animal commonly sacrificed to Zeus in his chthonian capacity—Zeus *Bouleús* at Mykonos[13], Zeus *Eubouleús* at Delos[14].

[1] *Infra* Append. N *init.*

[2] Ch. D. Tsountas in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1884 p. 169 line 44, W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 383 n. 9.

[3] W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 388 n. 16.

[4] Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 245 f. no. 1431, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 436 f. pl. 70, 4, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 507 ff. pl. 18 (=my fig. 942), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117 pl. 2, *a*, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1246, 2 with Text v. 21 by E. Löwy, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 19 f. fig. 3, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 1. Height 0·30^{m}, breadth 0·40^{m}.

[5] *Supra* i. 407 n. 1.

[6] Not the priest (Foucart *loc. cit.*), but the husband (Svoronos *loc. cit.*) or son (Löwy *loc. cit.*) of the dedicant Aristarche.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579 Ἀριστάρχη Διὶ Μειλιχίωι. Rather: Ἀρι(σ)τάρχη κ.τ.λ.

[8] I. Ch. Dragatses in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 49 f. no. 1, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 117, A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 p. 408, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 21 f. fig. 6. My illustration is from a photograph kindly placed at my disposal by Miss Harrison. Height 0·36^{m}, breadth 0·24^{m}. Traces of colouring subsist on Zeus and his horn (red, yellow), etc.

[9] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1579*b* —τοβούλη Διὶ Μιλιχίω[ι]. Miss Harrison *loc. cit.* after Dragatses prints [Κριτο]βόλη Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ. But this is inexact. The name of the dedicator should be longer, perhaps ['Αρισ]τοβούλη (F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 pp. 6, 9); and the name of the god has no ε.

[10] I. Ch. Dragatses *loc. cit.* says τὴν μὲν δεξιὰν ἐπὶ τῶν μηρῶν ἀναπαύοντα—another inexactitude.

[11] *Supra* i. 361, 501 f., 598 n. 1.

[12] *Supra* i. 82.

[13] *Supra* i. 668, 717 n. 3.

[14] *Supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3.

The abundance vouchsafed by Zeus *Meilichios* and the pig provided by his worshippers are alike illustrated by a passage in Xenophon's *Anabasis*[1]:

'Next they sailed across to Lampsakos, where Xenophon was met by a seer

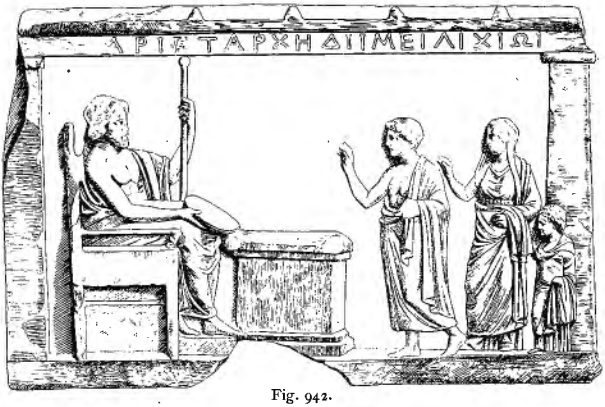


Fig. 942.

Fig. 943.

from Phlious, Eukleides son of Kleagoras. Kleagoras was the man who painted the frescoes in the Lykeion. This Eukleides congratulated Xenophon on his

[1] Xen. *an.* 7. 8. 1—6.

escape and asked him how much money he had. Xenophon told him on oath that he would not even have enough to take him home, unless he sold his horse and personal belongings. Eukleides did not believe him. But when the men of Lampsakos sent gifts by way of welcome to Xenophon and he offered sacrifice to Apollon, he bade Eukleides stand beside him. And he on seeing the victims said that he believed in Xenophon's lack of funds. "But I know," he added, "that even if funds are ever forthcoming there is some hindrance in your way—yourself, if nothing else." To this Xenophon agreed. "The fact is," said Eukleides, "Zeus *Meilichios* is hindering you." And he went on to ask if Xenophon had already sacrificed to that deity "as I," said he, "used at home to have sacrifice made and to present whole burnt-offerings on your behalf." Xenophon replied that since leaving home he had not sacrificed to this god. So Eukleides counselled him to have sacrifice made to the god in his usual manner and declared that things would improve. Next day Xenophon advanced to Ophrynion: there he had sacrifice made and presented whole burnt-offerings of pigs in accordance with his ancestral custom, and the omens were favourable[1]. That very day Bion and Nausikleides arrived with money for the troops. They were entertained by Xenophon and, as to the horse which he had sold at Lampsakos for fifty darics, hearing that it was a favourite mount and suspecting that he had parted with it through poverty, they bought the animal back again and handed it over to its master, refusing to take the purchase-money from him.'

That the god who thus sent wealth in return for whole burnt-offerings of pigs was in fact an Underworld power appears further from other votive reliefs, nine or more in number, found in 1878 near the north-east angle of the Munichian Gate[2]. These show the same deity in the guise of a monstrous snake[3], usually bearded (figs. 944[4], 945[5]) and towering above his human worshippers (fig. 946)[6]. P. Foucart, to whom we are indebted for the first collection and discussion of these reliefs, pointed out that in no case is the name of the dedicator accompanied by that of his deme. It follows that the worshippers were strangers, resident

[1] ἐθύετο καὶ ὡλοκαύτει χοίρους τῷ πατρίῳ (πατρῴῳ cod. Eton. etc. followed by Bornemann) νόμῳ, καὶ ἐκαλλιέρει (Xen. *An.* 7. 8. 5).

[2] P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 507 ff. draws up the list.

[3] On the chthonian character of the snake see *supra* pp. 1060, 1061.

[4] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 270 no. 722 with fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 202, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 6, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 17 f. fig. 1 a *stèle* of Hymettian marble inscribed in lettering of *s.* iv. B.C. – – – Διὶ Μειλιχίωι (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1581). Height 0·58[m], breadth 0·31[m]. I am again indebted to Miss Harrison for the photograph from which my fig. 944 is drawn.

P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 7 describes a relief in the Louvre representing a snake reared upright, with the inscription Ἀσκληπιάδης | Ἀσκληπιοδώρου | Διὶ Μιλιχίωι (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1580).

[5] Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 438 pl. 70, 3 (=my fig. 945), P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 510 no. 8 with fig., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1700 f. fig. 4892, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 20 fig. 4 a relief inscribed in lettering of *s.* iv. B.C. Ἡρακλείδης τῶι θεῶι (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1583). Height 0·33[m], breadth 0·19[m]. J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* notes that τῶι θεῶι might mean either Διὶ Μειλιχίωι or Ἀσκληπιῶι (*id.* in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 503—507).

[6] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 271 no. 723 with fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 202, P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 509 no. 5, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 17, 19 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 31 no. 4 a *stèle* of Hymettian marble without inscription. My fig. 946 is from a transparency in the collection of Newnham College, Cambridge. Height 0·42[m], breadth 0·23[m] to 0·25[m]. The gigantic snake approached by a woman and two men might, again, be either Zeus Μειλίχιος or Asklepios.

aliens, freedmen, or slaves. And Foucart suggests[1] that they formed a *thíasos* of Phoenician settlers, who had brought with them to the crowded port of Athens *Ba'al Milik* or *Melek* or *Molok*, their own 'Lord King'[2]: *Ba'al* they translated as *Zeûs* and *Milik* they transliterated as *Milíchios*[3]. This view has commended

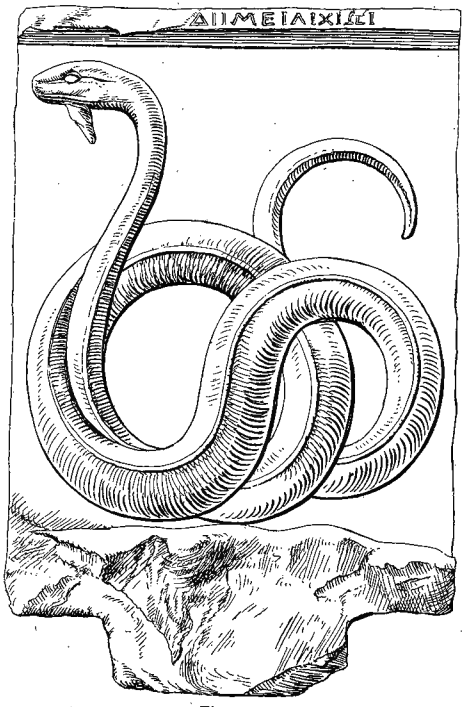


Fig. 944.

[1] P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 511 ff., *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1700 f.

[2] On the problematic Malakba'al- or Melekba'al-*stêlai* see E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2871, ii. 3107, and on Moloch in general E. Meyer and A. Jeremias *ib.* ii. 3106 ff., F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 216—227. My friend and colleague the Rev. Prof. R. H. Kennett has suggested 'that Moloch, to whom first-born children were burnt by their parents in the valley of Hinnom,...may have been originally the human king regarded as an incarnate deity': for this important hypothesis see Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 219 ff. ('Moloch the King').

[3] Cp. P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 513 n. 4: 'M. Renan avait fait remarquer que la forme la plus vraisemblable est Milik, que la leçon Διὰ Μιλίχιον se rencontre

dans plusieurs des manuscrits d'Eusèbe où est traduit un passage de Sanchoniaton sur le dieu phénicien [Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 12 Δία Μειλίχιον. G. H. A. Ewald in W. W. Baudissin *Studien zur semitischen Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1876 i. 15 took Μειλίχιος here to be a Grecised form of the Semitic word for 'sailor,' and Baudissin himself *ib.* p. 36 n. 2 says: 'Insofern der oben S. 15 erwähnte Μειλίχιος "der Schiffer" die Bezeichnung Ζεύς

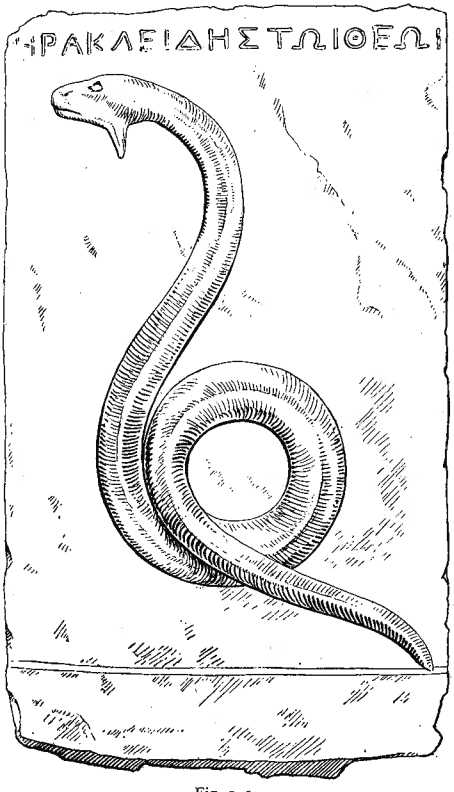


Fig. 945.

erhält, haben wir eine Gottheit in diesem Namen zu suchen, die kaum eine andere als Melkart sein kann (s.m. *Jahve et Moloch* S. 28 f.). Μελικέρτης, dessen Name sicher das phönicische *Melkart* ist, gilt bei den Griechen als Meergottheit...' Cp. Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 398, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 n. 3. *À propos* of the Semitic word for 'sailor' my friend Mr N. McLean writes to me (April 10, 1917): 'The word occurs in the form *mallāḥ* in Hebrew, Aramaic, & Arabic. Arabic borrowed it from Aramaic; & it is said to

itself to sundry scholars including M. Clerc[1], H. Lewy[2], M. Mayer[3], O. Höfer[4], W. Prellwitz[5], and in a modified form to S. Reinach[6]. But Miss Harrison in-

Fig. 946.

have come to Hebrew & Aramaic as a loanword from Assyrian, where the form is *Malaḫu*.' The last statement is further guaranteed by the Rev. C. H. W. Johns (April 11, 1917)], qu'enfin Silius Italicus (III, 104 [103 ff. lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem]) cite Milichus comme un dieu punique (*Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions*, t. 23, p. 267). L'orthographe constante [?] des bas-reliefs du Pirée vient confirmer cette opinion.' F. C. Movers *Die Phönizier* Berlin 1841 i. 326 f. had already connected the words Μειλίχιος, *Milichus*, and *Melech*.

[1] M. Clerc *Les métèques athéniens* (*Bibliothèque des écoles françaises d'Athènes et de Rome* lxiv) Paris 1893 p. 127 ff.

[2] H. Lewy *Die semitischen Fremdwörter im Griechischen* Berlin 1895 p. 242 f.

[3] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1521.

[4] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2561 : but cp. *ib.* p. 2562.

[5] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 286.

[6] S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 683 holds that in Zeus Μειλίχιος we may see the fusion of an original Greek with an incoming oriental god : 'une forme grecque et une forme orientale, distinctes à l'origine, ont été confondues par le même syncrétisme qui a assimilé Héraklès à l'Hercule latin.' Similarly in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 348

dicates an obvious difficulty: 'Unfortunately for this interesting theory we have no evidence that "Moloch" was ever worshipped in snake form[1].' And R. Dussaud further contends that in point of fact the Phoenicians recognised no such deity as *Milk*[2]. We must turn a deaf ear to all Semitic Sirens and seek an explanation nearer home.

Miss Harrison herself maintains that the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* was a case of 'superposition.' The worship of the sky-god Zeus had ousted that of an older earth-demon *Meilichios*: hence the snake inappropriate to the former, but natural to the latter; hence too the euphemistic title common to many a buried hero. 'Zeus,' we are told, 'is one of the few Greek gods who never appear attended by a snake. Asklepios, Hermes, Apollo, even Demeter and Athene have their snakes, Zeus never[3].' 'And the truth is nothing more or less than this. The human-shaped Zeus has slipped himself quietly into the place of the old snake-god.... It is not that Zeus the Olympian has "an underworld aspect"; it is the cruder fact that he of the upper air, of the thunder and lightning, extrudes an ancient serpent-demon of the lower world, Meilichios. Meilichios is no foreign Moloch, he is home-grown, autochthonous before the formulation of Zeus[4].' 'When we come to the discussion of hero-worship, it will be seen that all over Greece the dead hero was worshipped in snake form and addressed by euphemistic titles akin to that of Meilichios[5].' That Miss Harrison's shaft has hit the target and indeed gone near to piercing the bull's-eye, I shall not deny. The snake-form and euphemistic title of Zeus *Meilichios* are rightly explained as the appanage of a chthonian power resembling the divinised dead. But why need we make the rather unlikely assumption that a sky-cult has been superposed on an earth-cult? Because—says Miss Harrison—Zeus never has a snake as his attribute. That, surely, is a misleading statement. I have already adduced much evidence connecting both the Thraco-Phrygian Zeus[6] and the Graeco-Libyan Zeus[7] with the snake. To recall but a single case: the coinage of Dion in Makedonia shows Zeus standing with a snake at his side[8]. Should we not rather conclude that the

(*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1908 iii. 104): 'C'est plus tard seulement...qu'on l'identifia, par exemple au Pirée, à quelque *baal-melek* phénicien.' Cp. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 18 n. 1: 'The possibility of a *contaminatio* between the Phenician Baal and Zeus Meilichios cannot be lightly dismissed. For a discussion of the subject see especially Clermont-Ganneau, *Le dieu Satrape*, p. 65, on the river Meilichos at Patrae, and Lagrange, *Etudes sur les Religions Sémitiques*, p. 105.'

[1] Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 18. Not but what there is ample evidence of serpent-worship among the Semites: see *e.g.* S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 125—250, F. X. Kortleitner *De polytheismo universo* Oeniponte 1908 pp. 191 ff., 323 f., J. Skinner on Gen. 3. 1 ff., R. H. Kennett 'Ark' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 791—793. The sanctity of the serpent in Phoinike (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 f. Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 46 ff.) may in part account for its frequency as a *motif* in Phoenician art (*e.g.* Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 658, with fig. on p. 628, 759 fig. 543, 833 fig. 597, F. Poulsen *Der Orient und die frühgriechische Kunst* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 p. 193 Index *s.vv.* 'Schlangen, Schlangenkopf,' E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 48).

[2] R. Dussaud 'Milk, Moloch, Melqart' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1904 xlix. 163—168, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 643.

[3] Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 18 f.

[4] *Ead. op. cit.* p. 19.

[5] *Ead. op. cit.* p. 20 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 392 ff., 428.

[7] *Supra* i. 358 ff., 428.

[8] *Supra* i. 102 n. 4, 113 fig. 84.

local king, reverenced during his life-time as Zeus incarnate, was after his death worshipped as an anguiform soul under the euphemistic appellation of Zeus 'the Kindly One'? On this showing Zeus *Meilíchios* falls into line with a whole string of deities already discussed—Zeus *Ktésios*[1], Zeus *Agamémnon*[2], Zeus *Amphidraos*[3], Zeus *Trophónios*[4], Zeus *Asklepiós*[5]. Moreover, from the new standpoint the circumstances of the cult on the Kephisos are readily intelligible. The head of a clan, dead and buried, would be just the personage required on the one hand to purify a man from the stain of kindred bloodshed, on the other to promote the fertility of the fig-trees. His title *Meilíchios*, 'the Kindly One[6],'—originally a euphemistic name[7]—would lend itself equally well to two false inter-

[1] Append. H. [2] Append. I. [3] Append. J.
[4] Append. K. [5] Append. L.

[6] E. Maass *De Aeschyli Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxvii n. 4 says: 'Jupiter Μελισσαῖος (Hesych. s.v. [Μελισσαῖος· ὁ Ζεύς]) a μέλισσα abstracto (=ἠπιότης) videtur derivatus, ut sit idem ac μειλίχιος.' But Zeus Μελισσαῖος presumably means Zeus 'of the Bees' (cp. Nik. *ther.* 611). Whether the allusion is to the infant Zeus of Crete nurtured by bees (*supra* i. 150, ii. 928 f. n. 0, 932 f. n. 1) or to Aristaios the bee-keeper worshipped as Zeus in Arkadia (*supra* i. 372 n. 7) or to some unidentified cult, we cannot say.

Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 908 f.: 'Das gewöhnlichste Mittel, die Geister zu versöhnen, ist die Bewirtung mit Honig; wahrscheinlich nach ihm heisst das Entsühnen *μειλίσσειν*. Nach der besänftigenden Honigspende sind wahrscheinlich Zeus und Dionysos Meilichios genannt worden.' But, as Gruppe himself is aware (*op. cit.* p. 908 n. 2 f.), the connexion of *μειλίσσειν* with *μέλι* is very doubtful: see now Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 620, 624.

[7] Euphemism is and always has been a *vera causa* in popular life. I once stayed at Lavancher, a village near the Mer de Glace: the little inn, which had languished under the name *L'hôtel du Mauvais Pas*, was doing well as *L'hôtel Beau-Séjour*! Similarly with Greek and Latin place-names: the Αἷξενος became the Εὔξεινος (Strab. 298 f., Ov. *trist.* 4. 4. 55 ff., Mela 1. 102, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 76, 6. 1, Solin. 23. 16, Isid. *orig.* 13. 16. 7), *Maleventum* was improved into *Beneventum* (Liv. 9. 27, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 105, Fest. p. 340 *b* 7 f. Müller, p. 458, 35 f. Lindsay, Paul. ex Fest. p. 34 Müller, p. 31, 17 ff. Lindsay, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Βενεβεντός, Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 1. 15); it was even supposed that *Epidamnus* had heen changed into *Dyrrhachium* (Mela 2. 56, Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 145, Fest. p. 340 *b* 9 Müller, p. 458, 37 Lindsay) and *Egesta* into *Segesta* (Fest. p. 340 *b* 3 ff. Müller, p. 458, 31 ff. Lindsay) for the sake of avoiding an evil omen. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 392 ff. collects many examples of euphemistic substitutes for common words, which for one reason or another were taboo. He might have added to his store from Greek usage. When the ancient Greek spoke of his 'left hand' as ἀριστερά or εὐώνυμος, of 'night' as εὐφρόνη, of 'death' as *εἴ τι πάθοις*, of 'the dead' as *οἱ πλείονες* (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2560 f.), when the modern Greek calls the small-pox Συγχωρεμένη, the 'Gracious One,' or Εὐλογία, the 'Blessing' (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 236), and the Devil himself ὁ καλὸς ἄνθρωπος, 'the Good man,' or ὁ κατάκαλος, 'the Beloved' (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 176), these complimentary phrases are best explained as due to downright euphemism. Cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1398, 50 ff., *et. mag.* p. 144, 20 ff. Further instances are adduced by writers on rhetoric to illustrate the trope *antíphrasis*: see Anonymos *περὶ τρόπων* 14 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tuhingae 1835 viii. 722, 10 f.), Tryphon *περὶ τρόπων* 15 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 755, 11 ff.), Gregorios of Corinth *περὶ τρόπων* 18 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 773, 20 ff.), Kokondrios *περὶ τρόπων* 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 785, 27 ff.), Choiroboskos *περὶ τρόπων* 13 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 812, 11 ff.). An example will serve: Helladios *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 535 a 4 ff. Bekker *ὅτι τὸ μὴ λέγειν δύσφημα πᾶσι τοῖς παλαιοῖς μὲν φρονητὶς ἦν, μάλιστα δὲ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις. διὸ καὶ τὸ δεσμωτήριον οἶκημα ἐκάλουν, καὶ τὸν δήμιον κοινόν* [a euphemism for a euphemism!], *τὰς δὲ Ἐρινύας Εὐμενίδας ἢ σεμνὰς θεάς, τὸ δὲ μύσος ἅγος, τὸ δὲ ὄξος μέλι καὶ τὴν χολὴν*

γλυκεῖαν, τὸν δὲ βόρβορον ὀχετόν. οἱ δὲ γραμματικοὶ τὰ τοιαῦτα κατὰ ἀντίφρασιν ὀνομάζουσιν. οἶδα δέ τινας, φησί, τῶν φιλολόγων καὶ τὸν πίθηκον ὀνομάζοντες καλλίαν.

Confining our attention to the titles of Greek divinities, we note the following cases:—

(1) The Erinyes were known as Ἀβλαβίαι (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 600, *b* 67, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839, *B* 18 Erythrai in the first half of *s.* iii B.C.), Εὐμενίδες, Σεμναί.

(2) Hades was Ἀγήσανδρος (Hesych. *s.v.*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 18, 22), Ἀγησίλαος (Aisch. *frag.* 406 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 99 B, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀγεσίλαος (so Musurus for ἄγες, λαὸς cod.) = Favorin. *lex.* p. 17, 7 f., Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 130 Ἀγεσίλᾳ cited by *et. mag.* p. 8, 32 f. as Ἀγεσιλάῳ, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 195. 2 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 551. 2 ἐπ' Ἀγεσίλας for the meaningless inscr. ΕΠΑΓΕΣΙΜΗ, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 Plutoni, cui cognomen Agesilao (*v.l.* Agelasto) fuit. So Nik. *frag.* 74, 72 *ap.* Athen. 684 D Ἡγεσιλάου, *Anth. Pal.* 7. 545. 4 (Hegesippos) ἠγησίλεω...ἈΙδος), Εὐβουλεύς (*supra* p. 118 n. 4), Εὐειδής (Hesych. *s.v.* Εὐκλῆς cited *supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐκλῆς (*supra* p. 118 n. 3), Εὐχαίτης (J. Franz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1, 24 an oracle of Klaros, *s.* ii A.D., found at Kallipolis on the Thracian Chersonese: see Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1034. 23, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 1397, K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 81 ff., H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 257 f., O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 880, and C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 pp. 212, 389, 673, 694, 696 (following Buresch)), Ἰσοδαίτης (Hesych. *s.v.*: see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 551 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 804 n. 7, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1430 n. 1, 1432 n. 2, 1557 n. 3, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 440, 481 n. 1, *Themis* p. 157), Κλύμενος (C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1783, R. Engelmann, W. H. Roscher, and W. Drexler *ib.* ii. 1228 f.), Πασιάναξ (on Megarian (?) imprecatory tablets of lead published by E. Ziebarth 'Neue attische Fluchtafeln' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1899 p. 120 no. 21, 1, 3, 7 and p. 121 no. 22, 1. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1664 cp. the Pythian oracle quoted by Phlegon of Tralleis *Olympiades seu chronica frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 603 Müller) = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 20. 5 f. ἀτιμάζοντες Ὀλύμπια πασιάνακτος | Ζηνός), Περικλύμενος (Hesych. *s.v.*: so Salmasius and Soping for περίκλυμος cod.), Πλούτων (*supra* i. 503 f.), Πολύαρχος (Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang), Πολυδαίμων (Orph. *h. Plout.* 18. 11: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 2, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii 2637), Πολυδέγμων (*h. Dem.* 17, 31, 430, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 15 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 809 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2639 f.), Πολυδέκτης (*h. Dem.* 9 with the note of E. E. Sikes *ad loc.*, Cornut. *theol.* 35 p. 74, 14 Lang: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 400 n. 2, 867 n. 5, H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2640), Πολύξενος? (Kallim. *frag.* 478 Schneider *ap. et. Flor.* p. 189 Κλυμένου...πολυξείνοιο. In Soph. *O.C.* 1569 f. ἐν πύλαισι | ...πολυξέστοις S. Musgrave restored πολυξένοις. Cp. Aisch. *suppl.* 157 f. τὸν πολυξενώτατον | Ζῆνα τῶν κεκμηκότων, where T. Birt would read Δία for Ζῆνα with the citation in *et. Gud.* p. 227, 43 διὰ (*sic*) and in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 13 Διὰ (*sic*). Again, in Aisch. *frag.* 228 Nauck[2] Ζαγρεῖ τε νὺν με καὶ πολυξένῳ < > | χαίρειν cited by *et. Gud.* p. 227, 40 f. and by Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 443, 10 f. Hermann supplied πατρί, Schneidewin Δαΐ. See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2561 and 2742), Πυλάοχος (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 35), πυλάρτης (*Il.* 8. 367 with schol. *ad loc.*, 13. 415, *Od.* 11. 277, Mosch. 4. 86, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 137, 25 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* πυλάρταο κρατεροῖο, *et. mag.* p. 696, 48 ff., Eustath. *in Il.* pp. 718, 20 f., 914, 18 f., 940, 5 f., *in Od.* p. 1684, 43 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1601, 28 ff.: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 400 n. 1, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3326). *Infra* Append. N *med.*

(3) Persephone was Μελίβοια? (Lasos *frag.* 1 Bergk[4] *ap.* Athen. 624 E Δάματρα μέλπω κόραν τε Κλυμένοι' ἄλοχον Μελίβοιαν, | ὕμνων ἀναγῶν Αἰολῆΐδα | βαρύβρομον ἁρμονίαν: but E. Hiller—O. Crusius read ἄλοχον | μελιβόαν ὕμνων ἀναγέων | Αἰολίδ' ἀνὰ κ.τ.λ.), Μελιτώδης (Theokr. 15. 94 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18. In Kokondrios περὶ τρόπων 6 (Walz *op. cit.* viii. 786, 8) καὶ Μελιτώνην τὴν Περσεφόνην Boissonade *anecd.* iii. 292 cj. μελιτώδη), Μελινδία? (Io. Malal. *chron.* 3 p. 62 Dindorf: Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 206 n. 2 cj. Μελίνοια).

pretations. Some, narrowing its range overmuch, would see in it the description of a god specially gracious to the repentant man-slayer. Others, wrongly associating it with *meilicha*, 'figs,' would point in triumph to the Sacred Fig-tree of the Phytalidai.

(4) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Hills near Athens.

There must have been another sanctuary of Zeus *Meilichios* on the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, now crowned by the Observatory. For here two dedications to the god have come to light, one inscribed on a round pillar[1], the other on a quadrangular base[2]. The latter associates him with Helios, possibly as being a god of fertility[3].

The eastward prolongation of the Nymphs' Hill, on which stands the church of Saint Marina, had in antiquity its own cult of Zeus: a couple of rock-cut inscriptions on the southern slope mark the limits of his precinct[4]. Whether the god here also had fertilising powers, we cannot tell; but at the present day women who come to supplicate Saint Marina for children 'go through the performance of sliding down the great sloping rock in front of the church[5].'

(4) Hekate was Ἀρίστη (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 57 pap. Par. 1450 καὶ Ἀρίστη Χθονία), Εὐκολίνη (Kallim. *frag.* 82[d] Schneider χαῖρ', Εὐκολίνη, *ap. et. Sorbon.* (cited by T. Gaisford in his note on *et. mag.* p. 392, 27); *et. Ultraiect.* (cited by D. Ruhnken *epist. crit.* ii. 181), *et. Flor.* p. 133, cp. *et. mag.* p. 392, 27 f., Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 182, 23 ff., Souid. *s.v.* Εὐκολίνη), Καλλίστη (Hesych. *s.v.*), Κράταις (Ap. Rhod. 4. 829 with schol. *ad loc.*: see further H. W. Stoll and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1408 f.).

(5) A daughter of Zeus by Persephone was Μειλινόη? (so C. A. Lobeck for Μηλινόη in Orph. *h. Melin.* 71. 1).

(6) An Arcadian bear-goddess (?) was Καλλιστώ (Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 402 ff. fig. 26, R. Franz 'De Callistus fabula' in the *Leipziger Studien zür classischen Philologie* 1890 xii. 233—365, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 931—935, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 438, Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 191, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 194 f., 942 n. 8, *alib.*, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 176 f.).

(7) The bogus snake-god of Abonou Teichos was Γλύκων (*supra* Append. L p. 1083 ff.).

Such titles have a twofold aspect. Their value is at once negative and positive. On the one hand, they are substitutes for names that were taboo. 'It is especially,' says Dr Farnell (*Cults of Gk. States* iii. 137), 'in the cults of the powers of the lower world, in the worship of Hades and Persephone, and more especially still in the mysteries, that we discern in many Greek communities a religious dislike to pronounce the proper personal name, either because of its extreme holiness or because of its ominous associations, and to conceal it under allusive, euphemistic, or complimentary titles.' On the other hand, these titles often aim at securing by magical means the blessing that they describe: you call your god what you wish him to be, in order to make him so. See some shrewd remarks by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 33 f.: 'Here, in part (there are other elements also) lies the efficacy of Euphemism. You call the Fairies "Kindly Ones"; behind the conscious motive of putting them into a good temper, and the fear of effecting a connection with them by uttering their name, is further the comfort that you derive by persuading yourself to believe that they are kindly: the fact that you call them kindly makes them kindly.' Μειλίχιος is a case in point.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1584 Διὶ Μειλιχίωι | Ξωπυρίων.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1585 Ἡλίωι καὶ Διὶ Μειλ[ιχίωι] | Μαμμία.

[3] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 421 n. 4, 424.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 504 ΣΟΙΔΣΟΦΟΗ and a little lower down no. 505 ΗΟΡΟΣ.

[5] Miss M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 58 f. Cp. *supra* i. 563 n. 4.

At Alopeke (*Angelokepoi, Ampelokepoi*) near Mount Lykabettos[1] Zeus again appears to have borne a chthonian character. A roughly squared block of Pentelic marble, found in an ancient well of this locality, has the upper part of its front face engraved as follows[2] in lettering of the late fifth century B.C.:

HI EPO N:-	Sanctuary
ΔI O Σ:M I	of Zeus *Mi-*
L I X I O:A	*lichios*, (G)-
HΣ:AΘH N	e, Athen-
AI AΣ	aia.

The grouping of the god with Ge, if not also the discovery of his boundary-stone in a well, is significant of his underground nature.

(5) Zeus *Meilichios* on the Ilissos.

Yet another Athenian cult seems to have connected Zeus *Meilichios* as a god of fertility with underground waters. In 1893 A. N. Skias, when exploring

Fig. 947

[1] S. Reinach 'Le sanctuaire d'Athéna et de Zeus Meilichios à Athènes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 411—417.

[2] S. A. Koumanoudes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 pp. 51—54 no. 1 = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 3 no. 528[1] *ἱερὸν* | Διὸς Μ|ιλιχίου, (Γ)|ῆς, Ἀθην|αίας. The reading (Γ)ῆς, here adopted by A. Kirchhoff, was suggested independently by Semitelos and Diels (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 10 n. 2), and is accepted by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2558 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 421 n. 3, 424, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 69.

the bed of the Ilissos, discovered in the two reservoirs beneath the rocky barrier of the later Kallirrhoe four slabs carved in relief. Of these slabs two were found close together in the basin[1] adjoining the chapel of Saint Photeine, and with

Fig. 948.

them a colossal head of Herakles wearing the lion-skin. One of the two reliefs in question (fig. 947)[2] shows Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand and a *phiále* (?) in

[1] Marked B in W. Wilberg's plan of the excavations (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1893 pl. A).
[2] A. N. Skias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894 p. 133 ff. fig., Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.*

his right, seated on a rock (?)[1]. Before him is an altar of rude stones. Beyond it stand two female worshippers, presumably mother and daughter, conceived on a smaller scale than the god himself. The moulding above bears traces of fifth-century letters, which were read by Skias as a dedication to Zeus *Nάιος*[2]: they may equally well, indeed better, be completed as a dedication to Zeus *Meilíchios*[3]. The second relief (fig. 948)[4] represents Zeus holding a jug in both hands as he sits on a horned and bearded head, which is inscribed in lettering of the Alexandrine age *Achelôios*[5]. Behind Zeus stands a female (?)—perhaps Kallirrhoe, daughter of Acheloios,—fronting us with a *cornu copiae* in her left hand and a *phiále* in her right. Before Zeus stand Hermes and Herakles. Hermes has a trefoil *oinochóe* in his right hand, the *caduceus* in his left. Herakles, equipped with lion-skin and club, extends his right hand with something in it (another *oinochóe* ?) towards Zeus. To either side of the heads of Zeus and Herakles are two holes of doubtful significance.

It is not quite certain that either of these reliefs figures Zeus *Meilíchios*. But it is probable that both do so. The former bears a general resemblance to the *Meilíchios*-reliefs of the Peiraieus (figs. 942, 943)[6], though it shows a more primitive type of altar and dispenses with architectural framework. The latter represents a chthonian Zeus of some sort; for it associates him closely with Acheloios[7] and Kallirrhoe (?). Now somewhere in the immediate neighbourhood

pl. 130, 2 (=my fig. 947). The dimensions of the slab, which is now preserved in the National Museum (no. 1779), are as follows: breadth 0·31^{m}, height 0·22^{m}.

[1] Cp. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 130, 3 (no. 1781), *infra* p. 1119 n. 0.

[2] Ε ∪ Ι ΝΕΝΑΙ = [ὁ δεῖνα ἀν]έθηκεν Ναϊ[ῳ Διΐ]. The lettering is hardly later than *c.* 450 B.C.

[3] Skias himself supposes that the god portrayed is Zeus Μειλίχιος, who *qua* watery chthonian Zeus might—he thinks—bear the title Νάιος. But it is surely simpler to restore [Διὶ Μειλιχίωι κατ' εὐχὴν ἀν]έθηκεν Ναϊ[άς] or Νάν[ριον] or the like.

[4] P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1893 p. 137 n. 1, A. N. Skias *ib.* 1894 p. 137 ff. pl. 7 (=my fig. 948), Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 131 (larger, but not so clear), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 351 no. 3 (summary sketch). The slab, now in the National Museum (no. 1778), measures: greatest height 0·85^{m}, breadth below 0·53^{m}, breadth above 0·60^{m}, thickness of base 0·16^{m}, thickness of background *c.* 0·10^{m}.

[5] ΑΧΕΛΩΙΟΣ. [6] *Supra* p. 1105 f.

[7] A votive relief of Pentelic marble (height 0·42^{m}, breadth 0·49^{m}, thickness 0·08^{m}: it had originally a tenon for insertion in a mortise), found at Megara (F. Wieseler 'Ueber ein Votivrelief aus Megara' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1875 xx. 6. 1—39) and now in the Berlin Museum (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 251 f. no. 679 with fig.), is referable to the early part of *s.* iv. B.C. (Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Sculptures pl. 27=my fig. 949). On the back wall of a cavern is carved the bead of Acheloios, and immediately beneath it is set a table for offerings. Ranged round the cavern we see a semicircle of divinities. Zeus in the centre is flanked by Pan (horns) and Kore (torches). Next to Pan is Demeter (?); next to Kore, Plouton (?—possibly Agathos Daimon) (*phiále, cornu copiae*). The reclining youth on the extreme left and the seated female figure on the extreme right are insufficiently characterised as deities (Apollon?? Aphrodite?? cp. Paus. 1. 44. 9) and more probably represent the eponymous hero Megaros and his mother, one of the nymphs called Sithnides, who was beloved by Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 1, cp. *et. mag.* p. 228, 21 ff. where the hero is called Megareus): the fact that they alone occupy the ground-level would not justify the inference that they are merely the dedicators of the *ex voto*.

The nearest parallel to this relief as a whole is furnished by the rock-carvings at the entrance to the marble-quarries of Paros: see J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1816 iv pp. ix, 34 f., ch. 6 pl. 5, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst*

of the reservoirs above-mentioned must be located[1] that sanctuary of the Nymphs and Acheloios, which with its votive statuettes and images still makes a pretty picture in the pages of Platon. It will be remembered how Sokrates and Phaidros one thirsty day stretched themselves on the turf beneath a great plane-tree, cool water bubbling up at their feet, the air ringing with a chorus of cicalas, and blossoms of *agnus castus* perfuming the whole place[2]. It is reasonable to suppose that the Zeus of our reliefs had a precinct adjoining this sacred spot. And the supposition squares well with sundry further considerations. To the north, and close at hand, lay the vast temple of Zeus *Olýmpios*, begun by Peisistratos, continued by Antiochos iv Epiphanes, and ended by Hadrian. Zeus indeed had been established here from time immemorial. 'They say,' writes Pausanias, 'that Deukalion built the old sanctuary of Zeus *Olýmpios*, and in proof that Deukalion dwelt at Athens they point to a grave not far from the present temple[3].' If early graves were to be seen in the vicinity, we might look to find the cult of a chthonian Zeus[4], who would be readily brought into connexion with the powers of sub-

ii. 4. 11 pl. 63, 814, A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 314 f., 328, Lebas—

Fig. 949.

Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 110 f. pl. 122, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 360 no. 1, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 245.

[1] A. N. Skias Συμβολαὶ εἰς τὴν Ἀθηναικὴν τοπογραφίαν pp. 13—16 (=Ἑστία 1894 p. 292), *id.* in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1893 p. 123.

[2] Plat. *Phaedr.* 230 B-C. [3] Paus. 1. 18. 8.

[4] A. N. Skias in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1897 p. 81 ff. suggests that the small Ionic temple

terranean springs. Pliny, or his authority, was probably[1] thinking of the site, when he remarked: 'At Athens during a rainy summer Enneakrounos is colder than the well in the garden of Zeus, but in dry seasons the latter is freezing-cold[2].' More than that. Midway between the Kallirrhoe-bar and the Olympieion are the foundations of a small temple built in Roman times and subsequently transformed into a Christian church[3]. This little edifice perhaps marks the very ground where Zeus *Meilichios* was worshipped[4].

on the Ilissos (J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1762 i. 7 ff., ch. 2 pls. 1—8, A. N. Skias *loc. cit.* p. 73 ff. with pl. A′ by A. N. Lykakes, W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 227 f., J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 243 ff., C. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. i. 190 f.), which was standing as the church of the Παναγία εἰς τὴν Πέτραν till towards the close of the eighteenth century, had originally some connexion with Zeus Φίλιος, a doublet of Zeus Χθόνιος. He relies on a fragmentary votive relief (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1897 p. 83 f. pl. A′ fig. A′, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 130, 3 (no. 1781)) of *s.* iv or iii B.C. found in one of the numerous tombs adjoining the temple: it represents a sceptred god sitting on a rock with an altar before him. But W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 371 f. makes out a strong case for regarding the sanctuary as that of the Μήτηρ ἐν Ἀγραις.

[1] But see W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 182 n. 6.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 50 Athenis Enneacrunos nimbosa aestate frigidior est quam puteus in Iovis horto, at ille siccitatibus riget.

[3] A. N. Skias in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1893 p. 130 ff. pl. A with inset (=my fig. 950). The temple was a peripteral building with 6 columns on each short side and 9 on each long side: the *naós* was amphiprostyle with 4 columns at either end (Skias *loc. cit.* p. 131 fig.). The order appears to have been Doric (?). When the temple became a church, the *prónaos* was transformed into a ἅγιον βῆμα. Beneath the sacred table was a pit (Γ in fig. 950) for relics, which were bestowed in an old Greek sepulchral urn of black stone with four handles. Several tombs of Christian date were found on the site.

[4] That is my conjecture. A. N. Skias, who has a better right to speak, contends (Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1893 p. 132 f.) that here was the spot known in *s.* xv A.D. as the 'precinct of Hera' (Anon. Vindob. 7 in C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 735 f. πρὸς δὲ νότου τούτων ἔστιν οἶκος βασιλικὸς πλὴν ὡραῖος, εἰς ὃν κατερχόμενος ὁ δοὺξ κατὰ καιρὸν εἰς εὐωχίαν ἐκινεῖτο· ἐκεῖ ἐστι καὶ ἡ Ἐννεάκρουνος (νεάκρουνος cod.) πηγὴ ἡ Καλλιρρόη, εἰς ἣν λουόμενος ἀνήρχετο εἰς τέμενος τὸ τῆς Ἥρας λεγόμενον καὶ προσηύχετο· νῦν δὲ μετεποιήθη εἰς ναὸν τῆς ὑπεραγίας Θεοτόκου ὑπὸ τῶν εὐσεβῶν). But W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 371 n. 12 decides with greater probability that this and other early allusions to a 'temple de Junon' (Wachsmuth *op. cit.* i. 736 n. 1) referred to the Christian church on the Ilissos-'island' (see R. Rangabé in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1850 p. 134 ff.), which had been wrongly identified with Hadrian's temple of Hera and Zeus Πανελλήνιος (Paus. 1. 18. 9 Ἁδριανὸς δὲ κατεσκευάσατο μὲν καὶ ἄλλα Ἀθηναίοις, ναὸν Ἥρας καὶ Διὸς Πανελληνίου κ.τ.λ., Dion Cass. 69. 16 τόν τε σηκὸν τὸν ἑαυτοῦ, τὸ Πανελλήνιον ὠνομασμένον, οἰκοδομήσασθαι τοῖς Ἕλλησιν ἐπέτρεψε, καὶ ἀγῶνα ἐπ' αὐτῷ κατεστήσατο (*sc.* Ἁδριανός), Philostr. *v. soph.* 2. 1. 7 καὶ μὴν καὶ ἐλειτούργησεν (*sc.* Ἡρώδης) Ἀθηναίοις τήν τ' ἐπώνυμον καὶ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων, 2. 17. 1. μηδ' εἰ τὴν τῶν Πανελληνίων Ἀθήνησιν εὐκλεῶς ἦρξεν (*sc.* Ῥοῦφος, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 17), Hieron. *chron. ann. Abr.* 2148 (Euseb. *chron.* ii. 167 Schoene) Hadrianus cum insignes et plurimas aedes Athenis fecisset agonem edidit bibliothecamque miri operis instruxit). The real site of the temple of Zeus Πανελλήνιος at Athens is unknown: future excavators will doubtless discover it.

Meantime extant inscriptions confirm the literary sources and add somewhat to our knowledge of the god and of his festival. The name appears to have had a distinctly political origin. In late republican or early imperial times the Achaean League was revived as τὸ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν καὶ Βοιωτῶν καὶ Δοκρῶν καὶ Φωκέων καὶ Εὐβοέων κοινόν, or more briefly τὸ κοινὸν τῶν Ἀχαιῶν, ἡ σύνοδος τῶν Πανελλήνων: their council met at Argos under the presidency of a στρατηγὸς τῶν Ἀχαιῶν. But in 131 A.D. Hadrian instituted a new Πανελλήνιον on

grander lines: it met at Athens and included all the Greek states, not merely those of the Peloponnese. Thenceforward the revived Achaean League naturally dropped its pretension to be Panhellenic (see W. Dittenberger's notes on the *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 18, on *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 842, 2 f., and on *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f., 11). Hadrian not only founded a temple of Zeus Πανελλήνιος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 13, 10 [ναὸν Πανελλ]ηνίου Διὸς ἐφ[ιδρύσατο (*sc.* Ἀδριανός)]), but also himself assumed the title Πανελλήνιος (*ib.* iii. 1 no. 12, 26 ff. [τ]ὰς δωρεὰς ὡ[ς ἔκασται ἐδόθησαν ὑπὸ τοῦ] | μεγίσ[του Αὐτοκράτορ]ος Καίσαρος Τραία[νοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ] | Ὀλυμπί[ου Πανελληνίου], *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 70, 1 f. τὸν δὶς αὐτοκράτορα Κ[αίσαρα Τρ]αϊανὸν Ἀδρια[νὸν] | Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Π[ύθι]ον Πανελλήνιον, *ib.* i no. 71, 1 f. [τὸν δὶς αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν

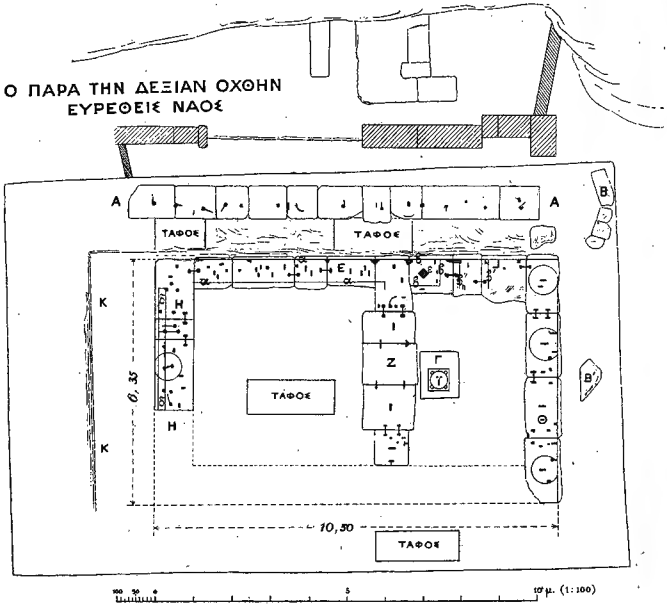


Fig. 950.

Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμπιον Πύθιον Πανελλήνιον], *ib.* i no. 72, 1 ff. τὸν δὶς αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα Τραϊανὸν | Ἀδριανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλόμπιον Πύθιον | Πανελλήνιον, *ib.* i no. 3491, 1 ff. τὸν δὶς αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα [θεοῦ Τραϊανοῦ Παρθικοῦ υἱόν], | θεοῦ Νέρβα υἱωνόν, Τραϊανὸν Ἀδρι[ανὸν Σεβαστὸν Ὀλύμ]πιον Πανελλήνιον νέον Πύθιον, G. Radet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 480 no. 60, 1 f. *Kirk-Agaisch* from Thyateira [αὐτ]οκράτορα Τραϊανὸν Ἀδριανὸν Καίσαρα Σ[εβαστόν, | ...κ]αὶ Πανελλήνιον) presumably as being the earthly representative and vice-gerent of Zeus (*Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 314). After his death the divinised Hadrian had as priest the president of the great Panhellenic council (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 681, 2 ff. τὸν ἄρχο[ντα τῶν] | σεμνο[τάτων Παν]ελλήνω[ν καὶ ἱερέα] | θεοῦ Ἀδ[ριανοῦ Παν|ελ]ληνί[ου καὶ ἀγω]ν[ο]θ[έ]τ[ην τῶν Παν|ελλη]ν[ίων.....],? cp. *ib.* iii. 2 no. 3872, 1 ff. θεὸν |['Αδριανὸν?] – – – Πανε[λλην...], Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 1 f. Aizanoi ὁ ἄρχων τῶν

With his cult on the Ilissos I would connect both a local myth and a local custom.

(6) The Myth of Periphas.

Antoninus Liberalis in his *Metamorphoses*, a valuable work preserved to us by a single manuscript at Heidelberg, gives the following account of Periphas:

'Periphas was sprung from the soil in Attike before Kekrops the son of Ge appeared. He became king of the ancient population, and was just and rich and holy, a man who offered many sacrifices to Apollon and judged many disputes and was blamed by no one. All men willingly submitted to his rule and, in view of his surpassing deeds, transferred to him the honours due to Zeus and decided that they belonged to Periphas. They offered sacrifices and built temples to him, and called him Zeus *Sotêr* and *Epópsios* and *Meilichios*.

Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Π[ανελληνίου] | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 1 f. ὁ ἄρχων τῶν Πανελλήνων καὶ ἱερεὺς θεοῦ Ἀδριανοῦ Πανελληνίου | καὶ ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων). It would even seem that at Athens the god Hadrian took over the temple of Zeus' Ὀλύμπιος (so W. Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504 n. 6 understands Dion Cass. 69. 16 cited *supra*). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 1822 (Epeiros) an altar inscribed αὐτοκ[ράτορι Τραϊα]|νῶι Ἀδρια[νῶι Σε]βασ[τῶι,] | Ὀλυμπίωι, Διὶ Δωδωναί[ωι]. The foundation of the Πανελλήνιον in 131 A.D. (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 43 no. 35, 1 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 842, 1 ff. ἔτους γ' τῆς καθιερώσεως τοῦ Διὸ[ς] | τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου καὶ τῆς κτίσεος | τοῦ Πανελληνίου) was commemorated (Dion Cass. and Hieron. *chron. locc. citt.*) by means of an ἀγών (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 10, 13 f. (ἀ)[ντ]άρχοντος τοῦ ἱερωτάτου ἀ(γ)|[ῶνος τοῦ] (Π)αν(ελ)ληνίου, cp. *ib.* iii. 1 no. 681, 6 ff. [ἀγω]ν[ο]θ[έ]τ[ην τῶν Παν|ελλη]ν[ίων .....], *ib.* iii. 1 no. 682, 1 ff. [ἀγωνοθετήσ]αντα – – – [? Πανελλη]νίων, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τῶν μεγά]λων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) known as the Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 32, 5 τὸ εἰς τὰ Πανελλ[ήνια], *ib.* iii. 1 no. 127, 3 f. Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 128, 5 νεικήσας κατὰ τὸ ἑξῆς Πανελλήνια | κ.τ.λ., 10 f. Πανελ|λήνια | δὶς | Ἀθή(ναις), *Olympia* v. 347 ff. no. 237, 8 f. α' Ἀδρειάνεια ἐν Σμύρνῃ καὶ ἐν Ἐφέσῳ καὶ τὰ πρῶτως Πα|νελλήνια ἀχθέντα ἐν Ἀθήναις πρῶτος κηρύκων, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1068 i, 1 f. = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 49, 7 Megara Πανελλήνια | ἐν Ἀθήναις, E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 237 f. Oxford 1890 no. 611, 7 Ephesos Πανελλήνια ἐν Ἀθήναις, στάδιον, *ib.* iii. 2. 238 f. no. 613, 8 f. Ephesos ['A]θήναις παῖ[δων Παν|ελ]λήνια γ̄, *ib.* iii. 2. 239 f. no. 615, 5 Ephesos Ἀθήνας παίδων Πανελλήνια, J. R. S. Sterrett in *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens* Boston 1888 iii. 291 f. no. 413, 15 f. Kara Baulo Πανελλήνε(ι)α | ἐν Ἀθήναις). The name μεγάλα Πανελλήνια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 17, 3 [τῶν μεγ]άλων Πανελλ[ηνίων] or [τῶν ἄ]λλων Πανελλ[ήνων], *ib.* no. 1199, 5 f. ἐπὶ ἀγωνοθέ[του τῶν μεγά]λων Πανελληνίων, Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 504, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων, *ib.* no. 507, 2 ἀγωνοθέτης τῶν μεγάλων Πανελληνίων) implies that the contest was organised also as a *pentaeteris* on the analogy of the Panathenaia (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p 168 ff. tries to make out that the Panhellenia at Athens was modelled on the Eleutheria at Plataiai). Few further details of the festival are on record (with *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1141, 20 f. καὶ ἐκ Παν[ελ]ληνίου οὐθέν cp. *ib.* iii. 1 no. 1184, 20 ff. [με]τ[ὰ τὰ]ς Σεβαστοφορικὰς νομὰς πάσας τὰς διὰ Πανελληνίων ἐπ' ἴσης οἵ τε ἔφηβοι καὶ οἱ πε[ρὶ τὸ Δι]ογένειον θύσαντες καὶ σπείσαντες ἐν τῷ Διογενείῳ τὰ ἐξιτήρια εὐοχήθησαν, | ο[ὐδε]νὶ δὲ ἄλλῳ συνετέλεσαν οἱ ἔφηβοι ἢ κατὰ τὸ ἀναγκαῖον τῷ καψαρίῳ μόνῳ. Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 168 f. argues that the *éphéboi*, who began their course in Boedromion, must have ended it in Metageitnion: accordingly, if their concluding feast took place after the Panhellenia, we may refer the Panhellenia also to Metageitnion, *i.e.* to August or September. The relevance of *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 85, 1 ff. οἱ Πανέλληνες | ΑΡΙΣΤΑ[Ν] | ..... | καρποῦ ἀπαρχῆς is doubtful: see W. Dittenberger *ad loc.*)).

Indignant at this, Zeus wished to consume his whole house with a thunderbolt. But when Apollon, whom Periphas used to honour exceedingly, begged Zeus not to destroy him utterly, Zeus granted the request. He came into the home of Periphas and found him embracing his wife. Grasping them both in his hands, he turned Periphas into an eagle; his wife, who begged him to make her too a bird to bear Periphas company, into a vulture. So upon Periphas he bestowed honours in return for his holy life among men, making him king over all the birds, and granting him to guard the sacred sceptre and to draw near to his own throne; while Periphas' wife he turned into a vulture, and suffered to appear as a good omen to men in all their doings[1].'

From what source Antoninus Liberalis, a compiler of the second century A.D. or later[2], drew this singular narrative is unknown[3]; nor are its incidents—apart from a casual reference in Ovid[4]—cited elsewhere. Nevertheless the story as it stands is instructive. Certain traits are late and must be suppressed. Thus the writer, or his authority, is inclined to etymologise[5] and, worse still, to moralise. His tale belongs to a well-defined group, in which an early king (Salmoneus is typical) poses as Zeus and is consequently punished by the real Zeus. This implies, as I have elsewhere pointed out[6], that, when the essential divinity of the old-world king had little by little faded into oblivion, posterity treated his claim to be Zeus as sheer impiety calling for the vengeance of the genuine god. Yet the author of our tale, with illuminating inconsistency, makes Zeus himself bestow upon the blasphemer altogether exceptional 'honours in return for his holy life.' I take it, then, that Periphas was an Attic king, who in the dim past had played the *rôle* of Zeus and made his petty thunder for some unsophisticated folk. It may even be that his name *Períphas*, 'the Brilliant[7],' was a recognised epithet of Zeus[8]; for an Orphic hymn salutes Zeus *Astrápios*, the lightning-god, as *períphantos*[9]. Now we have repeatedly found a human Zeus of this sort figuring among the kings of Thessaly descended from Aiolos[10]. It is therefore of interest to observe that Lapithes, the eponymous king of the Thessalian Lapithai, was either father[11] or son of a Periphas, who wedded Astyagyia

[1] Ant. Lib. 6.

[2] G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2573 ('schwerlich vor dem 2. Jhdt. n. Chr.'), W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[3] München 1898 p. 778 ('aus der Zeit der Antonine'). See fnrther E. Oder *De Antonino Liberali* Bonn 1886 pp. 1—61.

[3] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66) says: 'wahrscheinlich von Boios,' and O. Schneider *Nicandrea* Lipsiae 1856 p. 43 had reached the same conclusion before him. M. Wellmann in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 507 n. 2 thinks otherwise: 'Vermuthlich ist Nikander Quelle.'

[4] Ov. *met.* 7. 399 f. Palladias arces: quae te, iustissima Phene, | teque, senex Peripha, pariter videre volantes. Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 7. 20 merely echoes Ovid (M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 237 f.): venisse etiam Athenas, ubi Phineum (*sic*) et Peripham in aves conversos.

[5] He harps on derivatives of *φαίνω*, real or supposed: *Περίφας...φανῆναι...φήνην... ἐπιφαίνεσθαι.*

[6] *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 277, *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 300.

[7] *Περίφας=περιφανής* (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 86), *περίφαντος, περιφαής.* Cp. *Πολύφας, Τπέρφας.* For other explanations see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1971 f.

[8] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1868 xxiii. 357 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 66 f.).

[9] Orph. *h. Zeus* Astrápios 20. 1 ff. *κικλήσκω μέγαν, ἀγνόν, ἐρισμάραγον, περίφαντον,* | *...ἀστράπιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βασιλῆα μέγιστον,* | *κ.τ.λ.* adduced by O. Höfer *loc. cit.*

[10] *Supra* p. 1088.

[11] Epaphroditos *Homerica frag.* 16 Luenzner *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v. Λαπίθη.*

daughter of Hypseus and became by her the father of Antion and the grandfather of Ixion[1]. J. Töpffer in an important article[2] insisted on the point that Periphas was at once an Attic autochthon and a Thessalian king: he compared other cases of the same bilocation[3] and, following up the clue thus afforded, reached the conclusion that in prehistoric times some Thessalian tribe (Lapithai? Dryopes?) migrated southwards through Euboia to north-eastern Attike, and so on by sea to the southern parts of the Argolid. Töpffer's hypothesis has been accepted by P. Weizsäcker[4] and is, I think, helpful in any attempt to unravel the tangled skein of Attic religion. For, in view of their traditional descent from Aiolos, we shall probably be right in supposing that these immigrants were Aeolians (not Achaeans[5]), who, swarming off from Thessaly in days before the great Athenian *synoikismós*, settled in Attike and planted the worship of their[6] Zeus *Olýmpios* on the northern bank of the Ilissos. The leader of the settlement, regarded by his subjects as the human representative of the sky-god, would later on be reverenced in the same neighbourhood as Zeus *Sotér* and *Epópsios* and *Meilíchios*. All these titles, whose connotation was subsequently enlarged in a variety of directions, were from the first applicable to the buried king. To begin with, he was *Sotér*, because on him depended the preservation and perpetuation of the family line. Custom prescribed that at a banquet libation should be made from the first mixing-bowl to Zeus *Olýmpios* and the Olympians, from the second to the Heroës, from the third to Zeus *Sotér*, otherwise styled *Téleios*[7]. The sequence suggests that this final offering was in its essence simply

[1] Diod. 4. 69, who—according to E. Schwartz (Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 674)—is here excerpting from an earlier mythographical handbook.

[2] J. Töpffer 'Theseus und Peirithoos' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 pp. 30—46.

[3] Theseus, Peirithoos, Boutes, Ixion, Phorbas, Phaleros, Mopsos, etc. Töpffer remarks *inter alia* that Perithoidai, a deme of the tribe Oineis (A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2195, with map to face p. 2204, places it to the N.W. of Athens on the near side of Mt Aigaleos), was said to have been founded by Peirithoos son of Ixion, and that the Athenian custom of extending a special welcome to Thessalians was motived by the friendship of Theseus and Peirithoos (Ephoros *frag.* 37 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 243 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Περιθοΐδαι, Souid. *s.v.* Περιθοΐδαι, Apostol. 14. 19).

[4] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1762.

[5] The commonly received opinion that the Achaeans were an Aeolian people is subjected to shrewd criticism by J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 117 ff. See further A. Fick 'Äoler und Achäer' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xliv. 1 ff., *eund.* 'Älteste griechische Stammverbände' *ib.* 1914 xlvi. 67 ff., G. Dottin *Les anciens peuples de l'Europe* Paris 1916 p. 143 ff.

[6] A. Fick *loc. cit.* 1914 xlvi. 97.

[7] Poll. 6. 15 *κρατῆρες δὲ ὁ μὲν πρῶτος Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ Ὀλυμπίων θεῶν, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἡρώων, ὁ δὲ τρίτος Διὸς Σωτῆρος Τελείου, ὅτι καὶ τὰ τρία πρῶτος τέλειος ἀριθμός*, 6. 100 *ὥσπερ καὶ Διὸς Σωτῆρος ὁ τρίτος κρατὴρ ἱερὸς ἦν*, Schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 10 *τὸν δὲ τρίτον κρατῆρα Διὸς Σωτῆρος ἔλεγον, καθὰ καὶ Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ναυπλίῳ* (*frag.* 392 Nauck[2], 425 Jebb)· *'Ζεῦ παυσίλυπε καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδὴ τρίτου κρατῆρος.' τὸν μὲν γὰρ πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐκίρνασαν, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτῆρος, καθὰ καὶ Αἰσχύλος ἐν Ἐπιγόνοις* (*frag.* 55 Nauck[2])· *'λοιβὰς Διὸς μὲν πρώτων ὡραίου γάμου | Ἥρας τε.' εἶτα· 'τὴν δευτέραν γε* (C. G. Schütz cj. *δὲ*) *κρᾶσιν Ἥρωσιν νέμω.' εἶτα· 'τρίτον* (A. Nauck cj. *τρίτην*) *Διὸς Σωτῆρος εὐκταίαν λίβα.' Διὸς δὲ Σωτῆρος ἔλεγον τὸν τρίτον διὰ τὸ τοὺς τοῦτον πίνοντας σταθεροὺς γίνεσθαι, τοὺς δὲ μετὰ τοῦτον εἰς ἄτην καὶ ἀνομίαν καὶ ἀσέλγειαν τρέπεσθαι. ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Τέλειον διὰ τὸ τέλειον εἶναι τὸν τρίτον ἀριθμὸν ἀρχὴν ἔχοντα καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος*, schol. Plat. *Phileb.* 66 D *τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτῆρι: ἐκ μεταφορᾶς εἰρηται τοῦ ἐν ταῖς*

συνουσίαις ἔθους· Σοφοκλῆς ἐν Ναυπλίῳ καταπλέοντι. ἐκιρνῶντο γὰρ ἐν αὐταῖς κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτῆρος, ὡς ἐνταῦθά τε καὶ δὴ καὶ ἐν Πολιτείᾳ (Plat. *rep.* 583 B). *ἔλεγον δὲ αὐτὸν καὶ Τέλειον, ὡς Εὐριπίδης Ἀνδρομέδᾳ* (*frag.* 148 Nauck²) *καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης Ταγηνισταῖς* (*frag.* 33 Meineke), schol. Plat. *Charm.* 167 A—B *τὸ τρίτον τῷ Σωτῆρι· ἐπὶ τῶν τελείως τι πραττόντων. τὰς γὰρ τριτας σπονδὰς καὶ τὸν τρίτον κρατῆρα ἐκίρνων τῷ Διὶ τῷ Σωτῆρι. τέλειος γὰρ ὁ τρία ἀριθμός, ἐπειδὴ καὶ ἀρχὴν καὶ μέσον καὶ τέλος ἔχει, καὶ πρῶτος οὗτος τῶν ἀριθμῶν ἀρτιοπέριττος. Τέλειος δὲ καὶ ὁ Ζεύς, ὥστε κατὰ λόγον τρίτον τῷ Διὶ σπένδεταί τε καὶ ὁ κρατὴρ τρίτος τίθεται.* Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ· *'καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδῆ τρίτου κρατῆρος,'* καὶ Πλάτων Πολιτείαις καὶ *ἐνταῦθα*, Hesych. *s.v. τρίτος κρατήρ·* Σοφοκλῆς Ναυπλίῳ *καταπλέοντι. ἐν ταῖς συνουσίαις ἐκιρνῶντο κρατῆρες τρεῖς. καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου καὶ θεῶν Ὀλυμπίων ἔλεγον· τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡρώων· τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτῆρος*, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 14 *τὴν μὲν πρώτην σπονδὴν εἶναι θεῶν τῶν Ὀλυμπίων, δευτέραν δὲ ἡρώων, καὶ τρίτην Διὸς Σωτῆρος*, Souid. *s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὃν καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μέν γε* (G. Bernhardy cj. *μὲν γὰρ*) *πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί· τὸν δὲ β' Ἡρώων, <τὸν δὲ γ' Σωτῆρος* ins. T. Gaisford>. *Πλάτων Πολιτείᾳ· τὸν* (G. Bernhardy cj. *τὸ*) *δὲ γ' Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτῆρί τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ* (cp. Plat. *rep.* 583 B) = Phot. *lex. s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος· τοῦ Σωτῆρος, ὃν καὶ Τέλειον ἔλεγον. τὸν μὲν πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίων φασί, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡρώων, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτῆρί τε καὶ Ὀλυμπίῳ, ἰὸ. s.v. τρίτος κρατήρ· Διὸς Τελείου Σωτῆρος· πρῶτος γὰρ τέλειος ἀριθμὸς ὁ τρία, ὅτι ἔχει ἀρχὴν καὶ τέλος καὶ μέσα, ὡς Φιλόχορος ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἡμερῶν* (*frag.* 179 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 414 Müller)), Apostol. 10. 5 *a κρατὴρ τρίτος Διὸς Σωτῆρος· εἰώθασι γὰρ ἐν συμποσίοις οἱ παλαιοὶ κιρνᾶν κρατῆρα πρῶτον Ὀλυμπίῳ Διί, δεύτερον τοῖς ἥρωσι, τὸν δὲ τρίτον Διὸς Σωτῆρος.* Σοφοκλῆς τοῦτο μαρτυρεῖ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ (A. Boeckh corr. Ναυπλίῳ)· *'Ζεῦ παυσίλυπε* (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxxviii. 197 notes a *skýphos* at Athens (no. 12351) with incised inscription ΠΑ⁻ΓΙΑ⁻ΠΟΣ) *καὶ Διὸς σωτηρίου | σπονδαὶ τρίτου κρατῆρος,'* 10. 77 a *'Λοιβὰς <Διὸς> μὲν πρῶτον ὡραίου γάμου | "Ηρας τ᾽. εἶτα· 'τὴν δευτέραν <γε> κρᾶσιν "Ηρωσιν νέμω,'* 17. 28 *τρίτου κρατῆρος ἐγεύσω* (a proverb in ancient dactylic metre: *supra* i. 444)· *ἐπὶ τῶν μεμνημένων τὰ τελεώτατα καὶ σωτηριωδέστερα. τρεῖς δὲ ἦσαν κρατῆρες· καὶ τὸν μὲν πρῶτον ἔλεγον Ὀλυμπίων, τὸν δὲ δεύτερον ἡρώων, <τὸν δὲ τρίτον Σωτῆρος* ins. T. Gaisford>. *Πλάτων ἐν Πολιτείᾳ· τὸν* (*leg. τὸ*) *δὲ τρίτον Ὀλυμπικῶς τῷ Σωτῆρί τε <καὶ> Ὀλυμπίῳ.* S. A. Naber on Phot. *lex. s.v. τρίτου κρατῆρος* says: 'Boethi observatio est.' A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 425 Jebb remarks: 'It is clear that our passage was a stock instance with the grammarians, and that all the quotations given above are derived from a common source: this was in all probability Didymus, from whom they may have passed to Diogenian, and thence to the Platonic scholia.' Another tradition is evidenced by Souid. *s.v. κρατήρ· τρεῖς κρατῆρας ἵστασαν ἐν τῷ δείπνῳ· α' Ἑρμῇ, β' Χαρισίν* (T. Hemsterhuys cj. *Χάρισιν*), *γ' Διὶ Σωτῆρι.*

A *krater* or *stámnos* of Apulian ware from Fasano, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1903 xxxviii. 198 n. 2), has its body decorated with (*a*) a vine-wreath, from which hang two branches with a comic mask between them and a rosette on either side; (*b*) an ivy-wreath. On its neck is painted in white ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8470 *c*).

Literary allusions to the third bowl of Zeus *Σωτήρ* will be found *e.g.* in Pind. *Isthm.* 6 (5). 10 ff., Aisch. *suppl.* 27 f., *Ag.* 244 ff., 1385 ff., *cho.* 577 f. with 1073 f., *Eum.* 759 f., *frag.* 55 Nauck², Soph. *frag.* 392 Nauck², 425 Jebb, Eur. *frag.* 148 Nauck² (?), Aristoph. *tagenistaí frag.* 33 Meineke (?), Plat. *Charm.* 167 A—B, *rep.* 583 B, *Phileb.* 66 D, *legg.* 692 A, *epist.* 7. 334 D, 340 A, Antiphanes *ágroikoi frag.* 5 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 692 F, Euboulos *kybeutaí frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 471 D—E, Alexis *tokistés* or *katapseudómenos frag.* 3 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 692 F f., *frag. fab. inc.* 12 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 466 D—E (a goblet inscribed in golden letters ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ), Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 487 A, Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 38 C—D, Diod. 4. 3, Philonides *de unguentis et coronis ap.* Athen. 675 B—C, Eumath. 1. 14 (*τέταρτον* (*sic*) *ἐπίνομεν Σωτῆρι Διΐ*).

The chthonian character of the god is well brought out by Aischylos. In *suppl.* 24 ff. the chorus of Danaïdes prays: *ὦν πόλις, ὧν γῆ καὶ λευκὸν ὕδωρ | ὕπατοί τε θεοὶ καὶ βαρύ-*

drink for the soul of a dead man. As such it was duplicated by the cup of unmixed wine drunk after dinner in the name of the Agathos Daimon[1]. Both

τιμοι | χθόνιοι θήκας κατέχοντες, | καὶ Ζεὺς Σωτὴρ τρίτος, οἰκοφύλαξ | ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν, κ.τ.λ. In *Ag.* 1385 ff. Klytaimestra describes the third and fatal blow dealt by her hand : *καὶ πεπτωκότι | τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονός | Διὸς* (so R. Enger for *ἄιδου* codd.) *νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος εὐκταίαν χάριν*, where W. Kausche 'Mythologumena Aeschylea' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* Halis Saxonum 1888 ix. 179 and A. W. Verrall (ed. 1889) adhere to the manuscript reading, but W. Headlam (trans. 1904) and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (ed. 1914) rightly accept *Διός*.

[1] With regard to the Agathos Daimon various opinions have been held : see E. Gerhard *Über Wesen, Verwandtschaft und Ursprung der Dämonen und Genien* Berlin 1852 pp. 12 f., 30 (=*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1852* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 248 f., 266), K. Lehrs *Populäre Aufsätze aus dem Alterthum*[2] Leipzig 1875 i. 173 ff. ('Dämon und Tyche'), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 746 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 541 ff., Rohde *Psyche*[8] i. 254 n. 2, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 401 f., Harrison *Themis* p. 277 ff.

On the whole it seems probable that the *Agathὸs Daimon* or 'Good Spirit' was originally the male ancestor of the family addressed by a euphemistic title (*supra* p. 1112 n. 7). As such, he was a giver of fertility and wealth, a sort of Plouton or chthonian Zeus, equipped with a *cornu copiae* (Cornut. *theol.* 27 p. 51, 11 ff. *Ἀγαθὸς δὲ Δαίμων... προστάτης...καὶ σωτὴρ τῶν οἰκείων ἐστὶ τῷ σώζειν καλῶς τὸν ἴδιον οἶκον... τὸ δὲ τῆς Ἀμαλθείας κέρας οἰκεῖον αὐτῷ φόρημά ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ ἅμα πάντα ἀλδήσκει τὰ κατὰ τοὺς οἰκείους καιροὺς φυόμενα, κ.τ.λ.*). An Athenian relief shows him as a bearded man carrying his horn and associated with his usual partner, Agathe Tyche (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 111, R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen* Leipzig 1872 p. 55 pl. 26, 109. The inscriptions run : *...ι... | ἀνέθηκ... | Ἀγαθὸς Δα[ίμω]ν [Ἀγ]α[θῆ] Τύχῃ*) : cp. *Brit. Mus. Marbles* xi. 90 ff. pl. 47, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 232 no. 2163, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 481 no. 5. A relief from Thespiai represents a similar figure seated before an altar (?) with a *phiale* in his right hand, a horn in his left (G. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 408 no. 189, O. Kern *ib.* 1891 xvi. 24 f. fig.). And another relief from Thespiai completes the likeness to Zeus by the addition of throne, sceptre, and eagle (O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 24 f. fig. = my fig. 951, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 356 f. fig. 107, *infra* Append. N *init.* Inscribed : *Ἀγέστροτο[ς], | Τιμοκράτεια, | Πτωΐλλεια, | Ἐμπεδονίκα | Ἀγαθοῦ Δήμου[ι]* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1815)). Hence, although the contention of J. Neuhaeuser *De Graecorum daemonibus particula prior* Berolini 1857 p. 10 ff. that the word *δαίμων* was in the beginning 'ipsius summi numinis appellatio' is justly dismissed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1087 n. 2, we can understand the reasoning of Paus. 8. 36. 5 *Μεγαλοπολίταις δὲ διὰ τῶν ἐπὶ τὸ ἕλος ὀνομαζομένων πυλῶν, διὰ τούτων ὁδεύουσιν ἐς Μαίναλον παρὰ τὸν ποταμὸν τὸν Ἑλισσόντα ἐστι τῆς ὁδοῦ ἐν ἀριστερᾷ Ἀγαθοῦ Θεοῦ ναός· εἰ δὲ ἀγαθῶν οἱ θεοὶ δοτῆρές εἰσιν ἀνθρώποις, Ζεὺς δὲ ὕπατος θεῶν ἐστιν, ἑπόμενος ἂν τις τῷ λόγῳ τὴν*

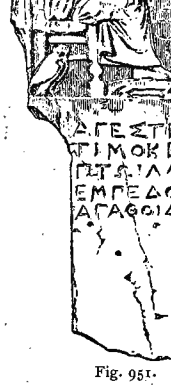


Fig. 951.

ἐπίκλησιν ταύτην Διὸς τεκμαίροιτο εἶναι. Others besides Pausanias took the Agathos Theos to be a sort of Zeus. Tiberius Claudius Xenokles, after serving as fire-bearer, set up an altar at Epidauros in 224 A.D. to the local Agathos Theos, whom he represented as a chthonian Zeus with a sceptre in his right hand, a *cornu copiae* in his left, and a snake wriggling below (P. Cavvadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 45 no. 44, Harrison *Themis* p. 285 f. fig. 75, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1059 with numeral πθ′ and circle no. 2 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?)); cp. another block erected at Epidauros in 187 A.D. by Tiberius Claudius Pollio, after service as *hierapólos*, to the Agathos Theos and to Agathe (P. Cavvadias *op. cit.* i. 44 f. nos. 41—41a, M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* i no. 997: Agathos Theos has numeral ξγ′ and circle no. 1 *ib.* p. 186 possibly meant for a snake emerging from its hole (?); Agathe has numeral ξξ′). The same explanation might well be given of the Zeus-like Theos Megas at Odessos in Thrace,

Fig. 952.

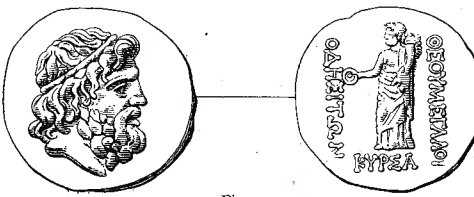


Fig. 953.

where silver tetradrachms were struck in *s.* ii B.C. with *obv.* a bearded male head wearing a fillet, *rev.* the bearded god standing with *phiále* and *cornu copiae* (B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 155 f. pl. 10, 20=my fig. 952, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 276 fig. 167, inscribed ΘΕΟΥ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 pl. 28, 4=my fig. 953 inscribed ΘΕΟΥΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΟΔΗΣΙΤΩΝ and ΚΥΡΣΑ below. For later variants see *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace etc. p. 137 ff. fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 418 f. pl. 28, 5, Head *Hist. num.*² p. 276 f., and especially B. Pick in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 157 ff. pl. 10, 15 ff. and *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 2. 524 ff. pl. 4 f.).

Fig. 954.

Fourth-century sculptors *more suo* represented the Agathos Daimon in younger form. Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 77 mentions among the bronzes of Euphranor to be seen at Rome 'a statue of Bonus Eventus holding a *patera* in its right hand, a corn-ear and poppies in its left.' Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 35 f. fig. detected the type on a bronze medallion struck by Hadrian (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 3 no. 3) and Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 349 f. fig. 149 with pl. 6, 37, id. *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 44, 9 ff., ii. 211 f. illustrated it from gems and coins of Galba etc. (in fig. 954 I add the reverse of an unpublished copper of Antoninus Pius in my collection):

cp. also a cameo plaque of blue glass now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Marbles* iii Frontisp., F. Robiou in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 737 fig. 870, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 462 no. 5, C. Davenport *Cameos* London 1900 p. 24 f. pl. 3, Harrison *Themis* p. 302 f. fig. 82), which Taylor Combe *Brit. Mus. Marbles loc. cit.* already recognised as a copy of Euphranor's statue. Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 23 in his list of marble works by Praxiteles at Rome includes 'the statues of Bonus Eventus and Bona Fortuna on the Capitol.' W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 156, greatly daring, would identify the Praxitelean Bonus Eventus with the bronze original of the Madrid Hypnos and its numerous congeners, *e.g.* the bronze statuette of a horn-bearing Hypnos at Vienna (*id. ib.* p. 140 fig. 21). Be that as it may, the common assumption that Pliny's *Bonus Eventus* and *Bona Fortuna* are the Latinised forms of *Agathòs Daimon* and *Agathè Tyche* is probably correct.

Not till Hellenistic times do we get evidence of the Agathos Daimon conceived as a snake. This belief was especially prevalent in Egypt; but it seems to have spread from thence to Delos, and even to Rome. According to the foundation-legend of Alexandreia, when the city-walls began to rise, a snake of huge size and majestic bearing attacked the workmen and hindered their work. Alexander the Great bade his men assemble on the following day to slay the monster. This was done on the site of the later Stoa. An elaborate tomb was built for the snake, and Alexander had garland-shops erected near by 'in order that the beast, commonly thought to do service in temples—it is called Agathos Daimon—, might itself be worshipped as a deity' (Iul. Valer. 1. 28 pr 37, 15 ff. Kuebler. The concluding words are: 26 ff. ut quod haec bestia famulitium quoddam templis praestare videbatur—daemon <enim> melior appellatur—, ipse quoque divina quadam religione coleretur). When the snake's tomb was finished, certain blocks of the architrave over the columns of the entrance gave way, and from them were seen to issue numerous snakes (cp. *supra* i. 205 f.). These crept about and entered the *penetralia* of the newly built houses. Soothsayers declared that they too were presiding Daimones to be worshipped in every house as *di Penates*. Hence the custom at Alexandreia that on definite days wheaten meal is thrown for the snakes to eat and the upper classes, with garlands, go up to the temple of the Heros, who is served by snakes of this sort (Iul. Valer. 1. 29 p. 38, 18 ff. Kuebler. Cp. pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 32 *ἱδρυμένου δὲ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦ ἱεροῦ ἐξαίφνης πλαξ μεγίστη ἐξέπεσεν ἀρχαιοτάτη πλήρης γραμμάτων, ἐξ ἧς ἐξῆλθον ὄφεις πολλοί, καὶ ἐρπύζοντες εἰσῆλθον εἰς τὰς ὁδοὺς τῶν ἤδη τεθεμελιωμένων οἰκιῶν. [τὴν πόλιν γὰρ ἔτι παρὼν Ἀλέξανδρος καθίδρυσεν τῇ αὐτοῦ δυνάμει ἰαννουαρίου πρώτῃ καὶ αὐτὸ τὸ ἱερόν.] δθεν τούτους τοὺς ὄφεις σέβονται οἱ θυρωροὶ ὡς Ἀγαθοὺς Δαίμονας εἰσιόντας εἰς τὰς οἰκίας· οὐ γάρ εἰσιν ἰοβόλα ζῶα* with the addition in cod. A *ἐκέλευσε δὲ ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος τοῖς φύλαξι τῶν οἴκων σῖτον δοθῆναι. οἱ δὲ λαβόντες, ἁλήσαντες καὶ ἀθηροποιησάμενοι τὴν ἡμέραν* (C. Müller cj. *ταύτῃ τῇ ἡμέρᾳ*) *τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσι θάλλους διδόασιν· δθεν καὶ μέχρι τοῦ δεῦρο τοῦτον τὸν νόμον φυλάττουσι παρ' Ἀλεξανδρεῦσι, Τύβι* (so C. Müller for *Τύβη*) *κ' τὰ μὲν κτήνη στεφανοῦσθαι, θυσιάζεσθαι <δὲ> τοῖς Ἀγαθοῖς Δαίμοσι τοῖς προνοουμένοις τῶν οἰκιῶν, καὶ διασώσεις (διαδόσεις? C. Müller) τῶν ἀθηρῶν ποιεῖσθαι*). See further Plout. *amat.* 12 *ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ποτὲ γείτονας ἑώρων δύο διαμφισβητοῦντας ὄφεως προσερπύσαντος εἰς τὴν ὁδόν, ἀμφοτέρων μὲν Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλούντων, ἑκατέρου δ' ἔχειν ἀξιοῦντος ὡς ἴδιον*, Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 28. 3 Aegyptios dracunculos Romae habuit, quos illi Agathodaemonas vocant, C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 81 pap. Par. 2427 ff. (part of a charm to secure wealth, in which a waxen man begs with his right hand, holds in his left a wallet and a staff with a snake coiled about it, and has a coiled snake on his belt and upon the crown of his head) *εἰς δὲ τὸν δράκοντα τὸ | ὄνομα τοῦ Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, ὅ ἐστιν, | ὡς λέγει Ἐπαφρόδιτος, [ὅ ἐστιν] τὸ ὑποκειμ(ενον)· | φρη αν ωϊ φωρχω φνννη ρορψις | οροχωϊ, ὡς δὲ ἐν τῷ χάρτῃ δ (sic) εὕρο(ν), | μετεβλήθη τὸ πραγματικὸν οὕτως· | αρπονκνουφι ὃ,* Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 572 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 48 ff. *Φοίνικες δὲ αὐτὸ* (*sc.* the snake) *Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα καλοῦσιν. ὁμοίως καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι Κνὴφ ἐπονομάζουσι· προστιθέασι δὲ αὐτῷ ἱέρακος κεφαλὴν διὰ τὸ πρακτικὸν τοῦ ἱέρακος...ἔτι μὴν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωπὸν χαράσσουσι, καὶ μέσα τεταμένον ὄφιν ἱερακόμορφον, καὶ ἔστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν*

θῆτα, τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μηνύοντες τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τούτου Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες. Nero, who in Egypt called himself ὁ Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων τῆς | οἰκουμένης (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4699, 3 f.=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 666, 3 f.), struck billon coins there with the reverse type of a serpent enfolding corn-ears and poppy-heads, inscribed ΝΕΟ·ΑΓΑΘ·ΔΑΙΜ= *νέος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 20 f. pl. 26, 171=my fig. 955, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 413, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 863, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131 fig. 174, Harrison *Themis* p. 277 fig. 66). And a remarkable contorniate medal shows him as the *νέος Ἀπόλλων*, *νέος Διόνυσος* (*supra* pp. 96 n. 3, 254), and *νέος Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων* rolled into one (fig. 956 from a specimen in my collection. *Obv.*: Head of Nero to right, with bow and arrow in front of him, and ivy-leaf behind him. The usual compendium ϱ here appears on Nero's face, the P encircling his eye and the E marking his nostril and mouth. Also the muscles of his neck are peculiarly rendered in the form of an ivy-leaf. *Rev.*: Bearded and crested snake approaching a portable altar with dependent fillets). The antechamber of a Graeco-Egyptian catacomb at Kom el Chougafa has its doorway flanked by two such snakes equipped with *thýrsos* and winged *caduceus* (F. W. von Bissing *Les bas-reliefs de Kom el Chougafa* Munich 1901 pl. 1). Another rock-cut tomb, known locally as 'the grave of

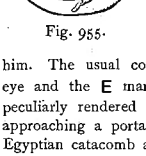


Fig. 955.

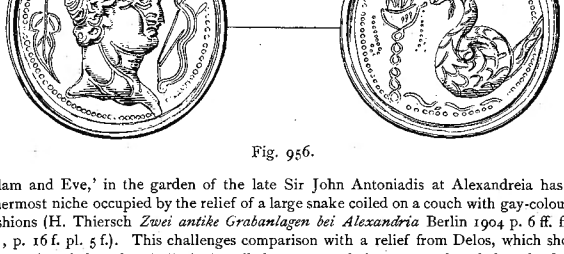


Fig. 956.

Adam and Eve,' in the garden of the late Sir John Antoniadis at Alexandreia has its innermost niche occupied by the relief of a large snake coiled on a couch with gay-coloured cushions (H. Thiersch *Zwei antike Grabanlagen bei Alexandria* Berlin 1904 p. 6 ff. figs. 6 f., p. 16 f. pl. 5 f.). This challenges comparison with a relief from Delos, which shows a large bearded snake similarly installed on a couch between a bearded male figure bearing *phiále* and *cornu copiae* to the right and a female figure bearing *oinochóe* and *cornu copiae* to the left: these personages, who both have a *modius* on their heads and are draped alike in *chitón* and *himátion*, should be interpreted as Agathos Daimon (hardly Sarapis or Plouton) and Agathe Tyche (M. Bulard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1907 xxxi. 525 ff. fig. 24, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 326 no. 2). Agathos Daimon is, in fact, here represented both in his animal and in his human form. Similarly a marble statue at Berlin, which portrays Antinoos as Agathos Daimon, makes him a youthful Dionysiac figure resting his hand on a *cornu copiae* with a snake twined about it (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 146 f. no. 361 fig., Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 947 fig. 2427, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 131 fig. 173). A small relief of *s.* iii A.D. in the Palazzo Massimo alle Terme again groups Agathos Daimon with Agathe Tyche (F. von Duhn in Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 144 no. 3764 says Sarapis (?) with Alexandreia (?). F. Grossi Gondi 'Di una singolare rappresentazione mitologica sincretistica del culto romano' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1910 xxxviii. 150—160 fig. 1 decides for Serapis with Isis (Isityche)). It represents the former as a coiled snake with

had their counterpart in another Greek custom. 'Food that fell from the tables,' says Athenaios, 'they used to assign to their dead friends.' And by way of proof he quotes from Euripides the couplet descriptive of the love-sick Sthenoboia, who believes that Bellerophontes is dead:

> Never a crumb falls from her finger-tips
> But she must cry: 'For the Corinthian guest[1]!'

Athenaios might have added the Pythagorean precept not to pick up food from the floor, a precept utilised by Aristophanes in his *Heroes* and duly recorded by Aristotle *On the Pythagoreans*[2].

a bearded human head wearing a *modius*, the latter as a draped goddess likewise wearing a *modius* and holding a leafy spray (hardly corn-ears) in her right hand, a *cornu copiae* in her left, while a large jar projects from the ground beside her.

Agathos Daimon was, on this showing, a chthonian power essentially akin to Zeus *Sotér*. As a fertilising agent he was naturally brought into connexion with Dionysos (see bibliography at the beginning of this note), with whom he is even identified (Philonides *de unguentis et coronis ap.* Athen. 675 B). The postprandial draught of unmixed wine is referred to Agathos Daimon by Aristoph. *eq.* 105 ff., *vesp.* 525, *pax* 300 with scholl. *ad loc.*, Antiphanes *lampás frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 486 F and 487 B, Theophr. *ap.* Athen. 693 C–D, Aelius Dionysios *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1471, 32 ff., Ail. *var. hist.* 1. 20, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος πόμα = Bekker *anecd.* i. 209, 14 ff., i. 334, 4 ff. = Apostol. 1. 10. Cp. also the Ἀγαθοδαιμονισταί (Hesych. *s.v.*) or Ἀγαθοδαιμονιασταί (Aristot. *eth. Eud.* 3. 6. 1233 b 3 f., *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 161, 5 = Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 478 f. no. 3842, 5 καὶ ὑπὸ [Διοσ]ταβυριαστᾶν Ἀγαθοδαιμονιαστᾶν Φιλ(ω)νείων κοινοῦ κ.τ.λ., with Plout. *symp.* 3. 7. 1). The toast Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is distinguished from the toast Διὸς Σωτῆρος by Eriphos *frag.* 3 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 693 C, Xenarchos *didymoi frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 693 B–C, Diod. 4. 3, Poll. 6. 100, Athen. 692 F, Souid. *s.v.* Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος, schol. Aristoph. *pax* 300, cp. Philochoros *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 38 C–D and *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 387 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 693 D–E, and never really confused with it (Diphilos *Sappho frag.* 1 Meineke *ap.* Athen. 487 A Ἀρχίλοχος, δέξαι τήνδε τὴν μεταιπτρίδα | μεστὴν Διὸς Σωτῆρος, Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος is a case of asyndeton, not of apposition. Cp. *e.g.* Herond. 2. 67 f.).

A *kántharos* with knotted handles from Athens (Nicole *Cat. Vases d'Athènes Suppl.* p. 272 f. no. 1173, C. Watzinger in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 74 no. 17 fig., P. Wolters *ib.* 1913 xxxviii. 198 n. 2) has round its neck a yellow ivy-wreath, above which is painted in white ΑΓΑΘΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ. A small vase at Kentoripa (*Centorbi*) is inscribed ΑΓΑΘΟΥΔΑΜΟΣ, which is perhaps to be read as Ἀγαθοῦ Δαίμονος rather than as Ἀγαθοδάμου (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2406, 109, P. Wolters *loc. cit.*). Cp. a fragment of black ware with relief-decoration and the inscription ΗΣΤΥ+ΗΣ = [Ἀγαθ]ῆς Τύχης round its neck, found on the W. slope of the Akropolis at Athens (A. Koerte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 294, P. Wolters *loc. cit.*).

[1] Athen. 427 E τοῖς δὲ τετελευτηκόσι τῶν φίλων ἀπένεμον τὰ πίπτοντα τῆς τροφῆς ἀπὸ τῶν τραπεζῶν· διὸ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς Σθενεβοίας φησίν, ἐπειδὴ νομίζει τὸν Βελλεροφόντην τεθνάναι, 'πεσὸν δέ νιν λέληθεν οὐδὲν ἐκ χερός, | ἀλλ' εὐθὺς αὐδᾷ "τῷ Κορινθίῳ ξένῳ"' (Eur. *frag.* 664 Nauck²). The Euripidean passage is parodied by Kratin. *fab. inc. frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 179 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 782 D–E, Aristoph. *thesm.* 404 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κορίνθιος ξένος.

[2] Aristot. *frag.* 190 Rose *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 34 φησὶ δ' Ἀριστοτέλης...παραγγέλλειν αὐτὸν (*sc.* Πυθαγόραν)...τὰ...πεσόντ' ἀπὸ τραπέζης μὴ ἀναιρεῖσθαι, ὑπὲρ τοῦ ἐθίζεσθαι μὴ ἀκολάστως ἐσθίειν ἢ ὅτι ἐπί τελευτῇ τινος ('sive quod essent mortuo destinata' Ambrosius revised by C. G. Cobet)· καὶ Ἀριστοφάνης δὲ τῶν ἡρώων φησὶν εἶναι τὰ πίπτοντα, λέγων ἐν τοῖς Ἥρωσι (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1070 f. Meineke)) 'μηδὲ γεύεσθ' ἄττ' ἂν ἐντὸς (I. Casaubon and W. Canter, followed by C. Jacobitz, cjj. ἐκτὸς) τῆς τραπέζης καταπέσῃ' = Souid. *s.v.* Πυθαγόρα τὰ σύμβολα.

Secondly, the buried chieftain was *Epópsios* because he kept an eye on his descendants and watched over their interests[1]. The title was, however, susceptible of a wider meaning. So Zeus *Epópsios*[2] came to be revered as the guardian of suppliants[3], the observer of right and wrong[4], the avenger of impious deeds[5]. Like Zeus *Panóptes*[6], he readily took on a solar complexion[7]. And it may be that the story of Zeus transforming himself into a hoopoe (*épops*)

[1] Cp. the important passage Hes. *o. d.* 121 ff. αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ δὴ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖ' ἐκάλυψε, | τοὶ μὲν δαίμονές εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλὰς | ἐσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι, φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων, | [οἵ ῥα φυλάσσουσίν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα | ἠέρα ἑσσάμενοι πάντη φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,] | πλουτοδόται· καὶ τοῦτο γέρας βασιλήιον ἔσχον. For *apparatus criticus* see A. Rzach *ad loc.* *Infra* Append. M *fin.*

The adjective ἐπόψιος is used in this sense by Soph. *Phil.* 1040 f. ἀλλ', ὦ πατρῴα γῆ θεοί τ' ἐπόψιοι, | τείσασθε κ.τ.λ., the substantive ἔποψις by Strab. 676 εἶτ' 'Αμφίλοχον... συμβαλεῖν εἰς μονομαχίαν πρὸς τὸν Μόψον, πεσόντας δ' ἀμφοτέρους ταφῆναι μὴ ἐν ἐπόψει ἀλλήλοις, the verb ἐποπτεύω by Aisch. *cho.* 489 of the buried Agamemnon ὦ γαῖ', ἄνες μοι πατέρ' ἐποπτεῦσαι μάχην, *cho.* 1 of Hermes *Chthónios* Ἑρμῆ Χθόνιε πατρῷ' ἐποπτεύων κράτη cited by Aristoph. *ran.* 1126, 1138 ff., *Eum.* 220 of the Eumenides τὸ μὴ τίνεσθαι μηδ' ἐποπτεύειν κότῳ, *cho.* 984 ff. of Helios ὡς ἴδῃ πατήρ, | οὐχ οὐμός, ἀλλ' ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε | Ἥλιος, ἄναγνα μητρὸς ἔργα τῆς ἐμῆς, *Ag.* 1270 of Apollon ἐποπτεύσας δέ με, *Eum.* 224 of Athena δίκας δὲ Παλλὰς τῶνδ' ἐποπτεύσει θεά, *cho.* 1064 f. of God καί σ' ἐποπτεύων πρόφρων | θεὸς φυλάσσοι κ.τ.λ., *Ag.* 1578 f. of the gods in general φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους | θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχη (see further F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *ran.* 1126). Similarly ἐφορᾶν is used of Zeus in *Od.* 13. 213 f. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 1), Archil. *frag.* 84 Hiller—Crusius *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 3. 34 p. 58, 11 ff. Wachsmuth (Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 412, 3 ff. Stählin, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 54) ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, | σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷς | λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά (so Liebel for καθέμιστα or the like), σοὶ δὲ θηρίων | ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει, Soph. *El.* 174 f. ἔτι μέγας οὐρανῷ | Ζεύς, ὃς ἐφορᾷ πάντα καὶ κρατύνει. For Zeus Ἔφορος see *supra* i. 737 n. 8.

[2] *Supra* i. 737 n. 9.

[3] Ap. Rhod. 2. 1123 ἀντόμεθα πρὸς Ζηνὸς Ἐποψίου with schol. Paris. *ad loc.* Ἐπόψιος δὲ ὁ ἔποπτος (J. Alberti corr. ἐπόπτης), 1131 ff. (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

[4] Kallim. *h. Zeus* 81 ff. ἴζεο δ' αὐτὸς | ἄκρῃς ἐν πολίεσσιν, ἐπόψιος οἵ τε δίκῃσι | λαὸν ὑπὸ σκολιῆς, οἵ τ' ἔμπαλιν ἰθύνουσιν.

[5] Orph. *Arg.* 1035 ἀλλά οἱ οὔτι λάθων Δί' ἐπόψιον οὐδὲ θέμιστας.

[6] *Supra* i. 459 ff.

[7] A stone pillar (height 1·0^{m}, breadth 0·23^{m}), found on the site of Itanos (*Erimopolis*) in E. Crete and now serving as a lintel in a cottage near the lighthouse on *Capo Sidero*, bears the following inscription in letters of *s.* iv B.C. or earlier: Πάτρων Διὶ | Ἐπ[ο]ψί[ω]ι | ἀνέ[θ]ηκε. | τροπα[ὶ] χει[μερινα]ί. | εἴ τινι τούΓ[των : ἐπιμε]λές : κατὰ | τὴν : χοιρά[δα : τὴν | μικρὰν | καὶ τὴν στή]λην : ὁ ἥλιος | τρέπεται (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 585 f. no. 4 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1181 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*^{3} no. 1264). The original position of the pillar was such that a line drawn from it to a certain small rock visible at sea, and prolonged thence to the horizon, would mark the precise spot where the sun rose at the winter solstice. Halbherr *ad loc.* cp. schol. Aristoph. *av.* 997 φησὶ δὲ Καλλίστρατος ἐν Κολωνῷ ἀνάθημά τι εἶναι αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Μέτωνος) ἀστρολογικόν and Ail. *var. hist.* 10. 7 ὅτι Μέτων ὁ Λευκονοιεὺς ἀστρολόγος ἀνέστησε στήλας καὶ τὰς τοῦ ἡλίου τροπὰς κατεγράψατο. The rosette or star, which figures so frequently on coins of Itanos (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 201 ff. pl. 18, 21 ff., pl. 19, 5, 16, 19, 22 f., 25 ff., *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 115, 117 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 51 f. pl. 12, 6 ff., pl. 13, 4, 7 f., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 895 ff. pl. 244, 1 ff., 20, pl. 245, 3, 7 ff., Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. 11 no. 114 pl. 1, Head *Hist. num.*^{2} p. 469 f.), was in all probability a solar symbol. And Zeus on Cretan soil tended to become a sun-god (*supra* i. 545 ff.).

For Ἐπόψιος as a title of Apollon see *supra* i. 737 n. 9.

to win Lamia[1] owes something to popular confusion with the title *Epópsios*[2]. Thirdly, the king was *Meilichios*—a coaxing or cajoling appellation[3], which he shared with various chthonian powers[4].

Two other points in the narrative of Antoninus Liberalis call for remark. Periphas, transformed into an eagle, was set to guard the sacred sceptre and had leave to approach the very throne of Zeus[5]. Much the same is said of

[1] W. Crönert in the *Archiv für Papyrusforschung und verwandte Gebiete* 1901 i. 109 n. 1 drew attention to an unnoticed fragment of Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* (in the series of photographs issued by the Oxford Philological Society vi. 206) on the amours of Zeus: [ὧν ἦν καὶ Νέμ]εσις, [ἣν | φη]σιν (T) ὁ τὰ Κύ[πρια | γ]ράψας ὁμοιωθ[ῆ|ν]α<ι> χηνί, Δί[α <δὲ> αὐ]τὴν | δ]μώκειν καὶ μιγῆ[αι, | τὴν δ]ὲ ὠιὸν τεκεῖν, | [ἐξ] οὗ γενέσθαι τ]ὴ[ν | Ἑλ]ένην. ὥσ[π]ε[ρ αὖ | Λή]δας ἐρασθεὶς [έ|γ]ένετο κύκνο[ς, | Εὐ]ρώ[πης δὲ ταῦ|ρος], Λαμίας δὲ ἐ[πο]ψ (so F. Blass), Δανάης δ᾽ χ[ρυ|σός]. καὶ παρ᾽ Ἀπολ[λω|ρίδη] καὶ παρ᾽ Εὐ[ρι|πίδ]η λέγεται... With this allusion to the hoopoe O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2566 well cp. Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 Migne) Λαμίᾳ *ἐπεμορφώθη ἔποψ*, Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 22 Lamiam (*sc.* stuprat) mutatus in upupam.

[2] Aisch. *frag.* 304, 1 Nauck[2] *ap.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 49 B. 633 a 19 *τοῦτον δ᾽ ἐπόπτην ἔποπα τῶν αὐτοῦ κακῶν | κ.τ.λ.* (F. G. Welcker *Die Griechischen Tragödien* Bonn 1839 i. 384, followed by many scholars, attributed the fragment to Sophokles' *Tereus*: see A. C. Pearson on Soph. *frag.* 581 Jebb). Cp. Hesych. *ἔποψ· ἐπόπτης. δυνάστης. καὶ εἶδος ὀρνέου.*

There were, no doubt, other reasons, which made the hoopoe a suitable vehicle for Zeus, especially his fine feathered crest or crown and his widely-recognized magical powers (to the evidence cited by S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 111 f. add the *Kyranides* 1. 7. 11 ff. in F. de Mély—C. É. Ruelle *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Paris 1898 ii (Les Lapidaires grecs). 20 ff. with 235 f. [*ἔποψ*] *ζῷόν ἐστιν ἐν ἀέρι πτώμενον ᾧ καλεῖται ἔποψ, ἐπτάχρωμον βασίλειον ἔχον μήκει δακτύλων β᾽, ἁπλούμενον καὶ συστελλόμενον· αὐτὸ δὲ τετράχρωμον, ὡς εἰπεῖν, πρὸς τὰς δ᾽ τροπὰς τοῦ ἐνιαυτοῦ· οὗτος καλεῖται κουκούφας καὶ ποῦπος, ὡς ἐγράφη τὰ περὶ τούτου ἐν τῇ πρώτῃ τῇ βίβλῳ ‘ἀρχαϊκῇ’ καλουμένῃ· ἔστι δὲ τὸ ζῷον ἱερόν. λαβὼν οὖν τὴν τούτου καρδίαν ἔτι πταίρουσαν κατάπιε ἀντίκρυ τοῦ ἡλίου ὥρας πρώτης ἀρχομένης ἢ ὀγδόης ἀρχομένης· ἔστω δὲ ἡμέρα Κρόνου, σελήνης ἀνατολικῆς οὔσης· καὶ ἐπίπιε γαλὰ βοὸς μελαίνης μετ᾽ ὀλίγου μέλιτος ἐκ τοῦ συνθέματος αὐθωρόν, ἵνα ἡ καρδία ὑγιὴς καταποθῇ, καὶ ἔσῃ προγινώσκων τὰ ἐν οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ, καὶ εἴ τις κατὰ ψυχὴν ἔχει τι καὶ ὅσα κατὰ τὰ κλίματα καὶ κατὰ πόλεις γίνεται καὶ τὰ μέλλοντα ἅπασιν ἀνθρώποις· ...ἐὰν δὲ καὶ ἑτέραν καρδίαν καὶ ἦπαρ ἔποπος βάλῃς ἐν τῷ συνθέματι, κρεῖττον ἔσται καὶ ἔτι μνημονικώτερον ποιεῖ*... The sequel deals with a yet more potent charm, in which, among other ingredients, is *καὶ τὸ βασίλειον τὸ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ ἔποπος*). On his relations to the cuckoo, hawk, woodpecker, and bee-eater see E. Oder 'Der Wiedehopf in der griechischen Sage' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1888 xliii. 541—556, D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 pp. 54—57, S. Bochart *op. cit.* iii. 107—115, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 681 f., C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 pp. 106—109, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 60—63.

Horapoll. *hierogl.* 1. 55 *εὐχαριστίαν γράφοντες, κουκούφαν* ('hoopoe') *ζωγραφοῦσι· διότι τοῦτο μόνον τῶν ἀλόγων ζώων, ἐπειδὰν ὑπὸ τῶν γονέων ἐκτραφῇ, γηράσασιν αὐτοὺς τὴν αὐτὴν ἀποδίδωσι χάριν· ...ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν θείων σκήπτρων κουκούφα προτίμησίς ἐστι* (cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 16, 16. 5) looks like a parallel to the tale of Periphas, but is perhaps based on a misconception; for the erectile crest of the hoopoe, when laterally compressed (H. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1895 iv. 57 ff., col. pl., A. H. Evans *The Birds of Britain* Cambridge 1916 p. 108 f. fig.), bears a superficial resemblance to the regular sceptre of the gods (see *e.g.* C. Leemans on Horapoll. *loc. cit.* with fig. 54).

[3] *Supra* p. 1112 n. 7.

[4] See O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2558, 2563.

[5] Ant. Lib. 6 (*supra* p. 1121 f.) *διδοῖ φυλάσσειν τὸ ἱερὸν σκῆπτρον καὶ προσιέναι πρὸς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ θρόνον.*

Merops an early king of Kos[1]. Behind such traditions lie definite beliefs. It was supposed, as I have elsewhere contended[2], that, when the divine king died, his soul escaped as a bird and in that shape continued to watch over the fortunes of his realm. Further, his divinity was transmitted to his successor in outward and visible form as an eagle-tipped sceptre to be handed down from king to king. Thus the soul of Agamemnon, for instance, became an eagle[3]; and the sceptre which had descended to him from Zeus[4], with an eagle perched upon it[5], was worshipped at Chaironeia as the chief of the gods[6]. The sceptre originally belonged

[1] Schol. *Il.* 24. 293 οἱ δέ, ὅτι Μέροψ ὁ Κῷος ἀπαύστως ἐπένθει τὴν γυναῖκα, ξενίσας δὲ τὴν Ῥέαν (C. Robert cj. Ἥραν) μετεβλήθη καὶ συμπάρεστιν ἀεὶ τῷ Διί, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1351, 29 f. φέρεται δὲ μῦθος καὶ ὅτι Μέροψ Κῷος, ἀπαύστως τὴν γυναῖκα πενθῶν θανοῦσαν, ξενίσας Ῥέαν, μετεβλήθη εἰς ἀετόν, καὶ σύνεστιν ἀεὶ τῷ Διί. It may be suspected that originally Merops was metamorphosed, not into an eagle, but into a bee-eater (*μέροψ*), cp. Ant. Lib. 18 and D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 116 f.

[2] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 386 ff., cp. *ib.* 1905 xvi. 312, 1906 xvii. 165 ff., 313 ff.

[3] Plat. *rep.* 620 B τὴν δ' ἐπὶ τούτῳ Ἀγαμέμνονος (*sc.* ψυχήν)· ἔχθρᾳ δὲ καὶ ταύτην τοῦ ἀνθρωπίνου γένους διὰ τὰ πάθη ἀετοῦ διαλλάξαι βίαν. It would not be safe to conclude that Agamemnon's choice was due to Platonic fancy: Plato constantly founds on folk-belief (*supra* i. 310 f., 357 n. 4, ii. 43 ff., 63 n. 0).

[4] *Il.* 2. 100 ff. (Hephaistos made the sceptre for Zeus, from whom it passed successively to Hermes, Pelops, Atreus, Thyestes, and Agamemnon) with schol. *ad loc.* and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 181, 13 ff.

[5] Aristoph. *av.* 509 ff. ΠΕ. ἦρχον δ' οὔτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστ' εἴ τις καὶ βασιλεύοι | ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων, Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ Μενέλαος, | ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρνις, μετέχων ὅ τι δωροδοκοίη with schol. *ad loc.* ἐν γὰρ τοῖς σκήπτροις τῶν βασιλέων ἦν ἀετός. But see *supra* i. 406 f.

[6] Paus. 9. 40. 11 f. θεῶν δὲ μάλιστα Χαιρωνεῖς τιμῶσι τὸ σκῆπτρον ὃ ποιῆσαι Διὶ φησιν Ὅμηρος Ἥφαιστον, παρὰ δὲ Διὸς λαβόντα Ἑρμῆν δοῦναι Πέλοπι, Πέλοπα δὲ Ἀτρεῖ καταλιπεῖν, τὸν δὲ Ἀτρέα Θυέστῃ, παρὰ Θυέστου δὲ ἔχειν Ἀγαμέμνονα· τοῦτο οὖν τὸ σκῆπτρον σέβουσι, δόρυ ὀνομάζοντες. καὶ εἶναι μέν τι θειότερον οὐχ ἥκιστα δηλοῖ τὸ ἐς τοὺς ἀνθρώπους ἐπιφανὲς ἐξ αὐτοῦ· φασὶ δ' ἐπὶ τοῖς ὅροις αὐτῶν καὶ Πανοπέων τῶν ἐν τῇ Φωκίδι εὑρεθῆναι, σὺν δὲ αὐτῷ καὶ χρυσὸν εὕρασθαι τοὺς Φωκεῖς, σφίσι δὲ ἀσμένοις ἀντὶ χρυσοῦ γενέσθαι τὸ σκῆπτρον. κομισθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸ ἐς τὴν Φωκίδα ὑπὸ Ἡλέκτρας τῆς Ἀγαμέμνονος πείθομαι. ναὸς δὲ οὐκ ἔστιν αὐτῷ δημοσίᾳ πεποιημένος, ἀλλὰ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον ὁ (H. C. Schubart, followed by H. Hitzig—H. Blümner, cj. ὁ κατὰ ἔτος ἕκαστον) ἱερώμενος ἐν οἰκήματι ἔχει τὸ σκῆπτρον· καὶ οἱ θυσίαι ἀνὰ πᾶσαν ἡμέραν θύονται, καὶ τράπεζα παράκειται παντοδαπῶν κρεῶν καὶ πεμμάτων πλήρης. The worship of sceptre or spear was characteristic of a primitive age: Iust. 43. 3. 3 per ea tempora adhuc reges hastas pro diademate habebant, quas Graeci sceptra dixere. nam et ab origine rerum pro signis inmortalibus veteres hastas coluere, ob cuius religionis memoriam adhuc deorum simulacris hastae adduntur, Philon Bybl. *frag.* 1. 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 564 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 9. 29 οἱ παλαίτατοι τῶν βαρβάρων, ἐξαιρέτως δὲ Φοίνικές τε καὶ Αἰγύπτιοι, παρ' ὧν καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ παρέλαβον ἄνθρωποι, θεοὺς ἐνόμιζον μεγίστους τοὺς τὰ πρὸς τὴν βιωτικὴν χρείαν εὑρόντας, ἢ καὶ κατά τι εὐποιήσαντας τὰ ἔθνη· εὐεργέτας τε τούτους καὶ πολλῶν αἰτίους ἀγαθῶν ἡγούμενοι ὡς θεοὺς προσεκύνουν, καὶ εἰς τὸ χρεὼν μεταστάντας ναοὺς κατασκευασάμενοι στήλας τε καὶ ῥάβδους ἀφιέρουν ἐξ ὀνόματος αὐτῶν, καὶ ταῦτα μεγάλως σεβόμενοι, καὶ ἑορτὰς ἔνεμον αὐτοῖς τὰς μεγίστας Φοίνικες. Examples of the cult are collected by De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 90 f. § 94 ff. and Frazer *Pausanias* v. 210 ff., *Golden Bough*[2]: The Magic Art i. 365. It is possible that the object reverenced by the Chaeroneans was a sceptre found in the grave of some 'Minoan' chief (cf. C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 250 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 978 f., W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 385, 398, R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 284, H. R. Hall *Ægean Archæology* London 1915 pp. 57, 242). H. C. Schubart in

to the king as weather-maker, and the eagle on it was no mere decoration[1]

Philologus 1860 xv. 400 thought that it was housed in a portable wooden shrine (οἴκημα !). But F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1858 Philos.-philol. Classe viii. 445 with far greater probability explained that the priest for the time being used a room (οἴκημα) in his own house as chapel for the *chose sacrée*. The annual tenure of his office seems to have been a method of ensuring his bodily competence (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 394 ff.).

[1] K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 pp. 3—42 contains a rich collection of material. Here we are concerned only with the eagle in relation to the sceptre (cp. *supra* i. 127 fig. 96, 128 f. pl. xii, 200 f. fig. 146, 251 pl. xxii, 501 f. pl. xxxi, 590 fig. 450, 596 fig. 454, ii. 104 fig. 65, 512 fig. 390)—a combination which should be compared with the cuckoo-on-sceptre (*supra* i. 134 f., 532 fig. 399), the cock-on-column (G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 106 ff. fig. 33 ff., R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 59 pl. 251, 1), the woodpecker-on-post (Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* i. 14: see *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 375, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 24, 10, ii. 119, Harrison *Themis* p. 101 f. fig. 17, W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 265. I figure (scale ⅔) an engraved cornelian at Corpus Christi College, Cambridge (J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 26), which shows a warrior consulting the woodpecker of Mars at Tiora Matiene (Dion. Hal. *loc. cit.*)), the hawk-on-pillar (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 pp. 157 pl. 22, 1 *a*, 161 f. pl. 25, 1 ff., 198, W. M. Flinders Petrie *Tanis* London 1888 ii. 2. 9, J. T. Bent *The Ruined Cities of Mashonaland*[2] London 1895 p. 180 ff.), the dove-on-sceptre (*Encyclopædia Britannica*[9] London 1886 xx. 340 *s.v.* 'Regalia,' *ib.* xxi. 385 *s.v.* 'Sceptre,' *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 315, *The Daily Graphic* for Dec. 14, 1907 p. 8 fig.), and the like.

Fig. 957.

The earliest literary allusions (Pind. *Pyth.* 9 ff. εὐθεῖ δ' ἀνὰ σκάπτῳ Διὸς αἰετός, κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc.* and Soph. *frag.* 799 Nauck[2], 884 Jebb, *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 515 ὁ σκηπτροβάμων αἰετός, κύων Διός) are at least suggestive of vitality. Cp. Append. N *med.* And classical numismatic art conceived of the bird as alive and active. On an archaic silver obol (?) of Galaria or Galarina in Sicily he is unusually large and prominent (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 64 fig., P. Gardner *Types of Gk Coins* p. 89 pl. 2, 1 f., G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 90 f. fig. 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 139 *obv.* ΓΑΛΑ, Dionysos standing with *kántharos* and vine-branch; *rev.* ΣΟΤΕΡ retrograde, Zeus enthroned with eagle-sceptre). On coppers of Ptolemy vi Philometor (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Ptolemies, Kings of Egypt p. 80 pl. 19, 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 388 ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ and ΕΥΛ (the regent Eulaios)) and of Antiochos viii Grypos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 90 pl. 24, 4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 102 f. pl. 70, 1 ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ with ΙΕ to left, ΒΡΡ (= 120 B.C.) and ear of corn below, *ib.* iii. 103 pl. 70, 2) the Macedonian eagle appears shouldering a sceptre. On a gold coin struck by Koson, king of Thrace (??) under the Romans, *c.* 42 B.C. the eagle carries a sceptre and a wreath (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thrace p. 208 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 436, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Paeonia etc. iii. 2. 23 fig., Head *Hist. num.*[2] pp. 272, 289). *Denarii* struck *c.* 49 B.C. by one Terentius Varro *pro quaestore* have *obv.* VARRO · PRO Q, a filleted bust of Iupiter (*Terminalis* ?) to right; *rev.* MAGN · PRO COS (*Magnus pro consule*) in exergue, a sceptre upright between an eagle and a dolphin (emblems of earth, air, and sea ?) (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 343, 485 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 362 nos. 64, 65 pl. 100, 16, 66, 363 nos. 67, 68 pl. 100, 18, 69). An *aureus* of Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio, 48—46 B.C., has *obv.* METEL · PIVS SCIP · IMP, a bust of Iupiter (*Terminalis* ?)

but an actual embodiment of Zeus[1], which conferred upon its holder the powers of the sky-god. This belief has left traces of itself throughout the historical period of Greece and Rome[2]; indeed, it appears to have lingered on[3] well into the middle ages[4]. In a sense it is still with us[5]. But if the mythopoeic mind fitly transformed any ancient king into an eagle[6], it did so in the case of Periphas with a clear conscience. For Periphas, as son or father of Lapithes[7], was near akin to the Phlegyai[8], whose very name marks them as an 'Eagle'-tribe[9].

In conclusion, the devotion of Periphas to Apollon is adequately explained, either by the fact that in the Lapith genealogy Lapithes and Kentauros were

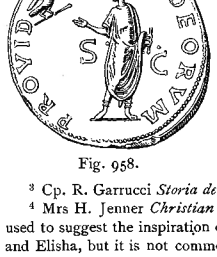


Fig. 958.

to right, with an eagle's head and sceptre below (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 278 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 571 fig.: there are *denarii* with the same type—Babelon *op. cit.* i. 279, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 571 no. 4 pl. 121, 2, no. 5). A first brass of Hadrian has *rev.* PROVID ENTIADEORVM and S·C·, an eagle flying with a sceptre towards the emperor, who stands with a roll in his left hand (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 208 no. 1207. Fig. 958 is from a specimen in my collection. Cohen *ib.* no. 1208 fig. shows a second brass with the same design).

[1] *Supra* i. 105 f. fig. 76, 164 n. 4, 532 figs. 395—400, 543 n. 6, and especially ii. 187 n. 8, 751 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1.

[3] Cp. R. Garrucci *Storia della Arte Cristiana* Prato 1881 iv. 76 pl. 226, 5.

[4] Mrs H. Jenner *Christian Symbolism* London 1910 p. 41 f.: 'The Eagle is chiefly used to suggest the inspiration of the Holy Spirit to saints of the Old Law, such as David and Elisha, but it is not common.' This is illustrated by a plate from an English MS. of *s.* xi now in the British Museum (Cotton. Tib. C. vi), which shows David inspired by the eagle on his sceptre (Mrs Jenner by an odd slip says 'dove'): above is the hand of God, holding a horn full of rays. My friend Mr G. F. Hill kindly directs me to a discussion of the inspiration-type by C. R. Morey 'East Christian Paintings in the Freer Collection' in the *University of Michigan Studies*, Humanistic Series 1914 xii. 35 ff.

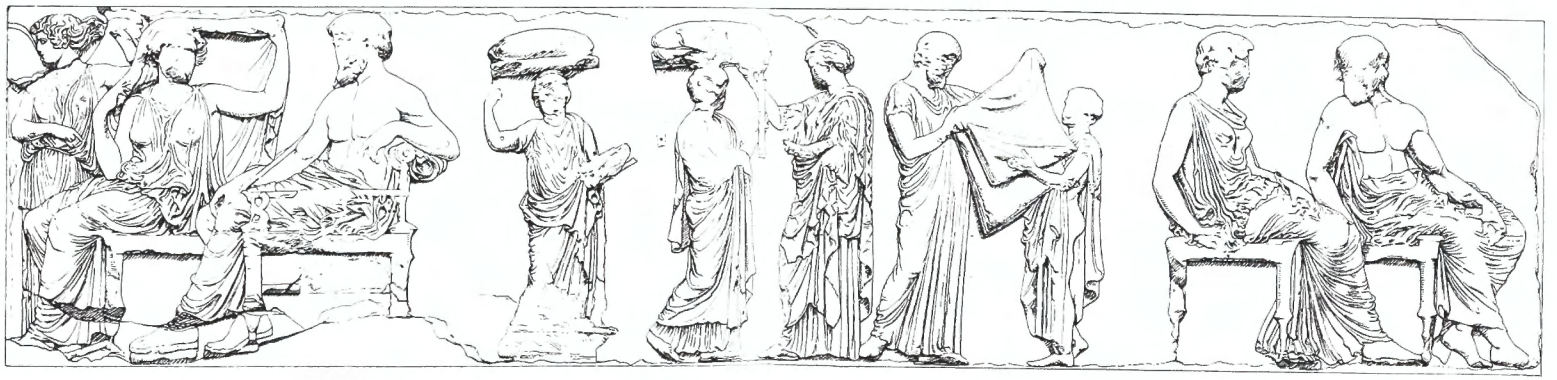
[5] *Supra* p. 1133 n. 1 the dove-on-sceptre.

[6] In addition to Periphas (*supra* p. 1121 f.), and Merops (*supra* p. 1131 f.), the shape-shifter Periklymenos underwent the same transformation (Hes. *frag.* 14, 3 f. Rzach *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 156, Ov. *met.* 12. 556 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 10). ? Cp. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 26, 71 and 72, ii. 132, if not also i pl. 25, 42, ii. 128.

[7] *Supra* p. 1122.

[8] See the pedigrees in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* p. 227 f. ('Lapithen und Phlegyer').

[9] Hes. *sc. Her.* 133 f. (arrows) ὅπισθε | μόρφνοιο φλεγύαο καλυπτόμενοι πτερύγεσσιν, Hesych. *s.v.* φλεγύας· ἀετὸς ξανθός, ὀξύς, Souid. *s.v.* φλεγύας· ὁ ἀετός, *et. mag.* p. 795, 57 ff. φλεγύας, ἔστιν ἀετός, ἀπὸ τοῦ φλέγειν καὶ λαμπρὸς εἶναι. οἱ δέ, ὄρνεον παραπλήσιον γυπί. Ἡσίοδος Ἀσπίδι, 'μορφνοῖο φλεγύαο,' τουτέστι μέλανος ἀετοῦ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 933, 27 f. ῥήτωρ δέ τις, κατὰ στοιχεῖον συντάξας ἅπερ ἐπόνησε, λέγει καὶ ὅτι φλεγύας ξανθὸς ἀετός, κατὰ γλῶσσάν τινα, ὡς ἔοικεν. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1914 xlvi. 77 f. renders φλεγύας 'der Schwarzadler' and adds: 'Das Wort wird soviel als "braun, dunkel" bedeutet haben: wie αἰθων braun, αἰθαλος Russ von αἴθειν brennen, so φλεγύας von φλέγω brennen, engl. *black* zu germ. *blek* (φλέγειν).' See further my paper on 'Descriptive animal names in Greece' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 381 ff. and, for the bird-tribes of Greece and Italy, an appendix by W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 p. 277 ff.



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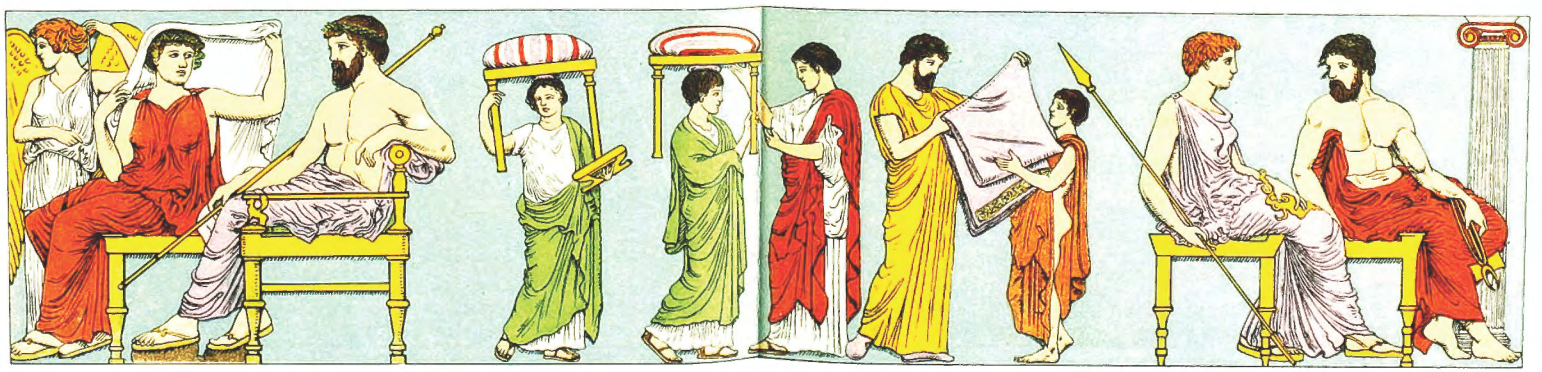


2

E. T. T.

The central slab from the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon, representing the ritual Apotheosis of the King and Queen at Athens:
1. The relief as extant in the British Museum. 2. The relief with flat coloration and metal accessories restored.

See page 1135 ff.

the sons of Stilbe by Apollon[1], or by the contiguity of the Olympieion to the Pythion[2]. In any case it is noteworthy that at Ardettos, just across the Ilissos, Athenian jurors used to swear by Apollon *Patrôios*, Demeter, and Zeus *Basileús*[3].

The myth of Periphas comes to us from an age that had largely forgotten its own antecedents. Few, if any, citizens even of Periclean Athens would have dared to assert that on the banks of the Ilissos there once lived a line of kings claiming to be Zeus incarnate. Nevertheless that is the real gist of the tale, and I do not see how we are to avoid accepting it as a genuine echo of bygone beliefs. After all, Periclean Athens, democratic to the core, still had its 'king' and still remembered that divinity clung about him[4]. If any doubted, he had but to lift his eyes to the scene carved by Pheidias' direction above the main doorway of the Parthenon. The central slab of the eastern frieze (pl. xliv)[5] represents a ritual apotheosis[6]. The 'king' and 'queen' of Athens receive from

[1] Diod. 4. 69.

[2] Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 189 ff., v. 519 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 344 f.

[3] Poll. 8. 122 ὤμνυσαν δὲ ἐν Ἀρδήττῳ δικαστηρίῳ Ἀπόλλω Πατρῷον καὶ Δήμητρα καὶ Δία Βασιλέα.

[4] We must be careful here to rule out invalid evidence. Some statements, which *prima facie* connect the Athenian king with Zeus, or Zeus with the Athenian king, will not bear closer scrutiny.

The βασιλεύς of republican Athens, during his year of office, sat in the Στοὰ Βασίλειος (Paus. 1. 3, 1 with the notes of Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*, E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 pp. 386 f., 518 f., W. Judeich *op. cit.* p. 295 ff.), which is sometimes said to have been named after Zeus Βασιλεύς (Hesych. *s.v.* Βασίλειος Στοά· δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησιν Βασίλειοι Στοαί, ἥ τε τοῦ λεγομένου Βασιλέως. Διὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου = Favorin. *lex.* p. 355, 13 f., Bekker *anecd.* i. 222, 29 f. Βασίλειος Στοά· Ἀθήνησι δύο εἰσὶ Βασίλειοι Στοαί, ἡ τοῦ λεγομένου Βασιλέως Διὸς καὶ ἡ τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου); but this seems to be a misconception due to a transcriber's error (cp. Harpokr. *s.v.* Βασίλειος Στοά·...δύο εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἀλλήλας, ἥ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ Βασίλειος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη τις, ἡ πάλαι μὲν Ἀνάκτιος καλουμένη, Ποικίλη δὲ μετονομασθεῖσα, Souid. *s.v.* Βασίλειος Στοά· δύο εἰσὶ στοαὶ παρ' ἀλλήλας, ἥ τε τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου Διὸς καὶ ἡ Βασίλειος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ τρίτη, ἡ πάλαι μὲν Πανάκτιος (P. J. de Maussac cj. Πεισιανάκτειος cp. Diog. Laert. 7. 5 and Souid. *s.vv.* Ζήνων and Πεισιανάκτιος Στοά, G. Bernhardy cj. Πεισιανάκτιος) ἐκαλεῖτο, νῦν δὲ μετωνομάσθη Ποικίλη, whence Meursius in Hesych. *loc. cit.* restored δύο εἰσὶν Ἀθήνησι στοαὶ ἥ τε Βασίλειος λεγομένη τοῦ βασιλέως καὶ ἡ Διὸς τοῦ Ἐλευθερίου).

Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 Διόσκουροι etiam apud Graecos multis modis nominantur. primi tres, qui appellantur Anactes Athenis, ex rege Iove antiquissimo et Proserpina nati, Tritopatreus, Eubuleus, Dionysus. This passage forms part of the Catalogue of the gods, the origin of which has been much disputed. J. B. Mayor *ad loc.* would trace it back to Kleitomachos, who became head of the New Academy in 129 B.C. W. Michaelis *De origine indicis deorum cognominum* Berlin 1898 finds its ultimate source in the pseudo-Aristotelian *péplos*, which he attributes to an unknown Rhodian author of *s.* ii. B.C. W. Bobeth *De indicibus deorum* Leipzig 1904 thinks that the Catalogue was first drafted in 100—50 B.C. Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 199 refers it to Aristokles of Rhodes, whose *floruit* falls in *s.* i. B.C. In any case the allusion to 'Zeus a very ancient king' betrays the influence of Euhemeros (*supra* i. 662, 758).

[5] Pl. xliv, 1 is drawn from the best available photographs of the actual slab, *viz.* A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pls. 34—36, supplemented by the casts of it in the Cambridge collection. Pl. xliv, 2 gives a restoration of the same.

[6] So at least I ventured to suggest in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 371, cp. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 89 n. 5. Other interpretations (which to me,

their attendants the sacred *péplos* and two cushioned *díphroi*. Of these *díphroi* one is being handed to the 'queen,' the other with a footstool[1] is reserved for the 'king.' He is a very noteworthy personage. Alone of all the figures on the frieze, he is clad simply in a long *chitón* with short sleeves and in shoes—doubtless the Cretan garment[2] and royal footgear[3], which we know to have been his distinctive attire. Court etiquette is conservative and these articles of apparel were reminiscent of 'Minoan' predecessors. But, to complete his costume, he needs a *himátion*; and it seems not unreasonable to conjecture that he is about to put on immortality in the shape of Athena's *péplos*[4]. This done, the 'king'

I confess, seem inadequate) regard the scene as (1) the priest receiving the new *péplos* (most archaeologists); (2) the priest folding up and putting away the old *péplos* (G. F. Hill 'The east frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 225 f., E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 291 f., *id. Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 332 ff.); (3) the priest, about to sacrifice, handing his own *himátion* to the boy, cp. the vase shown in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii pl. 4 (A. Flasch *Zum Parthenon-Fries* Würzburg 1877 p. 99 ff., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 277 f., Sir C. Waldstein 'The Panathenaic festival and the central slab of the Parthenon frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1885 i. 10 ff., *id. Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 p. 229 ff. ('The central slab of the Parthenon frieze and the Copenhagen plaque') pls. 11 f.); (4) the *βασιλεύς*, before sacrifice, about to put on his *protónion* (W. Watkiss Lloyd 'On the Central Groups of the Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature* Second Series (1892) xvi. 73 ff.); (5) the priest receiving a carpet (*στρωμνή*, cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 589, 9 and 44 f.) to be spread before the seats of the gods for a theoxeny (E. Curtius in the *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix Arch. Anz. p. 181, Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 91, 427 f. ('The central group of the east frieze of the Parthenon: peplos or *στρωμνή*?')). See also E. Petersen 'Peplosübergabe' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1877 xxxv. 136 f., A. Michaelis 'Peplos und Priestermantel' in the *Festschrift für Johannes Overbeck* Leipzig 1893 p. 178 ff., A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 156 ff., *id. A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 75 ff., *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 53, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 427, *id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 274 ff.

[1] E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 247 n. 1.

[2] Poll. 7. 77 *ἐκαλεῖτο δέ τι καὶ Κρητικόν, ᾧ Ἀθήνησιν ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐχρῆτο.*

[3] Poll. 7. 85 *ὑποδημάτων δὲ εἴδη βασιλίδες· ἐφόρει δὲ αὐτὰς ὁ βασιλεὺς Ἀθήνησιν.*

[4] If it be objected that the *βασιλεύς* had no right to masquerade in the costume of Athena, various considerations may be urged in his defence. At the Greater Mystery of Pheneos in Arkadia the priest put on the mask of Demeter *Kidaría* before smiting the Underground Folk with rods (Paus. 8. 15. 3). The obverse of a gold *statér* with the name and types of Alexander the Great is believed by C. T. Seltnan to exhibit the head of Demetrios Poliorketes wearing the helmet of Athena (*Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 267 ff. pl. 20, 3). A Melian copper of imperial date shows a bearded male figure inscribed T|V|[X]|H, with left arm carrying a child and right arm resting on a pillar (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 23 no. 66 pl. 2, 8), presumably a benefactor of Melos represented as her Tyche holding the infant Ploutos (so Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 382 n. 3). The colossal statues of the Nemroud Dagh include Antiochos i of Kommagene, who in the accompanying inscription speaks of himself as *Τύχης νέας* (*supra* i. 744 n. 3). Conversely, the gold octadrachms and silver decadrachms etc. of the deified Arsinoe ii give her a horn like that of Zeus *Ammon* (J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* cited *supra* p. 773 fig. 739, C. T. Seltman *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1909 ix. 269, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 850). Again, it might be pointed out that a woman's *péplos* is really the same garment as a man's *himátion*, both being essentially an oblong piece of woollen cloth folded for wear. But the true defence of the *βασιλεύς* is more

and 'queen' will take their places on the *díphroi* set for them between the deities enthroned on either hand[1]. With Zeus and Hera on the one side, Athena and Hephaistos on the other[2], they will appear with all the credentials of divinity.

But it is time to pass from the local myth of Periphas to the local custom of the Diasia[3].

probably to be sought in the fact that on certain ritual occasions men were expected to don women's raiment—a custom on which I have said my say elsewhere (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 376 f.). Miss Harrison has suggested to me (July 30, 1917) an explanation, which—if sound—would not only meet the objection here noted but also add much to the significance of the whole procedure. The 'king,' on my showing, is about to assume the *péplos* of Athena. Yes, but the *péplos* may be simply the 'Weltenmantel,' which Athena had taken over from the early Attic kings. Such a garment could be appropriately worn by the 'king,' who thus came by his own again. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 58 ff., 77 ff., ii. 326 seems (though he is not very clear about it) to regard Athena's *péplos* as a cosmic robe. I fail to see that he has proved the point. When he states that the 'Praxiergidenpriesterinnen' *ἀμφιέννουσιν ἐν ἑορταῖς τὸν πέπλον Διὶ Μοιραγέτει Ἀπόλλωνι* (*op. cit.* i. 59), he is indulging in an ungrammatical (Πραξιεργίδαι should be masculine, and *ἀμφιέννουσιν* is not Greek at all) and highly improbable ('Διἰ...appellativisch (wie divus)') restoration of the mutilated text *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 93, 11 f. = J. V. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 14, 11 f. cited *supra* p. 231 n. 8.

[1] Similarly Philip of Macedon, immediately before his assassination at Aigai in 336 B.C., *εἰδωλα τῶν δώδεκα θεῶν ἐπόμπευε...σὺν δὲ τούτοις αὐτοῦ τοῦ Φιλίππου τρισκαιδέκατον ἐπόμπευε θεοπρεπὲς εἴδωλον, σύνθρονον ἑαυτὸν ἀποδεικνύντος τοῦ βασιλέως τοῖς δώδεκα θεοῖς* (Diod. 16. 92).

[2] It seems likely that Pheidias had already employed the same principles of composition for the trophy erected at Delphoi as a tithe from the spoils of 'Marathon.' The account given by Paus. 10. 10. 1—2 has led to much discussion, which is conveniently summarised by H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* Personally, I hold that the grouping of this remarkable monument was as follows:

[Three national worthies]	Five *ἐπώνυμοι*	ATHENA as goddess of Athens	MILTIADES	APOLLON as god of Delphoi	Five *ἐπώνυμοι*	[Three later *ἐπώνυμοι*]

Three out of the ten *ἐπώνυμοι*, *viz.* Oineus, Hippothoon, and Aias, are not mentioned in the text of Pausanias (probably a clerical error, cp. E. Curtius in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1861 p. 369 ff. = *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen* Berlin 1894 ii. 365 f.). Later, when the ten tribes were increased to thirteen, the Athenians added at one end of the row three figures of the new *ἐπώνυμοι*, Antigonos, Demetrios Poliorketes, Ptolemy ii Philadelphos, and balanced them at the other end by three more figures of national worthies, Kodros, Theseus, Phyleus. It will be observed that, on this showing, the arrangement of the Delphic trophy definitely anticipated that of the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (I accept the view of A. S. Arvanitopullos 'Phylen-Heroen am Parthenonfries' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 38 ff. pl. 4 f. that the ten standing men of the eastern frieze are the eponymous heroes of the Attic tribes):

Head of Panathenaic procession	Five *ἐπώνυμοι*	Six seated DEITIES	KING and QUEEN of Athens with their attendants	Six seated DEITIES	Five *ἐπώνυμοι*	Head of Panathenaic procession

In both cases alike Pheidias' design portrays a virtual apotheosis—humanity raised to the rank of surrounding deities.

[3] The best collection of sources will be found in O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 pp. 3—10. The remainder of this excellent monograph suffers from undue compression and is admittedly incomplete.

(7) The Diasia.

Towards the close of the seventh century (636? 632? 628? B.C.) Kylon, an Athenian noble who had married the daughter of Theagenes tyrant of Megara, resolved with Theagenes' help to make himself tyrant of Athens. In answer to an enquiry the Delphic god bade him seize the Akropolis 'at the greatest festival of Zeus.' Kylon, who had been an Olympic victor, naturally took this to be the festival at Olympia. So he waited till it came round and then made his *coup*, which proved a disastrous failure[1]. Thoukydides' comment concerns us:

'Whether the greatest festival spoken of was in Attike or elsewhere, was a point which he did not perceive and the oracle did not reveal. For the Athenians too have what is called the Diasia, a festival of Zeus *Meilichios*, greatest of any, held outside the city, at which all the people offer sacrifice—many not victims but sacrifices peculiar to the country[2].'

The difficulties of the Thucydidean style[3] and the doubts attaching to the text[4] have, I think, hindered scholars from asking the obvious question: Why did the oracle regard the Diasia as a suitable day for setting up a tyranny at Athens? The explanation is twofold: partly, no doubt, because the gathering of the populace outside the city would leave the coast clear for Kylon's attempt; but partly also because the Diasia was the festival of Zeus *Meilichios*, who represented the line of ancient kings. Kylon might in fact have acted under their auspices and been accepted as their successor. His presumptuous error spoiled what was, in reality or pretence, quite a pretty piece of politico-religious plotting[5].

[1] Thouk. 1. 126, Hdt. 5. 71, Aristot. *de Athen. rep. frag.* 8 p. 110, 14 ff. Blass—Thalheim, Herakleides Pontikos *frag.* 1. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 208 Müller), Cic. *de leg.* 2. 28, Plout. *v. Sol.* 12 f., Paus. 1. 28. 1, 1. 40. 1, 7. 25. 3, Hesych. *s.v.* Κωλών(ε)ιον ἄγος, Souid. *s.v.* Κυλώνειον ἄγος, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 445.

[2] Thouk. 1. 126 εἰ δὲ ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ ἢ ἀλλοθί που ἡ μεγίστη ἑορτὴ εἵρητο, οὔτε ἐκεῖνος ἔτι κατενόησε τό τε μαντεῖον οὐκ ἐδήλου. ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι, πολλοὶ οὐχ ἱερεῖα ἀλλὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια with schol. *ad loc.* ἱερεῖα· πρόβατα and θύματα· τινὰ πέμματα εἰς ζώων μορφὰς τετυπωμένα ἔθυον.

[3] B. Jowett *ad loc.* would punctuate differently, reading either (1) ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις, Διάσια ἃ καλεῖται, Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, κ.τ.λ. 'For the Athenians also have a greatest festival of Zeus, namely, of Zeus Meilichius, the Diasia as it is called'; or (2) ἔστι γὰρ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις Διάσια, ἃ καλεῖται Διὸς ἑορτὴ Μειλιχίου μεγίστη, κ.τ.λ. 'For the Athenians also have a festival of Zeus, namely, the Diasia, which is called the greatest festival of Zeus Meilichius.' E. C. Marchant *ad loc.* translates as in (2).

[4] E. F. Poppo—J. M. Stahl *ad loc.* cj. Διάσια ἥ καλεῖται. C. F. Hermann in *Philologus* 1867 ii. 1 ff. cj. ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ θύουσι πολλὰ οὐχ ἱερεῖα, κ.τ.λ. T. Hemsterhuys on Loukian. *Tim.* 7 cj. ἀλλ' ἀγνὰ θύματα ἐπιχώρια. O. Band *op. cit.* p. 4 regards the words ἔστι—μεγίστη as a probable and ἔξω—ἐπιχώρια as a certain interpolation.

[5] In view of Kylon's connexion with Theagenes, note that the cult of Zeus at Megara bore some resemblance to the cult of Zeus on the Ilissos. A relief from Megara, like that from the Kallirrhoe-basin, associates Zeus with Acheloios (*supra* p. 1117 n. 7). Megara, like the Ilissos-bank, had its myth of the deluge (Paus. 1. 40. 1). And at Megara too there was an Olympieion with a famous statue of Zeus (Paus. 1. 40. 4 μετὰ ταῦτα ἐς τὸ τοῦ Διὸς (τοῦ Διὸς τὸ cod. Monac.) τέμενος ἐσελθοῦσι καλούμενον Ὀλυμπιεῖον ναός ἐστι θέας ἄξιος· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα οὐκ ἐξειργάσθη τοῦ Διὸς ἐπιλαβόντος τοῦ Πελοποννησίων πολέμου πρὸς Ἀθηναίους,... τῷ δὲ ἀγάλματι τοῦ Διὸς πρόσωπον ἐλέφαντος καὶ χρυσοῦ, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ πηλοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ γύψου· ποιῆσαι δὲ αὐτὸ Θεόκοσμον λέγουσιν ἐπιχώριον, συνεργάσασθαι δέ οἱ Φειδίαν. ὑπὲρ δὲ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός εἰσιν Ὧραι καὶ Μοῖραι· δῆλα δὲ πᾶσι τὴν Πεπρωμένην μόνῳ οἱ πείθεσθαι, καὶ τὰς ὥρας τὸν θεὸν τοῦτον νέμειν ἐς (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for εἰς) τὸ δέον. ὄπισθε δὲ τοῦ ναοῦ κεῖται ξύλα ἡμίεργα· ταῦτα ἔμελλεν ὁ Θεόκοσμος ἐλέφαντι

It remains to determine the place, time, and character of the Diasia. O. Band[1] and A. Mommsen[2] conclude in favour of the Ilissos-site. Not without reason; for here Zeus had been worshipped since the days of Deukalion[3], and here, on the north bank of the river, just outside the Themistoclean wall[4], there was convenient space for the people to assemble[5]. They did so on Antheſterion 22 or 23[6], which in the time of Plutarch would have corresponded with March 22 or 23[7]. The inference to be drawn from this dating is that the Diasia, like the Lesser Mysteries of Agra (*c.* Antheſterion 20[8]) or the *Pithoigia*, *Chóes*, and *Chýtroi* (Antheſterion 11—13[9]), had a character at once chthonian and agrarian[10]. Zeus *Meilíchios*, the buried king, was the giver of animal and vegetable life.

καὶ χρυσῷ κοσμήσας τὸ ἄγαλμα ἐκτελέσειν τοῦ Διός, *supra* j. 2 n. 2). Imperial coppers of Megara show a seated Zeus holding a Nike (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 122 pl. 22, 1=my fig. 959, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 4 f. pl. A, 3, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 394) or an eagle (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 5), which may be meant for Theokosmos' masterpiece, and a Zeus striding to the right with

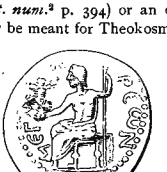


Fig. 959.

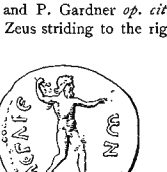


Fig. 960.

thunderbolt and eagle (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 5 pl. A, 4=my fig. 960, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 394), in which—since the god sometimes has a base—we must recognise another statue (cp. Paus. 1. 40. 6 *Διὸς Κονίου* in a context cited *supra* p. 257 n. 4, Paus. 1. 43. 6 *καὶ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ πλησίον Μούσας καὶ χαλκοῦν Δία ἐποίησε Λύσιππος*).

[1] O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 11.

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 421 f.

[3] Paus. 1. 18. 8, *supra* p. 420.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408 *ἑορτὴ Διὸς Ἀθήνησι τὰ Διάσια, ἐν ᾗ πανδημεὶ ἔξω τείχους συνόντες ἑορτάζουσιν* (a paraphrase of Thouk. 1. 126 cited *supra* p. 1138 n. 2)=Favorin. *lex.* p. 492, 36 f.

[5] See A. N. Skias in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ.* 1893 pl. A.

The Ilissos-site is highly probable, but not absolutely certain; for the Kephisos-site (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 362 n. 5) likewise had claims to high antiquity and convenient proximity. It is not, however, so aptly described by the phrases *ἔξω τῆς πόλεως*, *ἔξω τείχους*, and its festal day appears to have been Hekatombaion 8 (*supra* p. 1091 f.).

[6] Schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408 *Διασίοισιν· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι Μειλιχίου Διός. ἄγεται δὲ μηνὸς Ἀνθεστηριῶνος η' φθίνοντος.* This would be Antheſterion 22 or 23, according as that month was 'full' (30 days) or 'hollow' (29 days): see the discussion and tables in A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 200 ff.

[7] Plout. *v. Sull.* 14 *ἐλεῖν δὲ τὰς Ἀθήνας αὐτὸς φησιν ἐν τοῖς ὑπομνήμασι* (*frag.* 13 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 131 Peter)) *Μαρτίαις καλάνδαις, ἥτις ἡμέρα μάλιστα συμπίπτει τῇ νουμηνίᾳ τοῦ Ἀνθεστηριῶνος μηνός, ἐν ᾧ κατὰ τύχην ὑπομνήματα πολλὰ τοῦ διὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν ὀλέθρου καὶ τῆς φθορᾶς ἐκείνης δρῶσιν, ὡς τότε καὶ περὶ τὸν χρόνον ἐκεῖνον μάλιστα τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ συμπεσόντος*, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (ε).

[8] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 406, *supra* i. 692 f.

[9] Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 384 ff., *supra* i. 684.

[10] *Supra* i. 687.

The ritual of the Diasia is imperfectly known. Thoukydides' statement that many, in lieu of 'victims,' offered 'sacrifices peculiar to the country' is annotated by the scholiast, who remarks (1) that 'victims' means sheep (*próbata*), and (2) that the 'sacrifices peculiar to the country' were cakes moulded into the forms of animals[1]. Both observations are credible. On the one hand, we have seen that the 'fleece of Zeus' was stripped from a victim sacrificed to Zeus *Meilichios* or to Zeus *Ktêsios*[2]. On the other hand, we hear[3] of a cult of Artemis at Syracuse, in which rustic singers were decked with a loaf that had wild beasts moulded upon it[4], a wallet full of mingled grain, and wine in a goat-skin for distribution to all and sundry. They wore garlands, had stag-horns on their foreheads, and carried a crook in their hands. Thus equipped they vied with each other in song: the victor received the loaf of the vanquished and stopped in Syracuse; the vanquished went about the neighbouring villages collecting food for themselves. Their songs were full of mirth and merriment, and ended with the stanza:

Here's wealth for you!
Here's health for you!
We bring you what the goddess sends,
A boon and blessing to her friends!

It would seem that at Athens the god, and at Syracuse the votary, accepted the cake or loaf moulded with animal forms as a surrogate for the animals themselves in accordance with a well-known principle of ancient ritual[5].

[1] *Supra* p. 1138 n. 2.

[2] *Supra* i. 422 ff. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 4 (following E. F. Poppo on Thouk. 1. 126) *à propos* of the scholion *Ἱερεῖα· πρόβατα* says curtly 'Immo *χοίρους*.'

[3] Schol. Theokr. *proleg.* B *εὕρεσις τῶν βουκολικῶν* b p. 3, 2 ff. Wendel (cp. *anecd. Estense* 3. 1 p. 7, 11 ff. Wendel, Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* p. 347 f. Lion, Diomed. *art. gramm.* 3 p. 486, 27 ff. Keil: Probus and Diomedes connect the custom with the cult of Diana *Lyaea* *ᾄδειν δέ φασιν αὐτοὺς ἄρτον ἐξηρτημένους θηρίων ἐν ἑαυτῷ πλέοναις τύποις ἔχοντα καὶ πήραν πανσπερμίας ἀνάπλεων καὶ οἶνον ἐν αἰγείῳ ἀσκῷ, σπονδὴν νέμοντας τοῖς ὑπαντῶσι, στέφανόν τε περικεῖσθαι καὶ κέρατα ἐλάφων προκεῖσθαι καὶ μετὰ χεῖρας ἔχειν λαγωβόλον. τὸν δὲ νικήσαντα λαμβάνειν τὸν τοῦ νενικημένου ἄρτον· κἀκεῖνον μὲν ἐπὶ τῆς τῶν Συρακουσίων μένειν πόλεως, τοὺς δὲ νενικημένους εἰς τὰς περιοικίδας χωρεῖν ἀγείροντας ἑαυτοῖς τὰς τροφάς· ᾄδειν* (so H. Schaefer for *διδόναι* codd.) *δὲ ἄλλα τινὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ γέλωτος ἐχόμενα καὶ εὐφημοῦντας ἐπιλέγειν· 'δέξαι τὰν ἀγαθὰν τύχαν, | δέξαι τὰν ὑγίειαν, | ἃν φέρομες παρὰ τᾶς* (so F. G. Schneidewin for *τῆς* E[b]. A.T. *τοῦ* K.) *θεοῦ, ἂν ἐκαλέσσατο* (*ἐκλελάσκετο* K. A. H. Ahrens cj. *ᾗ 'κελήσατο* C. Wendel cj. *ἐκλάσκετο* or *ἐλακήσατο*) *τήνα* (*carm. pop.* 42 Bergk[4], 45 Hiller—Crusius).

[4] ? cp. Athen. 646 E *ἔλαφος πλακοῦς ὁ τοῖς Ἐλαφηβολίοις ἀναπλασσόμενος διὰ σταιτὸς καὶ μέλιτος καὶ σησάμου.*

[5] Serv. *in* Verg. Aen. 2. 116 et sciendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi. unde, cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum, de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiuntur. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1079 ff. and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 95 n. 2 have made full collections of the literary evidence. Countless archaeological finds illustrate the same principle: see W. H. D. Rouse *Greek Votive Offerings* Cambridge 1902 p. 295 ff. To take a single case, the pig for sacrifice might be replaced by a dog dressed in a pig-skin (so on a red-figured *kýlix* at Vienna (Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 40 f. no. 321 fig. 24, F. Studniczka 'Ein Opferbetrug des Hermes' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 258 ff. fig., J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 25 pl. 33, 1)), or by a terra-cotta pig (so with those from the precinct of Demeter and Kore at Tegea (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* pp. xxxviii f., 78 no. B 46, A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath.*

Kylon's mistake suggests that already in the seventh century the Diasia was past its zenith. But popular rites die hard. Two hundred years later old-fashioned folk still thought of the family feast and the public fair. Aristophanes makes Strepsiades tell with gusto how once at the Diasia he roasted a haggis for his kinsmen[1], and how on a like occasion he spent an obol on a toy-cart for his little son[2]. This is the last that we hear of the festival for more than half a millennium. Then came Lucian with his marvellous talent for galvanizing the past into a semblance of life. In the *Ikaromenippos* Zeus asks 'why the Athenians had dropped the Diasia all those years[3].' In the *Timon* Hermes jogs the memory of Zeus himself:

'What, Father! Don't you know Timon—son of Echekratides, of Kollytos? Many's the time he's entertained us on perfect sacrifices, the wealthy *parvenu* of the whole hecatombs, with whom we used to feast like lords at the Diasia[4].'

In the *Charidemos* there is a reference to literary competitions at the same festival[5].

A stage more remote from the original facts was Eumathios Makrembolites, the Byzantine novelist (second half of *s.* xii A.D.) who penned the *Romance of Hysmine and Hysminias*. He laid its scene in the imaginary towns of Eurykomis and Aulikomis and dealt largely with the circumstances of the Diasia. The hero, Hysminias, wearing a bay-wreath, a long *chitón*, and sacred shoes[6], went as herald of Zeus from the former to the latter town, where he was received as a god[7] and entertained in the name of Zeus[8], but proved himself to be very human by falling in love with Hysmine the daughter of his host. She, however, was betrothed to another; and her parents, who had escorted the herald back to Eurykomis, offered there at the altar of Zeus a sacrifice for the future happiness of their daughter. Thereupon an eagle swooped down and carried off the sacrifice. The parents were much upset at this evil omen[9]. But some of the bystanders took it to be a most auspicious sign[10]. And a friend of Hysminias pointed out to him that he might be the eagle, and carry off the bride[11]—which he proceeded to do. We need not trace at greater length his rather banal escapades and adventures. But we should note that the god, whom he served so unworthily, is throughout spoken of as Zeus or Zeus *Pátrios*[12] or Zeus *Phílios*[13] or Zeus *Sotér*[14]

Mitth. 1879 iv. 171, 174, C. A. Hutton *Greek Terracotta Statuettes* London 1899 p. 3 f.) or from that of Persephone at Tarentum (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1886 vii. 24, W. H. D. Rouse *op. cit.* p. 301)), or even by a ham-shaped coin (so with the curious coppers from the fountain at Nîmes (L. de la Saussaye *Numismatique de la Gaule Narbonnaise* Blois 1842 p. 159 pl. 20, 36, G. Long in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 414 f. fig., A. Boutkowski *Dictionnaire Numismatique* Leipzig 1884 ii. 1. 1738 f. no. 2833 fig., E. Muret—M. A. Chabouillet *Catalogue des monnaies gauloises de la Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris 1889 p. 61 no. 2839, H. de la Tour *Atlas de monnaies gauloises* Paris 1892 no. 2839 pl. 7, G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 3 f. fig. 2, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 675 f.)).

[1] Aristoph. *nub.* 408 ff.
[2] *Id. ib.* 861 ff.
[3] Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24.
[4] Loukian. *Tim.* 7.
[5] Loukian. *Charid.* 1, cp. 3.
[6] Eumath. 1. 1 f., 1. 7, 4. 3, 4. 24, 5. 3, 8. 10, 8. 13, cp. 8. 19, 8. 21.
[7] *Id.* 1. 3 δέχομαι παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐχ ὡς κήρυξ, ἀλλ' ὡς θεός.
[8] *Id.* 1. 10 Διασίων καιρός, κατατρυφήσωμεν τὰ Διάσια· ὅλοι γευώμεθα τῆς ἑορτῆς, ὅλοι τῆς πανηγύρεως. Ζεὺς παρὰ τῇ τραπέζῃ, καὶ Διὸς τράπεζα, ὅτι καὶ ὁ κήρυξ οὗτος Διός: cp. 6. 2.
[9] *Id.* 6. 10.
[10] *Id.* 6. 11.
[11] *Id.* 6. 13.
[12] *Id.* 6. 10.
[13] *Id.* 3. 9, 5. 18.
[14] *Id.* 4. 2, 5. 15, 6. 2, 6. 15, cp. 1. 14.

or Zeus *Xénios*[1], but never as Zeus *Meilíchios*—a sufficient proof that the author, though he works up his material with some care, has not preserved to us a trustworthy record of Athenian cult.

The scholiast on Lucian, who here and there makes valuable remarks, tells us more than once that the Diasia was kept at Athens 'with gloomy looks,' such as befitted the worship of the dead[2]. This agrees well with other indications concerning the ritual of Zeus *Meilíchios*. An old Attic calendar, the lettering of which has been referred to the early part of *s.* V B.C., mentions 'sober' offerings to *Milíchios* side by side with offerings to Meter at some date before the end of Gamelion[3]. Now 'sober' offerings consisted in the main of honey[4], and were specially, though not exclusively, given to chthonian powers (Gaia[5], the *Bona Dea*[6], Dis[7], Hekate[8], the Eumenides[9], Kerberos[10]) and the souls of the dead[11]. The same might be said of the pigs sacrificed to Zeus *Meilíchios* at the Peiraieus[12] and by Xenophon 'in accordance with his ancestral custom[13].' In short, we have every reason to conclude that at Athens the cult of Zeus *Meilíchios* was essentially chthonian—the worship of a buried king, who during his life-time had been hailed as the sky-god incarnate and still was present to bless his people with increase of field and flock and family.

[1] Eumath. 5. 8 f., 5. 14 f., 6. 1 f., 6. 9, 11. 3.

At the altar of this deity, who is called indifferently Zeus Σωτήρ or Zeus Ξένιος, the parents sacrifice about the third watch of the night (*id.* 5. 15, 6. 5, 6. 14, 6. 16, cp. 10. 9).

[2] Schol. Loukian. *Icaromen.* 24 p. 107, 15 f. Rabe Διάσια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἣν ἐπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγνότητος θύοντες ἐν αὐτῷ Διὶ Μειλιχίῳ, *Tim.* 7 p. 110, 27 f. Rabe Διάσια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν οὕτω καλουμένη, ἣν εἰώθεσαν μετὰ στυγνότητός τινος ἐπιτελεῖν θύοντες Διὶ τῷ Μειλιχίῳ, *Tim.* 43 p. 117, 14 ff. Rabe ἀποφράς·...ἐτελεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα κατὰ τὸν Φεβρουάριον μῆνα, ὅτε καὶ τοῖς καταχθονίοις ἐνήγιζον. καὶ πᾶς οὖτος ὁ μὴν ἀνεῖτο τοῖς κατοιχομένοις μετὰ στυγνότητος πάντων προϊόντων † ἕτερον † τρόπον, ὃν καὶ τὰ Διάσια στυγνάζοντες ἄγουν Ἀθηναῖοι. M. du Soul marked ἕτερον as corrupt. T. Hemsterhusius cj. ἐνέρων. Graeven cj. οὐχ ἕτερον. O. Band *Die Attischen Diasien* Berlin 1883 p. 6 regards ἕτερον as euphemistic. If alteration is needed, perhaps we should read σκυθρωπότερον. Cp. Hesych. Διάσια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησι. καὶ σκυθρωποὺς ἀπὸ τῆς ἑορτῆς ἣν ἐπετέλουν μετά τινος στυγνότητος θύοντες, on which M. Schmidt acutely observes: 'Fortasse comicus dixerat βλέποντας Διάσια.'

[3] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 4 *A*, 3 ff., J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 1 ff. no. 1 A, 3 ff. Θάρ[γελοι? – – Διὶ Μ]ει[λ]ιχίοι : ε[– – – – – νεφ][ά](λι)α : Μετρὶ : [ἐν Ἄγρας – – –][.]σπυριχεια – – – – – – –. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 421 infers that Zeus *Milíchios* and Meter (=Demeter) were worshipped in or near Agra on the Ilissos: cp. *supra* p. 1118 n. 4.

[4] W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 64 n. 167, *id. Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 49 n. 199, W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 p. 144, *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 20 f.

[5] Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff.

[6] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 12. 25.

[7] Sil. It. 13. 415 f. For bees and honey in relation to Demeter and Persephone see *supra* i. 443 n. 6 f., ii. 1113 n. 0 no. (3).

[8] Ap. Rhod. 3. 1035 f.

[9] Aisch. *Eum.* 106 f., Soph. *O.C.* 98 ff., 480 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Paus. 2. 11. 4.

[10] Verg. *Aen.* 6. 417 ff., Souid. *s.v.* μελιτοῦττα=schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601.

[11] *Il.* 23. 170 f., *Od.* 10. 518 ff., 11. 26 ff., 24. 67 f., Aisch. *Pers.* 607 ff., Eur. *Or.* 114 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, *I.T.* 159 ff., 633 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 1271 ff., Souid. *s.v.* μελιτοῦττα=schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 601. See further H. Usener 'Milch und Honig' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1902 lvii. 177—195 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 398—417) and S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1914. No. 1) Kristiania 1915 pp. 102—105.

[12] *Supra* p. 1105.

[13] *Supra* p. 1107.

(8) Zeus *Meilichios* at Argos.

Outside Athens the cult of Zeus *Meilichios* seems to have borne a similar character. Thus at Argos there was a seated statue of Zeus *Meilichios*, made of white marble by Polykleitos (so it was said) to purify the people from the stain of kindred bloodshed[1]. Argive coppers of imperial date show several types of Zeus. Coins of Hadrian (fig. 961) and Lucius Verus give his head alone[2]. Others, struck by Antoninus Pius, Marcus Aurelius, and Lucius Verus (fig. 962), represent

Fig. 961.

Fig. 962.

Fig. 963.

Fig. 964.

him enthroned with a *phidle* in his right hand and a sceptre in his left[3]. Others of Septimius Severus and Plautilla (fig. 963) make him hold an eagle or a Nike in place of the *phiále*[4]. On others, again, struck by Hadrian, Marcus Aurelius (fig. 964), Septimius Severus, Iulia Domna, Plautilla, and Valerianus Senior, he stands, naked, with a sceptre in his right hand and an eagle at his feet[5]; while yet another, by Plautilla, figures him striding, naked, with eagle and thunderbolt in his hands[6]. F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner suggest that the Zeus enthroned with *phidle* and sceptre (fig. 962) may be Zeus *Meilichios*, and add that the head

[1] Paus. 2. 20. 1 f. with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.* The statue has been attributed to the elder Polykleitos by Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 168 no. 941 and *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 50 f. (but see *infra*), G. Löschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1878 xxxvi. 11 n. 12, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 486, to the younger Polykleitos by H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1857 i. 280 f. and in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1880 p. 469, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 508 f. (but see *supra*). Both attributions are called in question by C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 102, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk Sculpt.* p. 224, E. A. Gardner *A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 ii. 332 n. 1. To me it seems clear (1) that Pausanias meant the elder and more famous Polykleitos, but (2) that marble was an improbable material for such a statue by him, and (3) that an obvious ground for the false ascription of the seated Zeus to him lay in the fact that he was the sculptor of the seated Hera (*supra* i. 134 f.).

[2] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 36 pl. K, 27 = my fig. 961, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1082.

[3] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 25 = my fig. 962.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 26 = my fig. 963.

[5] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36 pl. K, 28 = my fig. 964, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 148 pl. 28, 10 Hadrian, p. 150 Septimius Severus (with wrong reference to pl. 28, 21), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 pl. 39, 13 Valerianus Senior, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 1083 Iulia Domna, Suppl. i. 1033 Septimius Severus, cp. 1034 Plautilla. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *loc. cit.*, *id.* in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 148 n.* cp. Paus. 2. 20. 3 τούτων δὲ ἀπαντικρὺ Νεμείου Διός ἐστιν ἱερόν, ἄγαλμα ὀρθὸν χαλκοῦν, τέχνη Λυσίππου (where H. C. Schubart cj. <τὸ> ἄγαλμα, but H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz and Kayser omit ἱερόν with cod. Leid. a).

[6] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36, Rasche *Lex. Num.* Suppl. i. 1034.

of Zeus (fig. 961) being 'decidedly fine and early' is perhaps 'a reminiscence of the head of Polycleitus' statue[1].' But, in view of the large number of Argive Zeuses[2], these conjectures are admittedly uncertain.

(9) Zeus *Meilichios* at Sikyon.

From Argos to Sikyon[3], as the crow flies, is less than five-and-twenty miles. But in their representation of Zeus *Meilichios* Argives and Sicyonians differed *toto caelo*. The former could boast a masterpiece shown to visitors as the work of Polykleitos himself; the latter were content with an artless pyramid, not even anthropomorphic[4]. Why Zeus was given this peculiar shape, we are not told.

[1] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 36.

[2] In addition to references already given (*supra* i. 117 Zeus 'Αφέσιος, 122 f. Zeus Λαρισαῖος, 134 f. Zeus as a cuckoo, 320 and 462 Zeus with three eyes, 448 and 456 Zeus Νέμειος, 461 Zeus Πανόπτης, ii. 704 ff. Zeus as a cuckoo, 712 ff. Zeus as partner of Hera, 875 n. 2 Zeus Φαλακρός, 892 n. 5 Zeus Λαρισσαῖος, Λαρισσεύς) see Paus. 2. 19. 7 Δαναὸς δὲ ταῦτά τε ἀνέθηκε καὶ πλησίον κίονας ἓξ < > Διὸς καὶ 'Αρτέμιδος ξόανον (so most MSS. and H. C. Schubart, who indicated the *lacuna*: he is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner. Some of the older editors read ἐς Διός with cod. Paris c. H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz, L. Dindorf, and F. Spiro print καὶ Διὸς after cod. Vindob. a. Clavier cj. ὡς Διός. A. Kuhn cj. ξόανα) where we should perhaps correct ἐκ Διὸς <κελεύσματος> (cp. *supra* i. 371 n. 1) and suppose a pillar-cult of some sort, 2. 19. 8 βωμὸς Τετίου Διός (*infra* § 9 (h)), 2. 20. 6 καὶ Διὸς ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερὸν Σωτῆρος, 2. 21. 2 πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ πεποίηται Διὸς Φυξίου βωμός, 2. 22. 2 πέραν δὲ τοῦ τάφου (*sc.* of Pelasgos) χαλκεῖόν ἐστιν οὐ μέγα, ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα 'Αρτέμιδος καὶ Διὸς καὶ 'Αθηνᾶς. Λυκέας μὲν οὖν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν ἐποίησε Μηχανέως τὸ ἄγαλμα εἶναι Διός, καὶ 'Αργείων ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ "Ιλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμενεῖν (so H. C. Schubart—E. C. Walz for παραμένειν codd.) πολεμοῦντας, ἕστ' ἂν ἡ τὸ "Ιλιον ἕλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτὴ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ· ἑτέροις δέ ἐστιν εἰρημένον ὅστᾳ ἐν τῷ χαλκείῳ κεῖσθαι Ταντάλου. The word χαλκεῖον, which has been much misunderstood (see H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*), presumably means a bronze *cista*. On the lid of it stood three archaic figures—an arrangement familiar to us from extant specimens (*e.g.* the 'Ficoroni'-*cista*, on which see Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* ii. 14 ff. pl. 2, P. O. Brondsted *den Ficoroniske Cista* Kjöbenhavn 1847, E. Braun *Die Ficoronische Cista des collegio Romano* Leipzig 1849, O. Jahn *Die Ficoronische Cista* Leipzig 1852, Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 453 f. fig. 500, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 148 f. fig. 146; the handle of another *cista* from Palestrina in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 106 no. 643). Lykeas, as an Argive poet (Paus. 1. 13. 8 f., 2. 19. 5, 2. 23. 8), followed local tradition. And it is possible that the bones in the *cista* really were those of some early chieftain worshipped after his death as Zeus Μηχανεύς (for whom see *infra* § 9 (h) i). Argive inscriptions further allude to the cult of Zeus Νέμειος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 602, 14 ff. καὶ θύσαν|τα τῶ Διὶ τῶ Νεμείω ἑκατόμ|βην, *ib.* no. 606, 11 f. = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1123, 12 f. = W. Prellwitz in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 1. 131 f. no. 3293, 12 f. θύσαντά τε καὶ τῶ Διὶ τῶ Νεμείω ἑκα|τόνβαν πρῶτον καὶ μόνον) and Zeus "Υψιστος (*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 620, 4 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 465. 8 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 286. 8 cited *supra* p. 878 n. 0 no. (4)).

[3] I pass by Epidauros, because the evidence for a cult of Zeus *Meilichios* in that town is small—in fact depends on the suggested interpretation of a single letter. See J. Baunack 'Zu den Inschriften aus Epidauros' in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 37: 'Nr. 125 h. bei K. [= P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 p. 57] nur 'Αφροδίτας μιλιχίας. Bl. (Askl. S. 123) [= C. Blinkenberg *Asklepios og hans fraender i Hieron ved Epidauros* Kobenhavn 1893 p. 123 no. 7] merkt darauf einen Zwischenraum von etwa 2 Zeichen an und hierauf ein Δ, was er ansprechend als den Anfang einer zweiten Inschrift Δ[ιὸς μιλιχίου] erklärt,' *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1272 in letters of *s.* iii B.C. ΑΦΡΟΔΙΤΑΣΜΙΛΙΧΙΑΣ| |ΔΣΝ = 'Αφροδίτας Μιλιχίας. Δι[ὸς Μιλιχίου].

[4] Paus. 2. 9. 6 cited *supra* i. 520 n. 2.

I do not, of course, mean to imply that the Sicyonians were averse from the Zeus-types

It is tempting to conjecture that his pyramid betokened a buried king. For tombs of pyramidal form occur sporadically from Egypt to Italy[1]; and, if Eumelos

of later art. A 'third brass' of Geta shows Zeus seated with a *phiále* in his right hand, a sceptre in his left (Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 912, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 29). A copper of Caracalla (?) has CI KVW N Zeus standing to the left, naked, with thunderbolt in right hand, sceptre in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 55, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 29 pl. H, 10=my fig. 965): cp. the obverse type of a *quasi*-autonomous coin in *Nummismata antiqua* in tres partes divisa, collegit Thomas Pembrochiæ et Montis Gomerici comes Londinii 1746 ii pl. 28, 11, Rasche *Lex. Num.* viii. 910 Zeus standing, naked, with Nike in his right hand and a sceptre in his left. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *loc. cit.* rightly see in the British Museum coin an illustration of Paus. 2. 9. 6 *τῆς δὲ ἀγορᾶς ἐστιν ἐν τῷ ὑπαίθρῳ Ζεὺς χαλκοῦς, τέχνη Ἀνσίππου* (cp. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 151 f.).

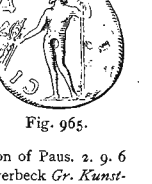


Fig. 965.

[1] A good collection of evidence is got together by R. Rochette 'Sur la pyra, comme type de monument funéraire' in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France* Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres 1848 xvii. 388—401, who derives pyramidal tombs from pyramidal pyres. Without necessarily subscribing to this view, we may admit that pyres and similar structures of funerary import must be taken into account along with actual tombs. A rough classification of the relevant monuments according to form would include (*a*) stepped pyramids, (*b*) smooth-sided pyramids, (*c*) stepped pyramids on plinths, (*d*) smooth-sided pyramids on plinths. Examples are :—

(*a*) The stepped pyramid at Saqqâra built by Zosiri of the third dynasty (G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 359, E. A. Wallis Budge *A History of Egypt* London 1902 i. 193, 218 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *A History of Egypt* New York 1911 p. 113 f. fig. 63, E. Bell *The Architecture of Ancient Egypt* London 1915 p. 23 ff. fig.), or that at Riqqeh, whose occupant is unknown (G. Maspero *op. cit.*[4] p. 359 n. 3), or again that at Mêdûm built by Snofrûi the last king of the third dynasty, though this at least was probably meant to be cased with polished stone (G. Maspero *op. cit.*[4] p. 359 f. fig., E. A. Wallis Budge *op. cit.* ii. 24 f. fig., J. H. Breasted *op. cit.* p. 115 fig. 64, E. Bell *op. cit.* p. 25 f. fig.). The form has traceable antecedents, *viz.* the four-sided *tumulus* → the brick-built *mastaba* → the stone-built *mastaba* → a series of stone-built *mastaba* superposed = a stepped pyramid.

(*b*) The fully developed pyramids of Egypt, those of Kenchreai (A. Blouet etc. *Expédition scientifique de Morée* Paris 1833 ii. 92 pl. 55, 1—3, Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 212—214, v. 565 f.) and *Ligourio* near Epidauros (A. Blouet etc. *op. cit.* ii. 164 pl. 76, 2 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 233, v. 570), that at *Astros* in Kynouria (W. Vischer *Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* Basel 1857 p. 327), that of Cestius on the *via Ostiensis* (A. Schneider *Das alte Rom* Leipzig 1896 pl. 4, 15, O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 355, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 179 f.), if not also the one formerly existing near the Mausoleum of Hadrian and known to the middle ages, or earlier (Acron *in* Hor. *epod.* 9. 25), as the *sepulcrum Scipionis* or *Romuli* (O. Richter *op. cit.*[2] p. 280, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 659 f., H. Jordan *ib.* Berlin 1871 ii. 405 f.). A pyramid of the sort is grouped with a warrior or gladiator (*bustuarius*?) in two different gem-types (E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 755 fig. 898, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 65 no. 73, 5 pl. 65; Reinach *op. cit.* p. 83 no. 90 pl. 80).

(*c*) The stepped tomb of 'Kyros' on the site of Pasargadai (C. F. M. Texier *Description de l'Arménie, la Perse et la Mésopotamie* Paris 1852 ii. 152 ff. pls. 81—83, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 597 ff. figs. 375—377, J. Fergusson *A History of Architecture in all Countries*[3] London 1893 i. 196 ff. figs. 84—86) can hardly be said to have a plinth, but forms the starting-point for such edifices as the lion-tomb at Knidos (Sir C. T. Newton *A*

is to be trusted, the eponymous king Sikyon, son of Marathon son of Epopeus, came of a family in which we have already seen reason to suspect successive incarnations of Zeus[1]. To be sure, there were rival traditions with regard to Sikyon. Hesiod made him the son of Erechtheus[2]. Asios the Samian genealogist[3] took him to be the son of Metion son of Erechtheus, and this view was preferred by the Sicyonians themselves[4]. Finally, Ibykos deemed him the son of Pelops[5]. But the variants each and all suggest close connexion with Zeus. *Erechtheús*, the 'Cleaver,' was a cult-title of Zeus the lightning-god[6]. *Metíon* is

History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ London 1862—1863 i pls. 61—66, ii. 480—511, *id. Travels & Discoveries in the Levant* London 1865 ii. 214 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 214 ff. no. 1350, J. Fergusson *op. cit.*[3] i. 284 f. fig. 164, P. Gardner *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* London 1896 p. 224 ff. fig. 77), the Mausoleion of Halikarnassos, the stepped tomb at Mylasa (M. G. F. A. Comte de Choiseul-Gouffier *Voyage pittoresque de la Grèce* Paris 1782 i. 144 ff. pls. 85—89, *Antiquities of Ionia* published by the Society of Dilettanti London 1797 ii. 26 pls. 24—26, C. Fellows *An Account of Discoveries in Lycia* London 1841 p. 75 f. with pl.), and that near Delphoi (E. Dodwell *Views and Descriptions of Cyclopian, or, Pelasgic Remains, in Greece and Italy* London 1834 p. 20 pl. 36 f.).

(*d*) A good specimen of the smooth-sided pyramid on plinth is the tomb of 'Zechariah' in the Valley of Jehoshaphat near Jerusalem (T. H. Horne *Landscape Illustrations of the Bible* London 1836 i pl. 93 with text). See also *supra* i. 515 n. 5 fig. 388, ii. 814 f. fig. 781, cp. i. 600 ff. figs. 465—468.

Further cp. the pyramids built above the rock-cut tombs of the Maccabees at Modin (Macc. 1. 13. 25—30, Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 13. 6. 5, Euseb. *onomasticon de locis Hebraicis s.v.* Μοδεὶμ p. 290, 4 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey = Hieron. *de situ et noninibus locorum Hebraicorum s.v.* 'Modeim' p. 291, 6 ff. F. Larsow—G. Parthey: see V. Guérin *Description géographique, historique et archéologique de la Palestine* Paris 1868—1880 Seconde partie—Samarie ii. 55 ff. with two pls., Troisième partie—Galilée i. 47 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iv. 361), the three pyramids built near Jerusalem by Helene, sister and wife of Monobazos Bazaios king of Adiabene (Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 20. 4. 3, *bell. Iud.* 5. 2. 2, 5. 3. 3, 5. 4. 2, Paus. 8. 16. 5, Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 12. 3, Hieron. *epist.* 108. 9 (xxii. 883 Migne): see W. Otto in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2836 f.), the pyramid, decorated with Argive shields, beneath which the followers of Proitos and Akrisios were buried (Paus. 2. 25. 7), the pyramidal tombs built by Hieron ii at Agyrion in Sicily (Diod. 16. 83), those made for horses at Agrigentum (Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 155), the rock-cut 'Sepolcro Consolare' at Palazzola (Palazzuolo) above the Alban Lake (A. Nibby *Viaggio antiquario ne' contorni di Roma* Roma 1819 ii. 125 f.), the 'Sepolcro di Pompeo' or, as the folk of the district call it, 'di Ascanio' on the *via Appia* near Albano (A. Nibby *op. cit.* ii. 110—112), and another tomb near Capua (J. C. Richard de Saint-Non *Voyage pittoresque ou description des royaumes de Naples et de Sicile* Paris 1781—1786 ii. 249).

All these and other related types (cones etc.) ought to be made the subject of a thoroughgoing investigation. It would, no doubt, be found that the structures in question were produced by a combination of factors, some of practical exigency, some of symbolic significance. I shall content myself with suggesting that one root-idea was that of a mountain reaching up to heaven—an idea comparable with those of the sky-pillar (*supra* p. 44 ff.), the soul-ladder (*supra* p. 121 ff.), the stepped or spiral tower (*supra* p. 128 f.).

[1] *Supra* i. 245 ff.

[2] Hes. *frag.* 229 Flach, 102 Rzach *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

[3] E. Bethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1606, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1908 i. 125.

[4] Asios *frag.* 11 Kinkel *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

[5] Ibyk. *frag.* 48 Bergk[4] *ap.* Paus. 2. 6. 5.

[6] *Supra* p. 793.

but another form of *metieta, metióeis*, Zeus the 'Magician[1].' And Pelops too we have regarded as in some sense a human Zeus[2]. Nevertheless I should not insist on the Sicyonian pyramid as sepulchral in character; for it must not be forgotten that at Tegea the pyramid-on-pillar was a favourite type for the representation of deities in general[3].

(10) Zeus *Meilichios* at Tegea.

From Tegea comes a dedication, of *s.* ii B.C. or earlier, to Zeus *Melíchios*[4]. W. Immerwahr holds that the cult was of recent introduction[5]. But Tegea was an ancient Arcadian town[6], and there is some ground for thinking that the Tegeates, like the Athenians, recognised the divinity of their early kings. At Athens—it will be remembered—the dead king seems to have been known as Zeus *Sotér* or *Téleios*[7]; and at Tegea Zeus *Téleios* had an altar and a square image (presumably a pyramid-on-pillar) of the usual Arcadian type[8]. Moreover, there are scattered indications that something rather like the Erechtheion and its royal worship existed at one time in Tegea. Aleos, the founder of the town[9], was, like Erechtheus[10], a *quasi*-divine king, whose head as shown on autonomous coppers closely resembles that of Zeus (fig. 966)[11]. His house, like the house of Erechtheus, was still to be seen in Pausanias' time[12]. Again, Aleos instituted the cult of Athena *Aléa*[13] and established his kingdom in connexion with her sanctuary[14]. This suggests that he stood to her in the same sort of relation as Erechtheus to Athena *Poliás*. Further hints help to fill in the picture: Athena *Aléa* had a sacred couch in her temple[15], was served by a boy-priest[16], and on occasion received the

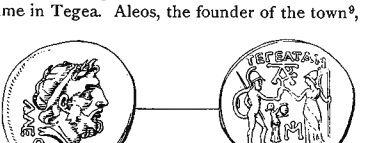


Fig. 966.

[1] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1. [2] *Supra* i. 139. [3] *Supra* i. 520 n. 1, ii. 814 f.

[4] O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 33 no. 49, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1092, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 90 Διὶ Μελιχί|ωι Μικύλο|ς ἀνέθηκε where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'Forma Λ et dativus in *-ωι* alterius, sed Μελ-pro Μειλ quarti potius saeculi a. Chr. esse videtur.'

[5] Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 30.

[6] There was another Τεγέα in Crete, founded by Talthybios (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τέγεα) or Agamemnon (Vell. Pat. 1. 1. 2). Conversely, Tegea in Arkadia had its ὄρος...Κρήσιον (Paus. 8. 44. 7).

[7] *Supra* p. 1123.

[8] Paus. 8. 48. 6 πεποίηται δὲ καὶ Διὸς Τελείου βωμὸς καὶ ἄγαλμα τετράγωνον· περισσῶς γὰρ δή τι τῷ σχήματι τούτῳ φαίνονταί μοι χαίρειν οἱ Ἀρκάδες.

[9] Paus. 8. 45. 1. [10] *Supra* p. 793 f.

[11] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 202 pl. 37, 19 (=my fig. 966), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 163, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 98, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Com. Paus.* ii. 108 f. pl. V, 23, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 455: autonomous copper struck after *c.* 146 B.C. *obv.* ΑΛΕΟΣ Bearded head of Aleos to right, wearing fillet; *rev.* ΤΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ Athena handing to Kepheus the hair of the Gorgon, while Sterope holds up a vase to receive it. In the field are two monograms.

[12] Paus. 8. 53. 10. [13] Paus. 8. 4. 8, 8. 45. 4.

[14] Paus. 8. 4. 8. [15] Paus. 8. 47. 2.

[16] Paus. 8. 47. 3 ἱερᾶται δὲ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ παῖς χρόνον οὐκ οἶδα ὅσον τινά, πρὶν δὲ ἡβάσκειν καὶ οὐ πρόσω, τὴν ἱερωσύνην with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*

gift of a *péplos*[1]. Notice too that, just as the safety of Athens depended on the snake kept in the Erechtheion[2], so the safety of Tegea depended on a lock of Medousa's hair which Athena had given to Kepheus son of Aleos[3]. The coins represent Kepheus' daughter Sterope receiving it in a jar (fig. 966)[4]. And it is permissible to conjecture that both at Athens and at Tegea the original talisman[5] was the soul of the ancestral king living on as a snake[6] in his burial jar[7]. The comparison will even take us a step further. The perpetual lamp of the Erechtheion[8] was but a civilised form of the perpetual fire burning on the common hearth of a primitive folk[9]. Now Pausanias says: 'The Tegeates have also what they call the common hearth of the Arcadians.... The high place on which stand most of the altars of the Tegeates is called after Zeus *Klários*[10]: plainly the god got his surname from the lot (*klêros*) cast on behalf of the sons of Arkas. The Tegeates celebrate a festival here every year[11].' Zeus *Klários* gave his name to the first of the four Tegeate tribes *Klareôtis*, *Hippothoîtis*, *Apolloniâtis*, *Athaneâtis*[12]. But the legend of the lot is probably due to a mis-

[1] Paus. 8. 5. 3.

[2] Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 168—170 collects the evidence. The precise position of the snake's hole is doubtful (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 250 f., M. L. D'Ooge *The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 p. 209). H. N. Fowler in the *Papers of the American School of Classical Studies at Athens 1882—1883* Boston 1885 would seek it somewhere under the N. porch of the Erechtheion, a view approved by M. P. Nilsson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 329. Not improbably it is covered by the small round cistern of Turkish (?) origin still to be seen in the N.W. corner of the crypt beneath the N. porch (Πρακτικὰ τῆς ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἐρεχθείου ἐπιτροπῆς Athens 1853 pl. 3 = F. Thiersch in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1857* Philos.-philol. Classe viii pl. 3 will provide a coloured plan and section. See also P. Cavvadias—G. Kawerau *Die Ausgrabung der Akropolis* Athens 1907 pl. Γ', and the remarks of E. M. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 251 f., D'Ooge *op. cit.* p. 207).

[3] Paus. 8. 47. 5, cp. Apollod. 2. 7. 3, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Souid. *s.v.* πλόκιον Γοργάδος, Apostol. 14. 38.

[4] Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 203 pl. 37, 20, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 163, W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 European Greece p. 98, F. Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 108 pl. V, 22, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 455: *obv.* Head of Eileithyia (?) with torch at her shoulder; *rev.* [T]ΕΓΕΑΤΑΝ and type as above described. In the field are two monograms.

[5] For other classical examples see Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 433 f. and *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 317, *ib.*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 83 n. 1.

[6] K. Tümpel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1108 says 'βόστρυχος; ob vielmehr Schlange?'—an acute suggestion.

[7] *Supra* Append. H.

[8] Strab. 396, Plout. *v. Num.* 9, *v. Sull.* 13, Paus. 1. 26. 6 f., schol. *Od.* 19. 34.

[9] Sir J. G. Frazer 'The Prytaneum, the Temple of Vesta, the Vestals, Perpetual Fires' in the *Journal of Philology* 1885 xiv. 145 ff., *id. Pausanias* iv. 441 f., *id. Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 253 ff., *ib.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 174, *id. Totemism and Exogamy* London 1910 ii. 491, iii. 239.

[10] The high place in question (684[m] above sea-level) lies to the N. of the town and is now occupied by the modern village of Mertzaouzi. Another height (706[m]) to the N.W. of the town, the ancient citadel, is crowned by the village of Hagios Sostis (V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 541 with pl. 13).

[11] Paus. 8. 53. 9 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

[12] Paus. 8. 53. 6, *supra* p. 164 n. 6. G. Gilbert *Handbuch der griechischen Staatsalterthümer* Leipzig 1885 ii. 127 notes that, according to inscriptional evidence (*Corp.*

taken attempt to explain the title *Klários*, which has been better interpreted by F. Solmsen as 'god of the High Place' (*Klários* for **Krārios*)[1]. Be that as it may[2], Zeus *Klários* was not improbably the old divine king buried under the common hearth of his people. If such were really the beliefs of the Tegeates, the cult of Zeus *Meilichios*, whether imported or not, would flourish in their midst.

(11) Zeus *Meilichos* or *Milichos* in Boiotia.

At Orchomenos in Boiotia, the great stronghold of the Aeolian Minyai[3], Zeus was worshipped under the title *Meílichos*. Towards the close of the third century B.C. a certain Anticharidas, priest of the god, brought forward a decree for the construction of a fountain in or near his sanctuary, the *Meilíchion*, in order that persons sacrificing there might have a convenient supply of drinkable water[4]. The connexion with water recalls the *Meilíchios*-cults of Athens[5] and prepares us to find that here too Zeus was a chthonian god with fertilising powers. Now Orchomenos the eponym of the town is said to have been the son

inscr. Gr. i nos. 1513, 1514 = F. Bechtel in Collitz–Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 351 ff. no. 1231 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 888 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii. no. 36 and F. Bechtel *loc. cit.* i. 357 ff. no. 1246 = *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 38. Add *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 6, 83 and 89, ii nos. 39, 40, 41, 173, 174), the names of the tribes were ἐπ' Ἀθαναίαν, Κραριῶται, Ἱπποθοῖται, Ἀπολλωνιᾶται. On their topographical distribution see V. Bérard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1892 xvi. 549 with pl. 13.

[1] *Supra* p. 874 n. 2.

[2] *Alii aliter.* (1) M. Schmidt on Hesych. *κλάρες· αἱ ἐπὶ ἑδάφους* (so M. Musurus for *ἐδάφου*) *ἑσχάραι* suggests that Zeus Κλάριος of Tegea drew his title hence.

If Zeus Κλάριος was a god 'of Hearths,' his annual festival was presumably for the purpose of furnishing the people with new fire (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Index p. 271 f.). This adds significance to a curious incident in the history of the town. According to Paus. 8. 53. 10, the Lacedaemonians once marched against the Tegeates at the time of the festival: 'It was snowing, and the Lacedaemonians were cold and weary with the weight of their weapons. But the Tegeates unbeknown to them kindled a fire and, not being incommoded by the chill, got under arms, marched out against the Lacedaemonians, and beat them in the action.' According to Polyain. 1. 8, when the Lacedaemonians were attacking Tegea, Elnes (?) king of the Arcadians bade the men of military age to charge downhill against the enemy at midnight, but the old men and children to kindle a huge fire outside the town at the same hour. The Lacedaemonians turned in astonishment towards the glare, and so fell a prey to the onslaught from the height. Both accounts presuppose the fire-festival of Zeus Κλάριος.

(2) Immerwahr *Kult. Myth. Arkad.* p. 29 takes Zeus Κλάριος to be 'god of Branches,' *i.e.* of suppliant-boughs, cp. Hesych. †κλάριοι (Immerwahr rightly adopts M. Schmidt's cj. κλάροι)· κλάδοι and Aisch. *suppl.* 354 ff. ΠΕΛ. *ὁρῶ κλάδοισι νεοδρόποις κατάσκιον | νεύονθ' ὅμιλον τόνδ'* (so J. G. J. Hermann for *τῶνδ'*) *ἀγωνίων θεῶν* followed by 359 f. cited *supra* p. 874 n. 2.

[3] On the Minyai as Aeolians see A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1911 xliv. 2 f., 5, *ib.* 1914 xlvi. 70, 76 f., 85 ff., 93, 102 ff.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1568, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 191 no. 495 with i. 394, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3169, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 701, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 994 Δαμοσθίδαο ἄρχοντος, | ἰαρειάδδοντος | Ἀντιχαρίδαο Ἀ[θ]ανοδώρω, (ἀ π)όλις Διὶ Μειλί(χ)[υ.] | Ἀντιχαρίδας Ἀθανοδώρω ἐλ[ε]ἰξε· δεδόχθη τῦ δάμω, ὅπω[ς] ἔχω(ν)|θι τῶν πολιτάων τὺ (θ)ὀ(ο)ν(τ)ες ε[ν] | (τ)ῦ Μειλιχίν ο(ὗδ)ατι χρειεῖσθη [πο][τίμω, κατασκενάττη κ(ρ)[άναν] | ἐν τῦ ἰαρῦ εἰ πὰρ τὸ (ἰ)αρ[όν, εἰ κα] | δοκῖ ε[ν] καλλίστο[ι εἶμεν].

[5] *Supra* p. 1115 ff.

of Zeus[1] by the Danaid Hesione[2] or by Hermippe daughter of Boiotos[3]. Alleged descent from Zeus presupposes a line of kings believed to incarnate Zeus. Was one of them that Minyas, of Aeolian ancestry[4], whose name was attached by the Orchomenians to their famous prehistoric *thólos*[5]? It would seem so; for among the relics of funerary cult discovered by Schliemann within the *thólos*, relics ranging from 'Minoan' to Roman times[6], was a slab of white marble inscribed with a late dedication to Zeus *Téleios* and Hera *Teleía*[7]. The old pre-Greek king, whose underground cupola with its rosettes of glittering bronze mimicked the midnight sky[8], was indeed aptly succeeded by an Aeolian dynast reverenced as a nether Zeus[9]. With all the prestige of immemorial tradition behind him such an one would watch over the fortunes of his people. For instance, in or about the year 329 B.C., as we know from an inscription formerly (1868) to be seen in the court of the neighbouring monastery[10], Orchomenian troopers, who

[1] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 272, 31 ὁ Βοιώτιος δὲ τῷ τοῦ Διὸς Ὀρχομενῷ ἐπωνόμασται.

[2] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 230 Ἡσιόνης ('Ισιόνης cod. Paris.) δὲ τῆς Δαναοῦ καὶ Διὸς γίνεται Ὀρχομενός, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ἡ πόλις Ὀρχομενὸς καλεῖται (ἐκλήθη cod. Paris). Rufin. *recognit.* 10. 21 Hippodamiam et Isionen Danai filias (*sc.* vitiat Iupiter), quarum unam Hippodamiam <matrem (*inscrui*)> Olenus, Isionen vero Orchomenus sive Chryses habuit. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 939 f. conjectures that the mother's name was 'Ισονόη: but see G. Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1240.

[3] Schol. D. *Il.* 2. 511 τὸν ἐν τῇ Βοιωτίᾳ λέγει Ὀρχομενόν, τὸν ὑπὸ Μινυοῦ βασιλευθέντα, τὸν ὀνομασθέντα ἀπὸ Ὀρχομενοῦ τοῦ Διὸς υἱοῦ καὶ Ἑρμίππης τῆς Βοιωτοῦ.

[4] Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094 Αἰολίδην Μινύην with schol. *ad loc.* (cod. Paris.) Αἰολίδην δὲ τὸν Μινύαν λέγει, οὐχ ὡς ὄντα υἱὸν τοῦ Αἰόλου, ἀλλ' ὡς μητρόθεν ἀπ' ἐκείνου καταγόμενον. Σισύφου γὰρ τοῦ Αἰόλου παῖδες Ἅλμος καὶ Πορφυρίων, Χρυσογόνης δὲ τῆς Ἅλμου καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Μινύας. ὥστε ἐκ μητρὸς μὲν Αἰολίδης ὁ Μινύας, πατρὸς δὲ Ποσειδῶνος.

[5] The genealogy of Minyas is very variously given: see *in primis* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 80 τοῦτον δὲ τὸν Μινύαν οἱ μὲν Ὀρχομενοῦ γενεαλογοῦσιν, ὡς Φερεκύδης (*frag.* 84 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 92 Müller)), ἔνιοι δὲ ἔμπαλιν τὸν Ὀρχομενὸν Μινύου, ἔνιοι δὲ ἀμφοτέρους Ἐτεοκλέος γενεαλογοῦσι, Διονύσιος (*guis*? Perhaps the Rhodian, cp. schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 109, *Nem.* 3. 104) δὲ τὸν Μινύαν Ἄρεος ἀναγράφει, Ἀριστόδημος (*sc.* ὁ Ἀλεξανδρεύς, cp. schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 11) δὲ Ἀλεοῦ τὸν Μινύαν, καὶ τοὺς Ἀργοναύτας δὲ Μινύας ἐντεῦθεν γράφει προσηγορεῦσθαι with K. Tümpel's article in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3016 ff.

[6] H. Schliemann *Orchomenos* Leipzig 1881 p. 56 ff. = *id.* 'Exploration of the Boeotian Orchomenus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 137 ff., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 439 f., Frazer *Pausanias* v. 189, 191.

[7] H. Schliemann *Orchomenos* p. 58 = *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1881 ii. 139 ('a slab of marble broken on the left side, with the inscription:— ... ΕΙΩΗΡΑΤΕΛΕΙΑ which Professor Sayce [May he be forgiven! A.B.C.] holds to be the end of an hexameter'), *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3217 [.....Διὶ Τελ]είῳ, Ἥρᾳ Τελείᾳ.

[8] *Supra* i. 751 f.

[9] Notice *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3218 Orchomenos [.....τὸ]ν ἑαυτῶν γυμνασίαρχον | .....ιον Ἑρμῇ καὶ Μυΐᾳ, which proves a definite cult of Minyas. In 1889 a herm of white marble was found near the church of Haghios Charalambos on a small hill to the W. of Thespiai: beneath the *phallós* was inscribed τοι ἱεράρχαι ἀνέθεαν | τοι ἐφ' Ἵππωνος ἄρχοντος | τοῖς Δαιμόνεσσι· | κ.τ.λ. (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1895 xix. 375 ff. no. 28, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 752, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1102). This inscription (*c.* 300 B.C.) associates Hermes with certain Δαίμονες. May we venture to conclude that they were the souls of bygone Thespian kings?

[10] The monastery named after the Κοίμησις τῆς Θεοτόκου, the 'Falling Asleep of the Mother of God,' is believed to occupy the site of the ancient temple of the Charites (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 186, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 9. 38. 1, K. Baedeker *Greece* Leipsic 1889 p. 188, J. Murray *Handbook for Travellers in Greece*[7] London 1900 p. 562).

had served with Alexander the Great in Asia, returned home and testified their gratitude by a votive offering to Zeus *Sotér*[1].

At Thespiai, another ancient city of Boiotia, Zeus *Mîlichos* had a consort *Mîltche*[2]. Since Thespios, the eponymous hero of the place, was said to have been an Athenian and the son of Erechtheus[3], or of Teuthras son of Pandion[4], we may legitimately compare the cult with that of Zeus *Meilîchios* at Athens. Accordingly, we are not surprised to learn that Thespiai made much of Zeus *Saótes*, the local equivalent of Zeus *Sotér*. Pausanias heard all about him:

'The Thespians have in their town a bronze image of Zeus *Saótes*. The story they tell of it is this. Once upon a time, when a snake (*drákon*) was ravaging the town, the god commanded that every year a youth, chosen by lot, should be given to the monster. They do not, they say, remember the names of the victims who thus perished. But they add that, when the lot fell on Kleostratos, his lover Menestratos resorted to the following expedient. He had a bronze breastplate made with a fish-hook on each of its plates, pointing upwards. This breastplate he put on, and offered himself willingly to the snake; for he meant by his offering to kill the monster, though he died for it. Hence Zeus got the name of *Saótes* (the "Saviour")[5].'

So the Greeks had their own version of Slingsby and the Snapping Turtle! Indeed, the episode is but one variety of a world-wide myth, that of the dragon-slayer[6]. We must not, therefore, too hastily assume that the snake in question was the animal form of a divinised ancestor. Not improbably, however, the Boeotian Zeus *Saótes*, like the Elean *Sosípolis*[7], appeared on occasion as a snake, so that the old snake-myth, which originated elsewhere in a different connexion, would in Boiotia readily attach itself to the ancestral theriomorphic Zeus.

A relic of his cult has survived in a votive relief of white marble found at *Sialesi* and now in the Berlin collection (fig. 967)[8]. This monument, which might be good Attic work of the fourth century B.C., shows a bearded man and a boy approaching a cave in a rocky hill-side. The man holds an egg-shaped object, perhaps a honey-cake[9], in his raised right hand. And a large snake writhes out of the cave to get it. If *Sialesi* is rightly identified with the site of the ancient Eteonos[10] (later Skarphe), the cave may well represent the burying-

[1] P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1879 iii. 452 ff., R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 170 f. no. 470, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3206, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1112 [τοὶ ἱππόδη το]ὶ ἐν τὰν Ἀσία[ν] σ[τρατευσάμενοι βα|σιλεῖο]ς Ἀλεξάνδρω στραταγίοντος, ...|. οδωρίω βιλαρχίοντος, Διὶ Σωτῆρι ἀν[έθιαν · κ.τ.λ.].

[2] P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 ix. 404 no. 15, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 1814 Θυνοκλίδας Διονυ|σίω Διὶ Μιλίχυ κὴ Μι|λίχη (an inscription of *s.* ii or iii B.C.).

[3] Diod. 4. 29, Paus. 9. 26. 6 (with Thespia daughter of Asopos as alternative eponym).

[4] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Θέσπεια, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 266, 6 f.

[5] Paus. 9. 26. 7 f.

[6] See Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 9. 26. 7 and the authorities cited *supra* i. 178 n., 782.

[7] Paus. 6. 20. 5. See further C. Robert 'Sosipolis in Olympia' in the *Att. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 37—45 and the excellent article of L. Weniger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1222 ff.

[8] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 271 no. 724 fig., C. O. Müller—A. Schöll *Archaeologische Mittheilungen aus Griechenland* Frankfort a/M. 1843 p. 97 no. 103 ('Opfer an die (Asklepios-) Schlange für einen (kranken) Knaben'), R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 202 fig. ('Weihrelief an Zeus Meilichios'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 14 no. 1 ('Hommage au serpent d'Asklépios'), Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*[2] p. 20 f. fig. 5 and *Themis* p. 282 f. fig. 73. I am indebted to Miss Harrison for the photograph, from which my fig. 967 was drawn. Height 0·265^{m}, breadth 0·495^{m} to 0·505^{m}.

[9] So Harrison *Themis* p. 282.

[10] C. O. Müller—A. Schöll *loc. cit.*, *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin loc. cit.*

place of Oidipous in the sanctuary of Demeter. Lysimachos of Alexandreia[1] in his work on *Theban Marvels* wrote as follows[2]:

'When Oidipous died, his friends thought to bury him in Thebes. But the Thebans, holding that he was an impious person on account of the misfortunes which had befallen him in earlier times, prevented them from so doing. They carried him therefore to a certain place in Boiotia called Keos and buried him there. But the inhabitants of the village, being visited with sundry misfortunes, attributed them to the burying of Oidipous and bade his friends remove him

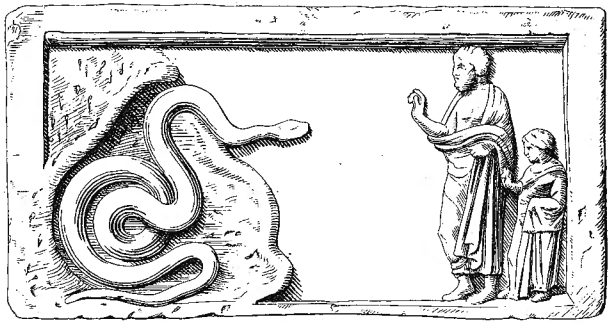


Fig. 967.

from their land. The friends, perplexed by these occurrences, took him up and brought him to Eteonos. Wishing to bury him secretly, they interred him by night in the sanctuary of Demeter—for they did not know the locality. When the facts transpired, the inhabitants of Eteonos asked the god what they should do. The god bade them not to move the suppliant of the goddess. So Oidipous is buried there, and'—adds Lysimachos—'the sanctuary is called the *Oidipódeion*.'

Demeter at Eteonos bore the surname *Euryódeia*[3] and was certainly an earth-goddess[4]. Oidipous, buried in her precinct with the honours due to a suppliant[5], would naturally be viewed as a beneficent chthonian power. In this capacity he would almost certainly be anguiform. Indeed, P. Kretschmer has argued that the name *Oidípous*, 'Swell-foot,' actually denoted a snake, being a euphemistic

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1911 ii. 1. 184.

[2] Lysimachos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 336 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 91, citing Arizelos, of whom nothing further is known (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 340 Müller).

[3] Hesych. Εὐρυόδεια· μεγαλάμφοδος (so Musurus for μεγαλάμφεδα cod.). καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ οὕτως ἐν Σκαρφείᾳ (so M. Schmidt for Σκαρφίᾳ cod.). καὶ ἡ γῆ.

[4] *Et. mag.* p. 396, 24 ff. εὐρυοδεία·...'ἀπὸ χθονὸς εὐρυοδείης' (*Il.* 16. 635, *Od.* 3. 453, 10. 149, cp. 11. 52), μέγα τὸ ἔδος ἐχούσης, ὃ ἐστιν ἔδρασμα. ἔστι δὲ ἐπίθετον τῆς γῆς.

Cp. schol. *Od.* 16. 118 Ἀρκείσιος Εὐρυοδίας (W. Dindorf cj. Εὐρυοδείας) καὶ Διὸς Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1796, 34 ἱστέον δὲ ὅτι γενεαλογοῦσι Διὸς μὲν καὶ Εὐρυοδίας Ἀρκείσιον, which presupposes a union of Zeus with the earth-goddess.

[5] Similarly in the Attic version Oidipous at Kolonos ἱκέτευεν ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῶν θεῶν Δήμητρος καὶ Ποσειδῶνος Ἱππίου (Androtion *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 374 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 16. 271. The passage continues καὶ Διός. ἀγόμενος < δὲ > ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ. But W. Dindorf, following J. T. Struve, *corr.* καὶ βίᾳ ἀγόμενος ὑπὸ Κρέοντος κ.τ.λ.).

appellation for the swollen coils of the creature appropriate to a chthonian hero[1].

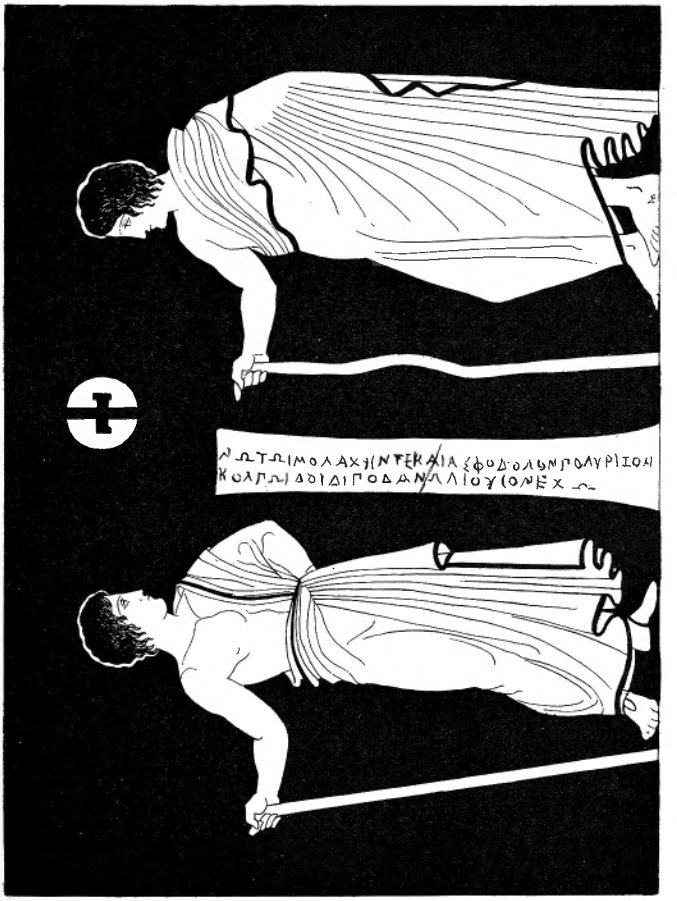


Fig. 968.

[1] P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 191 n. 3 'Οιδίπους erinnert an einen anderen rätselhaften mythischen Namen, den des frommen Sehers Μελάμπους: beides sind chthonische Heroen... Chthonische Wesen haben einen Schlangenleib statt der Füsse:... Sollten nicht "Schwellfuss" und "Schwarzfuss" euphemis-

Again, the buried hero would be responsible for the growth of all living things. The *Sialesi* relief shows the snake propitiated by a grown man and a growing boy—a sufficiently suggestive picture. Moreover, a red-figured *amphora* from Basilicata, now in the Naples collection (fig. 968)[1], represents two youths, with *himátia* and sticks, standing to right and left of a *stéle*, which marks the grave of Oidipous. In the background hangs a pair of *haltêres*[2], the sign of their devotion. But the most interesting feature of the design is the inscription on the *stéle*, a metrical couplet in which the grave apparently (though the speaker is not named) announces:

> Mallows and rooty asphodel upon my back I bear,
> And in my bosom Oidipodas, Laïos' son and heir[3].

Now mallows and asphodel were the common vegetable food of the Boeotian peasant, as we learn from a famous passage of Hesiod[4]. We may therefore reasonably regard this vase-painting as an illustration of the Boeotian *Oidipódeion*. And the more so, if—as seems probable—the dialect of the inscription contains sundry would-be Boeotisms[5].

It appears, then, that Oidipous in his grave played a part not easily distinguishable from that of Zeus *Meilíchios*[6]. There is, I think, that much of truth in a venturesome view advanced by O. Höfer, who after an exhaustive study of the hero's-myth and monuments comes to the tentative conclusion that Oidipous after all may be but a hypostasis of the chthonian Zeus[7]. Sophokles knew what he was about in making the old king summoned hence by the

tische Bezeichnungen des schwarzen geschwollenen Schlangenleibes sein, welcher diesen Heroen natürlich genommen wurde, als sie zu Held:en der Dichtung wurden?'

[1] Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 415 f. no. 2868 pl. 7, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1833 ix pl. 28, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 86 ff. pl. 36, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 18 ff. pl. 315. Fig. 968 is copied from Millingen's coloured plate and Heydemann's facsimile of the inscription.

[2] Heydemann *loc. cit.* says 'ein Ball.'

[3] *νώτωι <μὲν> μολάχην τε καὶ ἀσφόδολον πολύριζον | κόλπωι δ' Οἰδιπόδαν Λαΐου <υ>ἱὸν ἔχω* (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 120). A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8429 quotes Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1698, 25 ff. *ἐφυτεύετο ἐν τοῖς τάφοις τὸ τοιοῦτον φυτόν* (*sc.* *ὁ ἀσφόδελος*), *ὡς δηλοῖ καί τι τῶν παρὰ τῷ Πορφυρίῳ ἐπιγραμμάτων λέγον ὡς ἀπό τινος τάφου ὅτι νώτῳ μὲν μαλάχην καὶ ἀσφόδελον πολύριζον, κόλπῳ δὲ τὸν δεῖνα ἔχω* and surmises that Porphyrios found the epigram in the Aristotelian *péplos* (see Eustath. *in Il.* p. 285, 24 f.)—a view already put forward by Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. cxxiv n. 914. Boeckh *loc. cit.* further cp. Auson. *epitaph.* 21. 1 f. (p. 79 Peiper) Hippothoum Pyleumque tenet gremio infima tellus: | caulibus et malvis terga superna virent, whence E. Curtius would read *Ἱππόθοόν τ' ἠδὲ Πύλαιον* for *τὸν δεῖνα* in Eustath. *loc. cit.*

[4] Hes. *o.d.* 41 with K. W. Goettling—J. Flach *ad loc.*, and H. G. Evelyn White in the *Class. Quart.* 1920 xiv. 128 f.

[5] *μολάχην* for *μαλάχην*, *ἀσφόδολον* for *ἀσφόδελον*, *Οἰδιπόδαν* for *Οἰδιπόδην*, if not also (as Dr P. Giles suggests to me), *Λαΐο*=*Λαΐω* for *Λαΐου*. J. Millingen *loc. cit.* p. 87 n. 5 says 'according to the Æolic dialect'; P. Kretschmer *op. cit.* p. 224 f., 'in attischem Dialekt,'—regarding *μολάχην* as a blend of *μαλάχην* and *μολόχην* (Athen. 58D), *ἀσφόδολον* as a case of vulgar assimilation. *Decernant peritiores.*

[6] Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 1329 an inscription in lettering of *s.* ii B.C. found at *Akketsi* near Thebes *Ανσίμαχο[s] | Μειλιχίοις.*

[7] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 743 'Ist Oidipus vielleicht eine Hypostase des *Ζεὺς χθόνιος*?' This suggestion should not be tossed on one side till the evidence adduced *ib.* p. 741 ff. has been carefully weighed.

thunders of Zeus *Chthónios*[1]. When the moment of departure comes and Theseus remains 'holding his hand before his face to screen his eyes, as if some dread sight had been seen, and such as none might endure to behold[2],' the poet with consummate tact leaves the secret untold. But the mythologist may be forgiven, if he hazards the conjecture that Oidipous was then and there transformed into a snake.

(12) Zeus *Meilíchios* in Thessaly.

The demolition of a mosque at Larissa in Thessaly brought to light two fragments of an Ionic architrave inscribed as follows[3]:

> Makon, son of Omphalion, (dedicated) the temple
> to Zeus *Meilíchios* and to *Enhodía*[4] and to the City[5].

The cult of the chthonian Zeus here had civic importance, and may fairly be connected with the founder of the state, Akrisios[6], who—struck on the foot and slain by the *dískos* of Perseus—was buried in a *heróion* outside the town[7] or else in the temple of Athena on the akropolis[8]. Akrisios was represented by Attic vase-painters of *s.* v B.C. as a bearded king, twice with a long sceptre[9], once with a long staff and a wreath of olive[10]. He had a divine doublet in Akrisias, the

[1] Soph. *O. C.* 1606 *κτύπησε μὲν Ζεὺς Χθόνιος κ.τ.λ.* *Supra* p. 805 n. 6.

[2] Soph. *O. C.* 1650 ff.

[3] *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 336, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 ii. 79, *id. Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 346, G. Fougères in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 392 no. 9, *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 578 Μάκων Ὀμφαλίωνος τὸν να[ὸν] | Διὶ Μειλιχίωι καὶ Ἐνοδίᾳ καὶ Πό[λει].

[4] For this appellation of Hekate at Larissa cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 575, 2 f. εὔξατο: δ' Ἀγέ[τ]ορ | ραστικὰι : Ἐνοδίαι.

[5] Cp. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 31, 2 (Hypata) Ἑρμᾶι καὶ τᾶι πόλε[ι], no. 94, 5 (Larissa Kremaste) Ἑρμᾶι καὶ τᾶι πόλει.

[6] Hellanikos *frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 49 Müller) ap. schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 40 = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1156, 25 f., Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀδρισσα.

[7] Pherekyd. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1091 = Eudok. *viol.* 40 = Favorin. *lex.* p. 99, 16 ff., Apollod. 2. 4. 4, cp. Paus. 2. 16. 2. Hyg. *fab.* 63 lays the scene in Seriphos and makes Akrisios struck on the head, cp. *fab.* 273. Further confusion in Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 255 = Myth. Vat. 2. 111 (Perseus hurls the Gorgon's head at Akrisios and turns him into stone!).

[8] Antiochos *frag.* 15 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 184 Müller) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 45. 1 p. 34, 9 f. Stählin.

[9] (1) On a red-figured *kratér* from Caere, now at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 281 ff. no. 1723, E. Gerhard *Danae, ein griechisches Vasenbild* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xiv) Berlin 1854 with col. pl., Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 275 ff. pl. 17, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 406 f., 411 f. Atlas pl. 6, 2 f., Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 405 f. fig. 447 f., P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 396 f., J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 94 ('The Foundry Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i 458 f. no. 17).

(2) On another red-figured *kratér* from Caere, now at Petrograd (Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 139 ff. no. 1357, F. T. Welcker in the *Mon. ed. Ann. d. Inst.* 1856 p. 37 f. pl. 8, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 283 ff. pl. 17, 2, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 412 f. Atlas pl. 6, 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 244, 1, J. D. Beazley in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1911–1912 xviii. 226 no. 16 and *op. cit.* p. 46 f. fig. 28 ('The Eucharides Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 359 no. 20).

[10] On a red-figured *hydría* at Boston (P. Hartwig 'Danaé dans le coffre' in the *Mon.*

Phrygian Kronos[1]. It seems probable, therefore, that Akrisios was the royal embodiment of a sky-god[2]. And the story of his death from the *dískos* of Perseus, like that of Hyakinthos' death from the *dískos* of Apollon[3], is best explained as a genuine solar myth[4]. Whether Akrisios or Akrisias, as O. Gruppe supposes[5], was originally a mountain-god, is doubtful[6]. Still more so is Gruppe's attempt[7] to equate him with *Arkésios* or *Arkelsios*, a clipped form of *Arkesílaos*[8], god of the underworld[9]. Ruling out such questionable possibilities, we must yet concede that Akrisios was likely enough to live on in the popular memory as a buried beneficent Zeus.

(13) Zeus *Meilíchios* in the Archipelago, Asia Minor, etc.

The cult of Zeus *Meilíchios* was wide-spread in the islands of the Archipelago. Rock-cut inscriptions at Thera show that Zeus *Melíchios* was adored by the intimates of a certain Polyxenos[10] and that *Melíchios* received the offering of a 'singed' victim[11]. Boundary-stones inscribed 'Of Zeus *Meilíchios*' have been found at *Palaiopolis* in Andros[12], at Arkesine in Amorgos[13], and in the district of

Piot 1903 x. 55—59 pl. 8, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 51 f. fig. 32 ('The Painter of the Diogenes Amphora'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 206 no. 1).

[1] Hesych. 'Ακρισίας· Κρόνος, παρὰ Φρυξίν.

[2] On Kronos as a sky-god see *supra* p. 548 ff.

[3] Greve in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2760, G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 305, S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 9 f.

[4] *Pace* S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* p. 16.

[5] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 182 n. 2, 1105 n. 1 starting from *ἄκρις=ocris* derives 'Ακρίσιος from the former, *Ocrisia* from the latter and cp. Hesych. 'Ακρία· ἡ 'Αθηνᾶ ἐν "Αργει, ἐπί τινος ἄκρας ἱδρυμένη, ἀφ' ἧς καὶ 'Ακρίσιος (so Musurus for ὀκρίσιος. M. Schmidt suggests ὁ 'Ακρίσιος) ὠνομάσθη. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἡ "Ηρα καὶ "Αρτεμις καὶ 'Αφροδίτη προσαγορευομένη ἐν "Αργει, κατὰ τὸ ὅμοιον ἐπ' ἄκρῳ ἱδρυμέναι, cp. Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 52, 40 f. 'Ακρίσιος· ὁ ἥρως, ἀπὸ τῆς ἐν τῷ "Αργει ἄκρας. οὕτως Μεθόδιος.

[6] A. Fick *Die ehemalige Spracheinheit der Indogermanen Europas* Göttingen 1873 p. 411 proposed to connect the Phrygian 'Ακρισίας with Hesych. ἀκριστιν· κλέπτριαν (C. A. Lobeck cj. πέπτριαν). ἀλετρίδα. Φρύγες. This, though groping in the dark, is better than *et. mag.* p. 52, 41 f. ὁ δὲ "Ωρος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀκρίζω 'Ακρίσιος, ὡς παρὰ τὸ θαυμάζω θαυμάσιος. ἢ παρὰ τὸ κρίσις κρίσιος, καὶ ἀκρίσιος, ὁ ἄκριτος καὶ ὠμός. [ἀκρίζω δὲ σημαίνει τὸ ἄκροις ποσὶ πορεύεσθαι· κ.τ.λ.].

[7] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 253, 778, 1105 n. 1.

[8] A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1906 xxx. 279: 'Αρκείσιος [*Od.* 14. 182, 16. 118, *alib.*] würde richtig 'Αρκέσσιος='Αρκεσίλαος heissen; den anlass zu der entstehung gab der schreibung mit *einem σ*.'

[9] Cp. *et. mag.* p. 144, 33 ff. cited *supra* p. 549 n. 1.

[10] With *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1316 Ζεὺς Μηλί]χιος τῶν | περὶ Πολύ̣ξενο|ν (fig.) cp. the other rock-cut inscriptions from the same locality *ib.* no. 1317 Ζε(ὺ)ς | τ[ῶ]ν περ[ὶ Λ]άκιον and *ib.* no. 1318 Ζεὺς | τῶν περὶ 'Ολ[υμ]]πιόδωρον. *Supra* i. 144 n. 2 with i. 143 n. 13.

[11] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 406 (*supra* i. 144 n. 1).

[12] E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 9 f. no. 4=*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 727 on a large unworked stone ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΕΛΙΧΙΟ (fig.)=Διὸς | Με(ι)λιχίο(υ). E. Pernice and F. Hiller von Gaertringen *locc. citt.* regard the line after O as a mere crack.

[13] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 89 on a rough stone in letters of *s.* iii or iv B.C. [Δι]ὸς Μειλιχίου, *ib.* no. 90 on a fragmentary slab of marble with lower moulding [Διὸς Μει]λιχίου. Note also *ib.* no. 92 on a small white marble base of Roman date Διὸς Σωτῆρος, *ib.* no. 93 on a broken block of bluish marble in letters of *s.* iii B.C. Διὸς | Σωτῆρο[ς], *ib.* no. 94 on a fragment of rough bluish marble Διὶ Τελ[είωι], *ib.* no. 91 on a large marble slab

Saint Anna beyond *Bounáki* at Chios[1]. A dedication to the same god has been recorded at Chalkis in Euboia[2]. Nisyros had its sect of Diosmilichiastai[3], and Crete a joint-cult of Zeus *Melíchios* and Hera *Melichía*[4].

Our search might be extended eastwards into Asia Minor and Egypt, westwards into Sicily and Italy. An altar 'Of Zeus *Meil*[*ichios*],' discovered at Knidos by Sir Charles Newton, is now in the British Museum[5]. Xenophon sacrificed pigs to Zeus *Meilichios* at Ophrynion[6]: but we have no reason to think that there was a local cult of this deity. Achilleus Tatios (*?s.* vi. A.D.[7]) brings Kleitophon and Leukippe, the hero and heroine of his novel, to Alexandreia, his own native town.

ΔΙΟΣΑΝΑΛΩΙΟΥ = Διὸς Ἀνα(δ)ώ(τ)ου, 'of Zeus who sendeth up his Gifts from Below'—an obviously chthonian god (cp. *supra* p. 321 n. 1).

Other Zeus-cults of the same town: *ib.* no. 88 on a rough altar of bluish marble in letters of *s.* iv B.C. [Δ]ιὸς Ἀποτροπαίο (cp. P. Kabbadias *Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 56 no. 119=*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1285 Epidauros, not later than *s.* iii B.C. Διὸς Ἀποτροπαίου, O. Rayet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1887 i. 107 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 839 B, 19 f., C, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1014 *b*, 69 f., *c*, 114 ff. Erythrai, a sale of priesthoods dating from the first half of *s.* iii B.C. Διὸς | Ἀποτροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀποτροπαίας [Ⅎ]ⱶⱶ, ἐπώνιον· ⱶ[ⱶ] and Διὸ[ς] | [Ἀποτ]ροπαίου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς Ἀποτ[ρο]|[παί]ας ⱶⱶ[Ⅎ], ἐπωνίου [Γ]), *ib.* no. 95 a metrical inscription on a marble slab Μνημοσύνης καὶ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμ[πίου ἀγλαὰ τέκνα cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 33. 1], | *κ.τ.λ.*, *supra* i. 194 f.

[1] A. G. Paspates Τὸ Χιακὸν γλωσσάριον Athens 1888 p. 421 f. no. 58 on Chian marble ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΙΛΙΧΙ [. .]=Διὸς | Μιλιχί[ου].

At *Mestá*, six kilometers S.E. of the capital, is a place still called *Olýmpi*, where was a cult of Zeus *Olýmpios* and Herakles (Paspates *op. cit.* p. 410 no. 24 Διὸς Ὀλυ[μπίου] | καὶ Ἡρακλέ[ους]).

[2] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2150 ΕΡΜΙΩΝΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥΔΙΛΙΟΝΙ which A. Boeckh *ad loc.* would read as Ἑρμίων Μειλιχί(ωι) Δι(ὶ ἀ)ν(ὲ)[θηκεν].

[3] A. E. Kontoleon in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1890 xv. 134, S. Reinach *Chroniques d'Orient* Paris 1891 p. 702, *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 104 a cylindrical base of white marble now serving as pedestal for an *eikón* in the church at *Mandráki* I ff. Γνωμαγόραν Δωροθέου | Νεισύριον | *κ.τ.λ.*, *ib.* 13 ff. καὶ στεφανωθέντα ὑπὸ Ἑρμαϊζόντων χ|ρυσέοις στεφάνοις πλεονάκις, καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀφρο|δισιαστᾶν Σύρων καὶ ὑπὸ Διὸς Μιλιχιαστᾶν, | [καὶ] τειμαθέντα ὑπὸ αὐτῶν καὶ στεφανω|θέν[τα ὑπὸ Διον]υσιαστᾶν Εὐ[ρυθεμιδ]έων τῶν σὺν | [τῷ δεῖνι – – –]. I should prefer to read (with Kontoleon and Reinach) Διοσμιλιχιαστᾶν, cp. Διοσταβυριαστᾶν (*supra* p. 924 f. n. 0).

[4] F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di antichità classica* 1890 iii. 621 f. no. 39 Hierapytna = J. Baunack in *Philologus* 1889 xlviii. 399 f. no. 3 Herakleion, a small altar inscribed ΖΗΝΙΜΗΛΙ | ΧΙΩΚΑΗΡΑ | ΜΗΛΙΧΙΑ | CΩΤΑCΥΠΕ ΡΠΑΡΔΑΛΑ | ЄΥΧΗΝ = Ζηνὶ Μηλι|χίῳ κα(ὶ) Ἥρᾳ | Μηλιχίᾳ. | Σώτας ὑπὲ|ρ Παρδάλα | εὐχήν.

[5] Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* London 1862—1863 i pl. 92 no. 40, ii. 755 (cp. 470) no. 40, R. Schoell in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1887 xlii. 478 ff., E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iv. i. 24 f. Oxford 1893 no. 817. Newton, followed by Schoell, read ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ as Διὸς Μεγ[ίστου]. But Hicks gives ΔΙΟΣ ΜΕΙ/ with Φ below ΔΙΟΣ and interprets as Διὸς Μειλ[ιχίου] with inventory number. In addition to this mark of ownership the altar bears a second inscription, which Schoell took to be a modified hexameter [ἀθα]νάτοις | [θυ]θεντα | [δα]μιουργὸς Ἀρ[πο]κρᾶ(s) ἱδρύσατο | βωμόν. Hicks reads [ἀθα]νάτοις | [θυ]θεντα | [δα]μιουργὸς Ἀρ|■ κράσ ζ ἱδρύσατο | βωμόν, and suggests with hesitation that ζ may be a numeral. He thinks that the name, Harpokras or the like, was substituted for that of an earlier dedicator. *Non liquet.*

[6] *Supra* p. 1107.

[7] W. Schmid in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 245.

'By a stroke of luck,' says Kleitophon[1], 'we happed upon a sacred month of the great god, whom the Greeks call Zeus and the Egyptians Serapis[2]. The festivities included a torch-lighting; and I saw that remarkable sight. It was evening and the sun sank. Yet night was nowhere to be seen. Another sun made its appearance, or rather the small change of that gold piece. There before my eyes was the city rivalling the sky in beauty. On the one hand I saw Zeus *Meilíchios*, on the other the temple of Zeus *Ouránios*[3]. So, after breathing a prayer to the great god and beseeching him that our troubles might at last come to a standstill, we reached the lodging hired for us by Menelaos.'

It may be inferred from this passage, not only that the Alexandrines had a statue of Zeus *Meilíchios* and a temple of Zeus *Ouránios*[4], but also that the former was a god of the underworld, the latter a god of the upperworld. Both are appropriately mentioned at a moment when the twinkling lamps below seemed to reflect the twinkling stars above. At Alaisa or Halaesa (*Castel Tusa*), founded or re-founded in 403 B.C. by the Sikel king Archonides ii[5] on the north coast of Sicily, an inscription records among other topographical features 'the road past the *Meilichieîon*[6].' And, finally, an Oscan road-makers' tablet of *c.* 200 B.C. from Pompeii states that the aediles M. Suttius and N. Pontius laid out the Via Pompeiana, now known as the *Strada Stabiana*, with a breadth of three perches as far as the temple or precinct of Iupiter *Milichius*[7].

Further indications of the cult might be sought in theophoric names[8] such as Meilichios, a magistrate of Hierapolis in Phrygia[9], or Meilichion, a woman of Elateia in Phokis[10].

[1] Ach. Tat. 5. 2. [2] *Supra* i. 188 ff.

[3] *ἐθεασάμην δὲ καὶ τὸν* Μειλίχιον *Δία, καὶ τὸν Διὸς Οὐρανίου* (so C. B. Hase, W. A. Hirschig, and S. Gaselee for *οὐράνιον* codd.) *νεών.*

[4] *Supra* i. 8, 565 n. 2, 647 n. 7.

[5] B. Niese in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 565.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5594 col. dextra, 15 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 352 i, 15 f. *κατὰ τᾶς ὁδοῦ τᾶς παρὰ τὸ* | Μειλιχιεῖον *ἐς τὸν ῥοῖσκον κ.τ.λ.*

Coppers of Alaisa, struck during Timoleon's war with the Carthaginians (340 B.C.), have *obv.* ΖΕΥΣ ΕΛΕΥΘΕΡΙΟΣ head of Zeus; *rev.* ΑΛΑΙΣΙΝΩΝ ΣΥΜΜΑΧΙΚΟΝ torch between two ears of corn (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 175, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 126). Coppers of the same town, struck after *c.* 241 B.C., have *obv.* a head of Zeus, usually to left, wearing a bay-wreath; *rev.* an eagle to left, standing with open wings (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 27, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 166 pl. 12, 6, Rasche *Lex. Num.* i. 269 f., Suppl. i. 425, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 126).

[7] H. Grassmann in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1867 xvi. 103, J. Zvetaieff *Sylloge inscriptionum Oscarum* Petropoli 1878 i. 41 ff. no. 62, 5 ff., ii pls. 10, no. 5, and 10[a], R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Cambridge 1897 i. 58 f. no. 39, 5 ff., C. D. Buck *A Grammar of Oscan and Umbrian* Boston 1904 p. 239 f. no. 3, 5 ff. ízssu vía Púmpaiiana ter|emnattens perek. III ant kaíla Iúveís Meeilikiieís (= iídem viam Pompeianam terminaverunt perticis III usque ad aedem (cp. *caeli templa* in De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'templum' § 2) Iovis Milichii).

[8] E. Sittig *De Graecorum nominibus theophoris* Halis Saxonum 1911 p. 15.

[9] Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 238 f. no. 21, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. lxvii ...ΙΑΛΟ[Σ] | ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΣ on the reverse, of a copper struck by Augustus.

[10] *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 no. 174 a cone of grey limestone found near the E. foundation-wall of the temple of Athena *Kranaía* at Elateia and now preserved in the local museum at *Drachmani*: the cone has a hole in its truncated top and is inscribed on the side ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΝ | ΔΑΜΟΣΤΡΑΤΑ | ΜΙΚΑ | ΧΟΙΡΙΝΑ = Μειλίχιο[ν], | Δαμοστράτα, | Μίκα, | Χοιρίνα. P. Paris in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1887 xi. 345 f. no. 15 at first read Μειλίχιο[ς], but concluded in favour of Μειλίχιο[ν].

(14) Conclusions with regard to Zeus *Meilichios*.

It remains to gather up the results of our enquiry. Early Greek kings, especially such as could claim descent from Aiolos, were held to be embodiments of the sky-god Zeus, and as weather-makers for the community bore a sceptre tipped with the lightning-bird. Even when dead and buried the king continued to help his people. He preserved and perpetuated the tribe (Zeus *Soter*). He brought its young folk to his own state of maturity (Zeus *Teleios*). He watched over its interests (Zeus *Epopsios*). Hence, like other chthonian powers, he was fitly addressed by a coaxing appellation—'the Kindly One' (Zeus *Meilichios*). Regents of this sort, at once human and divine, were, strictly speaking, *daimones* rather than *theoi*; and there is much to be said for O. Schrader's brilliant suggestion that in name, as in nature, they were the equivalent of the Latin *Lares*[1]. They are best described in two passages of poetry which, though separated by a thousand years, yet derive mutual support and illustration from each other, and serve to assure us that the belief common to both was latent, if not patent, throughout the whole course of Greek history. Hesiod, looking

[1] Schrader *Reallex.* p. 29: 'Es steht daher nichts im Wege, für δαίμων ein Grundform *δασι-μων anzusetzen, und den ersten Bestandteil dieses Wortes *δασι- unter Annahme eines bekannten Lautwandels (δάκρυμα: lacrima) dem lat. *lasi- (*lares, larium*) "Geist eines Verstorbenen" zu vergleichen.' The context rightly maintains that previous derivations (from δαήμων, 'knowing,' or from δαίομαι, 'I divide,' or from the Sanskrit root *div*, 'to shine') are all unsatisfactory. I regret to see that Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 103 and Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 162 still cling to δαίομαι.

The word *δασι-μων is perhaps related to the name Δάσιμος or Δάζιμος. Δάσιμος Πύρρου is engraved on a bronze helmet from Anxia (*Anzi*) now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 48 no. 317, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 547, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 272 no. 269, *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 655); and Δάζιμος Πύρρω, presumably a descendant of the same family, is mentioned in the bronze *tabulae Heracleenses* (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 645 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 88 no. 4629 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8, F. Solmsen *Inscriptiones Graecae ad inlustrandas dialectos selectae* Lipsiae 1905 no. 18 i, 5, 9, ii, 1, 5, 8). The *l*-form of this name occurs in ΛΑΣΙΜΟΣ ΕΓΡΑΨΕ, an inscription on an Apulian *amphora* from Canusium (*Canosa*) now in the Louvre (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8486, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1889 pl. 11, 3, Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 64 ff. Millin ii pl. 37 ff. with bibliography, P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 217 f.). The foregoing can hardly be separated from the definitely Messapian name ΔΑΞΙΜΑϚ (J. P. Droop in *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 139 f. fig. 1, 2 *Ceglie Messapica*) and the Grecised or Latinised Δάσιος (Appian. *Hannib.* 31 and 45), Δάζιος (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 68 no. 52 ΔΑΖΙΟΣ on a coin of Dyrrhachion, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 130 no. 1 f. ΔΑΞΟΥ on coins of Arpi, *ib.* p. 144 no. 4 ΔΑΞΕΝΙ and no. 6 ΔΑΞΥ on coins of Salapia, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 53 no. 1 pl. 4, 10 ΔΑΞΟΥ on a coin of Arpi), *Dasius, Dasumius*, etc. (De Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 568 f., R. S. Conway *The Italic Dialects* Camhridge 1897 ii. Index iii p. 566, F. Münzer, Stein and Groag in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2218 f., 2222 ff.).

A. Zimmermann in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1915 xlvii. 192 holds that the *-da of Larunda* is identical with the Δα- of Δαμάτηρ and regards *Larunda δαιμόνων μήτηρ* (G. Goetz—G. Gundermann in the *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888 ii. 121, 17) as a literal translation (cp. *eid. ib.* ii. 265, 62 *δαίμονες ἤτοι θεοὶ κατοικίδιοι· lares dicitur et lar*).

For a useful vindication of the view that the *Lares* were originally the souls of deified ancestors see Miss M. C. Waites 'The nature of the Lares and their representation in Roman art' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 241—261.

backward to the Golden Age when men lived 'as gods' and the soil was fruitful to the uttermost, says:

> But since the earth hath covered o'er this race
> They are *daímones* by the will of mighty Zeus,
> Good spirits that tread the ground and guard mankind,
> Givers of wealth—a guerdon meet for kings[1].

The late writer of an Orphic hymn strikes the self-same note:

> I bid the *daímon* to draw near, dread chief,
> The Kindly Zeus, begetter and life-giver,
> Great Zen, much-roaming[2], curse-bringer[3], king of all,
> Wealth-giving where he enters house full-force,
> Or now again chilling the poor man's blood.
> The keys of grief and gladness both are thine[4].

The *daímon*, in short, was the *theós* incarnate[5]. And the Agathos Daimon *par excellence* was Zeus *Meilíchios*.

APPENDIX N.

ZEUS *PHÍLIOS*.

It was pointed out by H. Usener[6] that every important conception of a god tends to express itself verbally in more ways than one. The result is a succession of divine appellatives, practical synonyms which vary from time to time and from place to place. In accordance with this principle we find the Greeks worshipping, not only Zeus *Meílichos* or *Meilíchios*, 'the Kindly One,' but also Zeus *Phílios*, 'the Friendly One.' The former title gradually became old-fashioned and wore out. The latter, with its appeal to the language of daily life, seemed more up-to-date, promised a business-like return, and consequently acquired a vogue of its own. Of course old centres remained more or less faithful to the old name, the connotation of which was enlarged in various directions. But new centres accepted, fixed, and popularised the novel epithet, which in its turn was filled with fresh meaning and expanded into an ever widening circle of applicability. Nevertheless Zeus *Phílios* was from the outset essentially akin to Zeus *Meilíchios*, as may be seen from a brief survey of the relevant monuments and literary allusions[7].

[1] Hes. *o.d.* 121 ff. cited *supra* p. 1130 n. 1.

[2] *Supra* p. 1096 n. 4.

[3] *Supra* p. 1098 n. 5.

[4] Orph. *h. daem.* 73. 1 ff. (ΔΑΙΜΟΝΟΣ, *θυμίαμα λίβανον*) *δαίμονα κικλήσκω πελάσαι ἠγήτορα φρικτόν, μειλίχιον Δία, παγγενέτην, βιοδώτορα θνητῶν, | Ζῆνα μέγαν, πολύπλαγκτον, ἀλάστορα, παμβασιλῆα, | πλουτοδότην, ὁπότ' ἂν γε βρυάζων οἶκον ἐσέλθῃ, | ἔμπαλι δὲ ψύχοντα βίον θνητῶν πολυμόχθων· | ἐν σοὶ γὰρ κλῆδες λύπης τε χαρᾶς τ' ὀχέονται.* *Supra* i. 504 n. 2, ii. 1098 n. 5.

[5] The relation of *δαίμων* to *θεός* is a thorny topic, which cannot be dismissed in a sentence, but must not here be pursued. See further J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 9 ff., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2010 f., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 587, 624, 657, *ead. Themis* pp. 307, 386.

[6] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 56 ff. ('Erneuerung des Begriffs').

[7] The evidence is well presented in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2305—2308 by that excellent enquirer O. Höfer, to whose article I am much indebted.

(1) **Zeus *Philios* at Athens.**

We begin with Athens. The priest of Zeus *Philios* was a personage of importance, who in the time of Augustus had a reserved seat at the theatre[1]. On the northern slope of the Nymphs' Hill, where—as we have already seen[2]—Zeus *Meilichios* was worshipped, Zeus *Philios* too had obtained a footing as far back as *s.* iv B.C. For here in the archonship of Hegesias (324—323 B.C.) certain *eranistai* or club-feasters dedicated to him a *stêle* of Pentelic marble bearing a relief (fig. 969)[3], which closely resembles the offering of [? Aris]toboule to Zeus *Meilichios* (fig. 943)[4]. The club-feasters too represent Zeus enthroned on the left with a *phiale* in his right hand, while a pig is brought to the altar before him. The pig is proof enough that Zeus *Philios*, despite the eagle at his side, was a chthonian god[5]—a god much like the Agathos Daimon, as Miss Harrison adroitly shows by figuring together this relief and another from Thespiai (fig. 951)[6]. But what—it will be asked—had feasters to do with a chthonian god

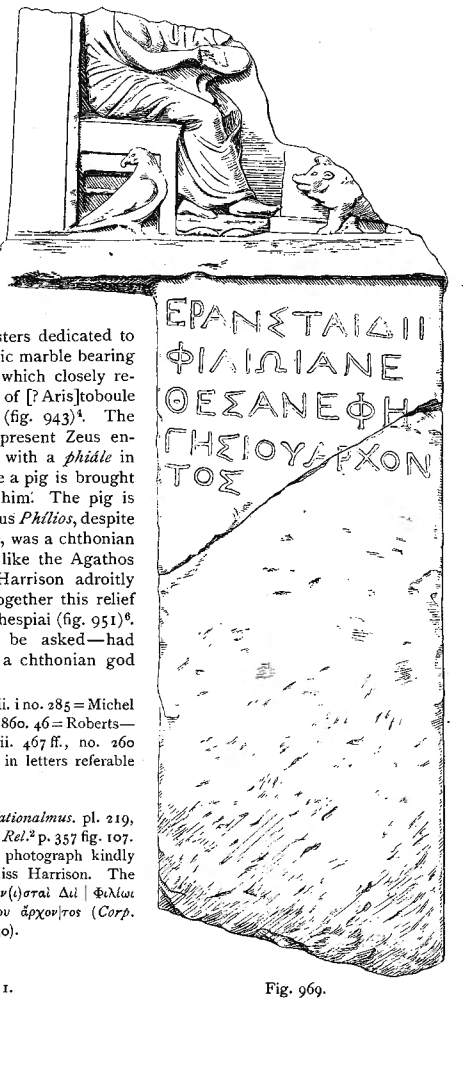


Fig. 969.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 285 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 46 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff., no. 260 ΙΕΡΕΩΣΔΙΟΣΦΙΛΙΟΥ in letters referable to the Augustan age.

[2] *Supra* p. 1114.

[3] Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 219, 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 357 fig. 107. My fig. 969 is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Miss Harrison. The *stêle* is inscribed: *ἐραν(ι)σταὶ Διὶ | Φιλίωι ἀνε|θεσαν ἐφ' Ἡ|γησίου ἄρχον|τος* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1330).

[4] *Supra* p. 1105 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 1105.

[6] *Supra* p. 1125 n. 1.

akin to a divinised ancestor? In view of our discovery[1] that at an ordinary banquet food was assigned 'to dead friends' and drink offered to the father of the clan under the titles of Zeus *Sotér* and Zeus *Téleios*, we may well suppose that a dinner-club would reverence its deceased founder as Zeus *Philios* and think of him as still a sharer in the common festivity. His presence would transform the meal into a communion[2] and safeguard the participants against the intrusion of evil[3] without in any way diminishing their social merriment.

In the other world too Zeus *Philios* was a feaster, as appears from an Attic relief of fourth-century style, now in the Jacobsen collection at Ny Carlsberg (fig. 970)[4]. Within an architectural framework we see the man-turned-god

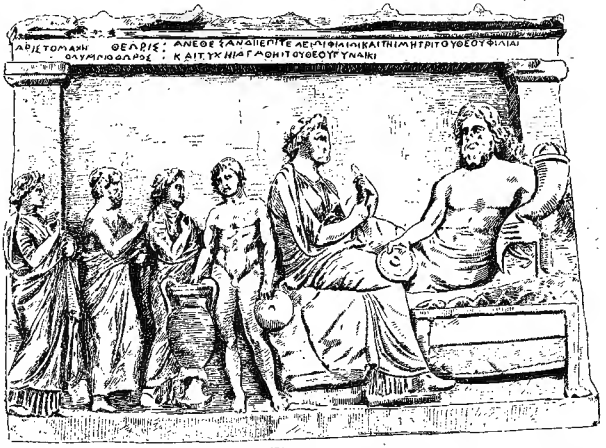


Fig. 970.

recumbent on a couch, with a *cornu copiae* in his left hand, a *phiále* in his right, and a table bearing flat and pointed cakes (*pyramídes* made of wheat and honey[5]) at his side. On the foot of the couch sits a goddess holding in both hands a fillet or perhaps rather a garland for the neck (*hypothymís*[6]), the carving

[1] *Supra* p. 1129.

[2] On communion with the dead by means of food see *e.g.* Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 154. *Infra* p. 1170 ff.

[3] An important consideration during a repast, when the mouth must be opened and bad spirits as well as good food might gain a ready entrance. In the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 22 ff. I have argued that the common *kóttabos*-stand was originally a feasters' gong intended to keep evil at a distance.

[4] *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstvaerker* Kiøbenhavn 1908 no. 95, A. Furtwängler 'Sogenanntes "Todtenmahl"-Relief mit Inschrift' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 i. 401—414 with fig. (=my fig. 970), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 354 ff. fig. 106, *ead. Themis* p. 312 f. fig. 90.

[5] Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 2250 D.

[6] *Id. ib.* viii. 338 D ff.

of which would be eked out by means of colour. Behind the goddess stands a naked cup-bearer, dipping his right hand into the *kratér* so as to fill the *phiále* in his left. Then, on a smaller scale, we have two women and a man approaching from the left with hands raised in adoration. The architrave above carries an inscription, which throws a good deal of light (together with some darkness) on the scene represented :

> 'Aristomache, Olympiodoros, Theoris dedicated (this) to Zeus *Epitéleios Philios* and to *Philía* the mother of the god and to Tyche *Agathé* the god's wife[1].'

We gather that the dedicators are worshipping their kinsman transformed into a chthonian Zeus—*Epitéleios* because he has himself come 'to maturity[2],' *Philios* because he will be 'friendly' to his friends. The goddess associated with him is in all probability his wife, Tyche *Agathé* as the inscription calls her. An Agathe Tyche makes an appropriate partner for one who is essentially an Agathos Daimon. This being so, we should have expected *Philía*, the feminine form of *Philios*, to be a second title attached to Tyche. Instead of that, it is treated as the name of a third deity, who is described as the mother of the god. Possibly the curious distribution of divine names was motived by the fact that the dedicators too were three in number—a man, his wife, and his mother[3]. Possibly also an effigy of *Philía* was added in paint on the smooth background between Zeus *Epitéleios Philios* and Tyche *Agathé*.

But this does not exhaust the interest of our relief. The artist has, somewhat unexpectedly but quite justifiably, used for his Zeus *Philios* the familiar type of a *Totenmahl* or hero-feast[4]. Now Mr J. C. Lawson[5] in a chapter marked by equal insight and eloquence has gone far towards proving, partly from ancient literature[6],

[1] 'Αριστομάχη, | 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, | Θεωρὶς | ἀνέθεσαν Διὶ 'Επιτελείωι Φιλίωι καὶ τῆι μητρὶ τοῦ θεοῦ Φιλίαι | καὶ Τύχηι 'Αγαθῆι τοῦ θεοῦ γυναικί. Since the names of the three dedicators are inscribed above their respective figures, and Theoris heads the procession, it seems that the order of precedence should be Θεωρίς, 'Ολυμπιόδωρος, 'Αριστομάχη.

[2] Cp. Plat. *legg.* 784 D *μήτε γὰρ εἰς γάμους ἴτω μήτε εἰς τὰς τῶν παίδων ἐπιτελειώσεις* with Hesych. *s.v. ἐπιτελείωσις· αὔξησις.* Zeus 'Επιτέλειος would thus be only another form of Zeus Τέλειος, whose priest at Athens was drawn from the ancient clan of the Bouzygai and occupied a special seat in the theatre (*Corp. Inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 294 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 55 = Roberts–Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff. no. 251 *ἱερέως* | Διὸς Τελεί[ου *βουζύγου* in lettering (fig. 971) not earlier than *s.* ii A.D.).

ΙΕΡΕΩΣ
ΔΙΟΣΤΕΛΕΙ
ΟΥΒΟΥΣΥΓΟ

Fig. 971.

[3] So Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 356.

[4] Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 1052 gives a brief bibliography, to which should be added Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1049 n. 1, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 349—362, 614, *ead. Themis* pp. 307—316.

[5] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 543—606 ('The union of gods and men'). The statement 'that Easter falls in the same period of the year as did the great Eleusinian festival' (*ib.* p. 572) is a slip, which has hindered the critics from appreciating the real merits of this important chapter.

[6] Soph. *Ant.* 574 f., [653 f.,] 804 f., 810 ff., 891 ff., 1203 ff., 1240 f., [Eur. *Tro.* 445, *Or.* 1109, *I. A.* 460 f.,] Artemid. *oneirocr.* i. 80 *θεῷ δὲ ἢ θεᾷ μιγῆναι ἢ ὑπὸ θεοῦ περανθῆναι νοσοῦντι μὲν θάνατον σημαίνει (θανάτου σημεῖον* cod. B.)· *τότε γὰρ ἡ ψυχὴ τὰς τῶν θεῶν συνόδους τε καὶ μίξεις μαντεύεται, ὅταν ἐγγὺς ᾖ τοῦ καταλιπεῖν τὸ σῶμα ᾧ ἐνοικεῖ· κ.τ.λ.*, 2. 49 *ἀποθανεῖν δοκεῖν καὶ ἐκκομισθῆναι καὶ κατορυγῆναι...ἀνδρὶ...ἀγάμῳ γάμον προαγορεύει· τέλη μὲν γὰρ ἀμφότερα τοῖς ἀνθρώποις εἶναι νενόμισται καὶ ὁ γάμος καὶ ὁ θάνατος. ἀεὶ δὲ*

partly from modern folk-song[1], that the Greeks of old aspired to an actual marriage-union with the deities of the underworld, a union to be fore-shadowed here in mystic rites and consummated hereafter in very truth. Every man would one day enter the bridal chamber of Persephone, every woman that of Hades[2]. If this daring belief is rightly credited to them—and the evidence for it is strong—, then we may, I think, venture to interpret the popular scheme of the hero-feast as a naïve representation of the dead man's marriage-banquet. Wedded at last to the queen of the nether world, he is actually feasting in her company. His garland and cakes recall

'the white sesame-grains
And myrtle-berries and poppy-head and water-mint[3]'

appropriate to any bridegroom. Were they not the magic means by which he

δείκνυται ὑπ' ἀλλήλων. ὅθεν καὶ τοῖς νοσοῦσι τὸ γαμεῖν θάνατον προαγορεύει· καὶ γὰρ τὰ αὐτὰ ἀμφοτέροις συμβαίνει τῷ τε γαμοῦντι καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι, οἷον παραπομπὴ φίλων ἀνδρῶν τε καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ στέφανοι καὶ ἀρώματα καὶ μύρα καὶ συγγραφὴ κτημάτων, 2. 65 *ἐπειδὴ καὶ ὁ γάμος ἔοικε θανάτῳ καὶ (ἐπειδὴ καὶ* cod. B.) *ὑπὸ θανάτου σημαίνεται, ἐνταῦθα καλῶς ἔχειν ἠγησάμην ἐτιμηθῆναι (ὑπομνησθῆναι* cod. B.) *αὐτοῦ. γαμεῖν παρθένον τῷ νοσοῦντι θάνατον σημαίνει· ὅσα γὰρ τῷ γαμοῦντι συμβαίνει, τὰ αὐτὰ καὶ τῷ ἀποθανόντι.*

Mr Lawson might have found further support for his theory in the rich storehouse of ancient Greek epitaphs. Turning over the leaves of the *Anthology* I lit upon the following: *Anth. Pal.* 7. 13. 2 f. (Leonidas or Meleagros) *"Ηρωναν... | "Αιδας εἰς ὑμέναιον ἀνάρπασεν*, 7. 183. 2 (Parmenion) *"Αιδης τὴν Κροκάλης ἔφθασε παρθενίην*, 7. 401. 9 (Krinagoras) *χθὼν ὦ δυσνύμφευτε*, 7. 492. 6 (? Anyte of Mitylene) *νυμφίον ἀλλ' 'Αίδην κηδεμόν' εὐρόμεθα*, 7. 507[b] (? Simonides = *frag.* 124 B Bergk[4], 105 Hiller—Crusius) *οὐκ ἐπιδὼν νύμφεια λέχη κατέβην τὸν ἄφυκτον | Γόργιππος ξανθῆς Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον*, 7. 547. 3 f. (Leonidas of Alexandreia) *κατέστενε δ' οὐχ 'Τμεναίῳ, | ἀλλ' 'Αίδᾳ νύμφαν δωδεκέτιν κατάγων*, cp. 7. 221. 5 f. *"Αιδη δυσκίνητε, τί τὴν ἐπέραστον ἑταίρην | ἥρπασας; ἢ καὶ σὴν Κύπρις ἔμηνε φρένα*; Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 43 = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 50 *ἐνθάδε τὴν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολοῦσαν | Φαναγόραν κατέχει Περσεφόνης θάλαμος*, Cougny 2. 122 *a*. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 35 a. 3 f. *ἔθανες, Διονύσιε, καὶ τὸν ἀνάγκης | κοινὸν Φερσεφόνης πᾶσιν ἔχεις θάλαμον*, Cougny 2. 127. 3 f. *Γλαυκιάδης... | ἦλθ' ἐπὶ πάνδεκτον Φερσεφόνης θάλαμον*, 2. 214. 3 f. = Kaibel no. 201. 3 f. *συγκέχυται γενέτας δὲ Ποσείδιππος κλυτὸν ἔρως | ξαλωτὸν πέμψας Περσεφόνας θαλάμοις*, Cougny 2. 268. 1 f. = Kaibel no. 570. 1 f. *οὐχ ὁσίως ἥρπαξας ὑπὸ [χθόνα], κοίρανε Πλουτεῦ, | πενταέτη νύμφην κ.τ.λ.*

See also R. Foerster *Der Raub und die Rückkehr der Persephone* Stuttgart 1874 p. 73 n. 3; E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 865 n. 1.

[1] *E.g.* A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 364. 6 ff. Κ' *ἐγὼ πάγω νὰ παντρεφτῶ νὰ πάρω μιὰ γυναῖκα*, | *Πῆρα τὴν πλάκα πεθερὰ, τὴ μαύρη γῆ γυναῖκα* | Κι' *αὐτὰ τὰ λιανολίβαρα ὅλα γυναικαδέρφια* ('For I must go to marry me, to take a wife unto me; | The black earth for my wife I take, the tombstone as her mother | And yonder little pebbles all her brethren and her sisters'—from the dirge of an old man: Bostitsa), *ib.* no. 374. 8 f. *Ἐψὲς ἐγὼ παντρεύθηκα, ἐψὲς ἀργὰ τὸ βράδυ.* | *Ὁ ἅδης εἶν' ὁ ἄντρας μου, ἡ πλάκ' ἡ πεθερά μου* ('Yesterday was my marriage-day, late yestere'en my wedding, | Hades I for my husband have, the tomb for my new mother'—from the dirge of a young girl). Cp. *ib.* nos. 38, 65, 152, 180, 370, 380, 381, G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 256 n. 1.

[2] This had been remarked by E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 219: 'Jedes Weib, das stirbt, vermählt sich nach alter Anschauung dem Hades; die Männer und Jünglinge betreten ihrerseits den Thalamos der Persephone.' B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 232 f. had already drawn attention to this group of ideas, citing ancient and modern illustrations. See further O. Schrader *Totenhochzeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38 and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 141—143.

[3] Aristoph. *av.* 159 f. *τὰ λευκὰ σήσαμα | καὶ μύρτα καὶ μήκωνα καὶ σισύμβρια.*

was empowered to impregnate his bride[1]? Raised from mortal to immortal

[1] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 869 πλακοῦς γαμικὸς ἀπὸ σησάμων πεποιημένος, διὰ τὸ πολύγονον, ὥς φησι Μένανδρος (*frag.* 435 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 318 Meineke)). A. de Gubernatis *La mythologie des plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 347 refers to L. G. Gyraldus *Operum quæ extant omnium* Tomus Secundus Basileae 1580 p. 485, 24 ff. Quale est illud, quod de nubentibus dici vulgo solebat, Sesamum aut hordeum sere, aut proijce: cum fœcunditatem, & multiplicem generationem ac fœtum significare volebant. Sunt enim huiusmodi semina multæ fœcunditatis, & vt Græci dicunt, πολύγονα. Sed quod de sesamo dicimus, aliqui ex eo placentam fieri solitam in nuptijs, eadem ratione tradunt.'

Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 445—455 begins his article on the myrtle by distinguishing a lucky aspect of the plant as sacred to Aphrodite from a sepulchral aspect of it as sacred to chthonian deities. He finds a connecting link in the cult of Venus *Libitina*, Aphrodite *Epitymbia*, etc. I should rather suppose that both aspects are referable to the quickening qualities of the evergreen. When a long journey was to be taken afoot, the mere carrying of myrtle-twigs prevented fatigue. Twisted into rings without the use of iron, they cured swelling of the groin (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 124). To dream of a myrtle-wreath meant marriage with a free-born woman and a prospect of long-lived children (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 77). Etc., etc. A shrub of such vivifying or revivifying potency was well fitted to be a life-token. Accordingly we hear of two sacred myrtles, which grew before the temple of Quirinus and by their fertility or barrenness portended the fortunes of the patricians and plebeians respectively (Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 120 f.). See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 233—236, H. Friend *Flowers and Flower Lore* London 1883 ii. 688 Index *s.v.* 'Myrtle,' R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 pp. 454—457. These authors by no means exhaust the topic, which deserves fuller investigation. It might, for example, be discovered that the myrtle-wreath worn by the initiate at Eleusis (Aristoph. *ran.* 156, 328 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Istros *frag.* 25 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 421 Müller) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O. C.* 681: illustrated *supra* i. 220 f. fig. 163, E. Lübbert in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 xxxvii. 82 ff. pl. F=L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1868 p. 160=F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 570 fig. 2637=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 313, 1 f.) or by the Orphic devotee (*supra* p. 555) marked him as the prospective consort of a chthonian deity. The botanical fact underlying these beliefs is the polyspermous nature of the myrtle: 'The fruit is a purplish berry, consisting of the receptacle and the ovary blended into one succulent investment enclosing very numerous minute seeds' (*The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1911 xix. 115).

The poppy has an even greater wealth of tiny seeds. Hence it made for fertility, and became the attribute of various mother-goddesses. A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 284 quotes from L. G. Gyraldus *op. cit.* ii. 468, 39 f. the *dictum* 'papauer fertilitatis & vrbis symbolum fuit' [where, however, we should restore *orbis*, cp. Cornut. *theol.* 28 p. 56, 8 ff. Lang ἀνατιθέασι δ' αὐτῇ (*sc.* τῇ Δήμητρι) καὶ τὰς μήκωνας κατὰ λόγον· τό τε γὰρ στρογγύλον καὶ περιφερὲς αὐτῶν παρίστησι τὸ σχῆμα τῆς γῆς σφαιροειδοῦς οὔσης, ἥ τε ἀνωμαλία τὰς κοιλότητας καὶ τὰς ἐξοχὰς τῶν ὀρῶν, τὰ δ' ἐντὸς τοῖς ἀντρώδεσι καὶ ὑπονόμοις ἔοικε, σπέρματά τε ἀναρίθμητα γεννῶσιν ὥσπερ ἡ γῆ]. The poppy of Demeter (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1179 n. 2) was passed on to Rhea (*id. ib.* p. 1542 n. 1) and to Isis (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 450 ff. fig.). Kanachos made for the Sicyonians a chryselephantine Aphrodite with a poppy in one hand, an apple in the other (Paus. 2. 10. 5): and here again the influence of Demeter may be suspected; for certain persons derived the old name of Sikyon, Μηκώνη, from the 'poppy,' μήκων, which Demeter there first discovered (*et. mag.* p. 583, 56 f.: but cp. Ov. *fast.* 4. 531 ff., Serv. and interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* i. 212). Poppy-heads, as well as myrtle-wreaths, played their part in the Eleusinian initiation (*supra* i. 425 f. fig. 307 f.).

Lastly, σισύμβριον or 'bergamot-mint' (*mentha aquatica*) was used for the bridegroom's garland (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 160), not merely because its branches, leaves, etc. were sweet-scented (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 6. 2 and *frag.* 4, 27 *ap.* Athen. 689 D, Nik. *georg. frag.* 2. 57 *ap.* Athen. 684 B), but on account of its aphrodisiac properties. If the

rank, henceforward he can read a deeper meaning in the old-world wedding-chant:

'I have fled the bad, I have found the better[1].'

It looks as though the primitive mind conceived of death itself as simply due to the fact that the chthonian deity (whether goddess or god) had claimed another consort[2]. The summons has been sent. The call must be obeyed. But—

'Who knows if life be death and death be life[3]?'

In the embrace of Persephone the dead man becomes the chthonian king. Borne off by Hades the dead woman becomes the chthonian queen. We can understand now the familiar saying

'Whom the gods love dies young[4],'

and find a further significance in the representation of Death as Love[5].

wearing of a wreath made from it betokened disease (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 77), that was due to the fact that the plant in question was recognised as a cure for diseases (Nik. *ther.* 896). Greeks called it the garland of Aphrodite, Romans the herb of Venus (Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 271 Sprengel); and the medical writers enable us to guess the reason, cp. Dioskor. 2. 154 (155) p. 272 Sprengel *δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει θερμαντικὴν· ἁρμόζει δὲ πρὸς στραγγουρίας καὶ λιθιάσεις τὸ σπέρμα σὺν οἴνῳ πινόμενον, id.* 2. 155 (156) p. 272 Sprengel of another variety *ἔστι δὲ θερμαντικόν, οὐρητικόν*, Galen. *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis ac facultatibus* 8. 18. 20 (xii. 124 Kühn) *θερμαινούσης καὶ ξηραινούσης κατὰ τὴν τρίτην τάξιν ἐστὶ δυνάμεώς τε καὶ κράσεως. καὶ τὸ σπέρμα δ' αὐτοῦ λεπτομερές τε καὶ θερμὸν ἐστιν, ὅθεν σὺν οἴνῳ τινὲς αὐτὴν διδόασι κ.τ.λ., id. ib.* 8. 18. 21 (xii. 124 Kühn) of the other variety *ὅταν μὲν ξηρὸν ᾖ, τῆς τρίτης ἐστὶ τάξεως τῶν ξηραινόντων τε ἅμα καὶ θερμαινόντων, κ.τ.λ.* On mint in general see A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 226—228, H. Friend *op. cit.* ii. 687 Index *s.v.* 'Mint,' R. Folkard *op. cit.* p. 439 f. *Supra* i. 257 n. 5.

[1] *ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον* (*carm. pop.* 20 a Hiller—Crusius)—an early dactylic line (cp. *supra* i. 444) first found in Dem. *de cor.* 259 (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 4) as a *formula* used by initiates in the rites of *Sabázios*, and from him apparently quoted by Hesych. *s.v.* It is given as a marriage-rubric by Pausanias the Atticist *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1726, 19 ff. *καὶ παροιμία δηλοῖ παρὰ Παυσανίᾳ λέγουσα 'ἔφυγον κακόν, εὗρον ἄμεινον,' ἣν ἔλεγέ, φησίν, ἀμφιθαλὴς παῖς Ἀθήνησιν, ἑστεμμένος ἀκάνθαις μετὰ δρυΐνων καρπῶν, λίκνον βαστάζων πλῆρες ἄρτων, αἰνισσόμενος τὴν ἐκ τοῦ παλαιοῦ βίου ἐπὶ τὸ κρεῖττον μεταβολήν*=Zenob. 3. 98, Diogeneian. 4. 74, Plout. 1. 16, Apostol. 8. 16, Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.*, cp. Porph. *de abst.* 1. 1. Probably the so-called proverb was a very ancient charm employed in the mysteries to facilitate the transition from the lower to the higher life, a transition culminating in the divine marriage (see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 646 ff.). Subsequently it was transferred, with some loss of meaning, to ordinary human marriages.

[2] Cp. the Celtic tales of the Otherworld-visit, which I have summarised in *Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 143 ff. (*supra* i. 239).

[3] Eur. *Polyeidos frag.* 638 Nauck[2] (*supra* p. 868), cp. Eur. *Phrixus frag.* 833 Nauck[2]. In Aristoph. *ran.* 1477 f. *τίς οἶδεν εἰ τὸ ζῆν μὲν ἐστι κατθανεῖν, | τὸ πνεῖν δὲ δειπνεῖν, τὸ δὲ καθεύδειν κώδιον;* the attempts of the editors to extract sense from the latter line are far from convincing. I fancy Aristophanes is poking fun at the prospect held out to every pious believer, the hero-feast (*δειπνεῖν*) and the poppy-head (for *κώδιον* read *κώδυον*, cp. Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 8. 1 and *ap.* Athen. 680 E, or *κωδία*, cp. Aristoph. *frag.* 166 Dindorf *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v. κωδία*). Life hereafter was to be one perpetual banquet in the bridal chamber of Persephone: if the new immortal tired of it, he had at least the poppy-capsule to lull him to sleep and to renew his generative powers. Those who retain *κώδιον* in the text should still interpret the word of the initiate's equipment, the 'fleece of Zeus' (*supra* i. 422 ff.).

[4] Menand. *disexapaton frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 105 Meineke). Cp. Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 340. 8=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 585. 8.

[5] *Supra* pp. 309, 1045.

Nor was this union one of merely physical fruition. The Greek was capable of rising to greater heights, and the title *Philios* had from the first a moral connotation. True, Aristotle denied the possibility of love (*philia*) between man and God:

'For love, we maintain, exists only where there can be a return of love. But love towards God does not admit of love being returned, nor at all of loving. For it would be strange if one were to say that he loved Zeus[1].'

But popular usage was against him[2]. Whether parched with drought[3], or drenched with rain[4], the man in the street cried out upon 'loved Zeus.' And the like intimacy is attested by half-a-dozen poets from Theognis to Antipatros of Thessalonike[5]. On a red-figured *kylix* by the potter Sosias Herakles, when admitted to Olympos, makes the same naïve ejaculation[6]. Moreover, the name *Diphilos*, 'loved by Zeus,' was of common occurrence[7]. No doubt this mutual love did not amount to much. But the root of the matter was there, and its growth was fostered by mystic teaching. On the grandest page of extant Greek literature[8] the Platonic Sokrates tells how Diotima of Mantineia (supposed to be a priestess of Zeus *Lykaios*[9] and in any case, as her name shows, 'honoured of Zeus') once made plain to him the mysteries of Eros. The initiate, she said, must mount by successive grades from desire of a single beautiful body to desire of all beautiful bodies, and from beauty of body to beauty of soul involving the beauty of customs and laws. Thence he will launch out boldly into the beauty of knowledge until, crossing its wide sea and nearing his journey's end, on a sudden he catches sight

[1] Aristot. *mag. mor.* 2. 11. 1208 b 28 ff. *τὴν γὰρ φιλίαν ἐνταῦθά φαμεν εἶναι οὗ ἐστὶ τὸ ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι, ἡ δὲ πρὸς τὸν θεὸν φιλία οὔτε ἀντιφιλεῖσθαι δέχεται οὔθ' ὅλως τὸ φιλεῖν· ἄτοπον γὰρ ἂν εἴη εἴ τις φαίη φιλεῖν τὸν Δία.*

[2] Indeed, he was against himself—witness his brief but pregnant utterance with regard to the Final Cause in *met.* 12. 7. 1072 b 3 f. *κινεῖ δὴ ὡς ἐρώμενον, κινούμενον δὲ τἆλλα κινεῖ.* He is groping his way towards the stupendous discovery that 'God is love.'

[3] Marc. Ant. *comment.* 5. 7 *ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ* (*infra* § 9 (b)).

[4] *Anth. Pal.* 5. 166. 6 (Asklepiades) *Ζεῦ φίλε* (*infra* § 9 (b)).

[5] Theogn. 373 Hiller—Crusius *Ζεῦ φίλε, θαυμάζω σε· κ.τ.λ.*, Eupol. *χρυσοῦν γένος frag.* 13 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 541 f. Meineke) *ap.* Poll. 10. 63 *ἀλλ', ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατάχυτλον τὴν ῥῖν' ἔχεις*, Aristoph. *eccl.* 378 f. *καὶ δῆτα πολὺν ἡ μίλτος, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, | γέλων παρέσχεν, κ.τ.λ.*, Philem. *Pythos frag.* 1. 7 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 22 Meineke) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 55. 5 *εἰρήνη 'στίν· ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε, | τῆς ἐπαφροδίτου καὶ φιλανθρώπου θεοῦ*, Kallim. *ep.* 7. 4 Schneider, 6. 4 Wilamowitz *Κρεωφύλῳ, Ζεῦ φίλε, τοῦτο μέγα, Anth. Pal.* 5. 108. 4 (Antipatros) *ἦ ῥα μάτην, Ζεῦ φίλε, βοῦς ἐγένου.* It is obvious that the phrases *Ζεῦ φίλε, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, ὦ Ζεῦ φίλτατε* expressed a variety of moods—indignation, astonishment, delight, etc. But the point is that all alike are colloquial, herein differing somewhat from such usages as *Il.* 1. 578 *πατρὶ φίλῳ ἐπιῆρα φέρειν Διί*, Pind. *Nem.* 10. 104 ff. *ἀμέραν τὰν μὲν παρὰ πατρὶ φίλῳ | Διὶ νέμονται, τὰν δ' ὑπὸ κεύθεσι γαίας κ.τ.λ.*

[6] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 549 ff. no. 2278, C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1830 ii. 232 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 24 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 70, 2, Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 13 ff. pl. 123, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 503 ff. fig. 285, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 457 ff., iii. 137 fig. 418. Further bibliography in Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 421 ff. no. 1. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8291, a ΞΝΙΦΟΥΞΙ.

[7] Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1152—1156 record twenty-two bearers of the name. See also K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 74 n. 644 a.

[8] I am weighing my words: that is my deliberate opinion.

[9] Schol. Aristeid. p. 468, 15 f. Dindorf.

of Absolute Beauty, timeless, changeless, formless,—the beatific vision which shall

make amends
For all our toil while on the road.

Embracing this, he will at last beget no phantom forms of virtue, for it is no phantom that he clasps, but virtues true to type, for he has the very truth. And here he will live for ever as one that is indeed 'loved of God' and a sharer in immortality. That is the hope of which Sokrates, persuaded himself, is fain to persuade others also[1]. To summarise or paraphrase such a passage is, of course, to ruin its effect, and is little short of blasphemy to boot. I can but call attention to the one word *theophilés*, 'loved of God[2].' Platon had it from the mystics. And Theon of Smyrna (*s.* ii. A.D.) informs us that the initiate passed upwards through five stages, *viz.* purification, the tradition of the rite, the eyewitnessing of it, the binding and putting on of the garlands in order to communicate it to others, and finally the resultant felicity of dwelling in the 'love of God' (*theophilés*) and sharing in the life divine[3].

These beliefs formed a point of contact between paganism and Christianity. The hero-feast is an antecedent of the celestial banquet, a favourite theme in the art of the catacombs[4]. And if the Greeks looked forward to 'the good fare of the blest[5]' in the bridal chamber of Hades or Persephone, John can say 'Blessed are they which are bidden to the marriage supper of the Lamb[6].' The conception, cherished by the Church[7], has inspired not a few modern mystics :

[1] Plat. *symp.* 209 E—212 B. Faith, Hope, and Charity unite in this triumphant climax.

[2] The relevant words are: *τεκόντι δὲ ἀρετὴν ἀληθῆ καὶ θρεψαμένῳ ὑπάρχει θεοφιλεῖ γενέσθαι καὶ εἴπερ τῳ ἄλλῳ ἀνθρώπων, ἀθανάτῳ καὶ ἐκείνῳ.* On the later Platonic conception of *ἀθανασία* I have said my say in *The Metaphysical Basis of Plato's Ethics* Cambridge 1895 p. 96 ff. See also R. K. Gaye *The Platonic Conception of Immortality and its Connexion with the Theory of Ideas* (Hare Prize Essay 1903) London 1904.

[3] Theon Smyrn. *mathem.* p. 14, 18 ff. Hiller *καὶ γὰρ αὖ τὴν φιλοσοφίαν μύησιν φαίη τις ἂν ἀληθοῦς τελετῆς καὶ τῶν ὄντων ὡς ἀληθῶς μυστηρίων παράδοσιν. μυήσεως δὲ μέρη πέντε. τὸ μὲν προηγούμενον καθαρμός· οὔτε γὰρ ἅπασι τοῖς βουλομένοις μετουσία μυστηρίων ἔδ̓τιν, ἀλλ᾽ εἰσὶν οὓς αὐτῶν εἴργεσθαι προαγορεύεται, οἷον τοὺς χεῖρας μὴ καθαρὰς καὶ φωνὴν ἀξύνετον ἔχοντας, καὶ αὐτοὺς δὲ τοὺς μὴ εἰργομένους ἀνάγκη καθαρμοῦ τινος πρότερον τυχεῖν. μετὰ δὲ τὴν κάθαρσιν δευτέρα ἐστὶν ἡ τῆς τελετῆς παράδοσις· τρίτη δὲ <ἡ* ins. C. A. Lobeck> *ἐπονομαζομένη ἐποπτεία· τετάρτη δέ, ὃ δὴ καὶ τέλος τῆς ἐποπτείας, ἀνάδεσις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπίθεσις, ὥστε καὶ ἑτέροις, ἅς τις παρέλαβε τελετάς, παραδοῦναι δύνασθαι, ἁδυοχίας τυχόντα ἡ ἱεροφαντίας ἤ τινος ἄλλης ἱερωσύνης· πέμπτη δὲ ἡ ἐξ αὐτῶν περιγενομένη κατὰ τὸ θεοφιλὲς καὶ θεοῖς συνδίαιτον εὐδαιμονία* (so I. Bouillaud for *εὐδαιμονίαν* cod. A.). See Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 38 ff.

[4] W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archæology* New York 1901 pp. 221—223, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 181—209 (the best account), C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 269—274, 358.

[5] Aristoph. *ran.* 85 *ἐς μακάρων εὐωχίαν*, cp. Plat. *Phaid.* 115 D. Notice the schol. Aristoph. *loc. cit. ἢ ὡς περὶ τετελευτηκότος λέγει, ὡσανεὶ εἴπε τὰς μακάρων νήσους· ἢ ὅτι Ἀρχελάῳ τῷ βασιλεῖ μέχρι τῆς τελευτῆς μετὰ ἄλλων πολλῶν συνῆν ἐν Μακεδονίᾳ, καὶ μακάρων εὐωχίαν ἔφη τὴν ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις διατριβήν.* If Hades was known as 'Ἀγησίλαος, Πολύαρχος, and the like (*supra* p. 1113 n. 0 no. (2)), it is at least possible that he bore the title 'Αρχέλαος. Aristophanes' *sous-entendu* would thus gain in point.

[6] Rev. 19. 9 with the context.

[7] A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig and Berlin 1910 pp. 129—134.

He lifts me to the golden doors ;
The flashes come and go ;
All heaven bursts her starry floors,
And strows her lights below,
And deepens on and up ! the gates
Roll back, and far within
For me the Heavenly Bridegroom waits,
To make me pure of sin.
The sabbaths of Eternity,
One sabbath deep and wide—
A light upon the shining sea—
The Bridegroom with his bride ![1]

How much, or how little, of all this is to be found in our relief, it is not easy to say. The title *Epiteleios* suggests the mystic marriage, and the stress laid on *Philios* and *Philia* tends to confirm the suggestion. We must leave it at that.

The matter-of-fact spectator, who cared little for mysteries or mystical symbolism, saw in Zeus *Philios* a god of good company, given to feasting in both this world and the next. Accordingly, Diodoros of Sinope, a poet of the new comedy, who flourished early in *s.* iii B.C.[2], makes him the discoverer of the parasite and his ways :

'Twas Zeus the Friendly, greatest of the gods
Beyond all doubt, that first invented parasites.
For he it is who comes into our houses,
Nor cares a rap whether we're rich or poor.
Wherever he espies a well-strown couch
With a well-appointed table set beside it,
Joining us straightway like a gentleman
He asks himself to breakfast, eats and drinks,
And then goes home again, nor pays his share.
Just what I do myself ! When I see couches
Strown and the tables ready, door ajar,
In I come quietly, all in order due—
I don't disturb, not I, my fellow-drinker.
Everything set before me I enjoy,
Drink, and go home again, like Zeus the Friendly[3].

The inference to be drawn from the fourth-century reliefs and the third-century comedy is that at Athens Zeus *Philios*, like Zeus *Sotér*[4], Zeus *Xénios*[5], and other

[1] Tennyson *St. Agnes' Eve* 25 ff.

[2] J. Kirchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 660, Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 293.

[3] Diod. Sinop. *ἐπίκληρος frag.* 1. 5 ff. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 543 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 239 A ff.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 305, 10 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 676, 10 ff. *ἐπειδὴ ο[ἱ ἐπιμεληταὶ πάσας] ἐθ[υόν τε τὰς θ|υ]σίας τῶ[ι Διὶ τῶι Σωτῆρι καὶ τ]εῖ Ἀθη[ναῖ τεῖ | Σω]τείρ[αι καὶ τῶν ἄλλων ἐπεμε]λήθησα[ν μετὰ | το]ῦ ἱερ[έως καλῶς καὶ φιλοτίμω]ς, ἐπεμελήθη|[σα]ν δὲ [καὶ τῆς στρώσεως τῆς κλ[ί]νης καὶ τῆς κ|[οσ]μήσεως τῆς τραπέζης· κ.τ.λ.]* in a decree of 277/6 B.C.

[5] Pyrgion *Κρητικὰ νόμιμα frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 486 f. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 143 E—F *ἦσαν δὲ καὶ ξενικοὶ θᾶκοι καὶ τράπεζα τρίτη δεξιᾶς* (I. Casaubon cj. *ἐκ δεξιᾶς* or *ἐν δεξιᾷ*) *εἰσιόντων εἰς τὰ ἀνδρεῖα· ἣν Ξενίου τε Διὸς ξενίαν τε προσηγόρευον.*

chthonian powers[1], had a couch set for him and a table spread. The rite was private rather than public, belonging essentially to family worship[2] and being in effect a communion between the dead and the living[3]. A. Furtwängler[4] justly compares the *lectisternia*, which are commonly held to have been a Roman adaptation of the Greek *Theoxénia*[5]. Be that as it may, the comparison is of interest. For it is possible, perhaps even probable, that at the Greek feast, as at its Roman equivalent, the god was represented in visible shape. But in what shape? Our only clue is the Roman custom. Livy mentions 'heads of gods' placed on the couches[6]. Pompeius Festus (*s.* ii A.D.)—an excellent authority, since he abridged the important dictionary of Verrius Flaccus (*c.* 10 B.C.)[7]—states that these 'heads of gods' were properly termed *struppi* and consisted in bundles of *verbenae* or 'sacred plants[8].' Elsewhere Festus, *à propos* of *stroppus* in the sense of a priestly head-dress or wreath, informs us that at Tusculum an

[1] Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Sculptures p. 28 f., A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 31 (with list of deities).

[2] The ἑρανισταί (*supra* p. 1161 f.) formed a *quasi*-family, worshipping—we have conjectured—its deceased founder as its ancestor.

[3] *Supra* p. 1162 n. 2. See also Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 419.

[4] A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 i. 405.

[5] F. Robiou 'Recherches sur l'origine des lectisternes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1867 i. 403—415, F. Deneken *De Theoxeniis* Berolini 1881, (G.) Wackermann *Ueber das Lectisternium* Hanau 1888 pp. 1—28, G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 15—17, C. Pascal 'De lectisterniis apud Romanos' in the *Rivista di filologia* 1894 xxii. 272—280, *id. Studî di antichità e mitologia* Milano 1896 p. 19 ff., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 pp. 200, 218, 273, *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 263 ff., 268, 318 f., A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1006—1012, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 161 f., Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 61, 269 f., 311, 315, 421 ff.

[6] Liv. 40. 59 terra movit: in foris (K. A. Duker cj. *fanis*) publicis, ubi lectisternium erat, deorum capita, quae (K. A. Duker and J. N. Madvig cjj. *qui*) in lectis erant, averterunt se, lanaque (J. Scheffer cj. *laenaque*, G. Cuypers and J. Marquardt cjj. *lanxque*) cum integumentis (F. van Oudendorp cj. *intrimentis*), quae Iovi opposita (C. Sigone and J. Scheffer cjj. *apposita*) fuit, decidit=Iul. Obseq. 61 in lectisternio Iovis terrae motu deorum capita se converterunt. lana cum integumentis, quae Iovi erant apposita, decidit.

[7] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 319 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 200.

[8] Fest. p. 347, 34 f. Müller, p. 472, 15 f. Lindsay struppi vocantur in pulvinaribus <fasciculi de verbenis facti, qui pro de>orum capitibus ponuntur=Paul. ex Fest. p. 346, 3 Müller, p. 473, 4 f. Lindsay struppi vocabantur in pulvinaribus fasciculi de verbenis facti, qui pro deorum capitibus ponebantur. Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 64, 5 Müller, p. 56, 12 Lindsay capita deorum appellabantur fasciculi facti ex verbenis.

Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 12. 120 verbena proprie est herba sacra sumpta de loco sacro Capitolii, qua coronabantur fetiales et paterpatratus foedera facturi vel bella indicturi. abusive tamen verbenas iam vocamus omnes frondes sacratas, ut est laurus, oliva vel myrtus. etc. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 5, 25. 105 ff., interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 65, Donat. *in* Ter. *Andr.* 4. 3. 11.

S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 20 finds an illustration of these *struppi* in a painting of *s.* v B.C. in the *Tomba del Letto funebre* at Corneto (F. Poulsen *Fra Ny Carlsberg Glyptoteks Samlinger* Copenhagen 1920 i fig. 34, F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei* Halle (Saale) 1921 pls. 23, 24): 'on a mighty lectus you see on the torus not two recumbent defuncts, but *two green crowns*, surmounted by the Etruscan (and Roman) pointed head-dress, the *tutulus*.'

object known as *struppus* was placed on the couch of Castor[1]. We gather, then, that at the *lectisternia* Iupiter and the gods in general were originally represented by twisted bundles of herbs. These bundles seem to have been padded and clothed as puppets; for in 179 B.C., shaken by an earthquake, the wool and wrappings attached to Iupiter slipped off revealing his true inwards to the confusion of all present[2]. Later, if we may trust the evidence of a Roman lamp (fig. 972)[3] and certain Roman coins (figs. 973, 974, 975)[4], the puppets of the

Fig. 972.

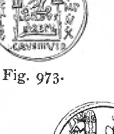


Fig. 973.

Fig. 974.

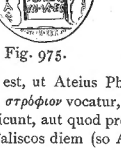


Fig. 975.

[1] Fest. p. 313 *a* 12 ff. Müller, p. 410, 6 ff. Lindsay stroppus est, ut Ateius Philologus (L. Ateius Praetextatus *frag.* 7 Funaioli) existimat, quod Graece *στρόφιον* vocatur, et quod sacerdotes pro insigni habent in capite. quidam coronam esse dicunt, aut quod pro corona insigne in caput inponatur, quale sit strophium. itaque apud Faliscos diem (so Antonius Augustinus for *idem* codd.) festum esse, qui vocetur Struppearia, quia coronati ambulent; et a Tusculanis, quod in pulvinari inponatur Castoris, struppum vocari = Paul. ex Fest. p. 312, 1 Müller, p. 411, 1 ff. Lindsay stroppus, quod Graece *στρόφιον* dicitur, pro insigni habebatur in capitibus sacerdotum; alii id coronam esse dixerunt. Cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 21. 3.

[2] Liv. 40. 59 and Iul. Obseq. 61 cited *supra* p. 1170 n. 6.

Cp. the woollen effigies of the Lares hung up at the cross-roads during the Compitalia (Paul. ex Fest. p. 121, 17 f. Müller, p. 108, 27 ff. Lindsay; Fest. p. 237 *b* 34 ff. Müller, p. 272, 15 ff. Lindsay = Paul. ex Fest. p. 239, 1 ff. Müller, p. 273, 7 ff. Lindsay. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 94 ff., 107 f.), if not also the saying that the gods had woollen feet (Apollod. *frag.* 41 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 435 Müller) *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 8. 5, Petron. *sat.* 44. 18, Porph. *in* Hor. *od.* 3. 2. 31 f.).

[3] Fig. 972 shows the relief on the handle of a terra-cotta lamp first published by P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Le antiche lucerne sepolcrali* Roma 1691 ii pl. 34 (A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1011 fig. 4381, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 412). Sarapis and Isis, Selene and Helios, are here represented by half-length busts set on the couch. A similar bust of white marble, obtained in the Levant by Mr W. Simpson and now in my possession (height $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches: *kálathos* broken off: traces of paint (?) on face, chest, etc.: eye-holes and breast-jewel once filled in with glass or other glittering substance), was very possibly used at some *lectisternium* of Sarapis (cp. *e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 101 no. 57 a copper of Sinope struck by Caracalla: *rev.* Zeus Sarapis on couch to left, with eagle on right hand, sceptre in left, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507).

Another lamp-handle with a similar design, found at Pesaro, is suspect as being derived from the *Lucernae fictiles Musei Passerii* Pisauri 1739—1751 iii pl. 51 (A. Bouché-Leclercq *loc. cit.* iii. 1011 fig. 4382): see the exposure by H. Dressel in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1892 vii. 144 ff. (150 'una solenne impostura'), H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* ii. 408.

[4] *Denarii* of the *gens Coelia*, struck *c.* 61 B.C., have for reverse type a *lectisternium*

lectisternia appear to have developed into half-length busts. Indeed, on one occasion, when Seleukos was sending back to Athens the statues of Harmodios and Aristogeiton carried off by Xerxes, the Rhodians invited the venerable bronzes to a public banquet and installed them bodily on the sacred couches[1]. So much for progressive anthropomorphism. The vegetable bundles, which formed the primitive effigies[2], may be taken to imply that the souls of the dead were conceived as animating the yearly vegetation[3]. And the same belief may underlie the rites of Iupiter *Dapalis*[4] and Iupiter *Farreus*[5], in which Mr Warde

surmounted by a half-figure and flanked by two trophies. The front is inscribed L·CALDVS | VII·VR·EPVL (=*Lucius Caldus septemvir epulo*). To left and right is the legend, read downwards, C·CALDVS | IMP·A (or AV)·X (=*Gaius Caldus imperator augur decemvir sacris faciundis*). Below is CALDVS·III·VIR (=*Caldus triumvir monetalis*). See Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 100 ff., ii pl. Coelia I, IA, IB, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 373 ff. with six figs., G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 76 ff. pl. 10, 44, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 475 pl. 47, 23 f., pl. 48, 1. Figs. 973—975 are from specimens in my collection. The identification of the personage seen above the couch has long been disputed. He is either the moneyer's father, L. Coelius Caldus, as *septemvir epulo* preparing the feast for Iupiter (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 659 f., T. Mommsen *Histoire de la monnaie romaine* Paris 1870 ii. 506, Babelon *loc. cit.*, G. F. Hill *op. cit.* p. 78), or—more probably—the effigy of Iupiter himself eating the sacrificial meal (see the remarks of S. Havercamp in Morell. *op. cit.* i. 102, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 507, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 474 n. 2).

The two *epula Iovis*, which took place on Sept. 13, the foundation-day of the Capitoline temple, and on Nov. 13, were in relation to the *ludi Romani* and *ludi plebei* respectively (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 127, 423, 453 ff.). Iupiter had a *lectulus*, Iuno and Minerva each a *sella* (Val. Max. 2. 1. 2), while the magistrates and senate took the meal before them *in Capitolio* (Liv. 38. 57, 45. 39, Gell. 12. 8. 2 f., Dion Cass. 39. 30, 48. 52). See further E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 732, 734 f., W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 215 ff., *id. The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 pp. 172 f., 336, 338, 353. Hence the title of Iupiter *Epulo* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 3696 found in the Forum at Rome=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4964, with the criticisms of G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 265, who prefers T. Mommsen's reading (*Bull. d. Inst.* 1873 p. 51 f.) [*magistri*] *quinq*(*uennales*) | [*collegi*] *teib*(*icinum*) *Rom*(*anorum*), *qui* | [*s*(*acris*) *p*(*ublicis*) *p*(*raesto*) *s*(*unt*)], *Iov*(*i*) *Epul*(*oni*) *sac*(*rum*) | etc. to that of E. Bormann and H. Dessau *qui* | .... *Iov*(*is*) *epul*(*o*), *sac*(*ris*) | [*p*(*ublicis*) *p*(*raesto*) *s*(*unt*)]: | etc.).

[1] Val. Max. 2. 10. 1 *ext.*

[2] Masurius Sabinus *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 225 Masurius Sabinus delubrum, effigies, a delibratione corticis; nam antiqui felicium arborum ramos cortice detracto in effigies deorum formabant, unde Graeci ξόανον dicunt. Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 56, Paul. ex Fest. p. 73, 1 Müller, p. 64, 6 f. Lindsay, pseudo-Ascon. *in* Cic. *div. in Caec.* p. 101, 16 f. Baiter (in J. C. Orelli's ed. of Cicero Turici 1833 v. 2. 101). But a closer parallel may be found in the Corn-maiden (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

[3] *Supra* i. 687.

[4] Cato *de agr.* 132 dapem hoc modo fieri oportet: Iovi Dapali culignam vini quantam vis polluceto. eo die feriae bubus et bubulcis et qui dapem facient. cum pollucere oportebit, sic facies: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, quod tibi fieri oportet in domo familia mea culignam vini dapi, ei<us> rei ergo macte hac illace dape pollucenda esto.' manus interluito, postea vinum sumito: 'Iuppiter Dapalis, macte istace dape pollucenda esto, macte vino inferio esto.' Vestae, si voles, dato. daps Iovi assaria pecuina (pecuina v.) urna vini. Iovi caste profanato sua contagione. postea dape facta serito milium, panicum, alium, lentim.

The adjective *dapalis*, 'sumptuous,' is most frequently found as an epithet of *cena* (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* v. 35, 29 ff.).

[5] Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 farreo in manus (Göschen, followed by P. Krüger—W. Studemund,

Fowler conjectures that Iupiter himself was originally identified with the flesh, the wine, and the bread consumed by his worshippers[1].

It is possible, then, that the communion-feast of Zeus *Philios* approximated to, and paved the way for, the *agápe* or 'love-supper' of the early Christian Church[2]. Nevertheless the evidence is indirect and by no means conclusive. We shall be on surer, if lower, ground in returning to the cult-monuments of Attike.

(2) Zeus *Philios* on the Attic coast, etc.

To the west of the *Asklepieîon* near the strand of Zea there appears to have been a common sanctuary of Zeus *Meilíchios* and Zeus *Philios*[3]. Votive reliefs from the site show the latter god in the same types (anthropomorphic and theriomorphic) as the former.

On the one hand, a slab of Pentelic marble, found on the eastern slope of Mounichia at a point two hundred paces from the sea, represents him (fig. 976)[4] as a kingly personage enthroned towards the right with a sceptre (painted) in his hand. He is approached by a woman and a girl—Mynnion and her daughter, as we infer from the inscription added above in lettering of *s.* iv B.C.:

'[M]ynnion dedicated (this) to Zeus *Philios*[5].'

A fragmentary relief of white marble, found later in the same locality, was clearly of similar type[6]. On the left are seen the head of Zeus, his left shoulder, and his left hand holding a sceptre. On the right a bearded man and a youthful figure draw near with right hand raised in the attitude of adoration: behind them there

cj. *manum*) conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii, quod Iovi Farreo fit, in quo farreus panis adhibetur; unde etiam confarreatio dicitur; etc.

[1] W. Warde Fowler *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* London 1911 p. 141 'The cult-title [*Farreus*] should indicate that the god was believed to be immanent in the cake of *far*, rather than that it was offered to him (so I should also take I. Dapalis, though in later times the idea had passed into that of sacrifice, Cato, *R. R.* 132), and if so, the use of the cake was sacramental.' A shrewd and scholarly verdict. Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 119 'die heilige Handlung gilt dem Juppiter, welcher von dem zur Anwendung kommenden *farreum libum* den Beinamen Farreus erhält' is inadequate. B. J. Polenaar on Gaius *inst.* 1. 112 cp. *Adorea* as goddess of martial glory (Hor. *od.* 4. 4. 41) *a farris honore* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 14): but the derivation of the word from *ador*, though assumed by the ancients, is doubtful or worse (see F. Stolz in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1899 x. 74 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 13 *s.v.* 'adōria').

[2] On the Christian ἀγάπαι consult A. Kestner *Die Agape oder der geheime Weltbund der Christen* Jena 1819, E. H. Plumptre in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 39 ff., R. St. J. Tyrwhitt *ib.* i. 625 ff., H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 775—848, A. J. Maclean in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 166—175.

[3] *Supra* p. 1104.

[4] R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs* Leipzig 1872 p. 53 f. no. 105 pl. 25, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 370 no. 1128, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1247, 2 with Text v. 22 by E. Löwy, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 354 f. no. 1405 pl. 59 (=my fig. 976), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 362, 7 (wrongly described *ib.* p. 363 as 'Hommage à Zeus Meilichios'). Height 0·22^{m}, breadth 0·21^{m}.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1572 [Μ]ΥΝΝΙΟΝΔΙΙΦΙΛΙΩΙΑΝΕΘ[ΗΚΕΝ]= [Μ]ύννιον Διὶ Φιλίωι ἀνέθ[ηκεν].

[6] I. C. Dragatses in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 p. 89 f. no. β', Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355. Height 0·16^{m}, breadth 0·30^{m}.

are traces of a third head. The whole is enclosed by an architectural framework, which bears the inscription:

'Hermaios (dedicated this) to Zeus *Philios*[1].'

On the other hand, the same site yielded two reliefs representing a snake accompanied by the words:

'——— dedicated (this) to Zeus *Philios*[2].'

Fig. 976.

As before[3], we must suppose that the snake figures the soul of the divinised dead, here conciliated by the euphemistic title Zeus 'the Friendly One.' *Philios* is virtually a synonym of *Meilichios*[4].

Other reliefs, which probably derive from the same cult-centre in the Peiraeus,

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 Add. no. 1572*b* ΕΡΜΑΙΟΣΔΙΙΦΙΛΙΩΙ = Ἑρμαῖος Διὶ Φιλίωι.

[2] (1) I. C. Dragatses in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1888 p. 135, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1572*c* a fragmentary marble slab inscribed ϽΙΛΙ and ΞΝ = [– – – Διὶ Φ]ιλ[ίωι] | [ἀνέθηκ]εν above the relief of a snake. (2) I. C. Dragatses in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1888 p. 135 no. 3, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 355 the relief of a snake with the inscription Διὶ Φ[ιλ]ίωι [ἀνέθηκ]εν.

[3] *Supra* p. 1111.

[4] This explains the otherwise inexplicable gloss of Hesych. φιλιός (Soping *corr.* φίλιος, M. Schmidt cj. ἀφάδιος ?)· ὁ ἀποτρόπαιος, κατ' εὐφημισμ[έν]ον.

repeat the types in question but, having no inscribed dedication, cannot be assigned with assurance to either god. Two examples will suffice. A fourth-century relief in Pentelic marble (fig. 977)[1] shows, within an architectural border, Zeus enthroned towards the right, holding a *phiále* in his right hand and a sceptre (painted) in his left. Before him kneels a woman, who with a well-known gesture of supplication stretches out both hands to clasp his knees[2]. Behind her stands a second woman, with right hand uplifted. They are accompanied by a couple of children. The scene is closed by two *hieródouloi*—a boy carrying a flat basket on his right hand while he grasps a ram with his left, and a girl sup-

Fig. 977.

porting a large round basket on her head. The fact that in reliefs of this sort the father is so often escorted by his son, the mother by her daughter, suggests that the god, whether *Meilichios* or *Philios*, was in any case worshipped as *Téleios*.

More difficult to interpret is another fourth-century relief (fig. 978)[3] representing a cylindrical altar with a snake coiled about it and a pair of snakes, both bearded, in heraldic pose to right and left. Have we here a votive tablet honouring the same god under all three aspects?

The chthonian character of Zeus *Philios* is borne out by his ability to witness oaths and to send dreams. Greek dialogues, letters, and speeches abound in such phrases as 'by Zeus the Friendly[4],' 'by the Friendly Zeus[5],' 'by the Friendly

[1] Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 375 no. 1139, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1245, 3 with Text v. 20 by E. Löwy, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 242 no. 1408, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 357 f. no. 1408 pl. 65 (=my fig. 977), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 363 no. 2. Height 0·25[m], breadth 0·40[m].

[2] C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 163 ff., 282 f., Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 358.

[3] Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 441 no. 1441 pl. 71 (=my fig. 978). Height 0·15[m], breadth 0·24[m].

[4] πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου Plat. *Phaedr.* 234 E, *Minos* 321 C, Ioul. *epist.* 3. 2. Cp. πρὸς Διὸς Φιλίου τε καὶ Ἑταιρείου Sokrat. *epist.* 27. 1 p. 627 Hercher.

[5] πρὸς Φιλίου Διός Ioul. *or.* 2 p. 123, 9 Hertlein, *or.* 3 p. 165, 23 Hertlein, Aineias of Gaza *epist.* 1.

One[1],' 'yes, by the Friendly One[2],' 'no, by your Friendly One and mine[3].'

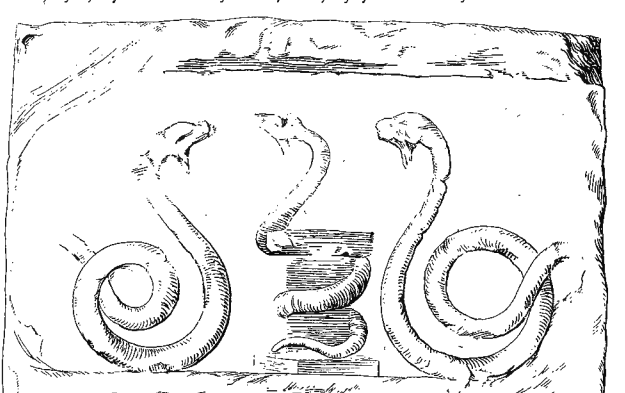


Fig. 978.

Friends in general swore by Zeus *Philios*[4], who came to be looked upon as the overseer and guardian of friendship[5], or ultimately as a god of love who would

[1] *πρὸς Φιλίου* Plat. *Euthyphr.* 6 B, *Gorg.* 500 B, 519 E, Loukian. *Herod.* 7, *rhet. praecept.* 4, *de dipsad.* 9, Themist. *or.* I. 17 A p. 19, 6 Dindorf, Prokop. *epist.* 75, 103, 116, 132.

[2] *ναὶ τὸν Φίλιον* Aristoph. *Ach.* 730 with schol. *ad loc.* *νὴ τὸν Φίλιον* Pherekrat. *κραπάταλοι frag.* 16. 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 293 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος.

[3] *μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν* Plat. *Alcib. I* 109 D, imitated by Aristain. *epist.* 2. 14 *μὰ τὸν Φίλιον Ἔρωτα* (D. Wyttenbach *om.* Ἔρωτα as a gloss) *τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν* and Synes. *epist.* 49 p. 660 Hercher and 59 p. 672 *ναὶ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν*, 103 p. 700 *οὐ μὰ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν*, 129 p. 716 *νὴ τὸν Φίλιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν*, 95 p. 694 *οὐ μὰ τὸν Ὁμόγνιον τὸν ἐμόν τε καὶ σόν*. We have a similar usage of the possessive pronoun (one of those little touches, which show that on occasion Greek religion could be personal as well as civic) in Eur. *Andr.* 602 f. *ἥτις ἐκ δόμων | τὸν σὸν λιποῦσα Φίλιον* (*sc.* Δία) *ἐξεκώμασε | κ.τ.λ.*, *Hec.* 345 (cited *supra* p. 1097 n. 2).

[4] Menand. *ἀνδρόγυνος frag.* 6 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 85 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος· *... μαρτύρομαι τὸν Φίλιον, ὦ Κράτων, Δία*, Loukian. *Toxar.* 11 f. ΜΝΗΣ. *ὀμούμεθα, εἴ τι καὶ ὅρκου δεῖν νομίζεις. τίς δέ σοι τῶν ἡμετέρων θεῶν—ἆρ' ἱκανὸς ὁ Φίλιος;* ΤΟΞ. *καὶ μάλα·...* ΜΝΗΣ. *ἴστω τοίνυν ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ Φίλιος, ἢ μὴν κ.τ.λ.*, schol. rec. Soph. *Ai.* 492 p. 211, 6 ff. *ἐφεστίου Διός· τοῦ τιμωμένου ἐν τῇ οἰκίᾳ καὶ ἐφορῶντος τὴν συνοίκησιν ἡμῶν. Ἐφέστιον Δία προτείνουσιν οἱ συνοικοῦντες· οἱ δὲ φίλοι Φίλιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν μιᾷ τάξει καταλεγόμενοι καὶ μιᾷ συμμορίᾳ, Ἑταιρεῖον· οἱ δὲ ξένοι, Ξένιον· οἱ δὲ ἐν ὅρκοις συμφωνίας ποιοῦντες, Ὅρκιον· οἱ δὲ δεδιότες, Ἱκέσιον· οἱ δὲ ἀδελφοί, Ὁμόγνιον* = schol. Eur. *Hec.* 345.

[5] Phrynichos the 'Atticist' (*c.* 180 A.D.) in Bekker *anecd.* i. 34, 14 (cited *supra* p. 1092 n. 8), *ib.* i. 71, 7 Φίλιος· *ὁ φιλίας ἔφορος θεός*, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Φίλιος Ζεύς = Souid. *s.v.* Φίλιος· *ὁ τὰ περὶ τὰς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν, et. mag.* p. 793, 43 Φίλιος Ζεύς· *ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας* (F. Sylburg cj. *τὴν φιλίαν*) *ἐπισκοπῶν*, Olympiod. *in* Plat. *Gorg.* 500 B (published by

have all men dwell together in amity[1]. A title with such claims to popularity was naturally included among the stock epithets of Zeus[2].

An oblong slab of limestone found in the precinct of Asklepios at Epidauros bears a dedication to Zeus *Phílios* 'in accordance with a dream' and adds, as symbol of the god, a branch of olive or oak enclosed in a circle[3]. It must not be

A. Jahn in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Philologie und Pädagogik* Suppl. 1848 xiv. 364 f.) *ἐπὶ τὸν ἔφορον τῆς φιλίας φέρει αὐτόν, ἵνα εἰδὼς ὅτι θεός ἐστιν ὁ τῆς φιλίας προστάτης μὴ πάλιν παίξῃ· ὁ γὰρ παίζων εἰς φίλον τὸν προστάτην ταύτης θεὸν παίζει*, schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 500 B *Διὸς ἦν ἐπώνυμον παρ' Ἀθηναίοις ὁ Φίλιος, ἐκ τοῦ εἶναι τῶν φιλικῶν καθηκόντων αὐτὸν ἔφορον*, Thom. Mag. *ecl. voc. Att.* p. 382 Ritschl *Φίλιος ὁ τῆς φιλίας ἔφορος θεός*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1188, 57 *Φίλιος, ὁ φιλίας ἔφορος*, p. 1832, 62 f. *Φίλιος Ζεύς, ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν*. With these scholastic definitions cp. such passages as Liban. *epist.* 19 *καὶ ταύτην τίνομεν τῷ Φιλίῳ τὴν δίκην ὅτι δὴ φίλων ἡμῖν ἐφάνη τι τιμιώτερον*, 1204 *ὑπέμνησα Φιλίου Διός* and context.

[1] Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 56 f. Reiske *Ζεὺς γὰρ...ἐπονομάζεται...καὶ Φίλιός τε καὶ Ἑταιρεῖος ... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἑταιρεῖος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται εἶναι ἀλλήλοις φίλους, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἡ πολέμιον μηδένα* = *or.* 12 p. 412 f. Reiske *Ζεὺς γὰρ...ὀνομάζεται...καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἑταιρεῖος... Φίλιος δὲ καὶ Ἑταιρεῖος ὅτι πάντας ἀνθρώπους ξυνάγει καὶ βούλεται φίλους εἶναι ἀλλήλοις, ἐχθρὸν δὲ ἡ πολέμιον οὐδένα οὐδενός*, Eustath. *in magnam quadragesimam oratio praeparatoria* 44 (= Eustath. *opusc.* p. 86 Tafel) *πονηροὶ οἱ μὴ ἀγαπῶντες· πονηροὺς δὲ ὁ Φίλιος οὐ προσίεται*.

[2] Aristot. *de mund.* 7. 401 a 22 *ἑταιρεῖός τε καὶ φίλιος καὶ ξένιος* = Stob. *ecl.* 1. 1. 36 p. 45, 19 f. Wachsmuth (translated by Apul. *de mund.* 37 alii Hospitalem Amicalemque), Loukian. *Tim.* 1 TIM. *ὦ Ζεῦ φίλιε καὶ ξένιε καὶ ἑταιρεῖε καὶ ἐφέστιε καὶ ἀστεροπητὰ καὶ ὄρκιε καὶ νεφεληγερέτα καὶ ἐρίγδουπε καὶ εἴ τί σε ἄλλο οἱ ἐμβρύητοι ποιηταὶ καλοῦσι, καὶ μάλιστα ὅταν ἀπορῶσι πρὸς τὰ μέτρα*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 288 *Φύξιος δὲ ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ Φίλιος καὶ Ἑταιρεῖος καὶ Ἐφέστιος καὶ Ὁμόγνιος καὶ ἄλλα μυρία καλεῖται πρὸς τὰ συμβαίνοντα καὶ γινόμενα καὶ μετονομαζόμενος· κ.τ.λ.*, Achilleus (Tatios) *comment. frag. in* Arat. *phaen.* 2 f. p. 84, 16 ff. Maass *λέγεται γὰρ καὶ βουλαῖος Ζεὺς καὶ ξένιος καὶ ἑταίρειος* (*leg. ἑταιρεῖος*) *φίλιος φυτάλμιος ἐπικάρπιος*, schol. Arat. p. 332, 10 f. Maass *ὡς εἰσι* (*φασί*) *γενέτωρ φράτριος ὁμόγνιος ἑταιρεῖος φίλιος ἱκέσιος ξένιος ἀγοραῖος βουλαῖος βρονταῖος καὶ τὰ ὅμοια* (*sc. ἐπίθετα Διός*), Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 no. 100 *φιλίου* (*sc. Διός*), 274 *φίλιος* (*sc. Ζεύς*), 282 *φίλιος* (*sc. Ζεύς*).

In particular the epithets Ξένιος and Φίλιος are often combined: Plout. *v. Arat.* 54 *δίκας γε μὴν ὁ Φίλιππος οὐ μεμπτὰς Διὶ Ξενίῳ καὶ Φιλίῳ τῆς ἀνοσιουργίας ταύτης τίνων διετέλεσε*, Himer. *or.* 6. 3 *φέρε οὖν κἀνταῦθα Φιλίῳ Διὶ κρατῆρα στήσωμεν καὶ τὸν Ξενίου βωμὸν λόγων ξενίαις ἀμείψωμεν*, Ioul. *or.* 8 p. 327, 8 ff. Hertlein *ἄγοι μὲν θεὸς εὐμενής, ὅποι ποτ' ἂν δέῃ πορεύεσθαι, Ξένιος δὲ ὑποδέχοιτο καὶ Φίλιος εὔνους*, Heliod. *Aeth.* 6. 2 *πρὸς Ξενίων καὶ Φιλίων θεῶν*, schol. Eur. *Hec.* 791 *χθονίους μὲν* (*sc. οὐ δείσας*) *διὰ τὸ ἄταφον ἐᾶσαι φονεύσαντα, οὐρανίους δὲ διὰ τὸν Ξένιον καὶ Φίλιον Δία* (here actually contrasted with the chthonian powers !), schol. Eur. *Andr.* 603 *Φίλιον'...ἢ λείπει τὸ Δία, ἵν' ᾖ Φίλιον Δία, ὡς Ξένιον Δία*, schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 500 *Ζεὺς Ἀγοραῖος· ὡς Ζεὺς Ξένιος ἢ Μειλίχιος ἢ Φίλιος, οὕτω καὶ Ἀγοραῖος*.

See also Aineias of Gaza *epist.* 8, Prokop. *epist.* 15, Eumath. 3. 9, 5. 18 (*supra* p. 1141 n. 13). And cp. Loukian. *Prom. s. Caucas.* 6 *πάνυ φιλανθρώπου τοῦ Διὸς πεπειραμένος*.

[3] P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1883 p. 31 no. 12, *id. Fouilles d'Épidaure* Athènes 1893 i. 60 no. 161, M. Fränkel in the *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1296 [Δ]ὶ Φιλίω | Πύρριος | *κατ' ὄναρ* with the numeral *νθ'* and the symbol 𝍢 in circle, on which see *supra* p. 1076 f. The garland of Zeus *Phílios* is mentioned in an inscription from Kyrene (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 5173, 3 ff. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 873, 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Appendix* i. 280. 1 ff. *ἀ(γ)ρεῖ δ' Ἄρτεμις ἀ(γ)[ροτέ]ρη, καλοῖς ἐνὶ [πέπλ]οις, | Μαρκιανὴν ἱερῷ δερκομένη (θ)[αλάμῳ·] | ο[ὗ Δ]ιὸς ἀρητὴρ [ἡρᾶ]το, πατὴρ ἱερήων, | [ἄρ]τ[ι πυ]κ[νὸ]ν Φιλίο(υ) [σ]τέμμ' ἀν[α]δησάμενος· | κ.τ.λ.* The restoration is doubtful: see G. Kaibel and E. Cougny *ad loc.*).

hastily assumed that Zeus *Philios* was only another name for Asklepios[1], though the two deities were certainly of similar origin and somewhat similar character.

But we have yet to notice three remarkable cults of Zeus *Philios* at Megalopolis in Arkadia, at Pergamon in Mysia, and at Antiocheia on the Orontes, respectively.

(3) Zeus *Philios* at Megalopolis.

Pausanias in describing the enclosure sacred to the Greek Goddesses at Megalopolis says:

'Within the precinct is a temple of Zeus *Philios*. The image is by Polykleitos the Argive and resembles Dionysos; for its feet are shod with buskins and it has a cup in one hand, a *thýrsos* in the other. On the *thýrsos* is perched an eagle, though this does not agree with what is told of Dionysos. Behind the said temple is a small grove of trees surrounded by a wall. People are not allowed to enter it, but before it are images of Demeter and Kore some three feet in height. Within the precinct of the Great Goddesses there is also a sanctuary of Aphrodite[2].'

So the temple of Zeus *Philios* had a grove of awful sanctity behind it, over which Demeter and Kore mounted guard. I take this to mean that Zeus *Philios*, himself a chthonian god, was reckoned as the consort of these chthonian goddesses, and was held to be jointly responsible with them for the yearly yield of corn and wine. Hence his approximation to the type of Dionysos. The singular Dionysiac Zeus is attributed by J. Overbeck[3] to Polykleitos the younger on the ground that his more famous namesake was dead and buried years before the foundation of Megalopolis (371—368 B.C.). But H. Brunn[4] suggested that the statue was a work of Polykleitos the elder, brought from some other Arcadian town to grace the new federal centre. Two arguments incline me towards Brunn's view. In the first place, Pausanias is elsewhere careful to distinguish the younger sculptor from his more illustrious predecessor[5], so that, rightly or wrongly, our author must have meant the elder Polykleitos. In the second place, Polykleitos the elder, bowing to the authority of local tradition, represented Hera with a highly peculiar sceptre[6]: he may well have done the same for this cult-statue of Zeus. It is not, however, necessary to suppose with Brunn that the statue was brought from another town: cult-statues are not easily transplanted. I should rather conceive of the situation as follows. Megalopolis had a quarter or, as Stephanos the geographer says, a 'half' called *Orestía* after Orestes[7], who had spent a year of exile in the *Orésteion*[8]. Now in the only other *Orésteion* known

[1] Cp. *supra* p. 1076 ff.

[2] Paus. 8. 31. 4 f. (*supra* i. 112 n. 2) *τοῦ περιβόλου δέ ἐστιν ἐντὸς Φιλίου Διὸς ναός, Πολυκλείτου μὲν τοῦ Ἀργείου τὸ ἄγαλμα, Διονύσῳ δὲ ἐμφερές· κόθορνοί τε γὰρ τὰ ὑποδήματά ἐστιν αὐτῷ, καὶ ἔχει τῇ χειρὶ ἔκπωμα, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ θύρσον, κάθηται δὲ ἀετὸς ἐπὶ τῷ θύρσῳ· καίτοι γε τοῖς* (R. Porson cj. *τοῖς γε*) *ἐς Διόνυσον λεγομένοις τοῦτο οὐχ ὁμολογοῦν ἐστι. τούτου δὲ ὀπισθεν τοῦ ναοῦ δένδρων ἐστὶν ἄλσος οὐ μέγα, θριγκῷ περιεχόμενον. ἐς μὲν δὴ τὸ ἐντὸς ἔσοδος οὐκ ἔστιν ἀνθρώποις· πρὸ δὲ αὐτοῦ Δήμητρος καὶ Κόρης ὅσον τε ποδῶν τριῶν εἰσιν* (Siebelis cj. *ἐστιν*) *ἀγάλματα. ἔστι δὲ ἐντὸς τοῦ περιβόλου τῶν Μεγάλων Θεῶν καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἱερόν.*

[3] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 51 f., 228 ff., 563, *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 533, 537.

[4] H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1880 p. 468 f.

[5] Paus. 6. 6. 2.

[6] *Supra* i. 134 f., ii. 893 n. 2.

[7] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Μεγάλη πόλις.

[8] Eur. *Or.* 1643 ff. with schol. See N. Wedd *ad loc.* and Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 413.

to us Orestes and Pylades were revered by the Scythians as *Philioi Daímones*[1]. Not impossibly, therefore, the Arcadian Orestes likewise was a *Philios Daímon* worshipped after his death as Zeus *Philios*. Orestes was the son of Agamemnon; and it is probable enough that he, like his father[2], was remembered as a human Zeus. His name *Oréstes*, whatever its origin[3], would pass muster as a title of Zeus the mountain-god[4]. In any case there was good reason for the retention of this pre-Megalopolitan cult: the appellative *Philios* was a most desirable omen for a town which combined the inhabitants of some forty Arcadian villages[5].

(4) Zeus *Philios* at Pergamon.

From Arkadia we pass to Pergamon. 'The Pergamenes themselves,' says Pausanias, 'claim to be Arcadians of the band which crossed into Asia with Telephos[6].' It is not, therefore, surprising to find that Pergamon too had its cult of Zeus *Philios*. An inscribed block from the wall of the *Traianeum* speaks of that splendid structure (fig. 979)[7] as the temple of Iupiter *Amicalis* and the emperor Trajan. The inscription is probably of 113—114 A.D. and intimates that, thanks to the liberality of one Iulius Quadratus, the joint cult is to be honoured with a penteteric festival, which shall take rank with the existing Pergamene festival of Roma and Augustus[8]. The competitions thus established

[1] In Loukian. *Toxar.* 7 the Scythian states that his compatriots honour Orestes and Pylades on account of their mutual loyalty and devotion, adding *καὶ τοὔνομα ἐπὶ τούτοις αὐτῶν ἐθέμεθα Κοράκους καλεῖσθαι· τοῦτο δέ ἐστιν ἐν τῇ ἡμετέρᾳ φωνῇ ὥσπερ ἂν εἴ τις λέγοι 'Φίλιοι Δαίμονες.'* He also mentions a bronze tablet in the *Orésteion* inscribed with the tale of their sufferings, which Scythian children had to get by heart, and ancient paintings on the temple-wall illustrating the record. Possibly *Κόρακοι* = (*Διόσ*)*κοροι*.

[2] *Supra* Append. I.

[3] Recent discussion of Orestes and his myth is conveniently summarised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 pp. 576 ff., 620 ff.

[4] *Supra* i. 100 ff., 117 ff., ii. Append. B.

[5] Diod. 15. 72, Paus. 8. 27. 3 ff. Prof. J. B. Bury in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 19 says of the temples enumerated by Pausanias at Megalopolis: 'Those which he saw on the north side [of the river Helisson] suggest no federal association.' Is not this to ignore the obvious connotation of the title *Philios*?

[6] Paus. 1. 4. 6. See further W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 180 f. and A. C. Pearson on Soph. *Μυσοί frag.* 409 ff. Jebb.

Orestes enters into the myth of Telephos (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 958—961) and is figured on the small inner frieze of the grand altar of Zeus (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 191 f., 219, 223, 228, Beilage 6, D, 7, 42, pl. 33, 4, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 285 fig. 201 c, C. Robert in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1887 ii. 245 ff. fig. D, *id. ib.* 1888 iii. 104, A. Trendelenburg in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1271 f. fig. 1429, O. Höfer *loc. cit.* p. 960).

[7] *Pergamon* v. 2. 1—54 with numerous illustrations and an Atlas of plates (my fig. 979 is after pl. 34 the restored view) forms a monograph on the *Traianeum* by H. Stiller. See also E. Pontremoli and M. Collignon *Pergame, restauration et description des monuments de l'acropole* Paris 1900 pp. 153–160 with figs. and pls. 11 f.

[8] T. Mommsen in the *Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 7086, 18 ff. = M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (= *Pergamon* viii. 2) Berlin 1895 ii. 203 ff. no. 269, 9 ff. with facsimile [placere ut certamen illud,] quod in honorem templi Iovis Amicalis et | [Imp. Caes. divi Nervae f. Ner]vae Traiani Augusti Germanici Dacici | [pontif. max. est con-st]itutum *εἰσελαστικὸν* in civitate | [Pergamenorum, eiusdem con]dicionis sit, cuius est, quod in honorem Romae | [et divi Aug. ibi agitur, it]a ut ea impendia, quae propter id certamen | [fieri oportebit, cedant in] onus Iuli Quadrati clarissimi viri | [eorumque a]d quos ea res pertinebit. The official description *ib.* 13 = 5 [*ἀγὼν δεύτ*]*ερος παρ' ὑμεῖν ἱερὸς*

are called in another inscription the Traianeia Deiphileia[1]. From the double nomenclature and from the absence of earlier foundations beneath the temple M. Fränkel justly infers that the cult of Trajan was superposed on a previously existing cult of Zeus *Philios* (Latinised as Iupiter *Amicalis*), who formerly had

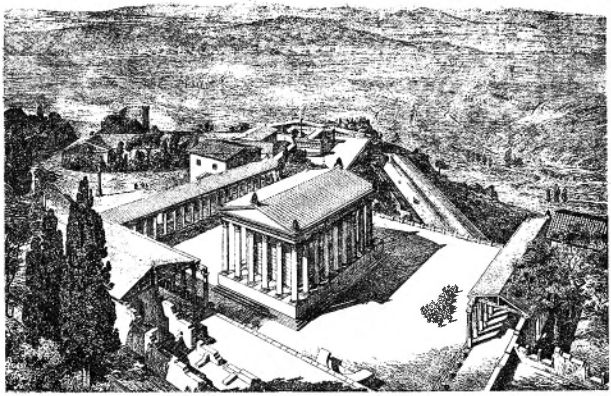


Fig. 979.

no temple but only an open-air altar[2]—presumably that detected by J. Schrammen on the highest point of the hill[3]. When it was decided to institute the cult of Trajan, who himself had some pretensions to the name of Zeus[4], the best

is borne out by Dion Cass. 51. 20 καὶ ἔλαβον καὶ οἱ Περγαμηνοὶ τὸν ἀγῶνα τὸν ἱερὸν ὠνομασμένον ἐπὶ τῇ τοῦ ναοῦ αὐτοῦ (*sc.* Αὐγούστου) τιμῇ ποιεῖν.

[1] E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 233 f. Oxford 1890 no. 605, 9 Τραϊάνεια Δειφίλεια ἐν Περγάμῳ ἀνδρῶν πυγμ(ήν·), where Hicks wrongly supposes that the games 'may have been endowed by one Διφίλος (*sic*).' Δειφίλεια, as M. Fränkel *loc. cit.* saw, are the games of Ζεὺς Φίλιος.

[2] M. Fränkel *Die Inschriften von Pergamon* (=*Pergamon* viii. 2) Berlin 1895 ii. 206.

[3] *Supra* i. 120 f. fig. 89.

[4] A fragmentary inscription from Hermione speaks of Trajan as Zeus *Embatérios* (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 1213=*Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 701 – – – – – – – | [Κ]αίσαρα θεὸν θεο[ῦ] | Σεβαστὸν Γ*ε*ρμανικὸν | Δακικόν, Δία Ἐμβατήριον, | ἡ πόλις). L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 810 A cp. Apollon Ἐμβάσιος (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2485) and Ἐπιβατήριος (*id. ib.* vi. 28). We can contrast Apollon Ἐκβάσιος (*id. ib.* v. 2155), Artemis Ἐκβατηρία (*id. ib.* v. 2158). Such epithets denote a deity invoked by the voyager before he embarks or after he disembarks, as the case may be. The deity in question might chance to be of mortal stock: on the quay at Alexandreia was τὸ λεγόμενον Σεβάστιον, Ἐπιβατηρίου Καίσαρος νεώς (Philon *leg. ad Gai.* 22: see further O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1385, O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28). Hesych. Ἐπιβήμιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Σίφνῳ has been wrongly added to this group of travel-titles (O. Jessen *ib.* vi. 28), or altered to Ἐπιδήμιος (R. Förster in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1894 xix. 372 f., citing a marble block at *Karadjadagh-Köi* on the *Ulutshar* in Bithynia, which is inscribed Διὶ Ἐπιδημίῳ | Κλαύδιο(ς) Σε[βη]ο|s Ὀφελίων οἰκο|νόμος κ(αὶ) Ἡλιὰς ¶ ὑπὲρ τέκνων | κ(αὶ) τῶν βοῶν | εὐχῆς χάριν | ἀνεστήσα|μεν): Zeus 'on the Step' is better explained as a god standing beside the

course seemed to be to maintain the old altar of ashes on the hill-top and to erect a new temple, which should be shared on equal terms by Zeus *Philios* and the divinised emperor. Copper coins of Pergamon, struck by Trajan, illustrate the inscription from the *Traianeum* in two ways. On the one hand, they put

Fig. 980.

Fig. 981.

Fig. 982.

Trajan himself more or less on a par with Zeus *Philios*. Thus the emperor's head occupies the obverse, the god's head the reverse, of a coin (fig. 980)[1]. Or, the emperor's head on the obverse is balanced by a seated figure of the god on the reverse (fig. 982)[2]. Or, the emperor in military costume stands beside the orator on his platform and inspiring his utterance (cp. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 207, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 162). *Supra* p. 897 n. 3.

The southern or townward face of Trajan's Arch at Beneventum, which like the Pergamene temple dates from the year 113—114, represents in the two panels of its attic (*a*) the Capitoline triad awaiting the arrival of Trajan: Iuno is escorted by Mercurius and Ceres, Minerva by Libet and Hercules; (*b*) Trajan approaching the *area Capitolina*: accompanied by Hadrian as emperor designate and followed by two lictors, he has reached the temple of Iupiter *Custos*, on the left of which, before the entrance-arch, are seen Roma, the Penates Publici Populi Romani, and the consuls. These two panels, separated only by the dedicatory inscription (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 1558 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 296 imp. Caesari divi Nervae filio | Nervae Traiano Optimo Aug. | Germanico Dacico, pontif. max., trib. | potest. XVIII, imp. VII, cos. VI, p. p., | fortissimo principi, senatus p. q. R.), form a single composition—Iupiter handing his own thunderbolt to Trajan, who is thereby recognised as his vice-gerent (figs. 983, 984 are from photographs by R. Moscioni (nos. 15308, 15309)). See further E. Petersen 'L'arco di Traiano a Benevento' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1892 vii. 239—264 with cut, especially p. 251 f., A. L. Frothingham in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1897 p. 379 f., A. von Domaszewski 'Die politische Bedeutung des Traiansbogens in Benevent' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii. 173—192 with figs., especially p. 175 ff., F. Wickhoff *Roman Art* trans. Mrs. S. A. Strong London 1900 pp. 105—110 with figs., *ead. Roman Sculpture* London 1907 pp. 214—227 with pls. 63—66, especially p. 215 f., *ead. Apotheosis and the After Life* London 1915 pp. 85—87 pl. 10, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 58—66, especially p. 64 no. 1 f. For the title *Optimus* see *supra* p. 100 n. 6.

The significance of the imperial figure on the summit of Trajan's Column at Rome has been already considered (*supra* p. 100 ff.).

[1] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 228 Münztaf. 3, 23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 141 pl. 28, 12, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 2, H. von Fritze in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1910* Phil.-hist. Classe Anhang i. 55 pl. 4, 5. I figure a specimen from my collection: obv. AVTTPAIA NOCCCBA, rev. ΣΕVC ΦΙΛΙΟC (= obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός, rev. Ζεὺς Φίλιος).

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 141 no. 259, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 1 = my fig. 982, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 4: obv. AVTTPAI ANOCCЄBACT, rev. ΦΙΛΙΟCΣЄVC ΠЄΡΓΑ (= obv. Αὐτοκράτωρ

seated god within the same temple (fig. 981)[1]. On the other hand, the coins equate the cult of Zeus *Philios* and Trajan with the cult of Roma and Augustus. The obverse shows Zeus *Philios* and Trajan in their temple, the reverse Roma

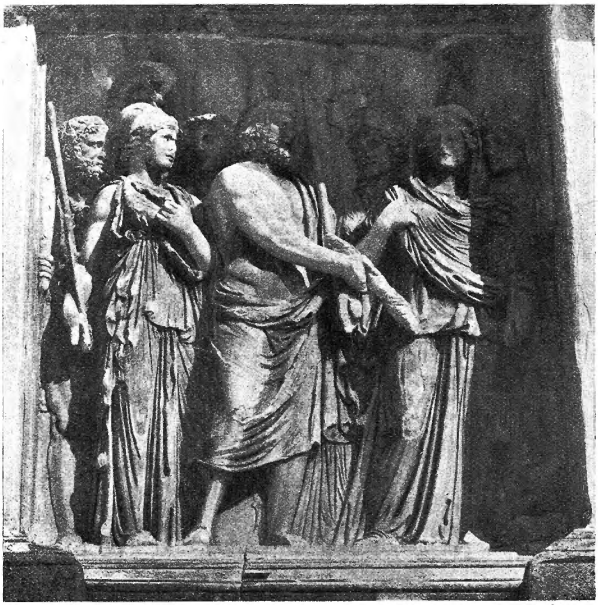


Fig. 983.

and Augustus in theirs[2]. Or, the obverse has Trajan, the reverse Augustus, as sole occupants of their respective fanes[3].

Τραϊανὸς Σεβαστός, rev. Φίλιος Ζεὺς Περγαμηνῶν). A copper of Lucius Verus gives the reverse type on a larger scale (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 148 no. 293, H. Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 4, 6) with the legend: ЄΠΙCΤΡΑΑΤΥΛ....ΚΡΑ ΤΙΠΠΟΥΠЄΡΓΑΜΗΝΩΝΒ ΝЄΟΚΟΡ (=*ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Ἀτυλλίου Κρατίππου, Περγαμηνῶν β′ νεωκόρων*).

[1] Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 142 no. 262, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 3=my fig. 981: rev. ΦΙΛΙΟC ZЄΥC ΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟCΠЄΡΓ ΑΜΗΝΩΝ. Cp. a copper of Traianus Decius (H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 55 pl. 8, 18).

[2] Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 872 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 142 pl. 28, 10, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 5, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* pp. 55, 83 ff. pl. 8, 12: obv. ΦΙΛΙΟC ΣЄVC AVT ΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ CЄΒΠЄ[Ρ] or ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗ, rev. ΘЄΛ ΡΩΜΗ [Κ]Α[ΙΘ]Є[Ω] CЄΒΑC ΤΩ.

[3] Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 873, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 142 pl. 28, 11, *Hunter*

The cult of Zeus *Phílios* on the mountain at Pergamon was, if I am right in my conjecture[1], derived from the cult of Zeus *Phílios* the 'Mountaineer[2]' of Megalopolis. But the original connexion with *Oréstes* had long since been for-

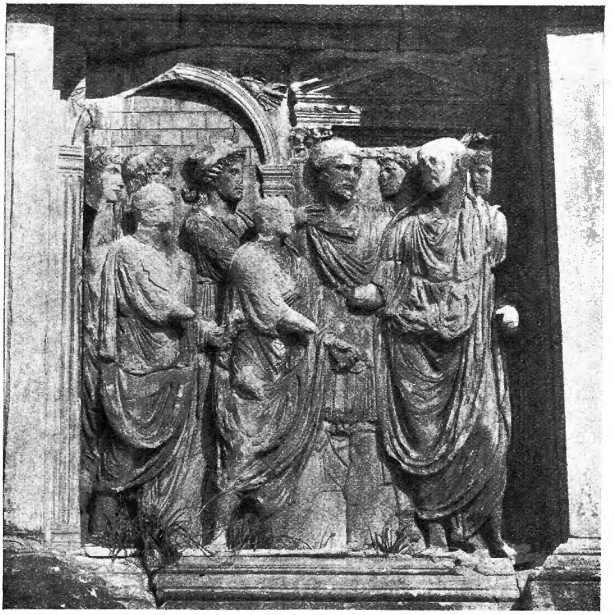


Fig. 984.

gotten, or at best left a mere trace or itself in the traditional link between Orestes and Telephos[3]. It was, however, remembered that Zeus *Phílios* somehow stood for the founder of the state. This may be inferred from the fact that, when

Cat. Coins ii. 282 no. 57, H. Stiller in *Pergamon* v. 2. 53 fig. 4, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 84 pl. 8, 17: obv. CT PΠΩΛ ΛΙΩΝΟC ΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΟ C or CTPΠΩΛΛΙ ΩΝΟCΤΡΑΙΑ ΝΘCΕΠΙ, rev. ΑΥΓ Ο V CTOC ΠΘΡΓΑ (=obv. *ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ* Πωλλίωνος· Τραϊανός, rev. Αὔγουστος· Περγαμηνῶν).

[1] *Supra* p. 1179.

[2] *Supra* p. 1178 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 1179 n. 6. Note that Τήλεφος, a clipped form of Τηλεφάνης (F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 374) was, like Ὀρέστης (*supra* p. 1179), a name which would fitly describe a mountain-god (cp. *Od.* 24. 83, Aristoph. *nub.* 281, Menand. Λευκαδία *frag.* 1, 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 158 f. Meineke) *ap.* Strab. 452, and the like).

the Pergamenes invented an eponymous hero Pergamos[1], they portrayed him (fig. 985)[2] with the features of Zeus *Philios*.

Whether Zeus *Philios* at Pergamon was in any sense Dionysiac, we can hardly determine. A *phiále* in his hand (figs. 981, 982) is no proof. Nor can we lay stress on the curious association of Telephos with the vine[3]. The most we

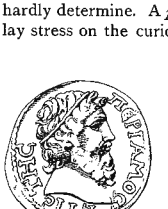


Fig. 985.

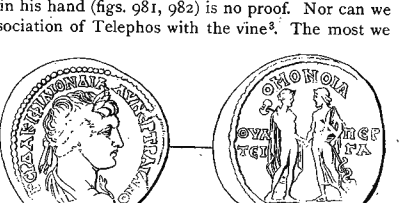


Fig. 986.

can say is that a buskined Zeus of the Arcadian type[4] would not be out of place in a town which recognised Zeus *Sabázios*[5] and Zeus *Bákchos*[6].

Popular enthusiasm, or policy, having thus raised the emperor to the level of Zeus *Philios*, went a step further and identified the two. An alliance-coin of Thyateira and Pergamon (fig. 986)[7] surrounds the laureate bust of Trajan with

[1] H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 69 n. 1 points out that Pergamos is first mentioned as founder of the state in two mutually complementary inscriptions of *c.* 50 B.C. published together by H. Hepding in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1909 xxxiv. 329 ff.: ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | Μιθραδάτην Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γένους ἀρχιερέ[α] | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Καθηγεμόνος Διονύσου διὰ γένο[υς,] | ἀπο[κα]τασήσαντα τοῖς πατρώοις θεοῖς τ[ήν τε πόλιν] | καὶ [τὴν] χώραν καὶ γενόμενον τῆς πατρίδος μ[ετὰ Πέργαμον] | καὶ Φιλέταιρον νέον κτίστην and ὁ δῆμος ἐτίμησεν | [Μιθραδάτη]ν Μηνοδότου τὸν διὰ γέν[ους ἀρχιερέα | καὶ ἱερέα τοῦ Κα]θηγεμόνος Διονύσου, ἀποκα[τασήσαντα | τοῖς πατ]ρώοις θεοῖς τήν τε πόλιν καὶ τὴν χώρα[ν καὶ γενόμενον | τῆς πατ]ρίδος μ[ε]τ[ὰ Π]έργαμο[ν καὶ Φ]ιλέταιρον νέον κτ[ίστην]. On the hero Pergamos and his cult see further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1958 f.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 136 pl. 28, 1, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 67 pl. 3, 14 and 19=my fig. 985, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 536: *quasi*-autonomous coppers inscribed ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟC and ΠΕΡΓΑΜΟC ΚΤΙC ΤΗC.

[3] When the Greeks sailed against Troy, they lost their way and attacked Mysia by mistake. Telephos, king of the Mysians, went out against the invaders and slew many of them, but fled before Achilles and, tripping over a vine, was wounded in the thigh by that hero's spear (Apollod. *epit.* 3. 17). This occurred because Dionysos was angry with Telephos for depriving him of his due honours (schol. *Il.* 1. 59 f., cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 46, 35 ff. (Telephos' horse stumbles over a vine by the design of Dionysos), Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 211 (Dionysos repays Achilles' sacrifices by causing to spring up a vine-shoot, which entangles Telephos), Dictys Cretensis 2. 3 (Telephus, pursued by Ulysses among the vineyards, trips over a vine-stem and is speared by Achilles in the left thigh)). The story is given without detail by Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 109 f. ὃ καὶ Μύσιον ἀμπελόεν | αἷμαξε Τηλέφου μέλανι ῥαίνων φόνῳ πεδίον. On the golden vine presented to Telephos' wife Astyoche by Priamos see *supra* p. 281 n. 4.

[4] *Supra* p. 1178.

[5] *Supra* p. 287 n. 2.

[6] *Supra* pp. 287 n. 2, 954 n. 0.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 320 pl. 41, 5 (my fig. 986 is from a cast of the coin), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 100: ΑVΝΕΡΤΡΑΙΑΝΟ Ν[CΕ]ΓΕΡ ΔΑΚΙΦΙΛΙΟΝ ΔΙΑ (=αὐτοκράτορα Νέρουαν Τραϊανὸν Σεβαστὸν Γερμανικὸν Δακικὸν Φίλιον Δία).

the cunningly-worded legend: 'The emperor Nerva Traianus [Augustus] Germanicus Dacicus Zeus *Philios*.' The mind of the reader passes upward from names of human import through titles recording hard blows struck and magnificent triumphs won to the final claim of supreme beneficent godhead. Moreover, the whole is thrown into the accusative case with a subtle suggestion of some verb denoting honour, if not worship[1]. Adulation of the man has reached its limit. And, after all, a god who starts as a buried king ends not unfittingly as a divinised emperor.

Pergamon, in common with other cities of Asia Minor, frankly regarded the reigning sovereign as lord of heaven and earth, and did not hesitate to portray him in this capacity as a cosmic Zeus. A wonderful copper piece from the Pergamene mint (fig. 987)[2] exhibits Commodus in the form of a youthful Zeus with short hair and slight beard, naked and erect, a thunderbolt in his right hand, a sceptre in his left. He has an eagle with spread wings at his feet, and is flanked by two recumbent figures—Gaia on the right with a turreted crown and a *cornu copiae*, Thalassa on the left with a head-dress of crab's-claws and a steering paddle. In the field are busts of Helios and Selene. A unique coin, struck at Pergamon and now in the cabinet of T. Prowe at Moscow (fig. 988)[3], repeats the theme with variations. Thalassa and Gaia stand side by side, the former with bare breast, crab's-claws on her head, and a steering paddle in her uplifted hand, the latter with covered

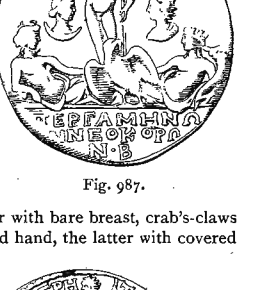


Fig. 987.

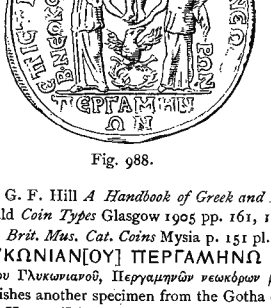


Fig. 988.

Fig. 989.

[1] G. F. Hill *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Coins* London 1899 p. 186, G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 pp. 161, 170, H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 78 ff.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 151 pl. 30, 4 = my fig. 987: rev. [ΕΠΙ]ΣΤΡΑΤΗΓ ΛΥΚΩΝΙΑΝ[ΟΥ] ΠΕΡΓΑΜΗΝΩ ΝΝΕΟΚΟΡΩ Ν·Β (= *ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ* Μ. *Αἰλίου Γλυκωνιανοῦ, Περγαμηνῶν νεωκόρων β'*). H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 56 f. pl. 4, 7 publishes another specimen from the Gotha collection.

[3] H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 56 f. pl. 4, 11: rev. ЄΠΙCΤΡ ΜΗΝΟ Γ ЄΝΟVC·Β· ΝЄΩ[ΚΟ] ΡΩΝ ΠЄΡΓΑΜΗΝ ΩΝ (= *ἐπὶ στρατηγοῦ Μηνογένους, β' νεωκόρων Περγαμηνῶν*).

breast, wheat-ears on her head, and a *cornu copiae* on her arm. Both join hands to support a nude, youthful Zeus with the features of Geta, who holds a sceptre in his left hand and brandishes a thunderbolt in his right. Below him is his eagle with spread wings, grasping a wreath in his talons. Further variations are found on another unique copper, struck by Caracalla at Laodikeia in Phrygia and now in our national collection (fig. 989)[1]. Gaia and Thalassa have changed places: behind the one corn-ears spring from the ground; behind the other a dolphin plunges into the sea. On their joined hands, instead of Zeus, stands Caracalla with a radiate crown on his head holding *phále* and sceptre, while beneath him hovers his eagle bearing a wreath.

(5) Zeus *Philios* at Antiocheia.

Lastly, we turn to Antiocheia on the Orontes, where the worship of Zeus *Philios* was established by Theoteknos, governor of the city under Maximinus ii and an apostate from the Christian faith[2]. Eusebios in his *Ecclesiastical History*[3] pens an ugly portrait of this persecutor[4]:

'The root of all the mischief grew in Antiocheia itself[5]—Theoteknos, a horror, a humbug, and a villain, whose character belied his name; he was supposed to keep the town in order. He set all his forces against us. He threw himself with zest into the task of hunting our people out of their holes and corners in every possible way, as though they had been a gang of thieves and malefactors. He went all lengths in slandering and accusing us. And, after causing tens of thousands to be put to death, he finally set up an idol of Zeus *Philios* with a deal of quackery and imposture. He invented foul rites for it, initiations of an irreligious sort, and abominable modes of purification. He even exhibited before the emperor the portentous signs by means of which it was supposed to produce oracles[6].'

Theoteknos may well have augured a great success for his new cult, partly on general and partly on special grounds.

On the one hand, the Antiochenes had always been devoted to the worship of Zeus. Long before their city was built, Triptolemos—so they said—had founded Ione on the slope of Mount Silpion and had constructed there a sanctuary of Zeus *Némeios*, later renamed Zeus *Epikárpios*[7]. Subsequently Perseus

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 316 pl. 37, 12 (=my fig. 989), H. von Fritze *loc. cit.* p. 57: rev. ·ЄΠΙ·Π·ΑΙΛ ΠΙΓΡΗ ΤΟϹ ΑϹΙΑΡΓ ΛΑΟΔΙΚЄΩΝΝ ЄΩΚΟΡΩΝ· (=*ἐπὶ* Π. Αἰλίου Πίγρητος Ἀσιάρχου γ', Λαοδικέων νεωκόρων).

[2] G. T. Stokes in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 1011.

[3] Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 2 f.

[4] In 304 A.D. he did to death S. Theodotos and the Seven Virgins of Ankyra (*Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maii iv. 147—165, T. Ruinart *Acta primorum martyrum sincera & selecta*[2] Amstelaedami 1713 pp. 336—352, A. Gallandius *Bibliotheca veterum patrum antiquorumque scriptorum ecclesiasticorum* Venetiis 1768 iv. 114—130).

[5] We have here a buried hexameter: *ὧν πάντων ἀρχηγὸς ἐπ' αὐτῆς Ἀντιοχείας.*

[6] Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 *τελευτῶν εἴδωλόν τι Διὸς Φιλίου μαγγανείαις τισὶ καὶ γοητείαις ἱδρύεται, τελετάς τε ἀνάγνους αὐτῷ καὶ μυήσεις ἀκαλλιερήτους ἐξαγίστους τε καθαρμοὺς ἐπινοήσας, μέχρι καὶ βασιλέως τὴν τερατείαν δι' ὧν ἐδόκει χρησμῶν (leg. χρησμοὺς) ἐκτελεῖν ἐπεδείκνυτο.* Cp. the loose translation of Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 9. 3 apud Antiochiam simulacrum quoddam Iovis Amicalis nuper consecratum artibus quibusdam magicis et impuris consecrationibus ita compositum erat, ut falleret oculos intuentium et portenta quaedam ostentare videretur ac responsa proferre. C. F. Crusé renders *τελετάς τε ἀνάγνους κ.τ.λ.* 'after reciting forms of initiation' etc., clearly taking *ἀνάγνους* to be *ἀναγνούς*—an ingenious error.

[7] Liban. *or.* 11. 51 (i. 2. 453, 1 ff. Foerster), *supra* i. 236 n. 10. Cp. *Chron. Paschale*

visited Ione and, when a storm burst so that the river Orontes, then called Drakon, overflowed its banks, bade the inhabitants pray for deliverance. Thereupon a ball of lightning fell from the sky and stopped at once the downpour and the flood. Perseus kindled a fire from the blaze, took it to his own palace in Persia, and taught the Persians to reverence it as divine. He also established for the men of Ione a sanctuary of Immortal Fire[1]. In the Hellenistic age this sanctuary on Mount Silpion was known as that of Zeus *Keraúnios*[2]. Again, the foundation of Antiocheia itself was directly associated with the cult of Zeus. Libanios in his panegyric of the town says[3]:

'The settlement began with Zeus *Bottiaîos*[4], erected by Alexander, and the hill called Emathia after Alexander's home.'

i. 76 Dindorf ἔκτισαν οὖν ἐκεῖ οἱ αὐτοὶ Ἰωνῖται ἱερὸν Κρονίωνος (but see *supra* i. 237 n. 1) εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος and perhaps Liban. *legat. ad Iulian.* 79 (ii. 152, 10 ff. Foerster) cited *supra* p. 869 n. 1.

Zeus Νέμειος appears on a billon coin of Alexandreia with *sélinon* (?)-wreath, *aigís*, and star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 17 no. 130 pl. 1 (=my fig. 990), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 862, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 218, 248, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 116). These coins were struck by Nero in 67—68 A.D. to commemorate his triumphant tour through Greece in 67 A.D. (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iv. 53).

Fig. 990.

As to the title Ἐπικάρπιος, my friend Mr G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 150 kindly draws my attention to Methodios *ap. et. mag.* p. 58, 20 ff. Ἀλδήμιος ἡ Ἄλδος, ὁ Ζεύς, ὃς (codd. D. Vb. omit ὃς) ἐν Γάζῃ τῆς Συρίας τιμᾶται· παρὰ τὸ ἀλδαίνω, τὸ αὐξάνω· ὁ ἐπὶ τῆς αὐξήσεως τῶν καρπῶν. Μεθόδιος (οὕτως Μεθόδιος cod. Vb.). Cp. S. Bochart *Geographia sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan*[4] Lugduni Batavorum 1707 lib. ii cap. 14 p. 748 'Ego Jovem illum Phœnices linguâ suâ vocasse puto בעל חלדא *baal-halda* dominum sæculi, vel בעלחלדים *baal-aldim* dominum sæculorum'—a most ingenious explanation of the alternatives Ἄλδος and Ἀλδήμιος.

[1] Pausanias the chronographer (cp. Io. Tzetz. *schol. in exeges. Iliad.* in L. Bachmann *Scholia in Homeri Iliadem* Lipsiae 1835 p. 833, 28 f. Παυσανίας δὲ ὁ ἱστορικὸς ἐν τῷ περὶ Ἀντιοχείας κτίσεως γράφει πλατύτερον. κ.τ.λ.) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 37 f. Dindorf = *Chron. Paschale* i. 72 f. Dindorf ὁ δὲ αὐτὸς Περσεὺς ἔκτισε τοῖς Ἰωνίταις ἱερόν, ὃ ἐπωνόμασε πυρὸς ἀθανάτου.

[2] Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 Dindorf says of Seleukos i Nikator after the foundation of Seleukeia καὶ εὐχαριστῶν ἀνῆλθεν εἰς Ἰώπολιν καὶ μετὰ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ἐπετέλεσεν ἑορτὴν ἐκεῖ τῷ Κεραυνίῳ Διὶ ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τῷ κτισθέντι ὑπὸ Περσέως τοῦ υἱοῦ Πίκου καὶ Δανάης, τῷ ὄντι εἰς τὸ Σίλπιον ὄρος, ἔνθα κεῖται ἡ Ἰώπολις, ποιήσας τὴν θυσίαν τῇ πρώτῃ τοῦ Ἀρτεμισίου μηνός.

[3] Liban. *or.* 11. 76 (i. 2. 461, 18 ff. Foerster).

[4] With Zeus Βοττιαῖος cp. Zeus Βώττιος of Βωττία, a village on the Orontes (Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf cited *infra* p. 1188), which doubtless claimed connexion with Βοττία, Βοττιαία, Βοττιαῖς, the district round Pella in Makedonia (E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 794 f.). Since the Bottiaeans of Makedonia were said to have been brought by one Botton from Crete (Aristot. *frag.* 443 Rose *ap.* Plout. *v. Thes.* 16 and *quaestt. Gr.* 35, Strab. 279, 282, 329 *frag.* 11, Konon *narr.* 25, *et. mag.* p. 206, 1 ff.), it is possible that Zeus Βοττιαῖος was ultimately of Cretan origin. The story of the clay loaves etc. told by Konon *loc. cit.* probably has some basis in Bottiaean ritual. Coppers struck at Pella, under Philippos v and later (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 243), with the monogram Β (for Βοττεατῶν) have obv. head of Zeus wreathed with bay (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 13, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 352) or oak (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 13 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 352 (?)), rev. winged thunderbolt.

Further on he adds[1]:

'The whole thing was ordained of God. Forty furlongs from this city of ours there was a city bearing the name of Antigonos and built by Antigonos. Here Seleukos was sacrificing after his victory[2]. The bull had been slaughtered, the altars had received their customary portion, the fire was already licking up the sacrifice and burning fiercely, when, lo, Zeus moved from his sceptre[3] his own companion and favourite bird and despatched him to the altar. He flew down into the midst of the flame, caught up the thigh-pieces all ablaze, and bore them off[4]. As the event attracted the looks and thoughts of all and was manifestly due to divine interposition, Seleukos bade his son[5] mount a horse, pursue the flight from the ground, and guide his horse by the bridle according to the route taken by the bird; for he wished to know what it would do with its booty. Seleukos' son riding his horse, with upturned eyes, was led by the flight to Emathia. There the eagle stooped and deposited his burden on the altar of Zeus *Bottiaîos*, erected by Alexander when he was cheered by the sight of the spring[6]. So all men, even without special powers of interpretation, could see that Zeus meant them to build a city on the spot. And thus it came about that the settlement intended and commenced by Alexander was carried to completion, while the chief of the gods[7] by means of his own omen became our founder.'

Similar tales were current with regard to Alexander's foundation of Alexandreia[8] and Seleukos' foundation of Seleukeia Pieria[9]. Ioannes Malalas, of whose sixth-century chronicle a Greek abridgment (not to mention the fuller Slavonic version[10]) is extant, gives the Antiochene story[11], adding a touch or two of his own to heighten the interest. Thus, instead of connecting Zeus *Bottiaîos* with the hill Emathia, he harrows our feelings by the assertion that at Bottia, a village over against Iopolis, Seleukos, when founding Antiocheia, sacrificed a maiden named Aimathe (*sic*) by the hand of the chief priest and initiator Amphion, between the city and the river, on Artemisios, *i.e.* May, 22, at daybreak, as the sun rose—a most circumstantial narrative. He goes on to say that Seleukos founded also the sanctuary of Zeus *Bóttios*[12]. Again, Antiochos iv Epiphanes built for the Antiochenes, presumably on Mount Silpion, a magnificent temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, of which we are told, not only that its roof had gilded coffers, but that its walls were overlaid with beaten gold[13]. Tiberius either completed or restored the structure[14]. Antiochos Epiphanes also erected in the temple, which he had built, or more probably beautified, for Apollon at Daphne, a copy of the Olympian Zeus, said to have been as large as the original[15]. This statue was perhaps in-

[1] Liban. *or.* 11. 85—88 (i. 2. 464, 10 ff. Foerster).

[2] Seleukos i Nikator, after vanquishing Antigonos in Phrygia (301 B.C.).

[3] *Supra* p. 1132 ff. [4] *Infra* fig. 1001. [5] Antiochos i Soter.

[6] See Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf.

[7] (ὁ Ζεὺς) ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος.

[8] Iul. Valer. 1. 30 p. 39, 9 ff. Kuebler, pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 32 (context *supra* p. 1127 n. 0).

[9] *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

[10] Prof. J. B. Bury informs me that such a version exists, but is not yet published in accessible shape. On Malalas see further K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches*[2] München 1897 p. 325 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 390 f.

[11] Io. Malal. *chron.* 8 p. 199 ff. Dindorf.

[12] *Id. ib.* 8 p. 200 Dindorf.

[13] Liv. 41. 20. Cp. Gran. Licin. 28 p. 6, 5 f. Flemisch duos colossos duodenum cubitorum ex *aere* unum Olympio, alterum Capitolino Iovi de*dicaverat*.

[14] Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 234 Dindorf ὁ δὲ Τιβέριος Καῖσαρ ἔκτισεν ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ πόλει ἱερὸν μέγα Διὸς Καπετωλίου. The word ἔκτισεν must not be pressed.

[15] Amm. Marc. 22. 13. 1 eodem tempore die xi Kalend. Novembrium amplissimum

tended to represent Antiochos himself[1]; for it seems to have been part of that ruler's policy always to foster the cult, and on occasion to assume the *rôle*, of Zeus[2]. Thus he struck handsome silver pieces showing on the obverse side an

Fig. 991.

idealised portrait-head of himself, sometimes with twin stars at the ends of his diadem[3], and on the reverse Zeus enthroned with a Nike in his hand. The Nike extends a wreath towards the god. And the accompanying legend reads 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest' (fig. 991)[4], or 'Of King Antiochos, the God Made Manifest, Bearer of Victory' (fig. 992)[5]. Another imposing type has on the obverse the head of the monarch, wreathed with wild-olive and bearded as if he were indeed Zeus *Olýmpios*, on the reverse Zeus enthroned with Nike in the act of crowning him (fig. 993)[6] or his pompous inscription (fig. 994)[7]. It is very possible that this coin commemorates the erection of the Olympian Zeus at Daphne. Be that as it may, the statue was probably made of gold and ivory, like its original at Olympia.

Fig. 992.

Daphnaei Apollinis fanum, quod Epiphanes Antiochus rex ille condidit iracundus et saevus, et simulacrum in eo Olympiaci Iovis imitamenti aequiparans magnitudinem, subita vi flammarum exustum est. But Liban. *or.* 11. 94 ff. (i. 2. 467, 1 ff. Foerster) and Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 19 agree that the sanctuary of Apollon Δαφναῖος was the work of Seleukos i Nikator. Presumably Antiochos Epiphanes added to its attractions. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 58 by an odd blunder takes Ammianus to mean that Antiochos dedicated at Daphne a statue of Apollon in the guise of Olympian Zeus!

[1] We may fairly suspect that the same intention prompted Antiochos' sacrilegious treatment of the temples at Jerusalem and on Mt Gerizim (*supra* i. 233, ii. 887 n. 0 no. (31)).

[2] See E. R. Bevan 'A note on Antiochos Epiphanes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx. 26—30, *id. The House of Seleucus* London 1902 ii. 154 ff., G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 144.

[3] Tetradrachms with rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ or ΑΝ ΤΙΟΧΟΥ Apollon seated on the *omphalós* have obv. head of Antiochos with diadem surmounted by a star (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 34 pl. 11, 1) or with diadem ending in two eight-rayed stars (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 41 pl. 66, 9). They bear witness to the early deification of the king.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 35 pl. 11, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 44 pl. 66, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 762. I figure a specimen from my collection.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 35 pl. 11, 7 = my fig. 992, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 47 f. pl. 66, 17 (cp. 18), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 762, *Bunbury Sale Catalogue* 1896 ii. 65 no. 494.

[6] E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 pp. xciv f., 71 pl. 12, 11 (= my fig. 993).

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 36 pl. 11, 9 = my fig. 994, *Hunter*

Alexander ii Zabinas, when beaten by Antiochos viii Grypos in 123—122 B.C., retired to Antiocheia and, in order to pay his troops, bade men enter the temple of Zeus and remove from the god's hand the Nike of solid gold, remarking that

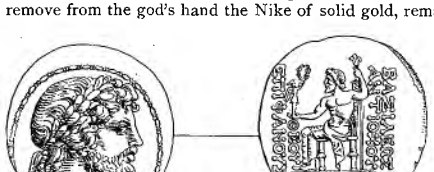


Fig. 993.

Fig. 994.

Zeus had lent him victory![1] A unique *statér* of gold, formerly in the Montagu collection (fig. 995)[2], was doubtless struck by Zabinas from this stolen Nike[3]. A few days later he attempted to carry off the whole statue of Zeus with its vast weight of gold, but was caught in the act and forced by popular outcry to flee from the city[4].

Fig. 995.

The statue, however, did not escape for long the cupidity of the Syrian kings. Antiochus ix Kyzikenos, son of Antiochos vii Sidetes, being in need of money, gave orders that the golden Zeus, fifteen cubits high, should be melted down and replaced by a copy in inferior material with gilded sheathing[5]. It was presumably in connexion with the cult of Zeus *Olýmpios* that Antiochos Epiphanes held games

Cat. Coins iii. 48 no. 50, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. xciv f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 762 f. The head is usually described as laureate.

[1] Iust. 39. 2. 5.

[2] *Montagu Sale Catalogue* 1896 i. 92 no. 716 pl. 9=my fig. 995.

[3] E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. cxlix f.

[4] Iust. 39. 2. 6, Diod. *excerpta de virt. et vit.* 35 p. 145, 42 ff. Dindorf.

[5] Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 52. 3 p. 40, 22 ff. Stählin Ἀντίοχος δὲ ὁ Κυζικηνὸς ἀπορούμενος χρημάτων τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα τὸ χρυσοῦν, πεντεκαίδεκα πηχῶν τὸ μέγεθος ὄν, προσέταξε χωνεῦσαι καὶ (J. Markland cj. κἀκ) τῆς ἄλλης τῆς ἀτιμοτέρας ὕλης ἄγαλμα παραπλήσιον ἐκείνῳ πετάλοις κεχρυσωμένον ἀναθεῖναι πάλιν. Cp. Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 21 Antiochum Cyzicenum ferunt decem (F. Orsini cj. *quindecim*) cubitorum Iovem ex delubro aureum sustulisse et ex aere bracteolis substituisse fucatum.

of unusual significance at Daphne[1], not to mention the high jinks[2] which earned him the *sobriquet* of *Epimanés*. Antiochos Grypos followed suit[3]. And in later times the Olympic contests of Daphne obtained a wide celebrity[4]. Diocletian is said to have built a sanctuary of Zeus *Olympios* in the *Stádion* at Daphne—a statement of uncertain value[5]. Meantime in Antiocheia itself Commodus had built a temple of Zeus *Olympios* with an adjoining portico known as the *Xystón*[6]. Didius Iulianus had added a *Pléthron*[7], which was later doubled in size by Argyrios and Phasganios[8], and still further enlarged by Proklos[9]. The whole complex of buildings was evidently modelled on its counterpart at Elis and was meant to accommodate athletes preparing for the Olympia, which were actually held at Daphne. At Daphne too there was a temple of Zeus *Sotér*, built to commemorate a crisis in the history of the city. For at dawn on Apellaios, *i.e.* December, 13 in the year 115 Antiocheia was shaken by a great earthquake with most disastrous results. The survivors founded this temple and inscribed upon it the words:

'The saved set up (this edifice) for Zeus the Saviour[10].'

The earthquake was preceded by many thunderbolts and unusual winds[11]; and so severe was it that the tops of Mount Kasion were broken off and threatened destruction to the town below[12]. Finally, there was the ancient cult of Zeus

[1] Polyb. 31 *ap.* Athen. 194 C—195 F and 439 B—D.

[2] *E.g.* Polyb. 31 *ap.* Athen. 195 F (=439 D) *ὑπὸ τῶν μίμων ὁ βασιλεὺς εἰσεφέρετο ὅλος κεκαλυμμένος καὶ εἰς τὴν γῆν ἐτίθετο, ὡς εἷς ὢν δῆτα τῶν μίμων· καὶ τῆς συμφωνίας προκαλουμένης ἀναπηδήσας ὠρχεῖτο καὶ ὑπεκρίνετο μετὰ τῶν γελωτοποιῶν.* Was this sheer foolery, or the take-off of some resurrection-rite?

[3] Poseidonios of Apameia 28 *frag.* 31 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 263 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 210 D—E and 540 A—B.

[4] Liban. *or.* 60. 6 f. (iv. 315, 5 ff. Foerster)=Io. Chrys. *de Babyla c. Iul.* 19 (ii. 568 A Montfaucon), Liban. *epist.* 763 Wolf, Io. Malal. *chron.* 9 p. 224 f. Dindorf (see P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 290 f.), 12 pp. 289 f., 307 Dindorf, 16 p. 396 Dindorf. Cp. Liban. *or.* 10. 30 (i. 2. 409, 15 ff. Foerster).

[5] Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 307 Dindorf *ἔκτισε δὲ ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ σταδίῳ Δάφνης ἱερὸν Ὀλυμπίου Διός, καὶ ἐν τῇ σφενδόνῃ τοῦ αὐτοῦ σταδίου ἔκτισεν ἱερὸν τῇ Νεμέσει.* C. O. Müller *Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 p. 62 f. thinks it far more likely that the temple of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος at Daphne was founded by Antiochos Epiphanes. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 59 dismisses the claims of Diocletian ('wohl ohne allen Zweifel verkehrt') and attributes to Antiochos Epiphanes merely a redecoration of the temple ('nur eine neue Ausschmückung des Zeusheiligthums von Daphne, nicht dessen Gründung'). But is it certain that Malalas is referring to the big temple of Zeus? A small shrine in the *Stádion* would be appropriate enough.

[6] Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 283 Dindorf *καὶ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν δὲ τὴν κάτω τοῦ Ξυστοῦ ἔκτισεν ἱερὸν τῷ Ὀλυμπίῳ Διΐ.*

[7] Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 290 Dindorf Πλεθρίν.

[8] Liban. *or.* 10. 9 ff. (i. 2. 403, 22 ff. Foerster).

[9] Liban. *or.* 10. 1 ff. (i. 2. 401, 2 ff. Foerster).

[10] Io. Malal. *chron.* 11 p. 275 Dindorf *οἱ σωθέντες ἀνέστησαν Διὶ Σωτῆρι.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 916 quotes the dedication as *οἱ ζήσαντες* (*ζητήσαντες* cod. *y.*) *ἀνέστησαν θεῷ* (*ἐν θεῷ* cod. *y.* H. S. Reiner cj. *ἀνεστήσαμεν*) *Σωτῆρι*, which amounts to much the same thing.

[11] Dion. Cass. 68. 24.

[12] Dion. Cass. 68. 25. See further Iuv. 6. 411, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 13. 10, cp. *epit.* 13. 12, Oros. *hist. adv. pag.* 7. 12. 5, Euagrios *hist. eccl.* 2. 12, Synkell. *chron.* 348 A (i. 657 Dindorf), Euseb. *vers. Armen. in ann. Abr.* 2130 (= 116 A.D.), Hieron. *in* Euseb. *ann. Abr.* 2130 (= 116 A.D.), Zonar. 11. 22 (iii. 68 f. Dindorf).

Kásios on Mount Kasion, where Julian offered a belated hecatomb[1]. The devotion of the Antiochenes to Zeus—a devotion grafted perhaps upon the *Ba'al*-worship of their predecessors—might further be inferred from their coin-types. Antiochos iv Epiphanes (175—164 B.C.) inaugurated a system of municipal coinage and struck coppers at 'Antiocheia near Daphne,' which had as reverse design Zeus wrapped in a *himátion* with a wreath in his outstretched hand (fig. 996)[2]—sign and symbol of the Olympic sports that he held at Daphne[3]. Alexandros i Bala (150—145 B.C.), who claimed to be the son of Antiochos iv, repeated his father's type of a wreath-bearing Zeus[4]. Other Seleucid kings in all probability issued coins with Zeus-types at Antiocheia, *e.g.* Demetrios ii

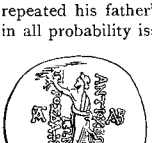


Fig. 996.

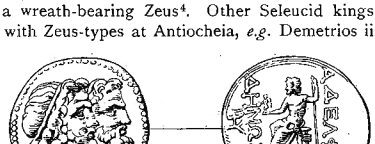


Fig. 997.

Nikator in his first reign (146—140 B.C.)[5] and Antiochos viii Grypos (121—96 B.C.)[6]. Passing from the regal to the autonomous coinage of the town, we have coins struck for the *tetrápolis*[7] of Antiocheia by Daphne, Seleukeia in Pieria, Apameia, and Laodikeia (149—147 B.C.) with a head of Zeus as obverse and a thunderbolt as reverse type[8], or with two Zeus-like heads—probably meant for the Demoi of Antiocheia and Seleukeia—as obverse and Zeus enthroned, Nike in one hand, a sceptre in the other, as reverse type (fig. 997)[9]. The autonomous issues of 'the metropolis of the Antiochenes' (*s.* i B.C.) show the head of Zeus wearing bays and Zeus enthroned as before but enclosed in a

[1] *Supra* p. 981 n. 1.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 40 pl. 13, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 50 f. pl. 66, 20, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. 79 pl. 14, 6 (= my fig. 996), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 763.

[3] *Supra* p. 1188 ff.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 56 pl. 17, 1, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 66 no. 65 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 765 f.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 61 no. 29 obv. head of Zeus to right, laureate; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ ΘΕΟΥ ΦΙΛΑΔΕΛΦΟΥ ΝΙΚΑΤΟΡΟΣ, with ΜΑ in exergue, Apollon seated on the *omphalós*, holding arrow and bow.

[6] *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 100 pl. 69, 20 obv. Head of Antiochos viii to right, diademed; rev. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΤΙΟΧΟΥ ΕΠΙΦΑΝΟΥΣ, with ⏃ and $\frac{\text{P}}{\text{A}}$, Zeus enthroned to left, holding Nike with a wreath on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left.

[7] Strab. 749.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 151 no. 1, p. 152 pl. 18, 7, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 142 nos. 2—4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 778.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 152 pl. 18, 6 (= my fig. 997), cp. pl. 18, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 141 no. 1, cp. p. 142 no. 8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 778. G. Macdonald in the *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 141, followed by B. V. Head *loc. cit.*, supposes that the mint was Seleukeia, not Antiocheia. The usual interpretation of the two bearded heads is borne out by the reverse legend ΑΔΕΛΦΩΝ ΔΗΜΩΝ.

large bay-wreath (fig. 998)[1]. In imperial times the head of Zeus sometimes occupies the obverse (fig. 999)[2], while his eagle in one guise or another very commonly fills the reverse[3]. We see the great bird grasping a thunderbolt[4], or holding a wreath in his beak and a bay-branch in his talons[6], or gripping a *caduceus* with his jaws and a palm-branch with his right claw as he rests

Fig. 998.

Fig. 999.

Fig. 1000.

Fig. 1001.

Fig. 1002.

Fig. 1003.

on a garlanded altar (fig. 1000)[6], or again perched with wreath in beak on the thigh of an animal-victim (fig. 1001)[7]—altar and thigh alike recall the city's foundation-myth—[8], or bestriding a bay-wreath with the three Charites in it (fig. 1002)[9], or soaring beneath the imperial head (fig. 1003)[10]. Here and there

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 153 ff. pl. 18, 9, 11, 12, pl. 19, 1 (cp. my fig. 998 from a specimen of mine, which likewise shows Nike wreathing the city's title), *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 143 ff. pl. 71, 28, 30, 34, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 778.

[2] From a specimen in my collection. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 162 f. pl. 19, 11 and pl. 20, 3. The reverse shows Boule (?), in *chitón* and *himátion*, dropping a pebble into the voting-urn.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 158 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 148 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 779 f.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 175 pl. 21, 9 Nero: ЄΤΟΥΣ ΒΙΡ·Ι (year 112 of the Caesarean era, reckoned from 49 B.C.: see B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1887 xiv. 312 n. 3).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 177 pl. 22, 2 Otho: ЄΤΟΥCΑ (year 1 of the emperor's reign!).

[6] *Ib.* p. 179 pl. 22, 5 Vespasian: ЄΤΟVCΝЄΟV ΙЄΡΟV Є (new sacred year 5 = 73—74 A.D., reckoned from Sept. 2 to Sept. 1, the Syrian year of Augustus: see B. Pick *loc. cit.* p. 331 ff.).

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 192 pl. 23, 5 Marcus Aurelius: ΓЄΡCΑΡΔΗ ΜЄΞΑΙ VΠΑ ΤΓ (= Γερμανικὸς Σαρματικός, δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας αι', ὕπατος γ').

[8] *Supra* p. 1188.

[9] *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 11 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡ Χ·ЄΞ·VΠΑ·Τ·Δ· (= δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὕπατος τὸ δ').

[10] *Ib.* p. 196 pl. 23, 12 Caracalla: ΔΗΜΑΡΧΕ ΞVΠΑΤΟCΤΟ Δ (= δημαρχικῆς ἐξουσίας, ὕπατος τὸ δ'). See F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Zur griechischen Münzkunde' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1898 p. 45 f.

a little touch implies that the emperor, whose bust appears on the obverse, is posing as the very Zeus. Thus Nero[1], Domitian[2], and Nerva[3] are all invested with the *aigís*. It is clear, then, that for centuries the inhabitants of Antiocheia had been familiar with the Hellenic Zeus and had known emperors who claimed to be his visible vicegerents.

On the other hand Maximinus ii, like Diocletian[4] and Galerius[5] before him,

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 175 pl. 21, 9: ΝΕΡΩΝΚΑΙΣΑΡ ΣΕΒΑΣΤΟΣ.

[2] *Ib.* p. 182 pl. 22, 8: ΑΥΤΚΛΙΣΑΡΔΟΜΙΤΙΑΝΟΣΣΕΒΓΕΡΜ.

[3] *Ib.* p. 183 pl. 22, 9: ΑVΤΝΕΡΟVΑΣ ΚΑΙΣΣΕΒ. On these coins of Domitian and Nerva the *aigís* is reduced to a mere fringe of snakes passing over the further shoulder. It is, however, there and ought to have been noticed in the British Museum catalogue.

[4] Eumenius *panegyr. Constantio Caesari* 4, *pro restaur. schol.* 10, 16, Lact. *de mortibus persecut.* 52, Aur. Vict. *de Caes.* 39. 18, 39. 33, 40. 1, 40. 8, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 621 Rome (=*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 254=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1047) Genio Iovii Aug., | Iovia porticu eius a fundamentis absoluta | excultaque, | etc., no. 623 Sirmium (=*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3231=Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5560a=Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 1059) I. O. M. et | G.h.l. (=Genio huius loci) pro | salute dd. | nn. Iovio | et Herculio Augg. nn. (=dominorum nostrorum, Iovio et Herculio Augustis nostris), no. 634 Thessalonike Herculi Augusto | Iovius ..... (the words *et Herculius* have been erased) Augg. (e)t | Herculius et Iovius nobb. Caess., no. 8930 Alexandreia (S. de Ricci in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1908 p. 793) Iovi Auguste, vincas, cp. no. 659 Carnuntum (*Corp. Inscr. Lat.* iii no. 4413=Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1051) D.S.I.M. (=Deo Soli Invicto Mithrae), | fautori imperii sui, | Iovii et Herculii | religiosissimi Augusti et Caesares | sacrarium restituerunt.

A gold medallion of Diocletian and Maximianus, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. IOVIO ET HERCVLIO The two emperors pouring a libation over a tripod: in the field above, nude statues of Iupiter, with thunderbolt, and Hercules, with club, set on a garlanded altar. In exergue S M V R or S M T (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917 f., 932, Suppl. iii. 162, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 480 no. 7, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 487, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* i. 12 no. 3). A bronze medallion of Diocletian, at Paris, has obv. IOVIO DIOCLETIANO AVG Half-length bust of Diocletian, with bay-wreath, sceptre, and *himátion* only—in imitation of Iupiter (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 917, Suppl. iii. 162, Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 256 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 429 f. no. 142 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 124 no. 3 pl. 124, 1, cp. ii. 124 no. 4). A smaller bronze medallion, in the Vatican, has obv. IOVI DIOCLETIANO AVG A similar bust of Diocletian, with radiate crown (*id. ib.* iii. 78 no. 40 pl. 158, 11): this medallion, if IOVI is not a mere blunder for IOVIO, baldly identifies the god with the emperor. Another at Paris has rev. IOVI CONSERVATORI AVG A hexastyle temple, with wreath in pediment and architrave inscribed IOVIVS AVG, containing emperor as Iupiter enthroned with thunderbolt and sceptre (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 255, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 443 no. 275 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 124 no. 7 pl. 124, 3 corroded and retouched, cp. *id. ib.* ii. 124 no. 8 at Florence): similar medallions at Paris, struck by Maximianus, repeat the reverse type, but show the emperor as Iupiter standing with thunderbolt, sceptre, and eagle (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 931 f., Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 255 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 128 nos. 6 f. pl. 126, 6 and 7). A gold piece, formerly in the Cabinet de France, had rev. PRIMI XX IOVI AVGVSTI Iupiter seated, with thunderbolt and sceptre. In exergue TR (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vi. 458 no. 393 with n. 1 'IOVI est sans doute mis pour IOVII, et encore dans ce cas la légende n'est-elle pas trop compréhensible').

The title *Iovius* was, no doubt, suggested by the name *Dio*cletianus, the origin of which is uncertain. W. Ramsay in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* i. 1011 says of Diocletian:

or Licinius[1] and Licinius Iunior[2] after him, had assumed the title *Iovius*[3]—

'From his mother, Doclea, or Dioclea, who received her designation from the village where she dwelt, he inherited the appellation of *Docles* or *Diocles*, which, after his assumption of the purple, was Latinized and expanded into the more majestic and sonorous Diocletianus' [Aur. Vict. *epit.* 39. 1]. But T. Mommsen in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 283 argues that the home of Diocletian was Salona, not Doclea. And Patsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1251 notes that Doclea came to be called Dioclea (Aur. Vict. *epit.* 39. 1), Διόκλεια (Constantinus Porphyrogenitus *de administrando imperio* 29 (iii. 126 Bekker)), Διόκλητα (*id. ib.* 35 (iii. 162 Bekker)) in consequence of the conjecture that Diocletian was born there.

[5] *Chronicon Paschale* (i. 512 Dindorf) 275 B Μαξιμιανὸς Ἰόβιος ἐπιφανέστατος Καῖσαρ, 275 C Μαξιμιανοῦ Ἰοβίου Καίσαρος, 275 D Μαξιμιανοῦ Ἰοβίου *bis*, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 634 cited *supra* p. 1194 n. 4, no. 658 Aquincum (=*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 3522) pro salute dd. | nn. | [M]aximiano | Iovo invic. | Aug. et Maximino | Caes. (=dominorum nostrorum Maximiani Iovii invicti Augusti et Maximini Caesaris) | Iulius Valeria[n]u[s et Aurel. Maxim[us] ddvv. col. | Aq. (=duoviri coloniae Aquinci), cp. no. 659 cited *supra* p. 1194 n. 4, no. 661 Solva near Leibnitz in Stiria (=*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 5325) divo| Iovio | Maximiano | ordo Sol., no. 8931 Alexandreia (S. de Ricci in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1909 p. 146) Iovi Cae[s]ar, vincas.

[1] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 676 Canusium (=*Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 6026) d. n. Iovio Licinio invicto semper Aug.

Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, Suppl. iii. 163, cites from A. Banduri *Numismata imperatorum a Trajano Decio ad Palæologos Augustos* Lutetiæ Parisiorum 1718 ii. 195 and other sources a coin showing the head of Licinius with the legend IOVIVS LICINIVS AVG. On this Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] viii. 67 remarks: '*Iovius*. Hujus appellationis auctor Diocletianus, quam is transmisit in Gal. Maximianum, hic in Maximinum, mox Licinium, scilicet lege adoptionis, Licinius denique in filium. Haec confirmata numis vidimus, tum iis, quae supra de hereditariis his nominibus in numis Constantii Chlori exposui. Atque hujus cum Iove cognationis causa tot Licinius numos cum ejus dei effigie feriri jussit, quot ante eum nemo, neque ingratus is adversus nepotem fuit. Nam ut Hercules olim filio Maximiano leoninum capitis integumentum, ita Iuppiter Licinio fulmen impertivit, quod ille, ut in antica nonnullorum ejus numorum videre est [*ib.* p. 64], manu terrifica vibrat, sed cujus aciem Constantinus Enceladus apud Hadrianopolin obtundet.' Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vii. 198 f. nos. 98—100 with fig. gives examples, in small bronze and in bad billon or potin, of the type described by Eckhel.

I add a few specimens from my collection which illustrate the relation of Licinius (figs. 1004—1006) and Licinius Iunior (fig. 1007) to Iupiter *Conservator*. It is amusing to see the thunderbolt in the hand of the emperor (figs. 1004, 1005) replaced by a mere *mappa* (figs. 1006, 1007).

[3] Copper coins struck by Licinius and his son have obv. DD. NN. IOVII LICINII INVICT. AVG. ET CAES. Laureate busts of the two Licinii supporting between them a figure of Fortuna (or Victoria, or a trophy); rev. I. O. M. ET FORT. CONSER. (or VICT. CONSER., or VIRTVTI) DD. NN. AVG. ET CAES. Iupiter and Fortuna (or Victoria, or a trophy). In exergue SMKA or SMKB or SMNA (or SMKA. SMKΓ or SMKΔ, or SMNTA or SMATЄ) (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, 1740, 1746, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vii. 210 f. nos. 1—3 with fig. of no. 2).

[3] Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 9. 1 *bis* Ἰόβιος Μαξιμῖνος Σεβαστὸς Σαβίνῳ, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 420, 22 ff. (=G. Deschamps and G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 101 ff. no. 22, 22 ff.) an inscription from the precinct of Zeus *Panámaros* (*supra* i. 18 ff.) honouring a certain priest and priestess ἐφ' ὧν ἱερωμένων καὶ | ἡ θειότης τοῦ δεσπότου | ἡμῶν, τοῦ ἀηττήτου Σεβαστοῦ | Ἰοβίου Μαξιμίνου ἐν τῇ πα[τρ]ίδι | ἐπέλαμψεν καὶ τὰ ληστήρια | ἐξέκοψεν.

A bronze medallion of Maximinus, now at Paris, has obv. IOVIVS MAXIMINVS NOB CAES A bust of the emperor, laureate and armed, holding sceptre and *mappa* (Cohen

struck perhaps by the fact that, so far as names were concerned, *Iovius* Maximinus was a tolerable imitation of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*. Theoteknos in importing the novel cult very probably designed to win the favour of his imperial master. *Quasi*-Dionysiac rites practised in the name of Zeus would be quite in the line of the profligate *Iovius*.

Alas for his calculations. A few pages further on Eusebios[1] tells us what happened:

'Theoteknos too was summoned by Justice, who had no intention of forgetting the harm he did to Christians. On the strength of the *xóanon*[2] that he had set up at Antiocheia he expected to take life easily, and was in fact already promoted by Maximinus to the post of governor. But Licinius had no sooner set foot in the city of the Antiochenes than he ordered all impostors to be brought in, and put the prophets and priests of the new-fangled *xóanon* to the torture, asking them how they came to play such a lying part. Hard pressed by the tortures, they could conceal the facts no longer, but explained that the whole mystery was a fraud contrived by the wily Theoteknos. Thereupon Licinius punished them all according to their deserts. He first condemned Theoteknos, and then the partners of his imposture, to death, after inflicting upon them the greatest possible torments.'

For all that, the cult of Zeus *Philios* once started was not easily suppressed. Fifty years later Julian wintered at Antiocheia (362—363 A.D.) and, as we gather from his own *Misopógon*, was diligent in visiting the temple of Zeus *Philios*[3].

Fig. 1004.

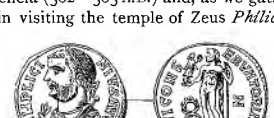


Fig. 1005.

Fig. 1006.

Fig. 1007.

Monn. emp. rom.[2] vii. 155 no. 134 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 132 no. 1 pl. 129, 5 roughly retouched). Another, with the same legend, had for obverse type the bare head of Maximinus (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 932, Suppl. iii. 163, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vii. 155 no. 135, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 132 no. 2). One of his coppers, struck at Antiocheia, ventures on a new title: rev. IOVIO PROPAGAT. ORBIS TERRARVM Maximinus, with bay-wreath and *toga*, stands holding Victoria on a globe: to the right is a burning altar; on either side of him, the letter A and a star; in the exergue, ANT (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] vii. 153 no. 130 fig.).

[1] Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 11. 5 f.

[2] For the implications of this term see now an excellent paper by Miss F. M. Bennett 'A study of the word ΞΟΑΝΟΝ' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 8—21.

[3] Ioul. *misopog.* p. 446, 10 ff. Hertlein ἡ Σύρων ἥκει νουμηνία, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ αὖθις εἰς Φιλίου Διός· εἶτα ἡ πάγκοινος ἑορτή, καὶ ὁ καῖσαρ εἰς τὸ τῆς Τύχης ἔρχεται τέμενος. ἐπισχὼν δὲ τὴν ἀποφράδα πάλιν ἐς Φιλίου Διὸς τὰς εὐχὰς ἀναλαμβάνει κατὰ τὰ πάτρια. καὶ τίς ἀνέξεται τοσαυτάκις εἰς ἱερὰ φοιτῶντος καίσαρος, ἐξὸν ἅπαξ ἢ δὶς ἐνοχλεῖν τοῖς θεοῖς, κ.τ.λ. Cp. Liban. *or.* 1. 122 (i. 1. 141, 19 ff. Foerster) ἦκε δέ ποτε εἰς Διὸς Φιλίου θύσων κ.τ.λ.

Again, Libanios the Antiochene, when petitioning Theodosios to protect the pagan temples against the depredations of the Christian monks (384[1] A.D.), expressly notes that certain temples—those of Tyche, Zeus, Athena, and Dionysos—are still untouched[2].

Antiocheia was a city where Christians and pagans jostled each other in the street[3]; and it is possible that, as the former found their centre in the great Constantinian church, so the latter had a nucleus and rallying-point in the temple of Zeus *Philios*. Indeed, between the two rival cults there was a certain superficial resemblance. On the one hand, Zeus *Philios* was a god of love, who brought even enemies together[4], encouraged love-feasts among the faithful here, and held out hopes of a celestial banquet hereafter[5]. If his initiations and purifications[6] savoured somewhat of *Sabazios*, it must be remembered that the Hebrew Godhead was by successive pagan blunderers confused with Iupiter *Sabazius*, Bacchus, Liber *Pater*, and Dionysos[7]. On the other hand, the Christians themselves—as I shall hope to prove in a third volume—had not scrupled to employ the art-types of Zeus and Dionysos for the representation of Christ, and that on objects of the most solemn and sacred character.

The strongest support for this assertion, so far as Antiocheia was concerned, is to be derived from the famous chalice recently published by Dr G. A. Eisen. It appears that early in the year 1910 certain Arabs, who were digging a cellar or a well at *Antakieh* (Antiocheia), lit upon underground chambers partially choked with *débris*. In the *débris* were embedded various objects of value. In addition to the chalice of carved silver that is here in question, there was a second chalice of plain silver with inscriptions of the sixth or seventh century A.D.; there were also three silver book-covers decorated with saints and referable to the fourth or fifth century; and there was a large ceremonial cross inscribed on front and back, not to mention a sackful of crumbled silver fragments. A smaller cross, likewise of silver, supposed to be from the same find, passed into the possession of Monsieur W. Froehner. Since the spot where these objects were discovered was, according to local tradition, the site of an ancient cathedral[8], it is clear that we have to do with a church-treasure

[1] Libanios ed. R. Foerster iii. 80 n. 3.

[2] Liban. *or.* 30. 51 (iii. 116, 1 ff. Foerster) *εἰπέ μοι, διὰ τί τὸ τῆς Τύχης τοῦτο σῶν ἐστιν ἱερὸν καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τὸ τοῦ Διονύσου; ἆρ' ὅτι βούλοισθ' ἂν αὐτὰ μένειν; οὔ, ἀλλ' ὅτι μηδεὶς τὴν ἐπ' αὐτὰ δέδωκεν ὑμῖν ἐξουσίαν.*

[3] The most careful and thorough-going monograph on Antiocheia in general is still C. O. Müller *Antiquitates Antiochenae* Gottingae 1839 pp. viii, 134 with map and pl. of coins etc. Other works of importance in particular directions are J. M. Neale *A History of the Holy Eastern Church. The Patriarchate of Antioch* London 1873 pp. lx, 229, R. Förster 'Antiochia am Orontes' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 103—149 with twelve figs. and pl. 6, *id.* 'Skulpturen von Antiocheia' *ib.* 1898 xiii. 177—191 with figs. and pl. 11, S. Krauss 'Antioche' in the *Revue des Études Juives* 1902 xlv. 27—49 (classical records largely supplemented from Rabbinic sources), K. Bauer *Antiochia in der ältesten Kirchengeschichte* Tübingen 1919 pp. 1—47, H. Dieckmann *Antiochien, ein Mittelpunkt urchristlicher Missionstätigkeit* Aachen 1920 pp. 1—56.

[4] *Supra* p. 1176 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 1161 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 1186.

[7] *Supra* i. 234 n. 4.

[8] Mr C. L. Woolley in *The Times Literary Supplement* for July 10, 1924 p. 436 tells a very different tale. He says of the chalice: 'I believe myself to be fully justified

buried either accidentally by earthquake or intentionally to escape some threatened danger. The treasure trove, at first divided among the finders and widely dispersed (two pieces were carried off to Mesopotamia), was recovered piecemeal by Messieurs S. and C. Kouchakji and forwarded to Monsieur G. Kouchakji in Paris. Here the principal chalice, coated with oxide to a thickness of several millimetres, was skilfully deoxidised by Monsieur A. André. He found the silver matrix already crystalline in texture and so brittle that he dared not rectify a compression of the cup caused by a blow received in ancient times[1]. In 1914 the chalice, for safety's sake, was sent over to Messieurs H. and F. Kouchakji in New York, where since 1915 it has been exhaustively studied by Dr Eisen[2], formerly Curator of the California University Academy of Sciences.

The chalice stands $0{\cdot}19^{m}$ in height and measured originally about $0{\cdot}15^{m}$ in diameter. It consists of three parts—an inner bowl rudely hammered out of a

in stating that it was found in a small mound close to Ma'arit il Na'aman, a village situated south of Aleppo, on the Aleppo-Homs railway, about a hundred miles from Antioch. It was discovered, together with a silver cup or bowl and a silver crucifix, by a peasant, who sold it for £3 to a man in Ma'arit il Na'aman, who sold it for £70 to a group of three antiquity dealers at Aleppo.... I derive my information from the dealers concerned, who had no motive for telling me an untruth and were able to give me a very fair description of the object before any photographs of it had been published.'

This account is detailed and circumstantial. But, in reply to enquiries, Messrs Kouchakji have informed me by cable (Nov. 9, 1924) that they confirm Dr Eisen's statement. They say: 'Arabs found chalice in Antioch.... Woolley's information absolutely incorrect.'

[1] In 341 A.D., when the 'Golden' Basilica of Antioch, begun by Constantine the Great and finished by his son Constantius ii, was consecrated, the chalice must have been one of its most cherished possessions. Some twenty years later, in 362, Julian, uncle of Julian the Apostate, came to Antioch, closed the churches, and plundered their valuables (Io. Monach. Rhod. *vit. S. Artemii* 23 (xcvi. 1272 C—D Migne)). It is said that after a futile attempt to intimidate Theodoros, the 'guardian of the treasures' in the great church, he condemned him to torture and death, and that flinging the sacred vessels on the ground he treated them to the grossest indignities (Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 8, Theodoret. *eccl. hist.* 3. 12, cp. Ruinart *acta prim. mart.*[2] p. 588 ff.)—a story of very doubtful historicity (Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 94). Dr Eisen, however, accepts the tale, and even suggests that the compression of the chalice may be the result of its sacrilegious mishandling by Julian. In that case the chalice must have been concealed again either during the invasion of Chosroes i, who in 538 burned Antioch but spared the Cathedral, or more probably during the conquests of Chosroes ii, who captured Syria in 611. The later date would account for the association of the chalice with the objects of early Byzantine art enumerated above.

[2] G. A. Eisen 'Preliminary Report on the Great Chalice of Antioch containing the Earliest Portraits of Christ and the Apostles' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 426—437 with pl. 19 and four figs., *id.* 'The Plate with seven Loaves and two Fishes on the Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* 1917 xxi. 77—79 with fig., *id.* 'The Date of the Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* 1917 xxi. 169—186 with five figs., *id.* 'Chalice of Antioch and Its Portraits of Christ, Apostles and Evangelists' in the *New Era Magazine* for Jauuary 1920 pp. 12—15 with four figs., *id.* 'Identification of Seated Figures on Great Chalice of Antioch' *ib.* for June and July 1920 pp. 414—417, 526—528 with six figs., *id. The Great Chalice of Antioch* New York 1923 pp. 1—194 with two diagrams and an atlas of sixty photogravures and etchings. The last-mentioned publication is a monograph *de luxe*, the plates of which include three whole-page photographs—life-size, enlarged, and larger still—of every figure on the chalice together with an attempted drawing of each head. The accompanying text is less satisfactory, being verbose, over-credulous, and disfigured by unnecessary slips. The book as a whole is obviously meant for wealthy art-lovers

a

The Chalice of Antioch.

b

See page 1197 ff. *with fig.* 1008.

thick sheet of silver, the rim of which has been bent outwards over itself and left with uneven edge; an outer shell or container of carved open-work, for which the inner bowl now serves as a background; and a support, comprising knop and foot, turned on the lathe out of a solid block of silver. The inner bowl is wholly unadorned and was, when found, quite distinct and separable from the outer shell: the two have since been cemented together for fear of breakage. The base exhibits simple but good decorative work; the knop, surrounded by a wreath of lozenge-shaped leaves, parts lotus-petals above from lotus-petals below. The shell or container is carved *à jour* with an intricate design. Six vines with double stems rise from the ground-line and cover the whole available surface with a complicated growth of branches. Amid the profusion of tendrils, leaves, and grape-bunches many living creatures can be made out—doves and other birds, a couple of snails, a rabbit, a butterfly, a grasshopper, etc. Moreover, twelve spaces are reserved in the foliage for as many seated persons, arranged in two horizontal alternating rows. These twelve persons fall into two distinct groups, of which one occupies the front, the other the back of the chalice. On the obverse side (pl. xlvii, *a*) Christ appears as a beardless man, enthroned, with a lamb standing at his right hand. Above his head flies one of the birds, perhaps a dove[1]. His right arm is extended[2]; his left, which is missing, may have held a roll[3]. Beneath his footstool an eagle with spread wings rests upon a basket of fruit[4]. And round him are ranged five of his followers, who turn towards him raising the right arm with a gesture of salutation. On the reverse side (pl. xlvii, *b*) Christ is represented as a boy, sitting on a round-backed throne, with his right hand held out and a roll in his left. He is again surrounded by five of his followers, who raise their arms as before. Most of the ten, if not all[5], hold

rather than scholars, and it is to be hoped that it will be followed at no distant date by a better documented students' edition.

I am indebted to Dr Eisen for sending me his three articles in the *New Era Magazine* (now out of print) and to Messrs Kouchakji Frères for presenting me, not only with a copy of the big monograph, but also with the special silver-prints from which pl. xlvii and fig. 1008 were made.

[1] G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 7: 'over his head soars the Holy Ghost in the form of a dove.'

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 7: 'at his right hand is a plate with loaves and fishes.' *Id. ib.* p. 27: 'The objects on the plate are: seven loaves of bread, two fishes, an oval object with minute spheres and a bunch of pointed leaves.' Dr Eisen gives an enlarged drawing (⅘) of the plate in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 78 fig. 1. I confess that, on the photographs, it looks to me like an ordinary bunch of grapes, partly hidden by over-lying tendrils (the supposed fish) and partly resting on a round piece of background (the supposed plate) left to connect it with the sheep below. But I suspect that the artist originally intended to represent a bird's nest with eggs and later modified his design.

[3] As on the reverse side of the chalice.

[4] G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 7: 'a basket with bread.' *Id. ib.* p. 180: 'The Eagle, perched on one of the Baskets, can only symbolize the Roman Empire, now partaking of the Christian religion as administered by St. Peter and St. Paul.' I see nothing but a basket of fruit, such as might be expected in any vintage scene, and an eagle which is in relation to the figure above, not to the basket below.

[5] Dr Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 180 f. fig. 4 and in *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 31 ff., 41 describes the object in the left hand of no. 2 as possibly the handle of a sword and that in the left hand of no. 5 as resembling a bag or purse. Neither description is free from doubt, and it is more probable that in every case a roll was intended.

rolls in their hands. Two (nos. 12 and 9 on fig. 1008) show the right arm wound with phylactery-bands (?)[1]. Finally, the upper part of the shell is encircled by a narrow strip of thin silver, to which are attached fifty-eight rosettes[2].

It should be noticed that the chalice, long after it was made, came to be gilded, and that at two different dates—at first with pale whitish gold, and later with deep reddish gold. The first gilding affected the whole outer surface of the shell; the second did not extend to its lower part, and was carried out in much thicker gold leaf. Both layers of gold are largely worn away by the fingering of reverent hands, especially in the case of persons and objects that would be deemed most sacred. There are no inscriptions on the chalice. But, between the first and second gildings, upon many of the chairs (perhaps upon all) were added poorly scratched *graffiti* representing a variety of emblems[3], which—if they can be deciphered—may help to show how the seated figures were interpreted[4] at some doubtful date before the final gilding.

[1] See Dr Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 182 ff. fig. 5 and *e contra* Prof. F. C. Burkitt in *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 254 (long tight sleeves, not phylacteries).

[2] G. A. Eisen *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 7, 19 f., 125 claims that the rosette above the hand of Christ on the obverse side of the chalice is in reality a six-pointed star, the Star of the Nativity.

[3] Dr Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 415 figures four of the *graffiti* from the chairs of nos. 2 (two crossed bars or keys), 6 (tree? or *ankh*? [amulet A.B.C.]), 7 (water jug), 9 (arch with circle [coin C. Renz] above it). The rest are less distinct and as yet undeciphered. See further *The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 29 f.

[4] In his initial publication of the chalice Dr Eisen held that its twelve figures portray Christ in older and younger form together with ten of his Apostles. He noted also the suggestion that they are the Baptist with the Lamb at his side, and Christ with ten Apostles. But the number ten was hard to justify; and careful study of the features of each portrait led to the conviction that figures 1 and 8 are related, that figures 2 and 5 possess much in common, and that the heads of figures 10 and 11 are quite different in formation from the rest. Satisfied that the two central figures 1 and 8 are indeed Christ as a man and Christ as a youth, Dr Eisen next observed that 2 closely resembles St Peter as portrayed in the Catacombs (J. Wilpert *Die Malereien der Katakomben Roms* Freiburg 1903 pl. 94) and in the Viale Manzoni Hypogeum at Rome (*Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 123 ff.)—an identification seemingly confirmed by the discovery on seat 2 of the *graffito* representing two crossed bars or keys. The identity of the other figures remained doubtful till it was remarked that no. 6, unlike the rest, has a band round his head but no side-lock of hair. This suggested a Greek as distinct from a Jew, and in that case he must necessarily be St Luke. But, if so, the figures are not all Apostles. Those grouped with St Luke may then be St Matthew (9), St Mark (7), and St John (10). At this point again *graffiti* were helpful. Tradition said that St Mark had been a water-carrier (Alexandros Monachos (*s.* vi A.D.) *laudatio S. Barnabae Apost.* 1. 13 in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1698 Junius ii. 440D *λόγος γὰρ ἦλθεν εἰς ἡμᾶς ἀπὸ γερόντων ὅτι ὁ τὸ κεράμιον βαστάζων τοῦ ὕδατος, ᾧ κατακολουθῆσαι προσέταξεν ὁ Κύριος τοῖς μαθηταῖς, Μάρκος ἦν ὁ υἱὸς τῆς μακαρίας Μαρίας*, Severus Bishop of El-Eschmounein in Upper Egypt *History of the Patriarchs of the Coptic Church of Alexandria* trans. B. T. A. Evetts Paris 1907 1. 1 p. 17 in the *Patrologia Orientalis* i. 139 'And he (*sc.* Mark) was among the servants who poured out the water which our Lord turned into wine, at the marriage of Cana in Galilee. And it was he who carried the jar of water into the house of Simon the Cyrenian, at the time of the sacramental Supper'); and on his chair is scratched a water-jar. St Matthew sat at the receipt of custom; his *graffito* is an archway with a circle above it, presumably the city-gate with a coin in evidence. St Luke, as a physician, has for his emblem an obvious

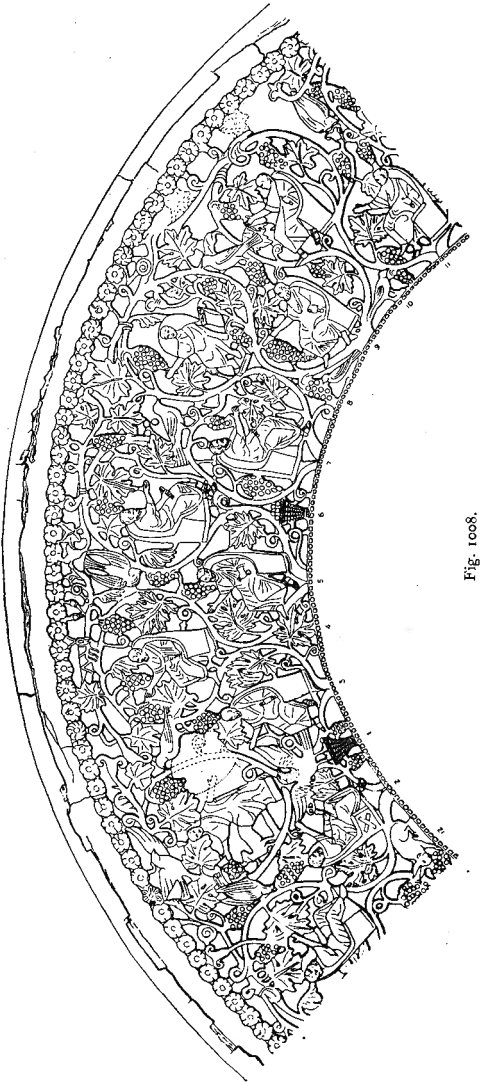


Fig. 1008.

To determine the date of the chalice is a task of primary importance. Sound criticism will rely, not on any *à priori* notions as to what the early Church could or could not have done, but on definite considerations of shape, *technique*, style, and subject.

Now the outer shell or container is essentially an ovoid bowl, without handles, supported on a round knop with a low and narrow foot-stand. A cup so constructed suffers from one obvious defect. It is top-heavy and would be easily upset. Such a shape could hardly have been popular for long together. Nor was it. Bronze coins of uncertain denomination struck by Simon Maccabaeus in 136/5 B.C. have for reverse type a closely similar chalice with knop, short stem, and small foot[1]. But silver shekels and half-shekels dating from the First Revolt of the Jews in 66/7—70 A.D. have for obverse type a chalice with smaller knop, longer stem, and broader foot[2]. Coins of the Second Revolt in 132—135 A.D. substitute either a one-handled jug[3] or a two-handled *amphora*[4], and do not enable us to trace further the evolution of the chalice. But this at least is clear, that on Palestinian soil the old top-heavy chalice was passing out of use as early as 66 A.D. Elsewhere too the same holds good. Two silver cups of similar shape belonging to the Pierpont Morgan collection, exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of Fine Arts, are justly regarded as excellent samples of Hellenistic work[5]. And silver cups of a like pattern depicted in frescoes from Herculaneum[6]

amulet. Again, if 10 is St John, the other beardless figure (11) must be his brother, St James the son of Zebedee. Moreover, St Peter (2) would naturally be balanced by St Paul (3). And the resemblance of the older man 5 to figure 2 suggested St Peter's brother, St Andrew. Lastly, it was surmised that figures 12 and 4, seated respectively on the right and left hand of Christ are St James the Lord's brother and St Jude, his nearest relatives on earth. It is claimed that figure 12 alone is clad in linen, which would suit the tradition that St James despised woollen clothes even in winter and habitually wore thin linen garments (Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 2. 23. 6 *οὐδὲ γὰρ ἐρεοῦν ἐφόρει ἀλλὰ σινδόνας*). These are the main arguments advanced by Dr Eisen, whose proposed identifications may be conveniently shown in tabular form :

Front	(12) James the Brother of the Lord	(1) CHRIST as Man	(4) Jude		(6) Luke	(8) CHRIST as Boy	(10) John	Back
	(2) Peter	(3) Paul	(5) Andrew		(7) Mark	(9) Matthew	(11) James the Son of Zebedee	

Dr G. H. Rendall in a letter to me (Feb. 16, 1924) very pertinently suggests that 5 may be, not St Andrew, but St Barnabas, whose association with Antioch was most intimate. Accepting the attribution of the *Epistle to the Hebrews* to St Barnabas, Dr Rendall points out that we should thus have represented on the chalice the whole canon of the New Testament [*plus* James, son of Zebedee]. His shrewd conjecture of course postulates a date at which the canon was complete. But I see no difficulty in supposing that, at the time when the *graffiti* were added, those who added them believed the ten seated figures to include portraits of all the New-Testament writers.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. 185 ff. pl. 20, 11—14.

[2] *Ib.* p. 269 ff. pl. 30, 1—9.

[3] *Ib.* p. 288 ff. pl. 33, 5 f., 9 f., 14 f., pl. 34, 4—10, 20.

[4] *Ib.* p. 303 f. pl. 35, 14, pl. 36, 1—3, p. 306 pl. 36, 10.

[5] Miss G. M. A. Richter in *Art in America* 1918 vi. 171 ff. with pl., *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 349 f. fig. 1.

[6] *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1760 ii (Pitture ii) p. 287 (= Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iv Peintures 3e Série p. 219 pl. 115) preparations for a festival, including a silver jug, a silver cup, three wreaths, a palm-branch, etc., cp. *ib.* ii pp. 118, 157 a similar but deeper vessel, standing on a square plinth, with a couple of wreaths in it.

must be dated before the fatal year 79 A.D. Plate was naturally imitated in less costly materials; and here again the evidence is in favour of an early date. Very similar to the chalice of Antioch, though without its knop, is a glass vessel in another painting from Herculaneum[1]. Precisely parallel to the chalice in contour and proportions is a small glass cup from Syria, now in a private collection in New York: this, on account of its shallow spiral fluting, has been assigned to the first century A.D.[2] The main point is that after the first century the chalice-shape is entirely superseded. Dr Eisen is, so far as I know, justified in concluding: 'Not one single specimen of this form and with such proportions has been found of a date later than the first century A.D.'[3]

The *technique* of the chalice is compatible with the same early date. Knop, stem, and foot are chased in solid silver—a procedure somewhat uncommon, but known to occur in Graeco-Roman times[4]. The rest of the container is of carved open-work, the so-called *opus interrasile*, which is more than once mentioned by the elder Pliny and seems to have been fashionable at Rome in the seventies[5]. Dr Eisen supposes that this shell of open silver was from the first meant to cover the bowl of plain silver within it. But here I demur. Open-work was regularly used with an eye to colour-contrast, and no toreutic artist worthy of the name would have cased a silver bowl in a silver holder[6]. Dr Eisen further maintains that the inner bowl, which is of crude and unfinished appearance, was more ancient than the outer shell and, when that shell was made, must have been already regarded as a venerable relic, too sacred to alter or amend[7]. But many months ago Dr Minns suggested to me that very likely the inner bowl

[1] *Ib.* ii p. 111 a glass goblet full of eggs.

[2] G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 170 fig. 1, 1, 172, *id. The Great Chalice of Antioch* p. 143.

[3] G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 171. Note, however, that Dr Eisen himself in the *New Era Magazine* 1920 p. 12 and in *The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 136, 180 has figured a pottery lamp from a fourth-century grave at Gezer, on which a very similar cup is seen flanked by a pair of doves. Dr Eisen holds that this is a pious representation of the Antiochene chalice with two dove-like souls gazing upon it! I see in it merely a traditional *motif*, which could, if necessary, be traced back to the days of Nestor. It might, I think, reasonably be urged that the old-fashioned cup has become stereotyped as a decorative detail and should not be taken to imply that cups of this pattern were still in common use. After all, heraldic shields do not portray the equipment of the modern soldier.

The force of the argument from shape is—I concede—to some extent lessened by the possibility that, for ritual purposes, an archaic form might be deliberately preferred. But are we really prepared to maintain that the chalice is the product of an archaising art?

[4] E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 801. A good example is the vase from Herculaneum, now at Naples, representing the apotheosis of Homer (J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series ii London 1826 p. 25 f. pl. 13, J. Overbeck *Pompeji*[4] Leipzig 1884 p. 624 f. figs. *b*, *c*, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 411 no. 25301 fig. 93).

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 12. 94 interrasili auro, 33. 140 interradimus alia.

[6] We can hardly escape from this improbability by urging that the silver holder was richly gilt and so provided the requisite contrast in colour. For even the first of its gildings appears to have been added when the chalice had been in use for years (*The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 17 f., 139).

[7] He poiuts out that in form it resembles the mysterious cup taken from Jerusalem by the Romans and figured, along with the holy vessels of Herod's temple, on the Arch of Titus at Rome (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 170 fig. 1, 4). Since Vespasian is said to have erected before the city-gate of Antioch the bronze Cherubim, which Titus his son had

was later, not earlier, than the shell. He argued that the inner bowl appropriate to the shell would be of glass; and this, when broken, might well have been replaced by a silver substitute of later and clumsier make[1]. If so, the shell cannot be earlier than the introduction of open-work over glass. And when did that take place? We think first, no doubt, of the finest extant example, the silver-gilt *kántharos* found in 1871 in a tomb to the north of Tiflis and now preserved in the Hermitage at Petrograd[2]. Here a vessel of dark violet glass was actually blown into shape within the holder and still bears in places the impress of the silver upon it. Stephani, who published this splendid cup—it is six inches high,—assigns it on account of its hunting-scene to a date *c.* 200 A.D.; and we note in passing that the rosettes round its rim recall those of the Antioch chalice. But other examples of the art are of much earlier date. To the period of Augustus or Tiberius belongs a *skýphos* of open-work lead formerly in the Slade collection and now in the British Museum[3]. This curious work, perhaps a goldsmith's model, has blown within it a cup of azure glass, which shows through oval openings in a band about its waist. Above are Bacchic scenes in relief with incised inscriptions[4]. Below is another relief of vine-tendrils and grape-bunches. The two handles also are decorated with masks. Earlier still may be placed the *skýphos* found in 1876 at Varpelev in Zealand and now in the Museum at Copenhagen[5]. It is a bowl of deep blue glass, the upper part of which is covered with a decorative design of vine-leaves, ivy-leaves, etc. in open-work silver. It was found with coins of Probus (276—282 A.D.), but is itself Greek work[6] of the early

found in the temple of Solomon (Io. Malal. *chron.* 10 p. 260 f. Dindorf), it is just thinkable that this silver cup of special sanctity was presented on the same occasion to the Antiochenes. Dr Eisen, however, does not press the point (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 171 f.) and obviously inclines to a different and a more heroic hypothesis. With the fall of Jerusalem Antioch became the main centre of Christianity in the east. May not the inner bowl of the chalice have been brought thither from Jerusalem? May it not even have been the very vessel used in Apostolic times by the infant Church? Nay more, might it not conceivably have been the actual Cup of the Last Supper? No wonder that in the great Syrian capital, where the disciples were first called Christians, those who obtained possession of a relic so precious lavished all the resources of early imperial art upon its external embellishment.

[1] E. H. Minns in *The Cambridge Review* of Feb. 15, 1924 (xlv. 216). Sir Martin Conway in *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109) independently makes the same conjecture: 'I suggest,' he says, 'that this original was of coloured glass.' Mr F. Kouchakji in a letter to me (March 4, 1924) replies by anticipation: 'So far all the open-work over glass cups that have come down to us from antiquity are very small. None of them possessed a glass cup of the size of the inner cup. Then, if a fine glass cup had been broken, it would have been replaced by a finished cup and not by a crudely made one, never finished.'

[2] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 p. 143 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 1 and 2 (in colours), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 808 fig. 981, H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1887 iv. 405 n. 1, A. Kisa *Das Glas im Altertume* Leipzig 1908 ii. 602 ff. with figs. 208, 208a.

[3] Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 327 pl. 87, 1—4, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 602 with figs. 335, 335 a, 335 b.

[4] (*a*) DOMITILLAE | STATILIO CONIVGI, (*b*) SALVS | GEN · HVM. Below the foot is an inscription in relief: (*c*) · FM · AVG ⅋. Clearly (*a*) and (*b*) are later than (*c*).

[5] C. Engelhardt in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1877 p. 354 with col. pl. 1, A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 604 f. with fig. 209.

[6] Witness the wave-pattern round its rim, broken by the single word ЄΥΤΥΧΩC.

first century, or earlier[1]. Kisa goes further and claims that already in Ptolemaic times craftsmen had begun to cover glass cups with gold and silver[2]. How else are we to understand Athenaios' statement that 'two glass vessels of open-work gold' were carried in the pageant of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos[3]? After this it may be conceded that the *technique* of the Antioch chalice is no bar to accepting the first-century date suggested by its shape.

A third criterion may be sought in the style of the chalice-decoration. Mr T. Davies Pryce in a recent letter to me (Nov. 12, 1924) says: 'Apart from the Christian figures, the decorative elements are undoubtedly similar to those used by the first and second century *sigillata* potters.'[4] The vines, though not so purely naturalistic as those of the Augustan age[5], are as yet untouched by the incipient stylisation of the third century[6] and show little, if any, trace of that formality which as time went on became more and more marked[7] till it culminated in the Coptic art of the sixth century[8]. Mr W. A. Watkins draws my attention (Nov. 15, 1924) to the fact that the vines on the chalice resemble, on the one hand, the vine in the Catacomb of Domitilla, which likewise springs from the ground with a double stem and has birds and Cupids among its

[1] A. Kisa *op. cit.* ii. 604 notes that its handles, inlaid with gold, resemble those of Alexandrine silver cups found *e.g.* at Bosco Reale.

[2] *Id. ib.* ii. 600.

[3] Kallixenos of Rhodes περὶ Ἀλεξανδρείας 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 62 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 199 F ὑάλινα διάχρυσα δύο.

[4] Mr Pryce's arguments include the following: (*a*) The vine-scroll is comparable with that on a sherd from Wroxeter dated 90—110 or 120 A.D. (J. P. Bushe-Fox *Excavations on the Site of the Roman Town at Wroxeter Shropshire, in 1912* (*Reports of the Research Committee of the Society of Antiquaries of London* No. 1) Oxford 1913 p. 38 f. no. 23 fig. 12). (*b*) The eagle with outspread wings and head turned to right or left was a common stock-type with the potters of *s.* i and ii A.D. (F. Oswald—T. Davies Pryce *An Introduction to the study of Terra Sigillata* London 1920 pls. 6, 4; 7, 2; 9, 4). (*c*) The rabbit eating grapes appears in the period Domitian—Trajan (*eid. ib.* pl. 19, 5). (*d*) The basket with outspread rim and externally concave sides occurs often on pottery of 100—150 A.D. (*eid. ib.* pl. 17, 4 in a vintage scene with birds, J. Déchelette *Les vases céramiques ornés de la Gaule Romaine* Paris 1904 ii. 154 f. types 1082 and 1087). (*e*) The repeated rosette frequently forms an upper bordering in Italian *sigillata* designs and is sometimes copied by the later or first-century Gaulish *sigillata* potters.

[5] A silver bowl of this period, formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum, is covered with exquisitely natural vine-leaves and tendrils in gilded *repoussé*-work (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Silver Plate* p. 22 no. 82 pl. 11).

[6] A circular mirror of about *s.* iii A.D., found in a woman's grave near Sofia and now in the British Museum, has a frame of silver-gilt bronze with a somewhat schematised vine-scroll and peacocks worked *à jour* on a backing of wood (*ib.* p. 28 no. 106 pl. 15).

[7] *E.g.* L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1909 ii figs. 45 (*sarcophagus* in the Lateran Museum at Rome), 46 (*sarcophagus* in San Lorenzo at Rome), 74 (ivory throne at Ravenna) = R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 v pl. 302, 2 f., v pl. 306, 1—4, vi pl. 414 f.

[8] Sir Martin Conway in *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 106 ff.) compares the chalice with the sculptured semidome of a Coptic niche now in the Cairo Museum (*s.* vi), with the back and front of a carved ivory fragment in the same collection (*s.* v—vi), with a panel of the ivory throne at Ravenna (*c.* 550 A.D.), etc. Accordingly he would date the chalice *c.* 550 A.D. (*ib.* p. 110). But on all the monuments cited by him the vines are far advanced in stylisation.

branches[1], on the other hand, the vine-scroll in the Catacomb of Praetextatus, where again birds are seen among the vine-leaves[2]. The cemetery of Domitilla on the Via Ardeatina is believed to go back to Apostolic times[3], while that of Praetextatus on the Via Appia is referred to the second century[4]. The two representations of Christ as a young man and as a boy are imperfectly preserved, but appear to be idealistic rather than realistic figures. The head of the latter at any rate is, as Dr Eisen duly notes[5], reminiscent of a well-known Scopaic type. The other seated persons are at least to some extent individualised[6] and were almost certainly interpreted as portraits at the time when the *graffiti* were added. We know so little at present about the history of Greek portrait-sculpture in the east during the first few centuries of the Christian era that it is peculiarly difficult to date a given work, especially when executed on a small scale[6]. But if we might assume (a somewhat doubtful assumption) that the development of later Greek portraiture followed the same lines as that of Roman portraiture, we should have little hesitation in referring these life-like but not over-realistic heads to the Flavian period (69—96 A.D.). The preceding Augustan and Julio-Claudian art (31 B.C.—68 A.D.) had been more idealistic and aristocratic. Trajanic portraits (98—117 A.D.), though still life-like, are harder and less sympathetic. In the Hadrianic age (117—138 A.D.) we get a marked loss of individualism owing to the revival of old Hellenic ideals. Antonine and Aurelian carving (138—180 A.D.) is pictorial in effect: loose locks contrast with polished faces and there is a glint of light on plastic eyes. Realism returns with the third century, but is accompanied by various tell-tale innovations, *e.g.* very short hair shown by pick-marks on a roughened surface. Had the work been later than this, we should have looked to find standing figures frontally arranged with formal hair and eyes monotonously drilled. On the whole it may be contended that the style of the seated persons suits best the end of the first or, possibly, the beginning of the second century A.D. But, I repeat, the scarceness of strictly comparable work and above all the smallness of the scale—each head is only three-eighths of an inch in height—make certainty unattainable.

It remains to speak of the subject represented on the chalice. The nearest parallels were pointed out by Prof. F. C. Burkitt[7] and Sir Martin Conway[8], who both aptly cite a gilded glass or *fondo d'oro* published by Garrucci (fig. 1009)[9].

[1] G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.[1] J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 73 with fig. 10 (ed.[2] 1879 ii. 120 ff. fig. 26), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* Prato 1881 ii. 23 pl. 19, 1. The vine spreads over the vaulted roof in the oldest portion of the catacomb.

[2] G. B. de Rossi *op. cit.* ed.[1] p. 78 with fig. 12 (ed.[2] ii. 148 ff. fig. 37), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* ii. 43 f. pl. 37, 1. The vine occupies the third (autumnal) zone of decoration on the Crypt of St Januarius, who was martyred in 162 A.D.

[3] W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archæology* New York 1901 p. 65 f., C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 127.

[4] C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 127 f.

[5] G. A. Eisen in the *New Era Magazine* for June 1920 p. 416, *id. The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 63 ff., 74.

[6] Whether this individualisation was in any degree due to tooling or retouching of the original figures before the first gilding of the shell is a point that calls for careful investigation.

[7] In *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 253 f.

[8] In *The Burlington Magazine* for Sept. 1924 (xlv. 109).

[9] R. Garrucci *Vetri ornati di figure in oro trovati nei cimiteri dei cristiani primitivi di Roma* Roma 1858 p. 40 f. pl. 18, 4 (not 3, as both Prof. Burkitt and Sir M. Conway cite

This shows a youthful Christ (CRISTVS) seated with a group of eight or more[1] Saints to right and left of him. As on the chalice, they occupy high chairs with a rounded back, most of them holding rolls, two extending their right hands. The highest pair is inscribed PETRVS and [PA]V[LVS]. The lowest four are TIMOTEVS, SVSTVS, SIMON, FLORVS—Roman Christians of the third or fourth century[2]. The glass itself is assigned to the age of Pope Damasus (366—384 A.D.)[3].

Fig. 1009.

But the makers of these gilded glasses often gave new names to old designs, and Prof. Burkitt[4] rightly traces the type back to a ceiling in the Catacomb of Petrus and Marcellinus. J. Wilpert holds that the ceiling in question dates from the middle of *s.* iii and depicts the Judgment with the Saints as assessors[5].

It is clear that we have here one element in the design of the Antioch chalice. But that is not all. Prof. Burkitt[6] very justly observes that the left arm of the

it), *id. Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iii. 159 f. pl. 187, 4 (more complete)=my fig. 1009, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 623 fig. 253, 7. On the vestments lettered I and J see Garrucci *Storia* iii. 160.

[1] Originally, perhaps, ten: the glass is broken away to right and left.

[2] Timotheus was martyred in 301 (?), Sustus *i.e.* Xystus (Sixtus ii) in 258 A.D.

[3] H. Vopel *Die altchristlichen Goldgläser* Freiburg i. B. 1899 p. 58.

[4] Cp. Vopel *op. cit.* p. 58 n. 1.

[5] J. Wilpert *Ein Cyclus christologischer Gemälde aus der Katakombe der heiligen Petrus und Marcellinus* Freiburg im Breisgau 1891 p. 17 pl. 1—2, 1, pl. 3—4, 1

[6] In *The Cambridge Review* 1923—1924 xlv. 254.

Christ above the eagle (no. 1) and much of the adjoining space are due (*vide* the key-plan) to a restoration by Monsieur André. He suggests that the disturbing blank was originally filled with a second lamb, the figure being conceived as that of the Good Shepherd. And, if it be objected that the Good Shepherd should be standing not seated, the unusual position is defended by a fifth-century mosaic in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia at Ravenna[1]. It might have been defended by a second-century painting in the cemetery of Callistus at Rome, which shows Christ seated, lyre in hand, between two sheep—the type of the Good Shepherd being definitely influenced by that of Orpheus[2]. I incline therefore to think that Prof. Burkitt's acute divination of the original design is right and that Christ was represented on the chalice in the Orphic or seated type of the Good Shepherd with a sheep on either hand[3]. In this connexion it is interesting to recall that Tertullian, writing between 217 and 222 A.D., mentions chalices of the anti-Montanist party as decorated with representations of the Good Shepherd[4]. It is possible that he had in view cheap imitations of such a masterpiece as the chalice of Antioch.

The combination of the Judge and the Shepherd accounts for much, but not quite for everything. We have yet to explain the eagle beneath his feet. An eagle commonly suggests Zeus, and not least at Antioch where his cult was so familiar[5]. But what exactly is the link between the Shepherd-Judge and Zeus? It is, I think, to be found in the conception of the Divine Ruler, which would easily attach itself either to the figure of the Judge on his judgment-seat or to the seated type of the Shepherd[6]. Dr Eisen[7] remarks that the central figure

[1] R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 iv. 41 pl. 233, 2, W. Lowrie *Christian Art and Archæology* New York 1901 p. 330 f. fig. 141, C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 p. 456.

[2] G. B. de Rossi *Roma sotterranea* edd.[1] J. S. Northcote—W. R. Brownlow London 1869 p. 373 col. pl. 11, 2 (ed.[2] 1879 i. 455, ii col. pl. 18, 2), R. Garrucci *op. cit.* ii. 10 pl. 4, 1, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 245 f. fig., 1909 ii. 106, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 275 f. fig. 102.

It is a curious coincidence, if nothing more, that the Phoenician Ba'al-ḥammân is represented by a Cypriote terra cotta as sitting on a throne with a ram standing on either side of him (*supra* i. 354 pl. xxvi, 1).

[3] Dr Eisen in a letter to Dr F. J. Foakes Jackson, of which a copy was sent to me by Messrs Kouchakji (March 15, 1924), says: 'An original photograph taken before the cleaning shows that there was no lamb on the other side, and that the design was probably one: branches, leaves, tendrils and bunches of grapes. There is a total absence of symmetry in any part of the Chalice design.' [!]

[4] Tertull. *de pud.* 7 a parabolis licebit incipias, ubi est ovis perdita a domino requisita et humeris eius revecta. procedant ipsae picturae calicum vestrorum, si vel in illis perlucebit interpretatio pecudis illius, utrumne Christiano an ethnico peccatori de restitutione conlineet, *ib.* 10 sed cederem tibi, si scriptura Pastoris, quae sola moechos amat, divino instrumento meruisset incidi, si non ab omni concilio ecclesiarum etiam vestrarum inter apocrypha et falsa iudicaretur, adultera et ipsa et inde patrona sociorum, a qua et alias initiaris, cui ille, si forte, patrocinabitur pastor quem in calice depingis, prostitutorem et ipsum Christiani sacramenti, merito et ebrietatis idolum et moechiae asylum post calicem subsecuturae, de quo nihil libentius libas quam ovem paenitentiae secundae (cp. *ib.* 13).

[5] *Supra* p. 1186 ff.

[6] The seated Shepherd in the mausoleum of Galla Placidia 'is clothed in imperial purple' (W. Lowrie *op. cit.* p. 331).

[7] G. A. Eisen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 432, 434, *id. ib.* 1917 xxi. 172, 174 fig. 2, 10 ff., 179, *id. The Great Chalice of Antioch* pp. 31, 34, 143, 147, 179.

enthroned with a footstool bears a strong resemblance in costume, pose, and general effect to the figure of Augustus on a silver *skýphos* from Bosco Reale[1]. He notes also that on this toreutic triumph, as on the chalice of Antioch, the central figure appears twice—once seated to receive the submission of the barbaric Germans, once enthroned amid the gods as master of the universe. I submit that the artist of the chalice has given to Christ the aspect and position of a divinised emperor[2]. Now Roman emperors were often acclaimed by Greek adulation as Zeus incarnate[3]; and a bust of Zeus, referred to the first or second century A.D., is supported on an eagle with spread wings[4]. We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the head of Caracalla on a coin of Antioch struck between 213 and 217 A.D. has a similar eagle beneath it[5]. In view of these facts it becomes a legitimate conjecture that the eagle beneath the seated Christ marks him as at once human and divine, the true claimant to the throne of Zeus[6].

So, then, the Shepherd-Judge is also the Divine Ruler. And, if it be argued that this multiple *rôle* is not likely to go back to the first century, I should answer that it is already implied by a great passage in the Gospel[7]: 'But when the Son of man shall come in his glory, and all the angels with him, then shall he sit on the throne of his glory: and before him shall be gathered all the nations: and he shall separate them one from another, as the shepherd separateth the sheep from the goats.'

It amounts to this. For the Christian artist—trained, it may be, in a pagan school—Christ has dispossessed all rivals and has taken his seat on the very throne of Zeus. But the chalice has a reverse as well as an obverse design, and we have still to ask Why this duplication of Christ in younger form? and Wherein lies the special appropriateness of the vine-symbolism? The problem, so put, suggests its own solution. The boyish figure seated on the divine throne

[1] A. Héron de Villefosse in the *Mon. Piot* 1899 v. 133 ff. pls. 31—33 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 92 no. 2 f., 93 no. 1 f., 94 no. 1 f.

[2] For a later variation on the same theme see the well-known ivory *pyxis* at Berlin (R. Garrucci *op. cit.* vi. 60 pl. 440, 1, L. von Sybel *op. cit.* ii. 253 fig. 77, C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* pp. 366, 552 fig. 142), which likewise has Christ seated *en face* on a round-backed throne, with a roll in his hand and a footstool at his feet. He is flanked by two seated Apostles (St Peter and St Paul), who raise their hands in salutation. The other ten stand to right and left of him.

The position assigned to the two foremost Apostles suits their 'Dioscuric' character (*supra* p. 606). Zeus is supported by the Dioskouroi (*supra* i. 35 fig. 8, ii. 1230 tail-piece); Christ, by St Peter and St Paul (*supra* i. 51 fig. 24, ii. 1207 fig. 1009).

[3] See *e.g.* the examples that I collected in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 308 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 951 n. 0 with fig. 844.

[5] *Supra* p. 1193 fig. 1003. The head of Trajan on silver coins struck at Tyre is often supported by an eagle with closed wings (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 300 f. pl. 36, 1, 3—6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 268 f. pl. 77, 5). Some specimens, which have the same obverse type, but for reverse Tyche seated with the Orontes at her feet, are assigned doubtfully by G. F. Hill to Tyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* pp. cxxxvii f., 302 pl. 36, 9), by G. Macdonald to Antioch (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 163 f. pl. 72, 19).

[6] I do not deny that the eagle here may have had a further significance. C. M. Kaufmann *op. cit.* p. 286 discusses its appearance in Christian art 'als...Symbol der Auferstehung...und zwar der in Christo gebotenen felix reparatio temporum (vgl. Ps. 103, 5) im Jenseits.'

[7] Matthew 25. 31 f. Aischylos long since had made Agamemnon, his divine ruler, an ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων (*Ag.* 795).

in the midst of his trusty followers is, to those at least who have in mind the coinage of Lydia and Kilikia[1], reminiscent of the child Zeus or Dionysos seated on his throne with the Kouretes grouped about him; and the framework of grape-vines adds point to the analogy.

On the whole, piecing together the evidence of shape, *technique*, style, and subject, I conclude that the chalice of Antioch was made at some date not far removed from the year 100 A.D.[2]; that it was then adorned with figures of Christ sitting in Judgment with the Saints[3], ten in number merely because ten was a typical plurality[4]; and that these assessors were later, by means of *graffiti*, identified with individual Apostles and canonical authors, including perhaps all the recognised writers of the New Testament[5]. Further, I hold that the decoration of the chalice, though essentially Christian, owes certain of its features to pagan antecedents, in particular to Anatolian representations of Zeus and Dionysos[6]. Here, as elsewhere, the art-types of the Greek Father and Son were both taken into the service of the conquering creed and alike used to portray the form of Him who said: 'I and the Father are one[7].'

[1] *Supra* i. 152 f. figs. 125—128, i. 646 f.

[2] Prof. Strzygowski, after personal inspection of the chalice and prolonged study of its detail, refers it to the first century A.D. (J. Strzygowski 'Der "Silberkelch von Antiochia"' in the *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst* 1924 pp. 53—61 pl. 28 f., especially p. 61). But when he attributes the Berlin *pyxis* also to the first century (*ib.* p. 59), we part company.

[3] *Supra* p. 1207.

[4] M. H. Farbridge *Studies in Biblical and Semitic Symbolism* London 1923 p. 140 ff. (citing E. W. Bullinger *Number in Scripture* Bromley 1894 p. 243).

[5] *Supra* p. 1200 n. 4. [6] *Supra* p. 1209 f. [7] John 10. 30.

ADDENDA

ii. 2 n. 4. The painted marble tablet from Tarragona, though accepted as genuine by more than one archaeologist of repute (F. Ladelci in the *Atti dell' Accademia pontificia de' nuovi Lincei* 1885 xxxviii. 4. 122 ff. pl. 1, Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1899—1901 i. 36 ff. fig. 4, A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 209—211 fig. 41), has recently been denounced as a forgery by the eminent connoisseur of Iberian antiquities P. Paris 'Le faux sarcophage égyptien de Tarragone' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 146—157 with figs. 1—6. I have not myself seen the tablet; but Mr T. W. I. Bullock of Queens' College, Cambridge, who has kindly interviewed on my behalf J. R. Mélida y Alinari, director of the Museo Arqueologico Nacional at Madrid, and F. A. Ossorio, keeper of the Greek and Roman antiquities, reports (Sept. 21, 1923) that both these authorities regard, and always have regarded, the fragment as a mere fabrication.

ii. 7 n. 1. Add Eunap. *v. Aedesii* 37 (p. 20 Boissonade) *τὸ τῶν ὁμιλητῶν ἄριστον πρὸς μυστηριώδη τινὰ σιωπὴν καὶ ἱεροφαντικὴν ἐχεμυθίαν ἐπιρρεπὲς ἦν καὶ συνεκέκλιτο.*

ii. 31 n. 7. So also Loukian. *somn.* 2 *ὦ Ζεῦ τεράστιε,* cp. Aristoph. *pax* 41 f. *οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως | τοῦτ' ἐστὶ τὸ τέρας οὐ Διὸς σκαταβόητον* (*supra* p. 15 n. 1) and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1885, 8 f. *Διὸς δὲ τέρας ἀλληγορικῶς μὲν τὸ ἐξ ἀέρος· τοιοῦτον γὰρ ἡ, ὡς ἐρρέθη, δίχα νέφους βροντή. ἄλλως δὲ διὰ τὸ πᾶν τέρας ἀνάγεσθαι εἰς ἐκεῖνον, καθὰ καὶ πᾶσαν ὁμφὴν· διὸ καὶ πανομφαῖος ἐλέγετο Ζεύς.* See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 369.

ii. 32. The relief of Zeus Κραταιβάτης is now figured by Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 219, 8 (=my fig. 1010).

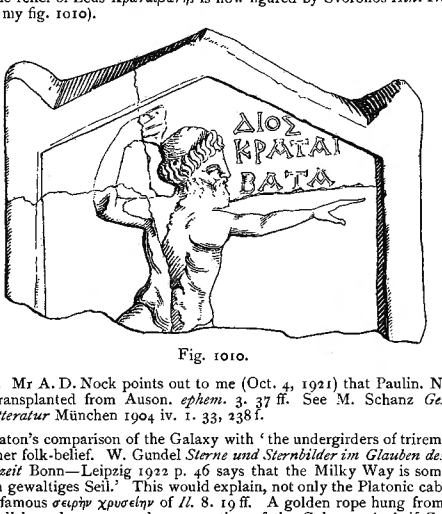


Fig. 1010.

ii. 38 n. 5. Mr A. D. Nock points out to me (Oct. 4, 1921) that Paulin. Nolan. *carm.* 5. 37 ff. is transplanted from Auson. *ephem.* 3. 37 ff. See M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1904 iv. 1. 33, 238 f.

ii. 44. Platon's comparison of the Galaxy with 'the undergirders of triremes' perhaps rests on another folk-belief. W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 46 says that the Milky Way is sometimes conceived as 'ein gewaltiges Seil.' This would explain, not only the Platonic cable, but also the yet more famous *σειρὴν χρυσείην* of *Il.* 8. 19 ff. A golden rope hung from heaven to earth may well have been a popular conception of the Galaxy. And, if Zeus bound it *περὶ ῥίον Οὐλύμποιο* (*ib.* 25), we recall that 'the stars came down at night on Olympus' (*supra* p. 905 n. 0).

ii. 44 n. 4. The late Mr H. G. Evelyn White kindly supplied me (Sept. 23, 1921) with a Coptic parallel to the Manichaean 'pillar of light.' It occurs in an apocalyptic Gospel from Dêr Abû Makâr in the Wady'n Natrûn (*New Texts from Dêr Abû Makâr* no. 3,

folio 117*recto*): 'There shall be a pillar (ϹΤΫΛΟϹ=*στῦλος*) of light, like unto silver, in Amenti (Hades): all mankind that is shall come to the place of judgment. But ye upon your thrones within the wall shall order the judgment. But the rest of the just—they who shall not be able to attain to the measure of the judgment—shall sit (*or* rest, remain) upon a pillar (*στῦλος*) of light, that they may behold them who do judgment and them who have judgment done upon them.' Mr Evelyn White further noted (Oct. 24, 1921), after Dr M. R. James, a 'great pillar' in the judgment-scene of *oracl. Sib.* 2. 238 ff. Geffcken *ἠρίκα δ' ἀναστήσῃ νέκυας μοῖραν καταλύσας | καὶ καθίσῃ Σαβαὼθ Ἀδωναῖος ὑψικέραυνος | ἐς θρόνον οὐράνιον [τε] μέγαν δέ τε κίονα πήξῃ, | ἥξει δ' ἐν νεφέλῃ πρὸς ἄφθιτον ἄφθιτος αὐτός | ἐν δόξῃ Χριστὸς κ.τ.λ.*

ii. 45 n. 1. After repeated inspection of the marble (in the spring of 1922) and examination of a good photograph I incline to think that the arch is intentional, that the pillar is topped by an *abacus*, and that the inscription should be read as ΙΗΕΥΣ.

ii. 50 ff. F. Haug 'Die Irminsul' in *Germania* 1918 ii. 68—72 contends that there was but one *Irminsûl*, that of Ereshurg, probably a huge oak-tree lopped of its boughs but still rooted in the ground, till it was destroyed by Charles the Great in 772 A.D. Haug makes light of Widukind's evidence for a second *Irminsûl* at Scheidungen, and gives short shrift to the view of Müllenhoff and Mogk that there were several or even many such pillars. He regards the first element in the name as either adjectival ('mächtige, starke, erhabene Säule') or substantival ('für *Irmin(e)ssul*, d. h. Säule des Gottes oder Halbgottes Irmin').

ii. 50 n. 2. C. Petersen 'Zioter (Zeter) oder Tiodute (Jodute), der Gott des Kriegs und des Rechts bei den Deutschen' in *Forschungen zur Deutschen Geschichte* 1866 vi. 223—342 must be read with caution.

ii. 51 n. 5. Mr B. Dickins has sent me the following notes in criticism (Oct. 8, 1920) of the view advocated by J. Grimm, K. Simrock, and others:—

'The evidence on which this view is based appears to be as follows:

(*a*) *Stephens, No.* 5, taken from Hickes' edition of the A.S. Runic Poem, which glosses ᛉ as both *ear* and *tîr*: this poem was however derived from the burnt Cott. Otho B. 10, which seems to have had the characters but no names, the latter being added by Hickes from

(*b*) *Stephens, No.* 9, taken from Cott. Dom. A. 9, the writer or copyist of which was an ignorant person who confused ᛉ and ᛏ as he had previously failed to distinguish between the names of ᛞ and ᚹ.

(*c*) *Stephens, No.* 10, taken from St Gall, 4to, No. 270, p. 52, which gives the value and name of ᛉ as *z* and *aer* respectively. This is a pretty faithful copy of the A.S. 28 letter futhorc only partially assimilated to the phonology of O.H.G.; e.g. *þ* is still preserved, though its name has become *dorn*, and ᛏ retains the name *ti* and the value *t*, though the name and value of ᛞ have become *tag* and *t*.

Later a more drastic attempt is made to harmonize the Latin alphabet, the English futhorc and the sounds of O.H.G. *þ* disappears, though its name *þorn* in the form *dorn* is attached to ᚹ; the A.S. name of ᛞ (*dæg*) is changed to *tac* and attached to ᛏ, while ᛉ, for which O.H.G. had no use in its proper value *ea*, is baptised *ziu*, which corresponds with A.S. *tîw* (found also in the alphabets as *ti* and *tîr*).

However the equation of Bavarian *Er* and A.S. *ear* is etymologically unsound, and the association of ᛉ with the god *Ziu* is quite fortuitous, for the following reasons:—

(1) The use of ᛉ to represent the sound of *z* [ts] is by no means universal; cf. e.g. Stephens Nos. 13 and 18 where varieties of the Latin z are used and No. 20, where the last letter of the Northumbrian futhorc ᛝ (*gaar*) is similarly thrust into the gap.

(2) ᛉ is a specifically English letter invented to represent the *ēa* which arose from Gmc. *au*: it is not found in inscriptions outside the English area, and where it occurs in O.H.G. futhorcs and alphabets it is legitimate to assume that it has been borrowed from England.

(3) The sound *z* [z], which existed in the parent Gmc. and was represented by ᛘ in the old futhark, disappeared both in English and German, though the letter kept its place in the series and was sometimes used in the later Runic alphabets to fill the vacant place of the Latin *x*. When, therefore, by the Fourth Sound-Shifting a new *z* [ts] developed

in O.H.G. it was necessary to find a fresh symbol. Now ᛉ was the last letter of the 28 letter English futhorc found, for instance, on the Thames scramasax [the characters for guttural *c* and *g* seem to have been confined to Northumbria]; moreover O.H.G. had no use for an *ea* character.

Put shortly, the association of the character ᛉ with the name of the god Ziu appears to be due to the following causes:

By a sound-change peculiar to O.H.G. (the Fourth Sound-Shifting) the dentals experienced a general shift round, *þ*>*d*>*t*>*z*, the effect of which was the loss of *þ* and the appearance of a new sound *z* [ts]. The disappearance of *þ* was welcomed rather than otherwise, since it was an alien which could not be found a place in the Latin alphabet, but it was necessary to find a symbol for z. ᛉ happened not to be needed in its proper A.S. value of *ea*, and moreover to be the last letter of the non-Northumbrian futhorc. It was therefore taken over, but its original name *ear* discarded in order to avoid the confusion which would arise if the initial of the name of a letter were other than the letter itself. Naturally it inherited the name *ziu* which in its shifted form was no longer appropriate to its original possessor ᛏ.'

ii. 57 n. 4. Recent articles on 'Jupiter-columns' are listed by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1917 xxx. 348, *ib.* 1918 xxxi. 434. Add F. Hertlein 'Zu älteren Funden des Juppitergigantenkreises' in *Germania* 1917 i. 101—105 with 2 figs., *id.* 'Der Zusammenhang der Juppitergigantengruppen' *ib.* 1917 i. 136—143 with 9 figs. R. Forrer 'Zur Frage der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1912 v. 60 f. questions Hertlein's Germanic interpretation of the columns on two grounds ((1) 'dass an vielen Orten, so z. B. in Zabern, die neben Juppitergigantenresten auf Inschriften gefundenen Personennamen nicht germanische sondern keltische sind'; (2) 'dass schon auf vorrömisch gallischen Münzen eine verwandte Darstellung Platz gegriffen hat').

ii. 86. On the group from *Luxeuil* see now É. Espérandieu in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 72—86 with two figs. (summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 220). Espérandieu argues that the rider was Iupiter with an astral wheel, that the horse should be restored in a rearing or galloping posture, and that the human head supporting its foot was part of a giant with snaky legs.

ii. 90. Mr C. D. Bicknell notes a second example—*British Museum: A Guide to the Antiquities of Roman Britain* London 1922 p. 20 f. fig. 10 'Half of a stone octagon, with reliefs in niches of the deities presiding over the days of the week, was found by Horsley in the mill at Chesterford, Essex, where it had been used by the local blacksmith as a water-trough for cooling his iron.'

ii. 90. The 'Jupiter-column' had a long history in front of it as well as behind it—witness the sacred pillars reverenced by thousands today in France and Spain. Miss J. E. Harrison 'The Pillar and the Maiden' in the *Proceedings of the Classical Association* 1907 v. 65—77 has drawn attention to the cult of La Vierge du Pilier at Chartres and to the multiplied pillar-shrines of her Cathedral (bibliography by U. Chevalier *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Montbéliard 1895 p. 661 ff.). Similarly at Zaragoza the Apostle James (Santiago) built a chapel on the spot where he had seen a vision of the Virgin poised on a pillar of jasper and attended by angels (A. F. Calvert *Valladolid, Oviedo, Segovia, Zamora, Avila, & Zaragoza* London 1908 p. 158 ff. with pls. 348 and 349 Our Lady del Pilar).

ii. 93 ff. The Column of Mayence continues to provoke discussion. To the bibliography (ii. 93 n. 3) add F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Juppitersäule von Mainz' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1913 vi. 49—53, K. Körber *Die grosse Juppitersäule im Altertumsmuseum der Stadt Mainz* Mainz 1915 pp. 1—28 with 10 pls. and 9 figs. (reviewed by K. Wigand in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 47 f.), F. Drexel 'Zur Mainzer Jupitersäule' in the *Römisch-germanisches Korrespondenzblatt* 1915 viii. 67—69, F. Quilling 'Zur grossen Juppitersäule in Mainz' in *Germania* 1917 i. 43—45, *id. Die Jupiter-Säule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1918 pp. 1—236 with many figs. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 28—32, J. P. Waltzing in *Le Musée Belge* 1921 xxv. 221—226, cp. *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 141), F. Quilling *Die Nerosäule des Samus und Severus* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—32 with 2 figs. ('Nachtrag' to the 1918 volume by the same author), *id. Die Juppiter-Votivsäule der Mainzer Canabarii. Eine neue Erklärung ihres Bildschmuckes* Frankfurt 1919 pp. 1—16 with figs. and 2 pls. (reviewed by F. Drexel in *Germania* 1919 iii. 127 f.).

Of points made since my section on the subject (*supra* p. 93 ff.) was written the most important is the discovery by P. T. Kessler, assistant of the Mayence Museum, that two

drums of the column have hitherto been incorrectly placed. Kessler observed that in its first, fourth, and fifth drums the run-holes for lead ('Gussrinnen') were contrived at the back of the shaft. If the same rule was followed for the second and third drums, we must suppose that their front figures were Volcanus and the goddess with the scales. This supposition is confirmed by the fact that a lance-tip carved beneath Ceres' altar on the lower edge of the second drum is now seen to be the point of Neptunus' staff on the first drum —an adjustment further certified by an incised mark ('Versatzmarke') on the two adjacent edges. Another mark above the helmet of Virtus on the second drum is likewise found to fit on to its prolongation below the figure of Pax on the third drum. The whole rearrangement may be set out as follows:

	FRONT	LEFT SIDE	BACK	RIGHT SIDE
SHAFT OF THE COLUMN	IVNO *Regina*	Luna		Sol
	Genius Neronis	Lar	Bacchus	Lar
	VENVS	Pax	Iuno *Sancta*	VESTA
	VOLCANVS	Virtus	CERES	Honos
	Victoria	MARS	DIANA	NEPTVNVS
UPPER PLINTH	Inscription	Castor	APOLLO	Pollux
LOWER PLINTH	IVPITER	MERCVRIVS and Maia (?)	Hercules	MINERVA and Fortuna

Quilling now maintains that the entire monument refers to its dedicators, the Canabarii. Virtus and Honos are (as Maass suggested) personifications of Mayence and Castel. Victoria between Mars and Neptunus denotes the success of the fourteenth legion, formerly stationed at Mayence, over the British Boudicca in 61 A.D. Volcanus is there to avert the risk of fire from the corn-ears of Ceres, who represents the harbour-quarter. The goddess with the scales is the patron of Mayence market. She that sets foot on the cow's head and she that has the horse (?) stand for cattle-breeding. Pax is for petty trade. The Genius Neronis becomes the Genius Canabensium. Apollo hails from the Vicus Apollinensis. Etc., etc. But Quilling's views succeed one another at such a pace that the foregoing identifications are, for aught I know, already superannuated.

ii. 97 n. 0. H. Mattingly in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1920 x. 38 described an *aureus* of Nero, which has *rev.* IVPPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter enthroned to left with a thunderbolt in his right hand and a sceptre in his left—a thin disguise for the emperor himself. Mr Mattingly supposed that this coin was struck at Corinth (?) in 67 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. i pp. clxxxiii f., 214 no. 110 pl. 40, 15), but he is careful to state that its authenticity has been very seriously questioned (*ib.* p. clxxxiv n. 1). Coppers of Patrai, issued under Nero, show *rev.* IVPPITER LIBERATOR Iupiter, nude, standing to left with an eagle on his right hand and a sceptre in his left (Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] ii. 243, 256, B. Pick in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 180 ff.).

ii. 98 n. 3. On the statuette from Woodchester see also Farnell *Cults of G. States* ii. 529 pl. 31, *a* ('must be a fragment of a statue of Artemis Tauropolos, standing on the bull and carrying a torch'), and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 29 fig. 3 ('Cérès'), i. 422 ('Déméter-Cérès').

ii. 106 n. 2. Add R. Traquair and A. J. B. Wace 'The Base of the Obelisk of Theodosius' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 60—69 with 7 figs.

ii. 121 ff. on Thracian tattooing. P. Wolters in *Hermes* 1903 xxxviii. 265—273 explains the name Ἐλαφόστικτος (Lys. *or.* 13. 19 Θεόκριτον τὸν τοῦ Ἐλαφοστίκτου καλούμενον)

as appropriate to a Thracian painted or tattooed. See further O. Crusius in *Philologus* 1903 lxii. 125—132 (reported in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 477 f.).

At *Dikili-Tasch* near Philippoi have been found terra-cotta figures of prehistoric (neolithic?) date, which show male heads tattooed, with pointed beards (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1921 xlv. 543 fig. 15).

ii. 131 n. 1. W. B. McDaniel 'The Holiness of the Dischi Sacri' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 24—46 figures and discusses eleven such disks; he sees in them (p. 44) 'a sort of compound seal, a composite of signets, peculiar in its design to Tarentum, used for commercial purposes'... 'Pressed in the wax of Tarentum or upon a seal of clay or gypsum.'

ii. 136 ff. Anent the 'Ladder of Salvation' Mr G. G. Coulton kindly refers me to a passage in the *vita fratris Leonis* (*Analecta Franciscana* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1897 iii. 71, 19 ff.) semel etiam frater Leo vidit in somnis, quod divinum iudicium parabatur, et in prato quodam Angelis tubicinantibus congregabatur gentium innumerabilis multitudo. et ecce duae scalae, quarum una erat alba, altera rubea, fuerunt positae, una ab una parte illius prati, altera ab alia, quarum proceritas usque ad coelos a terra tendebatur. apparuit autem Christus in summitate scalae rubeae quasi offensus graviter et iratus; et beatus Franciscus erat aliquantulum inferius prope ipsum. qui amplius descendens, fratres suos fortissime clamando vocabat dicens: 'venite, fratres, venite, accedite ad Dominum, qui vos vocat. confidite, ne timeatis.' fratres autem multi currebant ex admonitione Patris et incipiebant ascendere scalam rubeam confidenter. cum autem sic ascenderent, unus cadebat de tertio gradu, alius de quarto, alius de decimo, alii de medio, alii de summo. beatus autem Franciscus ad tantam fratrum ruinam motus compassione, pro filiis iudicem precabatur. Christus vero ostendebat manus et latus, in quibus plagae eius renovari videbantur; et inde sanguis recentissime distillabat, et dicebat: 'ista fecerunt mihi fratres tui.' et dum beatus Franciscus perseveraret misericordiam pro filiis postulando, post brevem morulam aliquantulum per scalam rubeam descendebat et clamabat dicens: 'confidite, fratres, ne desperetis, currite ad scalam albam et ascendite, quia ibi suscipiemini et per eam intrabitis coelum.' currentibus autem fratribus ad scalam albam ex admonitione paterna, ecce beata Virgo apparuit in summitate scalae et recipiebat eos; et ingrediebantur regnum sine labore. Cp. Bartholomaeus de Pisis *de conformitate vitae beati Francisci ad vitam Domini Iesu Redemptoris nostri* 8. 2 *de fratre Leone* (*Analecta Franciscana* Ad Claras Aquas (Quaracchi) 1906 iv. 191, 18 ff.), S. Alfonso de' Liguori *Glories of Mary* (extr. from *The Christian Remembrancer* Oct. 1855) London 1856 p. 25 f., *The Church Quarterly Review* 1902—1903 lv. 55.

ii. 146. A similar sacred trunk adorned with the spoils of the chase was to be seen at Autessiodurum (*Auxerre*), a town of the Senones in Gallia Lugudunensis, as late as the beginning of *s.* v A.D. (*Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Maius i. 57 C—E (Stephanus Africanus Presbyter *vita S. Amatoris Episcopi Autissiodorensis* 4. 24) Eo autem tempore quo hæc gesta sunt, Germanus quidam nomine, nobili germine procreatus, territorium Autissiodorense visitatione propria gubernabat: cui mos erat tirunculorum potius industriis indulgere, quam Christianæ religioni operam dare. Is ergo assiduo venatui invigilans, ferarum copiam insidiis atque artis strenuitate frequentissime capiebat. Erat autem arbor pyrus in urbe media, amœnitate gratissima, ad cujus ramusculos ferarum ab eo deprehensarum capita pro admiratione venationis nimiæ dependebant. Quem celebris vir ejusdem civitatis Amator Episcopus, his frequens compellabat eloquiis: Desine, quæso, vir bonorum splendidissime, hæc jocularia, quæ Christianis offensa, Paganis vero imitanda sunt, exercere. Hoc opus idololatricæ culturæ est, non Christianæ elegantissimæ disciplinæ. Et licet hoc vir Deo dignus indesinenter perageret, ille tamen nullo modo admonenti se acquiescere voluit aut obedire. Vir autem Domini iterum atque iterum eum hortabatur, ut non solum à consuetudine male arrepta discederet, verum & ipsam arborem, ne Christianis offendiculum esset, radicitus extirparet. Sed ille nullatenus aurem placidam applicare voluit admonenti. In hujus ergo persuasionis tempore, quadam die præfatus Germanus ex urbe in prædia sui juris secessit. Tunc B. Amator, opportunitatem operiens, sacrilegam arborem cum radicibus abscidit; & ne aliqua ejus incredulis esset memoria, igni concremandam illico deputavit: oscilla vero, quæ tamquam trophei cujusdam certaminis umbrâ dependentia ostentabant, longius à civitatis terminis projici præcepit. Protinus autem [aliquis], gressus suos ad aures sæpedicti Germani retorquens, dictis animum incendit; atque iram suis suasionibus exaggerans, ferocem effecit: ita ut oblitus sanctæ religionis, cujus fuerat ritu atque munere consecratus, mortem viro beatissimo minitaret: & ne ei aliquo modo quorumdam Christianorum conventus furenti resisteret, turbam secum agrestem coadunans civitati improvisus advenit. The upshot was unexpected. Amator, to escape the wrath of Germanus, fled the town, made his way to Augustodunum (*Autun*), and besought Julius, governor of the province, to sanction the

nomination and consecration of Germanus to the episcopal throne of *Auxerre* in the room of himself. 'For,' said the saint, 'God has revealed to me that my life draweth to a close.' A few days later Amator died, while Germanus became bishop in his stead and ruled the see well (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints*[2] Edinburgh 1914 v. 13 f.). Amator's festival falls on May 1).

There are points about this curious narrative which suggest that we have here in an attenuated, Christianised, form a Gallic parallel to the cult of Diana *Nemorensis*.

ii. 157 n. 0. F. Courby *Les vases grecs à reliefs* Paris 1922 pp. 509—513 ('Oenochoés à portraits de reines') enumerates four examples and sundry fragments, which commemorate Arsinoe ii, Berenike ii, and Ptolemy iv Philopator. With unimportant variations, all repeat the same type, derived—according to Courby—from a statue of Arsinoe ii with the attributes of Tyche set up by Ptolemy ii Philadelphos (Athen. 497 B—C) in her temple at Alexandreia (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 108) together with an obelisk eighty cubits high (*id. ib.* 36. 67 f.).

ii. 174. In the *Rev. Arch.* 1920 i. 172 C. Picard attempts to discredit the *omphalós* found by F. Courby within the temple of Apollon. He suggests that it is perhaps a mere weight and that its inscription may not after all be archaic. But Mr C. T. Seltman, who at my request has made a careful examination of the original stone, sends me (Jan. 11, 1923) the following report: 'After our trip to Delphi, from which we returned four days ago, I must write and tell you what I think about *the* Omphalos, which is now placed in the Museum there. It seems to me that the suggestion of its being a forgery can only be born of madness or malice! The thing is smaller than one expected it to be, but it is to my thinking impossible that it should be a fake. The ∏∏ upon it is clear as are ΛΑ; but the *sigma* of ΛΑΖ is so mutilated by a large fracture in the stone that it might be almost any letter.'

ii. 176 n. 1. On Themis at Delphoi see also F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1. 81, who notes the inscription restored by G. Colin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1903 xxvii. 107 no. 684 B, 14 f. *ἐφιορκοῦντι δὲ* [*Θέμις*] *καὶ Ἀπόλλων Πύθιος καὶ Λατὼ καὶ Ἄρτεμ*[*ις καὶ*] *Ἑστία καὶ πῦρ ἀθάνατον καὶ θεοὶ πά*[*ντες καὶ πᾶσαι κακίστωι ὀλέθρωι τὴν*] | *σωτηρίαν μοι* [*ἀφέλωσι*]*ν, κ.τ.λ.*

In the hymn composed by Aristonoös of Corinth and inscribed on the Athenian Treasury at Delphoi we read how Apollon first occupied the oracular seat *πείσας Γαῖαν ἀνθοτρόφον* | *Θέμιν τ' εὐπλόκαμον θεάν* (G. Colin in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iii. 2. 213 ff. no. 191, 18 f.).

ii. 176 n. 2. W. H. Roscher 'Die Bedeutung des **E** zu Delphi und die übrigen *γράμματα Δελφικά*' in *Philologus* 1900 lix. 21—41 labours to prove that the mystic *εἶ* is for *πρόσει, εἶσει*, '"komm her" oder "Willkommen."' This, to my mind, is quite impossible Greek.

ii. 190 n. 0. Further references for the history of *rhytá* are given by F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 106—109.

ii. 193. On the evolution of the tripod see now K. Schwendemann 'Der Dreifuss' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1921 xxxvi. 98—185 with figs. 1—30. *Id. ib.* p. 183 f. discusses the relation of the tripod to Zeus on vases and coins.

ii. 193 n. 2. Cp. the twelfth-century fonts at Winchester etc. (C. H. Eden *Black Tournai Fonts in England* London 1909 pp. 1—32 with good plates), which in appearance at least perpetuate this ancient form of libation-table.

ii. 195 n. 1. A. Furtwängler 'Zum platäischen Weihgeschenk in Delphi' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1904 pp. 413—417 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 477) figures the upper surface of the highest extant step of the Plataean tripod, and explains three symmetrically arranged slots in it as due to tenons which passed through the top step of the base and thus tethered the tripod-feet to the second step. If so, we must suppose that the legs of the tripod were drawn somewhat closer together than I have placed them (*supra* p. 194 fig. 134). Furtwängler's inference, however, is not quite secure, since the serpent-coil, which he too takes to have been the central support of the caldron, has left no trace whatever on the second step. It may be that the three slots in question served merely for dowels fastening this step to the one above it, in which serpent-coil and legs were alike embedded.

Re the Plataean tripod see now R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 234 f., 380.

ii. 208 f. In this connexion Miss H. Richardson of Newnham College drew my attention (Oct. 24, 1924) to Plout. *de sera num. vind.* 22 566 D *ἅμα δ' ἐπειρᾶτο προσάγων ἐπιδεικνύειν αὐτῷ τὸ φῶς ἐκ τοῦ τρίποδος, ὡς ἔλεγε, διὰ τῶν κόλπων τῆς Θέμιδος ἀπερειδό-*

μενον εἰς τὸν Παρνασόν· καὶ προθυμούμενος ἰδεῖν οὐκ εἶδεν ὑπὸ λαμπρότητος, ἀλλ' ἤκουε παριὼν φωνὴν ἐξεῖαν γυναικὸς ἐν μέτρῳ φράζουσαν ἄλλα τέ τινα καὶ χρόνον, ὡς ἔοικε, τῆς ἐκείνου τελευτῆς. We have here, apparently, Themis on the Delphic tripod impregnated by the central pillar of light (= Apollon: cp. *supra* p. 178).

ii. 222 n. 2. On Iason swallowed by the snake see further P. Ducati 'Giasone e il serpente' in the *Rendiconti d. Lincei* 1920 xxix. 52—64 (p. 53 fig. 1 *kylix* from *Cervetri*, p. 61 fig. 3 bronze *kýathos* from Felsina).

ii. 229 n. 7. Zeus as Artemis wooing Kallisto is the subject of a painting by F. Boucher (1703—1770 A.D.) (W. Hausenstein *Der nackte Mensch in der Kunst aller Zeiten* München 1918 p. 122 fig. 84).

ii. 281 n. 4. For the golden vine overhanging the entrance to Herod's temple Mr G. C. Armstrong quotes also Ioseph. *de bell. Iud.* 5. 5. 4.

ii. 282. Mr B. F. C. Atkinson has kindly supplied me (Apr. 28, 1922) with a *Note on the Name Sabazios*:—

'I suggest the following etymology for *Sabazios*. The second part I believe to be *Zios*, *Dios*, the Phrygian Zeus. The change of *d* to a sound represented by *zeta* in Thracian is frequent and seems regular, whether it be, as Kretschmer suggests (*Einleitung* p. 196), due to "Assibilation des *d* vor *i*," or whether, as is perhaps more probable, a change of *d* to the voiced dental spirant *đ* took place over the whole Illyrian—Thracian—Phrygian language area. The disappearance of intervocalic digamma may be due to conscious assimilation by Greek transcribers to Gk. Δία, Διός, etc., although it is well to remember in this connection that there is a form of the stem that contains no *μ* (Skt. *dyām*, Gk. Ζῆν, Lat. *diem*).

The first part of the compound adapts itself with surprising regularity to the root given by Brugmann as **ĥeuā*, which appears with varying ablaut in Skt. *ávişthas*, *ávātrás*, *ávāyati*, *ávras*, Gk. *κύος*, *κῦρος* and Bœotian *τὰ ππάματα*. The root has the general meaning of "swell," "be important," "be master," "possess." *Sabazios* would thus mean originally "Lord Zeus."

There seems to be another possible etymology for the first part of the compound. The root occurring in Skt. *kávis*, Gk. *κοέω*, Lat. *caueo*, Goth. **us-skáus* may be in evidence here. If this is the case, the initial *s* can be explained in two ways. It may represent an *s*- sound and illustrate the Thracian treatment of the I.-E. combination *sq*-. More probably we have in Thracian that form of the stem that shows no initial sibilant (as in the examples cited from Skt., Gk., and Lat.), in which case concealed beneath *sigma* is the sound *ts* (final in Eng. *thatch*). The Messapian and Lycian inscriptions, if correctly interpreted by Deecke, throw light on this view. There we find *sigma* or *zeta* used for a sound that represents the I.-E. velar (Messap. *zis* for **quis*, a proper name *Plazet* with genitive *Plaxtas*; Lyc. *sättäre*, "four," etc.: vd. Deecke in Bezz. *Beit.* Vols. xii, xiii, xiv), though it is true that it is the labialised velar that in these cases undergoes palatalisation. In this case *Sabazios* would mean "Zeus the wise one" with a hint at prophetical power (cf. *caueo*), somewhat resembling "*augur Apollo*." Then we could regard the *Sauadai* or *Saboi*, whose connection with the god seems obvious, as his "wise ones" or "seers."

The former of these two etymologies is perhaps the more straightforward; but there is no real barrier to the second (though it would scarcely have been possible apart from the evidence of the Messapian and Lycian inscriptions). In either case the *beta* represents a *v*-sound, as the alternative forms (*Savuazios*, *Sauazios*, *Saoazios*, *Savazios*, *Sabadius*) make clear, and this derives almost certainly from an earlier *μ*. The *a* of the first syllable, whether it represent older *e* or *o*, is assimilated to the following *a*, a practice which seems regular in Illyrian and Thracian (cf., for example, *Delminium* but *Dalmatae*, *-poris* but *-para*). Thus the former etymology would give us *Savaðios*, the latter *Tşavaðios*.'

ii. 282 n. 2. P. Roussel—J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 511 no. 29 publish a marble slab, from a house N.W. of the *agorá* of Theophrastos in Delos, inscribed in late lettering Δειεὶ Σαβαζίω(ι) ---| κατ' εὐχὴν Μο---| του γεγονότος --| ἐν Δήλωι Αἰ[ίου?]---. See also P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 276 n. 7.

ii. 285 n. 0 no. (3). The relief from Philadelpheia (*Ala-Shehir*) in Lydia, hitherto incorrectly described, is figured from a photograph (=my fig. 1011) by J. Keil—A. von Premerstein 'Bericht über eine zweite Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1911 ii Abh. p. 84 no. 2. A bearded man standing erect, in *chitón* and *himátion*, holds

his garment with his left hand. With his right hand he pours a lihation from a *phiále* into a *kratér*, set on the ground, about which two snakes are twined, apparently drinking out

Fig. 1011.

of it. Behind the *kratér* is seen a tree (oak ??), from which a snake lowers itself towards the *phiále*.

ii. 290 n. 0. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie 'Funereal Figures in Egypt' in *Ancient Egypt* 1916 pp. 151—162 draws attention to the existing African custom of treasuring in the family the head of the deceased father and uses it to elucidate certain sepulchral practices of the ancient Egyptians. He shows that in many burials of prehistoric times the head was removed and later replaced in the grave, if not lost or buried elsewhere; that in tomb-shafts of the fourth dynasty a stone image of the head was provided in case the actual head should be lost or injured; that at the break-up of the Old Kingdom a stone image of the mummy came into vogue; and that the addition of hands, arms, etc. led on to the fully developed *ushabti* figures of the seventeenth and following dynasties.

P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 303 notes relevant facts in the Scandinavian area.

ii. 295 n. 1. On "Αδαμνα="Αττις see now W. Vollgraff 'De voce thracia ἀδαπταῖς' in *Mnemosyne* 1921 xlix. 286—294 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 406 f.).

ii. 322 n. 6. In the Hesycbian gloss on the word *κυνακίας* J. Alberti rightly conjectured *διδόμενοι* for *διδομένου*. He is followed by Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 68.

ii. 326. See now Miss M. A. Murray *The Witch-Cult in Western Europe* Oxford 1921.

ii. 345. The *formula* of the Cretan mystics (*βοῦς μέγας*) may help to clear up an obscure epigram of Kallimachos—'*οὗτος ἐμὸς λόγος ὕμμιν ἀληθινός· εἰ δὲ τὸν ἠδὺν | βούλει, Πελλαίου βοῦς μέγας εἰν 'Αΐδῃ*' (Kallim. *ep.* 15. 5 f. with A. W. Mair's note *ad loc.*).

ii. 345 n. 6. On the survival of this *formula* into the middle ages see some interesting remarks by W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 ii. 412.

ii. 386. The *pétasos* as a sky-symbol possibly meets us again on the tomb of Porsenna at Clusium as described by Varro *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 91—93 (92 pyramides stant quinque...ita fastigatae ut in summo orbis aeneus et petasus unus omnibus sit inpositus, ex quo pendeant exapta catenis tintinabula, etc.). For discussion and attempted restorations see Quatremère de Quincy and the Duc de Luynes in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 304—309, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 13, G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*[2] London 1883 ii. 345—358, J. Martha *L'Art Étrusque* Paris 1889 p. 206 ff., Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*[2] p. 140 ff. fig. 165.

ii. 388 n. 4. Janiform busts of Zeus and Hermes are implied by the word Διέρμαι (Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* i. 68 f. Creuzer καὶ περὶ ἕκαστον τῶν θεῶν πληθὸς ἐστι δαιμόνων ἀμόθητον καὶ ταῖς αὐταῖς ἑπωνυμίαις ἀποσεμνυνόμενον τῶν ἡγουμένων θεῶν· Ἀπόλλωνες γὰρ καὶ Δίες καὶ Διέρμαι καλούμενοι χαίρουσιν, ἅτε δὴ καὶ τὴν ἰδιότητα τῶν οἰκείων θεῶν ἀποτυπούμενοι).

ii. 397 n. 0. R. B. Onians in the *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 5 takes Zeus Ἡλακατεύς to mean Zeus 'of the Spindle,' who spins the thread of fate (cp. *Od.* 4. 207 f. ῥεῖα δ' ἀρίγνωτος γόνος ἀνέρος ᾧ τε Κρονίων | ὄλβον ἐπικλώσῃ γαμέοντί τε γεινομένῳ τε).

ii. 465. For horned female deer see L. P. Hatch 'A Doe with Horns' in *The American Naturalist* 1870 iii. 279, W. J. Hays 'Does with Horns' *ib.* 1870 iii. 548—550 and in *The Academy* 1870 i. 103.

ii. 479 n. 8. J. Kohler 'Bräuche und Mythen der Arandas' [=the Arunta] in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1916 xxvi. 283 'hier bildet die Milchstrasse einen grossen Fluss: sie ist mit hohen Bäumen besetzt und von Wasserquellen umgeben, wo Beerenfrüchte in Hülle und Fülle wachsen.'

ii. 479 n. 10. See also D. A. Mackenzie in *Folk-Lore* 1922 xxxiii. 159.

ii. 482. For the Milky Way conceived as a tree cp. W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 46: 'Für sich steht die Auffassung der Bakaïri die einen gewaltigen Trommelbaum darin erblicken' (citing K. von den Steinen *Unter den Naturvölkern Zentral-Brasiliens* Berlin 1894 pp. 360, 436).

ii. 483. Mr R. Campbell Thompson, in a letter passed on to me by Mr Sidney Smith, says: 'The *kiškanû* is not a common plant, and is rarely, if ever, used in the medical texts. Yet there are three kinds of it—*salmu*, *pišu*, and *samu*—black, white, and red? (or yellow). I doubt it being the *astragalus* now. I looked about always in Mespot for anything which would coincide and I confess I am baffled. There is nothing at Eridu now—which is as flat and bare, save for low scrub growth in parts, as one's hand. It can hardly be a very special tree, since it is to be found at the mouth of the rivers.'

ii. 484. A. Nehring in the *Mitteilungen der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für Volkskunde* 1916 xviii. 23 argues that the original form of the name was the vocative Ἄπελλον, because only in the vocative is the ε unaccented, and only unaccented ε becomes ο under the influence of a following ω (ο). This argument was cited by A. H. Krappe in a letter to J. Rendel Harris, who comments: 'He should have added that, with the second syllable unstressed, it was easy to explain the Thessalian Ἄπλουν' (F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 172).

ii. 486. The ultimate acceptance of the bay as the tree *par excellence* of Apollon can be well illustrated from a unique *statér* of *s.* iv B.C., struck by some uncertain town in Crete and now preserved in the Hunterian collection at Glasgow (P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 165 pl. 9, 15 and 16, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 331 pl. 31, 8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 200 pl. 43, 7, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 479). *Obv.* Apollon, seated to right on the trunk of a bay-tree, holding a wreath in his left hand. *Rev.* Apollon, seated to right on the trunk of a bay-tree, holding a lyre in his left hand. Fig. 1012 is drawn from a cast kindly supplied to me by Mr G. Macdonald.

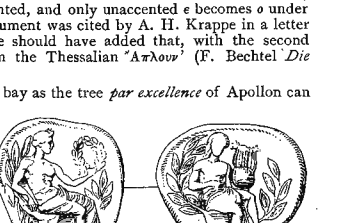


Fig. 1012.

ii. 493. I am indebted to Mr B. F. C. Atkinson for the following important communication (Feb. 25, 1922):—'*Note on Apollo and the Apple.* It seems to me that the philological obstacles to this connection are not insurmountable. Professor E. H. Sturtevant (*Pronunciation of Greek and Latin*, Chicago 1920 pp. 91 ff.) has shown that, while in Greek the unvoiced stops were *lenes*, that is, pronounced without force, and the voiced stops were *fortes*, the reverse was true in Latin. This is the reason why in certain cases of

transliteration from one language into the other *g* (γ) and *k* (κ), *d* (δ) and *t* (τ), *b* (β) and *p* (π) are interchangeable: for references and examples see my article on "Apollo and the Apple" in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library, Manchester*, 1922 vii. 138—140. I have in this article tried to show that in respect of the sets of stops which are *fortes* or *lenes* there is a probability of the Illyrian dialects agreeing with Latin rather than Greek. If then, as I have ventured to surmise, the god's name were borrowed by the Greeks from an Illyrian dialect, in which the form had a voiced stop and was connected with the stem meaning "apple," which runs through the northern languages and appears probably in the name of *Abella* in Campania, the unvoicing of the stop in transmission, that is to say, the change from *b* to *p*, need cause us no surprise. The suggestion is somewhat strengthened by the occurrence of the proper names *Abellio* (dat. *Abellionei*) in an inscription from Salona on the Dalmatian coast (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 2169, 3) and *Abello* (gen. *Abellonis*) in another from Mursa in Pannonia Inferior (*ib.* iii no. 10271, 3).'

ii. 496 n. 0. On Zeus Περφερέτας or Φερφερέτας as worshipped by the Phrouroi (originally conservators of a particular stretch of the Sacred Way?) see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 90 n. 7.

ii. 498 n. 2: 'Has it been noticed etc.?' The answer is, Yes. See Campbell Bonner in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1900 xxi. 433—437.

ii. 500 f. I have doubted, and still doubt, Artemis' northern *provenance*. But see, on the other side, an interesting paper by Mr J. Whatmough 'Inscribed fragments of stags-horn from North Italy' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1921 xi. 245—253. He would equate Ἄρτεμις, not only with Βριτόμαρτις (= *Gritómartis*), but also with *Rehtia* at Este and *Rit-* in Magrè.

ii. 542. W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 91 n. 2 interprets the problematic object between the horns of my fig. 415 f. as the sun between the peaks of an 'Erdsymbol' (mountains).

ii. 575 n. 4. The coin of Euromos that shows the local Zeus with a stag (cp. ii. 575 n. 1) suggests that Zeus has here replaced Artemis Ἐφεσία. Note that the similar Zeus on coins of Mylasa was, like Artemis at Ephesos (ii. 408 n. 0), linked to the ground with fillets (ii. 574), and that the Zeus of Euromos is covered with dots, which may represent breasts (ii. 592 ff.).

ii. 578 n. 4. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 330 ff. no. 146, A 17 ff. ἵνα δὲ καὶ διαμηνυόηται τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον καὶ τηρῆ|ται τὰ δεδογμένα, συνέταξαν τὰ περὶ τούτων ἐψηφισμένα ἀ|ναγράψαι ἐν τοῖς ἑαυτῶν ἱεροῖς τῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς | τοῦ Λαβραύνδου· συνετέλεσαν δὲ καὶ εὐχὰς καὶ θυσίας | τοῖς τε προειρημένοις θεοῖς καὶ τῆι Ἑστίαι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Δι[δυμεῖ, B 71 ff. ὅπως δὲ τὰ ἐψηφισμένα ὑπὸ τοῦ δήμου | τίμια μνημονεύηται εἰς τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἀναγράψαι τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα ἐ[ν] | τοῖς ἱεροῖς τῶι τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραύνδου. ἵνα δ[ὲ] | ἕκαστα γίνηται μετὰ τῆς τῶν θεῶν εὐμενείας, τὸμ μὲν στεφανηφόρον | μετὰ τοῦ ἱέρεω τῆι Ἑστίαι θύσαι καὶ τὸν ἱερέα τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Διδυμέ|ως καὶ τοὺς ἱερεῖς τόν τε τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀσογῶ καὶ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Λαβραύ|δου προσαγαγεῖν θυσίαν τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ εὐχὰς ποιήσασθαι συνενεγκεῖν | ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀμφοτέραις τὰ ἐψηφισμένα (in a treaty between Miletos and Mylasa, 209/8 B.C.).

ii. 583. E. W. Fay in the *Class. Quart.* 1917 xi. 215 derives Ποτ-ειδᾶρων from *ποτι-, 'lord,' and EID, 'to swell.'

ii. 587. Unexpected confirmation of O. Höfer's conjectural Zeus Σπάλαξος has recently come to hand. The British Museum has acquired an imperial bronze coin of Aphrodisias in Karia, on which he actually appears. Mr G. F. Hill kindly allows me to illustrate it here for the first time (fig. 1013). *Obv.* ΚΡΙCΠΕΙΝΑ ΑΥΓΟΥCΤΑ Bust of Crispina to right. *Rev.* ΣΕΥCCΠ Α Λ[Α]ΞΟC ΑΦΡΟΔΕΙCΙ [Ε]ΩΝ Zeus Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) enthroned to left with Nike in right hand and long sceptre in left.

Fig. 1013.

ii. 596 fig. 499. In J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i. 161 f. no. 146 H. Grégoire gives a photographic cut of the whole relief, a facsimile of its inscription (which he transcribes as Ζώβῃ (or Ζιώβῃ) | θεᾷ (or θεαῖς) | . . . . σι though various other letters are visible in lines 4, 5, 6), and a commentary.

ii. 619 n. 4. On the Mithraeum of Allmendingen, excavated 1824—1825, see further Lohner in *Der Schweizerische Geschichtsforscher* 1834 viii (wrongly numbered ix). 430 ff. pl. 5, F. Cumont *Textes et monuments figurés relatifs aux mystères de Mithra* Bruxelles

1896 ii. 505 figs. 450—455. Seven little hatchets of bronze were found, inscribed IOVI, MINERVAE, etc.

ii. 625 n. 3. Mr A. J. B. Wace, lecturing to the Classical Society at Cambridge on Nov. 27, 1922, described how in the last season's 'dig' at Mykenai the British School had excavated various tombs outside the town. In the entrance to tomb no. 515 were found two sealstones, dating from *s.* xv B.C., with an almost identical device. Above a stepped base stands a 'Minoan' goddess, flanked by a pair of lions erect upon their hind legs. On her head she supports a double axe, which rises from the centre of a couple of two-headed snakes connected by crossbars—apparently a serpentine substitute for the more usual 'horns of consecration' (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 54 f. no. 762 pls. 6 and 7). Fig. 1014 is enlarged ⅔ from a cast supplied to me by the British Museum. The main difference between the two stones is that on this one the lions' tails curl upwards, on the other downwards. Mr Wace aptly drew attention to Hesych. *s. vv.* κύβηλις· μάχαιρα. ἄμεινον δὲ πέλεκυν, ᾧ τὰς βοῦς καταβάλλουσι, κυβηλίσαι· πελεκίσαι· κύβηλις γὰρ ὁ πέλεκυς, and accordingly proposed to call the goddess Kybele (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 264 'Kybele or Rhea').

Fig. 1014.

ii. 632 n. 6. Add an axe of dark brown schist, decorated with zigzags and spirals and ending in the forepart of a lioness, found in a 'Middle Minoan iii' vase at Mallia (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1925 p. 23 f. fig.).

ii. 633 ff. The axes borne by Roman lictors may be illustrated from a fragmentary marble relief now affixed to a wall of the Cryptoporticus on the Palatine. Fig. 1015 is from a photograph taken by my friend and colleague Mr A. Munro, Fellow of Queens' College, Cambridge. It will be observed that the haft of every axe is surmounted by a head (lion, man, ram).

The 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia takes its name from an iron double axe (0.27^{m} long) hafted on to an iron rod surrounded by eight hollow rods of iron (last published by D. Randall-MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 145 fig. 56 after O. Montelius *La civilisation primitive en Italie depuis l'introduction des métaux* Stockholm 1904 Série B pl. 194, 5). Cp. Sil. It. 8. 483 ff.

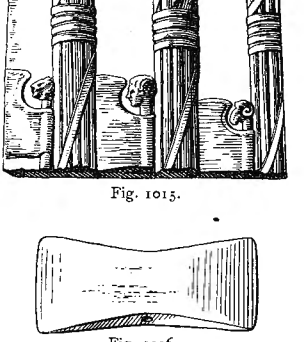


Fig. 1015.

ii. 637. Four fine examples of carving in amber (Eros *v.* Anteros, Bacchant, female bust, 'Tiergruppe') are figured by H. Maionica in the *Führer durch das K. K. Staatsmuseum in Aquileia* Wien 1910 p. 71 ff. Finer still (*c.* 0.40^{m} high) is the archaic *koûros* of Fiumicino (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1924 ii. 237).

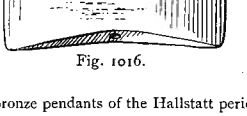


Fig. 1016.

ii. 645 n. 4. See now Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 53 ff.

ii. 660. A small double axe of ivory (fig. 1016: scale ½), now in my possession, is said to have come from Pharsalos, but was more probably found at Pherai. With it were an ivory *fibula* of 'spectacle'-type and two bronze pendants of the Hallstatt period.

ii. 667. Cp. Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 312 no. 8514 pl. 71 a red jasper of imperial date showing a crab with a comic mask as its carapace.

ii. 693 n. 4. See now an interesting study by W. R. Halliday 'Picus-who-is-also-Zeus' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 110—112.

ii. 716. F. J. M. De Waele 'ΧΡΥΣΑΩΡ' in *Le Musée Belge* 1924 xxviii No. 1 (January) holds that ἄορ in this compound retains its original sense, 'arrow.' See *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 92.

ii. 725 figs. 660, 661. A. della Seta *Italia antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 shows this statue as it stands in the Galleria dei Candelabri of the Vatican, with a bow restored in its right hand and an eagle in its left!

ii. 739. On statuettes of Zeus the thunderer see now S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1922 xlii. 211 f. figs. 4—6. He claims that a crude example of the type from Dodona (C. Carapanos *Dodone et ses ruines* Paris 1878 p. 32 no. 16 pl. 13, 4, S. Casson *loc. cit.* p. 211 f. fig. 4 (*b*) = my fig. 1017) is 'of the Geometric period.' If so, this would be the earliest known representation of Zeus in the round. Unfortunately it is not quite certain that Zeus was intended. The subject *may* be a fighting man, not a thundering god. The holes in his hands would suit spear and shield at least as well as they would suit thunderbolt and eagle. The absence of a helmet, however, tells in favour of Zeus.

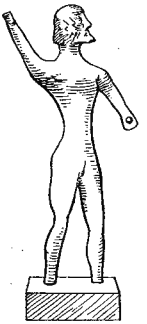
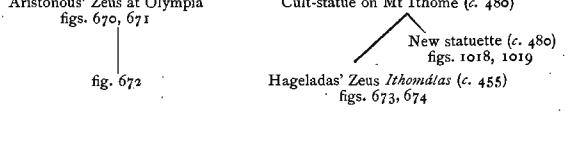


Fig. 1017.

Fig. 1020.

ii. 741 f. K. A. Rhomaios in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1920—21 vi. 169—171 figs. 3—6 (of which figs. 5 and 6 = my figs. 1018 and 1019) puhlishes an archaic bronze statuette of Zeus, found in a wonderful state of preservation at Ambrakia in Aitolia and now installed in the National Museum at Athens (no. 14984. Height 0·165^{m}; with base, 0·188^{m}. Patina, blackish green). The god advances brandishing a bolt in his raised right hand and supporting an eagle on his outstretched left. Yet the action of his legs and arms is by no means strenuous. It agrees rather with the pose of Hageladas' Zeus on the coins of Messene (ii. 742 fig. 673 f.). Accordingly Rhomaios regards the new statuette as made under the influence of Hageladas' work, which he dates *c.* 480 B.C. (cp. C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 92 ff. and Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 318). But that is definitely to reject the testimony of Paus. 4. 33. 2 (see Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). It is safer to conclude that the new statuette was an early faithful copy (*c.* 480 B.C.), Hageladas' masterpiece a later improved copy (*c.* 455 B.C.), of the same cult-statue on Mt Ithome, which itself was a modification of the ancient strenuous type (*c.* 490 B.C.). We thus ohtain the *stemma*:



ii. 741 f. fig. 674. A rare variety of this Messenian tetradrachm shows Zeus holding, not only an eagle, but also a long sceptre in his left hand. Fig. 1020 is from a well-preserved specimen formerly in the Mavrocordato collection (J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 29 no. 2052 pl. Z', 8) and now in mine. A second

Fig. 1018.

Fig. 1019.

example from the same dies, as I am informed by Mr C. T. Seltman, was in the collection of E. F. Weber (*Sammlung Consul Eduard Friedrich Weber† Hamburg* München 1908 i. 136 no. 1983 pl. 25). The variation of type is presumably due to the die-sinker and does not reproduce the original aspect of Hageladas' work.

ii. 743 n. 5. More complete is a later example now in my collection (fig. 1021). Zeus, with abundant hair and wreath of large bay-leaves, advances brandishing a three-spiked thunderbolt (one end broken) in his right hand and supporting an eagle erect on his left wrist. Height $3\frac{3}{8}$ inches. Careful work of the Hellenistic age.

ii. 744 n. 3. The Pourtalès *amphora* is now in the Louvre (G 204): see E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 204 f. pl. 129, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 38 ('in the style of the Berlin painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 65 no. 45.

ii. 757 fig. 700. A second and better preserved specimen of this important coin has lately come to light. I am indebted to Mr C. T. Seltman for the casts from which my

Fig. 1021.

illustration of it (fig. 1022) is drawn. The obverse is rrom the same die as that of fig. 701; the reverse, from the same die as that of fig. 700.

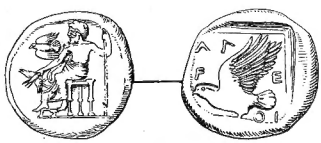


Fig. 1022.

ii. 771 fig. 735. For Zeus enthroned with a lotos in his hand cp. an Arabian imitation of a tetradrachm of Alexander, showing a beardless god enthroned to left with a flower instead of an eagle in his right hand (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1880 xx. 303 ff. pl. 15, 3, G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Arabia etc. p. lxxxii pl. 50, 5).

ii. 774 n. 4. Miss M. E. H. Lloyd tells me (Oct. 7, 1922) that at Pitigliano in Grosseto during May and June the leaves of the *giglio* (*iris fiorentina*) are hung up outside the windows as a charm against lightning. The plant in leaf, before being hung up, is taken to the church to be blessed by the priest.

ii. 798. Mrs A. Strong 'Treasure from Vatican Rubbish' in *The Illustrated London News* 1922 clxi. 380 fig. 1 (=my fig. 1023) publishes, among other fragments of sculpture

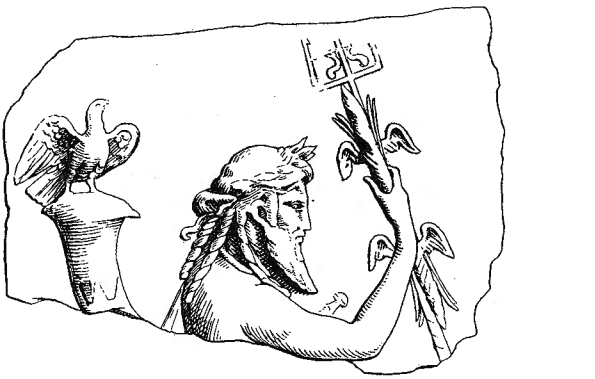


Fig. 1023.

found by W. Amelung in *magazzini* of the Vatican, a neo-Attic relief of *s.* i A.D., which shows 'a composite divinity, carrying the thunderbolt of Zeus, the trident of Poseidon, and the sword of Ares, while behind him an eagle perches upon a large cornucopia.' See also S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 i. 176.

ii. 799 n. 2. A fine bronze trident, which can be converted at will into a bident, was found in the Tomba del Tridente at Vetulonia and is figured by Milani *Stud. e mat. di arch. e num.* 1905 iii. 83 fig. 415 *a*, *b*.

ii. 800 n. 1. A photograph of this vase with the restorations removed is now published by H. Schaal *Griechische Vasen aus frankfurter Sammlungen* Frankfurt am Main 1923 pl. 30, a.

ii. 802. Mr E. J. Seltman kindly informs me (Aug. 24, 1923) that he has recently seen a terra cotta of the same questionable sort on sale at Naples. He describes it as being 'About 6 inches high, and 4 broad. Hollow. On the back, in the centre, a round boss with T . AT. On the front appear at the top, from left to right, the heads of Poseidon, Zeus, and Hades. Below [Zeus] is the thunderbolt, the trident below Poseidon, and below Hades his bidens. Underneath, an inscription of three short lines beginning DIS——.'

ii. 805 n. 6. For recent discussion of the three-bodied monster see A. Brückner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 113—115.

ii. 807 n. 5 no. (3). V. Chapot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 168 no. 8 publishes the following inscription from a marble block, hollowed out to serve as a trough, in the village of *el-qābūsīje* (Seleukeia Pieria): *ὁ δῆμος καὶ ἡ προβουλὴ* (perhaps a misreading of [*ἱε*]ρ[*ὰ*] *βουλή*) Ϙ | [Γ]*νάϊον Πομπήϊον Ζήνωνα, τὸν διὰ βί*[*ου νεωκόρον τοῦ Νεικηφόρου Κερα*υ*ν*[*ίο*]*υ καὶ πατέρα τῆς πόλεως, κ.τ.λ.* with date *ἔτους δϛ΄*=95 or 155 A.D.

ii. 818. G. Kazarow 'Nouvelles inscriptions relatives au Dieu Thrace Zbelsourdos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 340 ff. adds two from the village *Golémo-Sélo* in the district *Dupnitza*: (1) Κυρίῳ | *θεῷ προ*|*γονικῷ* Ζβελ|σούρδῳ Φλ. Α|*μάτοκος* Φλ. Α[*μ*]*ατόκου υἱὸς* | *εὐξά*[*μ*]*ενος ἀ*|*νέθηκεν*. (2) *Τῷ κυρίῳ* | *Διὶ* Ζβελ|*σούρδῳ* | *ἀνέθηκεν* | Τ. Φλα. Ἀμά|το[κ]ος Τ. | Φ[λ.] Ἀ*ματόκου υἱός*].

C. F. Lehmann-Haupt 'Der thrakische Gott Zbelsurdos' in *Klio* 1921 xvii. 283—285 notes also V. Dobrusky *Archäol. Bericht des bulgar. Nationalmuseums* 1907 i. 152 no. 203 an inscription from the village *Chatrovo* in the district *Dupnitza* *Διὶ* Ζβε[λ]|*σούρδῳ* | *τῷ κυρίῳ* Βελ|βαβρι|*ηνοὶ κωμῆται* | *ἀνέθη*|*καν*.

ii. 822 n. 13. C. F. Lehmann-Haupt *loc. cit.* proposes Cic. *in Pis.* 85 a te Iovis *Zbelsurdi* fanum etc.

ii. 823. J. Whatmough 'The *Iovilae*-dedications from S. Maria di Capua' in the *Class. Quart.* 1922 xvi. 181—189 would connect them with the cult of Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of motherhood and procreation.

ii. 826 n. 3. With the gong at Dodona cp. those discussed by J. Jüthner 'Die Schelle im Thiasos' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1904 vii. 146—150.

ii. 837 n. 1. The Phrygian Zeus ἐξ αὐλῆς is hardly to be connected with Plat. *Axioch.* 371 A—B εἰ δὲ καὶ ἕτερον βούλει λόγον, ὃν ἐμοὶ ἤγγειλε Γωβρύης, ἀνὴρ μάγος· ἔφη κατὰ τὴν Ξέρξου διάβασιν τὸν πάππον αὐτοῦ καὶ ὁμώνυμον, πεμφθέντα εἰς Δῆλον,...ἐκ τινῶν χαλκέων δέλτων, ἃς ἐξ Ὑπερβορέων ἐκόμισαν Ὦπίς τε καὶ Ἑκαέργη, ἐκμεμαθηκέναι μετὰ τὴν τοῦ σώματος λύσιν τὴν ψυχὴν εἰς τὸν ἅδηλον χωρεῖν τόπον, κατὰ τὴν ὑπόγειον οἴκησιν, ἐν ᾗ βασίλεια Πλούτωνος οὐχ ἥττω τῆς τοῦ Διὸς αὐλῆς, ἅτε τῆς μὲν γῆς ἐχούσης τὰ μέσα τοῦ κόσμου, τοῦ δὲ πόλου ὄντος σφαιροειδοῦς, οὗ τὸ μὲν ἕτερον ἡμισφαίριον θεοὶ ἔλαχον οἱ οὐράνιοι, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον οἱ ὑπένερθεν, οἱ μὲν ἀδελφοὶ ὄντες, οἱ δὲ ἀδελφῶν παῖδες.

ii. 869 n. 2. For Mt Pelion and its cults see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 pp. 41—43.

ii. 873 n. 2. Cp. Zeus Καραός of Akarnania (K. A. Rhomaios in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1918 iv. 117 ff. = *Suppl. Epigr. Gr.* i. no. 213 (near Astakos) ἱερατόλοι Διὸς Καραοῦ· | κ.τ.λ. of *s.* ii B.C.).

ii. 874 n. 2 (on p. 875). Φάλακρον in Epeiros is not to be distinguished from Φάλακρον in Korkyra.

Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 245 compares Zeus Φαλακρός with the ancient Roman Divus Pater Falacer (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 84, cp. 7. 45), on whom see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1967 f. or in his *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 240 n. 4.

ii. 892 n. 4 line 9. The word ἔθυσεν is well corrected by A. Meineke to τθυσεν, *i.e.* ran in the Nemean games (K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 622).

ii. 897 n. 5. Mr C. W. Blegen has kindly furnished me (Aug. 16, 1924) with the following note :—'Trial excavations conducted by the American School in 1923 and 1924 brought to light near the summit of Mt. Hymettus a large deposit of ancient pottery. It seems to have been deliberately placed in a great heap and carefully covered with earth and ashes, and is probably, therefore, formed of votive offerings discarded from a small shrine or altar. These vases, of many different shapes and sizes, date almost exclusively from the Geometric Period; and some of them bear incised inscriptions. The material is sadly fragmentary, only one inscription being sufficiently preserved to give an idea of its content. It is of a coarsely vituperative nature, recalling the archaic inscriptions of Thera, and unfortunately gives no clue to the character of the shrine. A slight scattering of sherds of classical pottery and a few fragments of Roman lamps were also found.

The small mountain sanctuary which once occupied this lofty position accordingly appears to have flourished chiefly during the Geometric Age, though it continued to be visited in a small way till Roman times.

Since no trace of a building has yet been discovered, it is possible that the cult possessed merely an open altar.

Until further evidence is forthcoming there can be no certainty in identifying definitely this cult; but it is tempting to conjecture that we have here the site of the worship of Zeus Ombrios, which, according to Pausanias, was somewhere on Mt. Hymettus.'

See now *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 337 (citing *Art and Archaeology* 1924 xvii. 285 f. and *Archaeological Institute of America: 42d Annual Report of the Managing Committee of the American School at Athens, 1922—1923* p. 16 f.) and *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 255 f.

ii. 903 n. 2. For Mt Oite see now F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 192 ff.

ii. 904 n. 1. W. Vollgraff in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 225: 'Two hours south-east of Almyró, near Paralia, are the insignificant ruins of a large building of the classical period, within a rectangular temenos. It seems to me that these can only be the remains of a temple belonging to the neighbouring city of Halos. Mr. [N. I.] Giannopoulos' view that this is the sanctuary of Zeus Laphystios may perhaps be correct, though no proof can at present be adduced. In the small trial excavation which I made here, a few fragments of black-glazed pottery were found, but nothing of the prehistoric age.'

ii. 904 n. 3. For Mt Ossa and its cults (no sign of Zeus) see F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 40 f.

ii. 904 n. 4. F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 46 f. describes Homolion and states that on its *akrópolis* (233^{m} above sea-level), beneath the unroofed chapel of St Elias, remains of a temple have come to light together with glazed sherds of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C. Close by was found the foot of a colossal statue (*c.* 5^{m} high) with a thunderbolt represented on its sandal. This is now preserved in the Museum at Volo, and may fairly be taken as implying the local cult of Zeus ['Ομολώιος?].

ii. 904 n. 6. H. Scheffel 'Eine antike Opferstätte auf dem Olymp' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 129 f. reports that in the summer of 1923 he climbed the highest peak of Mt Olympos and found there no trace of ancient cult, but that on one of the neighbouring summits (*c.* 2900^{m} high, *i.e. c.* 100^{m} below the true top) he recognised remains of an altar and, strewn among the stones of the peak, some hundreds of sherds, badly weathered and broken. Perhaps one half of their number showed traces of ancient black glaze, and the fragments collected must have come from several dozen vessels—small cups, jugs, bowls, etc., mostly of late classical times. Scheffel justly identifies this with the altar of Zeus mentioned by Solin. 8. 6 (*supra* i. 103 n. 1).

F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 pp. 5—11 gives a good description of the mountain with concise geological, topographical, and historical notes.

But by far the most important source for exact knowledge of Olympos is now M. Kurz *Le Mont Olympe* (*Thessalie*) Paris—Neuchâtel 1923. This well-written and brilliantly illustrated monograph contains a historical introduction (pp. 7—35), a full record of successive explorations (pp. 37—157), chapters on cartography (pp. 159—186) and toponomy (pp. 187—207), with sundry appendixes (pp. 209—232). Its illustrations include 3 photographic panoramas, 14 plates, and 2 coloured maps, one of which (scale 1 : 20,000) is a special survey made by the author (*supra* p. 906 n. 0).

ii. 910 n. 1. B. Pace 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico in Agrigento' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1922 xxviii. 173—252 with pls. 1—3 and figs. 1—31 gives a historical account of the temple and of the attempts hitherto made to recover its arrangements (pp. 175—198), a fresh discussion of its plan, elevation, roof, doors, Atlantes, and sculpture (pp. 199—236), and an Appendix on ancient buildings with *façades* involving an uneven number of columns (pp. 237—252). The main conclusions reached by the author are as follows. The temple had a central nave and two side aisles (*κρυπτοὶ περίπατοι*, cp. Athen. 206 A). The cross-wall at the western end of the nave marked the beginning of an *ádyton*, which could be entered also from the aisles. The building was hypaethral, the central nave being left open like an *atrium*, though the *ádyton* and the side aisles were roofed over. Whether it had pediments is doubtful (R. Pierce on p. 208 ff. is clear that it had not, and on pl. 3 restores it without them). The metopes at either end were carved; those of the long sides were plain. The Atlantes and Caryatids were not placed in the external intercolumniations (*supra* p. 914 fig. 827), but engaged in the internal pilasters of the hypaethral nave (N. Maggiore 'Nota sulla collocazione dei così detti giganti nell' Olimpico agrigentino' in *Due opuscoli archeologici* Palermo 1834 p. 21). No ramps are assumed.

ii. 920 n. 0. C. Picard in 1923 reconstructed from remains of sculpture in the Artemision at Delos two lionesses with heads raised in attendance on the goddess. He supposes that this group was set up near the Keraton or altar of horns (G. Glotz *La civilisation égtenne* Paris 1923 p. 476).

ii. 922 n. 0. See now Rubensohn 'Das Delion von Paros' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 118—121.

ii. 929 n. 0. W. Aly *Der kretische Apollonkult* Leipzig 1908 p. 47 n. 4 regards the hound of Praisos (Theophr. *περὶ ἐρωτος frag.* 113 Wimmer *ap.* Strab. 478, cp. Ant. Lib. 36 (*supra* i. 720 n. 4), schol. *Od.* 19. 518, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1. 91 a) as a sort of Kerberos, guardian of the Dictaean Zeus.

ii. 933 n. 0. See now M. M. Gillies 'The Ball of Eros (Ap. Rhod. iii. 135 ff.)' in the *Class. Rev.* 1924 xxxviii. 50 f.

ii. 957 n. 2 on Zeus at Sardeis. E. Littmann in *Sardis* vi. 1. 13 (cp. *ib.* pp. 42, 70) quotes from two Lydian inscriptions the four following phrases:

no. 4 (inv. 1), b 4 f. *fakmūt Hūdānś | Artəmuk vqbahēnt*, 'then him may Hūdānś and Artemis destroy.'

no. 23 (inv. 7), 1 *Hūdān. Artimuŭ daquve.śt*, 'is sacred to Hūdānś and Artemis' (?).

no. 23 (inv. 7), 3 f. *Hūdāńś Tavśaś | Artimuk Ibśimsis katsarlokid*, 'Hūdāńs Tavśaś and Artemis of Ephesos will punish.'

no. 23 (inv. 7), 10 *Hūdāńk Artimuk katsarlokid*, 'Hūdāńs as well as Artemis will punish.'

W. H. Buckler *ib.* p. 13 very acutely suggests that *Hūdāńś Tavśaś* is Ζεὺς Ὕδηνός. He observes: '*Hydē* was the ancient, or one of the ancient names, of Sardis (STRAB. XIII, 4. 6), and as in the third century B.C. one could speak of the Carian god Komyros without also calling him Zeus (LYKOPH. *Al.* 459: *καταίθων θύσθλα Κωμύρῳ*, and TZETZES *ad loc.*), so one could probably have mentioned Hūdāńs without the additional name *Tavśaś*. The Old-Indian god Dyaus (*Dyāúś*) is the same as Zeus, and since *t* in Lydian often takes the place of *d*, *Tavśaś* might represent *D(y)avś-aś*, and this would be very similar to Dyaus. In the big stele (No. [23]) sacred to *Hūdāńs* and *Artemis*, the god mentioned before Artemis must be an important one. We know that Zeus' temple shared the precinct of Artemis at Sardis, that Tmolos disputed with Crete the honor of Zeus' birthplace, that Zeus was very important in Lydia, being mentioned and depicted on coins of Sardis and many other towns, in short that next to Artemis he was by far the most important local deity.... The termination of *Hūdāńś* does not seem to be found in any other Lydian adjective denoting origin, but we cannot be sure that it is not a possible form, and it certainly suggests the Greek termination Σαρδι-ανός, or -ηνός. Or perhaps *Hūdāńś* is no adjective, but the original name of the Lydian Zeus.'

Id. ib. vi. 2. 11 and 44 retains *Tavśaś*=Ζεύσις (Hesych. *s.v.* Μηδινεύς cited *supra* p. 312 n. 5), but now transliterates *Pλdāńś* (not *Hūdaṅś*) and refers to O. A. Danielsson 'Zu den lydischen Inschriften' in the *Skrifter utgifna af Kungl. Humanistiska Vetenskaps-Samfundet i Uppsala* 1917 xx. 2. 24 f., who compares *Tavśaś* with the man's name *Ταυσᾶς, gen. Ταυσᾶδος (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 46 *a* 64=F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 743 ff. no. 5727 *a* 64 from Halikarnassos), and equates *Pλdāńś* with Ἀπόλλων (-λd-=-λλ-, cp. Carian Ὑσσωλδος=Ὑσσωλλος in the last-mentioned inscription).

Mr Buckler informs me (May 19, 1924) that his identification of *Tavśaś* with Ζεύς has been accepted by Professors A. H. Sayce and J. Fraser. Dr P. Giles, whom I consulted on the point (Dec. 27, 1924), sees no objection.

The Zeus-cults of Lydia in general are listed by J. Keil 'Die Kulte Lydiens' in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir William Mitchell Ramsay* edd. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder Manchester 1923 pp. 259—261. The list includes no fewer than twenty-five appellatives, eight of which are epithets in -ηνός.

ii. 962 n. o on the Zeus-cults of Miletos. Add A. Rehm in *Milet* i. 7. 290 ff. no. 203 b 12 f. (cult-regulation of *c.* 130 B.C.) the priest *τοῦ Δήμου τοῦ Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῆς Ῥώμης* must have been *τελεσθεὶς Διὶ | Τελεσιουργῷ*, *ib.* i. 7. 299 ff. no. 204 a 13 f. (cult-regulation of *s.* i A.D.) the priest of Asklepios must have been *τελεσθὶς Διὶ Τελεσ[ι]ουργῶι* with remarks on p. 297 f., *ib.* i. 7. 347 nos. 275 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of white marble decorated with a double axe, to left and right of which is inscribed in late Hellenistic lettering Δι||ὸς Λα||βρα|υν||δέ|ω||ς, 276 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar decorated with a double axe, beneath which in late Hellenistic letters is Διὸς Λαβρα|ύνδου, 277 ('in der zweischiffigen Halle') small altar of grey-blue marble decorated with a double axe, to left of which is Δέων | Ἱεροκλείους | Διὶ | Λαβραύνδωι, 278 ('in der Füllung der Justinianmauer') small altar of white-grey marble decorated with a double axe, round which is inscribed Δι||ὸς | Κε||ρα|υνίου.

ii. 970 n. o. Other inscriptions relating to Agdistis are as follows: (1) P. Jouguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 398 f.=Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 28 small slab of white marble, on sale at Gizeh in 1896 but possibly brought from the Fayum, in lettering of reign of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos *ὑπὲρ βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | τοῦ Πτολεμαίου καὶ βασιλίσσης | Ἀρσινόης Μόσχος ὁ ἱερεὺς | τὸν ναὸν καὶ τὸ τέμενος | Ἀγδίστει ἐπηκόωι | ἱδρύσατο.*

(2) J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein 'Bericht über eine dritte Reise in Lydien' in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1914 i. Abh. p. 18 ff. no. 18=O. Weinreich 'Stiftung und Kultsatzungen eines Privatheiligtums in Philadelpheia in Lydien' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1919 Abh. xvi. 1—68=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 985 a *stèle* of whitish marble, found at Philadelphia in Lydia and containing in late Hellenistic script (*s.* i or ii (?) B.C.) the regulations of an οἶκος, or private sanctuary, of Agdistis established by one Dionysios in accordance with a dream vouchsafed to him by Zeus. The inscription enumerates the deities who have altars in the 'house' (vv. 1—11), gives a long list of ritual and moral prescriptions (vv. 12—50), mentions Agdistis as the guardian and mistress of the 'house' (vv. 50—60), and ends with a

solemn prayer to Zeus Σωτήρ (vv. 60—64). The first and last portions are as follows: 1 ff. ἀγαθῆι τ[ύχηι]. | ἀνεγράφησαν ἐφ' ὑγιείαι κα[ὶ κοινῆι σωτηρίαι] | καὶ δόξηι τῆι ἀρίστηι τὰ δοθέ[ντα παραγγέλμα]τα Διονυσίωι καθ' ὕπνον π[ρόσοδον διδόν]τ' εἰς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ οἶκον ἀνδρά[σι καὶ γυναιξὶν] | ἐλευθέροις καὶ οἰκέταις· Διὸς [γὰρ ἐν τούτωι] | τοῦ Εὐμενοῦς (*supra* p. 960 n. 0) καὶ Ἑστίας τ[ῆς παρέδρου αὐ]τοῦ καὶ τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν Σωτ[ήρων καὶ Εὐδαι]-μονίας καὶ Πλούτου καὶ Ἀρετῆς [καὶ Ὑγιείας] | καὶ Τύχης Ἀγαθῆς καὶ Ἀγαθοῦ [Δαίμονος καὶ Μνή]μης καὶ Χαρίτων καὶ Νίκης εἶσιν ἰδ[ρυμένοι βωμοί]. | τοὐτ[ωι] δέδωκεν ὁ Ζεὺς παραγγέλ[-ματα τούς τε ἀ]γνισμοὺς καὶ τοὺς καθαρμοὺς κα[ὶ τὰς θυσίας ἐπι]τελεῖν κατά τε τὰ πάτρια καὶ ὡς νῦν [εἴθισται]· κ.τ.λ. 50 ff. [τὰ παραγγέλμα]τα ταῦτα ἐτέθησαν παρὰ Ἀγγδιστιν [τὴν ἀγιωτάτην] | φύλακα καὶ οἰκοδέσποιναν τοὐδε τοῦ ο[ἴκου, ἥτις ἀγαθὰς] | διανοίας ποιεῖτω ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν [ἐλευθέροις καὶ] | δούλοις, ἵνα κατακολουθῶσι τοῖς ὧδε γ[εγραμμένοις, καὶ ἐν] | ταῖς θυσίαις ταῖς τε ἐμμήνοις καὶ ταῖ[ς κατὰ ἐνιαυτὸν ἀ]πτεσθωσαν, ὅσοι πιστεύουσιν ἑα[υτοῖς ἄνδρες τε καὶ] | [γυ]ναῖκες, τῆς γραφῆς ταύτης, ἐν [ᾗι τὰ τοῦ θεοῦ παραγγέλ][μα]τά εἰσιν γεγραμμένα, ἵνα φανεροὶ γίνωνται οἱ κατα][κολου]θοῦ[ντ]ες τοῖς παραγγέλ[μασιν καὶ οἱ μὴ κατακολου][θοῦν]τες. [Διὸ] Σωτ[ῆρ], τὴν ἀφ[ήγησιν ταύτην ἱλέως καὶ] | [εὐμεν]ῶς προσ-δέχου καὶ προ[space for *c.* 18 letters] | [πάρεχ]ε ἀγαθὰς ἀμοιβάς, [ὑγίειαν, σωτηρίαν, εἰρήνην, ἀσφάλεια]ν ἐπὶ γῆς καὶ ἐπὶ θα[λάσσης ἐμοί τε καὶ τοῖς] | [εἰσπορευο]μένοις ὁμοίω[ς].

(3) J. Keil 'Denkmäler des Meter-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1915 xviii. 73 f. fig. 45 republishes (cp. A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1880 xxxviii. 4 pl. 3, 3) a fragmentary votive relief of grey-blue marble, now in the Estense collection at Vienna, which represents a goddess (Agdistis) standing, with a *kálathos* on her head, a *phiále* in her right hand, and a large *týmpanon* in her left, between two lions. To her right stands a youthful god (Attis) in short *chitón* and *chlamýs*. To her left (now missing) stood an elderly god (Zeus), whose hand held a sceptre. On the left margin of the relief is a small torch-bearing maiden. Below, in lettering of *s.* iii B.C., is inscribed Ἀναξιπόλη [– –]| [Ἀ]γδίστε[ι ἀνέθηκεν]. I am indebted to Mr B. F. C. Atkinson for a notice of this inscription.

ii. 1059 on burial in the house. See further H. J. Rose *The Roman Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1924 p. 202 (note on *quaestt. Rom.* 79).

ii. 1065 n. 0. H. Bolkestein 'The Exposure of Children at Athens and the ἐγχυτρίστριαι' in *Classical Philology* 1922 xvii. 222—239 (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1923 xvii. 206), arguing 'that the current idea as to the normality of *expositio* is totally unfounded,' interprets ἐγχυτρίζειν 'to throw into a pit (χύτρος = βόθρος), to sacrifice in a pit to the dead' and so 'to burn up, to destroy,' ἐγχυτρίστριαι 'women who sacrificed to the dead.'

ii. 1089. G. Seure 'ΤΕΛΕΣΦΟΡΟΣ-ΤΙΛΕΣΠΟΡΟΣ' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1918 xxxi. 389—398, following up a suggestion of S. Reinach 'Télesphore' *ib.* 1901 xiv. 343—349 = *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 255—261, contends that Telesphoros, though Greek in appearance, was Thracian in origin. He points out that a Thracian name *Τιλε-σπόρις, *Τιλε-σπόρος, of legitimate formation but of unknown significance, might well have been Hellenised into Τελεσφόρος.

ii. 1101 n. 3. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 p. 442 publishes an inscription from the western slope of the *Akrópolis* at Athens, where it was built into the wall of a later *Lésche*: *hierὸν* | Διὸς Ξενί|ο Θυμαιτί|δος φρα|τρίας. He infers that the phratry Thymaitis had a sanctuary of Zeus Ξένιος near the *Lésche*.

ii. 1102 n. 0. On the relief in the Terme Museum (fig. 939) see further P. Perdrizet 'D'une certaine espèce de reliefs archaïsants' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 211—218 with pl. 13.

ii. 1118. G. Welter 'Das Olympieion in Athen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 (published 1924) xlvii. 61—71 with pls. 7—10 marks an important advance in our knowledge of the Olympieion.

(1) Within the eastern portion of its foundations there has come to light the lowest course of a pre-Peisistratic *perístasis*, of which the N. wall was uncovered by F. C. Penrose, the W. by Welter. The wall was 2·50^{m} thick, and the *perístasis* measured 30·50^{m} broad by *c.* 60^{m} long. This was τὸ ἀρχαῖον ἱερόν built by Deukalion (Paus. 1. 18. 8).

(2) The temple of the Peisistratidai, begun *c.* 515 B.C., was a more ambitious structure, having the same proportions, size, and plan as its Hellenistic—Hadrianic successor. It was designed as an Ionic dipteral building with eight columns on the short side and twenty on the long side. Its length and breadth (107·70^{m} × 42·90^{m}) make it comparable

with the great Ionic temples of eastern Greece—the Artemision at Ephesos (109·20^{m} × 55·10^{m}) and the second Heraion at Samos (108·73^{m} × 52·41^{m}). The foundations, continuous for the outermost columns, separate for the inner rows, are laid in neat polygonal courses of Akropolis-limestone and Kara-stone with a *euthynteria* of hard *pôros*. The stylobate had three steps of *pôros*. No column-bases have been found. But unfluted drums of *pôros* show a lower diameter of 2·42^{m} and enable us to conclude that the height of the shafts was *c.* 16^{m}.

Welter suggests that the Peisistratidai, as a counterbast to the Delphic activities of the Alkmaionidai, not only rebuilt the Telesterion at Eleusis (520—515 B.C.), but also tried to establish a panHellenic Zeus-cult at Athens. He thinks that these two enterprises were not unconnected. Hippias dealt in oracles (Hdt. 5. 93, cp. 90), Hipparchos in dreams (Hdt. 5. 36); and Hipparchos was at one time under the influence of Onomakritos (Hdt. 7. 6). Such men might well honour Zeus as the supreme god of the Orphic cosmogony. But, with the fall of the mystically-minded Peisistratidai, the vast temple was left unfinished, and the democracy reverted to the worship of Athena.

Fig. 1024.

ii. 1133 n. 1. With fig. 957 cp. the Roman mural relief of Mars and Apollo with an oracular bird on a pillar in a cage (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842—1851 pl. 19, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 381 no. D 507, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 20 f. figs. 29—32).

ii. 1143 fig. 964. A specimen in the British Museum (fig. 1024 from a cast) shows the type somewhat more clearly.

CORRIGENDA

ii. 19 line 2. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
ii. 67 n. 3. For 'p. 377' ' read 'p. 57.'
ii. 115 n. 2 line 4. For '*οπερ*' read '*δπερ.*'
ii. 120 n. 1 last quotation. For '*Ομηρος*' read '"*Ομηρος.*'
ii. 133 n. 0. For 'Gaulminus' read 'Gualminus' *bis.*
ii. 182 n. 1 line 5. For '*Nalionalmus.*' read '*Nationalmus.*'
ii. 209 n. 2 line 10. For '*Ολμον*' read '"*Ολμον.*'
ii. 241 n. 4 line 6 from bottom of page. For 'Pherekyde' read 'Pherekydes.'
ii. 298 n. 2. For 'Modius' read 'Modius|.'
ii. 423 n. 3 *sub fin.* For 'Riøbenhavn' read 'Kiøbenhavn.'
ii. 436 n. 7. For '376 f.' read '22 ff.'
ii. 547 n. '2' should be numbered n. '4,' and n. '3' should be numbered n. '5.'
ii. 565 n. 2 line 5. For '*η*' read '*ἦ.*'
ii. 664 n. 1 line 10. For '*syrinx*' read '*sýrinx.*'
ii. 714 n. 2 line 2. For 'Εκάτης' read ''Εκάτης.'
ii. 729 n. 0 line 15 from bottom of page. For 'ii 208 f.' read 'ii. 208 f.'
ii. 774 n. 1 line 7. For 'Vishna' read 'Vishnu.'
ii. 784 n. 7. For 'Kentoripai' read 'Kentouripai.'
ii. 806 n. 8. For '*ἀστεροπήτης*' read '*ἀστεροπητής.*'
ii. 808 n. 0 line 11. For '*δ*' read '*δ'.*'
ii. 829 line 23. For 'they delay' read 'thy delay.'
ii. 868 n. 6 line 4. For '*pud*' read '*apud.*'
ii. 874 n. 2 last line. For '874' read '873.'
ii. 916 n. 0 line 15. For 'Ολύμπιος' read ''Ολύμπιος.'
ii. 960 n. 0 line 13 from bottom of page. For 'Hadrianas' read 'Hadrian as.'
ii. 968 n. 0 line 2. For '*νεωκόρ[ος*' read '*νεωκόρ]ος.*'
ii. 975 n. 0 line 7 from bottom of page. For '*Περειτίουι β'* ' read '*Περειτίου ιβ'.*'
ii. 977 n. 0 line 14. For 'historica' read 'historical.'
ii. 1088 line 14 from bottom of page. For '*inscr. Gr.* i' read '*inscr. Gr.* ii.'
ii. 1093 n. 1 line 5. For '*recques*' read '*grecques.*'
ii. 1128 n. 0 line 1. For 'Αγαθὸν' read ''Αγαθὸν.'
ii. 1140 n. 3 line 4. For '*Lyaea*' read '*Lyaea*).'
ii. 1178 line 7. For 'Greek' read 'Great.'

Bronze medallion of Commodus, struck 185 A.D. (Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 59 f. no. 74 pl. 83, 2). *Supra* p. 1209 n. 2.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

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The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

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Types: lion-headed 664_1 1053 with wings on shoulders and haunches, snake coiled about him, key in right hand, sceptre in left, and thunderbolt on breast or at side 1053 f.

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Cult: Zeus Ὕψιστος $878_{0(0)}$ 906_2
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—— kings descended from, pose as human Zeus 1088 1122 1159
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Aitne (formerly Katane)
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Akmoneia
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Antinoos
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Cults: Apollon Ἰσότιμος 714_2 Zeus Χρυσαορεύς 714_2
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Antiocheia on the Orontes (*cont.*)
τιαῖος 1187 f. Zeus *Βώττιος* 1188 Zeus *Καπετώλιος* (= Iupiter *Capitolinus*) 1188$_{14}$ Zeus *Κεραύνιος* 428 Zeus *Φίλιος* 1178 1186 1196 f.
Myths: founded by Alexander the Great 1187 founded by Kasos and Belos 981$_1$ founded by Seleukos i Nikator 1188
—— chalice from 1197 ff. coins of 1192 ff. 1196$_0$ 1209 1209$_5$ (?) 'Golden' Basilica of 1198$_1$
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Personates Tyche 1136$_4$
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Antion 1123
Antiope
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Aphesas 892$_4$
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Cults: Aphrodite 573$_7$ Eros 572$_{10}$ Zeus *Λαβρᾴϋνδος* 585$_3$ Zeus *Μέγιστος* 585$_3$ Zeus *Σπάλαξος* (less probably *Σπάλωξος*) 1220
Rite: tree threatened 681 f.
Myth: Myrrha (?) 681 f.
—— coins of 572 f. 681 1220
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Aphrodite
Cults: Mt Aigaion (?) 927$_0$ Anaphe 1066 Aphrodisias in Karia 573$_7$ Argos 1156$_5$ Athens 985$_0$ 1043 Delos 922$_0$ Dorylaeion 281 Elis 68$_1$ Epidauros 1144$_3$ Gortyna 723$_0$ Halikarnassos 872$_{0(5)}$ Hierapytna 723$_0$ Jerusalem 984$_1$ Kition in Kypros 807$_{5(4)}$ Kypros 424 Libye 987$_0$ Lyttos 723$_0$ Megalopolis 1178 Megara 257$_4$ Nisyros 1157$_3$ Paphos 783$_3$ 944$_0$ Paros 875$_{1(5)}$ Pergamon 424 Philadelpheia in Lydia 363 Priansos 723$_0$ Sardeis 424 Sikyon 1165$_1$ Skythia 292$_4$ Smyrna 729$_0$ Troizen 872$_{0(5)}$ 944$_0$
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Worshippers: *Ἀφροδισιασταὶ Σύροι* 1157$_3$
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Cults: Theos Ὕψιστος $879_{0(15)}$ 980_3 Valc(b)anos (?) = Velchanos $948_{0(5)}$ Zeus Ϝαλκάνος (?) or Ϝαλχάνος (?) = Ϝελχάνος $948_{0(5)}$
—— *sarcophagus* from 717 f.
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Cults: Zeus Ἀκραῖος $871_{3(2)}$ Zeus Παλάμνιος 1099_0
Gonai Dios Hyetiou (later Deusiou ?), on Mt Tmolos 957_2
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Gongyle (?) 824_7
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Cult: Athena Πολιάς 870_0
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Type: with two snakes rising from shoulders aud two others held in hands 930_0
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Priestess: virgin 210$_0$

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Myths: consorts with Zeus on Mt Gargaron 950$_0$ consorts with Zeus on Mt Oche 902$_1$ consorts with Zeus in Rhapsodic theogony 1029 golden apples 1021 Iason 1088 Kallisto 228$_6$ Merops (?) 1132$_1$ reconciled to Zeus on Mt Kithairon 898$_8$ retires to Euboia 898$_8$ rouses Titans to attack Zagreus 1030 sends crab to attack Herakles 665$_3$ taken by Rhea to Okeanos and Tethys 1020 transforms Aetos into eagle 933$_0$ wooed by Ephialtes 130 wooed by Ixion 1088 wooed by Zeus clandestinely 1020 wooed by Zeus on Mt Kokkygion 893$_2$

Genealogy: d. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 w. of Zeus 584$_1$ 954$_0$

Attributes: cuckoo-sceptre 893$_2$ lilies 515 lion-skin 515 sceptre 707 1178 (See also cuckoo-sceptre) sword 713 716 vervain 395$_2$ vine-wreath 515

Types: branch of tree 899$_0$ enthroned 706$_5$ Gigantomachy 713 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 771 Janiform head (with Zeus) (?) 662 lopped tree-trunk 899$_0$ Polykleitos 893$_2$ 1143$_1$ 1178 with vine-wreath and lion-skin 515

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—— garden of 1021 meadow of 1021 tear of (vervain) 395$_2$

Heraia 757

Herakleia ad Latmum
Cult: Zeus Λαβράϋνδος 585$_3$
—— treaty of, with Miletos 318$_0$

Herakleia Pontike
Cult: Zeus Στράτιος 976$_0$
Myth: Herakles plants two oaks 976$_0$
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Herakles
Cults: Acharnai 163$_3$ Aigion 742$_5$ Aruepolis (? in Mesopotamia) 469$_1$ Athens 163$_4$ 875$_{1(2)}$ 1116 f. Baris in Pisidia 446 f. Chios 1157$_1$ Gadeira 423 Kaulonia (?) 1041 f. Mt Laphystion in Boiotia 899$_1$ Mt Oite 903$_2$ Rhodes 469 Rome 783 Selge 492$_{0(0)}$ Selinous 489$_{0(0)}$ Senones (?) 445 f. Skythia 292$_4$ Tarsos 560 Tyre 423 f.
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Myths: Antaios 134$_1$ apples of Hesperides 134$_1$ brings white-poplar from banks of Acheron 469 brings wild-olive from land of Hyperboreoi to Olympia 466 brings wild-olive from Istrian land 501 Cerynean hind 465 f. 843 cuts club from wild-olive on Saronic Gulf 466 Geryones 37$_2$ Hesperides 1017 Hippolyte 559 f. Hydra 665$_3$ Hyperboreoi 1041 (?) Kerberos 469 899$_1$ Kerkopes 1041 f. (?) Kyknos 274$_0$ makes wild-olive spring up at Troizen 466 Omphale 559 560$_3$ pillars 422 f. plants two oaks beside altar of Zeus Στράτιος at Herakleia Pontike 976$_0$ pyre 23 903$_2$ rape of Delphic tripod 199$_2$ sacks Oichalia 902$_2$ sacrifices to Zeus on Mt Kenaion 902$_2$ sacrifices to Zeus at Olympia 467 slays Kalchas, of Siris in Lucania 490$_{0(0)}$ Tarsos 570$_1$ worried by flies at Olympia 783
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Priest: ἀρχιερεύς $889_{0(0)}$
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Cults: Aizanoi $882_{0(23)}$ 968_0 Akmoneia $882_{0(23)}$ 968_1 Alexandreia $889_{0(33)}$ 984_2 Amathous $879_{0(15)}$ 980_3 Arslan Apa in Phrygia $883_{0(0)}$ 969_3 Athribis $889_{0(33)}$ 984_3 Berytos 983_5 Bithynia (?) $883_{0(24)}$ Bosporos Kimmerios $883_{0(27)}$ $884_{0(0)}$ $885_{0(0)}$ Golgoi $879_{0(15)}$ 980_3 Gorgippia $883_{0(27)}$ $884_{0(0)}$ 948_2 Hephaistia in Lemnos $878_{0(7)}$ Hierokaisareia in Lydia $881_{0(20)}$ Ioudaia $888_{0(32)}$ $889_{0(0)}$ Kerdylion $878_{0(9)}$ Kition $879_{0(15)}$ 980_3 Knossos $879_{0(14)}$ Koloe $881_{0(20)}$ Kos $880_{0(18)}$ 964_1 Kyzikos 953_1 Laodikeia on the Lykos $882_{0(23)}$ 968_3 Miletos $879_{0(17)}$ Moesia $878_{0(11)}$ 949_1 Mytilene $882_{0(22)}$ Nakoleia $882_{0(23)}$ 969_1 Oinoanda $879_{0(16)}$ Pergamon $882_{0(0)}$ 956_0 Phata in Lydia $881_{0(20)}$ Philadelphia in Lydia $881_{0(20)}$ Phoinike $886_{0(30)}$ Pirot $878_{0(11)}$ 948_5 Plakia $882_{0(0)}$ Rheneia $880_{0(19)}$ Rome $879_{0(13)}$ Sahin in Phoinike $886_{0(30)}$ 983_8 Sari-Tsam in Lydia $881_{0(20)}$ Sebastopolis (?) $883_{0(26)}$ Selymbria $878_{0(10)}$ 949_4 Silandos $881_{0(20)}$ Sinope $883_{0(25)}$ Tanais $884_{0(0)}$ 948_3 Tchatal Tepe in Lydia $881_{0(20)}$ Termessos (?) $879_{0(16)}$ Thyateira $881_{0(20)}$ Tralleis $880_{0(0)}$ 962_0
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Theos Hypsistos (*cont.*)
πάντα ἐφορῶν $880_{0(19)}$ *κύριον τῶν πνευμάτων καὶ πάσης σαρκός* $880_{0(19)}$ Μέγας $883_{0(25)}$ Οὐράνιος $886_{0(30)}$ Οὐράνιος Ὕπατος 983_8 Παντοκράτωρ $883_{0(27)}$ $884_{0(0)}$ *πάντων* Ἐπόπτης $889_{0(33)}$ 984_2 Σωτήρ $879_{0(17)}$ Ὕπατος $886_{0(30)}$
Rite: lamp $879_{0(16)}$
Priests: ἱερεύς $879_{0(17)}$ *προφήτης* $879_{0(17)}$
Worshippers: ἀδελφοί $883_{0(25)}$ *θίασοι* or *σύνοδοι*, comprising *πρεσβύτεροι* and *εἰσποιητοὶ ἀδελφοί*, under control of *ἱερεύς*, *πατὴρ συνόδου*, *συναγωγός*, *φιλάγαθος*, *παραφιλάγαθος*, *γυμασιάρχης*, *νεανισκάρχης*, *γραμματεύς* $885_{0(0)}$
Attribute: eagle $884_{0(0)}$ 889
Identified with Adad or Ramman, the Zeus or Iupiter of Heliopolis $886_{0(30)}$ Adonaï $889_{0(0)}$ Helios $882_{0(0)}$ Iao $889_{0(0)}$ Zeus $882_{0(22)}$ $883_{0(0)}$ $884_{0(0)}$ Zeus Βένιος or Βενεύς 969_3
Superseded by Christ $879_{0(17)}$
—— cult of, propagated by Jews of the Dispersion 889 f. sacred light (*φῶς*) of $889_{0(0)}$
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Theos Megas
Cults: Delos 985_0 Odessos in Thrace 1126_0 Palmyra $885_{0(20)}$
Epithets: Σαλλουντος (? J. H. Mordtmann cj. Ἀμμουδάρῳ: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 290) Ἐπουάρης (?) $885_{0(20)}$
Attributes: cornu copiae 1126_0 *phiale* 1126_0
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1187_0 ἀληθὴς Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης (= Pan) 1023 "Αλσειος (?) 945_1 'Αλύσιος (?) 945_1 'Αμβούλιος 261_0 ἄμβροτος (ἀφθιτος) νύμφη 1027 f. "Αμμων 388 986_0 1136_4 'Αμφιάραος 232 794 1061 1070 ff. 1076 1112 ἀμφιθαλής 1072 ἀναδωδωναῖος (*sic*) 855_2 'Αναδώτης 321_1 1157_0 ἀναξ 855_2 950_0 956_2 960_0 ἄναξ ἀνάκτων 337_4 'Απεσάντιος 892_4 'Απέσας 892_4 'Απήμιος 897_6 898_0 'Απόμυιος 781 ff. 850 'Αποτρόπαιος 1157_0 ἀποτρόπαιος 1099_1 "Αρβιος 945_2 946_0 'Αργαῖος (?) 980_0 ἀργής 980_0 ἀργικέραυνος 806_8 858 1027 f. "Αρειος 705 ff., 848 ἀριστοτέχνης 693_2 "Αρνειος 918_1 "Αρσηλις (?) 559_6 ἄρσην 1027 f. ἀρχή 1033_1 ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων ἀργικέραυνος 1027 'Ασβαμαῖος 569 'Ασείς 321_0 ἀσελγής 348_2 'Ασκλαπιός 1077 'Ασκληπιός 794 1061 1076 ff. 1112 'Ασκληπιὸς Σωτήρ 1076 f. 'Ασκραῖος $872_{0(5)}$ 'Αστέριος 230 ἀστεροπητής 723_0 $727_{3(1)}$ 806_8 954_0 1177_2 'Αστραπαῖος 815 850 'Αστράπιος 1122 ἀστράπτω 806_8 815_4 1100_1 'Αστράπτων 817_3 817_3 850 ἀστράπτων 817_3 'Αταβύριος in Rhodes 922_5 923_0 924_0 925_0 *Atabyrius* 588_1 αὐξητής 1100_1 αὐτὸς ἁπάντων ἀρχιγένεθλος 1028 'Αφέσιος 179 266 f. (?) 841 892_4 895_1 896_9 897_0 1144_2 ἀφίκτωρ 1096_2 1098 1101 Βαγαῖος 294_0 (?) 295_2 569 Βάκχος 287 954_0 1184 Βάληος 271_0 βαρύγδουπος 204_1 Βασιλεύς $727_{3(1)}$ 730_0 731_0 869_1 899_2 900_0 1073 f. 1076 1135 1135_4 (?) βασιλεύς 954_0 1027 f. 1095_0 βασιλεὺς μέγιστος 1122_9 βασιλικός $879_{0(17)}$ Βελχάνος (?) = Φελχάνος $948_{0(4)}$ Βεννεύς $883_{0(0)}$ 969_3 Βέννιος $883_{0(0)}$ 969_3 Βῆλος 128_4 210_2 675 Βιδάτας 723_0 934_0 Βοῆτιος (Βωῆτιος) 570 Βόλλαιος 259_0 Βόρειος 380 Βοττιαῖος 1187 f. Βουλαῖος 259_0 260_0 317_2 824_4 824_8 $873_{0(10)}$ 897_3 1076 1177_2 Βουλεύς 258_3 1105 Βροντᾶος 833 ff. 852 $882_{9(0)}$ 1100_1 1177_2 Βροντήσιος (= Iupiter *Tonans*) 111_0 835_6 βροντοποιός 807_2 Βροντῶν 280_1 805_6 835 f. 838 f. 852 $883_{0(0)}$ Βροντῶν (= Iupiter *Tonans*) 835_6 Βροντῶν καὶ 'Αστράπτων 817 Βροντῶν καὶ Πατὴρ Θεός 836_2 Βροντῶν Νεικήτωρ Πατήρ 836_3 Βωῆτιος (Βοῆτιος) 570 Βώττιος 1187_4 1188 Γαιβόλος (?) 18_3 *Casius* 588_1 γενέτης (*sc.* Διονύσου) 616_4 γενέτωρ 1177_2 Γενηταῖος 616 Γιγαντοφόνος 449_0 Γογγυλάτης 260_0 824_4 824_7 Γοναῖος (?) 961_0 Δάης (?) 312_5 δαίμων 856 Δακιηνός 616 Δακίης (?) 616_1 Δάκιος (?) 616_1 Δάος 312_5 Δειπάτυρος (See Deipatyros) Διδυμαῖος 317 Διδύμων γενάρχης 317_2 Δικαιόσυνος 1092_8 Δικαιόσυνος Μέγας 1092_8 δικηφόρος 806_1 Δικταῖος 342_0 723_0

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731_0 $871_{3(4)}$ 927_1 929_0 930_0 931_0 1227 Διν̓δυμαῖος (?) 317_1 (See Διδυμαῖος) Διόνυσος 282 Δῖος (rather than Δῖος) 280 f. 836 842 Δολιχαῖος 614 745_1 Δουσάρης 317_2 Δωδωναῖος 693_3 855_2 960_0 1121_0 Δωδωναῖος (=Hadrian) 959_0 Δωτήρ (?) 321_1 δῶτορ ἀπημονίης 321_1 δῶτορ ἐάων 321_1 ἐγχειακέραυνος 704 Εἰδαῖος (See Ἰδαῖος) εἰς δαίμων 1028 Ἕκτωρ 8_7 ἑλασιβρόντης 830_2 ἑλατὴρ ὑπέρτατε βροντᾶς ἀκαμαντόποδος 94_2 850_4 Ἑλάφριος 599_7 Ἐλαφρός 599 Ἐλευθέριος 97_0 118_1 238_0 343_0 344_0 763_1 974_0 1096_1 1135_4 1158_6 Ἑλικώνιος 898_5 Ἑλλάνιος 894_3 Ἑλλήνιος $887_{0(31)}$ 895_0 988_9 Ἕλλανος (?) = *Fελχάνος* $948_{0(2)}$ Ἐμβατήριος (=Trajan) 100_6 1180_4 ἑνάλιος $878_{0(3)}$ (?) 893_0 ἐν δέμας βασίλειον 1028 Ἔνδενδρος 946_0 ἐν κράτος 1028 ἐξακέσας (?) 1095_0 Ἐξακεστήρ 1093_1 Ἐξακεστήριος 1093_1 ἐξ Αὐλῆς 249_2 836 f. 1226 ἐξ Αὐλῆς Ἐπήκοος Θεός 837_1 Ἐπάκριος 873 Ἐπερνύτιος (See Ἐπιρνύτιος) Ἐπήκοος 249_2 837_1 $885_{0(29)}$ $886_{0(0)}$ $886_{0(30)}$ 983_2 983_4 Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835_6 836 Ἐπιβήμιος 897_3 1180_4 Ἐπιδήμιος 1180_4 Ἐπιδότης (?) 321 Ἐπιδώτας 321_1 Ἐπιδώτης (Ἐπιδότης) 321_1 Ἐπικάρπιος 260_0 1065 1177_2 1186 Ἐπιλόφιος (?) 875_0 948_4 Ἐπιρνύτιος 946_0 Ἐπιστάσιος (=Iupiter *Stator*) 708_5 Ἐπίστιος 311_3 (See also Ἐφέστιος) Ἐπιτέλειος Φίλιος 1163 1169 ἐπιτιμήτωρ ἱκετάων τε ξείνων τε 1097_0 Ἐπόπτης $878_{0(10)}$ (?) cp. $889_{0(33)}$ 949_2 (?) Ἐπόψιος 697 1121 1123 1130 f. 1130_3 1130_7 1159 ἐπόψιος 1130_4 1130_5 Ἐρεχθεύς 793 1146 ἐρίγδουπος 723_0 $727_{3(1)}$ 1099_2 1177_2 ἐρίγδουπος πόσις Ἥρης 584_1 728_0 ἐρισμάραγος 954_0 1122_9 Ἑρκεῖος 723_0 728_0 730_0 $808_{0(15)}$ 893_0 Ἑρκεῖος Πατρῷος 1066 Ἑταιρεῖος (Ἑταίρειος) 1175_4 1176_4 1177_1 ἑταιρεῖος (ἑταίρειος) 260_0 723_0 $727_{3(1)}$ 1177_2 Ἑταιρήϊος 311_3 (See also Ἑταιρεῖος) Εὐαγγέλιος 956_0 Εὐβουλεύς 119_0 131 258_3 259_0 1076 1105 Εὔβουλος (?) 1076 Εὐβωλεύς 259_0 Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως $579_{0(13)}$ (?) Εὐκλειος 118_3 Εὐμένης (=Eumenes i) 960_0 1229 Εὐμενής (=Hadrian) 959_0 f. Εὐξεινος 617 1097_0 εὐρὺ ἀνάσσων 271_0 εὐρυμέδων 1069 εὐρυνεφής 902_2 εὐρύοπα 1089 Εὐρωμεύς (?) 589_0 Εὔσπνοος 231 f. Ἐφέστιος 1176_4 ἐφέστιος 723_0 $727_{3(1)}$ 1177_2 Ἐφόρικος 723_0 Ἔφορος 1130_1 Ϝαλκάνος (?) or Ϝαλχάνος (?) = *Fελχάνος* $948_{0(5)}$ *Fελχάνιος* (?) $947_{0(2)}$ *Fελχάνος* or Ϝελχανός 599_7 947_0 Ϝευχάνος $947_{0(1)}$ Ζάλμοξις (?) 230 822 Ζβελθιοῦρδος 819 Ζβελσοῦρδος 817 ff.

Zeus (*cont.*)
822_2 833 851 Ζβελσοῦρδος ὁ Κύριος 1225 (See also Κύριος Ζβελσοῦρδος and Κύριος Θεὸς Προγονικὸς Ζβελσοῦρδος) Ζβερθιοῦρδος (?) $818_{2(1)}$ Ζβερθοῦρδος 820_3 821 *Zberturdus* 822_4 Ζητήρ 444_7 1102_8 Ζιβελείξις (?) 822 *Ζιβελεσοῦρδος (?) 822 Ζιβελσοῦρδος 822_2 Ζλεθοῦρδος 822_3 ζῷον ἐκ ζῴων 1028 f. Ἡλακαταῖος 397_0 Ἡλακατεύς 397_0 1219 Ἡλιοδρόμος 312_5 ἥλιος ἠδὲ σελήνη 1027 Θεῖος $879_{0(17)}$ Θεός 958_0 θεὸς ἐκ θεῶν 1028 f. Θεὸς Ἐπήκοος Βροντῶν 835_8 836 Θεὸς Μέγας Βροντῶν 835_6 836 θεῶν βασιλῆι καὶ ἀνδρῶν 1070 θεῶν τὸν ἄριστον…ἠδὲ μέγιστον 1089 Θηβαιεύς 210_2 Θυέστης (?) 1022 Ἰδαῖος 321_1 (?) Ἰδαῖος in Crete 549 838 932_4 ff. 980_5 Ἰδαῖος in Phrygia 950_0 ff. Ἴδηθεν μεδέων 728_0 855_2 950_0 Ἰθωμάτας 728_0 741 743 890_6 1222 Ἱκέσιος 321_1 (?) 1093 1093_1 1095_0 1096_0 (?) 1097_0 1098_4 1101 1176_4 1177_2 ἱκέσιος 1097 1097_1 Ἱκέτας 1096 1101 ἱκετήσιος 1040 f. 1097 1101 ἱκταῖος (?) 1098 1101 ἱκτήρ 1098 1101 Ἵκτιος (?) 1098_1 Καβάτας 17 f. 31 Καθάρσιος 311_3 1093_1 1095_0 1097_2 1099 f. 1103_7 Καναῖος 902_2 Καπετώλιος $879_{0(17)}$ 941_0 1066 1188_{14} Καπετώλιος (=Κορυφαῖος) 869_1 Καραιός 873 898_4 Καραός 1226 Κάριος 577 591_1 598_1 873_2 καρπῶν τροφεύς 1074 Κάσιος 941_0 Κάσιος in Egypt 984_4 ff. Κάσιος at Epidauros 894_2 Κάσιος (Κάσσιος) in Korkyra 906_3 907_0 (See also Iupiter *Casius* (*Cassius*)) Κάσιος (Κάσσιος) in Syria 810_0 (?) 982_0 983_0 1191 f. Κάσι(ο)ς Σώ[ων] 987_0 Κάσις (See Κάσι(ο)ς) Καταιβάτας 16 f. Καταιβάτης 13 ff. 45 131 161 502_2 559 745_1 793 840 845 869_1 962_9 983_1 1075 καταχθόνιος 582_4 893_0 Κατεβάτης (=Καταιβάτης) 16_1 κελαινεφὴς 858 950_0 982_0 κεράστης (=Pan) 1023 κερανεγχὴς 704 κεραύνειος $.9_5$ 806_8 807_4 Κεραύνιος 428 807 ff. 850 941_0 956_0 983_0 1100_1 1187 1225 1228 Κεραύνιος Σωτήρ 962_0 Κερανυοβόλος 807 850 κερανυοβόλος 807_2 κερανυοβρόντης 806_8 Κεραυνός 11 ff. 807 814 840 850 κεφαλή 1027 f. Κήναιος (Κηναῖος) 902_2 903_0 Κιθαιρώνιος 898_6 Κλάριος 807_2 873_2 892_1 1148 f. Κλάριος 873_2 Κλύμενος (?) 1075 κοίρανος ἀθανάτων 982_0 Κόνιος (not Κρόνιος, nor Κώνιος, nor Σκότιος, nor Χθόνιος) 257_4 1139_0 Κορυφαῖος 285_0 868 f. 869_1 957_1 983_3 1218 f. (See also Καπετώλιος) κορυφαῖος τῆς τῶν ἄστρων περιφορᾶς καὶ διωήσεως καὶ χορείας καὶ δρόμου 869_1 κουρίζων 928_0 κοῦρος 928_0 (See also Μέγιστε Κοῦρε…Κρόνιε) Κράγος 972_0 Κραταιβάτης 32 1211 κρείων 1089 Κρητα-

Zeus (*cont.*)
γενής 238_0 587 675 731_0 Κρονίδης 204_1 321_1 954_0 1095_0 Κρόνιος (See *Μέγιστε Κοῦρε...Κρόνιε*) *Κρονίων* 734_3 831_0 950_0 956_2 1028 1099_2 1219 *Κρόνου παῖς* 908_1 Κρόνου *υἱός* 957_2 Κτεβάτης (=*Καταιβάτης*) 16_1 Κτήσιος 3_0 321 384_0 1054 ff. 1112 1140 *κύδιμε δαῖμον* 957_2 *κύδιστ' ἀθανάτων* 855 *κύδιστος* 728_0 950_0 Κύνθιος 919_0 920_0 921_0 922_0 Κύριος Ζβελσούρδος 1225 Κύριος Θεὸς Προγονικὸς Ζβελσοῦρδος 1225 Κώμυρος 1228 Λαβραδεύς 559 f. 572 Λαβράνιος 598 f. Λαβραϊῦνδεύς 1228 Λαβραΰνδιος 962_0 Λαβράϊυνδος (Λαμβράϊυνδος, Λαβραύνυδος, Λαβραάϊνδος (?), Λαβραίυνδος, Λαβράϊνδος (?), Λαβράενδος, Λάβρενδος, Λάβρανδος (?), Λαβρανδεύς, Λαβραδεύς, Λαβρανδηνός) 576 f. 585 ff. 585_3 597 ff. 598_1 614 663 846 848 $884_{0(0)}$ 963_7 1220 1228 Λαβρένδιος 962_0 *Labrios* (?) 599_5 *Labryandius* 588_1 Λακεδαίμων 436 *Laodicensis* (?) 320_0 *Laodicenus* (?) 320_0 Λαοδικεύς (?) 320_0 Λαοδικηνός (?) 320_0 Λαπέρσιος 599 *Laprius* 588_1 599 Λαράσιος 958_0 ff. 962_0 Λαράσιος Σεβαστὸς Εὐμενής (=Hadrian) 959_0 f. Λαρισαῖος 892_3 958_0 1144_2 Λαρίσιος 957_3 f. Λαρισσεύς 893_0 1144_2 Λατιάριος 941_0 Λάφριος (?) 599 Λαφύστιος in Boiotia 899_1 Λαφύστιος in Thessaly 904_1 1226 Λέψινος 962_0 *Libos* (=Iupiter *Lapis*) 546_0 λιμενοσκόπος 343_0 Λιταῖος 1099 1100_0 Λοφείτης 873 f. 949_3 Λύκαιος 187 761 849 891_3 927_1 1013 1092 1105 1167 Λυκώρειος 901_2 902_0 Μαζεύς (?) 294_0 570_0 *μάκαρ* 954_0 955_0 *μακάρων μακάρτατε* 337_4 Μαλειαῖος $488_{0(0)}$ 890_4 Μάνης 312 312_5 *μαντικός* 1097_2 *μεγαβρόντης* $727_{3(1)}$ Μέγας 344 f. 350_1 *μέγας* 295_2 298_2 321_1 342_0 569_7 $727_{3(3)}$ 925_1 940_0 1099_2 1122_9 1130_1 1160 1160_4 *μέγας ἀρχὸς ἁπάντων* 1028 *μέγας βοῦς* 345_4 Μέγας Βροντῶν 835_6 836 *μεγασθενὴς* 693_3 *Μέγιστος* 585_3 *Μέγιστε Κοῦρε... Κρόνιε* 931_0 *Μέγιστος* 807_2 $885_{0(29)}$ 956_0 983_2 985_1 (?) 1157_5 (?) (See also *Μέγιστε Κοῦρε...Κρόνιε*) *μέγιστος* 728_0 950_0 *Μέγιστος Κεραύνιος* $807_{5(1)}$ *Μέγιστος Σωτὴρ* 956_0 *Μέγιστος Ὕψιστος* $886_{0(0)}$ 983_2 Μειλίχιος 291_2 321 (?) 715 1037 1061 1091 ff. 1154 1155 1156 ff. 1159 f. 1161 1173 ff. 1177_2 Μείλιχος 1149 1160 *μείλιχος* 1092_3 Μεληνός 280_1 Μελισσαῖος 928_0 1112_6 Μελίχιος (=Μειλίχιος) 1147 1149 *μέσσα* 1027 f. 1033_1 Μηδεύς (Μηδινεύς) 312_8 Μήλιος 918_1 Μηλίχιος (=Μειλίχιος) 1156 1157_4 Μηλώσιος 918_1 *μητίετα* 1025 1147 *μητιέτης* 259_0 *μητιόεις* 716 721_3 1017 1147 Μητίων (?) 1146 Μηχανεύς 1144_2

Zeus (*cont.*)
Μιλίχιος (=Μειλίχιος) 1105 1108 1115 1142 1144_3 (?) 1157_1 Μίλιχος (=Μείλιχος) 1151 *Μοιραγέτας* 231_8 Μοιραγέτης 187_1 231 1137_0 *Molio* 588_1 *Μονυίτιος* 723_0 *Μόριος* 20_4 502_2 Μυλεύς 260_0 824_4 824_9 Νάσιος 350_6 763_1 826 869_0 1117 (?) Νάκρασος (?) 714_3 Νεαυλείτης 285_0 1217 f. Νεικήτωρ 836_3 *Νέμειος* 259_0 1143_5 1186 1187_0 *νεφεληγερέτα* 723_0 $727_{3(1)}$ 950_0 1177_2 Νικηφόρος (Νεικηφόρος) *Κεραύνιος* 1225 *νόμου μέτα πάντα κυβερνῶν* 855 Νόσιος 317_2 Νωδαῖος (?) 932_1 *ξείνιος* 1097_2 *ξείνιος, ὅς ξείνοισιν ἄμ' αἰδοίοισιν ὀπηδεῖ* 1097_0 1101 Ξένιος 260_0 617 723_0 $727_{3(1)}$ $887_{0(31)}$ 983_9 1097_2 1101 1102_0 1102_7 1142 1169_5 1176_4 1177_2 1229 Ξένιος *καὶ Φίλιος* 1177_2 *οἰκοφύλαξ ὁσίων ἀνδρῶν* 1125_0 *ὄλβιος* 337_4 955_0 ὁλοποιός 1030 Ὀλύβριος or Ὀλύβριε 980_1 Ὀλύμπιος 343_0 695_0 723_9 $727_{3(2)}$ 941_0 1074 1157_6 Ὀλύμπιος at Akragas 911_0 Ὀλύμπιος at Athens 1078 1118 1121_0 1123 Ὀλύμπιος in Bithynia 815_5 Ὀλύμπιος in Chios 1157_1 Ὀλύμπιος at Corinth 916_0 Ὀλύμπιος at Daphne, near Antiocheia on the Orontes 1191 Ὀλύμπιος at Elis 728_0 Ὀλύμπιος at Ephesos 962_2 Ὀλύμπιος in Lykia 972_1 Ὀλύμπιος in Mysia 953_2 Ὀλύμπιος at Olympia 18 758_9 761 1188 Ὀλύμπιος at Pergamon 956_0 Ὀλύμπιος at Prousa ad Olympum 964_2 Ὀλύμπιος at Seleukeia Pieria 869_1 Ὀλύμπιος at Syracuse 915_2 916_0 917_0 Ὀλύμπιος (=Hadrian) 959_0 Ὀλύμπιος Πεισαῖος 962_9 *Ὄμβριος* 895_7 897_6 898_0 1226 Ὀμοβούλιος 962_0 Ὁμόγνιος 1176_3 1176_4 1177_2 ὁμόγνιος 723_9 1177_2 Ὁμολώιος 857_6 900_1 901_0 904_4 1227 Ὁμολῶος 857_6 Ὁμονῶος 857_6 Ὁμόριος (?) 1090 *ὁ πᾶς κόσμος* 1028 f. Ὀπλόσμιος 290_0 Ὀπωρεύς 1074 Ὁράτριος (=*Ἐράτριος*) 342_0 723_0 Ὄρειος 868 Ὀρέστης (?) 1179 1183 Ὀρθώσιος (=Iupiter *Stator*) 422_1 708_5 Ὅριος (=Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis*) 1090 Ὅρκιος 569_4 722 722_5 726 f. $727_{3(1)}$ 1176_4 1177_2 ὅρκιος 723_0 Ὁρομπάτας 869_0 Ὀσογῶα $578_{4(3)}$ $579_{0(8)}$ $_{(10-12)(14-16)(1-5)}$ $580_{0(7)}$ 598_1 616_1 663 715 790_0 846 963_7 1220 Ὀσογῶα Ζηνοποσειδῶν (Ζανοποτειδᾶν) $578_{4(2)(4)}$ Ὀσογῶα Σωτὴρ *καὶ Εὐεργέτης τῆς πόλεως* $579_{0(13)}$ (?) Ὀσογῶα Ζεὺς Ζηνοποσειδῶν $578_{4(3)(5-7)}$ $579_{0(9)}$ Ὀσογῶος (?) or Ὀσογώου (?) $579_{0(11)(1)}$ Ὅσσαιος 904_3 *ὁ τὰ περὶ τῆς φιλίας ἐπισκοπῶν* 1176_5 1177_0 *ὁ (τῆς) φιλίας ἔφορος* 1176_5 1177_0 *ὁ τῆς φιλίας προστάτης* 1177_0 *ὁ τῶν θεῶν κορυφαῖος* 1188_7 *ὁ τῶν θεῶν ὕπατός τε καὶ ὑπέρτατος* 891_0 Ὀτωρκονδέων

Zeus (*cont.*)
$579_{0(2)}$ 580 $580_{10(1)}$ $581_{0(5)(1-5)}$ Οὐδαῖος (=Plouton) 343_0 Οὐράνιος 436 869_1 1065 1158 Οὐράνιος Ὕψιστος Σααρναῖος Ἐπήκοος $886_{0(30)}$ 983_4 Οὔριος 707 f. 917_0 918_0 πᾶ (?) 294_0 570_0 παγγενέτης 1122_9 παγκρατὲς αἰεί 855 παγκρατὲς γάνος 931_0 Παγχαῖος 342_0 (?) Παῖς 742 f. 749 826_6 Παλαμναῖος 260_0 1097_2 1098 1098_5 1099_1 1101 παλαμναίων τιμήορον ἱκεσιάων 1097_2 Παλάμναιος 1099_0 πάμμεγας 349_{20} Πανάμαρος 587 714_3 963_8 1195_3 (See also Πανημέριος, Πανήμερος) πάνδωρος 858 Πανελλήνιος 894_3 895_0 895_1 1119_4 1120_0 Πανημέριος 963_8 Πανήμερος 963_8 (See also Πανάμαρος) Πανκτήσιος 1067 Πανύχιος 941_0 Πανομφαῖος 1097_2 1211 Πανόπτης 1130 παντοτινάκτης 1100_1 πάντων διατάκτωρ καὶ ὅλου τοῦ κόσμου 1023 1051 πανυπέρτατος 321_1 Παπαῖος 292_4 Πάπας or Παπᾶς 292 Παπίας 292_4 Παππῶος 292_4 Παρνήθιος 897_6 πασιάναξ $1113_{0(2)}$ Πάσιος 1095_0 πάτερ (voc.) 271_0 584_1 693_3 728_0 855_2 858 922_5 950_9 957_2 1094_0 1130_1 πάτερ εἰρήνης βαθυκάρπου] $875_{1(2)}$ Πατήρ 836_2 836_3 πατὴρ 1023 1030 πατραλοίας 942_0 Πάτριος 1141 Πατρῷος 233 244 280_1 723_0 902_2 950_9 1066 1095_0 Πατρῷος Ἐπιλόφιος (?) 948_4 πανσίλυπος 1123_7 1124_0 Πεισαῖος 962_0 Πελασγικός 960_0 Πελινναῖος 922_4 Περικλύμενος (?) 1075 περίφαντος 1122 Περίφας (?) 1122 Περφερέτας 496_0 1220 Πῖκος 697_0 (See further Pikos who is also Zeus) Πίστιος (=*Fidius*) 724_0 Πλουτοδότης 251_2 385_0 πνοιὴ πάντων 1027 Πολιεύς 260_0 869_1 Πολιεύς at Athens 897_2 897_3 Πολιεύς at Delphoi 231 Πολιεύς in Kos 238_0 Πολιεύς at Lindos 923_0 Πολιοῦχος 941_0 πολύξενος (?) $1113_{0(2)}$ πολυξενώτατος $1113_{0(2)}$ πολύσταχυς 295_2 569_7 Πολύτεχνος (?) 693 πολυώνυμος 855 πόντου ῥίζα 1027 Ποτεύς (or Πότης or Πότις) 285 287_1 Ποτηος (accent unknown) 285 πρευμενής 1098_4 Προγονικός 1225 Προπάτωρ 941_0 προστρόπαιος (προστροπαῖος) 1097_2 1098 f. 1099_0 1101 πρῶτος 1027 f. πυθμὴν γαίης τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος 1027 f. Ῥεμβήνοδος (?) 714_3 Σαδίκιος (for Σαδίζιος=Σαβάζιος) 284_0 Σααρναῖος $886_{0(30)}$ 983_4 Σαβάζιος 282 285_0 287_2 664_1 (?) 745_1 954_0 957_2 975_0 1184 1217 Σαουάδιος (=Σαβάδιος) 285_0 1217 f. Σάραπις 1171_3 cp. 773_9 (See also Σέραπις) Σαώτης 599_2 1151 Σεβαστός (=Hadrian) 959_0 f. σεισίχθων 1100_1 Σέραπις 714_3 (?) (See also Σάραπις) Σερεανός $883_{0(0)}$ Σημαλέος $4\,897_6$ Σημαντικός 280_1 σκαταβότης (?) 15_1 1211 Σκύλιος 723_0

Zeus (*cont.*)
Σκυλοφόρος (=Iupiter *Feretrius*) 111_0 Σολυμεύς 973_1 f. Σόλυμος 974_0 Σπάλαξος (less probably Σπάλωξος) 1220 Σπάλωξος 587 Στάτωρ (=Iupiter *Stator*) 708_5 στεροπηγερέτα 806_8 Στήσιος (=Iupiter *Stator*) 708_5 Στορπᾶος 815 850 1095_0 Στρατεῖος 591_2 Στρατηγός 707 f. 848 918_0 Στράτιος 111_0 585 591 591_2 594 594_8 595 (?) 595_0 598_1 705 713 715 722 846 848 $884_{0(0)}$ 963_7 974_1 ff. Συκάσιος 1103 σχέτλιος $727_{3(1)}$ Σώζων 987_0 Σωσίπολις (?) 1151 (cp. i. 58) Σωτὴρ 233 292_4 317_2 321_1 343_0 434_3 $727_{3(3)}$ 728_0 763_1 $884_{0(0)}$ 955_0 962_0 970_0 1121 1123 1129_0 1133_1 1141 1142_1 1144_2 1147 1151 1156_{13} 1159 1162 1169 1191 1228 f. [Σωτὴρ ἅπαν]τος ἀνθρώπων γένο[υς] 280_1 [Σωτὴρ] τοῦ σύμπαντος ἀν[θρωπείου γένους] 280_1 Σωτὴρ Τέλειος 1123_7 σωτήριος 1123_7 1124_0 Ταλαιός 948_1 Ταλεΐτας 890_2 948_1 Ταλλαῖος 948_1 ταμίης πολέμοιο 734_3 Ταουιανός 754_1 Ταραντᾶος 32_3 Τέλειος 1076 f. 1089 1123_7 1124_0 1147 1150 1156_{13} 1159 1162 1163_2 1175 Τέλειος Σωτὴρ 1124_0 Τελεσιουργός 1228 Τελεσφόρος 838 1089 τελεσφόρος 1089 τελέων τελειότατον κράτος 337_4 Τεράστιος 31 1211 Τερμωθεύς 962_0 τερπικέραυνος 502_2 779 ff. 806_8 822 1067 1070 1097_0 Τετράωτος 322 842 Τηρεύς (?) 693 697 Τιμωρός 874_2 1099_0 1101 τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς | Διὸς νεκρῶν Σωτῆρος 1125_0 Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος 233_0 794 1061 1073 ff. 1112 Τριφύλιος 1095_0 Τροπαῖος 110_9 111_0 956_0 Τροπαιοῦχος 111_0 Τροπαιοῦχος (=Iupiter *Feretrius*) 111_0 Τροπαιοφόρος (=Iupiter *Feretrius*) 111_0 Τροφώνιος (See Τρεφώνιος) Τρώιος 571_8 τῶν περὶ Λάκιον 1156_{10} τῶν περὶ Ὀλυμπιόδωρον 1156_{10} τῶν περὶ Πολύξενον 1156_{10} τῶν φιλικῶν καθηκόντων ἔφορος 1177_0 Ὑδηγός (?) 1227 f. Ὑέτιος 164_5 164_8 318_0 869_1 1144_2 ὑέτιος 276_1 Ὑμήττιος 897_5 Ὑνναρεύς (Ὑνναριεύς?) 987_1 Ὕπατος 163_4 737 875 890_3 897_2 898_1 898_2 956_2 (?) ὕπατος 271_0 ὕπατος βασιλεὺς διὰ παντός 856 ὕπατος θεῶν 1125_1 Ὑπερβερέτας 496_0 ὑπερμενὴς 1028 Ὑπερφερέτης (=Iupiter *Feretrius*) 111_0 496_0 ὑστατος 1027 f. ὑψιβρεμέτης 830_1 838 ὑψίδρομων (Pierson cj. ὑψίβρομον) πυριανγέα κόσμον ἑλαύνων 830_1 ὑψίζυγος 830_1 ὑψιμέδων $875_{1(2)}$ 907_2 Ὕψιστος 231_8 293_0 876 876_1 ff. 891_3 892_3 897_3 898_3 906_2 907_1 922_1 922_2 953_1 956_0 (?) 963_2 963_{5-9} 983_2 983_4 983_6 983_9 1144_2 ὑψιστος 890_1 Ὕψιστος Βρονταῖος 834 f. Ὕψιστος καὶ Ἐπήκοος $885_{0(29)}$ $886_{0(0)}$ 983_2 Ὕψιστος Ἐπόπτης (?) 949_2 Ὕψιστος Μέγιστος

Zeus (*cont.*)
Ἐπήκοος $885_{0(29)}$ 983_2 Φαλακρός 874_2 893_1 1099_0 1144_2 1226 Φερέτριος (= Iupiter *Feretrius*) 111_0 Φερ-φερέτας 496_0 1220 Φηγός (?) 413_2 φιλάνθρωπος 1177_2 Φίλιος 260_0 722_0 $727_{3(1)}$ $727_{3(2)}$ 728_0 956_0 1061 1092_8 1119_0 1141 1160 ff. 1173 ff. 1186 1196 f. φίλιος 1167 φίλτατος 1167_5 φοινικοστερόπας 806_8 Φράτριος 723_0 728_0 730_0 1177_2 Φύξιος 902_0 1097_2 1144_2 1177_2 φύσεως ἀρχηγέ 855 φυτάλιος 1100_1 φυτάλμιος 260_0 1177_2 Χαριδότης 1065 Χθόνιος 829 $878_{0(3)}$ 1100_1 1119_0 1155 Χρυσαορεύς or Χρυσαόριος 714 ff. 722 848 Χρυσ-αορεύς $884_{0(9)}$ ὠδαῖος (?) 932_1 Ὡρο-μάσδης 386 980_6

Festivals: Aitnaia 908_1 Basileia 900_0 Boukatia 235 Daidala Megala 977_0 Deia 320_0 Deia Sebasta Oikoumenika 320_0 Diasia 1138 ff. Διὸς βοῦς (See *Rites*) Eleutheria (?) 974_0 Homoloïa 900_1 Ithomaia (Ithomaïs) 890_6 Megala Panhellenia 1121_0 Meilichia 1091 f. 1092_5 New Year's Day 931_0 Olympia 964_2 Panhellenia 1119_4 *pentaeteris* 1179 Traianeia Dei-phileia 1180 *trieteris* 934_0 Xan-thikos 23 981_1 f. yearly sacrifice and *panêgyris* 576_2

Rites: altars at Olympia and Perga-mon made of ashes from thighs of victims 955_0 ἀνιπτόποδες at Tralleis 959_0 f. banquet for all present at sacrifice to Zeus Στράτιος 974_1 bovine omophagy 539 cp. 934_0 burial of bull 345 539 ceremonial purity 934_0 communion-feast 1173 daily oblation to sceptre of Zeus at Chaironeia 547_2 Διὸς βοῦς 318_0 Διὸς κώδιον 1065 effigy worn by votaries 299 ff. first-fruits $872_{0(5)}$ funeral offering in Idaean Cave 934_0 942_0 god killed and eaten in form of bull 345 hecatomb sacrificed to Zeus Κάσιος on Mt Kasion in Syria 982_0 1192 hecatomb sacrificed to Zeus Νέμειος at Argos 1144_2 human consort 128_4 210_2 (See also *infra* παλλακίδες) human sacrifice to Zeus Ἀταβύριος in Rhodes (?) 924_0 human sacrifice to Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 890_6 human sacrifice to Zeus Λα-φύστιος at Halos 904_1 (?) human sacrifice to Zeus Λαφύστιος on Mt Laphystion 899_1 human sacrifice to Zeus-like deity Θυέστης at My-kenai (?) 1022 incubation $232\,982_0$ (?) initiation 1186 jars of Zeus Κτή-σιος 1054 ff. libation from first *kratêr* to Zeus and Hera 1123_7 1124_0 libation from first *kratêr* to Zeus Ὀλύμπιος and the Olympians 1123 libation from third *kratêr* to

Zeus (*cont.*)
Zeus Σωτήρ 1123_7 1124_0 1125_0 liba-tion from third *kratêr* to (Zeus) Σωτήρ and Ὀλύμπιος 1124_0 libation from third *kratêr* to Zeus Σωτήρ or Τέλειος 1123 libation from third *kratêr* to Zeus Σωτὴρ Τέλειος 1123_7 libation to Zeus Διδυμαῖος with ivy-leaves 317_1 libation and prayer to Zeus Ἰδαῖος 950_0 libation to Zeus Κτήσιος 1058 libation to Zeus τερπικέραυνος 1097_0 love-feast 1197 lying prone 835 mysteries at Antio-cheia on the Orontes 1186_6 my-steries in Crete 345 mysteries at Pergamon 288_0 new fire (?) $1149_{2(1)}$ νηφάλια 1142_3 no wine- or animal-offerings on altar of Zeus Ὕπατος at Athens $875_{1(2)}$ oak-brides burnt on Mt Kithairon 977_0 oath taken over boar 726 f. 728_0 offering of meal (?) 18 omophagy 934_0 cp. 539 παγκάρπεια 1058 παλλακίδες at Thebes in Egypt 960_0 παλλακίδες at Tralleis 959_0 f. (See also *supra* human consort) πέλανος 1058 pro-cession up Mt Pelion 870_0 proces-sions at Pergamon 288_0 purifica-tion by figs (?) 1103_4 1103_7 purifica-tion in cult of Zeus Φίλιος 1186 sacrifice by Labyadai (Boukatia) 235 sacrifice of bull to Zeus Βροντ-αῖος 835 sacrifice of bull to Zeus Στράτιος 975_0 sacrifice of nine bulls to Zeus Κήναιος 902_2 sacrifice of cakes moulded into forms of ani-mals 1138_2 1140 sacrifice of seven cakes to Zeus Ἡλιεύς 238_0 sacrifice of goat to Zeus Ἀσκραῖος $872_{0(5)}$ sacrifice of humped bull to Zeus Σωλυμεύς 973_1 sacrifice of milk, honey, wine, oil, incense to Zeus Στράτιος 974_1 977_0 sacrifice of ox to Zeus Ἑρκεῖος 728_0 sacrifice of three-year-old ox to Zeus 287_2 954_0 sacri-fice of three-year-old ox to Zeus Βάκχος 287_2 954_0 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Βουλεύς 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Εὐβουλεύς 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Λύκαιος 1105 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Μειλίχιος 1105 ff. 1140_2 (?) 1142 1157 sacrifice of pig to Zeus Φίλιος 1161 sacrifice of ram to Zeus Λαφύστιος 904_1 sacrifice of ram to Zeus (? Μειλίχιος ? Φίλιος) 1175 sacrifice of sheep to Zeus Μειλίχιος 1138_2 1140 sacrifice of white ox to Zeus Κτήσιος 1065 1067 (See also white victims) sacrifice of singed victim to (Zeus) Μηλίχιος 1156 sacrifice to Zeus at Olympia on logs of white-poplar 467 sacri-fices to Zeus Στράτιος on mountain-tops 974_1 ff. taboo on onions among devotees of Zeus Κάσιος at Pelou-

Zeus (*cont.*)
sion 987_0 thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Ephesos 962_2 thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus on Mt Ide in Phrygia 950_0 thigh-pieces of oxen burnt for Zeus at Troy 950_0 throne strown annually in Idaean Cave 934_0 942_0 cp. 940_0 thunder-making 838 f. 852 934_0 *θυσία ἄπυρος παγκαρπείας* 1058 torch-lighting 1158 uninitiated persons and women may not enter precinct of Zeus Τπατος in Paros $875_{1(5)}$ union with Deo and Persephatta at Eleusis 132_2 water from Klepsydra brought daily to sanctuary of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 890_6 white victims sacrificed to Zeus Ἀκραῖος $871_{3(1)}$ (See also sacrifice of white ox)

Priests: *ἀμφίπολος* of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος as eponymous magistrate of Syracuse 916_0 *ἀρχιερεύς* $579_{0(16)}$ 973_1 at Adrianoi in Mysia 127 at Dodona go with unwashen feet and sleep on ground 960_0 at Mylasa dedicate temple-columns 580 at Mylasa distinguished citizens priests for life 576 f. *Βεννεῖται* $883_{0(0)}$ *ζακόρος* 921_0 922_0 head of priest of Zeus Ὀπλόσμιος denounces murderer 290_0 *ἱερεύς* 578_4 921_0 922_0 *ἱερεὺς διὰ βίου* 111_0 616_1 973_1 976_0 cp. 576 f. *ἱεροποιοί* 921_0 *κλειδοῦχος* 921_0 922_0 *νεωκόρος* 967_0 976_0 *νεωκόρος διὰ βίου* 967_0 cp. 1225 *ξυλεύς* at Olympia 471 of Zeus Ἀκραῖος as eponymous magistrate of Magnetes $871_{3(1)}$ of Zeus Βῆλος 128_4 of Zeus Ἰθωμάτας 743 890_6 of Zeus Παῖς 743 of Zeus Τροπαιοῦχος 111_0 Onetor 950_0 *ὁ νικῶν κάλλει* 742_5 *πατὴρ ἱερήων* 1177_3 Σελλοί 960_0 Spartan kings 353 *τόμαροι* (*τόμουροι*) 693_3 *ὑποφῆται* 960_0

Priestesses: buried near temple of Zeus Τψιστος $878_{0(4)}$ Diotima 1167 'Fly' at Dodona 215_1 *κανηφόρος* 900_0 *πελειάδες* 350 693_3 *προφῆτις* 214 ff.

Worshippers: akin to Zeus 950_0 Βάκχοι 934_0 *Διοσαταβυριασταί* 1157_3 *Διοσμιλιχιασταί* 1157_3 *ἐρανισταί* 1161 *θιασῶται* 585_3 *ἱερόδουλοι* 616_1 *Κουρῆτες* 934_0 Salii (?) 328 ff. *συνμύσται* 282_1

Personated by Agamemnon 1069 f. Aleos (?) 1147 Amphiaraos 1070 ff. Amphitryon 1072 Antiochos iv Epiphanes 1188 f. Antoninus Pius 101_1 343_0 Athenian kings 1135 1142 Augustus 97_0 260_0 Caracalla 1186 1209 Commodus 1185 Cretan prince (?) 522 Domitian 97_0 1194 cp. 811_5 (fig. 777 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 229) Epopeus (?) 1146 Eumenes i 960_0

Zeus (*cont.*)
1228 forefather of family 1061 Germanicus Caesar 260_0 Geta 1186 Hadrian 260_0 280_0 343_0 956_0 959_0 f. 962_2 1120_0 1121_0 Ixion (?) 1088 Keyx 1088 king 24 192 192_5 794 833 897_0 940_0 944_0 945_0 1061 1065 1069 f. 1070 ff. 1073 f. 1076 1088 ff. 1121 ff. 1159 f. 1185 f. kings descended from Aiolos 1159 kings of Delphoi (?) 192_5 kings of Orchomenos in Boiotia (?) 1150 kings of Sparta (?) 353 kings of Thessaly 1087 ff. kings struck by lightning 24 local champion 1070 Marathon (?) 1146 Minos (?) 940_0 944_0 945_0 Minyas (?) 1150 Nero 97_0 1194 Nerva 1194 Pelops (?) 1147 Perikles 816_1 Periphas 24_4 1121 ff. Roman emperors 100 ff. 320_9 (?) 1209 Salmoneus 24_4 1088 1122 Simon Magus 726_0 Theophanes 97_0 Trajan 100_6 1180 1180_4 1209_5 Xerxes 853_4

Myths: Aetos 933_0 Amphiaraos 1071 Asklepios 23 Auriga 477_7 bids Apollon to serve Admetos 241_4 binds Kronos beneath oak-trees 448_1 1027 birth of Athena 721_2 1029 born in a cave of Mt Aigaion 925_1 932_1 born in a cave of Mt Dikte 928_0 932_1 986_0 born in a cave of Mt Ide in Crete (?) 230_6 932_1 951_0 born in a cave of Mt Ide in Phrygia 951_0 born at Dios Gonai in Boiotia 961_0 born at Dios Gonai in Lydia 961_0 born on Mt Sipylos 956_2 born on Mt Tmolos 957_2 brings the babe Dionysos to Mt Tmolos 957_2 brought by Kouretes to Idaean Cave 932_1 cp. 928_0 buried in Crete 219 345 556_0 694_0 943_0 causes Trojan war 261_1 his chariot followed by procession of souls 63_0 childhood 899_0 chooses the eagle 752_4 comes from Crete to Naxos 187_8

consorts with Aigina d. of Asopos 187_8 894_3 Aitne 909_0 Amaltheia 229_1 Chaldene 973_1 Danaë 694_0 1131_1 Demeter 1029 Deo (= Demeter) 132_2 $345_{0(2)}$ Dia 1088 Dione 1029 Europe 187_8 348 929_0 947_0 1131_1 Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152_4 Hera 343_0 893_2 902_1 950_0 1020 1029 Hermippe d. of Boiotos 1150 Hesione d. of Danaos 1150 Hippodameia d. of Danaos 1150_2 Idaia 940_0 Io 961_0 Kalchedonia 973_1 Kallisto 228_4 228_5 1217 Lamia 1130 f. Leda 1015_7 1131_1 Magna Mater 969_4 Manthea (?) 229_1 Medeia 1088 Nemesis 1015 1131_1 Persephatta (= Kore) 132_2 Persephone $1114_{0(5)}$ Phersephone or Kore 1029 Plouto 449_0 Rhea 1029 Semele 187_8 956_2 one of the Sithnides 897_1 Thaleia

Zeus (*cont.*)
909_0 Themis 37_1 willow-goddess (?) 947_0
consults Nyx 1029 consults Nyx and Kronos 1027 creates the world anew inside himself 1027 deposited by Typhon in Corycian Cave 449_0 Deukalion builds altar of Zeus *'Αφέσιος* 892_4 Deukalion sacrifices to Zeus *Φύξιος* 902_0 Dionysos sewn up in thigh of Zeus 957_2 *Διὸς ἁπάτη* 1020 f. Dirke 1019 drives out Kronos 933_0 941_0 942_0 drives Kronos out of Assyria 693_4 694_0 Erechtheus 24 794 exiles Apollon to land of Hyperboreoi 484 493 Flumen 477_7 founds city on Mt Dikte 928_0 929_0 Ganymedes 188_0 189_0 281_4 933_0 Gigantomachia 752_4 830_7 gives Dionysos to Ma to nurse 565_2 gives golden vine to Tros 281_4 gives ring to Prometheus 990 golden hound 1227 golden ram 899_1 golden rope 1029 1211 golden vine 281_4 has Aigokeros or Capricornus for foster-brother 932_1 933_0 has sinews of his hands and feet cut out by Typhon and hidden in a bear-skin under the care of Delphyne 228 449_0 Hektor 950_0 helped by Aigokeros or Capricornus against Titans 933_0 hidden from Kronos by Korybantes 940_0 hidden from Kronos by Kres 928_0 infancy in Dictaean Cave 928_0 929_0 infancy on Mt Ide in Crete 932_1 infancy on a Phrygian mountain 968_{1-3} 969_2 Io 782_1 Ixion 1098_4 jars of good and evil 1067 f. Kapaneus 23 824 f. Kasios 981_1 Kekrops founds altar of Zeus *Ὕπατος* $875_{1(2)}$ Korybantes drown cries of infant Zeus 928_0 Kouretes drown cries of infant Zeus 928_0 961_0 968_{1-3} leaps upon Phanes and swallows him 1027 Leda 941_0 lets fall drops of blood, from which men arise 1032 lets fly eagles from west and east 179 makes cosmic mantle 351_1 makes Kronos drunk on honey 448_1 1027 Melissa 928_0 Merops 1132_1 mutilated by Typhon 448_2 mutilates Kronos 448_1 685 1027 nurses transformed into bears 227 f.

nursed by Adrasteia 933_0 Amaltheia 928_0 Ithome and Neda 890_6 Nymphs on Mt Ide in Crete 932_1 Rhea 961_0 968_{1-3} 969_2

nurtured by bears 928_0 939_0 bees 928_0 929_0 1112_6 doves 928_0 eagle 928_0 goat 928_0 961_0 968_0 goat Amaltheia 932_1 933_0 pig 928_0

Oidipous 829 Omphalian Plain 190 Ophiuchus 1087 Periphas 1121 ff. Perseus sacrifices to Zeus *'Απεσάντιος* 892_4 piles Mt Aitne on

Zeus (*cont.*)
Enkelados 909_0 piles Mt Aitne on Typhon 909_0 places heart of Dionysos or Zagreus in gypsum image 1031 Polytechnos 693 pounds heart of Zagreus into potion and gives it to Semele to drink 1031 prince slain by wild boar and buried in Crete 522 cp. 727 *psychostasia* 733 ff. quitting Assyria follows Kronos and becomes king of Italy 694_0 943_0 reared by Kouretes on Mt Dikte 928_0 929_0 refitted with his sinews by Hermes and Aigipan 449_0 Rhea gives Kronos stone instead of him 793_8 901_1 Rhea, pregnant with him, is protected against Kronos by Hopladamos (Hoplodamos?) 291_0 Rhea rescues him from Kronos 928_0 Salmoneus 833 1122 *Seleucides aves* 981_1 Semele 24 ff. 731 ff. (?) succeeds Kronos as king of Italy 694_0 swallows Metis 12 348_2 Sykeas or Sykeus 1103_8 Thetis 45_1 thrusts Kronos down below earth and sea 1020 Titanes 218 1031 f. 1103_8 transforms Aigokeros or Capricornus and his mother Aix into stars 933_0 transforms Aigolios into owl 929_0 transforms himself into Eros when about to create the world 316 transforms Kallisto into bear 228_7 transforms Keleos the Cretan into green woodpecker 929_0 transforms Kerberos the Cretan into bird 929_0 transforms Laïos the Cretan into blue thrush 929_0 Typhon (Typhoeus) 228 448_2 722_2 731 826 839_6 981_1 Ursa Maior 928_0 Ursa Minor 928_0 visits Hera clandestinely 1020 wraps *aithêr* round the world and ties up the bundle with golden cord 1029

Metamorphosed into Apollon 228_7 Artemis 228_7 1217 bear 229 bull 348 449_0 929_0 1131_1 1167_5 cuckoo 893_2 1144_2 eagle 187_8 228_7 752 909_0 (?) 941_0 1133 f. Eros 316 fly 782_1 gold 1131_1 hoopoe 697 1130 f. human lover 941_0 snake 941_0 1029 1061 1151 stranger 1096_4 swan 941_0 1015 1015_7 1131_1 vulture 909_0 woodpecker 524 693 (?) 693_4

Genealogy: b. of Ouranos 940_0 f. of Aiakos by Aigina d. of Asopos 894_3 f. of Aphrodite 1029 f. of Apollon and Artemis by Leto 453 f. of Apollonios of Tyana 569_4 f. of Arkas by Kallisto 228_5 f. of Arkeisios by Euryodeia (Euryodia) 1152_4 f. of Artemis 164_8 342_0 453 f. of Athena by Koryphe 869_1 cp. i. 155 f. of Attis 294 f. of Atys and Kotys (?) 312 f. of Chryses by Hesione d. of Danaos 1150_2 f. of Dardanos 8 f.

Zeus (*cont.*)
of Dionysos 317 1098_0 f. of the chthonian Dionysos or Zagreus by Phersephone or Kore 1029 f. of the first three Dioskouroi (Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos) by Persephone 1135_4 f. of Epaphos by Io 961_0 f. of Eros by Aphrodite 316_0 f. of Gargaros at (by?) Larissa in Thessaly 950_0 f. of Geraistos and Tainaros 903_1 f. of Helene 343_0 f. of Helene by Leda 1015_7 f. of Helene by Nemesis 1131_1 f. of Herakles 343_0 f. of Hermes 385_0 f. of Horai by Themis 37_1 94_2 f. of Kairos 859 861 f. of Kastor 437 f. f. of Kastor and Polydeukes, Klytaimestra and Helene, by Leda 1015_7 f. of Kouretes 940_0 f. of Litai 1097_2 1098_0 1099_2 1100_0 f. of Malos $488_{0(0)}$ f. of Manes by Ge 312 f. of Megaros (Megareus) by one of the Sithnides 897_1 1117_7 f. of Meilinoe (?) or Melinoe (?) by Persephone $1114_{0(5)}$ f. of Metis 348_2 f. of Minos by Europe 8 342_0 344 929_0 f. of Minos, f. of Deukalion, f. of Idomeneus 793_7 f. of Muses by Mnemosyne 1157_0 f. of Olenos by Hippodameia, d. of Danaos 1150_2 f. of Orchomenos by Hesione, d. of Danaos, or by Hermippe, d. of Boiotos 1149 f. f. of Palikoi by Thaleia, d. of Hephaistos 909_0 f. of Perseus 665_1 f. of Perseus by Danaë 694_0 f. of Phaunos 694_0 943_0 f. of Phersephone or Kore by Rhea or Demeter 1029 f. of Polydeukes 437 f. f. of Solymos by Chaldene 973_1 f. of Solymos by Kalchedonia 973_1 f. of Tainaros 890_5 f. of Tantalos 957_0 f. of Zethos and Amphion 445 f. of Zethos and Amphion by Antiope 1013 gf. of Eros 316_0 h. of Ge 292_4 h. of Hera 584_1 h. of Hera Ζυγία 954_0 h. of Idaia 940_0 h. of Kybele 298 h. of Tyche Ἀγαθή 1104 f. s. of Aither 941_0 s. of Ge 294_0 s. of Kronos 943_0 s. of Kronos by Rhea 941_0 s. and h. of the Mother of the gods 298_2 s. of Phanes 1051 s. of Phanes by Nyx 1026 s. of Rhea 830 1029 youngest child of Rhea 925_1

Functions: aér 351_0 *aithér* 557_1 allotments 873_2 all-seeing 258_3 ancestral god of Attic nobility 730_0 ancient king 1135_4 author of days and years 94_2 avenger of impious deeds 1130 bees 1112_8 bright sky 1 840 bringer of a curse 1098 bringer of young folk to maturity 1159 buried king 1139 1142 1159 celestial lights 840 chthonian 18 (?) 31 (?) 119_0 233_0 258_3 836 893_0 1058 1105 1107 $1113_{0(2)}$ 1117 1118 1124_0 1125_0 1125_1 1126_0

Zeus (*cont.*)
1131 1142 1149 1150 1155 f. 1157_0 1159 1161 1169 f. 1175 1178 chthonian (Zeus Οὐδαῖος = Plouton) 343_0 clear air 557_1 clouds 3 corn and wine (?) 1178 cosmic 117 855_2 1028 f. 1185 cosmic law 855_2 cosmogonic 1230 counsel 317_2 creator of the world 316 1027 crops 1065 1074 1187_0 daylight 436 1013 day-light sky 840 deceased founder of club 1162 deceased kinsman 1163 deceiver 694_0 695_0 destiny 231 Dionysiac 281 ff. 836 847 852 dispenser of good and evil 1067 f. divinised ancestor 1068 dreams 283_0 1175 1228 dust 257_4 earth 823 father 292 ff. father of mankind 855 fertility 591 1142 1149 fighter 590 f. figs 291_2 (?) 1092 f. 1103 f. 1112 1114 food and drink 754_2 food-supply 434_2 forefather 258_3 forefather of clan 1162 generous giver 321_1 giver of animal and vegetable life 1139 giver of wealth 1065 good tidings 966_0 government 855 ff. guardian of friendship 1176 guardian of harbour 343_0 hail 1 healing $877_{0(0)}$ 1061 hearth 873_2 (?) $1149_{2(1)}$ (?) holder of scales 734_3 inspirer of orator 1181_0 justice 852 justice and injustice among men and animals 1130_1 lawgiver 1095_0 life 352_1 352_4 1023 lightning 1 4 385_0 502 ff. 722 ff. 815 ff. 840 850 f. 954_0 1146 lot 1148 f. (?) love 1176 magician 258_3 694_0 695_0 1147 mills (?) 260_0 mind 258_3 1028 f. moisture 351_0 352_4 moon 840 mountains 554 868 ff. 1149 1179 1183 nourishment 594 oak 570_0 $872_{0(5)}$ oaths 233 569_4 706 722 ff. 727_3 849 955_0 1175 f. observer of right and wrong 1130 1130_1 old corn (?) 295_2 omniscience 763 the one God, of whom all other Gods are but parts and manifestations 855_2 oracular 1061 1073 ff. pantheistic 1027 ff. 1051 πνεῦμα 1023 prayers 1099 preserver of the tribe 1159 primeval power 315 f. protector of the bloodguilty 1098 f. protector of descendants 1130 protector of his people 1159 protector of laws and treaties 723_0 protector of suppliants 1093 1097 f. 1130 protector of suppliants and strangers 1097_0 1101 providence 764 849 purification 1099 f. 1103 purifier of the bloodguilty 1092 ff. 1104 1112 1114 1143 rain 1 3 4 179 (?) 274 (?) 275 f. 318_0 351_0 591 833 894_1 897_5 897_6 898_9 941_0 957_2 re-creator of the world 1033 ruler 731 848 ruler of gods 266 ruler of sky, sea, and earth 893_0 rumour 904_3 sea 663 893_0 sea-

Zeus (*cont.*)
faring 987_0 sender up of souls 1058 sky 298 344 353 458 601 663 823 sleep 231 f. snow 1 343_0 solar 285_0 840 948_1 1130 1130_7 specialised into Poseidon 786 850 spinner of fate 1219· starry sky 436 stars 840 869_1 storm 267 591 705 848 streams 869_0 sun (See solar) suppliant 1096 1098 1101 suppliant-boughs $1149_{2(2)}$ thunder 1 4 344 833 ff. 851 f. 941_0 945_3 1155 thunder and lightning 280_1 817 thunderbolt 179 722 ff. 850 f. trees 946_0 trophy 110_9 111_0 turnips (?) 260_0 underworld 1158 (See also chthonian) universe (See cosmic) upper world 1158 victor 758 victory $489_{0(0)}$ 812_1 813_2 violence 1098 war 705 ff. 848 water 1117_3 (?) weather 1 ff. 840 894_3 wind 444_7 (?) witness 728_0 f. world (See cosmic) a younger Zan 340 ff.

Etymology: 259_0 855_2 928_0 1102_8 1228

Attributes: agrenón 574 592 *aigis* 781 1187_0 apple (?) 831_1 bay-wreath 266 597_3 714_2 756_1 924_0 1187_4 1192 f. 1223 bronze bulls 924_0 bronze oxen 924_0 buskins 1178 1184 car (*benna*) (?) $883_{0(0)}$ chariot 436_1 851 Charites (Moirai? Horai?) 232_0 *chitón* 597 f. 744 744_4 *chlamýs* 731_1 744 ff. cock 946_9 947_0 corn-ears 754_1 *cornu copiae* 1105 1162 crab 577 f. cup 1178 cypress 932_1 dagger 714_1 722 diadem 597_3 double axe 283_0 559 ff. 601 614 615 (?) 664_1 (?) 705 714_1 *drépanon* 448_0 eagle 283_0 575 f. 577 f. 707 751 f. $808_{0(0)}$ 833 836 838 956_0 961_0 968_0 1133_1 1143 1161 1185 f. 1188 1208 eagles 231 239 841 Egyptian head-dress (?) 987_0 female breasts 592 ff. flower 1224 (?) goat 987_1 (?) globe 980_0 golden ball 933_0 golden calf 354 golden *liknon* 933_0 golden vine (?) 281_4 grapes 281 287_1 $883_{0(0)}$ hammer 945_2 *hárpe* 449_0 helmet 705 f. *himátion* 1082 *himátion* of gold 916_9 *himátion* of wool 916_0 Horai 1138_5 jar 1054 ff. jug 1117 *kálathos* 577 592 f. 593 (?) 597 597_3 598 *kratér* 283_0 leaf-shaped lance 709 *liknon* 933_0 lily-wreath 740 lion (?) 575 f. lioness (?) 575 599_2 lion-skin (?) 947_0 lotos 771 1224 mattock 806_1 Moirai 1138_5 moon 980_0 necklace 593 Nike $873_{0(9)}$ 1143 1145_9 1190 1192 1193_1 oak-branch 1177 (?) oak-wreath 348 388 763_1 1187_4 olive-branch 1177 (?) olive-wreath 323_1 palm (?)-tree 284_0 panther (?) 575 599_2 pectoral 574 *phiále* $881_{0(21)}$ 906_3 1105 1116 (?) 1143 1145_0 1161 f. 1175 1184 pillar 818 pine-wreath 951_0 plane-trees 590 976_0 plough 281 836 pome-

Zeus (*cont.*)
granate 986_0 radiate crown 980_0 scales 734_3 sceptre 258 266 547_2 709 731 ff. 763 788_0 1105 1116 1143 1145_0 1188 *sélinon* (?)-wreath 1187_0 shield 578 705 712 silver knife 354 *skýphos* 754_1 snake 283_0 284_0 285_0 819 820 823 1111 spear 577 f. 704 ff. 722 848 957_0 stag 575 1220 star 980_0 1187_0 stars 980_0 stick 1102_9 sun 980_0 sword 591 615 (?) 705 712 ff. 722 848 tall head-dress 980_0 (See also tiara) thunderbolt 283_0 722 ff. 785 848 ff. 1145_0 *thýrsos* surmounted by eagle 1178 tiara 386 (See also tall head-dress) tortoise 895_1 trident 577 798 two doves (?) $872_{0(5)}$ two eagles 179 f. two oaks $872_{0(5)}$ two ravens (?) $872_{0(5)}$ two spears 283_0 two thunderbolts 722 726 f. vervain 396_0 397_0 vine 836 838 vine-staff 909_0 whip 851 willow 946_0 947_0 winged chariot 43 321_1 woodpecker 518_3 (See further Pikos who is also Zeus)

Types: advancing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand and eagle ou outstretched left 745 advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand 26_0 795_3 advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left 739 ff. 818 f. 963_0 1139_0 1143 1222 f. advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand, eagle on outstretched left, and snake at his feet 851 advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and sceptre as well as eagle in outstretched left 1223 advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and sceptre in outstretched left 25_0 26_0 27_0 709 733 advancing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and spear (?) in left 708 f. amours with Leda, Semele, Kallisto, and Ganymedes 228_7 androgynous (?) 292_4 594 androgynous with golden wings and heads of bulls and snake 1022 f. archaistic 744_1 Aristonous 1222 Assyrian 697_0 938_0 bearded head as pendant 302 bearded head at either end of whip-handle 301 beardless 285_0 742 748 946_0 f. 1224 (?) birth of Athena 709 f. 753_3 785 boy with whip (?) 826_6 bronze statuette of 'Geometric' age representing Zeus fulminant (?) 1222 bronze statuettes inlaid with silver eyes 503_0 Bryaxis (?) 921_0 bull (?) 924_0 bust as medallion on wreath 301 bust as support for arm of Attis 297 bust between horns of crescent 712_3 bust facing, with thunderbolt and sceptre to his right and left $887_{0(0)}$ bust supported on eagle

Zeus (*cont.*)
with spread wings 1209 in chariot drawn by two eagles 462_0 in chariot drawn by one horse 830 in chariot drawn by two horses 820 823 cp. 285_0 in chariot drawn by four horses 436_1 825 830_8 831_1 (See also driving) in *chitón* and *chlamýs* 283_0 in *chitón* and *himátion* 574 577 597 f. 745_0 745_1 $881_{9(21)}$ $887_{0(0)}$ 957_0 colossal 754_1 conical stone 981_0 Dionysiac 1178 double 316 ff. with double axe and sceptre 573 ff. with double axe and spear 574 ff. double bust (with Dionysos) 388 double bust (with Hermes?) 388 double bust (with Sarapis?) 388 double bust (with Satyr) 388 driving chariot 950_0 (See also in chariot) driving two-horsed vehicle 285_0 driving winged chariot 321_1 duplicated on coin (standing and seated) 319 duplicated on gem (both seated) 318 ff. with female breasts 592 ff. 846 1220 (?) fighting Centaur (?) 614 f. four-eared 322 842 fulminant in two-horse chariot 820 851 fulminant in four-horse chariot 825 831_1 fulminant on pillar 45 Gigantomachia 712 f. 777_2 820 825 831_1 973_1 gilded eagle 423 with golden bay-wreath 258 with golden bull's-horns 1028 grasping or hurling thunderbolt in (sometimes beside) chariot 831_1 grasping thunderbolt in each hand 722 726 f. Hageladas 741 ff. 749 890_8 1222 f. hero-feast 1163 holding cult-image in his hand 950_0 962_2 holding eagle and thunderbolt 741_3 (See also advancing) on horseback 664_1 (?) infant asleep on mountain 961_0 infant carried by Amaltheia (?) 363_1 infant seated on ground 957_2 instructing Apollon 265 introduction of Herakles to Olympos 735 ff. 771 Janiform 322 ff. 326 ff. Janiform head (with Hera) (?) 662 Janiform head (with Hermes) 1219 with *kálathos* 597 f. 597_3 with *kálathos*, double axe, and sceptre 592 with *kálathos*, double axe, and spear 577 593 (?) linked to ground by means of fillets 574 long-haired 573 575 f. (?) Lysippos 45 762 1139_0 1143_5 1145_0 Myron 1078 oak-tree 111_0 570_0 with olive-wreath 323_1 Papylos 1101_3 Pheidias 475_7 598 757 ff. 849 921_0 (?) 1078 1138_5 pillar capped by pyramid (See pyramid-on-pillar) Polykleitos 1143 f. 1178 Polykleitos the younger (?) 1178 pot 3_0 pouring rain from right hand and holding thunderbolt in left 962_2 *psychostasia* 734_0 734_3 pursuit of

Zeus (*cont.*)
Semele 731 ff. 735_3 pyramid 1144 ff. pyramid-on-pillar 814 f. 1095_0 1147 (?) radiate $872_{0(5)}$ raising hand in attitude of *benedictio Latina* 291 recumbent on couch 1162 1171_3 recumbent on eagle 102_0 rushing forward with thunderbolt in raised right hand 731 sacred stone 982_0 f. (?) seated as child amid Kouretes 1210 seated on eagle 102_0 462_0 (See also upborne on eagle) seated on mountain 853 962_2 982_0 seated on rock 983_1 seated on rock with eagle flying from right hand and sceptre leaning against right shoulder 758 seated on tree 946_0 f. seated to hurl thunderbolt 473 475 seated to pour rain 962_2 seated with Artemis Ἐφεσία in right hand and sceptre in left 962_2 seated with three Charites (Moirai? Horai?) in right hand 232_0 seated with eagle flying from him 757 758 seated with eagle flying to him 757 seated with eagle in hand 1139_0 1143 seated with eagle in right hand and sceptre in left $871_{3(4)}$ seated with flower in right hand and sceptre in left 1224 (?) seated with jug in both hands above head of Acheloios 1117 seated with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left 319_4 758 760 (?) $873_{0(8)}$ 956_0 961_0 1139_0 1143 1189 1192 1192_6 1220 seated with *phiále* in right hand 1161 seated with *phiále* in right hand and *cornu copiae* in left 1105 seated with *phiále* in right hand and sceptre in left 1105 1116 f. (?) 1143 1145_0 1175 seated with *phiále* in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle behind 280_1 seated with right hand raised to head 762 849 seated with sceptre in left hand 737 1173 seated with sceptre in left hand and *phiále* in right 736 seated with sceptre in right hand 755 f. (?) seated with sceptre in right hand and Athena Ἰλιάς in left 950_0 seated with sceptre in right hand and Nike in left 964_2 seated with sceptre in right hand and sometimes *phiále* in left 906_3 seated with sceptre in right hand and thunderbolt in left 756 seated with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left 280_1 318 753 ff. 757 f. seated with thunderbolt in right hand, sceptre in left, and eagle flying before him 1224 seated with thunderbolt and sceptre in right hand and *phiále* in left 735 seated with vine-staff in right hand and thunderbolt in left 909_0 shouldering axe 621_1 (?) snake

Zeus (*cont.*)
1061 1107 ff. 1174 soldier 705 f. standing with Artemis Ἐφεσία in right hand 962_2 standing with eagle in left hand 751_5 standing with eagle in right hand 751_5 standing with eagle in right hand and sceptre in left 319_4 951_0 957_0 968_0 standing with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left 1145_0 standing with *phiâle* in right hand and sceptre in left 280_1 $881_{0(21)}$ standing with sceptre (?) in raised right hand and *phiâle* (?) in left 752 f. standing with sceptre in raised right hand and thunderbolt in lowered left 749_1 820 f. standing with sceptre in right hand and eagle beside him 1143 1230 standing with spear or sceptre in raised right hand and left covered by *himâtion* 918_0 standing with spear in right hand and eagle at his feet 707 standing with spear in right hand and thunderbolt in left 957_0 standing with thunderbolt in lowered right hand 280_1 standing with thunderholt in lowered right hand and sceptre in left 734 f. 745 ff. 1145_0 standing with thunderholt in outstretched right hand and sceptre in left 917_1 standing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left 737 739 $819_{0(5)}$ standing with thunderbolt in raised right hand and sceptre in lowered left 833 standing with wreath in outstretched right hand 1192 statuette held by Laodikeia 319_7 320_0 with supported foot 266_1 surrounded by seven stars 238_0 syncretistic 850 τετράγωνος 1147_8 Theokosmos 1138_5 theriomorphic 1151 three-eyed 892_5 1144_2 traveller 1102_0 with trident, eagle, and crab 577_2 with trident, thunderbolt, and eagle 798 with trident, thunderbolt, and sea-monster 798 trophy 111_0 upborne on eagle 951_0 (See also seated on eagle) upborne on eagle between horns of crescent 712_3 winged 1028 *xôanon* 1196 youthful 861_5 1030 1185 youthful figure holding pomegranate 986_0 Ζῆνες at Olympia 349

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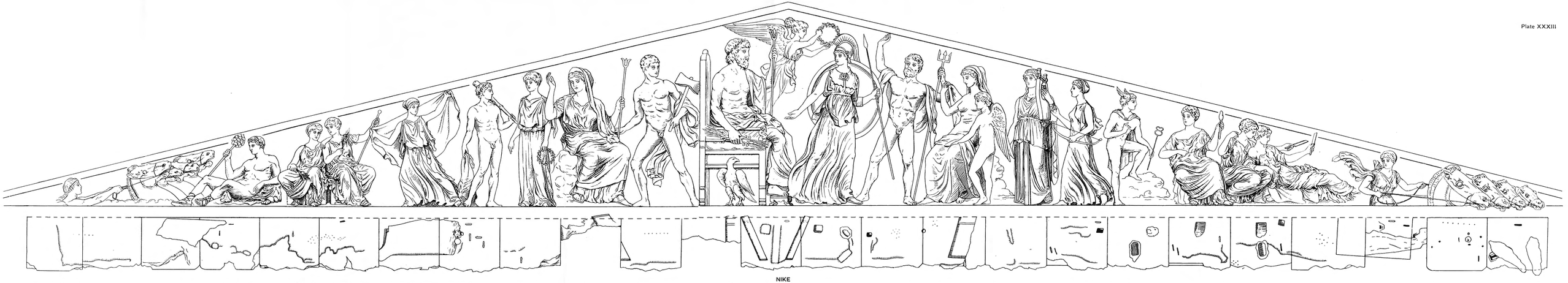

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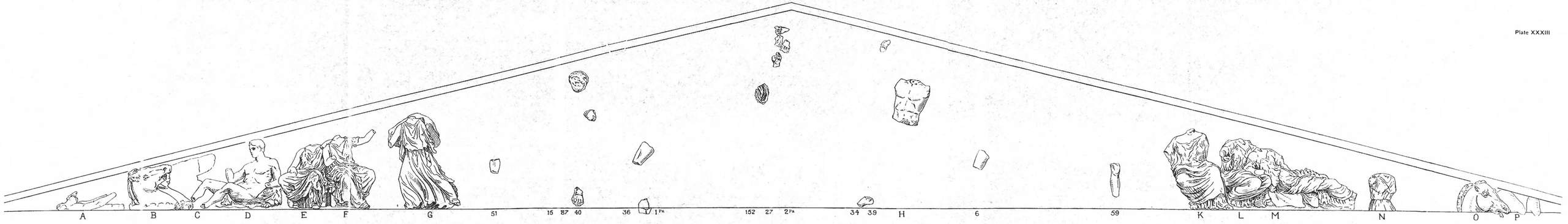

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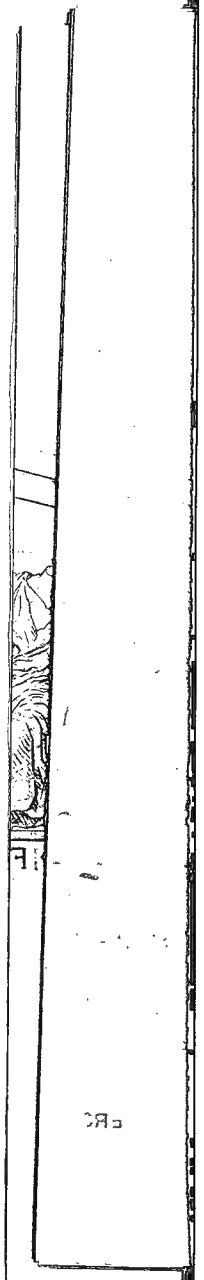

ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

VOLUME III

PART I

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

BY

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK, LITT.D.

VICE-PRESIDENT OF QUEENS' COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE
EMERITUS PROFESSOR OF CLASSICAL ARCHAEOLOGY

VOLUME III

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND,
DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

χώ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART I

TEXT AND NOTES

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καὶ ὁ Φερεκύδης ἔλεγεν εἰς Ἔρωτα μεταβεβλῆσθαι τὸν Δία μέλλοντα δημιουργεῖν, ὅτι δὴ τὸν κόσμον ἐκ τῶν ἐναντίων συνίστας εἰς ὁμολογίαν καὶ φιλίαν ἤγαγε καὶ ταυτότητα πᾶσιν ἐνέσπειρε καὶ ἕνωσιν τὴν δι' ὅλων διήκουσαν.

PHEREKYDES OF SYROS *frag.* 3 Diels *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* ii. 54, 28 ff. Diehl.

ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος εἰρηνικὸς καὶ πανταχοῦ πρᾶος, οἷος ἀστασιάστου καὶ ὁμονοούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς βουλευσάμενος ἱδρυσάμην, ἥμερον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐν ἀλύπῳ σχήματι, τὸν βίον καὶ ζωῆς καὶ συμπάντων σωτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα φύλακα, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν θνητῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν.

DION OF PROUSA *or.* 12 p. 236 f. Dindorf.

PREFACE

VOLUME III with its two Parts comprises the third, and final, instalment of my work on Zeus: *numero deus impare gaudet.* It may be thought that a task taken in hand as far back as 1907 ought to have been completed long before 1939. But kindly critics will remember that the task itself was one of formidable complexity, that the leisure left to a teacher occupied throughout with College and University duties is necessarily limited, and that the commotions of our time have hardly been conducive to a peaceful investigation of the past. This at least I can claim that, year in, year out, I have steadily pursued the plan originally laid down for the scope and contents of the book. Volume I was to deal with Zeus as god of the Bright Sky, Volume II with Zeus as god of the Dark Sky—an arrangement of essentials approved by the high authority of Otto Weinreich (*Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 138). Accordingly, Volume I included not only the Hellenic worship of the Bright Zeus, god of the Upper Sky, but also the Hellenistic attempts to connect him with Sun, Moon, and Stars, while Volume II was devoted to the Dark Zeus, god of Thunder and Lightning, in all his multifarious aspects. Thunder and Lightning proved to be so wide-spread and far-reaching that much had perforce to be left over for a third, at first uncontemplated, volume. This concerns itself with Zeus in his relations to a further series of cosmic phaenomena—Earthquakes, Clouds, Wind, Dew, Rain, and Meteorites. But I need not here enter into a detailed account of sections and subsections, as I have later endeavoured to trace in sequence the whole evolution of the cult of Zeus (pages 943 to 973), concluding with a statement of what I conceive to be its ultimate significance (pp. 973, 974).

The work as a whole sets out to survey the range and influence of the Greek Sky-god. It would, I suppose, have been possible to do this in less discursive fashion by means of tabulated statements and statistics—a list of his cult-centres, an index of his appellations, a classified catalogue of his representations in art—in short, to adopt the dictionary-method, admirably carried out by E. Fehrle, K. Ziegler, and O. Waser towards the end of Roscher's great *Lexikon* (vi. 564—759). But my notion of a survey is somewhat different. I find a road-map less helpful than an ordnance-sheet.

The former may simplify things and enable you to get more directly to your destination. But the latter invites you to explore the neighbourhood, marks the field-paths, puts in the contour-lines, colours the water-ways, and prints in Gothic lettering the local antiquities. Time is lost, but knowledge is gained, and the traveller returns well-content with his trapesings. So I have deliberately chosen the more devious method, and I can only fall back on Herodotos' plea that 'my subject from the outset demanded digressions.' Indeed, it was just this need for latitude that led me to widen the title *Zeus* by adding the subtitle 'a Study in Ancient Religion.' That is the real justification for long-winded footnotes and a fringe of Appendixes.

With regard to the Appendixes I regret, not so much the fifteen that I have written, as the three that I have failed to write—letters **C**, **D**, and **O**. Ideally **C** should have dealt with Zeus at Corinth, **D** with Zeus at Dodona, **O** with Zeus at Olympia. I did indeed pen a screed on 'Korinthos son of Zeus,' but I suppressed it because the aetiological myth that I thought to detect implied the existence of customs for which I could produce no adequate evidence. As to Dodona, I have made certain interim observations in the *Classical Review* for 1903 xvii. 178—186, 268 f., 278; but the problems presented by the oracular cult cannot be securely solved till the oracle itself has been fully excavated (*infra* p. 1131). On Olympia too I have said my say both in the *Classical Review* for 1903 xvii. 270—277 and in *Folk-Lore* for 1904 xv. 397—402. To describe the material remains of the famous *témenos* was no part of my programme. Dr E. N. Gardiner has covered the ground (*Olympia* Oxford 1925), and Dr W. Dörpfeld dug deep beneath it (*Alt-Olympia* Berlin 1935).

The quarter-century that has intervened between the publication of Volume I and that of Volume III has of course brought an annual harvest of discoveries and discussions bearing on the subject of Zeus, all grist to my mill. Hence the mass of miscellaneous Addenda from page 1066 onwards—'1066 and all that'! It was a cheer to find that these additions, almost without exception, fitted well into the framework of the book and very seldom called for the retraction of a definitely expressed opinion.

As before, I write with a sense of profound obligation to others. First and foremost stands my debt of gratitude to the Syndics of the University Press, who once again have borne the whole financial

burden of publishing, despite all difficulties, this costly and unprofitable work.

Zeus, I am happy to say, has been begun, continued, and ended under the auspices of two old friends, old in years but young in outlook—Sir James Frazer and Dr Rendel Harris. It was they who first welcomed the inception of the work, and, though quite aware that I often dissent from their findings, they have wished me well from start to finish.

I have further been able to count on the co-operation of many loyal helpers. Where my enquiries have trenched upon unfamiliar ground I have not hesitated to call in expert advisers. On points of Semitic lore I have consulted Professor S. A. Cook (p. 1072), the late Professor S. Langdon (p. 550 n. 0), and the Reverend H. St J. Hart (p. 891). In Mesopotamian matters I have been assisted by Mr Sidney Smith (p. 832 ff.) and Dr H. Frankfort (p. 1196). Egyptian usages have been made plain to me in conversations with Mr Sidney Smith, Mr P. E. Newberry, and the late Mr J. E. Quibell (p. 305). Sir John Marshall gave me his opinion on the origin of Çiva's trident (p. 1156). Professor H. W. Bailey has reported on Sanskrit and Persian etymologies (pp. 916 n. 1, 925 n. 3). Mr A. Waley identified the source of a Chinese inscription and translated it for me (p. 1138). Dr B. F. C. Atkinson allowed me to rifle his unpublished work on Illyrian names (p. 364 n. 8). Lastly, Dr F. R. C. Reed enabled me to determine the material of an ancient cameo, while Dr F. C. Phillips as official mineralogist and petrologist made analyses on my behalf (p. 898 n. 4).

Reviewers in general have been benevolent, but superficial and sometimes woefully misunderstanding. Signal exceptions have been the detailed and very helpful *critique* of Charles Picard (*Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 65—94) and a most heartening notice by Otto Weinreich (*Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 137—139). For such shrewd objections and penetrating judgments I can but feel immense respect. Critics of this type are all too rare.

Among friends that have put an active shoulder to my wheel I would name first my colleague Mr C. T. Seltman, who with his amazing knowledge of ancient art and modern art-collectors has been endlessly useful. It was, for example, through his good offices that I secured the unique double axes from Crete and Athens (figs. 894, 895), the new Orpheus-vase published in pl. xvi, and that most notable of all Greek coppers the Mytilene-medallion

of pl. i. But Mr Seltman has no monopoly of kindliness. Not a few of my former pupils, while engaged on quests of their own, have spared time to forage on my behalf. In particular, Mr A. D. Trendall, Fellow of Trinity College and our foremost authority on South Italian vases, has sent me a flight of valuable photographs from Athens (pl. xlvi, 2), Capua (pl. lxxv), Rome (pl. lii), Taranto (pls. xiii, xv, 2, lxxi), Berlin (pls. liv, lx), Bonn (pl. xiii, 3), Gotha (pl. lxiii), Leipzig (pls. lxii, lxv, 1), and Vienna (fig. 476). Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury, Fellow of Pembroke College, has more than once put his intimate knowledge of modern Crete at my service (pp. 1070, 1143) and himself photographed for me an early Greek *stámnos* from Knossos (pl. xxv). Mr E. J. P. Raven procured for me photographs of an interesting *ptthos*-lid from the same place (pl. lxxxi) and of the relief-*plaque* from Athens representing a primitive form of Athena (pl. xxvi). And Mr R. M. Cook furnished me with the photograph of a small bronze statuette recently found in Bulgaria and important as being clearly inspired by Pheidias' Zeus *Olýmpios* (pl. lxxxii).

Others have gone far afield to record mountain-scenes difficult of access. Dr N. Bachtin gave me prints of Mount Ossa and of the chapel on its summit from photographs taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934 (figs. 908, 909), and three times over climbed Mount Pelion to investigate the alleged discoveries of Arvanitopoulos (p. 1161). Ossa, Pelion, and—to complete the proverbial pile—Olympos. Mr C. M. Sleeman, Fellow of Queens' College, ascended Olympos twice, in 1926 and 1929, bringing home with him a wonderful series of views, which included not only the actual summit (pl. lxviii) but all the principal peaks (figs. 911, 912) and the little chapel of St Elias (fig. 913). Mr Sleeman in 1926 also photographed the summit of Parnassos (fig. 907), and, being an indefatigable mountaineer, in 1936 climbed Mount Argaios and supplied me with striking photographs of the top (fig. 915) and of a rock-pinnacle beneath it (fig. 916). Mr W. K. C. Guthrie, Fellow of Peterhouse and now Public Orator, in 1932 discovered and photographed a double rock-cut throne on Findos Tepe (figs. 858—860). Mr N. G. L. Hammond, Fellow of Clare College, in 1931 told me of Mount Emertsa on the Albanian frontier, which he had found to be locally identified with Dione in repose (p. 1173). But of all these mountain-exploits none is more arresting than the narrative dictated to me by Mr H. Hunt, who in 1929 went on pilgrimage

with Bektashite monks to the summit of Mount Tomori near Berat and there actually witnessed the sacrifice of a white bull to 'Zefs' (p. 1171).

For other photographs, too numerous to specify in detail, I am indebted to a host of contributors both at home and abroad. My debt has, I think, always been acknowledged in a footnote. But I cannot refrain from mentioning here certain cases of outstanding interest. Mr Sidney Smith, Honorary Fellow of Queens' College and Keeper of Egyptian and Assyrian Antiquities in the British Museum, presented me with a magnificent photograph of the newly-discovered 'Lilith' and added to his kindness by discussing with me her status and attributes (pl. lxi). The late Dr A. H. Lloyd gave me an exquisite plate of the golden barley found amid the dust and *débris* of a grave near Syracuse (pl. xxxi). Professors G. M. Columba and E. Gàbrici supplied a fine photograph of the Oknos-vase at Palermo (pl. xxxvi); Professor D. M. Robinson, several views of the Bouzyges-vase at Baltimore (pl. xlv); Professor P. P. Jacobsthal, the print of a vase at Marseilles representing, he holds, the oracle of Orpheus' head (pl. xviii).

Casts of coins and gems have again been sent me without charge and without stint by the authorities of the British Museum, to whom I am further indebted for much encouragement and helpful talk. I am particularly beholden to Mr H. Mattingly, Mr E. S. G. Robinson, and Mr Sidney Smith, of whose prompt aid I have availed myself time after time with shameless persistence. Mr R. B. Whitehead also was good enough to send me a series of choice impressions from his own unrivalled store of Bactrian coins (figs. 369, 371). Monsieur le Comte Chandon de Briailles supplied the cast of a gem representing Kroisos on the pyre (fig. 329), and Mr C. D. Bicknell that of a gem in the Lewis Collection showing Athena as a human-headed bird (fig. 608).

Permission to produce or reproduce plans and illustrations has been generously granted by Messrs F. Bruckmann and Co. of Munich (pls. vi, vii, xxiii, xxxvii), by Sir Arthur Evans (figs. 202, 265), by Mr N. Glueck of the American School of Oriental Research, Jerusalem (fig. 876), by the Council of the Hellenic Society (figs. 578, 579), by Dr F. Matz of the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum at Altenburg (fig. 619), by Dr H. Meier of the Warburg Institute (pl. xl), by the late Mr J. E. Quibell (fig. 195), by Monsieur Richard, Conservateur des Musées at Abbeville (fig. 888), by Miss G. M. A.

Richter of the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (pl. xxxv, figs. 776, 883, 897), by Professor Homer A. Thompson (figs. 923, 924), by Professor A. J. B. Wace (fig. 193), by Dr C. Weickert of the Museum at Munich (pl. l), and by the Direktor of the Badisches Landesmuseum at Karlsruhe (pl. li).

In the matter of text-figures I have been lucky enough to retain the services of Miss E. T. Talbot, the artist to whom I owe the bulk of the drawings in Volumes I and II. Her work has throughout maintained a high level of exactitude. Her coins, for instance, are not merely faithful transcripts of originals or casts, but actually 'stilgetreu'—a rare achievement in draughtsmanship.

The cameo in malachite portraying the bust of a Ptolemaic Zeus (pl. xliv) was drawn from the original by Miss F. E. Severs and produced as an experiment in lithography by the Cambridge Press. But most of the colour-plates have been specially painted for me by another artist of quite exceptional powers, Mrs D. K. Kennett. She sketched the Corfu pediment from a full-size cast in the Cambridge Museum of Classical Archaeology (pl. lxiv) and the Sulis Minerva pediment from the original at Bath (pl. lxvi). But her feeling for colour is better shown by the little head of Hera in blue glass from Girgenti (pl. lxxiii), the bust of Sarapis in *lapis lazuli* (pl. lxxiv), or the bronze mace from Willingham Fen (pl. lxxviii). These are veritable triumphs of sympathetic rendering.

And here I must add a word on another of Mrs Kennett's plates, the neolithic pounder from Ephesos (pl. lxvii). That remarkable object—given me as a souvenir of Sir William Ridgeway by the President of Queens' College and Mrs Venn—has, if I am right in my interpretation of it, presented us for the first time with a prehistoric Greek *baitylos*, a stone believed to have fallen from heaven and worshipped accordingly. Not the least of its claims upon our attention is the incidental light that it throws on a passage in the New Testament (Acts 19. 35).

The passage in question sets in sharp contrast the old 'Zeus-fallen image' with the new Gospel proclaimed by St Paul. These were in effect the two extremes. Between them lay the whole history of Greek religion with its gradual development, now slower, now faster, from primitive paganism towards complete Christianity —a long story, for the telling of which three volumes would scarce suffice. My contention is that in that development the cult of the

Sky-god was one main factor, leading the minds of men upwards and onwards to ever greater heights till Zeus at his noblest joined hands with the Christian conceptions of Deity. If I have succeeded in proving that, I shall feel that the labours of half a lifetime have been well worth while.

ARTHUR BERNARD COOK.

19 CRANMER ROAD, CAMBRIDGE.
22 *July* 1939.

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ABBREVIATIONS

The following additions should be made to the List of Abbreviations printed in Vol. I pp. xxv—xliii and Vol. II pp. xxiii—xliii.

Albizzati *Vasi d. Vaticano* = C. Albizzati *Vasi antichi dipinti del Vaticano* Fasc. 1—6 (pls. 1—60) Roma 1925—1932.

Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* iii, 1 (Sala delle Muse, Sala rotonda, Sala a Croce Greca) von G. Lippold Berlin—Leipzig 1936.

Am. Journ. Arch. From 1932 (vol. xxxvi) onwards the *American Journal of Archaeology* has been issued in larger format.

Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien Phil.-hist. Classe = *Anzeiger der Akademie der Wissenschaften* Philosophisch-historische Classe Wien 1864— .

Ath. Mitth. From 1901 (vol. xxvi) entitled *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung*, and from 1915 (vol. xl) *Mitteilungen des deutschen archäologischen Instituts: athenische Abteilung.*

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* II Description historique iv Paris 1926—1932 with Atlas of pls. III Monnaies orientales i Numismatique de la Perse antique par J. de Morgan Paris 1927—1933 with Atlas of pls.

Berl. philol. Woch. So called from 1884 to 1920. Before (1881—1883) and after (1921—) that period the title is simply *Philologische Wochenschrift.*

Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins Cyrenaica 1927 by E. S. G. Robinson.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings = F. H. Marshall *Catalogue of the Finger Rings, Greek, Etruscan, and Roman, in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1907.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems^2 = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Engraved Gems and Cameos Greek Etruscan and Roman in the British Museum* London 1926.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Paintings and Mosaics = R. P. Hinks *Catalogue of the Greek Etruscan and Roman Paintings and Mosaics in the British Museum* London 1933.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins Emp. ii (Vespasian to Domitian) London 1930. iii (Nerva to Hadrian) London 1936.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery = H. B. Walters *Catalogue of the Roman Pottery in the Departments of Antiquities, British Museum* London 1908.

Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture^2 = *Catalogue of Sculpture in the Department of Greek and Roman Antiquities of the British Museum* i. 1 (Prehellenic and early Greek) by F. N. Pryce London 1928. i. 2 (Cypriote and Etruscan) by F. N. Pryce London 1931.

Brit. Mus. Quart. = *British Museum Quarterly* 1926— .

Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* fortgeführt und mit erläuternden Texten versehen von P. Arndt und G. Lippold iv (Tafeln 651—700) München 1926, v (Tafeln 701—750) München 1932, vi (Tafeln 751—785) München 1939.

Corp. inscr. Gr. sept. iii. 2 Inscriptiones Thessaliae ed. O. Kern, Indices comp. F. Hiller de Gaertringen [*Inscriptiones Graecae* ix. 2] Berolini 1908.

Corp. inscr. Lat. xi. 2. 2 Inscriptiones Aemiliae, Etruriae, Umbriae Latinae, ed. E. Bormann. Addenda ad partes priores et Indicum capita tria. Berolini 1926. xiv Supplementum Ostiense, ed. L. Wickert Berolini 1930.

Corpusc. poes. ep. Gr. ludib. = *Corpusculum poesis epicae Graecae ludibundae* i Parodorum epicorum Graecorum et Archestrati reliquiae, ed. P. Brandt Lipsiae 1888, ii Sillographorum Graecorum reliquiae, ed. C. Wachsmuth Lipsiae 1885.

Corp. vas. ant. = *Corpus vasorum antiquorum.* This great international publication, started by E. Pottier at Paris in 1922, has already (1939) run to 63 parts, of which Belgium

has contributed 2, Denmark 6, France 14, Germany 3, Great Britain 11, Greece 1, Holland 2, Italy 12, Poland 3, Spain 1, the United States 6, and Yugoslavia 2.

Délos v Le Portique d' Antigone ou du Nord-est et les constructions voisines par F. Courby. Paris 1912.

ix Description des Revêtements peints à sujets religieux par M. Bulard. Paris 1926.

x Les Vases de l'Héraion par C. Dugas. Paris 1928.

xi Les Sanctuaires et les Cultes du Mont Cynthe par A. Plassart. Paris 1928.

xii Les Temples d' Apollon par F. Courby. Paris 1931.

xii (Planches).

xiii Les Portraits hellénistiques et romains par C. Michalowski. Paris 1932.

xiv Les Mosaïques de la Maison des Masques par J. Chamonard. Paris 1933.

xv Les Vases préhelléniques et géométriques par C. Dugas et C. Rhomaios. Paris 1934.

xvi Le Sanctuaire des Dieux de Samothrace par F. Chapouthier. Paris 1935.

xvii Les Vases orientalisants de style non mélien par C. Dugas. Paris 1935.

xviii Le Mobilier délien par W. Deonna. Paris 1938.

xviii (Planches).

xix L'Agora des Italiens par É. Lapalus. Paris 1939.

Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Graec.* = C. du Fresne Du Cange *Glossarium ad Scriptores mediæ & infimæ Græcitatis* i, ii Lugduni 1688.

Ebert *Reallex.* = *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* unter Mitwirkung zahlreicher Fachgelehrter herausgegeben von Max Ebert i—xiv Berlin 1924—1929, xv (Register) Berlin 1932.

Einzelaufnahmen Serie 10 München 1925, Register zu Serie 6—10 München 1929, 11 München 1929, 12 München 1931, 13 München 1932, 14A München 1934, 14B München 1936, 15A München 1937, 15B München 1938, 16A München 1939.

Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* = *Dictionnaire étymologique de la Langue Latine* Histoire des mots par A. Ernout et A. Meillet. Paris 1932.

Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* vii—ix (Gaule Germanique 1—3 et Supplément) Paris 1918—1925, x (Supplément et Tables générales) Paris 1928. *Complément du Recueil générale des bas-reliefs, statues et bustes de la Gaule Romaine* Paris et Bruxelles 1931. xi (Suppléments (suite)) Paris 1938.

Farnell *Gk. Hero Cults* = L. R. Farnell *Greek Hero Cults and Ideas of Immortality* Oxford 1921.

Fouilles de Delphes

iii Épigraphie. Texte. Fasc. 5 par Émile Bourguet Paris 1932.

iv Monuments Figurés—Sculpture. Planches complémentaires. Paris 1926.

Frag. gr. Hist. = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Historiker* von Felix Jacoby Erster Teil: Genealogie und Mythographie Berlin 1923, Zweiter Teil: Zeitgeschichte A Universalgeschichte und Hellenika Berlin 1926, B Spezialgeschichten, Autobiographien, Zeittafeln Berlin 1927, 1929, C Kommentar Berlin 1926, 1927, 1930.

Frag. gr. Kultschr. = *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* gesammelt von Alois Tresp Giessen 1914.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Aftermath London 1936.

Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* = (Sir) J. G. Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* A Treatise on Certain Early Forms of Superstition and Society i—iv London 1910. *Totemica*: a supplement to 'Totemism and exogamy' London 1937.

Frazer *Worship of Nature* = Sir J. G. Frazer *The Worship of Nature* i (Sky, Earth, Sun) London 1926, ii (Sun, Moon, Stars, Fire, Water, Wind, Plants, Animals) London — .

Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* iv Berlin 1925, II. Band i Berlin 1929, ii Berlin 1931, iii Berlin 1933.

Head *Coins of the Greeks* = *A Guide to the principal Coins of the Greeks from circ. 700 B.C. to A.D. 270* based on the work of Barclay V. Head. London 1932.

Inscr. Cret. = *Inscriptiones Creticae* opera et consilio Friderici Halbherr collectae i Tituli Cretae mediae praeter Gortynios curavit Margarita Guarducci Roma 1935.

Inscr. Gr. ins. ix Inscriptiones Euboeae insulae [*Inscriptiones Graecae* xii. 9] ed. E. Ziebarth Berolini 1915.

Inscr. Gr. ed. min. = *Inscriptiones Graecae* editio minor

i Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno anteriores ed. Fridericus Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1924.

ii—iii Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores ed. Iohannes Kirchner. Pars altera: 1 Tabulae magistratuum Berolini 1927. 2 Catalogi nominum. Instrumenta iuris privati Berolini 1931.

ii—iii Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores ed. Iohannes Kirchner. Pars tertia: 1 Dedicationes, Tituli honorarii, Tituli sacri Berolini 1935.

ii—iii Inscriptiones Atticae Euclidis anno posteriores ed. Iohannes Kirchner. Pars quarta: Indices 1 Berolini 1918.

iv Inscriptiones Argolidis 1 Inscriptiones Epidauri ed. Fridericus Hiller de Gaertringen Berolini 1929.

ix. 1 Inscriptiones Phocidis Locridis Aetoliae Acarnaniae Insularum Maris Ionii. 1 Inscriptiones Aetoliae ed. Guentherus Klaffenbach Berolini 1932.

Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst. From 1918 (vol. xxxiii) onwards the *Jahrbuch des kaiserlich deutschen Archäologischen Instituts* has been entitled the *Jahrbuch des Deutschen Archäologischen Instituts.*

L'Antiquité Classique = *L'Antiquité Classique* Louvain 1932— .

McClean Cat. Coins = *Fitzwilliam Museum. Catalogue of the McClean Collection of Greek Coins* by S. W. Grose i—iii Cambridge 1923, 1926, 1929.

i Western Europe, Magna Graecia, Sicily.

ii The Greek Mainland, the Aegaean Islands, Crete.

iii Asia Minor, Farther Asia, Egypt, Africa.

Mem. d. Inst. = *Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* i Roma 1832, ii (*Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica*) Lipsia 1865.

Mendel *Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople* = *Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Figurines grecques de Terre Cuite* par Gustave Mendel Constantinople 1908.

Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* = *Musées Impériaux Ottomans. Catalogue des Sculptures grecques, romaines et byzantines* par Gustave Mendel i—iii Constantinople 1912, 1914, 1914.

Milet

i. 9 Thermen und Palaestren von Armin von Gerkan und Fritz Krischen mit Beiträgen von Friedrich Drexel, Karl Anton Neugebauer, Albert Rehm und Theodor Wiegand Berlin 1928.

ii. 2 Die milesische Landschaft von Theodor Wiegand mit Beiträgen von Kurt Krause, Albert Rehm und Paul Wilski Berlin 1929.

ii. 3 Die Stadtmauern von Armin von Gerkan mit epigraphischem Beitrag von Albert Rehm Berlin—Leipzig 1935.

iii. 4 Das islamische Milet von Karl Wulzinger, Paul Wittek, Friedrich Sarre unter Mitwirkung von Th. Menzel, J. H. Mordtmann, A. Zippelius Berlin—Leipzig 1935.

iii. 5 Das südliche Jonien von Alfred Philippson Berlin—Leipzig 1936.

Muller *Altital. Wörterb.* = *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* von Dr Frederik Muller Jzn Göttingen 1926.

Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica = *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* Firenze 1885— .

Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen Phil.-hist. Classe. From 1924 onwards entitled *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist Classe.

Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* = *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* by Martin P. Nilsson Lund 1927.

Nuov. Mem. d. Inst. See *Mem. d. Inst.*

Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek = *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek. Billedtavler til Kataloget over antike*

Kunstværker Kjøbenhavn 1907. *Tillæg til Billedtavler af antike Kunstværker* Kjøbenhavn 1915.

Orat. Attic. = *Oratores Attici.* Recensuerunt adnotaverunt scholia fragmenta indicem nominum addiderunt Io. Georgius Baiterus et Hermannus Sauppius. i Verba oratorum cum adnotationibus criticis Turici 1839—1843. ii Scholia fragmenta indices Turici 1845—1850.

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Neue Bearbeitung begonnen von Georg Wissowa...herausgegeben von Wilhelm Kroll und Karl Mittelhaus (Zweite Reihe [R—Z]) iii A—Stuttgart 1927— , Supplement v—vi Stuttgart 1931, 1935. This monumental work, begun in 1894 and now nearing completion, at present (1939) covers the entries 'Aal'—'Olympia', 'Pech'—'Philon', 'Ra'—'Tribus' in 48 half-volumes and 6 supplements.

Pergamon

v, 1 Die Paläste der Hochburg von Georg Kawerau und Theodor Wiegand Berlin—Leipzig 1930.

ix Das Temenos für den Herrscherkult ('Prinzessinnen Palais') von Erich Boehringer und Friedrich Krauss Berlin—Leipzig 1937.

x Die hellenistischen Arsenale ('Garten der Königin') von Ákos von Szalay und Erich Boehringer Berlin—Leipzig 1937.

Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 = *Die Religion der Griechen und Römer.* Darstellung und Literaturbericht (1918—1929/30). (*Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* Supplementband. Band 229.) Von Friedrich Pfister Leipzig 1930.

Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* = *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* von Ernst Pfuhl i (Text erste Hälfte), ii (Text zweite Hälfte), iii (Verzeichnisse und Abbildungen) München 1923.

Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* Drittes Buch. ii. Abteilung. Zweite Hälfte. Der troische Kreis: die Nosten. Berlin 1926.

Proc. Brit. Acad. = *British Academy. Proceedings.* 1903— .

A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* = *Recueil Milliet. Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* publiés, traduits et commentés par Adolphe Reinach i Paris 1921.

Reinach *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* = *Antiquités du Bosphore Cimmérien* (1854) rééditées avec un commentaire nouveau et un index général des *Comptes rendus* par Salomon Reinach Paris 1892.

Reinach *Rép. Stat.* vi Mille trois cent cinquante statues antiques Paris 1930. This handy *Répertoire* (apart from its first volume, the 'Clarac de poche') claims to have published in all no fewer than 19750 statues.

Richter *Cat. Bronzes New York* = *The Metropolitan Museum of Art. Greek, Etruscan and Roman Bronzes* by Gisela M. A. Richter New York 1913.

Röm. Mitth. From 1901 (vol. xvi) entitled *Mitteilungen des kaiserlich deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: roemische Abteilung*, and from 1916 (vol. xxxi) *Mitteilungen des deutschen archaeologischen Instituts: roemische Abteilung.*

Sardis

i The Excavations. Part 1 (1910—1914) by Howard Crosby Butler Leyden 1922.

ii Architecture. Part 1 The Temple of Artemis by Howard Crosby Butler Leyden 1925.

v Roman and Christian Sculpture. Part 1 The Sarcophagus of Claudia Antonia Sabina and the Asiatic Sarcophagi by Charles Rufus Morey Princeton 1924.

vii Greek and Latin Inscriptions. Part 1 by W. H. Buckler and David M. Robinson Leyden 1932.

x Terra-cottas. Part 1 Architectural Terra-cottas by Theodore Leslie Shear Cambridge 1926.

xiii Jewelry and Gold Work. Part 1 (1910—1914) by C. Densmore Curtis Roma 1925.

Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* = *A Catalogue of the Ancient Sculptures*

preserved in the Municipal Collections of Rome. The Sculptures of the Palazzo dei Conservatori. By members of the British School at Rome, edited by H. Stuart Jones...with Atlas of pls. Oxford 1926.

Syll. num. Gr. = *Sylloge nummorum Graecorum*

i. 1 The collection of Capt. E. G. Spencer-Churchill, M.C., of Northwick Park. The Salting collection in the Victoria and Albert Museum. London 1931.

i. 2 The Newnham Davis coins in the Wilson collection of Classical and Eastern Antiquities Marischal College Aberdeen London 1936.

ii. 1—2 The Lloyd collection (Etruria to Thurium). London 1933.

ii. 3—4 The Lloyd collection (Velia to Eryx). London 1934.

ii. 5—6 The Lloyd collection (Galaria to Selinus). London 1935.

ii. 7—8 The Lloyd collection (Syracuse to Lipara). London 1937.

iii. 1 The Lockett collection (Spain—Italy (gold and silver)). London 1938.

iii. 2 The Lockett collection (Sicily—Thrace (gold and silver)). London 1939.

Tiryns

iii Die Architektur der Burg und des Palastes von Kurt Müller. Text, Tafeln. Augsburg 1930.

Verh. d. 26. Philologenversamml. in Würzburg = *Verhandlungen der sechsundzwanzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Würzburg* vom 30. September bis 3. October 1868. Leipzig 1869.

Verh. d. 36. Philologenversamml. in Karlsruhe = *Verhandlungen der sechsunddreissigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Karlsruhe* vom 27. bis 30. September 1882. Leipzig 1883.

Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* = Alois Walde *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* herausgegeben und bearbeitet von Julius Pokorny i, ii Berlin—Leipzig 1930, 1927, iii (Register bearbeitet von Konstantin Reichardt) Berlin—Leipzig 1932.

Weber Cat. Coins = *The Weber Collection. Greek Coins* by L. Forrer i (Auriol Find Class, Hispania, Gallia, Britannia, Italy and Sicily) with Atlas of pls. London 1922, ii (Macedon, Thrace, Thessaly, North Western, Central and Southern Greece) with Atlas of pls. London 1924, iii, 1 (Bosporus, Colchis, Pontus, Paphlagonia, Bythynia, Mysia, Troas, Aeolis, Lesbos, Ionia, Caria, Lydia) London 1926, iii, 2 (Phrygia, Lycia, Pamphylia, Pisidia, Cilicia, Cyprus, Galatia, Cappadocia, Syria, Phoenicia, Palestine, Arabia, Mesopotamia, Persia, Persis, Characene, Bactria, Egypt, Cyrenaica, Libya, Zeugitana, Islands between Africa and Sicily, Numidia, Mauretania, Incerta) London 1929 with Atlas of pls. London 1925.

Woch. f. klass. Philol. = *Wochenschrift für klassische Philologie* 1884—1920 (then united with the *Berl. Philol. Woch.* and continued as the *Philologische Wochenschrift*).

CHAPTER II (*continued*)

ZEUS AS GOD OF THE WEATHER.

§ 5. *Zeus and the Earthquakes.*

GREECE is a land of many earthquakes. Reckoning great with small, Count de Montessus de Ballore[1], our foremost authority in seismic geography[2], computes a yearly average of at least 275. C. Davison[3] in a recent monograph states that 3187 were recorded during the six years 1893—1898, and adds that, for every shock felt in Great Britain, 50 are observed in Japan and no less than 158 in Greece[4]. Similarly J. Partsch[5], after consideration of Julius Schmidt's[6] earthquake-catalogue for 1859—1878, concludes 'that

[1] F. de Montessus de Ballore *Les tremblements de terre: Géographie sismologique* Paris 1906 p. 264.

[2] See C. Davison *The Founders of Seismology* Cambridge 1927 pp. 160—176.

[3] C. Davison *A Manual of Seismology* Cambridge 1921 p. 161.

[4] F. de Montessus de Ballore 'Introduction à un essai de description sismique du globe et mesure de la sismicité' in the *Beiträge zur Geophysik* Leipzig 1900 iv. 357 gives the following statistics for the various divisions of Greece (repeated by C. E. Dutton *Earthquakes in the light of the new Seismology* London 1904 p. 296):

LOCALITIES	EPICENTRES	EARTH-QUAKES	PERIODS OF OBSERVATION
Thessaly	13	76	1863 1867–1868 1895–1897
Euboia and N. Sporades	23	1228	(Euboia) 1857–1878 1895–1897
Attike, Parnassos, and Lokris	43	1979	1858–1878 1895–1897
Akarnania	17	138	1895–1897
Ionian Isles	41	5700	1825–1868 1875 1892–1893 1895–1897
Achaia	22	308	1860–1876 1882–1883 1887–1888 1895–1897
Korinthia and Argolis	28	311	1858–1878 1886–1888 1895–1897
Lakonike	12	54	1858–1862 1867 1876–1877 1895–1897
Messene	21	93	1895–1897
Arkadia	20	75	1895–1897
Crete	8	100	1858–1888
Kyklades	14	141	1860–1863 1867–1874 1895–1897
General or ill-defined	9	32	
General or ill-defined (eastern)	9	71	
TOTALS	280	10306	

[5] C. Neumann—J. Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum* Breslau 1885 p. 320.

[6] J. F. Julius Schmidt *Studien über Vulkane und Erdbeben* Leipzig 1881 ii.[2] 166—360.

in this land hardly a week, in many years hardly a day, goes by without the ground being noticeably shaken at one point or another, while a second eminent geographer, A. Philippson[1], puts it even more forcibly: 'In Greece the soil trembles somewhere almost every day.'

Greek earthquakes, being tectonic, not volcanic, in character, occur normally along certain well-marked structural lines, which correspond with prominent features of the country—the base of a mountain-range, a straight river-valley, a rocky coast-line[2]. These seismic zones may be enumerated as follows: the northern half of the Straits of Euboia together with the Malian Gulf and the islands Skiathos and Skopelos; an elliptical land-tract including Phokis, Lokris, and Boiotia; the northern coast of the Peloponnese from Corinth to Patrai; the western coast of the Peloponnese with Zakynthos, Kephallenia, and Leukas; the valleys that form the heads of the Messenian, Laconian, and Argolic Gulfs—the principal southerly indentations of the Peloponnese[3]. The distribution thus indicated for modern times is fully borne out by the record of ancient earthquakes, of which a well-arranged and critical list for the period 600 B.C.—600 A.D. has been drawn up by W. Capelle[4].

Since most of the seismic lines traceable in Greece are definitely maritime and the rest within easy reach of the sea, it is not surprising to find that the Greeks of the classical age commonly[5]

[1] A. Philippson *Das Mittelmeergebiet, seine geographische und kulturelle Eigenart* Leipzig 1904 p. 28.

[2] W. H. Hobbs *Earthquakes* New York 1907 p. 32.

[3] A. Philippson *Der Peloponnes. Versuch einer Landeskunde auf geologischer Grundlage* Berlin 1892 p. 437 ff. (fig. 41 chart of Messenian earthquake of Aug. 27, 1886), *id. Das Mittelmeergebiet* etc. p. 28 f., F. de Montessus de Ballore *Les tremblements de terre: Géographie séismologique* Paris 1906 p. 267 ff. (fig. 40 seismic map of Greece), W. Capelle 'Erdbeben im Altertum' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1908 xxi. 604 f., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iv. 345.

[4] W. Capelle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iv. 346—358.

[5] Not invariably. Pythagoras taught that earthquakes were due to a concourse (conflict?) of the dead (Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 19 *καὶ τὸν σεισμὸν ἐγγεναλόγει οὐδὲν ἄλλο εἶναι ἢ σύνοδον τῶν τεθνεώτων* = H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 357, 21 f.)—presumably a folk-belief (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 814 n. 2).

The frequent notion that earthquake-shocks are occasioned by the movements of a subterranean monster or giant or god (J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 816 f., 1888 iv. 1542, E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 364 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 197 ff. ('The Earthquake God'), K. Weinhold 'Die Sagen von Loki' in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1849 vii. 61 f., P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 423 f., F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 297 (citing F. Cumont *Recherches sur le manichéisme* i *La cosmogonie manichéenne d'après Théodore bar Khôni* Bruxelles 1908 Append. ii), P. Alfaric *Les écritures manichéennes* Paris 1918 i. 40) is found also

in classical tradition (M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 pp. 195 f., 208 ff., 214 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 434 n. 2).

In the upper-pliocene beds of Samos are extensive deposits of fossil bones—*Samotherium, Hipparion mediterraneum, Mastodon longirostris*, etc. (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2168, 2171). These bones were attributed by Euphorion to primeval monsters called *Νηάδες*, who broke the very ground with their cries and occasioned the Samian proverb 'He bawls louder than the *Neddes*' (Euphor. *frag.* 25 Meineke *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 17. 28 and Apostol. 9. 51). The statement goes back to the early local historian Euagon of Samos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 16 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v. νῆϊς* and Herakl. Pont. *frag.* 10. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 215 Müller) = Aristot. *frag.* 611. 30 Rose[3], who however used the form *Νήϊδες*, not *Νηάδες*. *Νήϊδες*, which means 'Witless Ones' (cp. *h. Dem.* 256), must of course be distinguished from *Νηίδες* or *Νηιάδες*, the Naiad nymphs, and may be an attempt to make sense of some pre-Greek name. W. R. Halliday in the *Class. Rev.* 1927 xli. 59 acutely restores Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 56 (Panaima in Samos was so named after a bloody battle between Dionysos and the Amazons) *τῶν δ' ἐ<λε>φάντων ἀποθανεῖν τινες λέγονται περὶ τὸ Φλοιὸν καὶ τὰ ὀστᾶ δείκνυται αὐτῶν· τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι καὶ τὸ Φλοιὸν ἐπ' ἐκείνων ῥαγῆναι, φθεγγομένων μέγα τι καὶ διάτορον* (see further Halliday *ad loc.* p. 207 ff.). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 161 quotes with approval Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 324: 'The delight of the Earth-shaker in bulls, referred to in the Homeric passage [*Il.* 20. 403 ff.], may itself find a reasonable explanation in the widespread idea...that earthquakes are produced by some huge beast beneath the Earth. Sometimes, as in Japan, it is a monstrous fish, sometimes an elephant or other animal of prodigious size, but, amongst all of these, the bull is the most natural agent. According to the Moslems of Tashkend [J. Troll in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1892 xxiv. 537 f.], Almighty God set to support the Earth a bull of such monstrous size that from his head to the end of his tail was five hundred years' journey, and the space between his two horns another two hundred [and fifty]. The bull, thus heavily laden, prompted by the Devil, shook his head and tried to throw the Earth off him with his horns. Thereat, a midge was sent to sting him in the nostril, and he set up a mighty bellowing, so that he is known unto this day as "the bellower".'

Again, there is an earthquake when the giant Briareus under Mt Aitne shifts to his other shoulder (Kallim. *h. Del.* 141 ff.), or when Enkelados beneath the same burden changes his weary side (Verg. *Aen.* 3. 578 ff.). All Sicily trembles when Typhoeus, crushed by its weight, struggles to thrust it from him (Ov. *met.* 5. 346 ff., Val. Flacc. 2. 23 ff.). A like commotion was caused when Kaineus, buried beneath a huge mound of stocks and stones, tried in vain to lift his head (Ov. *met.* 12. 514 ff.). Giants laid low by Herakles—Mimas beneath Prochyte, Iapetos beneath Inarime—made the earth shake above them and blasted the soil of Campania (Sil. It. 12. 143 ff., cp. *ib.* 529). In particular, Alkyoneus (Claud. *de rapt. Pros.* 3. 184 f.) and other giants with him were thought to lie beneath Mt Vesuvius (Philostr. *her.* 2. 7), and during the eruption of 79 A.D. many gigantic phantoms appeared by day and night on the mountain, in the neighbouring towns, and in the sky—a prelude to periods of severe drought and appalling earthquakes (Dion Cass. 66. 22). We may venture to compare the happenings described in Matthew 27. 51—53. Analogous beliefs still linger in Greek lands: a short, sharp earthquake accompanied by a peculiar crash occurred in Zakynthos on Aug. 4/16, 1862, and the next day a peasant employed over the currant-crop in the village of Hagios Kyrikos observed with regard to it 'Some building of the giants must have collapsed' (B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 33, 201 *κάτι χτίριο τοῦ γιγάντωνε θὰ ἔπεσε*. Cp. *supra* ii. 505 f.). It should, however, be recognised that the express connexion of earthquakes with buried giants or the like is Hellenistic, not Hellenic. Earlier sources (*e.g.* Hes. *theog.* 859 ff., Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 29 ff., Pherekyd. *frag.* 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 72 Müller) = *frag.* 54 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 76 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 1210 ff.) emphasise volcanic rather than seismic effects.

Other gods could on occasion produce a quake. Athena did so at Troy when

wroth with Laokoon (Quint. Smyrn. 12. 395 ff.). Dionysos in Soph. *Ant.* 153 f. ὁ Θήβας δ' ἐλελίχθων (ἐλελίζων cod. L with γρ. ἐλελίχθων written above by scholiast) | Βάκχιος ἄρχοι bears the title of an earthquake-god (the schol. vet. *ad loc.*, followed by Sir R. C. Jebb, is inadequate—ὁ Θήβας δ' ἐλελίζων Βακχεῖος : ὁ κινησίχθων· ἐλελίχθονα δὲ τὸν Διόνυσόν φησι διὰ τὰς ἐν ταῖς Βακχείαις κινήσεις· ἢ τὸν τὴν γῆν σείοντα καὶ ἀναβακχεύοντα ταῖς χορείαις) and in Eur. *Bacch.* 586 ff., 605 f., 622 f., 632 f. shatters, or at least is believed to shatter, the house of Pentheus (G. Norwood *The Riddle of the Bacchae* Manchester 1908 p. 37 ff., *id. Greek Tragedy* London 1920 p. 281 f., A. W. Verrall *The Bacchants of Euripides and other Essays* Cambridge 1910 pp. 26 ff., 64 ff.)—an exploit compatible with Orphic belief (Orph. *h. Perikion.* 47. 1 ff. κικλήσκω Βάκχον Περικιόνιον, | μεθυδώτην, | Καδμείοισι δόμοις ὃς ἐλισσόμενος πέρι πάντῃ (so G. Hermann for περὶ πάντα) | ἔστησε κρατεροὺς βρασμοὺς γαίης ἀποπέμψας, | ἠνίκα πυρφόρος αὐγὴ ἐκίνησε (so P. Scriverius for ἐνίκησε) χθόνα πᾶσαν | πρηστῆρος ῥοίζοις· ὁ δ' ἀνέδραμε δεσμὸς ἀπάντων). Nereus, like Poseidon, makes and can therefore unmake earthquakes (Orph. *h. Ner.* 23. 5 ff. ὃς κλονέεις Δηοῦς ἱερὸν βάθρον (cp. ἐννοσι-Δᾶς *infra* p. 9 n. o), ἠνίκα πνοιὰς | ἐν μυχίοις (so G. Hermann for ἐννυχίοις) κευθμῶσιν ἑλαυνομένας ἀποκλείεις· | ἀλλά, μάκαρ, σεισμοὺς μὲν ἀπότρεπε, πέμπε δὲ μύσταις | ὄλβον κ.τ.λ.). But Usener's contention that Aloeus, son of Poseidon by Kanake, 'ist der "Drescher" gewiss nicht allein wörtlich als Gott des Landbaues, sondern vorzugsweise bildlich als Erderschütterer, Ἐλελίχθων Ἐννοσίγαιος' (H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 349=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 278) strikes me as far-fetched and improbable.

The epithet ῥηξίχθων (ῥησίχθων), the 'land-breaker,' has reference in all probability to the disruptive effect of earthquakes, and is applied in Orphic hymns to Dionysos (Orph. *h. Lys. Len.* 50. 5 ῥηξίχθων (E. Abel cj. ῥήξιχθον), ληναῖε, μεγασθενές, αἰολόμορφε, *h. triet.* 52. 9 ῥηξίχθων (E. Abel cj. ῥήξιχθον), πυριφεγγές, ἐπάφιε, κοῦρε διμήτωρ (so E. Abel for διμάτωρ)) and in magical spells etc. to a variety of chthonian powers including Hekate (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 88 pap. Par. 2722 f. πότνια ῥηξίχθων σκυ|λακάγεια (A. Nauck cj. σκυλακαγέτι) πανδαμάτειρα, Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 701 ff. no. 2296, 10 ff.=W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2646=R. Wünsch in the *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xv=A. Audollent *Defixionum tabellae* Luteciae Parisiorum 1904 p. 69 f. no. 38, 10 ff. (a leaden *devotio*-tablet of *s.* iii A.D., found at Alexandreia) ἐπ[ι]καλοῦμαί σε τὴν πάντων ἀνθρώ|πων δυνάστειραν, παμ[φοβ]ερά, ῥηξίχθων, ἡ καὶ ἀνενεγ|καμένη τὰ τοῦ μελιού[χ]ου μέλη καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν με|λιοῦχον, Ἐρεσχιγὰλ νεβουτοσουαλὴθ ἐρεβεννή, | ἄρκυια νέκυϊ Ἑκάτη, Ἑκάτη ἀληθῆ, ἕλθετε καὶ τε|λειώσατέ μοι τὴν πραγματείαν ταύτην (on the identification of Ἐρῖσκιγαl with Hekate and the allusion to the dismemberment of Osiris or Adonis (?) see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1584 ff., 2645 ff.), Miss L. Macdonald in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1891 xiii. 174 no. 1, 30 ff.=W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2646=A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 41 no. 22, 30 ff. (a leaden *devotio*-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Kypros) ὁρκίζω ὑμᾶ(s), δέμονες πολυάν|δριοι ('of the graveyard (πολυάνδριον)') κὲ βι(αι)οθάνατοι κὲ ἄωροι κὲ ἄποροι ταφῆς, κατὰ τῆς ῥη|[σι]χθόνης τῆς κατενενκάσης μελιούχου τὰ μέλη κὲ αὐτὸν μελιοῦχον—a *formula* repeated in Miss L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 176 no. 3, 16 ff., p. 178 no. 5, 20 ff., p. 179 no. 6, 18 f., p. 180 no. 7, 21 ff., p. 181 no. 8, 18 ff., p. 183 no. 9, 22 ff., p. 184 no. 10, 19 ff., p. 185 no. 11, 18 ff., p. 186 no. 12 f., 21 ff., p. 188 no. 15, 18 ff., p. 190 no. 17, 19 ff.=A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 24, 16 ff., p. 47 no. 26, 20 ff., p. 49 no. 27, 18 f., p. 51 no. 28, 21 ff., p. 53 no. 29, 19 ff., p. 54 no. 30, 23 ff., p. 56 f. no. 31, 18 ff., p. 59 no. 32, 18 ff., p. 62 no. 33, 22 ff., p. 64 f. no. 35, 18 ff., p. 67 no. 37, 19 ff.), Brimo (C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 45 pap. Lond. 121, 757 f.=F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 106 no. 121, 691 f. (of *s.* iii A.D.) ὧν οὐ δύνῃ | [παρα]κοῦσαι, Βριμὼ ῥηξίχθων), an unnamed goddess who holds the keys of Hades (Miss L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 175 no. 2, 12 f.=A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 44 no. 23, 12 f. (a leaden *devotio*-tablet of late date, found at Kourion in Kypros) [κὲ σὺ ἡ τὰς] | [κλίδας τοῦ Ἅδου κα]τέχουσα ῥησίχθων—a *formula* completed from Miss L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 174 no. 1, 53 f., p. 178 no. 5 *a*, 39, p. 182 no. 8, 35, p. 186 no. 11,

attributed earthquakes to Poseidon[1]. A memorable passage in the *Iliad* is explicit on the point:

39, p. 189 no. 15 *a*, 8 = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 41 no. 22, 53 f., p. 48 no. 26, 39, p. 53 no. 29, 36, p. 60 no. 32, 39, p. 65 no. 35, 36), Sterxerx the door-keeper of hell and heaven (Miss L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 174 no. 1, 19 ff. = W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1217 = R. Wünsch in the *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xviii no. 1, 19 ff. = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 40 no. 22, 19 ff. *κὲ τὸν ἐπὶ τοῦ πυλῶνος τοῦ* "A[δους] | [κ]ὲ *τῶν κληθρων τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τεταγμένον* Στερξερξ ηρ[ηξα ρη]σίχθων αρδαμαχθουρ *πρίστευ λαμπάδευ στεναξκτὰ*] | [θά]ψατε *τὸν προγεγραμμένον ἐπὶ τοῦδε τοῦ φυμωτ[κοῦ]* | [κ]*αταθέματος*—a *formula* recurring in L. Macdonald *loc. cit.* p. 176 no. 3, 9 ff., p. 177 no. 5, 12 ff., p. 180 no. 7, 13 ff., p. 181 no. 8, 10 ff., p. 182 no. 9, 13 ff., p. 184 no. 10, 13 ff., p. 185 no. 11, 11 ff., p. 186 no. 12, 12 ff., p. 187 no. 14, 13 ff., p. 188 no. 15, 11 ff., p. 190 no. 17, 11 ff. = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 24, 9 ff., p. 47 no. 26, 12 ff., p. 50 no. 28, 13 ff., p. 52 no. 29, 11 ff., p. 54 no. 30, 14 ff., p. 56 no. 31, 12 ff., p. 59 no. 32, 11 ff., p. 61 no. 33, 13 ff., p. 63 no. 34, 13 ff., p. 64 no. 35, 11 ff., p. 67 no. 37, 11 ff. (*ηρηξα* with variants *ειρηξα* and *ιρηξα* is possibly to be connected with *ἰέραξ*, Ionic *ἴρηξ*, the 'hawk': *πρίστευ* suggests a demon 'who saws men asunder' or perhaps 'who gnashes his teeth', *λαμπάδευ* 'who brandishes a torch': *στενακτά* is vocative of *στενακτής* rather than accusative plural of *στενακτός*, *pace* Audollent *op. cit.* p. 42)), a hawk-headed deity with a basket on its head and in its hands a pair of upright sceptres, round one of which twines a serpent (A. D. Nock in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1925 xi. 158 citing Sir C. H. Smith—Miss C. A. Hutton *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre.* London 1908 p. 55 no. 248 a flat yellow jasper, with bevelled edge, inscribed PHΣ IXΘWN), and an unidentified fire-god (?) of the Underworld, who figures frequently in the *formula μασκελλι μασκελλω φνουκενταβαωθ ορεοβαζαγρα ιπποχθων ῥηξιχθων πυριπηγανυξ* or the like (*e.g.* C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* p. 89 f. pap. Par. 2753 ff., p. 100 pap. Par. 3175 ff., *id. Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* p. 61 pap. Lond. 123, 10 f. = F. G. Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 121 no. 123, 10 f. (of *s.* iv or v A.D.), F. Ll. Griffith—H. Thompson *The Demotic Magical Papyrus of London and Leiden* London 1904 (i.) 189 verso col. xv, 2 ff., Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 701 ff. no. 2296, 27 ff. = R. Wünsch in the *Corp. inscr. Att.* App. defix. p. xv = A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 70 no. 38, 27 ff., S. Eitrem in *Papyri Osloenses* Oslo 1925 i. 9 and 16 no. 1, 154 f., 342 ff. (of *s.* iv A.D.), cp. S. Eitrem *Les papyrus magiques grecs de Paris* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse. 1923. No. i) Kristiania 1923 p. 28 pap. Mimaut 94, C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* p. 30 pap. Lond. 121, 311 = F. G. Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 94 no. 121, 302 (on which *formula* with its variants see C. Wessely *Ephesia Grammata* aus Papyrusrollen, Inschriften, Gemmen etc. Wien 1886 nos. 244—250, T. Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber* Leipzig 1921 i. 190 § 747, and S. Eitrem in *Papyri Osloenses* i. 72 f.)). K. Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae magicae* Leipzig—Berlin 1931 ii. 215 notes that in no. 7 (pap. Lond. 121), 475 A. D. Nock would emend *μνη σιεθων* into *ῥησίχθων*? in a formula addressed to *θεὸς οὗτος Ἀναγκῶν*, 'Du Gott der Zwangsgöttinnen.'

The fact is that any and every subterranean deity invoked by the magician might be expected to cause an earthquake. Jehovah himself is conjured as the god who rends the mountains and breaks the rocks in pieces (1 Kings 19. 11), who makes the earth to tremble and shake (Ps. 77. 18), the hills to move to and fro (Jer. 4. 24) (A. Audollent *op. cit.* p. 374 no. 271, 17 f., 34 f. = R. Wünsch *Antike Fluchtafeln* Bonn 1907 p. 22 no. 5, 17 f. (a leaden *devotio*-tablet of *s.* iii A.D., found at Hadrumetum) *ὁρκίζω σε τὸν συντρείβοντα τὰς πέτρας·* | *ὁρκί[ζω] σε τὸν ἀτορήξαντα τὰ ὄρη*, p. 24 no. 5, 34 f. *δι' ὃν ... καὶ τὰ ὄρη τρέμει* | *καὶ [ἡ γῆ] καὶ ἡ θάλασσα*).

[1] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 627, L.-F. A. Maury *Histoire des Religions de la Grèce antique* Paris 1857 i. 416, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 572, 583 ff., Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 172 f.,

The sire of men and gods thundered on high
Horrific, and beneath Poseidon shook
The boundless earth and the tall mountain-tops.
Yea, all the feet of many-fountained Ide
And all her crests were swaying to and fro,
Troy-town to boot and the Achaean ships.
Deep underground Aïdoneus, king of the dead,
Trembled and, trembling, sprang from his throne and shouted
Lest o'er his head Poseidon, shaker of land,
Should cleave the very earth and bring to the ken
Of mortals and immortals his grim realm,
A mouldering realm that ev'n the gods abhor[1].

This passage is well illustrated by a bronze medallion of Mytilene, struck by Valerianus, and hitherto unpublished (pl. i and fig. 1)[2]. The reverse type is an attempt to visualise the foregoing

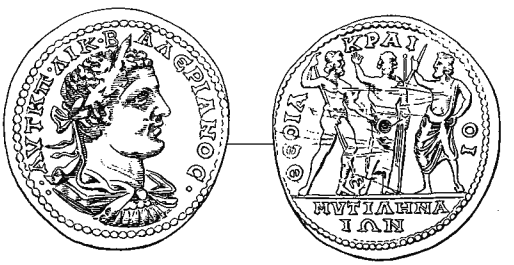


Fig. 1.

scene. On the left Poseidon, holding a dolphin (?), threatens the ground with his trident. On the right Hades, a rod or sceptre in his hand, springs from his throne in terror. Zeus, standing between them, with *himátion* and sceptre, raises his hand to quell the tumult. The whole must refer to some historic earthquake, and may have been struck to commemorate it.

The Homeric lines, however effective, are not improbably a late

F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 60 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 814, 845, 1139 n. 2, E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2798, 2813 ff., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 7 f.

[1] *Il.* 20. 56—65.

[2] My specimen came from the cabinet of a Greek collector on May 14, 1928. *Obv.* ΑΥΤ·Κ·Π·ΑΙΚ·Β ΑΛΕΡΙΑΝΟC. Bust of Valerianus to right. *Rev.* ΘЄΟΙΑ ΚΡΑΙ ΟΙ|ΜΥΤΙΛΗΝΑ ΙΩΝ. Scene as described above. Pl. i shows the reverse to a scale of $\frac{3}{4}$. L. Holstein's coin (*supra* ii. 873 n. 0 (10)) had apparently the same reverse combined with an obverse resembling *supra* ii. 260 fig. 172.

Bronze medallion of Mytilene showing Zeus, Poseidon, and Hades as Theoi Akraioi.

See page 6 *n.* 2.

interpolation[1]. But in cantos of earlier date Homer calls Poseidon *enosíchthon*, the 'land-shaker' (?), or *ennosígaios*, the 'earth-shaker' (?), and often uses both appellatives as substitutes for his name[2]. Pindar

[1] R. C. Jebb *Homer: an Introduction to the Iliad and the Odyssey*[2] Glasgow 1887 p. 163, W. Leaf in the argument prefixed to his ed. of *Il.* 20 and in his book *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 331. See, however, D. Mülder *Die Ilias und ihre Quellen* Berlin 1910 p. 204 f. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1019.

[2] The epithet *ἐνοσίχθων* is used of Poseidon 23 times in the *Iliad*, 18 times in the *Odyssey* (A. Gehring *Index Homericus* Lipsiae 1891 p. 289), always in the nominative case and always as last word of the hexameter—except *Od.* 3. 6 *ἐνοσίχθονι κυανοχαίτῃ*. The usual locution is Ποσειδάων *ἐνοσίχθων* (24 times), for which *κρείων ἐνοσίχθων* (7 times) and *εὐρυκρείων ἐνοσίχθων* (once, *Il.* 11. 751) are convenient substitutes. *Ἐνοσίχθων* alone occurs 8 times (H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 424).

Ἐννοσίγαιος is similarly used of Poseidon 20 times in the *Iliad*, 6 times in the *Odyssey* (A. Gehring *op. cit.* p. 288). The common phrases are *γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος* (nom. 4 times, acc. once, dat. twice)—extended in *Il.* 13. 43 Ποσειδάων *γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος* (cp. Hom. *ep.* 6. 1 Ποσειδάων *μεγαλοσθενὲς ἐννοσίγαιε*—and *κλύτος ἐννοσίγαιος* (nom. 7 times, acc. twice). *Ἐννοσίγαιος* alone occurs 6 times (nom. twice, voc. thrice, acc. once), *ἐννοσίγαι' εὐρυσθενές* thrice. The word mostly occupies the end of the line, but not in *Il.* 7. 455, 8. 201, 12. 27, 20. 20, 20. 310, 21. 462, *Od.* 11. 102, 13. 140, *h. Pos.* 4 (H. Ebeling *op. cit.* i. 422).

Hence it may be inferred that the old pre-Homeric tags (*supra* i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0) for dactylic tripodies with anacrusis were Ποσειδάων *ἐνοσίχθων* and *γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος*, for dactylic dipodies with anacrusis *κρείων ἐνοσίχθων* and *κλύτος ἐννοσίγαιος*. In view of the extreme antiquity of such tags we can hardly expect their interpretation to be free from doubt.

The *ν* of *ἐνοσίχθων* becomes *νν* in *ἐννοσίγαιος metri gratia* (Cornut. *theol.* 22 p. 42, 2 Lang has *ἐνοσίγαιον*, a spelling found in late prose—Souid. *ἐνοσίγαιος* (cod. A gives *νν* against the *ordo verborum*), *et. mag.* p. 344, 43 *ἐνοσίγαιος*, Zonar. *lex. ἐνοσίγαιος*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 213, 27 *ἐνοσίγαιε*); and the same reason suffices to explain the lengthened first syllable of *εἰνοσίφυλλος* (*Il.* 2. 632, 2. 757, *Od.* 9. 22, 11. 316. Simon. *frag.* 41. 1 Bergk[4], 52. 1 Edmonds, 40. 1 Diehl *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 8. 3. 4 has *ἐννοσίφυλλος*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 658, 59 *ἐννοσίφυλλον*, Hesych. *ἐνοσιφύλλων* (A. Meineke cj. *ἐνοσίφυλλον*)) (W. Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* Gueterslohae 1892 p. 159 f.). But the common assumption (with query in Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 146, without query *ib.* p. 521 and in Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 258, 1080, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 254 f.) that *ἐνοσι-* *ἐννοσι-* *εἰνοσι-* are derived from *ἐν-Fοθ* of *ἐνωθέω* (Hesych. *ἔθει· φθείρει* and *ἔθων· ... φθείρων* are misleading glosses, based on a wrong interpretation of *Il.* 9. 540, 16. 260. Cp. schol. A. *Il.* 9. 540) is thoroughly unsatisfactory. **ἐν-Fοθ-τι-ς* would have produced, not *ἔνοσις*, but **ἐνFοστις* **εἴνοστις* **ἔνοστις* (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 410, K. F. W. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1913 xlv. 234 n. 3. Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 1109 and Walde—Pokorny *op. cit.* i. 255 adduce unconvincingly *ὦσις* : *ὠθέω*, *πεῖσις* : *πείθω*, etc.). Besides, *ἐνωθέω* is a late compound (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1243, Plout. *v. Lucull.* 28) and yields no tolerable sense.

Impressed by these difficulties I endeavoured years ago to divide *ἐν-νοσί-γαιος* (a compound like *ἐμπυριβήτης*), 'the earth-god in the water,' cp. Poll. i. 238 *γῆ...νότιος, ἔννοτος, ἐννότιος*, if not also Eur. *I.T.* 161 f. *γαίας ἐννοτίους* (so A. Kirchhoff for *ἐν νώτοις*) | *πηγάς*. On this showing *ἐνοσίχθων* would be a later form due, like *εἰνοσίφυλλος*, to a misconception (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 176). The occurrence of Zeus Νόσιος for Νότιος at Miletos (*supra* i. 733 n. 6, ii. 317 n. 2) might indeed be held to support the connexion with *νότιος*, *νοτίς*, etc. and perhaps *Neptunus* (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] pp. 516 *s.v.* 'Neptūnus,' 521 *s.v.* 'no'). But the suggestion really makes shipwreck on the sense, which I now see to be nonsense. Dr B. F. C. Atkinson improved upon my notion by pointing out to me (Dec. 1925) that *ἐ-* might be a prothetic vowel, the epithets *ἐ-νοσί-χθων*, *ἐ-ννοσί-γαιος* denoting

follows suit with *Ennosídas*[1], and coins fresh compounds to express the god 'that waters the earth.' But, unknown to us both, A. Goebel of Magdeburg had already tried that tack fifty years ago. In a remarkable paper 'Ueber den homerischen Ποσειδάων γαιήοχος ἐννοσίγαιος' (*Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 1876 xxvii. 241—252) he had argued that there is in truth no Homeric evidence for Poseidon as an earthquake-god, *Il.* 20. 56 ff. being a 'späteres Einschiebsel' and ἐννοσίγαιος, ἐνοσίχθων, εἰνοσίφυλλος involving prothetic ε and the root *sna* of νότιος, νοτίς, etc.—to be rendered 'erdenetzend,' 'Erdbewässerer,' 'feuchtlaubig.'

Another possibility suggested to me by Dr Atkinson (Dec. 1925) is that ἐνο-σί-χθων, ἐννο-σί-γαιος, εἰνο-σί-φυλλος may be related to *onus* < * *enos*, 'burden' (Walde *op. cit. s.v.* 'onus'), and mean 'burdened with the ground,' 'burdened with earth,' 'laden with leaves.' The suffix *-σῐ-* is frequent in epic compounds (D. B. Monro *A Grammar of the Homeric Dialect* Oxford 1891 p. 118 f.).

But against all these fancies must be set the solid fact that the said epithets are traditionally interpreted 'shaking the ground,' 'shaking the earth,' 'shaking the leaves' (so all lexicons, ancient or modern). And this tradition must be as old as Hesiod, since ἔνοσις is applied by him to a 'shaking' of the earth (Hes. *theog.* 681, 706) or sea (*Hes. theog.* 849). Euripides similarly uses the word of an earthquake (*Bacch.* 585) or a city's overthrow (*Tro.* 1326) or the whirling of *rhómboi* (*Hel.* 1363). Goebel *loc. cit.* p. 249 of course maintains that we have here to do with a learned, or unlearned, misunderstanding of ἐνοσί-χθων. On the whole, it is safer to accept the traditional rendering and to assume a verbal stem * *ένο-* without recognised cognates (L. Meyer *op. cit.* i. 410).

[1] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 57 ff. *φάτο δ'* Εὐρύπυλος Γα|ιάόχου *παῖς ἀφθίτου* 'Εννοσίδα | *ἔμμεναι* (*sc.* Eurypylos son of Poseidon), 306 ff. *δοιοὶ δ' ὑψιχαῖται* | *ἀνέρες*, 'Εννοσίδα | *γένος* (*sc.* Periklymenos son of Neleus, son of Poseidon, and Euphemos son of Poseidon).

C. T. Damm *Novum lexicon Graecum etymologicum et reale* Berolini 1765 p. 2867 *bis* connects the second element in the compound 'Εννοσί-δας with 'δᾶ dorice pro γῆ.' That δᾶ was Doric for γῆ is indeed affirmed by ancient scholiasts and lexicographers (Aisch. *P.v.* 568 ἄλευ'ὦ (ἆ ex ὦ factum cod. Med.) δᾶ with schol. ἄλευ' ὦ δᾶ : *οἱ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν καὶ τὸν γνόφον δνόφον* (*τινὲς οὕτως*, ἄλευ ἆ δᾶ· ἄλευ, *ἀναχώρει*, ἔκκλινε· *τὸ δὲ ἆ δᾶ ὦ γῆ. οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δῆν καὶ δᾶν φασιν, καὶ τὸν γνόφον δνόφον* cod. Med.), Aisch. *Ag.* 1072 *ὀτοτοτοῖ ποποῖ δᾶ*, Aisch. *Eum.* 841 *οἵ οἵ δᾶ, φεῦ* with schol. δᾶ, φεῦ : δᾶ γῆ (δᾶ : ὦ γῆ cod. Med.) Δωρικῶς, ὅθεν καὶ Δαμάτηρ, Eur. *Phoen.* 1296 φεῦ δᾶ, φεῦ δᾶ with schol. *τινὲς δὲ ἀντὶ τοῦ φεῦ γῆ, κατὰ πάθος μεταβληθέντος τοῦ γάμμα εἰς τὸ δέλτα, ὡς ἐν τῷ Δημήτηρ, πηγή, πηδὴ παρὰ τὸ τὸ ὕδωρ πηδᾶν ἄνω*, Aristoph. *Lys.* 198 φεῦ δᾶ, *et. mag.* p. 60, 8 ff. ἄλευ' ἆ δᾶ (so J. C. de Pauw for ἀλευάδα) *εἴρηται ὡς τὸ φεῦ δᾶ* (so J. C. de Pauw for *φεύδα*). *οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὴν γῆν δᾶν λέγουσι καὶ δαῦαν* (so J. C. de Pauw for *δίαν* Arnald cj. *κατ' ἰδίαν* H. L. Ahrens cj. *ὡς δῖαν* cod. Va. has *γᾶν καὶ δᾶν* but omits *καὶ δίαν*), *ὡς καὶ τὸν γνόφον δνόφον. φεῦ δᾶ* (so J. C. de Pauw for *φεύδα*) *οὖν φεῦ γῆ. οὕτως οὖν καὶ τὸ ἄλευ' ἆ δᾶ* (so J. C. de Pauw for ἀλευάδα) *ἄλευ' ὦ γῆ* (sic ego. L. Kulenkamp cj. ἀλεύου γῆ for ἀλέου δᾶ), *τοῦ δᾶ ἀντὶ τοῦ γῆ. κειμένου* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 112, 10 ff., Theokr. 4. 17 *οὐ Δᾶν* (γᾶν cod. k) with schol. vet. p. 139, 12 f. Wendel < *οὐ Δᾶν* : > *οὐ μὰ τὴν* Γῆν· *οἱ γὰρ Δωριεῖς τὸ γ εἰς δ τρέπουσιν* and schol. rec. p. 160, 13 Ahrens *οὐ δᾶν* : *μὰ τὴν γῆν*, Theokr. 7. 39 *οὐ Δᾶν* (γᾶν cod. k) with schol. vet. p. 250, 15 f. Ahrens *οὐ δᾶν...* : *μὰ τὴν γῆν* (*οὐ γᾶν* : *οὐ μὰ τὴν γῆν* cod. k), Theokr. 18. 25 *τᾶν οὐ Δᾶν τις ἄμωμος* (so H. L. Ahrens for *τᾶν οὐ δᾶν τις ἄμωμος* cod. Par. 2833 *τᾶν οὐδ' ἄν τις ἄμωμος* vulg. H. Köchly cj. *τᾶν οὐ μάν τις ἄμωμος* A. Meineke cj. *τάων οὔτις ἄμωμος* F. Bücheler cj. *τᾶν οὔτις πανάμωμος* J. M. Edmonds cj. *τᾶν οὐδ' ἴη τις ἄμωμος*), Hesych. *δῆ* (H. L. Ahrens cj. *Δῆ*)· *γῆ* (M. Schmidt *ad loc.* cites Kyrill. Alex. *lex.* cod. Dresd. 39 *δῆ*ῶ (*sic*) *ἡ γῆ* and Io. Philop. *τονικὰ παραγγέλματα* 31, 13 *δῆ*), Souid. *Δημήτηρ ἐστὶν ἡ γῆ, οἱονεὶ Γημήτηρ τις οὖσα*, Zonar. *lex.* p. 499 < *Δημήτηρ· ἡ γῆ*, > *οἱονεὶ Γημήτηρ τις οὖσα*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 436, 41 *δάπεδον· γίνεται δὲ παρὰ τὸ δᾶ, ὃ δηλοῖ Δωρικῶς τὴν γῆν, καὶ τὸ πέδον*, p. 765, 21 f. *ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Δημήτηρ, ὅ ἐστι γῆ μήτηρ ἀλληγορικῶς*, Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 32 *Δημήτηρ γὰρ ἡ γῆ Δωρικῶς. οὗτοι γὰρ ἀντὶ τοῦ γ τιθέασι, δνοφερὸν γνοφερὸν καὶ Δήμητραν Γήμητραν λέγοντες*, Greg. Cor. p. 373 n. 35 Schaefer (cod. Voss.) *ἀντὶ τοῦ*

the same idea—*elasíchthon*[1], 'who smiteth the land,' *eleléchthon*[2], 'who

γ τῷ δ χρῶνται, οἷον Δημήτηρ Γημήτηρ (Schaefer transp. *Γημήτηρ Δημήτηρ*), *γνόφος δνόφος, γνοφερὸν δνοφερόν*. In *carm. pop.* 9 Bergk[4], 50 Diehl *ap.* Prokl. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 389 *τριπόλεον δέ* (cod. A), where T. Bergk prints *τρὶς πολέουσιν* and E. Diehl *τρίπολον δή*, J. M. Edmonds cj. *τρίπολος ἡ δῆ*). It should, however, be observed that the ancient grammarians in general are by no means committed to this view.

With the dawn of modern philology scholars began to doubt the equation δᾶ=*γῆ*. H. L. Ahrens *De dialecto Dorica* Gottingae 1843 p. 80 f. definitely denied it. He explained Ἐννοσίδας either as a simple derivative of *ἔνοσις*, or as a blundered form of **Ἐννοσίγας*, or as equivalent to Ἐννοσίγαιος, Δᾶ being in this case an ancient but unrelated name of the goddess Γᾶ (H. L. Ahrens in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 207 n. 20). Later, on the strength of Cypriote ξᾶ=Attic *γῆ* (W. Deecke and J. Siegismund in the *Studien zur griechischen und lateinischen Grammatik* herausgegeben von G. Curtius Leipzig 1875 vii. 221 f., O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 221, A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 p. 292, C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 p. 55, F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 411), Ahrens admitted δᾶ as a Doric form of *γῆ* (H. L. Ahrens in *Philologus* 1876 xxxv. 21)—an admission in which he was followed by J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1881 xxv. 145 ff. and R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1889 ii. 221, 254, cp. G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 268 ('δᾶ ist wohl bloss für die Erklärung von Δαΐμᾶτηρ erfunden'). But the normal Doric form of *γῆ* was γᾶ (É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 48 f.), and no recent philologist—even when confronted with Laconian *δίφουρα* (Hesych. *s.v. διφοῦρα* (M. Schmidt corr. *δίφουρα*)· *γέφυρα. Λάκωνες*) and Gortynian *δέφῦρα* (D. Comparetti in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1893 iii. 293 ff. no. 154, II 14 ff. with facsimile = F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 286 f. no. 5000, II *ὁ* 14 ff. *τὰν δὲ ῥοὰν λεί[π][εν ὅττον κατέχει ᾖ* (Comparetti reports Δ, a mason's error) *ἐπ' ἀγορᾶι δέφυρα ἢ πλίον, μεῖον δὲ μή*) = *γέφυρα*—would support the claim that δᾶ is a legitimate Dorism for *γῆ*.

That being so, we must abandon the attempt to make Ἐννοσίδας a dialect form of Ἐννοσίγαιος. For all that, it may amount to much the same thing. Personally I incline to the view that Δᾶ was an ancient name of the earth-mother (*supra* ii. 584 nn. 0, 1, 585 n. 1), Δᾶς an ancient name of the sky-father, ultimately related to Ζεύς (H. L. Ahrens in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 206 f.) and found as second element in the compounds *ποτι-Δᾶς*, 'Lord Zeus' (*supra* ii. 582 ff.), and *ἀϊ-Δάας ἀϊ-Δᾶς*, 'Zeus of the Earth' (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 175 f., *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 280 ff.); and I should interpret *ἐννοσι-Δᾶς* as 'He that shaketh Da, the Earth' rather than as 'Das or Zeus of the earthquake' (cp. *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 175). The later accentuation Ποτίδας, Ἀΐδας, Ἐννοσίδας was due—I conceive—to the false analogy of patronymics.

Others prefer to suppose that in the tragic exclamation δᾶ we have the vocative and in the bucolic abjuration *οὐ δᾶν* the accusative case of Δᾶς, 'Zeus' (so H. L. Ahrens in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 206 f., R. Kühner—F. Blass *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] Hannover 1890 i. 144, 459).

[1] Pind. *frag.* 18 Bergk[4] *ap.* Eustath. *comment. Pind. praef.* 16 (*opusc.* p. 56, 19 f. Tafel) *καὶ 'ἐλασίχθονα Ποσειδῶνα' τὸν ἐννοσίγαιον*. F. G. Schneidewin in his Eustathii *proœmium commentariorum Pindaricorum* Gottingae 1837 p. 7 n. 13 says: 'Hoc quoque novum.' But T. Bergk *ad loc.* adds: 'nisi forte Pyth. VI 50 pro *τὸν δ'* Ἐλέλιχθον olim etiam Ἐλάσιχθον legebatur.' L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 669 c cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐλάτης· *ὁ Ποσειδῶν, ἐν Ἀθήναις*; which, however, J. A. Hartung *Die Religion und Mythologie der Griechen* Leipzig 1866 iii. 219 and O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2240 would translate 'Rower.' More probably it means 'Driver' of horses (so H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 348 f. = *id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 278 and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1161 n. 4, cp. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 17) = Poseidon Ἵππιος, Ἱππηγέτης, Ἱμψιος.

[2] Pind. *Pyth.* 6. 50 ff. Ἐλελίχθον... |... |...Ποσειδάν.

maketh the land to reel,' *seisíchthon*[1], 'who maketh the land to quake.' Sophokles speaks of him as *tináktor gaías*[2], the 'agitator of the earth.' And the poets in general conceive of him as stirring both land and sea with his trident[3].

But behind the poets lay old-world tradition. The Homeric epithet *gaíeochos*[4] was an actual cult-title of the god in Lakonike at

[1] Pind. *Isthm.* 1. 76 Κρόνου σεισίχθον' υἱόν (*sc.* Poseidon), Bakchyl. 16. 57 ff. εἰ | δὲ καὶ σὲ (*sc.* Theseus) Τροιζηνία σεισίχθονι | φύτευσεν Αἴθρα Ποσει|δᾶνι, κ.τ.λ., 17. 21 f. Κρονίδα Λυταίου | σεισίχθονος τέκος (*sc.* Sinis son of Poseidon Λυταίος (cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λυταί, χωρίον Θεσσαλίας, διὰ τὸ λῦσαι τὰ Τέμπη Ποσειδῶνα καὶ σκεδάσαι τὸ ἀπὸ τοῦ κατακλυσμοῦ ὕδωρ, Hesych. *s.v.* Λυταίη · Θετταλή)), Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 31 καλεῖται δὲ ὁ θεός, ᾧ ταῦτα ἐπιτελοῦσι, Κῶνσος ὑπὸ Ῥωμαίων · δν ἐξερμηνεύοντες εἰς τὴν ἡμετέραν γλῶτταν, Ποσειδῶνα σεισίχθονά φασιν εἶναί τινες, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ὑπογείῳ τετιμῆσθαι βωμῷ λέγουσιν, ὅτι τὴν γῆν ὁ θεὸς οὗτος ἔχει. κ.τ.λ., Cornut. *theol.* 22 p. 42, 1 f. Lang εἶτα ἐνοσίχθονα καὶ ἐνοσίγαιον καὶ σεισίχθονα καὶ τινάκτορα γαίας κ.τ.λ., Gell. 2. 28. 1 antiquissimi Graecorum, qui Neptunum σεισίχθονα appellaverunt, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 12 Neptunum humentis substantiae potestatem Ennosigaeon et Sisichthona poetae veteres et theologi nuncupaverunt, Orph. *Arg.* 345 f. αὐτόν τε Κρονίδην σεισίχθονα, κυανοχαίτην, | κύματος ἐκπροβορόντα μολεῖν ἐπιτάρροθον ὅρκων, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 47. 1 f. = Orph. *frag.* 2, 1 f. Abel, 285, 1 f. Kern φράζεο δὴ καὶ τόνδε λόγον, τέκος, ὀππότε κεν δὴ | γαῖαν κινήσῃ Σεισίχθων κυανοχαίτης (Cougny and Abel print σεισίχθων Κυανοχαίτης), | κ.τ.λ., *oracl. Sib.* 3. 402 ff. (cp. 1. 184 ff.) Geffcken ὁππότε κεν Ῥείης μικρὸν γένος ἐν χθονὶ κῦμα (so Wilamowitz for ῥεῦμα, cp. 1. 184) | ἄέναον βίξῃσιν ἀδιψήτοισι τεθηλὸς | αὐτόπρεμνον ἄιστον ἰῇ ἐν νυκτὶ γένηται | ἐν πόλει αὐτάνδρῳ σεισίχθονος (so Castalio (S. Châteillon) for ἀτίσεις χθονὸς cod. Φ and ἀτήσεις χθονὸς cod. Ψ) ἐννοσιγαίου, | ἣν ποτε φημίξουσιν ἐπωνυμίην Δορύλαιον | ἀρχαίης Φρυγίης πολυδακρύτοιο κελαινῆς (allusion to Kelainai). [But in *oracl. Sib.* 2. 16 ff. Geffcken ὁπόταν σεισίχθων ἀστεροπητής | εἰδώλων ζῆλον θραύσει λαόν τε τινάξει| Ῥώμης ἐπταλόφοιο the reference is to the supreme Deity of the Jews or the Christians.] Cp. *et. mag.* p. 668, 54 σείσω, σεισίχθων.

Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 Ἐπίθετα Ποσειδῶνος (10) κινησίχθονος perhaps originated in a gloss, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* ἐννοσίγαιος· κινησίγαιος. ἐπίθετον Ποσειδῶνος.

[2] Soph. *Trach.* 500 ff. καὶ ὅπως Κρονίδαν ἀπάτασεν (*sc.* how Kypris beguiled Zeus) οὐ λέγω, | οὐδὲ τὸν ἔννυχον Ἄιδαν, | ἢ Ποσειδάωνα τινάκτορα γαίας, Cornut. *theol.* 22 p. 42, 2 Lang (quoted in the preceding note) = Eudok. *viol.* 769 (p. 569, 24 f. Flach) εἶτα ἐνοσίχθονα καὶ ἐνοσίγαιον καὶ σεισίχθονα καὶ τινάκτορα γαίας κ.τ.λ. Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 21. 155 f. καὶ χθονὸς ἐπρήνυε (*sc.* Hera) τινάκτορα κυανοχαίτην | γνωτὸν ἑὸν καὶ Ζῆνα πόσιν καὶ μητέρα Ῥείην, κ.τ.λ.

[3] Aisch. *P.v.* 924 f. θαλασσίαν τε γῆς τινάκτειραν νόσου, | τρίαιναν, αἰχμὴν τὴν Ποσειδῶνος, σκεδᾷ (*sc.* Zeus) (Wilamowitz, accepting the νόσων of cod. Med.[1], rewrites θαλασσίαν τε γῆς τινάκτειραν νόσων | αἰχμήν, τρίαιναν ἣ Ποσειδῶνος σκεδᾷ), Aristoph. *eq.* 839 f. τῶν ξυμμάχων τ' ἄρξεις ἔχων τρίαιναν, | ᾗ πολλὰ χρήματ' ἐργάσει σεῖσαι τε καὶ ταράττων (of Demos as Poseidon), *nub.* 566 f. τόν τε μεγασθενῆ τριαίνης ταμίαν, | γῆς τε καὶ ἁλμυρᾶς θαλάσσης ἄγριον μοχλευτῆν with schol. *ad loc.* δοκεῖ γὰρ ὁ Ποσειδῶν οὐ τὴν θάλασσαν κινεῖν μόνον ἀλλὰ καὶ τὴν γῆν, Nikephoros *progymn.* 7. 12 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae —Tubingae 1832 i. 498, 15 f.) Ποσειδῶν τὴν γῆν ἀνεμόχλευε, cp. Verg. *Aen.* 2. 418 f., 610 ff.

[4] Homer uses this epithet sometimes with (*Il.* 13. 43, 20. 34, *Od.* 1. 68, 3. 55, 8. 322, 8. 350, 9. 528, *h. Pos.* 6), sometimes without the name of the god (*Il.* 9. 183, 13. 59, 13. 83, 13. 125, 13. 677, 14. 355, 15. 174, 15. 201, 15. 222, 23. 584, *Od.* 11. 241, *h. Herm.* 187), but always of Poseidon. Later poets, misconceiving the second element in the compound, applied it to other deities (Aisch. *suppl.* 813 ff. σεβί|ξοὺ δ' ἱκέτας σέθεν, γαι|άοχε παγκρατὲς Ζεῦ, Soph. *O.T.* 159 ff. πρῶτά σε κεκλόμενος, θύγατερ Διός, ἄμβροτ'

Therapne[1] and Gythion[2], in Attike at Athens[3], and in the archi-

Αθάνα, | *γαιάοχόν τ' ἀδελφεὸν* | *Ἄρτεμιν, κ.τ.λ.*) in the sense of 'holding' or 'guarding our land.' Nonnos makes it mean 'dwelling on earth' (Nonn. *interpr. ev. Io.* 1. 5 line 11 f. (xliii. 749 A Migne) *ἐν ἀχλυόεντι δὲ κόσμῳ* | *οὐρανίαις σελάγιζε βολαῖς γαιήοχος αἴγλη*). Another and less pardonable blunder in etymology accounts for Bekker *anecd.* i. 229, 8 *γαιήοχος ἵππος, ἀπὸ τοῦ τοῖς ὀχήμασι χαίρειν.*

In Hes. *theog.* 15 *ἠδὲ Ποσειδάωνα γαιήοχον ἐννοσίγαιον* cod. D reads *γεήοχον*, which is accepted by K. W. Goettling—J. Flach and H. G. Evelyn White. But the vulgate is defensible as an example of internal shortening (R. Kühner—F. Blass *Ausführliche Grammatik der griechischen Sprache*[3] Hannover 1890 i. 312 f.).

The supposed derivation from *ἔχω* gave rise to various forms in *-οῦχος* (Hesych. *s.vv. γαιηούχῳ· τῷ τὴν γῆν ὀχοῦντι, καὶ συνέχοντι, γεοῦχος· ὁ τὴν γῆν ἔχων, γηοῦχος· ὁ τὴν γῆν συνέχων*, Souid. *s.vv. γαιοῦχος· ὁ τὴν γῆν ὀχῶν, γεοῦχος· ὁ Ποσειδῶν, ὁ τὴν γῆν ἔχων*, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 *Ἐπίθετα Ποσειδῶνος* (4) *γαιηούχου. γεούχου δέ*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1392, 23 ff. *σημείωσαι δὲ ὡς γαιήοχος μὲν μοναχῶς διὰ διφθόγγου, γεοῦχος δὲ καὶ γηοῦχος καθ' Ἡρῳδιανὸν μὲν καὶ Δίδυμον διὰ ἓ ψιλοῦ παρὰ τὴν ψιλογραφουμένην γέαν ἧς συναίρεμα ἡ γῆ· ἄλλοι δὲ διὰ τῆς αι διφθόγγου παρὰ τὴν λοιπὴν γαῖαν ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ γαιήοχος*).

Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 267 *Ἐπίθετα Ποσειδῶνος* (3) *γαιείου. γαιηΐου δέ* possibly preserves a genuine appellative of Poseidon, though the glossator—according to O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 484—was thinking of the phrase *Γαιήιος υἱός* (*Od.* 7. 324, *Anth. Pal.* 14. 23. 1).

[1] Near Therapne was a sanctuary of Poseidon Γαιάοχος (Paus. 3. 20. 2 *τούτου δὲ οὐ πολὺ Ποσειδῶνος ἀφέστηκεν ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Γαιαόχου*) with a hippodrome, which was visited by Epameinondas' cavalry in 369 B.C. (Xen. *Hell.* 6. 5. 30 *ἐκ τούτου δὴ ἡμέρᾳ τρίτῃ ἢ τετάρτῃ προῆλθον οἱ ἱππεῖς εἰς τὸν ἱππόδρομον εἰς Γαιαόχου κατὰ τάξεις, οἵ τε Θηβαῖοι πάντες καὶ οἱ Ἠλεῖοι καὶ ὅσοι Φωκέων ἢ Θετταλῶν ἢ Δοκρῶν ἱππεῖς παρῆσαν*). The festival of the god Γαιάοχος is mentioned repeatedly on a *stêle* of white marble, which was found in two portions—the one in the monastery of the Ἁγιοι Τεσσαράκοντα or Σαράντα between Sparta and Chrysapha (W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 521 with pl. 71 at end of vol. iii, Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 79, *id. Imagines inscriptionum Græcarum antiquissimarum*[3] Berolini 1907 p. 100 no. 17, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 262 ff. no. 264, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 10 f. no. 4416, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 946, M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 64 f. no. 440), the other in the ruined temple of Athena Χαλκίοικος at Sparta (H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 174—182 with photographic fig., A. M. Woodward *ib.* p. 178, W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 213). Beneath a spirited, though much damaged, relief of a four-horse chariot driven from right to left (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *op. cit.* p. 176 no. 440) comes a long inscription in Doric, to be dated shortly before 431 B.C. The opening lines (1—5) contain a metrical dedication: *Δαμόνον* | *ἀνέθεκε Ἀθαναία[ι]* | *Πολιάχοι κ.τ.λ.* Then follow four lists of victories: (6—34) those of Damonon in chariot-races; (35—49) those of Damonon's son Enymakratidas; (49—65) those of Damonon as a boy; (66—96) those of Damonon and Enymakratidas at the same contests. The record includes various events *ἐν Γαιαΐοχω*, 'at (the festival) of *Gaiâochos*' (*Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 213, 6 ff. *τάδε ἐνίκαhε Δαμόνο[ν]* | *τôι αὐτô τεθρίππο[ι]* | *αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον· | ἐν Γαιαΐοχο τετράκιν*, 49 ff. *καὶ Δαμόνον* | *ἐνίκε παῖς ἰὸν ἐν* | *Γαιαΐοχο στάδιον καὶ* | *δ[ί]αυλον*, 81 ff. *ὑπὸ δὲ Ἀριστῆ ἔφορον* | *τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμόνον· | ἐν Γαιαΐοχο ἐνηεβόhαις | [hί]πποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον | [κ]αὶ hο κέλεξ μιâς ἁμέρας | [hἁ]μâ ἐνίκε καὶ hο hυιὸς | στάδιον καὶ δίαυλον καὶ | δολιχὸν μιâς ἁμέρας | ἐνίκον πάντες hαμâ*, 90 ff. *ὑπὸ δὲ Ἐχεμένε ἔφορον | τάδε ἐνίκε Δαμόνον· | ἐν Γαιαΐοχο | ἐνηεβόhαις | hἱπποις αὐτὸς ἀνιοχίον | [κ]αὶ ὁ hυιὸς στάδιον κα[ὶ] | [δίαυλον καὶ δολιχὸν μιâς] | [ἁμέρας hαμâ ἐνίκε]*). Cp. Hesych. *s.v. γαιήοχος· ὁ τὴν γῆν συνέχων, ἢ ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ὀχούμενος* (so M. Schmidt for *ὑπὸ τῆς γῆς συνεχόμενος* cod.). *ἢ ὁ ἱππικός, ὁ ἐπὶ τοῖς ὀχήμασιν ἢ ἅρμασι χαίρων* (so J. V. Perger for *ὀχήμασι ἄρξουσι χαίρειν* cod.). Λάκωνες.

[2] There was at Gythion a sanctuary of Demeter and, adjoining it, a statue of Poseidon

Γαιάοχος (Paus. 3. 21. 8 *καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἄγιον καὶ Ποσειδῶνος ἄγαλμα Γαιαόχου* (so codd. Va. Ag. Pc. Lb. γαιαούχου codd. Vb. La. R. Pa.)). Both deities figure on coins of the town—Demeter seated, holding corn-ears and sceptre, on a bronze coin struck by Geta (*Numismata quædam cujuscunque formæ et metalli musei Honorii Arigoni, Veneti* Tarvisii 1741 i. 9 no. 134, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 62 no. 5), Poseidon standing, naked, with dolphin in outstretched right hand and trident in raised left, on a bronze coin struck by Caracalla (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* i. 62 no. 6 pl. O, 3).

[3] Athens had a priest of Poseidon Γαιήοχος and Ἐρεχθεύς (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 276 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860, 37 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 469 no. 268 a theatre-seat inscribed shortly before the Christian era ἱερέως | Ποσειδῶνος | Γαιήοχου καὶ | Ἐρεχθέως), otherwise styled Poseidon Ἐρεχθεὺς Γαιήοχος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 805 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 790 a base of Pentelic marble, on the akropolis at Athens, recording a statue of C. Iulius Spartiaticus erected in the time of Nero Γά(ϊον) Ἰούλιον Σπαρτια|τικόν, ἀρχιερέα θε[ῶν] Σεβαστῶν κ[αὶ]|[γ€]νους Σε[β]αστῶν | ἐκ τοῦ κοινοῦ τῆ[ς]| Ἀχαΐας διὰ βίου πρῶ|τον τῶν ἀπ' αἰῶνος, | ὁ ἱερεὺς Ποσειδῶνος[ς] | Ἐρεχθέος Γαιήοχου | Τι(βέριος) Κλαύδιος Θεογέν[ης] | Παιανιεὺς τὸν ἑαυτοῦ | φίλον).

These inscriptions imply a rather half-hearted identification of Erechtheus with Poseidon Γαιήοχος. Other available evidence points in the same direction; for, whereas in *s.* iv B.C. the tribe Erechtheïs is careful to distinguisb its eponymous hero from Poseidon (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 556 *c*, 1 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 27, 1 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1146, 1 ff. a decree of the tribe Erechtheïs, before 350 B.C. θεοί. | Φίλτων εἶπεν· ἰ[ερᾶσθαι τῶι Ποσειδῶ]νι καὶ τῶι Ἐρε[χθεῖ τὸν ἱερέα τὸν ἀεὶ] | λαχόντα τύχ[τι ἀγαθῆι τῆς βολῆς καὶ] | τοῦ δήμο το[ῦ Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῆς φυλῆς] | τῆς Ἐρεχθη[δος – – – – – –] | πάτρια καὶ κα[– – – – – θύειν δ]|ἐ ταῦρον καὶ τ[– – – – – – –] | κ.τ.λ.)—a distinction observed as late as *s.* ii A.D. (Paus. 1. 26. 5 *ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ* (*sc.* into the Erechtheion) *εἰσι βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ* Ἐρεχθεῖ *θύουσιν ἕκ του* (so R. Porson and É. Clavier for *ἑκ τοῦ* codd.) *μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ* Ἡφαίστου. *Δελτ. Ἀρχ.* 1889 p. 20 f. no. 18 (a fragmentary marble base inscribed in *s.* ii (?) A.D. and built into a buttress on the southern wall of the akropolis at Athens) [. . . .]α Ποσειδω[ν. . . . .]| [.]άνιον Παιανιέα [. . . . .]|ου Ἀτερνίου Ἄβρω[νος. . . . .] | Ἐρεχθέως [. . . . .]| [. . . . .] is indecisive)—, there was, at least from *s.* v B.C. onwards, a growing tendency to equate Poseidon with Erechtheus, the earlier occupant of the Erechtheion (*supra* ii. 793), the result being a syncretistic god called Poseidon Ἐρεχθεύς (Lebas—Foucart *Attique* no. 104 = *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 387 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 580 a small column of Pentelic marble found near the Erechtheion and inscribed in lettering of *s.* v B.C. Ἐπιτέλες | Οἰνοχάρες | Σοιναύτο | Περγασῆθεν | Ποσειδόνι | Ἐρεχθεῖ | *ἀνεθέτεν*, Apollod. 3. 15. 1 Πανδίονος δὲ ἀποθανόντος οἱ παῖδες τὰ πατρῷα ἐμερίσαντο, καὶ τὴν <*μὲν* (ins. I. Bekker) > βασιλείαν Ἐρεχθεὺς λαμβάνει, τὴν δὲ ἱερωσύνην τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ τοῦ Ποσειδῶνος τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως (so C. G. Heyne, followed by R. Hercher, R. Wagner, Sir J. G. Frazer, for *ἐριχθονίου* codd. C. Müller, A. Westermann, I. Bekker accept Ἐριχθονίου) Βούτης, [Plout.] *de vitis decem oratorum* 7 Lykourgos 843 B *Μήδειος, ὃς τὴν ἱερωσύνην* Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως *εἶχε, ib.* 843 C *καὶ Διοκλέα, διετάξατο δὲ καὶ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τοῦ* Ποσειδῶνος Ἐρεχθέως (*sc.* Medeios ii and Diokles iii in the *stemma* of the Eteoboutadai as given by J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Bonn 1889 p. 318. [Plout.] *loc. cit.* 843 E—F states that the *insigne* of the priesthood was a trident handed on from one man to another, and that a group of successive priests was painted by Ismenias of Chalkis *ἐν πίνακι τελείῳ* (on a tablet of full-length figures?) and dedicated in the Erechtheion by Habron son of Lykourgos the orator. A. Reinach *Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* Paris 1921 i. 305 n. 4 shows that this ancestral group contained seven figures and must have been executed between 320 and 310 B.C.), Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐρεχθεύς· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Ἀθήναις (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 744, 36 f.), schol. Lyk. *Al.* 158 *τὸ δὲ* Ἐρεχθεὺς τινὲς *μὲν ἐπὶ τοῦ* Ποσειδῶνος, *ἄλλοι δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ Διὸς ἤκουσαν*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 158 *ἔστειλεν ὁ* Ἐρεχθεὺς ὁ Ζεὺς ἢ ὁ Ποσειδῶν *παρὰ τὸ ἐρέχθω τὸ κινῶ λεγόμενος* (cp. *supra* ii. 793)) or less often Ἐρεχθεὺς Poseidon (Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1, 12 f. Schwartz ὁ *δὲ*

pelago at Thera[1]. The meaning of the epithet has been the subject of much discussion[2]; but there can nowadays be no doubt that it denotes the 'earth-bearer,' just as *aigíochos* is the '*aigís*-bearer[3].'

'Αθηναῖος 'Ερεχθεῖ Ποσειδῶνι θύει κ.τ.λ., A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ 'Αρχ. 1897 p. 62 ff. no. 49 (=*id. ib.* 1895 p. 107 f. no. 21+P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 436 ff., two portions of a marble block, which records the dedication, under M. Aurelius or Commodus, of a statue representing the granddaughter of Claudius Demostratos, one of the enemies of Herodes Attikos and his accuser before Aurelius), 21 ff. *θυγατέρα Φ[ιλίπ]πης Κλ(αυδίου) Δημοστράτου 'Αθηναίου, ἀρξαντος ἐν τῆ[ι πατρίδι] | τὴν ἐπώνυμον ἀρχήν, στρατηγήσαντος ἐπ[ὶ τὰ ὅπλα,] | γυμνασιαρχήσαντος, κηρυκεύσαντος τῆς [ἐξ 'Αρείου] | πάγου βουλῆς, ἀγωνοθετήσαντος Παν[αθηναίων] | καὶ 'Ελευσινίων, ἐξηγητοῦ μυστηρί[ων, ἱερέως] | 'Ερεχθέως Ποσειδῶν[ος]*).

The fact that Poseidon at Athens bore the cult-title Γαιήοχος gives special point to Soph. *O.C.* 1070 ff. *οἳ τὰν ἱππίαν | τιμῶσιν 'Αθάναν | καὶ τὸν πόντιον γαιάοχον | 'Ρέας φίλον υἱόν.*

[1] A rough stone, about a foot long, dug up a little below the great wall which supports the eastern side of the *agorá* at Thera, is inscribed in lettering of s. vi (?) B.C. [Γ]αιάοχος (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. p. 183, *id.* in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii Suppl. no. 1371 with fig.=my fig. 2, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 169 no. 4723).

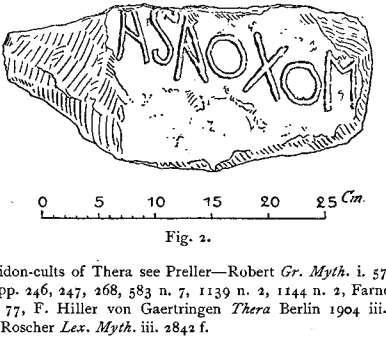


Fig. 2.

On the Poseidon-cults of Thera see Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 575 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 246, 247, 268, 583 n. 7, 1139 n. 2, 1144 n. 2, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 90 n. 77, F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Thera* Berlin 1904 iii. 57 f., 63, 97, E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2842 f.

[2] Ancient and modern opinions are listed by Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 627, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 572 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1139 n. 2 *sub fin.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 486. For a fuller discussion leading up to the right derivation, though not to the right interpretation, see A. Goebel in the *Zeitschrift für die österreichischen Gymnasien* 1876 xxvii. 243—246.

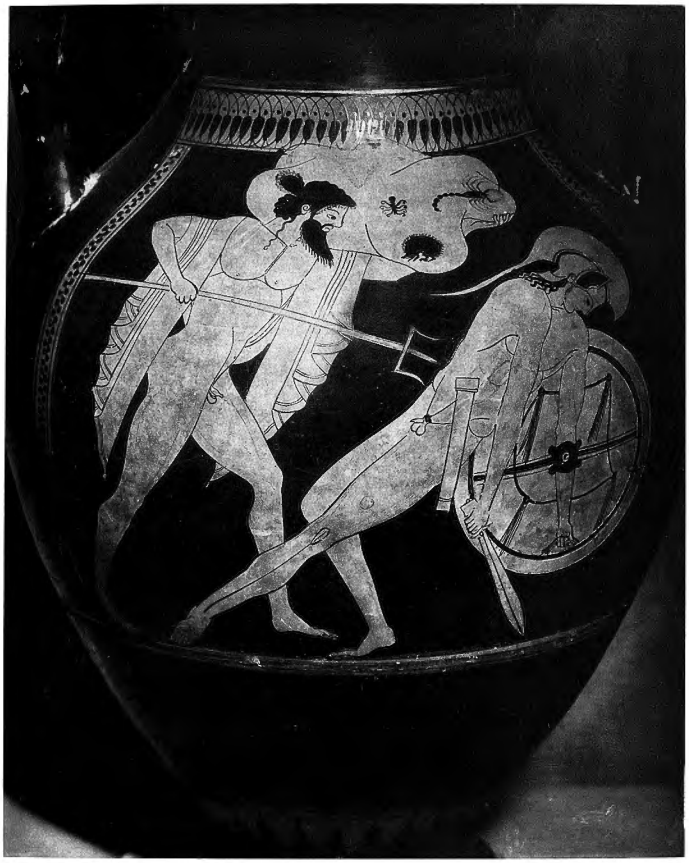
[3] In view of the form Γαιάοχος (*supra* p. 11 n. 1), philologists are all but unanimous in deriving the compound from γαῖα+*-ϝοχος* and in referring the second element to *ϝεχω*=Lat. *veho* (A. Bezzenberger in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 367 ff. no. 1267, 24 (Sillyon in Pamphylia) *ϝεχέτω* 'let him bring,' R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1889 ii. 168 f. no. 14^{b}, 2 (cp. p. 244 *-ϝεχ-* 'darbringen')=O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 46 no. 66, 2 (Chytroi in Kypros) *ἔϝεξε* 'he brought' an offering), ὄχος neut. (for **ϝέχος*, cp. Hesych. *ἔχεσφιν· ἅρμασιν*, with *ὀ-* under the influence of ὄχος masc., *ὀχεῖσθαι*). See J. Schmidt in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 456, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*^{2} p. 88 'die Erde

bewegend, erschütternd,' Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 139 'qui secoue la terre,' but *ib.* p. 735 'qui véhicule la terre,' F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a.d.S. 1914 p. 17 'der die Erde bewegt,' G. Meyer in *Philologus* 1923 Suppl. xvi. 3. 71 n. 1 'erdbewegend,' Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 249 'der die Erde bewegt.' The history of ὄχος, ὀχεῖσθαι is—*pace* the pundits—decisive for the meaning 'earth-carrier' as against 'earth-shaker.'

P. Kretschmer ploughed a lonely and fruitless furrow, when he sought to take the epithet as the equivalent of Γαῖων ὀχεύων 'mating with Gaia' (*Glotta* 1914 v. 303 and 1924 xiii. 270).

Poseidon appears as 'earth-carrier' in ceramic illustrations of the Gigantomachy (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon pp. 328—331 Atlas pl. 4, 6, 8, 12 b, pl. 5, 1 b, 1 c, pl. 12, 25—27, pl. 13, 1, B. N. Staes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 88 pl. 7, 2, M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen* Berlin 1887 pp. 316—319, H. Dibbelt *Quaestiones Coae mythologae* Gryphiswaldiae 1891 p. 14 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 70, 584, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 258 n. 16, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 48—50, E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2815 f., H. Bulle *ib.* iii. 2867, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 659, 669, 686, 754 f., J. Six in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 117 ff. pl. 1). According to the oldest accessible form of the myth 'Polybotes, chased through the sea by Poseidon, came to Kos; whereupon Poseidon, breaking off a piece of that island now called Nisyros, hurled it upon him' (Apollod. 1. 6. 2, cp. Strab. 489, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 525, Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 133 f.). A variant version tells how Polybotes, when struck by Zeus, started to swim, and how Poseidon flung a trident at him but failed to hit, the missile becoming the island Nisyros or Porphyris (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Νίσυρος (=Eudok. *viol.* 764, Favorin. *lex.* pp. 1311, 14 f., 1536, 18 ff.)). Black-figured vases regularly show Poseidon moving from left to right and bearing on his left shoulder the mass of rock with which he is about to overwhelm his opponent (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 328 ff. enumerates fourteen such vases). But only one vase, an Ionian *amphora*, adds the name Polybotes (*supra* ii. 713 pl. xxx). Red-figured vases of the strong style (*c.* 500—460 B.C.) give Poseidon in the same attitude, but further characterise his rock as the island by representing on it an assortment of land- and sea-creatures (Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 330 f. lists eight such vases. Typical are (1) an *amphora* from Vulci, now in the Vatican, referred by J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 52, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 111 no. 2 and by Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 206 f. no. 4 to 'the painter of the Diogenes *amphora*,' a contemporary of Myson and of 'the Eucharides painter' (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii pl. 56, 1 a (=ii² pl. 60, 1 a), Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 331 no. 8 Atlas pl. 12, 25, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*³ Leipzig 1912 i. 308 no. 489, with photographs by Moscioni (no. 8572) and Alinari (no. 35754=my pl. ii)): (2) a *kylix* from Vulci, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 589 ff. no. 2293), attributed to 'the Brygos painter' (*supra* ii. 777 n. 2, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 176 no. 6. R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 257 f. pl. 160 (part=my fig. 3) supersedes E. Gerhard *Griechische und etruskische Trinkschalen des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1843 pl. 10—11 (part=Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 330 no. 1 Atlas pl. 4, 12 b)): (3) a *kylix* from Vulci, now at Paris, assigned by Hoppin to 'the Brygos painter' (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 136 no. 80), by Beazley to a dexterous but mechanical imitator of his style (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 189 no. 1) (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 429 ff. no. 573, P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques* (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) Paris 1891 vie classe, xie série ii. pl. 70 interior, pls. 71, 72 exterior, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 330 no. 2 Atlas pl. 5, 1 a, 1 b (=my fig. 4), 1 c. My pl. iii is from fresh photographs. The rock on (1) shows a scorpion, a polyp, a hedgehog, and two fronds; on (2) a running fox (so Furtwängler and Zahn: Overbeck represents it as a galloping horse surrounded by a fringe of seaweed (?) etc.); on (3) exterior a hedgehog, a scorpion, a snake, and a goat (?); on (3) interior a snake (?), a fox, and *tertium quid*).

Only one of the red-figured vases names the Giant, and this calls him not Polybotes



Amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican:
Poseidon, shouldering the island, attacks a Giant.

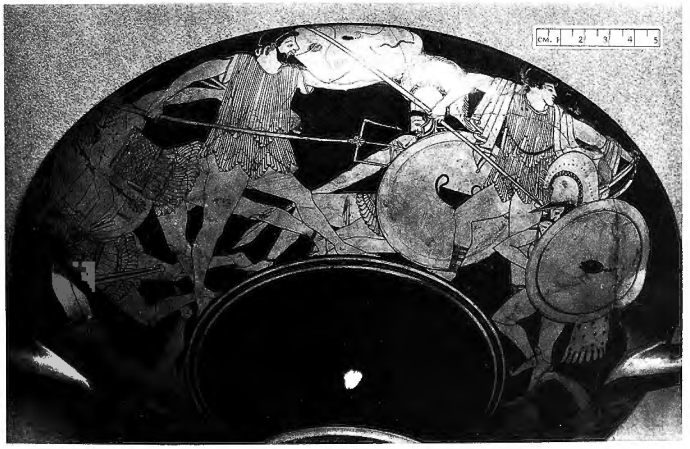
See page 14 *n.* o (1).

Fig. 3.

Fig. 4.

A

B



C

Kýlix from Vulci, now at Paris:

(*A*) Poseidon, shouldering the island, attacks a Giant.

(*B*) Apollon (?), Dionysos, and Ares (?) attack Giants.

(*C*) Hephaistos, Poseidon, and Hermes (?) attack Giants.

See page 14 *n.* 0 (3) and *page* 16 *fig.* 4.

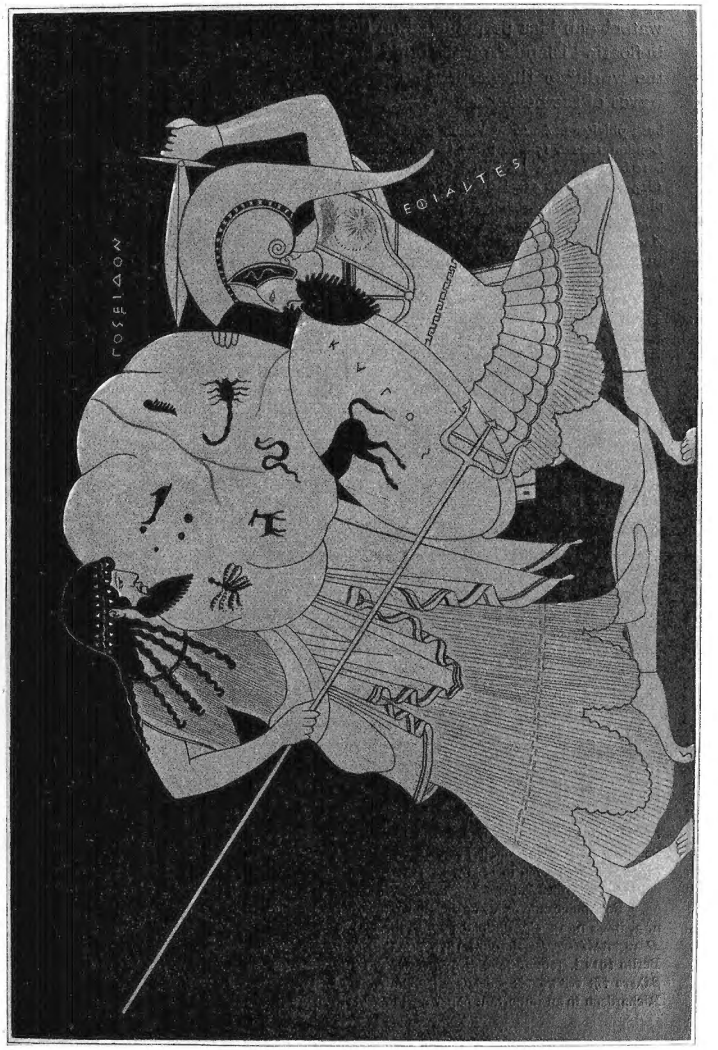


Fig. 5.

It implies the ancient cosmological idea that the earth rests upon water[1]—an idea perpetuated on the one hand by the popular belief in floating islands[2], on the other hand by the philosophic belief that the world[3] or the earth is a ship[4] and that earthquakes are due to waves of the nether sea[5].

but Ephialtes (a *kratér* at Vienna published by J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* London 1822 i. 17—20 pls. 7 (=my fig. 5) and 8, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 10 f. pl. 5, A. de La Borde *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg* Paris 1813—1824 i. pl. 41=Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 188, 1, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 330 no. 3 Atlas pl. 13, 1. The rock shows a polyp, a dolphin, etc., a prawn (?), a goat, a snake, and a scorpion). The change of name is ingeniously explained by O. Benndorf in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1893 xvi. 106 (followed by O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2784 f.), who conjectures that, just as Nisyros was believed to have been broken from Kos (probably from Cape Chelone: see Paus. 1. 2. 4) and flung by Poseidon at the Giant Polybotes, so Saros was believed to have been broken from Cape Ephialtion (Ptol. 5. 2. 33) in Karpathos and flung by Poseidon at the Giant Ephialtes. It is noteworthy that Nisyros occurs, not only as the name of the island off Kos, but also as that of a town on Kalydna (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 133) and as that of a town on Karpathos (Strab. 489, cp. an inscription from *Tristomo* in Karpathos published by M. Beaudouin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880 iv. 262 f. no. 1, 1 ff.=*Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 1035, 1 ff. Μελάνθιος | Μενεκράτευς | Βρυκούντιος, | Ἐπαίνετος Ῥάδιος | Νισύριος, | Σωσίπολις | Ἀρχικράτεις | Βρυκούντιος, | αἱρεθέντες ἱεραγω[γ]οὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ σύνπαν[τος] δάμου Ποτ[ειδᾶ][ι Πορ]θμί[ωι]). A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 pp. 51, 119 (Carian), 164 (Hittite, perhaps Lelegian).

[1] So in the cosmogonies of (1) Babylonia (P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 pp. 253, 254 f., 257 with pl. (3) (=R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 628 fig. 80, cp. G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 542 f. with fig.), F. Lukas *Die Grundbegriffe in den Kosmogonien der alten Völker* Leipzig 1893 pp. 4, 43, M. Jastrow *The Religion of Babylonia and Assyria* Boston etc. 1898 p. 430, *id. Aspects of Religious Belief and Practice in Babylonia and Assyria* New York and London 1911 pp. 87—91, F. Hommel *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901 p. 37 fig., A. H. Sayce in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 128 f., A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 61 f.); (2) Palestine (J. Skinner *A critical and exegetical Commentary on Genesis* Edinburgh 1910 pp. 17, 164, S. R. Driver *A critical and exegetical Commentary on Deuteronomy*[2] Edinburgh 1896 p. 406, C. A. Briggs and E. G. Briggs *A critical and exegetical Commentary on the Book of Psalms* Edinburgh 1906 i. 215, F. Lukas *op. cit.* p. 43 f.: see Gen. 7. 11, 8. 2, 49. 25, Ex. 20. 4, Deut. 4. 18, 5. 8, 33. 13, Job 38. 16, Ps. 24. 2, 136. 6, Prov. 8. 28, Am. 7. 4, etc.); (3) Egypt (?) (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 288 ff., F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 844 n. 4); (4) India (L. de la Vallée Poussin in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 131 Buddhist cosmogony, H. Jacobi *ib.* iv. 157 *Brâhmaṇa* and *Upaniṣad* cosmogony, *id. ib.* iv. 158 ff. epic and *Purâṇa* cosmogony, *id. ib.* iv. 161 Jain cosmography. See also A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 14, *supra* ii. 1035 f.); (5) Japan (M. Revon in J. Hastings *op. cit.* iv. 162 f.).

[2] *Infra* Append. P.

[3] For the cosmic ὅλκάς of the Pythagoreans see Philolaos *frag.* 12 Diels (*supra* i. 358 n. 3, ii. 44 n. 2). Cp. Philolaos *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 21. 6[d] p. 186, 27 ff. Wachsmuth=H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 332 b 19 ff.=*id. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 306, 26 f. τὸ δὲ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῷ μεσαιτάτῳ πυρί, ὅπερ τρόπεως δίκην προϋπεβάλετο τῆς τοῦ παντὸς < σφαίρας (*suppl.* A. H. L. Heeren) > ὁ δημιουργὸς θεός. Miss H. Richardson in an important paper on 'The Myth of Er (Plato, *Republic*, 616 B)' makes it

probable that Platon's picture combining a straight axis of light with a curved periphery of light (*supra* ii. 44) was derived from the Pythagorean doctrine, which combined a fire at the centre of the universe with a fire girdling the sphere of the universe, and further that Platon's phrase *οἷον τὰ ὑποζώματα τῶν τριήρων* presupposes the Pythagorean *ὁλκάς* (*Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 113—133).

Georgios the Pisidian, who was deacon of St Sophia and record-keeper at Byzantion under the emperor Herakleios (610—641 A.D.), has introduced the same conception into his *ἑξαήμερον ἢ κοσμουργία*, a philosophico-theological poem in iambics on the creation of the world (K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur von Justinian bis zum Ende des Oströmischen Reiches*[2] München 1897 p. 710). The passage is as follows: *ὦ γῆς ὑποστήριγμα τορευτὸν ὕδωρ, | ἱστῶν δὲ τὴν βρίθουσαν ἀστάτῳ βάσει, | ἢ βάθρον αὐτῇ προσχέων τὸν ἀέρα, | οὐκ οἶδα ποίαν ἐδράσας ἄλλην βάσιν, | ποῖον δὲ ταύτῃ δημιουργῶν πυθμένα, | ὡς μὴ δεηθῇ τοῦ μεθ' αὑτὸν πυθμένος, | σειραῖς δὲ μᾶλλον ἡγνοημέναις ὅλοις | ποιῶν κρεμαστὴν τὴν πάνορμον ὁλκάδα | (ἡ γῆ γὰρ ὁλκάς ἐστιν εἰς ὕδωρ τάχα | ἑστῶσα καὶ φέρουσα τὴν οἰκουμένην), | ψάμμον δὲ τεῖχος τῇ θαλάσσῃ συλλέγων, | καὶ λεπτὸν ἀντίφραγμα τῇ ζάλῃ πλέκων, | κτίζων δὲ βροντήν, ἀστραπὴν δὲ θεσπίσας | ἐκ τῶν ἐνύγρων ἐκτρέχειν πυρεκβόλων* (Georg. Pisida *hexaemeron* 498—512 Hercher (printed in R. Hercher's ed. of Ail. *var. hist.* ii. 618 f.), a better text than xcii. 1474 A—1475 A Migne).

[4] Thales held that the earth was afloat like wood upon water (Aristot. *de caelo* 2. 13. 294 a 28 ff. *οἱ δ' ἐφ' ὕδατος κεῖσθαι* (*sc. τὴν γῆν φασι*). *τοῦτον γὰρ ἀρχαιότατον παρειλήφαμεν τὸν λόγον, ὃν φασιν εἰπεῖν Θαλῆν τὸν Μιλήσιον, ὡς διὰ τὸ πλωτὴν εἶναι μένουσαν ὥσπερ ξύλον ἢ τι τοιοῦτον ἕτερον* (*καὶ γὰρ τούτων ἐπ' ἀέρος μὲν οὐθὲν πέφυκε μένειν, ἀλλ' ἐφ' ὕδατος*), *ὥσπερ οὐ τὸν αὐτὸν λόγον ὄντα περὶ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος τοῦ ὑχοῦντος τὴν γῆν· κ.τ.λ.*, Simpl. *in* Aristot. *de caelo* p. 522, 14 ff. Heiberg *ἐπ' αὐτῇ δὲ τὴν Θαλοῦ τοῦ Μιλησίου τίθησιν* (*sc. δόξαν*) *ἐφ' ὕδατος λέγοντος ὀχεῖσθαι τὴν γῆν ὥσπερ ξύλον ἢ ἄλλο τι τῶν ἐπινήχεσθαι τῷ ὕδατι πεφυκότων. πρὸς ταύτην δὲ τὴν δόξαν ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἀντιλέγει μᾶλλον ἴσως ἐπικρατοῦσαν διὰ τὸ καὶ παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις οὕτως ἐν μύθου σχήματι λέγεσθαι καὶ τὸν Θαλῆν ἴσως ἐκεῖθεν τὸν λόγον κεκομικέναι*, cp. Aristot. *met.* 1. 3. 983 b 20 ff. *ἀλλὰ Θαλῆς μὲν ὁ τῆς τοιαύτης ἀρχηγὸς φιλοσοφίας ὕδωρ εἶναί φησιν* (*διὸ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφαίνετο εἶναι*), Simpl. *in* Aristot. *phys.* p. 23, 28 f. Diels *διὸ πάντων ἀρχὴν ὑπέλαβον* (codd. D. E. have *ὑπέλαβεν* but the reference is to Thales and Hippon) *εἶναι τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐφ' ὕδατος ἀπεφήναντο κεῖσθαι*).

Artemidoros of Ephesos, who *c.* 100 B.C. issued his Γεωγραφούμενα in eleven books, utilising the results of the Peripatetic Agatharchides and others (H. Berger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1329 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 423), seems to have described the earth as floating on the ocean (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 242 pars nostra terrarum, de qua memoro, ambienti, ut dictum est, oceano velut innatans longissime ab ortu ad occasum patet, hoc est ab India ad Herculis columnas Gadibus sacratas |LXXXV|. |LXXVIII| p., ut Artemidoro auctori placet, etc., Diculius *liber de mensura orbis terrae* 5. 1 (ed. G. Parthey Berolini 1870 p. 18, 1 ff.). Jdem dicit in tertio (Letronne cj. *secundo*): pars nostrarum terrarum de qua commemoro, ambienti ut dictum est oceano velut innatans, longissime ab ortu ad occasum patet, hoc est ab Jndia ad Herculis columnas Gadibus sacratas, centum mil. sexagies et sexies et XXXta [simpliciter triginta (*uncis inclusi* A.B.C.)] milia passuum, ut Artemidoro auctori placet). But it is not quite certain that the phrase 'floating on the ocean' goes back beyond Pliny to Artemidoros, nor, if it does, that we should see in it more than a rhetorical flourish.

Somewhat similar in expression, though diverse in origin, is Io. Chrys. *hom. in Genes.* 12. 2 (liii. 100 Migne) *ταύτην αὐτὴν τὴν βαρεῖαν, καὶ τὸν τοσοῦτον κόσμον ἐπὶ τῶν οἰκείων νώτων φέρουσαν ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων ἐθεμελίωσε, καθὼς ὁ προφήτης φησίν, 'ὁ θεμελιώσας ἐπὶ τῶν ὑδάτων τὴν γῆν'* (Ps. 135. 6).

[6] Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 14. 1 quae sequitur Thaletis inepta sententia est. ait enim terrarum orbem aqua sustineri et vehi more navigii mobilitateque eius fluctuare tunc, cum dicitur tremere. non est ergo mirum, si abundet humore (so F. Haase. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 11, 7 follows Gercke in reading *si abundat humor*) ad flumina profundenda, cum in humore sit totus.

Now we have already seen reason to suppose that Poseidon was but a specialised form of Zeus[1], his trident being originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god[2]. We should therefore expect to find at least some traces of the conviction that earthquakes were ultimately caused and controlled by Zeus.

In point of fact, the earliest extant description of an earthquake attributes the phenomenon, naïvely enough, to the action of Zeus, who nods his head, shakes his hair, and thereby makes the mighty mass of Mount Olympos to tremble[3]. That is pure magic[4], and none the less magical because the magician was a god. Later epic writers imitate the scene[5], which must have appealed to folk-belief of a deep-seated and permanent sort. Indeed, the same belief still lurks in the background of the peasant's brain. B. Schmidt[6] pointed out that in Zakynthos, an island peculiarly liable to seismic vibrations[7], people explain them by saying 'God is nodding his head towards the earth' or 'God is shaking his hair[8]'—both expressions being virtually identical with those used in the Homeric episode.

Other poets, classical and post-classical, associate the most awe-inspiring of nature's moods with the anger of the greatest nature-

[1] *Supra* i. 717 n. 2, ii. 31 n. 8, 582 ff., 786 f., 846, 850, 893 n. o.

[2] *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850.

[3] *Il.* 1. 528 ff. ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων· | ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο (Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1885, 60 has ἐπερρώοντο) ἄνακτος (cod. E[b] reads ἄνακτι) | κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο· μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον with schol. A. *ad loc.* ἀπὸ τούτων δὲ λέγεται τῶν στίχων Φειδίαν τὸν ἀγαλματοποιὸν ποιῆσαι τὸν ἐν Ἠλιδι χαλκοῦν (*sic*) ἀνδριάντα οὕτως καμπτόμενον καὶ συνωθούμενον and schol. T. (cp. scholl. L.V.) *ad loc.* Εὐφράνωρ δὲ Ἀθήνησι τοὺς ⟨ι⟩β' θεοὺς γράφων ἐν τῇ στοᾷ, ὡς ἠπόρει ποῖον ἀρχέτυπον περιθείη Διί, παριὼν ἐν διδασκάλου τῶν ἐπῶν ἤκουσε, κεκραγώς τε ὡς ἔχοι τὸ ἀρχέτυπον ἁπὼν ἔγραψεν. ἴσως οὖν τοῦτο ἐνεφάνισεν αὐτῷ ἡ Ἥρα (cp. Loukian. *imagg.* 7 ὁ μὲν Εὐφράνωρ χρωσάτω τὴν κόμην οἵαν τῆς Ἥρας ἔγραψεν). The former anecdote is a commonplace (*supra* i. 2 n. 1). The latter occurs here only and in Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff., who combines the two (C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1193, A. Reinach *Recueil Milliet: Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* Paris 1921 i. 284 f. no. 356, E. Pfuhl *Malerei und Zeichnung der Griechen* München 1923 ii. 749 f.).

[4] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

[5] *Il.* 8. 198 f. ὣς ἔφατ' εὐχόμενος· νεμέσησε δὲ πότνια Ἥρη, | σείσατο δ' εἰνὶ θρόνῳ, ἐλέλιξε δὲ μακρὸν Ὄλυμπον, *h. Dion.* 13 ff. ἦ, καὶ κυανέῃσιν ἐπ' ὀφρύσι νεῦσε Κρονίων· | ἀμβρόσιαι δ' ἄρα χαῖται ἐπερρώσαντο ἄνακτος | κρατὸς ἀπ' ἀθανάτοιο, μέγαν δ' ἐλέλιξεν Ὄλυμπον. Of these passages *Il.* 8. 198 f. has been condemned as a late interpolation (W. Leaf in the argument prefixed to his ed. of *Il.* 8, in his note *ad loc.*, and in his book *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 164) and *h. Dion.* 13 ff. as an alternative version of *h. Dion.* 16 ὣς εἰπὼν ἐπένευσε καρήατι μητίετα Ζεύς (T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes, D. B. Monro, etc. *ad loc.*). Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 27 ff. describes the wrath of Typhoeus (*supra* ii. 449 n. o (2)) in language reminiscent of the Homeric original (29 Ὀλύμπῳ, 32 ἐθείραις, 35 ἐλελίζετο).

[6] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 33 f.

[7] *Supra* p. 3 n. o, *infra* p. 29.

[8] τινάζει τὰ μαλλιά του.

god. At the close of Aischylos' *Prometheus bound* the defiant Titan challenges the Almighty and bids him do his worst:

> Let his blast rock the earth, roots and all, from its base[1].

And when the answering thunderstorm bursts, the very first symptom of the wrath of Zeus is an earthquake-shock:

> Lo, now in deed and no longer in word
> The earth is a-quake[2].

Similarly in the brilliant *exodos* of Aristophanes' *Birds* Pisthetairos, who is clearly conceived as the new Zeus[3], wields the nether thunders and thereby causes an earthquake[4]. The same feeling that the failure of the solid ground can be ascribed to no power lower than the highest prompts the Orphic hymn-writer boldly to transfer the epithet *seisichthon*, 'who maketh the land to quake,' from Poseidon[5] to Zeus[6] and the author of a Sibylline oracle to use the like language of his supreme Deity[7].

The fact is that, as the centuries went by, Poseidon lost while Zeus gained in religious significance. Earthquakes came to be connected less and less with the former, more and more with the latter. A short series of examples will here be instructive. In 464 B.C. a great earthquake laid waste the town of Sparta: the Spartans themselves believed that this was because they had once put to death certain Helot suppliants, who had fled for refuge to the sanctuary of Poseidon at Cape Tainaros[8]. In 387 B.C.[9] the Spartans under Agesipolis i were invading the Argolid, when they were overtaken near Nemea by an alarming earthquake: they at once raised the paean to Poseidon, and most of them were for beating a retreat; but their commander, putting the best construction he could on the ominous incident, offered sacrifice to that god and pushed on into the territory of the Argives[10]. In 373 B.C. Helike and Boura on or

[1] Aisch. *P.v.* 1046 f. [2] *Id. ib.* 1080 f.

[3] I have elaborated the point in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221, *infra* p. 59 f.

[4] Aristoph. *av.* 1750 ff. *ὦ μέγα χρύσεον ἀστεροπῆς φάος,* | *ὦ Διὸς ἄμβροτον ἔγχος πυρφόρον* (*supra* ii. 704), | *ὦ χθόνιαι βαρυαχέες ὀμβροφόροι θ' ἅμα βρονταί* (*supra* ii. 805 n. 6), | *αἷς ὅδε νῦν χθόνα σείει.* | *Δία δὲ πάντα* (*διὰ σὲ τὰ πάντα* codd. P. P. Dobree cj. *δία σκῆπτρα.* A. Meineke, followed by B. B. Rogers, cj. *δῖα δὲ πάντα*) *κρατήσας* | *καὶ πάρεδρον Βασίλειαν ἔχει Διός.*

[5] *Supra* p. 10 n. 1.

[6] Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 8 f. *σεισίχθων, αὐξητά, καθάρσιε, παντοτινάκτα,* | *ἀστράπιε, βρονταῖε, κεραύνιε, φυτάλιε Ζεῦ.*

[7] *Oracl. Sib.* 2. 16 ff. Geffcken (cited *supra* p. 10 n. 1).

[8] Thouk. 1. 128, cp. 1. 101, 3. 54, Paus. 4. 24. 5 f.

[9] E. Meyer *Geschichte des Alterthums* Stuttgart—Berlin 1902 v. 271.

[10] Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 4 f. For the sequel see *supra* ii. 7.

near the coast of Achaia were swallowed in a single night[1] by the most appalling of all Greek earthquakes: the catastrophe was attributed to the vengeance of Poseidon, who was angry because the men of these towns had refused to allow their colonists in Ionia to carry off or copy their statue of him or even to sacrifice unmolested on the ancestral altar[2]. Apameia in Phrygia was repeatedly devastated by earthquakes—a fact which, according to Strabon, explains the honours granted to Poseidon by that inland city[3]. But Poseidon was not the only deity concerned. In the days of Apollonios of Tyana (*s.* i A.D.), when the towns on the left side of the Hellespont were visited by earthquakes, Egyptians and Chaldaeans went about collecting ten talents to defray the cost of sacrifices to Ge as well as to Poseidon[4]. An interesting transitional case is afforded by an earthquake at Tralleis (*s.* ii A.D.), which was authoritatively set down as due to the wrath felt by Zeus for the city's neglect of Poseidon: the Trallians were ordered to make ample atonement to both gods[5]. But when in 115 A.D. Antiocheia on the Orontes was severely shaken, the survivors of the disaster ignored Poseidon altogether and founded a temple at Daphne for Zeus *Sotér*[6]. Again, in or about the year 178 A.D. Smyrna was overthrown by an earthquake. P. Aelius Aristeides[7], who was living in the neighbourhood, received divine injunctions to sacrifice an ox in public to Zeus *Sotér*. At first he hesitated to do so. But he dreamed that he was standing beside the altar of Zeus in the market-place and begging for a sign of the god's approval, when a bright star shot right over the market and confirmed his intention. He carried through the sacrifice, and from that moment the dread disturbances ceased. Moreover, five or six days before the first shock he had been bidden to send and sacrifice at the ancient hearth adjoining the sanctuary of Zeus *Olýmpios* (at Dios Chorion in Mysia[8]) and also to set up altars on the crest of the Hill of Atys. No sooner were these precautions taken than the earthquake came and spared his estate Laneion, which lay to the south of the Hill[9].

Frequently, of course, an earthquake is recorded without explicit mention of any deity. Neither Poseidon nor Zeus is named as subject of the vague reverential phrases 'He shook[10]' or, more often, 'God

[1] Herakl. Pont. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 200 n. 2 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 384.
[2] *Id. ib.* 385, Diod. 15. 49, Paus. 7. 24. 6 with slight divergence in detail.
[3] Strab. 579.
[4] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 6. 41 p. 252 Kayser.
[5] *Supra* ii. 959 n. 0.
[6] *Supra* ii. 1191.
[7] *Supra* ii. 127.
[8] L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 677.
[9] Aristeid. *or.* 25. 317 ff. (i. 497 ff. Dindorf).
[10] Thouk. 4. 52 ἔσεισεν, cp. Aristeid. *or.* 25. 318 (i. 499 Dindorf) πρότερον ἢ σεῖσαι τὸ ἐξ ἀρχῆς.

shook[1].' Scholars have assumed that the god in question was Poseidon[2]. But the analogy of similar expressions relating to the weather points to the possibility that the name suppressed was that of Zeus[3]. And certainly in late times earthquakes were reckoned as a particular variety of Zeus-sign (*Diosemía*)[4].

The Romans exhibited, on the whole, a more marked tendency towards cautious anonymity. They said that once during an earthquake a voice was heard from the temple of Iuno on the Capitol directing them to sacrifice a pregnant sow—a direction which earned for the goddess the title of *Moneta*[5]. A pregnant sow was on other occasions sacrificed to Tellus[6] or Terra Mater[7] or Ceres[8] or Maia[9]

[1] Xen. *Hell.* 4. 7. 4 *ἔσεισεν ὁ θεός*, Paus. 3. 5. 8 *ἔσεισέ τε δὴ ὁ θεός*, cp. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1142 *χὠ θεὸς σείων ἅμα*, Paus. 1. 29. 8 *Λακεδαιμονίοις τὴν πόλιν τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος*, 3. 5. 9 *οὐ παρίει σείων ὁ θεός*, 3. 8. 4 *τοῦ θεοῦ σείσαντος*, Dion Cass. 68. 25 *σείοντος τοῦ θεοῦ*.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 1142, cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 510 f. *καὐτοῖς ὁ Ποσειδῶν οὐπὶ Ταινάρῳ* (*Ταινάρου v.l.* in Souid. *s.v.* Ταίναρον) *θεὸς | σείσας ἅπασιν ἐμβάλοι τὰς οἰκίας*.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1 ff. [4] *Supra* ii. 5.

[5] Cic. *de div.* 1. 101 (cp. 2. 69) with a useful note by A. S. Pease *ad loc.* The derivation of *Moneta* from *moneo* (Cic. *ib.* 2. 69, Isid. *orig.* 16. 18. 8, cp. Souid. *s.v.* Μονήτα. Hence also Moneta as Latinised Mnemosyne in Livius Andronicus *frag.* 25 *ap.* Priscian. *inst.* 6. 6 (i. 198 Hertz), Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 47, Hyg. *fab.* praef. pp. 10, 4 and 12, 7 Schmidt) is merely folk-etymology. The attempt to connect it with the Semitic *machanat*, 'camp,' a legend found on silver Carthaginian coins current in Sicily and Italy before the Punic wars (E. Assmann 'Moneta' in *Klio* 1906 vi. 477—488, V. Costanzi 'Moneta' *ib.* 1907 vii. 335—340, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 8, A. W. Hands 'Juno Moneta' in the *Num. Chron.* Fourth Series 1910 x. 1—12) is more ingenious than probable. Relation to Gothic *mēnōþs*, Old High German *mānōt*, 'month,' implying that Moneta was a moon-goddess (K. F. Johansson *Beiträge zur griechischen Sprachkunde* (= *Upsala Universitets Årsskrift* 1890 Abh. iii) Upsala 1891 p. 129 f.), does not adequately account for her *ὅ*. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 493 concludes: 'Wohl vielmehr eine Bildung vom Namenstamme, der in *Monnius*, *Monianius* usw. (Schulze Eigenn. 195) vorliegt, vgl. zum Suffix *Orata*, etr. *urata*, *Lepta*, *Valutius*: *Val(l)ius* (ibd. 195, 396), so dass eine Sondergöttin einer etrusk. *gens Monēta* vorliegt im Sinne Otto's Rh. Mus. LXIV, 449 ff.'

[6] Fest. p. 238 *a* 28 f. Müller, p. 274, 6 Lindsay plena sue Tellu<ri sacrificabatur (*suppl.* J. J. Scaliger)>, Ov. *fast.* 1. 671 ff. placentur frugum matres, Tellusque Ceresque, | farre suo gravidae visceribusque suis. | officium commune Ceres et Terra tuentur: | haec praebet causam frugibus, illa locum, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 22 Telluri, inquiunt, matri scrofa inciens (sic vet. lib. Ernstii, marg. Ursini. *ingens* codd.) immolatur et feta, etc.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 32323, 136 f. = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5050, 136 f. (*acta sacrorum saeculariorum* for June 2, 17 B.C.) Terra mater! uti tibi in ill[is libris scriptum est, quarumque rerum ergo quodque melius siet p. R. Quiritibus,] | uti tibi sue plena propri[a.....sacrum fiat: te quaeso precorque; c]etera [uti supra.] Cp. *oracl. Sib. ap.* Phlegon *frag.* 29. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 611 Müller) and *ap.* Zosim. 2. 6 (p. 70, 2 f. Bekker) = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 214. 10 f. *αὐθι δὲ Γαίῃ | πληθομένῃ χοίροις ὅς ἱρεύοιτο μέλαινα* (so Dessau after Mommsen. The MS. of Phlegon has *πληθογένῃ χώροις ὅτις ἱερεύοιτο μέλαινα*, Zosimos gives *πληθομένῃ χοῖρός τε καὶ ὃς ἱεροῖτο μέλαινα*).

[8] Verg. *georg.* 1. 345 ff. terque novas circum felix eat hostia fruges, | omnis quam chorus et socii comitentur ovantes, | et Cererem clamore vocent in tecta, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 345 'felix hostia' id est fecunda. dicit autem ambarvale sacrificium, quod de porca et saepe fecunda et gravida fieri consueverat, Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 11. 10 notum autem

as a means of communicating fertility to the ground[1], so that it had probably come to be regarded as a victim suited to the earth-goddess and therefore appropriate to a grave disturbance of the earth. Again, in 268 B.C., when Rome was waging war in Picenum, the battlefield was shaken by a seismic crash[2], whereupon P. Sempronius Sophus, the Roman general, vowed a temple to Tellus and in due time paid his vow[3]. But such cases were exceptional. As a rule the Romans were studiously vague and non-committal. Aulus Gellius, who brought out his *Attic Nights* in 169 A.D.[4], has some interesting remarks on the point[5]:

THAT IT HAS NOT BEEN DISCOVERED TO WHAT GOD SACRIFICE SHOULD BE MADE ON THE OCCASION OF AN EARTHQUAKE.

The ostensible cause of earth-tremors has not been discovered by the common experience and judgment of mankind, nor yet satisfactorily settled by the various schools of natural science[6]. Are they due to the force of winds pent

esse non diffitebere, quod a. d. duodecimum Kalendas Ianuarias Herculi et Cereri faciunt sue praegnate, panibus, mulso. Cp. *supra* n. 6.

[2] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 12. 20 adfirmant quidam, quibus Cornelius Labeo (on whom see G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1351 ff.) consentit, hanc Maiam cui mense Maio res divina celebratur terram esse hoc adeptam nomen a magnitudine, sicut et Mater Magna in sacris vocatur: adsertionemque aestimationis suae etiam hinc colligunt quod sus praegnans ei mactatur, quae hostia propria est terrae.

The connexion of *Maia* with *magnus, maior*, etc. is philologically sound (Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 455, Muller *Altital. Wörterb.* p. 249 f.) and accords with the cult of Iupiter *Maius* at Tusculum (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 12. 17 sunt qui hunc mensem ad nostros fastos a Tusculanis transisse commemorent, apud quos nunc quoque vocatur deus Maius qui est Iuppiter, a magnitudine scilicet ac maiestate dictus. The inscription from Frascati published by R. Garrucci *I piombi antichi raccolti dall' eminentissimo...Cardinale L. Altieri* Roma 1847 p. 45 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5637 Iovi | Maio | sacrum and by R. Garrucci *Sylloge inscriptionum Latinarum aevi Romanae rei publicae* Turin 1877 p. 174 under no. 564 Iovi | Maio | sacrum | P. Mucius pater is now held to be of doubtful authenticity: see H. Dessau in the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xiv no. 216* and in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1892 vii. 383 no. 1276).

[1] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 22 Telluri gravidas atque fetas ob honorem fecunditatis ipsius... et quod Tellus est mater...gravidis accipienda est scrofis—an explanation knocked down by Arnobius, but set on its legs again by Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 334.

[2] Iul. Obseq. 26, Oros. 4. 4. 5 ff. In Frontin. *strat.* 1. 12. 3 the consul is wrongly called T. Sempronius Gracchus.

[3] Flor. *epit.* 1. 14. For the *aedes Telluris* on the western slope of the Mons Oppius see O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 323—325, H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 323—326, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 33, Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 336—339, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 511.

[4] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1905 iii. 188, K. Hosius in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 993.

[5] Gell. 2. 28. 1—3.

[6] See Plout. *de plac. philos.* 3. 15 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 379*a* 8 ff., Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 6. 5 ff., Suet. *frag.* 159 Reifferscheid *ap.* Isid. *de natura rerum* 46.

in caverns and clefts of the ground? Or to the pulsation and undulation of waters that surge in subterranean hollows, as the ancient Greeks, who called Poseidon *seisíchthon*, seem to have supposed? Or to any other specific cause, or to the force and will of another deity? As I said, belief does not yet amount to certainty. Accordingly the Romans of yore, who in all the affairs of life and above all in the ordering of religious ritual and the tending of immortal gods displayed the utmost propriety and prudence, whenever an earthquake had been perceived or reported, proclaimed by edict a solemn holiday on account of it, but refrained from fixing and publishing as usual the name of the god for whom the holiday was to be kept, lest by naming one in place of another they might bind the people in the bonds of a false prescription. If the said holiday had been polluted by any man and need for a piacular sacrifice had therefore arisen, they slew the victim 'to god or to goddess' (*si deo, si deae*)[1]; and this regulation was strictly observed in accordance with the decree of the pontiffs, as M. Varro[2] states, because it was uncertain to what force and to which of the gods or goddesses the earthquake was due.

Two centuries later Ammianus Marcellinus, *à propos* of a devastating earthquake at Nikomedeia in 358 A.D., observes that, when

1—3 (lxxxiii. 1015 B—C Migne) and *orig.* 14. 1. 2 f., Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 9—12, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 2. 479 (=Isid. *orig.* 14. 1. 2 f.), and the section 'Die wissenschaftliche Seismologie der Griechen' in the valuable article on 'Erdbebenforschung' by W. Capelle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iv. 362—374.

[1] The usage of this *formula* may be illustrated from Cato *de agri cult.* 139 lucum conlucare Romano more sic oportet. porco piaculo facito, sic verba concipito: 'si deus, si dea es, quoium illud sacrum est,' etc., Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 9. 7 est autem carmen huiusmodi quo di evocantur, cum oppugnatione civitas cingitur: 'si deus, si dea est, cui populus civitasque Carthaginiensis est in tutela,' etc., *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i[1] no. 632=vi no. 110 (*ib.* no. 30694)= Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2135= Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 48=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4015 sei deo sei deivae sac(rum). | C. Sextius C. f. Calvinus pr(aetor) | de senati sententia | restituit (on a large altar now standing at the southern angle of the Palatine (H. Jordan—C. Huelsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 47 n. 31[b])), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 111=Orelli *op. cit.* no. 2136=Dessau *op. cit.* no. 4018 sive deo | sive deae, | C. Ter. Denter | ex voto | posuit (formerly in the church of St Ursus at Rome), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2099, ii 3 f.=Orelli *op. cit.* no. 2270=Wilmanns *op. cit.* no. 2884=Dessau *op. cit.* 5047 sive deo sive deae, in cuius tutela hic lucus locusve | est, oves II, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2099, ii 10=Orelli *op. cit.* no. 1798=Wilmanns *op. cit.* no. 2884=Dessau *op. cit.* 5047 sive deo sive deae oves II (from the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for 183 A.D.), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2104, *a* 2 sive deo sive deae ov(es) n(umero) II (from the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for 218 A.D.), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2107, *a*+*b* 9=Orelli *op. cit.* no. 961=Wilmanns *op. cit.* no. 2885=Dessau *op. cit.* no. 5048 sive deo sive deae verb(eces) $\overline{\text{II}}$ (from the *acta fratrum Arvalium* for 224 A.D.), J. Schmidt in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1884 v. 480 f. no. 1043=*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii Suppl. 3 no. 21567, *B* 7 ff. Genio summ[o]| Thasuni et de|o sive deae [nu]|mini sanc[to]| etc. (found at *Aftâ* in Mauretania Caesariensis and referable to the date 172—174 A.D.), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* i[1] no. 1114=xiv no. 3572= Orelli *op. cit.* no. 2137=Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5952=Dessau *op. cit.* no. 4017 sei deus ! sei dea (found at Tibur on a *cippus* of local stone), G. Gatti in the *Not. Scavi* 1890 p. 218=Dessau *op. cit.* no. 4016 si deo si deai, | Florianus rexs (found at Lanuvium: Florianus was presumably *rex sacrorum*).

See further D. Vaglieri in Ruggiero *Dizion. epigr.* ii. 1726 and Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 38. The '*sive...sive...*' invocations are discussed by E. Norden *Agnostos Theos* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 p. 144 ff.

[2] Varr. *antiquitatum rerum divinarum lib.* 8 de feriis *frag.* 1 (in R. Merkel's ed. of Ov. *fast.* Berolini 1841 p. cliii f.).

such things happen, the priests prudently abstain from mentioning any deity by name, lest they should indicate some god not really responsible and so incur the guilt of sacrilege[1].

While the clash of creeds was in progress, pagans of course blamed Christians[2] and Christians blamed pagans[3] for all the horrors

[1] Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 10 unde et in ritualibus et pontificiis observatur obtemperantibus sacerdotiis caute, ne alio deo pro alio nominato, cum, quis eorum terram concutiat, sit in abstruso, piacula committantur.

Libanios, who composed a special and somewhat hysterical lamentation for the downfall of Nikomedeia (*or.* 61 *monodia de Nicomedia* (iv. 322 ff. Foerster)), appeals *in primis* to Poseidon (3, 6), but also to Helios (16), etc.

[2] Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 9. 7. 1 ff. cites *in extenso* a letter of Maximinus ii (305—313 A.D.), copied from a *stele* at Tyre, in which he congratulates his eastern subjects on having returned to the faith of their forefathers and, after a characteristic (cp. *supra* ii. 1194 ff.) laudation of Zeus (*hist. eccl.* 9. 7. 7 ἐκεῖνος τοιγαροῦν ἐκεῖνος ὁ ὕψιστος καὶ μέγιστος Ζεύς, ὁ προκαθήμενος τῆς λαμπροτάτης ὑμῶν πόλεως, ὁ τοὺς πατρῴους ὑμῶν θεοὺς καὶ γυναῖκας καὶ τέκνα καὶ ἐστίαν καὶ οἴκους ἀπὸ πάσης ὀλεθρίου φθορᾶς ῥυόμενος, ταῖς ὑμετέραις ψυχαῖς τὸ σωτήριον ἐνέπνευσε βούλημα, ἐπιδεικνὺς καὶ ἐμφαίνων ὅπως ἐξαίρετόν ἐστι καὶ λαμπρὸν καὶ σωτηριῶδες μετὰ τοῦ ὀφειλομένου σεβάσματος τῇ θρησκείᾳ καὶ ταῖς ἱεροθρησκείαις τῶν ἀθανάτων θεῶν προσιέναι), explains drought, hurricane, earthquake, etc. as due to divine anger called down by the spread of the new religion (*ib.* 9. 7. 8 ff.).

Arnob. *adv. nat.* 1. 3 had recently met, and refuted, a whole string of similar charges. So *c.* 252 A.D. had Cypr. *ad Demetrian.* 2—5 (i. 352, 7 ff. Hartel). The calumny crystallised into a proverb (Aug. *enarrat. in psalm.* 80. 1 (iv. 1225 D ed.[2] Bened.) non pluit deus, duc ad Christianos (variants *ib.*[2] p. lii), *de civ. Dei* 2. 3 pluvia defit, causa Christiani sunt). In this connexion earthquakes played a large part (Tertull. *apol.* 40 si Tiberis ascendit in moenia, si Nilus non ascendit in arva, si caelum stetit, si terra movit, si fames, si lues, statim Christianos ad leonem! adclamatur=*ad nat.* 1. 9, Orig. *in Matth. comment. series* 39 (xiii. 1654 A—B Migne) cum haec ergo contigerint mundo, consequens est quasi derelinquentibus hominibus deorum culturam, ut propter multitudinem Christianorum dicant fieri bella et fames et pestilentias. frequenter enim famis causa Christianos culparunt gentes, et quicumque sapiebant quae gentium sunt; sed et pestilentiarum causas ad Christi ecclesiam rettulerunt. scimus autem et apud nos terrae motum factum in locis quibusdam, et factas fuisse quasdam ruinas, ita ut qui erant impii extra fidem causam terrae motus dicerent Christianos, propter quod et persecutiones passae sunt ecclesiae, et incensae sunt. non solum autem illi, sed et qui videbantur prudentes, talia in publico dicerent, quia propter Christianos fiunt gravissimi terrae motus, Firmillianus in Cypr. *epist.* 75. 10 (ii. 816, 17 ff. Hartel: the letter is of 256 A.D. (A. Jülicher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2379)) volo autem vobis et de historia quae apud nos facta est exponere ad hoc ipsum pertinente. ante viginti enim et duos fere annos temporibus post Alexandrum imperatorem multae istic conflictationes et pressurae acciderunt vel in commune omnibus hominibus vel privatim Christianis: terrae etiam motus plurimi et frequentes extiterunt, ut et per Cappadociam et per Pontum multa subruerent, quaedam etiam civitates in profundum recepta (*leg.* receptae) dirupti soli hiatu devorarentur, ut ex hoc persecutio quoque gravis adversum nos nominis fieret, quae post longam retro aetatis pacem repente oborta de inopinato et insueto malo ad turbandum populum nostrum terribilior effecta est. Serenianus tunc fuit in nostra provincia praeses, acerbus et dirus persecutor. in hac autem perturbatione constitutis fidelibus et huc atque illuc persecutionis metu fugientibus et patrias suas relinquentibus atque in alias regionum partes transeuntibus (erat enim transeundi facultas eo quod persecutio illa non per totum mundum sed localis fuisset), emersit istic subito quaedam mulier quae in extasin constituta propheten se praeferret et quasi sancto spiritu plena sic ageret. ita autem principalium daemoniorum impetu ferebatur ut per longum

of a quaking world. But ultimately men in general and moralists in particular settled down to the belief that an earthquake as such was a divine visitation meant to vindicate the power of the Creator[1] or to chasten and reform his erring creatures[2].

Painters and poets, who from time to time personified the Earthquake, naturally reverted to earlier mythological conceptions[3]. Raphael in one of the marvellous tapestries designed by him (1515—1516)[4] for the Sistine Chapel at Rome and woven by Pieter van Aelst of Brussels[5] represented the imprisonment of St Paul at

tempus sollicitaret et deciperet fraternitatem, admirabilia quaedam et portentosa perficiens et facere se terram moveri polliceretur: non quod daemoni tanta esset potestas ut terram movere aut elementum concutere vi sua valeret, sed quod nonnumquam nequam spiritus praesciens et intellegens terrae motum futurum id se facturum esse simularet quod futurum videret. etc.). See further J. E. B. Mayor's notes on Tertull. *apol.* 40.

[3] Obviously two could play at that game, and of the two the Christians were likely to compile the bigger score. Cp. the *leges novellas ad Theodosianum pertinentes* ed. adiutore Th. Mommseno Paulus M. Meyer Berolini 1905 p. 10 *de Iud. Sam. haer. et pag.* 3. 8 an diutius perferemus mutari temporum vices irata caeli temperie, quae paganorum exacerbata perfidia nescit naturae libramenta servare? unde enim ver solitam gratiam abiuravit...nisi quod ad inpietatis vindictam transit legis suae natura decretum?

[1] *E.g.* Io. Chrys. *in terrae motum* etc. 1 (xlviii. 1027 Migne) *εἴδετε Θεοῦ δύναμιν, εἴδετε Θεοῦ φιλανθρωπίαν; δύναμιν, ὅτι ἐτίναξε τὴν οἰκουμένην· φιλανθρωπίαν, ὅτι πίπτουσαν αὐτὴν ἔστησε· κ.τ.λ.* (perhaps in allusion to the earthquake which shook Antioch on the Orontes in 396 A.D.: W. Capelle in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iv. 356).

[2] *E.g.* Io. Chrys. *ad populum Antiochenum hom.* 3. 7 (xlix. 57 Migne) *μὴ γὰρ οὐκ ἠδύνατο κωλῦσαι τὰ γεγενημένα ὁ Θεός; ἀλλ' ἀφῆκεν, ἵνα τοὺς καταφρονοῦντας αὐτοῦ ἐν τῷ τοῦ συνδούλου φόβῳ σωφρονεστέρους ἐργάσηται, id. in acta Apost. hom.* 7. 2 (lx. 66 Migne) *εἰ μέμνησθε ὡς, ὅτε τὴν πόλιν ἡμῶν ἔσεισεν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ πάντες ἦσαν συνεσταλμένοι, οὕτω τότε ἐκεῖνοι διέκειντο· οὐδεὶς ὕπουλος ἦν, οὐδεὶς πονηρός. καὶ γὰρ τοιοῦτον φόβος, τοιοῦτον ἡ θλῖψις. κ.τ.λ.* (during the earthquake at Constantinople in 400 or 401 A.D.), *id. in Acta Apost. hom.* 41. 2 (lx. 291 Migne) *εἰπὲ γάρ μοι, οὐ πέρυσιν ἐτίναξεν ὁ Θεὸς τὴν πόλιν πᾶσαν; τί δαί; οὐχὶ πάντες ἐπὶ τὸ φώτισμα ἔδραμον; κ.τ.λ.* (at Constantinople in 399 A.D.), Philastrius *diversarum hereseon liber* 102. 1—3 Fabricius (74. 1—3 Marx) alia est heresis quae terrae motum non dei iussione et indignatione fieri, sed de natura ipsa elementorum opinatur,... quod etiam in huiusmodi rebus indignatio dei et potentia operatur et suam commovet creaturam conversionis causa et utilitatis quippe multorum peccantium ac redeuntium ad dominum salvatorem atque creatorem (written *c.* 385—391 A.D.: M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1904 iv. 1. 359), Philostorg. *eccl. hist.* 12. 9 (lxv. 617 C Migne) *καὶ ἄλλα δὲ τοιουτότροπα πάθη τηνικαῦτα ἐνεωχμώθη, δεικνύντα μὴ φυσικῇ τινι ταῦτα προελθεῖν ἀκολουθίᾳ, ὡς Ἑλλήνων παῖδες ληροῦσιν, ἀλλὰ θείας ἀγανακτήσεως μάστιγας ἐπαφεθῆναι, id. ib.* 12. 10 (lxv. 620 A Migne) *ὅτι διαφόροις ἐπιχειρήμασι κατασκευάζειν πειρᾶται τοὺς σεισμοὺς μήτε διὰ πλημμύραν ὑδάτων συνίστασθαι, μήτε πνευμάτων ἐναπολαμβανομένων τοῖς κόλποις τῆς γῆς, ἀλλὰ μηδὲ γῆς τινος (an leg. τινι?) ὅλως παρεγκλίσει, μόνῃ δὲ τῇ θείᾳ γνώμῃ πρὸς ἐπιστροφὴν καὶ διόρθωσιν τῶν ἁμαρτανομένων* (published *c.* 425—433 A.D.: W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] ii. 2. 1433).

[3] Not so Chrysostom, who in purely rhetorical vein personifies the Antiochene earthquake as a herald announcing God's anger (Io. Chrys. *in terrae motum* etc. 1 (xlviii. 1027 f. Migne)) and even makes him on another occasion quote Ps. 103. 8 (Io. Chrys. *hom.. post terrae motum* (l. 714 f. Migne)).

[4] H. Knackfuss *Raphael* trans. C. Dodgson Bielefeld—Leipzig 1899 p. 102.

[5] H. Strachey *Raphael* London 1900 p. 30.

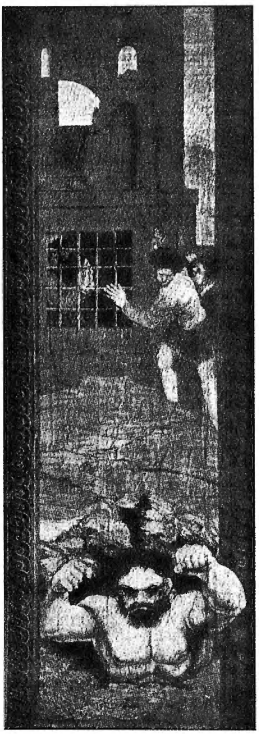


Fig. 6.

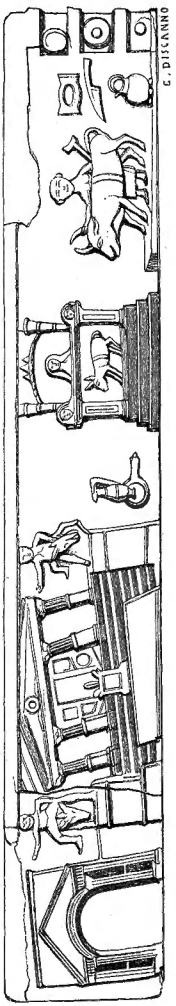


Fig. 7.

Philippoi (fig. 6). Above we see the gaol and the gaoler about to kill himself; below, the earth cracking as a gigantic nude bearded figure emerges breast-high with scowling forehead and uplifted fists[1]. In the Second Part of Goethe's *Faust* (1827—1832) an earthquake suddenly disturbs the peace of the upper Peneios. Seismos, 'rumbling and grumbling down below,' groans out:

> Heave again with straining muscle,
> With the shoulders shove and hustle,
> So our way to light we justle,
> Where before us all must fly[2].

He is however conscious that he makes the mountains picturesque, and claims that by so doing he benefits the very gods:

> Apollo now dwells blithely yonder,
> With the blest Muses' choir. 'Twas I
> For Jove himself, with all his bolts of thunder,
> That heaved the regal chair on high[3].

Less intelligent, but more intense, and quite refreshingly direct is the attitude of the modern Greek peasant in regions where the earthquake is no theme for artistic representation[4] or academic interest. Natives of Zakynthos, when the shock is felt, will cry out in deprecation 'My God, cease thine anger![5]' And the inhabitants of Arachova on Mount Parnassos fancy that God in rage and fury 'rolls his eyes and is minded to ruin the world, only the Blessed Virgin beseeches him and stays his wrath[6].'

[1] E. Müntz *Les tapisseries de Raphaël au Vatican* Paris 1897 p. 20 fig. (=my fig. 6), P. Oppé *Raphael* London 1909 p. 160 f. pl. 115, 2. The cartoons are now in the South Kensington Museum, the tapestries themselves in the Vatican.

[2] Goethe's *Faust* trans. A. G. Latham London 1908 Part ii. 138.

[3] *Ib.* Part ii. 139. See further F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 i. 2. 481—489 ('Erdbeben').

[4] A small marble frieze found on the base of a *lararium* in the house of the auctioneer L. Caecilius Iucundus at Pompeii (J. Overbeck—A. Mau *Pompeji*[4] Leipzig 1884 p. 69 f. fig. 31 = my fig. 7, C. Weichardt *Pompeji vor der Zerstoerung* Leipzig s.a. 81 f. fig. 102) has a relief representing the north side of the Forum. We see the *façade* of the temple of Iupiter, flanked by two equestrian statues, with a commemorative arch to the left and an altar etc. to the right. The slanting forms of the temple and arch have been supposed to show the dire effects produced by the earthquake of 63 A.D. (M. Neumayr *Erdgeschichte* Leipzig 1886 i. 139 cited by C. Weichardt *op. cit.* p. 82 n.*, W. H. Hobbs *Earthquakes* New York 1907 p. 9 fig. 3), but are of course merely due to a careless craftsman who stood too far towards the right in carving the relief (J. Overbeck—A. Mau *op. cit.*[4] p. 70 'ein unglücklicher Versuch, die perspectivische Verschiebung wiederzugeben' does him too much honour).

[5] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 34 (Θέ μου, πάψε τὴν ὀργή σου!).

[6] *Id. ib.* i. 34 n. 1 (γουρλώνει τὰ μάτια του κῆ θέλ' νὰ χαλάσῃ τοὺν κόσμου, ἀλλ' ἡ Παναγιὰ τοὺν παρακαλεῖ κὴ παύ' τ'ν ὀὐργή τ').

D. H. Kerler *Die Patronate der Heiligen* Ulm 1905 p. 86 f. gives a list of saints

§6. *Zeus and the Clouds.*

(a) Zeus and the Clouds in Literature.

One of Homer's favourite epithets for Zeus is *nephelegeréta*, 'the cloud-gatherer.' This arresting compound, which occurs eight times in the *Odyssey*[1] and twenty-eight times in the *Iliad*[2], is in reality

whose business it is to protect their votaries against earthquake. They include: (1) St Agatha of Catania (Feb. 5), during whose martyrdom in 251 A.D. a fearful earthquake occurred. (2) St Emygdius of Ascoli (Aug. 5), whose father, a prominent citizen of Augusta Trevirorum, tried to make him forswear his faith before a heathen altar till the very ground gave way beneath his feet. Others said that the saint averted an earthquake from Ascoli, where he was martyred in 303 or 304 A.D. (3) St Justus of Catalonia (May 28), bishop of Urgel from before 527 until after 546 A.D., whose body was found uninjured beneath the ruins of a wall that had collapsed above his grave. (4) St Petrus Gonsalez, better known to Spanish sailors as Sant Elmo (April 15), who died in 1240 A.D. He was once preaching in the open air near Bayonne, when an earthquake threatened. The congregation was for fleeing into the town; but the preacher detained it, and all ended well. (5) St Petrus Paschalis (Dec. 6), bishop of Jaen, who was martyred by the Moors at Granada in 1300 A.D. Soon after his death the town was plagued with famine, pestilence, earthquakes, and storms. (6) St Albertus of Trepano (Aug. 7), who died at Messina in 1307 A.D. and is reckoned as patron of all Sicily, an island much given to seismic shocks. (7) St Francesco Borgia (Oct. 10), duke of Gandia, who died in 1572 A.D. In 1625 A.D. he was chosen as a recent and popular saint to protect the new realm of Granada against earthquakes. (8) St Philippus Neri of Rome (May 26), who died in 1595 A.D. When, on June 5, 1688 A.D., an alarming earthquake visited Beneventum, Pope Benedict xiii escaped by lying directly under the saint's reliquary. (9) St Franciscus Solanus of Lima (July 24), who died in 1610 A.D. Seven years before his death he predicted the downfall of the town Truxillo. It was destroyed by earthquake on Feb. 14, 1618 A.D.

[1] *Od.* 1. 63, 5. 21, 9. 67, 12. 313, 384, 13. 139, 153, 24. 477 *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς* (always at the end of the line). Of these passages two have a noteworthy context: 9. 67 ff. *νησοὶ δ' ἐπῶρσ' ἄνεμον Βορέην νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς | λαίλαπι θεσπεσίῃ, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε | γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ* = 12. 313 ff. *ὦρσεν ἔπι ζαὴν ἄνεμον νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς | λαίλαπι θεσπεσίῃ, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε | γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ.* Much the same is said of Poseidon in *Od.* 5. 291 ff. *ὣς εἰπὼν σύναγεν νεφέλας, ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον | χερσὶ τρίαιναν ἑλών· πάσας δ ὀρόθυνεν ἀέλλας | παντοίων ἀνέμων, σὺν δὲ νεφέεσσι κάλυψε | γαῖαν ὁμοῦ καὶ πόντον· ὀρώρει δ' οὐρανόθεν νύξ,* on which Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1538, 7 ff. remarks *θεωρητέον ὅτι τὸ σύναγε νεφέλας νεφεληγερέτην καὶ τὸν Ποσειδῶνα εἶναι ὑποδηλοῖ. ἐπειδήπερ ὕδωρ ὕλη τοῖς νέφεσιν, εἰς ὃ μεταλαμβάνεται ὁ Ποσειδῶν. ὁκνεῖ δὲ ὅμως ὁ ποιητὴς τὸν τὰς νεφέλας συνάγοντα Ποσειδῶνα καὶ νεφεληγερέτην συνθέτως εἰπεῖν. ἀπεκληρώθη γὰρ τοῦτο Διὶ τῷ ποιητικῷ τῶν νεφελῶν αἰτίῳ.*

[2] *Il.* 1. 511, 517, 560, 4. 30, 5. 764, 888, 7. 280, 454, 8. 38, 469, 10. 552, 11. 318, 14. 293, 312, 341, 15. 220, 16. 666, 17. 198, 20. 19, 215, 22. 182, 24. 64 *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς* (always at the end of the line and, except in 7. 280, 11. 318, 14. 293, 17. 198, 20. 215, preceded by *προσέφη*). So *h. Dem.* 78, *h. Ap.* 312, also Hes. *o.d.* 53, *theog.* 558.

Il. 5. 631, 736, 8. 387, 15. 154, 20. 10, 21. 499 *Διὸς νεφεληγερέταο* (always at the end of the line). So too *h. Ap.* 96, Hes. *o.d.* 99, *theog.* 730, 944.

Nonnos alone places the word in the first half of his hexameter (*Dion.* 23. 228 f. (Dionysos to Hydaspes) *ἐκ νεφέων βλάστησας ἐμοῦ Κρονίδαο τοκῆος, | καὶ νεφεληγερέταο Διὸς βλάστημα διώκεις*; 38. 202 f. *οὐ νεφέλας Ἥφαιστος ἐοῦ γενετῆρος ἀγείρει, | οὐ νεφεληγερέτης κικλήσκεται οἷα Κρονίων*).

a pre-Homeric tag[1] originally descriptive of Zeus as a rain-making[2] magician[3]. In Greece, as elsewhere[4], the primitive rain-maker, probably clad in a sheep-skin to imitate the fleecy vapours[5], mounted some neighbouring height and did his puny best to allay the mid-summer heat by calling the clouds to draw their welcome veil across the sky. This at least seems a plausible inference[6] from one curious Greek custom, the procession of men clad in thick sheep-skins which on the very hottest day of the year toiled up the slopes of Mount

[1] *Supra* i. 444 n. 6.

[2] Hesych. *s.vv.* *νεφεληγερέτα· νεφεληγερέτης, ὁ τὰς νεφέλας ἀγείρων, ὅ ἐστι συναθροίζων· ὁ τοὺς ὄμβρους ποιῶν. κλητικὴ ἀντὶ εὐθείας, νεφελογερέτης* (M. Schmidt cj. *νεφεληγερέτης* (?). Cp. Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 17. 35 *Ζεὺς ὁ νεφεληγερέτης)· τὰ αὐτά, et. Gud.* p. 406, 46 *νεφεληγερέταο· τοῦ τὰς νεφέλας ἀθροίζοντος, et. mag.* p. 601, 55 *νεφεληγερέτης· ὁ τῶν νεφῶν ἀθροιστικὸς Ζεύς*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1066, 38 ff. *κλητικὰς ἐκφέρειν ἀντὶ εὐθειῶν τῶν Ἀττικῶν ἐστιν, οἷον νεφεληγερέτα Ζεὺς ἀντὶ τοῦ νεφεληγερέτης.*

[3] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, 758, ii. 258 n. 3, 694 n. 0, 695 n. 0, 1146 f. Cp. Medeia in Ov. *met.* 7. 201 f. nubila pello | nubilaque induco.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 249 f., 256 f., 260 ff., 275, 323.

[5] Theophr. *de signis tempest.* 1. 13 *καὶ ὅταν νεφέλαι πόκοις ἐρίων ὅμοιαι ὦσιν ὕδωρ σημαίνει* = Arat. *phaen.* 206 f. *πολλάκι δ' ἐρχομένων ὑετῶν νέφεα προπάροιθεν | οἷα μάλιστα πόκοισιν ἐοικότα ἰνδάλλονται* = Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 356 si nubes ut vellera lanae spargentur multae ab oriente, aquam in triduum praesagient, Apul. *de deo Socr.* 10 atque ideo umectiores humilius meant aquilo[nis] agmine, tractu segniore[s]; sudis vero sublimior cursus e<s (*ins.* P. Thomas) > t, cum lanarum velleribus similes aguntur, cano agmine, volatu perniciore. Accordingly the Latin poets speak of fleecy clouds as *vellera* (Verg. *georg.* 1. 397, Varr. Atac. *frag.* 21 Baehrens *ap.* anon. *brev. expos. Verg. georg.* 1. 397 (in the ed. of Servius by G. Thilo and H. Hagen iii. 2. 265, 3 f.), Lucan. 4. 124 f., cp. Mart. *ep.* 4. 3. 1 f., Prosp. Aquit. *in psalm.* 147. 16 (li. 420 c Migne))—a usage hardly to be paralleled in Greek.

It is possible that the dappled fawnskin of the Bacchant, trimmed with tufts of white wool (Eur. *Bacch.* 111 ff. *στικτῶν τ' ἐνδυτὰ νεβρίδων | στέφετε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμων | μαλλοῖς* and Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*), was intended as a rough imitation of the starry, cloud-flecked sky, just as the fawnskin of Dionysos himself, bespangled with pearls (Claud. *de quarto cons. Honor.* 606 f. talis Erythraeis intextus nebrida gemmis | Liber agit currus), seems to have borne a cosmic character (R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 76, 256 n. 4, who cites Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 577 f. *Ἡρακλέης δὲ | ἀστραίῳ Διόνυσον ἀνεχλαίνωσε χιτῶνι* and cp. the vase-painting figured *supra* ii. 262 pl. xvii).

Attic vases signed by the potter Brygos (*c.* 505—475 B.C.) or attributed to his painter (lists in Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 106 ff., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 175 ff.) often show garments decorated with dots (O. S. Tonks 'Brygos: his Characteristics' in *Memoirs of the American Academy of Arts and Sciences* 1908 xiii. 69, 95, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 460). In view of Brygos' name with its northern connexions (Βρύγοι, Βρύγες = Φρύγες: see W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 231, E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 920 f.) it is just conceivable that this craftsman was popularising at Athens a custom which originated in Thraco-Phrygian ritual. But the hypothesis would be *risquée*, since dotted garments are not strictly confined to the output of Brygos (P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blütheszeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 310 n. 4).

[6] *Supra* i. 420 n. 3, where I was perhaps unduly sceptical of O. Gilbert's conclusions.

Pelion to the sanctuary of Zeus *Aktaîos* on its summit[1]. And the sheep-skin of the human magician would be readily transferred to his divine counterpart[2]—witness the title of Zeus *Melósios*, Zeus 'Clad in a sheep-skin' (*meloté*)[3]. It is, however, reasonable to suppose that already in Homeric times the word *nephelegeréta* had lost something of its early import and had taken on a meaning half-religious and half-picturesque. But worse was in store, for in the fifth century B.C. it was frankly travestied. Perikles[4] as the greatest man of his age was dubbed Zeus by the comedians[5] and figures in a brilliant fragment of Kratinos, not as *nephelegeréta*, 'the cloud-gatherer,' but as *kepha-*

[1] *Supra* i. 420, ii. 869 n. 2. [2] *Supra* i. 11 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 164 f. The boundary-inscription of Zeus Μηλώσιος is more accurately published by F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 48 ὅρος Διὸς Μηλωσίου. To the literature there cited add E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1924 xlix. 144.

[4] *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 302.

[5] Kratin. *Thressae frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 61 f. Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 14 διὸ καὶ πάλιν Κρατῖνος ἐν Θρᾴτταις παίζει πρὸς αὐτόν· 'ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε | προσέρχεται (so M. Fuhr and F. Blass, after C. G. Cobet, for ὁ σχινοκέφαλος Ζεὺς ὅδε (I. Bekker and F. A. Gotthold, followed by A. Meineke, cjj. ὀδὶ) προσέρχεται | Περικλέης (A. Meineke cj. ὁ Περικλέης)) τῷδεῖον ἐπὶ τοῦ κρανίου | ἔχων, ἐπειδὴ τοδστρακον παροίχεται.'

Kratin. *Nemesis frag.* 10 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 85 Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 3 τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος...καὶ πάλιν ἐν Νεμέσει· 'μόλ', ὦ Ζεῦ Ξένιε καὶ Καραιέ (μακάριε vulg. κάριε libri H. Stephani. K. H. F. Sintenis cj. καραῖε. A. Meineke cj. καραιέ).'

Telekleides *fab. incert. frag.* 6 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 373 f. Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 3 Τηλεκλείδης δὲ ποτὲ μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν πραγμάτων ἠπορημένον καθῆσθαί φησιν αὐτὸν ἐν τῇ πόλει 'καρηβαροῦντα' (cp. Poll. 2. 41 καὶ καρηβαρικὸν τὸ πάθος Τηλεκλείδης), ποτὲ δὲ 'μόνον ἑκ κεφαλῆς ἐνδεκακλίνου | θόρυβον πολὺν ἐξανατέλλειν.'

Aristoph. *Ach.* 530 f. ἐντεῦθεν ὀργῇ Περικλέης οὐλύμπιος | ἤστραπτ' (so R. Bentley, K. W. Dindorf, etc. cp. Plin. *ep.* 1. 20), ἐβρόντα, ξυνεκύκα τὴν Ἑλλάδα—a passage to which later writers make frequent allusion (see F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.*).

Com. anon. *frag.* 307 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 677 Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 8 αἱ μέντοι κωμῳδίαι τῶν τότε διδασκάλων σπουδῇ τε πολλὰς καὶ μετὰ γέλωτος ἀφεικότων φωνὰς εἰς αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τῷ λόγῳ μάλιστα τὴν προσωνυμίαν (*sc.* τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου) γενέσθαι δηλοῦσι, 'βροντᾶν' μὲν αὐτὸν καὶ 'ἀστράπτειν,' ὅτε δημηγοροίη, 'δεινὸν' δὲ 'κεραυνὸν...ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρειν' λεγόντων. F. H. M. Blaydes restores 'δεινὸν κεραυνὸν οὗτος ἐν γλώσσῃ φέρει.' A. Meineke prints γλώττῃ.

Similarly Aspasia was styled Hera by Kratinos (*Chirones frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 148 Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 24 ἐν δὲ ταῖς κωμῳδίαις Ὀμφάλη τε νέα καὶ Δηϊάνειρα καὶ πάλιν Ἥρα προσαγορεύεται. Κρατῖνος δ' ἀντικρυς παλλακὴν αὐτὴν εἰρηκεν ἐν τούτοις· ἐ"Ηραν τέ οἱ Ἀσπασίαν τίκτει Καταπυγοσύνη (καὶ καταπυγοσύνην codd. T. Bergk del. καὶ. A. Emperius cj. Καταπυγοσύνη) | παλλακὴν κυνώπιδα,' schol. Plat. *Menex.* 235 E p. 923 b 37 ff. Κρατῖνος δὲ Ὀμφάλην αὐτὴν καλεῖ Χείρωσιν, τύραννον (? τυραννοδαίμονα cp. Hesych. *s.v.*) δὲ Εὔπολις Φίλοις (so A. Meineke for Κρατῖνος δὲ Ὀμφάλη τύραννον αὐτὴν καλεῖ, χείρων Εὔπολις Φίλοις. T. Bergk cj. Κρατῖνος δὲ τύραννον αὐτὴν καλεῖ Χείρωσιν, Ὀμφάλην Εὔπολις Φίλοις)· ἐν δὲ Προσπαλτίοις Ἑλένην αὐτὴν καλεῖ· ὁ δὲ Κρατῖνος καὶ "Ηραν, ἴσως ὅτι καὶ Περικλῆς Ὀλύμπιος προσηγορεύετο) and perhaps by Eupolis (Hesych. *s.v.* βοῶπις· μεγαλόφθαλμος, εὐόφθαλμος. μεγαλόφωνος. Εὔπολις δὲ τὴν Ἥραν (Eupol. *fab. incert. frag.* 81 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 571 Meineke))), possibly also by Aristophanes (yet schol. Hermog. περὶ τῶν στάσεων 72 (C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1833 iv. 186, 14 ff.) καὶ τὰ ἐσχηματισμένα· ἐν οἷς δεῖ τὸν μεταχειριζόμενον ἄλλο μὲν λέγειν, ἄλλο δὲ διὰ τοῦ ἤθους ἐμφαίνειν· οἷον τοῦ Περικλέους Ὀλυμπίου κληθέντος, εἰσηγεῖται Ἀριστοφάνης Ἥραν τὴν Ἀσπασίαν καλεῖν may be a mere slip).

legeréta, 'the crowd-gatherer[1].' Truth to tell, a parody of the old appellative can still raise a laugh. Does not Clough in the immortal *Bothie* speak of his cheery, cigar-loving friend Lindsay as 'the Piper, the Cloud-compeller?[2]'

Of course, on occasion, magic might be employed, not to collect the clouds, but to scatter them. If for example hail threatened, old-fashioned farmers had recourse to magicians who chased the clouds away[3] and were known as *nephodiôktai*[4]. Nowadays magic or ancient science has joined hands with science or modern magic, and on many a Swiss hillside may be seen the mortar from which maroons are fired when hail-clouds are gathering above the vineyard.

Less magical but more majestic is a second stock epithet of the epic minstrel—*kelainephès* Kronion, Kronos' son 'of the dark clouds[5].' For, though sundry scholiasts and lexicographers attempt to render it 'he who gathers the black, or dark, clouds together[6]' and expound

[1] Kratin. *Chirones frag.* 3 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 147 f. Meineke) *ap.* Plout. *v. Per.* 3 *τῶν δὲ κωμικῶν ὁ μὲν Κρατῖνος ἐν Χείρωσι· 'Στάσις δὲ'* (*φησὶ*) *'καὶ πρεσβυγενὴς Κρόνος* (so anon. for *χρόνος* vulg.) *ἀλλήλοισι μιγέντε μέγιστον | τίκτετον τύραννον, | ὃν δὴ κεφεληγερέταν θεοὶ καλέουσι* (A. Meineke prints *καλοῦσιν*).' I have assumed that Kratinos meant 'collector of heads, crowd-collector,' but there is of course a further hint at the peculiar shape of Perikles' cranium, as is clear from the context. With Kratinos, as with Aristophanes (*e.g. supra* ii. 2 n. 4, 118 n. 3, 1166 n. 3), word-play tends to produce harmonics.

[2] A. H. Clough *The Bothie of Tober-na-vuolich* 3. 83.

[3] E. Fehrle *Studien zu den griechischen Geoponikern* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii) Leipzig—Berlin 1920 p. 8 cites a text parallel to *Geopon.* 1. 14 from cod. Parisin. 2313 (Anatolios) *περὶ χαλάζης ἀποτροπήν.* 1. *πλεῖστα μὲν καὶ ἄλλα παρὰ τοῖς ἀρχαίοις εὑρίσκεται βοηθήματα· ἥ τε διὰ τῆς ἐχίδνης θεραπεία· καὶ ἡ διὰ τοῦ ἀσφάλακος· καὶ ἡ διὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων τῶν διωκόντων τὰ νέφη τῆς χαλάζης· καὶ ἄλλα πολλὰ παρὰ πολλοῖς ἀπίθανα· ἃ δὲ εὐκολώτερα καὶ πάγκοινα καὶ εὐκατάληπτα δοκεῖ εἶναι, συνάγομεν.*

[4] Pseudo-Iust. Mart. *quaestt. et responss. ad orthod.* 31 (vi. 1277 C—D Migne) *Εἰ νεύματι θείῳ αἱ νεφέλαι τὸν ὑετὸν τῇ γῇ καταπέμπουσι, διὰ τί τὰς νεφέλας οἱ καλούμενοι νεφοδιῶκται ἐπαοιδίαις τισὶ κατασκευάζονται, ἔνθα βούλονται, χαλάζας καὶ ἀμέτρους ὑετοὺς ἀκοντίζειν; Τοῦτο ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὰς ἁγίας Γραφὰς μαρτυρεῖς, τοὺς ὑετοὺς εἶναι ἐκ τῶν ἐπαοιδῶν ἄπιστον. καὶ γὰρ αὐτὸς ὁ ταύτην περὶ τούτου ἐρωτήσας τὴν ἐρώτησιν, οὐκ ἀφ' ὧν ἐθεάσω γινομένων τὴν ἐρώτησιν πεποίηκας, ἀλλ' ἀφ' ὧν ἤκουσας.* Clearly the *νεφοδιῶκται* claimed the ability to divert the clouds from their course and to precipitate them as hail or drenching rain in any desired direction. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1466 A quotes from the *Synod. in Trullo* can. 61 *καὶ οἱ τύχην καὶ εἱμαρμένην καὶ γενεαλογίαν φωνοῦντες καὶ οἱ λεγόμενοι νεφοδιῶκται*, from which we conclude that in *s.* vii A.D. the superstition was yet living. More, from Latin sources, in Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.v.* 'tempestarii, tempestuarii.'

[5] The word is a syncopated form of *κελαι[νο]-νεφής*, as was clearly perceived by Herodian (*περὶ παθῶν frag.* 261 (ii. 259, 14 ff. Lentz) *ap. et. mag.* p. 501, 48 ff., cp. *et. Gud.* p. 313, 43 ff.), though he erroneously regarded the first element in the compound as a verb *κελαίνω*=*μελαίνω* instead of the adjective *κελαινός* (yet see Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 595 (ii. 363, 25 f. Lentz) *ap. et. mag.* p. 59, 61 f.). On the etymology of *κελαινός* consult Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 214 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 430, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] pp. 113 f., 179.

[6] Hesych. *s.v. κελαινεφές·...ὁ* (M. Schmidt cj. *ὦ* (?)) *κελαινὰ συνάγων τὰ νέφη*, schol. D. *Il.* 2. 412 *κελαινεφές· μελανονεφές, μέλανα νέφη συνάγων πρὸς κατάπληξιν.*

it as meaning 'the rain-maker[1],' yet the title itself calls up no such primitive picture, nor has it quite the same claim as *nephelegeréta* to be recognised as a poetic heirloom of fixed and unalterable pattern[2]. A point deserving of notice is its constant association with Kronion or Kronides. It is seldom, if ever, used of Zeus pure and simple till long after classical times. Normally Zeus is *kelainephés* as being the son of Kronos; or, more rarely, both the divine names are dropped and *kelainephés* stands as an independent appellative. It looks as though this particular title had been attached to Zeus in early Homeric days as affiliated successor of the 'Minoan' storm-god Kronos[3].

According to the *Iliad*, the three sons of Kronos divided the world between them and

> Zeus' portion was
> Broad heaven in the *aithér* and the clouds[4].

Zeus sits on the peak of Mount Olympos and, when he is visited by Hera and Athena, the Horai fling wide a cloudy portal to admit them:

> Then Hera with the lash swift smote the steeds,
> And of their own accord the gates of heaven
> Groaned, held by the Horai. These are they who keep
> Great heaven and Olympos; theirs the task
> To ope the thick cloud or to close the same.
> So through the gateway guided they their steeds
> Patient o' the goad, and Kronos' son they found
> Sitting apart from all the other gods
> On the topmost peak of many-ridged Olympos[5].

[1] Schol. D. *Il.* 1. 397 κελαινεφεῖ· τῷ τὰς νεφέλας μελαίνοντι, ὁμβροποιῷ. Cp. Orion p. 83, 12 f. κελαινεφής· ὁ Ζεύς. ὁ τὰ νέφη κλονῶν καὶ κινῶν, ἢ μελανοποιῶν ἐν τῷ ὕειν.

[2] At the end of a hexameter we find κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι (*Il.* 1. 397, 6. 267, 24. 290 (cp. Tzetz. *alleg. Il.* 24. 162), *h. Dem.* 91, 468, *h. Herakl. Leont.* 15. 3, *h. Diosk.* 17. 4, *h. Diosk.* 33. 5, Hes. *sc. Her.* 53), κελαινεφέα Κρονίωνα (*Il.* 11. 78, *h. Aphr.* 220), Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι (*h. Dem.* 316), πατρὶ κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίωνι (*h. Dem.* 396).

At the beginning of a hexameter the *formula* is Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ Κρονίδῃ (*Od.* 9. 552, 13. 25, but never in the *Iliad*). Κρονίδῃ is not omitted except by late authors (Maximus περὶ καταρχῶν 605 Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ refers to the planet Zeus and is followed immediately by a *lacuna* (see A. Ludwich *ad loc.*). Tzetz. *alleg. Od.* 9. 118, 13. 7 (in P. Matranga *Anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 i. 277, 293) Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ is more *ad rem*).

After the *caesura* κελαινεφές occurs either in conjunction with other vocatives (*Il.* 2. 412 Ζεῦ κύδιστε, μέγιστε, κελαινεφές, 22. 178 ὦ πάτερ ἀργικέραυνε, κελαινεφές) or standing by itself (*Il.* 15. 46, *Od.* 13. 147 where Nikanor read διοτρεφές of Artemis (schol. L.T. *Il.* 9. 538), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 332. 7 (Adrianos) cited *supra* ii. 982 n. 0). *Il.* 21. 520 κὰδ δ' ἴζον παρὰ πατρὶ κελαινεφεῖ (with variants πὰρ Ζηνὶ κελαινεφεῖ and κελαινεφεῖ πὰρ Ζηνί) is an isolated dative.

[3] *Supra* ii. 554 ff., 601, 845.

[4] *Il.* 15. 192 (cited *supra* i. 25 n. 5), cp. *Il.* 15. 20 (*supra* i. 25 f.).

[5] *Il.* 5. 748 ff. The first half of the passage is repeated in *Il.* 8. 395 ff.

Similarly Apollon and Iris, when sent by Hera to Mount Ide, discover Zeus seated on the summit of Gargaron[1]—

> And ringed about him was a fragrant cloud[2].

It was on the same mountain-top that Zeus, succumbing to the wiles of Hera, promised privacy within a cloud:

> Hera, fear not: nor god, nor man shall see it;
> So thick the golden cloud that I will wrap
> Around us, Helios himself could ne'er—
> Though keen his radiance beyond all—espy us[3].

And Zeus was as good as his word. The sequel tells how

> o'er them spread a cloud magnificent
> And golden: glittering dew-drops from it fell[4].

Clearly cloudland is characteristic of the sky-god. Later poets harp on the theme. Aischylos says simply 'the clouds of Zeus[5].' Pindar *more suo* mints fresh and ringing epithets for Zeus himself—*orsinephés*, 'he that causeth the clouds to rise[6],' *hypsinephés*, 'he of the towering clouds[7],' *polynephélas*, 'the many-clouded' ruler of the sky[8]. There is a would-be return to Homeric *naïveté* in the *Birds* of Aristophanes, when the Chorus of songsters chant:

> Then take us for Gods, as is proper and fit,
> And Muses Prophetic ye'll have at your call
> Spring, winter, and summer, and autumn and all.
> And we won't run away from your worship, and sit
> Up above in the clouds, very stately and grand,
> Like Zeus in his tempers: but always at hand
> Health and wealth we'll bestow, as the formula runs,
> ON YOURSELVES, AND YOUR SONS, AND THE SONS OF YOUR SONS[9]—

or when Prometheus, much in awe of his Aeschylean persecutor, asks in a scared tone:

> What's Zeus about?
> Clearing the clouds off, or collecting them[10]?

[1] *Supra* ii. 950 n. o.

[2] *Il.* 15. 153 *ἀμφὶ δέ μιν θυέεν νέφος ἐστεφάνωτο.*

[3] *Il.* 14. 342 ff.

[4] *Il.* 14. 350 f. (*supra* i. 154).

[5] Aisch. *suppl.* 780 *μέλας γενοίμαν καπνὸς νέφεσι γειτονῶν Διός.*

[6] Pind. *Nem.* 5. 62 ff. *ὁ δ' εὖ φράσθη κατέ|νευσέν τέ οἱ ὀρσινεφὴς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ | Ζεὺς ἀθανάτων βασιλεύς.*

[7] Pind. *Ol.* 5. 39 f. *σωτὴρ ὑψινεφὲς | Ζεῦ.*

[8] Pind. *Nem.* 3. 16 f. *οὐρανοῦ πο|λυνεφέλᾳ κρέοντι θύγατερ.*

[9] Aristoph. *av.* 723 ff. trans. B. B. Rogers. Lines 726 ff. run *κοὐκ ἀποδράντες | καθεδούμεθ' ἄνω σεμνυνόμενοι | παρὰ ταῖς νεφέλαις ὥσπερ χὼ Ζεύς.*

[10] Aristoph. *av.* 1501 f. *τί γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς ποιεῖ; | ἀπαιθριάζει τὰς νεφέλας ἢ ξυννέφει;*

Latin poets likewise associate the clouds with the sky-god—Statius for instance speaks of 'cloudy Iupiter[1]'—and the notion passed into the common poetic stock.

(b) Zeus and the Clouds in Art.

This canonical conception of the sky-god sitting among his clouds can be illustrated from early imperial art. A fine fresco from Herculaneum, now in the Museo Nazionale at Naples (pl. iv, fig. 8)[2],

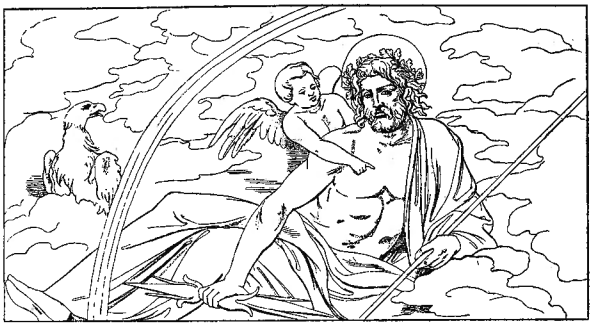


Fig. 8.

shows a fair-haired[3] Zeus reclining amid the clouds. He wears an oak-wreath on his head, a reddish[4] *himátion* round his left shoulder and both legs, and a sandal on his foot. His right hand grasps a double lotiform thunderbolt, his left a long sceptre. His face, backed by a whitish[5] *nimbus*, expresses serious thought, and a small winged

[1] Stat. *Theb.* 12. 650 f. qualis Hyperboreos ubi nubilus institit axes (axe cod. P) | Iuppiter et prima tremefecit sidera bruma, | etc.

[2] *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 289 no. 1259, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 32 f. no. 113, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1834 x pl. 23 with text pp. 1—3, E. Braun *Vorschule der Kunstmythologie* Gotha 1854 p. 10 pl. 15 (= my fig. 8), Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iv. 104 f. ('Jupiter im Wolkenrevier'), O. Benndorf 'Zeus und Eros' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1864 xix. 442—449 with pl., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 189 ff. (η) Atlas pl. 1, 43, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 7, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 186 (=my pl. iv) Text p. 253.

[3] This detail I owe to Miss P. B. Mudie Cooke (Mrs E. M. W. Tillyard), who kindly inspected for me all the frescoes representing Zeus that are in the Naples collection.

[4] B. Quaranta *loc. cit.* 'un pallio di color bianco livido,' but W. Helbig *loc. cit.* 'Ein röthlicher Mantel.'

[5] H. W. Schulz in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1841 p. 104 'col nimbo bianco,' L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkrans* St Petersburg 1859 p. 13 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.) 'weiss,' W. Helbig *loc. cit.* 'einen weisslichen Nimbus um das Haupt.'

Fresco from Herculaneum, now at Naples:
Zeus reclining amid the clouds.

See page 36 f. *with fig.* 8.

Eros appearing behind his right shoulder points downwards to some cause of interest, not improbably to Ganymedes or some other of the god's numerous flames[1]. Above the pair stretches the arc of a rainbow, beyond which, half-hidden by the clouds, is perched an eagle looking towards its master. So much is certain. But further, a comparison of this fresco with 'Apulian' vase-paintings[2] or with the relief by Archelaos of Priene[3] raises a suspicion that here, as there, Zeus is really couched on a mountain-top, say the cloudy summit of Olympos. Be that as it may, the painter has managed to combine a variety of Hellenistic *motifs*—the recumbent Zeus[4], the prompting Eros[5], the expectant eagle[6]—in a fairly consistent and effective whole.

Somewhat similar is the design that adorned the central medallion in the barrel-ceiling of Room 60, the famous *Volta Dorata*, of Nero's Golden House (fig. 9)[7]. Here against a circular field of blue is seen

[1] F. G. Welcker *loc. cit.* p. 104 held that Eros is directing attention to the sceptre of Zeus, O. Benndorf *loc. cit.* p. 444 that he is indicating the heart as the seat of the god's malady. E. Braun *loc. cit.* had come nearer to the truth, when he assumed that Eros is pointing downwards to some human fair.

[2] *Supra* i. 127 fig. 96, i. 128 f. pl. xii.

[3] *Supra* i. 131 fig. 98 pl. xiii.

[4] With the works of art recorded in the two preceding notes cp. a numismatic type *supra* i. 116 fig. 85. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 161, *supra* i. 125 ff.

[5] The history of the type is worth tracing. Its several stages are enumerated and exemplified *infra* Append. Q.

[6] *Supra* i. 34 Frontispiece and pl. i, 35 pl. ii, 42 pl. vi, 131 pl. xiii and fig. 98, 598 n. 1 fig. 461, 752 fig. 552, ii. 15 f. figs. 4—6, 285 n. 0 fig. 184 f., 400 n. 11 fig. 303, 575 fig. 481, 576 fig. 484, 705 fig. 635, 707 figs. 639, 640, 754 n. 2 fig. 694, 771 fig. 735, 798 fig. 761, 833 fig. 793, 895 n. 1 fig. 821, 956 n. 0 fig. 846, 1125 n. 1 fig. 951, 1143 fig. 964, 1161 fig. 969, 1230 fig. 1024, 1232 tailpiece. Sometimes the eagle hovers (ii. 708 fig. 643), or is perched on a *cornu copiae* (ii. 1225 fig. 1023) or grape-bunch (i. 596 fig. 457) or tree (ii. 282 n. 2. pl. xix) or on the reins of a car (ii. 285 n. 0 fig. 180) or in the pediment of a temple (ii. 285 n. 0 fig. 186) or on a globe (ii. 95 fig. 54, *a*, 578 n. 1 fig. 491 (?)) or holds a wreath (i. 42 fig. 12, 276 fig. 202 (?), ii. 232 n. 0 fig. 160 (?), 754 n. 2 fig. 695), or is duplicated to flank a throne (ii. 754 n. 1 fig. 693, cp. 1102 n. 0 fig. 939), or mounts guard over the *regalia* (ii. 811 fig. 778), or appears in relief on an altar (i. 713 fig. 528). The same bird attends upon Sarapis (i. 188 fig. 137) and Jupiter *Dolichenus* (i. 611 f. figs. 480, 481), and upon emperors who play the part of Zeus, *e.g.* Domitian (ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777), Commodus (ii. 1185 fig. 987), Geta (ii. 1185 f. fig. 988), Caracalla (ii. 1186 fig. 989).

See further K. Sittl *Der Adler und die Weltkugel als Attribute des Zeus* (Besonderer Abdruck aus dem vierzehnten Supplementbande der Jahrbücher für classische Philologie) Leipzig 1884 pp. 3—42.

[7] P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Le pitture antiche del Sepolcro de Nasonii nella Via Flaminia* Roma 1680 p. 6 ('*In un foglio si rappresenta la testudine di una Camera divisata in ripartimenti di vari colori, nel cui mezzo in una sfera celeste sono dipinte le Nozze di Giove, il quale sopra una nubbe, abbraccia Giunone con Amore che scocca verso di lui uno strale. Evvi incontro Pallade, e Mercurio col vaso dell' ambrosia*'), G. Turnbull *A treatise on ancient painting* London 1740 p. 176 pl. 10 ('*Jupiter* on his Eagle caressing *Juno*, probably, because *Minerva* is there; yet he was wont to receive his Daughter

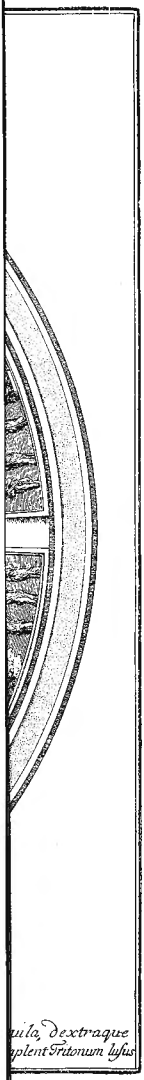
Zeus seated on a cloud with a crimson *himátion* wrapped about his legs. He turns to embrace the naked and rather effeminate form of Ganymedes[1], who wears turban-wise his Phrygian cap (?) and has

Fig. 9.

a wind-swept *chlamýs* fluttering from his shoulder. The great eagle, which has just arrived with the beauteous boy, is already nestling—

Venus very kindly, according to *Virgil'* (*Aen.* 1. 254 ff.)) from a drawing by Bartoli in the Massimi collection = my fig. 9, F. Weege in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxviii. 176 col. pl. 6 ('Auf einer Wolke sieht man Zeus, von dem Adler getragen, mit einer nackten Frau (oder Ganymed?), vor ihm links die bewaffnete Athena und Hermes mit einer Schale. Von oben schwebt ein Eros auf das Liebespaar zu'), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 15 no. 2 ('Jupiter, Ganymède, Minerve, Mercure, Eros').

[1] Other identifications (see the preceding note) are much less probable. Iuno would not have been represented as a naked woman, and Venus could at most claim a parental kiss. Besides, the eagle spells Ganymedes.



ula, dextraque
plent Tritonum lusus

s, Tritons, etc.

See page 39.

its wings still spread—beneath the left foot of Zeus, to serve him as a living footstool. Eros hovers near at hand with welcoming arms. Hermes in winged *pétasos* and loosely draped *chlamýs* holds up, from a lower level of cloud, a *phiále*—possibly that from which Ganymedes had fed the eagle[1]. In the background to the left Athena, equipped with helmet, spear, and Gorgon-shield, turns her head to address another goddess imperfectly seen behind her. The painting no doubt has merits. The choice of subject suits its position of central importance. The blue circle overhead suggests the sky and helps the spectator to realise that this is no mountain-top but the heaven above it[2]. Hermes' gesture secures uplift[3]. Detachment from earth is complete. Yet the composition in general is not very well adapted to fill the circular space. The fusion of three types—Zeus enthroned, Zeus on the eagle[4], Ganymedes on the eagle—is decidedly awkward. Hermes' action after all is a little meaningless. And the two goddesses, perhaps intended for those of the Capitoline triad, are obviously *de trop*.

These weaknesses disappear in a third fresco, which again formed the ceiling-decoration in a room of the Golden House (pl. v)[5]. The circular design, according to a sketch of it made by that consistently careful draughtsman P. S. Bartoli, depicts Zeus seated on a cloudy throne with a *himátion* wrapped about his legs, a thunderbolt brandished in his right hand, and an eagle perched at his side. The medallion was surrounded by a triple row of gods and goddesses with, beyond them, a series of sportive Tritons.

An engraved onyx in my collection (fig. 10)[6] represents the whole company of heaven as conceived in Roman imperial times.

[1] *Infra* Append. P.

[2] *Supra* i. 115.

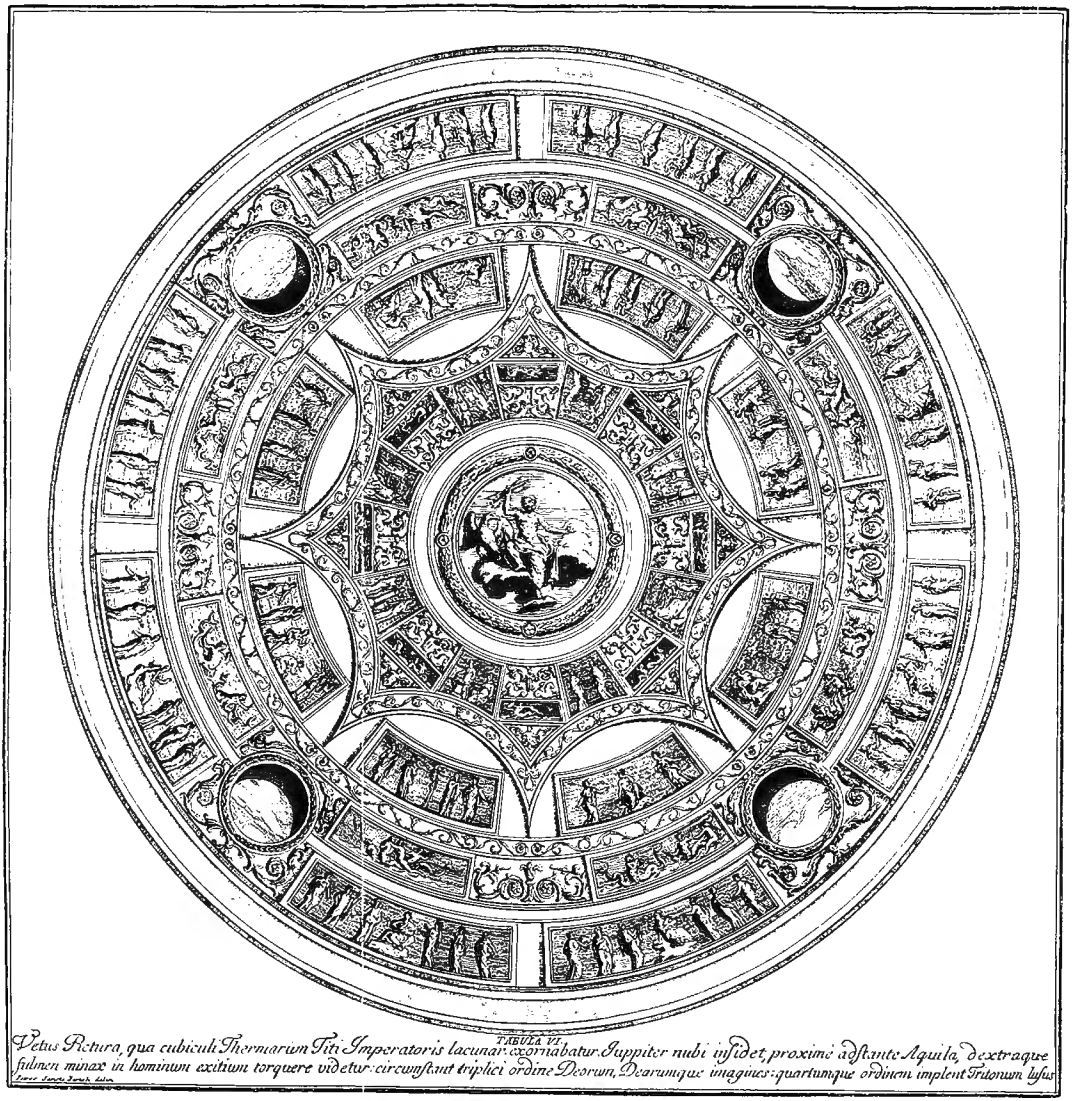
[3] Cp. the attitude of Ganymedes himself, not to mention the eagle and the dog, in the Vatican group after Leochares (*supra* ii. 281 n. 4).

[4] *Supra* ii. 102 f. n. 0 figs. 59—64, ii. 462 n. 0.

[5] J. P. Bellorius et M. A. Causseus *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum* Romae 1750 p. 89 Append. pl. 6 ('Juppiter nubi insidet, proximè adstante Aquila, dextraque fulmen minax in hominum exitium torquere videtur: circumstant triplici ordine Deorum, Dearumque imagines: quartumque ordinem implent Tritonum lusus') = my pl. v, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 5.

[6] The stone, which is circular and plano-convex (here figured to a scale of $\frac{3}{4}$), possibly served as a pendant or ear-ring. On such purely ornamental *phalerae* see E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 427. This one is from the Wyndham Cook and Sir Francis Cook collections. It does not appear in the privately printed Catalogue of the Wyndham Cook Collection, but was in the Sale of Humphry W. Cook (July 1925), who inherited from Sir Francis Cook. There is an impression of the same intaglio in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, no. 472 in the Impressions of Engraved Gems (Ancient and Modern) got together by John Wilson (1790—1876). It is described in the MS. *Catalogue* as 'Jupiter between Juno & Minerva to witness a Chariot Race'!

Plate V



A frescoed ceiling from a room in the Golden House : Zeus enthroned in heaven, surrounded by gods, goddesses, Tritons, etc.

See page 39.

The convex circular field is admirably suggestive of a cosmic scene. Above a thick stratum of cloud sit the Capitoline three. Iupiter in the centre, with a *himátion* draped round his knees and over his left shoulder, has a small twisted thunderbolt in his right hand[1] and a long sceptre in his left. At his right side Minerva, in *chitón*,

Fig. 11.

Fig. 12.

Fig. 10.

Fig. 13.

Fig. 14.

himátion, and helmet, holds a short sceptre in one hand and raises the other as if she grasped a spear[2]. At his left side is Iuno, in

[1] The thunderbolt, though present in the position indicated *supra* ii. 754 ff., is minimised and liable to confusion with the lines of the arm and hand.

[2] Cp. *e.g.* a terra-cotta lamp of *s.* iii. A.D., which figures the Capitoline deities all seated and puts a spear in the raised right hand of Minerva (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* p. 167 no. 1110 fig. 234). The *motif* is normal in the standing type of the Capitoline Minerva (*e.g. supra* i. 44 fig. 13, 45 fig. 14). The omission of the spear on the onyx may imply that the pose was modified into a gesture of entreaty or the like (C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 51, 188 ff.).

chitón, *himátion*, and veil. She too holds a short sceptre in one hand and with the other extends a *patera* towards Iupiter. The triad is flanked by a pair of nude beardless wind-gods blowing conch-shells[1] as they emerge from the cloudy band. Beneath the clouds Sol in a *quadriga* pursues Luna in a *biga*: he is distinguished by his *chlamýs* and radiate crown, she by her arched drapery and crescent. Lowest of all reclines Oceanus portrayed as an elderly river-god with water flowing from his urn[2]. The Capitoline group as here represented resembles so closely—even to the modified gesture of Minerva's hand—the same group as it appears on bronze medallions of Antoninus Pius (fig. 11)[3] and of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (fig. 12)[4] that we may fairly attribute the intaglio to a period not much later than the middle of the second century A.D. Similar in age and *motif* are two, if not three, gems in our national collection[5]. Ultimately the deities, seated or standing, are accompanied by their favourite birds—graphic labelling of the usual sort (figs. 13, 14).[6] It is interesting to observe that the whole subject was used with happy effect in the decoration of a terra-cotta lamp, now at Berlin (fig. 15)[7], which—to judge from its heart-shaped nozzle—can be referred to the third century A.D.[8]

[1] F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1851 i. 2. 437, H. Steinmetz in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 37 ff.

[2] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 817 f. fig. 1, O. Navarre in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 144.

[3] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 49 fig. (Paris) = Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 380 f. no. 1134 fig. (= my fig. 11) (Paris) (Minerva 'porte la main droite à sa tête') = E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 758 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 16 no. 66 pl. 50, 5 a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (140—143 A.D.) with *obv.* legend ANTONINVS AVG PIVS P P TR P COS III (Milan).

[4] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 130 no. 5 ('*Autrefois M. Carpentier*') (Minerva 'porte la main droite à sa tête') = Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 43 no. 6 pl. 71, 6 (= my fig. 12) a medallion, in two bronzes, of Marcus Aurelius and Lucius Verus (161—165 A.D.) with *obv.* legend IMP ANTONINVS AVG COS II[I] IMP VERVS COS II (Berlin).

[5] (1) a sapphirine chalcedony (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 143 no. 1257 pl. 18, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 44, 48, ii. 215, H. B. Walters *Art of the Romans* London 1911 pl. 48, 21). (2) a sard (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 143 no. 1258 pl. 18). (3) a fragmentary sard, *minus* the upper part of Minerva (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 143 no. 1259).

[6] Nos. 7228 and 8889 in the Wilson Collection of Gem-impressions (*supra* p. 39 n. 6). Scale $\frac{3}{4}$.

[7] In the Berlin Museum terra cotta no. 871 figured by L. Beger *Thesauri Regii et Electoralis Brandenburgici* vol. iii (Coloniæ Marchicæ s.a.) p. 439 f. fig. H, P. S. Bartoli—G. P. Bellori *Le antiche lucerne sepolcrali figurate* Roma 1704 Pt. ii. p. 4 f. pl. 9 (= my fig. 15), H. Moses *A Collection of Vases*... London 1814 pl. 81 (after Bartoli), cp. O. Jahn *Archäologische Beiträge* Berlin 1847 p. 83, F. Piper *op. cit.* i. 2. 435.

[8] J. Fink in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1900 p. 685 ff. 'Formen und Stempel römischer Thonlampen' (Class iv), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Lamps* pp. xxv, 167 ff.

In Greece and Italy the belief that the gods were enthroned above the cloud-belt goes back, through a long line of literary tradition, to Homer and the Homeric Olympos[1]. Further east even earthly

Fig. 15.

monarchs laid claim to a like exaltation. Thus Kushāṇa kings of the Kābul valley, during the first two centuries of our era, issued numerous gold coins on which their supramundane position was duly indicated. V'ima Kadphises, son of Kujūla Kadphises and conqueror

[1] *Supra* i. 101 f. pl. ix, 1 and 2.

of northern India, whose reign ended in 78 A.D.[1], appears either half-emergent from a pile of clouds (fig. 16)[2] or sitting cross-legged upon them as on comfortable cushions (fig. 17)[3]. Kanishka, his successor from 78 A.D. onwards[4], raises his head proudly above a thick mass of clouds (fig. 18)[5]. Huvishka, who probably followed Kanishka on the throne *c.* 111—129 A.D.[6], repeats the types of V'ima Kadphises and either emerges half his height above the clouds (figs. 19, 20)[7] or sits cross-legged on the top of them (fig. 21)[8].

Finally, in mediaeval times, the cloud-stratum was stylised into the nebuly of ecclesiastical[9] and heraldic[10] art.

Fig. 16.

Fig. 17.

Fig. 18

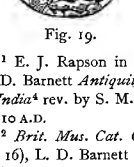


Fig. 19.

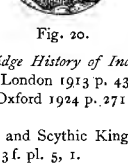


Fig. 20.

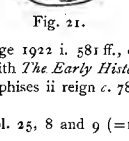


Fig. 21.

[1] E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 581 ff., cp. L. D. Barnett *Antiquities of India* London 1913 p. 43. V. A. Smith *The Early History of India*[4] rev. by S. M. Edwardes Oxford 1924 p. 271 makes Kadphises ii reign *c.* 78—*c.* 110 A.D.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 124 f. pl. 25, 8 and 9 (=my fig. 16), L. D. Barnett *op. cit.* p. 213 f. pl. 5, 1.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 124 pl. 25, 7 (=my fig. 17), Ç. J. Brown *The Coins of India* Calcutta 1922 p. 35 pl. 4, 3 ('the king seated cross-legged on a couch').

[4] E. J. Rapson *loc. cit.* V. A. Smith *op. cit.*[4] pp. 274, 286 makes Kanishka succeed Kadphises ii and reign *c.* 120—*c.* 160 A.D. L. D. Barnett *op. cit.* p. 42 had placed Kanishka's reign 58—*c.* 34 B.C.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 132 pl. 26, 16 (=my fig. 18) and 17.

[6] *Supra* ii. 791 n. 2. V. A. Smith *op. cit.*[4] p. 286 ff. dates Huvishka's reign *c.* 160—*c.* 182 A.D. L. D. Barnett *op. cit.* p. 42 had placed it *c.* 25 B.C.—*c.* 2 A.D.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 136 ff. pl. 27, 9 (=my fig. 19), 11, 16, pl. 28, 9, V. A. Smith *op. cit.*[4] p. 76 coin-pl. figs. 4, 5. Fig. 20 is from a specimen in my collection.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 145 pl. 28, 10 (=my fig. 21).

[9] *Supra* ii. 137 n. 0 pl. viii.

[10] O. Barron in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1910 xiii. 317, A. C. Fox-Davies *A complete Guide to Heraldry* London 1925 pp. 79 f., 91 f. fig. 47, G, H, 94.

(c) Nephelokokkygia[1].

It remains to consider in greater detail the most famous conception of Cloud-land bequeathed to us by classical antiquity, the Nephelokokkygia of Aristophanes' *Birds*. That remarkable drama raises many problems, some of which we must attempt to solve. Why did the poet choose Birds for his theme? Why lay such stress on the Hoopoe, the Woodpecker, the Cuckoo? Who is Pisthetairos? Who is Basileia? And what light does the whole *fantasia* throw on the relation between Zeus and the Clouds? I begin by passing in review the relevant incidents of the play.

Two typical Athenians, Pisthetairos and Euelpides, tired of Athens and its perpetual lawsuits, set out, under the guidance of a crow and a jackdaw, to seek the hoopoe Tereus. They would learn from him, since he too had been a man and suffered like troubles, where they may find peaceful quarters—

> Fleecy as a rug and soft to lie upon[2].

They want something more comfortable than their own Rock Town, but scout his suggestions of the Red Sea in the east, Lepreos down south, Opous up north. Euelpides thinks there is much to be said for staying where they are, with the Birds. And Pisthetairos is struck by a grand idea. If Tereus and the Birds would but hearken to him, they might take possession of the Clouds—why not?—and transform the very *pólos* into a *pólis*. This would enable them to starve out the gods, who could receive no savoury sacrificial smoke without first paying tribute to them! Hereupon Tereus and his mate, Prokne the nightingale, summon an assembly of the Birds, a suspicious and hostile crowd[3].

To allay their fears, Pisthetairos in a persuasive speech develops his scheme[4]. He tells them that the Birds were formerly lords of creation, being of older lineage than Kronos, the Titans, or Earth herself—witness Aesop's fable of the Lark which, before earth existed, had to bury her father in her own head[5]. Clearly then the Birds are

[1] The first draft of this section appeared as '*Nephelokokkygia*' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 213—221 with pl. It is here republished with considerable alterations and additions.

[2] Aristoph. *av.* 121 f.

[3] *Id. ib.* 1—450.

[4] *Id. ib.* 451—538.

[5] This fable, which is of a type still common in the Balkans (cp. M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 236 f. no. 78 'Why has the lark a tuft?', p. 238 f. no. 79 'Why is the tuft of the lark dishevelled?'), is not found in any ancient collection of Aisopika. F. de Furia (Lipsiae 1810) *fab.* 415 and C. Halm (Lipsiae 1860) *fab.* 211

more ancient than the gods, and Zeus ought to relinquish his sceptre to the Woodpecker[1]. Again, the Birds are the rightful rulers of mankind. The Cock with his upright tiara was once king of Persia, and still summons men to their labours[2]. The Kite lorded it over

merely paraphrase or transcribe Aristophanes. Galen *de simplicium medicamentorum temperamentis et facultatibus* 11. 37 (xii. 360 f. Kühn) likewise cites Aristophanes and rightly cp. the ἐπιτυμβίδιαι κορυδαλλίδες of Theokr. 7. 23 (see O. Crusius on Babr. 72. 20 κορυδαλλὸς οὖν τάφοις παίζων). Ail. *de nat. an.* 16. 5 (copied by the paroemiographers Apostol. 7. 74, Arsen. *viol.* p. 239 Walz *s.v.* ἔποπος 'Ινδοῦ στοργή) thinks that the Greeks got their story of the Lark from one told by the Brachmanes about the Hoopoe, a bird which the Indians deem the right pet for royalty. The story is as follows. A certain Indian king had a son, whose [two?] elder brothers grew up lawless and violent. They scorned their brother as too young and scoffed at their father and mother as too old. So the parents took their youngest boy and fled. Their journey was too much for them and they died. But the boy, far from despising them, split his own head with a sword and buried them in it. The Sun, who sees all, amazed at this remarkable instance of filial piety, turned the boy into a beautiful and long-lived bird. On his head is a crest, which keeps his exploit in memory.... An Ogygian length of time has elapsed since the Indian Hoopoe was a boy and treated his parents thus. A. Hausrath in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1727, 1730 f. makes it probable that the simple Greek tale is not actually derived from the more rhetorical Indian tale. Nevertheless the two are so similar that they cannot be regarded as wholly unrelated. There is of course a superficial resemblance between the crested lark (*e.g.* R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1894—95 iii. 420 f. with fig. on p. 418) and the hoopoe (*id. ib.* 1895 iv. 57 ff. with col. pl.), and it is reasonable to suppose that Greeks and Indians, distant cousins by race, elaborated analogous stories to account for parallel features. But D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 97 is in danger of going too far when he says: 'The κορυδός and ἔποψ (both crested birds) are frequently confused: the very word *Alauda* is possibly an Eastern word for the Hoopoe, Arab. *al hudhud*.' This etymology, first found in, or rather implied by, the Pandectarius Arabicus Matthaei Sylvatici (an Arab commentator on the *Pandectae* of Matthaeus Sylvaticus, physician of Salerno, published at Naples in 1474) quoted by S. Bochart *Hierozoïcon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 115, is nowadays commonly rejected in favour of a Celtic origin (Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 121 Gallico vocabulo, Suet. *Iul.* 24 vocabulo...Gallico, Marcell. *de medicamentis* 28. 50 p. 299, 1 Helmreich Gallice): see L. Diefenbach *Origines Europaeae* Frankfurt am Main 1861 pp. 219—222, C. W. Glück in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1866 xii. 166 f., A. Holder *Alt-celtischer Sprachschatz* Leipzig 1896 i. 75 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 23.

[1] *Supra* ii. 697 n. 0. May we infer that the woodpecker, like the wren (first in Aristoph. *av.* 569 βασιλεύς ἐστ' ὄρχιλος ὄρνις, cp. its later names βασιλίσκος (Aisop. *ap.* Plout. *praec. gerend. reipubl.* 12, *alib.*), τύραννος (Aristot. *hist. an.* 8. 3. 592 b 23), *regaliolus* (Suet. *Iul.* 81 regaliolum with *v.l.* regaviolum, on which see De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'regaliolus'), *regulus* (*carm. de philomel.* 43 in *Poet. Lat. min.* v. 366 Baehrens), 'kinglet' (C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 25)) and sundry other birds (Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 203 dissident...aquila et trochilus, si credimus, quoniam rex appellatur avium, cp. 8. 90 parva avis, quae trochilos ibi vocatur, rex avium in Italia, with the remarks of D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 171 f.), was popularly held to be a king? Keleos the Green Woodpecker (*supra* i. 226) was one of the 'kings' at Eleusis (*supra* i. 211).

[2] F. Baethgen *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* Gottingae 1887 pp. 6, 8, 11 (somewhat slight). The best account of the cock in Persian religion is still that of K. Schwenck *Die Mythologie der Perser* Frankfurt am Main 1850 pp. 304—307. See also F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2521 ff.

Hellas: Hellenes grovel yet at the sight of him[1]. The Cuckoo was sovereign of Egypt and Phoinike, and his cry sent the circumcised to reap their plains: young stalwarts still follow their example[2]. Tragedy-kings bear a bird-tipped sceptre[3]. Zeus himself has an eagle on his head, Athena an owl, Apollon a hawk[4]. No wonder men swear 'by the Goose[5].'

[1] The kite was in general a bird of ill omen (L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 94 f. ('Weihen')), whose advent shortly before the vernal equinox (Gemin. *calendarium*: *Pisces* p. 228, 1 f. Manitius *ἐν δὲ τῇ ιζ* (March 9) *Εὐδόξῳ χειμαίνει· καὶ ἱκτῖνος φαίνεται*, 6 f. *ἐν δὲ τῇ κβ* (March 14) *Εὐκτήμονι ἱκτῖνος φαίνεται· ὀρνιθίαι πνέουσι μέχρις ἰσημερίας*, 10 f. *ἐν δὲ τῇ λ* (March 22) *Καλλίππῳ τῶν Ἰχθύων ὁ νότιος ἐπιτέλλων λήγει· ἱκτῖνος φαίνεται· βορέας πνεῖ* with the observations of D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 68 f. Cp. Aristoph. *av.* 713 f.) might well be greeted by the superstitious with grovelling prostration (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 501 *προκυλινδεῖσθαι· ἔαρος ἀρχομένου* (*ἐρχομένου* cod. R.) *ἱκτινος φαίνεται εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα. ἐφ' ᾧ ἡδόμενοι κυλίνδονται* (*ὡς ἐπὶ γόνυ. παίξας οὖν ὡς βασιλεῖ φησι τὸ κυλινδεῖσθαι*). *ἴδιον γὰρ βασιλέως τὸ γονυπετεῖσθαι ὑπὸ ἀνθρώπων. ἄλλως.* (*τοὺς ἀνθρώπους δηλονότι. τὸ διὰ μεταβολὴν δὲ καιροῦ γινόμενον εἰς βασιλικὴν ἐπέτρεψε τιμήν.*) *οἱ γὰρ ἱκτινοι τὸ παλαιὸν ἔαρ ἐσήμαινον. οἱ πένητες οὖν ἀπαλλαγέντες τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐκυλινδοῦντο καὶ προσεκύνουν αὐτούς.* Souid. *s.v. ἱκτινος* merely copied this scholion, prefixing the words *καὶ παροιμία· προκυλινδεῖσθαι ἱκτίνοις*. No such saying, however, appears in the paroemiographers). There is no doubt tbat Aristophanes has here preserved for us a genuine scrap of ancient folk-custom. W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 483 adduces an interesting parallel: 'Beim ersten Kukuksruf wälzt sich der Meininger, hessische, westfälische Bauer ein paarmal auf der Erde, um das Jahr hindurch frei von Rückenschmerzen zu bleiben[5]. ([5] Zs. f. D. A. III, 362, 13. XII, 400. Zs. f. D. Myth. IV, 447. Kuhn, Westfäl. Sag. II, 74, 221.) Gradeso warf sich im alten Griechenland rücklings (*ὕπτιος*) nieder und wälzte sich auf dem Boden, wer zum erstenmale im Frühling eines Weihen (*ἱκτινος*) ansichtig ward[6]. ([6] Aristophan. av. 498 ff. c. schol.)' See further Seemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 713, 721 n. 170.

[2] We have no reason to think that Egyptians and Phoenicians were specially devoted to the Cuckoo. But it is likely enough that they regarded his cry in the spring-time as a signal for returning to work in the fields (cp. J. Hardy 'Popular History of the Cuckoo' in *The Folk-Lore Record* 1879 ii. 56 ff.). Aristophanes uses words with a double meaning: *κόκκυ* suggests at once 'cuckoo' and 'cuckold' (W. Mannhardt 'Der Kukuk' in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 1855 iii. 246 ff. 'Vor allem stand der kukuk den functionen der zeugung vor.' Etc.); *ψωλοί* means both *circumcisi* and *verpi*; *πεδίον* is not only 'plain' but also *pudendum* (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 507 *ἄλλως. τὸ αἰδοῖον*, cp. λειμών, *κῆπος*, *hortus*, and the like).

[3] *E.g. supra* i. 251 pl. xxii (Kreon).

[4] The type is so unusual that the scholiast *ad loc.* is reduced to saying *δέον εἰπεῖν ἐπὶ τοῦ σκήπτρου εἶπεν ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς*! His alternative explanation *ἐπειδὴ εἰώθεσαν τὰ ἀφιερωμένα ἑκάστῳ θεῷ ὄρνεα ἐπὶ κεφαλῆς ἱδρύεσθαι* is simply untrue. Hieratic effigies of the sort are all pre-Hellenic, *e.g.* the faience goddesses surmounted by snake and lioness (?leopard) from the temple-repository of 'Middle Minoan iii' date at Knossos (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 74 ff. figs. 54—57, *id. The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 500 ff. with col. Frontispiece and figs. 359—362, H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*[2] Berlin 1923 pp. 22, 72 ff. figs. 103—106) or the terra-cotta goddess with a dove on her head from the small shrine of 'Late Minoan iii' date on the same site (*supra* ii. 536 fig. 406 *c*). We need not suppose that such archaic forms had survived into classical Greece. If a bird on the head was modified into a bird on the helmet, that would lend point enough to Aristophanes' lines. And of this usage we have some few traces. There was a chrysele-

phantine statue of Athena with a cock on her helmet, said to be the work of Pheidias, on the *akrópolis* of Elis (Paus. 6. 26. 3, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 54 where the same (?) statue is attributed to Kolotes the pupil of Pheidias: see further H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. *loc. cit.*). A bronze formerly in the cabinet of St Germain des Prez represents Athena wearing a helmet the crest of which is supported by a cock (Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 82 f. pl. 39, 19 ('*Hermathena*'!) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 276 no. 10). Another bronze at Agram makes her crest-support an owl (J. Brunšmid 'Monuments du Musée d'Agram' in the *Viestnik* 1914 [*Vjesnik* N. S. xiii 1913/1914] p. 212 cited by Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 120 no. 9). A third, in the Bammeville collection, repeats the *motif* (W. Fröhner *Collection de feu M. Joly de Bammeville* Paris 1893 pl. 19 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 278 no. 9).

[5] E. von Lasaulx *Der Eid bei den Griechen* Würzburg 1844 p. 27 f. and R. Hirzel *Der Eid* Leipzig 1902 pp. 96 n. 2, 100 n. 3 collect most of the passages that bear on this curious practice. From them we learn (*a*) that Rhadamanthys would not suffer his subjects to take an oath by the gods, but bade them swear by goose, dog, ram, etc., and (*b*) that Sokrates conformed to the same usage, swearing by dog, plane-tree, etc. Cp. Plat. *apol.* 21 E, *Gorg.* 466 C, *Phaedr.* 228 B, *rep.* 399 E, *Phaed.* 98 E *νὴ τὸν κύνα*, *Gorg.* 461 A *μὰ τὸν κύνα*, *Gorg.* 482 B *μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν*, *Phaedr.* 236 D—E *ὄμνυμι... τὴν πλάτανον ταυτηνί*.

Sosikrates (on whom see Laqueur in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1160—1165) Κρητικά *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 501 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 521 *Λάμπων δ' ὄμνυσι*: (*τῶν εἰκῆ δαιμόνων. ὅτι* (F. Dübner cj. *οὐ*) *πρῶτοι οἱ Σωκρατικοὶ ἐπετήδευσαν οὕτως ὀμνύναι. Σωσικράτης* (so J. Meursius and L. Küster for *Σωκράτης*) *γὰρ ἐν τῷ β'* (so W. Dindorf for *τῷ β'*) *τῶν Κρητικῶν οὕτως φησὶ* "'Ραδάμανθυς δὲ δοκεῖ διαδεξάμενος *τὴν βασίλειαν δικαιότατος γεγενῆσθαι πάντων ἀνθρώπων. λέγεται δὲ αὐτὸν πρῶτον οὐδένα ἐᾶν ὅρκους ποιεῖσθαι κατὰ τῶν θεῶν, ἀλλ' ὀμνύναι κελεῦσαι χῆνα καὶ κύνα καὶ κριὸν καὶ τὰ ὅμοια*") (goose, dog, ram). This is abridged by Souid. *s.v. Λάμπων ὄμνυσι τὸν χῆν', ὅταν ἐξαπατᾷ τινα* (goose, dog, ram) and *s.v. χῆνα ὀμνύναι* (goose, ram).

Schol. Plat. *apol.* 21 E *νὴ τὸν κύνα*· 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὅρκος οὗτος ὁ κατὰ κυνὸς ἢ χηνὸς ἢ κριοῦ ἢ τινος ἄλλου τοιούτου· "*οἷς ἦν μέγιστος ὅρκος ἅπαντι λόγῳ κύων*, | *ἔπειτα χήν*· *θεοὺς δ' ἐσίγων*," Κρατῖνος Χείρωσι (*frag.* 11 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 155 f. Meineke, who with T. Gaisford would divide the lines *λόγῳ* | *κύων*, not *κύων*, | *ἔπειτα*)). *κατὰ τούτων δὲ νόμος ὀμνύναι, ἵνα μὴ κατὰ θεῶν οἱ ὅρκοι γίγνωνται. τοιοῦτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Σωκράτους ὅρκοι* (dog, goose, ram). This is copied by the schol. *V.G.* Loukian. *vit. auct.* 16 (dog, goose, plane, ram), Phot. *lex. s.v. 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὅρκος* (goose, dog, plane, ram), Souid. *s.v. 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὅρκος* (goose, dog, plane, ram), Apostol. 15. 17 (goose, dog, plane, ram), Arsen. p. 423 f. Walz (goose, dog, plane, ram), and in part by Zenob. 5. 81 (goose, dog), Hesych. *s.v. 'Ραδαμάνθυος ὅρκος* (goose, dog) and *s.v. χῆνα ὀμνύειν* (goose), Makar. 7. 49 (ram, swan, vegetables), cp. *Append. prov.* 2. 91 *Εὐριπίδειος ὅρκος*· *ἴσως ὁ κατὰ κυνὸς ἢ χηνός* (where E. L. von Leutsch notes: 'Euripides Socraticus hoc imitatus est') (dog, goose).

Further allusions in Loukian. *vit. auct.* 16 ΣΩ. *καὶ μὴν ὀμνύω γέ σοι τὸν κύνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον οὕτω ταυτ' ἔχειν.* ΩΝΗΤΗΣ. *Ἡράκλεις τῆς ἀτοπίας τῶν θεῶν.* ΣΩ. *τί σὺ λέγεις; οὐ δοκεῖ σοι ὁ κύων εἶναι θεός; οὐχ ὁρᾷς τὸν Ἄνουβιν ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ ὅσος; καὶ τὸν ἐν οὐρανῷ Σείριον καὶ τὸν παρὰ τοῖς κάτω Κέρβερον;* (dog, plane), *Icarom.* 9 *οἱ δὲ κατὰ κυνῶν καὶ χηνῶν καὶ πλατάνων ἐπώμνυντο* (dog, goose, plane), Theophil. *ad Autol.* 3. 2 p. 152 Humphry *τί ὠφέλησεν...Σωκράτην τὸ ὀμνύειν τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον καὶ τὸν κεραυνωθέντα Ἀσκληπιὸν καὶ τὰ δαιμόνια ἃ ἐπεκαλεῖτο;* (dog, goose, plane), Tert. *apol.* 14 taceo de philosophis, Socrate contentus, qui in contumeliam deorum quercum et hircum et canem deierabat (oak, goat, dog) = *ad nat.* 1. 10 taceo de philosophis, quos... nonnullus etiam afflatus veritatis adversus deos erigit: denique et Socrates in contumeliam eorum quercum et canem et hircum iurat (oak, dog, goat), Athen. 370 A—C (Nik. *frag.* 11 a description of the *κράμβη*) "*ἦν μάντιν λαχάνοισι παλαιόγονοι ἐνέπουσιν.*" *μήποτε δὲ ὁ Νίκανδρος μάντιν κέκληκε τὴν κράμβην, ἱερὰν οὖσαν, ἐπεὶ καὶ παρ' Ἱππώνακτι ἐν τοῖς ἰάμβοις* (*frag.* 37 Bergk[4], 40 Diehl) *ἐστί τι λεγόμενον τοιοῦτον* "*ὁ δ' ἐξολισθὼν ἱκέτευε τὴν*

κράμβην | *τὴν ἐπτάφυλλον, ἣ θύεσκε* Πανδώρη | Θαργηλίοισιν (T. Bergk prints *ἣν θύεσκε* Πανδώρῃ from his own cj. and Ταργηλίοισιν from that of F. W. Schneidewin) *ἔγχυτον πρὸ φαρμακοῦ* (so Schneidewin for *φαρμάκου*)." *καὶ Ἀνάνιος δέ φησι* (*frag.* 4 Bergk[4], 3 Diehl) "*καὶ σὲ πολλὸν ἀνθρώπων* | *ἐγὼ φιλέω μάλιστα, ναὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην.*" *καὶ* Τηλεκλείδης *Πρυτάνεσι* (*frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 368 Meineke)) "*ναὶ μὰ τὰς κράμβας*" *ἔφη. καὶ Ἐπίχαρμος ἐν Γᾷ καὶ Θαλάσσᾳ* (*frag.* 25 Kaibel) "*ναὶ μὰ τὰν κράμβαν.*" Εὔπολις Βάπταις (*frag.* 13 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 451 Meineke) *ap.* Priscian. *de metr. Ter.* 23 (ii. 427, 25 f. Hertz)) "*ναὶ μὰ τὴν κράμβην.*" *ἐδόκει δὲ Ἰωνικὸς εἶναι ὁ ὅρκος. καὶ οὐ παράδοξον εἰ κατὰ τῆς κράμβης τινὲς ὤμνυον, ὁπότε καὶ Ζήνων ὁ Κιτιεὺς ὁ τῆς Στοᾶς κτίστωρ* (*apophthegm.* 48 Pearson, *de vita testim.* 32 a von Arnim) *μιμούμενος τὸν κατὰ τῆς κυνὸς ὅρκον Σωκράτους καὶ αὐτὸς ὤμνυε τὴν κάπραν, ὡς Ἐμπεδός* (so Kaibel and J. von Arnim, after C. Müller, for *Ἔμποδος* cod.) *φησιν ἐν Ἀπομνημονεύμασιν* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 403 f. Müller) (cabbage; dog; caper), Diog. Laert. 7. 32 *ὤμνυε δέ* (*sc.* Zenon), *φασί, καὶ κάπραν, καθάπερ Σωκράτης τὸν κύνα* (dog; caper), Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 6. 19 p. 232 Kayser *πρὸς ταῦτα ὁ Θεσπεσίων, "ἐγένετό τις," ἔφη, "Σωκράτης Ἀθηναῖος ἀνόητος, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς, γέρων, ὃς τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν χῆνα καὶ τὴν πλάτανον θεούς τε ἡγεῖτο καὶ ὤμνυ.*" "*οὐκ ἀνόητος,*" *εἶπεν* (*sc.* Apollonios), "*ἀλλὰ θεῖος καὶ ἀτεχνῶς σοφός, ὤμνυ γὰρ ταῦτα οὐχ ὡς θεούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι*" (dog, goose, plane), Porph. *de abst.* 3. 16 *Σωκράτης δὲ καὶ ὤμνυεν κατ' αὐτῶν* (*sc. τῶν ζῴων*), *καὶ ἔτι πρὸ αὐτοῦ Ῥαδάμανθυς... Κρησὶ δὲ νόμος ἦν Ῥαδαμάνθυος, ὅρκον ἐπάγεσθαι πάντα τὰ ζῷα. οὐδὲ Σωκράτης τὸν κύνα καὶ τὸν χῆνα ὀμνὺς ἔπαιζεν, ἀλλὰ κατὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς καὶ Δίκης παῖδα* (*sc.* Rhadamanthys) *ἑποιεῖτο τὸν ὅρκον, οὐδὲ παίζων ὁμοδούλους αὐτοῦ ἔλεγεν τοὺς κύκνους* (dog, goose, swan?), Lact. *div. inst.* 3. 20 p. 247, 10 f. Brandt verum idem (*sc.* Socrates) per canem et anserem deierabat (dog, goose), Lact. *inst. epit.* 32 p. 708, 7 f. Brandt quam (*sc.* religionem) quidem Socrates non modo repudiavit, verum etiam derisit per anserem canemque iurando (goose, dog), Aug. *de vera religione* 2 (i. 1207 B ed.[2] Bened.) Socrates tamen audacior cæteris fuisse perhibetur iurando per canem quemlibet, et lapidem quemlibet, et quidquid iuraturo esset in promptu, et quasi ad manum occurrisset (dog, stone), Prokop. of Gaza *epist.* 63 p. 554 f. Hercher *νυνὶ δὲ ὄμνυμι οὐ τὴν πλάτανον τὴν Σωκράτους ἀλλὰ τοὺς λόγους αὐτούς, μήπω γε τετυχηκέναι τοῦ κτήματος* (plane), Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1871, 4 ff. *Ῥαδάμανθυς δέ, φασιν, ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ θεὸν ὀνομάζειν ἐπὶ πᾶσιν ἐκέλευσέ, φασι, κατὰ χηνὸς καὶ κυνὸς καὶ κριοῦ ὀμνύναι. ὤμνυε δέ, φασι, χῆνα καὶ Σωκράτης· ἄλλος δέ τις κράμβην· ὃν ζηλώσας ὕστερον ὁ χυδαΐζων ὄχλος διόμνυται κατὰ λαχάνων* (cp. the late glosses in Souid. *s.v. λαχάνοις· ὅτι πολλὴν εὐορκίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι πρὸς λάχανα ὀμνύουσι, μὰ τὰ λάχανα καὶ μὰ τὰ καλὰ λέγοντες* and *s.v. μὰ τὰ λάχανα· σημεῖον τοῦτο περὶ ὅρκου· ὃ καὶ νῦν ἐπιχωριάζει. πολλοὶ γὰρ πρὸς λάχανα ὀμνύουσιν, εὐορκίαν ἐπιδεικνύμενοι. ἐπιχωριάζει δ' εἰσέτι καὶ τοῖς ἑλλογίμοις Ἀρμενιακοῖς τὸ μὰ τὰ καλά*). *ὅτι δὲ καὶ γυναῖκες ὤμνυον ἐπὶ οἴῳ Ξέναρχος παίζων δηλοῖ ἐν τῷ "ὅρκον δ' ἐγὼ γυναικὸς εἰς οἶνον γράψω"* (*leg. γράφω*: Xenarch. *πένταθλος frag.* 3 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 620 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 441 E, cp. Hellad. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 530 a 15 ff. Bekker, Phrynich. *praep. soph.* p. 95, 16 ff. I. de Borries) (goose, dog, ram; goose; cabbage; vegetables; wine?). G. Ménage in his note on Diog. Laert. 2. 40 ends a similar string of extracts with a *bon mot*: 'Cum autem frequenter ei (*sc.* Socrati) uxor adversaretur, dissidiumque sit feles inter et canes, Italus quidam, cuius excidit mihi nomen, Xanthippen per felem iurare scripsit'!

But we have yet to determine the origin and significance of the oath by goose, dog, ram, etc. No one nowadays is likely to share the view of Tertullian and Lactantius (*locc. citt.*) that Sokrates was deliberately making a mock of the gods by his appeal to some trumpery substitute. Nor, on the other hand, shall we rest satisfied with the contention of L. Preller (Preller—Plew *Gr. Myth.* ii. 130 n. 4) that the said substitutes were originally sacred trees and animals. The Platonic Sokrates, to be sure, says *μὰ τὸν κύνα τὸν Αἰγυπτίων θεόν* (Plat. *Gorg.* 482 B). But then the Platonic Phaidros can retort *ὦ Σώκρατες, ῥᾳδίως σὺ Αἰγυπτίους καὶ ὁποδαποὺς ἂν ἐθέλῃς λόγους ποιεῖς* (Plat. *Phaedr.* 275 B). The Lucianic Sokrates, who identifies the 'dog' with Anoubis or Seirios or Kerberos (Loukian. *vit. auct.* 16), would presumably have interpreted the 'ram' as Ammon. A *mántis* like Lampon might swear by the 'goose' as a mantic bird (schol. Aristoph. *av.*

521 ὁ δὲ Λάμπων θύτης ἦν καὶ χρησμολόγος καὶ μάντις· ... ὤμνυε δὲ κατὰ τοῦ κηνὸς ὡς μαντικοῦ ὀρνέου). And a little mythological ingenuity could doubtless discover some spark of sanctity in the 'plane-tree,' the 'cabbage,' the 'poppy' (Souid. *s.v.* μὰ μήκωνος κλόην· "ναὶ ναὶ μὰ μήκωνος κλόην" and *s.v.* ναὶ ναὶ μὰ μήκωνος κλόην· ὅρκος ἐπὶ χλευασμῷ), and what not? All the same, there was sound sense in the *dictum* of Apollonios that Sokrates swore by these things οὐχ ὡς θεούς, ἀλλ' ἵνα μὴ θεοὺς ὀμνύοι (Philostr. *loc. cit.*). Finally, we shall not subscribe to the well-meant but unconvincing claim of St Augustine, that Sokrates' attribution of divinity to natural objects was an expedient intended to deter men from the worship of artificial objects and to direct their thoughts toward the one true God (Aug. *de vera religione* 2 (i. 1207 C ff. ed.[2] Bened.) credo, intelligebat qualiacumque opera naturae, quae administrante divina providentia gignerentur, multo quam hominum et quorumlibet opificum esse meliora, et ideo divinis honoribus digniora, quam ea quae in templis colebantur. non quod vere lapis et canis essent colenda sapientibus, sed ut hoc modo intelligerent qui possent, tanta superstitione demersos esse homines, ut emergentibus hic esset tam turpis demonstrandus gradus, ad quem venire si puderet, viderent quanto magis pudendum esset in turpiore consistere. simul et illos qui mundum istum visibilem, summum deum esse opinabantur, admonebat turpitudinis suae, docens esse consequens ut quilibet lapis tanquam summi dei particula iure coleretur. quod si exsecrarentur, mutarent sententiam, et unum deum quaererent, quem solum supra mentes nostras esse, et a quo omnem animam et totum istum mundum fabricatum esse constaret. etc.).

What then, after all, is the explanation of these strange oaths? J. Vendryes *Language* trans. P. Radin London 1925 p. 221 observes: 'In many languages oaths undergo a conventional alteration which allows them to be introduced into the best society; thus, for example, *bigre*, or *fichtre*. The French say: *palsambleu, parbleu, pargnieu, pardienne* instead of *par le sang de Dieu* or *par Dieu*, just as the English turned "By Mary" into "Marry," "By God's Little Body" into "Odds Boddikins".' Similarly E. Weekley *The Romance of Words* London 1912 p. 60: 'In *drat*, formerly *'od rot, zounds*, for *God's wounds*, *'sdeath, odsbodikins*, etc., there is probably a deliberate avoidance of profanity. The same tendency is seen in *Gogs* (*Shrew*, iii. 2), Fr. *parbleu*, and Ger. *Pots* in *Potztausend*, etc.' Accordingly W. A. Becker long since conjectured that χῆνα in this connexion was a distorted form of Ζῆνα (W. A. Becker *Charikles*[2] Leipzig 1854 i. 154 'Es kann fast scheinen, als ob man ausweichend τὸν χῆνα statt τὸν Ζῆνα gesagt habe, wie auch bei uns dergleichen Verdrehungen nicht ungewöhnlich sind'). The same view was advocated by K. Lehrs *Platos Phädrus und Gastmahl* Leipzig 1870 p. 142. R. Hirzel *Der Eid* Leipzig 1902 p. 96 n. 2 objects that nobody said νὴ τὸν Ζῆνα (despite *Il.* 23. 43 and *Od.* 20. 339 οὐ μὰ Ζῆν', Soph. *Trach.* 1188 ὄμνυμ' ἔγωγε, Ζῆν' ἔχων ἐπώμοτον, *Phil.* 1324 Ζῆνα δ' ὅρκιον καλῶ, Eur. *Hipp.* 1025 f. νῦν δ' ὅρκιόν σοι Ζῆνα καὶ πέδον χθονὸς | ὀμνυμι κ.τ.λ.) and consequently nobody would have altered it into νὴ τὸν χῆνα. But this objection ignores the fact that in Crete—the very home of Rhadamanthys—oaths were regularly taken at Dreros by τὸν Δῆνα (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 463 (*ib.*[3] no. 527), 14 ff. cited *supra* i. 729 n. 2), at Priansos, Gortyna and Hierapytna by Τῆνα (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 301 ff. no. 5024, 59 ff. cited *supra* ii. 723 n. 0), at Hierapytna and one of its colonies by Τῆνα (F. Blass *ib.* iii. 2. 311 f. no. 5039, 11 f. cited *supra* ii. 723 n. 0), at Lyttos by Τῆνα (F. Blass *ib.* iii. 2. 380 f. no. 5147 *b*, 5 cited *supra* ii. 934 n. 0) and hy Ζῆνα (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 29, 13 f. cited *supra* ii. 723 n. 0).

I conclude, therefore, that in Crete, where men swore officially by τὸν Δῆνα or Τῆνα or Τῆνα or Ζῆνα—so many ways of representing the initial Δ- in the name of Zeus (É. Boisacq *Les dialectes doriens* Paris 1891 p. 153, G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 338, C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 pp. 31, 67, 86)—a popular distortion νὴ τὸν χῆνα arose and was in due course fathered upon Rhadamanthys. R. Hirzel *loc. cit.* aptly observes that in Crete people still say μὰ τὸ θεριό, 'by the beast, dragon, giant,' or μὰ τὸ χυλό, 'by the sap,' for μὰ τὸ θεό, 'by God' (A. Jeannaraki [= A. N. Jannaris] ΑΙΣΜΑΤΑ ΚΡΗΤΙΚΑ Leipzig 1876 p. 327 'μὰ τὸ θεριό, statt μὰ τὸ θεό, bei Gott, ἀνάλεμα statt ἀνάθεμα, verflucht etc.,' *ib.* p. 379 'Da

The Birds, flattered and fluttered by this speech, are willing to accept the plan of Pisthetairos, to build a great wall[1] round the air,

sich das Wort χυλός mit dem Worte θεός reimt, so sagt man sehr oft μὰ τὸ χυλό statt μὰ τὸ θεό um die Gotteslästerung zu vermeiden. Gleichfalls sagt man μὰ τὸ θεριό, μὰ τὸ νιό, auch διάβοντρος statt διάβολος (vgl. hole mich der Kukuk)'). Perhaps κύνα in turn was a substitute for χῆνα, if not κριόν for Κρόνον (*supra* ii. 548 ff.). But successive links soon become impossible to trace.

[1] The notion of a cosmic wall is found in the teaching of Parmenides (Aët. 2. 7. 1 (H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 335 a 11 ff., b 8 ff.) *ap.* Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 7 καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας (*sc.* τὰς στεφάνας) τείχους δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχειν and *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 22. 1[a] p. 195, 7 f. Wachsmuth = H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 144, 16 f. καὶ τὸ περιέχον δὲ πάσας τείχους δίκην στερεὸν ὑπάρχειν, ὑφ' ᾧ πυρώδης στεφάνη). It reappears in the Epicureanism of Lucretius (Lucr. 1. 73 flammantia moenia mundi, cp. 1. 1102, 2. 1045, 1148, 3. 16, 5. 119, 454, 1213, 6. 123), and as a Lucretian touch in the poems of Ovid (Ov. *met.* 2. 401 f. at pater omnipotens ingentia moenia caeli | circuit) and Manilius (Manil. 1. 150 f. summaque complexus stellantis culmina caeli | flammarum vallo naturae moenia fecit, 486 f. qui primus moenia mundi | seminibus struxit minimis inque illa resolvit). Hence the imitations of later poets, *e.g.* Milton *Paradise Lost* 3. 721 'The rest in circuit walls this universe,' R. Browning *Easter-Day* 15 *fin.* 'Leaving exposed the utmost walls | Of time, about to tumble in | And end the world,' *Epilogue* to *Dramatis Personæ* 3. 11 'Why, where's the need of Temple, when the walls | O' the world are that?'

Analogous conceptions are found here and there in the religious imaginings of the ancient world. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 627 notes that the cosmic wall figures in a cuneiform text (an astronomical document of 138 B.C. published hy J. Epping and J. N. Strassmaier in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie und verwandte Gebiete* 1891 vi. 243 Sp. i. 131, 30). The Manichaeans recognised a whole series of such walls (Epiphan. *adv. haer.* 2. 66. 31 (iii. 52 f. Dindorf) αἱ δὲ προβολαὶ πᾶσαι, ὁ Ἰησοῦς ὁ ἐν τῷ μικρῷ πλοίῳ, καὶ ἡ μήτηρ τῆς ζωῆς, καὶ οἱ δώδεκα κυβερνῆται, καὶ ἡ παρθένος τοῦ φωτός, καὶ ὁ πρεσβύτης ὁ τρίτος ὁ ἐν τῷ μεγάλῳ πλοίῳ, καὶ τὸ ζῶν πνεῦμα, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ μεγάλου πυρός, καὶ τὸ τεῖχος τοῦ ἀνέμου καὶ τοῦ ἀέρος καὶ τοῦ ὕδατος καὶ τοῦ ἔσωθεν πυρὸς τοῦ ζῶντος πρὸς τὸν μικρὸν φωστῆρα οἰκοῦσιν, ἄχρις ἂν τὸ πῦρ καταναλώσῃ τὸν κόσμον ὅλον ἐν ποσοῖς ποτε ἔτεσιν, ὧν οὐκ ἔμαθον τὴν ποσότητα = Hegemonios *acta Archelai* 13. 2 (p. 21 f. Beeson) prolationes autem omnes Iesus est in modica navi, et mater vitae et duodecim gubernatores et virgo lucis et senior tertius. unde et maiori in navi vivens spiritus adhibetur, et murus ignis illius magni, et murus venti et aëris et aquae et interioris ignis vivi, quae omnia in luna habitabunt, usquequo totum mundum ignis absumat; in quot autem annis numerum non didici. On this Latin version C. H. Beeson *ad loc.* remarks 'eine ziemlich ungenaue Paraphrase' and F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 ii. 326 n. 1 'which appears to be nonsense')—five in number, according to the fragments in Estrangelo script from Turfan, which mention one of *aithér*, one of wind, one of light, one of water, and one of fire, together with twelve or fourteen heavenly gates (F. W. K. Müller in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1904* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 38 f. *frag.* M. 98, 7 ff. 'Sie ferner auf zur Grenze und | dem Obersten des Lichtes führte er hinauf und | aus Wind und Licht, Wasser und Feuer, | welches aus der Mischung geläutert war, hat er Licht- | Fabrzeuge? zwei jenes der Sonne aus | Feuer und Licht mit fünf Mauern, | einer ätherischen, windigen, leuchtenden, wässerigen | und einer feurigen und zwölf Toren und | Häusern fünf und Thronen drei und | seelensammelnden Engeln fünf sc. in | der feurigen Mauer, und jenes [Fahrzeug] | des Mond-Gottes aus Wind und Wasser | mit fünf Mauern, einer ätherischen, windigen | leuchtenden, feurigen und wässerigen und | vierzehn Toren und Häusern fünf und | Thronen drei und seelensammelnden Engeln | fünf, sc. in der wässerigen Mauer, | hat er gemacht und angeordnet'). Somewhat similar is the vision of 'the holy city, new Jerusalem, coming

down out of heaven from God' (Rev. 21. 2, cp. 21. 10), 'having a wall great and high; having twelve gates, and at the gates twelve angels' etc. (Rev. 21. 12).

Later the church fell to a lower level and was content with would-be scientific speculation. So Kaisarios, brother to Gregorios of Nazianzos, in his *πεύσεις καὶ ἀποκρίσεις* (on which see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1415 n. 6) *dialogus* 1 *interrogatio* 99 (xxxviii. 964 Migne) *πῶς οὖν δύνει ὁ ἥλιος, εἰ μὴ ὑπὸ γῆν φέρεται; καὶ τίς τόπος ὁ τὰς ἀκτῖνας αὐτοῦ σκιάζων; responsio* ὠκυποδήσας τὸς οὐράνια τέρματα, καὶ ὑπό τινα τοῖχον, τὸ βόρειον γενόμενον κλῖμα, ὑπερανεστῶτος τοῦ Καππαδοκῶν ἐδάφους, ἀποσκιάζεται μὲν τὴν ἀστραπὴν τῶν ἀκτίνων ταῖς λόχμαις καὶ τοῖς ὕδασι, τῷ ὑπερτεροῦντι πιεσμῷ τοῦ στερεώματος, διακλωμένων τῶν μαρμαρυγῶν ἐπὶ τὰ πλάγια, καὶ τῇ ὑπεροχῇ τῆς χέρσου τὴν φαῦσιν εἰργόμενος, κατὰ τὴν προεκδοθεῖσαν εἰκόνα τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν λαμπάδος and Severianus of Gabala (on whom see Lietzmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1930 ff., W. Christ *op. cit.*[6] ii. 2. 1467 ff.) *de mundi creatione* 3. 5 (lvi. 452 f. Migne) *ἥλιος ἀνατέλλων καὶ μέλλων δύνειν οὐχ ὑπὸ γῆν δύνει ἀλλ' ἐξελθὼν τὰ πέρατα τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τρέχει εἰς τὰ βορρινὰ* (*βορρινὰ* cod. Vat. Sir H. Savile cj. *βόρεια*) *μέρη, ὥσπερ ὑπό τινα τοῖχον κρυπτόμενος, μὴ συγχωρούντων τῶν ὑδάτων φανῆναι αὐτοῦ τὸν δρόμον, καὶ τρέχει κατὰ βορρινὰ* (*βορρινὰ* cod. Vat. Sir H. Savile cj. *βόρεια*) *μέρη καὶ καταλαμβάνει τὴν ἀνατολήν.* Cp. Kosmas Indikopleustes *top. Christ.* 4. 189 (lxxxviii. 188 D Migne) *τοῦτο πάλιν τὸ μέρος τῆς γῆς, τὸ ἐπέκεινα τοῦ βορρᾶ, ἐστὶ τὸ ἀοίκητον, ἐνθα διατρέχουσιν ἀπὸ δύσεως διὰ τοῦ βορρᾶ ἐπὶ ἀνατολάς, ὀρθὸν ὡς ἐπὶ τοίχου ὑπάρχον· ἐν ᾧ γινόμενος ὁ ἥλιος εἰς τὸ ἄλλο μέρος αὐτῆς τὸ οἰκούμενον νύκτα ἀπεργάζεται* and the whole structure of the world as indicated *ib.* 4. 187 f. (lxxxviii. 185 A—C Migne) *εἰς ταύτην τὴν γῆν τὴν πέραν τοῦ 'Ωκεανοῦ πανταχόθεν ἄκρα τοῖς ἄκροις ὁ οὐρανὸς ὁ πρῶτος ὁ καμαροειδὴς συνδέδεται, κατὰ μὲν τὸ δυτικὸν μέρος καὶ ἀνατολικὸν τοῖχος ὄρθ[ι]ος ὡς ἄνω ἐμβαίνων εὑρίσκεται, κατὰ δὲ τὸ νότιον καὶ βόρειον τοῖχος μὲν ἴσος τὸ κάτωθεν, ἕως φανεροῦ κατὰ τὸν τύπον ὄντος καμάρας· ἄνωθεν δὲ ὑψηλότατος ἑλισσόμενος, ὡς θόλος λουτροῦ μεγάλη, κάτωθεν πέλμα ἔχουσα, αὐτός τε τοῖχος καὶ καμάρα ὑπάρχων. εἶτα καὶ πρώην ἔφημεν πολλάκις, τὸ στερέωμα μέσα μέσοις ἐξηπλωμένον κατὰ τὸ ὕψος, συνδέδεται αὐτῷ τῷ οὐρανῷ, ἵνα γένωνται δύο χῶροι ἀνάγαιον (sic) καὶ κατάγαιον. ἔστι δὲ ὁ χῶρος ὁ εἷς τουτέστι τὸ κατάγαιον, ἔνθα εἰσὶν ἡ γῆ καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ στοιχεῖα καὶ ἄστρα, ὁ κόσμος οὗτος ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἕως τοῦ στερεώματος· γῆν μὲν ἔχων ἔδαφος, τοίχους δὲ ἐκ τοῦ πρώτου οὐρανοῦ, στέγην δὲ τὸ στερέωμα· καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στερεώματος ἕως τῆς καμάρας τοῦ πρώτου οὐρανοῦ, χῶρος δεύτερος, τουτέστιν ἡ βασιλεία τῶν οὐρανῶν· ἔνθα καὶ ὁ Δεσπότης Χριστὸς ἀναστὰς ἀπὸ τῶν νεκρῶν ἀνελήλυθε, καὶ οἱ δίκαιοι μετὰ ταῦτα μέλλουσιν ἀνιέναι· οὐρανὸν μὲν ἤτοι τὸ στερέωμα ἔχων ἔδαφος, καὶ οὐρανὸν τὸν πρῶτον τοίχους καὶ στέγην καμαροειδῆ.* See further a valuable section in R. Eisler *op. cit.* ii. 619 ff. ('Die Himmelsmauer,' 'Das Welthaus in der syrischen Kosmographie,' etc.).

The cosmic walls of philosophy, religion, and so-called science presuppose mythopoeic attempts to explain the construction of the visible world. More frankly mythological is Pindar's 'road of Zeus' leading up 'to Kronos' tower' (*supra* ii. 36, 52), which—like its Celtic counterpart the 'castle of Gwydion' (*supra* ii. 52)—appears to be the poetic survival of some otherwise forgotten myth.

It seems possible that in the west, if not also in the east, the belief in a celestial city was partly based upon popular interpretations of cloudland. E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 88 f. collects a whole series of relevant folk-names from the Germanic area. Thus at Glandorf near Iburg in Prussia a black storm-cloud that rears itself above the horizon is called a *grommeltorn* or 'rumbling tower' (A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 ii. 89 no. 277 a, cp. *eund.* in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 1855 iii. 378 'noch heut begegnet man nicht selten der bezeichnung grummel- oder grommelthurm für gewitter'), while on the Moorhausmoor in Thüringen the *witte tôrn* or 'white tower' seen in the sky is a sign of bad weather (A. Kuhn—W. Schwartz *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* Leipzig 1848 p. 458 no. 428, W. Mannhardt *Germanische Mythen* Berlin 1858 p. 186). In Oldenburg the northern lights are also known as *Turm*, the 'tower,' and taken to be a vivid red cloud (L. Strackerjan *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogthum Oldenburg* Oldenburg 1867 ii. 63 f.); in the same locality heavy, white clouds are called *Mauern*,

and to demand the submission of Zeus. If he refuses, they will proclaim a holy war against him and forbid the gods to traverse their realm in search of fresh amours. A herald will be sent to inform men that in future all must worship birds before gods—the coot[1] before Aphrodite, the duck[2] before Poseidon, the sea-gull[3] before Herakles, the wren[4] before Zeus. Birds have wings, good evidence

'walls' (*id. ib.* ii. 64). P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 128 f. adduces French examples. Sailors in the Channel regard certain big black clouds as dangerous and speak of them as *les Châteaux* (*id.* in the *Archivio per lo studio delle tradizioni popolari* v. 521). In Provence black clouds brushing past the horizon are called an *emparo* or 'wall.' A long stretch of *emparo* is termed *bèrri*, 'ramparts.' A small coloured cloud rising above these 'ramparts' is dubbed *tourello*, a 'turret.' A big cloud may tower up charged with thunder and hail; it is then called *tourrougat* a 'keep.' Finally, when black threatening clouds begin to break up, with their towers and ramparts, they are known as *castèu*, 'castles' (G. de Montpavon 'Mistral' in *Armana Prouvençau* 1877 p. 45).

This was at least one reason for the first element in Aristophanes' *Nephelo-kokkygia*—a typical 'castle-in-the-air.'

[1] φαληρίς, though a derivative of φαλός, 'white' (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 481, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 1013 f.), hints at φαλλός (Athen. 325 B καὶ Ἀφροδίτῃ φαλαρίδα, ὡς Ἀριστοφάνης ἐν Ὄρνισι (*av.* 565), κατὰ συνέμφασιν τοῦ φαλλοῦ, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 565 ἐσχημάτισε δὲ παρὰ τὸν φαλλόν) or Φαλῆς (J. van Leeuwen *ad loc.* cp. Aristoph. *Ach.* 263): D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 176 is unusually obtuse.

[2] This is not religion, but common sense. Athen. 325 B καὶ τὴν νῆτταν δὲ καλουμένην Ποσειδῶνί τινες οἰκειοῦσι, as is clear from the previous clause (cited *supra* n. 1), depends on Aristoph. *av.* 566.

[3] The λάρος is assigned to Herakles merely because of its notorious greed (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 557 τὸν λάρον διὰ τὴν ἀδηφαγίαν Ἡρακλεῖ προσανάπτει, cp. Aristoph. *eq.* 956, *nub.* 591).

[4] Aristoph. *av.* 567 ff. κἂν Διὶ θύῃ Βασιλεῖ κριόν, βασιλεὺς ἐστ' ὀρχίλος ὄρνις, | ᾧ προτέρῳ δεῖ τοῦ Διὸς αὐτοῦ σέρφον ἐνόρχην σφαγιάζειν. | ΕΤΕΑΠ. ἤσθην σέρφῳ σφαγιαζομένῳ· "βροντάτω νῦν ὁ μέγας Ζάν" with schol. *ad loc.* ὀρχίλος ὄρνις· διὰ τὰς μοιχείας τοῦ Διὸς τὸν ὄρνιν παρέλαβεν (the clause διὰ—παρέλαβεν is absent from codd. R.V.). ἐπλάσατο τὸ ὄνομα τοῦ ὄρνιθος. ἐπεὶ κατωφερὴς ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ μοιχός, διὰ τοῦτο ὀρχίλον παρείληχεν διὰ τοὺς ὄρχεις. τὸ δὲ σέρφον ἔνορχιν, ὡς κριὸν ἔνορχιν. This again is not a case of ritual usage, but of comic invention. There is no special link between Zeus and the wren beyond the fact that, as Zeus was Βασιλεύς, so the wren was *βασιλεύς* or *βασιλίσκος* (*supra* p. 45 n. 1). On the wren as king of birds see further C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 36: 'The tradition of the sovereignty of the wren over the feathered race is widely spread. Hence we find the Latin name for the bird to be *Regulus*, the Greek *βασιλίσκος*, the French *Roitelet*, *Roi des oiseaux*, *Roi de froidure*, *Roi de guille*, *Roi Bertaud*, the Spanish *Reyezuelo*, the Italian *Reatino* or *Re di siepe* (king of the hedge), the Swedish *Kungs fogel*, the Danish *Fugle Konge* or *Elle Konge* (alder king), the German *Zaunkönig* (hedge king), *Schneekönig* (snow king).' E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 288 ff., 301 f. collects a vast number of such names applied to the wren (both the *Troglodytes Europaeus* and the *Regulus cristatus*) in the various districts of France. It would seem reasonable to suppose that the kingship in question properly belonged to the fire-crest (*Regulus ignicapillus*) or gold-crest (*Regulus cristatus*). Both species occur in Greece (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 174) and both on the crown of the head have a conspicuous streak of reddish orange bordered by bright lemon yellow (good illustrations in J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 50 f. col. pl. 15). The flame-coloured

of their divinity, and are obviously competent to harm or help mankind.

Tereus next invites the two friends into his nest, promising to find them a magic root[1] which will enable them too to grow wings. Meantime his wife Prokne comes out and together with the Choros chants the *parábasis*, a brilliant vindication of the claims put forward by the Birds. It tells the old Orphic tale[2], how Eros sprang from the wind-egg laid by black-winged Night, the egg which split into Ouranos and Ge, primaeval parents of all the gods. Birds declare the seasons, birds utter oracles, birds give omens; birds in short are manifestly divine and must be worshipped as such without more ado.

That conclusion reached, out come Pisthetairos and Euelpides in their fine feathers and at once set about naming the new town—no Sparta this, but something splendid and sonorous, say Nephelokokkygia[3]. Heralds are despatched to gods and men. Euelpides must lend a hand in the actual building. Pisthetairos will fetch a priest to sacrifice to the newfangled gods.

The novel foundation of course attracts the usual influx of busybodies—a needy lyrical poet, an itinerant soothsayer, the astronomer Meton, a pompous commissioner, a statute-seller. At last they are all got rid of and Pisthetairos quits the stage to sacrifice the goat within.

Then follows a second *parábasis*, in which the Birds appropriate epithets formerly belonging to Zeus[4] and justifiably put a price on the head of the bird-catcher Philokrates.

crest at any rate accounts for the belief in the wren as a fire-bearer (E. Rolland *op. cit.* ii. 293 f., C. Swainson *op. cit.* p. 42).

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 654 *ἔστι γάρ τι ῥίζιον* κ.τ.λ. Cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* i. 35 (many birds use magic herbs as prophylactics) *οἱ δὲ ἔποπες τὸ ἀδίαντον, ὅπερ οὖν καὶ καλλίτριχον καλοῦσί τινες*, Horapoll. *hierogl.* 2. 93 *ἄνθρωπον ὑπὸ σταφυλῆς βλαβέντα καὶ ἑαυτὸν θεραπεύοντα βουλόμενοι σημῆναι ἔποπα ζωγραφοῦσι καὶ ἀδίαντον τὴν βοτάνην· οὗτος γὰρ βλαβεὶς ὑπὸ σταφυλῆς ἀδίαντον ἀποτιθέμενος εἰς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ στόμα περιοδεύεται, Geopon.* 15. 1. 19 (birds place curative herbs in their nests) *ἔποπες ἀδίαντον* (so H. Beckh, after Gronovius, for *ἀμίαντον* codd.), Philes *de an. propr.* 724 *ἄγρωστιν ἔποψ* (apparently a blundering transcript of Ail. *de nat. an.* 1. 35 or *Geopon.* 15. 1. 19). On the hoopoe liberating its imprisoned young by means of a certain herb (Ail. *de nat. an.* 3. 26 *πόαν ἐκόμισε* κ.τ.λ.), *sc.* the springwort, see S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 112 f., D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 56, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 70 n. 2.

[2] *Supra* ii. 1020, 1034, 1050 f.

[3] Aristoph. *av.* 818 ff.

[4] *Ib.* 1058 ff. *ἤδη 'μοὶ τῷ παντόπτᾳ* (cp. *supra* i. 459, 461 f., ii. 1130) | *καὶ παντάρχᾳ* (Aristophanes has in mind Soph. *O.C.* 1085 f. *ἰὼ πάνταρχε θεῶν παντ|όπτα Ζεῦ*) *θνητοὶ πάντες|θύσουσ' εὐκταίαις εὐχαῖς.* | *πᾶσαν μὲν γὰρ γᾶν ὀπτεύω,* | *σώζω δ' εὐθαλεῖς καρποὺς* | κ.τ.λ.

Pisthetairos announces that the sacrifice has proved to be most auspicious, and a Messenger brings word that the great wall is now completely built—six hundred feet high and broad enough for two chariots to pass.

After this, enter Iris. She has been sent by Zeus to bid men sacrifice to the gods[1]. But Pisthetairos scares her off with threats reminiscent of Zeus himself[2]:

> Knowest thou this? If Zeus keeps bothering me,
> His halls palatial, yea Amphion's house,
> Will I burn down with eagles bearing fire[3],
> And up against him to the sky I'll send
> Six hundred stout Porphyrion-gallinules[4],
> All clad in leopard-skins. Yet I remember
> When one Porphyrion gave him toil enough[5].

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 1230 ff. Earlier and cruder is the conception of 'the Brygos painter,' who on a *kýlix* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 87 ff. no. E 65 *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 46, 1 (coloured and gilded), Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 238 ff. pl. 47, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 560 ff. fig. 323, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 110 f. no. 4 fig., P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s.a. ii. 318 ff. fig. 242, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 176 no. 5) represents Iris ambushed by the Silenoi Echon, Lepsis (Nepsis?), and Dromis (on these names see Charlotte Fränkel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 pp. 23, 25 ff.) just as she has collected an oxtail from the altar of Dionysos. The scene, which recurs in abbreviated form on a red-figured *skýphos* from Nola, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 732 no. 2591, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 294 ('Irene'!) pl. 48, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 243 ff. ('Eirene'!) pl. 16, 2, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 131 (attributed to 'the Penthesilea painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 337 f. no. 4, G. von Lücken *Greek Vase-Paintings* The Hague 1921 pl. 10, 1 (cyclographic), J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 58), was presumably taken from some Satyric drama, though hardly from the *Iris* of Achaios (W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1872 p. 41, F. Matz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 299 f., C. Robert *Bild und Lied* Berlin 1881 p. 28 n. 29) or the *Inachos* of Sophokles (K. L. von Urlichs *Der Vasenmaler Brygos* Wuerzburg 1875 p. 5 on the strength of Soph. *Inachos frag.* 250 Nauck[2], 272 Pearson *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1203), these plays being of later date (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 241, L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* Paris 1926 p. 41).

[2] Aristoph. *av.* 1246 ff. ἆρ' οἶσθ' ὅτι Ζεὺς εἴ με λυπήσει πέρα, | μέλαθρα μὲν αὐτοῦ καὶ (F. Wieseler cj. κατὰ) δόμους 'Αμφίονος | καταιθαλώσω πυρφόροισιν αἰετοῖς; J. van Leeuwen, observing 'alienum hinc est nomen *Amphionis*, quod ante me sensit qui δόμους 'Ολυμπίους proposuit,' rewrites καὶ ἀμφικίονας δόμους, cp. Soph. *Ant.* 285 f. But G. Setti in the *Rivista di filologia* 1903 xxxi. 112 f. justly defends the text in view of Soph. *Ant.* 1155 Κάδμου πάροικοι καὶ δόμων 'Αμφίονος = dwellers in Thebes. Aristophanes, according to his scholiast, is quoting Aisch. *Niobe frag.* 160 Nauck[2]. Apparently in that play Zeus threatened to burn the palace and walls of Amphion, husband of Niobe (H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 314, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1946, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 509, 1251 n. 0), whose house had notoriously come to a bad end (Paus. 2. 21. 10 οὗτος μὲν δὴ (*sc.* Homer) τὸν οἶκον τὸν 'Αμφίονος ἐκ βάθρων ἀνατραπέντα οἶδε). Here Pisthetairos threatens to turn the tables on Zeus by burning *his* 'palace and Amphionian walls.' The whole phrase μέλαθρα...καὶ δόμους 'Αμφίονος must be taken with the possessive αὐτοῦ, *sc.* Διός.

[3] *Supra* ii. 777.

[4] On the πορφυρίων or 'purple gallinule' (*Porphyrio hyacinthinus* or *veterum*) see D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 150, A. Newton *A Dictionary of Birds* London 1896 p. 591, and the enthusiastic description in O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 209: 'Wenn die wundervoll metallglänzenden blauen Hühner truppweise durch die reifen goldigblonden Ährenfelder streifen, entsteht eine ganz einzige Farbenwirkung.' Dionys. *de avib.* i. 25 (prose paraphrase in Didot's *Poetæ Bucolici et Didactici* p. 111) ἔστι δὲ καὶ πορφυρίων ἀπὸ τῆς χροιᾶς καλούμενον ὄρνεον· ἐρυθρὸν αὐτῷ τὸ ῥάμφος ἐστί, καὶ κατὰ κεφαλῆς ἔχει ὥσπερ τινὰ πῖλον, ὁποίους οἱ τοξόται Περσικοὶ φοροῦσι· κ.τ.λ. Despite this warlike appearance, the bird is easily captured (*id. ib.* 3. 21 (p. 124 Didot))—a piquant contrast to the Πορφυρίων of verse 1252, cp. Mart. *ep.* 13. 78. 1 nomen habet magni volucris tam parva gigantis?

[5] The villagers of Athmonon (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* "Αθμονον) or Athmonia (Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀθμονεύς, Bekker *anecd.* i. 349, 30 *s.v.* Ἀθμονεύς, Souid. *s.v.* Ἀθμωνία (*sic*)), an Attic deme, identified with the modern *Marousi* (from Artemis Ἀμαρυσία: see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1743, K. Wernicke *ib.* ii. 1380, 1402 with W. Judeich's map *ib.* ii. 2204) on the way from Athens to Marathon, declared that Porphyrion, who was king in the days before Aktaios, had founded a sanctuary of (Aphrodite) Οὐρανία in their midst (Paus. 1. 14. 7). From this local legend C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 413 f. inferred that Porphyrion, the prehistoric introducer of an oriental cult, was 'identisch mit Phoinix, und gleich diesem Repräsentant der Phönikier.' This inference, even if supported by the plea that Πορφυρίων means the 'Purpurmann' (E. Curtius *Peloponnesos* Gotha 1852 ii. 517), is very precarious and has been definitely rejected by U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Aus Kydathen* Berlin 1880 p. 134 n. 57. There is more to be said for the view (J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2779) that Porphyrion's connexion with Athmonon points to his pedigree as the son (Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 317) or brother (schol. B.L. *Il.* 2. 511, cp. schol. D. *Il.* 2. 499, schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 1094) of Athamas. It is possible too that Porphyrion's relation to Aphrodite hangs together with the belief that she was his opponent in the Gigantomachy (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 553, 1252).

But the outstanding fact is that Porphyrion, like Periphas (*supra* ii. 1121 ff.), was a very ancient Attic king. If he was son or brother of Athamas, he too was one of those kings descended from Aiolos who played the *rôle* of Zeus (*supra* ii. 1088, 1122). And his name, 'the Purple-clad,' may well have been an epithet of Zeus himself (*supra* i. 56 ff.). Naevius *frag.* 20 Baehrens, 10 Vahlen *ap.* Priscian. 6. 6 (i. 199, 1 Hertz) calls him Purpureus (so the second hand in cod. B. *pur* cod. R. with *pureus* added in margin by second hand. *purporeus* codd. B.H. *porpureus* codd. G.L.K.), and we have already met with a Iupiter *Purpurio* (*supra* i. 58, 782). On this showing, Zeus Πορφυρίων gave rise to Zeus *versus* Porphyrion just as Athena Ἐγκέλαδος (Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐγκέλαδος· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ) gave rise to Athena *versus* Enkelados (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 69 n. 5 'Nach dem Giganten ist angeblich Athena ἐγκέλαδος genannt' inverts cause and effect).

If Porphyrion was thus *ab origine* a prehistoric king who claimed to be Zeus incarnate, we can understand better the curious tradition that in the Gigantomachy Zeus inspired Porphyrion with love for Hera and slew him with a thunderbolt when he made an amorous attempt upon her (Apollod. 1. 6. 2 Πορφυρίων δὲ Ἡρακλεῖ κατὰ μάχην ἐφώρμησε καὶ "Ηρᾳ. Ζεὺς δὲ αὐτῷ πόθον "Ηρας ἐνέβαλεν, ἥτις καὶ καταρρηγνύντος αὐτοῦ τοὺς πέπλους καὶ βιάζεσθαι θέλοντος βοηθοὺς ἐπεκαλεῖτο· καὶ Διὸς κεραυνώσαντος αὐτὸν Ἡρακλῆς τοξεύσας ἀπέκτεινε, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 63 Πορφυρίωνι δὲ Ζεὺς "Ηρας ἐπιθυμίαν ἐμβάλλει καὶ τοῦτον Ἡρακλῆς ἐν τῷ καταρρηγνύειν "Ηρας τὰ πέπλα (τοὺς πέπλους codd. sec. class., *sc.* Johannis Tzetz.) τοξεύσας καὶ τοῦ Διὸς κεραυνῷ πλήξαντος ἀναιρεῖ). We can understand also Pindar's description of Porphyrion as king of the Giants (Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 12 Πορφυρίων, 17 βασιλεὺς Γιγάντων. But see Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 793 n. 18): Typhos and he 'were laid low by the thunderbolt and by the bow of Apollon' (*id. ib.* 16 ff. Cp. Claud. *carm. min.* 52 (37) *Gigantomachia* 34 f., 114 ff.).

Representations of the Gigantomachy from the close of the fifth century onwards

make Porphyrion the main antagonist of Zeus: (1) a *kýlix* by the potter Erginos and the painter Aristophanes, found at Vulci and now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 709 ff. no. 2531, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 3 ff. pl. 2—3 (coloured), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 363 f. no. 16 Atlas pl. 5, 3 a, 3 b, 3 c, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 38—41 pl. 127 (=my pl. vi), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 50 f. no. 1 fig., P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s.a. ii. 394 ff. fig. 287, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 589, 600, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 465 no. 1), on which the combatants are grouped in symmetric pairs as on the *paryphé* of Athena's *péplos* (F. G. Welcker in K. O. Müller *Handbuch der Archäologie der Kunst*[3] Breslau 1848 p. 639 § 396, F. Hauser *op. cit.* iii. 40). (2) An *amphora* with twisted handles, found in Melos and now in the Louvre (no. S 1677, F. F. Ravaisson in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* No. 4 1875 p. 1 ff. fig. 1 and pls 1, 2 =A. Conze *Wien. Vorlegebl.* viii pl. 7, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 193—200 pls 96 (=my pl. vii), 97 (attributed to the painter of the Talos-vase (*supra* i. 721 pl. xli)), P. Ducati in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 256, *ib.* 1908 xi. 135—141 figs. 35 a, 35 b, H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 640 f. figs. 198, 199, P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s.a. ii. 420—423 figs. 301, 302 (first quarter of *s.* iv B.C.), J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184 (later than 'the Meidias painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 450 no. 3, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 588 f., iii. 234 fig. 584). (3) Fragments of a *kratér* or *amphora* from Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensaml. Neapel* p. 425 ff. no. 2883 (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 371 denies that Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 365 no. 2664 belonged to the same vase), O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 184 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 6, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 369 ff. no. 25 Atlas pl. 5, 8 and 8 a, P. Ducati in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 255 figs. 83—85 (photographs), Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 195 ff. fig. 72 and figs. 73—75 (photographic), E. Buschor *Greek Vase-painting* trans. G. C. Richards London 1921 p. 150 pl. 90 figs. 149—151, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 449 f. no. 2, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 588, 600, iii. 235 fig. 585), which appears to be more careful work by the same artist (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 196). Vases (2) and (3) presuppose a famous original, probably the Gigantomachy painted inside the shield of Athena *Parthénos* (*eid. ib.*). The semicircular band of *bákchoi*, which on vase (3) denotes the arch of heaven, may well perpetuate the rim of Athena's shield (Sir C. Smith in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 135 ff., Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 588). (4) A red-figured *kratér* (*amphora*?) with volute handles from Ruvo, now at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 263 ff. no. 523, G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1844 ii. 105 ff. pls 5, 6 (=my pl. viii), 7, 1=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 467, 1 f., Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 367 ff. no. 24 Atlas pl. 5, 4, H. Heydemann *Zeus im Gigantenkampf* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* i) Halle a/S. 1876 p. 9, P. Ducati in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 141), which again shows the sky as an arch, yellow-painted and radiate, but represents Zeus in a four-horse chariot (cp. *supra* ii. 84 fig. 46) with Nike as charioteer and Porphyrion already blasted beneath him. (5) The great altar of Pergamon (*supra* i. 118 ff. pl. x figs. 87, 88) has as the culminating scene of its eastern side a magnificent composition, in which Zeus contends with Porphyrion and Athena with Alkyoneus (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2 Atlas pl. 24). Zeus with wide stride brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand, while a serpent-fringed *aigís*, scaly without and leathery within, is wrapped about his left. Porphyrion, a stalwart stiff-necked giant, as yet unvanquished, advances his left fist outlined beneath a lion's skin against the *aigís*. His eye, of some glittering substance, was separately inlaid. His legs are serpentiform—an innovation which dates from the beginning of *s.* iv B.C. (first on a gilded *aryballos* at Berlin (inv. no. 3375) published by H. Winnefeld in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 72—74 pl. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 690 f. no. 132, 735 f.)—and the left serpent winds up till its head rises above the giant's left

A

B

C

Kylix from Vulci, now at Berlin:

(*A*) Poseidon attacks Polybotes in the presence of Ge.

(*B*) Ares *v.* Mimon, Apollon *v.* Ephialtes, Hera *v.* Phoitos.

(*C*) Artemis *v.* Gaion, Zeus *v.* Porphyrion, Athena *v.* Enkelados.

See page 56 *n.* o (1).

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 127 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

A *kratér* (*amphora*?) from Ruvo, now at Petrograd: the Gigantomachy—Porphyrion blasted by the thunderbolts of Zeus.

See page 56 *n.* o (4).

Reliefs from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin:
Zeus contends with Porphyrion, Athena with Enkelados.

See page 56 *n.* o (5), cp. *page* 534.

Hydria from Vulci, now in the British Museum :
Athena *v.* Enkelados, Zeus *v.* Porphyrion (?).

See page 57 *n.* 0.

The herald sent to men now returns with a golden crown voted by the states to Pisthetairos; for every one has gone bird-mad and is eager to obtain wings. Accordingly, in comes a second group of visitors, bent on getting them,—a father-beater, Kinesias, an informer, and lastly Prometheus, who wants to know whether Zeus is

Clearing the clouds off, or collecting them[1].

He is desperately anxious to escape notice from above and produces an umbrella, under cover of which he explains that Zeus is ruined by the Birds' blockade, that the Triballian gods, yet higher up, are threatening to come down upon him, and that envoys are now on their way to treat for peace. But the Birds must make no peace unless Zeus restores the sceptre to them and hands over *Basíleia*, the 'Queen,' a beautiful girl who keeps his thunderbolts and other belongings, to be the bride of Pisthetairos.

The envoys in due course arrive—Poseidon, Herakles, and the uncouth Triballian[2]. Pisthetairos is busy preparing a savoury stew

shoulder, where it is gripped by the claws of Zeus' eagle (H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 48 ff. Atlas pl. 10=my pl. ix, *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 15, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 520 ff. pl. 12, H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 p. 599 pl. 296, A. von Salis *Der Altar von Pergamon* Berlin 1912 p. 54 ff. fig. 3, F. Winter *Hellenistische Skulptur* (*Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*[2] I Das Altertum xi—xii) Leipzig 1925 p. 352 fig. 6).

A comparison of these representations will show that Porphyrion is normally (so in (1), (2), (3), (5)) conceived as a sturdy antagonist, full of fight and seen from the back as he stands up to Zeus (Hor. *od.* 3. 4. 54 minaci Porphyrion statu), but that on occasion (so in (4)) he borrows the type of a vanquished giant (cp. the youthful figure in the centre of (5)). His leopard-skin or lion-skin is of course parodied in Aristoph. *av.* 1249 f. *πορφυρίωνας...παρδαλᾶς ἐνημμένους*.

The giant defeated by Zeus on a red-figured *hydría* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 149 f. no. E 165, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 8 f. pl. 3, O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1869 xli. 183, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 365 f. no. 20, J. D. Beazley in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 149 no. 9 (assigned to 'the Tyszkiewicz painter'), *id. Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 55, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 460 no. 8, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 116 no. 29. My pl. x is from a photograph taken by the Official Photographer), appears to be wearing a wolf-skin (J. Overbeck *loc. cit.* says 'das Fell eines wilden Thieres, eines Wolfes oder Luchses (?)') and, as he collapses, is heaving a rock on which is a vine-leaf (Lenormant—de Witte *loc. cit.* suppose 'une feuille de platane'). This would constitute an earlier type of Porphyrion, if we could but be sure that it is he.

[1] *Supra* p. 35.

[2] Triballos (on whom see J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1102 f.) could claim some connexion with the Birds, for a Thracian myth told how his granddaughter Polyphonte had been transformed into an owl (*στρύξ*), her two sons by the bear—Agrios and Oreios—into a vulture (*γύψ*) and a sort of swallow(?) (*λαγῶς*) respectively, and their maid into a woodpecker (*ὕπνη*) (Ant. Lib. 21 after Boios *ὀρνιθογονίας β*). Not improbably Aristophanes regarded *Τριβαλλός* as the north-Greek form of **Τρι-φαλλός*, cp. Souid. *s.v.* *Τριφάλης, Τριφάλητος· ὄνομα κύριον παρὰ Ἀριστοφάνει* with Gell. 2. 19. 6 Naevius in Triphallo (*Com. Rom. frag.* p. 27 Ribbeck), Non. Marc. p. 191, 27 f. Lindsay Varro

and will listen to no proposals, unless Zeus consents to restore the sceptre to the Birds. In that case, he invites all the envoys to his feast. Herakles, greedy as usual, jumps at the offer and interprets in his own sense the Triballian's barbarous growl. Poseidon gives in, but when Pisthetairos claims Basileia too, is for walking off and wants Herakles to go with him as the prospective heir of Zeus. Pisthetairos, however, proves by Attic law that Herakles as a bastard has no right of inheritance and undertakes to feed him all his days on 'birds' milk.' Upon this, Herakles agrees to hand over Basileia and once more puts his own construction on the doubtful utterance of the Triballian. Poseidon is silenced, and Herakles invites Pisthetairos to ascend to heaven with them and claim Basileia as his own. The feast in preparation will serve as his wedding banquet.

The play ends with the appearance of the new bridal pair in a blaze of glory. The Birds, parting on either hand, greet them with a chorus of exuberant delight[1]:

Chor. Back with you! out with you! off with you! up with you!
Flying around
Welcome the Blessèd with blessedness crowned.
O! O! for the youth and the beauty, O!
Well hast thou wed for the town of the Birds.
Great are the blessings, and wondrous, I ween,
Which through his favour our nation possesses.
Welcome them back, both himself and his Queen,
Welcome with nuptial and bridal addresses.

Mid just such a song hymenaean
Aforetime the Destinies led
The King of the thrones empyréan,
The Ruler of Gods, to the bed
Of Hera his beautiful bride.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!

And Love, with his pinions of gold,
Came driving, all blooming and spruce,
As groomsman and squire to behold
The wedding of Hera and Zeus,
Of Zeus and his beautiful bride.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!

Triphallo, *περὶ ἀρρενότητος*, Charis. 1 p. 80, 11 f. Keil Varro...in Triphallo, *carm. Priap.* 83. 6 Priape, 9 o Triphalle, 15 Priape, and the gloss Πρίαπος cited in Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2479 A. To this there is an ornithological parallel in *τριόρχος* or *τριόρχης* the 'buzzard' (?) (Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 21 triorchem a numero testium, cp. schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1206 *ἐπεὶ ἐταίρα ἦν, ἔπαιξε τὸ τριορχος*): see further D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 170.

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 1720—1765. I quote the lively lyrics of Mr B. B. Rogers, altering a

Pisth. I delight in your hymns, I delight in your songs;
Your words I admire.

Chor. Now sing of the trophies he brings us from Heaven,
The earth-crashing thunders, deadly and dire,
And the lightning's angry flashes of fire,
And the dread white bolt of the levin.
Blaze of the lightning, so terribly beautiful,
Golden and grand!
Fire-flashing javelin, glittering ever in
Zeus's right hand!
Earth-crashing thunder, the hoarsely resounding, the
Bringer of showers!
He is your Master, 'tis he that is shaking the
Earth with your powers!
All that was Zeus's of old
Now is our hero's alone;
His the Queen, fair to behold,
Partner of Zeus on his throne,
Now and for ever his own.
Hymen, O Hymenaeus!

Pisth. Now follow on, dear feathered tribes,
To see us wed, to see us wed;
Mount up to Zeus's golden floor,
And nuptial bed, and nuptial bed.
And O, my darling, reach thine hand,
And take my wing and dance with me,
And I will lightly bear thee up,
And carry thee, and carry thee.

Chor. Raise the joyous Paean-cry,
Raise the song of Victory.
Io Paean, alalalae,
Mightiest of the Powers, to thee!

Throughout this splendid *éxodos* Pisthetairos is clearly conceived as the new Zeus. He is no longer referred to by his old name, but always by some phrase descriptive of the Olympian king. He comes

Wielding the wingèd thunderbolt of Zeus[1].

The chorus at his approach sing of 'the fiery lightnings of Zeus[2],' 'the immortal spear of Zeus[3],' etc., and salute their leader himself as

line or two to avoid his rendering 'Miss Sovereignty,' which, I fear, implies a confusion of βασίλεια, 'queen,' with βασιλεία, 'kingdom.' That the former, not the latter, word was intended by the poet is clear from the metre of verses 1537, 1753. The same slip is made by G. Caramia in his article on Βασίλεια in the *Birds* of Aristophanes (*Rivista indo-greco-italica di filologia—lingua—antichità* 1925 ix. 3—4. 51 ff. cited by H. J. Rose in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1925–1926* p. 59).

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 1714 πάλλων κεραυνόν, πτεροφόρον Διὸς βέλος. *Supra* ii. 777 ff.

[2] *Id. ib.* 1746 f. τάς τε πυρώδεις | Διὸς ἀστεροπάς.

[3] *Id. ib.* 1749 Διὸς ἄμβροτον ἔγχος (*supra* ii. 704 n. 5).

'having won all that belonged to Zeus[1].' The scholiast is puzzled, and comments on the verse—

> He is your Master, 'tis he that is shaking the
> Earth with your powers!—

'*He* means Zeus of course, or Pisthetairos now that he has got Basileia[2].' But the meaning of the chorus is quite unmistakable. When Pisthetairos, bride in hand, is escorted 'to Zeus' floor and marriage-bed[3],' they acclaim him with all the emphasis of a farewell line as 'highest of the gods[4].'

Pisthetairos is Zeus. And Basileia is—who? Scholars ancient and modern have given a variety of answers to the question[5]. An

[1] *Id. ib.* 1752 Δῖα δὲ πάντα κρατήσας | κ.τ.λ.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1751 ὁ Ζεὺς δηλονότι, ἢ ὁ Πεισθέταιρος λαβὼν τὴν Βασιλείαν (*sic*).

[3] Aristoph. *av.* 1757 f. ἐπὶ πέδον Διὸς | καὶ λέχος γαμήλιον.

[4] *Id. ib.* 1765 δαιμόνων ὑπέρτατε.

[5] (1) Schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536 σωματοποιεῖ τὴν Βασιλείαν αὐτὸ τὸ πρᾶγμα ὡς γυναῖκα in defiance of metre (*supra* p. 59 n. o) made her a personification of Royalty.

(2) Euphronios the Alexandrine grammarian of *s.* iii B.C. (L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1220 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 150) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536 regarded her as a daughter of Zeus—probably an inference from Aristoph. *av.* 1537 ff.

(3) Others held that she dispensed immortality, as Athena in Bakchyl. *frag.* 45 Jebb was about to dispense it to Tydeus; and some actually called her Athanasia (schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536). This was perhaps one of the many (Cornut. *theol.* 20 p. 36, 1 ff. Lang) etymologies suggested for Athena (so even in Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 11).

(4) F. Wieseler *Adversaria in Aeschyli Prometheum Vinctum et Aristophanis Aves* Gottingae 1843 p. 124 ff. contends that she was Athena, cp. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 111 Ἀθηνᾷ τινι βασιλίδι τῇ καὶ Βαλενίκῃ λεγομένῃ, θυγατρὶ δὲ Βροντέου (*supra* ii. 833 n. 7).

(5) Others cite Dionysios Skytobrachion (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 673) *ap.* Diod. 3. 57, who in his romantic vein told how Basileia, a daughter of Ouranos by Titaia (Ge) and a sister of Rhea (Pandora), brought up her brothers the Titans and hence was known as the Megale Meter, inherited her father's kingdom, and ultimately became by her brother Hyperion the mother of Helios and Selene.

(6) Others again equate the Aristophanic Basileia with the goddess worshipped at Athens under the name Βασίλη or Βασίλεια (O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 41 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1081 n. 5, 1521 n. 1), whom some take to be a 'Queen' of Heaven (H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 227 ff.), some a 'Queen' of the Underworld (G. Loeschcke *Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographie Athens* Dorpati Livonorum 1884 pp. 14—24).

(7) C. Pascal *Dioniso* Catania 1911 pp. 99—110 argues that the Basileia of the play is 'Queen' of the Underworld and at the same time goddess of the mysteries and of fertility, in fact a variant of Kore. Marriage with her means death (*supra* ii. 1163 ff.). Pisthetairos the pretender, after a career of hitherto unbroken success, is thus at the last politely handed over to the other world (E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1916—1918 clxxiv. 135).

(8) J. T. Sheppard 'τίς ἐστιν ἡ Βασίλεια;' in the *Fasciculus Ioanni Willis Clark dicatus* Cantabrigiae 1909 pp. 529—540, after rightly insisting that the solemnity of the final scene in the *Birds* implies a clear reference to the sacred marriage of Zeus and Hera,

Athenian audience in the days of Aristophanes could hardly have hesitated. The partner of Zeus must needs be Hera. And Hera in that very capacity was often called *Basíleia*[1]. Besides, on the present occasion there was a special reason for picking out just this title and no other as appropriate to the goddess. For it would seem that the political circumstances in which the play was first planned prompted the author to the better part of its nomenclature—Euelpides, Pisthetairos, Nephelokokkygia, and finally Basileia.

Aristophanes brought out his *Birds* at the City Dionysia of the year 414 B.C.[2] But B. B. Rogers has shown that in all probability the play had been 'long in incubation,' indeed that it had been taken

turns aside to the sacred marriage of Dionysos and the *βασίλισσα* (*supra* i. 672 n. 0, 686, 709 f. pl. xl, 3), and concludes that Βασίλεια is an imaginary goddess, whose name suggests the consort of the god of comedy. 'Peithetairos, on this hypothesis, recalls to the audience Zeus, with a touch of Dionysos. Basileia recalls the Basilissa, not without a touch of Hera' (J. T. Sheppard *op. cit.* p. 540). The *ἱεροκῆρυξ* and the *γεραραί* attendant on the *βασίλισσα* (Dem. *c. Neaer.* 78) may be found in the messenger of Aristoph. *av.* 1706 ff. and in the conjectural bridesmaids of Basileia. Mr Sheppard's article marks a real advance in the interpretation of this difficult scene; but—to quote his own words —'That Basileia has been caught in her true shape at last would be a bold assertion.'

[1] Zeus Βασιλεύς is associated with Hera Βασίλεια in a federal oath of the Phocians and Boeotians (H. G. Lolling in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 19 ff. line 14 f. cited *supra* ii. 731 n. 0 (1)). Zeus Βασιλεύς at Lebadeia (*supra* ii. 899 n. 2, 1073 f., 1076) appears to have had as his consort Hera Βασιλίς (W. Dittenberger in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3097, 1 ff. "Ηρᾳ Βασιλίδι | καὶ τῇ πόλει Λεβαδέων | Μένανδρος Χρησίμου | ἱερητεύσας πενταετηρίδα | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἀνέθηκεν | ἱερητευούσης τῆς γυναικὸς | αὐτοῦ Παρησίας τῆς Ὀνασιμβρότου—a series of well-omened names): so Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 78 n. 17, *supra* ii. 900 n. 0. There was a cult of Hera Βασίλεια at Lindos (P. Foucart in the *Rev. Arch.* 1867 ii. 30 ff. no. 71, 13 ff. = F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* i no. 786, 13 ff. Τίτος Φλα(ΐϝιος) Τίτου Φλα(ΐϝου) | Λέοντος ἱερέως υἱὸς Κυρείνα (cp. Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5793) Θρα|σύλοχος Κλά(σιος) ἀπὸ γένους τετει|μημένος ἐς τὸ διενεκὲς ὑπὸ τῶν | ἐν θεοῖς Αὐτοκρατόρων καὶ τῶν τῆς | ἱερᾶς βουλῆς συγκλήτου δογμάτων (*sc. senatus consultis*), | ὑπατικῶν [καὶ] συνκλητικῶν συνγεν[ῆς] | "Ηρᾳ Βασιλεί[ᾳ] ἐ[πὶ] το[ῦ] βωμο[ῦ] | τὰ[ς] (σ)τιβάδας ἐκ[δσμησεν]. On such *στιβάδες* or *στιβάδεια* see A. Wilhelm in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 190 f. and Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1109, 52 f. n. 36), and perhaps at Sikinos (F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 30, 2 f. in lettering not older than *s.* iii A.D. εἶδος μὲν πα[ρόμοιος ἕφυς "Ηρῃς] | βασιλείῃς); and there was another of Hera Βασιλίς in Pisidia (A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1887 viii. 256 f. no. 41, 1 ff. from Pogla (*Fovla*) ἡ βουλὴ καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἐτείμησεν Αὐρηλί[αν] | Ἀρμ[ά]σταν, [τ]ὴν καὶ | Τε[ρ]τίαν, Μ€[δ]ον[τ]ος, | Ἀρτεμέους γυναῖκα | σώφρονα, γένους | τοῦ πρωτεύοντος, | ἱερασαμένην Ἥρᾳ Βα|σιλίδος, δημιουργή|σασαν, ἀρχιαιρασαμένην, | καὶ πάντα τὰ ἐπὶ τούτοις | νενομισμένα ποιήσα|σαν. κ.τ.λ., cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4367 *f.*).

Literary allusions include the following: *h. Her.* 1 ff. "Ηρην... | ἀθανάτην βασίλειαν... | Ζηνὸς ἐριγδούποιο καισυγνήτην ἄλοχόν τε, Ap. Rhod. 4. 382 μὴ τό γε παμβασίλεια Διὸς τελέσειεν ἄκοιτις, Orph. *h. Her.* 16. 2 "Ηρη (so J. G. J. Hermann for "Ηρα) παμβασίλεια, Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα, 9 μάκαιρα θεά, πολυώνυμε, παμβασίλεια, Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 191, 12 f. Diehl διὰ δὴ τοῦτο τῷ Διὶ συνέζευκται ἡ βασιλὶς "Ηρα. See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1132 n. 2.

[2] Schol. Aristoph. *av.* argum. 1 and 2. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 426.

in hand soon after the production of the *Peace* in 421[1]. Now the events of the period immediately succeeding the peace of Nikias had turned all eyes towards Argos, which then became the centre

[1] B. B. Rogers *The Birds of Aristophanes* London 1906 p. v f.: 'It is by far the longest of the extant comedies; and dealing as it does with a subject outside the ordinary range of the poet's thoughts and language...it is obviously a comedy which must have been long in incubation, and could not (as was the case with the Peace) have been hastily put together to meet a particular emergency. Indeed there are not wanting indications from which we may surmise that it was taken in hand, if not immediately after the production of the Peace, at all events whilst the mind of Aristophanes was still filled with the topics and ideas which possessed it while he was engaged in the composition of the earlier play. In the vagrant Oracle-monger (χρησμολόγος) of the Birds, with his prophecies of Bakis, his lust for a share of the σπλάγχνα, and finally his ignominious expulsion, we cannot fail to recognize the exact counterpart of Hierocles, the χρησμολόγος of the Peace. The description which Cinesias gives of the sources from whence the dithyrambic poets derived their inspiration is merely an amplification of a sarcasm placed previously in the mouth of Trygaeus; whilst the whole scheme of the proposed sacrifice on the stage, its preparation, interruption, and final abandonment, with the allusion to the predatory habits of the Kite, and to the unwelcome pipings of Chaeris, is substantially identical in the two plays.

So again the two plays have an idyllic character which belongs to no other of the poet's comedies: the innocent charms of a country life are depicted as they are depicted nowhere else; in each of them, and in them only, we hear the "sweet song" of the τέττιξ, and in each it is designated by its Doric name ὁ ἀχέτας, the chirruper. Here too, and nowhere else in Aristophanes, the coaxing address ὦ δειλακρίων is employed; and although the Aeschylean phrase ξουθὸς ἱπταλεκτρυὼν is found also in the Frogs, yet it there occurs in its natural place as part of a criticism on the style and the language of Aeschylus, while in each of these two plays it is introduced, apropos of nothing, in the Parabasis, as the sarcastic description of a showy military officer. And possibly the germ of the present drama may be discovered in the determination of Trygaeus μετ' ὀρνίθων ἐς κόρακας βαδίζειν [cp. *av.* 155, 753]. Minor coincidences, such as ποδαπὸς τὸ γένος, are very numerous, but are hardly worthy of mention.

So again, although the Athenian dependencies on the coasts of Macedonia and Thrace were in a chronic state of disturbance, and were giving some trouble at this very time, yet the advice to the reckless young Athenian to "fly off to Thrace-ward regions and fight there" would seem more naturally adapted to a time when those regions were the chief seat of Athenian warfare, than to a time when the entire attention of the Athenian people was directed to the military operations in Sicily. And the very remarkable verbal allusions to the History of Herodotus would seem more suitable to a period when that History was still fresh in the hands and thoughts of the poet and his audience.

But whatever weight may be due to these considerations, the comedy would of course not receive its final touches until it was about to be sent in to the Archon, in the winter of 415—414 B.C.'

I have quoted at length the wise words of Mr Rogers because they form the best reply to an objection raised by E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1923 cxcv. 151, who urges against me the contention of A. Ruppel *Konzeption und Ausarbeitung der Aristophanischen Komödien* Darmstadt 1912 'dass der Dichter immer nur 3—4 Monate mit der Ausarbeitung eines Stückes beschäftigt war' (E. Wüst *loc. cit.* 1916—1918 clxxiv. 133). But such a rule was obviously open to exceptions. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Über die Wespen des Aristophanes' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1911 p. 460 ff., rightly holding that the Kyon *v.* Labes trial of *vesp.* 894 ff. travestied the Kleon *v.* Laches trial of the year 425 B.C., infers that the play was planned three years before its performance in 422 (E. Wüst *loc. cit.* 1916—1918 clxxiv. 132, 155).

of more than one new political combination[1]. The Argives in a sense held the balance between Athens and Sparta, a fact that the playwright fully appreciated[2]. And at Argos there had been a deal of wobbling. The successive alliances of the Argives with the Athenians (420), with the Spartans (418), and with the Athenians again (417) must have been received at Athens with alternate outbursts of enthusiasm and disgust. What the Athenian 'optimist,' the *Euelpídes* of the moment, really wanted was a staunch and loyal ally, a 'trusty comrade,' a *Pisthétairos*[3].

More than that. If, while the play was being drafted, popular attention was thus directed to Argos, it may fairly be surmised that Aristophanes' castle-in-the-air *Nephelokokkygía* contained—*inter alia*[4], no doubt—an allusion to the Argive Mount Kokkygion[5] with its myth of Zeus the cuckoo[6]. Aristotle[7] tells the story.

[1] See *e.g.* J. B. Bury *A History of Greece* London 1900 p. 458 ff., W. S. Ferguson in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1927 v. 256 ff.

[2] Aristoph. *pax* 475 ff.

[3] That this is the true form of the name appears from *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1723 on an architrave of Pentelic marble in the church of St Theodoros near the village of *Marousi* ΠΙΣΤΟΚΛΗΣ : ΠΙΣΘΕΤΑΙΡΟ : ΑΘΜΟΝΕΥΣ (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 54). E. Wüst *loc. cit.* 1923 cxcv. 151 deems this evidence 'nicht zwingend.' He is hard to please.

[4] A. Todesco 'KOKKTΣ' in *Philologus* 1914—1916 lxxiii. 563—567 (an article which Prof. A. D. Nock kindly brought to my notice) thinks that Νεφελοκοκκυγία was a name invented by Aristophanes (Loukian. *ver. hist.* 29), in accordance with Greek usage, to denote a chaos of clouds (*av.* 178) and a babble of political intriguers (*Ach.* 598). 'Ganz vernünftig würde auch diese neue Erklärung sein: Νεφελοκοκκυγία sei die Idealstadt der schlauen Feiglinge, welche auf Kosten des Nächsten leben wollen. Wenn man besonders den Begriff der Schlauheit betont, so sind diese *κόκκυγες* die Demagogen, und wir sehen im Hintergrund die anderen Leute, die Athener, welche *κεχηνότες* alle Prahlereien ernst nehmen.'

[5] A similar allusion to Argive topography occurs in Aristoph. *av.* 399 *ἀποθανεῖν ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς*, where again the name is selected partly because it suggests birds (*ὄρνεα*) and partly because the town was uppermost in the thoughts of the people owing to its capture by Athenians and Argives in 416 B.C. Miss R. E. White (Mrs N. Wedd) in the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 100 f. finds the same point in *av.* 15 f. *ὃς τώδ' ἔφασκε νῷν φράσειν τὸν Τηρέα | τὸν ἔποφ', ὃς ὄρνις ἐγένετ' ἐκ τῶν ὀρνέων* and aptly defends the variation in the use of the article by citing Thouk. 6. 7 *τοὺς ἐν Ὀρνεαῖς...οἱ ἐκ τῶν Ὀρνεῶν*.

Does the oracle in *av.* 967 f. *ἀλλ' ὅταν οἰκήσωσι λύκοι πολιαί τε κορῶναι | ἐν ταὐτῷ τὸ μεταξὺ Κορίνθου καὶ Σικυῶνος,—| κ.τ.λ.* refer to the alliance of Argos, whose symbol was the wolf, with Corinth (*Κόρινθος—κορώνη*)?

F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1841 iii. 248 n. 2 saw that Nephelokokkygia stood in some relation to Mt Kokkygion or Thornax in Argolis (*supra* i. 135, ii. 893 n. 2), but thought that the topic might have been suggested to Aristophanes by the existence of another Mt Thornax near Sparta (*supra* ii. 893 n. 2).

[6] Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 481 contributes an acute surmise: 'Zeus often appears as a lover in the guise of a bird. As a swan he begot the Dioscuri at Sparta, at Argos it was said that in the shape of a cuckoo he deceived Hera and won her love on the Mountain of

the Cuckoo. I venture to guess that these myths, which appear in old Mycenaean centres, are remains of the Minoan belief that the gods appeared in the shape of birds.'

It must not, however, be forgotten that in the Old Slavonic area there was, or is said to have been, a fairly close parallel to the cuckoo-Zeus of Mt Kokkygion. J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 679 cites from the Polish chronicle of Prokosz the following remarkable account of a Slavic god Zywie: *Chronicon Slavo-Sarmaticum...Procossii* ed. H. Kownacki Varsaviae 1827 p. 113 'divinitati Zywie fanum exstructum erat in monte ab ejusdem nomine Zywiec dicto, ubi primis diebus mensis Maji innumerus populus pie conveniens precabatur ab ea, quae vitae auctor habebatur, longam et prosperam valetudinem. Praecipue tamen ei litabatur ab iis qui primum cantum cuculi audivissent, ominantes superstitiose tot annos se victuros quoties vocem repetiisset. Opinabantur enim supremum hunc universi moderatorem transfigurari in cuculum ut ipsis annuntiaret vitae tempora: unde crimini ducebatur, capitalique poena a magistratibus afficiebatur, qui cuculum occidisset.' This chronicle, which professed to be the work '*Procossii sec. X scriptoris*,' was denounced by Dobrowski in the *Wiener Jahrbücher d. Liter.* xxxii. 77—80 as a pure fabrication and is described by A. Potthast *Bibliotheca historica medii aevi*[2] Berlin 1896 ii. 940 as 'Ein nnsauberes Machwerk des Przybysław Dyamentowski (saec. XVIII).' But J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 679 n. 1 protested that Dobrowski had gone too far: the chronicle, though not so old as *s.* x, 'is at any rate founded on old traditions.' Partial confirmation of the alleged statements of Prokosz may be found in those of J. Długosz, a canon of Cracow who died in 1480 A.D. and has left what purports to be an account of the ancient Polish pantheon. According to the careful *critique* of A. Brückner in the *Archiv für slavische Philologie* 1892 xiv. 170 ff., Długosz did not invent the names of his divinities, but took them from old ritual folk-songs still current in the fifteenth century, dignifying inferior powers with the rank of gods and comparing them with the gods of Greece and Rome. Thus *Jesza* = Iupiter, *Lyada* = Mars, *Daydzilelya* = Venus, *Nya* = Pluto, *Pogoda* = Temperies, *Żywye* = deus vitae, *Daewana* = Diana, *Marzyana* = Ceres (L. Niederle *Manuel de l'antiquité slave* Paris 1926 ii. 152). Other Polish chroniclers of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries complete the list by adding from a similar source the names *Lel* and *Polel*, which M. de Miecbow *Chronica Polonorum a Lecho usque ad annum MDvi* Cracoviae 1521 equated with Castor and Pollux (L. Niederle *op. cit.* ii. 153 n. 1). The relevant passages in Długosz are as follows: Io. Długossus *historia Polonica* Lipsiæ 1711 i (i. 34 A) 'BABA, mons altissimus supra fluvium *Sola*, herbas multiferas germinans, & oppido *Zyvviec* imminens' (*sc.* Zywiec on the Sola, some 40 miles south-west of Cracow), *ib.* i (i. 37 B) 'Item *Deus vitæ*, quem vocabant *Zywie*.' The fuller, but less authoritative, account of Prokosz is quoted, with various comments, by W. Mannhardt in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Mythologie und Sittenkunde* 1855 iii. 230, J. Hardy in *The Folk-Lore Record* 1879 ii. 85, C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 121, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 66. C. de Kay *Bird Gods* New York 1898 p. 116 speaks of 'a goddess Zywie' etc.: he has misconstrued the Latin of Prokosz.

Other considerations, which deserve to be weighed before the testimony of the chroniclers is rejected, are these. The name *Żywye*, which is akin to *ζῆν, vivere* (Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 120, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 846 f., F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 211 f.), recalls the Thracian or Thraco-Phrygian Erikepaios, whose name was interpreted as meaning *ζωοδοτήρ* (*supra* ii. 1024 f.). Again, the notion that the cuckoo is an ominous bird, which declares to men how many years they have to live etc., is wide-spread in Europe (see W. Mannhardt *loc. cit.* p. 231 ff., J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 676 ff., J. Hardy *loc. cit.* p. 86 ff., C. Swainson *op. cit.* p. 115 ff., L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 154 f., O. Keller *op. cit.* ii. 66). Typical are the folk-lines of Lower Saxony *Kukuk vam hâven,* | *wo lange sall ik leven?* (J. F. Schuetze *Holsteinisches Idiotikon, ein Beitrag zur Volkssittengeschichte* Hamburg 1801 ii. 363), or those of Guernsey *Coucou, cou-cou, dis mé* | *Combien d'ans je vivrai* (Sir E. MacCulloch *Guernsey Folk Lore* ed. Miss E. F. Carey London 1903 p. 505, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 200), or those of

Zeus, seeing Hera all by herself, was minded to consort with her. To secure her by guile, he transformed himself into a cuckoo and perched on a mountain, which had previously been called *Thrónax*, the 'Throne,' but was thenceforward known as *Kókkyx*, the 'Cuckoo.' He then caused a terrible storm to break over the district. Hera, faring alone, came to the mountain and sat on the spot where there is now a sanctuary of Hera *Teleía*. The cuckoo flew down and settled on her knees, cowering and shivering at the storm. Hera out of pity covered it with her mantle. Thereupon Zeus changed his shape and accomplished his desire, promising to make the goddess his wedded wife. Pausanias[1] adds that Mount Kokkygion and Mount Pron over against it were topped by sanctuaries of Zeus and Hera respectively. Further[2], he brings the myth into connexion with the famous cult of Hera at Argos. The temple-statue was a chryselephantine masterpiece by Polykleitos. The goddess sat enthroned. On her head was a band decorated with figures of the Charites and the Horai. In one hand she held a pomegranate, about which a tale not rashly to be repeated was told; in the other she had a sceptre surmounted by a cuckoo, the subject of the foregoing myth. Strabo[3] says of this statue that, though in point of costliness and size it fell short of the colossal works of Pheidias, yet for sheer beauty it surpassed all others. Maximus Tyrius[4] in a few well-chosen epithets records the

the modern Greek *κοῦκο μου, κουκάκι μου,* | *κι ἀργυροκουκάκι μου,* | *πόσους χρόνους θὲ νὰ ζήσω;* (J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 676 n. 3). Étienne de Bourbon, a thirteenth-century Dominican, states that the cuckoo-oracle was consulted on the first of May (A. Lecoy de la Marche *Anecdotes historiques légendes et apologues tirés du recueil inédit d'Étienne de Bourbon* Paris 1877 § 52 p. 59 f., § 356 p. 315). Prokosz therefore may, after all, be right in what he tells us of the May-day celebration on Mt Żywiec. His further assertions, that the ruler of the world was believed to take the form of a cuckoo and that the killing of a cuckoo was a capital offence, cannot be controlled, but are at least consistent with one another and not *per se* wholly incredible. Yet the cautious enquirer would do well to digest what Seemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 749—751 has to say against *e.g.* W. Mannhardt's attempt to treat the cuckoo as an animal form of Donar or Frô and C. L. Rochholz' contention that St Gertrude with her cuckoo was 'eine Stellvertreterin Freyas oder Idunas.'

[7] Aristot. *frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 = Eudok. *viol.* 414[h] cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2.

[1] Paus. 2. 36. 2 quoted *supra* ii. 893 n. 2.

[2] Paus. 2. 17. 4 *τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἥρας ἐπὶ θρόνου κάθηται μεγέθει μέγα, χρυσοῦ μὲν καὶ ἐλέφαντος, Πολυκλείτου δὲ ἔργον· ἔπεστι δέ οἱ στέφανος Χάριτας ἔχων καὶ Ὥρας ἐπειργασμένας, καὶ τῶν χειρῶν τῇ μὲν καρπὸν φέρει ῥοιᾶς, τῇ δὲ σκῆπτρον. τὰ μὲν οὖν ἐς τὴν ῥοιὰν —ἀπορρητότερος γάρ ἐστιν ὁ λόγος—ἀφείσθω μοι· κόκκυγα δὲ ἐπὶ τῷ σκήπτρῳ καθῆσθαί φασι λέγοντες τὸν Δία, ὅτε ἥρα παρθένου τῆς Ἥρας, ἐς τοῦτον τὸν ὄρνιθα ἀλλαγῆναι, τὴν δὲ ἅτε παίγνιον θηρᾶσαι. Supra* ii. 893 n. 2.

[3] Strab. 372.

[4] Max. Tyr. 14. 6 *τὴν Ἥραν, οἵαν Πολύκλειτος Ἀργείοις ἔδειξε, λευκώλενον, ἐλεφαντόπηχυν, εὐῶπιν, εὐείμονα, βασιλικήν, ἱδρυμένην ἐπὶ χρυσοῦ θρόνου.*

effect produced by the ivory arms, the exquisite face, the gorgeous drapery, the queenly bearing, and the golden throne. Greek and Roman writers vied with each other in praising the sculptor's creation. To cite but a single epigram, Martial[1] wrote:

> Thy toil and triumph, Polykleitos, stands—
> Hera, beyond the reach of Pheidias' hands.
> Had Paris this sweet face on Ida seen,
> The judge convinced, the rivals scorned had been.
> Loved he not his own Hera's form divine,
> Zeus might have loved the Hera that is thine.

I need not labour the point. The myth was well known, and the statue immensely famous. What concerns us at the moment is the fact that the Argive Hera herself was worshipped expressly as Hera *Basileia*[2]. Aristophanes, true to a long-established tendency of the mythopoeic mind, has split off the cult-title *Basileia* and transformed it into a new and brilliant personality—the *quasi*-Hera of Athens[3]. This bold stroke of genius[4] was necessitated and justified by the

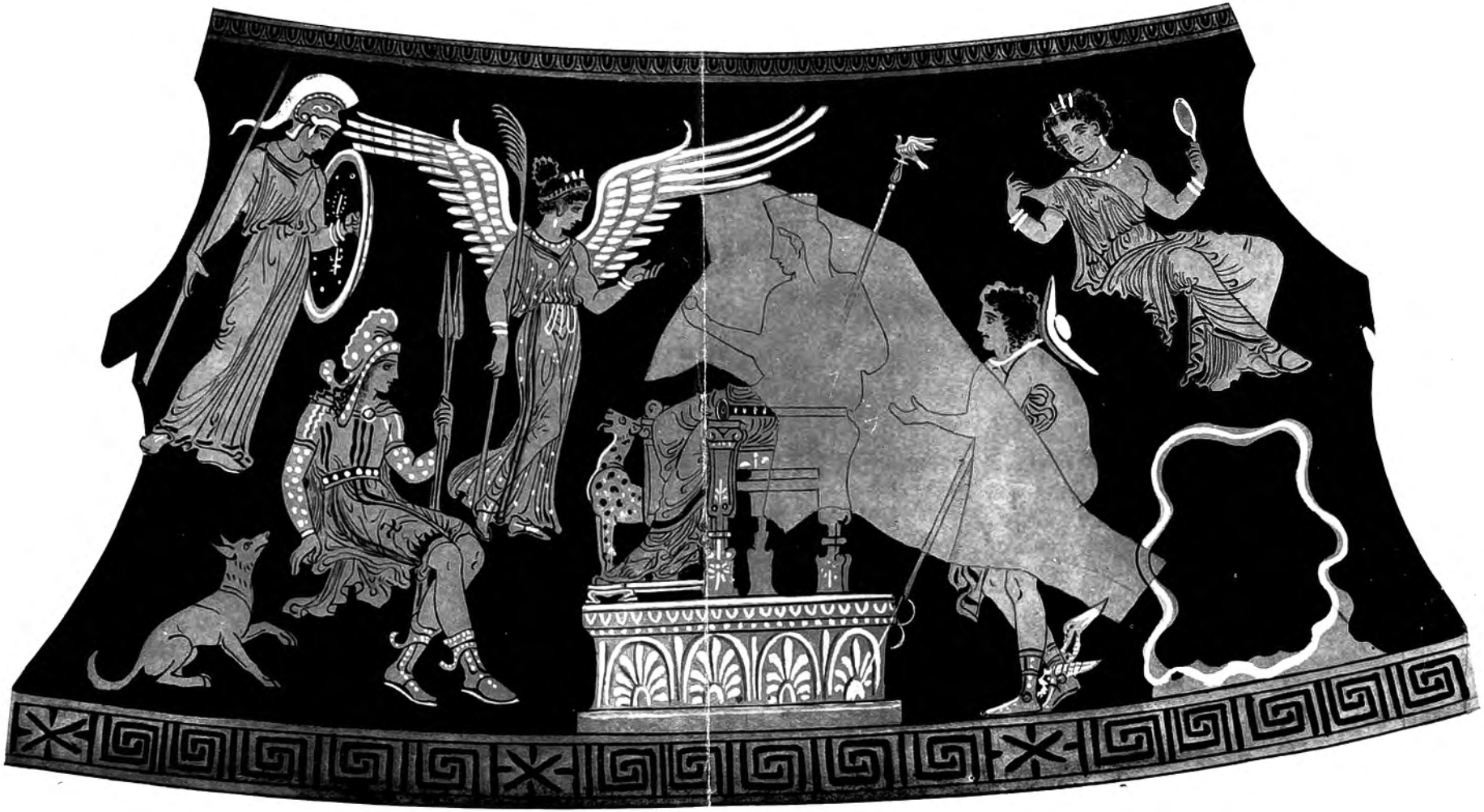
[1] Mart. *ep.* 10. 89.

[2] W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 88 ff. no. 38, 5 f. = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 25 ff. no. 6, 5 f. = P. Müllensiefen in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 361 ff. no. 3637, 5 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 717, 5 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1026, 5 f. a liturgical calendar on a marble slab in lettering of *s.* iv—*s.* iii B.C. δεκάται· Ἥραι Ἀργείαι Ἐλείαι Βασιλείαι δάμιαλις κριτά· κ.τ.λ. (Ἐλεία = ἐν ἕλει, 'in the marsh,' cp. Alexis of Samos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 299 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 572 F Ἄλεξις δ' ὁ Σάμιος ἐν δευτέρῳ Ὥρων Σαμακῶν· 'τὴν ἐν Σάμῳ Ἀφροδίτην, ἣν οἱ μὲν ἐν Καλάμοις καλοῦσιν, οἱ δὲ ἐν Ἕλει,' κ.τ.λ., Paus. 8. 36. 6 at Megalopolis Δήμητρος καλουμένης ἐν ἕλει ναός τε καὶ ἄλσος. Hesych. *s.v.* ἑλεία (ἔλεια cod.)·... καὶ Ἥρα ἐν Κύπρῳ. καὶ Ἄρτεμις ἐν Μεσσήνῃ (Μεσίνῃ cod.). See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2819).

The title as attached to the Argive Hera appears to be of long standing: *Phoronis frag.* 4 Kinkel *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 102, 23 f. Ὀλυμπιάδος βασιλείης, | Ἥρης Ἀργείης (context cited *supra* i. 453 n. 8), Aisch. *suppl.* 296 f. ΠΕΛ. πῶς οὖν τελευτᾷ βασιλέων νείκη τάδε; | ΧΟ. βοῦν τὴν γυναῖκ' ἔθηκεν Ἀργεία θεός. | κ.τ.λ., *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 172, 5 ff. on a taurobolic altar of Pentelic marble, to be dated *c.* 361—363 A.D. οὗτος Κεκροπίην αὐχεῖ πόλιν, οὗτος ἐν Ἄργει | ναιετάει, βίοτον μυστικὸν εὖ διάγων· | αὐτόθι γὰρ κλειδοῦχος ἔφυ βασιληΐδος Ἥρης, | κ.τ.λ., 9 f. δαδοῦχός με Κόρης, βασιλ[ηΐ]δος ἱερὰ σηκῶν | Ἥρας κλείθρα φέρων, βωμὸν ἔθηκε Ῥέῃ | κ.τ.λ. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 822, 5 ff., 9 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 283. 5 ff., 9 f. (reading 7 αὐτόθι γὰρ κλειδοῦχος ἔφυ βασιληΐδος Ἥρης but 9 δαδοῦχός με κόρης Βασιλῆς Διὸς ἱερὸς ἦκων | κ.τ.λ.). So in Latin Sen. *Ag.* 349 ff., Apul. *met.* 6. 4.

[3] There appears to have been no temple of Hera at Athens till the time of Hadrian (Paus. 1. 18. 9), unless we reckon the ruined temple on the way from Phaleron to Athens, said to have been fired by Mardonios (Paus. 1. 1. 5, 10. 35. 2).

[4] Possibly not so original as we might suppose. I incline to think that Kratinos had hit upon a very similar idea. He is known to have dubbed Perikles Ζεύς (*supra* i. 280, iii. 32 f., cp. ii. 816 n. 1) and Aspasia Ἥρα, if not also Τύραννος or Τυραννοδαίμων (Meineke *Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 61 f., 147 ff., *supra* iii. 32 n. 5). When, therefore, we read in schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1536 ἔστι δὲ καὶ παρὰ Κρατίνῳ ἡ Βασίλεια, it is tempting to conclude that Kratinos spoke of Perikles and Aspasia as the Zeus and the Hera Βασίλεια of Athens.



A *lékythos* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum: the Judgment of Paris with the Argive Hera as prize-winner.

See page 67 f.

whole plot of the bird-comedy. The bird-Zeus was the mate of Hera *Basíleia*: Pisthetairos must follow suit. The sceptre, of which we hear so much in the course of the play[1], was perhaps directly suggested by the cuckoo-sceptre of the Argive Hera[2].

I end by anticipating an objection. Aristophanes (it may be urged), lover of old-fashioned Athens as he was, would not have appealed to an Athenian public by thus dwelling on a virtually foreign cult. Still less (I shall be told) could he have assumed in his work-a-day audience familiarity with or appreciation of a cult-statue carved by an alien sculptor for a Peloponnesian town. The objection may be met, or at least minimised, by the consideration of a certain red-figured *lékythos* from Ruvo, now in the British Museum[3], which—if I am not in error—makes it probable that this very statue was known and admired by ordinary folk at Athens in the days of Aristophanes. The vase-painting (pl. xi)[4], which is contemporary or nearly contemporary with our play, represents a frequent subject—the judgment of Paris. To our surprise, however, the central goddess is not Aphrodite but Hera, who sits on a throne raised by a lotos-patterned base. As befits a 'Queen,' she wears a high decorated *stephánе* and holds in her left hand a long sceptre tipped by a cuckoo with spread wings. Her feet rest on a footstool, and beside the further arm of her throne is an open-mouthed panther sitting on its hind legs[5]. Advancing towards her comes Nike with

G. Loeschcke *Vermutungen zur griechischen Kunstgeschichte und zur Topographie Athens* Dorpati Livonorum 1884 pp. 14—24, followed by O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 44 f., would identify the Βασίλεια of Kratinos and Aristophanes with the Meter of the Athenian market-place, protectress of the *Bouleutérion*.

[1] Aristoph. *av.* 480, 635 f., 1534 f., 1600 f., 1626 f., 1631.

[2] Cp. Aristoph. *av.* 508 ff. ἦρχον δ' οὕτω σφόδρα τὴν ἀρχὴν ὥστ', εἴ τις καὶ βασιλεύοι | ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν τῶν Ἑλλήνων Ἀγαμέμνων ἢ Μενέλαος, | ἐπὶ τῶν σκήπτρων ἐκάθητ' ὄρνις μετέχων ὅ τι δωροδοκοίη with *ib.* 504 Αἰγύπτου δ' αὖ καὶ Φοινίκης πάσης κόκκυξ βασιλεὺς ἦν. It is important to note that both Egypt (Epaphos, Memphis, Libye, Belos, Anchinoe, Aigyptos, Danaos, etc.) and Phoinike (Agenor, Kadmos, Phoinix, etc.) play a large part in the mythology of the early kings of Argos.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 61 no. F 109, Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 289 f. pl. 43, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 410 no. 61 pl. B, 3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 140 ff. (B) Atlas pl. 10, 1 and 1 a.

[4] The vase, when I first saw it, had been very skilfully repainted so as to appear quite complete. My friend Mr H. B. Walters kindly had it cleaned for me with ether (Sept. 29, 1910), and thus fixed the exact limits of the restoration. I was therefore enabled to publish in the Ridgeway volume (*supra* p. 44 n. 1) for the first time an accurate drawing of the design by that excellent draughtsman, the late Mr F. Anderson. The present plate is reproduced from his coloured drawing to a larger scale.

[5] The panther appears to be a variant of the lion, which on other vases representing the judgment of Paris precedes (Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 388 no. 22) or is carried by Hera (*id. ib.* v. 398 f. no. 52 pl. B, 2, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 716 ff. no. 2536,

a palm-branch[1]. In front of her sits Paris; behind stands Hermes; above are Athena and Aphrodite—all with their usual attributes. It seems clear that the vase-painter, wishing to give an individual turn to a common type[2], has made Paris award the prize of beauty, not—as tradition prescribed—to Aphrodite, nor even—as patriotism might suggest—to Athena, but to Hera, the Hera of Polykleitos. The rival goddesses are relegated to the far corners of the scene, and the *chef-d'œuvre* of the sculptor queens it in the centre. Doubtless the vase-painter showed his ingenuity by treating the pomegranate in Hera's hand as if it were the apple of discord that Paris had just presented to the fairest. In short, the vase as a whole forms an amusing parallel to the epigram by Martial already quoted.

But whether the second half of the name Nephelo-kokkygia was or was not inspired by the Argive cult, it is certain that the first half owed much to the common Greek conception of Zeus enthroned above the clouds. Above them rather than upon them. Prometheus, arriving in Cloudland, is terribly afraid that Zeus will see him 'from above[3].' Hence his ludicrous umbrella. And Pisthetairos, aspiring to the home and the very couch of Zeus, must needs bear his bride upwards from the celestial city on pinions that soar to yet higher heights[4]. After all, that is as it should be. The clouds, if strictly described, are of the *aér*; and the *aér* is a lower stratum than the *aithér*[5]. The realm of the sky-god was rightly pictured by Homer as

> Broad heaven in the *aithér* and the clouds[6].

(d) The Clouds personified in Cult and Myth.

From the ritual of Zeus *Aktaîos* we have inferred that in early days Greek rain-makers clothed themselves in sheep-skins by way

Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 141 ff. (M) Atlas pl. 10, 7, Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1615 fig. 6) and is usually explained as symbolising the sovereignty of Asia (Eur. *Tro.* 927 f., Isokr. *Hel.* 41, *alib.*). These adjuncts recall another statue of Hera at Argos: Tert. *de cor. mil.* 7 Iunoni vitem Callimachus induxit (perhaps the seated Hera Νυμφευομένη at Plataiai, made by Kallimachos (Paus. 9. 2. 7)). ita et Argis signum eius palmite redimitum, subiecto pedibus eius corio leonino, insultantem ostentat novercam de exuviis utriusque privigni (*sc.* Dionysos and Herakles).

[1] Mr H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 61 says: 'Before Hera hovers **Iris** or **Nikè**, with wings spread,' etc. But, if Nike were hovering in the air, her feet would point downwards: see *e.g.* F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgöttin* Leipzig 1898 pl. 3, 19 ff.

[2] Cp. P. Gardner *A Grammar of Greek Art* London 1905 pp. 244—253=*id. The Principles of Greek Art* New York 1914 pp. 297—309.

[3] Aristoph. *av.* 1551 ἄνωθεν, cp. *ib.* 1509.

[4] *Id. ib.* 1759 ff.

[5] *Supra* i. 101 f. pl. ix, 2.

[6] *Il.* 15. 192 (cited *supra* i. 25 n. 5, iii. 34).

of copying the fleecy clouds[1]. Such a usage goes some way towards explaining another drama of exceptional brilliance[2], the *Clouds* of Aristophanes; for he, in common with all the writers of old Attic comedy, was largely indebted for his choruses to the mimetic dances of the past[3]. The Clouds, however, to whom the Aristophanic Sokrates would introduce his elderly pupil and initiate, Strepsiades, are not mere masses of vapour that the magician can coax into sending a shower, but rather august, and indeed divine, personifications of the same:

> Old man sit you still, and attend to my will, and hearken in peace to my prayer,
> O Master and King, holding earth in your swing, O measureless infinite Air;
> And thou glowing Ether, and Clouds who enwreathe her with thunder, and lightning, and storms,
> Arise ye and shine, bright Ladies Divine, to your student in bodily forms[4].

Sokrates speaks of them as 'our deities[5],' and again as 'heavenly Clouds, great goddesses[6].' Strepsiades, taking his cue, salutes them

[1] *Supra* p. 31 f.

[2] When first exhibited at the Dionysia of 423 B.C. the Νεφέλαι of Aristophanes gained only the third prize, being beaten by the Πυτίνη of Kratinos and the Κόννος of Ameipsias—a judgment hard to understand. We have the play in part rewritten, a second edition which was never staged (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 422 f.), being either 'composed to be read and not to be acted' (B. B. Rogers in his ed. 1916 p. xii), or planned for performance some time after 421 B.C. (G. M. Bolling 'The two recensions of *The Clouds*' in *Class. Philol.* 1920 xv. 83 ff., reported in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 30, 1921 p. 736).

[3] So at least I have argued in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 163 ff. Note that the *choreutaí* impersonating the Clouds are likened to spread fleeces (*nub.* 343 εἴξασιν γοῦν ἐριοισιν πεπταμένοισι). Why attention is drawn to their noses (*ib.* 344 αὗται δὲ ῥῖνας ἔχουσιν), is not quite clear. The schol. *ad loc.* says εἰσεληλύθασι γὰρ οἱ τοῦ χοροῦ προσωπεῖα περικείμενοι μεγάλας ἔχοντα ῥῖνας καὶ ἄλλως γελοῖα καὶ ἀσχήμονα. The sequel (*nub.* 346 ff.) of course shows that the Greeks, like other children, formed fancy-pictures in the sky and took the clouds to be a Centaur, a leopard, a wolf, a bull—in fact, as Lowell puts it, 'Insisted all the world should see | camels or whales where none there be!' But that is hardly the import of ῥῖνες. I should rather suppose that the Nephelai are entirely wrapped in fleeces except for their nostrils. Cp. the use of *νεφέλη* in Greek (Hesych. *s.v. φάρη*) and *nebula* in Latin (De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'nebula' § 9) for a thin, flowing garment, or of 'cloud' in English for a voluminous woollen scarf (J. A. H. Murray *A New English Dictionary* Oxford 1893 ii. 526 *s.v.* 'Cloud' § 8).

[4] Aristoph. *nub.* 263 ff. trans. B. B. Rogers ΣΩ. εὐφημεῖν χρὴ τὸν πρεσβύτην καὶ τῆς εὐχῆς ἐπακούειν. | ὦ δέσποτ' ἄναξ, ἀμέτρητ' Ἀήρ, ὃς ἔχεις τὴν γῆν μετέωρον, | λαμπρός τ' Αἰθήρ, σεμναί τε θεαὶ Νεφέλαι βροντησικέραυνοι, | ἄρθητε, φάνητ', ὦ δέσποιναι, τῷ φροντιστῇ μετέωροι.

[5] *Id. ib.* 252 f. ΣΩ. καὶ ξυγγενέσθαι ταῖς Νεφέλαισιν ἐς λόγους, | ταῖς ἡμετέραισι δαίμοσιν;

[6] *Id. ib.* 315 f. ΣΤ. μῶν ἠρῶναί τινές εἰσιν; | ΣΩ. ἥκιστ', ἀλλ' οὐράνιαι Νεφέλαι, μεγάλαι θεαὶ ἀνδράσιν ἀργοῖς.

as 'Queens over all[1].' Sokrates outdoes even this by declaring that the Clouds are 'the only goddesses', the rest being pure rubbish[2]. Zeus? There's no such person[3]. But the Clouds themselves are more orthodox, and in their *parábasis* begin by invoking four gods with whom they are specially concerned—Zeus, Poseidon, Aither their father, and Helios[4]. It would seem that Aristophanes, who throughout the play is presenting the grossest caricature of Sokrates, has foisted upon him a worship of the Clouds more properly belonging to Orphic votaries. The comedian of course accounts that way for Sokrates' nebulous notions and shifty morals[5]. But the Orphists, who from of old had been devotees of nature, were perfectly serious. Their hymns to Zeus *Keraúnios* and to Zeus *Astrápios* are immediately followed by another to the Clouds, which is prefaced by the rubric that the proper burnt-offering to be made is myrrh, and continues:

> Clouds of the air, that nurture the crops, and that roam in the sky,
> Parents of rain, driven wide o'er the world by the blasts of the wind,
> Brimful of thunder and fire, loud-roaring, of watery ways,
> Ye that make horror of sound in the echoing bosom of air,
> Rent by the winds or charging amain with a crash and a clap,
> You I beseech, that are clad in the dew, and that breathe in the breeze,
> Send us the showers to nurture the crops of our Mother the Earth[6].

Adoration of the Clouds, though perhaps connectible with other

[1] *Id. ib.* 356 f. ΣΤ. χαίρετε τοίνυν, ὦ δέσποιναι· καὶ νῦν, εἴπερ τινὶ κἄλλῳ, | οὐρανομήκη ῥήξατε κάμοὶ φωνήν, ὦ παμβασίλειαι.

[2] *Id. ib.* 365 ΣΩ. αὗται γάρ τοι μόναι εἰσὶ θεαί· τἄλλα δὲ πάντ' ἐστὶ φλύαρος.

[3] *Id. ib.* 366 f. ΣΤ. ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ἡμῖν, φέρε, πρὸς τῆς Γῆς, οὐλύμπιος οὐ θεός ἐστιν; | ΣΩ. ποῖος Ζεύς; οὐ μὴ ληρήσεις· οὐδ' ἔστι Ζεύς. *Supra* ii. 2. Cp. *nub.* 380 f. ΣΤ. Δῖνος; τουτί μ' ἐλελήθει, | ὁ Ζεὺς οὐκ ὤν, ἀλλ' ἀντ' αὐτοῦ Δῖνος νυνὶ βασιλεύων, 818 f. ΣΤ. ἰδοὺ γ' ἰδοὺ Δί' Ὀλύμπιον· τῆς μωρίας· | τὸν Δία νομίζειν, ὄντα τηλικουτονί, 827 ΣΤ. οὐκ ἔστιν, ὦ Φειδιππίδη, Ζεύς. ΦΕΙ. ἀλλὰ τίς; | ΣΤ. Δῖνος βασιλεύει, τὸν Δί' ἐξεληλακώς, 1469 ff. ΦΕΙ. ἰδού γε Δία Πατρῷον· ὡς ἀρχαῖος εἶ. | Ζεὺς γάρ τις ἔστιν; ΣΤ. ἔστιν. ΦΕΙ. οὐκ ἔστ', οὔκ, ἐπεὶ | Δῖνος βασιλεύει, τὸν Δί' ἐξεληλακώς.

[4] *Id. ib.* 563 ff. ὑψιμέδοντα μὲν θεῶν | Ζῆνα τύραννον ἐς χορὸν | πρῶτα μέγαν κικλήσκω· | τόν τε μεγασθενῆ τριαίνης ταμίαν, | γῆς τε καὶ ἁλμυρᾶς θαλάσσης ἄγριον μοχλευτήρ· | καὶ μεγαλώνυμον ἡμέτερον πατέρ', | Αἰθέρα σεμνότατον, βιοθρέμμονα πάντων· | τόν θ' ἱππονώμαν, ὃς ὑπερλάμπροις ἀκτῖσιν κατέχει | γῆς πέδον, μέγας ἐν θεοῖς | ἐν θνητοῖσί τε δαίμων. The *antistrophé* (595 ff.) invokes Apollon of Mt Kynthos, Artemis of Ephesos, Athena of the Akropolis, and Dionysos of Mt Parnassos—another quartet of deities likely to be interested in Clouds.

[5] *Id. ib.* 316 ff.

[6] Orph. *h. Neph.* 21 ΝΕΦΩΝ, θυμίαμα σμύρναν. 1 ff. ἠέριαι (so E. Abel for ἠέριοι) νεφέλαι, καρποτρόφοι, οὐρανόπλαγκτοι, | ὁμβροτόκοι, πνοιῇσιν (so G. Hermann for πνοιαῖσιν) ἐλαυνόμεναι κατὰ κόσμον, | βρονταῖαι, πυρόεσσαι, ἐρίβρομοι, ὑγροκέλευθοι (so Hermann for ὑδροκέλευθοι), | ἠέρος (so Hermann for ἀέρος) ἐν κόλπῳ πάταγον φρικώδε' (so Hermann for φρικώδη) ἔχουσαι, | πνεύμασιν ἀντίσπαστοι ἐπιδρομάδην παταγεῦσαι, | ὑμᾶς νῦν λίτομαι, δροσοείμονες, εὔπνοοι αὖραις, | πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν.

points of Orphic doctrine[1] and apt to recrudesce in popular practice[2], was naturally ridiculed as fatuous and futile[3]. But that was a reproach which it shared with the highest conception of the Hebrews[4]. Christianity itself has cherished, not only the recollection of 'a cloud that overshadowed them[5]' and 'a cloud' that 'received him out of their sight[6],' but also the anticipation of 'another mighty angel come down from heaven, clothed with a cloud[7],' and the final vision of 'a white cloud, and upon the cloud one...like unto the Son of man[8].'

[1] The Rhapsodic theogony spoke of the world-egg as 'the cloud' (Orph. *frag.* 60 Kern *ap.* Damask. *quaest. de primis principiis* 123 (i. 317, 2 f. Ruelle) quoted *supra* ii. 1024, where P. R. Schuster's cj. *κελύφην* for *νεφέλην* is clever, but improbable). The Justinian recension of the Orphic *Διαθῆκαι* (Orph. *frag.* 245 Kern *ap.* pseudo-Iust. Mart. *de monarchia* 2. 105 A—B (i. 116 Otto)=pseudo-Iust. Mart. *cohortatio ad gentiles* 15. 15 E (i. 50, 52 Otto)) has the following impressive passage: 13 ff. *οὐδέ τις ἔσθ' ἕτερος χωρὶς μεγάλου βασιλῆος* (so Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 416, 4 Stählin and most codd. of the *cohortatio*. *μεγάλοιο ἄνακτος* most codd. of the *de monarchia* and codd. C. E. of the *cohortatio*). | *αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται.* | *πᾶσιν γὰρ θνητοῖς θνηταὶ κόραι εἰσὶν ἐν ὄσσοις,* | *ἀσθενέες δ' ἰδέειν Δία τὸν πάντων μεδέοντα.* The Aristobulian recension of the work (Orph. *frag.* 247 Kern *ap.* Aristoboul. in Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 12. 5=the 'Theosophia Tubingensis' of Aristokritos (?) (see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 976) published by K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 112 ff.) has line 20 *αὐτὸν δ' οὐχ ὁρόω· περὶ γὰρ νέφος ἐστήρικται* in a different context. Another passage of the *Διαθῆκαι* (Orph. *frag.* 248 a Kern *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 411, 4 and 10 Stählin=Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 52) invokes the supreme deity 6 *ὃς κινεῖς ἀνέμους, νεφέλῃσι δὲ πάντα καλύπτεις,* and again 12 *σὸς χειμὼν ψυχραῖσιν ἐπερχόμενος νεφέλαισιν.* The *Δωδεκαετηρίδες* (Orph. *frag.* 256 Kern) state that, when Iupiter is in Virgo, the year will bring pestilence etc. *καὶ κεραυνοβόλοι νεφέλαι τὰ σπέρματα κατακαύσουσι* (the MSS. read *κεραυνοβόλαι* and *κατακαύσει*. J. Heeg cj. *ἠδὲ κεραυνοβόλοι νεφέλαι*<*κατὰ καρπὸν*>*ἔκαυσαν*). The same poem elsewhere, in an imitation of Hes. *o.d.* 504 ff., says: *πολλαὶ δ' οὐρανόθεν καὶ ἑπαρτέες ἐκ νεφελάων* | *τῆμος ἐπόρνυνται φηγοῖς καὶ δένδρεσιν ἄλλοις* | *οὔρεσί τε σκοπέλοις τε καὶ ἀνθρώποιν* (Heinsius cj. *ἀνθρώποις*) *ἐριθύμοις* | *πηγυλίδες καὶ ἔσονται ἀμειδέες* (Orph. *frag.* 270 Kern *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 502).

[2] Tert. *apol.* 24 colat alius deum, alius Iovem, alius ad caelum manus supplices tendat, alius ad aram Fidei, alius, si hoc putatis, nubes numerat orans, alius lacunaria, alius suam animam deo suo voveat, alius hirci. Cp. *ib.* 40 caelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus exspectatis.

[3] Hor. *ars poet.* 230 aut, dum vitat humum, nubes et inania captet, Pers. *sat.* 5. 7 grande locuturi nebulas Helicone legunto.

[4] Iuv. 14. 96 f. quidam sortiti metuentem sabbata patrem | nil praeter nubes et caeli numen adorant. J. Rendel Harris *St. Paul and Greek Literature* (*Woodbrooke Essays*, No. 7) Cambridge 1927 p. 17 f. would correct Col. 2. 23 *ἐν ἐθελοθρησκείᾳ καὶ ταπεινοφροσύνῃ καὶ ἀφειδίᾳ σώματος*: 'if we restore *ἐν νεφελοθρησκείᾳ* we shall have an expression capable of explanation from Aristophanes; the worship of angels is, like the new religion in the Greek comedy, a worship of the clouds.' *Infra* p. 432 n. 9. See further Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Graec.* i. 994 *s.v. νεφομαντεία*, who cites from Damask. *v. Isid. ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 340 b 13 ff. Bekker the queer tale of the cloud-seer Anthousa, of Aigai in Kilikia, who saw a cloud like a Goth swallowed up by a cloud like a lion and divined that Asper leader of the Goths would be slain by Leon.

[5] Mark 9. 7. [6] Acts 1. 9.

[7] Rev. 10. 1. Cp. Verg. *Aen.* 10. 633 f. (Iuno) caelo se protinus alto | misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras.

[8] Rev. 14. 14.

For, after all, a cloud may symbolise mystery as well as mystification; and what began as a *nimbus* may end as a glory[1].

Nephele, the personified Cloud, figures in one or two Greek myths which deserve attention. Pherekydes of Athens (or Leros[2]), the earliest Attic prose-writer (*floruit* 454/3 B.C.), tells the tale of Kephalos and Prokris in the following form[3]:

Kephalos, the son of Deïoneus, married Prokris, the daughter of Erechtheus, and dwelt at Thorai[4]. Wishing to make trial of his wife, he went abroad—it is said—and left her for the space of eight years[5] while she was yet a bride. After that, he adorned and disguised himself and, coming to his house thus tricked out, persuaded Prokris to receive him and consort with him. Prokris, eyeing his adornment and seeing that Kephalos was a very handsome man, lay with him. Thereupon Kephalos revealed himself and took Prokris to task. However, he made it up with her, and sallied forth to the chase. As he did this repeatedly, Prokris suspected that he had intercourse with another woman. So she summoned the serving-man and asked if he knew aught of it. The thrall said he had seen Kephalos repair to the top of a certain mountain and often exclaim 'O Nephele[6], come to me!'—that was all he knew. Prokris on hearing it went to that mountain-top and hid herself. Then, when she heard him saying the same words, she ran towards him. Kephalos, seeing her, was seized with sudden madness and, on the spur of the moment, struck Prokris with the javelin in his hand and slew her. Then he sent for Erechtheus and gave her a costly burial.

Schwenn[7] in a recent discussion of the myth very justly observes that Nephele here must be a flesh-and-blood personification, not a mere amorphous vapour. Ovid[8] goes off on a wrong tack, when he

[1] The *nimbus* of Christian art has a long history of its own, on which see L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 pp. 1—140 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361—500), E. Venables in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1398—1402, H. Mendelsohn *Der Heiligenschein in der italienischen Malerei seit Giotto* Berlin 1903 pp. 1—23 with figs., A. Krücke *Der Nimbus und verwandte Attribute in der frühchristlichen Kunst* Strassburg 1905 pp. 1—145 with 7 photographic pls (=*Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes* Heft 35), G. Gietmann 'Nimbus' in *The Catholic Encyclopedia* New York 1911 xi. 80—83. Older monographs are Behmius *De Nimbis Sanctorum* (cited by Venables) and J. Nicolai *Disquisitio de Nimbis antiquorum, Imaginibus Deorum, imperatorum olim, & nunc Christi, Apostolorum & Mariæ Capitibus adpictis* (Jena) 1699 pp. 1—151.

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454 f.

[3] Pherekyd. *frag.* 77 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 90 f. Müller)=*frag.* 34 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 71 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. M.V. *Od.* 11. 321, cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1688, 20 ff.

[4] Schol. *Od.* 11. 321 has *ἐν τῇ Θοριέων* (*sc. φυλῇ*). F. G. Sturz cj. *ἐν τῷ Θοριέων* (*sc. δήμῳ*). C. Müller, after P. K. Buttmann, would read *ἐν τῷ Θορικῷ* (*sc. δήμῳ*). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, followed by F. Jacoby, prints *ἐν τῇ Θορ<α>ιέων*.

[5] A significant period, one 'great year' (*supra* i. 540 n. 1, ii. 240 ff.).

[6] Codd. M. V[2]. of schol. *Od.* 11. 321 read *ὦ νεφέλα*, which is accepted by F. Jacoby. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1688, 27 has *ὦ νεφέλη*, and so P. K. Buttmann in schol. *Od.* 11. 321. C. Müller prints *ὦ Νεφέλα*.

[7] Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 218.

[8] Ov. *ars am.* 3. 697 ff., *met.* 7. 811 ff.

Kratér in the British Museum : the death of Prokris.

See page 73 n. 5.

substitutes *aura*, the cool breeze beloved by the hunter. And Hyginus[1] makes confusion more confounded by importing *Aurora* from the myth of Heos. Schwenn, however, has not perceived that the story as a whole involves a modified mixture of two folk-tale *motifs*. J. G. von Hahn[2] long since pointed out that Prokris, who first succumbs to the trinkets of a stranger and later lives with him as his wife, illustrates one variety of *weibliche Käuflichkeit*. This has been crossed with the 'Melusine'-*formula*[3] of a mortal man, who is unfaithful to a more-than-mortal woman and is therefore deserted by her and punished for his offence. Such stories ultimately go back to a very primitive type of tale which, according to Sir James Frazer[4], has its roots in a totemic taboo. Be that as it may, it certainly seems probable that in the original version Nephele the cloud-goddess bestowed her favours upon Kephalos and was jealous of his relations to the mortal wife Prokris. Her death was his punishment—a scene graphically portrayed on a red-figured *kratér* with columnar handles now in the British Museum (pl. xii)[5].

Essentially similar is the myth of Athamas[6]. He too deserted the goddess Nephele for a mortal wife, and was punished by a drought for his desertion. Again the tale has come down to us with

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 189.

[2] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 47 gives as his sixth *formula*: 'Eine Jungfrau giebt für Kostbarkeiten in dreimaliger Steigerung ihre Reize Preis und verliert dabei ihr Magdthum *α*) durch Ueberlistung, *β*) bewusster Weise, und muss sich mit dem Käufer vermählen.'

[3] J. G. von Hahn *op. cit.* i. 45 second *formula*: 'Der Mann fehlt, und die nicht zum Menschengeschlecht gehörende Frau verlässt ihn entweder: a) für immer, ohne dass er ihr zu folgen versucht. b) oder er sucht sie in ihrer fernen Heimath auf und verbindet sich mit ihr,' C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 344 no. 2, P. Saintyves *Les contes de Perrault et les récits parallèles: leurs origines* Paris 1923 pp. 420—427.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God pp. 129—131.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 294 no. E 477, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iii. 18 ff. pl. 205, J. Millingen *Ancient Unedited Monuments* Series i London 1822 p. 35 ff. pl. 14, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. lxix f. fig. 14, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1103 fig. 3, G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 167 fig. 86, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 416 no. 7 (attributed to the painter of the Naples Hephaistos-*kratér* (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 285 f. no. 2412)). My pl. xii is from a photograph by the Official Photographer. In the centre Prokris collapses on the mountain-side. She wears a short *chitón*, and attempts to pluck the unerring javelin from her bare breast. As her eyes close in death, a soul-bird escapes from her into the air. From the right advances her father Erechtheus, wearing *himátion* and wreath, one hand holding a long sceptre, the other outstretched in dismay. On the left stands Kephalos with *chlamýs* and *pétasos*. He raises his left hand to his forehead with a gesture of despair, and rests his right on a club, while he holds his hound Lailaps by a leash. No other representation of the scene is known.

[6] *Supra* i. 414 ff.

much admixture and amplification. A. H. Krappe[1] has analysed it, in my opinion successfully, and has shown that it combines, not only the old Greek belief in the king's responsibility for the crops and the old Greek custom of sacrificing him or his son in time of famine, but also a whole bunch of folk-tale *motifs*—the jealousy of the heavenly wife ('Melusine[2]'), the wicked step-mother ('Brüderchen und Schwesterchen[3]'), and the helpful animal ('Einäuglein, Zweiäuglein und Dreiäuglein[4]').

A curious modification of this union between a mortal man and the cloud-goddess may be detected in sundry other myths. It would seem that the ancient mating of man with goddess struck the later Greeks as blasphemous. They therefore said that such and such a hero had become enamoured of such and such a goddess, but that Zeus had substituted for her a phantom made out of cloud. Thus Endymion, in the Hesiodic poem entitled *The Great Eoiai*[5], was raised to heaven by Zeus and fell in love with Hera, but was deluded by a cloud-phantom and cast down to Hades[6]. Similarly, when Ixion paid court to Hera, Zeus, according to the usual version[7], or

[1] A. H. Krappe 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147. *Id.* 'La légende d'Athamas et de Phrixos' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 discusses some remaining difficulties in this complex tale and proposes (*ib.* p. 385) to reconstitute its final form as follows: 'Athamas répudie Néphélè et épouse une femme mortelle, qui lui donne plusieurs enfants. Jalouse de sa rivale qu'elle hait, Néphélè provoque une famine, sachant que par ce moyen le fils de sa rivale sera immolé à l'autel. Pour sauver son enfant d'une mort terrible, la pauvre mère se suicide et devient une divinité bienveillante.'

[2] *Supra* p. 73 n. 3.

[3] A. Aarne *Verzeichnis der Märchentypen* (Communications edited for the Folklore Fellows by J. Bolte, K. Krohn, A. Olrik, C. W. v. Sydow. No. 3) Helsinki 1910 p. 19 f. no. 450, J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 79 ff. no. 11.

[4] A. Aarne *op. cit.* p. 23 no. 511, J. Bolte—G. Polívka *op. cit.* Leipzig 1918 iii. 60 ff. no. 130.

[5] A. Rzach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1204 f., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 123 f.

[6] Hes. *frag.* 160 Kinkel, 148 Rzach, *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 57 *ἐν δὲ ταῖς μεγάλαις Ἠοίαις λέγεται τὸν Ἐνδυμίωνα ἀνενεχθῆναι ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς οὐρανόν. ἐρασθέντα δὲ Ἥρας εἰδώλῳ παραλογισθῆναι [τὸν ἔρωτα (om.* H. Keil)*]] νεφέλης καὶ ἐκβληθέντα κατελθεῖν εἰς Ἅιδου* = Eudok. *viol.* 344.

[7] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 766 ff., R. Wagner *ib.* iii. 180 f. The principal sources are: Pind. *Pyth.* 2. 25 ff. *εὐμενέσσι γὰρ παρὰ Κρονίδαις | γλυκὺν ἐλὼν βίοτον, μακρὸν οὐχ ὑπέμεινεν ὄλβον, μαινομέναις φρασὶν | Ἥρας ὅτ' ἐράσσατο, τὰν Διὸς εὐναὶ λάχον | πολυγαθέες· ἀλλά νιν ὕβρις εἰς ἀνάταν ὑπεράφανον | ὤρσεν,* 36 ff. *ἐπεὶ νεφέλᾳ παρελέξατο, | ψεῦδος γλυκὺ μεθέπων, ἄϊδρις ἀνήρ· | εἶδος γὰρ ὑπεροχωτάτᾳ πρέπεν οὐρανιᾶν* (so A. Boeckh, C. A. M. Fennell, Sir J. E. Sandys with codd. D. E. cett. T. Bergk, followed by B. L. Gildersleeve and W. Christ, cj. *Οὐρανιδᾶν*. T. Mommsen, followed by O. Schröder, reads *Οὐρανίδα*, cp. schol. vet. *ad loc. τοῦ οὐρανίου Κρόνου*) *| θυγατέρι Κρόνου· ἄντε δόλον αὐτῷ θέσαν | Ζηνὸς παλάμαι, καλὸν πῆμα.* κ.τ.λ., schol. Ap. Rhod. 3. 62 *ἐλεήσας οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς*

Hera herself, according to some[1], fashioned a cloud-figure, by whom Ixion became the father of Kentauros[2].

An instructive case is that of the hero[3] Iasion, who lay with

ἀγνίζει αὐτόν· καὶ ἀγνισθεὶς ἡράσθη τῆς Ἥρας. ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς νεφέλην ὁμοιώσας Ἥρᾳ παρακοιμίζει αὐτῷ, Diod. 4. 69 *τέλος δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς κατὰ τοὺς μύθους ἀγνισθείς, ἡράσθη μὲν τῆς Ἥρας καὶ κατετόλμησεν ὑπὲρ συνουσίας λόγους ποιεῖσθαι. ἔπειτα τὸν μὲν Δία εἴδωλον ποιήσαντα τῆς Ἥρας νεφέλην ἐξαποστεῖλαι, τὸν δὲ Ἰξίονα τῇ νεφέλῃ μιγέντα γεννῆσαι τοὺς ὀνομαζομένους Κενταύρους ἀνθρωποφυεῖς, ὃ τινὲς δὲ λέγουσι τοὺς ἐκ Νεφέλης καὶ Ἰξίονος γεννηθέντας Κενταύρους πρώτους ἱππεύειν ἐπιχειρήσαντας Ἱπποκενταύρους ὠνομάσθαι κ.τ.λ.*, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 6. 4 (Zeus to Hera) *εἴδωλον ἐκ νεφέλης πλασάμενοι αὐτῇ σοι ὅμοιον ... παρακατακλίνωμεν αὐτῷ φέροντες κ.τ.λ.* with schol. *ad loc.* (i. 216 T. Hemsterhuys—J. F. Reitz) *οὗτος δὲ ἀκόλαστος ὢν ἠράσθη Ἥρας, ἢ ἀνήγγειλε τῷ Διΐ. ὁ < δὲ (ins.* M. du Soul) *> δοκιμάζων αὐτὸν ἀπείκασε νεφέλην τῇ Ἥρᾳ, ᾗ μίγνυται Ἰξίων, καὶ ποιεῖ παῖδα τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπου ἔχοντα τὰ δὲ ἵππου, ἀφ' οὗ Ἱπποκένταυροι*, schol. V. *Od.* 21. 303 *Ἰξίων ὁ Διὸς παῖς ... διὰ τῆς ἐμφύτου κακίας ἐπείραζε τὸν τῆς Ἥρας γάμον. ὑποπτεύσασα δὲ ἡ θεὸς ἀνήγεγκε τῷ Διὶ τὴν Ἰξίονος λύσσαν. ὁ δὲ ἐνθυμούμενος ζήλῳ πάλιν τοῦτο ταύτην δρᾶν διαβάλλουσαν τοὺς ἐξ αὐτοῦ γεγενημένους, ἓκ τινος ὄμως ἐπιτεχνήσεως τῆς Ἰξίονος ἐπειρᾶτο γνώμης. σκοπῶν δὲ εὗρε τὸ ἀληθές. νεφέλην γὰρ Ἥρᾳ παρεικάσας μόνην ἐν τῷ θαλάμῳ τοῦ Ἰξίονος κατέλιπεν, ὁ δὲ ὡς Ἥραν ἐβιάσατο ... γίνεται δὲ ἐκ τῆς νεφέλης παῖς Ἰξίονος διφυὴς τὰ μὲν κατώτερα μέρη τῆς μητρὸς ἔχων· αἱ γὰρ νεφέλαι ἵπποις ἐοίκασι· τὰ δὲ ἀνώτερα μέρη ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀμφαλοῦ μέχρι τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ πατρὸς Ἰξίονος. κ.τ.λ.*

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 62 Iuno Iovis iussu nubem supposuit, quam Ixion Iunonis simulac[h]run esse credidit. ex ea nati sunt Centauri, Myth. Vat. 1. 162 Centauri autem Ixionis et nubis filii sunt; quae nubes ipsi a Iunone in sui forma est opposita, 2. 106 Ixion, Phlegyae filius, ... Iunonem de stupro interpellare ausus est. quae de audacia eius conquesta Iovi, suadente ipso, pro se nubem ei opposuit, cum qua Ixion concubuit; unde geniti sunt Centauri, 3. 4. 6 Ixion Iunonis coniugium petiit; illa nubem in speciem suam ornavit, cum qua Ixion coiens Centauros genuit, schol. C. Eur. *Phoen.* 1185 *ὁ Ἰξίων ... ὕβριστε τὴν τοῦ Διὸς φιλίαν. ἐπεθύμησε γὰρ τῆς Ἥρας καὶ λόγους προσήγαγεν αὐτῇ· ἡ δὲ θεὰ νεφέλην αὐτῷ παρεκόλμισεν εἰς ἑαυτὴν σχηματίζουσα, ᾗ δὴ συγκαθευδήσας ὁ Ἰξίων ἐπεκαυχήσατο τῇ συνουσίᾳ* (but other scholia on the same line give the more usual account: schol. A. C. M. *δς ἀκολασταίνων ἰδὼν τὴν Ἥραν ἠράσθη αὐτῆς· μὴ φέρουσα δὲ ἡ Ἥρα τὴν μανίαν αὐτοῦ φησι τῷ Διΐ· ἐφ' ᾧ ἀγανακτήσας ὁ Ζεύς, βουλόμενός τε γνῶναι* (so cod. M. *δοκιμάσαι* codd. A. C.) *εἴ γε ἀληθές ἐστιν, ἀπείκασε τῇ Ἥρᾳ νεφέλην, ἣν ἰδὼν ὁ Ἰξίων, νομίσας τὴν Ἥραν εἶναι, μίγνυται αὐτῇ καὶ ποιεῖ παῖδα διφυῆ, τὰ μὲν ἀνθρώπου ἔχοντα τὰ δὲ ἵππου, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ Κένταυροι γεγόνασιν*, schol. Gu. Bar. *οὗτος ὁ Ἰξίων ... ἐφωράθη τῆς Ἥρας ἐρῶν. θέλων οὖν ὁ Ζεὺς γνῶναι τὸν ἔρωτα νεφέλην παρεικάζει τῇ Ἥρᾳ, εἰς ἣν ὁρμήσας ὁ Ἰξίων δῆλον ἐποίησε τῷ Διὶ τὸν ἔρωτα ... ἐκ δὲ τῆς πρὸς τὴν νεφέλην τοῦ Ἰξίονος μίξεως γέγονεν ὁ Ἱπποκένταυρος, κεφαλὴν μὲν καὶ στῆθος καὶ χεῖρας ἀνθρώπου ἔχων, τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν σῶμα ἵππου, κ.τ.λ.*), schol. Loukian. *pisc.* 12 p. 132, 23 ff. Rabe *φασὶ γὰρ τὸν Ἰξίονα τῆς Ἥρας ἐρασθῆναι, ἐρασθέντι δὲ τὸν Ἥραν χαριζομένην αὐτῷ νεφέλην εἰς ἑαυτὴν ἀπεικάσασαν ἐᾶν Ἰξίονι χρῆσθαι ὡς ἑαυτῇ. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ οἱ Κένταυροι ἀρχὴν τῆς γενέσεως ἔσχον. καὶ τὸ σύμπτωμα εἰς ὄνομα ἔλαβον· παρὰ γὰρ τὸ τὴν αὖραν κεντεῖν τὸν Ἰξίονα ἐπὶ τῇ γενέσει Κένταυρος τὸ ἀπὸ τούτου ἐκλήθη*—an effort of etymological imagination which it would be hard to beat!

But it is a serious mistake to infer from such passages that Hera was a rain- or cloud-goddess (Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 26 'Eine alte Vorstellung von der Hera als Regen- bez. Wolkengöttin birgt sich in dem Mythos von Hera-Nephele und Ixion').

[2] Cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 346 *νεφέλην Κενταύρῳ ὁμοίαν, supra* p. 69 n. 3.

[3] There is not the least reason for supposing that Iasion was a heroïsed sky-god (Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 337 n. 1 'Die Verbindung der Dem. mit Jasion ... stellt diese Ehe der Erde mit dem Himmelsgotte dar, da beide ... hier heroisirt erscheinen,' *ib.* p. 473 n. 1 'ich halte *Ἰασίων* für einen heroisirten Poseidon *Ἰατρός*') or a form of Zeus (E. Thraemer *Pergamos* 1888 p. 102 n. 2 'e 125 wird Jasion, der Buhle der Demeter, von Zeus aus

Demeter on a thrice-ploughed field in Crete, became by her the father of the infant Ploutos, and was thunder-struck by Zeus (fig. 22)[1] for his presumption[2]. This ancient myth, though it had the sanction

Fig. 22.

Eifersucht getödtet. Der Dichter des ε ahnt nicht, dass Jasion mit Zeus wesensgleich ist').

[1] G. Kieseritzky 'Iasios' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 pp. 160—163 with fig. (= my fig. 22) published a fragmentary red-figured *kratér* of late style, from Chersonesos Taurike, now in the Hermitage at Petrograd, which appears to represent the scene. A young man (ΙΑΣΣΟΣ) in oriental garb flings up both arms with a gesture of despair and looks back in terror towards the left, where just beyond a neighbouring hill Nike is seen driving the chariot of Zeus (?). On the right sits a bearded god holding a long staff (trident? sceptre??). Beside him was a goddess, whose arm with its arm-band is visible leaning on his left shoulder. They are probably Poseidon and Amphitrite. Beneath the necks of the horses appears the corner of some squared structure. Above it the letters ...ΣΟΣ suggest comparison with the ΧΡΥΣΟΣ and ΠΛΟΤΟΣ, who flank the chariot of ΝΙΚΗ on a gilded *oinochóe* from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 761 f. no. 2661, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 307 ff. pl. 97, O. Jahn *Ueber bemalte Vasen mit Goldschmuck* Leipzig 1865 p. 13 no. 23, T. Eisele in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2582, J. Toutain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 518).

On the variants Ἰασίων, Ἰάσων, Ἰάσιος, Ἴασος, see W. Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 752 f. Ἴασσος is not elsewhere attested; but cp. Ἰασσός for Ἰασός, the Carian town (L. Bürchner *ib.* ix. 785 f.). The suffix *-σος* or *-σσος* seems to be characteristic of prehistoric Greece (P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 401, G. Glotz *La civilisation égéenne* Paris 1923 p. 440, A. Debrunner in Ebert *Reallex.* iv. 2. 520 f., J. B. Haley in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 144 (full list and map), M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 64 ff. (list and map)).

[2] By far the fullest and best account of the myth is that given by W. Gundel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 752—758.

of both Homer[1] and Hesiod[2], and was almost certainly based on actual agrarian usage[3], nevertheless could not escape the charge of derogating from the dignity of the goddess and was therefore modified by the later Greeks in one of two directions. Either, as the logographer Hellanikos[4], the historian Idomeneus[5], and the geographer who passes under the name of Skymnos[6] agree, the hero had outraged a statue (*ágalma*) of Demeter; or, as the rhetorical mythographer Konon[7] preferred to put it, the hero had consorted with a mere phantom (*phásma*) of the goddess.

Konon's expedient was in all probability suggested by Stesichoros' solution of a similar problem. Having penned an ode about Helene on the traditional Homeric lines he, like Homer, had lost his eyesight. But, unlike Homer, he recovered it when, realising the nature of his offence, he wrote his famous palinode:

> The tale's untrue!
> Thou didst not go on board the well-planked ships,
> Nor ever camest to the towers of Troy[8].

[1] *Od.* 5. 125 ff. *ὣς δ' ὁπότ' Ἰασίωνι ἐυπλόκαμος Δημήτηρ, | ᾧ θυμῷ εἴξασα, μίγη φιλότητι καὶ εὐνῇ | νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ· οὐδὲ δὴν ἦεν ἄπυστος | Ζεύς, ὅς μιν κατέπεφνε βαλὼν ἀργῆτι κεραυνῷ.*

[2] Hes. *theog.* 969 ff. *Δημήτηρ μὲν Πλοῦτον ἐγείνατο δῖα θεάων, | Ἰασίων' ἥρωι μιγεῖσ' ἐρατῇ φιλότητι | νειῷ ἔνι τριπόλῳ, Κρήτης ἐν πίονι δήμῳ, | κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild i. 208 f. compares 'the West Prussian custom of the mock birth of a child on the harvest-field [*ib.* p. 150 f.]. In this Prussian custom the pretended mother represents the Corn-mother (*Żytniamatka*); the pretended child represents the Corn-baby, and the whole ceremony is a charm to ensure a crop next year.' See also Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 346.

[4] Hellanik. *frag.* 129 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 63 Müller) = *frag.* 23 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 112 f. Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 916 *ἐγέννησε δὲ* (*sc.* Ἠλεκτρυώνη) *τρεῖς παῖδας, Δάρδανον τὸν εἰς Τροίαν κατοικήσαντα, ὃν καὶ Πολυάρχη φασὶ λέγεσθαι ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων, καὶ Ἑτεῖωνα, ὃν Ἰασίωνα ὀνομάζουσι, καὶ φασὶ κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτὸν ὑβρίζοντα ἄγαλμα τῆς Δήμητρος. τρίτην δὲ ἔσχεν Ἁρμονίαν, ἣν ἠγάγετο Κάδμος· καὶ ἀπὸ τῆς μητρὸς αὐτῆς Ἠλεκτρίδας πύλας τῆς Θήβης ὠνομάσθαι ἱστορεῖ Ἑλλάνικος ἐν πρώτῳ Τρωικῶν καὶ Ἰδομενεὺς* [*ἐν πρώτῳ Τρωικῶν* (*om.* K. H. F. Sintenis)]. Cp. Hellanik. *frag.* 58 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 53 Müller) = *frag.* 135 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 139 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 5. 125 *οὗτος* (*sc.* ὁ Ἰασίων) *Κρὴς τὸ γένος, Κατρέος* (so G. Kramer for *κρατ(ρ)έος*) *καὶ Φρονίας υἱός. ὡς δὲ Ἑλλάνικος, Ἠλέκτρας καὶ Διὸς υἱός. παρ' ᾧ μόνῳ μετὰ τὸν κατακλυσμὸν εὑρέθη σπέρματα. οὗ καὶ Δήμητρος ὁ Πλοῦτος κατὰ Ἡσίοδον* (*supra* n. 2).

[5] Idom. *frag.* 18 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 494 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. i. 916 (cited *supra* n. 4). F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 910 says: 'Danach gehört er frühestens ins 4. Jhdt., wahrscheinlicher erst in hellenistische Zeit.'

[6] Skymn. Chi. *per.* 681 ff. (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 223 Müller) *πρότερον γὰρ εἶναί φασιν ἐν ταύτῃ* (*sc.* *τῇ Σαμοθρᾴκῃ*) *τινὲς | τοὺς Τρῶας, Ἠλέκτρας τεκούσης Δάρδανον | τῆς λεγομένης Ἄτλαντος Ἰασιωνά τε, | ὧν τὸν μὲν Ἰασίωνα δυσσέβημά τι | πρᾶξαι περὶ Δήμητρος λέγουσ' ἄγαλμα καὶ | πληγῆ κεραυνωθέντα δαιμονίῳ θανεῖν, | τὸν Δάρδανον δὲ κ.τ.λ.* F. Gisinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 674 f. dates this pseudepigraphic poem *c.* 100 B.C.

[7] Konon *narr.* 21, writing between 36 B.C. and 17 A.D. (E. Martini in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1335), says: Δάρδανος καὶ Ἰάσων παῖδες ἦσαν Διὸς ἐξ Ἠλέκτρας

Stesichoros now asserted that Greeks and Trojans fought one another for the sake of a mere wraith (*eidolon*), in ignorance of the genuine Helene[1]. What, in his reconstruction, the genuine Helene was doing all the time, we do not know: perhaps she never left Sparta[2]. Herodotos[3] gives a different turn to the story. According to him, Helene was stolen from Menelaos at Sparta by Alexandros, driven by a storm out of the Aegean to Egypt, and there taken from her paramour by Proteus and kept at Memphis for the coming of her lawful husband. Euripides in his *Helene* combines the two versions. Like Stesichoros, he preserves the innocence of Helene by making the truant a wraith (*eidolon*), fashioned of *ouranós* or cloud or *aithér* and substituted by Hera for the faithful wife[4]. Like Herodotos, he sends the real Helene to Egypt, whither she is conducted by Hermes

τῆς Ἀτλαντίδος, καὶ ᾠκουν Σαμοθράκην τὴν νῆσον. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν Ἰάσων φάσμα Δήμητρος αἰσχῦναι βουληθεὶς ἐκεραυνώθη, Δάρδανος δὲ κ.τ.λ.

[8] Stes. *frag.* 32 Bergk[4], 11 Diehl, 18 Edmonds *ap.* Plat. *Phaedr.* 243 A—B. The Platonic passage is expounded on allegorical lines by the neo-Platonist Hermeias of Alexandreia *in* Plat. *Phaedr.* p. 75 ff. P. Couvreur.

[1] Plat. *rep.* 586 C ὥσπερ τὸ τῆς Ἑλένης εἴδωλον ὑπὸ τῶν ἐν Τροίᾳ Στησίχορός φησι γενέσθαι περιμάχητον ἀγνοίᾳ τοῦ ἀληθοῦς.

[2] The passages relating to Stesichoros' παλινῳδία are collected and discussed by T. Bergk in his note on *frag.* 32 (*Poet. lyr. Gr.* iii. 217—219 Bergk[4]). To his bibliography add R. Hirzel 'Die Homonymie der griechischen Götter nach der Lehre antiker Theologen' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1896 xlviii. 290 f. (the resolution of a self-contradictory mythical figure into self and shade goes back to Homer, cp. *Od.* 11. 601 ff. for a similar treatment of the ἥρως θεός (Pind. *Nem.* 3. 22)), W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 212 ('Den Helenastoff hat er zuerst in der Ἑλένα auf Grund der rein ästhetischen, religiös indifferenten homerischen Vorlage, dann in der Παλινῳδία mit Rücksicht auf die Überlieferung und den Glauben der Dorer dargestellt, denen Helena eine Kultgöttin war').

That the genuine Helene never left Sparta may be inferred from Dion Chrys. *or.* 11 p. 323 Reiske καὶ τὸν μὲν Στησίχορον ἐν τῇ ὕστερον ᾠδῇ λέγειν ὅτι τὸ παράπαν οὐδὲ πλεύσειεν ἡ Ἑλένη οὐδαμόσε· ἄλλοι δέ τινες (*sc.* Herodotos) ὡς ἁρπασθείη μὲν Ἑλένη ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἀλεξάνδρου, δεῦρο δὲ παρ' ἡμᾶς εἰς Αἴγυπτον ἀφίκοιτο. The schol. Aristeid. iii. 150 Dindorf (A. C. Στησίχορος ἐν τῇ ποιήσει λέγει ὡς ἡρπακὼς τὴν Ἑλένην Ἀλέξανδρος καὶ διὰ τῆς Φάρου ἐρχόμενος ἀφῃρέθη μὲν ταύτην παρὰ Πρωτέως, ἔλαβε δὲ παρ' αὐτοῦ (παρ' αὐτοῦ *om.* C.) ἐν πίνακι τὸ εἴδωλον αὐτῆς γεγραμμένον, ἵνα ὁρῶν παραμυθοῖτο τὸν αὐτοῦ ἔρωτα. B. D. εἰς Στησίχορον αἰνίττεται· λέγει γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ὅτι ἑλθὼν ὁ Ἀλέξανδρος ἐπὶ ταύτης τῆς νήσου, τῆς Φάρου, ἁφῃρέθη παρὰ τοῦ Πρωτέως τὴν Ἑλένην καὶ εἴδωλον αὐτῆς ἐδέξατο· κ.τ.λ.) and Eudok. *viol.* 43=753 (Στησίχορος δέ φησιν ὅτι, διερχομένου Ἀλεξάνδρου δι' Αἰγύπτου, ὁ Πρωτεὺς Ἑλένην ἀφελόμενος εἴδωλον Ἑλένης αὐτῷ ἔδωκε, καὶ οὕτως ἐπλευσεν εἰς Τροίαν) are attributing to Stesichoros the Herodotean version *plus* sundry rationalising additions of their own.

[3] Hdt. 2. 112—115.

[4] Eur. *Hel.* 31 ff. (ΕΛ.) Ἥρα δὲ μεμφθεῖσ' οὔνεκ' οὐ νικᾷ θεὰς | ἐξηνέμωσε τἄμ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέχη, | δίδωσι δ' οὐκ ἔμ', ἀλλ' ὁμοιώσασ' ἐμοὶ | εἴδωλον ἔμπνουν οὐρανοῦ ξυνθεῖσ' ἄπο (so J. J. Reiske for ὕπο codd.), | Πριάμου τυράννῳ παιδί, 582 ff. ΕΛ. οὐκ ἦλθον ἐς γῆν Τρῳάδ', ἀλλ' εἴδωλον ἦν. | ΜΕ. καὶ τίς βλέποντα σώματ' ἐξεργάζεται; | ΕΛ. αἰθήρ, θθεν σὺ θεοπόνητ' ἔχεις λέχη. | ΜΕ. τίνος πλάσαντος θεῶν; ἄελπτα γὰρ λέγεις. | ΕΛ. Ἥρας (so Scaliger for ἥρα codd.) διάλλαγμ', ὡς Πάρις με μὴ λάβοι, 1135 f. νεφέλαν ἐπὶ ναυσίν ἄγων, | εἴδωλον ἱρὸν (so K. W. Dindorf for ἱερὸν codd.) Ἥρας, 1218 f. ΘΕ. ποῦ δὴ τὸ πεμφθὲν ἀντὶ σοῦ Τροίᾳ

at the command of Zeus[1]. Menelaos, escorting the phantom home from Troy, arrives in Egypt and is there confronted with the true Helene. He is desperately puzzled. But, just as he begins to think himself either a bedlamite or a bigamist, the misty Helene evaporates[2]—a sufficiently whimsical situation.

If Euripides' Hera outwitted Paris by making a phantom Helene of *aithér*, Euripides' Zeus outwitted Hera by means of a similar trick—witness a curious passage of the *Bacchae*[3] in which Teiresias attempts to explain the story of Dionysos being sewn up in the thigh of Zeus as due to a verbal confusion of *hómeros*, 'hostage,' with *merós*, 'thigh':

> And dost deride the tale that he was sewn
> I' the thigh of Zeus? I'll tell it all aright.
> When Zeus had caught him from the lightning-fire
> And borne him, babe divine, to Olympos' height,
> Hera was fain to cast him forth from heaven.
> But Zeus, a very god, met plot with plot:
> Breaking a portion of the *aithér* off,
> Which rings the earth, he made that same a hostage
> Against the strifes of Hera and sent out
> Dionysos elsewhere[4]. Thus in course of time
> Man said that he was sewn i' the thigh of Zeus—
> Changing the word, since once he served as hostage
> To Hera, god to goddess,—such their tale.

κακόν; | ΕΛ. *νεφέλης λέγεις ἄγαλμ'; ἐς αἰθέρ' οἴχεται.* Cp. Eur. *El.* 1282 f. *Ζεὺς δ', ὡς ἔρις γένοιτο καὶ φόνος βροτῶν,* | *εἴδωλον Ἑλένης ἐξέπεμψ' ἐς* (so A. Nauck for *εἰς* codd.) *Ἴλιον.*

On the plot see further A. von Premerstein 'Ueber den Mythos in Euripides' Helene' in *Philologus* 1896 lv. 634—653, A. C. Pearson in his edition of the play (Cambridge 1903) p. x ff., A. W. Verrall *Essays on four Plays of Euripides* Cambridge 1905 pp. 43—133 ('Euripides' Apology. (*Helen.*)'), H. Steiger 'Wie entstand die Helena des Euripides?' in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 202—237, V. Pisani 'Elena e l' *εἴδωλον*' in the *Rivista di Filologia* 1928 vi. 476—499 (summarised in *Class. Quart.* 1929 xxiii. 215).

[1] Eur. *Hel.* 44 ff. *λαβὼν δέ μ' Ἑρμῆς ἐν πτυχαῖσιν αἰθέρος* | *νεφέλῃ καλύψας, οὐ γὰρ ἠμέλησέ μου* | *Ζεύς, τόνδ' ἐς οἶκον Πρωτέως ἱδρύσατο,* | *κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Eur. *Hel.* 557 ff. The wraith's disappearance is reported *ib.* 605 f. ΑΓ. *βέβηκεν ἄλοχος σὴ πρὸς αἰθέρος πτύχας* | *ἀρθεῖσ' ἄφαντος· οὐρανῷ δὲ κρύπτεται,* | *κ.τ.λ.*, 612 ff. (the wraith speaking) *ἐγὼ δ' ἐπειδὴ χρόνον ἔμεινʼ ὅσον μ' ἐχρῆν,* | *τὸ μόρσιμον σώσασα, πάλιν* (so A. Nauck for *πατέρ'* codd.) *εἰς οὐρανὸν* | *ἄπειμι.* Cp. Lyk. *Al.* 822 *φάσμα πτηνόν, εἰς αἴθραν φυγόν.* Hence later Helene appears *ἐν αἰθέρος πτυχαῖς* (Eur. *Or.* 1631, 1636).

[3] Eur. *Bacch.* 286 ff. *καὶ καταγελᾷς νιν, ὡς ἐνερράφη Διὸς* | *μηρῷ; διδάξω σ' ὡς καλῶς ἔχει τόδε.* | *ἐπεί νιν ἥρπασ' ἐκ πυρὸς κεραυνίου* | *Ζεύς, εἰς δ' Ὄλυμπον βρέφος ἀνήγαγεν θεόν,* | *Ἥρα νιν ἤθελ' ἐκβαλεῖν ἀπ' οὐρανοῦ·* | *Ζεὺς δ' ἀντεμηχανήσαθ' οἷα δὴ θεός,* | *ῥήξας μέρος τι τοῦ χθόν' ἐγκυκλουμένου* | *αἰθέρος, ἔθηκε τόνδ' ὄμηρον, ἐκδιδοὺς* | *Διόνυσον, Ἥρας νεικέων·* *χρόνῳ δέ νιν* | *βροτοὶ ῥαφῆναί* (so J. Pierson, followed by F. A. Paley, for *τραφῆναί* codd.) *φασιν ἐν μηρῷ Διός,* | *ὄνομα μεταστήσαντες, ὅτι θεᾷ θεὸς* | *Ἥρᾳ ποθ' ὁμήρευσε, συνθέντες λόγον* with the notes of Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*

[4] Cp. *supra* i. 707 n. 2 fig. 524 a vase now attributed to 'the Syleus Painter' (*c.* 480 B.C.) (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23).

The real explanation of the story is of course very different from the sophisms of Teiresias. The pretended birth from the thigh of Zeus[1], which from the sixth, if not the seventh, century onwards is attested by vases[2], frescoes[3], reliefs[4], and other works of art[5],

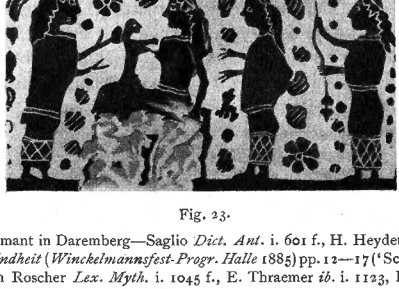


Fig. 23.

[1] F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 601 f., H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit (Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) pp. 12—17 ('Schenkelgeburt'), F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1045 f., E. Thraemer *ib.* i. 1123, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 661 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 110.

I see no probability in the suggestion that Hesych. *s.v.* ἄκαρα· *τὰ σκέλη*· Κρῆτες and *et. mag.* p. 45, 16 f. ἄκαρα· *τὰ σκέλη* Κρῆτες. Ἄκαρα· *πόλις τῆς* Ἀσίας, *ἡ νῦν καλουμένη* Νύσσα. *κ.τ.λ.* (Nysa in Lydia, near which is *Acharaka* : *supra* i. 503) imply a localised myth of the birth of Dionysos from the leg of Zeus.

[2] (1) R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1848—1856 p. 76 ff., with coloured design on p. 73 (part of which = my fig. 23), published a yellow-ground Corinthian *pyxis* of *c.* 600 B.C., found in a tomb between Corinth and Sikyon, on which he thought to recognise the earliest extant representation of Zeus bearing Dionysos from his thigh. This view, accepted by F. Lenormant *loc. cit.* i. 602 and by E. Thraemer *loc. cit.* i. 1123, was called in question by H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 4 ('die altkorinthische Vase mit einfachen Genrescenen'). E. Wilisch *Die altkorinthische Thonindustrie* Leipzig 1892 p. 49 f. apparently reverts to R. Rochette's explanation (cp. *ib.* pp. 62 '"Bakchusgeburt",' 63 'Bakchusgeburt,' 97 n. 353 'Bacchusgeburt,' 143 'die sogenannte Bakchusgeburt'). The vase is now in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (P. Milliet—A. Giraudon *Vases peints du Cabinet des Médailles & Antiques* (*Bibliothèque Nationale*) Paris 1891 i. pl. 10 IIe Classe, IVe Série, E, De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 42 ff. no. 94 'Scène d'enfantement (?)' etc.). The hair and the girdle of the central figure prove it to be female. Unless, therefore, we are prepared to hold that Zeus in labour was represented as a woman, this cannot be he. To left and right of the seated woman are the Eileithyiai. Another female on the right holds a distaff and spindle, less probably a branch of ivy (?): Klotho?

(2) A black-figured *amphora* from S. Maria di Capua, likewise in the Bibliothèque Nationale (no. 219), shows Dionysos (ΔΙΟΣΦΟΣ = *Διὸς φώς*) as a naked boy, with two torches, standing on the lap of a seated Zeus (*supra* ii. 273 with fig. 177, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*) (4)).

(3) A red-figured *lékythos* at Boston (no. 95. 39) is described and illustrated by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 134 ff. fig. 83 (= my fig. 24): 'Zeus, naked, very tall, his long hair and beard curiously neat, is sitting out of doors on a stone, which is covered by his clothes, and carefully easing the small god out of his thigh: his trusted Hermes stands beside him, watching, and holding his master's sceptre.' The vase is referred by the same authority to 'the

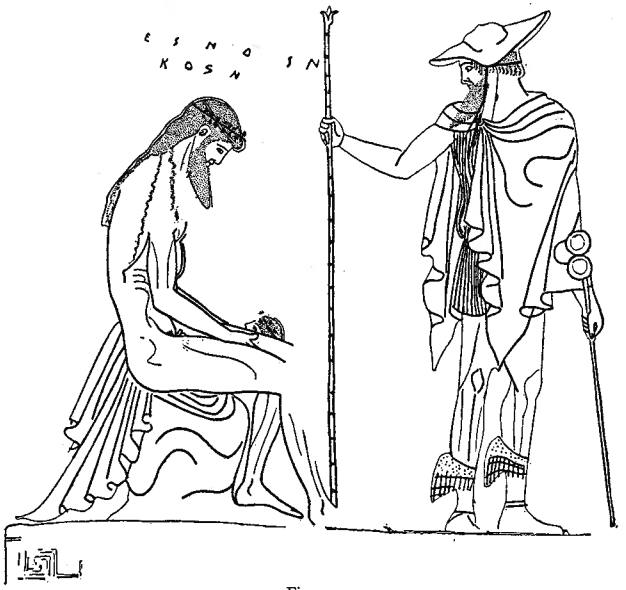


Fig. 24.

Fig. 25.

Alkimachos painter' of the late archaic period (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 18 no. 2, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 298 no. 25).

(4) A south-Italian vase, now lost, but seen by A. L. Millin at Naples in private possession ('Vaso che si trova in casa del S^re^ d. Genn. Patierno, restauratore, alla salita de' Reggj Studj, n. 63: altezza, palmi 2½; diametro, 1 palmo, 3½ oncie') and drawn for him (drawing extant in the Cabinet des Estampes of the Bibliothèque Nationale), is described by R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1848—1856 p. 81 with n. 4, recorded by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 13, and published by F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 72—74 with two figs. (of which the first = my fig. 25). In the upper register is Zeus, seated on a throne with a footstool. He wears a *himátion* (scaled *aigís*?) and a bay-wreath, and holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, an eagle-tipped sceptre in his left. From his right thigh emerges a diminutive Dionysos. The boy stretches out his arms to Eileithyia, who bends towards him, holding in readiness a cloth or garment. Behind Zeus stand a Bacchant (*thýrsos*) and a Maenad (panther-skin, torch (?))—hardly Apollon and Artemis. In the lower register, on rocky ground, is Athena (*Gorgóneion*, helmet (?), shield, spear) conversing with two Maenads (*thýrsos*, torch)—hardly Demeter and Hekate. Athena was perhaps made out of a third Maenad (timbrel (?), *thýrsos*). The reverse of the same vase depicts the madness of Lykourgos, who brandishes a club (?) in the midst of four Satyrs. Both designs have been copied 'par une main singulièrement maladroite et inexpérimentée'.

(5) A volute-*kratér* of *c.* 415 B.C. from Caelia (*Ceglie*), now at Taranto, fully published in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 175 ff. pls. 8 and 9 by A. D. Trendall, to whose kindness I owe my pl. xiii.

(6) A red-figured fragment at Bonn (inv. no. 1216. 19) (Trendall *loc. cit.* fig. 1 = my pl. xiii, 3).

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 140 Ctesilochus, Apellis discipulus (but cp. Souid. *s.v.* 'Απελλῆς,...ἀδελφὸς Κτησιόχου, καὶ αὐτοῦ ζωγράφου), petulanti pictura innotuit, Iove Liberum parturiente depicto mitrato et muliebriter ingemescente inter obstetricia dearum. H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) p. 5 f. regards this curious effort as 'ein humoristisches oder vielmehr parodisches Bild' and would date it *c.* 300 B.C. See also Miss E. Sellers (Mrs A. Strong) on Plin. *loc. cit.*

The precise part played by Zeus in Philostratos' picture of Semele (*supra* ii. 28, 828) is not clear (Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 14. 2 f. *πυρὸς νεφέλη περισχοῦσα τὰς Θήβας εἰς τὴν τοῦ Κάδμου στέγην ῥήγνυται κωμάσαντος ἐπὶ τὴν Σεμέλην τοῦ Διός, καὶ ἀπόλλυται μέν, ὡς δοκοῦμεν, ἡ Σεμέλη, τίκτεται δὲ Διόνυσος οἶμαι* (O. Benndorf cj. οἶμαι, < καὶ >) *νὴ Δία πρὸς τὸ πῦρ. καὶ τὸ μὲν τῆς Σεμέλης εἶδος ἀμυδρὸν διαφαίνεται ἰούσης ἐς οὐρανόν, καὶ αἱ Μοῦσαι αὐτὴν ἐκεῖ ᾄσονται, ὁ δὲ Διόνυσος τῆς μὲν μητρὸς ἐκθρῴσκει ῥαγείσης τὴν γαστέρα, τὸ δὲ πῦρ ἀχλυῶδες ἐργάζεται φαιδρὸς* (C. L. Kayser cj. *φαιδρὸν*) *αὐτὸς οἷον ἀστὴρ τις ἀπαστράπτων* (so codd. F. P. *ἀστράπτων* vulg.). *διασχοῦσα δὲ ἡ φλὸξ ἄντρον τι τῷ Διονύσῳ σκιαγραφεῖ παντὸς ἡδιον 'Ασσυρίου τε καὶ Λυδίου· κ.τ.λ.*). A. Bougot *Philostrate l'ancien* Paris 1881 p. 265 f. cites for comparison and contrast a fresco said to have been found in Rome and formerly owned by Prince Gagarin (*Memorie Romane di Antichità e di Belle Arti* ed. L. Cardinali Roma 1824—1827 iii pl. 13): Zeus, with gray beard and hair, sits enthroned on a cloud. His head is surrounded by a halo of rays; his legs are wrapped in an ample wind-swept *himátion* of flame-coloured fabric. His eagle is perched beside him. With his right hand he grasps a thunderbolt, with his left he reaches towards the undersized babe ('als Embryo gekrümmt,' says Gerhard) of Semele, who half-clad in a yellow robe lies dead on the couch before him. This painting, accepted without hesitation by E. Gerbard (*Hyper-*

Fig. 26.

2

3

1

(1) *Kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto.
(2) Detail of same vase: the birth of Dionysos.
(3) Vase-fragment at Bonn: the birth of Dionysos.

See page 82 *n.* o (5 f.).

boreisch-römische Studien für Archäologen Berlin 1833 i. 105—107, written from Rome on Oct. 8, 1823 after careful inspection of the original) and by F. Lenormant (in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 601 fig. 677 (= my fig. 26), on the strength of Gerhard's testimony), was doubted by F. Wieseler (in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835—1856 ii. 2. 13 pl. 34, 391) and L. Stephani (*Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 14 no. 3 (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie. ix. 361 ff.), *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 13), and decisively rejected by J. Overbeck (*Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 418 with n.[e] 'Man beachte nur den einen Umstand, dass Zeus' Haar und Bart *grau* gemalt sind und vergl. Anmerkung 71 zu S. 68.' Yet see *infra* § 9 (h) ii (κ) The superannuation of Zeus) and H. Heydemann (*loc. cit.* p. 4).

Long. *past.* 4. 3 εἶχε δὲ καὶ ἔνδοθεν ὁ νεὼς Διονυσιακὰς γραφάς, Σεμέλην τίκτουσαν, κ.τ.λ. may or may not be purely imaginary, and in any case says nothing of Zeus.

[4] (1) A marble frieze, found in front of the *Porta Portese* at Rome and now preserved in the Vatican (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 168 f. no. 259), has the following scene (Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 165 ff. pl. 19 (= my fig. 27), A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 i. 51 no. 223 (wrongly described) pl. 53, H. Brunn in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1858 p. 128, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 580 n. 20, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 171 no. X, 178, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) p. 15 f., Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 1289 vignette, F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 72 no. 102, *id.* in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1903 vi. 103 n. 22, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 362 no. 2). Zeus, with bent head, is seated on a rock. He leans heavily, not to say painfully, on his right hand and grasps a long sceptre with his left. His *himátion* is so arranged as to leave bare the further leg, from the upper part of which emerges the infant Dionysos and leaps with outstretched arms towards Hermes. That god (*pétasos, chlamýs*, boots, but no *caduceus*) advances with a panther-skin in which to wrap the babe. Behind him are three stately female figures bearing long sceptres and variously interpreted as Eileithyia, Kore, and Demeter (E. Q. Visconti, A. L. Millin, and S. Reinach *locc. citt.*), as the Charites (H. Brunn *loc. cit.*), as Nymphs (H. Heydemann *loc. cit.*), or as the Fates (F. Hauser *locc. citt.*). The identification of the third female with Demeter is borne out by the bunch of corn-ears held stiffly in her right hand. Heydemann's conjecture that all three are the Nymphs of Nysa ready to receive their nursling might claim the support of Nonn. *Dion.* 9. 16 ff. καί μιν ἔσω Δρακάνοιο (E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 189 n. 2 equates Δράκανον here with τὸ Δρέκανον in the south of Kos (Strab. 657, cp. Agathem. *geogr.* 18 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 479 Müller), L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1646, xi. 1471), and *loc. cit.* p. 178 ff. explains in like manner *h. Dion.* 1 Δρακάνῳ, Theokr. 26. 33 ἐν Δρακάνῳ νιφόεντι. Others have supposed that Nonnos was alluding to Δράκανον a town and promontory (now Cape *Phanari*) at the north-east end of the island Ikaros (*Nikaria*) (R. Köhler *Über die Dionysiaka des Nonnus von Panopolis* Halle 1853 p. 17 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 677 n. 5), or to Δρέπανον (*Trapani*) the promontory in the north-west of Sicily (B. Graef *De Bacchi expeditione Indica monumentis expressa* Berolini 1886 p. 10 f. n. 15)) λεχώιον ἀμφὶ κολώνῃ | πήχεϊ κολπωθέντι λαβὼν Ματίμος Ἑρμῆς | ἠερόθεν πεπότητο· λοχευομένῳ δὲ Δυαίῳ | πατρῴην ἐπέθηκεν ἐπωνυμίην τοκετοῖο | κικλήσκων Διόνυσον, ἑτεὶ ποδὶ φόρτον ἀείρων | ἦιε χωλαίνων Κρονίδης βεβριθότι μηρῷ, | νῦσος ὅτι γλώσσῃ Συρακοσαΐδι χωλὸς ἀκούει (νῦσος, 'hobbled' (?) might be akin to *Schnur* etc., cp. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 530 f. *s.v.* 'nurus') · | καὶ θεὸν ἀρτιλόχευτον ἐφήμισαν Βίραφιώτην, | ὅττι μιν εὐώδινι πατὴρ ἐρράψατο μηρῷ (lines 17, 19—24 are quoted in *et. mag.* p. 280, 13 ff.). | καί μιν ἀχυτλώτοιο διαΐσσοντα λοχείης | πήχεϊ κοῦρον ἄδακρυν ἐκούφισε σύγγονος Ἑρμῆς, | καὶ βρέφος εὐκεράοιο φυῆς ἐνδαλμα Σελήνης (*sc.* horned like the Moon) | ὥπασε θυγατέρεσσι Λάμου τοταμηίσι Νύμφαις (= the Hyades: see H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1832, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1435 n. 1), | παῖδα Διὸς κομέειν σταφυληκόμον· αἱ δὲ λαβοῦσαι | βάκχον ἐπηχύναντο, καὶ εἰς στόμα παιδὸς ἑκάστη | ἀθλιβέων γλαγέεσσαν ἀνέβλυεν ἱκμάδα μαζῶν. But the corn-ears are ill-suited to Nymphs. Besides, Hauser rightly insists on the points of similarity between this relief and that of the Madrid *puteal* (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (η)). Dionysos springs

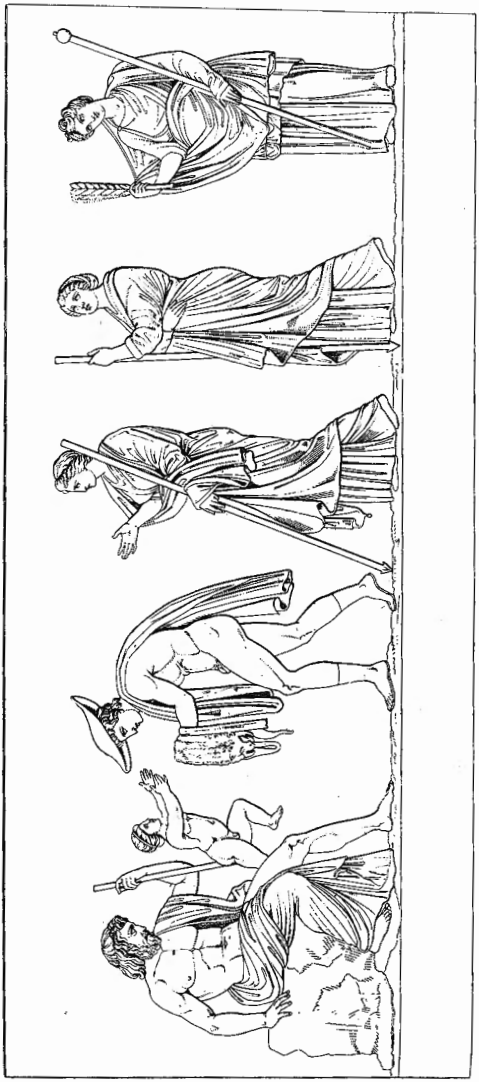


Fig. 27.

from the seated Zeus much as Nike does on the *puteal*; and here, as there, the three females grouped on the right must be the Fates. If so, the corn-ears are a later modification of the lots held by Lachesis (*pace* Helbig *loc. cit.*: 'Indes hat eine erneute Untersuchung ergeben, dass an den Ähren von Überarbeitung keine Spur zu finden ist'). What purpose was served originally by this frieze (Visconti *loc. cit.*: 'Haut. trois palmes, un tiers; longueur dix palmes moins deux onces'), and whether it was continued by means of other figures to the right, we cannot say.

(2) A child's sarcophagus of late Roman date (White marble. Height 0·29^{m}: length 0·69^{m}), in the collection formed by Field-marshal Count Lavall Nugent, was found at Minturnae (?), was exhibited at the Palazzo Pisani in Venice, and is now preserved in Tersatto Castle near Fiume. Its front represents the birth of Dionysos in a series of three scenes separated by herms (E. Wolff in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1831 p. 67, C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1833 v. 210—218, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 45, A (=my fig. 28), F. Wieseler in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835—1856 ii. 2. 13 f. pl. 34, 392, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 580 n. 20, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 602 fig. 679, O. Benndorf in *Wien. Vorlegebl.* A pl. 12, 8, R. Schneider in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1881 v. 167—169 no. 36, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) pp. 8 f., 16 f., P. V. C. Baur *Eileithyia* (*The University of Missouri Studies* i. 4) University of Missouri 1902 p. 86). To the right Semele lies

Fig. 28.

exhausted on a couch, her left hand propping her head, her right drooping as if she held flowers (Schneider, Heydemann). Beneath the couch a jug and bowl are in readiness for the bath of the expected infant. Zeus appears above a wall in the background, lays his left arm on Semele's neck (Schneider, Heydemann), and brandishes a thunderbolt in his right hand. To the left Zeus sits erect on a chair with a footstool, upon which is set a large urn. His right hand presses hard on the chair; his left grasps a long sceptre. A winged goddess, presumably Nike playing the part of Eileithyia (E. Gerhard in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1831 p. 67 n. 1, followed by Wieseler, Schneider, Heydemann, Baur, was content to describe her as a winged Eileithyia), touches with her outstretched left hand the right leg of Zeus, which is bandaged (Schneider, Heydemann), not bare: the god has been already delivered. In the centre Hermes, looking round towards Zeus, carries off the newborn babe to the Nymphs, one of whom is seen reclining behind him (so E. Wolff *loc. cit.* C. Lenormant, Wieseler, and Schneider would recognise Gaia).

Similar in type, but with sides reversed, is a fragmentary relief (Luna marble. Height 1·20^{m}: length 0·54^{m}) found on the Esquiline in 1874 and now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (C. L. Visconti 'Frammento di rilievo rappresentante la nascita di Bacco' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1874 ii. 89—96 pl. 1, 3 (=my fig. 29), H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 17, G. Lafaye in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 982 fig. 2884, P. V. C. Baur *op. cit.* p. 86, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 85 Galleria no. 16 pl. 31). Zeus is seated to the left. His left leg, covered by a

himátion, uses a globe as a footstool (cp. *supra* i. 47 ff.). His right leg is bare and is being bandaged by the same winged goddess (wings broken away), on whose shoulder he rests his hand. This relief too perhaps formed part of a sarcophagus. C. L. Visconti *loc. cit.* p. 94 describes the work as mediocre and dates it about the end of *s.* ii A.D.

Fig. 29.

A less considerable fragment of the same design, which has been worked into a patchwork sarcophagus now in the Loggia Scoperta of the Vatican, shows the veiled head and powerful body of Zeus sitting on a rock to the right and leaning hard on his right hand (Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 269 ff. pl. 37 ('le fleuve Isménus'), A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 ii. 20 f. no. 429 pl. 109 ('le fleuve *Ismenius*'), J. G. Zoëga in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Auslegung der alten Kunst* Herausg. von F. G. Welcker 1818 i. 402 f. (first critical account: 'Okeanos'), F. Matz in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1870 p. 70 f. (first identification as 'Giove nell' atto di sgravarsi da Bacco bambino'), H. Heydemann *op. cit.* pp. 10 n. 28, 12, 17).

H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 15 draws attention to a lost relief, of which a cast has been for over a century at Bonn. F. G. Welcker *Das akademische Kunstmuseum zu Bonn*[2] Bonn 1844 p. 115 no. 353 describes it as follows: 'Eileithyia, die Lende des Zeus vom Dionysos entbindend. Nur das eine Bein des Zeus bis an das Knie ist erhalten und ein Flügel des Adlers, der über ihm schwebte, vielleicht angstvoll ihn umflatterte [? the wing of a winged Eileithyia. A.B.C.], und von dem Kinde nur das Händchen angelegt an dem Knie der Eileithyia. Hermes, als Kinderwärter der Götter und insbesondre des Dionysos bekannt, steht seines Berufes gewärtig daneben und sieht aufmerksam und wie verlegen zu.' R. Kekulé *Das akademische Kunstmuseum zu Bonn* Bonn 1872 p. 113 no. 452 adds: 'Das Bruchstück, welches mit dem Relief bei Müller—Wieseler II, 34, 392 zu vergleichen ist, ist in dem jetzigen Zustand mindestens in der Figur des Hermes schwerlich durchaus antik.'

This second series of reliefs is perhaps derived, though not without modification, from the painting by Ktesilochos (*supra* p. 82 n. 3). The rebirth of the infant was a subject admirably suited to a child's sarcophagus and, doubtless, often repeated (cp. *supra* ii. 309, 417).

[5] An Etruscan mirror, of unknown *provenance*, at Naples (A. Sogliano in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 358 no. 1525), long cited under the misleading name of the '*Patera Borgia*,' represents the actual birth-scene in early fourth-century style (A. (H. L.) Heeren *Expositio fragmenti tabulae marmoreae...Musei Borgiani Velitris* Romae 1786 p. 9 n. (*c*), L. Lanzi *Saggio di lingua Etrusca e di altre antiche d' Italia per servire alla storia de' popoli, delle lingue, e delle belle arti* Roma 1789 ii. 195—198, Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 362 ff. pl. B 1, 1 and 2, A. L. Millin *Galerie Mythologique* Paris 1811 i. 50 f. no. 222 pl. 71, F. Inghirami *Monumenti etruschi o di etrusco nome* Poligrafia Fiesolana 1824 ii. 277—297 pl. 16 (good), *id. Storia della Toscana* Poligrafia Fiesolana 1841 ii. 519, 522, 524, 529 pl. 39, 1, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1839 xii pl. 57 with text pp. 1—5, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 84—87 pl. 82 (=my fig. 30), *id. Über die*

Fig. 30.

Gottheiten der Etrusker Berlin 1847 pp. 40 n. (96), 58 n.*) (=*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1845* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 556 n. (96), 574 n.*)), F. Wieseler in C. O. Müller *Denkmäler der alten Kunst* Göttingen 1835—1856 ii. 2. 14 f. pl. 34, 394, A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. ccxiv no. 2470, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 187 f. no. (c) Atlas pl. 1, 37, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) p. 14 f., C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 460 f.). In the centre sits Zeus (*Tinia*) wearing a wreath of lilies (*supra* i. 622 f., 736 n. o, ii. 740) and a *himátion*, which leaves his right leg bare. He leans with his right hand on a long sceptre surmounted by an eagle (Gerhard wrongly took this to be a Dodonaean dove) and holds a winged thunderbolt in his left. From his right thigh emerges Dionysos as a nude baldish infant with a string of *bullae* across his chest. The child carries in his left hand a *narthex* with umbelliferous head (so Heydemann. Gerhard made it a ferule and grape-bunch; Visconti, followed by Wieseler, a small *pedum*) and raises his right to greet the birth-goddess (*Thalna*) who, arrayed in Ionic *chitón* and *himátion* with *stephánē*, ear-ring, and necklace, stoops forward to receive him. Behind Zeus is a winged goddess (*M*[*e*]*an*, on whom see W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2481) wearing an Ionic *chitón* with girdle and cross-bands; she too has *stephánē*, ear-ring, and necklace. She uplifts a dipper in one hand and grasps an *alábastron* with the other (not a pen and ink-bottle, as though about to inscribe the child's destiny). To the left of the group stands Apollon (*Apulu*), his long hair rolled round a fillet, a *chlamýs* over his shoulders, a bay-branch in his left hand, and a doe behind him. To the right, room is found beneath the wings of *Mean* for the infant's cradle or, more probably, swaddling-clothes (so Heydemann. Inghirami had spoken of a *vannus*, Gerhard of a mystic *cista*). The whole composition, probably derived from some Greek vase-painting, is enclosed between two purely decorative figures—above, a wild bearded head with streams or streamers flowing from the mouth (Gerhard thought of Phobos, or of the Dodonaean Zeus! Visconti saw a lion's head and a snake!!); below, a winged goddess swathed in a *himátion*. Over her runs an inscription, which has lately been read by C. Pauli *loc. cit.* as [illegible] *Fufluns Semleal*, 'Dionysos son of Semele.' The reverse of the handle shows a pair of scantily draped dancers, male and female.

C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1833 v. 215 ff. and J. de Witte in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836—1837 i. 369—371 pl. A 1837, 1—2 published two *bullae* of thin gold foil (diameter *c.* 1⅝ inches), found in a tomb at Vulci and preserved in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris. They are both decorated with a *repoussé* design representing the birth of Dionysos (cp. the series of sarcophagus-reliefs described *supra* p. 85 n. o (2)). Zeus with bowed head sits to the left on a rock (?). He wears a *himátion* round his loins and over his left shoulder. His right hand clasps his right knee. His left hand rests on the rock. From his right thigh emerges the infant god, uplifting both arms. He is received by a winged Athena, clad in a Doric *péplos* with long overfold, *aigís*, and *Gorgóneion*. Between Zeus and Athena is a lotiform thunderbolt (?). J. de Witte's description of the scene is full of bad blunders. My pl. xiv, 1 is from a fresh photograph by Giraudon. Another gold *bulla* from Italy, of third-century work, shows Zeus in labour flanked by two winged Eileithyiai (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 262 f. no. 2285 pl. 46 with fig. 75 (=my pl. xiv, 2)).

Lastly, a bronze coin of Nysa Skythopolis, the ancient Beth-Shan and modern *Beisán*, struck by Gordianus Pius in the year 304, *i.e.* some year between 240/1 and 243/4 A.D., has for reverse type Zeus standing to the left and the city-goddess standing to the right. Zeus is clad in a *himátion*, which passes like a veil over the back of his head. His right foot is raised on some uncertain object (? a rock), while the head and shoulders of the infant Dionysos emerge from his right thigh. He rests his left hand on a long sceptre and extends his right towards the goddess. She is dressed in *chitón* and *himátion*, and wears a turreted crown and a veil (?). She holds a long sceptre in her right hand and the babe Dionysos in her left. The legend is [NV] CCKV IЄPAC and in the exergue [Δ]T (G. F. Hill in

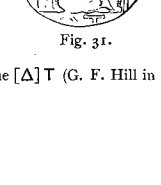


Fig. 31.

1

2

(1) Gold *bulla* from Vulci, now at Paris: Birth of Dionysos.
(2) Gold *bulla* from Italy, now in the British Museum: Birth of Dionysos.

See page 88 *n.* o.

reflects a very ancient ritual of adoption[1]. The detail of the sewing (*erráphthai*) is probably to be connected with the office of the birth-

the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. xxxvi, 77 pl. 8, 5. Fig. 31 is from a cast kindly supplied by Dr Hill).

[1] So first J. J. Bachofen *Das Mutterrecht* Basel 1897 pp. 243, 256, 259, though he confused the issue by importing a reference to the *couvade* (hence Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 904 goes off on a wrong path). Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 110 keeps a clearer head: 'The old attempts to interpret this as nature-symbolism have failed ludicrously. The first to strike the right track was Bachofen, who, following the anthropological method, explained the myth as the reflex of some primitive social institution; but his suggestion that we have here a divine example of the *couvade* was not altogether happy, though the couvade was practised by primitive peoples of the Mediterranean area. The travail of Zeus is more naturally explained by him as a primitive mode of adoption, wherein the father pretends to actually [(*sic*)] give birth to the adopted son; and this would be the natural method for a people passing from the rule of the matrilinear to that of the patrilinear descent[b]. [[b]We hear of the same fashion of adoption among the Haidas of North America who are in the transition-state between the two systems.] Dionysos, therefore, was accepted and affiliated in this wise to Zeus by some Hellenic tribe who were still in that stage, and whom we cannot discover, for we do not know whence the story first radiated, though we may surmise that it arose in Boeotia.' The latter part of this statement, however, will have to be modified by those who accept the recent attempts of H. J. Rose ('On the alleged Evidence for Mother-right in Early Greece' in *Folk-Lore* 1911 xxii. 277—291, 'Prehistoric Greece and Mother-Right' *ib.* 1926 xxxvii. 213—244) to disprove the existence of mother-right in early Greece.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 74 f. illustrates 'Simulation of birth at adoption' from a wide area, including one classical myth: Diod. 4. 39 (from an older handbook of mythology (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 674)) προσθετέον δ' ἡμῖν τοῖς εἰρημένοις ὅτι μετὰ τὴν ἀποθέωσιν αὐτοῦ Ζεὺς Ἥραν μὲν ἔπεισεν υἱοποιήσασθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα καὶ τὸ λοιπὸν εἰς τὸν ἅπαντα χρόνον μητρὸς εὐνοιαν παρέχεσθαι (παρέξεσθαι cod. D.), τὴν δὲ τέκνωσιν γενέσθαι φασὶ τοιαύτην· τὴν Ἥραν ἀναβᾶσαν ἐπὶ (ἐπὶ τὴν vulg.) κλίνην καὶ τὸν Ἡρακλέα προσλαβομένην πρὸς τὸ σῶμα διὰ τῶν ἐνδυμάτων ἀφεῖναι πρὸς τὴν γῆν, μιμουμένην τὴν ἀληθινὴν γένεσιν· ὅπερ μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ποιεῖν τοὺς βαρβάρους ὅταν θετὸν υἱὸν ποιεῖσθαι βούλωνται, Lyk. *Al.* 39 ὁ δευτέραν τεκοῦσαν κ.τ.λ. with Tzetz. *ad loc.* τὴν Ἥραν λέγει· διὰ τοῦ κόλπου γὰρ αὐτὸν ἦγεν (ἤνεγκεν cod. *a*) ὡς τίκτουσα καὶ τεκνοποιουμένη. Cp. three important mirrors which represent Hera suckling a full-grown Herakles: (*a*) An early fourth-century mirror in the Museo Civico at Bologna (F. Schiassi *De Pateris, ex sententia J. T. Biancani sermo* Bononiæ 1808 pl. 10, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 125 pl. 126 (=my fig. 32), E. Brizio in the *Guida del Museo Civico di Bologna* Bologna 1882 p. 24 Sezione antica, Sala viii, *E* Vetrina di fronte, Sezione di mezzo, J. Bayet *Hercle* Étude Critique des principaux monuments relatifs à l'Hercule Étrusque Paris 1926 p. 150 ff. no. *D*) shows Herakles as a well-grown youth, with his lion-skin round his neck and a smooth club at his side, bending forward to be suckled by Hera. She sits on a throne, the footstool of which is seen in perspective, and holds up her bared right breast to the hero's lips. Behind her and leaning on her shoulder is Iolaos (Gerhard says Ares), with *chlamýs* and lance. The whole is surrounded by a beautiful ivy-wreath; and the reverse has a frilled(=rayed) solar (?) head. A similar design on a terra-cotta medallion in relief was reported by W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1866 p. 65 f. It was found probably at Palestrina and was then in the possession of Castellani. Helbig took the medallion to be a model for a *bulla*. But A. Kluegmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 21 regarded it with more likelihood as the centre of a bowl. The group of Hera suckling Herakles was flanked by two standing youths clad in *chlamýdes*—apparently a duplication of Iolaos. (*b*) A fourth-century mirror from Volaterrae (*Volterra*), now in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, elaborates the subject (G. Körte in Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 73—78 pl. 60 (=my fig. 33), A. B. Cook in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 f. fig. 4, J. Bayet *op. cit.* p. 150 ff. no. *E*

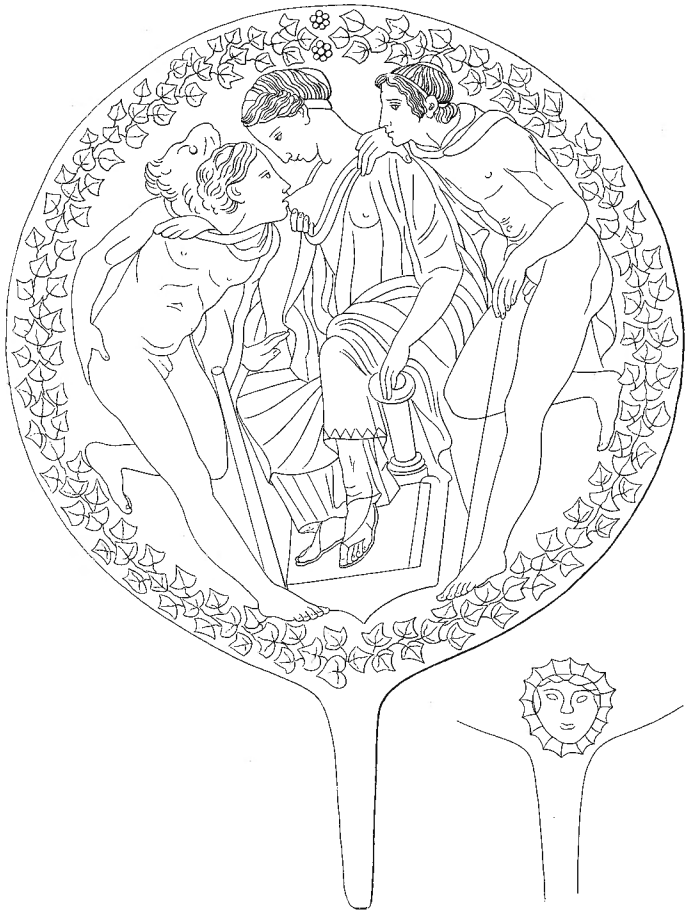


Fig. 32.

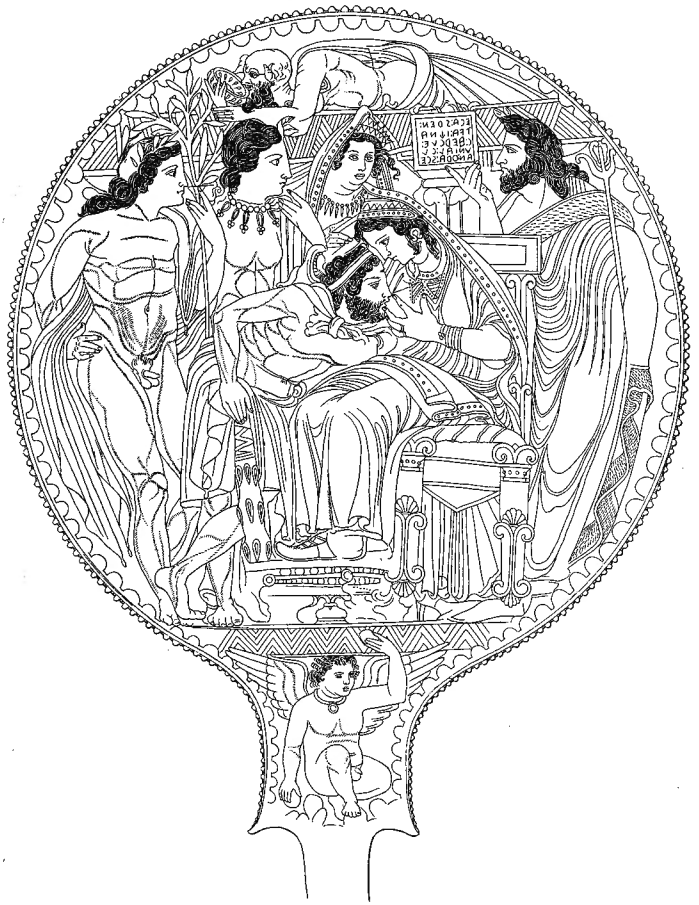


Fig. 33.

pl. 4). In the centre sits Hera on a handsome throne, the seat of which is seen from below (cp. *supra* ii. 738 fig. 668), with a footstool. She is attired in an Ionic *chitón* and a *himátion* drawn over her head. She has a profusion of trinkets (*stephánе*, ear-ring, finger-rings, necklace, bracelet) and is shod with strap-work shoes. Her right hand pulls forward her *himátion*; her left, with spread fingers, presses her naked breast, which is being sucked vigorously by Herakles. He is a bearded man with a broad fillet on his hair, a lion-skin round his neck, a short *chitón* about his waist, and a knotty club in his right hand. He leans over the goddess' lap to play the infant's part. To the right of these two stands Zeus, with *himátion*, shoes, and sceptre, signing to a young undraped goddess, who wears a large necklace with pendants of three drops (cp. *Il.* 14. 183, *Od.* 18. 298 *τριγλυφα μορόεντα*) and, like Zeus, displays two leaves stuck in her hair. To the left stands Apollon with *chlamýs*, bay-wreath, and bay-branch. In the background an older goddess appears in three-quarter position: she wears a *stephánе*, a necklace with pendants, and a *himátion* like that of Hera (there is indeed some confusion between the two) drawn over her head. Behind Hera's throne is an Ionic pillar supporting a tablet inscribed *eca : sren : | tva : ιχna | c : hercle : | unial : clan : θra : sce.* The only words at present intelligible to us, *hercle* : *unial* : *clan*, denote 'Hercules son of Uni (Iuno)' and certainly suggest that the inscription is a label explaining the scene rather than a votive dedication involving other names. They do not of course justify Ptolemy Chennos of Alexandreia (*c.* 100 A.D.) in his paradoxical notion that Herakles was the son of Zeus and Hera (Ptol. *nov. hist.* 3 p. 186, 28 ff. Westermann *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 148 a 38 ff. Bekker *τινος ἐστιν ὁ ὕμνος ὁ ᾀδόμενος ἐν Θηβαίοις* (I. Bekker cj. *Θήβαις*) *εἰς Ἡρακλέα, ἐν ᾧ λέγει* (either read *λέγεται* or, less probably, supply the author *Μάτρις ὁ Θηβαῖος ὑμνογράφος* from the context and suppose a direct quotation of the following words) *Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας υἱός*). The whole composition is enclosed between an upper and a lower band of herring-bone pattern. Above is a bald Silenos, with pig's ears, drinking from a *phiále*. He sprawls along the upper line, and from his incredibly clumsy neck I should infer that the artist had at first intended him to be an upright head (cp. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* pl. 212) or one of two (cp. *ib.* pl. 291, A), but had later altered him into a recumbent figure (cp. *ib.* pl. 323). Below is Eros, crouching almost *en face*, with a *bulla* slung round his throat and an ovoid object (egg ? ball ?) in either hand. (*c*) An early third-century mirror from Vulci, now at Berlin, introduces some variations and adds names (C. Robert in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 173, A. Furtwängler *ib.* 1883 xli. 271, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 72 f. pl. 59 (=my fig. 34), J. Bayet *op. cit.* p. 151 ff. no. *F*). Herakles (*Hercle*) sits on a low stool, beardless but adult and equipped with lion-skin and club. He is about to suck the right nipple of Hera (*Uni*), who stoops towards him with bared breast, clasping him with her right hand and holding a horn (cp. *supra* ii. 347 fig. 241) in her left. Behind Herakles sits *Mean* raising two sprigs of olive, bent to form a wreath for the hero. In the background stands Zeus (*Tinia*), his head surrounded by two streamers and a lotiform bolt visible at his right side. He is flanked on his right by Aphrodite (*Turan*), on his left by Athena (*Menrva*, a mistake for *Menrva*) with *aigís*, *Gorgóneion*, and shield bearing a star. Below is a large female head between two stars. These three mirrors clearly postulate a common original, perhaps a fifth-century fresco, from which is also descended—with sundry important modifications—a *lékythos* of 'Apulian' style found at Anxia (*Anzi di Basilicata*) and now in the British Museum (G. Minervini in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1842 p. 160, *id.* in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1842—1843 i. 6 f., *id. Il mito di Ercole che succhia il latte di Giunone* Napoli 1854 pp. 1—34 with pl. (extr. from the *Memorie della Regale Accademia Ercolanense* Napoli 1853 vi. 317 ff.), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 141 no. L, G. Körte in Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 76 ff., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 60 no. F 107). Herakles is here reduced to the proportions of a boy and has lost his lion-skin and club. But that he and no other is meant appears from the presence of his patroness Athena (*aigís*, spear), who offers Hera a lily—not, as Minervini thought, in allusion to the later legend of the Milky Way (*supra* i. 624 n. 5), but merely as the favourite flower of the goddess (*supra* i. 624 n. 2, ii. 515 n. 10) and a fitting reward for her services. Hera herself is a queenly figure, seated with a floral *stephánе* on her head and a lily-topped sceptre in her hand. She presses

Fig. 34.

goddess Rhapso[1], but was presumably stressed as a means of explaining the obscure appellative *Eiraphiótes*[2]. The same etymologising tendency dates the whole hostage-episode, with its play on

the boy to her right breast, where he drinks his fill. Behind her stands Iris in short *chitón* and high boots. She has wings on her shoulders, and a knotted or studded staff by way of *caduceus*. She talks with a seated wreath-bearing goddess, who is difficult to identify,—probably not Peitho (G. Körte), certainly not Alkmene (G. Minervini, H. B. Walters). This couple is balanced by a standing Eros (wreath, *sphendónē*) and a seated Aphrodite (mirror) on the left. A. D. Trendall cp. a *lékythos* of 'early Apulian' style, by the same hand, at Taranto (my pl. xv, 2), which substitutes Aphrodite and Ἐρωτύλοι for Athena and Herakles.

It is noteworthy that in the case of Dionysos the simulated birth is from the god (Zeus), in the case of Herakles from the goddess (Hera). Parallels to both forms of the rite can be adduced.

[1] *Supra* ii. 184 n. 3.

[2] *Supra* i. 674 n. 2, ii. 957 n. 2. See further O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2119 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 661 n. 2, 714 n. 5, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 822 n. 4.

Expert philologists have advanced widely different explanations. W. Sonne in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1861 x. 103 connected εἰραφιώτης, Aeolic ἐρραφαώτη-ς, with the Sanskrit *ṛshabha* 'bull,' so that the word would mean 'Befruchter.' R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 146 followed suit. W. Prellwitz in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1897 xxii. 99 was still inclined to agree ('Sonne...vielleicht mit recht,' etc.), and F. Solmsen in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1897 vii. 46 ff. definitely accepted the same view, not only connecting Lesbian Ἔρραφεύτας, Ionic Εἰραφιώτης, with the Old Indian *ṝṣabhás* 'bull,' but (after A. Meillet *ib.* 1895 v. 328 f.) bringing into relation with them ἔρραος, which meant either 'ram' (Lyk. *Al.* 1316 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*) or 'boar' (Kallim. *frag.* 335 Schneider *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1316, Hesych. *s.v.* ἔρραος (so M. Schmidt for ἐρράς cod.)· κριός), and drawing attention to Ἀρράβαιον τὸν Βρομεροῦ, Λυγκηστῶν Μακεδόνων βασιλέα (Thouk. 4. 83), a man who was τοῦ Βακχιαδῶν γένους (Strab. 326)—an obviously Dionysiac group of names. F. Froehde in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1896 xxi. 199, while not doubting the possibility of Εἰραφιώτης, Ἔρραφιώτας being related to the Sanskrit *ṛṣabhá* 'bull,' regarded the word as another form of Ἐρίφιος, the goat too being a 'Verkörperung des lehenerzeugenden Numens des Gottes' (F. A. Voigt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1079). G. Legerlotz in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1859 viii. 53 had long since derived Εἰραφιώτης 'von einem εἴρ-α-φος=ἔρ-ι-φος (vgl. στρατιώτης, ἡλικιώτης)' and had noted the Laconian cult of Dionysos Ἔριφος. H. Ehrlich *ib.* 1906 xxxix. 567 f. likewise dwells on the connexion of Dionysos with the goat (*supra* i. 674 ff.) and remarks: 'Daher denken Wieseler, Philol. 10, 101 und Wide Lakonische Culte p. 168 an ἔριφος, und eine nebenform *ἔριαφος = *εἔραφος *ἔρραφος wäre wohl annehmbar. Da -αφος tiersuffix ist (cf. ἔλαφος ἀσκάλαφος κιδάφη κόραφος Hes.), könnte man *ἔραφος auch mit εἴρων "listig" (*ἔρ̣ων; zu *errare* st. **er-sā* eigentlich "der in die irre führt") zusammenbringen und darin ein altes wort für den "fuchs" sehen...vgl. auch Philemon fr. 89[6] ll p. 504 K.: οὐκ ἔστ' ἀλώπηξ ἡ μὲν εἴρων τῇ φύσει, | ἡ δ' αὐθέκαστος,...Die adjectivischen ableitungen *εἰραφιο- *ἐρραφεο- bezeichneten dann "das zum fuchs gehörige, das fuchsfell," und Εἰραφιώτης Ἔρραφεύτας wäre sozusagen die griechische übersetzung von Βασσαρεύς, "dem fuchsfellträger" nach alter überlieferung, die recht haben kann.' A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1894 xx. 179 f. cp. Hermes σπαργανιώτης (*h. Herm.* 301), μηχανιώτης (*ib.* 436), Dionysos βακχειώτης (Sapph. *frag.* 147 Bergk[4], 172 Edmonds=Simon. *frag.* 210 A Bergk[4] *ap.* Him. *or.* 13. 7), Pan ὀρειώτης (*Anth. Pal.* 9. 824. 2 (Erykios)). As σπαργανιώτης meant 'wrapped in the σπαργάνιον or "swaddling-band",' so εἰραφιώτης, Aeolic ἐρραφιώτας, must have meant 'wrapped in the *εἰράφιον or "tufted skin"—a word related to εἶρος, Aeolic ἔρρος "wool" as χρυσάφιον to

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(1) *Lékythos* of early Apulian style from Anxia, now in the British Museum: Herakles suckled by Hera.

See page 92 *n.* o and *page* 94 *n.* o.

(2) *Lékythos* of early Apulian style, now at Taranto: Herakles suckled by Hera.

See page 94 *n.* o.

hómēros and *mērós*[1], as the effort of Prodikos[2] or some other fifth-century sophist, though the particular incident of the *aithér*-phantom, with its further play on *méros*, 'portion', is attributable to Euripides himself[3].

χρυσός. Dionysos *elραφιώτης* "in the tufted skin" was a kid, cp. Hesych. *s.v. elραφιώτης·... καὶ ἔριφος παρὰ Λάκωσιν.* [Observe, however, that *elραφιώτης* 'wrapped in a tufted garment' might equally well, or even better, describe the Bacchant garbed in an artificial skin (Eur. *Bacch.* 111 ff. *στικτῶν τ' ἐνδυτὰ νεβρίδων | στέφετε λευκοτρίχων πλοκάμων | μαλλοῖς* with Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*). A. B. C.]. F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 128 f. approves this derivation, but notes two difficulties: 'Die eine ist die, dass, wenn *ἐρΓάφιον* die Grundlage des Gottesnamens bildet, dieser bei den Lesbiern die Gestalt *Ἐραφιώτας* haben müsste, da, wie speciell *ἔπερος* lehrt, *f* hinter Consonanten spurlos untergegangen ist. Man kann ihr mit dem Einwande begegnen, dass die Verdopplung des *ρ* die metrische Dehnung der ersten von drei auf einander folgenden Kürzen bezeichne, wie in *πέρρυσιν* Theokr. 29_{98}. Nicht beseitigen aber lässt sich die zweite Schwierigkeit. Nach den Ausführungen Wackernagels Glotta IV 243 f. kommt den Deminutiven auf *-άφιον* langes *α* zu, dem im Ionisch-Attischen *η* entspricht: *ξυλήφιον* im Corpus der Hippokratischen Schriften und bei Alexis. Also müsste die Namenform bei den Lesbiern *Ἐραφώτας*, bei den Ioniern *Ἐρηφιώτης* lauten. Hier kann man nur mit einer auf unsichrer Grundlage ruhenden Hypothese helfen: da das Erscheinen der Länge in *-ᾱφιον* von Wackernagel selbst als "Rätsel" bezeichnet wird, darf man vielleicht annehmen, dass neben ihr die Kürze gelegen habe, die kein Rätsel sein würde.' K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 232 pronounces the verdict: '*Ἐλραφιώτης* lesb. *Ἐρραφεώτᾱς* ..ist zweifelhaften Ursprungs.' Possibly fresh evidence may yet be forthcoming—from Hittite sources?

The month *Ἐλραφιών* at Arkesine in Amorgos (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* vii no. 62, 28 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2 558 f. no. 5371, 28 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 531, 28, *ib.*[3] no. 963, 28 *ἐμ μηνὶ Ἐλραφιῶνι*) probably corresponds with the Ionic Lenaion and the Attic Gamelion (J. Delamarre in the *Rev. Philol.* N.S. 1901 XXV. 180 f., W. Dittenberger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2118 f.).

[1] *ὁ μηρός = ὅμηρος.*

[2] Euripides is said to have been a pupil of Prodikos (*v. Eur.* 1 in schol. Eur. i. 2, 7 f. Dindorf, Souid. *s.v. Εὐριπίδης ter*, Gell. 15. 20. 4), who was interested on the one hand in linguistic discussions (E. Zeller *A History of Greek Philosophy* trans. S. F. Alleyne London 1881 ii. 489 ff., 512), on the other in the origins of Dionysiac worship (*id. ib.* p. 482 f.).

[3] The foregoing paragraph must not be taken to imply that mythical birth from the thigh always betokens the ritual of adoption. F. Liebrecht *Zur Volkskunde* Heilbronn 1879 p. 490 f. (= *id.* in *Germania* 1860 v. 479 f.) compiles a list of such births from the leg, the foot, the hand, etc., each of which calls for separate investigation. They include the following:

(1) A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 pp. 13 f., 148 f. draws attention to Aurva, son of Cyavana (son of Çukra son of Bhṛgu) by Ârushî daughter of Manu, who was sprung from his mother's thigh (*Mahabharata* trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1895 i. 93 = *Mahabh.* 1. 66. 47 'Arushi, the daughter of Manu, became the wife of the wise Chyavana, and the greatly illustrious Aurva was born in her, ripping open her thighs,' *ib.* 1896 iii. 453 = *Mahabh.* 3. 314. 17 'O sinless one, you have further heard how the Brahmanic sage Aurva at one time remaining concealed in his mother's thighs served the purpose of the celestials.' On Aurva see further S. Sörensen *An Index to the Names in the Mahabharata* London 1904 p. 100 f.).

(2) A. Kuhn *op. cit.*[2] p. 149 ff. compares the case of Vena, son of Anga and Sunîthâ, who produced Nishâda from his thigh and Pṛthu from his arm (*Mahabharata* trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1903 xii 86 = *Mahabh.* 12. 59. 94 'Vena, a slave of anger and malice, became impious and tyrannical towards all creatures. The Brahmavadin Rishis killed him

with Kusha blades inspired with Mantras. 95—96. Uttering Mantras all the while, those Rishis pierced the right thigh of Vena. Thereupon, from that thigh, sprang a short-limbed person on earth, resembling a charred brand, having blood-red eyes and black hair. Those Brahmavadins said to him,—Nishida (sit) here. 97. From him have originated the Nishadas, *viz.*, those wicked tribes who live in the hills and the forests, as also those hundreds and thousands of Mlecchas, living on the Vindhya ranges. 98. The great Rishis then pierced the right arm of Vena. Thence originated a person who was a second Indra in form' (*sc.* Prithu). H. H. Wilson *Works* London 1864 vi. 181 ff. = *Vishńu Puráńa* I. 13 'And they fell upon the king, and beat him with blades of holy grass, consecrated by prayer, and slew him, who had first been destroyed by his impiety towards god....The sages, hearing this, consulted, and together rubbed the thigh of the king, who had left no offspring, to produce a son. From the thigh, thus rubbed, came forth a being of the complexion of a charred stake, with flattened features (like a negro), and of dwarfish stature. "What am I to do?" cried he eagerly to the Munis. "Sit down" (nishída), said they: and thence his name was Nisháda. His descendants, the inhabitants of the Vindhya mountain, great Muni, are still called Nishádas, and are characterized by the exterior tokens of depravity. By this means the wickedness of Vena was expelled; those Nishádas being born of his sins, and carrying them away. The Brahmans then proceeded to rub the right arm of the king, from which friction was engendered the illustrious son of Vena, named Pŕithu, resplendent in person, as if the blazing deity of Fire had been manifested. There then fell from the sky the primitive bow (of Mahádeva) named Ájagava, and celestial arrows, and panoply from heaven. At the birth of Pŕithu, all living creatures rejoiced; and Vena, delivered, by his being born, from the hell named Put, ascended to the realms above.' H. H. Wilson *ad loc.* cites the parallel passage in the *Bhágavata-puráńa* 4. 14. 43—46 with the rendering of E. Burnouf *Le Bhâgavata Purâṇa* Paris 1844 ii. 2. 78: 'Ayant pris cette résolution, les Ŕíchis secouèrent rapidement la cuisse du roi qu'ils avaient tué, et il en sortit un nain. Noir comme un corbeau, ayant le corps d'une extrême petitesse, les bras courts, les mâchoires grandes, les pieds petits, le nez enfoncé, les yeux rouges et les cheveux cuivrés. Prosterné devant eux, le pauvre nain s'écria: Que faut-il que je fasse? et les Brâhmanes lui répondirent: Assieds-toi, ami. De là lui vint le nom de Nichâda. C'est de sa race que sont sortis les Nâichâdas qui habitent les cavernes et les montagnes; car c'est lui dont la naissance effaça la faute terrible de Vêna,' *ib.* 4. 15. 1—6 (ii. 2. 79 Burnouf) 'Mâitrêya dit: Les Brâhmanes ayant ensuite agité les bras du roi Vêna, qui était mort sans postérité, en firent sortir deux enfants, un fils et une fille. A la vue de ces deux enfants, les Ŕíchis qui expliquent le Vêda, y reconnaissant une portion de la substance de Bhagavat, s'écrièrent, pleins d'une extrême joie: Celui-ci est une portion de la substance du bienheureux Vichṇu, qui est faite pour purifier le monde; celle-là est une création de Lakchmí, la compagne fidèle de Purucha. De ces deux enfants, le mâle deviendra le premier roi; ce sera le Mahârâdja, nommé Pŕithu, dont la gloire et la renommée seront répandues au loin. Celle-ci sera sa royale épouse; douée d'une taille parfaite et de belles dents, faite pour rehausser les ornements et la vertu elle-même, elle sera, sous le nom d'Artchis, inviolablement attachée à Pŕithu. Cet enfant est sans contredit une portion de Hari, qui est né dans le désir de sauver le monde; et cette fille est certainement Çrí son épouse dévouée, compagne inséparable du Dieu qu'elle a suivi [sur la terre].' H. H. Wilson *op. cit.* vi. 182 n. 1 further remarks: 'The Padma (Bhúmi Khańda) has a similar description [of Nishádas]; adding to the dwarfish stature and black complexion, a wide mouth, large ears, and a protuberant belly. It also particularizes his posterity as Nishádas, Kirátas, Bhillas, Bahanakas, Bhrahmaras, Pulindas, and other barbarians or Mlechchhas, living in woods and on mountains.' A. Kuhn *op. cit.*[2] p. 149 f. refers to the *Harivaṁśa*, a supplement to the *Mahabharata*, for the same tale.

(3) Mándhátṛ, an ancient king, son of Yuvanáçva, was born from his father's side. Yuvanáçva, when hunting, had drunk sacrificial butter and so become pregnant (*Mahabharata* trans. M. N. Dutt Calcutta 1896 iii. 187 = *Mahabh.* 3. 126. 24—31 'O great king, as you, being very thirsty, have drunk the water prepared with sacred hymns which was

filled with the virtue of my religious labours, you must bring forth out of your own body a son as described above. We shall perform for your sake a sacrifice of wonderful effect, so that you will bring forth a son equal to Indra. You will not feel any pain at the time of the delivery. When one hundred years passed away, a son, as effulgent as the sun, came out by riving the left side of that high-souled king. The greatly effulgent child came out, but king Yuvanashwa did not die,—it was no doubt a great wonder. Then greatly effulgent Indra came there with the desire of seeing him. Thereupon the celestials asked Indra, "What is to be sucked by this boy?" Then Indra gave his own fore finger into his mouth (to suck), and the wielder of thunder said, "he will suck me." Thereupon the dwellers of heaven with Indra gave him the name "Mandhatta",' H. H. Wilson *op. cit.* London 1866 viii. 267 = *Vishńu Puráńa* 4. 2 'When the Munis rose, and found that the water had been drunk, they inquired who had taken it, and said: "The queen that has drunk this water shall give birth to a mighty and valiant son." "It was I," exclaimed the Raja, "who unwittingly drank the water": and, accordingly, in the belly of Yuvanáśwa was conceived a child. And it grew; and, in due time, it ripped open the right side of the Raja, and was born: and the Raja did not die. Upon the birth of the child, "Who will be its nurse?" said the Munis; when (Indra,) the king of the gods appeared, and said, "He shall have me for his nurse" (mám ayaṁ dhásyati); and, hence, the boy was named Mándhátŕi. Indra put his fore-finger into the mouth of the infant, who sucked it, and drew from it (heavenly) nectar.'

(4) The *Buddha-karita* of Aśvaghosha (*c.* 100 A.D.) narrates the birth of Buddha from the side of queen Mâyâ: *Buddha-karita* trans. E. B. Cowell 1. 25, 26, 29 (*The Sacred Books of the East* Oxford 1894 xlix. 5 f.) 'At that time the constellation Pushya was auspicious, and from the side of the queen, who was purified by her vow, her son was born for the welfare of the world, without pain and without illness. Like the sun bursting from a cloud in the morning,—so he too, when he was born from his mother's womb, made the world bright like gold, bursting forth with his rays which dispelled the darkness.... As was Aurva's birth from the thigh, and Pŕithu's from the hand, and Mândhâtŕi's, who was like Indra himself, from the forehead [but see *supra* (3)], and Kakshîvat's from the upper end of the arm,—thus too was his birth (miraculous).' The *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king*, a translation of the *Buddha-karita* into Chinese made by the Indian priest Dharmaraksha (*c.* 420 A.D.), repeats the narrative: *Fo-sho-hing-tsan-king* trans. S. Beal 1. 1. 9—11 (*The Sacred Books of the East* Oxford 1883 xix. 2 f.) 'While she (thus) religiously observed the rules of a pure discipline, Bodhisattva was born from her right side, (come) to deliver the world, constrained by great pity, without causing his mother pain or anguish. As king Yu-liu [*sc.* Aurva] was born from the thigh, as king Pi-t'au [*sc.* Pŕithu] was born from the hand, as king Man-to [*sc.* Mândhâtŕi] was born from the top of the head [but see *supra* (3)], as king Kia-k'ha [*sc.* Kakshîvat] was born from the arm-pit, So also was Bodhisattva on the day of his birth produced from the right side; gradually emerging from the womb, he shed in every direction the rays of his glory.'

(5) F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 p. 72 notes that, according to an Old French legend, Phanuel once peeled an apple and wiped the knife on his thigh. The juice soaked into and impregnated his thigh, from which nine months later a girl—the mother of the Virgin Mary—was born (J. von Lassberg *Ein schoen alt Lied von Grave Friz von Zolre, dem Oettinger, und der Belagerung von Hohen Zolren, nebst noch etlichen andern Liedern* (Constanz 1842) p. 76 f.: 'Sainz fanoel se sist un Jour | Emmi sa sale ala froideur | Seur vn coulstes de cendaul | Il apela son senechaul | Des pomes li fit apourter | Es melades en veut doner | Ses seneschauz laut apourta | Et a ses piez sa genoilla | Trois des pomes et un coutel | Mit en la main sainz fanoel | Ly rois les prit sy les tailla | Et es melades en dona | Quant ly rois ot taille la pome | De la seue qui tant fut bone | Entint vn poy a son coutel | Or oiez de saint fanoel | Quant il vit son coutel moille | De la pome quil ot taille | A sa cuisse le ressuia | Et la seue ly engenra | Vne mout gentil demoiselle | Qui mout parfut cortoise et belle. ‖ Qvant ly rois vit la grand meruoille | A cui nulle ne sa peroille | Il hamende tous ses amis | Et les mires de son pais | Il ny vint mires tant senez | Ne feciein tant letrez | Qui sehut dire la

doleur | De la Jambe lempereur | Tant furent esbahy ly mire | Ly plus saige ne sot que dire | Quant vint au iour que dieux imit | Sy commen lescriture dit | Ly rois melades acoucha | Et de la cuisse deliura | Iceille gentil demoiseille | Qui tant fut cortoise et belle | Ce fut sainte anne don ie dy | D la meire ihesu nasqui'). Liebrecht *loc. cit.* thinks that this may conceivably be 'eine Reminiscenz der Dionysius[*sic*]-sage.' Hardly so.

(6) S. Baring-Gould *Legends of Old Testament Characters* London and New York 1871 p. 20 f. 'The inhabitants of Madagascar have a strange myth touching the origin of woman. They say that the first man was created of the dust of the earth, and was placed in a garden, where he was subject to none of the ills which now affect mortality; he was also free from all bodily appetites, and though surrounded by delicious fruit and limpid streams, yet felt no desire to taste of the fruit or to quaff the water. The Creator had, moreover, strictly forbidden him either to eat or to drink. The great enemy, however, came to him, and painted to him in glowing colours the sweetness of the apple, the lusciousness of the date, and the succulence of the orange. In vain: the first man remembered the command laid upon him by his Maker. Then the fiend assumed the appearance of an effulgent spirit, and pretended to be a messenger from Heaven commanding him to eat and drink. The man at once obeyed. Shortly after, a pimple appeared on his leg; the spot enlarged to a tumour, which increased in size and caused him considerable annoyance. At the end of six months it burst, and there emerged from the limb a beautiful girl. The father of all living was sorely perplexed what to make of his acquisition, when a messenger from heaven appeared, and told him to let her run about the garden till she was of a marriageable age, and then to take her to himself as his wife. He obeyed. He called her Bahouna, and she became the mother of all races of men.' The relation of this and similar Malagasy tales to Biblical teaching is discussed by J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1912 v. 708 b. F. Liebrecht *Zur Volkskunde* Heilbronn 1879 p. 490 n.** (=*id.* in *Germania* 1860 v. 479) cites a variant from J. W. Wolf *Deutsche Märchen und Sagen* Leipzig 1845 p. 599 (on no. 198): 'Die Einwohner von Madagaskar erzählen, Adam habe stark gegessen und in Folge dessen einem natürlichen Bedürfnisse genügen müssen, was sich aber gleich im Paradiese durch den Geruch verrathen. Daroh sei er vom Teufel verklagt worden und Gott habe ihn aus dem Paradiese geworfen. Einige Zeit nachher wäre sein Bein aufgeschwollen und man habe ein jung Mädchen heraus geholt, welches er geheirathet.'

(7) In Norse cosmogony Ymir, ancestor of all the giants, went to sleep, fell into a sweat, and brought forth a female-child and a male-child from under his arm-pit, while from the union of his two feet he produced a six-headed son (G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 66=*Vafþrúðnis-mal* 2. 31 '*Woden.* Seventhly, tell me, etc., How did this sturdy giant beget sons, since he knew not giantess? —*Wafthr.* A maid-child and man-child grew together from under his arm-pit. Foot begat with foot a six-headed son to that wise giant,' K. Simrock *Die Edda*[7] Stuttgart 1878 p. 252=*Gylfaginning* 5 'Da antwortete Har: Wir halten ihn mit nichten für einen Gott: er war böse wie alle von seinem Geschlecht, die wir Hrimthursen nennen. Es wird erzählt, als er schlief fing er an zu schwitzen: da wuchs ihm unter seinem linken Arm Mann und Weib und sein einer Fuss zeugte einen Sohn mit dem andern. Und von diesen kommt das Geschlecht der Hrimthursen; den alten Hrimthurs aber nennen wir Ymir'). See further J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallyhrass London 1883 ii. 559, K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*[5] Bonn 1878 pp. 17, 35, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 145, P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 342, P. Herrmann *Nordische Mythologie* Leipzig 1903 p. 574.

(8) Persephone Χειρογονία (Hesych. Χειρογονία· ἡ Περσεφόνη) has been variously explained. I. Vossius in the notes to J. Alberti's edition of Hesychios (Lugduni Batavorum 1766) ii. 1546 n. 30 asks: 'An quod manuum labore nascantur fruges?' M. Schmidt in *Philologus* 1858 xiii. 220 replies: 'Vielmehr Χειρογένεια, was aus 'Αχειρογένεια entstanden sein könnte; doch hängt vielleicht 'Αχειρώ mit 'Εγγήρυς Eccere Ceres

Hydria at Queens' College, Cambridge:
Apollon visits the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus.

See page 99 f.

Phantoms were in fashion. The Platonic Phaidros, perhaps taking a hint from Stesichoros[1] or Euripides[2], tells how the gods, indignant that Orpheus was unwilling to die for love, sent him back empty-handed after showing him a mere phantom of his wife, not her very self[3].

In this connexion the design on a red-figured *hydría* in my possession is deserving of notice (pl. xvi)[4]. It is Attic work dating from the last quarter of the fifth century B.C. In the centre stands a slender, youthful Apollon. He wears a bay-wreath on his flowing locks and a *chlamýs* with weighted corners over his left arm. In his right hand he holds a long bay-branch; in his left, a lyre. Both hands are lowered, and the god looks downwards at the head of Orpheus, which with parted lips and upturned face is

zusammen [Hesych. *s.v.* 'Αχηρώ ('Αχειρώ cod.)].' G. J. Vossius *De theologia Gentili, et physiologia Christiana*[2] Amsterdami 1668 i. 224=lib. 2 cap. 28, F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1842 iv. 330, Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 452, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 781 n. 3 take the appellative to describe Persephone as a goddess of birth. E. Maass *De Aeschyli Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 pp. xix, xxxvi f. suggests that Χειρογονία must be daughter of a Zeus *Χειρογόνος, 'qui ut infans nascatur manu efficit.' He compares, not only the Zeus Αχεάτης of Aliphera in Arkadia (Paus. 8. 26. 6 *καὶ Διός τε ἱδρύσαντο Αχεάτου βωμόν, ἅτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκόντος*) and the Zeus *εὐώδυν* of Nonnos (*Dion.* 48. 974 f. *καὶ θεὸς ἀμπελόεις πατρώιον αἰθέρα βαίνων | πατρὶ σὺν εὐώδυνι μιῆς ἕψανσε τραπέζης*. See further Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 2532 B), but also (Zeus) Agamemnon *'Ορσίλοχος assumed to account for Iphigeneia *'Ορσιλοχία* (Ant. Lib. 27) and Zeus *"Επαφος assumed to account for Dionysos 'Επάφιος (Orph. *h. Lys. Len.* 50. 7 and *h. triet.* 52. 9 cited *supra* p. 4 n. o). *Id. Aratea* Berlin 1892 p. 349 adds: 'Ac fortasse de Dactylorum etymo hac eadem ratione edocebimur quid sibi velit. Quid? si *χειρογόνοι* credebantur et digitis placide ventri immissis contrectando efficere, ut parerent parturientes? Essent igitur Δάκτυλοι = Δακτυλογόνοι.... Coniectura haec est, nihil amplius.' Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 860 n. 2 concludes: 'Orsilocheia und Persephone Cheirogonia ... sind selbst Geburtsgöttinnen gewesen, nicht nach (Zeus) Agamemnon *Orsilochos oder Zeus *Cheirogonos ... genannt.' F. Liebrecht *locc. citt.* would bring Persephone into line with Prithu (*supra* (2)): 'Persephone heisst die Fingergeborene (*χειρογονία*) und deshalb auch wieder aus den Fingern Gebärende.' This is attractive, but cannot claim the support of any actual myth. The preceding statement 'die Paliken erscheinen als Fingergeburten' is erroneous, the whole context being presumably copied from J. J. Bachofen *Versuch über die Gräbersymbolik der Alten* Basel 1859 p. 174 'Darum erscheinen die Paliken auf bekannten Vasenbildern als Fingergeburt; darum heisst auch Persephone selbst Χειρογονία, die Fingergeborne, und deshalb auch wieder aus den Fingern Gebärende.'

[1] O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1323, citing A. Hug's commentary on Plat. *symp.* p. 43.

[2] O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1158.

[3] Plat. *symp.* 179 D *'Ορφέα δὲ τὸν Οἰάγρου ἀτελῆ ἀπέπεμψαν ἐξ "Αιδου, φάσμα δείξαντες τῆς γυναικὸς ἐφ' ἣν ἦκεν, αὐτὴν δὲ οὐ δόντες, ὅτι μαλθακίζεσθαι ἐδόκει, ἅτε ὢν κιθαρῳδός, καὶ οὐ τολμᾶν ἕνεκα τοῦ ἔρωτος ἀποθνήσκειν ὥσπερ "Αλκηστις, ἀλλὰ διαμηχανᾶσθαι ζῶν εἰσιέναι εἰς "Αιδου.*

[4] The vase (height 8¾ inches) was found in Attike, and was acquired by me in 1933.

chanting an oracle from the ground[1]. Behind Orpheus stands a young woman, presumably the Pythia. She too looks down, and holds her right hand with a deprecatory gesture above the head. She has a beaded fillet and upright bay-leaves in her hair, and she is clad in a *péplos* with long overfold and girdle. Behind Apollon stands another woman, closely swathed in *chitón* and *himátion*. She also gazes at the head of Orpheus, but with loosened hair and a look of such obvious distress that we must surely identify her with Eurydike[2]. I take the whole design to portray the visit of Apollon to the Lesbian oracle of Orpheus—a scene graphically described by Philostratos[3] the Athenian early in *s.* iii A.D.:

'He (*sc.* Apollonios of Tyana) put in at Lesbos and made his way to the *ádyton* of Orpheus. The story goes that once on a time Orpheus here practised seercraft with pleasure, until Apollon took notice of him. For men no longer resorted to Gryneion for oracles, nor to Klaros, nor yet to the Apolline tripod[4]; but Orpheus alone gave oracles, his head having lately arrived from Thrace. Wherefore the god came upon him as he was chanting an oracular strain and said: "Leave my business to me: I have borne long enough with your singing".'[5]

Hitherto the only available illustration of this narrative was the design on a red-figured *kýlix* now in the Lewis collection at Cambridge, published many years ago by G. Minervini (fig. 35) and noted by A. Furtwängler as Attic work referable to the time of the Peloponnesian War[6]. The obverse of this vase shows Apollon's

[1] Philostr. *her.* 6. 4 ἡ κεφαλὴ γὰρ μετὰ τὸ τῶν γυναικῶν ἔργον ἐς Λέσβον κατασχοῦσα ῥῆγμα τῆς Λέσβου ᾠκησε κἀν κοίλῃ τῇ γῇ ἐχρησμῴδει. ὅθεν ἐχρῶντό τ' αὐτῇ τὰ μαντικὰ Λέσβιοί τε καὶ τὸ ἄλλο πᾶν Αἰολικὸν καὶ Ἴωνες Αἰολεῦσι πρόσοικοι, χρησμοὶ δὲ τοῦ μαντείου τούτου καὶ ἐς Βαβυλῶνα ἀνεπέμποντο. πολλὰ γὰρ καὶ ἐς τὸν ἄνω βασιλέα ἡ κεφαλὴ ᾖδε, Κύρῳ τε τῷ ἀρχαίῳ χρησμὸν ἐντεῦθεν ἐκδοθῆναι λέγεται, "τάμά, ὦ Κῦρε, σά," κ.τ.λ.

[2] The only other possibility would be to regard her as 'the Muse herself that Orpheus bore,' whether Kalliope or another (O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1073 f.). But this is not the type of any known or recognisable Muse.

[3] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 14 p. 133 f. Kayser.

[4] *Sc.* Delphoi.

[5] The concluding words are ἐφίστανται οἱ χρησμῳδοῦντι ὁ θεὸς καὶ "πέπαυσο" ἔφη "τῶν ἐμῶν, καὶ γὰρ δὴ (καὶ) ᾄδοντά σε ἱκανῶς ἤνεγκα." Possibly the original source of the story (Damis of Nineveh? Maximus of Aigai? see Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 1. 3 p. 3 f. Kayser) had a hexameter passage such as χρησμῳδοῦντι θεός ποτ' ἐφίστατο καὶ προσέειπε | 'παῦσαι ἐμῶν, καὶ γάρ σ' ἱκανῶς ᾄδοντ' ἤνεγκα' or 'τῶν δ' ἄρ' ἐμῶν—καὶ γάρ σ' ἱκανῶς ἤνεγκα—πέπαυσο.' But the later oracles of Apollon tend to drop verse for prose (Frazer *Pausanias* v. 238). It is curious, if no more, that the words τὰ ἐμά occur again in the oracle spoken by Orpheus' head to Kyros the Elder (Philostr. *her.* 6. 4 τάμά, ὦ Κῦρε, σά.)

[6] G. Minervini 'Oracolo di Orfeo e dell' Apollo Napeo in Lesbo: vaso dipinto di fabbrica nolana' in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1858 vi. 33—39 pl. 4, 1 (= my fig. 35) held that on one side Pelops is taking down an oracle pronounced by the head of Orpheus under the protection of Apollon Ναπαῖος (schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 144), and that on the other Kalliope has picked up her son's lyre and a second Muse the strap from which it was hung. Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 493, 2 is more cautious: '(A) La tête coupée d'Orphée rend des

visit to the oracle of Orpheus' head; its reverse, the finding of Orpheus' lyre by a couple of Lesbian women (hardly Muses). The

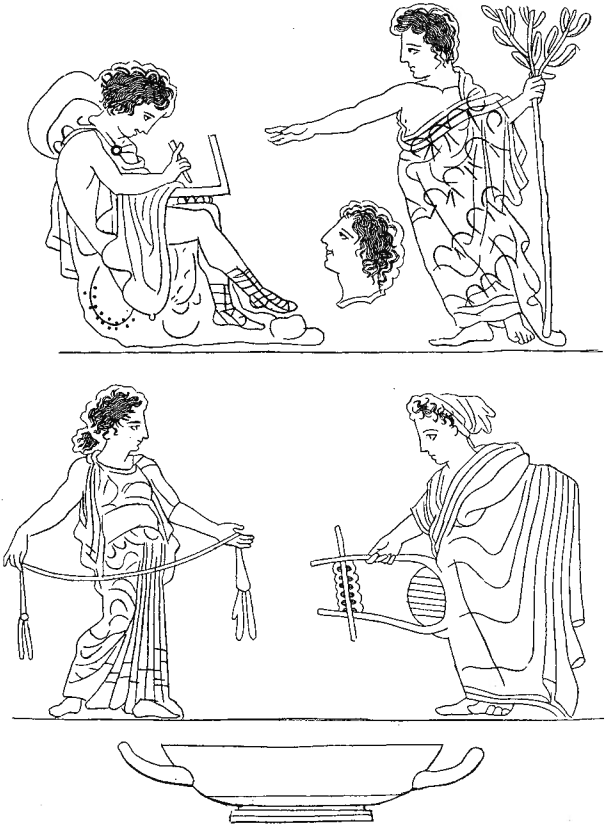


Fig. 35.

new vase also amplifies the oracular visit by the addition of two women, but lends a far greater significance to them by making one the devotee of Apollon, the other the wife of Orpheus. And, if that

is the case, Eurydike must necessarily be present in phantom form—a figure comparable with the ghost of Klytaimestra as she appears on more than one Greek vase[1]. Mr C. T. Seltman further points out to me that both these Orpheus-vases presuppose an interest at Athens in the *sacra* of Lesbos and handle the theme with a light-hearted semi-humorous touch understandable enough during the Athenian domination of the island in 427—412 B.C.[2]

Lastly, there is the phantasmal Aeneas, whom Iuno in Virgil's epic fashions out of 'hollow cloud' and decks with Dardanian armour

oracles, qu'un éphèbe (Pélops?) transcrit sur un diptyque en présence d'Apollon (?). (B) Deux femmes, tenant l'une la lyre d'Orphée, l'autre le baudrier auquel elle était suspendue.' A. Furtwängler in the *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* l. 163 'eine ausgezeichnete Schale im Stile der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges zeigt den abgeschlagenen Kopf des Orpheus, der singend Orakelsprüche ertheilt, welche ein Jüngling in ein Diptychon aufzeichnet, während Apollon als Orpheus Beschützer mit ausgestreckter Hand hinter dem Kopfe steht' is followed by O. Gruppe in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1177 f. fig. 3. But Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 247 ff. fig. 139 has more to say: 'Als Beschützer des Kopfes [Ov. *met.* 11. 50 ff., cp. Stob. *flor.* 64. 14 Phanokles (ed. Gaisford ii. 418 f., Wachsmuth—Hense iv. 1. 461 f.)] und Herr des Ortes erscheint Apollon offenbar auch auf dem Vasenbilde. Auf der Rückseite derselben Schale scheint die Lyra des Orpheus in den Händen einer Muse dargestellt, während eine zweite eine Tänie bereit hält, um die Leier damit als Weihgeschenk zu umschlingen. Das Bild scheint darauf anzuspielen, dass die Leier dem Apollon geweiht ward [Loukian. *adv. indoct.* 11].' C. Robert 'Das orakelnde Haupt des Orpheus' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1917 xxxii. 146 f. fig. 1 rightly holds that the vase-painter, like Philostratos, is depicting the myth of Apollon's protest. See further C. D. Bicknell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 230 pl. 12, H. Philippart in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1935 iv. 209 pl. 27, 1.

Fig. 36.

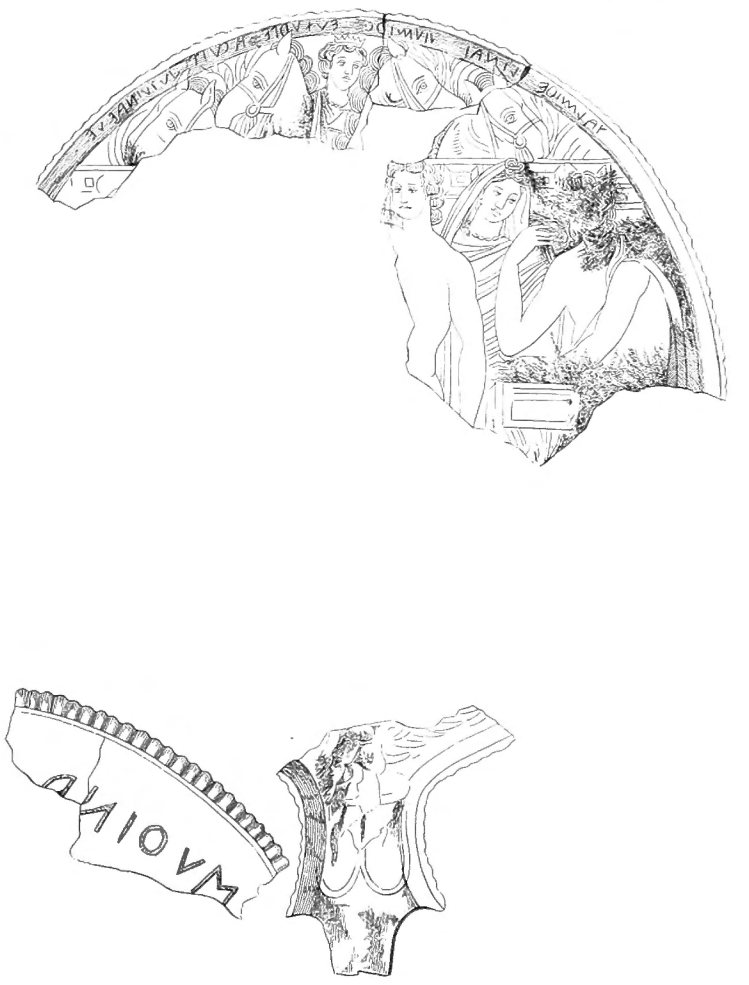
To the gems discussed by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 245 f. add a sliced chalcedony in my collection (fig. 36 scale ⅔), which resembles his 1 pl. 20, 53 = pl. 22, 5, cp. 6, ii. 100, 107. A chip above the young man's head has been crudely altered by some later hand into a would-be *pétasos*. See too the Etruscan mirrors figured on my pl. xvii, and a 'Campanian' *amphora* of *c.* 450—425 B.C., now in the Musée Borély at Marseille, interpreted by Prof. P. P. Jacobsthal, to whom I am greatly indebted for my pl. xviii, as a youth consulting the oracular head of Orpheus.

[1] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1244 ('Das Schattenbild Klytaimestras'). The greatest resemblance to our Eurydike is shown by the phantom Klytaimestra of a *kratér* from Armento (*c.* 420 B.C.), now in the Louvre (J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 413 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iv. pl. 48 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 132, 2, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 714 f. Atlas pl. 29, 7, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 330 ff. pl. 120, 4, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 576, 597 f., iii. 356 fig. 798, L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* Paris 1926 p. 97 ff. pl. 1, 2), who likewise occupies a position on the extreme left of the group.

[2] Mr Seltman also suspects that the story told by Philostratos about Kyros the Elder (*supra* p. 100 n. 1) belongs more properly to Kyros the Younger. If the former captured Babylon in 538, the latter had designs upon it in 401. If the corpse of the one was beheaded by Tomyris, that of the other was beheaded by Artaxerxes. Confusion might result, and some points of the story suit the Younger better than the Elder. Be that as it may, Philostratos' mention of Babylon suggests that he may here be indebted to Damis of Nineveh.

(1)

(2)



(3)

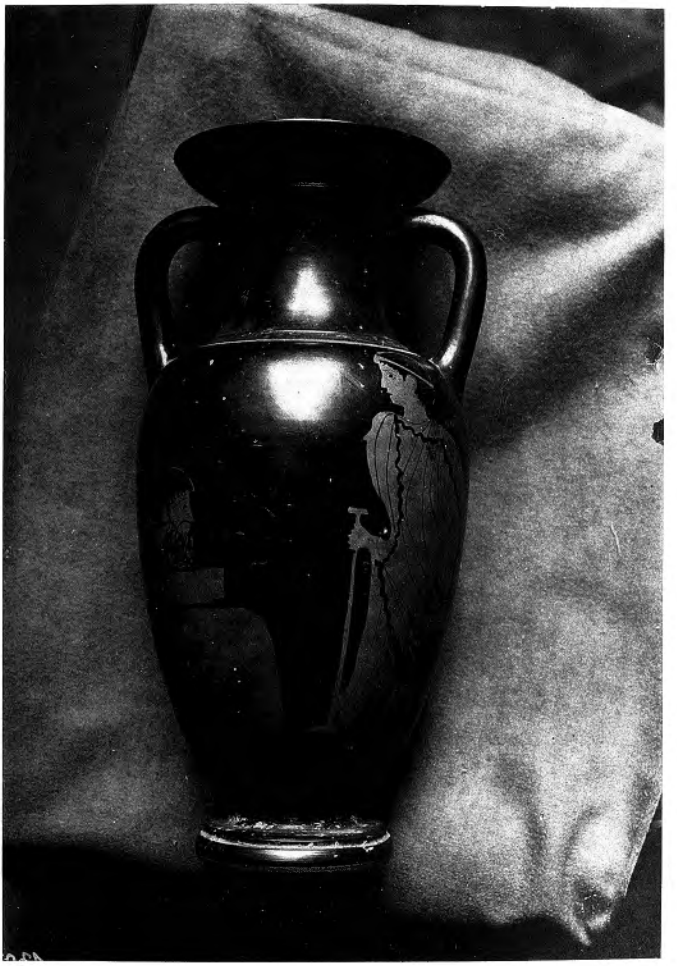
Etruscan mirrors representing the oracular head of Orpheus.

(1) A mirror from Clusium, now in the Casuccini collection (no. 176), Villa Marcianella, Chiusi. The head of Orpheus (ƎΦ⊕ꓤV) looks up from the ground with parted lips, while a young man on the right takes down the oracle (B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 542—552 fig. 10, W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 35 f. fig. 6).

(2) A mirror, now in Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 50 no. 1724), of similar design, but without names (E. Gerhard in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1861* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 407 f. pl. 2, *id. Etr. Spiegel* iii. 275 f., 325 ff. pl. 257 A, B. Bandinelli *loc. cit.* p. 547 f.).

(3) A fragmentary mirror, formerly in the Borgia collection and now presumably at Naples, which had once a similar design (E. Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 190 pl. 196, B. Bandinelli *loc. cit.* p. 548).

See page 102 n. 0.



Early 'Campanian' *amphora* in the Musée Borély at Marseilles:
a youth consulting the oracle of Orpheus' head (?).

See page 102 *n.* 0.

in order to lure Turnus from the fight[1]. The Roman poet probably based his figment on a passage of the *Iliad*, in which Apollon rescues Aineias from Diomedes by carrying off his *protégé* and substituting a phantom resembling him in person and equipment[2]. We are not, however, told that the Homeric phantom was made of cloud; indeed, it would appear that in genuine Greek myth, as distinct from the inventions of a Euripides or a Virgil, the cloud-effigy was always female, since the cloud itself was feminine.

§ 7. *Zeus and the Wind.*

(a) Men believed to control the winds.

The Greeks, like other imperfectly civilised nations[3], credited certain persons with the power of controlling the winds. At Athens the *Heudánemoi* or 'Lull-winds' had an altar near the Metroön[4]: they seem to have been a clan tracing their descent from an eponymous founder *Heudánemos*, who was revered as an angel in Christian times[5]. At Eleusis too there was a well-known altar of

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 10. 633 ff. haec ubi dicta dedit, caelo se protinus alto | misit agens hiemem nimbo succincta per auras, | Iliacamque aciem et Laurentia castra petivit. | tum dea nube cava tenuem sine viribus umbram | in faciem Aeneae (visu mirabile monstrum) | Dardaniis ornat telis, clipeumque iubasque | divini adsimulat capitis, dat inania verba, | dat sine mente sonum gressusque effingit euntis; | etc. After enticing Turnus to follow him on board the ship of Osinius, the phantom disappears: *ib.* 663 f. tum levis haud ultra latebras iam quaerit imago, | sed sublime volans nubi se immiscuit atrae.

[2] *Il.* 5. 449 ff. αὐτὰρ ὁ εἴδωλον τεῦξ' ἀργυρότοξος Ἀπόλλων (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 601 says inadvertently: Aeneas a Neptuno opposita nube liberatur) | αὐτῷ τ' Αἰνείᾳ ἴκελον καὶ τείχεσι τοῖον, | ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' εἰδώλῳ Τρῶες καὶ δῖοι Ἀχαιοὶ | δῄουν ἀλλήλων ἀμφὶ στήθεσσι βοείας | ἀσπίδας εὐκύκλους λαισήϊά τε πτερόεντα. W. Leaf *ad loc.* comments: 'The mention of the "wraith" is not like Homer, nor does it appear on other occasions when a hero is snatched away by a god. It plays no further part in the action, nor does there seem to be the least surprise shown at the reappearance of the original Aineias in the field, l. 514. Thus 449—453 are probably interpolated; the last two lines come bodily from M 425—6.'

On heroes etc. wrapped in a cloud and carried off by god or goddess see F. von Duhn *De Menelai itinere Aegyptio* Bonnae 1874 p. 38, A. von Premerstein in *Philologus* 1896 lv. 636, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 996 n. 1, 1153.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 319—331 ('The Magical Control of the Wind'), The Scapegoat pp. 176, 178 ff., Balder the Beautiful ii. 232 f.

[4] Arrian. *an.* 3. 16. 8 καὶ ταύτας (*sc.* Antenor's group of Harmodios and Aristogeiton) Ἀθηναίοις ὀπίσω πέμπει Ἀλέξανδρος, καὶ νῦν κεῖνται Ἀθήνησιν ἐν Κεραμεικῷ αἱ εἰκόνες, ᾗ ἄνιμεν ἐς πόλιν, καταντικρὺ μάλιστα τοῦ Μητρῴου, <οὐ (*ins.* N. Blancardus *post* B. Facii 'non procul') > μακρὰν τῶν Εὐδανέμων τοῦ βωμοῦ· ὅστις δὲ μεμύηται ταῖν θεαῖν ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι (G. Loeschcke, followed by J. Töpffer, cj. ἐν Ἐλευσινίῳ. But K. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2335 notes other examples of Ἐλευσῖνι wrongly altered to Ἐλευσινίῳ), οἶδε τοῦ (so A. G. Roos for τὸν cod. A.) Εὐδανέμου τὸν βωμὸν (B. Vulcanius reads τὸν Εὐδανέμου βωμὸν) ἐπὶ τοῦ δαπέδου ὄντα.

[5] Hesych. Εὐδάνεμος· ἄγγελος, παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 259 n. 28 cj. γένος for ἄγγελος. *Alii aliter*: see C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im*

Heudánemos[1]; and that the *Heudánemoi* had something to do with Eleusinian ritual appears from the title of a speech fathered upon Deinarchos, *viz.* 'The *Heudánemoi v.* the *Kérykes in re* the Basket[2]'—presumably the sacred basket of Demeter[3]. At Corinth there was a similar clan of *Anemokoîtai* or 'Wind-layers,' whose business was to hush the winds to sleep[4]. Even in the days of Constantine Sopatros of Apameia, a pupil of Iamblichos[5], was accused of having bound the south winds and so prevented the corn-ships of Egypt, Syria, and Phoinike from reaching Byzantion: his enemies actually induced the emperor to order his execution[6].

With regard to the precise rites practised by the wind-layer there is a dearth of evidence. Perhaps the harmful gale was conjured into a jar[7] or bag[8]. Empedokles of Akragas was surnamed

Alterthum Leipzig 1890 ii. 1. 441 n. 3. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 209 n. 0 concludes: 'Hesych. v. Εὐδάνεμος bleibt uns dunkel. Ob der Glossator Εὔδανεμος geschrieben, das für *εὔδιος ἄνεμος* genommen und nach Anleitung von Hebr. 1, 7 *ὁ ποιῶν τοὺς ἀγγέλους αὐτοῦ πνεύματα* interpretiert hat, oder wie er sonst zu seiner Glosse gelangt ist, lässt sich nicht sagen.' Hesychios seems to imply that the pagan eponym became a Christian angel without losing his special function of tempering the wind.

[1] *Supra* p. 103 n. 3.

[2] Dion. Hal. *de Dinarch.* 11 (=J. G. Baiter—H. Sauppe *Oratores Attici* Turici 1850 ii. 323 b 9 f.) Διαδικασία Εὐδανέμων πρὸς Κήρυκας ὑπὲρ τοῦ κανοῦ· κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Infra* Append. P, cp. i. 530 n. 2. J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 112 would detect 'eine Anspielung auf irgendwelche mit den Heudanemen in Beziehung stehende liturgische Handlungen' in Hermesianax *frag.* 2, 17 ff. Diehl, 7, 17 ff. Powell, *ap.* Athen. 597 D *ἥ τε πολὺν μύστησιν* (so C. J. Blomfield for *πολυμνηστησιν* cod. A. E. Diehl prints *πολὺ<μ>μύστησιν*) Ἐλευσῖνος παρὰ πέζαν | *εὐσαμὸν κρυφίων ἐξεφόρει* λογίων, | Ῥάριον ὀργίων *ἀνέμῳ διαποιπνύουσα* | *Δημήτρᾳ· γνωστὴ δ' ἔστι καὶ εἰν* Ἀΐδῃ. But in the crucial line 19 the reading of cod. A. *ὀργωνανεμωι* was corrected by J. G. J. Hermann into *ὀργειῶνι νόμῳ*, by C. J. Blomfield into *ὀργειῶνα νόμῳ*. Hermann is followed by Diehl, Blomfield by J. U. Powell: in either case the allusion to wind-laying disappears.

[4] Hesych. Ἀνεμοκοῖται· *οἱ ἀνέμους κοιμίζοντες. γένος δὲ τοιοῦτόν φασιν ὑπάρχειν ἐν* Κορίνθῳ = Souid. *s.v.* Ἀνεμοκοῖται, cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1645, 41 f. *χρήσιμον δὲ εἰς τὸ ἀνέμους πανέμεναι* (*Od.* 10. 22) καὶ τὸ Ἀνεμοκοῖται, *γένος ἐν* Κορίνθῳ *ἀνέμους κοιμίζοντες*.

[5] O. Seeck in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1006 f.

[6] Eunap. *v. Aedes.* 41 *καὶ οἱ πάλαι βασκαίνοντες, εὑρηκέναι καιρὸν ἡγούμενοι κάλλιστον,* "ἀλλὰ Σώπατρός γε," *ἔφασαν,* "*ὁ παρὰ σοῦ τιμώμενος κατέδησε τοὺς ἀνέμους δι' ὑπερβολὴν σοφίας, ἣν καὶ αὐτὸς ἐπαινεῖς, καὶ δι' ἣν ἔτι τοῖς βασιλείοις ἐγκάθηται θρόνοις.*" *καὶ ὁ Κωνσταντῖνος ταῦτα ἀκούσας καὶ συμπεισθεὶς κατακοπῆναι κελεύει τὸν ἄνδρα, καὶ ἐγίνετο διὰ τοὺς βασκαίνοντας ταῦτα θᾶττον ἢ ἐλέγετο.*

[7] Cp. the Indian 'jar of the winds' (*infra* § 7 (b)). It was believed that a toad emprisoned in a new jar and buried in the field would safeguard the crops against stormy weather (Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 294 Archibius (on whom see M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 466) ad Antiochum Syriae regem scripsit, si fictili novo obruatur rubeta rana in media segete, non esse noxias tempestates). The same remedy served to protect millet against sparrows and worms (Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 158 multi ad mili remedia rubetam noctu arvo circumferri iubent, priusquam sariatur, defodique in medio inclusam fictili. ita nec passerem nec vermes nocere, sed eruendam, priusquam metatur; alioquin amarum fieri, *Geopon.* 2. 18. 14 Ἀπουλήϊος *δέ φησι* (see L. von Schwabe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 249, E. Oder *ib.* vii. 1221 f.), *πρὶν σκαφῆναι τὴν ἄρουραν, φρῦνον, τουτέστι βάτραχον χερσαῖον, νυκτὸς περὶ αὐτὴν περιενεγκόντα κατακλεῖσαι ἐν σκεύει κεραμιαίῳ καὶ ἐν μέσῳ*

Alexanémas, 'Averter of Winds[1],' or *Kolysanémas*, 'Preventer of Winds,' because once, when the Etesian Winds were spoiling the crops, he had asses flayed and bags made of their skins: these bags he proceeded to set round the hills and mountain-tops in order to catch the wind[2]. His choice of the ass was certainly not accidental, for at Taras a sacred ass was allowed to run wild till it was sacrificed

καταχῶσαι τῆς ἀρούρας· κατὰ δὲ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦ σπόρου ἀνορύξαι τὸ σκεῦος, καὶ ἐκβαλεῖν τῆς ἀρούρας, ἵνα μὴ πικρὸς ὁ καρπὸς γένηται, ib. 2. 18. 15 *ὁ αὐτὸς δὲ* 'Απουλήϊός *φησι, τοῖς σπειρομένοις χρῆναι παραμυγνύναι ὀλίγην φακῆν· φύσει γὰρ ἀντιστατεῖ πρὸς τὸ χαλεπὸν τῶν ἀνέμων*). And very similar beliefs on French soil are noted by P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 264 f. In Italy toads are said to spring from the first large raindrops of a storm (A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 379 n. 2), and in France to announce the coming downpour by repeated croaks (P. Sébillot *op. cit.* iii. 260) or leaps (*id. ib.* iii. 267). In Switzerland a toad crawling across the road betokens rain (H. Bächtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 v. 609). 'Eine "Dreissgenkröte" im Estrich aufgehängt, zieht in Tirol alle "bösen Winde," an einem Faden in der Stube aufgehängt, im Kt. Bern alle giftigen Dünste in sich' (*id. ib.* p. 619).

[8] *Infra* § 7 (b).

[1] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 29 'Αλεξάνεμος *μὲν ἦν τὸ ἐπώνυμον* 'Εμπεδοκλέους = Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 136 'Αλεξάνεμος *μὲν ὂν τὸ ἐπώνυμον* 'Εμπεδοκλέους. Cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1645, 42 f. *εἰς ὅπερ* (*supra* p. 104 n. 4) *δεξιῶς λέγεται διακεῖσθαι καὶ* 'Εμπεδοκλῆς. L. C. Valckenaer in his note on Eur. *Phoen.* 120 restored ἀλεξανέμας as the right reading in Iambl. *loc. cit.*

[2] Timaios *frag.* 94 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 215 f. Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 60 *φησὶ δὲ καὶ Τίμαιος ἐν τῇ ὀκτωκαιδεκάτῃ κατὰ πολλοὺς τρόπους τεθαυμάσθαι τὸν ἄνδρα. καὶ γὰρ ἐτησίων ποτὲ σφοδρῶς πνευσάντων ὡς τοὺς καρποὺς λυμήνασθαι, κελεύσας ὄνους ἐκδαρῆναι καὶ ἀσκοὺς ποιεῖσθαι περὶ τοὺς λόφους καὶ τὰς ἀκρωρείας διέτεινε πρὸς τὸ συλλαβεῖν τὸ πνεῦμα· κἠξαντος δέ, Κωλυσανέμαν κληθῆναι.* Souid. *s.v. ἄπνους* cites the same passage, but reads Κωλυσάνεμον. The incident is said to have happened at Akragas (Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 445, 11 ff. Stählin 'Εμπεδοκλῆς *τε ὁ* 'Ακραγαντῖνος Κωλυσανέμας *ἐπεκλήθη. λέγεται οὖν ἀπὸ τοῦ* 'Ακράγαντος *ὄρους, πνεόντός ποτε ἀνέμου βαρὺ καὶ νοσῶδες τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις, ἀλλὰ καὶ ταῖς γυναιξὶν αὐτῶν ἀγονίας αἰτίου γινομένου, παῦσαι τὸν ἄνεμον· διὸ καὶ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσι γράφει* (*frag.* 111, 3 ff. Diels)· *παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος οἵ τ' ἐπὶ γαῖαν* | *ὀρνύμενοι θνητοῖσι καταφθινύθουσιν ἀρούρας·* | *καὶ πάλιν, εὖτ' ἐθέλησθα, παλίντιτα πνεύματα θήσεις*, Souid. *s.v. ἀμύκλαι·* ...'Εμπεδοκλῆς... *ἑκαλεῖτο δὲ Κωλυσανέμας διὰ τὸ πολλοὺς ἀνέμους ἐπιθεμένους τῇ* 'Ακράγαντι *ἐξελάσαι αὐτόν, δοραὶς ὄνων περιθέντα τῇ πόλει*—a note re-inserted with the variation *ἀνέμου πολλοῦ ἐπιθεμένου s.v.* 'Εμπεδοκλῆς and thence transcribed *s.v. δορά*, where it is omitted by codd. V.C.). Here and there, in less credulous quarters, we observe a tendency to minimise the marvel. Plutarch substitutes a practical wall for the bag-magic (Plout. *de curiositate* 1 *ὁ δὲ φυσικὸς* 'Εμπεδοκλῆς *ὄρους τινὰ διασφάγα βαρὺν καὶ νοσώδη κατὰ τῶν πεδίων τὸν νότον ἐμπνέουσαν ἐμφράξας λοιμὸν ἔδοξεν ἐκκλεῖσαι τῆς χώρας, adv. Colot.* 32 'Εμπεδοκλῆς *δὲ... τὴν τε χώραν ἀπῆλλαξεν ἀκαρπίας καὶ λοιμοῦ, διασφάγας ὄρους ἀποτειχίσας, δι' ὧν ὁ νότος εἰς τὸ πεδίον ὑπερέβαλλε*); Philostratos, as passing cloud for the persistent gales (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 7. 8 p. 313 Kayser *ἀκηκοὼς δὲ τὰ* 'Εμπεδοκλέους, *ὃς νεφέλης ἀνέσχε φορὰν ἐπ'* 'Ακραγαντίνους *ῥαγείσης*); Hesychios, promise for performance (Hesych. Κωλυσανέμας· *ὁ* 'Εμπεδοκλῆς *οὕτω καλεῖται, ὡς ὑπισχνούμενος ἐφέξειν τοὺς ἀνέμους*). But the fame of the exploit lasted on into the twelfth century (Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 524 ff. *τῷ παύειν δ' ὄμβρους καὶ αὐχμοὺς καὶ προγινώσκειν πάντα* | *Θαλῆς καὶ Πυθαγόρας τε σὺν τῷ* 'Αναξαγόρᾳ· | 'Εμπεδοκλῆς Μελίτωνος *ὁ καὶ* Κωλυσανέμας).

In the corrupt passage Plout. *symp.* 8. 8. 1 *καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐμοὶ τῷ παυσανέμῳ* Πυθαγορικῶς *περαίνειν τὰ δόγματα στέγουσαι φρενὸς κ.τ.λ.* it is probable that we should read *καὶ τὸν ὁμώνυμον ἐμοὶ τὸν παυσάνεμον* (cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 214 *παυσανέμου... θυσίας*) Πυθαγορικῶς *παραινεῖν τὰ δόγματα στέγειν ἔσω φρενὸς κ.τ.λ.* or the like (see D. Wyttenbach *ad loc.*).

to the Winds[1]. And his employment of bags recalls the methods used by unsophisticated folk to capture souls[2].

The same power of controlling violent winds was ascribed by the Greeks to Pythagoras, Epimenides, and Abaris[3]. Indeed, any and every wonder-worker could claim the prerogative—even Sophokles[4]. Nowadays, it would seem, the mere mention of the great man's name will suffice. In the Macedonian district of Liakkovikia, during an *anemospláda* or 'whirlwind,' people often mutter the charm: 'Alexander the Great liveth, aye he doth live and reign[5].'

(b) Aiolos Hippotades.

A figure interesting in this connexion is that of Aiolos Hippotades. He appears in the *Odyssey*[6] as Lord of Aiolie, a floating island[7] with sheer rocky sides crowned by a wall of unbreakable bronze. Here he feasted with his six sons, whom he had united in wedlock with his six daughters. Here too he entertained Odysseus for a month, at the end of which time he slew an ox, made a bag of its skin, bound the blustering winds within it, and gave it as a parting gift to the hero, fastening it with a silver cord on board his ship. He also supplied him with a west wind to waft him on his way homewards. But later, while Odysseus slept, his comrades, under the belief that the bag was full of treasure, untied it and, to their own discomfiture, let loose the warring winds.

Now Aiolos is said to have been established as keeper, or king,

[1] Hesych. *ἀνεμώτας· ὄνος ἄφετος* (so Salmasius for *ὄνομα ἀφεκτός* cod.), *ἱερός, τοῖς Ἀνέμοις θυόμενος ἐν Ταραντίνοις, et. mag.* p. 103, 33 f. *ἀνεμώτας* (*sic*)· *παρὰ Ταραντίνοις ὁ ὄνος ὁ Ἀνέμοις θυόμενος. Supra* ii. 464. Cp. the sacrifice of asses to Apollon among the *Ὑπερβόρεοι* 'at the back of the North Wind' (*supra* ii. 463 f., 494 ff., 843).

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo pp. 46 ff., 52 f., 64, 67, 75 f., *id. Folk-lore in the Old Testament* ii. 510 ff.

[3] Porph. *v. Pyth.* 29 *προρρήσεις τε γὰρ ἀπαράβατοι σεισμῶν διαμνημονεύονται αὐτοῦ* (*sc.* *τοῦ Πυθαγόρου*) *καὶ λοιμῶν ἀποτροπαὶ σὺν τάχει καὶ ἀνέμων βιαίων χαλαζῶν τ' ἐκχύσεως καταστολαὶ καὶ κυμάτων ποταμίων τε καὶ θαλαττίων ἀπευδιασμοὶ πρὸς εὐμαρῆ τῶν ἑταίρων διάβασιν. ὧν μεταλαβόντας Ἐμπεδοκλέα τε καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην καὶ Ἄβαριν πολλαχῆ ἐπιτετελεκέναι τοιαῦτα. κ.τ.λ.* = Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 135 *προρρήσεις τε σεισμῶν ἀπαράβατοι καὶ λοιμῶν ἀποτροπαὶ σὺν τάχει καὶ ἀνέμων βιαίων χαλαζῶν τε χύσεως παραυτίκα κατευνήσεις καὶ κυμάτων ποταμίων τε καὶ θαλασσίων ἀπευδιασμοὶ πρὸς εὐμαρῆ τῶν ἑταίρων διάβασιν. ὧν μεταλαβόντας Ἐμπεδοκλέα τε τὸν Ἀκραγαντῖνον καὶ Ἐπιμενίδην τὸν Κρῆτα καὶ Ἄβαριν τὸν Ὑπερβόρεον πολλαχῆ καὶ αὐτοὺς τοιαῦτά τινα ἐπιτετελεκέναι. κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 8. 7. 8 p. 313 Kayser *ἐννοήσας δὲ Σοφοκλέα τὸν Ἀθηναῖον, ὃς λέγεται καὶ ἀνέμους θέλξαι τῆς ὥρας πέρα πνεύσαντας.* A. von Blumenthal in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1047 comments: 'Hier hat wohl das Empedoklesbild eingewirkt.'

[5] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 250 f. *Ζῇ, ζῇ καὶ βασιλεύει ὁ Μέγας Ἀλέξανδρος* (from A. Δ. Γουσίου ''Η *κατὰ τὸ Πάγγαιον Χώρα*' p. 79). Possibly Αλέξανδρος has acquired the virtues of Ἀλεξανέμας.

[6] *Od.* 10. 1 ff.

[7] *Infra* Append. P (1).

of the winds by Zeus[1]. And Aëthlios, son of Aiolos, was reputed to be the son of Zeus[2]. There is therefore something to be urged for Usener's suggestion that Aiolos himself was 'a sort of Zeus[3].' Perhaps the same thought occurred to Ovid, when he made Iupiter shut Aquilo in the caves of Aeolia and send forth Notus to cause a deluge[4].

Others, however, have rightly insisted that the Homeric Aiolos is not as yet fully deified[5]. Hence his description as 'dear to the immortal gods[6].' Rather, he is a subordinate power, not improbably a dead tribal chieftain, who lives on in his Otherworld island[7] and is conceived as a superhuman magician, the wind-controller *par excellence*. His bag of winds recalls an odd superstition recorded by Tzetzes and the scholiast on the *Odyssey*[8]:

'Artful contrivers and those who write on infamous practices declare that, if a man flays a dolphin and makes its skin into a bag and then keeps it at home, he will cause to blow whatever wind he may choose.'

Somewhat similar is Philostratos' account of Indian weather-magic[9]. Apollonios of Tyana and his party are visiting the cloud-capped hill of the Brachmanes, four days' journey from the city Parax:

'And they say that they saw two jars of black stone, filled with rains and winds respectively. The jar of the rains is opened, if India should be oppressed

[1] *Od.* 10. 21 *ταμίην ἀνέμων ποίησε Κρονίων*,. Verg. *Aen.* 1. 52 rex Aeolus, 65 f. divom pater atque hominum rex | et mulcere dedit fluctus et tollere vento.

[2] Paus. 5. 8. 2 *εἶναι γάρ φασι καὶ Αἰθλιον Αἰόλου, Διὸς δὲ ἐπίκλησιν.* It is clear from the context that this Aiolos was the father of Kretheus. It is an assumption that he was one with Aiolos Hippotades.

[3] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 346 ff. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 275 ff.): 'wie eine Art Zeus' (p. 346 (=p. 276)). We need not, of course, subscribe to Usener's view that Αἴολος was the 'Zig-zag' lightning of Zeus (cp. Pind. *Ol.* 9. 42 *αἰολοβρόντα Διὸς αἴσᾳ*), or that his six pairs of children were the twelve months of the year. G. Libertini *Le isole Eolie nell' antichità greca e romana* Firenze 1921 p. 61 f. argues that Hippotes was a degraded form of Poseidon Ἵππιος, Aiolos an ex-appellative of Zeus (Pind. *Ol.* 9. 42 *αἰολοβρόντα*, Orph. *h. Zeus* 15. 10 *αἰολόμορφε*) or perhaps rather of Poseidon, the ever-changeful.

[4] Ov. *met.* 1. 262 ff.

[5] A. H. Keane in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 255, G. Foucart *ib.* 1917 ix. 782.

[6] *Od.* 10. 2.

[7] Cp. *supra* i. 239, 243.

[8] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 738=schol. *Od.* 10. 2 *φασὶ γὰρ οἱ μηχανικοὶ* (J. Potter cj. *μαγικοὶ* G. F. Thryllitzsch cj. *μαθηματικοὶ* M. C. G. Müller prints *μάγοι*, but notes: 'Vtrumque tamen, *μάγοι* et *μηχανικοί*, bene se habet') *καὶ οἱ τὰ ἀρρητουργικὰ γράφοντες ὡς, ἐάν τις δελφῖνα ποιήσῃ ἀσκὸν ἐκδείρας αὐτὸν καὶ ἔχων παρ' ἑαυτῷ, ποιήσει πνεῖν ὃν ἂν βούλοιτο ἄνεμον.* E. Scheer *ad loc.* cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1645, 59 f. *παρ' οἷς καὶ ᾄδεται ὁ ῥηθεὶς τοῦ Αἰόλου ἀσκὸς δελφῖνος εἶναι δέρμα, ib.* p. 1646, 8 ff. *ὅτι δὲ ἀσκοὶ οὐ μόνον οἱ συνήθως ἐξ αἰγῶν καὶ βοῶν ἀλλὰ καὶ ἐξ ἑτέρων δῆλόν ἐστι. δελφῖνός τε γὰρ ὁ ῥηθεὶς ἀσκὸς τετελεσμένος εἴτουν γεγοητευμένος κ.τ.λ.*

[9] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 3. 14 p. 92 f. Kayser *καὶ διττὼ ἑωρακέναι φασὶ πίθω λίθου μέλανος ὄμβρων τε καὶ ἀνέμων ὄντε. κ.τ.λ.* Euseb. *πρὸς τοὺς ὑπὲρ Ἀπολλωνίου τοῦ Τυανέως Ἱεροκλέους λόγους* 22 p. 388 Kayser scoffs at *βροντὰς καὶ ἀνέμους ἐν πίθοις.* But the incident is by no means incredible.

by drought, and sends up clouds to moisten the whole country; but if rains should be in excess, it is shut up and puts a stop to them. The jar of the winds, I suppose, plays the same part as the bag of Aiolos; for they open the jar ever so little and let one of the winds blow in season, whereby the country is refreshed.'

Other parallels to Aiolos Hippotades are collected by Sir James Frazer[1]. The closest hails from the Slavonic area:

'It is said that Perdoytus, the Lithuanian Aeolus, keeps the winds enclosed in a leathern bag; when they escape from it he pursues them, beats them, and shuts them up again[2].'

Certain features in the myth of Aiolos invite further investigation. His bag full of winds, opened by the prying followers of Odysseus, bears at least a superficial resemblance to the *pithos* or 'jar' containing evils opened by the inquisitive woman in Hesiod's *Works and Days*[3], or to the *pithos* of Zeus containing good things opened by the over-curious man in a fable of Babrios[4]. The resemblance is increased if, with Miss J. E. Harrison[5], we accept O. Gruppe's[6] conjecture that the *pithos* in question was that

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 326 f.

[2] *Id. ib.* i. 326 n. 5 after E. Veckenstedt *Die Mythen, Sagen und Legenden der Žamaiten* (*Litauer*) Heidelberg 1883 i. 153. Sir James Frazer adds: 'The statements of this writer, however, are to be received with caution.'

H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 97: '"Perdoytus gott der kaufleute, von *perdout* verkaufen" *P* 27 [*i.e.* Matthaeus Praetorius *Deliciae Prussicae oder Preussische schaubühne* ed. W. Pierson Berlin 1871 p. 27] vgl. *Sl* 91 (18) [*i.e.* A. Schleicher 'Lituanica' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1853 xi. 91 (= extr. p. 18)]. das ist *Pardůtojis*, nomen agentis von *pardůti* verkaufen. Doch *Bardoayts Ag* [*i.e.* Kirchenagende von 1530 ed. J. Bender in der *Altpreussischen monatsschrift* iv. 97 f.] unter *Gardoaeten*. Ist *Perdoytus* und seine bedeutung erst von *P* [*i.e.* Matthaeus Praetorius] um der etymologie willen construiert? vgl. Voigt, Gesch. Pr. 1, 593 anm. 1 [*i.e.* J. Voigt *Geschichte Preussens* Königsberg 1827 i. 593 n. 1 Gardetis nach Oftermeyer S. 18 von gardas eine Schaafheerde... Perdoytos vom Altpreuß. perdauns verkaufen, im Lettisch. pahrdoht verkaufen, Handel treiben. Lucas David B. I. S. 86 verändert den Namen in Gardiaito und Hartknoch S. 142 behauptet, daß Gardoaetos und Perdoytos ein und derselbe Gott sey].'

If *Perdoytus* was really a wind-god, his name might be related to the Russian *perdĕti*, Slovenian *prdĕti*, πέρδομαι, etc. (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 362, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 771, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 569) and imply a very crude and primitive conception of the wind as 'flatus ventris.'

[3] Hes. *o.d.* 94 ff.

[4] Babr. 58. 1 ff. Ζεὺς ἐν πίθῳ τὰ χρηστὰ πάντα συλλέξας | ἔθηκεν αὐτὸν πωμάσας παρ' ἀνθρώπῳ. | ὁ δ' ἀκρατὴς ἄνθρωπος εἰδέναι σπεύδων | τί ποτ' ἦν ἐν αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸ πῶμα κινήσας, | διῆκ' ἀπελθεῖν αὐτὰ πρὸς θεῶν οἴκους, | κἀκεῖ πέτεσθαι τῆς τε γῆς ἄνω φεύγειν. | μόνη δ' ἔμεινεν ἐλπίς, ἣν κατειλήφει | τεθὲν τὸ πῶμα. τοιγὰρ ἐλπὶς ἀνθρώποις | μόνη σύνεστι, τῶν πεφευγότων ἡμᾶς | ἀγαθῶν ἕκαστον ἐγγυωμένη δώσειν. This rewriting of the Hesiodic myth was obviously prompted by the later estimate of ἐλπίς as a good, not an evil.

For the concept of a celestial store-house or treasury see H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsage* Bonn 1899 p. 182 ff.

[5] Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx. 99 ff., *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 169 f., 279 ff.

[6] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 94, 761 n. 9, *id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 585 ff.

of the earth-goddess Pandora opened once a year at the festival of the *Pithoigia* for the temporary release of souls. For winds are notoriously akin to souls[1]. Indeed, Greeks of the mythopoeic age would probably have assented to the direct equation winds *are* souls. It may even be that the very name *Aiolos* is cognate with the Gothic *saiwala* and the English *soul*[2]. The island of Aiolos would on this showing too be an island of souls[3]—a typical Otherworld island, as we had already seen reason to suspect.

Aiolos Hippotades has both in ancient[4] and in modern[5] times been identified with Aiolos, the eponymous ancestor of the Aeolians. K. Tümpel[6] thinks that the Hesiodic *Catalogue*[7] described the latter

[1] See *e.g.* Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 248 n. 1, ii. 122 n. 2, 264 n. 2, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2176 ff., R. v.d. Meulen 'Über die litauischen Vēlēs' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 125 ff., L. Weber 'Androgeos' *ib.* 1926 xxiii. 249 ff., *supra* ii. 62 n. 1 (the Furious Host), and the history of such words as *ἄνεμος*, *animus*, *anima*; *πνοή*, *πνεῦμα*; *ψύχω*, *ψυχή*, etc.

[2] So R. Koegel in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1897 clix. 655 (relates west-German *saiwala sēula sēla* to *αἰόλος*, for **σαιϝόλος*, 'beweglich, regsam,' and cp. *Αἴολος*), C. C. Uhlenbeck in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1905 xxx. 305 (accepts *saiwala*: *αἰόλος*), J. Scheftelowitz in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1905 xxix. 44 ('got. *saiwala* "seele": gr. *αἰ(ϝ)ολος* "beweglich"'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 26 ('*αἰόλος* "mobile, agité" < **αἰολός* < **αἰελος* cf. *αἰέλουρος* J. Schmidt KZ. 32, 324. Cf. got. *saiwala* "âme".' Etc.), and as a tenable alternative K. Brugmann—A. Thumb *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 47. See, however, T. von Grienberger in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1900 cxlii. 179, A. Walde in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1901 xii. 382 f. and in his *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 669 f. *s.v.* 'saevus,' W. van Helten in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1906 xix. 198; P. Persson in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1893 xix. 276 ff.

[3] G. Gerland *Altgriechische Märchen in der Odyssee* Magdeburg 1869 p. 38 ff., F. Hommel *Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901, *infra* Append. P.

[4] Hyg. *fab.* 125 ad Aeolum Hellenis filium, cui ab Iove ventorum potestas fuit tradita. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* obelizes *Hellenis*, remarking 'imo *Hippotae*.' Euripides in his *Melanippe desmōtis* (Hyg. *fab.* 186), if not also in his *Melanippe sophē* (Greg. Kor. *in* Hermog. *περὶ μεθόδου δεινότητος* 28 in C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1834 vii. 2. 1313, 6 ff.), made Melanippe the daughter of one Aiolos and the mother of another. Diod. 4. 67 went further in the same direction. His Aiolos, son of Hippotes and Melanippe, was great-grandson of Aiolos son of Hellen, and in turn grandfather of Aiolos brother of Boiotos. On these fictitious genealogies see further W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 192 ff., K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1037, 1040, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 398 n. 3, 1323 n. 2.

[5] K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1040 f.

[6] *Id. ib.* i. 1036, 1039, 1041.

[7] Hes. *frag.* 25, 1 f. Kinkel, 7, 1 f. Rzach *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 9. 15. 2, schol. Lyk. *Al.* 284, Tzetz *in* Lyk. *Al.* 284, *exeg. Il.* pp. 63, 14 f., 134, 22 f. Hermann (printed at the end of Draco Stratonicensis *liber de metris poeticis* ed. G. Hermann Lipsiae 1812) "Ἕλληνος δ' ἐγένοντο φιλοπτολέμου βασιλῆος (so schol. Lyk.: for variants see A. Rzach *ad loc.*) | Δῶρός τε Ξοῦθός τε καὶ Αἴολος ἱππιοχάρμης. The second line is quoted also by schol. Thouk. 1. 3 (p. 5, 20 Hude), and in part by Herodian. *περὶ μονήρους λέξεως* 2. 42 (ii. 647, 24 Lentz). Cp. schol. V. *Od.* 10. 2, Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 242 with schol. *ad loc.* (p. 197, 2 f. Nauck).

as *hippiochármes*, 'fighting with chariot and horses,' in obvious imitation of the patronymic *Hippotádes* applied in the *Odyssey* to the former[1]. And both epithets might conceivably have reference to the frequent conception of the winds as horses[2]. I should, however, prefer to stress another point of contact between Aiolos Hippotades and Aiolos son of Hellen, I mean the abnormal endogamic character of the marriage-custom that obtained among their descendants.

According to Homer, the six sons of Aiolos Hippotades married their six sisters[3]. Greeks of the Hellenistic age, perhaps jibbing at the idea, felt it necessary to invent some explanation. Thus Parthenios, Virgil's tutor[4], making a *précis* of Philetas' *Hermes* for the benefit of Virgil's friend Cornelius Gallus[5], told how Odysseus in the course of his wanderings round Sicily had reached the island of Meligounis (later called Lipara[6]) and there fallen in love with Polymele, one of Aiolos' daughters; how, after his departure with the bag of winds, she had been found in love-sick plight weeping over certain spoils of Troy; how Aiolos had reviled the absent Odysseus and resolved to take vengeance on Polymele; and finally how her brother Diores, who was enamoured of her, had begged her off and persuaded his father to give her to him as his wife[7].

Now the same peculiar usage occurs again in connexion with the other Aiolos, eponym of the Aeolians. For he was king of Thessaly[8]; and the marriage of brother with sister is expressly stated to have been an ancient custom among the Thessalians[9]. Moreover, Makedon the ancestor of the Macedonians was, in the opinion of Hellanikos[10], a son of Aiolos. Hence the fact that the

[1] *Supra* p. 106.

[2] W. H. Roscher *Hermes der Windgott* Leipzig 1878 p. 107, E. H. Meyer *Indogermanische Mythen* Berlin 1887 ii (Achilleis). 451 ff., H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2691, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 838 f., 1148, H. Steinmetz 'Windgötter' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 33 n. 5.

[3] *Supra* p. 106.

[4] Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 17. 18 with L. Jan *ad loc.*

[5] Parthen. *narr. am.* praef. 1 f.

[6] Kallim. *h. Artem.* 47 f., Strab. 275, Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Λιπάρα, Μελιγουνίς.

[7] Parthen. *narr. am.* 2, περὶ Πολυμήλης (ἱστορεῖ Φιλητᾶς Ἕρμῃ (on which poem see A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 348 ff., K. Kuiper 'De Philetae Coi Mercurio' in H. van Herwerden's *Album Gratulatorium* Trajecti ad Rhenum 1902 pp. 143—149, J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1825 p. 91 f.)).

[8] Apollod. 1. 7. 3, cp. Konon *narr.* 27.

[9] Archinos Θεσσαλικά *frags.* 1, 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 319 Müller) *ap.* schol. T. *Od.* 10. 7 ἀρχαῖον ἔθος, ὡς Ἀρχῖνος (so W. Dindorf for Ἀρχίνου cod.) ἐν Θεσσαλικοῖς. πρῶτα δὲ Αἴολον ὁμομητρίας κόρας ἀδελφοῖς συνοικίσαι (so W. Dindorf for συνοικῆσαι cod.). Cp. schol. B. Q. *Od.* 10. 7 ἀρχαῖον ἔθος τὸ συνοικίζειν ἀδελφούς, καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἀδελφῇ οὔσῃ συνοικεῖ τῇ Ἥρᾳ. κ.τ.λ. For Archinos see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 541.

[10] Hellanik. *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 51 Müller)=*frag.* 74 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 126

Ptolemies married their own sisters is probably to be explained, not merely as a concession to Egyptian feeling[1], but also as a survival or revival of a practice proper to an old Macedonian family of Aeolic extraction. It will be observed that the spelling of the Ptolemies' name—*Ptolemaîos*, not *Polemaîos*—certifies their Aeolic descent[2]. Finally, H. D. Müller sought to prove that Hera was originally a goddess of the Aeolians[3]. If so, the conception of her as sister and yet wife of Zeus may have arisen on Aeolic ground.

Be that as it may, I am disposed to conclude that Aiolos Hippotades was in pre-Homeric days[4] none other than Aiolos

Jacoby) *ap.* Const. Porphyrog. *de thematibus* 2. 2 (iii. 48 Bekker) ἄλλοι δ' (*sc.* derive the name Μακεδονία) ἀπὸ Μακεδόνος τοῦ Αἰόλου, ὡς Ἑλλάνικος Ἱερειῶν πρώτῃ τῶν ἐν Ἄργει· 'καὶ Μακεδόνος <τοῦ (ins. A. Meineke)> Αἰόλου, <ἀφ' (ins. C. Müller)> οὗ (οὕτω cod. F., whence C. Müller prints τοῦν) νῦν Μακεδόνες καλοῦνται, μόνοι μετὰ Μυσῶν τότε οἰκοῦντες.'

[1] This explanation is advanced by Paus. 1. 7. 1 and defended by Miss R. E. White (Mrs N. Wedd) in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 238 ff. For the prevalence of *Geschwisterehe* in Egypt see Diod. 1. 27, Philon *de specialibus legibus* 4 (v. 68 Richter); A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 153 f., Sir G. Maspero *The Dawn of Civilization*[4] London 1901 p. 50 f., E. Bevan *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* London 1927 p. 158. Examples of it there and elsewhere are collected by Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 1. 7. 1 (ii. 84 f.), E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*[3] London 1901 p. 290 ff., P. Wilutzky *Vorgeschichte des Rechts* Breslau 1903 i. 55 ff., F. v. Reitzenstein *Urgeschichte der Ehe*[4] Stuttgart 1908 p. 70 f., H. Ploss—M. Bartels *Das Weib in der Natur- und Völkerkunde*[10] Leipzig 1913 i. 713, W. H. R. Rivers in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 425 b, F. Ll. Griffith *ib.* viii. 444 a.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Dying God p. 193 f. comments: 'On this hypothesis we can understand why the custom of marriage with a full or a half sister has prevailed in so many royal families. It was introduced, we may suppose, for the purpose of giving the king's son the right of succession hitherto enjoyed, under a system of female kinship, either by the son of the king's sister or by the husband of the king's daughter; for under the new rule the heir to the throne united both these characters, being at once the son of the king's sister and, through marriage with his own sister, the husband of the king's daughter. Thus the custom of brother and sister marriage in royal houses marks a transition from female to male descent of the crown[1] [[1]This explanation of the custom was anticipated by McLennan. ...(*The Patriarchal Theory, based on the Papers of the late John Ferguson McLennan*, edited and completed by Donald McLennan (London, 1885), p. 95)]. In this connexion it may be significant that Cronus and Zeus themselves married their full sisters Rhea and Hera, a tradition which naturally proved a stone of stumbling to generations who had forgotten the ancient rule of policy which dictated such incestuous unions, and who had so far inverted the true relations of gods and men as to expect their deities to be edifying models of the new virtues instead of warning examples of the old vices[2] [[2]Compare Cicero, *De natura deorum*, ii. 26. 66; [Plutarch], *De vita et poesi Homeri*, ii. 96; Lactantius, *Divin. Inst.* i. 10; Firmicus Maternus, *De errore profanarum religionum*, xii. 4].'

[2] O. Hoffmann *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1891 i. 123, 224, *ib.* 1893 ii. 344 f., 502 f., *id. Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 173, A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 pp. 207, 240, K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 174.

[3] H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1857 i. 251 ff.

[4] E. Forrer 'Vorhomerische Griechen in den Keilschrifttexten von Boghazköi' in the

eponym of the Aeolians, a great tribal chief who after his death was believed by his people to live on in his island of souls. Such an one might well supply the hero of the Otherworld visit[1] with the souls or winds that he needed to waft him back to Ithake[2].

(c) The Tritopatores or Tritopatreis.

The results of the last section throw a new and welcome light on one of the outstanding problems of Greek religion—the true character of the mysterious powers known to the ancients as *Tritopátores* or *Tritopatreîs*[3].

Phanodemos, a Hellenistic historian interested in religious

Mitteilungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft zu Berlin März 1924 Nr. 63 pp. 1—22 makes out a strong case for an Aeolian occupation of Pamphylia in Hittite times: p. 10 'Der dritte Name ist der Name des Volkes, dem Tavag(a)lavas angehört; er wird nämlich einmal genannt: a-ja-va-la-as-König und dies ist offensichtlich *aiFolos* "Äolier-König".' p. 21 'Fassen wir zum Schluss zusammen, was uns die Keilschrifttexte aus Boghazköi an grundlegenden Angaben über die Griechen liefern: 1. Der König des Landes Aḫḫijavā = Ἀχαιϝα war seit etwa 1330 vor Chr. als Grosskönig und damit als "Bruder" des Ḫatti-Königs anerkannt. 2. Er war zugleich als Vasall des Ḫatti-Königs mit Pamphylien belehnt. 3. Er war ein Ajavalas = Äolier. 4. Aḫḫijavā = Achaia und Lazpas = Lesbos waren seine Kernländer. 5. Ant(a)ravas = Andreus war rund 1350—1325 vor Chr. König von Aḫḫijavā und Lazbas, vgl. Punkt 1. 6. Tava-g(a)lavas = Eteokles war sein Sohn und Nachfolger seit etwa 1325 vor Chr. 7. Um 1250 vor Chr. vertreibt Attarissijas, König von Āḫḫijā, den Madduvattas, den Fürsten des südlichen Kariens.' Etc.

[1] *Supra* i. 239 f.

[2] A. D. Fraser 'The origin of Aeolus' in *The Classical Journal* 1933 xxviii. 364—366 cites *inter alia* a parallel from the north-east coast of Scotland (D. A. Mackenzie *Tales from the Moors and the Mountains* Glasgow 1931 pp. 62—67 'A weather witch, Stine Veg, supplies a party of fishermen with a collection of winds confined in a water jar whose mouth is stopped with a wisp of straw. Like the Ithacans, they are a prey to curiosity and, upon unstopping the jar, are blown back to their starting-point'). Prof. Fraser concludes: 'The tradition apparently accompanied the Achaeans in their wanderings from some point near the Baltic to the Mediterranean, while a somewhat different version was carried by another branch of Indo-European speaking people into the heart of India.'

[3] P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1920 x. 41 showed that Τρῑτοπατρεῖς was originally a verse-form of Τρῑτοπάτορες ('Wenn Τριτοπάτορες in daktylischem Versmaass gebraucht werden sollte—möglicherweise wurde der Name in Hymnen, Gebeten oder Epigrammen genannt—so war diese Form mit ihren fünf Kürzen selbst bei metrischer Dehnung der ersten Silbe noch nicht anwendbar und mag daher durch Τρῑτοπατρῆες Τρῑτοπατρεῖς ersetzt worden sein, wobei man die auch im Epos nicht ganz seltene Kürze vor Muta cum Liquida mit in Kauf nehmen musste').

The attempt of M. Budimir, a Serbian scholar, to invalidate this conclusion, reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 199 f. ('Dass diese Form nur eine epische Bildung aus *τριτοπάτωρ* sei des Hexameters wegen, wie P. Kretschmer meint, ist nicht anzunehmen, da Cicero und attische Inschriften, die Prosa schreiben, ausschliesslich die Form Τριτοπατρεύς—Τριτοπατρεῖς [*sic*] kennen. Es ist also auch aus diesem Grunde der Name der attischen *ἄνακες* von dem gutbürgerlichen Verwandtschaftsnamen *τριτοπάτωρ* zu trennen... und die attischen Τριτοπατρεῖς haben mit *τριτοπάτορες* nichts zu tun'), fails to reckon with the fact that an epic appellative may pass into popular parlance and acquire ritual (*e.g.* Γαιήοχος: *supra* p. 10 ff.) or mythical (*e.g.* Ἰφιγένεια) importance. The point is one deserving of further investigation.

antiquities[1], states that the Athenians alone offered sacrifices and prayers to the Tritopatores, when about to marry, for the procreation of children[2]. This statement is, in part at least, confirmed by tangible traces left by the cult in question.

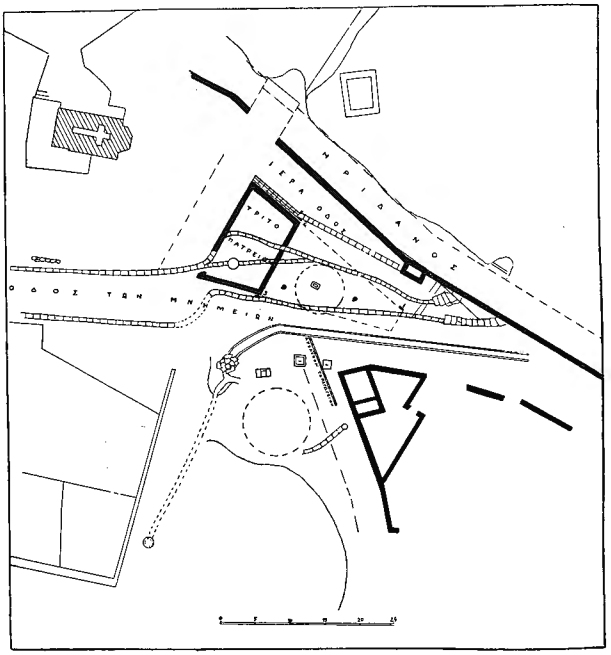


Fig. 37.

Excavations in the Kerameikos at Athens, conducted by A. Brückner and G. Oikonomos from February 1909 to September 1910[3], led to the discovery of an important group of remains in the angle between the Road to Eleusis and the Street of Tombs. A

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 110 n. 3.

[2] Phanodem. *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 367 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες·... *Φανόδημος δὲ ἐν 5ῳ φησὶν ὅτι μόνοι Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσί τε καὶ εὔχονται αὐτοῖς ὑπὲρ γενέσεως παίδων, ὅταν γαμεῖν μέλλωσιν· κ.τ.λ.* = Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Souid. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = *et. mag.* p. 768, 5 ff. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 45 ff.

[3] A. Brückner 'ΑΝΑΣΚΑΦΑΙ ΚΕΡΑΜΕΙΚΟΥ' in the *Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ.* 1910 pp. 101—111 with figs. 1—3 and pl. A' (= my fig. 37).

broken boundary-stone, found at the north-eastern corner of the truncated triangle (fig. 37, no. 1) and inscribed

[HAB]ATON 'Not to be trodden,'

showed that the spot was taboo[1]. Behind it were vestiges of a low circular tomb marked out by large stones. Beyond that in turn was a four-walled enclosure roughly trapezoidal in shape. In front of its two eastern corners stood a pair of similar boundary-stones (fig. 37, nos. 2 and 3), both inscribed in lettering of *c.* 450—400 B.C.

HOPOΣ : HIEPO 'Boundary of the sanctuary
TPITOΠATPEON of the Tritopatreis.
HABATON Not to be trodden.'

Yet another ancient stone, built into the southern wall of the precinct, reads:

HIEPON [TPITOΠA]TPEON 'Sanctuary of the Tritopatreis.'

Here, then, in immediate juxtaposition with the Street of Tombs, was the simple *ábaton* of the fifth-century Tritopatreis. Within a stone's throw of it stood till recently the modern Church of the Hagia Trias (fig. 37), which by a curious coincidence, if no more[2], recalls the triple character of the local *numina*.

U. Köhler[3] in 1879 published a similar but somewhat later boundary-stone, which he had copied years before in the Central Museum at Athens. It is inscribed in letters of *c.* 400—350 B.C.

OPOΣIE 'Boundary of the sanct-
POTPITO uary of the Trito-
ΠATPEΩN patreis
ΠAKYAΔΩ[N] of the Zakyadai.'

[1] A. Brückner *loc. cit.* p. 104 suggests that the actual apex, where the road forked, was probably consecrated to Hekate.

[2] A. Struck *Griechenland* Wien u. Leipzig 1911 i. 131 f. (*supra* i. 171).

The Church of the Hagia Trias was removed in 1931. Excavations conducted by the German Archaeological Institute in the mound beneath it and in some neighbouring areas proved that the whole site had been used as a cemetery from the Protogeometric period down to the Byzantine Age (K. Kübler, R. Eilmann, and W. Kraiker 'Ausgrabungen im Kerameikos' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1932 xlvii. Arch. Anz. pp. 183—208 with plan, sections, and figs., K. Kübler and W. Kraiker *ib.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 196—245 with plan and many figs., E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 351—357, H. G. G. Payne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 238, 1933 liii. 269).

[3] U. Köhler 'Horosstein der Zakyaden' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1879 iv. 287, *id.* in the *Corp.*

Whether the Zakyadai, whose name does not occur elsewhere, formed a *génos* or a *phratría*, has been disputed[1]. But it is clear that the addition of the last word was meant to limit the circle of worshippers to members of a specified tribal division, bound together by real or fictitious community of descent.

The sacrificial calendar from *Koukounari* in the Epakria district, which again belongs to the earlier part of *s.* iv B.C.[2], mentions among the annual rites of Marathon that in Skirophorion before the Skira a sheep was offered to the Tritopatreis and another to the Akamantes[3], also among the trieteric rites of the same place that at the same time of year a table was set for the Tritopatreis[4]. The

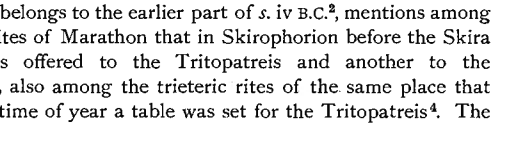


Fig. 38.

context in both cases is suggestive of fertility and fertilisation. P. Maas[5] claims that the Tritopateres are again connected with the *Akámantes* in an important ritual text of *s.* iv B.C. found at Kyrene and first published by S. Ferri in 1927 (fig. 38)[6]; and

inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 1062 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 741 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 443 = *id. ib.*[3] no. 925 δρος ἱε|ρὸ Τριτο|πατρέων | Ζακυαδ[ῶν].

[1] J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 313 says: 'Die Wahrscheinlichkeit, dass letztere ein γένος waren, ist meiner Meinung nach mindestens ebenso gross, wie die, dass sie eine Phratrie bildeten.' G. Lippold in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 106 n. 1 decides for a γένος on the ground that the Πυρρακίδαι (*infra* p. 118) certainly were such. On the other hand, U. Köhler *locc. citt.*, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Aristoteles und Athen* Berlin 1893 ii. 268 n. 11, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 187 ('wohl einer Phratrie'), and W. Dittenberger *locc. citt.* prefer to assume a φρατρία.

[2] R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 220 f.

[3] J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 30 ff. Σκιροφοριῶνος· πρὸ Σκίρων· Τ̣τ̣τ̣ηνίωι τὰ ὡρα[ῖ]α οἷς Δ̣Η̣Η̣. Κοροτρόφωι χοῖρος ΗΗΗ, ἱερώσυνα ΗΗ|. | Τριτοπατρεῦσι οἷς, ἱερώσυνα Η̣Η̣. Ἀκάμασιν | οἷς Δ̣Η̣Η̣, ἱερώσυνα Η̣Η̣.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 51 ff. Σκιροφοριῶνος· πρὸ Σκίρων· Γαλίωι κριὸς Δ[ΗΗ,]| ἱερώσυνα ΗΗ, φρέατος ΠΗ. Τριτοπατρεῦσι | τράπεζα Η.

[5] P. Maas in the *Deutsche Literaturzeitung* 1927 xlviii. 1953 ('Ακαμαντίων von Heiligtümern der 'Ακάμαντες?').

[6] Reading and rendering are alike in dispute. S. Ferri 'La "Lex Cathartica" di Cirene' in the *Notiziario Archeologico* 1927 iv. 91—145 with pls. 14—17 and a facsimile (part of which = my fig. 38) § 4, 21 ff. [αἴ] κα μαντίων ὁσία παντὶ καὶ ἀγνῶι καὶ βαβάλω[ι·]| πλὰν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπω Βάττ[ω] τῶ τῶ 'Αρχαγέτα κα[ὶ] | τριτοπατέρων καὶ ἀπὸ 'Ονυμάστω τῶ

K. Latte[1] suggests that these 'Unwearied Ones' might be either wind-spirits[2] or else a euphemistic[3] expression for the dead (*kamóntes*).

One other example of actual cult has been furnished by the French excavations in Delos[4]. Close to the south-east angle of the great precinct of Apollon, at a spot where three roads meet, G. Leroux in 1906 uncovered a paved triangular place of small size (25^{m} by 12^{m}). Towards its southern end was a circular structure of white marble consisting of curved slabs (0·54^{m} high), which rest on a raised course of masonry and carry a projecting cornice with bevelled top (fig. 39). The ring-wall is broken on the north-west by an aperture (0·80^{m} wide). Inside is a pavement of gneiss, from which sundry slabs are missing. Above this pavement were found sherds of coarse vases, a piece of stag's antler, ashes and fragments of carbonised wood. Below it, excavations pursued down to the

Δελφῶ[ν] (?), | ἀπ' ἄλλω ὅπη ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμε οὐκ ὁσία ἀγνῶ[ι]· | τῶν δὲ ἰαρῶν ὁσία παντί, '(Alla domanda) se (in materia) di oracoli (esista ugual) *religio* per ognuno, e per il puro e per l'impuro, (Apollo rispose): tranne che (per gli oracoli provenienti) dall' uomo Batto, quello dell' Archegeta e dei Tritopateres e da Onymastos, quello di Delfi, da qualunque altro (libro) dove uomini hanno lavorato non vi è *religio* per il puro (cioè: il puro non è obbligato a conformarvisi; oppure: deriva empietà al puro che se ne serva). In materia di sacrifici (?) vi è invece ugual *religio* per tutti indistintamente.'

G. De Sanctis 'Le decretali di Cirene' in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1927 lv. 185—212 gives § 4, 21 ff. [αἰ] κα μαντίων ὁσία παντὶ καὶ ἀγνῶι καὶ βαβάλω[ι·] | πλὰν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπω Βάττ[ω] [[τῶ]] τῶ 'Αρχαγέτα κα[ὶ] | τριτοπατέρων καὶ ἀπὸ 'Ονυμάστω τῶ Δελφῶ | ἀπ' ἄλλω ὅπη ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμε οὐκ ὁσία ἀγνῶ[ι,] | τῶν δὲ ἰαρῶν ὁσία παντί, 'Se vi è liceità sacra di oracoli (presi nelle tombe) e pel puro e per l' impuro. Salvo che dall' uomo Batto, l' Archegeta, e dai Tritopateri e salvo che da Onimasto di Delfi, da altro (oracolo) ove un uomo morì (*cioè* dove è un morto) non vi è liceità sacra (di far consulto) al puro. Di sacrifizî (alle tombe) vi è liceità sacra per tutti.'

U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Heilige Gesetze. Eine Urkunde aus Kyrene' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1927 pp. 155—176 prints § 4, 21 ff. αἰ κα μαντίων ὁσία, παντὶ καὶ ἀγνῶι καὶ βαβάλω[ι], | πλὰν ἀπ' ἀνθρώπω, Βάττω τω τῶ ἀρχαγέτα κα[ὶ] | τριτοπατέρων καὶ ἀπὸ 'Ονυμάστω τῶ Δελφῶ [καὶ] | ἀπ' ἄλλω, ὅπη ἄνθρωπος ἔκαμε, οὐκ ὁσία ἀγνῶ[ι]. | τῶν δὲ ἱερῶν ὁσία παντί, and translates 'Wenn ὁσία der Seher ist, ist sie es für jeden, den Reinen und Profanen; nur von einem Menschen, Battos dem Könige, und den Urahnen und von dem Delpher Onymastos und jedem anderen, wo ein Mensch Ruhe gefunden hat, ist keine ὁσία für einen Reinen; aber von den Tempeln ist ὁσία für jeden.'

See further G. Oliverio in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione ciassica* 1928 lvi. 222 ff.

[1] K. Latte 'Ein sakrales Gesetz aus Kyrene' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 41—51.

[2] Cp. Emped. *frag.* 111, 3 Diels παύσεις δ' ἀκαμάτων ἀνέμων μένος κ.τ.λ., Soph. *Trach.* 112 πολλὰ γὰρ ὥσπ' ἀκάμαντος ἢ νότου ἢ βορέα τις κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1112 n. 7, 1125 n. 1.

[4] Pending the full publication in *Délos* vii. 2, there is an *interim*-report by M. Holleaux in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1907 pp. 353—356 with a photographic cut. The general lie of the land can be well seen from the chart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906 xxx pl. 9; but the only plan hitherto published that marks the *sekós* of Tritopator is that by J. Replat given in *Délos* vii. 1 opposite p. 2.

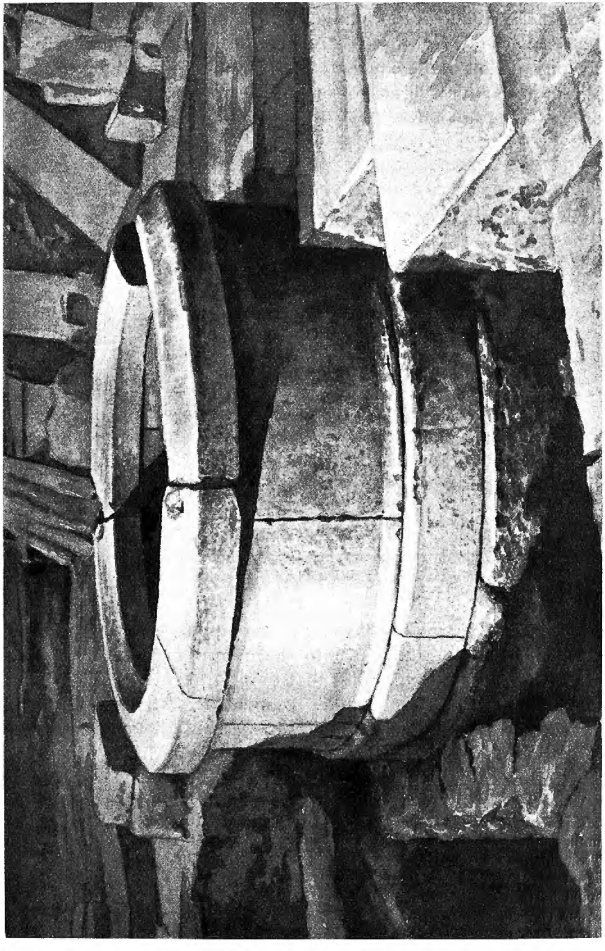


Fig. 29.

level of the virgin soil discovered not only ashes and charcoal, but also the bones of small cattle. Trial pits sunk outside the ring-wall beneath the paving of the triangular place brought similar *débris* to light. It was obvious that the cult here celebrated was older than the construction of the circular edifice. And an inscription (fig. 40) incised on the inner surface of one of the curved slabs, beneath the cornice, reads as follows[1]:

Τριτοπάτωρ	'Tritopator
Πυρρακιδῶν	of the Pyrrhakidai
Αἰγιλιῶν	from Aigilia.'

The first two lines are engraved *stoichedón* in careful lettering of

Fig. 40.

c. 400 B.C. The third line is less well cut and appears to have been crowded, as an afterthought, into the narrow margin left by the other two. M. Holleaux notes that the Pyrrhakidai were an Attic *génos*, familiar to us from Delphic records of the Athenian Pythaïs[2], and P. Roussel points out that their *archegétes* Pyrrhakos is described as a contemporary of Erysichthon[3], who went from Athens to

[1] M. Holleaux *loc. cit.* p. 354: 'Des huit lettres qui la composent, on n'a pu jusqu'à présent déchiffrer sûrement que la première et les trois dernières.' But P. Roussel 'Deux familles athéniennes à Délos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1929 liii. 166 ff. (167—179 Pyrrhakidai, 179—184 Erysichthonidai) gives fresh photographs of the monument (figs. 1—4, of which 2 and 4 = my figs. 39 and 40) and makes it clear that the inscription should be read as here printed. He rightly connects the *génos* with the Attic deme Αἰγιλιά (v. Schoeffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 39 f.). Τριτωπάτωρ in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 179 is a mere blunder.

[2] See Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 711 *D*[1], 30 f. n. 13.

[3] Hesych. Πύρρακος· ἥρως κατ' Ἐρυσίχθονα γεγονώς.

Delos[1] and there set up the first wooden statue of Apollon[2]. On this showing the circular structure found by Leroux would be in the nature of a Delian family *herôon*[3]. Immediately to the south of it are the remains of a Byzantine church. Was this another case of the pagan Tritopatores being replaced by the Christian Trinity?

Putting together these various indications of popular worship, we perceive that the Tritopatores from the fifth century onwards had been established at the cross-roads (Kerameikos, Delos), where a hypaethral enclosure, either trapezoidal (Kerameikos) or circular in plan (Delos), was set apart for them in a roughly triangular space. The cult there carried on might be limited to members of a particular clan (the Zakyadai at Athens, the Pyrrhakidai in Delos) and involved the sacrifice of sheep etc. (Marathon, Delos). In some respects, therefore, the Greek Tritopatores recall the Lares *Compitales*, who were likewise worshipped at the cross-roads—that immemorial *rendez-vous* of family-ghosts[4]. This disposes us to see in the former, as in the latter[5], ancestral spirits watchful over the welfare of their descendants.

Literary evidence with regard to the nature of the Tritopatores follows two lines of tradition, one supporting, the other supplementing, the inferences drawn from the monuments.

[1] Phanodemos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 366 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 392 D.

[2] Plout. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 8. 1.

[3] P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1929 liii. 177: 'D'après les observations faites par G. Leroux, un culte était célébré depuis longtemps sur l'emplacement où s'éleva le monument du Tritopator. Tout le quartier a été si profondément remanié jusqu'à la basse époque romaine qu'il est difficile de déterminer l'aspect qu'il pouvait présenter au V^e^ siècle ou précédemment; mais l'hypothèse n'est point exclue qu'il ait jadis fait partie d'une vaste nécropole dont on a retrouvé des traces, d'une part dans la région à l'Ouest de la partie septentrionale de la rue du Théâtre, d'autre part dans la partie Sud-Est du sanctuaire même d'Apollon, près de l'autel de Zeus Polieus. On imaginerait volontiers que les Pyrrhakidai eurent la tombe réelle ou fictive d'un ancêtre en cette région et qu'au moment de la purification de 426, on y substitua le monument d'un culte héroïque.'

Id. Délos colonie athénienne Paris 1916 p. 158 n. 5 had already commented on the fact that a similar structure, discovered in 1912 to the south of the lower reservoir of the Inopos, was dedicated to the Νύμφαι Πυρρακιδῶν. In the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1929 liii. 171 ff. he adds fig. 5 plan, fig. 6 inscription, and fig. 7 restoration of this second monument.

[4] See J. A. MacCulloch 'Cross-roads' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 330 b—335 b, R. Wünsch 'Cross-roads (Roman)' *ib.* 335 b—336 b, K. F. Smith 'Hecate's suppers' *ib.* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 565 a—567 a, Schrader *Reallex.*[2] p. 335.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1159 with n. 1. See further E. Samter *Familienfeste der Griechen und Römer* Berlin 1901 p. 105 ff., *id.* 'Der Ursprung des Larenkultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1907 x. 368—392, A. von Domaszewski *ib.* 1907 x. 336 f. (=*id. Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 p. 174 f.), Miss M. C. Waites 'The nature of the Lares and their representation in Roman art' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 241—261.

On the one hand, the Tritopatores are described as remote and mythical ancestors. The author of the work known as the *Exegetikón*, who has been plausibly identified[1] with Kleidemos or 'Kleitodemos, the oldest of all writers on the local customs of Athens[2],' and would thus be referable to the middle of the fourth century B.C.[3], stated that the Tritopatores were sons of Ouranos and Ge, named Kottos, Briareos, and Gyges[4]. Philochoros, the most important of the Atthidographers, followed suit with the assertion that the Tritopatreis were the earliest offspring of Ge and Ouranos, and the first to begin generation[5]. Elsewhere he gave a slightly divergent account. The Tritopatreis were the first of all. At that time men believed that the earth and the sun, Ge and Apollon as they called them, were their parents, and that the offspring of these were Tritoi Pateres[6]. The meaning of these two passages is not over-clear. But C. A. Lobeck[7] makes it probable that, in Philochoros' view, the earth fructified by the sun produced the Tritopatreis, who acting as procreators for the first time thereby became the parents of all mortal men. Cicero, quoting from a Greek Catalogue of the gods which seems to have been drawn up in the second or first century B.C.[8], makes Zeus, 'a very ancient king,' the father by Persephone of the first Dioskouroi—a triad of brothers known as Anaktes at Athens and named Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, and Dionysos[9]. These varying versions agree in attributing the names Tritopatores, Tritopatreis, Tritopatreus to prehistoric progenitors of a more or less superhuman sort. It is possible that behind them

[1] See A. Tresp *Die Fragmente der griechischen Kultschriftsteller* Giessen 1914 p. 110 f.

[2] Paus. 10. 15. 5.

[3] F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 591.

[4] Harpokr. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Souid. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες·...ὁ δὲ τὸ Ἐξηγητικὸν ποιήσας Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Γῆς φησιν αὐτοὺς εἶναι, ὀνόματα δὲ αὐτῶν Κόττον, Βριάρεων καὶ Γύγην. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 768, 10 ff. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 49 ff.

[5] Philochor. *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 384 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτοπάτωρ· Τριτοπάτρεις...Φιλόχορος δὲ τοὺς πρώτους ἐκ Γῆς καὶ Οὐρανοῦ, ἄρξαντας δὲ γενέσεως.

[6] Philochor. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 384 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες = Souid. *s.v.* Τριτοπάτορες·...Φιλόχορος δὲ τοὺς Τριτοπάτρεις πάντων γεγονέναι πρώτους· τὴν μὲν γὰρ γῆν καὶ τὸν ἥλιόν φησιν, ὃν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα τότε καλεῖν, γονεῖς αὐτῶν ἐπίστασθαι οἱ τότε ἄνθρωποι, τοὺς δ' ἐκ τούτων τρίτους πατέρας. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 768, 1 ff. (Selene substituted for Ge), Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 45.

If this passage is rightly assigned by C. Müller to the *Atthis*, it may be surmised in view of the inscription from Epakria (*supra* p. 115) that the other passage (*supra* n. 5) occurred in Philochoros' treatise on the Attic Tetrapolis (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 410 f. Müller).

[7] Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 761 f.

[8] *Supra* ii. 1135 n. 4.

[9] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 53 cited *supra* ii. 1135 n. 4.

all lay the greater authority of Aristotle, who is said to have used the word *tritopátor* in the sense of 'great-grandfather[1].'

On the other hand, somewhat to our surprise, the Tritopatores are identified with, or at least brought into close connexion with, the winds. Demon in his *Atthís* (*c.* 300 B.C.) roundly declared that the Tritopatores were the winds[2]—a statement implicitly traversed by his critic and rival Philochoros[3]. The author of the Orphic *Physiká*, which was attributed (no doubt, wrongly[4]) to Brontinos[5] of Metapontum[6], explained that the Tritopatores were 'door-keepers and guardians of the winds[7]' and gave their names as Amalkeides, Protokles, and Protokreon[8]—a trio well adapted for hexameter

[1] Aristot. *frag.* 376 Rose *ap.* Poll. 3. 17 *ὁ δὲ πάππου ἢ τήθης πατὴρ πρόπαππος, ὡς* 'Ισοκράτης· *τάχα δ' ἂν τοῦτον τριτοπάτορα* 'Αριστοτέλης καλοῖ. H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1209 assumes that the name 'Αριστοτέλης has here displaced that of 'Αριστοφάνης ὁ Βυζάντιος—a view put forward by G. Kaibel and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 473 n. 4). See further G. Lippold in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 106 n. 2 'Übrigens hat bei Pollux eine Handschriftenklasse (II bei Bethe) *τριπάτωρα*. Ebenso Hesych. *Τριπατρεῖς· οἱ πρῶτοι γεννώμενοι* und das 5. Bekkersche Lexikon (Anecdota Graeca I 307, 16): *Τριπάτορες: οἱ μὲν τοὺς πρώτους ἀρχηγέτας, οἱ δὲ τρίτους ἀπὸ τοῦ πατρός, ὅ πέρ ἐστι προπάππους* (vgl. Schmidt zur Hesychstelle). Nun ist *τριπάτωρ* (vgl. *τρίπαππος* tritavus Corpus Glossariorum Latinorum II 459, 31) die Form, die man für ein Wort mit der Bedeutung *πρόπαππος* (dritte Generation vom Vater an) erwarten sollte, und Wilamowitz (Aristoteles und Athen II 268 Anm. 11) hat die Gleichung *πρόπαππος=τριτοπάτωρ* für grammatisch unmöglich erklärt. Es ist also sehr gut denkbar, dass das jetzt nur schwach bezeugte *τριπάτωρ* in der Bedeutung *πρόπαππος* bestanden hat und erst in der lexikalischen Überlieferung mit *Τριτοπάτωρ*, mit dem sich wegen seiner dunklen Etymologie die Lexikographen viel beschäftigten, zusammengeworfen wurde. Dann würde Aristoteles als Zeuge für *Τριτοπάτωρ* ausscheiden. Über den mutmasslichen Zusammenhang der Aristotelesstelle vgl. Rose, Aristoteles pseudepigraphus p. 428, 52 (*θεσμοθετῶν ἀνάκρισις, εἰ* 'Αθηναῖοί *εἰσιν ἑκατέρωθεν ἐκ τριγονίας*' [Aristot. *frag.* 374 Rose *ap.* Poll. 8. 85]). But M. Budimir, the Serbian scholar reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 199, comes to a very different conclusion: 'Demnach kann *τριτοπάτωρ* "*tertium patrem*, das heisst *πρόπαππον*" und "*eum cui tertius pater superest*" bezeichnen, ebenso *τριπάτωρ* "*eum cui tres patres sunt*" (wie *τριάνωρ*), was aber keinen Sinn hat, und wie *τριγέρων τρίδουλος trifur triparcus triscurria*, den Erzvater, *προπάτωρ, ἀρχηγὸς γενέσεως, ὁ πρῶτος ἀρχηγέτης*.' On which showing Aristotle's name may stand.

[2] Demon *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 378 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες*= Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες*=Souid. *s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες· Δήμων ἐν τῇ* 'Αθθίδι *φησὶν ἀνέμους εἶναι τοὺς Τριτοπάτορας*. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 768, 1=Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 44 f. *Τριτοπάτορες· Δήμων ἀνέμους εἶναι φησί*, and Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Τριτοπάτωρ· Τριτοπάτρεις οἱ μὲν ἀνέμους, κ.τ.λ.*

[3] Harpokr. *s.v.* 'Ηετιώνεια, Souid. *s.v.* Φιλόχορος: see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 142.

[4] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 984.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* 'Ορφεύς (p. 1175, 11 Bernhardy). [6] Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 267.

[7] Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Τριτοπάτωρ·...ἐν δὲ τοῖς* 'Ορφικοῖς *ἀνέμων παῖδας* is presumably a blunder for *ἀνέμων φύλακας*.

[8] Orph. *Φυσικά frag.* 240 Abel, 318 Kern *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες*=Phot. *lex. s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες*=Souid. *s.v.* *Τριτοπάτορες·...ἐν δὲ τῷ* 'Ορφέως *Φυσικῷ ὀνομάζεσθαι τοὺς Τριτοπάτορας* 'Αμαλκείδην *καὶ Πρωτοκλέα καὶ Πρωτοκρέοντα* (Πρωτοκλέοντα Souid.), *θυρωροὺς*

verse[1]. Others went on to compare them with Aiolos Hippotades[2], and in so doing all but reached the only satisfactory solution of the whole problem.

For, if the Tritopatores on the one hand are ancestral spirits and on the other hand are winds, that is but another proof of our contention that to naïve Greek thinking winds are souls and souls are winds[3]. The *Tritopátores*, the 'Great-grandfathers,' were naturally invoked 'for the procreation of children[4].' It was they who gave life to each succeeding generation in the form of wind or breath[5]. Nay more, it was they who *were* the life of each generation. Every infant lived just because there had entered into its body the breath or wind that was the soul of some long-buried ancestor[6]. That—I take it—was the original function of the Tritopatores, dimly remembered in fifth-century Athens, but still lingering in the background of popular belief, and strong enough to assert itself here and there, in a suburb like the Kerameikos, in a country-town like Marathon, in a distant island like Delos.

καὶ φύλακας ὄντας τῶν ἀνέμων. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 768, 6 ff. = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 47 ff. ἐν δὲ τοῖς Ὀρφέως Φυσικοῖς τοὺς τρίτους πατέρας Ἀμαλκείδην, Πρωτοκλείαν, καὶ Πρωτοκρέοντα, θυρωροὺς καὶ φύλακας ὄντας τῶν ἀνέμων. Other forms of the names: Ἀμαλκείδην cj. S. Eitrem, Ἀμακλείδην Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 738 = schol. *Od.* 10. 2, Ἀμακλείδην (?) noted by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 773 ('Hamaclides'), Ἀνακλείδην cj. A. Fick, Ἀλακλείδην cj. L. Radermacher. Πρωτοκλῆ Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 738 = schol. *Od.* 10. 2. Πρωκρέοντα (*sic*) schol. P. *Od.* 10. 2.

[1] *E.g.* ἀνέμων δὲ θυρωροῖς καὶ φυλάκεσσιν | <εὖξαθ'> Ἀμαλκείδῃ, Πρωτοκλεῖ, Πρωτοκρέοντι.

[2] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 738 = schol. *Od.* 10. 2 καὶ τούτου ἕνεκα ἐμυθεύσαντο αὐτὸν (*sc.* Αἴολον τὸν Ἱππότου) δεσπότην εἶναι ἀνέμων. ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ τὸν Ἀμακλείδην καὶ Πρωτοκλῆ καὶ Πρωτοκρέοντα, ὥς φησιν Ὀρφεύς.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1039, iii. 109.

[4] *Supra* p. 113.

[5] Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 248 n. 1 'Entschlagen wir uns aller Speculation, so erkennen wir in den Tritopatoren Ahnenseelen, die zu Windgeistern geworden sind und mit anderen ψυχαί (die ja auch vom Windhauche benannt sind) im Winde fahren, von denen, als von wahren πνοιαὶ ζῳογόνοι [see Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 760], ihre Nachkommen Hilfe erhoffen, wenn es sich um Lebendigwerden einer neuen ψυχή handelt. Seelen als Windgeister sind sehr wohl verständlich; bei den Griechen ist diese Vorstellung nur vereinzelt erhalten und ebendarum werden solche vereinzelt im Glauben lebendig gebliebene Windseelen zu besonderen Dämonen, die Tritopatoren nicht anders als die Harpyien (s. *Rhein. Mus.* 50, 3 ff.).' Cp. B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 p. 72 ff. (summarised by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1209 f.), who takes the Tritopatores to be ancestral spirits conceived as winds (p. 75 f. 'Bei der Begattung tritt sie [*sc.* πνεῦμα] aus dem Munde der Eltern aus und vermischt sich mit der wachsenden Frucht...Der Name bedeutet dasselbe wie πρόπαππος It. tritavus = "Drittvater"...also einfach Ahne, ἀρχηγέτης des Geschlechts, der "rechte Vorfahr").

[6] On the reincarnation of ancestors in their descendants see E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 ii. 3—5, Frazer *Golden Bough*[2]: Taboo pp. 365—372. Evidence drawn from Greek and Roman burial customs, Greek nomenclature, etc. is collected by F. B. Jevons 'Greek Law and Folk Lore' in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 248 f., J. E. King 'Infant Burial' *ib.* 1903 xvii. 83 f. (*supra* ii. 1059), Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* iii. 298 f.

So much for the main point. Sundry side-issues have yet to be settled. If *tritopátor* meant strictly a 'father in the third (ascending) generation' and so, more generally, a 'lineal ancestor,' its correlatives would be represented by such words as *tritogenés*[1] and *tritokoúre*[2]. G. Lippold[3] has ingeniously suggested that an echo of the prayer addressed before marriage to the Tritopatores[4] may be heard in the first half[5] of the proverbial line:

Grant me a child that is *tritogenés*, not *tritogéneia*[6]—

in other words, a boy of true descent in preference to a girl of true descent. In this connexion the old problem as to the meaning of Athena *Tritogenés*[7] or *Tritogéneia*[8] simply solves itself. The epithet

[1] Mostly found as an epithet of Athena (*infra* n. 7).

[2] Hesych. τριτοκούρη· ἢ πάντα συν(τε)τέλεσται τὰ εἰς τοὺς γάμους· τινὲς δὲ γνησία παρθένος. Cp. *eund.* τρητοκουρήτας· γνησίας γυναῖκας. οἱ δὲ παρθένους, from which L. Dindorf in Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2473 B restored τριτοκούρη· τὰς γνησίας κ. τ. λ.

[3] G. Lippold 'ΤΡΙΤΟΠΑΤΡΕΙΣ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 105.

[4] *Supra* p. 113.

[5] G. Lippold *loc. cit.*: 'Die beiden letzten Worte sind vielleicht nur eine spätere Ergänzung, um einen vollständigen Hexameter herzustellen; derartige Ergänzungen sind bei Sprichwörtern und sprichwörtlichen Redensarten etwas sehr häufiges (vgl. Usener, Altgriechischer Versbau 49 ff.).' But M. Budimir, as reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 198, rightly retorts: 'Die Worte "μὴ τριτογένεια" sind kein späterer Zusatz,...denn sie geben dem Gebet die notwendige Pointe und bilden mit dem Vorherigen einen Hexameter.'

[6] Schol. B. L. T. V. *Il.* 8. 39 ἢ ὅτι τρίτῃ φθίνοντος ἐτέχθη· καὶ παροιμία 'παῖς μοι τριτογενὴς εἴη, μὴ τριτογένεια.' ἀρρενώδεις γὰρ αἱ τοιαῦται γυναῖκες. The scholiast's explanation of τριτογένεια is, of course, late and worthless (G. Lippold *loc. cit.* p. 107 f.), but his citation of the proverb is important.

P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1920 x. 42 f. 'Wie erklären sich nun aber hierbei τριτογενής und Τριτογένεια?—Das ist eine Schwierigkeit, die im ersten Augenblick unüberwindlich scheint; denn τριτογενής müsste den in der 3. Generation geborenen bedeuten, und so konnte der junge Ehemann doch nicht den Sohn nennen, den er sich wünscht, und auch die Tochter des Zeus konnte so nicht heissen. Die Lösung des Rätsels ergibt sich aus jenem Prinzip, das Sommer "Konträrbildung" genannt hat und das ich kürzlich in der Anzeige seines Aufsatzes, Glotta VIII 266 f. erörtert habe. Nach τριτοπάτωρ, das nicht mehr wörtlich, sondern nur als Stammvater verstanden wurde, wurde τριτογενής im Sinne von 'Stammsohn,' τριτογένεια oder τριτοκούρη 'Stammtochter' gebildet' (cp. *proavus—pronepos, Grossvater—Grosssohn, grandfather—grandson*, etc.).

G. Lippold's attempt in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1911 xxxvi. 106 to explain the element τριτο- in Τριτοπατρεῖς, τριτογενής, Τριτογένεια, Τριτοκούρη as = γνήσιος, γνησία breaks down through lack of any etymological cognates.

[7] Τριτογενής as an epithet of Athena is not Homeric (T. W. Allen and E. E. Sikes on *h. Ath.* 4 Τριτογενῆ), but becomes fairly frequent in later verse (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 15). The earliest examples of it are Aristoph. *eq.* 1189 ἡ Τριτογενής (where Τριτογένεια is a not very probable conjecture: see F. H. M. Blaydes *ad loc.*) and *oracl. ap.* Hdt. 7. 141 = *Anth. Pal.* 14. 93. 6 Τριτογενεῖ.

[8] Τριτογένεια is an appellation of Athena, used normally without her name. It is frequent in Homeric and post-Homeric verse (not, however, in tragedy) (Bruchmann *Epith. deor.* p. 15), and occasional even in prose (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2472 C—D).

The significance of the titles Τριτογένεια, Τριτογενής as applied to Athena is discussed by T. Bergk in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1860 lxxxi. 305—309 = *id. Kleine philo-*

claims that the goddess was the genuine descendant of Zeus, Kronos, and Ouranos—a claim whose validity we shall later have occasion to test.

Again, the use of such a term as *Tritopátores* to signify a line of remote ancestors implies the primitive view that 'three' is a typical plurality[1]. And the successive 'three' (= many) generations naturally enough leads to the simultaneous 'three' (= many) generators. Accordingly, when names are given to the Tritopatores, they are a triad such as Kottos, Briareos, Gyges[2], or Amalkeides, Protokles, Protokreon[3], or Tritopatreus, Eubouleus, Dionysos[4]. But this last and latest specification offers quite inadequate support to S. Eitrem's hypothesis that the Tritopatores were originally, like the Dioskouroi, two in number, the addition of a third being due to a mere misconception of their name[5].

Misconception, however, of a sort there certainly was, and indeed still is. For as soon as the prose *Trĭtopátores* became the poetic *Trītopatreis*, the way was open for the whole group of *Trīto-* names to overlap and get entangled with an entirely different group of *Trīto-* names, represented by the sea-god Triton, the sea-goddess Amphitrite, a river Triton, a spring or lake Tritonis, etc. These names presuppose *trīton* or the like as an early word for 'water.' É. Boisacq[6], for example, following in the steps of E. Windisch[7], H. Osthoff[8], A. Fick[9], K. Brugmann[10], and H. Pedersen[11], relates

logische Schriften Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 653—657, J. Escher *Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Herakles* Leipzig 1890 pp. 14—19 ('Tritogeneia und verwandtes'), W. Schulze *Quaestiones epicae* Gueterslohae 1892 p. 177 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 266—270, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1143 n. 1, 1212 n. 2, 1219 n. 3, M. Budimir 'Atena Tritogenija i' atički Tritopatreiji' in the *Glasnik zem. Muzeja* 1920 xxxii. 295—328 reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 pp. 198—203. E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1146—1150 sets out impartially the competing interpretations, but ends with a *non liquet.*

[1] *Supra* ii. 893 n. 0.

[2] *Supra* p. 120.

[3] *Supra* p. 121.

[4] *Supra* p. 120.

[5] S. Eitrem *Die göttlichen Zwillinge bei den Griechen* (*Videnskabsselskabets Skrifter.* II. Historisk-filos. Klasse 1902 No. 2) Christiania 1902 pp. 60 n. 3, 118, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 628.

[6] Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 986.

[7] E. Windisch in the *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1877 iv. 268, *id. Kurzgefasste irische Grammatik mit Lesestücken* Leipzig 1879 p. 39 § 155.

[8] H. Osthoff—K. Brugmann *Morphologische Untersuchungen auf dem Gebiete der indogermanischen Sprachen* Leipzig 1881 iv. 195.

[9] A. Fick *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der indogermanischen Sprachen* Göttingen 1894 ii[4]. 137.

[10] K. Brugmann *Grundriss der vergleichenden Grammatik der indogermanischen Sprachen* Strassburg 1906 ii[2]. 1. 298.

[11] H. Pedersen *Vergleichende Grammatik der keltischen Sprachen* Göttingen 1909 i. 179.

Trîton the god to the Old Irish *triath*, genitive *trethan*, the 'sea.' This formidable array of philologists may be supposed to have fixed with some certainty the derivation of the names in question. And their assumption, that a word once existing in common speech may have survived only in a handful of proper names, is fully justified by analogous examples[1]. Confusion between the stems *Trīto-* and *Trīto-* undoubtedly modified the meaning of the appellative *Tritogéneia*, which ceased to be thought of as 'Great-granddaughter,' the pendant of *Tritopátor*, 'Great-grandfather[2],' and was re-interpreted as 'Born beside the Triton,' a river variously located in Libya[3], Crete[4], Arkadia[5], Boiotia[6], and Thessaly[7]. This

[1] *E.g. bach* or *bache*, a variant of *beck*, in the place-names Bacup, Comberbach, Sandbach, etc. (J. B. Johnston *The Place-Names of England and Wales* London 1915 pp. 120, 211, 431) and the surnames Bache, Batch, Bage, Greatbatch, Huntbach (E. Weekley *Surnames* London 1916 p. 53). Similarly Old High German *aha*, Middle High German *ahe*, 'running water' (cp. Lat. *aqua*), survives as *a*, *aa*, *ach*, *ache*, etc. in a great variety of place-names (W. Sturmfels *Etymologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen* Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. 1).

[2] *Supra* p. 123.

[3] This is the usual version in lexicographers, scholiasts, mythographers, etc.: *e.g.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτογενής = Souid. *s.v.* Τριτογενής· ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·...ἢ ὅτι παρὰ < τῷ (*inserui* A. B. C.) > Τρίτωνι τῷ ποταμῷ Λιβύης ἐγεννήθη,...ἢ ἐπεὶ παρὰ Τρίτωνι ἐγένετο·...ἢ ὅτι ἀπελούσατο ἐν τῷ Τρίτωνι τῷ Λιβύης ποταμῷ. Cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Τριτογενής· ἐπιθετικῶς ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·...ἢ τῷ παρὰ Τρίτωνι, τῷ ποταμῷ Λιβύης, ἐμφανισθῆναι, *et. mag.* p. 767, 40 ff. Τριτογένεια, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·...ἢ ὅτι παρὰ τῷ Τρίτωνι ποταμῷ γέγονεν, *et. Gud.* p. 535, 32 f. Τριτογένεια, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ἀπὸ τοῦ ποταμοῦ, ὅπου γεννηθεῖσα ἀπελούσατο, Orion p. 151, 10 f. Τριτογένεια· ἤτοι ἡ παρὰ τῷ Τρίγωνι (P. H. Larcher *corr.* Τρίτωνι) ποταμῷ γεννηθεῖσα,....

Schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 1189 ἐνετριτώνισεν·...ἢ ὡς ἀπὸ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ Λιβύης, παρ' ᾧ ἐτέχθη ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 267 ὅτι ἡ Τριτωνίς, εὐρεῖα λίμνη, μέσῃ Λιβύῃ ἔλκεται· περὶ ἣν καί τι νησίδιον ἱστοροῦσιν εἶναι. ἀπὸ ταύτης ὁ μῦθος τὴν Τριτογένειαν Ἀθηνᾶν παρωνομάσθαι βούλεται, ὡς γεννηθεῖσαν περὶ αὐτήν, *id. in Il.* p. 696, 38 f. (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 30 f.) ὡς δὲ καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ Τρίτωνος Λιβυκοῦ ποταμοῦ καλεῖται οὕτω (*sc.* Τριτογένεια), ἀλλαχοῦ δηλοῦται, *id.* p. 1265, 7 ff. Τριτογένεια δὲ κάνταῦθα ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. καὶ διὰ τί μὲν οὕτω καλεῖται, ἀλλαχόθι δεδήλωται. ὅτι δὲ καὶ παρὰ τὸν Τρίτωνα ποταμὸν ἡ λέξις λέγεται, ὡς ἐκεῖ γεννηθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, ῥητέον εἰς τοῦτο νῦν ἐκεῖνο καὶ μόνον, ὡς κ.τ.λ., *id. in Od.* p. 1473, 11 f. Τριτογένεια δὲ...ἢ ἐκ Τρίτωνος Λιβυκοῦ ποταμοῦ, schol. A.D. *Il.* 8. 39 οἱ δὲ νεώτεροί φασι τὴν παρὰ τῷ Τρίτωνι ποταμῷ γεννηθεῖσαν, ὃς ἐστι τῆς Λιβύης. A fine effort of scholiastic harmonism will be found in schol. T. (cp. schol. B. L. V.) *Il.* 8. 39 Μῆτιν τὴν Ὠκεανοῦ ἀμείβουσαν εἰς πολλὰ τὴν μορφὴν Ζεὺς βουλόμενος παρ' ἑαυτῷ ἔχειν κατέπιεν ἔγκυον οὖσαν ὑπὸ Βρόντου τοῦ Κύκλωπος· τελεσφορηθείσης δὲ τῆς παιδός, ὁ Ζεὺς διὰ τῆς κεφαλῆς τεκὼν δίδωσι τῷ Τρίτωνι τῷ ποταμῷ τρέφειν· ὅθεν Τριτογένεια ἐκλήθη ὡς ἐκ τριῶν συναυξηθεῖσα, Βρόντου Διὸς Τρίτωνος! This is largely based on Apollod. 1. 3. 6—a passage discussed *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*κ*).

Apollod. 1. 3. 6 ὡς δὲ ὁ τῆς γενέσεως ἐνέστη χρόνος, πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ (*sc.* τοῦ Διὸς) τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει Προμηθέως ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν Ἡφαίστου, ἐκ κορυφῆς, ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος, Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἀνέθορε, 3. 12. 3 φασὶ γεννηθεῖσαν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρὰ Τρίτωνι τρέφεσθαι, ᾧ θυγάτηρ ἦν Παλλάς, κ.τ.λ. (quoted by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 355), Mela 1. 36 super hunc (*sc.* Syrtim minorem) ingens palus amnem Tritona recipit, ipsa Tritonis, unde et Minervae cognomen inditum est, ut incolae arbitrantur, ibi genitae; faciuntque ei fabulae aliquam fidem, quod quem natalem eius putant ludicris virginum inter se decer-

tantium celebrant, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 2. 722 Tritone: fluvius vel palus in Libya, in qua Minerva dicitur nata, sicut Lucanus (Lucan. 9. 354) affirmat. unde Graeci eam Minervam Tritogeniam vocant, Myth. Vat. 1. 124 haec et Tritonia dicitur quia circa Tritonium lacum dicitur apparuisse in virginali aetate, 3. 10. 1 nam quod a Libyca palude hoc nomen (*sc.* Tritonia) meruerit, quia illic a caelo descensum et ad caelum ascensum celebraverit, poëticum esse constat. nam legitur (Lucan. 9. 354): 'et se dilecta Tritonia (*leg.* Tritonida) dixit ab unda.'

Sometimes a rival version is noted: schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 109 Τριτωνὶς δὲ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, ὅτι ἐν τῷ Τρίτωνι ἐγεννήθη τῷ Διβυκῷ. εἰσὶ δὲ καὶ ἄλλοι δύο Τρίτωνες, εἷς μὲν Βοιωτικός, ἕτερος δὲ Θεσσαλικός. Cp. schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1311 (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 1776, 5 ff.) Τρίτων δὲ πόλις (R. F. P. Brunck *corr.* ποταμὸς) Διβύης. ἔστι δὲ καὶ Βοιωτίας. παρὰ θατέρῳ δὲ τούτων δοκεῖ γεγενῆσθαι ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ· διὸ καὶ Τριτογένεια λέγεται, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 171 a Tritone amne Boeotiae, aut a Tritonide palude Africae, iuxta quam nata dicitur.

[4] Diod. 5. 72 μυθολογοῦσι δὲ καὶ (*sc.* as well as Zeus: see Diod. 5. 70 cited *supra* ii. 190 n. 2) τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν κατὰ τὴν Κρήτην ἐκ Διὸς ἐν ταῖς πηγαῖς τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ γεννηθῆναι· διὸ καὶ Τριτογένειαν ὀνομασθῆναι. ἔστι δὲ καὶ νῦν ἔτι περὶ τὰς πηγὰς ταύτας ἱερὸν ἄγιον τῆς θεοῦ ταύτης, ἐν ᾧ τόπῳ τὴν γένεσιν αὐτῆς ὑπάρξαι μυθολογοῦσι (for Diodoros' Cretan sources see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 678).

Diod. 3. 70 (Ammon hid Dionysos, his son by Amaltheia, in a (Cretan?) cave) πρὸς δὲ τὰς ἀπὸ τῆς μητρυιᾶς Ῥέας ἐπιβουλὰς φύλακα τοῦ παιδὸς καταστῆσαι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, μικρὸν πρὸ τούτων τῶν χρόνων γηγενῆ φανεῖσαν ἐπὶ τοῦ Τρίτωνος ποταμοῦ, δι' ὃν Τριτωνίδα προσηγορεῦσθαι (the source here is the 'Phrygian poem' of Thymoites (Diod. 3. 67), on which see J. Carcopino *La Basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* Paris 1927 p. 301 ff.).

These Cretan legends are of little or no authority. They were possibly prompted by the fact that coins of Itanos from *c.* 460 to the beginning of *s.* iv B.C. have for obverse type a sea-god, probably one with the 'Dagon' of Arados (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. xx f., 1 ff. pl. 1, 1—10, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 123 ff. pl. 22, 1—9, *id. Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 511 ff. pl. 116, 4—18), since the eponym Itanos is described as a Phoenician (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰτανός· πόλις ἐν Κρήτῃ, ἀπὸ Ἰτάνου Φοίνικος, ἢ τῶν Κουρήτων ἑνὸς μιγάδος), but in aspect indistinguishable from Triton (J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 201 ff. pls. 18, 21—37, 19, 1—9, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 895 ff. pl. 244, 1—16, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 469 f. fig. 251, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 51 pls. 12, 6—8, 13, 1—4, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 189, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 499 pl. 241, 3 f., *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 532 nos. 4499—4503 pl. 163, *Bement Sale Catalogue* 1924 ii. 19 no. 1306 f. pl. 45), while from *c.* 376 to the middle of *s.* iv B.C. the sea-god is replaced by the head of Athena, surviving only as an adjunct on the reverse side (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* i. 204 ff. pl. 19, 10—27, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 901 ff. pls. 244, 17—20, 245, 1—11, Head *op. cit.*[2] p. 470, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 52 pl. 13, 5—8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 189 f. pl. 42, 8 f., *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 499 f. pl. 241, 5—10, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 533 f. nos. 4504 f. pl. 163, 4506—4512 pl. 164, *Michailovitch Sale Catalogue* 1922 p. 42 no. 629 pl. 24, *Bertier de la Garde Sale Catalogue* 1923 p. 92 nos. 2276—2280 pl. 64). I show a representative series, of which fig. 41 = J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 18, 23 Paris, fig. 42 = Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* pl. 244, 4 Jameson collection, fig. 43 = a specimen, from unpublished dies, in my own collection, fig. 44 = *Photiades Sale Catalogue* 1890 i. 104 no. 1293 pl. 7, fig. 45 = J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 19, 6 de Luynes collection, fig. 46 = J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 19, 9 Paris, fig. 47 = Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* pl. 245, 4 de Luynes collection.

A somewhat similar deity on an unpublished bronze coin of Karystos in my collection (fig. 48) is presumably Glaukos, from whom the athlete Glaukos of Karystos traced his descent (Paus. 6. 10. 1). *Obv.* head of Zeus; *rev.* ΚΑ Sea-god to right, grasping fish (holed).

[5] Paus. 8. 26. 6 Ἀλιφηρεῦσι δὲ τὸ μὲν ὄνομα τῇ πόλει γέγονεν ἀπὸ Ἀλιφήρου Δυκάονος παιδός, ἱερὰ δὲ Ἀσκληπιοῦ τέ ἐστι καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς, ἣν θεῶν σέβονται μάλιστα, γενέσθαι καὶ

τραφῆναι παρὰ σφίσιν αὐτὴν λέγοντες· καὶ Διός τε ἱδρύσαντο Λεχεάτου (Gédoyn cj. Λοχεάτου) βωμὸν ἅτε ἐνταῦθα τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκόντος, καὶ κρήνην καλοῦσι Τριτωνίδα, τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ ποταμῷ τῷ Τρίτωνι οἰκειούμενοι λόγον. κ.τ.λ. (*supra* ii. 782). W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 79 with plan on p. 73 identified this Tritonis with a spring on the north-eastern side of the hill of Aliphera.

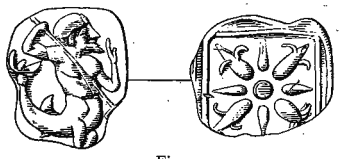


Fig. 41.

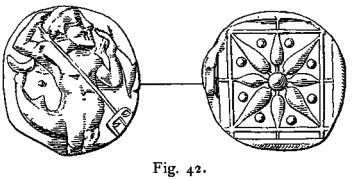


Fig. 42.

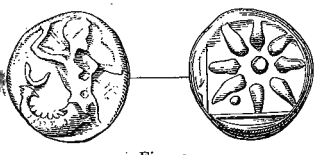


Fig. 43.

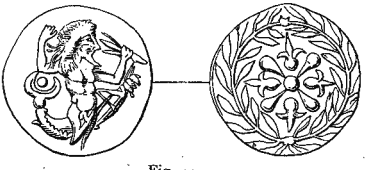


Fig. 44.

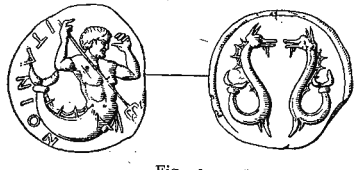


Fig. 45.

Fig. 46.

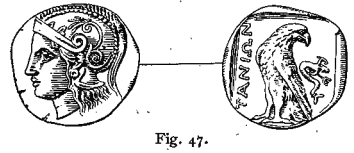


Fig. 47.

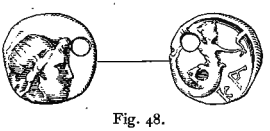


Fig. 48.

[6] Paus. 9. 33. 7 ῥεῖ δὲ καὶ ποταμὸς ἐνταῦθα (*sc.* near Alalkomenai) οὐ μέγας χείμαρρος· ὀνομάζουσι δὲ Τρίτωνα αὐτόν, ὅτι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τραφῆναι παρὰ ποταμῷ Τρίτωνι ἔχει λόγος, ὡς δὴ τοῦτον τὸν Τρίτωνα ὄντα καὶ οὐχὶ τὸν Λιβύων, ὃς ἐς τὴν πρὸς Λιβύῃ (so F. Sylburg for Λιβύην codd.) θάλασσαν ἐκδίδωσιν ἐκ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης. See also schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 109, 4. 1311 (= Favorin. *lex.* p. 1776, 5 ff.), interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 2. 171, all cited *supra* p. 126 n. 0. The Boeotian towns Athenai and Eleusis (Paus. 9. 24. 2, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀθῆναι) were situated on the banks of the Triton (Strab. 407), which W. M. Leake *Travels in Northern Greece* Cambridge 1835 ii. 135 f. identifies with the stream near the village of *Sulinari*. K. O. Müller *Orchomenos und die*

re-interpretation, a commonplace of classical mythology, is not expressly recorded till the Graeco-Roman period, though there are stray hints of it as early as the fifth century B.C.[1].

Whether the same confusion of *Trīto-* with *Trīto-* ever brought the Tritopatores or Tritopatreis into relation with the water-powers seems to me more problematic. M. Budimir, who claims that the Tritopatreis had something to do with wells, quotes from the Epakria calendar certain 'priestly dues on account of the well for the Tritopatreis[2].' Unfortunately—as may be seen from J. von Prott's edition of the text[3]—the priestly dues and the well belong to one clause, the Tritopatreis to another. The two are juxtaposed, but not connected. Apart from this, Budimir has to fall back on the somewhat remote analogy of the Vedic god Trita, who sits in wells and presses *soma*[4].

No doubt, the deities of wind and water do draw together in late classical belief. Horace[5] describes the South-wind as the

> Mightiest power that Hadria knows,
> Wills he the waves to madden or compose.

Minyer[2] Breslau 1844 p. 349 ff. argued that the 'Ursitz' of Athena *Τριτογένεια* was Boiotia, whence the myth spread with the Minyai to Libya. Similarly Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 266 ff. holds that Athena *Τριτογένεια* originated in Thessaly or Boiotia, and thence passed to Kyrene.

[1] Schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 109 cited *supra* p. 126 n. 0. There are traces of the name even further north, cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v. Τρίτωνος· πολίχνιον Μακεδονίας.*

[1] Aisch. *Eum.* 292 ff. *ἀλλ' εἴτε χώρας ἐν τόποις Λιβυστικῆς* (so Auratus for *Λιβυστικοῖς* codd.) | *Τρίτωνος ἀμφὶ χεῦμα γενεθλίου πόρου* | *τίθησιν ὀρθὸν ἢ κατηρεφῆ πόδα* (*sc.* *Ἀθηνᾶ*), | *κ.τ.λ.*, Hdt. 4. 180 *τούτων δὲ ἔχονται τῶν Μαχλύων Αὐσέες· οὗτοι δὲ καὶ οἱ Μάχλυες πέριξ τὴν Τριτωνίδα λίμνην οἰκέουσι, τὸ μέσον δέ σφι οὐρίζει ὁ Τρίτων...ὀρτῇ δὲ ἐνιαυσίῃ Ἀθηναίης αἱ παρθένοι αὐτῶν δίχα διαστᾶσαι μάχονται πρὸς ἀλλήλας λίθοισί τε καὶ ξύλοισι, τῷ αὐθιγενέι θεῷ λέγουσαι τὰ πάτρια ἀποτελέειν, τὴν Ἀθηναίην καλέομεν. τὰς δὲ ἀποθνῃσκούσας τῶν παρθένων ἐκ τῶν τρωμάτων ψευδοπαρθένους καλέουσι. πρὶν δὲ ἀνεῖναι αὐτὰς μάχεσθαι, τάδε ποιεῦσι κοινῇ· παρθένον τὴν καλλιστεύουσαν ἑκάστοτε κοσμήσαντες κυνέῃ τε Κορινθίῃ καὶ πανοπλίῃ Ἑλληνικῇ καὶ ἐπ' ἅρμα ἀναβιβάσαντες περιάγουσι τὴν λίμνην κύκλῳ. ὀτέοισι δὲ τὸ πάλαι ἐκόσμεον τὰς παρθένους πρὶν ἢ σφι Ἕλληνας παροικισθῆναι, οὐκ ἔχω εἰπεῖν, δοκέω δ' ὦν Αἰγυπτίοισι ὅπλοισι κοσμέεσθαι αὐτάς·...τὴν δὲ Ἀθηναίην φασὶ Ποσειδέωνος εἶναι θυγατέρα καὶ τῆς Τριτωνίδος λίμνης, καί μιν μεμφθεῖσάν τι τῷ πατρὶ δοῦναι ἑωυτὴν τῷ Διί, τὸν δὲ Δία ἑωυτοῦ μιν ποιήσασθαι θυγατέρα,* Eur. *Ion* 871 ff. *καὶ τὴν ἐπ' ἐμοῖς σκοπέλοισι θεὰν | λίμνης τ' ἐνύδρου Τριτωνιάδος | πότνιαν ἀκτάν,* Aristoph. *Lys.* 346 ff. *καί σε καλῶ σύμμαχον, ὦ | Τριτογένει', ἥν τις ἐκείνας ὑποπίμπρησιν ἀνήρ, | φέρειν ὕδωρ μεθ' ἡμῶν.*

[2] M. Budimir reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 p. 202 *'ἱερώσυνα φρέατος Τριτοπατρεῦσι.'*

[3] The text is given *supra* p. 115 n. 4.

[4] J. Escher *Triton und seine Bekämpfung durch Herakles* Leipzig 1890 pp. 9—13 ('Vorgeschichte des Triton und Ableitung des Namens,' dealing fully with Vedic *Trita*, Zend *Thrita*, etc.), E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 pp. 104, 431 n. 3, M. Winternitz *A concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion* Oxford 1910 p. 589, A. A. Macdonell in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 604 b.

[5] Hor. *od.* 1. 3. 15 f. trans. J. Conington.

In art, as H. Steinmetz[1] pointed out, wind-gods approximate to the Tritonian type. Lucian[2] touches in the portrait of Thrasykles the philosopher with a few effective phrases:

'Here he comes—beard all a-spread, eyebrows arched, arrogance in the air, an up-against-Olympos look, the tresses waving over his forehead, a very Boreas or Triton in the manner of Zeuxis.'

En revanche Triton, blowing a blast with his sonorous conch, easily takes on the duties of a wind-god. A mosaic[3] found in 1833 at Saint Rustice, north-west of Toulouse, among the ruins of a Roman bath, represents a huge head of Okeanos[4] surrounded by various marine subjects. These include sea-divinities mounted on Tritons, all labelled in Greek lettering of the third century A.D.[5] Adjacent bays on the right show *Thétis* carried by *Trîton*, *Panópea* by *Bórios*; on the left, *Dotó* by *Nynphogenés*, *Palémon* and *Inó* by *Glaûkos*. The artist's signature is incomplete—...*génios Sikiliótes*. Here then we have a genuine Triton wearing a fish-skin as a *chlamýs*, but actually bearing the name of a wind-god *Bór(e)ios*. More than that, one interesting monument made Triton in a sense the ruler of all the winds that blow. The Horologion of Andronikos Kyrrhestes[6], built at

[1] H. Steinmetz 'Windgötter' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 35 n. 13, F. R. Dressler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1203.

[2] Loukian.-*Tim.* 54 ἀλλὰ τί τοῦτο; οὐ Θρασυκλῆς ὁ φιλόσοφος οὗτός ἐστιν; οὐ μὲν οὖν ἄλλος· ἐκπετάσας γοῦν τὸν πώγωνα καὶ τὰς ὀφρῦς ἀνατείνας καὶ βρενθυόμενός τι πρὸς αὐτὸν ἔρχεται, τιτανῶδες βλέπων, ἀνασεσοβημένος τὴν ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ κόμην, Αὐτοβορέας τις ἢ Τρίτων, οἷους ὁ Ζεῦξις ἔγραψεν.

[3] J. de Witte in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1834 pp. 157—159, A. L. C. A. Du Mège in the *Histoire et Mémoires de l'académie royale des sciences, inscriptions et belles-lettres de Toulouse* 1834—1836 (Toulouse 1837) iv. 2. 30—51, *id. Archéologie pyrénéenne* Toulouse 1858 Atlas i pl. 14, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 38 no. 1.

[4] P. Gauckler in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 2115 n. 10.

[5] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 2519 a ΓΕΝ|ΙΟC || CIK|ΛIΩ|THC, b ΠΑΝΟΠΗΑ || BOPIoC, c ΘΕΤIC || ΤΡΙΤΩΝ, d ΔΩΤΩ || ΝΥΝΦΟ|ΓΕΝΗC, ΓΛΑΥΚoC || ΠΑΛΕΜΩΝ || ΙΝΩ.

[6] J. Stuart and N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1762 i. 13—25 with pls. 1 (view), 2 (plan), 3 (restoration), 4 (vertical section), 5—9 (architectural detail), 10 f. (sundials), 12—19 (wind-gods), J. Matz in Baumeister *Denkm.* iii. 2112—2115 figs. 2365 (chart), 2366 (restoration), 2367 (vertical section), 2368 (plan), 2369 (*klepsýdra*), Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* pp. 200—203 fig. 9, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 615 f. fig. 324 (Boreas), Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 187 f., E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 pp. 24, 488—491 (date either *s.* ii or early in *s.* i B.C.) with fig., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 pp. 92 n. 11 (date *s.* i B.C.), 333 f. with fig. 41, *ib.*[2] 1931 pp. 97, 374 f., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 57.

P. Graindor in *Le Musée Belge* 1906 x. 353 ff. and in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 29 ff. notes the discovery in Tenos, about the year 1906, of a tower like that of the Winds at Athens. This new tower has an inscription (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 2 no. 891, cp. A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2427) which shows that Andronikos, the constructor of both, was a native of Kyrrhos in Makedonia (not Kyrrhos in Syria) and that the tower at Athens must be dated in the time of Iulius Caesar.

Athens in the first century B.C. and better known to us as the 'Tower of the Winds,' was an octagonal structure of white marble containing a water-clock. The upper part of its exterior was decorated with eight reliefs of the wind-gods, arranged in accordance with the wind-rose of Eratosthenes[1],—Boreas, Kaikias, Apeliotes, Euros,

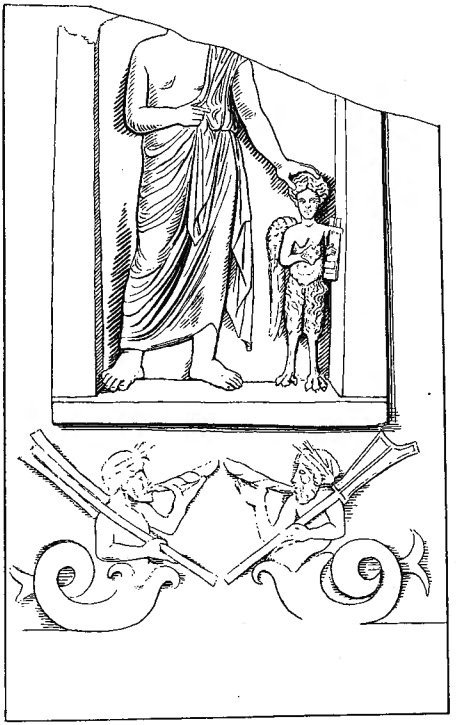


Fig. 49.

Notos, Lips, Zephyros, Skiron. And the roof was crowned by the bronze figure of a Triton, who swung round in the wind and pointed with his rod to the appropriate deity[2].

[1] H. Steinmetz *De ventorum descriptionibus apud Graecos Romanosque* Gottingae 1907 pp. 42 ff., 80, *id.* 'Windgötter' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 34 f.

[2] Vitr. 1. 6. 4, cp. Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 5. 17.

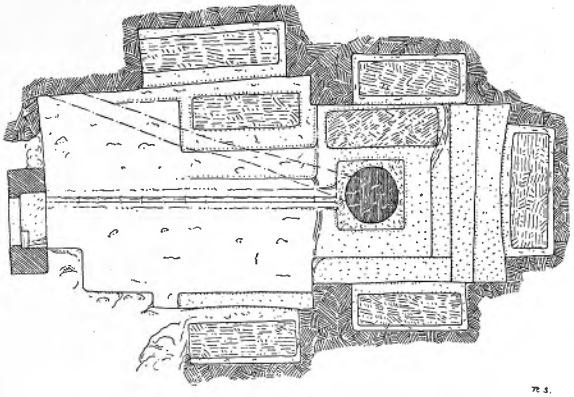


Fig. 50.

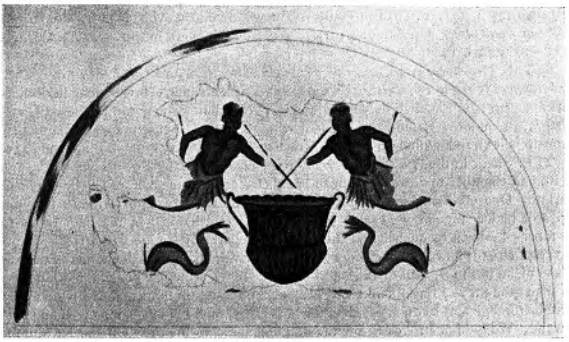


Fig. 51.

If Triton thus played the part of Aiolos, can we go further and maintain that the former, like the latter, was a keeper of souls in some island of the Otherworld? It must, I think, be admitted that Tritons on occasion were viewed as protectors of the dead. A *stêle* of Pentelic marble in the Peiraieus Museum (fig. 49), assigned by A. Brückner[1] to the end of the second or the beginning of the first century B.C., represents the dead man standing in an architectural niche (*naïskos*?) with his left hand on the head of a Siren at his side. Below this group are carved in slight relief two bearded Tritons, wreathed with reeds (?), who confront one another, each blowing a conch and shouldering a paddle. Why are they there? Brückner describes them as 'das mythologische Ornament,' which is true but not particularly helpful. I take it that Triton with his echoing horn, like the cock with his lively din[2], was believed to keep maleficent spirits at a distance. And this may well account for the persistent popularity of Tritons on *sarcophagi* and other sepulchral monuments of Graeco-Roman and Etruscan art[3]. They are often accompanied by a train of Nereids and sea-beasts, with diminutive Erotes here, there, and everywhere. I figure a couple of *sarcophagi*, one made for a Roman lady in the third century A.D. (fig. 52)[4], the other made

[1] A. Brückner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 377—382 pl. 4 (=my fig. 49), F. R. Dressler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1174 with fig. 13.

[2] See E. Baethgen *De vi ac significatione galli in religionibus et artibus Graecorum et Romanorum* Gottingae 1887 pp. 20—23 ('De galli vi averruncanti'), P. Perdrizet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1904 pp. 12—17, S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 i. 125 f., 319, ii. 82, 120, 140, 151, 153, 155, 311, O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 141, F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2532 f., Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 p. 257, C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 100 f.

[3] F. R. Dressler *Triton und die Tritonen in der Litteratur und Kunst der Griechen und Römer* Wurzen 1892/3 ii. 13—23 (§ 25 'Tritonen (auch Tritoniden) in Reliefs an Sarkophagen hauptsächlich in Verbindung mit Nereiden, Eroten und Seetieren'), 23—25 (§ 26 '...in anderen Sepulcralmonumenten'), 26 (§ 27 'Fischschwänzige Daimonen an etruskischen Grabdenkmälern'), *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1193—1198, 1198 f., 1199 f.

T. L. Shear in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 428 ff. figs. 5—10 reports the finding of Roman chamber-tombs cut out in the hard clay of a hillside S.E. of Cheliotomylos near Corinth. One of these, originally constructed towards the end of *s.* i A.D. (fig. 5=my fig. 50), had a circular well-shaft (0·95^{m} across, 2·30^{m} deep) in the floor of its inner chamber—perhaps to quench the thirst of the departed (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 831 n. 1, *infra* § 9 (d) ii (α))—and was decorated with several paintings. That on the *tympanum* of the niche in the S. wall of the outer chamber (fig. 6=my fig. 51) shows a large *kratêr* (orange ground, red lines) flanked by a pair of plunging dolphins, above which are two Tritons (orange and red bodies, greenish-blue tails), each blowing a long reed and holding a wand. Wavy blue strokes below the dolphins indicate the sea. On the N. wall of the outer chamber, at the E. end of the grave is a large trident painted on the transverse wall.

[4] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 207 fig. 196 (=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 95 no. 3) with Texte ii. 502, Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 405 f. no. 440, F. R. Dressler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1194 f. fig. 25. A *sarcophagus*-front of Luna marble. Height 0·55^{m}. Length 2·15^{m}.

about the same time but used for a Christian burial perhaps two centuries later (fig. 53)[1].

The significance of this marine *cortège* has been differently conceived by different critics. F. Buonarroti[2] in 1698 held that graceful Oceanic figures were believed to escort deserving souls to the Islands of the Blest. His view, accepted by archaeologists of the eighteenth century, was extended by E. Q. Visconti[3], who remarked that sea-processions of the sort were suggestive of a Bacchic *thiasos*. E. Petersen[4] caught at the notion and regarded the riot of sea-creatures as an attempt to symbolise the joyous revels of pious souls on entering the Otherworld. He observed that the movement of such groups is centripetal, not processional, and consequently abandoned the idea of an escort to the Islands of the Blest. He failed, however, adequately to explain why ordinary mortals should thus suffer a sea-change. Neither Ino[5] nor Enalos[6] is typical of commonplace humanity. W. H. Roscher[7] suspected that the clue lay in the Samothracian mysteries. Sundry myths of the

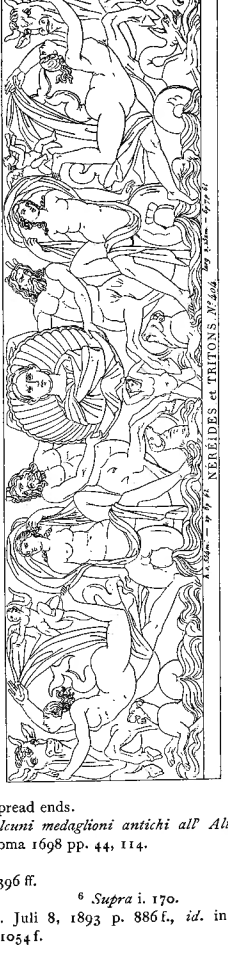


Fig. 52.

[1] C. L. V(isconti) 'Sarcofago con rappresentanza di Nereidi e Tritoni' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1873 i. 192—200 pl. 4 (=my fig. 53). Found near the western side of the large square *porticus* to the right of the Basilica of S. Lorenzo at Rome. Height 0·65^{m}. Length 2·10^{m}. The acclamation **PROMOTE | HABEAS** (for *Promote, aveas*) is followed by a Latin cross with spread ends.

[2] F. Buonarroti *Osservazioni istoriche sopra alcuni medaglioni antichi all' Altezza serenissima di Cosimo III, gran duca di Toscana* Roma 1698 pp. 44, 114.

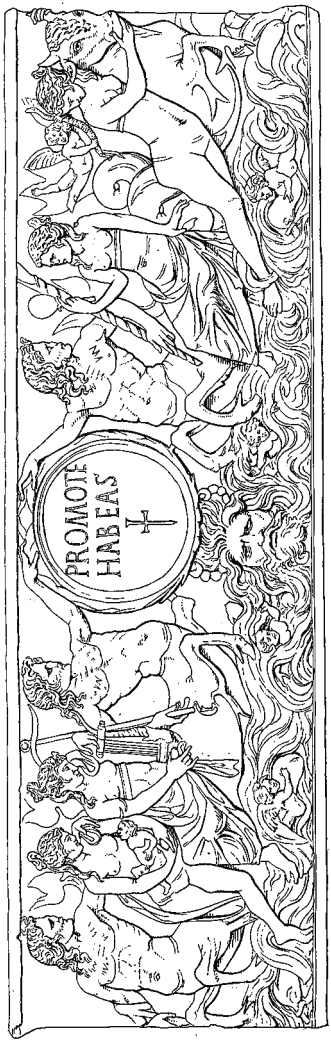
[3] Visconti *Mus. Pie-Clém.* iv. 240 ff. pl. 33.

[4] E. Petersen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 396 ff.

[5] Pind. *Ol.* 2. 28 ff., cp. *supra* i. 674.

[6] *Supra* i. 170.

[7] W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 8, 1893 p. 886 f., *id.* in the *Literarisches Zentralblatt für Deutschland* 1893 p. 1054 f.



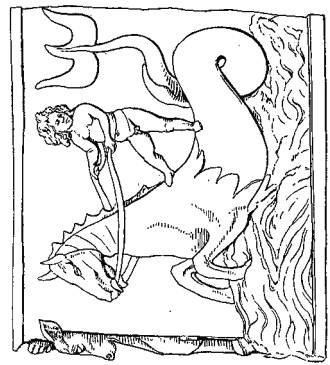


Fig. 53.

A stucco-relief in the semi-dome of the subterranean basilica at Rome :
the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest.

See page 135 ff.

A stucco-relief in the ~~semi-dome of the subterranean~~ basilica at Rome:
the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest.

See page 135 ff.

Tyrsenian Pelasgoi, who founded these mysteries, told how mortals were transformed into sea-deities or sea-creatures—witness Ino Leukothea, Halia, Kombe, Palaimon, Glaukos Pontios, Enalos, and the Tyrsenian pirates metamorphosed into dolphins. Accordingly Roscher conjectured that any Samothracian mystic drowned at sea was said to have become a deity or a denizen of the deep. Hence the frequency of these 'Samothracian' designs. H. Steuding[1] replied that, if so, we ought to see the deceased himself portrayed as one of the marine powers rather than his effigy borne aloft in their midst. The matter is still in dispute. Personally, I am impressed by F. G. Welcker's[2] claim that these *sarcophagi* are descended from the famous group by Skopas, of which Pliny[3] says:

'But most highly esteemed of all his works is the group in the temple built by Gnaeus Domitius in the Circus of Flaminius: it comprises Poseidon himself with Thetis and Achilles, Nereids riding on dolphins and sea monsters or on sea horses, and Tritons and the train of Phorkos, with sea beasts and a tumult of creatures of the deep, the whole by the same hand, a wondrous work, even were it that of a life-time.'

If, as is commonly supposed[4], the Scopaic group—almost certainly a pedimental group—represented the passing of Achilles to the Islands of the Blest, or more precisely to Leuke or Borysthenis in the Black Sea[5], it is at least legitimate to interpret the scene on the *sarcophagi* as that of a safe and superhuman convoy moving forward[6] to some Otherworld island[7]. And here it will be remembered that the magnificent stucco-relief, which fills the semi-dome of the subterranean basilica outside the Porta Maggiore at Rome, depicts an analogous scene (pl. xix)[8]. Before us lies a stormy

[1] H. Steuding in the *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* Nov. 29, 1893 p. 1307.

[2] Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* i. 204—206.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 26 trans. Miss K. Jex-Blake.

[4] L. Urlichs *Skopas Leben und Werke* Greifswald 1863 p. 132 ff., *id. Griechische Statuen im republikanischen Rom* Würzburg 1880 p. 17 ff., Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 19 f., 420, J. Sieveking 'Der sogenannte Altar des Cn. Domitius Ahenobarbus' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 95—101, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 573 f.

[5] Fleischer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 53—58, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 240 f., W. Tomaschek *ib.* iii. 739, Farnell *Gk. Hero Cults* p. 286, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 1194 f.

[6] This escapes E. Petersen's objection that the movement of the group is centripetal, not processional (*supra* p. 133).

[7] Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 p. 215 'The dolphins and marine monsters, another frequent decoration, form a mystic escort of the dead to the Islands of the Blest, and at the same time carry with them an allusion to the purifying power of water and to the part assigned to the watery element in Mithraic and solar cults.' I am not satisfied that we need to assume any such further implications.

[8] Good photographs of the relief were published by E. Strong and N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 103 ff. pl. 4 and by J. Carcopino *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* Paris 1927 p. 371 ff. pl. 24. Better still is the definitive publication

sea with threatening breakers. A rock-bound coast looms up on either hand. From the headland on the right, where a tree is growing, a veiled woman with a lyre steps down towards the water, attended by Eros. In front of her a Triton, or perhaps rather a personification of the Wind, holds a mantle to serve as her ferry-boat across the flood. On the cliff to the left sits a man, who leans his head on his hand in an attitude of deep dejection. In front of him a second and unmistakable Triton turns away, blowing a blast on his horn. Finally, in the distance is seen a rocky island, on which stands Apollon holding out his hand as if to welcome the woman. F. Fornari[1], one of the two scholars first privileged to publish this wonderful composition, saw at once that the subject must be the last voyage of the soul over the waters of death to the Islands of the Blest. Much has been written on the relief since then[2], and, though various points of content[3] and style[4] remain uncertain, it

by G. Bendinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1926 xxxi pls. 11 (= my pl. xix), 12 (centre), 13 (right side), 14 (drawing). To photograph well an apsidal relief in such a position is something of a technical triumph.

[1] F. Fornari in the *Not. Scavi* 1918 p. 49, being part of the initial publication (E. Gatti and F. Fornari 'Brevi notizie relative alla scoperta di un monumento sotterraneo presso Porta Maggiore' in the *Not. Scavi* 1918 pp. 30—39 and 39—52).

[2] The bibliography given by J. Carcopino *La basilique pythagoricienne de la Porte Majeure* Paris 1927 pp. 388—391 mentions thirty-nine articles, paragraphs, and letters dealing directly with the basilica. And the end is not yet. The most important accounts are the following: F. Cumont 'La basilique souterraine de la Porta Maggiore' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1918 ii. 52—73, R. Lanciani 'Il santuario sotterraneo recentemente scoperto *ad Spem Veterem*' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1920 pp. 69—84, R. Leopold 'La basilique souterraine de la Porta Maggiore' in the *Mélanges d'Archéologie et d'Histoire* 1921 xxxix. 165—192, G. Bendinelli 'Il mausoleo sotterraneo altrimenti detto Basilica di Porta Maggiore' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1922 pp. 85—126, H. Lietzmann 'Orphisch-neupythagoräische Katakombenkunst in Rom' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii. Arch. Anz. pp. 348—351, *id.* 'Der unterirdische Kultraum von Porta Maggiore in Rom' in the *Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1922—1923* ii. 66—70, J. Hubaux 'Le plongeon rituel' in the *Musée Belge* 1923 p. 5 ff., E. Strong and N. Jolliffe 'The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 65—111. To these must be added the clear-headed and well-documented monograph of J. Carcopino *op. cit.* pp. 1—414 with 24 plates and 6 plans, and finally the sumptuous publication of G. Bendinelli 'Il monumento sotterraneo di Porta Maggiore in Roma' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1926 xxxi. 601—860 with 54 figs. and 43 pls.

[3] It is *à priori* probable that the conch of the apse represented a myth rather than a belief. There was therefore something to be said for the suggestion of C. Densmore Curtis 'Sappho and the "Leucadian Leap"' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 146—150 that the stucco portrays 'a well-known story, namely the famous "Leucadian Leap" of Sappho in her attempt to be freed from her hopeless love for Phaon' (Ov. *her.* 15. 157—184). F. Cumont 'La basilica sotterranea presso Porta Maggiore a Roma' in the *Rassegna d'Arte* 1921 pp. 37—44 held that this explanation of the scene was possibly compatible with his own Pythagorean hypothesis. J. Carcopino 'Encore la Basilique de la "Porta Maggiore"' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 ii. 1—23 turned possibility into something very like certainty by pointing out that the Pythagoreans were much concerned with the myth of

Sappho and Phaon (Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 20 ob hoc (*sc.* male root of white eryngo) et Phaonem Lesbium dilectum a Sappho, multa circa hoc non Magorum solum vanitate, sed etiam Pythagoricorum). E. Strong and N. Jolliffe 'The Stuccoes of the Underground Basilica near the Porta Maggiore' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 65—111 justly observe (p. 103 f.): 'It is true that Pliny says nothing about the death or leap of Sappho, nothing therefore bearing on the subject of the apse stucco, yet we may now reasonably assume that the whole Sappho legend entered into Pythagorean lore, and that M. Carcopino by this timely discovery has disposed of any doubt as to the Pythagorean character of the basilica, or as to Sappho's leap being the subject of the apse stucco.' They themselves go further and, taking a hint from H. Stuart Jones (*ib.* p. 103 n. 124 a), interpret the relief as a scene of apotheosis by water (cp. G. Glotz *L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* Paris 1904 pp. 34—50 ('Le saut de Leucade'))—'the root idea of baptism.' See further P. Boyancé 'Leucas' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 211—219—an interesting discussion of Pliny's *candida eryngе*=Γοργόνειον, μῶλυ, ἱμερτός, etc. (Dioskor. 3. 21 (24) p. 363 f. Sprengel), *δείζωον* (Mart. Cap. 141, where cod. A has λευκως with gloss *herba albula ut quidam lilium*).

Fig. 54.

Whatever be thought of this catena of interpretations, it can hardly be denied that Ovid's description of Sappho and the Leap does fit the design of the relief with remarkable aptitude. The single tree overlooking the water (Ov. *her.* 15. 159 f. quem supra ramos expandit aquatica lotos, | una nemus), Apollon on his rock (165 Phoebus ab excelso, quantum patet, adspicit aequor), the woman stepping down from the cliff (172 nec saxo desiluisse time), the personification of wind with a mantle for a boat (177 f. aura, subito: | et mea non magnum corpora pondus habent), the attendant Eros (179 tu quoque, mollis Amor, pennas suppone cadenti), the lyre carried by the woman (181 inde chelyn Phoebo, communia munera, ponam),—almost every point in the picture can be paralleled from the poem.

[4] The art-type of Sappho stepping off the rock for love of Phaon was, I think, derived from the earlier art-type of Aphrodite stepping on to the ferry-boat of Phaon, as shown by a red-figured *krατήr* found in 1909 'nella proprietà Tamburini fuori Porta Castiglione' and now at Bologna (Pellegrini *Cat. vas. gr. dipint. Bologna* pp. 133—135 no. 288[bis] fig. 77 (=my fig. 54).

Apollon, according to C. Densmore Curtis in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1920 xxiv. 150, appears to be the Apollon Λευκάτης of a coin of Nikopolis struck by Trajan (*supra* i. 345 n. 8).

The dejected man on the rocks to the left has been compared by F. Cumont in the *Rassegna d'Arte* 1921 p. 39 with analogous figures on Attic sepulchral *stêlai*.

But much has yet to be done by way of investigating the antecedents of these and other individual *motifs*.

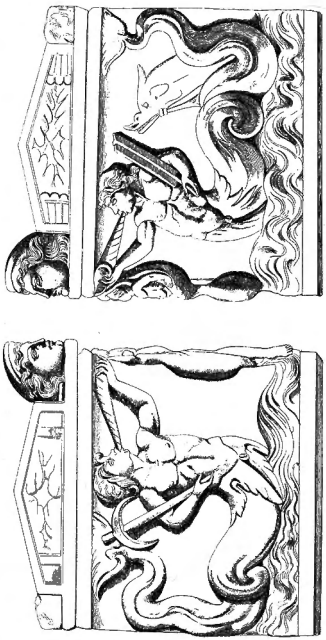


Fig. 55.

is now generally admitted that the whole design illustrates the entrance of the soul into the Otherworld as conceived by some Pythagorean sect in the middle of the first century A.D. But we are concerned with the Tritons only, who here as on the *sarcophagi* are present to control the winds and waves, thereby averting the perils of the last dread voyage. If on the *sarcophagus* in the Galleria Corsini at Rome (fig. 55)[1] they are exceptionally equipped with the thunderbolt of Zeus[2], the helmet sword and shield of Ares, the arrows and torch of Eros, etc., that is tantamount to saying that Tritons and the like in this connexion are not merely graceful gambollers but the equivalent of a whole heavenly host.

To sum up, it would seem that the Tritons came to be regarded as, like the Tritopatores, at once controllers of the wind and guardians of the soul. But this was a matter of similarity, not of identity. If *Tritogéneia* meant first 'Great-granddaughter' and then 'Born

Fig. 56.

beside the Triton[3],' that was a case of sheer verbal confusion. Nor have we the right to infer from it a real relationship between the Tritopatores and the Tritons. And, in the absence of any inward identity, I find no sufficient reason for thinking that the Tritopatores were ever outwardly figured as Tritons with fishy tails; still less, for supposing that they already had the Tritonian type in the sixth century B.C. Accordingly, I definitely reject the view of Furt-

[1] O. Jahn 'Sarcofago della Galleria Corsini a Roma' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 27—32, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 26 (=my fig. 55), C. Cavedoni in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 206, E. Petersen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 402 f., 412 n. 1, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1860 p. 11 n. 2, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* ii. 368 f. no. 3164, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 223 nos. 1—3.

[2] E. Vinet in the *Rev. Arch.* 1853 p. 100 ff. with fig. (=my fig. 56) published a gem-impression, obtained from T. Cades, which shows a Triton equipped with thunderbolt and trident. Vinet thought him Aigaion.

[3] *Supra* p. 125.

wängler[1], who gave the name of Tritopatores to the three-bodied snake-tailed giant of the earliest Hekatompedon at Athens. That view, though it has commended itself to M. Budimir[2], B. Schweitzer[3], and others, seems to me far less probable than the older identification of the giant with the 'three-bodied Typhon' of Euripides[4].

(d) Zeus *Oúrios, tkmenos, Euánemos, Bóreios.*

The primitive fancy that winds are the souls of ancestors dead and buried was followed, and largely superseded, by the more intelligent notion that winds are atmospheric forces controlled by a sky-god.

This transition from a lower to a higher view was, it would seem, facilitated by long-standing local beliefs. The Aeolians held that the winds were kept by an eponymous forefather Aiolos[5], who dwelt in Aiolie a floating island[6] perhaps originally located in the Black Sea[7], like Leuke or Borysthenis the final abode of Achilles[8]. Further,

[1] A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 433 f.

[2] M. Budimir 'Atena Tritogenija i' atički Tritopatreiji' in the *Glasnik zem. Muzeja* 1920 xxxii. 295—328 (reported by L. Radermacher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* März 4, 1922 pp. 198—203).

[3] B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 p. 72 ff. (summarised by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1209 f.), *supra* p. 122 n. 5.

[4] Eur. *H.f.* 1271 f. *τρισωμάτους* | *Τυφῶνας*, where P. Elmsley would not have conjectured *Γηρυόνας*, had he lived to see the triple monster of the Hekatompedon (*supra* ii. 805 n. 6) or that of the black-figured *kýlix* at Florence (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 76 f. fig. 84 a and b).

[5] *Supra* p. 106 ff. [6] *Infra* Append. P (1).

[7] This is nowhere stated. But the early connexion of Aeolians with Asia Minor (V. G. Childe *The Aryans: A Study of Indo-European Origins* London 1926 p. 47 f., *supra* p. 111 n. 4) and that of Achilles with Leuke (first in the *Aithiopis* of Arktinos *ap.* Prokl. *chrestomath. gramm.* 2 in *Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 34 Kinkel—a source referred by W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 63 and 97 to *s.* viii B.C.) combine to give the surmise some measure of probability. Later, of course, Aiolie was located in the west, being identified with one of the Liparenses Insulae. But K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1032 ff. makes it clear that this transference from Aegean to Sicilian waters was the work of Chalcidian colonists.

W. W. Merry in his note on *Od.* 10. 3 writes: 'May not the whole story of the floating island with its precipitous sides be a poetical reproduction of the story of some Phoenician sailors, who had voyaged far enough to the north to fall in with an iceberg? The sheer face of ice and the glittering summit seem to be perfectly described by the words *χάλκεον τεῖχος* and *λισσὴ ἀναδέδρομε πέτρη*.' When it comes to the interpretation of an ancient myth, rationalism is usually wrong (*supra* i. 418). Nevertheless Merry's suggestion should not be scouted; for a perusal of Append. P will suffice to show that the floating islands of the Greeks and Romans have almost invariably some foundation in fact. Moreover, icebergs in the Black Sea are not beyond the pale of possibility. W. B. Carpenter in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[9] Edinburgh 1875 iii. 797 says: 'It is reported...that in 401 A.D. the surface of the Euxine was almost entirely frozen over, and that when the ice broke up enormous masses were seen floating in the Sea of Marmora for thirty days [*Chron. Pasch.* 307 B (i. 568 Dindorf)]. In 762 A.D., again, the sea is said to have been frozen from the

there is good reason to think that Aeolian kings (Salmoneus, Keyx, Ixion, etc.) were at one time regarded as human embodiments of Zeus[1]. Indeed, modern mythology is inclined to conjecture that Aiolos himself began life as an appellative of the same god[2]. It would not, therefore, be surprising to find that in saga expanded from Aeolian lays a favouring wind was deemed the special gift of Zeus, or that the cult of Zeus as sender of such a wind persistently clung to the Aeolian coast-line.

In point of fact both expectations are justified. It is often and, in my opinion, rightly supposed that the Homeric poems were essentially the dactylic lays of Aeolian Thessaly put together in hexameter form by a poet or poets who somewhere on the fringe of Asiatic Aiolis, not improbably at Chios, used an Ionic dialect with an inevitable admixture of Aeolisms[3]. Hence Homer, true to Aeolic

terminal cliffs of the Caucasus to the mouths of the Dniester, Dnieper, and Danube; and contemporary writers assert that the quantity of snow which fell on the ice rose to the height of from 30 to 40 feet, completely hiding the contour of the shores, and that on the breaking up of the ice in the month of February, the masses of it carried by the current into the Sea of Marmora reunited in one immense sheet across the Hellespont between Sestos and Abydos [Theophan. *chron.* i. 670 Classen, Zonar. 15. 7, Glykas *ann.* 4 p. 527 Bekker]. No similar occurrence has been subsequently recorded.' According to *Chambers's Encyclopædia* London and Edinburgh 1923 ii. 206 *s.v.* 'Black Sea,' 'All the coasts are high, with good harbours, except between the mouths of the Danube and the Crimea; there the land is low, and the danger of navigation greatly increased in winter by the presence of floating ice.... The shores from Odessa to the Crimea are ice-bound during January and February; and although the harbour of Odessa is never frozen up, yet the drift-ice frequently renders the entrance to it dangerous.' See further Hdt. 4. 28 (cited Gell. 17. 8. 16, Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 12. 31), Verg. *georg.* 3. 349 ff., Strab. 73 and 307, Ov. *trist.* 3. 10. 31 f., *ex Pont.* 3. 1. 15 f., 4. 9. 85 f., Sen. *H.f.* 539 f., Mela 1. 19. 115, Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 12. 32 f.

[1] *Supra* ii. 1088, 1122 f. [2] *Supra* p. 107 n. 3. [3] *Supra* p. 135.

[3] Literature on the subject is cited and in part criticised by W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 68 f., K. Witte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2220 f., Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 473, P. Cauer *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*[3] Leipzig 1921 i. 136—179. The topic is dealt with here and there by D. Mülder 'Bericht über die Literatur zu Homer (Höhere Kritik) für die Jahre 1912—1919' in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1920 clxxxii. 1—164 and 'Bericht über die Literatur zu Homer (Höhere Kritik) aus den Jahren 1920—1924' *ib.* 1926 ccvii. 1—90, 171—255. I follow the lead of my friend Dr P. Giles in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for March 9, 1915 p. 696, as does that trenchant critic T. W. Allen *Homer: the Origins and the Transmission* Oxford 1924 p. 103 (who, however, will not admit any 'Aeolic lays'). But see now M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 167 ff., who argues afresh that the Homeric language is a '*Kunstsprache*' and concludes a most temperate discussion thus: 'We may surmise that the first Ionic minstrels took over Aeolic epics—but not the songs which we read to-day—perhaps rather mechanically substituting their own dialect and admitting chiefly such Aeolic stock expressions, words, and forms, for which metrically equivalent Ionic forms were wanting. As the songs were constantly rehandled and even new songs composed, the close fusion of Aeolic words and forms with an Ionic basis was the ultimate result. It is impossible to guess how long a time such a process may have taken. We can only be certain that it must have been long,

tradition, recognises Zeus as natural lord and master of the winds. The *Odyssey* speaks of ships 'delighting in the fair breeze of Zeus'[1] or 'driven by the fair breeze of Zeus[2],' and tells how 'Zeus sent a fair breeze' to certain Phoenician mariners[3]. Similar expressions occur in later poetry[4], sometimes with special reference to a westerly gale[5] or to the etesian winds[6].

Again, Zeus as sender of the fair breeze (*oúros*) bore the cult-title *Oúrios* at least as early as 475 B.C. For, writing about that date, Aischylos makes the suppliant Danaïdes appeal to Zeus *Oúrios*[7]. They had travelled far and would fain reach the haven of their desires. Who should waft them on their way, if not the great Argive[8] god from whom through Epaphos they traced their descent[9]?

Zeus *Oúrios* had a sanctuary on the Asiatic side of the Thracian Bosporos[10]. This was known to the Greeks as *Híeron*, the 'Sanctuary' *par excellence*[11]. The *tabula Peutingeriana* at Vienna, a road-map of the Roman world drawn and painted at the beginning of the

because the evolving of such an artificial language is a slow process. We have further to admit that this formation of a traditional epic language took place twice, first in Aeolic dialect and for a second time in the Ionic dialect, the creation of the fundamentally Ionic language of Homer with an Aeolic admixture.' Etc.

[1] *Od.* 5. 176 ἀγαλλόμεναι Διὸς οὔρῳ.

[2] *Od.* 15. 297 ἐπειγομένη Διὸς οὔρῳ. Strab. 350 quotes the passage as reading ἀγαλλομένη Διὸς οὔρῳ, in which form the line recurs in *h. Ap.* 427.

[3] *Od.* 15. 475 ἐπὶ δὲ Ζεὺς οὖρον ἴαλλεν.

[4] Ap. Rhod. 4. 1223 f. ἦλυθε δ' οὖρος | ἀκραὴς ἠῶθεν ὑπὲκ Διός, Tzetz. *antehom.* 97 ἐς Σπάρτην ἐπαγαλλόμενος Διὸς ἦλυθεν οὔροις.

[5] *H. Ap.* 433 f. ἦλθ' ἄνεμος ζέφυρος μέγας αἴθριος, ἐκ Διὸς αἰσης, | λάβρος ἐπαιγίζων ἐξ αἰθέρος, κ.τ.λ.

[6] Ap. Rhod. 2. 498 f. ἦρι δ' ἐτήσιαι (so G. W. Mooney with one of the Paris codd. ἐτήσιοι vulg.) αὖραι ἐπέχραον, αἵ τ' ἀνὰ πᾶσαν | γαῖαν ὀμῶς τοιῇδε Διὸς πνείουσιν ἀρωγῇ (A. H. Matthiae's cj. ἀνωγῇ can claim the support of four Vatican codd.), 2. 524 ff. τοῖο δ' ἕκητι | γαῖαν ἐπιψύχουσιν ἐτήσιαι (so G. W. Mooney for ἐτήσιοι vulg.) ἐκ Διὸς αὖραι | ἤματα τεσσαράκοντα.

[7] Aisch. *suppl.* 591 ff. αὐτὸς ὁ πατὴρ φυτουργὸς αὐτόχειρ ἄναξ, | γένους παλαιόφρων μέγας | τέκτων, τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, οὔριος Ζεύς.

[8] The word μῆχαρ in Aisch. *loc. cit.* hints at the Argive cult of Zeus Μηχανεύς (*supra* ii. 1144 n. 2).

[9] So the context definitely asserts. For detailed proof see the *stemmata* in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 234.

[10] Arrian. *peripl. Pont. Eux.* 37 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 401 Müller) ἐκ δὲ Κυανέων ἐπὶ τὸ Ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Οὐρίου, ὅπερ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Πόντου, στάδιοι τεσσαράκοντα.

[11] Marcian. Heracleens. *epit. peripl. Menipp.* 7 f. (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 568 f. Müller) κατὰ τὸν Θρᾴκιον Βόσπορον καὶ τὸ στόμα τοῦ Εὐξείνου Πόντου ἐν τοῖς δεξιοῖς τῆς Ἀσίας μέρεσιν, ἅπερ ἐστὶ τοῦ Βιθυνῶν ἔθνους, κεῖται χωρίον Ἱερὸν καλούμενον, ἐν ᾧ νεώς ἐστι Διὸς Οὐρίου προσαγορευόμενος. τοῦτο δὲ τὸ χωρίον ἀφετήριόν ἐστι τῶν εἰς τὸν Πόντον πλεόντων... ἀπὸ Ἱεροῦ Διὸς Οὐρίου εἰς Ῥήβαν ποταμὸν εἰσὶ στάδιοι ζ′ = anon. *peripl. Pont. Eux.* 1 and 3 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 402 f. Müller). See further E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 752 f. with large-scale map *ib.* 749 f.

thirteenth century, but based on an archetype of 130—150 A.D.[1], duly records the place as *iouis urius* (fig. 57)[2]. The cosmographer of Ravenna, whose seventh-century work, perhaps composed in Greek, is extant in a ninth-century Latin version[3], terms it both *Ieron*[4] and *Urion*[5], while the Italian geographer Guido in 1119 A.D. borrows from him the name *Ieron*[6] or *Hieron*[7]. P. Gilles (Gyllius) in his learned commentary on Dionysios of Byzantion, whose *Voyage up the Bosporos*[8] he had discovered *c.* 1549, gives for the first time a detailed description and history of the spot[9]. E. D. Clarke in 1816 notes that a town in the vicinity bears the name *Joro* or *Joroń*[10]. And the Genoese castle at Anatoli Kavaghi is still called

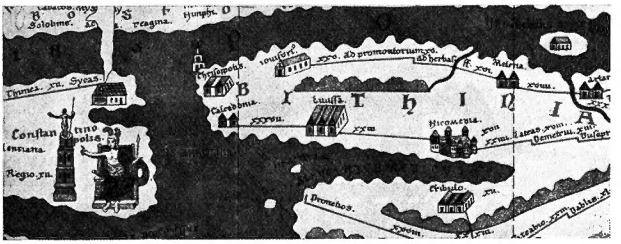


Fig. 57.

[1] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 288 f.

[2] K. Miller *Die Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutingersche Tafel: Einleitender Text* Ravensburg 1887 p. 96, *id. Weltkarte des Castorius genannt Die Peutinger'sche Tafel* Ravensburg 1888 segmentum ix. 2 (a full-sized reproduction in the original colours, from which my fig. 57 is taken). Note the proximity, in segmentum ix. 3, of the *Ins. Achillis sive Leuce dicta*.

[3] H. Funaioli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 305—310, M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1920 iv. 2. 126. The *Thes. Ling. Lat.* Index p. 89 says: 'saec. fere IX ex exemplo graeco saec. VII versa.'

[4] Ravenn. anon. *cosmogr.* 1. 17 p. 38, 1 Pinder—Parthey.

[5] *Id. ib.* 5. 9 p. 364, 1 Pinder—Parthey.

[6] Guido *geogr.* 100 p. 529, 21 Pinder—Parthey.

[7] *Id. ib.* 121 p. 548, 13 Pinder—Parthey.

[8] A work formerly believed to have been written before 196 A.D. (E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 755), but more probably of later date (H. Berger *ib.* v. 971).

[9] Gyllius *in* Dionys. Byz. *frag.* 47 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 57 Müller) and *frags.* 58, 59 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 75—81 Müller). The same fragments are printed in the editions of Dionysios the Byzantine by C. Wescher (Parisiis 1874 p. 27, 5 ff. (lxxv) and p. 29, 16 ff. (xcii, xciii)) and by R. Güngerich (Berolini 1927 p. 27, 16 ff. (75) and p. 29, 30 ff. (92, 93)) without the remarks of Gyllius.

[10] E. D. Clarke *Travels in various countries of Europe Asia and Africa*[4] London 1816 i. 439 n. 4.

by the Turks *Ioros* Kalessi[1]. Here on a bold promontory, commanding both the sequestered bay of Beuyukdere and the broad

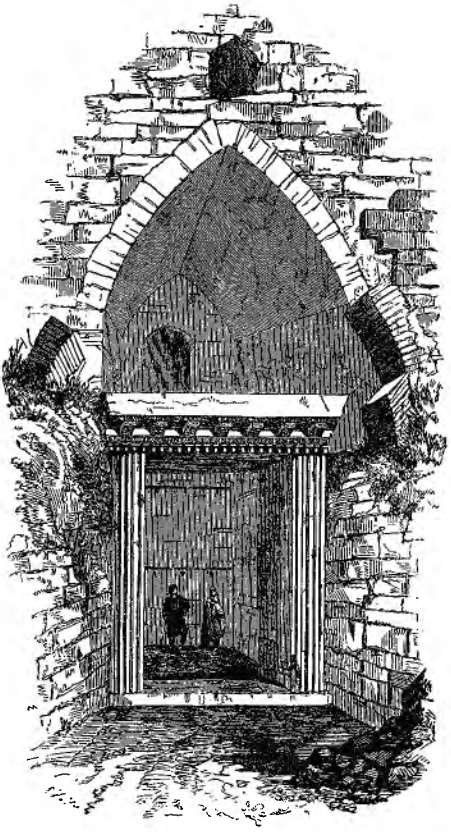


Fig. 58.

waters of the Black Sea, J. Millingen brought to light substantial remains of Greek architecture, which he attributed to the temple

[1] E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 752.

(fig. 58)[1]. These comprise a fine gateway of Parian marble flanked by two columns some 18 ft high; they rest on a great marble threshold and are spanned by a lintel 12 ft 6 ins long and 6 ft broad. Above this rises an archway in the castle-wall, topped by a Byzantine cross; and finally a marble slab on the right-hand tower is inscribed with the ancient formula 'The light of Christ shineth over all[2].' It is possible that a large Ionic capital found by E. D. Clarke on the neighbouring headland of Argyronion came, as he supposed[3], from the same site. Philostratos of Lemnos in the first half of the third century A.D. describes a picture of the Bosporos, and bids us notice various details of its coast-scenery 'until we reach Hieron. And'—he continues—'I think you can see the temple there and *stêlai* set round it and the beacon at the mouth of the straits, hung aloft as a signal to ships sailing from the Pontos[4].' One at least of the said *stêlai*[5] has come down to us—a marble base found by J. Spon and G. Wheler on their Levantine tour (1675—1676) in a house near the church of *Kâdi-Kioi* (Kalchedon), and now preserved

[1] J. Millingen in *The Illustrated London News* for Dec. 12, 1863 p. 592 f. with woodcut (=my fig. 58). See further Sir J. E. Sandys' n. on Dem. *Lept.* 36.

[2] R. A. S. Macalister *The Excavation of Gezer 1902—1905 and 1907—1909* London 1912 p. 357 pl. 104, 3 (tomb 147), p. 366 f. pl. 110, 10 (tomb 160), p. 376 f. pl. 118, 16 (tomb 196) and C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*[2] Paderborn 1913 p. 606 publish lamps from Gezer, Jerusalem, etc. with the liturgical phrase *φῶς Χριστοῦ φένι* (=*φαίνει*) *πᾶσιν ἡμῖν* variously distorted, abbreviated, and amplified. Cp. F. Miltner in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1929 xxiv Beiblatt p. 175 f. no. 77 fig. 74 (*φῶς Χριστοῦ φαίνει πᾶσιν ἐν οἴκῳ*). This legend is accompanied by a stylised form of the seven-branched candlestick. I add two similar lamps in my possession, one (fig. 59, *a*, *b*, *c*) said to have come from Samaria, the other (fig. 60) from *Ain el Sultan* on the site of Jericho. Such lamps suggest that the inscription recorded by Millingen had reference to a cresset or beacon—perhaps the *πυρσός* mentioned by Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 12. 5 (*infra* n. 4) and handsomely illustrated in the *tabula Peutingeriana* (*supra* p. 143 fig. 57).

[3] E. D. Clarke *op. cit.*[4] ii. 440 f.: 'We there found the capital of a very antient column, of the *Ionic* order, not less than two feet and an half in diameter. It had been hollowed; and it now serves as a vase, near to the residence of the Dervish, who relates the idle superstitions of the country concerning the mountain, and the giant supposed to be there buried' [*sc.* Amykos, as Clarke notes, citing Val. Flacc. 4. 200 gigans. See further H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 327, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2000, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 320 n. 5, 570 n. 2, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 842 ff.]. Clarke *ib.*[4] p. 441 n. 6: 'During a subsequent visit to the same place, the author was accompanied by Mons. *Preaux*, artist in the service of Mr. *Spencer Smith*, late Minister at the *Porte*. Mons. *Preaux* made a drawing of this *Ionic* capital; which is now in Mr. *Smith's* possession.'

[4] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 12. 5—*ἔστ' ἂν ἐφ' Ἱερὸν ἀφικώμεθα. καὶ τὸν ἐκεῖ νεὼν οἶμαι ὁρᾷς καὶ στήλας, αἳ περίδρυνται* (so C. L. Kayser for *περίδρυνται* Lugd. alt. *παρίδρυνται* cet.) *αὐτῷ, καὶ τὸν ἐπὶ τῷ στόματι πυρσόν, ὃς ἥρτηται* (J. J. Reiske and H. A. Hamaker cjj. *ἦρται*) *ἐς φρυκτωρίαν τῶν νεῶν, αἳ πλέουσιν ἐκ τοῦ Πόντου.*

[5] For another see Michaelis in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1864 xxii. 198—202 pl. 192. This slab is now at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 383 f. no. 945 fig., R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 173 fig.).

Fig. 59, *a*

Fig. 59, *b*.

Fig. 59, *c*.

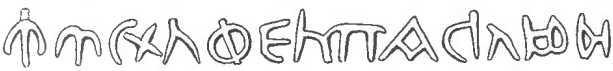


Fig. 60.

in the British Museum (fig. 61)[1]. It once supported a votive statue of Zeus *Oúrios*, and still sings his praises in passable elegiacs:

The mariner who sets his sail
For the Blue Eddies, where the gale
Rolls a big breaker on the sand,
Or backward bound for fatherland
Would cross the Aegean—let him call
From poop to Pilot of us all,
Zeus of the Fair Breeze, aye and put
His cakes before this statue's foot;
For here above the watery waste
Antipatros' son Philon[2] placed
The god who meets us as we roam
With promise of safe voyage home.

ΟΥΡΙΟΝΕΚΠΡΥΜΝΗΣΤΙΣΟΔΗΓΗΤΗΡΑΚΑΛΕΙΤΩ
ΞΗΝΑΚΑΤΑΠΡΟΤΟΝΩΝΙΣΤΙΟΝΕΚΠΕΤΑΣΑΣ
ΕΙΤΕΠΙΚΥΑΝΕΑΣΔΙΝΑΣΔΡΟΜΟΣΕΝΘΑΠΟΣΕΙΔΩΝ
ΚΑΜΠΥΛΟΝΕΙΑΙΣΣΕΙΚΥΜΑΠΑΡΑΨΑΜΑΘΟΙΣ
ΕΙΤΕΚΑΤΑΙΓΑΙΗΝΠΟΝΤΟΥΠΛΑΚΑΝΟΣΤΟΝΕΡΕΥΝΑΙ
ΝΕΙΣΩΤΩΙΔΕΨΑΛΩΝΨΑΙΣΤΑΠΑΡΑΞΟΑΝΩΙ
ΩΔΕΤΟΝΕΥΑΝΤΗΤΟΝΑΕΙΘΕΟΝΑΝΤΙΠΑΤΡΟΥΠΑΙΣ
ΣΤΗΣΕΦΙΛΩΝΑΓΑΘΗΣΣΥΜΒΟΛΟΝΕΥΠΛΟΙΗΣ

Fig. 61.

As to the foundation of this popular cult, tradition was twofold. Polybios (*c.* 201—*c.* 120 B.C.) describing the Asiatic shore of the Bosporos begins with 'Hieron, at which place they say that Iason

[1] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3797 = Kaibel *Epig. Gr.* no. 779 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 108 = F. H. Marshall *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iv. 2. 156 f. Oxford 1916 no. 1012 with fig. (= my fig. 61) Οὔριον ἐκ πρύμνης τις ὁδηγητῆρα καλείτω | Ζῆνα κατὰ πρωτόνων ἱστίον ἐκπετάσας· | εἴτ' ἐπὶ κυανέας δίνας δρόμος, ἔνθα Ποσειδῶν | καμπύλον εἰλίσσει κῦμα παρὰ ψαμάθοις, | εἴτε κατ' Αἰγαίην πόντου πλάκα νόστον ἐρευνᾶι, | νείσῳ τῷιδε βαλὼν ψαιστὰ παρὰ ξοάνωι. | ὧδε τὸν εὐάντητον ἀεὶ θεὸν Ἀντιπάτρου παῖς | στῆσε Φίλων, ἀγαθῆς σύμβολον εὐπλοΐης.

[2] F. Bücheler in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 338 ff. identifies this Philon with the Philon Antas of a sepulchral inscription at Brundisium published by G. Fiorelli in *Not. Scavi* 1880 p. 255, a : Philon | Antas Antipatri | Tyri filius v(ixit) a(nnos) LX | h(ic) s(itus) | Marcia C. l. Syntyche. His father, Antipatros of Tyre, was presumably the Stoic philosopher who died at Athens shortly before 44 B.C. (H. von Arnim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2516). He in turn appears to have been descended from Antipatros of Sidon, the epigrammatist, who was born at Tyre (*Anth. Pal.* 7. 428. 11 f. Meleagros) and flourished *c.* 150—120 B.C. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 327). On this showing the inscription from Chalkedon may be dated at the end of *s.* i B.C. or the beginning of *s.* i A.D. Hence too the poetic merits of Philon, who perhaps—as Bücheler conjectured—chose to describe Zeus by the rare epithet *εὐάντητος* on account of his own name Ἀντᾶς.

on his return from Kolchis first sacrificed to the twelve gods'[1]. Pomponius Mela (*c.* 43/4 A.D.) puts it more curtly: 'The god of the temple is Zeus, its founder Iason[2].' But Timosthenes of Rhodes, who commanded the fleet of Ptolemy ii Philadelphos, makes the altar to the twelve gods a dedication of Phrixos[3]. And Dionysios of Byzantion recognises two sanctuaries, one on the European, the other on the Asiatic, side of the strait. Of the former he notes: 'They say that here Iason sacrificed to the twelve gods'[4]. Of the latter he states: 'Hieron, the "Sanctuary," was built by Phrixos, son of Nephele and Athamas, on his voyage to Kolchis'[5]. The founder, then, was either Iason or Phrixos. Both attributions amount to much the same thing. For Iason was son of Aison, son of Kretheus, son of Aiolos; while Phrixos was son of Athamas, son of Aiolos[6]. The cult was essentially Aeolian, and Zeus *Oúrios* was but a later religious manifestation of Aiolos himself.

If Zeus *Oúrios* may thus be traced back to a buried tribal ancestor, we can understand an otherwise puzzling feature of his art-type—its markedly heroic character. The Zeus *Oúrios* whose statue Verres carried off from Syracuse was known to the Romans as *Imperator*[7], and is almost certainly represented on a Syracusan coin as a dignified male figure leaning upon his spear[8]. As such he closely resembles the Zeus *Strategós* of Amastris in Paphlagonia[9]. We divine that the old warrior-king, who had led his Aeolians to victory during life, continued to supply them with favouring winds after death, and sent the same from his island-home in the Black Sea.

[1] Polyb. 4. 39.

[2] Mela 1. 101.

[3] Timosthenes *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 532 (Τιμοσθένης cod. Paris. Δημοσθένης vulg.), cp. Harpokr. *s.v.* ἐφ' Ἱερόν (Τιμοσθένης vulg. Δημοσθένης codd. B.G.), Souid. *s.v.* Ἐφίερον (*leg.* ἐφ' Ἱερόν, cp. [Dem.] *c. Polycl.* 17, 18, 58).

[4] Dionys. Byz. *frag.* 47 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 57 Müller).

[5] Dionys. Byz. *frag.* 58 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 75 Müller).

[6] *Stemmata* in Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 223 f.

[7] Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 128 quoted *supra* ii. 917 n. 0. Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 129 f. knew of three statues representing Zeus Οὔριος=Iupiter *Imperator*: (1) a statue brought from Makedonia *c.* 197 B.C. by T. Quinctius Flamininus and dedicated on the Capitol at Rome (Liv. 6. 29 makes it brought from Praeneste to Rome in 380 B.C. by T. Quinctius Cincinnatus—an obvious blunder copied by the so-called P. Victor *de regionibus urbis Romae* reg. 8. 49 signum Iovis imperatoris a Praeneste devectum (in H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1871 ii. 308)); (2) the statue on the shore of the Bosporos; (3) that stolen by Verres from Syracuse.

The cjj. Iovis *Imbricitoris* (cp. Apul. *de mundo* 37), *Imp.* (=*Impuberis*!), *Temperatoris*, and *Induperatoris*, recorded by A. Drakenborch on Liv. 6. 29, are all examples of ingenuity misplaced.

[8] *Supra* ii. 708 fig. 643.

[9] *Supra* ii. 707 figs. 639—641, ii. 918 n. 0.

It is not difficult to imagine the prayers that would be addressed to this helpful deity. Somewhere in his precinct stood the bronze effigy of a boy with outstretched arms, about which gathered a variety of idle tales[1]. It is probable that a copy of it, if not the original, has come down to us in the 'Praying Boy' of the Berlin Museum (fig. 63)[2]—a masterpiece justly identified[3] with the *adorans* by

[1] Dionys. Byz. *frag.* 59 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* ii. 78 f.) 'in fano...statua aerea est antiquae artis, aetatem puerilem prae se ferens, tendens manus. causae multae afferuntur, cur haec statua sit in hanc figuram conformata. quidam...aiunt audaciae signum esse navigantium, deterrens temeritatem navigationis periculis plenam, atque ostendens redeuntium salutis felicitatem et pietatem: non enim sine terrore utrumque est. alii dicunt puerum in littore errantem aliquanto post venisse quam e portu navis soluta esset, salutisque desperatione affectum manus ad caelum tendere; pueri autem preces deum exaudientem reduxisse navem in portum. alii aiunt in magna maris tranquillitate, omni vento silente, nave diu retardata, nautas inopia potus laborasse; navarcho autem visionem insedisse iubentem ut navarchus filium suum sacrificaret, non enim alio modo posse assequi commeatum et ventos: navarcho necessitate coacto et parato puerum sacrificare, manus quidem puerum tetendisse, deum vero misericordia motum ob absurdum pueri supplicium obque pueri aetatem sustulisse puerum et ventum secundum immisisse. haec quidem et his contraria, ut cuique placuerit, credibilia existimentur.' Dionysios' gossiping explanations run from bad to worse. The third, and worst, works in reminiscences of Agamemnon at Aulis, Abraham and Isaac, Zeus and Ganymedes!

Gyllius *ad loc.* cp. Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 1. 12. 3. But the passage (καὶ ὁ Ἔρως ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ τείνει τὴν χεῖρα ἐς τὴν θάλατταν, κ.τ.λ.) alludes to a wholly different figure (B. Sauer in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 306 f., H. Lucas in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1912 xxix. 119). E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 752 ('anscheinend dieselbe' etc.) is definitely wrong.

[2] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 2 ff. no. 2 with fig. (bibliography to 1891). Good illustrations are given by Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 283, H. Bulle *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum*[2] München und Leipzig 1912 p. 122 pl. 64, F. Winter *Kunstgeschichte in Bildern*[2] Leipzig (1925) i. 340 fig. 3. See also Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 483 f. fig. 252, R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 269 ff. fig., C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 200 with figs. 82, 229. My fig. 63 is from the Brunn—Bruckmann photograph, but a fresh restoration of the arms (*infra* p. 151 n. 4) is needed, which should square with J. D. Ramberg's drawing of the unrestored statue as published by A. Conze in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 9 fig. (=my fig. 62).

Figure antique qu'on croit être Ganimède.

Fig. 62.

[3] L. Stephani *Parerga archaeologica* St Petersburg 1851—1876 no. 2, B. Sauer 'Der Betende des Boedas' in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 304—310, H. Lucas 'Der betende Knabe des Boidas' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1912 xxix. 112—123 with pl. of 9 figs., H. Lechat '*Boédas* (ou *Boïdas*)' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1913 pp. 153—155.

The history of the Berlin bronze is discussed by A. Conze 'Der betende Knabe in den königlichen Museen zu Berlin' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 1—13 with 3 figs., *id.* 'Zum betenden Knaben' *ib.* p. 223, A. Furtwängler 'Zum betenden Knaben' *ib.* pp. 217—219 with fig. (=my fig. 64), O. Puchstein 'Zum betenden Knaben' *ib.* pp. 219—

Fig. 63.

Plate XX

A NUBIAN
WORSHIPPER?
FROM EPHESUS

Bronze statuette from Ephesos, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: a praying Negro.

See page 151 *n.* 4.

Boïdas[1] of Byzantion[2], son and pupil of Lysippos[3]. The boy uplifts his face towards Zeus and, with hands turned outwards in the customary attitude of prayer[4], asks for the fair breeze to speed him on his way. This, the most spiritual of all extant Greek bronzes[5], is of course a votive offering, public or private, and stands for the success of some venturesome quest. One thinks of Pindar's Iason[6]:

> A golden bowl he took, and at the stern
> Called on the Father of the Sons of Heaven—
> Zeus of the Lightning-Lance,
> Called on quick waves and winds' advance,
> Called on the nights and tracks thro' deep seas driven,
> For friendly days and fortune-blest return.

Nevertheless it would be rash to identify the 'Praying Boy' with Iason, or—as L. Stephani suggested[7]—with Phrixos. He is a Lysippian modification of an earlier athletic type[8]. More than that

223; its technique, by E. Pernice in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 223—225 fig. 97.

[1] H. Lucas *loc. cit.* p. 118, H. Lechat *loc. cit.* p. 154.

[2] Vitr. 3 *praef.* 2. [3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 66, cp. 73.

[4] E. Voulliéme (*sic*) *Quomodo veteres adoraverint* Halis Saxonum 1887 p. 26 ff. ('De gestu manuum sublatarum') gives a very full collection of literary passages and concludes: 'Precantes brachiis in eandem regionem ita ad caelum sublatis, ut palmae inter se aspiciant, eas pariter resupinabant, quo modo ita vertuntur, ut ad caelum spectent.' *Id. ib.* p. 36 ff. adds a survey of the monumental evidence and a pl. of the Berlin 'Praying Boy' with arms correctly restored. See also C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 305 ff. and the hronze statuette (height 4⅝ ins) of a Praying Negro, from Ephesos, now in my collection (pl. xx).

[5] The interpretation of it as a ball-player about to catch a ball (J. J. Cornelissen 'Archaeologica' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1878 vi. 424—431, W. Raabe *The Hunger-Pastor* trans. Arnold London 1885 ii. 34, A. Mau 'Der betende Knabe' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1902 xvii. 101—106) is incompatible with the position of the arms (M. Goepel in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix Arch. Anz. p. 187, *id.* 'Zum betenden Knaben und zur springenden Amazone' *ib.* 1905 xx. 108 ff., H. Lucas in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1912 xxix. 113) and grotesquely inadequate. Some critics have no souls.

To group the statue as a suppliant with that of a warrior brandishing lance and shield (A. Herzog *Studien zur Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* Leipzig 1888 p. 40, cp. two bronzes represented on the *kýlix* by 'the Foundry Painter' (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 593 ff. no. 2294, Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 81—86 pl. 135, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 454 f. no. 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 187 no. 2)), or as Taras with that of a colossal Poseidon (H. Willers *Studien zur griechischen Kunst* Leipzig 1914 pp. 125—159 with pls. 9—13 ('Der betende Knabe vor Poseidon')), is a risky, not to say a reckless, expedient.

[6] Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 193 ff.

[7] L. Stephani *Parerga archaeologica* St Petersburg 1851—1876 no. 2 cited by A. Conze in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 11 n. 25 and B. Sauer in *Philologus* 1908 lxvii. 304 n. 1.

[8] A. Furtwängler 'Zum betenden Knaben' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 217—219 with fig. (= my fig. 64) of a beautifully cut, but badly flaked, cornelian at Berlin (*id. Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 257 no. 6905 pl. 51, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 44, 32, ii. 214),

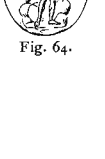


Fig. 64.

we do not know. Yet it may be permitted us to wonder whether the fame of this solitary figure standing with outstretched arms on the shore of the strait reached the ears of Virgil and prompted one of the most wonderful couplets in the *Aeneid*, his description of the souls on the banks of Acheron:

> *stabant orantes primi transmittere cursum*
> *tendebantque manus ripae ulterioris amore*[1].
> They stood and prayed to be first ferried o'er,
> Yearning with outstretched hands for the further shore.

Be that as it may, there was inspiration both literal and metaphorical about Zeus *Oúrios*, and the poets were duly impressed. The epigram of Philon[2] can be capped by another of Meleagros[3]:

> Sea-going ships that thread the Dardanelles
> Deep-laden, while the north your canvass swells,
> If on the Coan shore ye chance to see
> My Phanion looking o'er bright waves for me,
> Say this to her, good ships,—Love speeds me fast:
> I come afoot, waiting no other blast.
> Should you thus bear my message without fail,
> Zeus of the Fair Breeze fill your every sail.

Merchants trading with the Euxine introduced the cult of Zeus *Oúrios* to Delos[4], where it acquired an almost cosmopolitan character. Worshippers from far and near linked the name of this Zeus with those of their own special deities and recorded their vows *in primis* to him. Thus a citizen of Askalon, who had escaped from pursuing pirates[5], attested his gratitude by erecting a neat little cylindrical altar inscribed in lettering of *s.* i B.C. (fig. 65)[6]:

which gives us 'die Vorstellung von einer älteren Stufe derselben Composition.' Scale: rather less than $\frac{1}{2}$.

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 6. 313 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 147.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* 12. 53. 1—8 Meleagros. In the last two lines W. R. Paton prints *εἰ γὰρ τοῦτ' εἴποιτ', εὐάγγελοι* (so N. Piccolos for *εὖ τέλοι* cod. with space after *εὖ*), *αὐτίκα καὶ Ζεὺς | οὔριος ὑμετέρας πνεύσεται εἰς ὀθόνας.* Other emendations are discussed by F. Dübner *ad loc.*

[4] P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Delos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 152, *id. Délos, colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 275.

[5] On the prevalence of these pests in the Aegean during *s.* ii—i B.C. see J. M. Sestier *La piraterie dans l'antiquité* Paris 1880.

[6] C. Clermont-Ganneau in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1909 pp. 307—317 with fig., G. Leroux in *Délos* ii. 1. 58 fig. 81 (= my fig. 65). The altar (height 0·53m: lower diameter 0·41m), found during August 1907 in a Byzantine wall to the south of the 'Hypostyle Hall,' is inscribed: *Διὶ Οὐρίωι καὶ Ἀστάρτηι Παλαιστίνηι,* | (Clermont-Ganneau here wrongly inserts *καί*) *Ἀφροδίτηι Οὐρανίαι, θεοῖς ἐπηκόοις,* | *Δάμων Δημητρίου Ἀσκαλωνίτης,* | *σωθεὶς ἀπὸ πειρατῶν,* | *εὐχήν* and in smaller lettering *οὐ θεμιτὸν δὲ προσάγειν* | *αἴγειον, ὑϊκόν, βοὸς θηλείας.*

To Zeus *Oúrios* and Astarte *Palaistíne*,
Aphrodite *Ourania*, Hearers of Prayer,
Damon, son of Demetrios, an Askalonite,
being saved from pirates
(paid) this vow.

It is not lawful here to bring
goat's flesh, swine's flesh, or aught of the cow.

Fig. 65.

The associates of Zeus *Oúrios* are two goddesses, who in function must have borne a rough resemblance to each other, Astarte *Palaistíne* and Aphrodite *Ourania*. The former appears for the first time in this inscription: she was perhaps the patron-deity of the port (Iamneia? Ioppe?) to which Damon's ship belonged, or possibly

the figure-head of the good ship herself. The latter goddess had a celebrated temple at Askalon[1], Damon's native city.

Dedications to Zeus *Oúrios*, which date from the closing years of the second century B.C., have been found in the Egyptian sanctuary on a terrace to the north-west of Mount Kynthos[2]. There two Athenian brothers, about the year 112—111 B.C., erected a cylindrical base to Zeus *Oúrios*, Sarapis, [Isis,] Anoubis, Harpokrates[3]. Of greater interest was another dedication[4]—

> To Zeus *Oúrios* on behalf of King
> Mithradates Eupator
> and his brother
> Mithradates Chrestos
> and their
> fortunes.

The bluish marble slab thus inscribed was discovered, in front of a small marble pedestal or altar of irregular shape, to the east of the paved way leading through the precinct[5]. Mithradates vi Eupator (120—63 B.C.) was associated in the government of Pontos first with his mother Laodike and then, for a short while in 111 B.C.[6], with his younger brother Mithradates Chrestos. But being of a bloodthirsty and cruel disposition he let his mother die in prison and murdered his brother[7]. The prayer to Zeus 'of the Fair Breeze' for one who was heading straight towards family shipwreck sounds to us almost grimly ironical. A third dedication, by a native of Velia in Lucania, is a white marble base of the year 107—106 (?) B.C., which was found on the eastern slope of the Inopos ravine,

[1] Hdt. i. 105, Paus. i. 14. 7.

[2] A. Hauvette-Besnault 'Fouilles de Délos. Temple des dieux étrangers' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 295—352 with plate 11 (ground-plan, etc.), L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2473, P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916, *id. Délos, colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 pp. 249–252, *id. Délos* Paris 1925 p. 33 f. We still await the definitive publication of this important precinct.

[3] P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 152 no. 129 ['A]θη[ναγό]ρα[s] καὶ Λε[ωνίδης] | [οἱ 'A]θηναγόρ[ου] 'Aθ[ηναῖοι] | Διὶ Οὐρίωι, Σαράπι[δι, Ἴσιδι,] | ['A]νούβιδι, Ἁρποκράτε[ι].

[4] A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi, 343 no. 57 = T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 457 no. 5 = Michel *Recueil d' Inscr. gr.* no. 1160 = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 368 = P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du IIIe au Ier siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 156 f. no. 134 Διὶ Οὐρίωι ὑπὲρ βασι[λέως] | Μιθραδάτου Εὐπάτορος | καὶ τοῦ ἀδελφοῦ αὐτοῦ | Μιθραδάτου Χρηστοῦ | καὶ τῶν πραγμάτων | αὐτῶν.

[5] The pedestal is K, the paved way V, on the plan (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 301 ff. pl. 11).

[6] T. Reinach *Mithridate Eupator roi de Pont* Paris 1890 p. 457 n. 1.

[7] Memnon περὶ Ἡρακλείας 15 *frag.* 30 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 541 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 230 b 1 ff. Bekker, Appian. *Mithr.* 112.

below the sanctuary of the foreign gods[1]. A fourth is a small base of white marble with a square hole for insertion or attachment. It is dated to the year 105—104 or 104—103 B.C.[2], and was set up by a citizen of Nymphaion (*Eltegen*) on the western shore of the Bosporos Kimmerios[3] as a thank-offering to Zeus *Oúrios*, Sarapis, Isis, Anoubis, and Harphokrates (*sic*)[4] on behalf of himself, his son, and—a noteworthy touch of altruism—all that go down to the sea in ships.

At a point near the south-west angle of the 'Hypostyle Hall' was found the fragment of a circular altar, bearing a dedication to Zeus *Oúrios* in letters of *c.* 100 B.C.[5] Lastly, a wall of late date built against the south wall of the 'Hypostyle Hall' contained a quadrangular block of white marble with two square holes for insertion on its upper surface. The front of the block bore a carefully cut bilingual dedication of *c.* 110 B.C. by the Hermaïstai, Apolloniastai, and Poseidoniastai to Zeus *Oúrios* or—as his name was translated by the Roman merchants—Iupiter *Sequndanus*[6].

[1] P. Roussel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 426 f. no. 32, *id. Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^er siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 163 no. 148 (revised reading) – – – – – – – – *σι . . λ – – | – – – – – ους Ἑλεάτη[ς] | [Διὶ] Οὐρίωι ε[ὐχ]ήν, [ἐπὶ] | [ἰε]ρέως Ἀπ[ο]λλο[δω]ρου τοῦ Ἀπ[ο]λλο[δω]ρου Κρωπίδου, [κλει]δουχοῦ[ν]τος [Πoσει]δωνίου τοῦ [Γ'ηρο]|στράτου Πει[ραιέως,]| ζακ[ο]ρεύ[ντος]|[Ν]ικίου.*

[2] A. Hauvette-Besnault in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 328 no. 22 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 758, *ib.*[3] no. 1126 = P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du III^e au I^er siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 165 f. no. 153 *Εὔτυχος Ἀπολ[λ]ων(ί)ου Νυμφαίτη[ς]| ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τοῦ υἱοῦ Εὐβο(ὐ)λο[υ]| καὶ ὑπὲρ τῶν πλοϊζομένων πάντων | Διὶ Οὐρίωι, Σαράπιδι, Ἴσιδι, Ἀνούβιδι, Ἁρ|φοκράτει, θεοῖς συννάοις καὶ συμ|βώμοις, ἐπὶ ἱερέως Θεομνήστου | τοῦ Θεογένου Κυδαθηναιέως, | ζακορεύοντος Νυσίου, | χαριστήριον.*

[3] E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 560 f.

[4] Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 559, 12 n., *ib.*[3] no. 977[a], 12 n. points out that the aspirate properly belonging to the latter part of the Egyptian *Harpechrat* (E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2746) or *Har-pe-chrod* (M. Pieper in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2410) and recognised in the variants *Ἁρποχράτα* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 591, 1 Larissa in Thessaly), *Ἁρποχράτει* (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* iv no. 1260, 4, *alib.*) has here and elsewhere been transferred to the former part of *Ἁρφοκράτης* in order to assimilate the divine name to the frequent termination *-κράτης*. Further changes produced the normal *Ἁρποκράτης* and even the abnormal *Καρποκράτης* (E. Sittig in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1913 xlv. 242—245).

[5] P. Roussel and J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 510 no. 26 *Διὶ Οὐρίωι | – – – τον ΔΙΑ (? τὸν Δία).*

[6] P. Roussel and J. Hatzfeld in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1909 xxxiii. 496 ff. no. 16 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 9237

C. Heius T.f. Libo	L. Pompilius [L.f.]
Q. Saufeius P.f. Treb.	A. Cottius N.f.
L. Veturius P.f.	M. Umbricius M.f.
D. Ampius Q. l.	L. Aufidius L.C. l. Dorot. minor
L. Paconius L.l. Trup.	C. Seius Cn. l. Heracleo
Ti. Maecius L.l.	Cn. Tutorius P. l. Olumpiod.

magistreis de sua pecunia Iovei Sequndano.

This curious title was known already from a passage of Martianus Capella[1], which assigns Iupiter *Secundanus* together with Iovis Opulentia and Minerva to the third of the sixteen regions of the sky recognised in Etruscan lightning-lore[2]. Since the series commences with the north, the third division of the first quarter[3] would correspond with the sector N.E. to E.N.E. of our mariner's compass, and this (north-east by east) is just the direction of a wind blowing down the Dardanelles. The inscription equating Iupiter *Sequndanus* with Zeus *Oúrios* explains in fact Capella's epithet, which had previously puzzled the commentators[4].

Moreover, it adds point to a well known phrase of Catullus[5]. He is telling how his yacht brought him safely from Bithynia to Italy in 56 B.C.:

> And thence through all the seas that break
> She bore her master well,
> Whether the breeze her sail would shake
> And left or right compel,
> Or Jove who followed in her wake
> Full on the canvas fell.

The poet's use of Iupiter *Secundus* is obviously a variation on the more prosaic and technical Iupiter *Secundanus*. The homeward journey through the Bosporos[6] was sped, appropriately enough, by the god whom we have seen identified with Zeus *Oúrios*[7]. And the

Γάιος Ἥιος Τίτου υἱὸς Λίβων, | Λεύκιος Πομπίλιος Λευκίου υἱός, | Κόιντος Σαυφήιος Ποπλίου υἱὸς Τρεβιανός, | Αὖλος Κόττιος Νεμερίου υἱός, | Λεύκιος Οὐετόριος Ποπλίου υἱός, | Μάαρκος Ὀμβρίκιος Μαάρκου υἱός, | Δέκμος Ἄμπιος Κοίντου, | Λεύκιος Αὐφίδιος Λευκίου καὶ Γαίου Δωρόθεος νεώτερος, | Λεύκιος Πακώνιος Λευκίου Τρύφων, | Γάιος Σήιος Γναίου Ἡρακλέων, | Τεβέριος Μαίκιος Λευκίου, | Γναῖος Τουτώριος Ποπλίου Ὀλυμπιόδωρος, |

οἱ Ἑρμαισταὶ καὶ Ἀπολλωνιασταὶ καὶ Ποσειδωνιασταὶ (Dessau reads Ποσιδωνιασταὶ) | ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων Διὶ Οὐρίωι ἀνέθηκαν.

[1] Mart. Cap. 47 nam Iovis Secundani et Iovis Opulentiae Minervaeque domus illic (*sc.* in tertia regione caeli) sunt constitutae. sed omnes circa ipsum Iovem fuerant in praesenti.

[2] C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i. *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 p. 16 ff. ('Die 16 Himmelsregionen'), *id. Die Götter des Martianus Capella und der Bronzeleber von Piacenza* Gieszen 1906 p. 62 ff. ('Das System der 12 Loci,' cp. A. Bouché-Leclercq *L'astrologie grecque* Paris 1899 p. 280 ff.).

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 143.

[4] See U. F. Kopp's n. on Mart. Cap. 47. He cp. Mart. Cap. 51 sed etiam Liber ac Secundanus Pales vocantur ex septima (*sc.* regione caeli).

[5] Cat. 4. 18 ff. et inde tot per impotentia freta | erum tulisse, laeva sive dextera | vocaret aura, sive utrumque Iupiter | simul secundus incidisset in pedem.

[6] The stages marked are Mt Kytoros (11 ff.), Amastris in Paphlagonia (13), the Pontos (9), the Propontis (8 f.), Rhodes (8), the Kyklades (7), and the Adriatic (6 f.). But we know that Catullus *en route* for home made offerings at his brother's tomb in the Troad (Cat. 65. 5 ff., 68^a. 19 ff., 68^b. 49 ff., 101. 1 ff.).

[7] *Supra* p. 155.

religious interest of the passage lies in the fact that the wind astern is distinctly conceived as Zeus or Iupiter in person. The wind is his spirit, the spirit—let us say—of a tribal chief, long since dead and buried, but rightly named Aiolos[1].

It is possible that some such conception underlies the remarkable epithet of Zeus *tkmenos*, 'who follows in our wake'[2]. The Homeric poems apply this participle exclusively to the *oûros* or 'fair breeze' sent by Apollon[3], Athena[4], and Kirke[5], which is on occasion personified and described as 'a good companion'[6]. But Eustathios goes further and quotes from an unspecified source the significant expression 'Zeus *tkmenos*'[7], perhaps the product of some late epic poet, who had in mind Iupiter *Sequndanus* or *Secundus*.

Again, a parallel may be found in the case of Androgeos. L. Weber[8] has drawn attention to the very ancient character of this mythical figure, whom he believes to have been originally a Cretan god, transplanted to Attike and there transformed, first into a hero possessed of chthonian powers, and last into a human prince affiliated to Minos. I should prefer to invert the sequence god, hero, man, and to regard Androgeos as *ab initio* a mortal, heroified after death and worshipped in the Kerameikos under the name *Eurygýes*[9]. Such an appellative was, not improbably, employed from the outset, as a means of avoiding the actual name of the dead[10]. After all,

[1] *Supra* pp. 141, 148.

[2] On the relation of ἵκμενος to ἵκω, ἱκνέομαι, etc. see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 195, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 370 f., K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 365, F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 175.

[3] *Il.* 1. 479.

[4] *Od.* 2. 420=15. 292, cp. 15. 34 f.

[5] *Od.* 11. 6 ff. = 12. 148 ff.

[6] *Od.* 11. 7=12. 149 ἵκμενον οὖρον ἴει πλησίστιον, ἐσθλὸν ἑταῖρον.

[7] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 964, 63 f. ὅθεν ἄνεμος ἔσται, ὃς ἐξ ἱκμάδος καὶ τοιαύτης ὕλης τὴν σύστασιν ἔχει. ὅθεν καὶ ἵκμενος οὖρος καὶ Ζεὺς φασιν ἵκμενος. It is tempting to infer from the first sentence that Zeus ἵκμενος is a mere blunder for Zeus Ἰκμαῖος (*infra* § 8 (c)). But in view of Iupiter *Sequndanus* or *Secundus* the inference would be precarious.

[8] L. Weber 'Androgeos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 34—44, 229—251, *id.* 'Kerameikos-Kulte' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 145.

[9] Hesych. *s.v.* ἐπ' Εὐρυγύῃ ἀγῶν· Μελησαγόρας (Amelesagoras *frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 22 Müller)) τὸν Ἀνδρόγεων Εὐρυγύην (so Musurus for ἀνδρόγεον εὐρύην cod.) εἰρῆσθαι φησι τὸν Μίνωος, ἐφ' ᾧ τὸν ἀγῶνα τίθεσθαι <τὸν (*inseruit*)> ἐπιτάφιον Ἀθήνησιν ἐν τῷ Κεραμεικῷ. καὶ Ἡσίοδος (*frag.* 106 Flach, 104 Rzach)· Εὐρυγύης δ' ἔτι κοῦρος (K. W. Goettling cj. ἐπίκουρος, R. Peppmüller cj. ἐπίουρος cp. *Il.* 13. 450) Ἀθηνάων (so J. G. Hermann for Ἀθηναίων cod.) ἱεράων (cp. *Od.* 11. 323). Melesagoras was a legendary Eleusinian seer (Max. Tyr. *diss.* 38. 3), on whom was fathered an *Atthis* perhaps composed as early as *s.* v B.C. (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1822, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454 n. 1).

[10] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 349 ff. ('Names of the Dead tabooed'), E. Clodd *Magic in Names* London 1920 p. 121 ff. ('Mana in Names of the Dead').

Andrógeos, 'The man of earth'[1], might fairly be dubbed *Eurygýes*, 'He of the broad acres'[2]. It should also be noticed that the names *Andrógeos* and *Eurygýes* are Greek, not pre-Greek; which means that we have to do with a genuine Hellenic, not 'Minoan,' hero. It is therefore interesting to find that at Phaleron, where he had an altar, he was worshipped not only as a nameless 'hero'[3], but also more definitely as 'the hero astern'[4]. This expression might no doubt be taken to imply that an actual effigy of Androgeos was fixed on the vessel's poop[5], like that of the bifrontal Lithuanian *Wejopatis*[6] or those of the dwarfish Phoenician *Pátaikoi*[7] (figs. 68, 69)[8].

[1] W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 87 'Erdmann.'

[2] *Eid. ib.* i. 420 'Breitefeld, wo nicht *Breitwirbel, wie Breitkopf,' F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1328 'Der Besitzer des weiten Saatfeldes (ἡ γύα) ist der Unterweltsgott oder sein heroischer Stellvertreter.' But F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 385: '–γήης zu γύα "Hand"? Vgl. ἐγγύη, γύαλον; ἐγγυαλίζω. Εὐρυ-γύης hiess auch 'Ανδρό-γεως (-γηΓος?).'

[3] Paus. 1. 1. 4 *ἔστι δὲ* (*sc.* at Phaleron) *καὶ 'Ανδρόγεω βωμὸς τοῦ Μίνω, καλεῖται δὲ "Ηρωος· 'Ανδρόγεω δὲ ὄντα ἴσασιν οἷς ἐστιν ἐπιμελὲς τὰ ἐγχώρια σαφέστερον ἄλλων ἐπίστασθαι.*

[4] Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 40. 2 p. 30, 20 Stählin *τιμᾶται δέ τις καὶ Φαληροῖ κατὰ πρύμναν ἥρως* with schol. *ad. loc.* p. 309, 13 ff. Stählin Φαληρεὺς λιμὴν *τῆς 'Αττικῆς· ὁ δὲ κατὰ πρύμνας ἥρως 'Ανδρόγεώς ἐστιν, υἱὸς Μίνωος, οὕτως ὀνομασθεὶς ὅτι κατὰ τὰς πρύμνας τῶν νηῶν ἵδρυτο. καὶ Καλλίμαχος ἐν δ' τῶν Αἰτίων μέμνηται* (*frag.* 33[b] Schneider = Αἴτια 4 *frag.* 3 Schneider, A. W. Mair).

[5] So schol. Clem. Al. *loc. cit.* (*supra* n. 4). [6] *Supra* ii. 445 n. 1.

[7] Hdt. 3. 37 *ἔστι γὰρ τοῦ 'Ηφαίστου* (*sc.* Ptaḥ at Memphis: *supra* i. 433, ii. 34 n. 1) *τῶγαλμα τοῖσι Φοινικηίοισι Παταΐκοισι ἐμφερέστατον, τοὺς οἱ Φοίνικες ἐν τῇσι πρῴρῃσι τῶν τριηρέων περιάγουσι. ὃς δὲ τούτους μὴ ὄπωπε, ὧδε σημανέω· πυγμαίου ἀνδρὸς μίμησις ἐστί.* The lexicographers place these little figures on the poop, not the prow (Hesych. *s.v.* **Πάταικοι** (so M. Schmidt for Παταϊκοί cod., cp. Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 6 (i. 151, 9 Lentz) **Πάταικος**, *id. περὶ ὀρθογραφίας* (ii. 424, 18 Lentz) **Πάταικος**, Theognost. Byz. *can.* 326 in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 60, 25 f. **Πάταικος**)· *θεοὶ Φοίνικες, οὓς ἱστᾶσι κατὰ τὰς πρύμνας τῶν νεῶν*, Souid. *s.v.* **Πάταικοι**· *θεοὶ Φοινικικοὶ ἐν ταῖς πρύμναις ἱδρυμένοι*). But Herodotos' statement is borne out by the numismatic evidence (*infra* n. 8).

Pataikos appears to have been the Phoenician form of the Egyptian Ptaḥ (see J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1675 ff.) in the misshapen, but negrillo rather than 'embryonic,' type Ptaḥ-Seker (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 243 ff. pls. 98, 1, 99, 1—4, 100, 1—5, 101, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 418 ff. fig. 293), which from the eighteenth dynasty down to Ptolemaic times often occurs as an amulet (A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 76 fig. 51, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 38 pl. 31 fig. 176 *a—m*, pl. 46 fig. 176 *n, p*, pl. 47 fig. 176 *o*. I illustrate a single and a double amulet of Ptaḥ-Seker, in green glaze, from my collection (figs. 66, 67)) and presumably served a prophylactic purpose. On Ptaḥ-Seker as a dwarfish deified ancestor see further H. R. Hall in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 441 b, D. MacRitchie *ib.* 1912 v. 123 a, 126 a, Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *ib.* 1912 v. 249 a, G. Foucart *ib.* 1912 v. 855 a, 856 a. Such an *apotrópaion* would be useful on land as well as at sea, cp. Hesych. *s. vv.* **Γιγγρών** (so M. Schmidt for **Γιγνῶν** cod., cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1599, 1 **Γιγγρών**, p. 1880, 64 **Γιγρών**), οἱ δὲ **Γιγῶν**· **Πάταικος** *ἐπιτραπέζιος* (so J. Selden for *παταϊκὸς ἐπισταϊκὸς τραπέζιος* cod.). *οἱ δὲ Αἰγύπτιον 'Ηφαιστέα* and **Εὐφράδης**· **Πάταικος** *ἐπιτραπέζιος* (so M. Musurus for *παταϊκὸς ἐπιτραπέζειος* cod.).

[8] Double shekels of Sidon, struck in *s.* iv B.C., show as their obverse type a Phoenician

war-galley with a small armed figure at the prow (good specimens are *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 145 pl. 19, 5, p. 150 pl. 20, 2, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 38 pl. 6, 15, p. 53 pl. 9, 2 f., *id. Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 597 f. pl. 121, 7, 601 f. pl. 121, 17, *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 2. 782 no. 8057 pl. 297). But a more certain representation of the dwarf Pataikos is seen on *statêres* of Arados, struck in *s.* iv B.C., which have for reverse type a galley with a small effigy on the prow (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 6 pl. 2, 1, p. 9 pl. 2, 11 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 225 pl. 75, 11, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 130 pl. 22, 20 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* iii. 419 fig. 292, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 523 f. pl. 116, 23 f., 527 f. pl. 117, 2 and 4. I give Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 527 f. pl. 117, 2 (= my fig. 68) and a specimen in my possession (fig. 69)). On coins of Arados struck in *s.* iii—ii B.C. this

Fig. 66.

Fig. 67.

Fig. 68.

Fig. 69.

is replaced by a figure-head of Athena fighting (*Brit. Mus Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 13 ff. pl. 3, 1, 3—8, 16 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 226 f. pl. 75, 15 f., 228, 231 ff. pl. 75, 20—22, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 132 ff. pl. 23, 1, 3, 5—7, 13, 15—17, 19, 22 f., pl. 24, 4, 7, cp. pl. 24, 16 and 20). Figure-heads of this sort would be gilded (see F. H. M. Blaydes' n. on Aristoph. *Ach.* 547 Παλλαδίων *χρυσουμένων*)—a fact which perhaps explains the comic fragment *χρυσί' ἔστ' ἄπεφθα τοῖς Παταίκοις ἐμφερῆ* (*frag. com. anon.* 364 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 695 Meineke) *ap.* Souid. *s.v. ἀπέφθου χρυσίου*).

Much material with regard to *apotrópaia* on ships will be found in D. Ruhnkenii *Opuscula varii argumenti, oratoria, historica, critica*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1823 i. 412—456 ('Disputatio de tutelis et insignibus navium'), C. Torr *Ancient Ships* Cambridge 1894 pp. 65—69, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa* Wien 1898 p. 383 ff., H. Usener *Die Sintflutsagen* Bonn 1899 p. 248 ff., Ch. Tsountas in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1899 p. 90 ff. figs. 16—21 = Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 301 pl. 81 fig. 1, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1914 xvi. 81—152, H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 61 ff., A. Köster *Das antike Seewesen* Berlin 1923 p. 58 f. fig. 10 f., p. 64 fig. 18, G. Contenau *La civilisa-*

But to my ear it suggests rather that Androgeos unseen followed the ship's trail and supplied her with a steady breeze, much as Boreas with puffed cheeks blows along the raft of Odysseus on a grotesque vase from the Theban Kabeirion (fig. 70)[1]. In either case it is clear that in the Ionian, as in the Aeolian, area the wind following aft might be attributed to, nay more, might be identified with, an ancestral spirit.

Nor were the Dorians wholly untouched by the same superstition, for at Sparta there was a sanctuary of Zeus *Euánemos*, the 'Giver of a Good Wind[2].' But here an obvious difficulty must be

Fig. 70.

met. How comes it that this deity, appropriate to a seafaring folk, was worshipped so far inland? A reasonable answer is given by S. Wide[3], who observes that beside the sanctuary of Zeus *Euánemos*

tion phénicienne Paris 1926 p. 295 f., L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 180 ff. figs. 12—15, F. Behn in Ebert *Reallex.* xi. 238 with pl. 60, 242 with pl. 62, 248 with pl. 64.

[1] P. Gardner *Cat. Vases Oxford* p. 18 f. no. 262 pl. 26 (=my fig. 70), M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin und Leipzig 1920 p. 154 fig. 134, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 717. The subject is a parody of *Od.* 5. 291 ff.; but note that here the trident is transferred from Poseidon to Odysseus!

[2] Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 169, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 195, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 118, H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 260, *id.* 'Göttliche Synonyme' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1898 liii. 346 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 276), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 834 n. 9, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 843.

Εὐάνεμος, the appellative of Zeus, =*εὐήνεμος* (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. *Ἐπίθετα Διός*...no. 38 (37) *εὐηνέμου*, 266 *Ἐπίθετα Διός*...no. 37 (38) *εὐηνέμου*).

A modern parallel to Zeus *Euánemos* may be found in *Buenos Aires*, 'Good Winds' (W. Sturmfels *Etymologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen* Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. 28). The town owes its name to 'Our Lady of the Favourable Wind' (A. J. Lamoureux in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1910 iv. 754 notes that it was first founded by P. de Mendoza in 1535 as Santa Maria de Buenos Ayres).

[3] Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 10.

stood a shrine of the hero Pleuron[1], eponym of Pleuron in Aitolia[2], and infers that the cult of Zeus the wind-god had been brought from Pleuron, a town adjoining the Calydonian Gulf, to Sparta. I accept Wide's explanation, but go one step further. When we remember that Pleuron stood in a district called Aiolis[3], it becomes at least possible that the original 'Giver of a Good Wind' was, in accordance with Aeolian thinking[4], none other than Pleuron the local hero. It is tempting, though perhaps over-venturesome, to suppose that his very name meant, or was taken to mean, the 'Wind-Blower[5]'. Be that as it may, a happy coincidence led Theokritos, writing in the Aeolic dialect, to say of his journey from Syracuse to Miletos:

> For hither we pray Zeus grant the way with a capful of good wind (*euánemos*)[6].

Zeus *Euánemos*, then, like Zeus *Oúrios*, was on this showing an Aeolian god evolved out of an Aeolian hero. But though Zeus as a wind-god thus presupposes the primitive conception of wind as the soul of a tribal ancestor, we must not imagine that the civilised Greek of the classical period was mindful of origins. He thought of Zeus as a sky-god. The wind blew in the *aér* or lower sky[7]. Clearly therefore Zeus was responsible for the wind. Accordingly the rock-cut inscription from Thera which commemorates *Boreaîos*[8] may well be understood of Zeus *Boreaîos*, god 'of the North Wind.' Indeed, an altar dedicated to Zeus *Bóreios* has actually come to light near Seleukeia in Kilikia (fig. 71)[9]. When Herodes Attikos

[1] Paus. 3. 13. 8 τοῦ Διονύσου δὲ οὐ μακρὰν Διὸς ἱερόν ἐστιν Εὐανέμου, τούτου δὲ ἐν δεξιᾷ Πλευρῶνος ἡρῷον, γεγόνασι δὲ οἱ Τυνδάρεω παῖδες τὰ πρὸς μητρὸς ἀπὸ τοῦ Πλευρῶνος· Θέστιον γὰρ τὸν Ἀήδας πατέρα Ἄσιός (so Palmerius for Ἀρεϊός codd. = Asios *frag.* 6 Kinkel) φησιν ἐν τοῖς ἔπεσιν Ἀγήνορος παῖδα εἶναι τοῦ Πλευρῶνος.

[2] Daïmachos of Plataiai (on whom see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2008 f.) *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 442 Müller) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 13. 218, Apollod. 1. 7. 7.

[3] Thouk. 3. 102, cp. Strab. 464 f. See further G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1035 and 1115.

[4] *Supra* pp. 106 ff., 140 f., 148, 157.

[5] Πλευρών is certainly a cognate of πλευρόν, πλευρᾶ, 'side', and πλευρόν, πλευρᾷ are possibly related to πλεύμων, 'lung' (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 374 f., F. Muller *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 345. Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 794 disagrees: 'Un rapport avec πλεύμων...se justifie mal'). Presumably in the first instance Πλευρών meant 'Seitler' (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1211), but it is conceivable that the name was re-interpreted as 'Wind-Blower.'

[6] Theokr. 28. 5 τυίδε γὰρ πλόον εὐάνεμον αἰτήμεθα πὰρ Διός.

[7] *Supra* i. 101 ff. For philosophical views see O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 511—539 ('Windgenese').

[8] *Supra* i. 142 n. 10.

[9] R. Heberdey and A. Wilhelm in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1896 vi. Abh. p. 102 no. 182 on a round altar (height 1·17^{m}, circumference 2·27^{m}) in the village of *Budshukli*, about a mile from Seleukeia up stream on the right bank of the Kalykadnos Διὶ | Βορείῳ | Θεόδοτ[ο]ς | Αἰνέου [τ]οῦ | Θεοδότου | εὐχ[ή]ν with facsimile = my fig. 71, E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii. 121.

lost his wife Annia Regilla (160 A.D.), he constructed a precinct known as the Triopion on the Appian Road[1], and there set up the ambitious inscription in which Marcellus of Side[2] described the lady, neither a mortal nor a goddess[3], as dwelling with the heroines in the Islands of the Blest[4]:

Fig. 71.

Zeus bade the Elysian breezes of the West
Bear that proud consort to her ocean rest[5].

Scattered allusions to Zeus as a power controlling the winds may be found throughout Greek literature, even as late as Byzantine times. Eumathios Makrembolites[6] in his *Romance of Hysmine and Hysminias* makes the lovers, eloping from Eurykomis[7], pray both Zeus and Poseidon to favour their voyage:

'So to the harbour we came, and stretching our hands toward the bright sky said—"Father Zeus, yielding to thee and thy mystic omens we embark on this journey. Thy son Eros has laid siege to our hearts and is dragging us as his booty away from our fatherland. And do thou, Poseidon, blow from our back, not in our face. Oppose not with thy breath the calm breath of Zeus, oppose not the west wind of Eros, whose well-tempered help has brought us to the haven[8]."'

Finally, there is some slight reason to suppose that whirlwinds (*stróbiloi* by land and *dínoi* by sea[9]) were specially connected with Zeus. His approach at the close of Aischylos' *Prometheus Bound*[10] is heralded by an earthquake, a roar of thunder, spiral flashes of lightning, spinning dust-storms[11], and a windy warfare that confuses

[1] K. Münscher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 936 ff.

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 678 n. 6.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 Marcell. 1. 43 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 264. 43 *οὐ μὲν γὰρ θνητή, ἀτὰρ οὐδὲ θέαινα τέτυκται.*

[4] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 Marcell. 1. 8 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 264. 8 f. *αὐτὴ δὲ μεθ' ἡρώῃσι νέναται | ἐν μακάρων νήσοισιν, ἵνα Κρόνος ἐνβασιλεύει.*

[5] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1389 Marcell. 1. 21 f. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 264. 21 f. *Ζεὺς μὲν ἐς ὠκεανὸν θαλερὴν ἔστειλε γυναῖκα | αὔρῃσι Ζεφύροιο κομιζέμεν Ἠλυσίῃσιν.* Marcellus is thinking of *Od.* 4. 563 ff. Cp. also Hyg. *fab.* 140 at Latonam Iovis iussu ventus Aquilo sublatam ad Neptunum pertulit.

[6] Eumath. 7. 6.

[7] *Supra* ii. 1141.

[8] The passage ends thus: *σὺ δ', ὦ Πόσειδον, ἐκ μεταφρένου πνεῦσον, μὴ κατὰ μέτωπον· μὴ πρὸς πνεῦμα πανεύδιον ἀντιπνεύσοις (sic) Διός, μὴ πρὸς Ἔρωτος ξέφυρον, οἷς ἡμεῖς εὐκραῶς περὶ τὸν λιμένα γεγόναμεν.* The sequel shows that Poseidon is not so accommodating: *ib.* 7. 9 *Ἔρως ἀλλήλους (an ἀλλήλοις legendum?) ἡμᾶς ἐδουλογράφησε, καὶ Ζεὺς ἐν θύμασι τὴν ἁρπαγὴν ὑπηνίξατο· ὁ δέ γε θρασὺς καὶ ἄγριος Ποσειδῶν ὄρη κυμάτων ἐγείρει καὶ πρὸς αἴνιγμα Διὸς ἀντιπνεῖ καὶ ὅλον δουλογραφεῖον ἐρωτικὸν ἐκπλύνει τοῖς κύμασιν.*

[9] Epikour. *epist.* 2. 105 *καὶ ἕως μὲν γῆς τοῦ πηστήρος καθιεμένου στρόβιλοι γίγνονται. ἕως δὲ θαλάττης δῖνοι ἀποτελοῦνται.* With the context cp. Lucr. 6. 423 ff., O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 564, 632.

[10] Aisch. *P.v.* 1080 ff.

[11] *Id. ib.* 1085 *στρόμβοι δὲ κόνιν εἰλίσσουσιν.* Nikephoros Basilakes *progymn.* 7. 10 (i. 489, 12) *στρόμβος πνευμάτων* is a Byzantine (*c.* 1150 A.D.) echo.

sky with sea. Aristophanes in the *Clouds* personifies *Dînos* in a manner highly suggestive of Zeus[1]. Nay more, in the *Lysistrate*[2] he virtually identifies Zeus with the tornado that is to sweep the perfidious Myrrhine to perdition:

> Sweet, sweet, do you call her? Vile, vile, I repeat.
> Zeus, send me a storm and a whirlwind, I pray,
> To whisk her away, like a bundle of hay,
> Up, up, beyond human aid,
> And toss her and swirl her, and twist her and twirl her,
> Till, tattered and torn, to the earth she is borne,
> Astride of an unsheathed blade.

In many parts of the globe whirlwinds have been regarded as demons or witches or wandering souls[3]. And not least in modern Greece, where they are commonly attributed to the Nereids[4] or

[1] *Supra* ii. 2 n. 4.

[2] Aristoph. *Lys.* 971 ff. ΧΟ. ΓΕ. *ποία γλυκερά; | μιαρὰ μιαρὰ δῆτ'. ὦ Ζεῦ Ζεῦ* (*supra* ii. 727 n. 3 (1)), | *εἰθ' αὐτήν, ὥσπερ τοὺς θωμούς, | μεγάλῳ τυφῷ καὶ πρηστῆρι | ξυστρέψας καὶ ξυγγογγυλίσας | οἴχοιο φέρων, εἶτα μεθείης, | ἡ δὲ φέροιτ' αὖ πάλιν εἰς τὴν γῆν, | κᾆτ' ἐξαίφνης | περὶ τὴν ψωλὴν περιβαίη.* I have adopted the translation of B. B. Rogers, but have altered his rendering of lines 976 and 979. In the parallel passage, *thesm.* 56 ff., the diction again suits a whirlwind or waterspout (56 *γογγύλλει*, 57 *χοανεύει*, 61 *συγγογγυλίσας καὶ συστρέψας*, 62 *χοανεῦσαι*), though of course other meanings are attached to every phrase. It may be suspected that Aristophanes had recently (?411 B.C.) witnessed some striking example of a *στρόβιλος* or *δῖνος*.

[3] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 331 n. 2, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 203 (*Zio* or *Ziu*), 229 n. 1 (the Devil, Herodias, Pfol), 285 n. 1 (*Ziu* or *Zio*, Herodias), 1883 ii. 632 (*Zio*, Phol, the Devil, witches), 1888 iv. 1798 (the Evil One), 1799 (witches), 1847 (evil spirits), E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 Index p. 353 *s.vv.* 'Wirbelwind,' 'Wirbelwindselbinnen,' 'Wirbelwindsriesinnen,' P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 81 (démon, Satan, diable), 82 f. (damnés, farfadets, Héroguias, sorcier, loups-garous), 112 (foultot ou lutin).

[4] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 123 ff. ('Die Neräiden gelten gemeiniglich auch als Urheberinnen des alles mit sich fortreissenden Wirbelwindes, *ἀνεμοστρόβιλος*,[4] ([4]Auf Zakynthos ist das Wort corrumpirt in *ἀνεμοστρούφιλος* und *ἀνεμοστρούφουλας*, auf Kephalonia in *ἀνεμορούφουλας*...) welcher in Griechenland zumal im Sommer häufig ist. In diesem Winde schreiten sie einher, und wen sie auf ihrer Bahn antreffen, den heben sie auf und führen ihn mit sich durch die Lüfte. Auf Zakynthos sagt man beim Wehen des Wirbelwindes: "die Neräiden tanzen," *χορεύουνε ἡ 'Νεράϊδες*, und hält die Kreise, welche derselbe im Staube oder im Sande bildet, für die Spuren ihrer Füsse. Die Kinder werden zu solcher Zeit ängstlich gehütet und nicht aus dem Hause gelassen. Wer vom Wirbelwinde überrascht wird, muss sich ducken, um von den daher stürmenden Unholdinnen verschont zu bleiben.[5] ([5]Vgl. die epirotische Sage bei Hahn Nr. 81, wo ein Mädchen, das sich nicht ducken will, von den Neräiden hinweggerafft wird.) Auch hat man für diesen Fall bestimmte Beschwörungsformeln. In Athen pflegen alte Frauen bei entstehendem Wirbelwind den Kopf erdwärts zu beugen und leise zu murmeln: *μέλι καὶ γάλα στὸν δρόμο σας*, d. i. Honig und Milch auf euern Weg![6] ([6]Pittakis in der *'Εφημ. 'Αρχαιολ.* 1852, *φ.* 30, p. 647 s. Derselbe fügt hinzu, dass dies namentlich in der Nähe des sogenannten Nymphenhügels beobachtet werde: ein Umstand, dem eine dunkle Erinnerung an den ehemaligen Cultus der Nymphen auf der Höhe dieses Hügels... zu Grunde zu liegen scheint.) Ganz ähnlich in anderen Gegenden. Auf Kephalonia, im Bezirk Samos, wird folgender Spruch gesagt, der seine Erklärung in dem hier bestehenden,

Nymphs[1] or other supernatural agencies[2]. Indeed, the word *Anemos*, 'Wind,' is nowadays a frequent synonym of the Devil[3]. But the most remarkable parallel to the ancient Greek equation of Zeus with the whirlwind has yet to be stated. The *vocabularius sancti Galli*, a vellum manuscript of the seventh or eighth century in the Library of Saint-Gall[4], glosses the Latin *turpines*, that is *turbines*, 'whirlwinds,' by the Old High German *ziu*. If this word has been rightly transcribed[5], it must—as J. Grimm long since pointed

schon oben von mir erwähnten Glauben findet, nach welchem die Oberste der Neraïden die Schwester Alexanders des Grossen ist: Χαιράμεναις, καλόκαρδαις, | μέλι καὶ γάλα | σ' τοῦ βασιλέα τὴν τάβλα! | Στὴ ψυχὴ τοῦ βασιλέως τοῦ 'Αλέξανδρου, | κακὸ μὴ μοῦ κάμετε!'), N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 406 no. 691 Τάνεμοσίφουνο τῶν Νεράιδων.

[1] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 150 ('The habit of travelling on a whirlwind, or more correctly perhaps of stirring up a whirlwind by rapid passage, has gained for the nymphs in some districts secondary names—in Macedonia *ἀνεμικαίς*, in Gortynia *ἀνεμογαξούδες*[4] (4 Παρνασσός, IV. p. 765. The origin of the second part of the compound is unknown.)—which might almost seem to constitute a new class of wind-nymphs. But so far as I know the faculty of raising whirlwinds, though most frequently exercised by Oreads, is common to all nymphs').

[2] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 250 f. cited *supra* p. 106.

[3] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 30 n. 2 ('Auch den Neugriechen ist *ἄνεμος* der Teufel, z. B. entsprechen die Redensarten *ἄγε εἰς ἄνεμον, πήγαινε εἰς ἄνεμον* ganz unserem "Geh' zum Teufel"'), B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 175 ('Sicher ist dieses Wort in einer Anzahl von Redensarten, wie *νὰ πᾶς στὸν ἄνεμο, ἄγε στὸν ἄνεμο* (Arachoba. Kallipolis), ganz gleichbedeutend mit *διάβολος*').

[4] G. Scherrer *Verzeichniss der Handschriften der Stiftsbibliothek von St. Gallen* Halle 1875 p. 331 ff. cod. 913.

[5] On this point there has been divergence of opinion. J. C. H. Büchler *SG. 913. Vocabularius St. Galli auch Wörterbuch des heil. Gallus aus dem 8. Jahrhundert* Brilon 1869 transcribes p. 36 turpines zui and comments p. 81 *turbines*, *turpines*, zui? R. Henning *Über die sanctgallischen Sprachdenkmäler* Strassburg 1874 transcribes p. 18, 232 turpines zui and conjectures p. 57 zui[rbila] 'weil eine frühere Handschrift hier am Rande beschädigt war.' E. Steinmeyer—E. Sievers *Die althochdeutschen Glossen* Berlin 1895 transcribe iii. 4, 41 Turpines zui, adding the note '*Henning ergänzte zu* zuirbila; *mir wenig wahrscheinlich*.'

E contra J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 203: 'A remarkable gloss in the old Cod. sangall. 913, p. 193, has "turbines=*ziu*" (we have no business to write zui), which may mean the storm of war, the Mars trux, saevus, or possibly the literal whirlwind, on which mythical names are sometimes bestowed; so it is either *Zio* himself, or a synonymous female personification *Ziu*, bearing the same relation to Zio as diu (ancilla) to dio (servus).' *Id. ib.* i. 285 n. 1, *à propos* of the story that the head of John the Baptist, when Herodias would have covered it with tears and kisses, blew hard at her and whirled her off into empty space (*Reinardus Vulpes* (*c.* 1150 A.D., ed. F. J. Mone Stuttgart—Tübingen 1832) i. 1153 f. oscula captantem caput aufugit atque resufflat, | illa per impluvium turbine flantis abit): 'This reference to the *turbo* (the whirlwind of his blast), looks mythical and of high antiquity. Not only did *Ziu* or *Zio*, once a deity, become with the christians a name for the whirlwind, p. 203... but to this day such a wind is accounted for in Lower Saxony (about Celle) by the dancing *Herodias* whirling about in the air.' *Id. ib.* 1883 ii. 632: 'The OHG. *ziu*, turbines, we have traced to *Zio*, pp. 203. 285.'

Dr B. F. C. Atkinson kindly consulted on my behalf Dr A. Fäh, the librarian of Saint-Gall, who reports (Nov. 1, 1928): 'In Cod. Ms. 913 p. 193 lautet die Glosse ganz deutlich *zui* nicht ziu.'

out[1]—be connected with **Ztu* or **Zto* the early Germanic sky-god[2], and presumably implies that Ziu in popular fancy took shape as the whirling wind-storm—a perfect parallel to the case of Zeus.

§ 8. *Zeus and the Dew.*

(a) The *Arrhephóroi.*

Like most atmospheric phaenomena, dew had for the Greeks a certain sanctity. The wide-spread belief that, if gathered on the first of May (May Day) or the twenty-fourth of June (Midsummer Day), it beautifies or cures the human body, makes the cattle yield more milk and butter, multiplies the hay, etc.[3], will serve to explain a somewhat mysterious Athenian rite known as the *Arrhephoría*[4]. The fullest account of this rite is given by Pausanias[5], who after discoursing on the Erechtheion at Athens continues:

'What surprised me very much, but is not generally known, I will describe as it takes place. Two maidens dwell not far from the temple of the Polias: the Athenians call them Arrephoroi. These are lodged for a time with the goddess; but when the festival comes round they perform the following ceremony by night. They put on their heads the things which the priestess of Athena gives them to carry, but what it is she gives is known neither to her who gives nor to them who carry. Now there is in the city an enclosure not far from the sanctuary of Aphrodite called Aphrodite in the Gardens, and there is a natural underground descent through it. Down this way the maidens go. Below they leave their burdens, and getting something else, which is wrapt up, they bring it back. These maidens are then discharged, and others are brought to the Acropolis in their stead.'

Now the *Arrhephoría* took place in the month Skirophorion[6], which corresponds roughly with our June-July. Moreover, there can be little doubt[7] that the name *Arrhephóroi* means the 'Dew-

[1] See the preceding note. [2] *Supra* ii. 50 ff.

[3] J. Brand—Sir H. Ellis *Popular Antiquities of Great Britain* London 1849 i. 218 f., W. Henderson *Folk-lore of the Northern Counties* London 1879 pp. 85, 199 f., J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 786 (cp. *ib.* 1883 iii. 1073, 1888 iv. 1533, 1624), W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 384, 390, 1905 ii. 312, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 94 f., 1906 iii. 84 f., 476 f., 479, 490, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 54 (Isle of Man), 67 (Northumberland), 127 (South Slavonia), *ib.*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 246 f. (Abruzzi), 248 (Spain, Normandy, Périgord), *ib.*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 208 n. 1 (Spain, Normandy, Périgord, Abruzzi), ii. 74 (South Slavonia).

For similar usages at the Parilia (April 21) and on St George's Day (April 23) see Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 327 (Ov. *fast.* 4. 778), 333 (White Russia, Little Russia, Bulgaria), 335 (Bukowina, Galicia), 339 (Bulgaria).

[4] A. E. Crawley in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 700 a—701 a.

[5] Paus. 1. 27. 3 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

[6] *Et mag.* p. 149, 13 f.

[7] Some have regarded 'Αρρηφορία as a clipped form of 'Αρρητοφορία (so schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 642, Hesych. and Souid. *s.v.* 'Αρρηφορία, *et. mag.* p. 149, 15, Bekker *anecd.* i. 446,

bearers.' Inscriptions show that the earlier form of the word was *Errhephóroi* or *Ersephóroi* rather than *Arrhephóroi*, and that the cognate verb was *errhephoreîn* far more often than *arrhephoreîn*[1]. This enables us to derive the terms in question from *érse* or *hérse*, 'dew.' And conformably with this derivation the ancient grammarians state, on the authority of Istros of Kyrene (*c.* 200 B.C.), that the *Ersephoría* was a procession for *Érse* or *Hérse*, the daughter of Kekrops[2], while Moiris the Atticist (*c.* 200 A.D.) expressly declares that the *Errhephóroi* are 'those who bear dew for *Érse*, one of Kekrops' daughters[3].'

But, if the business of the *Arrhephóroi* was only to carry dew, why did the Greeks make such a song about it? At Athens four girls of noble birth were elected by show of hands. Of these four two were chosen to start the weaving of Athena's *péplos*. Their own garments were white, and any gold worn by them *ipso facto* became the property of the goddess[4]. The final selection of the girls was made by the 'king[5],' who is known to have had special responsibilities in connexion with the mysteries[6]. Once appointed, these

28 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 287, 53 f., and even L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 266). But this is a piece of false etymology, perhaps occasioned by the fact that the Θεσμοφόρια in Pyanopsion were called also Σκιροφόρια (schol. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 2. 1 p. 275 f. Rabe) and Ἀρρητοφόρια (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 17. 1 p. 14, 4 ff. Stählin): see Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 510 n. 1, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 34 n. 2.

Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 872 f. held that ἀρρηφόροι meant 'basket-bearers,' the first part of their name being connected with the root of ἄρριχος, 'hasket.' This view too has found defenders, *e.g.* F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 551. But it is altogether too hypothetical.

Miss J. E. Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxiv derived the name from ἔρση, in the sense of a 'young animal,' and compared the use of δρόσοι in Aisch. *Ag.* 141. But later, in her *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[1] p. 122 n. 2, she abandoned this ingenious suggestion and *ib.*[2] p. 131 speaks of 'the Arrephoria or Arretophoria'... 'The Arretophoria or Arrephoria.' See also her *Themis*[2] p. 266.

Personally, I see no sufficient reason for discrediting the explicit statements of Istros, Moiris, etc.

[1] K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 15 n. 67, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 34 n. 2, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 550.

[2] Istr. *frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 420 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 642. The same thing is said, without a mention of Istros, by Hesych. and Souid. *s.v.* 'Αρρηφορία, *et. mag.* p. 149, 15 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 287, 52 f.

[3] Moir. 141 p. 104 Pierson Ἐρρηφόροι, Ἀττικῶς, αἱ τὴν δρόσον φέρουσαι τῇ Ἕρσῃ· ἦτις ἦν μία τῶν Κεκροπίδων.

[4] Deinarch. κατὰ Πυθέου *frag.* 4 (*Orat. Attic.* ii. 328a Baiter—Sauppe) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν = Souid. *s.v.* ἀρρηνοφορεῖν (G. Bernhardy cj. ἀρρηφορεῖν) = Bekker *anecd.* i. 446, 18 ff. = *et. mag.* p. 149, 18 ff.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* ἐπιώψατο· κατέλεξεν, ἐξελέξατο. ἔστι δ' Ἀττικόν. ὁ βασιλεὺς ἐπιώψατο ἀρρηφόρους. οἷον, κατέλεξεν, ἐξελέξατο. Πλάτων ἐν Νόμοις (Plat. *legg.* 947 c. J. Pierson wrongly supposed an allusion to Platon the comedian ἐν Νήσοις) = *et. mag.* p. 362, 38 f.

[6] Aristot. Ἀθ. πολ. 57. 1, Harpokr. *s.v.* ἐπιμελητὴς τῶν μυστηρίων (Dem. *in Mid.* 171).

little maids, who were mere children from seven to eleven years of age[1], enjoyed sundry peculiar privileges. They were housed near the Erechtheion[2]. They had a tennis-court (*sphairístra*) on the Akropolis, which could boast a bronze figure of Isokrates as a boy on horseback[3]. And they were fed on cakes that were specially 'risen' (*anástatoi*)[4]—possibly[5] in view of the *Arrhephoría*, that great ritual for the proper performance of which they had been set apart. Again, an Athenian inscription of Hellenistic date (*c.* 137/6 B.C.) tells how a certain priest of Asklepios and Hygieia gave his own daughter to serve as *Arrhephóros* at the Epidauria[6], which had by that time become a recognised part of the Eleusinian mysteries[7]. Finally, an Aeolic inscription from Mytilene, referred to *s.* iii A.D., commemorates Aurelia Artemisia as 'priestess of the goddesses Etephilai (that is, Demeter and Persephone[8]) and Karissai[9] and *Ersóphoros* of the most holy mysteries[10].'

[1] *Et. mag.* p. 149, 19 f. *τέσσαρες δὲ παῖδες ἐχειροτονοῦντο κατ' εὐγένειαν ἀρρηφόροι ἀπὸ ἑτῶν ἑπτὰ μέχρις ἐνδεκα*, cp. Aristoph. *Lys.* 641 f. *ἑπτὰ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθὺς ἠρρηφόρουν· | εἶτ' ἀλετρὶς ἦ δεκέτις οὖσα τἀρχηγέτι.*

[2] Paus. 1. 27. 3 *παρθένοι δύο τοῦ ναοῦ τῆς* Πολιάδος *οἰκοῦσιν οὐ πόρρω, καλοῦσι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι σφᾶς ἀρρηφόρους· αὗται χρόνον μέν τινα δίαιταν ἔχουσι παρὰ τῇ θεῷ*, κ.τ.λ. (*supra* p. 165).

[3] Plout. *v. dec. orat.* 4 Isocr. 839 C.

[4] Athen. 114 A—B *τὸν ἀνάστατον* (so J. Pierson for *ναστὸν* cod. P. ed. V. *νάστον* edd. Basil. L.) *καλούμενον, ὃς ταῖς ἀρρηφόροις γίνεται*, cp. Souid. *s.v. ἀνάστατοι*, Hesych. *s.v. ἀνάστατοι*, Paus. Gramm. *frag.* 94 Schwabe *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1165, 10 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 384, 33 f.

[5] Leaven is symbolic of rapid growth in Matthew 13. 33=Luke 13. 20 f. More often it is regarded as a type of corruption and therefore forbidden in ritual (*e.g.* Gell. 10. 15. 19 farinam fermento inbutam adtingere ei (*sc.* flamini Diali) fas non est). See C. F. Kent in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1914 vii. 889 a—890 a. But O. Broneer in *Hesperia* 1935 iv. 128 cp. Poll. 6. 73 *ὁ γὰρ ὀρθοστάτης ἱεροῦ ἄρτου τι εἶδος* and perhaps rightly assumes that such cakes were of phallic shape.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 Add. no. 453 *b*, 13 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 974, 18 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 687, 18 f. *ἔδωκε δὲ καὶ τὴν ἑαυτοῦ θυγατ[έρα* ------- *εἰς τὰ] | Ἐπιδαύρια ἀρρηφορο̣ῦσαν κ.τ.λ.*

[7] O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 45 f.

[8] Hesych. *Ἑταιφίλη·* (so W. R. Paton for *Ἑται...· φίλη.* cod.) *ἡ Περσεφόνη.* F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 712: 'Die *Ἐτηφίλαι* wären also Demeter und Kore. Sicherlich bezeichnet sie der Name als freundliche Göttinnen, wie *Εὐμενίδες* u. a. wohlbekannte. Dies wird auch in dem ersten Namenselement enthalten sein, das zu *ἕται* Angehörige (vgl. J. Schmidt bei L. Meyer Handb. d. gr. Etymol. 1 374 oben) zu stellen ist; sie beschützen also die Sippschaft. Wenn die Form *Ἑταιφίλη* bei Hesych. neben dem inschriftlichen *Ἐτηφίλα* richtig ist, haben wir eine Parallele zu den gleichzeitig auf Thera vorkommenden Personennamen *Πραται-* und *Πρατη-μένης.*'

[9] C. H. Oldfather in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1950.

[10] F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 92 no. 232, 3 f. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* ii no. 255, 3 f. *ἱέρεα{ν} τᾶν θέαν Ἐτ(η)φίλαν καὶ Καλ̣ρίσσαν καὶ ἐρ(σ)όφορον τ(ῶ)ν ἁγιωτάτων μυ(στ)αρίων.* The inscription, which is throughout ill-spelt, actually reads ΕΤΙΦΙΛΑΝ and ΕΡΓΟΦΟΡΟΝ.

To understand these honours and prerogatives we must, I think, bear in mind the general similarity subsisting between the Thesmophoria and the Arrhephoria. The latter, like the former, appears to have been a ceremony intended to promote fertility[1]. In the Thesmophoria we have the worship of Demeter and Kore, the two *Thesmophóro*[2]. The *Arrhephóros* at Eleusis[3] and the *Ersóphoros* at Mytilene[4] were at least connected with the cult of the same pair of deities. An Athenian inscription of Roman date commemorates 'Aristokles' daughter, who served as *Errhephóros* for Demeter and Kore[5].' Seats in the theatre at Athens were in imperial times reserved for two *Hersephóroi* of Ge Themis (fig. 72)[6] and, immediately behind them,

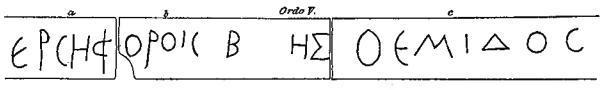


Fig. 72.

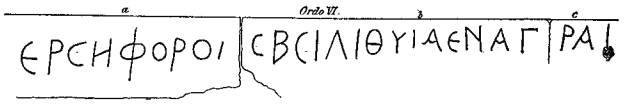


Fig. 73.

for two *Hersephóroi* of Eilithyia at Agrai (fig. 73)[7]. It would seem, therefore, that Dew-bearers stood in some relation to Mother Earth; and it is probable that they were regarded as fertilising agents. This squares with the fact that their rite took place near the sanctuary of Aphrodite in the Gardens[8]. The Thesmophoria too

[1] Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxiv ff., *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 131 ff., *ead. Themis* pp. 266, 275, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 510.

[2] Aristoph. *thesm.* 83, 282, 295 f., 1156, 1230.

[3] *Supra* p. 167, n. 6 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 167, n. 10.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 919 [*τὴν δεῖνα*] Ἀριστοκλέου *ἐρρηφορήσασαν Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ*. W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 304 says: 'in Form einer W[eihung] an Demeter und Kore.' But, for the dative, cp. Moir. 141 p. 104 Pierson (*supra* p. 166, n. 3).

[6] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 318 (with facsimile on pl. 1 = my fig. 72) *ἑρσηφόροις β'* [Γ]ῆς Θέμιδος in late careless script, W. Larfeld *op. cit.* ii. 1. 266 pl. 1.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 319 (with facsimile on pl. 1 = my fig. 73) *ἑρσηφόροις β'* Εἰλιθυία[ς] *ἐν* Ἄγραι[ς] in late careless script, W. Larfeld *op. cit.* ii. 1. 266 pl. 1.

[8] *Supra* p. 165. The precise route followed by the *Arrhephóroi* is a matter for conjecture. If they lived 'not far from the temple of the Polias' and 'lodged for a time with the goddess' (Paus. 1. 27. 3), we may assume that their official quarters were in or near the Pandroseion. On the occasion of the *Arrhephoria* they may, no doubt, have quitted

the Akropolis by way of the Propylaia and the western slope (A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 447—an idea tacitly dropped by the same writer in his *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 509). But, in view of the close connexion between Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse (*infra* § 8 (b)), it is highly probable that the *Arrhephóroi* went *viâ* the Aglaurion. If so, their most direct and also most secluded exit would have been, not the *pôros*-walled stairway in an angle of the north wall 200 ft west of the north porch of the Erechtheion (J. H. Middleton *Plans and Drawings of Athenian Buildings* London 1900 pl. 1 no. 38), as has been maintained by various critics (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 xii. 59 pl. 1, H. G. Lolling 'Hellenische Landeskunde und Topographie' in I. Müller's *Geographie und politische Geschichte des klassischen Altertums* Nördlingen 1889 p. 351, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 163), but the stairway of later construction which led (by means of a hanging ladder?) right down into the cave at a point some 50 ft east of the *pôros*-stairway (J. H. Middleton *op. cit.* pl. 1 no. 42), as is urged by P. Kabbadias in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897 p. 26 ff., M. L. D'Ooge (*The Acropolis of Athens* New York 1908 pp. 10, 297 with plan 7), and O. Broneer in *Hesperia* 1932 i. 51 f., 1935 iv. 129 with figs. 14 and 15. C. Belger 'Der Abstiegsweg der Arrhephoren, der Aufstieg der Perser' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 25, 1897 pp. 1212—1214 (followed by W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 170 n. 4) is non-committal: 'Wir können also mit unseren Mitteln nicht konstatieren, welchen Weg die Arrhephoren wirklich gingen.'

Equally beset with uncertainties is the other end of their journey. Their destination, according to Paus. 1. 27. 3, was *περίβολος ἐν τῇ πόλει τῆς καλουμένης ἐν Κήποις 'Αφροδίτης οὐ πόρρω*. But Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 16 (probably copying Varro, [? who copied Pasiteles (born *c.* 108 B.C.),] who copied Antigonos of Karystos (born *c.* 295 B.C.), who copied Douris of Samos (born *c.* 340 B.C.): see E. Sellers *The Elder Pliny's Chapters on the History of Art* London 1896 p. xlii f.) describes the same Aphrodite as being outside the city-wall: he speaks of Alkamenes 'cuius sunt opera Athenis complura in aedibus sacris praeclarumque Veneris extra muros, quae appellatur *'Αφροδίτη ἐν Κήποις*. huic summam manum ipse Phidias inposuisse dicitur.' The discrepancy between *ἐν τῇ πόλει* and *extra muros* was explained by C. Wachsmuth *Die Stadt Athen im Alterthum* Leipzig 1874 i. 228 f., who pointed out that in the time of Pausanias the brick wall of Athens (Vitr. 2. 8. 9) had been cleared away to make room for the Hadrianic town (the *novae Athenae* of *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii no. 549 = Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 511 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 337, cp. Ael. Spart. *v. Hadrian.* 20. 4 multas civitates Hadrianopolis appellavit, ut ipsam Karthaginem et Athenarum partem, Phlegon *frag.* 21 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 607 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *'Ολυμπίειον· τόπος ἐν Δήλῳ, ὃν κτίσαντες 'Αθηναῖοι χρήμασιν 'Αδριανοῦ νέας 'Αθήνας 'Αδριανὰς ἐκάλεσαν, ὡς Φλέγων ἐν 'Ολυμπιάδων πεντεκαιδεκάτῳ*). The precinct, on this showing, adjoined the garden-quarter on the right bank of the Ilissos (H. Hitzig and H. Blümner on Paus. 1. 19. 2), and somewhere in that neighbourhood must have been the natural underground descent, through which the girls went to leave their burdens and bring back something wrapt up (Paus. 1. 27. 3 *καὶ δι' αὐτοῦ* (*sc. τοῦ περιβόλου*) *κάθοδος ὑπόγαιος αὐτομάτη· ταύτῃ κατίασιν αἱ παρθένοι. κάτω μὲν δὴ τὰ φερόμενα λείπουσιν, λαβοῦσαι δὲ ἄλλο τι κομίζουσιν ἐγκεκαλυμμένον*). The actual chasm or fissure has not yet been located. But E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 251 n. 1 throws out an interesting suggestion: 'It seems probable that the shrine in question may have been that of earth (Ge Olympia), and the cleft may be the same one by which the waters of Deucalion's deluge were said to have disappeared' (Paus. 1. 18. 7 *ἔστι δὲ ἀρχαῖα ἐν τῷ περιβόλῳ Διὸς χαλκοῦς καὶ ναὸς Κρόνου καὶ 'Ρέας καὶ τέμενος Γῆς* (so J. A. Letronne for *τῆν* codd. E. Clavier cj. *γῆς τὴν*, W. M. Leake cj. *τῆς Γῆς*) *ἐπίκλησιν 'Ολυμπίας. ἐνταῦθα ὅσον ἐς πῆχυν τὸ ἔδαφος διέστηκε, καὶ λέγουσι μετὰ τὴν ἐπομβρίαν τὴν ἐπὶ Δευκαλίωνος συμβᾶσαν ὑπορρυῆναι ταύτῃ τὸ ὕδωρ, ἐσβάλλουσί τε ἐς αὐτὸ ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος ἅλφιτα πυρῶν μέλιτι μίξαντες* (I. Bekker, followed by H. C. Schubart and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner, cj. *μάξαντες* cp. 5. 15. 10, 9. 39. 11)).

Recently O. Broneer of the American School at Athens has found on the N. slope of the *Akrópolis*, E. of the Erechtheion, 'directly below the point where the Acropolis wall makes the obtuse angle at which are the traces of the Mycenaean postern gate,' a small

sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite attested by numerous niches in the rock and two rock-cut inscriptions dating from the middle of *s.* V B.C. (*Hesperia* 1932 i. 31—55 with figs. 1—17, of which fig. 2 gives a ground-plan and figs. 10 and 11 facsimiles of the inscriptions on rock B: (1) *τôι Ἔροτι ἒε εορτὲ | [τ]ετράδι ἱσταμέν[ο] | Μονιχιôν[ο]ς μεν[ός]* and (2) *Ἀφροδ[ί]τ[ει]*). Adjoining the sanctuary, on the west was a small area (Z) which yielded a Hellenistic relief of Eros; on the east, a cave in which were found a small votive shield of painted stone and fragments of undecorated shields in terra cotta, also the figurine of a sleeping babe. North-east of the cave was a space dotted with small stuccoed altars(?) of various shapes (*α—π*), oval, rectangular, triangular, or like a low wall, poorly built and resting on loose earth. These had carried small stones (*phalloí*?) set upright in mortar—one was still *in situ*—and, further east, close to another group of niches (N) was a *phallós* of island marble (*id. ib.* 1933 ii. 329—417 with pl. xi (extended plan) and figs. 1—91, of which figs. 9, 14, 18=my fig. 74 *a, b, c*, *id. ib.* 1935 iv. 109—188 with pl. i (=my pl. xxi) and figs. 1—77, of which figs. 8 and 9 show the 'altars.' See further *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*)

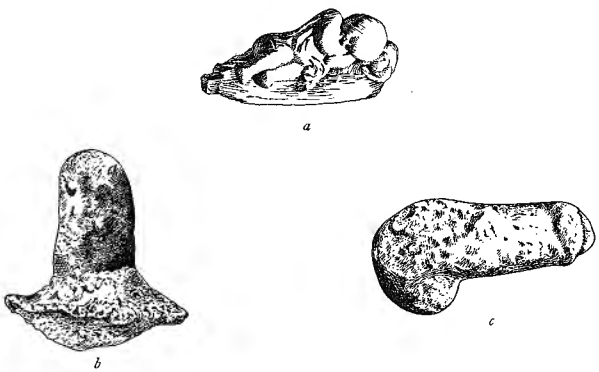
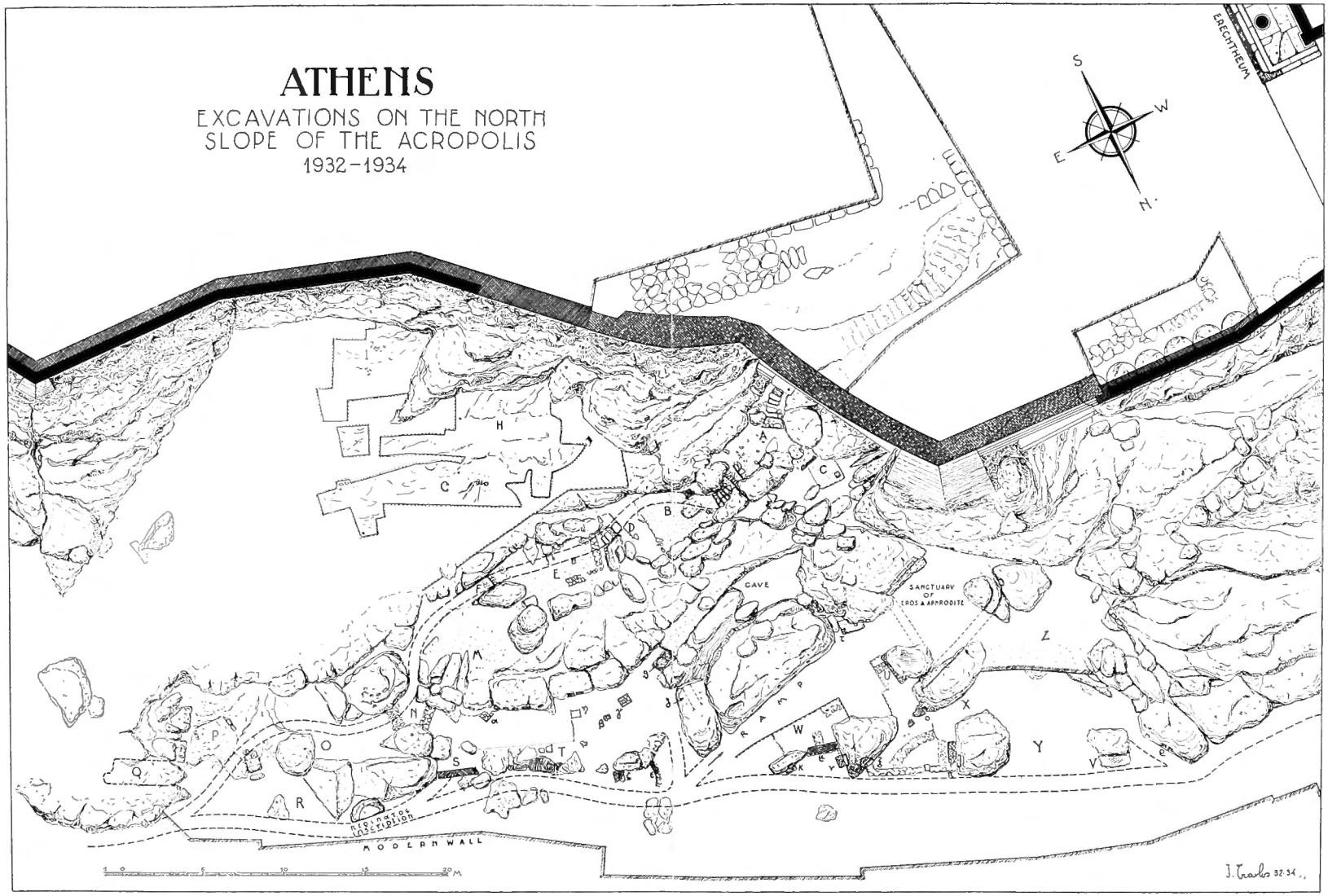


Fig. 74.

sub fin.). It is highly probable that the relief-frieze with a procession of Erotes, *c.* 350—300 B.C. (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 453 ff. nos. 1451, 1452 pl. 102), and the relief of a draped woman, with a child, sitting on a rock with a cave in it (National Museum no. 3257) came from the same sanctuary of Eros and Aphrodite (O. Broneer *loc. cit.* 1935 iv. 143 ff. no. 17 figs. 33—35 and 36).

As to the bearing of these finds on the *Arrhephoria*, Broneer *loc. cit.* i. 52 (cp. iv. 126) writes: 'The whole action of the ceremony becomes clear if we admit that the sanctuary just discovered is the peribolos mentioned by Pausanias. Below the underground stairs to the Aglaurion a modern path leads eastward to the new sanctuary, and it is reasonable to suppose that the same path may have existed in ancient times, connecting with the rock-cut *περίπατος* below. The immense chasm, through which the descent from the Acropolis began, might well have lent color to Pausanias' weird description of the place. The only inaccuracy which remains is the impression which the Greek text gives that the subterranean passage and the sanctuary are immediately contiguous, while actually one must first pass through the one and thence by a short path reach the other[2] ([2]Doubtless the passage in the sanctuary itself was somehow used in the ceremony; but until we know how it connected with the cave to the east it is unsafe to make any definite statement about it). It can hardly be a coincidence that a sanctuary of Aphrodite which fits so well the account



Plan of the American excavations on the north slope of the Akropolis
(from *Hesperia* 1935 iv pl. i).

See page 169 ff. *n.* 0.

in Pausanias should be found close to the place where we would naturally expect the Arrephoroi to have descended. We can only conclude that there were two sanctuaries of Aphrodite *ἐν Κήποις*, a more ancient one, which we have just discovered on the Acropolis slope, and a later one, with a temple containing the famous statue of Alkamenes, near the Ilissus.' Broneer *ib.* p. 53 f. adds: 'The objection will naturally be raised that the text of Pausanias does not admit of such an interpretation.' He replies that most probably 'Pausanias himself confused the two sanctuaries.' *Vix liquet.*

Aphrodite *ἐν Κήποις* is seldom mentioned by the classical authors. But an inscription of *c.* 420—417 B.C. informs us that during the years 426/5—423/2 the expenses of the Peloponnesian War were in part met by money borrowed from her temple-treasury at a nominal rate of interest—$\frac{1}{100}$th of a *drachmé per mnâ per* day (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 273 *f*, 12 f. = Michel *Recueil d' Inscr. gr.* no. 561, 78 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 299 ff. no. 109, 78 [Ἀφροδί]τ̣ης ἐν Κήποις ΤΤ[Η][Δ]ΔΔΓ|. *τόκος τούτου* Γ[Η][ΗΗ |||||C], cp. W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 44). Near her temple stood a square herm of Aphrodite, which bore an inscription stating that Aphrodite Οὐρανία was the eldest of the Moirai (Paus. 1. 19. 2, cp. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 7. 1 *τῇ Οὐρανίᾳ δὲ τῇ ἐν Κήποις δάμαλιν*): some notion of this herm may be had from the Dareios-*kratér* (*supra* ii. 854 pl. xxxviii).

Of Alkamenes' masterpiece we know practically nothing (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 16, Paus. 1. 19. 2, Loukian. *imagg.* 4, 6). Sundry critics have somewhat carelessly assumed that it was none other than the herm just mentioned (J. Sillig *Catalogus Artificum* Dresdae et Lipsiae 1827 p. 31, H. Brunn *Geschichte der griechischen Künstler* Stuttgart 1857 i. 235, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 1. 19. 2). The ablest defence of this view is that put up by A. Trendelenburg in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1908 xxiii Arch. Anz. pp. 514—520 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1909 xiii. 494, A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1910 xxiii. 192, A. J. Reinach *ib.* p. 321), who cp. the herm from Pergamon inscribed in lettering of *s.* ii A.D. *εἰδήσεις* Ἀλκαμένεος | *περικαλλὲς ἄγαλμα* | Ἑρμᾶν τὸν *πρὸ πυλῶν·* | *ἔδρατο* Περγάμιος. || *γνῶθι σαυτόν* (bibliography in Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 234 ff. no. 527 fig. and in C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 57). But a half-length herm of Aphrodite (Loukian. *imagg.* 6 implies arms and hands) dating from the fifth century would be hard to parallel (? cp. Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 634 B fig. 1386 C = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 347 no. 4 a herm in the Villa Albani on which see J. J. Bernoulli *Aphrodite* Leipzig 1873 p. 7). Others have sought to recover the aspect of the lost statue from the Aphrodite of Melos (Sir C. Walston (Waldstein) *Alcamenes and the establishment of the classical type in Greek art* Cambridge 1926 p. 211 'I am inclined to think it not improbable that the sculptor of the Aphrodite of Melos was inspired by the Aphrodite in the Gardens of Alcamenes'), or with more probability from the type of Aphrodite leaning, sometimes on an archaistic effigy of herself (A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 208 n. 9, E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 77 f.: *e.g. Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 226 f. no. 586 fig.), sometimes on a pillar with a tree in the background (H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 pp. 205—210 with fig. 189 = Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 1601 pl. 165, S. Wide in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1910 p. 52 no. 13, an inscribed votive relief from *Daphni* on the road between Athens and Eleusis), or again—and this is the most frequent contention—from the type best represented by the Aphrodite of Fréjus (?) (Mrs L. M. Mitchell *A History of Ancient Sculpture* London 1883 p. 320, S. Reinach *Manuel de philologie classique* Paris 1884 ii. 94, *id.* in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1896 ii. 326—328 = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 i. 258—260 ('Je pense que ce motif a été créé par Alcamène, rajeuni par Praxitèle et repris de nouveau par Arcésilas'), A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 412 f., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 212, *id. Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 19 f., 82, 275 n. 10, E. von Mach *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Boston 1905 p. 121 f. pl. 108, H. Bulle *Der schöne Mensch im Altertum*[2] München und Leipzig 1912 pp. 263 ff., 682 f. pl. 124. Other examples of the type are collected and discussed by J. J. Bernoulli *Aphrodite* Leipzig 1873 pp. 86—98 ('Der Typus der ungegürteten, ihren

probably included a visit to the goddesses of Cape Kolias, that is, to Aphrodite and the Genetyllides[1]. Aphrodite in particular was the maker of morning dew[2]; and her altar (figs. 84, 85)[3] on Mount

Mantel lüftenden Aphrodite'), S. Reinach 'La Vénus drapée au Musée du Louvre' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250—262, 271—285 pl. 30, A. Conze 'Zur sogenannten Venus Genetrix' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1889 xiv. 199—204 pl. 4, Miss C. G. Harcum 'A statue of the type called the Venus Genetrix in the Royal Ontario Museum' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 141—152 pl. 7 figs. 1—4).

Equally persistent, and hardly more encouraging, have been the attempts made to discover representations of the *Arrhephóroi*. Many have identified them with the two stool-bearing girls on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (*supra* ii. 1135 f. pl. xliv. So J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 12 f. with ch. 1 pl. 24 ('The young figures are the two Arrephorœ, or Canephorœ,' etc.), C. O. Müller *Minervae Poliadis sacra et aedem in arce Athenarum*...Gottingae 1820 p. 14 ('Puellae sunt *ersephoroe*..., matrona sacerdos Poliadis'), E. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 142 ('la grande prêtresse reçoit des deux vierges Errhéphores les objets mystérieux' etc.), E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 304 f. ('Wo finden wir denn im athenischen Cultus überhaupt und speciell in demjenigen Athenas, an welchen hier jeder zu denken gehalten ist, halberwachsene Mädchen, wie die beiden Stuhlträgerinnen offenbar sind, die bei hohem Feste eine so bevorzugte Rolle spielen könnten? Es giebt keine ausser den Arrephoren. Auf diese aber passt alles;' etc.), Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 211 n. 0 ('Die beiden Errhephoren sind vielleicht auf dem Ostfries des Parthenon dargestellt'). See further A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 264). Others have seen them in the processional figures of the olive-tree pediment (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 197 ff. col. pl. 14, G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 69 ff. fig., E. Buschor 'Der Oelbaumgiebel' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1922 xlvii. 81 ff. pl. 6. So J. E. Harrison *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* Cambridge 1906 p. 56 f. fig. 20 ('We think instinctively of the Arrephorοi'), E. Petersen *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia* Berlin 1907 p. 21 ff. fig. 2 (*ib.* p. 27 'die zwei gleich gekleideten, nicht gleich geschmückten Mädchen mögen wir Kanephoren nennen, oder aber wegen ihrer Kleinheit und unentwickelten Formen lieber Errephoren'), G. W. Elderkin *Problems in Periclean Buildings* Princeton 1912 p. 13 f. (agrees with Petersen)). Others again have recognised them in the Caryatids of the Erechtheion (E. Beulé *L'Acropole d'Athènes* Paris 1854 ii. 254 ('Sont-ce les vierges errhéphores...? Leurs têtes portent-elles le fardeau de l'architrave en réminiscence du fardeau mystérieux que leur confiait la grande prêtresse? Tout me le ferait croire,' etc.), G. W. Elderkin *Problems in Periclean Buildings* Princeton 1912 p. 14 ff. ('The interpretation of the Caryatids as Arrephoroi is confirmed by a scene (Fig. 5) on an archaic amphora' (*sc.* a Boeotian relief-vase from Thebes, now in a private English collection, published in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 458 ff. figs. 8—10 pls. 6 and 6 *bis* by A. de Ridder, who *ib.* p. 468 f. cp. 'les canéphores, et peut-être les arrhéphores')), H. N. Fowler in J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Massachusetts 1927 p. 235 n. 0 (non-committal)).

Personally, I suspect that the *Arrhephóroi* in attendance on Athena were an extremely ancient institution, dating back to 'Minoan' times and comparable with the two handmaidens of the 'Minoan' goddess (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 11—14 figs. 11—15).

[1] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 319 f. On Genetyllis and the Genetyllides in relation to Aphrodite see W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1269—1273, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1150 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 377, 513, Gilbert *Gr. Götterl.* p. 394, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1356 n. 6.

[2] *Pervig. Ven.* 15 ff. ipsa roris lucidi, | noctis aura quem relinquit, spargit umentis aquas. | gutta praeceps orbe parvo sustinet casus suos, | et micant lacrimae trementes de

caduco pondere (so F. Bücheler, transposing lines 17 and 18, and retaining *et* codd., for which E. C. F. Schulze, followed by E. Bährens, cj. *en*, while O. Müller, followed by J. W. Mackail, cj. *emicant*). | ... umor ille, quem serenis astra rorant noctibus, | mane virgines (so J. Lipsius, followed by J. W. Mackail, for *virgineas* codd.) papillas solvit umenti peplo. Cp. what is said of the planet Venus in *Auson. append.* 2. 17 f. Evelyn White (p. 410 Peiper) ros unus, color unus, et unum mane duorum; | sideris et floris nam domina una Venus.

A late red-figured *hydría* from Euboia (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 589 no. 1852, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 635 fig. 170 (from a sketch by Mrs Hugh Stewart)) shows Eros watering slender flowers that spring from the ground. A female figure with bare breast (Aphrodite?) directs his efforts. On the left sits a young man with a *thýrsos*. On the right stands a young woman with a *týmpanon*. Apparently Aphrodite and Eros are gardening with a Dionysiac *entourage*.

Differently conceived but somewhat similar in effect is the design found on a bronze medallion of Faustina Iunior (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 16 no. 2 pl. 24, 1 ('Venus

Fig. 75.

Fig. 76.

Fig. 77.

Genetrix?...in a garden')=Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 40 no. 13 pl. 68, 1 ('Venere')=my fig. 75. The specimen has been retouched). Venus, half-draped, stands to the front, her right hand raised to hold a small tree, which rises from (behind?) a base. On the left of her two Cupids are playing, on the right four more, one of whom leans over the battlements of a wall or tower. Above it appear other trees. The scene recurs with some variations on a bronze medallion of Lucilla, daughter of Faustina Iunior (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 95 f. fig. (=my fig. 76) ('*Vénus dans un jardin*'), Gnecchi *op. cit.* ii. 51 no. 11 pl. 76, 8 (=my fig. 77) Bologna ('Donna...in un giardino')). A girl is added, filling her pitcher from a stream in the foreground. These medallions are probably time-serving attempts to identify first Faustina and then her daughter with Venus. Faustina at least was actually worshipped along with her husband M. Aurelius in the temple of Venus and the Dea Roma (Dion Cass. 71. 31 *τῷ δὲ Μάρκῳ καὶ τῇ Φαυστίνῃ ἐψηφίσατο ἡ βουλὴ ἐν τε τῷ Ἀφροδισίῳ τῷ τε Ῥωμαίῳ εἰκόνας ἀργυρᾶς ἀνατεθῆναι καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρυθῆναι, καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ πάσας τὰς κόρας τὰς ἐν τῷ ἄστει γαμουμένας μετὰ τῶν νυμφίων θύειν*), and had coins inscribed VENVS, VENVS FELIX, VENVS GENETRIX, VENVS VICTRIX or VENERI AVGVSTAE, VENERI FELICI, VENERI GENETRICI, VENERI VICTRICI (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iii. 921, Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iii. 154 ff. nos. 226—283). Here are a few examples: fig. 78 from the *Vautier—Collignon Sale Catalogue* 1922 p. 52 no. 980 pl. 35, fig. 79 from the *Bement Sale Catalogue* 1924 iii. 59 no. 1066 pl. 39, fig. 80 from Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 39 no. 8 pl. 67, 6, fig. 81 from the *Levis Sale Catalogue* 1925 p. 40 no. 632 pl. 26, fig. 82 from the *Bement Sale Catalogue* 1924 iii. 59 no. 1068 pl. 39, fig. 83 from the *Hirsch Sale Catalogue* 1908 p. 10 no. 117 pl. 7. Since coins of this sort are apt to reproduce previous art-types (*e.g.* fig. 78 recalls the Aphrodite of Fréjus (?), fig. 83 is an adaptation from the Aphrodite of Capua, and fig. 80 owes something even to the Zeus of Olympia), I incline to think that the

Eryx (figs. 86, 87)[1] was 'covered with dew and fresh grass[2]'—

medallions representing Venus in the Garden presuppose a Greek fresco of Aphrodite *ἐν Κήποις*. The trees, the river, the wall or tower with battlements would all suit the famous sanctuary beside the Ilissos.

[3] Silver *litrai* of Eryx, struck *c.* 480—413 B.C., have *obv.* EPVKINON (retrograde) or ERVKAIIB (partly retrograde) a female figure (? hierodule) sacrificing, with or

Fig. 78.

Fig. 79.

Fig. 80.

Fig. 81.

Fig. 82.

Fig. 83.

Fig. 84.

Fig. 85.

without a *phiale*, at a lighted altar; the space behind her is sometimes filled by a floral pattern: *rev.* a hound beneath a four-spoked wheel, or ivy-branch, or honeysuckle ornament, once with volutes in exergue (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 62 nos. 6, 7 with fig. (=my fig. 84), 8, 9, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 90 fig. 11, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 274 no. 1305 pl. 50, *Naville Sale Catalogue* 1923 p. 36 no. 878 pl. 26 (=my fig. 85), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138).

[1] A *denarius* struck by C. Considius Nonianus *c.* 60 B.C. shows *obv.* C · CONSIDI · NONIANI || S · C head of Venus *Erycina* to right, with ear-ring, *stephane*, and wreath; *rev.* mountain with fortified gateway, inscribed ERVC, below and tetrastyle temple above

(T. L. Donaldson *Architectura numismatica* London 1859 p. 110 ff. fig. 32, Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 375 f. fig., M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 87, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 473 nos. 3830 pl. 47, 21, 3831, 3832, H. Mattingly *Roman Coins* London 1928 p. 86 pl. 21, 17, *Bement Sale Catalogue* 1924 iii. 9 no. 126 pl. 5 (=my fig. 86)). Fig. 87 is from a specimen of mine. For the extant remains of ring-walls and temple-platform see C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi 604 and especially J. Kromayer 'Eryx' in *Klio* 1909 ix. 461—477 with map and figs. 1—4.

[2] This striking expression occurs in the remarkable account of Aphrodite's precinct included by Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 50 *ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος καὶ ἡμέραν πᾶσαν θύουσι τῇ θεῷ καὶ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι καὶ οἱ ξένοι. καὶ ὁ μὲν βωμὸς ὑπὸ τῷ οὐρανῷ ὁ μέγιστός ἐστι, πολλῶν δὲ ἐπ' αὐτοῦ καθαγιζομένων θυμάτων ὁ δὲ πανημέριος καὶ ἐς νύκτα ἐξάπτεται. ἕως δὲ ὑπολάμπει, καὶ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἀνθρακιάν, οὐ σποδόν, οὐχ ἡμικαύτων τρύφη δαλῶν ὑποφαίνει, δρόσου δὲ ἀνάπλεώς ἐστι καὶ πόας νεαρᾶς, ἥπερ οὖν ἀναφύεται ὅσαι νύκτες. τά γε μὴν ἱερεῖα ἑκάστης ἀγέλης αὐτόματα φοιτᾷ καὶ τῷ βωμῷ παρέστηκεν, ἄγει δὲ ἄρα αὐτὰ πρώτη μὲν ἡ θεός, εἶτα ἡ δύναμίς τε καὶ ἡ τοῦ θύοντος βούλησις.* κ.τ.λ. We gather that every morning the open-air altar of the goddess, despite the numerous burnt-offerings of the previous day, was found—or was

Fig. 86.

Fig. 87.

Fig. 88.

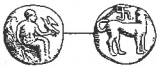


Fig. 89.

said to be found—overgrown with dewy verdure. Anent this miracle E. Ciaceri *Culti e miti nella storia dell' antica Sicilia* Catania 1911 p. 87 notes the beneficent influence of dew on Sicilian vegetation and adds: 'Nella divina rugiada si vedeva la protezione della dea; ed è forse degno di rilievo che sino ai nostri giorni nel popolo di Trapani si è serbata fede alla brezza notturna; onde si è creduto ch' essa scenda come benedizione del cielo sugli abiti e vestiti che si espongano all' aria aperta durante la notte[1]' ([1] Pitrè Bibliot. delle trad. pop. sic. XII (Palermo 1881) p. 261).'

That Aphrodite Ἐρυκίνη (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 281 Eryx [Κάρ]πιμος Ἀρίστωνο[ς] | [Ἀ]φροδίται Ἐρ(υ)κίν[αι], Diod. 4. 83, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἔρυξ, cp. Paus. 8. 24. 6 and Strab. 272. For Venus *Erycina* see Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 939, 3163—3165, De Vit *Onomasticon* ii. 756, Carter *Epith. deor.* p. 101, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 562 ff.) was in some sense a goddess of vegetation appears also from the fact that on *litrai* of *c.* 413—400 B.C. she is seated with a dove on her hand and a tree behind her (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 62 f. nos. 10 f. and 12, G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 136 pl. 9, 10 (=my fig. 88), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 181 pl. 13, 8, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 275 nos. 1310 pl. 50, 1312 pl. 50, 1313 pl. 50 (= my fig. 89), *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 263 no. 2234 pl. 72, 7, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138). Note too the frequency of floral ornaments, volutes, etc. on the various *litrai* (*e.g.* figs. 85, 91). The plant λυχνίς, 'rose-campion,' which flourished on Mt Eryx, was said to have sprung from the bath of Aphrodite after sleeping with Hephaistos (Amerias *ῥιζοτομικὸν ap.* Athen. 681 F: on Amerias see O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 2 ff.).

The dove had a special significance in this cult and was in all probability viewed as an

embodiment of the goddess (F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2765)—witness Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 2 *ἐν Ἔρυκι τῆς Σικελίας ἑορτή ἐστιν, ἣν καλοῦσιν Ἀναγώγια Ἐρυκίνοί τε αὐτοὶ καὶ μέντοι καὶ ὅσοι ἐν τῇ Σικελίᾳ πάσῃ. ἡ δὲ αἰτία, τὴν Ἀφροδίτην λέγουσιν ἐντεῦθεν ἐς Λιβύην ἀπαίρειν ἐν ταῖσδε ταῖς ἡμέραις. δοξάζουσι δὲ ἄρα ταῦτα ταύτῃ τεκμαιρόμενοι. περιστερῶν πλῆθός ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα πάμπλειστον. οὐκοῦν αἱ μὲν οὐχ ὁρῶνται, λέγουσι δὲ Ἐρυκῖνοι τὴν θεὸν δορυφοροῦσας ἀπελθεῖν· ἀθύρματα γὰρ Ἀφροδίτης περιστερὰς εἶναι ᾄδουσί τε ἐκεῖνοι καὶ πεπιστεύκασι πάντες ἄνθρωποι. διελθουσῶν δὲ ἡμερῶν ἐννέα μίαν μὲν διαπρεπῆ τὴν ὥραν ἔκ γε τοῦ πελάγους τοῦ κομίζοντος ἐκ τῆς Λιβύης ὁρᾶσθαι ἐσπετομένην, οὐχ οἵαν κατὰ τὰς ἀγελαίας πελειάδας τὰς λοιπὰς εἶναι, πορφυρᾶν δέ, ὥσπερ οὖν τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ὁ Τήιος ἡμῖν Ἀνακρέων ᾄδει, πορφυρέην που λέγων (frag. 2 Bergk[4], 2 Edmonds, 2 Diehl). καὶ χρυσῷ δὲ εἰκασμένη φανείη ἄν, καὶ τοῦτό γε κατὰ τὴν Ὁμήρου θεὸν τὴν αὐτήν, ἣν ἐκεῖνος ἀναμέλπει χρυσῆν (Il. 3. 64, 5. 427, 9. 389, 19. 282, 22. 470, 24. 699, Od. 4. 14, 8. 337, 342, 17. 37, 19. 54, h. Aphr. 93). ἕπεται δὲ αὐτῇ τῶν περιστερῶν τὰ νέφη τῶν λοιπῶν, καὶ ἑορτὴ πάλιν Ἐρυκίνοις καὶ πανήγυρις τὰ Καταγώγια, ἐκ τοῦ ἔργου καὶ τοῦτο τὸ ὄνομα.*

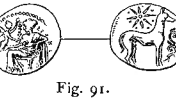


Fig. 90.

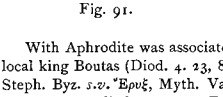


Fig. 91.

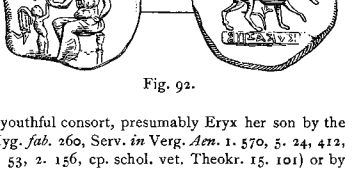


Fig. 92.

With Aphrodite was associated a youthful consort, presumably Eryx her son by the local king Boutas (Diod. 4. 23, 83, Hyg. *fab.* 260, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 570, 5. 24, 412, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἔρυξ, Myth. Vat. 1. 53, 2. 156, cp. schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 101) or by Poseidon (Apollod. 2. 5. 10, Dion Cass. *frag.* 4. 2 Bekker, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 24, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 570, Myth. Vat. 1. 94, 1. 107, 2. 156, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 866, 958, 1232), rather than Aineias (Diod. 4. 83, Strab. 608, Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 72, Verg. *Aen.* 5. 759 ff., Fest. p. 340 *b* 3 ff. Müller, p. 458, 31 ff. Lindsay, Hyg. *fab.* 260, cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 5. 760): see F. Dümmler *loc. cit.* A rare *litra* of *c.* 413—400 B.C. shows Aphrodite drawing towards herself a naked youth, whom I take to be Eryx (H. Riggauer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1881 viii. 72 f. pl. 1, 2 'Sollten wir hier vielleicht Eryx zu erblicken haben ... oder haben wir hier den Nachklang einer früheren mythologischen Entwicklungsphase des Eros...?,' Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 17 pl. A, 19 '*figure virile*,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138 'wingless Eros'. Fig. 90 is from a specimen in my collection). Another, of the same period, turns Eryx into Eros—an easy transformation (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 63 no. 13, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 275 no. 1311 pl. 50, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138. Fig. 91 is from a specimen of mine); and this type is comparable with that of a unique tetradrachm inscribed ΙRVkAΣIIB retrograde (G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 136 pl. 9, 11 (= my fig. 92), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 138).

A further point of interest in the cult was its ancient service of hierodules (Strab. 272 *οἰκεῖται δὲ καὶ ὁ Ἔρυξ λόφος ὑψηλός, ἱερὸν ἔχων Ἀφροδίτης τιμώμενον διαφερόντως, ἱεροδούλων γυναικῶν πλῆρες τὸ παλαιόν, ἃς ἀνέθεσαν κατ' εὐχὴν οἵ τ' ἐκ τῆς Σικελίας καὶ ἔξωθεν πολλοί· νυνὶ δ' ὥσπερ αὐτὴ ἡ κατοικία λειπανδρεῖ καὶ τὸ ἱερόν* (so the second hand in cod. B. *ἡ τὸ ἱερόν* codd. A. Koraës marked the whole phrase as suspicious. H. L. Jones simply omits *ἡ*), *καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν σωμάτων ἐκλέλοιπε τὸ πλῆθος*) and their later equivalents (Diod. 4. 83, Cic. *in Q. Caecil. divin.* 55).

Lastly it should be observed that Eryx, who is described as king of the Elymoi (Apollod. 2. 5. 10, Dion Cass. *frag.* 4. 2 Bekker, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1232) or Sikanoi (cp. Paus. 8. 24. 2) or at least of some part of Sicily (Diod. 4. 23, 83, Paus. 4. 36. 4,

a phrase that reminds us of Demeter *Chlóe*, Demeter the 'Grass,' at Athens[1].

Myth. Vat. 1. 94, 1. 107), not only founded the town and temple of Eryx (Diod. 4. 83, Myth. Vat. 2. 156), but was also buried on the mountain (Hyg. *fab.* 260, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 570, Myth. Vat. 2. 156).

All these traits are consistent with the view (R. v. Scala in the *Historische Zeitschrift* 1912 cviii. 18, Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 344) that Aphrodite Ἐρυκίνη was a mountain-mother of the 'Minoan' kind, who as such would have her sacred tree and doves and *páredros*. In a long-established cult sundry features may well have been imported from alien sources. The service of hierodules is suggestive of oriental influence (H. Hepding in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1467, D. G. Hogarth in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 671 b—672 b), and many scholars have been content to regard this Aphrodite as a Hellenised form of the Phoenician Astarte (*e.g.* W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 396, T. G. Pinches in J. Hastings *op. cit.* 1908 i. 767 a, L. B. Paton *ib.* 1909 ii. 118 a, W. W. Baudissin *Adonis und Esmun* Leipzig 1911 pp. 18 f., 23 n. 1, 26, 38, 273); even Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 374 dismisses her as 'ganz semitisch.' But the hound on coins of Eryx should hardly be compared with the sacred dogs of Hephaistos (Hadran) on Mt Aitne (*supra* ii. 630): it is simply due to the dependence of Eryx on Segesta, whose city-badge was a similar hound (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 603).

The tradition that the eponymous Eryx was defeated by Herakles (Hdt. 5. 43) in a wrestling-match for the kingdom (Paus. 3. 16. 4 f., 4. 36. 4), or for possession of the bull which had broken away from the cattle of Geryones (Apollod. 2. 5. 10, cp. Lyk. *Al.* 866 f.: see further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 604 ff.), appears later in a slightly different form. Eryx is a wrestler or pentathlete, who challenges strangers and slays them till he is himself slain by Herakles (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 866, 958). In any case this ranges him with Phorbas, Kyknos, Kerkyon, Antaios, Amykos, and other early kings (I have discussed the series in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 376 ff.), whose primitive rule of succession is the starting-point of Sir J. G. Frazer's *Golden Bough*. It is not impossible that Eryx king of the Elymoi and Virbius the *rex Nemorensis* belonged to the same (? Ligurian: C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2467) stratum of the population of Italy.

[1] At the western end of the southern slope of the Akropolis at Athens there was in the time of Pausanias a joint-sanctuary of Ge Κουροτρόφος and Demeter Χλόη (Paus. 1. 22. 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς Κουροτρόφου καὶ Δήμητρος ἱερὸν Χλόης. τὰ δὲ ἐς τὰς ἐπωνυμίας ἔστιν αὐτῶν διδαχθῆναι τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἐλθόντα ἐς λόγους). Originally, however, the two cults had been distinct. The enclosure of Ge Κουροτρόφος was called the Κουροτρόφιον, as we know from three boundary-stones, one early (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1 no. 555 *c* [Κ]ουρο[τ]ρόφ[ιον]), the others later (S. A. Koumanoudes in Ἀθήναιον 1877 vi. 147 f.). Adjoining it was the shrine of Blaute (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 411 εἴσοδος πρὸς σ|κὸν Βλαύτης καὶ| Κουροτρόφου ἀνει[μένη τῶ δήμωι, cp. Hesych. Βλαύτη· τόπος Ἀθήνησι and perhaps Poll. 7. 87 ἡ δὲ βλαύτη σανδαλίου τι εἶδος, καὶ ἥρως Ἀθήνησιν ὁ ἐπὶ βλαύτῃ· ἀνέθηκε γάρ τις σκυτοτόμος βλαύτης λίθινον τύπον: see further O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 560 f. and Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 2565 p. 484 ff. pl. 60 with figs. 231—235, no. 969 p. 509 pl. 184).

Demeter Χλόη had a sacred table (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 631, 16 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 673, 16 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 24, 16 ff. an inscription dating from the early part of *s.* iv B.C. and admitting of fairly certain restoration Δήμητρος Χλόης ἱερε[ῖαι ἱερεώσυνα: Γ : δεισί]ας κρεῶν, πυρῶν ἡμέκτεω: ||| : μέ[λιτος κοτύλης : ||| : ἐλαί]ο τρίῶν κοτυλῶν : C : φρυγάνων : ||: ἐ[πὶ δὲ τὴν τράπεζαν κ]ωλῆν, πλευρὸν ἰσχίο, ἡμίκραιρα[ν χορδῆς]. Cp. H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 p. 29) and probably a small temple (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 375, 3 ff. an inscription from the end of *s.* iii B.C. [ἀ]ν[αγράψαι δὲ] | τόδε τὸ ψήφισμα τὸν γ[ρ]αμμα[τέα τ][ὸ]ν κατὰ πρυτανείαν ἐν στή[ληι λι]|θίνει καὶ στῆσαι πα[ρὰ] τὸν ν[εὼν τῆς] | Δήμητρος. U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1877 ii. 177 pointed out that this νεώς was probably that of Demeter Χλόη). A fragmentary

inventory of her property at the end of *s.* iv B.C. is extant (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 722, 18=*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1472 *B*, 39 [Δήμη]τρος τῆ[ς] Χλόη[ς]). Her priestess had a reserved seat in the theatre (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 349 (with facsimile on pl. 3) (*a*) Δήμητρο[ς] Χλόης in part obliterated by (*b*) Διοφά[ν]του. So W. Dittenberger *loc. cit.* and W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 266 pl. 1).

Her festival in spring, when the fresh verdure began to appear, was an occasion of jesting and jubilation (Cornut. *theol.* 28 p. 55, 13 ff. Lang περὶ δὲ τὸ ἔαρ τῇ Χλόῃ Δήμητρι θύουσι μετὰ παιδιᾶς καὶ χαρᾶς, ἰδόντες χλοάζουσα (*sc.* τὸν σπόρον) καὶ ἀφθονίας αὐτοῖς ἐλπίδα ὑποδεικνύντα). She also received the sacrifice of a ram on Thargelion 6 in the early summer-time (Eupolis Μαρικᾶς *frag.* 7 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 502 f. Meineke) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 1600 Εὐχλέου Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐστι πρὸς τῇ ἀκροπόλει· καὶ Εὔπολις Μαρικᾷ "ἀλλ' εὐθὺ πόλεως εἶμι· θῦσαι γάρ με δεῖ | κριὸν Χλόῃ Δήμητρι," ἔνθα δηλοῦται ὅτι καὶ κριὸς †θήλεια τῇ θεῷ ταύτῃ θύεται (F. Stoecker's cj. θηλείᾳ, though accepted by Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 477 n. 4, does not cure the passage. R. F. P. Brunck prints οὐ θήλεια μόνον ὃϊς after θύεται), οὗτω δὲ τιμᾶται <ἐκ (*ins.* J. Lascaris)> τῆς κατὰ τῶν κήπων χλόης· θύουσί τε Θαργηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ, Philochoros (in a *frag.* omitted by Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 835 Χλόης Δήμητρος ἱερὸν ἐν ἀκροπόλει ἐν ᾧ οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι θύουσι μηνὸς Θαργηλιῶνος <$\overline{\varsigma}$ (*ins.* U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff)>, ὡς Φιλόχορός φησιν ἐν $\overline{\varsigma}$ (Mommsen *loc. cit.* cj. φησι, τῇ ἕκτῃ construing Θαργηλιῶνος...τῇ ἕκτῃ). This sacrifice may have been purificatory (cp. Apollod. χρονικά *frag.* 82 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 446 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 2. 44 ἐγεννήθη δέ (Sokrates), καθά φησιν Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν τοῖς Χρονικοῖς, ἐπὶ Ἀψηφίωνος (so C. Müller for Ἀψεφίωνος codd.) ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ ἔτει τῆς ἑβδομηκοστῆς ἑβδόμης Ὀλυμπιάδος, Θαργηλιῶνος ἕκτῃ, ὅτε καθαίρουσι τὴν πόλιν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι, καὶ τὴν Ἄρτεμιν γενέσθαι Δήλιοι φασίν). Whether Athens, like Mykonos (*infra*), made a winter-offering to Demeter Χλόη, is not known.

The cult lasted into Roman times (P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1889 xiii. 167 f. no. 4, published more fully by H. G. Lolling in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 129 f. no. 4, a long slab of Pentelic marble with a dedication in red letters of Roman date Δήμητρι Χλόῃ ἡ ἱέρεια Ν[ι]κοβούλη ἡ καὶ Ἰλάρα Θεοτείμου ἐξ Ἐρμείου ἀνέθηκε, cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1030, 44 f. Ἕρμειοι | Θεότιμος Τρύφωνος | κ.τ.λ. a *prytanis* of 166/7—168/9 A.D.), when Kore was associated with Demeter (H. G. Lolling in the Δελτ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 130 no. 5 a small pillar of Hymettian marble, inscribed in red letters of Roman date and originally used as the base of a statuette Δήμητρι Χλόῃ | καὶ Κόρῃ | τὴν Κουροτρό[φον Εἰσίδοτος | ἀνέθηκεν | κατ' ὄνειρον). A Delphic oracle of *s.* ii A.D. speaks of their precinct as the spot where the forefathers of the Athenians first grew corn (O. Kern 'Demeter Chloe' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 192—198 two fragments of a small slab of Pentelic marble inscribed (*A*) Φοῖβος Ἀθηναίοις Δελφοὺς ναίων τάδε [εἶπεν·] | ἔστιν σοι παρ' ἄκρας πόλεως παρα[—⏑⏑ —×,] | οὗ λαὸς σύμπας κλήιζει γλαυκῶ[πιδα Ἀθήνην or κούρην,] | Δήμητρος Χλοίης ἱερὸν Κού[ρης τε μακαίρας,] | οὗ πρῶτον στάχυς εὐξή[θη ζειῶν ἱεράων (*suppl.* H. Diels),] | ἃς πρότεροι παπ[έρες—–] | ἱδρύσ[αντο—–]. (*B*) [—–] ἀπαρχάς | [—–]s ἀγνοῦ | [—–τ]έχναισιν | [—–ά]νιούσης | [—–δ]ρεπτά | [—–τόδε λώι]ον ἔσται. 'Es handelt sich um ἀπαρχαί (V. 8), um die Erstlinge des Feldes, welche die Athener der Chloe schuldig sind'). This identifies it with the site of the Βουζύγιος ἄροτος (Plout. *praec. coniug.* 42 Ἀθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι· πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα· δεύτερον ἐν τῷ Ῥαρίᾳ· τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν (so K. O. Müller for πέλιν codd.), τὸν καλούμενον Βουζύγιον): see C. Wachsmuth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1097 and W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 256. Other references to Demeter Χλόη are Aristoph. *Lys.* 835 ΓΥ. Α. ποῦ δ' ἐστὶν ὅστις ἐστί; ΛΥ. παρὰ τὸ τῆς Χλόης, Semos of Delos (*c.* 230 B.C.) *frag.* 19 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 495 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 618 D Σῆμος δ' ὁ Δήλιος ἐν τῷ περὶ παιάνων φησί· '...καὶ τὴν Δήμητρα ὁτὲ μὲν Χλόην, ὁτὲ δὲ Ἰουλώ (*sc.* προσηγόρευον),' Eustath. *in Il.* p. 772, 62 f. ἱστέον δὲ ὅτι οὐ μόνον χλόη ἡ γῆθεν φυομένη...ἀλλὰ καὶ ἡ Δημήτηρ ἐπιθετικῶς· Χλόης γάρ, φασι, Δήμητρος ἱερὸν παρά που τὴν Ἀττικήν.

There are one or two indications that the same cult was practised elsewhere in Attike. At Eleusis a festival Χλοῖα was observed in *s.* ii B.C. (D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 125 ff. no. 60, 6 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 135, 6 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 661, 6 ff. ὑπὲρ ὧν ἀπαγγέλλει ὁ δήμαρχος ὁ Ἐλευσινίων ὑπὲρ τῶν θυσι|ῶν, ὧν ἔθυσεν τοῖς τε Ἀλῴοις καὶ τοῖς Χλοίοις τῇ τε Δήμητρι καὶ τῇ | Κόρει καὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις θεοῖς, οἷς

Perhaps we can go a step further. O. Gruppe[1] has conjectured with much probability that the Arrhephoria was performed on the night of the Diipolieia, that is, on the occasion of the last full moon in the Attic year. He recalls the Greek belief—a belief based upon accurate observation[2]—that the dew lies thickest on the night of a full moon[3], and Alkman's statement that Herse the 'Dew' was

πάτριον ἦν, συνετέλεσεν δὲ καὶ τὴν τῶν | Καλαμαίων *θυσίαν κ.τ.λ.*). This accounts for Hesych. Χλοιά (Meursius cj. Χλοεία, A. Meineke cj. Χλόεια)· *ἑορτὴ ἀπὸ τῶν κάλπων* (Meursius and Meineke cjj. *καρπῶν*). Again, the sacrificial calendar from *Koukounari* (*supra* p. 115) notes among the trieteric rites of Marathon that in Anthesterion a pregnant sow is sacrificed to Ἐλευσινία and another to Χλόη *παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου, i.e.* Χλόη 'next door to Meidylos' (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26 B, 48 ff. Ἀνθεστηριῶνος· Ἐλευσινίαι ὗς κυοῦσα ΔΔ, | *ἱερώσυνα* ⊢|. Χλόηι *παρὰ τὰ Μειδύλου ὗς κυ*ῦ*σα*] | ΔΔ, *ἱερώσυνα* ⊢, *ἀλφίτων ἑκτεὺς* ||||, *οἶνο* χ[ὸς..]). In Mykonos a calendar of *c.* 200 B.C. fixes Poseideon 12 as the mid-winter day when a fine white ram must be sacrificed to Poseidon Τεμενίτης, a white male lamb to Poseidon Φύκιος, and two fine sows, one of them pregnant, to Demeter Χλόη (J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 13 ff. no. 4, 11 ff.=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 714, 11 ff.=F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 577 ff. no. 5416, 11 ff.=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1024, 11 ff. *τῆι αὐτῆι ἡμέραι Δήμητρι* Χλόηι *ὗες* | *δύο καλλιστεύουσαι, ἡ ἑτέρα ἐγκύμ*[*ων·*] *κῶτογ κόπτεται*[*ι*] | *τῆς ἐγκύμονος. τὰς ὗς β*[*ουλ*]*ὴ κ*[*ρινέ*]*τ*[*ω·*] *μ*[*γ*[*ρωι ἄρχοντες* | *διδόντων ὀσφῦν καὶ κωλῆν τῆς ὑὸς τῆς ἑτέρης, ἀλφίτω*[*ν*] | *δύο χοίνικας, οἶνου τρεῖς κοτύλ*[*α*]*ς*).

But the real interest of Demeter Χλόη lies, not so much in the details of her cult, as in the fact that her very name identifies the goddess with the verdure. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 33 says of her worship: 'Its chief claim on our attention is that it seems to reveal a glimpse of the pre-anthropomorphic period when the natural object itself might be conceived as animate and divine, and the personal deity had not yet clearly emerged; thus such religious perceptions as "Demeter the Verdure" or "Zeus the Thunder" on the one hand, and Demeter the Verdure-giver or Zeus the Thunderer on the other, may be the products of widely different strata of religion.' The second stage is attested partly by the cult of Demeter Εὔχλοος at Kolonos (Soph. *O. C.* 1600 f. *τὸν δ' Εὐχλόου Δήμητρος εἰς προσώπιον* | *πάγον μολοῦσαι* with schol. *ad loc.* cited *supra*. On the topography of the site see Sir R. C. Jebb's ed. p. xxxi with map and Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 389 f., 392, 402, 405 pls. 124 (photographs) and 125 (plan). The broken base of Pentelic marble believed by the uncritical K. S. Pittakis to record a dedication to Demeter Εὐχλόη (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 191) is now known to contain no such record (U. Köhler in *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1415). Her name should be struck out in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2347, vi. 884), partly by the poetic usage of such epithets as χλοόκαρπος (Orph. *h. Dem. Eleus.* 40. 5 χλοόκαρπε, cp. Orph. *h. Ge* 26. 7 *ἠδυπνόοις χαίρουσα* χλόαις).

[1] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 34.

[2] X. Landerer 'Zur Meteorologie Griechenlands' in the *Zeitschrift für allgemeine Erdkunde* N. F. 1857 ii. 163 observes: 'Der Thau nach Sonnenuntergang ist so bedeutend, dass man sich nur einige Augenblicke im Freien aufzuhalten braucht, um die Kleider und andere hygroskopische Gegenstände durch und durch feucht oder nass zu sehen.' C. Neumann—J. Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum* Breslau 1885 p. 64 adds: 'In klaren, mondhellen Nächten, wo die Wärmeausstrahlung der Erdoberfläche besonders kräftig sich vollzieht, der Boden und seine Pflanzendecke recht stark erkalten, ist der Thaufall am reichlichsten.' Cp. Aisch. *Ag.* 12, 335 f., 560 f.

[3] Plout. *symp.* 3. 10. 3, *quaestt. nat.* 24, Macrob. *Sat.* 7. 16. 31. Cp. Theophr. *de caus. plant.* 4. 14. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 292, Macrob. 7. 16. 21 and 24. See further W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 49 n. 198, *Nachträge über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 24 f., and in the *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3147 ff.

the daughter of Zeus by Selene the 'Moon[1].' Now Plutarch, commenting on the passage from Alkman, remarks that the meaning of the poet was as follows: Zeus, the air, under the influence of Selene, the moon, turned himself into dew[2]. Plutarch's comment is a physical speculation of the usual sort[3]; but it suggests a possibility. It may be that the dew was regarded as the actual means whereby the sky-father impregnated the earth-mother. Rain was certainly so regarded[4]; and dew was held to be a gentler form of rain[5]. Homer says that, when Zeus embraced Hera on the summit of Ide, 'glittering dew-drops' fell from the golden cloud that encompassed them and earth put forth 'the dewy lotus-bloom[6].' Pliny in plainer terms tells us that the planet Venus, called by others the star of Iuno or Isis or the Mother of the gods, makes the earth to conceive by means of generative dew and rouses the procreative powers of all living things[7]. Besides, it is a significant fact that *érsen, ársen, árrhen*, the Greek word for 'male,' is obviously related to *érse*, 'dew[8].' Perhaps, then, when the Dew-bearers brought dew down the underground descent, they were simply conveying the sacred seed of Father Sky into the womb of Mother Earth.

And, if so, it may well be that in the 'something wrapt up[9]',

[1] *Supra* i. 732 n. 5. Gruppe might have added Lucian's whimsical notion that the Moon-dwellers agreed to pay the Sun-dwellers by way of tribute 10,000 *amphorae* of dew (Loukian. *ver. hist.* 1. 20).

[2] Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 25 διὸ πρὸς σὲ τρέφομαι μᾶλλον, ὦ φίλε Θέων· λέγεις γὰρ ἡμῖν ἐξηγούμενος ταῦτα τὰ Ἀλκμᾶνος 'Διὸς θυγάτηρ | ἔρσα τρέφει καὶ Σελάνας [δίας]' ὅτι νῦν τὸν ἀέρα καλεῖ καὶ Δία φησὶν αὐτὸν ὑπὸ τῆς Σελήνης καθυγραινόμενον εἰς δρόσους τρέπεσθαι.

[3] *Supra* i. 29 f. [4] *Infra* § 9 (c) i and ii.

[5] Plout. *quaestt. nat.* 24 ἡ γὰρ δρόσος ἀσθενής τις καὶ ἀδρανὴς ὄμβρος.

[6] *Supra* i. 154, iii. 35.

[7] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 36—38 ending with the words: 'itaque et in magno nominum ambitu est. alii enim Iunonis, alii Isidis, alii Matris Deum appellavere. huius natura cuncta generantur in terris. namque in alterutro exortu genitali rore conspergens non terrae modo conceptus inplet, verum animantium quoque omnium stimulat.' Cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 41 οἱ δὲ τοῖσδε τοῖς φυσικοῖς καὶ τῶν ἀπ' ἀστρολογίας μαθηματικῶν ἕνια μιγνύντες Τυφῶνα μὲν οἴονται τὸν ἡλιακὸν κόσμον, Ὄσιριν δὲ τὸν σεληνιακὸν λέγεσθαι· τὴν μὲν γὰρ σελήνην, γόνιμον τὸ φῶς καὶ ὑγροποιὸν ἔχουσαν, εὐμενῆ καὶ γοναῖς ζώων καὶ φυτῶν εἶναι βλαστήσεσι· τὸν δὲ ἥλιον ἀκράτῳ πυρὶ κεκληρωκότα θάλπειν τε καὶ καταναίνειν τὰ φυόμενα καὶ τεθηλότα, κ.τ.λ., Nonn. *Dion.* 44. 220 ff. Γαῖα φυτῶν ὠδῖνα πεπαίνει | μαρμαρυγὴν δροσόεσσαν ἀκοιμήτοιο Σελήνης | δεχνυμένη.

[8] L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 462, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 158, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 83. Cp. Apul. ἀνεχόμενος (printed as *Anth. Lat.* i. 2 no. 712 Riese: for date see De Vit *Lat. Lex.* Index p. cxxxi n. (10)) 21 eiaculent tepidum rorem niveis laticibus.

How are we to explain Souidas' ἀρρηνοφορεῖν (certified by the order of letters) in the sense of ἀρρηφορεῖν, ἐρρηφορεῖν? Two manuscripts of Harpokr. *s.v.* ἀρρηφορεῖν have the same reading.

[9] *Supra* p. 169 n. 0.

which they brought back, we should recognise a new-born babe, the fruit of that momentous union. Dare we call him *Erichthónios* 'very child of the Ground[1]'?

i. The birth of Erichthonios.

Where the texts are silent the monuments may be allowed to speak. A terra-cotta relief of the 'Melian' type, said to have been found in a grave beyond the Ilissos on the road to Halimous and now at Berlin[2] (fig. 93)[3], shows the head and shoulders of Ge emerging from the ground. She presents the infant Erichthonios to his foster-mother Athena, who, wearing a helmet but no *aigís*, approaches from the left. Kekrops, with snaky tail, faces her on the right: he raises the forefinger of one hand in token of respect[4] and with the other holds a spray of olive. Stylistic considerations would refer the relief to the first half of the fifth century, while the four olive-leaves in Athena's helmet suit some date after the fight at Marathon[5]. The

[1] Not 'gewaltiger Erdherr' (L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 83 n. 4), der 'gewaltige Chthonios' (*id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 351), or der 'gewaltige Herr der Chthon' (*id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 190): see Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 491 n. 1. Nor 'Genius des fruchtbaren Erdbodens' (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 200. *Id. ib.* n. 1 observes that Hermes too is ἐριχθόνιος in *et. Gud.* p. 208, 31 f. ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς καὶ χθόνιος Ἑρμῆς καὶ ἐριχθόνιος = *et. mag.* p. 371, 51 f. ἐριούνιος Ἑρμῆς καὶ χθόνιος καὶ ἐριχθόνιος Ἑρμῆς). Nor yet 'good earth'—an unhappy rendering of H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 129, apparently borrowed from G. Curtius *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[5] Leipzig 1879 p. 144 'Gutland.' Still less, of course, etymologically akin to Erechtheus (J. B. Bury in the *Class. Rev.* 1899 xiii. 307 f. *Ἐρεχθόχθων > *Ἐρέχθων (short form Ἔρεχθεύς) > Ἐριχθόνιος (ι by false derivation from ἐρι- + χθόνιος)): see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1320 n. 8, *supra* ii. 793 n. 10. Confusion arose early and lasted late (*et. Gud.* p. 207, 26 Ἔρεχθεύς, ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος, *et. mag.* p. 371, 29 Ἔρεχθεύς, ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος (so F. G. Sturz for Ἐπιχθόνιος) καλούμενος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Ἔρεχθεύς· ὁ Ἐριχθόνιος λεγόμενος. Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. lix 'the double personality, Erechtheus—Erichthonios,' *ead. Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* Cambridge 1906 p. 60 'The name of Erechtheus or Erechthonios' (*sic*), J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 406 'der Doppelgänger des E[rechtheus], Erichthonios,' 440 'Der attische E[richthonios] ist die sekundäre Nebenfigur zu Erechtheus').

Cp. Harpokr. *s.v.* αὐτόχθονες· ὁ δὲ Πίνδαρος (*frag.* 253 Bergk[4]) καὶ ὁ τὴν Δαναΐδα ποιητικώς (*frag.* 2 Kinkel) φασιν Ἐριχθόνιον καὶ Ἥφαιστον ἐκ γῆς φανῆναι. In Nonn. *Dion.* 27. 322 Erichthonios is κοῦρος... Γαιήιος.

[2] No. 2537.

[3] E. Curtius 'Die Geburt des Erichthonios' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxx. 51—57 pl. 63 (= my fig. 93), A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 425 f., Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 65 f. no. 120, E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1578 fig. 2, O. Immisch *ib.* ii. 1019 fig., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxix f. fig. 2, *ead. Themis*[2] p. 263 f. fig. 63.

[4] C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 162, 179. Cp. *supra* ii. 735 fig. 666, 736 fig. 667.

[5] C. T. Seltman *Athens: its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 103, G. F. Hill in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1926 iv. 130 with Plates i. 304, *g*, *r*.

design, if genuine[1], probably falls within the period 490—470 B.C. What purpose it served in the grâve is more doubtful. Possibly the rising of the boy from the depths of the dark earth to light and life was felt to be of good omen for the future of the buried dead[2].

Fig. 93.

Be that as it may, vase-painters of the fifth century took this old art-type and amplified it by the addition of other interested spectators. A red-figured *hydria* from Chiusi (?), now in the British Museum (pl. xxii)[3], makes a full-breasted Ge emerge waist-high from

[1] P. Jacobsthal *Die melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 p. 96 ff. pl. 75 a notes that the head, shoulder, and breast of the child, parts of Kekrops' fore-arm and of Athena's right hand, together with a bit of the base beneath the snaky tail, are due to a restorer (fig. 21 shows the relief unrestored). After frequent inspection R. Zahn and Jacobsthal decided 'es endgültig für eine Fälschung zu erklären, allerdings für eine sehr intelligente und für die siebenziger Jahre recht gelungene und gelehrte.' But could a forger over sixty years ago have been so successful?

[2] Cp. *supra* ii. 417.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 159 f. no. E 182, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 3 ff. pl. 151, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 287 f. pl. 85, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt.*

Hydria from Chiusi (?), now in the British Museum:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Zeus, Nike, and Hebe (?).

See page 182 ff.

the ground, while Athena, armed with helmet, *aigís*, and spear, receives the babe in a striped mantle[1]. She is confronted, not by Kekrops, but by Zeus, who, clad in a *himátion* of like pattern and wearing a wreath, stands with his right hand resting on his hip, his left holding the thunderbolt. Behind Athena, Nike hastens forward with a large fillet in her outstretched hands. Behind Zeus and leaning familiarly on his shoulder is a female figure in a long *chitón*, over whose head is inscribed the name Oinanthe. The presence of this Dionysiac name[2] led E. Braun[3], F. Wieseler[4], C. Robert[5], and Sir C. H. Smith[6] to interpret the whole scene as the birth of Dionysos. But in this they were certainly wrong. The vase cannot be isolated from others of closely similar design, which beyond all question represent the birth of Erichthonios. And the name *Oinánthe*, accompanied as it is by the word *kalé*, is better explained by W. Klein[7], W. Drexler[8], and H. B. Walters[9] as a *Lieblingsinschrift* of a not very unusual sort[10]. After all, Oinanthe was a name occasionally borne by Attic women[11]. This leaves the youthful

Kunst ii. 2. 17 pl. 34, 401, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 405 f. fig. 127, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 252 no. 4 ('Der Oinanthemaler,' one of 'Die Manieristen ... die Vertreter eines verschnörkelten, archaisierenden Stils, der gegen Ende der archaischen Periode einsetzt und bis tief in die klassische Periode sich erhält' (*ib.* p. 237)). Pl. xxii is from a photograph.

[1] Cp. the fragment of an *amphora* or *pelike* from Gela (F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 190 with fig. 33 a, B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 60 f. fig.), which appears to reverse the design—Zeus (?) on the right, Athena on the left, of Ge.

[2] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 750 f. records Oinanthe as a Bacchant on a red-figured *kratér* at Vienna (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pp. 211, 222 n. 55 pl. 17 ΔΙΝΟΝΟΗ, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 8381 Οἰνάνθη: see now C. Fränkel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 p. 51 f.), and as a Bassarid, nurse of Dionysos, in Nonn. *Dion.* 14. 225 Οἰνάνθη ῥοδόεσσα, together with other more doubtful examples.

[3] E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 92 ff.

[4] Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 2. 17 pl. 34, 401 ('den kleinen Dionysos, oder genauer: Iakchos').

[5] C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 190 ff. fig.

[6] Sir C. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 159 f. no. E 182 ('Type of birth of Erichthonios ... Dionysos?').

[7] W. Klein *Die griechischen Vasen mit Lieblingsinschriften*[2] Leipzig 1889 p. 129.

[8] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 750 f.

[9] H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 265 n. 5.

[10] *Id. ib.* ii. 265, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 34, iii. 978 (Καλλιστάνθη καλή), P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 79 (Γλυκὼ καλά).

[11] F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 p. 103 cites *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 2124, 3 OINANΘH and no. 4044 = A. Conze *Die attischen Grabreliefs* Berlin 1893 i. 71 no. 313 pl. 77 OINANΘH. W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1041 cite also Dem. *c. Macart.* 36; Polyb. 14. 11. 1 (*ap.* Athen. 251 E), 15. 25. 12, 15. 29. 8 and 10, 15. 33. 8; Plout. *v. Cleom.* 33, *amat.* 9.

goddess on the left anonymous. From her position and attitude I should judge her to be Hebe[1], whose title *Día*[2] might be adduced as a further justification of her proximity to Zeus[3].

A red-figured *stámnos* from Vulci, now at Munich (pl. xxiii)[4], repeats the central group of Ge presenting the babe to Athena in the

[1] Cp. the pose of Hebe (inscribed) on two *kratêres* by 'Der Kadmosmaler' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 451), *viz.* (1) a *kályx-krátér* at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 and 6, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 5), figured *infra* §9(h) ii(*θ*) *med.*, on which HBH standing furthest to the left rests her right hand on her hip and leans her left elbow on the shoulder of Hera; (2) a volute-*krátér* at Ruvo (Jatta collection no. 1093, F. Gargallo-Grimaldi in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 160 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 42 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 175, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 890 f. fig. 965, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 426 ff no. 6

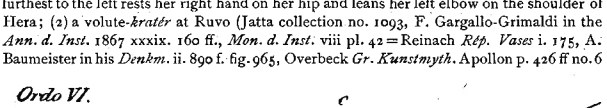


Fig. 94.

Atlas pl. 25, 5, O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2454 with fig. 5, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 1) on which HBH, again on the extreme left, stands with her right hand resting on her hip and her left raised towards the shoulder of Hera (so Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 429: Reinach *loc. cit.* says 'une Ménade,' while Baumeister *loc. cit.* makes her the mother of Marsyas conversing with [Κυβ]ήβη!). Somewhat similar, but unnamed, is the goddess standing on the left of another *krátér* in the Jatta collection (*supra* i. 459 n. 5 fig. 318. To the bibliography add O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1890—1891 pl. 12, 2), who rests her left hand on the shoulder of a seated Zeus: I took her, perhaps wrongly, to be Aphrodite.

[2] Strab. 382 τιμᾶται δ' ἐν Φλιοῦντι καὶ Σικυῶνι τὸ τῆς Δίας ἱερόν· καλοῦσι δ' οὕτω τὴν Ἥβην. On Dia as consort of Zeus I have said my say in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 177 f., 1906 xx. 367, 377 f., 416, 419.

[3] Even if the name Oinanthe be interpreted as belonging to the personage above which it is placed, she need not be Dionysiac. Athena herself seems to have been worshipped at Athens as *Oinánthe*, the 'Vine-flower,'—an unremarked, but interesting, parallel to Demeter *Chlóe* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 353 (with facsimile on pl. 3 = my fig. 94) ἱερήα[ς Ἀ]θην[ᾶς Οἰν]άνθη[ς], W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 266 pl. 1). The epithet, however, is at best uncertain.

[4] No. 2413 = Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 108 f. no. 345, T. Panofka in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 292—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pls. 10 and 11 (Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 66, 1 and 2), Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 115 ff. pls. 73 and 74, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 267 ff. pl. 84, iii. 34 ff. pl. 11, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 38 f. pl. 46, 211*a* and 211*b*, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 95—98 pl. 137 (= my pl. xxiii), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 32 no. 14, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 16.

J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 123 f., followed by Hoppin *loc. cit.*, identified this vase as the work of the late archaic painter Hermonax—indeed as that artist's masterpiece ('Sound and able as Hermonax's

Stámnos from Vulci, now at Munich:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos.

See page 184 f.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 137 (part) by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

presence of an interested god, but substitutes Hephaistos[1] for Zeus. In lieu of *himátion*, wreath, and thunderbolt Hephaistos has but a *chlamýs* and a long knobbed staff. Zeus[2] himself is accommodated on the other side of the vase, where he sits on a handsome folding stool, clad in *chitón* and *himátion*. In his left hand he holds a lotiform sceptre; in his right, a metal *phiále*, which Nike standing before him has just filled. On the tendrils that spring from the handle-palmettes are poised four of the daintiest Erotes to be found in the whole range of Greek art. Their presence may be taken to indicate that obverse and reverse form a single scene and one which has the multiplication of young life for its ultimate meaning.

Hephaistos is definitely established in the room of Zeus on a red-figured *kýlix* from Corneto, preserved in Berlin[3]. This magnificent vase (fig. 95), which has been attributed to 'the Kodros-painter[4],' fortunately adds names to all the persons concerned. The external design shows again the familiar type of Ge presenting Erichthonios to Athena. Behind Athena stands a dignified, not to say Zeus-like, Hephaistos wearing a bay-wreath on his head and a *chlamýs* over his shoulder: he holds a long staff in his right hand and rests his

work generally is, he only once shows himself a remarkable artist, and that is not on any of his signed vases, but on the Munich stamnos with the Birth of Erichthonios'...).

[1] So most critics, including Panofka, Inghirami, Jahn, Müller—Wieseler, Hauser *locc. citt.* together with Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 422 n. 7, B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 58 f., etc. C. Lenormant *op. cit.* i. 276 sees 'Neptune frappant la terre avec son trident' (trident-head missing!). Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iii. 3 n. 2 hesitates between Hephaistos and Poseidon, but *ib.* p. 5 decides for Poseidon. A. Flasch in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 427 ff. is for Kekrops or Hephaistos, preferably the latter; C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 192 n. 2, for Kekrops. E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 92 f., bent on recognising the birth of Dionysos (*supra* p. 183), is forced to interpret the standing god as Zeus.

[2] Almost all exponents from Inghirami *loc. cit.* onwards have identified the seated personage as Zeus. Yet Panofka *loc. cit.* says 'Neptune,' and C. Lenormant *op. cit.* i. 285, iii. 34 ff. '*Jupiter Polieus*' or '*Zeus Éleuthérius*' as a deity akin to '*Neptune Érechthée.*' Jahn *loc. cit.* is content with 'ein bärtiger Mann.' And Müller—Wieseler *loc. cit.* suggest 'Erichthonios als Herrscher und Richter des Landes, neben ihm die Göttin Dike' (!).

[3] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 718 f. no. 2537, W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1876 p. 205 f., A. Flasch 'Tazza cornetana rappresentante la nascita di Erichthonios' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 418—446, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 39, 1—3 (=my fig. 95), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 208, R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1305 f. fig., M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 986 fig. 1278, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxx f. with fig. 3.

[4] B. Graef 'Die Zeit der Kodrosschale' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1898 xiii. 66, 73, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 153 no. 1 ('The artist belongs to the first period of the Free Style and may have been the teacher of Aristophanes'), J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 426 no. 6 ('Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonisches').

left hand on his side. Behind Ge is Kekrops with serpentine tail. Beyond Hephaistos we see Herse. Then—for the scene continues—, other figures likewise moving to the left, Aglauros followed by Erechtheus, Pandrosos full-front, next Aigeus, and lastly Pallas[1].

Fig. 95.

[1] Kekrops and his daughters Herse, Aglauros, Pandrosos supplement the theme of Erichthonios' birth by a suggestion of its sequel, the incident of the basket (*infra* p. 237 ff.). Erechtheus, Aigeus, and Pallas are later kings of Athens (Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 231 *stemma H*) 'here, by a pleasant anachronism, interested in the birth of their great ancestor' (Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxx).

Kratêr from Chiusi, now at Palermo:
Ge hands Erichthonios to Athena in the presence of Hephaistos and Kekrops.

See page 187 f.

The central medallion has Heos as a winged goddess bearing off Kephalos.

Finally Hephaistos ceases to be reminiscent of Zeus and appears in his own right on a *kratér* from Chiusi, now at Palermo, to be dated *c.* 400 B.C. (pl. xxiv)[1]. Ge, who emerges more and more from the soil, as usual hands Erichthonios to Athena. This takes place beneath a conspicuous olive-tree, three young shoots of which spring from the earth in the foreground[2]. Behind Athena is Kekrops with coiled tail. Behind Ge Hephaistos, with supported foot[3], shoulders

[1] T. Panofka in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1837 p. 22, E. Braun *ib.* 1838 p. 82 f., *id.* 'Il nascimento d' Erittonio' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 91—98, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 30 (= my pl. xxiv), Reinach *Rép. Vases*[2] i. 113, 4, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 272, 288—290 pl. 85 A.

The reverse design (inset on pl. xxiv) shows Heos in pursuit of Kephalos, one of whose brothers (Apollod. 1. 9. 4 παῖδες δὲ Αἰνετός, Ἄκτωρ, Φύλακος, Κέφαλος) escapes towards the left.

Fig. 96.

Fig. 97.

Fig. 98.

Fig. 99.

[2] Possibly the famous olive-tree on the Akropolis, called by the comedians the ἀστὴ ἐλαία (Poll. 9. 17, Hesych. *s.v.* ἀστὴ ἐλαία, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1383, 7 f.) or πάγκυφος ἐλαία (Aristoph. *fab. incert. frag.* 234 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1217 Meineke) *ap.* Poll. 6. 163, Hesych. *s.vv.* ἀστὴ ἐλαία and πάγκυφος), together with the μορίαι, which were believed to be offshoots from it (Aristoph. *nub.* 1005 with schol. *ad loc.*, Istros *frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 422 Müller) and Aristot. *frag.* 345 Rose *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 701, Apollod. *frag.* 34 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 434 Müller) = *frag.* 120 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 1076 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 705 cited *supra* ii. 20 n. 4, Poll. 1. 241, 5. 36, Bekker *anecd.* i. 280, 16, Hesych. *s.v.* μορίαι, Phot. *lex. s.v.* μορίαι, Souid. *s.v.* μορίαι, *et. Gud.* p. 398, 23 ff., *et. mag.* p. 590, 42 ff., Zonar. *lex. s.v.* μορία, Favorin. *lex.* pp. 85, 7 f., 611, 31, 1273, 53, 1643, 18 ff.). See further Boetticher *Baumkultus* pp. 107—111, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 p. 5 ff. with figs. 1—4 and Atlas pl. 1, Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 343 f., 393 f.

The sacred olive appears in various forms on the imperial bronze coinage of Athens (see *e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 96 ff. pls. 16, 7, 8, 11, 17, 1, 2, 4—6, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 365 pl. 211, 1, 4, 5, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 129 ff. pl. Z, 8, 11—19, pl. AA, 16, 21, and for longer series J. N. Svoronos *Les Monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pls. 84, 8, 36—40, 85, 32—37, 87, 15—43, 89, 1—25, 90, 1—34). Figs. 96—99 are from specimens in my collection.

[3] K. Lange *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in d. antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippos* Leipzig 1879 pp. 1—64 with pl., E. Löwy *Lysipp und seine Stellung in der griechischen Plastik* Hamburg 1891 p. 9 ff. figs. 4 and 5, a—c, M. Collignon *Lysippe* Paris (1905) pp. 71, 116, W. Déonna in *L'archéologie, sa valeur, ses méthodes* Paris 1912 i. 278 ff., F. P. Johnson *Lysippos* Durham (North Carolina): Duke University Press 1927 pls. 6, 24, 30 f.

his tongs. A couple of little Victories, hovering in the air, offer wreaths to father and son; for it is as father of Erichthonios that Hephaistos has at length wholly dispossessed Zeus.

ii. Hephaistos and Athena.

So far we have seen reason to think that the Arrhephoria was an annual rite in which a couple of Dew-bearers conveyed the very seed of the sky-god down into the womb of the earth-goddess, and we have surmised that they brought up thence a new-born babe named Erichthonios. Moreover, a review of monuments known to represent the birth of Erichthonios[1] has made two points clear—that the group of Ge handing over the child to Athena was constant from first to last, and that Zeus as interested spectator was gradually ousted by Hephaistos. Vases distributed along the fifth century showed us in succession a Zeus of normal type, a Zeus-like personage probably to be called Hephaistos, a Zeus-like personage certainly called Hephaistos, and a Hephaistos of normal type.

How are these ritual and mythological *data* to be interpreted? I should infer (1) that the rite of the Arrhephoria as performed in the precinct (of Ge *Olympía*?[2]) near the Ilissos found apt expression in the Hellenic myth of Ge and Erichthonios, and (2) that in the course of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. the Hellenic myth was forced (by popular pressure?[3]) to find room for the long-established persons of pre-Hellenic cult. Thus Ge the original mother must hand over her babe to Athena as foster-mother, while Zeus *Olýmpios* the natural consort of Ge *Olympía* is displaced by Hephaistos the primitive partner of Athena.

This reading of the story is of course in part conjectural, but it fits well with certain important facts in the history of Attic religion and it deserves to be weighed in relation to them.

[1] I have excluded from my survey the parallel, but later, series of vases and reliefs, which represent an Eleusinian (not Athenian) myth—the birth of the infant Ploutos, handed over by Ge to Demeter. On these see S. Reinach 'La naissance de Ploutos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1900 i. 87—98 (= *id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 262—272), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 524—526 fig. 151, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 487—489, C. Picard in the *Revue historique* 1931 pp. 1—76 (especially 33—42), *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 34—38 pl. 3. [2] *Supra* p. 169 n. 0.

[3] The *régime* of Peisistratos and his successors did much to enhance the prestige of Athena (see *e.g.* C. T. Seltman *Athens: its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 pp. 40 ff., 46 f., 61, 68, 94 and F. E. Adcock in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1926 iv. 63, 66 f.), and pride in the city-goddess would tend to make men jealous for the credit of her partner Hephaistos (*infra* pp. 200, 223, 236). The 'Theseion,' if that be his temple (*infra* p. 223 n. 6), was no unworthy sequel to the Parthenon.

a

b

Stámnos from Knossos, now at Candia:
the Snake-goddess repeated as a proto geometric *motif*.

See page 189 *n.* 1.

Painted terra-cotta *plaque* from Athens:
the Snake-goddess (Athena?) of late geometric art.

See page 189 *n.* 1.

The Athenian Akropolis had from time immemorial been the home of Athena, a goddess comparable with, if not actually descended from, the snake-goddess of the early Cretans[1]. Her

[1] This important fact was first firmly grasped and clearly enunciated by M. P. Nilsson *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athene* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.* Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser iv. 7) København 1921 pp. 1—20, *id. A History of Greek Religion* trans. F. J. Fielden Oxford 1925 pp. 26—28, *id. Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 417—431. I had already hinted at it in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 410 n. 2. See also O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 61 f., C. Clemen *Religionsgeschichte Europas* Heidelberg 1926 i. 76 n. 2, 103, 231, H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 pp. 107, 128.

Others have stressed the connexion between Athena and the 'Minoan' or Mycenaean shield-goddess. So C. Blinkenberg 'Kretisk Seglring fra ældre mykenisk Tid' in the *Aarbøger for nordisk Oldkyndighed og Historie* 1920 pp. 308—322 fig. 1 f. and U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Athena' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 pp. 950—965. See too O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 24.

E. Kalinka in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 31 f. regards Athena as 'eine jener vorgriechischen Muttergottheiten, die sowohl in Kleinasien wie in vielen Landschaften Griechenlands verehrt wurden.'

In this context we cannot ignore the goddess twice figured on a *stámnos* from Knossos found by H. G. G. Payne and published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. p. 310 fig. 19. My pl. xxv is from fresh photographs of the jar kindly taken for me by J. D. S. Pendlebury. This personage has spirals like snakes starting from her hips, uplifted hands, and a *pólos* on her head—'offenbar eine Göttin, und zwar eine missverstandene Weiterbildung der spät- und submykenischen Schlangengöttinnen von Gurnià und Prinià.' She may be dated *c.* 700 B.C.

A kindred, but further developed, figure occurs on the remarkable terra-cotta *plaque* found by the American excavators of the *Agorá* at Athens and published by Dr T. L. Shear in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 3, 1932 p. 345 with a col. pl., Y. Béquignon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 243 f. fig. 7. My pl. xxvi is from a photograph obtained for me from Dr Shear by E. J. P. Raven, who tells me (Jan. 30, 1934) that a full publication with a col. pl. is shortly to appear in *Hesperia*. The *plaque* ($9\frac{1}{2} \times 5$ ins., with two holes above for suspension) formed part of a dump near the base of the N. slope of the *Áreios Págos*, and was associated with other objects in terra-cotta—primitive figurines, gaily coloured horses with their riders, votive shields, etc.—also with 'late Geometric' vases and a 'Proto-Corinthian' *lékythos*. It has therefore been referred to the latter part of *s.* viii B.C. and regarded as a votive offering brought from the adjacent shrine of the Eumenides. It shows a goddess facing the spectator, with raised arms and spread hands (cp. *supra* ii. 536 fig. 406, *c*). Her head and neck are in relief; the rest of her is on the flat, painted in dull red and blue. She stands between two snakes, rendered in the same colours amid a vertical framework of lotos-flowers and rosettes. Dr Shear finds it hard to say whether this unique figure should be interpreted as a snake-goddess ('possibly a survival of the Minoan tradition into later times in Athens') or more definitely as 'one of the Furies.' Perhaps the spotted transverse garment worn across her chest is meant for an *aigís*. If so, she is a primitive pre-warlike Athena. After all, Athena Γοργῶπις (Zwicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1658) or Γοργώ (K. Zeigler *ib.* 1641 f.) is near akin to the original Γοργώ or Γοργών. Cp. Palaiph. 31 (32) καλοῦσι δὲ Κερναῖοι τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Γοργώ, ὥσπερ τὴν Ἄρτεμίν Θρᾷκες μὲν Βένδιν, Κρῆτες δὲ Δίκτυναν (δίκτυνναν cod. *x*), Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ Ὄρθιαν. Athena in due course was Christianised and appears on medieval leaden seals as ΜΡ ΘΥ (*sc.* Μήτηρ Θεοῦ) Η ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΗΚΟΟC (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (a) *sub fin.*). The Panagia *Gorgoepékoos* of modern Athens has a long and interesting pedigree.

snakes, her owl[1], her olive-tree[2], her relations to the priestly king Erechtheus[3], in whose palace she had from the outset been housed[4], are indefeasible proofs of her ancient lineage. Even in the Periclean age Pheidias' great statue of the Parthenos, with a snake at her side, snakes round her waist, a snaky *aigís* over her shoulders, and a pillar beneath her hand[5], still perpetuated the esssential traits of a 'Minoan' prototype[6].

Another pre-Greek deity of the Akropolis was *Héphaistos,* whose name[7], equally unintelligible with that of Athena[8], presumably

[1] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (λ). [2] *Supra* p. 187 n. 2. [3] *Supra* ii. 794.

[4] *Od.* 7. 80 f., cp. *Il.* 2. 546 ff. (of later origin? See now J. M. Paton in L. D. Caskey—H. N. Fowler—J. M. Paton—G. P. Stevens *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Mass. 1927 pp. 431—433).

[5] *Supra* ii pl. xlv (in pocket at end).

[6] On coins of the Oxyrhynchite nome showing Athena with the double axe see *supra* ii. 625 f. figs. 529, 530. In fig. 100 I add another of these rare pieces from a specimen, struck by Antoninus Pius, now in my collection.

Fig. 100.

[7] The various forms of the name Ἥφαιστος and the various etymologies proposed for it by scholars ancient and modern are listed by Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 105 with n. 9, *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1304 n. 2, 1305 n. 1 and by L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 340—342. The latter concludes: 'Eine Deutung des Namens zu geben, ist zur Zeit noch nicht möglich; in welcher Richtung sie zu suchen ist, lehrt die oben dargestellte Entwicklungsgeschichte des Gottes. Sie ergab zunächst, dass der Gott vorgriechisch ist; für vorgriechisch wird der Name H. jetzt auch von Fick Vorgriech. Ortsn. 66 erklärt so wie der lemnische Mosychlos, an dem der Gott in früher Zeit festsitzt. Da H. bei den karisch-lykischen Völkern Kleinasiens seinen Ursprung hat, muss die Deutung im Kreise dieser Sprachidiome gesucht werden. ...Darf man von der Art des Kults aus einen vorläufigen Rückschluss wagen, so liegt es am nächsten, eine Hindeutung auf das Erdfeuer, die ursprüngliche Erscheinungsform des Gottes, auch in dem Namen zu suchen.' See further L. Malten 'Hephaistos' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 232—264 with 12 figs.

R. Pettazzoni 'Philoktetes—Hephaistos' in the *Rivista di filologia e d' istruzione classica* 1909 xxxvii. 170—189 (criticised by R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1911 xiv. 576 f.) holds that Philoktetes and Hephaistos were originally different forms of the same *non*-Hellenic deity (their identity had been already asserted by F. Marx 'Philoktet—Hephaistos' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1904 xiii. 673—685) and that the name of the former throws some light on the nature of the latter. Philoktetes was healed by Pylios son of Hephaistos (Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 152 b 13 f. Bekker), and the priests of Hephaistos in Lemnos had curative powers (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 330, 12). Philoktetes, like Hephaistos, went limping. Philoktetes, like Hephaistos (*supra* i. 328 fig. 259), wore the *pîlos*. The pre-Hellenic god, who lies behind Philoktetes and Hephaistos, was equated by the Phoenicians with their Ešmun-Kadmilos. The name Kadm(il)os covers a Semitic word for 'gold'—Kadmos discovered the gold-mines of Mt Pangaion (Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 16 p. 49, 6 ff. Stählin, cp. Aristot. *frag.* 459 Rose; Strab. 680, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰλλυρία)—and the names Φιλοκτήτης and Χρύση both point in the same direction. Thus Philoktetes = Hephaistos = Kadm(il)os, and we can understand the equivalence of Hephaistos and Chrysor (*supra* ii. 715, 1037). In fact, Kadmilos : Kabeiro

(*supra* ii. 314 n. o) = Philoktetes : Chryse = Hephaistos (Chrysor) : Aphrodite (χρυσῆ Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1367 n. 2).

A. Fick as a great philologist merits a more patient hearing. In his *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 66 he quotes with approval Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λῆμνος...*ἀπὸ τῆς μεγάλης λεγομένης θεοῦ, ἣν Λήμνον φασι· ταύτῃ δὲ καὶ παρθένους θύεσθαι* and continues: 'Ganz fremdartig klingt auch Μόσυχλος...ob der Name des Gottes "Αφαιστος griechisch ist, kann man stark bezweifeln, jedenfalls waren die grosse Göttin, der Feuergott und der Phallos (Hermes) die Hauptgottheiten der Tyrrhener.' In *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 46 he returns to the charge: 'Hephaistos gehört durchweg den vorgriechischen Pelagonen—Pelasgern—Tyrsenern an. Mittelpunkte seines Dienstes sind Lemnos und Attika. Andere Namen des Gottes sind Palamaon und Palamedes, in Attika und Phokis heisst er Prometheus, in Boeotien als Wildfeuer Typhaon, dessen Kampf mit Zeus um die Weltherrschaft [*supra* ii. 448 n. 2, 731, 826] religionsgeschichtlich als Versuch der Verehrer des Feuergottes, diesen zum Allgott zu erheben, zu denken ist. Auch der Name Hephaistos ist wohl pelasgisch; gleichgeformt ist Geraistos, vielleicht der pelasgische Name des Wassergottes, der als Buhle der Demeter d. i. der Allmutter entschieden den Pelasgern Arkadiens angehört. Die Gottheiten der Pelasger waren also: Allmutter und Phallos, und die zwei elementaren Feuer- und Wassergötter, denen sich vielleicht Hermes als Luftgottheit zugesellt.'

[8] Attempts to explain the name, which appears in Ionic as 'Αθήνη 'Αθηναίη, in Aeolic and Doric as 'Αθάνα 'Αθαναία, in Attic as 'Αθηναία 'Αθηνᾶα 'Αθηνᾶ, are collected by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 185 f., F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2007 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1194 nn. 1—5.

The most interesting hypothesis so far advanced is that of another famous philologist P. Kretschmer. In *Glotta* 1921 xi. 282—284 he treats the name as Pelasgian or Tyrsenian and relates it on the one hand to the place-name 'Αθανασσός 'Αθανασός 'Αταναασός 'Αττανασσός (*Aidan*) in Phrygia with the characteristic suffix *-assos* (Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Historical Geography of Asia Minor* (*Royal Geographical Society*: Supplementary Papers iv) London 1890 p. 136 no. 26, *id. The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1895 i. 241 ff., 249 ('Bishops of...Attanassos...Philadelphius πόλεως 'Αθανασοῦ (Athanassi) *Conc. Chalced.* 451. Christophorus 'Αθανασσοῦ *Conc. Nicaen.* II 787. Philotheos 'Αθανασσοῦ *Conc.* 869 (?)'), ii. 355 ff., 395 ('Philadelphius 'Αναασσοῦ...451'), W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2180), on the other hand to a group of Etruscan (?) words denoting a ritual vessel of terra cotta (Paul. ex Fest. p. 18, 11 Müller *Athanuvium* est poculi fictilis genus, quo in sacrificiis utebantur sacerdotes Romani (W. M. Lindsay p. 17, 9 prints *Atanuvium* with cod. *L*. Th. Mommsen in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1899 viii. 254 n. 2 gives *athanulum*), G. Goetz *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888 ii. 22, 25 ff. = 1899 vi. 108 f. *Atena* εἶδος ποτηρίου ὀστράκου (ὀστρακίνου?) ᾧ οἱ πρυτάνεις ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις χρῶνται, ii. 47 f. = vi. 108 *Atanulus* (*atnanulus* cod. A. Swoboda in his ed. of P. Nigidius Figulus (Vindobonae 1889) p. 16 n. 0 cj. *athanulus*, which is accepted by P. Kretschmer) ἄγιον (ἀγγεῖον cod. *d*, Vulcanius cj. *σφάγιον*) *ἱερέως σκεῦος, κειμήλιον*, 1889 iv. 406, 33 = vi. 108 *atanulu* genus vasis, 1894 v. 591, 18 = vi. 108 *atanulum* genus vasis, v. 591, 46 = vi. 108 *attanabo* genus vasis, Nigid. *frag.* 9 Swoboda *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 58, 15 f. Lindsay itaque ex re (aere Scaligeri marg. J. H. Onions cj. aereum) in Saliaribus adtanus (A. Swoboda cj. *attanus*) tintinat, id est sonat, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5050 (the *acta* of Augustus' *ludi saeculares*, 17 B.C.), 107 and 132 ad atallam fuerunt (followed by a list of the *quindecimviri* present. F. Bücheler and K. Zangemeister in the *Ephem. epigr.* 1899 viii. 254 took *atalla* to be the diminutive of *atana, attana, attanus*)) and perhaps to ἄτταvον an Asia Minor (?) word for 'pan' or 'pot' (Hesych. *s.vv.* ἄττανα, *ἀτταvίδες, ἀτταvίτας* from Hipponax *frag.* 36. 3 Bergk[4], *frag.* 39. 9 Diehl). Kretschmer suggests that the pre-Greek **Αθανον* = ἄτταvον gave rise to 'Αθάνα 'Αθαναία as 'eine Töpfergöttin,' the later Athena 'Εργάνη (Paus. 1. 24. 3 *πρῶτοι μὲν γὰρ 'Αθηνᾶν ἐπωνόμασαν 'Εργάνην sc. οἱ 'Αθηναῖοι*). Further, he hints that the clay vessel from which the goddess got her name may well have been regarded 'als Fetisch und Symbol...Die Glosse *athanulus ἄγιον ἱερέως σκεῦος, κειμήλιον* lässt doch fast an ein gralartiges heiliges Gefäss denken.'

Fig. 106.

Fig. 107.

Fig. 108.

object, found in the Amenophis iii level (1411—1375 B.C.), seems to have been connected with the cult of the serpent-goddess Astoreth or Anaïtis, who at Beth-Shan bore the Egyptianised name Antit: the head presumably represents the goddess herself (L. B. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 198 f. fig. 10=my fig. 109). Somewhat later are the bottomless tubular stands from the same site published by A. Rowe in the *Museum Journal. University of Pennsylvania* 1926 pp. 296, 297, 299. I figure one which has two handles surmounted by birds in the round and windows in its sides penetrated by snakes in relief (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 1049 f. fig. 729 after S. A. Cook in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1926* p. 30,

Fig. 109.

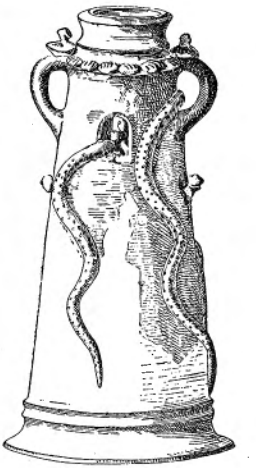


Fig. 110.

A. Rowe *ib.* 1927 p. 74, A. T. Olmstead *History of Palestine and Syria* New York—London 1931 p. 154 fig. 74). Professor S. A. Cook *The Religion of ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 98 comments: 'The name *Shān* (or *Shĕ'ān*) may be directly connected with Shaḥan or Sakhan, the Semitic name of an old Sumerian serpent deity. Upon a bowl is depicted an undulating serpent; and a pottery model of a serpent has female breasts, and a cup below for collecting the milk.' Etc. The burial *pithoi* from Beth-Shan (*c.* 1200 B.C.), which have their upper part adorned with the mask of the dead man or woman and a pair of rudimentary arms (C. L. Fisher in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1923 xxxii. 435 ff. fig. 9, P. Thomsen in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 5 pl. 1, a, b), are hardly *ad rem.* A shrine of 'Middle Minoan' date (*c.* 2100—1580 B.C.) on one summit of Mt Korakies, a two-peaked hill at Koumasa in southern Crete, yielded four cylindrical clay vessels open at the bottom. Two of these have snaky handles formed of four loops vertically arranged on either side (S. Xanthoudides *The Vaulted Tombs of Mesará* trans. J. P. Droop Liverpool

1924 p. 50 pl. 33, of which nos. 5002 and 5005=my figs. 111 and 112, G. Karo in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 vii p. viii fig. 52, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 90 f. fig. 6, 271 f.). At Prinia in central Crete F. Halbherr in 1900 found two very similar vessels, one of which has an additional snake coiling upwards and encircling its mouth, together with a terra-cotta goddess emergent from a

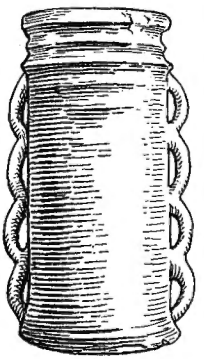


Fig. 111.

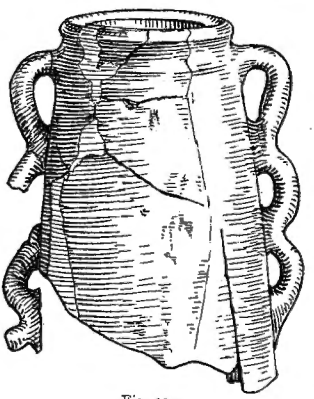


Fig. 112.

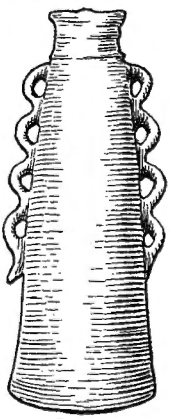


Fig. 113.

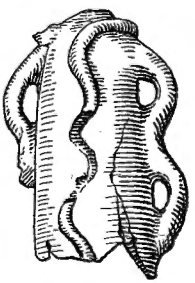


Fig. 114.

cylindrical base and the fragmentary arms of another entwined with snakes—clearly the contents of a small 'Minoan' shrine (S. Wide in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 247—257 figs. 1—5 (of which 4 and 5=my figs. 113 and 114) and pl. 12, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 269 f., 271, 275, 385). Renewed excavations of the site by the Italians in 1906 led

to further finds—the head of a terra-cotta figure and another tube-shaped vessel with vertical loops or handles, a ridge resembling a snake, and oval holes or apertures in the sides. But the objects associated with the new finds belong to the archaic Greek period and point to a local survival of the 'Minoan' cult (L. Pernier in the *Bollettino d'arte* 1908 ii. 455 ff. fig. 11 cited by R. Zahn in K. F. Kinch *Fouilles de Vroulia* (*Rhodes*) Berlin 1914 p. 28 and by Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 386). The shrine of the snake-goddess at Gournia in eastern Crete (*supra* ii. 538), believed to be of the 'Late Minoan i' period, *c.* 1580—1475 B.C., had five tubular vessels still *in situ*. One, of which the base only remained, stood on the low plastered tripod. Round it were ranged four others. Three of these, practically complete, supplement the snaky loops by an extra handle surmounted by ritual horns; one adds a disk above the horns, another a pair of snakes crossing under the handle, the third a symbol now missing—possibly a bird (Mrs B. E. Williams in H. Boyd Hawes, B. E. Williams, R. B. Seager, and E. H. Hall *Gournia, Vasiliki and other prehistoric sites on the Isthmus of Hierapetra, Crete* Philadelphia 1908 p. 47 f. pl. 11,

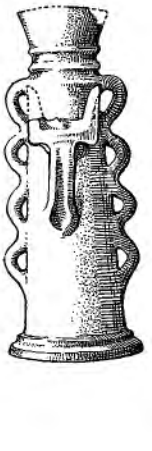


Fig. 115.

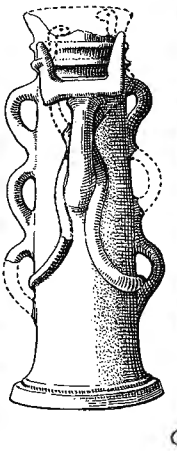


Fig. 116.

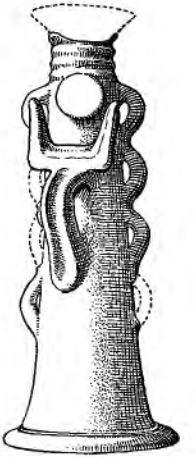


Fig. 117.

11—13=my figs. 115—117, L. Pernier in G. Mariaghiannis *Antiquités Crétoises* Vienne (1907) i p. vii pl. 36, 1, 2, and 4, R. Dussaud *Les civilisations préhelléniques dans le bassin de la Mer Égée* Paris 1910 p. 200 with fig. 142, G. Karo in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 vii p. viii fig. 51, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 74 ff. fig. 3 B, 267, 271). Lastly, a tubular vessel, found in Rhodes, probably at Kameiros, and now in the Antiquarium at Berlin (inv. no. 4563), is of roughly similar shape. It is 0.285^{m} high, and again has no bottom. A ribbed handle on either side is flanked by four bosses and two snakes in relief. Three of these snakes have tongues serrated like an oak-leaf; the fourth has a tongue small and pointed. The neck of the vessel is decorated with a number of birds, separately modelled and attached, several of which are missing. The light brown clay is painted rather carelessly with maeanders, zig-zags, etc. of dark brown glaze in the geometric style—an indication that here too we have a 'Minoan' usage surviving into *post*-'Minoan' times (R. Zahn 'Kultgerät aus Rhodos' in K. F. Kinch *Fouilles de Vroulia* (*Rhodes*) Berlin 1914 pp. 26—34 fig. 13 a, b, and c (=my fig. 118 *a*, *b*, and *c*), E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und*

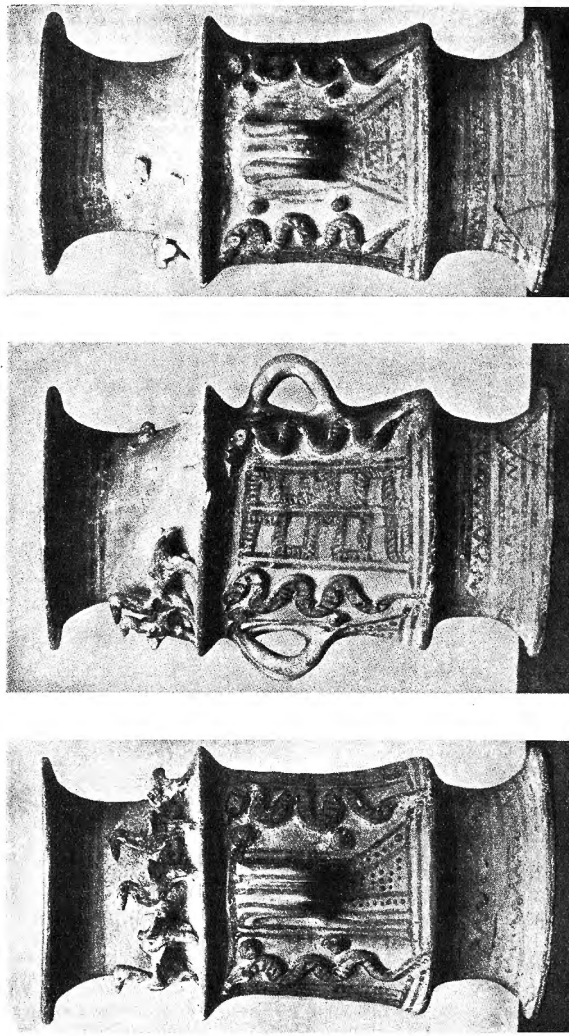


Fig. 118.

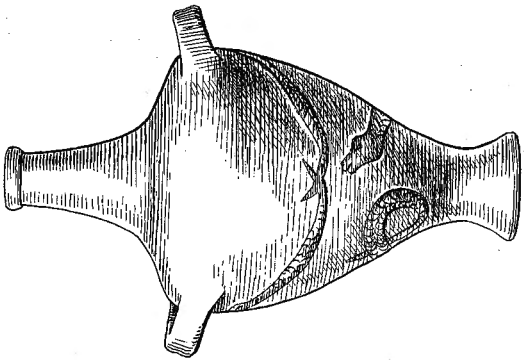
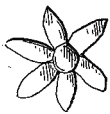


Fig. 121.



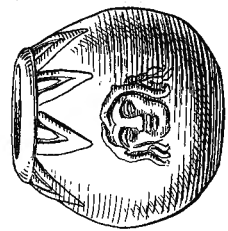


Fig. 120.

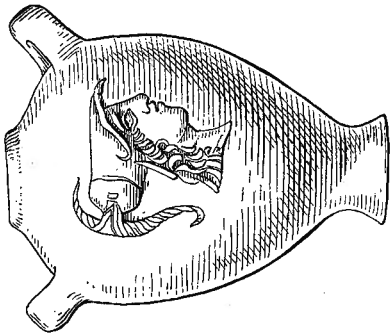


Fig. 119.

belongs to the same language as the place-name *Phaistós*[1]. Now if—as we have argued[2]—the 'Minoan' earth-goddess (Rhea) had for consort a 'Minoan' sky-god (Kronos) armed with a double axe, it is tempting to guess that Hephaistos, whose double axe of bronze is mentioned by Pindar as a 'holy axe[3]' and is often figured on sixth-century vases[4], was in the remote prehistoric past the veritable husband of Athena. On which showing Hephaistos and Athena

Religion Giessen 1913 p. 41 f. fig. 31 (inexact), Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 273, 386 f.). Bottomless vases are in the nature of funnels, and sometimes certainly, as in the Dipylon cemetery at Athens, conveyed liquid offerings through the earth to the dead below (*supra* ii. 1056). It is therefore reasonable to think that the tubular vessels used in the cult of the 'Minoan' snake-goddess served a similar purpose and prove her to have been *ab origine* an earth-mother (R. Zahn *loc. cit.* p. 34, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 271 ff., 386 f.). However, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1 pp. xii, 138 ff., having found in a 'Minoan' house at Knossos three clay tubes with cups attached to their sides, thinks that these were receptacles for domestic snakes, derived from common drain-pipes. He offers the same explanation of all the 'snake tubes' mentioned above, comparing their loops with the looped variety of water-pipe. Ingenious, but far from convincing.

(*d*) Hellenistic relief-ware of Graeco-Egyptian style has sometimes by way of prophylactic (?) decoration an emblem or emblems of Athena. I figure three small vases in my collection, which are made of salmon-coloured unglazed (?) clay and were found at Ephesos. They exhibit the following designs: (1) on the one side a helmeted head of Athena, on the other a *Gorgóneion* of beautiful type (fig. 119. Height $3\frac{1}{4}$ inches); (2) a *Gorgóneion* with dishevelled hair and a large six-rayed star beneath an inverted lotos-pattern round the rim (fig. 120. Height $1\frac{5}{8}$ inch); (3) two snakes with crossed tails above a single larger snake encircling the lower part of the vase (fig. 121. Height $4\frac{3}{8}$ inches).

It is perhaps not too hazardous to conjecture that Trojan *Gesichtsurnen* and the like point backwards to a primitive belief that earthen vessels should take the form of the earth-mother of whose very substance they were made. Be that as it may, in view of the varied types of these sacred or semi-sacred vases it is quite conceivable that—as Kretschmer supposed—Athena drew her name from a clay vessel used in her service, though I should prefer to conclude that the vessel drew its name from the goddess.

[1] I do not propose to treat Ἥφαιστος and Φαιστός as etymologically connected, though many years ago I toyed with the notion (*Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 85 n. 1). I now agree with Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 390 n.[a]: 'There is no *vraisemblance* in the supposition.' Platon, who might be cited in its support, though a giant in philosophy, was but a dwarf in philology (Plat. *Crat.* 407 C ΕΡΜ. *τί δὲ δὴ τὸν* Ἥφαιστον*; πῇ λέγεις;* ΣΩ. *ἢ τὸν γενναῖον τὸν φάεος ἵστορα ἐρωτᾷς;* ΕΡΜ. *ἔοικα.* ΣΩ. *οὐκοῦν οὗτος μὲν παντὶ δῆλος Φαῖστος ὤν, τὸ ἦτα προσελκυσάμενος;*). Nevertheless it remains probable that the language which produced the word Φαιστός produced also the word Ἥφαιστος.

[2] *Supra* ii. 548 ff.

[3] Pind. *Ol.* 7. 35 ff. *ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν | χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πα|τέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν | ἀνορούσαισ' ἀλάλα|ξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ* and *frag.* 34 Bergk[4], 34 Schroeder *ap.* Hephaist. 15. 13 p. 51, 16 Consbruch *ὃς καὶ τυπεὶς ἀγνῷ πελέκει τέκετο ξανθὰν Ἀθάναν* (quoted also, less exactly, by Marius Plotius Sacerdos *de metris* in H. Keil *Grammatici Latini* vi. 545, 5). Later writers commonly use the term πέλεκυς (Apollod. 1. 3. 6, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 8, Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 27. 1, Nonn. *Dion.* 27. 324, 42. 250, schol. Plat. *Tim.* 23 D—E p. 948 a 12), sometimes βουπλήξ in the sense of 'an axe for felling an ox' (Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 83, 27. 325, *et. mag.* p. 371, 41). Cp. the πέλεκυς presented by Hephaistos to Polytechnos of Kolophon (*supra* ii. 693).

[4] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (*θ*).

Kýlix from Nola, now in the British Museum:
Anesidora fashioned by Hephaistos and adorned by Athena.

See page 201 *n.* 7.

would be but local equivalents of Kronos and Rhea[1]. Some such assumption at least accounts for their persistent juxtaposition in classical times. Homer's cunning craftsman, who overlays gold on silver, is 'the man that Hephaistos and Pallas Athene have taught all manner of art, and full of grace are the works of his hand[2].' The Homeric *Hymn to Hephaistos*[3] opens on the same note:

> Sing, tuneful Muse, Hephaistos and his craft,
> Who with bright-eyed Athena taught mankind
> All splendid work on earth, whereas of yore
> Men dwelt like brute beasts in their mountain-dens.

Solon's[4] description of the artificer owes something to these epic writers:

> Taught by Athena and Hephaistos' skill
> Another learns his trade and earns his meal.

Platon[5] too with curious frequency insists on the partnership of Hephaistos and Athena.

Their association is further attested by mythology, art, and actual cult. If Hephaistos fashioned woman, Athena adorned her—a story as old as Hesiod[6] and brilliantly illustrated by the Anesidora-cup (pl. xxvii)[7].

[1] This squares with the fact that in Crete, where Kronos and Rhea bulked big, Hephaistos (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 389 and L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 314 f., 341: both rightly attach little weight to Diod. 5. 74 and Paus. 8. 53. 5) and Athena (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in the *Sitzungsb. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1921 p. 952. On Athena Κυδωνία see Prehn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2308) were nobodies.

[2] *Od.* 6. 233 f. ὃν Ἥφαιστος δέδαεν καὶ Παλλὰς Ἀθήνη | τέχνην παντοίην, χαρίεντα δὲ ἔργα τελείει.

[3] *H. Heph.* 1 ff. Ἥφαιστον κλυτόμητιν ἀείδεο, Μοῦσα λίγεια, | ὃς μετ' Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος ἀγλαὰ ἔργα | ἀνθρώπους ἐδίδαξεν ἐπὶ χθονός, οἱ τὸ πάρος περ | ἄντροις ναιετάασκον ἐν οὔρεσιν, ἠύτε θῆρες.

[4] Sol. *frag.* 13. 49 f. Bergk[4], 1. 49 f. Diehl ἄλλος Ἀθηναίης τε καὶ Ἡφαίστου πολυτέχνεω | ἔργα δαεὶς χειροῖν ξυλλέγεται βίοτον.

[5] Plat. *Prot.* 321 D (Prometheus) κλέπτει Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς τὴν ἔντεχνον σοφίαν σὺν πυρί (*supra* i. 324), *polit.* 274 C πῦρ μὲν παρὰ Προμηθέως, τέχναι δὲ παρ' Ἡφαίστου καὶ τῆς συντέχνου, *Kritias* 109 C—D Ἥφαιστος δὲ κοινὴν καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ φύσιν ἔχοντες, ἅμα μὲν ἀδελφὴν ἐκ ταὐτοῦ πατρός, ἅμα δὲ φιλοσοφίᾳ φιλοτεχνίᾳ τε ἐπὶ τὰ αὐτὰ ἐλθόντες, οὕτω μίαν ἄμφω λῆξιν τήνδε τὴν χώραν εἰλήχατον ὡς οἰκείαν καὶ πρόσφορον ἀρετῇ καὶ φρονήσει πεφυκυῖαν, ἄνδρας δὲ ἀγαθοὺς ἐμποιήσαντες αὐτόχθονας ἐπὶ νοῦν ἔθεσαν τὴν τῆς πολιτείας τάξιν, *legg.* 920 D Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν τὸ τῶν δημιουργῶν γένος, οἳ τὸν βίον ἡμῖν ξυγκατεσκευάκασι τέχναις.

[6] Hes. *theog.* 571 ff., *o.d.* 60 ff., 70 ff.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 389 ff. no. D 4, A. S. Murray—A. H. Smith *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* London 1896 p. 29 pl. 19, E. Gerhard in the *Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* i. 5—7 pl. 1 (in gold and colours), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 149 ff., 159 f. pl. 44, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2057 f.

fig., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* pp. 450—452 fig. 50. Pl. xxvii is from a fresh photograph.

Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 283, followed by Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 342 no. 22, attributes this *lýlix* to the '*Meister der Penthesileia-Schale*'; Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 530 f., to E. Buschor's 'Pferdemeister.' But J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 129 denies the attribution, and in his *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 261 no. 6 describes the vase as in the 'Art des Pistoxenosmalers.'

Found at Nola in 1828 or 1829, this great *lýlix* (height 5 inches: diameter 12¼ inches) passed through the Hope and the Bale collections before being purchased in 1881 for the British Museum. The exterior is red-figured and shows scenes in the *palaístra* (?). The interior has black outlines on a white ground, with inner markings in brown. Anesidora's *chitón* and Hephaistos' *himátion* are brown with details in purple and white. Athena has a *chitón* with a purple girdle, and a dark brown *aigís* with purple border and *Gorgóneion* in white. The head-dresses and the top of the hammer are moulded and gilt on a raised ground. Substantial parts of the design are missing. The heads of Anesidora and Athena together with the right arm of the latter have been added in pencil, while part of the former's *chitón* has been restored in water-colour. The names are ΑΦΕΝΑΑ, [Α]ΝΕΣΙΔΟΡΑ, ΗΕΦΑ[Ι]ΣΤΟΣ (P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 203 f. no. 187, correcting the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7416).

The moment represented is that described by Hes. *theog.* 573 ff. ζῶσε δὲ καὶ κόσμησε θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη | ἀργυφέῃ ἑσθῆτι·... | ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ στεφάνην χρυσέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε, | τὴν αὐτὸς ποίησε περικλυτὸς Ἀμφιγυήεις | ἀσκήσας παλάμῃσι, χαριζόμενος Διὶ πατρί. And the composition as a whole is comparable with that of the Triptolemos-relief from Eleusis (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 106 ff. pls. 24 and 25 with bibliography, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 7, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 140 ff. fig. 68, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 339 no. 3).

Ἀνησιδώρα, like Πανδώρα, was an epithet of the earth-mother (Hesych. Ἀνησιδώρα· ἡ γῆ, διὰ τὸ τοὺς καρποὺς ἀνιέναι, *id.* Πανδώρα· ἡ γῆ, ὅτι τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν πάντα δωρεῖται. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ζείδωρος καὶ ἀνησιδώρα=schol. Aristoph. *av.* 971 Πανδώρα· τῇ γῇ, ἐπειδὴ πάντα τὰ πρὸς τὸ ζῆν δωρεῖται. ἀφ' οὗ καὶ ζείδωρος καὶ ἀνησιδώρα, *et. mag.* p. 108, 31 Ἀνησιδώρα· ἡ γῆ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1057, 47 f. ἕτεροι δὲ Δωδώνην ἀλληγοροῦντες ἐνταῦθα τὴν γῆν φασι <τιμᾶσθαι (*ins.* A.B.C.)> παρὰ τῷ δῶ δώσω, ὡς δότειραν καὶ ἀνησιδώραν καὶ ζείδωρον (cp. the Dodonaean chant Γᾶ καρποὺς ἀνίει κ.τ.λ. cited *supra* i. 524 n. 8, ii. 350 n. 1). In Alkiphr. *epist.* 1. 3 χρηστὸν ἡ γῆ καὶ ἡ βῶλος ἀκίνδυνον. οὐ μάτην γοῦν ἀνεισιδώραν ταύτην ὀνομάζουσιν Ἀθηναῖοι ἀνιεῖσαν δῶρα, δι' ὧν ἐστι ζῆν καὶ σώζεσθαι R. Hercher omits the second sentence (as a gloss?)). From Ge it passed to her 'offshoot' (*supra* i. 396 f.) Demeter, who was likewise empowered γῆς καρπὸν ἀνήσειν (*h. Dem.* 332). Thus in the Attic deme Phlya the cult of Ge called Μεγάλη Θεός was supplemented by that of Demeter Ἀνησιδώρα and by that of Kore Πρωτογόνη (Paus. 1. 31. 4 cited *supra* ii. 251 n. 2 *plus* ii. 1066). Demeter Ἀνησιδώρα was perhaps worshipped in Melite, another deme of the tribe Kekropis (Plout. *symp.* 9. 14. 4 καὶ γὰρ ὑμῖν (*sc.* τοῖς Μελιτεῦσιν) ἐστι Δημήτηρ Ἀνησιδώρα), and her appellative figures in the lists drawn up by the grammarians (Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 270 Ἐπίθετα Δημήτρας...3 ἀνησιδώρας, 277 Αἱ τῆς Δήμητρος κλήσεις·...ἀνησιδώρα, cp. 282 Κλήσεις Δήμητρος...ὀνησιδώρα (*sic*)).

Starting from this fact archaeologists, *in primis* C. Robert (*Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 p. 194 ff. pls. 4 and 5, 'Pandora' in *Hermes* 1914 xlix. 17—38 with 2 figs.), J. E. Harrison (*Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 451 f., 'Delphika' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 232 ff. figs. 11, 12, *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*² p. 276 ff. figs. 67—71), and P. Gardner ('A New Pandora Vase' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 1 ff. pl. 1), have gone far towards explaining the origin of the Anesidora-type. The story shapes itself as follows. The ancients seem to have regarded the earliest agricultural operations of the year as a kind of *evocatio*, by means of which the earth-powers were wakened from their winter's sleep and summoned to help the farmer in his work. When

the *ager Tarquiniensis* was being ploughed and the furrow was driven deep, up came on a sudden Tages, a boy in appearance but an old man in wisdom, scared the ploughman and delivered his auguries to the Etruscans (Cic. *de div.* 2. 50, Ov. *met.* 15. 553 ff.: see

Fig. 122.

Fig. 123.

further C. Pauli and W. Schultz in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 3 ff.). Similarly in Greek belief, when the hard earth is broken up by men with mallets or mattocks,—and it must be remembered that the most primitive form of agriculture was *Hackbau* (E. Hahn in M. Ebert *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1926 v. 12 f. pl. 11)—up comes Mother Earth herself in answer to their summons. Her epiphany, though nowhere noted in literature, is given on a series of vases (C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen* pl. 5,

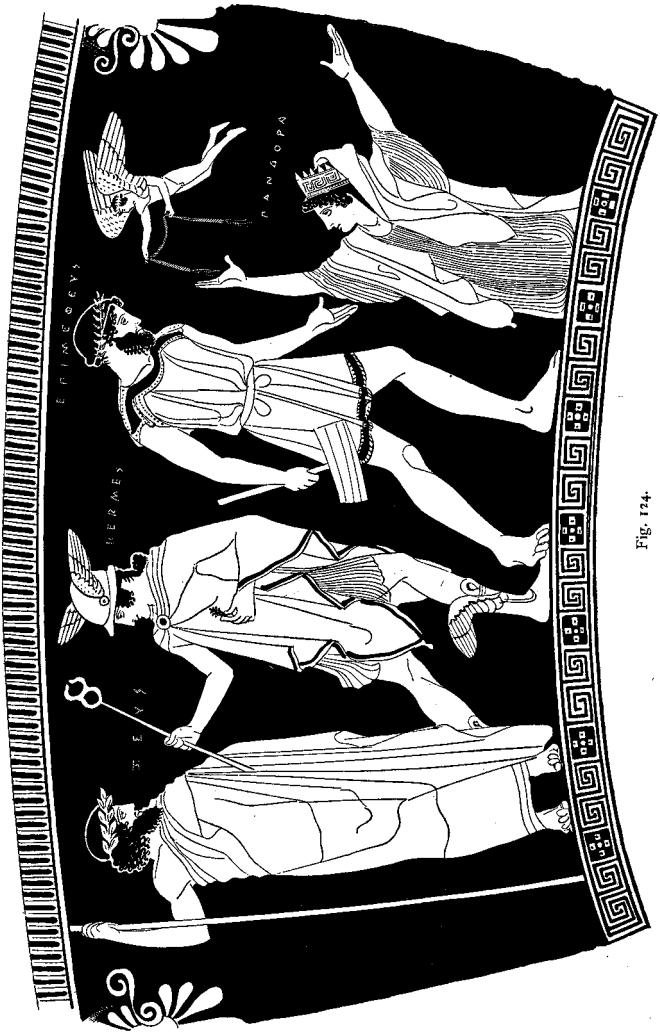


Fig. 124.

But the Anesidora-cup is not the only witness. The fact is that from the beginning of the fifth century[1] onwards classical art shows a well-marked tendency to bring together the craftsmen's god and the craftsmen's goddess. A fragmentary design from the outside of a red-figured *kýlix* painted in the style of Euphronios (fig. 125)[2] has Hephaistos seated with a *phiále* in his right hand and a double axe or hammer in his left. By his side stands Athena with helmet, *aigís*, and spear. Her hair and bracelet, like his *phiále*, are in gilded relief, and suggest that this is no trivial occasion. Equally impressive is the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (*supra* ii pl. xliv), which again shows Hephaistos seated, but this time with Athena seated too. He turns towards her, as Hera towards Zeus, the pre-Hellenic exactly balancing the Hellenic pair. A broken relief from Epidauros, carved in Pentelic marble *c.* 400 B.C. and now preserved in the National Museum at Athens (fig. 126)[3], has another masterly composition.

A, *B*, *C*). Of these I reproduce the earliest, a black-figured *lékythos* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 197 f. no. 298, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 162 ff. pl. 52, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 201 ff. pl. 15, 1, W. Fröhner *Les Musées de France* Paris 1873 p. 72 (*L*) col. pl. 22 (= my fig. 122)), which shows the head and lifted hands of Ge rising from the ground in response to the hammerers, and the most elaborate, a red-figured *hydría* in the Louvre (W. Fröhner *Choix de vases grecs inédits de la collection du Prince Napoléon* Paris 1867 p. 24 ff. pl. 6, *id. Les Musées de France* Paris 1873 p. 68 ff. col. pl. 21 = my fig. 123), which transforms the men with mallets into Silenoi with mattocks and makes Ge emerge from the broken soil as a great white head in three-quarter position, welcomed by a pair of hovering Erotes and a sudden growth of leaf and tendril. Such a scene could be easily re-interpreted as the making of a large female figure, cp. the title of Sophokles' Satyr-play Πανδώρα ἢ σφυροκόποι (Soph. *frag.* 441—445 Nauck[2], 482—486 Jebb). It was in fact modified to express the making of Pandora out of earth (Hes. *theog.* 571 γαίης, *o.d.* 61 γαῖαν ὕδει φύρειν, 70 ἐκ γαίης) or clay (Soph. *frag.* 441 Nauck[2], 482 Jebb καὶ πρῶτον ἄρχου πηλὸν ὀργάζειν χεροῖν, cp. Apollod. 1. 7. 2 ἔπλασαν, Hyg. *fab.* 142 ex luto), as may be seen from a red-figured volute-*krátēr* at Oxford (P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 1 ff. pl. 1 (= my fig. 124), J. E. Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 280 f. fig. 71, C. Robert in *Hermes* 1914 xlix. 17 ff. fig.), on which Pandora emerges from the ground quite in the manner of Ge, and her maker Epimetheus—a somewhat cynical doublet of Prometheus (*supra* i. 329 n. 4)—still holds a large-sized mallet; the hovering Eros marks Pandora as Epimetheus' bride. All the figures named on this vase, Zeus, Hermes, Epimetheus, Pandora are Hellenic. The British Museum *kýlix* (pl. xxvii) is of interest because it transfers the Hellenic myth to the pre-Hellenic deities Athena and Hephaistos. In the process Pandora, re-named Anesidora, becomes less like the emergent Ge, while the gilded hammer of Hephaistos is less reminiscent of the countryman's rude tool.

[1] L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 348 cites in this connexion a black-figured sherd from the Akropolis at Athens noted by W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 109 f. But this is not *ad rem*: see Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 67 no. 601 b pl. 28 ('wahrscheinlich von einer Athenageburt').

[2] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 104 f. fig. (= my fig. 125. Scale ½), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 407 no. 18 *bis*, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 61 no. 13.

[3] A. Furtwängler in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe

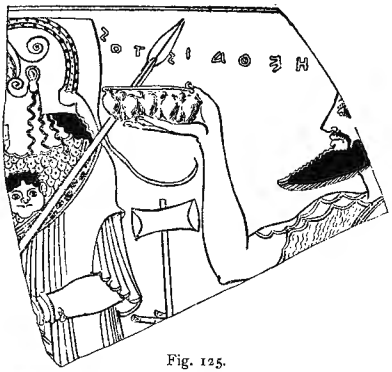


Fig. 125.

Fig. 126.

Hephaistos leaning on his staff presents a helmet to Athena, who stands before him in the pose of the Dresden 'Lemnia.' An archaistic relief from Greece now in the Jacobsen collection (fig. 127)[1] repeats the *motif* of Hephaistos presenting the helmet, but combines him awkwardly enough with an Athena in the '*Promachos*'-attitude. A fresh turn is given to the kaleidoscope by the artist who designed a well-known *sarcophagus* in the Villa Albani[2]. A procession of deities bringing gifts for the marriage of Peleus and Thetis is

1897 p. 289 ff. with fig., E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 79 ff. fig. 37 (= my fig. 126), B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 248 ff., E. Löwy in the text to *Einzelaufnahmen* v. 27 ff. no. 1256, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 369 ff. no. 1423 pl. 68 with bibliography.

Furtwängler took this relief to represent the Athena *Lemnía* of Pheidias receiving a helmet from Hephaistos the natural protector of Athenian *klerouchoi* in Lemnos. To account for the relief having been found at Epidauros, he suggested that it may have decorated the base of a *stéle* bearing some decree of the said *klerouchoi*.

Reisch and Sauer regard the subject as reflecting the Hephaistos and Athena *Hephaistía* made by Alkamenes for the Hephaisteion (the so-called 'Theseion') at Athens. See further E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 6 ff.

Löwy holds that the god is not Hephaistos at all, but a common type of Asklepios. He thinks that Athena, paying a friendly visit to Asklepios, here doffs her armour in token of the guest-friendship enjoyed by Athenians at Epidauros, while Asklepios extends his right hand towards her with a gesture of greeting (cp. an Attic relief of 398/7 B.C. published by P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1878 ii. 37 ff. pl. 10, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 145 fig. 71, E. Löwy in the text to *Einzelaufnahmen* v. 2 f. no. 1212). But the absence of a snake (unless indeed it was added in paint, which is just conceivable) tells heavily against the identification of the god as Asklepios (contrast *e.g.* Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 2985 pl. 197, 1); and his right hand was certainly touching the helmet, not greeting the goddess.

Svoronos, ingenious as ever, agrees with Löwy in naming the god Asklepios, but argues that Athena is offering him her helmet and shield. In this we are to see a symbolic allusion to the events of the year 338 B.C., when Philip after the victory of Chaironeia marched against Sparta at the head of an irresistible force. In the nick of time Asklepios came to the rescue from Epidauros (Isyll. F 65 f. Powell, E 60 f. Diehl *τοῖς 'Ασκληπιὸς <ἦ>λθε βοαθόος ἐξ 'Επιδαύρου | τιμῶν 'Ηρακλέος γενεάν· ἃς φείδετο ἅρα Ζεύς*) and appeared to the boy Isyllos clad in golden armour (Isyll. F 68 f. Powell, E 63 f. Diehl *τῶι τύγα ποστείχοντι συνάντησας σὺν ὅπλοισιν | λαμπόμενος χρυσέοισ', 'Ασκλαπιέ*). Svoronos surmises that Athens sent arms to Sparta through the agency of Epidauros, and that this relief was set up in Epidauros to commemorate the fact as soon as the death of Alexander made an anti-Macedonian dedication possible. Accordingly he would date the relief *c.* 322 B.C., comparing a very similar relief of that year (*Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 246 f. no. 1331 pl. 36, 1). The whole hypothesis is clever, but frail.

[1] P. Arndt *La Glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 31 f. pl. 20, c (= my fig. 127), *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* i no. 35 pl. 3, E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 82.

[2] G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1767 p. 151 ff. pl. 111, G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 249 pls. 52, 53, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 201 f. Atlas pl. 8, 8, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 65 ff. pl. 75, 961, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 700 f. fig. 759, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2733, Robert *Sark.-Relfs* ii. 2 ff. pl. 1, 1, 1*a*, 1*b*, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 143 no. 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[2] Leipzig 1913 ii. 436 f. no. 1887.

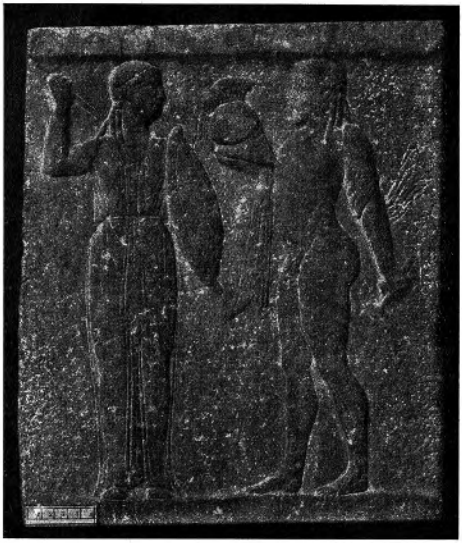


Fig. 127.

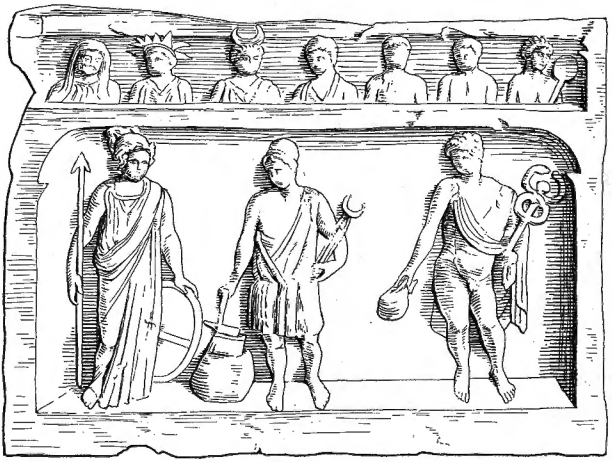


Fig. 128.

headed by Hephaistos and Athena, the former bearing sword[1] and shield, the latter helmet and spear[2]. Since the whole composition is ingeniously built up of pre-existing types[3], we must suppose that Hephaistos and Athena as armourers were already sufficiently familiar. In this capacity we can trace them further afield. Crude provincial reliefs from Heddernheim (figs. 128, 129)[4] show a group

Fig. 129.

[1] On the famous *μάχαιρα* made by Hephaistos for Peleus (Hes. *frag.* 110 Flach, 79 Rzach *ap.* schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 95; schol. Pind. *Nem.* 4. 88; schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 1063; Zenob. 5. 20, Makar. 5. 86; Souid. *s.v. μέγα φρονεῖ μᾶλλον ἢ Πηλεὺς ἐπὶ τῇ μαχαίρᾳ*) see L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1832 f. Other Ἡφαιστότευκτα are listed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1309 f. and C. Picard in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 998.

[2] Cheiron presented Peleus with a spear made of ash-wood from Mt Pelion (*Il.* 16. 143 f. = *ib.* 19. 390 f., *Cypria frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. A.D. *Il.* 16. 140, Apollod. 3. 13. 5. The schol. A.D. *Il.* 16. 140 adds *φασὶ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶν μὲν ξέσαι αὐτό, Ἥφαιστον δὲ κατασκευάσαι*).

[3] W. Helbig *op. cit.* ii. 437.

[4] E. Maass *Die Tagesgötter in Rom und den Provinzen aus der Kultur des Niederganges*

of three standing deities—Volcanus with Minerva at his right hand and Mercurius at his left—surmounted by busts representing the days of the week[1]. Volcanus is here possibly a Roman substitute for Donar[2], Minerva for Holda[3], Mercurius for Wodan[4]. In any case Volcanus and Minerva patronise arts and crafts, while Mercurius encourages trade. A contrast to these poor efforts is provided by the handsome numismatic types of Rome and Romanised Greece. Magnificent medallions issued by Antoninus Pius in his own name

Fig. 130.

(fig. 131)[5] and in that of his wife Faustina the Elder[6] portray the ambitious scene of Hephaistos forging a thunderbolt for the Thunderer's daughter. She stands before him, her right hand outstretched to take the bolt, her left resting on her hip. Behind

der antiken Welt Berlin 1902 p. 233 f. with figs. 25 (= my fig. 128) and 26 (= my fig. 129), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 526 no. 4, 528 no. 8, *Germania Romana* Bamberg 1922 p. xvi pl. 53, 3.

[1] *Supra* ii. 69 f.

[2] *Supra* ii. 63 n. 1. But see on the other side G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 367.

[3] *Supra* ii. 65, 66 n. 0, 94 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* ii. 59, 63 n. 0, 69, 94 n. 1, 386 n. 6.

[5] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 65 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 388 no. 1156 fig., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 916, Kubitschek *Röm. Medaillons Wien* p. 3 no. 24 pl. 2, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 nos. 77 and 78 (140—143 A.D.) pl. 52, 4, 18 no. 83 (155 A.D.) pl. 51, 3 (= my fig. 130).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 12 no. 6 pl. 17, 3, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 26 no. 18 pl. 59, 1.

her we perceive shield, snake, and olive-tree—the *insignia* of the Athenian goddess. Another medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 131)[1], followed by imperial coins of Samos[2], Thyateira (fig. 132)[3], and Magnesia ad Maeandrum[4], harks back to older models by combining the pillar of the *Parthénos* with the helmet of the '*Lemnia*.' Yet another of Antoninus' numerous medallions (fig. 133)[5] shows Hephaistos holding a hammer and forging a shield on his anvil. Before him is a helmet set on a tall *cippus*, behind him a shield, and in the background uplifted on a pedestal the statue of Athena *Parthénos*. Finally, a white paste of the Graeco-Roman period (*s.* i B.C.—*s.* i A.D.) now at Berlin has the head of Hephaistos eclipsing that of Athena, both heads being in profile on disks resembling coins[6].

Fig. 131.

Fig. 132.

Fig. 133.

Of greater importance than these artistic variations of a common theme is the evidence supplied by definite religious usage. Hephaistos and Athena appear to have had a joint festival, the Chalkeia, on the last day of Pyanopsion[7] at the very beginning of

[1] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 51 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 384 f. no. 1144 fig. (= my fig. 131).

[2] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 606.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 306 pl. 31, 5 (= my fig. 132) Commodus, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 469 no. 14 Commodus, Rasche *Lex. Num.* xi. 946, 947.

[4] Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 292 no. 92 Maximinus, Rasche *Lex. Num.* xi. 947, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 583.

[5] Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 63 f. fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] ii. 387 f. no. 1155 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 no. 82 (152 A.D.) pl. 52, 7 (= my fig. 133).

[6] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 196 no. 4875 pl. 35, G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti* Roma 1767 i. 208 ff. ('Ulisse e Telemaco'!) pl. 153.

[7] Harpokr. *s.v.* Χαλκεῖα· ...τὰ Χαλκεῖα ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις < τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ (*ins.* Meursius) > ἀγομένη Πυανεψιῶνος ἐνῃ καὶ νέᾳ, χειρώναξι κοινή, μάλιστα δὲ χαλκεῦσιν, ὥς φησιν Ἀπολλώνιος ὁ Ἀχαρνεύς (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 313 Müller, Apollonios of Acharnai (*c.* 100 B.C. according to E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 134 no. 72) περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἑορτῶν *frag.* 3 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 99 f.)). Φανόδημος δὲ οὐκ Ἀθηνᾷ φησιν ἄγεσθαι τὴν ἑορτὴν ἀλλ' Ἡφαίστῳ (Phanodemos (on whom see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 110) *frag.* 22 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 369 Müller)).

winter[1]. Apollonios of Acharnai, a writer on Athenian festivals, states that the rite was observed by all the craftsmen, especially the coppersmiths, of Athens. Souidas remarks that some called it the Athenaia, while others described it as a festival of the whole folk[2]. It was, he adds, an ancient festival once celebrated by all the people, which had come to be viewed as an affair of the artisans only, since Hephaistos had wrought bronze in Attike. Phanodemos the Atticist even denied that Athena had any part or lot in it[3]. But here, as V. von Schoeffer[4] points out, he must have been mistaken, for this was the day on which the priestesses with the *Arrhephóroi* began to weave Athena's *péplos*[5]. Moreover, we have no sufficient

γέγραπται δὲ καὶ Μενάνδρῳ δρᾶμα Χαλκεῖα. Souid. *s.v.* Χαλκεῖα· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἃ τινες Ἀθήναια καλοῦσιν· οἱ δὲ Πάνδημον διὰ τὸ ὑπὸ πάντων ἄγεσθαι, Χαλκεῖα δὶς· ἑορτὴ ἀρχαία καὶ δημώδης πάλαι, ὕστερον δὲ ὑπὸ μόνων ἠγετο τῶν τεχνιτῶν, ὅτι ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ χαλκὸν εἰργάσατο. ἔστι δὲ ἕνη καὶ νέα τοῦ Πυανεψιῶνος· ἐν ᾗ καὶ < αἱ (*ins.* A.B.C.) > ἱέρειαι μετὰ τῶν ἀρρηφόρων τὸν πέπλον διάζονται, Χαλκεῖα *ter*· ἑορτὴ παρ' Ἀθηναίοις κ.τ.λ. (from Harpokr. *loc. cit.*). Souid. Χαλκεῖα *bis* is repeated by the *et. mag.* p. 805, 43 ff. and in part by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 284, 36 f. Harpokr. Χαλκεῖα is transcribed *in extenso* by Favorin. *lex.* p. 1854, 27 ff.

[1] See the diagram *supra* i. 691 fig. 511.

[2] On the connotation of the word *πάνδημος* see W. Dittenberger 'ΔΙΟΝΤΣΟΣ ΔΗΜΟΤΕΛΗΣ' in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 474 ff. citing Zeus Πάνδημος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 7, 17 f. [τοῦ Διὸς το]ῦ Ἐλευθερίου καὶ πρὸ|[τοῦ ἱεροῦ − − − τ]οῦ Διὸς τοῦ Παν[δήμου]. Cp. *quasi*-autonomous bronze coins of Synnada with *obv.* head of ΙϹVϹ ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟϹ, *rev.* CVNNAΔЄΩN IΩNΩN Mt Persis (?) (Imhoof-Blumer *Choix de*

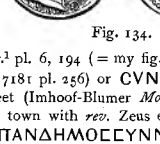


Fig. 134.

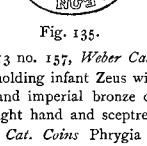


Fig. 135.

monn. gr.[1] pl. 6, 194 (= my fig. 134), *id. Monn. gr.* p. 413 no. 157, *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 2 no. 7181 pl. 256) or CVNNA ΔЄΩN Amaltheia holding infant Zeus with goat at her feet (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 413 no. 158) and imperial bronze coins of the same town with *rev.* Zeus enthroned with Nike in right hand and sceptre in left [I]ЄVϹΠΑΝΔΗΜΟϹϹVNNAΔЄΩN (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. 399 no. 39 Domitian (= my fig. 135 from a cast)), ZЄVϹϹ ΠΑΝΔΗ[ΜΟϹ] CVNNAΔЄΩ N (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 294 no. 14 Nerva, now at Berlin), or ΔΙΑ ΠΑΝΔΗΜΟΝ CVNNAЄIϹ (*sic*) (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 368 no. 987 Nerva) or CVNNAΔЄIϹ (*id. ibid.* and Suppl. vii. 622 no. 593 Nerva, after D. Sestini *Descrizione di altre medaglie greche del Museo del Signore Carlo d'Ottavio Fontana di Trieste* Firenze 1829 iii. 80. For the legend see *supra* ii. 950 f. fig. 842 ΔΙΑ ΙΔΑΙΟΝ ΙΛΙЄIϹ), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 686).

[3] Cp. Poll. 7. 105 Χαλκεῖα *ἑορτὴ ἐν τῇ* Ἀττικῇ Ἡφαίστου *ἱερά*.

[4] V. von Schoeffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2067.

[5] Souid. *s.v.* Χαλκεῖα *bis* (cited *supra* p. 212 n. 0) = *et. mag.* p. 805, 46 f.

reason to doubt Souidas' statement that the festival itself was sometimes called the Athenaia[1]. Indeed, a fragmentary inscription found on the Akropolis might be held to connect the goddess with the Chalkeia[2]. On the whole we are justified in concluding that the festival was common to both deities, but that Hephaistos bulked bigger at it than Athena. *En revanche,* in the Erechtheion, where Athena *Poliás* had the whole of the eastern chamber, Hephaistos was content with a mere altar[3]. The two obtained full and equal recognition in the Hephaisteion on the Market Hill[4], at the foot of which the coppersmiths plied their trade[5]. A decree[6] of the year 421/0 B.C. concerning the celebration of the Hephaistia mentions the sanctuary (?)' 'of Hephaistos and Athenaia' and enacts 'that the Council' set up 'the altar for Hephaistos' and 'make his' statue (?)[8].

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Χαλκεῖα (cited *supra* p. 212 n. 0). Souidas' statement is accepted *e.g.* by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1098, A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 280, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 314, v. 378 n.[b], C. Robert in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 531, P. Stengel *Die griechischen Kultusalterthümer*[3] München 1920 p. 234. It is rejected by V. von Schoeffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2067.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 441 *e* [– – – *ὑπὲρ δ*]*ὴν ἀπαγγέλ*[*λουσι οἱ* – – – *περὶ τῆς θυσίας ἣ*]*ν ἔθυον τοῖς Χα*[*λκείοις* – – –, –]*αντο δὲ καὶ κ*[. .]*βυκ*[.]*ας τ*[*ὰς* – – –, *ἀγαθε*]*ι τύχει, δεδόχθαι τε*[*ῖ βο*]*υλεῖ, τὰ μὲν ἀγαθὰ δέχεσθαι, ἃ φασι*] *γεγονέν*[*αι*] *ἐν τοῖς ἱε*[*ροῖς οἷς ἔθυον ἐφ' ὑγιείαι καὶ σωτηρ*]*ίαι τῆς τε βουλῆς καὶ* [*τοῦ δήμου καὶ παίδων καὶ γυναικῶν*] *καὶ τῶν συμμάχω*[*ν· ἐπαι*]*νέσαι δὲ* – – – –]*ιν τῆς θεοῦ τοὺς ἐπ*[*ὶ* – – – *ἀρχοντος καὶ τὸν* – – *αὐ*]*τῶν Στρατ*[*ό*]*λα*[*ον* – – – *καὶ στεφανῶσαι*] *ἕκαστον* _ *α*[*ὐτὸν χρυσῶι στεφάνωι κατὰ τὸν νόμον εὐσεβείας*] *ἕνεκ*[*εν τῆς πρὸς τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ φιλοτιμίας τῆς εἰς τὴν βο*]*υλὴν* [*καὶ τὸν δῆμον κ.τ.λ.*]. See H. G. Lolling in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1888 p. 314 no. 6.

[3] Paus. 1. 26. 5 *ἐσελθοῦσι δὲ εἰσὶ βωμοί, Ποσειδῶνος, ἐφ' οὗ καὶ Ἐρεχθεῖ θύουσιν ἕκ του* (so É. Clavier and R. Porson for *ἐκ τοῦ* codd.) *μαντεύματος, καὶ ἥρωος Βούτου, τρίτος δὲ Ἡφαίστου.* The exact position of these altars, which have perished, is unknown. They are commonly thought to have stood in the western part of the building: see Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*, but also J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Massachusetts 1927 pp. 484, 491 (locating them 'in the central room or rooms').

Id. ib. p. 484 ff. fig. 206, A—C publishes two thrones for the priest of Boutes (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1656=iii no. 302 *ἱερέως* | *Βούτου*) and for the priest of Hephaistos (*ἱερέως* | *Ἡφαίστου*), which were originally carved from a single block of Pentelic marble and are inscribed in lettering of *s.* iv B.C. The former was found near the Erechtheion; the latter has been for some time on the terrace of the Hekatompedon. Whether they ever stood in the theatre of Dionysos is doubtful.

[4] Harpokr. *s.v.* Κολωνέται.

[5] Andok. *or.* 1. 40, Bekker *anecd.* i. 316, 23 f.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 46+iv. 1. 2 no. 35 *b* = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 12 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 84. Vv. 17 [. . . . .]*τῶ ἱε*[*φα*]*ίστο καὶ τῆς Ἀθεναίας* [– – –], 38 f. *τὸν δὲ βομὸν τôι ἑφαι*[*στοι* . . . . .] | [. . . . .] *το ποιεσάτο ἑ βολὲ καθότι ἂν αὐτῆ*[*ι δοκῆι* . . . . .].

[7] L. Ziehen *op. cit.* ii. 54: 'nescio an sermo fuerit de loco certaminis scribendumque sit *ἐν τôι ἱερôι τôι τῶ Ἡφαίστο καὶ τῆς Ἀθεναίας.*' E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 60 had inferred 'dass das Fest dem Hephaistos und der Athene gemeinsam galt.'

[8] L. Ziehen *op. cit.* ii. 55: 'v. 38 sq. Kirchhoff acute ita refinxit *τὸν δὲ βωμὸν τῶι Ἡφαί*[*στωι ἱδρυσάτω καὶ τἄγαλμα τὸ τοῦ Ἡφαίσ*]*τον ποιησάτω ἡ βουλή κτλ.*, quae supple-

His statue must be taken to include the whole cult-monument; for another decree[1] has preserved the accounts of a state-commission appointed in the self-same year and charged with the duty of erecting two statues on a single base in the Hephaistion, which statues—it would seem—were completed four years later in 416. The accounts specify a great quantity of bronze as purchased for the

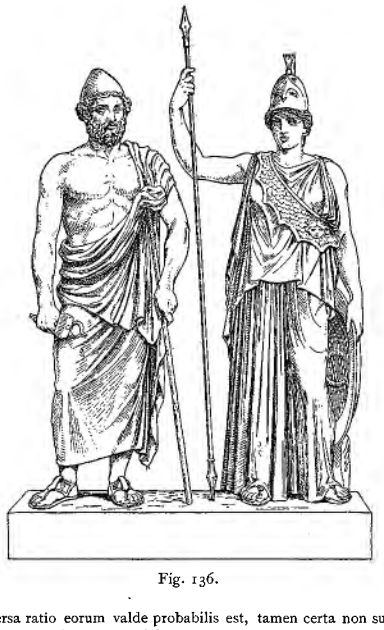


Fig. 136.

menta etsi universa ratio eorum valde probabilis est, tamen certa non sunt.' E. Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 61 argues well in support of them.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 318+A. Wilhelm in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1922 p. 43 pl.+*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 319 (Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 316 ff. no. 116)=*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i nos. 370, 371. No. 370, 2 *ἐπιστάται ἀγαλμάτοιν ε[ἰ]σ τὸ h]εφαίστιον* (list of names). No. 371, 2 ff. *χαλκὸς ἐονέθ[ε − − − τάλαντα − −] | καίδεκα καὶ μναῖ δέκ[α]. τι[μ]ὲ [τὸ ταλάντο τρι]άκοντα πέντε δραχμαί.* || *χαττίτερος ἐονέθε ἐς τὸ ἄνθεμο[ν, τάλαντον] | καὶ ἡμιτάλαντον καὶ μναῖ εἴκοσι τ̣[ρῆς καὶ] | ἡμιμναῖον, τὸ τάλαντον διακοσίον τρ[ιάκ]οντα δραχμῶν. τιμέ. vacat* || *μισθὸς τοῖς ἐργασαμένοις τὸ ἀν[θ]εμον ἁυπ[ὸ] | τὲν ἀσπίδα καὶ τὸν πετάλον τὸν ἁύ[σσ]ερον | προσμισθοθέντον.* || *μόλυβδος τôι ἀνθέμοι καὶ τοῖς δεσμοῖς τὸν | λίθον τô βάθρο, κρατευται δόδεκα, τιμέ.* || *χσύλα καὶ ἄνθρακες τôι μολ[ύ]βδο[ι].* || *τράπεζαν ποιέσαντι.* || *μισθὸς ἐσαγαγόντ[ι] τὸ [ἀγ]άλματε καὶ | στέσαντι ἐν τôι νεôι.* || *κ.τ.λ.*

statues and note that tin was bought for 'the floral ornament (*ánthemon*) beneath the shield.' Hence E. Reisch[1] concludes that the statues in question were two bronze effigies of Hephaistos and Athena. Further, since a famous statue of Hephaistos, standing and so draped as to minimise his lameness, is known to have been made for Athens by Alkamenes[2], and since Athena with her shield supported on a floral ornament is a type existing in several replicas[3] which are held to reflect more or less closely the style of that great

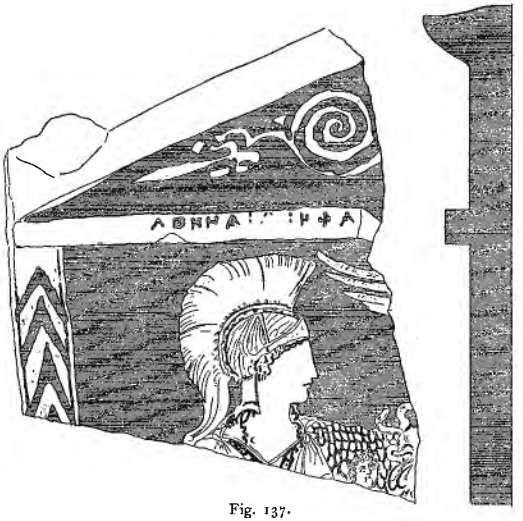


Fig. 137.

sculptor, Reisch not unreasonably attributes the whole group to him[4]. B. Sauer[5], accepting these results, goes further and attempts a restoration on paper (fig. 136), which may at least give us some notion of Alkamenes' group. Athena thus linked with Hephaistos came

[1] E. Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 56 ff.

[2] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 83, Val. Max. 8. 11. *ext.* 3.

[3] *E.g.* the Athena of the Musée Cherchel (Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 64 ff. fig. 33), the Athena from Crete in the Louvre (*id. ib.* p. 72 f. fig. 35), the Athena of the Villa Borghese (*id. ib.* p. 74 ff. fig. 36).

[4] E. Reisch in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 p. 21, *id.* 'Athene Hephaistia' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 55—93 with pl. 3 and figs. 32—38.

[5] B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 246 ff. ('Rekonstruktion') with fig. on p. 250 (= my fig. 136).

to be called by the curious[1] appellation *Hephaistía*[2]. In 343/2 B.C. Phanodemos son of Diyllos, jealous as ever for the credit of Hephaistos[3], proposed a decree[4] which directed that a certain 'statue be dedicated to Hephaistos and to Athena *Hephaistía*.' After this we hear no more of the temple-deities for a good five hundred years. But they were still there in Pausanias'[5] time:

'Above the Kerameikos and the King's Portico as they term it is a temple of Hephaistos. Knowing the tale told about Erichthonios, I was not surprised to find that a statue of Athena stands beside the god; but observing that her statue has glaucous eyes I recognised the myth as Libyan. For the Libyans say that she is a daughter of Poseidon and the lake Tritonis and that therefore her eyes are glaucous like Poseidon's.'

A bronze statue might, as Reisch[6] suggests, have had eyes inlaid with silver; more probably they were of precious stone[7] or vitreous

[1] E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 8 n. 1: 'It has been suggested to me by Mr G. F. Hill that Athena Hephaestia is a title very difficult to parallel in Greek mythology, if the name be derived directly from Hephaestus; such epithets are more commonly local in origin, and this one suggests Hephaestia in Lemnos, where there was a prominent cult of the goddess, attested by coins, and where she was associated in worship with Hephaestus. He further suggests that the famous Athena Lemnia of Phidias, whose association with Athenian cleruchs is a mere conjecture, was but another form of this Athena Hephaestia. In both alike the goddess was represented in her more peaceful aspect, as patroness of art and handicraft. The suggestion of a Lemnian association is peculiarly appropriate in a work attributed to Alcamenes, who was himself a Lemnian.'

A parallel to Athena Ἡφαιστία is Herakles Ἥραιος (Hesych. Ἥραιον· Ἡρακλέα). Cp. perhaps Hera Εὐρωπία (*supra* i. 532).

[2] Hesych. Ἡφαιστία· Ἀθηνᾶ. καὶ πόλις τῆς Λήμνου. E. Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 89 ff. fig. 38 (= my fig. 137) recognised the appellative on the fragment of a painted terra-cotta *pínax* from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 784 f. no. 2759, O. Benndorf *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* Berlin (1868) p. 18 f. pl. 4, 2, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* iii pl. 2. 3), which dates from the latter part of *s.* v B.C. and is inscribed ΛΟΗΝΑΙΛ : ΗΦΑ[ΙΣΤΙΑ].

[3] *Supra* p. 211 n. 7.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 114, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 100, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 223, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 227: *b*, 17 ff. [Φα]ν̣ό[δημος Δι]ύλλου Θυμαιτάδης εἶπεν·-- | – ανα --ον ἐλέσθαι τὴν βουλὴν αὐτίκ[α μάλα ---] Α Ι Α .. Α --| --στον καθότι ἂν αὐτοῖς δοκῆι ἄριστ[τ---] ἀναθεῖναι τό τε ἄγα|[λμα --τῶι Ἡφαίστωι κ]αὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Ἡφαιστίαι· ἐπιγρ[άψαι δὲ τὸ ψήφισμα τόδε καὶ τοὺς βουλ]ευτὰς πατρόθεν καὶ τοῦ δήμ[ου καὶ ὅτι ἔθυσαν] ἐφ' ὑγι[εί]αι καὶ σωτηρίαι τῆς βουλῆς καὶ τοῦ δήμου [τοῦ Ἀθηναίων]. Dittenberger in line 20 restores ἀναθεῖναι τό τε ἄγα|[λμα τῶι τε Ἡφαίστωι τὴν βο]υλ[ήν? κ]αὶ τῆι Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Ἡφαιστίαι.

[5] Paus. 1. 14. 6.

[6] E. Reisch *loc. cit.* p. 59. Cp. *supra* ii. 503 n. 0.

[7] Pheidias made the pupils of Athena *Parthénos* in precious stone (Plat. *Hipp. mai.* 290 c τοῦ οὖν ἕνεκα, φήσει, οὐ καὶ τὰ μέσα τῶν ὀφθαλμῶν ἐλεφάντινα εἰργάσατο, ἀλλὰ λίθινα, ὡς οἷόν τ' ἦν ὁμοιότητα τοῦ λίθου τῷ ἐλέφαντι ἐξευρών;), and his pupil Alkamenes may well have followed suit. The bronze statuette of a *kóre* from Verona (height, without pedestal, 6 inches) in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 17 no. 192 pl. 1, A. S. Murray *Greek Bronzes* London 1898 p. 28 pl. 1 Frontispiece, H. B. Walters *British Museum:*

Select Bronzes London 1915 pl. 2 with text), archaistic rather than archaic (Miss G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale University Press 1929 p. 137 with fig. 523, Miss W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 223 pl. 88, *a*), has the pupils of her eyes inlaid with crystals of diamond, though the date of their insertion is

Fig. 138.

now regarded as doubtful. I take this opportunity of publishing another small bronze (height 6⅝ inches) in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 175 f. no. 960 'Poseidon Hippios'), formerly in the Blacas collection. It represents Poseidon, laureate, with a *chlamys* over his left arm and a horse's head on his right hand. His left hand may have held a trident with the prongs downwards. The pupils of his eyes are garnets. My fig. 138 is from a photograph taken for me by Mr W. H. Hayles. See also Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 66 ferunt in ea insula (*sc.* Cypro) tumulo reguli Hermiae iuxta cetarias marmoreo

enamel[1]. One last allusion to Hephaistos and his partner is made two hundred and fifty years later by Saint Augustine[2]. After detailing the story of Erichthonios, the reputed child of Hephaistos and Athena, he continues:

'But it must be admitted that men of learning deny the charge and wholly exonerate their gods. They say this fanciful tale arose from the fact that in the temple at Athens, which is shared by Hephaistos and Athena, an exposed boy was found with a snake coiled about him. The snake signified that he would be famous. Accordingly, since the parents were unknown, his discovery in the joint temple led to him being called the son of Hephaistos and Athena. Yet,' adds Augustine with a sudden flash of shrewdness, 'it is the mythical fancy rather than the alleged fact that accounts for the child's name[3].'

There is little doubt that the myth of Erichthonios, whenever and wherever it originated, had as early as the fifth century B.C. become attached to the Hephaisteion. Variations on the type of Athena *Hephaistia* represent the goddess with a kindly maternal air, either bearing a basket from which a snake creeps over her bosom (fig. 139)[4], or dandling the infant on her arm (fig. 140)[5]. The myth itself—a crude, not to say ugly, narrative—is told as follows by Apollodoros[6]:

'Some state that he (*sc.* Erichthonios) was a son of Hephaistos and Atthis, daughter of Kranaos; others, that he was a son of Hephaistos and Athena on this wise. Athena came to Hephaistos, wanting him to make weapons. But he, being forsaken by Aphrodite, fell in love with Athena and began to pursue her. Thereupon she fled from him. And he, when he drew near to her with much

leoni fuisse inditos oculos e smaragdis ita radiantibus etiam in gurgitem, ut territi thynni refugerent, diu mirantibus novitatem piscatoribus, donec mutavere oculis gemmas, *ib.* 37. 186 Adadu...oculus (*supra* i. 569 n. 4).

[1] H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1884 iii. 209 f., 1887 iv. 330.

[2] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 12.

[3] *Id. ib.* sed quoniam Minervam virginem volunt, in amborum contentione Vulcanum commotum effudisse aiunt semen in terram atque inde homini nato ob eam causam tale inditum nomen. Graeca enim lingua ἔρις contentio, χθὼν terra est, ex quibus duobus compositum vocabulum est Erichthonius.

[4] A statue from Crete in the Louvre (no. 847). Height 1·42m. The back, the left arm, etc. are unfinished. See further P. Jamot 'Minerve à la ciste' in the *Monuments grecs publiés par l'Association pour l'encouragement des Études grecques en France* Nos. 21—22 1893—1894 pp. 17—39 with heliogravure pl. 12, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 275 no. 2, E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 55 fig. 32 (head in profile), 72 f. fig. 35 (after Jamot), E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 6 ff. fig. 2 (=my fig. 139).

[5] A statue from Frascati at Berlin (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 37 no. 72 fig. (= my fig. 140)). Height 1·82m. Italian marble. Restored: head, neck, right arm with shoulder, *Gorgóneion*; also the child's head and arms with the upper part of his body. See Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iii. 186 pl. 462 c, fig. 888 E, J. J. Bernoulli *Ueber die Minerven-Statuen* Basel 1867 p. 21.

[6] Apollod. 3. 14. 6, paraphrased also by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 111.

Fig. 139.

Fig. 140.

ado (for he was lame), attempted to consort with her. But she, being a chaste virgin, would not brook it, and he dropped his seed on the leg of the goddess. In disgust thereat she wiped off the seed with wool and flung it on the earth. So as she fled and the seed fell upon the earth Erichthonios was born.'

This narrative, as appears from a scholion on the *Iliad*[1], was drawn from the *Hekale* of Kallimachos[2]. Its far-fetched etymology is characteristic of the Alexandrine school. An older version, which involves a somewhat less fantastic *étymon*, is attributed by Eratosthenes[3] to Euripides[4], who certainly had leanings toward sophistic mythology[5]:

'With regard to the birth of Erichthonios, Euripides tells the following tale. Hephaistos being in love with Athena was minded to unite with her. But she turned her back upon him and, choosing rather to keep her virginity, hid herself in a certain spot of Attike[6], which they say was called after him *Hephaisteîon*. He, thinking to master her by assault, was struck by her spear and let drop his desire, the seed falling on the earth. Therefrom, they say, was born a child, who for this reason was called Erichthonios.'

The three derivations of the name *Eri*chthonios, which connected it successively with *éros* 'love,' *érion* 'wool,' and *éris* 'strife,' are of course all wrong[7]. But their very variety proves that they are not an essential element in the tale. It existed before them; for one of the scenes represented by Bathykles the Magnesian on the throne of Apollon at Amyklai is described by Pausanias as 'Athena fleeing from Hephaistos, who is pursuing her[8].' Bathykles made the throne

[1] Schol. A. D. *Il.* 2. 547.

[2] Kallim. *frag.* 61 Schneider. The sequel is preserved on a wooden tablet among the papyri of the Archduke Rainer in the Royal Library at Vienna (T. Gomperz in the *Mittheilungen aus der Sammlung der Papyrus Erzherzog Rainer* Wien 1897 vi. 9 f. col. 2, 2 ff. = Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2 Mair, cp. J. U. Powell—E. A. Barber *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Oxford 1921 p. 103).

[3] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 13 λέγει δὲ καὶ Εὐριπίδης περὶ τῆς γενέσεως αὐτοῦ τὸν τρόπον τοῦτον· "Ηφαιστον ἐρασθέντα Ἀθηνᾶς βούλεσθαι αὐτῇ μιγῆναι, τῆς δὲ ἀποστρεφομένης καὶ τὴν παρθενίαν μᾶλλον αἱρουμένης ἓν τινι τόπῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς κρύπτεσθαι, ὃν λέγουσι καὶ ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι Ἡφαιστεῖον (so F. C. Matthiae, followed by A. Olivieri, for "Ηφαιστον codd. C. G. Heyne cj. Ἡφαίστιον or Ἡφαίστου)· ὃς (C. Robert cj. ὅθεν A. Nauck cj. ὁ δὲ) δόξας αὐτὴν κρατήσειν καὶ ἐπιθέμενος πληγεὶς ὑπ' αὐτῆς τῷ δόρατι ἀφῆκε τὴν ἐπιθυμίαν, φερομένης εἰς τὴν γῆν τῆς σπορᾶς· ἐξ ἧς γεγενῆσθαι λέγουσι παῖδα, ὃς ἐκ τούτου Ἐριχθόνιος ἐκλήθη, κ.τ.λ.

[4] Eur. *frag.* 925 Nauck[2] *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 13, cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 394, 20 ff. Eyssenhardt, Tertull. *de spectac.* 9.

[5] *Supra* p. 94 f.

[6] J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 441 would identify the spot as Marathon on the strength of Nonn. *Dion.* 27. 317 ff. καὶ σύ, τελεσσιγόνου φιλοπάρθενε νυμφὶ Γαίης, | ἠρεμέεις, "Ηφαιστε, καὶ οὐκ ἀλέγεις Μαραθῶνος, | ἧχι θεᾶς ἀγάμου γάμιον σέλας;

[7] *Supra* p. 181 n. 1.

[8] Paus. 3. 18. 13 καὶ Ἀθηνᾶ διώκοντα ἀποφεύγουσά ἐστιν "Ηφαιστον.

perhaps in the middle of the sixth century B.C.[1], perhaps rather in its last quarter[2], and we have here either—as C. Robert[3] suggested —the record of an ancient Ionic myth concerning Hephaistos' love for Athena or—as L. Malten[4] contends—the first appearance of the Attic myth in which Erichthonios figured as the earthborn offspring of Hephaistos' frustrate desire. Bathykles' design certainly included Hephaistos and Athena; but it hardly justifies us in inferring the Erichthonios-sequel. Athena pursued by Hephaistos was a sixth-century *motif*, which seems for some time to have existed independently and later to have been supplemented by the episode of Erichthonios. Thus an early red-figured *amphora* from Bologna (fig. 141)[5] has on the one side Athena pursued by Hephaistos, on the other a bearded male with a long sceptre—presumably Zeus. But Lucian describes a picture in which 'Hephaistos in love is pursuing Athena, she is fleeing from him, and

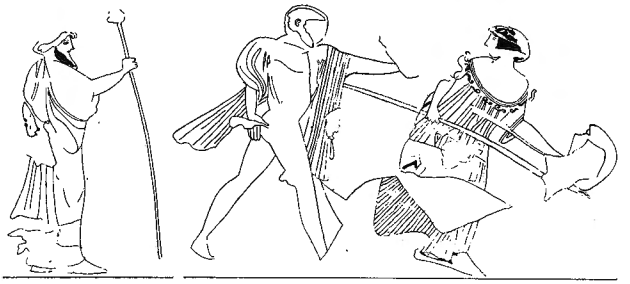


Fig. 141.

[1] Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 351.

[2] C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 136, L. Malten in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 425, 446. D. S. Robertson in his admirably careful work *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 105 says 'probably in the second half of the sixth century B.C.'

[3] C. Robert *loc. cit.* iii. 130 no. (20). So too E. Reisch in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1898 i. 83, B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 p. 57, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 441, O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Dez. 19, 1908 p. 1598.

[4] L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 349.

[5] A. Zannoni *Gli Scavi della Certosa di Bologna* Bologna 1876 p. 353 pl. 102, 5 (shape of 'anforetta'), 6 (obverse), 7 (reverse) (of which, 6 and 7 = my fig. 141). Obv.: Hephaistos, clad in a *chlamys*, pursues Athena, who is wearing her *aigis* and holds her spear in the right hand, her helmet in the left. Rev.: a bearded male figure ('Giove?') standing to the right with a long staff or sceptre.

from his pursuit Erichthonios is born[1]. Elsewhere he insists that the pantomime must be familiar with the whole range of Attic mythology—'all that is told of Athena, all that is told of Hephaistos and Erichthonios[2],' etc. The attempt of Hephaistos on Athena might no doubt shock those who worshipped the Virgin goddess, and that sufficiently accounts for the evasive versions of Euripides[3] and Kallimachos[4]. But mythological apologists had facile answers to all questionings. Athena had been given to Hephaistos but had vanished at the critical moment[5]. Athena was Hephaistos' reward for freeing Hera from the magic throne that he had made[6]. Athena was the price paid by Zeus to Hephaistos for his manufacture of the thunderbolt[7], or for his services in cleaving the celestial head[8].

[1] Loukian. *de domo* 27 εἶτα μετὰ ταύτην ἄλλη Ἀθηνᾶ, οὐ λίθος αὕτη γε ἀλλὰ γραφὴ πάλιν· Ἥφαιστος αὐτὴν διώκει ἐρῶν, ἡ δὲ φεύγει, κἀκ τῆς διώξεως Ἐριχθόνιος γίγνεται.

[2] Loukian. *de salt.* 39 καὶ ὅσα περὶ Ἀθηνᾶς καὶ ὅσα περὶ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἐριχθονίου, κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* p. 220.

[4] *Supra* p. 218 ff.

[5] Amelesagoras (on whom see *supra* p. 157 n. 9) *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 22 Müller) *ap.* Antig. *hist. mir.* 12 φησὶν γὰρ Ἡφαίστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς συγκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον εἰς γῆν πεσόντα προΐεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον, κ.τ.λ. (cited *infra* p. 237 n. 5).

[6] Hyg. *fab.* 166 Vulcanus Iovi c[a]eterisque diis solia aurea (so J. Scheffer for *soleas aureas* cod. F. T. Muncker cj. also *sellas aureas*) ex (J. Perizonius cj. *nexa*) adamante cum fecisset, Iuno cum sedisset subito in aëre pendere coepit. quod cum ad Vulcanum missum esset, ut matrem quam ligaverat solveret, iratus quod de coelo praecipitatus erat negat se matrem ullam habere. quem cum Liber pater ebrium in concilio (B. Bunte cj. *concilium*) deorum adduxisset, pietati negare non potuit: tum optionem a Iove accepit, si quid ab iis petiisset, impetraret. tunc ergo Neptunus, quod Minervae erat infestus, instigavit Vulcanum Minervam petere in coniugium. qua re impetrata in thalamum cum venisset, Minerva monitu Iovis virginitatem suam armis defendit, interque luctandum ex semine eius quod in terram decidit natus est puer, qui inferiorem partem draconis habuit; quem Erichthonium ideo nominarunt, quod ἔρις Graece certatio dicitur, χθὼν autem terra dicitur. etc.

[7] Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 11 Vulcanus cum Iovi fulmen efficeret, ab Iove promissum accepit ut quidquid vellet praesumeret. ille Minervam in coniugium petivit; Iuppiter imperavit ut Minerva armis virginitatem defendisset. dumque cubiculum introirent, certando Vulcanus semen in pavimentum iecit; unde natus est Erictonius (*erichthonius* codd. R. D. G.) [cum draconteis pedibus (only in cod. Marc.)]; eris enim Grece certamen dicitur, ctonus vero terra nuncupatur. etc. Cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 4. 62 and *georg.* 3. 113, Myth. Vat. 1. 128, 2. 37, 2. 40, 3. 10. 3.

[8] *Et. mag.* p. 371, 35 ff. ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος ἀποκυῆσαι ἐκ τοῦ ἐγκεφάλου αὐτοῦ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐδεῖτο συνεργοῦ τοῦ πλήξοντος τὴν κεφαλὴν ἵνα ἀποκυήσῃ (so F. Sylburg for ἀποκυηθῇ codd.)· καὶ δὴ λόγους προσφέρει τῷ Ἡφαίστῳ περὶ τούτου. ὁ δὲ Ἥφαιστος οὐκ ἄλλως εἵλετο σχίσαι τὴν κεφαλὴν τοῦ Διός, εἰ μὴ τὴν γεννωμένην διαπαρθενεύσει· καὶ ἡνέσχετο ὁ Ζεύς. καὶ λαβὼν τὴν βουπλῆγα τέμνει τὴν κεφαλὴν αὐτοῦ, καὶ ἐξέρχεται ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, καὶ ἐπεδίωκεν αὐτὴν ὁ Ἥφαιστος ἵνα συγγένηται· καὶ ἐπιδιώκων ἀπεσπέρμηνεν εἰς τὸν μηρὸν τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς· ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ λαβοῦσα ἔριον ἐξέμαξε τὸ σπέρμα καὶ ἔρριψεν ἐν τῇ γῇ· καὶ ἐγένετο ἐκ τῆς γῆς καὶ τοῦ ἐρίου ἄνθρωπος δρακοντόπους, ὃς ἐκαλεῖτο Ἐριχθόνιος ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐρίου καὶ τῆς χθονὸς λαβὼν τὸ ὄνομα τοῦτο = Nonnos Abbas *in* Greg. Naz. *c. Iulian.* 2. 27 (xxxvi. 1050 Migne) printed as *Append. narr.* 3 p. 359, 24 ff. Westermann = Eudok. *viol.* 1e. The theme is first handled by Loukian. *dial. deor.* 8 ὥστε, ὦ Ζεῦ, μαίωτρά μοι ἀπόδος ἐγγυήσας ἤδη αὐτήν. κ.τ.λ.

Such explanations are the expiring efforts of the mythopoeic mind; but at least they imply that there was something to be explained. And that something was the startlingly blasphemous, but ancient, orthodox, and wholly irrepressible, conviction that Hephaistos was the mate of Athena.

Now the pairing of Hephaistos with Athena has often been regarded as a mere juxtaposition of two deities drawn together by their common patronage of the arts and crafts[1]. And doubtless that community of interest did much to strengthen their union. But the root of the matter goes deeper. When we remember that the grouping together of these two occurs already in Homeric verse[2] and Hesiodic myth[3], that it is attested by the ancient pandemic festival of the Chalkeia[4], that it produced the Hephaisteion[5], one of the noblest fifth-century buildings of Athens[6], and finally that the cult-statues of Hephaistos and Athena *Hephaistía*, in all probability the work of Alkamenes[7], were there worshipped side by side for more than half a millennium[8], it becomes increasingly difficult to resist the impression that in the remote prehistoric past Hephaistos and Athena were simply husband and wife[9].

[1] See *e.g.* Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 119 f., F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1991, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 377 (a more cautious statement: 'his association in Attica with Athena, which may have been devised originally to connect some prominent tribe that worshipped him with the national religious polity, was regarded as the natural fellowship of the divinities of art').

[2] *Supra* p. 200 f. [3] *Supra* p. 201. [4] *Supra* p. 211 ff. [5] *Supra* p. 213 f.

[6] The identification of the 'Theseion' with the Hephaisteion, first mooted by D. Sourmeles 'Αττικά[2] Athens 1863 p. 165 ff. and P. Pervanoglu 'Das Hephaesteion in Athen' in *Philologus* 1868 xxvii. 660—672, was better founded by H. G. Lolling in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 p. 17 ff. and B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion* Leipzig 1899 pp. 11 f., 255 ff., and is now the almost universally accepted opinion (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 325 n. 4, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 507 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 378). H. Koch and E. v. Stockar, after a thorough examination of the 'Theseion' and its sculptures, would refer the extant building to the decade 450—440 B.C. (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. pp. 706—721 with 8 figs., summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 174 f.). D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 pp. 118, 328 dates it *c.* 428 B.C.

[7] *Supra* p. 215. [8] *Supra* p. 218.

[9] This has been seen with varying degrees of clearness by many scholars, *e.g.* O. Jahn *Archäologische Aufsätze* Greifswald 1845 p. 60 ff., F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 208, *id. Indogermanische Volksglaube* Berlin 1885 p. 122 f., A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2064, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 27 f., A. R. van der Loeff *De Iudis Eleusiniis* Lugduni-Batavorum 1903 p. 54, E. Petersen *Die Burgkapelle der Athenaia* Berlin 1907 p. 89, E. Fehrle *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* Giessen 1910 p. 188 f.

Ancient systematisers declared that the first Apollon was the son of Hephaistos by Athena (Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 55 Vulcani item complures: primus Caelo natus, ex quo et

My own opinion—if I may be allowed to state it with dogmatic brevity—is this. The Akropolis at Athens was originally called *Athéne*, a place-name comparable with the pre-Greek *Mykéne*, *Palléne*, *Mityléne*, *Priéne*, etc[1]. The old singular *Athéne*, thanks to its locatival form **Athenai*, gave rise to the new plural *Athénai*, just as *Mykéne* came to be replaced by *Mykênai* or *Thébe* (*Thebaigenés*) by *Thêbai*[2]. The goddess was named *Athéne* like the rock, because at the outset she *was* the rock, a mountain-mother of the usual Anatolian sort. In classical times her motherhood, at first perhaps compatible with renewed virginity[3], had passed into perpetual maidenhood. But the Elean women, tenacious of archaic beliefs[4], when their land was bereft of men, prayed that they might conceive so soon as they met their husbands, and on their prayer being heard

Minerva Apollinem eum, cuius in tutela Athenas antiqui historici esse voluerunt, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 3 p. 21, 5 f. Stählin ναὶ μὴν Ἀπόλλωνα ὁ μὲν Ἀριστοτέλης πρῶτον Ἡφαίστου καὶ Ἀθηνᾶς (ἐνταῦθα δὴ οὐκέτι παρθένος ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ), Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 sed et Minervae, inquiunt,...quinque sunt, ex quibus prima non virgo, sed ex Vulcano Apollinis procreatrix, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 86 p. 135, 8 f. Wünsch Ἥφαιστοι τέσσαρες· πρῶτος Οὐρανοῦ καὶ Ἡμέρας, πατὴρ Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἀθηναίων ἀρχηγέτου, 4. 142 p. 164, 7 f. Wünsch Ἀσκληπιοὶ τρεῖς λέγονται γενέσθαι· πρῶτος Ἀπόλλωνος τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, ὃς ἐξεῦρε μῆλην. There is confusion in Firm. Mat. 16. 1 quinque Minervas fuisse legentibus nobis tradit antiquitas. una est Vulcani filia, quae Athenas condidit, etc.). The passage from Clement is printed as Aristot. *frag.* 283 in *Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 994 speaks of the author as 'Aristotelis nescio cujus.' V. Rose *Aristoteles pseudepigraphus* Lipsiae 1863 p. 617 suspects a mistake for Aristokles of Rhodes (second half of *s.* i B.C.: see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 935 f.). But see now R. Münzel *Quaestiones mythographicae* Berlin 1883 p. 20, W. Michaelis *De origine indicis deorum cognominum* Berlin 1898 p. 47 f., R. Hirzel in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1896 p. 309 n. 3.

[1] P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1921 xi. 277, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 419.

[2] So K. F. Johansson in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1888 xiii. 111 ff. followed by K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[2] München 1890 p. 122. Particular points are criticised by L. Grasherger *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* Würzburg 1888 p. 147 ff. and F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1893 xxxii. 521 n. 1, while A. Thumb in K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 267 pronounces the whole contention 'sehr unsicher.' But the principle seems sound and is of wide application. Examples near at hand are *Coton* (W. W. Skeat *The Place-Names of Cambridgeshire* Cambridge 1901 p. 8: probably 'A. S. *cotum*, dative pl. of *cot*, a cottage...the prep. *æt* (at the) being understood') and *Newnham* (*id. ib.* p. 22 and J. B. Johnston *The Place-Names of England and Wales* London 1915 p. 380 f.: 'an O.E. dat., "at the new home"').

[3] Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in the spring Kanathos near Nauplia (Paus. 2. 38. 2 with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*). It was perhaps with the same intention that the Argive women once a year took the image of Athena and the shield of Diomedes (*Palládion*) to the river Inachos and washed them there (Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 1 ff. with schol. on lines 1 and 37). On the Athenian Plynteria as implying a *ἱερὸς γάμος* of Athena see the important discussion by E. Fehrle *Die kultische Keuschheit im Altertum* Giessen 1910 pp. 171—177. P. Saintyves *Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses* Paris 1908 pp. 1—280 ignores the topic.

[4] Cp. *supra* ii. 823 n. 1 (Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 36).

Votive relief in island marble, found on the Akropolis at Athens: a husband, with his wife and three children, brings a sow for sacrifice to Athena.

See page 225 *n.* 1.

founded a sanctuary of Athena *Méter*[1]. And at Athens, though Athena was *Parthénos*, yet even in the Parthenon her cult-image with its snakes and its pillar was, as we have seen[2], distinctly

[1] Paus. 5. 3. 2. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 303 comments: 'Athena Μήτηρ need mean little more than Athena the nurse or fosterer of children, just as the nurses who reared the infant Zeus in Crete were worshipped under the name of Μήτερες[b] ([b]Diod. Sic. 4. 79).' But see K. B. Stark in the *Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 243—275 and Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1206 n. 2, who cite Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 951 ff. (Dionysos entrusts the babe Bakchos or Iakchos, one of the twins borne him by Aura, to Athena as nurse) λαβὼν δέ μιν ὑψόθι δίφρου | νήπιον εἰσέτι Βάκχον ἐπώνυμον νῖα τοκῆος | Ἀθίδι μυστιπόλῳ παρακάθετο Βάκχος Ἀθήνῃ, | Εὐία παππάζοντα· θεὰ δέ μιν ἔνδοθι νηοῦ | Ἱλλὰς ἀνυμφεύτῳ θεοδέγμονι δέξατο κόλπῳ· | παιδὶ δὲ μαζὸν ὄρεξε, τὸν ἔσπασε μοῦνος Ἐρεχθεύς, | αὐτοχύτῳ στάζοντα νόθον γλάγος δμῳακι μαζῷ and Dion Cass. 59. 28 (Caligula named Caesonia's daughter Drusilla) ἐς τε τὸ Καπιτώλιον ἀνήγαγε καὶ ἐς τὰ τοῦ Διὸς γόνατα ὡς καὶ παῖδα αὐτοῦ οὖσαν ἀνέθηκε, καὶ τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ τιθηνεῖσθαι παρηγγύησεν. An Etruscan statuette of a winged Athena carries a naked infant (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (λ)).

H. von Prott's *dictum* in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 87 'Die Akropolis-Athena ist Meter, ihr Opfertier eine trächtige Sau' is justified by an early (first quarter of *s.* v B.C.) votive relief of island marble, found to the east of the Parthenon (G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 118 ff. no. 581 fig., B. Staes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 pp. 179—182 pl. 9, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 380 f. with fig. 196, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 618 ff. with fig. 314, E. Pfuhl in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1923 xlviii. 132—136 fig. 4), in which a family of husband, wife (pregnant), and three children (one holding a round object, perhaps a disk or ἀσπίδιον) bring a sow (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 290, P. Baur in *Philologus* 1899—1901 Suppl. viii. 484, 499, O. Walter *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* Wien 1923 p. 34 f. no. 48, cp. p. 70 f. no. 120 (?)) for sacrifice to an archaistic Athena (helmet carved, crest painted). K. Lehmann-Hartleben 'Athena als Geburtsgöttin' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiv. 19—28 fig. 1 (=my pl. xxviii)—an interesting article to which my attention was drawn by Mr A. D. Nock—concludes: 'Es handelt sich also offenbar um einen Bittgang für eine bevorstehende Geburt.' O. Weinreich *ib.* p. 28 acutely suggests that the 'foolish stories' told by Euhemeros and Varro with regard to the proverb ὗς τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, *sus Minervam* (Fest. p. 310 *b* 18 ff. Müller, p. 408, 14 ff. Lindsay) in reality gave the αἴτιον for a pig-sacrifice to Athena.

In this connexion it may be noticed that Niket. Chon. 359 B p. 739 Bekker says of a colossal statue in the Forum of Constantine at Constantinople—a statue almost certainly to be identified with the Bronze Athena of Pheidias (W. Gurlitt 'Die grosse eherne Athena des Pheidias' in *Analecta Graeciensia* Graz 1893 pp. 101—121. *E contra* S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1907 xx. 399—417)—εἶχε δὲ κἀπὶ τοῖς στέρνοις ὀρθότιτθον ὃν ποικίλον αἰγιδῶδες ἐπένδυμα. Athena is *ὀρθότιτθος* in many archaising reliefs and vase-paintings (*e.g. supra* pl. xxviii, E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 pl. 8, 1—3, pl. 9, 3, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pls. 47 a, 47 c, 47 e, 47 f, 47 g, 48, 48 a), markedly so on certain large flat gems of the Augustan period—where however her full breast is a late Aphroditesque modification rather than an early maternal trait ((1) a sardonyx at Florence (Reinach *Pierres gravées* p. 61 no. 55, 1 pl. 61, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 39, 29 (=my fig. 144 from a cast), ii. 188 ('Der Kopf ist ohne Helm' is wrong; the helmet imitates *cheveture*), Lippold *Gemmen* p. 170 (same mistake) pl. 21, 9: (2) a brown sard formerly in the Marlborough collection (Reinach *Pierres gravées* p. 117 no. 6 pl. 113, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 65, 24 (=my fig. 145), ii. 300)).

[2] *Supra* p. 189. Note also the part played by the priestess, apparently impersonating the goddess, at Athens (Souid. *s.v.* αἰγίς·...ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα φέρουσα πρὸς τὰς νεογάμους εἰσήρχετο=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* αἰγίς·...ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα φέρουσα τοὺς νεογάμους εἰσήρχετο, cp. Plout. *cent.* 2. 21 *not. crit.* [ἡ γοῦν] ἱέρεια τὴν ἱερὰν

reminiscent of a 'Minoan' mother-goddess. Indeed, when Alexander the Great struck his magnificent gold coins (figs. 142, 143)[1] showing the head of Athena with a coiled snake on its helmet, we may detect a last unconscious echo of the Cretan goddess with a snake twined about her head-dress. What the name *Athéne* actually meant, we do not know and it is idle to guess. But if any reliance may be placed on Kretschmer's ingenious comparisons[2], the word was Pelasgian or Tyrsenian and probably hailed from Asia Minor.

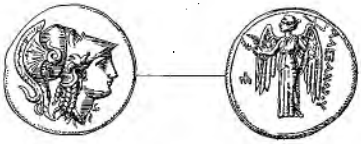


Fig. 142.

Fig. 143.

Fig. 144.

Fig. 145.

Hephaistos too appears to have been Pelasgian or Tyrsenian. The two chief centres of his worship on Greek soil were admittedly Lemnos and Athens, both at one time in Pelasgian occupation.

αἰγίδα Ἀθήνησι φέρουσα ἀγείρει [ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως] ἀρξαμένη πρὸς τὰ ἱερά (so cod. B; words in square brackets added from cod. A)): *supra* i. 14 n. 1.

[1] *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 296 ff. nos. 4—7 pl. 21, 2 *distátera*, nos. 8—22, 24—35 pl. 21, 3 f. *statêres*, no. 36 f. pl. 21, 5 quarter-*statêres*, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 51 f. no. 3404 pl. 125, 1 *distáteron*, nos. 3405—3408 pl. 125, 2—5 *statêres*, no. 3410 f. pl. 125, 7 f. quarter-*statêres*, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 57 ff. nos. 2073—2078, 2080 pl. 79 *statêres*, nos. 2072, 2079 pl. 79 quarter-*statêres*, G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 103 ff. no. 58 pl. 7 *statér*. Figs. 142 and 143 are from specimens in my collection.

Hunter Cat. Coins i. 298 no. 23 and *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 52 no. 3409 pl. 125, 6 *statêres* have a griffin in place of the serpent. Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 226 says 'serpent, griffin, or sphinx.'

[2] *Supra* p. 191 n. 8.

Herodotos[1], quoting Hekataios[2], tells how the Pelasgians, who had built the wall round the Akropolis at Athens, on being driven out by the Athenians went and settled in Lemnos. And Thoukydides[3] in his description of the Chalcidian peninsula Akte says: 'Most of the inhabitants are Pelasgians, belonging to the Tyrsenians who once dwelt in Lemnos and Athens, together with Bisaltai, Krestones, and Edones.' I agree, therefore, with L. R. Farnell[4] who in 1909 expressed himself as follows: 'It is a reasonable hypothesis...that the presence and prominence of Hephaistos in Attica and Lemnos is due to the settlement of a Pelasgic population in those localities.' A. Fick[5] in the same year had independently reached the same conclusion: 'Hephaistos from first to last belongs to the pre-Greek Pelagonian-Pelasgian-Tyrsenians. Centres of his cult are Lemnos and Attike....His name *Hḗphaistos* too is certainly Pelasgian.' Further, I accept the common view that Hephaistos was essentially a fire-god. When Agamemnon and the Greek leaders sacrificed an ox to Zeus, Homer[6] relates how—

> Piercing the entrails with spits they held them over Hephaistos.

This is no late rhetorical trope[7] or academic allegory[8], but an early animistic usage[9]. It meets us again rather unexpectedly in Aris-

[1] Hdt. 6. 137 with the critical analysis of J. L. Myres in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 201 f.

[2] Hekat. *frag.* 362 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 29 Müller)=*frag.* 127 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 24 Jacoby).

[3] Thouk. 4. 109 with J. L. Myres in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 204 f.

[4] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 388 f.

[5] A. Fick *Hattiden und Danubier in Griechenland* Göttingen 1909 p. 46 cited *supra* p. 191 n. 0.

[6] *Il.* 2. 426 σπλάγχνα δ' ἂρ' ἀμπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο.

[7] Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 85, 11 ff. Bekker "Ἡφαιστος·...ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ πυρός 'σπλάγχνα δ' ἂρ ἀμπείραντες ὑπείρεχον Ἡφαίστοιο'· ὁ δὲ τρόπος μετωνυμία, Hesych. *s.v.* "Ἡφαιστος·... ὀτὲ δὲ μετωνυμικῶς τὸ πῦρ. Later examples (Archil. *frag.* 12 Bergk[4]=12 Hiller—Crusius =10 Diehl, Soph. *Ant.* 123, 1006 f., Kallim. (?) *frag. anon.* 84 Schneider *ap. et. mag.* p. 241, 55 ff., etc.) are collected by L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 329. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 20 is inadequate: 'Wenn Hephaistos schon in der Ilias *B* 426 metonymisch für Feuer gesagt wird, so ist er kein hellenischer Gott, übrigens auch eigentlich nicht das Feuer, sondern der Schmied, der es zu seiner Kunst braucht.'

[8] Emped. *frag.* 98 Diels followed by Zenon *frag.* 111 Pearson=169 von Arnim *ap.* Min. Fel. *Oct.* 19. 10 cited *supra* i. 29 n. 4, Chrysippos *frag.* 1076 von Arnim *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 12 (H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 546 b 20 f.), Chrysippos *frag.* 1079 von Arnim *ap.* Philon. *de provid.* 2. 41 p. 76 Aucher, and many later writers: see L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 338 ff. ('Allegorische und naturymbolische Mythendeutung').

[9] P. Cauer *Grundfragen der Homerkritik*[3] Leipzig 1923 p. 351 'So ist φλὸξ Ἡφαίστοιο ...nicht die dem Hephästos heilige Flamme, sondern die Flamme, in der Hephästos selbst brennt' etc.

totle's[1] treatise on meteorology. The philosopher compares thunder to 'the crackle heard in the flame, which some call Hephaistos laughing, others Hestia, others again their threatening.' Hephaistos, then, was ordinary fire, the fire that burns and crackles on the hearth. He was also the jet of flaming gas that leaps like a fountain from the rocky vent. For not only did such jets give rise to the Lycian place-names Hephaistion, Hephaistia, or the Mountains of Hephaistos[2], but the lambent flame was worshipped as the very god. L. Malten[3] justly lays stress on the well-informed words of Maximus Tyrius[4]: 'For the Lycians Olympos sends up fire, not like that of Aitne, but peaceful and mild; and this fire is at once the place and the object of their cult.' It must not, however, be forgotten that earthly fire was commonly conceived as stolen or fallen from heaven[5]. Hesiod, Aischylos, and others speak of Prometheus' theft[6]. Homer tells how Hephaistos, flung from heaven by Zeus because he had dared to help Hera, fell on Lemnos and was there tended by the Sinties[7], or how after his fall (due to the unkindness of his mother who wanted to conceal her lame offspring) he was hidden for nine years in a hollow cave by Eurynome and Thetis[8]. The descent of Hephaistos on Lemnos gave curative

[1] Aristot. *meteor.* 2. 9 369a 29 ff. *γίνεται δ' ἡ πληγὴ τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον, ὡς παρεικάσαι μείζονι μικρὸν πάθος, τῷ ἐν τῇ φλογὶ γινομένῳ ψόφῳ, ὃν καλοῦσιν οἱ μὲν τὸν Ἥφαιστον γελᾶν, οἱ δὲ τὴν Ἑστίαν, οἱ δ' ἀπειλὴν τούτων.*

[2] *Supra* ii. 972 n. 1.

[3] L. Malten in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 319, 328, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 237.

[4] Max. Tyr. *diss.* 8. 8 Dübner *Λυκίοις ὁ Ὄλυμπος πῦρ ἐκδιδοῖ, οὐχ ὅμοιον τῷ Αἰτναίῳ, ἀλλ' εἰρηνικὸν καὶ σύμμετρον· καὶ ἔστιν αὐτοῖς τὸ πῦρ τοῦτο καὶ ἱερὸν καὶ ἄγαλμα.*

[5] See *e.g.* A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 *passim*, C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 pp. 16 f. (robin), 42 and 124 (wren), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 156 f. (wren, robin, lark), 159 (swallow), O. Schrader in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 39 b, E. Hammarstedt in M. Ebert *Reallexikon der Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1925 iii. 279.

[6] *Supra* i. 323 f.

[7] *Il.* 1. 590 ff., cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 87 ff., Apollod. 1. 3. 6, Loukian. *de sacrif.* 6, Myth. Vat. 1. 128, 2. 37, 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, *alib. Anth. Pal.* 15. 26. 8 (Dosiadas) *ματρόρριπτος*! Perhaps *ματρόρριπνος* cod. points to a compound of *ματρο-* with *ῥικνός*, cp. *h. Ap.* 317 *παῖς ἐμὸς Ἥφαιστος, ῥικνὸς πόδας.*

[8] *Il.* 18. 394 ff. Cp. the refuge of Dionysos as described by Eumel. *frag.* 10 Kinkel *ap.* schol. A.D. *Il.* 6. 131 *παραγενόμενον δὲ αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν Θρᾴκην Λυκοῦργος ὁ Δρύαντος λυπήσας Ἥρας μίσει, μύωπι ἀπελαύνει αὐτὸν τῆς γῆς καὶ καθάπτεται αὐτοῦ καὶ τῶν τιθηνῶν· ἐτύγχανον γὰρ αὐτῷ συνοργιάζουσαι. θεηλάτῳ δὲ ἐλαυνόμενος μάστιγι τὸν θεὸν ἔσπευδε τιμωρήσασθαι. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ δέους εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν καταδύνει, καὶ ὑπὸ Θέτιδος ὑπολαμβάνεται καὶ Εὐρυνόμης. ὁ οὖν Λυκοῦργος οὐκ ἀμισθὶ δυσσεβήσας ἔδωκε τὴν ἐξ ἀνθρώπων δίκην· ἀφῃρέθη γὰρ πρὸς τοῦ Διὸς τὸν ὀφθαλμόν. τῆς ἱστορίας πολλοὶ ἐμνήσθησαν, προηγουμένως δὲ ὁ τὴν Εὐρωπίαν πεποιηκὼς Εὔμηλος.*

properties to the soil. Dioskorides[1] of Anazarbos, a contemporary of the elder Pliny, states that Lemnian earth was obtained from a tunnel in a marshy spot, mixed with goat's blood, moulded, stamped with the image of a goat, and hence called the goat's seal. It was drunk in wine as an antidote to poisons, and it countered the bites of poisonous creatures. Certain persons used it also in religious rites. And it was good for dysentery. Galen visited the island twice (162 and 166 A.D.[2]) to test the accuracy of Dioskorides' remarks[3]. On the second occasion he reached the hill near the town of Hephaistias and observes[4] that its burnt colour and barren nature[5] account for the myth of Hephaistos' fall. He found the priestess scattering wheat and barley on the ground, and performing

A Roman relief of blue-flecked Italian marble, formerly owned by G. Piranesi and now at Berlin (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 320 f. pl. 81, 6 (=my fig. 146), *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 369 f. no. 912 fig., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 21 no. 1. Height 0·28^{m}, length 0·84^{m}), shows Hephaistos, in the garb and with the tools of a smith, falling through mid air. Above is heaven represented by Zeus with a thunderbolt and Hera with a sceptre (faces restored) appearing over clouds. Below is a sea-goddess (Thetis? Thalassa??) reclining with her left arm propped on a *pistrix*, beneath which are waves. Close by is the rocky island of Lemnos, on which stands Athena holding a branch of her olive tree—'als auf attischem Besitze' (*Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 370). The female figure on the left with a shield at her feet and a helmet (added by the restorer) in her hand belongs to a different scene, as does the canopy suspended on the right.

[1] Dioskor. 5. 113 p. 778 f. Sprengel ἡ δὲ Λημνία γεννωμένη γῆ ἔστιν ἔκ τινος ὑπονόμου ἀντρώδους (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 31), ἀναφερομένη ἀπὸ Λήμνου τῆς νήσου, ἐχούσης ἐλώδη τόπον, κἀκεῖθεν ἐκλέγεται καὶ μίγνυται αἵματι αἰγείῳ· ἣν οἱ ἐκεῖ ἄνθρωποι ἀναπλάσσοντες καὶ σφραγίζοντες εἰκόνι αἰγὸς σφραγῖδα καλοῦσιν αἰγός. δύναμιν δὲ ἔχει ἀντιδότου θανασίμων φαρμάκων ἕξοχον, πινομένη σὺν οἴνῳ καὶ προληφθεῖσα ἐξεμεῖσθαι ἀναγκάζει τὰ δηλητήρια· ἁρμόζει δὲ καὶ πρὸς τὰς τῶν θανασίμων ἰοβόλων πληγὰς καὶ δήξεις· μίγνυται δὲ καὶ ἀντιδότοις· χρῶνται δέ τινες καὶ εἰς τελετὰς αὐτῆ· ἔστι δὲ καὶ δυσεντερίαις χρήσιμος.

[2] C. Fredrich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 73 n. 1.

[3] Galen. περὶ κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως τῶν ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων 9. 1. 2 (xii. 171 Kühn), cp. περὶ ἀντιδότων 1. 2 (xiv. 8 Kühn).

[4] Galen. περὶ κράσεως καὶ δυνάμεως τῶν ἁπλῶν φαρμάκων 9. 1. 2 (xii. 173 f. Kühn) καὶ τό γε ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγόμενον (*Il.* 1. 593) ἐπὶ τοῦ Ἡφαίστου, κάππεσεν ἐν Λήμνῳ, διὰ τὴν φύσιν τοῦ λόφου δοκεῖ μοι τὸν μῦθον ἐπίστασθαι. φαίνεται γὰρ ὁμοιότατος κεκαυμένῳ κατά γε τὴν χρόαν καὶ διὰ τὸ μηδὲν ἐν αὐτῷ φύεσθαι. εἰς τοῦτον οὖν τὸν λόφον ἥ τε ἱέρεια παραγενομένη, καθ' ὃν ἐγὼ καιρὸν ἐπέβην τῆς νήσου, καί τινα πυρῶν τε καὶ κριθῶν ἀριθμὸν ἐμβάλλουσα τῇ γῇ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ποιήσασα κατὰ τὸν ἐπιχώριον σεβασμόν, ἐπλήρωσεν μὲν ὅλην ἄμαξαν τῆς γῆς, κομίσασα δ' εἰς τὴν πόλιν ὡς εἶπον ἀρτίως ἐσκεύασε τὰς πολυβρυλήτους Λημνίας σφραγῖδας. ἔδοξεν οὖν μοι πυθέσθαι μή τι πρότερόν ποτε τράγειον ἢ αἴγειον αἷμα τῇ γῇ ταύτῃ μιγνύμενον ἐν ἱστορίᾳ παρειλήφασιν. ἐφ' ᾗ πεύσει πάντες οἱ ἀκούσαντες ἐγέλασαν, οὐχ οἱ τυχόντες ἀνδρες ὄντες, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάνυ πεπαιδευμένοι τά τ' ἄλλα καὶ τὴν ἐπιχώριον ἱστορίαν ἅπασαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ βιβλίον ἔλαβον παρά τινος αὐτῶν, γεγραμμένον ὑπό τινος τῶν ἐπιχωρίων ἀνδρῶν ἔμπροσθεν, ἐν ᾧ τὴν χρῆσιν ἅπασαν ἐδίδασκε τῆς Λημνίας γῆς, ὅθεν οὐκ ὤκνησα κἀγὼ πειραθῆναι τοῦ φαρμάκου, δισμυρίας λαβὼν σφραγῖδας. κ.τ.λ.

[5] Cp. Galen. *id.* (xii. 170 Kühn) καὶ διὰ τὴν χρόαν ἔνιοι Λημνίαν μίλτον (*sc.* ὀνομάζουσιν). ἔχει μὲν οὖν τὴν χρόαν τὴν αὐτὴν τῇ μίλτῳ, διαφέρει δ' αὐτῆς τῷ μὴ μολύνειν ἀπτομένην καθάπερ ἐκείνην, καὶ κατά γε τὸν λόφον ἐν τῇ Λήμνῳ τὸν ὅλον ὄντα κιρρὸν τῇ χρόᾳ, καθ' ὃν οὔτε δένδρον ἐστὶν οὔτε πέτρα οὔτε φυτόν, μόνη δ' ἡ τοιαύτη γῆ.

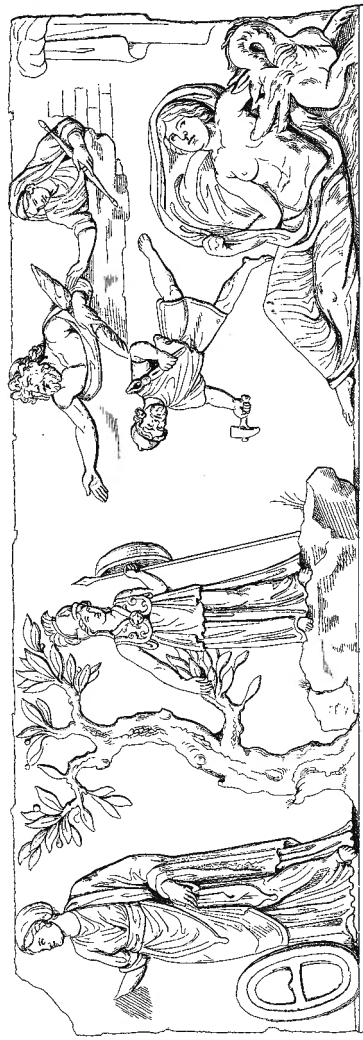


Fig. 146.

sundry other rites, after which she filled a whole waggon with the earth, took it to the town, and made it into the famous Lemnian seals[1]. He asked if there was anything in the tradition that the blood of he-goats or she-goats had been first mixed with the earth, but was laughed at by those who heard him. One of them, a prominent citizen of Hephaistias, furnished him with a treatise setting forth all the virtues of Lemnian earth, and said that he himself used it in cases of wounds, snake-bites, bites of savage beasts, poisonous drugs, etc. So Galen, much impressed, got 20,000 of the seals and did not scruple to try them[2]. Elsewhere[3] he complains that dangerous imitations of the real seals were put on the market. Philostratos[4] of Lemnos (*c.* 235 A.D.) informs us that Philoktetes, when left on the island, was promptly healed by means of Lemnian earth, a sovereign remedy for madness, hemorrhage, and the bite of the water-snake. F. W. Hasluck[5] has traced the further fortunes of this specific from the pharmacopœia of Paulos the Aeginetan[6] through medieval[7] to modern times. C. Fredrich[8] in his valuable

[1] *Id. ib.* (xii. 169 f. Kühn) describes in detail their manufacture: *ταύτην γάρ τοι τὴν γῆν ἡ ἱέρεια λαμβάνουσα μετά τινος ἐπιχωρίου τιμῆς, οὐ ζώων θυομένων, ἀλλὰ πυρῶν καὶ κριθῶν ἀντιδιδομένων τῷ χωρίῳ, κομίζει μὲν εἰς τὴν πόλιν ἀναφυράσασα ὕδατι καὶ πηλὸν ὑγρὸν ἐργασαμένη καὶ τοῦτον παράξασα σφοδρῶς, εἶτ' ἐάσασα καταστῆναι, πρῶτον μὲν ἀφαιρεῖ τὸ ἐπιπολῆς ὕδωρ, εἶθ' ὑπ' αὐτῷ τὸ λιπαρὸν τῆς γῆς λαβοῦσα καὶ μόνον ἀπολιποῦσα τὸ ὑφιζηκὸς λιθῶδές τε καὶ ψαμμῶδες, ὅπερ καὶ ἄχρηστόν ἐστιν, ἄχρι τοσούτου ξηραίνει τὸν λιπαρὸν πηλὸν ἄχρις ἂν εἰς σύστασιν ἀφίκηται μαλακοῦ κηροῦ, καὶ τούτου λαμβάνουσα μόρια σμικρὰ τὴν ἱερὰν τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος ἐπιβάλλει σφραγῖδα, κἄπειτα πάλιν ἐν σκιᾷ ξηραίνει, μέχρις ἂν ἀκριβῶς ἄνικμος ἀποτελεσθῇ καὶ γένηται τοῦτο δὴ τὸ γινωσκόμενον ἰατροῖς ἅπασι φάρμακον ἡ Λημνία σφραγίς.*

[2] In addition to the immediate sequel cp. Galen. *μέθοδος θεραπευτική* 4. 7 (x. 298 Kühn), 5. 5 (x. 329 Kühn), *περὶ ἀντιδότων* 1. 2 (xiv. 8 Kühn).

[3] Galen. *περὶ ἀντιδότων* 1. 2 (xiv. 8 Kühn).

[4] Philostr. *her.* 6. 2 *καταλειφθῆναι μὲν γὰρ ἐν Λήμνῳ τὸν Φιλοκτήτην, οὐ μὴν ἔρημον τῶν θεραπευσόντων, οὐδ' ἀπερριμμένον τοῦ Ἑλληνικοῦ...ἰαθῆναι δ' αὐτὸν αὐτίκα ὑπὸ τῆς βώλου τῆς Λημνίας, ἐς ἣν λέγεται πεσεῖν ὁ Ἥφαιστος· ἡ δ' ἐλαύνει μὲν τὰς μανικὰς νόσους, ἑκραγὲν δ' αἷμα ἴσχει, ὕδρου δ' ἰᾶται μόνου δῆγμα ἑρπετῶν.*

[5] F. W. Hasluck 'Terra Lemnia' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 220—230 with 5 figs.

[6] Paul. Aigin. *de re med.* 7. 3 (ii. 203, 20 ff. Heiberg).

[7] H. F. Tozer *The Islands of the Aegean* Oxford 1890 p. 260 'In Western Europe it was known from an early period as *terra sigillata*; but the original Greek term *sphragis* also found its way into the pharmacopoeias of the West, where it appears in such corrupt forms as *lemphia frigdos*, and even *lima fragis*' ('*Alphita, a Medico-Botanical Glossary*, ed. Mowat, in the *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, pp. 96, 219. The compiler of the *Glossary* remarks, '*Lemphia frigdos terra est sigillata.*' 'Frigdos' is a corruption of *σφραγῖδος*, the genitive case being used, as Mr Mowat has pointed out to me, on account of the form employed in a doctor's prescription).' Bartholomaeus Anglicus (*s.* xiii A.D.) London 1535 Lib. 15. 139, 98 has more to say: 'A serten veyne of the erthe is called Terra Sigillata, and is singularly cold and drie. And Dioscorides calleth it Terra Saracenica and argentea, and is somedeale white, well smellynge and clere. The chief virtue thereof byndeth and staunceth.' Etc.

[8] C. Fredrich 'Lemnos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 72 citing A. Conze *Reise auf*

monograph on Lemnos notes that Oriental apothecaries still sell packets of Lemnian earth, dug before sunrise on August 6 (the Transfiguration) in the presence of Greek and Turkish clergy, and guaranteed as genuine by the impress of a Turkish seal[1]. I may add that the well-stocked medical cabinet of J. F. Vigani[2], the first Professor of Chemistry at Cambridge, now preserved in the Library of Queens' College, contains various samples of earth (*c.* 1700 A.D.) distinguished on their labels as *Terra sigill. Lemnia, Terra sigill. alb.*, and *Terra sigill. rubr.* (fig. 147 *a, b, c*). Their colours are respectively light red, white, and dark red. The first and third have stamped in relief the Turkish crescent and star on a shield together with a bunch of grapes and the legend TERRA SIG(L)^{A}|LEH(H)IA. The

a *b* *c*

Fig. 147.

second shows a seven-headed dragon, with wings and a twisted tail, and reads TERRA ▨ SIGILLATA (?). It may be a rival earth of alien manufacture. Fredrich holds[3] that this whole business of a Lemnian medicament points backwards to a marriage of the fire-god

den Inseln des Thrakischen Meeres Hannover 1860 p. 121 and G. Pantelides Ἱστορία τῆς νήσου Λήμνου Alexandria 1876 p. 47 ff. The Turks think that drinking vessels made of Lemnian earth render any poison drunk out of them harmless (Conze *loc. cit.*): cp. Plout. *de rect. rat. aud.* 9 on pots made of clay from Cape Kolias.

[1] Other details are given by P. Belon du Mans *Les observations de plusieurs singularitez & choses memorables, trouvées en Grece, Asie, Iudée, Egypte, Arabie, & autres pays estranges* Paris 1555 p. 29 f. (Greek mass celebrated in small chapel of *Sotira*, after which the monks fill 'petits sacs de poil de bestes' with the earth, etc.). He figures a selection of the seals, which bear in Arabic letters the words *tin imachton*, 'sealed earth' (=*Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1909—1910 xvi. 222 fig. 1, cp. *ib.* p. 230 fig. 5).

[2] On which see E. S. Peck in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1934 xxxiv. 34—49.

[3] C. Fredrich *loc. cit.* p. 74: 'Dort oben auf dem Mosychlos loderte ja einst ein Erdfeuer; der Feuerdämon hauste dort mit der Erdgöttin. In der rötlichen Erde sind beide vermählt; sie ist Sacrament und daher wirkt sie Wunder: χρῶνται δέ τινες καὶ εἰς τελετὰς αὐτῇ (Dioskorides, *a. a. O.*). Wir kommen damit auf uralten Götterdienst auf jenem Hügel, auf eine Verehrung der allnährenden Erde, die nirgends wieder im aegaeischen Meere soviel Getreide spendet wie auf Lemnos, und des Feuerdämons, der ein Dämon der Zeugungskraft ist. ὦ Λημνία χθὼν καὶ τὸ παγκρατὲς σέλας 'Ηφαιστότευκτον klagt Philoktet (v. 986).'

Hephaistos with the earth-goddess Lemnos[1] (fig. 152)[2], consummated

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Λῆμνος (cited *supra* p. 191 n. 0) asserts—perhaps on the authority of Hekataios (H. Diels in *Hermes* 1887 xxii. 442, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 225 n. 15)—that maidens used to be sacrificed to this μεγάλη θεός. Since Aristophanes in his *Lēmniai frag.* 8 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1100 Meineke) *ap.* Phot. *lex. s.v.* μεγάλην θεόν, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* μεγάλη θεός, uses precisely the same phrase of the Thracian Bendis, who is often Hellenised as Artemis (*e.g. supra* ii. 115, 501), it seems highly probable that the Lemnian goddess was in historic times regarded as a form of Artemis and that goats had come to be substituted for her girl-victims. This at least would account for the persistent tradition of goat's blood mixed with Lemnian earth and for the goat as the sacred seal of the local Artemis.

Moreover, an exact parallel may be found in the story of Embaros who, after promising to sacrifice his daughter to Artemis *Mounychía*, substituted a she-goat clad in the daughter's garments (*supra* i. 711 n. 9). This is indeed more than a mere parallel. Since Embaros was the reputed founder of the sanctuary of Artemis *Mounychia* (Pausanias the lexicographer *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 331, 25 ff. ὁ δ' αὐτὸς Παυσανίας ἱστορεῖ καί τινα Ἔμβαρον ἐπὶ εὐχῇ σοφίσασθαι. ἱδρύσατο γάρ, φησι, Μουνυχίας Ἀρτέμιδος ἱερὸν· ἄρκτου δὲ γενομένης ἐν αὐτῷ καὶ ὑπὸ Ἀθηναίων ἀναιρεθείσης, λοιμὸς ἐπεγένετο, οὗ ἀπαλλαγὴν ὁ θεὸς ἐχρησμῴδησεν, εἴ τις τὴν θυγατέρα θύσει τῇ Ἀρτέμιδι, Βάρος δὲ ἢ Ἔμβαρος ὑποσχόμενος οὕτω ποιήσειν ἐπὶ τῷ τὴν ἱερωσύνην τὸ γένος αὐτοῦ διὰ βίου ἔχειν, διακοσμήσας τὴν θυγατέρα, αὐτὴν μὲν ἀπέκρυψεν ἐν τῷ ἀδύτῳ, αἶγα δὲ ἐσθῆτι κοσμήσας ὡς τὴν θυγατέρα ἔθυσεν. ὅθεν εἰς παροιμίαν, φησί, περιέστη '"Ἔμβαρος εἶ,' τουτέστι νουνεχής, φρόνιμος), who stood in the closest relation

Fig. 148.

to the Thracian Bendis (*supra* ii. 115), it seems likely that he came from the Thracian area. And, if so, his name *Émbaros* may well be the would-be Greek form taken by a name really akin to *Imbros*. A mountain in Kilikia Tracheia was called *Imbarus* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 93), and A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 55 *à propos* of Imbrasos writes: '"Ιμβρ- ist ein echt karisches Namenwort, wie schon G. M[eyer in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1886 x. 193, comparing however *imber*, ὄμβρος, etc.] erkannte, und [P.] Kr[etschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p.] 358 [f.] weiter belegt; wir entnehmen daher "Ιμβρος Gebirg und Kastell in Karien, die Insel Imbros, "Ιμβραμος der karische Hermes und die karischen Personennamen "Ιμβρασσις, "Ιμβαρσις und Ἰμβάρηλδος. Auch in lykischen Personen-, doch nicht Ortsnamen weist Kr. a. a. o. das Element Ἰμβρ- nach.'

The further parallel between the sacrifice of Embaros' daughter (bear killed, girl condemned, goat substituted) and that of Iphigeneia (girl condemned, deer or bear (schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 645, *et. mag.* p. 748, 2 f.) or bull (*et. mag.* p. 748, 3 f.) substituted) is of course obvious.

[2] I figure five imperial bronze coins of Hephaistia. Of these, the first two are from casts of unpublished specimens now in the British Museum. One has *obv.* ΗΦΑΙC ΤΙΕΩΝ bust of Hephaistos to right, with slight beard, *pîlos*, and *chitón* over one shoulder; *rev.* Athena, helmeted, standing to left with Nike in right hand, spear in left (fig. 148). The other has *obv.* bust of Hephaistos to right, with full beard, *pîlos*, and

in early days on Mosychlos, the mountain of volcanic vents[1]. Be that as it may, we have in Lemnos ample evidence of the belief that the fire which leaps up from the ground had erstwhile leapt down from the sky. Nor in Lemnos only. For what else but this popular conception underlay the fiery cycle of Herakleitos[2], in which 'the way up and down is one and the same[3]'? The Stoics, influenced as usual by Herakleitos[4], identified Zeus with a single great continuous fire, which transformed itself into all the vast variety of the visible world[5]. In a special sense Zeus was equated with fire in heaven[6], Hephaistos with fire on earth[7]; and the myth which told

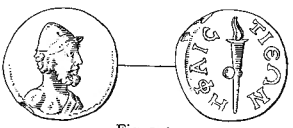


Fig. 149.

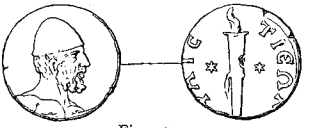


Fig. 150.

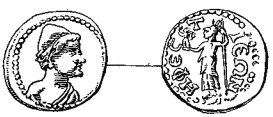


Fig. 151.

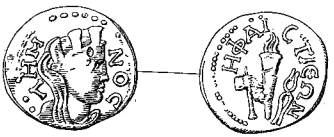


Fig. 152.

chitón over one shoulder; *rev.* ΗΦΑΙϹ ΤΙЄΩΝ a flaming torch (fig. 149). A third shows *obv.* bust of Hephaistos to right, with full heard, *pîlos*, and no *chitón*; *rev.* [Η]ΦΑΙϹ|ΤΙЄΩΝ a flaming torch between two stars (*sc.* Kabeiroi or Dioskouroi) (*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 282 no. 22 fig. (=my fig. 150)). Another has *obv.* bust of Hephaistos to right, with slight beard, *pîlos*, and *chitón* over one shoulder; *rev.* ΗΦЄϹ|Τ|ΙЄΩΝ Athena, helmeted, standing to left with Nike in right hand, spear in left (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 5 no. 2 pl. 1, 2 (=my fig. 151)). The last gives *obv.* ΛΗΜ|ΝΟϹ bust of Lemnos to right as city-goddess, with turreted crown and veil; *rev.* ΗΦΑΙ|ϹΤΙЄΩΝ a flaming torch between hammer and tongs (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 6 no. 4 pl. 1, 3 (=my fig. 152), *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 141 no. 2489 pl. 95). See further Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 263.

[1] C. Neumann—J. Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum* Breslau 1885 p. 314 ff., C. Fredrich in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 74, 253 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 1928 f.

[2] We have more than once found Herakleitos refining upon popular beliefs (*supra* i. 28 ff., 358 n. 3, ii. 12, 13 n. 1, 130 n. 7, 805 n. 6).

[3] Herakl. *frag.* 69 Bywater, 60 Diels (cited *supra* ii. 130 n. 7).

[4] *Supra* i. 29 f., ii. 855 n. 2, 856 n. 9, 858 n. 6.

[5] Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 12 ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς ἡμῖν οὗτος οὐ τῇ μὲν αὐτοῦ φύσει χρώμενος ἓν ἐστι μέγα πῦρ καὶ συνεχές, νυνὶ δ' ὑφεῖται καὶ κέκαμπται καὶ διεσχημάτισται, πᾶν χρῆμα γεγονὼς καὶ γιγνόμενος ἐν ταῖς μεταβολαῖς; = Chrysippos *frag.* 1045 von Arnim.

[6] Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 33, 12 ff. Lang ὁ μὲν γὰρ αἰθὴρ καὶ τὸ διαυγὲς καὶ καθαρὸν πῦρ Ζεύς ἐστι, τὸ δ' ἐν χρῆσει καὶ ἀερομιγὲς Ἥφαιστος, Herakleitos *quaest. Hom.* p. 40, 9 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ [ἡ] πυρὸς οὐσία διπλῆ, καὶ τὸ μὲν αἰθέριον...ἐπὶ τῆς ἀνωτάτω τοῦ παντὸς

how Zeus had flung Hephaistos down to Lemnos was taken to mean that fire terrestrial was derived from fire celestial[1]. On which showing Hephaistos might be interpreted as the lightning-flash[2]—a fitting end for a god who began with a double axe[3]. In short, it would appear that the Stoics by pursuing the plaguy and quite illegitimate

αἰώρας οὐδὲν ὑστεροῦν ἔχει πρὸς τελειότητα, τοῦ δὲ παρ' ἡμῖν πυρὸς ἡ ὕλη, πρόσγειος οὖσα, φθαρτὴ καὶ διὰ τῆς ὑποτρεφούσης παρ' ἕκαστα ζωπυρουμένη, διὰ τοῦτο τὴν μὲν ὀξυτάτην φλόγα συνεχῶς Ἥλιόν τε καὶ Δία προσαγορεύει (sc. Ὁμηρος), τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γῆς πῦρ Ἥφαιστον, ἑτοίμως ἀπτόμενόν τε καὶ σβεννύμενον· κ.τ.λ., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 47 physici Iovem aethérem id est ignem volunt intellegi, Iunonem vero aërem, et quoniam tenuitate haec elementa paria sunt, dixerunt esse germana. sed quoniam Iuno hoc est aër subiectus est igni id est Iovi, iure superposito elemento mariti traditum nomen est = Chrysippos *frag.* 1066 von Arnim.

[7] *Supra* n. 6. Cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 2. 8 p. 25, 9 ff. Wünsch *ὅθεν οἱ μυθικοὶ ζευγνύουσι τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ποτὲ μὲν Ἡφαίστῳ, τῷ χθονίῳ πυρί, ποτὲ δὲ Ἄρει, τῷ ἀερίῳ, Ἡσιόδῳ. in Il.* p. 151, 29 ff. *ὡς ἐπὶ πλεῖστον δὲ Ἥφαιστον ἡ ἀλληγορία τὸ πῦρ αὐτὸ νοεῖ, τουτέστι τὴν καυστικὴν θερμότητα, καὶ τοῦτο ἢ τὸ διακονικὸν καὶ περὶ γῆν ἢ τὸ ἐκ πάθους ἐν τοῖς μετεώροις γινόμενον, οἷον τὸ ἐν κεραυνοῖς καὶ ἀστραπαῖς καὶ τοῖς τοιούτοις, κ.τ.λ.*, p. 152, 5 *Ἥφαιστος, τὸ περὶ γῆν δηλονότι, ὡς ἐρρέθη, πῦρ.*

[1] Herakleitos *quaest. Hom.* p. 42, 2 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. *Ἀῆμονον δὲ πρῶτον οὐκ ἀλόγως ἐμύθευσε (sc. Ὁμηρος) τὴν ὑποδεξαμένην τὸ θεοπρόβλητον πῦρ· ἐνταῦθα γὰρ ἀνίενται γηγενοῦς πυρὸς αὐτόματοι φλόγες. δηλοῖ δὲ σαφῶς, ὅτι τοῦτο θεόρρυτόν ἐστι τὸ πῦρ, ἐξ ὧν ἐπήνεγκεν· κ.τ.λ.*

[2] Cornut. *theol.* 19 p. 34, 3 ff. Lang *ῥιφῆναι δ' ὑπὸ τοῦ Διὸς εἰς γῆν ἐξ οὐρανοῦ λέγεται διὰ τὸ τοὺς πρώτους ἴσως ἁρξαμένους χρῆσθαι πυρὶ ἐκ κεραυνοβολίου καιομένῳ αὐτῷ περιτυχεῖν, μηδέπω ἐπινοίᾳ τῶν πυρίων ἐπιπεσεῖν δυναμένους*, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 414. Vulcanus... ignis est, et dictus Vulcanus quasi Volicanus, quod per aerem volet; ignis enim e nubibus nascitur. unde etiam Homerus dicit eum de aere praecipitatum in terras, quod omne fulmen de aere cadit. quod quia crebro in Lemnum insulam iacitur, ideo in eam dicitur cecidisse Vulcanus (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 39 f.), *id. in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 454 'Lemnius' quia in Lemnum insulam, ut diximus, cecidit, [a Iove praecipitatus vel] a Iunone propter deformitatem deiectus, quam aerem esse constat, ex quo fulmina procreantur. ideo autem Vulcanus de femore Iunonis fingitur natus, quod fulmina de imo aere nascuntur: quod etiam Lucanus dicit (2. 269, 273) 'fulminibus terrae propior succenditur aer, pacem summa tenent' (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 40, 3. 10. 4, Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 40), Nonn. *Dion.* 10. 298 ff. (Dionysos speaks to Zeus) *σεῖο δ' ἐγὼ πρηστῆρος ἀναίνομαι αἰθέριον πῦρ, | οὐ νέφος, οὐ βροντῆς ἐθέλω κτύπον· ἦν δ' ἐθελήσῃς, | Ἡφαίστῳ πυρόεντι δίδου σπινθῆρα κεραυνοῦ*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 151, 30 f. (cited *supra* n. 7), 40 ff. *διὸ οὐ πολυωρεῖ ἐν τοῖς ἄνω, ἀλλὰ κάτω ῥίπτεται ἀπὸ βηλοῦ θεσπεσίοιο, ὥς φησι μετ' ὀλίγα ὁ ποιητής (Il.* 1. 591). *οὐ γὰρ φίλος ἐκείνοις τῷ Διΐ, ἀλλὰ μᾶλλον τῇ μητρὶ Ἥρᾳ. πάθος γὰρ Ἥρας ὁ τοιοῦτος Ἥφαιστος, ἤτοι ἀέρος σύμπτωμα, ὅτε μὴ φιλίως ἔχει πρὸς τὸν αἰθέρα, μηδὲ κατὰ φύσιν, ἀλλὰ ταῖς γῆθεν ἀναθυμιάσεσιν ὥσπερ φραγνυμένη πρὸς τὸν Δία ἐκπεπολέμωται. τότε γὰρ οἱ κεραυνοὶ καὶ οἱ σκηπτοὶ γίνονται καὶ εἴ τι ἄλλο τοιοῦτον τῷ αἰθέρι ἐπιτροσθοῦν*, p. 152, 6 ff. *ἐξ ἀέρος γὰρ ἀληθῶς καὶ ὁ τοιοῦτος (sc. περὶ γῆν) Ἥφαιστος, οὐ μόνον διότι ἡ φλὸξ ἀήρ ἐστιν ἐξαφθείς, ἀλλὰ καὶ ὅτι τὴν ἀρχὴν ἔοικεν εἰς γῆν ἄνωθέν ποθεν ἐλθεῖν, ἡ κεραυνοῦ ὡς εἰκὸς κατενεχθέντος καὶ ξύλῳ ἐνσκήψαντος καὶ οὕτως ἀρχήν τινα καὶ σπέρμα πυρὸς ἐνδόντος ἀνθρώποις ἢ καὶ διά τινος μηχανῆς, πυρὸς ἐξ ἀέρος κατενεχθέντος, κ.τ.λ.*, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 227 *Ἀημαίᾳ πυρί· ἀπὸ κεραυνοβόλου δένδρου* (cp. Diod. 1. 13) *ἐν Ἑλληνικαῖς χώραις ἐν Λήμνῳ πρώτως εὑρέθη τό τε πῦρ καὶ αἱ ὀπλουργίαι, κάθως ἐν τῷ περὶ Χίου κτίσεως Ἑλλανικὸς ἱστορεῖ ἵνα μὴ κατὰ πλάτος τὴν ἱστορίαν ἐπεξεργαζώμεθα* = Hellanikos *frag.* 112 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 60 Müller), *frag.* 71 b (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 125 Jacoby, who however starts the fragment with the words *ἐν Λήμνῳ πρώτως κ.τ.λ.*). W. Mannhardt *Die Korndämonen* Berlin 1868 likewise treats Hephaistos as a 'Blitzgott.'

[3] *Supra* p. 200.

method of allegorical conjecture had come curiously near to divining the original significance of Hephaistos.

Hephaistos and Athena—if I am right—were at first the sky-father and the mountain-mother of a Pelasgian or Tyrsenian race, which had its prehistoric home in Asia Minor. And in the rude tale of their attempted union I should detect a popular survival of their old Asiatic myth. The earliest allusion to it is *à propos* of a sixth-century craftsman from Magnesia on the Maiandros[1]. That may be accident. But it can hardly be accidental that the closest parallels to the myth are found on Mount Agdos in Galatia[2] and among the peasants of the Caucasus[3]. All the evidence, linguistic, religious, mythological, really points in one direction—towards Asia Minor as the cradle of both deities alike.

The worship of Hephaistos and Athena, proper to the Pelasgian or Tyrsenian population of Athens, was complicated by that of other gods and goddesses as soon as Hellenic settlers entered Attikê. An influx of Aeolians, who had swarmed off from Thessaly and settled on the north bank of the Ilissos[4] (let us say, with Periphas as their king[5]), brought with them from Mount Olympos the cult of Zeus *Olýmpios* and Ge *Olympía*. With Ge *Olympía* was in all probability connected the rite of the *Arrhephoría* and the mythical birth of Erichthonios[6]. These purely Hellenic powers never quite dispossessed their Pelasgian predecessors, who in the sixth and fifth centuries recovered something of their former prestige thanks to the Panathenaic policy inaugurated by Peisistratos[7]. Hence the gradual intrusion of Athena and Hephaistos into representations of a myth, which was strictly concerned with Ge as fructified by the fertilising dew of Zeus[8]. Erichthonios, instead of being the child of Zeus by Ge, is the child of Hephaistos by Ge[9] or,

[1] *Supra* p. 220 f. [2] *Supra* ii. 969 n. 4.

[3] Miss E. M. Dance, in an unpublished treatise (*An Analysis of the Orphic Myths* 1933 p. 12 f.) which she kindly allowed me to read in type-script, compares the myths of Mithras born of a rock (F. Cumont in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1953), Agdistis, and Hephaistos with A. Dirr *Kaukasische Märchen* (*Märchen der Weltliteratur*) Jena 1922 p. 182: 'Eines Tages wusch Satána ihre Hosen und breitete sie auf einem Steine zum Trocknen aus. Da kam Uástyrdji und sagte: "Deine Hosen kommen mir nicht aus", näherte sich und liess seinen Samen auf sie ausströmen. Davon wurde der Stein, auf dem die Hosen lagen, schwanger.' After nine months Satána split the stone and a child, the hero of the Märchen, came forth.

[4] *Supra* ii. 1123, iii. 169 n. 0. [5] *Supra* ii. 1121 ff.

[6] *Supra* pp. 169 n. 0, 188. [7] *Supra* p. 188 n. 3. [8] *Supra* p. 188.

[9] Isokr. 12 *Panathenaicus* 126 Ἐριχθόνιος μὲν γὰρ ὁ φὺς ἐξ Ἡφαίστου καὶ Γῆς κ.τ.λ., Paus. 1. 2. 6 πατέρα δὲ Ἐριχθονίῳ λέγουσιν ἀνθρώπων μὲν οὐδένα εἶναι, γονέας δὲ Ἥφαιστον καὶ Γῆν, cp. Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2, 7 Mair (*supra* p. 220 n. 2) ὡς δῆθεν ὑφ' Ἡφαίστῳ τέκεν Αἶα and Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 63 f. cited *infra* p. 237 n. 1.

more often, of Hephaistos by Athena. But to the last an occasional poet describes him as his father's 'dew[1].'

(b) The Daughters of Kekrops.

The three daughters of Kekrops were Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse. All of them alike bore names suggestive of the dew. *Áglauros* denotes 'the Sparkling One[2]'; *Pándrosos*, 'the All-bedewed'; *Hérse*, quite simply 'the Dew[3].'

The oldest accessible version of their myth is that given, perhaps as early as *s.* v B.C.[4], by Amelesagoras in his *Atthís*[5]:

[1] Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2, 2 f. Mair ἀλλά ἑ Παλλὰς | τῆς μὲν ἔσω δηναι(ὸ)ν ἀφῆ δρ[ό]σον Ἡφαίστοιο, | *κ.τ.λ.*, Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 63 f. οὐ τύπον ἄγριον εἶχον Ἐρεχθέος (by confusion with Erichthonios: *supra* p. 181 n. 2), ὃν τέκε Γαίης | αὐλακι νυμφεύσας γαμίην Ἥφαιστος ἐέρσην.

[2] The simplest and most satisfactory derivation of Ἄγλαυρος is from ἀγλαός (*ἀγλαϝός for *ἀγα-γλαϝ-ός: see Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 4) and the common suffix *-ρος*. Nik. *ther.* 62 uses ἄγλαυρος, 'sparkling,' as an epithet of rivers, and *id.* 441 as an epithet of a snake.

H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 136 f. inferred from the masculine ending that Ἄγλαυρος was a compound of ἀγ(α)λ- (ἀγάλλειν, ἄγαλμα) and αὔρα: 'eine göttin heiterer luft, hellen himmels,' cp. Ἀγλαΐα. A. Fick in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1901 xxvi. 112 similarly derives Ἄγλαυρος from ἀγλαός + αὔρα (taking ἀγλαυρὸς πάνδροσος ἔρση to have been a dactylic line or half-line, 'die bei heiterer luft... alles beträufelnde... bethauung'). E. Maass 'Aglaurion' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1910 xxxv. 337—341 does the same, but holds that αὔρα (connected with ἀήρ) was an old word for 'water' (hence ἄναυρος 'mountain-torrent,' Hesych. ἐπαύρους· τοὺς χειμάρρους ποταμούς, Hes. *theog.* 353 Πληξαύρη τε Γαλαξαύρη τ' as Nereids, and perhaps ἄγαυρος 'abundant, affluent'), which came to mean 'moist, cool air' and so 'breeze.' On this showing Ἄγλαυρος would be a water-nymph (cp. *Il.* 2. 307 ἀγλαὸν ὕδωρ, Hom. *ep.* 4. 7 ἀγλαὸν... ὕδωρ) and Ἀγλαύριον a *Nymphaeum*.

Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 7 n. 3 thinks that Ἄγλαυρος may refer to the dew ('blinkende Tauperlen'), but proposes no etymology.

In any case Ἄγλαυρος, not Ἄγραυλος, is the inscriptional form (K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 83 n. 712). Both are found in literary texts (J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 826). Ἄγραυλος seems to have been taken by popular etymology from an epithet of Pan, to whose flute the Dew-sisters danced (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1196 n. 3 *sub fin.*, 1394 n. 4).

[3] *Supra* pp. 166, 179 f. [4] *Supra* p. 157 n. 9.

[5] Amelesagoras *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 22 Müller) *ap.* Antigon. *hist. mir.* 12 Ἀμελησαγόρας δὲ ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ὁ τὴν Ἀτθίδα συγγεγραφὼς οὐ φησι κορώνην προσίπτασθαι πρὸς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν, οὐδ' ἔχοι ἂν εἰπεῖν ἑωρακὼς οὐδείς. ἀποδίδωσιν δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν μυθικῶς. φησὶν γὰρ Ἡφαίστῳ δοθείσης τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς συγκατακλιθεῖσαν αὐτὴν ἀφανισθῆναι, τὸν δὲ Ἥφαιστον εἰς γῆν πεσόντα προΐεσθαι τὸ σπέρμα, τὴν δὲ γῆν ὕστερον αὐτῷ ἀναδοῦναι Ἐριχθόνιον, ὃν τρέφειν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καὶ εἰς κίστην καθεῖρξαι καὶ παραθέσθαι ταῖς Κέκροπος παισίν, Ἀγραύλῳ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἕρσῃ, καὶ ἐπιτάξαι μὴ ἀνοίγειν τὴν κίστην, ἕως ἂν αὐτὴ ἔλθῃ. ἀφικομένην δὲ εἰς Πελλήνην φέρειν ὄρος, ἵνα ἔρυμα πρὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως ποιήσῃ, τὰς δὲ Κέκροπος θυγατέρας τὰς δύο, Ἄγραυλον καὶ Πάνδροσον, τὴν κίστην ἀνοῖξαι καὶ ἰδεῖν δράκοντας δύο περὶ τὸν Ἐριχθόνιον· τῇ δὲ Ἀθηνᾷ φερούσῃ τὸ ὄρος, ὃ νῦν καλεῖται Λυκαβηττός, κορώνην φησὶν ἀπαντῆσαι καὶ εἰπεῖν ὅτι Ἐριχθόνιος ἐν φανερῷ, τὴν δὲ ἀκούσασαν ῥῖψαι τὸ ὄρος ὅπου νῦν ἐστι, τῇ δὲ κορώνῃ διὰ τὴν κακαγγελίαν εἰπεῖν ὡς εἰς ἀκρόπολιν οὐ θέμις αὐτῇ ἔσται ἀφικέσθαι.

'Amelesagoras of Athens, author of the *Atthis*, asserts that no crow flies to the Akropolis and that nobody can claim to have seen one so doing[1]. He adds a mythical explanation. He states that, when Athena was given to Hephaistos, she lay down with him and vanished[2]. Hephaistos fell to earth and spent his seed. The earth afterwards produced Erichthonios, whom Athena nurtured and shut up in a basket and entrusted to the daughters of Kekrops—Agraulos, Pandrosos, and Herse—charging them not to open the basket until she returned. She then went to Pellene[3] and fetched a mountain to serve as a bulwark in front of the Akropolis. The daughters of Kekrops, two of them, Agraulos and Pandrosos, opened the basket and saw two snakes coiled round Erichthonios. As Athena was carrying the mountain, which is now called Lykabettos, a crow—he states—met her and said "Erichthonios is exposed." She on hearing it threw down the mountain where it now is, and told the crow as bearer of evil tidings that never thereafter would it be lawful for it to go to the Akropolis.'

[1] Andron of Halikarnassos *frag.* 16 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 352 Müller) = *frag.* 1 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 67 f.) *ap.* Apollon. *hist. mir.* 8 Ἄνδρων ἐν τῇ δ' τῶν πρὸς Φίλιππον θυσιῶν· κορώνη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ εἰς τὴν ἀκρόπολιν οὐδεμία ἐώραται εἰσερχομένη, καθάπερ οὐδὲ ἐν Πάφῳ περὶ τὰ θυρώματα τὰ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης μυῖα ἐφιπταμένη (*supra* ii. 783 n. 3), Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 30 ab arcturi sidere ad hirundinum adventum notatur eam (*sc.* cornicem) in Minervae lucis templisque raro, alicubi omnino non adspici, sicut Athenis, Ail. *de nat. an.* 5. 8 κορώνη δὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀθηναίων ἀκρόπολιν οὐκ ἔστιν ἐπιβατά, cp. Ov. *am.* 2. 6. 35 armiferae cornix invisa Minervae, Hyg. *fab.* 166 hae cum cistulam aperuissent cornix indicavit (on the crow as a typical informer see O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 103 f.).

Some modern travellers accept as true the statement that crows avoid the top of the Akropolis (R. Chandler *Travels in Greece* Oxford 1776 p. 54 'Crows, as I have often observed, fly about the sides of the rock, without ascending to the height of the top'). But such avoidance cannot be 'due simply to the height of the hill' (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 99). Rather, the site is too rocky to furnish the crows' accustomed food. Besides, it is still tenanted by plenty of owls (on the war of owls *v.* crows see Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 1. 609 a 8 ff., Antigon. *hist. mir.* 57 (62), Plout. *de invidia et odio* 4, Ail. *de nat. an.* 3. 9, 5. 48, Souid. *s.v.* ἄλλο γλαύξ, ἄλλο κορώνη φθέγγεται, Zenob. 1. 69, Diogenian. 2. 16, *eiusd. cod. Vindob.* 1. 31, Greg. Kypr. 1. 39, Makar. 1. 80, Apostol. 2. 32, Arsen. p. 44 Walz. Cp. A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 245 f. ('The Owls and the Crows'), D'Arcy W. Thompson *op. cit.* pp. 46, 98, H. T. Francis—E. J. Thomas *Jātaka Tales* Cambridge 1916 p. 213 ff. ('The Owl as King')).

[2] *Supra* p. 222.

[3] Pellene, an ancient city of Achaia, 'stands on a hill which rises at the summit into a sharp point. The top is precipitous and therefore uninhabited' (Paus. 7. 27. 1. But see Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*). 'At the entrance into the city is a temple of Athena built of native stone. The image is of ivory and gold: they say that it was made by Pheidias before he made the images of Athena in the Akropolis of Athens and at Plataiai. The people of Pellene also say that there is an *ádyton* of Athena running down deep into the earth under the pedestal of the image, and that the air from this *ádyton* is damp, and therefore good for the ivory' (*id.* 7. 27. 2). The statue is shown on imperial bronze coins of Pellene (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 91 f. pl. S, 10, Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 183 f. fig. 25, H. Hitzig—H. Blümner on Paus. 7. 27. 2 with Münztaf. 5, 4, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 36 ('not by Pheidias'), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* New Haven, Yale University Press 1929 pp. 161, 173).

Amelesagoras' mention of Pellene is borne out by Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 1. 2, 11 Mair Πελλήνην ἐφίκανεν Ἀχαιΐδα. But Kallim. *frag.* 19 Schneider *ap. et. mag.* p. 160, 30 f.

Euripides, who likewise mentions the two snakes placed by Athena as guards over Erichthonios[1], further hints at the fate of the maidens: having opened the ark they must needs perish and stain the rocky cliff with their blood[2]. Apollodoros[3] is more explicit:

'Athena, wishing to make him (*sc.* Erichthonios) immortal, reared him in secret without the knowledge of the other gods. She laid him in a basket and entrusted it to Pandrosos, daughter of Kekrops, forbidding her to open the basket. But Pandrosos' sisters out of curiosity opened it and saw a snake coiled beside the babe. Then, as some say, they were destroyed by the snake itself, or, as others declare, by reason of Athena's anger they were driven mad and flung themselves down from the Akropolis.'

According to Hyginus[4], the sisters maddened by Athena hurled

ἡ μὲν ἀερτάζουσα μέγα τρύφος Ὑψιζύρου | ἄστυρον εἰσανέβαιν'—points rather to Pallene, the promontory of Chalkidike (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 36 oppida Pallene, Phlegra. qua in regione montes Hypsizorus, etc.), and this suits better the position of Lykabettos (N.E. of the Akropolis). See further Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 498 n. 1. Pallene→Akte (?) →Akropolis and Pallene→Lykabettos→Akropolis were alternative versions of the myth.

[1] Eur. *Ion* 21 ff. *κείνῳ γὰρ ἡ Διὸς κόρη | φρουρὸν παραζεύξασα φύλακε σώματος | δισσὼ δράκοντε παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι | δίδωσι σώζειν· ὅθεν Ἐρεχθείδαις ἔτι* (so J. Barnes for *ἐκεῖ* codd.) *| νόμος τίς ἐστιν ὄφεσιν ἐν χρυσηλάτοις | τρέφειν τέκν'* (on which custom see *ib.* 1427 ff. with the remarks of E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 113 n.: 'so haben diese Schlangen zweifellos eine apotropäische Bedeutung, die Kinder vor Unheil zu schützen; es scheint aber hinter dieser Sitte als tieferer Kern die sehr alte Vorstellung verborgen zu sein, wonach eigentlich zwischen Schlange und dämonischem Kind kein grosser Unterschied besteht,' cp. *Sostpolis* at Elis (Paus. 6. 20. 4 f., *supra* i. 58, ii. 1151), Zeus *Sostpolis* at Magnesia on the Maiandros (*supra* i. 58) *if* it be he who on a coin of the town is seated above a basket and snake (*supra* i. 153 fig. 128, O. Kern in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. Arch. Anz. p. 81), the snake born and suckled by Klytaimestra in her dream (Aisch. *cho.* 526 ff.), and the modern Greek custom of calling an unbaptised child *δρακος, δράκοντας* or *δράκαινα, δρακοῦλα, δρακόντισσα* according to sex (C. Wachsmuth *Das alte Griechenland im neuen* Bonn 1864 pp. 34, 62, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1905 ii. 64, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 331 n. 2)).

[2] Eur. *Ion* 267 ff. ΙΩΝ *ἐκ γῆς πατρός σου πρόγονος ἔβλαστεν πατήρ;* | ΚΡ. *Ἐριχθόνιός γε· τὸ δὲ γένος μ' οὐκ ὠφελεῖ.* | ΙΩΝ *ἦ καί σφ' Ἀθάνα γῆθεν ἐξανείλετο;* | ΚΡ. *ἐς παρθένους γε χεῖρας, οὐ τεκοῦσά νιν.* | ΙΩΝ *δίδωσι δ', ὥσπερ* (A. Kirchhoff cj. *αἴσπερ*) *ἐν γραφῇ νομίζεται* | ΚΡ. *Κέκροπός γε σώζειν παισὶν οὐχ ὁρώμενον.* | ΙΩΝ *ἤκουσα λῦσαι παρθένους τεῦχος θεᾶς.* | ΚΡ. *τοιγὰρ θανοῦσαι σκόπελον ἥμαξαν πέτρας.*

[3] Apollod. 3. 14. 6 (continuing the passage cited *supra* p. 218 ff.) *τοῦτον Ἀθηνᾶ κρύφα τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν ἔτρεφεν ἀθάνατον θέλουσα ποιῆσαι, καὶ καταθεῖσα αὐτὸν εἰς κίστην Πανδρόσῳ τῇ Κέκροπος παρακατέθετο* (*ἐπικατέθετο* cod. P.), *ἀπειποῦσα τὴν κίστην ἀνοίγειν. αἱ δὲ ἀδελφαὶ τῆς Πανδρόσου ἀνοίγουσιν ὑπὸ περιεργίας καὶ θεῶνται τῷ βρέφει παρεσπειραμένον* (C. G. Heyne cj. *περιεσπειραμένον*) *δράκοντα, καί, ὡς μὲν ἔνιοι λέγουσιν, ὑπ' αὐτοῦ διεφθάρησαν τοῦ δράκοντος, ὡς δὲ ἔνιοι, δι' ὀργὴν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐμμανεῖς γενόμεναι κατὰ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως αὐτὰς ἔρριψαν.*

[4] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13 eum dicitur Minerva in cistula quadam ut mysteria contectum ad Erechthei filias detulisse et his dedisse servandum; quibus interdixit, ne cistulam aperirent. sed ut hominum est natura cupida, ut eo magis appetant, quo interdicatur saepius, virgines cistam aperuerunt et anguem viderunt. quo facto, insania a Minerva iniecta, de arce Athenensium se praecipitaverunt. anguis autem ad Minervae clipeum confugit et ab ea est educatus.

themselves from the citadel at Athens, while the snake fled for refuge to the shield of Athena and was reared by the goddess. But the same author elsewhere[1] informs us that the maidens, when maddened by Athena, hurled themselves into the sea. The tale was popular, and later writers repeat it with other unimportant variations[2]. Under the empire the versions degenerate till Fulgentius[3] (*c.* 500 A.D.) makes the fateful basket entrusted 'to two sisters, Aglauros and Pandora'! Even Ovid[4], following some Hellenistic source (Nikandros ?)[5], and himself followed by a prose compiler misnamed Lactantius Placidus[6], rewrites the whole narrative in absurd romantic vein.

Miss J. E. Harrison[7] in an ingenious but hardly convincing passage claimed that the story of the Kekropides was invented to account for the ritual of the Arrhephoria. It may indeed have been an aetiological myth; for the Athenians are said to have performed mysterious rites for Agraulos and Pandrosos, who had sinned in opening the chest[8]. But it was the Kallynteria and the Plynteria

[1] Hyg. *fab.* 166 (continuing the passage cited *supra* p. 222 n. 6) quem Minerva cum clam nutriret, dedit in cistula servandum Aglauro Pandroso et Hersae Cecropis filiabus. hae cum cistulam aperuissent cornix indicavit (*supra* p. 238 n. 1); illae a Minerva insania obiecta ipsae se in mare praecipitaverunt.

The same alternative versions were given in the case of Aigeus' suicide (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 954, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 31 n. 13). The attempt to harmonise them was a failure (Nikokrates *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 466 Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 831 Νικοκράτης δέ φησιν ὅτι ἀπὸ Αἰγέως κατακρημνίσαντος ἑαυτὸν ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. οὐκ εὖ. πολὺ γὰρ ἀπέχει ἡ ἀκρόπολις τῆς θαλάσσης παραπλέοντι).

[2] The literary evidence was diligently collected and arranged by B. Powell *Erichthonius and the three Daughters of Cecrops* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* xvii) Ithaca, New York 1906 pp. 1—7, 56—63.

[3] Fulgent. *myth.* 2. 11 (continuing the passage cited *supra* p. 222 n. 7) quem Minerva in cistam abscondidit draconeque custode opposito duabus sororibus Aclauro et Pandorae commendavit.

[4] Ov. *met.* 2. 708—835.

[5] W. Vollgraff *Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 118.

[6] Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 2. 12 Athenis virgines per solemne sacrificium canistris Minervae ferunt pigmenta (B. Powell *op. cit.* pp. 5 n.[a], 40 n.[b] cj. *figmenta*): inter quas a Mercurio eminens specie conspecta est Herse Cecropis filia. itaque adgressus est sororem eius Aglauron, precatusque ut se Hersae sorori suae iungeret. at illa cum pro ministerio aurum eum poposcisset, Minerva graviter offensa est avaritia eius, ob quam cistulam etiam traditam sororibus eius custodiendam adversus suum praedictum aperuisset: Invidiae novissime imperavit eam sororis Herses exacerbare (so A. von Staveren, after Giselin, for *sorori Hersae exacerbavit* cod.) fortunio: diuque excruciatam saxo mutavit.

[7] Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxii ff., cp. *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 133, *ead. Primitive Athens* Cambridge 1906 p. 50 f.

[8] Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1 Schwartz ὁ δὲ Ἀθηναῖος Ἐρεχθεῖ Ποσειδῶνι θύει καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ Ἀθηνᾷ [καὶ τελετὰς καὶ μυστήρια Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν (*secl.* E. Schwartz)] καὶ Πανδρόσῳ, αἳ ἐνομίσθησαν ἀσεβεῖν ἀνοίξασαι τὴν λάρνακα. Athenagoras, like Amelesagoras (*supra* p. 237 f.), makes Agraulos and Pandrosos the guilty sisters. J. Toepffer in

rather than the Arrhephoria that were connected by the ancients with the life and death of Agraulos[1] or Aglauros[2]. And naturally so; for the Kallynteria fell on the nineteenth, the Plynteria probably on the twenty-fifth of Thargelion, and modern meteorological records taken in the Botanical Garden at Athens show that heavy dews begin to fail in May, are lacking throughout June, July, and August, and begin to return in September[3]. In mythological parlance, *Aglauros*, 'the Sparkling One,' dies. Her death was associated with the Plynteria, a very ill-omened day in Thargelion (May—June). Three weeks later, in the middle of Skirophorion (June—July), when the dew was rarer still, it became necessary to fertilise Mother Earth, not only with white clay (*skîros*) used as a manure, but also by means of a ceremonial dew-bearing. This was done in the Arrhephoria, as we have already seen.

Closer investigation[4] makes it probable that Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse were not originally a triad of sisters. Of the three, Aglauros appears to have been the eldest and most venerable. Euripides speaks of them all as 'the Aglaurid maidens[5]' or, again,

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 828 identifies these τελεταὶ καὶ μυστήρια with the ὄργια... ἀπόρρητα performed by the Praxiergidai at the Plynteria (Plout. *v. Alk.* 34).

Bekker *anecd.* i. 239, 7 ff. Δειπνοφόρος· ἑορτῆς ὄνομα. Δειπνοφορία γάρ ἐστι τὸ φέρειν δεῖπνα ταῖς Κέκροπος θυγατράσιν Ἕρσῃ καὶ Πανδρόσῳ καὶ Ἀγραύλῳ. ἐφέρετο δὲ πολυτελῶς κατά τινα μυστικὸν λόγον. καὶ τοῦτο ἐποίουν οἱ πολλοί· φιλοτιμίας γὰρ εἶχετο is discredited by K. F. Hermann *Lehrbuch der griechischen Antiquitäten* Heidelberg 1832 i § 56, 12 and Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 284 n. 4 ('Herse und Aglauros mochte man als erste Ersephoren ansehen, und da die Ersephoren im Pyanopsion den Peplos zu beginnen hatten [*supra* pp. 166, 212], so ward die diesem Monat angehörige Speisung, welche den Oschophoren galt [Philochoros *ap.* Bekker *anecd.* i. 239, 11 ff.], für die Ersephoren in Anspruch genommen'). But see J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 829 and *infra* p. 242 n. 10.

[1] Phot. *lex. s.v.* Καλλυντήρια καὶ Πλυντήρια· ἑορτῶν ὀνόματα· γίνονται μὲν αὗται Θαργηλιῶνος μηνός, ἑνάτῃ μὲν ἐπὶ δέκα Καλλυντήρια, δευτέρᾳ δὲ φθίνοντος τὰ Πλυντήρια· τὰ μὲν Πλυντήριά φησι διὰ <τὸ μετὰ> τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἐντὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι <τὰς ἱερὰς> ἐσθῆτας· εἶθ' οὕτω πλυθείσας τὴν ὀνομασίαν λαβεῖν ταύτην· τὰ δὲ Καλλυντήρια, ὅτι πρώτη δοκεῖ ἡ Ἄγραυλος γενομένη ἱέρεια τοὺς θεοὺς κοσμῆσαι· διὸ καὶ Καλλυντήρια αὐτῇ ἀπέδειξαν· καὶ γὰρ τὸ <καλλύνειν> κοσμεῖν καὶ λαμπρύνειν ἐστίν. The words inserted are due to S. A. Naber, who cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 270, 1 ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ καλλύνειν καὶ κοσμεῖν καὶ λαμπρύνειν. Ἄγραυλος γὰρ ἱέρεια πρώτη γενομένη τοὺς θεοὺς ἐκόσμησε. Πλυντήρια δὲ καλεῖται διὰ τὸ μετὰ τὸν θάνατον τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἐνὸς ἐνιαυτοῦ μὴ πλυθῆναι τὰς ἱερὰς ἐσθῆτας.

[2] Hesych. *s.v.* Πλυντήρια· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἣν ἐπὶ τῇ Ἀγλαύρου τῆς Κέκροπος θυγατρὸς τιμῇ ἄγουσιν.

[3] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 8 n. 2, cp. *infra* § 9 (h) ii (*e*).

[4] Miss J. E. Harrison 'The Three Daughters of Cecrops' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 350—355 was, so far as I know, the first to attempt any general investigation of the subject. She was followed by H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 135 ff. And he, by B. Powell *Erichthonius and the three Daughters of Cecrops* (*Cornell Studies in Classical Philology* xvii) Ithaca, New York 1906 pp. 1—86 figs. 1—12.

[5] Eur. *Ion* 23 παρθένοις Ἀγλαυρίσι (cod. P, *supra* p. 239 n. 1).

as 'the three daughters of Agraulos (Aglauros?)'[1], and later writers state that their mother Agraulos or Agraulis[2] had for sire Aktaios[3] or Aktaion[4]. But this duplication or distortion of her name is, of course, a mere genealogist's device. In unsophisticated times there was but one Aglauros, she whose precinct lay beneath the steep northern side of the Akropolis[5]. Here the Athenian youths assembled to swear that they would fight till death on behalf of their country[6]. This solemn oath took a curious and unexpected form. The young soldiers swore that they would regard wheat, barley, the vine, and the olive as the boundaries of Attike, deeming their own all the tamed and fruitful earth[7]. The emphasis thus placed on earth as 'fruitful' (*karpophóros*) recalls the rock-cut inscription of Ge *Karpophóros* still legible on the summit of the Akropolis[8]. It is, indeed, probable that Aglauros herself was, to begin with, none other than the earth-goddess 'Sparkling[9]' with the dew which enabled her to bring forth in their season corn and oil and wine. And on these things human life depended. Demeter *Kourotróphos*, 'Who rears the young,' was worshipped, and rightly worshipped, in the precinct of Aglauros[10].

[1] Eur. *Ion* 496 Ἀγραύλου (A. W. Verrall prints Ἀγλαύρου) *κόραι τρίγονοι*.

[2] Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 *τῇ* Ἀγραύλῳ *τῇ* Κέκροπος *καὶ νύμφης* Ἀγραυλίδος.

[3] Apollod. 3. 14. 2 Κέκροψ *δὲ γήμας τὴν* Ἀκταίου *κόρην* Ἄγραυλον *παῖδα μὲν ἔσχεν* Ἐρυσίχθονα, *ὃς ἄτεκνος μετήλλαξε, θυγατέρας δὲ* Ἄγραυλον Ἔρσην Πάνδροσον, Paus. 1. 2. 6 *ἀποθανόντος δὲ* Ἀκταίου Κέκροψ *ἐκδέχεται τὴν ἀρχὴν θυγατρὶ συνοικῶν* Ἀκταίου (cp. 1. 14. 7), *καὶ οἱ γίνονται θυγατέρες μὲν* Ἔρση *καὶ* Ἄγλαυρος *καὶ* Πάνδροσος, *υἱὸς δὲ* Ἐρυσίχθων.

[4] Skamon of Mytilene (*s.* iv B.C., according to F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 437) *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 489 f. Müller) *ap.* Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Φοινικήια γράμματα, cp. Apostol. 17. 89 (Κάμων, Ἀκταίονος, Ἀγλαύρην, Ἀκταίονα), makes Aktaion the father of Aglauros, Herse, Pandrosos, and Phoinike. See further J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1212.

[5] Paus. 1. 18. 2, cp. Eur. *Ion* 497 f.

[6] Dem. *de fals. leg.* 303, Lykourg. *in Leocr.* 76 f., Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 21 p. 141 Kayser. The oath is quoted by Poll. 8. 105 f., cp. Stob. *flor.* 43. 48 p. 14, 7 ff. Hense.

Philochor. *frag.* 14 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 386 Müller) *ap.* Ulpian. *in* Dem. *de fals. leg.* 303 (p. 95 b 32 ff. Baiter—Sauppe) Ἄγραυλος *καὶ* Ἔρση *καὶ* Πάνδροσος *θυγατέρες* Κέκροπος, *ὡς φησιν ὁ* Φιλόχορος. Λέγουσι *δὲ ὅτι πολέμου συμβάντος παρ'* Ἀθηναίοις, *ὅτε ὁ* Εὔμολπος *ἐστράτευσε κατὰ* Ἐρεχθέως, *καὶ μηκυνομένου τούτου ἔχρησεν ὁ* Ἀπόλλων *ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι, ἐάν τις ἀνέλῃ ἑαυτὸν ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως. ἡ τοίνυν* Ἄγραυλος *ἑκοῦσα αὐτὴν ἐξέδωκεν εἰς θάνατον· ἔρριψε γὰρ ἑαυτὴν ἐκ τοῦ τείχους. εἶτα ἀπαλλαγέντος τοῦ πολέμου ἱερὸν ὑπὲρ τούτου ἐστήσαντο αὐτῇ περὶ τὰ Προπύλαια τῆς πόλεως· καὶ ἐκεῖσε ὤμνυον οἱ ἐφηβοι μέλλοντες ἐξιέναι εἰς πόλεμον.*

[7] Plout. *v. Alcib.* 15 *οὐ μὴν ἀλλὰ καὶ τῆς γῆς συνεβούλευεν ἀντέχεσθαι τοῖς* Ἀθηναίοις, *καὶ τὸν ἐν* Ἀγραύλου *προβαλλόμενον ἀεὶ τοῖς ἐφήβοις ὅρκον ἔργῳ βεβαιοῦν. ὀμνύουσι γὰρ ὅροις χρήσασθαι τῆς* Ἀττικῆς *πυροῖς, κριθαῖς, ἀμπέλοις, ἐλαίαις, οἰκείαν ποιεῖσθαι διδασκόμενοι τὴν ἥμερον καὶ καρποφόρον.* Cp. Cic. *de rep.* 3. 15 Athenienses iurare etiam publice solebant, omnem suam esse terram, quae oleam frugesve ferret.

[8] *Supra* ii. 21 n. 4.

[9] *Supra* p. 237 n. 2.

[10] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 372 (with facsimile on pl. 4) Κουροτρόφου | *ἐξ* Ἀγλαύρου |

Pandrosos too had a sanctuary of her own[1], called the Pandroseion[2], immediately adjoining the Erechtheion at its western end[3]. Here grew the sacred olive[4], beneath which stood the altar of Zeus *Herkeîos*[5]. And, just as the youths of Athens in the fourth century B.C. swore in the precinct of Aglauros that they would defend their country and preserve the fruitful earth[6], so in the first century B.C., when about to take the field, they offered a sacrifice on the Akropolis

Δήμη(τ)ρος, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 266 pl. 1 (note the proximity of no. 371 Δειπνοφόρο[ις], cp. *supra* p. 241 n. o). Hesych. *s.v.* Κουροτρόφος· *παιδοτρόφος. ὑφ' ἑτέρων ἡ Δημήτηρ.*

[1] Paus. 1. 27. 2 *τῷ ναῷ δὲ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς Πανδρόσου ναὸς συνεχής ἐστι.*

[2] (1) *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 322 *a* 44 f. and 63, 69 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 571 i 44 f. and ii 63, 69 f. = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 318 ff. no. 117 i 44 f. and ii 63, 69 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 372 i 44 f. and ii 171, 177 f. = L. D. Caskey in J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Mass. 1927 p. 276 ff. no. 2 i 44 f. *τὸν κιόνο[ν τὸν ἐπὶ τῶ τοίχο | τῶ πρὸς τῶ Πανδροσείο* and ii 63 *ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς τῶ Πανδροσεί(ο)*, 69 f. *ἐπὶ τὸν τοῖχον τὸν πρὸς | τῶ Πανδροσείο* (409/8 B.C.). Cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 321, 43 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 373 i 43 f. = Caskey *loc. cit.* no. 8 A, 43 f.

(2) *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 3 p. 148 ff. no. 321 2, 19 f., 27 f. and 3, 6, iv. 1. 2 p. 74 ff. no. 321 iii 31 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 373 ii 74 f., iii 114 f., 127 f., v 251 ff. = Caskey *loc. cit.* no. 10 i 19 f. *[ἐπὶ τῶι τοίχοι τ]ῶι πρὸς τ][ῶ Πανδροσείο]*, ii 27 f. *ἐπὶ τῶ[μ πρ]ὸς τῶ Πανδροσείο | αἰετόν*, 40 f. *ἐργασίας τῶ | [πρὸς] τῶ Πα[νδροσείο αἰ]ετῶ*, no. 11 iii 31 ff. *διαφάρχσαν|τι τὰ μετακιόνια, τέτταρα ὄντα, τὰ | πρὸς τῶ Πανδροσείο* (409/8 B.C.).

(3) *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 829, 11 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2. 1 no. 1654 *b* 34 = Caskey *loc. cit.* no. 28, 36 *κατὰ τὸ Πανδρόσειο[ν]* (405/4 or 395/4 B.C.).

[3] J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Cambridge, Mass. 1927 pp. 119—127 ('The Pandroseum') and Index p. 669.

[4] *Supra* p. 187 n. 2.

[5] Philochor. *frag.* 146 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 408 f. Müller) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *de Dinarch.* 3 *ἐν δὲ τῇ ἑνάτῃ φησί (sc. ὁ Φιλόχορος)· 'τοῦ δ' ἐνιαυτοῦ τουδὶ (307/6 B.C.) διελθόντος, ἐτέρου δ' ἐλαιόντος, ἐν ἀκροπόλει σημεῖον ἐγένετο τοιοῦτο. κύων εἰς τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος νεὼν εἰσελθοῦσα, καὶ δῦσα εἰς τὸ Πανδρόσιον, ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν ἀναβᾶσα τοῦ Ἑρκείου Διὸς τὸν ὑπὸ τῇ ἐλαίᾳ κατέκειτο. πάτριον δ' ἐστὶ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις κύνα μὴ ἀναβαίνειν εἰς ἀκρόπολιν.'* The topographical bearings of this passage are discussed by J. M. Paton *op. cit.* p. 747 f. On the cult of Zeus *Ἑρκεῖος* or *Μεσέρκειος* (schol. B.L.T. *Il.* 16. 231, Hesych. *s.v. Μεσέρκ(ε)ιον*) see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 686 f. Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 111, *à propos* of the rule that the *flamen Dialis* must neither touch nor mention a dog or a goat, says *φασὶν ἔνιοι μήτε τῆς Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλεως ἐπιβαίνειν κύνα μήτε τῆς Δηλίων νήσου, διὰ τὴν ἐμφανῆ μίξιν κ.τ.λ.* Similarly dogs would not enter the island of Sygaros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 6. 155), nor the temple of Hercules in the Forum Boarium at Rome (*supra* ii. 783). Any dog that entered the market-place at Argos during the days called *ἀργηίδες* was killed (Klearch. *frag.* 79 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 327 Müller) *ap.* Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34, cp. Athen. 99 E—F *μὴ καί τινα Κυνοφόντιν ἑορτὴν ποιησώμεθα ἀντὶ τῆς παρ' Ἀργείοις ἐπιτελουμένης*)—a custom explained by the story that dogs had torn to pieces Linos the son of Apollon by Psamathe daughter of Krotopos (Konon *narr.* 19). S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1793 i. 781 ff., L. Hopf *Thierorakel und Orakelthiere in alter und neuer Zeit* Stuttgart 1888 p. 55 ff., and F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2573 ff. collect facts bearing on the significance of dogs in ancient religion. And Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 13 n. 6 has a parallel to the avoidance of dogs drawn from the Kafirs of the Hindoo Koosh.

[6] *Supra* p. 242.

'to Athena *Polias* and to the *Kourotróphos* and to Pandrosos[1].' It is reasonable to infer that Pandrosos, like Aglauros[2], was only another name for Ge[3]. *Kourotróphos* too was, at Athens, an epithet of the same goddess[4]. Ge *Kourotróphos* was worshipped near the western approach to the Akropolis[5], and Souidas[6] dwells on the importance of her cult:

'They say that Erichthonios was the first to sacrifice to her on the Akropolis and to build her an altar, in gratitude for Earth having reared him. He also made it customary that those who sacrificed to any god should sacrifice first to her[7].'

Details are of interest. When a cow was sacrificed to Athena, a sheep was first sacrificed to Pandrosos[8] or, as others would have it,

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 481, 58 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1. 2 no. 1039 iii 58 f. (attributed to the period 83—73 B.C., though W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 145 says 48—42 B.C.) ὁμ[οίως δὲ κα]ὶ τὰ ἐξιτητήρια ἐν ἀκρο|πόλει τῆι τε Ἀθηνᾶι τῆι Πολιάδι καὶ τῆι Κουρ[οτρό]φωι καὶ τῆι Πανδρόσ[ωι κα]ὶ ἐκαλλι-ερήσαν.

[2] *Supra* p. 242.

[3] This conclusion was anticipated by Miss J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 352: 'Pandrosos...is none other than a form of Ge Themis, who is but the earlier aspect of Demeter Thesmophoros.'

[4] Aristoph. *thesm.* 299 καὶ τῇ Κουροτρόφῳ [τῇ Γῇ (this gloss was expunged by P. P. Dobree, cp. the scholl. εἴτε τῇ γῇ εἴτε τῇ ἑστίᾳ)]. See further B. Prehn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2215, who cites Solon *frag.* 43 Bergk[4] *ap.* Chorik. p. 107 Boissonade ταῦτα δή σου τῆς πόλεως τὰ γνωρίσματα, ἦν αἱ κοιναὶ τοῦ βίου θεράπαιναι γῆ τε καὶ θάλασσα τοῖς ἑαυτῆς ἑκατέρα δώροις ἀβρύνει· γῆ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς ἐνοικοῦσιν ἐπίσταται φέρειν ὅσα τίκτουσιν ὧραι, ὑπτία τε πᾶσα καὶ καθειμένη, καὶ τὸ τοῦ Σόλωνος, 'λιπαρὴ κουροτρόφος'· θάλαττα δὲ κ.τ.λ., Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 144, 4 ff. Diehl οὕτω δὴ καὶ αὕτη (*sc.* ἡ γῆ) δυνάμεις ἔχει ποικίλας, καὶ ὡς μὲν 'τροφὸς' τὴν τελεσιουργὸν μιμεῖται τάξιν, καθ' ἣν καὶ πάτριον Ἀθηναίοις 'κουροτρόφον' αὐτὴν ὑμνεῖν καὶ 'ἀνησιδώραν,' ὡς καὶ ἀνιεῖσαν τὰ φυτὰ καὶ τὰ ζῷα καὶ τρέφουσαν, κ.τ.λ., *et. mag.* p. 529, 50 f. κορεσθῆναι· ὅτι Κουροτροφον τὴν γῆν καλοῦσι, καὶ τὸν ἐκ ταύτης καρπὸν Κόρην, κ.τ.λ., and A. R. Rangabé *Antiquités helléniques* Athènes 1855 ii. 746 no. 1083 Καλλίας Ἀγαθάρχου . . Γῇ Κουροτρόφωι (an inscription noted by K. S. Pittakis 'à l'entrée de l'Acropole,' but now lost).

[5] Paus. 1. 22. 3 (cited *supra* p. 177 n. 1) with Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*

[6] Souid. *s.v.* κουροτρόφος· παιδοτρόφος (cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Κουροτρόφος). Κουροτρόφος Γῆ. ταύτῃ δὲ θῦσαί φασι πρῶτον Ἐριχθόνιον ἐν ἀκροπόλει καὶ βωμὸν ἱδρύσασθαι, χάριν ἀποδιδόντα τῇ Γῇ τῶν τροφείων· καταστῆσαι δὲ νόμιμον τοὺς θύοντάς τινι θεῷ ταύτῃ προθύειν. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig und Berlin 1910 p. 31 n. 5 holds that this *πρόθυμα* consisted in an offering probably of grain, possibly of blood, but hardly of a prescribed animal, and in any case must not be confused with the sheep for Pandrosos (*infra* n. 8).

[7] Cp. Plat. com. Φάων *frag.* 2. 7 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 674 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 441 F πρῶτα μὲν ἐμοὶ γὰρ Κουροτρόφῳ προθύεται | πλακοῦς ἐνόρχης, ἄμυλος ἐγκύμων, κ.τ.λ.

[8] Philochor. *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr* i. 389 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* ἐπίβοιον· Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς ἱερείας (*frag.* 4 Sauppe). Φιλόχορος δ' ἐν β' φησὶν οὕτως· 'ἐὰν δέ τις τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ θύῃ βοῦν, ἀναγκαῖόν ἐστι καὶ τῇ Πανδρόσῳ (so codd. B.C.P.Q. πανδώρᾳ cod. A. ed. Ald. and the epitome Harpokr.) θύειν ὄϊν, καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ θῦμα ἐπίβοιον.' ὁμοίως καὶ Στάφυλος ἐν α' τῶν περὶ Ἀθηνῶν (*frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 506 Müller)).

to Pandora, this preliminary sacrifice being known as *epiboion*[1]. Pandrosos had a circular garment called *podónychon*[2] or *podónychos*[3]. Her priestess[4], according to Pollux[5], wore the same sacred attire. But Photios[6] and Souidas[7] are apparently alluding to the same vestment when they state that the *protónion* is a small *himátion* worn by the priestess and from her transferred to the man slaying the victim. They add that it was named *protónion* because Pandrosos, or Pandora, with her sisters was the first (*próte*) to make woollen raiment for men. The etymology, as usual, is naught, but the rite of the transferred garment is of value as providing a parallel to the custom implied by the *péplos*-scene on the eastern frieze of the Parthenon[8].

The case of Herse is different. She is definitely a personification of the Dew, and as such must be comparatively late. Hence, though Athenian youths swore by Agraulos[9], who indeed heads their list of witnessing deities[10], and though Athenian women might swear either by Agraulos[11] or, less frequently, by Pandrosos[12], nobody swore by Herse[13]. Nor had she, unless we can credit an unsupported statement of Ovid[14], any sanctuary set apart for her. Again, Athena—

[1] Souid. *s.v.* *ἐπίβοιον· ὅταν τις τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἕθυε βοῦν, ἔθυε καὶ τῇ Πανδώρᾳ ὃν μετὰ βοός· καὶ ἐκαλεῖτο τὸ θῦμα ἐπίβοιον.* Favorin. *lex.* p. 701, 7 ff. combines Philochor. *frag.* 32 (*supra* p. 244 n. 8) with Souidas' *ὃν μετὰ βοός*, adding *de suo καὶ ἐπιβοῖον τὸ ἐπὶ τῇ θυομένῃ βοΐ θυόμενον.*

[2] Phot. *lex. s.v.* *ποδώνυχον* (*πανδώνυχον* cod.)· *ἐσθὴς τῆς Πανδρόσου κυκλοτερής.*

[3] Hesych. *s.v.* *ποδώνυχος* (*ποδώνυμος* cod.)· *ἐσθὴς ἱερὰ τῆς Πανδρόσου.*

[4] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1160 (a broken base of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis) [*ὁ δῆμ*]*ος* – – | – – *Δημοχάρου* | [– – – *θ*]*υγατέρα* | [*ἱέρειαν* (?) *Παν*]*δρόσου*, cp. *ib.* no. 1369 (a round base of Hymettian marble found on the Akropolis) *Ἀγλαύρου ἱέρεα Φειδοστράτη* | *Ἐτεοκλέους Αἰθαλίδου θυγάτηρ.*

[5] Poll. 10. 191 *εἰ δὲ βούλει καὶ ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν σκευῶν, ἔστι μὲν ὑφάσματα, καλεῖται δὲ ἱστριανόν, προτόνιον, ἡμίμιτρον. ποδώνυχον ἡ ἐσθὴς τῆς ἱερείας τῆς Πανδρόσου.*

[6] Phot. *lex. s.v.* *προτόνιον· ἱματίδιον ὃ ἡ ἱέρεια ἀμφιέννυται· ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερείας τῷ σφάττοντι· προτόνιον δὲ ἐκλήθη ὅτι πρώτη Πάνδροσος μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατεσκεύασε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων ἐσθῆτα.* This hangs together with the attempt to derive *Ἔρι-χθόνιος* from *ἔριον* (*supra* p. 220).

[7] Souid. *s.v.* *προτόνιον· ἱματίδιον ὃ ἱέρεια ἀμφιέννυται· ἐπιτίθεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς ἱερείας τῷ σφάττοντι· προτόνιον δὲ ἐκλήθη ὅτι πρώτη Πανδώρα μετὰ τῶν ἀδελφῶν κατεσκεύασε τοῖς ἀνθρώποις τὴν ἐκ τῶν ἐρίων ἐσθῆτα.*

[8] *Supra* ii. 1136 (pl. xliv).

[9] *Supra* p. 242 f.

[10] Poll. 8. 106 *ἴστορες θεοί, Ἄγραυλος, Ἐνυάλιος, Ἄρης, Ζεύς, Θαλλώ, Αὐξώ, Ἡγεμόνη.*

[11] Aristoph. *thesm.* 533 *οὔ τοι μὰ τὴν Ἄγραυλον* (R. F. B. Brunck cj. *Ἄγλαυρον*), *ὦ γυναῖκες, εὖ φρονεῖτε* with schol. *ad loc. κατὰ* (so I. Bekker for *ἐκ* codd.) *τῆς Ἀγραύλου ἄμυνον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς Πανδρόσου σπανιώτερον, κατὰ δὲ τῆς Ἕρσης οὐχ εὑρήκαμεν.*

[12] Aristoph. *Lys.* 439 f. *εἰ τἄρα νὴ τὴν Πάνδροσον ταύτῃ μόνον* | *τὴν χεῖρ' ἐπιβαλεῖς, ἐπιχεσεῖ πατούμενος* with schol. *thesm.* 533 (quoted *supra* n. 11).

[13] Schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 533 (quoted *supra* n. 11).

[14] Ov. *met.* 2. 737 ff. pars secreta domus ebore et testudine cultos | tres habuit thalamos,

originally an earth-goddess[1] or mountain-mother[2]—absorbed into her all-prevailing cult the worship of both Aglauros and Pandrosos, and was occasionally called Athena *Aglauros*[3] and Athena *Pándrosos*[4]; but she never came to be equated with Herse. We may, then, subscribe to Usener's opinion that Herse is later than Pandrosos, Pandrosos than Aglauros, the three names being progressively clearer expressions for a single religious idea[5].

Aglauros[6] and Pandrosos[7], if not Herse also, were—we have seen—intimately associated with a goddess dubbed *Kourotróphos*. What better guardians could Athena have found for the infant Erichthonios? Perhaps they fed him, shut up in the basket, on dew[8].

Some support for this surmise might be found in the myth that the Muses fed Komatas, shut up in a chest, on honey[9], or in the tale of Meliteus, son of Zeus by the nymph Othreïs, who through fear of Hera was exposed in a wood, but was there fed and fattened by bees[10]. For honey, as W. H. Roscher[11] has well shown, was held by most Greeks and Romans to be a sort of dew, which fell from the sky on trees and flowers and was thence collected by the bees.

Another case of confinement and dew-diet is that of Tithonos. Herse, some said, became by Hermes the mother of Kephalos[12]. Kephalos, they added, was carried off by Eos, the 'Dawn,' to Syria

quorum tu, Pandrose, dextrum, | Aglauros laevum, medium possederat Herse. *Supra* p. 240 Ovid's three *thalami* may be derived from the internal arrangement of the Erechtheion, modified to suit Roman readers familiar with the Etruscan temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*.

[1] *Supra* p. 200 n. 0.

[2] *Supra* pp. 224, 236.

[3] Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἄγλαυρος (ἄγραυλος codd. A.C.M.Q. But the alphabetical order requires ἄγλ—)· ἡ θυγάτηρ Κέκροπος. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ἐπώνυμον Ἀθηνᾶς, Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 1 p. 1 Schwartz (cited *supra* p. 240 n. 8).

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *Lys.* 439 θυγατέρες Κέκροπος Πάνδροσος καὶ Ἀγραύλη (R. F. P. Brunck cj. Ἄγραυλος). ἐκ τῆς Πανδρόσου δὲ καὶ ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ Πάνδροσος καλεῖται.

[5] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 139.

[6] *Supra* p. 242.

[7] *Supra* p. 244.

[8] It is on record that Herse, Pandrosos, and Agraulos had a popular festival called *Deipnophoría*, at which a dinner was served for them with much pomp in accordance with a mystic tale (*supra* p. 240 n. 8); and it is known that certain *Deipnophóroi* occupied a seat in the theatre adjoining that of the *Kourotróphos* worshipped in the sanctuary of Aglauros (*supra* p. 242 n. 10). But of the nurture supplied by the Kekropides to their *koûros* nothing explicit is said.

[9] Theokr. 7. 78 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*

[10] Ant. Lib. 13 (after Nikandros ἑτεροιούμενα 2).

[11] W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 pp. 9, 13 ff., cp. W. Robert-Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione* Berolini 1893 p. 75 ff.

[12] Apollod. 3. 14. 3. Hermes' union with Herse is hardly older than the Hellenistic age (*supra* p. 240 nn. 4 and 5). In Hyg. *fab.* 160 he becomes the father of Kephalos by Kreousa, daughter of Erechtheus. Other pedigrees are noted by A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1089 ff. and F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 217 f.

and there begat Tithonos the father of Phaethon[1]. Some such sequence of mythical events must have been known to the painter of the red-figured *kýlix* from Corneto, now at Berlin (*supra* p. 186 fig. 95); for, whereas on the outside of the cup Herse witnesses the birth of Erichthonios, on the inside Heos is carrying off Kephalos. Be that as it may, we are concerned with the fortunes of Tithonos. The Homeric *Hymn to Aphrodite* (*s.* vi (?) B.C.[2]) says that, when Tithonos despite his Zeus-given immortality began to get gray-headed, Eos refrained from union with him, but tended him in her halls with food and ambrosia (*i.e.* honey) and, as downright old age crept upon him till he could not stir, shut him up in a chamber (*thálamos*), where his voice flows on unceasingly[3]. The poet is hinting, discreetly enough, at a tale that later writers tell with more directness. When Tithonos grew so old that he rolled himself round in a wool-

Fig. 153.

basket or a basket-cradle (*líknon*) and slept like a baby (fig. 153)[4], the goddess transformed him into a cicala (*téttix*)[5]. Confusion

[1] Apollod. 3. 14. 3. But the parentage of Tithonos is variously given. He is also described as the son of Laomedon (*Il.* 20. 237) by Strymo (schol. A.B.D. *Il.* 11. 1, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 18) or Trymo (schol. V. *Il.* 20. 237) or Rhoio (schol. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 18).

[2] W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 240. See further T. W. Allen—E. E. Sikes *The Homeric Hymns* London 1904 p. 197 f.

[3] *H. Aphr.* 218 ff.

[4] E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pp. 8, 16 pl. 4, 4 (*id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften* Berlin 1866 i. 149, 347 pl. 8, 4) = my fig. 153, J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1029 fig. 4 an Etruscan relief in stamped gold foil, found at Vulci, then in the Campana collection, and later at Petrograd (?). It represents Eos pouring the contents of a jug (?) over Tithonos, who lies on a concave couch or cradle.

[5] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 18 ἀθάνατον δὲ τὸν Τιθωνὸν ποιήσασα ἐπελάθετο ποιῆσαι καὶ ἀγήρω. γηράσαντα δὲ τοσοῦτον ὡς ἐν ταλάρῳ καὶ λίκνῳ (Eudok. *viol.* 920 has ὡς ἐν ταλάρῳ καὶ λίκνῳ, ἤτοι κωφῷ) αὐτὸν περιστρεφόμενον δίκην βρεφυλλίου καθεύδειν εἰς τέττιγα μετέβαλεν, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1528, 1 ff. λῆρος (ληρεῖ? λῆροι?) δὲ ὁ μῦθος περὶ Τιθωνοῦ, καὶ ὅτι διὰ γῆρας ἐν ταλάρῳ ἢ καρτάλῳ τῷ δηλουμένῳ ἐν τοῖς τοῦ κωμικοῦ ἐκρεμάσθη, ὡς ἂν δηλαδὴ μὴ φαίνοιτο τοῖς πολλοῖς, ἢ εἰς τέττιγα μετεβλήθη.

between the *liknon* and the *kernos*[1], which figured in similar rites[2], may account for the late tradition that the couch of Eos and Tithonos was on Kerne[3], an island off the west coast of Libye or, as mythographers and poets declared, at the ends of the habitable earth[4]. Two points appear to justify the comparison of Tithonos with Erichthonios. We have seen[5] that Athena, wishing to make Erichthonios immortal, kept him as an infant in a basket (pl. xxix and fig. 154)[6]. Similarly Eos, bent on making Tithonos not only deathless but ageless, tended him like a babe in a basket[7]. Again, we

[1] For the λίκνον see Miss J. E. Harrison 'Mystica Vannus Iacchi' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 292 ff., *ib.* 1904 xxiv. 241 ff., *ead.* 'Note on the Mystica Vannus Iacchi' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 144 ff., *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 401 ff. ('Dionysos Liknites'), 517 ff. ('The Liknophoria'), H. G. Pringsheim *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults* München 1905 pp. 29—38, Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 536—538, W. Kroll *ib.* xiii. 538—541.

For the *κέρνος*, D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1885 pp. 171—174, *ib.* 1906 pp. 197—212, R. C. Bosanquet in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1896—1897 iii. 57—61 ('The so-called Kernoi'), H. von Fritze in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897 pp. 163—174, K. Kourouniotes 'ΚΕΡΝΟΙ' *ib.* 1898 pp. 21—28, O. Rubensohn 'Kerchnos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 271—306, L. Couve in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 822—825, E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 69—72, B. Staes in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1901 pp. 11—21, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d' Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 169—191, R. M. Dawkins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1903—1904 x. 220—223, H. G. Pringsheim *op. cit.* pp. 69—78, S. Xanthoudides 'Cretan Kernoi' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 9—23, Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 316—326, C. D. Bicknell in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 231.

The two utensils are confused by the schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 c p. 913 *a* 42 *κέρνος δὲ τὸ λίκνον ἤγουν τὸ πτύον ἐστίν*. S. N. Dragoumes in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1901 xxvi. 46 infers from Poll. 4. 103 *τὰς δὲ πινακίδας ὠρχοῦντο οὐκ οἶδα εἴτ' ἐπὶ πινάκων εἴτε πίνακας φέροντες· τὸ γὰρ κερνοφόρον ὄρχημα οἶδ' ὅτι λίκνα ἢ ἐσχαρίδας φέροντες· κέρνα δὲ ταῦτα ἐκαλεῖτο* that *θυμιατήριον* and *λίκνον* had both come to be identified in popular parlance with the old mystic *κέρνος*.

[2] Ammonios of Lamptrai *περὶ βωμῶν καὶ θυσιῶν frag.* 6 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 96) *ap.* Athen. 476 E—F, Polemon of Ilion *περὶ τοῦ Δίου κῳδίου frag.* 2 (Tresp *Frag. Gr. Kultschr.* p. 87 f.) *ap.* Athen. 478 C—D. See further Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 159, Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 317 f.

[3] Lyk. *Al.* 16 ff. with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, cp. 1084 with schol. and Tzetz. *ad loc.*

[4] C. T. Fischer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 315 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 238.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 243 no. E 372 a red-figured *pelike* from Kameiros showing (*a*) Athena and Erichthonios, who sits up in his basket to greet her. The wicker lid (cp. Ov. *met.* 2. 554) is off, and from the rock (Akropolis) rise two spotted snakes (Eur. *Ion* 23 cited *supra* p. 239 n. 1), one bearded, one beardless. (*b*) Two draped figures moving to the right, probably Aglauros and Herse, but possibly two youths by mistake of the artist (so Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. xxxii). See further R. Engelmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879 li. 62 ff. pl. F, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1306 f. fig., H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1879 li. 112 ff., Harrison *op. cit.* p. xxxi f. fig. 4, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 808 fig. 2766, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 342, 2. Existing illustrations being inadequate, I have given both a photographic plate and a development of the design by Miss E. T. Talbot.

[7] *Supra* p. 247.

a *b*

Pelike from Kameiros, now in the British Museum :
(*a*) Athena finds Erichthonios in his basket guarded by two snakes.
(*b*) Aglauros (?) and Herse (?) make off.

See page 248 *n.* 6 and *page* 249 *fig.* 154.

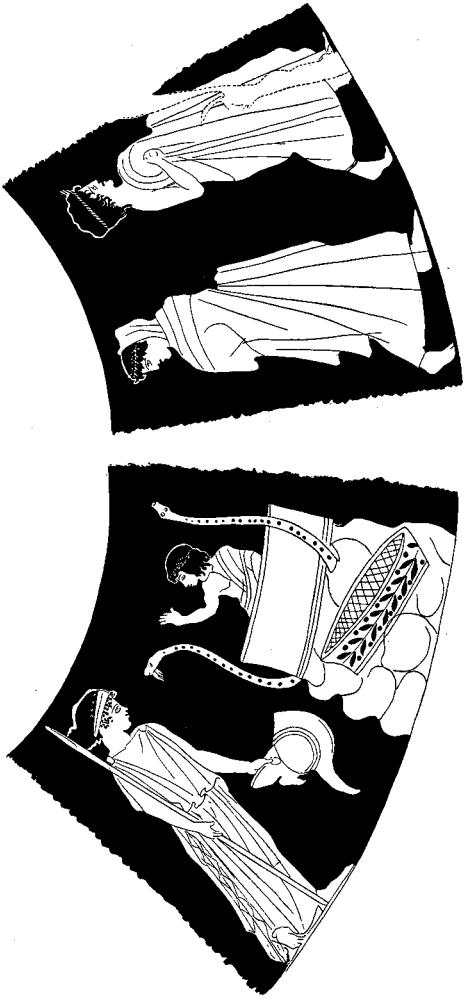


Fig. 154.

have conjectured that the Dew-sisters fed the infant Erichthonios on dew[1]. So with Tithonos. Eos fed him on ambrosia, that is honey[2], a species of heavenly dew[3]. Moreover she changed him into a cicala[4], and that little creature was popularly believed to subsist on dew[5]. The transformation was apt, for the cicala, once more like Erichthonios the 'very child of the Ground[6]', was notoriously earth-born[7] and the traditional badge of an autochthonous Ionian people[8] (figs. 158—161)[9]. It may even be surmised that Tithonos

[1] *Supra* p. 246. [2] *Supra* p. 247. [3] *Supra* p. 246.

[4] Hellanikos *frag.* 142 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 64 Müller) = *frag.* 140 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 140 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. A.B. Gen. 11. *Il.* 3. 151, Hieronymos of Rhodes (*c.* 290—230 B.C.: Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1563) *ap.* schol. B.L.T. *Il.* 11. 1, Eudok. *viol.* 920, and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 825, 43 ff., schol. A.B.D. *Il.* 11. 1, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 396, 33 ff., Klearchos *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 309 f.) *ap.* Zenob. 6. 18, Plout. 1. 68, *Append.* 4. 68, Apostol. 16. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 447 Walz, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τιθωνοῦ γῆρας, Souid. *s.v.* καταγηράσαις Τιθωνοῦ βαρύτερον, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 328, *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 585, 7. 188, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 447, Myth. Vat. 1. 139, 2. 194.

J. T. Kakridis 'ΤΙΘΩΝΟΣ' in the *Wiener Studien* 1930 xlviii. 25—38 makes it probable that the transformation of Tithonos into a *téttix* kept in a cage was an early myth, purposely ignored by the author of *h. Aphr.* 218 ff., but presupposed by certain of his phrases (231—238) and resuscitated by later writers. See also F. Dornseiff 'Der homerische Aphroditehymnos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1931 xxix. 203 f.

[5] Hes. *sc. Her.* 393 ff., Aristot. *hist. an.* 4. 7. 532 b 10 ff., 5. 30. 556 b 14 ff., Theokr. 4. 16, *Anacreont.* 32. 3 Bergk[4], 32. 3 Hiller—Crusius, Verg. *ecl.* 5. 77, Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 94, Ail. *de nat. an.* 1. 20, Philes *de an. propr.* 500.

In Loukian. *Icaromen.* 13 Empedokles, speaking as an inhabitant of the moon, says σιτοῦμαι δρόσον.

[6] *Supra* p. 181.

[7] Plat. *symp.* 191 C, *Anacreont.* 32. 16 Bergk[4], 32. 16 Hiller—Crusius, Plout. *symp.* 2. 3. 3, schol. Hermog. (cited *infra* p. 251 n. o). See further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 797 n. 6. In point of fact the cicala lays its eggs in the ground (Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 30. 556 a 29 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 93. O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 401) and remains for a long period in the larval state (Aristot. *hist. an.* 5. 30. 556 b 7 τεττιγομήτρα, Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 93 tettigometra. R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 vi. 193 fig.), so that it would easily be regarded as earth-born.

[8] Asios *frag.* 13, 4 f. Kinkel *ap.* Athen. 525 E—F (Samians visiting the precinct of Hera) χαῖται δ' ἠωρεῦντ' ἀνέμῳ χρυσέοις ἐνὶ δεσμοῖς, | χρύσειαι δὲ κόρυμβαι ἐπ' αὐτέων τέττιγες ὥς, Aristoph. *eq.* 1331 δδ' ἐκεῖνος (*sc.* the Athenian Demos) ὁρᾶν τεττιγοφόρας, ἀρχαίῳ σχήματι λαμπρός with schol., *nub.* 984 ἀρχαῖά γε καὶ Διπολιώδη καὶ τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα with schol. ἄλλως· οἱ ἀρχαιότατοι τῶν Ἀθηναίων τέττιγας χρυσοῦς ἐν τοῖς τῶν τριχῶν πλέγμασιν εἶχον, διότι οἱ τέττιγες μουσικοί ὄντες ἀνάκεινται τῷ Ἀπόλλωνι, ὃς ἦν πατρῷος τῇ πόλει and schol. R. τοὺς τέττιγας παρέλαβεν, ἐπειδὴ οἱ παλαιοὶ κατὰ τὴν ἀναπλοκὴν τῶν τριχῶν χρυσῷ ἐχρῶντο τέττιγι, τεκμήριον διὰ τὸ φαίνεσθαι ὅτι αὐτόχθονες εἶεν, Thouk. 1. 6 καὶ οἱ πρεσβύτεροι αὐτοῖς (*sc.* the Athenians) τῶν εὐδαιμόνων διὰ τὸ ἀβροδίαιτον οὐ πολὺς χρόνος ἐπειδὴ χιτῶνάς τε λινοῦς ἐπαύσαντο φοροῦντες καὶ χρυσῶν τεττίγων ἐνέρσει κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν· ἀφ' οὗ καὶ Ἰώνων τοὺς πρεσβυτέρους κατὰ τὸ ξυγγενὲς ἐπὶ πολὺ αὕτη ἡ σκευὴ κατέσχεν, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 645, 12 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1377, 13 (an inventory of the Parthenon 399/8 B.C.) [χρυσίδια διάλιθα σύμμ]κτα πλινθίωγ καὶ τεττίγων, C. Curtius *Inschriften und Studien zur Geschichte von Samos* Lübeck 1877 p. 10 ff. no. 6, 50 ff. pl. 1 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 832, 50 ff. (an inventory of the Samian Heraion 346/5 B.C.) γυνὴ ἐπὶ βήματος ξυλίνου, χεῖ|ρες πρόσωπον

πόδες λίθινοι, αὐτη ἔχει τέττιγας ἐπιχρύσους, ἐνλείπει | τῶν τεττίγων τριῶν καὶ τῶν ἐνωδίων (which incorporates the revised readings of U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 371 f.), Herakleides Pontikos (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 200 n. 0 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 512 c *κορύμβους δ' ἀναδούμενοι* (*sc.* the Athenians) *τῶν τριχῶν χρυσοῦς τέττιγας περὶ τὸ μέτωπον καὶ τὰς κόμας* (T. Birt cj. *κόρρας*) *ἐφόρουν* paraphrased by Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 22 *κορύμβους δὲ ἀναδούμενοι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, χρυσοῦς ἐνείροντες αὐταῖς τέττιγας καὶ κόσμον ἄλλον πρόσθετον περιαπτόμενοι χρυσοῦ προήεσαν*, Verg. *cir.* 126 ff. ergo omnis cano residebat cura capillo, | aurea sollemni comptum quem fibula ritu | crobylus et (so Nic. Loensis (anon. cj. *Crobyliae*) for *Corpsele* cod. A. *Corpselle* cod. H. *Corpselae* cod. R. *Corselle* cod. L. E. Bährens prints Scaliger's cj. *Cecropiae*) tereti nectebant dente cicadae, Loukian. *navig.* 3 *οἱ πρόγονοι ἡμῶν* (*sc.* Athenians), *οἷς ἐδόκει καλὸν εἶναι κομᾶν τοὺς γέροντας, ἀναδουμένους κρωβύλον ὑπὸ τέττιγι χρυσῷ ἀνειλημμένον. κ.τ.λ.*, Clem. Al. *paed.* 2. 10 p. 220, 11 ff. Stählin *καὶ κρωβύλον, ὃ ἐμπλοκῆς ἐστιν εἶδος, ἀνεδοῦντο* (*sc.* Athenian magistrates) *χρυσῶν ἐνέρσει τεττίγων κοσμούμενοι, τὸ γηγενὲς ὡς ἀληθῶς ἀπειροκαλίᾳ κινᾳδίας ἐνδεικνύμενοι*, Tertull. *de virg. vel.* 10 debebunt enim et ipsi aliqua sibi insignia defendere, aut pennas Garamantum aut stropulos barbarorum aut cicadas Atheniensium aut cirros Germanorum aut stigmata Britonum, schol. Hermog. in C. Walz *Rhetores Graeci* Stuttgartiae et Tubingae 1833 iv. 70 n. 3 Ven. *καὶ πάλιν ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησι τεττιγοφορεῖν τῶν εὐπατριδῶν τοὺς παῖδας, ὃ καὶ μέχρι ἡμῶν διεσώζετο καὶ τὸ ἀρχαιότερον, ὡς Θουκυδίδης φησὶ κρωβύλον ἀναδεῖσθαι τῶν ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ τριχῶν, ἴδ.* 79 n. 40 Par. ad marg. *τέττιγας ἐφόρουν οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι χρυσοῦς, ἔστι δ' ὁ τέττιξ δεσμός τις ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς ἔμπροσθεν ἐγκαθήμενος· οἱ δ' ἄλλοι ἐπὶ τοῦ τραχήλου, ὃν οἱ ἐπίσημοι ἐφόρουν κρωβύλον ἀναδούμενοι· κρωβύλος δέ ἐστι πλοκὴ τριχῶν εἰς ὀξὺ λήγουσα, εἰς ἣν διὰ τὸ ὀξὺ ἐκφερόμενος ὁ τέττιξ σύνδεσμος ἦν τῶν τριχῶν, ὥστε συστῆναι καὶ μὴ διαλυθῆναι τὴν πλοκήν· σύμβολον δ' ἦν αὐτοῦς ὁ τέττιξ τοῦ εἶναι αὐτόχθονας καὶ μουσικοὺς τῷ τὸν τέττιγα καὶ αὐτόχθονα εἶναι καὶ μουσικόν*, Prokop. of Gaza *epist.* 18 *καὶ γάρ σε νῦν ἐπιθυμῶν ἁρχαίῳ σχήματι τεττιγοφόρον ἰδεῖν κέχηνα τῇ θαλάττῃ κ.τ.λ.*, Hesych. *s.v. τεττιγοφόρας· Ἀττικοὶ ἐπὶ τῶν τῆς κεφαλῆς τριχῶν εἶρον χρυσοῦς τέττιγας* (*εἱρομένων χρυσοὺς τέτας* cod. N. I. Schow cj. *εἶρον*. Musurus corr. *χρυσοῦς τέττιγας*), Isid. *orig.* 19. 30. 3 Athenienses enim cicadas aureas gerebant partim in vertice, nonnulli in fronte, Phot. *lex. s.v. τεττιγοφόροι· οἱ Ἀθηναῖοι· τέττιγας γὰρ ἐφόρουν χρυσοῦς σύμβολον τοῦ γηγενεῖς εἶναι· Θουκυδίδης ἀ κ.τ.λ.*, Souid. *s.v. τεττιγοφόροι·* (after transcribing Phot. *loc. cit.*)... *ἢ ὅτι μουσικοί. μουσικὸς γὰρ ὁ τέττιξ. γηγενεῖς δέ, διότι καὶ Ἐρεχθεὺς ὁ οἰκιστὴς τῶν Ἀθηνῶν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς ἐτέχθη, id. s.v. τεττίγων ἀνάμεστα* = schol. R. Aristoph. *nub.* 984 (cited *supra*), Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 232 f. *πολλῷ χρυσῷ κατάδετον εἶχε* (*sc.* Euphorbos, cp. *Il.* 17. 52) *τὴν πλοκαμίδα | καὶ κόσσυβον* (*an legendum κόσυμβον?*) *καὶ κρωβύλον καὶ τεττιγοφορίαν*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 395, 33 ff. *οἱ δὲ ὕστερον εὐγενεῖς Ἀθηναῖοι πραγματικῶς τέττιξιν ἐσήμυνον ἑαυτούς, τεττιγοφόροι ὄντες· τέττιγας γὰρ ἐφόρουν χρυσοῦς, ὡς καὶ Θουκυδίδης φησίν, εἰς σύμβολον τοῦ γηγενεῖς εἶναι.*

The name *κερκώπη* applied to a small species of *téttix* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1476 A—B) is noteworthy on account of its possible relation to *Κέκροψ* (cp. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1913 iv. 309).

[9] Various views have been taken in modern times with regard to the precise nature of these *téttiges*:

(1) W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1874 pp. 61—63, *id.* 'Über die goldenen Cicaden der alten Athener' in *Commentationes philologae in honorem Theodori Mommseni* Berolini 1877 pp. 616—626, *id.* in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 484—487, *id. Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert* Leipzig 1884 p. 169 f., *id.*[2] Leipzig 1887 p. 246 put forward the view that they were gold spirals wound round the hair. F. Studniczka 'Krobylos und Tettiges' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 248—291, combining Helbig's hypothesis with that of A. Conze 'Krobylos' in the *Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 408—420, maintained that *téttiges* were gold spirals wound round the back-hair (*krobylos*) to keep it in position. This view was advocated also by H. Lechat in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1897 x. 342—344, *id.* 'Χρύσεοι τέττιγες' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1899 pp. 19—22, who noted that such metallic spirals in the hair might produce a sound reminiscent of the cicala, and by A. Boulanger in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 164.

Similarly L. Kjellberg 'Zur τεττιγοφορία der alten Athener' in *Eranos* 1909 ix. 164—175 explained the *téttiges* as threads of thin bronze or gold twined in the hair and rustling like an Aeolian harp in the wind. W. Bremer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2124 concludes that they were thin gold leaves sewn on to a fillet or soldered on to a metal band.

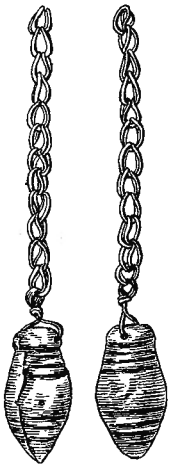


Fig. 155.

Fig. 156.

(2) F. Hauser 'Tettix' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1906 ix. 75—130 would identify the *téttix* with the *stlengís*, a gold diadem covering the front hair (*krobýlos*). This hypothesis roused much controversy. An attack by E. Petersen *ib.* 1906 ix Beiblatt pp. 77—86 elicited a reply by Hauser 'Tettix II' *ib.* 1907 x Beiblatt pp. 9—32, and a renewed attack by Petersen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 540 ff. called forth a further reply by Hauser 'Tettix III' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi Beiblatt pp. 87—96. Another opponent of Hauser was W. Bremer *Die Haartracht des Mannes in archaisch-griechischer Zeit* Giessen 1911 p. 60 ff., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2121 ff. The reader is inclined to quote '*Katy-did, Katy-didn't*,' etc.

(3) Meantime the old view that the *téttiges* really were golden cicalas can claim the support of much archaeological evidence. H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 176 nos. 259, 260 (= my fig. 155) illustrated two out of 'ten golden grasshoppers with chains' from the third shaft-grave: these he took to be 'ornaments of the breast or hair'; Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 20 nos. 77, 78 calls them, with less likelihood, 'des jouets d'enfants.' Sir A. J. Evans, however, in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 55 with fig. 52, 4 points out that these pendants are 'intended for chrysalises' and compares a better-marked chrysalis-bead of gold (*ib.* fig. 47 = my fig. 156) found by A. J. B. Wace in a chamber-tomb (no. 518 of the Kalkani cemetery) at Mykenai (A. J. B. Wace in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Oct. 26, 1922 p. 684, *id.* in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 24, 1923 p. 300 fig. 4, *id.* 'Chamber Tombs at Mycenae' in *Archaeologia* 1932 lxxxii. 87 no. 76, 194 pl. 38). L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1877 p. 28 ff. Atlas pl. 2, 15 (= my fig. 157: scale *c.* ⅔, F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1906 ix. 89 f. fig. 30) published a small gold pendant representing the larva of a cicala, which was found in the fourth barrow of the 'Seven Brothers' group near Temrjuk on the Sea of Azov, a tomb dating from *s.* v B.C. (E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 210, M. Rostovtzeff *Iranians & Greeks in South Russia* Oxford

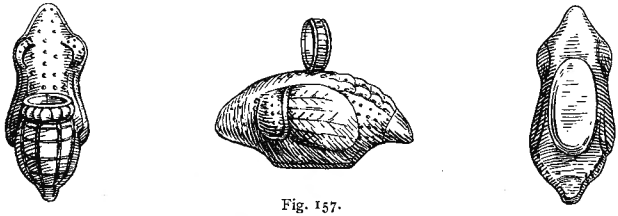


Fig. 157.

1922 p. 53 f.). F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 282 n. 201 cites another from the *Bull. Sardo* iii. 21, cp. P. Wolters in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 7 n. 12.

A more satisfactory *téttix* in the form of a gold brooch (length ·016m) came from the earliest Artemision at Ephesos (D. G. Hogarth *Excavations at Ephesus* London 1908 p. 98 pl. 4, 33 and pl. 3, 3 (= my fig. 158: scale ⅔)). Another *téttix*-brooch of gold was found by A. N. Skias in a cave of Pan and the Nymphs, known as *Lychnospelia*, on Mt Parnes at the depth of half a metre below the surface (A. N. Skias in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1900 p. 40, 'Funde' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 456, R. C. Bosanquet in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 350, and finally K. Rhomaios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1906 pp. 89—96 fig. 1 (= my fig. 159: scale ¼)). The pin has a ring at one end and originally worked on a metal axis between two other rings attached to the upper part of the

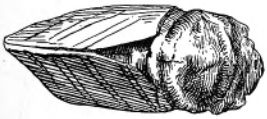


Fig. 158.

Fig. 159.

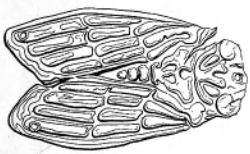


Fig. 160.

Fig. 161.

insect's body. The other, pointed, end of the pin was caught by the hook on the lower part of the body. The axis having dropped out or been broken, the owner, lest he should lose the little gold pin, had twisted it up as best he could through the other two rings. A couple of *téttiges* in gold foil, sent by Count Peroffsky in 1852, were figured in the *Antiquités du Bosphore cimmérien* St-Pétersbourg 1854 i. 155, iii pl. 22, 20 (= my fig. 160: scale ½) and 21 (= my fig. 161: scale ½), *ib.* ed. S. Reinach Paris 1892 p. 69 pl. 22, 20 and 21, cp. L. Stephani in the *Mélanges gréco-romains tirés du Bulletin historico-philologique de l'Académie Impériale des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg* St.-Pétersbourg 1855 ii. 215, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1870 p. 54 n. 2, E. Beulé *Fouilles et découvertes, résumées et discutées en vue de l'histoire de l'art* Paris 1873 ii. 411, V. Duruy *Histoire des Romains* Paris 1883 vi. 413 fig. (of no. 20), T. Schreiber in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1883 viii. 272, F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 282 fig. 13 (of no. 20). *Fibulae* of late Roman and early mediaeval date found in Hungary again represent the

cicala, though with less approximation to nature (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi. 283 f. fig. 15 (= my fig. 162)).

On the whole it may be concluded that the *téttix* of Thouk. I. 6 was a golden *fibula* shaped like a cicala, that being the traditional, perhaps the tribal, badge of Ionian *autóchthones*.

We are not, therefore, surprised to find that the *téttix* occurs as a private badge on tetradrachms of Athens with two monograms struck *c.* 229—197 B.C. (*Hunter Cat. Coins*

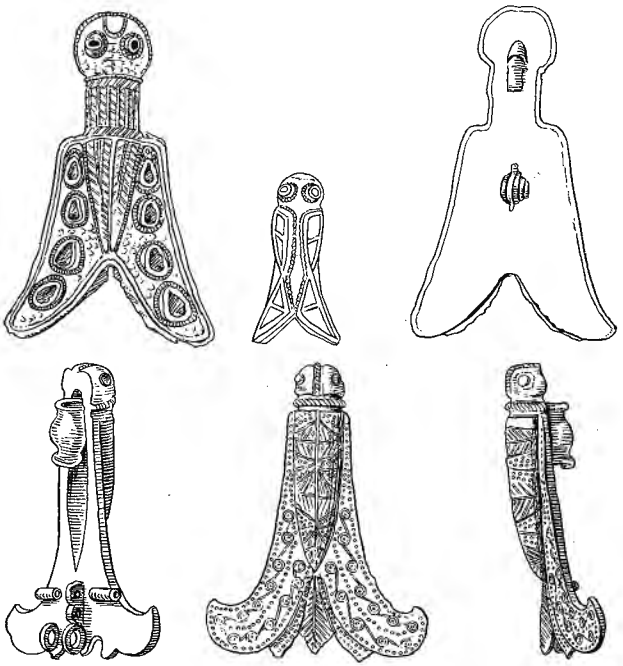


Fig. 162.

ii. 59 no. 73 pl. 34, 6, nos. 74, 75, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 37, 6—15) and again on tetradrachms and drachms with the names of the brothers Lysan[dros] and Glaukos issued in 159 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. pp. xliii, 62, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 64 no. 114, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 48, 21—31. On the date see J. E. Kirchner 'Zur Datirung der athenischen Silbermünzen' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1898 xxi. 82, J. Sundwall *Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles* Helsingfors 1908 p. 96, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 383. Fig. 163 is from a specimen in my collection). On bronze pieces the *téttix* is sometimes a 'symbol' ((1) *obv.* head of Athena *Parthénos; rev.* owl on *amphora* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 78

nos. 525, 526, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 71, 17, 18 and pl. 79, 38—42). (2) *obv.* head of Athena *Parthénos; rev.* statue of Apollon at Delos by Tektaios and Angelion (*supra* ii. 232 n. 0 fig. 161. To the bibliography there given add J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 56, 26, 27 and pl. 80, 8—14. Fig. 164 is a further specimen from my collection)), sometimes a 'type' ((1) *obv.* head of Artemis; *rev.* cicala (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 87 pl. 15, 9, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 107, 28—35 and 42—45. In fig. 165 I append a specimen of mine). (2) *obv.* cicala; *rev.* owl on thunderbolt (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 85 pl. 15, 5, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 107, 50—54, cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 74 no. 201 pl. 34, 17). (3) *obv.* cicala; *rev.* amphora and branch (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 88 nos. 618—620 ('palm'), 621—626 ('branch'), J. N. Svoronos *op.*

Fig. 163.

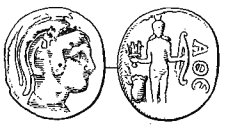


Fig. 164.

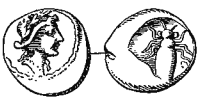


Fig. 165.

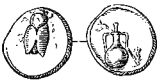


Fig. 166.

Fig. 167.

Fig. 168.

cit. pl. 107, 55—69. Fig. 166 is from a specimen in my collection). (4) *obv.* cicala; *rev.* quiver and bow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 88 no. 627, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 107, 70—74). (5) *obv.* cicala; *rev.* letter, monogram, or simple type (J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 18, 26, 38, 106, 117 (?) *kóllybοi*)).

A creature with such a record behind it would serve as an excellent amulet to keep off mischief (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1860 p. 91, 1864 p. 130 f., 1865 p. 84, 1869 p. 130, 1877 pp. 28—31, 91, 1880 p. 99 f.). Two engraved chalcedonies of early Roman date at Berlin show cicalas equipped with shield, sword, lance, etc. (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 239 nos. 6524 and 6523 pl. 45, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 29, 41 (=my fig. 167) and 43 (=my fig. 168), ii. 144). Prophylactic virtue probably attached to the terra-cotta models of the *téltix*, of which sundry specimens are extant. One from Tanagra, in our national collection, has its upper side coloured black, with markings in

red, on a white slip (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 83 no. B 72 fig. 17=my fig. 169 (scale ½), O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 404 fig. 125). Another, in my possession, is a child's rattle and by means of a pellet within makes a noise more or less resembling that of its original (fig. 170: scale ½). A *phiále mesómphalos* by the potter

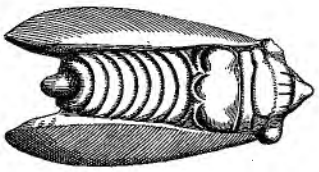


Fig. 169.

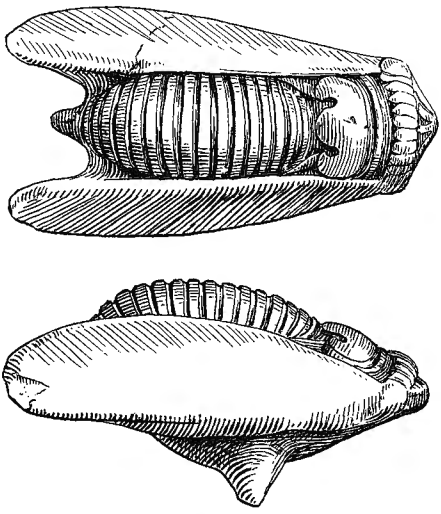


Fig. 170.

Sotades, now at Boston, has perched upon its central boss a most life-like *téttix* in pale terra cotta (W. Froehner *Collection van Branteghem* Bruxelles 1892 no. 159 pl. 35, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 445 pl. 40, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 722 fig. 395, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 428 no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 129). Was this prophylaxis or a practical joke?

was *ab origine* a personification of the cicala[1], and that he bore a name which was primarily onomatopoeic[2]. In any case Tithonos

[1] The personification of the cicala is by no means an unexampled effort of the imagination. The Laconian town Tainaros was called 'the seat of Tettix' because it had been founded by Tettix the Cretan (Hesych. *s.v.* Τέττιγος ἕδρανον). When the Naxian Kalondas, surnamed Korax, had killed Archilochos in battle, he was bidden by the Pythian priestess to go to 'the dwelling of Tettix' and appease the soul of Archilochos. 'The dwelling of Tettix' meant Tainaros because Tettix the Cretan had come thither with his ships, founded a town, and dwelt beside the *psychopompeîon* (Plout. *de ser. num. vind.* 17, cp. Ail. *frag.* 80 Hercher *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* 'Αρχίλοχος). O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 402 rightly infers from Archil. *frag.* 143 Bergk[4] *ap.* Loukian. *pseudolog.* 1 *τέττιγα τοῦ πτεροῦ συνείληφας* that the poet had spoken of himself as a *téttix*, and this lends the needed point to the anecdote.

A folk-tale from Naxos says that the cicala (*ὁ τζίτζικας*), the ant, the bee, and the spider were brothers and sisters. Their mother lay dying and bade them all come to receive her blessing. The bee alone came. So her mother wished that she might make wax for the saints and honey for men. The rest were cursed. The spider should spin all night and unravel her web by day. The ant should drudge the year through and eat but a single grain. The cicala should chirp, chirp till he burst (N. G. Polites Παραδόσεις Athens 1904 i. 194 no. 352, ii. 943, O. Dähnhardt *Natursagen* Leipzig and Berlin 1910 iii. 468). In northern Greece the cicala is held in greater honour—witness G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 60: 'The farmers of Macedonia out of the newly ground corn make a large thin cake, which they take to the village fountain or well. They sprinkle it with water and then distribute it among the bystanders, who in return wish them "a happy year." This cake is called "Grasshopper-Cake" (*τζιτζηρόκλικο*), and is supposed to be a kind of offering to their favourite insect. The following rhymes express the insect's satisfaction at the sacrifice: *'Λωνίζετε, θερίζετε κὴ 'μένα κλίκι κάνετε, | Καὶ βίξτε το 's τὴ βρύσι νὰ πάω νά το πάρω, | Νὰ κάτσω νά το φάω μαζὺ μὲ τὰ παιδια μου, | Νὰ πέσω νὰ πεθάνω*[2]. [2 Α. Δ. Γουσίου, "Ἡ κατὰ τὸ Πάγγαιον Χώρα," p. 47] "Thresh and mow and make a cake for me. | Throw it into the fount that I may go and fetch it, | And sit and eat it with my children, | And then lay me down and die."'

A popular Tuscan song tells how the grasshopper (*grillo*) married the ant. After the wedding he became first a greengrocer and then an innkeeper, but finally went bankrupt, beat his wife, and died in misery (A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 48 f.).

See further B. Laufer *Insect Musicians and Cricket Champions of China* (*Anthropology Leaflet* 22) Chicago 1927 (reviewed in *Folk-Lore* 1928 xxxix. 112: 'A champion cricket is looked on as the incarnation of a great warrior or hero of the past, and fetches the price of a good horse. If he has won many victories, his burial will be in a small silver coffin, for good luck, and in the neighbourhood of his grave excellent fighting crickets are expected to be found in the following year').

The main objection to my view is that the evidence directly connecting Tithonos with the cicala is not older than *s.* V B.C. See, however, *h. Aphr.* 236 ff. and *infra* n. 2.

[2] Names for the cicala regularly involve a reduplicated *t* or *k* together with an *i*-sound (O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 406). So with the ancient Greek *τέττιξ*, *τεττιγόνιον*, *τιτιγόνιον* (L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2091 A—D), *κίξιος* (Hesych. *κίξιος· τέττιξ*), *κίκους* (Hesych. *κίκους· ὁ νέος τέττιξ*. It is just possible that in *h. Aphr.* 237 f. *τοῦ δ' ἤ τοι φωνὴ ῥεῖ ἀσπετος, οὐδέ τι κῖκυς | ἔσθ'*, *οἵη πάρος ἔσκεν ἐνὶ γναμπτοῖσι μέλεσσιν* the choice of the word *κῖκυς* was determined by a reminiscence of *κίκους*. Neither Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 686 (A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1263) nor J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1025 is convincing), the modern Greek *τζίτζιρας* or *τζήτζηρας*, *τζίτζικας*, and the Latin *cicada* with its derivatives (G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* Paderborn 1901 p. 238 notes Italian *cicála*, *cigala*, Lombard *šigada*, Provençal *cigala*, French *cigale*, Spanish *cigarra*, *chicharra*, Portuguese *cigarra*, etc.

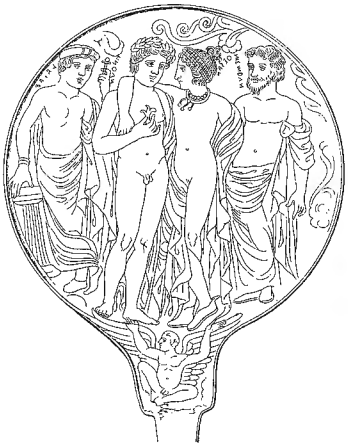


Fig. 171.

Fig. 172.

Fig. 173.

and adds: 'Nach gewöhnlicher Annahme soll die Benennung der "Cigarre" (span. ptg. *cigarro*, ital. *sigarro*, frz. *cigare m.*) auf span. *cigarra* zurückgehen, wegen einer gewissen Ähnlichkeit des Tabakröllchens mit der Cicade, sei es in Gestalt oder in Farbe.' Cp. E. Weekley *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* London 1921 p. 303). But these imitative formations are apt also to have an *in*-sound, as in the modern Greek *τσιντζικας*, *τζιντζικας*, *τσιντζιρας* (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 458), the Macedonian-Roumanian *chincalĭ* (Körting *loc. cit.*), and the Latin verb *fritinnire* (Suet. *frag.* p. 252, 2 Reifferscheid cicadarum fritinnire (*frintinnire* cod. V. *fretinnire* alii codd.), F. Buecheler—A. Riese *Anthologia Latina*[2] Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 248 no. 762. 35 et cuculi cuculant et rauca cicada fritinit), late Latiń *frintinnire* (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat. s.vv.* 'baulare,' 'frintinnire').

The same variation meets us in the case of the hero, whose name *Τίθωνός*, *Tithonus* appears in Etruscan as *Tinθun* or *Tinθn* (C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 971 f., J. Schmidt *ib.* v. 1021, 1029). A mirror from Chiusi (?), published by E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1852 x Anz. p. 160, *ib.* 1857 xv. Anz. p. 71*, *id. Etr. Spiegel* iv. 22 f. pl. 290 (=my fig. 171), E. Hübner in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1857 p. 165, H. Brunn *ib.* 1859 p. 109, A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. ccxviii no. 2513 *bis*, shows *Tinθun* and *Θesan* as a pair of lovers flanked by *Memrun* (Memnon) on the right and *La[s]a* (W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1903) on the left. Another, owned and published by Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 217 f. pl. 232 (=my fig. 172), Fahretti *op. cit.* p. ccxvii no. 2506, has a similar scene in which *Tinθn* (S. Bugge in W. Deecke *Etruskische Forschungen und Studien* Stuttgart 1883 iv. 34 notes that Deecke read |*tinθn*|, and A. Furtwängler *itinθu* (adding 'der erste Strich kann allerdings auch zu der Randeinfassung der Inschrift gehört haben')) is embraced by *Evan* (Gerhard read *Efan* (=*Evan*), comparing *Efas* (=*Evas*) as the name of Memnon in *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 218 f. pl. 235, 1. C. Friederichs *Kleinere Kunst und Industrie im Alterthum* Düsseldorf 1871 p. 60 no. 70, W. Helbig in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1878 p. 84 f., and S. Bugge *loc. cit.* p. 35 ff. accept *Evan*, on which goddess see W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1440, E. Samter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 838 f. W. P. Corssen *Ueber die Sprache der Etrusker* Leipzig 1874 i. 260, 820 and W. Deecke in K. O. Müller *Die Etrusker* Stuttgart 1877 i[2]. 481 propose [Θ]*esan*; but there is no trace of an initial *θ*) with *Tvamii* (Gerhard read *Tfamś* (=*Tvami*) or *Tsami*, Fabretti *Tiami*; Bugge *loc. cit.* p. 34 f. hazards *tiaśii* for *Φθιώσιος, *i.e.* Achilles) standing on the right and *Θetis* seated on the left.

There is some reason to think that the Etruscan *Tinθun* is still remembered by the peasants of north Italy. C. G. Leland *Etruscan Roman Remains in Popular Tradition* London 1892 p. 122 states that the Romagnoli regard *Tituno* or *Tit'uno* as 'the spirit of thunder,' and *ib.* p. 215 asserts that, when it hails, people invoke *Tituno* or *Tignia*. If his information be reliable (*supra* ii. 421 n. 0), it is possible to suppose that the *-in-* of *Tinθun* led to confusion with the Etruscan *Tinia*. Be that as it may, *Tinia*, like *Tinθun*, is grouped with *Θesan* and *Θetis* on a mirror now in the Vatican (E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1837 pp. 73—80, *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* i pl. 31, 1, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 5. 44 pl. 396 (=my fig. 173), Fabretti *op. cit.* p. ccxv no. 2477), which presumably represents Zeus supplicated by Heos and Thetis (*supra* ii. 734, 753 n. 3 (3)). Leland *op. cit.* pp. 75—78 claims that *Θesan* too has survived as *Tesana*, 'the Spirit of the Dawn,' and quotes a popular poem in which she appears as a dream to a sleeping *contadino* and promises to help him when he is weary.

More ingenious, but also more speculative, are the suggestions of S. Bugge *Das Verhältnis der Etrusker zu den Indogermanen und der vorgriechischen Bevölkerung Kleinasiens und Griechenlands* ed. A. Torp Strassburg 1909 p. 229 ff.:—*Τιθωνός* was a pre-Greek Anatolian name, borne *e.g.* by a brother of Priam (*Il.* 20. 237). A cuneiform tablet found at Eyuk in Kappadokia mentions a town *Tintunia*, perhaps to be located in Armenia rather than in Asia Minor (E. Chantre *Recherches archéologiques dans l'Asie occidentale. Mission en Cappadoce 1893—1894* Paris 1898 p. 45 ff. no. 1, 10 Ti-in-tu-u-ni-ia). With this agrees the form *tinθun*, which the Etruscans may have brought with them from their early home in Asia Minor. *Tintunia* (for **Tinthōnia*) is to *tinθun* as *'Απολλωνία*

had by Eos a son Memnon; and here too the dew-connexion reappears. When Memnon was slain by Achilles, his mother Eos wept for him, and in the morning dew-drops we still see her tears[1].

Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse were alike associated with Zeus. Their mother was the daughter of Aktaios[2]; and *Aktaîos* is a cult-epithet of Zeus[3]. Possibly Zeus *Aktaîos*, Zeus 'of the Point,' was at one time worshipped on the high ground of Akte overlooking the harbours of the Peiraieus[4]. More probably he drew his title from Akte, the old name for the whole promontory of Attike[5], which indeed represents an earlier Aktike[6]. Pandrosos, again, stood in close relation to Zeus. In the Pandroseion was his altar[7]; and, though we must not with O. Gruppe[8] assume the existence of a Zeus *Pándrosos*, yet we may feel sure that here Zeus the sky-father,

to Ἀπόλλων. On this showing *tinθun* was the god or godlike hero of Hittite-speaking Cappadocians. Memnon as son of Tithonos implies that Tithonos was known in Anatolia. Tithonos founded Sousa on the Choaspes (Strab. 728, Diod. 2. 22, cp. Hdt. 5. 53, 7. 151, Paus. 4. 31. 5) and was worshipped as a god by the Susians (Souid. *s.v.* Σούσιοι· ὄνομα ἔθνους. τὸν νεκρὸν καύσαντες οἱ Σούσιοι τὰ ὀστᾶ κομίζουσι τῷ πατρὶ Τιθωνῷ). Further, Tithonos was a personification of the day (*et. mag.* p. 758, 27 f. Τιθωνός, ἡ ἡμέρα· παρὰ τὸ τιθασός τὸ σημαῖνον τὸ ἥμερος [Etymology at its worst! A. B. C.]). Now it seems that the Etruscan stem *tin-* denoted both the 'day' and the 'daylight-god' *tinia* or *tina*, the equivalent of Zeus or Iupiter (S. Bugge *op. cit.* p. 190 f.). Accordingly, Τιθωνός presupposes an Anatolian form in which *in* before *θ* became a nasal *i* (*į*). The Etruscan inscription on the wrappings of the Agram mummy speaks of the Dawn of the Day-god (G. Herbig in C. Pauli *Corpus Inscriptionum Etruscarum* Lipsiae 1919—1921 Suppl. i (liber linteus Zagrabiensis) col. v, 19 *θesan-tinś* with pl. 5: see further C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 676 f.). This makes it certain that *tinθun* associated with *θesan*, the Dawn (*supra* fig. 171), involves the syllable *tin-* 'day.' The termination *-θun* is of doubtful origin, but may be a combination of *θ* the enclitic article with the suffix *-un* (cp. *-ωνο-* of Τιθωνός). The schol. A. L. *Il.* 11. 1 equates Τιθωνός with Τιτάν and both with Apollon. 'Τίταν [*sic*]...scheint mir ebenfalls vorgriechischen Ursprungs und auf dieselbe Grundwurzel wie Τιθωνός zurückzugehen.' C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 971 f. is likewise inclined to accept an original connexion between *Tinθun*, *Τινθιών, Τῖθωνός, Τίτυνο* on the one hand and *Tinia, Tignia* on the other. But the whole edifice is a house of cards.

[1] Ov. *met.* 13. 621 f., Stat. *silv.* 5. 1. 34 f., interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 489. Cp. O. Puchstein *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta* Strassburg 1880 no. 18.

[2] *Supra* p. 242 n. 3.

[3] *Supra* ii. 869 n. 2, 904 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* p. 238 n. 3.

[5] Eur. *Hel.* 1673, Lyk. *Al.* 1339, Strab. 391, 397, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀκτή (Favorin. *lex.* p. 102, 43 ff.), Apollod. 3. 14. 1, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀκτή, *et. mag.* p. 167, 51.

[6] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 22 'Αττική=*'Ακτική.' But W. Judeich in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2184 f. had already derived Ἀττική 'offenbar gleich Ἀκτική' from Ἀκτή and had cited in support, not only the lexicographers (*supra* n. 5), but also the *marm. Par. ep.* 1 p. 3 Jacoby and Strab. 397 (cp. Paus. 1. 2. 6), in both of which the precise form Ἀκτική occurs.

[7] *Supra* p. 243 n. 5.

[8] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 29 n. 6, 1111 n. 1, 1217 n. 3. *Id. ib.* p. 29 says: 'ursprünglich wohl "Allbetauer."' But πάνδροσος is at least as likely to be passive as active in meaning.

who distilled the fructifying dew[1], had as his consort Pandrosos the earth-mother 'All-bedewed.' Lastly, Herse was for Alkman the very daughter of Zeus[2].

(c) Zeus *Érrhos, Ersaîos, Ikmaîos, Íkmios, Áphrios.*

In view of the foregoing sections we are not surprised to find that Zeus had sundry titles characterising him as the god of dew, moisture, and the like.

It seems probable that *Érrhos*, an obscure name for Zeus quoted by Hesychios[3] from some unknown source, meant simply the 'Dew.' Zeus, as Plutarch[4] put it, turned himself into dew. If so, his appellation will be connected with those of the Athenian *Errhephóroi*[5], the Lesbian *Ersóphoros*[6], and the Attic Apollon *Érsos*[7]. Another

[1] Even the honey-dew (*supra* p. 246) came from Zeus. When in summertime a cold night was followed by a hot day, and consequently trees and plants were found to be coated with a sweet exudation (βροσόμελι, ἐερόμελι), Greek farmers exclaimed: ὁ Ζεὺς ἔβρεξε μέλι (Galen. περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεως 3. 39 (vi. 739 Kühn)). Virgil says of Iupiter: *mellaque decussit foliis* (*georg.* 1. 131). See further *infra* p. 498 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 732 n. 5, iii. 179 f.

[3] Hesych. Ἔρρος· ὁ Ζεύς. M. Schmidt is silent. J. Alberti, who records the guesses of G. Soping (cp. Hesych. Ἐρυμός· Ζεύς) and J. J. Reiske ('An *Herus*?'), is not particularly helpful.

[4] *Supra* p. 180. [5] *Supra* p. 166. [6] *Supra* pp. 167 n. 10, 168.

[7] About an hour's walk to the north-east of *Vari* (Anagyrous), some 290^{m} above the sea, near the top of one of Hymettos' southern spurs—a height known formerly as *Kapsála* but now as *Spélaion*—is a very remarkable cave, first thoroughly explored in 1901 by members of the American School at Athens. The best map of the neighbourhood is in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1904 Blatt 8 (Vari) with Text by A. Milchhöfer Berlin 1889 iii. 16 f. The official reports of the excavation were published by C. H. Weller in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 263—288 (description) with pl. 1 (plan) = my fig. 174, pl. 2 (sections) = my figs. 175, 176, and figs. 1—10, M. E. Dunham *ib.* 289—300 (a score of inscriptions), Miss I. C. Thallon *ib.* 301—319 (marble reliefs) with pls. 3—9, Miss L. S. King *ib.* 320—327 (vases) with pl. 10 and figs. 1, 2, 328—334 (terra cottas) with pl. 11, Miss A. Baldwin *ib.* 335—337 (coins), S. E. Bassett *ib.* 338—349 (lamps) with pls. 12—14 and figs. 1—5. The cave consists of an outer and an inner grotto, the former with a series of interesting rock-carvings and -cuttings, the latter dimly lit and containing a cold spring of water said to be 'καθαρτικό.' The excavators failed to find any prehistoric remains. The evidence pointed to two periods of more or less continuous resort, *c.* 600—*c.* 150 B.C. and *c.* 300—*c.* 400 A.D. Inscriptions prove that during the earlier period the cave was devoted to the worship of the Nymphs, Pan, Charis, and Apollon *Érsos* or *Hérsos*. Lamps etc. show that during the later period it was adapted for Christian usage.

We are concerned only with the shrine of Apollon, which is hewn out of the rock at the spot marked e on the plan (fig. 174). This shrine was arranged in two levels, each divided into halves by a low partition. The floor of the upper niche has a couple of D-shaped cavities (for libations or votive gifts? Cp. *supra* i. 140). The lower divisions lack such receptacles, but may have had fitted into them a pair of similarly concave stones. Two little holes on the left of the upper level, with corresponding holes on the right, perhaps imply pillars supporting a roof as a protection against the drip of water, which is here constant. Small fluted columns—two fragments were found—may or may not have been the pillars in question. Legible till lately was the rock-cut inscription

ΑΠΟΛΛΩΝΟΣ⋮ΕΡΣΟ (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 430 Ἀπόλλωνος Ἔρσου, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 783 Ἀπόλλωνος⋮Ἔρσο, E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 30 description with pl. 8, 2 sketch by F. Adler (=my fig. 177), H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1884 iii. 217 fig. 25, T. Schreiber *Atlas of Classical Antiquities* ed. W. C. F. Anderson London 1895 p. 15 pl. 8, 5, C. H. Weller in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 270 f. fig. 5 photo, fig. 6 sketch, M. E. Dunham *ib.* p. 296 no. 14 Ἀπόλλωνος· Ἔρσου). This is usually transcribed Ἔρσου, but A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 456 *h* prints Ἔρσο.....

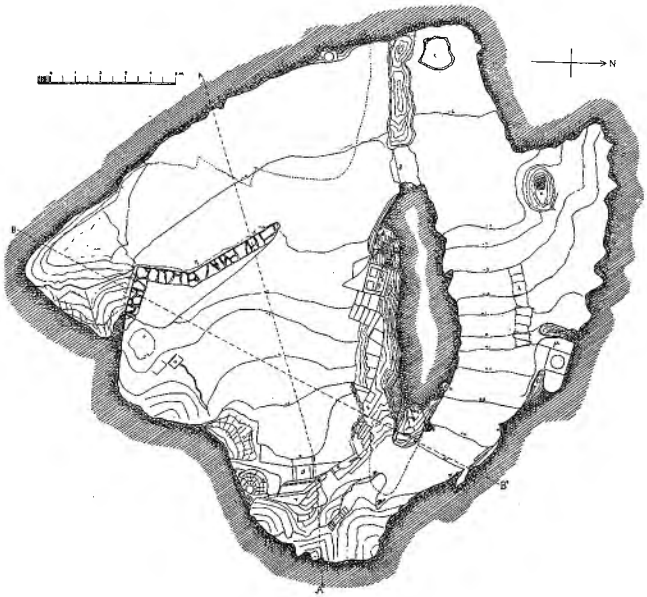


Fig. 174.

and H. van Herwerden *Appendix lexici Graeci suppletorii et dialectici* Lugduni Batavorum 1904 p. 90 assumes a nominative Ἔρσης or Ἔρσος (*id. Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 587 gives Ἔρσος (Ἔρσης?)). H. Stuart Jones in the new ed. of Liddell and Scott, Oxford 1929, has '*Ἔρσος...perh. cf. Ἔρρος.' To the left of the shrine is a crude carving of a stone-cutter, who bears a hammer or pick and a square and is inscribed twice with the name Archedemos (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 787 Ἀρχέδημος. | Ἀρχέδημος.). Inscriptions found elsewhere in the cave describe him as Archedamos of Thera (*ib.* no. 786 [Ἀ]ρχέδαμος | [*h*]ο Θεραῖος), who being possessed by the Nymphs was bidden to adorn their grotto (*ib.* no. 788 Ἀρχέδημος ὁ Θ|ηραῖος ὁ νυμφ|όληπτος φραδ|αῖσι Νυμφῶν τ|άντρον ἐξηργ|άξατο=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* i. 48), planted a garden for them (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i nos. 784/785 *a* Ἀρχέδαμος *ho* Θερ|αῖος κᾶπον Νό|μφαις ἐφύτευσεν=a sixth foot *pluς* a complete hexameter), and constructed a

dancing-ground (*ib.* nos. 784/785 *b* 'Αρχέδ[α]μος *ho* Θερ|αῖος καὶ χορὸν ὀρ|χεστὲ[s] Νύνφαι ἐχ|σουκ[οδὸ]μεσεν=a sixth foot *plus* the first half of a hexameter *plus* a complete hexameter). The date of Archedemos is uncertain. C. H. Weller places him *c.* 400 B.C. But his vagaries of dialect, lettering, and metre seem to me to indicate a much later (Hadrianic?) period, when archaisms were in fashion.

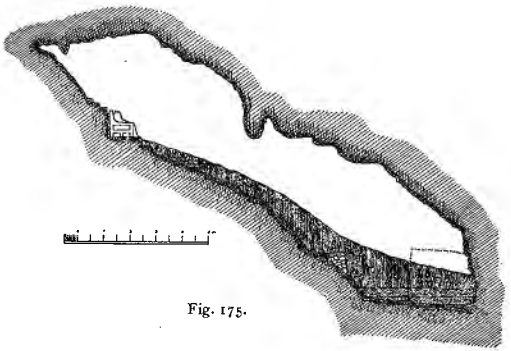


Fig. 175.

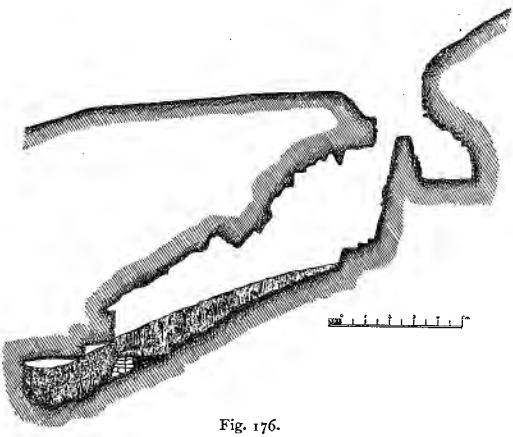


Fig. 176.

In addition to the deities already mentioned there was the seated goddess, whose rock-cut effigy and *omphalós* are still to be seen at the point marked β on the plan (fig. 174. Cp. the sectional drawing in fig. 175). Her headless torso has been twice portrayed (E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 30 pl. 8, 1 sketch by F. Adler

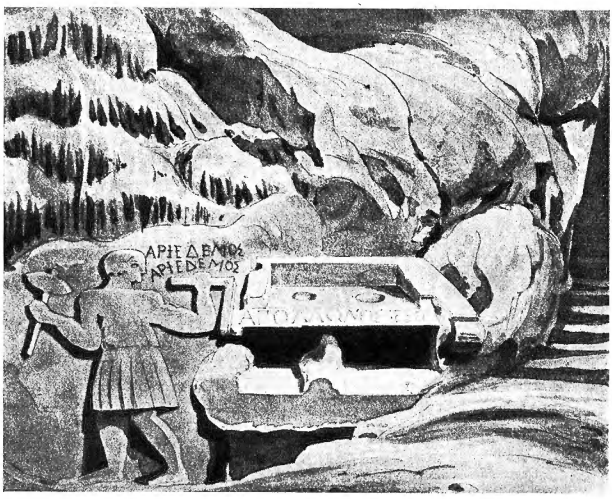


Fig. 177.

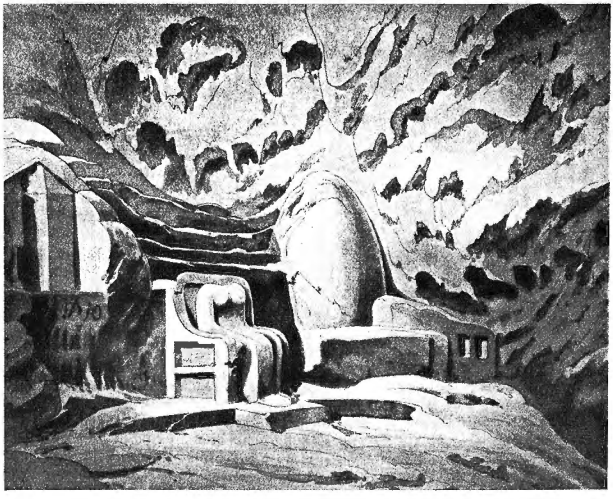


Fig. 178.

title of kindred origin preserved by Hesychios[1] is perhaps *Ersaîos*, Zeus 'of the Dew.'

Keos was once so well watered that, like certain others of the Kyklades[2], it was known as *Hydroûssa*[3]. Hither came Aristaios, one

(=my fig. 178), C. H. Weller in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 267 ff. fig. 4 photo) and is variously interpreted as Isis (R. Chandler *Travels in Greece* Oxford 1776 p. 150 'Isis, the Egyptian Ceres,' J. C. Hobhouse (Lord Broughton) *A Journey through Albania*[2] London 1813 i. 403 'supposed to represent Isis, the Egyptian Ceres,' E. Dodwell *A Classical and Topographical Tour through Greece* London 1819 i. 553 'probably a statue of Isis') or Demeter (L. Ross *Reisen des Königs Otto und der Königinn Amalia in Griechenland* Halle 1848 ii. 76 'vielleicht einer Demeter') or Kybele (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 217 'offenbar...Kybele,' L. Bloch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 531. This would agree with the lion's head carved in the rock at ξ on the plan (fig. 174). See also A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1642, 1644) or Rhea (A. Milchhöfer in E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Karten von Attika* Berlin 1889 Text iii. 16 'Rhea?').

On the whole I conclude that the seated divinity is an earth-goddess, very possibly Ge herself, who here as at Delphoi (*supra* ii. 169 ff., 231, 239, 1216, cp. ii. 258 pl. xvi) had her *omphalós*. Further it would appear that deeper in the cavern, just where there was a perpetual drip of water, the Greeks established the cult of Apollon *Érsos* or *Hérsos*, the 'Dew'-god,—Apollon, rather than Zeus, in deference to the *omphalós*. C. Wordsworth *Athens and Attica* London 1836 p. 198, *ib.*[3] London 1855 p. 170, was not very wide of the mark when he wrote: 'Ersus...appears to have been venerated here, as the beneficent power to whose influence—shed like dew (ἔρση) upon the earth,—all rural produce in its infant state, the tender blade, the opening blossom, and the young firstling, were alike indebted for their preservation and increase.' More succinctly let us say that down here, in the dark womb of mother earth, Apollon *Érsos* with his gentle moisture impregnates Ge for the benefit of mankind. And, if so, then the cave at Vari furnishes a noteworthy parallel to the *Ersephoría* (*supra* p. 165 ff.) at the underground descent (of Ge *Olympía*? *supra* p. 188) beside the Ilissos.

Finally, if—as seems probable—the cave at Vari was the actual spot on Mt Hymettos to which the infant Platon was taken by his parents for a sacrifice to the rustic powers (Ail. *var. hist.* 10. 21 ὅτι τὸν Πλάτωνα ἡ Περικτιόνη ἔφερεν ἐν ταῖς ἀγκάλαις· θύοντος δὲ τοῦ Ἀρίστωνος ἐν Ὑμηττῷ ταῖς Μούσαις ἢ ταῖς Νύμφαις, οἱ μὲν πρὸς τὴν ἱερουργίαν ἦσαν, ἡ δὲ κατέκλινε Πλάτωνα ἐν ταῖς πλησίον μυρρίναις δασείαις οὔσαις καὶ πυκναῖς. καθεύδοντι δὲ ἐσμὸς μελιττῶν ἐν τοῖς χείλεσιν αὐτοῦ καθίσασαι ὑπῆδον, τὴν τοῦ Πλάτωνος εὐγλωττίαν μαντευόμεναι ἐντεῦθεν, Olympiod. *v. Plat.* p. 1, 14 ff. Westermann καὶ γεννηθέντα τὸν Πλάτωνα λαβόντες οἱ γονεῖς βρέφος ὄντα τεθείκασιν ἐν τῷ Ὑμηττῷ, βουλόμενοι ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ τοῖς ἐκεῖ θεοῖς Πανὶ καὶ Νύμφαις καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι Νομίῳ θῦσαι, καὶ κειμένου αὐτοῦ μέλιτται προσελθοῦσαι πεπληρώκασιν αὐτοῦ τὸ στόμα κηρίων μέλιτος, ἵνα ἀληθὲς περὶ αὐτοῦ γένηται τὸ 'τοῦ καὶ ἀπὸ γλώσσης μέλιτος γλυκίων ῥέεν αὐδή' (*Il.* 1. 249)), it may be that the honey found on the babe's lips was accepted as the divine dew vouchsafed by the deities of the cavern.

[1] Hesych. Ἔργαῖος· ἀέριος Ζεύς (cp. *supra* i. 30, ii. 351 n. 0, 808 n. 0 (0)). A. Meineke's cj. 'Ἐρσαῖος is commonly approved and squares with Hesych. ἐρσαῖα·...δροσώδη and ἐρσαίη· δροσώδης. If this is right, Nonnos had the sanction of cult-usage, when he made Semele dream of herself as a fruit-tree in a garden 'Drenched by the nurturing dews of Kronos' son' (*Dion.* 7. 146 νιφόμενον Κρονίωνος ἀεξιφύτοισιν ἐέρσαις).

[2] Andros (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 65 Hydrusam). Tenos (Aristot. *frag.* 553 Rose, 595 Rose[2] *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 65 Hydrusam, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τῆνος·...Τδροῦσσα, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 525 Τδρουσα). Cp. an island off the deme Aixone (Strab. 398 Τδροῦσσα: see further L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 79), etc. (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 749).

[3] Herakl. Pont. *frag.* 9. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 214 Müller) Τδροῦσα, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 62 Hydrusam, Hesych. *s.v.* Τδροῦσα.

of the great culture-heroes of Greece, who learnt the care of sheep and oxen from the Nymphs and of bees from the Brisai. But drought befell the island, for the Etesian Winds failed and plants and animals suffered[1]. At this point the narrative as told by Herakleides of Pontos, the pupil of Aristotle[2], breaks off abruptly. It is continued by Apollonios of Rhodes[3]. Aristaios by his wisdom averted disaster. Gathering together the Parrhasian folk of Lykaon's lineage (presumably Arcadian settlers in Keos[4]), he made a great altar for Zeus *Ikmaîos*, Lord 'of the Damp[5],' and sacrificed on the mountains both to the star Seirios and to Zeus son of Kronos. Thereupon Zeus sent the Etesian Winds to blow for forty days and cool the earth. Hence the Cean custom that priests offer burnt-

[1] Herakl. Pont. *loc. cit.*

[2] Aristot. *frag.* 511 Rose[2].

[3] Ap. Rhod. 2. 519 ff. λίπεν δ' ὄγε πατρὸς ἐφετμῇ | Φθίην, ἐν δὲ Κέῳ κατενάσσατο, λαὸν ἀγείρας | Παρράσιον, τοίπερ τε Λυκάονός εἰσι γενέθλης, | καὶ βωμὸν ποίησε μέγαν Διὸς Ἰκμαίοιο, | ἱερά τ' εὖ ἔρρεξεν ἐν οὔρεσιν ἀστέρι κείνῳ | Σειρίῳ αὐτῷ τε Κρονίδῃ Διί. τοῖο δ' ἔκητι | γαῖαν ἐπιψύχουσιν ἐτήσιαι ἐκ Διὸς αὖραι (*supra* p. 142 n. 6) ἤματα τεσσαράκοντα· Κέῳ δ' ἔτι νῦν ἱερῆες | ἀντολέων προπάροιθε Κυνὸς ῥέζουσι θυηλάς. So Theophr. *de vent.* 14 εἰ δέ ποτ' ἐξέλιπον καὶ Ἀριστοῖος αὐτοὺς ἀνεκαλέσατο θύσας τὰς ἐν Κέῳ θυσίας τῷ Διὶ καθάπερ μυθολογοῦσι, κ.τ.λ. and more fully Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 444, 30 ff. Stählin πάλιν ἱστοροῦσιν Ἕλληνες ἐκλειπόντων ποτὲ τῶν ἐτησίων ἀνέμων Ἀριστοῖον ἐν Κέῳ θῦσαι Ἰκμαίῳ (so L. C. Valckenaer for *Ισθμίοι* cod. L.) Διί· πολλὴ γὰρ ἦν φθορά, φλογμῷ διαπιμπραμένων πάντων καὶ δὴ καὶ τῶν ἀναψύχειν τοὺς καρποὺς εἰωθότων ἀνέμων μὴ πνεόντων· <ὁ δὲ (*ins.* U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff) > ῥᾳδίως αὐτοὺς ἀνεκαλέσατο. Cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4 praeterea Canicula exoriens aestu Ceorum (so B. Bunte for *eorum* codd. D.G.N.) loca et agros fructibus orbabat et ipsos morbo adfectos poenas Icaro cum dolore sufferre cogebat, quod latrones recepissent. quorum rex Aristaeus Apollinis et Cyrenes filius, Actaeonis pater, petiit a parente, quo facto calamitate civitatem posset liberare. quem deus iubet multis hostiis expiare Icari mortem, et ab Iove petere, ut, quo tempore Canicula exoriretur, dies XL ventum daret, qui aestum Caniculae mederetur. quod iussum Aristaeus confecit et ab Iove impetravit ut etesiae flarent. quas nonnulli etesias dixerunt, quod quotannis certo tempore exoriuntur (*ἔτος* enim Graece *annus* est Latine); nonnulli etiam aetesias (so A. van Staveren for *etesias* codd., *ἀπὸ τοῦ αἴτεῖν*) appellaverunt, quod expostulatae sunt ab Iove et ita concessae.

[4] A. Pridik *De Cei insulae rebus* Dorpati Livonorum 1892 pp. 19—21 would discredit this notion of an Arcadian settlement in Keos ('Quod veteres scriptores Aristaeum aut cum Parrhasiis ex Arcadia venisse aut postea in Arcadiam se contulisse narrant, collegerunt nimirum ex Aristaei Jovisque cultu et Ceis et Arcadibus communi'). F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 853 is less sceptical ('Indessen hat eine Wanderung von Arkadern nach Keos an sich nichts Unwahrscheinliches; auch an der ionischen Wanderung nahmen nach Herodt. I 146 Ἀρκάδες Πελασγοί teil').

[5] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 522 Ἰκμαίου δὲ Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐστὶν ἐν Κέῳ, τουτέστι Διύγρου, ἕνεκεν τῆς ἰκμάδος καὶ τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἀνέμων. So cod. Par. The vulgate has Διὸς Ἰκμαίοιο. ἕνεκα τῆς ἰκμάδος. ἐν τῇ Κῷ (*sic*) δέ ἐστιν ἱερὸν Διὸς Ἰκμαίου, τουτέστι διύγρου. ἐπεὶ αἴτιος γέγονε τῆς πνοῆς τῶν ἀνέμων. K. Manthos thought he could locate the temple of Zeus *Ikmaîos* at a place called μικρὰ Ἑλληνικά, near Ἑλληνικά between Ioulis and Karthaia. There were remains of Cyclopean walls, which had been used as a quarry for building two neighbouring churches, one being that of the Taxiarchai (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 543).

sacrifice before the rising of the dog-star. The poet's allusion to Arkadia and Lykaon suggests that the altar of Zeus *Ikmaîos* resembled that of Zeus *Lýkaios* on the summit of Mount Lykaion[1]. We do not, however, hear that in Keos, as in Arkadia[2] and Elis[3], a starving populace, when famine stared them in the face, resorted to the desperate expedient of human sacrifice. Milder methods had come into vogue. The priest of Zeus *Lýkaios* made rain-magic with an oak-branch[4]. And Aristaios, after sacrificing a bull, poured a libation of honey on the altar of Zeus *Ikmaîos*[5]—a libation thoroughly appropriate to the god that sent refreshing dew[6].

Aristaios, then, was famous as a culture-hero. But admittedly[7] he was more than that. As early as 474 B.C. Pindar[8] identifies him with Zeus *Aristaîos* or with Apollon *Agreús* and *Nómios*—high gods of field and fold. Cheiron, foretelling to Apollon the destiny of Kyrene's son, says that Hermes shall receive him from his mother and bring him to the fair-throned Horai and to Gaia:

> And they shall set the babe upon their knees,
> And nectar and ambrosia take, and these
> Upon his lips let fall,
> So make him once for all
> A power that shall endure—
> Zeus and Apollon pure,
> A present help to men upon their way,
> Of flocks a guardian sure,
> *Agreús* and *Nómios* named of some to-day,
> Of others *Aristaîos*, as they pray.

[1] *Supra* i. 81 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 70 ff., 654.

[3] *Infra* § 9 (g) Molpis.

[4] *Supra* i. 76, 87, *infra* § 9 (a) iii.

[5] Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 269 ff. καὶ πυρὶ σειριάοντα κατεύνασεν ἀστέρα Μαίρης, | καὶ Διὸς Ἰκμαίοιο θυώδεα βωμὸν ἀνάψας | αἵματι ταυρείῳ γλυκερὴν ἐπεχεύατο λοιβὴν | ποικίλα φοιταλέης ἐπιβώμια δῶρα μελίσσης, | πλήσας ἀβρὰ κύπελλα μελικρήτου κυκεῶνος· | Ζεὺς δὲ πατὴρ ἤκουσε καὶ υἷέος υἷα γεραίρων | πέμψεν ἀλεξικάκων ἀνέμων ἀντίπνοον αὔρην, | Σείριον αἰθαλόεντος ἀναστέλλων πυρετοῖο. | εἰσέτι νῦν κήρυκες Ἀρισταίοιο θυηλῆς | γαῖαν ἀναψύχουσιν Ἐτησίαι ἐκ Διὸς αὖραι, | ὁππότε ποικιλόβοτρυς ἀέξεται οἰνὰς ὀπώρῃ.

[6] Hesych. *s.v.* *ἰκμασία*· ὁ ἔνδροσος ἀήρ, ὑγρασία. In Paus. 1. 32. 2 L. C. Valckenaer cj. *βωμὸς* Ἰκμαλέου Διός, but Σημαλέου codd. is right (*supra* i. 121, ii. 4, 897 n. 6).

[7] *E.g.* Schirmer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 547 'ein Gott der Urbewohner Griechenlands,' Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 455 'eines Schutzgottes' etc., F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 852 'die ehemalige Bedeutung dieses einer sehr alten und ursprünglichen Entwicklungsstufe angehörenden Gottes,' Smith—Marindin *Class. Dict.* p. 111 'an ancient divinity' etc., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1710 'Wettergott,' E. Thrämer in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 546 a 'an ancient Thessalian deity' etc., H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 144 'a rustic deity.'

[8] Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 112 ff. (quoted *supra* i. 372 n. 8).

Pindar appears to be weaving together a warp and a woof of diverse origin. The one tradition, which we may call Boeotian since it was found in Hesiod, equated Aristaios with the pastoral Apollon[1]. The other, which is rather Arcadian, identified him with Zeus[2]. This is the version accepted by Kallimachos when, wishing to ascribe a noble pedigree to Akontios of Keos, he makes him descended 'from the priests of Zeus *Aristaîos Íkmios*[3].' Later writers repeat, with less precision, this twofold claim to divinity[4]. We are left wondering whether Aristaios was a god who had faded into a hero, or a mortal who had put on immortality.

And here we must take into account an attractive hypothesis advanced by L. R. Farnell[5], who observes that *Aristaîos* means 'sprung from *Ariste*' and that *Ariste* was an appellative of Artemis[6]: 'His

[1] Hes. *frag.* 98 Flach, 129 Rzach *ap.* Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 14 Aristaeum invocat, id est Apollinis et Cyrenes filium, quem Hesiodus dicit Apollinem pastoralem.

[2] Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 14 huic opinioni (*sc.* that Aristaios went from Thebes to Keos and thence to Sardinia) Pindarus refragatur, qui eum ait de Cea insula in Arcadiam migrasse ibique vitam coluisse: nam apud Arcadas pro Iove colitur, quod primus ostenderit qualiter apes debeant reparari, ut ait poeta de hoc ipso Aristaeo 'tempus et Arcadii memoranda inventa magistri | pandere' (Verg. *georg.* 4. 283 f.).

[3] Kallim. *aitia* 3. 1. 32 ff. Mair Κοδρείδης σύ γ' ἄνωθεν ὁ πενθερός, αὐτὰρ ὁ Κεῖος | γαμ[β]ρὸς Ἀριστᾶιον [Ζη]νὸς ἀφ' ἱερ < έ > ων | Ἰκμίου, οἷσι μέμ[η]λεν ἐπ' οὔρεος ἀμβώνεσσιν | πρηύνειν χαλ[ε]πὴν Μαῖραν ἀνερχομένην, | αἰτεῖσθαι τὸ δ' ἄημα παραὶ Διός, ᾧ τε θαμ < ι > νοὶ | πλήσσονται λινέαις ὄρτυγες ἐν νεφέλαις. In line 33 the papyrus has γαμβροσαριστᾶιον . . τιοσαμφϊέρων with μ of ἀμφ apparently crossed through. A. S. Hunt in *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 27 no. 1011 prints U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff's cj. λή < ιτ > ος ἀμφ' ἱερῶν, but *ib.* p. 63 admits that λήιτος 'cannot actually be read.' A. W. Mair did well to prefer A. E. Housman's [Ζη]νὸς ἀφ' ἱερ < έ > ων. The form Ἰκμίου, instead of the usual Ἰκμαίου, is *metri gratia*.

[4] Schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 112 τὸν Ἀριστᾶῖον τινες Ἀπόλλωνα, τινὲς δὲ καὶ Ἄγρέα, 115 a ἱστέον ὅτι τὸν Ἀριστᾶιον διὰ τὸ τὴν κτηνοτροφίαν καὶ κυνηγεσίαν εὑρηκέναι Ἀγρέα καὶ Νόμιον, Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα προσηγόρευον, schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 498 καὶ κατακαλεσάμενος τοὺς ἐτησίας Ζεὺς Ἀριστᾶιος ἐκλήθη καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀγρεὺς καὶ Νόμιος (cod. Par. has διὰ δὲ τὸ αἴτιον γενέσθαι τῶν ἐτησιῶν (*leg.* ἐτησίων) Ζεὺς Ἀριστᾶιος ἐκλήθη καὶ Ἀπόλλων Ἀγυιεὺς (*sic*) καὶ Νόμιος), Athenag. *supplicatio pro Christianis* 14 p. 15 Schwartz Κεῖοι Ἀριστᾶιον (*sc.* ἵδρυνται θεόν), τὸν αὐτὸν καὶ Δία καὶ Ἀπόλλω νομίζοντες. Cp. Diod. (probably from Timaios: see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 676) 4. 81 διὰ δὲ τὴν εὐχρηστίαν τὴν ἐκ τούτων τῶν εὑρημάτων τοὺς εὑεργετηθέντας ἀνθρώπους τιμήσαι τὸν Ἀριστᾶιον ἰσοθέοις τιμαῖς, καθὰ καὶ τὸν Διόνυσον, 82 διὸ καὶ παρὰ τοῖς κατὰ τὴν Σικελίαν οἰκοῦσι διαφερόντως φασὶ τιμηθῆναι τὸν Ἀριστᾶιον ὡς θεόν, καὶ μάλιστ' ὑπὸ τῶν συγκομιζόντων τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας καρπόν, Paus. 8. 2. 4 ἐπεί τοι καὶ θεοὶ τότε ἐγίνοντο ἐξ ἀνθρώπων, οἱ γέρα καὶ ἐς τόδε ἔτι ἔχουσιν ὡς Ἀριστᾶιος κ.τ.λ.

Corp. inscr. Gr. ii no. 2364, 2 (Karthaia) τῷ Ἀπόλλων[ι] Ἀριστᾶι[ῳ] was a misreading amended *ib.* p. 1071 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 545, 2 τῶι Ἀπόλλωνι δεκάτην.

[5] Farnell *Gk. Hero Cults* p. 49 ff.

[6] Paus. 1. 29. 2 κατιοῦσι δ' ἐς αὐτὴν περίβολός ἐστιν Ἀρτέμιδος καὶ ξόανα Ἀρίστης καὶ Καλλίστης· ὡς μὲν ἐγὼ δοκῶ καὶ ὁμολογεῖ τὰ ἔπη τὰ Πάμφω (so A. Hecker for σαπφοῦς codd., cp. Paus. 8. 35. 8), τῆς Ἀρτέμιδός εἰσιν ἐπικλήσεις αὗται, λεγόμενον δὲ καὶ ἄλλον ἐς αὐτὰς λόγον εἰδὼς ὑπερβήσομαι. Perhaps we catch an echo of the other version in Hesych. *s.v.* Καλλίστη· . . . καὶ ἡ ἐν τῷ Κεραμ(ε)ικῷ ἱδρυμένη Ἑκάτη, ἣν ἔνιοι Ἄρτεμιν λέγουσιν.

name implies a powerful goddess and her son. Are we transported back once again to the domain of Cretan religion, with its great goddess and youthful companion-god?' Artemis certainly bulked big in Keos. She had a sanctuary at Ioulis, as we gather not only from the myth of Ktesylla[1] but also from extant inscriptions[2]. Her head appears on bronze coins of the town struck in *s.* iii B.C.[3] And her name at least is perpetuated by that of Saint Artemidos, the Cean protector of ailing children[4]. If, then, we may assume that in Keos, as at Athens, Artemis was *Aríste*, it is possible to plead that *Aristaîos* was a theophoric name[5] attached to her *páredros*[6]—possible, but precarious.

On the whole, I am disposed to see in Aristaios another example of those early kings of Greece (Agamemnon, Amphiaraos, Trophonios, Asklepios, etc.), who bore the title of the sky-god because they were regarded as his human embodiment[7]. Hyginus—was it only a lucky

[1] Ant. Lib. 1 (after Nikandros *ἑτεροιούμενα* book 3) Hermochares of Athens saw Ktesylla, daughter to Alkidamas of Ioulis, as she danced round the altar of Apollon at Karthaia on the occasion of the Pythian festival. Falling in love with her, he inscribed an apple and let it drop in the precinct of Artemis. Ktesylla picked it up and read thereon a vow to marry Hermochares of Athens. Thereupon, moved by modesty and anger, she flung the apple away. When Hermochares pressed his suit, Ktesylla's father consented and, laying hold of the bay-tree, swore by Apollon to that effect. But after the Pythia Alkidamas forgot his oath and gave his daughter to another. The wedding was at hand, and the girl was already offering her sacrifice in the precinct of Artemis, when Hermochares indignant at losing his bride burst in. Ktesylla was smitten with love for him and, helped by her nurse, eloped with him by night to Athens, and there married him. Fate ordained, however, that she should die in childbed, because her father had broken his word. When she was being carried out to burial, a dove flew up from the bier and the body of Ktesylla vanished. Hermochares consulted the oracle about it and was bidden to found at Ioulis a sanctuary of [Aphrodite (*secl.* J. G. Schneider)] *Ktésylla*. The Ceans still worship her —the men of Ioulis calling her Aphrodite *Ktésylla*, the rest Ktesylla *Hekaérge*.

Ov. *met.* 7. 368—370 is likewise indebted to Nikandros (cp. E. Oder *De Antonino Liberali* Bonnae 1886 pp. 1 ff., 42 ff., M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 219).

The tale of Hermochares and Ktesylla is paralleled by that of Akontios and Kydippe (C. Dilthey *De Callimachi Cydippa* Leipzig 1863, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 237 f.).

[2] Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 787 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 617 ('fragmentum deforme lapidis communis, olim in casa G. F. Depastae in regione Διασέλιον τοῦ Ὀζιᾶ inaedificatum') Ἀρτέμιδο]ς ἱερόν in lettering of *s.* iii B.C.

Corp. inscr. Gr. ii Add. no. 2367 = Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* no. 1786 = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 618 ('Iulidis in arce') [. . . . .]ς Ἐπίφρονος καὶ οἱ παῖδες Ἀρτεμ[δ]ι.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 96 pl. 22, 15 and 16 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 204 no. 1, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 518 no. 7247 pl. 245, 23, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 484.

[4] *Supra* i. 172.

[5] Examples of the name as borne by men are collected in W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 i. 128 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 859.

[6] *Supra* ii. 294 ff.

[7] *Supra* ii. 1069 f. Zeus Ἀγαμέμνων, 1070 ff. Zeus Ἀμφιάραος, 1073 ff. Zeus Τρεφώνιος or Τροφώνιος, 1076 ff. Zeus Ἀσκληπιός.

guess?—dubs him 'King' of the Ceans[1]. Diodoros, probably drawing upon Timaios[2] (*c.* 346—*c.* 250 B.C.), is aware that he left descendants in Keos, and states that in Sardinia he begat two sons called Charmos and Kallikarpos[3]. The well-omened[4] jingling names are suggestive of a Dioscuric pair. Finally, Aristaios, identified by the poets with Zeus[5], appears as a Zeus-like head, bearded and often laureate, on Hellenistic coins of Keos (figs. 179—182)[6] and of the

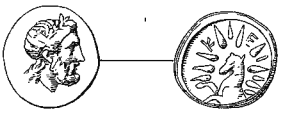


Fig. 179.

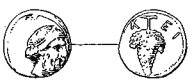


Fig. 180.

Fig. 181.

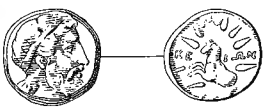


Fig. 182.

Fig. 183.

Fig. 184.

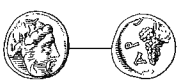


Fig. 185.

Fig. 186.

[1] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 4 (quoted *supra* p. 266 n. 3).

[2] *Supra* p. 268 n. 4. [3] Diod. 4. 82.

[4] With Χάρμος cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 64 *ἀνδράσι χάρμα φίλοις* of Aristaios himself.

[5] *Supra* p. 267 f.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 89 pl. 21, 1—5 'Aristaeus?,' *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 203 pl. 43, 14 'Zeus (Aristaios),' *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 557 nos. 4632—4634 pl. 168 'Aristaeos,' *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 518 pl. 245, 26 f. 'Aristaeos,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 482 f. 'Aristaeos represented like Zeus.' *Rev.* KEI or KEIΩN Seirios. I figure two bronze coins in the Leake collection and two in the McClean collection.

Cean towns Ioulis (fig. 183)[1], Karthaia (figs. 184, 185)[2] and Koresia (fig. 186)[3].

In this connexion a word must be added on a Thessalian cult about which we are very imperfectly informed. Three out of the four tetrarchies of Thessaly recognised a month *Áphrios*[4], which belonged to the second half of the year[5] but cannot as yet be more nearly defined. B. Keil[6], K. Tümpel[7], and J. W. Kubitschek[8] held that its name implied the worship of Aphreia[9], a clipped form of the Thessalian Aphrodite. But N. I. Giannopoulos has done good service by publishing a couple of inscriptions from Pherai, which afford a

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 96 f. pl. 22, 18 'Bearded head,' *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 204 nos. 2—4 'Zeus (Aristaios),' *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 518 pl. 245, 24 'Aristaeos,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 484 'Aristaeos.' *Rev.* ΙΟΥΛΙΕ or ΙΟΥΛΙ Bee. My fig. 183 is from a silver didrachm, now in the British Museum, published by W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1891 xi. 129 no. 25 'Aristaeus,' which reads ΙΟΥ and has in the field a dog's head and Η.

[2] W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1856 Insular Greece p. 6 'Jupiter,' *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 516 no. 7234 (my fig. 184), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 483 'Aristaeos.' *Rev.* ΚΑΡΘΑ Seirios.

McClean Cat. Coins ii. 517 pl. 245, 17 (my fig. 185) 'Bearded head.' *Rev.* Grape-bunch.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 94 pl. 22, 8 'Aristaeus?,' *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 559 no. 4645 pl. 169 'Aristaeos,' Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 484 'Aristaeos.' *Rev.* ΚΟΡΗ Star. My fig. 186 is the Weber specimen.

Agreús on autonomous and imperial bronze coins of Korkyra has a more distinctive type—a bearded god clad in a long *chitón* and holding a *cornu copiae* (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 155 pl. 25, 7 f., p. 159 ff. pl. 26, 4, 6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 21 pl. 32, 4 and p. 22 no. 57, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 282 pl. 191, 9 and 12, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 328). *Obv.* Zeus *Kásios* (*supra* ii. 906 n. 3 fig. 823) or Head of emperor. I figure a specimen in my collection.

Fig. 187.

[4] Hestiaiotis: Aiginion (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 323, 1 *μη[νὸς* 'Αφ]*ρι[ου]*), Chyretiai (*ib.* no. 349 *b*, 4 'Α(φ)ρίου). Pelasgiotis: Azoros (*ib.* no. 1295 *a*, 5 *μηνὸς* 'Αφρίου), Gonnos (*ib.* no. 1042, 13 f. 'Α|*φρίου*), Larissa (*ib.* nos. 542, 9 *μηνὸς* 'Αφρίο[υ], 544, 2 f. *τὴν δευ[τέ]ραν ἐξάμηνον*, 11 'Αφρίφ, 546, 16 *νουμη(νίᾳ)* 'Αφρίου, 547, 7 *μ(ηνὸς)* 'Αφρίου, 556, 10 f. [*μη*]*νὸς* 'Αφρί[ου], 568, 4 *μηνὸς* 'Αφροδισίου? ('(='Αφρίου) lectio incerta': p. 320 *''Αφριον legit Rensch'* and *''Αφροδίσιος nihil est*; *v''Αφριος*'). Thessaliotis: Pharsalos (*ib.* no. 256 *b*, 11 'Αφ[ρίου?]).

[5] *Ib.* no. 544, 2 f., 11 (*supra* n. 4).

[6] B. Keil in *Hermes* 1885 xx. 630.

[7] K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2724 and 2796.

[8] J. W. Kubitschek *ib.* i. 2724.

[9] J. Franz in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 136 ff. no. 1 published a metrical inscription from *Gallipoli* (Kallipolis) on the Thracian Chersonese, of which a revised transcript was given by J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 vi. 260 ff. beginning *'Αρφείης υἱῆι τετε[μέν]ον ἱερὸν ἄσυ | ἀρχαίων ἵδρυμα κ.τ.λ.* Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1034 printed the poem from Franz' copy, but omitted the opening word as an obvious error. Later, in *Hermes* 1884 xix. 261, he suggested that *'Αρφείης* might be a stone-cutter's slip for *'Αφρείης* in the sense of *'Αφρογενείας*. Lastly B. Keil *ib.* 1885 xx. 630 supported Kaibel's suggestion by noting the month *"Αφριος*, which according to him implied a Thessalian *'Αφρία* to match the Thracian *'Αφρεία*.

more likely explanation. Both are engraved on marble *stêlai* topped by a small pediment. The first to be found read ΔΙΑΦΡΙΟΥ, which Giannopoulos[1] shrewdly interpreted as a dedication (in dialect[2]) 'to Zeus *Áphrios*.' Various scholars shook sapient heads over this new-fangled epithet[3]. But all doubts as to its authenticity were dissipated when Giannopoulos produced a second inscription from the same town, containing the god's name in full—ΔΙΙΑΦΡΙΟΥ, 'to Zeus *Áphrios*[4].'

It remains to determine the sense of *Áphrios*, and that is no easy task. Indeed, we are reduced to pure conjecture. I should assume derivation from the Greek *aphrós*, 'foam.' Significance might attach to bubbles on the local spring[5], froth on the river, foam on the sea, and any or all of these things might be attributed to the action of the sky-god. An Indian story tells how Indra—the thunder-god who

[1] N. I. Giannopoulos in the Δελτίον Φιλαρχαίου Ἑταιρείας Ὄθρυος 1901/2 p. 47, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 220. Height 0·38^{m}, width 0·25^{m}.

[2] For *-ου=-φ* in Thessalian see *e.g.* A. Thumb *Handbuch der griechischen Dialekte* Heidelberg 1909 p. 242 and in greater detail F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 179.

[3] A. I. Spuridakes in the Δελτίον Φιλαρχαίου Ἑταιρείας Ὄθρυος 1901/2 p. 24 no. 19 (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 220) took Διαφρίου to be the tomb 'of Diaphrios.' A. Jardé and M. Laurent in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 385 no. 93 read Διαφρίου, but left it without interpretation. A. Rutgers van der Loeff in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 220 n. 1 and O. Kern in the *Inscr. Gr. sept.* ii no. 452 incline to accept Giannopoulos' view. But Kern *ib.* prints Διαφρίου because J. von Prott thought it '*viel wahrscheinlicher als* Διαφριου.'

[4] N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 219 f. no. 4. Height 0·84^{m}, width 0·35^{m}.

[5] At Pherai this would be the fountain of Hypereia (F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 107 with fig. 5 chart of *Velestino* (Pherai)), who appears on silver drachms (W. Frœhner *Collection Photiadès Pacha: Monnaies grecques* Paris 1890 p. 14 no. 165 pl. 1 (=my fig. 188), Head *Hist. num.*^{2} p. 307. *Obv.* Head of the nymph

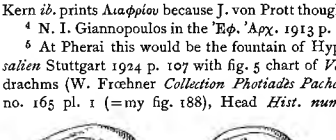


Fig. 188.

Fig. 189.

Hypereia crowned with reeds; behind, lion's head spouting water. *Rev.* ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ Hekate, with two torches, on galloping horse; in the field, a wreath containing the name ΑΣΤΟΜΕΔΟΝ) and hemidrachms of *s.* iv B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 48 pl. 10, 15 bad, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 222 pl. 175, 25 worse, F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1908 xi. 65 cp. 75, Head *Hist. num.*^{2} p. 307. Fig. 189 is from a specimen of mine. *Obv.* Head of Hekate, wreathed with myrtle; behind, torch. *Rev.* ΦΕΡΑΙΟΥΝ The nymph Hypereia, in *chitôn* and *himátion*, placing her right hand on a lion-head fountain; in the field, a wreath containing the name ΑΣΤΟ. Cp. M. Leumann ''Αστο- für 'Αριστο- auf thessalischen Inschriften' in *Glotta* 1929 xviii. 65 f.).

conquered the demons of drought[1]—swore to the Asura Namuki[2] that he would slay him neither by day nor by night, neither with staff nor with bow, neither with the palm of the hand nor with the fist, neither with the wet nor with the dry. So he killed him in the morning twilight by using as a thunderbolt the foam of water[3].

[1] A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 54.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 161 f. concludes: 'The etymology of the name is according to Pāṇini (6, 3, 75) *na-muci*, "not letting go." In that case it would mean "the demon withholding the waters"[12] ([12]Cp. KUHN, KZ. 8, 80).' F. Max Müller *Vedic Hymns* Oxford 1891 p. 111 says: 'na-muk, not delivering rain.'

[3] *The Satapatha-Brâhmana* trans. J. Eggeling Part v (*The Sacred Books of the East* xliv) Oxford 1900 p. 222 f. 12. 7. 3. 1 ff.: '1. By means of the Surâ-liquor Namuki, the Asura, carried off Indra's (source of) strength, the essence of food, the Soma-drink. He (Indra) hasted up to the Aśvins and Sarasvatî, crying, "I have sworn to Namuki, saying, '"I will slay thee neither by day nor by night, neither with staff nor with bow, neither with the palm of my hand nor with the fist, neither with the dry nor with the moist!"' and yet has he taken these things from me: seek ye to bring me back these things!" 2. They spake, "Let us have a share therein, and we will bring them back to thee."—"These things (shall be) in common to us," he said, "bring them back, then!" 3. The Aśvins and Sarasvatî then poured out foam of water (to serve) as a thunderbolt, saying, "It is neither dry nor moist"; and, when the night was clearing up, and the sun had not yet risen, Indra, thinking, "It is neither by day nor by night," therewith struck off the head of Namuki, the Asura. 4. Wherefore it has been said by the Rishi (Rig-veda S. VIII, 14, 13 [cited *infra*]), "With foam of water, Indra, didst thou sever the head of Namuki, when thou wert subduing all thine enemies." Now, Namuki is evil: having thus, indeed, slain that evil, his hateful enemy, Indra wrested from him his energy, or vital power.'

W. H. D. Rouse 'Baldur Story' in *The Folk-Lore Journal* 1889 vii. 61 notes the *Taittîrya Brâhmana* 1. 7. 1. 7 ('He moulded this foam of the waters: that, you know, is neither dry nor wet. It was dawn, the sun had not risen: that, you know, is neither day nor night. He cut off his head with the foam of the water in this world').

M. Bloomfield in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1893 xv. 155 ff. collects other allusions: 'At Rāmāyaṇa iii. 30. 28 (Bomb.; iii. 35. 94 Gorresio) we read:..."Khara fell down slain...as Vṛtra was slain by the thunderbolt, as Namuci by the foam." At Mahābh. ix. 2436:..."the lord Vāsava, perceiving a fog, cut off his (Namuci's) head with the foam of the waters." Nîlakaṇtha in his commentary on Mahābh. i. 7306 ff. (Calc.; i. 197. 31 Bomb.) says:..."just as when Namuci was to be slain (Indra's) thunderbolt entered into the foam of the waters"...* (*A variation of this story at Mahābh. v. 318—330 tells how the great Ṛṣis had promised Vṛtra that they would not slay him with anything dry or wet, with a stone or wood, with a knife or arrow, neither by day nor by night. This promise was kept until at dawn one day Indra saw "foam in the sea similar to a mountain"; this along with his thunderbolt he threw upon Vṛtra; Viṣṇu entered the foam and slew Vṛtra...). Mahîdhara at VS. x. 33 says: "the Açvins and Sarasvatî gave to Indra a thunderbolt in the form of water-foam. With that Indra cut the head of Namuci." And at xix. 71:..."with the foam of water did you take off the head of the Asura Namuci." Sâyaṇa at RV. viii. 14. 13: "Indra...cut off his head at the junction of day and night, with foam, which is different from dry and wet. This purport is set forth in this verse: O Indra, with the foam of the waters, turned into a bolt, did you take off the head of the Asura Namuci." The Brâhmaṇas are more explicit. At MS. iv. 3. 4 we have:..."having spread a fog at sunrise, he cut off his head with the foam of the waters."... The Pañc. Br. xii. 6. 8 has:..."he cut off his head at dawn before the sun had risen with the foam of the waters. For at dawn before the sun has risen: that is neither night nor day; and foam of the waters: that is neither wet nor dry."'

Sir James Frazer[1], who cites the tale as a parallel to the myth of Balder, adds: 'The foam of the sea is just such an object as a savage might choose to put his life in, because it occupies that sort of intermediate or nondescript position between earth and sky or sea and sky in which primitive man sees safety. It is therefore not surprising that the foam of the river should be the token of a clan in India[2].'

The Greeks apparently looked upon foam as one manifestation of the sky-god's seed, and thus in a manner akin to dew or rain. Nonnos[3] states that Hephaistos, when enamoured of Athena,

> Shot forth the hot and self-sped foam of love.

The same poet elsewhere[4] tells how a dolphin once carried Aphrodite to Kypros,

> What time the gendering dew of Ouranos,
> Down-streaming with his manhood's gore, gave shape
> To the foam of childbed and brought forth the Paphian.

The Orphic Rhapsodies[5] used similar language in narrating the birth of Aphrodite from the foam that arose when the seed of Zeus fell into the sea. Both incidents of course involve the naïve derivation of *Aphrodíte* from *aphrós*[6]. But the idea of seminal foam is as

Bloomfield *ib.* further contends that this legend of Indra and Namuki gave rise to a class of magical practices in which demons were routed by means of river-foam, called 'river-lead,' or some surrogate such as lead, iron-filings, and even the head of a lizard. See *e.g. Hymns of the Atharva-veda* trans. M. Bloomfield (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlii) Oxford 1897 p. 65 f. 1. 16. 1—4 with p. 256, *The Śatapatha-Brâhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part iii (*The Sacred Books of the East* xli) Oxford 1894 p. 92 5. 4. 1. 9 f.

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 280 f.

[2] E. T. Dalton 'The Kols of Chota-Nagpore' in *Transactions of the Ethnological Society of London* 1868 New Series vi. 36—again cited by Frazer *Totemism and Exogamy* i. 24 ('the foam of the river is an Oraon totem and not to be eaten by the clansmen'), ii. 290 ('The *Amdiar* will not eat the foam of the river').

[3] Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 179 *θερμὸν ἀκοντίζων αὐτόσσυτον ἀφρὸν Ἐρώτων.*

[4] *Id. ib.* 13. 439 ff. *ὁππότε γὰρ γονόεσσα κατάρρυτος ἄρσενι λύθρῳ | Οὐρανίη μόρφωσε λεχώιον ἀφρὸν ἐέρσῃ | καὶ Παφίην ὤδινε, κ.τ.λ.*

[5] Orph. *frag.* 183 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Cratyl.* p. 110, 23 ff. Pasquali (quoted *supra* ii. 1029).

[6] Modern adherents of this time-honoured view include the following:

(1) L. Meyer *Vergleichende Grammatik der Griechischen und Lateinischen Sprache*[2] Berlin 1884 i. 2. 641 ''Αφρο-δί-τη ("die im Schaum leuchtende (?)"),' *ib.* 990 ''Αφρο-δίτη (eigentlich "im Schaum glänzend" oder "im Gewölk glänzend"?),' *id. Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 160 f. from ἀφρό-ς 'foam'+a participial form of the root *dî* 'to shine' (cp. Sanskrit *su-dîti*), '"im Schaume glänzend."' So also H. Hirt *Der indogermanische Ablaut* Strassburg 1900 p. 99 § 364 'idg. dejā "scheinen"...'Αφροδίτη.' I pursued the same will-o'-the-wisp in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 177.

(2) L. v. Schroeder *Griechische Götter und Heroen* Berlin 1887 i. 7 f. assumes an Indo-Europaean **abhradâtâ* or **abhradâti* from Sanskrit *abhra* 'cloud' (ἀφρός)+the root

dî 'to hasten' (*δίον, δίεσθαι*, etc.) '"im Gewölk sich bewegend, im Gewölk dahineilend oder fliegend."'

(3) P. Kretschmer *Die Griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 156 n. 1 "Ἀφροδίτη enthält in seinem ersten Teil unzweifelhaft *ἀφρός*, in seinem zweiten wahrscheinlich **δδίτη*, das sich zu *ὀδίτης* verhält wie *ταμίη* zu *ταμίης*,' *id.* in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 267 'Αφρ-οδιτη "Auf dem schaume dahinwandelnd." So F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2773 "auf dem Schaum hinwandelnd," O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 206 "die auf dem Schaume wandelnde" ('Sehr anschaulich dazu E. Oberhummer, Die Insel Cypern I, S. 108 ff.').

(4) Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1348 n. 2 suggests 'Αφρο-δίτη from *ἀφρός* + **δίω* (*διαΐνω, διερός*) 'wetted with foam,' cp. *Anacreont.* 53. 30 ff. Bergk[4] *χαροπῆς ὅτ' ἐκ θαλάσσης | δεδροσωμένην Κυθήρην | ἐλόχευσε πόντος ἀφρῷ*, Himer. *or.* 1. 20 *ἔτι τὸν ἀφρὸν μετὰ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐξ ἄκρων πλοκάμων στάζουσαν.*

Others treat the name as non-Greek (*e.g.* A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 439 'Der Name 'Αφροδίτη ist wohl kaum griechisch' etc.) and advocate a variety of Semitic etymologies (listed by K. Tümpel in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1880 xi. 680 f. and Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 1348 n. 3). A couple will serve as examples, or at least as warnings:

(1) E. Röth *Geschichte unserer abendländischen Philosophie* Mannheim 1846 i. 263 with n. 452 and L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie*[2] Berlin 1860 i. 263 note the Semitic *aphrodeth*, 'dove' (Aramaic פַּרְיְדָּא, Phoenician with article (*sic*) אַפְרוֹדֶת). This is to some extent approved by K. Tümpel *loc. cit.* and by E. H. Meyer in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1888 p. 138. See further W. Muss-Arnolt *A Concise Dictionary of the Assyrian Language* Berlin 1905 ii. 827 *s.v.* 'purîdu,' 'a bird,' C. Bezold *Babylonisch-assyrisches Glossar* Heidelberg 1926 p. 226 *s.v.* 'purîdu, puriddu, pirîdu,' 'e. Vogel,' W. Gesenius *Hebräisches und aramäisches Handwörterbuch über das alte Testament*[16] rev. F. Buhl Leipzig 1915 p. 657 *s.v.* פֶּרֶד [pered] (derived from *parad* 'to flee'—ass. *parâdu* probably 'to flee,' *purîdu* 'leg' [properly 'goer']—in Hebrew = 'mule'), J. Levy *Neuhebräisches und chaldäisches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1889 iv. 101 *s.v.* פְּרִידָה *f.* [pərîdhah] (arab. فريد [farîd] syn. mit פֶּרֶד [peredh] 'ein Stück von dem Taubenpaar, das (nach Lev. 1, 14 fg.) geopfert werden soll, einzelne Taube.' But all this fails to justify the initial 'A- of 'Αφροδίτη.

(2) F. Hommel 'Aphrodite-Astarte' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1882 xxviii. 176 contends that 'Αφροδίτη is a direct loan-word from the Phoenician form *Ashtóreth*: 'das *sh* dieses wortes (wie auch seiner babylonischen nichtsemitischen urform *Ishtar*) wurde dem folgenden *t* in der aussprache möglichst angeglichen, so dasz dieselbe eher *Aθtóreth* als *Ashtóreth* lautete; das wird unwiderleglich bewiesen durch die form *Aθtar* bei den Südarabern, welche...die Astarte von Babylonien entlehnten. auf diese aussprache des *sh* in *Ashtóreth* wie engl. *th* nun gründet sich meine identification: bekannt ist, dasz in etymologisch verwandten, um so mehr aber in lehnwörtern, ursprüngliches *θ* (sprich wie engl. *th*) durch *f*, in alter zeit wohl auch *ph* (griech. *φ*) ersetzt wurde[2] (2wer mir entgegnet dasz *φ* in ältester zeit noch nicht den laut *f* gehabt habe, den verweise ich darauf, dasz aus *Aftóreth*—die Griechen hatten ja überhaupt kein *f*—schon des anklangs an *ἀφρός* halber ganz ungezwungen *Aphróteth* werden konnte, ja muste. für fremdes *f* war der nächstliegende griechische laut eben nur *φ*); vgl. nur russisch *Fedor* aus griechisch *Θεόδωρος*. die Griechen hörten nun *Ashtóreth* wie *Aphtóreth*, was mit einer bei lehnwörtern so überaus häufigen metathesis umgestellt wurde zu *Aphróteth*—'Αφροδίτη.' *Id. Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitologischen Inhalts* München 1892 i. 34 n. 1 'Auch die Griechen hörten ja Ashtoret (vgl. *Ishtâritu* neben *Isthar* und zur Länge *Namtâru* aus *Namtar*) als Aθtoret, da sie (vgl. russ. Marfa aus Martha) Aphtoret und weiter Aphrotet ('Αφροδίτη) draus machten.' *Id. Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 1040 adheres to his view ''Αφροδίτη aus Aṯtoret (Astarte, Mittelform Afrotet)' and cites in support H. Grimme in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 18 with n. 1. See also Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 168, who cp. as a doubtful parallel *γέφυρα* = a Semitic *gêṯûr*.

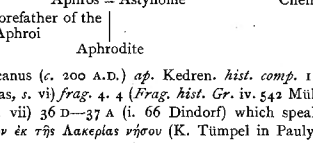
old as Hesiod[1], reappears in fifth-century science[2], and quite conceivably accounts for the existence of *Áphrios* as an appellative of Zeus.

On the whole, I incline to accept Hommel's hypothesis that 'Αφροδίτη (F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952 *A*, 27 'Αφορ(δ)ίταν = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 527 *a*, 27 'Αφροδίταν in an oath from Dreros in eastern Crete, *c.* 220 B.C., quoted *supra* i. 729 n. 2) really was a Greek attempt to pronounce *Aštóreth* and at the same time to make sense of a foreign name by assimilating the first part of it to ἀφρός. G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 246 n. 1 summarises the process: 'F. HOMMEL...nimmt die Entwickelung *Aštóreth* **Aθtóreth* (südarab. *Aθtar*) **Aftóreth* und daraus mit Metathesis im Anklang an ἀφρός *Aphróteth* an.'

See further V. Costanzi 'Ζεὺς "Αφριος e il nome 'Αφροδίτη' in the *Atti d. r. accad. di sci. di Torino* 1913—1914 xlix. 315—321.

[1] Hes. *theog.* 190 ff. (*supra* ii. 447 n. 8). This and many other literary allusions are collected by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1870—1871 p. 11 ff.

Late chroniclers, by way of providing an eponym for the Africans, personified the Hesiodic ἀφρός and put together the following pedigree:



So Sex. Iulius Africanus (*c.* 200 A.D.) *ap.* Kedren. *hist. comp.* 15 D (i. 28 Bekker), Io. Antioch. (*i.e.* Malalas, *s.* vi) *frag.* 4. 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 542 Müller), cp. the *Chronicon Paschale* (early in *s.* vii) 36 D—37 A (i. 66 Dindorf) which speaks of ὁ "Αφραος, ὅστις ἔγημε τὴν 'Αστυνόμην ἐκ τῆς Λακερίας νήσου (K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2796). On this whole genealogy see *supra* ii. 693 n. 4.

[2] Diogenes of Apollonia *frag.* 6 Diels *ap.* Aristot. *hist. an.* 3. 2. 512 b 8 ff. αὗται δὲ (*sc.* αἱ φλέβες) σπερματίτιδες καλοῦνται. τὸ δ' αἷμα τὸ μὲν παχύτατον ὑπὸ τῶν σαρκωδῶν ἐκπίνεται· ὑπερβάλλον δὲ εἰς τοὺς τόπους τούτους λεπτὸν καὶ θερμὸν καὶ ἀφρῶδες γίνεται, cp. Clem. Al. *paed.* 1. 6 p. 119, 2 ff. Stählin τινὲς δὲ καὶ τὸ σπέρμα τοῦ ζῴου ἀφρὸν εἶναι τοῦ αἵματος κατ' οὐσίαν ὑποτίθενται, ὃ δὴ τῇ ἐμφύτῳ τοῦ ἄρρενος θέρμῃ παρὰ τὰς συμπλοκὰς ἐκταραχθὲν ἐκριπιζόμενον ἐξαφροῦται κἀν ταῖς σπερματίσιν (L. Dindorf cj. σπερματίτισιν) παρατίθεται φλεψίν· ἐντεῦθεν γὰρ ὁ 'Απολλωνιάτης Διογένης τὰ ἀφροδίσια κεκλῆσθαι βούλεται. The same idea is found in the medical writers, *e.g.* Galen. περὶ χρείας τῶν ἐν ἀνθρώπου σώματι μορίων 14. 9 (iv. 183 Kühn) αὐτὸ δὲ τὸ σπέρμα πνευματῶδές ἐστι καὶ οἷον ἀφρῶδες, *id.* περὶ σπέρματος 1. 5 (iv. 531 Kühn) σὺ γὰρ (*sc.* Aristotle) εἰς ὁ καλῶς εἰκάσας ἀφρῷ τὸ σπέρμα, Vindician. *frag. Bruxell. de semine* 1 (in M. Wellmann *Fragmentsammlung der griechischen Ärzte* Berlin 1901 i. 208, 2 ff.) Alexander Amator veri (*sc.* Φιλαλήθης) appellatus, discipulus Asclepiadis, libro primo De semine spumam sanguinis eius essentiam dixit Diogenis placitis consentiens... 3 (*ib.* p. 210, 8 ff.) Diogenes autem Apolloniates essentiam < seminis > similiter spumam sanguinis dixit libro physico: etenim spiratione adductus spiritus sanguinem suspendit, cuius alia pars carne bibitur, alia superans in seminales cadit vias et semen facit, quod < non > est aliud quam spuma sanguinis spiritu collisi. It occurs also in theological and exegetical authors such as Cornut. *theol.* 24 p. 45, 3 ff. Lang 'Αφροδίτη δέ ἐστιν ἡ συνάγουσα τὸ ἄρρεν καὶ τὸ θῆλυ δύναμις, τάχα διὰ τὸ ἀφρώδη τὰ σπέρματα τῶν ζῴων εἶναι ταύτην ἐσχηκυῖα τὴν ὀνομασίαν, schol. Eur. *Tro.* 990 τὴν 'Αφροδίτην ἐτυμολογοῦσιν οἱ μὲν παρὰ τὸν ἀφρὸν τὸν ἐν τῇ συνουσίᾳ, οἱ δὲ κ.τ.λ., Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 77 quod autem Saturnum fingunt Coelo patri genitalia abscidisse et sanguinem fluxisse in mare, atque ex spuma maris concreta Venus nata est, illud aiunt quod per coitum salsi humoris substantia est, et inde 'Αφροδίτην Venerem dici, quod coitus spuma est sanguinis quae ex succo viscerum liquido salsoque constat.

That, however, is guesswork, and other guesses are almost equally permissible. For instance, philologists have shown that *aphrós* is related both to *ómbros*, 'rain,' and to *néphos*, *nephéle*, 'cloud[1].' We might, therefore, without deserting the Greek area, conjecture that Zeus *Aphrios* was originally a Thessalian rain-god or cloud-god. Further evidence is much to be desired.

(d) Zeus *Thaúlios*.

Some twenty minutes west of Pherai (*Velestino*), on the right bank of a small torrent known as *Michali-Revma*[2], A. S. Arvanitopoullos located a large and important cult-centre. Since 1919 he has been at work, helped latterly by Y. Béquignon and P. Collart of the French School, uncovering the area and determining its history[3]. No fewer than six successive epochs are involved. The site was already occupied in neolithic times—witness numerous sherds and a marble idol. Then came a 'Mycenaean' sanctuary[4], evidenced

The widespread beliefs attaching to 'cuckoo-spit' are not unworthy of attention. The name is popularly given to a mass of froth concealing the *larvae* of certain insects. One of the main *genera* of the *cercopidae* or frog-hoppers is labelled *aphrophora*, and one of its *species* is *aphrophora spumaria* (R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 vi. 195 f. with figs.). J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 682 says: 'The froth on willows, caused by the cicada spumaria, we call *kukuks-speichel*, Swiss *guggerspeu*, Eng. *cuckoo-spit*, *-spittle*, Dan. *giögespyt*, but in some cases witch's spittle, Norweg. trold-kiäringspye.' E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 111, *à propos* of the cuckoo as a 'Gewittervogel' notes: 'Sein *Speichel* verkündet *Regen* und hilft gegen Ausschlag' (after K. Bartsch *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Meklenburg* Wien 1880 ii. 175). P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 303 'D'après un vieil auteur, les cicades et grillons naissaient du crachat et escume de l'oyseau appelé cocu ou coucou' (after E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1879 ii. (Les oiseaux sauvages) 98, who cites Jean de Luba (*leg.* Johannes de Cuba) *Ortus sanitatis*). J. Jonston *Thaumatographia Naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 351 '*Cicadas* ex cuculorum sputo nasci scripsit *Isidorus*' is alluding to Isid. *orig.* 12. 8. 10 cicadae ex cuculorum nascuntur sputo. See further C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 122, who states *inter alia* that 'In Devonshire, boys take the insects in the spittle for cuckoos in their early stage.'

[1] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 68, 311, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 106, 666, Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 378 *s.v.* 'imber,' Muller *Altital. Wörterb.* p. 162 *s.v.* 'emfris.'

[2] Was Zeus here as elsewhere (*supra* ii. 894 n. 3) superseded by St Michael?

[3] Until the official account of this interesting excavation has been published, we must be content with the very inadequate preliminary reports. See the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1920 xliv. 396, 1921 xlv. 529 f., 1923 xlvii. 524, 1924 xlviii. 482, 1925 xlix. 458—460 fig. 3, 1926 l. 562 f. fig. 9, A. J. B. Wace in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 273, A. M. Woodward *ib.* 1924 xliv. 275, 1925 xlv. 224 f., 1926 xlvi. 246 f., 1927 xlvii. 256 f., *id.* in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1924—1925* p. 68, the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. p. 247, 1925 xl Arch. Anz. p. 328, 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 429 f., 1927 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 389 f.

[4] *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 429, cp. *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 524 and A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 246.

by terra-cotta figures and vase-fragments. Next, a necropolis of the 'geometric' period. Over a score of graves, rectangular in shape, built of and covered with large stone slabs[1], were but poorly furnished; they contained a few vases, small bronzes, and iron weapons. The cist-graves had, however, been left undisturbed by later builders. Immediately above them was placed the Hellenic temple, or rather a sequence of three Hellenic temples. The first, which appears to have been constructed, in part at least, of timber[2], dated from *s.* vii B.C., to judge from the fragment of an early Doric capital. To it belonged a mass of votive offerings in bronze, silver, gold, ivory, and other materials[3]. These had been deposited in two *bóthroi* or *favissae,* one about 11·50^{m} to the south, the other to the west of the temple: the contents of the latter were thrown in with the earth as filling for a retaining-wall of the next temple. The offerings included many bronze animals (horses, cocks, geese, etc.), a bronze handle in the form of a griffin's head, the bronze statuette of a warrior[4]; gold and silver ornaments of 'orientalising' date; an Egyptian head of good style, scarabs with bogus hieroglyphs; terra-cotta figurines of *kórai* seated or standing, some being fragments of almost life-sized figures, sundry types of *koûroi,* statuettes of sick or deformed persons, several *ex-voto* effigies of hands and feet; carved ivory seals and couchant beasts recalling those from Sparta[5]. The second temple, built *c.* 550—500 B.C. and burnt *c.* 400 B.C., is represented by many architectural remains found underneath the south-east corner of its successor. Here were four Doric columns in *pôros* with fragments of archaic Doric capitals and frieze-blocks in the same material, showing traces of painted stucco—all used as foundations of the latest edifice[6]. Within the temple was the base of a bronze statue, inscribed in lettering of 450—400 B.C. '[? Strongyl]ion made me[7].' Parts of a female statue in marble were also found, half life-sized and of good fifth-century work[8]. The third temple was erected in the first quarter of *s.* iv B.C.

[1] Details in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 459 f.

[2] *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 429, D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 65 n. 3.

[3] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 524.

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 562 with fig. 9.

[5] A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 275.

[6] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 460 with fig. 3.

[7] A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 247 n. 26 [---]ιον μ' ἐποίεσ[εν]: 'The discoverer would restore the name Strongylion.'

[8] *Id. ib.* p. 247.

and in its turn destroyed by fire *c.* 200 B.C. It was approximately 26·50m long by 16·82m broad. On the east side the stylobate is preserved, with the two lower steps of white local marble. The building itself was a hexastyle peripteral temple of the Doric order. Its columns, of *pôros* coated with stucco, carried an entablature of which portions have come to light. Among them may be noted a marble metope with the relief of a lion killing a bull[1]; also various fragments of the cornice with carved and painted decoration[2]. To the east of the temple are the foundations of six structures differing in date: one at least of these seems to have been a *naîskos*, the rest bases or altars of rectangular plan, built of *pôros* in massive blocks. The finds comprise many pedestals and fragments of statues, bronze *phiálai* for libation, and broken vases ranging as late as *s.* iii or *s.* ii B.C. Of greater moment are the inscriptions. There are ten bronze plaques preserving the terms of twenty-five laws or proxeny-decrees. There is the fragment of a decree in the Thessalian dialect. And there are other records of interest[3]. For instance, five large and five small pieces of inscribed *stêlai*, which include a fresh dedication to the Thessalian goddess *Enhodía*[4]. Finally, in post-classical times the temple-area was used as a Christian cemetery.

It would seem, then, that from the neolithic age down to our own era the spot was in some sense holy ground. It is not, however, quite obvious what deity or deities were here worshipped by the Greeks. On the one hand, the prevalence of female terra-cotta figurines in the archaic period points to the possibility that the sanctuary was then devoted to a female divinity[5]. On the other hand, A. S. Arvanitopoullos, on the strength of certain inscriptions actually found at some distance from the temple, believes that it was the cult-centre of Zeus *Thaúlios*. Perhaps it may be suggested that at Pherai, as at Larissa[6], the cult of Zeus was associated with that

[1] A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224, *id.* in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1924—1925* p. 68.

[2] A. J. B. Wace in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 273.

[3] *E.g.* a dedication in large letters στάσαντο κ.τ.λ., the *formula* εὐξαμένα καὶ κατατυχοῦσα (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 482 with n. 4, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 225).

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 482, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224 f. For Ἐνοδία as an appellation of Artemis, Hekate, and Kore see O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2634 f.

[5] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 562, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 257.

[6] *Supra* ii. 1155 n. 4.

of *Enhodía*[1], whose head indeed appears on the coinage of the town (fig. 190)[2]. Her ritual—if we can trust a tale told by Polyainos[3]—might require the sacrifice of a choice bull with gilded horns, fillets, and blue gold-spangled draperies.

Zeus *Thaúlios* undoubtedly had a cult at Pherai. A votive *stéle* of marble, found there by Arvanitopoullos[4], has a small pediment

Fig. 190.

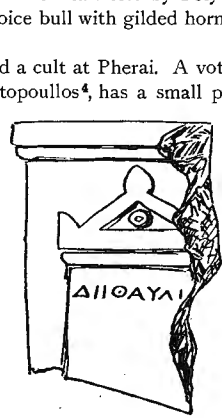


Fig. 191.

[1] A dedication to *Enhodía* at Pherai was published by P. Monceaux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1883 vii. 60 no. 14 (*Velestino*) Καλλίκλεια | Παρμενίσκου | Ἐνοδίαι εὐξαμένη.

[2] A silver drachm struck by Alexander of Pherai (369—357 B.C.) has *obv.* head of Hekate *Enhodía* to right inscribed ΕΝΝΟΔΙΑΣ, *rev.* ΑΛΕΞ lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 47 no. 17 (wrongly described) pl. 10, 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 308). Fig. 190 is from J. Hirsch *Rhousopoulos Sale Catalogue* p. 88 no. 1446 pl. 19, on which see K. Regling 'ΕΝΝΟΔΙΑ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1905 viii. 175 f.

[3] Polyain. 8. 43 τῆς Ἰωνικῆς ἀποικίας ἐς τὴν Ἀσίαν ἀφικομένης τοῖς Ἐρυθραὶς κατέχουσιν ἐπολέμει Κῦπος τοῦ Κοδριδῶν γένους. ὁ θεὸς ἔχρησεν αὐτῷ στρατηγὸν παρὰ Θεσσαλῶν λαβεῖν τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς Ἐνοδίας· ὁ δὲ πρεσβεύεται πρὸς Θεσσαλοὺς καὶ μηνύει τὸ λόγιον τοῦ θεοῦ. οἱ δὲ ἔπεμψαν αὐτῷ τὴν ἱέρειαν τῆς θεοῦ Χρυσάμην. αὕτη, φαρμάκων ἔμπειρος οὖσα, ταῦρον ἐξ ἀγέλης μέγιστον καὶ κάλλιστον συλλαβοῦσα, τὰ μὲν κέρατα κατεχρύσωσε καὶ τὸ σῶμα κατεκόσμησε στέμμασι καὶ χρυσοπάστοις ἁλουργίσι καὶ μετὰ τῆς τροφῆς ἀναμίξασα μανιοποιὸν φάρμακον ἔδωκεν αὐτῷ φαγεῖν· τὸ δὲ φάρμακον αὐτόν τε τὸν ταῦρον ἐξέμηνε καὶ τοὺς γενσαμένους αὐτοῦ μανιουργεῖν ἐμελλεν. οἱ μὲν δὴ πολέμιοι ἀντεστρατοπέδευον, ἡ δὲ ἐν ὄψει τῶν πολεμίων βωμὸν παραθεῖσα καὶ ὅσα πρὸς θυσίαν, ἐκέλευσε προσάγειν τὸν ταῦρον. ὁ δὲ ὑπὸ τοῦ φαρμάκου μεμηνὼς καὶ οἱστρῶν ἐξεπήδησε καὶ μέγα μυκώμενος ἔφυγεν. οἱ πολέμιοι χρυσόκερων κατεστεμμένον ὁρῶντες καὶ φερόμενον ἐς τὸ ἑαυτῶν στρατόπεδον ἀπὸ τῆς θυσίας τῶν ἐναντίων ὡς ἀγαθὸν σημεῖον καὶ οἰώνισμα αἴσιον ἐδέξαντο καὶ συλλαβόντες καλλιεροῦσι τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ τῶν κρεῶν ἕκαστος φιλοτίμως ἐβαίσαντο ὡς δαιμονίου καὶ θείας ἱερουργίας μεταλαγχάνοντες. αὐτίκα δὴ πᾶν τὸ στρατόπεδον ὑπὸ μανίας καὶ παραφροσύνης ἐξίστατο· πάντες ἀνεπήδων, διέθεον, ἀνεσκίρτων, τὰς φυλακὰς ἀπέλειπον. Χρυσάμη ταῦτα ἰδοῦσα τὸν Κνῶπον ἐκέλευσε διὰ τάχους ὁπλίσαι τὴν στρατιὰν καὶ τοῖς πολεμίοις ἐπάγειν ἀμύνασθαι μὴ δυναμένοις. οὕτω δὴ Κνῶπος ἀνελὼν ἅπαντας ἐκράτησε τῆς Ἐρυθραίων πόλεως μεγάλης τε καὶ εὐδαίμονος. It can hardly be doubted that this curious recital has borrowed more than one trait from the Thessalian cult of *Enhodía*.

[4] A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1907 p. 152, *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1908 p. 36, 1910 p. 407 f.

above, a space left blank for a painted portrait below, and in the middle a Thessalian[1] inscription:

ΔΙΙ 'To Zeus
ΘΑΥΛΙΟΥ *Thaúlios.*'

A second *stéle* from Pherai, published by N. I. Giannopoulos (fig. 191)[2], bears a relief representing a *stéle* with pediment, *akróteria*, and central disk[3], beneath which is the fragmentary inscription:

ΔΙΙΘΑΥΛΙ[ΟΥ] 'To Zeus *Thaúli*[*os*].'

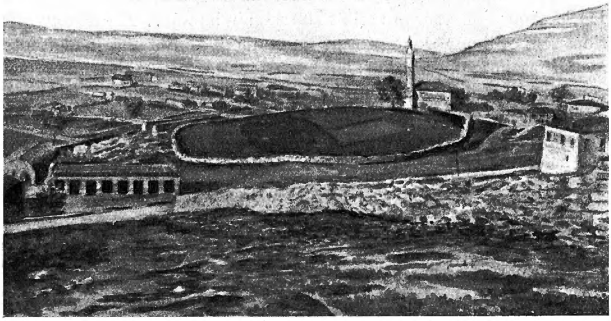


Fig. 192.

Yet another dedication to the same god has recently been found at Pherai, but is still unpublished[4].

Zeus *Thaúlios* was worshipped also at Pharsalos[5]. Above the springs of the Apidanos, in a quarter called *Tampachana*, rises a fair-sized hill commanding a wide prospect[6]. Remains of isodomous masonry suggest that the place was fortified in ancient times[7]. The

[1] *Supra* p. 272 n. 4.

[2] N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 218 fig. 3 (=my fig. 191) Pherai no. 1 Διὶ Θαυλί[ου]. Height 0·37^{m}, breadth 0·21^{m}.

[3] *Supra* i. 292 ff.

[4] *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 460, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 p. 247.

[5] A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1907 pp. 151—153 ('Ἱερὸν Διὸς Θαυλίου').

[6] F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 138 fig. 9 gives a small plan.

[7] *Id. ib.* p. 136 reports that he found on this hill ('auf dem Hügel der Fatihmoschee an der Apidanosquelle') prehistoric sherds and one of geometric date. He conjectures that it was the site of Phthia, the town of the Myrmidones.

rocky surface of the hill-top has been so worked as to leave outstanding sundry breast-shaped knobs, meant presumably to fit into corresponding hollows on the under side of votive bases. One such patch of tooled rock at the north-eastern edge of the summit exhibits a carefully incised dedication

ΔΙΘΑΥΛΙΩΙ 'To Zeus *Thaúlios*'

by certain 'kinsfolk of Parmeniskos[1].' The hill (fig. 192) is crowned by an old Turkish mosque[2], founded—so it is said—centuries ago on the site of an older church. The minaret fell and could not be set up again till a cross was fixed on its highest point. So here the Turks must needs reverence the cross! This mosque is built of ancient materials: many statue-bases, architectural blocks, and a very early Doric capital of *pôros* are still to be seen in its walls. A trial excavation west of the mosque proved unproductive. But the inhabitants aver that here inscriptions and marble statuettes and numerous coins have come to light. Again, in the quarter of Pharsalos known as *Koloklompas*[3] N. I. Giannopoulos[4] found an altar inscribed in lettering which dates from the latter part of *s.* iv B.C.:

ΔΙΟΣ ΘΑΥΛΙΟΥ 'Of Zeus *Thaúlios*.'

The appellative has been traced further afield[5]. Hesychios gives *Thaûmos* (?) or *Thaúlos* as a title of the Macedonian Ares[6], and *Thaúlia* as the name of a festival held by Kteatos and the Dorians[7]. Lastly, the clan *Thaulonídai* at Athens had an eponymous ancestor *Thaúlon*, who figures in a myth relating to the cult of Zeus *Polieús*[8]. It looks as though *Thaûlos*, *Thaúlios*, *Thaúlon* had been in early days a divine epithet used by more than one Greek community.

[1] A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1907 p. 152 Δι(ὶ) Θαυλίωι--ἀγχιστῶν τῶν περὶ Παρμενίσκον. Cp. Καλλίκεια | Παρμενίσκου (*supra* p. 280 n. 1).

[2] See the view in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1910 p. 177 fig. 1 (=my fig. 192).

[3] F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 143 n. 10.

[4] F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 154, N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1913 p. 218 n. 1.

[5] See V. Costanzi 'Zeus Thaulios' in the *Athenaeum* Pavia 1913 i. 406—411 and O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 533—535.

[6] Hesych. Θαῦμος (O. Hoffmann *Die Makedonen, ihre Sprache und ihr Volkstum* Göttingen 1906 p. 94 n. 127 cj. Θαῦλλος. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 154 cj. Θαύλιος, which is better) ἢ Θαῦλος· Ἄρης Μακεδόνιος (so M. Schmidt for Μακεδονίως cod. Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 263 B, against Hesychian usage, cj. Μακεδονικῶς. Musurus cj. Μακεδόσι).

[7] Hesych. Θαύλια (so Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 257 A for Θαυλία cod.)· ἑορτὴ [Ταραντῖνοι (referred to the preceding gloss by J. V. Perger)] ἀχθεῖσα ὑπὸ Κτεάτου (I. Voss cj. ἐπ' ὀκταετοῦς)· παρ' ὃ καὶ θαυλίζειν <φασὶ (*ins.* T. Hemsterhuys)> λέγειν τοὺς Δωριεῖς. Even thus emended, the gloss remains obscure. The allusion to Kteatos (? the son of Molione (*supra* ii. 1015 n. 8)) is not found elsewhere, and perhaps postulates εἰσαχθεῖσα.

[8] *Infra* § 9 (h) ii (δ).

With regard to its original meaning nothing is known. Conjectures have been advanced by W. Tomaschek[1], F. Hiller von Gaertringen[2], F. Bechtel[3], and F. Solmsen[4]. But none of these is convincing. I venture therefore to add to their number the suggestion that *Thaúlios* denotes 'god of the Dew,' being in fact a word akin to the German *Tau*, the Dutch *dauw*, and the English *dew*[5].

[1] W. Tomaschek in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1894 cxxx Abh. ii. 55 (from the root *θυ-*, 'stürmen').

[2] F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 156 considers the possibility of connexion with *θάλλω*, *θαλλός*, Θαλύσια, but rightly observes that the *αυ* of Θαύλιος, Θαύλων is quite incompatible with the *ᾰ̃* : *ᾰ̃* of *τέθᾰλα* : *θᾰλέθω*.

[3] *Id. ib.* cites a suggestion of F. Bechtel: 'Nur als einen Einfall will es Bechtel gelten lassen, dass Θαύλων den Töter bedeute: *θαυ-*, zu combiniren mit germanischem *dau* im gotischen *dauþs*, ahd. *tōt*, nhd. *todt*. Dann würde Θαύλων dasselbe wie *βουφόνος*, Θαύλια = *βουφόνια* sein, und Zeus Θαύλιος der Gott, dem die *Βουφόνια* gelten. Sachlich dürfte hiergegen nichts einzuwenden sein; das Verschwinden des Wortstammes im täglichen Sprachgebrauche der Griechen wäre ein Beweis für das hohe Alter der religiösen Sitte und Vorstellung.'

[4] F. Solmsen 'Zeus Thaulios' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 286—291 criticises Bechtel's view: 'So verführerisch die Deutung erscheint, so erheben sich doch gegen sie lautliche Bedenken von gotischer Seite her. Neben *dauþs* "tot" *dauþus* "Tod" nämlich steht hier *diwans* "sterblich." Dessen *-iw-* geht auf *-eu̯-* zurück, also muss...das *-au-* von *dauþs dauþus* älteres *-ou-* fortsetzen, und damit lässt sich das *-au-* von Θαύλιος usw. schlechterdings nicht vereinigen.' Solmsen further propounds a conjecture of his own: 'Θαυλ- kann sich Laut für Laut mit *-δαυλ-* decken, dem zweiten Bestandteil des lydischen, genauer lydisch-phrygischen Namens Καυδαύλας. Über das eigentliche Wesen dieser Figur belehrt uns der bekannte Hipponaxvers 'Ερμῆ κύναγχα [*leg.* κυνάγχα], Μητιοχίτηι Καυδαῦλα' (Hipponax *frag.* 1 Bergk[4], 4 Diehl, 45 Knox). On this showing Θαύλων would denote 'Throttler' ('Würger'), Θαύλια 'the Throttling-festival' ('Würgefest'), and Θαύλιος the god served with such rites. Sacrifice effected by, or at least accompanied with, strangulation appears to have been an early institution: Solmsen adduces the bull-dragging for Poseidon Ἑλικώνιος (*Il.* 20. 403 f. cited *supra* i. 506 n. 1), the bull-hanging for Athena at Ilion (*supra* i. 533 fig. 406), the slaughter of a bull for Poseidon at intervals of five and six years alternately, on the top of a pillar made of 'mountain-bronze' (? brass) and inscribed with the laws, by the natives of Atlantis (Plat. *Critias* 119 c—e), and the yearly hanging of a young kid for Aspalis Ameilete Hekaerge in the precinct of Artemis at Melite in Phthia (Ant. Lib. 13 after Nikandros *ἑτεροιούμενα* 2). Analogous cases are mentioned by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 343 n. 3. But, unfortunately for Solmsen's view, Thaulon is expressly said to have slain his ox with an axe (*infra* § 9 (h) ii (δ)).

[5] A. Fick *Vergleichendes Wörterbuch der Indogermanischen Sprachen*[3] Göttingen 1876 ii. 388, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 183, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 342 f.

If it be objected that the Macedonian Ares Θαῦλος (*supra* p. 282) can hardly have been a dew-god, we must remember that at Athens an early myth made Ares the husband of Agraulos the dew-sister (Hellanik. *frag.* 69 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 54 Müller) = *frag.* 38 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 119 Jacoby) *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* "Αρειος πάγος = *et. mag.* p. 139, 14 ff. = Bekker *anecd.* i. 444, 8 ff., cp. Paus. 1. 21. 4, Apollod. 3. 14. 2: see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 650, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 32, 1204 n. 1, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 402). It is by no means certain that Ares was *ab origine* only a war-god, and Makedonia is the sort of place in which we might expect to find traces of wider functions.

§ 9. *Zeus and the Rain.*

(a) Rain-magic.

i. Rain-magic in modern Greece.

Rain-making by means of magic, with some admixture of prayer, is practised even nowadays in the less frequented parts of Greece. Mr J. C. Lawson[1] tells us that in Thera (*Santorini*) he found the local rain-maker high busy with her spells:

'I chanced one day upon a very old woman squatting on the extreme edge of the cliff above the great flooded crater which, though too deep for anchorage, serves the main town of the island as harbour—a place more fascinating in its hideousness than any I have seen. Wondering at her dangerous position, I asked her what she was doing; and she replied simply enough that she was making rain. It was two years since any had fallen, and as she had the reputation of being a witch of unusual powers and had procured rain in previous droughts, she had been approached by several of the islanders who were anxious for their vineyards. Moreover she had been prepaid for her work—a fact which spoke most eloquently for the general belief in her; for the Greek is slow enough (as doubtless she knew) to pay for what he has got, and never prepays what he is not sure of getting. True, her profession had its risks, she said; for on one occasion, the only time that her spells had failed, some of her disappointed clients whose money she had not returned tried to burn her house over her one night while she slept. But business was business. Did I want some rain too? To ensure her good will and further conversation, I invested a trifle, and tried to catch the mumbled incantations which followed on my behalf. Of these however beyond a frequent invocation of the Virgin (Παναγία μου) and a few words about water and rain I could catch nothing; but I must acknowledge that her charms were effectual, for before we parted the thunder was already rolling in the distance, and the rain which I had bought spoilt largely the rest of my stay in the island. The incantations being finished, she became more confidential. She would not of course let a stranger know the exact formula which she employed; that would mar its efficacy: she vouchsafed to me however with all humility the information that it was not by her own virtue that she caused the rain, but through knowing "the god above and the god below" (*τὸν ἄνω θεὸ καὶ τὸν κάτω θεό*). The latter indeed had long since given up watering the land; he had caused shakings of the earth and turned even the sea-water red. The god above also had once rained ashes[2] when she asked for water, but generally he gave her rain, sometimes even in summer-time.'

The names of Zeus and Poseidon have long since passed into oblivion[3]. But, in view of this remarkable confession, who shall say that their memory does not in some sense linger yet?

[1] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 49 f. *Supra* ii. 829.

[2] In the drying-up of the springs and in the rain of ashes Mr Lawson sees an allusion to the great eruptions of 1866, which were graphically described to him by the old crone.

[3] *Supra* i. 165.

Better known is the rain-magic of northern Greece and the Balkans. In times of prolonged drought a girl is dressed up in flowers and, with a troop of children at her heels, is sent round to all the wells and springs of the district. At every halting-place she is drenched with water by her comrades, who sing this invocation[1]:

Perperià, all fresh bedewed,
Freshen all the neighbourhood;
By the woods, on the highway,
As thou goest, to God now pray:
O my God, upon the plain,
Send thou us a still, small rain;
That the fields may fruitful be,
And vines in blossom we may see;
That the grain be full and sound,
And wealthy grow the folks around;
Wheat and barley
Ripen early,
Maize and cotton now take root;
Rye and rice and currant shoot;
Gladness be in gardens all;
For the drought may fresh dews fall;
Water, water, by the pail;
Grain in heaps beneath the flail;
Bushels grow from every ear;
Each vine-stem a burden bear.
Out with drought and poverty,
Dew and blessings would we see.

At Shatista in south-west Makedonia the song is alliterative[2]:

Perperuna perambulates
And to God prays:
'My God, send a rain,
A right royal rain,
That as many (as are the) ears of corn in the fields,
So many stems (may spring) on the vines,' etc.

Similarly on the island of Imbros a girl dressed up with leaves and

[1] Text in T. Kind *Neugriechische Anthologie* Leipzig 1844 i. 18. Translation in L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *Greek Folk Poesy* London 1896 i. 60 f. (in part cited by Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 272 f.). For variants see A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 nos. 311 Περπεριά, 312 Περπερούνα, 313 Περπερούνα (all from Thessaly and Makedonia), G. F. Abbott *Songs of Modern Greece* Cambridge 1900 p. 190 f., *id. Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 118—120, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 328 f., J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 23—25. Cp. O. Schrader in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 40 b.

[2] Text and translation in G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 119 Περπερούνα περπατεῖ | Κῆ τὸν θεὸ περικαλεῖ· | 'Θέ μου, βρέξε μιὰ βροχή, | Μιὰ βροχὴ βασιλική, | "Οσ' ἀστάχυα 's τὰ χωράφια, | Τόσα κούτσουρα 's τ' ἀμπέλια,' κ.τ.λ.

flowers goes round the village and at every house is drenched with water, while her comrades sing[1]:

The Walker walks her ways
And God the Lord she prays.
God, send the rain
On us again,
That strong the corn may grow
And strong the laddies too.

The name *Perperiá* has many variations. At Kataphygi it has been corrupted into *Piperiá*, 'Pepper-tree[2]':

Piperia, dew-collecting piperia, etc.

In Zagorion, a district of Epeiros, it has become *Papparoûna*, 'Garden-poppy,' and the chief actor in the ceremony must be largely dressed in poppies[3]. Other forms used by the Greeks are *Perperína*[4], *Perperítsa*[5], *Purperoûna*[6], *Purpirouna*[7]. In Bulgaria we hear of *Preperuga* or *Peperuga*[8]; in Wallachia, of *Papeluga*[9] or *Papaluga*[10]:

Papaluga, climb into heaven,
Open its doors,
Send down rain from above,
That well the rye may grow.

E. Gerard[11] gives the following account of *Papaluga*:

'When the land is suffering from protracted and obstinate droughts, the Roumanian not unfrequently ascribes the evil to the Tziganes [*sc.* gypsies], who by occult means procure the dry weather in order to favour their own trade of brick-making. In such cases, when the necessary rain has not been produced by soundly beating the guilty Tziganes, the peasants sometimes resort to the *Papaluga*, or Rain-maiden. This is done by stripping a young Tzigane girl quite naked, and dressing her up with garlands of flowers and leaves, which entirely cover her, leaving only the head visible. Thus adorned, the Papaluga is conducted round the village to the sound of music, each person hastening to pour water

[1] Text and translation (by R. M. Dawkins) in M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 120 Πορπατήρα πορπατεῖ, | Καὶ θεὸν παρακαλεῖ | Κύριον, θεέ, | Βρέξε μιὰ βροχή, | Νὰ ἀξήνουν τὰ σιτάρια, | Νὰ ἀξήν' τὰ παλλικάρια.

[2] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 119.

[3] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 24 (after Lamprides Ζαγοριακά p. 172 ff.).

[4] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 30.

[5] *Id. ib.*, J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 24.

[6] T. Kind Τραγῴδια τῆς νέας Ἑλλάδος Leipzig 1833 p. 13, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 594, W. Mannhardt *Wald- und Feldkulte*[2] Berlin 1904 i. 328 f.

[7] W. R. S. Ralston *The Songs of the Russian People*[2] London 1872 p. 228.

[8] W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 228, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 329.

[9] W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 229.

[10] J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 593 n. 2, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 329.

[11] E. Gerard *The Land beyond the Forest* Edinburgh and London 1888 ii. 13.

over her as she passes. The part of the Papaluga may also be enacted by Roumanian maidens, when there is no particular reason to suspect the Tziganes of being concerned in the drought. The custom of the Rain-maiden is also to be found in Servia, and I believe in Croatia.'

Sir James Frazer[1] notes:

'In Roumania the rain-maker is called Paparuda or Babaruda. She is a gypsy girl, who goes naked except for a short skirt of dwarf elder (*Sambucus ebulus*) or of corn and vines. Thus scantily attired the girls go in procession from house to house, singing for rain, and are drenched by the people with buckets of water. The ceremony regularly takes place all over Roumania on the third Tuesday after Easter, but it may be repeated at any time of drought during the summer.'

In Dalmatia those who take part in the procession are called *Prporushe* and their leader *Pripats*[2] or *Prpats*[3]. The origin of the word *Perperiá* has been much discussed. It is often derived from a Slavonic root meaning 'to flutter' and taken to denote a 'butterfly[4].' Butterflies were believed to spring from dew-drops[5], and this would suit the opening words of the rain-song: 'Perperià, all fresh bedewed,' etc.[6] But a butterfly, even if we identify it with the soul[7], has no essential connexion with the present form of rain-magic. More probable by far is Mr J. C. Lawson's[8] contention that *perpería* (for *periporeía*) began by meaning any 'procession round' the village, then acquired the special force of 'procession in time of drought,'

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2]: The Magic Art i. 273 f. (citing *inter alios* W. Schmidt *Das Jahr und seine Tage in Meinung und Brauch der Romänen Siebenbürgens* Hermannstadt 1866 p. 17).

[2] W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 330, Frazer *op. cit.* i. 274.

[3] W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 228, Frazer *op. cit.* i. 274.

[4] F. Miklosich *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der slavischen Sprachen* Wien 1886 p. 243 *s.v.* perpera, perperica, Old Slav. *prêpera, *prêperica. Cp. B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 30 n. 4: 'Die bisherigen Erklärungsversuche befriedigen in keiner Weise, und es lohnt nicht sie anzuführen. Auch kann schwerlich zur Deutung des Namens Oikonomos' Mittheilung a. a. O. [S. K. Oikonomos in Bretos' Ἐθνικὸν Ἡμερολόγιον v. J. 1868, p. 107] beitragen, wonach man in Thessalien die aus den Puppen der Seidenraupen auskriechenden Schmetterlinge περπέρια (τά) und—die weiblichen—περπερίναις nennt.'

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* II. 112, cp. Aristophanes of Byzantion *hist. an. epit.* 1. 36 p. 8, 10 ff. Lambros (cited *supra* ii. 646 n. 0).

[6] A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 no. 311. 1 f. Περπεριὰ δροσολογιὰ | δρόσισε τὴν γειτονιά.

[7] *Supra* ii. 645 n. 4, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 829, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 63, 113, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 190, 1906 iii. 332 f., Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 326.

[8] J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 24: 'But the most general, and, as I think, most correct form is περπερία (or περπερεία). With the ancient word περπερεία, derived from the Latin *perperus* and used in the sense of "boasting" or "ostentation," it can, I feel, have no connexion; and I suggest that it stands for περιπορεία, with the same abbreviation as in περπατῶ for περιπατῶ, "walk," and subsequent assimilation of the first two syllables.' Etc.

and lastly became the title of the leader in that procession. The Macedonian *Perperoúna*[1] and the Imbrian *Porpatéra*[2] are both expressly said to 'go their round.'

Another Bulgarian name for the chief performer is *Djuldjul*, corresponding with the Serbian *Dodola*[3]. The Serbian usage is as follows. A girl called the *Dodola* is stripped naked, but so wrapped up in grass, herbs, and flowers that nothing of her can be seen, not even her face. Escorted by other girls, she then passes from house to house. Before each house her comrades form a ring. She stands in the middle and dances alone. Out comes the goodwife and empties a bucket of water over her. But still she keeps dancing and whirling, while her companions sing[4]:

To God doth our Doda call, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
That dewy rain may fall, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
And drench the diggers all, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
The workers great and small, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!
Even those in house and stall, oy Dodo oy Dodo le!

Sometimes they sing, not a prayer for rain, but a rain-charm of a simple order[5]:

We go through the village,
The clouds go across the sky;
We go faster,
Faster go the clouds;
They have overtaken us
And wetted the corn and the vine.

Or:

We go through the village,
The clouds go across the sky;
From the clouds fell a ring,—
Our leader seized it.

At Melenik in Makedonia, where the surrounding rustics speak Bulgarian, the corypheus is saluted as *Ntountoulé*[6]:

Hail, hail, Dudulé,
(Bring us) both maize and wheat,
Hail, hail, etc.

It should be added that, whereas in Serbia and Bulgaria the principal part in this performance is always assigned to a girl, in

[1] *Supra* p. 285 n. 2.
[2] *Supra* p. 286 n. 1.
[3] W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 329 f.
[4] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 593 f.
[5] W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 228, W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 330, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 273.
[6] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 119.

Makedonia and Dalmatia it is given to a boy or a young unmarried man[1]. The name *Dodola* is unfortunately of unknown origin[2].

As to the significance of the rites here noticed, W. Mannhardt[3] held that the leaf-clad girl personifies vegetation, and his lead is followed by Sir J. G. Frazer[4] and Mr J. C. Lawson[5]. W. R. S. Ralston[6], however, regarded her as representing the earth, and so do B. Schmidt[7] and G. F. Abbott[8]. The two lines of explanation are not widely divergent; indeed, they practically coincide. For in Greek lands the corn-mother seems to have been but a differentiated form of the earth-mother[9]. Accepting Ralston's interpretation, I think it not improbable that the girl clad in greenery, who is supposed to catch a ring falling from the clouds[10], really plays the part of the Earth married to the Sky amid a mock shower of fructifying rain[11]. Be that as it may, this at least is clear, that the drenching of the maiden with water is intended as a rain-charm, potent enough according to the principles of imitative magic, and that the company

[1] B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 30 n. 3, W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 227 f., J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 593 f., G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 118 ff., W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 328 ff.

[2] For guesses see J. S. Stallybrass in J. Grimm *op. cit.* ii. 594 n. 2 ('Slav. dozhd is rain, and zhd represents either gd or dd; if this be the root, dodo-la may be a dimin.'), W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 229 ('The name of Dodola is by some philologists derived from *doit'* = to give milk, Dodola being looked upon as a bountiful mother, a type of teeming nature. Others connect it with Did-Lado, from the Lithuanian *Didis* = great, and Lado, the Slavonic Genius of the spring').

I risk yet another suggestion—Hellenic, not Slavonic. F. Bechtel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 pp. 29—31 and in his recent work *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1921 i. 64 has established the fact that the Aeolic name for Demeter was Δω-μάτηρ, with a clipped form Δωΐς (first restored by J. G. J. Hermann in *h. Dem.* 122 for δὼς ἔμοιγ' ὄνομ' ἐστί of cod. M.). R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 75 had already cited in this connexion the place-names Δώτιον πεδίον and Δωδώνη. O. Hoffmann *Die Griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1893 ii. 374 f. concludes that the North Achaeans in general originally worsbipped the goddess under the title Δωμάτηρ. On this showing Dodona was the town of Δωδώ, a reduplicated *Δώ, cp. Sim(m)ias of Rhodes (*c.* 300 B.C.) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δωδώνη·...Σιμμίας ὁ 'Ρόδιος· 'Ζηνὸς ἕδος Κρονίδαο μάκαιρ' ὑπεδέξατο Δωδώ.' The same reduplication might, I conceive, account for the Serbian *Dodo, Dodola*, etc.

[3] W. Mannhardt *op. cit.*[2] i. 331.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 272, 274 f.

[5] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 25.

[6] W. R. S. Ralston, *op. cit.*[2] p. 228, *infra* p. 290 n. 1.

[7] B. Schmidt *op. cit.* i. 31.

[8] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 120.

[9] *Supra* i. 396 f.

[10] *Supra* p. 288.

[11] *Infra* § 9 (e) ii.

of maidens moving through the village is in like manner what it definitely claims to be—a cloud-charm[1].

Similar in character, but more obviously suggestive of a wedding, is the May-day ceremonial of the *Kledona*. Miss M. Hamilton[2] (Mrs G. Dickins) says of it:

'In Thessaly in the district of Karankunia[3] the day is dedicated to the blessing of the wells and springs, and the festival is called the *Kledona*[4], which means *omens*. Little girls go round singing in bands of five during the early morning, the smallest being dressed as a bride. Two carry a water-vessel, and the other two are bridesmaids. From the vineyards they take twigs, and drop these into the vessel along with tokens from the youths and maidens of the place. Then they visit all the wells and pour in half of the water, afterwards refilling the vessel, while they sing a petition for blessing on the waters and crops.'

I am indebted to Professor A. J. B. Wace for the following description of the rite as performed by the Vlachs at Midsummer:

'In the summer of 1910, while travelling in South-west Macedonia, I had the opportunity of seeing how the girls of the Vlach (Macedo-Roumanian) village of Sâmârinâ celebrated the festival of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist on 24th June (O.S.) with the custom of the *klidhone*[5] (sing. *klidhonă*) and other

[1] *Supra* p. 288. W. R. S. Ralston *op. cit.*[2] p. 228: 'The people believe that by this means there will be extorted from the "heavenly women"—the clouds—the rain for which thirsts the earth, as represented by the green-clad maiden Dodola.' Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 275: 'The words of the Servian song...taken in connexion with the constant movement which the chief actress in the performance seems expected to keep up, points [*sic*] to some comparison of the girl or her companions to clouds moving through the sky. This again reminds us of the odd quivering movement kept up by the Australian rain-maker, who, in his disguise of white down, may perhaps represent a cloud' (See above, pp. 260 *sq.* This perpetual turning or whirling movement is required of the actors in other European ceremonies of a superstitious character. See below, vol. ii. pp. 74, 80, 81, 87. I am far from feeling sure that the explanation of it suggested in the text is the true one. But I do not remember to have met with any other).' Whatever the explanation of the flutter, the flutter accounts for the confusion of *περιπορεία*, *περιπερεία*, *περιπερία*, 'procession' (*supra* p. 287 n. 8), with *περιπέρια*, *περιπερίναις*, 'butterflies' (*supra* p. 287 n. 4).

[2] M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 164.

[3] 'Εστία 1890 p. 268.

[4] M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 158 on St John's Eve: 'The consultation of oracles belongs to the magic of the Eve. The usual ceremony in Greece is called *kledonas*, which is worked by the *νερὸ ἀμίλητο*—speechless water. A water-vessel is filled at the spring and carried to the house by some maiden without speaking. Into it are thrown tokens of all kinds, which are drawn out next morning, and from them each forms his conclusions as to future fortunes. Usually it is merely a case of marriage-questionings on the part of the village girls.' Etc.

[5] Prof. Wace appends a brief bibliography including L. M. J. Garnett—J. S. Stuart-Glennie *The Women of Turkey and their Folk-lore* The Christian Women London 1890 p. 20 ('The procession of the *Perperuda*...is also an institution among the Vlach women...The third Thursday after Easter is the day chosen for this propitiation of the Water Deities.' 'The ceremony of the *Klithona*, observed by the Greeks on St. John's Eve, is also performed by the Vlach youths and maidens under the same name, but with

observances. On the eve of the festival (the evening of June 23rd O.S.) the girls collected in bands and went about the village singing songs from conduit head to conduit head, putting water in the crock containing the *klidhone* and pouring it out again. Finally, at the last conduit visited, the water is left in. The *klidhone* are trinkets, one contributed by each girl and tied up a with flower or sprig of basil or some other herb, so that each can easily recognise her own again, and are placed in an earthenware crock. The trinkets remain in the water over night; and the next day after church the bands of girls collect together again and go about the village with one of their number dressed up as a bride called *Romanǎ*, singing songs as before and with the crock containing the *klidhone*. In the evening about sunset they go to a retired spot just outside the village, and joining hands and singing suitable songs pour away the water and take out the *klidhone*

Fig. 193.

one by one. They tell fortunes by the condition of the trinkets: for instance, if one has gone yellow, the omen is good; if black, the omen is bad. It seems possible that the dressing up of a girl as a bride and the visiting of the conduits is connected with a rain-charm[1]. This is in brief the custom at Sâmârină; but it was difficult

slight differences of detail'), p. 120 ff. (the *Klithona* on St John's Eve in Thessaly and Makedonia, *Perperià* during drought in the same districts), G. Weigand *Die Aromunen* Leipzig 1894 ii. 130 (*Pirpiruna* or *Dudula* in South Roumania, etc.), 136 f. no. 80 (a *Pirpiruna*-song in Vlach with German rendering), G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 53—57 (a minutely careful account of *ὁ κλήδονας* on St John's Eve and Day in Makedonia, with text and translation of the songs appropriate to the occasion), Cosmulei *Datiui, Creduțe, și Superstiții Aromânești*, p. 42 (St John's Day brides etc. among the Vlachs).

P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 p. 142 f. ('Das Fest des Κλήδονας') gives a good account of the festival as observed in western Asia Minor, in the Aegean islands, and in some parts of European Greece on June 24, the Birthday of St John the Baptist.

[1] Prof. Wace translates the *Pirpiruna*-song from G. Weigand *op. cit.* ii. 136 no. 80 (Kruševo) '*Pirpiruna* | *saranduna* | give rain, give, | that the fields may grow, | the fields and the vineyards, | the grasses and the meadows.'

to get any detailed information as the girls, especially the older ones, are shy, and only the smaller girls go through their observances in the light of day. The others prefer the screen of night, which shelters them from the prying eyes of the boys.'

G. F. Abbott[1] points out that this picturesque custom, which is now little more than a pastime, had once a serious purpose. Behind the water-jar with its sprigs of basil and talk of sweethearts lies the old-world endeavour to bring about fertility. The hydromancy presupposes rain-magic; and the little girl in her bridal veil, who goes the round of the conduits, is—if I am not much mistaken—the playful and unconscious representative of Mother Earth herself.

Another group of festivals that imply rain-magic is characterised by much mutual drenching of the celebrants with water, salt or fresh. For instance, off the coast of Lykia lies Megiste (*Kastellorizo*), an island destitute of springs and exposed to serious droughts. Miss M. Hamilton[2] (Mrs G. Dickins) has given a graphic account of the way in which its inhabitants keep the festival of Saint Elias (July 20):

'St Elias is considered lord of rain, and at the time of his festival in July a great amount of reciprocal drenching takes place. For many days before the feast the children throw each other clothed into the sea, and get drenched head to foot; they go round the roads calling aloud τ' αἴ' Λία, making the saint's name their cry, and drag along everyone whom they find dry. This they do with the impunity which comes from ecclesiastical support. On the feast-day no one can go dry through the streets, and sponge-fishers even drag people from their houses to the sea. The whole village is drenched as if with rain.'

Miss Hamilton[3] justly compares the chief celebration in Kypros:

'At Pentecost the seaports, such as Larnaka and Lemesso, are frequented by large assemblies of country people. Every one bathes in the sea, where they call it the Holy Shore (Ἅγιος Γιάλος). Then they take little boats and sail near to the shore all day long, amusing themselves with music and such pleasantries as mutual drenchings. It is unlucky not to get wet on this day, and they have the custom of sprinkling water all over their houses also. In inland districts they go to rivers and springs, and bathe and splash each other. The festival is officially called the Deluge (Κατακλυσμός), but in common talk the islanders speak of it as the festival of Aphrodite, for they cherish the memory of the goddess of Paphos.'

[1] G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 53.

[2] M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 123, cp. p. 20. *Ead.* in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 354 (cited *supra* i. 182 f.).

[3] M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 153 f. (after A. Sakellarios Τὰ Κυπριακά Athens 1868 i. 702), cp. p. 124.

Dr J. Rendel Harris[1] has drawn attention to analogous rain-charms practised throughout Armenia and Syria:

'Amongst the Armenian people it is the custom, on a particular day in the year, to throw water over one another. The day of this exercise is the Feast of the Transfiguration, and the festival itself is called by the name of Vartevar. Although in its modern form the custom of water-throwing is little more than a sport of boys, the evidence is abundant that the throwing of water was originally a religious exercise, and that it goes back to very early times. Its religious character is attested by the fact that in the Armenian Churches there is an aspersion of the people by the priests on the Transfiguration festival; while the boys are throwing water out of doors the priests are throwing water indoors....The custom can be verified all over Armenia; we found it at Moush, at Pirvan, at Egin, at Harpoot, at Ourfa, and practically in every place where we made enquiry ... we were told that at Sivas, Erzeroum, and some other places, it was the custom to let a pigeon fly, *in remembrance of Noah*[2]. This is not done at Egin, nor could we verify it in other places visited. At Aintab we found that they not only threw water over one another, but that they made a special point of throwing water upon the graves....Upon enquiry from the Jacobite Syrians as to whether they had a Vartevar like the Armenians, the reply was in the affirmative, only they differed from the Armenians in keeping the custom upon the Feast of Pentecost instead of the Transfiguration....The more intelligent amongst the Armenians said that they thought the custom had come down to them from the worship of Anahid, which preceded their conversion to Christianity.'

Dr Rendel Harris[3] further notes that at any time of drought the Armenians may have recourse to the primitive practice of making a puppet and immersing it in water:

'At Egin, when rain is wanted, the boys take two sticks in the form of a cross, and with the addition of some old clothes and a cap they make a rain-dolly. This figure they carry round the town, and the people from the roofs of the houses throw water on it. They call the dolly the "Chi-chi Mama," which they interpret to mean "the drenched mother." As they carry the dolly about

[1] J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 429 f. ('Annual Rain-Charm'), M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 121. *Vartevar*, *pace* Rendel Harris, is certainly derived from the Armenian *vart*, 'rose,' and must be regarded as a survival of the ancient Rosalia (P. Carolidis *Bemerkungen zu den alten kleinasiatischen Sprachen und Mythen* Strassburg i. E. 1913 pp. 139 ff., 178 ff., M. P. Nilsson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 1111 ff., cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx. 11 ff.).

[2] F. Macler in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 804 b: 'The festival of the Transfiguration (*Vardavar*) is called the Festival of Roses, after an old heathen festival which was celebrated on the same day. On the day preceding this festival, the commemoration of the Tabernacle of the Jews is held. On that day people sprinkle each other with water when they meet in the streets; and in certain provinces of Armenia pigeons are set free, either in recollection of the Deluge, or as a symbol of Astlik, the Armenian Venus.'

Was the famous type of Noah in the ark on coins of the Phrygian Apameia Kibotos (literature *supra* ii. 610 n. 9) occasioned by a local festival of this sort?

[3] J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 431 f. ('Occasional Rain-charms'), M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 p. 121.

they ask, "What does Chi-chi mother want?" The reply is, "She wants wheat, *boulgour*" (cracked wheat), &c. "She wants wheat in her bins, she wants bread on her bread-hooks, and she wants rain from God." The boys take up contributions at the rich houses. At Ourfa the children, in times of drought, make a rain-bride, which they call Chinché-gelin. They say this means in Turkish "shovel-bride." They carry the bride about and say, "What does Chinché-gelin want?" "She wishes mercy from God; she wants offerings of lambs and rams." And the crowd responds, "Give, my God, give rain, give a flood." The rain-bride is then thrown into the water. At Harpoot they make a man-doll and call it "Allah-potik." I cannot find out the meaning of the last half of this name. The doll is carried about with the question, "What does Allah-potik want?" "He wants rain from God; he wants bread from the cupboard; he wants meat from dish; he wants *boulgour* from bins; salt from the salt-cellar; money from the purse." Then they all cry out, "Give, my God, rain, a flood." At Trebizond, as we were told, they make a rain-dolly. The children dress it up as a bride and veil its face. They ask money from the people. I was unable to find out whether the dolly was thrown into the sea, which is what one would expect from parallel cases.'

Professor R. M. Dawkins[1] and Miss M. Hamilton[2] (Mrs G. Dickins) have shown that the universal Greek custom of immersing the cross and blessing the waters at Epiphany is not merely an ecclesiastical commemoration of Christ's baptism in the Jordan but also a popular rain-charm of the usual mimetic kind. Professor Dawkins[3] observes:

'At Epiphany a priest goes in procession to a spring, river, cistern, or to the sea, and immerses a cross three times. At the same time a white dove is released. The cross is fetched out by a man who dives for it.'

Miss Hamilton[4] records numerous local varieties of the custom. A few samples will suffice:

'At Athens an imposing procession goes from the church of St. Dionysios to the large reservoir on the slope of Lykabettos, and the bishop there performs a ceremony similar to that at the Piræus. Some of the city churches, too, celebrate the Blessing of the Waters, either within their walls or outside on an erected shrine. The seaports and island towns have great celebrations. At Syra, the chief commercial island, an urn of water is first blessed in the church, and then a procession marches down to the harbour, where all the boats and steamers are waiting. After the ceremony is finished, the ships are free to sail away. At Nauplia also the ceremony is interesting, and it differs in a few respects from the preceding. The archbishop in full regalia proceeds to the harbour, and amid a great assembly throws in the wooden cross, to which no ribbon is attached. The local fishermen, as divers, are stripped ready to find it, and a struggle

[1] R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 214.

[2] M. Hamilton *Greek Saints and Their Festivals* Edinburgh and London 1910 pp. 112—127 ('Epiphany. The Blessing of the Waters and its connection with Rain-charms').

[3] R. M. Dawkins *loc. cit.*

[4] M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 112 ff.

ensues among them. When the cross is successfully found, all the surrounding people are sprinkled with the water. The successful diver has the right of visiting all the houses of the town to levy a contribution on that day. He may gain a large sum of money thereby, and sometimes companies are formed on the agreement that all the members shall share in the profits of the successful one. This commercial spirit prevails at Phaleron also.

The village of Lytochoro[1] in Thessaly gives an elaborate and curious version of this ceremony. The name of *Sichna* is given to the festival, on account of the tall standards used. Each church of the district possesses one of these *Sichna* with a gilt cross at the top, and on the Eve of Epiphany they are conveyed to the two central churches of the town. During the vigil which is held all wait for midnight, when the heavens are believed to open and the Holy Spirit descends upon the head of Christ. Then at dawn they leave the churches, taking the ikons of the saints and the flags and standards, and go to the river Lakkon to baptise the cross and bless the water. The priests line up on the banks, and round about are half-naked divers as at Nauplia. On the rising ground stand the citizens. At sunrise a song is sung calling on St. John to baptise the Christ Child, and a priest prays. Then three times the tall standards are bent and dipped in the water, and three times they are raised in the air, in imitation, it is said, of the trees by the Jordan banks. It is a common belief that all trees on Epiphany Eve bow down in adoration of Christ....

To continue the *Sichna*. The cross itself is cast into the river, and the divers struggle for it. The successful diver returns to town and gathers up contributions from the houses. All drink of the holy water, and after general blessings they march back in procession to the two churches, where Benediction is held. Next day the *Sichna* are restored for another year to their respective churches.

In Samos[2] Epiphany is celebrated in the following way. All the women send on Epiphany morning a vessel full of water to the church, and the priest blesses the water. The same day a servant is sent into the fields with this blessed vessel to sprinkle the ground and the trees, singing meanwhile the song of Christ's baptism.'

An Epiphany song from Imbros connects the Jordan water used for baptism with the rain which blesses the earth[3]:

'There came the day of lights and baptisms. There came great rejoicings and our Lord. Down to the river Jordan went [*leg.* Down by the river Jordan was sitting] our Lady the Panagia. She took water and washed herself, and with a gold kerchief dried herself, with the Gospels in her arms and the censer in

[1] Παρνασσός, 1882, p. 582.

[2] Σαμιακά, p. 48 [? E. Stamatiadis Σαμιακά].

[3] M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 126 f. citing Σύλλογος ix. 341 "Ηλθανε τὰ φῶτα κ' οἱ φωτισμοί | κ' ἡ χαραὶς μεγάλαις τ' Αὐφέντη μας. | Κάτω 's τὸν 'Ορδάνη τὸν ποταμόν | κάτταν ἡ κυρά μας ἡ Παναγία | "Επαιρνε νεράκι καὶ ἐνίβονταν | καὶ χρυσῷ μανδήλι' σφογγίζονταν | Μὲ τὰ Εὐαγγέλια 's τὴν ἀγκαλιά | καὶ τὰ θυμιατούρια 's τὰ δάκτυλα | Καὶ τὸν ἅγιο Γιάννη παρακαλεῖ. | "Αγιο Γιάννη Αὐφέντη καὶ πρόδρομε, | Δύνασαι καὶ σώνεις καὶ προδρομᾶς | Διὰ νὰ βαπτίσῃς τὸν Νιὸ Χριστό. | Γιὰ κοντοκαρτέρει ὡς τὸ πουρνό | Γιὰ νἀναίβω [? ἀναβαίνω] 'πάνω 's τὸν οὐρανό | Γιὰ νὰ ῥήξω δρόσο κάτω 's τὴν γὴ | Νὰ δροσθῇ 'Αφέντης μὲ τὴν κυρά | Νὰ δροσθοὺν ἡ [*leg.* οἱ] βρύσεις μὲ τὰ νερά | Νὰ κατὰ πραϊνουν [*leg.* καταπραΰνουν] τὰ ζούζουλα | Καὶ νὰ καταπέσουν τὰ Γελδωλα.

her hands, and she called on St. John: "St. John, Lord and Forerunner, thou art mighty; thou savest and goest before to baptise the young Christ." "Wait for the dawn that I may go up into Heaven, and may throw down refreshment on the earth, that our Lord with our Lady may be refreshed, that the springs and waters may be refreshed, that the flocks may prosper and the idols fall."'

Even more explicit is another song from the neighbourhood of Mount Olympos, which represents the baptism in Jordan as accompanied by a deluge of rain[1]:

'At the river Jordan, the holy place, the Lord is baptised and saves the whole world. And a dove came down, white and feathery, and with its wings opened; it sent rain down on the Lord, and again it rained and rained on our Lady, and again it rained and rained on its wings.'

ii. Rain-magic in ancient Greece.

No description of a ceremony exactly resembling the rites of modern Greece has come down to us from classical times. But points of similarity are not wanting. Thus we have seen reason to conjecture that the early Greek rain-maker, probably clad in a sheep-skin to copy the fleecy clouds, worked his magic on the nearest hill[2]. Some such ritual was, we thought, presupposed by the Homeric epithet *nephelegeréta*[3] and by the Aristophanic chorus of Cloud-maidens[4], if not also by the Orphic hymn that bade the Clouds send showers to fertilise Mother Earth[5].

Usage, no doubt, differed from place to place. In Rhodes the Telchines are said to have been charlatans who by their magical arts could produce at will clouds, rain, hail, and snow. Unfortunately no details of their procedure are on record[6].

At Krannon in Thessaly drought was cured by the shaking of

[1] M. Hamilton *op. cit.* p. 127 citing Παρνασσός, 1882, p. 580; Laspopoulos, Ὄλυμπος καὶ οἱ κάτοικοι αὐτοῦ:—Στὸν Ἰορδάνη ποταμό, στὸν ἅγιο τὸν τόπο | ὁ Κύριος βαφτίζεται καὶ σώζ' οὖλον τὸ κόσμο. | Καὶ καταβάν' μὰ πέρδικα, ἄσπρη καὶ πλουμπισμένη | μέ [*leg.* μὲ] τὰ φτερά της ἀνοιχτὰ καὶ βρέχει τὸν ἀφέντη | καὶ πάλιν ξαναβρέχεται καὶ βρέχει τὴν κυρά της | καὶ πάλιν ξαναβρέχεται καὶ βρέχει τὰ φτερά της.

[2] *Supra* pp. 31 f., 68.

[3] *Supra* p. 30 ff. Cp. i. 14 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* p. 69 f.

[5] *Supra* p. 70. Cp. Orph. *h. Not.* 82 NOTOT, θυμίαμα λίβανον. 1 ff. λαιψηρὸν πήδημα δι' ἠέρος ὑγροπόρευτον, | ὠκείαις πτερύγεσσι δονούμενον ἔνθα καὶ ἔνθα, | ἔλθοις σὺν νεφέλαις νοτίαις, ὄμβριο γενάρχα· | τοῦτο γὰρ ἐκ Διὸς ἐστι σέθεν γέρας ἠερόφοιτον, | ὀμβροτόκους νεφέλας ἐξ ἠέρος ἐς (so E. Abel for εἰς) χθόνα πέμπειν. | τοιγάρ τοι λιτόμεσθα, μάκαρ, ἱεροῖσι χαρέντα | πέμπειν καρποτρόφους ὄμβρους ἐπὶ μητέρα γαῖαν.

[6] Zenon of Rhodes *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 175 Müller) *ap.* Diod. 5. 55 λέγονται δ' οὗτοι (*sc.* οἱ Τελχῖνες) καὶ γόητες γεγονέναι καὶ παράγειν ὅτε βούλοιντο νέφη τε καὶ ὄμβρους καὶ χαλάζας, ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ χιόνα ἐφέλκεσθαι· ταῦτα δὲ καθάπερ καὶ τοὺς μάγους ποιεῖν ἱστοροῦσιν. ἀλλάττεσθαι (ἀλλάττειν codd. C.F.G. ex silentio Wesselingi) δὲ καὶ τὰς ἰδίας μορφάς, καὶ εἶναι φθονεροὺς ἐν τῇ διδασκαλίᾳ τῶν τεχνῶν.

a bronze car and the recital of a prayer for rain. Coins of the town show this car, always with an *amphora* or a fluted bowl resting upon it, and often with a raven or two perched on its wheels[1].

At Eleusis the first formal act of the yearly festival was the proclamation, on Boedromion 16[2], 'To the sea, initiates[3]!' On hearing this, the assembled multitude hurried down to bathe in the nearest salt water. Passing through a gate, which adjoined the Dionysion[4] in the south of the town and is possibly to be identified with the Itonian Gate[5], they made their way to two lagoons called the *Rheitoí*, sacred to Demeter and Kore respectively[6]. More than one notorious incident was connected with their wholesale immersion. It was said[7] that Phryne, who habitually wore a clinging *chitón* and scorned to use the public baths, nevertheless at the Eleusinia and at the Poseidonia laid aside all her garments, loosened her hair, and stepped into the sea before the whole concourse of people—a sight which inspired Apelles to paint his Aphrodite *Anadyoméne*[8]. Again, it was remembered that in 339 B.C., when the initiates had gone down to purify themselves in the sea, a shark carried off one —some said two—of their number[9]. This curious happening, whether fact or figment, seems to have provoked imitation. For we are told[10] that on another occasion, when an initiate was washing a pig in the harbour of Kantharos at the Peiraieus, a shark seized and bit off the lower half of his body. The Eleusinian bathe has been commonly regarded as a rite of purification[11], and as such

[1] *Supra* ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792. S. W. Grose in the *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 203 no. 4566 pl. 171, 20 (=my fig. 791) says oddly 'insect on r. wheel.'

[2] Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 7, *v. Camill.* 19, *v. Phoc.* 6, Polyain. 3, 11. 2.

[3] On ἅλαδε, μύσται see Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 207, 214 ff., 244, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 152 f., P. Foucart *Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 314 ff., P. Stengel *Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer* München 1920 p. 182.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 2 no. 53 *a*, 34 ff.=Michel *Recueil d' Inscr. gr.* no. 77, 34 ff.=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 550, 34 ff.=*ib.*[3] no. 93, 34 ff. (Attic decree of 418/7 B.C.) καὶ τῆς τάφρο καὶ τὸ ὕδατος κρατεῖν τὸ ἐγ Διὸς τὸν μισθοσά|μενον, ὁπόσον ἐντὸς ῥεῖ τὸ Διονυσίο καὶ τὸν πυλὸν ἐ[χ]σελα|ύνοσιν οἱ μύσται.

[5] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 215 n. 1, P. Foucart *op. cit.* p. 315.

[6] Paus. 1. 38. 1, Hesych. *s.v.* 'Ρειτοί, Phot. *lex. s.v.* 'Ρειτά (citing Soph. *frag.* 936 Dindorf, 1089 Jebb), *et. mag.* p. 703, 13 f., Favorin. *lex.* p. 1617, 7 ff.

[7] Athen. 590 F.

[8] Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 349 ff. nos. 1846—1863, A. Reinach *Textes grecs et latins relatifs à l'histoire de la peinture ancienne* Paris 1921 i. 332 ff. nos. 425—445 (*id. ib.* p. 332 n. 1 dates the incident 'avant 340').

[9] Schol. Aischin. *in Ctes.* 130 p. 45 a 8 ff. Baiter—Sauppe.

[10] Plout. *v. Phoc.* 3.

[11] So already schol. Aischin. *in Ctes.* 130 p. 45 a 11 f. Baiter—Sauppe κατελθόντων τῶν μυστῶν ἐπὶ τὴν θάλασσαν ἐπὶ τὸ καθαρθῆναι, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* 'Ρειτοί·...ὅθεν τοὺς λουτροὺς ἁγνίζεσθαι τοὺς θιάσους.

compared with Christian baptism[1]. Other views, however, might be defended. G. Glotz has shown that to be plunged in the sea was a not infrequent form of popular ordeal[2]. Mrs A. Strong and Miss N. Jolliffe have much to say on 'Apotheosis by Water[3].' But in any case the resemblance of the ancient to the modern custom of a communal dip makes it probable that the opening rite at Eleusis, which came 'at the end of the long drought of summer and before the first rains of autumn[4],' served the purpose of a powerful rain-charm.

Again, on the closing day of the mysteries, Boedromion 23[5], two top-shaped bowls of terra cotta known as the *plemochóai* or 'flood-pourers' were first filled and then turned upside down, one towards the east, the other towards the west, with the addition of a mystic formula[6]. Since Kritias or Euripides in his *Perithous*[7] described these *plemochóai* as emptied into a cleft in the ground, it may fairly be suspected that at Eleusis as at Athens[8] an attempt was made to fertilise Mother Earth by means of an obvious rain-charm. What the mystic formula was, we do not know. Possibly it consisted in the enigmatic saying *kónx, ómpax*, the meaning of which is still to seek[9].

[1] *E.g.* Tertull. *de bapt.* 5 certe ludis Apollinaribus et Eleusiniis (so Fulvius Ursinus for *Pelusiis*) tinguuntur idque se in regenerationem et impunitatem periuriorum suorum agere praesumunt, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 11 p. 373, 23 f. Stählin *οὐκ ἀπεικότως ἄρα καὶ τῶν μυστηρίων τῶν παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἄρχει μὲν τὰ καθάρσια, καθάπερ καὶ τοῖς βαρβάροις τὸ λουτρόν.* κ.τ.λ. See further F. M. Rendtorff *Die Taufe im Urchristentum* Leipzig 1905, H. Windisch *Taufe und Sünde im ältesten Christentum* Tübingen 1908, R. Reitzenstein *Die Vorgeschichte der christlichen Taufe* Leipzig-Berlin 1929.

[2] G. Glotz *L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* Paris 1904 p. 11 ff. ('Les ordalies par la mer').

[3] E. Strong and N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 103 ff.

[4] E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopaedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 563 a.

[5] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 242 ff.

[6] Athen. 496 A—B ΠΛΗΜΟΧΟΗ. *σκεῦος κεραμεοῦν βεμβικῶδες ἑδραῖον ἡσυχῇ, ὃ κοτυλίσκον ἔνιοι προσαγορεύουσιν, ὥς φησι Πάμφιλος. χρῶνται δὲ αὐτῷ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῇ τελευταίᾳ τῶν μυστηρίων ἡμέρᾳ, ἣν καὶ ἀπ' αὐτοῦ προσαγορεύουσι Πλημοχόας· ἐν ᾗ δύο πλημοχόας πληρώσαντες, τὴν μὲν πρὸς ἀνατολάς, τὴν δὲ πρὸς δύσιν ἀνιστάμενοι ἀνατρέπουσιν, ἐπιλέγοντες ῥῆσιν μυστικήν. μνημονεύει δὲ αὐτῶν καὶ ὁ τὸν Πειρίθουν γράψας, εἴτε Κριτίας ἐστὶν ὁ τύραννος ἢ Εὐριπίδης (frag.* 592 Nauck[2]), *λέγων οὕτως· 'ἵνα πλημοχόας τάσδ' εἰς χθόνιον | χάσμ' εὐφήμως προχέωμεν.'*

[7] *Supra* n. 6.

[8] *Supra* pp. 179 ff., 188.

[9] Hesych. *κόγξ, ὄμπαξ* (C. A. Lobeck cj. *κόγξ ὁμοίως, πάξ*)· *ἐπιφώνημα τετελεσμένοις. καὶ τῆς δικαστικῆς ψήφου ἦχος, ὡς ὁ τῆς κλεψύδρας. παρὰ δὲ Ἀττικοῖς βλόν.* The witty polemic of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* i. 775—783 hardly suffices to establish his emendation (which is printed as a certainty in both editions by M. Schmidt) and in any case should not absolve us from the duty of seeking an explanation for the formula. I should infer

But there is more definite evidence than this of a rain-ritual at Eleusis. Hippolytos[1] (*c.* 235 A.D.) mentions 'the great unspeakable mystery of the Eleusinians *hýe kýe*,' that is "rain—conceive." And Proklos[2] (438[3] A.D.) states that 'at the Eleusinian rites they looked up to the Sky and shouted *hýe*, "rain," then down to the Earth and added *kýe*, "conceive."' The words have at once the directness of primitive thought and the jingle of primitive magic[4]. Dr L. R. Farnell[5] is right when he comments:

'This genuine ore of an old religious stratum sparkles all the more for being found in a waste deposit of neo-Platonic metaphysic. The formula savours of a very primitive liturgy that closely resembled the famous Dodonaean invocation to Zeus the sky-god and mother-earth; and it belongs to that part of the Eleusinian ritual "quod ad frumentum attinet[6]."'

For, if the culminating act of the mysteries was the exhibition to the initiates of a corn-ear reaped in silence[7], we can well believe that rain-magic was essential to the performance.

from Hesychios' gloss that *κόγξ, ὄμπαξ* or the like was a purely onomatopoeic phrase—'splosh, splash!'—meant to imitate the sound of falling rain-drops. This might fitly terminate the naïve rain-magic of the 'flood-pourers.'

F. M. Cornford's '*Κόγξον πάξ*, "Sound the conch—enough"' (Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 161 n. 2) is open to Lobeck's objection: 'quid ab Hierophantae persona magis alienum esse potest, quam hoc ludicrum vocabulum Pax? quod non minore audientium risu exceptum fuisset, quam si hodie aliquis sacrae cathedrae orator pro eo quod in fine concionis pronunciari solet Amen, diceret Basta!'

[1] Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 146 Duncker—Schneidewin *τοῦτο, φησίν, ἐστὶ τὸ μέγα καὶ ἄρρητον Ἐλευσινίων μυστήριον ὗε κύε.*

[2] Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* iii. 176, 26 ff. Diehl *ὃ δὴ καὶ οἱ θεσμοὶ τῶν Ἀθηναίων εἰδότες προσέταττον οὐρανῷ καὶ γῇ προτελεῖν τοὺς γάμους, εἰς δὲ τούτους βλέποντες καὶ ἐν τοῖς Ἐλευσινίοις ἱεροῖς εἰς μὲν τὸν οὐρανὸν ἀναβλέποντες ἐβόων 'ὗε'* (so C. A. Lobeck for *ὑιὲ* codd.), *καταβλέψαντες δὲ εἰς τὴν γῆν τὸ 'κύε'* (so C. A. Lobeck for *κύιε* codd. Q.D.), *διὰ τούτων ὡς πατρὸς καὶ μητρὸς τὴν γένεσιν εἶναι πάντων γινώσκοντες. Infra* § 9 (e) ii.

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] ii. 2. 1059.

[4] See R. Heim 'Incantamenta magica graeca latina' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1893 xix. 544 ff. (citing *e.g.* Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 2. 27, Verg. *ecl.* 8. 80 f., Pelagon. 19, Marcell. *de med.* 15. 11) and, for a modern parallel, *supra* i. 413 n. 0.

The relation of such an 'uralte Wunschausdruck' to actual prayer is considered by F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 pp. 1—8 ('Ein Stück der Liturgie von Eleusis').

[5] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 185.

[6] Aug. *de civ. Dei* 7. 20 in Cereris autem sacris praedicantur illa Eleusinia, quae apud Athenienses nobilissima fuerunt. de quibus iste (*sc.* Varro, cp. *frag.* 140 Funaioli) nihil interpretatur, nisi quod adtinet ad frumentum, quod Ceres invenit, et ad Proserpinam, quam rapiente Orco perdidit; et hanc ipsam dicit significare fecunditatem seminum... dicit deinde multa in mysteriis eius tradi, quae nisi ad frugum inventionem non pertineant. Farnell *op. cit.* iii. 358 gives a misleading reference and an erroneous text.

[7] Hipp. *ref. haeres.* 5. 8 p. 162 Duncker—Schneidewin (cited *supra* ii. 295 n. 2). Farnell *op. cit.* iii. 183 n.[a] takes the phrase *ἐν σιωπῇ* to go with the words before it, not with those after it, but admits that its position in the sentence is against him and can only plead that 'Hippolytus is not careful of the order of his words.' The same view had long

ago been expressed by C. Lenormant in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions* 1861 xxiv. 1. 374 f., who was followed by S. Reinach in *L'Anthropologie* 1903 xiv. 356 f. ('l'épi de blé, présenté en silence à la foule assemblée'), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 139 n. 1 (*ἐπιδεικνύντες τοῖς ἐποπτεύουσι τὸ μέγα καὶ θαυμαστὸν καὶ τελειότατον ἐποπτικὸν ἐκεῖ μυστήριον ἐν σιωπῇ, τεθερισμένου στάχυν* (so punctuated by Duncker—Schneidewin)), P. Foucart *Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 434 ('Cette explication me paraît beaucoup plus satisfaisante, et je n'aurais pas hésité à l'adopter s'il ne fallait admettre dans la phrase de saint Hippolyte une construction fautive. Après tout, mieux vaudrait s'y résigner, si l'on y gagnait une interprétation plus conforme au mode d'enseignement qui fut en usage dans l'initiation'). S. Reinach, however, in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 344 n. 1 pointed out that 'le silence est très souvent nécessaire à l'accomplissement de rites comme celui de couper une plante sacrée': accordingly in his *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii p. xi he renders 'l'épi de blé, moissonné en silence.' Classical scholars in general have concurred in this opinion, *e.g.* Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 549 'an ear of grain reaped in silence,' M. P. Nilsson *A History of Greek Religion* trans. F. J. Fielden Oxford 1925 p. 108 'the reaping of a few ears in silence,' J. M. Edmonds *Lyra Graeca* London 1927 iii. 517 'an ear of corn reaped in silence.'

With regard to the significance of the rite, we are ill informed and widely diverse hypotheses have been propounded:

(1) The context in Hippolytos asserts that the Athenians in their Eleusinian usage were following the lead of the Phrygians, who spoke of God as 'a green ear reaped' (*supra* ii. 295 n. 2 *χλοερὸν στάχυν τεθερισμένον*). The allusion is to a Naassene hymn describing Attis in very similar terms (*supra* ii. 296 n. 4 *χλοερὸν στάχυν ἀμηθέντα*, cp. Firm. Mat. 3. 2 *amare* terram volunt (*sc.* Phryges) fruges, Attin vero hoc ipsum volunt esse quod ex frugibus nascitur, poenam autem quam sustinuit hoc volunt esse, quod falce messor maturis frugibus facit: mortem ipsius dicunt, quod semina collecta conduntur, vitam rursus, quod iacta semina annuis vicibus reconduntur (C. Halm cj. *renascuntur*. K. W. A. Reifferscheid cj. *redduntur*. C. Bursian cj. *recidivantur*)). But Attis never had any footing at Eleusis; and Hippolytos' attempt to find an Eleusinian counterpart of him ends in a sentence probably defective and certainly obscure (Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 8 p. 162 f. Duncker—Schneidewin *ὁ δὲ στάχυς οὗτός ἐστι καὶ παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ὁ παρὰ τοῦ ἀχαρακτηρίστου φωστῆρ τέλειος μέγας, καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, οὐκ ἀποκεκομμένος μέν, ὡς ὁ Ἄττις, εὐνουχισμένος δὲ διὰ κωνείου καὶ πᾶσαν παρῃτημένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν, νυκτὸς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων· 'ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμὼ Βριμόν,' τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν*).

(2) According to F. B. Jevons, the corn-ear exhibited at Eleusis implies a corn-totem in the remote past. 'Originally every ear of corn was sacred to the tribe which took corn for its totem....Then some one particular ear or sheaf of ripe corn was selected to represent the Corn-Spirit, and was preserved until the following year, in order that the worshippers might not be deprived during the winter of the presence and protection of their totem. The corn thus preserved served at first unintentionally as seed, and suggested the practice of sowing: and even when a larger and proper stock of seed-corn was laid in, the one particular sheaf was still regarded as the Corn-Mother, which, like the Peruvian Mother of the Maize, determined by her supernatural power the kind and quantity of the following harvest. In Eleusis this sheaf was dressed up as an old woman (*supra* i. 397 n. 4), and was preserved from harvest to seed-time in the house of the head-man of the village originally, and in later times in a temple. This sheaf was probably highly taboo, and not allowed to be touched or even seen except on certain occasions....This manifestation of the Corn-Goddess afforded not merely a visible hope and tangible promise that the sowing of the seed should be followed by a harvest of ripe corn, but in itself constituted a direct communion with the deity...' (F. B. Jevons *An Introduction to the History of Religion*[2] London 1902 p. 364 ff.). 'When, then, we find that in later times an ear of corn was exhibited, we may fairly infer that it was an ear of corn which was exhibited in the primitive agricultural rites, and that it was originally the embodiment of the Corn-Goddess' (*id. ib.*[2] p. 381). Cp. S. Reinach *Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 p. xi

'Recourant aux textes, nous y trouvons une trace certaine non seulement du culte, mais de l'adoration et de l'exaltation (au sens chrétien) de l'épi de blé.'

(3) Elsewhere Reinach treats the corn-ear as the offspring of a priest and a priestess, representing Zeus and Demeter, whose union ensured the fertility of the soil by means of sympathetic magic (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1906 xix. 344 'Cet épi que montre l'hiérophante représente, à mon avis, le produit du mariage du prêtre et de la prêtresse qui constitue un des actes mystiques les plus importants du rituel; le prêtre et la prêtresse, dans cet épisode, figurent le dieu céleste et la déesse chthonienne—en langage mythologique, Zeus et Déméter—dont l'union assure la fécondité des champs'). A very similar account of the rite is given by Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 548 ff. and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 138 ff., who further equate the corn with the child Brimos. Now the union of Zeus and Demeter, impersonated by the hierophant and the priestess, is certainly attested by several late authorities (Tertull. *ad nat.* 2. 7 cur raptur sacerdos Cereris, si non tale Ceres passa est? (J. Töpffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 94 n. 4 thinks that here Demeter is not to be distinguished from her daughter), Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 15. 1 ff. p. 13, 2 ff. Ståhlin (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 5), Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 20 f., 37 (cited *supra* i. 393 n. 0), Asterios bishop of Amaseia (dated *c.* 330—*c.* 410 A.D. by W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1429) *hom.* 10 *encomium in sanctos martyres* (xl. 324 B Migne) *οὐ κεφάλαιον τῆς σῆς θρησκείας τὰ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι μυστήρια καὶ δῆμος Ἀττικὸς καὶ ἡ Ἑλλὰς πᾶσα συναίρει, ἵνα τελέσῃ ματαιότητα; οὐκ ἐκεῖ τὸ καταβάσιον τὸ σκοτεινὸν καὶ αἱ σεμναὶ τοῦ ἱεροφάντου πρὸς τὴν ἱέρειαν συντυχίαι μόνου πρὸς μόνην; οὐχ αἱ λαμπάδες σβέννυνται, καὶ ὁ πολὺς καὶ ἀναρίθμητος δῆμος τὴν σωτηρίαν αὐτῶν εἶναι νομίζουσι τὰ ἐν τῷ σκότῳ παρὰ τῶν δύο πραττόμενα;* schol. Plat. *Gorg.* 497 c p. 913 a 37 ff. *ἐτελεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Δηοῖ καὶ Κόρῃ, ὅτι ταύτην μὲν Πλούτων ἁρπάξειε, Δηοῖ δὲ μιγείη Ζεύς· ἐν οἷς πολλὰ μὲν ἐπράττετο αἰσχρά, ἐλέγετο δὲ κ.τ.λ.*, Psellos *τίνα περὶ δαιμόνων δοξάζουσιν Ἕλληνες;* p. 39 f. (cited *supra* ii. 132 n. 2)). It is probable that in early days this union was a real one, the hierophant having actual intercourse with the priestess, but that later it became merely symbolic, the hierophant using an application of hemlock as an antaphrodisiac (Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 8 p. 164 Duncker—Schneidewin cited *supra* p. 300 n. 0 (i), with the remarks of Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 139 n. 1). But though the ceremonial marriage of the hierophant (Zeus) with the priestess (Demeter) has some claim to be regarded as fact, yet it must be admitted that not one of the ancient writers called in evidence describes the offspring of this marriage as an ear of corn. At most we can say that in the Sabazian myth Zeus became by Deo *Brimó* or Demeter the parent of Pherephatta or Kore (*supra* i. 392 ff.). It might also be maintained—the hypothesis is not extravagant—that Kore was at Eleusis represented by a bunch of wheat-ears, possibly arranged in the form of a corn-daughter or harvest-maiden (*supra* i. 397 n. 4 pl. xxviii).

(4) F. M. Cornford 'The 'ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ and the Eleusinian Mysteries' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 153—166 likewise identifies the *τεθερισμένον στάχυν* with Kore. His argument may be briefly resumed as follows. The *ἀπαρχαί* or 'first-fruits,' sent by the Greek states to Eleusis, were in accordance with ancestral custom stored in underground granaries (P. Foucart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1880 iv. 225 ff. line 10 ff. pl. 15 = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1. 2 no. 27 *b*, 10 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 71, 10 ff. = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 22 ff. no. 9, 10 ff. = J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 4, 10 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 83, 10 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 76, 10 ff. (an Athenian decree of *c.* 423/2 B.C. found at Eleusis) *οἰκοδομῆσαι δὲ σιρὸς τρῆς Ἐλευσῖν|ι κατὰ τὰ πάρια ὑπὸ ἂν δοκῆι τοῖς ἱεροποιοῖς καὶ τῆι ἀρ[χ]ιτ|έκτονι ἐπιτέδειον ἔναι ἀπὸ τῶ ἀργυρίο τῶ τοῖν θεοῖν. τὸ[ν δὲ κα]|ρπὸν ἐνθαυθοῖ ἐμβάλλεν ὅὸν ἂν παραλάβοσι παρὰ τῶν δεμάρ[χον], | ἀπάρχεσθαι δὲ καὶ τὸς χυμμάχος κατὰ ταὐτά*). Such a granary might be called *μέγαρον* (Hesych. *s.v. μέγαρα*, Phot. *lex. s.v. μάγαρον*, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1387, 17 ff.) or *φρέαρ* (*h. Dem.* 99 *Παρθενίῳ φρέατι*, Paus. 1. 39. 1 *φρέαρ...Ἄνθιον καλούμενον*, 1. 38. 6 *φρέαρ...καλούμενον Καλλίχορον* (cp. *h. Dem.* 272), [which, however, were wells for water. A.B.C.]). The purpose of the custom was 'to put these specimens of grain that was to be used for seed into fertilising contact with the sacred store' (p. 163). In the autumn, at the Eleusinia,

the *ἀπαρχαί* were taken up from the subterranean store-house. The best part of them, made into a *pelanós*, was offered in sacrifice, the rest would be sold (the Athenian decree already quoted continues 36 ff. *θύειν δὲ ἀπὸ μὲν τῶ πελανῶ καθότι ἂν Εὐμολπίδαι [ἐχσ]ε[γῶ]νται, τριττοιαν δὲ βάρυχον χρυσόκερον τοῖν θεοῖν ἑκα[τέρ]|[αι ἀ]πὸ τῶν κριθῶν καὶ τῶν πυρῶν καὶ τῶι Τριπτολέμοι καὶ τῶι [θε]|[ῶι καὶ τῆι θεᾶι καὶ τῶι Εὐβόλοι ἱερεῖον ἑκάστοι τέλεον καὶ | τῆι Ἀθεναίαι βοῦν χρυσόκερον· τὰς δὲ ἄλλας κριθὰς καὶ πυρὸς ἀπ|οδομένος τὸς ἱεροποιὸς μετὰ τῆς βολῆς ἀναθέματα ἀνατιθέν|αι τοῦν θεοῖν, ποιεσαμένος hάτ' ἂν τοι δέμοι τῶι Ἀθεναίον δοκῆι, καὶ ἐπιγράφεν τοῖς ἀναθέμασιν, hότι ἀπὸ τῶ καρπῶ τῆς ἀπαρχῆ|ς ἀνεθέθε, καὶ hελλένον τὸν ἀπαρχόμενον*)—presumably not to be eaten, but to be mixed with the grain for sowing. The *ἀπαρχαί* thus became veritable 'starting-points' of the *κύκλος γενέσεως*. All this was aptly expressed in mythological parlance. Kore is carried off and wedded to Plouton in his underground abode. 'She re-emerges as the potential mother of the new crop' (p. 163). And 'When we are told that the final revelation to the Eleusinian epoptae was a *στάχυς τεθερισμένος*,...is it possible that we may see in this *στάχυς* the epiphany of Kore herself as represented by the *ἀπαρχαί*?' (p. 162). Lastly, the 'redistribution of the *ἀπαρχαί*...is reflected in the myth of Triptolemos, charged by Demeter with the dispersal of the seed-corn to all the civilised world' (p. 164).

(5) Count Goblet d' Alviella *Eleusinia* Paris 1903 pp. 71—73 holds that the nature of the deities worshipped at Eleusis facilitated the coming of higher hopes for a future life. Demeter received into her bosom both the sown corn and the buried dead. She would extend her protection not only to the former but also to the latter—witness their name *Δημήτρειοι* (Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 28 *καὶ τοὺς νεκροὺς Ἀθηναῖοι Δημητρείους ὠνόμαζον τὸ παλαιόν*). Kore too, the very personification of the sown corn, descended every autumn into the underworld only to come up again in the springtime young and fresh as ever. Thus the grain was taken as a fit emblem of human existence, and in Attike was sown on graves (Cic. *de legg.* 2. 63 nam et Athenis iam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, ocius terra humandi: quam cum proximi iniecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur). Similarly in Egypt Osiris or the Osirised dead was assimilated to wheat or barley germinating in the earth when watered from above. Indeed it seems likely that in *s.* ix—viii B.C. such Egyptian beliefs found their way to Eleusis, lending point and precision to the hopes already inspired by the Greek agrarian cult. 'Le rite final de l'époptie, c'est-à-dire la présentation de l'épi de blé, moissonné en silence, que l'hiérophante exhibait aux néophytes comme le dernier mot des Mystères, ne constituait, sans doute, à l'origine, qu'un rite agricole; il n'y avait rien à y changer pour en faire un symbole de palingénésie humaine' (p. 72).

(6) P. Foucart, the father of this Egyptising hypothesis, in his final work on the subject *Les mystères d'Éleusis* Paris 1914 p. 432 ff. would identify the cut corn, not with Kore, but with Dionysos, who had of old been associated with Demeter (Plout. *quaestt. de Arati signis frag.* 7. 1 Dübner *ap.* schol. Arat. *phaen.* 1068 *διὸ καὶ οἱ παλαιοὶ τὸν Διόνυσον τῇ Δημήτρᾳ συγκαθιέρωσαν, αἰνιττόμενοι τὸ γόνιμον τῆς ὑγρότητος*) and at Eleusis played Theos to her Thea (but see, for other possibilities, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 536—539. A.B.C.), he being the Greek equivalent of Osiris as she of Isis (P. Foucart *op. cit.* p. 90 ff.). On this showing the presentation of the corn-ears to the Eleusinian mystics was a rite derived from Egypt, where harvesters were wont to set up the first ears reaped, beating their breasts before the sheaf and calling aloud upon Isis (Diod. 1. 14 *μαρτύριον δὲ φέρουσι τῆς εὑρέσεως τῶν εἰρημένων καρπῶν τὸ τηρούμενον παρ αὐτοῖς ἐξ ἀρχαίων νόμιμον· ἔτι γὰρ καὶ νῦν κατὰ τὸν θερισμὸν τοὺς πρώτους ἀμηθέντας στάχυς θέντας τοὺς ἀνθρώπους κόπτεσθαι πλησίον τοῦ δράγματος καὶ τὴν Ἶσιν ἀνακαλεῖσθαι, καὶ τοῦτο πράττειν τιμὴν ἀπονέμοντας τῇ θεῷ τῶν εὑρημένων κατὰ τὸν ἐξ ἀρχῆς τῆς εὑρέσεως καιρόν*, cp. Firm. Mat. 2. 6 f. defensores eorum volunt addere physicam rationem, frugum semina Osirim dicentes esse, Isim terram, Tyfonem calorem: et quia maturatae fruges calore ad vitam hominum colliguntur et divisae a terrae consortio separantur et rursus adpropinquante hieme seminantur, hanc volunt esse mortem Osiridis, cum fruges recondunt so K. W. A. Reifferscheid for *reddunt* cod. J. F. Gronovius cj. *condunt*, F. Oehler

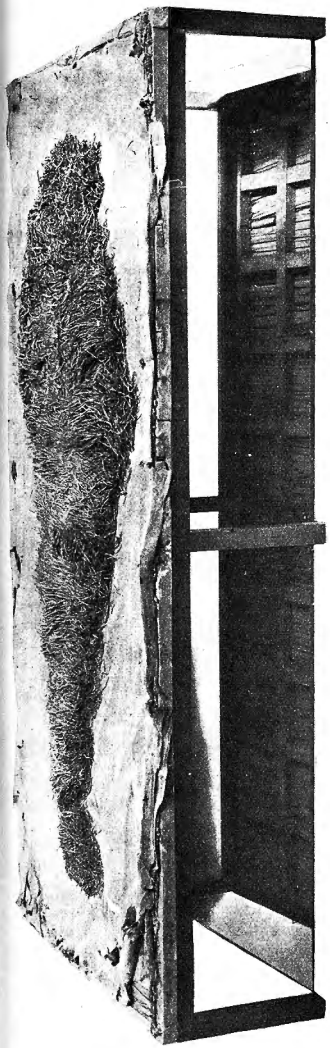


Fig. 194.

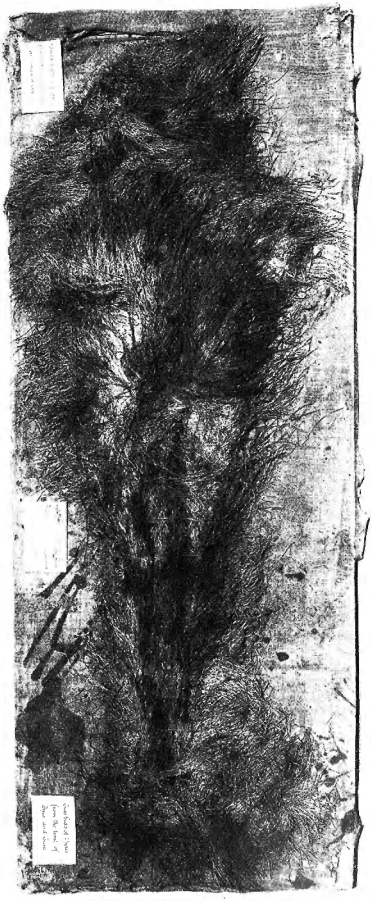


Fig. 195.

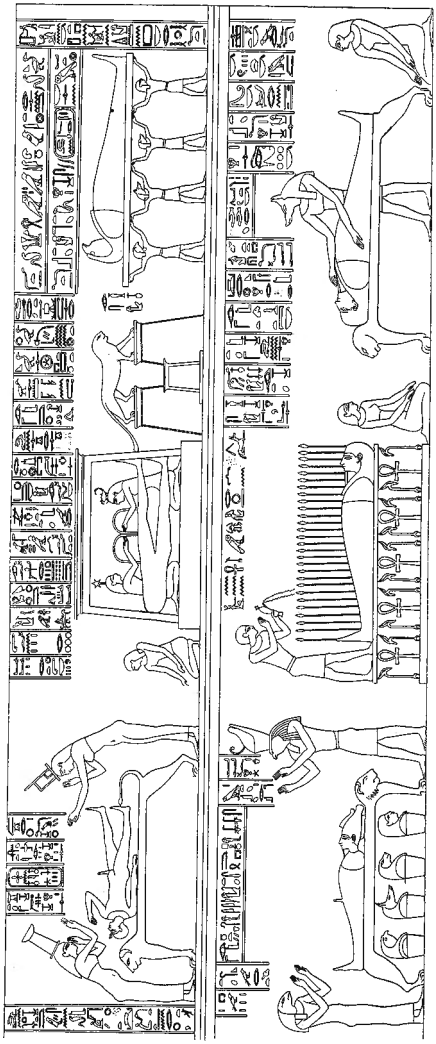


Fig. 196.

cj. *recidunt*), inventionem vero, cum fruges genitali terrae fomento conceptae annua rursus coeperint procreatione generari. pone hanc veram esse sacrorum istorum rationem... cur plangitis fruges terrae et crescentia lugetis semina?) as they mourned for Osiris, probably in the dirge called *Μανερῶς* (A. Rusch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 1048 ff.). Foucart pursues the theme of corn as an emblem of Osiris, and draws attention to the curious 'Osiris beds' found in 1905 by the late Theodore Davis, in a tomb dating from the reign of Amenhotep iii (1412—1376 B.C., according to H. R. Hall), and now preserved in the Museum at Cairo (T. M. Davis *The Tomb of Iouiya and Touiyou* London 1907 p. 45, J. E. Quibell *Tomb of Yuaa and Thuiu* Le Caire 1908 p. 35 no. 51022 pl. 16, p. 36 no. 51023). Quibell says of no. 51022: 'This object consists of a wooden frame, on which was laid a papyrus mat: over this was stretched a double cover of coarse cloth, stitched down the side: on this a bed of clay was placed, of the shape of the body of Osiris, and in it barley planted. When the plants had grown to a height of about 0 m. 15 cent. a doubled cloth was laid over them and the whole was lapped round with a series of strips of cloth'; etc. My fig. 195 is from a fresh photograph. Similarly in 1898—1899 V. Loret found in the tomb of Maherpra, fan-bearer under Hatsbepsut (reign 1501—1479 B.C., according to H. R. Hall), a frame of cedar-wood, on which is stretched a thick mat of reeds covered by three layers of linen. On the linen is drawn in black ink the profile of Osiris (1.42^{m} high). The contour is filled in with a mixture of earth, barley-grains, and a gummy fluid. The grains had sprouted to a length of 6—8 centimetres (G. Daressy *Fouilles de la vallée des Rois* Le Caire 1902 p. 25 f. no. 24061 pl. 7 = my fig. 194, A. Wiedemann 'Osiris végétant' in *Le Muséon* Nouvelle série 1903 iv. 111—123, H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. vii fig. 115). Again, in the 'Innermost Treasury' of the tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen (1360—1350 B.C., according to H. R. Hall) the late Earl of Carnarvon and Howard Carter discovered 'a mock figure representing the regermination of Osiris' (H. Carter *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen* London 1933 iii. 39, 61 pl. 64, A and B). Carter says: 'This object... comprises a wooden frame moulded in the form of that god, hollowed out, lined with linen, filled with silt from the Nile bed, and planted with corn....This was moistened; the grain germinated, and the inanimate form became green and living; thus symbolizing the resurrection of Osiris and of the deceased. This life-size effigy was completely wrapped in linen winding-sheets and bandaged in the like manner as a mummy.' Foucart further notes that in the Saitic period an Osiris-figure made of Nile-mud and filled with corn-grains was occasionally placed between the legs of the mummy: the sprouting of the corn would typify the resurrection of the god (A. Erman *Die ägyptische Religion* Berlin 1905 p. 188, *id. A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 187).

(7) This aspect of Osiris-worship has been more fully exploited by Sir James Frazer and Prof. A. Moret. Frazer *Golden Bough*^{3}: Adonis Attis Osiris^{3} ii. 89 ff. describes *inter alia* the decoration of a chamber dedicated to Osiris in the Ptolemaic temple of Isis at Philai (cp. *supra* ii. 773 n. 0): 'Here we see the dead body of Osiris with stalks of corn springing from it, while a priest waters the stalks from a pitcher which he holds in his hand. The accompanying inscription sets forth that "this is the form of him whom one may not name, Osiris of the mysteries, who springs from the returning waters"' (Champollion Le jeune *Monuments de l'Égypte et de la Nubie* Paris 1835 i. 6 pl. 90 south wall of the hall of Osiris (second and third registers=my fig. 196), Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 705 f. pl. 261, 31 f., E. A. Wallis Budge *Osiris and the Egyptian Resurrection* London—New York 1911 i. 58 fig., A. Moret *Kings and Gods of Egypt* New York—London 1912 p. 84 ff. fig. 7 f. pl. 11, *id.* in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 75b, *id. Le Nil et la civilisation égyptienne* Paris 1926 p. 104 fig. 23, H. Haas *op. cit.* p. vii fig. 155). Frazer *op. cit.* ii. 89 n. 2 adds: 'Similarly in a papyrus of the Louvre (No. 3377) Osiris is represented swathed as a mummy and lying on his back, while stalks of corn sprout from his body' (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 801 f. pl. 303, 2 (=my fig. 197)). A. Moret *La mise à mort du dieu en Égypte* Paris 1927 deals in detail with 'La passion d'Osiris, dieu agraire' (p. 17 ff.), 'Rites de la moisson' (p. 19 ff.: illustrations of Diod. 1. 14; evolution of the Osirian fetish *stat*,

'that which is drawn along,' later *mert* 'bride' or *mert stat*, from a portable granary (?)), 'Les larmes d'Isis et la crue' (p. 31 f.), 'Rites des semailles' (p. 32 ff.), 'Fécondation de la terre par des statues' (p. 35 ff.), with an appendix 'Sur le culte particulier de la gerbe en Égypte' (p. 54 ff.: corn-maidens in ancient and modern Egypt, after Miss W. S. Blackman 'Some occurrences of the Corn-arûseh in ancient Egyptian tomb paintings' in the *Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1922 viii. 235 ff.). Now Frazer *op. cit.* ii. 89 f. expressly compares the corn-stalks that represent the resurrection of Osiris on Egyptian monuments with the reaped ear of corn exhibited to the worshippers at Eleusis. But he nowhere makes the mistake of supposing, as Foucart did, that the latter custom was derived from the former. They were analogous rites, that is all.

(8) Thus the way is left clear for the conclusion enunciated years ago by Dr L. R. Farnell. All the evidence, he says, goes to prove that among the sacred things reverentially displayed at Eleusis there was a corn-token. 'And,' he continues, 'it may have also served as a token of man's birth and re-birth, not under the strain of symbolic interpretation, but in accordance with the naive and primitive belief in the unity of man's life with the vegetative world' (Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 184). *N.B.* the occasional use of καλάμη in the sense of 'old, withered body' (*Od.* 14. 214 f., Aristot. *rhet.* 3. 10. 1410 b 13 ff., *Anth. Pal.* 11. 36. 5 f. (Philippos), Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 250. 3 ff. = *oracl. ap.* Polyain. 6. 53, Loukian. *Alex.* 5).

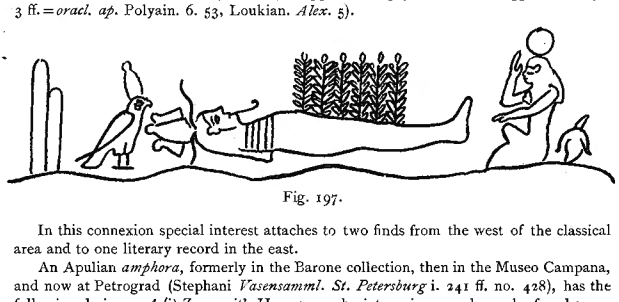
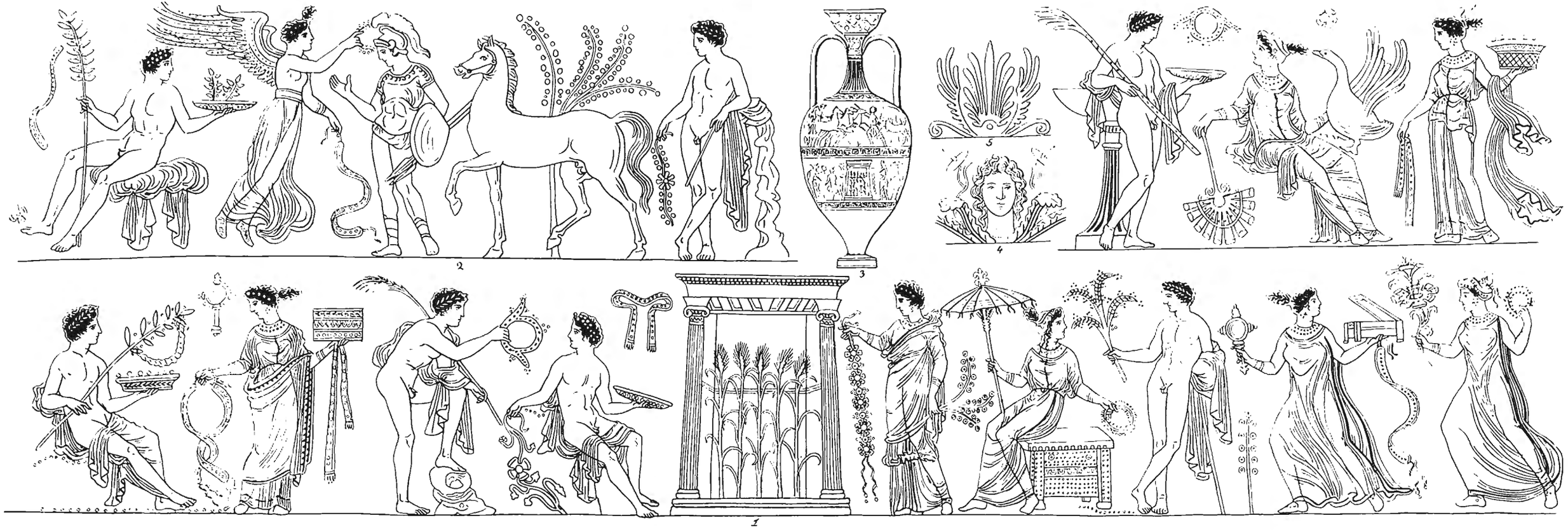


Fig. 197.

In this connexion special interest attaches to two finds from the west of the classical area and to one literary record in the east.

An Apulian *amphora*, formerly in the Barone collection, then in the Museo Campana, and now at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 241 ff. no. 428), has the following designs: *A* (i) Zeus, with Hermes as charioteer, in a car drawn by four horses, and Dionysos (wrongly restored) in a car drawn by two panthers or lynxes, enter the Gigantomachy, led by a Fury between them. (ii) Within a *herôion*, surrounded by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts, are seen five stalks of bearded wheat. *B* (i) A young warrior is wreathed by Nike between two of his companions. (ii) A domestic scene of man, woman, and maid—perhaps the homecoming of the successful warrior. The vase has been published and discussed by G. Minervini *Monumenti antichi inediti posseduti da Raffaele Barone* Napoli 1852 i. 99 ff. (mystical interpretation) pls. 21 and 22, 1—5 (= my pl. xxx), F. Lenormant in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 31 ff. with 2 figs. (follows Minervini), *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1066 fig. 1308 ('Adoration des épis à Éleusis'!), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 216 f. pl. iii, *b* ('the first-fruits or oblations consecrated to the local Apollo or Demeter or Persephone'), R. Pagenstecher *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler* Strassburg 1912 pp. ix fig., 100 (E. Fehrle cp. A. Dieterich *Mutter Erde* Leipzig—Berlin 1905 p. 48 f.), P. Wolters 'Die goldenen Ähren' in the *Festschrift für James Loeb* München 1930 pp. 123—125 figs. 13 and 14 (photographic) (the old Attic custom of sowing grain on the fresh-made grave, cp. Demetrios of Phaleron *ap.* Cic. *de legg.* 2. 63 nam et Athenis iam ille mos a Cecrope, ut aiunt, permansit, ocius terra humandi: quam cum proximi iniecerant, obductaque terra erat, frugibus obserebatur, ut sinus et gremium quasi matris mortuo tribueretur, solum autem frugibus expiatum ut vivis redderetur). The point to notice is that, in the lower register of the obverse, the *herôion* instead of containing the customary representation of the dead (H. B. Walters *History of*



An *amphora* at Petrograd

(1) A *heridion* containing five stalks of bearded wheat, flanked by conventional figures bearing garlands and gifts.
(2) A young warrior, wreathed by Nike, between two companions. A domestic scene (his homecoming ?).
(3) The whole vase. (4) Head of Kore. (5) Palmette.

See page 306 n. 0 (8).

Three gold ears of barley found in a grave near Syracuse and now in the Loeb collection at Murnau.

See page 307 *n.* 0.

The Eleusinian formula *hýe kýe* occurs in an extended version on the inner surface of three curved terra-cotta blocks, which together made up a well-mouth outside the Dipylon gate at Athens[1]. This

Ancient Pottery London 1905 i. 476 f. fig. 106, ii. 158) substitutes a small crop of wheat. Cp. an Apulian *hydría* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 175 no. F 353) on which the *herôion* contains a large acanthus-plant in lieu of a *stéle*, and an Apulian *kratér* formerly in the Coghill collection (J. Millingen *Peintures antiques de vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill Bart* Rome 1817 p. 42 f. pls. 49 and 51, 2, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 17, 1 and 18, 2) on which the *herôion* has within it nothing but a bay-branch.

In a grave near Syracuse was found (*c.* 1900) a veritable triumph of the goldsmith's art, which I am able here to re-publish (pl. xxxi), thanks to the kind offices of Dr A. H. Lloyd. It has already been figured by S. P. Noe *The Coinage of Metapontum* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 32) New York 1927 p. 9 and, more adequately, by P. Wolters 'Die goldenen Ähren' in the *Festschrift für James Loeb* München 1930 pp. 111—129 pl. 16 and figs. 1—15, *id.* 'Gestalt und Sinn der Ähre in antiker Kunst' in *Die Antike* 1930 vi. 284—301 pl. 1 and figs. 1—10, who refers it to the fourth or third century B.C. The jewel itself, now in the Loeb Collection at Murnau, consists of three superb ears growing on a single stalk. Wolters, accepting the opinion of Prof. G. Gentner, says: 'Dargestellt sind Weizenähren; wahrscheinlich die des Binkel- oder Igel-Weizens, Triticum compactum...Heutigen Tags werden noch verschiedene Varietäten in Sizilien gebaut. Möglich wäre allerdings auch, dass ein besonders kurzähriger Hartweizen vorläge, von dem hauptsächlich die Varietät Triticum durum affine, ebenfalls in Sizilien gebaut wird; sie ist vermutlich identisch mit dem πυρὸς τριμηναῖος Theophrasts und heisst im heutigen Sizilien Timilia oder Tremilia.' Sir R. H. Biffen, however, has informed me (Jan. 14, 1930) that these gold ears are barley, not bearded wheat, and certainly not a cross between the two. He notes that some details in the arrangement of the shields at the base of the ear are not true to nature. And he adds that the ears represented on Greek coins are regularly, not wheat, but barley (e.g. the *hordeum hexastichon* on coins of Metapontum (F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 54 pl. 9, 1, p. 56 pl. 9, 24, p. 58 pl. 9, 35)). In any case we are at once reminded of the 'golden harvest' sent by the Metapontines to Delphoi (Strab. 264 οὗς οὕτως ἀπὸ γεωργίας εὐτυχῆσαι φασιν ὥστε θέρος χρυσοῦν ἐν Δελφοῖς ἀναθεῖναι). This, though very different in intention, must have been very similar in technique.

Finally, it is not, I think, irrelevant to compare a well-known incident in the Gospel narrative. When certain Greeks, proselytes of the gate attending a Jewish festival, came to Philip of Bethsaida saying 'Sir, we would see Jesus,' Philip sought out Andrew and together with him told Jesus. Thereupon Jesus made answer: 'The hour is come, that the Son of man should be glorified. Verily, verily, I say unto you, Except a grain of wheat fall into the earth and die, it abideth by itself alone; but if it die, it beareth much fruit' (John 12. 20 ff.). The Master here hints at his own impending Passion as the supreme example of the law that Life must be reached through Death. That much is certain. But, in view of the fact that the fourth Gospel was written primarily for Greek readers, it is further probable that these profound words were meant to convey some message specially appropriate to the Greeks. And, if so, it is at least possible that the symbolism employed aimed at recalling the great lesson taught by the hierophant to the mystics of Eleusis.

[1] F. Lenormant *Monographie de la Voie Sacrée Éleusinienne* Paris 1864 p. 85 ff. no. 30, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 573, E. Pottier *ib.* n. 682 (first recognition of Men), P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 78 ff. no. 2 (with facsimile of the inscription. 'H. de chaque brique, $0^{m}\cdot42$; ép., $0^{m}\cdot04$; diamètre probable du puits, $0^{m}\cdot80$; h. des lettres, de $0^{m}\cdot05$ à $0^{m}\cdot07$. Sur le bord supérieur de chaque brique, deux lettres rapprochées ΦΧ').

deeply incised inscription reads:

ΟΠΑΝΟΜΗΝΧΑΙΡΕΤΕΝΥΝΦΑΙΚΑΛΑΙΥΕΚΥΕΥ

ΠΕΡΧΥΕ

ὁ Πάν, ὁ Μήν, χαίρετε Νύνφαι καλαί. ὖε, κύε, ὑπέρχυε[1].

Pan, Men, and ye fair Nymphs, all hail!—
Rain! Conceive, conceive abundantly!

The association of Men with Pan and the Nymphs is noteworthy. The same triad appears on a votive relief of Pentelic (?) marble found in or near Athens (fig. 198)[2], which might almost serve as an illustra-

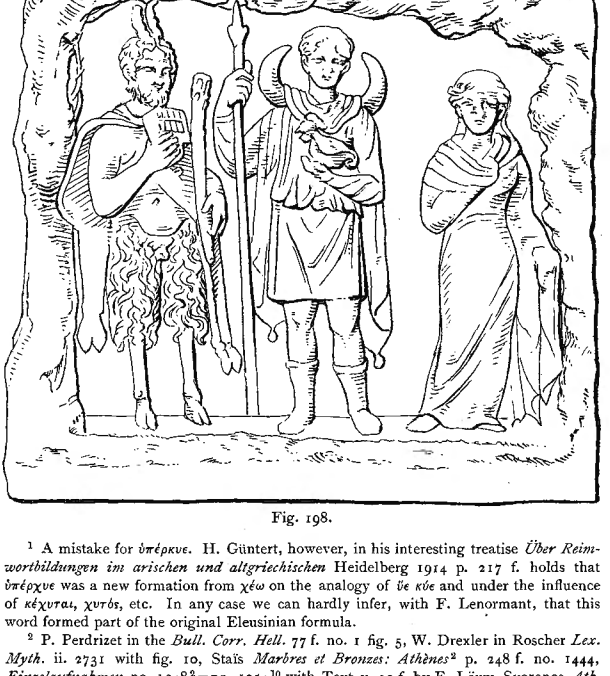


Fig. 198.

[1] A mistake for *ὑπέρκυε*. H. Güntert, however, in his interesting treatise *Über Reimwortbildungen im arischen und altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914 p. 217 f. holds that *ὑπέρχυε* was a new formation from *χέω* on the analogy of *ὖε κύε* and under the influence of *κέχυται, χυτός*, etc. In any case we can hardly infer, with F. Lenormant, that this word formed part of the original Eleusinian formula.

[2] P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 77 f. no. 1 fig. 5, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2731 with fig. 10, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 248 f. no. 1444, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1248[2]=no. 1254[10] with Text v. 22 f. by E. Löwy, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 443 no. 1444 pl. 72 (=my fig. 198).

tion of our text. For it arranges the divinities in the same order—Men in the centre between Pan on the left and a sample Nymph on the right. Pan and the Nymphs are natural protectors of grottoes, springs, and the like. Men is present partly because he was assimilated to Hermes[1], partly because in his own character of moon-god[2] he would be responsible for the dew[3], which in Attike meant so much to the cultivator of the thirsty ground. We may take it, then, that the owner of this particular well sought to ensure his water-supply by a silent and undemonstrative invocation of appropriate deities, coupled with the old magical cry 'Rain! Conceive, conceive abundantly!'

That cry was addressed to the divine Sky above and to the divine Earth below. No names were used, but it is probable that these powers had long been anthropomorphic. I should venture to identify them with the nameless Theos and Thea of Eleusinian inscriptions[4], who elsewhere emerge into clearer light and more

[1] *Supra* ii. 285 n. 0. [2] *Supra* i. 193 fig. 142, 642 fig. 501, 731 fig. 540.

[3] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2765.

[4] (1) An Athenian decree of *c.* 423/2 B.C., found at Eleusis, mentions in line 38 (cited with context *supra* p. 302 n. 0 (4)) gifts τοῖν θεοῖν (*sc.* Demeter and Kore), Τριπτολέμῳ, τῷ Θεῷ, τῇ Θεᾷ, τῷ Εὐβουλῳ, τῇ Ἀθηναίᾳ.

(2) The votive relief of Lysimachides, found in 1885 during the excavation of the 'Ploutonion' at Eleusis (D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 19 ff. pl. 3, 1, A. Bouché-Leclercq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1008 fig. 4380, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 135 f., 258 pl. 1, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 554 ff. no. 1519 pl. 88, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 412 no. 2), renders in the style of 350—300 B.C. a *Totenmahl* or hero-feast inscribed (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1620 *b*) Θεᾶι Θεῶι | Λυσιμαχίδης ἀνέθηκε. The dead man, here represented as a chthonian Zeus (cp. Zeus *Epiteleios Philios supra* ii. 1162 f. fig. 970), holds *rhytón* and bowl. His consort, the chthonian goddess, has apparently a *hypothymis* or garland for the neck. Beside them are seated the Eleusinian deities Demeter (sceptre) and Persephone (wreath with leaves added in paint, pair of torches burning). Demeter's seat is round and consists in four courses of stone, perhaps meant for the well-mouth of Kallichoron (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 15, Nik. *ther.* 486, Apollod. 1. 5. 1).

(3) The fragmentary relief of Lakrateides, the greater part of which was found on the site of the same 'Ploutonion' (D. Philios in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 24 ff. pl. 3, 2, O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 3, 4 n. 1, R. Heberdey 'Das Weihrelief des Lakrateides aus Eleusis' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 111—116 pl. 4 (collotype of fragments), H. von Prott in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 256—266 (on Θεός, Θεά at Eleusis), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 487—507 pl. ΙΗ′—Κ′ (restoration = my fig. 200), D. Philios Τὸ ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι Λακρατείδιον ἀνάγλυφον' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 183—198 with two figs. and a careful line-drawing of the fragments (= my fig. 199), Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 135 ff. pl. 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 348 no. 1, A. W. Lawrence *Later Greek Sculpture* London 1927 pp. 46, 124 pl. 79, *id. Classical Sculpture* London 1929 p. 310), was dedicated *c.* 100—90 B.C.—the dedicator being presumably the *thesmothétes* of 97/96 B.C. (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 1047, 41 Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου Ἰκαριεύς, cp. the *Pythaistés* of 106/105 B.C. in *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 955, 7 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 711 *D*[2], 7 Σώστρατος Λακρατείδου Ἰ[κ]αριεύς). It bears an inscription, which has been variously completed. (*a*) R. Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 115:

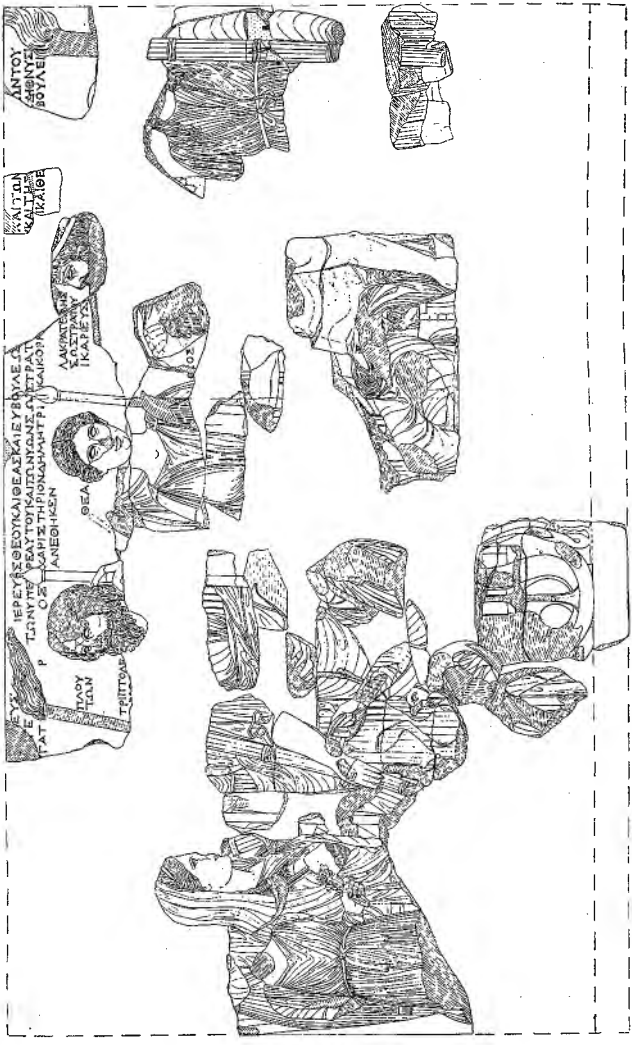


Fig. 199.

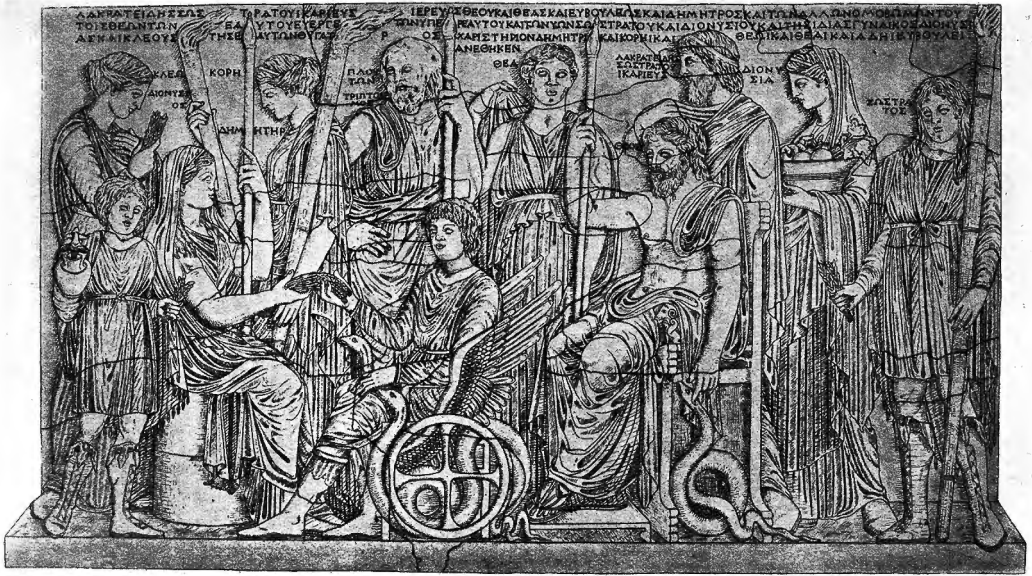


Fig. 200.

specific function as Zeus and Ge. Eubouleus was *ab origine* an appellation of the former[1], Demeter and Persephone a bifurcation of the latter[2].

Other evidence of rain-magic in Attike is of very doubtful value, though it may be granted that in a district notoriously 'light-soiled[3]' the rain-maker must sometimes have been in request.

[Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου 'Ικαρι]εὺς ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέω[ς καὶ Διογένους] καὶ τῶν [συμβώμ]ων τοῦ | ['Αθηναίων δήμου εὐερ]γετῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Σωστράτ[ου καὶ Διονυσίο]υ καὶ τῆς [γυναικὸ]ς Διονυσί[ας (filiation, deme) καὶ τῆς θυ]γατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη[ι καὶ Θε]ῶι καὶ Θε[ᾶι καὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ | ἀνέθηκεν. (*b*) J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* pl. ΙΗ′—Κ′: [Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου 'Ικαρι]εὺς ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέω[ς καὶ Δήμητρος] καὶ τῶν [ἄλλων ὁμοβώμ]ων τού[τοις θεῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εὐερ]γετῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Σωστράτ[ου καὶ Διονυσίο]υ καὶ τῆς [ἰδίας γυναικὸ]ς Διονυσί[ας καὶ Κλεοῦς τῆς ἑαυτῶν θυ]γατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη[ι καὶ Θε]ῶι καὶ Θε[ᾶι καὶ "Αιδηι Εὐ]βουλεῖ | ἀνέθηκεν. Svoronos p. 495 adds that the fourth line may have started with καὶ Τριπτολέμωι, for which there would be space above the head of Kleo. (*c*) D. Philios in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 186: [Λακρατείδης Σωστράτου 'Ικαρι]εὺς ἱερεὺς Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς καὶ Εὐβουλέω [ς.....] καὶ τῶν [συμβώμ]ων του|[.... θεῶν τῶν ἑαυτοῦ εὐερ]γετῶν ὑπὲρ ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν υἱῶν Σωστράτ[ου καὶ Διονυσίο]υ καὶ τῆς [γυναικὸ]ς Διονυσί[ας τῆς (filiation, deme, *e.g.* Κλείτου 'Ικαιέως) θυ]γατρὸς χαριστήριον Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρη[ι καὶ Θε]ῶι καὶ Θε[ᾶι καὶ Εὐ]βουλεῖ | ἀνέθηκεν. The centre of the relief is occupied by an assemblage of the Eleusinian powers. Theos (Θεός), in the guise of Zeus, is seated, sceptre in hand, on a throne, the arm of which rests on a small Sphinx. Thea (Θεά), a matronal figure, lifting the back fold of her *péplos*, stands at his side. Further to the left, Plouton (Πλού|τωνα) leans on a sceptre and looks toward the group of Kore and Demeter. The former stands, holding a pair of torches. The latter sits, with a veil over her head. Her left hand holds a sceptre; her right, a bunch of corn-ears. These she presents to Triptolemos (Τριπτόλε|μο[ς]), who receives them as he sits on his serpent-car. In the background is seen the dedicator (Λακρατείδης | Σωστράτου | 'Ικαιεύς). The remaining persons are harder to identify. Those who take them to be divine regard the long-haired youth on the right as Eubouleus bearing a vine-branch in one hand, a torch in the other, the female behind Demeter as a personification of Eleusis (so O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1892 xvii. 127, R. Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 116), and the boy carrying myrtles in front of her as Iakchos (A. N. Skias in the 'Εφ.'Αρχ. 1901 p. 34) or Ploutos (R. Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 116). But, in view of the fact that Eubouleus (see D. Philios in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxx. 188 ff.)—not to mention Ploutos—is sufficiently represented by Plouton, there is more to be said for the view (J. N. Svoronos, D. Philios) that the flanking figures are purely human and belong to the family of Lakrateides—Sostratos with vine-branch and torch on the right, Dionysia and her son Dionysios with myrtles on the left.

(4) Two lists of Athenian officials, dating from the period 117—129 A.D. (W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 334), mention as *kosmetés* or 'marshal' of the *épheboi* (F. Preisigke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1490 ff.) a certain priest of Theos and Thea ((*a*) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i Add. no. 274 *b*, 4 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii no. 1108, 4 ff. κο(σ)μη|τεύοντος ἱερέως Θεοῦ καὶ Θεᾶς Εἰ(ρη)ναί(ου) Παιαν|ιέως. (*b*) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 274, 3 ff. = *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii no. 1109, 3 ff. κοσμητὴς | ἐφήβων ἱερεὺς Θε[οῦ καὶ Θεᾶς Εἰρήναι]ος) Παιανιεύς (on) as an arbitrary sign for an identical patronymic see Larfeld *op. cit.* Leipzig 1902 ii. 2. 535 f.)).

M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 81 ff. supports the usual identification of ὁ *Θεός* and ἡ *Θεά* with Plouton and Persephone.

[1] *Supra* i. 669 n. 2, 717 n. 3, ii. 131, 258 n. 3, 259 n. 0, 1076, 1105.

[2] *Supra* i. 396 f.

[3] Thouk. i. 2, Alkiphr. *epist.* 3. 35, schol. Aristoph. *Ach.* 75.

Miss J. E. Harrison's[1] recognition of a rain-making scene on a 'Dipylon' jug from Athens (fig. 201)[2], though plausible, is far from certain[3]. And little importance can be attached to Marinos' statement that Proklos was an adept in Chaldean charms, who by spinning his *ynx* aright caused a downpour and so freed Attike from drought[4].

Lastly, the lapidary tradition perpetuated a belief (originating when and where?) that polished green quartz or 'plasma,' if worn during religious rites, would conciliate the gods and ensure a good shower on the thirsty fields[5]. A stone resembling water might well cause water to fall.

Fig. 201.

[1] J. E. Harrison in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1908—1909 xv. 322 n. 1, *ead. Themis*[2] p. 76 ff. fig. 10 (*b*).

[2] J. P. Droop in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1905—1906 xii. 81 ff. fig. 2 *b* (=my fig. 201).

[3] *Supra* i. 512 n. 0. I was there inclined to accept Miss Harrison's hypothesis. But it is undeniably frail. The alleged rattles are perhaps not rattles at all; and, if they are, they may represent thunder rather than rain (C. Clemen in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1914 xvii. 157 f.). The shield need not be on the altar; and, if it is, the scene may be one of *Palládion*-worship, or even of mere hoplolatry (cp. *supra* ii. 544 ff.).

[4] *Supra* i. 264 n. 6.

[5] Orph. *lith.* 267 ff. (*supra* i. 357 n. 4) καὶ γλαφυρὴν κομίσας ἐαρόχροον (Salmasius cj. ἀερόχροον, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 115 Persae aëri similem, quae ob id vocatur aërizusa, Dioskor. 5. 159 (160) p. 818 Sprengel λίθος ἴασπις... ἀερίζων, Dionys. *per.* 724 ἠερόεσσαν ἴασπιν, Psell. *de lapidum virtutibus* p. 17 Bernardus ἡ ἴασπις... ἔστι δέ τις καὶ ἀεροειδής. But Aglaïas of Byzantion πρὸς τὰς ἀρχομένας ὑποχύσεις 19 Dübner (in the Didot ed. of the *Poetae bucolici et didactici* Parisiis 1851 p. 97) describes haematite as λίθος ειαριήτης, cp. schol. Nik. ειαρίτης λίθος (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iii. 196 D)) αἵ κεν ἴασπιν | ἱερά τις ῥέξῃ, μακάρων ἰαίνεται ἦτορ, | καί οἱ καρφαλέας νεφέλαις κορέσουσιν ἀρούρας· | ἤδε γὰρ αὐχμηρῇσιν ἄγει πολὺν ὄμβρον ἀρούραις. Similarly in the epitome entitled Ὀρφέως λιθικὰ κηρύγματα p. 141, 15 ff. Abel λίθος ἴασπις, ὁ καὶ πᾶσι πρόδηλος. χρήσιμος δὲ καὶ οὗτος, ὥς φασι, ταῖς ἀρούραις πρὸς εὐφορίαν. ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑετόν, ὡς λέγουσιν Ἕλληνες, ἐξ ἀνομβρίας κατάγειν ἐπὶ τὰς αὐτὰς δύναται καὶ ἀποτρέπειν ἐπιληψίας, καθὼς καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ μαρτυροῦσι and in Damigeron *de lapidibus* 13 p. 173, 19 ff. Abel *Lapis Iaspis*.... Perfectus est tantum consecratus et caste portatus iste lapis. Imbrium enim est perfector et invocatus imbres facit.

iii. Rain-magic in the cult of Zeus.

Primitive rain-magic was in Greece commonly taken up into the cult of Zeus. The epic appellative *nephelegeréta* implies that already in the second millennium B.C. Zeus was conceived as a rain-making magician[1]. And a like inference may be drawn from his constant epithet *aigíochos*[2]. Indeed, in more than one passage of the *Iliad* we can detect a literary reminiscence of the weather-maker's devices; for instance, in Agamemnon's ominous words—

> The day shall come when holy Ilios,
> Priam, and Priam's folk (stout spearman he),
> Shall be destroyed, and Zeus the son of Kronos,
> Seated on high, dwelling in light divine,
> Shall shake his darkling *aigís* at them all,
> Wroth for this guile[3].—

or, later, in the poet's description of the fighting over Patroklos—

> Then Kronos' son caught up his tasselled *aigís*,
> Gleaming, and hid Mount Ide under cloud,
> Lightened and thundered and made quake the ground[4].

Clearly, to shake the *aigís* is to cause a storm—a thoroughly magical procedure.

If it may be assumed that such poetic phraseology was founded on cult-usage, the actual rain-maker was probably the priest of Zeus impersonating his god. It is tempting to interpret in that sense a curious statement in the *Aeneid*. Virgil, concerned to derive Roman antiquities from Greece, is hinting apparently at a supposed connexion between the *Arx* and the *Arcades*[5], when he makes Evander say to Aeneas *à propos* of the wooded Capitol—

> This grove, this hill with leafy top some god—
> We know not who[6]—inhabits. My Arcadians
> Believe that they have seen the very Jove
> Oft shake the darkling *aegis* in his hand
> And call the rain-clouds[7].

[1] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, iii. 30 ff., 296.

[2] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

[3] *Il.* 4. 164 ff. ἔσσεται ἦμαρ ὅτ' ἂν ποτ' ὀλώλῃ Ἴλιος ἰρὴ | καὶ Πρίαμος καὶ λαὸς ἐϋμμελίω Πριάμοιο, | Ζεὺς δέ σφι Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος, αἰθέρι ναίων, | αὐτὸς ἐπισσείῃσιν ἐρεμνὴν αἰγίδα πᾶσι | τῆσδ' ἀπάτης κοτέων. Cp. *Il.* 15. 229 f. where Zeus lends his *aigís* to Apollon and says: ἀλλὰ σύγ' ἐν χείρεσσι λάβ' αἰγίδα θυσανόεσσαν, | τῇ (with variant τὴν) μάλ' ἐπισσείων φοβέειν ἤρωας Ἀχαιούς.

[4] *Il.* 17. 593 ff. καὶ τότ' ἄρα Κρονίδης ἔλετ' αἰγίδα θυσανόεσσαν | μαρμαρέην, Ἴδην δὲ κατὰ νεφέεσσι κάλυψεν, | ἀστράψας δὲ μάλα μεγάλ' ἔκτυπε, τὴν (Zenodotos read γῆν) δὲ τίναξε.

[5] Solin. 1. 1 quam (*sc.* Romam) Arcades quoniam habitassent in excelsa parte montis, derivatum deinceps, ut tutissima urbium arces vocarentur.

[6] *Supra* i. 711 ff. (Vediovis, the youthful Iupiter).

[7] Verg. *Aen.* 8. 351 ff. 'hoc nemus, hunc,' inquit, 'frondoso vertice collem, | quis deus

Virgil may, of course, be drawing upon sources no longer accessible to us. And presumably he was familiar with the fact that in Arkadia the priest of Zeus *Lýkaios* regularly made rain for his neighbours[1]. Pausanias, speaking of the spring Hagno on Mount Lykaion[2], says:

'If there is a long drought, and the seeds in the earth and the trees are withering, the priest of Lycaean Zeus looks to the water and prays; and having prayed and offered the sacrifices enjoined by custom, he lets down an oak branch to the surface of the spring, but not deep into it; and the water being stirred, there rises a mist-like vapour, and in a little the vapour becomes a cloud, and gathering other clouds to itself it causes rain to fall on the land of Arcadia[3].'

It would seem then that on Mount Lykaion the magical practice was preceded by a prayer, which—as M. H. Morgan[4] has observed—

incertum est, habitat deus; Arcades ipsum | credunt se vidisse Iovem, cum saepe nigrantem | aegida concuteret dextra nimbosque cieret.' Serv. *ad loc.* 'ipsum credunt se vidisse Iovem' in hoc scilicet nemore. sane ad illud adludit quod primi dicuntur Iovi templa [et rem divinam] fecisse—[Aeacus enim primus in Arcadia templum Iovi constituisse dicitur]—nec enim longe sunt a Iove Olympico: unde eos dicit Iovem vidisse, et quod ipsi sunt *προσέληνοι*, ut [ait] Statius 'Arcades astris lunaque priores' (Stat. *Theb.* 4. 275): licet dicat Sallustius Cretenses primos invenisse religionem, unde apud eos natus fingitur Iuppiter (Sall. *hist.* 3. 60 Dietsch, 63 Kritz. Cp. Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 9).

J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 842 comments: 'Arkadische Siedler an der Küste Latiums gehören immerhin in den Bereich der Möglichkeit,' cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 196, 202 f. But H. Last in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1928 vii. 364 f. and H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 311 rightly recognise that the whole story of Evander on Italian soil is a piece of pseudo-mythology based on misleading etymologies (*Palatinus*=*Pallanteion*, *Lupercalia*=*Lykaia*, etc.).

[1] *Supra* i. 65, 76 f., 87.

[2] On the identification of this spring see Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 383 and Bölte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2210. It is now known as *Kopítes*—a name given to small stone, or more often wooden, troughs, through one of which the water at present runs. The inhabitants of the district declare that here there was once a regular river (*νερὸ ποτάμι*), but that, when the son of Hellenopoula was drowned in it, they dammed it up with twelve woolly fleeces and twelve caldrons, each caldron having forty handles. When in 1903 K. Kourouniotes was digging beside the spring, they believed that the water would burst out again. He found near by the ruins of a large ancient cistern (Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1904 p. 162). Perhaps we have here a lingering belief in the water-magic of the sacred spring.

[3] Paus. 8. 38. 4 trans. Sir J. G. Frazer.

[4] M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1901 xxxii. 95: 'The prayer, though offered by the priest of Zeus, was obviously offered not to Zeus, but to Hagno, the nymph of the spring (*προσευξάμενος ἐς τὸ ὕδωρ*). The sacrifice (*καὶ θύσας*) may have been offered to Zeus, but Pausanias gives us no information on this point.'

When Diotima as priestess of Zeus *Lýkaios* (*supra* ii. 1167) postponed the plague at Athens for a decade by means of prayer (schol. Aristeid. p. 468, 15 ff. Dindorf *ἡ δὲ Διοτίμα ἱέρεια γέγονε τοῦ Λυκαίου Διὸς τοῦ ἐν Ἀρκαδίᾳ. αὕτη δέ, μελλούσης τῆς νόσου, ἧς Θουκυδίδης μέμνηται, ἐπισκήπτειν τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, εὐξαμένη ἐκώλυσεν αὐτὴν εἰσελθεῖν* (so cod. B. *ἐπελθεῖν* cod. D.) *ἐπὶ δέκα ἔτη*), she must be assumed to have prayed to her namesake deity. See further T. Zielinski in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 43.

was apparently directed to that old-world sanctity, the sacred spring.

Similarly in Thessaly magic was eked out by prayer. When the men of Krannon in time of drought shook their bronze car, they likewise 'prayed the god for rain[1].' And 'the god' concerned was almost certainly Zeus.

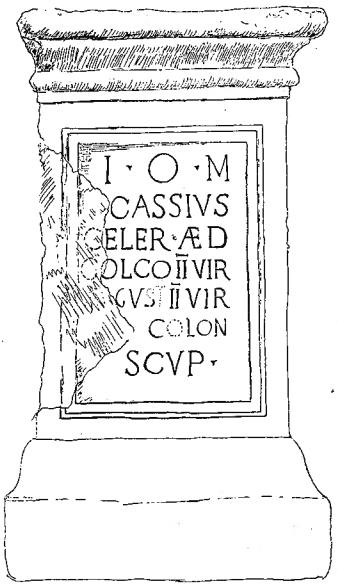


Fig. 202.

[1] Theopomp. *frag.* 85 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 292 Müller) = *frag.* 267 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 593 Jacoby) *ap.* Antig. Karyst. *hist. mir.* 15 ἐν δὲ Κράννωνι τῆς Θετταλίας δύο φασὶν μόνον εἶναι κόρακας· διὸ καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν προξενιῶν (so A. E. von Locella for *προξένων*) τῶν ἀναγραφομένων τὸ παράσημον τῆς πόλεως (καθάπερ ἐστὶν ἔθιμον πᾶσι προσπαρατιθέναι) ὑπογράφονται δύο κόρακες ἐφ' ἁμαξίου χαλκοῦ, διὰ τὸ μηδέποτε πλείους τούτων ὤφθαι. ἡ δὲ ἅμαξα προσπαράκειται διὰ τοιαύτην αἰτίαν—ξένον γὰρ ἴσως ἂν καὶ τοῦτο φανείη—· ἔστιν αὐτοῖς < ἅμαξα (*ins.* F. Jacoby) > ἀνακειμένη χαλκῆ, ἣν ὅταν αὐχμὸς ᾖ σείοντες ὕδωρ αἰτοῦνται τὸν θεόν, καί φασι γίνεσθαι. τούτου δέ τι ἰδιώτερον (F. J. Bast cj. *ἰδιαίτερον*) ὁ Θεόπομπος λέγει· φησὶν γὰρ ἕως τούτου διατρίβειν αὐτοὺς ἐν τῇ (so F. Jacoby for *τῷ*) Κράννωνι ἕως ἂν τοὺς νεοττοὺς ἐκνεοττεύσωσιν, τοῦτο δὲ ποιήσαντας τοὺς μὲν νεοττοὺς καταλείπειν, αὐτοὺς δὲ ἀπιέναι (so C. Müller for *ἀνιέναι*). Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κράνων. *Supra* ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792, iii. 296 f.

Other cults that gave the sanction of religion to the rites of rain-magic were the worship of Zeus *Aktaîos* on Mount Pelion in Thessaly and the worship of Zeus *Polieús* on the Akropolis at Athens. The ritual of the former presupposed a procession of rain-makers clad in sheep-skins by way of copying the clouds[1]. The ritual of the latter included the significant action of the *Hydrophóroi*, who poured water over axe and knife at the Dipolieia[2].

The vitality of such usages is amazing. I conclude with an instructive example noted by Sir A. J. Evans[3] in the Balkans:

'Ibrahimovce itself is a small Bulgarian village, but it contains a monument of antiquity, interesting in itself, and of greater interest in its connexion with a local cult which has at least all the superficial appearance of being a direct inheritance from Roman times. Lying on its back on the village green was a large block, which proved on examination to be a Roman altar, erected to Jupiter Optimus Maximus, by an Ædile of a Colonia, of which we learn no more than that its name began with CO..., who was also Duumvir of the Colony of Scupi.

'To my astonishment, I learnt that this monument of Roman municipal piety towards the "cloud-compeller" is still the object of an extraordinary local cult. I was informed by one of the inhabitants that in time of drought the whole of the villagers, both Christian and Mahometan, with a local Bey at their head, go together to the stone, and, having restored it to its upright position, pour libations of wine over the top, praying the while for rain. The language of the villagers is at present a Slavonic dialect, and the name of Jove was as unknown to them as the inscription on the stone was unintelligible. Nevertheless, it was difficult not to believe that in this remote Illyrian nook some local tradition of the cult of Jupiter Pluvius had survived all historic changes.'

(b) Prayers to Zeus for rain.

Marcus Aurelius has preserved the Athenian equivalent of our prayer 'In the time of Dearth and Famine.' It runs as follows:

> Rain, rain, dear Zeus,
> On Athens' tilth and Athens' plains[4].

[1] *Supra* pp. 31 f., 68 f.

[2] *Infra* pp. 583, 603 ff.

[3] Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1885 xlix. 1. 104 f. fig. 48 (=my fig. 202), *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 19 n. 44.

[4] Marc. Ant. *comment.* 5. 7 εὐχὴ Ἀθηναίων· Ὕσον, ὗσον, ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ, κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν πεδίων. ἤτοι οὐ δεῖ εὔχεσθαι, ἢ οὕτως, ἁπλῶς καὶ ἐλευθέρως. On the rhythmical arrangement of the prayer see T. Bergk *Poetae lyrici Graeci*[4] Lipsiae 1882 iii. 684, E. Norden *Die antike Kunstprosa* Leipzig 1898 i. 46. Bergk *loc. cit.* cj. κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηναίων καὶ τῶν Πεδιαίων. J. M. Edmonds *Lyra Graeca* London 1927 iii. 516 prints κατὰ τῆς ἀρούρας τῆς Ἀθηνῶν | καὶ <κατὰ> τῆς Πεδιῶν (=Πεδιέων, cp. Πειραιῶς).

The address ὦ φίλε Ζεῦ is appropriate to a simple, not to say primitive, prayer (*supra* ii. 1167. Cp. also Strattis Φοίνισσαι *frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 781 Meineke) *ap.* Poll. 9. 123 f. εἶθ' ἥλιος μὲν πείθεται τοῖς παιδίοις | ὅταν λέγωσιν "ἔξελχ', ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε"=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* ἐξέλκειν and Aristoph. Νῆσοι *frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1110 Meineke) *ap.* Souid. *s.v.*

A parallel to this was published by A. Körte[1]. Near *Tschukurhissar*, a village in Phrygia, he found an inscribed marble *stéle* now used as the doorstep of a house. The inscription (fig. 203), so far as it can be restored, gives us three or four passable hexameters and is dated in the consulship of Salvius Iulianus and Calpurnianus (*sic*) Piso, that is, in 175 A.D. We may render it:

Wet thou the ground
That with thick crops and corn it may abound.
Zeus Kronos' son, thus Metreodoros prays
And victims fair before thine altar slays.

Fig. 203.

Alkiphron, a later contemporary of Lucian[2], pens a graphic little sketch of an Attic village distressed by lack of rain. His description takes the form of a letter from Thalliskos to Petraios:

'The drought is now on. Not a cloud above the horizon. What we want is a real downpour; for the absolute dryness of the soil shows the fields to be suffering from thirst. It would seem that our sacrifices to the Rain-god have been addressed in vain to deaf ears. And yet all the inhabitants of our village fairly vied with each other in their offerings. We contributed, according to our ability or our abundance, one man a ram, another a he-goat, a third a boar. The poor man brought a cake, the poorer still a pinch of frankincense. Nobody could manage a bull, since we who occupy the thin-soiled part of Attike are not well off for cattle. However, the money we spent has done us no good. It looks as

ἐξέχειν τὸν ἥλιον and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 881, 42 ff. *λέξεις ἄρα | ὥσπερ τὰ παιδί' "ἔξεχ', ὦ φίλ' ἥλιε."* Athen. 619 B *ἡ δὲ εἰς Ἀπόλλωνα ᾠδὴ φιληλιάς, ὡς* Τελέσιλλα (*frag.* 2 Bergk[4]) *παρίστησιν.* In Aristoph. *vesp.* 88 *φιληλιαστής* there is of course a sly reference to Philokleon's second childhood).

[1] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1900 xxv. 421 f. no. 33 [*βρέχε γαῖ]αν, | καρπῶ [ὅπ]ως βρί[θη καὶ ἐν]ὶ σταχύεσσι τεθήλη. | τ[αῦτ]ά [σε] Μητρεόδωρος ἐγὼ λίτομαι, Κρο[ν]ίδα Ζεῦ, | ἀμφὶ τεοῖς βωμοῖσιν ἐπήρατα θύματα ῥέξων. Σαλβίῳ Ἰουλιανῷ καὶ Καλπουρνιανῷ Πείσωνι ὑπάτοις* (a would-be ablative absolute on the analogy of the Latin formula).

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 826.

though Zeus has turned his attention to foreigners and is neglecting the folk at home[1].'

Of course the god that could send the rain was also the god that could stop the rain. An epigram by Asklepiades of Samos (*s.* iii B.C.) tells how a lover, wet to the skin at his loved one's door, appealed to Zeus for a cessation of the deluge[2].

(c) The relation of rain to Zeus.

Apart from general phrases such as 'Zeus rains[3],' 'Zeus drizzles[4],'

[1] Alkiphr. *epist.* 3. 35 αὐχμὸς τὰ νῦν· οὐδαμοῦ νέφος ὑπὲρ γῆς αἴρεται. δεῖ δὲ ἐπομβρίας· διψῇν γὰρ τὰς ἀρούρας τὸ κατάξηρον τῆς βώλου δείκνυσι. μάταια ἡμῖν, ὡς ἔοικε, καὶ ἀνήκοα τέθυται τῷ Τετίῳ. καίτοι γε ἐξ ἀμίλλης ἐκαλλιερήσαμεν πάντες οἱ τῆς κώμης οἰκήτορες, καὶ ὡς ἕκαστος δυνάμεως ἢ περιουσίας εἶχε συνεισηνέγκαμεν, ὁ μὲν κριόν, ὁ δὲ τράγον, ὁ δὲ κάπρον, ὁ πένης πόπανον, ὁ δὲ ἔτι πενέστερος λιβανωτοῦ χόνδρους· ταῦρον δὲ οὐδείς, οὐ γὰρ εὐπορία βοσκημάτων ἡμῖν τὴν λεπτόγεων τῆς Ἀττικῆς κατοικοῦσιν. ἀλλ' οὐδὲν ὄφελος τῶν δαπανημάτων· ἔοικε γὰρ πρὸς ἑτέροις ἔθνεσιν ὁ Ζεὺς ὢν τῶν τῇδε ἀμελεῖν.

[2] *Anth. Pal.* 5. 166. 5 f. (Asklepiades) τῇδε (J. F. Dübner cj. τῷ δὲ H. Stadtmüller cj. παιδὶ) τοσαῦτ' ἐβόησα βεβρεγμένος· 'ἄχρι τίνος, Ζεῦ; | Ζεῦ φίλε, σίγησον· καὐτὸς ἐρᾶν ἐμαθες.' *Supra* ii. 1167 n. 4. Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 533. 1 (Dionysios of Andros) καὶ Διὶ καὶ Βρομίῳ με διάβροχον οὐ μέγ' ὀλισθεῖν, where 'Zeus' means rain and 'Bromios' wine.

[3] *Il.* 12. 25 f. (*supra* ii. 1 n. 4), *Od.* 14. 457 f. ὗε δ' ἄρα Ζεὺς | πάννυχος, Hes. *o.d.* 415 f. (*supra* ii. 1 n. 4), 488 f. τῆμος Ζεὺς ὗσι τρίτῳ ἤματι μηδ' ἀπολήγοι, | μήτ' ἄρ' ὑπερβάλλων βοὸς ὁπλὴν μήτ' ἀπολείπων, Alkai. *frag.* 34. 1 Bergk[4], 157. 1 Edmonds, 90. 1 Diehl ὕει (A. Hecker cj. νίφει, J. M. Edmonds cj. νεύει) μὲν ὁ Ζεύς *ap.* Athen. 430 A, Theogn. 25 f. οὐδέ γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς | οὔθ' ὕων πάντεσσ' ἀνδάνει οὔτ' ἀνέχων (quoted by Apostol. 4. 14 d, cp. E. Legrand—J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 286 f. no. 89=*Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* iv. 14 f. no. 49 (*c*) a round pillar of white marble at *Atli Hisar* near Synnada recording, in letters of *s.* iii A.D., the dedication of a statue of Kynegia, wife of Gera(i)os, who had transferred to the temple of Νέος Ἡρακλῆς an *aletós*, reconstructed by her husband, to serve as a protection against rain: 4 ff. καὶ α[ἰ]ετὸν | ἐδωρήσατο πόλι τό ποτε κίμενον εἶσα Γέραος, νῦν δ' | εἰς νέον ἤγαγε Ἡρακλέην Διὸς ὗοντος (would-be hexameters!), Liban. *apol. Socr.* 78 (v. 57, 1 ff. Foerster) ἀλλὰ τοῦ Διὸς οὐχ ὗοντος καὶ πάλιν ἔξω τοῦ μετρίου βοῶμεν ὡς ἀδικούμενοι καὶ τί ποιῶν δίκαιος ἂν ἦν περὶ τὴν γῆν λέγωμεν. καὶ ταύτας τὰς κατηγορίας οὐκ ἠγνόει Θέογνις ὁ Μεγαρεύς. κ.τ.λ.), and perhaps Menand. *frag. incert.* 306 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 299 Meineke) *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 387, 40 f. (but see *supra* ii. 3 n. 2).

Cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 1278 ff. κάτειπέ νυν, | πότερα νομίζεις καινὸν ἀεὶ τὸν Δία | ὕειν ὕδωρ ἑκάστοτ', ἢ τὸν ἥλιον | ἕλκειν κάτωθεν ταὐτὸ τοῦθ' ὕδωρ πάλιν; Silenos of Chios (on whom see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 56) *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 100 n.* Müller, *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 211 f. Jacoby) *ap.* schol. E. M. T. *Od.* 1. 75 Σιληνὸς δὲ ὁ Χῖος ἐν δευτέρῳ Μυθικῶν 'Ἱστοριῶν—ἔστι δὲ δύο βιβλία—' Ἀντίκλειάν φησι τὴν Ὀδυσσέως μητέρα ἐγκύμονα ὀδεύουσαν παρὰ τὸ Νήριτον, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τῆς Ἰθάκης ὄρος, ὕσαντος πολὺ τοῦ Διὸς ὑπ' ἀγωνίας καὶ φόβου καταπεσοῦσαν τὸν Ὀδυσσέα ἀποτεκεῖν, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ταύτης τῆς ὀνομασίας τυχεῖν, ἐπειδὴ κατὰ τὴν ὁδὸν ὗσεν ὁ Ζεύς (a story repeated by Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 786, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1871, 21 ff., Eudok. *viol.* 61, 727, and 918, Natalis Comes *myth.* 9. 1 (p. 934 ed. Parisiis 1605), cp. schol. Vind. 56 *Od.* 1. 21), Paus. 1. 24. 3 ἔστι δὲ καὶ Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὗσαι οἱ τὸν Δία, εἴτε αὐτοῖς ὄμβρου δεῆσαν Ἀθηναίοις, εἴτε καὶ τοῖς πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι συμβὰς αὐχμός (*supra* ii. 21 n. 4).

[4] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 45 p. 164 Kayser (Apollonios recalls a Roman girl to life) καὶ εἴτε σπινθῆρα τῆς ψυχῆς εὗρεν ἐν αὐτῇ, ὃς ἐλελήθει τοὺς θεραπεύοντας—λέγεται γάρ, ὡς ψεκάζοι μὲν ὁ Ζεύς, ἡ δὲ ἀτμὶζοι ἀπὸ τοῦ προσώπου—εἶτ' ἀπεσβηκύαν τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνέθαλψέ τε καὶ ἀνέλαβεν, ἄρρητος ἡ κατάληψις τούτου γέγονεν οὐκ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ, ἀλλὰ καὶ τοῖς παρατυχοῦσιν.

'the shower of Zeus[1],' 'water from Zeus[2],' etc. there is good evidence to prove that the Greeks of the historical period regarded rain as essentially connected with this god. Philosophers and grammarians even made a misguided attempt to derive his name in its dialect form *Deús*[3] from the verb *deúein*, 'to moisten,' because he moistened the ground with his rain or gave living creatures the dampness without which none could live[4].

[1] Διὸς ὄμβρος: *Il.* 5. 91, 11. 493, 12. 286 (of snow), *Od.* 9. 111, 358, Hes. *o.d.* 626, 676, Pind. *Isthm.* 5. 49 (of hail), Aristoph. *ran.* 246, Theokr. 17. 78, Nonn. *Dion.* 3. 215, 42. 292, 47. 591. Cp. Liban. *monod. de templ. Apoll. Daphn.* 9 (iv. 318, 2 ff. Foerster) ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ὄμβρων ἠνίας ἔχων ὕδωρ ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ταῦτα Λυδῶν ποτε βασιλεῖ δυστυχήσαντι σβέσας πυράν; copied by his pupil Io. Chrys. *in S. Babylam, c. Iulianum, et c. gentiles* 20 (xlix. 564 f. Migne).

[2] Hdt. 2. 13 εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὗειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἱρεθήσονται· οὐ γὰρ δή σφί ἐστι ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον, Plat. *legg.* 761 A τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ὑδάτων, 844 A τὰ ἐκ Διὸς ἰόντα...νάματα, *Critias* 111 C τὸ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ὕδωρ ἐκαρποῦτο ἐκ Διός, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 2. 6. 5 ἐπιζητεῖ δὲ μᾶλλον τὸ ναματιαῖον ὕδωρ ἢ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ Διός, 7. 5. 2 ἀγαθὰ δὲ τὰ ἐκ Διός (*sc.* ὕδατα), 8. 7. 3 τὰ ναματιαῖα συμφέρειν μᾶλλον αὐτοῖς τῶν ἐκ Διός, *caus. pl.* 1. 19. 5 γωνομένων ὑδάτων ἐκ Διός, 2. 6. 1 ἐπὶ τῶν ἐκ Διὸς ὑδάτων, 3. 8. 3 διὰ τὴν σπάνην τῶν ἐκ Διός (*sc.* ὑδάτων), 3. 9. 5 μὴ ἐπιγωνομένων τῶν ἐκ Διός (*sc.* ὑδάτων), Ap. Rhod. 2. 1120 f. τὸ δὲ μυρίον ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ | λῆξεν ἆμ' ἠελίῳ, Plout. *quaestt. nat.* 2 ἆρα οὖν κοῦφόν ἐστι τὸ ἐκ Διὸς ὕδωρ καὶ ἀερῶδες, καὶ πνεύματι μεμιγμένον ὁδηγεῖται τε καὶ ἀναπέμπεται ταχέως εἰς τὸ φυτὸν ὑπὸ λεπτότητος;

[3] *Supra* ii. 344 n. 0. Cp. F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *Ach.* 911 ὕττω Δεύς.

[4] Cornut. *theol.* 2 p. 3, 10 f. Lang παρὰ δέ τισι καὶ Δεὺς λέγεται, τάχα ἀπὸ τοῦ δεύειν τὴν γῆν ἢ μεταδιδόναι τοῖς ζῶσι ζωτικῆς (σωματικῆς codd. X. L.) ἰκμάδος, *et. mag.* p. 409, 2 f. ἢ παρὰ τὸ δεύω τὸ βρέχω, δεύσω, Δεὺς καὶ Ζεύς· ὑέτιος γὰρ ὁ θεός (αἴτιος γὰρ ὑετοῦ cod. V.), Eustath. *in Il.* p. 153, 34 f. δεύω τὸ βρέχω Δεὺς καὶ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀήρ. On the summit of Mt Tmolos was a place called Γοναὶ Διὸς Τετίου and later Δεύσιον, whence K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 281 inferred the existence of an appellative Δεύσιος= Τέτιος; but see *supra* ii. 957 n. 2.

The notion that the name of Zeus implies moisture has been revived in modern times. I possess the abstract of a paper written by Prof. T. G. Tucker of Melbourne and dated June 3, 1912, but not—so far as I know—published, in which the following propositions were advanced. Religion begins with the obtaining of food and drink. Where there is insufficient moisture, there is not enough to eat. Hence the earliest religious efforts of Mediterranean man aimed at rain-making, or rather water-getting. His *numina* were practically all concerned with human maintenance—the Earth-mother and her cognates with the food-supply, the rest with the water-supply. **Dī̆eus* in particular was the 'Moistener,' the 'Wetter,' not the 'Shiner' [*supra* i. 1 ff., 14 ff., 776], cp. διερός 'wet,' διΐαίνω 'I moisten.' Thus Παν-δίων is the equivalent of Πάν-δροσος; the festivals Δῖα, Πάνδια, Διάσια, Διπόλια all involved rain-making ceremonies (as did the Τστήρια, from **ὑστήρ*=**ὑδ-τήρ*, 'rain-maker,' in spite of Athen. 95 F—96 A ὅτι δ' ὄντως Ἀφροδίτη ὗς θύεται μαρτυρεῖ Καλλίμαχος (*frag.* 100[b] no. 1 Schneider) ἢ Ζηνόδοτος ἐν ἱστορικοῖς ὑπομνήμασι (*frag.* 2 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 183 Jacoby)) γράφων ὧδε· "Ἀργεῖοι Ἀφροδίτῃ ὗν θύουσι, καὶ ἡ ἑορτὴ καλεῖται Τστήρια"); and *Iū(p)piter* (*Diespiter*) stands beside the fountain-goddess *Iūturna* (*Diuturna* [Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1349]). Various cult-epithets of Zeus are cited in support of this interpretation, not only Ὄμβριος, Τέτιος, Ἰκμαῖος, but also Νάιος (cp. νᾶμα [*supra* i. 369 n. 2, ii. 351 n. 0, 869 n. 0]), Πανομφαῖος ('of the Voice' [*supra* ii. 1097 n. 2, 1211], but originally 'of the Rain.' The composite root **enebh-* has for Ablaut-grades **nebh-*, **ombh-*, **mbh-* in νέφος, ὀμφαλός, ἀφρός. The ὀμφαλός was a 'rain-gathering' stone, cp. ὄμβρος), Ὀλύμπιος ("Ολυμπος meant

But, though rain was always referred to Zeus[1], its exact relationship to him was variously conceived.

'Cloud-collector,' so that *νεφεληγερέτα Ζεύς* in a sense *was* the mountain—just as the Mexican rain-god Tlaloc was also Mt Popocatepetl. The Mysian flute-player Olympos [P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 860 ff.] whistled for the wind. A Cretan Olympos was 'teacher' of Zeus [Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 147 b 38 f. Bekker] in control of the rain-power. On this showing *τὰ Ὀλύμπια* would be ceremonies of cloud-gathering), Μαιμάκτης (not 'Raging' [Plout. *de cohib. ira* 9 *διὸ καὶ τῶν θεῶν τὸν βασιλέα Μειλίχιον, Ἀθηναῖοι δὲ Μαιμάκτην, οἶμαι, καλοῦσι· τὸ δὲ κολαστικὸν ἐρινῦώδες καὶ δαιμονικόν, οὐ θεῖον δὲ οὐδὲ Ὀλύμπιον*, Harpokr. *s.v.* Μαιμακτηριών· *...ὠνόμασται δὲ ἀπὸ Διὸς Μαιμάκτου. Μαιμάκτης δ' ἐστὶν ὁ ἐθθουσιώδης καὶ ταρακτικός, ὥς φησι Λυσιμαχίδης* (Λυσιμάχης cod. Ven.) (Lysimachos of Alexandreia *frag.* 22 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 341 Müller)) *ἐν τῷ περὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησι μηνῶν· ἀρχὴν δὲ λαμβάνοντος τοῦ χειμῶνος ἐν τούτῳ τῷ μηνὶ ὁ ἀὴρ ταράττεται καὶ μεταβολὴν ἴσχει*=Souid. *s.v.* Μαιμακτηριών. *Aliter* Phot. *lex. s.v.* Μαιμακτηριών· *... ὠνομάσθη δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς μαιμάξεως τῆς περὶ τὴν ἄμπελον· μαιμάξαντες γάρ, ὅ ἐστιν ὀρμήσαντες, ἐτρύγησαν ἄμπελον καὶ οἶνον ἐποίησαν*. H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2242 f. notes that the 'Raging' god might be appeased (Hesych. Μαιμάκτης· Μειλίχιος, Καθάρσιος) and cp. *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 77, 12 ff. cited *supra* i. 176 n. 2], but 'Giving Increase.' The root **maĥ-* meant 'enlargement' (*μακρός*), 'increase,' 'benefit,' 'blessing' (*μάκαρες θεοί*=*δωτῆρες ἐάων*, cp. *macte esto*). The reduplication is of a common type (*δαιδάλλω* etc.). Zeus Μαιμάκτης was probably developed from human **μαιμακτῆρες*, whose rain-making rites **μαιμακτήρια* gave their name to the month Μαιμακτηριών. With this **maĥ-* goes *φαρμακοί* for **φαρ*ᵍ*-μακ-οί*, 'promoters of bearing (or produce),' cp. Φερσεφόνεια. The by-form **maĝ̊h* is found in *μηχανή* [Zeus Μηχανεύς: *supra* ii. 1144 n. 2, *infra* § 9 (h) i], *Maius* the month of increase, Iupiter *Maius* [Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 12. 17 sunt qui hunc mensem ad nostros fastos a Tusculanis transisse commemorent, apud quos nunc quoque vocatur deus Maius qui est Iuppiter, a magnitudine scilicet ac maiestate dictus. See further Link in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 613 f.], etc.), Φαλακρός (Zeus Φαλακρός [*supra* ii. 875 n. 2, 1226] or rather Φάλακρος was god 'of the Swelling Tips' on plants, fruit-trees, oaks, and beeches. The compound *φαλ-* + *ἄκρος* has for its first element the *φαλ-* (**bhal-* **bhl̥-*) of *φάλης*, *φαλλός* (the 'growth-making,' a magic instrument), etc., as in the case of Hermes Φαλάνθης [*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 3 no. 1606 Λυσικλῆς Ναυκλέους | [Ἐ]ρμεῖ Φαλανθεῖ *ἀνέθηκεν*, where however the god's epithet may be Φαλανθεύς, an ethnic from Mt Phalanthon in Arkadia: see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2237], who makes the flower or bloom of things to grow, cp. Hesych. Ἐριφύλλιον (A. Meineke cj. Ἐρίφυλλον)· *τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆ*), Λαφύστιος (If this title of Zeus [*supra* ii. 899 n. 1, 904 n. 1] had anything to do with *λαφύσσειν*, 'to devour,' it meant 'who enables men to gorge,' not 'who gorges himself'; but the connexion is somewhat doubtful). It is contended also that *Νίκη* (later *Νείκη* [but this is merely a Byzantine mis-spelling]), the attribute of Zeus, meant 'Bearing' or 'Winning'—originally what the season 'brings' or 'bears' for you, what you 'win' or 'carry off' in the way of produce,—being thus in form akin to *ἐνεῖκαι* [Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 251 notes that the root *eneĥ-* had reduced forms *eĥ-* and *neĥ-*, cp. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 506 f. *s.v.* 'nanciscor'] and in sense comparable with *Fors*, *Fortuna* (*fero*) [*supra* i. 272].

Prof. Tucker's reading of Greek religion is simple and so far attractive. But the etymologies on which he relies vary in value from the certain (*e.g.* Ὄμβριος) or highly probable (*e.g.* Νάιος) to the highly improbable (*e.g.* ὀμφαλός) or impossible (*e.g.* Ὄλυμπος), and I doubt whether any tenable position can be constructed out of such miscellaneous materials.

[1] *E.g.* Eur. *Tro.* 78 f. (cited *supra* ii. 1 n. 6), Hdt. 2. 13 *πυθόμενοι γὰρ* (*sc.* οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι) *ὡς ὕεται πᾶσα ἡ χώρη τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἀλλ' οὐ ποταμοῖσι ἄρδεται κατά περ ἡ σφετέρη, ἔφασαν Ἕλληνας ψευσθέντας κοτὲ ἐλπίδος μεγάλης κακῶς πειν̄ήσειν. τὸ δὲ ἔπος τοῦτο ἐθέλει λέγειν ὡς, εἰ μὴ ἐθελήσει σφι ὕειν ὁ θεὸς ἀλλ' αὐχμῷ διαχρᾶσθαι, λιμῷ οἱ Ἕλληνες αἰρεθήσονται·*

Matron, a parodist of Homer in the days of Alexander the Great[1], dubbed it 'the child of Zeus[2].'

Orphic writers spoke of it as 'the tears of Zeus[3].' Ovid's story

οὐ γὰρ δή σφί ἐστι ὕδατος οὐδεμία ἄλλη ἀποστροφὴ ὅτι μὴ ἐκ τοῦ Διὸς μοῦνον, Isokr. *Bus.* 13 *τῶν γὰρ ὄμβρων καὶ τῶν αὐχμῶν τοῖς μὲν ἄλλοις ὁ Ζεὺς ταμίας ἐστίν, ἐκείνων δ' ἕκαστος* (*sc. τῶν Αἰγυπτίων*) *ἀμφοτέρων τούτων αὐτὸς αὐτῷ κύριος καθέστηκεν,* Theophr. *char.* 18 Jebb *καὶ εἰ ποιήσειεν ὁ Ζεὺς ὕδωρ τὰ ἐν τῇ γῇ βελτίω ἔσεσθαι,* 22 Jebb *καὶ τῷ Διὶ ἀγανακτεῖν, οὐ διότι οὐχ ὕει, ἀλλὰ διότι ὕστερον.* See further M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1901 xxxii. 83 ff.

In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 175 and in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 267 I drew attention to the remarkable term *ζήνιον ὕδωρ* used for 'rain-water' in the magical papyri (C. Wessely *Griechische Zauberpapyrus von Paris und London* Wien 1888 p. 26 pap. Par. 222 ff. = K. Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae magicae* Leipzig—Berlin 1928 i. 78 no. 4, 222 ff. a lecanomantic prescription *σκέψις· ἐπειδάν ποτε βούλει | σκέψασθαι περὶ πραγμάτων, λαβὼν ἄγγος χαλκοῦν, | ἢ λεκάνην ἢ φιάλην, οἷαν ἐὰν βούλῃ, βάλε ὕδωρ | —ἐὰν μὲν τοὺς ἐπουρανίους θεοὺς κλήζῃ, ζήνιον, | ἐὰν δὲ τοὺς ἐπιγείους, θαλάσσιον, ἐὰν δὲ Ὄσιριν ἢ τὸν | Σάραπιν, ποτάμιον, ἐὰν δὲ νέκυας, πηγαῖον—κατέ|χων ἐπὶ τοῖς γόνασι σκεῦος, ἐπιβαλὼν ἔλαιον ὀμφά|κινον καὶ σὺ αὐτὸς ἐπικύπτων ἐν τῷ σκεύει λέγε τὸν | λόγον τὸν ὑποκείμενον καὶ προσκαλοῦ, ὃν βούλει θεόν, | καὶ ἐπερώτα, περὶ οὗ θέλεις, καὶ ἀποκριθήσεταί σοι | καὶ ἐρεῖ σοι περὶ πάντων. κ.τ.λ.*, C. Wessely *Neue griechische Zauberpapyri* Wien 1893 p. 41 pap. Lond. 629 f. (F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 83 ff. no. 121 omits the fragment) *σκελλ' ι[σ]χαδα γ φοινικος οστα ᾗ νικολαου | και αρτ' αγμ[ατ]α γ και ζηνιου υδατος και κ...* in a list of magical ingredients). H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 628 says rightly '**ζήνιον** (= *δῖον*, i.e. *ὄμβριον*) *ὕδωρ*,' but would have done better to print '**Ζήνιον** *ὕδωρ*' with a capital letter as Dr H. Stuart Jones prints it in the latest edition of Liddell and Scott. The choice of the new form *Ζήνιον* in preference to the older and better-established *Δῖον* [*supra* i. 3 f.] probably implies the usual attempt to connect *Ζεύς, Ζῆνα*, etc. with *ζῆν* [*supra* i. 11 n. 5, 28 n. 8, ii. 259 n. 0, 855 n. 2]. Rain as the seminal fluid of the sky-god was indeed *aqua viva* (M. Ninck *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* Leipzig 1921 p. 25 ff. See also S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1914 No. 1) Kristiania 1915 p. 115). *Ζήνιον ὕδωρ* would have the further merit of rounding off fitly a hexameter verse.

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 204, E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 2298 ff.

[2] Matron *frag.* 2. 3 f. (*Corpusc. poes. ep. Gr. Iudib.* i. 91 Brandt) *ap.* Athen. 64 c *βολβίνας θ', αἱ Ζηνὸς Ὀλυμπίου εἰσὶν ἀοιδοί* (G. Kaibel cj. *γενέθλη* or *νεοσσοί*, U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff cj. *ἐδωδή*). But A. Ludwich with more probability reads *ἀοιδή*, which C. B. Gulick renders 'theme of Olympian Zeus's song'), | *ἃς ἐν χέρσῳ θρέψε Διὸς παῖς ἄσπετος ὄμβρος,* | *κ.τ.λ.* Cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1053, 10 ff., who after quoting the same passage from Matron continues *ἐν τούτοις γὰρ Διὸς υἱὸν τὸν ὕστὸν εἰπὼν συντελεῖ τι ἐς τὸ νοεῖν ποταμὸν Διπετῆ τὸν ἐξ ὑετοῦ, ὃν Ζεὺς ἀὴρ δοκεῖ γεννᾶν.* Eustathios appears to be hinting at an etymological connexion between *ὑετός* and *υἱός*.

[3] Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 360, 10 ff. Stählin *οὐχὶ καὶ* Ἐπιγένης (a grammarian of the Alexandrine age, on whom see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 64 f.) *ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ὀρφέως ποιήσεως τὰ ἰδιάζοντα παρ' Ὀρφεῖ ἐκτιθέμενός φησι...* "*δάκρυα Διός*" *τὸν ὄμβρον δηλοῦν, κ.τ.λ.*; = Orph. *frag.* 253 Abel, 33 Kern. Similarly the Pythagoreans called the sea *Κρόνου δάκρυον* (Aristot. *frag.* 191 Rose (196 Rose[2]) *ap.* Porph. *v. Pyth.* 41, Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 32, Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 360, 20 f. Stählin): *supra* ii. 557 n. 1.

The Esthonians speak of a '"Wind mother," who "weeps" when the rain falls during a storm, and "dances" in whirlwinds' (U. Holmberg *Finno-Ugric Mythology* Boston 1927 p. 232).

that the Kouretes sprang from a heavy rain-shower[1] is paralleled by the anonymous statement that they sprang from the tears of Zeus[2]. And Herakleitos the Stoic (*s.* i A.D.?[3]) interprets the blood-rain sent by Zeus in the *Iliad*[4] to portend the death of Sarpedon[5] as the tears, not indeed of Zeus, but of the *aithér*[6]—which amounts to the same thing[7].

Artists of Roman date represent rain as falling in large gouts or drops from the hand of Zeus. A bronze coin of Ephesos, issued by Antoninus Pius, shows Zeus enthroned on Mount Koressos, with a thunderbolt held in his left hand and a shower descending from his right upon the recumbent figure of Mount Peion[8]. To the example

Fig. 204.

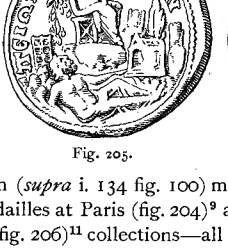


Fig. 205.

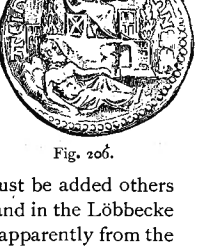


Fig. 206.

in the British Museum (*supra* i. 134 fig. 100) must be added others in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris (fig. 204)[9] and in the Löbbecke (fig. 205)[10] and Gréau (fig. 206)[11] collections—all apparently from the same dies. Again, an engraved chalcedony of the Graeco-Roman

[1] Ov. *met.* 4. 281 ff. te quoque, nunc adamas, quondam fidissime parvo, | Celmi, Iovi largoque satos Curetas ab imbri | ... | praetereo. The section is discussed by W. Vollgraff *Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 141. See also O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1598.

[2] Schol. Plat. *symp.* 960 b 26 ff. ἀπὸ τῶν Κορυβάντων, οἱ καὶ τροφεῖς καὶ φύλακες καὶ διδάσκαλοι τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι μυθολογοῦνται. τινὲς δὲ τοὺς αὐτοὺς τοῖς Κούρησιν εἶναι φασίν. εἶναι δὲ καὶ τῆς Ῥέας ὀπαδούς, ἀπὸ τῶν τοῦ Διὸς δακρύων γεγενημένους· ὧν ἀριθμὸν οἱ μὲν θ', οἱ δὲ ι' λέγουσιν. Cp. schol. R. Aristoph. *vesp.* 8 τελετὴ δέ τις ἦν τῶν Κορυβάντων. ἔνιοι δὲ ὅτι ἀπὸ τῶν δακρύων τοῦ Διὸς ἐγένοντο, πάντες δὲ ὁμολογοῦσι τῆς Ῥέας μὲν ὀπαδοὺς αὐτοὺς γεγονέναι, φύλακας δὲ τοῦ Διός.

[3] C. Reinhardt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 508.

[4] *Il.* 16. 458 ff. [5] *Infra* p. 478.

[6] Herakleitos the Stoic *quaest. Hom.* p. 64, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn. τοῦτον δὴ τὸν φόνιον ὄμβρον ἀλληγορικῶς εἶπεν αἱθέρος δάκρυα, Διὸς μὲν οὖ—ἄκλαυστος γάρ—, ἐκ δὲ τῶν ὑπεράνω τόπων ὡσπερεὶ θρήνοις μεμιγμένου καταρραγέντος ὑετοῦ.

[7] *Supra* i. 27 ff. [8] *Supra* i. 134, ii. 962 n. 2.

[9] O. Benndorf *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1906 i. 56 fig. 18*b* (= my fig. 204).

[10] A. Löbbecke in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1890 xvii. 10 no. 2 pl. 1, 17 (= my fig. 205), O. Benndorf *op. cit.* i. 56 fig. 18*a*.

[11] H. Cohen *Description des médailles grecques de M. J. Gréau* Paris 1867 no. 1767 pl. 4, O. Benndorf *op. cit.* i. 56 fig. 18*d* (= my fig. 206).

period, formerly in the Castellani collection and now in the British Museum (fig. 207)[1], has Zeus in a car drawn by a pair of eagles. His left hand holds one of the reins, his right lets fall a shower of drops. Above and below are Sagittarius and Pisces, which—as H. B. Walters[2] observes—stand for two of the rainy winter months. The god so figured would presumably have been called Iupiter *Pluvius*[3] or *Pluvialis*[4] by the Romans. No other certain representa-

Fig. 207.

Fig. 208.

tion of him is known[5]. But it is probably he who appears on the column of Marcus Aurelius in connexion with the campaign against the Quadi[6] (174 A.D.).

For our knowledge of that famous episode we are mainly

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 92 no. 591, *ib.*[2] p. 144 no. 1267 pl. 18. See also O. Keller *Thiere des classischen Alterthums in culturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Innsbruck 1887 p. 275 'wo Zeus mit zwei Adlern fährt[372] wie der Jehova des Psalmisten, der im Wettersturm mit Keruben (Greifengespann) einherfährt[373] [[373] Psalm 18, 11]' with p. 452 n. 372. My fig. 207 (scale $\frac{2}{1}$) is from a cast kindly supplied by Mr H. B. Walters.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 144.

[3] Tib. 1. 7. 25 f. te (*sc.* Father Nile) propter nullos tellus tua postulat imbres, | arida nec Pluvio supplicat herba Iovi. The last five words are cited, but wrongly attributed to Ovid, by Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 4. 2. 2. Stat. *Theb.* 4. 758 f. tu (*sc.* Hypsipyle) nunc ventis Pluvioque rogaris | pro Iove. *Anth. Lat.* 395. 46 Riese (in a description of December) Pluvio de Iove cuncta madent.

[4] *Corp. inscr. Lat.* ix no. 324 = Orelli—Henzen *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5641 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3043 (found at Naples) Iovi | Pluvia[li]. See further Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 190 n. 2, Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 120 n. 10.

[5] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 426 fig. describes the obverse design of a *denarius* struck by L. Cornelius Lentulus *c.* 49—47 B.C. at Ephesos (?) as 'Tête nue et barbue de Jupiter Pluvius à droite' (my fig. 208 is from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum). But this description, presumably suggested by the fact that the reverse type shows the cult-statue of Artemis *Ephesia*, is highly conjectural. And other conjectures have been made. Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 120 pl. Cornelia 3, 6 says: 'Caput senile barbatum Herculis, ut credidit Ursinus, Jovis Olympii, ut sentit Vaillantius, ut nobis videtur, Jovis Eleutherii sive Liberatoris.' H. A. Grueber in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 467 pl. 110, 15 has merely: 'Head of Jupiter r., with long beard.'

Equally illusory is the coin said to bear the legend ΖΕΥϹ ΟΜΒΡΙΟϹ (Rasche *Lex. Num.* iv. 1222, xi. 1261)—perhaps a misreading of ΖΕΥϹ ΟΛΥΜΠΙΟϹ.

[6] On this great Germanic tribe see the monograph of H. Kirchmayr *Der altdeutsche Volkstamm der Quaden* Wien 1890 (pp. xv, 173 with 13 figs.) and L. Schmitz in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 689, M. Schönfeld *Wörterbuch der altgermanischen Personen- und Völkernamen* Heidelberg 1911 p. 181 f. *s.v.* 'Quadi,' Lübker *Reallex.*[8] p. 878, R. Much in Hoops *Reallex.* iii. 431 f. *s.v.* 'Quaden.'

dependent on the account given by Cassius Dio (*c.* 210—222 A.D.), or—to speak more strictly—on an abridged version of it made by the monk Ioannes Xiphilinos of Trapezous for the Byzantine emperor Michael vii Parapinakes (1071—1078 A.D.). The epitome[1] reads:

'So Marcus subdued the Marcomani and the Iazyges after many hard struggles and dangers. A great war against the people called the Quadi also fell to his lot and it was his good fortune to win an unexpected victory, or rather it was vouchsafed him by Heaven. For when the Romans were in peril in the course of the battle, the divine power saved them in a most unexpected manner. The Quadi had surrounded them at a spot favourable for their purpose and the Romans were fighting valiantly with their shields locked together; then the barbarians ceased fighting, expecting to capture them easily as the result of the heat and their thirst. So they posted guards all about and hemmed them in to prevent their getting water anywhere; for the barbarians were far superior in numbers. The Romans, accordingly, were in a terrible plight from fatigue, wounds, the heat of the sun, and thirst, and so could neither fight nor retreat, but were standing in the line and at their several posts, scorched by the heat, when suddenly many clouds gathered and a mighty rain, not without divine interposition, burst upon them. Indeed, there is a story to the effect that Arnuphis, an Egyptian magician, who was a companion of Marcus, had invoked by means of enchantments various deities and in particular Mercury, the god of the air, and by this means attracted the rain[2].

[This is what Dio says about the matter, but he is apparently in error, whether intentionally or otherwise; and yet I am inclined to believe his error was chiefly intentional. It surely must be so, for he was not ignorant of the division of soldiers that bore the special name of the "Thundering" Legion,—indeed he mentions it in the list along with the others[3],—a title which was given

[1] Dion Cass. 71. 8—10 trans. E. Cary.

[2] Dion Cass. 71. 8 *...νέφη πολλὰ ἐξαίφνης συνέδραμε καὶ ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ κατερράγη· καὶ γάρ τοι λόγος ἔχει Ἀρνοῦφίν τινα μάγον Αἰγύπτιον συνόντα τῷ Μάρκῳ ἄλλους τέ τινας δαίμονας καὶ τὸν Ἑρμῆν τὸν ἀέριον ὅτι μάλιστα μαγγανείαις τισὶν ἐπικαλέσασθαι καὶ δι' αὐτῶν τὸν ὄμβρον ἐπισπάσασθαι.*

[3] *Ib.* 71. 9 *οἷμαι δὲ τὸ πλέον ἐκών· καὶ πῶς γὰρ οὔ, ὅστις οὐκ ἠγνόει τὸ τάγμα τῶν στρατιωτῶν τὸ κεραυνοβόλον ἰδίως καλούμενον (ἐν γὰρ τῷ τῶν λοιπῶν καταλόγῳ καὶ αὐτοῦ μνημονεύει), ὅπερ κ.τ.λ.* The reference is to 55. 23 *καὶ τὸ δωδέκατον τὸ ἐν Καππαδοκίᾳ τὸ κεραυνοφόρον.* But neither *κεραυνοφόρον*, 'bearing a thunderbolt,' nor *κεραυνοβόλον*, 'hurling a thunderbolt,' is a correct rendering of the Latin epithet leg. XII *fulminata* (E. Ritterling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 1710), which must mean either 'struck by a thunderbolt' (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* vi. 1533, 10 ff.) or 'hurled like a thunderbolt, quick as a thunderbolt' (*ib.* p. 1531, 48 ff.). The latter interpretation, which is commonly assumed as correct (cp. Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 4 legionem...vocitatam...fulmineam, anon. *notitia dignitatum in partibus orientis* 38. 14 (ed. O. Seeck Berolini 1876) praefectus legionis duodecimae fulmineae (*fulmine* codd. C. V. *fulminae* codd. P. M. *fulminatae* edd.)), is supported only by Stat. *silv.* 2. 7. 93 ff. sic natum Nasamonii Tonantis | post ortus obitusque fulminatos | angusto Babylon premit sepulcro with F. Vollmer's note *ad loc.* The former is in accord with the normal usage of *fulminatus*, and presupposes that on some definite occasion the legion was literally struck by lightning—a manifest token of divine favour (*supra* ii. 8 ff., 22 ff., 33 ff.).

it for no other reason (for no other is reported) than because of the incident that occurred in this very war[1]. It was precisely this incident that saved the Romans on this occasion and brought destruction upon the barbarians, and not Arnuphis, the magician; for Marcus is not reported to have taken pleasure in the company of magicians or in witchcraft. Now the incident I have reference to is this: Marcus had a division of soldiers (the Romans call a division a legion) from Melitene; and these people are all worshippers of Christ. Now it is stated that in this battle, when Marcus found himself at a loss what to do in the circumstances and feared for his whole army, the prefect approached him and told him that those who are called Christians can accomplish anything whatever by their prayers and that in the army there chanced to be a whole division of this sect. Marcus on hearing this appealed to them to pray to their God; and when they had prayed, their God immediately gave ear and smote the enemy with a thunderbolt and comforted the Romans with a shower of rain. Marcus was greatly astonished at this and not only honoured the Christians by an official decree but also named the legion the "Thundering" Legion. It is also reported that there is a letter of Marcus extant on the subject. But the Greeks, though they know that the division was called the "Thundering" Legion and themselves bear witness to the fact, nevertheless make no statement whatever about the reason for its name.

Dio goes on to say that] when the rain poured down, at first all turned their faces upwards and received the water in their mouths; then some held out their shields and some their helmets to catch it, and they not only took deep draughts themselves but also gave their horses to drink. And when the barbarians now charged upon them, they drank and fought at the same time; and some, becoming wounded, actually gulped down the blood that flowed into their helmets, along with the water. So intent, indeed, were most of them on drinking that they would have suffered severely from the enemy's onset, had not a violent hail-storm and numerous thunderbolts fallen upon the ranks of the foe. Thus in one and the same place one might have beheld water and fire descending from the sky simultaneously; so that while those on the one side were being drenched and drinking, the others were being consumed by fire and dying; and while the fire, on the one hand, did not touch the Romans, but, if it fell anywhere among them, was immediately extinguished, the shower, on the other hand, did the barbarians no good, but, like so much oil, actually fed the flames that were consuming them, and they had to search for water even while being drenched with rain. Some wounded themselves in order to quench the fire with their blood, and others rushed over to the side of the Romans, convinced that they alone had the saving water; in any case Marcus took pity on them. He was now saluted *imperator* by the soldiers, for the seventh time; and although he was not wont to accept any such honour before the senate voted it, nevertheless this time he took it as a gift from Heaven, and he sent a despatch to the senate.'

This passage together with other ancient allusions to the same event has in modern times given rise to a lively, not to say acrimonious, controversy[2]. The upshot of the matter appears to be as

[1] In reality the name goes back to the time of Augustus (see D. Vaglieri in Ruggiero *Dizion. epigr.* iii. 335, E. Ritterling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 1710).

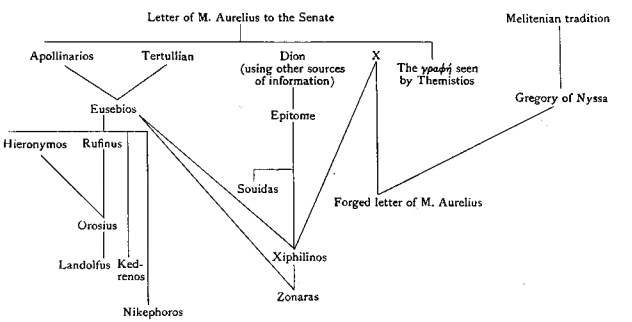
follows. A certain historic happening lent itself to two different interpretations, the one Christian, the other pagan, in character. The kernel of fact was the rescue of the Roman army from dire straits by means of a timely rain-storm, which on the one hand refreshed the fainting legionaries and on the other did serious damage to the enemy. The dramatic escape of his troops was expressly mentioned by the emperor in a letter to the senate and was by him attributed

[2] I subjoin a *précis* of the positions taken up by the various disputants:

E. Petersen 'Das Wunder an der Columna M. Aurelii' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1894 ix. 78—89 collects and criticises most of the evidence for the alleged miracle. He cites as literary sources Apollinarios *ap.* Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 4, Tertull. *apol.* 5, *ad Scap.* 4, Dion Cass. 71. 8—10 (including Xiphilinos, who is followed by Zonar. *epit. hist.* 12. 2 and Kedren. *hist. comp.* 250 C—D (i. 439 Bekker)), Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 24. 4, Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene (= *Chron. Pasch.* 260 D—261 A (i. 486 f. Dindorf) and *vers. Armen.* ann. Abr. 2188), Themist. *or.* 15 p. 191 B, Oros. 7. 15. 7—11, Claud. *de VI cons. Honor.* 339 ff., and a forged letter of M. Aurelius (printed as an appendix to Iust. Mart. (ed.[3] J. C. T. Otto Ienae 1876 i. 1. 246 ff.). Recent texts by A. Harnack in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1894 p. 878 ff. and by J. Geffcken in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1899 iii. 253—269). Dion's account (helpful rain, renewed fight, hail and thunderbolts destroying the foe) is distinguished from the Christian version, in which (1) lightning plays as big a part as rain, (2) both being due to the prayers of Christians in the Twelfth Legion, (3) hence called κεραυνοβόλος; (4) a letter of M. Aurelius recognises these services of the Christians and (5) prohibits their persecution. Since Apollinarios gives (2) and (3), but not (4) and (5), and since the *legio fulminata* had already acquired its name under Augustus, it is clear that Aurelius' letter either never existed or existed only as a Christian forgery. Granted, however, that (4) and (5) are an addition to the story, we have yet to reckon with (1)+(2)+(3) as an independent version. Dion and Themistios are in general agreement, though the latter makes the emperor Antoninus Pius, not M. Aurelius, and says that he had seen the incident represented in a γραφή (Themist. *loc. cit.* καὶ εἶδον ἐγὼ ἐν γραφῇ εἰκόνα τοῦ ἔργου, τὸν μὲν αὐτοκράτορα προσευχόμενον ἐν τῇ φάλαγγι, τοὺς στρατιώτας δὲ τὰ κράνη τῷ ὄμβρῳ ὑποτιθέντας καὶ ἐμπιπλαμένους τοῦ νάματος τοῦ θεοσδότου). Now this γραφή may well have been the extant column of M. Aurelius. In short, it appears that both Dion and Themistios are describing the column, but describing it wrongly. The Romans were not catching the rain in order to drink it, but using their shields as umbrellas in the attempt to protect themselves against it. The winged god, hovering like a cloud, is a simple personification of Rain, comparable with Ovid's Notus (*infra* p. 333) and not at once suggestive of any figure in Greek or Roman mythology. The Christians, accepting him as a mere personification, would further note the cruciform shield-signs of the legionaries and misinterpret the attitude of the barbarians, kneeling to prevent the Romans from crossing the river, as that of Christians at prayer. Finally, in the adjacent scene of enemy-defences fired by a thunderbolt they would see the punitive lightning and its effect upon the foe.

A. Harnack 'Die Quelle der Berichte über das Regenwunder im Feldzuge Marc Aurel's gegen die Quaden' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1894 pp. 835—882 adds to the list of sources Landolfus Sagax *hist. Rom.* 8. 144 p. 314 Droysen (in the *Monumenta Germaniae historica.* Auctores antiquissimi. Tomus ii Berolini 1879) = *hist. miscell.* 10. 16 p. 217 Eyssenhardt, who *c.* 1000 A.D. copied out Orosius; Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos *hist. eccl.* 4. 12 (cxlv. 1004 B ff. Migne), who writing early in *s.* xiv is, like Kedrenos, indirectly dependent on Eusebios (K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 291); Souid. *s.v.* Ἀρνουφις, who in part at least follows Dion; and—of more importance—*oracl. Sib.* 12. 187 ff. Geffcken, a passage composed *c.* 250 A.D., and Greg. Nyss. *or. in xl mart.* 2 (xlvi. 757 C ff. Migne),

who seems to be preserving a Cappadocian oral tradition of the same event. Accordingly Harnack constructs the following *stemma*:



Apollinarios, who was bishop of Hierapolis in Phrygia and probably wrote only one or two years after the event, Tertullian, who composed his *apologeticus* in 197 A.D., and Dion, an exact contemporary of Tertullian, are independent of each other, but all three go back to a genuine letter of the emperor to the Senate—a document used by the author of the extant forged letter. Tertullian implies that this genuine letter, perhaps ironically, spoke of the prayers of the Christian soldiers as having brought down the rain (*apol.* 5 at nos e contrario edimus protectorem, si litterae M. Aurelii gravissimi imperatoris requirantur, quibus illam Germanicam sitim Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri discussam contestatur). Christians of the east soon quoted the letter, putting their own construction upon it, and Dion half-polemically retorts with the story of the mage Arnouphis. Later writers refer to the prayers of the emperor himself. Petersen's hypothesis of the scene on the column as misconceived both by pagans and by Christians is unacceptable ('die Überlieferung, wie sie Apollinaris, Tertullian und Dio bieten, kann nicht auf die bildliche Darstellung zurückgeführt werden'). We are forced to admit the historicity of the thirst which brought the Roman army into dire straits, the sudden relief effected by a rain-storm, the prayers of the Twelfth Legion, the Christianity of part of that Legion, the letter of the emperor, and its mention of the prayers of the Twelfth Legion.

L. D(uchesne) 'Le miracle de la Légion Fulminante' in the *Bulletin critique* 1894 xv. 476 and P. H. Grisar 'Il prodigio della legio fulminata e la Colonna di Marco Aurelio' in *La Civiltà Cattolica* 1895 i. 202 ff. are in substantial agreement with Harnack.

A. von Domaszewski 'Das Regenwunder der Marc Aurel-Säule' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 612—619 would completely discredit the Christian tradition. He holds with Petersen that the column shows, not the rescue of the Roman army from death by thirst, but the bursting of a thunderstorm. He notes that the column places this storm at the beginning of the war, whereas the Christian tradition places its marvel at the close; and that all the legions had the lightning on their shields and the eagle on their standards simply as a symbol of Iupiter *Optimus Maximus*, protector of the army. He contends that Apollinaris was no contemporary of M. Aurelius, but as like as not was Eusebios himself (!); that during the war with the Marcomanni the *legio XII fulminata* was stationed in Melitene to guard the crossing of the Euphrates; and that, to judge from sepulchral inscriptions of *s.* iii, no Christians would have been likely to enlist voluntarily in the Roman army. Finally, he accepts Petersen's conclusions with regard to the origin of the whole legend.

K. Weizsäcker *Einleitung zu der akad. Preisverteilung, Tübingen 6. Nov. 1894* also

agrees with Petersen. Dion Cass. 71. 10 was in part a Christian forgery by Xiphilinos. Had the emperor's letter really ascribed the miracle to the prayers of Christians, the sequel would have been very different. The figment was but a Christian anticipation of final victory.

A. von Domaszewski 'Die Chronologie des bellum Germanicum et Sarmaticum 166—175 n. Chr.' in the *Neue Heidelberger Jahrbücher* 1895 v. 123 returns to the charge....'Dies ist das Kriegsjahr 171, und in dieses Jahr fällt das Regenwunder. Ein echter Bericht darüber ist bei Dio erhalten 71, 8. Er ist an falsche Stelle ins Jahr 174 gerückt, um der sicher christlichen Interpolation des Capitels 71, 10 willen.' *Ib.* n. 2 'Von Kampf oder Abwehr ist keine Rede, so wenig bei Dio 71, 8. Es betet niemand. Der Wolkenbruch ist ein Naturereignis. Der Regengott ist Notus, genau wie Ovid ihn schlildert' [*sic*].

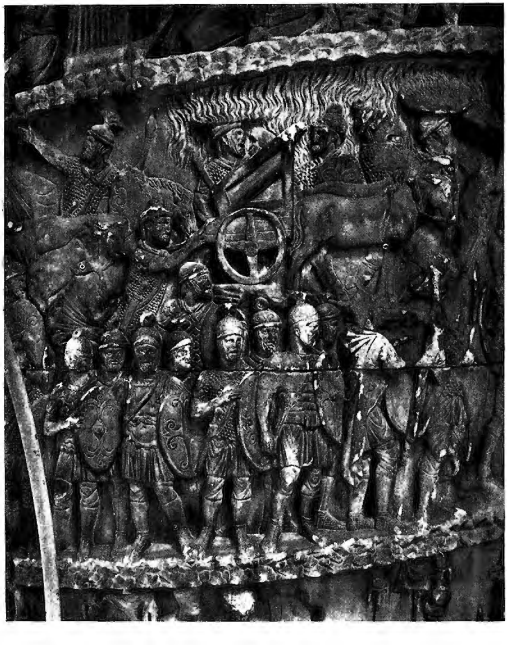
Th. Mommsen 'Das Regenwunder der Marcus-Säule' in *Hermes* 1895 xxx. 90—106 steers a mid course between Skylla and Charybdis. The alleged marvel is neither pure fiction (Petersen and Domaszewski) nor absolute fact (Harnack). Domaszewski's chronology is wrong: the miraculous rain must be dated in the summer of 174, not 171. Equally wrong is Domaszewski's assumption that Dion Cass. 71. 10 is a Christian interpolation. The imperial letter cited by Tertullian was genuine and did actually tell—though without Dion's extravagant rhetoric—how a great thunderstorm saved the Romans, man and beast, when they were perishing of thirst, and did much damage to their foes. This reliable literary tradition agrees well enough with the scene represented on the column. The lightning is there omitted because the principal agent was the rain, and the rain appears as a divine figure intervening to rescue the Roman host ('Die Darstellung des Regengottes ist eine so eigenartige und so ungewöhnliche, dass der Bildhaucr unzweifelhaft damit die officielle Auffassung des Vorganges, den Regen *παρὰ θεοῦ* hat zur Anschauung bringen wollen. Wenn die Blitze vermisst werden, von denen der Kaiserbrief wahrscheinlich auch sprach, so ist die Ursache einfach die, dass, wenn als leitende Gottheit der Jupiter fulminator dargestellt worden wäre, der Regen zur Nebensache werden musste und das Wunder seine Sonderart eingebüsst hätte'). The emperor attributed his victory to God (Dion Cass. 71. 10 *ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων*, Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene = *Chron. Pasch.* 261 A (i. 487 Dindorf) *ὄμβρος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο*), not to a specific god, and made no mention of Christian prayers. Later writers particularised according to their own beliefs. Pagans would naturally think of magic (Lamprid. *v. Ant. Heliogab.* 9. 1 per Chaldaeos et magos) and suggested Arnouphis (Dion Cass. 71. 8 f., Souid. *s.v.* *Ἀρνουφις*) or Iulianus (Souid. *s.vv.* *Ἀρνουφις*, *Ἰουλιανός* (i. 2. 1007, 14 ff. Bernhardy)). Christians of course thought otherwise. Tertullian supposes an answer to the prayers of Christian soldiers (*apol.* 5 Christianorum forte militum precationibus impetrato imbri). Apollinaris was really an early writer (not a mere invention of Eusebios, as Domaszewski would have it), but one of little credibility—witness his blunder about the origin of the name *κεραυνοβόλος* (Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 4: *supra* p. 325 n. 3, p. 326 n. 1).

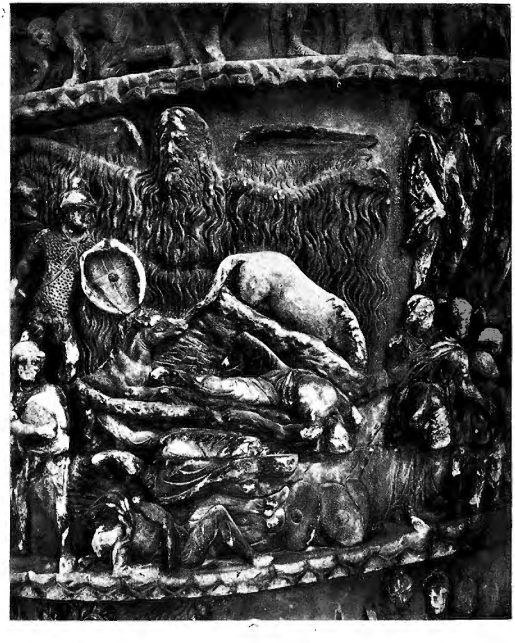
E. Petersen resumes the fight with a second article, 'Blitz- und Regenwunder an der Marcus-Säule' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1895 l. 453—474, adding three photographic cuts. He now admits that he was mistaken in regarding the Christian tradition with all its five points (*supra* p. 327 n. 2) as having arisen merely from a misunderstanding of the column. He does not deny the existence of an imperial letter, but treats the one cited by Christian authors as a forgery ('Nur den Brief, auf welchen sich die christlichen Autoren, besser *sofern* sie sich darauf beziehn, habe ich für gefälscht erklärt'). He launches a sharp attack against both the method and the results of Harnack's investigation, and he certainly scores some successes. For instance, according to Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene *vers. Armen.* ann. Abr. 2188 and Hieron. *in* Euseb. ann. Abr. 2189 M. Aurelius was not present in person at the rain-storm, but only his legate Pertinax, and this is borne out by the evidence of the columnar relief. Petersen goes on to give a more exact description of the scenes on the column. He shows that the Romans were represented first as suffering from drought, then as drinking, and later still as trying to protect themselves against the storm, while their foes were overwhelmed by the flood. The notion that the enemy was

simultaneously struck by lightning was prompted by another incident, recorded by Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 24. 4 and portrayed on the column, the destruction of a wooden tower by a thunderbolt. Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 2 spoke of a single flash (*σκηπτός*) before the rain, as does Xiphilinos *ap.* Dion Cass. 71. 9 (*κεραυνός*). But Dion Cass. 71. 10 already turns this into numerous flashes (*κεραυνοὶ οὐκ ὀλίγοι*) with the downpour. And Greg. Nyss. *or. in xl mart.* 2 (xlvi. 760 A—B Migne) has both *βροντὰς ἐξαισίους...καὶ ἀστραπὰς φλογώδεις* and also *τῶν σκηπτῶν τὴν συνέχειαν* amid a deluge of rain. Tertullian, the Sibylline oracle, and Themistios mention the rain only, thereby preserving the true tradition. Themistios' *γραφή* may have been the extant column, but was probably some more accessible representation now lost.

Next appeared the great official publication E. Petersen—A. von Domaszewski—G. Calderini *Die Marcus-Säule auf Piazza Colonna in Rom* München 1896 with text and two vols. of 128 photographic pls. (*supra* ii. 106 n. 1). In the text Petersen sketches the history of the column (pp. 1—20), Mommsen traces the course of the war against the Marcomanni (pp. 21—28), Calderini deals with the architecture of the column (pp. 29—38), Petersen describes its sculpture (pp. 39—104), and von Domaszewski—still differing from Mommsen in regard to chronology—discusses the historical and geographical aspects of the relief (pp. 105—125). On pls. 17, B+18, A the enemy's siege-tower, struck by a thunderbolt, collapses, while the emperor looks on at the fallen foe. On pls. 22, A, B+23, A (=my pl. xxxii) the Romans, advancing in the formation known as *agmen quadratum*, are overtaken by the rain-storm. The cattle in their midst are thrown into confusion: one ox has fallen, another springs over it. A soldier in the uppermost row raises hand and eyes to heaven; and next moment down comes the rain. Another soldier, behind the artillery-wagon (*carroballista*), is giving his horse a drink. We gather that here it is a case of heat and thirst rather than of hostile attack, and that the rain is helping the Romans. It does not, for artistic reasons, reach those in the foreground; and most of those in the top tier are raising their shields to serve as umbrellas (nos. 22, 23), not buckets. But one man at least (no. 20) is drinking the rain. Then comes the personification of the storm, a bearded pathetic face recalling that of Neilos in the Vatican. From his hair and beard, from his outstretched wings and arms, as in Ovid's conception of Notus (*met.* 1. 264 ff.), the rain is streaming, to the detriment not of the Romans but of the enemy. In the mountain-gorges we see horses struggling with the flood—a flood not actually shown—or collapsing in it, while barbarians great (no. 40) and small (nos. 38, 41) lie dead and weapons are swept into a heap. On pls. 20, B+21, A one of the soldiers (no. 6) has his helmet decorated with a griffin in relief, from which detail von Domaszewski (p. 112 f. with fig.) infers the presence of the *legio XV Apollinaris*, a Cappadocian legion. The inference is brave. However that may be, the treatment of the whole episode is realistic. We must certainly conclude that the Roman army was parched with thirst and relieved by a sudden downpour, which proved too much for the foe.

J. Geffcken 'Das Regenwunder im Quadenlande' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1899 iii. 253—269 begins by passing in review the previous disputants in this 'antik-moderne Streitfrage' (pp. 253—258) and ends by reconstructing the probable course of events (pp. 258—269). M. Aurelius himself witnessed the 'Blitzwunder,' his general the 'Regenwunder.' The emperor wrote to the Senate a straightforward unrhetorical letter, in which he made no mention of Christians. Apollinaris was the source of Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 1—4 (apart from one Eusebian gloss *διὰ πίστεως ἐξ ἐκείνου καὶ εἰς δεῦρο συνεστώσης*). He gave a wrong explanation of the *legio fulminata*, but a right account of the single lightning-flash followed by the rain. An antichristian ripost attributed both flash and rainfall to the prayers of the emperor (Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 24. 4 fulmen de caelo precibus suis contra hostium machinamentum extorsit suis pluvia impetrata, cum siti laborarent, *oracl. Sib.* 12. 196 ff. Geffcken *ὁπόταν μέγα σῆμα θεοῦο | οὐρανόθεν προφανῇ καί τ' ἄνδρας χαλκοκορυστάς | τρυχομένους σώσειε δι' εὐσεβίην βασιλῆος· | αὐτῷ γὰρ θεὸς οὐράνιος μάλα πάνθ' ὑπακούσει· | εὐξαμένῳ* (so C. Alexandre for *εὐξάμενος* codd. Q.V.H.) *βρέξει* (Wilamowitz cj. *βρέξαι*) *παρακαίριον* (so C. Alexandre for *παρὰ καιρὸν* codd. Q.V.H.) *ὄμβριον ὕδωρ*). Dion, a superstitious narrator and himself the author of a book on dreams





Reliefs from the Column of Marcus Aurelius at Rome:
Iupiter *Pluvius* and the rain-storm.

See page 330 *n.* 0.

to divine interposition[1]. Later tradition went further and busied itself over an attempt to discover whose prayers had been thus signally answered. Christians asserted that it was the prayers of converts from Melitene belonging to the 'Thundering' Legion[2]. Pagans retorted that it was the prayer of the emperor himself, whose piety was well-pleasing to the 'Thunderer,'[3] or else the

and portents (Dion Cass. 72. 23: W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 796 n. 11), referred the rain to the magic arts of Arnouphis. Christians retorted with the assertion that the emperor had prayed, yes, but had prayed in vain. If it be asked where this statement is made, Geffcken points us to the forged letter in which M. Aurelius says *ἐξετάσας οὖν ἐμαυτὸν καὶ τὸ πλῆθος τὸ ἐμὸν πρὸς τὸ μέγεθος τῶν βαρβάρων καὶ πολεμίων κατέβραμον εἰς τὸ θεοῖς εὔχεσθαι πατρῴοις· ἀμελούμενος δὲ ὑπ' αὐτῶν καὶ τὴν στενοχωρίαν μου θεωρήσας τῆς δυνάμεως παρεκάλεσα τοὺς παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένους Χριστιανούς, κ.τ.λ.* This document, sometimes dated as late as *s.* xii A.D., belongs to a much earlier period: it perhaps emanated from Asia Minor at the beginning of *s.* iv ('Auf Kleinasien deutete Mommsen hin, hier mag es, Galerius' Edikt benutzend, in der bösen Zeit entstanden sein, als Licinius mit neuer Verfolgung drohte, als das Schicksal der 40 Legionare den christlichen Osten erregte, als Konstantin die *Gebete* der Geistlichkeit für sich in Anspruch nahm—ein letztes Stück Apologie angesichts der letzten grossen Gefahr')—a hypothesis consistent with its diction and structure, not to mention an apparent allusion to its contents in Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5 tradunt historiae cum siti eius (*sc.* M. Aurelii) periclitaretur exercitus aestuantem et quaerentem quid facto opus esset, reperisse in legione quadam milites Christianos. Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene (=*Chron. Pasch.* 260 D—261 A (i. 486 f. Dindorf) and *vers. Armen.* ann. Abr. 2188) followed S. Iulius Africanus rather than Apollinaris: hence his omission of the story as to the name *legio fulminata*. Gregory of Nyssa too omitted that story, but believed that the soldiers came from Melitene. His account (*or. in xl mart.* 2 (xlvi. 757 C ff. Migne)) was not, as Harnack claimed, a local tradition, but a rhetorical and in part ridiculous amplification of Dion's description. The pagans too could exaggerate. Themistios, Gregory's contemporary, professes to quote the very words of the imperial prayer (*or.* 15 p. 191 B *ἀνασχὼν τὼ χεῖρε ὁ βασιλεὺς πρὸς τὸν οὐρανόν, ταύτῃ, ἔφη, τῇ χειρὶ προὐτρεψάμην σε καὶ ἱκέτευσα τὸν ζωῆς δοτῆρα, ᾗ ζωὴν οὐκ ἀφειλόμην*, cp. *or.* 34. 21). Claudian, the last of the heathen to tell the tale, after describing the storm in a crescendo of high-falutin' phrases (*de VI cons. Honor.* 342 ff. laus ibi nulla ducum; nam flammeus imber in hostem | decidit; hunc dorso trepidum fumante ferebat | ambustus sonipes [!]; hic tabescente solutus | subsedit galea liquefactaque fulgure cuspis | canduit [!!] et subitis fluxere vaporibus enses [!!!]) attributes these remarkable effects either to Chaldaean magic or, preferably, to Marcus' blameless life—a conclusion more improving than impressive.

In fairness to British scholarship it should be added that, long before the start of this continental controversy, a full list of the sources had been got together and critical notes appended by H. Fynes Clinton *Fasti Romani* Oxford 1850 ii. 23 ff.

[1] So Th. Mommsen (*supra* p. 329 n. 0). Cp. Dion Cass. 71. 8 *ὑετὸς πολὺς οὐκ ἀθεεὶ κατερράγη*, 71. 10 *ἐδέξατό τε αὐτὸ ὡς καὶ παρὰ θεοῦ λαμβάνων, καὶ τῇ γερουσίᾳ ἐπέστειλεν*, Euseb. *chron.* p. 172 Schoene (= *Chron. Pasch.* 261 A (i. 487 Dindorf) *ὄμβρος ἐκ τοῦ θεοῦ ἐγένετο* and *vers. Armen.* ann. Abr. 2188 pluvia missa est (venit a Deo)), p. 173 Schoene (= Hieron. *in* Euseb. ann. Abr. 2189 pluvia divinitus missa est).

[2] Apollinarios *ap.* Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 5. 5. 4, Greg. Nyss. *or. in xl mart.* 2 (xlvi. 757 C ff. Migne), Xiphilinos *ap.* Dion. Cass. 71. 9, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 250 C—D (i. 439 Bekker).

[3] Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 24. 4 (*supra* p. 330 n. 0), *oracl. Sib.* 12. 196 ff. Geffcken (*supra* p. 330 n. 0), Themist. *or.* 15 p. 191 B (*supra* pp. 327 n. 2, 331 n. 0), Claud. *de VI cons. Honor.* 349 f. seu, quod reor, omne Tonantis | obsequium Marci mores potuere mereri.

incantation of some magician in the imperial retinue, Arnouphis the Egyptian[1] or Iulianus the Chaldaean[2]. But it can hardly be maintained that the great commemorative column, which aims at furnishing a realistic representation of the incident, figures either the God of the Christians or the Hermes *Aérios* (Thoth[3]) invoked by

[1] Dion Cass. 71. 8 f. (*supra* p. 325 n. 2), Souid. *s.v.* "Αρνουφις, Eudok. *viol.* 177.

[2] Souid. *s.vv.* "Αρνουφις, 'Ιουλιανός (i. 2. 1007, 14 ff. Bernhardy). Cp. Lamprid. *v. Ant. Heliogab.* 9. 1 (*supra* p. 329 n. 0), Claud. *de VI cons. Honor.* 348 f. Chaldaea mago seu carmina ritu | armavere deos.

[3] The Egyptian Thoth from the time of Herodotos, if not earlier, had been equated with the Greek Hermes (Hdt. 2. 67, 2. 138. More explicitly Aristoxenos of Tarentum περὶ ἀριθμητικῆς *frag.* 81 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 289 Müller) *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1 *prooem. coroll.* 6 p. 20, 8 f. Wachsmuth Αἰγύπτιοι δὲ Ἑρμοῦ φασὶν εὕρημα, ὃν καλοῦσι Θώθ). He appears in late Greek mystical and magical texts as Hermes Τρισμέγιστος (*supra* ii. 611) with Tat, a shortened form of his Egyptian name (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 792, G. Roeder in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 862), as his son (*supra* ii. 943 n. 0. Hermes *Trismegistos* κόρῃ κόσμου *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 49. 44 p. 387, 1 f. Wachsmuth = Stob. *Herm.* exc. 23. 32. 6 (i. 458, 24 f. Scott) ἀλλ' ἦν αὐτῷ διάδοχος ὁ Τάτ, υἱὸς ὁμοῦ καὶ παραλήπτωρ τῶν μαθημάτων τούτων (A. Meineke cj. τούτου or would insert Ἑρμοῦ before ὁμοῦ. W. Scott inserts τούτου after ὁμοῦ and omits τούτων)). On the Egyptian antecedents of this title Τρισμέγιστος see R. Pietschmann *Hermes Trismegistos nach ägyptischen, griechischen und orientalischen Überlieferungen* Leipzig 1875, W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 793, P. Boylan *Thoth the Hermes of Egypt* Oxford 1922 pp. 118 f., 129, 182, W. Scott *Hermetica* Oxford 1924 i. 5 n. 1.

The appellative Ἀέριος is not elsewhere used of Hermes; but it might easily be attached to him in his capacity of ψυχοπομπός, since it was common Pythagorean doctrine that the *aér* was full of souls (Diog. Laert. 8. 32 εἶναί τε πάντα τὸν ἀέρα ψυχῶν ἔμπλεων· καὶ ταύτας δαίμονάς τε καὶ ἥρωας ὀνομάζεσθαι· ...εἰς τε τούτους γίνεσθαι τούς τε καθαρμοὺς καὶ ἀποτροπιασμοὺς μαντικήν τε πᾶσαν καὶ κληδόνας καὶ τὰ ὅμοια, Philon *de gigantibus* 2 οὐδ' ἄλλοι φιλόσοφοι δαίμονας, ἀγγέλους Μωϋσῆς εἴωθεν ὀνομάζειν· ψυχαὶ δέ εἰσι κατὰ τὸν ἀέρα πετόμεναι). The *Testament of Benjamin*, a Greek translation of a Hebrew or Aramaic original dating from *s.* i B.C. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 583 f.), calls Beliar τὸ ἀέριον πνεῦμα (*Test. Benj.* 3. 4 p. 217 Charles ὁ γὰρ φοβούμενος τὸν Θεὸν καὶ ἀγαπῶν τὸν πλησίον (so cod. *c.* codd. *a. b. d. e. f. g.* and S^1 add αὐτοῦ) ὑπὸ τοῦ πνεύματος (so cod. *c.* τοῦ ἀερίου πνεύματος codd. *b. d. e. f.* τοῦ ἐναερίου πνεύματος cod. *g*) τοῦ Βελίαρ οὐ δύναται πληγῆναι). And a passage in the late Platonic *epinomis* shows how readily such daemonic powers might be associated with Hermes (*epinom.* 984 D—E μετὰ δὲ τούτους καὶ ὑπὸ τούτοις ἐξῆς δαίμονας, ἀέριον δὲ (D. F. Ast cj. ἀέριόν τι) γένος, ἔχον ἕδραν τρίτην καὶ μέσην, τῆς ἑρμηνείας αἴτιον, εὐχαῖς τιμᾶν μάλα χρεὼν χάριν τῆς εὐφήμου διαπορείας).

In this connexion we may venture to compare Eph. 2. 2 κατὰ τὸν αἰῶνα τοῦ κόσμου τούτου, κατὰ τὸν ἄρχοντα τῆς ἐξουσίας τοῦ ἀέρος, τοῦ πνεύματος τοῦ νῦν ἐνεργοῦντος ἐν τοῖς υἱοῖς τῆς ἀπειθείας and 6. 12 πρὸς τὰς ἀρχάς, πρὸς τὰς ἐξουσίας, πρὸς τοὺς κοσμοκράτορας τοῦ σκότους τούτου, πρὸς τὰ πνευματικὰ τῆς πονηρίας ἐν τοῖς ἐπουρανίοις with the wording of a fourth-century invocation of Hermes: Ἑρμῆ κοσμοκράτωρ, ἐνκάρδιε, κύκλε σελήνης, | στρογγύλε καὶ τετράγωνε, λόγων ἀρχηγέτα γλώσσης, | πειθοδικαίδοσυνε, χλαμυδηφόρε, πτηνοπέδιλε, | αἰθέριον δρόμον ἐλίσσων ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης, | πνεύματος ἠίοχε, κ.τ.λ. (F. G. Kenyon *Greek Papyri in the British Museum* London 1893 i. 78 no. 46, 401 ff. = K. Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae magicae* Leipzig—Berlin 1928 i. 194 f. no. 5, 401 ff., cp. A. Dieterich *Abraxas* Leipzig 1891 p. 63 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1339 n. 4, F. Legge *Forerunners and Rivals of Christianity* Cambridge 1915 i. 98 ff.). The same hymn in a third-century papyrus reads παντοκράτωρ instead of κοσμοκράτωρ (Kenyon *op. cit.* i. 105 no. 121, 668 ff. = Preisendanz ii. 30 no. 7, 668 ff.). Ephesos had long been a hot-bed of magic (*supra* ii. 410 n. 0 Ἐφέσια γράμματα).

Arnouphis. We should rather suppose that the sculptor was endeavouring to personify and portray the actual rain-storm. Details of his new artistic type were presumably borrowed from Ovid's[1] description of the South Wind as a winged figure with water streaming from his beard and pinions. But the face is that of Iupiter, and in view of the close parallelism between the column of Marcus Aurelius and the column of Trajan[2], which in a like position had placed Iupiter fulminant[3], we are practically compelled to identify this novel personage with Iupiter *Pluvius*[4].

Rain, then, was conceived sometimes as the child of Zeus, sometimes as the tears of Zeus, sometimes as water falling from the hand of Zeus—a conception which the Romans shared with the Greeks. One other image is notorious. Aristophanes in a line already cited[5] spoke of rain as the water of Zeus passed through a sieve.

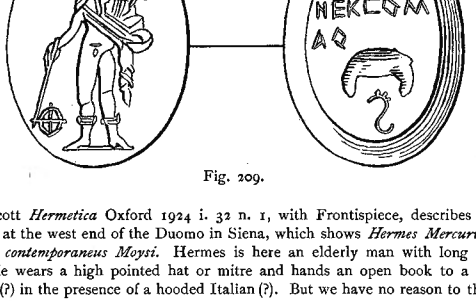


Fig. 209.

W. Scott *Hermetica* Oxford 1924 i. 32 n. 1, with Frontispiece, describes a sectile pavement at the west end of the Duomo in Siena, which shows *Hermes Mercurius Trismegistus* | *contemporaneus Moysi.* Hermes is here an elderly man with long hair and beard. He wears a high pointed hat or mitre and hands an open book to a turbaned Egyptian (?) in the presence of a hooded Italian (?). But we have no reason to think that the Hermes invoked by Arnouphis would have been represented as a winged deity with rain dropping from his pinions. 'Gnostic' amulets, *e.g.* fig. 209 from a specimen in my collection (material, bloodstone: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), give variations of the usual type.

[1] Ov. *met.* 1. 264 ff. madidis Notus evolat alis, | terribilem picea tectus caligine voltum. | barba gravis nimbis; canis fluit unda capillis; | fronte sedent nebulae; rorant pennaeque sinusque. | utque manu late (*lata* cod. e^3) pendentia nubila pressit, | fit fragor: hinc (*et* codd. A.e.λ.) densi funduntur ab aethere nimbi. The rain-god of the column bears so close a resemblance to Ovid's Notus that A. von Domaszewski did not hesitate to call him by that name (*supra* p. 329 n. 0). The source of *met.* 1. 244—312 is unknown (W. Vollgraff *Nikander und Ovid* Groningen 1909 i. 104).

[2] E. Courbaud *Le bas-relief romain à représentations historiques* Paris 1899 p. 185 f.

[3] *Supra* i. 60 fig. 34.

[4] This is in fact the common identification (*e.g.* W. Ramsay in Smith *Dict. Biogr. Myth.* i. 441, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 300. no. 23 f.).

[5] Aristoph. *nub.* 373 καίτοι πρότερον τὸν Δί' ἀληθῶς ἔμην διὰ κοσκίνου οὐρεῖν (*supra* ii. 2).

The line in question is put into the mouth of Strepsiades, an old-fashioned and simple-minded peasant, and must not be discounted as a mere Aristophanic jest. At most Aristophanes has combined two separate notions current among the lower classes in his day.

That rain was explained as Zeus making water is likely enough. Not only is this homely notion common to the unsophisticated folk of Asia[1] and Europe[2] in general, but it survives

[1] G. W. Steller *Beschreibung von dem Lande Kamtschatka* Frankfurt und Leipzig 1774 p. 64 f. 'den Regen erklären sie ebenmässig, dass es der Urin von Billutschei und seinen Geistern, denen Gamuls wäre, wo aber der Billutschei genug uriniret, so ziehe er ein ganz neues Kuklanke oder Kleid von Rospomak-Fellen, wie ein Sack gemacht, an, weil nun an diesem Staatskleide Fransen von roth gefärbten Seehund-Haaren und allerhand bunten Riemlein Leder, so glauben sie sicherlich, sie sähen selbes in der Luft unter der Gestalt des Regenbogens: die Natur nun in dieser Farben-Schönheit zu imitiren, zieren sie ihre Kuklanken mit eben dergleichen bunten Haaren aus, welche Mode also aus der kamtschadalischen Physik und dem Regenbogen seinen Ursprung hat cited by W. Schwartz in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1875 vii. 403 'Den Hagel (*sic*) erklären die Kamtschadalen ebenmässig, dass es der Urin von Billutschei (dem Himmelsgotte) wäre.' U. Holmberg in *The Mythology of all Races: Finno-Ugric, Siberian* Boston 1927 p. 444 states, on the authority of N. P. Pripuzov, that 'Both the Yakuts and Buriats call the rainbow also "the urine of the she-fox."'

I. Goldziher *Mythology among the Hebrews and its historical development* trans. R. Martineau London 1877 p. 73 f. 'The clearest evidence of a worship of the rainy sky and the storm among the Arabs is furnished by the name Ḳuzaḥ, to which storms and rainbows were attributed [*id.* pp. 169, 423].... But it is probable that this name Ḳuzaḥ is derived from the signification "mingere," which belongs to the corresponding verb (used specially of beasts), and that it is due to a mythological conception of the Rain.' R. Eisler in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 132 n. 0 and in his *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. 0, accepting this derivation, would connect Kuzah with the Idumaean god Κόζε [Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 15. 7. 9 Κοστόβαρος τῷ γένει μὲν Ἰδουμαῖος, ἀξιώματος τῶν πρώτων παρ' αὐτοῖς καὶ προγόνων ἱερατευσάντων τῷ Κοζέ· θεὸν δὲ τοῦτον Ἰδουμαῖοι νομίζουσιν with the remarks of C. Steuernagel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1555], the Syrian Zeus Κάσιος [*supra* ii. 906 n. 3, 981 n. 1, 985 n. 1], and a variety of place-names. The same ingenious scholar in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 131 n. 60 writes of the Arabian god Hobal: 'M. E. ist er vor allem als Derivat der √bâla, jabûlu, = "pissen," übertr. "regnen" aufgefasst worden (cf. bul, mabbul = "Flut" bab. bubbulu aus wubbulu [Meissner], arab. "wabl" Regenguss und, nach Hommel [F. Hommel *Aufsätze und Abhandlungen arabistisch-semitologischen Inhalts* München 1901 iii. 1. 473] "bâla suhail" = "Sternenurin" = Regen; endlich "bul" als Bezeichnung des achten, bab. "Fluch des Regens" genannten Monats 1 Kön. 6 38 und auf kyprisch-phoenizischen Inschriften C I S 1 86 a). Hobal, der "Pisser" würde den Mondgott (vgl. die Zischlautaussprache von Sin = Mond, als ^ Sin = "Urin" in den Nerâbinschriften, als Buchstabe 𐤏 = (durch das abnehmende Mondsichelzeichen ausgedrückt, Hommel Grundr. 100) als Beherrscher von Wasser, Regen und Flut bedeuten.' Etc., etc.

[2] W. Mannhardt *Roggenwolf und Roggenhund* Danzig 1865 (ed. 2 1866) p. 10 has collected instances from Germany and France. Thus in the Oberpfalz, when it rains for long together, people say 'Nu pissen sie da oben all wieder' (F. X. von Schönwerth *Aus der Oberpfalz. Sitten und Sagen* Augsburg 1859 iii. 20). In the Tirol St Medardus, since his festival on June 8 often brings rain, is called 'Heubrunzer' (I. V. Zingerle *Sitten, Bräuche und Meinungen des Tiroler Volkes*[2] Innsbruck 1871 p. 157 no. 1336). In Picardy too 'Saint Médard est un grand pissard' (O. Freiherr von Reinsberg-Düringsfeld *Das Wetter*

among the modern Greeks in particular, at least in out-of-the-way places[1].

The mention of the sieve also points to a popular conception[2], which appears to have left its traces on more than one language of the Indo-Europaean family[3]. It can indeed be exactly paralleled from modern phraseology. The Greeks still say 'It's drenching with the sieve'[4] or 'God is drenching with the sieve,'[5] and use the proverb 'God's sieve has big holes.'[6] In the district of Parnassos it is believed that Borras, the north wind, possesses a sieve with which he prepares and sifts the hail. Notos, the south wind, has skin bottles, which he

im Sprichwort Leipzig 1864 p. 141). At Cologne, if it rains on July 13, 'Margriht hät en de Nösz gepess.' Elsewhere on the Rhine, if it rains on June 10, 'Margarete pisst in die Nüsse.' In the former case the rain will last four weeks; in the latter, a fortnight, and will spoil the nuts (*Id. ib.* pp. 146, 154). So in the Mark district, if it rains on June 22, 'Sünte Magdelena pisset in de Nuete' (J. F. L. Woeste *Volksüberlieferungen in der Grafschaft Mark* Iserlohn 1848 p. 61).

[1] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 31 illustrates Aristoph. *nub.* 373 by certain locutions heard at Arachova near Delphoi. When it rains, people there say *κατουράει ὁ θιός*. When it rains hard or continuously, they say *τσούρ, τσούρ, τσούρ* (*onomatop.*), *κατουρώντας ὁ θιὸς μᾶς σάπσι* (=*ἐσάπισε*, 'er hat uns faulen gemacht,' d. h. ganz eingeweicht). Even more remarkable is the parallel adduced by N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 p. 20: ''Επὶ συνεχοῦς καὶ ἀδιαλείπτου βροχῆς οἱ χυδαιότεροι λέγουσιν ἀστειζόμενοι "κατουράει ὁ Θεός". *ἐν* 'Αραχώβῃ μάλιστα προστιθέασι "*μὲ τὸ κόσκινον*"[1] (1 N. 'Ελλ. *ἀρ.* 39). 'Εν Μεσσηνίᾳ ὁ τοιοῦτος καιρὸς καλεῖται "Κατουρλιᾶς" καὶ ἀλλαχοῦ "Κατουρλῆς."'

[2] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 7 first drew attention to this.

[3] O. Schrader in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 40[b]: 'In Greece the phrase *Ζεὺς ὕει* is used for "it rains," which, when traced back to an older stage of the language, can only mean "The father (heaven) presses grapes" (Skr. *sunṓmi* "I press," *sóma*, "the pressed," "the soma drink"). It is also customary to charm the rain by an offering of honey, where the rain which drops on the trees and branches is likened to honey. Exactly corresponding to these ideas we find in India the belief that by letting the soma, which itself is called a son of the rain-god Parjanya, drip through the strainer, rain is enticed to fall. Thus the very fact that the man "presses" the juice on the earth, incites or rather compels the god in heaven to "press," *i.e.* to cause the rain to fall (cf. [E. Windisch in the *Festgruss an Rudolf von Roth zum Doktor-Jubiläum 24. August 1893* Stuttgart 1893 p. 140 f., H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 392, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 819]).' *Id.* in Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 227: 'Eine mythologische Vorstellung liegt vielleicht dem griech. *ὗει, ὑετός* zugrunde (vgl. tochar. A. Wz. *su-, swās* "regnen," *swase* "Regen,' B. *suwam* "es regnet", *swese* "Regen." Sie gehören zu scrt. *su-, sunṓmi* "keltere," spez. den Soma (scrt. *sṓma-*, vgl. auch ahd. *sou*, lit. *sývas* "Saft", scrt. *savá-* "Kelterung"). Das homerische *Ζεὺς ὗει* kann daher ursprünglich nur bedeutet haben: "der Himmel keltert", indem die Erzeugung des Regens auf gleiche Stufe wie die Auskelterung des idg. Rauschtranks (Mets,...) gestellt wurde, eine Vorstellung, die in dem Verhältnis zwischen Soma und Regen dem vedischen Altertum noch durchaus lebendig ist.' Etc.

[4] N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 p. 18 *τὸ ῥήχνει μὲ τὸ κόσκινο.*

[5] *Id. ib.* *ὁ Θεὸς τὸ ῥήχνει μὲ τὸ ῥεμμόνι* (a large-sized sieve).

[6] *Id. ib.* *τὸ ῥεμμόνι τοῦ Θεοῦ ἔχει μεγάλαις τρύπαις.*

flings through the clouds into the sea, fills with water, carries up to the sky, and empties in turn on the earth through sieves of varying size. His finest sieve produces a drizzle, his ordinary sieve rain, his wide-meshed sieve heavy rain, while his skin bottles poured out all at once cause a regular deluge[1]. The interval between ancient and modern times may be bridged by a passage from Michael Psellos, who states that in his day (*s.* xi A.D.) most people ignorantly supposed rain to be water strained by God through a sieve-like sky[2]. In view of this long-lived superstition it is probable that a primitive Greek rain-charm consisted in pouring water though a sieve[3]. And that may well have been one reason for the use of a sieve[4] in divination (*koskinomanteia*)[5]. In any case the matter calls for

[1] *Id. ib.* after N. Ἑλλ. ἀρ. 35.

[2] Psell. *πρὸς μαθητὰς ἀμελοῦντας* p. 150 f. Boissonade *τοσοῦτος γὰρ αὐχμὸς σοφίας ἐπὶ τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς βίου ἐγένετο, καὶ οὕτω πάντες ἐπὶ τὴν τοῦ ἀμαθεστάτου ταύτην ἐπιστήμην κοινῶς συνηλάθησαν, ὥστε τοὺς πολλοὺς οἴεσθαι μὴ καὶ τὸν ὑετὸν ἐκ τῶν νεφῶν καταρρήγνυσθαι, ἀλλά, κατὰ τὸ Ἐρατοσθένους λεγόμενον κόσκινον, διατετρῆσθαι τὸν οὐρανόν, κἀκεῖθεν ταῖς χερσὶν ἀποθλίβοντα < τὸν θεὸν > τὸ ὕδωρ διηθεῖν.* 'The sieve of Eratosthenes' was an arithmetical table for the discovery of prime numbers (F. Hultsch in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1094, G. Knaack *ib.* vi. 364) and is here merely a learned allusion brought in by association of ideas. J. F. Boissonade *ad loc.* says justly: 'aptius et opportunius poterat alludere Psellus ad cribrum Strepsiadae.'

[3] E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 506[a] quotes modern parallels from the Ainus, Russian peasants, Buddhist monks, etc. (after Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 251 and 285).

[4] On ancient sieves see E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1568 figs. 2070—2072, Forrer *Reallex.* p. 736, H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig—Berlin 1912 i[2]. 49 ff., J. Hoops in his *Reallex.* iv. 171 f., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1483 f., Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 389 f. pl. 96.

[5] G. Pictorius Villinganus 'De speciebvs magiae caerimonialis, qvam goetiam vocant, Epitome' in H. Cornelii Agrippae ab Nettesheym *Opera* Lvgdvni s.a. (1531?) i. 472 cap. xxi 'Hvc etiam Coscinomantia scribenda venit, quæ dæmone vrgente, per cribrum diuinationem suscitari docet, quis rei patratæ author sit, quis hoc commiserit furtum, quis hoc dederit vulnus, aut quicquid tale fuerit. Cribrum enim inter duorū astantium medios digitos, per forcipem suspendunt, ac deieratione facta per sex verba, nec sibi ipsis, nec aliis intellecta, quæ sunt: DIES MIES IESCHET, BENEDOEFET, DOVVINA, ENITEMAVS, dæmonem in hoc compellunt vt reo nominato (nam omnes suspectos nominare oportet) confestim circumagatur, sed per obliquum instrumentum è forcipe pendens, vt reum prodat: iconem hîc ponimus [= my fig. 210]. Annis ab actis plus minus triginta, ter huius diuinationis genere sum ipse vsus, primò furti patrati causa: secundò propter rete, vel casses quibus aues capiuntur à quodam inuido mihi diflectos. Et tertiò amissi canis mei studio, vbi semper pro voto aleam cecidisse comperi, in posterum tamē quieui, timens ne dæmon veritate quæ præter naturam, in me vsus fuerat, os mihi subliniret & amplius seducendo illaqueareat. Hanc diuinationem cæteris arbitrabantur veriorem, sicut etiam Erasmus scribit in prouerbio: Cribro diuinare.' The charm here quoted probably belongs to that 'crazy assemblage of formulas no longer understood even by the reciter himself... obviously debased learned materials, taken from Mediterranean collections which may well go back to the magic-saturated last days of the Roman Empire' (A. Haggerty Krappe *The Science of Folk-lore* London 1930 p. 189). On this showing it would be

the *débris* of a late Latin incantation, say *Deus meus Iesu Christe,* | *benedicta fiat divinatio ista* or some such jingle: possibly the enigmatic ENITEMAVS contains the neo-Latin *tems,* 'sieve' (Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 390), which is a loan-word of Germanic origin (Dutch *tems, teems,* provincial English *tems, temse, tempse* (J. O. Halliwell *A Dictionary of Archaic and Provincial Words* London 1901 ii. 857 'Temse A sieve North.'), French *tamis* (A. Brachet *An etymological Dictionary of the French Language*[3] trans. G. W. Kitchin Oxford 1882 p. 379)). J. Prætorius *De Coscinomantia, Oder vom Sieb-Laüffe diatribe curiosa* Curiæ Variscorum 1677 devotes 86 small quarto pages to a collection and discussion of earlier authorities, *e.g.* C 1 '*Delrio* [M. Delrio *Disquisitionum Magicarum* libri sex Lugduni 1612] p. 606. κοσκινομαντεία, qvæ usurpata veteribus (*Theocrito* [3. 31], *Luciano* [*Alex.* 9.], *Polluci* [7. 188].) unde & Adag. cribrô divinare. *Cribrum* imponebatur

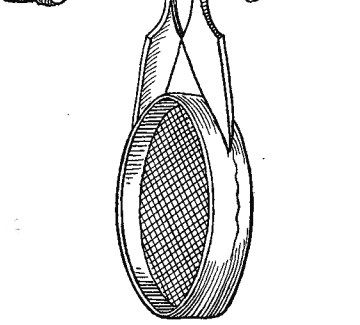


Fig. 210.

forcipi, forcipem binis digitis compræhendebant, & elevabant, & præmissis conceptis verbis subjiciebant nomina eorum, de qvibus suspicabantur eos *furtũ,* vel aliud occultum crimen patrâsse: eum verò judicabant illum; qvô nominatô *cribrum* tremebat, nutabat, moveabatur [*sic*], vel convertebatur: qv. qvi digitis forcipem tenebat arbitratu suô *cribrum* movere non potuerit. Qvod formulam *Pictorius* proponat verborum pronunciandorum, fecit inconsultè: qvod eâ sit usus *ter,* & qvod eventum certum prædicet, fecit impiè & mentitur pollicendo.' Here and there Prætorius reports local usage, *e.g.* C 2 'in *Poloniâ* hunc habent morem patrium qvòd tot Schedulas sumant, qvot personas in suspicione habent, & singulis inscribant singula nomina, imponantqve *cribro,* & hoc superinponant cupæ cum aqvâ repletæ: ubi hinc maximè omnes schedas oportet madidas fieri, sed illam tamen, non, dicunt, qvæ verum Reum sustinet inscriptum: hanc enim haud tingi aqvâ ferunt.'

Apart from this monograph, which is tough reading, the topic has been handled by A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 183 (slight), J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 iii. 1108 f. ('*sieve-driving,*' '*sieve-turning,*' 'sieve-running,' 'sieve-chasing,' 'sieve-dance'), *ib.* 1888 iv. 1635 ('*sieve-running*'), C. Kiesewetter *Die Geheimwissenschaften* Leipzig 1895 pp. 375—377 (examples from *ss.* xvi and xvii), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 236,

further enquiry, as it has important bearings on both ritual and mythology[1].

(d) Rain as water poured through a holed vessel or sieve.

i. The holed vessel in Egypt.

On the west bank of the Nile, south of Memphis, lay the town of Akanthos, famous for its sanctuary of Osiris and its magnificent grove of Theban acacias[2]. Here, according to Diodoros[3], it was the

W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 pp. 219, 221 n. 3 ('sieve and shears'), E. Fehrle 'Das Sieb im Volksglauben' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 547—551 (especially p. 549 f.), E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 506b ('sieve and shears,' etc.), A. Marmorstein 'Das Sieb im Volksglauben' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 235—238 (Rabbinic sources), Boehm *s.v.* 'Koskinomantie' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 323—328 (ancient and mediaeval usages: modern practices will be dealt with *s.v.* 'Sieblauf'). The classical evidence is most compactly put by Ganschinietz *s.v.* 'Koskinomanteia' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1481—1483, Hug *s.v.* 'Κόσκινον' *ib.* p. 1484, Gunning *s.v.* 'Kosko' *ib.* pp. 1484—1486. *Infra* § 9 (d) iv.

[1] The essential facts are indicated by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 831 f.

Several Christian saints have a sieve as their attribute. M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 215 connect it with St Benedict (March 21), St Amalberga (July 10), and St Hippolytus (Aug. 13). Greater detail will be found in C. Cahier *Caractéristiques des saints dans l'art populaire* Paris 1867 i. 276 ('Crible, tamis, etc.'): 'SAINT BENOIT DE NORCIA...Près de lui un crible brisé. Saint Grégoire le Grand raconte que sa nourrice ayant emprunté un crible en terre cuite, et l'ayant brisé par mégarde, l'enfant rétablit cet instrument dans son intégrité première. Les hymnes et proses en l'honneur du saint ne manquent guère de rappeler ce premier miracle d'un homme qui en fit tant d'autres....' *Id. ib.*: 'SAINTE AMALBERGE, vierge; 10 juillet, v. 772....On lui met parfois en main un tamis[4] [4AA. SS. Jul. iii. 80], où je crois bien pouvoir signaler un simple rébus; car elle possédait la terre seigneuriale de Temsche sur l'Escaut, dont le nom est en latin *Tamisia*, et *Tamise* en français. Sur cette espèce d'armes parlantes, qui d'ailleurs ne disaient pas grand'chose à la population flamande de l'endroit, on aura construit plus tard l'historiette que voici: Les gens de Temsche (*Tamise*) se plaignaient à la sainte d'être réduits à une seule fontaine, laquelle se trouvait au milieu d'un champ dont le propriétaire leur créait toutes sortes d'embarras. Pour terminer une bonne fois les contestations, Amalberge se rendit à la fontaine, armée d'un tamis qu'elle remplit d'eau; puis transportant le contenu dans un lieu plus accessible, elle y renversa l'eau qu'elle avait apportée de la sorte. En ce nouvel endroit s'établit une source qui donnait plus d'eau que l'ancienne, mais l'autre tarit immédiatement. On dit que cette fontaine est celle qui se voit aujourd'hui près d'une petite chapelle dédiée à sainte Amalberge, et qui est visitée par beaucoup de pèlerins à cause des guérisons qu'elle procure[5] [5Reinsberg-Düringsfeld, *Calendrier belge*, t. II, p. 31, sv.].' See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iii pl. opposite p. 388 (St Benedict with the broken sieve at his feet, after Cahier), vii. 263 f. (St Amalberga at Temsche, where an annual procession is held in her honour on the third day in Whitsun week).

[2] Strab. 809, Ptol. 4. 5. 25, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἄκανθος. See further R. Pietschmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1148.

[3] Diod. 1. 97 *ἐν μὲν γὰρ Ἀκανθῶν πόλει, πέραν τοῦ Νείλου κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην ἀπὸ σταδίων ἑκατὸν καὶ εἴκοσι τῆς Μέμφεως, πίθον εἶναι τετρημένον, εἰς ὃν τῶν ἱερέων ἑξήκοντα καὶ τριακοσίους καθ' ἑκάστην ἡμέραν ὕδωρ φέρειν εἰς αὐτὸν ἐκ τοῦ Νείλου· τὴν δὲ* (*τήν τε* vulg.) *περὶ τὸν Ὄκνον* (so H. Stephanus for *ὄνον* codd.) *μυθοποιίαν δείκνυσθαι πλησίον κατά τινα*

custom for three hundred and sixty priests to empty Nile-water day by day into a holed *pithos*: presumably one priest was told off for the task every day in the year. Diodoros' statement was almost certainly transcribed from Hekataios of Teos or Abdera, whose account of Egypt was composed under priestly influence in the time of Ptolemy i Soter (323—285 B.C.).[1] It would seem, then, that early in the Hellenistic age the Egyptians, rightly or wrongly, claimed to be keeping up a religious custom strictly comparable with the mythical water-carrying of the Danaïdes[2].

Alongside of this Egyptian rite we may place a story, which can be traced back to the fourth century A.D.[3] and connected with the

πανήγυριν συντελουμένην, πλέκοντος μὲν ἑνὸς ἀνδρὸς ἀρχὴν σχοινίου μακράν, πολλῶν δ' ἐκ τῶν ὀπίσω (ὄπισθεν codd. secundae classis) *λυόντων τὸ πλεκόμενον.*

[1] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 670 f., F. Jacoby *ib.* vii. 2758 f.

[2] *Infra* § 9 (d) ii (α).

[3] Rufin. *hist. eccl.* 2. 26 iam vero Canopi quis enumeret superstitiosa flagitia? ubi praetextu sacerdotalium litterarum—ita etenim appellant antiquas Aegyptiorum litteras—magicae artis erat paene publica schola. quem locum velut fontem quendam atque originem daemonum in tantum venerabantur pagani, ut multo ibi maior celebritas quam apud Alexandriam haberetur. sed de huius quoque monstri errore, cuiusmodi originem tradant, absurdum non erit paucis exponere: ferunt aliquando Chaldaeos ignem deum suum circumferentes cum omnium provinciarum diis habuisse conflictum, quo scilicet qui vicisset, hic esse deus ab omnibus crederetur. reliquarum provinciarum dii aeris aut auri argentive aut ligni vel lapidis vel ex quacumque materia constabant, quae per ignem procul dubio corrumperetur. ex quo fiebat, ut ignis locis omnibus obtineret. haec cum audisset Canopi sacerdos, callidum quiddam excogitavit. hydriae fieri solent in Aegypti partibus fictiles undique crebris et minutis admodum foraminibus patulae, quibus turbida aqua desudans defaecatior ac purior redditur. harum ille unam cera foraminibus obturatis desuper etiam variis coloribus pictam, aqua repletam statuit ut deum. et excisum veteris simulacri, quod Menelai gubernatoris ferebatur, caput desuper positum diligenter aptavit. adsunt post haec Chaldaei, itur in conflictum, circa hydriam ignis accenditur, cera, qua foramina fuerant obturata, resolvitur, sudante hydria ignis extinguitur, sacerdotis fraude Canopus Chaldaeorum victor ostenditur. unde ipsum Canopi simulacrum pedibus perexiguis adtracto collo et quasi suggillato, ventre tumido in modum hydriae cum dorso aequaliter tereti formatur et ex hac persuasione velut deus victor omnium colebatur. sed fecerit haec fortasse aliquando Chaldaeis, nunc vero adventante sacerdote Dei Theophilo nullus profuit sudor nec ceris fraus obtecta subvenit: vastata sunt omnia et ad solum deducta.

Rufinus' narrative is repeated in Greek by Souid. *s.v.* *Κάνωπος· ὁ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ. ποτέ, ὡς λόγος, Χαλδαῖοι τὸν ἴδιον θεόν, ὅπερ (ὅσπερ* cod. E.) *ἐστὶ τὸ πῦρ, ἀποσεμνύοντες πανταχοῦ περιέφερον· ὥστε τοῖς θεοῖς πασῶν (πᾶσι* cod. E. ed. Med.) *τῶν ἐπαρχιῶν συμβεβληκέναι, καὶ τὸν νικῶντα ἐκεῖνον παρὰ πάντων νομίζεσθαι θεόν. τῶν μὲν οὖν ἄλλων ἐπαρχιῶν οἱ θεοὶ ἀπὸ χαλκοῦ ἢ ἀργύρου ἢ ξύλου ἢ λίθου ἢ ἄλλης τοιαύτης ὕλης ἐτύγχανον ἱδρυμένοι, ἡ δὲ τοιαύτη ὕλη εὐχερῶς ὑπὸ τοῦ πυρὸς διεφθείρετο· ὥστε πανταχοῦ τὸ πῦρ ἀναγκαίως νικᾶν. τοῦτο ἀκούσας ὁ ἱερεὺς τοῦ Κανώπου* (so codd. A. V. *τοῦ Κανώπου ἱερεὺς* vulg.) *πανοῦργόν τι τοιοῦτον ἐνεθυμήθη. ὑδρίαι ἐν τοῖς μέρεσι τῆς Αἰγύπτου εἰώθασι γίνεσθαι ὀστράκιναι, τρήσεις ἔχουσαι λεπτὰς συνεχεῖς, ὥστε διὰ τῶν τρήσεων ἐκείνων τὸ τεθολωμένον ὕδωρ διυλιζόμενον ἀποδίδοσθαι καθαρώτατον. ἐκ τούτων τῶν ὑδριῶν μίαν λαβὼν ὁ τοῦ Κανώπου ἱερεὺς καὶ τὰς τρήσεις ἐκείνας ἀποφράξας κηρῷ καὶ διαφόροις ζωγραφήσας (διαζωγραφήσας διαφόροις* cod. E.) *χρώμασι, πληρώσας ὕδατος ἔστησεν ὡς θεόν· καὶ ἀποτεμὼν παλαιοῦ ἀγάλματος τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅπερ ἐλέγετο Μενελάου τινὸς κυβερνήτου γεγενῆσθαι, ἐπιμελῶς ἐπιθεὶς ἥρμοσεν αὐτὴν τῷ*

town of Kanobos or Canopus near the most westerly mouth of the Nile[1]. The Chaldaeans—we are told—endeavoured to prove that their god, Fire, was superior to all other gods by subjecting cult-images of bronze, silver, wood, stone, etc. to the action of fire and pointing triumphantly to the result. They were, however, outwitted by the priest of Kanopos. He took a terra-cotta strainer, such as were used by the Egyptians for clarifying muddy water, that is to say a *hydría* with many small holes in it, stuffed these holes with wax, painted the surface of the jar with various figures, filled it with water, and set it up as a god. He completed his work by cutting off the head of an old image, regarded as the helmsman of Menelaos[2], and fixing the same carefully on the top of his jar. The upshot of these preparations was that, when the Chaldaeans came and kindled a fire round the *hydría*, the wax melted, the jar appeared to sweat,

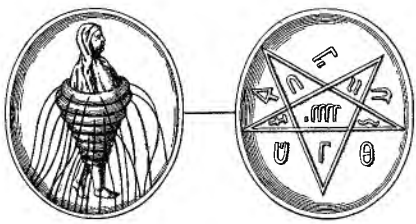


Fig. 211.

Fig. 212.

and the water issuing forth from the holes put out the fire of the unbelievers! Hence the figure of Kanopos has tiny feet, a thin neck, a body swollen like that of a *hydría*, and a rounded back.

This curious narrative can be illustrated by certain amulets of

ἀγάλματι. παρεγένοντο μετὰ ταῦτα οἱ Χαλδαῖοι· ἀνήφθη τὸ πῦρ, καὶ ὁ κηρὸς δι' οὗ αἱ τρήσεις ἐτύγχανον πεφραγμέναι διελύετο. τῆς δὲ ὑδρίας ἱδρώσης καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ διὰ τῶν τρήσεων ἐκβαλλούσης, ἐσβέννυτο τὸ πῦρ. οὕτω τε τῇ πανουργίᾳ τοῦ ἱερέως ὁ Κάνωπος (Κανώπου τοῦ cod. E.) τῶν Χαλδαίων νικητὴς ἀνεδείχθη· καὶ ἀπὸ τότε λοιπὸν ὡς θεὸς ἐτιμᾶτο.

The same tale, compressed, recurs in Kedren. *hist. comp.* 325 C (i. 570 Bekker) ἱστέον ὅτι Χαλδαῖοι τὸ πῦρ ὡς πάντων ἀναιρετικὸν σέβονται, καὶ πάντας τοὺς (T. Hopfner prints τῶν) Ἑλλήνων θεοὺς κατέδραμον. προσῆλθον δὲ καὶ τῷ Κάνωπος (*sic*) ἱερεῖ, καὶ αὐτὸς μηχανᾶταί τι τοιοῦτον· εἰς τύπον ἀγάλματος ὑδρίαν ὀστρακίνην κατασκευάσας τρήσεις ὑπέθηκε λεπτάς, ἃς κηρῷ φραξάμενος καὶ χρώματι καλλύνας, παλαιοῦ ἀγάλματος ἀποτεμὼν κεφαλὴν καὶ ἐφαρμόσας τῷ σκεύει εὐφυῶς, καὶ τῷ πυρὶ προσαγαγὼν ἤλεγξεν αὐτοῦ τὴν ἰσχύν, κατὰ μικρὸν διὰ τοῦ ὕδατος ἀποσβεσθέντος.

[1] H. Kees in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1869 f.

[2] H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 948 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 698 n. 1, 1569, G. Roeder in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1870, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 1301 n. 1.

roughly contemporary date, published long since by J. Chiflet[1] (fig. 211) and A. Capello[2] (fig. 212). Kanopos, from whose perforated body thin jets of water are streaming, is here associated with the pentagram[3]

[1] J. Chiflet *Miscellanea Chifletiana* Antverpiæ 1657 vi. 134 pl. 25 fig. 103 (=my fig. 211), Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 233 pl. 51 no. 15 (redrawn from Chiflet).

[2] A. Capello *Prodromus Iconicus* sculptilium Gemmarum, Basilidiani, Amulectici, atque Talismani generis de Musæo A. C. Venetiis 1702, Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 ii. 239 pl. 53 no. 20 (redrawn from Capello = my fig. 212).

[3] During the last twenty years the pentagram or pentalpha has been the subject of much fruitful investigation. F. Hommel in R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 304 n. 5 shows that the old Babylonian ideogram AR [F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 1021 'besser *ar* zu umschreiben'] or UB meaning 'steps of heaven' (UB=*tubkati*) or 'space' (P. Jensen *Die Kosmologie der Babylonier* Strassburg 1890 p. 165 ff., J. Hehn in the *Leipziger semitische Studien* 1907 ii. 5. 7) is represented in a fragmentary archaic votive inscription on the relief of a lion couchant (V. Scheil in the *Délégation en Perse: Mémoires* Paris 1900 ii. 66 'Texte du Lion,' line 16) by the pentagram and on the obelisk of Maništusu (sign no. 115 in Scheil's list) by a pentagram with open top . Hommel further points out that already in the Gudea inscriptions we find the ideogram consisting of five *cunei* , whose recumbent form must have given rise to the old Babylonian UB .

F. X. Kugler in *Klio* 1911 xi. 489 f.: ' (5) ist Ideogramm für *nâdu* "erheben, verherrlichen," *nâ'idu* "erhaben, hehr," *tanî' attu* "Erhabenheit, Majestät." Die 5 ist in erster Linie das Symbol der überirdischen, göttlichen Würde und Vollkommenheit, der gloria divina; erst an zweiter Stelle bezeichnet sie die königliche Majestät. Es ist sehr wahrscheinlich, dass diese Bedeutung der 5 sich von den 5 Planeten ableitet, zumal dieselben nach babylonischer Ansicht über der Fixsternsphäre ihre Bahnen gehen und die vorzüglichsten Verkündiger des göttlichen Willens sind (Diodor, II, 30...). Wie 5, so bedeutet auch das Ideogramm UB: *na'âdu, tanattu*, drückt also gleichfalls den Begriff "Erhabenheit" aus. Und merkwürdigerweise ist die archaische Form von UB: dem pythagoreischen Pentagramm ganz ähnlich. Ausserdem bezeichnet UB auch tupḳu, kibratu, ursprünglich = kosmischer Raum (vgl. ub-da tab-tab-ba "vier Himmelsgegenden"). Dies alles legt den Gedanken nahe, dass die kosmische Zahl 5 des Pythagoräer mit der babylonischen Auffassung der 5 nahe verwandt ist.'

A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 99 f.: 'Neben der Vierteilung [*sc.* des Kreislaufes] findet sich eine Fünfteilung, die aus der Hinzuziehung des Planeten DIL. BAT—Venus zu erklären sein dürfte....Das kosmische Zeichen der Fünfteilung des Kreislaufes ist das Pentagramm. Das Pentagramm erscheint in der Gestalt unter den Zeichen der "protoelamischen" Urkunden[2] ([2]Délég. en Perse VI, Nr. 887, S. 111) und auch in altbabylonischen Inschriften[3] ([3]Z.B. bei Samsuiluna als UB. DA. TAB. TAB. BA, Cun. T. XXI, Pl. 50, col. IV, 3) mit dem Lautwort UB = kibratu und tupḳu, dessen kosmischen Sinn wir S. 50 besprachen[4] ([4]Das Vorkommen in elamischen Inschriften beweist nicht, dass das Pentagramm elamisch ist im Gegensatz zu sumerisch-babylonisch...). In einer der protoelamischen Urkunden[5] ([5]Délég. en Perse VI, S. 111, Nr. 878) ist es geschrieben, Abb. 123 erscheint es stilisiert auf einem altbabylonischen Monument neben Ištar [*sc.* Sieges-Relief des Königs Anubanini (vor

2400 v. Chr.)]....Das Pentagramm als planetarisches Zeichen ist in der ganzen Welt als Schutzmittel gegen die bösen Geister in Gebrauch, als Drudenfuss, Pentalpha, Alpenkreuz, salus Pythagorae. In alten Kirchen gilt es als Riegel gegen Dämonen (vgl. Otte, Kirchl. Archaeologie[5] I, 479). "Das Pentagramma macht mir Pein."' [See further S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 10 (with fig. 23), 234, 251, 254, and especially 293 f. (with figs. 212, 213). I append a few numismatic examples: (1) A silver *statér* of Melos, struck in *s.* v B.C., has *obv.* a pomegranate with traces of two leaves, *rev.* ΜΑΛΙΟΝ a pentagram (R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1909 xiii. 192 no. 13 pl. 5, 13 (=my fig. 213), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 853 f. pl. 241, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 892). (2) Bronze coins of Pitane, struck in *s.* iv B.C., have *obv.* the head of Zeus *Ámmon*, *rev.* ΠΙ, ΠΙΤΑ, ΠΙΤΑΝ, ΠΙΤΑΝΑΙΩΝ or the like and a pentagram with central pellet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 171 f. pl. 34, 5 (=my fig. 214), 6—8, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 286 no. 1, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 72 pl. 267, 8, 9 f., *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 1. 125 nos. 5237—5240 pl. 191, Anson *Num. Gr.* vi. 87 nos. 969—972 pl. 19, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 537). Under the empire the pentagram is placed

Fig. 213.

Fig. 214.

Fig. 215.

Fig. 216.

Fig. 219.

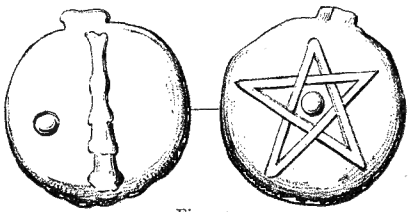


Fig. 217.

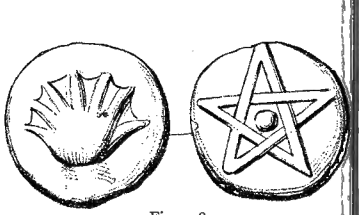


Fig. 218.

on a shield (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 172 pl. 34, 9 (=my fig. 215), 10, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 73 pl. 267, 11, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 258 no 145[a], *id. Kleinas. Münzen* i. 32 no. 1, Anson *Num. Gr.* ii. 92 no. 1019 f. pl. 21, vi. 87 no. 973 f., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 537) or used as a symbol (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 95 no. 186). (3) Bronze coins of Nuceria (*Nocera*) in Bruttii, struck *c.* 350—270 B.C. or later, have *obv.* the head of Apollon, laureate, to right, *rev.* ΝΟΥΚΡ ΙΝΩΝ, ΝΟΥΚΡΙ ΝΩΝ, a horse standing to left with a pentagram beneath it (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 369 no. 1, *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 229 no. 1101 pl. 42, Babelon *Cat. Monn. gr. de Luynes* i. 150 no. 779 pl. 28, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 168 pl. 116, 29, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 105. Fig. 216 is from a specimen in my collection). (4) *Unciae* of central Italy in cast bronze have *obv.* a club with pellet in field, *rev.* a pentagram with pellet in centre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 59 nos. 29—31, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 22 pl. 42, 6 (=my fig. 217), E. A. Sydenham *Aes grave* London 1926 pp. 83 f., 105 no. 117 pl. 13, 7 (regards the pentagram as *obv.*, the club as *rev.*, type), or *obv.* a *swastika* in relief, *rev.* a pentagram deeply incised (Sydenham *op. cit.* p. 105 n. 1). A *semuncia* of the same region has *obv.* a scallop-shell, *rev.* a pentagram with pellet in centre (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 22 pl. 42, 7 (=my fig. 218), Sydenham *op. cit.* p. 105 no. 118 (regards the pentagram as *obv.*, the scallop-shell as *rev.*, type)). (5) The pentagram occurs as a symbol

and a variety of magical marks, including Θ[1] and perhaps scattered letters of the word *Hygieia*[2].

also on coins of Aesernia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 67 no. 5), Beneventum (*ib.* Italy p. 68 no. 1 fig.), Teanum Sidicinum (*ib.* Italy p. 126 no. 11), Velia (*ib.* Italy p. 315 no. 102), Bruttii (*ib.* Italy p. 321 no. 22), the Mamertini (*ib.* Sicily p. 111 no. 30), Syracuse (*ib.* Sicily p. 190 no. 322), Leukas (*ib.* Corinth, etc. p. 131 no. 75 pl. 36, 5), Rhodes (*ib.* Caria, etc. p. 246 no. 173), Seleukos i in Alexandrine empire of the East (*ib.* Arabia etc. pp. cxliii, 187 f. pl. 22, 4 (= my fig. 219)), Kyrene (*ib.* Cyrenaica p. 61 no. 292 pl. 26, 1), and Rome (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 25, 48, 49, 101 (*gens Acilia*), ii. 282 no. 140 (*gens Papia*). Rasche *Lex. Num.* vi. 827.]

F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 84 n. 3: 'Das Pentagramm ist Ideogramm für "Weltraum."' *Id. ib.* goes on to connect the Babylonian pentagram and heptagram with Pherekydes' *πεντέμυχος* and *ἑπτάμυχος*.

S. A. Cook in his important book *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 213 f. collects examples of the pentagram as a Jewish symbol: 'It is found at (*a*) Nerab, (*b*) Gerar, (*c*) a jar-handle from Ophel, and a curious type with Hebrew letters in the angles found at (*d*) Tell Zakariya, (*e*) Gezer, and (*f*) Ophel[7]. ([7](*a*) *Syria*, ix. 306; (*b*) Petrie, p. 19, pl. xliii. no. 10; (*c*) *P. E. F. Annual*, iv. fig. 202, no. 5; (*d*) Bliss and Macalister, pl. lvi, no. 44; (*e*) *Q.S.*, 1904, p. 211 sq., Macalister, *Gezer*, ii. 209, fig. 359, and (*f*) *Annual*, iv. p. 191, fig. 203, no. 7. Cf. also the late inscribed (Arabic) stone from Latron (*Q.S.*, 1919, p. 174).) The legend has been acutely taken to be Shelemau, and identified with the Shelemiah of Neh. xiii. 13[1]. ([1]So Albright, *J.P.O.S.*, vi. 100 sq.) The Pentagram is also used as a potter's mark[2]. ([2]Bliss and Macalister, pl. xxix. no. 42; cf. pl. lvi. no. 53 (from Tell Sandaḥannah, ib., p. 122 sq.), *Gezer*, pl. cxc. no. 59.)' Etc.

Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Decorative Patterns of the Ancient World* London 1930 pl. 48 has a short comparative series of pentagons from Egypt, Asia Minor, Crete, Greece, Italy, etc.

[1] Θ was a character, which would commend itself to all who dabbled in Egyptising magic. As a letter, it was the beginning and end of Thoth (*ἐτυμολογία τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου* printed in *et. Gud.* p. 597 *Θῆτα πόθεν ἐτυμολογεῖται; παρὰ τὸ Θώθ· Θὼθ δὲ λέγεται τὸ πέταλον* (cp. K. B. Hase in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 1009 c) *τῶν παλαιῶν ἱερέων*). As a numeral, it stood for the great Egyptian ennead (F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23). As a symbol, it represented the universe (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 9 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 571 ff. Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 51 *ἔτι μὴν οἱ Αἰγύπτιοι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς ἐννοίας τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωπὸν χαράσσουσι, καὶ μέσα τεταμένον ὄφιν ἱερακόμορφον, καὶ ἔστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν θῆτα, τὸν μὲν κύκλον κόσμον μηνύοντες, τὸν δὲ μέσον ὄφιν συνεκτικὸν τούτου Ἀγαθὸν Δαίμονα σημαίνοντες* (*supra* ii. 1127 f.) = Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 161 p. 177, 16 ff. Wünsch *ὅτι σχημάτων ὁ κύκλος τελειότατον· ὅθεν Αἰγύπτιοι τὸν κόσμον γράφοντες περιφερῆ κύκλον ἀεροειδῆ καὶ πυρωπὸν χαράττουσι καὶ μέσον τεταμένον ὄφιν ἱερακόμορφον, οἱονεὶ συνεκτικὸν 'Αγαθὸν Δαίμονα· καί ἐστι τὸ πᾶν σχῆμα ὡς τὸ παρ' ἡμῖν* Θ. Dornseiff *loc. cit.* cp. schol. Dionys. Thrak. p. 321, 37 and 488 Hilgard *Θῆτα ὅτι τοῦ παντὸς θέσιν μιμεῖται· ἡ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς θέσις ἐστὶν ὁ οὐρανός, ὃς τὸ τε κυκλοτερὲς ἔχει καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσου ἄξονα τῇ κατὰ μέσον χαρακτηρισθέντα μακρᾷ*. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1341 had already quoted *et. mag.* p. 441, 3 ff. *Θῆτα τὸ στοιχεῖον, παρὰ τὸ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ παντὸς μιμεῖσθαι· ἤτοι τοῦ οὐρανοῦ τὸ κυκλοτερὲς ἔχον* (κυκλότερον cod. V. marg.), *καὶ τὸν διὰ μέσου ἄξονα τῇ κατὰ τὸ μέσον μακρᾷ* < *ἀνάλογον* (*ins.* Lobeck) > *ἔχει*. Add *et. Gud.* p. 262, 45 ff. *Θῆτα, εἴρηται, ὅτι τὴν τοῦ παντὸς θέσιν μιμεῖται. ἡ δὲ τοῦ παντὸς θέσις οὐρανός ἐστι, ὃς τό τε κυκλοτερὲς ἔχων κατὰ* (*leg.* καὶ) *τὸν διὰ μέσου ἄξωνα* (*leg.* ἄξονα) *τῇ κατὰ τὴν μέσην οὖσῃ μακρᾷ* < *ἀνάλογον ἔχει* (*inserui*) >. *χαρακτηρισθὲν οὖν οὕτως, εἰκότως καὶ ἐοικυῖαν ἔλαβεν ὀνομασίαν*). That *θ* was the initial of *θάνατος* and was itself transfixed with a dart (schol. Pers. *sat.* 4. 13, Isid. *orig.* 1. 3. 8, 1. 23. 1, cp. Pers. *sat.* 4. 13, Mart. *ep.* 7. 37. 1 f., Auson. *ep.* 87. 13 Peiper, Rufin. *apol. adv. Hier.* 2. 36 (xxi. 615 Migne), Sidon. *carm.* 9. 334 f. See also Sir J. E. Sandys *Latin Epigraphy* Cambridge 1919 p. 62 with n. 2) is hardly *ad rem*: an *infelix littera* would be out of place.

[2] *Supra* i. 109 n. 3.

The story of Kanopos implies the local cult of an actual man, who died and was buried near the river-mouth. As a dead man he would of course be identified with Osiris, and—from the position of his grave—with Osiris as god of the Nile[1]. Nile-water was in fact regarded as the very seed of Osiris[2] and credited with generative and fertilising powers of the highest order[3]. Apparently the divinised Kanopos was represented by a terra-cotta strainer full of Nile-water. Its holes were caulked with wax. Its surface was painted with divers figures. And its neck was completed by the addition of a human head. This peculiar, but not impossible, image must have served some practical purpose; and it lies near at hand to conjecture that in the hottest weather[4] the wax would melt, the image would stream with water[5], and a fertility-charm of exceptional potency would automatically protect the neighbourhood from drought. The alleged *rencontre* with the Chaldaeans is on this showing a later moralising version of the previously existing rite[6].

[1] Heliod. 9. 9 θεοπλαστοῦσι τὸν Νεῖλον Αἰγύπτιοι καὶ κρειττόνων τὸν μέγιστον ἄγουσιν, ἀντίμιμον οὐρανοῦ τὸν ποταμὸν σεμνηγοροῦντες, οἷα δὴ δίχα νιφετῶν καὶ ὑετῶν ἀερίων τὴν ἀρουμένην αὐτοῖς ἄρδοντα καὶ εἰς ἔτος ἀεὶ τεταγμένως ἐπομβρίζοντα. καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν ὁ πολὺς λεώς. ἃ δ' ἐκθειάζουσιν, ἐκεῖνα. τοῦ εἶναι καὶ ζῆν ἀνθρώπους, τὴν ὑγρᾶς τε καὶ ξηρᾶς οὐσίας σύνοδον αἰτίαν μάλιστα νομίζουσι, τὰ δ' ἄλλα στοιχεῖα τούτοις συνυπάρχειν τε καὶ συναναφαίνεσθαι λέγοντες (*an* λέγουσι?) καὶ τὴν μὲν ὑγράν, τὸν Νεῖλον, θατέραν δὲ τὴν γῆν τὴν αὐτῶν ἐμφαίνειν. καὶ ταυτὶ μὲν δημοσιεύουσι. πρὸς δὲ τοὺς μύστας Ἶσιν τὴν Γῆν καὶ Ὄσιριν τὸν Νεῖλον καταγγέλλουσι, τὰ πράγματα τοῖς ὀνόμασι μεταλαμβάνοντες. On this equivalence of Osiris and the Nile see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1573 n. 5, 1580 n. 8.

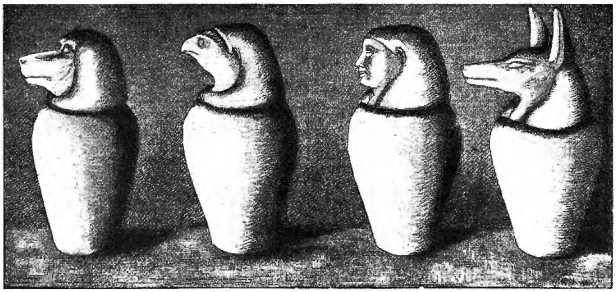
[2] *Supra* ii. 482 n. 0, *infra* n. 6.

[3] Aisch. *suppl.* 853 ff. μήποτ' ἴδοιμι πάλιν | ἀλφεσίβοιον ὕδωρ, | ἔνθεν ἀεξόμενον | ζώφυτον αἷμα βροτοῖσι θάλλει with schol. 854 τὸ ζωοποιοῦν τὰ θρέμματα, ἢ ἔντιμον, μεταφορικῶς. λέγει δὲ < τὸ > τοῦ Νείλου and 856 ἀρρενογόνον γὰρ τὸ ὕδωρ τοῦ Νείλου· ὅθεν Ζεὺς πιὼν ἔτεκεν Ἄρεα. This exploit of Zeus is unrecorded elsewhere. Is the reference to the Egyptian Ares of Papremis (Hdt. 2. 63, cp. 2. 83)? Other allusions to the fertilising virtues of Nile-water are collected by R. Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 93.

[4] Heliod. 9. 9 καὶ γάρ πως συνέπεσε καὶ τὰ Νειλῶα τότε τὴν μεγίστην παρ' Αἰγυπτίοις ἑορτὴν ἐνεστηκέναι, κατὰ τροπὰς μὲν τὰς θερινὰς μάλιστα καὶ ὅτ' ἀρχὴν τῆς αὐξήσεως ὁ ποταμὸς ἐμφαίνει τελουμένην, κ.τ.λ. On the Νειλῶα see R. Wagner in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 91.

[5] Sweating or weeping statues, whether ancient (*e.g.* Cic. *de div.* i. 74, 2. 58, Iul. Obs. 31, Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 36 (*supra* i. 585), cp. *supra* ii. 428) or modern (*e.g.* P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1907 iv. 165), are ἄλλος λόγος.

[6] W. Weber *Drei Untersuchungen zur ägyptisch-griechischen Religion* Heidelberg 1911 pp. 42, 48 (summarised by G. Roeder in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1872 f.) comes to the conclusion that the god Kanopos was a local type of Osiris-Neilos worshipped at the mouth of the Nile. Osiris was hidden inside the jar in the form of Nile-water, which is known to have played a considerable part in late religious rites (*e.g.* Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 36 οὐ μόνον δὲ τὸν Νεῖλον ἀλλὰ πᾶν ὑγρὸν ἁπλῶς Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροὴν καλοῦσι· καὶ τῶν ἱερῶν ἀεὶ προπομπεύει τὸ ὑδρεῖον ἐπὶ τιμῇ τοῦ θεοῦ). More exactly, according to Weber, Kanopos was the Osiris-Neilos of fresh water: Set-Typhon, his opponent, stood for



1

2

The so-called 'Canopic jars' of Egypt, surmounted by the heads of the four children of Horos:

(1) A typical set (A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* London 1894 p. 306).

(2) A set in veined alabaster, now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 345 *n.* 1.

The nearest parallel to the effigy of Kanopos is to be found, not in the so-called 'Canopic jars' used to contain the *viscera* of the deceased and commonly topped by the heads of the four children of Horos[1], but in certain remarkable *simulacra*, which may be seen

the salt water of the sea, which as the river sank forced its way up the river-bed. Thus the old conflict between Osiris and Set was interpreted at Kanopos as a struggle between the river-water and the sea-water. When the priests of Kanopos found fresh water streaming into their holy vessel, they celebrated with joy the finding of Osiris. Weber seeks support for his reconstruction in Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 39 (Typhon's drought attacks and masters the moisture that generates and nurtures the Nile. Typhon's ally is the Queen of the Aithiopes, *i.e.* south winds that master the etesian winds, which were driving the clouds towards Aithiopia and so bringing rain to increase the Nile. Typhon and his ally send a weakened and lowered river to the sea—a fact represented by the enclosure of Osiris in his coffin. This happens in the month Athyr, when the nights grow longer and daylight declines. The priests then drape a gilded cow in a black *himátion* of fine linen—the cow representing Isis or the earth—and exhibit it for four days from the 17th of the month [=Nov. 13—16: see Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 84]. But on the 19th they go down by night to the sea, and the drapers (*στολισταί*) and priests bring out the sacred ark (*κίστη*) containing a golden casket (*κιβώτιον*), into which they pour drinkable water. A shout is raised by the people present, who cry that Osiris has been found! Then they mix fruitful soil with the water (*τὴν κάρπιμον* (Xylander and others cjj. *γῆν κάρπιμον*) *φυρῶσι τῷ ὕδατι*), add costly spices and incense, and mould a little moon-shaped image (*μηνοειδὲς ἀγαλμάτιον*), which they clothe and adorn, thereby indicating their belief that these deities are essentially earth and water).

[1] E. A. Wallis Budge *The Mummy* Cambridge 1893 pp. 194—201 states that four such jars were regularly employed by the Egyptians to contain the principal intestines of the dead. They were dedicated respectively to the man-headed Mesthâ or Âmset, the dog-headed Ḥâpi, the jackal-headed Ṭuamâutef, and the hawk-headed Qebḥsennuf. These four gods of the dead are described as the children of Horus or the children of Osiris and themselves stood under the protection of four goddesses, *viz.* Isis, Nephthys, Neith, and Selket or Serqet. G. Elliot Smith—W. R. Dawson *Egyptian Mummies* London 1924 pp. 144—147 ('The Canopic Jars') point out that down to the end of the eighteenth dynasty the jars had human heads, but that later they were made to resemble the four children of Horus (human, hawk, jackal, ape), the liver being protected by Imsety, the stomach by Duamutef, the lungs by Hapy, and the intestines by Qebeh-snewef. A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 317 describes and *ib.* p. 306 figures (= my pl. xxxiii, 1) a typical set of the four jars. Pl. xxxiii, 2 is from a set, made of alabaster, in my possession. See also H. R. Hall in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 459[b], A. H. Gardiner *The Tomb of Amenemhēt* London 1915 p. 113. In no case is there any justification for the current term 'Canopic.'

Forrer *Reallex.* p. 392, without citing his authority, says that such jars served 'zur Aufbewahrung des Nilwassers und der Mumieneingeweide.' In this connexion note Aristeid. *or.* 48. 362 (ii. 485 Dindorf) *μόνοι δὴ ὧν ἴσμεν Αἰγύπτιοι κεράμια ὕδατος ὥσπερ ἄλλοι οἶνου πιμπλᾶσι, καὶ ἔχουσι τριῶν καὶ τεττάρων ἐτῶν ἕνδον καὶ ἔτι πλειόνων καὶ τῷ χρόνῳ σεμνύνουσιν, ὥσπερ ἡμεῖς τὸν οἶνον. ἢ καὶ τούτου φήσει τις αἴτιον εἶναι ὅτι ἐξ ὄμβρων αὔξεται;* In view of the fact that corpses or parts of corpses, *e.g.* the head, are frequently drenched with water as a rain-charm (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 284 ff., J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 431 ('At Ourfa...we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham')), it is presumably possible that ordinary intestine-jars may on occasion have been used for the same purpose; but evidence is lacking.

on the imperial coinage of Alexandreia (figs. 220—232). R. S. Poole[1] said of them:

'The Canopi represent Osiris and Isis, Osiris being probably Sarapis. The Canopus of Osiris is of two forms, (1) draped and wearing the atef-crown, which consisted of the crown of Upper Egypt, between two plumes, above the rams' horns [fig. 220[2]]; and (2) adorned with figures and wearing the crown with disk and plumes above the ram's horns with uraei [figs. 221[3], 222, 224[4], 223[6]]. The Canopus of Isis is draped, with a uraeus in front of the body of the vase, and wears the headdress of cow's horns and lunar disk [fig. 225[6]]. These types cannot as yet be further discriminated. The two headdresses of Osiris are indiscriminately used by the ancient Egyptians, and therefore we cannot assign them to particular forms. No doubt in Alexandrian usage they designated such forms, or they would not occur together in one coin-type [figs. 226[7], 227[8], 228, 229[9], 230[10], 232[11]].'

These joint representations show the two 'Canopi' of Osiris set on a couple of cushions and facing us upon a garlanded base

The 'Canopic' shape might be given to a variety of gods and goddesses. J. G. Milne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 286—290 published a limestone *stêle* in the Ghizeh Museum (no. 9267), which on each of its four faces had a sunk panel with reliefs, flanked by a verse quotation, below the panel a row of 'Canopic' figures, and lower again a metrical inscription: (*a*) A helmeted bust with a circular shield and crossed spears beneath it, flanked by *Il.* 5. 31, then from right to left 'Canopi' of Osiris, Horus, Isis, Nephthys (?), and the lines *εἰμὶ μὲν ἐξ ἱερῆς στρατιῆς ὄπλοισιν ἀρωγός | Καίσαρος ἐν πολέμοις ἠδ' Ἄρεος θεράπων· | πολλὰ δ' ἐν εὐσεβέεσ(σ)ι θεῶν ἔργοις μεμόγηκ[α] | σώματι καὶ θύμῳ, χήρα[ος οὐ]κ ἀλέγων· | οὕνεκ' ἐπαιν[ήσαντες ἐπ' εὐτάκτοιο [βίοιο] | [νοῦ]ν τε σαοφροσύνη[ν τ' ἀστοὶ ἐπεκλέϊσαν]*. (*b*) A helmeted bust with a sea-horse beneath it, flanked by *Od.* 9. 528, then 'Canopi' of Thoth, Amon, Mut, and in lieu of an epigram *Il.* 15. 187—191. (*c*) A helmeted bust with an eagle on a thunderbolt beneath it, flanked by *Il.* 2. 412, then 'Canopi' of some missing deity, Shu, Tefnut, Hathor, and the lines *εἷς Καῖσαρ, μέγας αὐτοκράτωρ, εἷς κοίρανος ἔστω, | εἷς βασιλεύς, ᾧ ἔδωκε Κρόνου παῖς ἀγκυλομήτης* (*sic*—an adaptation of *Il.* 2. 204 f. On such *formulae* see E. Petersen ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Göttingen 1926 *passim*)· | *Ζῆνα μέγαν Κρονίδην ὑψίζυγον ἀργικέ[ραυνον], | [...] ἅμα προφρον[.....]πον ἐνν[.....] | [--]αινεφιλ[.....]ηνα[.....] (e.g. τῷ δ' ἅμα προφρονέως γε βαρύκτυπον Ἐννοσίγαιον | σύν τε κελαινεφ(έ)α προσέφην Ἀΐδην ἀδάμαστον)*. (*d*) A helmeted bust (?) with a doubtful creature beneath it, flanked by lettering now lost, then 'Canopi' of Ra, Atum, Nut, and the lines *Ἄγριος ἱστιάει κατ' ἔτος δὶς δῆμον ἅπαντα | Πανὸς δρεσσινόμοιο κατ' εἰλαπ[ί]νας Φοίβοιο, | ἄνδρε δύ' ἄρχοντας καλέων κατὰ ἕθνος ἕκαστον· | [τοῦ τ' ἔ]βηνους ἱερῆας ἑω[θε] χοῶν τε συνέρ[γους] | εἰς ἑκατὸν δὶς παν[τὸς ὁμῶ]ς λυκάβαντος [ἀγῆλ]ᾳι*. The *stêle* dates from the end of *s.* i B.C. and comes from Alexandreia. F. Ll. Griffith suggests 'that the underlying idea is probably astrological: thus, the opposite sides (4) and (2) are headed by Ra and Thoth for Sun and Moon: (1) has Osiris, possibly for the planet Jupiter, and the lost figure in the front of (3) may have been Geb, the planet Saturn. To each of these leaders were then added his usual associates in Egyptian religious tradition.'

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. lxvii f.

[2] *Ib.* p. 75 no. 625 pl. 18 (=my fig. 220, from a cast) Hadrian.

[3] *Ib.* p. 32 no. 268 pl. 18 (=my fig. 221, from a cast) Vespasian.

[4] *Ib.* p. 91 no. 775 pl. 18 (=my fig. 222, from a cast) Hadrian. Fig. 224 is from a specimen in my collection, likewise struck by Hadrian.

[5] *Ib.* p. 289 no. 2214 pl. 18 (=my fig. 223, from a cast) Gallienus.

[6] *Ib.* p. 75 no. 633 pl. 18 (=my fig. 225, from a cast) Hadrian.

[7] *Ib.* p. 54 no. 452 pl. 18 (=my fig. 226, from a cast) Trajan.

[8] *Ib.* p. 75 no. 632 pl. 18 (=my fig. 227, from a cast) Hadrian.

Fig. 220.

Fig. 221.

Fig. 222.

Fig. 223.

Fig. 224.

Fig. 225.

Fig. 226.

Fig. 227.

Fig. 228.

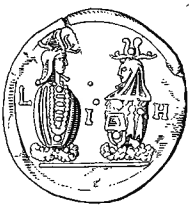


Fig. 229.

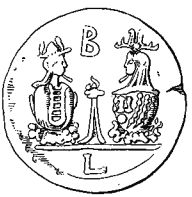


Fig. 230.

Fig. 231.

[9] Fig. 228 is from a specimen in my collection (Hadrian [L] I H) = 133—134 A.D. Cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 92 no. 779 pl. 18 (=my fig. 229).

[10] *Ib.* p. 134 no. 1133 pl. 18 (=my fig. 230, from a cast) Antoninus Pius.

[11] *Ib.* p. 134 no. 1134 pl. 18 (=my fig. 232, from a cast) Antoninus Pius.

(fig. 226), or more often confronting each other (figs. 227—231), sometimes with a flaming *thymiatérion* between them (fig. 230) or housed in a common shrine with papyrus-headed columns (fig. 231[1]), or finally upborne side by side on the spread wings of an eagle (fig. 232)[2]. The numismatic 'Canopi' of Osiris resemble the legendary effigy of Kanopos more closely than do the ordinary 'Canopic' jars, and that in two respects. For one thing, there can be no doubt that the Osirian 'Canopi' were definitely worshipped as deities. For

Fig. 232.

another, they were not only surmounted by a human head, but also decorated with various figures. It is even possible that the series of dots seen on the Osiris-'Canopi' (figs. 224, 228, etc.) were holes stuffed with wax like those of Kanopos himself.

A further possibility is deserving of mention. Since Nile-water was in effect the equivalent of snow and rain, the Nile was popularly regarded as in some sort a copy of the sky[3]. Parmenon of Byzantion[4] (*s.* iii B.C.) ventured to equate the river-god with the sky-god, when he penned a choliambic address to—

'Nile, Zeus of the Egyptians.'

[1] *Ib.* p. 102 no. 877 pl. 28 (=my fig. 231) Hadrian. Cp. *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 453 no. 363 Hadrian, 481 no. 544 L. Verus.

[2] An engraved cornelian at Florence shows the Canopus of Isis carried by a female griffin, which rests its right paw on a four-spoked wheel (A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum* Florentiae 1731 i pl. 58, 9, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 33 no. 58, 9 pl. 29).

[3] Heliod. 9. 9 (cited *supra* p. 344 n. 1).

[4] Athen. 203 c *μόνος γὰρ ὡς ἀληθῶς ὁ χρυσορρόας καλούμενος Νεῖλος μετὰ τροφῶν ἀφθόνων καὶ χρυσὸν ἀκίβδηλον καταφέρει, ἀκινδύνως γεωργούμενον, ὡς πᾶσιν ἐξαρκεῖν ἀνθρώποις, δίκην Τριπτολέμου* (*supra* i. 222 f., 227) *πεμπόμενον εἰς πᾶσαν γῆν. διόπερ αὐτὸν καὶ ὁ Βυζάντιος ποιητὴς Παρμένων ἐπικαλούμενος "Αἰγύπτιε Ζεῦ," φησί, "Νεῖλε."* Cp. schol. vet. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 99 *τέμενος Κρονίδα· τὸν Νεῖλον Κρονίδαν* [*φησίν*], *ὡς Παρμένων· "Αἰγύπτιε Ζεῦ Νεῖλε." ἀναλογεῖν γὰρ τοῖς τοῦ Διὸς ὄμβροις τὸ τοῦ Νείλου ὕδωρ, καὶ ὥσπερ ἀντίστροφόν τινα τοῦτον τῷ Διὶ εἶναι.*

A coin of Alexandreia already figured (*supra* i. 361 fig. 277) equips Zeus with the *cornu copiae* of Neilos.

At Silsilis (*Djebel Selseleh*), on the right bank of the Nile in Upper Egypt, a *stéle* was found bearing an inscription flanked by two reliefs—on one side a sacred tree, on the other a bull and a young man holding a torch or stick in his left hand[1]. This was 'the salutation of Leonidas the helmsman to Neilos Zeus called *Nephótes* the Greatest' and is dated in the year 106/7 A.D.[2] Now *Nephótes*, as A. H. Sayce[3] pointed out, is a Grecised form of the Egyptian *Neb-pet*, 'Lord of Heaven.' There was, moreover, a long-standing belief that the Nile was a celestial river[4], and sundry mythographers identified it as such with Eridanos or Okeanos[5]. Kanobos the helmsman gave his name to a star[6] appearing low down beneath this constellation[7]. It is therefore quite conceivable that the rounded body of Kanopos was treated as a *quasi*-sky, and that the figures with which it was adorned were those of stars or constellations. Support for the conjecture is not far to seek.

If Kanobos was thus identified with Osiris, his wife Theonoe[8] or Eumenouthis[9] seems to have been equated with Isis. In this connexion a small Nolan *amphora* once belonging to the Museo Vivenzio must be taken into account. An old drawing here reproduced (fig. 233)[10] shows the two sides of the vase as one continuous

[1] C. R. Lepsius *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1849—1859 xii. 82 no. 188 (inscription only).

[2] A. H. Sayce in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1894 vii. 297 f. no. ix (inscription only) = Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 676 = F. Preisigke *Sammelbuch Griechischer Urkunden aus Ägypten* Strassburg 1915 i. 7 no. 23 *τὸ προσ|κύνημα [Δε]|ωνίδου κυβε|ρνήτου Νείλου| Διὸς καλου[μένου]| Νεφώτου τοῦ| [μ]εγίστου.* | L *ι' Τραϊανοῦ Καί[σα]ρος τοῦ κυρίου.* Sayce and Dittenberger assume that *κυβερνήτου Νείλου* should be taken together as 'helmsman of the Nile.'

[3] A. H. Sayce *loc. cit.*, cp. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt—D. G. Hogarth *Fayûm Towns and their Papyri* London 1900 p. 255 no. cv Col. ii, 14 Nefotian(us).

[4] *Supra* i. 349 n. 2.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1025.

[6] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 22.

[7] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 32 Canopos, whose source (see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 248 n. 4) was pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 37 *Κάνωβος.*

[8] Konon *narr.* 8 *τὰ περὶ Πρωτέως τοῦ Αἰγυπτίου μάντεως, οὗ ἡ θυγάτηρ Θεονόη ἐρασθεῖσα Κανώβου (ἦν δ' οὗτος κυβερνήτης Μενελάου τοῦ Τρῳου* (D. Hoeschel cj. *'Ατρέως*)) *ἀποτυγχάνει· κ.τ.λ.*

[9] Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 209 Dindorf) *Κάνωβός τε ὁ Μενελάου κυβερνήτης καὶ ἡ τούτου γυνὴ Εὐμενουθὶς ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ τεθαμμένοι τιμῶνται πρὸς τῇ ὄχθῃ τῆς θαλάσσης, ἀπὸ δεκαδύο σημείων διεστῶτες.*

[10] G. Patroni *Vasi dipinti del Museo Vivenzio disegnati da Costanzo Angelini nel MDCCXCVIII* Rome and Naples 1900 p. 5 pl. 29, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 279 f. fig. 70 (= my fig. 233).

design. The obverse gives a scene from Greek cult; the reverse, a corresponding scene from Egyptian cult. In the one case we have the evocation of the Greek earth-goddess: she starts up at the very feet of a youth, who has just struck the ground with his mattock[1]. In the other case a bearded and somewhat deformed man with a staff in his right hand is consulting a 'Canopus.' The jar, as on sundry Alexandrine coins (fig. 225) and gems of imperial date[2], has

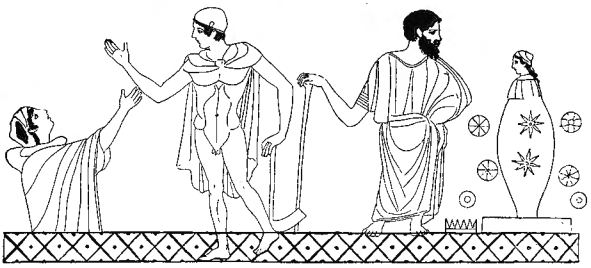


Fig. 233.

its cover shaped like the head of Isis. It is decorated with two stars—a feature in which it is not unique[3]; for Isis was the 'Queen of Heaven' and wore a robe glittering with stars[4]. It is surrounded by rosettes and circles, the meaning of which is doubtful. The object lying on the ground between the Isis-jar and the worshipper is (if we may put faith in Angelini's drawing) probably not a spiked crown[5], but cult furniture of some sort. It might conceivably be the

[1] C. Robert *Archaeologische Maerchen aus alter und neuer Zeit* Berlin 1886 pp. 179—202 ('Die Rückkehr der Kore') pls. 2—5 (especially pl. 5, *A* and *C*), J. E. Harrison in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 232 ff., 1900 xx. 105 ff., *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 276 ff. ('The Anodos of the Maiden Earth-goddesses'), 639 f., *Themis*[2] p. 416 ff. On evocations see further W. Headlam in the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 52—61.

[2] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 471 f.

[3] A. F. Gori *Gemmae antiquae ex thesauro mediceo et privatorum dactyliothecis Florentiae exhibentes tab. C* etc. Florentiae 1731 i. 49 pl. 59, 2 = Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 33 no. 59, 2 pl. 29, cp. C. W. King *Antique Gems and Rings* London 1872 ii. 46 pl. 7, 9 ('Canopus, with the head of Athor, flanked by two Asps; on the belly of the vase is the solar disk').

[4] Apul. *met.* 11. 2 regina caeli, 11. 4 per intextam extremitatem et in ipsa eius planitie stellae dispersae coruscabant earumque media semenstris luna flammeos spirabat ignes. See W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 433 ff. and R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 i. 69 f.

[5] So G. Patroni *op. cit.* p. 5, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 280.

mountain-emblem of *HA*, one of the most ancient gods of the Delta, whose priest purified the king at his coronation with the 'waters of all-satisfying life[1].' But I incline to think that rosettes, circles, and *quasi*-crown are merely loaves and cakes set out before the goddess. In any case the Egyptian scene balances the Greek scene; for Isis too was an earth-power[2]—indeed Plutarch says that the Egyptians spoke of the earth, when flooded and fructified by the Nile, as 'the body of Isis[3].' That a Greek potter should thus combine home ritual with foreign ritual is certainly exceptional[4], but not altogether surprising. If an early Ionic *hydría* could represent the sacrifice of Bousiris with some approach to Egyptian *vraisemblance*[5], a late local Italian (? Oscan) *amphora* may well have reflected the growing familiarity of the Greek world with the observances of the Delta. In after days Egyptian spells came to be much valued in Greek lands[6]. But this vase has a special interest as affording the earliest extant Greek or *quasi*-Greek representation of a 'Canopic' divinity.

The Vivenzio vase, after being drawn by Angelini in 1798, disappeared from view. But thirty years later Raoul Rochette published an *amphora* of remarkably similar aspect (fig. 234)[7]—so similar in fact that it must be the self-same vase—and this in 1865

[1] See the important paper by P. E. Newberry 'Two Cults of the Old Kingdom' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1908 i. 24 ff.

[2] W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 442 ff.

[3] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 38 ὡς δὲ Νεῖλον Ὀσίριδος ἀπορροήν, οὕτως Ἶσιδος σῶμα γῆν ἔχουσι καὶ νομίζουσιν, οὐ πᾶσαν ἀλλ' ἧς ὁ Νεῖλος ἐπιβαίνει σπερμαίνων καὶ μιγνύμενος.

[4] R. Hackl 'Mumienverehrung auf einer schwarzfigurig attischen Lekythos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 195—203 with 3 figs. (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1909 xiii. 498 with fig.) publishes a black-figured *lékythos* at Munich (height 0·17^{m}: *provenance* unknown), which in the clear but slightly careless style of *c.* 500 B.C. shows three men prostrating themselves with gestures of grief before and behind a narrow vertical oblong, covered with a network- or trellis-pattern and surmounted by a male head in profile with wreath (?) and pointed beard. The men wear loin-cloths only: two cloaks are hung in the background. Leafy sprays are visible to left and right of the pillar-like figure. Hackl argues that this figure cannot be a herm (no arm-stumps, no *phallós*), nor yet a Dionysos *Perikiónios* (tree-stem or pillar usually clothed, Dionysos-mask above adorned with vines), but must be the mummy of some Greek, who dying in the Delta was embalmed and lamented by his friends in Egyptian fashion (*προσκύνησις*, loin-cloths)—possiby as a divinised Osiris-Dionysos.

[5] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 255 ff. pl. 51, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 179 ff. iii. 35 figs. 152, 153, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale University Press pp. 126, 134, 163 figs. 214, 257. *Supra* i. 513 n. 1 with fig. 381.

[6] Loukian. *philops.* 31.

[7] Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 369 ff. pl. 64 (=my fig. 234). The learned author interprets the vase-painting as a combination of two analogous scenes—'*nécyomancie* homérique' (Odysseus evoking the soul of Antikleia) and '*τὸ νεκυομαντεῖον*' near Cumae (Diod. 4. 22, Strab. 244) at which Demos or Choros is consulting the oracle of a 'Canopic' jar.

passed from the Pourtalès collection[1] to a permanent home in the British Museum[2]. It is a red-figured *amphora* of late, coarse style, and is officially stated to have come from the Basilicata in South Italy. Its design is identical with that of the Vivenzio vase, apart from the fact that the decorative details about the 'Canopus' (stars, rosettes, circles, 'crown') are now missing. Mr H. B. Walters, however, who kindly examined the vase afresh on my behalf, reports as follows (May 15, 1911):

'F 147. R.-Rochette's publication seems to be fairly adequate and accurate. I should like to know if there is any record of the history of this vase before it came into the Pourtalès collection, where it evidently was about 1825—1830.

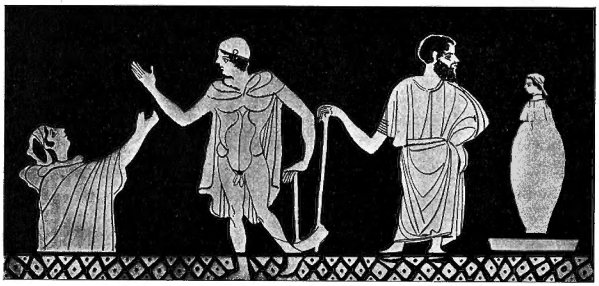


Fig. 234.

It must surely be the same as the Vivenzio vase though Miss H[arrison] hasn't realised the fact. As to the stars and circles I can only suppose they were restorations which were subsequently removed. I had no knowledge of the Vivenzio publication when the Catalogue was made.

P.S. Since writing the above I have again carefully examined F 147, and find the marks as given by Miss H[arrison] *are all there*, but *very faintly engraved in the varnish.* I doubt if they are original. There is also a crown on the other side of the vase, not given in the drawing. Any way this proves its identity with our vase.'

[1] T. Panofka *Antiquités du cabinet du comte Pourtalès-Gorgier* Paris 1834 p. 72 pl. 22. *Id.* in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1829 i. 302 f. (Gaia emerges, disturbed by a grave-digger: a father views with grief the 'Canopic' jar of his dead child).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 71 no. F 147. Mr Walters takes the subject to be 'Probably a representation of digging a spring' ('(*a*) Bearded male figure...looking...towards a Canopic jar resting on a plinth, which terminates in a female head. (*b*) Part of the same scene: A female figure...(probably representing the Nymph of a spring)...extending r. hand to a beardless male figure...'). The explanation is unconvincing.

1 *a*

1 *b*

2 *a*

2 *b*

Amphora from the Basilica, now in the British Museum :
(1 *a*—1 *b*) Evocation of the Greek Earth-goddess.
(2 *a*—2 *b*) Consultation of an Isiac 'Canopus.'

See page 349 ff. with figs. 233, 234

Finally Mr F. N. Pryce has furnished me with recent photographs of the four figures (pl. xxxiv), on which the faint markings have been added in white paint.

The use of holed vessels as a rain-charm agrees well with what we know of Libyan beliefs concerning the sky. According to Herodotos, the Libyans who planted the followers of Battos beside the fountain of Apollon at Kyrene addressed them in these words: 'Men of Hellas, here it is fitting for you to dwell, for here the sky is bored through[1].' My friend and colleague the late Dr A. Wright pointed out that this description furnishes us with an answer to the conundrum propounded by Virgil's Damoetas:

> Say in what lands—and be my great Apollo—
> There is a hole in heaven three ells across[2].

Eustathios takes Herodotos' words to mean that the sky resembled a reservoir, which though sound elsewhere was holed over Libye and so dropped abundant rain to the advantage of Libyan vegetation[3]. It would seem then that the Libyans thus naïvely accounted for the torrential rain, which in point of fact commonly falls at Kyrene during the rainy season from the middle of November onwards[4]. It is also noteworthy that, according to Theophrastos, the wood near Kyrene sprang up as the result of a heavy pitchy rain, and that *silphion* had been produced for the first time from

[1] Hdt. 4. 158 *ἄνδρες Ἕλληνες, ἐνθαῦτα ὑμῖν ἐπιτήδεον οἰκέειν· ἐνθαῦτα γὰρ ὁ οὐρανὸς τέτρηται.*

On the analogous Semitic conception of 'the windows of heaven' (Gen. 7. 11, 8. 2, 2 Kings 7. 2, Is. 24. 18, Mal. 3. 10) see I. Benzinger *Hebräische Archäologie*[3] Leipzig 1927 p. 163.

It is possible that some such significance was attached to the louver or circular opening in the dome of the Pantheon at Rome. For the coffered ceiling of that remarkable structure (Durm *Baukunst d. Röm.*[2] p. 550 ff., especially fig. 645. A fuller bibliography will be given *infra* p. 441 n. 7), spangled with rosettes or stars (?) of gilded bronze (Durm *op. cit.*[2] p. 565, W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 81), must have produced and been intended to produce much the effect of a miniature sky (cp. *supra* i. 751 f., ii. 354 f., 360 f., 1150).

[2] Verg. *ecl.* 3. 104 f. dic quibus in terris—et eris mihi magnus Apollo—tria pateat caeli spatium non amplius ulnas. Wright's solution of this well-known problem (in the *Class. Rev.* 1901 xv. 258) appears to me much more probable than either of those advanced by Serv. *ad loc.* (the grave of Caelius, the well at Syene—the former the guess of a would-be wit, the latter a pedantic attempt to improve upon the claims of Libye), let alone the follies recorded in J. Conington's note.

[3] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 742. 22 ff. *ὁ δὲ περί τινα Λιβυκὴν γῆν τετρῆσθαι τὸν οὐρανὸν φάμενος ἄλλως γηπονικῶς ἐτερατεύσατο. ἐθέλει γὰρ εἰπεῖν τὸν οὐρανὸν ὡς οἷα καί τινα δεξαμενὴν ἐν μὲν ταῖς ἄλλαις γαίαις ἐστεγανῶσθαι, περὶ δὲ τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖνον οἷον συντετρῆσθαι ὡς ὑετὸν συχνὸν ἐξερεύγεσθαι καὶ ἄρδειν τὰ ἐκεῖ πρὸς τροφιμότητα.*

[4] See H. Stein on Hdt. 4. 158, and A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 2. 14, 22, 3. 10, 4. 185.

a similar shower of pitch[1] seven years before the date (*c.* 611 B.C.[2]) of Kyrene's foundation[3].

ii. The holed vessel in Greece.

The custom of pouring water into a holed *píthos* or *hydría* by way of a rain-charm has left traces of itself, not only in the rites and myths of northern Egypt, but also in those of Greece. Nor is this to be wondered at, if—as I incline to surmise—the said custom belonged to a race, which at an early date occupied both regions, the Graeco-Libyans or Libyo-Greeks postulated by Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie[4]. It is even permissible to use less general terms and to refer the practice to a particular tribe, the *Daànàu* or *Danauna*, who along with other maritime allies are known to have attacked the kingdom of Rameses iii at a date shortly after 1200 B.C.[5] For there can be little or no doubt that this tribe has been correctly identified with the Danaoi[6] of Homer; and they in turn cannot be separated from their eponym Danaos[7], or his daughters the Danaïdes, whose water-carrying furnishes the best parallel to the alleged ritual of Akanthos in Lower Egypt[8].

[1] Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 1. 5 f., *de caus. pl.* 1. 5. 1, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 143, 22. 100.

[2] L. Malten *Kyrene* Berlin 1911 p. 190 ff., H. C. Broholm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 158 f.

[3] Theophr. *hist. pl.* 6. 3. 3, Plin. *nat. hist.* 19. 41. The schol. Aristoph. *eq.* 894 states that Aristaios, son of Apollon and Kyrene, was the first who discovered how to cultivate *silphion* and to produce honey.

[4] W. M. Flinders Petrie in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 276 f.

[5] *Supra* i. 362 f. To the authorities there cited add H. R. Hall in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 184, *id. The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 380 ff., *id.* in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 283 f., A. J. B. Wace *ib.* 1923 i. 177, F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 28 f., 1001. The Egyptian texts are collected and translated in H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*[1] Berlin 1921 pp. 50, 54 ff.

[6] D. D. Luckenbill 'Jadanan and Javan (Danaans and Ionians)' in the *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* 1913 xxviii. 92—99, L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 81 ff.

The latter *loc. cit.* p. 83 n. 1 is tempted 'to see some connection, in name at least, between the Danuna and Dan....Perhaps Danite sea-farers [Judges 5. 17] were in the service of the Philistines and migrated with them,—the tribe disappears from later Hebrew history,—or possibly one section of the Philistines occupied territory that had belonged to Dan, and so were called Danuna.' Such speculations are rash, though far less so than those of the Abbé E. Fourrière concerning 'the emigrant tribe of Dan' (discreetly abbreviated in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 183, cp. the same writer in the *Revue d'exégèse mythologique* vii no. 39 pp. 313—318).

[7] Bernhard in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 952—954, O. Waser 'Danaos und die Danaïden' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1899 ii. 47—63, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2094—2098.

[8] *Supra* p. 338 f.

(α) Water-carrying in the myth of the Danaïdes.

The story of the Danaïdes is told as follows by Apollodoros[1]. Danaos and Aigyptos were twin-brothers. Belos, their father, settled Danaos in Libye, Aigyptos in Arabia. Aigyptos, however, conquered the Melampodes and named their land Egypt after himself. The two brothers had, by various wives, a numerous progeny—Danaos fifty daughters, Aigyptos fifty sons. They became rival claimants to the throne; and Danaos, fearing the sons of Aigyptos, at Athena's instigation put his daughters on board a ship[2], which he devised for the purpose, and fled. He touched at Rhodes, where he set up the image of Athena *Lindía*[3]. Thence he came to Argos, and Gelanor the Argive king abdicated in his favour[4]. < Having thus become master of the country, he named the inhabitants *Danaoí* after himself[5]. > The country was then suffering from a drought; for Poseidon had dried up its springs, being wroth with Inachos for

[1] Apollod. 2. 1. 4, cp. schol. *Il.* 1. 42, Hyg. *fab.* 168—170. For variants see K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1005 f., O. Waser *ib.* iv. 2087 ff., 2094 ff.

[2] So also schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 4 ἄλλοι δὲ λέγουσι (*μέντοι φασὶ* cod. Paris.) Δαναὸν διωκόμενον ὑπὸ Αἰγύπτου πρῶτον κατασκευάσαι (*sc.* ναῦν)· ὅθεν καὶ Δαναΐς ἐκλήθη. Hyg. *fab.* 168 tunc primum dicitur Minerva navem fecisse biproram in qua Danaus profugeret follows schol. A. D. *Il.* 1. 42 καὶ ὑποθεμένης Ἀθηνᾶς αὐτῷ ναῦν πρῶτος κατεσκεύασε τὴν κληθεῖσαν ὡς ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀριθμοῦ τῶν θυγατέρων αὐτοῦ πεντηκόντορον.

[3] On whom see a valuable paper by C. Blinkenberg 'La déesse de Lindos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 154—165 with figs. 1—11.

[4] On the succession of Danaos to Gelanor see Paus. 2. 16. 1 and the interesting omen in Paus. 2. 19. 3 f. (wolf kills bull = Danaos deposes Gelanor, and founds sanctuary of Apollon Λύκιος). Plout. *v. Pyrrh.* 32 locates the omen near Pyramia in Thyreatis, and speaks of Gelanor as driven out by a *στάσις*. Interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 377 makes Apollon give an oracle to Danaos 'ut profectus ubi invenisset taurum et lupum inter se pugnantes, spectaret exitum pugnae, et si taurus vicisset, Neptuno templa construeret; si vero lupus, Apollini delubrum sacraret. sed cum Danaus lupum videret vicisse, Apollini Lycio templum dedit.' This famous encounter is commemorated on a late autonomous bronze coin of Argos, which has *obv.* the forepart of a wolf to the right, *rev.* HPAKΛE I[T]OY the forepart of a bull to the right. This is usually described as 'running' (P. Gardner) or 'charging' (S. W. Grose), but may rather be moribund (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 147 pl. 28, 9 (=my fig. 235), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 460 pl. 232, 31, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 440).

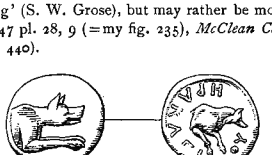


Fig. 235.

[5] These words were added to the text of Apollodoros by B. Aegius in the *editio princeps* of 1555 from the concluding sentence of schol. A. D. *Il.* 1. 42 αὐτὸς δὲ κρατήσας τῆς χώρας ἀφ' ἑαυτοῦ τοὺς ἐνοικοῦντας Δαναοὺς ὠνόμασεν. ἱστορεῖ Ἀπολλόδωρος ἐν β'.

declaring that the land belonged to Hera[1]. Danaos therefore sent his daughters to seek for water. One of them, Amymone by name, while going on this errand, shot at a stag, but hit a sleeping Satyr, and was saved from his embraces by the appearance of Poseidon. To him she yielded; and he showed her the springs at Lerna. Meantime the sons of Aigyptos came to Argos, demanding the restoration of peace and a marriage with their fifty cousins. Danaos, who distrusted these professions and bore a grudge on account of his exile, agreed to the proposals and distributed the damsels by lot. The names of grooms and brides are duly recorded[2]. Danaos made the wedding-feast, but secretly supplied his daughters with daggers. They, when their bridegrooms fell asleep, slew them all, with a sole exception—that of Hypermnestra, who saved Lynkeus for respecting her virginity[3] and was for that reason imprisoned by Danaos. The rest of his daughters buried the heads of their bridegrooms at Lerna and performed funeral rites over the bodies in front of the city[4]. They were purified themselves, at the bidding of Zeus, by Athena and Hermes. Danaos subsequently bestowed Hypermnestra upon Lynkeus, and offered his other daughters as prizes in a gymnastic contest[5].

The tale thus told is long and clearly composite. It is not difficult to pick out certain parts of it and to bracket them as being mythical accretions or embellishments of no central significance. The explanation of the Argive drought as due to Inachos' partisanship of Hera was hardly an original feature, at least of this story[6]. The incident of Amymone, the Satyr, and Poseidon is an obvious

[1] Ἀθηνᾶς codd. C. G. Heyne cj. Ἥρας, cp. Paus. 2. 15. 5. [2] Cp. Hyg. *fab.* 170.

[3] So also schol. *Il.* 4. 171, schol. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 10. But schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886 *μία δὲ μόνη τούτων ἡ Ὑπερμνήστρα ἐφείσατο τοῦ Λυγκέως, ἀπὸ τῆς μίξεως διάθεσιν ἐσχηκυῖα πρὸς αὐτόν* assigns a love-motive, which—as C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 132 points out—is as old as Aisch. *P.v.* 865 f. *μίαν δὲ παίδων ἵμερος θέλξει τὸ μή | κτεῖναι σύνευνον, κ.τ.λ.* and is further supported by the pleading of Aphrodite in Aisch. *Danaïdes* [*frag.* 44 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 600 A—B].

[4] Others agree that Danaos deposited the heads of the Aigyptiadai in Lerna (Zenob. 4. 86, Apostol. 10. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 334, Hesych. *s.v. Λέρνη κακῶν*, Phot. *lex. s.v. Λέρνη θεατῶν*, Souid. *s.v. Λέρνη θεατῶν*). But, according to Paus. 2. 24. 2, the sons of Aigyptos were murdered at Lerna, and their wives cut off the heads to show their father that the deed was done. The headless trunks remained at Lerna, but the heads were buried in a tomb on the left of the road leading up to the Argive *akrópolis*.

[5] So too Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 112 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.*, Paus. 3. 12. 2. Hyg. *fab.* 170 makes Lynkeus, after Danaos' death, present Abas, who had been the first to inform him of it, with the shield dedicated by Danaos to Hera. Lynkeus then consecrated the games held *quinto quoque anno* and known as *ἀσπὶς ἐν Ἄργει*. The Danaïdes after their father's decease married Argive husbands.

[6] Its proper setting is given by Paus. 2. 15. 5.

excrescence[1]. The catalogue of one hundred names reads like a didactic (Hesiodic?) addition[2]. And the suitors' race was not the only method of rounding off the tale[3].

But, *subtractis subtrahendis*, the residue of the myth has been handled in more ways than one. F. G. Welcker[4] took the Danaïdes to be the fifty weeks of the year—an opinion that remained his own. K. Schwenck[5] had suggested that they were the fifty moons which composed the cycle of the Olympian festival; and this notion, since with a little ingenuity it could be made to fit the case of other fifties[6], especially the fifty daughters of Endymion and Selene, and even the fifty daughters of Thestios, found considerable favour and is still hardly extinct[7]. Symbolism of another sort, topographical rather than chronological, appears in the picturesque but highly improbable view of L. Preller[8]. Making the most of a few particular cases—Amymone, Physadeia[9], Polydora[10]—he argued that all the Danaïdes were fountain-nymphs of the Argolid. The Aigyptiadai, descendants of the mighty Aigyptos (that is, of the Nile), could then be explained as torrents and rivers, which in winter rushed headlong

[1] H. D. Müller *Mythologie der griechischen Stämme* Göttingen 1861 i. 50, C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 142—144.

[2] They are interestingly discussed in Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 267 f. C. Robert argues that the list preserved by Apollodoros goes back to an epic source, probably to Hesiod (hence the epic character of the names, their epic prosody, often their Ionic dialect, and their suitability to hexameter verse. Peculiarly Hesiodic is their use of alliteration and even rime), but that the list given by Hyg. *fab.* 170, which has only 22 or perhaps 23 names in common with Apollodoros, is derived from some prose author (hence such names as *Themistagora*, *Demarchus*, *Demophile*, *Pamphilus*).

[3] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 162 f. shows that the suitors' race (Pind., Paus., Apollod.) and the Danaïdes' punishment in the Underworld (Hyg., etc.) 'belong to distinct traditions which are not easy to reconcile.' *Id. ib.* p. 133 holds that the latter version squares with that of schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886 (perhaps cp. Ov. *her.* 14. 115—118), in which Lynkeus avenges his brothers by slaying Danaos and all the Danaïdes except Hypermestra.

[4] F. G. Welcker *Kleine Schriften zur griechischen Literaturgeschichte* Bonn 1867 v. 50.

[5] K. Schwenck in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1856 x. 377 ff.

[6] W. H. Roscher *Die Zahl 50 in Mythus, Kultus, Epos und Taktik der Hellenen und anderer Völker, bes. der Semiten* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1917 xxxiii. 5), Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 283.

[7] A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 48 ff. ('Sagen, welche die Fünfzigzahl der Monate personifiziren'), J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1898 xii. 141, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 956 n. 5, F. M. Cornford in Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 231 f.

[8] L. Preller *Griechische Mythologie* Leipzig 1854 ii. 33 ff.

[9] Schol. Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 47. Cp. schol. A. Eur. *Phoen.* 188 Φῦσα (so W. Dindorf for *φύσα* cod.). In Euphor. *frag.* 19 *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* "Ασβωτος A. Meineke would correct *φυγάδειαν* to *Φυσάδειαν* (*Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 55, but see *id.* p. 402).

[10] Pherekyd. *frag.* 23 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 74 Müller)=*frag.* 8 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 61 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1212, Ant. Lib. 32 (after Nikandros *ἑτεροιουμένων α'*). See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2642 f.

like importunate suitors, but in summer sank low or were dried up altogether, their head-waters cut off by the local nymphs. Thus decapitated they were buried in the Lernaean marsh, where alone moisture yet lingered. Preller's explanation, accepted as sound by Bernhard[1], N. Wecklein[2], O. Waser[3], etc. and described as 'Ein geistvoller Erklärungsvorschlag' by C. Robert[4], is of course open to serious objections, which have been forcibly put by C. Bonner[5] and G. A. Megas[6]. Nor is the case materially strengthened, if, with V. Henry[7], we pronounce the Danaïdes to have been rain-goddesses.

These attempts at explanation, however ingenious, must be discarded. There is more to be said for the folk-tale comparisons made by L. Laistner and C. Bonner. Laistner[8], who regarded the race of the Argive suitors as the most important feature of the myth and combined it with the endless labour of the Danaïdes, took the whole story to exemplify the following mythical formula: 'A water-carrying field fairy is freed from an enchantment by a man who, in order to accomplish her deliverance, has to perform some feat involving bravery, strength, or endurance, as well as mortal danger in case of failure[9].' The Danaïdes are enchanted maidens, nymphs of the rain or the dew. The endless water-carrying is the magic spell. The sons of Aigyptos fail to free them, and lose their own lives in consequence. Now Laistner's comparison is not only forced and far-fetched, but—as C. Bonner[10] points out—definitely vitiated by taking for the original core of the myth two different and alternative endings to it!

[1] Bernhard in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 950.

[2] N. Wecklein in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 ii. 397 ff.

[3] O. Waser 'Danaos und die Danaiden' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1899 ii. 47—63 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2087 ff., 2094 ff.

[4] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 266. Cp. H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 284: 'The persistent connexion of the Danaides with water makes it not unlikely that they are in reality fountain-nymphs.'

[5] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 146 ff. notes that 'the use of κεφαλή, meaning *source*, is very scantily attested' (Hdt. 4. 91, cp. Strab. 377. Latin *caput* and Modern Greek κεφαλάρι are quoted in support); that Paus. 2. 24. 2 gives, apparently as a genuine Argive myth, a very different account of the decapitation (*supra* p. 356 n. 4); that the alleged invention of wells by Danaos or his daughters does not prove the latter to have been spring-spirits; that the numeral fifty is not necessarily an indication of a nymph-like nature, but rather suggestive of a folk-tale family; that the river of Egypt, though known to Homer as Αἴγυπτος, is already Νεῖλος in Hes. *theog.* 338; etc.

[6] G. A. Megas 'Die Saga von Danaos und den Danaiden' in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 415—428 (see *infra* Addenda).

[7] V. Henry in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1892 v. 284—289.

[8] L. Laistner *Das Rätsel der Sphinx* Berlin 1889 i. 283—292.

[9] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 161.

[10] *Id. ib.* p. 162 f.

Nevertheless Laistner deserves credit for suggesting[1] that the incident of Lynkeus being saved by his bride was borrowed from some other folk-tale such as an Icelandic version[2] of the *Hop o' my Thumb* formula[3]. Acting on this hint, C. Bonner[4] went further and reached the conclusion that the whole episode of the Danaïdes murdering the Aigyptiadai was comparable with a folk-tale still current in Greece[5] and in many other parts of Europe from the Caucasus to the Pyrenees: 'A band of brothers lose their way in a forest, and take refuge in the hut or cavern of an ogre or witch. The youths pass the night with the daughters of their host. The youngest and shrewdest of the brothers suspects that treachery is intended, and by a trick, such as an exchange of head-dress or a shifting of positions[6], causes the ogre to cut off the heads of his own daughters. Thus the youths escape[7].' Sundry variants of the folk-tale assimilate it more closely to the Greek myth, for instance the Icelandic version mentioned above[8] in which a captive maiden warns the visitors of their danger, or again a Milanese version[9] in which the father of the youths is their companion and himself suggests the stratagem. Nevertheless it is distinctly unfortunate for Bonner's hypothesis that in the folk-tale all the brothers escape and all the sisters are killed, whereas in the myth all the brothers but one are killed and all the sisters escape[10].

The foregoing criticisms must not be taken to imply that both Preller and Bonner were wholly off the track. The former at least saw that the Danaïdes had some essential connexion with water. And the latter maintained with success that their myth bore much

[1] L. Laistner *op. cit.* ii. 88 f.

[2] J. C. Poestion *Isländische Märchen* Wien 1884 p. 297 ff. no. 36 ('Thorstein, der Häuslerssohn').

[3] C. S. Burne *The Handbook of Folklore* London 1914 p. 346 no. 13 (*'Hop o' my Thumb type.* 1. The parents, very poor, desert their children. 2. The youngest child leads the rest home several times, but at last fails to do so. 3. They fall into the power of a supernatural being, but the youngest robs him and they all escape').

[4] C. Bonner in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 30 ff., *id.* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 149 ff. Cp. Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 447 f.

[5] J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 i. 75 ff. no. 3 ('Von dem Schönen und vom Drakos'), ii. 178 ff. (four variants, and notes).

[6] J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 124 n. 1.

[7] C. Bonner in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 31.

[8] *Supra* n. 2.

[9] V. Imbriani *La Novellaja Milanese* Livorno 1877 no. 1.

[10] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 151 notes, however, that in schol. Eur. *Hec.* 886 Lynkeus avenges his brothers by slaying all the Danaïdes but Hypermestra (*supra* pp. 356 n. 3, 357 n. 3).

resemblance to a folk-tale[1]. But I do not think that either Preller or Bonner sufficiently realised the complexity of the story. Symbolists on the one hand and folklorists on the other largely ignored its legendary, not to say historical, basis. This factor of legend was indeed suspected in 1893 by W. Schwartz[2], who urged that the myth of the Danaïdes, like that of the Argonauts[3], was a mariner's or merchant's epos[4]. But suspicion became virtual certainty, when it was perceived that the Danaoi of Homer were none other than the *Daânâu* or *Danauna* of Egyptian records[5]. And the ground thus won was still further consolidated by L. B. Holland in 1928[6].

[1] J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 p. 17 prefers to speak of it as a Pelasgian saga: 'Das Sagenmotiv kennt die beiden streitenden Brüder; der eine hat Söhne, der andere ebensoviele Töchter. Eine Ehe würde den Hader beendet haben, aber die Schönen mochten ihre Vettern nicht. Auch die Zahl fünfzig ist in der Sage gegeben: Priamos' Haus kannte sie. Dann folgt der Mord, und hier denkt man gleich an *ἔργα Λήμνια*. Auch die lemnischen Weiber töteten ihre Männer (Herod. VI, 139 [138]); auch hier geschah es auf pelasgischem Gebiete; auch hier war eine, die den Mord nicht verübte und eine Ausnahme bildete. Diese Jungfrau—Hypsipyle—wurde schuldig erklärt, wie in Argos Hypermestra. Fast möchte man von einem pelasgischen Sagenmotiv reden; denn bringen nicht lemnische Pelasgen mit eigener Hand die athenischen Frauen um, bei denen sie bereits Kinder gezeugt hatten (Herod. VI, 139 [138])?' It may be conjectured that the Lemnian myth has been partially assimilated to the Argive. The resemblance of the two was already remarked by F. G. Welcker *Die Aeschylische Trilogie Prometheus* Darmstadt 1824 p. 594 f.

[2] W. Schwartz in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1893 xxxix. 101 ('es ist die Danaidensage...ein schifferepos wie die Argonautensage, man könnte fast sagen ein handelsepos'), cp. 105 ('etwa um 900, eher vorher als nachher, musz demnach unsere sage entstanden sein, die einer der austreibungen griechischer seehändler und -räuber aus Ägypten ihren ursprung verdankt').

[3] On the historical element in the myth of the Argonauts see now the admirable treatment of Miss J. R. Bacon *The Voyage of the Argonauts* London 1925 p. 107 ff. (*ib.* p. 168 'In its original form the Argonaut story was a narrative of a real voyage in the Euxine Sea, made by Minyans of Thessaly in the late fourteenth or early thirteenth century B.C.').

[4] O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 2089 aptly quotes E. Meyer *Forschungen zur alten Geschichte* Halle a.S. 1892 i. 79. The context runs: 'Wir sind, und mit Recht, gewohnt, die "hesiodeische" Poesie als unmittelbare Vorgängerin der Logographen zu betrachten; aber die Danaiden stehen den letzteren mindestens ebenso nahe—wie sie denn auch durch das starke Hervortreten des genealogischen Elements mit Hesiod sich eng berühren—und zeigen, dass auch die "homerische" Poesie der allgemeinen Strömung Rechnung getragen hat. Das Interesse an Ländern und Völkern, an der Erweiterung der geographischen Kenntnisse, an Urgeschichte und Wanderungen bildet den Inhalt der Danaiden wie der Schriftstellerei des Hekataeos; ihm verdankt das Epos die grosse Wirkung, die es nicht formell aber durch seinen Inhalt erzielt hat. Gleich zu Anfang boten die Schicksale der Io die Gelegenheit dazu. Io konnte von Argos nach Aegypten nur auf dem Landwege gekommen sein, musste also so ziemlich die ganze im siebenten Jahrhundert den Hellenen bekannte Welt (mit Ausnahme Italiens) durchwandert haben. So konnte das Epos gewissermassen einen Abriss der Geographie geben.'

[5] *Supra* p. 354.

[6] L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 59—92.

Epic tradition, which not improbably rested on Argive folk-memory, associated Danaos and his daughters with the discovery of a water-supply. This trait, and it alone, is involved in our earliest reference to their myth. The *Iliad* speaks of Argos as *polydípsion*, 'very thirsty[1],' and Euripides calls it *dipsían...chthóna*, a 'thirsty land[2].' Both phrases presumably allude to the fact that the streams Inachos (*Panitza*) and Charadros (*Xerias*), which traverse the Argive plain, run dry for the greater part of the year[3], so that there is need to make up for their lack of water by means of irrigation. But ancient critics, finding Argos well-watered and fertile, were perplexed by the Homeric epithet[4]. Eustathios[5] finally offers us a choice of explanations: 'Either because the Greeks thirsted for it[6]; or because the myth says that it was once ill-watered but afterwards became well-watered, when Poseidon caused the springs at Lerna to burst forth through his love for Amymone, the namesake of the Amymonian Waters[7] at Argos; or it may be on account of the Danaïdes, who came from Egypt and taught the digging of wells, as Hesiod[8] observes—

Waterless Argos Danaos made well-watered.'

Strabon[9], without naming the author, cites another version of the line, in which the 'Danaan maids' take the place of Danaos:

Waterless Argos Danaai made well-watered.

It appears, then, that a Hesiodic line mentioned Danaos as the cause

[1] *Il.* 4. 171, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* *δίψιον* *Ἄργος*, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 419.

[2] Eur. *Alc.* 560.

[3] G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 730.

[4] Strab. 370 *περὶ δὲ τῶν μυθευομένων πηγῶν εἴρηται, διότι πλάσματα ποιητῶν ἐστί· πλάσμα δὲ καὶ τὸ "Ἄργος ἄνυδρον—θεοὶ δ' αὖ θέσαν "Ἄργος ἄνυδρον* (A. Meineke accepts T. Tyrwhitt's cj. *"Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δανααὶ θέσαν "Ἄργος ἔνυδρον*, cp. Strab. 371 quoted *infra* n. 9)—*τῆς τε χώρας κοίλης οὔσης καὶ ποταμοῖς διαρρεομένης καὶ ἕλη καὶ λίμνας παρεχομένης, καὶ τῆς πόλεως εὐπορουμένης ὕδασι φρεάτων πολλῶν καὶ ἐπιτολαίων. αἰτιῶνται δὴ τῆς ἀπάτης τὸ "καί κεν ἐλέγχιστος πολυδίψιος "Ἄργος ἱκοίμην"* (*Il.* 4. 171). *τοῦτο δ' ἤτοι ἀντὶ τοῦ πολυπόθητον κεῖται, ἢ χωρὶς τοῦ δ πολυΰψιον, κ.τ.λ.*

[5] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 461, 3 ff., cp. schol. T., schol. B. L., and schol. A. D. *Il.* 4. 171, Souid. *s.v.* *πολυδίψιον*, *et. mag.* p. 681, 4 ff.

[6] A desperate guess of Aristarchos (Hesych. *s.v.* *δίψιον* *Ἄργος* quoted *infra* n. 8, cp. Athen. 433 B).

[7] Eur. *Phoen.* 188 f.

[8] Hes. *frag.* 47 Kinkel, 24 Rzach *"Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δαναὸς ποίησεν ἔνυδρον*, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* *δίψιον* *"Ἄργος· Ἡσίοδος μὲν τὸ ἄνυδρον, Ἀρίσταρχος δὲ τὸ πολυπόθητον* (*διψᾶν γὰρ τὸ ἐπιποθεῖν*) *ἢ ὑπὸ Διὸς βεβλα(μ)μένον· ἴψαι γὰρ τὸ βλάψαι.* M. Schmidt in his ed. min. tentatively suggests the insertion of *Ἡλιόδωρος* (?) after the word *Ἡσίοδος*.

[9] Strab. 371 *"Ἄργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δανααὶ θέσαν "Ἄργος ἔνυδρον*, cp. *ib.* 370 quoted *supra* n. 4.

of Argos' fertility, while a variant and perhaps later[1] reading spoke of the 'Danaan maids' rather than Danaos himself.

It is not unreasonable to contend that this ancient tradition was, in the main, true. Immigrants from Egypt—let us say the *Danauna* —came by sea *viâ* Rhodes and settled at Argos. They called themselves *Danaoí*—a name which would be appropriate to desert-dwellers if, as Herakleides of Kyme[2] asserted, it really meant the 'Dry' or 'Parched ones.' But etymology is capable of a *volte-face*, and modern scholars have maintained that *Danaoí* should rather be connected with the Sanskrit *dânu* meaning 'fluidity, dampness, drops[3].' Be that as it may, Gelanor the reigning king of Argos was, owing to

[1] W. Schwartz in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1893 xxxix. 105 infers that "Αργος ἄνυδρον ἐὸν Δαναοὶ θέσαν "Αργος ἔνυδρον is a later recension of Hesiod's line from the fact that "Αργος is repeated as a mere 'flickwort.' It might be added that Δαναοί, though a metrical necessity, is a somewhat unsatisfactory substitute for Δαναΐδες.

[2] Herakleides of Kyme (a contemporary of Philip ii of Macedon: see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 469 f. no. 42) *frag.*[2] (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 97 Müller) *ap. et. mag.* p. 247. 41 ff. δανάκης νομίσματός ἐστιν ὄνομα βαρβαρικόν, πλέον ὀβολοῦ, ὃ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐν τοῖς στόμασιν ἐτίθεσαν...εἴρηται δὲ δανάκης, ὁ τοῖς δαναοῖς ἐμβαλλόμενος· δαναοὶ γὰρ οἱ νεκροί, τουτέστι ξηροί, δανὰ γὰρ τὰ ξηρά. Ἡρακλείδης ἐν τῷ δευτέρῳ τῶν Περσικῶν. Opinions have differed as to the trustworthiness of δαναός = ξηρός. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 831 accepts the equation; J. Miller in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2093 rejects it. The word δᾶνός, 'dry,' remains unexplained (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 224). I would suggest confusion with δηναιός, 'ancient,' in its Doric form δαναιός (Aisch. *Eum.* 845, 879).

[3] V. Henry in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1892 v. 284 ff. Cp. H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 206: 'Unter den bezeichnungen, welche die hymnen des Rigveda für den von Indra bekämpften dämon anwenden, erscheint auch *Dânu*, theils mit *Vṛtra* oder *Ahi* zusammengestellt, theils für sich, und in patronymischer fortbildung *Dânavá*....Einmal... wird Dânavá sichtlich identificiert mit Vṛtra. Die mehrzahl *Dânavás* kommt im Rigveda noch nicht vor, wohl aber zweimal im Atharvaveda, und heir bereits gleichbedeutend mit den Asuren, der allgemeinen bezeichnung der bösen dämonen. Diesem plur. *Dânavás* entsprechen die gr. Δαναοί auf das vollkommenste, ausgenommen die quantität der ersten silbe. Aber derselbe übergang zur kürze hat sich im sanskrit vollzogen; schon im Çatapathabrâhmana wird das grundwort *danu*, obwohl der hochton auf diesem vocal ruht, mit *ă* angewandt, und so bei späteren durchweg. Noch begreiflicher ist die kürzung in der fortgebildeten form *Dânavás* als wirkung des vorgeschobenen hochtons. Man versteht jetzt das gebet des alten Chryses τίσειαν Δαναοὶ ἐμὰ δάκρυα (A 42).' On the *Dânavás* see further H. Jacobi in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 809[a], *id. ib.* 1911 iv. 390[a]—392[a], A. A. Macdonell *ib.* 1921 xii. 610[a]. As to *Dânu*, *id. Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 158 says: 'Vṛtra's mother is called Dânu and is compared with a cow (1, 32). This name seems to be identical with the word *dânu*, which is several times used as a neuter meaning "stream" and once as a feminine to designate the waters of heaven. The same term is applied as a masculine, apparently in the sense of a metronymic, to Vṛtra or the dragon (2, 12; 4, 30), as well as to the demon Aurṇavâbha (2, 11), and to seven demons slain by Indra (10, 120). The regular metronymic Dânava is used five times to designate a demon combated by Indra and doubtless identical with Vṛtra. Indra cast down the wiles of the wily Dânava (2, 11), he struck down the snorting Dânava (5, 29), to release the waters (5, 32).' *Infra* p. 366 n. 4.

a season of drought[1], forced to abdicate; and the chief of the newcomers took his place. Why? Because he or his women-folk succeeded in getting water and so saved the Argive crops.

L. B. Holland[2] has argued with much cogency that this dynastic change corresponded with the transition from shaft-graves to *thólos*-tombs. The shaft-graves, on his showing, belonged to the Achaioi, the *thólos*-tombs to the Danaoi. He even ventures upon an approximate dating of the events[3]:

'The marble chronicle from Paros, compiled in Athens in the third century B.C., probably from older official Athenian documents,...specifically states that the penteconter of Danaus arrived in the year 1510—1509 B.C.[4] Archaeology shows that the change from the "shaft-grave" to the "tholos-tomb" dynasty at Mycenae occurred about 1500 or a little earlier, and that the great fortification walls, with the Lion Gate and the existing court and megaron of the palace there, were all built about 1400[5]. Since these dates agree so perfectly with the traditional dates for the coming of the Danaans and the "founding" of Mycenae by Perseus[6], is it not reasonable to accept the traditions as substantially historical?'

The people who dug the rectangular shaft-graves (the Achaioi?) dug also rectangular wells. Two such were found by A. J. B. Wace[7] cut in the soft rock at Mykenai, one by the north-western angle of the 'Warrior Vase House,' the other below its eastern wall: neither of them can be more recent than the beginning of the 'Late Helladic iii' period. But the people who constructed the far more elaborate *thólos*-tombs (the Danaoi?) may fairly be credited with the introduction of tholoid reservoirs or wells, whether carved out of the native rock like the bottle-shaped cisterns of later date to be seen on the site of Melite at Athens[8], or lined with concentric courses of masonry like the beautifully built and still serviceable Fountain of

[1] This is not actually stated in our sources (*supra* p. 355), but is implied by the sequel (Apollod. 2. 1. 4).

[2] L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 74 f.: 'Collating these literary traditions with the archaeological evidence at Mycenae, we should naturally equate the rulers of the fifteenth to the twelfth centuries, the tholos-tomb kings, with the *Danaoi*; the earlier shaft-grave dynasty would then be *Achaioi*, whose tribal ancestors first occupied the land at the beginning of the Middle Helladic period, "long before human memory" to classical Greeks; and the still earlier inhabitants, the Aegean people of Early Helladic days, might be the Pelasgians whose scattered remnants still persisted in historic times.'

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 78.

[4] [*Marm. Par. ep.* 9 p. 5 Jacoby.]

[5] [A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1923 xxv. 13, 245 f.]

[6] [Paus. 2. 15. 4.]

[7] A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1923 xxv. 85 pl. 1, nos. 53 and 46.

[8] E. Curtius and J. A. Kaupert *Atlas von Athen* Berlin 1878 p. 18 ff. description, with plans but no sections, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 p. 347.

Bourina in Kos[1]. The underground chamber of bronze in which Akrisios king of Argos imprisoned his daughter[2] has been aptly compared by W. Helbig[3] and others[4] with the bronze-decorated *thóloi* of the Argolid. And, in view of the connexion presumed to exist between such *thóloi* and the Danaoi, the name of Akrisios' daughter, Danaë, is significant.

F. Chabas[5] the Egyptologist half a century since proposed to equate the *Daanaou*, not with the Danaoi, but with the Daunioi; and this equation, though it has not attracted much notice in recent times[6], raises further questions of considerable interest. To begin with, it seems possible that the Daunioi were nothing but a branch of the Danaoi, which crossed over from northern Greece to southern Italy. According to Festus[7], Daunus was an Illyrian chief, who quitted his own land and settled in Apulia. His *provenance* suggests that **Danϝ-aoi*, a name with true Illyrian suffix[8], became by legitimate compensatory lengthening **Daun-aoi*, whence *Daúnioi*, its

[1] L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1845 iii. 131—134 with section, *id.* in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 241—244 pl. 22, 1 plan, 2 section, *id. Reisen nach Kos, Halikarnassos, Rhodos und der Insel Cypern* Halle 1852 p. 16 f., G. Humbert in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1229 figs. 3140 section, 3141 plan, R. Herzog *Koische Forschungen und Funde* Leipzig 1899 pp. 159—161, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1905 xx Arch. Anz. p. 13 ('Die Bauart des ganzen, einheitlichen Baus ist aus sich schwer zu datieren. Ich möchte ihn immerhin nicht für vorgriechisch halten, sondern frühestens den thessalischen Einwanderern zuschreiben'), L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1477, K. Sudhoff *Kos und Knidos* München 1927 p. 32 ff. figs. 1 section and plan, 2 section.

[2] *Supra* i. 414, *infra* § 9 (e) iii.

[3] W. Helbig *Das homerische Epos aus den Denkmälern erläutert*[2] Leipzig 1887 p. 440.

[4] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 947, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2084.

[5] F. Chabas *Études sur l'antiquité historique*[2] Paris 1873 pp. 250, 281, 292, 295, 312.

[6] H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 276.

[7] Paul. ex Fest. p. 69, 1 f. Müller, p. 60, 15 ff. Lindsay Daunia Apulia appellatur a Dauno, Illyricae gentis claro viro, qui eam, propter domesticam seditionem excedens patria, occupavit. The Illyrian connexion reappears in Ant. Lib. 31 (after Nikandros ἑτεροιουμένων β') Δυκάονος τοῦ αὐτόχθονος ἐγένοντο παῖδες Ἰάπυξ καὶ Δαύνιος καὶ Πευκέτιος. οὗτοι λαὸν ἀθροίσαντες ἀφίκοντο τῆς Ἰταλίας παρὰ τὴν Ἀδρίαν· ἐξελάσαντες δὲ τοὺς ἐνταῦθοῖ οἰκοῦντας Αὐσονας αὐτοὶ καθιδρύθησαν. ἦν δὲ τὸ πλέον αὐτοῖς τῆς στρατιᾶς ἔθνοικον, Ἰλλυριοί· Μεσσάπιοι (so cod. P. Berkelius cj. Ἰλλυριοὶ καὶ Μεσσάπιοι, O. Schneider cj. Ἰλλυριοὶ Μεσσάπιοι or Ἰλλυριοὶ Μεσσαπίου or [Ἰλλυριοί,] Μεσσάπιοι, E. Oder cj. [Ἰλλυριοί,]<οἱ> Μεσσάπου, E. Martini cj. [Ἰλλυριοί,]<οἱ>Μεσσάπιοι). ἔπει<τα>(so G. F. Unger for ἐπεὶ cod. P.) δὲ τὸν στρατὸν ἅμα καὶ τὴν γῆν ἐμέρισαν τριχῇ καὶ ὠνόμασαν ὡς ἑκάστοις ἡγεμόνος <ὄνομα (*ins.* F. Bücheler)> εἶχε Δαυνίους καὶ Πευκετίους καὶ Μεσσαπίους· κ.τ.λ. Cp. also Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Δαύνιον· πόλις Ἰταλίας...ἔστι καὶ Δαύνιον τεῖχος, πόλις Θράκης....

[8] So Dr B. F. C. Atkinson, who from his great and as yet unpublished work on Illyrian names has kindly furnished me with the following examples: *Annaus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* i[2] no. 2198, v no. 8288 Aquileia) *Annaua* (*ib.* v no. 1072 Aquileia) *Annauos* (*ib.* v no. 8973 Aquileia), *Avallaus* (*ib.* iii no. 4558 Vindohona), *Batauus* (*ib.* iii no.

normal form in Greek writers. Had Virgil tradition behind him, when he made Danaë found Ardea[1], the capital of Turnus the son of Daunus[2]? *Danaë—Daunus* may be more than a mere assonance. But, if the Daunioi were really akin to the Danaoi, we might look to find the former like the latter associated with the irrigation of a waterless region. In point of fact the Roman poets do emphasise the arid character of Daunia. Horace[3] speaks of it as the land

> Where Daunus, scant of water, ruled
> The rustic tribes.

And Ovid[4] mentions

> the parched fields
> Of Iapygian Daunus.

That the Daunioi, like the Danaoi, constructed *thólos*-tombs is a possible, though precarious, inference from a few lines in Lykophron[5]. This writer of prophetic rigmarole sets out to tell how the Daunioi shall bury alive certain Aetolian envoys, sent to recover the *quondam* possessions of Diomedes[6]:

> Within a darksome grave that savage folk
> Shall hide them, living yet, in the inmost nooks
> Of a hollow passage. Aye, for them the Daunites
> Shall build a tomb, with never a funeral rite,
> Roofed over by a pile of rounded stones.

But whether the Daunioi had tholoid wells, we cannot even conjecture. Surviving examples of the type on Italian soil are the

4890 Virunum), *Cariaus* (*ib.* v no. 3922 Arurnates near Verona), *Cnodauus* (*ib.* iii no. 10954 Mursella in Upper Pannonia), *Licaus* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2577 Dalmatia) *Liccaus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 26528 Rome, ix no. 42 Brundisium) *Liccau...*(*ib.* iii no. 3224 Lussonium), *Lomoliauus* (*ib.* v no. 450 Piquentum), *Opiauus* (*ib.* iii nos. 10121, 13295 Dalmatia) *Opiaua* (*ib.* iii no. 2900 Corinium), Πάτραος (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 312, 37 Αὐδωλέοντα Πατράου Παίονα [cp. the silver coins of Paionia, struck *c.* 340—315 B.C., with legend ΠΑΤΡΑΟΥ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 2 f. figs., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 348 pl. 24, 8, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 81 f. pl. 137, 12—20, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 236 f. fig. 149]]), *Quasannaus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 3463 Verona), *Ridaus* (*ib.* iii no. 5905 Raetia), *Temauus* (*ib.* i[2] no. 2195 near Aquileia) god of the river *Timavus* in Venetia, *Tisaos* (cited by F. Ribezzo *La lingua degli antichi Messapii* Napoli 1907 p. 6 from Manduriae in Calabria), *Virraus* (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* v no. 3842 a Verona). Add Σαναός or Σαναῶν πόλις, a town in Phrygia near Laodikeia (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 1338).

[1] Verg. *Aen.* 7. 409 f., Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 372, 410.

[2] O. Rossbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2234.

[3] Hor. *od.* 3. 30. 11 f. qua pauper aquae Daunus agrestium | regnavit populorum.

[4] Ov. *met.* 14. 510 f. Iapygis arida Dauni | arva.

[5] Lyk. *Al.* 1061 ff. *τοὺς δ' εἰς ἐρεμνὸν ζῶντας ὠμησταὶ τάφον | κρύψουσι κοίλης ἐν μυχοῖς διασφάγος.* | *τοῖς δ' ἀκτέριστον σῆμα Δαυνῖται νεκρῶν | στήσουσι χωστῷ τροχμάλῳ καπηρεφές.*

[6] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1056. The story is told, with some variation (Brundisium, not Daunia), in Iust. 12. 2. 7 ff.

Tullianum at Rome[1] and—perhaps one should add—the well-chamber at Tusculum[2]. In neither case have we the slightest reason to connect the structure with the Daunioi. It cannot, therefore, be claimed that the *rôle* played by the Daunioi in Italy answers to that played by Danaos and his daughters in Greece.

But here a further possibility has to be faced. If the Danaoi were indeed Illyrian **Danϝ-aoi*, and if the Daunioi were a branch of the same stock transplanted to Apulia, we can hardly avoid the conclusion that both tribal names are akin to that of the great river *Dānuvius* (Danube), which in turn—as O. Schrader[3] points out—is certainly related to the river-names *Dánapris* (Dnieper) and *Dánastris* (Dniester), and probably to the Thracian *Sán-danos*, the Thessalian *Api-danós*, the Italian *Eri-danós*, and the Celto-Ligurian *Rho-danós*, if not also to the Scythian *Tánaïs*. *Dānuvius* and its cognates must moreover be connected with the Avestan *dānu-*, 'river,' and the Ossetic *don*, 'water' (whence Don, the modern name of the *Tánaïs*). On this showing, the Danaoi and the Daunioi both bore a name that meant the 'River-folk' or 'Water-folk.' That, one imagines, would have signified, at least primarily, the folk that dwelt along the River or beside the Water. Secondarily such folk, since they lived beside the water-ways, might be expected to know the ways of water, and would thus come to be regarded as good water-magicians or experts in irrigation. Now it is commonly admitted that the name *Dānuvius* is of Celtic origin[4]. And, this being so, it

[1] H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1882 i. 1. 158, 284, 453 ff., 505 ff., 1885 i. 2. 323 ff., O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 80 f., S. B. Platner *The Topography and Monuments of Ancient Rome* Boston 1904 pp. 92, 240 ff. fig. 57, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 pp. 66, 142, W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 2 f. (comparing early cisterns on the Palatine (*ib.* pl. 3, 1, G. Cozzo *Ingegneria romana* Roma 1928 p. 169 pl. 38 fig. 77)), D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 337, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 99 f.

[2] L. Canina *Descrizione dell' antico Tusculo* Roma 1841 p. 123 pls. 14—16, Sir W. Gell —E. H. Bunbury *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity* London 1846 p. 430 ff. with 3 figs., R. Burn *Rome and the Campagna* Cambridge 1876 p. 379, T. Ashby in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1910 v. 6 p. 357 ff. pl. 30, 2 (photograph of the chamber), *id. The Roman Campagna in Classical Times* London 1927 p. 169 f.

[3] Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 329 'Lateinisch-keltisch *Dānuvius*, ahd. *Tuonouwa*, slav. *Dunavŭ* verbinden sich mit aw. *dānu-* "Fluss", osset. *don* "Wasser", das sicher auch in *Danapris* (Dniepr) und *Danastrus* (Dniestr), sowie vielleicht auch in dem thrakischen *San-danus*, dem thessalischen 'Απι-δανός, dem italischen 'Ηρι-δανός und dem keltisch-ligurischen *Rho-danus* (vgl. auch den skythischen Τάναις?) anzunehmen ist.' See also W. Sturmfels *Etymologisches Lexikon deutscher und fremdländischer Ortsnamen* Berlin—Bonn 1925 p. 41 f. *s.v.* 'Don.'

[4] C. G. Brandis in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2105 'In der That ist aber, was

lies near at hand to surmise that the whole group of congeners stands in some relation to the Celtic *Tuatha Dé Danann*[1], the 'Folk or Tribes of the goddess Danu[2],' a curious title more suggestive of men than gods[3]. In fact, it begins to look as though, far back in the Middle Bronze Age, some proto-Celtic[4] tribe or tribes had traversed Europe along the great river-routes and appeared at places as widely separated as Argos and Ireland[5], nay more, that this adventurous race, everywhere expansive and intrusive[6], had pushed on to the very confines of Egypt. Nor is that a fantastic impossibility. After all, if in the third century B.C. Celts could force their way into the heart of Asia Minor and leave a permanent population in Galatia, for aught we know, in the second millennium B.C. their ancestors

heute allgemein angenommen wird, der Name D[anuvius] keltischen Ursprungs (Glück Keltische Namen bei Caesar 92. Much Deutsche Stammsitze 63) und kam von den Kelten, die ja auf beiden Seiten des Stromes lange genug wohnten, zu den Römern.' Cp. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville *Les Celtes* Paris 1904 p. 7 'le nom occidental et celtique *Danuuios*, mot qui semble proche parent de l'adjectif irlandais *dana*, "intrépide, hardi," dont dérive aussi en Irlande un nom de la mère des dieux.' But the supposed connexion of *Dānuvius* with the Irish *dana*, 'brave,' is in the nature of a red-herring. Our latest authority, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 763, says: 'dā- oder dē- "flüssig, fliessen." Ai. *dā-na-* n. "die beim Elefanten zur Brunstzeit aus den Schläfen quellende Flüssigkeit," *dā-nu-* n.f. "jede träufelnde Flüssigkeit, Tropfen, Tau" [*supra* p. 362], av. *dā-nu-* f. "Fluss, Strom," osset. *don* "Wasser, Fluss"....Hierher auch kelt. *Dānuvius* "Donau." Lidén Arm. St. 73 f. m. Lit. M. Förster Zfslav Ph. 1 1 ff.'

[1] H. d'Arbois de Jubainville *Le cycle mythologique irlandais et la mythologie celtique* Paris 1884 pp. 140 ff., 220 ff., 253 ff., 266 ff., C. Squire *The Mythology of the British Islands* London, Glasgow and Dublin 1905 pp. 48, 71, 72, 77, 230, *alib.*, J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 282[b] f., *id. The Religion of the Ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 63 ff., *alib.*

[2] C. Squire *op. cit.* pp. 50 f., 252 f., J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *op. cit.* iii. 285[b] f., *id. The Religion of the Ancient Celts* pp. 63, 67 f., 103.

[3] C. Squire *op. cit.* p. 230 'In the Tuatha Dé Danann are variously found Gaels, Picts, Danes, Scandinavians, Ligurians, and Finns.' But the prevailing view (d'Arbois, Squire, MacCulloch, etc.) is still that the Tuatha Dé Danann were gods, not men. The question cannot here be discussed; but we should note their frequent association with burial-mounds (*sid*) conceived as underground palaces.

[4] Since 'Celtic' is a term of linguistic rather than racial significance, it might be safer to say simply 'Aryan' or 'Indo-Europaean.' But I mean to imply that the descendants of this tribe were of Celtic speech. The Germans have coined *Urkelten* (E. Rademacher in Ebert *Reallex.* vi. 282 'Sie können als Urkelten bezeichnet werden, als K[elten] noch nicht, da ein wichtiger Bestandteil noch fehlt: die Vermischung mit Urnenfelderleuten alpiner Rasse').

[5] S. Müller *Urgeschichte Europas* Strassburg 1905 p. 74 f. fig. 55 f. prints in impressive juxtaposition the section and ground-plan of the 'Treasury of Atreus' with those of the Bronze-Age *tumulus* of New Grange in County Meath, Ireland.

[6] V. Gordon Childe *The Aryans* London 1926 p. 200 'The victorious expansion of the Nordic culture, whatever its origin, is the dominant fact of European prehistory from 2500 to 1000 B.C.'

may have penetrated yet farther south[1] and as *Danauna* have occupied, at least for a time, some portion of the Egyptian coast.

Returning now to the myth of Danaos and the Danaïdes, we are in a position to understand better the early Hesiodic line—

Waterless Argos Danaos made well-watered[2].

A tribe that bore an Illyrian name[3] and at one time dwelt as 'River-folk' or 'Water-folk' along the banks of the Danube[4] would be just the right tribe to cure a 'very thirsty[5]' land of its drought. The Danube itself was at a later date believed to gather clouds and cause incessant rain[6]. The fact that the Danaïdes bulk bigger in the myth than the Danaoi is, however, suggestive of magic rather than scientific irrigation; and here there were various possibilities. To begin with, Danaos son of Belos was a twin[7]; and twins are notorious as rain-makers[8], especially if their father is, like Belos[9], a

[1] *Ib. ib.* p. 24 'The only certain result that has emerged as yet is that there was a *centum* element somewhere within the Hittite realm just after 1500 B.C. About that date the Taurus ranges seem to have represented in a sense a frontier between *satem* and *centum* Indo-European speech.'

[2] *Supra* p. 361 f.

[3] *Supra* p. 364.

[4] *Supra* p. 366.

[5] *Supra* p. 361.

[6] Lyd. *de magistr.* 3. 32 p. 121, 1 ff. Wünsch περὶ δὲ τὴν Θρακίαν εἱλούμενος ἀποβάλλει μὲν (*sc.* ὁ Ἴστρος) παρὰ τοῖς ἐπιχωρίοις τὸ ἔμπροσθεν ὄνομα, Δανούβιος μετακληθείς· οὕτω δὲ αὐτὸν οἱ Θρᾷκες ἐκάλεσαν, διότι ἐπὶ <τὰ> πρὸς ἄρκτον ὄρη καὶ θρασκίαν ἄνεμον συννεφὴς ὁ ἀὴρ ἐκ τῆς ὑποκειμένης τῶν ὑγρῶν ἀμετρίας σχεδὸν διὰ παντὸς ἀποτελούμενος αἴτιος αὐτοῖς συνεχοῦς ἐπομβρίας ἀποτελεῖσθαι νομίζεται, Δανούβιον δὲ τὸν νεφελοφόρον ἐκεῖνοι καλοῦσι πατρίως. καὶ ταῦτα μὲν περὶ τῶν ποταμῶν ὡς ἐν παρεκβάσει κατὰ Σαμω<νι>κὸν τὸν Ῥωμαῖον ἱστορικόν, ὃς πρὸς Διοκλητιανὸν καὶ Γαλέριον τὸν γέροντα περὶ ποικίλων ζητημάτων διελέχθη. The reference is presumably to Serenus Sammonicus, an antiquary who wrote *rerum reconditarum libri* (Macrob. *Sat.* 3. 9. 6) under Septinius Severus (193—211 A.D.): see M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1905 iii. 190 f., H. Funaioli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2129 ff. Ioannes Laurentius the Lydian has placed him a century too late.

[7] *Supra* p. 355.

[8] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] i. 91 f., *ib.*[3] The Magic Art i. 262 ff., J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 26 ff., E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 498[a]. Especially noteworthy in its bearings on the myth of the Danaïdes is the practice of the Baronga in south-east Africa. When a drought threatens, the women strip and put on girdles and head-dresses of grass, or short petticoats made of the leaves of a certain creeper. Thus attired they go from well to well, cleansing the well-holes of mud. They must also repair to the house of a woman who has given birth to twins (such a woman is called *Tilo*, 'Sky'; her twins are *Bana ba Tilo*, 'Children of the Sky' [*supra* ii. 434]) and drench her with water, which they carry in little pitchers. Then they go on their way shrieking loose songs and dancing immodest dances, which men may not witness. They also pour water on the graves of their ancestors in a sacred grove, and on the graves of twins who are regularly buried near a lake (Frazer and Rendel Harris *locc. citt.*).

[9] On Belos see K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 259 ff.

sky-god[1]. Again, O. Gruppe[2] detects a rain-charm[3] in the tradition that the heads of Aigyptos' sons were buried by Danaos' daughters at Lerna[4] or dropped into the spring there as offscourings (*apokathármata*) by Danaos himself[5]. Lastly, we note the side-issue or inserted tale that Poseidon showed Amymone the Lernaean springs in consequence of her union with him[6]. I am disposed, therefore, to conjecture that the wholesale endogamic marriage of the Danaïdes with the Aigyptiadai was regarded as a most potent fertility-charm[7].

So far little or nothing has been said about a point which to the later Greeks and to the Romans after them became *the* point of the whole story—I refer of course to the punishment of the Danaïdes in the world below. Here they must for ever carry water to fill a holed *píthos*, and so atone for the murder of their cousins[8]. This water-carrying on the part of the Danaïdes cannot, however, be traced back in literature beyond the pseudo-Platonic *Axiochos*[9], which betrays Epicurean influence[10] and has been assigned to the Alexandrine

[1] *Supra* i. 756 n. 6. But see also W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 93 ff., S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 130 f., 216 ff.

[2] Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 338.

[3] J. Rendel Harris in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 431 ('Occasional Rain-charms'): 'At Ourfa ...we were told that in dry seasons they dig up the body of a recently buried Jew, abstract the head and throw it into the Pool of Abraham.' O. Janiewitsch 'Durstige Seelen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1910 xiii. 627 cites several examples of Russian peasants in time of drought pouring water on the corpse or grave of one who had committed suicide or who had been hanged, such persons being held responsible for the lack of rain. On the dry, thirsty dead see further O. Immisch 'ΑΑΙΒΑΝΤΕΣ' *ib.* 1911 xiv. 449—464 and two interesting articles by J. C. Lawson 'ΠΕΡΙ ΑΑΙΒΑΝΤΩΝ' in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 52—58, 116—121. *Supra* p. 362 n. 2, *infra* p. 440 n. 9.

[4] *Supra* p. 356.

[5] Zenob. 4. 86, Apostol. 10. 57, *alib.* (*supra* p. 356 n. 4).

[6] *Supra* pp. 356, 357.

[7] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 97 ff. ('The influence of the sexes on vegetation') notes that parents of twins sometimes exercised a fertilising influence (in Uganda on the plantains (*ib.* ii. 102), in Peru on the beans (*ib.* i. 265 f., ii. 102 n. 1)), and collects many cases in which the intercourse of the sexes, promiscuous or otherwise, was and is believed to quicken the growth of the crops.

If I am right in my interpretation of the myth, it is easy to see why Danaos cast Hypermestra into prison. She had saved Lynkeus *because he spared her virginity* (*supra* p. 356): the love-motive was merely a poetic recasting of the prosaic fact (*supra* p. 356 n. 3).

[8] Bernhard in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 949 ff., C. Bonner in *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1900 xxxi. 28, 34 ff., *id.* in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 136 f., 154, 164 ff., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2089 f.

[9] Plat. *Axioch.* 371 E *ἔνθα χῶρος ἀσεβῶν καὶ Δαναΐδων ὑδρεῖαι ἀτελεῖς.*

[10] A. Brinkmann 'Beiträge zur Kritik und Erklärung des Dialogs Axiochos' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1896 li. 441—455, Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 247 n. 1, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 704 n. 8.

age[1]; nor in art beyond the great Under-world vases of 'Apulian' style[2], which belong to the second half of the fourth century B.C.[3] And in the myth as related by Apollodoros there is no question of punishment except for the one Danaïd who did *not* slay her lover![4] Whence—we may ask—came the idea that the Danaïdes deserved to be punished? And what above all is the significance of their somewhat peculiar punishment?

(β) Water-carrying in connexion with marriage.

In attempting to answer these questions we must first turn our attention from mythology to ritual. Athenian custom prescribed that, when a wedding had been arranged and the wedding-day had come, the bridegroom must bathe in water from the fountain of Kallirrhoe—Enneakrounos, as it was styled at a later date[5]. The

[1] W. Christ *op. cit.*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 53.

[2] *Infra* p. 423 ff.

[3] P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 p. 457, E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 12 f., cp. M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven (Yale University Press) 1929 p. 294.

[4] *Supra* pp. 356, 369 n. 7.

[5] The situation of this fountain has been the subject of long and lively debate. Till the closing decade of last century it was commonly held (see *e.g.* W. Smith in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 292 'The Fountain of Callirrhoë, or Enneacrunus') that Kallirrhoe was the spring, which flows from the foot of a broad ridge of rocks crossing the bed of the Ilissos due south of the Olympieion, and that it was re-named Enneakrounos, when fitted with nine pipes by the Peisistratidai (Thouk. 2. 15 *καὶ τῇ κρήνῃ τῇ νῦν μὲν τῶν τυράννων οὕτως σκευασάντων* Ἐννεακρούνῳ *καλουμένῃ, τὸ δὲ πάλαι φανερῶν τῶν πηγῶν οὐσῶν* Καλλιρρόῃ *ὠνομασμένῃ ἐκεῖνοί τε ἐγγὺς οὔσῃ τὰ πλείστου ἄξια ἐχρῶντο, καὶ νῦν ἔτι ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀρχαίου πρό τε γαμικῶν καὶ ἐς ἄλλα τῶν ἱερῶν νομίζεται τῷ ὕδατι χρῆσθαι*). The name Kallirrhoe still attaches to this spring. But an excavation by A. N. Skias in 1893 failed to discover any evidence of Peisistratid construction (E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 226), and the excavator concluded that the modern Kallirrhoe was neither Kallirrhoe nor Enneakrounos (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 624).

Meantime W. Dörpfeld, as the result of excavations carried out from 1891 to 1894, was able to show that in antiquity several natural springs rose at the foot of the Pnyx hill, that here at least seven tunnels and six cisterns (still containing water) had been cut in the rock, that one large cistern immediately above the site of an ancient fountain was built of polygonal masonry dating from *s.* v or vi B.C., that a great rock-cut conduit which could be traced from the upper valley of the Ilissos along the southern slope of the Akropolis probably ended at this cistern, and that two sets of water-pipes diverging from it, made of a yellowish clay with a red glaze inside, exactly resembled those of Eupalinos' aqueduct in Samos and could therefore be dated to *s.* vi. Hence Dörpfeld concluded that Kallirrhoe was the name originally given to the open springs on the Pnyx hill, that these when enclosed with masonry and formed into a fountain with nine jets by Peisistratos were re-christened Enneakrounos, and that the old name Kallirrhoe was from *s.* v onwards transferred to the spring on the Ilissos (W. Dörpfeld in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 444 f., 1892 xvii. 92 f., 439 ff., 1894 xix. 143 ff., 504 ff., *id.* 'Ἡ Ἐννεάκρουνος *καὶ ἡ* Καλλιρρόη'

water had to be fetched in a pitcher by the next of kin, a boy[1] who, like the vessel that he bore, was called a *loutrophóros* or 'bath-carrier[2].' The bride too had her bridal bath fetched from the same fountain by a female *loutrophóros*[3]. And in both cases, according to Photios[4], the bath-water was brought on a car drawn by a yoked

in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1894 pp. 1—10, *id.* in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Aug. 28, 1907 pp. 940—945). Dörpfeld's conclusions have been widely accepted (*e.g.* by J. E. Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* pp. 87—91, *Primitive Athens as described by Thucydides* Cambridge 1906 pp. 111—131, 153—158, and by W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen* München 1905 pp. 179—185), and embodied in the final publication by F. Gräber 'Die Enneakrunos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1905 xxxi. 1—64 with 32 figs. and 3 plans.

But Dörpfeld's hypothesis, however attractive, is far from being unassailable. Sir James Frazer, after a patient hearing of both sides, can sum up thus: 'On the whole the evidence of all ancient writers except Pausanias goes to show that the names Callirrhoe and Enneacrunus were always applied to one and the same spring, and that this was the spring in the bed of the Ilissus which still bears the ancient name of Callirrhoe' (*Pausanias* ii. 116). Twenty-one years later W. Kroll, despite the fact that Gräber's persuasive article had appeared in the *interim*, again pronounces the same verdict (in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1669—1672 'Daher muss man denen Recht geben, die wie neuerdings noch [A.] Malinin [*Hat Dörpfeld die Enneakrunos-Episode bei Pausanias tatsächlich gelöst oder auf welchem Wege kann diese gelöst werden?* Wien 1906 pp. 1—35, cp. *id. Zwei Streitfragen der Topographie von Athen* Berlin 1901 pp. 21—43 'Die Enneakrunosepisode'] und [E.] Pfuhl [in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1907 clxix.] 472 die Dörpfeldsche Hypothese ablehnen, während Judeich Topogr. von Athen (München 1905) 179 und Baedeker Griechenland[5] 29. 37 sich ihr angeschlossen hat. Ungelöst bleibt nach wie vor das Rätsel der Pausaniasstelle. Vgl. Frazer Paus. II 112'). It amounts to this. Dörpfeld is justified by the spade. But the literary evidence is almost all against him; and at any moment discoveries might be made on the Ilissos-bank. *Supra* ii. 1116 'the later Kallirrhoe' follows the view of A. N. Skias.

[1] Harpokr. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν· ἔθος ἦν τοῖς γαμοῦσι λουτρὰ μεταπέμπεσθαι ἑαυτοῖς κατὰ τὴν τοῦ γάμου ἡμέραν, ἔπεμπον δ' ἐπὶ ταῦτα τὸν ἐγγύτατα γένους παῖδα ἄρρενα, καὶ οὗτοι ἐλουτροφόρουν. ἔθος δὲ ἦν καὶ τῶν ἀγάμων ἀποθανόντων λουτροφόρον ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα ἐφίστασθαι· τοῦτο δὲ ἦν παῖς ὑδρίαν ἔχων. λέγει περὶ τούτων Δείναρχος ἔν τε τῷ κατὰ Θεοδότου καὶ ἐν τῇ κατὰ Καλλισθένους <εἰσ (*ins.* P. J. de Mausac) > ἀγγελίᾳ (Deinarch. *or.* 82 *frag.* 1 Baiter—Sauppe and *or.* 18 *frag.* 5 Baiter—Sauppe). ὅτι δὲ τὰ λουτρὰ ἐκόμιζον ἐκ τῆς νῦν μὲν Ἐννεακρούνου καλουμένης κρήνης, πρότερον δὲ Καλλιρρόης, Φιλοστέφανος (so M. H. E. Meier for Πολυστέφανος, cp. Athen. 331 D—E) ἐν τῷ περὶ κρηνῶν φησί. μέμνηνται δὲ τοῦ ἔθους οἱ κωμικοί = Souid. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν, who omits to mention his sources. Favorin. *lex.* p. 1192, 27 ff. copies out Harpokr. *loc. cit.*

[2] Hesych. *s.v.* λουτροφόρος· κυρίως μὲν ἡ ὑδρία ἡ τοῖς παλαιοῖς εἰς τὰ λουτρὰ ἀπονεν(εμ)ημένη (so M. Schmidt for Musurus' ἀπονεμομένη). ἐκάλουν δὲ οὕτω καὶ τὸν φέροντα τὰ λουτρά. ἦδη δὲ καὶ πᾶσα ὑδρ[ε]ία. ἕτεροι δέ, ἐπεὶ ἔπεμπον εἰς τοὺς γάμους λουτροφόρους, καὶ τοῖς ἀγάμοις ἀποθανοῦσι τὸ αὐτὸ ἐποίουν (*id. s.v.* λουτροφόρα ἄγγη· τὰς ὑδρίας τοῖς ἀποθανοῦσιν ἀγάμοις ἔπεμπον. ἔπεμπον δὲ καὶ (εἰς) τοὺς γάμους), cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* λουτροφόρον· τὸ ἀγγεῖον οἷον ἡ ὑδρία· καὶ λουτροφόρος ὁ φέρων ἢ ἡ φέρουσα τὸ λουτρόν, Bekker *anecd.* i. 276, 23 ff. λουτροφόρος· ὁ ἐν τῇ τοῦ γάμου ἡμέρᾳ πεμπόμενος παῖς παρασκευάσαι τοῖς γαμοῦσι τὸ λουτρόν. λουτροφορεῖ ὁ τὴν ὑδρίαν ἔχων παῖς καὶ ὑπηρετῶν ἐν τῷ λουτρῷ τοῖς γαμοῦσιν.

[3] Poll. 3. 43 (quoted *infra* p. 372 n. 2).

[4] Phot. *lex. s.v.* λουτρά· ἔθος ἐστὶ κομίζειν ἐπὶ ζεῦγος (*leg.* ζεύγους, cp. Steph. *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 19 B) ταῖς γαμουμέναις καὶ τοῖς γαμοῦσιν· ἔφερον δὲ τὸ μὲν παλαιὸν ἀπὸ τῆς Ἐννεακρούνου λεγομένης κρήνης ὕδωρ· νῦν παντόθεν λουτροφόρους εἰς τοὺς γάμους ἔπεμπον· καὶ λουτροφόρον ἐπετίθεσαν τοῖς ἀγάμοις ἐπὶ τῶν τάφων.

pair of animals. The custom was observed in other places besides Athens: at Thebes the water was drawn from the river Ismenos[1]; elsewhere from any convenient source[2].

If a man died unmarried, his relatives still performed the 'bath-carrying' for him and—we are told—set up over his tomb the representation of a boy with a pitcher[3], known as a *loutrophóros*[4]. Similarly, if a woman died unmarried, a girl with a pitcher, that is to say a female *loutrophóros*, was erected over her tomb[5]. But, since no such statues or reliefs or paintings have come down to us, the testimony of the old grammarians has been discredited[6]. Other ancient authorities, however, state that pitchers called *loutrophóroi* were placed over those who died unmarried[7], or that black pitchers called 'Libyans' were set upon their tombs[8]. And these statements

[1] Eur. *Phoen.* 347 f., Plout. *de exsilio* 16.

[2] Poll. 3. 43 καλοῦνται δὲ καὶ δᾷδες νυμφικαὶ καὶ στέφανος καὶ στολή. καὶ λουτρά τις κομίζουσα λουτροφόρος, Ἀθήνησι μὲν ἐκ τῆς Καλλιρρόης εἶτ' αὖθις Ἐννεακρούνου κληθείσης, ἀλλαχόθι δὲ ὅθεν καὶ τύχοι· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ ταῦτα καὶ νυμφικὰ λουτρά, cp. Phot. *lex. s.v.* λουτρά (*supra* p. 371 n. 4).

[3] Harpokr. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν (quoted *supra* p. 371 n. 1) = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1192, 27 ff., cp. Souid. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρος καὶ λουτροφορεῖν. Hesych. *s.vv.* λουτροφόρα ἄγγη, λουτροφόρος (quoted *supra* p. 371 n. 2).

[4] Bekker *anecd.* i. 276, 27 ff. λουτροφόρος ἐν τῷ μνήματι ἐπίκειται (cp. Dem. *adv. Leoch.* 30 quoted *infra* p. 373 n. 1)· ἔθος ἦν Ἀθήνησι τοῖς ἀγάμοις ἀποθανοῦσι λουτροφόρον ἐπὶ τὸ μνῆμα καθιστάνειν. τοῦτο δὲ ἦν παῖς ὑδρίαν ἔχων, ἐκ λίθου πεποιημένος.

[5] Poll. 8. 66 τῶν δ' ἀγάμων λουτροφόρος τῷ μνήματι ἐφίστατο, κόρη ἀγγεῖον ἔχουσα ὑδροφόρον, ὑδρίαν ἢ πρόχουν ἢ κρωσσὸν ἢ κάλπιν. τὴν δὲ ἐφισταμένην εἰκόνα, εἴτε λουτροφόρος εἴη εἴτε ἄλλη τις, ἐπίστημα Ἰσαῖος κέκληκεν (Isaios ἀπαράσημα *frag.* 31 Baiter—Sauppe).

[6] A. Herzog 'Eine Lutrophoros' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 131 ff. supposes that Harpokration and Pollux are confusing the marriage-rite (boy or girl carrying pitcher) with the funeral-rite (pitcher set up on tomb). Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen pl. 58 f. p. 3 n. 1 regards Herzog as over-sceptical. But Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2098 says with some justice: 'diese Erklärungen (*sc.* of Pollux and Harpokration) beweisen nur, wie wenig die späten Lexikographen von solchen Gebräuchen noch wussten.'

[7] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1293, 8 ff. καὶ τοῖς πρὸ γάμου δὲ τελευτῶσιν ἡ λουτροφόρος, φασίν, ἐπετίθετο κάλπις εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ ὅτι ἄλουτος τὰ νυμφικὰ καὶ ἄγονος ἄπεισι (context cited *infra* p. 396 n. 3).

[8] Hesych. *s.v.* Λιβύας (L. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 277 B cj. Λίβυας)· τὰς μελαίνας ὑδρίας, ἐπὶ τοῖς τάφοις τιθεμένας. The name probably refers *in primis* to the black colouring of these pitchers (Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2099 admits 'Das ziemlich lange Festhalten an der sf. Beinalung,' but demurs to Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 342 'der technische und teilweise auch stilistische Archaismus der schwarzfigurigen Lutrophoren und panathenäischen Amphoren hat unkünstlerische, religiöse Gründe'). But there is, to my thinking, an Aristophanic touch about the phrase, which suggests a secondary allusion to libations (λιβάς etc.), if not also a tertiary allusion (see *e.g. supra* ii. 2 n. 4) to the Libyan custom of pouring water into a holed jar (*supra* pp. 338 f., 354. Note also the grave of Antaios, shown at Tingis in Mauretania: it was a hill resembling a man lying on his back; and it was said that, whenever a hole was made in it, rain fell till the hole was filled up again (Mela 3. 106)).

can fortunately be confirmed, at least in part, both by literary[1] and by monumental evidence.

Over some of the graves in the 'Dipylon' cemetery at Athens stood a huge sepulchral jar, measuring from three and a half to nearly six feet in height[2]. Such jars might be *kratéres*[3], but were more often four-handled[4] or two-handled *amphorae*[5]. They are regularly decorated with scenes representing obsequies or funeral sports, and—an important feature—they have either no bottom or a bottom with a hole left in it[6]. A. Brückner and E. Pernice, after a careful study of the subject, came to the conclusion that the jars were holed in order that libations might filter through the earth beneath and so reach the dead[7]. This may well be[8]. Yet A. Milchhöfer[9] was certainly right when he claimed kinship between the 'Dipylon' *amphorae* and the black-figured or red-figured *loutrophóroi* of later Athenian times—vases of an elongated and graceful shape, from ten to forty inches in height[10], usually furnished with a hole through the bottom, and painted with scenes of *próthesis* or of marriage-rites according as they were intended to play their part at a funeral or a wedding. Surviving specimens of the *loutrophóroi*, listed by Nachod[11], range in date from the last decade of the sixth century

[1] Dem. *adv. Leoch.* 18 *οὐ πολλῷ δὲ χρόνῳ ὕστερον ... ἠρρώστησεν ὁ Ἀρχιάδης, καὶ τελευτᾷ τὸν βίον ἀπόντος τοῦ Μειδυλίδου ἀγαμος ὤν. τί τούτου σημεῖον; λουτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχιάδου τάφῳ, ᾧ καὶ ἡ λουτροφόρος ἐφέστηκεν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ Ἀρχιάδου μνήματι.*

[2] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 55 ff., 158 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1904 p. 103 ff., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 61 ff., 69 ff.

[3] *E.g.* G. Hirschfeld in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 142 ff. no. 41, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pls. 39, 1 (coloured), 40, 1, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 56 ff. figs. 5—7, 159 f. fig. 42, Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d Athènes* p. 48 ff. no. 214 pl. 12.

[4] *E.g.* S. Wide in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv. 201 ff. no. 22 fig. 69, Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 42 f. no. 200 pl. 11, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* iii. 1 fig. 10.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1056 with fig. 911.

[6] Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vii. 60.

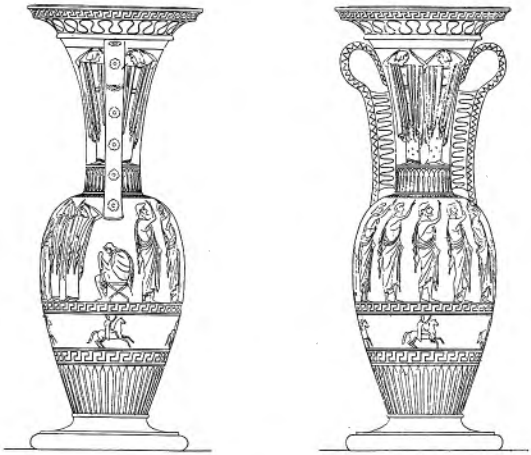
[7] A. Brückner—E. Pernice 'Ein attischer Friedhof' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 155.

[8] See the important monograph of G. P. Oeconomus *De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus* Athenis 1921 pp. 1—60 with 17 figs. (especially p. 22 ff. 'Vasa funebria perforata,' p. 33 ff. 'Sepulcra perforata,' p. 37 ff. 'Sepulcra tubum exhibentia').

[9] A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 177 f. Cp. Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen pl. 58 f. p. 2, A. Brückner—E. Pernice in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 144 ff., F. Poulsen *Die Dipylongräber und die Dipylonvasen* Leipzig 1904 p. 19, Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2100 f.

[10] A. Herzog 'Eine Lutrophoros' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 136 n. 6.

[11] Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2100 records 25 *loutrophóroi*, of which he assigns 5 to the last decade of *s.* vi, 7 to the first third of *s.* v, 5 to the middle of *s.* v, 8 to the last third of *s.* v. See also Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* p. 128 ff. nos. 1144—1198 pls. 68—70, H. B. W[alters] in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1928—1929 iii. 42 f. pl. 24 *a*, *b*, R. H[inks] *ib.* 1930—1931 v. 11 f. pl. 4 *a*, *b*.



a *b*

Fig. 236.

a *b* *c*

Fig. 237.

1

2

Loutrophóros in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York:

(1) Whole vase showing mourners with *loutrophóros* above, mourners at *próthesis* below, and subsidiary zones of lions and horsemen.

(2) Detail of same vase.

See page 375 *n.* 1.

to the last third of the fifth century B.C. (pl. xxxv, figs. 236—239)[1]. A point connecting them with the 'Dipylon' *amphorae*[2] is that some early examples have their handles adorned with snakes[3], while many have rims and handles marked with a snaky pattern[4]. The usage of *loutrophóroi* lasted on into the fourth century, and late examples, made on a smaller scale, acquired a third handle under the influence of the three-handled *hydría*[5]. Other evidence of the shapes taken by fourth-century *loutrophóroi* may be found in the magnificent series of marble *stêlai* yielded by Attic graves[6]. These extend in

[1] W. Zschietzschmann 'Die Darstellungen der Prothesis in der griechischen Kunst' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1928 liii. 17—47 pls. 8—18 includes useful lists of Attic black-figured *loutrophóroi* (pp. 40—43 nos. 44—83) and Attic red-figured *loutrophóroi* (p. 44 f. nos. 95—117). The finest example of the former is that in New York published by G. M. A. Richter in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1928 xxiii. 54—57 figs. 1—3 and dated *c.* 525 B.C. My pl. xxxv is from the official photograph, kindly lent by Mr C. D. Bicknell. I also figure:

(*a*) Three broken specimens found together at Trachones near Athens and now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 371 ff. nos. 1887—1889, G. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 276 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 60 (a composite drawing, of which my fig. 236 *a*, *b* is a part), O. Benndorf *Griechische und sicilische Vasenbilder* Berlin 1877 p. 6 nos. 3—5). The main design on each vase is a black-figured *próthesis*, with mourners on the neck and animal-zone or horsemen below.

(*b*) A vase in the Louvre (CA. 453) (M. Collignon 'Loutrophore attique à sujet funéraire' in the *Mon. Piot* 1894 i. 49—60 with figs. 1 and 2 and pls. 5—7, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 674 ff. figs. 365, 370, 371, *Corp. vas. ant.* Louvre iii 1 *c* pl. 56, 1—3 (=my fig. 237 *a*—*c*) with text p. (45) by E. Pottier). The main design is a red-figured *próthesis*, with red-figured mourners on the neck and black-figured horsemen towards the foot. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 67 no. 35, *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 71 no. 19 assigns the vase to the Kleophrades painter ('Schüler des Euthymides'), cp. Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 803 no. 35 ('Zeitgenosse des Euphronios oder Euthymides').

(*c*) A vase from Athens, now at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 645 ff. no. 2372, *id. Samml. Sabouroff* Vasen col. pls. 58 main subject, 59 *ensemble* (=my fig. 238). The body-design is a red-figured bridal procession, with an elongated female figure on either side of the neck.

(*d*) A vase found at Athens and now in the Schliemann collection (P. Wolters 'Rotfigurige Lutrophoros' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 371—405 figs. 2 (=my fig. 239)—4 and col. pl. 8). The main design is a red-figured scene of dedications at a sepulchral *stêle*, the dead man being apparently represented as an equestrian statue.

[2] *Supra* ii. 1055 fig. 911. [3] *Supra* pl. xxxv. [4] *Supra* pl. xxxv and figs. 236—239.

[5] P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 p. 384 nos. 31 and 34, Nachod in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 2099 f.

A last term in the series may perhaps be found in a fluted *hydría* of red ware from Kourion in Kypros, formerly in the Pierides collection and now in mine (fig. 240 *a*—*d*. Height: 14¼ inches). This vase too has no bottom to it, and is further pierced under its three handles by three holes, the purpose of which is not clear (? to prevent contents rising above the level of the handles, even if foot were blocked).

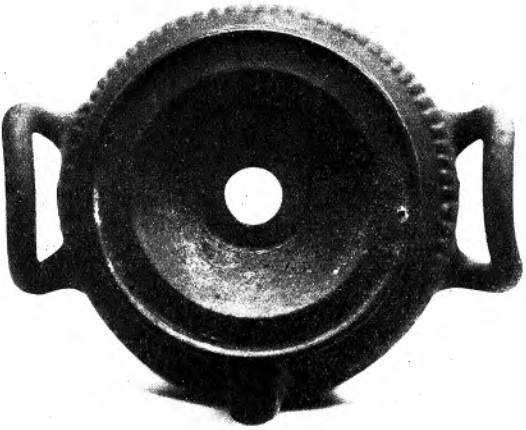
[6] Nachod *loc. cit.* p. 2099 notes: 'Conze Att. Grabreliefs Taf. 56. 92. 100. 131. 216. 232. 367—375 (rundplastisch); Taf. 53. 130. 144. 195—197. 200. 203. 216. 224—225. 271. 282—290 (Reliefstelen); Taf. 379—382 (Kioniskoi mit Reliefs nach 317 v. Chr.).' See also P. Gardner *Sculptured Tombs of Hellas* London 1896 p. 113 ff. pl. 4 f.

Fig. 238.

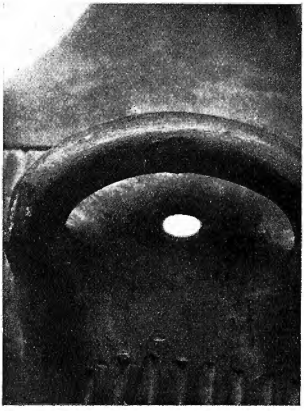
Fig. 239.

a

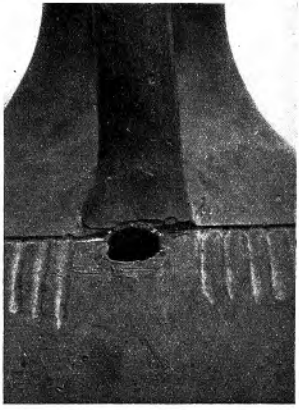
Fig. 240.



b



c



d

Fig. 240.

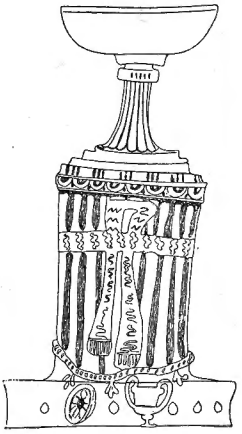


Fig. 241.

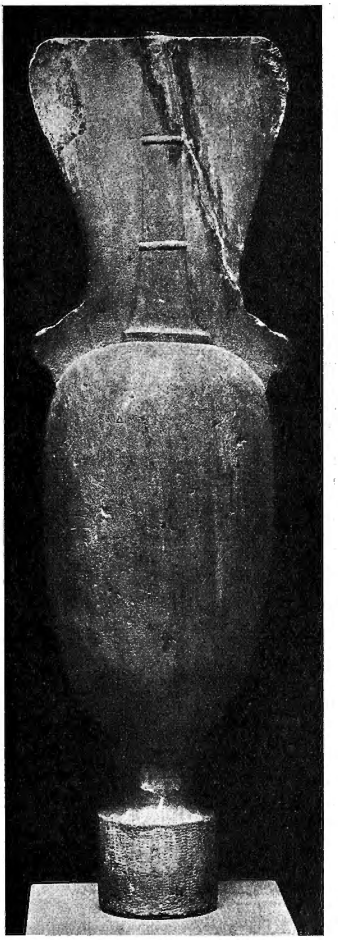


Fig. 242.

stately sequence from the close of the fifth century down to the year 317 B.C., when Demetrios of Phaleron passed a sumptuary law that no monument should be erected on a grave-mound but a small pillar, not exceeding three feet in height, or a table-like slab, or a bath-basin[1]. Accordingly we see *loutrophóroi* in the round, sometimes quite plain and presumably painted (fig. 242)[2], sometimes exquisitely carved with a profusion of motives—vegetable (fig. 243)[3], animal (fig. 244)[4], human (figs. 244, 250)[5], divine (fig. 245)[6]—and further

[1] Demetrios of Phaleron *περὶ τῆς Ἀθήνησι νομοθεσίας* (Diog. Laert. 5. 80) *frag.* 9 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 963 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Cic. *de legg.* 2. 66 sepulcris autem novis finivit modum: nam super terrae tumulum noluit quid statui, nisi columellam, tribus cubitis ne altiorem, aut mensam, aut labellum: et huic procurationi certum magistratum praefecerat. The *columellae*, of which there is a large collection in the National Museum at Athens (the tallest specimen, that of Poplios Memmios Syntrophos, measures 1·63^{m} in height, or 1·76^{m} inclusive of its rough end) and very few elsewhere (*e.g.* that of Thrason in the British Museum (E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* i. 144 Oxford 1874 no. 87, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 658, *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 2 no. 1747 Θράσων | Θρασυφῶντος | Κικυννεύς in lettering of 100—50 B.C. A. Conze *Die attischen Grabreliefs* Berlin—Leipzig 1911—1922 iv. 18 no. 1793 gives bibliography and photograph)), are usually of Hymettian marble. They are cylinders that taper slightly towards the bottom, and were either stuck in the ground or inserted in a holed stone socket. Near the top they have a projecting collar, which sometimes shows traces of fillets painted in red. The *mensae* are solid plinths, oblong in plan, with upper and lower mouldings. They originally served as bases for sepulchral vases or *stêlai* (A. Brückner *Der Friedhof am Eridanos* Berlin 1909 p. 99 f. fig. 64 three *mensae* still supporting portions of marble vases on their flat tops, A. Conze *op. cit.* iv. 14 f. no. 1769 a *mensa* decorated, exceptionally, with a *loutrophóros* in relief on the front and traces of a *stêle* let into the top). The *labella* are best represented on a South Italian *hydria* at Bari (inv. no. 1369, A. Conze *op. cit.* iv. 6 f. with fig. (=my fig. 241)), as no complete examples have come down to us. But numerous short fluted pillars with spreading foot, obviously basin-stands, are known. See further A. Conze *op. cit.* iv. 5 ff.

[2] From the Elgin collection, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 325 no. 683, E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* i. 151 Oxford 1874 no. 105, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 3239, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 364 no. 1715 pl. 367, 2 (=my fig. 242)). The circular plate on the top is, as usual, missing. The roughened foot was meant for insertion in a stone base. Details must have been added in colour. And there was presumably a painted design, to which the name ΦΑΙΔΙΜΟΣ : ΝΑΥΚΡΑΤΙΤΗΣ inscribed on both sides in neat fourth-century lettering has reference. White marble. Height 1·035^{m}.

[3] Still *in situ* outside the Dipylon at Athens (C. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1871 xxix. 30 no. 76, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 3754, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1893 i. 49 no. 208 pl. 56 (=my fig. 243)). On the left side of the *pôros* base is inscribed Ἡγήτωρ | Κηφισοδώρο (*sic*): on the vase, over the man, Ἡγήτωρ; over the woman, Παμφίλη. Under the relief is a strip painted red. White marble. Height 1·54^{m}.

[4] Fragment found at Spata in Attike, now at Constantinople (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 91 f. no. 335 fig., A Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 xii. 92 no. 49, A. Brueckner *Ornament und Form der attischen Grabstelen* Strassburg 1886 p. 35 no. 2, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 367 no. 1730 pl. 374 (=my fig. 244), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 177 no. 1). The handle is formed by a *pistrix* with dragon's head, spiky body, and fish's tail. On a large leaf is a young Satyr dancing to the left with a *chlamýs* thrown loosely round him. He raises his right hand, which is open, and lowers his left, which

Fig. 243.

adorned with a sepulchral subject (fig. 243). Or, again, we have *loutrophóroi* in low relief represented, with varying degrees of complexity, on upward tapering tombstones (figs. 246—250)[1] and,

holds a *lagobólon*. Pentelic marble. Height 0·57m. The same type recurs in A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 367 f. nos. 1730 a and 1731, cp. 1732.

[5] G. A. S. Snijder 'Une représentation eschatologique sur une stèle attique du ive siècle' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1924 ii. 37—45 pl. 3 has proved (1) that the youthful figures on the handles mentioned *supra* n. 4, with which must be grouped those of the relief shown *infra* fig. 250, are not mere mortals, but dancing Satyrs as conceived in the second half of *s.* iv B.C.; and (2) that they are present, not as purely decorative features, but as

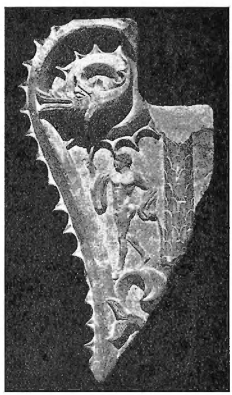


Fig. 244.

Fig. 245.

significant symbols of the Dionysiac faith (p. 43 f. 'Sans doute, leur caractère symbolique n'est pas accusé; mais un "bon entendeur," c'est-à-dire un *initié* comprenait sans hésiter leur langage. Ils expriment à la fois l'espoir et le vœu que le jeune défunt...soit reçu, sous les traits d'un bienheureux Satyre[1] ([1]Cf. Dieterich, *Nekyia*, p. 78), dans le thiase de Dionysos et les champs fréquentés par les bienheureux[2] ([2]Suivant l'*Anthologia Palat.*, VII, 37, on voyait sur le tombeau de Sophocle un Satyre tenant à la main un masque. On se demande si c'était seulement une personnification du drame et non pas une allusion à l'ordre d'idées étudié dans cet article...).').

[6] Fragment found *ἐν θέσει Μονομμάτι δήμου Φύλης*, now in the National Museum at Athens (no. 2546) (A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 369 no. 1733 a pl. 375 (=my fig. 245)). The handles enclose two crudely worked Sirens beating their heads and breasts. Pentelic marble. Height 0·52m.

[1] (*a*) Found near the church of Hagia Trias in the Kerameikos at Athens (R. Schoell in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1870 p. 146 ff. no. 4, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 34, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 2339, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 48, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 295 no. 1357 pl. 285, 1 (=my fig. 246)). The *akrotérion* or pediment of the *stéle* is missing. The decoration of the *loutrophóros* was doubtless eked out in paint. Right and left of the vase, from above downwards, runs a four-lined epigram, which U. Köhler transcribes

Fig. 246.

Fig. 247.

πότνι[α Σ]ωφροσύνη, θύγα[τ]ερ μεγαλόφρονος Αἰδοῦς, | πλείστα σὲ τιμήσας εὐπόλεμόν τε
'Αρετήν || Κλείδημος Μελιτεὺς Κλειδημίδου ἐνθάδε κεῖται | [ξῆ]λος πατρι – μη – – – – –
Hymettian marble. Height 1·40m.

(*b*) From Athens, now the property of Trinity College, Cambridge (J. Stuart—N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1830 Supplement by W. Kinnard p. 17 f. pl. 2, 4, A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge

Fig. 248.

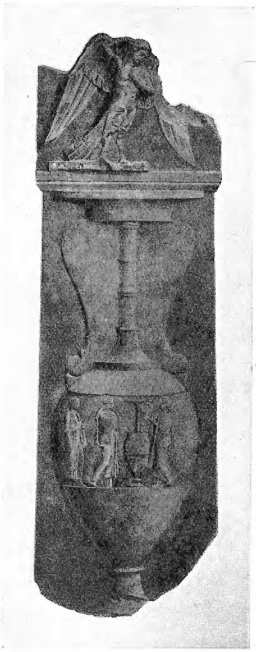


Fig. 249.

1882 p. 270 Cambridge no. 111, Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 49, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1994, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1900 ii. 214 no. 1006 pl. 195, 3 (=my fig. 247)). The sunk relief on the vase shows an older man, who wears a *himátion*, advancing from the left to clasp the hand of a younger man, who has a *chlamýs* round his arm. Each man is accompanied by a dog. The flat cornice of the pediment is inscribed [*Εὐθύ*]κριτος ΗΛΙΑΙΟΣ (?) (P. P. Dobree),...ΛΙΑΙΟΣ (K. O. Müller), [ΟΙΝ]ΑΙΟΣ (?) (A. Boeckh), ΛΒΑΙΟΣ (?) (A. Conze), ΛΕΑΙΟΣ (A. Michaelis), [ΕΙΤ]ΕΑΙΟΣ (U. Köhler). On the *stéle*, above the vase, is the epigram *ἐνθάδε τὸν πάσης ἀρετῆς ἐπὶ τέρμα μολόντα*|

[Ε]ὐθύκριτον πατρία χθὼν ἐκάλυψε τάφωι, | μητρὶ φίλον καὶ πατρί, κασι[γ]νήταις τε ποθεινόν | πᾶσ[ι] τε ἑταίροισιν σύντροφον ἡλικίας. Pentelic marble. Height 1·22m.

(*c*) From Γουβί near Ambelokipi, now in the National Museum at Athens (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1888 xiii. 355 no. 693, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1810, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 293 no. 1350 pl. 283 (=my fig. 248)). The rounded *akrotérion* is decorated with finely wrought *ákanthos*-leaves, palmettes, and central lotos-

Fig. 250.

bud (symbol of resurrection). The highly ornamental *loutrophóros* has a *tainía* slung from its handles. Above the vase is the inscription Ἀριστογείτων | Νικίου | Ἀλωπεκῆθεν. Pentelic marble. Height 0·95m.

(*d*) Found to the west of Kalývia Kuvarás, now in the National Museum at Athens (A. Milchhöfer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1887 xii. 283 no. 181 pl. 9, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1900 ii. 904 pl. 178 (=my fig. 249), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 409 no. 3). The *akrotérion* shows in relief a Siren beating her head and breast. The handles of the *loutrophóros* terminate below in inverted ducks'-heads (swans'-heads?), and must have been finished in colour. The sunk relief on the body of the vase represents a woman with long hair, in

finally, on the downward tapering pillars prescribed by Demetrios (fig. 251)[1].

chitón and *himátion*, bringing a *tainía* to tie on a large one-handled *loutrophóros*. Beyond it are seen a second woman with long hair, who is followed by a third woman, both similarly clad. White marble. Height 1·58m.

Fig. 251.

(*e*) Fragment found in the northern corner of the harbour (C. Curtius), 's τοῦ Κουμούση (S. A. Koumanoudes), and now in the Museum at the Peiraieus (C. Curtius in *Philologus* 1870 xxix. 697, A. Brueckner *Ornament und Form der attischen Grabstelen* Strassburg 1886 p. 35 no. 1, *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 2463, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin 1906 iii. 294 no. 1354 pl. 284 (=my fig. 250), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 409 no. 4. The dancing Satyrs enclosed by the handles of the *loutrophóros* resemble those described *supra* p. 380 n. 4 and p. 382 n. 5. Above the vase, in letters not earlier than 300 B.C., is inscribed 'Αριστοτέλης | 'Αριστομένους | Περγασῆθεν. White marble. Height 1·56m.

[1] Found near the church of Hagia Trias in the Kerameikos at Athens (*Corp. inscr.*

Ceramic evidence further assures us that a *loutrophóros* might be carried by a mourning maiden in the funeral procession (fig. 237)[1], and set up on the summit of the grave-mound—a custom traceable from the early fifth[2] to the late fourth century (fig. 253)[3]. Again, we

Att. iii. 2 no. 1981, A. Conze *op. cit.* Berlin—Leipzig 1911—1922 iv. 16 no. 1778 pl. 379 (=my fig. 251)). The sunk relief shows an ornamental *loutrophóros*, with *akrotéria* on its rim and a *tainía* slung from its handles. Above it, in lettering of imperial date, is inscribed Ἀπολλόδωρος | Σώτου | Ῥαμνούσιος. Hymettian marble. Height 1·36m.

[1] From a red-figured *loutrophóros*, dating from the first third of *s.* v, in the Louvre (*supra* p. 375 n. 1 (*b*)).

[2] *Supra* ii. 1056 ff. fig. 912.

M. Mayer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 310 n. 2 and P. Wolters *ib.* p. 389 f. with fig. (=my fig. 252) draw attention to an early yellow-ground *lékythos*, from Eretria, at Athens

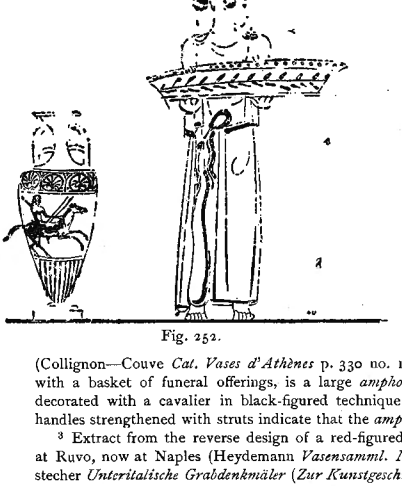


Fig. 252.

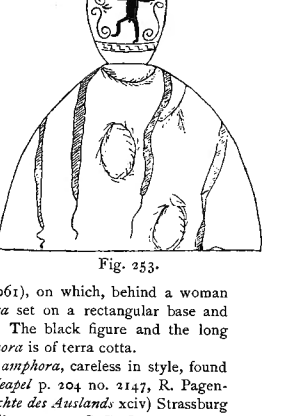


Fig. 253.

(Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 330 no. 1061), on which, behind a woman with a basket of funeral offerings, is a large *amphora* set on a rectangular base and decorated with a cavalier in black-figured technique. The black figure and the long handles strengthened with struts indicate that the *amphora* is of terra cotta.

[3] Extract from the reverse design of a red-figured *amphora*, careless in style, found at Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 204 no. 2147, R. Pagenstecher *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler* (*Zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslands* xciv) Strassburg 1912 p. 27 f. pl. 13, a, *id.* in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 103 n. 1, G. P. Oeconomus *De profusionum receptaculis sepulcralibus* Athenis 1921 p. 25 f. fig. 4 (=my fig. 253)). As is often the case, the vase shown resembles in shape the vase upon which it is painted. Pagenstecher rightly infers from the black figure that the vase shown is of terra cotta, not metal, and observes that its foot is firmly planted in the grave-mound.

Oeconomus *op. cit.* p. 27 f. fig. 5 cp. the obverse design of a red-figured neck-*amphora*, careless in style, found at Nola, now in Petrograd (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 38 no. 25 with fig. on p. 67 (=my fig. 254), *id. Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 220 no. 1598). Between two Ionic columns, on which are perched a soul-bird (Siren), and an owl, is seen a large one-handled jug half-sunk in the ground.

gather from vases that a *loutrophóros* might be borne by a young girl in the bridal *cortège* (fig. 255)[1], or decked with myrtle-sprays (fig. 256)[2] and set beside a pair of similarly decked *lébetes* (figs. 257, 258)[3],

[1] A red-figured *loutrophóros* at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 391 f. no. 1225), assigned to 'Der Frauenbadmaler' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 431 no. 6), who flourished *c.* 430—420 B.C. (M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 193), has (*a*) a wedding procession, in which the bride (bowed head, myrtle-wreath above, Eros hovering near) is preceded by a young girl bearing a *loutrophóros* and accompanied by women with

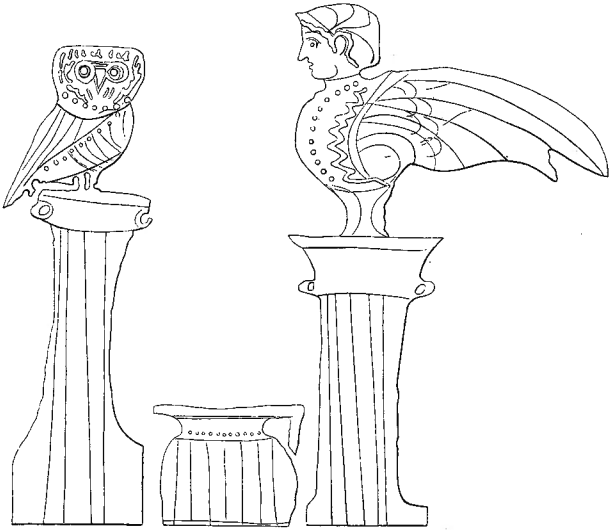


Fig. 254.

torches to the sound of the double flute; (*b*) a conversation between two women, of whom one holds up a decorated coffer (T. Sc(h)reiber in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876 xlviii. 333 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 34, 1 (=my fig. 255), O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1888 pl. 8, 2, P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 381 no. 18 with fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 206, 3, M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1318 fig. 4558).

[2] A fragmentary three-handled vase, of red-figured technique, found at Athens (P. Wolters in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 382 no. 21 with fig. (=my fig. 256)), shows among other bridal preparations a woman holding a three-handled *loutrophóros*, which has a row of white dots round its shoulder and three sprigs of myrtle in its mouth.

[3] (*a*) A red-figured *pyxís* from Athens, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 366 f. no. E 774, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 289 pl. 57, 3 (=my fig. 257), C. Lécrivain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1649 fig. 4862, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 346 no. 4, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils*

which presumably contained water for the bath of bride and bridegroom[1].

Tübingen 1925 p. 429 no. 2), attributed—first by Furtwängler—to 'Der Eretriamaler,' who flourished *c.* 430—420 B.C. (M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 193), depicts preparations for a wedding. These include a one-handled, black-figured *loutrophóros*, visible behind a rouge-pot of alabaster (?) on a coffer, while two black-figured bridal *lébetes* are set on stands near by—all three vases being similarly adorned with myrtle-sprays.

(*b*) A red-figured *epínetron* or *ónos* by the same painter, from Eretria, now at Athens (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 503 ff. no. 1588, P. Hartwig in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1897 pp. 129—142 pl. 9—10 (of which the second half=my fig. 258), C. Lécrivain in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1649 f. fig. 4863, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 345 no. 1, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 567, 570, iii. 220 fig. 561, J. D. Beazley *Attische*

Fig. 255.

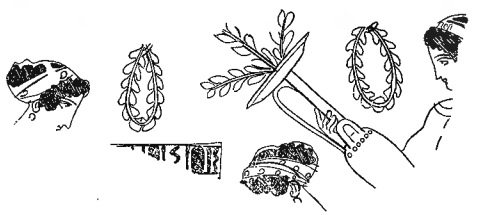


Fig. 256.

Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils Tübingen 1925 p. 429 no. 1), again introduces a black-figured *loutrophóros* and a pair of black-figured *lébetes* on stands, decorated with sprigs of myrtle by women, while the bride and the bridal bed are seen through the open door of the *thálamos*.

[1] A black-figured *amphora* from Kameiros, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 131 no. B 197 pls. 5 (=my fig. 259) and 6), and sometimes attributed to Amasis (L. Adamek *Unsignierte Vasen des Amasis* Prague 1895 p. 41 ff., Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 43 no. 22. *Aliter* G. Karo in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 138), has for its obverse design tbe nuptials of Zeus and Hera (R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Breslau* 1867) p. 27 ff., H. B. Walters in the *Brit.*

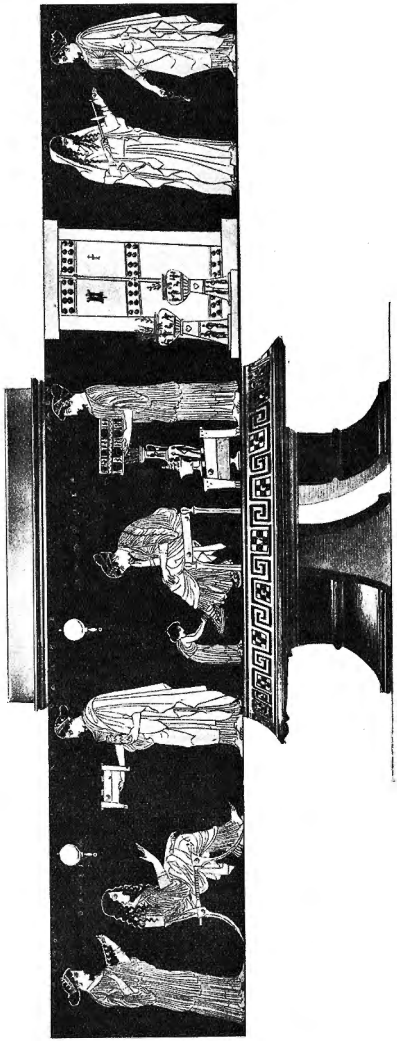


Fig. 357.

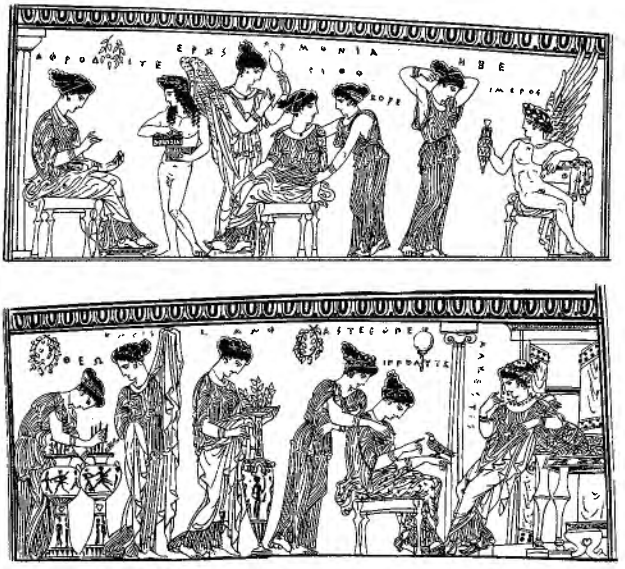


Fig. 258.

Fig. 259.

What is the meaning of these customs, and why should a ceremony performed at a wedding also be performed, or at least imitated, at the burial of a bachelor or spinster? A typical case may serve to point the question. Here, for example, is a *stéle* in the Ny Carlsberg collection (fig. 260)[1]. Hippon, son of Agonippos, has died unwed

Fig. 260.

Mus. Cat. Vases ii. 12 Type C). The deities, from left to right, are Apollon, Zeus and Hera, Dionysos, Aphrodite, Poseidon, Artemis, Hermes. Aphrodite carries on her head a *lébes*, of which A. de Ridder in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1001 says: 'il contenait sans doute l'eau lustrale.' Cp. the black-figured *hydría* published by Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 85 f. pl. 313, where the *lébes* rests on the head of a torch-bearing goddess.

[1] F. Poulsen in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 61 f. no. 4 with fig. 5, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* i no. 227 a Tillæg pl. 4 (=my fig. 260). The

and will leave no children to carry on the proud tradition of knightly names[1]. His mother Philostrate, seated in the foreground, looks with steadfast gaze at the young man's face, while she clasps his hand for the last time. His father, a bearded figure with furrowed forehead, stands in the background leaning on a staff and lays a detaining hand on the lad's shoulder. And in the centre of the little gable above their heads is carved in low relief the wedding-vase. Now, how is this seemingly inappropriate addition to be explained?

Is it to be regarded as a pathetic reminder of all that might have been? Hardly so. That would be modern, not ancient, sentiment. The Greeks did not care to be reminded of their sorrows[2], and we never find in their graveyards such a poignant symbol as a broken column. M. Collignon[3], taking a more practical, not to say prosaic, view, holds that the vase commemorates the 'chthonian bath'—a final act of the obsequies, in which water for washing the dead was brought to the tomb[4]. But, if so, we are left wondering how a rite once common to all the dead ever came to be restricted to those that died unmarried.

More to our purpose is an explanation advanced by Sir J. G. Frazer[5]:

'It may be suggested that originally the custom of placing a water-pitcher on the grave of unmarried persons...may have been meant to help them to obtain in another world the happiness they had missed in this. In fact, it may have been part of a ceremony designed to provide the dead maiden or bachelor with a spouse in the spirit land. Such ceremonies have been observed in various parts of the

inscription on the cornice is ΙΡΡΩΝ ΑΓΩΝΙΡΡΟ ΓΕΙΡΑΕΥΣ ΦΙΛΟΣΤΡΑΤΗ. The termination of *Ἀγωνίππο* points to a date in the first half of *s.* iv B.C. Pentelic marble. Height 1·40m.

For the *loutrophóros* thus placed Poulsen cp. the *stéle* of Silenis, daughter of Myiskos, at Berlin (no. 1492, R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die Griechische Skulptur*[3] Berlin—Leipzig 1922 p. 186 f. with fig., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 40 no. 3), which has for *akrotéria* a Siren flanked by a *loutrophóros* on its right and a Sphinx on its left.

[1] Aristoph. *nub.* 63 f. See further F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 pp. 219—226.

[2] Hdt. 6. 21.

[3] M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1319.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* *χθόνια λουτρά· τὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐπιφερόμενα. ἐκόμιζον γὰρ ἐπὶ τοὺς τάφους* λουτρά and Suid. *s.v.* *χθόνια λουτρά· τὰ τοῖς νεκροῖς ἐπιφερόμενα. ἐκόμιζον γὰρ εἰς τοὺς τάφους* λουτρά=Zenob. 6. 45, cp. Diogen. 3. 92 (*ἐπὶ τὰς ταφάς*), Greg. Cypr. cod. Leid. 3. 35, Makar. 8. 82, Apostol. 18. 25, Arsen. p. 475, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1865, 37 ff. See further Soph. *El.* 84, 434, Eur. *Phoen.* 1667 (λουτρά); Aisch. *cho.* 129 (*χέρνιβας*); Kleidemos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 40 ff. Tresp) *ap.* Athen. 409 F—410 A and Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1401, 8 ff. (*ἀπόνιμμα*). Kleidemos directs: *ὄρυξαι βόθυνον πρὸς ἑσπέραν τοῦ σήματος. ἔπειτα παρὰ τὸν βόθυνον πρὸς ἑσπέραν βλέπε, ὕδωρ κατάχεε λέγων τάδε· ὑμῖν ἀπόνιμμα οἷς χρὴ καὶ οἷς θέμις. ἔπειτα αὖθις μύρον κατάχεε.*

[5] Frazer *Pausanias* v. 389 ff.

world by peoples who, like the Greeks, esteemed it a great misfortune to die unmarried.'

The examples quoted in support of this explanation prove beyond all doubt that *post mortem* marriage is or has been a widely prevalent custom.

But marriage with whom? O. Schrader, who more than once attacked the problem[1], summarised his contentions as follows[2]:

'It is only by comparing the Greek customs with those of other Aryan peoples that we can discover the meaning of this custom. We then find that the placing of the bridal λουτροφόρος on the grave of unmarried people represents the symbolical preservation of a custom...still very wide-spread among the Slavonic races...a ceremonial imitation-marriage was celebrated at the graves of unmarried men and maidens, during which a bride or a bridegroom was there and then assigned to the dead person* (*Remains of this custom are found also in Germany; for in Hesse the coffins of single men who have died must be accompanied by "wreathed girls," who must wear mourning for four weeks, etc. (cf. [C.] Hessler [*Hessische Landes- und Volkskunde* Marburg 1904 ii. 152])). The third and last stage of the custom under discussion is presented to us in the accounts of the Arabs regarding the oldest Slavonic and Russian conditions of life. According to them, not only...was the wife of the dead *married man* given to him as a companion in death, but the *single man* too was, after his death, married *in regular fashion* to a young girl, who also was therefore doomed to die (cf. Mas'ūdī, *Les Prairies d'or*, ed. Barbier de Meynard, Paris, 1861—1865, ii. p. 9, n. 7). One of these "death-weddings" is described in detail by the Arab Ibn Fosslan (text and translation ed. by C. E. Fähn, St. Petersburg, 1823 [See now Miss H. L. Lorimer 'A Scandinavian Cremation-Ceremony' in *Antiquity* 1934 viii. 58—62, an article which includes a fresh and full translation made from the text of Ahmad bin Fudhlan by Miss C. Waddy]). But it follows from isolated traces that the custom of the wife dying along with her husband was prevalent also in Greece in prehistoric times (cf. Pausanias, ii. 21. 7), and in the story of the Trojan maiden Polyxene, sacrificed at the grave of Achilles, there exists also on classical soil a case of the barbarian custom of "death-marriage".'

Thus, on Schrader's showing, the death of a bachelor or spinster once involved the provision and actual killing of a human consort—a grim practice, which had indeed left lasting traces of itself in mythology, but in real life had long since decayed into a mimetic ceremony and thence into the mere symbolism of the marriage-vase.

Mr J. C. Lawson[3] viewed the matter from a somewhat different stand-point. He too regarded the *loutrophóros*-rite as implying that

[1] First in his monograph *Totenhochzeit* Jena 1904 pp. 1—38, then in his book *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[3] Jena 1906, 1907 i. 219 f., ii. 335 n. 3, 532, lastly in his *Reallex.*[2] ii. 558—561 *s.v.* 'Totenhochzeit.'

[2] O. Schrader in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 22^b—23^a.

[3] J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 pp. 556, 560.

a definite marriage awaited the dead bachelor or spinster. But he treated it as one out of many facts tending to establish the important conclusion that, in Greek belief, every man might look forward to becoming the groom of Persephone, every woman to becoming Hades' bride[1]:

'Custom past and present, ancient literature, modern folk-song, all agree in their presentment of death as a marriage into the house of Hades.'

To me it seems that the opinions of Schrader and Lawson are not mutually exclusive. It may well be (though the evidence for it is slight[2]) that in prehistoric times the dead bachelor demanded—like Achilles (?)—a bride to keep him company. And, when this savage custom had dwindled into a set of merely mimetic rites and symbols, it may well have left behind it the feeling that the prematurely dead must needs be married somehow in the world beyond the tomb. If so, the great wave of oriental influence which swept the Mediterranean *c.* 600 B.C.[3] and the subsequent (or consequent?) growth of Greek mysticism very possibly intensified a latent belief in the divinity of the dead. The Egyptian identification of the mummified man with Osiris[4] is at least paralleled by the Orphic declaration:

Happy and blest one, a god thou shalt be in place of a mortal[5].

[1] *Supra* ii. 1164 n. 2.

[2] See the objections raised by P. Stengel in the *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* Mai 3, 1905 pp. 489—491 and by F. Kauffmann in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Philologie* 1907 xxxix. 138 f. and answered by O. Schrader *Sprachvergleichung und Urgeschichte*[3] Jena 1906, 1907 i. 220 n. 1, ii. 335 n. 3, 532. Stengel *loc. cit.* p. 490 n. 3 aptly quotes Loukian. *de luctu* 14 *πόσοι...καὶ παλλακίδας...ἐπικατέσφαξαν...ὡς χρησομένοις ἐκεῖ καὶ ἀπολαύσουσιν αὐτῶν κάτω;*

[3] *Supra* ii. 769 f.

[4] See *e.g.* A. Erman *A Handbook of Egyptian Religion* trans. A. S. Griffith London 1907 p. 95 ff., H. R. Hall in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 440[b]—443[a], A. M. Blackman *ib.* 1920 xi. 132[a—b] ('*Identification with Osiris*'), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] ii. 16 ('Thus every dead Egyptian was identified with Osiris and bore his name'). *Supra* p. 343.

[5] One of the gold tablets from Orphic graves of *s.* iv—iii B.C. near Thourioi (*supra* ii. 118 n. 2) gives the verse *δλβιε καὶ μακαριστέ, θεὸς δ' ἔ|σηι ἀντὶ βροτοῖο* (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 641, 1, 14 f., G. Murray in Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 667 no. 5 (with facsimile), H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 176 Orph. *frag.* 18, 10, Orph. *frag.* 32 c, 10 Kern), which seems to have been spoken by the *mystagogós* or *hierophántes* of Persephone (so J. H. Wieten *De tribus laminis aureis quae in sepulcris Thurinis sunt inventae* Amstelodami 1915 p. 118). Another tablet of the same date and *provenance* substitutes the prose formula *θεὸς ἐγ|ένου ἐξ ἀνθρώπου* (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 642, 4 f., G. Murray *loc. cit.* p. 662 no. 3 (with facsimile), H. Diels *op. cit.*[3] ii. 177 Orph. *frag.* 20, 4, Orph. *frag.* 32 f, 4 Kern). Cp. yet another, of *s.* i or more probably *s.* ii A.D., from Rome, which has the would-be hexameter *Καικιλία Σκουνδεῖνα, νόμωι | ἴθι δῖα γεγῶσα* (G. Murray *loc. cit.* p. 672 no. 8 (with facsimile) reading *θῖα* for *δῖα*, H. Diels *op. cit.*[3] ii. 176 f. Orph. *frag.* 19[a], 4, Orph. *frag.* 32 g, 4 Kern).

Final felicity for the divinised, but unmarried, dead would be felt to imply a marriage-union in the house of Hades. The Orphic initiate in fact carried with him to the tomb, engraved on a golden tablet, the assurance that he had become the very consort of Despoina[1]. And such hopes in less tangible form were certainly entertained by wider circles[2].

But, if the sepulchral *loutrophóros* is thus reducible to a nuptial *loutrophóros*, we have yet to enquire what meaning attached to them both. Eustathios[3], though he does not reach a satisfactory solution of the problem, at least goes some way towards one.

'The ancients,' he says, 'treat river-water as something solemn....Bridegrooms had their bath fetched from a river as an omen of fertility....And over those that died before marriage the so-called bath-carrying pitcher was set, to show that the deceased took his departure unbathed of the bridal bath and unfertile withal.'

This insistence upon the idea of fertility is right. Water-carrying, whether for the married living or for the unmarried dead, was a fertility-charm of a simple and intelligible sort. As such it can be paralleled by a variety of popular customs[4]. But the employment of a holed vessel for the purpose justifies us, if I am not mistaken, in defining the fertility-charm more nearly as a rain-charm. Rain, as we shall have occasion to note[5], was the very means by which Father Sky impregnated Mother Earth.

[1] *Supra* i. 650 n. 0, ii. 119 n. 2, 132 f.

[2] *Supra* ii. 1163 f.

[3] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1293, 6 ff. *οἱ δὲ παλαιοὶ σεμνύνουσι τὸ ποτάμιον ὑγρόν, καὶ ταῦτα λέγοντες. τὸ λουτρὸν ἐκ ποταμοῦ τοῖς νυμφίοις ἐκομίζετο, οἰωνιζομένοις τὸ γόνιμον. διὸ καὶ ἔνορχα μῆλα ἱέρευον, ὥσπερ τῷ Ποσειδῶνι, οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ποταμοῖς εἰς τὰς πηγάς. γόνιμα γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄρρενα. καὶ τοῖς πρὸ γάμου δὲ τελευτῶσιν ἡ λουτροφόρος, φασίν, ἐπετίθετο κάλπις εἰς ἔνδειξιν τοῦ ὅτι ἄλουτος τὰ νυμφικὰ καὶ ἄγονος ἄπεισι* (*supra* p. 372 n. 7).

[4] F. von Reitzenstein in the *Zeitschrift für Ethnologie* 1909 xli. 671 f., *à propos* of 'Der Fruchtbarkeitszauber,' writes: 'Neben Wäldern haben wir oben besonders Brunnen und Weiher oder—pars pro toto—Gefässe mit Wasser als Kinderheimat erkannt. Dementsprechend ist der Wasserzauber in der verschiedensten Form, besonders als Brunnenzauber, sehr weit verbreitet. Am dritten Tag nach der Hochzeit geht z. B. die griechische Braut noch heute an vielen Orten zum Brunnen, aus dem sie mit eigenem Gefäss Wasser schöpft und verschiedene Esswaren und Brotkrümchen hineinwirft, während zugleich ein Rundtanz darum vollzogen wird[5] ([5] [I. von Düringsfeld und O. von] Reinsberg-Düringsfeld [*Hochzeitsbuch* Leipzig 1871] S. 59). Bei den slavischen Völkern findet dieser Zug zum Brunnen entweder vor oder nach der Eheschliessung statt' [with examples from Croatia, Bulgaria, Esthonia, etc.]. See also Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art ii. 159 f. ('Water-spirits conceived as bestowing offspring on women').

[5] *Infra* p. 452 ff.

(γ) Water-carrying in connexion with the mysteries.

Water-carrying in a holed vessel reappears in connexion with the mysteries. Polygnotos in his famous fresco of the Underworld (painted shortly after 458 B.C.[1]) represented certain women bearing

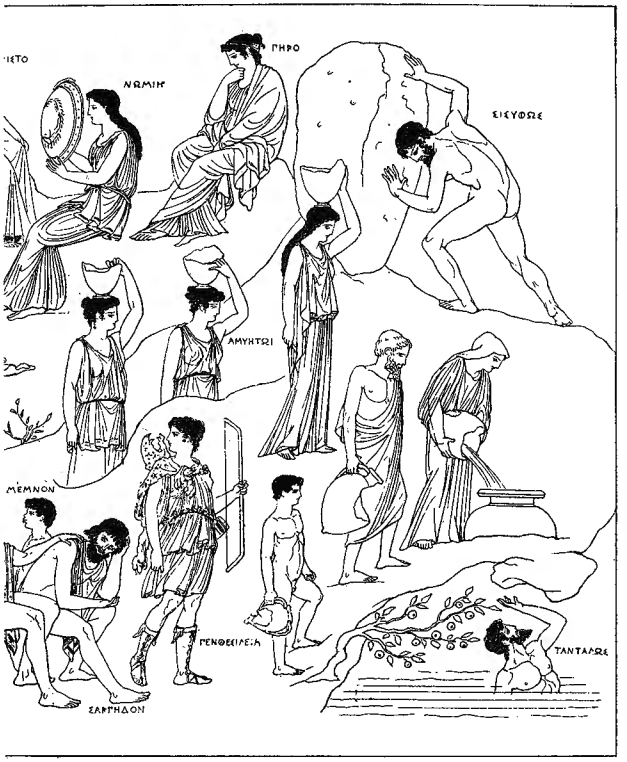


Fig. 261.

water in broken pitchers: one of them was in the bloom of youth, the other advanced in years; and an inscription common to them

[1] So A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 86 n. 1, 90 n. 0 followed by Miss M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* New Haven: Yale University Press 1929 p. 202 n. 20.

both set forth that they were of the uninitiated. Further, the same picture showed a *pithos*, an elderly man, a boy, and a couple of women—one young, the other elderly. They were all bearing water; but the old dame's pitcher seemed to be broken, and she was emptying into the *pithos* such water as was left in her crock. Pausanias[1], who saw the fresco in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphoi, adds: 'We inferred that these persons also were of the number of those who held the Eleusinian rites of no account.' In thus connecting the two groups of water-carriers and assuming one label for the lot Pausanias was almost certainly correct[2]. An approximate arrangement of the contiguous figures may be seen in C. Robert's clever reconstruction (fig. 261)[3].

Platon in his *Gorgias* (written between 399 and 388 B.C.[4]) likewise states that in Hades the uninitiated carry water in a sieve to a holed *pithos*[5]. Indeed, their punishment became proverbial[6], and can be illustrated from more than one extant vase-painting.

[1] Paus. 10. 31. 9 ff. *αἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τὴν Πενθεσίλειαν φέρουσαι μέν εἰσιν ὕδωρ ἐν κατεαγόσιν ὀστράκοις, πεποίηται δὲ ἡ μὲν ἔτι ὡραία τὸ εἶδος, ἡ δὲ ἤδη τῆς ἡλικίας προήκουσα· ἰδίᾳ μὲν δὴ οὐδὲν ἐπίγραμμα ἐπὶ ἑκατέρᾳ τῶν γυναικῶν, ἐν κοινῷ δέ ἐστιν ἐπὶ ἀμφοτέραις εἶναι σφᾶς τῶν οὐ μεμυημένων γυναικῶν.* (10) *ἀνωτέρω τούτων ἐστὶν ἡ Λυκάονος Καλλιστὼ καὶ Νομία τε καὶ ἡ Νηλέως Πηρώ· ...μετὰ δὲ τὴν Καλλιστὼ καὶ ὅσαι σὺν ἐκείνῃ γυναῖκες, κρημνοῦ τε σχῆμά ἐστι καὶ ὁ Αἰόλου Σίσυφος ἀνῶσαι πρὸς τὸν κρημνὸν βιαζόμενος τὴν πέτραν.* (11) *ἔστι δὲ καὶ πίθος ἐν τῇ γραφῇ, πρεσβύτης δὲ ἄνθρωπος, ὁ δὲ ἔτι παῖς, καὶ γυναῖκες, νέα μὲν ὑπὸ* (so F. G. Welcker for *ἐπὶ* codd.) *τῇ πέτρᾳ, παρὰ δὲ τὸν πρεσβύτην ἑοικυῖα ἐκείνῳ τὴν ἡλικίαν· οἱ μὲν ἄλλοι φέροντες ὕδωρ εἰσί, τῇ δὲ γραῒ κατεᾶχθαι τὴν ὑδρίαν εἰκάσεις· ὅσον δὲ ἐν τῷ ὀστράκῳ λοιπὸν ἦν τοῦ ὕδατος, ἐκχέουσά ἐστιν αὖθις ἐς τὸν πίθον. ἐτεκμαιρόμεθα δ' εἶναι καὶ τούτους τῶν τὰ δρώμενα Ἐλευσῖνι* (H. Hitzig—H. Blümner cjj. *τὰ Ἐλευσῖνι*) *ἐν οὐδενὸς θεμένων λόγῳ.*

[2] C. Bonner in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1902 xiii. 166 'The circumstance that the intervening figures are said to have been on a higher level than the first group removes all difficulties in the way of bringing the two groups of *ἀμύητοι* together.'

[3] C. Robert *Die Nekyia des Polygnot* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1892) p. 68 with lithographic pl., drawn by H. Schenck (part of which = my fig. 261).

[4] W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 670.

[5] Plat. *Gorg.* 493 A—C *καὶ τοῦτο ἄρα τις μυθολογῶν κομψὸς ἀνήρ, ἴσως Σικελός τις ἢ Ἰταλικός, παράγων τῷ ὀνόματι διὰ τὸ πιθανόν τε καὶ πιστικὸν ὠνόμασε πίθον, τοὺς δὲ ἀνοήτους ἀμυήτους· τῶν δ' ἀμυήτων τοῦτο τῆς ψυχῆς οὗ αἱ ἐπιθυμίαι εἰσί, τὸ ἀκόλαστον αὐτοῦ καὶ οὐ στεγανόν, ὡς τετρημένος εἴη πίθος, διὰ τὴν ἀπληστίαν ἀπεικάσας. τοὐναντίον δὴ οὗτός σοι, ὦ Καλλίκλεις, ἐνδείκνυται ὡς τῶν ἐν Ἅιδου—τὸ ἀειδὲς δὴ λέγων—οὗτοι ἀθλιώτατοι ἂν εἶεν οἱ ἀμύητοι, καὶ φοροῖεν εἰς τὸν τετρημένον πίθον ὕδωρ ἑτέρῳ τοιούτῳ τετρημένῳ κοσκίνῳ. τὸ δὲ κόσκινον ἄρα λέγει, ὡς ἔφη ὁ πρὸς ἐμὲ λέγων, τὴν ψυχὴν εἶναι· τὴν δὲ ψυχὴν κοσκίνῳ ἀπείκασε τὴν τῶν ἀνοήτων ὡς τετρημένην, ἅτε οὐ δυναμένην στέγειν δι' ἀπιστίαν τε καὶ λήθην.* Cp. *rep.* 363 D—E *τοὺς δὲ ἀνοσίους αὖ καὶ ἀδίκους εἰς πηλόν τινα κατορύττουσιν ἐν Ἅιδου καὶ κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ ἀναγκάζουσι φέρειν.* The 'Sicilian or Italian' of the former passage is probably Philolaos or some other Pythagorean, *e.g.* Archytas (E. Frank *Plato und die sogenannten Pythagoreer* Halle (Saale) 1923 pp. 90 f., 298 ff., 364 n. 219, P. Frutiger *Les mythes de Platon* Paris 1930 p. 111 f.). The 'mud' of the latter passage is definitely Orphic (A. Dieterich *Nekyia* Leipzig 1893 p. 75 n. 0, Rohde *Psyche*[8] i. 313 n. 1, J. Adam on Plat. *rep.* 363 D).

An archaic black-figured *amphora*, formerly in the Canino collection and now at Munich[1], has for obverse design (fig. 262)[2] four winged souls emptying pitchers into an enormous *pithos* partly sunk in the earth: the presence of Sisyphos rolling his stone up a hill shows that the scene is laid in the Underworld, as does the reverse design (fig. 263)[3] of Herakles dragging off a two-headed Kerberos. Both sides of the vase may be indebted to some sixth-century fresco,

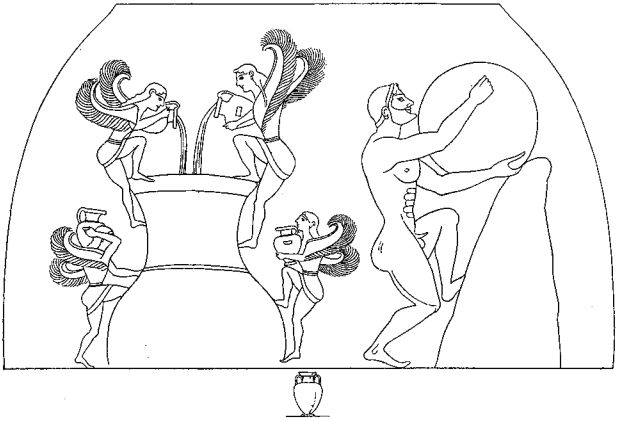


Fig. 262.

[6] Zenob. 2. 6 ἄπληστος πίθος· ...λέγεται γὰρ οὗτος ὁ πίθος ἐν Ἅιδου εἶναι οὐδέποτε πληρούμενος· πάσχουσι δὲ περὶ αὐτὸν αἱ τῶν ἀμυήτων ψυχαί· καὶ κόραι δέ, ἃς Δαναΐδας λέγουσιν, πληροῦσαι ἐν κατεαγόσιν ἀγγείοις ὕδωρ πρὸς αὐτὸν φέρουσι τετρημένον, Apostol. 6. 79 εἰς τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖς· ...καὶ γὰρ μυθεύουσιν ἐν Ἅιδου τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς εἰς πίθον τετρημένον ἀντλεῖν. πάσχουσι δὲ περὶ τοῦτον αἱ τῶν Ἀμύντου (*leg.* ἀμυήτων) ψυχαί. καὶ κόραι δὲ ἠπεδαναί (cp. codd. B.V. on Zenob. 2. 6 γέγραπται δὲ τῷ πίθῳ Ἀμυήτων· λέγονται δὲ αἱ κόραι ἠπεδαναί, τουτέστιν ἀσθενεῖς, παρὰ τὸ ἄπεδον. More probably ἠπεδαναί conceals the true reading (ἢ παρθένοι? ἢ παῖδες Δαναοῦ??)), αἳ καὶ Δαναΐδες καλοῦνται, ἀντλοῦσαι ὕδωρ εἰς τὸν πίθον, Souid. *s.v.* ἄπληστος πίθος· ὁ ἐν Ἅιδου, ὁ τετρημένος...ἀπὸ τοῦ περὶ τὰς Δαναΐδας μύθου, παρ' ὅσον ἀνιμῶσαι ἐκεῖναι ὕδωρ εἰς πίθον ἔβαλλον. πάσχουσι δὲ περὶ τοῦτον τὸν πίθον αἱ τῶν ἀμυήτων ψυχαί (=*id. s.v.* εἰς τετρημένον πίθον ἀντλεῖν), *id. s.v.* εἰς τὸν τετρημένον· λείπει, πίθον ἀντλεῖν...καὶ γὰρ μυθεύουσιν ἐν Ἅιδου τοὺς ἀσεβεῖς εἰς πίθον τετρημένον ἀντλεῖν.

[1] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 49 f. no. 153.

[2] Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* ii. 56 ff. pl. 135, E. Gerhard *Über die Flügelgestalten der alten Kunst* Berlin 1840 pp. 5 n. 3, 17 pl. 1, 8, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 40 pl. 69, 866, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1924 fig. 2040, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 952 with fig. on p. 950, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 616 f. fig. 164, *ead. Themis*[2] p. 529 f. fig. 151.

[3] Inghirami *loc. cit.* pl. 136.

not recorded in literature, but very possibly illustrative of Orphic teaching[1].

Again, a black-figured *lékythos*, which was found in 1820 beneath the feet of a skeleton buried on the slope of Monte Saraceno near Ravanusa in southern Sicily and is now preserved in the Museo Nazionale at Palermo (pl. xxxvi and fig. 264)[2] depicts men and women hastening to empty vessels of various shapes into a huge

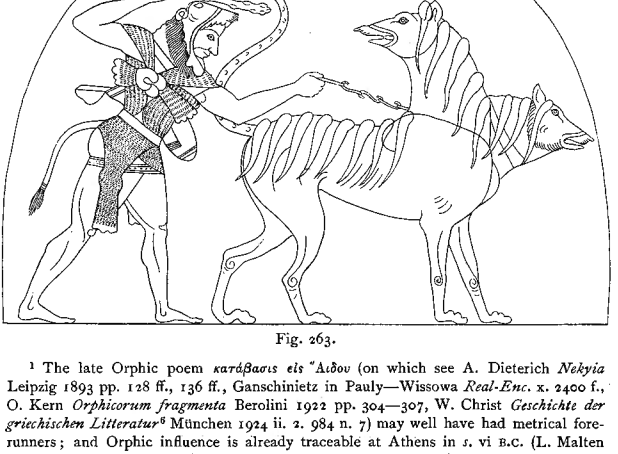


Fig. 263.

[1] The late Orphic poem *κατάβασις εἰς Ἅιδου* (on which see A. Dieterich *Nekyia* Leipzig 1893 pp. 128 ff., 136 ff., Ganschinietz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2400 f., O. Kern *Orphicorum fragmenta* Berolini 1922 pp. 304—307, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 984 n. 7) may well have had metrical forerunners; and Orphic influence is already traceable at Athens in *s.* vi B.C. (L. Malten 'Altorphische Demetersage' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 417 ff.).

[2] T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 284 ff. ('*eine Parodie des Gemäldes des Polygnot*...sowohl *der Scene in der Frauen und Jünglinge als Hydrophoren sich einem grossen Fass nähern* zur Anspielung auf die Strafe der Danaïden, Sterbliche darstellend, die während ihres Lebens die Mysterien nicht achteten, als *der Fabel des Oknos*'), H. Heydemann *ib.* 1870 xxviii. 42 f. no. 22 with pl. 31 (= my fig. 264) ('Wir haben eine Parodie der Danaiden und des Oknos vor uns'), A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 24 f. ('eine sehr ernste Darstellung....Es sind eben noch nicht die Danaiden..., sondern allgemeine Bilder der Seelen und ihrer Pein, weshalb auch nicht auffallend ist, sie auch männlich gebildet zu finden. Ferner ist Oknos mit dem Esel dargestellt,...'), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 617 f. fig. 165 ('emphatically *not* Danaides...but "Uninitiated".... The ass and...Oknos'), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 311 ('Schwerlich mit Recht hat man...eine Mythenparodie in dem Unterweltsbild...finden wollen.... Die allzu schmächtigen Körper und grossen Köpfe, einzelne lange Nasen und drollige Bewegungen wirken zwar in diesem Zusammenhang auch auf den geschulten Betrachter leicht komisch, sind aber schwerlich so gemeint'). Pl. xxxvi is from a photograph kindly supplied to me by Profs G. M. Columba and E. Gábrici.

Lékythos from Monte Saraceno, now at Palermo:
the uninitiated in the Underworld, together with Oknos and his ass.

See page 400 f. *with fig.* 264.

píthos, as before planted deeply in the ground. Here Oknos and his ass[1] serve to fix the locality. The lively and humorous rendering of the whole scene makes it difficult to resist the impression that there is present an element of intentional caricature. And if so, the artist was conceivably inspired by some actual pre-literary performance of a mimic or comic sort, though when and where escapes us[2]. Be that as it may, of these two vases the first probably, the second certainly, shows the penance of the uninitiated in general, not that of the Danaïdes in particular.

The same may perhaps be said of a splendid 'Apulian' *kratér*, which came to the Munich collection from a grave near Canosa[3]. This famous vase dates from the second half of *s.* iv B.C.[4] and is

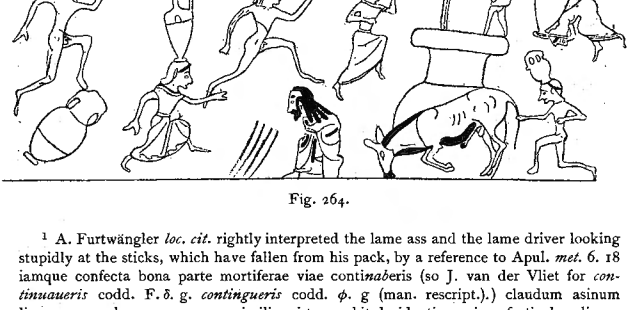


Fig. 264.

[1] A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* rightly interpreted the lame ass and the lame driver looking stupidly at the sticks, which have fallen from his pack, by a reference to Apul. *met.* 6. 18 iamque confecta bona parte mortiferae viae conti*nab*eris (so J. van der Vliet for *continuaueris* codd. F. δ. g. *contingueris* codd. φ. g (man. rescript.).) claudum asinum lignorum gerulum cum agasone simili, qui te rogabit decidentis sarcinae fusticulos aliquos porrigas ei; sed tu nulla voce deprompta tacita praeterito (a variant version of Oknos and his ass). F. Boll 'Oknos' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 151—157 holds that this curious figure originates in a 'Traumphantasie' of the sort known as 'Behinderungstraum' (cp. *Il.* 22. 199 ff. (=Verg. *Aen.* 12. 908 ff.), 23. 99 ff., Enn. *ann. frag.* 28. 6 ff. Bachrens). He cites (after A. Grünwedel in the *Original-Mittheilungen aus der ethnologischen Abtheilung der königl. Museen zu Berlin* 1885 i. 42, W. H. D. Rouse in *Folk-Lore* 1890 i. 409, Frazer *Pausanias* v. 377 f.) a Buddhist parallel from the seventh dream of the king of Kosala (*Jātaka Tales* edd. H. T. Francis and E. J. Thomas Cambridge 1916 p. 84 f.: '"A man was weaving rope, sir, and as he wove, he threw it down at his feet. Under his bench lay a hungry she-jackal, which kept eating the rope as he wove, but without the man knowing it. This is what I saw."' Etc.).

[2] O. Gruppe and F. Pfister in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 43 f. discuss the appearance of the Underworld in the comic and satyric drama of *s.* v B.C.

[3] The same grave yielded the Medeia-*kratér*, described and illustrated *supra* i. 251 f. pl. xxii.

[4] *Supra* p. 370.

decorated with an essentially Orphic[1] design (pl. xxxvii)[2]. Hades, sceptre in hand, sits on a sumptuous throne in his nether palace, while before him, holding a cross-topped torch, stands his bride Persephone. Round them are grouped the stock denizens of their realm. To the right appear the judges of the dead—the kingly figure of Aiakos, Triptolemos wreathed with the springing corn of Eleusis[3], Rhadamanthys with hoary hair and a brow furrowed by thought[4]. Above these is Dike, who executes their sentence. She guards with drawn sword Peirithoos; for he must remain a prisoner, though his friend Theseus, thanks to Herakles, is about to return to the upper air[5]. Below we see Herakles himself dragging a three-

[1] The Orphic character of this and similar vases from south Italy was justly emphasised by Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[3] p. 599 ff. ('Orphic Vases of Lower Italy'). See, however, the discussion of the point by E. Kuhnert 'Unteritalische Nekyien' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 104—113, A. Milchhoefer '"Orphisch"-Unterweltliches' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 385—399, E. Kuhnert 'Orpheus in der Unterwelt' in *Philologus* 1895 liv. 193—204, and W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London (1935) pp. 187—191.

[2] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 273 ff. no. 849, A. L. Millin *Description des Tombeaux de Canosa* Paris 1816 p. 4 ff. pls. 3—6 (inadequate, but often copied *e.g.* by E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix pl. 1=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 258, 4, Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 121 ff. pls. 392—395, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 54 ff. pl. 56, 275 *a—c*, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1928 f. pl. 87 fig. 2042 B and fig. 2042 C, O. Benndorf in *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 1, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. cxlv ff. fig. 38), Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 47—54 pl. 10 (= my pl. xxxvii), P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 ii. 457 ff. fig. 330, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 576, 718.

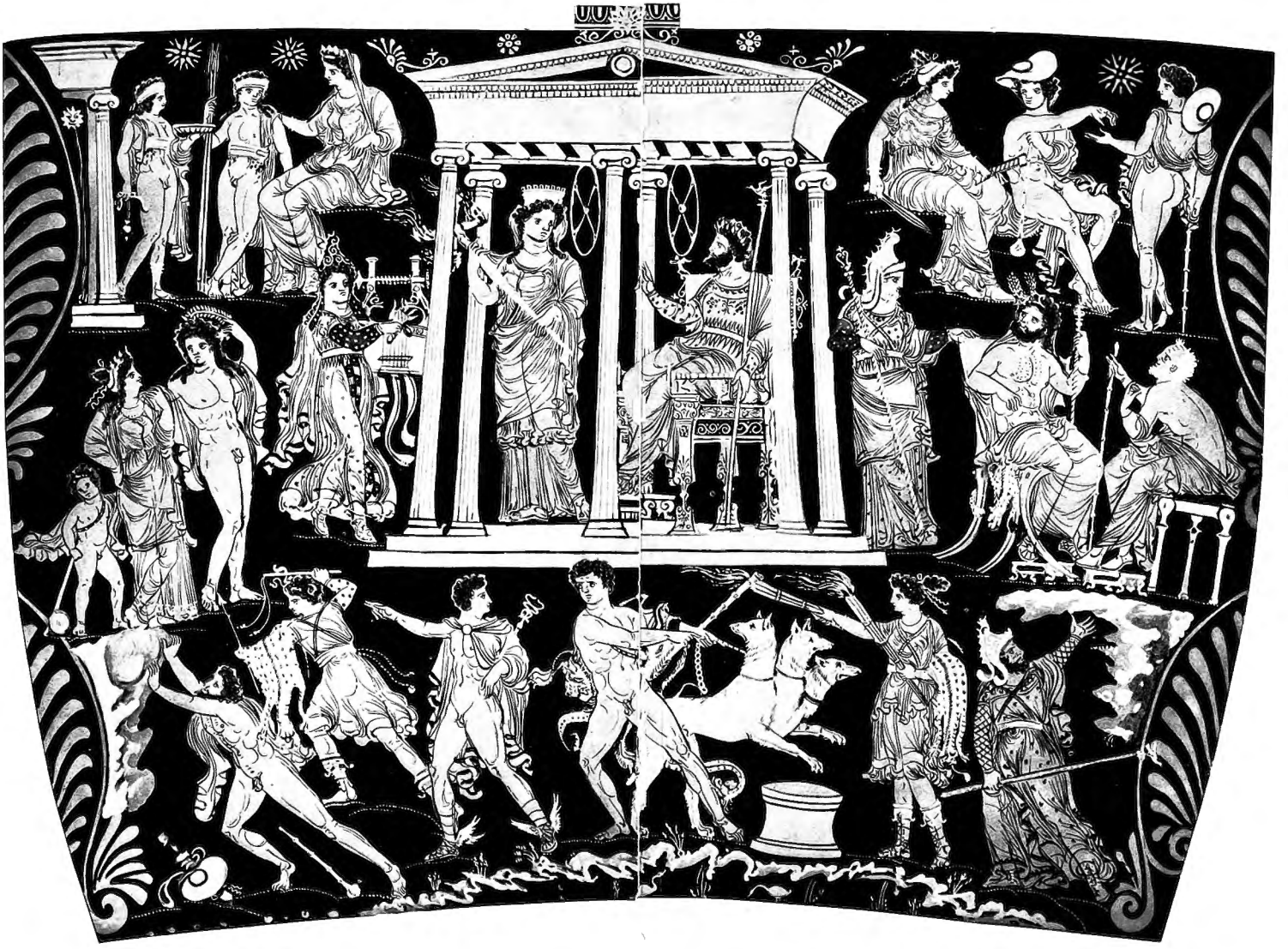
[3] *Supra* p. 299 n. 7.

[4] The three judges of this vase have been variously identified:

Tantale	Cronos	Rhadamanthe (A. L. Millin *op. cit.* p. 22 f.)
Lynceus	Kronos	Rhadamanth (F. Creuzer in the *Heidelbergische Jahrbücher der Litteratur* 1817 ii. 798)
Tantalo	Crono	Radamanto (Inghirami *op. cit.* iv. 124 f.)
Rhadamanthys	Kronos	Minos (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 202)
Rhadamanthys	Aeakos	Minos (C. O. Müller *op. cit.* i. 55)
Minos	Aiakos	Rhadamanthys (A. Winkler *Die Darstellungen der Unterwelt auf unteritalischen Vasen* Breslau 1888 pp. 10, 25)
Minos	Triptolemos	Rhadamanthys (Harrison *op. cit.* p. cxlvi f.)
Aiakos	*Triptolemos*	*Rhadamanthys* (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 48)
Eaco	Trittolemo	Radamanto (P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 458).

An analogous group on the vase from Altamura (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 510 ff. no. 3222, *infra* p. 423 n. 2 (2)) is inscribed ΤΡΙΟΠΤΟΛΕΜΟΣ, ΑΙΑΚΟΣ, [ΡΑΔΑ]ΜΑΝΟΥΣ. The only reasonable doubt is, therefore, whether on our vase the series should be called A+T+R or R+T+A. I have followed Furtwängler and Ducati, though with some hesitation.

[5] Variants of the myth are collected and discussed by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 470 n. 3, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 1079 f., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 42 f., Sir J. G. Frazer on Apollod. 2. 5. 12, and Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 703—706. W. Deonna '*Thésée assis aux Enfers*' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xliv. 361—367 studies the



Kratér from Canosa, now at Munich:
Orpheus leads a family of initiates into the presence of Hades and Persephone, whose palace is surrounded by the stock denizens of the Underworld.

See page 401 ff.

[From Furtwängler-Reichhold *Griechische Vasenmalerei* pl. 10 by permission of Messrs F. Bruckmann A.-G., Munich.]

headed[1] Kerberos away from Hekate and her torches towards some

folk-lore *motif* of the immobilised hero and thinks that it may have originated in dream-phenomena [cp. *Il.* 22. 199 f.] ultimately occasioned by paralysing fear.

[1] Both in literature and in art there was a natural tendency to make the monster more monstrous still. Heads could always be multiplied, and tails turned into snakes. It must, however, be borne in mind that a dog with fifty or a hundred heads could hardly be visualised unless, as Acr. and Porphyr. *in* Hor. *od.* 2. 13. 34 long since suggested, the heads were those of snakes. Similarly J. P. Postgate in his preface to M. Bréal *Semantics* trans. Mrs H. Cust London 1900 p. xvii ff. (*id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1905 xix. 412) argues that such polycephalism connotes a frill of serpentine heads, like those of Typhoeus (J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1429 f.) or the Hydra (Bölte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 45 f.).

Hes. *theog.* 767 ff. gives the dread hound of the under-world god a tail and two ears, presumably therefore one head. But the same author (according to F. Jacoby ed. Berolini 1930 p. 87, a rhapsode of *s.* vii—vi[i]) *ib.* 310 ff. describes ravening Kerberos, the bronze-voiced hound of Hades, as fifty-headed. Hor. *od.* 2. 13. 34 f., perhaps in imitation of Pind. *frag.* 249 Bergk[4] *ap.* schol. A.B.V. *Il.* 8. 368 (though schol. Hes. *theog.* 311 suggests some confusion with the Typhos of Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 16 or the Typhon of Pind. *frag.* 93 Bergk[4] *ap.* Strab. 627), makes him a beast with black ears and a hundred heads. Aristophanes more than once paints Kleon as a Kerberos (*eq.* 1017, 1030, *pax* 313) whose head was fringed by a hundred flatterers with flickering tongues (*vesp.* 1029 ff. = *pax* 751 ff.). Hor. *od.* 2. 19. 29 ff. mentions Kerberos' tail and his 'three-tongued mouth,' *trilingui* | *ore* —a curious phrase, which does not mean (as A. F. Naeke supposed) a single mouth with three tongues, or a triply forked tongue, in it, but (as J. C. Orelli—J. G. Baiter—W. Hirschfelder urge) three mouths with a tongue in each. Horace was pleased with the conceit, for he repeats it in *od.* 3. 11. 15 ff., where the hound has a hundred snakes about his head and a 'three-tongued mouth,' *ore trilingui*—again a precious description of the three-headed type (*pace* S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 272). Soph. *Trach.* 1097 ff., normal in this as in so much besides, calls him "Αιδου τρίκρανον σκύλαξ'... | δεινῆς Ἐχίδνης θρέμμα, and Eur. *H.f.* 24 f. βέβηκ' ἐς "Αιδου τὸν τριώμματον κύνα | ἐς φῶς ἀνάξων, 611 καὶ θῆρά γ' ἐς φῶς τὸν τρίκρανον ἤγαγον, 1277 f. "Αιδου πυλωρὸν κύνα τρίκρανον ἐς φάος | ὅπως πορεύσαιμ' follows suit. Latin writers in general settled down to the belief that he was three-headed (Cic. *Tusc.* 1. 10 triceps apud inferos Cerberus, 2. 22 (in a rendering of Soph. *loc. cit.*) tricipitem...Hydra generatum canem, Verg. *Aen.* 6. 417 latratu...trifauci, Tib. 3. 4. 88 cui tres sunt linguae tergeminumque caput, Prop. 4. 7. 52 tergeminusque canis, Ov. *trist.* 4. 7. 16 tergeminumque canem, *met.* 10. 21 f. villosa colubris | terna Medusaei...guttura monstri, Sen. *H.f.* 787 ff. saevus...Stygius canis | qui trina vasto capita (R. Peiper cj. *latera*) concutiens sono | regnum tuetur, *Oed.* 594 triceps...Cerberus, Sil. It. 6. 629 triplicis monstri, Stat. *Theb.* 2. 53 f. Letique triformis | ianitor, *silv.* 3. 3. 27 tergeminus custos, Hyg. *fab.* 151 canis Cerberus triceps, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 13 triceps inferorum canis, Fulgent. *myth.* 1. 6 tria habere capita). Hence he was Τρικάρηνος *par excellence* (Loukian. *philopatr.* 1, cp. *pseudolog.* 29). But the title Τρικέρβερος, which frequently figures in late sources (Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 133, Fulgent. *myth.* 1. 6, Myth. Vat. 1. 92, 1. 102, 1. 108, 2. 11, 2. 154, Io. Malal. *chron.* 3 p. 62 Dindorf, Kedren. *hist. comp.* 81 c (i. 143 Bekker), Souid. *s.v.* Κόρη, Tzetz. *chil.* 2. 751, Kosmas of Jerusalem *ad carm. Greg. Naz.* index 64 (xxxviii. 676, cp. 493, Migne)), is of less certain interpretation: the rationalists at least took it to mean merely a dog of monstrous size.

On the 'ring of Nestor,' a handsome gold signet found by a peasant in the largest *thólos*-tomb at *Kakovatos* above the Pylian Plain, Sir A. J. Evans claims to detect 'the solitary glimpse that we possess of the Minoan Underworld, and of the admission of the departed into the realms of bliss' (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 43—74 figs. 42, 44, 45, 55 (= my fig. 265 : scale ⅘), pl. 4, 2 intaglio, col. pl. 5 restoration as fresco (!), *id. The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 482 fig. 289, 1930 iii. 145—157 figs. 94, 95, 96, 104, col. pl. 20 A, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 302 f. fig. 16,

P. Couissin *ib.* 1926 ii. 81 f. (is sceptical of 'le Hadès avec Hermès psychopompe et Cerbère, et l'arbre sacré qui rappelle de si près l'*ulmus opaca* de Virgile[2] (*Enéide*, VI, 283)'), J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1926 xxxix. 100 fig. 1, Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. 549—556 (compares the 'Tree of Life' in the garden of the Hesperides protected by the snake Ladon, but thinks that the whole ring 'may merely represent some cult scenes performed in an open-air sanctuary beneath the shadow of an aged tree')). The chief feature in the design is an old, leafless tree, with wide-stretched boughs, springing from a mound, on which couches 'an animal, apparently intended for a dog.' Here Sir Arthur sees a parallel to the Scandinavian world-tree, the ash of Odhin's steed, Yggdrasil, whose roots were gnawed by the serpent Niðhöggr (K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie*[5] Bonn 1878 p. 36 ff. ('Die Weltesche'), J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 796 ff., 1888 iv. 1331, 1536 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische*

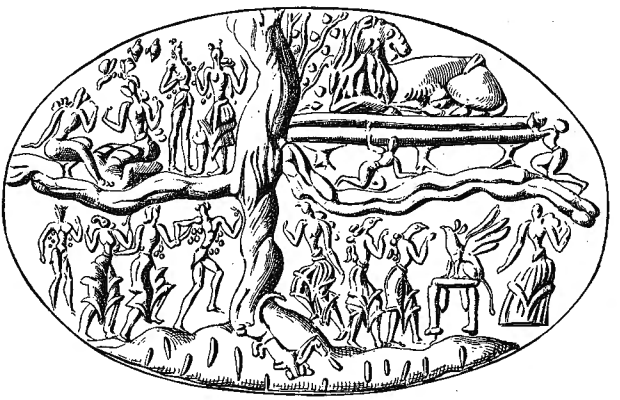


Fig. 265.

Mythologie Berlin 1891 p. 81 ff., H. M. Chadwick *The Cult of Othin* London 1899 p. 73 ff., P. D. Chantepie de la Saussaye *The Religion of the Teutons* Boston and London 1902 p. 347 ff., E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 379 f., *id.* in Hoops *Reallex.* iv. 573, P. Herrmann *Nordische Mythologie* Leipzig 1903 p. 588 ff. ('Der Weltenbaum'), R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 474 ff. ('Yggdrasil'), J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 708[b], S. G. Youngert *ib.* 1911 iv. 178[a–b], Miss E. Welsford *ib.* 1917 ix. 253[b], Miss N. Kershaw (Mrs H. M. Chadwick) *ib.* 1921 xii. 252[b], 254[a], 257[b], P. A. Munch *Norse Mythology* New York 1926 pp. 6 f., 30, 289, A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 204 ('L'arbre mondial, le fameux frêne Yggdrasil, qui en est la colonne centrale, n'est au fond que l'arbre autour duquel les anciens Germains aimaient à construire leurs maisons'). See further the monographs of E. Magnússon *Odin's Horse Yggdrasill* London 1895 pp. 1—64 = *id. Yggdrasill Óðins Hestr* Reykjavík 1895 pp. 1—64, S. N. Hagen 'The origin and meaning of the name Yggdrasill' in *Modern Philology* 1903—1904 i. 57—69, A. Olrik 'Yggdrasil' in *Danske Studier* København 1917 pp. 49—62. F. Magnusen *Eddalæren og dens Oprindelse* Kjöbenhavn 1825 iii pl. 1 attempts a picture of Yggdrasil, which is reproduced as a coloured Frontispiece in Bishop Percy's trans. of Mallet's *Northern Antiquities* ed. I. A. Blackwell London 1859). He also cites the 'Tree of Paradise' described *c.* 1500 A.D. in a metrical

paraphrase of Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Choumnos of Chandax (Candia) in Crete (F. H. Marshall *Old Testament Legends from a Greek poem on Genesis and Exodus by Georgios Chumnos* Cambridge 1925 p. 24 ff. 4. 71 ff. *κεῖδεν δένδρον πολλὰ ψιλὸν σιμὰ πρὸς τὸ ποτάμιν, | ὁποῦ τὴν Εὔαν ἐδόλεψεν ὁ ὄφις στὸ καλάμιν. | κῆσαν θεριὰ πᾶσα λογῆς ἄγρια καὶ τριγυρίζα | αὐτούνον τὸ ψιλὸν δενδρόν, ἀποκοντὰ στὴν ῥίζαν. | ἀραχνιασμένον ἦτονε τὸ φλοῦδιν τουπεσμένον, | ἦτον ξερὸν παντέρημον, τὰ φύλλα μαδισμένον. |...βλέπει τὲς ῥίζες τοῦ δενδροῦ, μέσα τῆς παραδείσου, | καὶ αὐτοῦνες κάτω ξεπερνοῦν στὰ βάθη τῆς ἀβύσσου. | καὶ ἕναν παιδάκιν φασκιοτὸν εἰς τὴν κορφὴν τοῦ δένδρου, | ὡς νήπιον βιζανόμενον ἐκλεγεν δίχος μέτρον,* 'Hard hy the river-banks there rose a tree exceeding tall, | Wherewith the serpent had deceived his (*sc.* Seth's) mother to her fall. | Wild beasts of every tribe and kind were gathered all around, | About the roots of that high tree they couched upon the ground. | The bark had fallen to the earth o'erspun with spider's weft; | The tree was dry and desolate and of all leaves was reft. | ...There in the midst of Paradise he looked at the tree's roots, | Down to the bottom of the abyss its fibres deep it shoots. | And lo! on the tree-top a babe, and swaddling bands he wears. | That babe incessantly did weep unmeasurable tears'), and compares for some details the Arab fable of *Kalila and Dimna* [of which a Greek version was made *c.* 1080 A.D. by Symeon Seth: K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der*

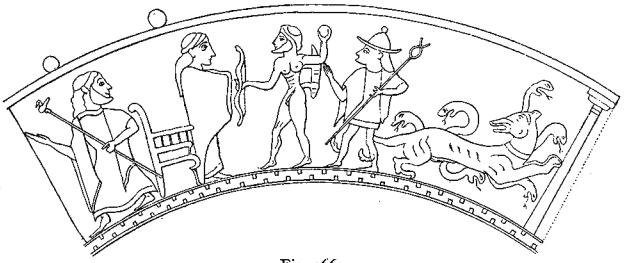


Fig. 266.

byzantinischen Litteratur[2] München 1897 pp. 615, 617, 896] (*Kalila and Dimna, or the Fables of Bidpai* trans. W. Knatchbull Oxford 1819 p. 80 f. cap. 4 'I therefore compared the human race to a man, who, flying from a furious elephant, goes down into a well; he suspends himself from two branches, which are at the brim of it, whilst his feet rest upon something projecting out of its sides, which proves to be the heads of four serpents appearing out of their holes; at the bottom he discovers a dragon with its mouth open ready to swallow him if he should fall; and raising his eye towards the two branches, he sees two rats, one white and the other black, which are incessantly gnawing their stems; at the same moment his attention is arrested by the sight of a bee-hive, and beginning eagerly to taste the honey, he is so taken up with its sweetness, that he forgets that his feet are resting upon the serpents, that the rats are gnawing the branches to which he is hanging, and that the dragon is ready to devour him, and thus his inconsiderateness and folly only cease with his existence,' cp. Io. Damask. (more probably a Greek monk Ioannes writing *c.* 600—650 A.D. in the ancient Palestinian monastery of S. Sabas: see K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*[2] p. 888) *v. Barlaam et Ioasaph* 12 (xcvi. 976 A—C Migne, p. 186 ff. ed. H. Mattingly)). A harvest of relevant material is garnered by U. Holmberg in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* Series B xvi. 3 ('Der Baum des Lebens') Helsinki 1922—1923 pp. 1—157 with 50 figs. and in *The Mythology of all Races: Finno-Ugric, Siberian* Boston 1927 pp. 333—360 with pl. 42 and figs. 13—15. See also *supra* ii. 88 n. 3. Sir A. J. Evans concludes: 'The hound that on the ring is seen acting as guardian of the World Tree may legitimately be regarded as the Minoan forerunner of

Fig. 267.

Fig. 268.

Cerberus.' If so, on a ring which Evans would refer to the period 'Late Minoan i *a*' (*c.* 1550—1500 B.C.) Kerberos has but a single head.

H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 296 f. draws up a list of 49 vases representing the subject of Herakles and Kerberos. Of these—

1	Corinthian *skýphos* shows Kerberos with	1 head and a frill of snakes.
2	'Caeretan' *hydríai* show	3 heads and a frill of snakes.
1	Attic black-figured vase shows . .	3 heads.
1	Attic black-figured vase shows . .	2 dogs' heads and 1 snake's head.
31	Attic black-figured vases show . .	2 heads.
5	Attic red-figured vases show . . .	2 heads.
1	Attic red-figured vase shows . . .	1 head.
6	'Apulian' vases show	3 heads.
1	relief-vase shows	3 heads.

I illustrate the main ceramic types: (1) the Corinthian *skýphos* from Argos (A. Conze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1859 xvii. 34 ff. pl. 125, 3*a* (half of which = my fig. 266), 3*b*, 3 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 389, 1, 2, 5, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2205, O. Immisch *ib.* ii. 1121 with fig. 1. Hades, threatened with a stone by Herakles, springs up from his throne in alarm and leaves Persephone to face the intruder, whom Hermes has conducted in safety past the entrance of the underground palace and its ravening watch-dog). (2) a 'Caeretan' *hydría* (E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 66 no. E 701, A. Conze in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1859 xxxi. 398 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 36 (= my fig. 267) = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 153, 3, F. Dürrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 98 fig. 3771. Herakles brings Kerberos to Eurystheus, who takes refuge in his *pithos*). (3) an Attic black-figured *amphora* from Aigina, now in the British Museum (H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 292 ff. fig. 6 (= my fig. 268). Herakles, escorted by Hermes, drags Kerberos from the palace of Persephone. The monster has 2 heads, a leonine mane, and a snaky tail). (4) the 'Apulian' *kratér* from Canosa (*supra* pl. xxxvii).

On coins there is a like variation. An electrum *statér* of Kyzikos, struck *c.* 450—400 B.C., shows two heads, with a collar round either neck, and a snaky tail (B. V. Head in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1876 xvi. 284 pl. 8, 24, W. Greenwell 'The electrum coinage of Cyzicus' *ib.* Third Series 1887 vii. 116 f. no. 141 pl. 6, 3, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 31 pl. 8, 2 (= my fig. 269), Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 2. 1443 f. (wrongly described) pl. 176, 8 (cp. *ib.* 9 a similar *hékte* at Paris), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 525). A unique silver *drachmé* (?) of some Etruscan town, now in the British Museum, has for reverse design a three-headed hound with a snaky tail (F. Bompois 'Drachme inédite frappée dans l'Étrurie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1879 ii. 28—38 with fig., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 49 f. pl. 71, 30 (= my fig. 270), Sambon *Monn. ant. It.* i. pl. 1, 21, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 15). Bronze coins of Italy inscribed RVB and possibly issued by the *gens Rubria* (J. Millingen *Considérations sur la numismatique de l'ancienne Italie* Florence 1841 p. 233, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 13 no. 50) have *obv.* bearded head of Hercules with club, *rev.* three-headed Cerberus (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 59 pl. 77, 1 and 2 (= my fig. 271), Babelon *Cat. Monn. gr. de Luynes* i. 6 no. 18 pl. 1). Similarly bronze coins of Capua have *obv.* beardless head of Hercules with club, *rev.* three-headed Cerberus (Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 88 pl. 86, 28, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 35). At Sebastopolis in Pontos, a town so devoted to Herakles that it was also known as Herakleopolis (W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 956), Caracalla struck a bronze piece with *rev.* Herakles, wearing lion-skin and grasping club, as he drags after him a three-headed Kerberos (Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 57 no. 68 pl. 5, 4 Berlin, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 104 no. 15 pl. 15, 3 (= my fig. 272) Berlin). Other renderings of the same scene on bronze coins of Germe (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 650) and Saittai in Lydia (Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 182 no. 1 pl. 6, 14). See further Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 477 f., Suppl. i. 1738 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 454 f., F. Gnecchi in the *Rivista italiana di numismatica e scienze affini* 1916 xxix. 38 ('Cerbero').

The variation in gem-types is even greater. A cornelian scarab in the British

Museum, early Ionic rather than Etruscan in character (A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2212 fig.), shows Herakles carrying off the Delphic tripod: the hero is accompanied by Kerberos, a hound with a single head, snakes starting from his back, and a snaky tail (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 75 no. 620 pl. 11, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 8, 9, ii. 38, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 38, 13 p. 173 ('Archaisch (italisch-griechisch)'). My fig. 273 is after Lippold: scale ⅔). A cornelian scarab of late Etruscan style, formerly in the Durand collection, gives the hound three heads (E. Braun in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1839 p. 103 no. 38, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 18, 49 (= my fig. 274: scale ⅔), ii. 90, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 83, 6 p. 180). Another Etruscan scarab, of the same material and style, now at Berlin, shows the three heads facing, not in profile (Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig

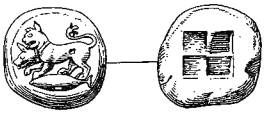


Fig. 269.

Fig. 270.

Fig. 271.

Fig. 272.

Fig. 273.

Fig. 274.

Fig. 275.

1889 p. 151 f. pl. 25, 36 (= my fig. 275: scale ⅔), Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 27 no. 263 pl. 5), and yet another, of the same description, in the British Museum, makes Herakles lead Kerberos by a triple leash fastened to a collar on each of his three necks (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[3] p. 89 no. 723 pl. 12, A. S. Murray and A. H. Smith in *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1910 xi pl. 2, 48, H. B. Walters *The Art of the Greeks* London (1906) pl. 93, 17). But a fourth scarab of the same sort, likewise in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 258 f. no. 2273 fig. 73, 19 pl. 46 = *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 105 no. 895 fig. 42, 19. My fig. 276 is from a cast: scale ⅔), and a convex chalcedony of early Roman date in the Berlin collection (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 104 no. 2153 (cp. no. 2154 paste) pl. 19, *id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 29, 2 (= my fig. 277: scale ⅔), ii. 143) give the hound two heads only. A sardonyx of late imperial style at Berlin (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 322 no. 8792 pl. 62

(= my fig. 278 : scale $\frac{2}{3}$) and a jasper of like kind in the British Museum (Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 151 pl. 25, 35 (= my fig. 279: scale $\frac{2}{3}$)) figure him with a canine body, but three serpentine heads.

It would thus appear that Kerberos started with one head, and that in Attic art he normally has two, but that in old Ionic art he had already acquired three, and that this threefold type ultimately prevailed. J. P. Postgate in M. Bréal *Semantics* trans. Mrs H. Cust London 1900 p. xx ff. rightly insists on his snaky adjuncts (for which see especially O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1133 (citing Hekataios *frag.* 346 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 27 Müller)=*frag.* 27 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 14 Jacoby) *ap.* Paus. 3. 25. 5 Ἑκαταῖος μὲν ὁ Μιλήσιος λόγον εὗρεν εἰκότα, ὄφιν φήσας ἐπὶ Ταινάρῳ τραφῆναι δεινόν, κληθῆναι δὲ Ἅιδου κύνα, ὅτι ἔδει τὸν δηχθέντα τεθνάναι παραυτίκα ὑπὸ τοῦ ἰοῦ· καὶ τοῦτον ἔφη τὸν ὄφιν ὑπὸ Ἡρακλέους ἀχθῆναι παρ' Εὐρυσθέα) and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 274),

Fig. 276.

Fig. 277.

Fig. 278.

Fig. 279.

but *ib.* p. xxiv wrongly explains his double and treble heads ('Let us hazard a conjecture. May not the double head of the κύων Ἅιδου, the *ianitor Orci*, whose duty it was to keep the threshold of the lower world from being trespassed on from either side, be compared to the double aspect of the god of the doorway, upon which his triple head is a later refinement to symbolize the τρίοδος or forking of the ways, the one leading to Elysium and the other to Tartaros [Plat. *Gorg.* 524 A]?'). We should rather conceive of the duplication and triplication as early efforts at multiplication, implying intensified power to watch and to bite.

Single, double, and treble heads are found again in the case of Orthros or Orthos, the hound of Geryones (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1217 f.), who had the same mother as Kerberos, *viz.* Echidna (*id. ib.* iii. 1215), and appears in fact to have been his doublet.

At this point we must note the ingenious view of M. Bloomfield 'The Two Dogs of Yama in a New Rôle' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1893 xv. 163—172,

id. Cerberus, The Dog of Hades Chicago 1905 pp. 1—41, *id.* in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 316ª—318ª. This eminent philologist revived an idea originally put forward by F. Wilford in *Asiatic Researches* London 1799 iii. 408 f. ('Yama, the regent of hell, has two dogs, according to the *Purânas*, one of them, named CERBURA and SABALA, or *varied*; the other SYÂMA, or *black*; the first of whom is also called *Triśiras*, or *with three heads*, and has the additional epithets of *Calmásha, Chitra*, and *Cirmíra*, all signifying *stained*, or *spotted*:... the CERBURA of the *Hindus* is indubitably the CERBERUS of the *Greeks*') and later supported by numerous scholars including A. Kuhn (in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1848 vi. 125 ff. (equating *Sârameyas* with Ἑρμείας, Ἑρμῆς) and 'Namen der milchstrasse und des höllenhunds' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1853 ii. 311 ff. (accepting A. Weber's *çyâma* and *çabala*, *çavara, karvara*=κέρβερος)), F. Max Müller (in the *Transactions of the Philological Society* for 14 April 1848 (Kerberos=sarvarî 'night'), *id.* in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1856 v. 149 ff., *id. Chips from a German Workshop*[2] London 1868 ii. 185 ff., *id. The Science of Language* London 1891 ii. 595 ('Kerberos and Orthros'), *id. Contributions to the Science of Mythology* London 1897 ii. 627 ff. ('Kerberos')), A. Weber (*Indische Studien* Berlin 1853 ii. 295 ff. (*çyâma* 'scheckig' and *çabala* 'schwartz,' later *çavala*, glossed *karbura*=Κέρβερος), *id. The History of Indian Literature* trans. J. Mann and T. Zachariae London 1878 p. 35 (Śabala=Κέρβερος), *id.* in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* 1895 p. 848 f. (çabala=Κερβερος)), M. Bréal (*Hercule et Cacus* Paris 1863 p. 122 f. (accepting A. Kuhn's dog *Sârameya*=the god Ἑρμείας, Ἑρμῆς and A. Weber's *Çarvara*=Κέρβερος)). Gruppe *Cult. Myth. orient. Rel.* i. 114 summarises their case thus. In a prayer interpolated into the earliest collection of Veda and in several of the more recent Vedic poems (see especially *Rig-Veda* 10. 14. 10—12) Yama is invoked to protect the deceased from the two spotted four-eyed dogs of *Saramâ*, watchers that with wide nostrils and ravening mouths roam the world as dark messengers of death. These dogs in the *Rig-Veda* have no names, but in later Indian writings are called respectively *çyâma* 'the Black' and *çabala* 'the Motley'—epithets presumably drawn from the aforesaid passages of the *Rig-Veda*. The dictionary of Amara [Amarasiṃha *Amarakosha*] gives also *karvura, karbura, karvara* as meaning 'dappled,' and this according to Kuhn was the form from which *çabala* arose. *Karvura, Karbura* is to be compared with Κέρβερος. See further Monier Williams *A Sanskrit–English Dictionary* Oxford 1872 p. 995ᶜ ('*sárvara*... darkness—[cf. probably Gr. Κέρβερος]'), J. van den Gheyn *Cerbère*. Étude de mythologie comparée Bruxelles 1883, E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 132 n. 3 ('Κέρβερος (=*Çabála*)=*Çárvara*'), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 408 ('Kerberos, der "Bleiche," cp. Hesych. *s.v.* κέρβερος· κίνδυνος. τάρταρος. ὠχρός. καὶ κύων μέγας ᾅδου (τρικάρηνος)). Doubts are expressed by H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 459 n. 3, Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 306 n. 0, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 173, J. P. Postgate in the *Class. Rev.* 1905 xix. 412, Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 561 ('Jedenfalls haben sich alle sprachlichen Gleichungen wie griech. Κέρβερος=scrt. *çárvara-*, *çabála-* (Beiname eines indischen Totenhunds), griech. Τάρταρος=scrt. *tálâtala-* (später Name einer bestimmten Hölle), griech. Ἑρμείας=scrt. *sârameyá-* (von den Hunden der indischen Totenwelt gesagt), griech. Μίνως=scrt. *mánu-* u.a., von denen man früher auf das Bestehen derartiger und zwar schon sehr ausgebildeter idg. Toten- und Höllenreiche geschlossen hat, als hinfällig erwiesen').

Uncertainties abound; but on the whole I incline to accept as probable the following conclusions: (1) The two hell-hounds of Yama, at first nameless, then called *Çyâma* 'Black' and *Çabala* 'Motley' (cp. *çárvara* 'dappled, dark'), came to be viewed as Night and Day respectively, and even as Moon and Sun (F. Max Müller *Contributions to the Science of Mythology* London 1897 ii. 628 f. 'Thus in the Kâṭhaka-saṃhitâ XVII, 14, it is simply stated that the two dogs of Yama were day and night. And in the Kâṭh.-brâhmaṇa we read: "Śabala, the speckled, is the day, Syâma, the dark, is the night."... Sometimes these two dogs represent not only day and night, but even sun and moon.... Thus we read in Ath.-veda VI, 80:—"He (the sun) flies through the air, looking down upon all beings, we desire to do homage with havis to thee (who art) the majesty of the heavenly dog."...

But the moon also was called the heavenly dog. In Sat.-br. XI, 1, 5, 1, we read: "He (the moon) is the heavenly dog; he watches the animals of the sacrifice."' See further M. Bloomfield in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 317a–b). (2) The name Κέρβερος is akin to *çárvara* 'dappled, dark.' But we can hardly suppose that Kerberos and Orthros formed an original pair resembling the dogs of Yama. And that for two reasons. In the first place, Kerberos and Orthros belong to different myths, and are brought together only by a pedigree-making rhapsode of the seventh or even sixth century B.C. (Hes. *theog.* 309 ff. Ὄρθρον μὲν πρῶτον κύνα γείνατο Γηρυονῆι· | δεύτερον αὖτις ἔτικτεν ἀμήχανον, οὔ τι φατειὸν | Κέρβερον ὠμηστήν, Ἀΐδεω κύνα χαλκεόφωνον, | κ.τ.λ. with the comments of F. Jacoby ed. 1930 p. 87). In the second place, if Kerberos corresponds with *Çabala* (cp. *çárvara*), he ought to be the dog of daylight. And, if Orthros is analogous to *Çyāma*, he should be the dog of darkness. But, of the two, Kerberos is the more suggestive of darkness, and Orthros of dawn. Accordingly I infer that the Greeks had but one hell-hound—Kerberos, of whom Orthros or Orthos was a mere variant or doublet.

Kerberos is still remembered by the peasants. At *Koilioméno*, a village in Zakynthos, B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* Leipzig 1877 pp. 178 ff., 266 f. heard a song containing a graphic description of the three-headed hound that keeps guard over the dead (no. 39. 13 ff. Charon says ἔχω ὀχτρὸ ἐγὼ σκυλί, π' οὔλους μας μᾶς φυλάει, | κῆ ἄντας μὲ ἰδῇ, ταράζεται καὶ θέλει νὰ μὲ φάγ. | εἶναι σκυλὶ τρικέφαλο, ποῦ καίει σὰ φωτία, | ἔχει τὰ νύχια πουντερὰ καὶ τὴν ὠρὰ μακρύα. | βγάνει φωτιὰ 'φ' τὰ μάτια του, ἀπὸ τὸ στόμα λάβρα, | ἡ γλῶσσά του εἶναι μακρυά, τὰ δόντια του εἶναι μαῦρα. | κῆ ἄντας πεινάει, τὰ δόντια του τ' ἕνα μὲ τ' ἄλλο σκᾶνε, | σὰν νὰ ἤτονα ἐκεῖ κοντὰ φάβρα ποῦ πελεκᾶνε). Schmidt's suspicion that this song was not an 'echtes Volkslied' (*id. Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 245 n. 2) is countered by J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 99 f., who notes (*a*) that in a folk-tale from Zakynthos the hero, enamoured of the Mistress of Earth and Sea (τσῆ κυρᾶς τσῆ γῆς καὶ τσῆ θαλάσσης), has to obtain the skin of the three-headed snake and the crest (?) (τὸ κόκκαλο, literally 'bone') that it wears on its heads (B. Schmidt *Griechische Märchen, Sagen und Volkslieder* pp. 79 ff., 227 no. 7 'Die Herrin über Erde und Meer' translation of an unpublished text, J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* pp. 91 ff. summary and identification of ἡ δέσποινα with Demeter, 99 'This is Cerberus without doubt; and if the story calls him "serpent" rather than "dog," ancient mythology and art alike justify in part the description'); (*b*) that in an Albanian tale from *Rîça* the hero, who descends into the Underworld to get a golden hair from the Beauty of the Earth, finds her guarded by a three-headed hound that sleeps neither by day nor by night (J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 112 ff., 310 no. 97 'Das Haar der Schönen der Erde' translation of an unpublished text, J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 97 '"the beautiful one of the earth"...can be none other than Persephone'); (*c*) that a traveller in Makedonia, *teste* G. F. Abbott, heard recently of a three-headed dog belonging to Charos (J. C. Lawson *op. cit.* p. 100). Further, B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* i. 245 n. 2 observes: 'ebenso kennen die Romänen einen Höllenhund (vgl. Schuller Volksthüml. Glaube und Brauch I, S. 13, Anm. 41). Der Name des Kerberos selbst kommt vor bei Georgillas Θανατικὸν τῆς Ῥόδου v. 213 Wagn., eine Stelle, die mir übrigens nicht recht verständlich ist [E. Georgillas τὸ θανατικὸν τῆς Ῥόδου (Oct. 1498 A.D.) 210 ff. (W. Wagner *Carmina Graeca medii aevi* Lipsiae 1874 p. 39) πολλοὶ σὲ (*sc.* Charos) ζωγραφήσασιν καὶ κάθεσαι ἐπάνω— | ἀμμὴ ἐγὼ θωρῶντά σε εἶμαι διὰ ν' ἀποθάνω, | καὶ ἂν σκιαστὸν τρομάσω σε—νὰ 'σαι σὰν τὸν τρομάρχην, | ἐπάνω εἰς τὸν Κέρβερον σατανοδιαβολάρχην, | πρόσωπον ξενοχάραγον, κορμὶν καὶ ὄντα πρᾶγμα, | μετὰ γυμνὰ τὰ πράτσα σου, νὰ 'πῇ δὲν σώνει γράμμα, | ταῖς εὐμορφιαῖς καὶ κάλλη σου τὰ ἔχεις βασιλειά σου, | κρατῶν πασίλογ' ἄρματα καὶ μὲ τὰ δρέπανά σου]. Endlich sei noch an ein Lied bei Passow n. 467 b erinnert, das ich indessen auch nicht für ein wahres Volkslied halte, wo v. 16 die Wörte Στὴν κόλασιν ἐπάησεν (?) ἡ σκύλα τὴ ψυχὴ της schwerlich anders als auf den Höllenhund bezogen werden können (vgl. Pass. Ind. Verb. p. 633 u. Σκύλα ['canis Tartari']], wiewohl die Art seiner Erwähnung seltsam genug ist [A. Passow *Popularia carmina Graeciae recentioris* Lipsiae 1860 p. 350 no. 467 b ὁ ἄπιστος νέος (after

T. Kind) 11 ff. *ἤστειλε καὶ ἀγόρασε τὸ ἔρημο φαρμάκι, | στὴν κάμερά της τόβαλε, σφαλίστηκε μονάχη, | μέσα στὴν κοῦπα τόβαλε μὲ τόση γλῃγωράδα, | τὸ σήκωσε καὶ τόπινε σὰν νάπινε χουμάδα. | μὲς σταῖς εἰκοσιτέσσεραις ἐβγῆκεν ἡ ψυχή της, | στὴν κόλασιν ἐπάησεν ἡ σκύλα τὴ ψυχή της, | ἐπέσαν της καὶ τὰ μαλλιὰ ἀπὸ τὴν κεφαλή της*].'

On the hound as chthonian see K. Dilthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1873 xxxi. 83 f. (Erinyes, Keres, etc. as hounds), G. Loeschcke *ib.* 1877 xxxv. 137 (the hound of Erinys), W. H. Roscher in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1897 xvii. 3. 25—50 ('Die Beziehungen des Hundes zu den Dämonen des Todtenreiches'), Rohde *Psyche*[3] ii. 83 n. 3 (Hekate as *κυνοκέφαλος* (Hesych. *s.v.* 'Εκάτης ἄγαλμα, Bekker *anecd.* i. 336, 31 ff., cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1714, 42 f.) or *κύων* (Kallim. *frag.* 100[b]. 4 Schneider *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1714, 43 ff., cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 336, 33 ff.; pap. Par. 4. 1432 f. Preisendanz *κυρία* 'Εκάτη,... | *εἰνοδία, κύων μέλαινα*), identified with Kerberos (Lyd. *de mens.* 3. 8 p. 42, 4 f. Wünsch *δθεν καὶ Κέρβερον αὐτὴν οἱονεὶ κρεωβόρον οἱ ποιηταὶ προσαγορεύουσιν*). Hekabe, metamorphosed into a bitch, was one of Hekate's hounds (Lyk. *Al.* 1174 ff., cp. *frag. lyr. adesp.* 101 Bergk[4], 31 Diehl *ap.* Dion. Chrys. *or.* 33 p. 20 Dindorf), [if not rather—as her name indicates—originally a form of Hekate herself (P. Kretschmer in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1895 xxxiii. 467 n. 1, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 133, F. Bechtel *Lexilogus zu Homer* Halle a. d. S. 1914 p. 116 f. See further E. Sittig in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2661 f.)]), O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 137 f. (Hekate, Hekabe), 140 (Kerberos), F. Orth *Der Hund im Altertum* Schleusingen 1910 pp. 35, 35 f., 37 f.=*id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2577 f., 2578 f., 2580 f. (Hekate, Hekabe, Kerberos), S. Eitrem *ib.* xi. 274 f.

G. Loeschcke *Aus der Unterwelt* Dorpati Livonorum 1888 pp. 1—12 with fig. argues from the fragment of a Clazomenian *sarcophagus* in the British Museum (not in A. S. Murray *Terracotta Sarcophagi Greek and Etruscan in the British Museum* London 1898, but published by F. Winter in *Ant. Denkm.* i. 34 frags. E pl. 46, 3, copied by P. Perdrizet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1904 p. 14 fig. 2 and thence by C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 93 fig. 3), which represents a boy holding in either hand a hen between two bitches flanked by cocks, that the Greeks like the Indians recognized two dogs of the Underworld. But dogs and cocks may be merely apotropaeic.

S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 274 f. thinks that the conception of the soul of the dead as a hound (*e.g.* Pythagoras in Xenophanes *frag.* 7 Diels *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 36) had deep and wide-spread roots on Greek soil. He cites in this connexion, not only Hekate [*Σκυλακῖτις* (Orph. *h. Hek.* 1. 5), cp. Artemis *Σκυλακῖτις* (Orph. *h. Artem.* 36. 12): see further B. Kock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 619] and Skylakeus [Quint. Smyrn. 10. 147 ff. tells how Skylakeus, returning alone from the Trojan war to Lykia, was stoned by the mothers and wives of his comrades, how his cairn adjoined the precinct and tomb of Bellerophontes at Tlos, and how at the behest of Apollon he was later honoured as a god. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 804 n. 3 assumes an 'Apollon Skylakeus'], but also the Cretan Zeus *Σκύλλιος* [Steph. Byz. *s.v. Σκύλλιον, ὄρος Κρήτης. οἱ παροικοῦντες Σκύλλιοι· Σκύλλιος γὰρ ὁ Ζεὺς αὐτοῦ τιμᾶται, ἔνθα φασὶν ἀποθέσθαι τοὺς Κουρῆτας μετὰ τῶν †Σπαρτιατῶν† τὸν Δία.* Salmasius' cj. *Κορυβάντων* may be right, *pace* Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1146 ff. who defends *Σπαρτιατῶν=Σπαρτῶν*. Zeus *Σκύλλιος* is apparently one with the Zeus *Σκύλιος* invoked by Gortyna, Hierapytna, and Priansos (*supra* ii. 723 n. 0)] and the Coan Dionysos *Σκυλλίτας* [W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 77 ff. no. 37, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = P. Müllensiefen in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 357 ff. no. 3636, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 716, 45 f., 58 f., 63 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1025 (ritual calendar of *c.* 300 B.C.), 45 f. *Διονύσωι* [*Σκ*][*υλλίτ*]*αι χοῖρος καὶ ἔριφος*, 58 f. *Διονύσωι Σκυλλίται χοῖρος* [*καὶ*]|[*ἔρ*]*ιφος*, 63 [*Διονύσωι*] *Σκυλλίτα*[*ι χοῖρος καὶ ἔριφος*]]. J. N. Svoronos too in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1893 pp. 3—8 ('Ζεὺς ὑπὸ κυνὸς τρεφόμενος') pl. 1, 1 ff. and in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 116 would relate Zeus *Σκόλιος* to *σκόλλος, σκόλαξ, σκόλα*, contending that coins of Kydonia (*id. Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 104 pl. 9, 22—26, 107 pl. 10, 2, 109 pl. 10, 10, 111 ff. pl. 10, 12—14, 21, 26,

Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 1029 ff. pl. 261, 5—8, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 28 ff. pl. 7, 4, 7, 15, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 179 ff. pl. 41, 8 (= my fig. 280), 11, 12 (= my fig. 281), 14 (= my fig. 282), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 492 f. pl. 239, 9, 13, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 521 f. nos. 4437, 4446 pl. 161, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 463 f. fig. 247) have for reverse type, not Miletos, son of Apollon by Akakallis daughter of Minos, suckled by a wolf (Rasche *Lex. Num.* ii. 1134 'lupa infantem lactans, vel cerua est, Mileto vbera praebens.' Ant. Lib. 30 (after Nikandros *ἑτεροιουμένων β'*) *τοῦτον ἡ Ἀκακαλλὶς δείσασα Μίνω ἐξέβαλεν εἰς τὴν ὕλην, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐπιφοιτῶντες λύκοι βουλῇ Ἀπόλλωνος ἐφύλαττον καὶ ὤρεγον παρὰ μέρος γάλα*), nor yet Kydon, the eponymous founder of the town, suckled by a bitch (so first W. Wroth in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. xxxiii, followed by most modern authorities. Wroth notes that Kydon, like Miletos, was a son of Akakallis by Apollon (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Κυδωνία*, cp. schol. *Od.* 19. 176. Schol. vet. Theokr. 7. 12 c p. 83, 1 f. Wendel says, by Hermes, cp. Alex. Polyhist. *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 231 f. Müller) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1492), though admittedly 'no legends of his infancy are related in the Authors'), but Zeus nurtured by a

Fig. 280.

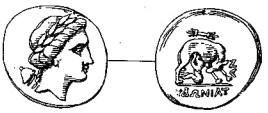


Fig. 281.

Fig. 282.

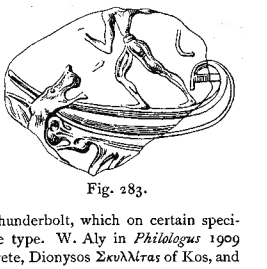


Fig. 283.

hound—a contention insufficiently supported by the thunderbolt, which on certain specimens (*e.g.* fig. 281) appears as a symbol beside the type. W. Aly in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 430 n. 8 proposes to connect Zeus *Σκύλλιος* of Crete, Dionysos *Σκυλλίτας* of Kos, and *Σκυλλίης* the mythical diver of Skione (Hdt. 8. 8) with *Σκύλλα*. This amounts to the same thing, if Skylla was early interpreted as *σκύλαξ* (*Od.* 12. 85 ff. *ἔνθα δ' ἐνὶ Σκύλλη ναίει δεινὸν λελακυῖα· | τῆς ἦτοι φωνὴ μὲν ὅση σκύλακος νεογιλῆς | γίνεται, αὐτὴ δ' αὖτε πέλωρ κακόν· κ.τ.λ.*) and perhaps represented as a dog (on a clay seal-impression of the Middle Minoan iii period (1700—1580 B.C.) from Knossos published by Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 57 f. fig. 36 (= my fig. 283 : scale $\frac{2}{3}$) and *da capo* in his *Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 697 f. fig. 520 as 'Prototype of Skylla'). Even in her later semi-human form she remains essentially connected with dogs (O. Waser *Skylla und Charybdis in der Literatur und Kunst der Griechen und Römer* Zürich 1894 p. 78 ff. I figure a few characteristic examples: (*a*) a 'Melian' relief from Aigina now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 135 no. B 374, E. Vinet in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1843 xv. 194 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 53, 2, P. Jacobsthal *Die melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 p. 54 f. no. 71 pl. 34 (= my fig. 284). Height $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. Length 7 ins.). (*b*) A silver tetradrachm of Akragas, struck 413—406 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 12 no. 61 fig., *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 239 pl. 65, 13, Imhoof-Blumer and

O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 74 pl. 13, 4 (= my fig. 285), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 121). (*c*) A *hydría* of 'Campanian' style from Apulia, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 109 no. F 218, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 87 ff. pl. 36 (= my fig. 287), J. E. Harrison *Myths of the Odyssey* London 1882 p. 186 pl. 51, O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1046 fig. 12). (*d*) A *denarius* struck by Sex. Pompeius Magnus *c.* 38—36 B.C. (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 352 f. figs., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 563 f.

Fig. 284.

Fig. 285.

Fig. 286.

nos. 18—20 pl. 120, 13—15, G. F. Hill *Historical Roman Coins* London 1909 p. 126 ff. no. 79 pl. 13. Fig. 286 is from a specimen in my collection). It should be noted that other tetradrachms of Akragas replace Skylla by a large fish (Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 121. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *op. cit.* p. 44 pl. 7, 3, after E. v. Martens, say 'Polyprion cernium, ital. cernia' [our 'stone-bass']. S. W. Grose *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 239 pl. 65, 14, after Sir A. E. Shipley, says 'a Gurnard, *Genus Trigla*') perhaps called σκύλλος or σκύλλα (?), but not to be confused with the σκύλιον or 'dog-fish' (H. Bonitz *Index Aristotelicus* p. 686 a 37 ff.), and that the 'Campanian' *hydría* attaches to her the head of this fish in lieu of a

exit pointed out to him by Hermes. On the left Sisyphos, lashed by an Erinys, vainly pushes his great stone up a hill. On the right Tantalos suffers perpetual terrors on account of an overhanging rock, which threatens to crush him[1]. At their feet flows the river Acheron, with a duck pecking here and there and asphodel growing

dog's head). Indeed, it is not impossible that Σκύλλα *ab initio* meant 'Dog' (O. Waser in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1071, J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 658. Cp. Hesych. *s. vv.* κύλλα· σκύλαξ (so I. Voss for κύλλας. κύλαξ cod.). Ἠλεῖοι and σκύλλον· τὴν κύνα λέγουσιν, *et. mag.* p. 720, 19 f. σκύλος· κυρίως ἐπὶ κυνὸς νεογνοῦ· ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισχεῖν ἐπὶ τὸ ὑλακτεῖν, σκύλαξ τὶς ὤν. Ὦρος=Zonar. *lex. s.v.* σκύλλος=Favorin. *lex.* p. 1663, 18 ff. (reading, rightly, σχύλαξ τὶς ὤν) and Tzetz. *chil.* 6. 482 τὸ δὲ Κανδαύλης Λυδικῶς τὸν σκυλοπνίκτην λέγει with schol. *ad loc.* in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 351, 5 ff. citing Hipponax *frag.* 4 Diehl, 45 Knox Ἑρμῆ κυνάγχα Μῃονιστὶ Κανδαύλα (cited also by Tetz.

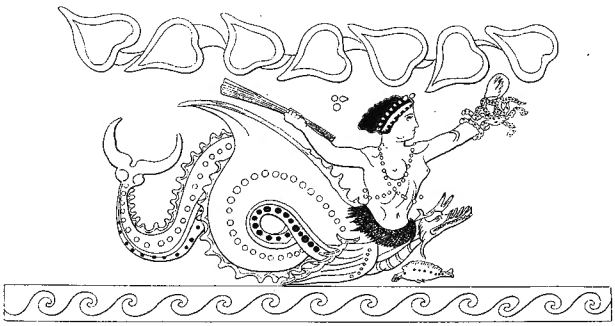


Fig. 287.

in Il. p. 843 Bachmann)), and that as a mythical monster she was 'eine Abart des Totenhundes' (Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 166). Be that as it may, E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 188 derives Dionysos Σκυλλίτας from σκύλλοι 'die Hunde, besonders die Seehunde, von denen die griechischen Gewässer wimmelten,' cp. W. Aly in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 430 n. 8. But that Zeus Σκύλλιος had anything to do with dogs is at best a remote possibility. And Dionysos Σκυλλίτας is explained with far greater probability by W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 86, H. Dibbelt *Quaestiones Coae mythologae* Gryphiswaldiae 1891 p. 62 f., Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 306, who quote Hesych. σκυλλίς· κληματίς=Favorin. *lex.* p. 1663, 18.

[1] The literary evidence for Tantalos is most fully collected by J. E. Hylén *De Tantalo* Upsaliæ 1896 pp. 1—129. But the best survey of all our sources is that given by W. Scheuer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 75—86. See also E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 pp. 84—99 ('Tantalos'), S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 172—177 (=*id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 177—182), Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 277 f. (helpful), H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 pp. 81, 97 (slight).

It is within the bounds of possibility that Tantalos began his career as an actual man. G. Poisson 'Tantale, roi des Hittites' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 75—94 seeks to identify him with Todḥalijas (S. A. Cook in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1923 i. 236: 'The name of Tidal of Goiim ("peoples, hordes") [Gen. 14. 1, 9] may be the Hittite Dudkhalia, known in the thirteenth century'), and R. J. H. Jenkins, accepting Poisson's identifica-

tion, urges that Pelops son of Tantalos may well have been an Achaean prince of the East-Achaean empire, who as a Hittite vassal would be called the 'son,' *i.e.* the servant, of the great Hittite king.

Tantalos' grave was shown in two localities, both Hittite centres. He had a shrine at Polion in Lesbos (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Πόλιον, *ἐν Λέσβῳ τόπος, ὅπου τὸ ἡρῷον Ταντάλου*), where a mountain bore his name (Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τάνταλος, *ὄρος Λέσβου, ἀπὸ Ταντάλου*). The mountain has not been identified with certainty (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 2116), but is probably the height near Cape *Plagiás* on which stands the modern *Pólis* (*id. ib.* xii. 2131), despite the reported absence of ancient remains (A. Conze *Reise auf der Insel Lesbos* Hannover 1865 p. 50 pl. 1 map). Again, Tantalos had a famous grave on Mt Sipylos in Lydia. In view of Paus. 2. 22. 3 *τοῦ δὲ λεγομένου Διός τε εἶναι καὶ* Πλουτοῦς (*πλητοῦς* cod. M. *λητοῦς* codd. Vab. M. La. R. Pa., the last two with *πλουτοῦς* in marg. *Supra* i. 156 n. 13) *ἰδὼν οἶδα ἐν Σιπύλῳ τάφον θέας ἄξιον* and 5. 13. 7 *Πέλοπος δὲ καὶ Ταντάλου τῆς παρ' ἡμῖν ἐνοικήσεως σημεῖα ἔτι καὶ ἐς τόδε λείπεται, Ταντάλου μὲν λίμνη τε ἀπ' αὐτοῦ καλουμένη* (cp. 8. 17. 3) *καὶ οὐκ ἀφανὴς τάφος, Πέλοπος δὲ ἐν Σιπύλῳ μὲν θρόνος κ.τ.λ.* (*supra* i. 137 ff., ii. 956 n. 2) Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 607 justly concludes: 'Tantalos is a real king, with a real grave. Pausanias...mentions no cult, but a grave so noteworthy would not be left untended.' It must also be remembered that the bones preserved in a bronze *cista* (?) close to the tomb of Pelasgos in the precinct of Demeter Πελασγίς at Argos were by some taken to be those of Tantalos (*supra* ii. 1144 n. 2). P. Friedlaender *Argolica* Berolini 1905 p. 74 with n. 17 holds that Tantalos was originally connected with Lesbos, later located 'a poeta aliquo' on Sipylos, and never had any substantial existence in the Peloponnese.

Tantalos in Greek times became almost a doublet of Atlas (F. Creuzer *Symbolik und Mythologie*[3] Leipzig and Darmstadt 1836 i. 9 'einem Atlas des Morgenlandes,' G. Dumézil *Le festin d'immortalité* Paris 1924 p. 91 '*Atlas*, où l'on a depuis longtemps deviné un doublet de *Tantale*,' cp. *ib.* p. 121, J. Karst *Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker* Heidelberg 1931 p. 433 'Der "Phryger-Lyder" Tantalos ist eine Doppelfigur des hesperidischen Atlas'). How this happened is far from clear. Conceivably the Lesbian mountain Tantalos was locally regarded as a sky-pillar, and the place Polion mistakenly connected with *pólos*, the 'sky.' If so, Tantalos supporting Polion might be suggestive of Atlas bearing his *pólos* (Aisch. *P.v.* 430, Eur. *frag.* 594 Nauck[2] (Kritias *frag.* 18 Diels) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 6 p. 350, 13 Stählin and schol. Aristoph. *av.* 179=Souid. *s.v.* πόλος, Ov. *fast.* 5. 180). A parallel is afforded by Tanagra: here was a tomb of Orion, a Mt Kerykion on which Hermes was born, and a place called Polos where Atlas sat to ponder the things under the earth and the things in heaven—Atlas *ὃς τε θαλάσσης | πάσης βένθεα οἶδεν, ἔχει δέ τε κίονας αὐτὸς | μακράς, αἳ γαῖάν τε καὶ οὐράνὸν ἀμφὶς ἔχουσιν* (Paus. 9. 20. 3 citing *Od.* 1. 52 ff.). Another reason likely to assimilate Tantalos to Atlas is that both names were of kindred significance (W. Scheuer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 82 'Τάνταλος wird allgemein gestellt zu den Wurzeln *τελ-*, *ταλ-*, *τλη-*, deren Grundbedeutung "heben, aufheben, tragen" ist. Also ist der Name herzuleiten von *ταλάω*~*τλῆναι* "tragen"; *ταλ-* ist zur Intensivform redupliziert worden. Demnach lautete die Form ursprünglich Τάνταλος "der Träger" (nicht "der viel Duldende", sondern wohl eher "der das Himmelsgewölbe Stützende"...), wobei dann das erste λ durch Assimilation an Dentale (*τ*, *θ*) zu *ν* geworden ist....Zu Τάνταλος gehört etymologisch auch der Heros Ἄτλας (*a intensivum* und der Stamm *τλα-*), also "der schwer Tragende."' Cp. A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 410, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 938, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 739).

Accordingly, Euripides tells how 'Tantalus, the reputed son of Zeus, hangs suspended in mid air, quailing at the crag which looms above his head' (*Or.* 5 ff. trans. E. P. Coleridge), and makes Elektra sigh 'Oh! to reach that rock which hangs suspended midway 'twixt earth and heaven, that fragment from Olympus torn, which swings on chains of gold in ceaseless revolution, that I may utter my lament to Tantalus my forefather, who begat the ancestors of my house' (*Or.* 982 ff. trans. E. P. Coleridge). The schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1. 91 a (p. 38, 6 ff. Drachmann) claims that in these passages Euripides,

on either bank[1]. In sharp contrast with these doleful surroundings is a group of three persons approaching the palace. They are not mythical characters at all, but just a typical human family—father, mother, and child[2]. The father sets a myrtle-wreath[3] on his brow

as disciple of Anaxagoras, is referring to the sun, and the schol. A.B.M.I. Eur. *Or.* 981 agrees with him. That may be so (Diog. Laert. 2. 8 οὗτος ἔλεγε τὸν ἥλιον μύδρον εἶναι διάπυρον καὶ μείζω τῆς Πελοποννήσου· οἱ δέ φασι Τάνταλον, 12 τὸν δὲ Ἀναξαγόραν εἰπεῖν ὡς ὅλος ὁ οὐρανὸς ἐκ λίθων συγκείοιτο· τῇ σφοδρᾷ δὲ περιδινήσει συνεστάναι καὶ ἀνεθέντα κατενεχθήσεσθαι. κ.τ.λ., cp. Ioseph. *c. Ap.* 2. 265, Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἀναξαγόρας, Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 20 and Stob. *ecl.* 1. 25. 3[a] p. 209, 21 ff. Wachsmuth = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 349 a 6 f., b 6 f., Olympiod. *in Aristot. meteor.* p. 17, 19 ff. Stüve). In any case, the notion of Tantalos terrified by the rock about to fall is a moralising version of Tantalos as supporter of the sky and involves the old-world dread of a collapsing heaven (*supra* ii. 54 ff.). Morality bulks bigger still in John Bunyan's allegory of Christian under Mount Sinai. Nonn. *Dion.* 18. 32 Τάνταλον ἠεροφοίτην (the Count de Marcellus wrongly accepted C. F. Graefe's cj. ἠπεροπευτήν) and 35. 295 f. οἷος ἀλήτης | Τάνταλος ἠερόφοιτος is trying by means of a single allusive epithet to recall both Pind. *Ol.* 1. 58 εὐφροσύνας ἀλᾶται and Eur. *Or.* 7 ἀέρι ποτᾶται. The epithet is of course modelled on Homer's ἠεροφοῖτις Ἐρινύς (*Il.* 9. 571, 19. 87).

The change from the world above to the world below probably hangs together with the conception of Tantalos as a Giant or Titan (M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* Berlin 1887 p. 88 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 277, 434 n. 2, W. Scheuer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 78, H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 97 n. 12). As such, he was buried beneath Mt Sipylos (J. E. Hylén *De Tantalo* Upsaliæ 1896 pp. 44 ff., 54), and S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 i. 172 ff. (= *id. Cultes, mythes et religions* Paris 1906 ii. 177 ff.) explains the Homeric description of Tantalos agonising among the shades (*Od.* 11. 582 ff.) by reference to local conditions (Demokles of Pygela or Phygela (*s.* v or iv B.C.) *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 20 Müller) cited by Demetrios of Skepsis (*s.* ii B.C.) *ap.* Strab. 58 μεμνῆσκεται δὲ πρὸς ταῦτα τῶν ὑπὸ Δημοκλέους λεγομένων, σεισμούς τινας μεγάλους τοὺς μὲν πάλαι περὶ Λυδίαν γενομένους καὶ Ἰωνίαν μέχρι τῆς Τρωάδος ἱστοροῦντος, ὑφ' ὧν καὶ κῶμαι κατεπόθησαν καὶ Σίπυλος κατεστράφη, κατὰ τὴν Ταντάλου βασιλείαν, καὶ ἐξ ἑλῶν (S. Reinach cj. ὑλῶν) λίμναι ἐγένοντο, τὴν δὲ Τροίαν ἐπέκλυσε κῦμα, *id.* 579 καὶ τὰ περὶ Σίπυλον δὲ καὶ τὴν ἀνατροπὴν αὐτοῦ μῦθον οὐ δεῖ τίθεσθαι·...ἀκούειν δ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶν παλαιῶν συγγραφέων, οἷά φησιν ὁ τὰ Λύδια συγγράψας Ξάνθος, διηγούμενος, οἵαι μεταβολαὶ κατέσχον πολλάκις τὴν χώραν ταύτην, ὧν ἐμνήσθημέν που καὶ ἐν τοῖς πρόσθεν (*ib.* 49) = Xanth. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 36 f. Müller), cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 205, 5. 117). Reinach concludes: 'Le roi Tantale est l'éponyme de la ville de Tantalis. Cette ville fut engloutie dans un lac à la suite d'un tremblement de terre qui ébranla toute la montagne du Sipyle. Donc, l'image funéraire de Tantale pouvait le représenter dans un lac, ayant de l'eau jusqu'au menton et cherchant vainement à se raccrocher à des branches d'arbres; ou elle pouvait le figurer sous des rochers du Sipyle prêts à l'écraser sous leur masse. Ces deux images ont dû exister et les supplices de Tantale, tels qu'ils sont décrits par les textes et reproduits par les monuments de l'époque classique, ne sont que des traductions de ces formules graphiques beaucoup plus anciennes.' But it is dangerous to assume that the details of a Greek myth originated in the misunderstanding of an earlier representation, if no example of such a representation has come down to us.

[1] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 49 ('der *Styx* oder der *Acheron*. An dem Uferrande spriessen Pflanzen, wobei wohl an Asphodelos zu denken ist, und Enten suchen ihre Nahrung').

[2] This is well argued by Furtwängler *op. cit.* i. 48 with n. 3.

[3] Cp. Plat. *rep.* 363 c ἐστεφανωμένους (of Orphic *mýstai* feasting in Hades). The initiate at Eleusis wore a myrtle-wreath, perhaps as prospective consort of a chthonian

as he turns unconcernedly to his wife, who is followed by her little son with his toy. They are in fact the souls of the blest, Orphists who can claim intimacy with 'the Mistress, the Queen of the Underworld[1]'; and Orpheus in person, making music on his *kithára*, conducts them into her presence[2]. Led by him, they have escaped the 'well-spring to the left of the house of Hades[3],' from which the

deity (*supra* ii. 1165 n. 1), the *ἀνάδεσις καὶ στεμμάτων ἐπίθεσις* being the penultimate stage of initiation (*supra* ii. 1168 n. 3).

[1] *Supra* ii. 132 f.

[2] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 48 f.

[3] A gold tablet of *s.* iv—iii B.C., found at Petelia on the east coast of Bruttium and now in the British Museum (G. Kaibel *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 638, Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 102, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1332, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 573 ff., G. Murray *ib.* p. 659 f., H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 175 (Orph. 'Altbezeugte Fragmente' 17). See also *supra* ii. 118 n. 2), is engraved with a

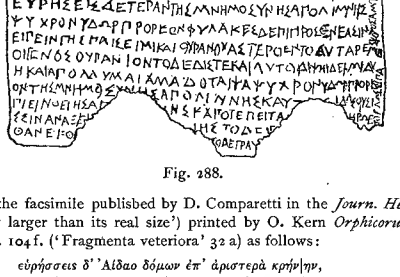


Fig. 288.

text (fig. 288 is the facsimile publisbed by D. Comparetti in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 112 'slightly larger than its real size') printed by O. Kern *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 104 f. ('Fragmenta veteriora' 32 a) as follows:

εὑρήσεις δ' Ἀίδαο δόμων ἐπ' ἀριστερὰ κρήν|ην,
πὰρ δ' αὐτῇι λευκὴν ἑστηκυῖαν κυπάρισσον· |
ταύτης τῆς κρήνης μηδὲ σχεδὸν ἐμπελάσειας. |
εὑρήσεις δ' ἑτέραν, τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης |
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέον· φύλακες δ' ἐπίπροσθεν ἔασιν. |
εἰπεῖν· 'Τῆς παῖς εἰμι καὶ Οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος,
αὐτὰρ ἐμ|οὶ γένος οὐράνιον· τόδε δ' ἴστε καὶ αὐτοί.
δίψηι δ' εἰμ[ί] αθ|η καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι· ἀλλὰ δότ' αἶψα
ψυχρὸν ὕδωρ προρέ|ον τῆς Μνημοσύνης ἀπὸ λίμνης.'
καὐτ(οἱ) σ(ο)ι δώσουσι | πιεῖν θείης ἀπ(ὸ κρή)νης[1],
καὶ τότ' ἔπειτ' ἄ(λλοισι μεθ') ἡρώ|σσιν ἀνάξει(ς).
.....ιης το δειγ... 16 litt....| θανεῖσθ(αι)
.....τόδ' ἔγραψ(α[2].....
τογλως?[3] εἰπα. σκότος ἀμφικαλύψας.

[1] Suppl. Goettling, *ἀπ(ὸ λιμ)νης* Franz. [2] *ἔγραψ(α* suppl. Diels, *ἔγραψ(ε* (sc. *'Ο[ρφεύς]* Comp[aretti]. [3] *τὸ κλέος* (=notitia) Ol[ivieri]. Sententia versuum 12—14 obscura; tentamina invenies ap. [A.] Ol[ivieri *Lamellae aureae Orphicae* Bonn 1915 p. 13].

The Otherworld landscape, here described in language of haunting beauty and profound significance, includes the palace of Hades, with a white cypress standing beside it, and a fountain on either hand. The soul must avoid that on the left—the water of Lethe—and beg a draught from the other, the water of Mnemosyne. Guardians are set before it; but he is to challenge them boldly with the words:

> I am the child of Earth and starry Sky.
> Sky-born—ye know it of yourselves—am I.
> Now parched with thirst I perish; cool the cup
> Of Memory's water—let me drink it up.

At this the Guardians will suffer him to drink from the fountain divine, and thereafter he shall live as a king among heroic peers.

The same scenery appears in the Celtic Elysium—the palace, the silver apple-tree beside it, the shining well with its five streams (*Folk-Lore* 1906 xvii. 144 ff.). Much the same is implied by the quests undertaken in south-European 'Expulsion' Tales—the golden seat, the apple-tree beside it, the Dancing Water with its formidable guardians (*supra* ii. 1016). Nay more, the self-same landscape furnishes not a little of the imagery in *The Revelation of St John*—the throne of God, the tree of life, the river proceeding out of the throne (*Rev.* 2. 7, 22. 1 ff.). All such pictures, if I am not mistaken, presuppose in a more or less sublimated form the essential features of the old-world king, as Sir James Frazer first descried him. He is the local champion, the strongest man of the district, who is prepared to defend his title against all comers. He is found at an appropriate centre, beneath a sacred tree, beside a sacred river. He must keep up his strength by feeding perpetually upon the fruit of his tree. He fights, indeed, with a branch of it in his hand. And if he feels faint with the effort, there is the magic water gushing at his feet. Last but not least, he is a divine personage, at once mortal and immortal, a priestly king, a kingly priest. In such an one we recognise not only the Orphic votary, but the Otherworld visitant, the folk-tale hero, and 'him that overcometh.'

As to details, the λευκὴ κυπάρισσος is hardly to be explained as a white-poplar (D. Comparetti *Laminette orfiche* Firenze 1910), despite the name (λεύκη) and chthonian associations of that tree (*supra* ii. 467 ff.). One recalls, by way of warning, Joshua Barnes' comment on Eur. *Hel.* 384 'figura Leaenae, *i.e.* Ursae,' or for that matter Sir John Sandys' note on Eur. *Bacch.* 1017 'It is highly probable that by the "lion" in these passages a panther is really meant'! That κυπάρισσος was not used at random appears from its recurrence on the three gold tablets of *s.* ii B.C., found at Eleuthernai in Crete and now in the Museum at Athens (A. Joubin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 121 ff., T. Gomperz *ib.* p. 124, J. L. Myre[s] *ib.* p. 629, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 245 no. 4959 a, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 574, G. Murray *ib.* p. 660 f., H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 176 (Orph. 'Altbezeugte Fragmente' 17[a]), A. Olivieri *Lamellae aureae Orphicae* Bonn 1915 p. 14 f., O. Kern *Orphicorum Fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 105 f. ('Fragmenta veteriora' 32 b)), of which the archetype as restored by Olivieri runs: 'δίψαι αὖος ἐγὼ καὶ ἀπόλλυμαι.' 'ἀλλὰ πίε μμου | κράνας αἰενάω ἐπὶ δεξιά, τῆ(ι) κυφάρισσος. | τίς δ' ἐσί; [πῶ δ' ἐσί;]' 'Γᾶς υἱός ἡμι καὶ Ὠρανῶ ἀστερόεντος.' But why should a cypress be described as λευκή? F. Lajard *Recherches sur le culte du cyprès pyramidal* Paris 1854 pp. 156 ff., 311 f., observes that the oracular trees of the Sun and Moon consulted by Alexander the Great in Prasiake are said to have been cypresses (pseudo-Kallisthenes *hist. Alex. Magn.* 1. 27 ff. Kroll καὶ εἰσήνεγκαν ἡμᾶς εἰς τινα παράδεισον, ἔνθα...ἥλιος καὶ [ἡ] σελήνη ἐν μέσῳ τοῦ παραδείσου· † κατὰ δὲ αὐτοὺς φρουρὰ...ἱερὸν ἡλίου καὶ σελήνης. δύο δὲ ἦν δένδρα τὰ προειρημένα, ἃ ἦν παραπλήσια κυπαρίσσοις...κύκλῳ δὲ ἦν δένδρα [τὰ προειρημένα] παρόμοια τῇ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ μυροβαλάνῳ, καὶ ὁ καρπὸς ὅμοιος. προσηγόρευον δὲ τὸ μὲν ἄρρενικὸν ἀρρένων λογισμόν, τὸ δὲ θηλυκὸν θηλειῶν· ὄνομα δὲ ἦν τοῦ ἑνὸς ἥλιος, τῆς δὲ θηλείας σελήνη, ⟨ἃ⟩ ἔλεγον τῇ ἰδίᾳ φωνῇ μουθοῦ ἐμαοῦσαι. ταῦτα δὲ περιεβέβλητο δοραὶ παντοίων ⟨θηρίων⟩, τὸ μὲν ἄρρεν ἀρρένων τὸ δὲ θῆλυ θηλειῶν. παρ' αὐτοῖς δὲ σίδηρος οὐχ ὑπῆρχεν οὔτε χαλκὸς οὔτε κασσίτερος οὔτε πηλὸς ⟨εἰς⟩ πλάσιν. ἐμοῦ δὲ ἐρωτῶντος τίνες αἱ δοραὶ δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, ἔφησαν λεόντων καὶ παρδάλεων. οὐκ ἔξεστι δὲ ὧδε τάφον ἔχειν εἰ μὴ

τὸν τοῦ ἡλίου καὶ τῆς σελήνης (ἱερέα). περιβολαῖς δὲ ἐχρῶντο τῶν θηρίων ταῖς δοραῖς, cp. Iul. Val. 3. 24 ff.), that the Florentine priest Jacopo di Carlo in his poem *Alessandro Magno* or *Alessandreide* describes the Sun-tree as having leaves red like burnished gold, the Moon-tree as having them white like pure silver (canto 10 ed. Venezia 1627 'L' arbor del Sole le sue foglie hauia | Rosse si come lo oro lustrante; | Quello della luna bianche le tenia | Si come argento chiare, candidante'), and that in Chinese—according to the Sinologue Stanilas Julien—the pyramidal cypress is called *pe*, the 'white' tree, because, while other trees turn towards the south, it alone turns towards the west and white is the western colour. Lajard concludes that the λευκὴ κυπάρισσος was 'à la fois symbole de la lune et emblème funéraire' (*op. cit.* p. 312). O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 27, 1912 p. 105 f. makes no such attempt to link up Europe with Asia, but is content to say: 'Zwar nicht von der Farbe ihres Laubes, wohl aber nach dem weissen Stamm.' Another line of explanation is suggested by the fact that the tablets mentioning κυφάρισσος hail from Eleuthernai. Coins of the town show Apollon flanked by storax-trees (*supra* ii. 491 f. fig. 377), which bear some resemblance to the pyramidal cypress but, like the λεύκη, have a white under-surface to their leaves (Steier in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 65 'das Blatt des S[torax]-Baumes...länglich, lederartig und unterseits weissfilzig ist'). Hence O. Gruppe's conjecture that on Greek soil λεύκη was a surrogate of στύραξ (*supra* ii. 492). Yet another possibility would be to suppose that the λευκὴ κυπάρισσος was in fact the East Indian species *Cupressus glauca* (J. Lindley—T. Moore *The Treasury of Botany*[2] London 1884 i. 362, *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[11] Cambridge 1910 vii. 694), or the *Cupressus nivea* (R. Thompson—W. Watson *The Gardener's Assistant*[2] London 1900 i. 2. 330). On the whole, however, it seems most likely that the tree of the tablets was a miraculous cypress, its peculiarity consisting in its assimilation to that other Borderland tree, the white-poplar. It would thus come into line with such marvels as the silver apple-tree of the Celts or the twelve-fruited tree of *The Revelation*.

On the waters of Lethe and Mnemosyne see an interesting section in M. Ninck *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* Leipzig 1921 p. 104 ff. together with the comments of W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 2141—2144. It seems to me probable (*a*) that the two fountains of the Petelia tablet were an Orphic conception (Orph. *h. Mnem.* 77. 9 f. ἀλλά, μάκαιρα θεά, μύσταις μνήμην ἐπέγειρε | εὐιέρου τελετῆς, λήθην δ' ἀπὸ τῶνδ' (so G. Hermann for τῶν codd.) ἀπόπεμπε), traceable back to the time of Pindar (Pind. *frags.* 129, 130 Bergk[4] *ap.* Plout. *de occulto viv.* 7 καίτοι τῆς γε δόξης καὶ τοῦ εἶναι† φύσιν (D. Wyttenbach cj. φύσει εὐσεβῶν χῶρος. I should prefer φασι μετέχειν or the like) εὐσεβῶν χῶρον, 'τοῖσι λάμπει' κ.τ.λ., καὶ ποταμοί τινες ἄκλυστοι καὶ λεῖοι διαρρέουσι, καὶ διατριβὰς ἔχουσιν ἐν μνήμαις καὶ λόγοις τῶν γεγονότων καὶ ὄντων, παραπέμποντες αὐτοὺς καὶ συνόντες. <.....> ἡ δὲ τρίτη τῶν ἀνοσίως βεβιωκότων καὶ παρανόμων ὁδός ἐστιν εἰς ἔρεβός τι καὶ βάραθρον ὠθοῦσα τὰς ψυχάς, 'ἔνθεν τὸν ἄπειρον ἐρεύγονται σκότον | βληχροὶ δνοφερᾶς νυκτὸς ποταμοί,' δεχόμενοι καὶ ἀποκρύπτοντες ἀγνοίᾳ καὶ λήθῃ τοὺς κολαζομένους), (*b*) that this conception presupposes a folk-belief in two contrasted fountains of Death (Forgetfulness) and Life (Memory) (cp. Theopomp. *frag.* 76 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 289 ff. Müller)=*frag.* 75 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 551 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 18 rivers of Ἡδονή and Ἀύπη near Anostos in the land of the Meropes, Theophr. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 19 springs called Κλαίων and Γελῶν near Kelainai in Phrygia, Mela 3. 102 springs causing death from laughter and restoration to health in one of the Fortunatae Insulae, Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 231 in Carrinensi Hispaniae agro duo fontes iuxta fluunt, alter omnia respuens, alter obsorbens, Isid. *orig.* 13. 13. 5 in Sicilia fontes sunt duo, quorum unus sterilem foecundat, alter foecundam sterilem facit. in Thessalia duo sunt flumina: ex uno bibentes oves nigras fieri, ex altero autem albas, et ex utroque varias (from Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 13), 7 in India Siden vocari stagnum, in quo nihil innatat sed omnia merguntur. at contra in Africae lacu Apuscidamo omnia fluitant, nihil mergitur (from Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 21 f.), 10 in Epiro esse fontem, in quo faces extinguuntur accensae et accenduntur extinctae. apud Garamantes fontem esse ita algentem die ut non bibatur, ita ardentem nocte ut non tangatur (*supra* i. 368)—a list which could easily be lengthened), and (*c*) that the said folk-belief was itself an extension of the very ancient (and originally oriental?) belief in the Fountain of Life

water of Lethe can be seen gushing. These happy ones have no sorrows to forget. But beside that fountain the vase-painter has placed another family—Megara and her murdered boys. Despite the bandages bound tightly about them, the blood still trickles from the wounds inflicted by their father in his madness. No wonder that they linger beside the waters of oblivion. Finally, on the brink of the infernal river is an object interpreted by A. Furtwängler[1] as a large sieve with many holes in its upper surface. Rather, perhaps[2], we should see in it the mouth of a big *pithos*, sunk in the soil and riddled with holes. The context in which it is found favours

(A. Wünsche *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 71—90 'Das Lebenswasser in seiner eigentlichen Bedeutung in den verschiedenen Kulturreligionen,' 90—104 'Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'). Local appropriations and adaptations of the idea are found at Lebadeia (Paus. 9. 39. 8 *ἐνταῦθα δὴ χρὴ πιεῖν αὐτὸν Λήθης τε ὕδωρ καλούμενον, ἵνα λήθη γένηταί οἱ πάντων ἃ τέως ἐφρόντιζε, καὶ ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄλλο αὖθις ὕδωρ πίνειν Μνημοσύνης· ἀπὸ τούτου τε μνημονεύει τὰ ὀφθέντα οἱ καταβάντι*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 15 in Boeotia ad Trophonium deum iuxta flumen Hercynnum e duobus fontibus alter memoriam, alter oblivionem adfert, inde nominibus inventis, Isid. *orig.* 13. 13. 3 in Boeotia duo fontes alter memoriam, alter oblivionem affert), at Ephesos (E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* iii. 2. 221 f. Oxford 1890 no. 600, *a* 2 f. [*τὰ ἱερὰ τοῦ παντοκράτ]ορος θεοῦ Διονύσο[υ]* | [*καὶ Διὸς Πανελλ]ηνίου καὶ Ἡφαίστου, c* 28 f. [*Μν]εία(s) Μένα[ν̣δρος]* | [*Λή]θης Ἀλεξ*..... This inscription, discovered by J. T. Wood on the site of the great theatre, gives a list of persons who on a certain occasion in honour of Dionysos, Zeus Πανελλήνιος (?= Hadrian: *supra* ii. 1120 f. n. o) performed a mystic play, taking the parts of Mneia, Lethe, etc.: see W. Quandt *De Baccho ab Alexandri aetate in Asia Minore culto* Halis Saxonum 1913 p. 265 ff.), and perhaps in Lusitania, where the river Limia (the modern *Lima*) was identified with Lethe (Strab. 153, Appian. *Iber.* 71 f.) or Oblivio (Mela 3. 10, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 115 (112), Flor. 1. 33. 12, Liv. *perioch.* 55, cp. Sall. *hist.* 3. 44, Sil. It. 1. 235 f., 13. 555, 16. 476 f.), if not also in Kyrenaïke, where the river Lethon was similarly explained (Lucan. 9. 355 f., Solin. 27. 54).

O. Kern in *Hermes* 1916 li. 555 infers from lines 6 f. of the Petelia tablet that the mystic, though a child of Gaia as well as Ouranos, claims to be essentially *οὐράνιος* and as such contrasted with the *χθόνιοι* (Orph. *h. Tit.* 37. 6 ff. *ἐξ ὑμέων γὰρ πᾶσα πέλει γενεὴ κατὰ κόσμον.* | *ὑμᾶς κικλήσκω μῆνιν χαλεπὴν ἀποπέμπειν,* | *εἴ τις ἀπὸ χθονίων προγόνων οἴκοισι πελάσθη*). *Id. ib.* 1917 lii. 475 interprets in the same manner the epigram on a temple of the Meter Theon at Phaistos (F. Halbherr in the *Museo Italiano di Antichità Classica* 1890 iii. 735 f. no. 183, E. Maass in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 272 ff., K. Wernicke *ib.* 1894 xix. 290 ff., E. Maass *Orpheus* München 1895 p. 309 ff., G. de Sanctis in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1901 xi. 542 ff. with a facsimile (the inscription is not earlier than *s.* ii B.C.), F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 360 no. 5112) *θαῦμα μέγ' ἀνθρώποις πάντων μάτηρ πρ(ο)δίκνυτι·* | *τοῖς ὁσίοις κἰνχρητι καὶ οἳ γονεὰν ὑπέχονται·* | *κ.τ.λ.* ('die ihren Adel (ihre Abstammung von Uranos) nachweisen können').

[1] Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 50.

[2] This explanation is dismissed by Furtwängler *op. cit.* i. 50 n. 1 (...'noch das Fass der Danaiden, das im Boden stecken müsste, auch nicht das umgekehrte Fass, das ganz andere Form haben müsste'...). But the analogy of the Munich *amphora* (*supra* p. 399 fig. 262) and of the Palermo *lékythos* (*supra* p. 400 pl. xxxvi) affords the strongest presumption that the doubtful object is really meant for the mouth of a great jar buried in the ground. And how else should the vase-painter have indicated that it was leaky except by the naïve expedient of adding dots to represent the leaks?

the supposition that by means of it the artist wished to suggest the pains awaiting any who would not undergo initiation into the Orphic mysteries[1].

Other 'Apulian' vases of a similar kind substitute the Danaïdes with their *hydríai* for the aforesaid *píthos*[2]. For example, a fine *kratér*

Fig. 289.

[1] The allusion *may*, of course, be to the punishment of the Danaïdes. But if so, one or more of them would surely have been shown beside the *píthos*, as on the vases mentioned in the next paragraph.

[2] (1) Hermitage (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 223 ff. no. 424, Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 179 n. 3 pl. 45, E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1844 ii. 223 f. pl. 13=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 355, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pls. 4 and 5, 1). Six Danaïdes with their pitchers—four of them hasting from right to left, the fifth and sixth seated with two mirrors and a casket.

(2) Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 510 ff. no. 3222, U. Köhler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 283 ff. pl. ST, 1, 2, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 9=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 167, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1927 fig. 2042 A). Three Danaïdes, seated and standing, who hold their pitchers, but give no sign of haste.

(3) Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 99 ff. no. 388, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1837 ix. 219 ff. pl. H, 1—5, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pls. 49, 50=Roscher *Rép. Vases* i. 108, F. G. Welcker in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 177 ff. pl. 11, C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1805 with fig. on p. 1809 f., O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 3, 1). One of the Danaïdes, listening to Orpheus, holds her empty pitcher (Hor. *od.* 3. 11. 22 f., Ov. *met.* 10. 43 f.), while two others—one of whom originally carried a *hydría* in her

Fig. 290.

from Campania, now in the Hermitage collection (fig. 289)[1], shows four Danaïdes sitting or standing on the further bank of the Acheron. They have their *hydrîai* with them, but seem more intent on talking together or surveying their charms in a mirror than on drawing water from the river. A fifth sister, busier than the rest, empties her vessel into a large unburied *pîthos*.

Comparable with these 'Apulian' vases both in subject and in style, and referable to approximately the same period (350—300 B.C.[2]), is a limestone relief from Apulia now in the Glyptothek at Munich (fig. 290)[3]. It probably formed the left-hand half of a frieze decorating the plinth of a *naïskos*-tomb at Tarentum[4]. In the centre of the extant portion sit Hades and Persephone. On the left stand two Danaïdes emptying their pitchers into a large half-sunk jar. On the right Hermes hastens towards Herakles, whose lion-skin flutters in the breeze. Beyond the break would come Kerberos, Erinys, and other familiar figures of the Underworld.

(δ) Conclusions with regard to the myth of the Danaïdes

In view of the foregoing evidence, both literary and monumental, E. Rohde[5] and A. Dieterich[6] drew the following conclusions. The mysteries and marriage are analogous, for both involve rites of lustration. Those that neglect such rites in the world above must perform them in the world below. Hence on the one hand the uninitiated, and on the other hand the unmarried, are bound to carry

lowered left hand (J. Overbeck in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 261)—stand idly by, facing in the same direction.

(4) Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 816 ff. no. 709 in the Santangelo collection, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 3, 2, P. Hartwig in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 260 f. pl. 18 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 455, 1). One of the Danaïdes, leaning at ease on a rock as she chats with Erinys: above her head is seen a *pîthos* with pointed base.

(5) *Infra* n. 1.

It should be noticed that, where Orpheus is present ((2), (3), (4)), the Danaïdes are idling; where he is absent ((1), (5)), some at least of them are at work.

[1] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* i. 233 ff. no. 426, G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1854 iii. 49 ff. pl. 3 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 479, O. Benndorf in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* E pl. 6, 2.

[2] *Supra* p. 370.

[3] P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix *Arch. Anz.* p. 453 f. (no. 1) with fig., *id. Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München* München 1922 p. 38 no. 494 with fig. (= my fig. 290). Cp. A. W. Lawrence *Later Greek Sculpture* London 1927 p. 54 pl. 90, *b* for 'a limestone version of the floral decoration common on painted Apulian vases.'

[4] R. Pagenstecher *Unteritalische Grabdenkmäler* (*zur Kunstgeschichte des Auslandes* xciv) Strassburg 1912 p. 22.

[5] Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 326—329.

[6] A. Dieterich *Nekyia* Leipzig 1893 p. 70 n. 1.

water themselves after death, or at least to have it carried for them by others. The Danaïdes undergo this *post mortem* penalty because they died unmarried.

The explanation advanced by Rohde and Dieterich is not, in my opinion, altogether satisfactory. It assumes that the Danaïdes were typical spinsters[1]. But this is not the case. They were duly married to the Aigyptiadai, and Hypermnestra was the only one of them who retained her virginity[2]. Rather, their marriage was, as I have suggested[3], in the nature of a fertility-charm, the operation of which would be hindered, indeed absolutely nullified, by the guilt that they incurred through murdering their husbands. The guilt of murder would suffice to bring drought upon the land. Thebes, for instance, stricken for the unavenged death of king Laïos, is described as—

> Blighted in fruitful buds and grazing kine,
> Blighted in throes of barren womanhood,
> While, lo, the fiery god, the fever dread,
> Has fallen and makes havoc of the town[4].

If the Danaïdes thus frustrated an all-important fertility-charm, they deserved to be punished. And the punishment meted out to them consisted, appropriately enough[5], in the perpetual performance of a similar charm[6].

[1] Somewhat different, but exposed to a like objection, is the view taken by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1925 xix. 148: 'the half-married are clearly in a very parlous state, belonging neither to one class nor to another, and therefore in a tabu condition, from which they can release themselves only by fulfilling the rite they have begun. This, doubtless, is the reason why in Hades we find not only the Danaids, who on the most plausible explanation of their punishment spend eternity in trying to get married, but also a host of unhappy lovers, who have nearly all this in common, in Vergil[1] ([1]*Aen.* VI. 444 sqq.), that at the time of their death they were betwixt and between in some way or other.'

[2] *Supra* p. 356.

[3] *Supra* p. 369.

[4] Soph. *O. T.* 25 ff. Similarly when Lykourgos, king of the Edonoi, slays his son Dryas in a frenzy-fit, his land remains barren and, according to an oracle, cannot recover its fertility till he himself be put to death (Apollod. 3. 5. 1, *supra* i. 75). Again, when Orestes kills Klytaimestra and is acquitted of the deed, the Erinyes (*supra* ii. 206 n. 2 with fig. 146, *a*) threaten to bring a blight upon the land (Aisch. *Eum.* 778 ff.).

[5] There is, of course, no need to bring in the far-fetched symbolism of the schol. Aristeid. p. 158, 12 ff. Dindorf τῶν δὲ Δαναΐδων ὁ τετρημένος πίθος (*sc.* αἰνίττεται) τὸ μήποτε ταύτας μετὰ τὸν φόνον τῶν φιλτάτων τὴν ἀναψύχουσαν ταύτας ἐκ τῆς ἀνδρῴας κηδεμονίας χάριν παρ' ἄλλων τυγχάνειν, πᾶσι γενομένας ὑπόπτους διὰ τὸ ἄγος, καὶ μηδαμόθεν ταύτην πληρουμένην εὑρεῖν.

[6] In the Swiss canton of Valais it is believed that old bachelors, when they die, are bound to live in a certain place and there spend their time bringing up sand from the Rhone in baskets with holes in them (E. L. Rochholz *Deutscher Glaube und Brauch im Spiegel der heidnischen Vorzeit* Berlin 1867 i. 155, Haberland in *Globus* 1878 xxxiv. 205 cited by O. Waser in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1899 ii. 61).

iii. The holed vessel in Italy.

In the preceding sections it has been argued that certain phrases and beliefs current among the modern and Byzantine Greeks[1], taken together with the wording of a well-known Aristophanic verse[2], point backward to the existence of a primitive rain-charm, which consisted in pouring water through a sieve[3]. It has been suggested that such a custom would fitly explain the use of a sieve in divination[4] and of a holed vessel in various myths, rites, and doctrines—the water-carrying of the Danaïdes[5], the nuptial and sepulchral *loutrophóroi*[6], and the punishment of the uninitiated in Hades, who are doomed to bear water in broken pitchers, or in a sieve to a leaky *pithos*[7].

Now it seems *à priori* probable that the same ancient fertility-charm was at one time practised in Italy as in Greece. But that this was actually the case, cannot be proved. At most we may suspect that the usage underlies a few proverbial phrases and popular traditions.

Plautus[8], for example, makes a slave say to a lover, who is moping for his mistress:

> Unless you weep for her with tears of silver,
> That which you claim to prove by these your tears
> Is worth no more than rain-drops caught in a sieve.

Doubtless this is, as it is commonly assumed to be, a proverb for futile effort after the unattainable. But whether Plautus was here simply writing Latin or—as is certainly possible—translating from a Greek original (say, by Menandros[9]), we have no means of deciding[10]. In either event the form of the expression is peculiar and

[1] *Supra* p. 335 f. [2] *Supra* ii. 2, iii. 333 f. [3] *Supra* p. 336.
[4] *Supra* p. 336 n. 5. [5] *Supra* p. 355 ff.
[6] *Supra* p. 370 ff. [7] *Supra* p. 397 ff.

[8] Plaut. *Pseud.* 100 ff., where for the vulgate 'non pluris refert quam si imbrem in cribrum geras' G. Götz and F. Schöll, following the cod. Ambros., read 'legas.'

[9] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1898 i. 53.

[10] There are several Greek variants of the proverb, but all of Roman or Byzantine date: (1) Plut. *prov.* 8 *κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ ἀντλεῖς*, Makar. 5. 20 *κοσκίνῳ ἀντλεῖς· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀνηνύτως καὶ μάτην πονούντων.* (2) Plut. *prov.* 50 *κοσκίνῳ φέρεις ὕδωρ*, Apostol. 9. 91 *κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ φέρει· ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων*, Souid. *s.v. κοσκινηδόν* (Loukian. *Tim.* 3, *epist. Saturn.* 24)...*καὶ παροιμία· κοσκίνῳ ὕδωρ περιφέρεις. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀδυνάτων.* (3) Loukian. *Demon.* 28 'οὐ δοκεῖ ὑμῖν,' ἔφη, 'ὦ φίλοι, ὁ μὲν ἕτερος τούτων τράγον ἀμέλγειν, ὁ δὲ αὐτῷ κόσκινον ὑποτιθέναι;'

A similar locution substitutes a net for a sieve: (4) Plut. *prov.* 31 *παρὰ δικτύοις ὕδωρ κομίζεις*, Georgides *gnomologion* in Boissonade *anecd.* i. 29 *δικτύῳ κομίζειν ὕδωρ ἢ πλίνθον πλύνειν εὐπετές, ἢ κακίαν ποιωθεῖσαν χρόνῳ πολλῷ ἐν ἀνθρώπου ψυχῇ ἐξελεῖν δυνατόν;*

Both images are already combined in Sen. *de benef.* 7. 19. 1 'reddere est' inquit

may well have been derived from the rain-charm aforesaid. For, when men had once begun to distrust the magician and his magic, a charm to produce rain might easily pass into a proverb for labour wasted in the attempt to compass impossibilities.

Further, a typical impossibility of this sort would furnish the ideal test for an early ordeal[1], since the performance of it implies the manifest interposition of the gods in favour of the accused. Thus, when the Vestal Tuccia was charged with violation of her vows, she proved her chastity by successfully carrying water in a sieve from the river Tiber to the house of Vesta in the Roman Forum[2]. The event, which is said to have occurred in the year 235 B.C.[3], has repeatedly furnished artists with a theme. Count Clarac[4] published a couple of marble statues representing Tuccia with her sieve, one in the Museo Chiaramonti[5], the other at Dresden[6]. Montfaucon had previously made known a statuette belonging to a M. Boisot and an engraved gem from the cabinet of M. de la Chausse[7], not to mention a print communicated by Baron Crassier[8], all of which portrayed the same subject with minor variations. M. P. Lévesque de Gravelle was able to figure another gem illustrating the scene[9]. There are, however, grave doubts as to the authenticity of any of these representations[10]. They appear to be nothing but modern

'accepturo tradidisse. quid enim? si cui vinum debeas et hoc ille te infundere reticulo iubeat aut cribro, reddidisse te dices? aut reddere voles, quod, dum redditur, inter duos pereat?'

[1] Rohde *Psyche*[3] i. 327, E. Fehrle in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 550.

On trial by ordeal among Greeks and Romans see K. H. Funkhänel 'Gottesurtheil bei Griechen und Römern' in *Philologus* 1847 ii. 385—402, R. Hirzel *Der Eid* Leipzig 1902 pp. 182—219, G. Glotz *L'ordalie dans la Grèce primitive* Paris 1904 pp. 1—136, P. Vinogradoff in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 521[a–b] (Greek), A. C. Pearson *ib.* 528[a]—529[b] (Roman).

[2] Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 2. 69, Val. Max. 8. 1 absol. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 12, Tert. *apol.* 22, Liv. *epit.* 20, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 10. 16, 22. 11 (after Varro).

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 12 anno urbis DXVIIII (so codd. V (?). E. DCVIIII cod. R., followed by D. Detlefsen.—VIII codd. d. T.). Liv. *epit.* 20 supports the earlier date.

[4] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* iv. 359 f. pl. 771 figs. 1918, 1921, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 456 nos. 1, 2.

[5] Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 780 no. 686 pl. 84.

[6] H. Hettner *Die Bildwerke der königlichen Antikensammlung zu Dresden*[4] Dresden 1881 no. 168.

[7] Montfaucon *Antiquity Explained* trans. D. Humphreys London 1721 i. 40 pl. 14 nos. 21 and 22.

[8] *Id. ib.* London 1725 Suppl. i. 39 pl. 6 no. 4.

[9] M. P. Lévesque de Gravelle *Recueil de pierres gravées antiques* Paris 1732 i pl. 88 (*Pierres de Stosch* p. 434 no. 170), Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 77 no. 88 pl. 77.

[10] In both the statues published by Clarac the sieve is a restoration: they may have portrayed priestesses carrying baskets (Clarac *loc. cit.*). The statuette and gems figured by Montfaucon and Lévesque de Gravelle do not inspire confidence, and seem to have vanished.

restorations or copies, just conceivably based upon some genuine antique which has since disappeared.

The probability that a holed vessel was formerly used as a rain-charm in Italy would be strengthened, if it could be shown that the Italians ever believed rain to fall through a hole or holes in the sky. Unfortunately direct evidence to that effect is altogether wanting, and indirect evidence is at best disputable. Nevertheless certain facts connected with the *mundus* and the *manalis lapis* at Rome appear to presuppose some such belief.

The *mundus*[1] was an underground dome or tholoid structure,

Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 159, 7—9 p. 186 are eighteenth-century works by L. Pichler and G. Pichler. The cut that appears even in the third edition of Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 943 has no more authority: it is a redrawing of Crassier's print (*supra* p. 428 n. 8) as seen in a mirror, *i.e.* with right for left and left for right.

Morell. *Thes. Num. Fam. Rom.* i. 239 f. pl. Licinia 2, 5 and Rasche *Lex. Num.* x. 450 would detect Tuccia on the reverse of a *semis* struck by P. Licinius Nerva, which shows a woman on the prow of a ship holding something. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 129 f. no. 8 fig. says 'tenant une patère.' H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 275 fig. is non-committal ('female figure standing r.').

[1] During the last decade there has been much discussion of this difficult topic. The disputants include the following:

E. Täubler '*Roma quadrata* und *mundus*' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1926 xli. 212—226 (*Roma quadrata* was the early settlement on the Palatine surveyed as a *templum* with its *decimanus* extending from the *supercilium Scalarum Caci* to the *summa Sacra Via*. The *mundus*, an opening to the lower world, enclosed by a square stone wall, formed the centre of this *Roma quadrata*. When the Palatine settlement was enlarged into the city of the Four Regions, Rome ceased to be *quadrata* in the original sense, but antiquarians perpetuated the old name for the new foundation. Summary and criticism in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 494), *id.* 'Terremare und Rom' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1931/2 Abh. ii especially pp. 43—63 (the *mundus* was the central point of *Roma quadrata*, a *templum* or sacred square on the Palatine: it is therefore comparable with the ritual pits within the square Terremare settlements).

S. Weinstock '*Mundus patet*' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1930 xlv. 111—123 (most ancient authors speak of the *mundus* as connected with cult-usage: Ovid and Plutarch alone associate it with the legend of Rome's foundation by Romulus. *Mundus* must be carefully distinguished from *Roma quadrata*: there was no *mundus* on the Palatine—Boni's find was a mere cistern—nor is there the least reason to connect *mundus* with *templum* either square or round, with the ritual pits of Terremare villages, with the dedication of boundary-stones and the like. There was a *mundus* on the *Comitium* at Rome, and another at Capua (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 3926, *infra* p. 438 n. 5). The *mundus* was essentially a pit *in sacro Cereris* (schol. Bern. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 3. 105, *infra* p. 438 n. 5), the said *sacrum* being a small chamber built to contain it. Analogous structures are noted by F. Studniczka 'Altäre mit Grubenkammern' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1903 vi. 123—186. But the Ceres in question need not be the old Roman goddess: she might be the Latinised Demeter; she might be an Etruscan deity—F. Ribezzo in the *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia, lingua, antichità* 1928 xii. 89 draws attention to Etr. *mutna*="sepolcro, cassa, ossuario"), *id. ib.* 1932 xlvii. 120 n. 1 (criticises Täubler's view that *Roma quadrata* was not identical with *mundus*, nor yet the special name of the Palatine settlement, but originally the square or *templum* round the *mundus*, and hence applied to the Palatine town. Weinstock reaffirms his belief that the *mundus* must be

sought neither on the Palatine, nor in Terremare, and that its sacred functions—Ovid and Plutarch notwithstanding—had nothing to do with the foundation of Rome).

L. du Jardin '*Mundus, Roma quadrata* e *lapis niger*' in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia* 1930 vi. 47 ff. (*mundus* and *Roma quadrata* were originally on the Palatine, but, when built over by Domitian's palace, were removed to the *Comitium*).

H. J. Rose '*The Mundus*' in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 115—127 (largely in agreement with Weinstock puts forward the following contentions: '(1) The word *mundus*, in the sense of a pit or underground shrine of some kind, is probably not Latin. (2) So far as we know, it was applied to at least two underground structures in Rome, one in the Comitium, the other of unknown locality, which were, or had been, used for wholly different rites. (3) Neither of these had anything to do with Roma Quadrata, or with the *lapis manalis*. (4) Neither of them had anything to do with the so-called *mundus* found on the Palatine in 1914. (5) The connection of either with the pit to be found in *terremare* is possible, but unproved').

W. Kroll '**Mundus**' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 560—564 (the *mundus* was a chthonian cult-centre, probably close to the *Comitium*. It was a circular pit opened thrice a year, on days that were all *comitiales*, for the emergence of souls of the dead (cp. the Greek Anthesteria: *supra* i. 687)—no concern of Ceres or any other deity. The *lapis manalis* of Festus (*infra* p. 432) must have been the famous *lapis manalis* outside the Porta Capena (*infra* p. 432 ff.) and should not—with E. Samter in the *Archiv. f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 332 f. and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 784—be assumed to have closed the *mundus*. Weinstock and Rose rightly rejected the identification of this *mundus* with the *Roma quadrata* of the Palatine and doubted the analogy of the Terremare pits. As to etymology, the Etruscan goddess *munθuχ* (E. Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 643 f., *infra* p. 439 n. 2) is better ignored. P. Kretschmer suggests connexion with German *Mund*, Gothic *munþs*).

L. Deubner '*Mundus*' in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 276—287 (Ov. *fast.* 4. 821 ff. describes three successive rites: (1) *fruges* thrown into a deep *fossa*; (2) earth from the neighbouring soil likewise thrown in; (3) an altar placed above the filled-in *fossa* and kindled. The parallel in Plout. *v. Rom.* 11 proves that Ovid's pit was the *mundus*. Ovid's altar above the pit is due—as C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disziplin* iii (Göteborgs Högskolas Årsskrift 1909 i) p. 20 saw—to contamination with the rites of Terminus. Ovid's earth thrown in was another accretion wrongly connected by him with the *mundus*: the clods really symbolised Rome's mastery over all the neighbourhood (Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 73 p. 124, 21 ff.). Ovid's *fruges* thrown in were a gift to chthonian powers made at the moment of founding the town. Kroll and Weinstock dismiss this association of the *mundus* with the founding of a town as an antiquarian figment. Deubner sees no ground for their scepticism: town-foundations, the planting of boundary-stones, the erection of buildings, all involved breaking into the earth and the earth-powers must in each case be propitiated by gifts. Ovid does not definitely state that the *mundus* was on the Palatine; but he is speaking of Romulus as the founder of Rome, and everyone knew that Romulus' foundation was on the Palatine. Weinstock wrongly refuses to admit the real existence of a Palatine *mundus*. Plutarch errs in locating Romulus' *mundus* on the *Comitium*. Probably there was a *mundus* there; but, if so, it was the *mundus* of a new foundation—the Etruscan town of Four Regions (Plout. *v. Rom.* 11 brings the experts from Etruria). Deubner thinks it likely that this *mundus* on the *Comitium*, though described by Plutarch as *βόθρος κυκλοτερής*, should be identified with the quadrangular pit for offerings in the Grave of Romulus: Plutarch may well have blundered here also and attributed to the *mundus* on the *Comitium* the shape of the *mundus* on the Palatine. As to the phrase *mundus patet*, that refers to the Palatine *mundus*. Weinstock misunderstands schol. Bern. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 3. 105 *mundus in sacro Cereris*: this might mean, not a *mundus* in a small chamber built to contain it, but a *mundus* in the sacred precinct of Ceres; more probably, however, it was a mere guess of the scholiast or his source. *Roma quadrata* too was on the Palatine and had something to do with the founding of the town (Fest. p. 310, 35 ff. Lindsay, *infra* p. 436 n. 0). Thulin *op. cit.* p. 20 n. 1 already compared it with the quadrangular

concerning which M. Porcius Cato—the jurist perhaps rather than his more famous father[1]—in his *Notes on Cases of Civil Law* remarks: 'The *mundus* gets its name from the "sky" above our heads; indeed in shape it resembles the sky, as I have been able to ascertain from those who have entered it[2].' Another jurist C. Ateius Capito, the *consul suffectus* of 5 A.D., in his work *On Pontifical Law*[3] states that thrice a year, on August 24, October 5, and November 8, the *mundus* was left open[4]. Festus adds that the lower part of it was consecrated to the Di Manes and kept closed except on these days, when their secrets were brought to light[5]. Varro emphasises the solemn character of the said days: 'When the *mundus* is open, it is as though the gate of gloomy underworld gods were left ajar. Hence it is taboo, not only for a battle to be joined, but even for a military

templa of the Terremare settlements. F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 286 remarked that their east-to-west trench had five pits in it containing sherds, pebbles, mussel-shells, and animal-bones—'sacrale Dinge, die mit der Inauguration der Siedelung und dem, was die Römer später *mundus* nannten, in Zusammenhang stehen werden,' etc. Täubler was justified therefore in emphasising the resemblance of *Roma quadrata* and the *mundus* to the Terremare *templa* and their pits. Weinstock again was over-sceptical).

My own account of the *mundus*, which was penned before I had read any of the foregoing articles, is in the main compatible with Deubner's cautious and convincing conclusions. Deubner keeps clear of the *manalis lapis*, and ignores Boni's alleged *mundus*. Perhaps he was wise. At any rate I alone must bear the responsibility of conjecturing that the *mundus* on the Palatine was originally the Bronze-Age *thólos* of a Palatine king, and of seeking a parallel to it on the adjacent Capitol.

[1] See H. Jordan in his ed. of M. Porcius Cato (Lipsiae 1860) p. cv, F. P. Bremer *Iurisprudentiae antehadrianae quae supersunt* Lipsiae 1896 i. 21, H. Funaioli *Grammaticae Romanae Fragmenta* Lipsiae 1907 p. 14.

[2] Fest. p. 154 *b* 33 ff. Müller, p. 144, 17 ff. Lindsay qui quid ita dicatur sic refert Cato in commentaris iuris civilis (*frag.* 18 Funaioli): 'Mundo nomen inpositum est ab eo mundo, qui supra nos est: forma enim eius est, ut ex is qui intravere cognoscere potui, adsimilis illae.'

[3] P. Jörs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1906.

[4] Fest. p. 154 *b* 30 ff. Müller, p. 144, 14 ff. Lindsay Mundus ut ait Capito Ateius in lib. VI. Pontificali (*frag.* 2 Funaioli), ter in anno patere solet, diebus his: postridie Volkanalia et ante diem < III. Non. Oct. et ante diem > VI. Id. Nov. The *lacuna* is filled from Paul. ex Fest. p. 156, 1 Müller, p. 145, 13 f. Lindsay. Cp. Fest. p. 142 *a* 22 ff. Müller, p. 126, 4 ff. Lindsay Cereris qui mundus appellatur, qui ter in anno solet patere: VIIII Kal. Sept. et III Non. Octobr. et VI Id. Novembr. Qui vel † enim † (so cod. W. *ideo* cod. X. *etiam* ed. princ. Ursinus cj. *omni*. I should prefer *inde* A. B. C.) dictus est quod terra movetur.

[5] Fest. p. 157 *a* 4 ff. Müller, p. 144, 21 ff. Lindsay eius inferiorem partem veluti consecratam Dis Manibus clausam omni tempore, nisi his diebus qui supra scripti sunt, maiores c . . . . m (K. O. Müller cj. *censuerunt habendam*); quos dies etiam religiosos iudicaverunt ea de causa, quod quo tempore ea, quae occultae et abditae religionis Deorum Manium essent, veluti in lucem quandam adducerentur et patefierent, nihil eo tempore in republica geri voluerunt. itaque per eos dies non cum hoste manus conserebant: non exercitus scribebatur: non comitia habeba < ntur: non > aliud quicquam in republica, nisi quod ultima necessitas admonebat, administrabatur.

levy to be held, for a soldier to set forth, for a ship to weigh anchor, for a man to marry and procreate children[1].'

The *mundus*, then, was in some sense the gate of the Underworld. But Paulus epitomizing Festus, himself the epitomator of Verrius Flaccus[2], says that the portal of Orcus, through which souls of the dead (*Manes*) streamed[3] up to join the living (*ad superos manarent*), was known as *manalis lapis*[4]. Unless we are to suppose that Rome boasted of rival entrances to the nether regions, we are driven to conclude that this *manalis lapis* was a single stone by which the mouth of the bottle-shaped *mundus* was corked or stoppered. Paulus obviously connects the word *manalis* both with *Manes*, 'the dead,' and with *manare*, 'to stream.' The former connexion is possible[5], but improbable; the latter alone is valid. He continues[6]: 'They used the term *manalis lapis* also of a certain block (*petra*[7]), which was outside the Porta Capena close to the temple of Mars[8]. When in time of severe drought they dragged this block into the City, a shower immediately followed[9], and since the block streamed

[1] Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 16. 16 ff. nam cum Latiar, hoc est Latinarum sollemne, concipitur, item diebus Saturnaliorum, sed et cum Mundus patet, nefas est praelium sumere : quia nec Latinarum tempore, quo publice quondam induciae inter populum Romanum Latinosque firmatae sunt, inchoari bellum decebat, nec Saturni festo, qui sine ullo tumultu bellico creditur imperasse, nec patente Mundo, quod sacrum Diti Patri et Proserpinae dicatum est: meliusque occlusa Plutonis fauce eundum ad praelium putaverunt. unde et Varro ita scribit: 'Mundus cum patet, deorum tristium atque inferum quasi ianua patet: propterea non modo praelium committi, verum etiam dilectum rei militaris causa habere, ac militem proficisci, navem solvere, uxorem liberum quaerendorum causa ducere, religiosum est.'

[2] *Supra* ii. 1170.

[3] Cp. Mart. Cap. 160 Manes...qui parentum seminibus manaverunt.

[4] Paul. ex Fest. p. 128, 4 ff. Müller, p. 115, 6 ff. Lindsay Manalem lapidem putabant esse ostium Orci, per quod animae inferorum ad superos manarent, qui dicuntur manes. Manalem vocabant lapidem etiam petram quandam, quae erat extra portam Capenam iuxta aedem Martis, quam cum propter nimiam siccitatem in Urbem pertraherent, insequebatur pluvia statim, eumque, quod aquas manaret, manalem lapidem dicere.

[5] Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 557: 'Pour la formation, cf. *fīnis*|*fīnālis*; *fūnis*|*fūnālis* etc.'

[6] *Supra* n. 4.

[7] A *petra* might be either a natural rock or an artificially shaped block of stone. Cp. Fest. p. 206 *b* 12 ff. Müller, p. 226, 12 ff. Lindsay, *id.* p. 206 *b* 23 ff. Müller, p. 226, 23 ff. Lindsay.

[8] O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 p. 345 f., H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 213 f., H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 24 f., S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 327 f.

[9] Cp. Paul. ex Fest. p. 2, 12 f. Müller, p. 2, 24 ff. Lindsay Aquaelicium dicitur, cum aqua pluvialis remediis quibusdam elicitur, ut quondam, si creditur, manali lapide in urbem ducto. Since rain was sent by Iupiter, the old magical rite was attached to his cult (Petron. *sat.* 44. 18 antea stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant, itaque statim urceatim plovebat: aut tunc aut nunquam: et omnes redibant udi tanquam mures, Tert. *apol.* 40 denique cum ab imbribus aestiva

hiberna suspendunt et annus in cura est, vos quidem cotidie pasti statimque pransuri, balneis et cauponiis et lupanaribus operantibus, aquilicia Iovi immolatis, nudipedalia populo denuntiatis, caelum apud Capitolium quaeritis, nubila de laquearibus exspectatis, aversi ab ipso et deo et caelo, cp. *de ieiun.* 16 sed et omnem ταπεινοφρόνησιν ethnici agnoscunt. cum stupet caelum et aret annus, nudipedalia denuntiantur, magistratus purpuras ponunt, fasces retro avertunt, precem indigitant, hostiam instaurant). The stone was drawn by the priests (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 175 'manabat,' fluebat. hinc et lapis manalis quem trahebant pontifices, quotiens siccitas erat, cp. Varr. *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 877, 8 ff. Lindsay (cited *infra* p. 435 n. 2)), and was perhaps drenched with water as a magical or *quasi*-magical cure for the drought (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 268 f.). Why this particular stone was chosen, we do not know. Was it the sepulchral *stele* of some once famous Etruscan water-finder (Varr. *Menipp. frag.* 444 Bücheler *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 97, 16 Lindsay at hoc pacto utilior te Tuscus aquilex) or rain-maker (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 310 n. 4)?

G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 310, *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 121 approves the connexion of *aqua-elicium* with Iupiter *Elicius* propounded by O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 and accepted by E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 658, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2366 f., despite the objections of M. H. Morgan 'Greek and Roman Rain-Gods and Rain-Charms' in the *Transactions of the American Philological Association* 1901 xxxii. 100 ff. (especially p. 105 f.). I was formerly attracted by this view (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 269), but am now satisfied that Iupiter *Elicius* was essentially a lightning-god, not a rain-god (*pace* J. B. Carter *De deorum Romanorum cognominibus* Lipsiae 1898 p. 42, P. Perdrizet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 710). He had an altar on the Aventine (Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 6. 94) founded by Numa, whom he had instructed in lightning-lore (Liv. 1. 20). About this altar an odd tale was told by Valerius Antias (*frag.* 6 Peter *ap.* Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 1, cp. Ov. *fast.* 3. 285 ff., Plout. *v. Num.* 15). Numa, at the advice of Egeria, posted a dozen chaste youths in ambush beside a spring, from which Faunus and Martius Picus were wont to drink, and further mixed much wine with the water. The gods drank deep, fell into a stupor, and were bound fast by the young men (Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. *fast.* 3. 289 regards the incident as 'probably modelled on' the ruse by which Midas captured Silenos). Faunus and Martius Picus were thus forced to disclose to the king the means by which Iupiter could be enticed from heaven to earth. The king thereupon offered sacrifice on the Aventine, enticed Iupiter to come down, and pressed him to reveal the right method of expiating thunderbolts. 'With the head...,' said Iupiter: '...of an onion,' added Numa. 'With a human...,' said Iupiter: '...hair,' put in Numa. 'With a living creature,' said the god: 'With a sprat,' concluded the king. And so surrogates for the head and hair of a live man were found in an onion, a hair, and a sprat (apparently the 'hair' suggested a small fish, cp. the use of τριχίς, τριχίας, τριχίδιον, etc.), which things continued to form the ingredients of a lightning-spell (Plout. *v. Num.* 15) (in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 269 and 270 n. 1 I have discussed the similar mitigation of human sacrifice to Dis and Saturn (Varr. *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28 ff., 1. 11. 48 f., cp. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19) and to Mania (Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 34 f.)). Iupiter returned to heaven in a 'gracious' mood and the place was called *Ilicium* in consequence (Plout. *v. Num.* 15 καὶ τὸν μὲν θεὸν ἀπελθεῖν ἵλεω γενόμενον, τὸν δὲ τόπον Ἰλίκιον ἀπ' ἐκείνου προσαγορευθῆναι). Later, however, he slew with a thunderbolt Numa's successor, Tullus Hostilius, who had made some slip in the due performance of these rites (L. Calpurnius Piso *frag.* 10 Peter *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 140 and *frag.* 13 Peter *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 14, Liv. 1. 31, Aur. Vict. *de viris illustr.* 4. 4).

Since the wooded slope of the Aventine (A. Merlin *L'Aventin dans l'antiquité* Paris 1906 p. 110) was 'black with the shade of the *ilex*' (Ov. *fast.* 3. 295), I conjectured years ago (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 270, *ib.* 1904 xviii. 365 f.) that Iupiter *Elicius* should rather be Iupiter *Ilicius*, god 'of the Oak' (*ilex, iliceus, iligneus, iligneus*). Prof. Goldmann tells me that he had independently hit upon the rendering *Elicius*, 'of the Oak.' He kindly drew my attention to a paragraph by H. Schuchardt in the *Zeitschrift für romanische*

with water they called it *manalis lapis*.' Once more we hear of *manales lapides* or *petrae* in a suggestive context. Fulgentius (*c.* 480—550 A.D.[1]) in his *Explanation of antiquated Phrases* asks what *manales lapides* are, and answers: 'Labeo[2], who expounded the Etruscan lore of Tages and Begoë(?)[3] in fifteen volumes, has the following observation: "If the lobes of the liver prove to be coloured like red arsenic, then you need to trail the *manales petrae*." These are blocks which the ancients used to draw like rollers round their boundaries with a view to curing a dearth of rain[4].' G. Wissowa denounced the extract from Labeo as a forgery[5], but there is no real ground for doubting the accuracy of Fulgentius' explanation. It is quite possible, indeed highly probable, that the *manalis lapis* outside the Porta Capena was an old sepulchral pillar of the Etruscan sort[6]: the *via Appia*, bordered with tombs, skirts the hill on which stood the temple of Mars[7]. Similarly the *manales petrae* mentioned

Philologie 1903 xxvii. 105 f. Schuchardt there quotes with approval the contention of W. Meyer-Lübke 'Zur kenntnis des altlogudoresischen' in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1903 cxlv. 5. 7 ff. 'Die grundform ist *ēilex*, woraus lat. *īlex*, umbrisch, volskisch, paeligniseh, marrucinisch **elex*,' etc. and recalls his own previous statement in *Der Vokalismus des Vulgärlateins* Leipzig 1866—1868 ii. 77 'die romanischen Formen ein *ēilex* voraussetzen.' See now Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 377 f. ('Ilex...daneben *elex* bei Gregor von Tours und in Glossen (s. Ernout Él. dial. lat. 156); die Formen der rom. Sprachen sind auf **ēlex* zurückzuführen..., das als Dialektwort eine Gdf. **ēilex* erwiese, oder auf **ĭlex* (Cuny IF. xxvi, 21 ff.); für letztere Form, die allerdings im Widerspruch zu der (nach Cuny der lebendigen Sprache fremden?) dichterischen Messung *īlex* steht, spricht auch mak. ἴλαξ (recte ἴλεξ, s. Hoffmann Mak. 42) "ilex," das (gegen Kretschmer Einl. 164) aus dem Lat. stammen wird, und das von Cuny verglichene zweite Glied von gr. *αἰγ-ίλωψ*; es liegt ein voridg. Mittelmeerwort vor') and Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 452 ('Les langues romanes attestent aussi un doublet *ēlex*, sans doute d'origine dialectale, cfr. M.L. 4256, *Einf.*[3], p. 148').

[1] Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 242.

[2] G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1351 'Cornelius Labeo, antiquarisch-theologischer Schriftsteller der späteren Kaiserzeit, wichtig als Vermittler älterer römischer Gelehrsamkeit an die christlichen Apologeten und an spätere Compilatoren.'

[3] G. Wissowa *ib.* iii. 194.

[4] Fulgent. *expos. serm. ant.* 4 [quid sint manales lapides.] Labeo, qui disciplinas Etruscas Tagetis et Bacitidis (so R. Helm for *bacittidis* cod. P. *Bacchiridis* cod. R. *bacurtidis* cod. S. *Baaetidis* codd. B. D. *baaccidis* cod. E. *baacidis* cod. B. G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2723 reads *Bachetidis* ('so der eine Gudianus, andre Hss. *Baccitidis*, *Bachidis*, *Bagidis* u.a.')) quindecim voluminibus explanavit, ita ait: 'fibrae iecoris sandaracei coloris dum fuerint, manales tunc verrere opus est petras,' id est quas solebant antiqui in modum cilindrorum per limites trahere pro pluviae commutandam inopiam.

[5] G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2723, iii. 194, iv. 1354. Cp. F. Skutsch *ib.* vii. 219 f. and C. O. Thulin *Die etruskische Disciplin* i *Die Blitzlehre* Göteborg 1906 p. 2. But see also M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur* München 1920 iv. 2. 202.

[6] Durm *Baukunst d. Etrusk.*[2] p. 128 fig. 141, *supra* i. 53 n. 1.

[7] H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 tab. 1.

by Fulgentius were in all probability Etruscan tomb-pillars or boundary-stones[1], which in time of distress would be trundled round the area under their especial protection. Finally, Varro informs us that *aquae manale* meant a small water-jug[2]. The term had an interesting history, and seems to have been re-interpreted as a basin for the hands in the *aquimanile* or *aquiminarium* of Christian ritual[3].

Early in 1914 Commendatore Boni, digging on the Palatine under the north-eastern part of the peristyle of the *domus Augustiana*, discovered a *thólos*, which he identified with the *mundus*. This identification was promptly accepted by T. Ashby[4], O. L. Richmond[5], A. L. Frothingham[6], and others[7] on grounds that seem *prima facie* plausible[8]. Ashby reports[9]: 'a chamber with a bee-hive roof was found, the sides of which are lined with blocks of cappellaccio (a soft tufa); in the centre of it a circular shaft descends to two underground passages cut in the rock...which diverge but (after forming a right-angled triangle with a hypotenuse of 12 metres) meet again in a rock-cut domed chamber, half of which has been destroyed by Domitian's foundations.' Some further details are given by Richmond[10] and L. A. Constans[11], but so far no complete ground-plan or section has been published.

[1] *Supra* i. 53, ii. 1090.

[2] Varr. *frag.* 198 Funaioli *ap.* Non. Marc. p. 877, 7 ff. Lindsay 'urceolum aquae manale vocamus, quod eo aqua in trulleum effundatur. unde manalis lapis appellatur in pontificalibus sacris, qui tunc movetur cum pluviae exoptantur; ita apud antiquissimos manale sacrum vocari quis non noverit? unde nomen illius.'

[3] E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 346, Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* i. 134, A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 310 f., W. Henry in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 2647 f.

[4] T. Ashby in *The Times* for Jan. 8, 1914 p. 5, *id.* in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud.* 1914 p. 12 f.

[5] O. L. Richmond in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1914 iv. 225 f.

[6] A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 317.

[7] See now H. M. R. Leopold in the *Mededeelingen van het Nederlandsch Historisch Instituut te Rome* 1921 i. 45—61 (= *id.* 'Il "mundus" e la "Roma quadrata"' in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* 1924 xliv. 193—206), W. Kroll 'Mundus und Verwandtes' in the *Festschrift für Universitäts-Professor Hofrat Dr. Paul Kretschmer* Wien—Leipzig—New York 1926 pp. 120—127, G. Lugli *La Zona Archeologica di Roma* Roma 1925 p. 208 (*id. The Classical Monuments of Rome and its Vicinity* trans. G. Bagnani Roma 1929 i. 235, 242 with fig. 57, 6, 284 f. with fig. 70).

[8] H. J. Rose, however, in *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 134 f. argues that Domitian, being 'pious to the point of religiosity,' would never 'have allowed his architects to build over, far less break into, a monument so venerable and at the same time so ill-omened as the *mundus Cereris*.'

[9] S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 347.

[10] O. L. Richmond in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1914 iv. 226: 'The Commendatore

Now *à priori* a tholoid structure underground might be one of three things—a granary, a well, or a tomb. And arguments are not wanting in support of each identification.

K. O. Müller[1] long since drew attention to Plutarch's[2] account

found that the ancient "mundus" had been excavated at the augural centre of the hill, on the true summit, and that the direction of the caverns followed the lines of "cardo" and "decumanus." Domitian covered it with indestructible concrete several feet thick, over which was his area Palatina. The position is to the east of the Apollo temple. It is thought that the mouth had been covered over and disused not later than the fourth century B.C....In 1913—1914 the excavators discovered over the round mouth of the ancient "mundus" on the Palatine a square depression, and a rectangular block of specially hard stone fitting one half of it. There were fragments of a second such block near by.'

Richmond naturally claims that these facts confirm his restoration of Fest. p. 258 *b* 5 ff. Müller, p. 310, 35 ff. Lindsay Quadrata Roma in Palatio ante templum Apollinis dicitur, ubi reposita sunt, quae solent boni ominis gratia in urbe condenda adhiberi, quia saxo < mundus > munitus est initio in speciem quadratam. eius loci Ennius meminit cum ait (*ann.* 2 *frag.* 75 Baehrens, *frag.* 3 Steuart): 'et †quis est erat† Romae regnare quadratae' (E. Baehrens and the latest editor Miss E. M. Steuart both accept C. O. Müller's cj. *qui* and Salmasius' cj. *se sperat*—a brilliant combination involving the change of but a single letter. J. Vahlen[2] prefers M. Hertz' cj. *qui sextus erat*). Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. *fast.* 4. 821 (p. 386 n. 3) says: 'Perhaps we should insert *locus* after *Quadrata Roma* or after *saxo* to correspond with *munitus*.' But Richmond's emendation is more atrractive.

[1] L. A. Constans in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 pp. 109—111: 'M. Boni a trouvé...une voûte à *tholos*, faite d'une superposition de blocs quadrangulaires, ouverte, et inclinée vers le midi, en telle sorte qu'elle ne forme pas une circonférence parfaite. Là s'ouvre un nouveau puits, creusé dans le tuf; au fond de ce puits, à 12 mètres au-dessous du niveau du sol, deux couloirs bifurquent: l'un, le plus étroit, est droit; l'autre, plus large, est coudé, au bout de quelques mètres, à angle droit, en telle sorte qu'il rejoint l'extrémité du premier, déterminant avec lui un triangle rectangle dont l'hypoténuse, formée par le couloir étroit, a une douzaine de mètres de long. M. Boni imagine que lorsqu'on portait dans le *mundus*, grenier sacré, les grains, prémices de la saison, on allait par le couloir large et revenait par le couloir étroit. On suivait la marche inverse quand on voulait chercher du grain dans le *mundus* pour les semailles. Ces deux couloirs aboutissent l'un et l'autre à une chambre circulaire, tout entière taillée dans le tuf, avec une coupole haute au sommet de laquelle un trou circulaire laisse voir le jour; sur les parois, des ouvertures à sommet formant angle aigu semblent être l'accès d'autres couloirs. Une banquette est ménagée à une assez grande hauteur en face de l'aboutissement des deux couloirs. Les couloirs et la chambre circulaire sont tapissés d'un enduit argileux: à la rencontre du sol et des parois, le tuf est taillé de façon à former une baguette arrondie; M. Boni prétend que, d'après un texte de Columelle [*de re rust.* 1. 6], ce serait une particularité de la construction des greniers, destinée à éviter des angles où des animaux pourraient faire leur nid. Le *mundus* en question se trouve à peu près sous l'emplacement du trône impérial, dans le fond du *tablinum* du palais des Flaviens.... M. Boni pense qu'au-dessus du *mundus*, et non dans la *Regia*, devait être le sanctuaire de Mars, protecteur de l'agriculture: les Saliens auraient conservé les armes sacrées dans la chambre à *tholos* du premier étage. On a recueilli au cours des fouilles un objet conique en bronze, avec des ornements en fer, formant douze lignes, qui rayonnent à partir du sommet. M. Boni y voit un casque.'

[1] K. O. Müller—W. Deecke *Die Etrusker*[2] Stuttgart 1877 ii. 100.

[2] Plout. *v. Rom.* 9 Ῥωμύλος μὲν οὖν τὴν καλουμένην Ῥώμην κουαδράτην, ὅπερ ἐστὶ τετράγωνον, ἔκτισε, καὶ ἐκεῖνον ἐβούλετο πολίζειν τὸν τόπον, Ῥῶμος δὲ χωρίον τι τοῦ Ἀβεντίνου καρτερόν, ὃ δι' ἐκεῖνον μὲν ὠνομάσθη Ῥεμώνιον, νῦν δὲ Ῥιγνάριον καλεῖται.... 11 ὁ δὲ Ῥωμύλος

of the foundation of Roma Quadrata and inferred from the casting of first-fruits into the pit[1] that the *mundus* was the larder or store-house of the new city. W. Warde Fowler urged that, if it was used for storing grain, we can see why it should have been opened on August 24[2]. That date 'follows the Consualia [Aug. 21], a festival which almost beyond doubt has reference to harvesting, and immediately precedes the Opiconsivia [Aug. 25], which almost as certainly represents the storage of the grain as completed[3].' Warde Fowler further conjectured that on August 24 'the seed-corn for the autumn sowing was separated from the rest of the grain, and deposited in an underground storing-place[4],' the *mundus*. Since the rough old-fashioned wheat called *far* was sown throughout October[5], whereas the better wheat called *triticum* was not to be sown till after the setting of the Pleiades[6] (on or about Nov. 9), the other two days for the opening of the *mundus*—October 5 and November 8—are equally intelligible. When the city ceased to be a practical centre of agriculture, and the Etruscans established their dominion in Rome, 'the *mundus* took on a new meaning connected with the Etruscan ideas of a nether world[7]' and the *lapis manalis* was wrongly linked with the Manes. The transition would be facilitated by the fact, duly noted by Sir J. G. Frazer, that 'the spirits of the dead are often supposed to watch over or further the growth of the crops: that is why the firstfruits are often presented to them[8].'

ἐν τῇ Ῥεμωνίᾳ θάψας τὸν Ῥῶμον ὁμοῦ καὶ τοὺς τροφεῖς, ᾤκιζε τὴν πόλιν, ἐκ Τυρρηνίας μεταπεμψάμενος ἄνδρας ἱεροῖς τισι θεσμοῖς καὶ γράμμασιν ὑφηγουμένους ἕκαστα καὶ διδάσκοντας ὥσπερ ἐν τελετῇ. βόθρος γὰρ ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερής, ἀπαρχαί τε πάντων, ὅσοις νόμῳ μὲν ὡς καλοῖς ἐχρῶντο, φύσει δ' ὡς ἀναγκαίοις, ἀπετέθησαν ἐνταῦθα. καὶ τέλος, ἐξ ἧς ἀφίκτο γῆς ἕκαστος ὀλίγην κομίζων μοῖραν, ἔβαλλον εἰς ταῦτα καὶ συνεμίγνυον. καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν βόθρον τοῦτον ᾧ καὶ τὸν ὅλυμπον ὀνόματι μοῦνδον. εἶτα ὥσπερ κύκλον κέντρῳ περιέγραψαν τὴν πόλιν. κ.τ.λ.

[1] I take it that *βόθρος... ὠρύγη περὶ τὸ νῦν Κομίτιον κυκλοτερής* means 'a round hole was dug in the neighbourhood of what is now called the Comitium,' not 'a circular trench was dug round what is now called the Comitium.' A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 315 and, apparently, Sir J. G. Frazer in his note on Ov. *fast.* 4. 821 (p. 386) mistranslate the passage.

[2] W. Warde Fowler *The Roman Festivals* London 1899 p. 211 f.

[3] *Id.* 'Mundus Patet' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 26=*id. Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 26.

[4] *Id.* in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 27=*id. Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 27.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 205 far Septembri extremo usque in idus Octobres, alii post hunc diem in kal. Novembres.

[6] Verg. *georg.* 1. 219 ff., cp. Colum. *de re rust.* 2. 8.

[7] W. Warde Fowler in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 29=*id. Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 29.

[8] *Id.* in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 30 n. 1=*id. Roman Essays and Interpretations* Oxford 1920 p. 32 n. 0.

Warde Fowler's explanation of the *mundus* as essentially a subterranean granary for the seed-corn commended itself to Professor F. M. Cornford, who worked out an interesting parallel in Eleusinian usage[1]. Boni too regarded the *mundus* that he found on the Palatine as the sacred granary of early Rome and sought to elucidate its arrangements on that assumption[2]. This granary-hypothesis, which obviously suits the name *Cereris mundus* used by Festus[3], Apuleius[4], etc.[5] and can at least be made to fit the accounts of *Quadrata Roma* given by Festus[6] and Plutarch[7], is in fact the accepted solution of the problem.

Still, it must be borne in mind that other *thóloi* on the Palatine are beyond question in the nature of early cisterns[8], and that the

[1] F. M. Cornford 'The 'ΑΠΑΡΧΑΙ and the Eleusinian Mysteries' in *Essays and Studies presented to William Ridgeway* Cambridge 1913 pp. 153—166. The seed-corn first buried in an underground granary (*σῶρος*, cp. Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 83, 10 ff. (*c.* 423/2 B.C.) cited *supra* p. 301 n. 0 (4)) and then taken out for sowing = Descent and Ascent of the Corn-maiden or Kore (*supra* ii. 295 n. 2).

[2] *Supra* p. 436 n. 11.

[3] *Supra* p. 431 n. 4.

[4] Apul. *apol.* 13 magis piaculum decernis speculum philosopho quam Cereris mundum profano videre.

[5] On the schol. Bern. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 3. 105 p. 774 Hagen (in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1867 iv) alii specum in Sicilia angusto ore, profunda altitudine, per quam rapta est Proserpina a Dite patre. alii 'mundum' in sacro Cereris, et caelum pro 'mundum' positum dicunt (cp. Philarg. *expl. in* Verg. *ecl.* 3. 105 p. 68 Thilo—Hagen) see S. Weinstock in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1930 xlv. 114 f., L. Deubner in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 283, *supra* p. 430 f. n. 0. Cp. the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* x no. 3926 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3348 (Capua) . . . icuria M. f. sacerdos | Cerialis mundalis | d. s. p. f. c. (*de sua pecunia faciundum curavit*).

[6] *Supra* p. 436 n. 0.

[7] *Supra* p. 436 n. 2. There is an important discrepancy here between Plutarch and Ovid. Plutarch places the *mundus*, into which at the foundation of the city first-fruits and earth were thrown, somewhere in the neighbourhood of the later Comitium. Ovid puts his corresponding *fossa* on the Palatine (*fast.* 4. 815 alter adit nemorosi saxa Palati.... 821 ff. fossa fit ad solidum, fruges iaciuntur in ima | et de vicino terra petita solo. | fossa repletur humo, plenaeque imponitur ara, | et novus accenso fungitur igne focus). It is usually assumed that Plutarch has blundered. But A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 316 f. notes 'the transfer to the Comitium of so many of the *sacra* and traditions of the Palatine' and concludes: 'When the city of the Four Regions was established and the new classification of the population was made that is associated in one tradition with the famous augur Attus Navius, it is reasonable to suppose that the founding of the new and larger *urbs* of Rome with its single and extended pomerium, centring in or near the Comitium, would be celebrated by a new *mundus* in the centre of the new *urbs*. It is curious that it is precisely with Attus Navius that tradition connects the transfer from the Palatine to the Comitium of the Ficus Ruminalis of Romulus and Remus, and also with him the establishment of the *puteal* or circular sacred enclosure in the Comitium. It seems probable that when Plutarch wrote, the old *mundus* of the Palatine had long ceased to be used, and may even have been forgotten; and that in speaking of the *mundus* as in the Comitium he was not making any blunder.'

[8] *Supra* p. 366 n. 1.

rock-cut chambers and channels of Boni's *mundus* could, not unreasonably, be explained as a somewhat more extensive reservoir[1]. Besides, such an explanation would make sense of the *manalis lapis*. The well-mouth would be appropriately closed by a 'streaming stone.' More than that. Recent philologists[2] derive the word *mundus*, both adjective and substantive, from a root meaning 'damp, wet, moisten, wash.' They suggest that *mundus* the adjective denoted successively 'watered, washed down, clean, clear, neat,' and that *mundus* the substantive continued the series 'neatness, adornment, order, cosmic order, world.' But on this showing it is thinkable that *mundus* the substantive at an early stage in its history meant 'place washed down, cistern' or the like, being perhaps a *Reimwortbildung* to pair

[1] So S. Weinstock in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1930 xlv. 121 with n. 3. Viewed in this way, some of the details mentioned *supra* p. 436 n. 11 become more understandable, *e.g.* the 'ouvertures à sommet formant angle aigu' in the walls of the 'chambre circulaire.'

[2] Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.*[2] p. 501f. '**mundus**, *-a*, *-um* "schmuck, sauber, reinlich, nett," womit identisch *mundus* "Putz der Frauen; Weltordnung, Weltall," vgl. gr. *κόσμος* "Schmuck" und "Welt": wenn mit altem *u*, so wohl zu ahd. *muzzan*, mhd. *mutzen* "schmücken, putzen" (Vaniček 211...) und vielleicht weiter nach Schulze Qu. ep. 170 mit a 3 (s. auch Persson De orig. gerundii 75 [Niedermann IA. XVIII, 81]) zu gr. *μύδος* "Nässe" usw. (vgl. *mulier*), mit einem Bedeutungsverhältnis wie zwischen nhd. *lauter* und gr. *κλύζω* "spüle." Eine genauere Gleichung ergibt sich aber bei der Annahme, dass *mundus* nach dem Kompositum *immundus* für lautgesetzliches **mondos* eingetreten sei (Niedermann a. a. O.; vgl. dipundius: pondus): ai. *maṇḍáyati* "schmückt (Vaniček a. a. O.), lit. *mañdagus* "anmutig, anständig" (Niedermann).' Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 250 (cp. *ib.* p. 251) 'Aus einem **mu-dnos* (*-d-* zur Wzerw. *meu-d-*; vgl. *χν-δανός*: *χέω*, got. *giutan*) in der Bed. "gewaschen" deutet Schulze Qu. ep. 170 mit Anm. 3, KZ. 45, 235 (s. auch Vf. LEWb.[2] s.v.) auch lat. *mundus* "schmuck, sauber, rein, nett" Subst. "Putz der Frauen; Weltordnung, Weltall"; kaum nach *immundus* für **mondos* eingetreten und zu ai. *maṇḍayati* "schmückt (doch s. Uhlenbeck Ai. Wb. 211) und lit. *mañdagus* "anmutig, anständig" (doch s.u. *mendh-* "einen Sinn worauf richten") nach Niedermann JA. 18, 81. Von ders. Wzf. *meu-d-* in dieser Bed. wohl auch ahd. *muzzan*, mhd. *mutzen* "schmücken, putzen" (s. Vf. aaO.).'

See, however, F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 277 ff., who distinguishes '*mūndus* < **mŏd(e)ndos orbis*. ...Schon die Alten stellten es zu *movēre*: Varro LL. 6, 3, Paul. 125 L., Isid. 3, 2, 8; 13, 1, 1' and '*mundus*, *-i*, "sauber, rein: schmuck"....Zur W. *meu̯* (+ *ā*ˣ)- "waschen," also **mū-ndo-s* altes Gerundiv oder **mūd-no-s*...wie *χῦ-δανός*: *χέω* (Schulze QE. 170 ff., 469, KZ. 45, 235), vgl. Isid. 11, 1, 138: *quod eo* (sc. *lotio*) *lota id est munda vestimenta efficiantur*... [Wenn < **mūd-no-s*, dann zur erweiterten W. *meu+d-*: gr. *μυδρός* "feucht," *μύδος* M. "Nässe," air. *müad* "Wolke," ndl. *motregen* "feiner Regen," li. *mãudyti* "baden"].—Hierher und identisch *mundus*, *-ī* M. "Schmuck," seit Fest., nicht rom.; genau wie d. *Schmuck* : *schmuck*.' Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 608 f. likewise separate *mundus* the adjective from *mundus* the substantive meaning 'world,' but identify *mundus* the substantive meaning 'adornment' with the latter, not with the former, 'à l'imitation du gr. *κόσμος*.' They sum up: 'Pas d'étymologie claire. L'hypothèse d'une origine étrusque a été avancée (une déesse *munθvχ*, *munθχ*, *munθu*, dont le rôle est de parer et d'orner figure sur plusieurs miroirs étrusques; v. Deecke, dans Roscher, *Lexicon*, II, 2, p. 3231). Sur le groupe de *mundus*, voir Kroll, *Festschr. Kretschmer*, p. 120 sqq., qui conclut par un "non liquet."'

with *fundus*[1]. The *mundus* on the Palatine may in fact be a religious survival, perpetuating the equipment of a primitive homestead.

Neither the granary- nor the well-hypothesis will quite adequately explain the dreadful sanctity that in Roman belief attached to the Palatine *mundus* or justify its description as 'the jaws of Pluto[2]', 'the gate of gloomy underworld gods[3]', and 'the portal of Orcus[4]'. These expressions point rather to a third possibility. Was the *mundus* originally neither a granary, nor a well, but a tomb—say the Bronze-Age *thólos* of the Palatine king? As such it might fairly be dubbed *mundus* by a later generation and held to imitate the celestial vault[5]. Offerings of food and other necessaries brought to the buried king might in Italy as in Greece lead to his grave being deemed a *thesaurós*[6] and even, in post-regal times, being treated as a real or symbolic store-house for the seed-corn of the community[7]. Lastly, the stone that formed the apex or finial of the tomb would doubly deserve its name *manalis*. For, while some would think of the Manes[8] returning from the Underworld to help their people in distress, others might remember that to open up the grave of a buried king was one method of inducing a deluge of rain[9]. In short,

[1] Not included as such by H. Güntert *Über Reimwortbildungen im Arischen und Altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914. J. Vendryes 'La famille du latin *mundus* "monde"' in the *Mémoires de la société de linguistique de Paris* 1914 xviii. 305—310 regards *mundus* as a dialect-form of *fundus* ('C'est d'un ancêtre commun **bundo-* que *mundus* et *fundus* seraient sortis....On peut d'abord recourir à l'hypothèse d'une distinction dialectale et d'un *fundus* rural opposé à un *mundus* urbain; mais ce *mundus* urbain lui-même est peut-être d'origine étrangère (ombrienne?)' etc.), and both as related to a Celtic **dubno-* preserved in the Irish *domun* 'world,' the Gallic *Dubno*talos, *Dubno*coueros, *Dumno*rix, etc. But all this is highly speculative.

[2] *Supra* p. 432 n. 1. [3] *Ib.* [4] *Supra* p. 432 n. 4. [5] *Supra* ii. 1150.

[6] In the epitaph on Cn. Naevius preserved by Gell. 1. 24. 2 I should take *Orcho traditus thesauro* to mean 'handed over to Orchus as store-house.' F. Skutsch would render 'handed over to Orchus for a treasure,' cp. *dono dare*. E. Bährens in *Poet. Lat. min.* vi. 296 attributes the epigram to M. Terentius Varro and prints his own cj. *Orcho traditus thesaurus* ('coffer,' *i.e.* coffin). Cod. Buslidianus gives *orchi* and *thesauri*. Hence the restorations *Orci traditus thesauro* (possible) and *Orcino, Orcio, Orcivo traditus thesauro* (highly improbable): see De Vit *Lat. Lex. s.v.* 'Orcīnus.'

The term *θησαυρός* as applied to the *thólos*-tombs of Greece is criticised by Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 356 f., Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 126, H. Hitzig and H. Blümner on Paus. 2. 16, J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 p. 382, and many others. [7] Cp. Sir J. G. Frazer on Ov. *fast.* 4. 821 (p. 390).

[8] On the Manes I have said my say in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 293 ff.

[9] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 284—287 ('Making rain by means of the dead'), *supra* p. 369 n. 3.

A striking case is that of Antaios king of Mauretania: Mela 3. 106 hic Antaeus regnasse dicitur, et signum quod fabulae clarum prorsus ostenditur collis modicus resupini hominis imagine iacentis, illius ut incolae ferunt tumulus: unde ubi aliqua pars eruta est solent imbres spargi, et donec effossa repleantur eveniunt. Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* ii. 105 n. 75, 132 n. 18 and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2340 think that the myth of Antaios

the assumption that the *mundus* was a prehistoric tomb is found to cover the whole spread of usages connected with it in historic days. Nor have we far to look for a somewhat analogous case. Adjoining the Palatine was the Capitol, and we have already seen that in the Capitoline temple, side by side with Iupiter on his throne, stood an ancient grave-*stéle* or boundary-stone[1], which was viewed as an appanage of the sky-god and in art portrayed as a blue globe resting on a square plinth[2]—a *mundus* of the celestial sort. Roman writers called it the stone of Terminus[3]. But such a stone, at its erection, had the blood of a burnt sacrifice along with incense, corn, honeycombs, wine etc. placed in the hole prepared for it[4]. In other words, it was treated as the tombstone of a man and received the offerings normally brought to the Manes[5]. Nor is the notion of an early tomb on the Capitol beyond the pale of possibility. The story of Aulus' head dug up on that very spot is more than a mere piece of bad etymology[6].

In this connexion it is impossible to ignore that most impressive of all Roman temples, the Pantheon[7]. For its amazing dome, while

has borrowed this trait from the myth of Kyknos (Hes. *sc. Her.* 472 ff. *Κύκνον δ' αὖ Κῆυξ θάπτεν καὶ λαὸς ἀπείρων, | οἳ β' ἐγγὺς ναΐον πόλιας κλειτοῦ βασιλῆος | ... τοῦ δὲ τάφον καὶ σῆμ' ἀιδὲς ποίησεν Ἄναυρος | ὄμβρῳ χειμερίῳ πλήθων· τὼς γάρ μιν Ἀπόλλων | Δηοΐδης ἤνωξ', ὅτι ῥα κλειτὰς ἑκατόμβας | ὄστις ἄγοι Πυθοῖδε βίῃ σύλασκε δοκεύων*). But the resemblance between the two stories is remote.

[1] *Supra* i. 53. [2] *Supra* i. 42 pl. vi. [3] *Supra* i. 53 n. 5.

[4] Siculus Flaccus in the *Grom. vet.* i. 141 Lachmann cum enim terminos disponerent, ipsos quidem lapides in solidam terram rectos conlocabant proxime ea loca in quibus fossis factis defixuri eos erant, et unguento velaminibusque et coronis eos coronabant. in fossis autem [in (*om.* cod. G.)] quibus eos posituri erant, sacrificio facto hostiaque inmolata adque incensa facibus ardentibus, in fossa cooperti ('*an* cooperta?' K. Lachmann) sanguinem instillabant, eoque (eis qui cod. B.) tura et fruges iactabant. favos quoque et vinum, aliaque quibus consuetudo est Termini (terminis codd. B.G.) sacrum fieri, in fossis adiciebant. consumptisque igne omnibus dapibus super calentes reliquias lapides conlocabant adque ita diligenti cura confirmabant. adiectis etiam quibusdam saxorum fragminibus circum calcabant, quo firmius starent. tale ergo sacrificium domini, inter quos fines dirimebantur, faciebant.

[5] H. B. Smith in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* i. 893 f. See also E. Samter (*supra* ii. 1090).

[6] *Supra* ii. 290 n. 0. See now A. Blanchet 'Pierres gravées représentant la légende du Capitole' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 248—256 figs. 1—6, and W. Deonna 'Orphée et l'oracle de la tête coupée' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1925 xxxviii. 44—69 (many parallels ancient, medieval, and modern).

[7] L. Beltrami *Il Pantheon* (results of investigation in 1892—1893, with plans and drawings by P. O. Armanini) Milano 1898 pp. 1—75 pls. 1—5, H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 581—589, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 29, W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 pp. 77—82 pl. 41 f. and fig. 19, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 pp. 382—386, D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 pp. 246—251 pl. 16 f. and fig. 104 f.

obviously comparable in shape with the *mundus*, seems to have been in the nature of a vast imperial *herôion*[1] 'built for the glorification of the gens Iulia, and...dedicated in particular to Mars and

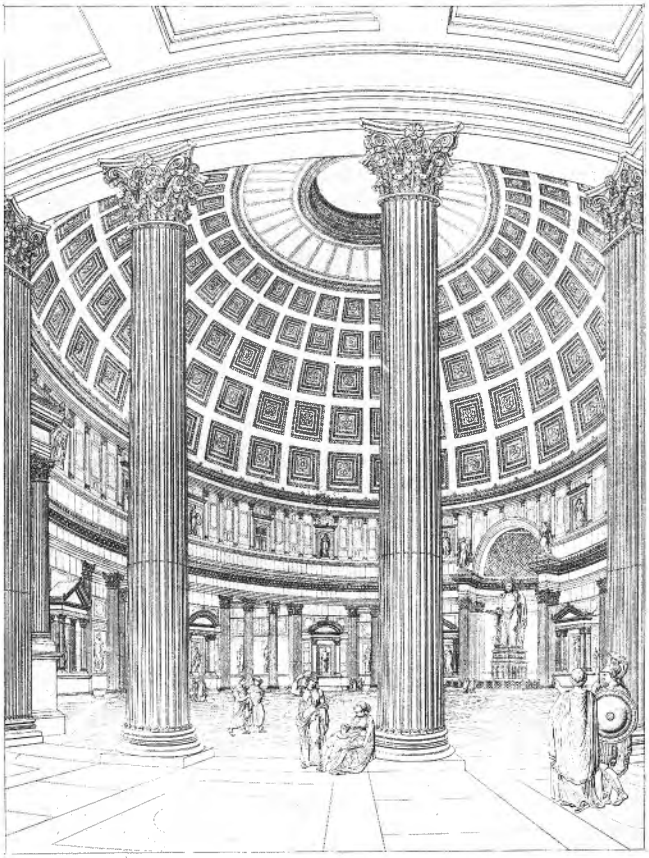


Fig. 291.

[1] In some respects the closest parallel might be found in the *Philippeion* at Olympia (Paus. 5. 20. 9 f., cp. 5. 17. 4), on which see F. Adler in *Olympia* ii. 128—133 pls. 79—82, E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 pp. 131—135 figs. 41, 43—45.

Venus, the most prominent among the ancestral deities of that family[1].' So much, indeed, is clear from Dion Cassius' account[2]:

'Also he (*sc.* Agrippa[3]) completed the building called the Pantheon. It has this name, perhaps because it received among the images which decorated it the statues of many gods, including Mars and Venus; but my own opinion of the name is that, because of its vaulted roof, it resembles the heavens. Agrippa, for his part, wished to place a statue of Augustus there also and to bestow upon him the honour of having the structure named after him; but when the emperor would not accept either honour, he placed in the temple itself a statue of the former Caesar and in the ante-room statues of Augustus and himself.'

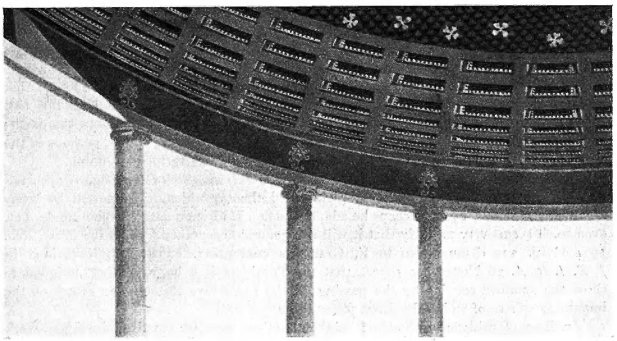


Fig. 292.

[1] S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 382.

[2] Dion Cass. 53. 27 *τό τε Πάνθειον ὠνομασμένον ἐξετέλεσε· προσαγορεύεται δὲ οὕτω τάχα μὲν ὅτι πολλῶν θεῶν εἰκόνας ἐν τοῖς ἀγάλμασι, τῷ τε τοῦ Ἄρεως καὶ τῷ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης, ἔλαβεν, ὡς δὲ ἐγὼ νομίζω, ὅτι θολοειδὲς ὂν τῷ οὐρανῷ προσέοικεν. ἠβουλήθη μὲν οὖν ὁ Ἀγρίππας καὶ τὸν Αὔγουστον ἐνταῦθα ἱδρῦσαι, τήν τε τοῦ ἔργου ἐπίκλησιν αὐτῷ δοῦναι· μὴ δεξαμένου δὲ αὐτοῦ μηδέτερον ἐκεῖ μὲν τοῦ προτέρου Καίσαρος, ἐν δὲ τῷ προνάῳ τοῦ τε Αὐγούστου καὶ ἑαυτοῦ ἀνδριάντας ἔστησε* trans. E. Cary.

[3] Opinions differ as to the character and general aspect of Agrippa's Pantheon.

In 1892 the architect G. Chedanne, from careful examination of the consoles etc. in the existing portico, concluded that Agrippa's building was a decastyle, peripteral hall, originally facing south and covering the whole space now occupied by the *Piazza del Panteon* (H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 589). Further, by means of brick-stamps taken from many parts of the extant rotunda, he showed that this was constructed by Hadrian in 120—124 A.D. (*ib.* p. 587 n. 81).

Subsequent investigations have been held to establish the following points: '(1) that the temple built by Agrippa consisted of an oblong cella with a portico of ten columns facing the south; (2) that in front of this temple, viz., on the south side, was an immense circular piazza, of which a portion of the enclosing wall concentric with and contiguous to the rotunda has been found; (3) that this circular piazza was uncovered, as its pavement, found 8 feet below the floor of the Pantheon, sloped downwards from the centre to the circumference[3] ([3] It is probable that this piazza was surrounded with a portico, the founda-

The resemblance of the whole edifice (fig. 291)[1] to the sky would be enhanced by its ceiling coffered with bronze flowers[2] or stars (fig. 292)[3], and perhaps also by its seven niches tenanted—if Mommsen's conjecture is sound[4]—by the seven gods of the week

tion walls of which were uprooted when the rotunda was built); (4) that the rotunda was built on the site of the circular piazza, some 7 or 8 feet above the pavement of the same; and (5) that at a subsequent period Agrippa's temple and its portico were taken down and rebuilt at a higher level, to form the portico of the existing Pantheon facing north. In rebuilding the portico it was made octostyle instead of decastyle, the eight columns of the front resting on what must have been the rear wall of Agrippa's cella. The entablature, with the inscription on the frieze, and the pediment also belonged to Agrippa's temple' (W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 79 f.).

Recently, however, the pendulum has swung back. G. Cozzo *Ingegneria romana* Roma 1928 pp. 255—297 ('La costruzione del Pantheon') with pls. 96—117 figs. 185—214 argues that the Pantheon of to-day is essentially the structure raised by Agrippa in 27 B.C.; that its original entrance was on the south through a great outer hall; that later this hall became part of the Thermae, the rotunda-entrance being then transferred to the north; and lastly that the solid projection and porch of the Pantheon were added, perhaps in the time of Septimius Severus, on the site of a quite separate pre-Agrippan building.

D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 248 *à propos* of Cozzo's view concludes: 'This bold theory, which is supported by many arguments of detail, could perhaps be adapted to fit a Hadrianic date for the rotunda, but, even so, it seems very unlikely that it will win general acceptance.' *Id.* in the *Class. Rev.* 1934 xlviii. 229 demurs also to F. Granger's contention, 'most fully explained in *J. R. I. B. A.* 26 November 1932,...that the Pantheon is a huge sundial, designed to show the summer solstice by the passing of the sun's rays through the centre of the imaginary sphere of which the dome forms the upper half.'

An item of evidence hitherto, I think, unnoticed may be found in the fresco-work illustrated above (fig. 292). Wall-decoration of the 'Third Pompeian Style' (*c.* 25 B.C.—*c.* 50 A.D.) might well be inspired by Agrippa's Pantheon, a recent architectural triumph just finished in 25 B.C. No doubt, the *quasi*-architecture of the 'Third Style' was often fantastic and unreal. Still, the occurrence of this novel and striking *motif* demands some explanation. It is fittingly explained, if we admit that Agrippa's building was a domed structure like its Hadrianic successor.

[1] C. E. Isabelle *Les Édifices Circulaires et les Dômes* Paris 1855 p. 53 f. pl. 18 (=my fig. 291), D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 pl. 17.

[2] W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Rome* rev. by T. Ashby London 1927 p. 81: 'The coffers of the vault were all gilded with bronze flowers in the centre, and M. Chedanne found the bronze bolts in the vault.'

[3] A. Mau *Geschichte der decorativen Wandmalerei in Pompeji* Berlin 1882 p. 414 pls. 13 and 14 (=my fig. 292: scale ½) from the right side-wall of the *tablinum* in the house of the banker L. Caecilius Iucundus (v. 1. 26), *id. Führer durch Pompeji*[6] bearbeitet von A. Ippel Leipzig 1928 p. 54 ff. fig. 19. The design shows a spacious dome as seen from below. Seven concentric rows of *lacunaria* in diminishing perspective lead the eye up towards the zenith of a cupola crowded with whitish stars on an imbricated ground of dull blue and purple. The whole rests on a widely spaced Ionic colonnade, and is cleverly illuminated by slanting shafts of sunlight. The Ionic columns, the concentric *lacunaria*, the stars, and the imbricated cupola are all suggestive of the Pantheon.

[4] H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 581 n. 61: 'Mommsens Vermuthung, in den sieben Nischen hätten die sieben Planetengötter gestanden, hat, wenn man an das jetzige Pantheon denkt, viel Bestechendes, begegnet aber Schwierigkeiten für das ursprüngliche,' S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topo-*

Saturnus, Sol, Luna, Mars, Mercurius, Iupiter, Venus[1]. Now at the very summit of this great rotunda, at a height of 43·20^{m} (144 ft.) above the coloured pavement, was a circular opening some 9^{m} (29 ft.) across, surrounded by an ornamental cornice of bronze. Through that opening rain fell, and still falls, unheeded. Is it fanciful to suggest[2] that such an arrangement of the louver[3] points to, or at least accords with, a long-standing belief that rain habitually fell through a hole in the sky?

iv. The holed vessel elsewhere.

An analogous Semitic conception, the 'windows of heaven' (*arubboth hashshamayim*), has been mentioned in a foot-note[4], but is deserving of fuller treatment[5]. The Hebrew phrase is rendered by some the 'lattices of heaven[6],' and the late Dr A. Wright reminds us 'that in Egypt and Libya the open windows of the harem are regularly fitted with lattice work containing minute perforations[7].' The transition in meaning from a window to a sieve[8] was therefore not difficult. Hence we may explain the vulgate version of an obscure passage in the Old Testament: 'He made darkness a hiding-place round about him, sending waters from the clouds of the skies as through a sieve[9].' Hence too Theodoret in *s.* v A.D. could describe God as 'raining from the clouds...and separating the drops and letting them fall now in fine rain, now in copious streams, and parting as it were with a sieve the offspring of the clouds[10].' The

graphical Dictionary of Ancient Rome Oxford 1929 p. 382 f.: 'Mommsen's conjecture that the seven niches were occupied by the seven planetary deities is attractive, and Hülsen is now in favour of it.'

[1] *Supra* ii. 69 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 353 n. 1.

[3] I have already touched upon ceilings made to represent the sky in the case of Babylonian palaces (*supra* i. 262 ff.), Egyptian tombs (*supra* i. 752 n. 1), Mycenaean *thóloi* (*supra* ii. 1150, iii. 364, *infra* 458), Greek temples (*supra* i. 751, 752 n. 1) and porticos (*supra* i. 752 n. 0), Roman arches (*supra* ii. 354 ff., 359 ff.), temples, and palaces (*supra* i. 751 n. 8). The subject could readily be expanded into a monograph (R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 has shown the way and collected much relevant material); for such treatment, losing its significance, passed into the repertory of renaissance and modern decorative art. To give but a single instance, the hall of Queens' College, Cambridge, has a timbered roof painted blue and spangled with stars of lead-gilt round its central louver.

[4] *Supra* p. 353 n. 1.

[5] See S. R. Driver on Gen. 1. 6. The views of the early church fathers are collected by J. A. Letronne 'Des opinions cosmographiques des pères de l'église, rapprochées des doctrines philosophiques de la Grèce' in the *Revue des deux mondes* 1834 i. 616 f.

[6] So Prof. A. S. Peake on Is. 24. 18.

[7] A. Wright in the *Class. Rev.* 1901 xv. 258.

[8] *Supra* p. 335 ff.

[9] 2 Sam. 22. 12 (=Ps. 18. 11) posuit tenebras in circuitu suo latibulum, cribrans aquas de nubibus caelorum.

[10] Theodoret. *de providentia* 1. 34 (lxxxiii. 572 Migne) ὧων ἐκ νεφῶν...καὶ τὰς ψεκάδας διακρίνων καὶ νῦν μὲν σμικρὰς ἀφιεὶς νῦν δὲ μεγάλας καὶ κρουνηδὸν φερομένας καὶ οἷόν τινι κοσκίνῳ διαιρῶν τῶν νεφῶν τὰς ὠδῖνας.

alleged examples of rain-charms in Scripture[1] do not, however, illustrate the actual usage of a holed vessel or sieve[2].

A remarkable instance of rain-making through a celestial sieve is recorded by Major S. C. Macpherson in his account of the Khonds' religion. A great Janni with two smaller priests and some of the principal elders address the following prayer to the rain-god Pidzu Pennu:

'Oh, give us abundant rain, enough to melt the hill-tops. Go and fetch water for us, if need be, by force or fraud, from the stores of your friends the gods of rain. Bring it in brass vessels, and in hollow gourds, and resting on the sky above our land, pour the water down on it through your sieve until the sambur, unable to live in the forests, shall seek shelter in our houses, and till the soil of the mountains shall be washed into our valleys[3].' Etc.

In the Finnish *Kalevala* Louhi, the lady of the north country Pohjola, prays thus:

Maiden of the Clouds, Mist-Maiden,
Scatter from thy sieve the cloudlets,
And the mists around thee scatter,
Send the thick clouds down from heaven,
Sink thou from the air of vapour,
O'er the broad lake's shining surface,
Out upon the open water,
On the head of Väinämöinen,
Falling on Uvantolainen[4].

Over a great part of Germany we find the recognition of a supernatural and commonly beneficent being called *Frau Holda* (*Hulda, Holle, Hulle, Holl,* etc.[5]). She is a sky-power of some sort[6];

[1] D. B. Stade *Biblische Theologie des Alten Testaments* Tübingen 1905 i. 190.

[2] A. Marmorstein 'Das Sieb im Volksglauben' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 235—238 shows that the sieve plays a considerable part in Rabbinic literature and popular Jewish custom.

[3] W. Macpherson *Memorials of Service in India.* From the correspondence of the late Major Samuel Charters Macpherson, C.B. London 1865 p. 355 ff., E. O. James in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 564[a].

[4] *Kalevala* trans. W. F. Kirby 42. 338 ff. According to the Hon. J. Abercromby *The Pre- and Proto-historic Finns* London 1898 i. 306 f. (cp. ii. 341 f.), 'The daughter of nature (*luonto*), Udutar, and the sharp maiden Terhetär sifted mist in a sieve at the end of a misty promontory, thereby giving origin to fevers and pleurisy.'

In Languedoc it is said that the Drac or water-spirit has hands pierced like a sieve (F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 p. 135 n. cited by F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 7 n. 1).

[5] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallyhrass London 1882 i. 265—272 ('*Holdâ* is the kind, benignant, merciful goddess or lady, from hold (propitius)'...'by the side of our dame Holde there are also *holden, i.e.*, friendly spirits, a silent subterranean people, of whom dame Holde, so to speak, is the princess'), 1888 iv. 1367 f., E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 272 ff. ('Der Mythus der deutschen Wolkengöttin'...'*Frau Holda, Holle, Hulle, Wolle, Wulle, Holke?* von hold, g. hulþs freundlich,

for, when it snows, she is making her bed and the feathers fly[1]. She

geneigt oder an. huldr verborgen, wofür die jedenfalls wesensverwante dän. norweg. *Hulla, Huldra, Huldre* spricht'...'Wahrscheinlich gehört auch die engl. *Madame Gould* hieher, eine weisse Frau, die auf einem Pfluge sitzt und ihr Haar kämmt (§ 366. [W.] Henderson *Notes* [*on the Folk-lore of the Northern Counties of England and the Borders* London 1879 p.] 330 [ff.])'), 282 ff. ('Der Frühlingsmythus von der Erlösung der weissen Frau'), E. Mogk in the *Grundriss der germanischen Philologie*[2] Herausgegeben von H. Paul Strassburg 1900 iii. 278 f. ('Deutscher Volksglaube des späten Mittelalters und der Gegenwart weiss von einer Frau Holda oder Holle und Perchta zu erzählen, die mit ihren Scharen durch die Lüfte fahren, besonders zur Zeit des grossen winterlichen Seelenfestes sich den Menschen zeigen und sie bald belohnen, bald bestrafen'....'Nun findet sich für die seelischen Wesen neben *unhold* schon frühzeitig der Name *holden*. Die Wassergeister erscheinen als *Wazzerholde, Brunnenholde* ([J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 268 with n. 3]), als *Hollen* erscheinen die Zwerge ([A.] Kuhn *Sagen*[, *Gebräuche und Märchen aus*] *Westfal*[*en* Leipzig 1859] I, 193 f., 200 u. öft.), überhaupt die Seelen Verstorbener (ebd. II. 124)'....'Überall sehen wir auf germanischem Gebiete den engsten Zusammenhang zwischen den Holden und den Seelen der Verstorbenen, und wir brauchen deshalb das *holdam* des Correctors des Burchard von Worms nicht in *unholdam* ([F. Kauffmann 'Dea Hluðana' in *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1894 xviii. 150]) zu ändern, wo es von der Schar der nachtfahrenden Dämonen heisst "*quam vulgaris stultitia holdam vocant* [leg. *vocat*]." Dies *holda* gehört aber etymologisch zu ahd. *helan* "verbergen" und berührt sich so mit an. *hel*, unserem *Hölle*. Demnach sind die Holden von Haus die Unterirdischen, die nach dem Tode noch ihr Wesen treiben. Wie das sprachliche Verhältnis dieser zu den *Unholden* gewesen ist, dünkt mich noch nicht genügend aufgeklärt. Aus dieser Schar der Holden ist nun in später, vielleicht erst in christlicher Zeit und z. T. unter dem Einflusse fremden Volksglaubens eine Führerin entstanden, der die Volksphantasie das nomen proprium aus dem Kollektivbegriff geschaffen, die aber im Laufe der Zeit die von ihr geführten Wesen zurückgedrängt hat. Das ist die *Frau Holle* oder *Holda* unserer Märchen und Sagen'), *id.* in Hoops *Reallex.* ii. 556 f. *s.v.* 'Holden; Frau Holda, Holle,' R. M. Meyer *Altgermanische Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1910 p. 114 (*Frau Holle* as 'eine Kollektivierung' of the *Holden*, originally 'freigewordene Seelen Verstorbener'), P. A. Munch *Norse Mythology* rev. M. Olsen, trans. S. B. Hustvedt New York 1926 p. 310 ('The name of the Huldre or Hill-Lady, *huldr*, probably comes from *at hylja*, "to hide," "to cover." The Germans are conversant with a somewhat similar being, *Holle, Frau Holle, Mutter Holle* or *Holde*, whose name appears at an early period to have been associated with the adjective *hold*, Old Norse *hollr*, "kind," "amiable," "friendly"....Our Huldre, on the contrary, bears a name which linguistically has always been kept distinct from the adjective *hollr*').

[6] See, however, A. H. Krappe *Études de mythologie et de folklore germaniques* Paris 1928 p. 101 ff., *id. The Science of Folk-Lore* London 1930 p. 90 ('Dame Holle is an old chthonic divinity, the Teutonic parallel of the Greek Persephone and the Roman Bona Dea and at the same time a divinity of the fertility of the soil. Wherever her procession passes the fields will produce twice their usual harvest'), *id. Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 pp. 196 ('Hel, apparentée à Holda, est une ancienne déesse de la terre, l'équivalent exact de la Perséphone hellénique. Seulement, son aspect purement chthonien et sinistre a prévalu sur ses qualités plus aimables. Dans le cas de Holda, d'autre part, les deux aspects de son caractère, l'affable et le terrible, se sont maintenus dans la tradition. Ce qui est encore plus intéressant, de même que sainte Agathe vint prendre la place de l'ancienne Perséphone chez les populations méditerranéennes, sainte Lucie prit celle de la Holda germanique'), 252 ('la *Holda* germanique (dont le nom est dérivé de l'adjectif *hold*)').

[1] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 267 f., where parallels are cited to Hdt. 4. 7 and 31.

also haunts lakes and fountains, where she may be seen at noon as a fair white lady[1]. In the Harz district it is believed that, between eleven and twelve o'clock at night, she carries water in a vessel without a bottom[2]. Or again, in the same locality she appears as a black woman with two buckets that have no bottom to them[3].

The *motif* of the holed bucket is worked into the German folk-tale of 'Master Awl' (*Meister Pfriem*)[4]. This tells how a shoe-maker, who grumbled at everything, once dreamt that he was knocking loudly at the door of heaven. Saint Peter let him in, provided he gave up his grumbling ways and found fault with nothing inside.

'So he went in, and walked up and down the wide expanses of heaven. He looked around him, to the left and to the right, but sometimes shook his head, or muttered something to himself. Then he saw two angels who were carrying away a beam. It was the beam which some one had had in his own eye whilst he was looking for the splinter in the eye of another. They did not, however, carry the beam lengthways, but obliquely. "Did any one ever see such a piece of stupidity?" thought Master Pfriem; but he said nothing, and seemed satisfied with it. "It comes to the same thing after all, whichever way they carry the beam, straight or crooked, if they only get along with it, and truly I do not see them knock against anything." Soon after this he saw two angels who were drawing water out of a well into a bucket, but at the same time he observed that the bucket was full of holes, and that the water was running out of it on every side. They were watering the earth with rain. "Hang it[5]," he exclaimed; but happily recollected himself, and thought, "Perhaps it is only a pastime. If it is an amusement, then it seems they can do useless things of this kind even here in heaven, where people, as I have already noticed, do nothing but idle about." He went farther and saw a cart which had stuck fast in a deep hole. "It's no wonder," said he to the man who stood by it; "who would load so unreasonably? what have you there?" "Good wishes," replied the man. "I could not go along the right way with it, but still I have pushed it safely up here, and they won't leave me sticking here." In fact an angel did come and harnessed two horses to it. "That's quite right," thought Pfriem, "but two horses won't get that cart out, it must at least have four to it." Another angel came and brought two more horses; she [*leg.* he] did not, however, harness them in front of it, but behind. That was too much for Master Pfriem, "Clumsy creature," he burst out with, "what are you doing there? Has any one ever since the world began seen a cart drawn in that way? But you, in your conceited arrogance, think that you know everything best." He was going to say more, but one of the inhabitants of heaven seized

[1] J. Grimm *op. cit.* i. 268.

[2] H. Pröhle *Harzsagen, gesammelt auf dem Oberharz* Leipzig 1854 p. 155 quoted by A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 i. 203.

[3] H. Pröhle *op. cit.* p. 135 quoted by A. Kuhn *op. cit.* i. 203.

[4] *Kinder und Hausmärchen* gesammelt durch die Brüder Grimm. Grosse Ausgabe[6] Göttingen 1850 ii. 414 ff. no. 178 ('Meister Pfriem'), Grimm's *Household Tales* trans. M. Hunt London 1901 ii. 279 ff. no. 178 ('Master Pfriem') with the note *ad loc.* (*ib.* p. 457 f.).

[5] '*Alle Hagel!*' *platzte er heraus.*

him by the throat and pushed him forth with irresistible strength. Beneath the gateway Master Pfriem turned his head round to take one more look at the cart, and saw that it was being raised into the air by four winged horses. At this moment Master Pfriem awoke.'

J. Bolte and G. Polívka[1] in a thorough-going commentary on this tale regard it as composed of two distinct elements—an early legend involving symbols of fruitless labour, and a popular story about an impudent fellow who pushed his way into heaven. They trace the former element back to a date *c.* 800 A.D., when it is found in a Greek legend of Saint Arsenios the Great[2], ex-tutor of Arcadius and Honorius (*c.* 334—449 A.D.). This anchorite saw in a vision three successive symbols of human vanity—(1) an Ethiopian trying to lift a pile of wood, but adding logs to his burden instead of subtracting them from it; (2) a man baling water out of a pit into a cistern, which had holes in it; and (3) two men on horseback carrying a pole between them, but endeavouring to enter the door of a sanctuary side by side, because neither of them was willing to let the other enter first.

Such symbols for labour lost may occur singly and give rise to proverbial phrases. Thus the Germans say:

Wasser in ein löcheriges Fass schöpfen[3].
Wasser in ein sybeckin schöpffen[4].
Wasser schöpfen mit einem Siebe[5].

Often the emptying of a lake or pool with a sieve is an impossible task laid upon a human by a superhuman being. In a folk-tale from Haute-Bretagne Blue Beard bids a man, who enters his service, drain a pond with a sieve[6]. In another from central Germany

[1] J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 297—305, especially p. 302 f.

[2] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Julius iv. 626 E—F ('Vita S. Arsenii anachoretæ' 3. 19) *καθημένου οὖν αὐτοῦ εἰς τὸ κελλίον ἦλθε φωνὴ λέγουσα αὐτῷ· 'Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι τὰ ἔργα τῶν ἀνθρώπων.' καὶ ἀναστὰς ἐξῆλθεν, καὶ ἀπήνεγκεν αὐτὸν εἰς τόπον τινὰ καὶ ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ Αἰθίοπα κόπτοντα ξύλα καὶ ποιοῦντα φορτίον* (leg. *φορτίον*) *μέγα, ἐπείραζε δὲ βαστάσαι αὐτὸ καὶ οὐκ ἠδύνατο, καὶ ἀντὶ τοῦ ἆραι ἐξ αὐτοῦ ἀπελθὼν πάλιν ἔκοπτε ξύλα καὶ προσετίθη τῷ φωρτίῳ* (leg. *φορτίῳ*). *καὶ προβὰς ὀλίγον ἔδειξεν αὐτῷ τινα ἱστάμενον ἐπὶ λάκκου καὶ ἀντλοῦντα ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτοῦ καὶ μεταβάλλοντα εἰς δεξαμενὴν τετρυπημένην καὶ τὸ αὐτὸ ὕδωρ ἐκχέουσαν. καὶ πάλιν λέγει αὐτῷ· 'Δεῦρο, δείξω σοι.' καὶ θεωρεῖ ἱερὸν καὶ δύο ἄνδρας καθημένους ὑπποις καὶ βαστάζοντας ξύλον πλαγίως ἕνα κατὰ τοῦ ἑνός. ἤθελον δὲ διὰ τῆς πύλης τοῦ ἱεροῦ εἰσελθεῖν καὶ οὐκ ἠδύναντο διὰ τὸ εἶναι τὸ ξύλον αὐτῶν πλάγιον· οὐκ ἐταπείνωσε δὲ αὐτὸν* (leg. *δ' ἑαυτὸν*) *ὁ εἷς ὀπίσω* (leg. *εἷς ὀπίσω*) *τοῦ ἄλλου ἐνέγκαι τὸ ξύλον ἐπ' εὐθείας καὶ διὰ τοῦτο ἔμειναν ἔξω τῆς πύλης. ἐπύθετο οὖν ὁ 'Αρσένιος τί ἦ ταῦτα; καὶ ἐρρέθη αὐτῷ κ.τ.λ.*

[3] K. F. W. Wander *Deutsches Sprichwörter-Lexikon* Leipzig 1876 iv. 1833 no. 794.

[4] *Id. ib.* no. 795.

[5] *Id. ib.* no. 799.

[6] P. Sébillot in the *Revue des traditions populaires* 1894 ix. 168, *id. Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1905 ii. 460.

the ghost of a dead woman is put under a ban to empty a pool with the same utensil[1]. In an English tale a girl is ordered by her stepmother to fill a sieve at the Well of the World's End, and succeeds in so doing thanks to the advice of a friendly frog:

'Stop it with moss and daub it with clay,
And then it will carry the water away[2].'

The performance of manifest impossibilities[3] was throughout the middle ages held to be a signal proof of divine favour or at least of superhuman powers. As late as 1209 A.D. the Poles were confident of victory because a certain sorceress (*Pythonissa*) marched at the head of Duke Wlodislaus' army bearing water in a sieve[4].

In general it may be maintained that the frequent connexion of witches with sieves[5] depends on the belief that witches are rain-makers, and that rain can be made by pouring water through a sieve. It is not, however, easy to cite unequivocal evidence of a sieve

[1] E. Sommer *Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche aus Sachsen und Thüringen* Halle 1846 Sagen no. 10 quoted by A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 i. 204.

[2] J. Jacobs *English Fairy Tales*[2] London 1898 p. 215 ff. ('The Well of the World's End') with note on p. 260 ('The sieve-bucket task is widespread from the Danaids of the Greeks to the leverets of *Uncle Remus*, who, curiously enough, use the same rhyme: "Fill it wid moss en dob it wid clay."'). [3] Cp. *supra* p. 428.

[4] C. G. Hoffmann *Scriptores rerum Lusaticarum Antiqui & recentiores Chronica Montis Sereni* Lipsiæ & Budissæ 1719 iv. 62 Anno MCCIX *Conradus* orientalis Marchio *Lubus* castrum soceri sui *Wlodislai* Ducis Poloniæ, propter multas quas ab eo patiebatur injurias, obsedit. *Wlodislaus* vero obsidionem vi solvere volens collecto exercitu copioso, Marchioni mandavit, se ei altera die congressurum. Vespere autem diei præcedentis *Oderam* fluvium cum suis omnibus transgressus, improvisus supervenire hostibus moliebatur. Unus vero eorum, qui *Supani* dicuntur, vehementer ei cœpit obsistere, monens ne tempus pugnæ statutum præveniret, quia hoc factum nullius rectius, quam infidelitatis posset nomine appellari. Quem cum Dux timiditatis argueret, & fidelitatis, qua ei teneretur, commoneret, respondit: *ego quidem ad pugnam pergo, sed scio me patriam meam de cætero non visurum*. Habebat autem (*sc.* Wlodislaus) Ducem belli Pythonissam quandam, quæ de flumine cribro haustam nec defluentem, ut ferebatur, ducens aquam, exercitum præcedebat, & hoc signo eis victoriam promittebat. Nec latuit Marchionem adventus eorum, sed mature suis armatis & ordinatis occurrens, forti congressu omnes in fugam vertit, Pythonissa primitus interfecta. Ille etiam Supanus viriliter pugnans cum multis aliis interfectus est. J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 iii. 1111 f.

Cp. J. Michelet *Origines de droit français cherchées dans les symboles et formules du droit universel* Paris 1837 p. 350 'Les Indiens croient qu'une vierge peut serrer l'eau en pelote, ou la porter dans un tamis.'

[5] A. Kuhn—W. Schwartz *Norddeutsche Sagen, Märchen und Gebräuche* Leipzig 1848 p. 262 f. no. 293 with n. on p. 501, A. Kuhn *Sagen, Gebräuche und Märchen aus Westfalen* Leipzig 1859 i. 18 no. 22, F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 7 n. 1, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 pp. 78, 90, 123, 135, 175.

On sieve-superstitions in general see *supra* p. 336 n. 5 and G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 pp. 96, 101, 219 n. 2.

being actually used in a rain-charm within the confines of Europe. Perhaps the clearest case is one quoted by Sir James Frazer[1]:

'In 1868 the prospect of a bad harvest, caused by a prolonged drought, induced the inhabitants of a village in the Tarashchansk district to dig up the body of a Raskolnik, or Dissenter, who had died in the preceding December. Some of the party beat the corpse, or what was left of it, about the head, exclaiming, "Give us rain!" while others poured water on it through a sieve.'

The last stage in the history of such a conception is reached, when it ceases to be serious and becomes merely jocular. Verbally there is not much to choose between the threat of the witch in Shakespeare's *Macbeth*—

> But in a sieve I'll thither sail[2]—

and the performance of Edward Lear's Jumblies—

> They went to sea in a Sieve, they did,
> In a Sieve they went to sea[3].

Yet the two are poles asunder. Three centuries have intervened and brought with them the momentous change from belief to disbelief.

(e) Rain as the seed of Zeus.

i. Zeus identified with rain.

That rain was regarded by the Greeks as the water of Zeus, we have already seen[4]. It may next be shown that Zeus himself was thought to descend in the falling shower and thereby to fertilise Mother Earth.

Euripides speaks of rain as 'Zeus-drops' in the opening lines of the *Helene*:

> See the fair virgin streams of Neilos, who—
> Instead of Zeus-drops—waters all the plain
> Of Egypt, fed by the white melting snow[5].

Similarly Greek magical papyri found in Egypt refer to rain more than once as 'Zeus-water[6].' These curious adjectival phrases are

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 284.

[2] Shakespeare *Macbeth* i. 3. 9.

[3] E. Lear *Nonsense Songs and Stories*[7] London and New York 1889 p. 25.

[4] *Supra* p. 333 f.

[5] Eur. *Hel.* 1 ff. (cp. Aristoph. *thesm.* 855 ff. and Aristeid. *or.* 48. 334 (ii. 442 Dindorf)) Νείλου μὲν αἵδε καλλιπάρθενοι ῥοαί, | ὃς ἀντὶ Διὰς ψακάδος Αἰγύπτου πέδον | λευκῆς τακείσης χιόνος ὑγραίνει γύας. See further *supra* p. 348 f.

[6] *Supra* p. 322 n. 0. The Paris papyrus appears to date from *s.* iv A.D. (F. G. Kenyon *The Palaeography of Greek Papyri* Oxford 1899 p. 115 f., K. Preisendanz *Papyri Graecae magicae* Leipzig—Berlin 1928 i. 64). On Ζήνιον ὕδωρ consult also R. Wünsch in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 634, S. Eitrem *Opferritus und Voropfer der Griechen und Römer* (*Videnskapsselskapets Skrifter.* II. Hist.-Filos. Klasse 1904 No. i) Kristiania 1915 p. 106 n. 3, T. Hopfner *Griechisch-ägyptischer Offenbarungszauber. Seine Methoden* Leipzig 1924 p. 117 ff.

noteworthy, because they seem to imply that Zeus was in a very special sense connected with, perhaps even identified with, the rain that fell from the sky.

Direct identification of Zeus with the rain is, however, a product of philosophizing thought, and is not expressed in literature till Roman times. Thus Varro writes: 'These same deities, sky and earth, are Iupiter and Iuno; for, as Ennius puts it,—

> There is the Iupiter for me: the Greeks
> So name the air. He's wind and cloud, then rain,
> From rain turns cold, then once again thin air.
> Yes, the same things are Iupiter just because
> He helps both mortal crowds and all the beasts[1].'

Again, Arnobius makes a hypothetical opponent explain away the pagan belief in a union between Iupiter and Ceres by saying that 'Iupiter' really means the rain and 'Ceres' the earth—an easy method of allegorical interpretation, which he goes on to apply to other cases also[2].

ii. Zeus descends in rain to fertilise the earth.

More genuinely Greek is the conception of rain that occurs in a beautiful passage of Virgil's *Georgics*. The poet is describing the spring-time:

> Spring helps the leafy grove; spring helps the wood;
> Spring makes Earth swell and crave the seeds of birth.
> Then the omnipotent sire, the Burning Sky,
> Into the bosom of his joyous wife
> With fruitful rain comes down, and mightily
> Himself commingled with her mighty body
> Nurtures all life that thence originates[3].

[1] Ennius *frag.* 507 Bährens *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 65 idem hi dei Caelum et Terra Iupiter et Iuno, quod ut ait Ennius: 'istic est is Iupiter quem dico, quem Graeci vocant | aerem, qui ventus est et nubes, imber postea, | atque ex imbre frigus, ventus post fit, aer (Bährens cj. *tenuis post fit aer*) denuo. | haec (L. Spengel cj. *haece*) propter Iupiter sunt ista quae dico tibi, | qua mortalis atque urbes (Bährens cj. *aeque turbas*) beluasque omnis iuvat.' The *étymon* 'Iupiter...qua...iuvat' is untranslatable.

[2] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 32 itaque qui dicit: cum sua concubuit Iuppiter matre, non incestas significat aut propudiosas Veneris complexiones, sed Iovem pro pluvia, pro tellure Cererem nominat. et qui rursus perhibet lascivias eum exercuisse cum filia, nihil de foedis voluptatibus loquitur, sed pro imbris nomine ponit Iovem, in filiae significatione sementem.

[3] Verg. *georg.* 2. 323 ff. With 325 f. tum pater omnipotens fecundis imbribus Aether | coniugis in gremium laetae descendit cp. *ecl.* 7. 60 Iupiter et laeto descendet plurimus imbri. Similarly *pervig. Ven.* 59 ff. cras erit quom primus Aether copulavit nuptias | vel pater totum creavit vernis annum nubibus: | in sinum maritus imber (*ib.* 4) fluxit almae coniugis, | unde fetus mixtus omnis aleret magno corpore—a passage containing obvious echoes of Virgil.

Virgil's description, according to J. Conington[1], was evidently suggested by certain lines of Lucretius:

> Lastly rain perishes
> When downward dropped by the sire, the Burning Sky,
> Into the bosom of mother Earth[2].

Lucretius in turn, according to H. A. J. Munro[3], may have had in view a remarkable fragment from the *Danaïdes* of Aischylos, in which Aphrodite says:

> The pure Sky yearns to pierce the soil, and Earth
> Yearns likewise for that wedlock. Whereupon
> Rain falls from the bridegroom Sky and wets the Earth;
> And she brings forth her brood for mortal men—
> Grass for their sheep and grain, Demeter's gift,
> While trees from that same watery brilliance grow
> Their fruits to fullness. And I help them all[4].

But indeed the thought was a commonplace in classical poetry[5]. Euripides in words often cited by ancient writers expresses it thus:

> Earth yearns for rain, whenever her parched field
> Lacks moisture and a drought destroys the corn.
> The great Sky filled with rain is fain to fall
> Into the Earth through Aphrodite's might.
> Soon as the two are one, they generate
> And nurture for our sake all things whereby
> The race of mortal man may live and thrive[6].

[1] J. Conington on Verg. *georg.* 2. 325.

[2] Lucr. 1. 250 f. postremo pereunt imbres, ubi eos pater Aether | in gremium matris Terrai praecipitavit. Cp. the Lucretian colouring of a fine passage in Colum. *de re rust.* 10. 204 ff. maximus ipse deum posito iam fulmine fallax | Acrisioneos veteres imitatur amores | inque sinus matris violento depluit imbre. | nec genetrix nati nunc aspernatur amorem, | sed patitur nexus flammata cupidine tellus. | hinc maria, hinc montes, hinc totus denique mundus | ver agit: etc. (note 218 rerum causas).

[3] H. A. J. Munro on Lucr. 1. 250.

[4] Aisch. *Danaïdes frag.* 44 Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 600 A—B and Eustath. *in Il.* p. 978, 25 ff. *ἐρᾷ μὲν ἀγνὸς οὐρανὸς τρῶσαι* (H. Grotius cj. *τρῆσαι*, B. Heath cj. *χρῶσαι*) *χθόνα,* | *ἔρως δὲ γαῖαν λαμβάνει γάμου τυχεῖν·* | *ὄμβρος δ' ἀπ' εὐνατῆρος* (so A. Nauck for *εὐνάεντος* Athen. *εὐνάοντος* Eustath.) *οὐρανοῦ πεσὼν* | *ἔδευσε* (so B. Heath for *ἔκυσε* codd.) *γαῖαν·* *ἡ δὲ τίκτεται βροτοῖς* | *μήλων τε βοσκὰς καὶ βίον Δημήτριον·* | *δένδρων ὀπώρα* (so J. A. Hartung for *δένδρων τις ὥρα* codd. J. G. J. Hermann cj. *δενδρῶτις ὡρα*) *δ' ἐκ νοτίζοντος γάνους* | *τέλειός ἐστι. τῶνδ' ἐγὼ παραίτιος.*

[5] Plout. *amator.* 24 *οὕτω γὰρ ἐρᾶν ὄμβρου γαῖαν οἱ ποιηταὶ λέγουσι καὶ γῆς οὐρανόν.*

[6] Eur. *frag.* 898, 7 ff. Nauck[2] *ap.* Athen. 600 A, Stob. *ecl.* 1. 9. 1 p. 111, 17 ff. Wachsmuth, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 978, 22 ff., *alib.* *ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρου γαῖ', ὅταν ξηρὸν πέδον|* *ἄκαρπον αὐχμῷ νοτίδος ἐνδεῶς ἔχῃ·* | *ἐρᾷ δ' ὁ σεμνὸς οὐρανὸς πληρούμενος* | *ὄμβρου πεσεῖν εἰς γαῖαν Ἀφροδίτης ὕπο·* | *ὅταν δὲ συμμιχθῆτον ἐς ταὐτὸν δύο,* | *φύουσιν ἡμῖν* (*τίκτουσί μιν i.e. τίκτουσιν ἡμῖν* Stob.) *πάντα καὶ τρέφουσ' (καὶ ἐκτρέφουσ' i.e. κἀκτρέφουσ'* Stob.) *ἅμα,* | *δι' ὧν* (*ὅθεν* cod. P. Stob. *ὅθεν καὶ* cod. F. Stob.) *βρότειον ζῆν τε καὶ θάλλει γένος.* Cp. Menand. *frag. fab. incert.* 440 Meineke *ap.* schol. Hes. *theog.* 138 *ἐρᾷ μὲν ὄμβρων γαῖα.*

An equally famous passage from the *Chrysippos* of the same poet expands the idea:

> Mightiest Earth and Burning Sky of Zeus—
> He was the sire of men and gods alike,
> And she from him received
> The pelting watery drops
> And mortals bare, bare too both blade and beast,
> Wherefore aright we deem her mother of all.
> Yea, and the things that spring
> From Earth to Earth return,
> But such as grow from seed aetherial
> Home again go to the very height of heaven.
> Nothing that lives shall die,
> But, scattered now by this and now by that,
> Put on fresh forms of immortality[1].

Vitruvius informs us that Euripides took these views—views which left a lasting trace on the poetic thought of Rome—from the philosopher Anaxagoras[2]. But if so, it is merely one more case of Greek philosophy starting from the premises of folk-belief[3]. And that belief I take to have been that the rain falling from the sky was in very truth the seed of the sky-god.

Nowhere, perhaps, is this put more simply than in Proklos' commentary on the *Timaios* of Platon. After remarking that Orpheus speaks of the Earth as the first bride and of her union with the Sky as the very first marriage[4], he proceeds: 'The ordinances of the Athenians were aware of this, when they bade the preliminary marriage sacrifice be offered to Sky and Earth. It was with the same intent that at the Eleusinian rites they looked up to the Sky and shouted *hýe*, "rain," then down to the Earth and added *kýe*, "conceive": they realised, in fact, that all things spring from Sky and Earth as from a father and a mother[5].'

[1] Eur. *Chrysippos frag.* 839 Nauck[2] *ap.* Sext. *adv. mus.* 6. 17, Philon. *de incorr. mundi* 11, *de mundo* 11, *alib.* Γαῖα μεγίστη καὶ Διὸς Αἰθήρ, | ὁ μὲν ἀνθρώπων καὶ θεῶν γενέτωρ, | ἡ δ' ὑγροβόλους (J. Toup cj. ὑγρόβολος) σταγόνας νοτίας | παραδεξαμένη τίκτει θνητούς, | τίκτει βοτάνην (E. Müller cj. βοτάναν for βοράν codd.) φῦλά τε θηρῶν· | ὅθεν οὐκ ἀδίκως | μήτηρ πάντων νενόμισται. | χωρεῖ δ' ὀπίσω | τὰ μὲν ἐκ γαίας φύντ' εἰς γαῖαν, | τὰ δ' ἀπ' αἰθερίου βλαστόντα γονῆς | εἰς οὐράνιον πάλιν ἦλθε πόλον· | θνήσκει δ' οὐδὲν τῶν γιγνομένων, | διακρινόμενον δ' ἄλλο πρὸς ἄλλου | μορφὴν ἑτέραν ἀπέδειξεν. This passage was translated by Lucr. 2. 991 ff. (cp. *ib.* 5. 318 ff.) and paraphrased by Pacuv. *Chryses frag.* 6 Ribbeck. *Supra* i. 26.

[2] Vitr. 8 *praef.* 1. See also Aët. 5. 19. 3 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 430 a 10 ff., *id. Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 i. 398, 9 ff.

[3] *Supra* i. 11, 27 ff., 282 n. 7, 310 f., 357 n. 4, ii. 222 n. 1, 505 n. 1, 672 n. 1, 805 n. 6, 1132 n. 3, etc. For a fine expansion of the theme see Prof. F. M. Cornford's stimulating book *From Religion to Philosophy* London 1912.

[4] Orph. *frag.* 112 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* 40 E (iii. 176, 10 ff. Diehl).

[5] Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* 40 E (iii. 176, 26 ff. Diehl) cited *supra* p. 299 n. 2.

iii. The myth of Danaë and analogous myths.

The belief enunciated in the foregoing paragraph explains more than one incident belonging to an early stratum of Greek mythology[1].

Thus it was as a fall of golden rain that Zeus visited Danaë[2]. Apart from a few stray allusions[3], the oldest version of her myth is that given by Pherekydes of Athens, an ancient logographer who drew from epic sources[4]. His narrative is preserved by the learned scholiast on Apollonios Rhodios in the following form[5]:

'Pherekydes in his second book tells how Akrisios married Eurydike, daughter of Lakedaimon. They had a child, Danaë. But when her father consulted the oracle about male offspring, the god at Pytho replied that a son would be born, not to him but to his daughter, and that he himself would be slain by that son. Thereupon Akrisios returned to Argos and made an underground chamber of bronze in the courtyard of his house[6]. Here he brought Danaë with a nurse, and kept watch over her lest she should give birth to a son. But Zeus was enamoured of the maiden and poured from the roof in the likeness of gold. She received it in her bosom; and Zeus manifesting himself had intercourse with the maiden[7]. They had a son, Perseus. Danaë and the nurse reared him unbeknown to Akrisios. But when Perseus was three or four years old, Akrisios heard the voice of the child at play, and sent his servants to fetch Danaë and the nurse. The latter he slew. The former with the child he brought to the altar of Zeus *Herkeîos*, and asked her privily whence came the boy. She said "From Zeus." He did not believe it, but put her and the boy into a chest, shut the lid, and cast it into the sea. They drifted to the island of Seriphos, and there Diktys the son of Peristhenes when fishing with a net (*díktyon*) drew them to land. Then Danaë begged him to open the chest. He did so, and on hearing who they were took them to his home and brought them up as his own kith and kin.'

[1] *Supra* p. 364. See now M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932 p. 41 f.

[2] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 946—949, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 187 n. 6, J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2084—2087, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 229 ff., H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 pp. 272, 284 n. 61.

[3] *Il.* 14. 319 f., Hes. *sc. Her.* 216 ff., Hekat. *frag.* 358 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 29 Müller) = *frag.* 21 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 13 Jacoby) *ap.* Herodian. *περὶ μον. λεξ.* p. 912, 25 f. *εἰ δέ τις λέγοι καὶ ἡ Δανᾶ οὕτως εἴρηται παρ' Ἑκαταίῳ, "τῇ Δανᾷ μίσγεται Ζεύς," κ.τ.λ.*

[4] Precise date uncertain: see W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 711 n. 1.

[5] Pherekyd. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 75 Müller) = *frag.* 10 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 61 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1091. Cp. Eudok. *viol.* 40, Favorin. *lex.* p. 98, 43 ff., and the other secondary authorities cited by J. Escher-Bürkli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2085.

[6] *ὁ δὲ ἀναχωρήσας εἰς "Αργος θάλαμον ποιεῖ χαλκοῦν ἐν τῇ αὐλῇ τῆς οἰκίας κατὰ γῆς, ἔνθα κ.τ.λ.*

[7] *ἐρασθεὶς δὲ Ζεὺς παιδὸς ἐκ τοῦ ὀρόφου χρυσῷ παραπλήσιος ῥεῖ. ἡ δὲ ὑποδέχεται τῷ κόλπῳ, καὶ ἐκφήνας αὐτὸν ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ παιδὶ μίγνυται.*

The myth combines the episode of the golden rain with that of the floating coffer—a folk-tale *motif* which we have already had occasion to notice[1]. Both subjects are represented (figs. 293, 294) on a red-figured *kratér* in the Hermitage[2], found at Caere and attributed to the 'Foundry Painter[3]' or to the 'Triptolemos Painter[4].' In either case the artist must have been at work between 490 and 470 B.C.[5], a period when the relations of Athens to Persia might well quicken Athenian interest in the story of Perseus. The obverse shows Danaë sitting at the foot-end of a richly decorated couch and looking up in amazement as the long brown drops descend upon her. Mirror and *sákkos* hanging on the wall imply that this is her private bower.

The reverse gives the moment when the carpenter with mallet and bow-drill (?)[6] is putting the last touches to the chest, and

In Soph. *frag. incert.* 1026 Nauck[2], 1127 Jebb *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 401, 10 ff. Stählin (quoted by Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 38) Zeus as consort of Danaë is χρυσόμορφος. Was it a confused subconscious reminiscence (see the *Class. Rev.* 1902 xvi. 258 ff.) of this epithet that led Lyk. *Al.* 838 to call Perseus τὸν χρυσόπατρον μόρφνον?

[1] *Supra* ii. 671 n. 4. See also A. Taylor 'Aussetzung im Boot' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 155 f.

[2] Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 281 f. no. 1723. To the bibliography given *supra* ii. 1155 n. 9 no. (1) add J. E. Harrison & D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 25 (Brygos) pl. 34, 1 and 2, P. Perdrizet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 706 fig. 4229. My figs. 293 and 294 are reproduced from E. Gerhard *Danae ein griechisches Vasenbild* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xiv) Berlin 1854 pp. 1—10 with col. pl. But note the express statement of Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 282 'Von der angeblich vorhandenen Namensbeischrift des Akrisios ist auch nicht die leiseste Spur zu bemerken'.

[3] P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 395 f. ('Der Meister mit dem Liebling Diogenes'), J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 94. So also Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 458 f. no. 17 and R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 271 n. 1.

[4] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 152 f. no. 14, p. 186.

[5] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192.

[6] Opinions differ as to what the carpenter is doing. G. P. Campana in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1845 p. 216: 'è intento alla sua opera adoperandosi col trapano a formare un foro nella cassa all' oggetto di chiuderla e di connetterla col coperchio, il quale scorgesi ancora semiaperto e prossimo a calare.' R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 192 (the vase is described p. 189 ff. and the reverse figured pp. 181, 225): 'qui, penché en avant sur le *coffre*, est tout occupé à y pratiquer, à l'aide de la tarière ou du foret qu'il fait mouvoir de ses deux mains, un trou propre à y ajuster le couvercle.' Gerhard *op. cit.* p. 2: 'beschäftigt, mit beiden ausgestreckten Händen, deren eine einen Stab hält, etwa ein durch senkrechte Unterlage getragenes Schloss einzupassen.' Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* v. 280: 'Er setzt mit der Linken einen länglich viereckten Stöpsel mit einem schmäleren Ende auf den Kasten und hält daran mit der rechten, wie anpassend, einen unten und oben eigen zugeschnittnen Stab, fast von der ganzen Länge der Breite des Kastens, etwas schräg über diesen hin. Es muss diess, obgleich der Mechanismus selbst unbekannt ist, eine Art festen Verschlusses bedeuten,' etc. with n. 7 'Bohren eines Lochs ...scheint nicht ausgedrückt zu seyn: auch ist der Deckel, in welchen es gebohrt werden müsste, aufgesperrt. Dieser Nebenumstand ist völlig unklar.' Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 282:

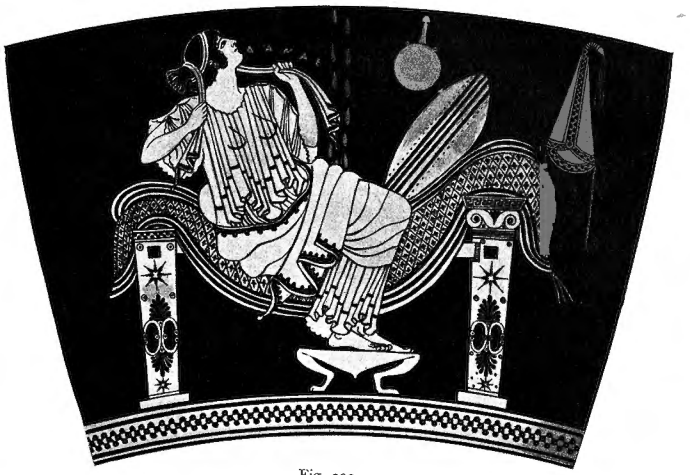


Fig. 293.

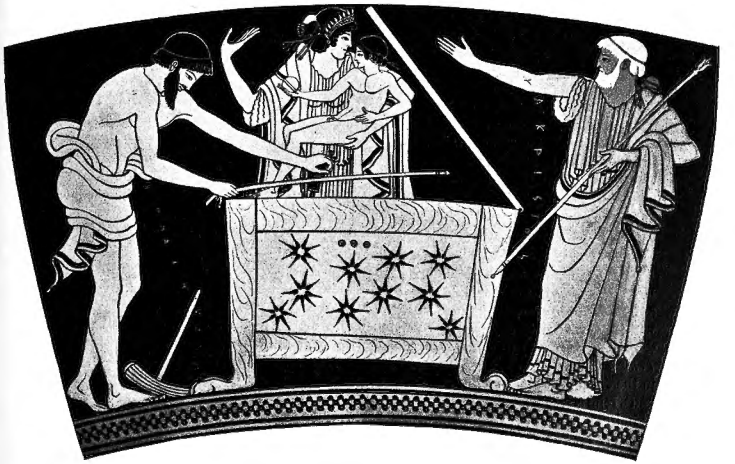


Fig. 294.

Akrisios bids him close the lid upon the protesting mother and her unheeding child[1]. The starry decoration of the chest was perhaps traditional, for it occurs with equal insistence on other representations of the same scene (pl. xxxviii, figs. 295[1], 296[2]). Indeed, it is tempting to conjecture that the star-spangled coffer was, by those who first designed it, felt to be the equivalent of a gilded coffin[3], fitting sequel of the star-spangled vault in which Akrisios had confined his daughter.

A red-figured *oinochóe* in the Louvre again has Danaë sitting alone and looking upwards at the shower that falls upon her[4]. But

'scheint mit einem Maasstab die Grösse der Lade zu messen.' Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 412: 'mit einem in seinen Einzelheiten unaufgeklärten Apparat an dem Kasten arbeitet, entweder Maass nehmend...oder den Verschluss herrichtend.' H. de Villefosse in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 120 with fig. 453: 'un menuisier creuse un trou dans une des traverses du coffre en bois' etc., cp. H. Heydemann 'Zur Danaevase (No. 1723) der Petersburger Ermitage' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxx. 37 f., who makes out a strong case for regarding the disputed tool as a 'Drillbohrer' or '*wimble*'—Campana's original interpretation.

[1] There is a further difference of opinion as to whether mother and child are standing behind the chest (Welcker *op. cit.* v. 279) or already within it (R. Rochette *op. cit.* p. 191, Gerhard *op. cit.* p. 2, Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 281 f., Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 412). The former view is supported by the analogy of a red-figured *stámnos* from Caere now in the Hermitage (Stephani *op. cit.* ii. 139 ff. no. 1357. Bibliography *supra* ii. 1155 n. 9 (2). My fig. 295 is from the *Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst.* 1856 pl. 8) and a red-figured *hydría* at Boston (*Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts* Boston 1914 xii. 6 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 51 f. (attributed to the 'Painter of the Diogenes Amphora') fig. 32=my pl. xxxviii, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 206 no. 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 111 (attributed to the Painter of the Munich Amphora 2303): both vases belong to the decade 490—480 B.C. and involve the same *personnel*—Akrisios, the carpenter, Danaë, Perseus, the nurse (hardly Eurydike). The latter view relies on another red-figured *hydría* at Boston (P. Hartwig in the *Mon. Piot* 1903 x. 55—59 pl. 8, R. Engelmann in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 166 fig. 75, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 162, *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 364 no. 5 (attributed to the 'Danaemaler')), on the fragment of a red-figured bell-*krater* (?) formerly in Deepdene (E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 81 no. 137 pl. 22 'Danae and Perseus in the chest....The fragment dates about 450 B.C. Beazley approaches it to the work of the Painter of tbe Boston Phiale'), and on the vase recorded in the following note.

[2] A red-figured *kotýle* of 'Italiote' style (J. D. Beazley *Greek Vases in Poland* Oxford 1928 p. 73 n. 0) from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 479 f. no. 3140, A. de Jorio in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1825 ii pl. 30, 4 (=my fig. 296) with p. 3 f. (Astyanax hidden in a tomb by his mother Andromeda *sic*), E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1844 ii. 268 f. (Tenes and Hemithea), R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 196 (Perseus and Danaë), J. Overbeck 'Über die Lade des Kypselos' in the *Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1865 iv. 612 (24) no. 12 (Tennes and Hemithea), E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 362 fig. 454 (Tennes and Hemithea)).

[3] *Il.* 24. 795 καὶ τά γε (*sc.* ὀστέα) χρυσείην ἐς λάρνακα θῆκαν ἑλόντες. The word λάρναξ can mean 'coffin' as well as 'coffer.'

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 407 no. 2. Unpublished.

Hydría at Boston :
The carpenter completes the chest in the presence of Akrisios, Danaë, and the nurse holding the infant Perseus.

See page 458 *n.* 1.

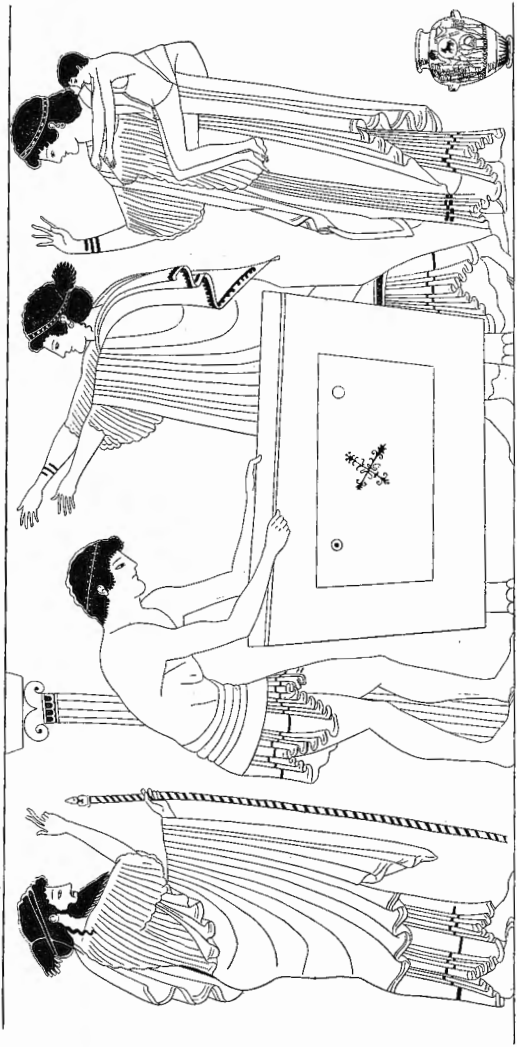


Fig. 295.

an *aryballos* of late, crude style, found in Kyrenaïke and now in London (fig. 297)[1], complicates the scene by the addition of Eros moving away with a gesture of encouragement on the right, and an attendant woman—presumably the nurse of Pherekydes' narrative—struck with wonder on the left. The painter has here used actual gilding to denote the golden drops.

Nikias of Athens, an artist who flourished *c.* 350—300 B.C.[2] and was famous at once for his careful rendering of women and his skilful *chiaroscuro*[3], must have found in Danaë a congenial subject. Tiberius is said to have dedicated this masterpiece, along with the same artist's Hyakinthos, in the temple of Augustus at Rome[4]. Not

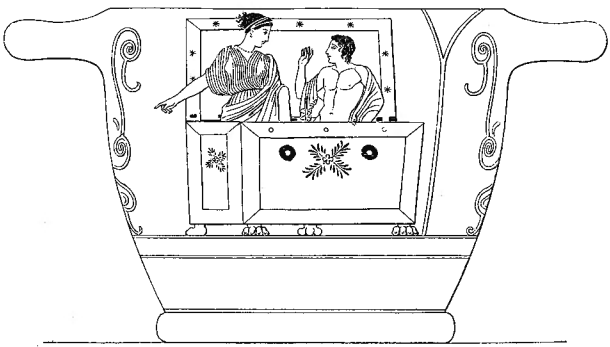


Fig. 296.

improbably[5] Danaë was depicted sitting on the nuptial couch and receiving the gold in her lap, as she did in a painting described by Terence[6] (or by Menandros whom Terence copied[7]). Martial's epigram

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 351 f. no. E 711, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 407 no. 3. Hitherto unpublished. My fig. 297 is from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr F. N. Pryce.

[2] A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 286.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 130 f.

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 131.

[5] A. Reinach *op. cit.* i. 288 n. 1.

[6] Ter. *Eun.* 583 ff. dum adparatur, virgo in conclavi sedet | suspectans tabulam quandam pictam ; ibi inerat pictura haec, Iovem | quo pacto Danaae misisse aiunt quondam in gremium imbrem aureum. | egomet quoque id spectare coepi : et qui consimilem luserat | iam olim ille ludum, inpendio magis animus gaudebat mihi, | deum sese in hominem convortisse atque in alienas tegulas | venisse clanculum per pluvium fucum factum mulieri. | at quem deum ! qui templa caeli summa sonitu concutit. | ego homuncio hoc non facerem ? ego illud vero item feci ac lubens.

[7] M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1898 i. 82.

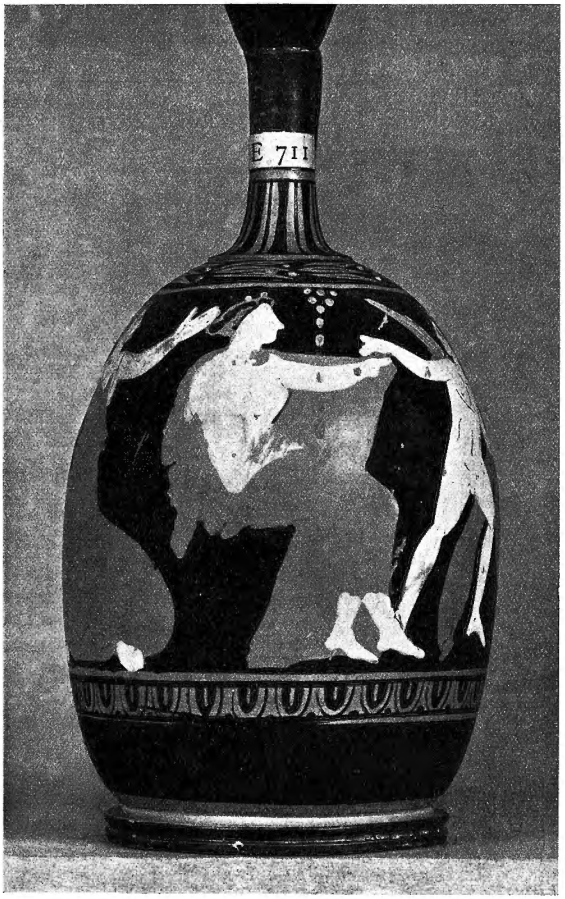


Fig. 297.

on a picture of Danaë[1] may well refer to the work of Nikias, with which the poet must have been familiar. But certainty is unattainable.

Variations on the same theme occur in Pompeian art[2]. The simplest and finest of these, which—I should suppose—perpetuates the scheme of Nikias with the addition of a conventional[3] landscape background, is a fresco from the *Casa di Pansa* (fig. 298)[4]. Danaë, recumbent, is half-draped in a purple garment. Zeus is represented

Fig. 298.

[1] Mart. *ep.* 14. 175 *Danaë picta.* cur a te pretium Danaë, regnator Olympi, | accepit, gratis si tibi Leda dedit?

[2] F. Knatz *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnae 1893 p. 7 gives a list of four paintings, which—along with others of more doubtful interpretation—are figured in Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 nos. 2, 4, 7 and p. 11 no. 1.

[3] Hardly to be explained from Hyg. *fab.* 63 Acrisius eam in muro lapideo praeclusit.

[4] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 34 no. 115, G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1825 ii pl. 36, 1 (=my fig. 298) with text pp. 2—4, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iii Peintures 2e Série p. 57 f. pl. 122, W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1829 i pl. 68, 1 (inexact —see Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 407 f. no. 4).

only by the golden drops that fall from the sky upon her bare body. Another fresco, in the *Casa della Regina Margherita* (fig. 299)[1], shows Danaë seated on a couch within her chamber. She has a golden fillet in her hair, a bosom-band round her breast, and wrapped about

Fig. 299.

her right leg a *himátion*, which she lifts with both hands to catch the descending shower. Side by side with her on the same couch

[1] E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 167 f. with fig. 4 (in half-tone), Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 187 (=my fig. 299), Text p. 254 f., cp. A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*[6] Leipzig 1928 p. 43 (*Reg.* v. 2. 1).

sits a youthful beardless (?) Zeus with golden bay(?)-wreath, long sceptre, and reddish violet *himátion*— a kingly presence, but illogically

Fig. 300.

combined with the rain into which he had transformed himself. Perhaps he is to be thought of as not yet made manifest; for he

does not look at Danaë, nor Danaë at him. A third picture, from the *Casa della Caccia*, now at Naples (fig. 300)[1], imports fresh *motifs*. The advent of the god is symbolised by a great winged thunderbolt, which falls upon a neighbouring block. Danaë—to match a pendant figure of Leda[2]—stands erect, while a hovering Eros shoots the golden rain at her out of a big *amphora* on his shoulder. These

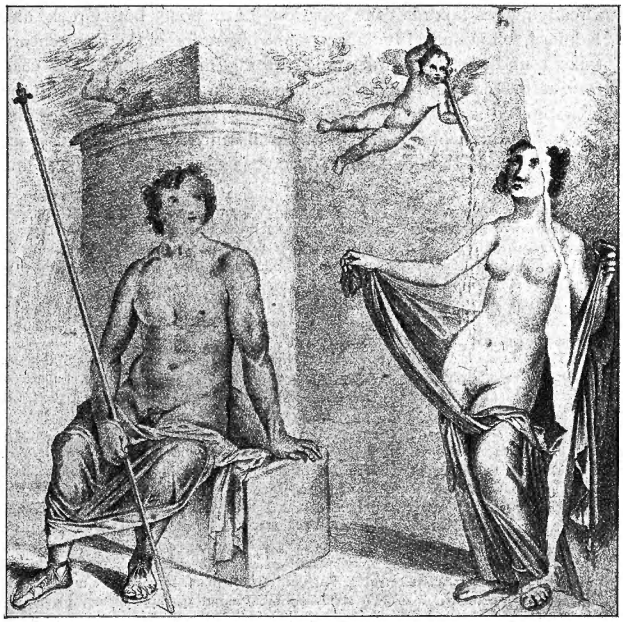


Fig. 301.

innovations are none too happy. The painter, however, had an eye for colour: the heroine's hair is dark, her snood rosy-red, her fluttering

[1] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 35 no. 116, B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 21, 2 with text pp. 1—3, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 408 no. 5 Atlas pl. 7, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 66 f. pl. 6, 6, *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 342 f. no. 1444, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 188 (= my fig. 300) Text p. 256, cp. A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*[6] Leipzig 1928 p. 251 (*Reg.* vii. 4. 48).

[2] A point noted by Herrmann *op. cit.* p. 256 n. 1.

himátion yellow with green lining and deep violet shadows. Yet another fresco, in the House of M. Gavius Rufus (fig. 301)[1], unites the standing Danaë and the hovering Eros with the youthful (?) seated Zeus in a novel, but thoroughly unsatisfactory, whole.

Zeus changing himself into a lapful of gold in order to win his *innamorata* was a subject not likely to escape the notice of comedians, rationalists, and moralising expositors. Terence (or Menandros?)[2] already makes capital of the situation. Latin poets, both Greek[3] and Roman[4], follow suit. Prudentius at the beginning of the fifth century talks roundly of the crafty god turning himself into hard cash (*nummi*)[5]. Indeed, the gibe had long been a commonplace with the Christian fathers[6] and is the accepted explanation of belated allegorists[7]. Small wonder, then, that Renaissance and *post*-Renaissance art perpetuated the libellous tradition[8]. Titian harped on the theme

[1] Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 454, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 21 no. 75, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 602 Atlas pl. 7, 2 ('Nach Zeichnung Marianis vom Original') (=my fig. 301), Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* p. 254 f. fig. 76 ('nach einer Zeichnung im römischen Institut'...'von L. Schulz'), cp. A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*[6] Leipzig 1928 p. 74 (*Reg.* vii. 2. 16).

[2] *Supra* p. 460 n. 7.

[3] *Anth. Pal.* 5. 30. 5 f. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), 5. 32. 1 f. and 5. 33. 1 f. (Parmenion), 5. 216. 1 ff. (Paulus Silentiarius).

[4] Hor. *od.* 3. 16. 1 ff. with Acr. and Porphyr. *ad loc.*, *Aetna* 90, Ov. *am.* 3. 8. 29 ff., Petron. *sat.* 137. 9, Mart. *ep.* 14. 175 (quoted *supra* p. 462 n. 1), Sulpic. Luperc. *de cupiditate* 7 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 108 Baehrens), Rutil. Namat. *de reditu suo* i. 360 (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 17 Baehrens).

[5] Prudent. *c. Symm.* 1. 78 et nummos fieri et gremium penetrare puellae.

[6] Tert. *apol.* 21 amatorem in auro conversum Danaidis with J. E. B. Mayor *ad loc.*, Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 Danaen violaturus aureos nummos largiter in sinum eius infudit, haec stupri merces fuit, Epiphan. *ancor.* 105 (i. 208 Dindorf) πρὸς Δανάην δὲ χρυσὸς ἐγίνετο, ἵνα παρθένον σώφρονα θαλαμευομένην φθείρῃ. χρυσὸς δὲ ἐκεῖνος οὐκ ἠδύνατο γενέσθαι ποτε, ἀλλὰ γόης ὢν διὰ χρυσοῦ δωροδοκῶν τὴν παρθένον ἠπάτησε, Hieron. *adv. Rufin.* 3. 4 (xxiii. 481 A Migne) habes enim, per quod Danaes est victa pudicitia, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 18. 13 (=Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 35) vel Danaes per imbrem aureum adpetisse concubitum, ubi intellegitur pudicitia mulieris auro fuisse corrupta, Fulgent. *myth.* 1 praef. 20 nec imbre mendaci lusa [Danae] virgo cantatur, 1. 19 dum et Danae imbre aurato corrupta est non pluvia, sed pecunia, Columbanus (abbot of Luxeuil and Bobbio, died 615 (?) A.D.) *carm.* 3. 61 ff. (in M. H. Goldast *Paraeneticorum veterum* pars i Insulae, Ad lacum Acronium 1604 p. 54 f.) Femina sæpe | Perdit ob aurum | Casta pudorem. | Non Iouis auri | Fluxit in imbre, | Sed quod adulter | Obtulit aurum, | Aureus ille | Fingitur imber.

[7] Bruttius *frag.* 1 (*Hist. Rom. frag.* p. 375 f. Peter) *ap.* Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 34 f. Dindorf=the *Chronicon Paschale* 38 C—D (i. 69 Dindorf), Myth. Vat. 1. 157, 3. 3. 5. Cp. an anonymous twelfth-century poem in rime headed *hic ostendit, qualiter Jupiter corrupit Danen* [sic] *in specie auri* (printed from cod. Vat. Christ. 344 by W. Wattenbach in the *Zeitschrift für deutsches Alterthum* 1875 xviii. 457—460) st. 26 Gutta super virginem labitur aurata, | in qua dei facies erat transformata; | ymbribus est interim turris irrorata, | et hiis sua fraudibus fraus est tunicata.

[8] J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1904 pp. 39—46.

On the other hand, F. Piper *Mythologie und Symbolik der christlichen Kunst* Weimar

A Roman mosaic from Palermo: the amours of Zeus—Antiope, Danaë, Leda.

See page 467.

and attempted several variations of it. At Naples[1] Cupid raises a deprecating hand as he escapes across the foot of the couch. At Madrid[2] and Petrograd[3] the face of Jove is half-seen amid the clouds and an attendant duenna tries to catch some of the gold in her apron. At Vienna[4] (fig. 302) the god's face again peeps through the clouds, while the old crone holds an alms-dish to take the collection. Finally, Van Dyck's Danaë at Dresden[5] (fig. 303) extends her arms towards a shower, not only of coined money, but of chains, rings, and trinkets. So the heroine, who began by adorning a tale, ends by pointing a moral.

Little is added to our understanding of the myth by other representations of it in ancient art[6]. A fine Roman mosaic, found at Palermo in 1869 and dating perhaps from the early part of *s.* ii A.D., figures side by side three amatory exploits of the sky-god[7]: on the left he woos Antiope as a Satyr (*supra* i. 735 fig. 541), on the right he courts Leda as a swan, and in the centre he falls as a golden shower upon Danaë (pl. xxxix)[8]. Another great mosaic, at *Ouled Agla*

1847 i. 155 f. draws attention to the *Defensorium inviolatae virginitatis b. Mariae virginis*, a work compiled by the Dominican Franciscus de Retza (professor of theology at Vienna in 1388), in which various classical parallels to the immaculate conception are adduced and illustrated: 'So erscheint in dem einen Bilde die Danaë hinter einem vergitterten Fenster stehend, wie sie von den goldenen Strahlen des Halbmondes beschienen wird,—mit der Unterschrift: Si Dana(e) auri pluvia praegnans a Jove claret, | Cur spiritu sancto gravida virgo non generaret.' See F. Jacobs—F. A. Ukert *Beiträge zur ältern Litteratur oder Merkwürdigkeiten der Herzogl. öffentlichen Bibliothek zu Gotha* Leipzig 1835 i. 112 (leaf *T* fig. 1 of this xylographic work).

[1] J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *The Life and Times of Titian*[2] London 1881 ii. 119 ff., J. Addison *op. cit.* p. 41 ff., C. Ricketts *Titian* London 1910 pp. 110 f., 115, 130 pl. 100, O. Fischel *Tizian: des Meisters Gemälde*[3] Stuttgart (1930) pls. 130 and 131 (detail), Reinach *Rép. Peintures* vi. 199. Painted for Ottavio Farnese in 1545.

[2] J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *op. cit.*[2] ii. 227 ff., C. Ricketts *op. cit.* pp. 92, 130 f., 134 pl. 127, O. Fischel *op. cit.*[3] pl. 186, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 724, 1. Painted for the Prince of Spain in 1554.

[3] J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *op. cit.*[2] ii. 229 f. with pl., J. Addison *op. cit.* p. 41, C. Ricketts *op. cit.* p. 132, O. Fischel *op cit.*[3] pl. 187, 2, Reinach *op. cit.* ii. 724, 2.

[4] J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *op. cit.*[2] ii. 229 f. ('perhaps not carried out without assistance from Cesare Vecelli, or Girolamo'), J. Addison *op. cit.* p. 40 f. ('The finest, in modelling, chiaroscuro, and atmosphere'), C. Ricketts *op. cit.* p. 132 ('perhaps by Orazio'), O. Fischel *op. cit.*[3] pl. 187, 1. Fig. 302 is from the *Kunsthistorische Sammlungen des allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses: Die Gemälde Galerie Alte Meister* Wien 1896 p. 55 no. 174 with pl.

[5] J. Addison *op. cit.* p. 44 f. Fig. 303 is from H. Knackfuss *Van Dyck* London 1899 p. 40 with fig. 27.

[6] F. Knatz *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnae 1893 p. 7 f.

[7] H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1869 xxvii. 38—40.

[8] J. Overbeck in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1873 p. 126 pl. 2 (part of which = my pl. xxxix).

Fig. 302.

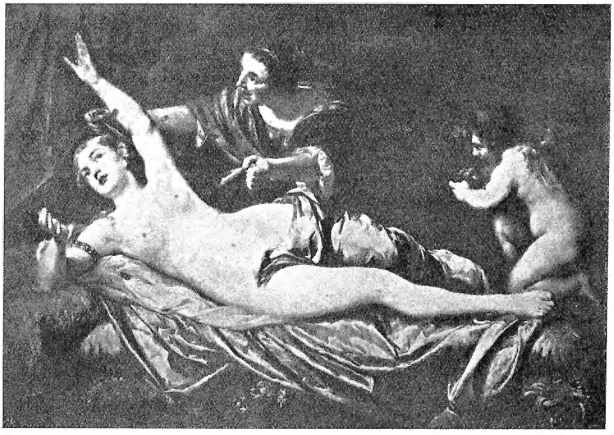


Fig. 303.

(Equizetum?)[1] in Mauretania Sitifensis, again shows a series of the canonical amours: Zeus with Ganymedes and eagle occupies the middle of an oblong composition, being flanked on the left by the swan with Leda (mostly missing) and the Satyr with Antiope, on the right by the golden rain with Danaë and the bull with Europe (fig. 304)[2].

Intaglios with their smaller field have room only[3] for the isolated

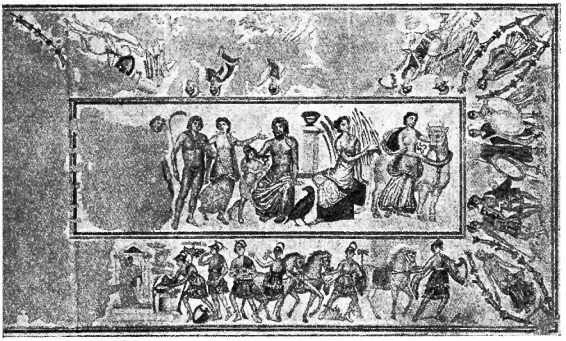


Fig. 304.

[1] P. Gauckler in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 2109. But see H. Dessau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 324.

[2] S. Gsell in the *Recueil des notices et mémoires de la Société archéologique du département de Constantine* Constantine 1892 xxvii. 230 ff. with pl. (part of which = my fig. 304) after a large col. pl. from a water-colour drawing by M. Orengo, *id. Les monuments antiques de l'Algérie* Paris 1901 ii. 108 no. 41, Lt. Bernard in the *Bulletin archéologique du Comité des travaux historiques et scientifiques* Paris 1906 p. 7 pl. 12, 3, F. G. de Pachtère *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique: Algérie* Paris 1911 no. 319, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 no. 1.

[3] A cornelian at Florence (A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum: Gemmae antiquae* Florentiae 1731 i. 109 f. pl. 56, 4 'ex Mus. Med.' = Reinach *Pierres gravées* p. 32 no. 56, 4 pl. 28, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 26 f. pl. 3, 48 (reversed) = my fig. 305) is justly condemned by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 411: 'Es ist ja Thatsache, der Stein ist in seiner Echtheit noch nicht bezweifelt worden, ja selbst von einem so strengen Kenner wie Stephani unangefochten geblieben und dennoch scheint er Nichts als ein Pasticcio zu sein, zusammengesetzt aus einer gedankenlosen Copie der kauernden Aphrodite, einer Reminiscenz des Juppiter Pluvius der Antoninssäule, einem Ledaschwan, den vielleicht grade der Blitz als den verwandelten Zeus bezeichnen soll, und endlich einer viereckigen Badewanne, für welche schwerlich ein antikes Vorbild nachweisbar ist und dessen garstige grade Aussenflächen der Steinschneider vergebens durch etliche knopfförmige Rosetten aus der Werkstatt des Meisters Drechsler zu beleben versucht hat.'

Fig. 305.

figure of Danaë receiving the celestial shower. A silver ring at Boston, Greek work of *s.* v B.C., shows her standing with upturned face as she holds out her *himátion* to catch the falling drops: behind her is inscribed her name (fig. 306)[1]. A fifth-century scaraboid of red jasper with white stripes, formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection and now likewise at Boston, makes her sit the while on a two-cushioned bed (fig. 307)[2]. An amethyst from the cabinet of Baron von Gleichen has her, almost nude, in the attitude of a crouching Aphrodite, raising her hands to the small rounded rain-drops (fig. 308)[3]. And a fourth-century chalcedony of unknown ownership

Fig. 306.

Fig. 307.

Fig. 308.

Fig. 309.

Fig. 310.

Fig. 311.

[1] Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 47, 2 (=my fig. 306) p. 175.

[2] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 61, 36, ii. 275, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 47, 3 (=my fig. 307) p. 175.

[3] P. D. Lippert *Dactyliothek* Erstes Mythologisches Tausend Leipzig 1767 p. 12 no. 28, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 27 pl. 3, 48[a] (=my fig. 308), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 409 Gemmentaf. 5, 4, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 67 pl. 6, 7.

leaves the drops to our imagination, but gives us a Maenad-like Danaë sitting on a stool, with bare breast and wide-flung mantle, as she turns her face towards the sky (fig. 309)[1]. The last two gems attest the all-pervading influence of such popular types as those of Doidalses' Aphrodite and Skopas' Maenad.

Finally, a bronze coin of Argos, struck by Hadrian (fig. 311)[2], represents Danaë seated on a throne, her head thrown back, her breast bared, and her garment held wide in the same significant manner.

The episode of the floating coffer found its highest expression, not in art[3], but in literature[4]. Simonides of Keos, perhaps in one of his *thrênoi*[5], limned the scene with exquisite skill[6]:

When in the well-wrought chest
She felt the blowing wind and moving mere,
She cowered in tearful terror and
Round Perseus cast a loving hand:
'Child, I am sore distrest.
But thou, a baby-boy, art slumbering here
In this same comfortless bronze-bolted bark,
Stretched out 'neath starlit night and the blue dark.
The brine that passes higher than thy hair
Thou heedest not, nor dost thou even hark
The whistling wind; but lo, thou liest there
To the crimson cloak turning thy forehead fair.
If terrors had been terrible to thee,
Thy tiny ear had listened unto me.
But now sleep babe, sleep surging sea,
Sleep all our trouble infinite.
Yet, Father Zeus, some better plight
Send; and if overbold this prayer I pray,
Forgive each wrongful word I say.'

[1] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 14, 25, ii. 68 ('Wohl Danae?'), Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 47, 1 (=my fig. 309) p. 175.

G. Sangiorgi in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1933 xlviii. 284—288 pl. 48, 4 (=my fig. 310) publishes an oval carbuncle, on which is engraved another half-draped Danaë, leaning on a pillar and holding out the upper part of her garment to catch the shower. Good work of *c.* 300 B.C.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 148 pl. 28, 11, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 41 pl. L, 49. My fig. 311 is from a cast.

[3] *Supra* p. 456 ff. See further F. Knatz *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnae 1893 pp. 8—10.

[4] P. Schwarz *De fabula Danaeia* Halis Saxonum 1881 p. 10 f.

[5] W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 516.

[6] Simon. *frag.* 37 Bergk[4], 13 Diehl, 27 Edmonds. I follow the text given by H. Weir Smyth (*frag.* 13) ed. London 1900. O. Schroeder 'Die Klage der Danaë' in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 358 f. discusses the metre.

Simonides' verses are of course merely a poet's elaboration of a mythical theme. But the Greek mind, even in the fifth century B.C., passed readily from myth to moral; and the tale of Danaë, like many another[1], could on occasion be made the vehicle of serious thought[2]. Later, it was not without its influence upon Christian legends[3].

[1] For an instructive example see W. Stechow *Apollo und Daphne* Leipzig—Berlin 1932 pp. 1—76 with 34 pls. [2] *Supra* p. 466 f.

[3] A. Wirth *Danae in christlichen Legenden* Wien 1892, reviewed by C. Schmidt in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1892 pp. 867—889 who agrees (p. 877) that the Danaë-myth has influenced the legends of S. Irene and S. Barbara. Cp. *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1680 Maius i. 721 F (*Synaxarium ex Menologio jussu Basilii Imperatoris collecto* Mai. 5) Εἰρήνη, ἡ τοῦ Χριστοῦ Μάρτυς, ἦν θυγάτηρ Λικινίου Βασιλίσκου· εὔμορφος δὲ ὑπάρχουσα, ἀπεκλείσθη παρὰ τοῦ πατρὸς αὐτῆς ἐν πύργῳ ὑψηλῷ, ἓξ ἐτῶν οὖσα, μετὰ δουλίδων δέκα καὶ τριῶν· ἐν ᾧ ἐδιδάχθη ὑπὸ θείου Ἀγγέλου τὰ μυστήρια τοῦ Θεοῦ. κ.σ.λ. (When baptised by Timothy, a disciple of S. Paul, she broke up her idols and cast them down. Her father in anger bound her to a wild horse, which bit off his arm but did not hurt her. Etc.), *ib.* Antverpiæ 1680 Maius ii. 4 F 'celebrata Constantinopoli,' F. G. Holweck *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* St. Louis, Mo. 1924 p. 508 ('a Byzantine martyr of the first century. According to a worthless legend she was instructed by angels and baptized by S. Timothy; she converted her parents, for which reason she was beheaded by command of the Propraetor Ampelianus at Ephesus, under Domitian or Trajan. Her relics were brought to Constantinople, where she once had three churches and was highly venerated. She may be identical with the "Irene" of Lecce and Southern Italy. The Greeks call her "Megalomartyr"....F[east] 5 May, full office in the Greek Church'), N. Nilles *Kalendarium manuale utriusque Ecclesiae Orientalis et Occidentalis* Œniponte 1896 i. 152, 1881 ii. 413 n. o. S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xv. 25 ff. Dec. 4 ('S. BARBARA, V.M. (A.D. 235)....Usuardus and Ado in their martyrologies make S. Barbara a martyr in Tuscany; Metaphrastes says she suffered at Heliopolis; Baronius, in the Roman Martyrology, sets her down as a martyr at Nicomedia. One authority is just as right as the other, for S. Barbara is a wholly mythical personage. There was once upon a time a very wealthy and noble Greek named Dioscorus, an idolater, who had a daughter so beautiful in face and form that he shut her up in a tower, very lofty and inaccessible, so that no man might see her, and that thus she might be kept out of mischief. According to one account, however, he allowed her to take lessons of masters, of advanced age, or, no doubt, of disagreeable appearance.' Her father, before departing on a long journey, built her a bath at the basement of her tower with two windows high up in the wall. On his return he was indignant to find that Barbara had insisted on the workmen making a third window. Taking these windows as her text, she preached to him the mystery of the Trinity. Dioscorus was furious; but, when he attacked her with his sword, the rock opened and received her into its bosom. Afterwards, directed by a wicked shepherd, her father found her and haled her by the hair to the chief magistrate, Marcian. When she refused to sacrifice to the gods, Marcian had her stripped and beaten, torn with iron combs, and hammered on the head. Juliana, a girl who pitied her, was arrested and treated in the same manner. Marcian then had the breasts of Barbara cut off, and gave orders that she should be led naked round the town. But Christ, in answer to her prayer, came from heaven and clothed her. Marcian finally gave sentence that Barbara and Juliana should be executed with the sword. 'On reaching the destined place, her father cut off her head, and Juliana suffered likewise. A flash of lightning fell and consumed Dioscorus, another flash reduced Marcian to a smoking ash-heap.' Accordingly S. Barbara is held to be the patroness of firearms, and is invoked against the lightning') with pl. of S. Barbara after the painting by Hans

All this, however, does not help us to grasp the original significance of Danaë and her golden shower. Recent investigators have attempted to explain the myth in terms of sun or shooting stars. Thus Sir James Frazer[1] writes:

'It has its counterpart in the legend which the Kirghiz of Siberia tell of their ancestry. A certain Khan had a fair daughter, whom he kept in a dark iron[2] house, that no man might see her. An old woman tended her; and when the girl was grown to maidenhood she asked the old woman, "Where do you go so often?" "My child," said the old dame, "there is a bright world. In that bright world your father and mother live, and all sorts of people live there. That is where I go." The maiden said, "Good mother, I will tell nobody, but shew me that bright world." So the old woman took the girl out of the iron house. But when she saw the bright world, the girl tottered and fainted; and the eye of God fell upon her, and she conceived. Her angry father put her in a golden chest and sent her floating away (fairy gold can float in fairyland) over the wide sea[3]. The shower of gold in the Greek story, and the eye of God in the Kirghiz legend, probably stand for sunlight and the sun.'

Sir James goes on to quote other legendary examples of impregnation by the sun[4]. But he does not meet the obvious objection that

Holbein the elder, one of the wings of the altarpiece of S. Sebastian, now in the Pinakothek at Munich, N. Nilles *op. cit.* i. 341, 464 f., 486, ii. 606, M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 p. 16.

But it should be observed that neither the tower of S. Irene nor the tower of S. Barbara was an underground structure of bronze or iron, and that the sequel did not in either case involve the *motif* of the Floating Coffer. The Danaë-myth was but one ingredient of the hagiographer's stirabout.

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 74.

[2] [For the same variation from bronze to iron see *supra* i. 632 n. 3 (the sky), 719 n. 2 (Talos). Alluding to Danaë, Prop. 2. 20. 11 f. has 'in te ego et aeratas rumpam, mea vita, catenas, | ferratam Danaes transiliamque domum' and Loukian. *Tim.* 13 says ἐν χαλκῷ ἢ σιδηρῷ τῷ θαλάμῳ καθάπερ τὴν Δανάην παρθενεύεσθαι (*id. dial. marin.* 12. 1 ἐπαρθένευεν ἐς χαλκοῦν τινα θάλαμον ἐμβαλών). Cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 136 ff. οὐ Δανάῃ παρίανε τὸ δεύτερον ὑέτιος Ζεύς, | ἀλλὰ σιδηροφόροιο (*an* σιδηρορόφοιο *legendum?* A. B. C.) μετὰ σφρηγῖδα μελάθρου | μεμφομένῃ χρυσέοισι γάμοις ναυτίλλετο νύμφη (but *id. ib.* 47. 543 ff. χαλκοφόρου (C. F. Graefe cj. χαλκορόφου) δὲ | μνώεο παρθενεῶνος, ὅπῃ Δανάης διὰ κόλπου | χρύσεον ὄμβρον ἔχευε γαμοκλόπον ὑέτιος Ζεύς), Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 838 Δανάῃ, ἣν Ἀκρίσιος ὁ πατὴρ σιδηροῦν ποιήσας θάλαμον ἐνέκλεισεν ὅπως τούτῳ τῷ τρόπῳ μείνῃ παρθένος.]

[3] W. Radloff, *Proben der Volkslitteratur der türkischen Stämme Süd-Sibiriens*, iii. (St. Petersburg, 1870) pp. 82 *sq.* E. S. Hartland *The Legend of Perseus* London 1894 i. 139—142 gives the story at greater length, drawing upon the same source.

[4] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 74 f.

Classical parallels are not wholly wanting. E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin 1924 p. 158 f. draws attention to Asklepiades of Mendes *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 306 Müller) *ap.* Suet. *Aug.* 94 (cp. Dion Cass. 45. 1) in Asclepiadis Mendetis (C. Müller, after Voss, cj. *Menditae*) Theologumenon libris lego, Atiam, cum ad sollemne Apollinis sacrum media nocte venisset, posita in templo lectica, dum ceterae matronae dormirent, obdormisse; draconem repente irrepsisse ad eam pauloque post egressum; illam expergefactam quasi a concubitu mariti purificasse se; et statim in corpore eius extitisse maculam velut picti draconis, nec potuisse umquam exigi, adeo ut mox publicis balineis perpetuo abstinuerit; Augustum natum mense decimo et ob hoc Apollinis filium existi-

Danaë is invariably said to have been impregnated by a golden *rain*, and that rain is not a very natural description of sunlight or the sun.

L. Radermacher[1] contends that the Greeks believed in impregnation by a falling star. In support of his contention he quotes the story told by Nikephoros Skeuophylax[2] about Saint Theodoros Sykeotes, archimandrite of Galatia and bishop of Anastasiopolis (590—613 A.D.)[3]. His mother Maria kept a public hostelry at Sykeon, where she met the magistrate Kosmas. On the night of her child's conception, a glittering star fell from the sky and entered her womb, symbolising—says the pious Nikephoros—the purity of his actions. The Greek life of the saint[4] and its Latin version[5] both vouch for the miracle. On the strength of this, and of sundry modern

matum. eadem Atia prius quam pareret somniavit, intestina sua ferri ad sidera explicarique per omnem terrarum et caeli ambitum. somniavit et pater Octavius, utero Atiae iubar solis exortum (cp. Rev. 12. 1 ff.), Konon *narr.* 33 καὶ ὡς ὁ Σμίκρος τινος τῶν ἐν Μιλησίοις ἐνδόξων θυγατέρα γαμεῖ, καὶ αὕτη τίκτουσα ὁρᾷ δύιν τὸν ἥλιον αὐτῇ διὰ τοῦ στόματος εἰσδύντα διὰ τῆς γαστρὸς καὶ τῶν αἰδοίων διεξελθεῖν· καὶ ἦν τὸ ὅραμα τοῖς μάντεσιν ἀγαθόν. καὶ ἔτεκε κόρον, Βράγχον ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀνείρου καλέσασα, ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος αὐτῆς διὰ τοῦ βράγχου (*an* βρόγχου? A.B.C.) διεξῆλθε. καὶ ἦν ὁ παῖς κάλλιστος ἀνθρώπων, καὶ αὐτὸν ἐφίλησεν ἐρασθεὶς Ἀπόλλων, εὑρὼν ποιμαίνοντα ἔνθα βωμὸς Ἀπόλλωνος Φιλίου ἵδρυται. L. Radermacher in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 218 notes also Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 36 ἥλιος ἀπὸ ἀνατολῆς ἀνίσχων λαμπρὸς καὶ καθαρὸς καὶ καταδυόμενος εἰς δύσιν ἀγαθὸς πᾶσιν· οἷς μὲν γὰρ πράξεις προαγορεύει·...οἷς δὲ παίδων γονήν· ἡλίους γὰρ καὶ τὰ ἄρρενικὰ τέκνα οἱ γονεῖς ὑποκοριζόμενοι καλοῦσι, *id.* ἥλιος ἐν τῇ κοίτῃ τινὸς κατακείμενος καὶ ἀπειλῶν νόσον μεγάλην καὶ φλεγμονὰς προαγορεύει, λέγων δέ τι ἀγαθὸν ἢ διδοὺς εὐπορίας ἐστὶ σημεῖον, πολλοῖς δὲ καὶ υἱὸν γένεσιν προηγόρευσεν. Add Achmes *oneirocr.* 166 p. 127, 26 ff. Drexl εἰ δὲ ἴδῃ, ὅτι ὁ ἥλιος ἦτοι ὁ δίσκος εἰσῆλθεν ἐν τῷ οἴκῳ αὐτοῦ, εἰ μέν ἐστι βασιλεύς, γεννήσει βασιλέα, εἰ δὲ μέγιστος ἢ τοῦ κοινοῦ, ὑψωθήσεται καὶ χαρήσεται, τάχα καὶ βασιλείαν ὑποδέξεται. See also Soph. *frag. dub.* 1017 Nauck²=*frag.* 752 Jebb Ἥλι', οἰκτίροις ἐμέ, | <δν οἱ> σοφοὶ λέγουσι γεννητὴν θεῶν | <καὶ> πατέρα πάντων ἀρ. anon. *de Arati interp.* p. 28, 17 ff. Maass (*supra* i. 461 n. 7). Dreams, visions, and philosophemes may equally rest on a basis of popular belief. 'Happy is the bride the sun shines on.'

[1] L. Radermacher 'Danae und der goldene Regen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 216—218.

[2] Nikeph. Skeuophylax *encomium in S. Theodorum Siceotam* 5 (*Analecta Bollandiana* Bruxellis 1901 xx. 254) τοιούτων ἐκφῦσα γεννητόρων ἡ τούτου γεννήτρια οἵά τινα προφήτην Ἱερεμίαν ἐν νηδύϊ προσδέχεται ἐκ μήτρας ἁγιαζόμενον καὶ τῷ Θεῷ προσφόρως ἀφιερούμενον. καθ' ἣν γὰρ νύκτα τῷ συνεύνῳ πλησιάσασα τὸν πολύτιμον ἐκεῖνον μαργαρίτην ὑπεδέξατο, ἀστὴρ οὐρανόθεν ἡλιακαῖς ἀστράπτων μαρμαρυγαῖς τὴν ταύτης νηδὺν ὑπεισέρχεται, τὸ καθαρὸν ἐκείνου τῶν πράξεων συμβολικῶς αἰνιττόμενος. κ.τ.λ.

[3] K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*² München 1897 p. 191, cp. E. Venables in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 933. F. G. Holweck *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* St. Louis, Mo. 1924 p. 960 says 'Anastasiopolis (Dara) in Galatia': but S. Fränkel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2150 locates Dara (Anastasiopolis) in Mesopotamia.

[4] Th. Ioannes Μυηµεῖα ἁγιολογικά 1884 p. 361 ff.

[5] *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1675 Aprilis iii. 34 A (Eleusius *sive* Georgius *v. S. Theodori Siceatæ* 3) concepit mulier ex eo, & in quiete stellam vidit ingentem & claram, è cœlo in uterum suum descendere.

superstitions about meteors[1], Radermacher suggests that Danaë's golden rain was essentially just a fine display of shooting stars. His suggestion would indeed account well for the curious persistence with which stars appear in connexion with Danaë's coffer[2]. But shooting stars, after all, were a phenomenon familiar enough to the Greeks, and were never confused by them with rain, golden or otherwise.

Looking further afield we find that ordinary rain is sometimes credited with procreative powers. H. H. Bancroft[3] in his account of the Pueblo religion describes the birth of 'the great leader, teacher, and god Montezuma':

[1] L. Radermacher in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. Akad. d. Wiss. in Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1916 clxxxii. 3. 69 (Basileios, Bishop of Seleukeia in Isauria *c.* 435—460 A.D., *de vita ac miraculis D. Theclae* 2. 10 (lxxxv. 581 A Migne) notes that S. Thekla attended her yearly festival at Seleukeia, and that any one who on the vigil of the feast kept watch upon the heights above Dalisandos might see her cross the sky in a fiery chariot (*ὁρᾷ πυρίνῳ ἅρματι ὑψοῦ τοῦ ἀέρος βεβαίωσάν* (*leg. βεβῶσάν*) *τε τὴν παρθένον καὶ διφρηλατοῦσαν*, cp. *Il.* 5. 745 ff., 8. 389 ff.)), A. Wuttke *Der deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart*[2] Berlin 1869 p. 183 (in Germany, Switzerland, etc. a shooting star implies the death of a man), *id. ib.*[2] p. 94 (in Oldenburg '*Boviste* sind ausgebrannte Sternschnuppen...u. machen die Kühe brünstig...'), W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 29 f. ('Die Griechen bezeichneten einzelne Sternschnuppen als Böcke und Geissen, und die Deutschen sahen besonders in den Kometen, aber auch in den Meteoren, Schlangen und das dämonische Fabeltier, den Drachen'), N. G. Polites *Δημώδεις μετεωρολογικοὶ μῦθοι* (extract from *Παρνασσός*) Athens 1880 p. 12 ('*Ὁ λαὸς πιστεύει ὅτι ὅπου καταπίπτει κεραυνὸς σχηματίζονται λίθοι, θαυμασίους κεκτημένοι ἰδιότητας, οὓς καλεῖ ἀστροπελέκια ἢ ἀστροπέλεκα*' *κ.τ.λ.* *Supra* ii. 506, 844).

On shooting stars in relation to souls see further the beliefs and practices adduced by J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 722, iii. 917 n. 0, 1888 iv. 1506, 1801, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 48—51, N. G. Polites *Παραδόσεις* Athens 1904 ii. 860 (n. on no. 273), W. D. Wallis in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 371[b], J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 234 (n. on no. 153 'Die Sterntaler'). [2] *Supra* p. 458.

[3] H. H. Bancroft *The Native Races of the Pacific States* London 1875 iii. 175 n. 0 (after Fremont). E. S. Hartland *The Legend of Perseus* London 1894 i. 136 n. 3 regards this version as more primitive than that given by A. W. Bell in *The Journal of the Ethnological Society of London* New Series 1868—69 i. 250 f. 'Two good-sized ruins are situated near the Pima villages; one is known as Casa Montezuma, the other as Casa Grande.... Long ago a woman of exquisite beauty ruled over the valleys and the region south of them. Many suitors came from far to woo her, and brought presents innumerable of corn, skins, and cattle to lay at her feet. Her virtue and determination to continue unmarried remained alike unshaken; and her store of worldly possessions so greatly increased that, when drought and desolation came upon her land, she fed her people out of her great abundance and did not miss it, there was so much left. One night, as she lay asleep, her garment was blown from off her breast, and a dewdrop from the Great Spirit fell upon her bosom, entered her blood, and caused her to conceive. In time, she bore a son, who was none other than Montezuma, and who built the large casas and all the other ruins which are scattered through the land. After instructing his people in the arts of civilization he departed for the south and then disappeared.'

'His mother was, it is said, a woman of exquisite beauty, admired and sought after by all men, they making her presents of corn and skins and all that they had; but the fastidious beauty would accept nothing of them but their gifts. In process of time a season of drought brought on a famine and much distress; then it was that the rich lady showed her charity to be as great in one direction as it had been wanting in another. She opened her granaries and the gifts of the lovers she had not loved went to releave the hungry she pitied. At last with rain, fertility returned to the earth; and on the chaste Artemis of the Pueblos its touch fell too. She bore a son to the thick summer shower and that son was Montezuma.'

The same story is current among the Pimas of California, the Mojave of the Rio Colorado in Arizona, and the Apaches[1]. Indeed, the belief in conception through magical contact with water is of world-wide distribution[2].

We are justified, then, in the surmise that Danaë's golden shower was but a mythical expression for the rain whereby the sky-god fertilises the earth. But what of Danaë herself? She is hardly to be regarded as an earth-goddess, for she has no cult. Rather she is a heroine, whose name stands in obvious relation to that of the *Danaaí* or *Danaïdes*[3]. Her myth too is in some points analogous to theirs. If Akrisios, king of Argos, imprisoned Danaë in an underground chamber to safeguard her virginity, his action bore an odd resemblance to that of his forefather Danaos, likewise king of Argos, who had imprisoned Hypermestra, the one Danaïd that remained a virgin[4]. And if Zeus descended upon Danaë in the form of a golden rain, we cannot forget that the Danaïdes stood for the performance of a mimetic rain-charm[5]. It may well be that Danaë's complex tale[6] includes at least one episode of an aetiological sort, and that the princess secluded, drenched with rain, and even sent adrift in a coffer was a mythical prototype of actual human happenings.

[1] E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 24, citing [E. J.] Payne [*History of the New World called America* Oxford 1892] i. 414 n. 4 and [J. G. Bourke] in the *Journ*[*al of*] *Am*[*erican*] *F*[*olk*]-*L*[*ore* 1889] ii. 178. E. J. Payne *loc. cit.* says: 'Exceptionally, as in the beautiful legend told by the Pima Indians concerning the inhabitants of the deserted Casas Grandes, the maize-spirit appears as an actual mother of mankind. They describe her as a maiden living in isolation, unmoved by the addresses of suitors, and giving maize to the hungry Indians in times of dearth. One day, as she lay asleep, a raindrop fell on her naked bosom, and she became the ancestress of the maize-growing Pueblo Indians.' J. G. Bourke *loc. cit.* tells the Mojave myth: 'This Earth is a woman; the Sky is a man... the Earth was asleep and a drop of rain fell upon her causing conception... two gods were born in the west... They were Ku-ku-matz and his brother, To-chi-pa.'

[2] E. S. Hartland *The Legend of Perseus* London 1894 i. 113 ff., 133 ff., *id. Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 12 f., 23 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 364. See also A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 162.

[4] *Supra* p. 356. [5] *Supra* p. 368 f. [6] *Supra* p. 455 f.

Be that as it may, two similar epiphanies of the sky-god are recorded by Pindar, whose knowledge of the details of mythology was equalled only by his appreciation of their beauty. The poet in an Isthmian ode[1] asks his native town of Thebes on what local scene her memory most delights to dwell. On the birth of Dionysos (at whose nativity Zeus rained ambrosia[2])?

> Or when at midnight in a snow of gold
> Thou didst receive the greatest of the gods,
> What time he stood
> Before Amphitryon's door
> And wooed Amphitryon's wife
> To bear him Herakles.

Again, in an Olympian ode[3] Pindar speaks of Rhodes—

> Where once the mighty king of the gods,
> With golden snow-flakes rained upon the town,
> When by Hephaistos' craft
> The crown of the Father's head
> Was cleft by a bronze-wrought axe,
> And lo, Athena leapt to light
> And cried aloud with a far-carrying cry—
> Whereat Heaven shuddered, ay and Mother Earth.

Pindar does not expressly assert that Zeus was in this wondrous shower. But that such was the original concept is almost certain; for another Rhodian tale made Zeus consort with the earth-born Himalia 'by means of rain[4].'

[1] Pind. *Isthm.* 7. 1 ff. *τίνι τῶν πάρος, ὦ μάκαιρα Θήβα, | καλῶν ἐπιχωρίων μάλιστα θυμὸν τεὸν | εὐφρανας; ἢ ῥα χαλκοκρότου πάρεδρον | Δαμάτερος ἀνίκ' εὐρυχαίταν | ἄντειλας Διόνυσον; ἢ χρυσῷ μεσονύκτιον νίφοντα δεξαμένα τὸν φέρτατον θεῶν, | ὁπότ' Ἀμφιτρύωνος ἐν θυρέτροις | σταθεὶς ἅλοχον μετῆλθεν Ἡρακλείοις γονεῦσι;* with schol. vet. 5 a. *ἢ χρυσῷ μεσονύκτιον: ἢ ὅτε τὸ μεσονύκτιον χρυσῷ καταστάζοντα ἐδέξω τὸν τῶν θεῶν ἔξαρχον Δία.* b. *ἄλλως. ἰδίως λέγει τὸν Δία ὗσαι χρυσόν, ἡνίκα ἐμίγνυτο Ἀλκμήνῃ· ἢ τὰ ἐπὶ Δανάης μυθευόμενα ἐπὶ Ἀλκμήνην μετήγαγεν.*

[2] *Supra* ii. 275 n. 12. *Infra* § 9 (i) Zeus *Hyes.*

[3] Pind. *Ol.* 7. 34 ff. *ἔνθα ποτὲ βρέχε θεῶν βασιλεὺς ὁ μέγας χρυσέαις νιφάδεσσι πόλιν,| ἀνίχ' Ἀφαίστου τέχναισιν | χαλκελάτῳ πελέκει πατέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν ἀνορούσαιο' ἀλάλαξεν ὑπερμάκει βοᾷ· | Οὐρανὸς δ' ἔφριξέ νιν καὶ Γαῖα μάτηρ.* The schol. vet. *ad loc.* (63 a, 63 b, 64 Drachmann) and Strab. 654 f. wrongly supposed that Pindar was embroidering *Il.* 2. 670 *καί σφιν θεσπέσιον πλοῦτον κατέχευε Κρονίων* (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1212 n. 2, L. Radermacher in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 216). With the sequel in Pind. *Ol.* 7. 49 f. *κείνοις ὁ μὲν* (*sc.* Ζεύς) *ξανθὰν ἀγαγὼν νεφέλαν | πολὺν ὗσε χρυσόν* cp. Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 27. 3 *Ῥοδίοις δὲ λέγεται χρυσὸς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ ῥεῦσαι καὶ διαπλῆσαι σφῶν τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τοὺς στενωποὺς νεφέλην εἰς αὐτοὺς ῥήξαντος τοῦ Διός κ.τ.λ.* See further for this favourite theme Strab. 655, Aristeid. *or.* 43. 546 (i. 807 Dindorf), Menandros *περὶ ἐπιδεικτικῶν* 3. 2 (ix. 200 Walz), Liban. *or.* 31. 6 (vii. 10 Foerster), *progymn.* 9 *vitup.* 6. 3 (viii. 312 Foerster), *epist.* 351. 11 (x. 330 Foerster), Himer. *ecl.* 13. 34, Ioul. *frag. epist.* 290 B.

[4] Diodoros, probably drawing upon Zenon of Rhodes (W. Christ *Geschichte der*

A similar belief underlies the statement of Ovid that the Kouretes were 'sprung from an abundant shower of rain[1],' if not also the tradition preserved by the same author that at Corinth 'in the far past mortal bodies were born of rain-begotten mushrooms[2].'

(f) Ominous rain sent by Zeus.

i. Rain of blood.

At critical moments Zeus expressed his mood by sending some abnormal shower. Specially ominous was the fall of blood-red rain. The *Iliad* makes it the prelude to a battle between Achaeans and Trojans:

> Then Kronos' son sent evil strife among them
> And from aloft, out of the burning sky,
> Let fall drops dank with blood; for he was fain
> To hurl to Hades many a valiant head[3].

Again, when Sarpedon the Lycian was about to be slain, Zeus—

> Shed gouts of blood upon the ground to honour
> His own son, whom Patroklos was to kill
> In fertile Troyland far away from home[4].

The Hesiodic author of the *Shield* (*c.* 650—600 B.C.[5]) has a similar description of the fight between Herakles and Kyknos:

griechischen Litteratur[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 217) who is named in the context (*frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 175 f. Müller) *ap.* Diod. 5. 55 f.), had said *γενέσθαι δὲ κατὰ τὸν καιρὸν τοῦτον ἐν τοῖς πρὸς ἕω μέρεσι τῆς νήσου τοὺς κληθέντας γίγαντας* (E. Bethe cj. *ἐγνηταs*)· *ὅτε δὴ καὶ Ζεὺς λέγεται καταπεπολεμηκὼς Τιτᾶνας ἐρασθῆναι μιᾶς τῶν νυμφῶν Ἰμαλίας ὀνομαζομένης, καὶ τρεῖς ἐξ αὐτῆς τεκνῶσαι παῖδας, Σπαρταῖον* (*v.l.* Παρταῖον), *Κρόνιον, Κύτον*. Hence in Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 13 (ii. 184 A Migne) *Εἶμα τῇ γηγενεῖ ἐν Ῥόδῳ διὰ ὄμβρου συνῆλθεν, ἐξ ἧς Παργαῖος, Κρόνιος, Κύτος* A. Schwegler corrected *Εἶμα* to *Ἰμαλίᾳ*.

[1] Ov. *met.* 4. 282 quoted *supra* p. 323 n. 1.

[2] Ov. *met.* 7. 391 ff. tandem vipereis Ephyren Pirenida pennis | contigit (*sc.* Medea). hic aevo veteres mortalia primo | corpora vulgarunt pluvialibus edita fungis.

This singular tradition perhaps implies the folk-etymology of *Μυκῆναι* from *μύκης* (W. Pape—G. E. Benseler *Wörterbuch der griechischen Eigennamen*[3] Braunschweig 1875 ii. 958). Note especially Paus. 2. 16. 3 *ἥκουσα δὲ καὶ ὡς διψῶντι* (*sc.* *τῷ Περσεῖ*) *ἐπῆλθεν ἀνελέσθαι οἱ μύκητα ἐκ τῆς γῆς, ῥυέντος δὲ ὕδατος πιὼν καὶ ἡσθεὶς Μυκήνας ἔθετο τὸ ὄνομα τῷ χωρίῳ*—an obvious piece of folk-lore. The inhabitants of prehistoric Mykenai might well pass for the earliest race of men. On the mushroom's womb see Plin. *nat. hist.* 22. 93 vulvam enim terra ob hoc prius gignit, ipsum postea in vulva, ceu in ovo est luteum. nec tunicae minor gratia in cibo infantis boleti.

[3] *Il.* 11. 52 ff.

[4] *Il.* 16. 459 ff., cp. Min. Fel. *Oct.* 23. 4 Iovem narrat (*sc.* Homerus)...Sarpedonem filium, quoniam morti non poterat eripere, cruentis imbribus flevisse. *Supra* p. 323.

[5] H. G. Evelyn-White *Hesiod: The Homeric Hymns and Homerica* London 1914

With fearsome battle-cry
They closed; and wise Zeus, thundering aloud,
Let gouts of blood drop from the very sky—
War's signal to his own high-hearted son[1].

Silius Italicus, therefore, is following in the beaten track, when he makes Iupiter portend the death of Marcus Marcellus (in 208 B.C.) by the downfall of blood-drops from a clear sky[2]. With other writers, Greek, Roman, and Byzantine, the portent passes into a commonplace and Zeus or Iupiter is ignored[3]. The same prodigy was repeatedly chronicled during the dark ages[4]. It has, indeed, attracted the

p. xxvi. W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 271 argues for a date nearer to 600 than to 500 B.C.

[1] Hes. *sc. Her.* 382 ff.

[2] Sil. It. 15. 363 ff. with N. E. Lemaire's note *ad loc.*

[3] I subjoin in tabular form the time and place of each fall of blood-rain recorded by classical writers:

718 B.C.	At Rome and at Laurentum after the murder of the Laurentine ambassadors and of Titus Tatius (Plout. *v. Rom.* 24).
214	At Rome in the Forum Boarium (Liv. 24. 10).
194	At Rome in the Forum, in the Comitium, and on the Capitol (Liv. 34. 45).
184	At Rome for two days on the Area Volcani (Liv. 39. 46. Iul. Obs. 59=4 under the date 183).
183	At Rome for two days on the Area Concordiae (Liv. 39. 56, Iul. Obs. 59=4).
181	At Rome on the Area Volcani and on the Area Concordiae (Liv. 40. 19. It seems probable that the portents of 184, 183, 181 were in reality the same occurrence variously dated).
172	At Saturnia in Etruria for three days (Liv. 42. 20).
169	At Rome by day on the temple of Fortuna *Primigenia* (Liv. 43. 13).
166	In the territory of Praeneste (Iul. Obs. 71=12).
134	At Amiternum (Iul. Obs. 86=27).
128	At Caere (Iul. Obs. 88 Lycosthenes).
114	(Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147, Lyd. *de ostent. procem.* 6 p. 13, 2 f. Wachsmuth).
106	(Iul. Obs. 101=41).
104	At Luna in Etruria (Iul. Obs. 103=43).
102	Round the river Anio (Iul. Obs. 104=44).
52	At Rome (Dion Cass. 40. 47).
43	At Rome (Cic. *de div.* 2. 58, cp. Ov. *met.* 15. 788).
37	At Aspis on the north coast of Africa (Dion Cass. 48. 52).
30	In Egypt portending the subjugation of its inhabitants (Dion Cass. 51. 17).
54 A.D.	At Rome (?) portending the death of Claudius (Dion Cass. 60 (61). 35).
68	In the Alban territory portending the death of Nero (Dion Cass. 63. 26).
399	Before the downfall of the eunuch Eutropius (Claud. *in Eutrop.* 2. 41).

[4] The following list will suffice:

541 A.D.	In France (Sigebertus Gemblacensis *chronographia* ed. L. C. Bethmann in G. H. Pertz *Monumenta Germaniae historica* Hannoverae 1844 viii (Scriptores vi). 317).
570	In Italy, when the Lombards under Alboin invaded the land (C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* Basileae 1557 p. 308).

attention of serious scientists[1], who point out that it reposes upon a substantial basis of fact[2]. Thus we get the usual *diminuendo* of classical religion—the definite naming of Zeus or Iupiter, the vaguer concept of God or Heaven, the mediaeval portent, the modern scientific phenomenon.

583 In France (Gregorius Turonensis *historia Francorum* 6. 14 (lxxi. 387 A—B Migne, cp. *hist. Franc. epit.* lxxi. 603 A Migne)).

594 In Italy (Paulus Diaconus *de gestis Langobardorum* 4. 4 (xcv. 540 A Migne) 'in regione Brionum'=Brescia (?). There may be some confusion here with the portent listed under the date 869).

782 At Constantinople (?) (C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *op. cit.* p. 335).

786 In England (J. Wolf *Lectiones memorabiles et reconditae*[2] Francofurti ad Moenum 1671 i. 510 'Sanguis de cœlo, anno 786 in Angliâ profluxit').

860 At Balkh in Central Asia (Kazwini and Elmazen quoted by Silvestre de Sacy *Chrestomathie Arabe* Paris 1806 iii. 526 f., E. F. F. Chladni *Ueber Feuer-Meteore, und über die mit denselben herabgefallenen Massen* Wien 1819 p. 362).

869 At Brescia in Italy for three days (J. Twinger von Königshofen *Königshovens Chronik* p. 104. H. Barlandus *Historica* Coloniae 1603 p. 16 states that this portent happened at Brixen=Brescia. The date, however, is differently reported. B. Platina *Storia delle vite de' Pontefici* Venezia 1761 ii. 90 places it shortly before the death of Hadrian ii, which occurred in 872: 'Poco innanzi, ch' egli morisse piovè sul Bresciano tre giorni sangue.' J. Wolf *op. cit.* ii. 308 says: 'Narrant historiographi, quod circa annum 873. plurima se exhibuerint mundo monstra & prodigia. Nam in Italia, in civitate Bressa, integri tridui spacio continue pluit sanguine.' C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *op. cit.* p. 356 has under the date 874: 'Anno Ludouici imperatoris decimonono, in Italia Brixiæ tribus diebus & tribus noctibus sanguis de cœlo pluisse dicitur').

990 In the days of King Robert (P. Gassendus *Viri illustris Nicolai Claudii Fabricii de Peirese, senatoris Aquisextiensis, vita* Quedlinburg 1706 p. 118 f. 'Itèmque quod memoratur temporibus Regis Roberti sanguine pluisse, circiter finem Iunii; adeò ut' etc., cp. Erasmus Francisci *Der Wunder-Reiche Uberzug unserer Nider-Welt, oder Erd-umgebende Lufft-Kreys* Nürnberg 1680 p. 736).

See further C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *op. cit.* pp. 416, 611, 627, 631, 632 (?), 647, J. Jonstonus *Thaumatographia naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 122. *Haydn's Dictionary of Dates*[25] London 1910 p. 1151 f. notes a few recent cases (red rain with sand falls in Italy and Vienna, 10 March 1901: red dust with rain falls in Cornwall, end of January 1902: blood-rain, due to insects (*Carabus coccinella*), falls in Hamburg, 24 May 1902: red dust, traced to the Sahara, falls in rain over the whole south of England, 21—23 February 1903).

[1] First in the field was C. G. Ehrenberg 'Passatstaub und Blutregen' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1847* Phys. Abb. pp. 269—460 with tables and 6 col. pls. This admirable monograph includes a chronological list of all comparable phenomena.

[2] Stegemann 'Blutregen' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1445—1447 with bibliography (Reddish dust from the Sahara, composed of silicic acid, argillaceous earth, iron- and copper-oxides, is sometimes swept by strong winds into the upper regions of the air and carried over southern or even northern Europe, with or without an admixture of rain: the water evaporating, there remains a deposit of reddish or yellowish dust. Again, bees and butterflies, when quitting the chrysalis, leave behind them some drops of blood. Finally, masses of red seaweed and 'Wundermonade' may also occasion a precipitate of red liquid).

There was an awful rainbow once in heaven:
We know her woof, her texture; she is given
In the dull catalogue of common things[1].

Different in character is a mystic and possibly Orphic anthropogony quoted by Julian[2] in his *Letter to a Priest*—

'the saying of the gods, which has been handed down to us by the theurgists of bygone days, to wit that, when Zeus was ordering all things, there fell drops of sacred blood, and that from these sprang the race of men.'

This rather isolated notion seems to have arisen, in some more or less philosophical *milieu*[3], from an attempt to combine two passages of Hesiod. In the *Theogony*[4], when Kronos mutilated Ouranos, Gaia received the blood-drops and in due course gave birth to the Erinyes, the Gigantes, and the nymphs called *Meliai*, 'Ash-trees.' In the *Works and Days*[5] Zeus produces the men of the Bronze Age from *meliai*, 'ash-trees.' It followed, or seemed to follow, that the men of the Bronze Age were sprung from the blood-drops of Ouranos himself. Alkaios too and Akousilaos, presumably remembering that Phaiakia was named *Drepánē* after the *drépanon* or 'sickle' used by Kronos[6], had claimed that the Phaeacians likewise were sprung from the blood of Ouranos[7].

[1] J. Keats *Lamia* 231 ff.

[2] Ioul. *frag. epist.* 292 A—B ... *εἰς τὴν τῶν θεῶν φήμην, ἣ παραδέδοται διὰ τῶν ἀρχαίων ἡμῖν θεουργῶν, ὡς, ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμει τὰ πάντα, σταγόνων αἵματος ἱεροῦ πεσουσῶν, ἐξ ὧν που τὸ τῶν ἀνθρώπων βλαστήσειε γένος.* Miss W. C. Wright in the Loeb edition (London 1913) renders: 'when Zeus was setting all things in order there fell from him drops of sacred blood.' But the words 'from him' are not in the Greek and may be misleading.

[3] The clause *ὅτε Ζεὺς ἐκόσμει τὰ πάντα* recalls the phraseology of Anaxagoras (*frag.* 12 Diels *ap.* Simplic. *in Aristot. phys.* p. 156, 26 Diels *πάντα διεκόσμησε νοῦς*, *ib.* p. 177, 5, cp. Plat. *Phaed.* 97 B—C, Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 4ª=H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 532 b 4 ff., Diog. Laert. 2. 6, etc.), who moreover held that plants and animals had arisen from seed dropped by the sky upon the ground (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 3. 1. 4, Eirenaios *adv. haer.* 2. 14. 2 (vii. 751 A Migne)).

[4] Hes. *theog.* 154 ff.: *supra* ii. 447 n. 8.

[5] Hes. *o.d.* 143 ff. That *theog.* 187 was early brought into connexion with *o.d.* 145 appears likely from *theog.* 563, where the right reading *μελίῃσι* (codd. D. E.) has the curious variant *μελίοισι* (codd. F. K. L.) with schol. *μελίοισι δὲ ἤτοι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις ἢ ὅτι ἐκ Μελιῶν ἐγένοντο νυμφῶν ἢ ὅτι γεννώμενοι ἐρρίπτοντο ὑπὸ ταῖς μελίαις, ὅ ἐστι δένδροις.*

[6] *Supra* ii. 448 n. 0.

[7] Schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 991 f. (*ὧς δὲ καὶ αὐτοί | αἵματος Οὐρανίοιο γένος Φαίηκες ἔασιν*) *Ακουσίλαος ἐν τῇ τρίτῃ* (*frag.* 29 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 103 Müller)=*frag.* 4 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 49 Jacoby)) *φησὶν ὅτι ἐκ τῆς ἐκτομῆς τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ ῥανίδας ἐνεχθῆναι συνέπεσεν, τουτέστι τὰς σταγόνας, κατὰ τῆς γῆς, ἐξ ὧν γεννηθῆναι τοὺς Φαίακας· οἱ δὲ* (*sc.* Hes. *theog.* 183 ff.) *τοὺς Γίγαντας. καὶ Ἀλκαῖος* (*frag.* 116 Bergk⁴ ('Nescio an Ἀλκμὰν sit legendum')=*frag.* 96 Edmonds (*e.g. Φαίακες ὀρράννων σταγόνων γένος*)) *δὲ λέγει τοὺς Φαίακας ἔχειν τὸ γένος ἐκ τῶν σταγόνων τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ.*

ii. Rain of stones.

Equally portentous was the rain of stones, which in early times men attributed to the direct intervention of the sky-god[1].

A good example is furnished by La Crau, a large plain in the south of France, occupying the western portion of the department Bouches-du-Rhône[2]. The name *Crau* is said to have come from a Celtic stem meaning 'cairn' or 'heap of stones[3],' being akin to our own word 'crag[4].' The arid surface of this plain is in fact covered with boulders and has been described by a French authority as a 'véritable mer de cailloux[5].' Strabon[6] calls it the 'Stony Plain'; Pomponius Mela[7], Pliny[8], Solinus[9], and Martianus Capella[10]—not to mention later writers[11]—the 'Stone Fields.' Attempts to explain along scientific lines such an enormous outcrop of stones were made by Aristotle and by Poseidonios. The former[12] thought them thrown

[1] J. F. Cerquand *Taranis lithobole* (*Mémoires de l'Académie de Vaucluse* 1880) Avignon 1881 argued for the recognition of an Indo-Europaean god, who was at once a hurler of stones and wielder of a hammer, the hammer being a later substitute for the stone. As evidence of such a lithobolic deity in Gaul Cerquand quoted Aisch. *frag.* 199 Nauck[2] (*infra* p. 483 n. 3) and, more doubtfully, Paus. 10. 23. 1 ff. But see Reinach *Bronzes Figurés* p. 159 ff. Other stone-throwers (Talos, Minotaur, Kyklops) are possibly solar or stellar (*supra* i. 720 f., ii. 491 n. 0 (6)).

[2] P. Joanne *Dictionnaire géographique et administratif de la France et de ses colonies* Paris 1890 i. 1147 ff. with view and map, *Lippincott's Gazetteer of the World* Philadelphia 1893 p. 1585.

[3] G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch* Paderborn 1901 p. 277 no. 2580 ('kelt. Stamm [crauc-], crŏc-, kegelförmiger Haufe...; auf diesen Stamm gehen vielleicht zurück prov. *Crau*, Name eines Kieselfeldes bei Arles, *crauc*, steinig, unfruchtbar'). See, however, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 477, ii. 573.

[4] F. Diez *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*[5] Bonn 1887 p. 556.

[5] P. Joanne *op. cit.* i. 1147, cp. *ib.* 1148 'Ce plan raboteux de galets avait étonné les anciens, comme il surprend auj. les voyageurs que le ch. de fer mène d'Arles à Marseille.'

[6] Strab. 181 f. *μεταξὺ γὰρ τῆς Μασσαλίας καὶ τῶν ἐκβολῶν τοῦ Ῥοδανοῦ πεδίον ἐστὶ τῆς θαλάττης διέχον εἰς ἑκατὸν σταδίους, τοσοῦτον δὲ καὶ τὴν διάμετρον, κυκλοτερὲς τὸ σχῆμα· καλεῖται δὲ Λιθῶδες ἀπὸ τοῦ συμβεβηκότος. μεστὸν γάρ ἐστι λίθων χειροπληθῶν, κ.τ.λ.*

[7] Mela 2. 78 alioqui litus ignobile est, Lapideum (*lapideus* cod. A, whence Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 777 'vielleicht ist *campus* ausgefallen') ut vocant, in quo Herculem contra Alebiona et Dercynon (so C. Bursian for *albiona et bergyon* cod. A. But see O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 997) Neptuni liberos dimicantem cum tela defecissent ab invocato Iove adiutum imbre lapidum ferunt. credas pluvisse, adeo multi passim et late iacent.

[8] Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 34 Campi Lapidei, Herculis proeliorum memoria, 21. 57 Lapideos Campos in provincia Narbonensi.

[9] Solin. 2. 6 in Liguria quoque Lapidarios Campos, quod Iovi eo (*sc.* Hercule) dimicante creduntur pluvisse saxa.

[10] Mart. Cap. 642 ex cuius laboribus in Liguria Campi Lapidarii sunt appellati, quod eodem dimicante saxis ferunt pluisse caelum.

[11] Cited by Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 777.

[12] Aristot. *ap.* Strab. 182.

up by earthquakes of the type termed *brástai*[1]. The latter[2] held that they were a sort of beach resulting from the solidification of a previous lake. But Aischylos[3] in his *Prometheus Unbound* had given a mythical explanation of the scene, which concerns us more closely. Prometheus, telling Herakles of the route from the Kaukasos to the Hesperides, had said:

> Then shalt thou come to the undaunted host
> O' the Ligyes, where, fighter as thou art,
> Thou shalt have fights enow. For here Fate bids
> Thine arrows fail thee; nor shalt thou avail
> To get a stone from the ground—the ground is soft.
> Howbeit Zeus, in pity for thy plight,
> Will send a cloud to cover the whole land
> With rounded stones, thick as the snowflakes fall.
> These hurling, thou shalt thread that Ligyan host.

The incident appealed to certain astromythologists of the Hellenistic age as providing a plausible account of that much-disputed constellation Engonasin or Ingeniculus[4]. In the northern hemisphere, midway between Lyra and Corona, Draco and Ophiuchus, appears a male figure on bended knee. The Babylonians had named him *ilu kamû*, 'the fettered god,' and had regarded him as one of the seven astral powers called *da-'-ik AN. KI*, 'Breakers of Heaven and Earth[5].' It is tempting to suppose that some transmitted memory of Mesopotamian lore led to the identification of him with Prometheus chained to the Kaukasos, or again with Ixion fastened to his wheel[6]. The neighbouring constellation Corona

[1] Aristot. *de mundo* 4. 396 a 2 f. [2] Poseidon. *ap.* Strab. 182.

[3] Aisch. *frag.* 199 Nauck[2] *ap.* Strab. 183. Cp. Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 41 δηλοῖ δὲ τὸν πόλεμον τόνδε τῶν ἀρχαίων ποιητῶν Αἰσχύλος ἐν Προμηθεῖ λυομένῳ. πεποίηται γὰρ αὐτῷ ὁ Προμηθεὺς Ἡρακλεῖ τά τε ἄλλα προλέγων ὡς ἕκαστόν [αὐτῷ] τι συμβήσεσθαι ἔμελλε κατὰ τὴν ἐπὶ Γηρυόνην στρατείαν, καὶ δὴ καὶ περὶ τοῦ Λιγυστικοῦ πολέμου, ὡς οὐ ῥᾴδιος ὁ ἀγὼν ἔσται διηγούμενος· τὰ δὲ ποιήματα ὧδε ἔχει κ.τ.λ.

On the Ligurians in general see now the critical survey of A. Berthelot 'Les Ligures' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 72—120 ('La Ligurie historique'), *ib.* 245—261 ('Les antécédents des Ligures' including 'A. L'hypothèse nordique. Mythologie: *Les Ligures, l'ambre et Kyknos*' and 'B. L'hypothèse panitalique. *Les Ligures en Italie centrale*'), 261—303 ('Les conjectures toponymiques').

[4] A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2563—2565 devotes a succinct article to this constellation, including its various names, identifications, descriptions, etc. See also F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 100—104 and Index p. 555.

[5] A. Jeremias *Handbuch der altorientalischen Geisteskultur* Leipzig 1913 p. 128, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1488 f., citing *Cuneiform Texts from Babylonian Tablets, &c., in the British Museum* London 1910 xxvii pl. 45, 22 ff. (K. 4129) omens from births.

[6] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 hunc etiam nonnulli Ixiona brachiis vinctis esse dixerunt, quod vim Iunoni voluerit adferre; alii Promethea in monte Caucaso vinctum, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 οἱ δὲ Προμηθέα λέγουσιν...τινὲς δὲ Ἰξίονα αὐτὸν λέγουσιν εἶναι.

might pass in the former case as the ring of Prometheus[1], in the latter as the wheel of Ixion[2]. These, however, were stray opinions of doubtful date. More persistent is the idea that Engonasin was a nameless sufferer—toiling, says Aratos[3], at some unknown task; tired and mournful, says Cicero[4]; weary and pitiable, says Germanicus[5]. Teukros of Babylon (*c.* 100 A.D.)[6] went so far as to call him Talas[7] the Man of Sorrows.

Fig. 312.

Others attempted to identify the kneeling figure with a definite mythical suppliant or the like and in so doing took further constellations into account. Araithos of Tegea (*s.* iv B.C.)[8] made him out to be Keteus, son of Lykaon and father of Megisto (= Kallisto), lamenting the transformation of his daughter into Ursa Maior and beseeching the gods to restore her to him[9]. Hegesianax (*c.* 200 B.C.)[10] saw Theseus raising the rock at Troizen beneath which lay his father's sword[11] (fig. 312)[12]: Lyra could then be viewed as the lyre of

[1] *Supra* i. 329 n. 0.

[2] A. Rehm in F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 p. 149 n. 4 and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2564.

[3] Arat. *phaen.* 63 ff. *τῷδ' αὐτοῦ μογέοντι κυλίνδεται ἀνδρὶ ἐοικὸς | εἴδωλον. τὸ μὲν οὔτις ἐπίσταται ἀμφαδὸν εἰπεῖν, | οὐδ' ὅτινι κρέμαται κείνος πόνῳ, ἀλλά μιν αὔτως |* ΕΓΓΟΝΑΣΙΝ *καλέουσι.*

[4] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 108 defessa velut maerentis imago (a rendering of Arat. *loc. cit.* = Cic. *Arat.* 65 Nobbe).

[5] Germ. *Arat.* 74 succiduis genibus lassum et miserabile sidus, 633 miserabile sidus.

[6] Teukros of Babylon was an astrologer who at the end of *s.* i A.D. wrote *περὶ τῶν παραναπελλόντων*, a work dealing with horoscopes (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 416, 448).

[7] F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 p. 278 ‡ *θεὸς τις κατακέφαλα κείμενος, καλεῖται δὲ Τάλας, καὶ κόραξ ψαύει αὐτοῦ τῆς κεφαλῆς* codd. T.R. (two MSS. of Rhetorios, an Egyptian astrologer of *s.* vi, who has preserved extracts from Teukros *περὶ τῶν δώδεκα ζῳδίων*). Teukros as a native of Babylon appears to perpetuate the old Babylonian tradition of a 'fettered god.'

[8] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 374.

[9] Araithos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 318 Müller) *ap.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 1 Araethus autem Tegeates historiarum scriptor non Callisto, sed Megisto dicit appellatam, et non Lycaonis, sed Cetei filiam, Lycaonis neptem; praeterea Cetea ipsum Engonasin nominari, *ib.* 2. 6 Araethus autem, ut ante diximus, hunc Cetea Lycaonis filium, Megistus patrem, dicit; qui videtur, ut lamentans filiam in ursae figuram conversam, genu nixus palmas diversas tendere ad caelum, ut eam sibi dii restituant.

[10] F. Stählin in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2602 ff., F. Jacoby *ib.* vii. 2604 ff., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] ii. 1. 217 f.

[11] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 Hegesianax (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 525 Jacoby) autem Thesea dixit esse, qui Troezene saxum extollere videtur, quod existimatur Aegeus sub eo ellopium (*allopium* cod. D. J. Molsheym cj. *Pelopium*. Heinsius, with more genealogical justification (see Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* ii. 231), cj. *Cecropium*. B. Bunte says: 'fortasse legendum est ellopum ex Gr. *ἔλλοπος*' (*quid?*). But, if Ellopia was a district in northern Euboia

extending as far as Chalkis (R. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2438), it may be that we should keep *Ellopium* to denote a sword 'of true Ellopian bronze.' A.B.C.) ensem posuisse, et Aethrae Thesei matri praedixisse, ne ante eum Athenas mitteret, quam sua virtute lapide sublato, potuisset gladium patri referre. itaque niti videtur, ut quam altissime possit, lapidem extollat. hac etiam de causa nonnulli lyram, quae proxima ei signo est collocata, Thesei esse dixerunt, quod ut eruditus omni genere artium, lyram quoque didicisse videbatur. idque et Anacreon (*frag.* 99 Bergk[4], 121 Edmonds) dicit: ἀγχοῦ δ' Αἰγείδεω Θησέος ἐστὶ λύρη, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 ἡ Θησέα.

[12] Theseus raising the rock was a subject in vogue with artists for some five hundred years. The hero is regularly represented with bent knee, a modification of the archaic *Knielauf*. His attitude is awkward, and even unreasonable, on an Etruscan scarab of banded sardonyx at Vienna (R. von Schneider *Album auserlesener Gegenstände der Antiken-Sammlung des Allerhöchsten Kaiserhauses* Wien 1895 pl. 40, 3, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 17, 55 (=my fig. 312 : scale ¾), ii. 85. Inscribed *These*), more natural on a relief from Trysa, to be dated *c.* 420—410 B.C. (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* Wien 1889 p. 173 pl. 19, 11 (=my fig. 314), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 459), on a small pedimental relief surmounting a *stèle* of Hymettian marble inscribed *c.* 136—133 (?) B.C. with a decree in honour of the Troezenian Telesias (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 458 *b*, W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1. 139, F. von Duhn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1877 xxxv. 171 f. no. 104, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 217, 5), and on Roman mural reliefs in terra cotta referable to the period *c.* 30 B.C.—*c.* 140 A.D. (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842—1851 pl. 117, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 398 no. D 594 pl. 39, H. von Rohden—H. Winnefeld *Architektonische römische Tonreliefs der Kaiserzeit* Berlin 1911 i. 98, ii pl. 12 (=my fig. 315). Inscribed ΘCCЄOYC=Θ(η)σέους. Beneath the rock lie the shield, the sheathed sword and the quiver (?) of Aigeus. Aithra points to them). A marble relief from Ostia, now in the Villa Albani, has a similar rendering of the scene complicated by the presence of other onlookers (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 ii. 130 pl. 96, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 1126 with Text iv. 35 by W. Amelung, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 146 no. 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 455 f. no. 1924), and so has a white marble tripod-base from Mt Gerizim, now at Constantinople, Attic work of Roman date (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 385 ff. no. 638 fig., O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1932 xlvii. 202 f. fig. 2 (=my fig. 316) inscribed Θησεὺς | γνωρίσματα. Theseus raises the rock in the presence of Aithra and two maids). Pausanias *c.* 150 A.D. saw on the Akropolis at Athens a bronze statue of Theseus pushing up an actual rock, beneath which were the shoes and sword of Aigeus (Paus. 1. 27. 8). This curious work of art is shown on imperial bronze coins of Athens (E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 397 f. fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 105 pl. 18, 8, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 145 f. pl. DD, 2, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 95, 25—36, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 366 no. 5963 pl. 211, 11. Fig. 313 is from a well preserved specimen in my collection). At Troizen too, where the original rock of Theseus was to be seen (Paus. 2. 32. 7 cited *supra* i. 519 n. 2, cp. Kallim. *Hekale frag.* 66 Schneider, 20 Mair ἐν μὲν γὰρ Τροιζῆνι κολουραίῃ ὑπὸ πέτρῃ | θῆκε σὺν ἀρπίδεσσι), the same type reappears on bronze coins of imperial date (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 167 no. 20 pl. 31, 5 Commodus, p. 168 no. 24 Geta, no. 25 pl. 31, 9 Philippus Iunior, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 49 pl. M, 11 Commodus, *Weber Cat. Coins* ii. 487 no. 4258 Caracalla). See further F. Wieseler 'Die erhaltenen Denkmäler mit Darstellungen der Troezenisch-Attischen Sage von Aegeus, Aethra und Theseus, soweit diese die zu Troezen vorgefallenen Ereignisse betrifft' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1886 pp. 65—72 (numerous other gems and pastes representing Theseus and the rock are listed *ib.* pp. 69—71) and H. Steuding in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 680—682 fig. 1.

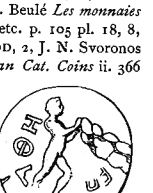


Fig. 313.

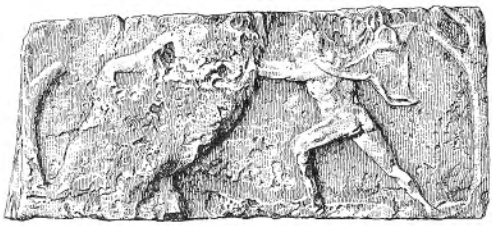


Fig. 314.

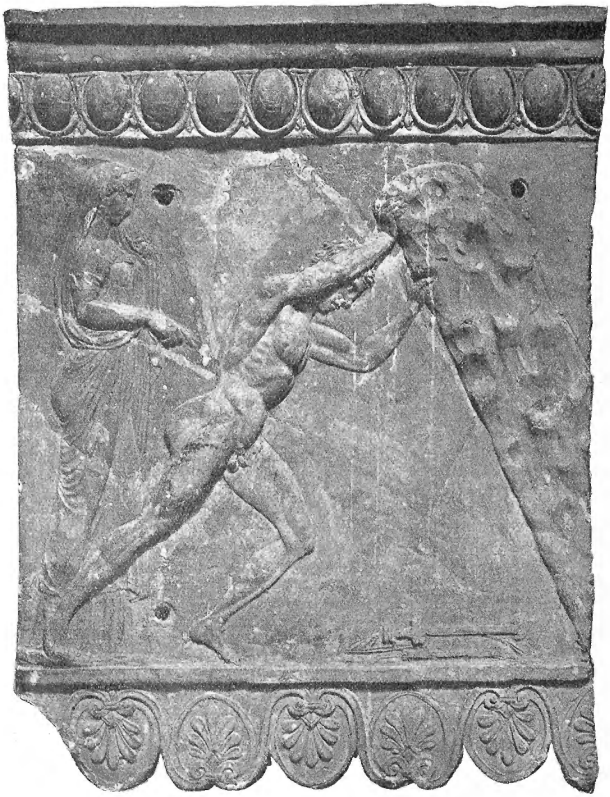


Fig. 315.

Fig. 316.

Fig. 317.

Theseus[1]. The vicinity of Lyra justified two other interpretations—Thamyris at the knees of the Muses who had blinded him[2], and Orpheus slain by the women of Thrace for intruding upon the Dionysiac rites[3].

But such attempts too often involved a misconception of the old starry *schêma*. E. Bethe[4] has done well to urge that Engonasin was first represented on some Ionic globe of the sixth century B.C. as an anonymous man in the attitude of *Knielauf* dear to archaic art[5]. Hence Aratos' professed inability to expound 'the mysterious phantom[6].' Hence also the total absence of attributes both in the detailed descriptions given by Aratos[7], Hipparchos[8], Ptolemaios[9], and in the clearly cut relief that adorns the Farnese globe (fig. 317)[10]. Since, however, the attitude of *Knielauf* was frequently employed by early artists to express the energetic action of Herakles[11], it was

[1] Our earliest evidence for the lyre of Theseus is the *krater* of Klitios and Ergotimos, *c.* 600—550 B.C. (*supra* i. 481 n. 9). Next in date is the fragment of Anakreon, *c.* 530 B.C. (*supra* p. 485 n. 0). Theseus with the lyre seems to have been an Ionian rival of the better known lyre-playing Herakles (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 500 n. 1).

[2] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 alii autem Thamyrim a Musis excaecatum, ut supplicem ad genua iacentem dicunt, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 ἄλλοι Θάμυριν.

[3] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 alii Orphea a Thraciis mulieribus interfici, quod viderit Liberi Patris initia. *Supra* i. 111 n. 1, ii. 121 fig. 76 with n. 3.

[4] E. Bethe 'Das Alter der griechischen Sternbilder' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1900 lv. 426 f.

[5] *Supra* i. 204 n. 4, 296 fig. 219, ii. 544 fig. 419, 731 fig. 663, etc.

W. Deonna *Dédale* Paris 1930 p. 249 'Certaines attitudes mêmes, qui jadis paraissaient anormales, sont justifiées par la chronophotographie[2]...et cette course "agenouillée" est l'attitude exacte du saut, le corps étant saisi au moment où il se ramasse sur lui-même pour franchir l'obstacle[3]' (*id. ib.* nn. 2 and 3 adds a useful bibliography).

[6] Arat. *phaen.* 270 ἀπευθέος εἰδώλοιο.

[7] Arat. *phaen.* 63—70.

[8] Hipparch. *in Arati et Eudoxi phaen. comment.* 1. 2. 6 Manitius with the translation of Sir T. L. Heath *Greek Astronomy* London & Toronto 1932 p. 119.

[9] Ptol. *syntaxis mathematica* 7. 5 (ii. 52 ff. Heiberg) with the translation of K. Manitius Leipzig 1913 p. 36 f.

[10] J. B. Passeri *Atlas Farnesianus marmoreus insigne vetustatis monumentum commentario inlustratus* Florentiae 1750, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* v. 25 ff. pl. 793 fig. 1999 A = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 468 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 13 f. pl. 64, 822, E. Vinet in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 527 fig. 615, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 711 with fig. on p. 710, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 224 f. fig. 175 (from a photograph), *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 169 no. 579. But these publications are all eclipsed by the careful study of G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 pp. 19 ff. ('Die Neapler Statue'), 27 ff. ('Der Globus des Hipparchos') with figs. 1—7 and pls. 2—6. My fig. 317 is from Thiele's pl. 6.

[11] E. Schmidt 'Der Knielauf' in the *Münchener archäologische Studien* München 1909 p. 309 fig. 28, p. 312 fig. 31, p. 313 fig. 32 (Herakles attacking Centaurs on a bronze plate from Olympia (A. Furtwängler in *Olympia* iv. 101 no. 696 pl. 38), on a 'Laconian' *dinos* in the Louvre (O. Puchstein in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 219, 240 pl. 11, 1 and pl. 12, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 433, 8 and 435, 6), on an Ionian *amphora* at Munich (Sieveking—Hackl *Vasensamml. München* i. 103 no. 836 fig. 106)). A modification of this attitude

easy to equip the nameless figure with club and lion-skin and to make him fight the snake of the Hesperides (Draco), as was done by Eratosthenes and his followers[1] (figs. 318, 319)[2], or to imagine him groping for stones in his contest with the Ligyes, as was done by other Alexandrine scholars[3]. Both interpretations occasioned further

Fig. 318.

Fig. 319.

persists even in the posture of Herakles crouching to shoot in the eastern pediment of the temple of Aphaia in Aigina (A. Furtwängler *Aegina* München 1906 Text p. 250 ff. figs. 206, 208, Atlas pl. 95, 86, *id. Beschreibung der Glyptothek König Ludwig's I. zu München*[3] München 1910 p. 112 ff. no. 84, P. Wolters *Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs I. zu München* München 1922 p. 20 fig. A. 86): see A. Kalkmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1895 x. 65 ff., 74, *pace* E. von Mach *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Boston 1905 p. 88.

[1] Pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 4, cp. *ib.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6.

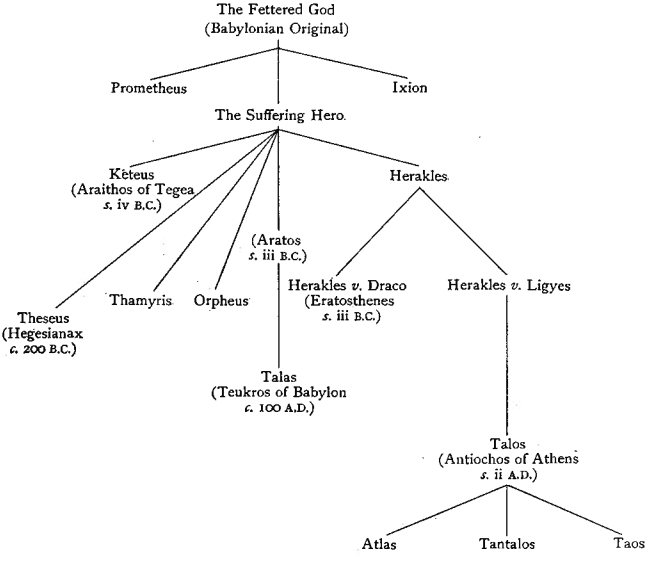
[2] Fig. 318 is from a twelfth-century MS. of Germanicus at Madrid (cod. Matrit. A 16 fol. 56[r] published by G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 145 fig. 62). Fig. 319 is from the edition of Hyginus printed by Erhard Radtolt at Venice in 1485 fol. d[v].

[3] Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 6 Aeschylus autem in fabula quae inscribitur Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος (*supra* p. 483) Herculem ait esse, non cum dracone, sed cum Liguribus depugnantem. dicit enim, quo tempore Hercules a Geryone boves abduxerit, iter fecisse per Ligurum fines; quos conatos ab eo pecus abducere manus contulisse et complures eorum sagittis confixisse, sed postquam Herculem tela deficerent, multitudine barbarorum et inopia armorum defessum se ingeniculasse multis iam vulneribus acceptis. Iovem autem misertum filii curasse ut circa eum magna lapidum copia esset, quibus se Herculem defendisse et hostes fugasse. itaque Iovem similitudinem pugnantis inter sidera constituisse, schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 (wrongly attached to the description of Ophiuchus) ἄλλοι δέ φασί τινες αὐτὸν εἶναι τὸν Ἡρακλέα τοῖς Λίβυσι (A. Rehm in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2564 makes the obvious correction Λιγυσι) πολεμοῦντα. ἐπιλιπόντων αὐτῷ τῶν τοξευμάτων ἐπὶ γόνυ πεσόντα λίθους βαλεῖν, οὓς αὐτῷ Ζεὺς ὗσεν εὐξαμένῳ.

Fig. 320.

Fig. 321.

misunderstandings. Herakles grasping his club was confused with Boötes grasping his *lagobólon*—witness the Carolingian paintings (figs. 320, 321) in the *codex Vossianus*[1]. Herakles throwing stones was equated with the stone-thrower Talos[2], whose name bore a convenient resemblance to that of the sufferer Talas[3]. It was altered by some wiseacre into Tantalos[4], the hero who lived in dread of the falling rock, and by some fool of a copyist into Taos the Peacock[5]! A final muddle, prompted perhaps by Tantalos under his rock, perhaps by Herakles fighting his snake, produced the name Atlas[6]. Modern sky-charts are content with the label Hercules. But rival claimants have been numerous, as may be seen from the appended *stemma*:



[1] A ninth-century MS. of Germanicus at Leyden (cod. Voss. Lat. q^to 79 fol. 6^v Hercules (=my fig. 320) and fol. 12^v Boötes (=my fig. 321) published by G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 93 fig. 19 and p. 96 fig. 22).

[2] By Antiochos of Athens (*s.* ii A.D.), author of a famous astrological poem *Thesaurol*, of which one fragment in hexameters is quoted by the astronomer Palchos (*s.* v A.D.) and other parts survive in an old prose paraphrase given by various MSS. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 678). See further F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 p. 279, who restores Τάλως from Ταλὸς ῥίπτων λίθον cod. V[3] and ταώς cod. A.

[3] *Supra* p. 484.

Having thus seen that certain anonymous Alexandrines used the Aeschylean myth of Zeus sending a rain of stones to Herakles[1] as a plausible explanation of Engonasin, we must next enquire whether the myth itself was a mere figment on the part of an imaginative poet or an episode strictly in accordance with popular classical belief. And here I shall at once cite a remarkable parallel recorded by Livy[2] as having taken place in the reign of Tullus Hostilius (672—640 B.C.):

'After the defeat of the Sabines, when King Tullus and the whole Roman state were at a high pitch of glory and prosperity, it was reported to the king and senators that there had been a rain of stones on the Alban Mount. As this could scarce be credited, envoys were dispatched to examine the prodigy; and in their sight there fell from the sky, like hail that the wind piles in drifts upon the ground, a thick shower of stones. They thought too that they heard a great voice issuing from the grove on the mountain-top, which bade the Albans offer sacrifices after the fashion of their fathers: these they had in fact given over to oblivion, as though they had forsaken their gods along with their country, having either adopted Roman rites or in anger at their fortune, such as men sometimes feel, abandoned the worship of the gods. The Romans also, in consequence of the same portent, undertook an official nine days' celebration, whether so commanded by the divine voice from the Alban Mount—for this too is handed down—or on the advice of soothsayers. At all events it remained a regular custom that, whenever the same prodigy was reported, there should be a nine days' observance.'

The great voice heard from the grove on the mountain-top was that of Iupiter *Latiaris*, whose temple on the summit of the Alban Mount[3] (*Monte Cavi*[4]) was the earliest religious centre of the

[4] Schol. Arat. *phaen.* 74 οἱ δὲ Τάνταλον.

[5] F. Boll *op. cit.* p. 278 with n. 2.

[6] F. Boll *op. cit.* p. 260 f. in view of Ω κύμβαλα καὶ ἀτλάς (*leg.* Ἄτλας) cod. V[3]. 'Die Schilderung eines Gottes mit ausgebreiteten Armen passt durchaus zu den Darstellungen des Atlas, wie etwa der Kölner Bronce (abgebildet bei Thiele S. 26) oder dem Träger des Globus Farnese.'

[1] *Supra* p. 483. The Hercules *Lapidarius* worshipped in the neighbourhood of Nikaia (*Nizza, Nice*) (Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2012 = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* v. 2 no. 7869 a small pedestal, found near the monastery of S. Ponzio and thence transferred to a vineyard adjoining the Cappuccini of Nizza, inscribed HERCVLI | LAPIDARI | ALMANI|CENSES | P) is hardly to be connected with this myth, but may be a local variety of Hercules *Saxanus*, the god 'of Quarries' (De Vit *Onomasticon* iii. 354, 355), on whom see now the exhaustive article by Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 266—307.

[2] Liv. 1. 31 trans. B. O. Foster altered.

[3] A. Nibby *Analisi storico-topografico-antiquaria della carta de' dintorni di Roma* Roma 1837 i. 110—119 ('Albanus Mons'), G. B. de Rossi 'Ricerche archeologiche e topografiche nel monte Albano' etc. in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 163 ff. ('Tempio di Giove Laziale'), 168 ff. ('Cabum. Cabenses') with pl. RS, M. S. de Rossi 'Scavi e studii nel tempio di Giove Laziale sul monte Albano' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1876 xlviii. 314—333 with col. pl. Q,

Latins[1]. And, since the Alban Hills were certainly prehistoric volcanos, which even in historic times continued to give intermittent proof of their smouldering fires[2], it is permissible to suppose that a

C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1309—1311 with map, G. Tomassetti *La campagna Romana antica, mediaevale e moderna* Roma 1910 ii. 190—230 ('Albano Laziale'), G. Giovannoni 'Monte Cavo. Esplorazioni nell' area del tempio di Giove Laziale' in the *Not. Scavi* 1912 pp. 382—384.

[4] C. Hülsen *loc. cit.* 'die höchste Erhebung des vulkanischen Albanergebirges, jetzt Monte Cavi (weniger correct Monte Cavo), 954 m. über dem Meer.'

[1] H. Last in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1928 vii. 348.

[2] Sir W. Gell *The Topography of Rome and its Vicinity*[2] London 1846 p. 38: 'Albano has been at different periods subject to earthquakes; these, however, have hitherto been productive of no serious mischief. Shocks were felt here in the year 1829, and in many of the villages around. After continuing for a considerable period, during which they were at times repeated as often as thrice in one day, they ceased in the autumn. The strange stories then current among the people, of flames breaking forth from a chasm, and of trees withering from volcanic effluvia, give an air of probability to the showers of stones and other prodigies, said to have occurred in ancient times on the Alban Hill. These phenomena may be referred to the volcanic nature of the mountain, which, at the time that they are said to have happened, was so much nearer the epoch of its vigour and activity.'

C. Daubeny *A Description of active and extinct Volcanos, of Earthquakes, and of Thermal Springs*[2] London 1848 p. 169 f.: 'To the south of Rome the whole of the country for several miles round Albano abounds in volcanic appearances. Amongst the mountains in this group are several lakes which appear originally to have been craters, as for instance that of Albano, Vallariccia, Nemi, and Juturna, to which we may add, intermediate between the Alban mountains and the Anio, the Lake of Gabii, noted for a particular variety of Peperino called the Gabian stone, and the singular hexagonal one of Cornufelle, near Frascati, supposed by Gell to be the Lake Regillus....In proof that the volcanic action had not entirely ceased even in modern times, I may state that Pliny [*nat. hist.* 2. 240] mentions a report which had reached him as to the ground round the lake [of Ariccia or Vallariccia] being hot enough to set fire to charcoal; and Livy [22. 36] notices a shower of stones that fell there, as well as the bursting out of a warm spring, having its water mixed with blood, which Heyne supposes to have been bitumen † († Heyne, Opusc. Acad. vol. ii. p. 263). There are indeed some passages in ancient writers, which might lead us to suppose a volcano to have existed among these mountains even at a period within the limits of authentic history, for Livy [25. 7] notices a shower of stones which continued for two entire days from Mount Albano during the second Punic war, and Julius Obsequens in his work "De Prodigiis" [98=38] remarks, that in the year [641] A.U.C. [=113 B.C.] the hill appeared to be on fire during the night....These accounts indeed, if not confirmed by other testimony, might be rejected as fabulous, but they may perhaps suffice to establish the comparatively modern date at which the volcanic action continued, when viewed in connexion with the physical structure of the lake itself....This however, and the other lakes above-mentioned, if even they be considered as volcanic craters, are but the dependencies and offsets, as it were, of the great extinct volcano, the traces of which still remain upon the summit of the Alban hills.'

To these contentions E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 92 opposes a dogmatic denial, difficult to accept: 'Numerous prodigies are recorded by Roman writers as occurring on the Alban Mount: among these the falling of showers of stones is frequently mentioned, a circumstance which has been supposed by some writers to indicate that the volcanic energy of these mountains continued in historical times; but this suggestion is sufficiently disproved by historical, as well as geological, considerations.'

fall of pumice or scoriae thrown up from some re-opened vent would be viewed as an omen directly indicating the will of Iupiter.

Later showers of stones[1], ashes[2], or the like[3], though on occasion

[1] 217 B.C. Hot stones fell from the sky at Praeneste (Liv. 22. 1).
216 A rain of stones on the Aventine at Rome and at Aricia (Liv. 22. 36).
215 A rain of stones round the temple of Iuno *Sospita* at Lanuvium (Liv. 23. 31).
212 A rain of stones for two days on the Alban Mount (Liv. 25. 7).
211 A rain of stones at Eretum (Liv. 26. 23).
207 Stones fell from the sky at Veii, and again there was a rain of stones on the Armilustrum at Rome (Liv. 27. 37).
194 A rain of stones in the territory of Hadria (Liv. 34. 45).
188 Showers of stones on the Aventine (Iul. Obs. 56=2).
186 A rain of stones in Picenum (Iul. Obs. 59=4).
169 A rain of stones at Reate (Liv. 43. 13). At the close of the same year stones fell simultaneously in the *ager Romanus* and in the *ager Veiens* (Liv. 44. 18).
152 A rain of stones at Aricia (Iul. Obs. 77=18).
94 A rain of stones on a farm of the Vestini (Iul. Obs. 111=51).
52 *Infra* n. 3.
41 A rain of stones (C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *Prodigiorum ac ostentorum chronicon* Basileae 1557 p. 228).
897 A.D. A rain-storm followed by the fall of white and black stones at Ahmed-dad near Koufah (an Arabic MS. of Ibn-al-Athîr quoted by E. Quatremère *Mémoires géographiques et historiques sur l'Égypte, et sur quelques contrées voisines* Paris 1811 ii. 487).

So far as Italy is concerned, the decreasing number of entries rather suggests that this particular form of volcanic activity had petered out before the beginning of our era.

[2] 87 B.C. A rain of ashes at Athens (Paus. 9. 6. 6).
473 A.D. A rain of fiery dust or ashes at Byzantion (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 350 C (i. 614 Bekker), Glykas *ann.* 4. 264 A (p. 489 Bekker), Zonar. 14. 1 (iii. 253 Dindorf). Theophan. *chronogr.* p. 103 (i. 185 Classen) refers this rain of fiery dust to the year of Leon i's death, which he places in 466 A.D. C. Lycosthenes (K. Wolffhart) *op. cit.* p. 296 dates it in the second year of Leon i, 462 A.D. (!), cp. Nikephor. *eccl. hist.* 15. 20 (cxlvii. 60 B ff. Migne). Prokop. *de Bell. Goth.* 6. 4. 27 and Marcellin. Comes *chron.* ann. 472 (li. 931 C Migne) attribute the fall to an eruption of Vesuvius. The *menologium Basilianum* for Nov. 6 p. 170 (cxvii. 147 A–B Migne) says that the ashes fell glowing hot and burnt up *πάντα τὰ φυτά*).

[3] 214 B.C. A rain of chalk at Cales (Liv. 24. 10).
194 A rain of earth on several occasions at Rome (Liv. 34. 45).
190 A rain of earth at Tusculum (Liv. 37. 3, Iul. Obs. 55=1).
172 A rain of earth at Auximum (Liv. 42. 20).
167 A rain of earth at Anagnia (Liv. 45. 16, Iul. Obs. 70=11).
166 A rain of earth at many places in Campania (Iul. Obs. 71=12).
133 A rain of earth at Ardea (Iul. Obs. 86=27 a).
101 A rain of clay on the Aventine at Rome (Iul. Obs. 104=44 a).
98 A rain of white chalk in the theatre (Iul. Obs. 107=47).
52 At Rome 'many thunderbolts, many clods, stones, shards and blood went flying through the air' (Dion Cass. 40. 47).
50 A rain of baked tiles at Rome (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147, cp. Lyd. *de ostent. prooem.* 6 p. 13, 12 ff. Wachsmuth *κατηνέχθησαν δὲ πλίνθοι πολλάκις ὀπταὶ καὶ κόνις, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ Ζήνωνος τοῦ καθ' ἡμᾶς*).
860 A.D. Blood-red dust fell from the sky at Byzantion ([Georg. Monachos] *chron.* 5. 3. 15 (cx. 1048 C—1049 A Migne)).

attributed to divine agency[1], are more often recorded as a purely anonymous portent.

iii. Rain of food.

Another form of abnormal shower is the alleged fall of actual food from the skies. Thus in the book of *Exodus*[2] it is stated that the children of Israel on entering the wilderness of Sin, between Elim and Sinai, were distressed with hunger:

'Then said the LORD unto Moses, Behold, I will rain bread from heaven for you[3]....At even ye shall eat flesh, and in the morning ye shall be filled with bread; and ye shall know that I am the LORD your God. And it came to pass at even, that the quails came up, and covered the camp: and in the morning the dew lay round about the camp. And when the dew that lay was gone up, behold, upon the face of the wilderness a small round thing, small as the hoar frost on the ground[4]....And the house of Israel called the name thereof Manna: and it was like coriander seed, white; and the taste of it was like wafers *made* with honey[5].'

This timely provision of tamarisk-droppings[6] and migrating quails[7] made a profound impression upon the people and is the subject of repeated allusions by other writers throughout the canon[8]. Indeed, it came to be regarded as frankly miraculous: *e.g.*

[1] Paus. 9. 6. 6 λέγεται δὲ καὶ Ἀθηναίοις ὕσαι τέφραν ὁ θεὸς ἐνιαυτῷ πρότερον πρὶν ἢ τὸν πόλεμον τὸν ἐπαχθέντα ὑπὸ Σύλλα τὰ μεγάλα σφίσιν ἐνεγκεῖν παθήματα, Prokop. *de bell. Goth.* 6. 4. 27 καὶ ποτε μέν φασιν ἐν Βυζαντίῳ ἐπιπεσοῦσαν (*sc.* the ashes from Vesuvius) οὕτως ἐκπλῆξαι τοὺς ταύτῃ ἀνθρώπους ὥστε πανδημεὶ ἐξ ἐκείνου δὴ καὶ ἐς τόδε τοῦ χρόνου λιταῖς ἐνιαυσίοις ἐξιλάσκεσθαι τὸν θεὸν ἔγνωσαν, κ.τ.λ., Georg. Monachos *chron.* 4. 209. 2 (cx. 756 C Migne) ἐφ' οὗ (σημεῖον) ἐφάνη ἐν τῷ οὐρανῷ νεφέλη σαλπιγγοειδὴς ἐπὶ ἡμέρας μ', καὶ σποδὸν ἔβρεξε ἐν ΚΠ. σπιθαμῆς τὸ πάχος· τῶν γὰρ νεφῶν ὡς πῦρ ὁρωμένων ἐδόκει πῦρ ῥέειν. διὰ τοῦτο πάντων λιτανευόντων, τῇ φιλανθρωπίᾳ τοῦ Θεοῦ ἐσβέσθη καὶ εἰς κόνιν μετεβλήθη cp. Nikephor. *eccl. hist.* 15. 20 (cxlvii. 61 B Migne) νεφέλη γὰρ σάλπιγγος σχῆμα περιβαλλομένη ἐπὶ ἡμέρας τεσσαράκοντα ὤπτο· ἡνίκα καὶ σποδὸς ἄνωθεν ὑετίσθη τῇ Κωνσταντίνου, <ὥστε (*inserui*)> ὡσεὶ παλαιστὴν ὑπὲρ τῶν κεράμων καθεῖναι, εἰς πῦρ τῶν νεφῶν ἀλλοιωθέντων· ὃ δὴ σύμβολον ἀκραιφνέστατον ἦν τῆς ὅσον οὔπω ἔσεσθαι μελλούσης πυρκαϊᾶς· ὅτε πάντες σὺν τρόμῳ ἐξιόντες, δυσωποῦντες ἦσαν Θεόν, λέγοντες, Πῦρ ἐπιβρέχειν καὶ τὸ πᾶν ἀφανίζειν ἣν βουλομένῳ Θεῷ. φιλανθρώπως δὲ κινηθέντως (*leg.* κινηθέντος), ἐσβέσθη.

[2] Ex. 16. 1 ff.

[3] Ex. 16. 4.

[4] Ex. 16. 12—14.

[5] Ex. 16. 31.

[6] A. Macalister in J. Hastings *A Dictionary of the Bible* Edinburgh 1900 iii. 236 ('Manna'), N. McLean and S. A. Cook in T. K. Cheyne—J. S. Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* London 1902 iii. 2929—2931 ('Manna').

[7] G. E. Post in J. Hastings *A Dictionary of the Bible* Edinburgh 1902 iv. 179 ('Quail'), A. E. Shipley, S. A. Cook, T. K. Cheyne, and C. Creighton in T. K. Cheyne—J. S. Black *Encyclopædia Biblica* London 1903 iv. 3989—3991 ('Quail').

[8] Num. 11. 6 ff., 31 ff., Deut. 8. 3, 16, Josh. 5. 12, Neh. 9. 20, Ps. 105. 40, 106. 15, John 6. 31 f., 49, 58, Heb. 9. 4, Rev. 2. 17.

'Yet he commanded the skies above,
And opened the doors of heaven;
And he rained down manna upon them to eat,
And gave them of the corn of heaven.
Man did eat the bread of the mighty:
He sent them meat to the full.
He caused the east wind to blow in the heaven:
And by his power he guided the south wind.
He rained flesh also upon them as the dust,
And winged fowl as the sand of the seas:
And he let it fall in the midst of their camp,
Round about their habitations.
So they did eat, and were well filled;
And he gave them that they lusted after[1].'

'He rained down manna...,' 'He rained flesh also....' It may be doubted whether classical authors can furnish a complete parallel to the Hebrew tradition. There is, however, reason to think that the same naïve belief in food, at first let fall by the sky-god, and later simply dropping from the sky, long haunted the imagination of Greeks and Romans alike.

W. H. Roscher[2], in a dissertation published half a century since, succeeded in proving two relevant points. In the first place, the Greeks and Romans, the Indians, the Germans, and the Finns all held that honey falls as a dew from the sky[3] on trees and flowers, and consequently viewed it as a sort of celestial diet. In the second place, *ambrosía*, the gods' food, and *néktar*, the gods' drink (or *vice*

[1] Ps. 78. 23—29.

[2] W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 pp. 13—22 and 22—33.

[3] Hence the names ἀερόμελι (Amyntas *frag.* 1 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 135 Müller) = *frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 627 Jacoby) *ap.* Athen. 500 D, Galen. περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεως 3. 39 (vi. 739 Kühn), cp. Verg. *georg.* 4. 1 aërii mellis caelestia dona), δροσόμελι (Galen. *loc. cit.*, cp. Verg. *ecl.* 4. 30 roscida mella, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 31 rores melleos e caelo, ut diximus (*ib.* 11. 30), cadentes), μέλι ἄγριον (Diod. 19. 94, Matthew 3. 4, Souid. *s.v.* ἀκρίς), ὗον μέλι (Polyain. 4. 3. 32, cp. Ail. *de nat. an.* 15. 7 ὕεται ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ διὰ τοῦ ὕηρος μέλιτι ὑγρῷ).

A curious story is told by Hadrianus Junius (Adriaan de Jonghe) in his *Animadversa* Roterodami 1708 p. 170 f. (lib. 3, cap. 9): 'Locum accepi fuisse in regno Neapolitano, præstantissimi mellis aërii (quod ἄγριον μέλι Suidas, ἤεριον Galenus, vulgus hominum Manna nominat à voce Hebræa Man, quæ genericè donum significat) proventu nobilem, quem Neapolitani reges perpetuo muro claudendum curaverant, incertam ob causam, sive uberior proventus atque inde opimus reditus, sive purior ejus collectio eos huc stimulavit: quacunque tandem de causa denegato illius contactu, cœleste illud καὶ διοπετὲς donum in universum cadere desiit: mox quum jussu Regum interrupta fuisset muri series, denuò labi affluenter, & à pube rustica colligi passim cœpit. Repetitur iterum magno studio cingendi loci propositum, sed temerarium: siquidem circunquaque præclusa muri lorica, stetit melleus ille imber, neque manavit amplius, donec, dissipata disjectaque maceriæ illius crate, libero ingressu potitus rusticus cœtus, avidissimè defluvium illud mannæ colligere permissu regum potuit.'

versa[1]), were originally identical, both being forms of the self-same substance honey. This identification is borne out by etymology: *a-mbrosía*, the 'non-mortal' food[2], and *nék-tar*, the 'death-vanquishing[3],' or perhaps rather *né-ktar*, the 'not-dead[4],' are obvious equivalents.

[1] Athen. 39 A οἶδα δ' ὅτι 'Αναξανδρίδης (*fab. incert. frag.* 7 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 198 Meineke)) *τὸ νέκταρ οὐ ποτόν, ἀλλὰ τροφὴν εἶναι λέγει θεῶν· 'τὸ νέκταρ ἑσθίω πάνυ | μάττων διαπίνω τ' ἀμβροσίαν καὶ τῷ Διί | διακονῶ καὶ σεμνός εἰμ' ἑκάστοτε | "Ηρᾳ λαλῶν καὶ Κύπριδι παρακαθήμενος.' καὶ 'Αλκμὰν (*frag.* 100 Bergk[4], 88 Edmonds, 3 Diehl) δέ φησι 'τὸ νέκταρ ἔδμεναι' αὐτούς· καὶ Σαπφὼ (*frag.* 51 Bergk[4], 146 Edmonds) δέ φησιν· 'ἀμβροσίας μὲν | κρατὴρ ἐκέκρατο, | 'Ερμᾶς δ' ἔλεν ὄλπιν | θεοῖς οἰνοχοῆσαι.' Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1632, 61 ff. abbreviates this passage of Athenaios. The same conception underlies Eur. *Hipp.* 748 ff. *κρῆναί τ' ἀμβρόσιαι χέονται | Ζηνὸς* (W. Dindorf cj. *Ζανὸς*) *μελάθρων παρὰ κοίτας, | ἵν' ἀ βιόδωρος* (so L. C. Valckenaer from *ἵνα βιόδωρος* cod. A. *ἵν' ὀλβιόδωρος* vulg.) *αὔξει ζαθέα | χθὼν εὐδαιμονίαν θεοῖς.*

[2] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 32, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 134, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 276, cp. Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 139.

[3] So Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 308 (**nek̑* (Tod; lat. *nec-em*, s. *νέκυς*) + *-tar* "überwindend," ai. *tara-s*, s. *τείρω*. Also in der Bedeutung ähnlich wie *ἀμβροσία*. In dieser Deutung habe ich mich mit Jac. Grimm Dtsch. Mythologie I, 294 (necem avertens) berührt'), Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 660 f. ('< **nek̑*-"mort, f." (cf. Lat. *nec-em* et voy. s.v. *νέκυς*) + *-ταρ* "qui triomphe de," cf. skr. *tará-ḥ* zd. *-tara-* "qui triomphe de" (: skr. *tárati* "traverser, franchir, surmonter, vaincre," lat. *tr-ans*) = "*ἀμβροσίη*"'), Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 326 ('*νέκ-ταρ* "Göttertrank" ("*Tod überwindend,"...)').

[4] H. Güntert *Kalypso* Halle a. S. 1919 p. 161 ff. is dissatisfied with the solution of the problem advanced by Prellwitz and now commonly accepted ('Aber mit dem zweiten Kompositionsglied steht es nicht zum besten; man verweist auf ai. *-tará-*, aw. *-tara-* "übertreffend, besiegend," zu ai. *tárati* "setzt über, gelangt hinüber, überwindet, rettet," oder auf ai. *āp-túr* "die Wasser besiegend"; ich würde schon lieber auf ved. *-tr̥d* "zerstörend" als zweites Kompositionsglied hinzeigen, das im griechischen Auslaut als *-ταρ* erscheinen müsste und von dieser Stellung aus verallgemeinert sein könnte. ...Aber auch der Zerlegung von *νέκταρ* in *νέκ-ταρ* "necem superans" haftet meines Empfindens etwas "Gemachtes" an, es fehlt ihr die innere Überzeugungskraft. Dazu kommt, dass die Silbe *-ταρ* nur durch Heranziehung weit entfernter Formen einigermassen gedeutet werden kann'). Accordingly, he proposes a new and undeniably attractive explanation ('Ich möchte daher einen neuen Deutungsversuch vorlegen, der hinsichtlich der Bedeutung der Etymologie GRIMMS ebenbürtig ist, aber den Vorzug hat, nur mit im Griechischen selbst üblichen Wortformen auszukommen: ich will nämlich *νέ-κταρ* zerlegen. *νε-* = idg. **ne* ist die Vollstufe der Negation, die wir in so üblichen Formen, wie lat. *ne-scio, ne-fas, n'-unquam, n'-ullus, ne-scius, ne-cesse, ne-cessarius, nēmo* aus **ne-hemo*. ...Im Griechischen selbst ist *νε-* erhalten bei vokalischem Anlaut, da sonst das alte *ne-* durch *οὐ* ersetzt wurde; vgl. *οὔ τις, οὐκ ἐθέλω*: lat. *nōlo*. In solcher Kontraktion aber war *νε-* nicht durch *οὐ* zu ersetzen, und so begegnet es in Fällen wie *νηλεής, νήνεμος, νήκεστος, νήγρετος, νώνυμος, νηλίπους...*, *νημερτής, νήπιος*. Sonst kann *νε-* also nur in Wörtern mit undurchsichtiger Bedeutung von der Ersetzung durch *οὐ* verschont geblieben sein; ein solcher Fall ist meiner Ansicht nach *νέκταρ*, aus dem wohl schon die Griechen den Stamm *νεκ-* "Tod" in *νέκες, νέκυς, νεκρός* herausgehört haben werden. Der zweite Teil dieses also sehr altertümlichen Kompositums, dessen eigentliche Bedeutung die Hellenen nachweislich selbst nicht mehr kannten, gehört in tiefstufiger Stammesgestalt nach dem Hauptton zu hom. *κτέρεα* "Beigabe an Tote." Hesych. glossiert *κτέρες· νεκροί, καὶ ἀκτέριστοι· οἱ ἄταφοι*. Ferner gehören hierher *κτερίζω*, hom. *κτερείζω τινά* "jem. die letzte Ehre erweisen,"

The facts on which these fancies rested are partly botanical, partly entomological. On the one hand, a sweet, sticky exudation, usually caused by a superfluity of sap, is to be found during hot weather, in small drops resembling dew, on the leaves of sundry trees and herbs[1], especially the oak[2], the ash[3], the

κτερίσματα "Totenfeier, Leichenbestattung." Daher ist auch διά-κτορος, der Beiname des Hermes in seiner Eigenschaft als ψυχοπομπός heranzuziehen [*supra* ii. 384 n. 0]. Ω 397 sagt der Totengott zu Hektor: πατὴρ δέ μοί ἐστι Πολύ-κτωρ [*supra* ii. 384 n. 0]. Dies ist also deutlich ein redender Name für Hades, dem alles Irdische anheimfällt, wie πολυδέγμων, πολυδέκτης usw [*supra* ii. 1113 n. 0 (2)]. Wenn es an der Stelle weiter heisst: ἀφνειὸς μὲν ὅ γ' ἐστί, so erinnert man sich an Πλούτων [*supra* i. 503 f., ii. 385 n. 0]. τὸ νέ-κταρ "Nicht-totsein" ist also mit ἀμβροσία völlig gleichbedeutend. ἀ-κτέριστοι sind ἄταφοι, solche, die nicht bestattet werden, über die der Hades also keine Macht hat, und dies Wort deckt sich mit ἀ-θάνατοι.'

[1] M. J. Berkeley in J. Lindley—T. Moore *The Treasury of Botany*[2] London 1884 i. 596.

[2] Theophr. *frag.* 190 Wimmer *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 529 b 16 ff. πίπτει δὲ τὸ ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος μέλι καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν καὶ ἐπὶ τὰ προστυχόντα τῶν φυτῶν. εὑρίσκεται δὲ μάλιστα ἐπὶ τοῖς φύλλοις τῆς δρυὸς καὶ ἐπὶ <τοῖς (*inserui* A. B. C.) > τῆς φιλύρας, διότι πυκνότητα ἔχει ταῦτα καὶ ἔνικμά ἐστι. δεῖ δὲ μήτε τελείως εἶναι ξηρά, ἵνα μὴ εἰς αὐτὰ ἕλκῃ, μήτε μανά, ἵνα μὴ διΐῃ· ταῦτα δὲ καὶ ἔνικμα καὶ πυκνότητα ἔχει, τὰ (so F. Wimmer for τὸ codd.) δὲ τῆς φιλύρας καὶ γλυκύτητα. ἔχει δέ πως ἡ μέλιττα (so F. Wimmer for μέλισσα codd.) οἰκείωσίν τινα πρὸς τὴν δρῦν, *id. hist. pl.* 3. 7. 6 φαίνεται δ' οὖν καὶ ὁ μελιτώδης οὗτος χυλὸς ἐκ τοῦ ἀέρος ἐπὶ ταύτῃ (*sc.* τῇ δρυΐ) μάλιστα προσίζειν, Diod. 17. 75 ἔστι δὲ καὶ δένδρον παρὰ τοῖς ἐγχωρίοις (*sc.* τοῖς Τρκανοῖς) παραπλήσιον δρυΐ κατὰ τὴν ἐπιφάνειαν, ἀπὸ δὲ τῶν φύλλων ἀπολείβον μέλι· καὶ τοῦτό τινες συνάγοντες δαψιλῆ τὴν ἀπόλαυσιν αὐτοῦ ποιοῦνται = Curt. 6. 4. 22 frequens arbor faciem quercus habet, cuius folia multo melle tinguntur: sed, nisi solis ortum incolae occupaverint, vel modico tepore sucus extinguitur (cp. Ex. 16. 21), Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 31 constatque rores melleos e caelo, ut diximus, cadentes non aliis magis insidere frondibus (*sc.* quam roboribus). Honey dripping from the oaks is a characteristic of the golden age (Verg. *ecl.* 4. 6 redeunt Saturnia regna; | ...30 et durae quercus sudabunt roscida mella, *georg.* 1. 131 mellaque decussit (*sc.* Iupiter) foliis, Tib. 1. 3. 45 ipsae mella dabant quercus, Ov. *met.* 1. 111 f. iam flumina nectaris ibant, | flavaque de viridi stillabant ilice mella). But Hes. *o.d.* 232 f. οὔρεσι δὲ δρῦς | ἄκρη μέν τε φέρει βαλάνους, μέσση δὲ μελίσσας refers rather, as Tzetz. *ad loc.* saw, to beesnests in hollow oak-trunks (pseudo-Phokyl. 171 ff. Bergk[4], 171 ff. Diehl, Hor. *epod.* 16. 47, Ov. *am.* 3. 8. 40). *Anth. Pal.* 9. 72. 1 f. (Antipatros) εὐκολος Ἐρμείας, ὦ ποιμένες, ἐν δὲ γάλακτι | χαίρων καὶ δρυΐνῳ σπενδόμενος (A. Hecker and F. Dübner would read σπενδομένοις. H. Stadtmüller: 'malis fort. πειθόμενος conlato Antipatri Thess. versu 93, 4 (ὀλίγῳ πειθόμενος λιβάρῳ)') μέλιτι is of doubtful interpretation.

[3] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 121 ventures to connect μέλι 'honey' with μελία 'ash-tree,' citing in support the Hesychian glosses μελίαι· μέλισσαι. ἢ δόρατα, ἢ λόγχαι and μελίη ὥσπερ μέλι· εἶδος δένδρου, ὅθεν τὰ μέλιτα. But in the latter gloss N. I. Schow cj. μελίη ὥς (*Il.* 13. 178) for μελιήως cod. and A. Meineke cj. μελεΐνα (*sc.* δόρατα) for μέλιτα cod. Hence M. Schmidt (ed. 1861) prints: μελίη ὥς· ὥσπερ μελί(α). εἶδος δένδρου, ὅθεν τὰ μελεΐνα (δόρατα). W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 pp. 9, 16 accepts Kuhn's conclusions, which—though far from impossible—have not found favour with recent philologists (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 288, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 624, Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 270, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 692).

More weight attaches to a northern parallel. The ancient Scandinavian world-tree was an ash (*askr Yggdrasils*), from which trickled a bee-nourishing dew named 'honey-fall' (*hunângsfall*). See K. Simrock *Handbuch der Deutschen Mythologie* Bonn 1878 p. 38,

lime[1], and some sorts of reeds[2]. On the other hand, certain insects, such as the *aphides*, secrete a sugary liquid, which is often spread in a shiny layer over the upper surface of leaves[3]. Both saccharine substances are known to us as 'honey-dew[4],' to our neighbours as *miellat*[5] or *Honigthau*[6].

G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 ii. 635, J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1883 ii. 796, E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 81, F. Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* iv. 290.

[1] Theophr. *frag.* 190 Wimmer (quoted *supra* p. 498 n. 2) *τῆς φιλύρας*.

More than fifty years ago my brothers and I, as boys in our father's garden, used in the heat of summer to creep under the green translucent shade of some over-hanging lime-boughs, and I well remember tasting the sweet sticky liquid with which the leaves were coated.

[2] Sen. *epist.* 12. 2. 4 aiunt inveniri apud Indos mel in arundinum foliis, quod aut ros illius coeli aut ipsius arundinis humor dulcis et pinguior gignit, Philostr. *her.* 20. 43 *τρέφουσι δὲ* (*sc.* *αἱ Ἀμαζόνες*) *τὰ βρέφη γάλακτί τε φορβάδων ἵππων καὶ δρόσου κηρίοις, ἣ μέλιτος δίκην ἐπὶ τοὺς δόναξ τῶν ποταμῶν ἵζάνει*, Ail. *de nat. an.* 15. 7 *ὕεται ἡ Ἰνδῶν γῆ διὰ τοῦ ἦρος μέλιτι ὑγρῷ, καὶ ἔτι πλέον ἡ Πρασίων χώρα, ὅπερ οὖν ἐμπίπτον ταῖς πόαις καὶ ταῖς τῶν ἐλείων καλάμων κόμαις νομὰς τοῖς βουσὶ καὶ τοῖς προβάτοις παρέχει θαυμαστάς, καὶ τὰ μὲν ζῷα ἐστιᾶται ἡδίστην τήνδε ἑστίασιν* (*μάλιστα γὰρ ἐνταῦθα οἱ νομεῖς ἀγουσιν αὐτά, ἔνθα καὶ μᾶλλον ἡ δρόσος ἡ γλυκεῖα κάθηται πεσοῦσα*), *ἀνθεστιᾷ δὲ καὶ τὰ ζῷα τοὺς νομέας· ἁμέλγουσι γὰρ περιγλύκιστον γάλα, καὶ οὐ δέονται ἀναμίξαι αὐτῷ μέλι, ὅπερ οὖν δρῶσιν Ἕλληνες*. But Plin. *nat. hist.* 11. 14 melliginem (*sc.* faciunt apes) e lacrimis arborum, quae glutinum pariunt, salicis, ulmi, harundinis suco, cummi, resina is dealing with vegetable exudations, not supposed dew. And anon. *peripl. mar. Erythr.* 14 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 267 Müller) *ἐξαρτίζεται δὲ συνήθως καὶ ἀπὸ τῶν ἔσω τόπων, τῆς Ἀριακῆς καὶ Βαρυγάζων, ... μέλι τὸ καλάμινον τὸ λεγόμενον σάκχαρι* refers to sugar-cane.

[3] R. Lydekker *The Royal Natural History* London 1896 vi. 198 'The sticky substance known as honey-dew, which is often spread in a shiny layer over the upper surface of leaves, is, in most cases, nothing but the liquid dropped by the crowds of plant-lice living above on the under side of other leaves.'

[4] *The Encyclopædia Britannica*[14] London 1929 xi. 715 'The exudation of a nectar-like or saccharine fluid is a function exclusively of flowers but may be found as a secretion or excretion on all parts of various plants which occur above ground. A sweet material, manna, is produced by leaves and stems of a species of ash, and nectar-secreting glands are found on leaves, petioles, stipules, bracts and even on the outer surfaces of corollas and calyces of various plant species. The origin of nectar-secretion manifested specially by flowers among the several parts of plants has been carefully considered by Darwin, who regards the saccharine matter in nectar as a waste product of chemical changes in the sap.... The secretions or excretions of nectar from parts of plants other than the interior of flowers are commonly called plant honey-dews.

'Another important source of sweet liquid for honey-bees is the excretions of many species of sucking insects, these being called insect honey-dews to distinguish them from normal plant secretions. Various orders of Hemiptera form this material which is eagerly gathered by bees, but only when no supplies of nectar are available....'

Ib. xi. 717 'HONEY DEW, a secretion consisting of exudations of sugar from the leaves of various trees under certain atmospheric conditions. It is usually the result of a superfluity of sap, but may also be produced by the puncture of certain insects (*Aphides*, *q.v.*)....'

[5] *La grande encyclopédie* Paris (1898) xxiii. 956 *s.v.* 'MIELLAT, MIELLÉE ou MIELLURE.'

[6] J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1877 iv. 2. 1793 *s.v.* 'Honigthau' ('von blattläusen herrührt').

Country folk in the second century A.D., when they observed such honey-dew on the leaves, would say with a smile 'Zeus has been raining honey![1]' And what they said in jest, their forefathers had said in earnest. Hence the curious belief that Dionysos was called *Hýes* because at his begetting 'Zeus rained ambrosia upon him[2]'—a point to which we shall recur[3].

But if honey, why not honey-cakes? Why not dainties of all sorts? The comedians caught at the notion. Pherekrates[4] in his *Persians* (towards the close of *s.* v B.C.[5]) imagines a happy land in which rivers of black broth with rich spice-nuts and best barley-bread shall flow from the springs of Ploutos, all ready to be ladled up,—

> While Zeus rains wine, well-smoked and fine, in one tile-drenching sputter
> (A bathman's souse), till every house massed grapes and cheese-cakes clutter,
> And soup all hot and Lord-knows-what goes gurgling down the gutter.

Nikophon, a later contemporary of Aristophanes[6], in his *Sirens* pictures a similar scene, but omits the name of Zeus:

> Then let it snow with meal,
> Drizzle with loaves, and rain with lentil-soup;
> Let broth roll tit-bits all adown the streets,
> And cake invite us to consume itself[7].

From such classical Utopias it is not a far cry to the mediaeval

[1] Galen. *περὶ τροφῶν δυνάμεως* 3. 39 (vi. 738 ff. Kühn) *ἡ τῶν τροφῶν ὕλη πᾶσα μέχρι δεῦρο διττοῖς γένεσι περιληφθεῖσα, τὸ μὲν ἕτερον αὐτῶν ἐκ φυτῶν εἶχε, τὸ δὲ ἕτερον ἐκ ζώων· ἑκατέρας δ' αὐτῶν ἀφώρισται τὸ μέλι. γίνεται μὲν γὰρ ἐπὶ τοῖς φύλλοις τῶν φυτῶν, ἔστι δὲ οὔτε χυλὸς αὐτῶν, οὔτε καρπός, οὔτε μόριον, ἀλλ' ὁμογενὲς μὲν ταῖς δρόσοις, οὐ μὴν οὔτε συνεχῶς οὔθ' ὁμοίως ἐκείναις γίνεται δαψιλές. οἶδα δέ ποτε θέρους ὥρᾳ πλεῖστον ὅσον ἐπὶ τοῖς τῶν δένδρων καὶ θάμνων καί τινων βοτανῶν φύλλοις εὑρεθέν, ὡς ὑπὸ τῶν γεωργῶν λέγεσθαι παιζόντων, 'ὁ Ζεὺς ἔβρεξε μέλι.' προηγεῖτο δὲ νὺξ μὲν εὐψυχής, ὡς ἐν θέρει, (θέρους γὰρ ἦν ὥρα τηνικαῦτα,) θερμὴ δὲ καὶ ξηρὰ κρᾶσις ἀέρος ἐπὶ τῆς προτεραίας... παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν οὖν σπανίως φαίνεται τοῦτο γινόμενον, ἐν δὲ τῷ ὄρει τῷ Διβάνῳ καθ' ἕκαστον ἔτος οὐκ ὀλίγον. ὥστε ἐκπεταννύντες ἐπὶ γῆς δέρματα καὶ σείοντες τὰ δένδρα δέχονται τὸ ἀπορρέον ἀπ' αὐτῶν καὶ χύτρας καὶ κεράμια πληροῦσι τοῦ μέλιτος. ὀνομάζουσι δ' αὐτὸ δροσόμελί τε καὶ ἀερόμελι (*supra* p. 496 n. 3). πρόδηλος μὲν οὖν ἡ ὕλη τῇ γενέσει τοῦ μέλιτος ὁμογενὴς τις οὖσα ταῖς δρόσοις, κ.τ.λ. *Supra* p. 261 n. 1.*

Galen's statement that on Libanos men spread skins upon the ground to catch the honey-dew may throw some light on Judges 6. 36 ff., where Gideon says to God: 'If thou wilt save Israel by mine hand, as thou hast spoken, behold, I will put a fleece of wool on the threshing-floor; if there be dew on the fleece only, and it be dry upon all the ground, then shall I know that thou wilt save Israel by mine hand,' etc.

[2] Bekker *anecd.* i. 207, 26 ff. (quoted *supra* ii. 275 n. 12).

[3] *Infra* § 9 (i).

[4] Pherekr. *Persai frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 315 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 269 C—E. The relevant lines are *ὁ Ζεὺς δ' ὗων οἴνῳ καπνίᾳ κατὰ τοῦ κεράμου βαλανεύσει, | ἀπὸ τῶν δὲ τεγῶν ὀχετοὶ βοτρύων μετὰ ναστίσκων πολυτύρων | ὀχετεύσονται θερμῷ σὺν ἕτνει καὶ λειριοπολφανεμώναις.*

[5] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 411 f.

[6] *Frag. com. Gr.* i. 256 Meineke.

[7] Nikoph. *Seirenes frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 851 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 269 E *νειφέτω μὲν ἀλφίτοις, | ψακαζέτω δ' ἄρτοισιν, ὑέτω δ' ἕτνει· | ζωμὸς διὰ τῶν ὁδῶν κυλινδείτω κρέα· | πλακοῦς ἑαυτὸν ἐσθίειν κελευέτω.*

Land of Cokaygne[1] in its English[2], French[3], Italian[4], or Teutonic varieties[5]. A frequent element in these Wonderlands is the fall of

[1] On the derivation of the name see F. Diez *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der romanischen Sprachen*[5] Bonn 1887 p. 114, F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 229, G. Körting *Lateinisch-romanisches Wörterbuch*[2] Paderborn 1901 p. 249, E. Weekley *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* London 1921 p. 322, R. Plate *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der französischen Sprache* Berlin—Bonn 1931 p. 69.

[2] J. E. Wells *A Manual of the Writings in Middle English 1050—1400* Yale University Press 1916 p. 228 f. 'THE LAND OF COCKAYGNE...consists of 95 short couplets of 1250—1300 in MS. Harley 913 f. 3. The MS. was written probably between 1308 and 1318, at latest before 1325... possibly...from a lost French source.' Bibliography *ib.* p. 798 f. The text was first published by G. Hickes *Linguarum Vett. septentrionalium thesaurus grammatico-criticus et archæologicus* Oxoniæ 1705 i. 231—233, then *e.g.* by T. Wright in M. Haupt—H. Hoffmann *Altdeutsche Blätter* Leipzig 1836 i. 396—401, and with revised readings and useful notes by E. Mätzner *Altenglische Sprachproben* Berlin 1867 i. 147—152.

Similar fancies crop up here and there in much later verse (cp. T. Crofton Croker *The Popular Songs of Ireland* London 1839 p. 76 'Then let it, ye powers, | Rain whisky in showers,' or T. Hood's 'I've heard about a pleasant land, | Where omelettes grow on trees, | And roasted pigs run, crying out, | "Come eat me, if you please"').

[3] É. Barbazan *Fabliaux et contes des poëtes françois des xi, xii, xiii, xiv et xv^e siècles*[2] Paris 1808 iv. 175—181 ('C'est li fabliaus de Coquaigne. Manuscrits, n^os 7218 et 7615'), especially vv. 96—100 'Trois fois i pluet en la semaine | Une ondée de flaons (*sc.* "tartes, gâteaux") chauz | Dont jà ne cheveluz ne chauz (*sc.* "chauve") | N'iert destornez, jel' sai de voir, | Ainz en prent tout à son voloir.' This thirteenth-century French poem is copied in a Dutch version 'van dat edele lant van Cockaengen' (R. Priebsch in the *Tijdschrift voor nederl. taal- en letterkunde* 1894 xiii. 185—191), where it rains flat cakes and pancakes (J. Poeschel in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1878 v. 413).

In M. A. Le Grand's comedy *Le roi de Cocagne* acte i scène 2 (composed in 1718, ed. Paris 1742 ii. 146) Bombance declares: 'Le pigeonneau farci, l'alouette rôtie, | Nous tombent ici bas du Ciel comme la pluye.'

[4] The earliest allusion occurs in one of the *Carmina Burana* (ed. J. A. Schmeller Stuttgart 1847 p. 254) entitled *Confessio Goliae*, which was written at Pavia *c.* 1162—1164 by a wandering cleric and addressed to Reinald von Dassel, Archbishop of Cologne (W. Giesebrecht in the *Allgemeine Monatschrift für Wissenschaft und Literatur* 1853 p. 364). The author states: 'Ego sum abbas Cucaniensis et consilium meum est cum bibulis et in secta Decii voluntas mea est.' But the first detailed description is found in Boccaccio's *Decamerone*. G. Boccaccio *The Decameron* trans. J. M. Rigg London 1920 ii. 187 (Eighth day, Novel iii): 'Chiefly in Berlinzone, in the land of the Basques. The district is called Bengodi [*sc.* ubi bene gaudetur], and there they bind the vines with sausages, and a denier will buy a goose and a gosling into the bargain; and on a mountain, all of grated Parmesan cheese, dwell folk that do nought else but make macaroni and raviuoli[1] ([1]A sort of rissole.), and boil them in capon's broth, and then throw them down to be scrambled for; and hard by flows a rivulet of Vernaccia, the best that ever was drunk, and never a drop of water therein.' Dr H. Meier draws my attention to A. Bertarelli *L'imagerie populaire italienne* Paris 1929 pp. 50 fig. ('Le Pays de Cocagne des femmes.' Rome. Taille-douce vers 1650) and 51 fig. ('Description du Pays de Cocagne.' Taille-douce coloriée au pinceau, de Remondinià Bassano. xviii^e siècle).

[5] F. Kluge *Etymologisches Wörterbuch der deutschen Sprache*[6] Strassburg 1899 p. 341 'Schlaraffe M. seit dem 17. Jahrh. für älter nhd. (16. Jahrh.) *Schlauraffe*, das noch im 18. Jahrh. (z. B. Maaler der Sitten II 193) begegnet: aus dem seit dem 14. Jahrhundert bezeugten und kaum älteren mhd. *slûr-affe* (: sluder-affe) M. "üppig lebender, gedankenloser Müssiggänger, Schlaraffe" (bei Maaler 1561 *Schluraff* "fast schläferig Mensch") zu mhd. *slûr* "Faulenzerei, faule Person" sowie zu *schleudern* und *schlummern*, Ursprgl.

comestibles in a shower from the sky. The gap between ancient and modern examples is filled, on the one hand, by folk-tales that tell of eatables and drinkables falling like rain[1], on the other hand, by would-be historical happenings[2], sometimes susceptible of a scientific explanation, sometimes exaggerations or distortions of residual facts.

war *slâr-affe* Schimpfwort wie frühnhd. *Gähnaffe*, *Maulaffe* und *Rotzaffe*. Die erste ausführliche Schilderung des seit dem 15. Jahrh. erwähnten Schlaraffenlandes hat Hans Sachs 1530 in einem Schwank gegeben' [E. Goetze *Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke von Hans Sachs* Halle a. S. 1893 i. 8—11 no. 4 'Das Schlauraffen Landt' in 108 short riming lines]. For other early references to *Schlaraffenland* see J. Poeschel in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1878 v. 416 ff., J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zur den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 248 ff. *Grimm's Household Tales* trans. M. Hunt London 1901 ii. 229 f. no. 158 'The Story of Schlauraffen Land' is taken from a German poem of the fourteenth century (printed from a Strassburg MS. by M. Haupt—H. Hoffmann *Altdeutsche Blätter* Leipzig 1836 i. 163—165 in 63 short riming lines). In this topsy-turvy country *e.g.* 'sweet honey flowed like water from a deep valley at the top of a high mountain.' A. Alsleben *Johann Fischarts Geschichtklitterung* (*Gargantua*) Halle a. S. 1891 p. 143 (cap. 6) 'In dem Land kan ich nicht meh bleiben, der lufft thut mich in Schlauraffen treiben. drey meil hinder Weihenacht, da seind die Lebkuchenwänd, Schweinepratentrömm, Maluasirpronnen, Bachschnittbach, Bachfischbäch, Eyer im Schmaltz für Hartz und Gummi da die Taubenschlag mäuler gepraten Wachteln fangen, die dem Bauren uber Nacht im gefäss geruhet haben, da der Milchramregen, der Zuckererbsen Hagel, der speisold vund schlafon regieret, O der Pratwürst Zäun, honiggips, fladendächer, welche die Weinhelden vorstürnung des vollen Bergs sehr verschantzen,' etc. Fischart's *Gargantua* was first printed in 1575. My pl. xl is from the *Bilderkatalog zu* [*M.*] *Geisberg: Der deutsche Einblatt-Holzschnitt* (a woodcut printed by W. Strauch, Nürnberg). The book was kindly lent to me by Dr H. Meier. Cp. Reinach *Rép. Peintures* ii. 753, 2 (a painting by Breughel le Vieux, now at Berlin).

[1] See the tales cited by J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 527 f.

[2] Athen. 333 A—B οἶδα δὲ καὶ πολλαχοῦ ὕσαντα τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύσι· Φαινίας γοῦν ἐν δευτέρῳ Πρυτάνεων Ἐρεσίων (*frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 294 Müller), cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 35, 16 f.) ἐν Χερρονήσῳ φησὶν ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας ὗσαι τὸν θεὸν ἰχθύας. καὶ Φύλαρχος δ' ἐν τετάρτῃ (*frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 335 Müller)=*frag.* 4 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 163 f. Jacoby), cp. *pap. Oxyrh.* xv no. 1801 col. ii, 43 f. [...].στις ακριδασ[.]ε[.]. ατρα [.....] | και Φυλαρχος εν τη δ [.....]) ἑωρακέναι τινὰς πολλαχοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὕσαντα ἰχθύσι, πολλάκις δὲ καὶ πυροῖς τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνοντος καὶ ἐπὶ βατράχων (P. P. Dobree cj. γυρίνοις for πυροῖς and would omit καὶ ἐπὶ βατράχων. F. Jacoby prints [πολλαχοῦ τὸν θεὸν ὕσαντα ἰχθύσι]** πολλάκις δὲ καὶ γυρίνοις τοῦ αὐτοῦ συμβαίνοντος καὶ ἐπὶ βατράχων. But K. W. Dindorf rightly retains the manuscript readings). Ἡρακλείδης γοῦν ὁ Λέμβος ἐν τῇ κα' τῶν ἱστοριῶν (*frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 168 Müller), cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 35, 17 ff. and Appian. *Illyr.* 4) 'περὶ τὴν Παιονίαν καὶ Δαρδανίαν βατράχους,' φησίν, 'ὕσαν ὁ θεὸς καὶ τοσοῦτο αὐτῶν ἐγένετο τὸ πλῆθος ὡς τὰς οἰκίας καὶ τὰς ὁδοὺς πλήρεις εἶναι. τὰς μὲν οὖν πρώτας ἡμέρας κτείνοντες τούτους καὶ συγκλείοντες τὰς οἰκίας διεκαρτέρουν· ὡς δ' οὐδὲν ἤνυον, ἀλλὰ τά τε σκεύη ἐπλησοῦτο καὶ μετὰ τῶν ἐδεσμάτων εὐρίσκοντο συνεψόμενοι καὶ συνοπτώμενοι οἱ βάτραχοι καὶ πρὸς τούτοις οὔτε (so K. W. Dindorf for οὐδὲ codd.) τοῖς ὕδασιν ἦν χρῆσθαι οὔτε τοὺς πόδας ἐπὶ τὴν γῆν θεῖναι συσσεσωρευμένων αὐτῶν, ἐνοχλούμενοι δὲ καὶ ὑπὸ τῆς τῶν τετελευτηκότων ὀδμῆς, ἔφυγον τὴν χώραν.' To the same effect Agatharch. *de mari Erythraeo* 59 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* i. 151 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 453 b 30 f. Bekker καὶ βάτραχοι, ὁ γέγονε περὶ τοὺς Αὐταριάτας, Diod. 3. 30 τοὺς δὲ καλουμένους Αὐταριάτας βάτραχοι τὴν ἀρχέγονον σύστασιν ἐν τοῖς νέφεσι λαμβάνοντες καὶ πίπτοντες ἀντὶ τῆς συνήθους ψεκάδος ἐβιάσαντο τὰς πατρίδας καταλιπεῖν καὶ κ αταφυγεῖν εἰς τοῦτον τὸν τόπον ἐν ᾧ νῦν καθίδρυνται. But Theophr. *frag.* 174. 1 Wimmer

Das Schlauraffenlandt.

EIN gegend heyst Schlauraffenlandt
Den faulen Leuten wol bekandt
Da sind die Hefner gedreh mit Fladen
Leckkuchen die Haußhür vnd Laden
Von Speck kuchen Thielen vnd wend
Die Trön von Schwegnen braten sendt
Vnd jedes Hauß ist ein Zaun
Geflochten von Bratwürsten braun
Von Maltwasser so sind die Brunnen
Kommen eim selbst ins Maul gerunnen
Auff Weyden koppen die Semmel siehn
Darunter Bech mit Milch gehn
Die fallen dann in Bach herab
Das jederman zu essen hab
Auch gehn die Tisch in den Lachen
Gesotten-bratten-gfullt vnd backen
Vnd gehn bey dem Gestadt so nahen
Lassen sich mit den Henden fahen
Auch fliegen vmb/mögt ihr glauben
Gebraten Hüner/Gens vnd Tauben
Wer sie nicht facht vnd ist so faul
Den fliegen sie selbst in das maul
Die Saw all Tag wol geraten
Lauffen im Landt vmb sind gebraten
Yede ein Messer hat im Ruck
Damit ein jeder schneidt ein stuck
Vnd steckt das Messer wider dein
Creutz Käß wachsen wie die Stein
So wachssen Darren auff den bawmen
Gleich wie in vnserm Land die Pflaumen
Wenns jetzig sind so fallens ab
Yeder in ein par Stifflet rab
Wer Pferd hat wird ein reicher Meyer
Dann sie legen ganz Körb vol Eyer
Am weg vil Geldts man finden ist
Ein Zunfft Diun ist im Land alle fest
Ein jedes verdrießt sich die alten
Dick kurtzweyl man im Landt hat halten
So zu dem ziel schiessen die Gest
Der weitest vom blat gewind das best
Auch ist im Landt gut Gelt gewinnen
Wer sehr faul ist vnd schleffi darinnen
Dem gibt man von der stund zwen pfenig
Er schlafft ihr gleich viel oder wenig
Ein furtz gilt ein Binger heller
Darzu gröber einen Jochims Thaler
Vnd welcher sein Gelt auch verspielt
Zwifach man ihm das wider gibt
Vnnd welcher auch nicht gern zalt
Wenn die schuld wird eins Jares alt
Muß ihm dieser zu geben ohn klag
Vnnd welcher wol trincken mag
Dem gibt man von dem trunck ein bahzer
Vnd welcher wol die Leut kan fatzen
Dan gibt man ein Plappart zu lohn
Für ein grosse Lüg ein Kron
Doch muß sich da hüten ein man
Aller vermünfft frey müssig gan
Wer Stein vnd Bitz brauchen wolt
Dem würd kein Mensch im Lande holde
Vnd wer gern arbeyt mit der handt
Dem verbrent mans Schlauraffen Lande
Wer zucht vnd erbarkeyt hat lieb
Den selben man des Landts vertreib
Wer vnmuß ist will nichts nie lehren
Der kumbt im Land zu grossen ehren
Dann wer der faulest wirdt erkandt
Derselbig ist König in dem Land
Wer wölt vnd wild on sinnig ist
Grob vnuerstanden zu aller frist
Auß dem macht man im land ein Fürsten
Wer gern sicht mit leder würsten
Auß dem wu Ritter wordt gemacht
Der stelzlechsch ist vnd nichts nit acht
Denn essen trincken vnd ol schlaffen
Auß dem macht man im Land ein Graffe
Wer tölpisch ist vnd nichts nit kan
Der ist im Land ein Edelman
Wer also lebt wie obgemande
Der ist gut ins Schlauraffen Landt
Das wen den alten ist erdicht
Zu kraft der sigerdi zu gericht
Die gemeinlich ist faul vnd gefreßig
Ungeschickt hoflos vnd nachtessig
Das man sie weist in Schlauraffen
Damit ihr schlüchtig weyß zu straffen
Das sie haben auff Arbeyt acht
Wer faule weyß nichts gutes bracht

Zu Nürnberg, bey Wolff Strauch

Das Schlauraffenlandt, 'The Country of Cokaygne,' from a woodcut printed by W. Strauch of Nuremberg.

See page 502 *n.* 0.

ap. Phot. *bibl.* 527 b 17 ff. Bekker shrewdly observes ἄλλα δὲ προϋπάρχει μέν, ἐκφαίνεται δὲ διὰ τοὺς ὑετούς, ὥσπερ οἵ τε κοχλίαι καὶ οἱ μικροὶ βάτραχοι· οὐ γὰρ ὕονται, ὡς τινες ᾠήθησαν, ἀλλὰ προφαίνονται μόνον, κατὰ γῆς ὄντα πρότερον, διὰ τὸ εἰσρεῖν τὸ ὕδωρ εἰς τὰς θαλάμας αὐτῶν.

Cp. the beliefs noted by J. Jonston *Thaumatographia Naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 123 'At in Amelandia [one of the west Frisian Islands], quæ ranam nullam patitur, ranis pluisse, ex *Præceptore nostro Clarissimo Domino Menelao Vinsemio Med. D. in alma Frisiorum Profess. accepimus*' (with context), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-Lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 70 f. 'dans le Bocage vendéen, le *cerne* [*sc.* l'arc-en-ciel] enlève l'eau des étangs, et tombe en produisant une pluie de poissons [J. de la Chesnaye in the *Revue des traditions populaires* 1902 xvii. 138]; en Basse-Bretagne, quand il a bu l'eau des étangs, il produit parfois des pluies de grenouilles ou de petits poissons [L. F. Sauvé in *Mélusine* 1884—85 ii. 13],' O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 ii. 603 'Im Schwäbischen sagt man sprichwörtlich: Wenn's Krotten (=Kröten) hagelt,' H. Bächtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 125 ff. 'Die oft in Scharen dem Wasser entsteigenden jungen Frösche gaben Veranlassung zum Glauben an den *F.-Regen*. ...Der Glaube ist heute noch lebend; in Westböhmen meint man, dass, wenn die Sonne Wasser zieht, sie auch die kleinen Frösche mit hinauf ziehe, die dann als F.-Regen wieder auf die Erde fallen' citing C. von Megenberg *Das Buch der Natur* ed. H. Schulz Greifswald 1897 p. 59 cap. 2. 10 'Hier und da beobachtet man, dass es kleine Frösche und Fische regnet. Ausserdem sieht man den Thau und den Reif und wilden Honig aus der Luft fallen,' p. 65 f. cap. 2. 16 'Zuweilen regnet es auch kleine Frösche oder Fischchen. Dies ereignet sich dann, wenn der wässerige Dunst bei seinem Uebergang in Wasser dieselben Eigenschaften besitzt wie der wässerige Samen, aus dem die Frösche oder Fische entstehen. Die Kraft der Gestirne erzeugt dann aus dem dazu geeigneten Material die Thierchen und giesst Leben in sie hinein. Ich rathe Dir aber nicht, die Fischchen zu verspeisen, denn sie sind von grober Art und giftig,' C. Gesner *Thierbuch* ed. C. Forer Zürich 1563 p. 167 b [*Epitome quatuor librorum Conradi Gesneri* Lipsiæ 1605 p. 40 'Aliæ (*sc.* ranæ) per tempestates ex aere deiiciuntur, & *διοπετεῖς* cognominantur.'...'Aliæ *διιπετεῖς* (rectius quâ *διοπετεῖς*) Cælitus vel cum pluuia demissæ, In nubibus enim procreatæ decidunt'], E. Rolland *Faune populaire de la France* Paris 1881 iii. 68 'En hollandais, on appelle les tétards *donderpaddetjes* par suite du préjugé qui veut qu'ils prennent naissance dans les airs et tombent à terre au moment des orages—Nemnich,' J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1878 iv. i. 252 *s.v.* 'Froschbrut,' 254 *s.v.* 'Froschregen,' 1893 viii. 520 *s.v.* 'Regenfrosch,' A. John *Sitte, Brauch und Volksglaube im deutschen Westböhmen* Prag 1905 p. 221 f.=p. 233 'Wenn die Sonne "Wasser zieht," so zieht sie auch die Fröschleiu mit hinauf, die als Froschregen wieder zur Erde fallen (Tachauer Heimatskde. S. 169),' p. 236 'Die nach einem warmen Regen herumhüpfenden kleinen Frösche denkt man sich vom Himmel gefallen (Karlsbad—Duppau),' F. Schönwerth *Aus der Oberpfalz. Sitten und Sagen* Augsburg 1857—1859 ii. 54 no. 6, J. V. Grohmann *Aberglauben und Gebräuche aus Böhmen und Mähren* Prag—Leipzig 1864 p. 82 no. 586, G. Strafforello *Errori e pregiudizii volgari confutati colla scorta della scienza e del raziocinio*[2] Milano 1911 p. 60 f., A. P. T. Paracelsus Genevæ 1658 i. 123 a—b 'Aiunt, pluere ranas. Id quî fiat, intelligite.' etc., ii. 312 b 'Dicendum iam porrò etiam de generatione est illa, quâ interdum ranæ, vermes, aut viuentia animalia alia è sublimi deiiciuntur & inueniuntur.' etc.

I add two recent examples. *The Daily Telegraph* Saturday 17 March 1934 p. 11: 'The inhabitants of Pistoia, a Tuscan hill town forty miles from the sea, were amazed to find red rain falling. It contained small fishes swept up from the sea by the gales.' The *Cambridge Daily News* Tuesday 13 March 1934 p. 1: 'Cambridge is still puzzling over the showers of fish which fell on the Market-place on Monday morning and Monday afternoon. On two distinct occasions it was found small fish of the stickleback breed, and anything up to two inches in size, were scattered about the cracks in the cobbles on Market-hill....At least one of the fish found on the Hill was alive this morning and browsing around in a jar in a private laboratory in the town. Others were taken away by passers-by or by interested students of natural phenomena....No one apparently saw

The Land of Cokaygne was represented, not merely by mediaeval tales[1] of a far country where viands of the choicest sort were to be had for the asking, but also by popular customs in which a determined effort was made to get there and feast to heart's content. Thus at Naples the name *Cuccagna*[2] was given to a yearly merry-

the fish actually fall, but when the sun dried up the water which filled the crevices between the cobbles after the heavy showers, it was found that a large number of small fish were lying there. Some were silver, some red, and some of an entirely different colour. With them was found a small quantity of vegetation...one stallholder recalled that three years ago he had a similar experience on the road between Foxton and Shepreth, when a multitude of small frogs suddenly descended. The Superintendent of the Cambridge Botanical Gardens also recollected a similar experience with minnows and tadpoles on the Bath—London road some years ago.'

In speaking of fish, frogs, and meal as dropped from the sky, Athenaios and his sources used throughout, not the name *Zeús*, but the vaguer term *ὁ θεός*. The Roman historians omit even that acknowledgement of the divine, when they record—

(1) a rain of flesh:

461 B.C. (Liv. 3. 10, Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 10. 2, Nepotian. *epit. Val. Max.* 7. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147, Lyd. *de ostent.* prooem. 6 p. 13, 3 ff. Wachsmuth at Rome.)

(2) a rain of milk:

274 B.C. (Oros. 4. 5. 1.)
209 (Liv. 27. 11.)
194 (Liv. 34. 45 Interamnae lac fluxisse with many variants, for which see A. Drakenborch *ad loc.* J. F. Gronov cj. Nare amni.)
163 (Iul. Obs. 73=14 Gabiis.)
130 (Iul. Obs. 87=28 Romae in Graecostasi.)
125 (Iul. Obs. 90=30 in Veiente.)
124 (Iul. Obs. 91=31 in Graecostasi.)
118 (Iul. Obs. 95=35.)
117 (?) (Iul. Obs. 96=36 Praeneste.)
114 (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147.)
106 (Iul. Obs. 101=41 in agro Perusino et Romae locis aliquot.)
104 (Iul. Obs. 103=43 in Lucanis.)
95 (Iul. Obs. 110=50 Caere.)
92 (Iul. Obs. 113=53 Romae.)

(3) a rain of oil:

125 B.C. (Iul. Obs. 90=30 in Veiente.)

[1] These have been collected and discussed by J. Poeschel 'Das Märchen vom Schlaraffenlande' in H. Paul—W. Braune *Beiträge zur Geschichte der deutschen Sprache und Literatur* 1878 v. 389—427 (universal belief in a happy childhood of mankind: Greek reign of Kronos and its parodies, in which distant age becomes distant place *e.g.* India: Romance-languages postulate a definite 'wunschland,' the Latin *Cucania*, Italian *Cuccagna*, Spanish *Cucaña*, French *Coquaigne*, *Cocagne*: German *Schlaraffenland* points the moral), A. Graf *Miti, Leggende e Superstizioni del Medio Evo* Torino 1892 pp. 229—238 ('Il Paese di Cuccagna e i *Paradisi artificiali*'), E. Schmidt *Charakteristiken* Zweite Reihe Berlin 1901 pp. 51—70 ('Das Schlaraffenland' with verse-quotations), J. Bolte 'Bilderbogen des 16. und 17. Jahrhunderts' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1910 xx. 187—193 ('Das Schlaraffenland' with a woodcut of 1575—1600), J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1918 iii. 244—258 ('158. Das Märchen vom Schlauraffenland'—a full account of all European versions).

[2] J. Poeschel *loc. cit.* 1878 v. 409 f., J. Bolte—G. Polívka *op. cit.* iii. 248.

making, which has been traced back to the early part of the sixteenth century[1]: on the last Thursday before Lent a pyramid stacked with poultry, sausages, and eatables of every kind was taken in procession through the streets and, on reaching the big market-place, was handed over to the mob, which scrambled for the prize. In Spain a similar celebration was called *Cucaña*[2]: comestibles and other things were fastened to the very top of a tall well-soaped pole, up which competitors clambered to the amusement of all. The same sport, which in Italy is known as the *Giuoco della Cuccagna*[3], was introduced into France in 1425, and thenceforward the *mât de cocagne* became a frequent feature of public festivities[4]. It seems never to have obtained much footing in Germany, where its equivalent was to be found in such rites as the thirteenth-century *Gral* at Magdeburg[5]. But it was certainly the ancestor of our own Greasy Pole[6], still a favourite item on the programmes of provincial regattas. Indeed, it is not a little curious to reflect that a ceremony,

[1] Cp. Hans Sachs 'Sturm des vollen Bergs,' a poem of 1536, in E. Goetze *Hans Sachs Sämtliche Fabeln und Schwänke* Halle a. S. 1893 i. 138—141 no. 43.

[2] J. Poeschel *loc. cit.* 1878 v. 410, J. Bolte—G. Polívka *op. cit.* iii. 248. See also the *Diccionario de la Lengua Castellana por la Real Academia Española*[14] Madrid 1914 p. 302[c] '**Cucaña**...f. Palo largo, untado de jabón o de grasa, por el cual se ha de trepar, si se hinca verticalmente en el suelo, o andar, si se coloca horizontalmente a cierta distancia de la superficie del agua, para coger como premio un objeto atado a su extremidad. ‖ 2 Diversión de ver trepar por dicho palo.'

[3] A. Hoare *An Italian Dictionary* Cambridge 1925 p. 196[b] '**Cuccagna** *f.* ...Giuoco della —, climbing a greasy pole for a prize fastened at the top of it.'

[4] *La grande encyclopédie* Paris (1890) xi. 755 *s.v.* 'COCAGNE'...'Un terme très employé, *mât de cocagne*, désigne un mât rond, lisse et élevé, planté en terre, dressé pendant les rejouissances publiques; il porte à son sommet des objets de toutes sortes, des prix qui appartiennent à celui ou ceux qui parviennent à grimper jusqu'en haut sans secours. Ce mât est soigneusement savonné, ce qui complique encore la difficulté des ascensions. Ce divertissement populaire a été, il semble, introduit pour la première fois à Paris en 1425, ainsi qu'on le voit par le *Journal d'un bourgeois de Paris sous Charles vii*' [A. Potthast *Bibliotheca Historica Medii Aevi*[2] Berlin 1896 i. 686 f.], *Dictionnaire de l'Académie Française*[8] Paris 1932 i. 250 *s.v.* 'COCAGNE'...'*Mât de cocagne*, Mât rond et lisse, planté en terre, au haut duquel sont suspendus des prix qu'il faut aller détacher en grimpant sans aucun secours. *On plante ordinairement des mâts de cocagne les jours de fête publique.*'

[5] J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 1980 *s.v.* 'Krales'... '*es musz aus Niederdeutschland gekommen sein. dort hiesz* gral *m. ein fest, wie es z.b. die Magdeburger schöppenchronik* [A. Potthast *op. cit.*[2] Berlin 1896 ii. 1002 f.] *um 1280 als in Magdeburg gefeiert schildert... denn bei jenem feste, z.b. in Magdeburg, bildete den mittelpunkt ein auf einer Elbinsel errichteter bau,* der gral, *in dem helden hausten und zum kampfe daraus hervor kamen, eine darstellung des graltempels, gedacht als inbegriff aller herlichkeit; der name des kleinods* gral *gieng dabei auf das gebäude über, das ihm diente. eigen bei* FISCHART 'den Gral oder Venusberg besuchen' Garg. 414 Sch. *...er ist da in Italien gedacht.*'

[6] The Spanish *Cucaña* was sometimes, like our Greasy Bowsprit, a pole projecting horizontally above the water (*supra* n. 2).

which began as a serious attempt to climb up into heaven and share the food of the gods, should end as a comic failure to carry off the coveted ham.

iv. Pyre-extinguishing rain.

On sundry occasions Zeus by means of a timely rain extinguished a pyre and saved the life of a victim.

A case in point is furnished by the myth of Alkmene, at least in its later and fully developed form. The Homeric *Nékyia* includes among the list of dead heroines Alkmene, the wife of Amphitryon, who became by Zeus the mother of lion-hearted Herakles[1]. An excerpt from the Hesiodic *Catalogue of Women*, now serving as proem to the *Shield of Herakles*[2], gives further detail[3]. Amphitryon might not consort with his wife till he had avenged the death of her brothers, who had been slain by the cattle-raiding Taphians and Teleboans. Meantime Zeus quitted Olympos, and came by way of Typhaonion (the mountain of Typhon[4]) and the top of Phikion (the mountain of the Sphinx[5]) to Thebes, where he lay with Alkmene. The self-same night Amphitryon returned from the fighting, and likewise consorted with his wife. Thereafter she bore twins, Herakles the stronger to immortal Zeus, Iphikles the weaker to mortal Amphitryon.

Thus far the myth is a typical tale of Boeotian[6] twins. The extra birth, abnormal and hard to understand, was regarded as due to the action of some god[7]. And since Amphitryon as king stood in a special relation to Zeus[8] and even bore a name suggestive of the lightning[9], it was natural to assume that the god in question was Zeus, and to view the superior twin as his son, the inferior[10] as that of the human father.

[1] *Od.* 11. 266 ff.

[2] Hes. *sc. Her.* argum. A p. 101, 1 f. Rzach τῆς Ἀσπίδος ἡ ἀρχὴ ἐν τῷ τετάρτῳ Καταλόγῳ φέρεται μέχρι στίχων ν' καὶ ϛ'. See W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 125, A. Rzach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1215.

[3] Hes. *sc. Her.* 1—56.

[4] Cp. Hesych. Τυφίον· ὄρος Βοιωτίας.

[5] Apollod. 3. 5. 8, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Φίκειον, Hesych. *s.v.* Φίκιον, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 7, 1465. On Φίξ, acc. Φῖκα (Hes. *theog.* 326), as the Boeotian form of Σφίγξ see R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 267.

[6] The Boeotian character of the *Nékyia* and of the *Catalogue of Women* is rightly emphasised by J. A. K. Thomson *Studies in the Odyssey* Oxford 1914 p. 24 ff.

[7] J. Rendel Harris *The Cult of the Heavenly Twins* Cambridge 1906 p. 7, E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 496[a–b].

[8] *Supra* ii. 1074, 1088.

[9] *Supra* ii. 1072. Christodoros' expression Ἀμφιτρύων δ' ἠστραπτεν (*Anth. Pal.* 2. 367) is a coincidence, but no more.

[10] *Supra* ii. 445 ff.

The story passed early into the repertory of the mythographical artist as well as into that of the mythological poet. The famous Chest of Kypselos, dedicated at Olympia not later than 582 B.C. when the dynasty of the Kypselidai came to an end[1], represented Zeus in the form of Amphitryon offering gifts to Alkmene. He, clad in a *chitón*, was bearing a cup in his right hand, a necklace in his left; she was taking hold of them both[2]—a simple, significant group[3]. Pindar *more suo* adds one glittering touch. The epiphany of the god at midnight was accompanied by a snow of gold[4]. Neither the gifts nor the snow-storm should be dismissed as meaningless adjuncts. *Hédna*, 'bride-presents,' in general were the proper preliminaries of an epic union, and this cup in particular was an heirloom of divine origin[5]. The golden downpour here, as elsewhere, betokens the advent of the impregnating sky-god.

But the theme lent itself to further elaboration. Apollodoros[6],

[1] Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 600.

[2] Paus. 5. 18. 3.

[3] A sixth-century *stéle* of bluish marble at Sparta (M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 132 f. no. 1 figs. 26, 27, A. Conze—A. Michaelis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 33 ff. pl. c, K. Bötticher in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1871/72 xxix. 46 ff., G. Loeschcke *De basi quadam prope Spartam reperta* Dorpati Livonorum 1879 p. 1 ff., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 236 f. fig. 113, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 127 f. fig. 21, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 445 ff. figs. 219—221) is decorated with reliefs, one of which was interpreted by Loeschcke *loc. cit.* as portraying Zeus and Alkmene. But his interpretation, though adopted by K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1576, is highly precarious.

[4] *Supra* p. 477.

[5] Anaximandros *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 67 Müller)=*frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 160 Jacoby) *ap.* Athen. 498 B—C states that this *σκύπφος* had been given by Poseidon to his son Teleboes, by Teleboes to Ptereleos, and that Amphitryon had claimed it as his share of the booty. Cp. Athen. 474 F (Macrob. *Sat.* 5. 21. 3, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1423, 17 ff.) *ἀρχαιότατον δ' ἐστὶ ποτήριον τὸ καρχήσιον, εἴ γε ὁ Ζεὺς ὁμιλήσας Ἀλκμήνῃ ἔδωκε δῶρον αὐτὸ τῆς μίξεως, ὡς Φερεκύδης* (*frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller)=*frag.* 13 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 63 f. Jacoby)) *ἐν τῇ δευτέρᾳ ἱστορεῖ καὶ Ἡρόδωρος ὁ Ἡρακλεώτης* (*frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 29 Müller)=*frag.* 16 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 219 Jacoby)). Plaut. *Amph.* 256 f., 530 f. makes it the golden *patera* in which king Pterela used to drink. Charon of Lampsakos *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 35 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 475 B—C says that the *δέπας* given to Alkmene by Zeus was still shown at Sparta in his day (second half of *s.* v B.C.). On cups as royal heirlooms see *supra* i. 406 n. 3. Other alleged relics of Amphitryon were the *θάλαμος* built for him at Thebes by Trophonios and Agamedes (Paus. 9. 11. 1 with inscription (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 108. 1—3)) and a tripod dedicated by him in the sanctuary of Apollon *Isménios* at Thebes (Hdt. 5. 59 with inscription in Cadmean letters (*Anth. Pal.* 6. 6)), cp. a tripod dedicated by him to Apollon on behalf of Herakles in a relief of Roman date (L. Stephani *Der ausruhende Herakles* St. Petersburg 1854 pl. 1, 1, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 p. 228 ff., O. Jahn *Griechische Bilderchroniken* Bonn 1873 pl. 5, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 140 with inscription (*Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 1293=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 3. 126 *a*)).

[6] Apollod. 2. 4. 8.

in all probability[1] following Pherekydes of Athens (*floruit* 454/3 B.C.[2]), re-tells the story thus:

'Now before Amphitryon reached Thebes, Zeus had come by night and, making that one night three times its length[3], had taken upon him the likeness of Amphitryon and bedded with Alkmene and related to her what had befallen the Teleboans. But Amphitryon, when he arrived and saw that he was not welcomed by his wife, enquired the cause. She told him that he had come the night before and slept with her; and he learned from Teiresias that her bedfellow had been Zeus. So Alkmene bore two sons, Herakles—the elder by one night—to Zeus, and Iphikles to Amphitryon.'

[1] Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* London 1921 i. 175 n. 0 quoting Pherekyd. *frag.* 27 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller)=*frag.* 13 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 63 f. Jacoby) *ap.* schol. *Il.* 14. 323, schol. *Od.* 11. 266. Cp. Athen. 474 F (*supra* p. 507 n. 5).

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454 f.

[3] Apollod. 2. 4. 8 *τὴν μίαν τριπλασιάσας νύκτα*. But Apollod. *epit.* E has *τὴν μίαν νύκτα πενταπλασιάσας ἣ κατά τινας τριπλασιάσας, οἳ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο τριέσπερον ἀξιοῦσι λέγεσθαι τὸν Ἡρακλέα*. Cp. Lyk. *Al.* 33 *τριεσπέρου λέοντος* with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, *Anth. Pal.* 15. 26. 11 (Dosiadas) *τριεσπέροιο καύτας*, and other passages noted by Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vii. 2428 D; also the variant phrase *τρισέληνος* in Nonn. *Dion.* 25. 242 f. *ἆθλα μὲν Ἡρακλῆος, ὃν ἤροσεν ἀθάνατος Ζεὺς | Ἀλκμήνης τρισέληνον ἔχων παιδοσπόρον εὐνήν*, *Anth. Pal.* 9. 441. 3 (Palladas) *Ἀλεξίκακε τρισέληνε*. The protracted night, once accepted, of course tended to grow longer and longer: see *e.g.* Plaut. *Amph.* 112 ff. MERC. et meus pater nunc intus hic cum illa cubat, | et haec ob eam rem nox est facta longior, | dum cum illa, quacum volt, voluptatem capit, 268 SOS. credo ego hac noctu Nocturnum obdormisse ebrium, 275 ff. SOS. neque ego hac nocte longiorem me vidisse censeo | ... | ... | credo edepol equidem dormire Solem, atque adpotum probe, Prop. 2. 22. 25 f. Iuppiter Alcmenae geminas requieverat arctos, | et caelum noctu bis sine rege fuit, Ov. *am.* 1. 13. 45 f. ipse deum genitor, ne te (*sc.* Auroram) tam saepe videret, | commisit noctes in sua vota duas, *her.* 9. 9 f. at non ille velit, cui nox—sic creditur—una | non tanti, ut tantus conciperere, fuit, *trist.* 2. 402 noctes cui coiere duae, Sen. *Ag.* 853 ff. magnus Alcides cui lege mundi | Iuppiter rupta geminavit horas | roscidae noctis celeresque iussit | tardius currus agitare Phoebum | et tuas lente remeare bigas, | pallida Phoebe, 870 f. violentus ille | nocte non una poterat creari, *Herc. Oet.* 1701 f. (cited *infra* p. 517 n. 0), *de brev. vit.* 16. 5 inde etiam poetarum furor fabulis humanos errores alentium, quibus visus est Iupiter voluptate concubitus delenitus duplicasse noctem, Hyg. *fab.* 29 qui tam libens cum ea concubuit, ut unum diem usurparet duas noctes congeminaret, ita ut Alcimena tam longam noctem ammiraretur, Mart. Cap. 157 ut in ortu Herculis geminatae noctis obsequium...vim numinis approbavit, Hieronym. *c. Vigilant.* 10 (xxiii. 1. 364 A Migne) tunc fateberis, quod nunc negas, et tuum nomen, qui in Vigilantio loqueris, libere proclamabis, te esse aut Mercurium propter nummorum cupiditatem, aut Nocturnum (*al.* Nocturninum), juxta Plauti Amphitryonem, quo dormiente, in Alcmenae adulterio, duas noctes Jupiter copulavit, ut magnae fortitudinis Hercules nasceretur, Diod. 4. 9 (cp. Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 2. 17) *τὸν γὰρ Δία μισγόμενον Ἀλκμήνῃ τριπλασίαν τὴν νύκτα ποιῆσαι, καὶ τῷ πλήθει τοῦ πρὸς τὴν παιδοποιίαν ἀναλωθέντος χρόνου προσημῆναι τὴν ὑπερβολὴν τῆς τοῦ γεννηθησομένου ῥώμης*, Stat. *Theb.* 12. 299 ff. da mihi poscenti munus breve, Cynthia, si quis | est Iunonis honos; certe Iovis improba iussu | ter noctem Herculeam—, veteres sed mitto querellas, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 10. 1 EPM. *ὦ Ἥλιε, μὴ ἐλάσῃς τήμερον, ὁ Ζεύς φησι, μηδὲ αὔριον μηδὲ ἐς τρίτην ἡμέραν, ἀλλ' ἔνδον μένε, καὶ τὸ μεταξὺ μία τις ἔστω νὺξ μακρά· κ.τ.λ.*, schol. T. *Il.* 14. 324 *φασὶ δὲ τὸν Δία συγκοιμώμενον Ἀλκμήνῃ πεῖσαι τὸν Ἥλιον μὴ ἀνατεῖλαι ἐπὶ τρεῖς ἡμέρας· ὅθεν ἐπὶ τρεῖς νύκτας συγκοιμηθεὶς αὐτῇ ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν "τριέσπερον" Ἡρακλέα ἐποίησεν*, Orph. *Arg.* 118 ff. *πρῶτα δὲ εἶδα βίην Ἡρακλῆος θείοιο, | ὃν τέκεν Ἀλκμήνη Ζηνὶ Κρονίωνι μιγεῖσα, | ἧμος ὅτε τρισσὴν μὲν ἐλείπετο Σείριος αἴγλην | Ἠέλιος, δολιχὴ δ' ἐπεμαίετο πάντοθεν*

This tale was perhaps that dramatised by Sophokles in his *Amphitryon*[1], and it reappears with some variation in the works of later mythographers[2].

Euripides, the great innovator, substituted a more romantic version. Of his play, the *Alkmene*, we have little direct knowledge. A few tantalising fragments, like stray bits of a jig-saw puzzle, show us a dense growth of ivy with nightingales singing in it[3]—a pine-torch fetched by somebody from somewhere[4]—rescue from a desperate plight by the help of heaven[5]—day and dark night bringing many things to birth[6]—again a reference to the gloom of

δρφνη, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 12. 301 (cp. Myth. Vat. 2. 148) ne adventu diei concubitus minueretur voluptas, iussit Iuppiter illam noctem triplicem fieri, qua triplices cursus Luna peregit. The Christian Fathers, bent on aggravating the enormities of Zeus, even turned three into nine: Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 33. 3 p. 24, 14 ff. Stählin εἰς ὅσον δ' ἐλήλακεν ἀσελγείας ὁ Ζεὺς ἐκεῖνος ὁ μετ' Ἀλκμήνης τοσαύτας ἡδυπαθήσας νύκτας· οὐδὲ γὰρ αἱ νύκτες αἱ ἐννέα τῷ ἀκολάστῳ μακραὶ (ἅπας δὲ ἔμπαλιν ὁ βίος ἀκρασίᾳ βραχὺς ἦν), ἵνα δὴ ἡμῖν τὸν ἀλεξίκακον σπείρῃ θεόν, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 26 quis illum (*sc.* Iovem) in Alcmena novem noctibus fecit pervigilasse continuis? non vos?...ille noctibus vix novem unam potuit prolem extundere, concinnare, compingere, etc., Kyrill. *c. Iulian.* 6 p. 196 (lxxvi. 800 A—B Migne) γεγράφθω δὲ καὶ Ἀλκμήνη, μεθ' ἧς τὰς ἐννέα διατετέλεκε νύκτας ὁ καὶ ἐν τοῖς ἄγαν αἰσχροῖς κόρου πεῖραν οὐκ ἔχων.

The successive steps in this mythical extension appear to have been as follows:

Night = 1 night, longer than usual.
Night + Night = 2 nights.
Night + (Day) + Night = 3 nights.
Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 5 nights.
Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 7 nights.
Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night + (Day) + Night = 9 nights.

The terms τριέσπερος, τρισέληνος would be justified by the third step, when the sun ceased to shine for one day and so produced three continuous nights. See further A. Winter *Alkmene und Amphitryon* Breslau 1876 p. 34 ff. and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1572 f.

[1] K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1573.

[2] In Hyg. *fab.* 29 and interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 103 Oichalia appears in place of the Teleboans.

According to C. B. Lewis *Classical Mythology and Arthurian Romance* Oxford 1932 p. 295, 'Try as we may, we cannot avoid the conclusion that stories of classical mythology had penetrated everywhere in the early Middle Ages... and the transformation of Uther into the likeness of Gorlois in order that he might consort with Igerna...is a reminiscence of the story of Zeus, who assumed the likeness of Amphitruo in order to deceive Alcmena' (*id. ib.* p. 252 n. 1 after J. D. Bruce *The Evolution of Arthurian Romance from the Beginnings down to the Year 1300* Göttingen—Baltimore 1923 i. 135, 145)—a passage quoted with approval by H. J. Rose in *Folk-Lore* 1933 xliv. 24.

[3] Eur. Ἀλκμήνη *frag.* 88 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 386 Nauck[2]) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *ran.* 93, Souid. *s.v.* χελιδόνων μουσεῖα.

[4] Eur. Ἀλκμήνη *frag.* 90 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 386 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Poll. 10. 117.

[5] Eur. Ἀλκμήνη *frag.* 100 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 388 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 111. 7 (ed. Gaisford iii. 355, ed. Hense v. 1005).

[6] Eur. Ἀλκμήνη *frag.* 101 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 388 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 98. 22 (ed. Gaisford iii. 249, ed. Hense v. 833).

night[1]—and of course the usual crop of moralising maxims. These scattered hints have been put together with the utmost acumen by R. Engelmann[2], who supplements them from two important sources, on the one hand Paestum and Campanian vase-paintings, on the other hand the plays of Plautus.

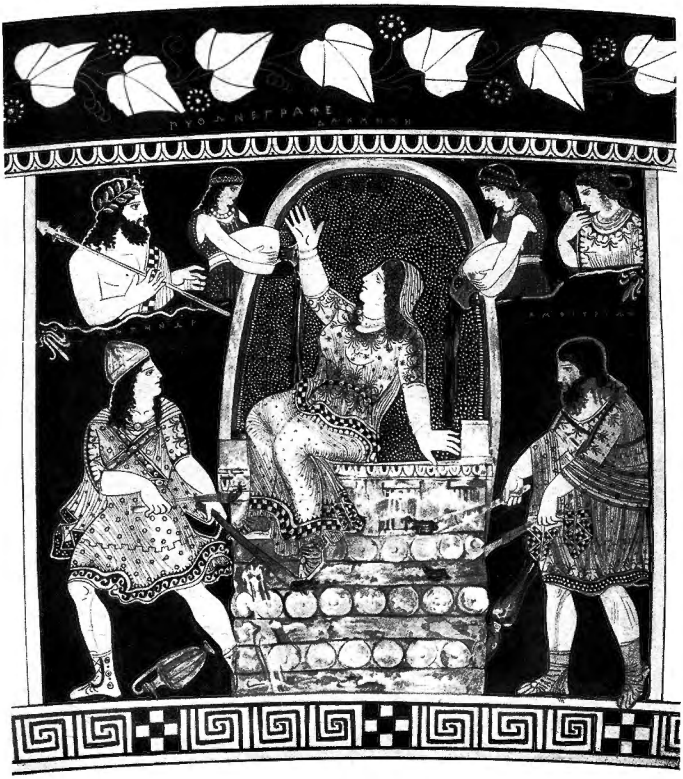
I begin with the vases, since they are the earlier. A bell-*kratér*, found at Santa Agata dei Goti and now in the British Museum, was painted by the ceramic artist Python (*c.* 320 B.C.[3]) with the following

Fig. 322.

[1] Eur. Ἀλκμήνη *frag.* 104 (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 389 Nauck[2]) *ap.* Hesych. *s.v.* ἀμολγὸν νύκτα.

[2] R. Engelmann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 1—18, *id. Beiträge zu Euripides. I. Alkmene* Berlin 1882 pp. 1—20 with 2 figs., *id. Archäologische Studien zu den Tragikern* Berlin 1900 pp. 52—63 with figs. 18, 19.

[3] On Python see G. Patroni *La ceramica antica nell' Italia meridionale* Napoli 1897 pp. 65—70 figs. 40 and 41, F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 60, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 719, M. H. Swindler *Ancient*



A *kratér* from Santa Agata dei Goti, now in the British Museum: Alkmene rescued from a fiery death at the hands of Amphitryon and Antenor by the intervention of Zeus.

See page 510 ff.

design (pl. xli)[1]. Alkmene sits as a suppliant on an altar, a handsome structure built with fenders and a triglyph-frieze. In front of it is stacked a pyre of round logs. Amphitryon on the right and Antenor on the left are even now firing the logs with torches. But at the last moment Alkmene raises her hand to Zeus, whose figure, closely resembling that of Amphitryon, is visible in the upper air. In answer to Alkmene's cry Zeus sends an instant storm. Two thunderbolts

Fig. 323.

Painting Vale Univ. Press 1929 p. 295. He was successor and imitator of Assteas (*c.* 350—320 B.C.).

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 72 f. no. F 149, A. S. Murray 'The Alkmene Vase formerly in Castle Howard' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 225—230 with 1 fig., col. pl. 6 (obverse) and pl. 7 (reverse) (=my pl. xli and fig. 322), C. Dugas in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 653 fig. 7320, P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze s. a. ii. 444 ff. fig. 321, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 452 f. no. 1, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. *a* pl. 1, 2 a (reverse) and 2 b (obverse) with text p. 3 f. by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce.

have already fallen, one beside Amphitryon, the other at the feet of Antenor. Moreover, two Hyades from above are drenching the pyre with streams of water from their *hydríai*. And (a remarkable trait[1]) the black air thick with white raindrops is spanned by a rainbow of reddish purple and white. The presence of Aos, the dawn-goddess, who holds a mirror in the top right-hand corner, marks the time of day and seems to promise a fairer future. An *amphora* from Capua, also in the British Museum, repeats the scene with some modifications (fig. 323)[2]. Alkmene on the altar raises both hands, appealing to Zeus, who is not seen. Antenor approaches with a torch in either hand: Amphitryon is omitted. Over both figures in the foreground extends a rainbow painted in three colours, red, white, and black, while the Hyades, as before, are employing their *hydríai* to extinguish the flames. These attendant nymphs furnish an interesting case of adaptation from an earlier art-type. Python, wanting to represent the extinction of a theatrical pyre, recalls the cremation of Herakles[3] as shown in Satyric drama. An Apulian *kratér* from Ruvo, formerly in the Caputi collection (fig. 324)[4], has Herakles in full vigour stepping on to the chariot of Nike, who will drive him up the slopes of Olympos. Above, the gods are represented by Aphrodite and Eros. Below, the blazing logs are drenched by three damsels, perhaps fountain-powers[5]. And a dancing Silenos sufficiently indicates that the scene is taken from some Satyr-play. A *peltke* at Munich (fig. 325)[6] in the style of 'the Kadmos Painter' (*c.* 420—410 B.C.[7]) gives the fire consuming the

[1] This appears to be the earliest naturalistic representation of a rainbow in ancient art. For another remarkable rendering see *supra* p. 36 f. pl. iv.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 99 no. F 193, R. Engelmann 'Vaso della collezione Alessandro Castellani' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 1—18 pl. A (part of which = my fig. 323), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 328, 2, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. *a* pl. 6, 7 a (obverse) and 7 b (reverse) with text p. 5 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce.

[3] *Supra* ii. 903 n. 2.

[4] T. Avellino in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1855 iii. 173 pl. 14 (= my fig. 324), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 481, G. Jatta *Vasi italogreci del signor Caputi* Napoli 1877 no. 260, H. Heydemann *Vase Caputi mit Theaterdarstellungen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* ix) Halle 1884 p. 11 n. 28, H. Blümner in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 307 with fig. 323.

[5] S. Reinach *loc. cit.*: 'les Hyades apportent de l'eau pour éteindre le bûcher.'

[6] Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 127 f. no. 384 (now no. 2370), J. Roulez 'Mort et apothéose d'Hercule' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 263—278 pl. O (reverse), *Mon. d. Inst.* iv pl. 41 (obverse) = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 130, 9 and 10 (obverse), 274 (reverse), H. Heydemann *Vase Caputi mit Theaterdarstellungen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* ix) Halle 1884 p. 10 f., F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 254—257 fig. 91 (reverse), pl. 109, 2 (obverse = my fig. 325), J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 452 no. 3.

[7] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 193.

hero's breastplate. On the left two Silenoi, Skopas[1] and Hybris[2], are stealing his club and lance. On the right two water-nymphs,

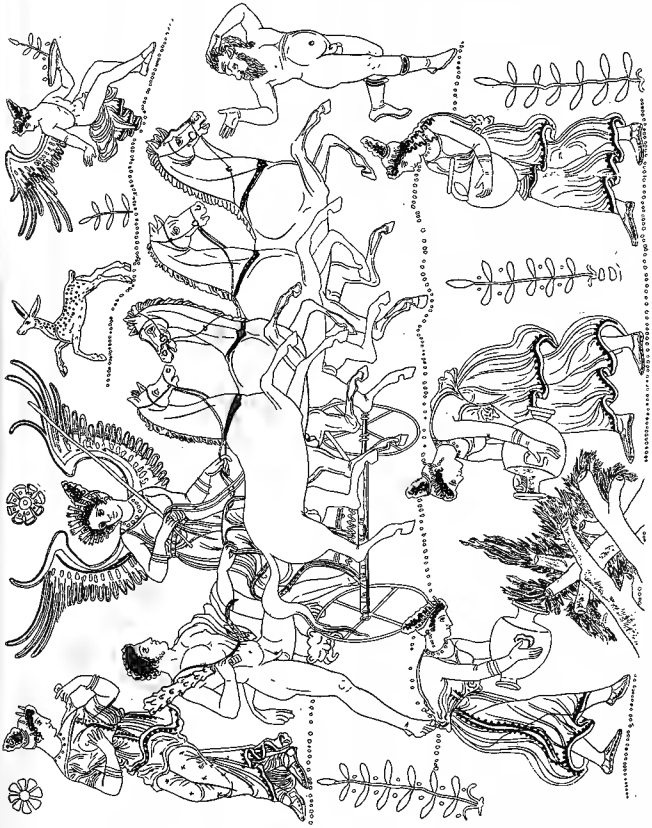


Fig. 324.

[1] *Nomen omen.* Cp. *supra* i. 709, ii. 461 n. o.

[2] H. Heydemann *Satyr- und Bakchennamen* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* v) Halle 1880 p. 25, C. Fränkel *Satyr- und Bakchennamen auf Vasenbildern* Halle a. S. 1912 pp. 28 f., 68.

Fig. 335.

Arethousa[1] and Premnousia[2], are quenching the fire with their *hydrîai*. Above, that is beyond[3], the pile is Herakles himself, a youthful bay-wreathed form, borne off to Olympos in the chariot of Athena. Behind such a vase in turn lies the more serious representation of the myth. A late Attic *kratér* published by E. Gerhard (fig. 326)[4] makes Philoktetes carry off the quiver and arrows from the pyre, while a mere handmaid[5] does her best to put out the flames[6]. Above, Nike drives the hero up to the pillared palace of Olympos[7]. Hermes leads the way towards a seated Apollon, and Zeus—it must surely be he[8]—waits in the background to welcome his divinised son.

[1] R. Wagner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 679 ff., W. Aly 'Ἀρέθουσα' in *Glotta* 1914 v. 57 f. (rejects the connexion with ἄρδω asserted by Herodian. περὶ μον. λεξ. 1. 13 (ii. 919, 28 ff. Lentz), Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀρέθουσα, and accepted *e.g.* by G. Hirschfeld in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 679, in favour of relation to ἀρέσκω, cp. βεβρώθω—βιβρώσκω and the like).

[2] Hesych. Πρεμνουσία· κρήνη ἐν τῇ Ἀττικῇ.

[3] F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 256 points out that the ground-line beneath chariot and horses together with the tree behind them quite excludes the notion of 'Luftfahrt....Also auch hier wieder Kavalier-Perspektive' (cp. *id. ib.* p. 252).

[4] Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 275 pl. 31, H. Blümner in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 307 fig. 322 (=my fig. 326), Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2328 no. (3) fig. 1, F. Hauser *loc. cit.* ii. 256 with fig. 90.

[5] Yet Gerhard *loc. cit.* says: 'die Nymphe des Oeta.'

[6] Wine was used to quench the ashes (*Il.* 23. 237 f., 250 f., 24. 791 f., Verg. *Aen.* 6. 227, Stat. *silv.* 2. 6. 90 f.)—a practice prohibited by Numa (Plin. *nat. hist.* 14. 88, cp. Cic. *de legg.* 2. 60). But the usage was certainly not a matter of mere luxury. Wine was presumably employed on account of its life-giving properties (*supra* ii. 1025 Dionysos Ἡρικεπαῖος=ζωοδοτήρ. Cp. our *whisky* for *usquebaugh*=Irish *uisge beatha*, 'water of life,' or the French *eau-de-vie*). Also its red colour would be a surrogate for blood (*supra* i. 58 n. 2, ii. 522 n. 2. See now E. Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 and a review by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102), and ashes steeped in it would in a sense be revitalised. Was this the reason why, even in palaeolithic times, skulls and other parts of skeletons were overlaid with iron oxidè (G. Wilke *s.v.* 'Ockerbestattung' in Ebert *Reallex.* ix. 156 f.: 'Oder endlich—und diese Erklärung ist am wahrscheinlichsten—man wollte dem bleichen Toten durch den Ocker die Farbe und belebende Kraft des Blutes wiedergeben und ihm dadurch ermöglichen, als "lebender Leichnam" (s.d.) weiter zu existieren')?

[7] *Supra* i. 114.

[8] The dignified bearded figure with *chlamys* and *petasos* has been variously explained. Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 275 says: 'hinter ihm ein Mann in Reisetracht zunächst für seinen Waffengefährten Jolaos uns gilt.' J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1847 xix. 271: 'Je préfère regarder ce personnage barbu comme la *personnification du mont OEta*, ou bien, avec M. Gerhard, comme *Iolas*.' Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2329: 'ein Berggott.' But a mountain-god pure and simple would rather have been recumbent (*e.g. supra* i. 116 n. 8 fig. 85, ii. 962 n. 2 with i. 134 fig. 100), or at least seated (F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 289 f. pl. 9, 18 (=my fig. 327) a bronze coin of Laodikeia on the Lykos (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 105 appellata primo Diospolis), struck by Caracalla and now at Berlin, which shows a kneeling woman (Rhea?) offering her child (Zeus?) to a seated mountain-god in the presence of a nymph (Adrasteia?); *id. ib.* p. 291

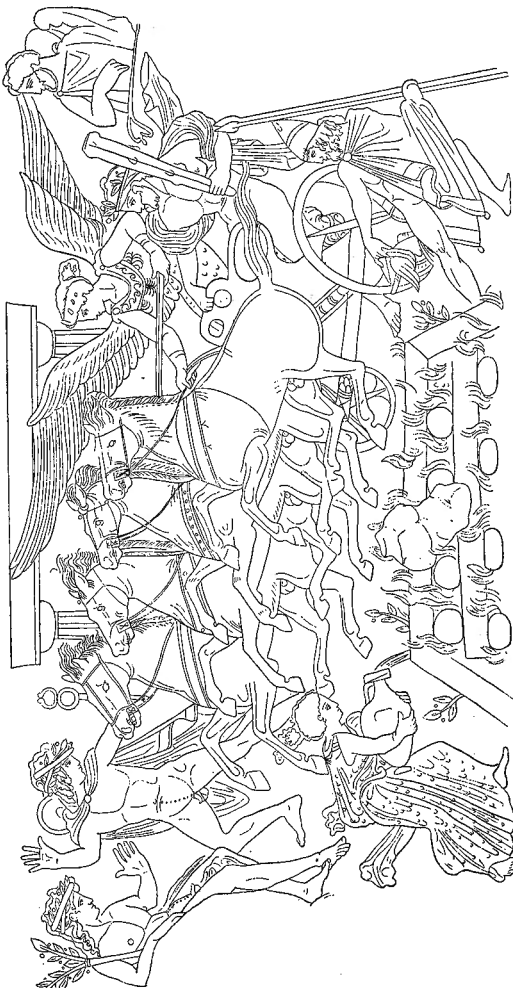


Fig. 326.

So much for the evidence of the vases. They portray the crisis of the drama, when Alkmene appeals from Amphitryon to Zeus, and a helpful thunderstorm extinguishes the pyre. But Plautus' *Amphitruo* at once clears up the antecedents of the scene and provides it with a satisfying sequel. Hercules, returning in triumph to Thebes, first rebukes his wife for her chilling reception of him[1] and afterwards attempts to punish her for supposed infidelity by bursting into the house and killing her on the spot[2]. Just in the nick of time Alcumena, already in travail with twins, calls on the gods to aid her; whereupon—

> Roar, rumble, crash, and thunder:
> Sudden, swift, strong the wonder[3].

The whole house reels and glitters as though it were made of gold[4]. Iupiter has come to the rescue of Alcumena; and Amphitruo falls senseless to the ground. Finally, as *deus ex machina*, the god explains the situation and all ends well. Plautus' comedy, based of course on a Greek exemplar, almost certainly preserves the main outline of

f. no. 1 pl. 9, 20 a bronze coin of Skepsis, struck by Caracalla, which has the judgment of Paris taking place before a seated mountain-god): see further F. Wieseler 'Einige Bemerkungen über die Darstellung der Berggottheiten in der classischen Kunst' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1876 pp. 53—85. I fall back therefore on the view expressed a century since by F. G. Welcker in E. Gerhard *Hyperboreisch-römische Studien für Archäologie* Berlin 1833 i. 303 (=Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 300) 'der Gott auf der andern Seite scheint Zeus zu seyn.' Zeus is elsewhere represented with a *chlamys* (*supra* ii. 731 fig. 663, 744 fig. 682, 745 pl. xxxi, 746 figs. 685, 687, 689, 690 and pl. xxxii, 1), though hardly worn like this, and never with a *petasos*. The peculiar garb implies some confusion with Hermes—perhaps a changed intention on the part of the vase-painter. Was the ground-line originally a *caduceus*?

Fig. 327.

In Sen. *Herc. Oet.* 1695 ff. the Chorus ask whether Hercules, when about to be burnt on the pyre, did not pray to the gods above or think of calling upon Iupiter. Philoctetes makes answer: 'iacuit sui securus et caelum intuens | quaesivit oculis, arce an ex aliqua pater | despiceret illum. tum manus tendens ait: | "quacumque parte prospicis natum pater, | te, te precor quem nocte conmissa dies | quaesivit (*leg.* creavit *cp. supra* p. 508 n. 3. A. B. C.) unus,...spiritum admitte hunc, precor, | in astra...vocat ecce iam me genitor et pandit polos"....'

A. S. Murray in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1890 xi. 227, after citing Apollod. 2. 7. 7 καιομένης δὲ τῆς πυρᾶς λέγεται νέφος ὑποστὰν μετὰ βροντῆς αὐτὸν εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀναπέμψαι, shrewdly observes: 'One might say of him (*sc.* Herakles), "he came in a storm and went in a storm," and if that view of his life was current in antiquity we could understand the impulse of Euripides to do for the birth of Herakles what Sophocles had done for his death.'

[1] Plaut. *Amph.* 705 f.
[2] *Id. ib.* 1048 ff.
[3] *Id. ib.* 1061 f.
[4] *Id. ib.* 1095 f.

the Euripidean *Alkmene*. Indeed, in another play Plautus actually uses Euripides' title as a synonym for a prodigious storm[1], and makes Labrax threaten to burn alive Palaestra and Ampelisca who have taken refuge on the altar of Venus[2].

Accordingly we may without reservation accept Engelmann's[3] view that the argument of the *Alkmene* was as follows. Amphitryon, angered at the reception given to him by Alkmene, resolves to take vengeance on her. She flies for sanctuary to an altar, followed by him and his friend Antenor. Instead of dragging her away from the altar, they proceed to sacrifice her upon it. They build a pyre of wood in front of it and fetch torches to kindle it. Alkmene in her extremity appeals to Zeus, who comes to her aid, hurling his thunderbolts and sending a tempest of rain to put out the fire.

One further point. Vases and comedies alike prove that the original purpose of the golden shower, still discernible in Pindar's ode[4], was completely misconceived by later Greeks and Romans. Pindar made Zeus come to Alkmene 'at midnight in a snow of gold,' just as he consorted with Danaë[5] or Himalia[6]. Python used the downpour merely as a convenient method of putting out the fire: his Hyades might be well-drilled members of a modern fire-brigade. Plautus, or his Greek source, transforms the procreative shower into a punitive thunderstorm, and works in the Pindaric gold as a touch of unearthly glamour.

Another example of a pyre extinguished by timely rain occurs in the story of Kroisos, king of Lydia. According to Herodotos[7], when the Persians captured Sardeis, Kyros built a great pyre and

[1] Plaut. *rud.* 86 non ventus fuit, verum Alcumena Euripidi.

[2] *Id. ib.* 761 ff.

[3] *Supra* p. 510 n. 2. See further the admirably careful chapter of L. Séchan *Études sur la tragédie grecque dans ses rapports avec la céramique* Paris 1926 pp. 242—248 ('Alcmène') with pl. 5 and fig. 73. He holds with Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 614 that, in Euripides' version, Amphitryon's wrath was roused, not by the coldness of Alkmene, but by her all too apparent infidelity. He also insists, in view of Plaut. *rud.* 86, that the Euripidean thunderstorm was represented on the stage rather than reported by a messenger. And, with regard to the contention of N. Wecklein in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1890 i. 39 that, whatever Aischylos might have done, Euripides would not have tolerated an actual apparition of Zeus, he remarks: 'Zeus n'apparaît jamais, en effet, dans aucune tragédie subsistante d'Euripide non plus que, d'ailleurs, dans les œuvres conservées d'Eschyle et Sophocle. Mais ce peut être à un pur effet du hasard.' For Zeus on the *theologeîon* in Aisch. Ψυχοστασία see *supra* ii. 734 n. 3, and for Zeus in Phrynich. Πέρσαι (?) *supra* ii. 853 f. pl. xxxviii.

[4] *Supra* pp. 477, 507. [5] *Supra* p. 476. [6] *Supra* p. 477.

[7] Hdt. i. 86 f. See also O. Meiser *Vom Ende des Königs Kroesos* Speyer 1907 pp. 1—43, P. Soedel *De fabellis ad Croesum pertinentibus* Gottingae 1911 p. 1 ff., F. Hellmann *Herodots Kroisos-logos* Berlin 1934 p. 103 ff.

placed upon it Kroisos bound with fetters and twice seven Lydian boys beside him. On hearing Kroisos recall the warning of Solon, Kyros repented of his purpose. But the fire was already kindled, and his servants tried in vain to stay the flames. Kroisos as a last resource called upon Apollon, 'and suddenly in a clear and windless sky clouds gathered and a storm burst and there was a deluge of rain insomuch that the pyre was put out.' Now this, though romantic enough and edifying to boot, was from a strictly theological standpoint all wrong. Apollon had no business to control the weather: that was the essential prerogative of Zeus[1]. Herodotos' account, admittedly drawn from a Lydian informant[2], perhaps the logographer Xanthos (465—425 B.C.)[3], has points in common with the narrative of Ephoros[4] as preserved by Diodoros[5] and was certainly the main[6] source of the long rhetorical description given by Nikolaos of Damaskos[7]. Ktesias too, though he says not a word about the pyre, like Herodotos makes much of Apollon's aid[8]. Bakchylides, however, an older contemporary of Herodotos, in an ode which commemorates Hieron of Syracuse as victor in the chariot-race at Olympia (468 B.C.)[9], puts a somewhat different complexion on the whole affair. Here it is not Kyros who dooms Kroisos to the pyre, but Kroisos who, on witnessing the sack of Sardeis, bids a pyre be built in front of his palace and of his own will mounts thereon with his wife and daughters. Here, again, Kroisos' appeal, though obscurely worded, is addressed to Zeus

[1] *Supra* ii. 1 ff.

[2] Hdt. 1. 87 *λέγεται ὑπὸ Λυδῶν.*

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454.

[4] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 679.

[5] Diod. 9. 34.

[6] F. Jacoby *Frag. gr. Hist.* ii C p. 252: 'zweifelhaft nur, ob das auftreten der Sibylle (vgl. F 67, 2) und die erwähnung Zoroasters (§ 12), die allein nicht aus Herodot genommen oder entwickelt sein können, als "antiquarische gelehrsamkeit der hellenistischen zeit" (E. Meyer Gd A 1 503) anzusehen sind. Zoroaster kam bei Xanthos vor (Diog. L. 1 2; möglicher weise also auch bei Ktesias); und was hier von ihm gesagt wird, passt nicht schlecht für einen lydischen autor, der die wichtigkeit seiner heimischen geschichte übertreibt.' Etc.

[7] Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 68 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 406 ff. Müller) = *frag.* 68 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 370 ff. Jacoby) *ap. exc. de virtut.* i. 345, 19 ff.

[8] Ktes. *frag.* 29. 4 (p. 46 Müller) *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 36 b 7 ff. Bekker *ὅπως τε ἀλούσης τῆς πόλεως πρὸς τὸ ἐν τῇ πόλει ἱερὸν τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καταφεύγει ὁ Κροῖσος, καὶ ὡς τρὶς ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ πεδηθεὶς ὑπὸ Κύρου λύεται τρίτον ἀοράτως, καίτοι σφραγίδων τῷ ἱερῷ ἐπικειμένων καὶ τούτων τὴν φυλακὴν Οἰβάρα ἐμπεπιστευμένου· ὅπως τε οἱ συνδούμενοι Κροίσῳ τὰς κεφαλὰς ἀπετέμνοντο ὡς καταπροδιδόντες λύεσθαι Κροῖσον· καὶ ὅτι ἀναληφθεὶς ἐν τοῖς βασιλείοις καὶ δεθεὶς ἀσφαλέστερον, βροντῶν καὶ σκηπτῶν ἐπενεχθέντων, λύεται πάλιν, καὶ τότε μόλις ὑπὸ Κύρου ἀφίεται.*

[9] Bakchyl. ed. Jebb p. 194 ff.

rather than to Apollon: lifting his hands to the high heaven the king exclaims—

> O Spirit of surpassing might,
> Where is the gratitude of the gods,
> And where is Leto's lordly son?[1]

In the event it is Zeus who sends the saving storm:

> He spake, and bade a softly-stepping thrall
> Kindle the wooden pile. The maidens shrieked,
> And up they threw their hands
> To pray their mother's aid,
> A fate foreseen being bitterest of all.
> But, when the shining strength
> Of that dread fire
> Would spread apace,
> Zeus brought a black cloud over it
> And quenched the yellow flame[2].

After which we are told that Delos-born Apollon carried off the aged king to the Hyperboreoi and there caused him to dwell with his daughters as a reward for his generous gifts to Pytho[3]. So, even in the earlier version of Bakchylides, Apollon plays a noteworthy part, as was but fitting in view of the previous relations between Kroisos and the Delphic oracle[4]. Yet the actual rain-sender is Zeus —a fact remembered for centuries[5]. The famous *amphora* at Paris attributed to the painter known as Myson (fig. 328)[6] carries the story

[1] Bakchyl. 3. 37 ff. *ὑπέρβιε δαῖμον, | ποῦ θεῶν ἐστιν χάρις; | ποῦ δὲ Λατοΐδας ἀναξ;*

[2] *Id.* 3. 48 ff.

[3] *Supra* ii. 465.

[4] Hdt. 1. 46—55, 92, 8. 35 f., Diod. 16. 56 (? Theopomp. *frag.* 184 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 309 Müller)), Strab. 420 f., Plout. *v. Solon.* 4, *v. Sull.* 12, *de Pyth. orac.* 16, *de sera num. vind.* 12, Paus. 10. 8. 7, Athen. 231 E—F, pseudo-Kallisth. *hist. Al. Mag.* 1. 45. 2 (p. 52, 10 ff. Kroll), *Anth. Pal.* 6. 60. 3 f. (Palladas), 14. 12, Tzetz. *chil.* 1. 19 ff. Kroisos also made valuable gifts to the oracle of Apollon at Branchidai (Hdt. 1. 92, 5. 36). On the recognition of Apollon by the Persian kings see G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades* (687—546) Paris 1893 p. 256 f.

[5] Liban. *or.* 60. 9 (iv. 318, 2 ff. Foerster) *ἀλλ' οὐδὲ ὁ Ζεὺς ὄμβρων ἠνίας ἔχων ὕδωρ ἀφῆκεν ἐπὶ τὴν φλόγα καὶ ταῦτα Λυδῶν ποτε βασιλεῖ δυστυχήσαντι σβέσας πυράν;* (cited by Io. Chrys. *or. de S. Babyla c. Iulian. et gentil.* 19 (xlix. 563 Migne), schol. Eur. *Or.* 165 *δν* (*sc. τὸν Κροῖσον*) *εἰ μὴ ὁ Ζεὺς οἰκτείρας ἀφῆκεν ὕδωρ ἐπὶ τὴν φλόγα, τάχ' ἂν ἀπωλώλει, ἔργον πυρὸς γενόμενος.* Cp. Boëth. *de cons. phil.* 2. 2 pros. 34 ff. nesciebas Croesum regem Lydorum Cyro paulo ante formidabilem nuper deinde miserandum rogi flammis traditum misso caelitus imbre defensum? Myth. Vat. 1. 196 subito tanta pluvia exorta (2. 190 facta) est, ut ignis extingueretur.

[6] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 201 f. no. G 197 pl. 128 (obverse and reverse). See also the duc de Luynes 'Crésus' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1833 v. 237—251, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pls. 54 (obverse) and 55 (reverse) = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 85 (obverse) and 87, 1 (reverse), Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* iv. 30 ff. pls. 319 (obverse) and 320 (reverse), Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iii. 481—487 ('Krösos auf dem Scheiterhaufen') pl. 33

back to the decade 500—490 B.C.[1] and is in general agreement with the poem of Bakchylides[2], but drops no hint either of Zeus or of

Fig. 328.

(obverse), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 796 f. fig. 860 (obverse), A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 267 f. fig. 1 (obverse), F. Hauser in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 277 ff. figs. 97—100 and pl. 113, 1 (reverse) and 2 (obverse =my fig. 328), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 638 ff. fig. 355 (obverse), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 209 no. 16, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 97 no. 1. Inscribed ΚΡΟΕΣΟΣ=Κρο(ί)σος, ΕΥΘΥΜΟΣ=Εὔθυμος, etc. (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7756). With the name Εὔθυμος cp. Xen. *Cyrop.* 7. 2. 29 *ἀκούσας δ' ὁ Κῦρος τοὺς λόγους αὐτοῦ ἐθαύμασε μὲν τὴν εὐθυμίαν, κ.τ.λ.*

[1] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191.

[2] H. Stuart Jones in the *Class. Rev.* 1898 xii. 84 f., J. E. Harrison *ib.* 1898 xii. 85, R. C. Jebb in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* Paris 1898 p. 237, A. H. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 267 f.

Apollon. The same is true[1] of an engraved gem in the cabinet of Monsieur le Comte Chandon de Briailles[2], of which by the courtesy of Mr C. T. Seltman I am enabled to figure an impression (fig. 329)[3]. According to the very late Vatican mythographers[4], Kroisos subsequently boasted of his escape and was rebuked by Solon. The same night he dreamt that Zeus drenched him with water and that the Sun dried him. His daughter Phania explained the dream to mean that her father would be crucified and so exposed to the effects of rain and sun—a fate which ultimately overtook him at the hands of Kyros[5].

Fig. 329.

A third case of a pyre opportunely extinguished by rain is to be found in the *Love Stories* of Parthenios[6], who writes in the first century B.C.[7] and is professedly quoting from local histories by Theagenes[8] and Hegesippos[9]. Sithon, king of the Odomantoi, had a beautiful daughter Pallene, to win whose hand men came from far and near. At first Sithon bade each suitor take the girl and fight him—the unsuccessful fighter to be slain. In this way he slew many; but, when his strength failed him, he resolved to give his daughter in marriage. He bade two suitors, Dryas[10] and Kleitos, fight each other—the successful fighter to receive both the kingdom and the bride. Now Pallene herself was in love with Kleitos, and an old servitor of hers bribed the charioteer of Dryas to omit the linch-pins of his master's chariot[11]. Thus Dryas was thrown, and slain

[1] Unless indeed the sign 𐤗 in the field is meant for the initial of Zeus, or for a thunderbolt falling in response to the king's uplifted hand. But neither suggestion is probable.

[2] At La Cordelière, Chaource (Aube). [3] Scale $\frac{3}{4}$.

[4] Myth. Vat. 1. 196, 2. 190. The *Thes. Ling. Lat.* Index p. 74 dates Myth. Vat. 1 'post Isidorum' and Myth. Vat. 2 'post mythographum I.'

[5] The mythographers, as A. Mai and G. H. Bode *ad locc.* saw, are transferring to Kroisos the fate of Polykrates narrated in Hdt. 3. 124 f.

[6] Parthen. *narr. am.* 6. 1 ff. The story is told, with slight variations, by Konon *narr.* 10. Nonn. *Dion.* 48. 90 ff. makes Dionysos beat Pallene in a wrestling-match and afterwards slay Sithon with a blow of his *thýrsos*. In Theophil. *ad Autol.* 2. 7 we should perhaps read 'Ἀριαδνεῖς ἀπὸ τῆς θυγατρὸς Μίνω γυναικὸς δὲ Διονύσου· <Παλληνεῖς ἀπὸ Παλλήνης> 'παιδὸς πατροφίλας' τῆς μιχθείσης Διονύσῳ 'ἐν μορφῇ γυμνάδι'· Θεστιεῖς κ.τ.λ. (see the *Class. Rev.* 1894 viii. 246 ff.).

[7] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 322 ff.

[8] Theag. Μακεδονικά *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 510 Müller).

[9] Hegesipp. Παλληνιακά *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 423 Müller).

[10] On the name Δρύας as implying the cult of an oak-Zeus in northern Greece see the *Class. Rev.* 1904 xviii. 80 ff.

[11] An obvious doublet of the Myrtilos-myth at Olympia (*supra* i. 225 n. 4).

by Kleitos. Sithon, perceiving his daughter's guile, made a great pyre and placed upon it the body of Dryas. He was about to slay Pallene as well, when a divine apparition[1] was seen and a sudden deluge fell from the sky. Thereupon he changed his mind, gave a wedding-feast to all the Thracians present, and suffered Kleitos to marry his daughter. We are not here told that the rain was due to Zeus, the agency of the god being vaguely implied, not definitely expressed[2].

There were, therefore, mythical antecedents to a miracle recorded in the *Acts of Paul and Thekla*[3]. According to this romantic narrative—one section of a much longer document, the *Acts of Paul*, originally drafted by an Asian presbyter before the close of the second century A.D.[4]—Thekla the daughter of Theokleia, a woman of rank at Ikonion, was betrothed to a young noble named Thamyris, but becoming a convert to Paul was filled with zeal for virginity. Thamyris brought both Paul and Thekla before the

[1] According to Konon *narr.* 10, Aphrodite visited all the townsfolk by night and saved the girl from her doom.

[2] The words of Parthenios are: *φαντάσματος δὲ θείου γενομένου καὶ ἐξαπιναίως ὕδατος ἐξ οὐρανοῦ πολλοῦ καταρραγέντος μετέγνω τε καὶ γάμοις ἀρεσάμενος τὸν παρόντα Θρᾳκῶν ὅμιλον ἐφίησι τῷ Κλείτῳ τὴν κόρην ἄγεσθαι.*

[3] *Acta Pauli et Theclae* 20—22 Tischendorf *τῆς δὲ μὴ ἀποκρινομένης, ἡ μήτηρ αὐτῆς ἀνέκραγεν* (*ἀνέκραξεν* cod. C.) *λέγουσα Κατάκαιε τὴν ἄνομον, κατάκαιε τὴν ἄνυμφον μέσον θεάτρου, ἵνα πᾶσαι αἱ ὑπὸ τούτου διδαχθεῖσαι φοβηθῶσιν γυναῖκες. καὶ ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἔπαθεν μεγάλως, καὶ τὸν μὲν Παῦλον φραγελλώσας ἔβαλεν ἔξω τῆς πόλεως, τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν ἔκρινεν κατακαῆναι* (*κατέκρινεν πυρίκαυστον* cod. G.). *καὶ εὐθέως ὁ ἡγεμὼν ἀπίει* (*ἀπῆλθεν* cod. G.) *ἐπὶ τὸ θέατρον· ὁ δὲ πᾶς ὄχλος ἐξῆλθεν ἐπὶ τὴν θεωρίαν Θέκλης* (*εἰς τὴν ἀνάγκην τῆς θέας* cod. G.). *ἡ δὲ ὡς ἀμνὸς ἐν ἐρήμῳ περισκοπεῖ τὸν ποιμένα, οὕτως ἐκείνη τὸν Παῦλον ἐζήτει. καὶ ἐμβλέψασα εἰς τὸν ὄχλον ἴδεν* (*leg.* *εἶδεν*) *τὸν κύριον καθήμενον ὡς Παῦλον, καὶ εἶπεν Ὡς ἀνυπομονήτου μου οὔσης ἦλθεν Παῦλος θεάσασθαί με. καὶ προσεῖχεν αὐτῷ ἀτενίζουσα· ὁ δὲ εἰς οὐρανοὺς ἀνίει* (*ἀπίει θεωρούσης αὐτῆς* cod. G.). *αἱ δὲ παιδίσκαι καὶ παρθένοι ἠνεγκαν τὰ ξύλα* (*ξύλα καὶ χόρτον* cod. G.) *ἵνα Θέκλα κατακαῇ. ὡς δὲ εἰσῆλθεν* (*εἰσηνέχθη* cod. C. *εἰσήχθη* cod. G.) *γυμνή, ἐδάκρυσεν ὁ ἡγεμὼν καὶ ἐθαύμασεν τὴν ἐπ' αὐτῇ δύναμιν* (*ἐπὶ τῷ κάλλει αὐτῆς δύναμιν* codd. A. B. *δύναμιν τοῦ κάλλους αὐτῆς* cod. G.). *ἔστρωσαν δὲ τὰ ξύλα οἱ δήμιοι ἐπιβῆναι* (*καὶ ἐπέτρεψαν αὐτῇ ἐπιβῆναι* cod. B.) *τῇ πυρᾷ· ἡ δὲ τύπον σταυροῦ ποιησαμένη ἐπέβη τῶν ξύλων· οἱ δὲ ὑφῆψαν. καὶ μεγάλου πυρὸς λάμψαντος οὐκ ἤψατο αὐτῆς· ὁ γὰρ θεὸς σπλαγχνισθεὶς ἦχον ὑπόγαιον ἐποίησεν, καὶ νεφέλη ἄνωθεν ἐπεσκίασεν ὕδατος πλήρης καὶ χαλάζης, καὶ ἐξεχύθη πᾶν τὸ κύτος* (*leg.* *κύτος*), *ὡς πολλοὺς κινδυνεύσαι τοῦ ἀποθανεῖν καὶ τὸ πῦρ σβεσθῆναι, τὴν δὲ Θέκλαν σωθῆναι.*

[4] Tertull. *de bapt.* 17. See further J. Gwynn in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* iv. 882—896 and, for more recent criticism, W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1203 f.

The pyre-extinguishing rain recurs in a modified form at Nikomedeia in connexion with the martyrdom of SS. Adrian, Natalia, and others (304 A.D.). S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints*[2] Edinburgh 1914 x. 116: 'According to the orders of Maximian, the bodies of the martyrs were placed on a pile of wood to be burnt, but they were so many that the burning was not perfectly carried out, and a heavy rain during the night having extinguished the smouldering pyre, the Christians were able to recover the remains of the martyrs before they were completely reduced to ashes.'

judgment-seat of the proconsul Kastelios, and, when Thekla would give no answer to his interrogation,

'her mother cried aloud "Burn the lawless girl, burn the unmarried maid in the midst of the theatre, that all the women taught by this man may be afraid." The governor, deeply moved, scourged Paul and cast him out of the city, and ordered Thekla to be burned. He then went straight to the theatre, and all the multitude came out to see Thekla. She, like a lamb in the desert looking round for its shepherd, sought to see Paul. In the crowd she saw the Lord seated in the guise of Paul and exclaimed "Lo, when I can endure no longer, Paul has come to behold me!" And she fixed her eyes on him, till he went up to heaven. But now the girls and virgins brought logs to burn Thekla. She came in stark naked, whereupon the governor burst into tears and marvelled at the power that rested upon her. The executioners strewed the logs for her to mount the pyre. She made the sign of the cross and set foot on the logs, while the attendants kindled them below. A great fire blazed up, but did not touch her. For God in his mercy caused an underground rumbling, and a cloud full of water and hail overshadowed her from above, and poured forth all its contents insomuch that many persons were like to be drowned, and the fire was extinguished, and Thekla was saved.'

Finally, a downpour, if not in time to save life, might at least indicate divine disapproval of the victim's death. When Britannicus, poisoned by Nero, was being carried to a pyre hastily built on the Campus Martius, so fierce a rain-storm fell that the common folk held it to portend the anger of the gods at a crime which most men were prepared to excuse. So Tacitus[1]. Dion Cassius[2] adds lurid detail: Nero, to hide the ravages of the poison, had smeared the body with gypsum; but, as the procession passed through the Forum, the heavy rain washed off the gypsum and left the tell-tale discoloration for all to see.

In Egypt the place of Zeus the rain-god was taken, as we have had occasion to note [3], by the Nile, which in Hellenistic times was actually worshipped as Neilos Zeus. Hence in the novel by Xenophon of Ephesos[4] (*s.* ii or iii A.D.[5]), when the hero Habrokomes is condemned by the governor of Egypt to be burnt alive, the pyre in answer to his prayers is extinguished by a miraculous rise of the river Nile.

[1] Tac. *ann.* 13. 17.
[2] Dion Cass. 61. 4.
[3] *Supra* p. 348 f.
[4] Xen. *Ephes.* 4. 2.
[5] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 810 n. 3 assigns the work, with some hesitation, to the half-century 250—300 A.D. But J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 254 n. 3 is content to place it between 98 A.D. and 263 A.D.

(g) Zeus *Ómbrios*.

Lykophron in his *Alexandra* speaks of Elis as—

the rock of Molpis,
Whose body was cut up for Zeus the Showery[1].

This enigmatic allusion is expounded as follows by the scholiast and by Tzetzes[2]. Elis once suffered from a prolonged drought, till the inhabitants consulted an oracle and were bidden to offer Zeus a human sacrifice. The victim was to be a boy of noble parentage. Thereupon a young Elean named Molpis volunteered for the post. No sooner was he slain than a copious rain fell. So the Eleans in memory of the event set up a sanctuary of Zeus *Ómbrios*, 'the Showery,' in which was to be seen a statue of Molpis.

Is this to be taken as serious fact or sensational fiction? F. Schwenn[3] in his monograph on human sacrifice among the Greeks and Romans simply ignores the case of Molpis. But the antiquarian lore of Alexandrine scholars was in general trustworthy, and we have already found traces of human sacrifice in the cult of Zeus at Lyttos in Crete[4], of Zeus *Atabýrios* in Rhodes and Sicily[5], of Zeus *Laphýstios* in Thessaly[6] and Boiotia[7], of Zeus *Ithomátas* in Messene[8], and of Zeus *Lýkaios* in Arkadia[9]. Indeed, it is precisely in connexion with Zeus that such primitive traits were likely to linger. For the rain-supply, vital to every early community, was given or withheld by him. It was on account of a persistent drought that Athamas proposed to sacrifice Phrixos and Helle, and after their escape was himself all but immolated at the altar of Zeus[10]. Again, it was when the crops failed and famine stared them in the face[11] that the Arcadians had recourse to human sacrifice at the sanctuary of Zeus *Lýkaios*, whose priest was official rain-maker for

[1] Lyk. *Al.* 159 f. Μόλπιδος πέτραν, | τοῦ Ζηνὶ δαιτρευθέντος Ὀμβρίῳ δέμας. With πέτραν cp. Paus. 6. 24. 5 ἔστι δὲ καὶ μνῆμα τῷ Πύρρωνι οὐ πόρρω τοῦ Ἠλείων ἄστεως· Πέτρα μὲν τῷ χωρίῳ τὸ ὄνομα, λέγεται <δὲ (*ins.* F. L. Abresch)> ὡς ἡ Πέτρα δῆμος εἴη τὸ ἀρχαῖον.

[2] Schol. Lyk. *Al.* 160 αὐχμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν Ἦλιν ἐχρήσθη σφαγιάσαι αὐτοὺς ἐπὶ τῇ παύσει τοῦ αὐχμοῦ παῖδα εὐγενῆ, καὶ ἐσφαγίασαν ἑκόντα Μόλπιν τινὰ λεγόμενον, καὶ εὐθέως ἐρράγη ὑετός· οἱ δὲ Ἠλεῖοι ἐποίησαν Ὀμβρίου Διὸς ἱερόν, ἐν ᾧ ἵστην ἀνδριὰς τοῦ Μόλπιδος. Μόλπιδος οὖν πέτραν τὴν Ἦλίν φησιν, κ.τ.λ. = Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 160 Μόλπις γάρ τις Ἠλεῖος εὐγενὴς αὐχμοῦ κατασχόντος τὴν Ἦλιν ἐκ χρησμοῦ ἀκηκοὼς παυθῆναι τὸν αὐχμὸν εὐγενοῦς νέου σφαγιασθέντος τῷ Διὶ αὐτὸς ἑαυτὸν ἔδωκεν εἰς σφαγὴν καὶ εὐθέως σφαγιασθέντος ἐρρύη ὑετός. Ἠλεῖοι δὲ ἱερὸν Ὀμβρίου Διὸς ἐποίησαν, ἐν ᾧ ἵσταται καὶ ἀνδριὰς Μόλπιδος. Μόλπιδος οὖν πέτραν τὴν Ἠλίν φησιν, κ.τ.λ.

[3] F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 1—202.

[4] *Supra* i. 652 ff.

[5] *Supra* ii. 924 n. 0.

[6] *Supra* ii. 904 n. 1.

[7] *Supra* i. 414 ff., ii. 899 n. 1.

[8] *Supra* ii. 890 n. 6.

[9] *Supra* i. 70 ff.

[10] *Supra* i. 415 f.

[11] *Supra* i. 76.

the district[1]. It may well be, then, that in Elis too the same desperate means were on occasion adopted to propitiate the reluctant rain-god. And if in Arkadia King Lykaon was said to have served up his son or his grandson as a dish at the table of Zeus[2], we can hardly rule out the possibility that Molpis' body was likewise cut up in the rites of the Elean Zeus *Ómbrios*. His noble birth[3] and his well-omened name[4] would make him a most suitable victim. Perhaps in Elis, as in Arkadia[5], blood-guiltiness was avoided by the expedient of a communal meal.

On Mount Parnes in Attike stood an altar at which sacrifices were made, sometimes to Zeus *Ómbrios*, but sometimes also to Zeus *Apémios*[6], the god 'who Saves from Harm?' Mount Hymettos too had an altar of Zeus *Ómbrios*[8]. And a large round base of marble, found in 1900 on the site of the Agora at Corinth, still bears in late lettering part of an elegiac couplet in which one Heliodoros honours Zeus *Ómbrios*[9]. To these or other such monuments Plutarch is alluding, when he protests that the abolition of food would involve the abolition of agriculture, and asks what would then become of

[1] *Supra* i. 76, iii. 315. [2] *Supra* i. 78 f.

[3] Cp. Lamprid. *v. Heliog.* 8. 1 cecidit et humanas hostias lectis ad hoc pueris nobilibus et decoris per omnem Italiam patrimis et matrimis, credo ut maior esset utrique parenti dolor.

[4] F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 pp. 211, 401, F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 p. 323 f. Μόλπις occurs as an actual name in Thera (*Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 337, 5 Μόλπιος καὶ Κλεω... Ἀφ(ρ)οδισίαν in lettering of *s.* ii B.C., Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 154 no. 4700, 5). For Μολπαγόρης at Abdera see Append. P fig.

[5] *Supra* i. 76, 80. [6] *Supra* ii. 897 n. 6.

[7] On the strength of this Attic cult A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2374, 6 f. read Δευκαλίων τοὺς | ὄμβρους ἔφυγεν ἐγ Λυκωρείας εἰς Ἀθήνας πρὸ[ς Κραναὸ]ν (Palmerius cj. πρὸ[τερον]), καὶ τοῦ Διὸ[ς το]ῦ Ὀ[μβρίου Ἀπη]μ[ί]ου τὸ ἱρὸν ἱδ[ρύσατ]ο [καὶ] τὰ σωτήρια ἔθυσεν—a reading defended by J (=Hans). Flach *Chronicon Parium* Tubingae 1884 p. 3 n. 7. But R. Chandler's restoration Διὸ[ς το]ῦ Ὀ[λυ]μ[πί]ου (cp. Paus. 1. 18. 8) is rightly accepted by Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 121 n. 3, F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 444, 6 f., and F. Jacoby *Das Marmor Parium* Berlin 1904 p. 4.

[8] *Supra* ii. 897 n. 5, 1226. The inscribed 'Geometric' sherds found by the Americans near the top of Mt Hymettos have now been published by C. W. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 10—28. No. 1 fig. 1 is a small one-handled cup incised Νι[κό]δεμος Φ[....]ίδες καταπύγον Λεο[....]δες ερι No. 11 fig. 5 is a small bowl scratched with the start of an abecedarium ΑΒΛ Nos. 13 and 14 fig. 6 are parts of a small cup incised ΛΜ and ΠΡ and Χ, perhaps from another alphabet. No. 15 fig. 7 is the lower portion of a small jug inscribed on its bottom ΛΑΡ̂Σ, probably for Γα(ί)ης. These inscriptions, of *c.* 750 B.C., hardly suffice to determine the name of the deity concerned. But the connexion of Zeus *Ómbrios* with Gaia is not impossible (Paus. 1. 24. 3 Γῆς ἄγαλμα ἱκετευούσης ὗσαί οἱ τὸν Δία, κ.τ.λ.).

[9] *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1598 [– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – ⏑ Διΐ] Ὄμβριον (Ἡ)λιόδωρος, | [– ⏑⏑ – ⏑⏑ – εὐσ]εβίης ἕνεκα.

the altars and sacrifices of Zeus *Ómbrios*, Demeter *Proërosía*, and Poseidon *Phytálmios*[1]. Zeus *Ómbrios* here heads the list of agricultural deities: it was doubtless in that capacity that he was worshipped.

Gods that sent rain, wherever they were recognised, were apt to be identified with Zeus *Ómbrios*. Examples may be drawn from Phrygia, India, and Palestine.

Phrygia had a legend of the flood[2], which has come down to us in two somewhat different versions. Zenobios, who taught at Rome under Hadrian and published an epitome of the proverbs collected by Didymos (*s.* i B.C.[3]) and Tarraios[4], states that 'the tears of Nannakos' was a phrase used of ancient happenings or of persons making loud lamentation—

'for Nannakos was a king of Phrygia, as Hermogenes asserts in his *Phrygian History*[5], before the days of Deukalion. Having foreknowledge of the deluge that was to be, he gathered all men into the sanctuaries and made supplication with tears. Herodes[6] the iambic poet says

"Though I should weep the tears of Nannakos[7]."'

Stephanos of Byzantion (*s.* v A.D.) in his account of Ikonion pursues the story further:

'They say that there was a certain Annakos, who lived for over three hundred years. His neighbours asked an oracle how long his life would last. The answer

[1] Plout. *sept. sap. conviv.* 15.

[2] F. Lenormant *Les Origines de l'histoire d'après la Bible* Paris 1880 i. 440—442 (Apameia *Kibotos*, Ikonion, Mt Baris, etc. attest a Phrygian tradition of the deluge fused later with a Judaeo-Christian account), T. Reinach *Les monnaies juives* Paris 1887 p. 71 f. =*id. Jewish Coins* trans. M. Hill London 1903 pp. 61—63 pl. 11 (a Phrygian myth fused with Jewish tradition), E. Babelon 'La tradition phrygienne du déluge' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1891 xxiii. 174—183 (the supposed Phrygian myth was not original, but merely a Jewish tradition brought to Apameia by Jewish settlers under the early Seleucid kings), H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 48—50 (already in the time of Agrippa and Augustus Asia Minor was overrun by Jews, whose Noah displaced the local Nannakos or Dardanos), A. Reinach *Noé Sangariou* Paris 1913 pp. 1—95 (*à propos* of a Thasian epitaph Νόη | Σαγγαρίου | γυνή argues that a Phrygian water-power 'Na-Nana-Naé-Noé' was daughter of 'Nannakos-Annakos,' hero of the Phrygian flood. When the latter was confused with 'Hénoch-Noah,' the former became '*Noéra, fille de Noé*'), Frazer *Folk-Lore in the Old Testament* i. 155—157 ('I confess that the arguments adduced in favour of an aboriginal flood legend at Apamea appear to me to carry little weight, resting rather on a series of doubtful combinations than on any solid evidence').

[3] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 432.

[4] Souid. *s.v.* Ζηνόβιος.

[5] Hermog. περὶ Φρυγίας *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 524 Müller).

[6] Herond. 3. 10 κἦν τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσω with W. Headlam *ad loc.*

[7] Zenob. 6. 10 *s.v.* τὰ Ναννάκου (cod. B reads ἀπὸ Ναννάκου· ἐπὶ τῶν σφόδρα παλαιῶν καὶ ἀρχαίων. Νάννακον γὰρ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον βασιλέα γενέσθαι Φρυγῶν ἐν Πισινοῦντι (*sic*) καὶ ἔθη αὐτοῖς καταστήσασθαι· καὶ ταῦτα λέγειν αὐτούς Τὰ ἀπὸ Ναννάκου). Cp. Makar. 2. 23 *s.v.* ἀπὸ Ναννάκου, 8. 4 *s.v.* τὰ ἐπὶ Ναννάκου, Souid. *s.vv.* Νάνναχος, τὰ ἀπὸ Ναννάκου, and τὰ Ναννάκου κλαύσομαι.

given was that, when he died, all men would be destroyed. The Phrygians hearing it made great lamentation. Hence the proverb "to cry as in the days of Annakos" used of those who mourn overmuch. When the flood came in Deukalion's time, all were destroyed. But when the ground was dry again, Zeus bade Prometheus and Athena to make images of clay, and calling upon the winds he bade them to breathe upon all these and so bring them to life. The place got its name *Ikónion* from the fact that the "images" were designed there[1].'

It seems probable that neither of these versions was wholly independent of Jewish tradition. Indeed, Buttmann[2] more than

Fig. 330.

Fig. 331.

Fig. 332.

Fig. 333.

a century since concluded that *Annakós*, who lived for over three hundred years, was none other than *Enoch*, who reached the age of three hundred and sixty-five[3]. And it is easy to surmise that the nasalised form of the name, *Nánnakos*, arose under the influence of *Noah*. Be that as it may, the popularity of the Hebrew story is sufficiently established by the remarkable coins of Apameia Kibotos[4]

[1] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἰκόνιον. Cp. *et. mag.* p. 470, 55 ff.

[2] P. Buttmann *Mythologus* Berlin 1828 i. 176, citing W. Baxter 'Philological letters' in *Miscellaneous Tracts on Antiquity* London 1779 i. 206.

[3] Gen. 5. 23.

[4] H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 2. 2513—2518 figs. 825—827 discusses these coins and *ib.* pp. 2521—2523 appends a full bibliography of them, which ranges from O. Falconerius *Dissertatio de numo*

issued by Septimius Severus (fig. 330)[1], Macrinus (fig. 331)[2], and Philippus Senior (figs. 332, 333)[3]. The design unites two consecutive scenes. On the right, an ark inscribed *NOË* floats on the waters of the flood. Its lid is open, and from it Noah and his wife look out. Upon the lid perches the raven, and towards it flies the dove with an olive-twig in its claws. On the left, Noah and his wife stand on dry ground, uplifting their hands in gratitude to God for their escape. This pictorial type[4] presupposes some famous original, perhaps a frescoed Stoa[5], perhaps an illustrated Pentateuch[6].

But, though Jewish influence was undeniably strong at Apameia,

Apamensi Deucalionei diluvii typum exhibente Romæ 1668 down to modern times. It will suffice to cite Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 132—139, F. W. Madden 'On some coins of Septimius Severus, Macrinus, and Philip I., struck at Apameia, in Phrygia, with the legend ΝΩϵ' in the *Num. Chron.* Second Series 1866 vi. 173—219 pl. 6 f., Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 669—672 ('The Legend of the Flood in Apameia') pl. 2, 1 f., H. Usener *Die Sintfluthsagen* Bonn 1899 pp. 48—50 fig. 1, E. J. Pilcher in the *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1903 xxv. 250 ff., B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xxxix, 101 no. 182, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 666 f. fig. 313, C. F. Keary and C. Babington in Smith—Cheetham *Dict. Chr. Ant.* ii. 1272 f. with pl. 1, 1. *Supra* ii. 610.

[1] F. W. Madden in the *Num. Chron.* Second Series 1866 vi. 194 f., 198 pl. 6, 1 (=my fig. 330) from the specimen in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, with *rev.* legend ЄΠΙΑΓ ΩΝΟ ΘЄΤΟVΑΡΤЄΜΑΓ ΑΠΑΜЄΩΝ and ΝΩ[Є].

[2] F. W. Madden *loc. cit.* pp. 195 f., 198 pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 331) from the specimen in the Imperial Cabinet of Antiquities and Coins at Vienna, with *rev.* legend ΑΠΑΜЄΩ Ν and ΝΩ[Є].

[3] F. W. Madden *loc. cit.* pp. 196—198 pl. 6, 3 (=my fig. 332) from the specimen in the Waddington Collection, now in the Cabinet des Médailles at Paris, with *rev.* legend ЄΠΜΑ VΡ ΑΛ ЄΞΑΝΔΡ OVΒΑΡΧΙΑΠ ΑΜЄΩΝ and ΝΩЄ. My fig. 333 is a fresh drawing made from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum (*supra* p. 528 n. 4).

[4] C. Lenormant in C. Cahier—A. Martin *Mélanges d'archéologie, d'histoire et de littérature* Paris 1853 iii. 199—202 pl. 30 publishes a 'sculpture dans les catacombes de Rome,' which repeats exactly the two juxtaposed scenes of the coin-type. E. Babelon in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1891 xxiii. 181 and Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 670 are impressed. But H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1907 i. 2. 2513 says: 'malheureusement il n'existe rien de pareil et la planche XXX du tome IIIe des *Mélanges d'archéologie* ne représente pas du tout une *Sculpture dans les catacombes de Rome*, mais le type de la médaille d'Apamée agrandi. M. Babelon y a été trompé.' Cp. F. W. Madden *loc. cit.* p. 206 ('The other drawing is an enlarged copy of the type on the coins, and not, as stated, a drawing from the catacombs').

[5] Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 432 ('pictures in some public buildings'), 670 n. 3 ('Either a wall-painting or a scene in low relief'), B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. xxxix ('probably a copy of some painting at Apameia'), *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 666 ('probably copied from some painting in the city').

[6] V. Schultze *Altchristliche Städte und Landschaften* Gütersloh 1922 ii. 1. 455 ('Man hat vermutet, dass ein Gemälde in einem öffentlichen Gebäude, etwa in einer Stoa, die Vorlage abgegeben habe; näher liegt, an einen illustrierten Pentateuch zu denken, der also Text und Bild zugleich bot').

it remains at least possible that the Jews had there fastened on native names and myths, adopting or adapting them to suit their own tradition. The town was called Kibotos, apparently the Grecised form of some Phrygian name, whose significance escapes us[1]. Another coin of Apameia, struck by Hadrian, shows (figs. 334—337)[2] Marsyas with *cornu copiae* and flutes seated in a rocky grotto: beneath him water streams from an inverted vase; above him are several chests and the legend *kibotoi*. F. Imhoof-Blumer[3] cites this coin-type in support of G. Hirschfeld's[4] conjecture that Apameia was nick-named Kibotos on account of its commercial importance[5]. To me it seems more likely that *Kibotoi*

Fig. 334.

Fig. 335.

Fig. 336.

Fig. 337.

was the name of some local festival[6]. But, whatever be the explanation, Jewish settlers would be quick to discover an allusion to their own ark and would probably claim that it had grounded on some neighbouring mountain[7]. Again, we may conclude that

[1] Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* i. 2. 671, V. Schultze *op. cit.* ii. 1. 456 n. 2. ? cp. Κίβυρα in Phrygia (*supra* ii. 771).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xxxix, 96 nos. 155 pl. 11, 10 (=my fig. 335 from a cast) and 156, no. 157 pl. 11, 11 (=my fig. 336 from a cast), no. 158 pl. 11, 12 (=my fig. 337 from a cast), *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 235 nos. 8771 pl. 308, 15 and 8772. Imhoof-Blumer *Kleinas. Münzen* i. 211 no. 19 pl. 7, 11 (=my fig. 334), *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 495 no. 7036 pl. 250, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 666.

[3] Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* i. 211.

[4] G. Hirschfeld 'Kelainai—Apameia Kibotos' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1875* Phil.-hist. Classe 1. 15. His view, rejected by E. Schürer *Die Prophetin Isabel in Thyatira* 1892 p. 54 and Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 671 n. 2, is accepted as 'perhaps' correct by B. V. Head in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia p. xxxii and in *Hist. num.*[2] p. 666.

[5] Strab. 576 Ἀπάμεια ἡ Κιβωτὸς λεγομένη καὶ Λαοδίκεια, αἵπερ εἰσὶ μέγισται τῶν κατὰ τὴν Φρυγίαν πόλεων, 577 Ἀπάμεια δ' ἐστὶν ἐμπόριον μέγα τῆς ἰδίως λεγομένης Ἀσίας, δευτερεῦον μετὰ τὴν Ἔφεσον.

G. Hirschfeld *loc. cit.* p. 15 n. 4 remarks: 'Es ist auffallend genug, dass der nördlich gelegene türk. Ort Sandykly dasselbe bedeutet: sandyk heisst Kiste.'

L. Grasberger *Studien zu den griechischen Ortsnamen* Würzburg 1888 p. 117 notes that an artificial harbour at Alexandreia was called Κιβωτός (Strab. 795).

[6] For numismatic parallels see *supra* i. 534 n. 8. Our own *Boxing Day* is roughly analogous.

[7] Cp. *oracl. Sib.* 1. 261 ff. Geffcken ἔστι δέ τι Φρυγίης ἐπ' ἠπείροιο μελαίνης | ἠλίβατον τανύμηκες ὄρος· Ἀραρὰτ δὲ καλεῖται, | ὅττ' ἄρα σωθήσεσθαι ἐπ' αὐτῷ πάντες ἔμελλον, | ἐν

a genuine Phrygian flood-myth underlies the story of Priasos, which Nonnos[1] relates as follows. When Zeus *Hyétios* flooded the plain of Phrygia with his showers and submerged both oak-trees and thorn-brakes, Priasos left his water-logged home and went off to the land of Aonia (*sc.* Boiotia), avoiding the deadly rain of Zeus. But amid strangers he ever shed tears as he thought of the Sangarios and longed for his familiar spring. At length Zeus *Hýpatos* quelled the flood and drove the waters back from the peaks of Sipylos, while *Ennosígaios* with his trident turned the whole stream into the depths of the sea. Then Priasos hastened to quit the soil of Boiotos and hied him back to his native land. His strong arm supported his aged father in the flood, and Zeus the Great in return for his piety brought him in safety from a watery grave—Zeus whom men call *Brómbios*. The meaningless title brings us up with a jerk. It is taken by C. F. Graefe, H. Köchly, and A. Ludwich from the manuscripts' *Brónbios*. But there can be little doubt that Count de Marcellus was right in restoring the appellative of Zeus *Ómbrios*, 'the Showery.'

Strabon[2] states that, according to 'the historians' (Kleitarchos?)[3], the Indians reverenced Zeus *Ómbrios*, the river Ganges, and local divinities. He is presumably fitting a Greek name to Indra, son of Dyaus, who fought *Vṛtra*, the demon of drought, and released the waters pent up by him[4].

τούτῳ μεγάλη δὲ ποθὴ καταθύμιος ἦεν· | ἔνθα φλέβες μεγάλου ποταμοῦ Μαρσύου (J. Geffcken cj. Μαρσύου ποταμοῖο) *πέφυκαν. | τῷδε κιβωτὸς ἔμεινεν ἐν ὑψηλοῖσι καρήνοις | ληξάντων ὑδάτων, τότε δ' αὖ πάλιν οὐρανόθι πρό | θεσπεσίῃ μεγάλοιο θεοῦ πάλιν ἴαχε φωνή | τοῖον ἔπος· "Νῶε πεφυλαγμένε πιστὲ δίκαιε, | θαρσαλέως ἔξελθε σὺν υἱέσι καί τε δάμαρτι | καὶ νύμφαις τρισσαῖς καὶ πλήσατε γαῖαν ἅπασαν | αὐξόμενοι" κ.τ.λ.* The first hint of this location is given by Sex. Iulius Africanus (on whom see *supra* ii. 695 f.) *ap.* Synkell. *chron.* 22 A—B (i. 38 f. Dindorf) *ἦν δὲ ἐτῶν ἑξακοσίων ὁ Νῶε, ὅτε ὁ κατακλυσμὸς ἐγένετο. ὡς δὲ ἔληξε τὸ ὕδωρ, ἡ κιβωτὸς ἱδρύθη ἐπὶ τὰ ὄρη Ἀραράτ, ἅτινα ἴσμεν ἐν Παρθίᾳ, τινὲς δὲ ἐν Κελαιναῖς τῆς Φρυγίας εἶναί φασιν· εἶδον δὲ τὸν τόπον ἑκάτερον· κ.τ.λ.* = Kedren. *hist. comp.* 10 D (i. 20 Bekker) *ὅτι τὰ ὄρη Ἀραρὰτ ἴσμεν ἐν Παρθίᾳ τῆς Ἀρμενίας εἶναι· τινὲς δέ φασιν, ἐν Κελαιναῖς τῆς Φρυγίας.* See further Sir W. M. Ramsay *The Cities and Bishoprics of Phrygia* Oxford 1897 i. 2. 670—672.

[1] Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 522—544. Within this short passage we get the sky-god called successively Τέτιος Ζεύς (522), Ζηνός (529), Ζεὺς Ὕπατος (534), Ζεὺς Μέγας (543), Βρόμβιον (*leg.* Ὀμβριον) (544).

[2] Strab. 718 *λέγεται δὲ καὶ ταῦτα παρὰ τῶν συγγραφέων, ὅτι σέβονται μὲν τὸν ὄμβριον Δία Ἰνδοὶ καὶ τὸν Γάγγην ποταμὸν καὶ τοὺς ἐγχωρίους δαίμονας.*

[3] So E. R. Bevan in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 422. Cp. Kleitarch. *frag.* 17 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 81 Müller) = Kleitarch. *frag.* 20 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 748 Jacoby) *ap.* Strab. 718.

[4] E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 104, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 58 ff., H. Jacobi in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1909 ii. 804, A. B. Keith *Indian Mythology* (*The Mythology of all Races* vi) Boston 1917 p. 133 f. *Supra* p. 273 n. 3.

In this connexion space must be spared for a few words regarding the Zeus-types of early Indian coinage. Diodotos ii, satrap of Baktriane, *c.* 261—250 B.C. struck for his suzerain Antiochos ii Theos of Syria both gold *statêres* and silver tetradrachms (fig. 338) bearing as obverse type his own portrait, and as reverse his canting badge—Zeus fulminant[1]. The god strides from right to left with a thunderbolt in his uplifted hand, an *aigís* on his outstretched arm, and an eagle at his feet. On attaining independence, *c.* 250 B.C.,

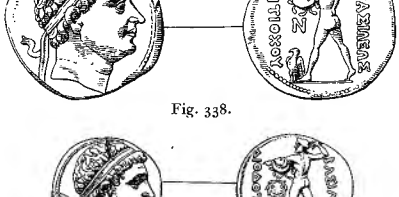


Fig. 338.

Fig. 339.

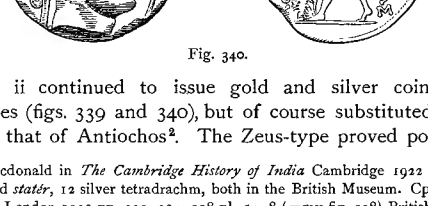


Fig. 340.

Diodotos ii continued to issue gold and silver coins of the same types (figs. 339 and 340), but of course substituted his own name for that of Antiochos[2]. The Zeus-type proved popular and

[1] G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 436 f., 464 pl. 2, 11 gold *statér*, 12 silver tetradrachm, both in the British Museum. Cp. C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 229, 234, 308 pl. 54, 8 (=my fig. 338) British Museum.

[2] G. Macdonald *loc. cit.* i. 436, 464 pl. 2, 13 silver tetradrachm, 14 gold *statér*, both in the British Museum. Cp. P. Gardner in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. xxf., 3 pl. 1, 4 and 5 (=my fig. 339) gold *statêres*, pl. 1, 6 (=my fig. 340) and 7 silver tetradrachms, 8 silver *statér*, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 836 fig. 364, R. B. Whitehead *The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 13) New York 1922 p. 13 pl. 1, 1 gold *statér*, 2 silver tetradrachm, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 234, 308 pl. 54, 9 British Museum.

was repeated, perhaps by Demetrios i *c.* 190 B.C.[1], certainly by Agathokles *c.* 150 B.C. (figs. 341, 342)[2] and his contemporary Antimachos i Theos (fig. 343)[3].

The type itself was a Hellenistic modification of the old Hellenic striding Zeus[4]. By displacing the eagle on the hand of the god it had found room for the *aigís*, which in those days of intensive

Fig. 341.

Fig. 342.

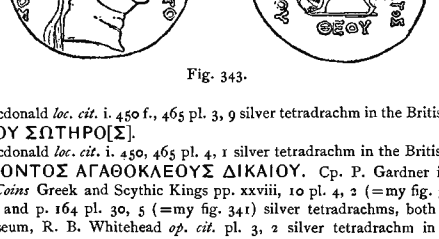


Fig. 343.

[1] G. Macdonald *loc. cit.* i. 450 f., 465 pl. 3, 9 silver tetradrachm in the British Museum: ΔΙΟΔΟΤΟΥ ΣΩΤΗΡΟ[Σ].

[2] G. Macdonald *loc. cit.* i. 450, 465 pl. 4, 1 silver tetradrachm in the British Museum: ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΟΝΤΟΣ ΑΓΑΘΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ. Cp. P. Gardner in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. xxviii, 10 pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 342 from an electrotype) and p. 164 pl. 30, 5 (=my fig. 341) silver tetradrachms, both now in the British Museum, R. B. Whitehead *op. cit.* pl. 3, 2 silver tetradrachm in the British Museum.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pp. xxviii f., 164 pl. 30, 6 (=my fig. 343).

[4] *Supra* ii. 739 ff.

Homeric study had become one of his most essential attributes—witness *e.g.* Zeus fighting Porphyrion on the great Pergamene frieze (pl. xlii)[1] or such lesser works as the Zeus from Kyrene

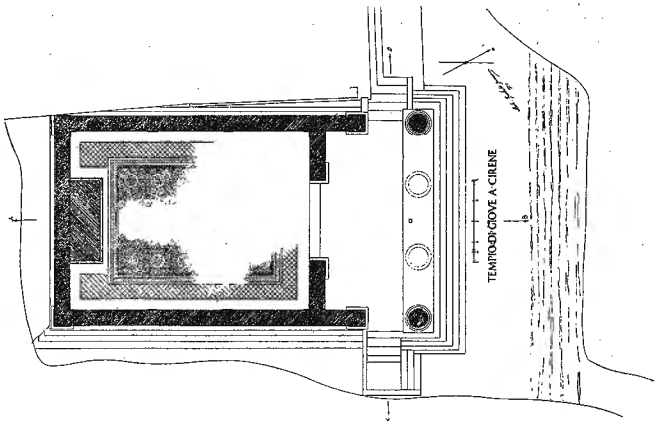


Fig. 344.

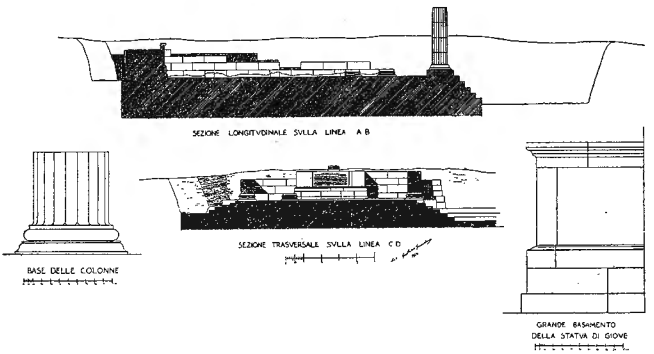
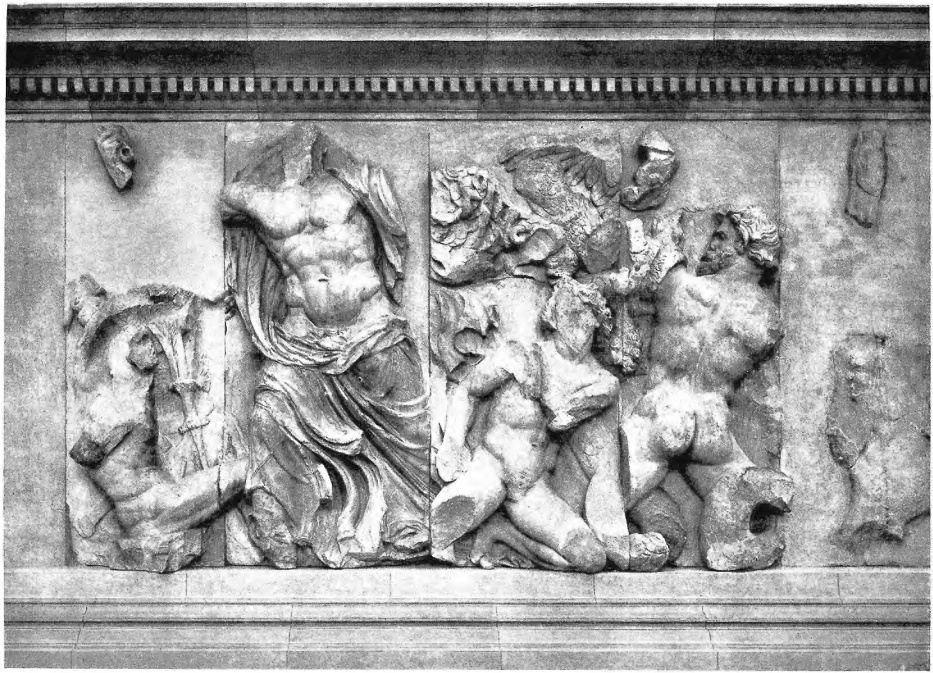


Fig. 345.

[1] H. Winnefeld in *Pergamon* iii. 2. 50 ff. Atlas pl. 24 (=my pl. xlii), *Die Skulpturen des Pergamon-Museums in Photographien* Berlin 1903 pl. 15, C. Robert 'Die Götter in der pergamenischen Gigantomachie' in *Hermes* 1911 xlvi. 247 ff. fig. 8, A. von Salis *Der*



Relief from the eastern frieze of the great Altar at Pergamon, now in Berlin:
Zeus fighting Porphyrion.

See page 534, cp. *page* 56 *n.* o (5).

(fig. 346)[1] and its counterpart from Falerio (*Fallerone*) in Picenum

Altar von Pergamon Berlin 1912 pp. 54—57 fig. 3, W. H. Schuchhardt *Die Meister des grossen Frieses von Pergamon* Berlin—Leipzig 1925 p. 44 ff. pl. 22. See also Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 270 f. with fig. 198, B, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 520 ff. pl. 12, C. Picard *La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère Byzantine* Paris 1926 ii. 243, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Kunst der Antike <Hellas und Rom>* Berlin 1927 pp. 57, 687 with fig. 442.

The same subject, but without the *aigís*, is already found on the Gigantomachy-*amphora* with twisted handles, from Melos, now in the Louvre (no. S 1677) (bibliography *supra* ii. 435 nn. 4 and 5, iii. 56 n. 0). This handsome vase, attributed by Furtwängler to the Talos Painter (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 193 ff. pls. 96 (=my pl. vii) and 97), is referred by Beazley to the *post*-Meidias period (J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 184), but even so must be more than two centuries earlier than the Pergamene frieze.

Vase and frieze presuppose a common original, perhaps the Pheidiac painting inside the shield of Athena *Parthénos* (*supra* ii. 435 n. 5).

[1] E. Ghislanzoni 'Statua di Giove ed iscrizione onoraria agli imperatori Adriano ed Antonino Pio rinvenute in Cirene' in the *Notiziario archeologico* 1916 ii. 193—216 pls. 1 (groundplan of temple of Zeus etc.=my fig. 344), 2 (sections and bases=my fig. 345), 3 (statue of Zeus=my fig. 346), 4 (upper part of do.), G. Bagnani in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 238—241 pl. 18, 1 (statue of Zeus), 2 (statue of Athena), L. Mariani 'Zeus Aigiochos' in the *Notiziario archeologico* 1922 iii. 5—18 figs. 1 (statue of Zeus), 2 (upper part of do.), 3 (headless statue of Zeus in the Banco di Roma, transformed into a Perseus by the addition of a heroic head), 4 (torso of do.), 5—7 (head of do.), 8 (torso from Fallerone), 9 (statue from Atfih in the Cairo Museum), 10 f. (upper part of do.), C. Picard *La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère Byzantine* Paris 1926 ii. 429, 451.

On a terrace south of the Akropolis at Kyrene the Italians, in Aug. 1915, excavated the ruins of a temple overthrown by an earthquake in the second half of *s.* iv A.D. The temple, a tetrastyle prostyle building of the Corinthian order (20^{m} long × 12·50^{m} wide), contained the remains of an oblong mosaic pavement and a large statue-base (3·60^{m} wide × 1·50^{m} deep) set against the back-wall of the *cella*. On the pavement lay the figure of Zeus, broken but almost all there. The same site, in 1861, had yielded two female figures, a Hera (?) and an Athena (R. Murdoch Smith—E. A. Porcher *History of the Recent Discoveries at Cyrene* London 1864 p. 106 nos. 120 and 121). The three together appear to have formed the favourite Capitoline triad (*supra* i. 45 fig. 14, 60 f. fig. 35, 781 fig. 566). Zeus now stands in the Museo di Bengasi (E. Ghislanzoni *loc. cit.* p. 211 fig. 11); his partners, in the British Museum (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* ii. 255 nos. 1478 and 1479).

Zeus, an imposing statue (2·18^{m} high) in crystalline Parian marble, wears his *aigís* like a *chlamýs* over the left shoulder. His raised left hand rests on a long sceptre; his lowered right held a thunderbolt, as attribute rather than weapon. A tree-trunk (oak?) at his side and an eagle at his feet complete the figure, which should be regarded as an original of late Hellenistic times. Two inscriptions were found on the statue-base. One, of 138 A.D., occupies the broad side with a dedication to Hadrian and Antoninus Pius: *αὐτοκράτορι Καίσαρι, Θεοῦ Τραιανοῦ Παρθικοῦ | υἱῶ, Θεοῦ Νερούα υἱωνῶ, Τραιανῶ 'Αδριανῶ Σεβαστ[ῶ], | αὐτοκράτορι τὸ β', ἀρχιερεῖ μεγίστω, δημαρχι|κῆς ἐξουσίας κβ', ὑπάτω τὸ γ', πατρὶ πατρίδος, | σωτῆρι καὶ κτίστη, καὶ αὐτοκράτορι Τίτω Αἰλίω Καί|σαρι 'Αντωνείνω, υἱῶ 'Αδριανοῦ Σεβαστοῦ, | ἡ Κυρηναίων πόλις κοσμηθεῖσα ὑπ' αὐτοῦ | καὶ το[ῖ]ς ἀγάλμασιν* (E. Ghislanzoni *loc. cit.* p. 197 fig. 1 gives a photographic facsimile, cp. *ib.* p. 205 fig. 8. G. Bagnani *loc. cit.* p. 238 has an inaccurate transcription). The other, on the narrow end of the base, reads *Ζηνίων | Ζηνίωνος* (E. Ghislanzoni *loc. cit.* p. 200 fig. 2)—sculptor? magistrate? priest? in any case a well-omened name (cp. *supra* ii. 921 n. 0). Bagnani *loc. cit.* p. 241 concludes: 'My own theory is that when the temple of the Capitoline Triad was built or extensively restored by Hadrian, the people of Cyrene took as cult images a Zeus and an Athena of

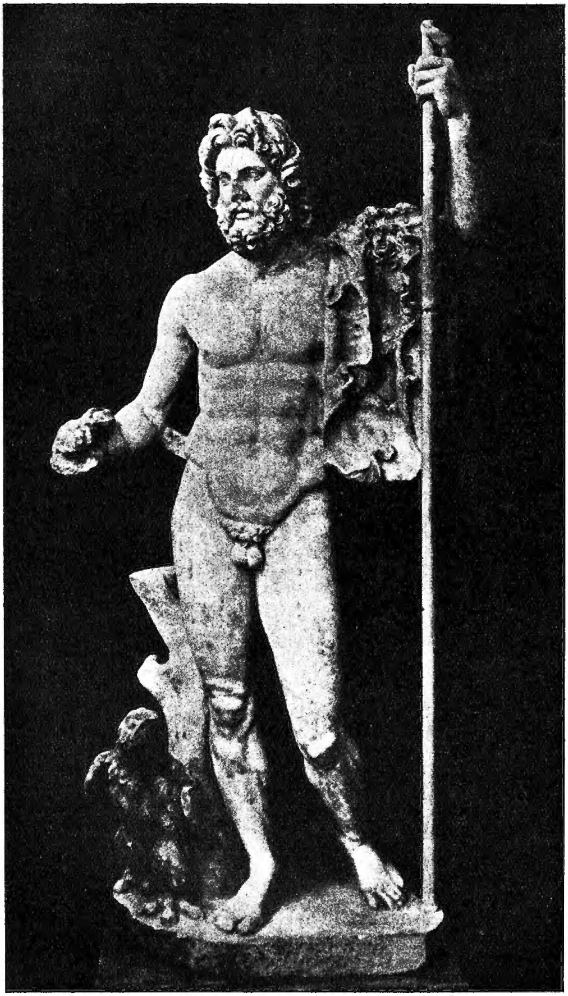
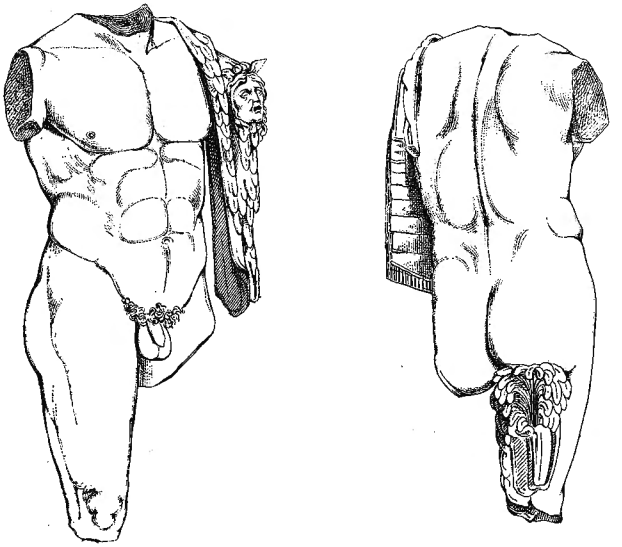


Fig. 346.

(fig. 347)[1]. Zeus as conceived by the great cameo-artists of the Hellenistic age (pls. xliii, xliv and fig. 348)[2] wore an oak-wreath



a Fig. 347. *b*

the same late Hellenistic sculptor which stood in different buildings in Cyrene but were both of suitable size.... To complete the Triad they executed a statue of Sabina and dedicated the whole to the glory of the Emperor who had shown such signal interest in their welfare.' L. Mariani *loc. cit.* p. 10 fancies 'un' intenzionale somiglianza del Dio rappresentato coll' imperatore.'

[1] G. De Minicis in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1839 xi. 21—23 ('un Apollo Libico'?), *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 2, 3[a] (=my fig. 347), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 247 f. (b.) ('so wird auch hier an einen Imperator im Zeuscostüm, nicht aber an den Gott selbst mit der Aegis zu denken sein'), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 108 no. 5, *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 155 ('torse du Jupiter de Falerone, du même type à l'égide que le Jupiter récemment découvert à Cyrène'), *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 816 with Text iii. 38 by W. Amelung ('Die Figur wird ursprünglich den Kopf eines römischen Imperators getragen haben').

[2] A splendid Arabian sardonyx of two layers, whitish grey on opaque black, found at Ephesos towards the close of the eighteenth century, is now preserved in the Archaeological Museum of the Ducal Palace at Venice. It shows a majestic bust of Zeus, in three-quarter position, wearing oak-wreath and *aigís*. Furtwängler noted the Scopaic character of the design, but reached the right conclusion—'Ein herrliches Werk gewiss hellenistischer Zeit.' This is borne out by the abundant curling tresses of the head, its expression of

round his head and an *aigís* over his left shoulder. Even the inward effortless triumph, and the pictorial quality of the whole (Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 2 f. pl. 1, 5, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 36 pl. 3, 7, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 243 ff. Gemmentaf. 3, 3, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 59, 8 (=my pl. xliii: scale ½), ii. 266, iii. 155, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 2, 2 (enlarged) p. 168).

Hardly less remarkable is a cameo of mottled green malachite, now in my collection and here published for the first time (pl. xliv: scale ½). Zeus appears as a noble full-face head, again wearing an oak-wreath (with three acorns) and a scaly *aigís* (in deeper green). This masterpiece may be placed somewhat later in the Hellenistic age than the sardonyx

a Fig. 348. *b*

above recorded, though earlier than such degenerate works as the mask from Otricoli in the Rotunda of the Vatican (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 74 ff. no. 1 Atlas pl. 2, 1 f.), the bust from Pompeii in the Museum at Naples (*id. ib.* p. 82 f. no. 13 Atlas pl. 2, 3 f.), or the colossal head at Florence (*id. ib.* p. 86 f. no. 17 Atlas pl. 2, 5 f.). Malachite, obtained from mines between Suez and Sinai, was known to the Egyptians at a very early date (G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 97), and amulets made of it have been widely credited with protective and curative powers (S. Seligmann *Der böse Blick und Verwandtes* Berlin 1910 ii. 30, *id. Die magischen Heil- und Schutzmittel* Stuttgart 1927 p. 261, cp. p. 282, W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 52, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge *Amulets and Superstitions* Oxford 1930 p. 318). Pliny speaks of it as highly prized for making seals (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 114), though extant examples seem to be of the greatest rarity. Possibly malachite, like 'plasma' (*supra* i. 357 n. 4), was a rainy stone and as such deemed appropriate to Zeus.

Later still (*s.* ii B.C.?) and of much less merit is a grandiose circular sardonyx of three layers, now at Petrograd, which represents Zeus as a profile head with exaggerated frontal furrow and occipital curve: oak-wreath (one acorn) and *aigís* as before (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 243 ff. Gemmentaf. 3, 4, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1881 p. 77 ff.

A sardonyx cameo from Ephesos, now in Venice:
Zeus with oak-wreath and *aigís*.

See page 537 *n.* 2.

A malachite cameo, now at Queens' College, Cambridge:
Zeus with oak-wreath and *aigís*.

See page 538 *n.* o.

Fig. 349.

human Zeus was not complete without at least some hint of the *aigís*[1].

Demetrios i, the son and successor of Euthydemos i, expanded the kingdom of Baktria to include the Indus valley[2]. About 190 B.C. he struck silver tetradrachms (fig. 350)[3] bearing on the obverse his own bust, on the reverse Zeus standing with thunderbolt and sceptre. The Greek legend of the one side is translated by the Kharoshṭhī legend of the other. And it is at least possible that the

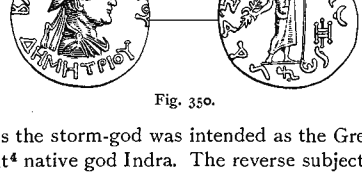


Fig. 350.

figure of Zeus the storm-god was intended as the Greek equivalent of the ancient[4] native god Indra. The reverse subject was repeated half a century later on the silver coins of Heliokles, both those struck in Baktria with a Greek legend and a purely Greek type

Atlas pl. 5, 1 (photograph of gem = my fig. 348, *a*: scale ½) and 2 (photograph of cast), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 158 fig. 112, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 3, 1 (enlarged) p. 168. My fig. 348, *b* (scale ½) is from a cast by T. Cades *Collezione di N^o 1400 Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa* I^ma Classe, A 18).

It should be added that all three cameos owe something to the ever-popular type of Alexander, especially the thick neck, the upward glance, and the leonine hair above the forehead. If Alexander was figured in the likeness of Zeus (*supra* i. 57, 279), Zeus in turn borrowed an occasional trait from Alexander (see *e.g.* the Alexander-like Zeus in the *Casa dei Vettii* (*supra* i. 57 n. 4)). The ancients played on the parallel (*supra* i. 6 f.).

[1] *E.g. supra* ii. 811 n. 5 (Domitian?), 1194 (Nero, Domitian, Nerva).

A bronze statuette in the Fouquet Collection—of which several replicas are extant (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 311 no. 7, 312 nos. 1, 4, 5, 6)—shows Alexander the Great wearing the *aigís* as his *chlamýs* (P. Perdrizet 'Un type inédit de la plastique grecque' in the *Mon. Piot* 1913 xxi. 59—72 figs. 1—7 pls. 4 and 5 (= my fig. 349). See further I. I. Bernoulli *Die erhaltenen Darstellungen Alexanders des Grossen* München 1905 pp. 112 f. fig. 38, 126 ff. pl. 9, 1, 133 f. pl. 8, 3, C. C. Edgar 'A statue of a Hellenistic King' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 50—52 (Ptolemy ii Philadelphos?) pl. 2).

[2] Strab. 516, citing Apollodoros of Artemita *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 308 f. Müller) —a historian dating from the first half of *s.* i B.C. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 399, 412 n. 2). See also G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 444 ff.

[3] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 317 f. no. 2 pl. 14, 2, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 234 f. pl. 56, 3 (= my fig. 350): ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΑΝΙΚΗΤΟΥ | ΔΗΜΗΤΡΙΟΥ = *Maharajasa aparajitasa* | *Demetriyasa*. The coin is in the British Museum.

[4] *Supra* i. 190 n. 3, 741 n. 4.

(fig. 351)[1] and those struck in India with a bilingual legend[2] and a slightly orientalised type. The latter coins have for obverse design the king's bust[3], wearing sometimes a helmet marked with the head and wing of Medousa[4], sometimes a helmet with the horn and ear of a bull and an *aigís* over the left shoulder (fig. 352)[5]. Tetradrachms of the Indo-Scythian Azes are marked by progressive decadence (fig. 353)[6]. On the one side is the king on

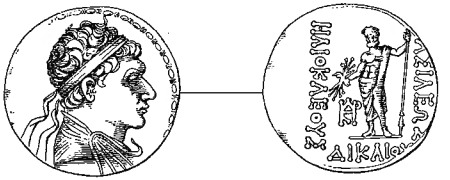


Fig. 351.

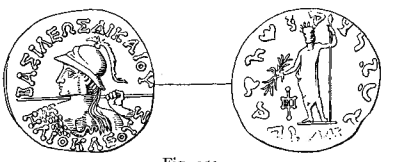


Fig. 352.

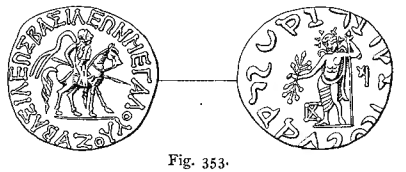


Fig. 353.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 21 pl. 7, 2 (=my fig. 351), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 839 fig. 370, G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 466 pl. 4, 8 tetradrachm of Attic weight. On the drachm (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins loc. cit.* pl. 7, 3) the head of Zeus is radiate.

[2] ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΔΙΚΑΙΟΥ ΗΛΙΟΚΛΕΟΥΣ=*Maharajasa dhramikasa Heliyakreyasa.*

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 23 pl. 7, 5 *statér* of Indian weight, cp. *ib.* p. 23 pl. 7, 6 quarter-*statér.*

[4] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 321 f. pl. 14, 9.

[5] *Id. The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 13) New York 1922 pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 352 from a cast), *id.* in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 322 pl. 14, 10.

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 73 pl. 17, 9, V. A. Smith *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* Oxford 1906 i. 43 no. 3. I figure

horseback with lance at rest; on the other, a radiate Zeus standing, with bolt and sceptre, in an attitude of oriental slackness. The pompous superscription is again bilingual.

Archebios, who reigned in the upper Kābul valley, gives more animation to his Zeus by making the god not merely hold but brandish the bolt (fig. 354)[1] and in some cases substituting the *aigís* for the sceptre (fig. 355)[2]. He also, following the example of Antialkidas (fig. 356)[3], issued square bilingual pieces in bronze with a dignified bust of Zeus on one side and the caps of the Dioskouroi on the other (fig. 357)[4].

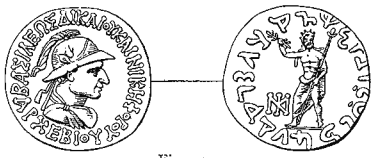


Fig. 354.

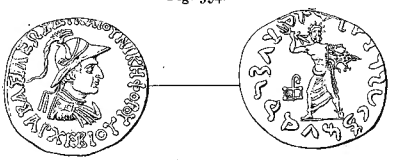


Fig. 355.

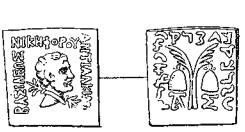


Fig. 356.

Fig. 357.

a specimen from the Tremlett collection, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum. ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΝ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΑΖΟΥ = *Maharajasa rajarajasa mahātasa Ayasa.*

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 32 pl. 9, 1—5, R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 323 pl. 14, 13 and 14 (= my fig. 354), pl. 15, 1 and 2.

[2] R. B. Whitehead *The Pre-Mohammedan Coinage of Northwestern India* (*Numismatic Notes and Monographs* No. 13) New York 1922 pl. 6, 3, *id.* in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 322 f. pl. 14, 11 and 12 (= my fig. 355 from a cast).

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 27 pl. 8, 2. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pl. 31, 5 (= my fig. 357), G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 591 pl. 8, 44.

No less dignified is the Zeus who appears on a silver coin of Peukolaos, another king in the upper Kābul valley. The god stands erect holding a long sceptre in his left hand and making a gesture with his outstretched right (fig. 358)[1]. The type recurs on a few rare tetradrachms of the Indo-Scythians Maues (fig. 359)[2] and Azes (fig. 360)[3].

A fresh and somewhat perplexing aspect of Zeus is found about 150 B.C. on tetradrachms of two contemporary and perhaps

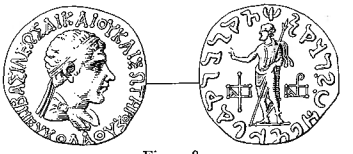


Fig. 358.

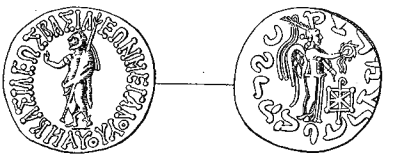


Fig. 359.

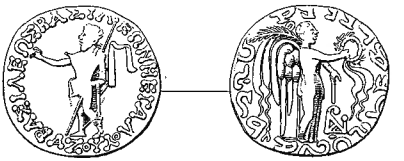


Fig. 360.

[1] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 324 f. pl. 15, 4 ('The right hand may with outstretched finger and thumb be making a gesture of benediction or command. But I appear to see in the hand a small object in the shape of horns or a crescent...not a lotus'), Head *Coins of the Greeks* p. 81 pl. 45, 22 (=my fig. 358). E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 558 observes: 'The association of Peucolaus with Pushkalāvatī is proclaimed by his name, which is simply the adjective of Peucolaïtis, an alternative form of the Greek Peucelaotis.'

[2] V. A. Smith *Catalogue of the Coins in the Indian Museum, Calcutta* Oxford 1906 i. 39 no. 6. I figure a specimen from the Tremlett collection, now in the Fitzwilliam Museum.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 73 pl. 17, 8 ('r. hand advanced'), R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 340 ('thin, curved object in outstretched r. hand') pl. 17, 12 (=my fig. 360).

associated Bactrian rulers, Agathokles and Pantaleon. Agathokles has for reverse design Zeus holding Hekate as a torch-bearer on his extended right hand and leaning on a spear with his left (fig. 361)[1]. Pantaleon has Zeus holding the same Hekate and leaning on the same spear, but seated on a throne (fig. 362)[2]. Now the combination of Zeus with Hekate, though occasionally met with in the classical area[3], is hardly to be explained from Greek sources[4]. It is far more likely that we have here to do with the Hellenised version of a native Indian cult. Indra as a storm-god controlled both fire and water. Fire in the Vedic religion is Agni, and according to the *Çatapatha Brâhmaṇa*[5] Agni had three

Fig. 361.

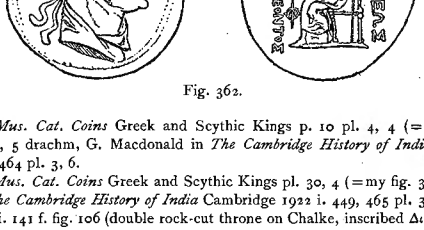


Fig. 362.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 10 pl. 4, 4 (=my fig. 361), cp. *ib.* pl. 4, 5 drachm, G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 449, 464 pl. 3, 6.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings pl. 30, 4 (=my fig. 362), G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 449, 465 pl. 3, 7.

[3] *Supra* i. 141 f. fig. 106 (double rock-cut throne on Chalke, inscribed Διός. Εκάτη[s]), ii. 714 n. 3 (inscription at Stratonikeia honouring (ί)*ερέα τοῦ* Πα[*ναμάρου Διὸς καὶ*] *τῆς* Ἑκάτης *τ*(*ῆ*)*ς* (*δ*)*αιδοφόρου*), ii. 835 n. 6, 838 (inscription at Rome by *sacerdus dei Brontontis et Aecate* (sic)).

[4] *Supra* i. 543 n. 1 Zeus and Hekate as parents of Britomartis (?).

[5] *Çatapatha Brâhmaṇa* 1. 2. 3. 1 f. (*The Satapatha-Brâhmaṇa* trans. J. Eggeling Part i (*The Sacred Books of the East* xii) Oxford 1882 p. 47): '1. Fourfold, namely, was Agni (fire) at first...[*ib.* 1. 3. 3. 13 ff. relates that the three former Agnis fled from fear of the thunderbolt] Thereupon the one who still constitutes the fire in our own time, concealed himself from fear. He entered into the waters. Him the gods discovered and brought forcibly away from the waters. He spat upon the waters, saying, "Bespitten are ye who are an unsafe place of refuge, from whom they take me away against my will!"

sons Ekata, Dvita, and Trita. Their names simply betoken 'First,' 'Second,' and 'Third.' But it certainly seems possible that Ekata child of the fire-god, was Grecised into a torch-bearing Hekate.

Further proof that in the upper Kābul valley Zeus was but another name for Indra may be had from the coinage of Eukratides and his successor Antialkidas. Certain square coppers of Apollodotos i Soter, re-struck by Eukratides *c.* 165 B.C., show the king's bust with a Greek legend on the obverse, a seated Zeus with a Kharoshṭhī legend on the reverse (fig. 363)[1]. The latter describes

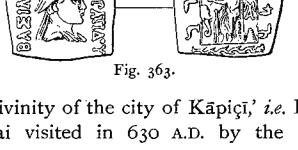


Fig. 363.

the god as 'the divinity of the city of Kāpiçī,' *i.e.* Kapisa[2] a city of the Paropanisadai visited in 630 A.D. by the Chinese pilgrim Hiuen-tsiang[3]:

'To the south-west of the capital was the *Pi-lo-sho-lo* Mountain. This name was given to the mountain from its presiding genius who had the form of an *elephant* and was therefore called *Pi-lo-sho-lo*[4].'

It will be seen that the forepart of the elephant in front of Zeus and the conical mountain behind him are alike appropriate to the god of Kapisa, here figured as Zeus enthroned with wreath and

Thence sprung the Âptya deities, Trita, Dvita, and Ekata. 2. They roamed about with Indra, even as nowadays a Brâhman follows in the train of a king....' Eggeling *ib.* p. 48 n. 0 comments: 'Trita, the Âptya (i.e. probably "sprung from, or belonging to the ap, or waters of the atmosphere"), seems to have been a prominent figure of the early Indo-Iranian mythology, the prototype, in many respects, of Indra, the favourite god of the Vedic hymns.... Dvita (the second) and Ekata are no doubt later abstractions suggested by the etymology of the name Trita (the third), although the former, Dvita, occurs already in the Vedic hymns.' See further *Hymns of the Atharva-veda* trs. M. Bloomfield (*The Sacred Books of the East* xlii) Oxford 1897 p. 521, A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 68 f., *id.* in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 604[b].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 19 pl. 6, 8 (my fig. 363 is drawn from the cast of an uncatalogued specimen in the British Museum), E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 555 f., 560, 590 pl. 7, 36. *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ ΕΥΚΡΑΤΙΔΟΥ. *Rev. Kaviçiye nagara devatā.*

[2] A. Herrmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1898 f.

[3] J. Takakusu in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1921 xii. 841[a]—843[b].

[4] T. Watters *On Yuan Chwang's Travels in India 629—645 A.D.* London 1904 i. 129. On the Sanskrit *pīlú-*, 'elephant,' see Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 245[a].

palm. A handsome tetradrachm of Attic weight issued by Antialkidas has room for greater detail (fig. 364)[1]. On the obverse is the royal bust within a fillet-border. On the reverse, surrounded by a Greek legend, a radiate Zeus clad in *chitón* and *himátion* sits on a decorative throne holding a long sceptre in his left hand and a Nike with wreath and palm in his right. In front of him appears the forepart of an elephant, which wears a bell round its neck and uplifts its trunk in salutation. A rare tetradrachm of the same ruler, struck on the Indian standard with bilingual legend, shows

Fig. 364.

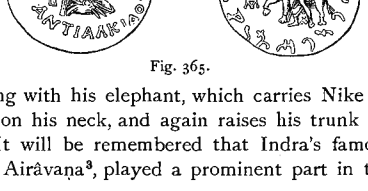


Fig. 365.

Zeus parading with his elephant, which carries Nike on his head, wears a bell on his neck, and again raises his trunk at the salute (fig. 365)[2]. It will be remembered that Indra's famous elephant, Airâvata or Airâvaṇa[3], played a prominent part in the battles of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 25 pl. 7, 9 (=my fig. 364).

E. W. Hopkins *The Religions of India* Boston etc. 1895 p. 431 f. quotes from the *Book of Peace*, a late addition to the *Mahā-Bhārata*, the famous episode of the White Island (12. 337. 20 ff.): 'Three priests with the insignificant names "First, Second, Third,"[3] [3]Ekata, Dvita, Trita] go to the far North (*diç uttarā*) where, in the "Sea of Milk," they find an Albion called "White Island," perhaps regarded as one of the seven or thirteen "islands," of which earth consists; and there Vishnu is worshipped as the one god by white men of extraordinary physical characteristics.'

[2] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 325 f. pl. 15, 5. I figure a specimen of mine, formerly in the White King collection (*White King Sale Catalogue* Amsterdam 1904 pl. 1, 50). *Obv.* ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ ΑΝΤΙΑΛΚΙΔΟΥ. *Rev. Maharajasa jayadharasa Amtialikidasa.*

[3] M. Winternitz *A concise Dictionary of Eastern Religion* Oxford 1910 p. 34. Cp. Dr Vollmer's *Wörterbuch der Mythologie aller Völker*. Neu bearbeitet von Dr W. Binder Stuttgart 1874 p. 23 *s.v.* 'Airaput.'

his master[1]. The elephant that occurs so frequently on the Indian and Graeco-Indian coinages of the Kābul valley and north-western India—I figure bronze pieces struck by Menandros *c.* 165 (?) B.C. (fig. 366)[2], Maues *c.* 72 B.C. (fig. 367)[3], and Azes I *c.* 58 B.C. (fig. 368)[4] —must be identified with, or at least derived from[5], this same redoubtable beast, is in fact ultimately none other than the theriomorphic storm-god.

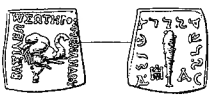


Fig. 366.

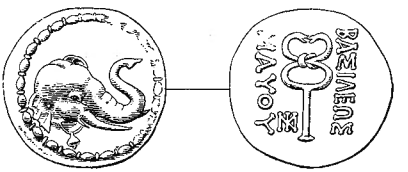


Fig. 367.

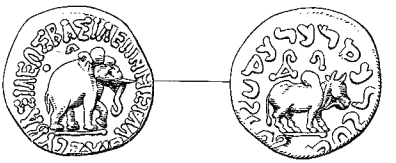


Fig. 368.

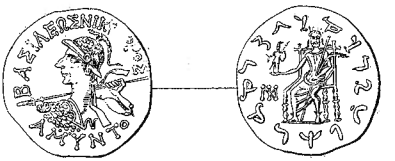


Fig. 369.

[1] A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 92.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 50 pl. 12, 6 (=my fig. 366), C. J. Brown *The Coins of India* Calcutta 1922 p. 26 pl. 2, 6.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 68 pl. 16, 1 (=my fig. 367), E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 p. 586 pl. 6, 2, C. J. Brown *The Coins of India* Calcutta 1922 p. 28 pl. 3, 4.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 87 pl. 19, 7 (=my fig. 368).

[5] So Professor Rapson *loc. cit.* p. 557.

Quasi-Greek in effect is a unique tetradrachm of Amyntas (*c.* 100—50 B.C.), which shows on one side a helmeted bust of the king wearing the *aigís* and thrusting a lance, on the other a radiate Zeus clad in *chitón* and *himátion*, who sits on a decorative throne with a long sceptre and a palm-branch in his left hand and Athena (not Nike) in his right (fig. 369)[1].

Finally tetradrachms of Hermaios (figs. 370, 371)[2], successor of Amyntas and last Yavana prince of the house of Eukratides, from

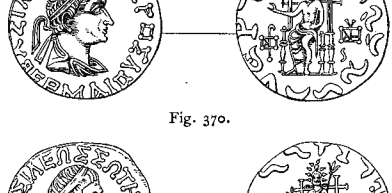


Fig. 370.

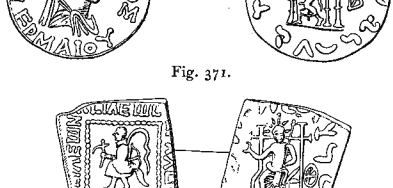


Fig. 371.

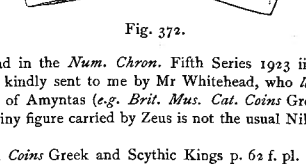


Fig. 372.

[1] R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 332 pl. 15, 7. My fig. 369 is from casts kindly sent to me by Mr Whitehead, who *loc. cit.* points out that even on the drachms of Amyntas (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 61 pl. 14, 10) the tiny figure carried by Zeus is not the usual Nike, but the exceptional Athena.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 62 f. pl. 15, 1, 2, and 4 (=my fig. 370 from an electrotype), cp. *ib.* p. 62 ff. pl. 15, 3, 5; 6, 7, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 109 pl. 62, 21, R. B. Whitehead in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1923 iii. 339 f. pl. 17, 9—11. My fig. 371 is from casts of no. 10 given me by Mr Whitehead.

Square bronze pieces issued by Spalirises have *obv.* the king standing with battle-axe and bow, *rev.* the same type of Zeus enthroned (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 101 pl. 22, 2. I figure a specimen in the Fitzwilliam collection). ΒΑCΙΛΕΩΝ ΒΑCΙΛΕΩC ΜΕΓΑΛΟΥ CΠΑΛΙΡΙCΟΥ=*Maharajasa māhātakasa Spalirisasa.*

c. 50 B.C. onwards combine the enthroned type of Zeus with the gesture first seen on the coin of Peukolaos[1]. This gesture, if I am not mistaken, is simply one variety of that ancient world-wide superstition, the prophylactic use of horns[2].

Another example of a local rain-god identified by the Greeks with their Zeus is that of the Philistine Marna or Marnas[3]. Bronze

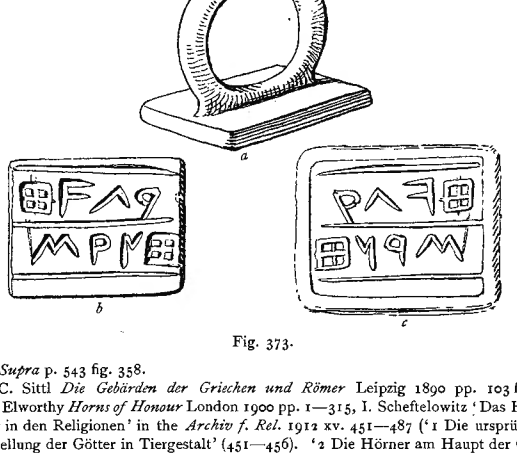


Fig. 373.

[1] *Supra* p. 543 fig. 358.

[2] C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 103 f., 124, F. T. Elworthy *Horns of Honour* London 1900 pp. 1—315, I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451—487 ('1 Die ursprüngliche Darstellung der Götter in Tiergestalt' (451—456). '2 Die Hörner am Haupt der Götter' (456—460). '3 Dämonen mit Hörnern' (460 f.). '4 Die Beziehungen der Götterhörner zum Monde' (461—471). '5 Hörner auf dem Haupte der Könige und Priester als Symbol göttlicher Macht' (471—473). '6 Hörner am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit' (473 f.). '7 Hornamulette zur Abwehr von dämonischen Einflüssen und zur Überwindung feindlicher Angriffe' (474—483). '8 Die magischen Wirkungen des Horns als Behälter und Blasinstrument' (483—487)), *id.* 'Horn I.' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1931 iv. 325—327, J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* 1913 vi. 791[b]—796[a] ('1. Divinities with horns' (792[a]—793[a]). '2. Semi-divine and demoniac beings with horns' (793[a-b]). '3. Horned men' (793[b]—794[a]). '4. Magical aspects of horns' (794[a]—796[a]). '5. Horns in sacrificial and other rites' (796[a])), *supra* i. 506—521 ('Ritual Horns').

[3] On whom see the painstaking, though hardly exhaustive, article by K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 1899—1906. This should be supplemented by the admirable survey of my friend Professor S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 180—186. See also W. W. Baudissin *Kyrios als Gottesname im Judentum und seine Stelle in der Religionsgeschichte* Giessen 1929 ii. 38 ff., iv. 5, 186 f.

I take this opportunity of publishing a bronze seal (fig. 373), which came to me with a parcel of miscellaneous antiquities from Egypt. The inscription (fig. 373, *b*) is deeply

coins of Gaza struck by Hadrian (figs. 374[1], 375[2]) and again by Faustina Iunior and Lucilla[3], Septimius Severus[4], Caracalla[5], Plautilla[6], and Geta[7] show the façade of a temple within which stand two youthful deities, apparently Apollon with his bow confronting the huntress Artemis. Fortunately for our understanding of the scene, the Apolline figure is expressly named *Marnas* (or more often *Marna*), and Sir G. F. Hill[8] has made out a strong case for regarding this divine pair as Marnas, the young Cretan Zeus, who—be it remembered—was himself a hunter[9], with Britomartis, a Cretan form of Artemis[10]. The pair bore names of kindred origin and significance; for if *Marnas* recalls the Cretan *marna*, 'virgin[11],' and denotes simply 'young man,' *Brito-martis* is said to have been a Cretan term for 'sweet maid[12].' Consorts could hardly have been

Fig. 374.

Fig. 375.

better matched. Naturally, however, among a Semitic people the name *Marnas* was re-interpreted as *Marna*, 'our Lord,' and tended to drop its final sibilant[13].

incised in an archaic alphabet of Graeco-Phoenician character (see *e.g.* Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* p. 4 § 4), and Professor S. Langdon has suggested to me that the second line of the impression (fig. 373, *c*) contains in retrograde script the name *Marnas* (𐤌𐤓𐤍𐤀𐤎). But the first line, though perfectly legible, remains obscure (𐤑 𐤅 𐤋 𐤌 = *s w l* (or *g*) *q*?).

[1] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 216 pl. 11, 4 (=my fig. 374), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxv ff., 146 f. pl. 15, 10, S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 180 pl. 34, 29.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxv n. 3, 146 f. pl. 15, 11 (=my fig. 375).

[3] *Ib.* p. 158 pl. 16, 6. [4] *Ib.* p. 161 no. 119. [5] *Ib.* p. 164 no. 133.

[6] *Ib.* p. 165 no. 135. [7] *Ib.* p. 166 no. 137.

[8] G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults in the Graeco-Roman Age* (extr. from the *Proceedings of the British Academy* v) London 1912 pp. 13—17, *id. The Life of Porphyry, Bishop of Gaza, by Mark the Deacon* Oxford 1913 pp. 1—152 (noticed by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 317 f.).

[9] *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 645, 652, 663 n. 2, ii. 522, 727.

[10] *Supra* i. 542 n. 4. [11] *Supra* i. 149 n. 1.

[12] *Supra* i. 542 n. 3, cp. 543 n. 1.

[13] The point is contested (K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 1899 f.). Sir G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults* p. 16 f. concludes 'that the two deities, looking like Apollo and Artemis, in the temple at Gaza, are Marnas and his consort Britomartis,

Markos Diakonos[1], writing *c.* 420 A.D.[2], tells how in 395 the people of Gaza ascribed a two months' drought to the presence in their midst of Saint Porphyrios. They therefore offered sacrifices and prayers to Marnas, whom they took to be 'lord of showers' and identified with Zeus[3], or more particularly with Zeus *Kretagenés*[4]. For a week they continued reciting hymns and resorting to a place outside their city called the place of prayer. But, when nothing happened, they gave up the attempt to coerce their god and returned to their usual avocations. The Christians then, men, women, and children, to the number of 280 came together and besought Saint Porphyrios to go out with them and pray for rain. He agreed to do so, proclaimed a fast, and bade all keep a night-long vigil in the Holy Church. This they did, with thirty prayers and as many genuflexions, not to mention choruses chanted and the lessons read. At dawn they took the standard of the Cross and, the saint at their head, proceeded with hymns to the Old Church, founded by Bishop Asklepas, on the west of the city, where again they offered the

the Cretan Zeus and the Cretan Artemis, connected in name in the same way as Zeus and Dione; and that the name Marnas is probably Cretan in origin, its Syrian appearance being fortuitous.' Contrariwise Prof. S. A. Cook *op. cit.* p. 182 ff. argues that *Marna*, primarily a Semitic name, was later etymologized to suit the Cretan *Marnas*. However, that the god was really of Cretan extraction seems clear, not only from the statements of Epiphanios (*ancor.* 106 (i. 209 Dindorf) καὶ Μαρνᾶς δοῦλος Ἀστερίου τοῦ Κρητὸς παρὰ Γαζαίοις), Markos Diakonos (*infra* p. 553 n. 1), and Stephanos of Byzantion (*supra* i. 149 n. 1), but also from other mythological evidence (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 248 ff.) and above all from a mass of archaeological *data* (see *e.g.* F. B. Welch 'The Influence of the Aegean Civilisation on South Palestine' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 117—124 (ceramics), H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1908 xxiii Arch. Anz. p. 378 ff. (ceramics), A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 77—94 ('Cretan Philistines and the Phoenician Alphabet'), R. A. S. Macalister *The Philistines: their History and Civilization* London 1913 pp. 106—113, *id.* in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 840[b] ff., H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 283—295, J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 pp. 126—131).

[1] Mark. Diak. *v. Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis* 19 ff. This remarkable biography, known at first from the Latin rendering by Gentianus Hervetus in the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Februarius iii. 643 ff. (lxv. 1211 ff. Migne), was published in Greek, from a MS. at Vienna (cod. Vindob. hist. Gr. 3), by M. Haupt in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1874* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 171 ff., and, with the help of a better MS. at Oxford (cod. Barocc. Gr. 238), by the Societatis Philologae Bonnensis Sodales as a Teubner text (Lipsiae 1895). See further A. Nuth *De Marci Diaconi vita Porphyrii episcopi Gazensis quaestiones historicae et grammaticae* Bonnae 1897 pp. 1—61.

[2] H. Dörries in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 1867.

[3] Mark. Diak. *v. Porph.* 19 ὡς δὲ ἐπέμενεν μὴ βρέχων ὁ θεὸς τὸν παρ' αὐτοῖς πρῶτον μῆνα καλούμενον Δῖον, ἔτι δὲ καὶ τὸν δεύτερον Ἀπελλαῖον, πάντες ἐθλίβοντο. συναχθέντες δὲ οἱ τῆς εἰδωλομανίας εἰς τὸ Μαρνεῖον, πολλὰς θυσίας καὶ εὐχὰς ἐποίουν τούτου ἕνεκεν· ἔλεγον γὰρ τὸν Μάρναν κύριον εἶναι τῶν ὄμβρων, τὸν δὲ Μάρναν λέγουσιν εἶναι τὸν Δία.

[4] *Id. ib.* 64 (quoted *infra* p. 553 n. 1).

same number of prayers. Then on to the shrine of the martyr Timotheos, which contained also the relics of the martyr Maior and the confessor Thea. Once more they offered the same number of prayers and genuflexions. After which they returned to the city, with three prayers and three genuflexions on the way. But here a hitch occurred. They found the city-gates closed against them by the jealous heathen, and a two hours' wait ensued. Thereupon God, beholding their patience, in his mercy stirred up a strong south wind. The sky clouded over, lightnings and thunders began at sundown, and so heavy a rain fell that it looked more like hail. Sundry Greeks, beholding these marvels, believed and opened the gates. They joined the Christians, shouting: 'Christ alone is God—He alone has conquered.' The saint had them into the Holy Church, where he baptised 78 men, 35 women, and 14 children of whom 5 were girls. That night and the next day rain fell in such abundance that all men feared the collapse of houses, most of which were of crude brick. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ'—we read[1]—'spent from the 8th to the 10th of Audynaios (January 3—5) in raining,' and on the 11th his followers celebrated the Epiphany with hymns and thanksgivings. Indeed, the same year witnessed the accession of another 105 to their numbers.

The sequel is too long to quote in detail. But it appears that Porphyrios was vexed with the ungodly conduct of the idolaters; for at Gaza they still dealt in divinatory dreams, especially at the Marneion[2]. So he wrote a letter of protest to Ioannes Chrysostomos, Bishop of Constantinople, who informed Eutropios the Chamberlain, who in turn brought his influence to bear upon Arkadios. The upshot was an edict that the temples of Gaza be closed and the traffic in divination stopped. Hilarios, an imperial commissioner, was sent to Gaza to carry out this decision. He did close the temples in general and overthrew their idols. But, in return for a substantial bribe, he allowed the traffic of Marnas to continue. Porphyrios then went in person to visit Ioannes the metropolitan of Kaisareia in Palestine; and together they repaired to Rhodes, where the anchorite Prokopios informed them that Chrysostom was not a *persona grata* at court and commended them to Amantios, Chamberlain of the Empress Eudoxia. The two Bishops reached Constantinople on 7 January 401. Eudoxia received them favourably

[1] *Id. ib.* 21 ἐποίησεν δὲ βρέχων ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν Ἰησοῦς Χριστὸς ἀπαύστως ἀπὸ τῆς ὀγδόης Αὐδυναίου μέχρι τῆς δεκάτης. κ.τ.λ. The naïve phraseology would be hard to parallel. ὁ κύριος ἡμῶν is, of course, the Christian rendering of *Marna* (*supra* p. 550).

[2] *Id. ib.* 26 ἔτι γὰρ ἐχρημάτιζον ἐν Γάζῃ, μάλιστα τὸ καλούμενον Μαρνεῖον.

and herself broached the matter to Arkadios, who at first was unwilling to take action. The Bishops, however, prayed that Eudoxia, then pregnant, might bear him a son; and she promised that, if this should befall, she would do all they wanted and further found a Christian church in the heart of Gaza. And so it fell out. Theodosios ii was born, and Arkadios, moved by gratitude, granted the Christian petition. The Bishops returned *viâ* Rhodes, reached Gaza on 1 May 401, and were followed ten days later by the arrival of the commissioner Kynegios and a large body of troops. These at once set about the task of demolishing the eight idolatrous temples of Gaza—those of Helios, Aphrodite, Apollon, Kore, and Hekate, the Heroeion, the Tychaion of Tyche, and, most famous of all, the Marneion of Zeus *Kretagenés*[1]. But the priests of Marnas, getting wind of this attack, barricaded the doors of the inner temple with big stones, brought all valuables down into the *ádyta*, concealed there also the effigies of the gods, and themselves escaped through the same *ádyta* by a variety of ways leading upwards[2]. The attackers thus repulsed turned their attention to the other temples, overthrew some, fired others, and plundered all their treasures. Saint Porphyrios, however, strictly forbade the Christians to partake in such looting. For ten days the crowd laid waste the temples. There was some doubt as to the fitting treatment of the Marneion —should it be demolished? should it be burnt? should it be purified and consecrated as a church?—till the Bishop proclaimed a fast and a solemn evening service. At this a boy, seven years old, who stood there with his mother, suddenly cried aloud: 'Burn the inner

[1] *Id. ib.* 64 ἦσαν δὲ ἐν τῇ πόλει ναοὶ εἰδώλων δημόσιοι ὀκτώ, τοῦ τε Ἡλίου καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης καὶ τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος καὶ τῆς Κόρης καὶ τῆς Ἑκάτης καὶ τὸ λεγόμενον Ἡρωεῖον (ἡροῖον cod. Paris. bibl. nat. 1452. ἱερωῖων codd. Barocc., Vindob.) καὶ <τὸ (*ins.* Haupt)> τῆς Τύχης τῆς πόλεως, ὃ ἐκάλουν Τυχαῖον (τύχεον cod. Vindob.), καὶ τὸ Μαρνεῖον (μαρνίον codd. Barocc., Vindob.), ὃ ἔλεγον εἶναι τοῦ Κρηταγενοῦς (κρητὰ γένους cod. Paris. bibl. nat. 1452. κρίτα γένους codd. Barocc., Vindob. The correction was made by Henschen) Διός, ὃ ἐνόμιζον εἶναι ἐνδοξότερον πάντων τῶν ἱερῶν τῶν ἁπανταχοῦ.

Proklos the neo-Platonist, who held that the philosopher should be the hierophant of all mankind, composed a special hymn in honour of Marnas (Marin. *v. Procl.* 19 ὅηλοῖ δὲ ἡ τῶν ὕμνων αὐτοῦ πραγματεία, οὐ τῶν παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι μόνον τιμηθέντων ἐγκώμια περιέχουσα, ἀλλὰ καὶ Μάρναν Γαζαῖον ὑμνοῦσα καὶ Ἀσκληπιὸν Λεοντοῦχον Ἀσκαλωνίτην καὶ Θυανδρίτην ἄλλον Ἀραβίοις πολυτίμητον θεὸν καὶ Ἶσιν τὴν κατὰ τὰς Φίλας ἔτι τιμωμένην καὶ τοὺς ἄλλους ἁπλῶς ἅπαντας. καὶ γὰρ πρόχειρον ἐκεῖνο εἶχεν ἀεὶ καὶ ἔλεγεν ὁ θεοσεβέστατος ἀνήρ, ὅτι τὸν φιλόσοφον προσήκει οὐ μιᾶς τινὸς πόλεως οὐδὲ τῶν παρ' ἑνίοις πατρίων εἶναι θεραπευτὴν κοινῇ δὲ τοῦ ὅλου κόσμου ἱεροφάντην).

[2] Hence Hieron. *epist.* 107. 2 iam et Aegyptius Serapis factus est Christianus; Marnas Gazae luget inclusus et eversionem templi iugiter pertremiscit. Cp. *eund. comment. in Isaiam prophetam* 17 (xxiv. 241 Migne) Serapion Alexandriae et Marnae templum Gazae in ecclesias domini surrexerunt.

temple down to the ground, for many dreadful things have happened there, and, most dreadful of all, the sacrifices of men! Burn it on this wise. Bring liquid pitch and sulphur and pigs' lard. Mix the three and anoint therewith the doors of bronze. Then set fire to them, and so the whole temple is burnt: otherwise, it cannot be. But leave the outer temple with its precinct. And after the burning purify the place and there found a Holy Church[1].' This inspired utterance he repeated, first in the Syrian tongue, later in Greek. The Christians, accordingly, with the help of Kynegios and the magistrates followed the boy's advice and burnt the Marneion to the ground. The conflagration, which lasted many days, was succeeded by a house-to-house search for idols and books of magic used in the idolaters' initiatory rites[2]. So the great pagan temple was utterly destroyed in June 402, and a Christian church, which took five years to build, was erected on the site of it. Some advised the preservation of the old circular plan; but Porphyrios, accepting the plan furnished by Eudoxia, preferred a cruciform structure and dedicated the same on Easter Day 407, calling it Eudoxiane after its illustrious patroness.

Incidentally we learn various details about the old Marneion. It was circular, it was surrounded by two concentric colonnades, and it had by way of centre an elevated dome[3]. It had also a veneer of marble incrustations, which were regarded as sacred and restricted

Mark. Diak. *v. Porph.* 65 *καὶ πρῶτον βουληθέντες καταστρέψαι* [*τὰ εἴδωλα καὶ*] *τὸ Μαρνεῖον ἀνεκρούσθησαν· οἱ γὰρ ἱερεῖς τοῦ εἰδώλου ἐκείνου προακούσαντες ἔσωθεν τὰς θύρας τοῦ ἐνδοτέρου ναοῦ λίθοις μεγάλοις προέφραξαν καὶ καταγαγόντες εἰς τὰ λεγόμενα ἄδυτα ὅσα ἦν τῷ ἱερῷ τίμια σκεύη, ἔτι δὲ καὶ αὐτὰ τὰ ξῷδια τῶν θεῶν αὐτῶν ἐκεῖ ἔκρυψαν καὶ διὰ* (H. Usener cj. *ἐκ*) *τῶν αὐτῶν ἀδύτων ἔφυγον δι' ἄλλων ἀνόδων· ἔλεγον γὰρ τὰ εἰρημένα ἄδυτα ἔχειν πολλὰς ἀνόδους εἰς διαφόρους τόπους.*

[1] *Id. ib.* 66 (cp. 68) *καύσατε τὸν ναὸν τὸν ἔνδον ἕως ἐδάφους· πολλὰ γὰρ δεινὰ γέγονεν ἐν αὐτῷ, μάλιστα αἱ ἀνθρώπων θυσίαι. τοιούτῳ δὲ τρόπῳ καύσατε αὐτόν. ἀγάγετε ὑγρὰν πίσσαν <καὶ> θεῖον καὶ στέαρ χοίρειον καὶ μίξατε τὰ τρία καὶ χρίσατε τὰς χαλκᾶς θύρας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτὰς τὸ πῦρ ἐπιβάλετε, καὶ οὕτως πᾶς ὁ ναὸς καίεται· ἄλλως γὰρ οὐκ ἔστιν δυνατόν. τὸν δὲ ἐξώτερον ἐάσατε σὺν τῷ περιβόλῳ. καὶ μετὰ τὸ καῆναι καθάραντες τὸν τόπον ἐκεῖ κτίσατε ἁγίαν ἐκκλησίαν.* All this, and more, in the Syrian tongue. Porphyrios adjured the boy's mother to tell him whether the utterance was due to any trickery. She most solemnly denied it and suggested that the saint should examine the boy with threats. So the Bishop had a whip fetched and the boy hoisted up, while the whip-holder bade him confess or be beaten on the spot. The boy at first remained silent, but suddenly repeated exactly the same advice in the Greek language, which neither he nor his mother had learned!

[2] *Id. ib.* 71 *εὑρίσκοντο δὲ καὶ βιβλία πεπληρωμένα γοητείας, ἅτινα ἱερὰ αὐτοὶ ἔλεγον, ἐξ ὧν τὰς τελετὰς καὶ τὰ ἄλλα ἀθέμιτα ἐποίουν οἱ τῆς εἰδωλομανίας, καὶ αὐτὰ δὲ ὁμοίως ἴσα τοῖς θεοῖς αὐτῶν ἔπασχον.*

[3] *Id. ib.* 75 *συνεβούλευον οὖν τινες κτισθῆναι αὐτὴν κατὰ τὴν θέσιν τοῦ εἰδωλείου· στρογγυλοειδὲς γὰρ ὑπῆρχεν, περιβεβλημένον δυσὶν στοαῖς ἀλληλοεσωτέραις, τὸ δὲ μέσον*

to a place that no man, and certainly no woman, might enter: Porphyrios set them in the pavement outside the new Church on purpose that they might be trodden under foot, not only by men, but by women, dogs, pigs, and cattle—an outrage which offended the idolaters more deeply than the burning of their temple; indeed most of them, particularly the women, thenceforth refused to walk on those marble slabs[1]. Within the precinct were certain wells, one of considerable depth, equipped with buckets, ropes, and a wooden top, being at the west end of the Christian Church[2].

Finally, it is tempting to conclude that this round building, with concentric colonnades, underground chambers, and secret means of egress, dedicated moreover to Zeus *Kretagenés* in whose service human victims were slain, really did—as we have already suggested[3] —bear a significant resemblance to the Cretan Labyrinth. Gaza *Minóa* presupposes Minos[4].

Be that as it may, Marnas was admittedly equated with Zeus. A stone embedded in a modern wall at Kanatha (*Ḳanawât*) in the *Ḥaurân* reads:

'Annelos, son of Kamasanos, made this for Zeus Marnas the Lord[5].'

Further, it is on record[6] that a certain Septimius Arabianus (whose name points to his nationality), a man notorious for alleged thefts but set at liberty by Heliogabalus, once came among the senators

αὐτοῦ ἦν ἀναφυσητὸν κιβώριον καὶ ἀνατεταμένον εἰς ὕψος, εἶχεν δὲ καὶ ἄλλα τινὰ ὧ τοῖς εἰδώλοις ἔπρεπεν, εὐθετα δὲ πρὸς τὰ γινόμενα παρὰ τῶν εἰδωλομανῶν μυσαρά τε καὶ ἀθέμιτα.

On the architecture see further Sir G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults* p. 14 f. with n. 1 on p. 15, R. A. S. Macalister *The Philistines: their History and Civilization* p. 110 ff.

[1] Mark. Diak. *v. Porph.* 76 ἐκχοϊσθείσης οὖν τῆς τέφρας καὶ πάντων τῶν βδελυγμάτων περιαιρεθέντων τὰ ὑπολειφθέντα σκύβαλα τῆς μαρμαρώσεως τοῦ Μαρνείου, ἅπερ ἔλεγον ἱερὰ εἶναι καὶ ἐν τόπῳ ἀβάτῳ τυγχάνειν, μάλιστα γυναιξίν, ταῦτα συνεῖδεν ὁ ὅσιος ἐπίσκοπος πρὸ τοῦ ναοῦ ἔξω εἰς τὴν πλατεῖαν πλακωθῆναι, ἵνα καταπατῶνται οὐ μόνον ὑπὸ ἀνδρῶν, ἀλλὰ καὶ γυναικῶν καὶ κυνῶν καὶ χοίρων καὶ κνωδάλων. τοῦτο δὲ πλέον ἐλύπησεν τοὺς εἰδωλολάτρας τῆς καύσεως τοῦ ναοῦ. ὅθεν οἱ πλείους αὐτῶν, μάλιστα αἱ γυναῖκες, οὐκ ἐπιβαίνουσιν τοῖς μαρμάροις ἕως τοῦ νῦν.

[2] *Id. ib.* 80 φρέατα τυγχάνουσιν ἔσωθεν τοῦ περιβολαίου τοῦ ἱεροῦ, ἐξ ὧν ἐστιν ἓν ἀπὸ δυτικοῦ μέρους τῆς νῦν ἁγίας τοῦ θεοῦ ἐκκλησίας, οὐκ ὀλίγον βάθος ἔχον. κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* i. 478, S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 180.

[4] *Supra* i. 235 with fig. 174.

[5] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* etc. iii no. 2412*g* Ἀννηλ[ο]ς Καμασάνου ἐπόησε Διὶ Μάρνᾳ τῷ κυρίῳ.

[6] Septimius *frag.* 1 Peter *ap.* Lamprid. *v. Alex. Sev.* 17. 3 f. nam cum quidam Septimius Arabianus (so H. Peter for *Arabinus* codd. *B. P.*, ed. Med.), famosus crimine furtorum et sub Heliogabalo iam liberatus, inter senatores principem salutatum venisset, exclamavit: 'O Marna, o Iuppiter, *o* di inmortales, Arabianus (*Arabinus* ed. Med.) non solum vivit, verum etiam in senatum venit, fortassis etiam de me sperat: tam fatuum, tam stultum esse me iudicat?'

to salute Alexander Severus. The indignant Emperor cried out: 'O Marnas, o Iupiter, o gods immortal, Arabianus is not only alive, but actually ventures into the Senate and, like as not, hopes to get something out of me: does he deem me such a fatuous fool?' The combination '*O Marna, o Iuppiter*' amounts—as Friedländer[1] saw—to a virtual identification. It is probable that Marnas, like other oriental deities[2], had a cult-centre as far west as Ostia. An inscription[3] found at Portus Traiani states that the men of Gaza, at the bidding of their ancestral god, were honouring their benefactor the Emperor M. Antonius Gordianus Pius Felix by the hand of Ti. Claudius Papirius custodian of the sanctuary.

Marnas as 'lord of showers' must also have been a god responsible for the fertility of the land and for the very life of its

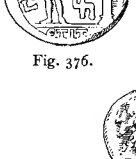


Fig. 376.

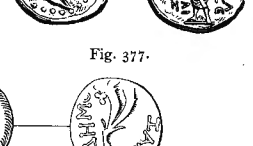


Fig. 377.

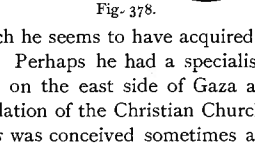


Fig. 378.

inhabitants. As such he seems to have acquired a fresh appellation, *Aldémios* or *Áldos*[4]. Perhaps he had a specialised cult on the hill *Aldíoma*, which lay on the east side of Gaza and furnished great stones for the foundation of the Christian Church[5].

Zeus *Kretagenés* was conceived sometimes as an infant[6], sometimes as a youth[7], sometimes as a full-bearded god[8]. Marnas too had his variations of type. On coins of Gaza from the time of

[1] L. Friedländer *Darstellungen aus der Sittengeschichte Roms in der Zeit von August bis zum Ausgang der Antonine*[8] Leipzig 1910 iv. 151 n. 2.

[2] G. Calza *Ostia*[2] Milano—Roma (1933) p. 18.

[3] *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 926 ἀγα(θῇ) τύχῃ. | αὐτοκράτορα Καίσαρα | M. Ἀντώνιον | Γορδιανὸν Εὐσεβῆ | Εὐτυχῆ Σεβαστόν, | τὸν θεοφιλέστατον | κοσμοκράτορα ἡ πόλις | ἡ τῶν Γαζαίων ἱερὰ καὶ | ἄσυλος καὶ αὐτόνομος, | πιστὴ (καὶ?) εὐσεβής, λαμπρὰ | καὶ μεγάλη ἐξ ἐνκ(ε)λ(ε)ύσεως | τοῦ πατρίου θεοῦ | τὸν ἑαυτῆς εὐεργέτην | διὰ Τιβ. Κλ(αυδίου) Παπειρίου | ἐπιμελητοῦ τοῦ ἱεροῦ. The restoration ἐξ ἐνκελεύσεως is due to P. Wesseling. G. Kaibel *ad loc.*: 'Deus patrius Marnas est.'

[4] *Supra* ii. 675 n. 4, 1187 n. 0.

[5] Mark. Diak. *v. Porph.* 79.

[6] *Supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28, 150 figs. 116 and 117, 401 fig. 298 (?).

[7] *Supra* p. 550 n. 9.

[8] *Supra* i. 149 figs. 113—115.

Hadrian to that of of Geta (figs. 374, 375)[1] he is a youthful hunter. Under Gordianus Pius (fig. 376)[2], though still youthful, he approximates more closely to the normal aspect of Zeus; for, while raising his right hand, he holds a thunderbolt on his left arm and sometimes has an eagle at his feet[3] or else is crowned by Nike standing on a column behind him. On bronze pieces issued *c.* 250—150 B.C. (fig. 377)[4] he appears as a mature man half-draped in a *himátion* and uplifting a wreath. On other bronze pieces struck in *s.* ii or i B.C. (fig. 378)[5] a laureate head with a bushy beard is aptly described by Sir G. F. Hill as 'Zeus, that is to say Marnas.'[6]

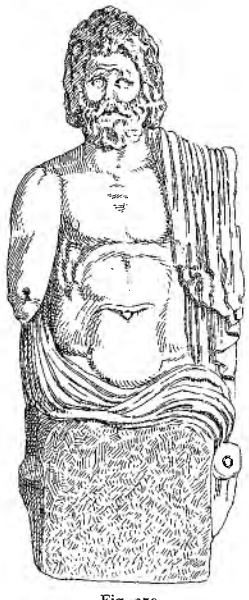


Fig. 379.

The same god is represented on a colossal scale by a figure found near Gaza in 1879 and now in the Imperial Museum at Constantinople (fig. 379)[7]. In a sand-dune known as *Tell el Ajoul* ('Hill of the Calf') on the left side of the *Wadi Gazze*, some two hours to the south-west of Gaza, Arab masons had dug up certain well-cut blocks of stone and sold them in the town. Prospecting for more they discovered, lying on its back in a pit 2^{m} deep, the floor of which showed remains of a mosaic pavement, the upper half of

[1] *Supra* p. 550.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. 168 pl. 17, 9 (=my fig. 376 from a cast).

[3] G. F. Hill *Some Palestinian Cults* p. 17.

[4] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 211 pl. 11, 1 (=my fig. 377), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxi, 143 pl. 15, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 282 pl. 77, 31.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxx f., 143 pl. 15, 1 and 2 (=my fig. 378 from a cast).

[6] Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. lxxi.

[7] Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 352 ff. no. 611 fig. (=my fig. 379). See also G. Murad in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii. 198 ('ohne Zweifel Jupiter,' but with the editorial comment 'vermuthlich Serapis'), C. R. C[onder] in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1882* London p. 147 f. fig., G. A. Smith *The Historical Geography of the Holy Land* London 1894 p. 188, W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2382, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 14 no. 6.

a statue in white crystalline marble. The god is seated on a throne with no elbow-rests but a high back adorned at its base with two large rosettes. He wears a *himátion* in Olympian fashion over his left shoulder and round his legs, which were carved in a separate block. His right arm, to judge from its mortise, held out some attribute, probably a thunderbolt or a *phiále*, hardly a Nike. His left was raised and the hand must have rested high up on a long sceptre. The head has abundant but irregular locks of hair and a full beard. The forehead is marked by two deep furrows, and the eyes are sunk beneath troubled brows. G. Mendel, after a careful analysis of the style, concludes that we have here mediocre work of *s.* ii A.D. No doubt the sculptor aimed at being impressive and, with that end in view, sought to combine a Pheidiac arrangement of the drapery with Scopaic eyes and post-Lysippian hair. But above all he—like his predecessors of Pergamon or Rhodes—relied on sheer size. The actual height of the fragment is *c.* 3·20^{m}, and it must rank as at least the largest of all extant statues of Zeus.

It is possible that before this fusion of the Philistine Marnas with the Greek Zeus there had been an earlier *rapprochement* of the Philistine god with the Hebrew Jehovah. The famous quarter-shekel of the Philisto-Arabian series, which represents *Jahu* as a solar Zeus on a wheeled and winged seat, places in his hand a hawk(?) instead of an eagle (*supra* i. 232 f. fig. 171, *b* and pl. xxi)[1]. And a hitherto unpublished coin of the same series, struck at Gaza in *s.* v B.C., shows for obverse design the profile head of a grave bearded god wearing a wreath, and for reverse a hawk and an olive-spray (fig. 380)[2]. Have we here, in this obvious copy of Athenian mintage, not Athena and her owl, but *Jahu* and his bird?

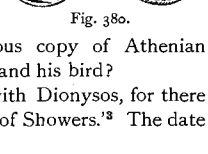


Fig. 380.

At Halikarnassos rain was connected with Dionysos, for there was a local cult of Bakchos *Ombrikós*, 'god of Showers.'[3] The date

[1] To the bibliography (*supra* i. 232 n. 1) add now Sir G. F. Hill in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine pp. lxxxvi ff., 181 pl. 19, 29 ('hawk'), H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xi fig. 81 ('Falken'...'Jahwe als Triptolemos ...oder (wahrscheinlicher, wegen der Maske) als Dionysos! (H. Gressmann, Zeitschr. f. d. alttest. Wissensch., N. F. II 1925 S. 16 f.)'), S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 147 ff. pl. xxxii ('eagle or hawk').

[2] The coin is in my collection. On the legend ~o='Gaza' see J. P. Six in the *Num. Chron.* New Series 1877 xvii. 221 ff. and Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Palestine p. lxxxiii ff.

[3] Bekker *anecd.* i. 225, 2 f. οἱ δὲ Ὄμβρικος (*leg.* Ὀμβρικὸς) ὑπὸ Ἁλικαρνασέων (*leg.* Ἁλικαρνασσέων) Βάκχος.

of this cult is unknown, but the appellative is already found in a Dionysiac context as early as the first half of the sixth century B.C. F. Dümmler[1] many years ago published a Corinthian *kratér*, found at Caere and now preserved in the Louvre[2], which illustrates two successive scenes (fig. 381, *a* and *b*) from a Dorian farce[3]. The one

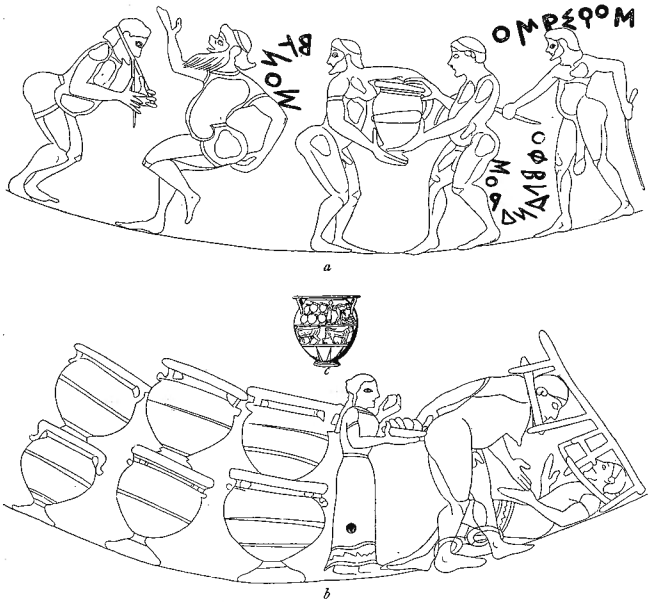


Fig. 381.

shows a flute-player and a masked man[4] dancing to the sound of the flutes, while two companions are surprised by their master in the act of carrying off a full wine-jar. The men are named *Eúno(o)s*,

[1] F. Dümmler in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1885 lvii. 127—131 pl. D, 1 (=my fig. 381, *a*), 2, 3 and pl. E, 1, 2 (=my fig. 381, *b*).

[2] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 55 no. E 632.

[3] H. Schnabel *Kordax* München 1910 pp. 35 f. fig., 48 ff., M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 129 f. figs. 123 a, 123 b, A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 p. 263 f.

[4] E. Pottier *loc. cit.* 'un compagnon barbu à masque de Satyre.'

'Kindly,' and *Ophélandros*[1], 'Helpful'; the master, *Omriqós*, that is *Om(b)rikós*, 'he of the Showers.' He grasps a couple of lissom sticks and has the naked men at his mercy. The other scene gives the sequel[2]—the two misdemeanants confined in the wine-cellar, with their ankles in fetters and their heads in a sort of cangue or pillory (*xýlon, kýphon*), dependent for their food on the services of a small handmaid. Laconian *deikelíktai* are known to have represented fruit-stealers[3] or the like[4]; and there can be little doubt that H. Schnabel[5] was right in claiming a ritual origin for such burlesque. If so, the master of the wine-bin began by representing Dionysos and naturally continued to bear his name[6].

Finally, we may note that in Kypros the part of Zeus *Ómbrios* was played by a goddess, not a god. An interesting terra cotta sketched by Cesnola at Salamis (fig. 382)[7] portrays a naked and nymph-like female kneeling on her left knee as she empties a large pitcher borne on her shoulder. Behind her is a rock with a lion's-

[1] *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i. no. 2314 Thisbe (*Kakosí*) Ὀφέλανδ[ρος]=Lebas—Foucart *Béotie* no. 382=R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* i. 247 no. 750. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 2872 Koroneia (*Hagios Georgios*), 2 τοῦ Ὀφελάνδρου=Lebas—Foucart *Béotie* no. 666, 2.

[2] H. Payne *Necrocorinthia* Oxford 1931 p. 122: 'No one has ever doubted that the scene on the back is connected with that on the front.' That is wrong: A. Körte in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 91 n. 61 doubts it.

[3] Sosibios *frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 627 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 621 D—E.

[4] Poll. 4. 104 f.

[5] H. Schnabel *Kordax* München 1910 p. 53 'Der ursprünglich sakrale Raub der Opfergaben wird zur mimischen, burlesken Diebesszene, die in der Posse fortlebt durchs ganze Altertum bis auf unsere Tage.'

[6] A. Körte in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii. 90 ff. fig. 8 regards Εὔνους, Ὀφέλανδρος, and Ὄμβρικος as Bacchic *daimones*, not men. C. Fränkel 'Korinthische Posse' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1912 lxvii. 94—106 with 2 figs. takes all three to be slaves and Ὄμβρικος in particular to mean 'the Umbrian' (cp. Θρᾷξ, Φρύξ, Λυδός)—a view which H. Payne *Necrocorinthia* Oxford 1931 p. 122 n. 3 pronounces to be 'the only reasonable suggestion'! But Miss Fränkel admits that the misshapen Corinthian dancers are in general daemonic ('Ein sicheres Ergebnis der Forschung ist gleichfalls, dass jene Vorbilder der attischen Schauspieler dämonischer Natur sind, da sie auf mehreren Darstellungen mit mythischen Personen gruppiert werden') and that the performers represented on this exceptional vase are drawn and costumed in their likeness ('Und damit ergibt sich überraschender Weise, dass der Dümmlersche Krater ein Zwischenglied bietet zwischen der korinthischen Dämonenwelt und den attischen Schauspielern. In Gestalt und Tracht der korinthischen Dämonen wird eine korinthische Posse gespielt, und diese enthält bereits die Grundelemente der attischen Komödie, ohne dass freilich das Bühnenbild konsequent festgehalten würde'). She demurs to a divine appellative in -ικος ('denn eine Bildung auf -ικος ist unter der Fülle altertümlicher Götter-Epiklesen bis jetzt unerhört'). But, apart from Bakchos Ὀμβρικός (*supra* p. 558 n. 3), we can at least quote Ζεῦ ἄνα, Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ (*Il.* 16. 233).

[7] A. P. di Cesnola *Salaminia* London 1882 p. 200 with fig. 203 (=my fig. 382), *ib.*[2] London 1884 p. 183 f. fig. 219.

head spout, from which gushes a stream of water still coloured green. The base is inscribed 'The Goddess of Showers[1].' This terra cotta combines, cleverly enough, two Hellenistic motives—that of the crouching Aphrodite[2] and that of the lion's-head fountain[3]. Perhaps we are meant to conclude that the pitcher-bearing goddess was mistress of some neighbouring spring. If so, we can hardly forget that *Chýtroi*, the 'Pitchers,' with its well-known double spring[4], was within easy reach of Salamis.

Fig. 382.

(h) Zeus *Hyétios.*

Essentially similar to Zeus *Ómbrios*, 'the Showery,' was Zeus *Hyétios*, 'the Rainy[5].' We have already seen that Nonnos applied both names to one god[6]; and, whereas Plutarch's list of agricultural

[1] The inscription ΘEA H OMBRIOS (*sic*) is given in the text as ΘEA H OMBRIOΣ. The discrepancy may be due to mere carelessness, but rouses our suspicion. Where is the terra cotta in question? [2] Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* ii. 205 no. 1.

[3] A. Cartault *Terres cuites grecques* Paris (1890) p. 75 f. pl. 22 collection Lecuyer (modern?).

[4] E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2531.

[5] Literary allusions to Zeus Ὑέτιος will be found in Aristot. *de mundo* 7. 401 a 17 f., Epiktet. *diss.* 1. 19. 12, 1. 22. 16, Cornut. *theol.* 9 p. 9, 12 f. Lang, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 11 Dindorf), Max. Tyr. *diss.* 41. 2, Poll. 1. 24, Themist. *or.* 30, 349 A, Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 213, 537, 6. 229, 321, 8. 136, 259, 274, 294, 10. 297 (Zagreus), 12. 59, 13. 522, 21. 334, 22. 103, 23. 227, 287, 25. 114, 27. 13, 31. 214, 39. 141, 46. 30, 47. 545, 600, *argum. Dion.* 6. 2, Prokop. Gaz. *epist.* 26, 136. [6] *Supra* p. 531.

deities was Zeus *Ómbrios*, Demeter *Proërosia*, Poseidon *Phytálmios*[1], that of Themistios includes Demeter's daughter, Zeus *Hyétios*, and Poseidon *Phytálmios*[2].

The cult of Zeus *Hyétios* was fairly wide-spread. He was said to have been born on the summit of Mount Tmolos in Lydia[3]. At Antimacheia in Kos the members of the local deme and any who cared to join them used to go in procession and offer sacrifices on an altar of Zeus *Hyétios*[4]. The same god had an open-air altar in

[1] *Supra* p. 527.

[2] Themist. *or.* 30, 349 A εἰ δὲ καὶ Διόνυσον παρακαλοῖμεν καὶ Νύμφας καὶ Δήμητρος Κόρην Τέτιόν τε Δία καὶ Ποσειδῶνα Φυτάλμιον, πλησιάζομεν ἤδη ταῖς τελεταῖς κ.τ.λ.

[3] *Supra* ii. 957 n. 2.

G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 393, moved by the analogy of the Cretan Zeus, conjectures 'that somewhere near the Lydian birthplace of the god was also his tomb' and that this may be referred to in the late *Homeri et Hesiodi certamen* 94 f. Rzach οὐδέ ποτ' ἀμφὶ Διὸς τύμβῳ καναχήποδες ἵπποι | ἅρματα συντρίψουσιν ἐρίζοντες περὶ νίκης (Plout. *sept. sap. conviv.* 10. 154 A attributes the passage to Lesches, but see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 128, W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 253 f.). He holds that the Roman custom of the magistrate presiding at the games in the attire of Iupiter *Capitolinus* (Iuv. 10. 36 ff.) 'may have been of Etrusco-Lydian provenance', and notes that 'The alytarch of the Olympian games at Antioch impersonated Zeus' (Io. Malal. *chron.* 12 p. 286 f. Dindorf καὶ ἐγένετο ἐν αὐτῇ Ἀντιοχείᾳ ἀλυτάρχης ἐν τῇ αὐτῇ θείᾳ κελεύσει ὀνομασθεὶς πρῶτος Ἀφρόνιος (*leg.* Ἀφράνιος cp. *chron.* 17 p. 417 Dindorf) ὁ ἀπὸ ἐπάρχων, πολίτης Ἀντιοχέυς. ὅστις φορέσας τὸ σχῆμα τοῦ ἀλυτάρχου τὰς μὲν ἡμέρας ἐτιμᾶτο καὶ προσεκυνεῖτο ὡς αὐτὸς ὁ Ζεύς, μὴ ἀνιὼν δὲ εἰς οἶκον τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας μήτε εἰς κλίνην ἀναπίπτων, ἀλλ' εἰς ἑξάερον καθεύδων εἰς ἔδαφος ὑπεράνω λίθων καὶ καθαρῶν στρωμάτων καὶ θρυΐνης ψιάθου. ἐφόρει δὲ στολὴν διάχρυσον ἄσπρην ὡσεὶ χιὼν καὶ στέφανον ἀπὸ λυχνιτῶν καὶ ἄλλων τιμίων, καὶ κατεῖχε ῥάβδον ἐβελίνην, φορῶν εἰς τοὺς ἰδίους πόδας σανδάλια ἄσπρα. ἑκάθευδε δὲ τὰς αὐτὰς ἡμέρας εἰς τὸ ἑξάερον τῆς λεγομένης βασιλικῆς τὸ Καισάριον, τὸ κτισθὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ Καίσαρος Ἰουλίου τοῦ δικτάτορος, ὅπου ὕστατο ὁ ἀνδριὰς τοῦ αὐτοῦ Καίσαρος ὁ ἔξω τῆς Κόγχης τῆς βασιλικῆς). Elderkin's article moots many interesting possibilities, but hardly amounts to a rigorous demonstration of any one.

[4] W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 269 ff. no. 382 = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 396 f. no. 3718 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1004 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1107 (in the old church at *Antimachia*, the decrec of a religious society *c.* 200 B.C. conferring honours on two of its members), 1 ff. ἐπὶ μ[ον]άρχου (*sc.* an eponymous magistrate of the Coans) Νικόφρονος, μηνὸ[ς] | Ἀρταμιτίου (*sc.* the first summer month)· ἔδοξε τῶι κοινῶ[ι] | τῶν συμπορευομένων παρὰ Δ[ία] | [Τ]έτιον· Χάρμιππος Παρμενίσ[κου] | [κ]αὶ Φίλιστος Φιλίστου καὶ Λύκα[ι]|θος Παρμενίσκου εἶπαν· ἐπε[ι]|δὴ Νικαγόρας Θευδώρου κα[ὶ] | Λύκαιθος Λευκίππου, γενόμ[ε]|νοι ἐπιμήνιοι (*sc.* priests who made the monthly offerings) αὐτεπάγγελ|τοι, τά τε ἱερὰ ἐξέθυσαν τῶ[ι] | Διὶ καὶ ἀνενεώσαντο τὰν θυ|σίαν τοῦ Διός, καὶ τὰν ὑποδοχὰ[ν] | [ἐ]ποήσαντο τῶν δαμοτᾶν καὶ | [τ]ῶν ἄλλων πάντων ἀξίως τῶ[ν] | [θ]εῶν, σπουδᾶς καὶ προθυμίας | [ο]ὐθὲν ἐλλείποντες· ὅπως οὖν κα[ὶ] | [ο]ἱ μετὰ ταῦθ' αἱρούμενοι ἐπιμήνιοι [πο]|[λ]ὺ προθυμοτέρους αὐτὸς παρέχ[ωσ]|[τ]αι, εἰδότες τὰν τῶν δαμοτᾶν ε[ὐ]|[ν]οιαν, δεδόχθαι Νικαγόραν με[ν] | [κ]αὶ Λύκαιθον ἐπαινέσαι ἐπὶ τ[ε] | τᾶι αἱρέσει καὶ εὐσεβείαι ἃν [ἔ]|χοντι ποτὶ τὸς θεὸς καὶ τ[ὸς]| [δ]αμότας, καὶ στεφανῶσαι [αὐ]|τὸς ἀπὸ χρυσῶν δέκα· το[ὶ δὲ] | ταμίαι ἀναγραψάντων τόδε [τὸ ψά]|φισμα ἐς στάλαν λιθίναν κ[αὶ] | ἀναθέντων παρ τὸν βωμὸν | τοῦ Διός· τὸ δὲ ἀνάλωμα [τὸ γι]|νόμενον ἐς τὰν στάλαν τε[λε]|σάντων τοὶ ταμίαι. See further Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 4. Apparently the sacrifice to Zeus Τέτιος had been allowed to lapse for some years and had

the grove of Trophonios at Lebadeia[1]. And it was at his altar in Argos that Polyneikes' friends swore to capture Thebes or perish in the attempt[2].

i. The Ox-driving of Zeus *Hyétios* at Didyma.

Alkiphron[3] informed us that Attic villagers in time of drought presented Zeus *Hyétios* with a ram, or a he-goat, or it might be a boar; failing these, a cake or even a pinch of incense would serve. But admittedly the most desirable victim for him was a bull.

This squares with a couple of inscriptions from Didyma near Miletos, which describe one Theon, son of Theon, a personage of importance, as 'driver of the ox to Zeus *Hyétios*[4].' The official in question cannot have been prior to the first century B.C.[5]; but by the help of other inscriptions from the district B. Haussoullier has shown that the ceremony of 'ox-driving' at Didyma was an institution of earlier date, and has made it probable that it was an old rite celebrated before a statue or altar of Zeus *Hyétios* in the precinct of Zeus *Sotér*—a rite which had fallen into neglect and had been restored subsequently at some date impossible to determine with accuracy but hardly before the second century B.C.[6]

then been renewed by Nikagoras and Lykaithos, who had also at the same time made up the sacrificial arrears (so W. Dittenberger *ad loc.*).

[1] Paus. 9. 39. 4 with Sir J. G. Frazer's n. *ad loc.*

[2] Paus. 2. 19. 8. But see *infra* p. 566 n. 2.

[3] Alkiphr. *epist.* 3. 35 (quoted *supra* p. 319 n. 1).

[4] Βοηγὸς παρὰ Δία Τέτιον. The first inscription was published by B. Haussoullier in the *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1897 xxi. 42 and, with corrections, in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* Paris 1898 p. 148 Προφήτης Θέω[ν] Θέωνο[ς], δήμου Λερίων, στεφανηφορήσας, γυμνασιαρχήσας νέων, γυμνασιαρχήσας τῶ[ν] πατέρων, παιδονομήσας, χορηγός, πασῶν τῶν χορηγιῶν μισθωτής, κωτάρχης (see A. Boeckh on the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2880 and H. Keil in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 2212 C—D), βοηγὸς παρὰ Δία Τέτιον, ἀγωνοθέ[της] Δ[ι]δυμήων, ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής. The second inscription was added by Haussoullier in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* p. 148 Προφήτης | Θέων Θέωνος τὸ δεύτερον, | στεφανηφορήσας, γυμνασι|αρχήσας τῶν τριῶν γυμνα|σίων, παιδονομήσας, ἀγωνο|θετήσας, χορηγήσας, πασῶν| χορηγιῶν μισθωτής, κωτάρ|χης, βοηγὸς παρὰ Δία Τέτιον, | ἀνὴρ εὐσεβέστατος. Theon, son of Theon (an auspicious name), was the right man to run up the steps of office and pass rapidly from εὐσεβής to εὐσεβέστατος.

[5] Haussoullier in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* p. 148 f., cp. an inscription from Teichioussa published by W. R. Paton and J. L. Myres in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1896 xvi. 221 ff. no. 17, 13 ff. προφήτης | Θέων Θέωνος, | ἀνὴρ εὐσεβής after a *prophétes* who served in Olympiad 171 or 173 (96—85 B.C.).

[6] Haussoullier in the *Mélanges Henri Weil* pp. 149—154 citing (1) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2858, 5 ff. (Miletos) Ἀθηναίου τοῦ Τ[ηρέ]ως φιάλη βοηγίαι νικήσαντος, ἐφ' ἧς ἐπι|γραφή, ἐπιχώ[ριαι ἐνεν]ήκοντα, (2) *Rev. Philol.* N. S. 1898 xxii. 128 no. 2853 *bis*, 9 f. Καλλιάνακτο[ς] | [τ]οῦ Σωστράτου φιάλη [β]οη[γ]ίαι νικήσαντος, (3) *ib.* no. 2853 *ter*, 8 f.

In this context Haussoullier aptly cites from Hesychios the following gloss: 'Zeus' ox, *i.e.* the sacred ox, set free for Zeus; this is a festival of the Milesians[1].' He further attempts to reconstruct some details of the 'ox-driving' from a consideration of analogous customs elsewhere. Thus in the neighbouring island of Kos[2] on

Πολυδώρου τοῦ Μενεκρίτου [βοηγίαι] | [νικ]ήσαντος φιάλη. Kallianax probably, and Polydoros certainly, date from the reign of Prousias ii (180—149 B.C.), (4) an unpublished inventory from Didyma, which mentions an offering of queen Kleopatra: line 6 runs [ἄλλη Ἡρ]ώιδιον τοῦ Αὐτοφῶντος βοηγίαι ν[ικήσαντος], (5) Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 222 (Le Bas' copy) = E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1885 vi. 351 f. no. 102 (C. R. Cockerell's copy). Thanks to Haussoullier p. 149 ff. and A. Wilhelm *Beiträge zur griechischen Inschriftenkunde* Wien 1909 p. 177 ff. (A. Rehm in *Milet* iii. 275) this important inscription can now be read: ---| ..... δια[κ]ε[λευ]θέντος τοῦ [δήμου τοῖς]| [συνέδρ]οις καὶ τοῖς στρατηγ[οῖς συνεπιμελη][θῆναι ὅπω]ς πρόνοια γένηται, ὃν [ἀ]ν [ὁ]| [θεὸ]ς καθιστά[ν]ῃ [κ]αιρὸν π[ρ]οσ[ή][κοντα] εἰς τὴν ὀφειλουσαν [τῶι] Δ[ιὶ τῶι] | [Σωτῆ]ρ[ι] θυσίαν, καὶ ἱερουργίαν συντ[ελ][ε]ῖσθαι καθὼς ἐθίζεται τῶι [θ]εῶι, διὰ τὸ | [ἐ]κ πλείονος χρόνου μηδένα ὑπομε[με]||νηκέναι· ἔδοξε τοῖ[ς] συ[ν]έδροις, | [γ]νώμηι ἐπιστατῶν, συγκεχω-ρῆσθα[ι] |]Ἐπινίκῳ Ἐπινίκου τοῦ Ἡφαισ[τί]ωνος | στῆσαι στήλην πρὸς τῶι ἱερῶι το[ῦ] Δ[ι][ὸ]ς τοῦ Σωτῆρος, χάριν τοῦ ἀναγράφε|σθαι τὰ ὀνόματα τῶν ὑπομε[ὁ]νεταν [β]οηγῶν παρὰ Δία ἐν τῶι ἱε[ρ]ῶι τῶι ἐν Δι[δύμοις καθότι ἡ [ἀνα]γρα[φ]ὴ [τ]ῶ[ν] χ[ορ]||[ηγῶν? κεῖται .....] | Ἐπὶ στ[εφανηφόρου Ἡρακλείδου τοῦ Εὐ]|ἀνθου βοη[γ]ὸς [τ]ρ[ίτ]ον Ἐπ[ίνικος Ἐπινί][κ]ου τοῦ [Ἡφαι]στ[ί]ωνος. | [Ἐπὶ στεφανηφόρου τοῦ θεοῦ τοῦ] | [μεθ'] Ἡρα-κλείδην ..... Then follow three illegible lines and Ἐπὶ προ[φητεύοντος τοῦ δεῖνος] | [το]ῦ ....., [βοηγὸς ὁ α]ὐ[το]ῦ [ὁ] τοῦ προφήτου υἱὸς Ποσιδώ|νιος. The inscription appears to be not earlier than *s.* ii B.C. Epinikos son of Epinikos is again a name of excellent omen.

To these inscriptions should be added a marble slab built into the churchyard wall at *Olamysh* between Klazomenai and Teos (F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 692 ff. no. 5633, 1 ff. --[κ]αὶ τοῖς ἄλλοις Τηΐοις μέτεστιν, ὡς ἐπιγέγρα[πται--]|[--]ς τῶν τελῶν. ἀτελεῖς δὲ αὐτοὺς εἶναι καὶ χορηγ[ιῶν καὶ] | [ξενοδ]οχιῶν καὶ βοηγιῶν καὶ λαμπαδ-αρχιῶν. κ.τ.λ.).

[1] Hesych. Διὸς βοῦς· ὁ τῷ Διὶ ἄνετος βοῦς, ὁ ἱερός. ἔστιν δὲ ἑορτὴ Μιλησίων.

[2] W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 77 ff. no. 37 = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 19 ff. no. 5 = P. Müllen-siefen in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 357 ff. no. 3636 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 716 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1025 part of an extensive marble calendar (*c.* 300 B.C.), detailing Coan rites for the month Batromios (*supra* ii. 238 n. o; but this month is now equated with Antheserion, not Poseideon): the inscription formerly lay, face downwards, in a tank near the hospital at Kos. 1 ff. --| --ι ευνο ..... ν .. ο ..... η. τὰν σεσα[μασ][μέναν--] ἐ[ν]θαπερ τ[οὺς] ἄλλ[ου]ς [θ]ε[μεν]οι| [--ἰ]ερεὺς μὲν κα[ὶ .....] μονάρχου-- | --π--ἰόντω, ἱεροποιοὶ δὲ καὶ τοὶ κάρυκες ἰόντω κ[α][τὰ] χ[ιλιασ]τύα[ς], ἰοῦσ[ι δὲ πο]τ̣ε̣λ̣ὰ[ντ]ι̣ι βοῦν ἐξ ἑνάτας [ἑ]κάστ[ας] | .. ε .... ἑων καὶ Πασθεμιαδᾶν πράτων καὶ [Νοστ]ιδᾶν (cp. *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 928, 1 f.)· ἐς δὲ [τ]ὰν [ἀγορ]ὰν ἐλάντω Πάμφυλοι πρᾶτοι, ἐν ἀγορᾶι δὲ σ[υ]μμί[σ][γον]τι, ὁ δὲ ἱερεὺς κα[θ]ήσθω [πὰρ] τ[ὰν] τράπεζαν ἔχων τὰ[ν] | [στο]λ̣[ὰ]ν (so Wilamowitz-Moellendorff: Hicks suggested [ῥάβ]δ[ο]ν and, later, [φιά]λ[α]ν) τὰν ἱεράν, τοὶ δὲ ἱερ[οποιοὶ ἑκατ]έρω τᾶς τραπέζας· [Πάμ][φυλοι] δὲ ἐπελάντω βοῦ[ς τρεῖς τοὺ]ς [κ]αλλί[σ]τους, αἱ μ[έγ κα] | [το]ύτωγ κριθῆι τις· αἱ [δὲ μή, Ὑλλεῖς τρ]εῖς ἐλάντω, αἱ μέγ [κα]|[το]ύτωγ κριθῆι τις· αἱ δὲ [μή, Δυμᾶνες τρε]ῖς τοὺς [λ]οιποὺς, α[ἱ μέ]|[γ] κα τούτωγ κριθῆι τις· α[ἱ δὲ μή, ἀτέρους] ἐλάντω ἐς τὰν ἀγ[ορ]|ὰν καὶ ἐπελάντω κατὰ τα[ὐτά, αἱ μέ]γ κα τούτωγ κριθῆι τ[ις·] | [α]ἱ δὲ μή, τρίτον ἐπελαντω καὶ ἀτ[έρους]· αἱ δέ κα τούτωγ κρι[θῆι]|[μ]ηδείς, ἐπικρίνονται βοῦν ἐκ χι[λιασ]τύος ἑκάστας· ἑλά[σ][α]ντες δὲ τούτους συμμίσγον[τι τοῖ]ς ἄλλοις, καὶ εὐθὺ[ς] | [κρίν]οντι καὶ εὐχονται καὶ

the twentieth day of the spring month Batromios there was a sacrifice to Zeus *Polieús*. The victim was an ox chosen the previous day with due solemnity. Seven and twenty oxen, given by the nine subsections of each of the three Dorian tribes, were led in procession to the market-place. Here nine of the beasts were set apart and mixed before presentation. A table was placed, presumably in the precinct of Zeus, whose priest sat beside it with the sacrificial attendants near him. He had or held something sacred; but what it was we do not know for certain, because unfortunately the text at this point is illegible. The most probable conjecture makes him dressed in a sacred garment. Each tribe in turn then presented three of the nine oxen to the priest. First the Pamphyloi drove up the three finest; next the Hylleis, another three; lastly the Dymanes, the remaining three. If none of these were chosen, the process recommenced; and so on, till the whole number of twenty-seven oxen had been driven up to the table. If all these proved unsatisfactory, a further selection of nine oxen, one from each of the three sections of each tribe, was made. These were mixed with the rest and driven up to the table as before, when the final choice took place. The ox that bowed its neck (and so signified its willingness to die[1]) was sacrificed to Hestia by a priest described as the 'prerogative-bearer[2] of the kings,' that is, of the tribal kings[3]. The ox chosen for Zeus was brought by the heralds into the market-place, where its owner or his representative declared: 'I present the ox to the Coans; let the Coans pay the price thereof

ἀποκαρύ[σσον]τι· ἔπειτα ἐπελάντ[ω]|[αὖτ]ις κατὰ ταὐτά. θύεται δέ, αἱ μέγ κα ὑποκ[ύψ]ει (so Hicks: H. von Prott cj. ὑποκ[άμψ]ει. W. Schulze in *Hermes* 1885 xx 491 f. cites examples of -ει as an old form of the sigmatic aorist subjunctive), τᾶι Ἰστίαι· θύ|[ει δὲ γ]ερεαφόρος βασιλέων καὶ ἱερὰ παρέχει καὶ ἐπιθύει ἱερὰ ἐξ [ἠ]|[μ]ιέκτου, γέρη δὲ λαμβάνει τὸ δέρμα καὶ τὸ σκέλος, ἱεροποι[οὶ] | [δ]ὲ [σ]κέλος, τὰ δὲ ἄλλα κρέα τᾶς πόλιος. τὸν δὲ κριθέντα τ[ῶι] | Ζηνὶ κάρυκες ἄγοντι ἐς ἀγοράν· ἐπεὶ δέ κα ἐν τᾶι ἀγορᾶι ἔω[ν]|[τι], ἀγορεύει οὗ κα ἦι ὁ βοῦς ἢ ἄλλος ὑπὲρ κήνου ἐνδέξιο[ς·] | ["Κώ]ι[ο]ις παρέχω τὸ[μ] βοῦν, Κῶιοι δὲ τιμὰν ἀποδόντω <τω> τᾶι Ἰστί[αι"]. | κ.τ.λ.

[1] Cp. the heifer sacrificed to Artemis Περσία by Lucullus (Plout. *v. Luc.* 24) and the filly sacrificed to the daughters of Skedasos by Pelopidas (Plout. *v. Pel.* 22).

[2] H. von Prott *ad loc.* cp. an inscription from Pserimos near Myndos (W. R. Paton in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1888 xii. 282 no. 7, 3 καὶ τοῦ γερηφόρου Διὸς Δημοκρίτου τοῦ β′). This official carried the γέρη, *i.e.* those parts of the sacrificial victim that were the perquisite of the priests (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1245 f.).

[3] Aristot. *pol.* 7 (6). 8. 1322 b 26 ff. ἐχομένη δὲ ταύτης ἡ πρὸς τὰς θυσίας ἀφωρισμένη τὰς κοινὰς πάσας, ὅσας μὴ τοῖς ἱερεῦσιν ἀποδίδωσιν ὁ νόμος, ἀλλ' ἀπὸ τῆς κοινῆς ἑστίας ἔχουσι τὴν τιμήν· καλοῦσι δὲ οἱ μὲν ἄρχοντας τούτους, οἱ δὲ βασιλεῖς, οἱ δὲ πρυτάνεις, Poll. 8. 111 οἱ δὲ φυλοβασιλεῖς, ἐξ εὐπατριδῶν ὄντες, μάλιστα τῶν ἱερῶν ἐπεμελοῦντο, συνεδρεύοντες ἐν τῷ βασιλείῳ τῷ παρὰ τὸ βουκολεῖον. See further Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 44 ff. ('Priestly kings in ancient Italy and Greece').

to Hestia.' With the further details of the sacrifice[1] we are not here concerned; but it is clear that the driving up of the cattle (to ensure the self-selection of the victim) was an essential part of the ceremony. In similar fashion an ox was chosen every alternate year by the Coans for Zeus *Machaneús*[2]. The animal was selected

[1] Partly cited *supra* ii. 238 n. o.

[2] W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 p. 88 ff. no. 38 = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 25 ff. no. 6 = P. Müllensiefen in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 361 ff. no. 3637 = Michel *Receuil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 717 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1026 a further part of the same marble calendar. 11 ff. ἐνδεκάται· Ζηνὶ Μαχ[α][ν]ῆι βοῦς κρίνεται τὸ ἄρερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἕωντ[ι] Κ[α]ρνεῖαι, κα[θά][π]ερ τοῦ Βατρομίου τῶι Ζηνὶ τῶι Πολιῆϊ κρίνεται, [καὶ χ]ο[ῖ]ρος προ|καυτεύεται, καὶ προκαρύσσεται καθάπερ τῶι Πολιῆϊ. δυωδε[κ][άται· Ζηνὶ Μαχανῆϊ ὄϊες τρεῖς τέλεωι καὶ βοῦς ὁ κριθεὶς τὸ | ἄρερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἕωντι Καρνεῖαι, τὸ δὲ ἄρερον ἔτος ὄϊες [τ][ρεῖς τέλεωι· ταῦτα θύει ἰαρεὺς ὁ τῶν Δώδεκα Θεῶν καὶ ἱερὰ [π][αρέχει· τούτοις προθύεται πὰρ τὸγ κο[ιν]ὸν (*sc.* βωμόν) ἃ φέροντι Φυλεομ|α[χ]ίδαι ἀλφίτων ἡμίεκτον, οἴνου τετάρταν· γέρη δὲ Φυλεομ|αχίδαις δίδοται τοῦ βοὸς ὀπλά, τα[ρ]σός, τῶν δὲ ὀΐων τὸ ὠμὸν | ἐξ οὗ ἁ θεομοιρία (cp. Hesych. *s. vv.* θευμορία, θευμοριαζέτω) τάμνεται κα[ὶ τὸ στῆ]θος· γέρη λαμβάνει ὁ ἱ[α]|ρεὺς σκέλη καὶ δέρματα: ταῖ αὐταῖ ἀμέραι· Ἀθαναί[αι] Μαχα[νί][δι δάμαλις κριτὰ τὸ ἄρερον ἔτος ἐφ' οὗ κα ἕωντι Καρνεία[ι, τ]ὸ δὲ ἄρερον ἔτος δῖς τελέα· θύει ἰαρεὺς καὶ ἀπορραίνεται θαλ|άσσαι (cp. *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 593, 14 ff. = F. Bechtel in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 568 f. no. 5398, 14 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1218, 14 ff. (Ioulis in Keos) τῆι δὲ ὑστεραίʃηι ἀ][π]οραίνεν τὴν οἰκίην ἐλεύθερον θαλά[σση][ι] πρῶτον, κ.τ.λ.)· τούτων οὐκ ἀποφορά· [θύ]στρα δίδοται τᾶι θεῶι ἐλαί[ου] | τέτορες κοτυλέαι, οἴνου τε[τ]άρτα, πρόχοι καιναὶ δύο καὶ κύλ[ι][κες] καιναὶ τρεῖς [τ]ο[ῖς . . . . . ο]ις τὰμ πόλιν ὠνεῖσθαι δά[μαλιν]||[– – δρ]αχμ – – υ – – τα – –.

Zeus Μαχανεύς is here associated with Athena Μαχανίς. At Argos near the tomb of Pelasgos was a vessel of bronze supporting archaic figures of Artemis, Zeus, and Athena: Lykeas took the second figure to be that of Zeus Μηχανεύς and said that the Argives who went to Troy had here sworn to capture the city or die in the attempt; others declared that the vessel contained the bones of Tantalos (Paus. 2. 22. 2. See further *supra* ii. 1144 n. 2, but observe that the words ἀνέχει δὲ αὐτὸ ἀγάλματα ἀρχαῖα κ.τ.λ. are ambiguous. The meaning *may* be that the χαλκεῖον was itself supported by archaic figures of the three deities, in which case cp. the tripods with anthropomorphic supports discussed by P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1896 xvi. 275—280). An inscription found at Argos in 1906 contains the last few paragraphs of a treaty concluded *c.* 450 B.C. between the two Cretan towns Knossos and Tylissos. Both had clearly been colonised by settlers from Argos, and the fifth of the extant sections provides that, when sixty rams are sacrificed to *Machaneús*, a leg of each victim should be reserved for Hera, obviously as the paramount Argive goddess (W. Vollgraff 'Inscription d'Argos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1910 xxxiv. 331—354 with fig. 1 photo, transcription, and facsimile, part of which (vv. 9—11) = my fig. 383):

ΒΙΚΑΤΟΙΜΑΧΑΝΕΙΘΥΟΜ
ΕΞΕΤΟΝΣΕΓΕΗΕΚΟΝΤΑΤΕΛΕΟΝΣΟΓΙΝΕΚΑΙΤΑΙΒΡΑΙ
ΤΟΣΚΕΛΟΣΓΕΚΑΣΤΟΔΙΔΟΜΕΝΤΟΟΥΜΑΤΟΣ

Fig. 383.

on the eleventh day of some month later than Pedageitnios (= Poseideon) and Batromios (= Anthesterion), possibly Karneios (?)[1], and was sacrificed on the twelfth.

With the examples of ox-driving adduced by Haussoullier

At Tanagra Zeus Μαχανεύς and Athena Σωστειρία were worshipped together (*Corp. inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 548 (with facsimile = my fig. 384) = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 766 a *pôros* slab in the Museum at Tanagra (*Skimatari*) [Διὸ]ς | Μα[χ]ανέος, | Ἀθα[ν]ᾶς | Σω[στειρ]ίας). At Megalopolis there was a cult of Athena Μαχανῖτις (Paus. 8. 36. 5 ἔστι δὲ Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν ἐπίκλησιν Μαχανίτιδος, ὅτι βουλευμάτων ἐστὶν ἡ θεὸς παντοίων καὶ ἐπιτεχνημάτων εὑρέτις) and an acrolithic image of Aphrodite Μαχανῖτις (Paus. 8. 31. 6 ἀγάλματα δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ Δαμοφῶν ἐποίησεν Ἑρμῆν ξύλου καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ξόανον· καὶ ταύτης χεῖρές εἰσι λίθου καὶ πρόσωπόν τε καὶ ἄκροι πόδες. τὴν δὲ ἐπίκλησιν τῇ θεῷ Μαχανῖτιν ὀρθότατα ἔθεντο, ἐμοὶ δοκεῖν· Ἀφροδίτης τε < γὰρ (*ins.* Clavier) > ἕνεκα καὶ ἔργων τῶν ταύτης πλεῖσται μὲν ἐπιτεχνήσεις, παντοῖα δὲ ἀνθρώποις ἀνευρημένα ἐς λόγους ἐστίν). On the

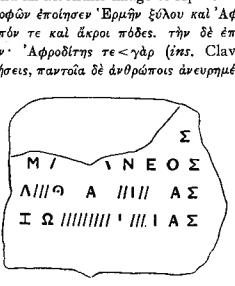


Fig. 384.

Dorian month Μαχανεύς or Μαχάνειος, which in Korkyra was the equivalent of the Attic Γαμηλιών, at Kalchedon and Byzantion of the Attic Μαιμακτηριών (?), see Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 594 n. 19, J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 26, and the cautious statements of W. Sontheimer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 141.

The meaning of Μαχανεύς as an appellative is uncertain. Lykeas' attempt to connect it with μάχεσθαι (Paus. 2. 22. 2) involves a false quantity. The usual rendering 'Gott der Belagerung (?)' (Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 142 n. 0, W. Dittenberger in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 164 ff., W. Sontheimer *loc. cit.*) assumes a relation to μηχαναί, 'engines of war,' which could hardly be earlier than *s.* iv B.C. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1215 thought that Zeus derived his title from Athena 'die Erfinderin auf dem Olympos': this would at least square with Pindar's conception of Zeus as patron of the arts, cp. Pind. *frag.* 57 Bergk[4], 57 Schroeder *ap.* Dion. Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 239 Dindorf Δωδωναῖε μεγάσθενες | ἀριστότεχνα πάτερ (*id. Pyth.* 1. 41 ἐκ θεῶν γὰρ μαχαναὶ πᾶσαι βροτέαις ἀρεταῖς), and with Pausanias' explanation of Athena Μαχανῖτις (Paus. 8. 36. 5 cited *supra*). But Pausanias elsewhere gives a broader sense to Aphrodite Μαχανῖτις (Paus. 8. 31. 6 cited *supra*) as 'Contriver' of devices and wiles; and E. Maass *De Aeschyli Supplicibus commentatio* Gryphiswaldiae 1890 p. xxxiii, aptly citing *h. Herm.* 436 μηχανιῶτα, holds that an allusion to the Argive cult of Zeus Μαχανεύς underlies Aisch. *suppl.* 594 τὸ πᾶν μῆχαρ, οὔριος Ζεύς and 1072 καὶ δίκᾳ δίκας ἕπεσθαι ξὺν εὐχαῖς ἐμαῖς λυτηρίοις μηχαναῖς θεοῦ πάρα. Personally I incline to think that the title is an old one, 'Contriver' in the sense of 'Crafty' (note Aisch. *P. v.* 989 f. οὐκ ἔστιν αἴκισμ' οὐδὲ μηχάνημ' ὅτῳ | προτρέψεταί με Ζεὺς γεγωνῆσαι τάδε), and very possibly goes back to the early belief in Zeus as a magician (cp. the myth of Zeus and Metis or the epic tag μητίετα Ζεύς (*supra* i. 14 n. 1, ii. 1147)).

[1] See Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1026, 11, 15, 22 with n. 1.

should be grouped two or three other cults from the same district of Karia. A bronze coin of Stratonikeia, struck by Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna, has for its reverse type a very similar rite (fig. 385)[1]. A humped bull of its own accord approaches a garlanded altar or platform, on which stands a man wearing a short *chitón*, a *chlamýs*, and *endromídes*. This personage in his left hand holds a sceptre, in his right a dagger, which he is about to plunge into the neck of the bull. Other coins of Stratonikeia, issued by the same imperial couple or by their immediate successors Caracalla and Geta, show Zeus himself attired in the self-same costume

Fig. 385.

Fig. 386.

Fig. 387.

(figs. 386, 387)[2]. I infer, therefore, that the sceptre-bearing slayer of the bull was a priestly king, who acted the part of the god. It will be noticed that the rite takes place in front of a fine spreading oak, the sacred tree of Zeus. An interesting confirmation of this coin-type may be read in an inscription from Panamara. It appears that on one occasion, during the procession of the Panamareia[3], the free ox went before the priest to the council-chamber at Stratonikeia and actually showed him the way[4].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria etc. p. 157 pl. 24, 8. My fig. 385 is from a drawing made by the late Mr F. Anderson and published in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 417 fig. 14.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria etc. p. 156 no. 55 Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna, *Weber Cat. Coins* iii. 1. 382 f. no. 6568 pl. 231 (=my fig. 386) Septimius Severus and Iulia Domna; *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria etc. p. 158 pl. 24, 10 (=my fig. 387) Caracalla and Geta (the bust of the latter purposely obliterated). See also *supra* i. 19 figs. 4 and 5.

[3] *Supra* i. 20.

[4] G. Cousin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904 xxviii. 20 ff. no. 1 B, 15 ff. *ἐ[πι]|δειξαμένου τοῦ θεοῦ ἐνεργίαν φαν[ε]||ρωτάτην καὶ διὰ τοῦ ἀνιμένου βοὸς | πρὸς εὐσεβίαν τοῦ ἱερέως, ὅστις | πρῶτον ἐλθὼν τότε ἐς τὴν πόλιν ἐν τῇ | ἀγομένῃ πομπῇ ὡδήγησεν τὸν ἱε|ρέα ἐς τὸ βουλευτήριον καὶ μετὰ τὰς | θυσίας εὐθὺς ἐχωρίσθη.* Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 30 n. 5, A. Brinkmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1916 lxxi. 159, H. Oppermann *Zeus Panamaros* Giessen 1924 p. 59 no. 9 and p. 61.

Again, at Halikarnassos the cult of Zeus *Askraîos*, who—as we have already seen[1]—was likewise essentially related to the oak, involved a strictly analogous sacrifice. A herd of goats used to be driven up to a certain spot in front of the god's sanctuary. Prayer was offered, and on its conclusion one of the goats under no constraint advanced to the altar. The priest thereupon took hold of it and slew it as being an acceptable sacrifice[2].

Not unlike the ritual of Zeus *Askraîos* at Halikarnassos was that of Zeus at Pedasa. Here the custom was that a great concourse of people assembled to witness a strange procession. A goat bound with a cord and followed, not led, by the priest passed through the midst of the crowd and, turning neither to right nor to left, went straight along the road to its destination seventy furlongs away[3].

It seems, then, that the 'ox-driving' of Zeus *Hyétios* at Didyma finds its explanation, not as an attenuated form of 'Minoan' bull-grappling sports[4], but as a rite analogous to those of Zeus *Polieús* and Zeus *Machaneús* in Kos, Zeus at Stratonikeia, Zeus *Askraîos* at Halikarnassos, and Zeus near Pedasa. Further, these Carian cults may be found to throw light on that mysterious service, the Athenian Bouphonia. For it is known that the Carian Zeus had some foothold in Attike[5]; and it is to be observed that the nearest

[1] *Supra* ii. 872 n. 0 (5) figs. 807—811.

[2] Apollon. *hist. mir.* 13 p. 107, 19 ff. Westermann.

[3] Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 137 (149) p. 50, 11 ff. Westermann.

[4] So Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 8 n. 18.

[5] The kinsmen of Isagoras, son of Tisandros, sacrificed to Zeus Κάριος (Hdt. 5. 66 *ἐν δὲ αὐτῇσι* (*sc.* at Athens) *δύο ἄνδρες ἐδυνάστευον*, Κλεισθένης τε *ἀνὴρ* Ἀλκμεωνίδης...*καὶ* Ἰσαγόρης Τισάνδρου *οἰκίης μὲν ἐὸν δοκίμου, ἀτὰρ τὰ ἀνέκαθεν οὐκ ἔχω φράσαι· θύουσι δὲ οἱ συγγενέες αὐτοῦ Διὶ Καρίῳ*). Frau Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1949 comments: 'Herodot. v 66 erzählt, dass die Familie des Isagoras dem Zeus K. opferte, als Beweis der unattischen Herkunft derselben (vgl. v. Wilamowitz Kydathen 143, 64). Jedenfalls ist dies eine der frühesten Nachrichten von einem eingeführten orientalischen Kulte, nicht ein Überbleibsel einer "karischen" Urbevölkerung, deren Vorhandensein übrigens auf andere Weise gesichert scheint.' C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 88 f. would find a trace of the Isagorean cult on certain Eupatrid coins, which he believes to have been struck by Tisandros (*ib.* pl. 4, P 66, P 67) and by Isagoras during his brief supremacy at Athens (*ib.* pl. 14, P 260, P 261). These coins, didrachms and tetradrachms respectively, show on their reverse the facing head of a panther—the sacred beast of Zeus Κάριος (cp. *supra* ii. 575 fig. 483, 599 n. 2).

On the other hand it must be borne in mind that Attike was ravaged by Carians before Kekrops' foundation of the dodecapolis (Philochoros *frag.* 11 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 386 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 397). The akropolis of Megara was called Καρία after Kar, son of Phoroneus (Paus. 1. 40. 6, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Καρία): on it stood a roofless temple of Zeus Κόνιος (L. C. Valckenaer cj. Κρονίου, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 642 n. 75 cj. κωνίου 'kegelförmig, metae modo,' K. F. Hermann cj. σκοτίτου or χθονίου—all unconvincing), a *négaron* of Demeter erected by king Kar, etc. (Paus. *loc. cit.*).

verbal parallel to the *Bouphónia* of Athens is the *Taurophónia* of Mylasa in Karia[1], a possible stepping-stone between the two localities being Anaphe in the Kyklades[2].

ii. The Ox-slaughter of Zeus *Polieús* at Athens.

On the Akropolis at Athens, north of the north-eastern angle of the Parthenon[3], stood the altar and statue of Zeus *Polieús*; and close to it, another statue of Zeus, by the sculptor Leochares[4]. The form and fashion of these two statues can hardly be determined with certainty. But Otto Jahn has made it at least probable that both of them were represented on the bronze coinage of Athens[5]. The relevant types are as follows.

Of coins issued during the Hellenistic age, from *c.* 322 B.C. onwards, one group, and that the most numerous, shows Zeus as a nude figure striding forward with his left foot in advance: his right hand is uplifted and brandishes a bolt; his left is thrown out before him as if to secure balance (figs. 388—390)[6]. If we stress the analogy of bronze statuettes made during the early decades of the

[1] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* no. 404 (quoted *supra* ii. 582 n. 5). See further the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 417, Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 252, and the excellent article of Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 24—27.

[2] *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii no. 249 (a base of bluish local marble built into the outer gateway of the monastery of the Panagia Kalamiotissa, on the site of the temple of Apollon Ἀσγελάτας at Anaphe, and inscribed in lettering not earlier than *s.* i B.C.), 18 ff. σ[τ]εφανῶσαι [τ]ὸν προειρημέ[νον] | ['Αρχ]ωνίδαν χρυσέῳ στεφάνῳ ἀρισ[τ]ε[ί]ῳ εὐσεβείας [τε] ἕν[εκα τᾶς π]ο[τὶ] | [τὸν θε]όν, ἀρετᾶς δὲ καὶ φιλοπονίας τᾶς ἐς τὰ[ν] πατρίδα, καὶ ἀνακα[ρύσ-σεσ][θ]αι [κ]αθ' ἕκαστον ἐνιαυτὸν ὑπὸ τοῦ κατατυγχάνοντος ἱεροκάρυκος ἐ[ν] | [τε τ]ᾷ παναγύρει τῶν 'Ασγελαίων ἐ[κ] τοῦ βωμοῦ μετὰ τὰς θυσίας [τὰ]ς το[ῦ θεοῦ] | [καὶ] τοῖς Θευδα(ι)σίοις τᾷ Βρυ... καὶ ὑπὸ τὰ .....Γα Ταυροφόνηα μετὰ τὰς | [σ]πονδάς· κ.τ.λ.

[3] W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 p. 242.

[4] Paus. i. 24. 4 καὶ Διός ἐστιν ἄγαλμα τό τε Λεωχάρους καὶ ὁ ὀνομαζόμενος Πολιεύς, ᾧ τὰ καθεστηκότα ἐς τὴν θυσίαν γράφων τὴν ἐπ' αὐτοῖς λεγομένην αἰτίαν οὐ γράφω. κ.τ.λ. (cited *infra* p. 577 n. 2).

[5] O. Jahn 'Giove Polieo in Atene' in the *Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1865 ii. 1—24 with pl. 1. See also Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 19, 24, 54 ff., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 f. pl. BB, 1—3. But G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 1996 is more cautious: 'Den athenischen Zeus [*sc.* Λεωχάρους] wollte Jahn...ohne ausreichende Begründung auf athenischen Münzen wiedererkennen, die jedenfalls nichts für L. Charakteristisches zeigen.'

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 80 f. pl. 14, 4—6, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 73 pl. 34, 15, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 362 f. pl. 210, 11 and 13, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 376 f. But by far the fullest collection of material is that of J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 70, 26, pl. 71, 8, 9, pl. 73, 12, pl. 77, 26, 27, pl. 81, 32—52. My fig. 388 is from a specimen in my collection, fig. 389 from Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 pl. BB, 1, fig. 390 from E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 301 fig.

fifth century[1], it is tempting to suppose that the statue here portrayed had originally an eagle poised on its left arm. Indeed, this would account well for the fact that many of the coins add an eagle seated at the god's foot (figs. 391, 392)[2], and some an eagle actually resting on his outstretched arm (fig. 393)[3]. Zeus as omnipotent antagonist might be thought to need both thunderbolt and lightning-bird. Nevertheless the eagle was hardly an essential adjunct[4], and the evidence of the coins, on the whole, tells against it.

Fig. 388.

Fig. 389.

Fig. 390.

Fig. 391.

Fig. 392.

Fig. 393.

A second group represents Zeus in milder mood. He no longer strides forward against the foe, but stands erect with left foot less advanced. Instead of brandishing the bolt, he merely holds it in his lowered right hand. This leaves his left arm extended in a rather meaningless manner (fig. 394)[5] and beneath it the die-sinker found room for a variable symbol—an owl (fig. 395)[6], an ear

[1] *Supra* i. 84 ff., ii. 739 ff.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 80 nos. 541—547, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 72 pl. 34, 14, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 363 pl. 210, 12, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 72, 25, pl. 73, 13, pl. 75, 13, pl. 81, 17—31. My fig. 391 is from a specimen of mine, fig. 392 from E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 301 fig.

[3] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 80, 25 (=my fig. 393), 26—28.

[4] See *e.g.* P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 159 pl. 8, 42.

[5] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 80, 22 (=my fig. 394), 23, 24.

[6] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 81, 1—6. My fig. 395 is from Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 12 pl. 2, 23[a]=Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 24 fig. 5 (Berlin).

of barley (fig. 396)[1], a ship's prow (figs. 397, 398)[2]. If this group too, as seems probable, shows an actual statue of bronze still existing on the Akropolis at the time of issue, that statue must have been a later and somewhat clumsy modification of the old militant figure, and may perhaps be assigned to the second or third decade of the fifth century B.C.[3]

Fig. 394.

Fig. 395.

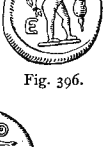


Fig. 396.

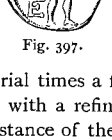


Fig. 397.

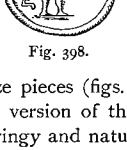


Fig. 398.

In imperial times a fresh set of bronze pieces (figs. 399—402)[4] presents us with a refined and amended version of the foregoing type. The stance of the god is more springy and natural, and his

[1] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 81, 7 (=my fig. 396) and 8.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 81 pl. 14, 7, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 363 no. 5938, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 81, 9—16. My fig. 397 is from a specimen in my collection, fig. 398 from Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 pl. BB, 2.

[3] *Supra* ii. 745 f. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 24 f.: 'Die Formen, soweit sich über dieselben bei der Kleinheit des Bildes und der mässigen Erhaltung des Exemplars urteilen lässt, gehören dem reifen Archaismus an, der freilich bei der Darstellung in einem späten Stempel von seiner Schärfe verloren haben mag, dennoch aber bestimmt genug hervortritt, um es wenigstens glaublich zu machen, dass die Figur nicht für die Münze erfunden, sondern von einer Statue copirt ist.'

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 104 pl. 18, 5, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 pl. BB, 3, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 5 and 6. My figs. 399, 400 are from Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 54 fig. 7 a, b, *id. Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 93 fig. 165, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 12 pl. 2, 23, all of which depend on the drawings in E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 396 fig. and T. Combe *Veterum populorum et regum numi qui in Museo Britannico adservantur* Londinii 1814 p. 131 no. 99 pl. 7, 1. But, since in these drawings the *phidle* appears with much greater distinctness than in the photographs of the coins, I have for honesty's sake added fresh drawings taken from J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 92, 5 (=my fig. 401) and from a cast of the specimen in the British Museum (=my fig. 402). If the alleged *phidle* is discredited, it might be possible to explain the outstretched hand of the god as a gesture of welcome. He is hardly putting a pinch of incense on his own altar.

outstretched hand is better employed in holding a *phiále*(?) over a conspicuous altar. One specimen (fig. 403)[1] shows an eagle on the extended arm—another case of intrusive adjunct, but useful as serving to connect the latest with the earliest statue.

Fig. 399.

Fig. 400.

Fig. 401.

Fig. 402.

Fig. 403.

I gather that the three series of coins represent three successive statues of Zeus *Polieús*, the third being Leochares' improvement, not—as Jahn[2] supposed—upon the first, but—as Overbeck[3] saw—upon the second. If so, we have to recognise in Zeus *Polieús* a development at once external and internal, aesthetic and ethical, to be compared with that which transformed the sixth-century *Pallás* advancing with uplifted lance[4] into the fifth-century *Parthénos* standing with lance at rest.

[1] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 7 (=my fig. 403).

[2] O. Jahn in the *Nuove Memorie dell' Instituto di Corrispondenza Archeologica* 1865 ii. 23 f.

[3] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 54 f.

[4] Whether this was the type of Athena Πολιάς is a moot point. O. Jahn *De antiquissimis Minervae simulacris Atticis* Bonnae 1866 p. 10 ff., citing both literary and monumental evidence, pronounced in favour of the fully armed fighting goddess in the so-called 'Palladion' pose, and his verdict has been accepted by the majority of subsequent critics (see *e.g.* Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 332 ff., E. Petersen *Die Burgtempel*

Sundry dedications to Zeus *Polieús* are on record. A base of throne of Pentelic marble found on the Akropolis was put up for him by a member of the deme Paiania[1]. And a silver bowl belonging to him was kept among the treasures of Athena[2].

The importance of his cult at Athens may be judged from the fact that in the theatre his priest occupied a marble throne immediately adjoining the splendid central seat of the priest of Dionysos *Eleuthereús*[3].

The festival of the god[4] was known by a variety of names as

der Athenaia Berlin 1907 p. 40 ff.). Others, however, have argued cogently in favour of a seated figure (*e.g.* E. Gerhard *Über die Minervenidole Athens* Berlin 1844 pp. 4—6 ('Athena Polias') pl. 1, *id. Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 6 ff. pl. 242, 1, R. Schöne *Griechische Reliefs aus athenischen Sammlungen* Leipzig 1872 p. 12 pl. 2, 1, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 687 ff.), and A. Frickenhaus 'Das Athenabild des alten Tempels in Athen' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 17—32 has proved from inscriptions that for some thirty years in the course of the fourth century B.C. the goddess of the ἀρχαῖος νεώς wore a στεφάνη, πλάστρα ('ear-rings'), ὄχθοιβος ἐπὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ or περὶ τῷ τραχήλῳ ('necklace'), ὅρμοι πέντε, γλαῦξ χρυσῆ, αἰγὶς χρυσῆ, γοργόνειον (χρυσοῦν ?), φιάλη χρυσῆ ἐν τῇ χειρί—a continuity of garb which allows us to suppose that it was an old traditional costume and is at least compatible with the monumental evidence for a seated weaponless Athena. Accordingly G. von Brauchitsch *Die panathenäischen Preisamphoren* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 pp. 167—180 ('Das Bild der Athena') concludes that the standing armed goddess was the Athena of Peisistratos, the cult-statue of the Hekatompedon, to whose care Athens was entrusted during the Persian invasion, when the older and more sacred seated goddess, Athena Πολιάς, was temporarily withdrawn from her sanctuary in the then existing Erechtheion.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 1550 *b* [– – Π]αιαν[ιεὺς] | [ἀνέθ]ηκεν Διὶ Πολιε[ῖ].

[2] *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 652 *A*, 48 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 586 *a*, 48 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 814 *A*, 48 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1388 *A*, 48 f. [καρχ]ήσιον Διὸς Πολιῶς ἀργυρό[ν, στ][αθμὸν τούτο: ΗΡΔΔΔΔΓΗΗΗ:]. This καρχήσιον was an object of value, which is frequently mentioned in the temple inventories—first in 428—427 B.C., when it weighed 200 drachmas (*Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 149, 10), last about 390—389 B.C., when its weight had fallen to 199 drachmas (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 661, 4). See further O. Jahn—A. Michaelis *Arx Athenarum*[3] Bonnae 1901 p. 52 on Paus. 1. 24. 4.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 242 ἱερέως | Διὸς Πολιέως. Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 470 no. 281 date the lettering 'Little before Christian era.' A photographic view of this and the adjacent thrones is given by M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 pl. 4. A. E. Haigh *The Attic Theatre*[2] Oxford 1898 p. 124 observes: 'That the thrones belong to the fourth century, and were erected in the time of Lycurgus, appears to be proved by the excellence of the workmanship. Each of them has an inscription in the front, recording the title of the priest or official for whom the seat was reserved. These inscriptions are all of the Hellenistic or Roman period; but behind them are faint traces of older inscriptions, which may possibly go back to the fourth century.'

[4] See the monograph of O. Band *De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium* Halae Saxonum 1873 pp. 1—67, P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 489 ff. and in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 399 ff., revised in his *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 pp. 203—221 ('Buphonien'), *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1055—1057 ('Buphonia'), *id. ib.* Suppl. iii. 339 f. ('Dipolieia'), Nilsson *Gr. Feste* pp. 14—16 ('Buphonien'), Harrison

the *Dipolíeia*[1] or *Diipolíeia*[2], the *Dipóleia*[3] or *Diipóleia*[4], the *Dipólia*[5] or *Diipólia*[6], and even the *Diospólia*[7]. The ancient grammarians derive these names from that of *Zeùs Polieús*[8], and we have every reason to accept their derivation[9]. The same festival, or rather the

Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath. pp. 424—429 ('Bouphonia or Diipolia'), *ead. Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 111—113 ('*Bouphonia*, or ... Dipolia'), Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4—7 ('*bouphonia*'), F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 pp. 99—119 ('Buphonien'), L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 158—174 ('Dipolieia'), 253, and other literature to be cited later.

[1] J. Wackernagel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1890 xlv. 480—482 argues for Διπολίεια as the correct form, and restores accordingly *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 2 *A*, 18 f. [Διπολ]ιείοις καὶ | [Παναθ]ηναίοις and *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1 no. 555 *a*, 7 [ἱ]ερ[ε]ῦσιν, οἱ Διπολ[ει-]. L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1906 ii. 1. 63 ff. no. 16 A a, 8 vindicates these restorations and publishes a more exact reading of the latter line, *viz.*: Κέρ[υ]χσιν οἱ Διπολ̣ε̣[ι-]. In Aristoph. *pax* 420 H. Sharpley prints Διπολίει', Ἀδώνια. Διπολεῖα (G. Hermann on Aristoph. *nub.* 984 and M. H. E. Meier *De gentilitate Attica* Halis 1835 p. 46 no. 29) is supported by διπολεῖς (*sic*), the manuscript reading of Bekker *anecd.* i. 91, 7.

[2] Διπολίεια Hesych. *s.v.* (cod.). M. Schmidt *ad loc.* assumes a fusion of two forms, *viz.* Διπόλια. In favour of this is the reading of cod. V. in the *et. mag.* p. 275, 1 Διπόλεῖα. Against it is the evidence quoted *supra* n. 1.

[3] Διπόλεια schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419, 420. Διπολεῖα Choirobosk. *orthogr.* in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 192, 20 (A. Lentz in Herodian. ii. 1. 493, 2 prints Διπόλεια) and 28. Διπολεῖον *et. mag.* p. 275, 3 (cod. D.).

[4] Διπόλεια Aristoph. *pax* 420 (codd.) with schol. *ad loc.* (codd. R. V.), schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 984, Harpokr. *s.v.* Διπόλεια (codd. B. I. N. and E.), Hesych. *s.v.* Διπόλια, Souid. *s.vv.* Βουφόνια (codd. A. B. E.), Διπόλεια, Διπόλια (cod. V.), Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Διπόλεια (p. 518, 1), Favorin. *lex.* p. 508, 43 f., Theodos. *gramm.* p. 69, 21 Goettling. Διπολεία Zonar. *lex. s.v.* (p. 525, 2 f.). Διπολεῖον Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Διπολεία (p. 525, 2 f.), *et. mag.* p. 275, 3. Διηπόλεια Harpokr. *s.v.* Διπόλεια (cod. C.).

[5] Διπόλια Hesych. *s.v.*, cp. Aristoph. *nub.* 984 Διπολιώδη. Διπόλια was wrongly restored by A. Kirchhoff in *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 1 no. 555 *a*, 7 [ἱ]ερ[ε]ῦσιν, οἱ Διπολί[οις], cp. *ib.* no. 531, 12 f. Δ|ιπολ[-]: see *supra* n. 1.

[6] Διπόλια Antiph. *tetr.* 1. 4. 8, Ail. *var. hist.* 8. 3, Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10, schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419 (cod. V.), schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 408, 984 (cod. V.), Harpokr. *s.v.* Διπόλεια (codd. except B. C. I. N. and E.), Bekker *anecd.* i. 238, 21, *et. mag.* p. 275, 1, Hesych. *s.vv.* Βούτης, Βουφονία, Διπόλια, Souid. *s.vv.* Βουφόνια, Διπόλεια (codd. except A. B. C. E. V.), Διπόλια, Θαύλων, Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 8 and 24. Διπολία *et. mag.* p. 275, 1. Διηπόλια Souid. *s.v.* Διπόλεια after διήρξα (codd. C. V.).

[7] Διοσπόλια Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30.

[8] So schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419, *nub.* 984, Hesych. *s.v.* Διπολίεια, Souid. *s.v.* Διπόλια, cp. Favorin. *lex.* p. 508, 43 Διπόλεια, τῷ Διὶ τελεταί. From a supposed Zeus Πολιαῖος Zonar. *lex. s.v.* Διπόλεια (p. 518, 1 ff.), *et. mag.* p. 275, 1 f. From an equally impossible Zeus Πολειαῖος Choirobosk. *orthogr.* in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 192, 29.

[9] The formation of Διπολίεια from Ζεὺς Πολιεύς is exactly paralleled by that of Διωστήρια (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 469, 21 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1008, 21 (118/7 B.C.), *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 471, 30 and 78 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1006, 30 and 78 (122/1 B.C.), *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1358, 15, *ib.* ii. 3 no. 1387, 3 (?)) from Ζεὺς Σωτήρ (O. Band *De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium* Halae Saxonum p. 10, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 512 n. 3, 524 n. 1, L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 174—176). J. Wackernagel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1890 xlv. 480 ff.

most impressive portion of it[1], was called the *Bouphónia*[2] or 'Ox-slaughter[3].' It took place on the fourteenth day of Skirophorion[4], a month corresponding roughly with our June—July.

contends that the old dative Διὶ Πολιεῖ gave rise to the form Διπολίεια, which was subsequently changed into Διπολίεια to suit the later dative Διὶ Πολιεῖ. He holds that in like manner the *Διωτήρια became the Διωστήρια. The earlier form may be inferred from the name of the god's temple Δισωτήριον (Bekker *anecd.* i. 91, 6 f. Δισωτήριον καλοῦσιν Ἀθήνησι τὸν ναὸν τοῦ Σωτῆρος Διός. ἔστι δὲ Ἀττικὸν τὸ σχῆμα. Διπόλια γοῦν καλεῖται ἑορτή. κ.τ.λ.): the later form naturally occurs in the inscriptions, which are all of Hellenistic date. As to the successive terminations Διπολίεια, Διπόλεια, Διπόλια Wackernagel *loc. cit.* p. 481 compares the series ὑγιεία, ὑγεία, ὑγία (F. Blass *Pronunciation of Ancient Greek* trans. W. J. Purton Cambridge 1890 pp. 18, 61, K. Meisterhans *Grammatik der attischen Inschriften*[3] Berlin 1900 p. 49 n. 362, G. Meyer *Griechische Grammatik*[3] Leipzig 1896 p. 132 n. 2, A. Thumb in K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 76).

E. Curtius *Attische Studien* Göttingen 1862 i. 247 proposed to connect Διπόλια with the root πελ- and to regard it as the festival of the Διπόλοι or 'Zeus-worshippers.' But the term Διπόλοι is nowhere found.

Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 111 n. 2 would render 'the festival of the Plough Curse' (*ib.* p. 23 δῖσο- for δῖσο=*dīro-*). But she later abandoned this derivation.

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* Βούτης (Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 8)· ... ὁ τοῖς Διιπολίοις τὰ Βουφόνια δρῶν. The two names occur together also in Aristoph. *nub.* 984 f., Ail. *var. hist.* 8. 3 Διπόλια τὴν ἑορτὴν καλοῦσι καὶ Βουφόνια, Hesych. *s.v.* Βουφονία=Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985=Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια *bis*.

That the Βουφόνια was, to speak strictly, a definite rite which took place at the festival of the Διπολίεια, is recognised by J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 149, P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 489, in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 liii. 407, in his *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 203, and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1055, Suppl. iii. 339 f., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 158 f., and the great majority of modern scholars. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 512 (cp. *ib.* p. 517 n. 1) thought that the festival might have been called Διπόλια in official language, Βουφόνια in popular parlance. H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 liii. 197 inferred from Ail. *loc. cit.* 'dass zwei Berichte über zwei Feste zusammengeworfen sind.' U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1932 ii. 172 (cp. *ib.* p. 353) 'die altattischen Διειπόλια, Μαιμακτήρια, Βουφόνια' is doubly inexact.

[2] Βουφόνια Aristoph. *nub.* 985 with schol. *ad loc.*, Ail. *var. hist.* 8. 3, Harpokr. *s.v.* Βουφόνια, Hesych. *s.v.* Βούτης (Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 8), *et. mag.* p. 210, 30, Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 691, 64. Βουφονία Hesych. *s.v.* (cod.), Bekker *anecd.* i. 221, 22. Βουφόνεια Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια (cod. E.).

[3] The contention of W. Robertson Smith *The Religion of the Semites*[2] London 1894 (*ib.*[3] London 1927) p. 304 ff. (accepted by Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 295, *ib.*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4 ff., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 111, N. W. Thomas in J. Hastings *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 508, and others) that Βουφόνια denotes 'Ox-*murder*' has been called in question by P. Stengel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 liii. 402 (cp. *Il.* 7. 466 βουφόνεον δὲ κατὰ κλισίας καὶ δόρπον ἕλοντο with schol. *ad loc.* βουφονεῖν ἐστιν οὐ τὸ θύειν θεοῖς, ἄτοπον γὰρ ἐπὶ θυσίας φόνον λέγειν, ἀλλὰ τὸ φονεύειν βοῦς εἰς δεῖπνου κατασκευήν), in his *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 213 ff., and in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 339 f.

[4] Schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419, *et. mag.* p. 210, 30 ff. The only divergent statement is found, among other blunders, in Bekker *anecd.* i. 238, 21 ff. Διπόλια γάρ ἐστιν ἑορτὴ μὲν Διί, ἣ καὶ Δειλία (Bekker cj. Διάσια) καλεῖται, γίνεται δὲ ἕκτην (A. Mommsen cj. ἕκτῃ) ἐπὶ δέκα τοῦ Σκληροφοριῶνος (Bekker cj. Σκιρροφοριῶνος) μηνός.

(α) Ritual of the Dipolieia.

The ritual of the Dipolieia is known to us primarily from passages in Porphyrios[1] and Pausanias[2]. Porphyrios appears to be

[1] It will be convenient here to print the passages *in extenso* as they stand in the Teubner text (ed. A. Nauck) and further on to discuss particular points.

Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 βοῦν δὲ Διόμος ἔσφαξε πρῶτος, ἱερεὺς ὢν τοῦ Πολιέως Διός, ὅτι τῶν Διιπολείων (so Nauck for Διιπολίων) ἀγομένων καὶ παρεσκευασμένων κατὰ τὸ πάλαι ἔθος τῶν καρπῶν ὁ βοῦς προσελθὼν ἀπεγεύσατο τοῦ ἱεροῦ πελάνου· συνεργοὺς γὰρ λαβὼν τοὺς ἄλλους ὅσοι παρῆσαν, ἀπέκτεινε τοῦτον.

Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29 ff. τὸ γὰρ παλαιόν, ὡς καὶ πρόσθεν ἐλέγομεν, καρποὺς τοῖς θεοῖς τῶν ἀνθρώπων θυόντων, ζῷα δὲ οὔ, οὐδὲ εἰς τὴν ἰδίαν τροφὴν καταχρωμένων, λέγεται κοινῆς θυσίας οὔσης Ἀθήνησιν Διόμον ἢ Σώπατρόν τινα, τῷ γένει οὐκ ἐγχώριον, γεωργοῦντα δὲ κατὰ τὴν Ἀττικήν, ἐπεὶ πελάνου τε καὶ τῶν θυλημάτων ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης ἐναργῶς κειμένων, ἵνα τοῖς θεοῖς ταῦτα θύοι, τῶν βοῶν τις εἰσιὼν ἀπ' ἔργου τὰ μὲν κατέφαγεν τὰ δὲ συνεπάτησεν, αὐτὸν δ' ὑπεραγανακτήσαντα τῷ συμβάντι, πελέκεώς (J. J. Reiske cd. πέλεκύν) τινος πλησίον ἀκουωμένου, τοῦτον ἁρπάξαντα, πατάξαι τὸν βοῦν. τελευτήσαντος δὲ τοῦ βοός, ὡς ἔξω τῆς ὀργῆς καταστὰς συνεφρόνησεν οἷον ἔργον ἦν εἰργασμένος, τὸν μὲν βοῦν θάπτει, φυγὴν δὲ ἑκούσιον ἁράμενος ὡς ἠσεβηκώς, ἔφυγεν εἰς Κρήτην. αὐχμῶν δὲ κατεχόντων καὶ δεινῆς ἀκαρπίας γενομένης, ἐπερωτῶσι κοινῇ τὸν θεὸν ἀνείλεν (so R. Hercher for ἀνεῖπεν) ἡ Πυθία τὸν ἐν Κρήτῃ φυγάδα ταῦτα λύσειν (Nauck cj. παύσειν), τόν τε φονέα τιμωρησαμένων καὶ τὸν τεθνεῶτα ἀναστησάντων ἐν ᾧπερ ἀπέθανε θυσίᾳ λῷον (so C. A. Lobeck for the corrupt ἀπέθανον σιάλῳ ὃν (or ὅν). J. J. Reiske had cj. ἀπέθανεν ἐργασίᾳ λῷον) ἐσεσθαι γευσαμένοις τε τοῦ τεθνεῶτα καὶ μὴ κατασχοῦσιν (Nauck condemns καὶ μὴ κατασχοῦσιν as 'verba corrupta'). θέμενοι δὲ ζητήσεως γενομένης καὶ τοῦ [Σωπάτρου (*expunxit* Nauck)] μεταιτίου (so J. J. Reiske for μετὰ) τῆς πράξεως ἀνευρεθέντος, Σώπατρος νομίσας τῆς περὶ αὐτὸν (so ed. pr. αὐτὸ codd. Mm.) δυσκολίας ἀπαλλαγήσεσθαι ὡς ἐναγοῦς ὄντος (ὡς ἐναγοῦς ὄντος 'verba aut spuria videntur esse aut vitiosa' Nauck), εἰ κοινῇ τοῦτο (J. Bernays cj. ταὐτὸ) πράξειαν πάντες, ἔφη πρὸς τοὺς αὐτὸν (so ed. pr. αὐτὸ codd. Mm.) μετελθόντας, δεῖν κατακοπῆναι βοῦν ὑπὸ τῆς πόλεως. ἀπορούντων δὲ τίς ὁ πατάξων ἔσται, παρασχεῖν αὑτοὺς τοῦτο, εἰ πολίτην αὐτὸν ποιησάμενοι κοινωνήσουσι (so R. Hercher for καὶ κοινωνήσουσι) τοῦ φόνου. συγχωρηθέντων οὖν τούτων, ὡς ἐπανῆλθον ἐπὶ τὴν πόλιν, συνέταξαν οὕτω τὴν πρᾶξιν, ἥπερ (J. Bernays cj. ᾧπερ) καὶ νῦν διαμένει παρ' αὐτοῖς. 30 ὑδροφόρους παρθένους κατέλεξαν· αἱ δ' ὕδωρ κομίζουσιν, ὅπως τὸν πέλεκυν καὶ τὴν μάχαιραν ἀκονήσουσιν. ἀκονησάντων δὲ ἐπέδωκεν μὲν τὸν πέλεκυν ἕτερος, ὁ δ' ἐπάταξε τὸν βοῦν, ἄλλος δ' ἔσφαξεν· τῶν δὲ (so ed. Cantabrigiae 1655 for δὴ) μετὰ ταῦτα δειράντων, ἐγεύσαντο τοῦ βοὸς πάντες. τούτων δὲ πραχθέντων τὴν μὲν δορὰν τοῦ βοὸς ῥάψαντες καὶ χόρτῳ ἐποχώσαντες (so Nauck for ἀποχώσαντες or ἀπεγκώσαντες) ἑξανέστησαν, ἔχοντα ταὐτὸν ὅπερ καὶ ζῶν ἔσχεν σχῆμα, καὶ προσέζευξαν ἄροτρον ὡς ἐργαζομένῳ. κρίσιν δὲ ποιούμενοι τοῦ φόνου πάντας ἐκάλουν εἰς ἀπολογίαν τοὺς τῆς πράξεως κοινωνήσαντας. ὧν δὴ (so J. Bernays for ὡς δὲ) αἱ μὲν ὑδροφόροι τοὺς ἀκονήσαντας αὐτῶν ᾐτιῶντο μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ ἀκονήσαντες τὸν ἐπιδόντα (so Nauck for ἐπιδιδόντα) τὸν πέλεκυν, οὗτος δὲ τὸν ἐπισφάξαντα (on the assumption that this omits a stage, Nauck cj. οὗτος δὲ τὸν πατάξαντα, ὁ δὲ πατάξας τὸν σφάξαντα and Bernays cj. οὗτος δὲ τὸν πατάξαντα, ὁ δὲ τὸν ἐπισφάξαντα. But see *infra* p. 584 n. 1), καὶ ὁ τοῦτο δράσας τὴν μάχαιραν, καθ' ἧς οὔσης ἀφώνου τὸν φόνον κατέγνωσαν. ἀπὸ δ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀεὶ τοῖς Διιπολείοις (so Nauck for Διοσπολίοις) Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει οἱ εἰρημένοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ποιοῦνται τὴν τοῦ βοὸς θυσίαν. θέντες γὰρ ἐπὶ τῆς χαλκῆς (Nauck cj. ἐπὶ χαλκῆς) τραπέζης πέλανον καὶ ψαιστά, περιελαύνουσι τοὺς κατανεμηθέντας βοῦς, ὧν ὁ γευσάμενος κόπτεται. καὶ γένη τῶν ταῦτα δρώντων ἔστιν νῦν (Nauck cj. ἔστι τρία)· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατάξαντος [Σωπάτρου (*delevit* Nauck)] βουτύποι καλούμενοι πάντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περιελάσαντος κεντριάδαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισφάξαντος δαιτροὺς ὀνομάζουσιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κρεανομίας γιγνομένην δαῖτα. πληρώσαντες δὲ τὴν βύρσαν, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀχθῶσιν, κατεπόντωσαν (J. Bernays cj. καταποντοῦσι. But see *infra* p. 584 n. 2) τὴν μάχαιραν.

quoting *verbatim* from Theophrastos' treatise *On Piety*[1] (*c.* 332 B.C.); and Pausanias writes (*c.* 170 A.D.) as one who has visited the Akropolis and taken a personal interest in its cults. The following account is in the main that of Porphyrios[2], words enclosed in square brackets being additions from Pausanias:—

[Barley and wheat[3],] made up into semi-solid porridge and solid cakes[4], were placed on the bronze table [or altar of Zeus *Polieús*[5]].

31 οὕτως οὔτε τὸ παλαιὸν ὅσιον ἦν κτείνειν τὰ συνεργὰ τοῖς βίοις ἡμῶν ζῷα, νῦν τε τοῦτο φυλακτέον ἐστὶ πράττειν.

[2] Paus. 1. 24. 4. (after the sentence cited *supra* p. 570 n. 4) τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Πολιέως κριθὰς καταθέντες ἐπὶ τὸν βωμὸν μεμιγμένας πυροῖς οὐδεμίαν ἔχουσι φυλακήν· ὁ βοῦς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἑτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν, ἅπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. καλοῦσι δέ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον, <ὃς κτείνας τὸν βοῦν (*ins.* A. Michaelis *duce* F. Sylburg)> καὶ ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ῥίψας—οὕτω γὰρ ἐστὶν οἱ νόμος—οἴχεται φεύγων· οἱ δὲ ἅπτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν. ταῦτα μὲν τρόπον τὸν εἰρημένον δρῶσιν. *Infra* p. 583 n. 2.

Paus. 1. 28. 10 τὸ δὲ ἐν πρυτανείῳ καλούμενον, ἔνθα τῷ σιδήρῳ καὶ πᾶσιν ὁμοίως τοῖς ἀψύχοις δικάζουσιν, ἐπὶ τῷδε ἄρξασθαι νομίζω. Ἀθηναίων βασιλεύοντος Ἐρεχθέως, τότε πρῶτον βοῦν ἔκτεινεν ὁ βουφόνος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Πολιέως Διός· καὶ ὁ μὲν ἀπολιπὼν ταύτῃ τὸν πέλεκυν ἀπῆλθεν ἐκ τῆς χώρας φεύγων, ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς παραυτίκα ἀφείθη (H. Hitzig cj. ἀφείθη ἐς θάλασσαν) κριθεὶς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται. *Infra* p. 583 n. 5.

[1] That Porphyrios is transcribing from Theophrastos *περὶ εὐσεβείας*, was detected by J. Bernays *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit* Berlin 1866 p. 122 ff.

[2] H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 187 ff. contends that Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 is citing from Theophrastos, not the ritual of the Athenian Dipolieia, but that of some Ionian, probably Delian, cult (*infra* (*β*) Sopatros). And this 'ionische Hypothese' has met with some measure of approval. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 14 accepts it outright. So did P. Stengel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 399 ff., but later withdrew his support (*id. Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 204 f.) and ended by definite denial of von Prott's contention (*id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 330). C. Robert also in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 526 rejected the idea, and so does L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 167. F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 100 regards the rite as Attic, and at most will say: 'Es ist möglich, dass ein solches Fest auch an anderen jonischen Orten stattfand.'

To me it would seem that to accept von Prott's hypothesis is practically to charge Porphyrios, a very learned and honest man, with incredible ignorance or deliberate misrepresentation of the facts. For he had himself lived and studied at Athens under Apollonios and Longinus, so that he certainly ought to have known the ritual of one of the chief Athenian festivals, and he asserts in perfectly explicit terms ἀπὸ δ' ἐκείνου μέχρι τοῦ νῦν ἀεὶ τοῖς Διοσπολίοις Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ἀκροπόλει οἱ εἰρημένοι τὸν αὐτὸν τρόπον ποιοῦνται τὴν τοῦ βοὸς θυσίαν. I cannot, therefore, adopt von Prott's assumption that Porphyrios is contaminating Attic with non-Attic elements.

[3] Paus. 1. 24. 4 κριθὰς...μεμιγμένας πυροῖς, described in the sequel as τῶν σπερμάτων. Cp. Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 τῶν καρπῶν, subsequently called τοῦ ἱεροῦ πελάνου.

[4] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 πέλανον καὶ ψαιστά, cp. *ib.* 2. 29 πελάνου τε καὶ τῶν θυλημάτων. The word πέλανος (on which see P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1894 xxix. 281—289 ('ΠΕΛΑΝΟΣ'), 1896 xxxi. 477 f. ('Nachtrag zu ΠΕΛΑΝΟΣ'), *id.* in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juni 21, 1902 p. 780 ff., Aug. 24, 1907 p. 1063 f., *id. Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 pp. 66—72 ('ΠΕΛΑΝΟΣ'), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 88 ff.) is used of the same offerings by Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10, schol. Aristoph. *pax* 419, schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985 = Souid. *s.v. Βουφόνια bis*, Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 20 ff., Hesych.

s.v. Διπολίεια, *et. mag.* p. 275, 4. A more substantial cake is implied by Hesych. *s.v.* Βουφονία·...πόπανον...οἷον πλακούντιον ἐξ ἄρτου. Πόπανον is the word also in schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985 (ἄλλως) = Souid. *s.vv.* Βουφόνια, Θαύλων, Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 23 ff. See further O. Band *De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium* Halae Saxonum 1873 p. 19 n. 14.

[5] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 ἐπὶ τῆς χαλκῆς τραπέζης (cp. *ib.* 2. 29 ἐπὶ τῆς τραπέζης), but Paus. 1. 24. 4 ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. (1) P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 492 n. 1 denies that there is any incongruity, since the altar would have been covered with a bronze plate: this was commonly done by way of preparation for burnt-offerings, and always in the case of valuable altars—see Lolling in Ἀθηνᾶ 1891 p. 595. The same view is taken by Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 519. But H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 193 n. 1 justly objects that such an altar would not be called τράπεζα. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 208 n. 1 is content to conclude: 'Die χαλκῆ τράπεζα wird sich freilich von einem βωμός wenig unterschieden haben; τράπεζαι

Fig. 404.

sind grosse altarförmige massive Basen (Brückner, Ornament und Form der att. Grabstelen 1 f.). Die Form beider geht ineinander über (Pfuhl, Athen. Mitt. xxviii 336).' (2) H. von Prott himself *loc. cit.* regards the discrepancy as evidence that Pausanias is describing an Attic, Porphyrios, or rather his source Theophrastos, a non-Attic cult. But see *supra* p. 578 n. 2. (3) H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 pp. 1—3 ('Das Verhältnis von Tisch und Altar') holds that table and altar served the same purposes and ends by asserting: 'Wie in der Darstellung so werden auch in der Sprache die beiden Kultgegenstände miteinander vermengt. βωμός—ara bezeichnete mehr den allgemeinen Zweck, τράπεζα—mensa die besondere Form.' But his premises are far from secure. He thinks that the Naples vase noted below (fig. 404) represents two tables, on one of which a fire is burning; that the use of a table for animal burnt-offerings is proved by Diog. Laert. 4. 56 = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 5. 37. 7 ff. ὁ πολλὰ χλευάσας βροτούς, ὅσοι θεοῖς ἔθυον, | οὐ μοῦνον ἐσχάρης ὕπερ βωμῶν τε καὶ τραπέζης | κνίσῃ, λίπει, θυλήμασιν θεῶν ἔδαισε ῥῖνας; that the silver βωμός of Paus. 2. 17. 6 and the bronze βωμός of Loukian. *de dea Syr.* 39 were really metal τράπεζαι; etc. etc.—a string of highly disputable contentions. (4) I have elsewhere urged that an altar for the presentation of vegetable offerings was normally shaped like a table and called τράπεζα, whereas an altar for the burnt-sacrifice of animals was a solid structure called βωμός (*Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 370 ff.). If so, it is natural to suppose that

the barley and wheat were set out *ἐπὶ τῆς χαλκῆς τραπέζης* (Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30), while the ox was slain *ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ* (Paus. 1. 28. 10). Zeus Πολιεύς, in short, like Zeus Δύκαιος (Paus. 8. 30. 2), had both kinds of altar, doubtless close together—perhaps even in actual contiguity (cp. the *τράπεζα* + *βωμός* of Dionysos on a volute-*amphora* from Ruvo, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 282 ff. no. 2411, O. Jahn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1860 xxxii. 5 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pls. 37 and 38 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 154, 1 and 2, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 349 fig. 417. My fig. 404 is an extract from Jahn's pl. 37, illustrating the juxtaposition of the cult-statue with both types of altar)). On this showing the statement that the cereals were placed *ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν* (Paus. 1. 24. 4) is inexact.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 405) a votive table in terra cotta, found in the Kabeirion near Thebes and now in my collection. Oblong top, $4\frac{5}{8} \times 2\frac{5}{8}$ inches; legs

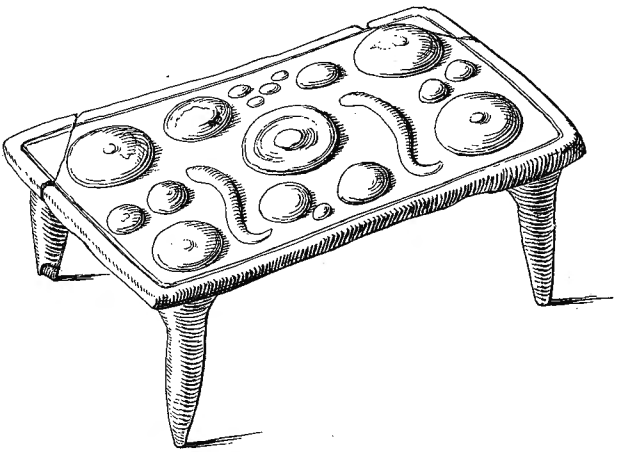


Fig. 405.

(one restored), $1\frac{1}{2}$ inches high. The clay is covered with a white slip, which shows many traces of paint: the table itself was yellow, the offerings on it were red. In the centre is a *phiále omphalotós*. In each corner is a cake (or cup?—*μαστός*, *μαστίον supra* ii. 346 n. 0) shaped like a female breast with central nipple. Smaller circular cakes, some of which may be meant for fruit, are scattered about. And there are two slices of meat (eels?). For Egyptian, Assyrian, Syro-Phoenician, Persian, and Hittite parallels see K. Galling *Der Altar in den Kulturen des alten Orients* Berlin 1924 p. 9 f. ('Altartische') pl. 2 figs. 14—17, p. 49 f. ('Der löwenfüssige Altartisch') pl. 10 fig. 24, p. 50 f. ('Die privaten Altartische') pl. 10 fig. 25, a—p, pp. 64 f. ('Der Tischaltar'), 77 ('Tischaltäre: 1—26'), p. 83 ff. ('Der Tischaltar') pl. 15 figs. 9—15, 16—19, p. 92 ff. ('Der chettische Tischaltar') pl. 15 figs. 8, 11, pl. 16 fig. 12. Recently W. Deonna in a clearly conceived and admirably illustrated article ('Mohilier Délien' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 lviii. 1—90 with 61 figs.) has traced the whole evolution of 'la table d'offrandes' from earliest pagan beginnings up to latest Christian usage. His series includes food set out on the bare soil or mound or rock; the platter; the platter with low feet; the platter with legs; the table; the table with rings or hollows; the table with vases and viands in relief; etc.

Oxen assigned for the purpose[1] were then driven round[2], and the ox

One piece of evidence must be examined with special care. In the eastern frieze of the temple of Athena Nike (Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 127 Archit. pl. 9, A, B = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 15 nos. 1, 2) the central group of assembled deities (fig. 406) comprises, from left to right, Poseidon seated and Athena standing, balanced by Zeus enthroned and, in front of his footstool, certain traces on the background of the relief. B. Sauer 'Das Göttergericht über Asia und Hellas' in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 p. 96 ff., relying on a sketch by Gilliéron, took these traces to represent a 'Zähltisch' like that on the Dareios-vase (*supra* ii. 853 pl. xxxviii). Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 449 saw in them, not a table for votes, but a table for wreaths to indicate the victory bestowed by Zeus Ἐλευθέριος. 'It was,' he says, 'a sacred table, like that brazen trapeza which stood in front of Zeus Polieus on the Akropolis, and upon which the

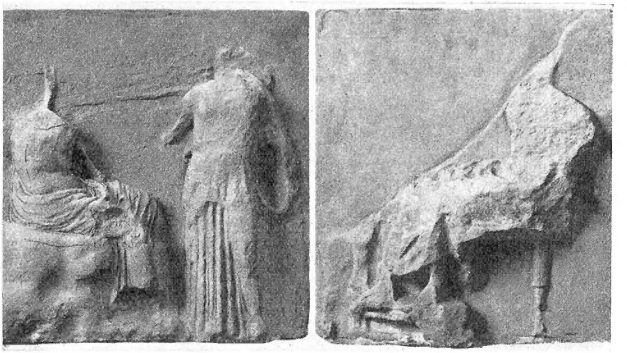


Fig. 406.

sacrificial ox was offered at the Bouphonia.' Now if the said traces were really those of a table, they might indeed have been identified as the table of Zeus Πολιεύς. But the two legs, when photographed from a cast, appear rather to be human and, if so, are better explained by C. Blumel *Der Fries des Tempels der Athena Nike* Berlin 1923 p. 12 f. pl. i—iii (part of which = my fig. 406) as those of a winged Nike standing before the seated Zeus (again cp. the Dareios-vase). L. Ross—E. Schaubert—C. Hansen *Die Akropolis von Athen nach den neuesten Ausgrabungen* i. *Tempel der Nike Apteros* Berlin (1839) p. 12 pl. 11, c had long since suggested Ganymedes, and R. Förster in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1870 p. 39 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxii. 102, with much less likelihood, a goat-legged Pan.

[1] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 τοὺς καταιμηθέντας βοῦς. P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1056 translates (after J. Bernays) 'sattgeweidete Stiere,' full-fed oxen. But Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 516 n. 2 with more reason prefers 'die zugewiesenen Rinder.'

[2] This part of the ceremony—a moment of tense anticipation—is, if I am not mistaken, represented on two Attic vases of late black-figured style, very probably the work of the same artist: (1) An *amphora* at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 367 f. no. 1882, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 8 pl. 242, 3 (= my fig. 407) and 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 122, 7 and 8) shows a rectangular altar, surrounded by four oxen, with an olive(?)-tree

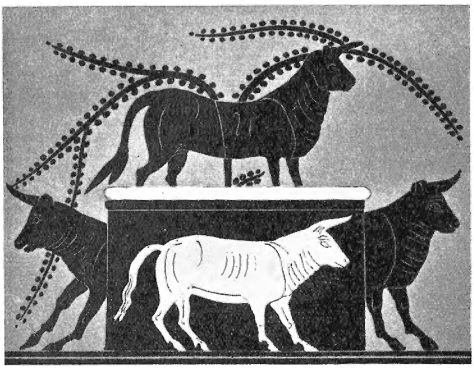


Fig. 407.

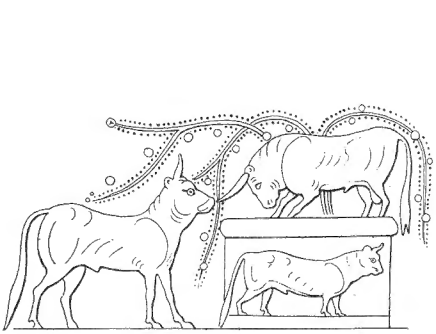


Fig. 408.

that [drew near the altar and[1]] tasted of the meal was slain. Minute regulations were observed in connexion with its slaughter. Chosen virgins called *Hydrophóroi* or 'Water-carriers' brought water, with which certain men whetted an axe and a knife. This done, another man handed the axe. Another [, named the *Bouphónos*, used the axe and[2]] struck the ox. Yet another slit the animal's throat[3], presumably with the knife. After that, it was flayed. Its flesh was distributed to all and tasted by all. Next they sewed up the skin, stuffed it with hay, raised up the would-be ox, and yoked it to a plough as though it were alive again and at work. [Meantime the *Bouphónos*, having struck the first blow, dropped his axe beside the altar, left it there and fled the country. The axe was at once tried (presumably in the Prytaneion[4]) and definitely acquitted[5].] At the

in the background. One of the oxen, seen against the black altar, is necessarily painted white. Two others, emerging to right and left, face outwards. A fourth, on the far side of the altar, is by the law of early perspective raised above it, though not completely so. (2) An *oinochóe* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 366 f. no. 1335, G. Micali *Storia degli antichi popoli italiani* Firenze 1832 iii. 173 no. 3, *id. Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani*[2] Firenze 1833 Atlas pl. 98, 3 (=my fig. 408)) has an almost identical group, except that the white ox seen against the altar is on a slightly smaller scale, while those to right and left of it are differently disposed. The same trick of perspective makes the feet of the furthest ox disappear behind the altar. We must not, of course, assume with Jahn that the first ox was merely painted on an oblong pedestal or that the last ox was actually standing upon it.

[1] Paus. 1. 24. 4 *ὁ βοῦς δέ, ὃν ἐς τὴν θυσίαν ἑτοιμάσαντες φυλάσσουσιν, ἅπτεται τῶν σπερμάτων φοιτῶν ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν.* I should endorse the opinion of L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 159 n. 4: 'Dabei wird weniger daran zu denken sein, dass man ihn hungern liess (Prott, Rh. Mus. 52, 1897, 194), als an die übliche Säuberung und Schmückung des Opfertieres. Der griechische Ausdruck *ἑτοιμάζειν* setzt eher eine positive Handlung voraus.' It is, however, possible that in Pausanias' day the finest ox was at the critical moment induced to come forward, apparently of its own accord.

[2] The neatest mend of this defective passage (*supra* p. 577 n. 2) is certainly A. Michaelis' insertion of *<ὃς κτείνας τὸν βοῦν>* after the word *βουφόνον*. This was an improvement on F. Sylburg's *<οὗτος ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τὸν βοῦν κτείνας>*. Michaelis also suggested *ἐπὶ τὸν βωμόν. <τοῦτον δὲ κτείνας ὁ Βουφόνος>* (*καλοῦσι δέ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον*) *καὶ ταύτῃ κ.τ.λ.* All attempts to fill the *lacuna* must, of course, rely on Paus. 1. 28. 10 (*supra* p. 577 n. 2).

[3] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 *ὁ δ' ἐπάταξε τὸν βοῦν, ἄλλος δ' ἔσφαξεν.* So in *Od.* 3. 447 ff. Thrasymedes struck (*ἤλασεν*) the ox for sacrifice with an axe, and Peisistratos then cut its throat (*σφάξεν*) and let the blood run out, so that it died; after which it was cut up, etc.

[4] Aristot. *Ἀθ. πολ.* 57. 4, Dem. *c. Aristocr.* 76, Aischin. *c. Ctes.* 244, Poll. 8. 120, Harpokr. *s.v. ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ*, Bekker *anecd.* i. 311, 15 f., Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 495, 3 f., Souid. *s.v. ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ*, Zonar. *lex. s.v. ἐπὶ Πρυτανείῳ*, *et. mag.* p. 362, 54 ff., Favorin. *lex.* p. 718, 43 ff. See further an interesting note by Sir J. G. Frazer in his *Pausanias* ii. 370—372 and a couple of articles by W. W. Hyde 'The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 152—175, 285—303.

[5] Paus. 1. 24. 4 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 2) *οἱ δὲ ἄτε τὸν ἄνδρα δι' ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες, ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν*, 1. 28. 10 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 2) *ὁ δὲ πέλεκυς*

trial all that had shared in the bad business were charged with bloodshed and forced to plead in defence of their action. So the Water-carriers blamed the men that whetted the axe and knife. The men that whetted the axe and knife blamed the man that handed the axe. The man that handed the axe blamed, not indeed the man that first struck the ox[1] (for he had left his axe and fled), but the man that completed the slaughter with his knife. The man that completed the slaughter with his knife blamed the knife. Finally the knife, since it could not say a word in its own defence, was condemned as guilty of the bloodshed and cast into the sea[2]. It thus appears that the real culprits, the man that first struck the

παραυτίκα ἀφείθη κριθεὶς καὶ ἐς τόδε ἀνὰ πᾶν ἔτος κρίνεται. Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 514 n. 2 justly remarks that *ἀφείθη* must here mean 'was acquitted' because a few lines before, in the clause *πρὶν ἢ Θησεὺς ἀφείθη*, Pausanias had used the same word in that sense. B. Tamaro also in the *Annuario della r. scuola di Atene e delle missione italiane in oriente* 1921—1922 iv.—v. 5 (cp. *id.* 'La Bouphonia' in the *Cronaca delle Belle Arti* 1920 p. 10 f.) accepts that meaning. Even H. von Prott, who holds that the axe was really cast out of the country, does not deny that Pausanias meant 'the axe was acquitted' and is reduced to supposing that he must have misunderstood his authority (*Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 194 n. 1). L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 159 f., while admitting that von Prott's solution is possible, inclines to adopt an emendation proposed by E. Pottier in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 270 n. 24 and printed in the text as a certainty by H. Hitzig *ἀφείθη <ἐς θάλασσαν>* (cp. Paus. 1. 3. 1 *ἀφιεὶς Θησεὺς ἐς θάλασσαν Σκίρωνα*). But this expedient confuses the axe with the knife and misses the whole point of the situation.

[1] In Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 1) *ὧν δὴ αἱ μὲν ὑδροφόροι τοὺς ἀκονήσαντας αὐτῶν ἠτιῶντο μᾶλλον, οἱ δὲ ἀκονήσαντες τὸν ἐπιδόντα τὸν πέλεκυν, οὗτος δὲ τὸν ἐπισφάξαντα, καὶ ὁ τοῦτο δράσας τὴν μάχαιραν, καθ' ἧς οὐδεὶς ἀφώνου τὸν φόνον κατέγνωσαν* the text is sound. A. Nauck wanted to read *οὗτος δὲ <τὸν πατάξαντα, ὁ δὲ πατάξας> τὸν σφάξαντα* and J. Bernays printed *οὗτος δὲ <τὸν πατάξαντα, ὁ δὲ> τὸν ἐπισφάξαντα.* But obviously *ὁ πατάξας* could not blame anybody, for he had made good his escape. In fact Pausanias says: *οἱ δὲ ἄτε τὸν ἄνδρα ὃς ἔδρασε τὸ ἔργον οὐκ εἰδότες ἐς δίκην ὑπάγουσι τὸν πέλεκυν* (1. 24. 4). P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 494 takes this to mean that the bystanders did not know where the doer of the deed was to be found. But, strictly speaking, we can only render the phrase, as H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 198 insists, 'not knowing the man that had done the deed.' Probably Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 514 is right in saying: 'Die übrigen Versammelten thun so, als wenn sie den, der das Rind erschlagen, nicht kennten, und führen das am Orte gebliebene Beil vor Gericht.' Yet Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 205 is dissatisfied: 'Der Erklärung Mommsens...steht das *ἄτε* entgegen: man wird zu verstehn haben, sie wissen weder den Namen noch sonst etwas Näheres von dem Mann, der plötzlich erscheint, den Stier tötet und sofort wieder verschwunden ist.'

[2] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 1) *πληρώσαντες δὲ τὴν βύρσαν, ὅταν πρὸς τὴν κρίσιν ἀχθῶσιν, κατεπόντωσαν τὴν μάχαιραν.* J. Bernays cj. *καταποντοῦσι*; but H. von Prott *loc. cit.* p. 195 ingeniously suggested that the aorist *κατεπόντωσαν*, like the preceding aorist *κατέγνωσαν*, was taken over from the text of Theophrastos. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 169 agrees.

Cp. Ail. *var. hist.* 8. 3 *καταγινώσκουσι δὲ τῆς μαχαίρας, καὶ λέγουσι ταύτην ἀποκτεῖναι αὐτόν.*

ox and the axe with which he did it, both escaped, the blame being transferred from them to the knife. Why the Athenians took such elaborate precautions to ensure the safety of the assailant and his tool, is a question that must be considered in due course[1].

Those that took part in the ritual of the Dipolieia belonged to three sets of persons known from their respective duties as the *Boutýpoi* or 'Ox-strikers,' the *Kentriádai* or 'Goad-men,' and the *Daitroí* or 'Carvers.' Theophrastos seems to have described them as *géne*, 'clans[2].' But Photios speaks of the *Kentriádai* as 'a *patriá* of Kerykes[3]'; and this may well be taken to mean 'a family of the clan Kerykes[4].' Further, as J. Toepffer pointed out[5], the Kerykes are said on good authority to have performed the solemn functions of *Mágeiroi* (another name for *Daitroí*[6]) and *Boutýpoi*. Hence in all probability A. Mommsen is right, when he contends that the *Boutýpoi*, *Kentriádai*, and *Daitroí*, who discharged the priestly duties connected with the cult of Zeus *Polieús*, were three families all belonging to the great clan of Kerykes[7].

The *Boutýpos*, then, was a priest, whose business it was to strike

[1] *Infra* p. 604 f.

[2] Theophr. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 (context *supra* p. 577 n. 1) *καὶ γένη τῶν ταῦτα δρώντων ἐστιν νῦν· οἱ μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ πατάξαντος* [Σωπάτρου] *Βουτύποι καλούμενοι πάντες, οἱ δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ περιελάσαντος Κεντριάδαι· τοὺς δ' ἀπὸ τοῦ ἐπισφάξαντος Δαιτροὺς ὀνομάζουσιν διὰ τὴν ἐκ τῆς κρεανομίας γιγνομένην δαῖτα.*

[3] Phot. *lex.* Κεντριάδαι· *πατριὰ κηρύκων* (*leg.* Κηρύκων).

[4] The Delphian Labyadai, who seem to have been a phratry rather than a clan (L. Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 308)—at any rate they swore by Poseidon Φράτριος as well as by Apollon and Zeus Πατρῷος (*supra* ii. 233 n. 7)—, comprised several *πατριαί* or 'families' (J. Baunack in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* ii. 718 ff. no. 2561, A 26 n., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 438, *a* 26 n. 19 on *πατρίαι* (*sic*), H. van Herwerden *Lexicon Graecum suppletorium et dialecticum*[2] Lugduni Batavorum 1910 p. 1130). H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 195, 197 was mistaken in regarding *πατριά* as necessarily an Ionic word for *γένος* (on the strength of Hdt. 2. 143, 3. 75). H. S. Jones' new ed. of Liddell and Scott p. 1348 distinguishes the two uses of the term as '*clan*' and '*family*,' but unfortunately assigns the Labyadai inscription to the former, not the latter, heading.

[5] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 151 f. cited Athen. 660 A *ὅτι δὲ σεμνὸν ἦν ἡ μαγειρικὴ μαθεῖν ἔστιν ἐκ τῶν Ἀθήνησι Κηρύκων. οἵδε γὰρ Μαγείρων καὶ Βουτύπων ἐπείχον τάξιν, ὡς φησι Κλείδημος ἐν Πρωτογονίαις πρώτῳ* (*frag.* 17 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 362 f. Müller)), cp. *ib.* 425 E *Κλείδημος δὲ τοὺς Μαγείρους Κήρυκάς φησι καλεῖσθαι* (*frag.* 3 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 359 Müller)). On Kleidemos of Athens (Tertull. *de an.* 52), the oldest Atthidographer (Paus. 10. 15. 5, cp. Plout. *de glor. Athen.* 1), see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 591 ff.

[6] Hesych. *s.vv.* Δαιτρόν· ...*οἱ δὲ Μάγειρον*, Δαιτρός· *Μάγειρος διαιρῶν τὰ κρέα, ἢ ὁ ἐν τραπέζῃ κόπτων τὰ μέρη.* Δαὶς γὰρ *ἡ εὐωχία.*

[7] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 521 f. J. Toepffer *op. cit.* p. 149 ff. had supposed that the three *γένη* of Porph. *de abst.* 2. 30 were merely three 'classes' of officials taking part in the Bouphonia. But H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 195 f. points out that this view is incompatible with the use of *ἀπό* in Porphyrios' sentence (*supra* n. 2).

the first blow[1]. It follows that he must be identified with the *Bouphónos*[2]; for he, as Pausanias informed us[3], was a priest who struck the ox with his axe. It seems likely that *Boutýpos* was a euphemistic equivalent of *Bouphónos*. The one meant 'Ox-striker'; the other, 'Ox-slaughterer.' However that may be, we have inscriptional evidence of *Boutýpoi* both early and late. A narrow *stéle* of white marble, found by R. Chandler built into a wall at Athens and now preserved in the British Museum (fig. 409)[4], mentions a *Boutýpos* in connexion with the Dipolieia[5]. To judge from its lettering, this important fragment must be dated as far back as the seventh century B.C.[6] Fully eight hundred years later, in the decade 190—200 A.D., one Lakrateides son of Eutychides the Azenian is thrice recorded as *Boutýpos* priest and *Kosmetés* or 'Marshal' of the Athenian *épheboi*[7]. The tenacity with which Athens clung to its old-world rite—a rite already antiquated in the time of Aristophanes[8]—is indeed remarkable. Doubtless the *Boutýpos* was an impressive

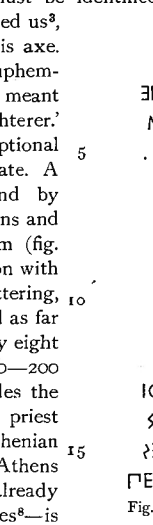


Fig. 409.

[1] Hesych. Βουτύπος· ὁ βοῦν καταβάλλων, L. Bachmann *anecdota Graeca* Lipsiae 1828 i. 181, 18 Βουτύπος· βοοθύτης. ὁ τοὺς βόας βάλλων πελέκει, Souid. Βουτύπος· βουθύτης, ὁ τοὺς βόας βάλλων πέλυκι. *Infra* p. 587 n. 1.

[2] J. Toepffer, indeed, *op. cit.* p. 159 attempted to distinguish the Βουτύπος from the Βουφόνος, regarding the former as a subordinate helper of the latter. But Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 520 f. satisfactorily established the equation Βουτύπος=Βουφόνος, which is accepted alike by H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 liii. 197 n. 2, C. Robert in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 526, and L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 162.

[3] *Supra* p. 577 n. 2.

[4] E. L. Hicks *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1874 i. 136 no. 74 with facsimile (=my fig. 409). Hicks notes that the contents appear to be a list of official requisites or perquisites.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 9, 8 ff., *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 531, 8 ff.=*ib.* iv. 1 no. 531, 8 ff., *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 839, 8 ff. κα[ὶ τῶι [β]][ο]τύπ|οι : χ[σύ]][λ]α ::: Δ|επολ[ίοι][σι] *τρῖς* χ|οἰν[ικες] | [πέντ]ε : μ[—].

[6] It is a *βουστροφηδὸν* inscription, with ⊕, ⊾, and + beside X.

[7] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 52, 1 f., iii. 1 no. 1163, 2 f., iii. 1 no. 1164, 2 f.=*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 2291 a, 1 f. [κοσμη]|τεύοντος ἱερέως [βου]τύπου Δακρατείδου Εὐ[τυχίδου 'Αζηνιέως], *ib.* no. 2128, 2 f. ὁ κοσμητὴς τῶν ἐφήβων ἱερεὺς βουτύπος | Δακρατείδης Εὐτυχίδου 'Αζηνιεύς, *ib.* no. 2129, 2 f. κοσμητεύοντος ἱερέως [βουτ]ύπο[υ Δα]κρατείδου| τοῦ Εὐ[τυχί]δο[υ] 'Αζ[η]ν[ιέ]ως.

[8] Aristoph. *nub.* 984 f.

figure. Armed with his axe[1] and rising on his toes to deliver a crushing blow[2], he furnished the Alexandrine poet with more than one effective simile[3]. Nevertheless the cause of his longevity is to be sought, not in his stirring of the artistic imagination, but in his appeal to deep-seated religious instincts, than which nothing on earth is more permanent.

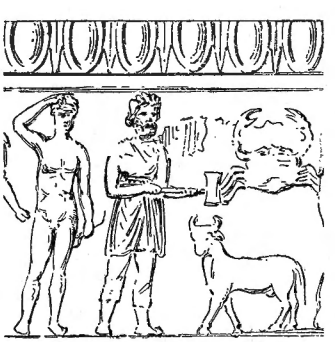


Fig. 410.

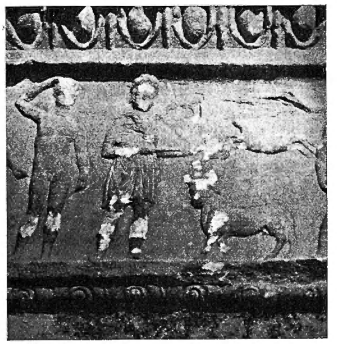


Fig. 411.

[1] Souid. *s.v.* Βουτύπος (*supra* p. 586 n. 1), *et. mag.* p. 210, 18 ff. Βούτυπος· *ἱερεύς τις ὃς τοὺς βοῦς ἐν ταῖς θυσίαις τῷ πελέκει τύπτων ἔθυε*· Βούτυπος *οἷα πόδα τανύων*, Ἀπολλώνιος (*infra* n. 2).

[2] Ap. Rhod. 2. 90 ff. *ἔνθα δ' ἔπειτ' Ἄμυκος μὲν ἐπ' ἀκροτάτοισιν ἀερθείς*, | Βουτύπος *οἷα, πόδεσσι τανύσσατο, κὰδ δὲ βαρεῖαν* | *χεῖρ' ἐπὶ οἱ πελέμιξεν* with schol. *ad loc.* 91 Βουτύπος *δέ ἐστιν ὁ τοὺς θυομένους βοῦς τῷ πελέκει τύπτων κατὰ τοῦ αὐχένος. οὗτος δὲ ἐπ' ἄκροις τοῖς ὄνυξιν ἵσταται μέλλων κρούειν* (cod. Paris. Βουτύπος *δὲ λέγεται ὁ τοὺς θυομένους βοῦς ἀναιρῶν. αἴρεται δὲ κἀκεῖνος μέλλων πλήξειν τὸν βοῦν*). Hence F. Sylburg restored *πόδεσσι τανύσατο* in *et. mag.* p. 210, 19.

Archaïsing hieratic reliefs frequently represent deities, heroes, priestesses, etc. on tip-toe (*e.g. supra* ii pl. xii the Chigi base). This peculiarity is explained by Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 261 f. as 'eine sehr mangelhafte und durchaus manierirte Nachbildung des eigenthümlich gebundenen Rhythmus der Bewegungen echt alterthümlicher Kunstwerke.' Mr C. D. Bicknell tells me (20 December 1934) that he too views the tip-toe attitude as a stilted and stagey attempt to reproduce the old-time stiffness, which struck a later, looser age as mere affectation. E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 pp. 23, 29 speaks of 'Zehengang' as a processional gait characteristic of a late period, and *ib.* p. 35 suspects that a step devised for dancing (cp. *supra* i. 150 figs. 116, 117) became fashionable for quieter persons also (cp. *supra* i. 767, 769 figs. 556—563). Probably a variety of causes contributed to produce the mannerism, in the vogue of which the popular figure of the Βουτύπος may have played its part.

[3] Ap. Rhod. 2. 90 ff. (*supra* n. 2), 4. 468 f. *τὸν δ' ὄγε*, Βουτύπος *ὥστε μέγαν κερεαλκέα ταῦρον*, | *πλῆξεν ὀπιτεύσας* with schol. *ad loc.* 468 *τὸν δὲ Ἄψυρτον ὁ Ἰάσων ἔπληξεν, ὡς τις βοῦς καταβάλλων.* Cp. Or. *met.* 12. 248 ff.

Even when paganism succumbed to Christianity room was still found for the *Boutýpos*. On the ancient calendar-frieze of the Panagia *Gorgoepékoos*[1], the metropolitan church at Athens, he stands facing us to this very day (figs. 410, 411)[2]. The Bouphonia is here represented by a priest wearing a short *chitón*, *endromídes*, and a wreath, who is about to strike with his double axe a diminutive

[1] In the eighth century of our era the Christianised Parthenon had in the conch of its apse a famous mosaic of the Virgin, which had taken the place of Pheidias' chryselephantine Athena and was known by the titles of that goddess—Γοργώ and Ἐπήκοος. The Virgin was in fact Athena herself to all intents and purposes: indeed, on late leaden seals she is often described as ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΑΘΗΝΑΙΑ ΓΟΡΓΟΕΠΗΚΟΟC or ΜΡ ΘΥ Η ΑΘΗΝΙΩΤΙCCA (K. Michel and A. Struck 'Die mittelbyzantinischen Kirchen Athens' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1906 xxxi. 318 after Neroutsos ''Αθῆναι Χριστιανικαί' in the Δελτίον τῆς ἱστορικῆς καὶ ἐθνολογικῆς ἑταιρίας 1889 iii. 24, 39, 41). The church of the Panagia *Gorgoepékoos* (St Eleutherios), probably erected by Eirene, empress of Constantinople, *c.* 800 A.D. on the site of a ruined temple of Sarapis (Paus. i. 18. 4) and Isis, or of a temple of Eileithyia (*ib.* i. 18. 5) transformed into a church of St Eleutherios (Michel—Struck *loc. cit.* p. 320), thus directly perpetuates the name and fame of Athena. *Atheniótissa* appears *c.* 1175 A.D. on a lead seal of Michael (Akominatos?), Metropolitan of Athens, in the Photiades collection (S. Lambros Αἱ 'Αθῆναι περὶ τὰ τέλη τοῦ ιβ' αἰῶνος Athens 1878 p. 36 pl. 1, 2, G. Schlumberger *Sigillographie de l'empire byzantine* Paris 1884 p. 173 f. fig. (=my fig. 412)).

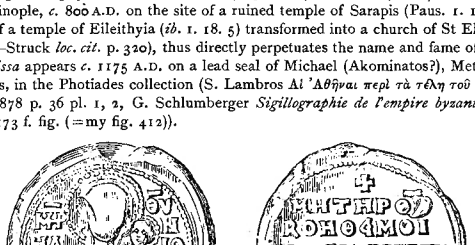


Fig. 412.

See further A. Mommsen *Athenae Christianae* Lipsiae 1868 p. 115 with nn. *ad loc.*, p. 118 n.*, F. Gregorovius *Geschichte der Stadt Athen im Mittelalter* Stuttgart 1889 i. 50 f., 68, 164 with n. 2. *Supra* p. 189 n. 1.

[2] The frieze has been well published and discussed several times during the last forty years: see G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 pp. 57—64 ('Der Tierkreis im attischen Bilderkalender') with figs. 8 and 9 (from photographs of the cast at Vienna), J. N. Svoronos 'Der athenische Volkskalender' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 21—78 pls. 2—6 (from drawings by Gilliéron, whose pl. 5 nos. 35—37=my fig. 410), and L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 248—254 ('Der Kalenderfries von Hag. Eleutherios') with pls. 34—40 (from fresh photographs of the original: pl. 39 nos. 27—29=my fig. 411).

Other publications include those by C. Boetticher in *Philologus* 1865 xxii. 412 ff. figs. 30, 31, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 755 ff. nos. 1909, 1910, C. É. Ruelle in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 823 f. fig. 1030, E. Pottier *ib.* ii. 270 f. fig. 2453, F. Cumont *ib.* v. 1054 f., Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 58 f. Mon. Fig. pls. 21, i—iii, 22, iv—vi, C. Robert in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 544 ff., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 7 nos. 1—3 and 8 nos. 1—3.

bull. The costume of the celebrant recalls that of the official who slew a humped bull in an analogous rite at Stratonikeia[1]. And the sign of the Crab, above the bull, denotes the hottest time of year[2].

Whether the *Boutýpos* should be identified with the priest of Zeus *Polieús*, is a moot point[3]. On the one hand, according to Porphyrios the first man that ever slew an ox was Diomos, a priest of Zeus *Polieús*, sacrificing at the Dipolieia[4]. On the other hand, *Boutýpos* is beyond question a synonym of *Bouphónos*[5], and Pausanias describes the *Bouphónos* as 'one of the priests[6].' Is this description suitable to so exalted a personage as the priest of Zeus *Polieús*, who in the second century B.C. sat in the forefront of the Athenian theatre next to the priest of Dionysos himself[7]? On the whole I conclude that, whatever may have been the case in the Hellenistic age, originally and in good Hellenic days the *Boutýpos* or *Bouphónos* was one and the same with the priest of Zeus *Polieús*.

Still more puzzling is a gloss of Hesychios, which states that the performer of the *Bouphónia* was known as *Boútes*, the 'Ox-herd[8].' If, as it seems reasonable to suppose, this *Boútes* is to be identified with the *Boutýpos* or *Bouphónos*, then—inasmuch as the Boutypoi were a family of the clan Kerykes[9]—he cannot be connected with the hero Boutes[10], from whom the clan Eteoboutadai traced their descent. If, conversely, we start by assuming that this *Boútes* was a member of the Eteoboutadai, we must regard him as a priest, or priest's attendant, distinct from the *Boutýpos* or *Bouphónos*; and in that case it will not be easy to find a Bouphonic function that he can appropriately discharge[11]. The first horn of the dilemma is, I think, the less precarious. A priest armed with a double axe or

[1] *Supra* p. 568 fig. 385.

[2] Arat. *phaen.* 149 ἔνθα μὲν ἠελίοιο θερείαται εἰσι κέλευθοι with schol. *ad loc.* and Hipparch. *in Arat. et Eudox. phaen.* 2. 1. 18.

[3] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 159 identifies the priest of Zeus Πολιεύς with the Βουφόνος, but regards the Βουτύπος as an underling. H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 197 n. 2 identifies the Βουτύπος with the Βουφόνος, but distinguishes the Βουφόνος from the priest of Zeus Πολιεύς. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 161 f. sides with von Prott: 'Der βουτύπος ist nicht mit dem Priester des Zeus Polieus identisch, sondern ein Gehilfe von diesem. Er kann aber auch die Bezeichnung Priester führen...Dass βουτύπος und βουφόνος miteinander identisch sind, geht aus ihrer gleichen Funktion deutlich hervor.'

[4] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 (*supra* p. 577 n. 1, *infra* p. 593 ff.). Deubner *op. cit.* p. 162 is reduced to saying: 'An Stelle des βουτύπος erscheint hier inkorrekter Weise der Zeuspriester selbst, Diomos mit Namen, als der Töter des Ochsen.'

[5] *Supra* p. 585 f. [6] Paus. 1. 24. 4 καλοῦσι δέ τινα τῶν ἱερέων βουφόνον.

[7] *Supra* p. 574. [8] Hesych. *s.v.* Βούτης (cited *supra* p. 576 n. 1). [9] *Supra* p. 585.

[10] R. Engelmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 837 f., K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1080 ff.

[11] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 522 n. 1.

boupléx[1] might perhaps, for shortness' sake, be called *Boútes*. But, again, Hesychios, or our manuscript of his work, may be blundering[2].

(β) Myths of the Dipolieia: Sopatros.

To account for the singular ritual of the Dipolieia various tales were told. They are attached to three names—those of Sopatros, Diomos, and Thaulon.

According to Theophrastos[3], time was when men offered to the gods the fruits of the earth and abstained from sacrificing, or even eating, animals. But once, during a common sacrifice at Athens, a certain Sopatros[4]—an alien occupying a farm in Attike—had set out barley-meal and cakes for the gods on a table-altar, when one of his oxen came in from the field and partly ate, partly trampled on his oblation. Sopatros in anger caught up an axe, which was being whetted near by, and struck the ox a fatal blow. On his anger abating he realised what an impious deed he had done, buried the ox, and fled as a voluntary exile to Crete[5]. At home a drought ensued, and the land yielded no crops[6]. Thereupon men consulted the Delphic oracle. They were told that the exile in Crete would put an end to their evil plight and that, when they had taken vengeance on the slayer and raised up the dead in the very sacrifice[7] in which he had been killed, it would be better for them to taste of the dead and not refrain[8] from so doing. Search was made therefore, and the guilty party was discovered[9]. Thinking

[1] A. Mau in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1058.

[2] O. Jahn in the *Nuov. Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 4 n. 3 'Una terza denominazione presso Esichio, Βούτης..., sembra riposare sur un equivoco,' W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 158 n. 0 'The Βουτάδαι can have had nothing to do with the Βουφόνια or Βουτύποι, as Hesychius affirms,' L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 162 'Wenn Hesych die gleiche Person *βούτης* nennt, so kann nur eine Verwechslung oder Nachlässigkeit vorliegen.'

[3] Theophr. *ap.* Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29 (cited *supra* p. 577 n. 1).

[4] Porph. *loc. cit.* Δίομον *ἢ* Σώπατρόν *τινα*. O. Jahn in the *Nuov. Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 10 n. 2 detects here 'la mano d' un copista, che si ricordava d' aver letta innanzi altrettanto di Diomo.' J. Bernays *Theophrastos' Schrift über Frömmigkeit* Berlin 1866 p. 122 pointed out that Δίομον *ἢ* was an interpolation on the part of Porphyrios himself, meant to harmonize *de abst.* 2. 29 with *de abst.* 2. 10. Cp. J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 154, P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 207 n. 3, L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 164 f.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 164 n. 3 compares Leukippos, son of Xanthios, who having unintentionally killed his father retired to Crete (Parthen. *narr. am.* 5. 5 (*ἱστορεῖ* Ἑρμησιάνακτ Λεοντίῳ)), 'dem klassischen Lande der Mordsühne' (see *e.g. supra* ii. 934 n. 0).

[6] *Supra* p. 426.

[7] A. Nauck (*supra* p. 577 n. 1) of course accepts the convincing emendation of Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1093, who from the meaningless *ἀναστησάντων ἐν ἧπερ* †*ἀπέθανον σιάλω δν* (or *δν*)† *ἔσεσθαι* restored *ἀναστησάντων ἐν ἧπερ ἀπέθανε θυσίᾳ λῷον ἔσεσθαι*.

[8] So P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 499 n. 1.

[9] H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 liii. 189 n. 2 retains the manuscript reading *τοῦ*

that he might be rid of his offence with its attendant curse, if all acted in common, Sopatros told those who had come to fetch him that an ox must be cut up by the city. And, when they could not say who should strike the beast, he undertook to do it himself, provided they would make him a citizen and so take their share in the slaughter. They agreed, and, on returning to Athens, arranged the ceremony, which has been performed there ever since.

This story is undeniably constructed with ancient materials. In particular, the treatment of the ox as sacrosanct and the alleged necessity for common action in the slaying of it are features that look backwards to a very remote past[1]. Nevertheless the story as

Σωπάτρου μετὰ τῆς πράξεως ἀνευρεθέντος. But the Greek is so unusual as to be almost certainly corrupt. A. Nauck, after J. J. Reiske, prints τοῦ [Σωπάτρου] μεταιτίου τῆς πράξεως ἀνευρεθέντος. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 164 n. 5 desiderates μετὰ τοῦ ὀργάνου τῆς πράξεως. I suspect the word πράξεως and suggest τοῦ Σωπάτρου μετὰ τοῦ πελέκεως (οι τῆς ἀξίνης) ἀνευρεθέντος.

[1] Aristoxenos of Tarentum *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 273 Müller) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 8. 20 ὅ γε μὴν Ἀριστόξενος πάντα μὲν τἄλλα συγχωρεῖν αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Πυθαγόραν) ἐσθίειν ἔμψυχα, μόνων δ' [αὐτὸν] ἀπέχεσθαι ἀροτῆρος βοὸς καὶ κριοῦ, Arat. *phaen.* 129 ff. ἀλλ' ὅτε δὴ κἀκεῖνοι ἐτέθνασαν, οἱ δ' ἐγένοντο, | χαλκείη γενεή, προτέρων ὀλοώτεροι ἄνδρες, | οἳ πρῶτοι κακόεργον ἐχαλκεύσαντο μάχαιραν | εἰνοδίην, πρῶτοι δὲ βοῶν ἐτάσαντ' ἀροτῆρων, | καὶ τότε μισήσασα Δίκη κείνων γένος ἀνδρῶν | ἔπταθ' ὑπουρανίη with schol. *ad loc.* (Maass p. 360, 14 ff.) ((οἱ)) ἀρχαῖοι ἐφυλάττοντο τοὺς ἐργάτας βοῦς καθιερεύειν ... ἀσεβὲς γὰρ ἐδόκει τοῦτο εἶναι τὸ ((σφ))αγῆναι ἀρότην. πρῶτοι δὲ Ἀθηναῖοι ἐγεύσαντο τῶν τοιούτων βοῶν, ἐπεί ποτε βουθυσίας ἀγομένης πότανα κατέφαγεν (*sic*), Varr. *rer. rust.* 2. 5. 3—4 hic (*sc.* bos) socius hominum in rustico opere et Cereris minister, ab hoc antiqui manus ita abstineri voluerunt, ut capite sanxerint, siquis occidisset, Verg. *georg.* 2. 536 ff. ante etiam sceptrum Dictaei regis, et ante | impia quam caesis gens est epulata iuvencis, | aureus hanc vitam in terris Saturnus agebat, Colum. *de re rust.* 6. praef. 7 (expanded from Varro *loc. cit.*) quod item Athenis Cereris et Triptolemi fertur minister...quod deinde laboriosissimus adhuc hominis socius in agricultura: cuius tanta fuit apud antiquos veneratio, ut tam capitale esset bovem necasse quam civem.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 6. n. 1 (cp. his *Pausanias* ii. 304) suggests that 'Varro's statement may be merely an inference drawn from the ritual of the *bouphonia* and the legend told to explain it.' So, no doubt, may be the allusion of Aratos, to judge from the schol. *ad loc.* But the tradition concerning the Pythagorean taboo is of a different order and certainly implies the sanctity of the ploughing ox and the ram. Further evidence of that sanctity may be found in Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 180 socium enim laboris agrique culturae habemus hoc animal tantae apud priores curae ut sit inter exempla damnatus a populo Romano die dicta, qui concubino procaci rure omassum edisse se negante occiderat bovem, actusque in exsilium tamquam colono suo interempto, if not also in Porph. *de abst.* 2. 11 παρὰ γοῦν Αἰγυπτίοις καὶ Φοίνιξι θάττον ἄν τις ἀνθρωπείων κρεῶν γεύσαιτο ἢ θηλείας βοός. αἴτιον δὲ ὅτι χρήσιμον τὸ ζῷον ὂν τοῦτο ἐσπάνιζεν παρ' αὐτοῖς. διὸ ταύρων μὲν καὶ ἐγεύσαντο καὶ ἀπήρξαντο, τῶν δὲ θηλειῶν φειδόμενοι τῆς γονῆς ἕνεκα, ἐν μύσει τὸ ἅψασθαι ἐνομοθέτησαν. W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 163 n. 2 remarks: 'The old idea has survived in some parts of Greece into modern times; see G. Mariti, Travels through Cyprus, Syria and Palestine (1791—2) 1, 35.' [M. l'Abbé Mariti *Voyages dans l'isle de Chypre, la Syrie et la Palestine, avec l'histoire générale du Levant* traduits de l'italien Neuwied 1791 i. 39 'Les bœufs sont petits & maigres. Les Grecs n'en mangent jamais; ils ont pour maxime, que l'animal qui

a whole is unsatisfactory. The circumstances of the original ox-slaying do not tally with those of the ritual that they ought to explain. Sopatros slew his ox in a fit of passion, on his own responsibility, and apparently without witnesses. The occasion, too, is described in the vaguest of terms, no mention being made of Zeus *Polieús* from start to finish. Besides, the burial of the ox in the story has no counterpart in the ritual. Again, why did Sopatros, who *ex hypothesi* was an alien, flee into voluntary exile, thereby behaving as though he had slain a member of his own tribe or city[1]? Finally, is it likely that a sacrilegious metic would be trusted to arrange the ritual of Zeus *Polieús*, the very god whose service he had himself profaned? No doubt strangers as such could claim divine protection[2], and perhaps special virtues were ascribed to foreigners fetched from Crete[3]. Also, the principle that the doer of a deed is best able to undo the same will assuredly explain much[4]. Still, these considerations can hardly be stretched to cover the present case; for Athenian law expressly ordained that the alien, even if he were made into a citizen by a formal vote of the people, should not hold any office as priest, though the embargo was removed from his children[5]. These objections are serious and suffice to justify the opinion expressed by J. Toepffer[6], P. Stengel[7], and L. Deubner[8], *viz.* that the tale of Sopatros as told by Theophrastos was a moralising version, which aimed at showing that in the good

laboure la terre, que le serviteur de l'homme & le compagnon de ses nobles travaux, ne doit point servir à sa nourriture.']

As to Nikol. Damask. *frag.* 128 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 461 Müller) ap. Stob. *flor.* 44. 41 (ed. Gaisford ii. 196 f.) ἐὰν δέ τις παρ' αὐτοῖς (*sc.* the Phrygians) γεωργικὸν βοῦν ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ σκεῦος τῶν περὶ γεωργίαν κλέψῃ, θανάτῳ ζημιοῦσι = Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 34 Φρύγες δὲ ἐὰν παρ' αὐτοῖς τις ἀροτῆρα ἀποκτείνῃ βοῦν, ἢ ζημία θάνατος αὐτῷ, P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 211 n. 1 says 'Aber das ist doch wohl zu verstehn: einem andern den Ochsen tötet.'

[1] See H. E. Seebohm *On the Structure of Greek Tribal Society* London 1895 p. 41 ff. ('The Liability for Bloodshed').

[2] *Supra* ii. 1101.

[3] One thinks of Thaletas invited to Sparta, of Epimenides invited to Athens, and of Phemonoe's advice to the Delphians (Paus. 10. 6. 7): see K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 164, 257.

[4] H. Hubert in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1508, K. F. Smith in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 274b, W. Heiligendorff in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930—1933 i. 565, etc. The principle is of world-wide application, but has not, so far as I know, been made the theme of a separate article or monograph.

[5] Dem. *c. Eubul.* 48 (= I. B. Télfy Συναγωγὴ τῶν Ἀττικῶν νόμων Pestini et Lipsiae 1868 p. 97 no. 392), [Dem.] *adv. Neaer.* 92.

[6] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 157.

[7] P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 491 ff., *id. Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 208 f.

[8] L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 169.

old days men and gods alike were content with vegetables and abstained from animal food. Further, I think we may infer that the philosopher, or his unknown authority, anxious to explain a bizarre custom of immemorial age, and aware perhaps that axe and bull played an important part in ancient Cretan Zeus-cults[1], hazarded the conjecture that the Bouphonia had been introduced into Athens from Crete[2].

(γ) Myths of the Dipolieia: Diomos.

A second aetiological tale is given by Porphyrios in the following form[3]. The first man to slay an ox was Diomos, a priest of Zeus *Polieús*. The Diipolia was being held, and the fruits of the earth had been prepared in accordance with ancient custom, when the said ox drew near and tasted the sacred barley-meal. Diomos then[4] took all that were present as partners in his deed, and killed the ox.

This recital is one of four, which profess to explain how the pig, the sheep, the goat, and the ox came to be sacrificed[5]. Klymene struck a pig unintentionally and killed it: her husband, wishing to avoid the consequences of this unlawful act, consulted the oracle at Pytho and obtained the sanction of the god[6]. Episkopos, a descendant of the Theopropoi, was minded to offer up the

[1] *Supra* i. 648 ff., ii. 516 ff., 528 f., 535 ff.

[2] H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 193 ff. urged that the Sopatros-tale of Porph. *de abst.* 2. 29 f. should be connected with some Ionian cult, probably that of the *εὐσεβῶν βωμὸς* in Delos, which had been actually mentioned *id.* 2. 28 *θεωρῆσαι δὲ ἔστιν ἐκ τοῦ περὶ Δῆλον ἔτι νῦν σῳζομένου βωμοῦ, πρὸς ὃν οὐθενὸς προσαγομένου παρ' αὐτοῖς οὐδὲ θυομένου ἐπ' αὐτοῦ ζῴου εὐσεβῶν κέκληται βωμός.* Von Prott (p. 200 n. 2) recalled the fact that the Delians had a festival Σωπάτρεια (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1882 vi. 144 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 588, 54 *φιάλας* |||| *ἃς ἔφασαν παραδοθῆναι ὑπὸ ταμιῶν Πτολεμαίου καὶ Νικάρχου <ο> Εὐεργεσίων, Φιλεταιρείων, Σωπατρείων, Παταικείων, ὁλ(κῆ)* ⊢HHHH). This combination is, however, more ingenious than probable, involving as it does the assumption that the worthy Porphyrios was either a fool or a knave (*supra* p. 578 n. 2). J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1000 thinks rather that the Attic Sopatros gave rise to the Delian, or else that the two were accidental homonyms.

[3] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 (cited *supra* p. 577 n. 1).

[4] P. Stengel in *Hermes* 1893 xxviii. 490 and in his *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 206 f. assumes a *lacuna* before this sentence (to explain the conjunction *συνέργους γὰρ κ.τ.λ.*). But he is refuted by H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 192 n. 2, cp. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 162 n. 6.

[5] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 9 f.

[6] Κλυμένη was perhaps an appellative of Persephone (so H. Dibbelt *Quaestiones Coae mythologae* Gryphiswaldiae 1891 pp. 36—42 ('De Clymene et Clymeno') and W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1227. For Κλύμενος = Hades see *supra* ii. 1113 n. 0 (2)), whose connexion with the pig is well-established (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 16 ff. *Supra* i. 784, ii. 1140 n. 5).

firstlings of his flock, and was permitted to do so with all due caution by the oracle, which said:

> It is not right, son of the Theopropoi,
> For thee to slay the sheep, a faithful breed;
> But that which bows the head of its own accord
> Towards the lustral water sacrifice,
> Episkopos,—'twill be a righteous deed[1].

A goat was killed first in the Attic deme Ikaria, because it cropped a vine[2]. The story of Diomos must have been added to this series by some *quasi*-philosophical writer; for it exhibits the same moralising tendency that we have noticed in the story of Sopatros.

Again, J. Toepffer[3] has drawn attention to the fact that the tale of Diomos and the ox bears a suspicious resemblance to another *aition*, in which Diomos figures with better right. He was the favourite of Herakles and eponym of the Attic deme Diomeia, where a famous festival of the like name was held in Herakles' honour[4]. According to the lexicographers, Diomos was once sacrificing on a hearth to Herakles, when a white dog came and caught up the thigh-pieces and carried them off to a certain place. Diomos in alarm consulted an oracle. The god bade him build an altar to Herakles on the spot where the dog had deposited the flesh. This was done, and the place called *Kynósarges*, the place 'of the White Dog,' in memory of the event[5]. Toepffer concludes that the name Diomos has made its way into the Bouphonia-tale from that of the Kynosarges.

This conclusion, though challenged by subsequent investigators[6],

[1] Porph. *de abst.* 2. 9 *οὔ σε θέμις κτείνειν δίων γένος ἐστὶ βέβαιον, | ἔγγονε Θειοπρόπων. δ δ' ἑκούσιον ἂν κατανεύσῃ | †χέρνιβ' ἐπιθύειν τὸ δ'†, 'Επίσκοπε, φημὶ δικαίως.* Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 263 accepts G. Wolff's cj. *χέρνιβ' ἔπι, θύειν τόδ'* in preference to A. Nauck's *χερνίπτειν θύειν τέ σ'*.

[2] *Supra* i. 689 n. 1, cp. i. 678, 709 (pl. xl, 2). Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 *ἐν Ἰκάρῳ τῆς Ἀττικῆς.* Nauck adopts Meursius' cj. *Ἰκαρίῳ*, but the correction should be itself corrected into *Ἰκαριᾳ*.

[3] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 155 f.

[4] P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 831.

[5] Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες. That the sacrifice was to Herakles, is stated by Steph. Byz. and Hesych. *s.v.* Κυνόσαργες. Phot. *loc. cit.* says Δίομος ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔθυεν τῇ Ἑστίᾳ, but cp. Souid. *loc. cit.* Δίδυμος (which Meursius corrected to Δίομος) ὁ Ἀθηναῖος ἔθυεν ἐν τῇ ἑστίᾳ (cod. V. omits ἐν).

[6] E. Maass in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1889 p. 826 regards Δίομος as a clipped form of Διομήδης, comparing Λύκομος (whence Λυκομίδαι) = Λυκομήδης, Ἄλκιμος = Ἀλκιμέδων (*id.* 'Mythische Kurznamen' in *Hermes* 1888 xxiii. 613, H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 55 f.), Τήλεμος, Εὔρυμος, etc. F. Bechtel—A. Fick *Die Griechischen Personennamen*[2] Göttingen 1894 p. 99 record Διο-μέδων, Διο-μένης, Διο-μήδης and the 'Kosenamen' Διομᾶς (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii Add. no. 3827 *bb*, 1 from Kotiaeion).

Maass *loc. cit.* p. 828 f. supposes that Diomos was priest of Zeus Πολιεύς before

seems to me to be essentially sound[1]. Indeed, I am disposed to go a step further in the same direction. Bearing in mind that the Bouphonia-tale shows traces, on the one hand of vegetarian doctrine, on the other of Kynosarges tradition, I would infer that it emanated originally from Antisthenes or some other teacher of the Cynic school[2]. The inference becomes stronger still, when we look into the parallel case of sheep-sacrifice connected with the Theopropoi[3]. For Menedemos of Eretria, a member of that noble clan[4], was scorned by his fellow-citizens as a Cynic[5] and, like the Cynics, was a free-thinker in matters of religion[6].

Thaulon, and that the Diomeies gave up the cult of Zeus to the Thaulonidai at a comparatively late date, when they themselves took over the cult of Herakles. But this hypothesis involves more than one improbable assumption, notably that the cult of Herakles at Diomeia was of recent importation, and that a long-standing and popular cult such as that of Zeus Πολιεύς could be transferred from clan to clan. See further L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 162.

H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 liii. 191 ff. (followed by G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 832) denies the resemblance between the two aetiological tales told of Diomos. In his view Diomos is the rightful priest of Zeus Πολιεύς and the original hero of the Bouphonia-story, which marks the change from a bloodless to a bloody sacrifice at the Dipolieia. The name Δίομος, a derivative of Ζεύς, Διός, suits the connexion between the priest and his god. The derivation here propounded was already recognised by Byzantine scholars: Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 83, 1 ff. (Ὁμήρου ἐπιμερισμοί, on which see L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 180) ἀνὴρ ἀνέρος ἀνδρός, ἀνδρομός, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παραγωγῇ κτητικῇ ἀνδρόμεος, ὡς παρὰ τὴν Διὸς γενικὴν Διόμος (εἰς) ὁ ἥρως ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρακλέους, ἀφ' οὗ Διόμεια ἑορτή· κ.τ.λ., *et. mag.* p. 102, 44 ff. ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρομος, ὡς Διὸς Δίομος, κυρίως ὁ πατὴρ Ἡρακλέους, καὶ ἐν ἑτέρᾳ παραγωγῇ κτητικῇ ἀνδρόμεος, *ib.* p. 277, 24 ff. Δίομος· ὄνομα κύριον ἥρωος Ἀθηναίου· ἀφ' οὗ Διομειὰς ἑορτή. παρὰ τὴν Διὸς γενικὴν Δίομος, ὡς ἀνδρὸς ἀνδρόμεος (A. Meineke *Analecta Alexandrina* Berolini 1843 p. 177 f. cj. παῖς, in the sense of παιδικά, for πατήρ). Further Usener *op. cit.* p. 213 n. 110 remarks that there was a cult of Zeus Διομεύς (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 444, 21 ἐκ τοῦ Διομεὺς Ζεὺς Διομέως τὰ Διόμεια).

Diomeia the deme lay, not to the east (A. Milchhöfer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 830 f.), but to the south of Athens (W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 p. 169 f. with fig. 14 map).

[1] When, however, Toepffer proposes to substitute Θαύλων for Δίομος in the text of Porph. *de abst.* 2. 10 (*supra* p. 577 n. 1), I can no longer follow him: see E. Maass *loc. cit.* p. 828.

[2] Antisthenes not only taught in the gymnasium of Kynosarges (Diog. Laert. 6. 13) and took Herakles for his 'patron-saint' (E. Zeller *Socrates and the Socratic Schools*[3] trans. O. J. Reichel London 1885 p. 307), but also—like other Cynics—lived ordinarily on a simple vegetarian diet (*id. ib.*[3] p. 318 n. 3) and treated the popular religion with considerable freedom (*id. ib.*[3] p. 328 ff.). Such an one may well have been the author of our tale.

[3] *Supra* p. 593 f.

[4] Diog. Laert. 2. 125 Κλεισθένους τοῦ τῶν Θεοπροπιδῶν καλουμένων υἱός κ.τ.λ. See further U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Ind. schol. Gott. a. 1884* p. 15 and K. von Fritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 788 ff.

[5] Diog. Laert. 2. 140 τὰ μὲν οὖν πρῶτα κατεφρονεῖτο, κύων καὶ λῆρος ὑπὸ τῶν Ἐρετριέων ἀκούων· κ.τ.λ.

[6] E. Zeller *op. cit.*[3] p. 284.

(δ) Myths of the Dipolieia: Thaulon.

We come now to the third version of the Bouphonia-legend, that associated with the name of Thaulon. Our earliest source is Androtion, the author of a fourth-century *Atthis* or 'History of Attike' much quoted in antiquity[1]. He states that once on the occasion of the Diipoleia an ox ate the cake prepared for sacrifice and that thereupon a certain Thaulon, just as he was, killed the beast with his axe[2]. Souidas, drawing from the same source, says that Thaulon killed it with his own axe[3].

Sundry other details we owe to Agallis[4], a learned lady of Korkyra, who is known to have expounded Homer in the third century B.C.[5] *À propos* of the shield made by Hephaistos for Achilles she argued that Hephaistos, being the father of Erichthonios, represented on the said shield a whole series of scenes drawn from the early history of Attike. Following out this whimsical notion, she maintained that the two cities portrayed on the shield were Athens and Eleusis. The ploughing and harvesting took place in the neighbourhood of Eleusis; and the king, who sceptre in hand watched the reapers and binders at their work, was Triptolemos. We are bidden to note that some copies of the text insert an extra line describing

> The crops of Eleusinian Demeter,
> Giver of bright gifts[6].

[1] He is probably to be identified with the Athenian orator of the same name (E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2173 ff.).

[2] Androt. *frag.* 13 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 372 Müller) *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985 [[τὰ δὲ Βουφόνια παλαιὰ ἑορτή, ἣν φασιν ἄγεσθαι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια, ὅτε καὶ βοῦν θύουσιν εἰς ὑπόμνησιν τοῦ πρώτου φονευθέντος βοὸς ἐν ἀκροπόλει, ἀψαμένου τοῦ πελάνου ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ τῶν Διιπολίων.]] ἑορτὴ ἔτι παρὰ Ἀθηναίοις ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ. cod. V. (ἄλλως.) ἑορτὴ Ἀθηναίων πάνυ ἀρχαία. ἐν γὰρ τοῖς Διιπολείοις φασὶ (φησὶ codd. R.V.) βοῦν τὸ πόπανον καταφαγεῖν τὸ παρεσκευασμένον εἰς τὴν θυσίαν, καὶ τούτου χάριν βοῦν θύουσιν ἐν τοῖς Διιπολείοις, διὰ τὸν βοῦν τὸν φαγόντα τὸ πόπανον καὶ τυθέντα. [[Θαύλωνα δέ τινα, ὡς εἴχε, τῷ πελέκει ἀποκτεῖναι τὸν βοῦν, καθὰ καὶ Ἀνδροτίων μέμνηται διὰ τῆς τετάρτης.]] = Souid. *s.vv.* Βουφόνια *bis*, Βουφόνια, and Θαύλων, Favorin. *lex.* p. 385, 20 ff.

[3] Souid. *s.v.* Θαύλων, Θαύλωνος. ὃς τῷ ἰδίῳ πελέκει ἀπέκτεινε τὸν βοῦν τὸν φαγόντα τὸ πόπανον, ὅπερ ἦν παρεσκευασμένον εἰς τὴν θυσίαν ἐν τοῖς Διιπολίοις. On the wording see P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 208 n. 2.

[4] Ἀγαλλὶς ἡ Κερκυραία (Athen. 14 D, schol. T. *Il.* 18. 483). Posterity dealt hardly with the name of this poor lady, transforming her into a man, a fool, a pimpernel: Ἀγαλλίας ὁ Κερκυραῖος schol. A. *Il.* 18. 491, Ἀγαλλίας τις, Κερκυραῖος ἀνήρ Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1156, 39 f., Δαλὶς ἡ Κερκυραία schol. V. *Il.* 18. 483, Ἀναγαλλὶς ἡ Κερκυραία Souid. *s.vv.* Ἀναγαλλίς, ὄρχησις παντόμιμος, σφαῖρα (ii. 996, 18 n. Bernhardy). Attention was drawn to schol. *Il.* 18. 483 by J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 155.

[5] G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 718. *Supra* i. 224.

[6] *Il.* 18. 551[a] (Ludwich) καρπὸν Ἐλευσινίης Δημήτερος ἀγλαοδώρου. G. M. Bolling *The External Evidence for Interpolation in Homer* Oxford 1925 p. 182 was perhaps

And lastly, when the poet goes on to tell how

> Heralds apart beneath an oak made ready
> A feast and sacrificed a mighty ox[1],

Agallis has once more a local interpretation: 'Here first, they say, Thaulon sacrificed an ox after his exile[2].' Agallis, then, was aware that Thaulon had been in exile—a point in which his tale recalls that of Sopatros[3]. Further, the whole context shows that she connected Thaulon with Eleusis and the harvest of the Eleusinian plain. And, since her allusion to him comes in by way of comment on the action of the Homeric *kérykes* or 'heralds,' it is highly probable that she regarded him as a member of the great Eleusinian clan *Kérykes*.

Indeed, thanks to Agallis, it seems possible to define Thaulon's relation to the *Kérykes* even more closely. We have already seen that three families belonging to this clan—the *Boutýpoi*, the *Kentriádai*, and the *Daitroí*—performed the rites of the Athenian Dipolieia. If Thaulon, as Agallis states, was the first man to sacrifice an ox, he must have been, as A. Mommsen[4] surmised, the ancestor of the *Boutýpoi*. In short, the *Boutýpoi* are to be identified with the *Thaulonídai*, a noble clan resident at Athens[5]. This identification, in which L. Deubner[6] concurs, is supported by a curious and apparently mutilated gloss of Hesychios[7]: '*Boútypon*, a base at Athens <on which stood the *Boutýpos*> appointed by the clan Thaulonidai.'

over-hasty in saying 'The only interest of the interpolation is its obvious Attic origin. Its purpose is to supply for *ἥμων* [of line 551] an object.'

[1] *Il.* 18. 558 f. *κήρυκες δ' ἀπάνευθεν ὑπὸ δρυὶ δαῖτα πένοντο, | βοῦν δ' ἱερεύσαντες μέγαν ἄμφεπον.*

[2] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1156, 59 *διότι πρῶτον ἐκεῖ, φασίν, ἔθυσε βοῦν Θάλων (sic) φυγαδευθείς*, scholl. T. V. *Il.* 18. 483 *ἐκεῖσε γὰρ πρῶτος ἔθυσε βοῦν Θαύλων φυγαδευθείς.* Wilamowitz would emend the reading of schol. T. into *φυγαδευθεὶς <δι' αὐτόν>*. But that insertion lessens the resemblance of Thaulon to Sopatros.

[3] *Supra* p. 590 f. [4] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 521 f.

[5] Hesych. *Θαυλωνίδαι· γένος ἰθαγενῶν Ἀθήνησι.*

[6] L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 161 'Jedenfalls sind die Thauloniden als kultische *βουτύποι* gesichert; aus ihnen erwuchs mit Notwendigkeit der Eponymos Thaulon als der *βουτύπος* der ätiologischen Legende.'

[7] Hesych. *Βούτυπον· πυθμὴν Ἀθήνησιν ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐκ τοῦ Θαυλωνίδων γένους καθιστάμενος* (cod.), for which J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 156 proposed *Βούτυπον· πυθμὴν Ἀθήνησι ἐκαλεῖτο, <οὗ ἔθυε ὁ ἱερεὺς ὁ> ἐκ τοῦ Θαυλωνιδῶν γένους καθιστάμενος.* H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 198 improved upon this by reading *<οὗ τὸν βοῦν ἔκτεινε ὁ Βουτύπος ὁ>*. But he wrongly supposed that *πυθμήν* was a pit into which the body of the stricken ox was flung. Adopting von Prott's insertion, I should rather take *πυθμήν* to have been a base like that in use at Stratonikeia (*supra* p. 568 fig. 385). L. Deubner *op. cit.* p. 161 prefers the suggestion of M. Schmidt that the words *Ἀθήνησιν —καθιστάμενος* are properly the end of the next gloss, which should read *βουτύπος· ὁ βοῦν*

It would seem, then, that the Dipolieia was properly a clan-festival belonging to and jealously guarded by the Kerykes of Eleusis. Tradition told of a war between Eumolpos king of Eleusis and Erechtheus king of Athens, in which the former had been defeated by the latter: peace was made on condition that the Eleusinians should perform the mysteries by themselves, but should in all other respects be subject to the Athenians[1]. In historical times Eleusis, though treated as one of the Attic demes, continued to be called a *pólis*[2]. It is therefore reasonable to conclude that the cult of Zeus *Polieús* was brought by the Kerykes from Eleusis to Athens[3]. Nor shall we be disconcerted if on the Athenian Akropolis itself we find traces of an analogous but yet different cult—a cult essentially connected with the foremost clan of Athens, not Eleusis[4].

(ε) Purpose of the Dipolieia.

Before taking leave of the Dipolieia we have yet to ask what meaning the festival had for its original celebrants. It would be tedious and, I think, needless here to discuss the whole welter of opinions held by critics ancient and modern with regard to this much-debated business[5]. But, for convenience' sake, I add in a footnote[6] a conspectus of recent views concerning its most im-

καταβάλλων <'Αθήνησιν ἐκαλεῖτο, ἐκ τοῦ Θαυλωνιδῶν γένους καθιστάμενος>. So far well and good. But when Deubner goes on to contend that the remainder of the first gloss βουτύπων· πυθμήν is complete in itself, πυθμήν being the root-end of a tree used as a cudgel to fell the ox, I am filled with mild surprise. Has he forgotten the πέλεκυς, a far more effective implement?

[1] Hdt. 1. 30, Thouk. 2. 15, Paus. 1. 38. 3. See further C. Picard 'Les luttes primitives d'Athènes et d' Éleusis' in the *Revue historique* 1931 clxvi. 1—76.

[2] Strab. 395.

[3] Hesych. Κεντριάδαι· τῶν περὶ τὰ μυστήρια and the schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985 τὰ δὲ Βουφόνια παλαιὰ ἑορτή, ἣν φασιν ἄγεσθαι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια (*supra* p. 596 n. 2) both possibly point towards Eleusis, though the latter involves a direct misstatement since the Bouphonia took place in Skirophorion, the Eleusinian Mysteries three months *later* in Boedromion (*supra* i. 691 fig. 511). But see *infra* p. 602 n. 9.

One wonders whether any buphonic traits still linger in the folk-beliefs of the district. When E. D. Clarke in 1801 played Verres and attempted to carry off the marble κιστοφόρος known as St Demetra, an ox butted the statue and ran bellowing into the Eleusinian plain, nor would the villagers be appeased till the priest of Eleusis in full canonicals struck the first blow with a pickaxe (*supra* i. 173 n. 1). Coincidence, or survival?

[4] *Infra* p. 606 ff.

[5] Such discussion may be found *e.g.* in P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 209 ff., W. W. Hyde 'The Prosecution of Lifeless Things and Animals in Greek Law' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 159 ff., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 170 ff.

[6] (1) W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 304 ff. treated the Bouphonia as a typical case of totemic ritual. 'In the totem stage of society each kinship or stock of savages believes itself to be physically akin to some

natural kind of animate or inanimate things, most generally to some kind of animal. Every animal of this kind is looked upon as a brother, is treated with the same respect as a human clansman, and is believed to aid his human relations by a variety of friendly services' (*ib.* p. 124)...'precisely this kind of respect and reverence is paid to domestic animals among many pastoral peoples in various parts of the globe. They are regarded on the one hand as the friends and kinsmen of men, and on the other hand as sacred beings of a nature akin to the gods; their slaughter is permitted only under exceptional circumstances, and in such cases is never used to provide a private meal, but necessarily forms the occasion of a public feast, if not of a public sacrifice' (*ib.* p. 296). Robertson Smith was followed by Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 88 ff., S. Reinach in the *Revue scientifique* 13 octobre 1900 (=*id. Cultes, mythes, et religions* Paris 1905 i. 18 f.), and Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 141 ff. But 'it is not yet certain that the Aryans ever had totemism' (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 4, cp. *id. Totemism and Exogamy* iv. 12 ff.), and Robertson Smith's theory of sacrifice has been severely handled (W. Schmidt *The Origin and Growth of Religion* trans. H. J. Rose London 1931 p. 108 f.).

(2) H. von Prott 'Buphonien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 187 ff. held that the ox slain at the Bouphonia was an animal surrogate for a man. 'Ich sehe nur eine Möglichkeit: der Stier ist an die Stelle eines Menschen getreten.... In der heissen, den Unterirdischen geweihten Jahreszeit nach der Ernte ist in alter Zeit dem Stadtschirmer Athens ein Mensch erschlagen[1] ([1] Wahrscheinlich vom Zeuspriester, wie die Diomoslegende ja auch keinem *βουτύπος* kennt) und in eine Grube geworfen worden. Der Priester muss mit Blutschuld beladen fliehen, die That wird im Prytaneion untersucht.... Als für das Menschenopfer wie in so vielen Fällen das Thieropfer eintritt, dauert die alte Sitte in Athen fort, der Stier wird als Mensch behandelt' (*ib.* p. 202). B. Laum *Das Eisengeld der Spartaner* Braunsberg 1924 p. 47 goes further in the same direction, maintaining that originally a mystic garbed as a *ταῦρος* was killed and eaten. Such views receive some support from the Tenedian cult of Dionysos '*Ανθρωποροβλαστης* (*supra* i. 659 f.), the Chian and Tenedian cult of Dionysos '*Ωμάδιος* (*supra* i. 656), the Ephesian cult of Poseidon served by human *ταῦροι* (*supra* i. 442), etc. and hardly merit the curt dismissal of L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 171 'Protts Deutung...schwebt ganz in der Luft und ist fast allgemein abgelehnt worden.'

(3) W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strassburg 1884 p. 68 ff., arguing that the date of the festival (Skirophorion 14: *supra* p. 576) corresponded with the close of threshing in Attike, took the ox killed at the Bouphonia to be the 'Vegetationsdämon' in animal form. His interpretation has been widely accepted, *e.g.* by Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 27 ('Wenn nun das Stieropfer an Zeus Sosipolis [*supra* i. 717 n. 2] mit Recht durch das koische Opfer an Zeus Polieus [*supra* p. 564 ff.] mit dem Stieropfer der Buphonien in Verbindung gebracht worden ist, kann man sich doch zuletzt gegenüber den widerstreitenden Meinungen über dieses Fest entscheiden; denn wenn der Stier des Zeus Sosipolis ein Korngeist ist, muss der des Zeus Polieus es auch sein') and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 6 ff. ('The ox sacrificed at the *bouphonia* appears to have embodied the corn-spirit.' 'The mode of selecting the victim suggests that the ox which tasted the corn was viewed as the corn-deity taking possession of his own'... 'The time of the Athenian sacrifice, which fell about the close of the threshing, suggests that the wheat and barley laid upon the altar were a harvest offering; and the sacramental character of the subsequent repast—all partaking of the flesh of the divine animal—would make it parallel to the harvest-suppers of modern Europe, in which...the flesh of the animal who stands for the corn-spirit is eaten by the harvesters. Again, the tradition that the sacrifice was instituted in order to put an end to drought and famine is in favour of taking it as a harvest festival. The resurrection of the corn-spirit, enacted by setting up the stuffed ox and yoking it to the plough, may be compared with the resurrection of the tree-spirit in the person of his representative, the Wild Man[1] ([1] See *The Dying God*, p. 208). Still more clearly, perhaps, does the identification of the corn-spirit with an ox come out in the sacrificial ritual which the Greeks of Magnesia on the Maeander observed in honour of Zeus Sosipolis, a god whose title...marks him as the equivalent of Zeus

Polieus'). H. von Prott, however, in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 200 rejects Mannhardt's hypothesis as 'unhaltbar, weil das Fest gar nicht in die Ernte- oder Dreschzeit fällt', cp. P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 210 n. 2; and L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 171 will have none of it ('Auch hier fehlen alle zwingenden Analogien: namentlich erscheint das Töten des Vegetationsdämons nie als eine bedenkliche Angelegenheit. Die Parallele des Sosipolisfestes in Magnesia kann nichts beweisen. Denn einmal ist es keineswegs gesichert, dass es sich hier wirklich um das Töten und Verzehren eines Vegetationsdämons handelt, zum zweiten aber lässt sich wegen der wesentlichen Verschiedenheit der beiden Feste keine Brücke vom einen zum anderen schlagen, auch nicht auf dem Wege über das Zeusfest in Kos').

(4) P. Stengel *Opferbräuche der Griechen* Leipzig—Berlin 1910 p. 212 f. held that the change from an old-established bloodless cult of Zeus Πολιεύς to the ritual of animal-sacrifice was an innovation demanding at least a make-believe punishment. He laid weight on Hesych. *Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί· τινὲς γράφουσι ψῆφοι. φασὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαψηφίσει, ὅτε ἠμφισβήτει Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Διὸς δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι ἀντὶ τούτου τὸ τοῦ* Πολιέως *ἱερεῖον πρῶτον θύεσθαι ἐπὶ βωμοῦ* (=Favorin. *lex.* p. 515, 56 ff.), cp. Souid. *s.v. Διὸς ψῆφος· οὕτως καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐκρίθησαν. Κρατῖνος Ἀρχιλόχοις· ἔνθα Διὸς μεγάλου θᾶκοι πεσσοί τε καλοῦνται. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ ἐκρίθησαν, Διὸς ψῆφος καλεῖται. τάττεται δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀθίκτων* (*supra* i. 147). *Id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3] München 1920 p. 249 adheres to his opinion ('Der Sinn der eigentümlichen, schon im 5. Jahrhundert als sonderbar empfundenen Zeremonie, ist wohl, dass es einer besondern Entschuldigung, einer fortgesetzten wenigstens scheinbaren Bestrafung dafür bedürfe, dass man einen Kult, der nach alter Überlieferung unblutige Opfer verlangte, in einen blutigen umgewandelt hatte').

(5) K. F. Hermann *Lehrbuch der gottesdienstlichen Alterthümer der Griechen*[2] Heidelberg 1858 p. 420 f. falls back on the Varronian idea (*supra* p. 591 n. 1) that the ox was sacrosanct as *socius hominum* and thinks that the Bouphonia 'die Heiligkeit des Ackerstieres als des wesentlichsten Gehülfen zum Landbaue symbolisch zu veranschaulichen bestimmt waren.' Similarly G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*[4] Berlin 1902 ii. 250: 'Das Schlachten des Pflugstiers, des Gehülfen des Menschen bei der Bearbeitung des Feldes, war vor Alters verboten, und dass man auch nachher dazu nicht ohne Gewissensscrupel geschritten, sprechen einige alterthümliche hier und da übliche Opfergebräuche aus.' Etc. But the most persuasive exponent of this somewhat sentimental view is U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Euripides Herakles* Berlin 1889 i. 60: 'der mensch, der sich zu der hohen culturstufe des ackersmanns erhoben hat, empfindet eine innere scheu, den stier, seinen arbeitsgenossen, zu schlachten und zu essen, den er doch als jäger und hirte ohne anstand getötet hatte, und er kann und will doch den genuss des rindfleisches nicht entbehren. wir mögen nur daran denken, dass wir unsere nächststehenden gefährten, ross und hund, auch nicht essen mögen, und auch ein rind, das uns als individuum wert geworden ist, schwerlich für unsern tisch schlachten lassen möchten. aus diesem widerstreit der empfindungen entsteht der ritus der Buphonien, die symbolische ceremonie, entsteht die geschichte vom ersten rinderschlächter Thaulon, auf den die befleckung des mordes abgewälzt wird.' Cp. *id. Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 296. The same explanation contents Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 12 f. and even L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 172.

(6) F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 99 ff. takes his stand on the firmer ground of anthropology. Primitive man commonly dreads a great strong beast that he has killed, because he thinks it may still harm him after death. Accordingly he makes elaborate attempts to appease it and in some cases even flees into hiding and is mourned as if he were himself dead (J. Spieth *Die Religion der Eweer in Süd-Togo* Leipzig 1911 p. 139 ff. [Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 228 ff., 244]). 'Wenn die Eweerpriester den Schuldigen scheinbar suchen, um an ihm für das Tier, für "unseren Vater," die Strafe zu vollziehen, so verurteilen die Athener das Beil, das den Stier getötet hat, und werfen es ins Meer; der Täter selbst aber muss in Afrika wie in Athen

pressive feature, the bizarre ritual of the Bouphonia. I shall approach the problem from a somewhat different angle, endeavouring to keep in mind the probabilities and improbabilities of the various contentions.

The statues of Zeus *Polieús*, if I am not mistaken, represented him as a storm-god, at first with uplifted bolt and impetuous advance, later with lowered weapon and in milder mood[1]. Close by was the remarkable group of Ge beseeching Zeus to rain upon her, 'either,' says Pausanias, 'because the Athenians themselves needed rain, or because there was a drought all over Greece[2].'

vor dem Zorn des Tieres fliehen. Die Grundgedanken sind beidemal dieselben' (Schwenn *op. cit.* p. 108). The parallel is certainly striking, and Schwenn goes on to explain that the setting up of its stuffed hide was an admirable means of propitiating the dead beast (*op. cit.* p. 109). He supposes that the tasting of the corn originally aimed at strengthening of the creature's magic powers (p. 110 f.), that the communal feast enabled the participants to absorb those powers into themselves (p. 109), and that the whole procedure was later attached, appropriately enough, to the cult of the sky-god Zeus Πολιεύς (p. 111). Schwenn, in fact, has put together a hypothesis which explains much. At the same time we should do well to note the judicious comment of Deubner *op. cit.* p. 171: 'Er musste freilich zugeben, dass diese historische Stufe im Ritus des Zeusfestes, das mit dem Ackerbau zu tun hat, nicht mehr sichtbar sei, und nahm daher an, das der Buphonienochse ursprünglich ein Jagdtier gewesen sein müsse [Schwenn p. 109]. Auf diesen schwachen Punkt der Beweisführung hat denn auch Nilsson mit Recht hingewiesen und die Erklärung Schwenns abgelehnt[3] ([3] Deutsche Lit.-Zeit. 1928, 1748 f.).' I doubt whether this 'weak point' is really fatal to Schwenn's hypothesis. The same difficulty besets the earliest phase of the 'Minoan' bull-fights, which may likewise have originated in the hunting stage of the community (*supra* i. 497).

[1] *Supra* p. 570 ff.

[2] Paus. i. 24. 3 f. (*supra* ii. 21 n. 4). Not much is known concerning this group. C. Lenormant in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1832 iv. 60—68, *Mon. d. Inst.* i pl. 44, *a*, *b*, attempted to connect it with the statuette of a kneeling woman in Parian marble brought by Blouet from Mykonos and now in the Louvre (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 682 no. 2). H. Heydemann in *Hermes* 1870 iv. 380 ff. (followed by Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 414 ff.) assumed that there was a half-length statue of Ge emerging from the ground in front of the rock-cut inscription Γῆς Καρ|ποφόρου | κατὰ μα(ι)ν|τείαν (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 166 'Hadriani fere aetati titulum adscribemus,' Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 754. Facsimile in Harrison *op. cit.* p. 415 fig. 31. *Supra* ii. 21 n. 4, iii. 242). R. Förster in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxii. 165 cp. the type of Gaia recumbent with hand uplifted in supplication on sarcophagi representing the rape of Kore (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora pp. 590, 607 ff. Atlas pl. 17). E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1581 says: 'Mir scheint allein ein Relief, Gaia vor Zeus der Erde entsteigend, möglich.' Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 468—471 reverts to Heydemann's view of a half-length figure of the goddess rising out of the rocky ground. He cp. the impression of a seal on a little pyramid of terra cotta, which came from Athens to Berlin (Antiquarium, T. C. inv. 6787) and may belong to *s.* iv or iii B.C. It shows (fig. 185 = my fig. 413) the upper part of an undraped female form bending backwards and looking up to heaven with raised hands and dishevelled hair: her body rises from a car covered with cut grass, corn, or the like and drawn by an old-fashioned wheel. Furtwängler supposes that this singular vehicle was used for country processions and supplications in time of drought, being a more advanced analogue of the bronze car at Krannon (*supra* ii. 831 ff. figs. 788—792).

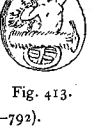


Fig. 413.

O. Jahn[1], C. Robert[2], and G. F. Schoemann[3] infer from the proximity of this monument that by means of the Dipolieia men sought to propitiate Zeus as the god who sent rain and dew with their attendant fertility.

But more certain indications may be drawn from the date of the festival. It was celebrated during the very hottest days of the year[4] at a season when, according to modern meteorological observations, the dewfall is at its minimum[5]. In this respect it resembled the *Arrhephoria* or 'Dew-bearing,' which appears to have been a ceremony intended to fertilise Mother Earth[6]. The same intention undoubtedly accounts for the Skirophoria[7], which took place on the twelfth of Skirophorion[8], two days before the Dipolieia[9], and on the calendar-frieze of the Panagia *Gorgoepékoos* (*supra* figs. 410, 411) is represented by a young man holding a couple of corn-ears[10]. To judge from these data, it would seem that the Dipolieia probably aimed at enabling the Sky-father to impregnate the Earth-mother aright by ensuring an adequate dewfall and rainfall at a critical time of year.

That we are on the right track in adopting this explanation will appear from a further consideration of the *personnel* and ritual of the feast. Those that took an active part in it belonged, as we have seen[11], to the Kerykes of Eleusis. The Kerykes of Eleusis claimed that Keryx the founder of their clan was a son of Hermes by

[1] O. Jahn in the *Nuov. Mem. d. Inst.* 1865 ii. 7 f.

[2] C. Robert in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1899 clxi. 526.

[3] G. F. Schoemann *Griechische Alterthümer*[4] Berlin 1902 ii. 528.

[4] *Supra* p. 588. [5] *Supra* p. 241 n. 3. [6] *Supra* p. 165 ff.

[7] Was the use of the Διὸς κώδιον at the Skirophoria (*supra* i. 423 n. 1) comparable with the Palestinian use of fleeces spread to catch dew (*supra* p. 500 n. 1)? The question is easier to ask than to answer.

[8] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 504 ff., É. Cahen in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1361 f., F. Pfister in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 530 ff., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 40 ff.

[9] The belief of A. Mommsen *Griechische Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 445, *id. Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 509 and O. Band *De Diipoliorum sacro Atheniensium* Halae Saxonum 1873 p. 14 that the Arrhephoria too was held shortly before the Dipolieia must not be based on Souid. *s.v.* Βουφόνια *bis* · ἑορτὴ παλαιά, ἣν φασιν ἄγεσθαι μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια (=schol. Aristoph. *nub.* 985). For it is improbable that τὰ *μυστήρια* alludes to the Arrhephoria. Almost equally improbable is the cj. of J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 153 that we should emend μετὰ τὰ μυστήρια into μετὰ μυστηρίων. There is more to be said for the suggestion of H. von Prott in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1897 lii. 187 n. 1 that Souidas' source is confusing the Dipolieia with the Diasia. See, however, *supra* p. 598 n. 3.

[10] *Supra* p. 588 n. 2, especially L. Deubner *op. cit.* p. 252 f. 'Der Skirophorion im Schema des ἀποσκοπεύων. In der linken Hand scheint er zwei Ähren zu halten. Zwischen Hand und Körper sind nämlich zwei schmale Stege sichtbar. Rechts von der Hand ist eine Spitze angedeutet.'

[11] *Supra* p. 585.

Aglauros, daughter of Kekrops[1]. Androtion, however, the fourth-century historian who linked the Dipolieia with Thaulon[2], made Keryx the son of Hermes by Pandrose[3]; and so did the grammarian Polydeukes in the time of Commodus, except that he gave the mother's name its usual form Pandrosos[4]. Whether Keryx was the son of Aglauros or of Pandrosos makes little difference, for we have already found that *Áglauros*, 'the Sparkling One,' and *Pándrosos*, 'the All-bedewed,' were but successive names of the Earth-mother fertilised by the dew[5]. Such being their lineage, the *Boutýpoi*, *Kentriádai*, and *Daitroí* were better qualified than any other Athenians to obtain from heaven 'the nurturing dews of Kronos' son[6].' Indeed, Thaulon the forefather of the *Thaulontídai* or *Boutýpoi*[7], bears a name which stands in obvious relation to that of Zeus *Thaúlios*[8], and seems, as we have conjectured[9], to denote 'the Dew-man' and nothing more sinister.

The ritual of these moisture-makers was complex. The beginning and the end of it appear to have been magical rather than religious ceremonies.

Virgins called *Hydrophóroi* brought water, ostensibly for the sharpening of axe and knife[10]. But this may have been an afterthought or later interpretation. The only other *Hydrophória* that took place at Athens had a very different significance. Souidas[11] describes it as 'A mourning festival, which, according to Apollonios, was celebrated over those that perished in the deluge.' The funereal aspect of this *Hydrophória*[12] suggests comparison with the sepulchral *loutrophóroi*[13], which we traced back to the vogue of a primitive rain-charm[14]. If the *Hydrophória* too was a rain-charm, associated

[1] Paus. 1. 38. 3.

[2] *Supra* p. 596.

[3] Androt. (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 351, iv. 645 Müller) in frag. Lexici rhet. p. 671, 16 ad calcem Photii p. 20 ed. M. Meier Κήρυκες,...ὡς Ἀνδροτίων ἐν πρώτῃ Ἀτθίδος, Κέκροπος γενέσθαι τρεῖς θυγατέρας, Ἄγραυλον, Ἄρσην καὶ Πανδρόσην, ἀφ' ἧς ἐγένετο Κῆρυξ, Ἑρμῆ συγγενομένης. Meier would omit ὡς and restore Ἔρσην καὶ Πάνδροσον.

[4] Poll. 8. 103.

[5] *Supra* pp. 237, 241 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 265 n. 1.

[7] *Supra* p. 597.

[8] *Supra* p. 277 ff.

[9] *Supra* p. 283.

[10] *Supra* p. 583.

[11] Souid. *s.v.* Ὑδροφόρια· ἑορτὴ πένθιμος Ἀθήνησιν ἐπὶ τοῖς ἐν τῷ κατακλυσμῷ ἀπολομένοις, ὡς Ἀπολλώνιος (Apollon. Ascal. in *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 313 Müller)=Phot. *lex. s.v.* Ὑδροφόρια. The gloss is abbreviated in the *et. mag.* p. 774, 56 f. *s.v.* Ὑδροφορία (=Favorin. *lex.* p. 1790, 57 f.), and still more so by Hesych. *s.v.* Ὑδροφορία (cod.).

[12] Similarly Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 172 f. concludes that the Ὑδροφόρια of the Aeginetans (schol. Pind. *Nem.* 5. 81), which he justly identifies with the Ἀμφιφορίτης (*et. mag.* p. 95, 4 ff.) or Ἀμφορίτης ἀγών (Kallim. *frag.* 80 Schneider *ap.* schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 156) instituted by the Argonauts (Ap. Rhod. 4. 1763 ff., Apollod. 1. 9. 26) and with the Δελφίνια (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 8. 88), is to be connected with a cult of the dead.

[13] *Supra* p. 372 ff.

[14] *Supra* p. 427.

in the popular mind with Deukalion's downpour, we can better understand certain circumstances attending Sulla's capture of Athens in 86 B.C. He entered the city on the Kalends of March, at a time when, as Plutarch[1] says, the Athenians 'do many things to recall the disastrous deluge of rain and the destruction that it caused, believing that the flood happened just about that time of year.' It has been conjectured with much probability that the rites here referred to were those of the *Hydrophória*[2]. Shortly after Sulla's entry, when Aristion on the Akropolis capitulated through thirst, 'heaven at once gave a portent. On the very day, and at the very hour, when Curio was bringing him down, the clouds gathered in a clear sky and there descended such a quantity of rain that it filled the Akropolis with water[3].' Now, if we may argue from the *Hydrophória* to the *Hydrophóroi*, it seems at least likely that the opening rite of the Dipolieia was the fetching of water by way of a rain-charm. The water so fetched was poured over an axe and a knife. A civilised age of course jumped to the conclusion that the water was required simply for the sharpening of the tools. But I shall venture to read a deeper meaning into the ceremony. May we not fairly surmise that the axe—a double axe, as the frieze of the Panagia *Gorgoepékoös* shows[4]—was the weapon of the storm-god Zeus, was in fact an Attic counterpart of the *lábrys*[5]? Perhaps, after all, the Sopatros-legend, which spoke of the Bouphonia as introduced from Crete[6], was not so wide of the mark as some have supposed[7]. To wet such an axe with water would be a method of

[1] Plut. *v. Sull.* 14. [2] G. Bernhardy on Souid. *s.v.* Τδροφόρια.

To the Τδροφόρια may be added the Χύτροι of Anthesterion 13, when a pot of mingled seeds was boiled over the fire and offered to Dionysos and to Hermes Χθόνιος on behalf of the dead (Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 391 n. 4, 397 f., Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 36 ff., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 93 f., 112 ff., 118, 121. *Supra* i. 684, ii. 1139), and also the annual ceremony of unspecified date (Mommsen *op. cit.* p. 424 n. 5), when wheaten meal kneaded with honey was cast into a cleft in the precinct of Zeus Ὀλύμπιος (*supra* p. 170 n. 0) near the grave of Deukalion (*supra* ii. 1118).

[3] Plut. *v. Sull.* 14. [4] *Supra* p. 587 figs. 410, 411. [5] *Supra* ii. 559 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 590 ff.

[7] B. Tamaro in the *Annuario della r. Scuola archeologica di Atene e delle missioni italiane in Oriente* 1921—1922 iv—v. 1 ff. regards the Bouphonia as a rite originating in the Mycenaean age. F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 119 says: 'Zeus Sosipolis [in Magnesia] war ursprünglich ein minoischer Himmelsherr und hat erst später den Namen seines hellenischen Bruders angenommen. Damit können wir dann, neben anderen Stierprozessionen und Stiertötungen, z. B. dem oben erwähnten βοῦς τοῦ Ἤρωος in Delphi, auch die Buphonienzeremonien in Athen in die minoische Epoche zurückführen.' *Id. ib.* p. 131: 'Der Buphonienstier in Athen diente zunächst nur dem Schutz der Ackerbestellung, aber da zum Gedeihen der Saaten auch der Segen des Himmels notwendig war, wurde die Stiertötung schon in vorgriechischer Zeit mit dem Dienst des Himmelsgottes verbunden—wurde sie zum Opfer für den Herren des

obtaining a rain-storm quite in accordance with the recognised rules of magic[1].

An Attic counterpart of the Cretan *lábrys* would be of course an object of special sanctity—a 'holy axe' as Pindar[2] called it. An example of the sort, found near Athens a few years ago and now in my possession, is decorated with all the resources of Hallstatt art[3]. Accordingly, at the Bouphonia the utmost pains were taken to transfer the guilt of bloodshed from the axe to its accomplice the knife, while all present agreed to ignore the escape of the axe-bearing priest. Even the knife, when condemned, was not, like any ordinary inanimate object that had caused death, flung beyond the frontier[4], but was sunk at sea[5]—presumably one more rain-charm to complete the performance.

(ζ) Zeus as an ox; Zeus *Ólbios*.

It remains to consider the central act of this yearly drama—the real death and simulated resurrection of an ox among worshippers who partake of his flesh.

The ox is throughout treated as divine. Nothing short of this will fully account for the ritual rule that the *boûs* must be a voluntary victim as it were consenting to his own death, for the feeling of

Himmels.' L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 138 is convinced: 'Dabei ist an einer Reihe von Einzelkulten beobachtet worden, wie in ihnen der Stier ursprünglich noch Eigengestalt war, dann aber dem Vater Himmel zuwuchs. Einen Eckpunkt bilden die attischen Buphonien, die mit ihren Wurzeln in vorgriechische Zeit zurückreichen; in ihnen unterliegt der "Mord" an dem Stierdämon einer besonderen Sühne, wobei das Doppelbeil eine Rolle hat.' Another convert is B. Schweitzer in the *Gött. gel. Anz.* 1928 cxc. 17: 'So sind...die Buphonien...ein vorgriechisches Bauernfest.'

L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 remains dissatisfied: 'Bei der Beurteilung der Zeremonie des Zeusfestes ist nicht zu übersehen, dass dieses keineswegs in das graueste Altertum hinaufreichen kann.... Es sollte doch klar sein, dass Zeus Polieus auf der Burg von Athen unbedingt jünger sein muss als Athena und erst später zu dieser hinzugetreten sein kann; und auch dann erhielt er nur einen Altar. Ich glaube nicht, dass man mit seinem Kult über die archaische Zeit hinaufgehen kann.' But Deubner ignores the possibility (which I hold to be the truth) that the cult of Zeus Πολιεύς came to Athens in archaic times from Eleusis, where with its peculiar *personnel* and ritual it had survived the passage from Mycenaean to post-Mycenaean conditions.

[1] See *e.g.* Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 247 ff. ('The Magical Control of Rain').

[2] *Supra* p. 200, *infra* § 9 (h) ii (η).

[3] Published *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff. ('The decoration of the double axe'). Since the decoration of this specimen consists in *pointillé* designs of a four-spoked wheel, a bridled and branded horse, a waterfowl, and a man—symbols all suggestive of a solar interpretation (*supra* i. 333 ff.)—,it is probable that we have here a sacred axe, and remotely possible that it once belonged to a *Bouphónos*, who wielded it at some forgotten Bouphonia when the sun was at its hottest (*supra* p. 588).

[4] Poll. 8. 120.

[5] *Supra* p. 584.

utter guilt that drove the actual *Bouphónos* into immediate exile, and for the solemn communion of those who together devoured the sacred flesh and so—at Athens as in Crete[1]—absorbed into their own bodies the very substance and virtues of the divine beast. When we remember that in Mesopotamia, in Asia Minor, and all round the shores of the Levant the sky-god with his bellowing thunder and his fertilising rain has been from time immemorial conceived as a bull[2], we cannot but conclude that the ox of the Dipolieia was one more example of this universal concept[3], in a word was the embodiment of Zeus *Polieús* himself—slain that he might live again in younger and more vigorous form, stuffed with hay and yoked to a plough that he might work as of yore for the benefit of his *pólis*.

A plough on the Akropolis-rock seems *déplacée*. Yet Plutarch[4] in his *Advice to Bride and Groom* goes some way towards explaining it:

'The Athenians,' he says, 'observe three sacred ploughings: the first at Skiron, in memory of the most ancient of sowings; the second in Raria; and the third near the base of the Akropolis, the so-called *Bouzýgios*.'

Bouzýges, 'Yoker of Oxen,' was an old-time Athenian, the first who ever ploughed with such a pair[5]. In token of his achievement the plough that he used was dedicated on the Akropolis[6]. And he himself may be seen using it on a red-figured bell-*kratér*, said to

[1] *Supra* i. 650, 662 ff., ii. 345, 354, 539.

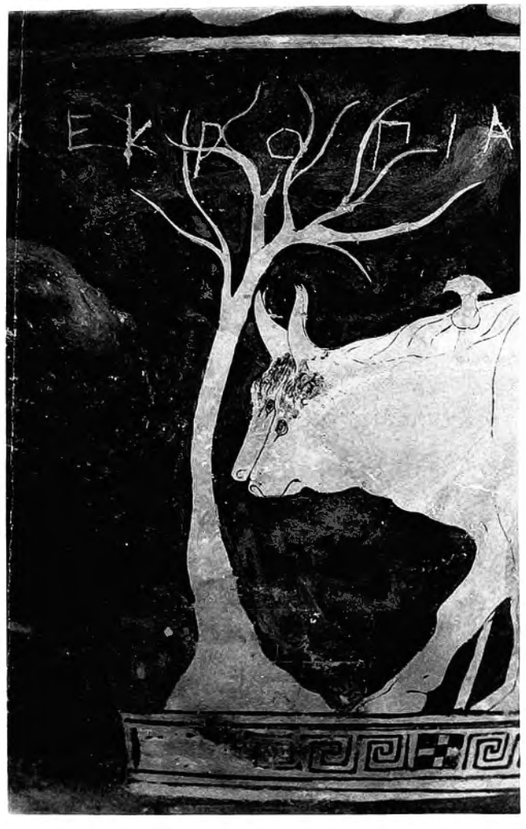
[2] *Supra* i. 633 ff.

[3] Thus far I find myself in agreement with B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 p. 45 ('Der Stier war das geweihte Tier sowohl des vorderasiatischen Himmelsgottes wie des kretischen Zeus gewesen, sie selbst waren sicherlich einst in der Gestalt des Himmelsstieres gedacht worden, wie der Europamythos zeigt. Es ist vor allem das Stieropfer, das durch die Doppelaxt dargebracht wird. In dieser besonderen Bedeutung kann sie *βουπλήξ* heissen... Der *πέλεκυς*...spielt eine merkwürdige, auch von P. Stengel noch nicht befriedigend erklärte Rolle in den düsteren *δρώμενα*...der attischen Buphonien'). But the further contentions of B. Laum *Heiliges Geld* Tübingen 1924 p. 123 ('Aus der sakralen Funktion erklärt sich also die Verehrung des Doppelbeiles. Zunächst ist es das Beil, mit dem der Priester das Opfertier niederschlägt; dann wird es Symbol der Stiergottheit und ist als solches Kultgegenstand und Weihegabe.' Etc.) seem to me to outrun discretion.

[4] Plout. *coniug. praecept.* 42 'Αθηναῖοι τρεῖς ἀρότους ἱεροὺς ἄγουσι, πρῶτον ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ, τοῦ παλαιοτάτου τῶν σπόρων ὑπόμνημα, δεύτερον ἐν τῇ Ῥαρίᾳ, τρίτον ὑπὸ πόλιν (so Froben in the ed. Basel 1542 for *πέλιν*) τὸν καλούμενον Βουζύγιον. τούτων δὲ πάντων ἱερώτατός (Madvig cj. *ἱερώτερός*) ἐστιν ὁ γαμήλιος σπόρος καὶ ἄροτος ἐπὶ παίδων τεκνώσει. κ.τ.λ.

[5] H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 839, J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1095 ff. *Supra* i. 469 n. 3.

[6] Schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 78 τοῦ Βουζύγου· τοῦ ὄντος ἐκ τοῦ γένους τῶν Βουζυγῶν. ἐν γὰρ ἦν καὶ τοῦτο γένος τιμώμενον παρὰ τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις, ἐξ οὗ ἐγένετο ἡ ἱέρεια τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. Βουζύγης δὲ ἐκλήθη †νεύμιτης† (H. Sauppe cj. Ἐπιμενίδης, cp. *infra* p. 610) Ἀθηναίων τῶν πάλαι, ὅστις πρῶτος ζεῦγος βοῶν ἔζευξεν. ὅθεν καὶ τὸ ἄροτρον αὐτοῦ· ἀνέκειτο ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει πρὸς μνήμην.



a

b

c

d

Kratér from Vari, now at Baltimore:
(*a*—*d*) Bouzyges ploughing in the presence of Athena and an elderly male spectator.

See page 606 ff.

have been found in pieces near *Vari* and now in the collection of Professor D. M. Robinson at Baltimore (pl. xlv)[1]. This interesting vase, which has been attributed to 'The Painter of the Naples Hephaistos Krater[2]' and may be dated *c.* 430 B.C., shows Bouzyges successfully driving his yoke of oxen in the presence of two spectators. One of these, wearing *stephánē* and Doric *péplos*, is characterised as Athena by the spear in her right hand and the olive-tree at her side. But she holds in her left hand six[3] ears of corn and turns to encourage the ploughman. So does a bald-headed white-bearded man, who stands in the background, wearing a *himátion* and leaning on his staff. He has been called Kekrops[4] or Boutes[5]; but neither appellation is probable and we must be content to leave him anonymous. It is of more importance to note that the whole vase-painting was designed for an Eleusinian, not an Athenian, myth. Compare it with the Berlin *skýphos* illustrated *supra* i. 224 fig. 165 and you will realise that Athena and Bouzyges are simply adaptations from Demeter with her corn-ears and Triptolemos with his plough. Or set it beside the Palermo *kratér* *supra* i. 218 pl. xviii and you perceive that Athena and the elderly male spectator have been substituted for Demeter and Keleos, or possibly for Persephone and Hippothon. In short, the Baltimore *kratér* drops more than one broad hint that behind the Athenian ploughman at the base of the Akropolis lurks a half-obliterated figure, his Eleusinian predecessor on the Rarian Plain. Athena holding corn-ears at a plough-scene is quite unconvincing unless we see that she has stept into the shoes of Demeter and that the type appropriate to the earlier discovery of the thrice-ploughed

[1] D. M. Robinson 'Bouzyges and the First Plough on a Krater by the Painter of the Naples Hephaistos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 152—160 with figs. 1 (obverse) and 2 (reverse). I am indebted to Professor Robinson for the large-scale photographs, lent to me by Mr C. T. Seltman, from which my pl. xlv was made. Height of vase 0·41^{m}. Height of main scenes 0·175^{m}.

[2] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 pp. 415 f., 478.

[3] D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 155 says: 'In her left hand she holds the promised harvest consisting of eight (*sic*) ears of corn, the stems of which, once in white paint, have vanished.'

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 156. A graffito, of which the first two words are scratched on the reverse, the third on the obverse of the vase, reads ΔΙΟΚΛΕ[Σ] ΗΑΛ[ΑΙΕ]Υ[Σ]‖ ΚΕΚΡΟΠΙΑΣ. Cp. Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Αλαὶ Αἰξωνίδες· ...ὁ δ' Αἰξωνεὺς (*sc.* δῆμος) τῆς Κεκροπίδος φυλῆς.

[5] D. M. Robinson *loc. cit.* p. 156 n. 1: 'Professor Elderkin makes the interesting suggestion that the old man is Butes whose name would make him logically present in the scene. He thinks further that the paintings of the Butadae in the Erechtheum [Paus. 1. 26. 5] may have inspired the scene.'

field[1] had been borrowed to depict the later discovery of the yoked oxen. The transference from Demeter to Athena as ploughman's patroness[2] was perhaps eased by a knowledge of such cults as that of Athena *Boarmía* in Boiotia[3] and that of Athena *Boúdeia* in Thessaly[4]. The former appellative is said to have meant 'She who fits the Oxen' to yoke and plough; the latter, 'She who binds the Oxen' to plough and yoke.

I pass on to observe that Bouzyges was the eponymous ancestor of a noble Athenian clan, the Bouzygai[5], who dwelt on the

[1] *Supra* i. 224 f.

[2] Cp. the curious tale told by interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 402: in Attica regione quaedam puella Myrmix nomine fuit, Minervae ob castimoniam et sollertiam dilecta, quae postea hoc modo (H. A. Lion prints *loco*) Minervae in se odium concitavit. namque cum vidisset Minerva Cererem segetes invenisse, volens ipsa ostendere Atticis quo expeditius segetes parerent, aratrum dicitur invenisse. quod cum manu ageret, et Myrmix ei adhaereret, ausa est occulte aratri stivam subripere, et apud homines se iactare, infructuosum esse Cereris munus, nisi suo uterentur invento, quo terra aratro resoluta expeditius ederet fructus. quod cum proditum aegre tulisset Minerva, Myrmicem illam virginem in formicam convertit eamque, ut proditricem, adversam frumentis, quae semper insequitur et subripit, esse praecepit. quae res cum Iovi miserationem movisset, excogitavit quemadmodum formicae honorem daret. nam cum Aeacum, filium suum ex Aegina susceptum, Thessalis imponeret regem et agros ipsos videret hominibus indigere, formicas colligi in unum iussit easque in homines commutavit: unde Myrmidones appellati sunt. See further J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 1106.

[3] Lyk. *Al.* 518 ff. (Idas and Lynkeus) *τοὺς Ἄρης ἐφίλατο, | καὶ δί' Ἐνυώ, καὶ τριγένητος θεὰ | Βοαρμία Λογγᾶτις Ὁμολωὶς Βία* with schol. *ad loc.* *Βοαρμία δὲ καὶ Λογγᾶτις παρὰ Βοιωτοῖς καλεῖται καὶ τιμᾶται* and Tzetz. *ad loc.* *Βοαρμία παρὰ τὸ ἁρμόσαι καὶ ζεῦξαι εἰς ζυγὸν καὶ ἄροτρον βοῦς.* This explanation is accepted by K. O. Müller *Orchomenos und die Minyer*[2] Breslau 1844 p. 181 n. 1, Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 243, Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* ii. 301, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 222 n. 1, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 575. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1205 n. 8 is, as usual, helpful: 'der N. bedeutet gewiss nicht "den Kampflärm abwehrend" [= *Βοϝᾶ-ϝαρμία*] [MEISTER], sondern 'Rinder anschirrend'; s. SOLMSEN, Rh. M. LIII 1898 145 [f.]...Athena selbst gilt als Erfinderin des Pfluges, Arstd. I S. 20 DDF.; Intp. Serv. V*A* 4 402.'

[4] Lyk. *Al.* 359 f. (Kassandra) *ἡ πολλὰ δὴ Βούδειαν Ἀΐθυιαν Κόρην | ἀρωγὸν αὐδάξασα τάρροθον γάμων* with Tzetz. *ad loc.* *οὕτω τιμᾶται Βούδεια ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐν Θετταλίᾳ* (=Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Βούδεια*, who is cited also by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1076, 28 *Βούδειαν λέγων Ἀθηνᾶν ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ*)... *Βούδεια γὰρ ἡ φρόνησις, ὅτι τοὺς βόας ἀρότρῳ καὶ ζυγοῖς ὑποδέει καὶ τέμνει τὰς αὔλακας.* This etymology has found favour, not only with K. O. Müller *op. cit.*[2] p. 181, Gerhard *op. cit.* i. 226, 231, 243, Welcker *op. cit.* ii. 301, Preller—Robert *op. cit.* i. 222 n. 1, O. Jessen *op. cit.* iii. 988, Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 1205 n. 8, etc., but with expert philologists such as P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 419, who holds that similar place-names are derived from the name of the goddess ('Endete der Name der Göttin selbst auf *-ια*, so konnte er unverändert als Ortsname dienen: *Βούδεια* in Thessalien nach der Athena *Βούδεια* der "Rinder anschirrenden", daneben *Βούδεων* (Il. II 572).' Cp. F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 78 n. 2 (4)). It is, however, equally possible and—to my thinking—decidedly more probable that the goddess drew her appellative from an old place-name of unknown meaning, the appellative being later re-interpreted as 'Oxen-binding.'

[5] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 pp. 136–149, *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1094—1096.

Akropolis[1] and were entrusted with the discharge of several sacred duties. It is said that the priestess of Athena was drawn from their number[2]. More certainly, they provided the priest of Zeus *Téleios*[3], who as a marriage-god yoked man and wife together[4]. They also furnished the priest of Zeus *at the Palladion*[5]. In Roman times both these functionaries had seats reserved for them in the theatre. And on one occasion the latter, at the bidding of the Pythian Apollon, had a new image of Pallas made at his own expense and dedicated to the gods and to the city[6]. Why the cult at the Palladion should have been in the hands of the Bouzygai appears from a story told by Polyainos[7]:

'Demophon received the Palladion in trust from Diomedes and took care of it. When Agamemnon asked it back, Demophon gave the genuine image to an Athenian named Bouzyges to take to Athens, but made another of the same size and shape and kept it in his tent. When Agamemnon attacked him with a strong force, Demophon for a long time put up a great fight and so created the impression that he was defending the genuine image. But when many men had been wounded, the followers of Demophon gave way, and Agamemnon seized the false Palladion and, falling into the trap, went off with it.'

We gather from other writers that Demophon was the first person tried by the court at the Palladion, which dealt with cases of involuntary homicide, though several versions of his crime are extant[8]. The noteworthy point is that the name Demophon again directs our attention to Eleusis, where he was Demeter's nurseling even before Triptolemos[9]. We are not, therefore, surprised to find

[1] Aristeid. *or.* 2. 13 (i. 20 Dindorf) καὶ Βουζύγης τις ὑπῆλθέ με τῶν ἐξ ἀκροπόλεως, κ.τ.λ.

[2] Schol. Aischin. *de fals. leg.* 78 (quoted *supra* p. 606 n. 6). Does this in reality refer to the priestess of that Athena who was worshipped ἐπὶ Παλλαδίῳ (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 324, 78 [Ἀθ]εναίας ἐπὶ Παλλαδίοι, 95 Ἀθεναίας ἐπὶ Παλλαδίοι)?

[3] *Supra* ii. 1163 n. 2 fig. 971.

[4] Cp. Hesych. *s. vv.* Ζυγία· ἡ Ἥρα..., Ζύγιος· Ζεύς.... *Supra* i. 458 n. 8 and ii. 60 n. 0, 695 n. 0, 723 n. 0, 954 n. 0.

[5] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 273 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 860. 34 = Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 467 ff. no. 271 Βουζύγου | ἱερέως Διὸς ἐν | Παλλαδίῳ on a seat in the Theatre, in lettering later than Hadrian.

[6] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 71 [ὁ δεῖνα — — — ἱερ]εὺς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ ἐπὶ Παλλαδίου καὶ Βουζύγης, Πολ[υαίνου(?) Μαραθωνίου, | χρήσαντος τοῦ Πυθίου Ἀπόλλωνος, ὅτι χρὴ ἕτερον ἕδο[ς] τῆς Παλλάδος κατα|σκευάσασθαι ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ποήσας τοῖς τε θεοῖς καὶ τῇ πόλει | ἀνέθηκεν. A. Boeckh in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* i no. 491 had proposed to read Μαραθώνιο[ς], but W. Dittenberger replies: 'ne ita quidem omnis difficultas removetur, cum admodum mirum sit nomen patris hoc demum loco positum.'

[7] Polyain. 1. 5. Cp. Dionysios of Samos *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 9 f. Müller) = *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 178 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 47. 6 p. 36, 15 ff. Stählin.

[8] Paus. i. 28. 8 f. with Sir J. G. Frazer *ad loc.*

[9] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 52, 652 f. *Supra* i. 211.

that ultimately the Bouzygai were responsible for keeping the sacred oxen that ploughed at Eleusis[1]. Probably J. Toepffer[2] is right in his contention that, when the Eleusinian state ceased to be an isolated priestly power, all three ploughings passed into the control of the Attic Bouzygai. O. Gruppe[3] too attributes these changes to political movements in progress at the end of *s.* vii and during the first half of *s.* vi B.C.—the temporary predominance of Megara and the permanent union of Eleusis with Athens. Indeed it is likely enough that the original home of the Bouzygai was not Athens, but Eleusis. The Eleusinians, says Pausanias[4], 'assert that the Rarian Plain was the first to be sown and the first to bear crops, and therefore it is their custom to take the sacrificial barley and to make the cakes for the sacrifices out of its produce.'

Not only Eleusis, but Crete also is involved in the legend of Bouzyges. A tradition which goes back to Aristotle[5] boldly declared that Bouzyges was none other than Epimenides, the famous Cretan prophet who is known to have visited Athens *c.* 500 B.C.[6] That is a very remarkable identification, which—so far as I can see—must have been propounded by somebody bent on tracing an analogy between the sacred ox of Athens and the sacred bull of Crete. We have already[7] insisted on the resemblance of the communal feast at the Bouphonia to the communal feast in Crete. And we can hardly help wondering whether there had ever been at Eleusis, as there certainly was in Crete, an earlier phase of bovine

[1] Aristeid. *or.* 46. 129 f. (ii. 174 f. Dindorf) cites Eupol. Δῆμοι *frag.* 7 *ῥήτωρ γάρ ἐστι νῦν τις, ὃν γ' ἔστιν λέγειν; | ὁ Βουζύγης ἄριστος ἀλιτήριος* (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 460 f. Meineke), and schol. A. *ad loc.* (iii. 473 Dindorf) comments *ὁ Περικλῆς ἐστιν ἄριστος ὁ Βουζύγης ὁ ἀλιτήριος. Βουζύγην μὲν οὖν αὐτόν φησι κατὰ τὸν τοῦτον* (*leg.* *τοῦτον τὸν*) *τρόπον· ὅτι τοὺς τρέφοντας ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τοὺς ἱεροὺς βόας ἀροτριῶντας Βουζύγας ἐκάλουν. τοῦτο δὲ οὐκ ἐξῆν παντὶ τῷ βουλομένῳ ποιεῖν, εἰ μὴ μόνοις τοῖς ἱερεῦσι. πατρόθεν οὖν ἐκ τῶν τοιούτων εἶλκε τὸ γένος ὁ Περικλῆς· καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Βουζύγην αὐτὸν ἐκάλεσεν. κ.τ.λ.*, while schol. B. D. Oxon. (*ib.*) has *Βουζύγαι καλοῦνται οἱ τὰς ἱερὰς βοῦς τὰς ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι ἀροτριώσας τρέφοντες. ἐκ τούτων δὲ ὁ Περικλῆς κατήγετο. τὸ γένος δὲ τοῦτο ἦν ἱερόν. κ.τ.λ.*

[2] J. Toepffer *Attische Genealogie* Berlin 1889 p. 138.

[3] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 52.

[4] Paus. 1. 38. 6 *τὸ δὲ πεδίον τὸ Ῥάριον σπαρῆναι πρῶτον λέγουσι καὶ πρῶτον αὐξῆσαι καρπούς, καὶ διὰ τοῦτο οὐλαῖς ἐξ αὐτοῦ χρῆσθαί σφισι καὶ ποιεῖσθαι πέμματα ἐς τὰς θυσίας καθέστηκεν.*

[5] Aristot. *frag.* 386 Rose[2] *ap.* interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 19 'uncique puer monstrator aratri'...vel Epimenides, qui postea Buzyges dictus est secundum Aristotelem, cp. Hesych. *s.v.* Βουζύγης· *ἥρως Ἀττικός, ὁ* (*ἢ* cod.) *πρῶτος βοῦς ὑπὸ ἄροτρον ζεύξας· ἐκαλεῖτο δὲ Ἐπιμενίδης*, schol. T. V. *Il.* 18. 483 *καὶ ἄροτρον δὲ πρῶτος Ἐπιμενίδης* (*ἐκεῖ Μαίνιδος* codd.) *ὁ καὶ Βουζύγης ἐζευξεν.*

[6] Plat. *legg.* 642 D—E, on which see J. Toepffer *op. cit.* p. 141 and O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 177.

[7] *Supra* p. 606.

omophagy[1], not to mention a yet more primitive stage of sheer cannibalism in which the local king or some human substitute was killed and eaten[2], the ox being—as H. von Prott[3] and B. Laum[4] imagined—a later surrogate for the man. Definite evidence of such a grim past is lacking[5], but the legends concerning the cult of Zeus

[1] *Supra* i. 659 ff. ('The Cretan Zeus and Bovine Omophagy').
[2] *Supra* i. 651 ff. ('The Cretan Zeus and Human Omophagy').
[3] *Supra* p. 599 n. 0 (2). [4] *Ib.*
[5] At first sight it seems tempting to detect a faded trace of it in the story of Demophon, the infant child of Keleos and Metaneira, whom Demeter 'hid by night like a brand in the blazing fire' (*h. Dem.* 239) and would have made immortal had not his mother by an untimely shriek broken the spell (*supra* i. 211). This appears to have been an aetiological myth used to explain an actual custom (J. Toepffer *op. cit.* p. 108 n. 3, Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 274, G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 149). At Eleusis a boy or girl, chosen by lot to expiate the sins of the people and propitiate the gods, was known as ὁ (ἡ) ἀφ' ἑστίας (Porph. *de abst.* 4. 5 οἱ δὲ ὑπὲρ τῆς πόλεως θύοντες τοῖς θεοῖς καὶ θεραπεύοντες ἀπεμειλίττοντο τὰς τῶν πολλῶν ἁμαρτίας. ὅπερ γὰρ ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας λεγόμενος παῖς, <ὃς> ἀντὶ πάντων τῶν μυουμένων ἀπομειλίσσεται τὸ θεῖον, ἀκριβῶς ὁρῶν τὰ προστεταγμένα, τοῦτο κατὰ τὰ ἔθνη καὶ τὰς πόλεις οἱ ἱερεῖς δύνανται ἀντὶ πάντων θύοντες καὶ τὸ θεῖον προσαγόμενοι διὰ τῆς εὐσεβείας εἰς τὴν σφῶν κηδεμονίαν, Bekker *anecd.* i. 204, 19 f. ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθῆναι· ὁ ἐκ τῶν προκρίτων Ἀθηναίων κλήρῳ λαχὼν παῖς δημοσίᾳ μυηθείς) and is mentioned as such in a number of extant inscriptions, mostly found at Eleusis itself or in the near neighbourhood (*Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1355, 1 ff. (=iv. 2 no. 1355, 1 ff. at *Mandra* north of Eleusis) ἡ βουλὴ | ἀφ' ἑστίας | μυηθεῖσαν with olive wreath round the last three words, no. 1388, 1 ff. [ἡ βουλ]ὴ [ὁ] δῆμος | μυ[ηθεῖσ]αν | ἀφ' ἑστ[ίας]s with wreath round the last three words, no. 1389, 1 ff. Λυσίαν Ἀρτέμωνος Παιανιέα | Θεότιμος Θεοτίμου ἐγ Μυρινούττης | καὶ Θεοδότη Δωσιθέου ἐγ Μυρινούττης θυγάτηρ | καὶ Ὀνησακὼ Προτίμου ἐγ Μυρινούττης θυγάτηρ | ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθέντα | Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ ἀνέθηκαν, *ib.* iii. 1 no. 809, 4 f. τὸν [ἀφ' ἑσ]τία(s) μυη|θ(έ)ντ[α Ἀθ]ήναιον, κ.τ.λ., no. 828, 1 ff. Κλαύδιος καὶ Κλαυδία | Γ(άιον) Κλαύδιον Σειλ|ανὸν Πολύκριτον, | τὸν υἱόν, μυηθέντα | ἀφ' ἑστίας ταῖν θε|αῖν ἀνέθηκαν | ἐπὶ ἱερέως Κλαυδίας | Τειμοθέας τῆς Τειμοθέου Γαργηττίου θυ[γατρός], no. 829, 1 ff. (on the Rarian Plain) [τὸ]ν ἀφ' ἑσ[τίας] | Λαξενίων (?) | Μαραθ(ω)νι(ωῖ)ν | τὸν κράτιστο[ν] | [μύσ]την ο(ἰ) φίλο[ι] or the like, no. 830, 1 ff. (on the Rarian Plain) [τὸν ἀφ' ἑ]‖στ(ί)ας μύστην | Μ(ᾶρκον) Αὐρ(ήλιον) Μιλτ(ι)άδ[ην] | Μαραθ(ώ)νιο[ν] | [ὁ πα]τὴρ Ἀγαθοκλ[ῆς] | τὸν [υἱόν], no. 831, 1 f. [.....]έα, μυη|[θέντα] ἀφ' ἑστία[s], no. 908, 1 ff. κατὰ τὸ ἐπε|ρώτημα τῶν σε|μνοτάτων Ἀ|ρεοπαγειτῶν | τὴν ἀφ' ἑστίας | Αὐρ. Μάγναν | τὴν καὶ Ἑρμι|όνην οἱ γονεῖς | Αὐρ. Ἐπαφρό|δειτος Ἀσκλη|πιάδου Πιτθεὺς | καὶ Αὐρ. Μάγνα | ἐκ Πιτθέων, no. 910, 1 ff. (at Athens in the church of the Panagia) Κλεομένης Μαντίου Μαραθώνι|ος καὶ Φιλητὼ Λευκίου Πειραιέως θυ(γάτηρ) | τὴν ἑαυτῶν θυγατέρα Φιλητώ, μυη|[θεῖσ]αν ἀφ' ἑστίας,] Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ, no. 911, 1 ff. [ἡ] βουλὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πά[γου καὶ ὁ] | [ὁ]δῆμος Νεικοστράτην Μενγέο[υ] | [Β]ερενεικίδου θυγατέρα, μυηθεῖσαν | [ἀ]φ' ἑστίας Δήμητρι καὶ Κόρῃ ἀνέθηκε, | κ.τ.λ., no. 912, 1 ff. (at Athens) ἡ βουλὴ | [Ὀ]κνίαν (?) Πολυχάρμου | [Ἀ]ζηνιέως θυγατέρα, | [μ]υηθεῖσαν ἀφ' ἑστίας, no. 913, 1 ff. (in the temple at Rhamnous) ἡ βουλ[ὴ ἡ ἐξ Ἀρείου πάγου] | καὶ ἡ β[ουλὴ τῶν ἑξακοσί]ων καὶ ὁ [δῆμος..... Σε]|κοῦνδαν, [θυγατέρα...Θε]|μίσωνο[s, μυηθεῖσαν ἀ]|[φ'] ἑστί[as], no. 915, 1 ff. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. | ἡ ἀπὸ δαδούχων | καὶ γένους ἀπὸ Πε|ρικλέους καὶ Κόνω|νος, κατὰ δὲ Μακεδό|νες (*sic*) ἀπὸ Ἀλεξ|άν|δ(ρ)ου, Ὀν(ω)ρατιανὴ | Πολυχαρμὶς τὴν | ἀφ' ἑστίας Ἰουνίαν | Θεμιστόκλειαν, | τὴν θυγατέρα, no. 916, 6 ff. (on the Akropolis at Athens) ἡ βουλὴ | καὶ ὁ δῆμος | ἀφ' ἑστίας | [μυηθεῖσ]α[ν] with wreath round all four lines, which honour *ib.* 2 f. Τερτίαν Λευκίου..... | [θ]υγατέρα). The custom thus attested has hitherto been regarded as a ceremony of purification and initiation (*supra* i. 211 n. 3). If we could be sure that it was originally comparable with the Carthaginian sacrifice of children to Kronos by fire (*supra* i. 722) or the alleged Jewish sacrifice of children to Moloch by fire (*supra* i. 723 n. 1, S. A. Cook

Ómbrios in Elis[1], that of Zeus *Lýkaios* in Arkadia[2], and that of Zeus *Eilapinastés* or *Splanchnotómos* in Kypros[3] look ominously like it.

A further point of doubtful significance may here be set down. Pausanias[4], describing the statues on the Akropolis, says:

'There is Athena rising from the head of Zeus. There is also a bull dedicated by the council of the Areiopagos for some reason or other: one might make many guesses on the subject, if one cared to do so.'

This 'bull on the Akropolis' was of bronze and passed into a proverb for a thing to be admired[5]. It has, as Pausanias anticipated, given rise to a whole crop of more or less plausible explanations, none of which however can pretend to certainty[6]. More *ad rem* is a possible, indeed probable, vase-painting of the bull itself. The facts are as follows. E. Gerhard in 1858 published a black-figured *hydría* of *c.* 500 B.C., which he had found in possession of the

The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology London 1930 p. 29 n. 2), the phrase ὁ ἀφ' ἑστίας μυηθείς would take on a very sinister meaning. But that is obviously an unjustifiable assumption.

Nor can human sacrifice be invoked to account for the Βαλλητύς or 'Stone-throwing,' by which the Athenians commemorated Demophon (Hesych. Βαλλητύς· ἑορτὴ Ἀθήνησιν, ἐπὶ Δημοφῶντι τῷ Κελεοῦ ἀγομένη, cp. Athen. 406 D τίς δ' αὕτη ἡ λιθίνη βαλλητύς; Ἐλευσῖνι γὰρ τῇ ἐμῇ οἶδά τινα πανήγυριν ἀγομένην καὶ καλουμένην Βαλλητύν· περὶ ἧς οὐκ ἄν τι εἴποιμι μὴ παρ' ἑκάστου μισθὸν λαβών),—a 'Scheinkampf' (cp. *h. Dem.* 265 ff.) resembling the Λιθοβόλια of Damia and Auxesia at Troizen (Paus. 2. 32. 2 with Frazer *Pausanias* iii. 266 f.) or the stone-throwing on the Nonae Caprotinae at Rome (Plout. *v. Rom.* 29, *v. Cam.* 33). See further O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2830 f., Scherling *ib.* xiii. 769 f., Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 413 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 901 n. 3.

[1] *Supra* p. 525 f. [2] *Supra* i. 70 ff. [3] *Infra* p. 652 f. n. 0.

[4] Paus. 1. 24. 2 Ἀθηνᾶ τέ ἐστιν ἀνιοῦσα ἐκ τῆς κεφαλῆς τοῦ Διός. ἔστι δὲ καὶ ταῦρος ἀνάθημα τῆς βουλῆς τῆς ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, ἐφ' ὅτῳ δὴ ἀνέθηκεν ἡ βουλή· πολλὰ δ' ἂν τις ἐθέλων εἰκάζοι.

[5] Heniochos *Polyeuct. frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 560 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 369 D Ἡνίοχος Πολυεύκτῳ· 'ὁ βοῦς <ὁ (*ins.* Porson)> χαλκοῦς ἦν ἂν ἐφθὸς δεκάπαλαι,' κ.τ.λ., Hesych. βοῦς ἐν πόλει· χαλκοῦς ὑπὸ τῆς βουλῆς ἀνατεθείς, Diogeneian. 3. 67 βοῦς ἐν πόλει· ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων, Apostol. 5. 15 βοῦς ἐν πόλει· ἐπὶ τῶν θαυμαζομένων. Λυσίας γὰρ ἐν ἀκροπόλει βοῦν ἔθηκεν (=Arsen. *viol.* p. 146 reading ἀνέθηκεν)—a curious addition which Hitzig—Blümner in their commentary on Paus. *loc. cit.* successfully explain away ('Die Prov. Bodl. et Vatic. bieten den Zusatz Λυσανίας γὰρ ἀνέθηκε βοῦν, der Cod. Coislin. aber Λυσανίας δὲ εἶπε βοῦς, wofür Meineke (Exerc. philol. 1 29) conjicirte Λυσανίας δ' ἐποίει βοῦν, besser Bergk (Ztschr. f. d. A. W. 1845, 980): Παυσανίας δὲ εἶπε· βοῦς, wobei freilich nicht der Perieget, sondern der Grammatiker Pausanias, der Vf. eines attischen Lexikons, gemeint wäre'). The proverb is Latinised by Lucilius *frag.* 286 Baehrens 'ne! quam in arce bovem descripsi magnifice!' inquit.

In Plat. com. *fab. incert.* frag. 24 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 688 with v. 50) *ap.* Hesych. κριὸς ἀσελγόκερως· ἦν ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει κριὸς ἀνακείμενος μέγας χαλκοῦς. ἀσελγόκερων δὲ αὐτὸν εἶπε Πλάτων ὁ κωμικὸς διὰ τὸ μέγαν εἶναι, καὶ συναριθμεῖ αὐτῷ τόν τε δούριον ἵππον..... Meineke plausibly fills the blank by inserting <καὶ τὸν χαλκοῦν βοῦν>, a conjecture that has been well received.

[6] See Hitzig—Blümner on Paus. *loc. cit.*

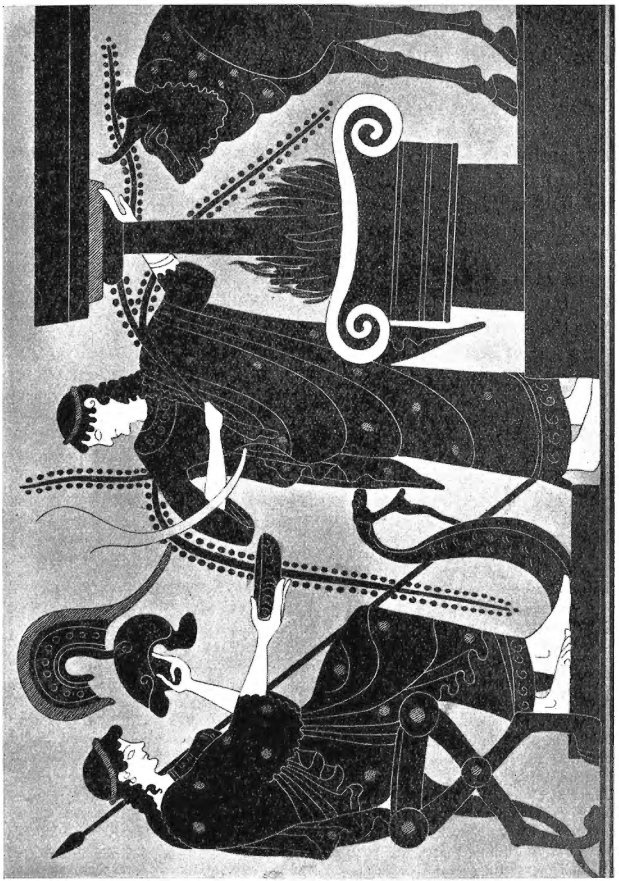


Fig. 414.

dealers Basseggio and Depoletti at Rome. This noteworthy painting (fig. 414)[1] shows Athena *Poliás*[2] seated on the left with helmet, spear, *phiále*, and attendant snake. In front of her[3] is a blazing altar with Ionic volutes and a *próthysis* or wide base. Between them stands a priestess, barefoot like her goddess and holding an olive-branch. She looks toward Athena, but raises her hand to salute a stately bull, the forepart of which is seen standing apparently on the stylobate of a flat-roofed Doric structure[4]. Gerhard after mooting various possibilities was disposed to identify this bull with the votive gift of the Areiopagos[5], which—he thought—might have some connexion with the city-goddess and perhaps also with the Zeus of the Bouphonia. Gerhard's interpretation was taken up and carried further by over-zealous followers. Miss J. E. Harrison[6], in discussing the Dipolieia, ventured the view 'that the sacred ox, about whom so much ado was made, may have had a sort of shrine on the Acropolis, or that he may have lived in a shrine belonging to Zeus Polieus.' She went on to suggest 'that the votive gift of the Areopagus may have been connected with this Polieus hieron, and that the much-disputed naos mentioned by Pausanias may have been a small shrine set up in connection with the Bouphonia.' Thirty-seven years later Miss Harrison[7] had dropped Zeus overboard. 'Now it is,' she says, 'of course impossible

[1] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 6 ff. pl. 242, 1 (=my fig. 414) and 2, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 122, 5 and 6. The present whereabouts of the vase, to me at least, is unknown. But there is not the smallest reason to doubt its antiquity.

[2] *Supra* p. 573 n. 4.

[3] Gerhard *op. cit.* iv. 123 rightly connects the altar with the 'Götterbild.'

[4] *Id. ib.* notes that the building looks more like a hall than a temple.

[5] *Supra* p. 612. T. Bergk in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1845 iii. 979 ff. held that the Bronze Bull of the Akropolis was of colossal dimensions. Gerhard *op. cit.* iv. 123 f. says that O. Jahn, like himself, was inclined to view the bull on the *hydría* as 'ein Standbild.' T. Panofka too in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1852 iv. Arch. Anz. p. 158 decided that the bull in question must be meant for 'ein ehernes Weihgeschenk' and compared it with the small bull standing on a pedestal to be seen on tetradrachms of Selinous struck *c.* 466—415 B.C. (*Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 217 pl. 15, 20 f. See now *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 140 f. fig., p. 142 fig., *Weber Cat. Coins* i. 321 f. nos. 1534, 1535 pl. 58, no. 1536 pl. 59, and above all the splendid series in the Lloyd collection (*Sylloge nummorum Graecorum* vol. ii) with the important re-interpretation of A. H. Lloyd in the *Num. Chron.* Fifth Series 1935 xv. 86 ff. pl. 4, 14, 16, 18, 20—24, pl. 5, 25, 27 (the river-god Selinos, sacrificing at the altar of Apollon, protects Himera (the cock) against Akragas (the bull of Phalaris)). Panofka thought that the Athenian bull, like the Selinuntine, might have been a votive offering to avert plague, grouped with the seated figure of Athena Τγλεια. Failing that, he suggested a 'Standbild des Stier-Dionysos oder des Achelous.'

[6] Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 428 f. fig. 37.

[7] *Ead. Themis*[2] p. 145 fig. 25.

to be certain that we have here the ox of the Bouphonia. What *is* certain is that we have a holy ox, holy on his own account with a sanctuary of his own, and that this holy ox is associated with not Zeus, but Athena. Whatever Olympian was dominant at the moment would take over the intrinsically holy beast.' F. Schwenn, who held that the Bouphonia was later attached to the cult of Zeus *Polieús*[1], likewise regards the bull as the essential centre of the rite and assumes that a bronze effigy of it was set up to perpetuate the blessings believed to stream from it[2].

Without attempting further to investigate the prehistory of the Bouphonia—a task for which the evidence available is hardly sufficient—we may at least admit that Greeks of the classical and post-classical periods commonly recognised the bull as an animal form of Zeus[3]. They were familiar from their youth up with the story of him and Europe. The Hellenic age loved to portray the god metamorphosed into a bull and bearing his venturesome rider across the sea[4], in the west from left to right[5], in the east from

[1] *Supra* p. 600 n. 0 (6).

[2] F. Schwenn *Gebet und Opfer* Heidelberg 1927 p. 111.

[3] Witness the myths of Antiope (*supra* i. 535 n. 1, 736, 740), Deo or Demeter (*supra* i. 393), Europe (*supra* i. 464, 544, ii. 929 n. 0, 1131 n. 1), Io (*supra* i. 438 f., 458 f.), Pasiphae (*supra* i. 544, 739 f.), Typhoeus (*supra* ii. 449 n. 0 (2)).

[4] *Supra* i. 526 n. 1 (bibliography).

[5] So during *s.* vi and the early decades of *s.* v B.C. in the art of Sicily and central Greece. Typical examples are the following:

(1) An archaic metope from temple 'F or S' at Selinous, which was at first dated as far back as the end of *s.* vii or the beginning of *s.* vi (A. Salinas 'Nuove metope arcaiche Selinuntine' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1889 i. 958 ff. pl. 1, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 670, J. Escher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1296 f.), but is now more reasonably placed *c.* 560 (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* viii. 488 ff. fig. 248, D. S. Robertson *A Handbook of Greek & Roman Architecture* Cambridge 1929 p. 325) or even *c.* 540 B.C. (W. J. Anderson—R. P. Spiers *The Architecture of Ancient Greece* rev. by W. B. Dinsmoor London 1927 p. 193). The bull combines profile body with full-face head, horn ear and knee breaking the framework to convey a sense of motion. His back is unduly depressed to secure approximate isocephaly. His tail is too long, but serves to lend interest to the flat monotonous flank. The whole effect is awkward, since Europe's far hand grasps the near horn of her mount: if he turns his head, she will be pulled off his back. Two dolphins below the group betoken the sea (Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 288, b=my fig. 415). The metope is carved in 'tufo bianco di Menfi' (Salinas *loc. cit.*).

(2) A late black-figured *lékythos* from Kyme in Campania, now at Naples (G. Fiorelli *Notizia dei Vasi dipinti rinvenuti a Cuma nel 1856* Napoli 1857 col. pl. 9, 2, G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1857 v. 140 pl. 10, 13 (=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 488, 13 with text p. 487), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 424 (5), Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 878 Raccolta Cumana no. 218, J. E. Harrison—D. S. MacColl *Greek Vase Paintings* London 1894 p. 14 pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 416)), has given rise to several misconceptions. L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1863 p. 135, on account of 'die Rebzweige' by which she is surrounded, took the bull-rider to be a Maenad, not Europe at all. But

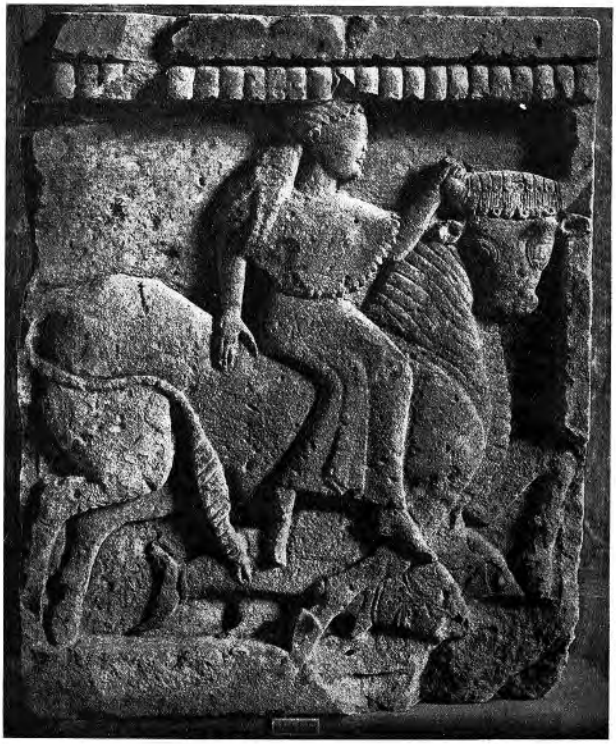


Fig. 415.

Fig. 416.

right to left[1]. The Hellenistic age, tiring a little of this hackneyed

id. ib. 1866 p. 106 no. 3 remarks that the said 'Rebzweige' are laden with white fruit, not grape-bunches, and concludes, on account of the fish in the water and the rocks on either side of it, that after all Europe must be meant. G. Minervini *loc. cit.*, followed by O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 21, supposed that the rocks in question were merely high-flung waves and quoted *Il.* 13. 29 *γηθοσύνῃ δὲ θάλασσα διέστατο* of a similar scene. Overbeck *loc. cit.* hedges. Returning to sanity, we note the impression of speed given by the five dolphins hurrying in the opposite direction to the bull, the daring though unsuccessful attempt to show the bull's legs underwater, Europe's hand thrown up in astonishment at sight of the further shore even at the risk of letting go that horn—altogether a brilliant little picture. The apple-tree need be no more than a conventional background, though Stephani *loc. cit.* 1866 p. 119 may be right in regarding it as a substitute for a flower held in the hand: Europe was certainly a tree-and-flower goddess (*supra* i. 525 ff.).

(3) A late black-figured *oinochóe* with trefoil mouth, now in the possession of Mr C. T. Seltman and as yet unpublished, shows on a red panel Europe, draped, riding to right (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 242 no. B 486). Her left hand grasps the bull's horn; her right hand is empty. Behind her is seen the apple-tree with white fruit. Beneath her the sea is rendered by a wash of thinned glaze with white curved lines to indicate the waves—an early example of naturalism in colour (cp. *supra* i. 335 figs. 267, 268, where the undulations are in thinned glaze without white contours).

(4) A red-figured *amphora* at Petrograd (*supra* i. 531 fig. 405), attributed by Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 288 no. 98 to Douris, by J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 108 no. 3 to 'Der Maler der münchener Amphora 2303.'

(5) The famous Europe-*kýlix* at Munich (*supra* i. 526 n. 1 with col. pl. xxxii), on which alone the bull was inscribed ΙΕVΣ, details were gilded, and the sea was simply ignored—the result being a simultaneous appeal to our interest in mythology, our appreciation of splendour, and our imaginative powers. As often as the *kýlix* was filled at feast or festival, the god and his glittering consort would be visible, an appropriate group, in the midst of a wine-dark sea.

(6) The red-figured fish-plates at Petrograd (*supra* i. 547 with fig. 414) supply the anticlimax. The galloping bull and the floating Europe, with her train of fish, dolphins, and sea-powers, would all be literally submerged in the brine that formed a popular sauce (*γάρος*).

[1] (1) By far the earliest example of this arrangement is found on a 'Caeretan' *hydría* in the Louvre (*supra* i. 471 fig. 327), produced by a brilliant Ionic artist in some Asia Minor town *c.* 550 B.C. (Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 180 f., M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 126, 163 fig. 256 (detail of trees, hare, etc.)).

(2) Next in order of seniority is the group that appears *c.* 500 B.C. on the oldest *statér* of Phaistos. Of this crude and dumpy coin only one specimen has been published

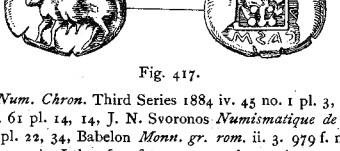


Fig. 417.

(W. Wroth in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1884 iv. 45 no. 1 pl. 3, 6, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 61 pl. 14, 14, J. N. Svoronos *Numismatique de la Crète ancienne* Mâcon 1890 i. 254 pl. 22, 34, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 979 f. no. 1620 pl. 255, 1, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 472). I therefore figure a second, now in my collection (fig. 417),

type, sought to vary the traditional pose[1], imported fresh elements

which shows some features of the obverse more clearly. The reverse has an incuse square containing a lion's scalp surrounded by the inscription AM| ΡΑΟ |[ΤΛΟΡΤ]| ΜΡΑ (*Φαιστίων τὸ φαῦμα*). Analogous types occur on the oldest coins of Gortyna; but on these the bull more often moves towards the right. Sundry specimens on which the movement is towards the left seem to be of slightly later date (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 37 pl. 9, 4, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 158 no. 4, p. 159 no. 8 pl. 12, 24, no. 9 pl. 12, 25. Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 3. 979 ff. no. 1621 pl. 255, 2, no. 1622 pl. 255, 3 assigns these coins to Phaistos: on their reverse the legend surrounding the lion's scalp has either been replaced by a border of dots or disappeared altogether). For further light on the relations between the series of Gortyna and Phaistos we await the forthcoming study of the subject by Mr E. J. P. Raven.

(3) The terra-cotta plaque here published (pl. xlvi, 1) is said to have formed part of a frieze from a tomb at Hadra, the eastern suburb of Alexandreia, which passed into the collection of Florence Lady Ward and thence into mine. Excavations carried on at a great depth in 1898—1901 led to the discovery of two cemeteries, 'that of Hadra on the east of the city containing Hellenic graves, and that of Gabbari on the west, which is late Hellenistic and Roman' (R. C. Bosanquet in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 351 f. See further E. Breccia *Alexandrea ad Aegyptum* Bergamo 1922, and for details *id.* 'Fouilles de Hadra' in the *Municipalité d'Alexandrie. Rapport sur la marche du service du musée* 1912 pp. 15—33 pls. 10—22, *id.* 'Nuova esplorazione nella necropoli di Hadra' in the *Bulletin de la société archéologique d'Alexandrie* 1914 xv. 56—58, A. H. Tubby—H. E. R. James 'An account of excavations at Chatby, Ibrahimieh, and Hadra' *ib.* 1918 xvi. 79—90 pl. 3). Height $5\frac{7}{16}$ ins., width $4\frac{3}{4}$ ins. There is one hole for attachment. The relief is throughout covered with a delicate white slip, on which Europe's mantle is touched in with light blue pigment. The design shows a magnificent bull turned towards the left and pawing the ground, on which flowers are springing. Couched on his back in an easy attitude is Europe, looking towards the right. Her feet are crossed, and her body is half-draped in a light wrap which she holds as a sail with either hand. The forms of the bull, the spacing of Europe's breasts, the rendering of the flowery meadow, are all characteristic of the fourth century B.C. and suggest a fine original dating from the period of Ptolemy i Soter or, at latest, Ptolemy ii Philadelphos.

Mr A. D. Trendall, however, draws my attention to a bronze mirror (pl. xlvi, 2) now in the possession of Mr Bisset in Rome. This mirror, which measures ·15^{m} by ·16^{m} (or ·19^{m}, if the handle be included) is said to have been found at Athens, where it was bought from a dealer in February or March 1935. The design of its relief is obviously identical with that of the terra-cotta plaque.

How is this identity to be explained? Is the plaque a forgery, or the mirror, or both? Or should we point to the fact that a bronze mirror-case of *c.* 300—250 B.C. at Paris (M. Collignon in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1885 ix. 322 ff. pl. 7), no. 1355 in the Bibliothèque Nationale, is similarly duplicated, or at least closely paralleled, by a terra-cotta mould found in the Peiraieus and now at Berlin (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 544 f. no. 1355 fig.)?

(4) The type recurs, with some exaggeration, on bronze coins of Gortyna attributed to the third (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 42 pl. 11, 5, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 171 f. pl. 15, 20, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 497 pl. 240, 15, *supra* i. 529 fig. 400, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 467) and second century B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 45 pl. 11, 11 (cp. *supra* i. 472 fig. 328), J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* p. 173 f. pl. 15, 26, 27, 28, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 498 pl. 240, 16).

[1] Europe floating (*supra* i. 547 fig. 414), recumbent with front to spectator (*supra* n, o (3) pl. xlvi, 1, 2), recumbent with back to spectator (*infra* p. 626 figs. 425, 426), standing (*supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402), stooping (*infra* p. 619 n. 2 (1) pl. xlvii, cp. p. 620 n. o (2) figs. 419, 420), sitting (*infra* p. 622 n. o fig. 422), etc.

1

2

(1) Terra-cotta plaque from a tomb at Hadra (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge: Europe on the Bull.
(2) Bronze mirror from Athens (?), now in Rome: Europe on the Bull.

See page 618 n. 0 (3).

of interest into the scene[1], or changed the time of action by showing the bull still on *terra firma* while the meadow broke into flowers at his feet[2]. Europe, fully draped to begin with[3], then semi-draped[4], and finally in Roman art frankly naked[5], was from first to last

[1] Basket (*supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402, i. 531 fig. 405), Asterion (*supra* i. 531 fig. 405, i. 547 fig. 414), Erotes (*supra* i. 547 fig. 414, *infra* n. 2 (1) pl. xlvii, p. 627 n. o (3) pl. xlviii), sea-powers (*supra* i. 547 fig. 414, *infra* p. 627 n. o (3) pl. xlviii), etc.

A good example of the sort is a 'Lucanian' *amphora* in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 no. F 184), which has for its main design Europe on the bull riding towards the left. The sea is indicated by a dolphin (mostly repainted), a fish, a lobster, and a cuttle, seen above a rocky bottom on which are sea-urchins and seaweed. Behind

Fig. 418.

Europe flies Eros with a *tainía*, and on the shore she has quitted stands a bearded male figure with bay-wreath, embroidered *himátion*, and staff—presumably Phoinix or Agenor (J. V. Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs tirées de diverses collections* Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25 (=my fig. 418), Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 438 f. (no. 19) Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 863 fig. 2847). The suggestion of Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 439 that the bearded figure is Zeus strikes me as a little tactless. Zeus should at least be advancing towards his bride's arrival (cp. *supra* i. 531 fig. 405, i. 547) rather than speeding her departure.

[2] A small group of South-Italian vases combines this representation of Zeus as a bull with that of Zeus *in propria persona*:

(1) An Apulian *amphora*, found in 1851 in a rich rock-cut grave at Canosa (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1857 xv. 56 ff. pl. 104, 2 shows the tomb) and now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 495 ff. no. 3218), has the upper zone of its body decorated with two scenes in which Zeus plays a part: (*A*) Europe and four of her companions are playing at ball in a flowery meadow, watched by an old *paidagogós*, when the great bull, yellow above and white below, appears in their midst and kneels at the feet of Europe. One Eros on his back urges him forward, another holding a *tainía* hovers above her. A dove brings

up a wreath as omen of successful love. And four stars indicate the sky, which is the true home of the metamorphosed god (G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* 1853 ii. 46 ff., 57 ff., O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 1 ff. pl. 1, a (=my pl. xlvii), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 434 ff. (no. 16)). Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 435 n. (a) illustrates the colour of the bull from Didymos *ap.* Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1430, 63 f. *καὶ ταῦρος ἀργιμήτης ἤγουν λευκός φασι παρὰ Φρυνίχῳ, ὁ διακομίσας τὴν Εὐρώπην*, Hesych. *ἀργιμήτας ταῦρος· ταχύμητις ἢ λευκὸς παραγώγως· λέγεται δὲ ἐπὶ τοῦ διακομίσαντος τὴν Εὐρώπην*, Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 2 *ὁ Ζεὺς δὲ ταύρῳ εἰκάσας ἑαυτὸν συνέπαιζεν αὐταῖς κάλλιστος φαινόμενος· λευκός τε γὰρ ἦν ἀκριβῶς καὶ τὰ κέρατα εὐκαμπὴς καὶ τὸ βλέμμα ἥμερος· κ.τ.λ.*, Ov. *met.* 2. 852 quippe color nivis est, 861 flores ad candida porrigit ora, 865 nunc latus in fulvis niveum deponit harenis, Sil. It. 14. 568 f. ardet et Europe, nivei sub imagine tauri | vecta Iove, *Anth. Lat.* cod. Salmas. 14. 3 (i. 1. 49 Riese) Europam nivei solatur amore iuvenci, and—for the admixture of yellow—from Mosch. 2. 84 f. *τοῦ δ' ἤτοι τὸ μὲν ἄλλο δέμας ξανθόχροον ἔσκεν, | κύκλος δ' ἀργύφεος μέσσῳ μάρμαιρε*

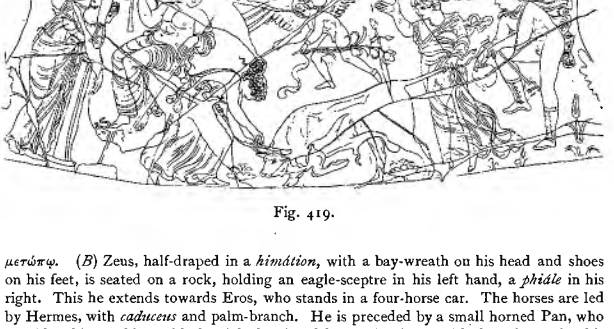
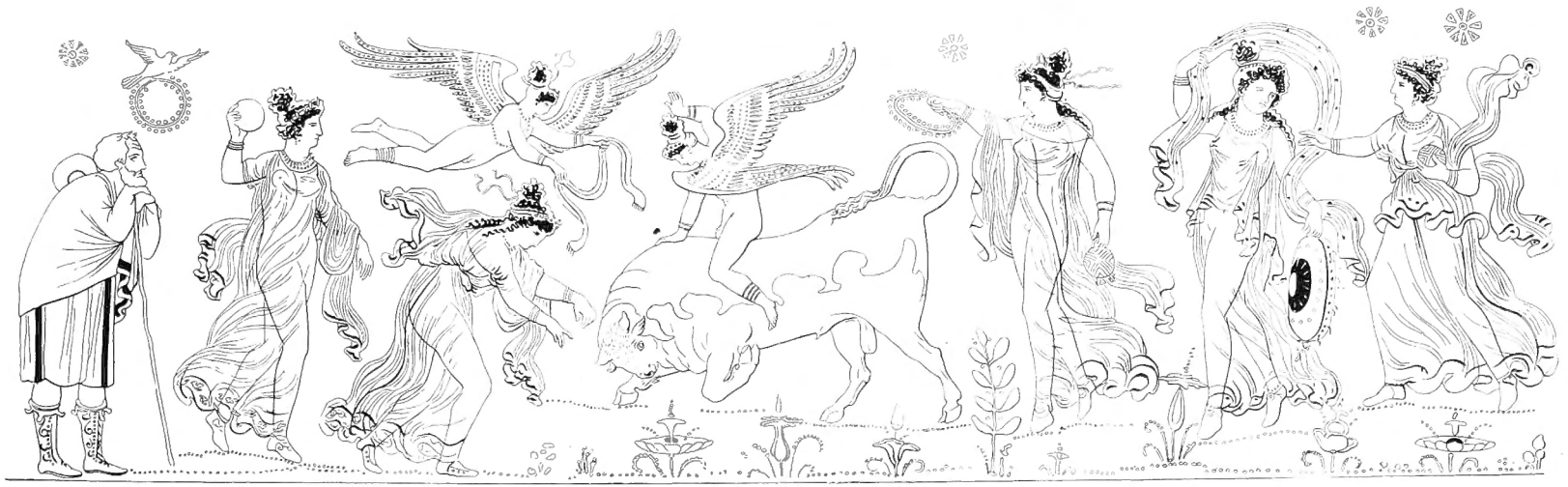


Fig. 419.

μετώπῳ. (*B*) Zeus, half-draped in a *himátion*, with a bay-wreath on his head and shoes on his feet, is seated on a rock, holding an eagle-sceptre in his left hand, a *phiále* in his right. This he extends towards Eros, who stands in a four-horse car. The horses are led by Hermes, with *caduceus* and palm-branch. He is preceded by a small horned Pan, who shoulders his *lagobólon* with the right hand and holds his *sýrinx* with the left, turning his head to glance at Hermes. Before both, leaning on a rock over which his *chlamýs* is thrown, stands a young man with horns, wearing a broad band round his head: he holds a *lagobólon* in his right hand, a *phiále* in his outstretched left (*quis?* Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 499 n. 8 suggests '*Diopan* im Gegensatz zum kleinen *Aigipan*?' and quotes in support O. Benndorf in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 111 ff. Better, perhaps, Pan as opposed to Aigipan, cp. *supra* i. 375 fig. 287). Below, flowers and grasses. Above, four stars. The significance of the scene is doubtful. But the recurrence of these four stars justifies us, I think, in linking the reverse (*B*) with the obverse (*A*). L. Stephani was perhaps on the right tack when in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1866 p. 121 he wrote: 'in einem dritten Gemälde derselben Vase sieht man Zeus, umgeben von anderen Gottheiten, auf seinem Throne sitzen und daneben ein Viergespann, auf welchem er sich wahrscheinlich nach Kreta begeben wird.'

(2) An Apulian *amphora* in the Museo Gregoriano of the Vatican has the upper zone of its body decorated with an analogous design (A. F. Gori *Museum Etruscum* Florentiae 1737 i pls. 162 (whole vase), 163 (obverse), 164 (reverse), ii. 316 ff., J. B. Passerius *Picturae Etruscorum in Vasculis* Romae 1767 i. 5 ff. pls. 4—6 (coloured but inadequate), O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 4, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 436 f. (no. 17) Atlas pl. 6, 15



An *amphora* from Canosa, now at Naples: Europe playing with the Bull.

See page 619 *n.* 2 (1) (*d*).

Fig. 420.

a vegetation power[1] and as such associated with flowers and fruit. The fertilising god must needs have a fertile bride.

The Greek type of Europe with her flowers seated on the back of the bull Zeus seems to have originated in the Hittite type of Chipa with her flowery kirtle standing on the bull of Tešub[2], and

(from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 419, Alinari's photo no. 35731 = my fig. 420). Europe stoops to attach a cord to the horns of the submissive bull (cp. Ov. *met.* 2. 867 f., *Anth. Lat.* cod. Salmas. 14. 17 f. (i. 1. 49 Riese), while one of her playmates holds him by the tail. The bull is painted white. Eros with a *tainía* and a flower in his left hand extends his right with a wreath towards Europe. The rest of the figures are divine, and correspond with those on the reverse of the preceding vase. On the left Aphrodite, uplifting a mirror, leans over a pillar to watch the scene. On the right Hermes, with *pétasos, chlamýs, caduceus*, and wreath, awaits the issue in his favourite attitude of the supported foot (*supra* ii. 479 n. 6, *infra* p. 706). Finally, seated at a higher level and half-draped in a fine *himátion*, with a wreath in his hair, is the bridegroom looking towards his bride. The sceptre in his hand marks him as Zeus. Jahn *loc. cit.* speaks of it as crowned with an eagle. Overbeck too calls it an 'Adlerscepter' and figures it as such, though in the modern photograph the bird is hard to trace. Jahn further describes Zeus as 'unbärtig.' Overbeck says 'in seltener Erscheinung jugendlich' and compares Zeus as a beardless lover on an Io-*amphora* of the Coghill collection (Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 55 ff. pl. 26, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 466 f. (no. 1) Atlas pl. 7, 7, *infra* p. 638 n. 0 fig. 435); but Overbeck's own tracing shows that the god's face is modern and Gori *op. cit.* pl. 163 gives it a beard!

(3) A South-Italian *kratér* (*hydría*?), likewise in the Museo Gregoriano, simplifies the scene (O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 5, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 437 (no. 18) Atlas pl. 6, 13 (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 421). Europe hurries forward to caress the white bull, which stands erect before her on the flowery plain. Her old nurse (?) turns away with a gesture of astonishment. Above Europe is seen a *tainía*. Above the bull's head, a long-winged Eros with mirror and dulcimer. On a higher level, left and right, sit two deities facing each other—Zeus with *phiále* and long sceptre, Aphrodite with mirror and toilet-box.

An Apulian *kratér* in the Louvre represents a slightly earlier moment in the action and gives no hint of Zeus in human shape (Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 434 (no. 15) Atlas pl. 6, 12 (from a tracing of the original) = my fig. 422). The treatment is interesting and was perhaps inspired by some such painting as that described in Ach. Tat. 1. 1 *ἑκόμα πολλοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὁ λειμών· δένδρων αὐτοῖς ἀνεμέμικτο φάλαγξ καὶ φυτῶν· συνεχῆ τὰ δένδρα, συνηρεφῆ τὰ πέταλα· συνῆπτον οἱ πτόρθοι τὰ φύλλα, καὶ ἐγίνετο τοῖς ἄνθεσιν ὄροφος ἡ τῶν φύλλων συμπλοκή. ἔγραψεν ὁ τεχνίτης ὑπὸ τὰ πέταλα καὶ τὴν σκιάν·...ὕδωρ δὲ κατὰ μέσον ἔρρει τοῦ λειμῶνος τῆς γραφῆς, τὸ μὲν ἀναβλύζον κάτωθεν ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς, τὸ δὲ τοῖς ἄνθεσι καὶ τοῖς φυτοῖς περιχεόμενον.* Here too in the midst of the meadow is a spring welling from a hollow rock, on which sits Europe beneath two overarching trees. On the left a swathed woman bears a large pitcher. On the right a great bull, coloured white and red, lowers his head before Europe, who looks longingly at him and toys with her veil. Higher up Aphrodite is seated, with Eros standing beside her. And above the horizon are seen a male and a female (? two females) conversing together.

[3] So most frequently, *e.g. supra* i. 471 fig. 327, 526 pl. xxxii, 531 fig. 405, 547 fig. 414, iii. 615 n. 5 (1) fig. 415, 615 n. 5 (2) fig. 416, 619 n. 1 fig. 418, 619 n. 2 (1) pl. xlvii, 620 n. 0 (2) figs. 419, 420, 622 n. 0 (3) fig. 421, 622 n. 0 fig. 422.

[4] *E.g. supra* i. 539 fig. 411, iii. 618 n. 0 (3) pl. xlvi, 1 and 2.

[5] *E.g. infra* p. 627 n. 0 (3) pl. xlviii.

[1] *Supra* i. 524 ff.

[2] *Supra* i. 526 n. 2, 606, 644 figs. 503 and 504.

with sundry modifications[1] to have lasted on well into Roman

Fig. 421.

Fig. 422.

[1] A possible Europe—we can hardly rate the evidence higher—hails from the *thólos*-tomb at *Dendra*, near Midea on the Argive Plain, excavated by A. W. Persson in 1926 and dated by him and A. J. B. Wace *c.* 1400—1350 B.C. (A. W. Persson *The Royal Tombs at Dendra near Midea* Lund 1931 pp. 67, 143). Among its rich contents were eight metope-like plaques of glass paste, six light blue, two violet in colour, but all bearing a design in relief described as follows by their discoverer: 'An animal with head borne

times[1]—a total duration of nearly two thousand years. The theme

high moves swiftly towards the right; on its back sits a woman (there is a fastening hole on each side of her waist) with both legs at one side, the knees very much bent... The representation naturally recalls those dating from a later period, showing Europa on the bull, especially that on the archaic metope from Selinus, with a beading on the upper edge [*supra* p. 616 fig. 415]—our plaques have one also on the lower edge. On the small glass plaques from Midea we have the first illustration of the Europa legend, an illustration of the Mycenaean period' (Persson *op. cit.* pp. 36, 65 fig. 43, pl. 25, 1 (part of which = my fig. 423: scale $\frac{2}{3}$) and pl. 26, 2). Persson's view was adopted by M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean*

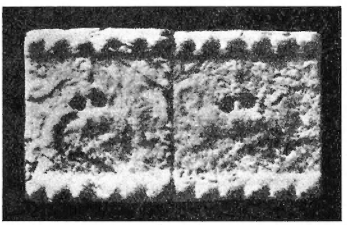


Fig. 423.

Origin of Greek Mythology Cambridge 1932 p. 33. But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 p. 112 ('Bronzerelief'!) and A. Roes in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 25 call for caution. If the plaques in question really represent Europe, this is by far the earliest trace of her myth on Greek soil, and the bull—as we should have anticipated (*supra* p. 615)—moves from left to right. But Europe, though the likeliest, is not the only possible bull-rider. What of Artemis Ταυροπόλος (*supra* i. 417 n. 7, 538 fig. 409, ii. 729 n. 0, 955 n. 0, 1214 (?))? Or, for that matter, what of Chipa herself?

[1] Roman wall-paintings and floor-mosaics of Europe are listed by Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 36 ff. nos. 122—130, p. 454, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 22 f. nos. 79—82, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 11 no. 4, p. 12 nos. 1—3, p. 13 nos. 1—6, p. 14 nos. 1—6. One painting and a couple of mosaics will serve to illustrate the range and variety of these later representations:

(1) The finest of the wall-paintings was found in a house at Pompeii (*Reg.* ix. 5. 18, room *f* on the plan by A. Mau in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1879 p. 22 pl.) and is now at Naples (A. Sogliano in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 303 no. 1296, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 p. 69 ff. fig. 11, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 68 (= my fig. 424) Text p. 89 f., L. Curtius *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* Leipzig 1929 p. 289 f. pl. 4 (a good reproduction in colours), O. Elia *Pitture murali e mosaici nel Museo Nazionale di Napoli* Roma 1932 p. 37 no. 47 fig. 12). Europe, half-draped in a violet *himátion* with sea-green border, is seated, not to say enthroned, on the back of a splendid brown bull, which stands steady though his eye is turned seaward and he is already thinking of the perilous transit. The heroine's right hand raises her mantle; her left is laid on the bull's head and holds a red riband (?to twine about his horns, cp. Ov. *met.* 2. 867 f.). Of Europe's playmates, in wine-red, golden yellow, and greenish blue, the first stoops to embrace the bull, the third has set down her pitcher—a detail which implies the proximity of a spring (*supra* p. 622 n. 0 fig. 422), as perhaps does the squared structure on the right. The landscape background shows a wooded mountain, cleft by a ravine in which are seen a stately fir-tree (?) and before it a tall sacred column

to indicate that this is holy ground. The whole composition, with its clear-cut contours and sharp sculpturesque qualities, belongs to Mau's Third Style of mural painting (25 B.C.—50 A.D.). But the mysterious glow, which lights up the rock-face, the column, the further

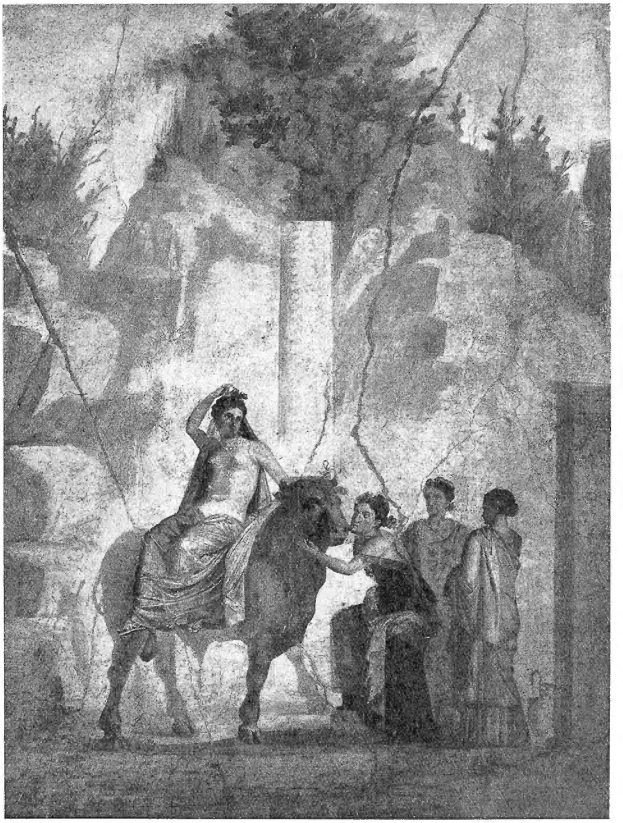


Fig. 424.

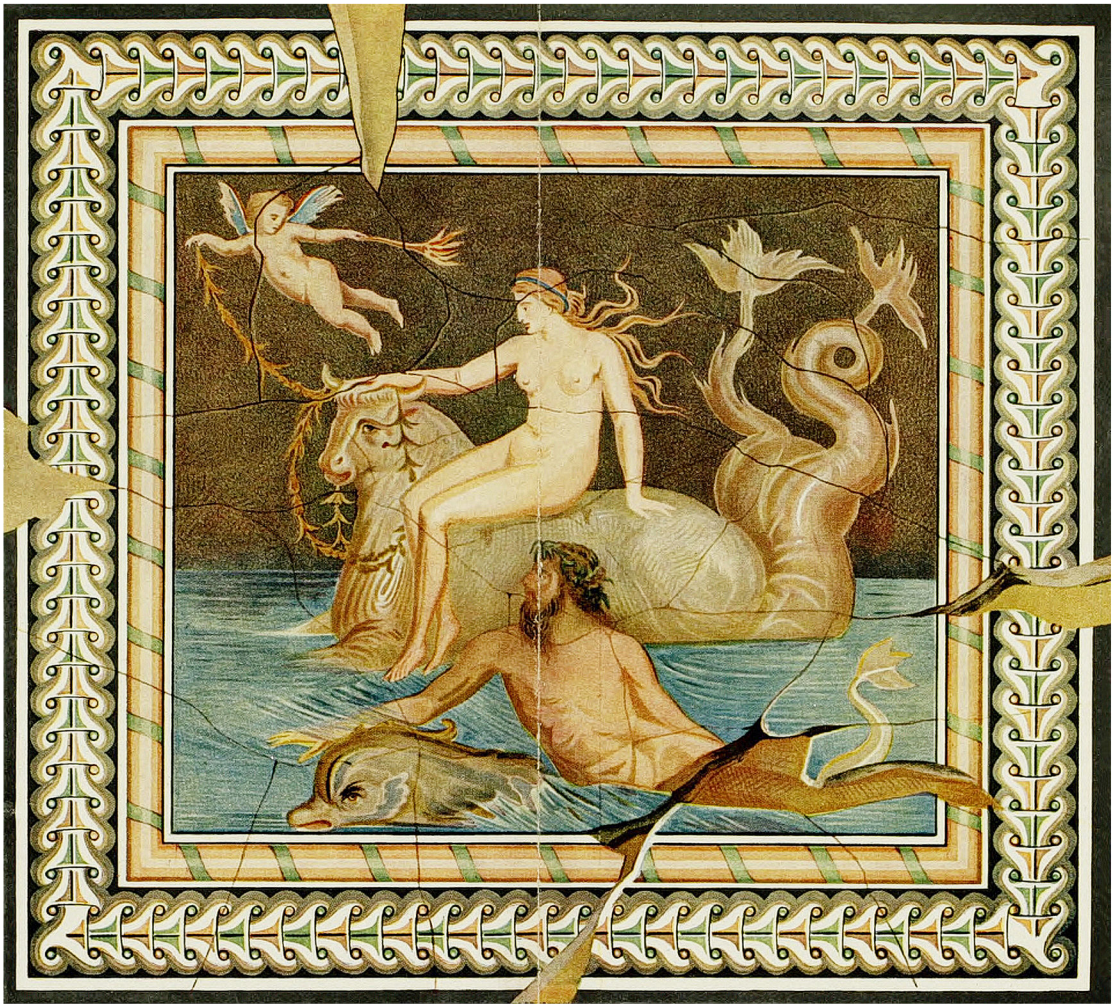
legs of the bull, and glints on the breasts of Europe, is a light-and-shade device already heralding the advent of the Fourth Style (50—79 A.D.). The work in general presupposes a good Greek original of the Hellenistic age, to which the Roman copyist has added a conventional background and accessories.

(2) A mosaic; found at Praeneste (*Palestrina*) towards the end of the seventeenth century and now preserved in a bedroom of the Palazzo Barberini at Rome, raises several

Fig. 425.

Fig. 426.

problems of interest (O. Jahn *Die Entführung der Europa auf antiken Kunstwerken* Wien 1870 p. 7 ff. pl. 2 (=my fig. 425) from a drawing by Schulz, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 454 ff. (no. 41) Atlas pl. 7, 20, W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die*



A Roman mosaic from Aquileia: Europe on the Bull, escorted by Eros and Poseidon.

See page 627 n. o (3).

appealed, not only to artists and craftsmen, but to poets[1] and

campanische Wandmalerei Leipzig 1873 p. 224 ff., *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1412 ff. fig., *id. Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 395 f., Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 12 no. 1). The bull (white, shaded with brown) is already in the sea, escaping towards the left, with Europe scantily draped in a *himátion* (deep orange, shaded with red) on his back. Her adventure is watched with astonishment and interest by two female figures (local Nymphs?) on the sea-shore. Above are seen five of Europe's playmates fleeing in alarm towards the right. Some of them look back as they run. And finally from behind a rock advances a grave bearded man in a *himátion* (red) with a long staff (yellow) in his hand. Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 456 would see in him Zeus, at whose sudden appearance the nearest of the maidens is collapsing in a swoon! Jahn *op. cit.* p. 8 had more sensibly taken him to be Agenor the father of Europe or Kadmos her brother. Helbig *Führer*[3] p. 395 f. notes that, apart from minor injuries and repairs, there is something wrong about the whole composition. Europe's companions are not looking at the elopement, but forwards or backwards; nor is Europe herself being carried off from their midst. All would be well, if the mosaic were bisected and rearranged with its lower half on the left, its upper half on the right (fig. 426). Accordingly he conjectures that the original design was an oblong fresco, which the Praenestine craftsman compressed into a square (0·82^{m}) to fill a given space. The lively attitudes and the fine colouring point to an artist of marked ability. We are thus led towards the conclusion that this mosaic is a modified copy of the famous painting by Antiphilos, a rival of Apelles, whose 'Kadmos and Europe' was to be seen in the Porticus Pompeia at Rome (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 114, cp. Mart. *ep.* 2. 14. 3, 5, 15 ff., 3. 20. 12 f., 11. 1. 11). See further A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 385 n. 2.

(3) Of almost equal interest and of even greater beauty is the mosaic found in 1860 near the Cathedral at Aquileia on the estate of Count Cassis and thence removed on rollers to his Museum in the Castle of Monastero (O. Jahn *op. cit.* p. 52 ff. with pl. 10 (=my pl. xlviii) from a coloured drawing carefully executed on the spot by the painter Agujari under the direction of von Steinbüchel, Overbeck *op. cit.* Zeus p. 456 f. Atlas pl. 7, 23, O. Fasiolo *I mosaici di Aquileia* Roma 1915 pl. 1, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 12 no. 2). The divine bull is here figured as a sea-beast, brown to grey in colour: his forefeet plunge in the brine; his hindquarters end in two fish-tails flung aloft as he frisks along. Europe, wearing a blue fillet on her blond hair, but otherwise stark naked, sits gracefully on his back, resting one hand on his head, the other on his flank. Eros, with short wings coloured blue and red, leads the way, holding a flowery halter in his right hand and a burning torch in his left. Lastly, Poseidon, a wreath of green weed on his dark brown hair, rides on a big grey dolphin and is followed by a second of smaller size as he accompanies the bridal *cortège* and calms the sea for his brother. His right arm is seen, as if swimming, through the clear water (cp. Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 74 f.)—an effect made possible by a clever use of blue glass *tesserae.* The mosaic, badly cracked and damaged, must have seen service for many years before Attila captured Aquileia in 452 A.D. Indeed, von Steinbüchel and Jahn assigned it, reasonably enough, to the palmy days of the town under Trajan and Hadrian. Jahn poses the question whether this rider on a marine bull might not have been meant for Aphrodite or some Nereid, say Galateia, rather than for Europe (Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 57 ff.; cp. *supra* p. 133 f. figs. 52, 53), but decides rightly for the last; and even Overbeck says 'eine sichere Entscheidung ist nicht möglich.' I do not share their hesitation. The obvious intention to represent a wedding train and the general agreement with other pictures of Europe really leave no room for doubt, not to mention such confirmatory details as those recorded by Ach. Tat. 1. 1 *Ἔρως εἵλκε τὸν βοῦν· Ἔρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἡπλώκει τὸ πτερόν,...ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέστραπτο δὲ ὡς ἐπὶ τὸν Δία καὶ ὑπεμειδία, ὥσπερ αὐτοῦ καταγελῶν, ὅτι δι' αὐτὸν γέγονε βοῦς.*

[1] The only allusion to Europe in the Homeric poems occurs in the *Διὸς ἀπάτη* (*Il.* 14. 321 f. *οὐδ' ὅτε Φοίνικος κούρης τηλεκλειτοῖο, | ἣ τέκε μοι Μίνων τε καὶ ἀντίθεον Ῥαδάμανθυν*). This bowdlerizing (?) episode omits the actual name of the heroine and ignores the bull.

prose-writers[1] also. And I suggest that its long-lived appeal implies a deep-seated belief among the Mediterranean peoples that the sky-god could and on occasion did take shape as a bull. If so, it may well be that—as we conjectured above[2]—the ox of the Dipolieia was originally held to be the visible form or embodiment of Zeus *Polieús* himself.

Here we may pause to note a partial parallel from northern Greece. A *stéle* of Proconnesian marble, found at the village of *Kavak* between *Panderma* (Panormos near Kyzikos) and *Gunen* and acquired in 1908 by the Imperial Ottoman Museum, is shaped like a chapel with gable and *akrotéria* (fig. 427)[3]. The gable is adorned with an ox-head, round which is a garland tied between the horns. In the chapel stands Zeus *Ólbios*[4]. He wears a *chitón*

They are found first in Hes. *frag.* 209 Flach, 52 Kinkel, 30 Rzach *ap.* schol. A. B. *Il.* 12. 292 Εὐρώπην τὴν Φοίνικος Ζεὺς θεασάμενος ἔν τινι λειμῶνι μετὰ νυμφῶν ἄνθη ἀναλέγουσαν ἠράσθη καὶ κατελθὼν ἤλλαξεν ἑαυτὸν εἰς ταῦρον καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ στόματος κρόκον ἔπνει· οὕτως τε τὴν Εὐρώπην ἀπατήσας ἐβάστασε καὶ διαπορθμεύσας εἰς Κρήτην ἐμίγη αὐτῇ· εἶθ' οὕτως συνῴκισεν αὐτὴν Ἀστερίωνι τῷ Κρητῶν βασιλεῖ· γενομένη δὲ ἔγκυος ἐκείνῃ τρεῖς παῖδας ἐγέννησε, Μίνωα Σαρπηδόνα καὶ Ῥαδάμανθυν. ἡ ἱστορία παρ' Ἡσιόδῳ καὶ Βακχυλίδῃ, cp. schol. T. *Il.* 12. 292 Ἡσίοδος δὲ Εὐρώπης καὶ Διὸς αὐτόν (*sc.* Σαρπηδόνα) φησιν, schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 28 ὁ δὲ Ἡσίοδος Εὐρώπης μέν φησιν αὐτόν (*sc.* Σαρπηδόνα: lacunam indicavit Schwartz) ὡς Ἑλλάνικος (*frag.* 94 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 131 f. Jacoby)): *supra* i. 546 n. 5. Eumelos of Corinth, whose *floruit* (*supra* i. 738) should have been fixed later than *c.* 740 B.C. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[5] München 1912 i. 131, W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1929 i. 1. 290 f.), wrote a Εὐρωπία dealing with the tale of Europe, but the three extant fragments are not *ad rem* (*Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 192 f. Kinkel). Other Greek poets that handled the theme include Eur. Κρῆτες *frag.* 472 Nauck[2] (cited *supra* i. 648 n. 1) cp. Io. Malal. *chron.* 2 p. 31 Dindorf καθὼς καὶ Εὐριπίδης ὁ σοφώτατος ποιητικῶς συνεγράψατο, ὅς φησι, Ζεὺς μεταβληθεὶς εἰς ταῦρον τὴν Εὐρώπην ἥρπασεν, Mosch. 2. 1—166, *Anacreont.* 52 Bergk[4], 52 Hiller, [Hom.] *Batr.* 78 f., Nonn. *Dion.* 1. 46 ff., 320 ff.

Among Latin poets treating of the same subject the following deserve notice: Hor. *od.* 3. 27. 25 ff., Ov. *met.* 2. 836 ff., *fast.* 5. 603 ff., Germ. *Arat.* 536 ff., *Anth. Lat.* cod. Salmas. 14. 1—34 (i. 1. 49 f. Riese).

[1] First in Akousilaos of Argos *frag.* 20 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 102 Müller)=*frag.* 29 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 55 Jacoby) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 5. 7 ἕβδομον ἐπέταξεν ἆθλον τὸν Κρῆτα ἀγαγεῖν ταῦρον. τοῦτον Ἀκουσίλαος μὲν εἶναί φησι τὸν διαπορθμεύσαντα Εὐρώπην Διί· τινὲς δὲ τὸν ὑπὸ Ποσειδῶνος ἀναδοθέντα ἐκ θαλάσσης, ὅτε καταβύσειν Ποσειδῶνι Μίνως εἶπε τὸ φανὲν ἐκ τῆς θαλάσσης: *supra* i. 544 n. 6. Then follow Theophr. *hist. pl.* 1. 9. 5 (cited *supra* i. 526 n. 4), Apollod. 3. 1. 1, Loukian. *dial. mar.* 15. 1—4, Apul. *met.* 6. 29, Ach. Tat. 1. 1. 1—1. 2. 2.

[2] *Supra* p. 606.

[3] Edhem Bey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 521—528 pls. 5 (=my fig. 427) and 6 (lower part of *stéle* on larger scale), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 108 no. 1 (whole) and 175 no. 1 (lower part), Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 39 ff. no. 836 fig., Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 148 f. fig. 26.

[4] The inscription at the foot of the *stéle*, apparently composed in imperfect hexameters, runs: Εὐοδίων ἱερεὺς Διὸς Ὀλβίου | ὑπὲρ τῶν ἰδίων πάντων καθὼς ἐκέλευ|σεν ἀνέθηκα εὐχαριστήριον ᾧ. Others, listed by F. W. Hasluck in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1905 xxv. 56 f. and in his *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 272, all came from the same

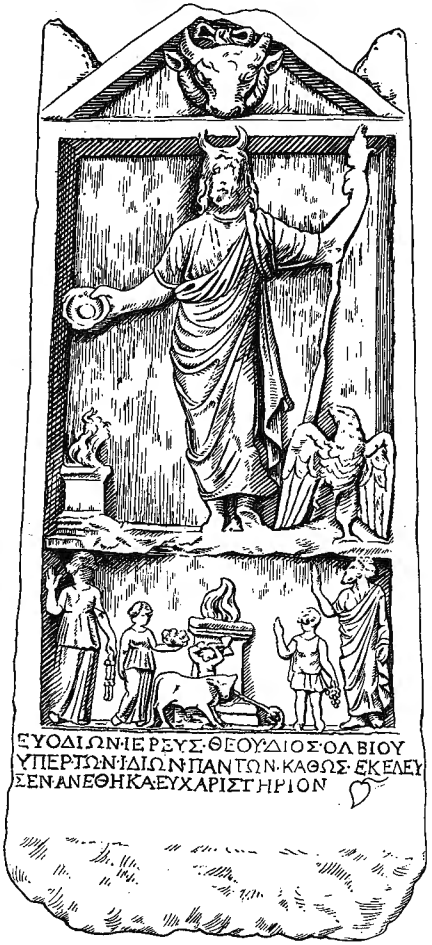

ΕΥΟΔΙΩΝΙΕΡΕΥΣ·ΘΕΟΥΔΙΟΣ·ΟΛΒΙΟΥ
ΥΠΕΡΤΩΝΙΔΙΩΝΠΑΝΤΩΝ·ΚΑΘΩΣ·ΕΚΕΛΕΥ
ΣΕΝΑΝΕΘΗΚΑΕΥΧΑΡΙΣΤΗΡΙΟΝ

Fig. 427.

and a *himátion*. His left hand grasps a sceptre, the lower end of which disappears behind an eagle with spread wings. His right hand holds a bossed *phiále*, from which he is pouring a libation above the flame of a small altar. But the most noteworthy feature of the design is that the head of the god with its full beard and long hair combines two bovine horns[1]. Below the figure of Zeus is a sacrificial scene. In the centre is a flaming altar. Before it, and represented on a small scale so as not to conceal the altar, a man with a double axe is about to strike a bull, whose head is bound by a cord to a ring fixed in the ground[2]. On one side stand a boy and a man. Their raised right hands held objects of an oval shape (fruit ?)[3]. The boy's lowered left hand is holding a bunch of grapes. On the other side stand a girl and a woman. The girl carries in her left hand a dish of fruit and flowers[4]. The woman has fillets in her left hand, and raises her right with open palm in a gesture of invocation.

Zeus *Ólbios*, the god 'of Welfare[5],' was evidently a giver of fertility; and his bovine horns were due, not to a late confusion with other deities[6], but to an early conception of him as tauromorphic.

district, having been found near *Gunen*, presumably at *Kavak*: (1) a block, used later for a capital, inscribed [Δ]ι[ὶ Ὀ]λ[βίῳ?] | [Εὐ]σηκό(υ)ῳ? β[ω]|μὸν ὑπὲρ (ἑ)α[υ]|τοῦ καὶ βίου | [κ]αὶ τέκνω[ν] | [κ]αὶ τ[ῶν κωμητῶν?]. (2) an altar, with a *bucranium* in relief, inscribed θεῷ | [Δ]ὶ Ὀλβίῳ | – –. (3) a fragmentary *cippus* inscribed [θεῷ] Ὀλβίῳ | [? Κόιν]τος Λογγεῖ[νος] | [– –]ίου πραγματευ[τ]ὴς [– –]. (4) a small base inscribed Ἡρακλείδης | Ἡρακλείδου θεῷ | Ὀλβίῳ ὑπ[ὲρ.....]. (5) a broken *stéle*, with a relief of Zeus standing and an eagle on the ground to the right, inscribed [Ἀ]ττάλου | – –.

[1] Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 149 n. 2: 'Miss M. Hardie [Mrs F. W. Hasluck], of Newnham College, kindly examined the original of the relief and writes to me that, so far as it can be made out, there is all the appearance of a bull-mask worn by a human head. If this were certain we should have the figure of a priest impersonating a bull-god, which would be of singular interest.' It would indeed (? cp. *supra* i. 490 ff. fig. 354, 496). But the assumption is too precarious. Edhem Bey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 521 says merely 'la tête barbue, à long (*sic*) cheveux flottants sur le cou, est surmontée de deux cornes, recourbées comme celles d'un bovidé,' and Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 39 echoes him: 'la tête est barbue, avec de longs cheveux flottants et deux cornes de taureau.' Neither suggests a mask.

[2] So on a fragmentary relief from Tralleis (Edhem Bey in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 ii. 361 pl. 15, 1, *id.* in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1904 xxviii. 71 ff. pl. 7, 1908 xxxii. 526 ff., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 169 no. 2, Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 266 ff. no. 547 fig.), which showed a similar sacrifice about to take place at the foot of an old plane-tree.

[3] Edhem Bey in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 522 says 'ils ont...la main droite relevée et tenant un objet indistinct, de forme ovale, peut-être une torche.' Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 40, 'un homme debout...lève la main droite en signe d'adoration; à côté de lui, un jeune garçon...dans la même attitude,' etc.

[4] Edhem Bey *loc. cit.* 'un plat chargé de fruits et de fleurs.' Mendel *loc. cit.* 'un plateau chargé de fruits.'

[5] Cp. Apollon ὄλβιος in *Anth. Pal.* 9. 525. 16 ὄλβιον, ὀλβιοεργόν.

[6] Edhem Bey *loc. cit.* p. 525.

1

2

(1) *Amphora* at Munich:
Io as a heifer with Argos and Hermes.
See page 631 *n.* 3.

(2) *Stámnos* from Caere, now at Vienna:
Io as a steer (!) with Argos, Hermes, and Zeus.
See page 633 *n.* 0.

Aischylos in the first of his extant plays makes the chorus of Danaïdes at Argos appeal to Zeus *Ólbios* as the god who had touched Io and thereby become the forefather of their race[1]. But it was in the form of a bull, as the same play shows[2], that Zeus came into contact with Io, who from that time forward is figured[3] as a heifer[4]

[1] Aisch. *suppl.* 524 ff. Wilamowitz ἄναξ ἀνάκτων, μακάρων | μακάρτατε καὶ τελέων τε|λειότατον κράτος, ὄλβιε Ζεῦ, | πιθοῦ τε καὶ γένει σῷ | ἄλεκτον ἀνδρῶν ὕβριν εὖ στυγήσας· | λίμνᾳ δ' ἔμβαλε πορφυροειδεῖ | τὰν μελανόχυτ' ἄταν. | τὸ πρὸς γυναικῶν <δ'> ἐπιδών | παλαίφατον ἀμέτερον γέ|νος φιλίας προγόνου γυναικός, | νέωσον εὔφρον' αἶνον, | γενοῦ πολυμνήστορ ἔφαπτορ Ἰοῦς. | Δίας τοι γένος εὐχόμεθ' εἶναι | γᾶς ἀπὸ τᾶσδ' ἔνοικοι.

[2] *Supra* i. 438 f.

[3] Representations of Io are collected and discussed *in primis* by R. Engelmann *De Ione commentatio archaeologica* Berolini 1868 (first as cow, then under the influence of tragedy as cow-horned maiden, finally as cow once more), *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 270—280, *id.* 'Die Jo-Sage' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 37—58 figs. 1—10 and pl. 2 (pp. 51—57 groups the extant monuments as follows: (i) 'Liebeswerben des Zeus um Jo'=nos. 1—3; (ii) 'Jo von Argos bewacht'=nos. 4—8; (iii) 'Tötung des Argos'=nos. 9—27; (iv) 'Jo's Ankunft in Ägypten'=nos. 28, 29; (v) 'Einzeldarstellungen der Jo'=nos. 30—50, and p. 57 f. concludes: 'Bis zum Anfang des 5. Jahrhunderts, ja man kann auf Grund der Neapler Vase (Taf. 2) noch bestimmter sagen, bis in die siebziger Jahre des 5. Jahrhunderts, wird Jo nur als Kuh dargestellt; nach der Vorführung des Prometheus dagegen erscheint Jo nur als *βούκερως παρθένος*; zwischen beide Darstellungsweisen schiebt sich...die durch das Bostoner Gefäss vertretene Mischbildung einer Kuh mit menschlicher *προτομή*. Dass schon vor Äschylus die menschliche Bildung der Jo bestanden haben kann, ist wegen der Gleichung mit der ägyptischen Isis zuzugeben. Wenn man aber bedenkt, dass der Wechsel in der Darstellungsweise der Jo chronologisch genau mit dem Dithyrambus (Kuhform), den Supplices (Kuh mit menschlicher *προτομή*) und dem Prometheus des Äschylus (*βούκερως παρθένος*) zusammenfällt, und dass weder ein monumentales, noch ein literarisches direktes Zeugnis für einen anderen Entwicklungsgang vorhanden ist, dann wird man sich doch genötigt sehen, die nachgewiesene Abänderung, die mit den Bedürfnissen der Tragödie übereinstimmt, auch als durch die Tragödie veranlasst, anzunehmen'). See also Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 465—488 ('Io,' distinguishing (i) 'das Liebesabenteuer des Zeus und der Io,' (ii) 'Io von Argos bewacht,' (iii) 'die Überlistung oder Einschläferung des Argos durch Hermes,' (iv) 'Hermes gewaltthätig gegen Argos,' (v) 'Io in Aegypten,' (vi) 'Monumente, welche keiner bestimmten Situation angehören').

[4] Thus already before the close of *s.* vi B.C. (*supra* p. 221) on the throne of Apollon at Amyklai (Paus. 3. 18. 13 Ἥρα δὲ ἀφορᾷ πρὸς Ἰὼ τὴν Ἰνάχου βοῦν οὖσαν ἤδη). An *amphora* of the 'Northampton style' at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 189 no. 573), akin to the Clazomenian variety of Ionic ware, shows the heifer Io held in check by a monstrous Argos, with an extra eye on his chest, while Hermes, with *pétasos* and winged shoes, advances stealthily to free her from the tether. Argos' dog looks round at the intruder; and in the background is a palm-tree, to which Io should be fastened (T. Panofka 'Argos Panoptes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1837* Phil.-hist. Classe pp. 43 f., 47 col. pl. 5, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1838 x. 329, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 59, 8, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 111, 2, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* iii. 239 ('positivement comique') pl. 99, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 474 (no. 10) ('offenbar komisch oder parodisch') Atlas pl. 7, 19, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1890—1891 pl. 12, 1[a] and 1[b] (=my pl. xlix, 1), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 173, 178, iii. 34 fig. 148). An Attic black-figured panel-*amphora*, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 115 f. no. B 164), depicts a later moment in the attack (*supra* ii. 379 fig. 286 from a reversed drawing by E. Vitet. R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 52 f. fig. 7

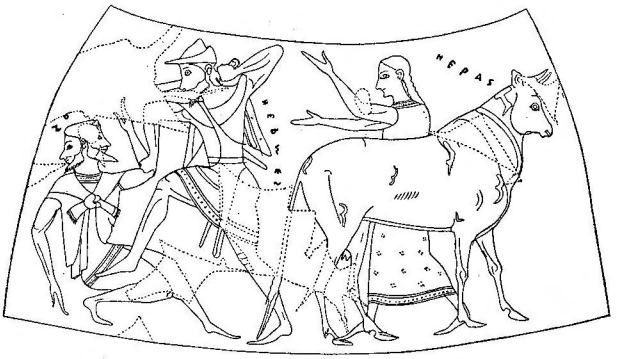


Fig. 428.

Fig. 429.

(=my fig. 428) was the first to publish the correct design and to include a point noticed by A. S. Murray, that in front of the heifer's head stood the letters [O]I for Ἰώ). An early red-figured plate by 'the Cerberus Painter' *c.* 520—510 B.C. (M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191), found at Chiusi and later in the Pizzati and Blaydes collections, makes Hermes administer the *coup de grâce*, while Io as a heifer bounds away on her wanderings (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1847 v. 17 ff. pl. 2 (=my fig. 429), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 363, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 479 (no. 17) Atlas pl. 7, 18, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 145 no. 7, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 30 no. 5). A red-figured *stámnos* from Caere, now at Vienna (Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 52 no. 338), by 'the

Fig. 430.

Argos Painter' *c.* 480 B.C. likewise has Hermes slaying Argos, here covered with eyes, but by a slip represents Io as a steer(!), and adds a seated and sceptred Zeus, completing the picture by an olive-tree on the left and a palm-tree, with a doe behind it, on the right (R. Schöne in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 xxxvii. 147—159 pl. I—K (interprets the gesture of Zeus as a hint of his ultimate intervention, cp. Aisch. *P. v.* 848 f. *ἐνταῦθα δή σε Ζεὺς τίθησιν ἔμφρονα | ἐπαφῶν ἀταρβεῖ χειρὶ καὶ θιγὼν μόνον*, Mosch. 2. 50 ff. *ἐν δ' ἦν Ζεὺς Κρονίδης ἐπαφώμενος ἠρέμα χερσὶν | πόρτιος Ἰναχίης, τὴν δ' ἐπταπόρῳ παρὰ Νείλῳ | ἐκ βοὸς εὐκεράοιο πάλιν μετάμειβε γυναῖκα*), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 314, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 28 (c), 477 f. (no. 15) Atlas pl. 7, 10, *Wien. Vorlegebl.* 1890—1891 pl. 11, 1 (=my pl. xlix, 2), J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 110 no. 1). A red-figured *hydría* by 'the Girgenti Painter' *c.* 475 B.C., formerly in the Pascale collection at Santa Maria di Capua and now at Bryn Mawr, has a finely painted design of Argos, with eyes all over his body (even one between the straps of his right boot and another under his left boot), leopard-skin cape, fur *ptîlos*, club, and sword, pursued by Hermes (wreath, *pétasos*, *chlamýs*) in the act of drawing his sword. Io as a heifer bounds away to the left. The Doric column, the altar, and the priestess with temple-key and poppy-headed sceptre, mark the scene as taking place in the Argive Heraion. The four small bushes are its sacred grove (Apollod. 2. 1. 3 says of Argos *οὗτος ἐκ τῆς ἐλαίας ἐδέσμευεν αὐτήν, ἥτις ἐν τῷ Μυκηναίων ὑπῆρχεν ἄλσει*). Finally, Zeus and Hera balance each other on the left and right (E. Petersen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1893 viii. 328 no. 17, J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of

as a heifer with human face[1], as a maiden with heifer's ears and horns[2], as a horned maiden[3], or at least as a maiden with a heifer at her side[4].

Aeschylus' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1901 xii. 335—345 with col. pl. by F. Anderson, R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 42 ff. fig. 2 (=my fig. 430), L. G. Eldridge in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1917 xxi. 41 f. fig. 4, 51 ff. fig. 6, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 245 no. 39).

Graeco-Roman gems revert to the animal form of Io. A brown chalcedony from the Blacas collection, now in the British Museum, shows Hermes on the left holding the heifer by her horns and Zeus on the right standing with left hand raised and an eagle at his feet (T. Panofka *loc. cit.* pp. 18 f., 46 pl. 1, 7, G. P. Secchi in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1838 x. 315, E. Braun *ib.* 329, *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 59, 4 (=my fig. 431: scale $\frac{2}{1}$) from an impression by T. Cades, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 143 no. 1262 pl. 18). See also the gem noted *supra* i. 440 n. 4 fig. 312, of which there is a photograph in Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 132 no. 28 pl. 21.

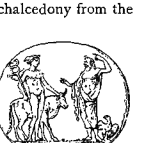


Fig. 431.

[1] R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 38 ff. fig. 1 (=my fig. 432) was the first to publish and discuss an important vase at Boston, on which Io appears as a heifer with human face. This red-figured *oinochóe* came from south Italy and is described as 'wahrscheinlich apulisch, in direkter Nachahmung attischer Ware aus der Mitte des V. Jahrhdts.' Engelmann adds: 'Meiner Meinung nach dürfte man mit der Zeitbestimmung noch etwas höher hinaufgehen.' The vase represents a beardless Hermes, with *chlamýs*, *pétasos*, *caduceus*, and sword, advancing against Argos, who wears *chitón*, ox-hide cape (*supra* i. 458 f.), leather cap, and brandishes a club as he turns to face his pursuer. Io moves off towards the right: her body is that of a heifer, but her head has bovine horn and ear combined with the features of a maiden, and a veil the folds of which serve to conceal the ungainly combination. Engelmann acutely remarks that the same *quasi*-oriental 'Mischbildung' is presupposed by the earliest of the extant Aeschylean tragedies (Aisch. *suppl.* 565 ff. Wilamowitz *βροτοὶ δ' οἳ γᾶς τότ' ἦσαν ἔννομοι | χλωρᾷ δείματι θυμόν | πάλλοντ', ὄψιν ἀήθη | βόσκημ' ὁρῶντες δυσχερὲς μειξόμβροτον, | τὰν μὲν βοός, | τὰν δ' αὖ γυναικός· τέρας δ' ἐθάμβουν*). But S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 1739 replies: 'Aber Aischylos braucht ja nicht absolut an ein solches Mischwesen zu denken, I[o] mag auch in den Hik[etides] nur als kuhhörnig gedacht worden sein, um als ein "wunderbares Mischgeschöpf" bezeichnet zu werden.'

[2] The exact date of Aischylos' *Prometheus Bound* is not easy to fix (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 296 f.), and W. Schmid after repeated examination of the evidence (W. Schmid *Untersuchungen zum Gefesselten Prometheus* (*Tüb. Beitr.* ix) Tübingen 1929 (Aisch. *P. v.* is the work of an unknown poet writing between 458 and 445 B.C.), *id.* 'Epikritisches zum Gefesselten Prometheus' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Feb. 14, 1931 p. 218 ff.) can roundly declare: 'Der Gefesselte Prometheus ist weder von Aischylos noch zu dessen Lebzeiten verfasst' (W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1934 i. 2. 193, cp. W. Morel in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1932 ccxxxiv. 84 f.). This is not the place to argue the point. In any case S. Eitrem *loc. cit.* is right in saying: 'Die gehörnte Jungfrau wurde nämlich die beliebteste Erscheinungsform der verwandelten I[o] in der Kunst, und auch in der Literatur wird die *βούκερως παρθένος* seit Aisch. Prom. 586 [*κλύεις φθέγμα τᾶς βούκερω παρθένου;*], vgl. 673 K. [*κεραστὶς δ', ὡς ὁρᾶτ'*] häufig erwähnt.'

A good example of Io with cow's horns and cow's ear is the Jatta *kratér* already figured (*supra* i. 459 n. 5 with fig. 318), of which Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 480 (no. 19) says: 'Den Mittelpunkt bildet Io, welche als kuhgehörnte und daneben, als

einziges Beispiel, auch kuhöhrige Jungfrau dargestellt ist und durch einen langen Schilfstengel, den sie in der Rechten hält, sehr passend als Tochter des Flusses Inachos bezeichnet wird.'

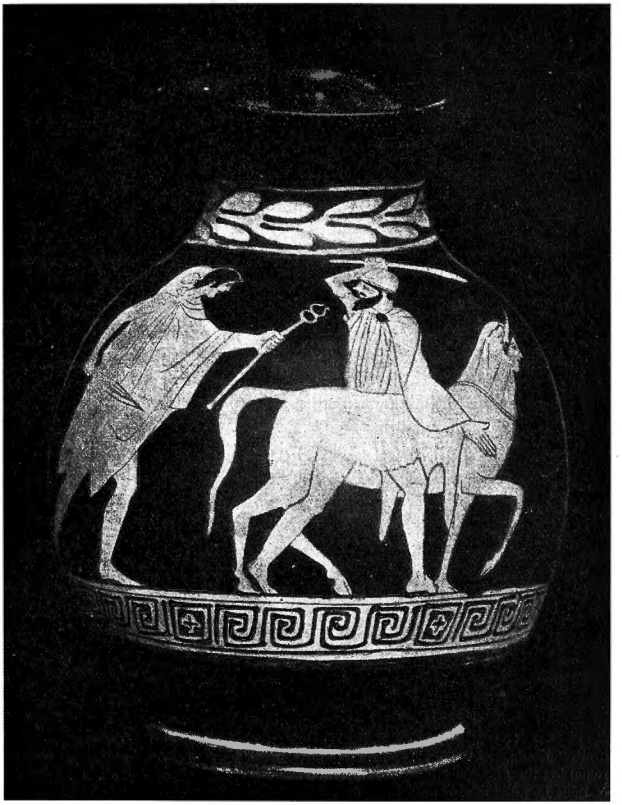


Fig. 432.

Antefixes of terra cotta, semi-elliptical in shape and adorned with the head of Io in relief, have been found in some numbers at Tarentum. The British Museum has two, one certainly, the other possibly, from that town (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 415 no. D 665 Tarentum 1884 (height 6⅞ ins.), p. 419 no. D 692 Towneley collection (height 7¼ ins.)). The Museum of Fine Arts at Boston has other specimens of the same sort

(*Annual Report* Boston 1901 p. 63 n.). There are several in Berlin, and many in the Tarentine Museum (A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 223 n. 1 = *id. Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 216 n. 1). One of the Berlin examples, found at Tarentum, is figured by R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 55 no. 34 fig. 8. I add one of the same type, likewise found at Tarentum in 1919, and now in my collection (fig. 433: height 7¼ ins., breadth 8 ins.). It represents Io *en face* with budding horns and bovine ears. Between her horns is seen part of a veil (Engelmann

Fig. 433.

loc. cit. says 'Zwischen den Hörnern Binde'; and Walters *loc. cit.* D 692, 'over the forehead, indications of cow's hide (?)'), and from her ears hang earrings of one drop. Lastly, round her throat is a necklace of fourteen pendants She is in fact figured as the beloved of Zeus in full bridal array. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* remarks: 'Der stilistische Charakter dieses Typus auf den Stirnziegeln...ist derjenige der Zeit gegen 400.' I agree. But I dissent from his further contention, that we have here a goddess—say Artemis *Tauropólos*—rather than the heroine Io. It must not be forgotten that Io, as priestess of Hera, was herself in some sense divine (*supra* i. 453 ff.). I am disposed therefore to think that these antefixes came from a sanctuary of Hera, whose head with transparent veil (**Ταραντινὸν**), earring, and necklace appears *c.* 340—*c.* 302 B.C. on the splendid gold coinage of Tarentum (M. P. Vlasto in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 303 ff. pls. IE′, 1—9, 17 f., IS″, 1—5, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 195 f. pl. 45, 11, 12, 15).

[3] Bovine ears, an unnecessary deformation, are discarded in most representations of Io as a horned maiden, *e.g.* on a red-figured *kratér* from Ruvo in the Barone collection (*supra* ii. 379 f. fig. 287), and as time goes on even her horns tend to be minimised (*supra* i. 237 n. 3) until they are scarcely, if at all, discernible (*infra* figs. 434, 438 f.).

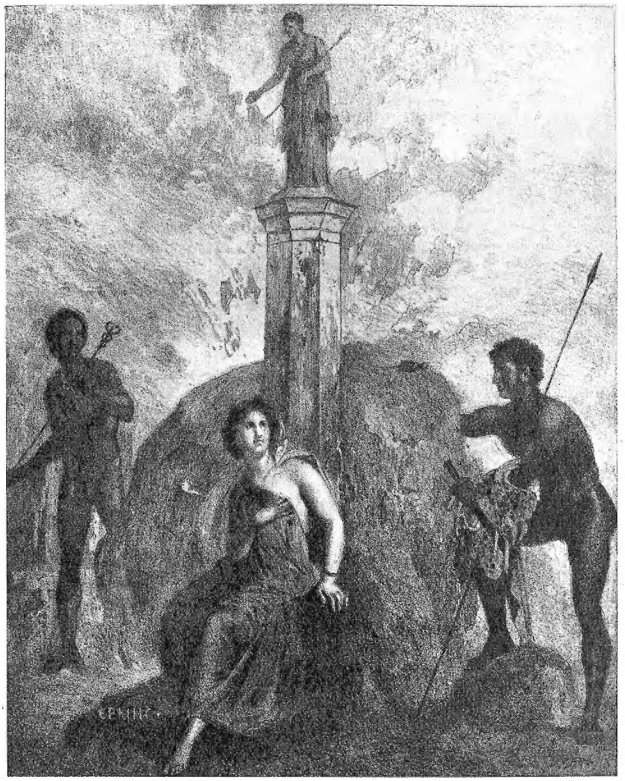


Fig. 434.

Nikias of Athens, the famous contemporary of Praxiteles (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 133), is known to have painted a large picture of Io (*id. ib.* 35. 132). Pliny, describing his *technique*, says that he 'devoted special attention to women, was careful in his treatment of light and shade, and took particular pains to make his figures stand out against the background' (*id. ib.* 35. 130 f.). This *inter alia* justifies W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über*

die campanische Wandmalerei Leipzig 1873 pp. 113, 140 ff. in his conjecture, now commonly accepted, that the fresco of Io in the 'House of Livia' on the Palatine (G. Perrot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870—1871 i. 387 ff. pl. 15 (=my fig. 434), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 483 (no. 20) Atlas pl. 7, 11, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 136 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* xi col. pl. 22, A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 288 n. 5, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 16 no. 3, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 753, iii. 316, fig. 708, H. Bulle 'Untersuchungen an Griechischen Theatern' in the *Abh. d. bayer. Akad. 1928* Philos.-philol. Classe xxxiii. 309—311, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 279 fig. 448 (from photo), L. Curtius *Die Wandmalerei Pompejis* Leipzig 1929 p. 258 ff. with figs. 62 (wall), 154 (head of Io from photo), 155 (whole picture from photo)) is in its essentials a copy of Nikias' work. Io, with the faintest indication of horns on her brow, sits in dejection at the foot of a pillar, on which stands the effigy of a sceptre-bearing Hera. The background is occupied by a big rock. On the right Argos, a young man equipped with spear, sword, and spotted panther-skin (in lieu of extra eyes), leans forward in the favourite Lysippian attitude of the supported foot (*supra* p. 622 n. 0 (2), *infra* p. 706) gazing intently at Io. On the left Hermes (his name is given in Greek lettering), with *caduceus*, winged *pétasos*, and *chlamýs*, approaches to carry out the behest of Zeus. The theme was popular, for it occurs not only in this picture, which is of Mau's 'Second or Architectural Style' (*s.* i B.C.), but—with omission of Hermes and Hera—in sundry Pompeian paintings (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 38 f. nos. 131—134, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 15 nos. 4 and 6, p. 16 no. 2), of which the best are one from *Reg.* ix. 7. 14 in the 'Third Style' (*c.* 25 B.C.—*c.* 50 A.D.) (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* Text p. 67 f. fig. 16, L. Curtius *op. cit.* p. 258 ff. fig. 156) and one from the Macellum in the 'Fourth Style' (*c.* 50—79 A.D.) (Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 53 Text p. 67 f., L. Curtius *op. cit.* p. 260 ff. fig. 157). Pictures of the sort were certainly known to Propertius (1. 3. 19 f. sed sic intentis haerebam fixus ocellis, | Argus ut ignotis cornibus Inachidos), if not also to Statius (*Theb.* 6. 276 f. Io post tergum, iam prona dolorque parentis, | spectat inocciduis stellatum visibus Argum).

Nikias' masterpiece exerted a powerful influence over the vase-painters of South Italy, who borrowed its main features and used them, inappropriately enough, to express the happy ending of Io's sad story—the moment when in far-off Egypt Zeus at long last would by his touch restore her to her senses and claim her as his bride (Aisch. *suppl.* 310, *P. v.* 848 ff. Wilamowitz). A red-figured *amphora* of 'Lucanian' style, found at Anzi, Basilicata, and later in the Coghill collection (J. Millingen *Peintures antiques des vases grecs de la collection de Sir John Coghill* Rome 1817 pl. 46, T. Panofka *loc. cit.* pp. 20 ff., 47 col. pl. 4, 1 (=my fig. 435), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 55 ff. pl. 26, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 466 f. (no. 1) Atlas pl. 7, 7, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 19 f. pl. 3, 37, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 73 ff. pl. 7, 12, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 16, 2), shows Io after her wanderings seated on the altar of Hera, while Eros empties his perfume above her. On the right, Zeus, beardless (? originally bearded, but repainted: cp. *supra* p. 622 n. 0 (2) fig. 419) and half-draped, draws near, holding his eagle-sceptre. On the left, Hermes, with supported foot, watches the issue. Behind Hermes, an olive-tree. Behind Zeus, a Satyr (? Pan, repainted) with pan-pipes. The scene is repeated and amplified on another 'Lucanian' vase, a red-figured *hydría* from Anzi, now at Berlin (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* p. 366 ff. pl. 115, T. Panofka *loc. cit.* pp. 22 ff., 47 col. pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 436), Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 47 ff. pl. 25, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 467 ff. (no. 2) Atlas pl. 7, 8, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 873 ff. no. 3164), which makes Io sit on the pedestal of the goddess (here treated as Artemis with bow and wheel-torch: cp. *supra* i. 408 f. fig. 304) holding a casket and lotos-fillet. These are the love-gifts of Zeus, who approaches coyly from the right, shouldering a long lotiform sceptre. On the left, Hermes, his foot supported as usual, rests one hand on a club and holds tablets in the other. Behind Hermes is Hera in person, now reconciled to her rival. Behind Zeus, dove on finger, stands Aphrodite, present to bless the lovers. Eros, with hoop and hoop-stick, spreads his pinions above them. Trees, plants, a tripod, and a *hydría* mark the spot as a sacred precinct, while

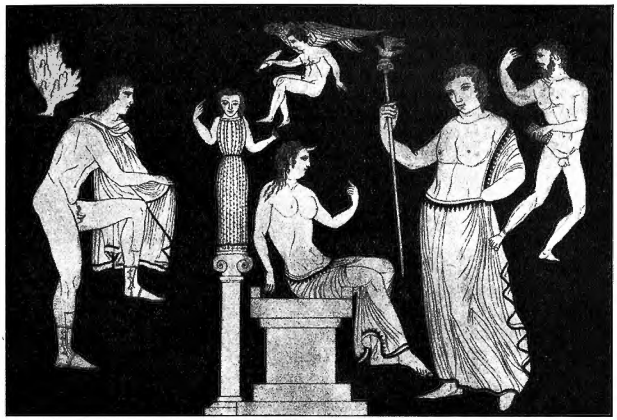


Fig. 435.

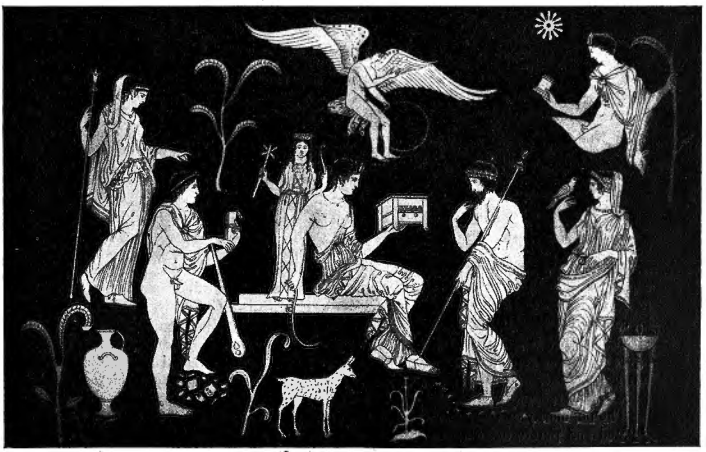


Fig. 436.

Artemis' fawn in the foreground shows to whom that precinct belongs. Finally, in the top right hand corner, partly concealed by a hill, is Pan with his pipes, a frequent adjunct on South-Italian vases (*e.g. supra* i. 222 pl. xix, i. 375 fig. 287, ii. 416 with fig. 322).

On comparing these two vases with the Palatine copy of Nikias' painting it becomes clear that they have taken over much from the Athenian original—(*a*) the central figure of Io herself, seated, half-draped, and with budding horns on her brow; (*b*) the statue of Hera on a pillar or pedestal, unsuitable to its new Egyptian context and therefore transformed into a more barbaric Artemis; (*c*) the helper Hermes on the left, who having now slain Argos is free to appropriate his attitude—an exchange the more pardonable because that attitude had belonged to Hermes in fifth-century art (*supra* ii. 738 fig. 668) long

Fig. 437.

before it was borrowed by Argos. On this showing we shall not agree with H. Bulle *loc. cit.* that the statue of Hera on a pillar was a stagey addition due to the Roman copyist, nor with L. Curtius *loc. cit.* that Hermes (carefully inscribed, remember, in Greek letters) was merely 'eine Zutat des Malers des zweiten Stils.' Curtius is, however, right in contending that in other Pompeian frescoes representing Io, Argos, and Hermes (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 39 f. nos. 135 and 137, Curtius *op. cit.* p. 263 f. figs. 158 and 159) the figure of Io was copied or modified from the type first devised by Nikias. Modification has gone further and fared worse in paintings of her arrival in Egypt (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 40 f. nos. 138 and 139, Curtius *op. cit.* p. 215 ff. figs. 127 and 129).

The popularity of this seated Io may be gauged from the fact that she is found as an isolated and purely decorative figure, surrounded by a fantastic floral arabesque, on a *hydria* from Basilicata now at Naples (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 487 f. (e), Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 443 no. 2922, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 279 with fig. (=my fig. 437)).

A cornelian signed by Dioskourides, the supreme glyptic artist of the Augustan age (Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 8, Suet. *Aug.* 50, cp. Dion Cass. 51. 3), shows a deep-cut head of Io, again with budding horns, earrings, and necklace. This gem, admittedly the loveliest of his works, is said to have been found in 1756 on the estate of the Duca di Bracciano, from whose possession it passed into the Poniatowski collection. In 1839 that collection was sold in London, and the present owner of the gem is unknown (S. Reinach in the *Chronique des Arts* jan. 5 and 12, 1895, pp. 2 and 11, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1478 n. 1). Publications include Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 486 (b)

Fig. 438.

Gemmentaf. 5, 10 (inadequate), A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 222 ff. no. 6 pl. 8, 25 (=*id. Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 215 ff. no. 6 pl. 26, 25), *id. Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 49, 9 and pl. 51, 17 (enlarged), ii. 234, J. H. Middleton *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times* Cambridge 1891 p. 78 f. My fig. 438 is from a fine impression of the original by T. Cades *Collezione di N° 1400 Impronti delle migliori pietre incise, sì antiche, che moderne, ricavati dalle più distinte Collezioni conosciute dell' Europa* 1ma Classe, A no. 42.

b *a* *c*

Fig. 439.

Copies of this masterpiece have, of course, been made in modern times (A. Furtwängler *locc. citt.*). But ancient copies also exist. One such is a sard from Kalchedon, formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection and now in that of Mr E. P. Warren (J. D. Beazley *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 94 f. no. 113 pl. 6). Another, which came to me in 1926 from Mr A. P. Ready and was previously in the Evans collection, is a clouded cornelian, very deeply cut and still set in its ancient gold bezel (fig. 439 : scale $\frac{4}{1}$). Common to these two stones is the unusual depth of the *intaglio* and the series of straight cuts by which the bust is terminated below.

[4] *E.g.* (1) A painting of Io with a cow, Hermes, and Argos, from the temple of Isis at Pompeii (Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 39 no. 135, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 57

By a natural play upon names Zeus *Ólbios* was taken as the patron-deity of such towns as Olba in Kilikia[1] and Olbia on the

Text p. 72 f.). (2) A variant of the same subject from the *Casa del citarista* at Pompeii (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 40 no. 137, Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 58, 1 Text p. 73 f.). Herrmann *ib.* p. 73 n. 1 says of (1): 'Ob Io selbst an der Stirn die Kuhhörner trägt, wie Helbig im Katalog angibt, ist bei der mangelhaften Erhaltung des Bildes nicht mehr sicher zu erkennen. Wahrscheinlicher ist mir, dass sie fehlen, und dass durch die Kuh selbst neben Io die Verwandlung der Jungfrau angedeutet wurde, so dass die Kuhhörner an der Stirn ein unnützer Pleonasmus wären. Auch auf dem Bilde der Casa del citarista [(2)]...kann ich keine Kuhhörner bei Io entdecken.'

For the coins of Gaza see *supra* i. 236 n. 3 figs. 176, 177.

[1] For recent investigations on the site see J. T. Bent in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 220—222 (visit and description), E. L. Hicks *ib.* 262—270 (inscriptions), R. Heberdey—A. Wilhelm in the *Denkschr. d. Akad. Wien* 1896 vi. Abh. 'Reisen in Kilikien' pp. 83—91 (mainly inscriptions) with figs. 14 (temple of Zeus) and 15 ('Hallenstrasse'), E. Herzfeld in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv Arch. Anz. pp. 434—441 with fig. 1 (plan of ruins at *Uzundja Burdj*), J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1915 xviii Beiblatt pp. 33—41 with figs. 8 (tower), 9 (temple of Zeus), 10 (temple of Tyche), 11 (gateway), 12 (inscription), and especially J. Keil—A. Wilhelm

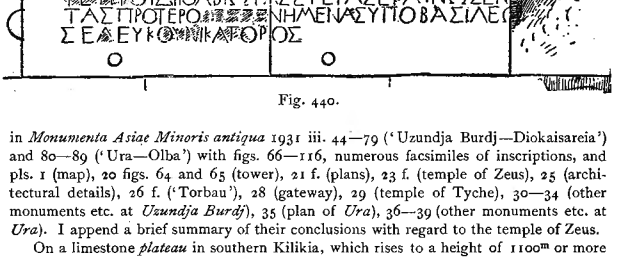


Fig. 440.

in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* 1931 iii. 44—79 ('Uzundja Burdj—Diokaisareia') and 80—89 ('Ura—Olba') with figs. 66—116, numerous facsimiles of inscriptions, and pls. 1 (map), 20 figs. 64 and 65 (tower), 21 f. (plans), 23 f. (temple of Zeus), 25 (architectural details), 26 f. ('Torbau'), 28 (gateway), 29 (temple of Tyche), 30—34 (other monuments etc. at *Uzundja Burdj*), 35 (plan of *Ura*), 36—39 (other monuments etc. at *Ura*). I append a brief summary of their conclusions with regard to the temple of Zeus.

On a limestone *plateau* in southern Kilikia, which rises to a height of 1100^{m} or more (J. T. Bent in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 222 says 3800 ft. above sea-level), there is an impressive pile of ruins known as *Uzundja Burdj*, 'Tall Tower.' It gets its name from a Hellenistic five-storeyed fortress (built *c.* 200 B.C. and restored *c.* 150—100 B.C.), which is represented apparently on a bronze coin of Olba struck in the time of Hadrian (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. p. 124 no. 21 pl. 22, 8) and still dominates the scene. It was there to protect the oblong *témenos* of Zeus Ὄλβιος, whose temple has been identified from an inscription on the back wall of its western *stoá* recording repairs to the *stoá*-roof *c.* 60—50 B.C. (fig. 440 = part of Herzfeld's sketch in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 50 fig. 71, cp. Heberdey—Wilhelm *loc. cit.* p. 85 no. 166 = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no 1231 *ἀρχιερεὺς μέ[γ]ας Τεύκρος Ἠροφάντους [τοῦ] | Τεύκρου Διὶ Ὀλ[βί]ῳ τὰς [σ]τέγας ἐκαίνωσεν | [τὰς] πρότερο[ν γ]εγ[ε]νημένας ὑπὸ βασιλέω[ς] | Σελεύκου Νικάτορος*). The *témenos*-wall and the temple itself, to judge from the style of their architecture, were erected under Seleukos i Nikator (312—281 B.C.). The temple is remarkably well preserved (fig. 441 is from the photograph in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii pl. 24, which shows the temple as seen from the S.W.). Its thirty-two Corinthian columns are all standing, though only four of them retain their capitals (fig. 442 = Herzfeld's elevation and sections

in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 47 fig. 67). The rest were removed in Christian times, when the walls of the *naós* were demolished, the columns of the *peristasis* built in, and an apse added to transform the temple into a fifth-century church (fig. 443= Herzfeld's plan in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 49 fig. 68).

The temple was the main sanctuary of Ὄλβη or Ὄλβα (*Uva*), which lay on lower ground a few miles to the east and was connected with it by means of a plastered and partly rock-cut road running between ancient tombs—one of many cases in which the local *hierón* was at some distance from its town. But little by little the *hierón* of Olba

Fig. 441.

grew to be a town in its own right, till at length—probably in the reign of Vespasian—it acquired, as we infer from an inscription found by W. Bauer on the north front of the town-gate, the name Diokaisareia (*Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 44 f., 71 no. 73, 1 ff. *ἐπὶ τῆς εὐτυχεστά[τ]ης βασιλείας τῶ[ν δ]εσποτῶν [τῆς οἰκουμέ]νης* Φλ(αβίου) Ἀρκαδίου *κὲ* Φλ(αβίου) Ὀν[ο]ρίου *τῶν ἐ[ωνίων*] Αὐγ(ούστων) *τὸ πᾶν ἔργον | τὸ ὑ[πὲρ τιμ]ῆς Διοκ[εσαρ]έων ἐγ θεμελίου ἐ[πι]κατεσκευ[ά]σθ[η] | ἀρχο[ν]τος τοῦ λαμπρ(οτάτου) [κὴ θαυ]μασιωτάτου κώμητος πρ[ώτου τά]γ[ματος] | κὴ δου[κὸς Ἰ]σαυρίας*] Φλ(αβίου) Λεοντ[ίου]. The first three words of line 3 might also be restored as *τοῦ [τίχοῦς τ]ῆς* or *τοῦ[το πύλης τ]ῆς*, but the general sense is clear).

The cult is said to have been established by Aias, son of Teukros; and the whole district was ruled in historical times by priestly dynasts, most of whom were named Teukros or Aias (Strab. 672). This is largely borne out by epigraphic evidence. An inscription, in letters of the third century B.C., built into a fortress of polygonal masonry, on which is carved the *triskelés* symbol, at a place variously called *Kanidiwan* or *Kanideli* (Kanytelis: see W. Ruge in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1886) three miles from the

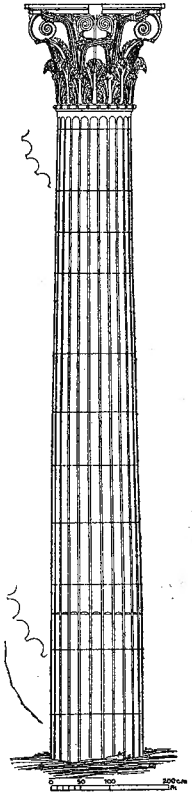


Fig. 442.

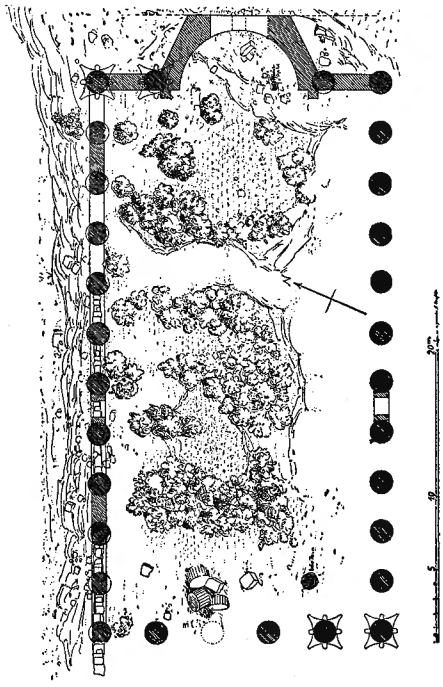


Fig. 443.

ΔΙΙΟΛΒΙΩΙ
ΙΕΡΕΥΣΤΕΥΚΡΟΣ
ΤΑΡΚΥΑΡΙΟΣ

Fig. 444.

coast at *Ayash* (Elaioussa Sebaste: W. Ruge *ib.* v. 2228 f. and J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 220 ff.), has been claimed as the oldest Cilician document yet discovered: E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 226 no. 1 with cut (my fig. 444)=Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1230 Διὶ Ὀλβίωι | ἱερεὺς Τεῦκρος | Ταρκυάριος ('son of Tarkyaris'). Other inscriptions of the sort, collected by J. Keil—A. Wilhelm in *Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 67 ff. nos. 63—71, include p. 69 no. 68 pl. 34 a limestone base from the valley of tombs at *Uzundja Burâj* reading Ὀλβέων ὁ δῆμος καὶ Καννᾶται Ζηνο|φάνην Τεύκρου τοῦ Ζηνοφάνου | ἀρχιερέα μέγαν Διὸς Ὀλβίου ἀρετῆς | ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας ἧς ἔχων εἰς | αὐτοὺς διατελεῖ. The name Zenophanes, which occurs repeatedly in these inscriptions, was of excellent omen for a priest of Zeus (cp. Zãs as priest of Zeus at the Corycian cave (*Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 418 n. 2) and *supra* ii. 921 n. 0).

The name Aias, son of Teukros, is further attested by the coinage of Olba. The earliest coins, referable to the end of *s.* i B.C., have a throne as their obverse, a winged thunderbolt as their reverse type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia etc. pp. lii, 119 pl. 21, 7). Later coins, struck from 10/11 A.D. onwards by Aias, son of Teukros, high-priest and toparch of Kennatis and Lalassis (ΑΙΑΝΤΟΣ ΤΕΥΚΡΟΥ || ΑΡΧΙΕΡΕΩΣ ΤΟΠΑΡΧΟΥ ΚΕΝΝΑΤ· ΛΑΛΑΣΣ etc.), have *obv.* head of Aias as Hermes with cap, ear-ring, *chlamýs*, and *caduceus*, *rev. triskelês* (*ib.* pp. liii f., 119 pl. 21, 8, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 291 pl. 327, 1 f., *supra* i. 304 fig. 234) or winged thunderbolt (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 120 pl. 21, 10) or inscription (*ib.* p. 120 pl. 21, 12); or *obv. triskelês* (*ib.* p. 119 pl. 21, 9) or thunderbolt (*ib.* p. 120 pl. 21, 11), *rev.* inscription. Similar types occur with *obv.* head of Augustus (*ib.* p. 120 f. pl. 22, 1—3, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 291 pl. 327, 3), Tiberius (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 122 f. pl. 22, 4 f.), and M. Antonius Polemo (*ib.* p. 123 f. pl. 22, 6 f.).

Fig. 445.

Fig. 446.

Fig. 447.

Imperial coins of Diokaisareia, apart from variations of such types as the head of Hermes with *caduceus* (*ib.* p. 71 pl. 12, 11), the thunderbolt (*ib.* p. 71 f. pl. 12, 13), and the throne (*ib.* p. 73 pl. 13, 1), make some positive additions to our knowledge of the cult. Bronze pieces issued by Septimius Severus (*ib.* p. 72 pl. 12, 14=my fig. 445 from a cast) show *obv.* the emperor's bust wearing cuirass and *paludamentum* (countermarks: eagle and winged thunderbolt), *rev.* the hexastyle temple of Zeus Ὄλβιος, with a *bucranium* in its pediment, two Nikai (?) as *akrotéria*, a thunderbolt upright in the central intercolumniation, and on the left an altar in front of a tree (or possibly a tree in a square vase, cp. the shrub in a pot beside the temple of Hera on a coin of Samos struck by Gordianus Pius (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Ionia p. 382 no. 294. Fig. 446 is from a specimen in my collection) and the storax-trees of Selge (*supra* ii. 492 n. 0 figs. 378—381)). The remarkable coins of Iulia Domna showing a winged thunderbolt erect on a high-backed throne have been already illustrated (*supra* ii. 810 fig. 773 f.), and I have ventured to infer from their leonine arm-rests that Zeus had here taken over the throne of the Anatolian mother-goddess or her consort. The inference may be strengthened by the fact that other coins, struck by Philippus Senior, represent the city as a veiled and

turreted goddess seated towards the right, while Tyche—her second self—with *kálathos*, rudder, and *cornu copiae* stands before her, and a river-god swims at her feet (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 74 f. pl. 13, 3 = my fig. 447 from a cast). Substantial remains of the Tychaion (E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 264 no. 50 Ὅππιος Ὀβρίμου καὶ Κυρία Λεωνίδου ἡ γυνὴ Ὁππίου τὸ Τυχαῖον τῇ πόλει), a temple dating from the second half of *s.* i A.D., are still to be seen at *Uzundja Burdj* (*Mon. As. Min.* 1931 iii. 56 with pl. 29 and figs. 80, 83).

It seems likely that the temple of Zeus at Olba, founded by Aias, son of Teukros, was a filial of the earlier and more famous temple of Zeus at Salamis in Kypros, founded by Teukros himself (Tac. *ann.* 3. 62 exim Cyprii tribus <de (*ins.* Bezzenberger)> delubris, quorum vetustissimum Paphiae Veneri auctor Aërias, post filius eius Amathus Veneri Amathusiae et Iovi Salaminio Teucer, Telamonis patris ira profugus, posuissent). Not much is known of the Salaminian Zeus. Ampelius, drawing from some Alexandrine source (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1880), mentions among the wonders of the world a Cyprian colossus of the god (Ampel. 8. 20 Cypro signum Iovis Olympii aereum, facies ex auro, quem fecit Phidias †in (C. H. Tzschucke cj. *altum*) cubitis centum quinquaginta et latum cubitis sexaginta); but nobody is likely to believe him—confusion (Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 134 no. 738) and exaggeration are all too obvious. E. Assmann (ed. 1935) assumes a conflation of Ampelius' text (Cypro <signum * * *> aereum, facies ex auro, <altu> m cubitis centum quinquaginta et latum cubitis sexaginta) with a marginal list of the seven wonders (signum Iovis Olympî quem fecit Phidias). Justin in his third-century abridgement of Pompeius Trogus (whose *historiae Philippicae*, written under Augustus, were in all probability the Latin version of a Greek original by Timagenes, itself based on the Φιλιππικά of Theopompos and on other historical works by Ephoros, Timaios, Kleitarchos, Polybios, Poseidonios, Deinon, etc.: see W. S. Teuffel—L. Schwabe *History of Roman Literature* trans. G. C. W. Warr London 1891 i. 532 f., M. Schanz *Geschichte der römischen Litteratur*[2] München 1899 ii. 1. 278 f.) tells how Elissa, after her husband Acerbas had been murdered by her brother Pygmalion, fled from Tyre to Cyprus and was there joined by the priest of Iupiter, who bargained that he and his descendants should hold the priesthood in perpetuity (Iust. 18. 5. 1—3 primus illis adpulsus terrae Cyprus insula fuit, ubi sacerdos Iovis cum coniuge et liberis deorum monitu comitem se Elissae sociumque praebuit, pactus sibi posterisque perpetuum honorem sacerdotii. condicio pro manifesto omine accepta). Ammianus Marcellinus, writing shortly after 383 A.D. (M. Schanz *op. cit.* München 1904 iv. 1. 90), notes the fame of Iupiter's shrines at Salamis and Venus' temple at Paphus (Amm. Marc. 14. 8. 14 Cyprum itidem insulam...inter municipia crebra urbes duae faciunt claram, Salamis et Papbus: altera Iovis delubris, altera Veneris templo insignis). A curious legend told about Epiphanios, bishop of Salamis, who died an old man in 403 A.D. (R. A. Lipsius in Smith—Wace *Dict. Chr. Biogr.* ii. 152), proves that in Christian times the temple of Zeus, though closed and of evil repute, was still standing and known as the 'Security' (or 'Strong Room'?) of the god, apparently because it contained much treasure within sealed doors. The story, which exists in a longer (Polybios *v. Epiphan.* 53 in Dindorf's ed. of Epiphanios Lipsiae 1859 i. 58 f.) and shorter form (*v. Epiphan. epit.* 53 in Dindorf's ed. v. xx), is to this effect. Once during a sore famine a certain rich man named Faustinianus sold wheat and barley to the people. Epiphanios begged him for corn to feed the hungry poor and undertook to repay him for it. Faustinianus bade him go and ask his God to supply their need. So Epiphanios went out one night, as was his wont, to pray among the tombs of the martyrs and besought God to succour the needy. Now there was an ancient temple called the Security of Zeus, and people believed that, if any man approached it, he would be promptly carried off by death. But while Epiphanios prayed God's voice was heard saying: 'Go to the temple called the Security of Zeus, and the seals of the doors shall be loosened, and entering in thou shalt find gold in abundance. Take it and buy all the wheat and barley of Faustinianus, and give food to the needy.' Thereupon Epiphanios went to the temple and, as he approached it, the seals fell, the doors flew open, and he found gold enough to buy up

all the corn that Faustinianus possessed. The longer version of this narrative says *ἦν δὲ ναὸς ἐκεῖνος ἀρχαῖος, ὅστις ἐκαλεῖτο Διὸς ἀσφάλεια. τούτῳ δὲ τῷ ναῷ εἴ ποτε ἤγγισέν τις τῶν ἀνθρώπων, ἐλέγετο εὐθέως ὑπὸ θανάτου λαμβάνεσθαι* and again *ἀπελθε ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῷ καλουμένῳ Διὸς ἀσφάλεια, καὶ λυθήσονται αἱ τῶν θυρῶν σφραγῖδες, καὶ εἰσελθὼν εὑρήσεις χρυσίον*

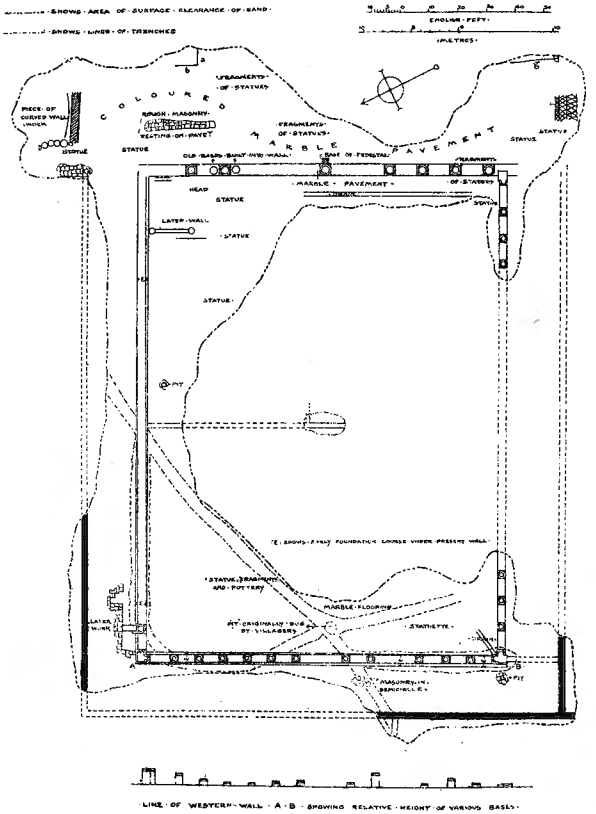


Fig. 448.

πολύ. The *epitome* would explain away the difficult name by writing *ἦλθεν αὐτῷ ἐν μιᾷ φωνῇ οὐρανόθεν, κατελθεῖν ἐν τῷ Ἑλληνικῷ ναῷ τῷ ἐπιλεγομένῳ τοῦ Διὸς ὄντος ἐν ἀσφαλείᾳ πολλῇ. καὶ δὴ ἀπελθόντος αὐτοῦ ἀοράτως τὰ κλείθρα διηνοίγη ὑπὸ θεοῦ. καὶ εἰσελθὼν ἐνδον εὗρεν χρυσίον πολύ*. But *ἀσφάλεια* is probably concrete, cp. Hesych. *s.v. κλεῖθρα· μοχλοί. ἀσφάλειαι* (*ἀσφαλείας* cod.). *πύλαι* = Favorin. *lex.* p. 1062, 52. There can be little doubt

that the building in question was the old heathen temple of Zeus Σαλαμίνιος (E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 1842), not the much later tomb still extant as the 'Prison of Saint Catharine' (on which see J. L. Myres in *Archaeologia* 1915 lxvi. 179—194 with fig. 1 and pl. 21 f.).

The remains of the old temple have not yet been found. But a large oblong precinct, first located in 1882 by M. Ohnefalsch-Richter (*Kypros* p. 23 ff.) and partially excavated

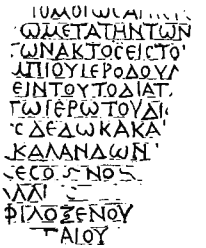


Fig. 449.

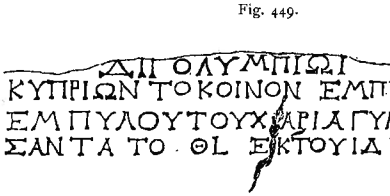


Fig. 450.

Fig. 451.

in 1890 by J. A. R. Munro and H. A. Tubbs (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 66, 106—120 with four figs. and pls. 5 (map) and 6 (plan=my fig. 448)), seems to have been sacred to Zeus. For a fragmentary plaque of white marble, built into some masonry at its south-eastern angle, records in lettering of *s.* iii or perhaps *s.* ii the dedication of a slave to the service of Zeus, no doubt with a view to his emancipation (*ib.* pp. 78, 119, 193 f. no. 48 fig., F. H. Marshall in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1916 iv. 2. 138 no. 986 with fig. (=my fig. 449) – – – – – – – – ὁμοίως
α – – – – – – – – – – – – – – | – – – – – – – ω μετὰ τὴν τῶν – – – – – – – – – – | – – Ἀρισ]τ(ι)ώ-
ναχτος εἰς τὸ(ν) – – – – – – – – – – | – – – Ὀλυ](μ)πίου ἱεροδού(λ)[ου – – – – – – – – – – | – – –
γράφ]ειν τοῦτο διατ(α)[– – – – – – – – – – | – – – – – ἐν] (τ)ῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Δι(ὸ)[ς – – – – – – – – |
– – – – – – – ς δέδωκα κα(ὶ) – – – – – – – – – – | – – – – – – – καλανδῶν (Ν)[οεμβρίων (?) – – – – |

------ (μ)εσο(ῦντος) Ϛ Νο)εμβρίου) (?) ∾ -- | ----- (Ἀ)λλι[ο]ς ---------- ----- | ------- Φιλοξένου ---------- | -------- (Γ)αΐου ------- --------). Other inscriptions referable to the same deity include a fragment of white marble found more than a mile away on 'Michael's Hill' (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs *loc. cit.* pp. 104 ff., 188 no. 35 fig., F. H. Marshall *loc. cit.* p. 138 no. 985 with fig. ---- ν(ο)---- | -- (Δ)ιὸς ἱ[ερ-- | ---ς Φιλοκ---), a large blue marble pedestal from a neighbouring field, bearing socket-holes for the feet of a bronze statue and an honorific inscription (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs *loc. cit.* pp. 105, 190 f. no. 44 fig. (=my fig. 450) Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι | Κυπρίων τὸ κοινὸν Ἔμπυλον | Ἐμπύλου τοῦ Χαρία γυμνασιαρχήσαντα τὸ θ' Ⅼ (the ninth year of the province would be 47 B.C.; the ninth year of the province as reconstituted by Augustus and transferred to the senate would be 14 B.C.) ἐκ τοῦ ἰδίου προῖκα), three fragments of a white marble slab found in the *agorá* and dealing with the produce of the temple lands (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs *loc. cit.*

Fig. 452.

Fig. 453.

Fig. 454.

Fig. 455.

Fig. 456.

pp. 78, 185 no. 25 (*b*) fig., F. H. Marshall *loc. cit.* p. 136 no. 978 (*b*) with fig. -------- αφαι --------- | --Ὀλυ]μπίου τὴν (δ)---- | ----- δὲ (λ)οιπὴν ἐ---- | ----- χοντες φιλ-------), and the re-cut pedestal, in blue marble, of a statue of Livia Augusta, likewise found in the *agorá* (J. A. R. Munro—H. A. Tubbs *loc. cit.* pp. 78, 176 f. no. 5 fig. (=my fig. 451) Διὶ Ὀλυμπίωι | Λιβίαν τὴν γυναῖκα τοῦ | [αὐ]τοκράτορος καίσαρος | [Σ]εβ[α]στοῦ | κ.τ.λ.). The excavators comment (*loc. cit.* p. 78 f.): 'Until further evidence of a more conclusive nature can be obtained these indications may serve to give a name to the temple. But important as the site is, lying as it does at the very heart of the city's life, there is no reason as yet to identify the presumptive Zeus Olympios with the chief deity of Salamis, Zeus Salaminios', (*ib.* p. 120) 'The temple is probably still hidden under the sand, but its western wall may be that which has been spoken of hitherto as the eastern column-wall. Beneath it the eastern limestone-wall may be the remnant of an older temple. The peristyle would then be an annexe, comparable in some respects to the Atrium Vestae in the Roman Forum.'

Less uncertainty attaches to the art-type of the Salaminian Zeus, who appears on imperial coins of Kypros as an erect bearded god, clad in *chitôn* and *himátion*, holding a *phiále* in his outstretched right hand and resting his left on a short sceptre, with an eagle perched on his left wrist (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. cxxvi f., 73 pl. 14, 4 Augustus, 75 pl. 14, 9 Drusus Iulius Caesar, 77 ff. pl. 15, 5, 6 (=my fig. 452), 10 (=my fig. 453), and 11 Vespasian, 79 f. pl. 16, 1 and 3 Titus, 81 pl. 16, 5 Domitian. 83 pl. 16,

10 (=my fig. 454) Trajan, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 746). His effigy, on pieces struck by Drusus Iulius Caesar, usually stands side by side with the cone of the Paphian Aphrodite, thus combining in one the two most famous cult-figures of the island (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus pp. cxxi, 74 pl. 14, 6 and 7, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 313 pl. 331, 38 and pl. 332, 1. Figs. 455 and 456 are from specimens in my collection).

Salamis in Kypros was said to have been founded by Teukros son of Telamon (so first Pind. *Nem.* 4. 45 ff. *μέλος πεφιλημένον | Οἰνώνᾳ (sc.* Aigina) *τε καὶ Κύπρῳ, ἔνθα Τεῦκρος ἀπάρχει | ὁ Τελαμωνιάδας· ἀτὰρ | Αἴας Σαλαμῖν' ἔχει πατρῴαν* with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Aisch. *Pers.* 894 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Soph. *Ai.* 1019 f., *id. Teûkros* frags. 576—579 Jebb with A. C. Pearson's introductory note, Eur. *Hel.* 144 ff., Isokr. 3 *Nikokles* 28, 9 *Euagoras* 18, Lyk. *Al.* 450 with Tzetz. *ad. loc.*, Hor. *od.* 1. 7. 21 ff. with Acron and Porphyrion *ad. loc.*, Verg. *Aen.* 1. 619 ff. with Serv. *ad loc.*, Strab. 682 (cited *infra*), Vell. Pat. 1. 1. 1, Tac. *ann.* 3. 62 (cited *supra*), Paus. 8. 15. 7, Dictys Cretensis 6. 4), who arrived in or about 1202 B.C. (*marm. Par.* ep. 26 p. 10 Jacoby) and presumably brought the cult of Zeus with him from his former home in Salamis the island. Since this island was in mythical times colonised by the Aiakidai of Aigina (see *e.g.* J. Töpffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 923 ff.), where the cult of Zeus bulked big (J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 81—88 ('The cult of Zeus Hellanios')), it seems certain that the Salaminian Zeus was of Achaean extraction (cp. Strab. 682 *εἴτ' Ἀχαιῶν ἀκτή, ὅπου Τεῦκρος προσωρμίσθη πρῶτον ὁ κτίσας Σαλαμῖνα τὴν ἐν Κύπρῳ, κ.τ.λ.*). More than that it would be unsafe to say. But it is at least curious to note that, in tracing backwards the Cilician cult of Zeus *Ólbios*, we have come within easy reach of Argos where the Danaïdes appealed to the self-same god (*supra* p. 631).

The prehistory of Aias and Teukros is a very tangled business, which cannot be unravelled here. Recently the tendency has been to regard both of these heroes as faded gods. P. Girard 'Ajax fils de Télamon' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1905 xviii. 1—75 would have us believe that Aias *τελαμώνιος* was in Mycenaean times a sacred pillar (*τελαμών*) humanised and equipped with a large shield, to be seen *e.g.* on the gold rings from Mykenai (*supra* ii. 47 fig. 18) and Knossos (*supra* ii. 48 fig. 19) or on the painted *lárnax* from *Milato* (*supra* ii. 49 with fig. 20): 'Voilà donc le *Télamonien* sorti tout armé du Pilier, portant le bouclier du démon, son ancêtre, qui devient entre ses mains l'arme énorme que l'on sait,' etc. (Girard *loc. cit.* p. 74). A. J. Reinach 'Itanos et l' "Inventio Scuti"' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lx. 161—190, 309—351, 1910 lxi. 197—237 discusses at length the evolution of shield-worship and argues that the shield attached to a pillar by degrees took to itself arms and wings, the *palládion* being ultimately transformed into *Pállas*, but he expressly dissociates himself from much of Girard's article (Reinach *loc. cit.* 1909 lx. 328 n. 1). Farnell too in his *Greek Hero Cults* p. 282 is definitely adverse ('This is certainly ingenious, but much that is ingenious is not worth saying'). Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 349 ff., after shrewdly criticising the views of both Girard and Reinach, concludes: 'the evidence is not sufficient for the assumption that the shield was a cult object in the Minoan age and that it was anthropomorphized and became a war goddess. Neither is the assumption necessary in order to explain the existence of armed gods' (Nilsson *op. cit.* p. 353). J. Vürtheim *De Aiacis origine, cultu, patria* Lugduni Batavorum 1907 pp. 1—134 sums up as follows: 'Demonstrare conatus sum Aiaces, quales in carmine epico depinguntur, ab origine fuisse unum Aiacem, locrensem, non hominem, sed daemonem quendam gigantum a natura non absimilem. Coniecimus hunc daemonem, cum formam humanam induisset et notitia eius ad sinum Saronicum pervenisset, ibi factum esse Aiacem maiorem, sed apud Locrenses remansisse illum, qui, cum altero comparatus, minora ob facta minorem ob gloriam, utpote intra parvae regionis fines coercitam, ipse quoque minor haberetur.... neque reticuimus opinionem nostram Teucrum quoque tertiam figuram ex Aiace primario esse ortum et ipsa quidem in Locride, ubi iuxtaponebantur heros arcitenens et heros hastifer... Deinde indagavimus Telamonis veram naturam atque patriam, impugnavimus sententiam eorum, qui e scuti balteo hunc heroem provenisse pro re haberent explorata, argumentis haud debilibus eo ducti sumus, ut statueremus hunc Telamonem, quasi alterum Atlantem,

numen fuisse marinum circa Salaminem cultum' (H. Steuding in the *Woch. f. klass. Philol.* Okt. 9, 1908 p. 1105 applauds: O. Gruppe in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 30, 1908 p. 686 ff. is also, with some reservations, favourable). A useful sequel to this work is J. J. G. Vürtheim *Teukros und Teukrer* Rotterdam 1913 pp. 1—44 (summarised by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 427—429). The same author here argues that the Teukroi were a historical folk, probably of Lelegian stock. Pushed southwards by tribes entering Greece from the north, they occupied both Troas and Lokris, left traces of themselves here and there on the coast of Asia Minor, and passed from Kilikia to Kypros. Their eponym Teukros, according to one tradition, came to Troy from Crete; according to another, from Attike. Again, a Teukros who wandered from Troy to Kypros was later confused with Teukros son of Telamon. Teukros' son Aias founded the cult of Zeus and a priestly dynasty at Olbe in Kilikia. *Teûkros* is the Hellenised form of *Tarku*, a god of the Leleges in Asia Minor, whose name was borne by his priests likewise. The oldest stratum of the *Iliad* was Locrian-Thessalian in origin and recognised a triad of Locrian heroes, the two Aiantes and Teukros. Homer knows nothing of Teukros' banishment to Kypros; but later writers extend his wanderings to Egypt (Eur. *Hel.* 89 ff.), Phoinike (Verg. *Aen.* 1. 619 ff. and Serv. *ad loc.*), and even Spain (Asklepiades of Myrleia *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 301 Müller) *ap.* Strab. 157; Iust. 44. 3. 2 f., Sil. It. 3. 368, 15. 192 f.; Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 5. 5 p. 167 f. Kayser). Of this and other such reconstructions F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 1124 remarks rather grimly: 'das meiste bleibt hier stark hypothetisch.' Cp. Oldfather *ib.* xiii. 1172. It is, however, commonly admitted that, at least in Asia Minor, *Teûkros* was the Hellenised form of *Tarku*, the name of a native (? Hittite) deity. Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[1] p. 62 f. says: 'Teucer (*Teukros*) may be a corruption of Tark, Trok, Tarku, or Troko, all of which occur in the names of Cilician priests and kings. At all events, it is worthy of notice that one, if not two, of these priestly Teucers had a father called Tarkuaris, and that in a long list of priests who served Zeus at the Corycian cave, not many miles from Olba, the names Tarkuaris, Tarkumbios, Tarkimos, Trokoarbasis, and Trokombigremis, besides many other obviously native names, occur side by side with Teucer and other purely Greek appellations [E. L. Hicks in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1891 xii. 243 ff. no. 27, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 878]. In like manner the Teucrids, who traced their descent from Zeus and reigned at Salamis in Cyprus, may well have been a native dynasty, who concocted a Greek pedigree for themselves in the days when Greek civilisation was fashionable.' *Id. ib.*[1] p. 65: 'If, as many scholars think, Tark or Tarku was the name, or part of the name, of a great Hittite deity, sometimes identified as the god of the sky and the lightning, we may conjecture that Tark or Tarku was the native name of the god of Olba, whom the Greeks called Zeus, and that the priestly kings who bore the name of Teucer represented the god Tark or Tarku in their own persons.' *Id. ib.*[1] p. 78: 'On that hypothesis the Olbian priests who bore the name of Ajax embodied another native deity of unknown name, perhaps the father or the son of Tark.' Similarly E. Herzfeld in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv Arch. Anz. p. 435 observes that the names of priests in the list from the Corycian Grotto include Ταρκυμβίης, Ειλανβίης, Τροκοξάρμας, Ἰανζάρμας, and comments: 'Dass die ersten Hälften dieser Namen, Tarku und Jan, auch den Namen Teukros und Aias zugrunde liegen, ist deutlich.' H. Hirt *Die Indogermanen* Strassburg 1905 i. 56, ii. 569 further compares the Etruscan *Tarcna*, *Tarchna*, *Tarquenna*, *Tarchu*, *Tarquitus*, *Tarcontius*, and the Latin *Turquinius*. F. Schachermeyr in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2348 says of *Tarquinius*: 'Der Name geht letzten Endes zurück auf den des kleinasiatisch-ägäischen Gottes Tarku (so im östlichen Kleinasien; vgl. [J.] Sundwall Die einheimischen Namen der Lykier nebst einem Verzeichnisse kleinasiatischer Namenstämme [Leipzig 1913] [Klio Beiheft 11, 1913] 213 ff.), der uns in Lydien als Ζεὺς Ταργυηνός, auf Kreta als Ταρκυν entgegentritt. Von den aus Kleinasien nach Italien einwandernden Etruskern wurde der Gott nach Etrurien verpflanzt... Hier trat er als Tarchon...immer mehr zurück und wurde schliesslich nur mehr als Heros verehrt' etc. Zeus Ταργυηνός is attested by two inscriptions of *c.* i A.D. (J. Keil—A. v. Premerstein in the *Denkschr. d.*

Akad. Wien 1910 ii. Abh. p. 26 f. no. 37 with fig. 17 (=my fig. 457) the lower part of a white marble *stéle* from Philadelpheia in Lydia (*Alashehir*) Διὶ Ταργυηνῷ ἐπηκόῳι | Φιλοποίμην Σόου εὐξά|μενος ἀνέθηκεν, *eid. ib.* 1914 i. Abh. p. 61 f. no. 78 on the lower part of a white marble *stéle* from *Idelí* ----------|λάου υἱοὶ κ------|Διὶ Ταργυηνῷ[ῳ εὐχήν]), but his appellative is merely the local epithet (*-ηνός*: *supra* ii. 1228) of Tarigya or Targya, a township of which substantial remains exist in the fruitful basin of Ak Tash, half an hour east of *Idelí* (J. Keil in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2320). R. Blümel in *Glotta* 1927 xv. 78 ff. would extend the 'lykisch-etruskischen Wortfamilie' to include the Homeric *ταρχύειν*, which he regards as a Lycian word (cp. *Il.* 16. 455 f.): he argues that *tarχu* meant 'einen Mann, der weit über die gewöhnlichen Sterblichen erhaben ist' and *ταρχύειν* 'wie einen Gott oder (königlichen) Heros oder Helden, also prächtig bestatten' (Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 119). As to the alternation of the names Aias and Teukros at Olba, Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 131 n. 10 put forward a rival hypothesis, which he repeats in his *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 p. 47 'that these two names represent respectively the sons of

Fig. 457.

Yavan (the early Ionian settlers on the south coast) and the older race of Tarku (the worshippers and people of the Hittite and old Anatolian god Tarku). It is obvious that the genealogical relationship is the ancient expression of an agreement by which the hieratic power was divided between the older race of Tarku and the Ionian sailor-settlers.'

One other point in connexion with Teukros and the Cypriote Zeus is of outstanding interest. Lactantius *c.* 305—311 A.D. states that Teukros offered a human sacrifice to Zeus in Kypros and so started a custom which was abolished in the reign of Hadrian (Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 21 aput Cyprios humanam hostiam Iovi Teucrus immolavit idque sacrificium posteris tradidit; quod est nuper Hadriano imperante sublatum, *inst. epit.* 18. 1 Iovi Cyprio, sicut Teucrus instituerat, humana hostia mactari solebat). We have no sufficient ground for doubting Lactantius' statement. The Cypriote custom stands first and foremost in his list of human sacrifices, and less than two centuries had elapsed since its formal abolition. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 335 n. 15 compares the Cypriote cult of Zeus Εἰλαπιναστής and Σπλαγχνοτόμος (*supra* i. 654 n. 4)—appellatives which to Greek ears would have a euphemistic, not to say ogreish, sound. Gruppe also thinks it possible that there was a Cypriote Zeus Κεράστης (cp. *supra* ii. 1023 Pan as Ζεὺς ὁ κεράστης), perhaps connectible with the poetic names of Kypros Κεραστίς (Nonn. *Dion.* 5. 614) or Κερασταίη

Hypanis[1], whence his cult spread still further afield[2], even to central Italy[3] and Germany[4].

(Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Κύπρος), Κεραστία (Menandros of Ephesos *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 448 Müller) and Xenagoras *frag.* 8 (*ib.* iv. 527) *ap.* schol. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 447 = *et. mag.* p. 738, 51 ff. He recalls Ovid's allusion to the horned Cerastae of Amathus, who used to sacrifice a stranger to Iupiter *Hospes* (*i.e.* Zeus Ξένιος) till Venus in indignation transformed them into savage bulls (Ov. *met.* 10. 222 ff. illos, gemino quondam quibus aspera cornu | frons erat, unde etiam nomen traxere Cerastae. | ante fores horum stabat Iovis Hospitis ara; | ignarus sceleris (so J. N. Madvig for *in lugubris sceleri* (*sceleris* N.) codd. J. P. Postgate cj. *lugubris; incesto*) quam siquis sanguine tinctam | advena vidisset, mactatos crederet illic | lactantes vitulos Amathusiacasque bidentes: | hospes erat caesus! sacris offensa nefandis | ipsa suas urbes Ophiusiaque arva parabat | deserere alma Venus, 235 ff. dum dubitat, quo mutet eos, ad cornua voltum | flexit et admonita est haec illis posse relinqui | grandiaque in torvos transformat membra iuvencos), and finally remarks that Bouseiris' sacrifice of a stranger to Zeus (Hdt. 2. 45: see further F. Hiller von Gaertringen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1074 ff.) is derived from this Cypriote practice through Pygmalion (interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 5 Busiris, Aegypti rex, omnibus annis Iovi hospites immolabat: nam per octo annos sterilitate Aegypto laborante, Pygmalion Cyprius finem futurum non ait, nisi sanguine hospitis litatum fuisset. primus autem Thyestes alienigena immolatus originem sacrificio dedit) or his brother Phrasios (Apollod. 2. 5. 11 *ταύτης ἐβασίλευε* Βούσιρις, Ποσειδῶνος *παῖς καὶ Λυσιανάσσης τῆς* Ἐπάφου. *οὗτος τοὺς ξένους ἔθυεν ἐπὶ βωμῷ Διὸς κατά τι λόγιον· ἐννέα γὰρ ἔτη ἀφορία τὴν Αἴγυπτον κατέλαβε, Φράσιος δὲ ἐλθὼν ἐκ Κύπρου, μάντις τὴν ἐπιστήμην, ἔφη τὴν ἀφορίαν παύσασθαι, ἐὰν ξένον ἄνδρα τῷ Διὶ σφάξωσι κατ' ἔτος.* Βούσιρις δὲ *ἐκεῖνον πρῶτον σφάξας τὸν μάντιν τοὺς κατιόντας ξένους ἔσφαζε*, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 56 who calls him Thrasius, as does Ov. *ars am.* 1. 647 ff.). J. J. G. Vürtheim *Teukros und Teukrer* Rotterdam 1913 p. 40 and Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Adonis Attis Osiris[3] i. 145 f. apparently refer to Teukros also the Salaminian rite of spearing a man for Agraulos or Diomedes (Porph. *de abst.* 2. 54 f. = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 f. *ἐν δὲ τῇ νῦν* Σαλαμῖνι, *πρότερον δὲ* Κορωνίδι (κορωνίδιον codd. Κορωνίδι Kyrill. *c. Iulian.* 4. 128 (lxxvi. 697 C—D Migne). Κορωνείᾳ Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 and 24, cp. Steph. Byz. *s. vv.* Κορώνεια·...*τετάρτη πόλις Κύπρου,* Κορώνη·...*ἔστι καὶ Κορώνη μοῖρα τῆς* Σαλαμῖνος *τῆς ἐν Κύπρῳ) ὀνομαζομένη, μηνὶ κατὰ* Κυπρίους Ἀφροδισίῳ *ἐθύετο ἄνθρωπος τῇ* Ἀγραύλῳ *τῇ* Κέκροπος *καὶ νύμφης* Ἀγραυλίδος. *καὶ διέμενε τὸ ἔθος ἄχρι τῶν* Διομήδους *χρόνων· εἶτα μετέβαλεν, ὥστε τῷ* Διομήδει *τὸν ἄνθρωπον θύεσθαι· ὑφ' ἕνα δὲ περίβολον ὅ τε τῆς* Ἀθηνᾶς *νεὼς καὶ ὁ τῆς* Ἀγραύλου *καὶ* Διομήδους. *ὁ δὲ σφαγιαζόμενος ὑπὸ τῶν ἐφήβων ἀγόμενος τρὶς περιέθει τὸν βωμόν· ἔπειτα ὁ ἱερεὺς αὐτὸν λόγχῃ ἔπαιεν κατὰ τοῦ στομάχου, καὶ οὕτως αὐτὸν ἐπὶ τὴν νησθεῖσαν* (*νηθεῖσαν* codd. *νησθεῖσαν* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 16. 2 and *de laude Const.* 13. *ἀφθεῖσαν* Kyrill. *loc. cit.*) *πυρὰν ὡλοκαύτιζεν*)—a rite later modified *εἰς βουθυσίαν* (*supra* i. 659 n. 4). F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 11, 70 f., 186 discusses this Salaminian rite, but entirely ignores all the foregoing evidence for human sacrifice in the Cypriote cults of Zeus.

[1] B. Latyschev *Inscriptiones antiquae orae septentrionalis Ponti Euxini* Petropoli 1885 i. 61 ff. no. 24 assigns to the reign of Septimius Severus (193—211 A.D.) a slab of grey marble framed by Corinthian pilasters and a pediment, which contained the relief of a man on horseback, his horse held by a naked boy. The inscription below is a decree in honour of a public benefactor, Kallisthenes son of Kallisthenes, who is described thus: 16 ff. *λέγων τὰ ἄριστα καὶ πράττων τὰ συνφέροντα πα|τὴρ ἀπεδείχθη τῆς πόλεως· ἱερεὺς δὲ γενόμενο[ς τοῦ] προ|εστῶτος τῆς πόλεως ἡμῶν θεοῦ Διὸς* Ὀλβίου [*καὶ . . . .*]*σας* (E. H. Minns suggests 'a compound of λούω, a natural rain charm.' Perhaps rather a slip for *θεραπ(ε)ύσας* A. B. C.) *τὸν θεὸν ἀγνῶς, τῆς τῶν ἀέρων εὐκρα[σίας δεόμενος] | ἐπέτυχεν εὐετηρίας· τήν τε οὐσίαν π[ᾶσαν ἐξανήλωσε, τοῖς] | [δε]ομένοις ἐπιδι[δ]οὺς χρήμ[ατα, ὅσων ἐδέοντο (?)*...

On the worship of Zeus at Olbia and in the neighbourhood see Miss G. M. Hirst in

the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 36—39 and E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 476. Professor Minns remarks: 'Evidently Zeus Olbios was the god of Olbia and the giver of Olbos: especially in the form of a good harvest. The two ideas were inextricable. Surely it was in the temple of this Zeus that the council met and before it the open space into which Dio's hearers crowded [Dion Chrys. *or.* 36 p. 53 Dindorf]. A priest of his in Roman times made a dedication to Achilles Pontarches[7] (*Trans. Od. Soc.* XXVII. *Minutes*, p. 11).' *Id. ib.* p. 456 (with plan on p. 450 fig. 331): 'The opening up of the walls described above gives us the position of the acropolis and the limits of the Roman town. In the middle of the triangle have been found the remains of a considerable building apparently a temple, and further work may tell us where were the temples [*sic*] of Zeus Olbios and the chapel of Achilles Pontarches.'

Zeus Σωτήρ is represented at Olbia by three inscriptions, one of *s.* iv B.C. (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 25 ff. no. 12 a decree granting 1000 gold pieces and a statue to Kallinikos son of Euxenos and ending with the words ὁ δῆμος Διὶ Σωτῆρι), another of *s.* ii A.D. (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 124 f. no. 91, 1 ff. ἀ[γ]αθῆ[ι] τύχ[ηι] | [Δ]ιὶ Σωτῆ[ρι] εὐχαριστ[ήριο]ν | [ὑπὲρ

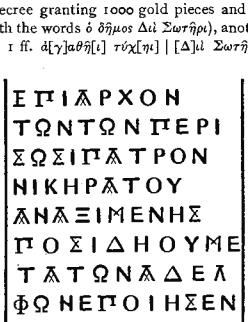


Fig. 458.

εἰρήνη]ς (?) καὶ σ[ωτη]ρίας | [τῆς πόλεως Ἀρισ]τό[ν]εικος Ἀρτέ|[μωνος? — — — ὁ] καὶ Ὀλβιοπο|[λείτης ἀνέθηκε]ν κ.τ.λ.), and a very fragmentary third (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 125 no. 92, 2 ... Διὶ Σωτ[ῆρι...]).

Another fragment, assigned by Latyschev to the first half of *s.* iii, by Miss Hirst to *s.* iii, and by Professor Minns to *s.* iv B.C., is from a dedication to Zeus Ἐλευθέριος (Latyschev *op. cit.* 1901 iv. 299 f. no. 458 [ὁ δεῖνα Ἰκ]εσίου | [. . . . . Ἑκα]τέ[ω]νος Διὶ Ἐλευθερί[ωι]).

A large statue-base in veined grey marble, which had probably supported an equestrian figure, was originally, in *s.* iii B.C., dedicated to Zeus Βασιλεύς (Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 137 no. 105 [ὁ δῆμος] Εὐρησίβιον Δημητρίου Διὶ Βασιλεῖ | [ἀρετῆς] ἕνεκεν καὶ εὐνοίας τῆς εἰς αὐτόν), but was later, perhaps in *s.* ii A.D., used for a long decree passed ἐπὶ ἀρχόντων τῶν περὶ Ὀμψάλακον Εὐρησι|βίου (*id. ib.* i. 52 ff. no. 21, cp. 94 ff. no. 58). See further E. H. Minns *op. cit.* Index p. 697 *s. v.* 'Heuresibius.'

A tower built in *s.* ii A.D. was dedicated to Zeus Πολιάρχης and the Demos (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2081, Latyschev *op. cit.* i. 134 f. no. 101 with facsimile (=my fig. 458) ἐπὶ ἀρχόν|των τῶν περὶ | Σωσίπατρον | Νικηράτου | Ἀναξιμένης | Ποσιδήου με|τὰ τῶν ἀδελ|φῶν ἐποίησεν | τὸν π[ύ]ργον Διὶ | Πολιάρχῃ καὶ τῷ | δήμῳ ἐπ' εὐτυχι[ᾳ].

As to Zeus Ἀραβόριος, see *supra* ii. 925 n. 0.

Zeus appears occasionally on the bronze coins of Olbia, usually as a bearded head in profile to the right, with a sceptre or more often an eagle on the reverse (*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 22 nos. 63—65, 27 nos. 125—127, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 1 pl. 11, 3—6 (=my figs. 459—461), E. H. Minns *op. cit.* p. 476 n. 8 pl. 3, 12 f.), rarely in imperial times as a seated figure holding a sceptre, with Tyche erect grasping *cornu copiae* and rudder on the reverse (B. de Koehne *Description du Musée de feu le Prince Kotschoubey* St.-Pétersbourg 1857 i. 88, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 28 no. 134 fig. (=my fig. 462) 'Sitzender Apollo,' *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 1 pl. 11, 22 (=my fig. 463). Miss Hirst in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii 39 n. 103: 'If the attribution to Zeus is accepted, might it be considered as a representation of Zeus Ὄλβιος, in consideration of the reverse type?').

Fig. 459.

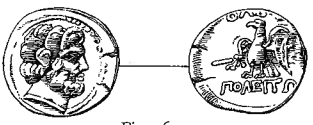


Fig. 460.

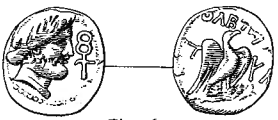


Fig. 461.

Fig. 462.

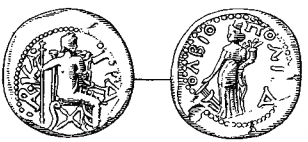


Fig. 463.

It is undeniably curious that Zeus Ὄλβιος, as namesake and paramount deity of the Greek town, does not bulk bigger on its coinage. I am tempted to suggest a further possibility. E. H. Minns *op. cit.* p. 478 f. writes: 'The commonest coins of Olbia, coins which were issued for many generations to judge by the varieties of style, bore on their obverse a horned head with long rough hair and sometimes ox ears (Pl. III. 4, 5). There has been some doubt whom this might represent: the Russian peasants recognise the Devil and call the place where they are mostly picked up the Devil's Dell; others find him, as they put it, like a Scythian or a Russian peasant; to others he is Poseidon. But no doubt he is really a river god Hypanis or Borysthenes. It is a less crude version of such an idea as the god Gelas on the coins of that city.' However, it is a far cry from Sicily to Sarmatia, and a much closer analogy is at hand. A 'horned head with long rough hair' is precisely what we saw on the *stêle* found near Kyzikos (*supra* p. 629 fig. 427), which was fortunately inscribed with the name of Zeus Ὄλβιος. I conjecture, therefore, that the horned head on the Olbian coins (*e.g. Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 1 pl. 9, 26—29, E. H. Minns *op. cit.* pl. 3, 4 f., *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 155 f. pl. 159, 12—15. My figs. are from *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* i. 1 pl. 9, 26 (=my fig. 464), 27 (=my fig. 465),

(η) Zeus struck with a double axe. The birth of Athena.

The bovine form of Zeus familiar to us from the myths of Europe and Io, together with the semi-bovine type of Zeus *Ólbios*, suffice to prove that Zeus as a god of fertility might be represented by an ox, not only in prehistoric times, but far on into the classical period. Yet, fully to justify our reading of the Dipolieia, more is needed than that. In the Attic rite the divine ox was struck by the *Bouphónos*, who thereupon dropped his double axe and fled for his

29 (=my fig. 467), from *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 155 pl. 159, 12 (=my fig. 466), and from two other specimens in the Fitzwilliam Museum (=my figs. 468 and 469)) is after all not a river-god but Zeus Ὄλβιος himself, partly human, partly bovine in type.

[2] Inscriptions from the vicinity of Kyzikos have been noted *supra* p. 628 n. 4. Two more dedications *θεῷ* Ὀλβίῳ were found at Sestos (Marcopoulos in the Μουσεῖον καὶ Βιβλιοθήκη τῆς Εὐαγγελικῆς Σχολῆς ἐν Σμύρνῃ Smyrna 1878 ii. 12 f. nos. 206 and 204=A. Dumont *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'épigraphie* Paris 1892 p. 456 no. 111^{c11} a sepulchral relief inscribed *θεῷ* Ὀλβίῳ, Φλάβιε Τυ . . . . | *εὐχαριστήριον* (*sic*) and no. 111^{c12} a similar dedication *θεῷ* Ὀλβίῳ, Εὔτυχος *ὑπὲρ* ἰδίας σ[ω]|τηρίας καὶ τῶν βουῶν (*sic*) *εὐχαρισ*[*τήρι*]|*ον*). Hence J. H. Mordtmann in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1881 vi. 264, 1882 vii. 257 attributes to Sestos an inscription from the Thracian Chersonese (correctly copied but incorrectly emended in the *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2017) Καμίσ(α)ος *ὑπὲρ τοῦ* | *υἱοῦ* Ἀλεξάνδρου Διὶ | Ὀλβίῳ *εὐχαριστήριον*=A. Dumont *op. cit.* p. 431 no. 100[e]. Eutychos' thankoffering for his cattle would have special point, if Zeus Ὄλβιος at Sestos also was *quasi*-bovine.

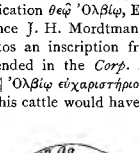


Fig. 464.

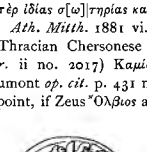


Fig. 465.

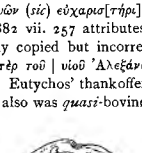


Fig. 466.

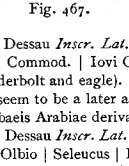


Fig. 467.

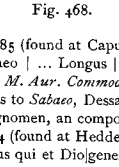


Fig. 468.

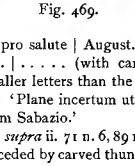


Fig. 469.

[3] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4085 (found at Capua in 1885) pro salute | August. M. Aur. Commod. | Iovi Olbio | Sabaeo | ... Longus | [*mil.*?] leg. | . . . . . (with carved thunderbolt and eagle). The words *M. Aur. Commod.* are in smaller letters than the rest and seem to be a later addition. As to *Sabaeo*, Dessau remarks: 'Plane incertum utrum a Sabaeis Arabiae derivatum sit cognomen, an componendum cum Sabazio.'

[4] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4084 (found at Hedderheim, cp. *supra* ii. 71 n. 6, 89 n. 6) Iovi Olbio | Seleucus | Hermocra|tus qui et Dio|genes d. d. (preceded by carved thunderbolts). *Hermocratus*=Ἑρμοκράτους.

life. Can we really suppose that at Athens, the chief centre of Hellenic civilisation, Zeus *Polieús* himself was conceived as struck by a double axe? Or that the sacrilegious striker, after poleaxing his god, was allowed to flee from the spot and escape into safety?

Pausanias emboldens us to answer Yes. For no sooner has he described the ceremony of the Dipolieia than, in the very next sentence, he goes on to say: 'All the figures in the gable over the entrance to the temple called the Parthenon relate to the birth of Athena[1].' And it may be shown that the birth of Athena as there represented involved exactly the situation stated above—Zeus *Polieús* struck with the double axe, the escape of the striker, and the acquiescence of the bystanders.

The middle group of the figures in question is lost beyond hope of recovery. But its main features are in all probability preserved by the relief-frieze of a marble *puteal* or 'well-mouth' in the Madrid collection (fig. 470, 1 and 1 *a*), and partly also by a marble *replica* of its left end formerly in the Palazzo Rondinini (fig. 470, 2 and 2*a*) and by another of its right end found in the Villa Palombara—both now transferred from Rome to the Schloss Tegel near Berlin (fig. 470, 3)[2]. The *puteal* as a whole portrays Zeus sitting quietly upon his throne. He is draped in a *himátion* and holds a sceptre in

[1] Paus. 1. 24. 5.

[2] These reliefs were published together and discussed in detail by R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 pp. 32—45 pl. 1, 1, 1^{a}, 2, 2^{a}, 4 (=my fig. 470, 1, 1^{a}, 2, 2^{a}, 3). Further references in Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 193 no. 5 and ii. 87 f. nos. 6—8.

The *puteal* was for long in the Moncloa near Madrid, where sunk deep in the ground it served as a flower-pot for the Royal Gardens. Previously, it had belonged to the Dukes of Alba. Earlier still, its history is uncertain: Schneider thinks that it was originally found in Italy, probably at Rome, that it formed part of the collection owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626—1689), and that it was purchased by Philip V of Spain to adorn his castle (1724)—see E. Hübner *Die antiken Bildwerke in Madrid* Berlin 1862 p. 14. In consequence of these vicissitudes it had received some injuries and had at one time—perhaps in the seventeenth or eighteenth century—been prepared for restoration. It was virtually rediscovered by J. de Dios de la Rada y Delgado, director of the Museo Arqueológico Nacional, and published with good illustrations by J. de Villa Amil y Castro 'Puteal griego encontrado en la Moncloa' in the *Museo español de antigüedades* Madrid 1875 v. 235—246 pl. 1 f. There is a cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge, and another at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 735 f. no. 1862). Height 0·99^{m}.

The two slabs from the collection of the Marchese Rondinini belong together and were still one when published by G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*^{2} Roma 1821 ii. 5 with Frontispiece. Subsequently they were sawn in two and separately framed as a pair of mural reliefs. They passed into the possession of W. von Humboldt (1767—1835) and are now in his castle at Tegel. See further G. F. Waagen *Das Schloss Tegel und seine Kunstwerke* Berlin 1859 p. 13. The restorations, which can be well seen in the *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2988 (Zeus) and 2989 (Prometheus) with Text x. 90 by W. Amelung, include Zeus—left forearm, most of left leg, front part of right foot, most of footstool;

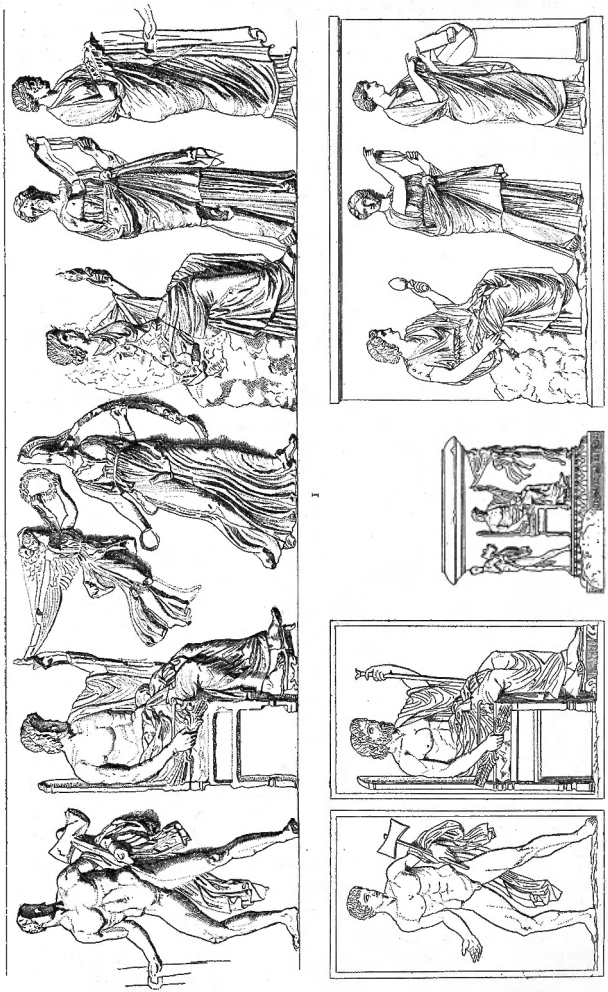


Fig. 470.

his raised left hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered right. His head has just been cleft with the double axe; for behind him a youthful god or demi-god, still grasping his weapon, starts to flee from the scene of his sacrilege and yet in the very act of flight looks back to note the marvellous issue of his blow. In front of Zeus Athena, already full-grown and clad in her panoply, speeds forth into the world, but as she goes glances towards the sire from whose head she has sprung. Nike, hovering between them, presents her with a victor's wreath. Adjoining her are the three Fates.

Prometheus—forehead, nose, mouth, half the right forearm with the right hand, front parts of both feet. There are casts at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 736 no. 1863 f.). Height $0{\cdot}685^{m}$.

The remaining slab, of a different marble and in a finer style, was discovered about 1770 in the Villa Palombara behind the church of S. Maria Maggiore at Rome, and in 1809 was sold by its possessor, Prince Massimi alle Colonne, to Frau von Humboldt, who handed it over to A. B. Thorvaldsen and C. D. Rauch to be patched up and made presentable. Rauch in 1816 had the luck to find the head, breast, and left hand of the seated Fate, which had been treated as a medallion and set in a gilded frame, in the studio of the sculptor A. Malatesta at Rome. The fragments are now reassembled at Tegel. See further G. F. Waagen *op. cit.* p. 16, *Einzelaufnahmen* no. 2990 with Text x. 90 f. by W. Amelung. Modern parts: right arm, right hip, and lower body of the seated Fate; nose and part of the right upper arm of her neighbour; fingers of right hand and lower left arm of the third figure together with roll, globe, and pillar. There is a cast at Berlin (Friederichs—Wolters *op. cit.* p. 736 f. no. 1865). Height $0{\cdot}73^{m}$.

F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1903 vi. 79—107 attempts to combine these slabs (figs. 46—48) with neo-Attic fragments of reliefs, now in Rome, Florence, and Munich, representing the three Horai and the three Agraulides (pl. 5—6). Since all the fragments were found, though at different times, in the Villa Palombara, and since they all correspond in size or nearly so, he holds that the whole composition was a series of four oblong altar-reliefs, copied from a fine work of the Attic school to be dated near the end of *s.* iv B.C. Lastly, he conjectures that they were copies of bronze reliefs by the younger Kephisodotos, which—he thinks—adorned the altar of Zeus *Sotér* and Athena *Sóteira* in the Peiraieus. See, however, the objections raised by P. Arndt and G. Lippold in the *Einzelaufnahmen* vi. 44, W. Amelung *ib.* x. 90.

J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1902 v. 169—188, 285—377 (=*id.* Τὰ κειμήλια τῶν Μουσείων μας Athens 1904 pp. 9—40) and again in his *Ath. Nationalmus.* pp. 179—236 nos. 215—217 pls. 30, 1 f. and 31, 1 ventures another combination, arguing that the design of the Madrid *puteal* and the Tegel reliefs, incomplete towards the right, can be completed by that of the Apollon-and-Marsyas slab from Mantineia. The resultant frieze (fig. 134 and fig. 140=my fig. 471) representing the musical victory of Apollon once decorated the front of a *thymélē* or platform for singers assumed to have stood in the *orchéstra* of the local theatre. The two remaining slabs from Mantineia with their six 'Praxitelean' Muses could then have formed the two sides of the same platform (figs. 141, 142=my fig. 472). The whole to be dated *c.* 250—150 B.C. On this showing, the Fates (? the three missing Muses (p. 206)) foretold the doom of Marsyas, while Zeus watched the issue from afar and Nike with her wreath flew to crown the victorious Apollon (cp. the *pelike* from Ruvo figured *supra* i pl. xii); 'Prometheus' was a second Satyr (?'ein Quelldämon' (p. 213 f.)) equipped with an axe and inserted as a sympathiser with Marsyas; and Athena, a figure identical with he Athena of the Finlay vase (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 136 ff. no. 127 pl. 26, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 466 with fig. 242, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.*

The only uncertainty in this design relates to the axe-bearing figure. Orthodox writers from Pindar downwards said that the head of Zeus had been cleft by Hephaistos[1]; and such was the

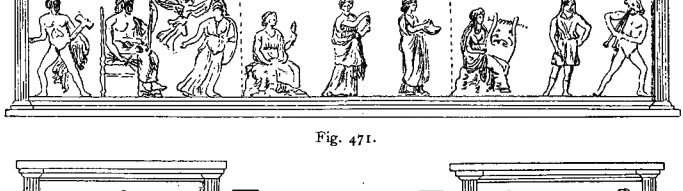


Fig. 471.

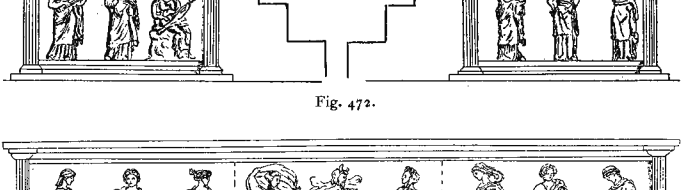


Fig. 472.

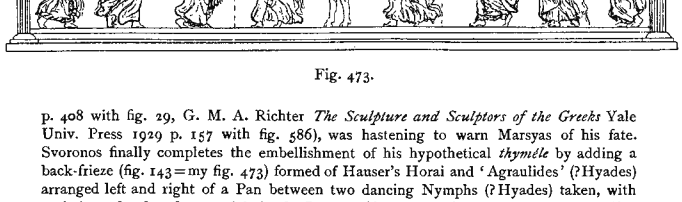


Fig. 473.

p. 408 with fig. 29, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 157 with fig. 586), was hastening to warn Marsyas of his fate. Svoronos finally completes the embellishment of his hypothetical *thymélē* by adding a back-frieze (fig. 143 = my fig. 473) formed of Hauser's Horai and 'Agraulides' (?Hyades) arranged left and right of a Pan between two dancing Nymphs (?Hyades) taken, with variation of order, from a slab in the Lateran (O. Benndorf—R. Schoene *Die antiken Bildwerke des lateranensischen Museums* Leipzig 1867 p. 123 no. 202 pl. 4, 3, A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2721 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 280 no. 1).

Reconstructions of this sort are undeniably ingenious and come within the pale of possibility. But unfortunately they leave so large a part to mere conjecture that they seldom carry conviction. In any case, whether they are right or wrong, we should be justified in assuming that the Madrid *puteal* and the Tegel reliefs were adaptations, mediate or immediate, of the Parthenon pediment. Even Svoronos is forced to admit that his axe-bearing Satyr was 'von dem Hephaistos oder Prometheus des Pheidias kopiert' (*Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 215).

[1] Pind. *Ol.* 7. 35 ff. with schol. *ad loc.* To the references given *supra* p. 200 n. 3 add Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 59 p. 31 Gomperz (cited *infra* p. 661 n. 4).

tradition followed by the vase-painters of the sixth and fifth centuries B.C.[1] Others, including Euripides, ascribed the blow to Prometheus[2]—the first, according to Pliny, who ever felled an ox[3]. A poem that passed under the name of Eumolpos[4] or Mousaios[5] called the striker Palamaon. Lastly, Sosibios, a Lacedaemonian scholar of the third century B.C., spoke of him as Hermes[6]; and some early artists, as might be seen for example in the sanctuary of Athena *Chalkioikos* at Sparta, represented Hermes, axe in hand, standing beside Zeus[7].

But, whatever name we give to the axe-bearer on the Madrid *puteal*, it is clear that the Athenians even of the Periclean age were prepared to tolerate the conception of Zeus as struck on the head by an axe—a 'holy axe[8]' said some, an 'ox-striker[9]' said others. This they would never have done, unless behind the myth there

[1] *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 55 ΟΤΥΙΑΙΦΞΗ, *ib.* vi pl. 56, 3 ΑΦ·Η, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i pl. 65 A ΥΟΤΥΙΑΦΞΗ (black-figured vases); *ib.* i pl. 64 ΕΦΑΙΣΤΟΣ (red-figured vase, attributed to Hermonax (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 31 no. 12) or a nearly allied painter (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1)).

[2] Eur. *Ion* 452 ff. *σὲ τὰν ὠδίνων λοχιᾶν | ἀνειλείθυιαν, ἐμὰν | Ἀθάναν ἱκετεύω, | Προμαθεῖ Τιτᾶνι λοχευθεῖσαν κατ' ἀκροτάτας | κορυφᾶς Διός, ὦ πότνα Νίκα, κ.τ.λ.*, Apollod. 1. 3. 6 *ὡς δ' ὁ τῆς γεννήσεως (γενέσεως epit.* followed by R. Wagner) *ἐνέστη χρόνος, πλήξαντος αὐτοῦ τὴν κεφαλὴν πελέκει Προμηθέως ἢ καθάπερ ἄλλοι λέγουσιν Ἡφαίστου (λέγουσι καὶ Ἡφαίστου codd. plerique* followed by A. Westermann), *ἐκ κορυφῆς* (R. Hercher would either delete these two words or write *ἐκ τῆς κορυφῆς αὐτοῦ*), *ἐπὶ ποταμοῦ Τρίτωνος (damnat* C. G. Heyne), *Ἀθηνᾶ σὺν ὅπλοις ἀνέθορεν*, schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66 a *ἔνιοι δὲ τὸν Προμηθέα λέγουσι*, 66 b *οἱ δὲ Προμηθέα.*

[3] *Supra* i. 469 n. 4. But see what is said of Sopatros (*supra* p. 590), Diomos (*supra* p. 593), and Thaulon (*supra* p. 597 n. 2).

[4] Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 59 p. 31 Gomperz *τὴν κεφαλὴν ὑπὸ Ἡφαίστου διαιρεῖται, κατὰ δὲ τὸν Εὔμολπον ἢ τὸν συνθέντα τὴν ποίησιν ὑπὸ Παλαμάονος.*

[5] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66 a *ἐν τοῖς Μουσαίου Παλαμάων λέγεται πλῆξαι τοῦ Διὸς τὴν κεφαλήν, ὅτε τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐγέννα* (Mous. *frag.* 8 (*Epic. Gr. frag.* i. 225 Kinkel)), 66 b *οἱ μὲν Παλαμάονα λέγουσι ῥῆξαι τὴν τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλὴν ὅτε Ἀθηνᾶ ἐγεννᾶτο.* The story was perhaps told in the *Εὐμολπία* of Mousaios: this would account for its attribution to Eumolpos. So Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1213 n. 4.

[6] Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66 a *Σωσίβιος δὲ Ἑρμῆν φησι* (Sosib. *frag.* 7 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 627 Müller)), 66 b *οἱ δὲ Ἑρμῆν.* The statement may have occurred, as C. Müller supposes, in Sosibios' work *περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν* (on which see Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 131), or, as R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 5 n. 24 suggests, in his *περὶ Ἀλκμᾶνος.*

[7] Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 59 p. 31 Gomperz *ἔνιοι δ' ὑφ' Ἑρμοῦς παραδεδώκασιν. καὶ τῶν ἀρχαίων τινὲς δημιουργῶν τοῦτον παρεστῶτα τῷ Διὶ ποοῦσι πέλεκυν ἔχοντα, καθάπερ ἐν τῷ τῆς Χαλκιοίκου.* The allusion is very possibly to the work of Gitiadas (Paus. 3. 17. 2).

[8] Pind. *frag.* 34 Bergk[4], 34 Schroeder (cited *supra* p. 200 n. 3, cp. p. 605) *ἀγνῷ πελέκει.*

[9] Nonnos etc. (*supra* p. 200 n. 3) use *βουπλήξ* apparently as a mere synonym for *πέλεκυς* without any further mythological significance.

had been some ritual practice of immemorial sanction; and it is difficult to resist the conclusion that the practice concerned was that of the Dipolieia.

The matter calls for careful investigation. Fortunately we know that the subject of Pheidias' pediment was no new thing. Rather it was the last term of a whole series, which, mainly by the help of numerous extant vase-paintings, can be traced back to the early part of the sixth century B.C. Our business therefore is to classify the vase-paintings and, adducing any collateral evidence that is found, to consider how far they may be based upon underlying cults either at Athens or elsewhere.

(*θ*) The birth of Athena in art.

Vases representing the birth of Athena fall into five groups[1], according as they depict (1) Zeus in labour helped by the Eileithyiai; (2) Athena emerging from the head of Zeus, which has been cleft by Hephaistos; (3) a fusion of these two types—Zeus attended

[1] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 8 ff. distinguishes four types: (*a*) the moment of birth; (*b*) the moment before birth; (*c*) the moment after birth; (*d*) a later moment. These correspond with my types as follows: $(a)=(2)+\frac{(3)}{2}$; $(b)=(1)+\frac{(3)}{2}$; $(c)=(4)$; $(d)=(5)$. Schneider's useful list of vases and Etruscan mirrors (*op. cit.* pp. 9—16) is extended by P. Baur 'Eileithyia' in *Philologus* 1899—1901 Suppl. viii. 503 (= P. V. C. Baur 'Eileithyia' in *The University of Missouri Studies* 1902 i. 4. 78), who adds a fine, though fragmentary, black-figured *pinax* belonging to my type (3), found on the Akropolis at Athens (F. Studniczka in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1886 p. 117 ff. pl. 8, 1 (=my fig. 484), Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* iv. 251 f. no. 2578 pl. 109), and a black-figured vase of my type (4), now in the Museo Municipale at Orvieto (G. Karo in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 140 n. 3). The most important *addendum* to the lists of Schneider and Baur is the black-figured vase of my type (1) lately found in Rhodes (*infra* fig. 475).

See further E. Gerhard *Athenens Geburt auf Vasenbildern und auf dem Parthenonsgiebel* Berlin 1838, P. W. Forchhammer *Die Geburt der Athene* Kiel 1841, O. Jahn *Die Geburt der Athene* Kiel 1841 pp. 1—18 with pl., T. Bergk 'Die Geburt der Athene' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1860 lxxxi. 289—319, 377—424 (=*id. Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a.S. 1886 ii. 635—722), G. Loeschcke 'Über Darstellungen der Athena-Geburt' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 108—119, P. Stengel 'Die Sagen von der Geburt der Athene und Aphrodite' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1885 cxxxi. 77—80, H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 11 and in his *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 15 f., W. Deonna 'La naissance d'Athéna' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 350—354 ('un simple mythe iconographique'? cp. the Karlsruhe statuette (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 740 fig. 332), which implies primitive belief in birth from parent's head), *id. Dédale* Paris 1930 p. 263 n. 5 with fig. 17, 4, G. Ancey 'La naissance d'Athéna' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 209—211 (Athena the sneeze of Zeus !).

Collections of vases for comparative study are given by Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i pls. 1—5 and by Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 174 ff. pls. 54—65 A; of mirrors, by Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 67 ff. pl. 66, iv. 11 ff. pls. 284—285 A, v. 12 pl. 6.

Amphora at Munich:
Zeus in labour, flanked by two Eileithyiai.

See page 663 *n.* 1.

both by the Eileithyiai and by Hephaistos; (4) Athena, armed but not yet fully grown, standing on the knees of Zeus; (5) Athena, armed and fully grown, standing before Zeus.

(1) The first type, which is confined to black-figured vases, shows a sceptred Zeus sitting on a throne towards the right, at first (fig. 474 and pl. 1)[1] with an Eileithyia in front of him and another Eileithyia behind him. They are by their gestures aiding[2] the birth of Athena; but the goddess is not yet born, nor is there the least indication that her birth will be brought about by a blow from an axe—the type being simply the older representation of an *accouchement*[3] applied to the particular case of Zeus. One interesting

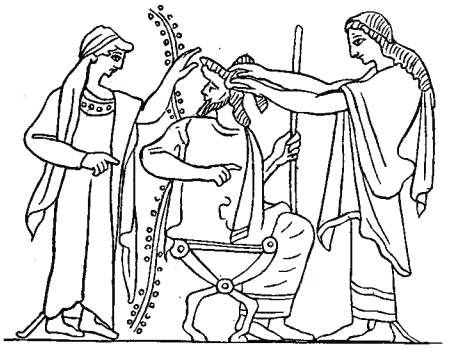


Fig. 474.

[1] A 'Nolan' *amphora* at Florence published by J. B. Passerius *Picturae Etruscorum* Romae 1770 ii. 38 f. col. pl. 152 as red-figured (!)—a blunder corrected by Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 190 fig. (=my fig. 474), R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 13 no. 29. A black-figured *amphora* at Munich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 29 no. 101) likewise shows a seated Zeus, with a sceptre in his left hand, flanked by two Eileithyiai. My pl. 1 is from a photograph most kindly sent to me by Dr C. Weickert (June 3, 1935).

[2] R. Schneider *op. cit.* p. 17, C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 322 f. On Persephone Χειρογονία see *supra* p. 98 n. 6 (8). Similarly Lucina, to lighten the throes of Myrrha, 'admovitque manus et verba puerpera dixit' (Ov. *met.* 10. 511). Here the Eileithyiai extend the open hand in token of delivery (? cp. Paus. 7. 23. 5 f. the acrolithic *xóanon* of Eileithyia at Aigion *ταῖς χερσὶ τῇ μὲν ἐς εὐθὺ ἐκτέταται, τῇ δὲ ἀνέχει δᾷδα*) or point with the forefinger—a gesture copied by Zeus. On the other hand, Lucina, wishing to delay the birth of Hercules, 'subsedit in illa | ante fores ara, dextroque a poplite laevum | pressa genu et digitis inter se pectine iunctis | sustinuit partus' (Ov. *met.* 9. 297 ff., cp. Ant. Lib. 29 after Nikandros *ἑτεροιουμένων δ'*).

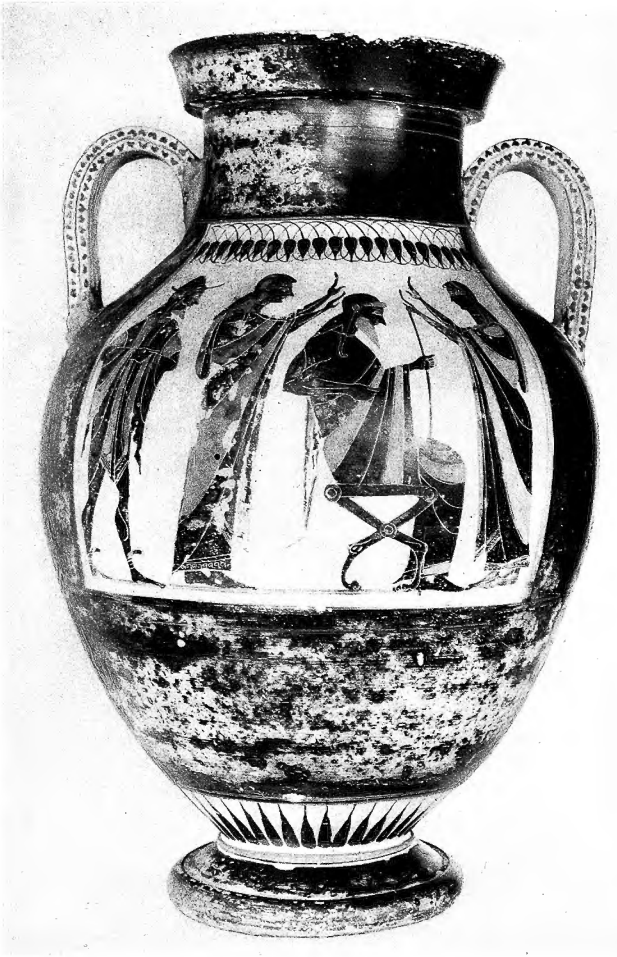
[3] *Supra* p. 80 n. 2 (1) fig. 23 or the supporters of a goddess on an archaic *píthos* with reliefs from Boiotia (P. Wolters in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1892 p. 225 ff. pls. 8, 9, A. de Ridder in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 440 ff. fig. 1, Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes*

example from Rhodes (fig. 475)[1] marks the divinity of the persons concerned by giving wings to the Eileithyiai. Others, now at

Fig. 475.

p. 111 f. no. 466, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 497 pl. 47). Doubtful parallels of 'Minoan' date may be seen in Sir A. J. Evans' '*Διάσκουραι*' (*sic*!) (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 11 ff. figs. 11—15) or '*Δίας Κοῦραι*' (*sic*!) (*ib.* p. 63 ff. fig. 55, cp. *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1 339 ff. figs. 193 and 194, *a—f*).

[1] G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodos* Rodi 1929 iii. 179 ff. (tomb clxxix, 3) with col. pl. C (=my fig. 475) and fig. 177. This black-figured *hydría* has a shoulder-decoration of a hen flanked by two cocks, beneath which in a metope bounded by sprays of ivy is the main design. Zeus, wearing a purple head-band, a purple *chitón*, and a short black *himátion*, sits on a stool towards the right and holds a tall slender sceptre. Before and behind him stand two winged females (whom Jacopi calls 'Arpie?') in short purple *péploi* and black *endromídes*: they make magical passes, raising the left hand and lowering the right with open palms—a gesture thoroughly characteristic of the Eileithyiai. It is tempting to conjecture that the painter by giving them wings was anticipating W. Prellwitz'



Amphora from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe:
Zeus in labour, with two Eileithyiai and Hermes in attendance.

See page 665 *n.* 1.

Karlsruhe (pl. li)[1], Vienna (fig. 476)[2], and Florence (figs. 477, 478)[3], produce the same effect by adding to left and right one or more deities as spectators of the great event. Sometimes, as on a vase in

Fig. 476.

notion that Εἰλείθυια, from εἴλλω + θυία, means 'in der Bedrängnis schnell herbeieilend' (*Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 129). But that notion is itself improbable, and the wings may be explained as in the text. The same explanation fits the Etruscan Eileithyiai, who appear as winged women (*Thanr* and *Ethausva*) on a mirror from Praeneste given below (*infra* p. 676 fig. 487).

[1] A black-figured *amphora* from Girgenti, now at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 31 f. no. 161), has Zeus flanked by two Eileithyiai, while Hermes on the left moves towards the right. The sceptre of Zeus is surmounted by a ram's head (cp. *supra* i. 406 fig. 302). My pl. li is from a photograph kindly supplied by the Direktor of the Badisches Landesmuseum.

[2] Masner *Samml. ant. Vasen u. Terracotten Wien* p. 30 f. no. 237 pl. 4, a black-figured *calix-kratêr* formerly in the Castellani collection. The group of Zeus and the two Eileithyiai is amplified by the addition of Ares on the left, Hermes and a gesticulating goddess on the right. For a fresh photograph of this lower register (my fig. 476) I am indebted to the kind offices of Mr A. D. Trendall.

[3] A black-figured *amphora* found near Vulci, later in the possession of Dr Guarducci at Florence (Inghirami *Vas. fitt.* i. 117 f. pls. 75, 76, Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 25 f. pl. 5, 1, 2, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 7 pl. 1 and 185 ff. pl. 54, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 21, 1—3), adds Hermes (?) and Apollon on the left, Herakles (!) and Ares on the right. My fig. 477 is from a photograph by C. A. Bonelli.

Another black-figured *amphora*, likewise in the Museo Archeologico at Florence, has a seated Zeus flanked by a bearded god and Eileithyia on the left, Hermes departing and a second Eileithyia (?) holding a tendril on the right. The sceptre in the hand of Zeus is topped by the forepart of a winged horse; a gecko creeps up behind his seat; and a wreath fills the blank beneath him. My fig. 478 is again from a photograph by Bonelli.

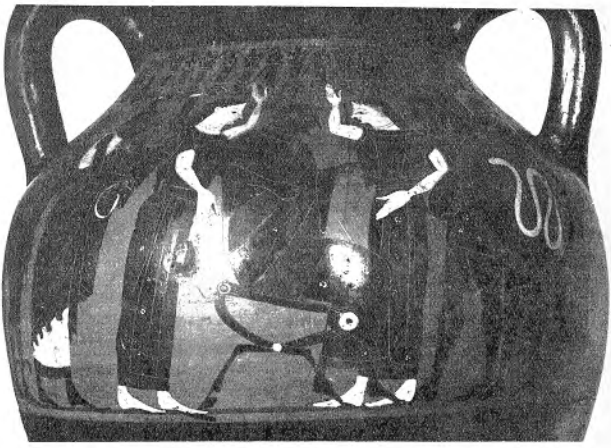


Fig. 477.

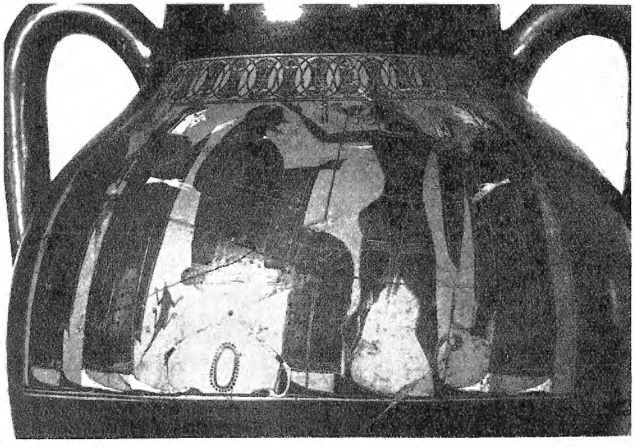
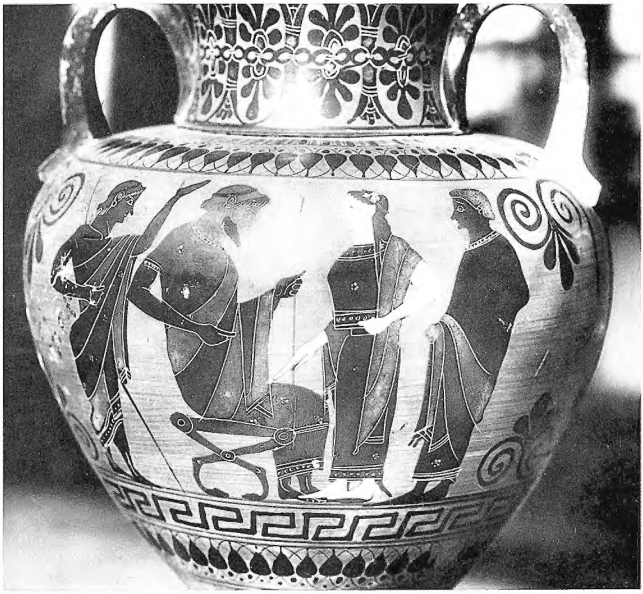


Fig. 478.



Amphora from Vulci, now in the Vatican:
Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and two gods in attendance.

See page 667 *n.* 1.

Amphora from Caere, now in the Vatican:
Zeus in labour, with one Eileithyia and Hermes (?), Poseidon, Ares in attendance.

See page 667 *n.* 2.

the Vatican (pl. lii)[1], there is but a single Eileithyia. And once, on a second vase in the same collection (pl. liii)[2], the approaching birth is heralded by the appearance of a small owl which has the temerity to perch on the very sceptre of Zeus.

A similar scene is shown on a marble slab found in 1900 at *Haïdar-pacha* near *Kadi-Keui* and now preserved in the Museum at Constantinople (fig. 479)[3]. The relief, surmounted by a dedication in lettering of 550—500 B.C.[4], portrays Zeus seated on a high-backed throne and facing—an unusual circumstance—towards the left. An Eileithyia standing behind him places her right hand on

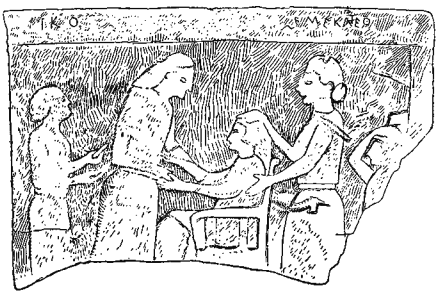


Fig. 479.

his head, her left on his left shoulder. Another Eileithyia standing before him apparently clasps both his hands with hers. The group is flanked by two further figures. A female personage on a somewhat smaller scale holds out her hands on the left: another female,

[1] A black-figured *amphora* from Vulci, found in 1835, and now in the Vatican (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 8 pl. 39; 1 *a*), shows Zeus seated, sceptre in hand, on a folding-stool towards the right, while a single Eileithyia stands before him. On the left a draped god gesticulates, on the right another draped god stands still. My pl. lii is from a photograph kindly procured for me by Mr A. D. Trendall.

[2] A black-figured *amphora* from Caere, found in 1836, and now in the Vatican (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 9 pl. 48, 2), Albizzati *Vasi d. Vaticano* p. 139 f. no. 353 pl. 45 (part of which = my pl. liii)), renders a similar scene with somewhat greater elaboration. The throne of Zeus has its back ending in a swan's-head and its seat resting on a small draped male. The god's left hand grasps a sceptre with curved top, to which a small owl is clinging. Eileithyia in patterned *péplos* gesticulates before him. Behind Zeus stand Poseidon and Hermes (?); behind Eileithyia stands Ares.

[3] S. Reinach in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1900 p. 699, *id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 127—137 pl. 1 (= *id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 274—284 with fig.), *id. Rép. Reliefs* ii. 165 no. 4, Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 227 f. no. 524 fig. (= my fig. 479).

[4] S. Reinach restored [N]ικό[.... patronymic] *ἐμὲ κατέθ[ηκεν]*.

still smaller, raises her right hand to her head on the right. S. Reinach, who first published this monument, observed that *Kadi-Keui* occupies the site of Kalchedon, a colony of Megara[1], and that Pausanias mentions a sanctuary of the Eileithyiai at Megara itself[2]. Hence he inferred that the relief was an *ex-voto* dedicated to the Eileithyiai, whose cult had been carried by the colonists from Megara to Kalchedon. Reinach indeed contended—and his contention is *prima facie* plausible—that the type of Zeus *accouché* by the Eileithyiai originated in connexion with their cult and ultimately hails from Megara. Other evidence cited by him will be

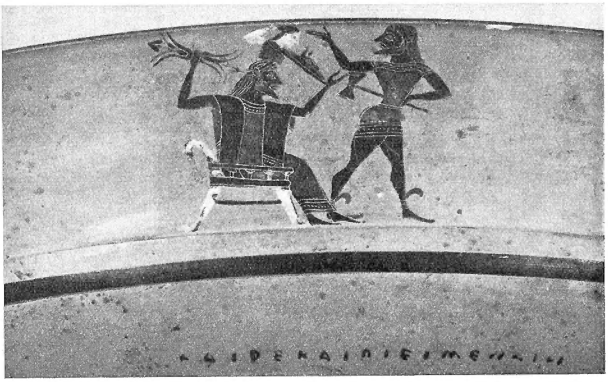


Fig. 480.

mentioned later[3]. Meantime it may be conceded that in general a definite art-type does pre-suppose a definite belief and not infrequently a definite cult.

(2) The second type, which shows Zeus delivered without the aid of the Eileithyiai by the axe-bearer alone, is so far as I know represented by a single black-figured *kylix* (fig. 480)[4]. This fine

[1] J. Oehler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2829 f. (founded 686/5 B.C.). See now K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 pp. 122 f., 209.

[2] Paus. 1. 44. 2 καὶ Εἰλειθυιῶν ἐστιν ἐνταῦθα ἱερόν.

[3] *Infra* p. 671 ff.

[4] Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 192 f. pl. 56, A (inadequate). New and better publication by J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 pp. 136 fig. 84, 189 fig. 118, *id. Attic Black-figure* London 1928 p. 6 f. pl. 1, 1 f., *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 170, 199 pl. 5, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 314 f. no. 2. My fig. 480 is from the official photograph.

vase, which J. D. Beazley dubs 'the best of all little-master cups[1],' was found at Vulci in 1867, passed from the Durand into the Blacas collection, and is now to be seen in the British Museum[2]. It is signed by the maker Phrynos, one of the minor Athenian artists at work in the middle of *s.* vi B.C.[3] Zeus in a purple *chitón* and an embroidered *himátion* is seated, facing to the right, on a decorated throne. Its back ends in a swan's head, its legs are leonine, and its arm is supported by four small Doric pillars. The god, as J. Overbeck pointed out, has dark hair but a grey beard—an indication of old age most unusual in the case of Zeus[4]. His long locks are bound by a fillet. He raises both arms, brandishing a lotiform bolt[5] in his right hand and making the gesture of delivery[6] with his left. Before him a male figure, clad in a short purple *chitón* and *endromídes*, starts to make his escape, but looks backward as he goes. He raises his right hand with open palm[7] and holds in his left the double axe, with which he has just cleft the head of Zeus. From the cleft emerges the upper half of Athena, a long-haired goddess wearing a purple *chitón* and armed with lance[8] and shield.

The birth of Athena as here portrayed has, if I am not in error, been strongly influenced by the ritual of the Dipolieia[9]. Zeus with uplifted bolt is Zeus *Polieús*[10]. The axe-bearer with double axe, short *chitón*, and *endromídes* is the *Boutýpos*[11], who—armed with just this weapon and clad in just this costume—struck the sacred ox and then fled for his life[12]. This is indeed no mere starting back in terror or surprise: other vase-paintings show Hephaistos running off as fast as his legs will carry him[13]. And, if the Dipolieia was celebrated to ensure an adequate dew-fall and rain-fall, it must not

[1] *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 199. See also O. S. Tonks in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1905 ix. 288 ff., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 274, 320, *supra* ii. 788 n. 0 fig. 751.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 223 no. B 424, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. III H. *e* pl. 13, 2[a] and 2[b] with text p. 5 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce.

[3] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 191.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 29, *supra* i. 2 n. 2.

[5] *Supra* ii. 769 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 663 n. 2.

[7] Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. cér.* i. 192 'Ce geste d' Héphestus répond à celui d'Ilithyie, dont il remplit ici le rôle.' Cp. *supra* p. 664 ff. figs. 475—477.

[8] Not visible on the photograph.

[9] *Supra* p. 577 ff.

[10] *Supra* p. 570 ff.

[11] *Supra* p. 585 ff.

[12] *Supra* p. 583.

[13] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 103 ff. no. B 147 (*Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 44, *infra* p. 700 fig. 517). Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 241 ff. no. 1704 (*Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 55, *infra* p. 673 fig. 485). E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2[me] Série Paris 1901 p. 78 f. no. E 852 (*Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 56, 3, *infra* p. 680 fig. 491).

be forgotten that in the Rhodian myth Zeus sent a shower of golden snow-flakes, when his head was cleft by the bronze axe of Hephaistos for Athena's birth[1]. Whether our vase-painter was conscious of any relation between the scene he has given us and the ritual of the Bouphonia, is questionable. But is it merely by accident that he has placed upon Athena's shield a blazon which it nowhere else exhibits[2]—an ox-head in relief with projecting horns?

(3) Thirdly, the type of Zeus delivered by the Eileithyiai was fused with that of Zeus delivered by Hephaistos. This fusion was effected in the early part of *s.* vi B.C.—hardly earlier[3]—and thence-

Fig. 481.

[1] *Supra* p. 477.

[2] On a fragmentary red-figured *kýlix* at Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 418 f. no. 559 fig. 102), attributed to Hieron (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 93 no. 37 *bis*) or to the Brygos Painter (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 186 no. 4), Athena's round shield has as its blazon an ox-head *en face.*

[3] H. G. G. Payne *Necrocorinthia* Oxford 1931 p. 142 cites an Argive-Corinthian relief from Delphoi (P. Perdrizet in the *Fouilles de Delphes* v. 2. 124 pl. 21 (part of which =my fig. 481)), which he calls 'late Protocorinthian' in style, as 'by far the earliest representation' of the birth of Athena. But the Argive-Corinthian bronze strips in low relief, of which this is a very characteristic example, have been hitherto assigned with confidence 'to the second and third quarters of the sixth century' (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 120). The relief in question forms a square metope in a *quasi*-architectural frame. Zeus with long hair and pointed beard sits to the left on a throne, the back of which ends in a swan's-head (?). He is clad in a long *chitón* and *himátion* (?) and holds in his right hand a lotiform bolt with twisted spike (*supra* ii. 779 f.).

forward remained the dominant type for Athenian vase-painters[1]. It was perhaps first brought about by some Megarian resident in Athens; for S. Reinach[2] has given reasons for thinking that the names painted on the two oldest specimens of it imply a knowledge of the Megarian alphabet and dialect[3]. The said specimens are here

Behind him stands a similarly draped Eileithyia, raising her left hand with open palm to his head—a gesture repeated by Zeus with his extended left hand. Before him a male god (Hephaistos?), wearing a cap and a short *chitón*, departs towards the left, but turns to face Zeus. He too holds his left hand with open palm, but downwards—perhaps another variety of the same gesture. His right hand was raised and may have held the axe, though this is uncertain as the relief here passes beyond the limits of the metope. T. Homolle was the first to recognise the scene as the birth of Athena. Payne *op. cit.* p. 142 n. 2 says 'the figure of Athena is almost obliterated': but is she there at all?

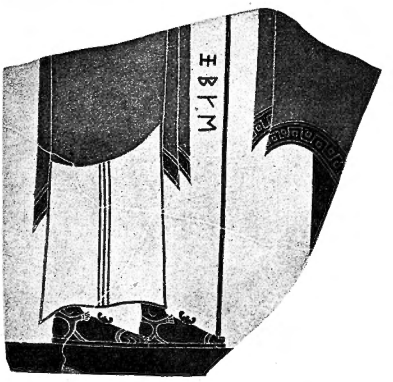


Fig. 482.

Kleanthes of Corinth (? early in *s.* vi B.C.: M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 144 f.) is known to have painted a 'Birth of Athena,' which was preserved in the temple of Artemis Ἀλφειονία near the mouth of the Alpheios (Strab. 343). But our only clue to his treatment of the theme is the obtuse remark by Demetrios the antiquarian of Skepsis (*c.* 180—140 B.C.) that in it Ποσειδῶν πεποίηται θύννον τῷ Διὶ προσφέρων ὠδίνοντι (Demetr. Skeps. *frag.* 5 ed. R. Gaede (Gryphiswaldiae 1880) *ap.* Athen. 346 B—C)—of course a mere attribute as often on black-figured vases (A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 67 n. 7).

[1] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 9 ff. So on Etruscan mirrors: Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* pls. 66, 284, 1, 2, 285, 1, 2.

[2] S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 133 ff. (=*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 280 ff.).

[3] *Mon. d. Inst.* ix. pl. 55 (=my fig. 485) ΔΒΕΥΣ and ΚϘVEVΛIOΣ, *ib.* vi. pl. 56, 3, 4 (=my fig. 491) ΞΔΕVΣ. ΔΒΕΥΣ shows Corinthian and Megarian Β=ε followed by an explanatory Athenian Ε. ΚϘVEVΛIOΣ shows a similar juxtaposition

of the alternatives Athenian K and Corinthian (and Megarian?) Ϙ. ΙΔΕVϚ may be accounted for by the hypothesis that a Megarian, accustomed to the form Δεύς, was working at Athens, where the name was written Ζεύς.

The theory advanced by G. Kaibel in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 112 and by G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 110 (cp. H. B. Walters in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 284), *viz.* that the Attic vase-painter was copying Corinthian models, on which Ζεύς was spelled ΔBVM and Κυλλήνιος had an initial Ϙ, makes shipwreck—as P. Kretschmer *Die griechischen Vaseninschriften* Gütersloh 1894 p. 103 points out—on the fact that the Corinthians said Ζεύς, not Δεύς. Two of the archaic inscribed *pínakes* found in 1879 at *Pente Skouphia* near the Akrokorinthos and referable to a date *c.* 600 B.C.

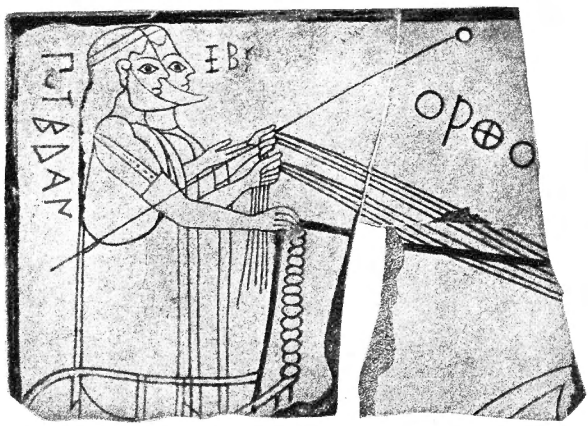


Fig. 483.

put the form of the name beyond doubt (E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii. 13 and 20, *id.* in the *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 6 pl. 30, 12 (=my fig. 482) and pl. 29, 13 (=my fig. 483), P. Kretschmer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 343 f., *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 263 fig. and 264 fig., F. Bechtel *Die griechischen Dialekte* Berlin 1923 ii. 235. The first and better preserved of these two is further published by Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 20, 66, *id. Imagines inscriptionum Græcarum antiquissimarum*[3] Berolini 1907 p. 43 no. 5, *r*, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 61 no. 490, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 124 no. 90, 66). True, Megarian inscriptions too give the forms Ζεῦξις, Ζώπυρος, Ζωΐλος, Ζώτιχος, etc. (cp. E. Schneider *De dialecto Megarica* Gissae 1882 p. 71 f.); but that 'ne prouve rien, ces textes étant relativement récents' (S. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1901 xiv. 134 n. 3 (*id. Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1906 ii. 281 n. 4)).

A *pínax*-fragment found on the Akropolis at Athens preserve the head of Zeus, the body of Athena, and the hands of Eileithyia (F. Studniczka in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1886 p. 117 ff. pl. 8, 1). Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* iv. 251 f. no. 2578 pl. 109 (=my fig. 484) comments: 'Obwohl die Inschrift attisch ist, darf an dem korinthischen Ursprung des Pinax nach Stil, und Farbe des Tons, der dem der protokorinthischen Ware entspricht, nicht gezweifelt werden.'

Amphora from Caere, now at Berlin:
Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eileithyiai and other deities in attendance.

See page 673 *n.* 1 *and page* 674 f. *fig.* 485.

reproduced, because they illustrate the two possible forms of compromise between the Megarian and the Athenian type, according as Athena is, or is not, visible.

The first is a 'Tyrrhenian' *amphora* from Caere, now at Berlin (fig. 485 and pl. liv)[1]. Zeus in a *chitón* and patterned *himátion* is seated on a throne of which the back ends in a swan's head, the legs in lion's claws. In his left hand he grasps a thunderbolt. From his head emerges Athena armed with a lance, a circular shield, and a high-crested helmet. Hephaistos, then, has already struck his blow;

Fig. 484.

indeed he is to be seen hurrying off on tip-toe[2] towards the left[3] Nevertheless two birth-goddesses are still standing, Eileithyia behind Zeus, Demeter[4] before him, and are lifting their hands with

[1] G. Kaibel in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 106—114, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 53 (part of which = my fig. 485), G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 108—111, Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 241 ff. no. 1704, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 197 f., 1—6, H. Thiersch "*Tyrrhenische*" *Amphoren* Leipzig 1899 p. 157 no. 26, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 252. Pl. liv is from a fresh photograph procured by Mr A. D. Trendall.

[2] *Supra* p. 587 n. 2.

[3] A cameo published by A. L. Millin *Pierres gravées inédites* Paris 1817 i pl. 56 (= Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 128 f. no. 56 pl. 122) shows Hephaistos with his mallet standing still to watch Athena received by the hands of the two Eileithyiai. But E. Braun in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1849 vii. 112 pl. 6, 1 justly pronounced the gem to be a forgery.

[4] G. Kaibel in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 107 takes this figure to be a second Eileithyia, and refers the name [ΔΕ]ΜΕΤΕΡ to the fragmentary figure next to it on the right. But on this vase most of the names are well towards the right of the persons named. Moreover, the fragmentary figure is certainly male, and holds an object with a long handle—presumably Poseidon with his trident.

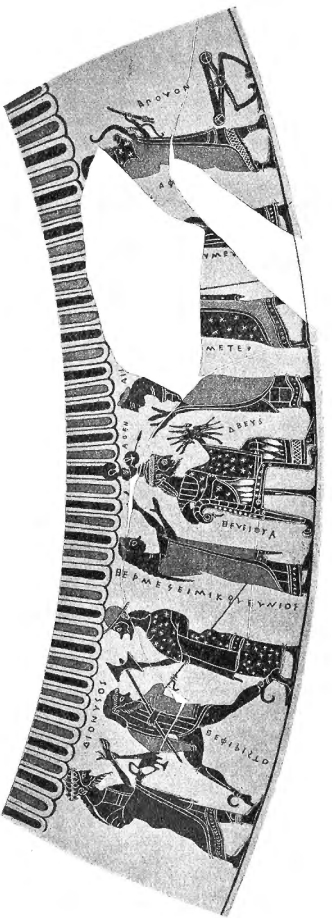
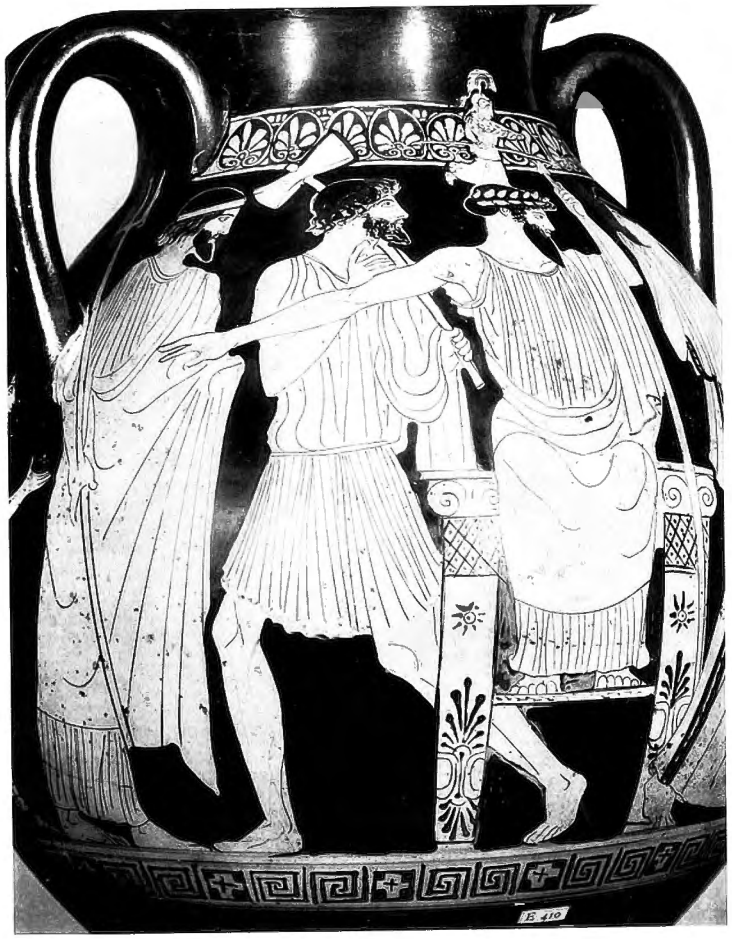


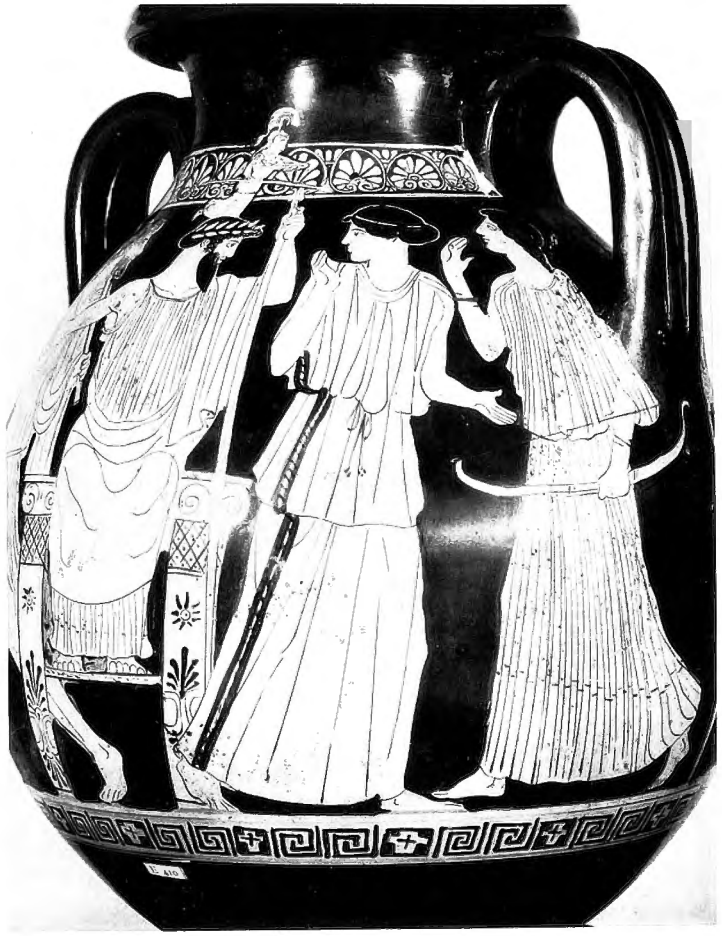
Fig. 485.

Amphora from Vulci, now in the British Museum:
Athena born from the head of Zeus, with two Eileithyiai, Hermes, and Hephaistos in attendance.

See page 675 *n.* 3 (1).



a



b

Pelike from Vulci, now in the British Museum:
(*a*, *b*) Athena born from the head of Zeus, with the Eileithyia and other deities in attendance.

See page 676 *n.* o (3) and *page* 710 *with fig.* 526.

open palms as though they would conjure the new-born maiden to appear. Other deities are present. To the left of the central group, and separated from one another by the rapidly retreating figure of Hephaistos, are Dionysos and Hermes. The former wears an ivy-wreath and holds a *kántharos*. The latter, in festal attire, bears a *caduceus* of unusual form and announces his presence with the naïve remark—'I am Hermes of Kyllene.' To the right of Zeus and his attendant goddesses is a god, probably Poseidon[1], conversing with a goddess, probably Aphrodite[2], while behind them stands Apollon with bow and arrow in his hands[3].

Fig. 486.

[1] So G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 109, R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 9, and with a query Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 197. The mutilated word]VMEL[is probably an appellative of Poseidon; Furtwängler *loc. cit.* says 'am ehesten wol Εὐρ]υμέδ[ων wenn man ein schiefgestelltes Δ zulässt,' cp. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1334. Less likely is θ]υμέλ[η—there is not much room for one. More improbable still, Wilamowitz' reading Γαν]υμήδ[ης. Quite impossible, a hovering 'Τμέν[αιος.

[2] Furtwängler *loc. cit.* proposes 'Α(μ)φ[ιτρίτη, which is accepted, again with a query, by Reinach *loc. cit.* But Poseidon is more than once paired with Aphrodite (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1145 n. 4 f.), and the initial 'Αφ[– – – is beyond question.

[3] Noteworthy variations on the theme of this vase include the following:

(1) A black-figured *amphora* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 6 ff. pl. 2, 1, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 196 f. pl. 58, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 155 no. B 244 with fig. 21 on p. 11, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 20, 3—5, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 16 fig. 113), which J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 78 f. fig. 16 f., 82 attributes to his 'Antimenes painter' *c.* 530—520 B.C. My pl. lv is from the official photograph. Zeus and Athena are flanked by a pair of Eileithyiai with Hermes on the left and Hephaistos on the right.

(2) A red-figured *hydría* from Nola, now in Paris (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 337 ff. no. 444 fig. 74 (=my fig. 486), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 542 ('karikaturenhafte Schlankheit') iii. 196 fig. 518), which J. D. Beazley assigns to his

manneristic 'Nausikaa painter' *c.* 470 B.C. (*Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 122 no. 9, *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 253 no. 13, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 213 no. 8). This gives Zeus an unexpected *phiale* and makes Athena jump the wrong way to the manifest surprise of Hephaistos and the two Eileithyiai. De Ridder names the figures from left to right Iris (?), Hera (?), Zeus, Athena *Prómachos*, Hermes, 'Déesse (?).'

Fig. 487.

(3) A red-figured *pelike* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 6 ff. pl. 3—4, P. W. Forchhammer *Die Geburt der Athene* Kiel 1841 with pl., Lenormant—de Witte *El. mon. cér.* i. 211 ff. pls. 64 and 65, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 256 f. no. E 410, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 20, 6), which is attributed either to Hermonax *c.* 465—455 B.C. (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 31 f. no. 12, but see Leonard in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 901) or to a painter closely resembling him (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1). My pl. lvi is from the official photographs, cp. *infra* fig. 526. Zeus, enthroned *en face*, makes the gesture of delivery with his right hand as Athena rises from his head. Eileithyia and Artemis on the right are balanced by Hephaistos and Poseidon on the left. The design is then

amplified by the addition of other immortals. Under the left handle Nike hastens towards the right followed by a draped youthful male wearing a wreath (Apollon?), Dionysos, a bald and bearded deity also wreathed (Hades??), and a white-haired

Fig. 488.

personage resting on a staff (Nereus??). The identification of the last two figures is quite uncertain: provisionally I follow Gerhard. For other guesses see R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 11 f.

Etruscan mirrors, under the influence of imported red-figure vases (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 129 f.), repeat the design with additions and subtractions:

(1) A mirror from Arezzo, now at Bologna (*supra* ii. 709 ff. pl. xxix), shows *Tina* delivered by *Thaur* and *Thalna*, while *Sethlans* with his double axe stands aloof.

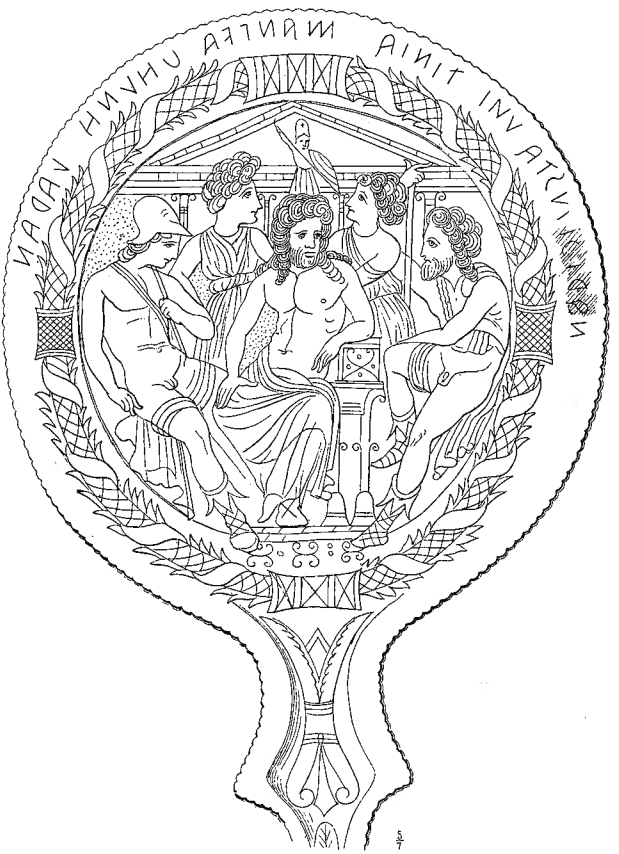


Fig. 489.

(2) Another, from Palestrina, now in London (R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1873 xlv. 129, *Mon. d. Inst.* ix pl. 56, 3, C. L. Visconti in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1874 ii. 94, A. Klügmann in Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* v. 12 pl. 6 (=my fig. 487), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 91 f. no. 617), gives the central group only. *Tinia* attended

by *Thanr* and *Ethausva*—the former fastening a bandage round his head, the latter laying her hands on his head and shoulder—gives birth to an armed *Menerva*. All the goddesses *more Etrusco* (*supra* p. 665 n. o) are winged. On *Thanr* see C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 527—529. On *Thalna*, C. Pauli *ib.* v. 459—463, cp. 442, E. Vetter in *Glotta* 1924 xiii. 146—148, Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 1227—1230. On *Ethausva*, W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1390, E. Samter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 717. It must be remembered that Strab. 226 says of

Fig. 490.

Pyrgoi, the port of Caere: *ἔχει δὲ Εἰληθυίας ἱερόν, Πελασγῶν ἵδρυμα, πλούσιόν ποτε γενόμενον, κ.τ.λ.*

(3) A third, now at Berlin (no. 2979) (E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 141 ff. pl. G—H, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 12 f. pl. 284, 1 (=my fig. 488), A. Fabretti *Corpus inscriptionum Italicarum* Aug. Taurinorum 1867 p. ccxv no. 2478, C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2933 f.), has *Tinia* sitting on a throne with lowered bolt and *Menrfa* in armour rising from his head. Left and right of him, leaning on the back of his throne, are *Thalna* and *Uni* (Iuno)—both appropriate as birth-goddesses. These in turn are flanked by two young warriors described as *Lalan* and *Preale*. *Lalan* is an obvious slip for *Laran*, the Etruscan Ares (W. Deecke in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1866 f.). *Preale* occurs here only, but must be a deity akin to Mars (C. Pauli *loc. cit.*). Finally, in

The second form of compromise between the Megarian and the Athenian type is exemplified by another 'Tyrrhenian' *amphora* from Caere, now in the Louvre (fig. 491)[1]. Zeus, clad in a white *chitón* and a red *himátion*, is seated on a throne—carefully inscribed as such[2]—with swan's-head back and lion's-claw legs. His left hand holds the thunderbolt, his right a lotos-topped sceptre. His feet rest on a footstool, upon which stands one of the birth-goddesses with a wreath in her uplifted right hand. Her fellow, definitely named Eileithyia[3], stands behind the throne of Zeus and

Fig. 491.

the background is seen a temple-front with four-Ionic columns, which is hardly to be identified with the newly built Parthenon (J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 318), but suggests that the scene is being enacted in Olympos (Gerhard p. 17).

(4) Very similar is the design of another mirror, now in London (Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 13 f. pl. 284, 2 (=my fig. 489), A. Fabretti *op. cit.* p. ccxiv no. 2471 *bis*, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 116 no. 696). *Tinia* and *Menrfa* are again supported by *Thalna* and *Uni*. On the left is *Laran*, on the right a bearded *Maristiusta* (so H. B. Walters, who thinks he 'may be meant for Poseidon.' C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2933 f. reads *mariṣ. . usta* and, with more probability, assumes some relationship to Mars). In the background, as before, is a temple-*façade* with four Ionic columns (cp. also Gerhard *op. cit.* iv. 14 f. pl. 285, 1).

(5) Yet another mirror, formerly in the Museo Campana, now in the Louvre (J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 314 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 56, 1, Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iv. 16 f. pl. 285 A (=my fig. 490), De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 52 no. 1738), makes Tinia beardless and surrounded by three goddesses—one with wings (Thanr or Uni (Roulez) rather than Nike (Gerhard, De Ridder)), a second with Phrygian cap (Thalna (Roulez), Artemis (Gerhard), Artemis? (De Ridder)), a third with veil (Iuno (Gerhard) or Hera? (De Ridder) rather than Venus (Roulez)). A sketchy pediment still marks the background.

[1] J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 299–307, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 56, 3 (=my fig. 491) and 4, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 155 f., 4 and 5, H. Thiersch "*Tyrrhenische*" *Amphoren* Leipzig 1899 pp. 49 f. ('Stark ergänzt und übermalt' etc.), 158 no. 39, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 78 f. no. E 852 ('Les repeints et les restaurations sont très importants dans toutes les parties du vase, mais les groupes du centre en *A* et en *B* sont à peu près saufs'), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 106 f. fig. 75, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 252. The central group is figured by F. Durrbach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. ant.* iii. 385 fig. 3956.

[2] ΦPONO[illegible]. [3] HIΛEIΘVΓ.

raises both arms to his head. Athena is not yet born[1]; but owing to the fusion, or rather confusion, of types Hephaistos with his double axe is already making off to the extreme right of the spectator. Left of the central scene is a group of interested deities—Dionysos with a garland of vine-leaves, Aphrodite draped and veiled, Ares with lance and shield, and lastly Leto. Right of the central scene appear other deities—Poseidon leaning on his trident (?) as he talks to Amphitrite, and a nude bearded god, perhaps meant for Hermes, who holds a long-handled *caduceus* (?) with one hand and gesticulates with the other.

(4) The fourth type, which represents Athena standing—a half-grown maiden—on the knees of Zeus, is again but a special application of a much older mother-and-child *motif*[2]. As applied to Zeus and Athena, it occurs on several black-figured *amphorae* and one red-figured *pelike*.

The earliest of the black-figured vases is an *amphora* in the style of Amasis noted by G. Karo in 1899 as being then in the Museo Municipale at Orvieto[3]. It seems probable that this is the vase published by Miss E. H. Hall (Mrs Dohan) as 'excavated from an Etruscan tomb at Orvieto in 1907 [*sic*] by Mr A. L. Frothingham' and now in the University of Pennsylvania Museum at Philadelphia (fig. 492)[4]. It has been to some extent repainted, but the original parts can be well made out from the official line-drawing. Zeus, holding a lotiform bolt, sits stiffly erect on a throne towards the right. Its back ends in a ram's head. Its seat rests on a Nike with spread wings and gesticulating hands. On his lap stands Athena in her panoply. Before Zeus is Eileithyia with ex-

[1] So Pottier *loc. cit.* S. Reinach *loc. cit.* supposes that the female figure on the footstool is Athena. But F. Durrbach *loc. cit.* justly observes that on a black-figured *amphora* from Chiusi representing the same scene (Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 194 f. pl. 57) one of the Eileithyiai is carrying a wreath. Besides, the figure on the footstool has no attribute distinctive of Athena.

[2] A gold ring from one of the later tombs at Thisbe in Boiotia, published by Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1930 iii. 470 ff. and by him assigned at latest to 'a Mainland-Mycenaean phase equivalent to L. M. III *a*,' shows a draped goddess sitting on a throne with a nude boy standing on her knees. Behind the throne is a small female attendant; in front of it, two armed worshippers approach with offerings.

[3] G. Karo in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1899 xix. 140 n. 3: 'Zeus with the new-born Athena on his knee, between two Eileithyiae.'

[4] E. H. H[all] in *The Museum Journal* 1912 iii. 68 ff. figs. 33 (photo of whole), 34 (= my fig. 492), and 35 (drawing of reverse). The date 1907 is possibly a slip for 1897: it is in any case inconsistent with Miss Hall's statement in the same paragraph that A. Furtwängler saw the vase at Philadelphia in 1904 and, upon his return to Europe, made a report of it to the Munich Academy of Science [see the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1905 p. 257 no. 16].

Fig. 492.

Fig. 493.

pressive fingers. Behind him, Apollon with *kithára* and *plêktron*. On the right, Ares in full armour is accompanied by a hound[1]. On the left are traces of Poseidon(?). Finally a few blanks are filled by a couple of soul-birds and sundry meaningless inscriptions. Another *amphora*, now in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire at Geneva, is included in the Genevan series of Giraudon's photographs[2]. A third, here given (fig. 493)[3], was found at Vulci and passed from

Fig. 494.

[1] On the use of dogs in war see F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2566 f.; and on their relation to Ares, *id. ib.* viii. 2575 f. (cp. the same author's monograph *Der Hund im Altertum* Schleusingen 1910). The subject had been already handled by O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1909 i. 126 ff., 141.

[2] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 14 no. 32 ('Genf: musée Fol. (Kat. n. 154)'), P. Milliet *Vases antiques des collections de la ville de Genève* Paris 1892. (Text to A. Giraudon's plates.)

[3] G. Micali *Monumenti per servire alla storia degli antichi popoli italiani* Firenze 1832 pl. 80, 1, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 197 ff. pl. 59 (=my fig. 493), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 164 pl. 21, 228, L. Urlichs *Verzeichniss der Antikensammlung der Universität Würzburg* Würzburg 1872 iii. 44 f. no. 243.

the Feoli collection to Würzburg. Zeus is seated on a stool, which has decorated legs and a central support in the shape of a bearded and draped male figure. The god holds a thunderbolt in his right hand, and uplifts his left with open palm. On his lap stands Athena, not yet fully grown, but armed with *aigís* and shield. Before Zeus, with one hand raised and open, the other lowered and shut, stands a birth-goddess, presumably Eileithyia. Behind him Apollon with

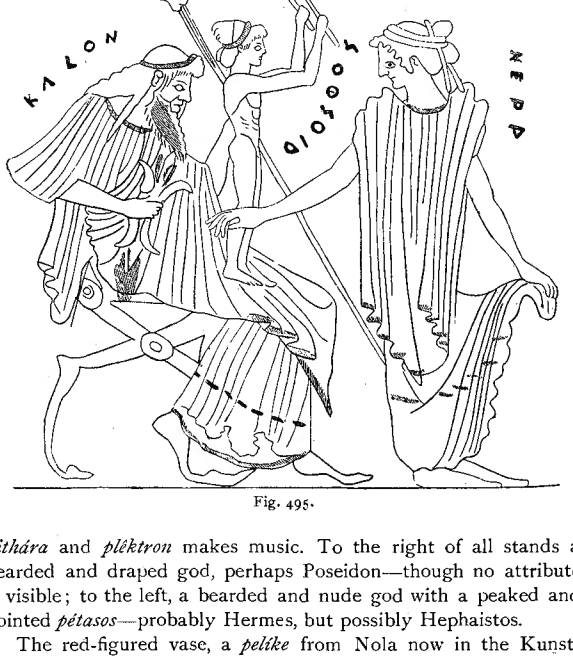


Fig. 495.

kithára and *plêktron* makes music. To the right of all stands a bearded and draped god, perhaps Poseidon—though no attribute is visible; to the left, a bearded and nude god with a peaked and pointed *pétasos*—probably Hermes, but possibly Hephaistos.

The red-figured vase, a *pelíke* from Nola now in the Kunsthistorisches Museum at Vienna (fig. 494)[1], is referred by J. D.

[1] A. de La Borde *Collection des vases grecs de M. le comte de Lamberg* Paris 1813 i. 88 pl. 83, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 191 pl. 55 (=my fig. 494), R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 14 no. 33, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 207, 3.

Beazley to his 'Geras Painter[1],' a minor artist of *c.* 480—470 B.C. It depicts the middle group of deities only, and rather clumsily exaggerates the size of Eileithyia at the expense of Zeus[2].

Fig. 496.

[1] J. D. Beazley *Attic Red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 561., *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 110 no. 11.

[2] It may be noticed in passing that this mother-and-child *motif* was applied by Athenian vase-painters not only to Zeus and Athena, but also to Zeus and Dionysos. A black-figured example of the latter has already been given (*supra* ii. 273 n. 3 with fig. 177, which having suffered an accidental exchange of right for left is here replaced by the more correct fig. 495): in it Zeus kept his own thunderbolt and sceptre, 'Zeus' boy' brandished torches, and the original Eileithyia was transformed into Hera. A red-figured bell-*krατήr* found, full of ashes and small vases, in tomb no. 311 of the Val di Trebbia necropolis near Comacchio (A. Negrioli in the *Not. Scavi* 1927 p. 166 pl. 16 (=my fig. 496), M. I. Rostovtzeff *Mystic Italy* New York 1927 Frontispiece, C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 89 fig. 5) has a noble long-haired Zeus sitting on a high-backed chair. He wears an olive (?)-wreath, a tagged or embroidered *chitón*, and a plain *himátion*. But the painter has given him a distinctly Dionysiac character by making him shoulder a *thýrsos* by way of sceptre and use a fawn-skin as his antimacassar, while he supports the infant Dionysos already equipped with ivy-wreath, vine-stem, and *kántharos*. In this

(5) The fifth and final type, in which Athena has reached her full stature, is attested by a couple of vases, a black-figured *hydría* from Vulci now at Würzburg and a red-figured *stámnos* from Vulci now in the Vatican.

The *hydría* (fig. 497)[1] shows Zeus seated on a throne, facing towards the left. He holds a sceptre with a curious Janiform head[2] in one hand, but no thunderbolt in the other. Athena, armed and fully grown, stands before him. She has issued from him, as we might infer from the position of her feet, but she turns her face

Fig. 497.

directly towards him while adjusting her high-crested helmet. To either side of this group stand the two Eileithyiai, and beyond them Poseidon and Hermes. Hephaistos is not there.

The *stámnos* (fig. 498, *a* and *b*)[3], regarded by J. D. Beazley as

case the two Eileithyiai have become stately Nymphs holding flowers or clothing for the new-born god.

It is possible, though not certain, that Dionysos borrowed the type from Athena, who—to judge from our few examples—appears to have been first in the field. In any event his adoption of the scheme was very understandable: it is but a step from some vase-illustrations of Dionysos emerging out of his father's thigh (*supra* p. 81 fig. 25 and pl. xiii, 1—3) to these of Dionysos standing upon it.

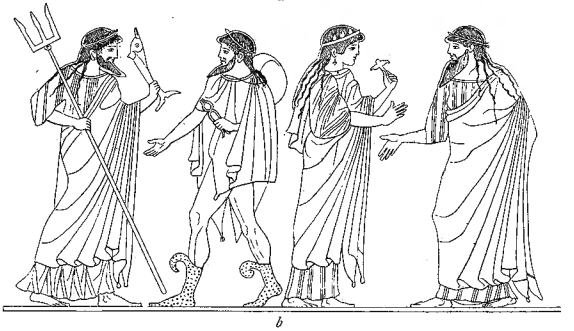
[1] O. Benndorf in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1865 xxxvii. 368 f., *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 24 (part of which = my fig. 497), L. Urlichs *Verzeichniss der Antikensammlung der Universität Würzburg* Würzburg 1872 iii. 28 no. 132, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 171.

[2] The conjoined profiles are respectively bearded and beardless (cp. *supra* ii. 387 ff. on the differentiation of the sky-god's faces), and two arms are attached to the common torso. But Urlichs *loc. cit.* says: 'ein Scepter, worauf ein Doppelgesicht (modern?).'

[3] *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 21, 1 (= my fig. 498, *a* and *b*).

a late 'Schularbeit' of his 'Berlin Painter[1],' may be dated *c.* 465 B.C. Front and back of the vase are decorated with sections of the same scene, in which the familiar figures are regrouped with sundry infelicitous variations. On the obverse, Zeus is standing not seated, having vacated his chair for Hera, who sits there raising her right

a



b

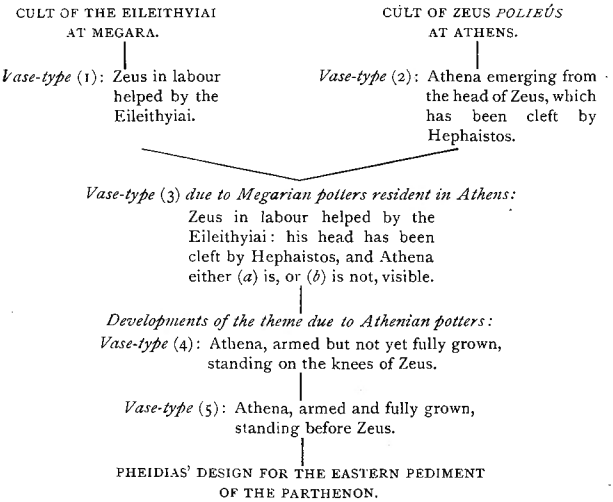
Fig. 498.

hand as if to greet the hasty arrival of Nike from the left. Nike presumably brings tidings of Athena's birth. And meantime Athena herself, armed and fully grown, stands holding out her helmet behind Hera's back. In short, a complete rearrangement of the traditional scheme. No less wilful is the artist's treatment of

[1] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 83 no. 91, *id. Der Berliner Maler* Berlin 1930 pp. 15, 19 no. 110.

the reverse. The divine witnesses are not relegated to the left and right as flanking figures, but are paired off as conversing couples—Poseidon with Hermes(?)[1], Kore(?)[2] with Hades(?)[3].

The fifth type of vase-painting leads up to[4] and culminates in the great complex of sculptural decoration employed by Pheidias for the eastern pediment of the Parthenon. The ultimate dependence of this complex on actual cults may be seen from the following diagram:



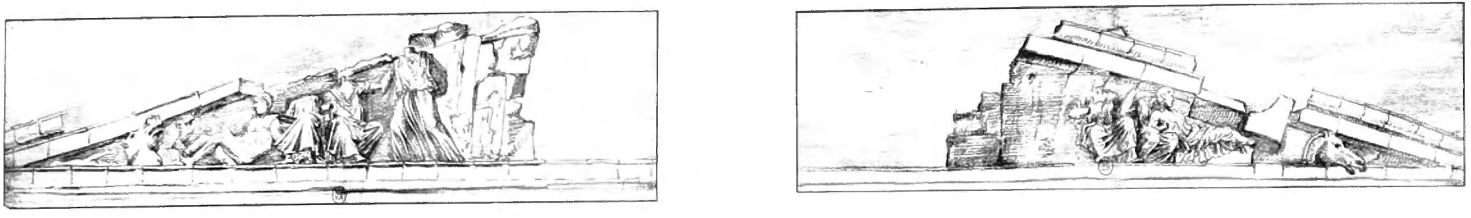
The foregoing enquiry has brought us to the threshold of a difficult, not to say dangerous, enterprise. If Pheidias' design was indeed the climax of certain pre-existing ceramic types, which can

[1] *Chlamýs*, *pétasos*, and *endromídes* suggest Hermes. Is the rather obvious pair of pincers a *caduceus* repainted by somebody who thought the presence of Hephaistos essential?

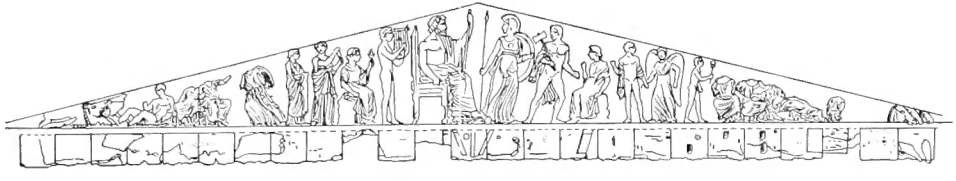
[2] *Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 'Venere o meglio Proserpina con fiore in mano.'

[3] *Ib.* 'Plutone.' The wish to work all three of the Kronidai into the company of heaven is understandable, though Hades is quite out of place *dans cette galère.*

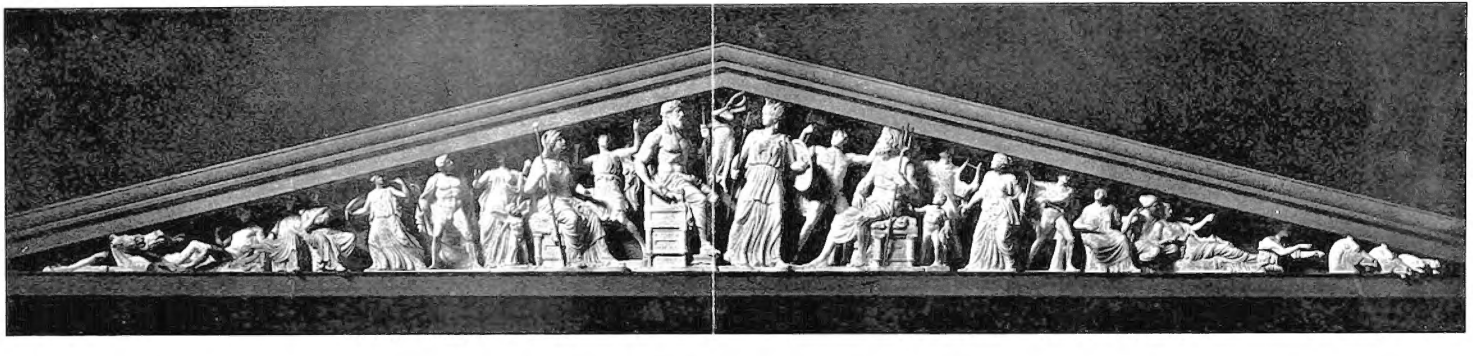
[4] G. Bendinelli in *Ausonia* 1921 x. 109—130 claims that the seated Zeus from a *póros* pediment of the sixth century at Athens (*sup.* i. 2 n. 2) should be combined with a standing Athena, like the duplicated goddess of an archaic relief (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 101 ff. no. 82 pl. 26, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 331 no. 1), to form a pedimental composition representing the Birth of Athena. But his fig. 6 is far from convincing. See further C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 599 ff.



1. J. Carrey? (1674).



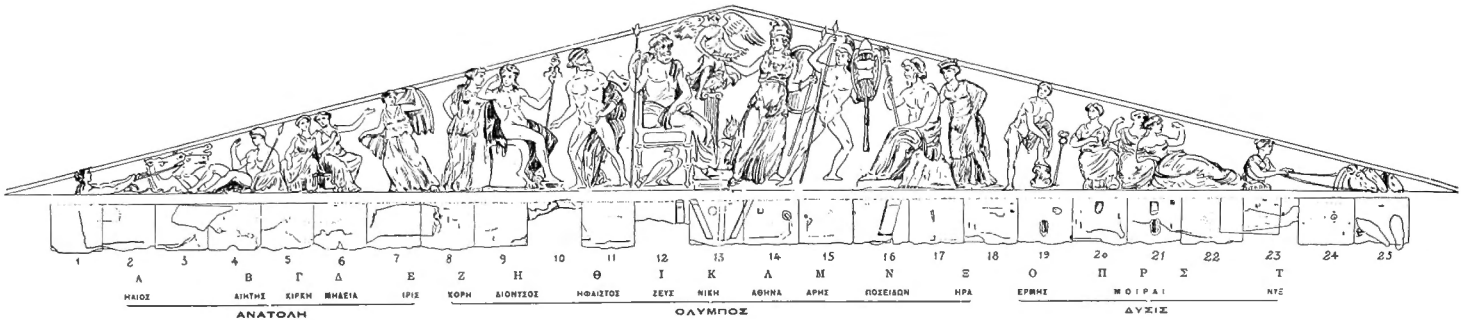
2. E. A. Gardner (1902).



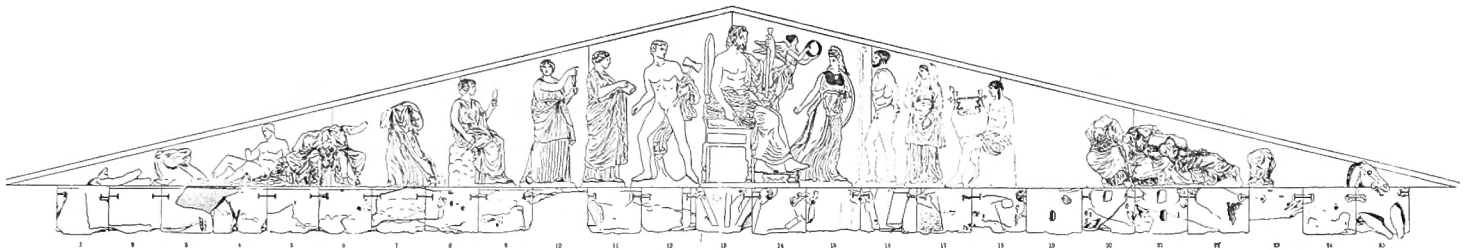
3. K. Schwerzek (1904).

Drawing of the east pediment of the Parthenon by J. Carrey? (1674), and attempted restorations by E. A. Gardner (1902) and K. Schwerzek (1904).

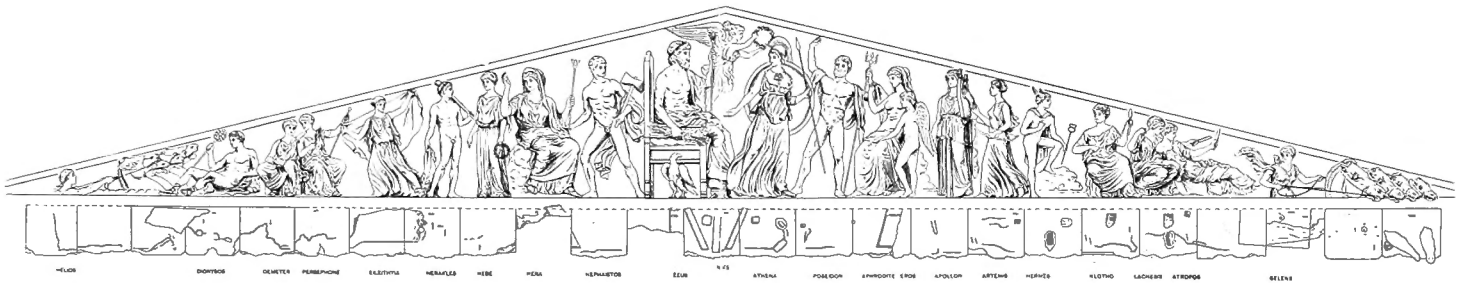
See page 689 ff.



1. J. N. Svoronos (1912).



2. Rhys Carpenter (1933).



3. A. B. Cook (1917).

Attempted restorations of the east pediment of the Parthenon by J. N. Svoronos (1912), Rhys Carpenter (1933), and A. B. Cook (1917).

See page 689 ff.

be determined and arranged in an intelligible series, we are thereby encouraged to play Childe Roland and, undeterred by the fate of our predecessors, once more attack that Dark Tower of Athenian archaeology—the time-honoured problem of reconstructing the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

Two factors in the situation make the attempt less foolhardy nowadays than it was a century since in the time of Christopher Wordsworth[1]. On the one hand, R. Schneider[2] in 1880 justly emphasized the importance of the Madrid *puteal*[3] and inferred from it that Pheidias' Zeus was seated in profile[4] to the right with the axe-bearer behind him and Athena before. On the other hand, B. Sauer[5] in 1890—1891 published and discussed the first minutely accurate chart of the *Standspuren* or actual traces left by the sculptures on the floor of the gable[6]. His investigation corrected Schneider's idea that Zeus occupied the middle of the pediment[7]

[1] C. Wordsworth *Athens and Attica* London 1836 p. 116 'The attempt to *infer* the treatment and details of the altorilievo groupe which once occupied the *eastern* pediment from the fragments of it which remain, would be as futile an enterprise as that to reconstruct an Athenian Tragedy from a few broken lines.'

[2] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 42.

[3] *Supra* p. 657 ff. Others have attached little or no weight to the *puteal*, on the ground that its figures were neo-Attic—'eine Compilation älterer Typen' (P. Arndt in *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 1724—30 Text vi. 42 ff.) or 'klassizistische Einzeltypen' (E. Pfuhl in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 170). Thus, for example, W. Amelung *Die Basis des Praxiteles aus Mantinea* München 1895 p. 13 ff. maintains that the Fates of the *puteal* were taken from fourth-century prototypes closely resembling the Muses of the Mantinean base, and that they are therefore *non*-Pheidiac in character and *post*-Parthenonian in date—a view sufficiently refuted by Rhys Carpenter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 123 ff. Most critics, however, would admit that the *puteal*-groups, even if they were mediate rather than immediate copies of the pediment, are yet highly relevant to a reconstruction of their lost originals (*supra* p. 660 n. 0).

[4] This would not necessarily preclude the slightly oblique position assigned to the throne and body of Zeus by K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 17: 'Wegen der geringen Tiefe des Giebels ist es nämlich aus technischen Gründen ganz unmöglich, die Zeus-Statue in der reinen Vorder- oder Seitenansicht anzuordnen.'

[5] B. Sauer in the *Ant. Denkm.* i. 48 ff. pl. 58, B and C, *id.* 'Untersuchungen über die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 59—94 pl. 3.

[6] Rhys Carpenter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 130 ff. fig. 7 and pl. 3, A was still operating with Sauer's floor-plan, but in 1931—thanks to the great scaffoldings erected by M. Balanos—he was able to pay repeated visits to the actual floor and in various points to control or supplement the observations of his predecessor (*Hesperia* 1933 ii. 2—12 with pls. 1 (photograph of floor-blocks 19—11) and 2 (=my pl. lviii, 2: restoration of pediment and revised plan of floor)).

[7] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 42 'Zeus—alle übrigen Figuren an Grösse überragend—in der Mitte, rechts die neugeborne Tochter, links der Geburtshelfer' etc. J. Six 'Die Mittelgruppe des östlichen Parthenongiebels' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1894 ix. 83—87 with fig. adopts this solution of the problem in a restoration justly derided by A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 23 f.

by showing that the central marks required, not one colossal figure, but two large-sized figures of about equal weight[1]. E. Pfuhl[2] in 1926 improved upon this by arguing from a fresh consideration of the same *data* that, of the two central figures, the left was heavier than the right and apparently rectangular in plan.

It will be observed that the citation of the *Standspuren* was by no means fatal to the relevancy of the Madrid *puteal*. Indeed it

Rhys Carpenter, deaf to derision, revives Six' central group in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 132 f. pl. 3, A with a drawing which E. Pfuhl in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 168 n. 2 condemns as incompatible with the floor-traces 'und auch sonst unmöglich.' Unperturbed by hard words, Rhys Carpenter returns to the charge in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 1, 34—39 with fig. 7 and pl. 2 (=my pl. lviii, 2), where he still advocates a colossal Zeus sitting in *quasi*-profile to the right on a central throne 'not set quite parallel to the tympanon but at this slight angle of about 3°. By this minute turn the throne was swung sufficiently to suggest that the pose was not a pure profile, and the torsion in the upper body of Zeus was made more natural. The narrowness of the pediment prevented a more thoroughgoing displacement. On the Madrid puteal relief the throne of Zeus is drawn with exactly this slight but indispensable obliquity.'

Many of the older authorities assumed a central Zeus enthroned *en face* with Athena either emergent above his head (R. Schneider *op. cit.* pl. 2 Quatremère de Quincy, pl. 3 E. Gerhard) or in close proximity to him (*ib.* pl. 5 C. R. Cockerell, pl. 6 L. Drossis). The model exhibited in the Metropolitan Museum of New York is of this latter type (W. H. Appleton in *Art and Archaeology* 1916 iv. 11 with pl. on p. 20).

[1] Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 30—39 discusses in great detail the floor-marks of the pediment, which he regards as pointing clearly and unmistakably to the existence of a single central statue of formidable weight—Zeus enthroned to the right as on the Madrid *puteal*. This arrangement is plausible and, I suppose, possible. But it suffers from three serious drawbacks. It involves a grave discrepancy with the scheme of the western pediment, which had two central figures, not one. It makes Zeus bulk too big in a temple that belonged to Athena. And it is eked out by a grouping of the Fates, etc., which to me at least is very unconvincing (see *e.g.* the criticisms of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 i. 272).

A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 22 f. had likewise disputed Sauer's conclusion, arguing that the two stout iron bars converging on block 13 were intended to support the plinth of a heavy central figure. He proposed to find that figure in the 'torso Medici' of the École des Beaux Arts at Paris. But later (*Aegina* München 1906 i. 330 f.) he confessed himself convinced by further argumentation on the part of Sauer (*Der Weber-Laborde'sche Kopf und die Giebelgruppen des Parthenon* Giessen 1903) and reverted to his original view that the 'torso Medici' is a copy of the so-called '*Promachos*' of the Akropolis.

[2] E. Pfuhl in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 169 f. 'Der Gedanke, dass beide Barren (*sc.* embedded in the central *geison*-block no. 13) die gleiche Last trugen, steht im Widerspruch mit allen Analogien beider Giebel. Diese lehren, dass die lange und die quadratische Randbank zum linken Barren, der kleine Randbankansatz vorn rechts neben der langen Randbank zum rechten Barren gehört. Folglich liegt hier, fast genau in der Mitte des Giebels, die Grenze zwischen zwei Statuen. Die Standplatte der rechten Statue zeichnet sich durch Leere, Randbänke und zwei Dübel, die ein Vorkippen verhinderten, deutlich ab; zu ihr gehört ein Stabloch vor dem Barren. Dieser nahm dem Geisonblock 13 das Gewicht der von 14 her auf ihn übergreifenden Statue ab, denn 13 war von 12 her schwer belastet. Dem entspricht der grosse Barren gleich rechts auf 12.: er trug an derselben schweren Last mit. Wir haben also jederseits der Mitte zwei ungleiche Gestalten; die linke war schwerer und allem Anschein nach gerade und rechtwinklig begrenzt.'

was with an eye to both sources of evidence that the sculptor K. Schwerzek[1] in 1904 produced the first really satisfactory filling of the central space—Zeus enthroned to the right, Athena moving away from him but facing left, and Nike hovering between them wreath in hand. A. Prandtl[2] in 1908, following the *puteal* with more absolute fidelity, went further in the same direction. He plotted in, not only Zeus, Athena, and Nike[3], but also the axe-bearing god

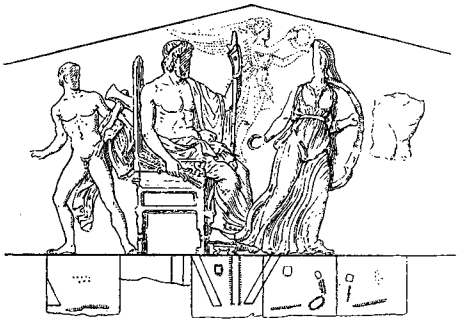


Fig. 499.

behind the throne of Zeus. Moreover, taking a hint from Sauer, he added next to Athena the extant torso of a god starting back in surprise or alarm[4]. This fine figure on the right aptly balances the retreating axe-bearer on the left.

[1] K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 7 ff. pl. 1 (=my pl. lvii, 3), W. K. Malmberg in *Zapiski* (Transactions of the Classical Section of the Imperial Russian Archaeological Society) 1904 i pl. 24—25, 2.

[2] A. Prandtl 'Fragmente der Giebelgruppen des Parthenon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 1 ff. fig. 1 (=my fig. 499). Prandtl would recognise, among the fragments attributed to the Parthenon pediments, the right heel of the axe-bearer, the left hand and part of the drapery of Zeus, also two fragments from the right wing of Nike.

Frag. 36 in A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 23 pl. 14 A (fig. 500), a right male thigh, to the knee (height $0{\cdot}41^{m}$), is on a scale large enough to suit this axe bearer.

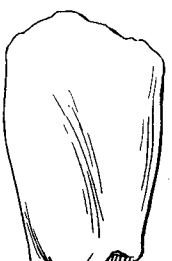


Fig. 500.

[3] E. Pfuhl, like B. Sauer, regards a hovering Nike as 'undenkbar' and postulates at most a Nike held in the god's hand (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 170).

[4] A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 22 pl. 13, 11, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris s.a. p. 31 pl. 52, H and H[1].

Approaching the matter by a different route Sir Cecil Smith[1] had in 1907 arrived at substantially similar results, at least in so far as the three central figures were concerned. He based his argument on the acute observation that Attic vases painted within a decade or so of the erection of the pediment 'are full of suggestions of motives directly or indirectly borrowed from the Parthenon.' In parti-

Fig. 501.

cular he referred to the magnificent *kratér* of the Villa Giulia (*supra* ii. 737 with fig. 668) as evidence that Pheidias filled the central space by Zeus seated towards the right, Athena standing before him, and Nike with a wreath hovering between them in the apex (fig. 501)[2].

[1] C. Smith 'The Central Groups of the Parthenon Pediments' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 242—248 with figs. 1 (=my fig. 501), 2, 3.

[2] He contends that the types of Zeus and of Athena (with her crested helmet and gorgeous *péplos*) are precisely what we should expect of Pheidias, that a hovering Victory

He also cited the polychrome *pelike* from Jüz Oba (*supra* ii. 258 ff. pl. xvi) as another vase reminiscent of the Parthenonian design.

We may take it, then, that this disposition of the central group is so highly probable as to be practically certain. But, before attempting to extend it right and left, I would draw attention to one or two details.

It is surely hard to believe that Pheidias would have left, as on the Madrid *puteal*, a large blank rectangle beneath the throne of Zeus. K. Schwerzek in his reconstruction (pl. lvii, 3) tries to minimise

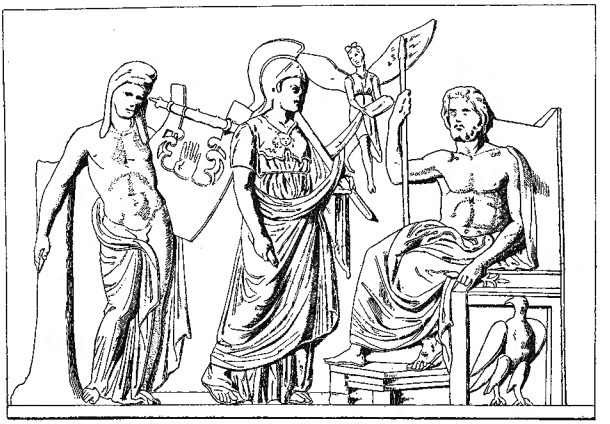


Fig. 502.

this objectionable feature by inserting a cross-bar and a sunk panel between the legs of the throne. The effect is not good: Zeus appears to be seated on a pile of boxes. It occurred to me[1] that a simple

would admirably fill the apex of the pediment, and that the vase-painter observing the statuary-group from below might well indicate, as he has done, the under-surface of the throne of Zeus. The last of these arguments is, I think, the weakest: the drawing of the throne may be merely an effect of pseudoperspective (see *supra* p. 92 with fig. 33 and *e.g.* Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 604 f., Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 145 ('Was ganz besonders auffällt, ist die stark betonte Unteransicht verschiedener Gegenstände, z. B. sieht man unter die Kline, unter Laomedons Chiton hinein, von dem Schemel sogar sämtliche Querleisten seiner Unterfläche')).

[1] I first put forward my reconstruction in a paper read to the Hellenic Society on 13 Feb. 1917 (*Journ. Hell. Soc.* 1917 xxxvii p. xliv ff.). But years afterwards I found that already in 1912 J. N. Svoronos had hit upon the same solution of this particular problem (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 274 pl. IΘ') and had sought to justify it by sundry parallels drawn from coin-types (*e.g.* Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 15 no. 53

way out of the difficulty would be to place an eagle below the throne. There were ancient religious reasons for fixing an eagle in the pediment of a temple[1], and it seemed natural to put the lightning-bird in immediate juxtaposition with the thunderbolt of Zeus. My conjecture was confirmed by the design of another *puteal* (fig. 502)[2], clearly a later variation on the Pheidiac theme, which transposes left for right but retains the bird beneath the throne.

A second detail in regard to which I should differ from Sauer, Schwerzek, and E. A. Gardner[3] is that they all make Athena hold her lance in the right hand. But, thus held, it endangers the well-meaning Nike; or, if Nike be absent, at least it interposes a weapon

Fig. 503.

Fig. 504.

Fig. 505.

Fig. 506.

Fig. 507.

Fig. 508.

Fig. 509.

Fig. 510.

of offence between the new-born goddess and her sire, while it creates an ugly parallel or *quasi*-parallel with his sceptre. Besides, Athenian bronze coins of imperial date (figs. 503—510)[4] represent an

pl. 48, 8 a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius) and votive reliefs (Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 142 no. 2357, pl. 143 no. 2383, pl. 219 no. ii. 1330, cp. O. Kern in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 25, O. Walter in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1910 xiii Beiblatt p. 229 ff. figs. 141—143 [*supra* ii. 1161 fig. 969]).

[1] *Supra* i. 259. It may be added that the Zeus enthroned in the eastern pediment of the old Hekatompedon held an eagle in his hand (T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 105 fig. 108, p. 106 fig. 109).

[2] E. Curtius in the *Mon. ed Ann. d. Inst.* 1856 p. 29 ff. pl. 5=my fig. 502 (from the cast of a marble well-mouth or altar since lost), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 170 (L) Atlas pl. 1, 48, Apollon p. 276 f. (no. 20). Zeus, Nike, Athena, Apollon (?Orpheus).

[3] E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 308 'Sketch Restoration of East Pediment.'

[4] E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 390, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 129 f. pl. Z, 8—10, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 85, 8—31, 32—37, cp. 38—40. My figs. 504, 506, 508, and 510

Athena identical, as Schneider[1] points out, with the goddess of the Madrid *puteal* and therefore, as Svoronos[2] saw, clearly derived from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon[3]: this Athena is shown proceeding from Zeus[4] but looking back towards him with a gesture of uncertain import[5]; she carries her shield and commonly her spear too in the left hand. The same type occurs on engraved gems

Fig. 511.

Fig. 512.

Fig. 513.

are from Beulé *loc. cit.*; fig. 503, from Svoronos pl. 85, 24 Paris; fig. 505, from Svoronos pl. 85, 19 Athens; fig. 507, from Svoronos pl. 85, 8 Gotha; fig. 509, from Svoronos pl. 85, 35 McClean.

[1] R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 39 pl. 1, 3.

[2] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 274 pl. Ιϛ', 4, 9, 10.

[3] C. Robert in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 68 f., E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 251 ff., and Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 389 f. no. 1176 traced this type of Athena to the west, not the east, pediment. But, apart from the fact that Athena is moving in the wrong direction, her right arm should then have been raised to hold the spear. These critics were misled by the presence of the olive and the snake—variable attributes, which, like the owl, were useful for filling a blank on the circular field of the coin.

[4] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 273 pl. Ιϛ', 2 and 1 (=*id. Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 3 Athens and 4 A. Romanos) thinks that certain rare Athenian bronze coins of imperial date, which represent Zeus enthroned towards the right with a sceptre in his right hand and an eagle on his left, were likewise copied from the Zeus of the eastern pediment. He modifies his restoration accordingly (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv pl. Ιθ'), but is inconsistent enough to accept the sceptre in the god's right hand while he rejects the eagle on his left as '*προσθήκη τοῦ σφραγιδογλύφου*.' It seems wiser to follow throughout the pattern of the *puteal*.

[5] S. W. Grose in the *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 364 f. no. 5949 'patera in extended r. hand,' no. 5950 'patera not clear.' But is there any *patera*, clear or otherwise, on either specimen? Cp. *supra* p. 572 n. 4.

On a bronze medallion of Commodus, struck in the year 191 A.D., a very similar Minerva holds a sprig of olive in her outstretched hand (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 137 f. fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 57 no. 47 pl. 81, 6 Paris. The specimen, formerly in the Weber collection and now in the British Museum, figured by Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 129 pl. Z, 13 shows Minerva plucking the sprig from the olive, but is unfortunately 'troppo ritoccato' (Gnecchi *loc. cit.*)).

(fig. 511)[1], sometimes in an architectural surround which to some extent confirms our attribution of the original to the Parthenon (figs. 512, 513)[2].

The central group thus determined is flanked by the axe-bearer starting to escape behind the throne of Zeus and a male deity recoiling in astonishment from Athena. If the axe-bearer was Hephaistos or Prometheus, some other name must be found for this god. Following Furtwängler[3], I have identified him with Poseidon[4] and restored him in an attitude somewhat resembling that of Myron's Marsyas[5]. I do so with some confidence, partly because

[1] A cornelian of Graeco-Roman date, from the Hertz collection (C. W. King *Antique Gems and Rings* London 1872 ii. 52 pl. 19 B, 9 (=my fig. 511), Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 45, ii. 207).

[2] E. Gerhard *Über die Minervenidole Athens* Berlin 1844 p. 24 pl. 4, 2 (=my fig. 512) '*Athena Promachos*' from an unpublished gem, Müller-Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 153 f. pl. 20, 216[c].

A. F. Gori *Museum Florentinum* Gemmae antiquae ex thesauro Mediceo et privatorum dactyliothecis Florentiae exhibitae tab. cc Florentiae 1732 ii. 124 pl. 77 no. 2, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 66, no. 77, 2 pl. 66 (=my fig. 513), from a red jasper of the '*Mus. Gherard.*'

These two gems, if genuine (and there is no obvious reason to doubt them), appear to be of Roman imperial date.

[3] A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f.

[4] Note that Poseidon occupied a similar position to the right of the central group in several of the vase-paintings already considered (*supra* figs. 485, 491, 493 (?)), though in others he was placed on the left (*supra* figs. 492 (?), 497).

J. N. Svoronos in his restoration (*Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 283 f. pl. IΘ′) completes this figure as Ares carrying a trophy—a numismatic type for which he would have done better to substitute Ares the shield-bearer (*supra* fig. 477 and pl. liii. Cp. Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 116, 3, ii. 20, 1).

[5] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465. His observation *ib.* n. 3 'Only the right arm was lifted up, not both as is generally stated. The difference in the marking of the muscles on back and breast between the two sides shows this indubitably' is traversed by K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 25 'beide Achseln zeigen, dass die Arme erhoben waren... der rechte Arm viel höher kommt als der linke, obgleich beide fast gleichmässig in die Höhe streben.' The question is one for anatomists to decide.

Among the extant fragments attributed to the pediments by A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 22 ff. I have found two (figs. 514, 515) which may fairly be referred to this Pheidiac Poseidon. One (*frag.* 34 pl. 13) is part of a colossal right hand (Smith inadvertently says 'left'), held up, thrown back, and spread open. The other (*frag.* 39 pl. 14 A) is part of a colossal right foot, of which Smith justly remarks: 'The hinder part of the foot seems to have been slightly raised from the ground.' Both fragments are of the right size to form the extremities of that splendid body, which we commonly call Torso H. They help to assure me that H does not spell Hephaistos. And here I part company with my friend Mr Smith, who in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 111 attributed the torso to Hephaistos or Prometheus, adding: 'Perhaps both hands held an axe above the head, as if about to strike.' That was a plausible suggestion, but surely mistaken; for not one of our vase-types showed Hephaistos in act to strike—he was always consistently running away with lowered axe. Eighteen years later in *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* p. 22 Mr Smith modified his opinion: 'It is probable that

the west pediment also places a Marsyas-like[1] Poseidon next to an impetuously moving Athena—the result being a sort of echo from front to back of the temple—, and partly because the Finlay relief on a vase of Pentelic marble now at Athens combines the Athena of the east pediment with Marsyas himself in a Hellenistic reproduction of Myron's group[2]. It may be added that energy and movement, actual or potential, is thoroughly characteristic of Poseidon in all periods of Greek art[3].

Continuing our reconstruction we next note that immediately beyond Hephaistos on the left and Poseidon on the right broad iron bars were set askew in, or rather just over, the floor of the gable. These, as Sauer pointed out[4], were meant to support (on the cantilever principle[5]) two heavy seated figures; and, *ceteris paribus*, it may be presumed that the said figures faced towards the centre in three-quarter position, *i.e.* along the lines of the supporting bars[6].

Fig. 514.

Fig. 515.

the figure was represented as drawing back, after the stroke by which the cleaving of the head of Zeus was accomplished.' It is more probable still that Torso H was Poseidon, not Hephaistos at all.

[1] E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1882 iii. 254, *id. A Handbook of Greek Sculpture* London 1897 p. 276.

[2] G. Hirschfeld *Athena und Marsyas* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xxxii) Berlin 1872 p. 7 pl. 2, 2, H. Heydemann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1872 xxx. 96, R. Kekulé *ib.* 1874 xxxii. 93 pl. 8, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 194 no. 456, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* i. 466 f. fig. 242, Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 136 ff. no. 127 pl. 26 (with fullest bibliography), Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 29 no. 127, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 157 with fig. 586.

[3] See *e.g.* Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon p. 243 ff. ('Das Ideal des Poseidon'), H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2860 ff.

[4] B. Sauer in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1891 xvi. 62, 69 no. 10, 70 no. 16, 87.

[5] W. B. Dinsmoor 'Structural Iron in Greek Architecture' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1922 xxvi. 148 ff. (especially pp. 156—158), Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 6—8.

[6] Sauer *loc. cit.* p. 87 thought otherwise ('Die Figuren wären dann wie Zeus im Profil zu denken').

They probably sat on rocks[1], not on thrones[2]; for the presence of other thrones would inevitably have detracted from the majesty of Zeus.

But have we definite evidence as to the name and nature of any such figure? I make bold to maintain that we have. In 1901 C. Waldstein[3] (Sir Charles Walston) published two marble statuettes, which had been bought at Rome in 1892 for the Dresden Albertinum. They are of the same uncommon dimensions[4]; and, since they were bought together, they had in all probability been found together—a couple of figures from the pediment or pediments of a small-sized shrine. One of them is a free copy of the reclining god ('Ilissos' or 'Kephisos') from the west pediment of the Parthenon, not uninfluenced by the corresponding figure ('Theseus') of the east pediment. The other (fig. 516)[5] represents a goddess half-draped in an ample *himátion*, which, as the folds at the back indicate, covered her head behind like a veil and was drawn upwards by her right hand. Beyond all question she is an Aphrodite, and an Aphrodite of Pheidiac type[6]. We need not,

[1] So in the restoration proposed by E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 308.

[2] A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin p. 29 flanked his central Athena (*supra* p. 690 n. 1) by Zeus enthroned on the left and Hera enthroned on the right. J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv pl. IΘ′ has Dionysos enthroned on the left, Poseidon rock-seated on the right—a clumsy, lop-sided expedient.

[3] C. Waldstein in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* December 1901 civ. 12—18.

[4] The male figure measures $0{\cdot}35^{m}$ long by $0{\cdot}20^{m}$ high; the female figure, $0{\cdot}31^{m}$ long by $0{\cdot}31^{m}$ high. Cp. the marble statuettes, one-third of full size, found at Eleusis and similarly derived from the west pediment of the Parthenon (D. Philios in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1888 p. 27 (cp. *ib.* 1887 p. 51), *id.* in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1890 p. 124 n. 1, p. 218 ff. pl. 12 f., E. A. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1889 x. 271, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 59 nos. 200—202, Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1932 i. 11 ff., 22 ff., C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 457).

[5] From a photograph of the cast at Cambridge.

[6] The broad treatment of the body with its widely-spaced breasts, the easy yet dignified pose, the simple, harmonious drapery, and the action necessarily attributed to the right hand, all go to prove the Pheidiac character of this little figure. It is, therefore, of considerable interest as evidence of a semi-draped Aphrodite in the fifth century B.C.

After my paper to the Hellenic Society (*supra* p. 693 n. 1) I received a letter (Feb. 19, 1917) from my friend Mr (now Sir George) Hill containing the politest of demurrers: 'Are you sure about the semi-nude Aphrodite? It looks to me, fine as it is, far too sensuous, not to say sensual, to be a Pheidian type. Is there any other case as early, except under Oriental influence, of a semi-nude Aphrodite? It struck a jarring note to me in what was otherwise a concord of sweet sounds. And how do you reconcile her with the Aphrodite of the frieze? Are those statuettes genuine??'

It has not, I think, been noticed that evidence for half-draped female figures in Attic sculpture at least as early as 425—423 B.C. (the date of the play: see G. H. Macurdy *The Chronology of the extant Plays of Euripides* Lancaster, Pa 1905 pp. 5, 40 ff., cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 361 n. 2) may be drawn from

therefore, hesitate to accept Waldstein's contention that she has preserved to us one of the missing figures from the east gable of the Parthenon. And, since she is seated on a rock in precisely the position that we require, I have restored her[1] as occupying the block adjacent to Poseidon[2]. We have already seen a probable case of Aphrodite ranged next to Poseidon in the right-hand half of a

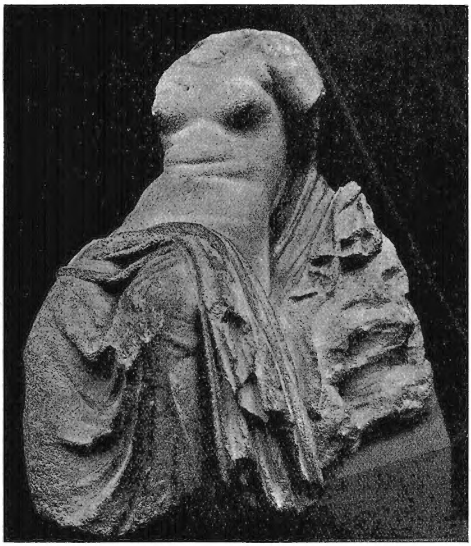


Fig. 516.

Eur. *Hec.* 537 ff. κἀπεὶ τόδ' εἰσήκουσε δεσποτῶν ἔπος, | λαθοῦσα πέπλους ἐξ ἄκρας ἐπωμίδος ἔρρηξε λαγόνος ἐς μέσον παρ' ὀμφαλόν, | μαστούς τ' ἔδειξε στέρνα θ' ὡς ἀγάλματος | κάλλιστα.

[1] *Supra* ii pl. xxxiii.

[2] C. Waldstein *loc. cit.* p. 18 originally gave her a different position: 'I should place her in the left half of the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, immediately following the extant figure of Iris, the body turned towards the Iris, the head towards the centre...and I should call her Aphrodite.' But this position will not suit the marks in the gable-floor, which at that point demand two standing figures, not one seated figure. Later, in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 295 fig. 20, Waldstein was willing to accept my restoration of the goddess, whose head he thought to identify with the 'Aphrodite' of Holkham Hall—a notion promptly and properly scouted by G. Dickins *ib.* 1914 xxxiv. 122 ff. Waldstein's rejoinder *ib.* p. 312 ff. is unconvincing.

vase-picture showing the birth of Athena[1]; and it will be granted that this association of the foam-born goddess with the sea-god was reasonable enough. The amount of rock visible at her left side makes it likely that here, as on the frieze, she was grouped with an Eros[2] standing at her knee.

As a counterpoise to Aphrodite we need another figure seated on a rock in three-quarter position towards the right. A suitable personage would be Hera, who in sundry vase-illustrations of the birth appears behind the throne of Zeus[3], and is expressly mentioned

Fig. 517.

[1] *Supra* p. 675 n. 2.

[2] A fragment of this figure perhaps survives in a left thigh of marble (fig. 518: height 0·32[m]) attributed by A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 202 pl. 8, 39 to the nude seated female S in the west pediment, but by A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 196 f. no. 335 (cp. *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 22 *frag.* 6 pl. 13) to the boy E in the same pediment.

Fig. 518.

[3] (1) A black-figured *amphora* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (G. Henzen in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1842 xiv. 90—103, *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pls. 44 and 45, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 217 ff. pl. 65 A (=my fig. 517), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 103 ff. no. B 147). Hera (HEPA) stands next to Hephaistos.

(2) A black-figured *amphora* from the Campana collection, now in the Louvre (J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 307 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* vi pl. 56, 2 (=my fig. 530), E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2[me] Série Paris 1901 p. 80 no. E 861 pl. 60 (reverse), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 107 f. figs. 76 and 77). Hera, not named but carrying sceptre, stands next to Dionysos.

(3) A black-figured *amphora* from Italy (?), formerly in the Fould collection, now in the Louvre (G. Conestabile in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861 p. 214 f., R. Schneider *Die Geburt der Athena* Wien 1880 p. 10 no. 11, Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 729 no. F 32, *id.* in the *Corp. vas. ant.* Louvre iii H. *e* pl. 14, 8 (obverse), pl. 15, 2 (reverse), pl. 16, 3 (detail) with text p. 12 no. 8). Hera (?), not named and without attributes, stands next to Poseidon.

by Philostratos of Lemnos (born *c.* 190 A.D.[1]) in a rhetorical description of the scene as portrayed in a picture-gallery at Naples[2]. Schwerzek has restored her as enthroned in the right place[3]. But we want a rock-seat, not a throne. And it so happens that on the east frieze of the Hephaisteion ('Theseion'[4]), a temple whose sculptures owe much to direct imitation of the Parthenon[5], we find Hera sitting on a rock in just the requisite attitude. I have transferred her bodily from Sauer's drawing of the 'Theseion' frieze[6] to my restoration of the Parthenon pediment[7], not of course as a certain, but at least as a possible or even probable, figure in the composition[8].

[1] Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 336.

[2] Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 27. 2 *καὶ οὐδὲ τῆς Ἥρας τι δεινὸν ἐνταῦθα, γέγηθε δέ, ὡς ἂν εἰ καὶ αὐτῆς ἐγένετο.*

[3] K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 21 with pl. (=my pl. lvii, 3).

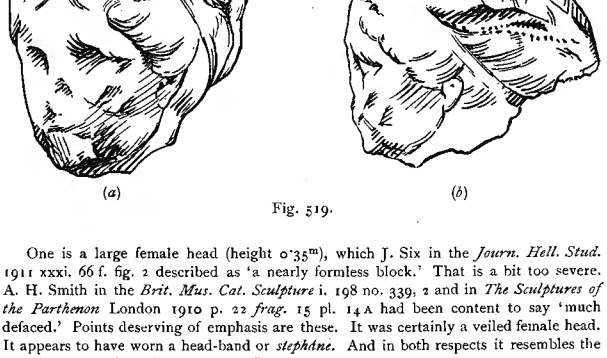
[4] *Supra* p. 223 n. 6.

[5] Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 461 ff., B. Sauer *Das sogenannte Theseion und sein plastischer Schmuck* Leipzig 1899 p. 209 ff.

[6] Sauer *op. cit.* pl. 3, 7 with over-leaf.

[7] *Supra* ii pl. xxxiii.

[8] Again I would draw attention to three fragments of the pedimental sculptures extant at Athens (figs. 519—521).



(*a*) (*b*)

Fig. 519.

One is a large female head (height 0·35^{m}), which J. Six in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 66 f. fig. 2 described as 'a nearly formless block.' That is a bit too severe. A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 198 no. 339, 2 and in *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 22 *frag.* 15 pl. 14 A had been content to say 'much defaced.' Points deserving of emphasis are these. It was certainly a veiled female head. It appears to have worn a head-band or *stephane.* And in both respects it resembles the Hera of the Hephaisteion ('Theseion').

At this point prudence would perhaps pause, content with probabilities, for in what follows the element of conjecture is necessarily larger. Nevertheless a bow drawn at a venture has before now hit the mark. So I proceed with as much circumspection as the facts allow.

Between Hera and the first of the extant figures from the southern angle is a gap, which—as the floor-traces suggest—was once filled by two standing persons. But, since these persons have entirely disappeared, how are we to identify and restore them? Our only clue will be the fact noted above[1], that Attic vases painted within a few decades from the completion of the pediment are full of motives derived from the Parthenon. Now a splendid *kratér* at Petrograd (fig. 522)[2], attributed by J. D. Beazley to his 'Kadmos

The other two fragments possibly derived from the same figure are a left breast (height 0·185^{m}) with close-fitting *chitón* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 202 no. 339, 29, *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* p. 24 *frag.* 87 pl. 14 B) and the front part (width 0·35^{m}) of a sandalled right foot (*The Sculptures of the Parthenon* p. 23 *frag.* 40 pl. 14 A).

Fig. 520.

Fig. 521.

So far as I can judge, these three fragments fall well into place on my drawing, which was—I may say—completed before I began my search for confirmatory remnants. On the other hand, Six *loc. cit.* p. 66 claims that the veiled head was found by Ross before the western front of the Parthenon. If that be so, it of course tells against the assignment of *frag.* 15 to my seated Hera. But the statements of Ross himself are not quite so explicit and leave some room for doubt (L. Ross *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 89 f. 'Die Ausgrabung ist jetzt (*sc.* 1835) schon bis an die Mitte der Westseite [des Unterbaus] des Tempels fortgeführt....Die Menge der gefundenen Bruchstücke von Bildhauerarbeit und Inschriften ist gross....Unter den übrigen Bruchstücken sind noch viele sehr schöne, namentlich ein Paar Fragmente von Köpfen, die aber wohl nicht (A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 196 on nos. 8 and 9 asks: 'warum nicht?') zu den Figuren des Giebelfeldes gehören möchten; von einer der Metopen der Südseite ist ein sehr schön erhaltener Centaurenkopf ausgegraben worden,' etc.). Such a dump of fragments as he reports, some sculptured, others inscribed, may well have yielded a stray piece from any part of the building. Smith in the British Museum publications simply ignores the alleged find-spot.

[1] *Supra* p. 692.

[2] *Supra* ii. 262 n. 4, iii. 184 n. 1 (1). The obverse of this vase is published in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 Atlas pl. 3 (=my fig. 522); the reverse, *ib.* pl. 4 (=my ii pl. xvii).

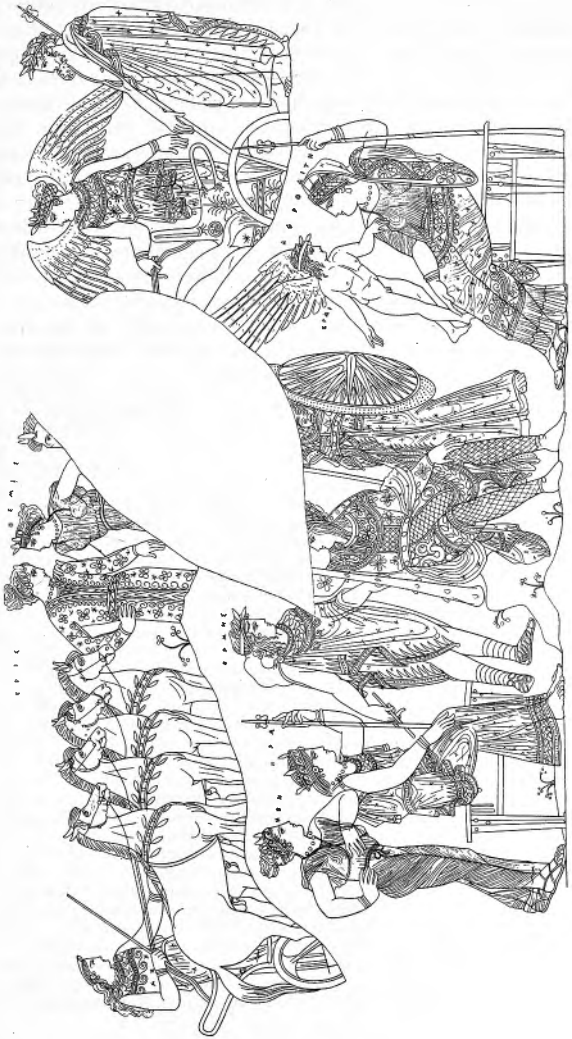


Fig. 522.

Painter'[1] (*c.* 420—410 B.C.[2]), depicts the judgment of Paris in terms, so to speak, of the eastern pediment. The scene is flanked by two *quadrigae*. In the centre an armed Athena stands before her judge. To the right is a seated Aphrodite grouped with Eros; to the left, a seated Hera with Hebe standing behind her. I submit that in Pheidias' design too Hebe stood behind Hera. And, if so, her companion was almost certainly Herakles, whose presence at the birth of Athena is attested by vases of our first[3] and third[4] types. This conjecture is strengthened by the fact that on the *kratér* of the Villa Giulia[5], which demonstrably borrowed its three central figures[6] and very possibly borrowed all its figures from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon, Herakles and Hebe stand side by side. In my restoration I have adopted from that *kratér* the gesture of Hebe's right hand, which may be characteristic as it occurs in another vase-representation of her[7], and also the entire figure of Herakles[8], including his club and lion-skin[9].

[1] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 451 no. 5. Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 191 no. 44 had been content with a more general attribution to the circle of Meidias.

[2] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 193. If this dating is sound, I have placed the vase somewhat too late *supra* ii. 262.

[3] *Supra* p. 665 n. 3 (fig. 477).

[4] *Supra* p. 700 n. 3 (1) (fig. 517).

[5] *Supra* ii. 737 with fig. 668.

[6] *Supra* p. 692 (fig. 501).

[7] A red-figured *kratér* from Ruvo, in the Jatta collection (no. 1093) (F. Gargallo-Grimaldi in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 160—166, *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 42, 1, 2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* ii. 890 f. fig. 965 ([Κυβ]ήβη!), O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2453 f. fig. 5), attributed to 'the Kadmos Painter' (J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 451 no. 1).

[8] In order to make Herakles approach from the left, not from the right, I had a tracing of the vase-figure turned back for front.

Frag. 51 in A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 23 pl. 14 A (fig. 523) is perhaps part of Herakles' left thigh (height 0·26m).

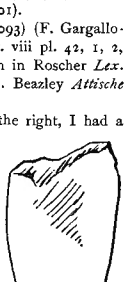


Fig. 523.

[9] One interesting result of this procedure is that we obtain a Pheidiac prototype of the Lansdowne Herakles (*Specimens of Ancient Sculpture*...selected from different collections in Great Britain by the Society of the Dilettanti London 1809 i pl. 40, Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* v. 14 pl. 788 fig. 1973, cp. pl. 802 G fig. 1973 A (reversed), Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pls. 691 and 692 with Text pp. 1—5 by A. Preyss. See also A. Kalkmann *Die Proportionen des Gesichts in der griechischen Kunst* Berlin 1893 p. 61, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 84, 160, 170, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 135 with fig. 707). That famous statue portrays the hero in a very similar pose and with very similar proportions. Critics have regarded it sometimes as Lysippean (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 451 f., P. Gardner in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1903 xxiii. 126 ff., 1905 xxv. 234 ff., W. W. Hyde *Olympic Victor Monuments and Greek Athletic Art* Washington 1921 p. 298), sometimes as Scopaic (B. Graef in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 189 ff., Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 296 f. fig. 125, M. Collignon *Scopas et*

The gap between Aphrodite and the extant marbles from the northern angle is wider, and requires three figures to fill it. At first sight this might seem a yet more hopeless task. But in point of fact we are here much helped by the floor-traces and by certain *à priori* reasonings. The traces in the floor appear to show[1] that the two blocks behind Aphrodite were occupied by one figure standing and another advancing from right to left. The remaining block was covered by a mass of marble supporting a third figure, which probably faced right, since the drawing attributed to Carrey and now preserved in the Bibliothèque Nationale has the head of the nearest seated goddess turned towards the left as if in conversation[2] (pl. lvii, 1).

Now the vase-paintings regularly represent two witnesses of the birth for whom room has not so far been found—Hermes holding his *caduceus* and Apollon playing his *kithára*. Several modern critics accordingly have suggested that Hermes should be installed next to the extant figures on the north: he would thus balance the hasting female ('Iris') on the south. To this position he has been relegated by A. Furtwängler[3], E. A. Gardner[4] (pl. lvii, 2), K. Schwerzek[5] (pl. lvii, 3), J. N. Svoronos[6] (pl. lviii, 1), and Rhys Carpenter[7]. It has not, however, been noticed how admirably the Hermes of the Villa Giulia vase is adapted to fill the space.

Praxitèle Paris 1907 p. 34. cp. F. P. Johnson *Lysippos* Duke Univ. Press 1927 pp. 53 f., 208 ff. pl. 41). But Lysippos, as P. Gardner *locc. citt.* has urged, was alike in style and in date closer to Skopas than is commonly assumed. And both sculptors appear to have been influenced strongly and permanently by the Parthenon marbles. It is therefore by no means improbable that the Lansdowne Herakles is a Lysippean or Scopaic modification of an original to be sought among the missing figures of the east pediment. If we may judge from the Villa Giulia vase on the one hand and the Lansdowne statue on the other, the Pheidiac Herakles turned his head towards the *Standbein*, whereas the Lysippean or Scopaic modification looked towards the *Spielbein*. But that is a change characteristic of the transition from fifth-century to fourth-century sculpture in general.

[1] *Longe aliter* Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 68 ff., 81. He holds that on block 17 was a standing Muse, on block 18 a seated Apollon (both recoverable, the latter with a right-for-left turn, from the Mantinean base), and on block 19 probably a Hermes (less probably an Iris) running or moving rapidly towards the right.

[2] L. de Laborde *Athènes aux xv^e, xvi^e et xvii^e siècles* Paris 1854 i. 132 pl. (a lithographic facsimile in red and black, the colours of the original). Fraenkel in the *Ant. Denkm.* i. 2 pl. 6 A, 2 and 3, H. Omont *Athènes au XVII^e siècle: Dessins des Sculptures du Parthenon* Paris 1898 pl. 1.

[3] A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f. fig.

[4] E. A. Gardner *Ancient Athens* London 1902 p. 307 f. fig.

[5] K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 31 pl. 1.

[6] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 258 ff. pl. IΘ'.

[7] Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 81.

If the painter of that vase was indeed, as we have supposed[1], copying the recently erected Parthenon pediment, then it follows that the beautiful device of giving wings to Hermes' head—a device with a future before it[2]—must be ascribed to Pheidias himself[3]. Again, it has long been known that the restful attitude of the supported foot, a favourite motive with Lysippos[4], is found in the west frieze of the Parthenon, where twice over a youth wearing a *chlamýs* is seen raising his left foot on a rock to tie his shoe-string or fasten his sandal-strap[5]. But now we perceive that Lysippos, who employed the same stance for his wonderful multifacial Hermes[6], was inspired not by a Pheidiac relief but by a

[1] *Supra* pp. 692, 704.

[2] It came to be used, not only for Hermes (C. Scherer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2400, 2422), but also for the Gorgon (J. Six *De Gorgone* Amstelodami 1885 p. 70 ff.), Perseus (on cap or helmet, but not head: see F. Knatz *Quomodo Persei fabulam artifices Graeci et Romani tractaverint* Bonnae 1893 pp. 28 ff., 43, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 119 pl. 27, 3), Hypnos (B. Sauer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 2849 ff.), the wind-gods (H. Steinmetz in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv. 33 ff. pl. 3), etc.

[3] On Hermes with winged head in existing copies of fifth- and fourth-century originals see Furtwängler in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 214 f. pl. 11 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 54 f. pl. 24 f.

[4] K. Lange *Das Motiv des aufgestützten Fusses in der antiken Kunst und dessen statuarische Verwendung durch Lysippos* Leipzig 1879 *passim*.

[5] A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 pp. 122, 157, 159, A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 pl. 65, 12 and pl. 71, 29, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris (1909—1912) pl. 78, 29 and pl. 83, 12.

[6] Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 420 ff. fig. 220, *id. Lysippe* Paris 1905 p. 71 ff. fig. 16, E. Loewy *The Rendering of Nature in early Greek Art* trans. J. Fothergill London 1907 p. 87 f. fig. 40, F. P. Johnson *Lysippos* Duke Univ. Press 1927 p. 170 ff. pl. 30 f., G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 58. The bronze original stood in the gymnasium called Zeuxippos at Byzantion shortly before 532 A.D., when the building was destroyed by fire (*Anth. Pal.* 2. 297 ff. (Christodoros)).

W. Klein *Praxitelische Studien* Leipzig 1899 p. 4 ff. distinguished two varieties of the sandal-binding 'Hermes.' The statue in the Lansdowne collection (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* Cambridge 1882 p. 464 ff. no. 85 with pl., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* v. 58 f. pl. 30) and the torso at Athens (F. Studniczka in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1886 xi. 362 ff. pl. 9, 1, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 733 and 734 with Text iii. 28 by P. Arndt, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 153 no. 10) he compares with the sandal-binding Nike of the Nike-balustrade and assigns to Lysippos. The copies at Munich (Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München* p. 291 ff. no. 287, *ib.*[2] p. 309 ff. no. 287, *id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 63, P. Wolters *Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs i. zu München* München 1922 p. 43 f. no. 287 with pl.) and Paris (Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 210 ff. no. 183) he regards as representing an athlete, compares with the figures on the west frieze of the Parthenon, and attributes to a pre-Lysippean master. Klein's results were accepted by E. von Mach *A Handbook of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Boston 1905 p. 249 ff. pl. 238 *a*, *b*, but by nobody else (see *e.g.* Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München* p. 294 n., *ib.*[2] p. 312 f. n., F. P. Johnson *op. cit.* p. 172 f.), and later were abandoned by Klein himself (W. Klein *Geschichte der griechischen Kunst* Leipzig 1905 ii. 364 f.).

Pheidiac sculpture in the round, not by the *épheboi* of the west frieze but by the Hermes of the east pediment[1]. The abiding influence of Pheidias' representation may be judged from the fact that in the pediment of Domitian's Capitoline temple a similar figure of Mercurius occupied almost the same relative position[2].

The two blocks next to Aphrodite were filled, we have said[3], by one figure standing and another advancing from the right. If the former was Apollon *kitharoidós*, the latter was presumably Artemis. Brother and sister thus formed a good pendant to the pair of lovers, Hebe and Herakles, in the opposite wing of the gable. They are restored in this position by Schwerzek[4] (pl. lvii, 3) and in the corresponding position behind Zeus by Furtwängler[5].

Apollon would almost certainly have been wearing the long *chitón* customary with *kithára*-players. His type is, I believe, preserved with slight modifications by the Munich statue of Apollon *kitharoidós*[6], which Furtwängler attributed to Agorakritos, the pupil

It may be observed that one copy of the sandal-fastening Hermes, a statuette in the Vatican (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 814 fig. 2047), makes the god stand towards the right and raise his left foot. But this inversion of the established pose can hardly be viewed as a survival of the Parthenon motive.

[1] Of the actual statue one possible portion (fig. 524) remains, two fragments at Athens which together make the right knee and leg of a male figure suitable in size (height 0·58[m]) (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 199 no. 339, 10, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 23 *frag.* 59 pl. 14 A).

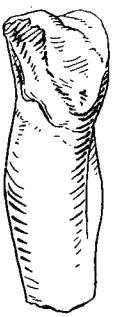


Fig. 524.

[2] H. Brunn in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 292, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 36, E. Schulze in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1873 p. 1 ff. pl. 57, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 903 with fig. 1150. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 203 no. 1, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 505 f. no. 893. The relief, which represents the sacrifice of M. Aurelius before the temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus*, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori at Rome (Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 22 ff. Scala ii no. 4 pl. 12).

[3] *Supra* p. 705.

[4] K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 p. 29 f. with pl. (= my pl. lvii, 3).

[5] A. Furtwängler *Intermezzi* Leipzig—Berlin 1896 p. 28 f. fig.

[6] Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 465 ('Muse Barberini'), A. Furtwängler—H. L. Urlichs *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Sculptur* München 1895 pl. 4 with Text, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 88 with fig. 36, *id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 32, *id. Glyptothek zu München*[2] pp. 194—200 no. 211 ('Apollo Barberini'), P. Wolters *Führer durch die Glyptothek König Ludwigs i. zu München* München 1922 p. 23 no. 211 with pl.

and intimate of Pheidias[1]. L. R. Farnell[2] says of it: 'The pose is that of the musician pausing in his music. The stately and elaborate drapery[3]...has much of the solemnity and arrangement of the folds found in Pheidian works: only, if we may trust a replica discovered at Rome some years ago, the lower folds of the mantle on the left side were inflated as if the wind had caught them.' In my restoration (pl. lviii, 3) I have copied this replica[4]. The peculiar treatment of

Fig. 525.

[1] For Agorakritos see C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 882 f., G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 180 f. with figs. 633—635, and the literature cited by F. Matz in the *Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom* Leipzig 1932 ii. 1. 118.

[2] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iv. 347 pl. 41.

[3] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 p. 122 ff. argued that this form of drapery, a long *chitón* with a large *chlamýs* fastened either under the chin or on both shoulders so as to cover the back only, was not introduced till the second half of the fourth century B.C. See also Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 182 ff. and Farnell *loc. cit.* K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 98 rejects the opinions of Stephani and Overbeck, accepting Furtwängler's view that the Munich Apollon goes back to a fifth-century original and 'steht in enger Beziehung zur Kunst des Pheidias.' C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 43 includes it in his list of anonymous works referable to 'Le cinquième siècle après Phidias.' P. Wolters *loc. cit.* puts it later ('Gute und wirkungsvolle Kopie eines Originals des 4. Jahrhunderts, das wohl als Kultstatue geschaffen viel von der würdevollen Haltung älterer Zeit bewahrt hatte').

[4] C. L. Visconti in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1887 p. 336 ff. pl. 20—21, *ib.* 1888 p. 44 ff., L. Savignoni 'Apollon Pythios' in *Ausonia* 1907 ii. 21 ff. fig. 4. The statue, discovered in 1887 in the Prati di Castello (Via Orazio) at Rome, is now in the Palazzo dei Conservatori (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 514 no. 907, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 116 f. Galleria no. 69 pl. 42 'The Conservatori statue is the severer in style and represents a work not much later than the Pheidian period; whereas the

the said folds may be due partly to what Furtwängler called the 'processional gait' of the god, but partly also to the proximity of Artemis hastening up from the right. A very similar figure of Apollon appears in later works of art[1], *e.g.* on a *pelike* found near

Fig. 526.

Barberini Apollo in Munich represents a later more fluid version of the same or a similar type, which Flasch (A.B. 836, 837), followed by Amelung (A.B. 1169), refers to the period immediately preceding Praxiteles').

[1] Listed by L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 p. 145 ff.

Kerch and now at Petrograd, which represents his contest with Marsyas (fig. 525)[1] and obviously borrows most of its ideas from the eastern pediment of the Parthenon.

For Artemis we must depend on a red-figured *pelike* from Vulci, now in the British Museum (fig. 526 and pl. lvi)[2]. This handsome vase, attributed by Ducati[3] to Hermonax and by Beazley[4] to a painter akin to Hermonax, should be dated *c.* 460 B.C.[5]. Its Artemis cannot, therefore, have been copied from the pediment, but may well, I conceive, preserve for us the type adopted by Pheidias. The goddess is seen advancing hastily from the right towards the central group: she raises her right hand in surprise and holds a bow with her left. This type in the course of the fifth century made its way from painting to sculpture. For the Artemis Colonna at Berlin[6]—to mention but one out of many replicas[7]—gives the goddess approximately the same attitude and is regarded by Furtwängler[8], Bulle[9], Kekulé[10], and more recently by Schröder[11], as a fifth-century creation[12]. L. R. Farnell[13] says of her: 'The pose and action are

[1] L. Stephani *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* ii. 42 ff. pl. 57, 1—4 (in colours) = Reinach *Ant. du Bosph. Cimm.* p. 106 f. pl. 57, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1862 p. 109, A. Michaelis *Die Verurtheilung des Marsyas* Greifswald 1864 p. 9 ff. pl. 1, 1 (= my fig. 525), Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 328 ff. no. 1795, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Apollon p. 433 no. 9 Atlas pl. 24, 20.

[2] To the literature cited *supra* p. 676 n. 0 (3) add Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 433 f. fig. 39, A. H. Smith *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 7 fig. 10 (= my fig. 526).

[3] P. Ducati in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1906 xxi. 114.

[4] J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 304 no. 1 ('Der Maler der Londoner Athenageburt. Dem Hermonax verwandt').

[5] M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192 f.

[6] *Ant. Skulpt. Berlin* p. 30 f. no. 59 fig.

[7] W. Klein *Praxiteles* Leipzig 1898 p. 310 n. 2 enumerates thirteen replicas. Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 108 adds three more. M. N. Tod and A. J. B. Wace *A Catalogue of the Sparta Museum* Oxford 1906 p. 167 f. no. 326 fig. 47, yet another.

[8] A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv Arch. Anz. p. 10 puts it towards the end of the fifth century.

[9] H. Bulle in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1894 ix. 159 places it 'noch ins v. Jh.'

[10] R. Kekulé von Stradonitz *Die griechische Skulptur*[2] Berlin 1907 p. 133 ff. fig. says: 'Diese ist keine originale Arbeit, sondern eine spätere Nachbildung, aber sie führt uns, während der ihr aufgesetzte Kopf einen oft wiederholten Typus aus dem vierten Jahrhundert wiedergibt, in die erste Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts oder wenigstens in nicht viel jüngere Zeit zurück.... Wie sehr noch in der Artemis Colonna die altertümliche Sinnesart und Formensprache vorwaltet, kann der Vergleich mit der sogenannten Iris aus dem Ostgiebel des Parthenon lehren.'

[11] B. Schröder 'Artemis Colonna' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi. 34—48 with 7 figs. concludes (p. 44) 'dass Körper und Kopf der Artemis Colonna zusammengehören und als Einheit der ionischen Kunst des v. Jahrhunderts entstammen.'

[12] For attempts to refer the 'Typus Colonna' to the fourth century see F. Studniczka in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1888 iii. 278 and K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1425 f.

[13] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 544 pl. 36.

somewhat difficult to explain. She is hurrying forward, with both arms partly stretched out; the right hand certainly held nothing, but the left was grasping something that must have been either a torch or a bow.' He suggests 'that she has just discharged an arrow...and that the action of the archer still lingers, so to speak, in the hands.' I should prefer to think that the original type, taken over by Pheidias from the painters' tradition, represented Artemis hasting to greet the new-born goddess.

We come now to the extant marbles—a topic less precarious but almost equally problematic. And first for the maidenly figure ('Iris') escaping towards the left. Iris she cannot be; for, as A. H. Smith[1] points out, she has neither the wings nor the regular costume of that goddess. Besides, her action is not that of a steady flight through the air, but rather that of a person starting aside in alarm. Latterly the opinion has been gaining ground that she is Eileithyia. This was conjectured in 1876 by G. Loeschcke[2], and was for some time maintained by A. S. Murray[3]. J. Overbeck[4] was inclined to follow suit, but doubted whether Eileithyia could be so juvenile in appearance. W. R. Lethaby[5], to whose restoration of the figure I am much indebted, speaks of her as 'Ilithyia?' What, to my thinking, makes this identification practically certain is the fact that the vase-paintings of Athena's birth show two and only two persons flying from the scene. One is Hephaistos; the other, Eileithyia (fig. 526)[6]. If, then, Pheidias designed his gable with reference to the existing ceramic tradition, an escaping female figure *must* be Eileithyia. Overbeck's objection that this figure is too youthful loses its force when we remember that, according to Homer, Hesiod, Pindar, and half a dozen later writers[7], Eileithyia was the daughter of Hera, indeed—if we may argue from the Hesiodic genealogy—was younger even than Hebe[8].

[1] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 110 f. no. 303 G, *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 23 f. no. 303 G, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 11 fig. 19 and pl. 3. Other good photographs in M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 49.

[2] G. Loeschcke in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 118.

[3] A. S. Murray *A History of Greek Sculpture* London 1883 (ed. 2 London 1890) ii. 70 ff. pl. 4. *Id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 39 f. regards her as a third Hora.

[4] Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 408.

[5] W. R. Lethaby *Greek Buildings represented by fragments in the British Museum* (iii The Parthenon) London 1908 p. 129 fig. 128.

[6] *Supra* p. 709 fig. 526 and pl. lvi.

[7] I have collected and sifted the literary evidence in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 367.

[8] 'Iris' has been identified with Hebe by H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr.*

The naming and restoring of the two seated goddesses beyond Eileithyia is an easy task, thanks to F. Studniczka and G. Dickins. Studniczka[1] in 1904 showed that the goddesses are sitting, not on stools or low thrones, but on square hinged chests, so that they must be identified, not as P. O. Bröndsted[2] in 1830 suggested with Pindar's 'well-throned Horai[3],' but with Demeter and Persephone on their mystic boxes (*kibotoi*)[4]. Dickins[5] in 1906—1907 after a brilliantly successful[6] restoration of Damophon's group at Lykosoura observed that the Messenian sculptor's Demeter and Despoina were direct adaptations of the seated goddesses in the Parthenon pediment[7]. This discovery not only enables us to decide with regard to the Parthenon pair that Demeter is the goddess on our left, Persephone the goddess on our right, but further justifies us in restoring Persephone with a long sceptre. Enough of Demeter's right hand remains to make it certain that she was not grasping a torch but, at most, holding a bunch of corn-ears and poppies as in the Chiaramonti statuette[8]. Damophon, transforming the pediment-group to a cult-monument, put a long torch into the hand of Demeter in order that it might balance the long sceptre in the hand of Persephone. I have given Persephone corn-ears in her right hand rather than a basket (*kiste*) like that of Despoina because I conceive that Despoina's basket was the equivalent of the box on which Persephone is sitting. Damophon had to make his

Akad. d. Wiss. Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 ii. 19, by Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465, and by C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 18 fig. 9, 21 ('Iris ou plutôt Hébé sans doute').

[1] F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix. 3 ff. figs. 1—6 pl. 1. Cp. Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 215.

[2] P. O. Bröndsted *Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques* Paris 1830 ii p. xi ('des trois Heures (Saisons)').

[3] Pind. *Pyth.* 9. 105 *εὐθρόνοις Ὥραισι* (for context see *supra* p. 267).

[4] Paus. 10. 28. 3 (Polygnotos' painting of the Underworld in the Cnidian Lesche at Delphoi showed Tellis and Kleoboia on board Charon's boat) *Κλεόβοια δὲ ἔτι παρθένος, ἔχει δὲ ἐν τοῖς γόνασι κιβωτὸν ὁποίας ποιεῖσθαι νομίζουσι Δήμητρι... Κλεόβοιαν δὲ ἐς Θάσον τὰ ὄργια τῆς Δήμητρος ἐνεγκεῖν πρώτην ἐκ Πάρου φασίν.*

[5] G. Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 357 ff. figs. 1—23, 25—28 pls. 12—14.

[6] Dickins' restoration of the whole cult-group was triumphantly vindicated by a oronze coin of Megalopolis published by B. Staes in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 45—47 pl. Θ′, 1—3 and further discussed by Dickins in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1910—1911 xvii. 80 ff. figs. 1—6.

[7] Damophon's group had already been brought into connexion with the Parthenon figures by E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 125 n. 3 and by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora pp. 423 n. [b], 431.

[8] Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Demeter—Kora p. 473 f. Atlas pl. 14, 16, Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* i. 362 f. no. 81 pl. 38.

Déspoina, in accordance with her cult-title, a 'Queen' seated on a throne, he therefore found room for the sacred receptacle on her lap and *ipso facto* displaced the corn-ears of his original. The restoration of the Parthenon Persephone with corn-ears in her right hand and a sceptre in her left is supported by the existence of a similar type on the imperial bronze coinage of Athens (fig. 527)[1].

Fig. 527.

The reclining god next to Demeter is Dionysos. This identification, first mooted by F. G. Welcker[2] in 1817, doubted by W. M. Leake[3] in 1821, but re-affirmed by E. Gerhard[4] in 1840, admitted with a query by A. Michaelis[5] in 1871, and then more definitely established by E. Petersen[6] in 1873, is accepted nowadays by most critics and has in fact become the official view[7]. The main reasons advanced on its behalf are that the skin over which the young god has spread his mantle appears to be a panther-skin not a lion-skin[8], that the soft seat and comfortable sandals suit a lover of ease[9], and that Dionysos occurs in a very similar pose on a dramatic relief from the Peiraieus[10], on the choragic monument of

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica p. 102 pl. 17, 8, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 141 pl. BB, 22 (=my fig. 527), J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 93, 36—42.

[2] F. G. Welcker in the *Zeitschrift für Geschichte und Auslegung der alten Kunst* 1817 i. 208 f. 'Jacchos.'

[3] W. M. Leake *The Topography of Athens* London 1821 p. 255 n. 2 'To those who are inclined to think that this figure is Bacchus, reposing upon the skin of a panther, it may be observed, that Bacchus was a deity of too much importance among the Athenians not to have had a place nearer the centre of the composition.' But see *infra* p. 714 nn. 4, 5.

[4] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* i. 19 f. 'der den Dionysos gleichbedeutende, den eleusinischen Göttinnen in schwärmerischer Schönheit verbundene, Jüngling Iacchos,' *id. Drei Vorlesungen über Gyps-Abgüsse* Berlin 1844 p. 45 'den jugendlichen Gott eleusinischer Weihungen den Iacchos.'

[5] A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 pp. 165, 168, *id.* in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1880 p. 168 ff. pl. 3, 2 f.

[6] E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 116 ff.

[7] A. H. Smith *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 20 no. 303 D pl. 3, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 9 f. fig. 16 and pl. 2. Other good photographs in M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 47.

[8] E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 119 (the skin can hardly be leonine, since no mane is visible; hence 'kann man füglicher ein Pantherfell drin sehen, das unter den Göttern im Olymp nur einem, dem Dionysos, eigenthümlich ist'), A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 107 and in *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 20.

[9] E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 120 f.

[10] F. Studniczka in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 p. 307 ff., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix. 2 n. 5. Further bibliography and discussion in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* p. 512 ff. no. 1500 pl. 82, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 412 no. 3.

Lysikrates[1], on a moulded *askós* in the British Museum[2], and as a recumbent figure forming the lid of a Roman sarcophagus in the Louvre[3]. It should further be noticed that vase-painters introducing Dionysos into the scene of Athena's birth regularly place him at[4], or towards[5], the extreme left of their composition. I have restored him with a *thýrsos* in his right hand and nothing in his left, partly because the muscles of the left fore-arm, so far as it is preserved, suggest an attitude of simple repose and are inconsistent *e.g.* with his holding a *phiále* as on the Peiraieus relief, and partly because this type for the god passed into the *répertoire* of later ceramic art (fig. 528)[6]. No doubt analogous types were used by the die-sinkers of Magna Graecia *c.* 400 B.C. to represent Herakles at Kroton[7], Herakleia[8], and Tarentum[9], and to represent Pan at Pandosia[10].

Fig. 528.

[1] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 253 no. 430, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] ii. 120 ff. fig. 174, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 365 ff. fig. 188, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 13 f.

[2] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 107 f. fig. 9 (no. G 281, not yet included in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases*).

[3] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 273 fig. 1592 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 138 no. 2, Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 240 f. no. 228.

[4] *Supra* p. 674 fig. 485.

[5] *Infra* p. 716 fig. 530; *supra* p. 680 fig. 491; *supra* p. 677 n. 0.

[6] *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1873 Atlas pl. 4, 2 (= Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 40, 2), *ib.* 1875 Atlas pl. 4, 4 (= Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 47, 1) reproduced in my fig. 528, etc.

[7] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 103 f. pl. 184, 31—38, Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 7 pl. A, 5, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 151 pl. 109, 35—39, pl. 110, 1, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 202 f. pl. 54, 13—18, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 20, 615 f. Lloyd.

[8] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 226 no. 15 fig., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 133 pl. 102, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 71 fig. 32, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 9, 268 Lloyd.

[9] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 62 pl. 119, 400 f., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 218 no. 476 f., Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 131 pl. 101, 7—10.

[10] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 97 pl. 175, 2, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 370 f. figs.,

But we have seen reason to put Herakles elsewhere in the pediment; and Pan is a god who never appears in vase-paintings of Athena's birth. The claims of Dionysos to be identified with 'Theseus' are indeed so strong that we may fairly dispense with a detailed discussion of other hypotheses[1].

Corresponding with the deities of corn and wine we have another triad in the opposite wing of the gable. Here again Pheidias took a hint from ceramic tradition; for a black-figured *amphora* in the Louvre (fig. 530)[2] shows three goddesses in a row to the extreme right of the birth-scene. F. G. Welcker[3] held that the Parthenon

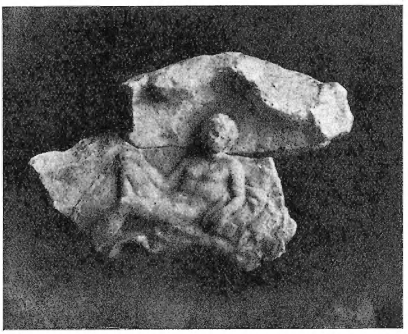


Fig. 529.

Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 154 pl. 111, 6—8, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 106 fig. 59. Cp. Pan on coins of the Arcadian League (*supra* i. 69 f. figs. 47—49).

[1] (1) Herakles (E. Q. Visconti *A Letter from the Chevalier Antonio Canova: and two Memoirs read to the Royal Institute of France on the Sculptures in the Collection of the Earl of Elgin* London 1816 p. 35 ff., W. M. Leake *The Topography of Athens* London 1821 p. 255, L. de Ronchaud *Phidias* Paris 1861 p. 260 ff., M. Collignon *Phidias* Paris n.d. p. 43 ff.). Cp. Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 349 no. 7, 351 no. 2.

(2) Pan (C. J. Reuvens in *The Classical Journal* 1823 xxviii. 282). Cp. Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 2013 pl. 137: my fig. 529 is from a fresh photograph.

(3) Kephalos (P. O. Bröndsted *Voyages dans la Grèce accompagnés de recherches archéologiques* Paris 1830 ii p. xi n. 3, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 468, A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 35 ff.).

(4) Kekrops (E. Falkener in *The Museum of Classical Antiquities* 1851 i. 394 f., Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* i. 81).

(5) Mt Olympos (H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 ii. 14, C. Waldstein *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 pp. 142 ff. pl. 6, 173 ff. fig. 6 f., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 436).

[2] Louvre E 861, on which see *supra* p. 700 n. 3 (2).

[3] Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* i. 77 ff.

triad was Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos; and J. Roulez[1] was inclined to give the same explanation of the three goddesses on the Paris vase. Their view is attractive and the title 'die "Thauschwestern"' still finds some defenders[2]. Nevertheless the discovery of the Madrid *puteal* has gone far towards proving that the old[3] name, 'the Fates,' is right. Even F. Hauser[4], who argues that the Fates of the *puteal* were not taken from the same model (*Vorbild*) as its other figures, yet admits that they too may well go back to the east pediment of the Parthenon as their original. Further, while granting that their attributes have not yet been

Fig. 530.

found on pre-Roman works of art, he urges that Roman reliefs here as elsewhere presuppose Greek prototypes. Fate as a spinner is Homeric[5]: cleromancy was no discovery of the Romans[6]: oracle-

[1] J. Roulez in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 310.

[2] *E.g.* K. Schwerzek *Erläuterungen zu dem Versuch einer Rekonstruktion des östlichen Parthenongiebels* Wien 1904 pp. 10, 15, H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 227 ff.

But J. Overbeck, who in 1857 took the triad to be the Kekropides (*Gr. Plastik*[1] i. 250 f.), in 1893 wrote of them as the Moirai (*op. cit.*[4] i. 416). And M. Collignon, who at first had favoured 'les noms de Thallo, d'Auxo et de Karpo, les trois Kharites attiques' (*Phidias* Paris n.d. p. 46), was later content to call them 'les Parques' (*Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 30 f.).

[3] Collignon *op. cit.* ii. 30 'sur la foi de Visconti, de Bröndsted, de Cockerell, et de Beulé.'

[4] F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 67 f.

[5] *Il.* 20. 127 f., *Od.* 7. 197 f. See further H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 *s.vv.* *ἐπικλώθω*, *κλῶθες*.

[6] A. Bouché-Leclercq *Histoire de la divination dans l'antiquité* Paris 1879 i. 189—197 and iv Index *s.v. Cléromancie*, H. J. Rose in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 779[b], F. Heinevetter *Würfel- und Buchstabenorakel in Griechenland und Kleinasien* Breslau 1911, M. P. Nilsson 'Würfelorakel *ἐπὶ Σκίρῳ*' in

rolls can be quoted from older Greek sources[1]. I have not scrupled, therefore, to use the Madrid *puteal* and the Tegel *replica* for the restoration of these goddesses, assuming that the first designer of such reliefs adapted the pedimental group to the requirements of his frieze by the simple expedient of making two of the figures stand up[2]. In the pediment the Fate sitting on a separate rocky seat is *Klothó*, the 'Spinner.' She holds a distaff in one hand, a spindle in the other, and—a thoroughly natural touch—has drawn back her right leg to leave room for the spindle to twirl. Lachesis too is seated (Platon[3] speaks of her lap) and holds the *láche* or 'lots,' of which Atropos the left-handed[4] has just drawn the one that she is reading. She lies on the knees of Lachesis and thereby declares herself a personification of that irreversible fate which, as Homer has it, 'lies on the knees of the gods[5].' Intentionally or not, Pheidias conceived her in accordance with the strange Hesiodic[6] description—literally lower than her sisters and yet the eldest and in a sense the most exalted of the three. Details apart, the common interpretation of this famous triad as the Fates is so apt that we may again without scruple jettison a cargo of divergent and sometimes fantastic misunderstandings[7].

the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 316 f., W. R. Halliday *Greek Divination* London 1913 pp. 205—234 ('Kleromancy'), F. E. Robbins 'The Lot Oracle at Delphi' in *Class. Philol.* 1916 xi. 278—292.

[1] *E.g. supra* i. 128 pl. 12, cp. 130 pl. 13.

[2] Rhys Carpenter in his restoration (*supra* pl. lviii, 2) has contrived to work in the Fates of the *puteal* as three standing figures, but at the expense of more than one improbability. He has to place this triad in the left wing of the gable, whereas the vase-painter relegates it to the extreme right of the scene (*supra* fig. 530). Again, Carpenter must represent his Fates as three figures on an ascending scale, large, larger, largest—a variation which might be tolerated in the case of three diverse deities but becomes grotesque if applied to three powers of equal prestige. And lastly, the aesthetic effect of so many single figures standing erect in parallel, pillar-like lines is architectural rather than sculptural: it recalls indeed the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia, but is in flat and flagrant contradiction of Pheidias' closely knit and subtly balanced design.

[3] Plat. *rep.* 617 D λαβόντα ἐκ τῶν τῆς Λαχέσεως γονάτων κλήρους τε καὶ βίων παραδείγματα.

[4] In the Platonic image (*ib.* 617 C) Klotho uses her right hand, Atropos her left, Lachesis either hand alternately. Platon is probably Pythagorising (J. Adam *ad loc.*), and where that is the case we may well suspect a basis of popular belief (to the passages cited *supra* ii. 222 n. 1 add i. 283 n. 0, ii. 223 ff., 354, 649, 1129, etc.).

[5] See W. Leaf on *Il.* 17. 514, W. W. Merry—J. Riddell on *Od.* 1. 267, E. Schwyzer 'Der Götter Knie—Abrahams Schoss' in ΑΝΤΙΔΩΡΟΝ (Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel) Göttingen 1923 pp. 283—293, Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 311 f.

[6] Hes. *sc. Her.* 258 ff. Κλωθὼ καὶ Λάχεσίς σφιν ἐφέστασαν· ἡ μὲν ὑφήσσων | Ἄτροπος οὔτι πέλεν μεγάλη θεός, ἀλλ' ἄρα ἦγε | τῶν γε μὲν ἀλλάων προφερὴς τ' ἦν πρεσβυτάτη τε.

[7] (1) The Kekropides Aglauros, Herse, and Pandrosos (F. G. Welcker *supra* p. 715 n. 3, J. Overbeck *supra* p. 716 n. 2, K. Schwerzek *supra* p. 716 n. 2).

The whole scene of Athena's birth is flanked by two angle-groups representing daybreak and nightfall[1]. On the left Helios drives his team of four horses up from the sea. On the right Selene drives hers down behind the hills[2]. The rising Sun thus synchronises with the setting Moon and fixes the time as that of a full moon. Pheidias has indicated this with subtlety and success by making

(2) Amphitrite with Kirke (Aphrodite?) on the lap of Perse (Thalassa?) (L. de Ronchaud *Phidias sa vie et ses ouvrages* Paris 1861 p. 260 ff.).

(3) Pandrosos? with the Horai Thallo? and Karpo? (A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 168 f. cp. Paus. 9. 35. 2).

(4) Hestia with Aphrodite in the lap of Peitho (E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Phidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 128 ff.).

(5) The Clouds (H. Brunn in the *Sitzungsber. d. kais. bayr. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 ii. 15 ff.).

(6) Hestia with Thalassa in the lap of Gaia (C. Waldstein *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 pp. 156 ff. pl. 8, 166 ff., Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 438 f.).

(7) The Attic Kharites Thallo, Auxo, and Karpo (*sic* M. Collignon *supra* p. 716 n. 2).

(8) Hestia with Aphrodite in the lap of Dione (H. Lechat *Phidias* Paris 1924 p. 117 f. fig. 42).

(9) Artemis with Aphrodite in the lap of Peitho (Rhys Carpenter in *Hesperia* 1933 ii. 86 ff.).

[1] The juxtaposition of these groups with Dionysos on the left and the Fates on the right was more or less defensible on religious grounds. Dionysos had points of contact with Helios (*supra* ii. 253 with n. 4), and the Fates were sometimes reckoned daughters of Nyx (*frag. lyr. adesp.* 140 Bergk[4], 5 Diehl, 70 Edmonds *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 5. 10—12, 6 f. p. 76, 14 ff. Wachsmuth Αἶσα <καὶ> Κλωθὼ Λάχεσίς τ' | εὐώλενοι Νυκτὸς κόραι). But the main idea was, no doubt, to provide the Olympian event with a cosmic setting.

[2] A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 32 f. 'An Athenian standing at dawn before the east front of the Parthenon and looking towards the pediment might see the sun rising from the sea on his left and the moon passing on his right away over the hills.... With equal justice to the natural phenomena the sculptor could have imagined himself facing in the opposite direction. The sun would then have been on his right hand and the moon on his left, as on a beautiful vase in the British Museum about contemporary with the Parthenon (E 466) [Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 33 ff. pl. 126].... It is true that the Greeks generally and Pheidias in particular regarded the east as on their left hand. On the base of his statue of Zeus at Olympia, representing the birth of Aphroditè, the sun was seen rising on the extreme left, the moon retiring on the right (Pausanias, v. 11, [8]), and on the base of his Athenè in the Parthenon itself the same phenomenon occurs, if we may judge from the Lenormant copy of the statue.... But granting that this was a mere habit on his part, we must still regard it as a happy coincidence that on the Parthenon the sun rises exactly as in the sky at Athens.' See further Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 500 f. *s.v.* 'Himmelsgegenden,' T. D. Atkinson in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 73[b] ff. *s.v.* 'Points of the Compass.'

A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 167, after quoting *Od.* 3. 1 f. 'Ἠέλιος δ' ἀνόρουσε, λιπὼν περικαλλέα λίμνην, | οὐρανὸν ἐς πολύχαλκον, ἵν' ἀθανάτοισι φαείνοι κ.τ.λ. (cp. *Il.* 7. 421 ff.), adds 'Selene auf der anderen Seite versinkt in Nacht und Nebel, ohne eine Andeutung des Meeres, wie denn auch in den betreffenden Schilderungen der Dichter das Meer keine Rolle spielt; eher kann man sie sich hinter dem Berge verschwindend denken, wie auf dem schönen Krater Blacas.'

Selene look round towards the new-born goddess[1] and so reveal the full beauty of her face[2]. Here, however, a certain difficulty must be met. Scholiasts and lexicographers attempt to explain the ancient epithet *Tritogéneia*[3] by asserting that Athena was 'born on the third' day from the end of the month[4], which would be quite incompatible with a full moon. August Mommsen[5] held that the Pheidiac combination of rising sun with setting moon might have meant that Athena first saw the light on the morning of a 'setting day' (*phthinàs heméra*), *i.e.* a day towards the end of the month. August Mommsen was a learned man, but foolish at times. H. Nissen[6] would reject the testimony of the late grammarians as a worthless etymological speculation and accept Pheidias' grouping as evidence that Athena was born on the morning of a full-moon day. I incline to a modification of his view. We have seen reason to believe that the myth of Athena's birth presupposes some such rite as the Dipolieia; in fact we have derived thence the startling motive of Zeus struck on the head by a double axe[7]. Moreover we observe this: the ceremonies of the Dipolieia aimed at securing an adequate dewfall and rainfall at a critical time of year[8]; and the story of Athena's birth told how, at the moment when Hephaistos cleft the head of Zeus, a golden shower descended upon Rhodes[9].

[1] E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 107 'Selene wandte, wie noch am Ansatz des Halses zu erkennen, den Kopf um, wie um vor ihrem Scheiden noch einen Blick auf diese Welt zu thun, wohl ohne bestimmtes Ziel.' Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465 'Even Nyx, who must withdraw before the rising Helios, turns back her head to look at the action in the centre.'

[2] *Supra* i. 738 n. 11.

[3] On which see *supra* p. 123 ff.

[4] Schol. B. L. T. V. *Il.* 8. 39 Τριτογένεια ἐκλήθη...ἢ ὅτι τρίτῃ φθίνοντος ἐτέχθη, Phot. *lex. s.v.* Τριτογενής·... ἢ τρίτῃ φθίνοντος ὡς καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι ἄγουσιν (cp. Suid. *s.v.* Τριτογενής).

Other sources merely mention the 'third of the month': so Harpokr. *s.v.* τριτόμηνις· Λυκοῦργος ἐν τῷ περὶ τῆς Ἱερείας (*frag.* 19 p. 266 Baiter—Sauppe). τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνὸς τριτομήνιδα ἐκάλουν. δοκεῖ δὲ γεγεννῆσθαι τότε ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ. Ἴστρος δὲ (*frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 422 Müller)) καὶ Τριτογένειαν αὐτήν φησι διὰ τοῦτο λέγεσθαι, τὴν αὐτὴν Σελήνην νομιζομένην, Bekker *anecd.* i. 306, 32 Τριτόμηνις· ἑορτὴ ἀγομένη Ἀθηνᾶς (Jessen cj. Ἀθηνᾶς ἀγομένη) τῇ τρίτῃ (cp. Hesych. *s.v.* τριτόμηνις, Suid. *s.v.* τριτομηνίς), Orion p. 151, 10 ff. Τριτογένεια...ἡ ἐπειδὴ ἡ αὐτὴ ἐστὶ τῇ σελήνῃ· αὕτη δὲ τριταία οὖσα φανερὰ γίνεται, τουτέστιν ὅτε τρίων δρόμων (F. G. Sturz cj. ὅτε τριῶν ἡμερῶν ἐστι), *et mag.* p. 767, 40 ff. Τριτογένεια, ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ·...ἡ ἐπειδὴ τριταία γέγονεν, οἱονεὶ ἡ φαινομένη τριταία· καὶ γὰρ τὴν αὐτὴν εἶναι τῇ σελήνῃ· καὶ τὴν τρίτην τοῦ μηνὸς τριτομηνίδα ἐκάλουν· δοκεῖ δὲ γεγεννῆσθαι τότε ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 504, 24 ff. Τριτογένεια...ἢ ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνὸς γενομένη, *in Od.* p. 1473, 11 f. Τριτογένεια...ἢ ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνός (*sc.* γεννηθεῖσα), Favorin. *lex.* p. 1775, 23 ff. Τριτογένεια...ὁ δὲ μῦθος οὕτω λέγει αὐτήν, ὡς ἐν τρίτῃ μηνὸς γεννηθεῖσαν.

[5] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 346 n. 1.

[6] H. Nissen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1885 xl. 336 f.

[7] *Supra* p. 661 f., cp. p. 688.

[8] *Supra* p. 602 ff.

[9] *Supra* p. 477.

We may, then, perhaps assume that the birth of Athena, whatever its original date, was early brought into connexion with the cult of Zeus and celebrated at the time of the Dipolieia, *i.e.* on the occasion of the last full moon in the Attic year[1]. But the ever-growing importance of the Great Panathenaia would predispose men to identify this festival rather than the obscure and old-fashioned Dipolieia with the real birthday of the goddess. And, since the Great Panathenaia was held on the third day from the end of Hekatombaion[2], the way was open for ingenious etymologists to explain the title *Tritogéneia*.

The rocky summit compassed about by the Sun and Moon is the Akropolis itself[3]: Athena must needs be born in Athens[4]. The local setting is further shown by the *personnel* of the assembled gods. The central group comprised Zeus the thunderer and Athena his armed daughter, together with Hephaistos and Poseidon the gods of fire and water. We think at once of Zeus *Polieús*, who

[1] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 513 'Wir entscheiden uns danach für den 14. [*sc.* of Skirophorion: *supra* p. 602]; die Dipolienfeier hat am letzten Vollmond des attischen Jahres stattgefunden; im Vollmond hat man auch zu Olympia den Zeus gefeiert.'

[2] Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 26, 18 f. Diehl.

[3] A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 166 f., after a review of previous opinions, concludes that the scene is laid ἀκροτάτῃ κορυφῇ πολυδειράδος Οὐλύμποιο (*Il.* i. 499). E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 110 ff. likewise argues for the rocky summit of the 'Götterberg,' Mt Olympos. C. Waldstein *Essays on the Art of Pheidias* Cambridge 1885 also assumes 'the summit of Mount Olympos.' Others are less precise and incline to make Olympos mean, not the mountain, but the sky above it (*supra* i. 115). So *e.g.* Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 465 'The whole space enclosed within the border of the pediment is in fact Olympos' etc., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 22 'Le lieu de la scène est le ciel des Olympiens,' H. Lechat *Phidias* n.d. p. 98, *ib.*[2] Paris 1924 p. 115 'alors, à ces pensées, comme la scène s'élargit! comme grandit ce fronton de moins de 30 mètres, qui contient tout l'Olympe peuplé de dieux, et à ses extrémités, en bordure de l'Olympe, l'Océan, et, sur la divine assemblée, la courbe lumineuse du ciel entier, de l'horizon du matin à l'horizon du soir!'

Dissent is expressed by that sturdy independent A. S. Murray *The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1903 p. 31 f. Urging that the western pediment admittedly portrays the gods as 'invisibly present in the atmosphere of the Acropolis' and that the eastern frieze does much the same, he claims 'at least a strong presumption that the same principle had applied to the central deities of the east pediment....Let us call the invisible sphere where she was born Olympos, but define it as for the moment just over Athens.'

I would go even further in the same direction. If the olive-tree and the salt well were represented in the west gable, why not the hollowed theatre and the rocky stairway in the east? Many localities could boast their own Olympos (*supra* i. 100): was Athens unworthy of the like honour?

[4] No adverse argument can be based on the authority of *h. Ath.* 28. 4 ff., which may in fact be of very recent composition (W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 243 'ob der Dichter an die Bildwerke vom Ostgiebel des Parthenon gedacht oder der Künstler das Gedicht im Sinn gehabt hat oder ob beide von Stesichoros (fr. 62 B.) abhängen, ist nicht auszumachen').

stood beneath the open sky, of Athena *Poliás* in the neighbouring Erechtheion, and of Poseidon and Hephaistos with whom she shared her ancient dwelling. In a word, we have before us all the most important deities worshipped in the eastern half of the Akropolis.

Again, the same local significance attaches to the extreme figures on the south and on the north. On the south Dionysos sits at ease upon his rock spread with panther-skin and mantle, a spectator as it were in his own theatre[1]. Was it not hollowed out of the hill-side immediately below him? On the north the three Fates are seated on rocks, which—to quote A. H. Smith's description—are 'levelled on the top, and...cut in step form to suit the composition[2].' This surely suggests the ancient rock-cut steps leading down through the cave of Aglauros towards the Gardens[3], where the Fates were[4], and for that matter still are[5], worshipped.

[1] Cp. the fourth slab inserted in the stage of Phaidros (*supra* i. 710 pl. xl, 4).

[2] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 113. *Id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 13 fig. 23 shows the Fates as seen from behind. So does M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 51.

[3] Not, of course, the postern-steps of the Helladic fortress (L. B. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1924 xxviii. 143 ff. with pl. 7 and figs. 2 and 3, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 pp. 118, 259), for that exit had been long since blocked and filled in, but the underground stairway by which the *Arrhephóroi* went down through the Aglaurion (*supra* p. 169 n. 1).

[4] Paus. 1. 19. 2 (cited *infra* p. 722 n. 3). P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3089 notes that these Moirai were associated in cult with Zeus Μοιραγέτης (*supra* ii. 231 n. 8 (*a*)).

[5] B. Schmidt *Das Volksleben der Neugriechen* Leipzig 1871 i. 217 f. cites two items of evidence, which may refer to the same locality. (1) J. Galt *Letters from the Levant* London 1813 p. 109 f. an Athenian friar mentions that at Athens young girls, when they become anxious to get husbands, on the first evening of the new moon, put a little honey, a little salt, and a piece of bread on a plate in a certain spot on the bank of the Ilissos, near the Stadion, and on setting it down mutter some ancient words of forgotten meaning in which they beg Fate to send them 'a pretty young man': after this they return home and eagerly await the fulfilment of their charm. (2) F. C. H. L. Pouqueville *Voyage de la Grèce*[2] Paris 1827 v. 66 f. states that women at Athens who long to bear children and also those who are already pregnant come and rub themselves on a rock near Kallirhoe and invoke the Moirai to be gracious to them, using the formula 'Ελάτε, Μοῖραι τῶν Μοιρῶν, νὰ μοίρατε κ' ἐμένα (Schmidt cj. *μοιράνετε* for *νὰ μοίρατε*). See further N. G. Polites Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων Athens 1874 ii. 227 ('*ἐν τῷ* Παναθηναϊκῷ *σταδίῳ ἐν τῇ ὀπῇ τοῦ λόφου τοῦ λεγομένου "τρύπιο βουνό"*'), J. C. Lawson *Modern Greek Folklore and Ancient Greek Religion* Cambridge 1910 p. 120 with n. 4 ('Apparently the old subterranean passage by which competitors entered the stadium'). Lawson *ib.* p. 130 notes the modern 'belief that the Fates invariably visit each child that is born in order to decree its lot,' adding: 'I do not wish to engage in the controversy which has raged round the identification of the figures in the east pediment of the Parthenon; but those who would recognise among them the three Fates may fairly draw a fresh argument from the strength of this popular belief.'

E. Petersen[1] and F. Studniczka[2] contend that the lovely reclining Fate of the Parthenon gable must be Aphrodite and none other. But close to the temple of Aphrodite in the Gardens stood a herm-like statue of Aphrodite *Ouraníа* with an inscription declaring that she was the eldest of the so-called Fates[3]. And, as Furtwängler[4] points out, the Fates are repeatedly represented with the *chitón* slipping from the shoulder—a motive manifestly Aphroditesque.

It seems probable that this principle of local significance applied not only to the central and side-figures of Pheidias' composition, but to the rest of it as well. Certainty is of course unattainable; yet a few tentative suggestions may be made.

The deities between Dionysos and Hephaistos were, from left to right, Demeter, Persephone, Eileithyia, Herakles(?), Hebe(?), and Hera(?). Demeter and Persephone represent the cult at Agra, where the Lesser Mysteries were celebrated[5]. Pheidias has made Persephone slightly larger in scale and decidedly more prominent in pose than Demeter. Why? Because the daughter, not the mother, was the chief goddess of Agra[6]. As such she appears, sceptre in hand, on the painted tablet of Ninnion (fig. 531)[7].

[1] E. Petersen *Die Kunst des Pheidias am Parthenon und zu Olympia* Berlin 1873 p. 130 ff.

[2] F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1904 xix. 8 f.

[3] Paus. i. 19. 2 *ἐς δὲ τὸ χωρίον ὃ Κήπους ὀνομάζουσι καὶ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης τὸν ναὸν οὐδὲις λεγόμενός σφισιν ἐστι λόγος· οὐ μὴν οὐδὲ ἐς τὴν Ἀφροδίτην ἢ τοῦ ναοῦ πλησίον ἑστηκε· ταύτης γὰρ σχῆμα μὲν τετράγωνον κατὰ ταὐτὰ καὶ τοῖς Ἑρμαῖς* (cp. *supra* ii. 854), *τὸ δὲ ἐπίγραμμα σημαίνει τὴν Οὐρανίαν Ἀφροδίτην τῶν καλουμένων Μοιρῶν εἶναι πρεσβυτάτην. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης <τῆς* (*ins.* Dindorf) *> ἐν* [*τοῖς* (*om.* Schubart)] *Κήποις ἔργον ἐστὶν Ἀλκαμένους καὶ τῶν Ἀθήνησιν ἐν ὀλίγοις θέας ἄξιον.*

For the association of Aphrodite with the Fates cp. Epimen. *frag.* 19 Diels *ap.* schol. Soph. *O.C.* 42 and *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 406 *ἐκ τοῦ* (*sc.* Κρόνου) *καλλίκομος γένετο χρυσῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ | Μοῖραί τ' ἀθάνατοι καὶ Ἐρινύες αἰολόδωροι*, and also *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 602, 8 f. (near Sparta) *καὶ Μοιρῶν Λαχέσεων κ*[*αὶ*] | *Ἀφροδείτης Ἐνοπλίου* in a dedication assigned to the beginning of *s.* iii A.D.

[4] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 466, citing A. Milchhöfer in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii. 206 f.

[5] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 405 ff., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 p. 420 f., L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 70.

[6] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 169, 242 f.

[7] A. N. Skias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1901 pp. 1—39, 163 ff. pl. 1, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1901 iv. 169 ff., 233 ff. pl. 10, Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 557 ff. fig. 158, L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 74 pl. 5, 1. See also Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 653 f. no. 1968, H. G. Pringsheim *Archäologische Beiträge zur Geschichte des eleusinischen Kults* München 1905 p. 64 ff.

This tablet of painted terra cotta (height 0·30^{m}, width 0·15^{m}) was found by Skias in 1895 during his excavations at Eleusis and is now in the Museum at Athens. Its lower edge bears, in lettering of *s.* iv B.C., the dedication *Νί(ι)ννιον τοῦν θε*[*οῖ*]*ν ἀ*[*νέθηκεν*]. Who Ninnion was, we do not know. Svoronos tries to identify her with the *hetaíra* Nannion (Athen. 567 E—F *Νάννιον*, 587 F *Ναννάριον*). But this—though Miss Harrison *op. cit.*[2]

p. 558 n. 2 agrees—is quite impossible, and very gratuitous. *Νίννιον* is the affectionate diminutive of *νίννη*, 'aunt' (F. Bechtel *Die Attischen Frauennamen* Göttingen 1902 p. 66), and nobody would have been more shocked at Svoronos' identification than 'Auntie' herself!

Fig. 531.

The tablet is shaped like a temple-front with pediment and *akrotérion*. The decoration of its pilasters and triglyph-frieze is peculiar and certainly symbolic: the pilasters suggest *βάκχοι*; the frieze, cymbals (?) or basins (?), hardly phases of the moon.

The main design has two registers. To the right of each is a seated goddess, towards

Eileithyia too had a sanctuary at Agra[1] and a couple of *Hersephóroi* for whom seats were reserved in the theatre[2]. These Agraean goddesses are admirably placed between Dionysos on the left and Herakles on the right. For on the one hand the Lesser Mysteries are described as 'a representation of Dionysos' story[3],' and on the other hand their first initiate is said to have been Herakles[4]. However, a more famous centre of Herakles-worship was that at Kynosarges in the north-easterly suburb Diomeia, where he had a temple and an altar[5]. His consort there was Hebe, daughter of

whom three and four figures respectively are advancing. Presumably the two seated goddesses are Demeter above, Persephone below, since Demeter is larger and coloured red, Persephone smaller and coloured white. If so, there is (*pace* M. P. Nilsson in *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 93 f.) something to be said for Miss Harrison's suggestion that the upper register shows the mysteries of Eleusis, the lower those of Agra, which were a preliminary purification (*προκάθαρσις*) for the greater rites to follow. This agrees with the indications of landscape. Above we see the groundlines of a rocky floor and a pillar standing at the foot of a hill, suggestive of the *Telestérion* at Eleusis (cp. *supra* i. 218 pl. xviii, 221 fig. 164). Below we have again a hilly surface. The *omphalós* and the crossed *bákchoi* perhaps imply that at Agra the *omphalós* was deemed to be the grave of Dionysos (*supra* ii. 219 n. 4).

Demeter is approached by a female *daidoûchos*, who bears a couple of blazing torches, and a girl who carries the *κέρχνος* or *κέρνος*, a vessel containing lamps, fitted with a lid having apertures in it, decked with myrtle-twigs, and attached to the bearer's head by means of white ribbons (see the literature cited *supra* p. 248 n. 1, especially O. Rubensohn in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 295 f. with fig.). The *kernophóros* is followed by two men, big and little. The big man has a staff in his right hand, the little man has a jug. I take the scene to be the initiation of Herakles: the staff is his club, the jug hints at the banquet of the blest.

Persephone in like manner is approached by a male *daidoûchos* with two blazing torches, another *kernophóros*, and a bearded man with a staff over his shoulder—Herakles again.

Finally, in the pediment we see the same *personnel* in a scene of final felicity—the *kernophóros* in the centre, a flute-girl making music on the left, Herakles draining his jug on the right, with a couple of other feasters in the angles.

[1] Kleidemos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 359 Müller) *ap.* Bekker *anecd.* i. 326, 30 ff., *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 3 no. 1590=*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 3 no. 4682 (on a small column of Hymettian marble, found on the bank of the Ilissos to the east of Kallirrhoe and assigned to *s.* iii B.C.) Εὐκολίνη (perhaps an appellative of Eileithyia (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1055), cp. *supra* ii. 118 n. 3 and 1114 n. 0 (4)) || Ἰλειθύαι | Φιλουμένη | Ἀμφιμάχου | γυνὴ ἀνέθηκε | ἐπ' Ἀρχιβίας | ἱερείας.

[2] *Supra* p. 168 fig. 73.

[3] Steph. Byz. *s.vv.* Ἄγρα καὶ Ἄγραι (quoted *supra* i. 692 n. 5).

[4] Diod. 4. 14 (probably following the *ἐγκώμιον* Ἡρακλέους by Matris of Thebes: E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 676, Hobein *ib.* xiv. 2296 ff.), schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 845, 1013, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1328. Note especially schol. *Plout.* 845 *μὴ ὄντων δὲ πρότερον μικρῶν* (*sc. μυστηρίων*), *ἐλθόντος Ἡρακλέους καὶ θέλοντος μυηθῆναι, ἐπειδὴ νόμος ἦν Ἀθηναίοις μηδένα ξένον μυεῖν, αἰδεσθέντες τὴν αὐτοῦ ἀρετὴν καὶ ὅτι φίλος τε ἦν τῆς πόλεως καὶ υἱὸς τοῦ Διός, ἐποίησαν μικρὰ μυστήρια, ἐν οἷς αὐτὸν ἐμύησαν. ἦσαν δὲ τὰ μὲν μεγάλα τῆς Δήμητρος, τὰ δὲ μικρὰ Περσεφόνης τῆς αὐτῆς θυγατρός.*

[5] O. Gruppe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 926 ff.

Zeus, who had an altar of her own[1], and again special seats in the theatre[2]. Hera's temple stood somewhere on the road from Phaleron to Athens[3]. In the Parthenon pediment, as restored, she is turning round to encourage her timorous daughter Eileithyia, with whom indeed she was actually identified at Thorikos and Argos[4].

The deities between the Fates and Poseidon were, from right to left, Hermes(?), Artemis(?), Apollon(?), Eros(?) and Aphrodite. Hermes sets foot on a rock at the top of the stepped seats, on which the Fates are sitting. He presumably represents the oldest Hermes-cult of Athens, that of the Erechtheion[5], hard by the top of the Aglaurion staircase. Artemis will probably be Artemis *Agrotéra*, the divine huntress of Agra, whose statue was equipped with a bow[6]. Apollon the *kithára*-player is Apollon *Pýthios* of the Pythion adjoining the great Olympieion[7]. Finally, Eros and Aphrodite had a joint-sanctuary among the rocks on the north-east slope of the

[1] Paus. 1. 19. 3.

[2] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 370 (with facsimile on pl. 4) Ἥβης and no. 374 (with facsimile on pl. 5) Ἥβης = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 3 nos. 5150, 5154. For the exact position of these seats see the annotated plan in W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1898 ii. 1 pl. 1.

[3] Paus. 1. 1. 5, 10. 35. 2.

[4] *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 367 f., where I have cited a boundary-stone found near Thorikos inscribed ὅρος τεμένους Ἥρ[ας] Εἰλειθ[υίας] (W. Vischer *Epigraphische und archäologische Beiträge aus Griechenland* Basel 1855 p. 58 no. 69 pl. vii, 2, *id. Erinnerungen und Eindrücke aus Griechenland* Basel 1857 p. 68, K. Keil in *Philologus* 1866 xxiii. 619 f.) and a gloss in Hesych. *s.v.* Εἰλειθυίας (so Abresch for Εἰληθυίας cod. 'ordine requirente') · ἐνίοτε μὲν τὰς θεάς, ἐνίοτε δὲ τὰς ὠδίνας· ὁ ποιητὴς δὲ ἑνικῶς, Ἥρα ἐν Ἄργει. See further W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2076 and 2091 f.

[5] Paus. 1. 27. 1 κεῖται δὲ ἐν τῷ ναῷ τῆς Πολιάδος Ἑρμῆς ξύλου, Κέκροπος εἶναι λεγόμενον ἀνάθημα, ὑπὸ κλάδων μυρσίνης οὐ σύνοπτον. I suspect that the original intention was, not so much to consult decency by the concealment of a rude feature, as to promote fertility by the application of leafage (*supra* ii. 244 n. 4) credited with quickening powers (*supra* ii. 1165 n. 1).

A. Frickenhaus in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1908 xxxiii. 172 holds, rather unnecessarily, that Kekrops' Hermes was nothing but a wooden *phallós*, like that on Mt Kyllene (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 45, Paus. 6. 26. 5, 8. 17. 2, Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 6. 20 p. 234 Kayser, Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 7 p. 144 Duncker—Schneidewin: De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* p. 93 § 101). For early types of herm see *supra* ii. 384 n. 0; for later types, R. Lullies *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 1—90 with 9 pls.

[6] Paus. 1. 19. 6 with Sir J. G. Frazer's n., W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 pp. 416, 420.

[7] Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 1. 19. 1 and on 1. 29. 1, G. Colin *Le culte d'Apollon Pythien à Athènes* Paris 1905 pp. 1—178 (mainly inscriptions), W. Judeich *op. cit.*[2] pp. 65, 386. For Apollon κιθαρῳδός on the bronze coinage of Athens see E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 388 fig. 2, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 145 pl. CC, 20 f., J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 93, 1—7.

citadel[1], and Aphrodite was also goddess of the Gardens, which are believed to have occupied the low ground on the right bank of the Ilissos[2].

On this showing every figure in the east pediment of the Parthenon corresponded with an actual cult, either on the eastward half of the Akropolis itself, or at any rate in some easterly suburb of Athens. The gods of the town had assembled, as it were, on their local Olympos to witness with joy and wonder the epiphany of the all-conquering goddess.

(*i*) Significance of the birth of Athena.

The myth represented in the Parthenon pediment is so peculiar in character that it has evoked a great variety of interpretations from critics both ancient and modern.

The Stoics of course allegorized[3]. Chrysippos[4] explained that Athena meant Wisdom, located her in the breast, and said that she issued from the head as Voice, being delivered by Hephaistos, since Wisdom was produced by Skill, and rightly named *Athenâ*, that is *Athrenâ*[5] 'Observation,' and *Tritonís* or *Tritogéneia* as comprising the triad of Physics, Ethics, and Logic. Diogenes the Babylonian[6],

[1] *Supra* p. 170 f. n. 0.

[2] Sir J. G. Frazer on Paus. 1. 19. 2, W. Judeich *op. cit.*[2] p. 424.

[3] E. Zeller *The Stoics, Epicureans and Sceptics*[2] trans. O. J. Reichel London 1880 pp. 354—369 (*supra* ii. 855 n. 2).

[4] Chrysipp. *frag.* 910 von Arnim *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 16 = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 549 b 9 ff. *τινὰς δὲ τῶν Στωικῶν φάσκειν, ὅτι τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν ἐν τῇ κ(ε)φαλῇ· φρόνησιν γὰ(ρ) εἶναι, διὸ καὶ Μῆτιν καλεῖσθαι· Χρύσιππον δ' ἐν τῷ στή(θ)ει τὸ ἡγεμονικόν (ε)ἶναι κἀκεῖ τὴ(ν) Ἀθ)ηνᾶν γεγονέν(αι) φρόνησιν οὖσαν, τῷ (δ)ὲ τ(ὴ)ν φωνὴν ἐκ τῆς (κ)εφαλῆς ἐκκρίνεσθαι (λ)έγειν ἐκ τῆς (κ)εφα(λ)ῆς, ὑπὸ δὲ Ἡ(φ)αίσ(του, δι)ότι τ(έ)χνη(ι γέ)νεθ' ἡ φρόνησις, καὶ Ἀθηνᾶν μὲν οἷ)ον Ἀθ(ρη)νᾶν εἰρῆσθαι, (Τριτω)νίδα δὲ καὶ Τρ(ιτογέν)ειαν διὰ τὸ τὴν φρόνησιν ἐκ τριῶν συνεστηκέναι λόγων, τῶ(ν) φ(υσικῶ)ν καὶ τῶ(ν ἠ)θικῶ(ν κ)αὶ τῶν λογικῶν. κ.τ.λ.*

[5] So Herakleitos the Stoic *quaestt. Hom.* p. 30, 1 ff. Soc. Philol. Bonn., *Et. mag.* p. 24, 43. Cp. Tzetz. *in* Hes. *o. d.* 76.

[6] Diog. Bab. *frag.* 33 von Arnim *ap.* Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* 15 f. = H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 548 b 14 ff. *Δ(ι)ογένης δ' ὁ Βαβυλώνιος ἐν τῷ Περὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς τ(ὸ)ν κ(όσ)μον γράφει τῷ Δ(ιὶ τ)ὸν αὐτὸν ὑπάρ(χει)ν ἢ περιέχε(ιν τὸ)ν Δία κ(αθ)άπε(ρ) ἄνθρωπ(ον ψ)υχή(ν·) καὶ τὸ(ν ἥλι)ον μ(ὲν) Ἀπόλλ(ω, τ)ὴν δὲ σε)λήνη(ν Ἀρ)τ(έ)μι(ν· καὶ) π(αι)δ(αριῶ)δες εἶν(αι) θε(ο)ὺς ἀ(ν)θρωποε(ι)δεῖς λ(έγει)ν καὶ ἀδύνατον. (εἶ)ν(αί) τε τοῦ Διὸς τὸ μὲν εἰς τὴν θάλατταν διατετα(κ)ὸς Ποσειδῶνα, τὸ δ' εἰς τὴν γῆν Δήμητρα, τὸ δ' εἰς (τ)ὸν ἀέρα Ἥραν, καθάπερ κ(αὶ τὸν Πλά)τωνα λέγειν, ὥσ(τ' ἐ)ὰν πολλάκις 'ἀήρ' (λ)έγῃ τις ἐρεῖν ''Ηρα'· τὸ) δ' εἰς τὸ(ν) α(ἰθ)έρα Ἀθηνᾶν· τοῦτο γὰρ λέ(γε)σθαι τὸ 'ἐκ τῆς (κεφα)λῆς' καὶ 'Ζεὺς ἄρρην Ζεὺς θῆλυς.' Cp. Cic. *de nat. deor.* 1. 41 quem (*sc.* Chrysippum) Diogenes Babylonius consequens in eo libro, qui inscribitur de Minerva,*

a philosopher from Seleukeia on the Tigris[1], born *c.* 240 B.C.[2], identified Zeus with the universe or the universal soul and *Athená* with its highest part, the *aithér*, and was thus enabled to work in the Stoic *clichés* 'from the head' and 'Zeus male and female.' Lastly Cornutus[3] in his *Compendium of Theology* offered a blend of Chrysippos and Diogenes.

Aristokles[4] the historian, presumably in his *Theogony*[5], went off on a different tack. He declared that Athena was born in Crete, where she lay hidden in a cloud till Zeus cleft it and so brought her to light. This mention of the cloud recalls the Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies, in which the cosmic egg containing Metis was called 'the cloud'[6]; and it may be that Aristokles was here indebted to Orphism.

Where the ancients left off, the moderns began. P. Buttmann[7],

partum Iovis ortumque virginis ad physiologiam traducens disiungit a fabula, Min. Fel. *Oct.* 19. 12 Babylonio etiam Diogeni disciplina est exponendi et disserendi (K. F. Halm cj. disciplina eadem est exponenti et disserenti), Iovis partum et ortum Minervae et hoc genus cetera rerum vocabula esse, non deorum.

[1] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 106.

[2] H. von Arnim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 774.

[3] Cornut. *theol.* 20 p. 35, 6 ff. Lang ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐστιν ἡ τοῦ Διὸς σύνεσις, ἡ αὐτὴ οὖσα τῇ ἐν αὐτῷ προνοίᾳ, καθὸ καὶ Προνοίας Ἀθηνᾶς ἱδρύονται (A. Nauck cj. ἵδρυται) ναοί [On Πρόνοια as a tendentious alteration of the cult-title Προναία see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 306—308, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 103, 1074 n. 6, 1096 n. 2, 1214 n. 4, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3114, 3119 ff.]. γενέσθαι δ' ἐκ τῆς τοῦ Διὸς κεφαλῆς λέγεται, τάχα μὲν τῶν ἀρχαίων ὑπολαβόντων τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς ψυχῆς ἡμῶν ἐνταῦθ' εἶναι, καθάπερ καὶ ἕτεροι τῶν μετὰ ταῦτα ἐδόξασαν, τάχα δ' ἐπεὶ τοῦ μὲν ἀνθρώπου τὸ ἀνωτάτω μέρος τοῦ σώματος ἡ κεφαλή ἐστι, τοῦ δὲ κόσμου ὁ αἰθήρ, ὅπου τὸ ἡγεμονικὸν αὐτοῦ ἐστι καὶ ἡ τῆς φρονήσεως οὐσία· ' κορυφὴ δὲ θεῶν ' κατὰ τὸν Εὐριπίδην (*frag.* 919 Nauck[2]) 'ὁ περὶ (A. Meineke cj. πέριξ) χθόν' ἔχων | φαεννὸς (φαεινός codd. *c* G_2 F. H. Bothe cj. φαίδιμος J. Maehly cj. φαέθων) αἰθήρ.'...τὴν Μῆτιν οὖν καταπιὼν ὁ Ζεὺς ἐγέννησεν αὐτήν, ἐπειδὴ μητιέτης καὶ συνετὸς ὢν οὐδαμόθεν ἄλλοθεν ἢ ἐκ τῆς καθ' αὑτὸν (so Thomas Gale for καθ' ὁδὸν codd. F. Osann cj. καθ' ὅλου) βουλῆς τὴν ἀρχὴν τοῦ φρονεῖν ἔσχεν. τὸ δὲ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς δυσετυμολόγητον διὰ ἀρχαιότητά ἐστι, τῶν μὲν ἀπὸ τοῦ ἀθρεῖν πάντα οἷον Ἀθρηνᾶν αὐτὴν εἰπόντων εἶναι, τῶν δὲ κ.τ.λ.

[4] Aristokl. *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 330 Müller=*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 258 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 66 b Ἀριστοκλῆς δὲ ὑφίσταται τὴν γένεσιν Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Κρήτῃ· νέφει γάρ φησι κεκρύφθαι τὴν θεόν, τὸν δὲ Δία πλήξαντα τὸ νέφος προφῆναι αὐτήν.

[5] Cp. Aristokl. *frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 257 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Eur. *Rhes.* 29.

[6] *Supra* ii. 1024.

[7] P. Buttmann *Mythologus* Berlin 1828 i. 7 'Einige Haupt-Abstrakta jedoch, die sich sehr früh in der Sprache bilden, werden auch früh personificirt, und kommen daher fast bei allen Völkern als alte Gottheiten vor: *Klugheit*, *Sprache*, *Mannheit*, *Liebe*. Die Griechen haben dafür Pallas, Hermes, Ares, Afrodite,' 9 'Pallas, Klugheit,' 28 'Ist es nun nicht natürlich, dass die Nation welche den Verstand in der Pallas personificirte, und diese, als *göttlichen Verstand*, aus dem Haupte der obersten Gottheit entstehen liess, dass sie, sage ich, eben dieser Pallas den höchsten Rang nach Juppiter einräumte?'

E. Rückert[1], and G. Hermann[2] early in the nineteenth century, following the lead of the Stoics, accepted Athena as a personification of divine Wisdom and laid stress on the myth of Metis[3]. Dictionaries and handbooks spread the edifying doctrine, until no gentleman's library was complete without a bust of Pallas.

The second half of the century rebelled against excessive moralising and substituted a string of so-called 'physical' interpretations[4]. F. G. Welcker[5], like Diogenes, took Zeus to be the supreme spirit and equated *Athéne* with *aithér*, the divine effluence that issues forth from him as, in Philon's theology, the Logos proceeds from the Godhead. Others, obsessed by equally impossible etymologies, spent much eloquence in maintaining that Athena, daughter of the sky-god, must needs be the Dawn[6], or at least the Morning Twilight[7].

Such vagaries gradually gave way before the advance of another 'physical' school, the advocates of Storm-cloud and Lightning. They too founded upon classical lore, since they claimed the support

[1] E. Rückert *Der Dienst der Athena, nach seinen örtlichen Verhältnissen dargestellt* Hildburghausen 1829 pp. 63 'Athena ist ja die Klugheit, die Weisheit, Metis, des Vaters Zeus, und darum, nach der Theogonie, aus dessen Haupte entsprungen,' 193 'Dies auf Athenen angewendet, müssen wir es streng verneinen, dass in ihr irgend menschliche Weisheit, Klugheit oder Tapferkeit verehrt worden sei. Vielmehr, wenn wir die mannichfaltigen Formen ihres Kultus überblicken, werden wir zu der Ueberzeugung geleitet, dass es die allwaltende göttliche Macht, Weisheit und Güte, die göttliche Vorsehung gewesen sei, die man als die gewaltige, hochsinnige, huldreiche Tochter des Himmelsherrschers, als Pallas Athena anbetete.'

[2] G. Hermann *De Graeca Minerva* Lipsiae 1837 p. 11 (*id. Opuscula* Lipsiae 1839 vii. 271) cites Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 359 *ἡ δὲ φρόνησις Ἀθηνᾶ ἐπίθετα ταῦτα κέκτηται· Βούδεια γὰρ ἡ φρόνησις, κ.τ.λ.* (*supra* p. 608 n. 4).

[3] Cp. L.-F. A. Maury *Religions de la Grèce* Paris 1857 i. 425 ff. 'Dans le principe, personnification des eaux ou tout au moins des vapeurs qui, des eaux, s'élèvent dans l'air, elle n'est plus guère, à l'époque de Périclès, qu'une hypostase de la sagesse divine et de la providence de Zeus[1] ([1] Arnob., *Adv. gent.*, III, 31...). De déesse de l'élément humide, elle devient déesse de l'air pur, de l'éther, et par là elle se confond avec le roi des dieux, Zeus, qui personnifie le firmament... Athéné représenta en conséquence la sagesse, la pensée de Zeus... Déjà, dans Hésiode, on a vu Mêtis représenter, sous une forme analogue, la sagesse divine; mais, en passant dans Athéné, cette idée s'épure et s'agrandit. Toutes les vertus, toutes les perfections qui s'attachent à l'idée de l'intelligence suprême, servent à composer le personnage de la déesse... Telle est l'origine du mythe qui nous montre la déesse sortant tout armée de la tête de Zeus.'

[4] O. Gruppe *Geschichte der klassischen Mythologie und Religionsgeschichte während des Mittelalters im Abendland und während der Neuzeit* Leipzig 1921 p. 179 ff.

[5] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 300 ff.

[6] F. Max Müller *Lectures on the Science of Language* London 1864 ii. 503 (*id. The Science of Language* London 1891 ii. 622 ff.).

[7] C. Ploix *La nature des dieux* Paris 1888 pp. 213—215.

of Aristokles and his 'cloud.' J. F. Lauer[1] in 1853 was the first to characterize Athena as mistress of the Clouds. F. L. W. Schwartz[2] in 1860 elaborated the notion: he contended that the head of Zeus cleft by the axe of Hephaistos or Prometheus was the storm-cloud split by the lightning, Athena *Sálpinx*[3] being the trumpet-blare of the thunder[4]. T. Bergk[5] in 1860, W. H. Roscher[6] in 1886, and C. Robert[7] in 1894, with greater or less enthusiasm, rallied to the same standard. Even F. Dümmler[8] in 1896 was still largely under its spell. But in that year L. R. Farnell[9] showed convincingly that 'physical' explanations in general and storm-symbolism in particular must be abandoned in favour of some less arbitrary hypothesis.

Symbolism, however, dies hard. Birth from the heavenly height might be discredited; but birth from an earthly height took its place. O. Gruppe[10] suggested that the Argive cult of Athena *Akría*[11] perhaps gave rise to the myth that Athena sprang 'from the summit (*akrotátas*) of the head of Zeus[12].' U. von Wilamowitz-

[1] J. F. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 320 ff. ('Herrin der Wolken').

[2] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 87.

[3] Paus. 2. 21. 3 (at Argos) 'Αθηνᾶς δὲ ἱδρύσασθαι Σάλπιγγος ἱερὸν φασιν Ἡγέλεων. Τυρσηνοῦ δὲ τοῦτον τὸν Ἡγέλεων, τὸν δὲ Ἡρακλέους εἶναι καὶ γυναικὸς λέγουσι τῆς Αὐδῆς, Τυρσηνὸν δὲ σάλπιγγα εὑρεῖν πρῶτον, Ἡγέλεων δὲ τὸν Τυρσηνοῦ διδάξαι τοὺς σὺν Τημένῳ Δωριέας τοῦ ὀργάνου τὸν ψόφον, καὶ δι' αὐτὸ Ἀθηνᾶν ἐπονομάσαι Σάλπιγγα, schol. T. *Il.* 18. 219 (copied by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1139, 54 ff.) σαλπίγγων δὲ εἶδη ἑξ. πρώτη ἡ Ἑλληνική, μακρὰ τὸ σχῆμα, ἣν Τυρρηνοῖς (G. Wentzel cj. Τυρρηνῷ) εὑρεν ἡ Ἀθηνᾶ· διὸ καὶ 'Σάλπιγξ' παρὰ Ἀργείοις τιμᾶται, Hesych. *s.v.* σάλπιγξ· ...ἐκδέχονται δὲ καὶ Σάλπιγγος Ἀθηνᾶς ἱερὸν παρὰ Ἀργείοις, *et. mag.* p. 708, 2 ff. Σάλπιγξ Ἀθηνᾶ· διὰ τὸ πρῶτον αὐτὴν εὑρεῖν σάλπιγγα, καὶ ἱδρύσασθαι (*an leg.* ἱδρύσθαι?) Σάλπιγγος Ἀθηνᾶς ἐν Ἄργει. Hence Lykophron twice uses Σάλπιγξ as a synonym of Ἀθηνᾶ (Lyk. *Al.* 915 with Tzetz. *ad loc.*, 986). If Athena, as I conceive, was originally a mountain-mother (*supra* p. 224) of Pelasgian or Tyrsenian name (*supra* pp. 191 n. 8, 226), the Tyrsenian trumpet (A. Reinach in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 522 ff., Maux in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2009) may well have been venerated as the very voice of the goddess.

[4] Cp. *Il.* 21. 388 f. ἀμφὶ δὲ σάλπιγξεν μέγας οὐρανός. ἄϊε δὲ Ζεὺς | ἥμενος Οὐλύμπῳ. More explicitly Nonn. *Dion.* 2. 557 f. προθεσπίζουσα δὲ νίκην | βρονταίοις πατάγοισι Διὸς μυκήσατο σάλπιγξ, 22. 284 ff. Κρονίων | οὐρανόθεν κελάδησε, καὶ Αἰακὸν εἰς φόνον Ἰνδῶν | βρονταίοις πατάγοισι Διὸς προκαλίζετο σάλπιγξ, Tryphiod. 326 f. οὐρανίη δὲ | ἐκ Διὸς ἑλκόμενον πόλεμον μαντεύετο σάλπιγξ.

[5] T. Bergk 'Die Geburt der Athene' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1860 lxxxi. 303 ff. (*id. Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 651 ff.).

[6] W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 675 ff.

[7] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 188 ff.

[8] F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1987 f., 1991 f.

[9] Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 280 ff.

[10] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1212 n. 2.

[11] *Supra* ii. 1156 n. 5.

[12] Eur. *Ion* 455 f. κατ' ἀκροτάτας | κορυφᾶς Διός (*supra* p. 661 n. 2). Cp. Pind. *Ol.* 7. 36 ff. πα|τέρος Ἀθαναία κορυφὰν κατ' ἄκραν | κ.τ.λ. (*supra* p. 200 n. 3).

Moellendorff[1], possibly taking a hint from T. Bergk[2], claims that in a pre-Greek myth Athena issued from the crest of Mount Olympos, the '*Götterberg*,' for which the head of Zeus was the later Hellenic equivalent. O. Weinreich[3] accepts Wilamowitz' view as well worthy of attention: F. Pfister[4] attends, but is non-committal. O. Kern[5] and A. H. Krappe[6] are frankly convinced.

Apart from these typical explanations we have to reckon with a few more isolated and individual conjectures. Thus W. Deonna[7], impressed by the fact that a Cycladic marble statuette at Karlsruhe

[1] U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Athena' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1921 p. 956 f. 'Ist es nicht eine grossartige und allem einfachen Denken entsprechende Vorstellung, dass die Göttin, die wir uns nur in ihrer vollen Rüstung denken können, einmal dem Gipfel der Götterberges entsprungen ist; Vasenbilder zeigen uns öfter ein solches Aufsteigen einer Göttin aus dem Boden. Darin würde liegen, dass der Gipfel des Berges Scheitel eines Gottes, hier also des höchsten Gottes gewesen ist. Eben dieses klingt mir gar nicht unglaublich, es weist aber in die Zeit, da Helikon, Kithairon und Parnes noch riesige Götter waren, wie sie bei Korinna erscheinen, da auch der Mimas ein Gigant war. Nicht ohne Grund sind die meisten Bergnamen vorgriechisch, der Olymp an der Spitze; Kultplätze auf den Höhen werden öfter erwähnt, und für die Kappadoker, also einen Stamm des Volkes, das den hellenischen Gebirgen ihre Namen gegeben hat, wird die göttliche Verehrung des Berges ausdrücklich bezeugt[1] ([1]Maximus Tyrius 8, 9 [*supra* ii. 978]). So bin ich geneigt, diesen Mythos für vorgriechisch zu halten, den Zeus in ihm für Ersatz des Olympos, der selbst einmal der Wolkensammler und Blitzeschleuderer gewesen ist.'

[2] T. Bergk 'Die Geburt der Athene' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1860 lxxxi. 305 (*id. Kleine philologische Schriften* Halle a. S. 1886 ii. 653): 'Der Berggipfel, auf dem Athene geboren ward, ist der heilige Gotterberg selbst' with context.

[3] O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 62: 'Sehr beachtenswert ist übrigens seine Auffassung des (vorgriechischen) Mythos von der Geburt der Athena aus dem Haupt des Zeus: die Göttin entsprang gewappnet dem Scheitel eines jener Bergriesen, die als Höhenkultstätten ja bekannt sind, Zeus vielleicht "Ersatz des Olympos, der selbst einmal der Wolkensammler und Blitzschleuderer gewesen ist." Darf man einen Schritt weitergehen und sagen, der Mythos ist Reflex eines einstigen Palladion-Kults auf dem Bergscheitel?'

[4] Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 130.

[5] O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 180: 'Denn nachdem Zeus den alten Berggott vom Olymp verdrängt hatte, wurde der Mythos erfunden, dass die alte vorgriechische Göttin Athene...gewappnet seinem Haupte entsprungen sei... Die Anthropomorphisierung war erfolgt: Zeus thronte auf dem Olympos, und aus dessen Gipfel wurde in der Sage von der Geburt der Göttin das Haupt.'

[6] A. H. Krappe in *Litteris* 1928 v. 63: 'Zeus is most convincingly shown [*sc.* by Kern] to have taken the place of a proto-Hellenic mountain divinity, and Athena was born from its top, later identified with Zeus' head, a truly admirable solution of one of the most puzzling of mythological problems,' *id. Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 272: 'Le lien entre Athéna et Zeus est secondaire. Il n'était possible qu'après l'identification du dieu du ciel indo-européen avec le démon de l'Olympe. C'est que l'ancienne déesse crétoise et l'Athéna originelle étant toutes les deux des déesses de la montagne, comme la Cybèle asiatique, on imagina le mythe d'Athéna née de la tête de Zeus, c'est-à-dire de la cime de la montagne.'

[7] W. Deonna 'La naissance d'Athéna' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 350—354, *id. Dédale* Paris 1930 i. 263 n. 5 with fig. 17, 4.

shows a nude female standing erect with a similar but smaller nude female on her head (fig. 532)[1], took this curious group to represent a mother-goddess and her daughter[2], compared the like arrangement of an Indo-Chinese father-god with his child (fig. 533)[3], and suggested that the same method of figuration—presupposing a

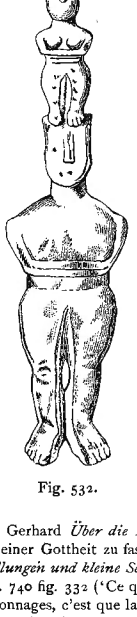


Fig. 532.

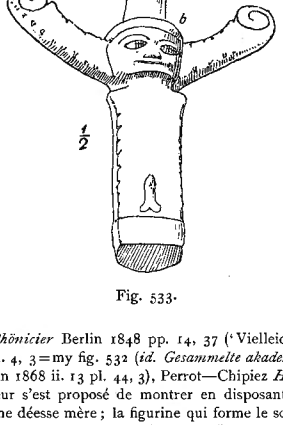


Fig. 533.

[1] E. Gerhard *Über die Kunst der Phönicier* Berlin 1848 pp. 14, 37 ('Vielleicht als Geburt einer Gottheit zu fassen,' etc.) pl. 4, 3=my fig. 532 (*id. Gesammelte akademische Abhandlungen und kleine Schriften* Berlin 1868 ii. 13 pl. 44, 3), Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 740 fig. 332 ('Ce que le sculpteur s'est proposé de montrer en disposant ainsi ses personnages, c'est que la déesse est une déesse mère; la figurine qui forme le sommet du groupe, c'est l'enfant par lequel se continuera la chaîne des générations'), H. T. Bossert *Altkreta* Berlin 1921 p. 30 fig. 116 (photo), *ib.*[2] Berlin 1923 p. 14 fig. 15 (photo), M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[3] Wien 1925 p. 62 with fig. 8 on p. 60 ('wie an den Wappenpfählen der Indianer Nordwestamerikas und der Polynesier und an den Zauberstäben der Battaks. Der genealogische Charakter dieses barbarischen Bildwerkes ist vollkommen deutlich'), V. Müller *Frühe Plastik in Griechenland und Vorderasien* Augsburg 1929 p. 14 n. 27, C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 95 fig. 13. From Paros. Height: 0·213^{m}.

[2] Cp. Gerhard and Perrot—Chipiez *locc. citt.*

[3] J. Deniker in *L'Anthropologie* 1890 p. 352 with fig. 14 on p. 358 (=my fig. 533) after E. Modigliani *Un Viaggio a Nias* Milano 1890 p. 245 fig. 48 'Un idolo' in the Museo di Leida.

primitive notion of paternity[1]—is to be found in the Greek type of Athena emergent from the head of Zeus (figs. 480, 484 ff., pls. liv, lv, lvi). The myth would then be of the purely iconographic sort, due, that is, to the misunderstanding of an early art-form[2]. Such cases no doubt occur, though they are exceptional[3]. It should, however, be observed that on this showing the relation of Zeus to Athena was primary, the intervention of Hephaistos secondary. But we have already seen strong reasons for regarding Hephaistos and Athena as the pre-Greek deities of the Akropolis[4], and Zeus as a later importation[5]. If therefore Deonna's view is to stand, we must at least assume—a not impossible assumption—that the art-type of Athena's birth denoted her conventional adoption[6] rather than her natural filiation.

That may be hazardous, but it is far less so than a rival explanation put forward the next year by G. Ancey[7]. He holds that Athena, who ended by becoming a divine Thought (*Mêtis*), began by being merely an oracular Voice or cephalic Sound. She was in effect the Big Noise, the awe-inspiring Sneeze of Zeus[8]! We are bidden to reflect that the Laconian form of her name, *Asána*, is obviously onomatopoeic, and that words connected with her—*kóre*, *kórre*, *kórys*—are suspiciously like *kóryza*, 'a catarrh[9].' Oddly enough, the learned author does not mention Athena *Sálpinx*[10], and fails to produce what might have been his trump card, the Aristotelian query 'Why do we regard a Sneeze as a deity?...Because, like reason, it issues from our head, the divinest part of us[11]?'

Having thus run through the whole gamut of explanations, from the sublime to the ridiculous, we are in a position to affirm that the

[1] See the list of abnormal births cited *supra* p. 95 n. 3.

[2] See W. Deonna *L'archéologie, sa valeur, ses méthodes* Paris 1912 i. 219 f., ii. 436 f., iii. 92 n. 11.

[3] Examples of the sort may be found in the myths of Chimaira (Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 857, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 24 no. 183 pl. 4, p. 26 no. 208 pl. 5), Glaukos (*supra* i. 469 n. 7), Europe (*supra* i. 644), Talos (*supra* i. 723 f.), etc.

[4] *Supra* pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236. [5] *Supra* pp. 236, 598. [6] *Supra* pp. 80, 89.

[7] G. Ancey 'La naissance d'Athéna' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 209—211.

[8] *Id. ib.* p. 210 'Le *νεῦμα* célèbre qui devait inspirer Phidias [*supra* i. 2 f.] n'aurait pas suffi à "faire osciller le grand Olympe." Zeus a délivré un *πταρμός*: Zeus a éternué.' But see *supra* p. 20.

[9] G. Ancey *ib.* p. 210 'Athéna est la *κόρη κεκορυθμένη, κόρρης* (*ὑπὸ κόρου*) *ἐν κορύζῃ ἐκθορ-οῦσα.*'

[10] *Supra* p. 729 n. 3.

[11] Aristot. *probl.* 33. 7. 962 a 21 ff. *διὰ τί τὸν μὲν πταρμὸν θεὸν ἡγούμεθα εἶναι, τὴν δὲ βῆχα ἢ τὴν κόρυζαν οὔ; ἢ διότι ἐκ τοῦ θειοτάτου τῶν περὶ ἡμᾶς τῆς κεφαλῆς, ὅθεν ὁ λογισμός ἐστι, γίνεται; κ.τ.λ.*

A

B

Pelike in the British Museum :
(*A*) Zeus and Nike. (*B*) Hera and Hebe (?).

See page 733 *n.* 5.

myth of Athena's birth as set forth in the Parthenon pediment admits of no single, satisfactory clue. So far we have recognised certain elements in the design as drawn from the ritual of the Dipolieia—Zeus *Polieús*, like his representative ox, struck with the double axe, the escape of the striker, the acquiescence of the bystanders, and the intent to safeguard the fertilising power of the sky-god[1].

But that is not all. The rites of the Dipolieia on the animal plane were in a sense paralleled by the rules of royal succession on the human plane. Sir James Frazer[2] has taught us that an early community is apt to regard its king as a god incarnate. Where this is the case, the king is not allowed to grow old, lest his divine powers should dwindle with the decay of their bodily vehicle. He must in fact—if society is still in a backward stage—be put to a violent death at the first symptom of physical decline: grey hairs may be his death-warrant. When he is slain, the immanent divinity, the potency that made him what he was, leaves his body to take up its abode in a younger and more vigorous frame. This rule is of world-wide validity, and the Greeks formed no exception to it. I have argued elsewhere[3] that early Greek kings, honoured as embodiments of Zeus and actually called by his name, were within traditional memory killed as soon as they began to exhibit the signs of old age. Further, I have pointed out that, when they were killed, the indwelling divinity was believed to quit their bodies in the form of a bird[4]. I am now emboldened to conjecture that the myth of Athena's birth reflects just this stage of social and religious development. At least it can be expressed in terms that are highly suggestive of the same. Zeus—say the vase-painters in effect—was king of the gods and sat, sceptre in hand, on a magnificent throne. But he had reached a mature age; indeed, according to Phrynos (*supra* p. 668 f. fig. 480) and the Villa Giulia Painter (pl. lix)[5], he was already a grey-beard. So another god

[1] *Supra* pp. 656 f., 661 f., 719.

[2] Frazer *Golden Bough*[2] ii. 1 ff., *ib.*[3]: The Dying God p. 14 ff., *id. Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 291 ff.

[3] In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 268 ff., 403 ff., *ib.* 1906 xx. 417, and especially in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 299—315, 369—385, 392—408.

[4] In *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 385—392.

[5] I am indebted to Mr C. D. Bicknell for the observation that Zeus on this important *pelike* is white-haired. The vase, which came from Athens and is now in the British Museum (95. 8—31. 1), is referred by Professor Beazley to his 'Villa Giulia Painter' (J. D. Beazley in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 288 no. 18, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 468 no. 21, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 351 no. 27), an artist of the 'early free style,' at work *c.* 460—450 B.C. (M. H.

drew near and smote him on the head with an axe. Whereupon a divine power conceived as resident in his head flew forth[1] and left him—Athena was born.

Yet a moment's reflection will convince us that, although the scene shown in the pediment corresponds well enough with the requirements of a royal succession, the correspondence is by no means absolute. Certain essentials are altogether missing. Had the situation been true to type, Zeus ought to have been killed, and the killer in virtue of marriage with the late king's daughter ought to have succeeded to her father's throne. Now it might indeed be claimed that Hephaistos mated, or attempted to mate, with Athena[2]. But we never hear that Zeus was killed by Hephaistos, or that Hephaistos succeeded to the throne of Zeus. Why is this?

Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 192 f.). Previous illustrations being inadequate (O. M. von Stackelberg *Die Graeber der Hellenen* Berlin 1836 p. 16 pl. 18, 2, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 28 pl. 14, 75 ff. pl. 30), I publish it here from the official photographs. Lenormant—de Witte *op. cit.* i. 75 f. comment quaintly: 'Peut-être Zeus figure-t-il ici comme un dieu-montagne, dont le sommet est couvert de neige; c'est ce que semblent indiquer sa chevelure et sa barbe blanches. Ainsi, Jupiter est identifié avec le mont Olympe, où il fait sa demeure, ou avec telle autre montagne sur laquelle il est l'objet d'un culte particulier. Mais comme il s'agit ici d'une peinture attique, le nom de *Jupiter Hymettius* nous semble devoir être préféré. D'un autre côté, la chevelure blanche (πολιός, *blanchi par l'âge*), qui, sur ce vase, distingue Jupiter, nous fait souvenir encore du surnom Πολιεύς, *le protecteur de la ville*, que Jupiter portait à Athènes, et cette particularité si rare sur les monuments antiques, de voir Jupiter avec des cheveux blancs, puisque nous n'en connaissons pas d'autre exemple, tend également à faire accepter ici le dieu comme une divinité locale.' But, if justification were needed, the contrast with Hebe would suffice.

Mr Bicknell further notes Raphael's design of a white-haired Iupiter for the frescoes of the Villa Farnesina at Rome (A. P. Oppé *Raphael* London 1909 p. 172 f. pls. 121 and 123 ff.), which however was very possibly inspired by Dan. 7. 9 or Rev. 1. 14.

The worried, white-haired Zeus of the *phlyakes* is, of course, ἄλλος λόγος. See the South-Italian bell-*kratér* in the Vatican (M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 140 no. 101 pl. 76 (=my fig. 534), Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 182, 189 f. fig. 95. Earlier literature in W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[2] Leipzig 1912 i. 316 f. no. 510), which shows with considerable humour a love-adventure of the elderly but amatory god. Wearing a trumpery crownlet and carrying a ladder, he advances from the left, while Hermes on the right holds up an absurd little lamp. The young woman, prinked and preened, awaits her lover at the window, and betrays her eagerness by the finger-tips already resting on its sill.

[1] The owl clinging to the sceptre of Zeus on a black-figured *amphora* from Caere (*supra* p. 667 n. 2 pl. liii) or perched on his wrist on a black-figured *amphora* at Münich (Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 207 no. 645, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 202 ff. pl. 60) is—as Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) suggested (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 176 f.)—perhaps significant. But we can hardly say the same of the soul-birds on another from Orvieto (*supra* p. 681 ff. fig. 492), nor of the bird between Hephaistos and Hera on a fourth from Vulci (*supra* p. 700 n. 3 (1) fig. 517), nor yet of the eagle behind Thalna on the mirror from Arezzo (*supra* ii. 709 ff. pl. xxix).

[2] *Supra* p. 218 ff.

The fact is, the myth represented in the pediment was a myth of accommodation[1]. At this vital focus of Athenian worship allowance had to be made for the racial and religious changes through

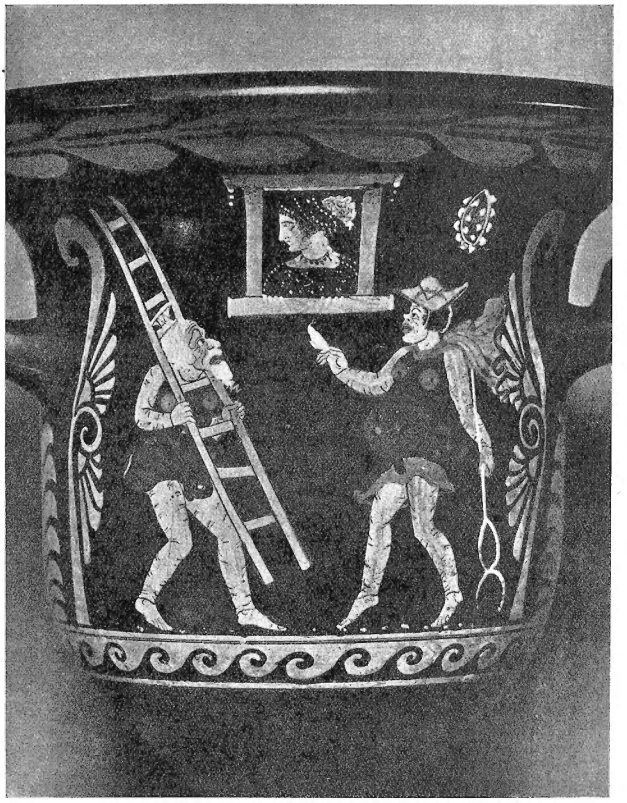


Fig. 534.

[1] The only critic who has perceived this important point with adequate vision is Professor H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 50 f.: 'The close connexion between Zeus and Athena is probably due to historical causes. The chief god of the invaders must come to some sort of terms with the powerful and well-established

which the worshippers had passed. If the results of our somewhat scattered enquiry may be gathered up in the form of a diagram,

3	**ZEUS** storm-god	thunderbolt and eagle	**Attic** *from Eleusis*
2	**POSEIDON** (by-form of Zeus) god of streams, lakes, sea	(lightning-fork) trident fishing-spear	**Ionian** *from Boiotia* (?)
1	**HEPHAISTOS** lightning-god fire-god	double axe hammer	**Pelasgian or Tyrsenian** *from Asia Minor*
	ATHENA rock-goddess	olive, snake, owl	**Pelasgian or Tyrsenian** *from Asia Minor*

I should maintain that the cults of the Akropolis can be arranged chronologically in a threefold stratification[1]. Athena and Hephaistos came first, being a pre-Hellenic pair, the rock-goddess and the fire-god of an Anatolian people best called Pelasgian or Tyrsenian[2]. The next to arrive, perhaps *viâ* Boiotia[3], was the Ionian Poseidon, originally a lightning-god to judge from his trident[4], though later taken to be a sea-god with a fishing-spear[5]: at first in conflict with

Minoan-Mycenaean goddess; but he cannot be her husband, since she, like the rest of her kind, has either no consort or an insignificant one; therefore he must be her father. But she can have no mother, for that would subordinate her to some other goddess, such as Hera or Persephone, and she is far too important for that. Hence her miraculous birth, which represents, if we could but recover the details, an interesting chapter in early diplomacy and ecclesiastical polity.'

[1] I first put forward this scheme in a course of Lectures on *The Gods of Athens, their Significance and Stratification*, which was given at Cambridge on the J. H. Gray Foundation, Feb. 14, 21, and 28, 1936.

A curious, but of course quite fortuitous, result of my arrangement is that we thus obtain deities of earth (Athena), air (Zeus), fire (Hephaistos), and water (Poseidon) comparable with the personified elements of Empedokles (*supra* i. 31).

[2] *Supra* pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236.

[3] On Boiotia as an early centre of Poseidon-worship see *supra* ii. 583 n. 3. If Boeotian Δάν='Zeus' (*supra* ii. 342 n. 0, 344 n. 0), then ποτει-Δάν='Lord Zeus' (*supra* ii. 583), cp. πότνια Ἥρη='Lady Hera' (*supra* i. 444 n. 5, 456 n. 8).

Poseidon, though coming from Boiotia, may still have been Ionian by descent. For Boiotia, as Professor Myres has recently proved, was overrun by Ionians in pre-Dorian days (J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Univ. of California Press 1930 pp. 158, 561 n. 133).

[4] *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850.

[5] *Supra* ii. 786, 790 f., 850.

Athena, he was ultimately identified with her *protégé* Erechtheus, the 'Cleaver,' and accommodated in the Erechtheion[1]. Last came the Attic storm-god Zeus, introduced by the clan Kerykes from Eleusis[2], and worshipped in his festival the Dipolieia[3] with rites that go far towards explaining the pedimental design[4]. The divine ox was struck with the double axe in order that he might come to life again with vigour unimpaired and work for his people as of old. Zeus is hit over the head for much the same purpose. The blow releases Athena, a further manifestation of his might. Three *strata*: but from the lowest to the highest it is Athena who really dominates the scene. Zeus himself lives on in her younger, fresher life.

If this sequence be conceded, several disturbing features in the pediment find a ready explanation. Room must be made in the central group for the predecessors of Zeus—Athena, Hephaistos, and Poseidon. At the same time Athena and Hephaistos cannot be regarded as the next occupants of the divine throne. And that for two reasons. On the one hand, as the original divinities of the Akropolis they were pre-Zeus and could not well be represented as post-Zeus. On the other hand, religious thought was beginning to outgrow its primitive phases and had by now reached a stage in which Zeus, as power supreme, could not conceivably be superseded by any other deity. Nor again could Zeus be affiliated to Athena, who, though originally a mother-goddess[5], had long since come to be viewed as a Virgin[6]. It remained for Athena, by a daring device, to be affiliated to him. We must not, however, assume that the myth of Dionysos sprung from the thigh of Zeus[7] here furnished the model; for in all probability the myth of Athena was the older[8]. In any case the choice of the head rather than the thigh for this simulated birth involves the archaic belief that an indwelling spirit may be forcibly delivered by a timely crack on the crown[9].

[1] *Supra* ii. 793 f.

[2] *Supra* p. 598. Zeus Ὀλύμπιος, however, came from Mt Olympos to the north bank of the Ilissos (*supra* p. 236). The Zeus-cults of Athens call for careful distinction.

[3] *Supra* p. 574 ff.

[4] *Supra* pp. 656 f., 661 f., 720, 733.

[5] *Supra* p. 224 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 224 with n. 3.

[7] *Supra* p. 79 ff.

[8] Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 301 rightly stresses the epic epithet ὀβριμοπάτρη (*Il.* 5. 747, 8. 391, *Od.* 1. 101, 3. 135, 24. 540—always at the end of a line) as implying 'Dass sie keine Mutter habe, sondern nur den Vater, aber den Gewaltigen,' and notes that Ares is even more explicit (*Il.* 5. 872 ff. Ζεῦ πάτερ...σοὶ πάντες μαχόμεσθα· σὺ γὰρ τέκες ἄφρονα κούρην, | οὐλομένην, ἣ τ' αἰὲν ἀήσυλα ἔργα μέμηλεν).

[9] On the head as the seat of the soul see *supra* ii. 290 n. 0.

Sir A. J. Evans in *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 476 n. 5 remarks: 'The Tibetans think that the soul issues from the top of the head, and that the cutting off of the hair there facilitated its escape on death. So, too, the Kânikârs, a mountain tribe of

The ancients, like ourselves, found the idea entertaining—witness a delightful parody of the Athena-myth on a *phlýax*-vase at Bari (fig. 535)[1]. Leda's egg has been set carefully in a basket to hatch. But Zeus, who knows from experience what Hephaistos' double axe

Fig. 535.

Travancore, cut off the top-knot of the deceased (see Frazer, *Burial Customs*, p. 83, note).' But when Sir Arthur quotes (*op. cit.* p. 476) as a classical parallel Numa's words to Iupiter in Ov. *fast.* 3. 341 'Summos, ait ille, capillos,' he is relying on a worthless variant. The better manuscripts read '"sumes" ait ille "capillos"'—a very different story (*supra* p. 433 n. 0).

This releasing of the spirit from the head is an immemorial usage, which explains many things from the trepanning of neolithic skulls (K. Sudhoff *s.v.* 'Trepanation' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiii. 430—432 with bibliography) to 'The Holy-mawle' described by Aubrey, 'wch (they fancy) hung behind the Church dore, wch when the father was seaventie the sonne might fetch, to knock his father in the head, as effœte, & of no more use' (*supra* ii. 703 n. 2).

[1] M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 145 no. 110 pl. 80, 2 (=my fig. 535), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 598, 718, iii. 361 fig. 805.

A more brainless bit of bogus mythology based on the myth of Athena's birth may be found in schol.(B.)T. *Il.* 19. 126. When Zeus in anger seizes Ate κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο and flings her down from heaven to earth, the nitwit scholiast comments: οἱ μὲν 'ἀπὸ τῆς ἑαυτοῦ κεφαλῆς τῆς λιπαροπλοκάμου εἶλε τὴν Ἄτην'· φησὶ γοῦν "κράατα βαίνει" (*Il.* 19. 93)...οἱ δὲ τὸ "κεφαλῆς λιπαροπλοκάμοιο" ἐπὶ τῆς Ἄτης ἤκουσαν.... See W. Leaf *ad loc.*

can effect, sends him to crack the shell. Out pops Helen to the amazement of Tyndareos, while Leda herself, mindful of the celestial swan, peeps shyly through the doorway.

(κ) The superannuation of Zeus.

If the foregoing analysis be sound, one element in the complex myth of Athena's birth was the primitive persuasion that Zeus, king of the gods, must like all other kings in due course be superseded by a stronger than he. But—it will be said—what right have we to speak of Zeus being superannuated? Was he not looked upon as a power permanently supreme[1]? To this the true answer is both Yes and No[2]. Philosophical and *quasi*-philosophical writers certainly regarded Zeus as eternal, or at least everlasting, ruler of the universe. But the populace, heirs of the mythopoeic age, did not[3]. Even Aischylos, who in his moments of deepest insight approximates to the philosophers' view, speaks of succession to the divine throne as the prize of a grand Olympian wrestling-match, and tells how Ouranos was overthrown by Kronos, and Kronos in turn by Zeus:

> He who of yore was great
> And boldly challenged all
> Hath lost his former state
> Nor cometh at the call.
> And he who thereupon
> Rose in his stead is gone—
> He too hath met his fall.
> But if a man with glad triumphant cries
> Hail Zeus as victor, verily he is wise[4].

[1] Soph. *O.T.* 903 ff. ἀλλ', ὦ κρατύνων, εἴπερ ὄρθ' ἀκούεις, | Ζεῦ, πάντ' ἀνάσσων, μὴ λάθοι | σὲ τἀν τε φὰν ἀθάνατον αἰὲν ἀρχάν is typical.

[2] Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 11 has a trenchant passage on the subject of Zeus being superseded: 'atquin divinum imperium aut semper inmutabile est aut si est mutabile, quod fieri non potest, semper utique mutabile est. potest ergo Iuppiter regnum amittere, sicut pater eius amisit? ita plane.'

[3] I am not here concerned with the progressive senescence of art-types—a matter interestingly handled by E. Pottier 'La vieillesse des dieux grecs' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (*Mélanges Bidez*) 729—743. In a few well-put paragraphs (pp. 730—733) he traces the gradual change that comes over Zeus as conceived by sculptors etc. from early Hellenic to late Hellenistic times. We see successively a warrior brandishing his bolt or a king sitting on his throne, a man of fine physique attacking his foes or pursuing his amours, the more mature and pacific ruler imagined by Pheidias, the ideal of philosophers and poets, and the anxious thinker portrayed by the Otricoli bust. In short, brute force, youthful vigour, active benevolence, moral grandeur, providence, and at the last pensiveness deepening into melancholy. 'C'est un Zeus vieilli, en qui l'on aurait peine à reconnaître l'époux triomphant qu'Homère nous dépeint dans les bras de Héra, sur un lit de lotus et d'hyacinthes.'

[4] Aisch. *Ag.* 167 ff.

Moreover, Aischylos is aware of the popular belief that Zeus holds his throne upon the same precarious tenure as his predecessors. That belief is involved in the plot of *Prometheus Bound.* Prometheus there says to Io:

> But now no limit is appointed me
> Of torment, till Zeus fall from his high throne.
> *Io* Zeus fall! Comes there a time when that may be?
> *Prom.* 'Twould gladden thee, I trow, to see that day.
> *Io* Most surely, since from him are all my woes.
> *Prom.* Then be assured the very truth is so.
> *Io* What hand shall wrest from him the staff of power?
> *Prom.* His own vain counsel, lorn of wisdom's light.
> *Io* In what wise? tell me, so it bring no harm.
> *Prom.* Winning a bride, whose wedding he shall rue.
> *Io* Of Heaven or Earth? If not forbidden, tell.
> *Prom.* Inquire no more. 'Tis not to be revealed.
> *Io* Shall his new consort oust him from his throne?
> *Prom.* Their son shall be more puissant than his sire.
> *Io* And may he not avoid that overthrow?
> *Prom.* Only when I, delivered from my bonds—[1]

But the sentence is broken off, and Prometheus does not reveal how Zeus may escape the impending doom. Later in the same play he reverts to the subject in the presence of the Ocean nymphs:

> *Prom.* Yet Zeus himself, though stubborn be his will,
> Shall be brought low at last, through the marriage-bond
> He purposeth. For it shall hurl him down
> From power supreme to nothing. Then shall come
> To pass the curse his father Kronos cried
> In that same hour when driven from his throne
> Of primal sovereignty. To avert this doom
> No god but I can point him the sure way.
> I know each turn thereof. Then let him reign
> Securely, trusting to his thunder's noise
> And wielding there aloft his lightning brand!
> Naught shall they warrant him from that sure fall,
> Intolerable, unhonoured, unreprieved.
> So dire a wrestler he himself provides
> Against himself, a portent huge in might,
> The weapons of whose forging shall o'er-blaze
> His lightning and out-blare his thunder-blast.
> And the new sea-god's spear, the trident dread,
> Poseidon's arm that plagues the stricken lands
> With earthquake, shall be shattered by his power.
> Zeus, foundering on that rock, shall fathom then
> What space divides the ruler from the slave.

[1] Aisch. *P.v.* 755 ff. trans. L. Campbell.

Cho. Thou word'st thy wishes against Heaven's high king.
Prom. My wishes, and the truth of what shall be.
Cho. Must we then look for one to master Zeus?
Prom. Yea, with a yoke yet heavier than mine.
Cho. How can'st thou talk so rashly, and not fear?
Prom. Why should I fear, whose fate is not to die?
Cho. He might decree some doom more painful still.
Prom. Let him! Naught can surprise me, who foreknow.
Cho. Wisdom bids bow before Necessity.
Prom. Ay, bend and worship, fawn upon the strong!
Less than the least care I for Zeus's will.
Let him employ his strength even as he may,
For this brief hour. His reign will soon be o'er[1].

But despite this attitude of defiance and exultation the Titanic sufferer in the following play, *Prometheus Unbound*, consents at length to give up his secret—the oracle concerning Thetis—and thereby obtains release from his bondage[2]. Thus in the end Zeus is saved by Prometheus, and Thetis the fateful bride is bestowed upon Peleus[3].

The myth is set out more lucidly by Aischylos' contemporary Pindar:

These things the immortals planned,
When Zeus for Thetis' hand
With great Poseidon strove,
And either suitor vied
To have her as his own, his comely bride,
So learnt the power of love.
Howbeit their deathless wisdom did not take
The prize they purposed; for, lo, Themis spake
And gave unerring counsel for their sake,
How that by Fate's decree
The mistress of the sea
Should bear her lord a prince more potent yet—
One who should launch a shaft
By his consummate craft
Swifter than lightning-flash,
Fiercer than trident's dash—
If she with Zeus or with Zeus' brethren met.

[1] Aisch. *P.v.* 907 ff. trans. L. Campbell (with a few alterations).

[2] Philodem. *περὶ εὐσεβείας* p. 39 Gomperz *Αἰσχύλος ἐν τῷ̣ λ(υο)μέν(ῳ Πρ)ομηθεῖ.....(ὑπ)ὸ Διὸς δεδ(έσθαι), ib.* p. 41 *καὶ τὸν (Προμη)θέα λύεσθαι (φησὶν) Αἰσχύλος δ(τι τὸ λ)όγιον ἐμή(νυσε)ν τὸ περὶ Θέ(τιδο)ς, ὡς χρε(ὼ)ν εἰ(η) τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆ̣ς γεν(ν)ηθέντα κρείτ(τ)ω κατασ(τῆ̣ν)αι (τ)οῦ πατρός· (ὅθεν κ)αὶ θνητ(ῷ̣ συνοικί)ζουσιν α(ὐτὴ)ν ἀ(νδρί).* See further *Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 63 Nauck[2].

[3] Schol. vet. Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 57 (ii. 495 f. Abel, iii. 273, 21 ff. Drachmann) *ὁ Ζεὺς βουλόμενος Θέτιδι πλησιάσαι ἐκωλύθη ὑπὸ τοῦ Προμηθέως· εἶτα Πηλεῖ ἔδοξεν αὐτὴν*

'Nay, strive not,' Themis said,
'But let some mortal bed
Receive her that she may
Behold a son to perish in the fray,
His hands like Ares' own,
His feet like lightning flown.
I counsel you to give
This guerdon that a god might gain
To Peleus, who as Aiakos' son doth reign,
The holiest man of all the men that live
On Iaolkos' plain[1].'

Pindar, it will be observed, speaks of two competitors for the hand of Thetis, Zeus and Poseidon[2]. Tzetzes adds a third, Apollon[3]. It is, however, probable that the original story recognised but one, Zeus himself[4], and that his mythical association with Thetis arose

ἐγγυῆσαι. τεθρύλληται δὲ ἡ ἱστορία παρά τε συγγραφεῦσι καὶ ποιηταῖς, ἀκριβῶς δὲ κεῖται καὶ παρὰ Αἰσχύλῳ ἐν Προμηθεῖ Δεσμώτῃ. J. Resler *Ultimae Pindari Isthmiae...<scholia>* Vratislaviae 1847 p. 22 f. pointed out that Δεσμώτῃ must be a mistake for Λυομένῳ, since nowhere in the extant play are we told that Zeus was prevented from marrying Thetis by Prometheus. The blunder has affected Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 178 Πίνδαρος δὲ λέγει Ποσειδῶνα Ἀπόλλωνα Δία περὶ γάμων τῆς Θέτιδος ἐρίσαι, κωλυθῆναι δὲ αὐτοὺς κατά τινας τῶν ἱστορικῶν ὑπὸ Θέμιδος κατὰ δὲ Αἰσχύλον ὑπὸ Προμηθέως· φησὶ γὰρ followed by the quotation of Aisch. *P.v.* 766 and Apollod. 3. 13. 5 ἔνιοι δέ φασι, Διὸς ὀρμῶντος ἐπὶ τὴν ταύτης συνουσίαν, εἰρηκέναι Προμηθέα τὸν ἐκ ταύτης αὐτῷ γενησόμενον οὐρανοῦ δυνασταύσειν may be based on Aisch. Προμ. λυόμ. The same is probably true of later references such as Hyg. *fab.* 54, Myth. Vat. 2. 65, 3. 11. 20 (where *a Proteo* is by confusion for *a Prometheo*).

[1] Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 60 ff.

[2] So does Apollod. 3. 13. 5, probably following Pindar.

[3] Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 178 (cited *supra* p. 742 n. 0), where E. Scheer regards the word Ἀπόλλωνα as an interpolation on the part of Tzetzes from the myth of Orion (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 328 Τριεὺς Κλονίαν ἔχων γυναῖκα ἅπαις ἐτύγχανε. ποτὲ γοῦν Ζεὺς καὶ Ποσειδῶν καὶ Ἀπόλλων τῷ Τριεῖ τούτῳ ἐπεξενώθησαν καὶ ὃς βοῦν θύσας αὐτοὺς ὑπεδέξατο, οἱ δ' ἔφασαν αἰτεῖν αὐτόν, ὃ βούλοιτο. ὡς δὲ παιδίον αὐτῷ γενέσθαι ᾐτήσατο, οἱ τρεῖς τῇ τοῦ σφαγέντος βοὸς βύρσῃ ἐνούρησαν καὶ ἐξ αὐτῆς Ὠρίων ἐγένετο, Ὠρίων κληθεὶς ὡς ἐκ τῶν οὔρων τεχθείς, δθεν καὶ τρίπατρον τοῦτον καλεῖ, cp. schol. Nik. *ther.* 15, schol. A.D. *Il.* 18. 468, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1535, 42 ff., Ov. *fast.* 5. 495 ff., Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 34, *fab.* 195, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 1. 535, 10. 763, Nonn. *Dion.* 13. 96 ff., Arat. Lat. p. 248 f. Maass, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* pp. 386, 2 ff., 413, 11 ff. Eyssenhardt, Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 27, 7. 256, myth. Vat. 1. 32, 2. 129, 3. 15. 8, *et. mag.* p. 823, 58 ff. with the comments of Küentzle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1028 ff. and Sir J. G. Frazer on Ov. *fast.* 5. 494).

For three as a typical plurality see *supra* ii. 893 n. 0.

[4] Schol. vet. Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 57 b (ii. 496 f. Abel, iii. 273, 25 ff. Drachmann) διαφωνεῖται δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖς καὶ ἰδιαίζοντως ὁ Πίνδαρος καὶ Ποσειδῶνά φησιν ἀμφισβητῆσαι περὶ τοῦ γάμου· ἢ ζητητέον, τίνι κατηκολούθησεν ὁ Πίνδαρος. The vulgate, then, recognised Zeus alone: cp. Ov. *met.* 11. 221 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 54, myth. Vat. 2. 65, 2. 205, 2. 206, 3. 11. 20 f. In the *Kypria* it is Momos who suggests to Zeus τὴν Θέτιδος θνητογαμίαν (*frag.* 1 Kinkel *ap.* schol. *Il.* 1. 5 f.).

at some Thessalian[1] cult-centre where Zeus and Thetis chanced to be worshipped side by side[2].

Different in origin, but similar in development, was the myth of Metis, which may be regarded as a Boeotian doublet of the Thessalian story. The Hesiodic, like the Homeric, Zeus is *mettêta*[3], *metiôeis*[4], the 'Magician[5].' But, whereas *mêtis* in Homer was merely abstract 'prudence' or concrete 'counsel[6],' *Métis* in Hesiod is a full-blown personality. She ranks as one of the many daughters borne by Tethys to Okeanos[7], for supernatural wisdom belongs to the deities of the deep[8]. If now we ask how Zeus came to be so full of *Métis*, Hesiod[9] is ready with a naïve explanation. Metis, the

[1] On Thetis as 'Thessalische Seegottheit' see M. Mayer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 206—208.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1168 n. 3: 'Auf eine andere Kultverbindung weist vielleicht die Sage von der Liebe des Zeus zu Thetis.'

[3] Hes. *o.d.* 104, *theog.* 56, 520, 904, 914, *sc. Her.* 33, 383.

[4] Hes. *o.d.* 51, 769, *theog.* 286, 457.

[5] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, ii. 1147.

[6] H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 1101. The *formula* Διὶ μῆτιν ἀτάλαντος is used of Odysseus (*Il.* 2. 169, 407, 636, 10. 137) and Hektor (*Il.* 7. 47, 11. 200) in the *Iliad*, but does not occur in the *Odyssey*.

[7] Hes. *theog.* 358.

[8] *Id. ib.* 352 Ἰδυῖα as another of the Ὠκεανίναι. Cp. *ib.* 233 ff. Νηρέα δ' ἀψευδέα καὶ ἀληθέα γείνατο Πόντος | πρεσβύτατον παίδων· αὐτὰρ καλέουσι γέροντα, | οὕνεκα νημερτής τε καὶ ἤπιος, οὐδὲ θεμιστέων | λήθεται, ἀλλὰ δίκαια καὶ ἤπια δήνεα οἶδεν. See further, on Nereus, Proteus, and the like, Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 554 ff., 609 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 415, 429 n. 2, and especially M. Ninck *Die Bedeutung des Wassers im Kult und Leben der Alten* Leipzig 1921 pp. 47—99 ('Wasser und Weissagung').

Much the same idea underlies the negro plantation-song *Old Man Ribber*, the refrain of which runs: 'Old Man Ribber, | He must know somethin', | But don't say nothin', | He just keeps rollin' along.'

[9] Hes. *theog.* 886 ff. See also the fragment of an epic Theogony quoted by Chrysipp. *frag.* 908 von Arnim *ap.* Galen. *de Hippocratis et Platonis placitis* 3. 8 (v. 351 f. Kühn) ἐκ ταύτης <δ' (*ins.* R. Peppmüller)> ἔριδος ἡ μὲν τέκε φαίδιμον υἱὸν | "Ηφαιστον τέχνησιν ἄνευ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο | ἐκ πάντων παλάμῃσι κεκασμένον (so D. Ruhnken for κεκλημένον cod.) Οὐρανιώνων. | αὐτὰρ ὃ γ' Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ Τηθύος ἠυκόμοιο | κούρῃ νόσφ' Ἥρης παρελέξατο καλλιπαρῄῳ (so D. Ruhnken for κάρηνι...παρεδέξατο καλλιπαρῄου cod.) | ἐξαπαφὼν Μῆτιν καίπερ πολυδήνε' ἐοῦσαν (so T. Bergk for πολὺ δινεύουσαν cod.). | συμμάρψας δ' ὅ γε χερσὶν ἐὴν ἐγκάτθετο νηδύν | δείσας μὴ τέξῃ κρατερώτερον ἄλλο Κεραυνοῦ (so H. Weil and H. Usener for κεραννοῦ: *supra* ii. 12). | τοὔνεκά μιν Κρονίδης ὑψίζυγος αἰθέρι ναίων | κάππιεν ἐξαπίνης· ἡ δ' αὐτίκα Παλλάδ' Ἀθήνην | κύσατο· τὴν μὲν ἔτικτε πατὴρ ἀνδρῶν τε θεῶν τε | πὰρ κορυφὴν Τρίτωνος ἐπ' ὄχθῃσιν ποταμοῖο. | Μῆτις δ' αὖτε Ζηνὸς ὑπὸ σπλάγχνοις λελαθυῖα | ἤστο, Ἀθηναίης (so D. Ruhnken for ἀθηναίη cod.) μήτηρ, τέκταινα δικαίων, πλεῖστα θεῶν τε ἰδυῖα (so G. F. Schoemann for εἰδυῖα cod.) καταθνητῶν τ' ἀνθρώπων. | κ.τ.λ. H. Usener 'Eine Hesiodische Dichtung' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1901 lvi. 174—186 attributed this excerpt to an earlier form of Hesiod's *Theogony*. But see A. Rzach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1192 and G. Kruse *ib.* xv. 1409 f. The latter follows U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff (*Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1921 p. 957 ff., *id. Die Heimkehr des Odysseus* Berlin 1927 p. 190 n. 1) in rejecting Hes. *theog.* 891—899 as an interpolation and regarding the epic fragment cited by Chrysippos as 'eine ganz späte Dublette,' both being condemned as the products of mere

first[1] wife of Zeus, surpassed in wisdom all mortals and immortals, and was fated to bear children exceeding wise—Athena equal to her father in might and counsel, and after Athena a son of such prowess that he should become king of gods and men. Hence Gaia and Ouranos advised Zeus to deceive Metis with crafty words and swallow her, lest another god should arise and deprive him of his kingly honours. Zeus accordingly did so, and himself bore Athena from his head[2]. Others add some details that belong to the same context. It appears that Metis was wont to change her form with a view to escaping the embraces of Zeus[3]: consequently he waited until she was small enough and then swallowed her[4]—a barbaric expedient clearly copied[5] from the ugly habits of Kronos[6].

theological speculation. F. Jacoby in his edition of the *Theogony* (Berlin 1930 pp. 37, 186, 188 f.) takes the same view. And F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 p. 50 is inclined to acquiesce, though he objects that Zeus' marriage with Metis would then be left without offspring. But to assume that the swallowing of Metis by Zeus must necessarily be a late invention is quite unjustifiable. The episode in itself is thoroughly consonant with primitive thought (see *e.g.* S. Thompson *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (*FF Communications No. 107*) Helsinki 1933 ii. 276 D 1793 'M[agic] results from eating or drinking'), and Zeus may well have been early credited with rivalling the digestive feats of Kronos. If it be borne in mind that the *μῆτις* of the *μητίετα* was magical wisdom or cunning, theological speculation is seen to be out of place.

[1] According to Hes. *theog.* 886 ff., Zeus wedded (1) Metis, whom he swallowed before producing Athena; (2) Themis, who bore the three Horai, Eunomia, Dike, Eirene, and the three Moirai, Klotho, Lachesis, Atropos; (3) Eurynome daughter of Okeanos, who bore the three Charites, Aglaïa, Euphrosyne, Thalia; (4) Demeter, who bore Persephone; (5) Mnemosyne, who bore the nine Muses; (6) Leto, who bore Apollon and Artemis; (7) Hera, who bore Hebe, Ares, and Eileithyia.

I have discussed the marriage of Zeus and Hera in two articles published in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 under the title 'Who was the Wife of Zeus?'

[2] Hes. *theog.* 924 ff.

[3] Apollod. 1. 3. 6 *μίγνυται δὲ Διὶ Μήτιδι, μεταβαλλούσῃ εἰς πολλὰς ἰδέας ὑπὲρ τοῦ μὴ συνελθεῖν, καὶ αὐτὴν γενομένην ἔγκυον καταπίνει φθάσας, ἐπείπερ ἔλεγε γεννήσειν παῖδα μετὰ τὴν μέλλουσαν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεννᾶσθαι κόρην, ἣ οὐρανοῦ δυνάστης γενήσεται. τοῦτο φοβηθεὶς κατέπιεν αὐτήν·* κ.τ.λ. Cp. schol. B. L. T. V. *Il.* 8. 39.

[4] Schol. Hes. *theog.* 886 *λέγεται ὅτι ἡ Μῆτις τοιαύτην εἶχε δύναμιν ὥστε μεταβάλλειν εἰς ὁποῖον ἂν ἐβούλετο. πλανήσας οὖν αὐτὴν ὁ Ζεὺς καὶ πικρὰν* (F. A. Paley would read *μικράν*. I suspect that the scholiast meant *πίκραν*, the antidote 'higry-pigry' (*ἱερὰ πίκρα*), which would suit *κατέπιεν* A. B. C.) *ποιήσας κατέπιεν.*

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 283 says: 'According to a later legend she complacently took the shape of a fly.' But he quotes no authority for the statement, and I am not aware of any such legend—unless indeed Farnell was confusing Metis with Periklymenos, son of Neleus and Chloris (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 156 *ἀνῄρηκεν δὲ αὐτὸν Ἡρακλῆς εἰς μυῖαν μεταβληθέντα ἐν τῷ πρὸς Πυλίους πολέμῳ κατὰ συμβουλὴν Ἀθηνᾶς τῷ ῥοπάλῳ αὐτὸν πλήξας* κ.τ.λ.).

[5] F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 p. 50 cp. *theog.* 888 with 468, 891 with 463, 892 f. with 461 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 154 (note that the myth is localised in Boiotia), 181 n. 0, 299, 520 n. 2, ii. 191 n. 10, 549, 928 n. 0, 933 n. 0. See now the careful treatment of the theme by M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1991 ff.

The general resemblance between the myths of Metis and Thetis is unmistakable. Metis, like Thetis, was a sea-power. Metis, like Thetis, was a shape-shifter. Metis, like Thetis, was loved by Zeus. Metis, like Thetis, was destined to bear a son that should oust his father—a danger averted in either case by an oracular utterance and consequent guile. But the Metis-myth is more than a mere parallel to the Thetis-myth. For it definitely associates—at least in its present Hesiodic form[1]—the birth of Athena with the superannuation of Zeus, and so justifies us in claiming[2] that the superannuation-*motif* may be detected in the art-types of the birth.

The subsequent history of the Metis-myth is curious. In the Theogony of the Orphic Rhapsodies[3] Metis is one of the names borne by the bisexual Phanes who, emerging from the cosmic egg, begat and consorted with Nyx, thus becoming the parent of Gaia and Ouranos, Rhea and Kronos, Hera and Zeus. This first creation was followed by a second creation. Zeus at the advice of Nyx leapt upon Phanes and swallowed him whole. Zeus was thus enabled to make afresh within himself the world and all its contents, gods and goddesses included: Athena, for example, in full armour sprang from his head. Zeus therefore as a pantheistic god comprises—

> Fire and water and earth and *aithér*, day too and night;
> Metis the first forefather and Eros of much delight[4].

Mêtis is here boldly made masculine, perhaps as tantamount to *metíeta*, the epic appellative of Zeus[5]. But the license offended the neo-Platonist Syrianos, who quotes the same line with one small correction—

> Metis the first foremother and Eros of much delight[6].

Apion in the Clementine *Homilies*[7] sets forth a somewhat

[1] *Supra* p. 744 n. 2. It remains possible, and even probable, that a pre-Hesiodic form of the myth represented Zeus as swallowing Metis simply in order to acquire her magic, but that later, owing to some social or political exigency (*supra* p. 737) room had to be found for Athena, goddess of the old Pelasgian *stratum*. The *Theogony*, as it stands, is certainly a patchwork.

[2] *Supra* p. 739.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1024 ff. (conspectus on p. 1034).

[4] *Supra* ii. 1028 πῦρ καὶ ὕδωρ καὶ γαῖα καὶ αἰθήρ, νύξ τε καὶ ἦμαρ, | καὶ Μῆτις πρῶτος γενέτωρ καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1025.

[6] Orph. *frag.* 169 Kern *ap.* Aristokrit. Manich. in the *Theosoph. Tubing.* 50 (K. Buresch *Klaros* Leipzig 1889 p. 110, 4) καὶ Μῆτις, πρώτη γενέτις, καὶ Ἔρως πολυτερπής. For γενέτις cp. *Wisdom* 7. 12 εὐφράνθην δὲ ἐπὶ πᾶσιν, ὅτι αὐτῶν ἡγεῖται σοφία, ἠγνόουν δὲ αὐτὴν γενέτιν εἶναι τούτων.

[7] Orph. *frag.* 56 Kern *ap.* Clem. Rom. *hom.* 6. 5—9 (ii. 200 C—204 B Migne).

similar Theogony, which may be described as a *quasi*-Orphic account with a strong etymological colouring. When the bisexual Phanes emerged from the cosmic egg, the rest of its material contents sorted themselves out. The heavier dregs subsided in time (*chrónos*) and so were said to have been swallowed by Kronos: their abundance (*plêthos*) caused them to be called Plouton. The fluid floating on the surface of this sediment got the name Poseidon. The highest and purest portion, consisting of translucent fire, was termed Zeus by reason of its heat (*zéousa*). This was not swallowed by Kronos, but in virtue of its own warmth drew upwards the finest and most divine element left in the fluid layer, a spirit named Metis. Absorbed by the *aithér* and passing through its upper part or head, this spirit set up a perpetual agitation (*palmós*), in short produced Understanding or Pallas[1].

In Platon's *Symposium*[2] Diotima of Mantineia[3] has a tale to tell about the parentage of Eros. When Aphrodite was born, Poros son of Metis ('Way' son of 'Wisdom') was feasting with the other gods. Being drunk with nectar[4]—it was before the days of wine—he betook himself to the garden of Zeus[5] and there fell asleep. Meantime Penia ('Poverty') got wind of the feast and came begging at the door. Anxious to cure her distress (*aporía*), she lay with Poros and became by him the mother of Eros, who is attached to Aphrodite because he was begotten on her birthday. He is poor (*pénes*) and homeless like his mother, but eager, ingenious, and fertile in resource (*pórimos*) like his father. As a *daímon*, he is neither mortal nor immortal[6], but in a single day will live and die

[1] *Ib.* 7—8 (ii. 201 B—204 A Migne) *τὸ δὲ λοιπὸν τρίτον τὸ καθαρώτατον καὶ κορυφαιότατον ἄπε διαιωγὲς ὃν πῦρ Ζῆνα ὠνόμασαν διὰ τὴν ἐν αὑτῷ ζέουσαν φύσιν· ἀνωφερὲς γὰρ ὂν τὸ πῦρ πρὸς μὲν τὰ κάτω ὑπὸ χρόνου τοῦ Κρόνου οὐ κατεπόθη, ἀλλ', ὡς ἔφην, ἡ πυρώδης οὐσία ζωτική τε καὶ ἀνωφερὴς οὖσα εἰς αὐτὸν ἀνέπτη τὸν ἀέρα, ὃς καὶ φρονιμώτατός ἐστι διὰ τὴν καθαρότητα. τῇ οὖν ἰδίᾳ θερμότητι ὁ Ζεύς—τουτέστιν ἡ ζέουσα οὐσία—τὸ καταλειφθὲν ἐν τῷ ὑποκειμένῳ ὑγρῷ τὸ ἰσχυρότατον καὶ θεῖον ἀνιμᾶται πνεῦμα, ὅπερ Μῆτιν ἐκάλεσαν. κατὰ κορυφῆς δὲ αὐτοῦ ἐλθὸν τοῦ αἰθέρος καὶ συμπαθὲν ὑπ' αὐτοῦ ὥσπερ ὑγρὸν θερμῷ μιγέν, τὸν ἀεικίνητον παλμὸν ἐμποιῆσαν, γενηῷ τὴν σύνεσιν, ἣν καὶ Παλλάδα ἐπονομάζουσι διὰ τὸ πάλλεσθαι, τεχνικωτάτην οὖσαν φρόνησιν, ᾗ χρώμενος τὸν πάντα ἐτεχνήσατο κόσμον ὁ αἰθέριος τεχνίτης.*

[2] Plat. *symp.* 203 B—E.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1167. W. Kranz 'Diotima von Mantineia' in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 437—447 argues that Diotima was historical and was in Athens to stay the plague by sacrifice (Plat. *symp.* 201 D) about the beginning of the Peloponnesian War (*Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 209).

[4] An Orphic touch? Cp. *supra* ii. 448 n. 1, 1027.

[5] Orphic again? Cp. *supra* ii. 1021 (but also 1119).

[6] For Eros as belonging to this category of betwixt-and-between see E. Hoffmann 'Methexis und Metaxy bei Platon' in the *Jahresberichte des philologischen Vereins zu Berlin* 1919 xlv. 53 f. (at end of *Sokrates* 1919 vii).

and rise again thanks to his father's nature. This transparent little allegory may or may not have been invented by Platon[1]. In any case it offered possibilities to the allegorists of a later age[2], and was obviously susceptible of a Christian re-interpretation. A. von Sallet[3] first drew attention to the fact that a medallion, finely struck by Giovanni Cavino 'the Paduan' (1500—1570 A.D.) in dark copper with a border of brass (fig. 536), has for obverse design a head of Christ inscribed **PORVS CONSILII FILIVS**, and acutely recognised in this legend the Latin rendering of the Platonic 'Poros son of Metis[4].'

Fig. 536.

So in the long run the oracle concerning Metis came true, and Zeus, despite his most desperate shifts, found himself superseded by a Son of divine 'Wisdom,' One who was indeed the 'Way'—and the Truth, and the Life.

(λ) The attributes of Athena.

The affiliation of the pre-Hellenic Athena to the Hellenic Zeus produced a goddess whose powers, as evidenced by her attributes,

[1] Recent literature includes J. A. Stewart *The Myths of Plato* London 1905 p. 428, W. Willi *Versuch einer Grundlegung der platonischen Mythopoiie* Zurich 1925 pp. 26 ff., 32 ff., K. Reinhardt *Platons Mythen* Bonn 1927 p. 68 ff., P. Frutiger *Les mythes de Platon* Paris 1930 pp. 113 n. 2, 116, 198, 240.

Poros is as old as Alkm. *frag.* 23. 13 ff. Bergk[4], 1. 13 ff. Diehl, 1. 13 ff. Edmonds [κράτησ]ε γὰρ Αἶσα παντῶν | [καὶ Πόρο]ς γεραίτατοι | [σιῶν· ἀπ]έδιλος ἀλκά with the marginal gloss ὅτι τὸν Πόρον εἴρηκε τὸν αὐτὸν τῷ ὑπὸ τοῦ Ἡσιόδου μεμυθευμένῳ Χάει, on which see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2775—2778.

[2] Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 57 (ὁ γὰρ Πόρος οὐχ ἕτερός ἐστι τοῦ πρώτου ἐρασταῦ καὶ ἐφετοῦ καὶ τελείου καὶ αὐτάρκους κ.τ.λ.), Plotin. *enn.* 3. 5. 5 ff. (λόγος δὲ ἐλέγετο τῶν πάντων ὁ Πόρος with context, in which Zeus is νοῦς, Aphrodite is ψυχή, Penia is ὕλη). Cp. Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 16.

[3] A. von Sallet in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1881 viii. 118—120 with fig. (=my fig. 536), W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2941.

[4] Plat. *symp.* 203 B ὁ τῆς Μήτιδος υἱὸς Πόρος.

belonged partly to the old order, partly to the new, but contrived to reconcile both in the brilliance of a fresh and vivid personality.

The said attributes can best be understood as the direct outcome of certain conclusions already reached. The Akropolis, I have said[1], was originally called *Athéne*, a place-name whose locative **Athenai* occasioned the plural *Athênai* habitual in later Greek[2]. Homer[3]—be it observed—in the *Odyssey*, when speaking of Athens, can still use the singular form:

'She came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athene.'

I further insisted[4] that the goddess was named *Athéne*, like the rock, simply because at the outset she *was* the rock[5], a mountain-mother of the Anatolian kind.

No doubt objections will be brought against both these points of view. I shall be told that to use the same word *Athéne* at one moment of the goddess, at the next of her rocky abode, would have been intolerably confusing. Homer thought otherwise. The immediate context[6] of the line quoted above tells how 'Athene...left lovely Scherie, and came to Marathon and wide-wayed Athene.' So Athene came to Athene! The poet is serenely unconscious of anything amiss.

Others may demur to Athena being treated as a mountain-mother. She was so notoriously a Virgin that to call her a Mother at all borders on the blasphemous. But we are apt to forget that in early illogical days the status lost might by appropriate means be regained. Pausanias[7], for instance, informs us that Hera recovered her virginity every year by bathing in the spring Kanathos near Nauplia. And it is not unreasonable to suppose that the same

[1] *Supra* p. 224.

[2] F. Matz in A. Mau *Katalog der Bibliothek des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom*[2] Berlin—Leipzig 1932 ii. 2. 1026 cites R. Nadrowski 'Der Städtenamen *Ἀθῆναι* in seinem Verhältnis zum Götternamen *Ἀθηνᾶ*' in *Ἐπιστημ. Ἐπετηρίς* 1908—1909 v. 199—203.

[3] *Od.* 7. 80 *ἵκετο δ' ἐς Μαραθῶνα καὶ εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην*. But *Ἀθῆναι* in *Il.* 2. 546, 549, *Od.* 3. 278, 307, 11. 323.

[4] *Supra* p. 224.

[5] Dr B. F. C. Atkinson has suggested to me that a masculine parallel might be found in *Ἄθως*, a mountain which bore a name of Anatolian type (cp. *Κέως*, *Κῶς*, *Τέως*), was addressed by Xerxes as *Ἄθω δαιμόνιε* (Plout. *de cohib. ira* 5), was later personified as a giant (H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 704, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2065 and 2069), supported a population of Macrobii (Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 37: cp. *supra* ii. 500 n. 4), and down to the present day is regarded as a *Ἅγιον Ὄρος* of the utmost sanctity (*supra* ii. 906 n. 1).

[6] *Od.* 7. 78 *γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη*, 80 *εὐρυάγυιαν Ἀθήνην*—both at the end of the line and all the more likely to catch the eye.

[7] *Supra* p. 224 n. 3.

thing happened to Athena, both in Argos and at Athens. The Argive women once a year took the image of Athena and washed it in the river Inachos[1]. At Athens it was the old wooden statue in the Erechtheion that had the annual bathe. It was escorted down to Phaleron by the *épheboi*, dipped in the sea by two *loutrídes* or 'bathing-women,' and brought back in the evening with a torch-light procession—the whole business being termed the Plynteria or 'Washing Day[2].' Now we may be very sure that it was some strong religious reason—godliness rather than cleanliness—which prompted the Greeks to bathe their goddess in river or sea. And, if we may argue from what is told us of Hera, the object was to transform the Mother into a Maiden once more. Of course to all and sundry in up-to-date Athens Athena was *Parthénos*. But the women of Elis, country folk who clung to archaic beliefs, had a sanctuary of Athena *Méter*[3], a mother-goddess confessed.

I take it, then, that Athena was the pre-Greek mountain-mother of the Akropolis rock. As such she would stand in specially close relation to the rock-products, whether vegetable or animal. Any life issuing from crevices or holes in the rock would be *her* life. The flora and fauna of the place would be venerated as divine manifestations of herself. And of these manifestations there are three that claim our special attention.

(1) The olive of Athena.

Only one tree, so far as we know, grew on the Akropolis—the famous olive in the Pandroseion[4] (fig. 537)[5]. The antiquary Philochoros[6] mentions it in connexion with a curious happening of 306 B.C. He says:

'This year had ended and another begun, when the following portent took place on the Akropolis. A bitch got into the temple of the *Polías* and, diving into the Pandroseion, mounted the altar of Zeus *Herkeîos*, which stands under the olive tree, and there lay down, though it is an old-established custom at Athens that dogs[7] are not allowed on the Akropolis.'

[1] *Ib.*

[2] G. E. Marindin in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 440 f., Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* pp. 7 f., 10 f., 491—504, L. Couve in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 799—801, E. Pfuhl *De Atheniensium pompis sacris* Berolini 1900 pp. 89—92, L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 pp. 17—22.

[3] *Supra* p. 224 f.

[4] *Supra* p. 243.

[5] I reproduce the restoration of M. Schede *Die Burg von Athen* Berlin 1922 p. 105 fig. 25 (=*id. The Akropolis of Athens* trans. H. T. Price London (1927) p. 105 fig. 25).

[6] Philochor. *frag.* 146 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 408 f. Müller) *ap.* Dion. Hal. *de Dinarch. iud.* 3.

[7] Cp. Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 90 with H. J. Rose *ad loc.* See further O. Keller *Die*

One fancies the scene—the dog dodging pursuit, the horrified bystanders, the fattish sacristan in full cry, but balked of his prey as the creature leapt into safety beneath the shade of Athena's olive!

This was the tree said to have been planted by Athena as

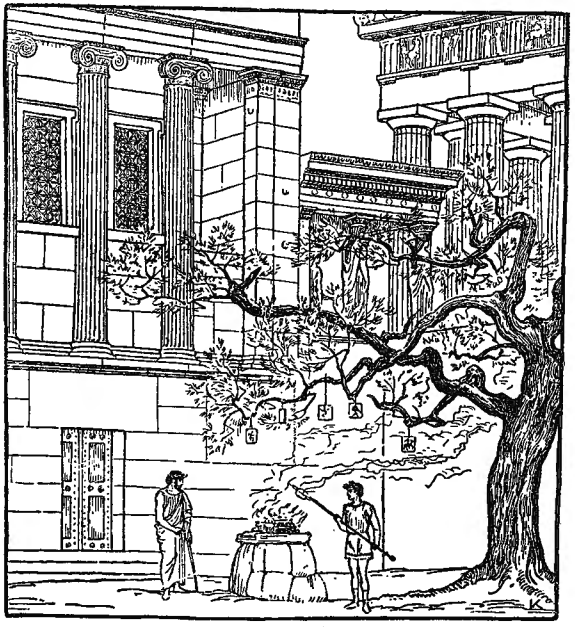


Fig. 537.

evidence that the Akropolis belonged to her and not to Poseidon. Apollodoros[1] tells the tale:

'Poseidon...with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Akropolis produced a sea, which they now call Erechtheïs. After him Athena, having summoned Kekrops as witness of her right, planted an olive-tree, which is still shown in the Pandroseion. But when the two strove for possession of the place, Zeus[2] parted

antike Tierwelt Leipzig 1909 i. 136, 139, F. Orth in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 2574 f., H. Scholz *Der Hund in der griechisch-römischen Magie und Religion* Berlin 1937 p. 49.

[1] Apollod. 3. 14. 1.

[2] *Supra* i. 147.

them asunder and appointed as arbiters...the twelve gods. By their verdict the land was adjudged to Athena, because Kekrops bore witness that she had been the first to plant the olive. Athena, therefore, called the city Athens after herself, while Poseidon[1] in hot anger flooded the Thriasian plain and laid Attike under the sea.'

The story is related by Greek and Roman writers with some variety of detail[2]. But the main points are sufficiently clear. And it is the unanimous, or all but unanimous, opinion of modern scholars that this legend covers a historic fact—the attempted supersession of Athena-cult by Poseidon-cult[3]. Or, as I should venture to put it, the intrusion of the Ionian god upon the Pelasgian goddess[4].

And here we must take into account the western pediment of the Parthenon, about which Pausanias[5] says simply: 'The back gable contains the strife of Poseidon with Athena for possession of the land.' This pediment at once met the eye of all visitors to the Akropolis, and in ancient times lent dignity to a somewhat barren

[1] Poseidon, despite his stormy strength, really seemed born to lose lawsuits! Similar legends told how he strove with Hera for Argos, lost his case, and in anger first drained the country of water and then swamped it with a flood (Paus. 2. 15. 5, 2. 22. 4); how he contended with Zeus for Aigina and again lost (Orph. *frag.* 335 Kern *ap.* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 8. 92 *ἡ ὅτι ἐφιλονείκησαν Ποσειδῶν τε καὶ Ζεὺς περὶ Αἰγίνης, ὅτε καὶ μεταβαλεῖν δοκεῖ τὴν νῆσον Ποσειδῶν, καθὰ ἄλλοι τέ φασι καὶ Πυθαίνετος* (an *addendum* to *Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 487 Müller) *προσαγόμενος Ὀρφέα*. See further J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 52, 81 ff.); how he disputed the possession of Trozen with Athena, but was forced to go shares, and vented his spleen by flooding the land with salt water (Paus. 2. 30. 6, 2. 32. 8). But, so far as Athens is concerned, notice the orderly and decorous nature of the proceedings—the two litigants, the rival claims, the production of evidence and material exhibits, the peaceful settlement by adjudicators on the ground of well-attested priority. I should infer that the legend took shape in comparatively recent times, and I should be disposed to conjecture that the original dispute was a fight, not a lawsuit at all.

[2] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 203 n. 1, F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1951, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 270 ff., G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1919, Sir J. G. Frazer on Apollod. 3. 14. 1, H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 pp. 68, 76 f.

Monographs include L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 pp. 5—142 Atlas pl. 1, C. Robert 'Der Streit der Götter um Athen' in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 60—87 (see *infra* p. 753 n. 2), E. Petersen '"Der Streit der Götter um Athen"' *ib.* 1882 xvii. 124—133, C. Robert 'Das Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 48—58 pls. 1, 2 and 2, E. Petersen 'Der Streit des Poseidon und der Athena' in *Wiener Studien* 1883 v. 42—51, W. Amelung 'Schiedsgericht zwischen Poseidon und Athene' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1898 xxiii. 235—241.

A conspectus of literary variants is given in *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 32.

[3] To quote but one recent judgment, Prof. H. J. Rose *op. cit.* p. 68 sees here 'a local Attic legend, which perhaps reflects the contests between a Greek (Ionian?) people, coming, it may be, by sea, and the natives of the place with their ancient cult of a Minoan goddess.'

[4] *Supra* p. 736 f.

[5] Paus. 1. 24. 5.

Fig. 538.

rock by representing it as a bone of contention between two major deities. Nowadays the sculpture has almost completely vanished from the pediment-floor; but, so far as the principal antagonists are concerned, extant fragments suffice to prove[1] the general trustworthiness of the fourth-century *hydrta* from Pantikapaion, which gives us in gilded relief a close copy of the central group (fig. 538)[2]. Both claimants are in strenuous action, Athena striking downwards with her lance, Poseidon with his trident. Beside the former is her olive[3] with a snake twined about it and a Nike hovering in the branches. Beside the latter is his sea with a couple of dolphins plunging in it. And the vase-painter has acknowledged his debt to the sculptor by adding a small temple in the top right-hand corner, as who should say 'I owe my inspiration to the Parthenon[4].' Sir Cecil Smith[5] in 1907 was able to show that the existing portions[6] of Athena and Poseidon could be aptly superposed on the corresponding vase-figures. That is reassuring. But sundry difficulties remain. Why after producing their tokens are the gods depicted as

[1] Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 245 ff. with fig. 2.

[2] L. Stephani *loc. cit.* Atlas pl. 1 (=my fig. 538), A. Conze *Wien. Vorlegebl.* vi pl. 9, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 221, iii. 1394 f. fig. 1542, Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 441 f. fig. 44, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 37, 1 f., H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 24 pl. 50, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 713 fig. 604, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 357 with fig. 476. The olive-tree is completely gilded. Athena (head broken away) and Poseidon are in high relief. The goddess wears a green *péplos* and carries a yellow shield, but her lance and adornments are golden. The god is brown-skinned and has a reddish *chlamýs*, a gilded trident, and a white horse.

C. Robert in *Hermes* 1881 xvi. 60—87 argues that the scene shows Poseidon attempting to destroy with his trident the newly created olive-tree, which is protected both by the snake Erichthonios and by Dionysos Δενδίτης (Plout. *symp.* 5. 3. 1), while Athena raises her lance to attack Poseidon himself. The remaining figures, from left to right, will be Pandrosos, Amphitrite, Kekrops The vase, like the pediment, thus depicts the actual ἔρις, of which no literary description has come down to us.

[3] Two fragments of the tree are at Athens (A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 201 no. 339, 17 twigs of olive (height 0·17^{m}) and 18 part of stem and sprays of olive (height 0·41^{m}), *id. A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 120 no. 339, 17 and 18, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 25 *frag.* 148 pl. 14 D and *frag.* 149 pl. 14 D. The latter already in A. Michaelis *Der Parthenon* Leipzig 1871 p. 199 pl. 8, 15). See also A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 200 f. no. 339, 16, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 23 *frag.* 25 pl. 14 A.

[4] C. Robert *loc. cit.* p. 67 thought 'dass der kleine Tempel mit Stephani als Erechtheion, oder um es ganz correct zu sagen, als der Palast des Kekrops...zu erklären ist.'

[5] Sir Cecil Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1907 xxvii. 245 fig. 2.

[6] A. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* i. 124 ff. no. 304, L and M, *id. A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 40 ff. no. 304, L and M, *id. The Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1910 p. 18 f. figs. 31—33 pl. 10, 1 and 2, M. Collignon *Le Parthénon* Paris 1909—1912 pl. 58, L and M.

striking downwards? Studniczka[1] suggested that to drive a spear into the ground was to claim possession of the soil—a piece of symbolism current in antiquity, like the modern hoisting of a flag. But the examples of the alleged custom quoted by him are not very convincing[2]. More often we are told that Athena strikes the rock with her lance and so creates the olive, Poseidon strikes it with his trident and so makes the salt well. The action and its immediate result are combined in one simultaneous scene. That may be so. Only, it is *not* what Apollodoros said. According to him[3], Athena never struck the rock at all! Poseidon with a blow of his trident on the middle of the Akropolis produced his sea, but Athena merely planted her olive-tree. What, then, are we to make of her action with that spear? It looks to me as though Pheidias or whoever designed the western pediment of the Parthenon had taken an old combat-*motif*, two people fighting one another, and modified it to suit a new situation—the more peaceable producing of proofs, right rather than might.

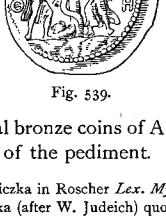


Fig. 539.

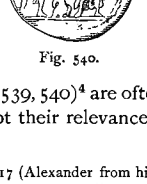


Fig. 540.

Imperial bronze coins of Athens (figs. 539, 540)[4] are often cited in illustration of the pediment. But I doubt their relevance. For one

[1] F. Studniczka in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2863.

[2] Studniczka (after W. Judeich) quotes Diod. 17. 17 (Alexander from his ship hurled a spear at the Troad and *ἀπεφαίνετο τὴν Ἀσίαν δέχεσθαι δορίκτητον*) and Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 46 (Romulus, captato augurio, hastam de Aventino monte in Palatinum iecit: quae fixa fronduit et arborem fecit). But how far was the hurling of the spear an essential part of the symbolism (cp. *supra* ii. 703 n. 2)? The Centumviral *hasta* (B. ten Brink *De hasta praecipuo apud Romanos signo, imprimis iusti dominii* Groningae 1839 pp. 1—116) may or may not be in point (see É. Cuq in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 41 ff. and M. Wlassak in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1935 ff.).

[3] *Supra* p. 750 f.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 98 pl. 17, 4, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 130 f. pl. z, 11, 12, 14, 16, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 89, 1—15 (of which no. 3 Vienna=my fig. 539 and no. 14 Athens=my fig. 540). A specimen in my collection is shown *supra* p. 187 fig. 96.

Mrs J. P. Shear in *Hesperia* 1936 v. 296 connects the contest-type of Athena *v.* Poseidon (her fig. 8, 1—11) with the Athenian festival of freedom, the Niketeria (L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 235 n. 2).

thing, Poseidon and Athena are to the left and right of the tree: in the pediment their position was the reverse. Again, the coins put an owl on the tree, where the pediment had a hovering Nike. And lastly, the coins make Poseidon strike the rock, but Athena merely point to her tree: on no specimen known to Svoronos has she a lance. The inference is clear. The coins are presenting the myth as told by Apollodoros, not the myth as represented in the pediment.

Pausanias[1], when he visited Athens, noticed yet another memorial of the famous Strife. On the summit of the Akropolis, at a point closely adjoining the altar of Zeus *Polieús*, he saw 'Athena exhibiting the olive-plant and Poseidon exhibiting a wave.' It is commonly, but with no great certitude[2], maintained that the type of this group is attested by a series of minor antiquities[3] including a silver buckle from Herculaneum (fig. 541)[4], an imperial bronze coin of Athens

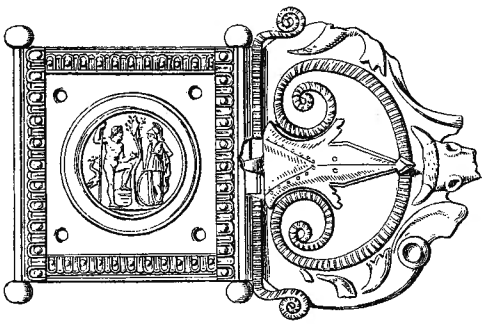


Fig. 541.

[1] Paus. 1. 24. 3 *πεποίηται δὲ καὶ τὸ φυτὸν τῆς ἐλαίας Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ κῦμα ἀναφαίνων Ποσειδῶν* with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*

[2] Protests were raised by B. Sauer *Die Anfänge der statuarischen Gruppe* Leipzig 1887 p. 65 n. 233 (the Smyrna relief presupposes *post*-Lysippean statuary types, but not necessarily a statuary group; and the same is true of the minor antiquities in general) and in *Aus der Anomia* Berlin 1890 pp. 96—113 (the Smyrna relief is abbreviated from the eastern frieze of Athena Nike: but see *supra* p. 581 n. 0).

My own feeling is that the minor monuments in question do not illustrate the group described in Paus. 1. 24. 3. 'Athena exhibiting the olive-plant' suggests rather such a pose as she takes *infra* fig. 549, *a*. And 'Poseidon exhibiting a wave' sounds like a misunderstood *motif*—Poseidon holding a curled *áphlaston* as *e.g.* on a silver coin of Hadrian (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon p. 295 Münztaf. 6, 6).

[3] C. Robert in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 53 ff.

[4] G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1831 vii pl. 48, (1) (= my fig. 541), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 169 f. pl. 22, 234, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii Bronzes 3e Série p. 196 ff. pl. 95, 1.

(fig. 542)[1], bronze medallions struck by Hadrian[2] and Marcus Aurelius (fig. 543)[3], together with sundry gems[4] of which the most important is a late (*c.* 300 A.D.) cameo of sardonyx formerly owned by Prince Nikolas Gagarin (fig. 544)[5]. There is here no sign of

Fig. 542.

Fig. 543.

Fig. 544.

[1] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 pp. 5 fig. 2, 134 f. (Hermitage), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 131 pl. z, 17, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 89, 16 Berlin, 17 J. Anderson (=my fig. 542), 18 Petrograd.

[2] Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* iii. 20 no. 100 pl. 146, 8 (Rome) and 9 (Vienna).

[3] Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 131 pl. z, 17 Provinzial-Museum Bonn (=my fig. 543).

[4] (1) A small cornelian in the Dutch collection (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 pp. 5 fig. 4, 140 f.).

(2) A large sardonyx-cameo at Naples (E. Gerhard—T. Panofka *Neapels antike Bildwerke* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1828 i. 395 no. 5, A. Gargiulo *Intorno la tazza di pietra sardonica orientale nel R. Museo Borbonico breve ragionamento* Napoli 1835 pl. 2, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* pp. 136—138).

(3) A large sardonyx-cameo in Paris (C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 146 no. 1 pl. 52, 1, A. Chabouillet *Catalogue général et raisonné des camées et pierres gravées de la Bibliothèque Impériale* Paris (1858) p. 7 no. 36, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* pp. 138—140).

[5] L. Stephani *loc. cit.* pp. 221 fig. (=my fig. 544), 222 ff. This large sardonyx-cameo of three layers supplements the central group of Poseidon and Athena with two flanking

hostility. Athena's snake no longer hisses defiance, and Poseidon leans quietly on his trident. The two might be arranging, amicably enough, some *modus vivendi*. It was said that during the dispute Athena begged Zeus to give his vote for her, promising that, if he did so, a victim should for the first time be sacrificed on the altar to him as Zeus *Polieús*[1]. A marble relief at Smyrna (fig. 545)[2] and

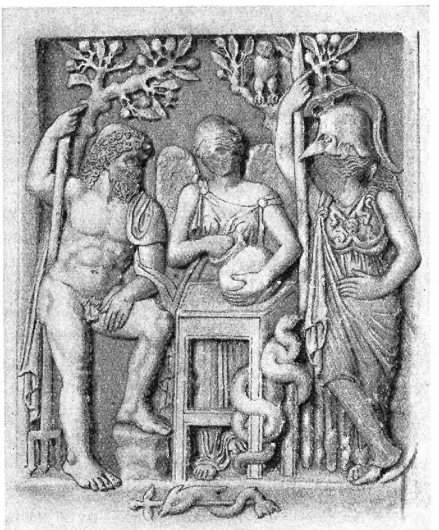


Fig. 545.

figures—on the left Apollon (Δελφίνιος (?)), who rests one hand with his lyre on a tripod and holds the other with a wreath (?) towards a swan; on the right Dionysos, who rests one hand with his *thýrsos* on a short pillar and holds the other with a cup (?) or grape-bunch (?) towards a panther. Clumsy, but symmetric.

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* Διὸς θᾶκοι καὶ πεσσοί· τινὲς γράφουσι ψῆφοι. φασὶ δὲ ἐν τῇ τῶν Ἀθηναίων διαψηφίσει, ὅτε ἠμφισβήτει Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν, τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν Διὸς δεηθῆναι ὑπὲρ αὐτῆς τὴν ψῆφον ἐνεγκεῖν καὶ ὑποσχέσθαι ἀντὶ τούτου τὸ τοῦ Πολιέως ἱερεῖον (so L. Küster for ἱερὸν cod.) πρῶτον θύεσθαι ἐπὶ βωμοῦ, Souid. *s.v.* Διὸς ψῆφος· οὕτως καλεῖται, ἐν ᾧ Ἀθηνᾶ καὶ Ποσειδῶν ἐκρίθησαν. Κρατῖνος Ἀρχιλόχοις (*frag.* 4 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 18 f. Meineke)). ἔνθα Διὸς μεγάλου θᾶκοι πεσσοί τε καλοῦνται. ὁ γὰρ τόπος, ἐν ᾧ ἐκρίθησαν, Διὸς ψῆφος καλεῖται. τάττεται δὲ ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἱερῶν καὶ ἀθίκτων. *Supra* i. 147 with fig. 109 f.

[2] C. Robert 'Die Schiedsgericht über Athena und Poseidon' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 48—58 pl. 1, 2 (=my fig. 545) a relief in greyish marble (0·83^{m} high, 0·70^{m} wide)

another in the Villa Carpegna[1] repeat the scene with the addition of Nike, who is drawing out the votes from the voting-urn. And a bronze medallion of Antoninus Pius (fig. 546)[2] plays a variation on the same triumphant theme.

Fig. 546.

Athena had indeed won her victory, and henceforward Poseidon, abating his claim to sole possession, must be content with a very subordinate *rôle*, that of a mere lodger in the ancient temple of Athena *Poliás*. To effect an entry into that august abode, he had to become as like as possible to Erechtheus, the acknowledged *protégé* of the goddess. The 'strong house of Erechtheus' seems to have had a rock-cut cistern, which would serve as his 'sea' under the respectable old name Erechtheïs[3]. Above this 'sea,' which could be seen and heard through an opening in the pavement, was the west chamber of the later Erechtheion, and here stood three altars fortunately described by Pausanias[4]. 'On entering the building,' he says, 'you find three altars, one to Poseidon on which at the bidding of a certain oracle they sacrifice also to Erechtheus, a second to the hero Boutes, a third to Hephaistos.' Now Hephaistos we can understand: he was the original husband of Athena[5]. Boutes too had a right to be there: he was the ancestor of the Eteoboutadai, hereditary priests of the Erechtheion[6]. But Poseidon and Erechtheus must make do with a single altar. The fact is, Poseidon had long since been officially identified with Erechtheus[7]. As early as the

from Aphrodisias in Karia, now in the Evangelical School at Smyrna. The olive, here duplicated for symmetry's sake, accommodates Athena's owl. The dolphin, coiled about an anchor, betokens Poseidon's 'sea.'

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 50 ff. pl. 2 a rough Roman relief, probably a sarcophagus-lid, in the Villa Carpegna (Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Poseidon p. 306 fig. 8, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 17 f. no. 3495), which on the extreme right includes part at least of the scene more completely shown on the slab at Smyrna.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Medallions* p. 9 no. 12 (wrongly described) pl. 10, 3, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 18 no. 79 (wrongly described) pls. 51, 1 (Bologna) and 52, 5 (Paris) (=my fig. 546).

[3] J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 169—171 with figs. 68 (plan), 106 (photo) and pls. 1 (plan), 15 (sections) identifies the 'sea' with a shaft about 0·90^{m} square, sunk in the rock about 1·75^{m}, within the extreme south-west corner of the building, but admits that the original Erechtheïs may have been a natural hollow in the rock still visible below the floor of the large mediaeval or Turkish cistern.

[4] Paus. 1. 26. 5.

[5] *Supra* p. 188 ff.

[6] *Supra* p. 589.

[7] *Supra* ii. 793.

fifth century B.C. we have a dedication 'to Poseidon Erechtheus[1],' and plenty of later inscriptions and texts bear witness to the blend[2]. Now and again there is some consciousness that the two were not really one, as when in the first half of the fourth century the tribe Erechtheïs sacrifices a bull 'to Poseidon *and* to Erechtheus[3].' But then, after all, the tribe Erechtheïs would naturally be jealous for the credit of its namesake Erechtheus. For the most part, the populace acquiesced in this slight simplification of theology. Peaceful penetration had as usual succeeded.

The actual olive, token of Athena's triumph, rose from a cleft in the rock beside the altar of Zeus *Herkeîos* (figs. 547, 548)[4]. A tree of immemorial sanctity would presumably be thick-stemmed and bent with age[5]; and as such it is represented on Athenian coins of

Fig. 547.

Fig. 548.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 387 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 580 (cited *supra* p. 12 n. 3).

[2] *Supra* ii. 793 n. 12, iii. 12 n. 3. See also Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 469 no. 268 with n. on p. 473, E. H. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2849, Escher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 405.

[3] *Corp. inscr. Att.* iv. 2 no. 556 *c*, 1 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1146, 1 ff. (cited *supra* p. 12 n. 3).

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 111 no. 815 lighted altar with one olive-tree on its left, no. 816 pl. 19, 10 altar between two olive-trees, on it a *bucranium* filleted, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 87, 38 Athens, 39 Berlin, 40 London (=my fig. 547), 41 Petrograd, 42 Berlin (=my fig. 548), 43 London?, Anson *Num. Gr.* iv. 16 no. 143 London, no. 144 pl. 3 London. Svoronos' description of the lighted altar as 'la fontaine de l'Erechthéion' is ludicrous.

[5] Theophr. *hist. plant.* 4. 13. 2 *τὴν δὲ μακροβιότητα μαρτυροῦσιν ἐπί γέ τινων καὶ ἡμέρων καὶ ἀγρίων καὶ αἱ παραδεδομέναι φῆμαι παρὰ τῶν μυθολόγων· ἐλάαν μὲν γὰρ λέγουσι τὴν Ἀθήνησι, κ.τ.λ.*, cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 234 durant in Liternino Africani prioris manu satae olea, etc.

H. O. Lenz *Botanik der alten Griechen und Römer* Gotha 1859 p. 15 n. 57 'Von einigen uralten, von einem Mäuerchen umgebnen Olivenbäumen am Oelberg zu Jerusalem, behaupten, wie Dr. Bagge erzählt, die dortigen Mönche, sie stammten noch aus der Zeit des Heilands.' T. v. Heldreich in A. Mommsen *Griechische Jahreszeiten* Schleswig 1877 v. 573 f. 'Besonders grosse und alte Bäume sind bei Amarussi und Kephissia zu finden; mehrere davon haben nach Jul. Schmidt's [J. F. Julius Schmidt *Beiträge zur physikalischen Geographie von Griechenland* Athen 1861 i. 291 f.] Messungen an ihrer untern Basis bis 15,55 Meter und der Stamm in einiger Höhe über dem breiten Fundamente noch 6 bis 8 Meter im Umfang. Auch an vielen andern Orten giebt es sehr grosse Oelbäume in Attica; so mass ich in der mesogäischen Ebene Lamprica kürzlich einen Baum, dessen Stamm ganz unten an der Basis 12,85 Meter und bei 0,50 M. über der Oberfläche des Bodens noch 7,40 M. im Umfang hatte. Solche Bäume müssen bei dem langsamen Wachsthum des Oelbaums ein sehr hohes Alter haben, leider ist es sehr schwierig oder fast unmöglich,

imperial date[1]. In popular parlance it was dubbed sometimes 'the Stunted or Writhen Olive[2],' but sometimes also 'the Citizen Olive[3]'—a very notable name, since it assured the citizens that the Olive was one of themselves. They were *astoí*: it, or rather she, was *asté*. But this sympathy between tree and townsfolk went further than that. There is reason to think that the Olive of the Erechtheion was regarded as the life-tree[4] of Athens, on whose preservation the very existence of the state depended. When the Persians sacked the Akropolis, this all-important tree was burnt. 'But,' says Herodotos[5], 'on the day after its burning, when the Athenians bidden by the king to sacrifice went up to the sanctuary, they saw a shoot of about a cubit's length sprung from the stump and duly reported the matter.' Pausanias[6] tells the same tale, except that his olive, instead of one cubit in two days, grows two cubits in one day. Stories can grow as well as olives!

Clearly the tree was a hardy perennial, and the Athenians were well advised when they took twelve slips of it and planted them in the Akademeia. The resultant trees furnished the sacred oil for the Panathenaic victors and were known as *moríai*[7], not because they

dasselbe zu bestimmen, und wohl noch niemals ist die Dauer eines jener uralten Stämme direct bestimmt und nachgewiesen worden. Die alten Oliven haben meist einen hohlen Stamm, es fehlt meist der Holzkörper mit den Jahresringen, öfters theilen sie sich dann auch in mehrere Stämme durch natürliche Spaltung. Mit grosser Wahrscheinlichkeit wird angenommen, dass die Oliven auf dem Oelberge bei Jerusalem—acht an der Zahl—noch dieselben sind, welche einst zu Christi Zeiten dort standen: sie hatten, als Bové [N. Bové 'Relation abrégée d'un voyage botanique en Égypte, dans les trois Arabies, en Palestine et en Syrie' in the *Annales des sciences naturelles* 1834 i. 173] sie mass, "wenigstens 6 Meter" im Umfange; unsere attischen sind aber zum Theil noch viel dicker und wenn man daraus auf ihr Alter schliessen darf, müssen diese lebenden Denkmäler aus der hellenischen Vorzeit noch beträchtlich älter sein.' C. Neumann—J. Partsch *Physikalische Geographie von Griechenland mit besonderer Rücksicht auf das Alterthum* Breslau 1885 p. 416 f. 'Solcher uralter Oelbäume, von denen mancher vielleicht noch die Blüthezeit Athens gesehen hat, giebt es in Attika noch mehrere; Stämme von 1—1½ m Durchmesser sind nicht selten; im Oelwalde am Kephissos kommen Stämme von 2—3 m Durchmesser vor; die Höhenentwickelung ist indess nie sehr bedeutend, auch bei den schönsten nur 7—10 m.' See further A. Coutance *L'olivier, l'olive et l'huile des olives* Paris 1877 pp. 1—456 with figs., H. Köbert *Der zahme Oelbaum in der religiösen Vorstellung der Griechen* München 1894 pp. 1—48, and L. Weniger *Der heilige Ölbaum in Olympia* Weimar 1895 p. 3.

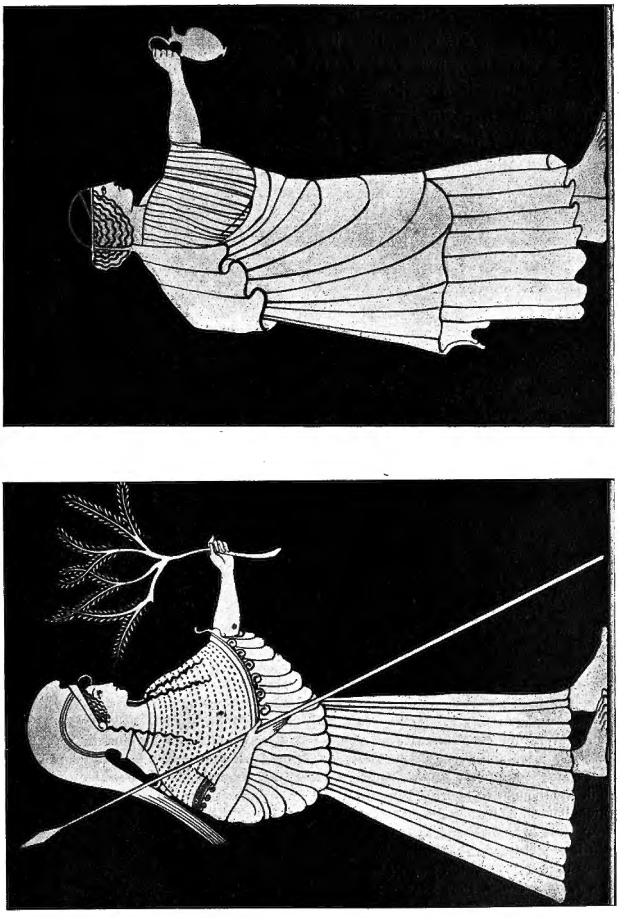
[1] *Supra* p. 187 figs. 98 and 99.

[2] 'Η πάγκυφος ἐλαία (*supra* p. 187 n. 2).

[3] 'Η ἀστὴ ἐλαία (*ib.*).

[4] On life-trees in general see Boetticher *Baumkultus* p. 163 ff. ('Schikksalsbäume'), Mrs J. H. Philpot *The Sacred Tree* London 1897 p. 84 ff., Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful ii. 159 ff., E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 44[b] ff., H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 956, Boette *ib.* 1933 v. 960 ff.

[5] Hdt. 8. 55. [6] Paus. 1. 27. 2. [7] *Supra* p. 187 n. 2.



b

a

Fig. 549.

were fractions (*mére*) of the original stock, but because on them depended the fate (*móros*) of the people. A similar life-tree was the wild olive in the market-place at Megara: an oracle had announced 'that, if this were cut open, the city would be taken and plundered; which'—adds Theophrastos[1]—'came to pass when Demetrios took it.' Athena herself, as mistress of the fateful olives, bore the title *Mórios*[2], therein resembling Zeus *Mórios*[3]. A red-figured *amphora* published by Gerhard[4] (fig. 549) shows the goddess holding out her

Fig. 550.

Fig. 551.

Fig. 552.

Fig. 553.

[1] Theophr. *hist. plant.* 5. 2. 4, Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 199.

[2] Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 Ἐπίθετα Ἀθηνᾶς (21) μορίου. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1197 n. 5 'Die Olive ist der Lebens- und Schicksalsbaum [*ib.* p. 879 ff.], und zwar gilt dies insbesondere auch von den der Athena heiligen Oelbäumen, ja diese Göttin heisst selbst wie die Schicksalsoliven Μορία.' Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 307 gives Athena's appellative more correctly as Μόριος.

[3] *Supra* i. 196 n. 6, ii. 20, 502 n. 2. See also Kruse *loc. cit.*, who notes that L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1872 p. 33 n. 2 would identify Zeus Μόριος with Zeus Ἔλαιος (Hesych. Ἔλαιος· ἐν Κύπρῳ ὁ Ζεύς. Musurus cj. Ἐλαιοῦς. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2228 would emend another Hesychian gloss Ἐλαθύσ· Διὸς ἱερὸν ἐν Κύπρῳ into Ἐλαιοῦς or Ἐλαιούσιον). But Zeus Ἔλαιος may be an attempt to extract Greek sense from a Semitic name. R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1889 ii. 208 thought to find the Phoenician Ἔλ [more correctly *Ēl*] in a whole group of Cypriote names, including Hesych. Εὐελίδης· αὐθάδης. καὶ ὁ Ζεὺς ἐν Κύπρῳ (cp. Hesych. Ἐλιεύς· Ζεὺς ἐν Θήβαις) and such titles as Εἰλήτι (*supra* i. 527 n. 0) and Εἰλαπιναστής (*supra* i. 654 n. 4, iii. 652 n. 0). He related Zeus Ἐλ-αῖος to Ἐλ-αία a headland of south-eastern Kypros (Ptol. 5. 14. 3). H. Lewy in *Philologus* 1892 li. 745 and in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1892 xxxviii. 186 cp. the Phoenician deity Ἐλιοῦν mentioned in Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2. 12 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 14 Ἐλιοῦν καλούμενος Ὕψιστος (context quoted *supra* ii. 886 n. 0 (30)).

[4] Gerhard *Auserl. Vasenb.* iv. 12 f. pl. 245 (=my fig. 549) a red-figured *amphora* formerly with the dealer Basseggio at Rome.

olive, while a priestess(?) or worshipper(?) extends an *oinochóe* towards her[1].

But the exact nature of the relationship between goddess and tree (figs. 550, 551)[2] is nowhere recorded. Jane Harrison[3], never lacking in courage, and impressed by the fact that the olive is called *Athenaîs*[4], the 'Athena-tree,' roundly declared 'that at Athens... Athene herself at one period of her development was' *Athenaîs*, 'the sacred olive tree.' Miss Harrison went on to observe: 'The image of the goddess was made of her olive-tree....But this is a second step on from the time when the goddess *was* the tree, dwelt in the tree, her life and that of the people intimately bound up, practically identical with it.' Those lines were written over forty years ago, and today they may stand in some need of revision. Personally I would

[1] Gerhard *loc. cit.* notes that the two sides of the vase must be regarded as forming a single picture, in which Athena and her priestess or worshipper face each other. He cp. Achilles and Briseïs on the *amphora* by Oltos figured in his pl. 187 (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 195 f. no. E 258). In both cases the composition is illogical.

[2] For Athena standing beside her olive see *e.g.* J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 87, 15—32 (of which 15 Athens = my fig. 550 and 25 J. Anderson = my fig. 551).

For Athena seated beside her olive see *e.g.* Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 87, 33—37 (of which 34 Athens = my fig. 552). Fig. 553 is from a specimen in my collection (same dies as Svoronos pl. 87, 36 J. Anderson).

On a silver *statér* of Aphrodisias (?) or Nagidos (?) in Kilikia, struck in the time of Pharnabazos (379—374 B.C.), the local copy of Athena *Parthénos* appears. She rests her right hand, bearing Nike, on an olive-tree, which stands in place of the Athenian pillar (*supra* ii pl. xlv), and her left on a shield, of which the inside and snakes fringing the *Gorgóneion* on the outside are seen. Three specimens of the coin are known to exist in London (P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 170 f. pl. 10, 28, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. pp. xlii n. 4, 112 pl. 19, 14, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 p. 132 pl. 29, 609, Head *Coins of the Greeks* p. 35 pl. 19, 48), Paris (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 126 pl. Y, 22 (= my fig. 554), W. Lermann *Athenatypen auf griechischen Münzen* München 1900 p. 78 n. 1 pl. 2, 6), and Turin (Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 372 ff. no. 76 pl. G, 15).

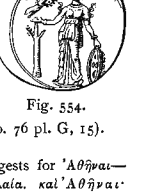


Fig. 554.

[3] J. E. Harrison in the *Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 89.

[4] Hesych. 'Αθηναῖς· ἡ ἐλαία ἡ καὶ ἀστή (so M. Schmidt[1] suggests for 'Αθῆναι—Αθῆναι, ἄστυ cod. But M. Schmidt[2] is content to print 'Αθηναῖς· ἡ ἐλαία. καὶ 'Αθῆναι· ἄστυ), *et. mag.* p. 24, 57 'Αθηναῖς· ἡ ἐλαία. καὶ 'Αθηναία· ἡ ἀγριελαία, Favorin. *lex.* p. 51, 2 'Αθῆνα (*sic*), ἡ ἐλαία.

The last gloss recalls a curious passage of Nonnos, in which apparently Athena's name is used as a simple equivalent of ἐλαία (Nonn. *Dion.* 15. 111 ff. of a sleeping Indian τὸν δὲ βαρὺ κνώσσοντα βαθυστρώτων ἐπὶ λέκτρων | ἀκροκόμου φοίνικος ἡ εὐώδινος 'Αθήνης | ῥιπίζων ἀνέμοισιν ἑλιξ ἐπεσύρισεν ὄρπηξ). Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1198 n. 0 comments: 'Εὐώδιν 'Αθήνη, die Bezeichnung des Oelbaums bei Nonn. *D* 15 112 ist vielleicht ein alter formelhafter Ausdruck, der sich ursprünglich auf solchen Zauber bezogen haben könnte.' But, in place of ἀθήνης codd., H. Köchly cj. 'ἐλαίης?'—a reading since confirmed by the papyrus (Berolinensis P. 10567), which has ελαιη[ς].

rather put it thus. Athena was the mountain-mother of the Akro polis. Everything that issued from its rocky surface was instinct with her vitality and must be accepted as a manifestation of herself. The rock is primary, the tree is secondary: it is the divinity of the former that makes the latter also divine.

(2) The snake of Athena.

But life emerging from the surface of the Akropolis might be animal as well as vegetable. There was a widespread belief in antiquity that snakes were the children of Mother Earth. Herodotos[1] makes the Lycian priests tell Kroisos that the snake is the child of Earth. Centuries later the same thing is said by Artemidoros[2]: 'A child of Earth he is, and in the earth he dwells.' Pliny[3] too remarks: 'Some creatures will not harm natives, though they kill strangers. This is the case with the small serpents at Tiryns, which are said to be sprung from the earth.'

Now the Akropolis, since it abounds in crevices and holes, must in early days have harboured plenty of these reptiles, especially the *Tarbophis fallax*, a species that still haunts the rocks and ruins of Greece[4]. A *pelike* from Kameiros already figured[5] shows two such snakes, apparently male and female[6], creeping out of the Akropolis rock to protect the infant Erichthonios, who sits up in his basket and takes notice of Athena. The basket-lid has been lifted off by the disobedient sisters Aglauros and Herse. Scared by the snakes, they flee for dear life and are represented on the other side of the vase hurrying off to their death[7].

[1] Hdt. 1. 78 λέγοντες ὄφιν εἶναι γῆς παῖδα.

[2] Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 13 γῆς γάρ ἐστι καὶ αὐτὸς παῖς καὶ τὰς διατριβὰς ἐν τῇ γῇ ποιεῖται.

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 8. 229 iam quaedam animalia indigenis innoxia advenas interimunt, sicut serpentes parvi in Tirynthe (so J. Dalechamps for *mirinthe* codd. Salmasius cj. *Myunte*), quos terra nasci proditur.

[4] My colleague Dr J. A. Ramsay kindly refers me to G. A. Boulenger *The Snakes of Europe* London 1913 pp. 217—219 fig. 32 (a poisonous species of the genus *Tarbophis*, which 'grows to a length of 2 feet 10 inches.... The names Katzenschlange and *Ailurophis*, translated Cat-snake, probably originated from the way in which this snake stalks its prey, and suddenly pounces upon it.... Stony localities, old walls, and ruins, are the favourite abodes of this snake, which does well in captivity').

[5] *Supra* p. 248 n. 6 with pl. xxix and fig. 154.

[6] One bearded (!), the other beardless. For bearded snakes cp. *e.g. supra* ii. 1060, 1061 fig. 914, 1128 n. 0 fig. 956. See further the interesting observations of Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] pp. 326—328, with the criticisms of E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 76 n. 2.

[7] *Supra* p. 239 f.

The scene recalls an early passage in the *Ion*[1]:

> To earth-born Erichthonios Zeus' daughter
> Assigned as watchful guards a pair of snakes,
> And bade the Aglaurid maidens keep their trust.
> Wherefore Erechtheus' sons in Athens still
> Are wont to rear their babes 'mid snakes of gold.

The sequel makes it clear that the last couplet alludes to prophylactic snakes hung round the necks of infants (*peridéraia*[2]). For the mutual recognition of mother and son at the close of the play turns largely on the preservation and production of such a gaud[3]:

Ion Is there aught else,—or canst thou guess but once?
Kreousa Snakes all of gold, the custom of my race.
Ion Athena's gift, and used by her command?
Kreousa Copied from Erichthonios of yore.
Ion How is the trinket used and worn? Explain.
Kreousa As necklace for a new-born babe, my child.
Ion The snakes are here!

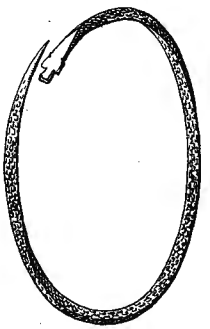


Fig. 555.

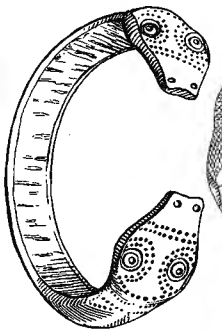


Fig. 556.

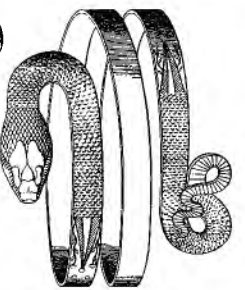


Fig. 557.

No necklace of the sort, so far as I know, has come down to us. Anguiform bracelets (figs. 555, 556, 557)[4], ear-rings (fig. 558)[5], finger-

[1] Eur. *Ion* 20 ff. [2] *Supra* ii. 699.

[3] Eur. *Ion* 1426 ff. trans. A. W. Verrall (adapted).

[4] Two specimens in my collection will serve: Fig. 555 is a slender bronze bracelet, of unknown *provenance* but exquisite Greek workmanship, representing a single snake complete from head to tail.

Fig. 556 is a thick silver bracelet, one of a pair found in a fourth-century grave at Sinope. Each bracelet ends in two snake-heads (ἀμφίσβαινα) with neck-markings roughly rendered.

Fig. 557 is an armlet of solid gold, one of a pair from Pompeii (Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* vii Bronzes 3e Série p. 190 f. pl. 92, 1 = my fig. 557 (scale ½)). Each elastic spiral is a single snake with garnets serving as eyes and a thin metal tongue inserted in the mouth.

[5] Fig. 558 is a bronze ear-ring in my collection. It was found in Syria together

rings (figs. 559—562)[1], etc., which served the same apotropaeic purpose, are common enough[2]. But gold jewellery of the sixth and

Fig. 558.

Fig. 559.

Fig. 560.

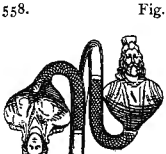


Fig. 561.

Fig. 562.

with a small hoard of silver coins ranging in date from Seleukos i (312—280 B.C.) to Demetrios ii (146—142, 128—125 B.C.).

[1] Figs. 559—562 are gold finger-rings in the British Museum. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 150 no. 929 pl. 24 (=my fig. 559) is a Graeco-Roman ring showing a single snake coiled. *Ib.* pp. xlvi, 151 no. 935 fig. 122 (=my fig. 560) is another of the same period showing a single snake partially uncoiled. *Ib.* pp. xlv, 41 f. no. 241 fig. 49 (=my fig. 561) pl. 6 is a third of similar date, ending in busts of the two human-headed snakes Isis and Sarapis (cp. *supra* i. 360).

Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings pp. xlvi, 180 no. 1135 fig. 139 (=my fig. 562) is a Graeco-Roman ring of penannular shape, ending in two snake-heads. The whole hoop is silver, but the eyes are pellets of gold.

[2] Examples abound in all Museums. The texts include *Anth. Pal.* 6. 206. 7 f. (Antipatros of Sidon) *τὸν εὐσπειρῆ δὲ δράκοντα, | χρύσειον ῥαδινῶν κόσμον ἐπισφυρίων*, 6. 207. 7 (Archias) *καλὸν σπείραμα περισφυρίοιο δράκοντος*, Loukian. *amor.* 41 *τοὺς περὶ καρποῖς καὶ βραχίοσι δράκοντας· ὡς ὤφελον ὄντως ἀντὶ χρυσίου δράκοντες εἶναι*, Moiris *s.v. ὄφεις*, *Ἀττικῶς· τὰ παρὰ τοῖς Ἕλλησι ψέλλια*, Poll. 5. 99 *περὶ δὲ τοὺς καρποὺς περικάρπια καὶ ἐχίνους καὶ ἀμφιδέας καὶ ὄφεις καὶ ψέλλια καὶ χλιδῶνας καὶ βουβάλια, ὧν ἔνια καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς βραχίονας ἐπονομάζουσι καὶ τοῖς περὶ τοὺς πόδας, μάλιστα δὲ τὰς ἀμφιδέας καὶ τοὺς χλιδῶνας*, Philostr. *epist.* 22 (40) *καὶ οἱ ἐπικάρπιοι ὄφεις καὶ αἱ χρυσαῖ πέδαι*, Clem. Al. *paed.* 2. 12. 123. 3 p. 231, 15 ff. Stählin *ὡς γὰρ τὴν Εὔαν ὁ ὄφις ἡπάτησεν, οὕτω δὲ καὶ τὰς ἄλλας γυναῖκας ὁ κόσμος ὁ χρυσοῦς δελέατι προσχρῶμενος τοῦ ὄφεως τῷ σχήματι ἐξέμηνεν εἰς ὕβρεις, σμυραίνας τινὰς καὶ ὄφεις ἀποπλαττομένας εἰς εὐπρέπειαν. λέγει γοῦν ὁ κωμικὸς Νικόστρατος, 'ἀλύσεις, καθετῆρας, δακτυλίους, βουβάλια, ὄφεις, | περισκελίδας, ἐλλέβορον'* (Nikostr. *inc. fab. frag.* 7 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 289 Meineke)), Tert. *de cor. mil.* 15 quid caput strophiolo aut dracontario damnas, diademati destinatum? Hesych. *s.v. ὄφεις· τὰ δρακοντώδη γινόμενα ψέλλια. Μένανδρος Παρακαταθήκῃ 'τοὺς ὄφεις' λέγει 'καλῶς γέ μοι | ἠγόρασας'* (*frag.* 8 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 184 Meineke)), Aristain. *epist.* 1. 15 *οὐχ ὅρμος, οὐχ ἑλικτῆρες, οὐκ ὄφεων* (so J. Pierson for *οὐ πόλεων* cod.) *τὸ πολύτιμον, οὐ περιδέραιον*, Isid. *orig.* 19. 31. 12 monile...hoc etiam et serpentum dicitur quia constat ex amphorulis quibusdam aureis gemmisque in modum facturae serpentis, Phot. *lex. s.v. ὄφεις· ψέλια δρακοντωτά.*

fifth centuries is notoriously scarce[1]. However, it is certain that Euripides, an antiquarian at heart, is here giving the *aition* of an actual custom, which placed the young Athenian under the protection of Athena's snakes[2].

It is tempting to recognise the same two guardian snakes in a couple of fragmentary reptiles found in 1888 to the east and south-east of the Parthenon[3]. They are the angle-figures of a pedimental group executed in painted *pôros* between 580 and 560 B.C.

[1] See F. H. Marshall in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. xxix f.

[2] J. Maehly *Die Schlange im Mythus und Cultus der classischen Völker* Basel 1867 p. 22 f., cp. A. Nagele 'Der Schlangen-Cultus' in the *Zeitschrift für Völkerpsychologie und Sprachwissenschaft* 1887 xvii. 264—289 (especially p. 282 on Germanic parallels).

E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 113 n. 0 put forward an interesting but perhaps over-venturesome conjecture (quoted *supra*

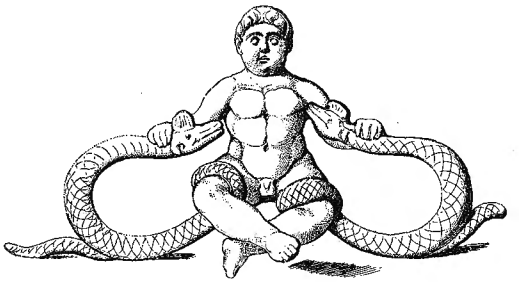


Fig. 563.

p. 239 n. 1), *viz.* that the Athenian custom and its aetiological myth presuppose a primitive belief 'wonach eigentlich zwischen Schlange und dämonischem Kind kein grosser Unterschied besteht.' He adduced *inter alia* the modern Greek practice of calling an unbaptised infant *δράκος, δράκαινα*, or the like. His Excellency Mr D. Caclamanos assures me (6 June 1936) that this practice still obtains in Greece, but he inclines to accept my suggestion that, in the Greek view, 'the old serpent' (Rev. 12. 9, 20. 2), the Devil, has not yet been expelled from the child by baptism. For the Devil as a serpent see N. G. Polites *Μελέτη ἐπὶ τοῦ βίου τῶν Νεωτέρων Ἑλλήνων* Athens 1871 i. 165 ff.

Possibly the myth of the infant Herakles and the two snakes, familiar to us both in literature (Pherekyd. *frag.* 28 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 77 Müller)=*frag.* 69 a, b (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 79 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Apollod. 2. 4. 8 and schol. Pind. *Nem.* 1. 65, Pind. *Nem.* 1. 33 ff., Eur. *H. f.* 1266 ff., Theokr. 24. 1 ff., Plaut. *Amph.* 1121 ff., Diod. 4. 10, Verg. *Aen.* 8. 287 ff., Paus. 1. 24. 2, Hyg. *fab.* 30) and in art (*e.g.* the decorative bronze (height 0·07^{m}) at Vienna published by von Sacken *Ant. Bronzen Wien* i. 96 pl. 49, 3 (=my fig. 563), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 238 no. 2, or the Pompeian wall-paintings noted in Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 186 nos. 3—5) implies the existence of a Theban custom comparable with that of the Athenians. A body-guard of snakes might easily be taken for foes, not friends. But see E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 108.

[3] G. Dickins *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1912 i. 74 f. figs.

T. Wiegand[1] held that they came from the eastern gable of the old Hekatompedon, and thought to combine them with a central trio, of which he claimed to identify two figures—Athena seated full-front and Zeus seated in profile beside her (fig. 564)[2]. But Wiegand's arrangement of the centre, though accepted by H. Lechat[3], is rejected by more recent critics. R. Heberdey[4] assigned this Zeus and the seated goddess, whom he calls Hera, to a smaller pediment, 6·60m long, representing the introduction of Herakles to Olympos. In this he is followed by G. Dickins[5], M. Schede[6], and the majority

Fig. 564.

Fig. 565.

of archaeologists. Heberdey then attempted to pack into the western Hekatompedon gable a central group of lion, lioness, and bull, flanked by the two big snakes, but later realised that the presence of a step in the gable left insufficient space for this menagerie[7], and was content to assume a single lion holding down a hypothetical stag[8]. E. Buschor[9], dissatisfied with Heberdey's results, combined the snakes with yet another leonine group, comprising an extant big lioness and a *non*-extant big lion, each at work on the body of a bull: this imposing circus he would regard

[1] T. Wiegand *Die archaische Poros-Architektur der Akropolis zu Athen* Cassel and Leipzig 1904 p. 90 ff. with fig. 109 (=my fig. 564) and col. pl. 5, A and B.

[2] *Supra* i. 2 n. 2, ii. 757 n. 1, iii. 688 n. 4.

[3] H. Lechat *La sculpture attique avant Phidias* Paris 1904 pp. 53—58.

[4] R. Heberdey *Altattische Porosskulptur* Wien 1919 pp. 29—46 with col. pl. 1.

[5] G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 62 ff. fig.

[6] M. Schede *Die Burg von Athen* Berlin 1922 col. pl. 1.

[7] G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 86.

[8] R. Heberdey *op. cit.* pp. 109—113.

[9] E. Buschor *Grössenverhältnisse attischer Porosgiebel* Athen 1924 p. 4 f. fig. 2 =*Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 74 fig. 21.

as the front gable of an early apsidal Parthenon! H. Schrader[1] is much better advised when he reaffirms Heberdey's contention that the snakes belong to the second gable of the Hekatompedon, but makes no attempt to fill the space between them (fig. 565). Dickins[2] had already drawn the sound conclusion: 'At present...the central group of this pediment is unidentified.' And here, at the risk of making confusion more confounded, I cannot help remarking that snakes in the angles of a pediment, though mythological in origin, may be merely decorative in usage—a feature due ultimately to

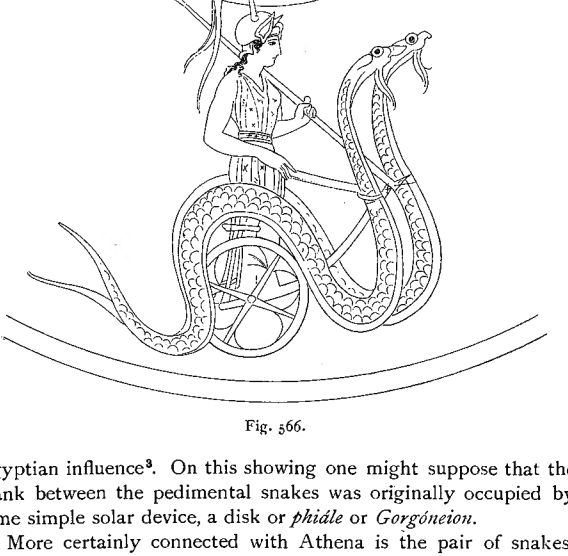


Fig. 566.

Egyptian influence[3]. On this showing one might suppose that the blank between the pedimental snakes was originally occupied by some simple solar device, a disk or *phiále* or *Gorgóneion*.

More certainly connected with Athena is the pair of snakes, which on a red-figured *pyxís* at Copenhagen (fig. 566)[4] are drawing

[1] H. Schrader in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 75 pl. 3, 2 (=my fig. 565) after a drawing by K. Ostertag.

[2] G. Dickins *op. cit.* p. 86.

[3] *Supra* i. 205 f., 293 ff.

[4] *Supra* i. 231 n. 8. My fig. 566 reproduces part of A. Dumont—J. Chaplain—E. Pottier *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* i pl. 10.

the goddess in her chariot to face the judgment of Paris[1]. A later vase, a gilded *aryballos* at Athens (fig. 567)[2], shows the judge, here lettered *Aléxandros*, considering his verdict in much perplexity. On the one hand, a seductive Eros points out to him that Helen[3] is already approaching from the left with open arms. On the other hand, between him and his promised bride is set the small but threatening figure of the *Palládion*, while from the right comes an indignant Athena accompanied by a single gigantic snake with forked and flickering tongue. Jane Harrison[4] *more suo* observes: 'The artist seems dimly conscious that the snake is somehow the double of Athene

Fig. 567.

At Athens the relation of snakes to the city-goddess was emphasised, not only by myth, but also by cult. Kekrops the earth-born, who is at least half a snake (figs. 93[5] and 95[6]), was buried in

[1] *Supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi, iii. 67 f. pl. xi. The theme is handled at large by P. Gardner (*supra* p. 68 n. 2) and, far more thoroughly, by Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1586—1592 and 1607—1631 figs. 3—10.

[2] Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 635 f. no. 1942. The older publication by J. de Witte in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1867 xxv. 64 pl. 224, 2 (Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 402, 3 f.) is of course superseded by that of E. Pernice in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1896 xi Arch. Anz. pp. 36—38 with a careful drawing by E. Gilliéron (=my fig. 567).

[3] The letters ΗΓ visible above the maiden are taken by Pernice to be the start of ΗΕλένη—a piece of old-fashioned orthography still possible at the end of *s.* v B.C. The completion "ΗΡα is possible, but less probable (Collignon—Couve *op. cit.* p. 636). C. Robert's conjecture ΠαρΗΓόρος (*ap.* Pernice *loc. cit.* p. 38 n. 1, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1578 f., v. 477 ff.), a goddess of Persuasion akin to Peitho (Paus. 1. 43. 6), fails to persuade me.

The choice between the claims of passion (Eros) and those of honour (Athena) is all the more piquant, if the third claimant (Hera) is suppressed.

[4] Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 306.

[5] *Supra* p. 182.

[6] *Supra* p. 186.

the Kekropion at the south-west corner of the Erechtheion[1], 'close up against the *Polioûchos* herself,' as Theodoret[2] puts it. Here he had a *hierón*[3] and a hereditary priesthood[4]. Erichthonios, another 'son of the soil[5],' was represented sometimes as an infant mothered by Athena[6], sometimes as a snake held by her in a basket[7]—a pose suggestive of ritual usage[8]. Again, there was the nameless snake,

[1] M. Collignon 'L'Emplacement du Cécropion à l'Acropole d'Athènes' in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des inscriptions* 1920 xli. 1—17 (p. 13 ff. '1° Il y avait, contre le mur Ouest, entre la porte du Pandroseion et le soubassement, un petit édifice dont la place est nettement déterminée par la niche qui s'ouvre obliquement dans le mur Ouest.... 2° A défaut d'autres renseignements sur le petit édifice, nous en connaissons au moins la hauteur...on peut l'évaluer à 3 mètres environ. Nous savons aussi...que le monument était de biais par rapport au mur Ouest, et qu'il s'engageait en partie sous le portique des Corés. Il est donc permis de songer à une construction basse et rectangulaire....3° Le nom de Cécropion désignait à la fois le petit édifice et l'enceinte comprise entre le mur Sud du Pandroseion et le soubassement de l'Hécatompédon...rien n'empêche de croire qu'il y avait là, tout près de l'Érechtheion, un tombeau remontant à une haute antiquité, et contemporain des vestiges de l'époque mycénienne retrouvés sur l'Acropole[(2)] ([(2)] PETERSEN, *Die Burgtempel der Athenaia*, p. 36. M. E. A. Gardner suppose que c'était un tombeau voûté de petites dimensions (*Ancient Athens*, p. 361)'). J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 127—137 (p. 136 f. 'On the north side of the Old Temple was a terrace or precinct having at its eastern end something which was later believed to be the tomb of Cecrops. The appearance of this monument is unknown, but it can hardly have been of stone on the outside, since it is improbable that the Erechtheum would have been so planned as to bring its corner on a spot already occupied by a solid structure of so sacred a character. It seems more likely that only a mound of earth was visible and that it was not until an attempt was made to lay foundations that something more solid was discovered—perhaps a corner of the old "Mycenaean" palace,' etc.). Older views in W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 p. 282 n. 3.

[2] Theodoret. *Graecarum affectionum curatio* 8. 30 (lxxxiii. 1017 C Migne) καὶ γὰρ Ἀθήνησιν, ὡς Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῇ ἑνάτῃ γέγραφεν ἱστορίᾳ, ἄνω γε ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπός ἐστι τάφος παρὰ τὴν Πολιοῦχον αὐτήν, cp. Clem. Al. *protr.* 3. 45. 1 p. 34. 10 f. Stählin Ἀθήνησιν δὲ ἐν ἀκροπόλει Κέκροπος (*sc.* τάφος ἐστίν), ὥς φησιν Ἀντίοχος ἐν τῷ ἑνάτῳ τῶν Ἱστοριῶν (*frag.* (15) (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 184 Müller)=*frag.* 2 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 213 Jacoby))=Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 6. 2, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 6 in historiarum Antiochus nono Athenis in Minervio memorat Cecropem esse mandatum terrae.

[3] *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1156, 34 f.=Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 957, 59 f. on the base of an offering dedicated by the *épheboi* of the tribe Kekropis in 334/3 B.C. ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψ[φι]σμα ἐν στήληι λιθίνηι καὶ στῆσαι ἐν τῶι τοῦ Κέκροπος ἱε[ρῶι].

[4] *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 2338, 1 ff. in a list of the Amynandridai, between 27/6 and 18/7 B.C. ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ ἐπὶ Ἀρείου τοῦ Δωρίωνος Παιανιέως | ἄρχοντος τῆς πόλεως ἄρχων τοῦ γένους | τοῦ Ἀμυναν̣δριδῶν Ἄρειος Δωρίωνος Παι|ανιεὺς τοὺσδε ἀνέγραψεν γεννήτας ἐπιδεξά|μενος τὸ δαπάνημα ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων | ἄρχων τοῦ γένους | [Ἄρειος] Δωρίωνος Π[αι]α[νι]εύς Ἱε[ρ]εὺς Κέκρο[π]ος | κ.τ.λ., cp. Hesych. Ἀμυναν̣δρί(δ)αι· γένος, ἐξ οὗ ἱερεῖς Ἀθήνησιν. J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2003.

[5] *Supra* p. 181.

[6] *Supra* p. 218 n. 5 with fig. 140.

[7] *Supra* p. 218 n. 4 with fig. 139.

[8] *Supra* i. 425 fig. 307 (Demeter). See further R. H. Kennett in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 791[b]—793[a], E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 147 ff., Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 265 f.

which actually lived in the Erechtheion. Herodotos[1], describing the eve of Salamis, writes as follows:

The Athenians say that a great snake dwells in their sanctuary[2] and guards the Akropolis. So they say and in proof of their words set out for it a monthly offering, to wit a honeycake. This cake had always before been consumed, but was now left untouched. When the priestess made that known, the Athenians were more willing to leave their city, because they deemed that the goddess too had deserted the Akropolis.

Plutarch[3] tells the same tale, except that he regards the whole business as a ruse on the part of the artful Themistokles. Other authors add nothing of importance, and the common assumption that the snake was Erechtheus or Erichthonios is a probability rather than a certainty. At most we know that Aristophanes[4] called it 'the house-keeping snake,' masculine in gender and therefore not to be identified with the goddess herself.

The original significance of the snakes that figure so frequently in the myths and rites of Athens is by no means easy to determine. In view of the curious[5] belief that the spinal cord of a dead man turns into a snake[6]—a belief still current in Palestine[7]—it would

[1] Hdt. 8. 41.

[2] On the actual haunt of this reptile see *supra* ii. 1148 n. 2, J. M. Paton *The Erechtheum* Harvard Univ. Press 1927 pp. 435 n. 3, 456, 486 n. 1 (3), 491 n. 1 ('It is perhaps allowable to see in the crypt beneath the North Portico and in its probable extension along the inside of the north wall the reputed dwelling-place of the sacred serpent...if indeed the serpent had any real existence, and was not a mere hypostasis of the chthonic divinity, Erechtheus (Petersen, *Burgtempel*, pp. 61—93)'). The obscure word *δράκαυλος* throws little or no light on the situation: see A. C. Pearson's excellent note on Soph. *frag.* 643 Jebb.

[3] Plout. *v. Them.* 10.

[4] Aristoph. *Lys.* 758 f. ἀλλ' οὐ δύναμαι "γωγ' οὐδὲ κοιμᾶσθ' ἐν πόλει | ἐξ οὗ τὸν ὄφιν εἶδον τὸν οἰκουρόν ποτε with schol. *ad loc.* *τὸν ἱερὸν δράκοντα τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς, τὸν φύλακα τοῦ ναοῦ* and Hesych. *οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα δράκοντα. καί οἱ μὲν ἕνα φασίν, οἱ δὲ δύο ἐν τῷ ἱερῷ τοῦ Ἐρεχθέως. τοῦτον δὲ φύλακα τῆς ἀκροπόλεώς φασι(ν), ᾧ καὶ μελιτοῦτταν παρατίθεσθαι*, Phot. *lex. s.v. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν· τὸν τῆς Πολιάδος φύλακα· καὶ Ἡρόδοτος· Φύλαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο* (F. Creuzer cj. *καὶ Ἡρόδοτος <μὲν ἕνα φησὶν ἐν τῳ ἱερῷ,> Φύλαρχος δὲ αὐτοῦ δύο*) (Phylarch. *frag.* 74 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 355 Müller)=*frag.* 72 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 186 Jacoby), cp. Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1423, 8 ff.

[5] Not so very curious, either. For there is, of course, a rough resemblance between the cord with its tapering end and the snake with its tapering tail, as my friend and colleague Dr F. Goldby assures me. The likeness of the vertebral column to a snake's skeleton is less pronounced.

[6] Ail. *de nat. an.* i. 51 *ῥάχις ἀνθρώπου νεκροῦ φασιν ὑποσηπόμενον τὸν μυελὸν ἤδη τρέπει ἐς ὄφιν· καὶ ἐκπίπτει τὸ θηρίον, καὶ ἕρπει τὸ ἀγριώτατον ἐκ τοῦ ἡμερωτάτου· καὶ τῶν μὲν καλῶν καὶ ἀγαθῶν τὰ λείψανα ἀναπαύεται, καὶ ἔχει ἆθλον ἡσυχίαν, ὥσπερ οὖν καὶ ἡ ψυχὴ τῶν τοιούτων τὰ ἀδόμενά τε καὶ ὑμνούμενα ἐκ τῶν σοφῶν· πονηρῶν δὲ ἀνθρώπων ῥάχεις τοιαῦτα τίκτουσι καὶ μετὰ τὸν βίον. ἡ τοίνυν τὸ πᾶν μῦθός ἐστιν, ἤ, εἰ ταῦτ' ἀψευδῶς πεπίστευται, πονηροῦ νεκρός, ὡς κρίνειν ἐμέ, ὄφεως γενέσθαι πατὴρ τοῦ τρόπου μισθὸν ἠνέγκατο.*

[7] J. E. Hanauer *Folk-Lore of the Holy Land* London 1907 p. 283 'According to

not be unreasonable to regard the single male snake as the soul of a buried king[1]. The pair of snakes, male and female, would then be the souls of the ancestral couple[2]. In the case of Kekrops[3] and, according to some late authorities, in that of Erichthonios[4] the half-snake would imply the tail-end, so to speak, of the snaky tradition[5]. Even so it must be admitted that these Akropolis-snakes are a terrible tangle, and raise problems to which at present no sure solution has been found. Who or what, for example, was the bearded[6] snake that Pheidias set beside Athena? Pausanias[7] says 'He might be Erichthonios.' But was Pausanias right[8]? Again,

Jewish notions, "the spinal cord of a man who does not bend his knees at the repetition of the benediction, which commences with the word 'Modim,' after seven years becomes a serpent".'

[1] *Supra* ii. 1061, 1087, 1111 f., 1148, 1152 ff., 1174.

An amusing account of Herakleides Pontikos is preserved by Diog. Laert. 5. 89 f. *δοκεῖ δὲ καὶ τὴν πατρίδα τυραννουμένην ἐλευθερῶσαι, τὸν μόναρχον κτείνας, ὥς φησι Δημήτριος ὁ Μάγνης ἐν ὁμωνύμοις* (on this work see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 429). *ὃς καὶ τοιόνδε ἱστορεῖ περὶ αὐτοῦ· "θρέψαι αὐτὸν δράκοντα ἐκ νέου καὶ αὐξηθέντα, ἐπειδὴ τελευτᾶν ἐμελλε, κελεῦσαι τινι τῶν πιστῶν αὐτοῦ τὸ σῶμα κατακρύψαι, τὸν δὲ δράκοντα ἐπὶ τῆς κλίνης θεῖναι, ἵνα δόξειεν εἰς θεοὺς μεταβεβηκέναι. ἐγένετο δὲ πάντα. καὶ μεταξὺ παραπεμπόντων Ἡρακλείδην τῶν πολιτῶν καὶ εὐφημούντων, ὁ δράκων ἀκούσας τῆς ἐπιβοῆς ἐξέδυ τῶν ἱματίων καὶ διετάραξε τοὺς πλείστους. ὑστερον μέντοι ἐξεκαλύφθη πάντα καὶ ὤφθη Ἡρακλείδης οὐχ οἷος ἐδόκει, ἀλλ' οἷος ἦν."* *καὶ ἔστιν ἡμῶν εἰς αὐτὸν οὕτως ἔχον·* "Ἤθελες ἀνθρώποισι λιπεῖν φάτιν, Ἡρακλείδη, | *ὡς ῥα θανὼν ἐγένου ζωὸς ἅπασι δράκων.* | *ἀλλὰ διεψεύσθης, σεσοφισμένε· δὴ γὰρ ὁ μὲν θὴρ* | *ἦε δράκων, σὺ δὲ θήρ, οὐ σοφὸς ὤν, ἐάλως.* *ταῦτα* (*an ταὐτὰ legendum?*) *δέ φησι καὶ* Ἱππόβοτος (W. Christ *op. cit.*[6] ii. 1. 85). Daebritz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 474 asks 'ist das etwa eine boshaft erfundene Parallele zu dem, was H. selbst von Empedokles' Ende vorgetragen hatte?... Mekler Add. zu Acad. ind. x 10' (W. Christ *op. cit.*[6] München 1912 i. 621).

[2] The same variation between one snake and two (*supra* p. 772 n. 4) may be seen in the wall-paintings that decorate the *lararia* of Pompeii (collected conveniently by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* pp. 102 no. 6 (one), no. 7 (two), 103 no. 3 (one), nos. 5 and 6 (two), 104 no. 1 (one), no. 2 (two), nos. 3 and 8 (one), cp. J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 942 fig. 4343).

[3] See *e.g.* O. Immisch in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1022 ff., L. Bürcbner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 120 ff.

[4] Schol. Plat. *Tim.* 23 D p. 948 a 17, *et. mag.* p. 371, 47, *append. narr.* 3 (p. 360, 7 f. Westermann) *δρακοντόπους.* Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13 anguina tantum crura, *fab.* 166 inferiorem partem draconis habuit, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 113 draconteis pedibus, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 3. 113 anguinis pedibus.

[5] Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 169.

[6] The Varvakeion and Lenormant statuettes of the *Parthénos* both show a bearded snake (hence my restoration *supra* ii col. pl. xlv), as does Sir W. Gell's drawing of the lost Ambelokipi relief (P. Wolters in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 488 fig., W. Amelung in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1908 xi. 187 f. fig. 69), which—unless I am mistaken—represents the Athena *Areia* of Pheidias at Plataiai (Paus. 9. 4. 1).

[7] Paus. 1. 24. 7 *καὶ πλησίον τοῦ δόρατος δράκων ἐστίν· εἴη δ' ἂν Ἐριχθόνιος οὗτος ὁ δράκων.*

[8] Frazer *Pausanias* ii. 169 'He may well have been right' (on the assumption that Erichthonios and Erechtheus 'were originally identical.' But see *supra* p. 181 n. 1). I should rather suppose that the snake beside the goddess was the animal form of her *protégé* Erechtheus.

what are we to make of a white-ground *lékythos* from Gela, now in the British Museum (fig. 568)[1]? A female figure is seen standing by a column with a *phiále* in her right hand and a snake in front of her. H. B. Walters[2] thought her perhaps a priestess of Athena accompanied by the Erechtheion-snake. A. Fairbanks[3] suggested 'a simple scene of libation' and equated the woman with Artemis. But deities are rare on vases of this class, and Mr C. D. Bicknell[4] is content to

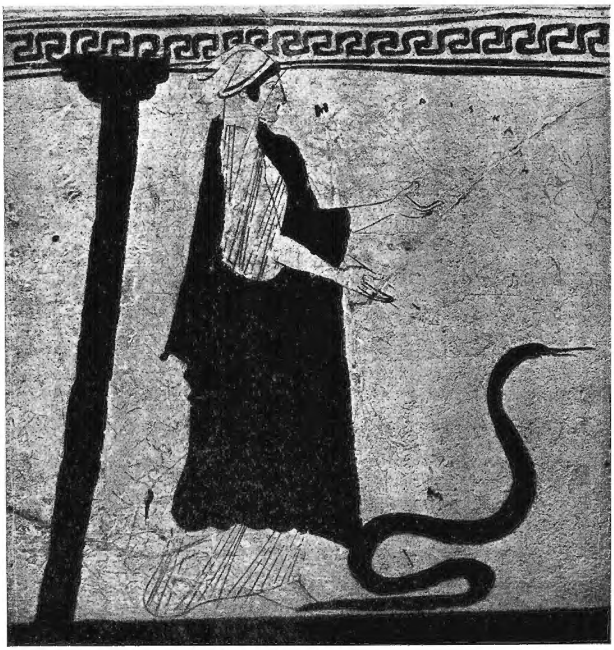


Fig. 568.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 396 f. no. D 23, A. S. Murray—A. H. Smith *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* London 1896 p. 36 pl. 26, A (=my fig. 568), A. Fairbanks *Athenian Lekythoi with outline drawing in glaze varnish on a white ground* New York 1907 i. 39 f. Group A, Class ii, no. 4. Inscribed ΗΟΓΑΙϟ ΚΑΛΟ[ϟ].

[2] H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 397.

[3] A. Fairbanks *op. cit.* i. 39.

[4] So he tells me (29 June 1936).

suppose that we have here a dead woman ready to receive offerings in the presence of her ancestral snake. Of course the early date of our vase, *c.* 470 B.C., rules out any attempt to interpret the subject as Athena *Hygieia* beside the corner column of the Propylaia[1] or Hygieia herself arriving with the divine snake in the newly-built Asklepieion[2]. But why, by the way, did Asklepios ever come to dwell on the southern slope of the Akropolis? Had the snakes of the rock anything to do with it (fig.)[3]?

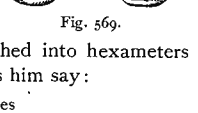


Fig. 569.

A final puzzle: what did Cyprian[4], bishop of Antioch in the third century after Christ, mean by stating that as a boy of ten he had 'performed the liturgy of Pallas' snake on the Akropolis'? The empress Eudokia[5] hitched into hexameters the recital of his various initiations and makes him say:

> I wrought the snaky rites
> Of Athenaia on the citadel.

But what exactly were these rites? We are reduced to blank conjecture[6].

The fact is, snake-myths and snake-cults of every kind fairly cluster round the Akropolis-rock, almost all of them in close association with Athena the rock-mother. Is it not fair to infer that

[1] *Supra* i. 727.

J. Tambornino in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 94 concludes that Hygieia 'schon vor der Zeit des Peloponnesischen Krieges in Athen verehrt wurde, zu einer Zeit also, wo Asklepios in Athen noch eine unbekannte Grösse war. Die Zeit, wann H. zur persönlichen Gottheit ausgebildet wurde, lässt sich selbstredend nicht genau angeben. Wir müssen uns mit der Tatsache begnügen, dass die Entwicklung im 5. Jhdt. ihren Abschluss erreicht hat.'

[2] A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1893 xviii. 245 ff. and E. Preuner in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1894 xlix. 313 ff. fix the date in 420 B.C. on the strength of *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 3 no. 4960, 2 ff. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no 88, 2 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1529, 2 ff. [.....ά]νελθὼν δὲ θ[εὸ][ς μυστηρί]οις τοῖς μεγά[λοις κατ]ήγετο ἐς τὸ Ἐλ[ευσίνιο]ν καὶ οἴκοθεν | [μεταπεμ]ψάμενος δρά[κ]ο[ντα ἦγ]αγεν δεῦρε ἐφ' [ἅ][ρματος] Τηλ[ε]μάχο [ἀπ]α[ν]α[τή]σαντο]ς· ἅμα ἦλθεν Τγ[ίεια καί] οὕτως ἱδρύθη | [τὸ ἱερὸ]ν τόδε απαν ἐπὶ | [Ἀστυφί]λο ἄρχοντος Κυ[δαντίδο]. I follow the text of Dittenberger.

[3] Sundry small bronze coins of late date have *obv.* the head of Athena, *rev.* ΑΘΗ and a rearing snake (J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 98, 17 Berlin (=my fig. 569), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 102 no. 740). Is this the snake of Athena or that of Asklepios?

[4] *Confessio S. Cypriani* (*supra* i. 110 n. 6) 1 καὶ ὡς Ἀθηναῖος ἐπήλυτος ὤν, ὑπὸ δὲ τῶν γεννησάντων με διὰ σπουδῆς πολίτης γενόμενος, ἔτι ὢν δέκα ἐτῶν, ἐδαδούχησα τῇ Δημήτρᾳ καὶ τῆς Κόρης τὸ λευκὸν πέπλωμα καὶ τῆς ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει Παλλάδος τῷ δράκοντι ἐλειτούργησα, εἰς προκοπὴν νεωκόρου καταστάς.

[5] Eudok. *de s. Cyprian.* 2. 20. f. Ἀθηναίης δ', ἥτις πόλιν ἐστὶν ἐς ἄκρην, | ῥέξα δρακοντείους τελετάς.

[6] Possibly we should compare ὁ διὰ κόλπου θεός (*supra* i. 393 n. 0, 394).

these daemonic powers drew their vitality from her? We must not, I suppose, at this stage prematurely assert that Athena herself was conceived as a snake at Athens, though I for one should not deny that elsewhere such may have been the case. An Orphic hymn does address her definitely as *Drákaina*, the 'She-Snake[1].' And on the road from Sparta to Arkadia Pausanias saw standing in the open an image of Athena *Pareía*[2]. That surely can mean one thing, and one thing only, Athena the 'Adder.'

(3) The owl of Athena.

But snakes are not the only living things that slip silently out of holes in the Akropolis rock. Of an evening the owls come out. I have seen them in the dusk, and I dare say my readers have too, flitting with low undulatory flight across the roads and gardens to the south of the Akropolis. In antiquity their number gave rise to the proverb 'an owl to Athens[3]' in the sense of 'coals to Newcastle[4].' Another proverb, 'an owl on the citadel,' was explained as alluding to an owl dedicated by Phaidros on the Akropolis[5]. Ausonius[6] describes it as 'that owl on the citadel painted with colours of such magic power that it lures birds of all sorts and destroys them by its stare.' A colossal owl of white marble has in fact been found on the Akropolis (fig. 570)[7] together with a couple of pillars bearing

[1] Orph. *h. Ath.* 32. 11 *αἰολόμορφε, δράκαινα, φιλένθεος, ἀγλαότιμε.*

[2] Paus. 3. 20. 8 *τὴν δὲ ἐπ' Ἀρκαδίας ἰοῦσιν ἐκ Σπάρτης Ἀθηνᾶς ἕστηκεν ἐπίκλησιν Παρείας ἄγαλμα ἐν ὑπαίθρῳ.*

[3] This proverb occurs in various forms: *γλαῦκ' Ἀθήναζε* (Aristoph. *av.* 301, Hesych. *s.v.*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 88, 1 f., Apostol. 5. 46, Arsen. p. 162 Walz, *append. prov.* 2. 33), *γλαῦκ' εἰς Ἀθήνας* (Loukian. *Nigrin. praef.*, cp. schol. Aristoph. *av.* 301 *τίς εἰς Ἀθήνας γλαῦκ' ἐνήνοχεν;*) or *γλαῦκα εἰς Ἀθήνας* (Gregor. Kypr. 2. 11, Apostol. 5. 55, Arsen. p. 164 Walz, cp. Diogeneian. 3. 57 *γλαῦκας εἰς Ἀθήνας ἄγεις*, schol. Aristoph. *av.* 1093 *γλαῦκας ἐς Ἀθήνας*), *γλαῦκα Ἀθηναίοις* (Apostol. 5. 46, Arsen. p. 162 Walz), *γλαὺξ εἰς Ἀθήνας* (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 87, 45, Zenob. 3. 6, Diogeneian. 3. 81, cp. Diogeneian. Vindob. 2. 13 *γλαῦξ εἰς Ἀθήνας*).

[4] W. G. Smith—J. E. Heseltine *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* Oxford 1935 p. 503 (first in 1661 A.D.).

[5] Hesych. *γλαῦξ ἐν πόλει· παροιμία. ἀνέκειτο γὰρ ὑπὸ Φαίδρου* (*append. prov.* 1. 76 *Φαίδου* Meursius cj. *Φειδίου*) *ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει.*

[6] Auson. *Mos.* 308 ff. vel in arce Minervae | Ictinus, magico cui noctua perlita fuco | adlicit omne genus volucres perimitque tuendo. The owl was tantamount to a *Gorgóneion.*

[7] L. Ross in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 28 pl. C, 3 = *id. Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 205 pl. 14, 3, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 62 no. 111, J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 221 ff. pl. IE' (=my fig. 570), S. Casson in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1921 ii. 252 f. no. 1347 fig. Svoronos *loc. cit.* p. 221 states that the upper part of the bird was found in 1840 on the 'Erganeterrase,' the lower part in 1889 near the north-west angle of the Parthenon. Material: Pentelic marble. Height: 0·91^{m}.

Plate LX

Amphora from Nola, now at Berlin:
a spectator stands before the Owl on the Akropolis.

See page 781 *n.* 1.

early inscriptions[1]: the carving of the bird is slight and must have

Fig. 570.

[1] *Corp. inscr. Att.* i no. 351, Roberts—Gardner *Gk. Epigr.* ii. 437 no. 188, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 579 Ἐόρτιος καὶ Ὀφσιάδες ἀνεθέτεν | ἀπαρχὲν τάθενάαι.
Corp. inscr. Att. i no. 393, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 1252, Dittenberger *Syll.*

been eked out by painting. L. Ross[1] held that this owl was originally perched on the pillar that bears the name 'Timotheos of Anaphlystos' and has on its upper surface two bronze dowels run

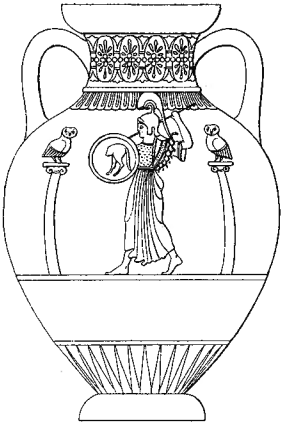


Fig. 571.

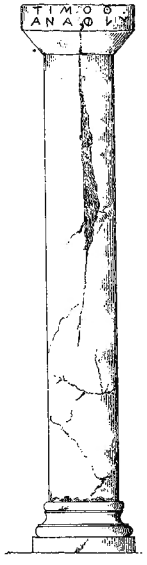


Fig. 572.

inscr. Gr.[3] no. 50, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 651 Τιμόθ[ε]ος [Κόνονος] | Ἀναφλύστιος. Before *c.* 450 B.C. This Timotheos was probably the father of Konon the famous Athenian general.

[1] L. Ross *locc. citt.* This conjecture has been widely accepted, and is consistent with the known facts. Was Phaidros (*supra* p. 776 n. 5) a local sculptor? Diog. Laert. 7. 1. 12 mentions a possible descendant in one Φαῖδρος Ἀναφλύστιος, who helped to build the tomb of Zenon in the Kerameikos.

J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* fancied that the marble owl was perched on the olive-tree in the centre of the west pediment of the Parthenon and quoted in support the bronze coins, which certainly show such an owl (*supra* figs. 96, 539, 540). But I have already argued that these coins do *not* represent the said pediment at all (*supra* p. 754 f.). Besides, owl-on-column was a familiar type in connexion with Athena. Ross *locc. citt.* justly compares a Panathenaic *amphora*, on which Athena is flanked by two Ionic columns with an owl on each (E. Gerhard *Etruskische und kampanische Vasenbilder des Königl. Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1843 pl. B, 29. My fig. 571 is from Ross pl. 14, 5), and the Roman mural relief, in which Athena as she superintends the building of the Argo has at her back an owl on a round pillar (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 12 ff. distinguish

with lead (fig. 572). S. Casson[1] agrees that the owl was probably

(1) an older and better type in Louvre no. 4144 (G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842 p. 39 ff. pl. 5, E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 416 with fig. 504, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 1. 13 fig. 14, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 250 no. 4) and (2) a later, less satisfactory version of it in Villa Albani no. 181 (G. Winckelmann *Monumenti antichi inediti*[2] Roma 1821 i p. (ix) with pl. on title-page, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 133 no. 1) and British Museum no. D 603 (K. Seeliger in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 526 with fig. on p. 502, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 400 f. no. D 603 pl. 43, Von Rohden—Winnefeld *op. cit.* iv. 2 pl. 32)). To these should be added the owl-on-column that appears before Athena in the Lansdowne relief (*Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 31 f. no. 50 pl. 35 (=my fig. 576), H. Schrader in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1911 xiv. 68 ff. fig. 73, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 519 no. 2) and behind her on sundry imperial bronze coins of Athens (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 133 pl. AA, 1 Naples, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 84, 9 Berlin, 10 Athens (=my fig. 573), 11 Athens, 12 f. Berlin, 14 J. Anderson, *id.* in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 278 fig. 23 Athens), on a bronze medallion struck by Commodus in 191 A.D. (Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* iii. 129 pl. Z, 13 British Museum (*supra* p. 695 n. 5), J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1912 xiv. 275 f. pl. 15′′, 5 British Museum; Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* 137 f. fig. (=my

Fig. 573.

Fig. 574.

Fig. 575.

fig. 574) Paris, Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 57 no. 47 pl. 81, 6 Paris), and on one of the gold medallions from Abukir (H. Dressel *Fünf Goldmedaillons aus dem Funde von Abukir* (*supra* i. 59 n. 6) Berlin 1906 pp. 15 f., 55, 74 f. pl. 3, 3 (=my fig. 575), J. N. Svoronos *loc. cit.* 1912 xiv. 278 ff. fig. 24. The column is inscribed ΟΛΥΜ|ΠΙΑ|ΔΟC, which, as R. Mowat saw, must be read 'Ολύμπια δος' *i.e.* the Olympic games held in the year 274 of the Actian era (=242/3 A.D.)). Cp. *supra* p. 388 fig. 254. These examples of owl-on-column recall the description in Longfellow's *Hyperion* Liverpool 1848 p. 79: 'the owl is a grave bird,—a monk, who chants midnight mass in the great temple of Nature,—an anchorite—a pillar saint—a very Simeon Stylites of his neighbourhood.'

[1] S. Casson in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1921 ii. 37, 253. My fig. 572 is from L. Ross *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 pl. 14, 2.

fixed on one or other of the pillars. And what Casson regards as probable is, I think, susceptible of proof. An unpublished *amphora*

Fig. 576.

at Berlin dating from the latter part of the fifth century (pl. lx)[1] shows a worthy citizen of Athens obviously fascinated by the uncanny bird! And well he might be, for the owl was the goddess herself in animal form—*theà glaukôpis Athénē*[2]. Whatever that phrase denoted or connoted to the readers and even to the writers of the Homeric poems[3], it was certainly a line of pre-hexameter verse[4] describing Athena in all probability as a 'goddess with the eyes, or face, or aspect, of an owl.' On this showing it points backwards to a time when it was believed that Athena could take shape as a bird. Homer makes her appear on sundry occasions as a pigeon[5], a hawk[6], a kite or a shearwater[7], a vulture[8], a

[1] Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 836 no. 2993 from Nola. Height 0·33^{m}. Furtwängler notes: 'L. eine eigentümliche Säule ohne Kapitell (Holz-Pfeiler); davor r. ein niederer Pfeiler, darauf eine Eule (Anathem?). R. gegenüber ein bärtiger Mann im Mantel nach l., mit Stock.' I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photograph reproduced in my pl. lx. He tells me that the vase belongs to a group of local Campanian imitations of Attic ware, for a list of which see J. D. Beazley *Greek Vases in Poland* Oxford 1928 p. 77 n. 5.

[2] The tags γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη and θεὰ γλαυκῶπις Ἀθήνη are both frequent, alike in *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, but always at the end of the hexameter and normally in the nominative case. On occasion we find the accusative γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην (*Od.* 1. 156, *h. Ap.* 314, *h. Aphr.* 8) or γλαυκώπιδ' Ἀθήνην (*h. Ap.* 323), the genitive Ἀθηναίης γλαυκώπιδος (*Il.* 6. 88, *h. Heph.* 2), the dative Ἀθηναίῃ γλαυκώπιδι (*Il.* 9. 390, 11. 729, 23. 769). Fuller phrases are Παλλάδ' Ἀθηναίην... | γλαυκῶπιν (*h. Ath.* 28. 1 f.), Διὸς γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ (*Od.* 2. 433), κούρῃ γλαυκώπιδι καὶ Διὶ πατρί (*Od.* 24. 518), and even γλαυκώπιδι κούρῃ without mention of Zeus (*Il.* 24. 26). On the other hand, γλαυκῶπις can be used by itself in nominative (*Il.* 8. 406, *Od.* 6. 47), vocative (*Il.* 8. 420, *Od.* 13. 389), accusative (*Il.* 8. 373, *Od.* 3. 135, 24. 540), and genitive (*h. Ath.* 28. 10). See further H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 36 and 259.

For the analogous usage of βοῶπις πότνια Ἥρη see *supra* i. 444.

[3] Here opinions differ widely. Welcker *Gr. Götterl.* i. 303 f. thinks that the epithet γλαυκῶπις refers to 'den feurigen Aether.' *E contra*, R. Hildebrandt ''Αθήνη Γλαυκῶπις' in *Philologus* 1888 xlvi. 201—209 argues for 'Athena of the grey-green water,' ἡ θεὰ τῆς γλαυκῆς θαλάσσης (cp. *Il.* 16. 34). Other contentions in C. W. Lucas *De Minervae cognomenio* ΓΛΑΥΚΩΠΙΣ *observationes philologicae* Bonnae 1831=*id. Philologische Bemerkungen über die Athene Glaucopis* Bonn 1831 pp. 1—21 ('of fiery, brilliant eyes'), Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 193 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1198 n. 3, 1219 n. 3, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1404—1407. After all this stir H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 109 (with n. 27 on p. 129) remains content with 'dear grey-eyes.'

[4] *Supra* i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0.

[5] *Il.* 5. 778 (with Hera).

[6] *Il.* 7. 58 ff. (with Apollon). D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 16 took αἰγυπιός in Homer and later writers to mean 'vulture.' But Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 60—71 adduces strong reasons for thinking that the Homeric αἰγυπιοί were 'hawks,' not vultures at all.

[7] *Il.* 19. 350 f. The word ἅρπη is equated with ἱκτῖνος, 'kite,' by Hesych. *s.v.* ἅρπη(ν)· εἶδος ὀρνέου...ἢ ἱκτῖνον. Κρῆτες, Tzetz. *chil.* 5. 413 f. ἱκτῖνος ὄρνις τίς ἐστιν, ὄντερ καλοῦμεν ἅρπην, | ἁρπάζων τὰ νεόττια τὰ τῶν ἀλεκτορίδων. But H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott, on the strength of Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 1. 609 a 23 f., etc., says 'unknown *bird of prey*, prob. *shearwater*.' More in D'Arcy W. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 35 f.

[8] *Od.* 3. 371 f. I render φήνη by 'vulture' as *supra* ii. 1122. So too D'Arcy

swallow[1], and a bird of indeterminate kind[2]. The precise species would depend on local conditions. At Korone in Messenia, where Pausanias[3] saw a bronze statue of Athena holding a crow, the goddess herself *may* have been symbolised by her attribute[4]. At Megara, where a headland projected into the sea, there was a well-

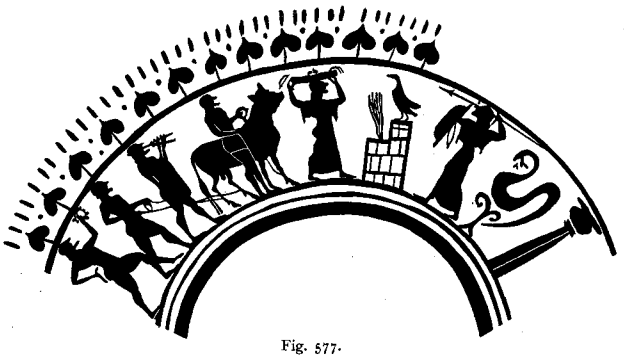


Fig. 577.

W. Thompson *op. cit.* p. 180. But E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 538 prefers 'osprey.'

[1] *Od.* 22. 239 f. [2] *Od.* 1. 320.

[3] Paus. 4. 34. 6. C. Robert in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1882 xl. 173 mentions among objects recently found in Italy, especially in Hadrian's Villa, 'eine Bronzestatuette der Athena mit einer Krähe auf dem Arme.'

[4] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 844 n. 2 'Koronis, von Poseidon verfolgt, wird durch Athena in eine Krähe verwandelt (Ov. *M* 2 536–632...): das ist wahrscheinlich der Rest einer Legende, in der die Göttin selbst die Gestalt des Vogels annahm.' To the same effect A. Kiock in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1915 xviii. 127 f.

A Boeotian plate in the British Museum shows *inter alia* the sacrifice of an ox to Athena. Behind the goddess is her snake, and a Doric column to indicate her temple. Before her is an altar from which flames are rising, while a bird—crow rather than cock—is perched proudly on the top of it (Sir C. Smith in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* i. 202—209 ('a crow') pl. 7 (part of which = my fig. 577), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* ii. 76 f. no. B 80 ('either a crow, or a cock'), W. Reichel *Über vorhellenische Götterculte* Wien 1897 p. 41 f. fig. 11 ('der Krähe'), S. Wide in the *Sertum philologicum Carolo Ferdinando Johansson oblatum* Göteborg 1910 p. 63 pl. 1, 1 ('ein Vogel'), Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 207 with n. 1 iii. 39 fig. 169). Such a position no doubt implies that the bird stands in a special relation to the deity (Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 174 f. well compares a black-figured *amphora* in the Archaeological Seminar at Upsala (fig. 1 = my fig. 578) and an engraved gold ring of *c.* 400 B.C. in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 13 no. 59 pl. 2) (fig. 2 = my fig. 579). In the one case the owl on the altar betokens a sacrifice to Athena: in the other, the eagle on the altar spells a sacrifice to Zeus), but hardly amounts to a demonstration of ornithomorphism.

known cult of Athena *Aithyia*, 'the Gull[1].' The Megarians declared that Athena once took upon herself the form of a gull, hid Kekrops beneath her wings, and carried him across to Megara[2]. At Athens

Fig. 578.

Fig. 579.

[1] Paus. 1. 5. 3 καὶ δὴ καὶ Πανδίων ἐβασίλευσεν ὅ τε (so Bekker for ὁ τοῦ codd.) Ἐριχθονίου καὶ ὁ Κέκροπος τοῦ δευτέρου· τοῦτον Μητιονίδαι τῆς ἀρχῆς ἐξελαύνουσι, καὶ οἱ φυγόντι ἐς Μέγαρα—θυγατέρα γὰρ εἶχε Πύλα τοῦ βασιλεύσαντος ἐν Μεγάροις—συνεκπίπτουσιν οἱ παῖδες. καὶ Πανδίονα μὲν αὐτοῦ λέγεται νοσήσαντα ἀποθανεῖν, καὶ οἱ πρὸς θαλάσσῃ μνῆμά ἐστιν ἐν τῇ Μεγαρίδι ἐν Ἀθηνᾶς (so Xylander for ἀθήναις codd.) Αἰθυίας καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ, 1. 41. 6 ἐκ τούτου δὲ τοῦ ἱεροῦ κατιοῦσι Πανδίονός ἐστιν ἡρῷον. καὶ ὅτι μὲν ἐτάφη Πανδίων ἐν Αἰθυίας (so Xylander for ηθυιας codd.) Ἀθηνᾶς καλουμένῳ σκοπέλῳ, δεδήλωκεν ὁ λόγος ἤδη μοι· τιμὰς δὲ καὶ ἐν τῇ πόλει παρὰ Μεγαρέων ἔχει. The relations of Megara to Athens are discussed by K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 p. 35 ff. See further A. Kiock 'Athene Aithyia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1915 xviii. 127—133, who notes that Leukothea too after helping Odysseus dived into the sea αἰθυίῃ εἰκυῖα (*Od.* 5. 353, cp. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 844 n. 8) and that the sea-nymphs after saving the Argonauts disappeared into the deep ἁλίγκιαι αἰθυίῃσιν (Ap. Rhod. 4. 966).

The appellation Αἴθυια denotes some species of gull (D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 17: 'Probably a large **Gull**, e.g. *Larus marinus*, the Black-backed Gull (Sundevall), or *L. argentatus*, the Herring Gull (Krüper), the former being rare in Greece'), perhaps the shearwater (D'Arcy W. Thompson in the *Class. Rev.* 1918 xxxii. 94 f. with the very rash suggestion that the modern name for this sea-fowl *Pallante* (at Naples and Lucca) or Fallante (in the island of Giglio, S. Italy) 'can scarcely be other than the "Bird of Pallas," or Pallas herself,' while another Italian term for it, *Aipu*, may contain 'an echo of αἴθυια'!). Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1385, 65 f. καὶ αἴθυια ὡς εἰκὸς παρὰ Λυκόφρονι Ἀθηνᾶ (Lyk. *Al.* 359 quoted *supra* p. 608 n. 4), ἡ φωσφόρος does not justify R. Hildebrandt *op. cit.* p. 19 in supposing an allusion to Athena's 'aetherea sive ignea natura' (*supra* p. 781 n. 3).

[2] Hesych. ἐν δ' Αἴθυια· οὕτως Ἀθηνᾶ τιμᾶται παρὰ Μεγαρεῦσιν· ἐπειδὴ εἰς αἴθυιαν ἀπεικασθεῖσα ὑπὸ τὰ πτερὰ ἔκρυψε τὸν Κέκροπα, καὶ διεκόμισεν εἰς τὰ Μέγαρα. The manuscript gives the *lemma* as ἐνδαρθύια, a reading which, though repeated by Favorin.

of course she was an owl[1]. Hence the appearance of an owl was hailed as an omen of victory. In the *Wasps*[2] the old dikasts attribute their repulse of the Persians to the timely arrival of an owl:

> Yet we drove their ranks before us, ere the fall of eventide:
> As we closed, an owl flew o'er us, and the Gods were on our side!

The scholiast[3]—shrewd fellow—remarks: 'He is here speaking of Athena as an owl.' According to Plutarch[4], just before Salamis an owl came flying from the right, perched on Themistokles' mast-top, and so induced the Greeks to follow that commander's advice. Posterity concluded that Themistokles was a man of resource[5]. Agathokles too on one occasion (310 B.C.) routed the Carthaginians by the simple expedient of uncaging a few owls. They settled on the shields and helmets of his men, who with confidence restored promptly defeated the foe[6]. An allusion to this incident has been detected[7] on a unique gold *statér* of Agathokles, struck between

lex. p. 643, 5 f. ἐνδαρθνία, is clearly corrupt. Scaliger cj. ἐν δ' ἀρ' αἴθυια, Salmasius and Heinsius Ἐνδαιθνία, Hemsterhusius ἐν δ' αἰθυίᾳ, M. Schmidt ἐν δ' Αἴθυια. The phrase is, however, out of order between ἔνδασαι and ἐνδατεῖται.

A black-figured *oinochóe* at Paris, which possibly illustrates the foregoing myth, is given *infra* (fig. 618).

[1] On the relation of the bird to the goddess see F. Studniczka 'Zur Eule der Parthenos' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1884 xlii. 162 f., E. Pottier 'La chouette d'Athéné' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 529—548 with pls. 7 and 8, Miss E. M. Douglas (Mrs Van Buren) 'The Owl of Athena' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 174—178 figs. 1—4, H. Schrader 'Athena mit dem Käuzchen' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 1—32 pl. 1 (=my fig. 640), M. P. Nilsson *Die Anfänge der Göttin Athene* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.* Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser. iv, 7) Kφbenhavn 1921 pp. 13—15.

[2] Aristoph. *vesp.* 1085 f. ἀλλ' ὅμως ἀπωσάμεσθα ξὺν θεοῖς πρὸς ἑσπέραν· | γλαυξ γὰρ ἡμῶν πρὶν μάχεσθαι τὸν στρατὸν διέπτετο trans. B. B. Rogers. The last line became proverbial (Apostol. 5. 44 b): *infra* p. 785 n. 2.

[3] Schol. Aristoph. *vesp.* 1086 γλαῦκα δὲ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καλεῖ. W. G. Rutherford *Scholia Aristophanica* London 1896 ii. 424 printed Γλαῦξ: <Γλαῦκα> τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν καλεῖ, and commented: 'The annotator imagines a proper name derived from γλαύσσειν, the verb often used in explaining γλαυκῶπις.' But it is much more probable that γλαῦξ has here its usual force.

[4] Plout. *v. Them.* 12.

[5] Bekker *anecd.* i. 232, 30 ff. Γλαὺξ ἔπτατο· παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν νενικηκότων, ὅτι πρὸ τῆς μάχης ἐν Σαλαμῖνι γλαῦκά φασι διαπτῆναι, τὴν νίκην τοῖς Ἀθηναίοις προσημαίνουσαν. Θεμιστοκλέους γὰρ πέμψαντος αὐτούς, περὶ τῆς ναυμαχίας ποιουμένου τὸν λόγον, γλαῦκα περὶ τὸ δεξιὸν μέρος τοῦ κέρως ὀφθῆναι.

[6] Diod. 20. 11.

[7] F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Num. Zeitschr.* New Series 1871 iii. 4, 43 f. pl. 5, 2 (=my fig. 580) Vienna, Sir G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 155 f. pl. 11, 12, *id. Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 pp. 110, 112 f. pl. 8, 65, Sir G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 110 f., C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 246 pl. 60, 5 ('perhaps').

310 and 304 B.C., which has for its reverse type (fig. 580) Athena winged and weaponed advancing into the fray with an owl at her side. As a presage of victory[1] the bird passed into a proverb. 'There goes an owl!' men said when there were obvious symptoms of a coming triumph[2].

If the owl was indeed regarded as Athena herself in bird-form, we can understand why the town-arms of Athens were an owl between two sprigs of olive. A good example, which came to light in 1839 at *Palaiopolis* (Korkyra), is now in the British Museum (fig. 581)[3]. An inscription in silver-filled letters of *s.* iv B.C. records a grant of *proxenía* made by the Corcyraeans to a certain Athenian named Dionysios, son of Phrynichos. It is incised on a bronze

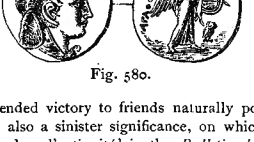


Fig. 580.

[1] The bird which portended victory to friends naturally portended defeat to foes. Consequently the owl had also a sinister significance, on which see P. Perdrizet 'Sur le folk-lore de la chouette dans l'antiquité' in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1903 pp. 164—170. I add a couple of contrasted examples. Hieron ii of Syracuse was entering on his first campaign, when an owl perched on his spear and an eagle on his shield: this meant that he would be both a prudent counsellor and a powerful king (Iust. 23. 4. 10). Pyrrhos i of Epeiros was riding towards Argos by night, when an owl perched on the top of his spear: this foretold his miserable death (Ail. *de nat. an.* 10. 37). We must remember that the Argives were protected by their goddess Athena Ὀξυδερκής (Paus. 1. 24. 2: *supra* ii. 502 n. 2), who may well have appeared to Pyrrhos as an owl.

On the folk-lore of the owl see further S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 24—30 (*bubo*), 31—39 (*noctua*), A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 243—251 (largely lunar myths), C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 pp. 97, 125—131 (valuable), C. de Kay *Bird Gods* New York 1898 pp. 149—178 (*caveant lectores*), P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1905 ii. 77, 1906 iii. 167, 179, 193, 195, 196, 201, 202, 204, 213, 456, M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 1064—1071 (distinguishing six species: βρύας, νυκτικόραξ or ὦτος, γλαῦξ, αἰγωλιός, ἐλεός, σκώψ), N. W. Thomas in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 523[b]—524[b], O. Keller *Die antike Tierwelt* Leipzig 1913 pp. 36—45 figs. 17, 18 pl. 1, 6, 8, 10, Taylor in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 1073—1079, Peuckert *ib.* 1932 iv. 1188—1197.

[2] Γλαῦξ ἵπταται (Zenob. 2. 89, Diogeneian. 3. 72, Apostol. 5. 54, Gregor. Kypr. cod. Leid. 1. 85, Souid. *s.v.*). Γλαῦξ ἔπταρο (Bekker *anecd.* i. 232, 30 ff. cited *supra* p. 784 n. 5). Γλαὺξ διέπταρο (Diogeneian. 3. 93).

[3] C. T. Newton *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* Oxford 1883 ii. 30 f. no. 166 pl. 3 (part of which = my fig. 581). See further P. Perdrizet 'Παράσημα de villes sur des stèles de proxénie' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1896 xx. 549—562 figs. 1—7.

plate, which takes the shape of a small temple surmounted by a pediment with *akrotéria*. In the pediment stands an owl between two olive-sprays, which form a sort of wreath round her. The same city-arms reappear on a whole series of red-figured *skýphoi*. Of these over one hundred and fifty specimens are known[1], ranging from *c.* 490 B.C. down to the end of Attic vase-painting[2] and on

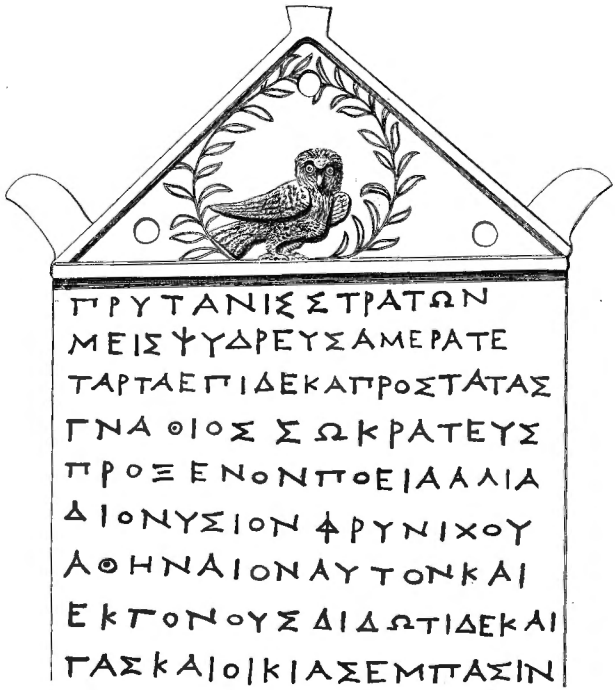


Fig. 581.

[1] D. M. Robinson—C. G. Harcum—J. H. Iliffe *A Catalogue of the Greek Vases in the Royal Ontario Museum of Archaeology Toronto* The Univ. of Toronto Press 1930 i. 183 f. nos. 373 and 374 pl. 65, no. 375 pl. 67 list some 106 examples. W. B. Dinsmoor in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 420 n. 6 cites 35 more, and draws attention to yet others recovered from the Akropolis (Graef *Ant. Vasen Athen* ii. 47 . nos. 529—537 ('Eulenskyphoi') pl. 40).

[2] W. B. Dinsmoor *loc. cit.* p. 420.

into the period of south-Italian imitations[1]. I give an example from my collection (fig. 582)[2], in which the red is an opaque pigment laid on the black glaze, the idea of the potter being to produce a cheap copy of red-figured ware[3]. Sir Cecil Smith[4] maintained that such cups were 'made for some special official or religious occasion.' But, unless there is some further indication of solemn or sacred usage, we should be ill-advised to assume it. It would be wiser to compare the china mugs of our childhood inscribed in gilt lettering 'A present from Brighton' or the modern souvenirs of Goss ware adorned with local arms. Greater seriousness of intention

Fig. 582.

attaches to a broken *kýlix* (fig. 583)[5] found on the Akropolis at Athens in the excavations of 1886 and referable to a date preceding the Persian sack of 480 B.C. Owl and olive-sprays are painted inside, brick-red on a black ground. But this time the potter, a young man offering as in duty bound his maiden effort to Athena, has encircled the design with an inscription[6]: '[.....]os dedicated (this) as his firstfruits.' Again, in 1867 the Museum at Athens acquired a cylindrical vessel of red ware, made with the utmost

[1] *Id. ib* n. 5.
[2] Thick fabric. Height 3½ ins. The design on both sides is practically identical.
[3] H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 394.
[4] Sir C. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 14, cp. p. 142 nos. E 152₁—E 152₄.
[5] J. Six in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1888 xiii. 290 pl. 29, 9 (=my fig. 583).
[6] [- -] ΟΣΑΝΕΘΕΚΕΝΑΓΑΔ+ΕΝ.

nicety to serve as an official *choînix* or 'quart[1].' Half way up its outer surface is an inscription, which, though imperfect, can be read as *demósion*, 'a public (measure).' Near the first letter of this word is stamped an owl looking towards the right with an olive-branch on its left: it is accompanied by the legend *Ath*[.....]. Under the fourth letter of *demósion*, and in part concealed by it, is a second

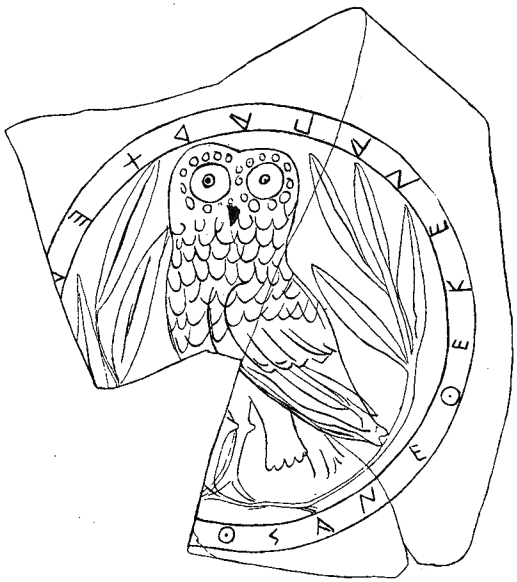


Fig. 583.

stamp—a helmeted head of Athena facing right. These two reliefs, implying small stamps or seals of excellent work, were compared by A. Dumont with Athenian coins of the 'new style' (*c.* 220 B.C. and later). His comparison was most just; for coins, as T. Burgon[2] pointed out long ago, are nothing but 'pieces of *sealed metal*,' and

[1] A. Dumont in the *Rev. Arch.* 1867 N.S. xvi. 292 f., Sir C. H. Smith in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 14 n.*, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 i. 135 f. The inscriptions are ΔΗΜΟΣΙΟΝ and ΑΘ[·····].

[2] T. Burgon in the *Numismatic Journal* 1837 i. 118.

their types, as Sir George Macdonald[1] has made abundantly clear, are for the most part simply badges of the issuing town or magistrate. I think we may go further and assert that, alike on the quart-measure and on the coins, the owl and Athena represent the animal form and the human form of the self-same goddess[2].

A similar explanation must be given of the owl stamped on the bronze tickets (figs. 584, 585)[3] and on the bronze (figs. 586,

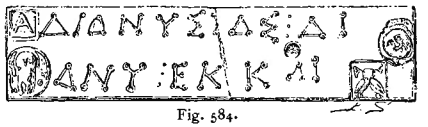


Fig. 584.

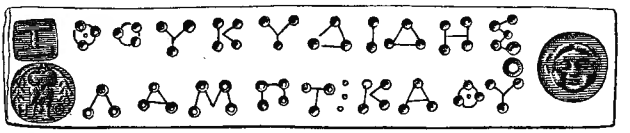


Fig. 585.

[1] Sir G. Macdonald *Coin Types* Glasgow 1905 p. 43 ff., C. Seltman *Greek Coins* Cambridge 1933 p. 27 and context.

[2] Cp. the Janiform head and the double axe on coins of Tenedos, as explained by Sir A. J. Evans (*supra* ii. 654 f.).

[3] *E.g. Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 2 no. 876 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1837 Διονύσιος Δι|ονυ(σίου) ἐκ Κοί(λης) with initial A and three stamps: (*a*) owl in olive-wreath lettered A[H]Θ, (*b*) double-bodied owl between A and A (?), (*c*) *Gorgóneion*. My fig. 584 is from E. Caillemer's article in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 190 fig. 2410.

Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 2 no. 900 with fig. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1864 with diagram Ἀντικράτης Εὐκτ(ημονίδου?) | Αἰξωνεύς has initial E and two stamps: (*a*) owl, (*b*) *Gorgóneion*. O. Kern *Inscriptiones Graecae* Bonnae 1913 pl. 22, 4 gives a photograph of it.

Corp. inscr. Att. ii. 5 no. 908 b = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1877 with diagram Θουκυδίδης | Λαμπτ(ρεὺς) κάθυ(πέρθεν) *i.e.* 'of Upper Lamptrai' has initial T and two stamps: (*a*) owl in olive-wreath lettered HAΘ, (*b*) *Gorgóneion*. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 50 no. 332 fig. 12, *A Guide to the Exhibition illustrating Greek and Roman Life* London 1908 p. 7 fig. 3 (= my fig. 585).

See further T. Thalheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 567 ff. and C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1931 lxi. 752 ('The Athenian jurymen's bronze tickets, described in *I.G.* II, 2, 875 sqq., and *I.G.* II, 5, 875 b sqq., together with four other specimens, on an analysis of the 30 complete specimens proved to have had the following devices stamped upon them: 22 had a circular Gorgoneion device, probably the seal of the State; 27 had a circular stamp with a facing owl between olive-twigs; 12 were surcharged with an additional square stamp displaying an owl with two bodies. The two last corresponded to the reverse types of contemporary triobols and diobols of the first half of the fourth century B.C. It was suggested that the triobol-device on such a pinakion was a voucher guaranteeing his three-obol pay for jury-service to a dikast. Probably the diobol-device surcharged on some of the tickets was likewise a guarantee of *theoric* pay.

587)[1] or lead tokens (figs. 589, 590)[2] of Athenian dikasts, of the owl branded on the bodies of Athenian slaves[3], and doubtless of other analogous cases.

Fig. 586.

Fig. 587.

Fig. 588.

Fig. 589.

Fig. 590.

Either a limited number of jurymen took the trouble to acquire this surcharge on their tickets, or the custom of surcharging all jurymen's tickets prevailed for a limited period').

[1] J. N. Svoronos 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 37—120 pls. 3—6, *id. Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pls. 100—102, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 696—700. E. Caillemer in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 191 figs. 2411 Berlin and 2412 Meletopoulos (=my figs. 587 and 586) published two specimens, which have for reverse type four owls grouped about two sprigs of olive with the legend *θεσμοθετῶν*. They bear a curious, but presumably accidental, resemblance to a clay seal-impression found by Sir A. J. Evans in 1903 towards the bottom of the 'Eastern Repository' at Knossos and referred by him to his 'Middle Minoan iii' period, *i.e. c.* 1700—1580 B.C. (Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1902—1903 ix. 55 ff. fig. 33 (=my fig. 588: scale $\frac{2}{3}$), *id. The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1921 i. 695 f. fig. 518, *f*, cp. *ib.* 1935 iv. 2. 487 with fig. 410, *a—b* 'Early Minoan' breccia cup from Mochlos and fig. 410 *bis*, *a—d* ivory seal of similar date from Mesarà—both cut into the shape of a little owl).

[2] J. N. Svoronos 'ΠΕΡΙ ΤΩΝ ΕΙΣΙΤΗΡΙΩΝ ΤΩΝ ΑΡΧΑΙΩΝ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1900 iii. 319—343 pls. 17—20, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 700—705. E. Caillemer in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 192 f. figs. 2413 and 2414 (=my figs. 590 and 589) published two specimens, on which the owl appears between two spray of olive lettered $O^{A}H$.

[3] During the Samian War the Athenians branded their prisoners on the face with an

We have said that the owl, as issuing from the Akropolis rock, was held to be a special manifestation or embodiment of Athena the rock-goddess[1]. It is, however, possible that there was a further cause for its sanctity at Athens, and one which brings it into closer connexion with Zeus. O. Gruppe[2] has pointed out that over a wide area of the ancient world[3] birds of prey were believed to be filled with the fire of the celestial region from which they came darting down, a fire that blazed in the colouring of their beaks or glittered in their flashing eyes. Some birds indeed got their name from their fiery nature—the *phlegýas*[4], the *phléxis*[5], the *incendiaria avis*[6], the

owl (Ail. *var. hist.* 2. 9), while the Samians branded theirs with a galley (Douris of Samos Σαμίων ὧροι *frag.* 59 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 483 Müller)=*frag.* 66 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 153 Jacoby with n. *ad loc.*) *ap.* Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Σαμίων ὁ δῆμος). Plout. *v. Per.* 26 has inverted the facts.

[1] *Supra* pp. 749, 764, 776 ff.

[2] Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 793 ff.

[3] Analogous modern beliefs are collected by N. W. Thomas in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 529[a–b] ('Thunderbird'), J. Rendel Harris *Boanerges* Cambridge 1913 pp. 20—30 ('The Thunder-bird'), Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 113 ff. ('*Mana* of Birds,' 'Sanctity of Birds').

[4] *Supra* i. 199 and ii. 1134 n. 9.

[5] Aristoph. *av.* 884 with schol. *ad loc.* D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds* Oxford 1895 p. 181 suggests relation of φλέξις to φλεγύας, from φλέγω, *fulgeo*, etc. The suggestion is highly probable.

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 36 inauspicata est et incendiaria avis, quam propter saepenumero lustratam urbem in annalibus invenimus, sicut L. Cassio C. Mario cos. (107 B.C.), quo anno et bubone viso lustratam esse. quae sit avis ea non reperitur nec traditur. quidam ita interpretantur, incendiariam esse quaecumque apparuerit carbonem ferens ex aris vel altaribus. alii spinturnicem eam vocant, sed haec ipsa quae esset inter aves qui se scire diceret non inveni.

Pliny's account of the *incendiaria avis*, which, some said, appeared bringing embers from the altars, leaves us guessing. On the one hand, we are reminded of the phoenix carrying its parent's body to the altar of the Sun at Heliopolis and burning it there (Tac. *ann.* 6. 28: see further Türk in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 3450 ff., *supra* i. 341). On the other hand, the name may cover some forgotten rite, perhaps comparable with the *Scoppio del Carro* on Easter Eve at Florence. The 'Sacred Fire' is then struck from flints brought by one of the Pazzi family from Jerusalem in the middle ages and kept in the church of the Holy Apostles on the Piazza del Limbo. A candle thus lit is taken in solemn procession to the high altar in the Cathedral. Meantime two splendid white oxen with crimson housings and gilded horns, wreathed with flowers and evergreens, have drawn the *Carro*, a four-sided erection tapering both towards the top and towards the base and covered with fireworks, to a point on the Piazza del Duomo between the Cathedral and the Baptistery. Here it is connected by a wire with a pillar set up in front of the high altar. 'Precisely at noon the "Gloria" was reached, and as the first words were sung the sacred fire was applied to the pillar, which, like the "Carro," was wreathed with fireworks. This was the supreme moment of the ceremony; with a hissing sound, amid a shower of sparks, a dove, apparently of fire, flew from the pillar along the wire,—it should have reached the "Carro," and setting that alight, returned to the altar from whence it came, on the success or non-success of its flight depending, in the opinion of the Contadini, the fate of this year's harvest. By some unhappy chance it flew no farther than midway down the nave, where, with a last despairing "fizzle," it became extinguished,

spinturnix[1]. So charged with heat was the eagle that, had it not introduced a piece of cool jet into its nest, it would positively have cooked its own eggs[2]! Viewed in this context the name *Aithyia*[3] becomes significant. It is best explained as an old participle of the verb *aitho*, 'I burn[4],' and suggests a burnt or fiery colour[5]. In point of fact the herring-gull is distinguished by its yellow bill, which has a patch of bright red at the basal angle; the eye too is of a beautiful straw-colour set in a frame of vermilion formed by the rim of the eyelid[6]. Again, the little owl—*Athene noctua*, as the ornithologists term it—certainly derived its name *glaux* from the fiery glance of

revealing itself as a stuffed bird tied on to a bundle ot squibs. Immediately the spectators rushed upon it, each trying to secure at least a feather.... That evening the walls were placarded with the announcement of a "Mala Pasqua," and all sorts of misfortunes for the present year were freely prophesied' (Jessie L. Weston in *Folk-Lore* 1905 xvi. 182—184, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Balder the Beautiful i. 126 f.). I witnessed the ceremony myself on Saturday, 15 April 1922, when the fiery bird made its double flight in safety, the *Carro* burst in fine style, and the crowd filling the Piazza scrambled for the smouldering fragments.

[1] Fest. p. 330 *b* 34 ff. Müller, p. 446, 7 ff. Lindsay *spintyrnix* est avis genus turpis figurae...ea Graece dicitur, ut ait Santra, *σπιωθαρίς*. Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 731 adds: 'das wohl als Vogel mit funkelnden Augen zu *σπιωθαρίς*, *σπιωθήρ* "Funke." In der Endung sieht Stowasser AfLL. VI, 563 vielleicht richtig das westgriech. *ὄρνιξ* (=*ὄρνις*) "Vogel," wie auch in *co(c)turnix*, das Keller Volkset. 51 als Muster für die Bildung von *spinturnix* gehalten hatte.' Cp. Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 924.

[2] Myth. Vat. 3. 3. 4 quod vero aquilam eius deputant tutelae, quam refert fabula Jovi contra Gigantes dimicanti fulmina ministrasse, et hanc dant physici rationem, quod aquila per naturam nimii est caloris, adeo ut et ova, quibus supersedet, possit coquere, nisi gagaten, lapidem frigidissimum, admoveat. unde Lucanus (6. 676) 'foeta tepefacta sub alite saxa.' addunt etiam, adeo acutum esse aquilae intuitum, ut pro fulgentissimis solis radiis numquam deflectat obtuitum. matres etiam, ut ajunt, pullos suos contra solis ortum obvertunt, ut si in ipsos solis radios lumina figere sustinuerint, in vitam reserventur, si non, a nido dejiciantur. unde Lucanus in ix (9. 902) dicit 'utque Jovis volucris calido quum protulit ovo' etc. (Cp. *supra* i. 104 n. 1, ii. 230.) elemento igitur calidissimo et limpidissimo, videlicet aethere, illud ales consectatur, quod et calore abundat et perspicacitate. Dionys. *ὀρνιθιακά* (printed in the Didot *Bucolici* p. 107 ff. in the form of a Byzantine epitome wrongly ascribed to Euteknios) 1. 1 says of the eagle's stone (the *ἀετίτης*, on which see A. Nies in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 704 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 777 n. 1, G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 34, J. Evans *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance particularly in England* Oxford 1922 Index p. 251 *s.v.* 'Aetites') *ἐὰν ἐν λέβητι παφλάζοντος ὕδατος ἐπιψαύσῃ, τὴν τοῦ πυρὸς νικήσει πάντως ἰσχύν.*

[3] *Supra* p. 783 n. 1.

[4] K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[3] München 1900 p. 210 (cp. *ἄγυια* and the like). Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 23 doubts this derivation, being more impressed by the fact that so many bird-names begin with *al-*, possibly to be identified with *avi-s*.

[5] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 15.

[6] J. L. Bonhote *Birds of Britain* London 1907 p. 364 ff. pl. 91, W. P. Pycraft *A Book of Birds* London 1908 p. 82 pl. 16, 1.

its eyes[1]. Such birds, swooping upon their prey by sea or land, would appeal to the imagination of a simple folk and might well be regarded as lightning-birds appropriate to Athena, who wielded the thunderbolt of Zeus[2]. This is speculative, and of course uncertain. But, so far as the owl is concerned, further evidence is forthcoming. Columella[3], describing the rites by which the country people sought to avert wind and weather, says:

> Hence Amythaon's son[4], whom Cheiron taught,
> On crosses hung the night-birds and on roof-tops
> Would have them cry no more their deadly dirge.

Palladius[5] follows suit, and in his farmer's calendar, among other magic means of warding off hail-stones, gives the *recipe*: 'Or else an owl is nailed up with wide-spread wings.' The same cure is still popular in Germany[6] and elsewhere. C. Swainson[7], a well-known authority on bird-lore, remarks: 'Owls are often nailed up on barn doors or walls. The meaning of this custom is now unknown in our own rural districts; but in Germany the peasants will tell you it is done to avert lightning. The owl, it is to be observed, is a lightning bird.' If so, we get rid of one small difficulty. It might have been thought that the divine power resident in the head of Zeus would have been born as an eagle, not an owl[8]. But the owl of Athena, as we now perceive, was virtually equivalent to the eagle of Zeus. The equation seems to have struck the Greeks themselves in

[1] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1202, 10 ff. *τὸ δὲ γλαυκιόων ἀντὶ τοῦ ἐμπυρον βλέπων κατὰ τοὺς παλαιοὺς παρὰ τὸ γλαύσσω, ἀφ' οὗ καὶ γλαῦξ, ἣν μόνην τῶν γαμψωνύχων καὶ σαρκοφάγων φασὶ μὴ τίκτειν τυφλὰ διὰ τὸ περὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς πυρῶδες, ὃ τιμητικὸν ὂν διαιρεῖ τὴν θέαν. διὸ καὶ ἐν ταῖς σκοτομήναις ὁρᾷ.* The source of this note was Demokritos of Abdera (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 52, 13 ff.), cp. *et. mag.* p. 233, 10 ff. *Δημόνικος*, but Zonar. *lex.* p. 439 and Favorin. *lex.* p. 422, 16 ff. *Δημόκριτος*.

Modern philology supports the ancient derivation: see L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iii. 68, Prellwitz *op. cit.*[2] p. 95, Boisacq *op. cit.* p. 150.

[2] First in Aisch. *Eum.* 827 f., cp. Pind. *frag.* 146 Bergk[4], 146 Schroeder *πῦρ πνέοντος ἄ τε κεραυνοῦ | ἄγχιστα δεξιὰν κατὰ χεῖρα πατρός | (ἡμένα)...*; then on coins, gems, etc. See Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 191, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 677 f., Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 330, and *infra* § 9 (h) ii (λ) (5).

[3] Colum. *de re rust.* 10. 348 ff. [4] Melampous. [5] Pallad. 1. 35. 1.

[6] A. Kuhn *Die Herabkunft des Feuers und des Göttertranks*[2] Gütersloh 1886 p. 189 'Die eule an das scheunenthor genagelt schützt aber das haus vor blitz', E. H. Meyer *Germanische Mythologie* Berlin 1891 p. 112 'Sie wird gegen Zauber und Blitz ans Scheunentor genagelt (Wuttke § 165)', Taylor in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 1074 'Sehr verbreitet ist das Annageln einer E. oder einzelner Teile von ihr an Ställen, Scheunen usw. gegen Blitzschlag, Feuer und anderes Unheil' with n. 29 on p. 1078.

[7] C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 123.

[8] *Supra* p. 733 f.

Hellenistic times. Bronze coins of Pergamon (fig. 591)[1] show an owl on a winged thunderbolt inscribed ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦΟΡΟΥ, 'of Athena the Bringer of Victory.' A similar type occurs on gold[2] and silver of Tarentum[3] and on bronze of Herakleia in Lucania[4] and Amastris in Paphlagonia[5], while small bronze pieces issued at Athens have two owls face to face on a thunderbolt[6]. Finally, Zeus himself has an owl, not an eagle, as his attribute on imperial bronze coins of Akmoneia in Phrygia (figs. 592—594)[7] and on others struck by Alexandros i Balas at Kyrrhos in Syria (*supra* ii. 15 n. 5 fig. 2).

Fig. 591.

Fig. 592.

Fig. 593.

Fig. 594.

The passage from the ornithomorphic to the anthropomorphic conception of Athena involves several successive stages:

1. Athena as a bird.
2. Athena as a bird with human arms.
3. Athena as a bird with human head.
4. Athena as a goddess with bird's wings.
5. Athena as a goddess with a bird for her attribute.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 132 pl. 27, 13, cp. *ib.* p. 131 pl. 27, 11 f. and *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 62 no. 7680 pl. 264, 6, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 536. I figure a specimen in my collection. H. von Fritze in the *Corolla Numismatica* Oxford 1906 p. 56 f. pl. 2, 25 connects the coins inscribed ΑΘΗΝΑΣ ΝΙΚΗΦοΡοΥ with the Nikephoria of 183 B.C.

[2] *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 68 no. 24.

[3] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 54 pl. 115, 232, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 128 pl. 99, 15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 202, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 76 nos. 96—100 pl. 5, 18, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 92 nos. 642—645 pl. 25, 9 and 10, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii. pl. 8, 236 Lloyd.

[4] Carelli *Num. It. vet.* p. 89 pl. 163, 68, Garrucci *Mon. It. ant.* p. 134 pl. 102, 15, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Italy p. 234, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 116 nos. 863, 864 pl. 30, 2.

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus etc. p. 84 pl. 19, 5, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.*[2] i. 174 no. 10 pl. 18, 8.

[6] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 24, 60—67, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 79 pl. 14, 3, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 72 nos. 182, 183.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phrygia pp. xxiii, 9 f. pl. 3, 3 (=my fig. 593) and 4 (=my fig. 594). Fig. 592 is from a specimen kindly given to me by Mr C. T. Seltman, who notes that the magistrates L. Servenius Capito and Iulia Severa are apparently husband and wife, both holding priestly office under Nero.

The first stage we have already considered. It was perhaps best exemplified by the Megarian cult of Athena *Aithyia*, 'the Gull[1].' But there were substantial grounds for thinking that at Athens Athena took the form of an owl[2].

We have next to note how the bird becomes human-armed. A series of moulded terra-cotta pendants found in south Italy, especially in the neighbourhood of Tarentum, represents an owl that has not only wings but human hands as well and is spinning with distaff, yarn, and wool-basket all complete (figs. 595, 596)[3]. These odd-looking objects are always pierced with a couple of holes and seem to have served originally as loom-weights[4]. There can be little doubt that the owl spinning is Athena *Ergáne*[5] in her character as patron of women's handiwork[6].

The transition from bird to human-headed bird can be illustrated by an early Corinthian *aryballos*, found in Aigina and now preserved in the Archaeological Museum at Breslau (fig. 597)[7]. This shows Herakles contending with the Lernaean Hydra. The hero has already cut off one of the monster's ten heads: it is to be seen above, that is beyond, the horses on the right. Undaunted by two

[1] *Supra* p. 783 nn. 1, 2. [2] *Supra* p. 784 ff.

[3] See P. Perdrizet in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1903 p. 264 f., R. Engelmann in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 122 f. and *ib.* 1906 ii. 453 f., E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 541 ff., P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 47.

The examples so far known are two in the Museum at Bari—nos. 2910 (R. Engelmann in the *Rev. Arch.* 1906 ii. 453 fig. 1) and 1851 (*id. ib.* fig. 3), one in the Jatta collection at Ruvo, another at Brindisi (*id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 123 fig. 1 wrongly described), another belonging to C. Hülsen at Rome (*id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1906 ii. 453 fig. 2), a sixth in the Louvre (E. Pottier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 541 pl. 7, 3 (the most complete and the most grotesque)), a seventh in the Ashmolean Museum at Oxford (P. Perdrizet in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 p. 264 fig. 4, G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1915 fig. 5045), an eighth in the Museum at Lausanne (W. Deonna in the *Anzeiger für schweizerische Altertumskunde. Indicateur d'antiquités suisses.* N.S. 1910 p. 46 fig. 17). I add a specimen from Tarentum now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 430 no. E 179, my fig. 595) and another in my possession (fig. 596).

[4] So R. Engelmann in the *Rev. Arch.* 1903 ii. 122 f., 1906 ii. 453 f. But P. Wuilleumier *ib.* 1932 i. 47 still includes them among the religio-magical 'disques de Tarente' (on which see *supra* ii. 131 n. 1).

[5] So first P. Perdrizet in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1903 p. 264 f.

[6] O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 428—430. C. Swainson *The Folk Lore and Provincial Names of British Birds* London 1886 p. 124 records a (German?) tradition that the owl is an old weaver spinning with silver threads. *Id. ib.* p. 97 notes that the nightjar is called a 'Churr owl' in Aberdeen and a 'Spinner' in Wexford. Cp. G. Meredith *Love in the Valley* 35 f. 'Lone on the fir-branch, his rattle-note unvaried, | Brooding o'er the gloom, spins the brown evejar.'

[7] O. Rossbach *Fest-Gruss ... der vierzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen una Schulmaenner in Goerlitz* Breslau 1889 pp. 5—19 with fig. (=my fig. 597) reproduced on a smaller scale by Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 303 fig. 81.

Fig. 595.

Fig. 596.

Fig. 597.

more heads, which are biting deep into his shoulders, and by a large crab, which is nipping his legs, Herakles has run a long sword through two of the snaky necks, wounded a third, and grasped a fourth by the throttle. Even so he would be in imminent danger, were it not for the presence of Iolaos, who, attacking the Hydra from the opposite side, reaps three of its heads with a single pull of his toothed sickle. To right and left, marked off from each other by a flying bird, stand the chariots of Iolaos and Herakles, four-horsed and two-horsed respectively. In the former a young charioteer, Lapythos by name, holds his goad and reins in readiness for flight, while he turns his head to watch the combat. In the latter Athena had escorted Herakles. She has now dismounted and stands close at his back, inviting him with a gesture of her left hand to refresh his strength with a draught from the cup that she holds in her right. On the reins of the chariot is perched her owl; on the goad, a woman-headed bird, beside which is inscribed the word *wous*. M. Mayer[1] took this to be a variant form of *phôyx* or *pôyx*, an echoic name for 'gull.' The woman-headed bird would then be an *altera ego* of Athena *Aithyia*. But my friend the late Dr P. Giles informed me years ago that Mayer's explanation is phonetically impossible: the assumed interchange of an initial labial with an initial digamma depends on the mistaken view that digamma was pronounced like our letter *f*. Dr Giles himself suggested that *wous* might be a local onomatopoeic name for 'owl,' comparing the imitation of an owl's hoot, which in a poem by Thomas Nash[2] appears as *to-witta-woo!* and in another by Shakespeare[3] as *Tuwhit! tuwhoo*[4]*!* I gladly accept this suggestion, especially as the

[1] M. Mayer in *Hermes* 1892 xxvii. 481—487, citing Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 18. 617 a 9 φῶυξ, Hesych. πῶυξ· ποιὸς ὄρνις. ὁ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐν τῷ περὶ ζώων, *et. mag.* p. 699, 10 f. πώυγγες· αἱ αἴθυιαι, αἱ κληθεῖσαι βούγγες. παρὰ τὴν βοὴν καὶ τὴν ἰυγήν, concludes that *fῶυς* was the Corinthian form of βούγξ, φῶυξ, πῶυξ. Harrison *Proleg. Gr. Rel.*[2] p. 303 f. follows him.

O. Rossbach *op. cit.* p. 14 leaves the word (ΜΥΟΞ) unexplained, but *ib.* n. 1 adds that Studemund proposed a connexion with the root βαῦ- of βαΰζω.

[2] F. T. Palgrave *The Golden Treasury* London 1882 p. 1 *Spring* 4, 8, 12.

[3] *Ib.* p. 17 *Winter* 8, 17.

[4] Onomatopoeic names for 'owl' are common in the Indo-European languages (Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 216[b], citing J. Winteler *Naturlaute und Sprache* Aarau 1892 p. 10 f.), *e.g.* Sanskrit *úlûka-*, Latin *ulucus*, *ulula*, Old High German *âwila*, Lithuanian *ýwas*; Armenian *buēǰ*, Greek βύας, βῦζα, Latin *bûbo*. Cp. Hesych. τυτώ· ἡ γλαῦξ, Plaut. *Men.* 653 f. ME. egon dedi? MA. tu, tu istic, inquam. PE. vin adferri noctuam. | quae 'tu tu' usque dicat tibi?

J. D. Beazley in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 348 no. 8 fig. 1 publishes a red-figured *amphora* on sale in Paris, which shows an owl with the letters KYYY scratched just below its beak (fig. 598 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr C. D. Bicknell).

wous on the vase, except for its human head, resembles in all respects the unmistakable owl perched beside it. In short, I con-

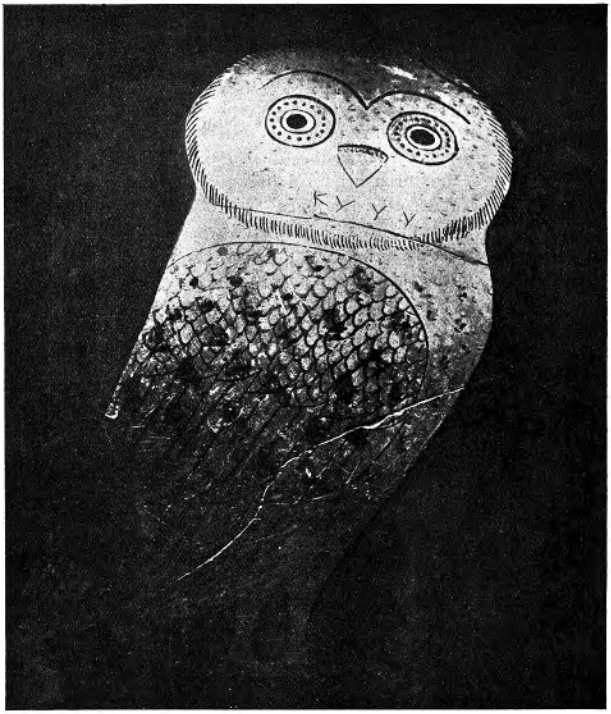


Fig. 598.

Prof. Beazley cp. Aristoph. *av.* 261 κικκαβαῦ κικκαβαῦ, schol. *ad loc.* τὰς γλαῦκας οὕτω φωνεῖν λέγουσιν. ὅθεν καὶ κικκαβὰς αὐτὰς λέγουσιν. ἔστι δὲ ἱερὰ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. κ.τ.λ. (more in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 1551 C and in F. H. M. Blaydes on Aristoph. *Lys.* 760 f. ἐγὼ δ' ὑπὸ τῶν γλαυκῶν τάλαιν' ἀπόλλυμαι | ταῖς ἀγρυπνίαισι κικκαβιζουσῶν ἀεί), and the modern Greek κουκουβαγία, κοῦκκος (where, however, we have to reckon with assimilation to the note of the cuckoo (Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 216[b] f.)). I would rather illustrate the graffito KYYY from Browning's line in *Andrea del Sarto* 'The cue-owls speak the name we call them by.'

E. Pernice 'Ein korinthischer Pinax' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898

ceive that the Corinthian potter has here synchronised in an instructive series three distinct stages in the evolution of Athena—the ornithomorphic, the semi-ornithomorphic, and the anthropomorphic[1]. Another Corinthian *aryballos*, in the Karlsruhe collection

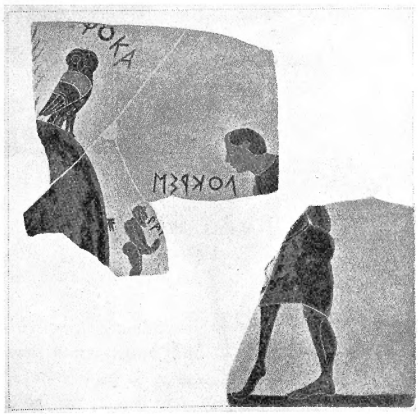


Fig. 599.

pp. 75—80 with fig. (=my fig. 599. Scale $\frac{8}{1}$F) puts together four fragments of a Corinthian *pinax* at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 76 no. 683, 78 no. 757, 89 f. nos. 822 and 829 'Stil des Timonidas'), on which a man named Λόκρις stokes a potter's oven. Before it stands a small ithyphallic figure of the sort known as *βασκάνιον* (Aristoph. *fab. incert. frag.* 39 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 1185 Meineke) *ap.* Poll. 7. 108, cp. Bekker *anecd.* i. 30, 5 ff.), here named Λα— (? cp. λάσταυρος, λαικαστής, or the like). Upon it is perched a large owl named *φώκα* (Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 20. 69, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 1. 66 no. 3119 h 69 Φώκα or *φώκα*, *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 313 *φώκα*), cp. Hesych. *φωκίων· δρνις ποιός*. The word, like *φώκη* 'a seal,' may be a derivative of the Indo-Europaean **phōu-* 'to blow, puff': so *φῶυξ* (Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 498 f., Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 1044 f.), if not also our *puffin* (but see E. Weekley *An Etymological Dictionary of Modern English* London 1921 p. 1166).

[1] It is interesting to see the same three stages combined on a red-figure *kylix* potted by Pamphaios, found at Todi, and now preserved in the Villa Giulia (G. Bendinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1916 xxiv. 874—880 pls. 3 and 4 (=my fig. 600), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 304 no. 19 *bis* fig., *Corp. vas. ant.* Villa Giulia iii 1. *c* pl. 25, 2 and 3, pl. 26, 2 with text p. 13 by G. Q. Giglioli), which represents another exploit of Herakles. While the hero wrests the tripod from Apollon, Iolaos holds in readiness his four-horsed chariot and Athena advances to his aid at once as owl, as human-headed bird, and as goddess. By this time, however, the human-headed bird has ceased to be conceived as an owl or labelled as such and has become a commonplace soul-bird of the Seiren sort (G. Weicker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 617 ff.).

Fig. 600.

(fig. 601)[1], represents a human-headed bird wearing a helmet. This can hardly be, as G. Weicker[2] supposes, the soul of a valiant warrior; for in that case it would, according to custom[3], have been bearded. Rather, it is Athena herself, no longer a bird, not yet a goddess.

Fig. 601.

This transitional conception lay dormant for centuries, while Greek art was in its prime, and then—like so many other half-forgotten ideas—awoke to a new lease of life in imperial times. Certain rare bronze pieces of small size—whether coins (*kóllyboi*, *kóllyba*[4]) or counters we cannot say—were struck at Athens in the Roman period and have as their reverse device an owl *en face* with a female helmeted head (figs. 602, 603)[5]. The archaistic legend

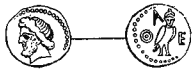


Fig. 602.

Fig. 603.

AΘE (fig. 602) suggests that we are here concerned with the restoration of an ancient type though, except for the *aryballos* just mentioned, no prototype is known. Again, *denarii* of the *gens Valeria*, issued by L. Valerius Acisculus in the year 46—45 B.C., show for reverse a human-headed bird with helmet, shield, and

[1] Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 16 no. 81 from Siana in Rhodes.

[2] G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 35 fig. 15 (=my fig. 601).

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 137 ff.

[4] Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* i. 1. 466, K. Regling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1099 f.

[5] E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 391 with figs. (=my figs. 602, 603).

spear (fig. 604)[1] or more often spears (figs. 605, 606)[2]. C. Lenormant[3] and, after him, E. Babelon[4] ingeniously explained this as a black eagle named *Valeria*[5]. But F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller[6],

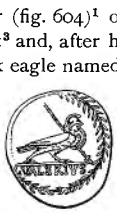


Fig. 604.

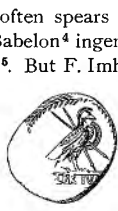


Fig. 605.

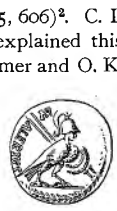


Fig. 606.

followed by M. Bahrfeldt[7], observe that the feathers of the bird are spotted as in some species of owls. There can then be little doubt but that here too we see Athena as a *quasi*-bird. The same type, with sundry variations, occurs on a series of engraved gems and pastes of Roman date (figs. 607, 608)[8], which were probably sup-

[1] M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 258 pl. 12, 271 (=my fig. 604) from a coin which passed from the Bunbury to the Haeberlin collection, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 535 no. 4105 pl. 53, 4. I have another specimen showing the single spear.

[2] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 519 f. no. 18 wrongly described with figs. of two spears crossed and two spears parallel, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 535 nos. 4106 pl. 53, 5 and 4107 with two spears crossed, i. 536 no. 4108 pl. 53, 6 (=my fig. 606) with two spears parallel. Fig. 605 is from an example in my collection.

[3] C. Lenormant in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1838 ii. 142 ff. pl. D, 2 with two spears parallel.

[4] Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 516, 520.

[5] Lenormant and Babelon both rely on Plin. *nat. hist.* 10. 6 aquilae maximus honos, maxima et vis. sex earum genera: melanaëtos a Graecis dicta [eadem in Valeria], minima magnitudine, viribus praecipua, colore nigricans. But the text is uncertain. D. Detlefsen inserted the brackets, and C. Mayhoff on the strength of Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 32. 618 b 28 *μελανάετος καὶ λαγωφόνος* suspects that *in ualeria* covers some such word as *leporaria*. Further, Lenormant and Babelon compare the part played by an eagle in the story of Valeria Luperca (Plout. *parall. Gr. et Rom.* 35 *λοιμοῦ κατασχόντος Φαλερίους* (so J. Amyot for *χαλερίους*) *καὶ φθορᾶς γενομένης, χρησμὸς ἐδόθη λωφῆσαι τὸ δεινόν, ἐὰν παρθένον τῇ Ἥρᾳ θύωσιν κατ' ἐνιαυτόν. ἀεὶ δὲ τῆς δεισιδαιμονίας μενούσης κατὰ κλῆρον λαχομένη Οὐαλερία Λουπέρκα* (so Guarinus for *τουπέρκα*) *σπασαμένη τὸ ξίφος, [ἤγετο εἰς θυσίαν (supplet* cod. E)] *ἀετὸς καταπτὰς ἥρπασε καὶ ἐπὶ τῶν ἐμπύρων ἔθηκε ῥάβδον μικρὰν ἔχουσαν σφῦραν, τὸ δὲ ξίφος ἐπέβαλε δαμάλει τινὶ παρὰ τὸν ναὸν βοσκομένῳ. νοήσασα δὲ ἡ παρθένος καὶ τὴν βοῦν θύσασα καὶ τὴν σφῦραν ἁρπασα, κατ' οἰκίαν περιῆλθε, καὶ τοὺς ἀσθενοῦντας ἠρέμα πλήττουσα διήγειρεν, ἐρρῶσθαι ἑνὶ ἑκάστῳ λέγουσα. ὅθεν καὶ νῦν τὸ μυστήριον τελεῖται· ὡς Ἀριστείδης ἐν ἐννεακαιδεκάτῳ Ἰταλικῶν* (*frag.* 10 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 322 Müller). But see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 482 as to the flimsy character of this writer).

[6] F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 74.

[7] M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 258.

[8] (1) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 248 no. 2484 pl. 28 a black jasper from the Towneley collection: bird to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and one spear; inscribed with the owner's name CHARITO (my fig. 607 is enlarged ($\frac{2}{1}$) from T. Panofka *Gemmen mit Inschriften* Berlin 1852 p. 103 pl. 4, 12 (=*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1851* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 487 pl. 4, 12)).

posed to bring good luck to their wearers, and is even found in the form of small bronze statuettes (figs. 609, 610)[1] presumably designed to serve a like practical purpose. A refinement upon the owl-Athena was the cock-Athena, whose very absurdity would raise

Fig. 607.

Fig. 608.

Fig. 609.

Fig. 610.

(2) *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 248 no. 2485 pl. 28 (where it is wrongly numbered 2488) a burnt agate from the Towneley collection: bird to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and two spears parallel.

(3) J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 87 no. F 10 a pale blue paste: bird ('Siren') to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield with *Gorgóneion* and two spears parallel. Fig. 608 is from a cast of the original (scale ⅔).

(4) Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 147 no. 3340 pl. 27 a cornelian: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield with *Gorgóneion* (Furtwängler 'mit Gorgoneion auf der Brust'!) and two spears parallel; the owl stands on palm-branch and wreath.

(5) *Id. ib.* p. 219 no. 5928 pl. 40 a brown paste: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear.

(6) *Id. ib.* p. 264 no. 7090 pl. 53 a red jasper: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, shouldering a spear (*id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 46, 30, ii. 222).

(7) Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 317 no. 8660 pl. 61 a bloodstone: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying two spears parallel (Furtwängler 'Doppelflöte unter dem l. Flügel'); the owl stands on a *Gorgóneion*, flanked by helmet and snake on the right, shield (?) and spear (?) on the left.

(8) P. S. Bartoli *Museum Odescalchum* Romæ 1752 ii. 70 f. pl. 30 a bloodstone: owl to left, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear; the owl stands on a *Gorgóneion*; to the left is an olive-spray, to the right a pillar, on which is set a one-handled vase, and to which is bound a quiver.

(9) F. Imhoof-Blumer and O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen* Leipzig 1889 p. 161 pl. 26, 61 an onyx at Vienna (no. 1067): owl to left, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear; the owl stands on a round base probably meant for a *kiste*.

(10) *Eid. ib.* p. 161 pl. 26, 62 a cornelian in the Postolacca collection at Athens: owl to right, with helmeted head of Athena, carrying shield and spear.

See further G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel* Leipzig 1902 p. 35 n. 1.

[1] Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 207 no. 1 a bronze at Avignon: owl, with helmeted head of Athena.

Id. ib. no. 2 a bronze in the Bourguignon collection (*Collection d'antiquités grecques et romaines provenant de Naples* Paris 1901 pl. 6, 206): owl, with helmeted head of Athena.

a laugh and so heighten the prophylactic effect[1]. A bronze in the Castellani collection (fig. 611)[2] represented the goddess as a cock with human face, wearing by way of helmet the skin of a cock's head complete with comb, wattles, and beak. This singular fowl, perched on a winged skull, perhaps betokens the victory of vigilance over death or points some equally edifying moral.

Fig. 611.

The fourth stage in the evolution of Athena is that in which she appears as a goddess with the wings of a bird. It has indeed been maintained that the conception of a winged Athena is not found on Greek soil till the Hellenistic age and should be explained as a case of late syncretism—Athena and Nike rolled into one[3]. But

[1] Cp. the numerous examples of Athena's head wearing a helmet with the features of Sokrates, Silenos, etc. (Reinach *Pierres Gravées* pls. 24, 25, and 30), often misnamed *grylli* (J. H. Middleton *The Engraved Gems of Classical Times* Cambridge 1891 Append. p. xx, E. Babelon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1480 f., Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 113 f., 288, 353, 363).

[2] *Castellani Sale Catalogue* Paris 1884 p. 43 no. 262 with fig. on p. 44 (=my fig. 611: scale $\frac{1}{2}$). Height $0{\cdot}17^{m}$.

[3] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 704.

that is seriously to underrate both the quantity and the quality of the evidence for an Athena winged in her own right[1].

On the one hand, a winged Athena is familiar enough in Etruscan art. A cornelian scarab of careful archaic style[2] shows the goddess without helmet, but with spear and *aigís* and two well-marked wings on her back. A bronze in the Museo Gregoriano (fig. 612)[3] again represents her with wings: this time she wears a helmet and an *aigís* decorated with a *Gorgóneion*, apparently viewed as the sun[4], a crescent moon, and sundry stars. Her

Fig. 612.

[1] See F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen' in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1871 pp. 3—52 with pl. 5, L. Savignoni 'Athena alata e Athena senz' ali' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 307—317 with pl. 12, *id.* 'Minerva Vittoria' in *Ausonia* 1910 v. 69—108, C. W. Keyes 'Minerva Victrix? Note on the winged goddess of Ostia' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1912 xvi. 490—494, C. Anti 'Athena marina e alata' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1920 xxvi. 269—318, and the coins etc. cited by H. Dressel—K. Regling *Die Münzen von Priene* Berlin 1927 p. 18 n. 103.

[2] Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 157 f. pl. 20, 220 *c*, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 16, 12, ii. 30, 76.

[3] E. Gerhard *Über die Gottheiten der Etrusker* Berlin 1847 p. 61 pl. 4, 1 (=my fig. 612), G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1928 with fig. 5075.

[4] *Supra* i. 293 with fig. 212. E. Gerhard, however, *loc. cit.* says 'ein Mondgesicht (Gorgoneion)' and is followed by G. Fougères *loc. cit.* 'le symbole de la lune en guise de Gorgoneion.' Cp. Epigenes *περὶ τῆς Ὀρφέως ποιήσεως* (Orph. *frag.* 33 Kern: *supra* p. 322 n. 3) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 8 p. 360, 17 f. Stählin *καὶ "Γοργόνιον" τὴν σελήνην διὰ τὸ ἐν αὐτῇ πρόσωπον*, and Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 4. 35 p. 102 Duncker—Schneidewin where Hekate is invoked on a moonless night as *Γοργὼ καὶ Μορμὼ καὶ Μήνη καὶ πολύμορφε*

right hand supports an owl, her left rests on her hip. A similar bronze, which once formed the handle of a *patera*, passed from the Gréau[1] into the Hoffmann[2] collection and is now in the Louvre (fig. 613)[3]: Athena's right hand raises her cheek-piece, her left holds a broken rod bearing the owl. Again, a bronze *candelabrum* from Chiusi, formerly owned by G. P. Campana and then by A. Castellani, is topped by the statuette of a winged Athena, who wears a helmet with cheek-pieces up and an *aigís* with *Gorgóneion*: her right hand is empty, her left carries a naked infant (fig. 614)[4]. Lastly, on the bronze mirrors of Etruria Athena is often winged[5].

Fig. 613.

Fig. 614.

(W. H. Roscher *Über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1890 p. 24 n. 84, *id. Nachträge zu meiner Schrift über Selene und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1895 p. 21 n. 1, and in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3188).

[1] W. Fröhner *Collection Julien Gréau. Catalogue des bronzes antiques et des objets d'art du moyen âge et de la Renaissance* Paris 1885 p. 8 f. no. 31, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 393 no. 7.

[2] W. Fröhner *Collection Hoffmann* Paris 1888 no. 376.

[3] De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 138 no. 3024 pl. 106 (= my fig. 613), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 297 no. 3.

[4] I. Roulez 'Minerve Courotrophos' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1872 xliv. 216—225 pl. N (part of which = my fig. 614).

[5] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii pls. 36, 1—9, 69, 87, 134, 146, 246 (owl as shield-sign), 254 A, 2, iv pls. 286, 2, 305, v pl. 61, 2.

On the other hand, Ionian art of the sixth century B.C. does not hesitate to equip the goddess with wings. A scarab in banded onyx, set in a gold bezel attached to a bronze ring, came from Amathous to the British Museum and shows (fig. 615)[1] Athena standing towards the right. Two recurved wings start from her back. Her breast is full and prominent[2]. One hand grasps a spear, the other holds up her *chitón*. Behind her back are visible the snakes of her *aigís* and a Seilenos-mask, which appears indeed to form part of her crested helmet, but is better explained as her *Gorgóneion* seen in profile[3]. Behind her feet are three lines of doubtful meaning[4]. Again, a white-figured sarcophagus from Klazomenai, now at Berlin, has a frieze of late sixth-century style, in which a central Athena standing to the left with round shield and four recurved wings is flanked by two warriors with horses and hounds[5]. Lastly, the west frieze of the Siphnian Treasury at Delphoi (*c.* 525 B.C.) represents Athena setting foot on a chariot drawn by four winged horses, but pausing to adjust a large *aigís* on her shoulders. The goddess herself had recurved wings of the archaic sort: the end of one is still visible in the relief; the other was originally added in paint on the background[6].

Fig. 615.

Attic black-figured vases tell the same tale. A fine sixth-century bowl in the Faina collection at Orvieto (fig. 617)[7] has

[1] Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 6, 56, ii. 30, 76, iii. 93, 98, 115, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 20, 5 (enlarged) p. 170, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 52 no. 437 pl. 8. My fig. 615 is drawn (scale ⅔) from a cast kindly supplied by Mr E. J. Forsdyke.

[2] *Supra* p. 225 n. 1 *sub fin.*

[3] J. D. Beazley *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 8 'The helmet...is stated by Furtwängler to have a mask of silenesque type attached behind; but the mask belongs to the aegis and not to the helmet' (cp. *ib.* p. 19 f. no. 26 pl. 2). That is right: yet, Beazley's suggestion notwithstanding, G. Lippold and H. B. Walters *locc. citt.* still see what Furtwängler saw.

[4] H. B. Walters *loc. cit.* says: 'In the field, three drops of blood (?).' Snakes of *aigís*? Extra wings begun but left unfinished??

[5] R. Zahn in the *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 5. 10 pl. 58 (part of which = my fig. 616), *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1908 xxiii. 169—180, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 165 ff., iii. 31 fig. 140, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 132 fig. 221.

[6] C. Picard and P. de la Coste-Messelière in the *Fouilles de Delphes* iv. 2. 130 ff. pl. 7—8, 1 (with statement and criticism of previous views).

[7] G. Körte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 128 ff. no. 12, D. Cardella *Museo etrusco Faina* Orvieto 1888 p. 74 no. 150, L. Savignoni in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1897 xii. 307—317 with pl. 12 (=my fig. 617).

Fig. 616.

Fig. 617.

for obverse and reverse type an Athena advancing towards the right between two prophylactic eyes. On both sides she wears helmet, *chitón*, and *himátion*. But, whereas the one design shows her wingless, with shield and spear, the other shows her winged and bearing an outstretched *aigís*. Similar curled oriental wings are given to Athena on a small *amphora* found in Etruria and

Fig. 618.

now in the Louvre[1]. The goddess, wearing a high-crested helmet and carrying a spear, is seated on a folding-stool: her owl is beside her, perched on the tip of her left wing. Finally, on an *oinochóe* from Kameiros in the Bibliothèque Nationale at Paris (fig. 618)[2] we see Athena, armed with a spear and a long-crested Corinthian helmet, winging her way through the air as she bears

[1] E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 2me Série Paris 1901 p. 132 f. no. F 380 pl. 87, *id. Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 810.

[2] De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* i. 172 f. no. 260 fig. 23 (=my fig. 618).

a dead warrior (? Kekrops[1]) across the sea. Her protective air recalls Aischylos'[2] phrase at the end of the *Eumenides*: 'them that shelter beneath the wings of Pallas the Father honoureth.' Yet the same poet[3] in the same play makes Athena come from Troyland 'without wings, flapping but the *aigís*-fold.' Clearly

Fig. 619.

[1] This is possible, but far from certain. On the one hand, the representation suits the myth of Athena Ἀίθυια (*supra* p. 783 f.). On the other hand, the myth does not say that Kekrops was actually dead when carried off by Athena to Megara; and, unless we accept Pausanias' assumption (1. 5. 3) that there were two kings named Kekrops, we should expect him to be serpentiform (*supra* pp. 181, 186 f., 770, 773).

[2] Aisch. *Eum.* 1001 f. Παλλάδος δ' ὑπὸ πτεροῖς | ὄνταs ἄζεται πατήρ.

[3] *Id. ib.* 404 πτερῶν ἄτερ ῥοιβδοῦσα κόλπον αἰγίδος. The expression πτερῶν ἄτερ suggests that Athena had only recently shed her wings (I am indebted for the observation to Miss D. Lamb of Newnham College: see also Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 306 f.)..

Aischylos, like the painter of the Orvieto bowl, could think of her either as winged or as wingless.

During the fifth century, when humanising tendencies were rife, Athena ceased to be treated at will as a semi-bird. We have reached the point at which Nike split off from Athena *Níke* and went her own winged way, leaving the older goddess wingless. But just here we encounter an obvious difficulty. If Nike with wings was indeed an abstraction from Athena *Níke*[1], how is it that Athena *Níke* had no wings, was indeed so notoriously 'wingless' that she came to be known as Nike *Ápteros*[2]? The texts describe her cult-effigy as a *xóanon* without wings, holding a pomegranate in its right hand, a helmet in its left[3]. It was in all probability seated, for an Attic *oinochóe* of the later black-figured style, now at Altenburg and

[1] So Harrison *Myth. Mon. Anc. Ath.* p. 366 'From Athene Polias, invoked as Athene Polias Nike, the personality of Nike separated off and developed attributes of her own, impossible when she was only a form of Athene. Such an attribute were her wings' etc., A. Baudrillart *Les divinités de la Victoire en Grèce et en Italie d'après les textes et les monuments figurés* Paris 1894 p. 7 'Simple don ou attribut d'Athéna, elle se détache d'elle, prend une personnalité distincte, et apparaît bien réellement comme la seconde personne d'une sorte de dualité,' *ib.* p. 13 'C'est donc vers le commencement du cinquième siècle qu'a dû s'achever la séparation progressive de Nikê d'avec Athêna et la conquête de son indépendance, fait qui d'ailleurs n'empêche point l'antique Athêna-Nikê de subsister.'

E. E. Sikes, who does not accept this view, argues that 'if Nike is to be regarded as an abstraction from any greater deity, she must be an abstraction from Zeus' (*Class. Rev.* 1895 ix. 282). Mr Sikes' criticism is approved by H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 310. See, however, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1066 n. 3 (*id. Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 566) 'Athenas Beziehungen zu Nike scheinen alt, älter als die spezifisch attische Kultur: darauf weist, dass Nike T. des Pallas und der Styx heisst, Hsd. Θ 384 [383 ff. Στὺξ δ' ἔτεκ' Ὠκεανοῦ θυγάτηρ Πάλλαντι μιγεῖσα | Ζῆλον καὶ Νίκην καλλίσφυρον ἐν μεγάροισιν· | καὶ Κράτος ἠδὲ Βίην ἀριδείκετα γείνατο τέκνα· | τῶν οὐκ ἔστ' ἀπάνευθε Διὸς δόμος, οὐδέ τις ἕδρη, | οὐδ' ὁδός, ὅππῃ μὴ κείνοις θεὸς ἡγεμονεύῃ, | ἀλλ' αἰεὶ παρὰ Ζηνὶ βαρυκτύπῳ ἑδριόωνται. κ.τ.λ. But in 384 codd. D.G.H.K.L. read *νείκην*. *An leg.* Νείκη? Νείκη is elsewhere personified as the equivalent of Ἔρις (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* v. 1402 C, H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1165), cp. 782 *ἔρις καὶ νεῖκος*, and the sinister sense is perhaps more appropriate to a sister of Ζῆλος, Κράτος, and Βίη]. Dieser Pallas wird von Dion. Hal. I 33 dem Lykaonsohn gleichgestellt, der die Athena auferzogen habe, sodass diese Milchschwester oder Jugendgespielin der Nike wird. Hier scheinen altarkadische Ueberlieferungen wenigstens mitbenutzt.'

[2] Paus. I. 22. 4, 2. 30. 2, 3. 15. 7, 5. 26. 6.

[3] Heliodoros of Athens (on whom see F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 15—18) *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 425 Müller) *ap.* Harpokr. *s.v.* Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ·...ὅτι δὲ Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ξόανον ἄπτερον, ἔχον ἐν μὲν τῇ δεξιᾷ ῥοάν, ἐν δὲ τῇ εὐωνύμῳ κράνος, ἑτιμᾶτο παρ' Ἀθηναίοις δεδήλωκεν Ἡλιόδωρος ὁ περιηγητὴς ἐν ᾱ περὶ ἀκροπόλεως = Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* Νίκη Ἀθηνᾶ, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 576. 1 ff. (Nikarchos). Schol. Dem. *c. Timocr.* 121 (ii. 118 Baiter—Sauppe) *τινὲς δὲ ἐξηγοῦνται· Νίκης Ἀθηνᾶς ἐστιν ἄγαλμα ἐν τῇ ἀκροπόλει. ταύτης δὲ τὰς πτέρυγας χρυσᾶς οὔσας ἐπεχείρησάν τινες κακοῦργοι ἀφελέσθαι καὶ ἀπώλοντο αὐτοὶ ὑφ' ἑαυτῶν οἱ κακοῦργοι· κ.τ.λ.* is confusing Athena *Níke* with the Nike on the hand of Athena *Parthénos* (cp. Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 123 f. nos. 680—687).

hitherto unpublished, shows Athena seated with a helmet on her head and a pomegranate in her left hand (fig. 619)[1]. A white-ground *lékythos* by a minor painter of the middle archaic period, about 480 B.C., gives head and hand only, helmet and pomegranate being the essential points (fig. 620)[2]. The head is simply copied from the current coinage of Athens—its position in profile to the right, its scroll-pattern, its neck-plate, its leaves to commemorate Marathon[3]—unless of course both vase and coins are copies of the cult-statue. Replicas of this vase exist, for the type was

Fig. 620.

[1] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 689, *id. Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 445 n. 5. I am much indebted to Dr F. Matz of the Staatliches Lindenau-Museum at Altenburg for most kindly sending me the photograph of vase no. 203, from which my fig. 619 was made.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 396 no. D 22, A. S. Murray—A. H. Smith *White Athenian Vases in the British Museum* London 1896 p. 24 pl. 14 (=my fig. 620), A. Fairbanks *Athenian Lekythoi with outline drawing in glaze varnish on a white ground* New York 1907 i. 54 no. 22, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 71 no. 32 (assigned to 'the Painter of the Bowdoin Box'), *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 140 no. 41 ('der Bowdoinmaler').

[3] C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 103, *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 91.

plainly popular[1]. In fact, some seventy years later, in 409 B.C., Sophokles[2] in his *Philoktetes* can still make Odysseus invoke the same goddess:

'*Nike* Athena *Poliás*, saviour mine.'

On the whole, the available evidence seems to point to the following conclusions. The worship of Athena on the Nike-bastion was of ancient date[3]. The goddess as an earth-mother was represented by a seated statue—Athena *Poliás*[4]—holding a pomegranate, symbol of fruitfulness or life renewed[5]. At some period of warlike achievement, say that of Marathon, the helmet was added and the

[1] An almost identical *lékythos* is published by W. Fröhner *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Catalogue of objects of Greek ceramic art* London 1888 p. 57 f. no. 135 with pl. (no pomegranate visible). And J. D. Beazley *locc. citt.* notes a red-figured replica at Bonn.

[2] Soph. *Phil.* 134 Νίκη τ' Ἀθηνᾶ Πολιάς, ἣ σώιζει μ' ἀεί.

[3] H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 311 concludes with regard to this cult: 'Er ist als ein alteinheimischer anzusehen und zwar gerade auch wegen des ungewöhnlichen und altertümlichen Attributs des Granatapfels.' This sensible conclusion is substantiated by the recent excavations carried out by N. Balanos beneath the temple of Athena *Níke* (E. P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 145—147 with 4 figs.: 'The work of taking down the Nike bastion is continuing. The temple itself has been entirely removed except for the foundations and lower step on the north side which it is hoped may be left undisturbed, as well as the north face of the bastion. Just inside the north foundation wall of the marble temple, blocks of an earlier, probably post-Persian, poros temple, were found *in situ*. This is orientated with the altar and bases found by Welter in the space between the marble temple and the Propylaea. The Turkish cistern which had been cut in the centre of the bastion had destroyed most of this earlier temple and no one had been sure of its existence').

[4] *Supra* p. 574 n. o.

[5] The significance of this pomegranate has been much discussed. O. Benndorf 'Ueber das Cultusbild der Athena Nike' in the *Festschrift zur 50jähr. Gründungsfeier des deutschen archäologischen Instituts in Rom* Wien 1879 pp. 17—47 conjectured that Kimon organized the cult and built the temple of Athena *Níke* after the great Athenian victory on the Eurymedon (467 or 466 B.C.), and that he introduced the art-type of the goddess from the neighbouring town of Side in Pamphylia: *σίδη* means 'pomegranate' and coins of **Σίδη** from *s.* v onwards show a pomegranate, Athena, and Nike, though not Athena or Nike actually holding a pomegranate (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 143 ff. pl. 25, 7 ff., *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 510 ff. pl. 58, 6 ff., *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 262 ff. pl. 317, 1 ff., Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 535 ff. pl. 24, 4 ff., ii. 2. 931 ff. pl. 142, 6 ff., Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 703 f.). But this ingenious hypothesis has to face two serious objections: (1) An inscription published by P. Kabbadias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1897 p. 173 ff. pl. 11 (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 671, *A*, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 63, *a*, *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 24), which can be dated by its lettering to the period 460—446 B.C. and by the name [*Ἱππόν*]*ικος*, *sc.* son of Kallias, to the year 448 B.C., records a proposal (line 4 ff.) [*τῆι*] | [*Ἀθεναίαι τῆι Νίκ*]*ει ἱέρεαν δὲ ἁ*[*ν δι*][*ὰ βίο ἱερᾶτα*]*ι ἐχς Ἀθεναίον hαπα*[*σô*][*ν καθίστα*]*θαι καὶ τὸ ἱερὸν θυρῶσα*]*ι, καθότι ἂν* Καλλικράτες *χσυγγράφσ*]*ει· ἀπομισθῶσαι δὲ τὸς πολετὰς ἐπὶ τ*]*ῆς Λεοντίδος πρυτανείας· φέρεν δὲ τ*]*ὲν ἱέρεαν πεντέκοντα δραχμὰς καὶ | τὰ σκέλε, καὶ τὰ δέρματα φέρεν τὸν δε*]*μόσιον· νεὸν δὲ οἰκοδομέσαι καθότι | ἂν* Καλλικράτες *χσυγγράφσει καὶ βο*]*μὸν λίθινον.* (2) For some unknown reason the matter was long delayed. Indeed the architecture and sculpture of the existing temple are carried out in a style which points to a date *c.* 425 B.C. (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 442 ff.). In that year the Athenians won

successes against the Ambraciotes and their Peloponnesian allies at Olpai, the Corcyraean insurgents on Mt Istone, and the inhabitants of Anaktorion. They testified their gratitude by dedicating a fresh statue of Athena *Nike*, and this in turn was restored at some date between 350 and 320 B.C. (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 403, *a*, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 264, *a*). These considerations have led to a summary rejection of Benndorf's hypothesis (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1879 xxxvii. 97, C. Robert in U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Aus Kydathen* Berlin 1880 p. 184 n. 1, R. Kekulé *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* Stuttgart 1881 p. 25, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 689, H. Bulle *ib.* iii. 310 f., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.*

Fig. 621.

ii. 99 n. 1, W. Judeich *Topographie von Athen*[2] München 1931 pp. 218 n. 1, 222 n. 2), and indeed it is clear that Kimon cannot have had any hand in the building or equipping of the extant temple. It might, however, be contended that he built and equipped an earlier structure on the same site, especially in view of the 'post-Persian' blocks of *poros* found by N. Balanos (*supra* p. 813 n. 3). Even so it remains highly improbable that the cult of Athena *Nike* was introduced from Pamphylia, or that the pomegranate in her hand was a piece of canting heraldry.

Assuming then, as we have every right to do, that the pomegranate in Athena's hand was an ancient symbol, we have next to discover the nature of the symbolism. The Greeks were struck by two characteristics of the fruit—its red colour and its numerous seeds (cp. Kallim. *lavacr. Pall.* 27 f. of Athena's toilet before the Judgment of Paris *τὸ δ' ἐρευθος ἀνέδραμε, πρώιον οἷαν | ἢ ῥόδον ἢ σίβδας κόκκος ἔχει χροΐαν*). The first certainly suggested blood (Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 73 *ῥοαὶ δὲ τραυμάτων εἰσὶ σημαντικαὶ διὰ τὸ χρῶμα*). The second possibly suggested fertility (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 445, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* ii. 696 n. c), though of this we have no definite proof (yet P. Saintyves *Les Vierges Mères et les Naissances Miraculeuses* Paris 1908 p. 94 remarks that pomegranates occur in a Florentine spell against sterility in women). The two

together seem to have betokened the renewal of life after death. And this would agree well enough with the observed habits of the tree (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 13. 3 *ἔνια δὲ γηράσκει μὲν καὶ σήπεται ταχέως, παραβλαστάνει δὲ πάλιν ἐκ τῶν αὐτῶν, ὥσπερ αἱ δάφναι καὶ αἱ μηλέαι τε καὶ αἱ ῥόαι καὶ τῶν φιλύδρων τὰ πολλά*).

Thus pomegranates sprang from the blood-drops of Dionysos; whence women celebrating the Thesmophoria would not eat pips of the pomegranate that fell on the ground (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 19. 3 p. 15, 9 ff. Stählin, Euseb. *praep. ev.* 2. 3. 28. ?cp. *supra* ii. 1129). The same fruit was taboo at the Athenian Haloia (schol. Loukian. *dial. mer.* 7. 4 p. 280, 22 Rabe), at the Eleusinian mysteries (Porph. *de abst.* 4. 16, cp. Artemid. *oneirocr.* 1. 73), and in the Arcadian temple of Despoina (Paus. 8. 37. 7). Again, a pomegranate sprang from the severed member of Agdistis; and Nana, who placed some of its fruit in her bosom, thereby conceived and became the mother of Attis (*supra* ii. 969 n. 4). Attis has pomegranates in his wreath (*supra* ii. 298 with fig. 189), and his priest holds one together with three pomegranate(?)-twigs (*supra* ii. 300 with fig. 193).

On the common tomb of Eteokles and Polyneikes grew a pomegranate, said to have been planted there by the Erinyes: its fruit bled, when plucked (Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 29. 4). On the tomb of Menoikeus near the Neïstan gate of Thebes grew another pomegranate: when the rind of its fruit was broken, the inside looked like blood (Paus. 9. 25. 1). A pomegranate, therefore, was desirable food for the dead, and figures frequently on funeral monuments of the archaic period (Spartan *stêlai*, 'Harpy' tomb, etc.). A fragmentary Laconian *kýlix* in the British Museum shows a woman presenting a pomegranate to a seated man (*supra* i. 95 fig. 68). A polychrome Attic *lékythos* at Berlin depicts a *stéle*, and a woman holding out four pomegranates on a plate for Charon to take (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 765 no. 2680, F. von Duhn in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1885 xliii. 20 ff. no. 6 pl. 3 (=my fig. 621), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 457, 4). A similar *lékythos* from Alopeke near Athens, also at Berlin, has the dead man seated by his *stéle* leaning on a couple of spears. His *chitón* is decorated with a sprig of pomegranates (green leaves, purple fruit), and both *chitón* and *himátion* have a border of green leaves. On the right stands another man, whose *himátion* is adorned in the same way with two large pomegranate-sprigs and with sundry separate leaves and fruits. On the left a maiden approaches with a basket of offerings. She wears *péplos* and *himátion*, the former decked with leafy borders and two large pomegranate-sprigs, the latter with a third sprig of the same sort (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* ii. 766 no. 2682, W. Riezler *Weissgrundige Attische Lekythen* München 1914 p. 140 f. pl. 92).

The pomegranate as the food of the Underworld recurs in the myth of Persephone, who might not remain on earth with Demeter because she had eaten one (*h. Dem.* 372, 412, Apollod. 1. 5. 3) or three (Ov. *fast.* 4. 607 ff., Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 3. 511) or seven (Ov. *met.* 5. 533 ff., cp. Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 1. 39, interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 4. 462, Myth. Vat. 1. 7, 2. 100) pips of a pomegranate growing in Hades' domain. An engraved amethyst in my collection shows, according to A. S. Murray, Persephone holding a pomegranate over against Demeter. A bronze statuette from the Payne Knight collection represents Persephone with a pomegranate in her left hand and a torch (?) in her raised right hand (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 179 no. 982). A bronze mirror at Paris makes her stand with a pomegranate held out in her right hand (Babelon—Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 530 no. 1320). Persephone is often associated with a pomegranate in terra-cotta figures, the fruit or flower being regularly held against her bosom. Usually the fruit is in her right hand between her breasts (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 109 no. B 212 Kameiros, p. 110 no. B 223 Kameiros, p. 143 no. B 427 Sicily, R. Kekulé *Die Terrakotten von Sicilien* Stuttgart—Berlin 1880 p. 59 fig. 121, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 93 no. B 126 Kos, p. 234 no. C 474), occasionally in her left hand as well (*ib.* p. 87 nos. B 86 Melos, B 87 Melos); or a flower is in her right hand between her breasts and a fruit in her left under her left breast (*ib.* p. 149 no. B 462 Lokroi Epizephyrioi (?) (my fig. 622 is from E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1849 xxi. 114 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 9, 1), cp. p. 142 no. B 418 Kamarina); or she is seated with the fruit in her right hand on her lap and the flower in her left hand on her left shoulder (*ib.* p. 137

no. B 390 Tharros in Sardinia). Her priestess or worshipper similarly has a shallow basket containing two pomegranates, which she holds in her left hand against her breast (*ib.* p. 281 f. no. C 798 Benghazi). A tomb-painting from Nola, now at Berlin, shows Persephone, or more probably a dead woman, seated on a throne, holding a pomegranate in her left hand against her breast and a flower in her uplifted right hand (E. Gerhard in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1850 viii. 145 ff. pl. 14 (=my fig. 623), Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 88 f. pl. Millin ii, 78, 9, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 228 pl. 11, F. Weege in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 130 (*s.* v or iv), M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting*

Fig. 622.

Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 261 fig. 433 (*s.* v), who *op. cit.* p. 262 f. figs. 439 a, 439 b, 440 gives a series of similar but certainly human figures from other Oscan paintings (*s.* iv). On the pomegranate in relation to Persephone see further L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1859 p. 131 f. Atlas pl. 4, 2, 1865 pp. 10 no. 14, 77 Atlas pl. 3, 22, 1873 p. 16 and B. Ashmole in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1922 xlii. 250.

In view of the foregoing evidence it is reasonable to conclude that a pomegranate in the hand of a deity implied perpetual regeneration and was virtually regarded as fruit from the Tree of Life. Polykleitos' chryselephantine Hera was enthroned with a pomegranate in one hand, a sceptre in the other (Paus. 2. 17. 4: *supra* i. 134, iii. 65 ff.). A bronze statue representing Milon the Olympic victor as standing on a *dískos* with a pomegranate

grasped in his left hand and the fingers of his right hand raised and spread, while his head was bound with a fillet, was said by Apollonios of Tyana to portray the athlete as a priest of Hera (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 28 p. 76 f. Kayser, but cp. Paus. 6. 14. 6, Ail. *de nat. an.* 6. 55, *var. hist.* 2. 24). A statue of the youthful Zeus *Kásios* at Pelousion held a pomegranate in its outstretched hand (*supra* ii. 986 n. 0).

Aphrodite is said to have planted the pomegranate in Kypros (Eriphos *Meliboia frag.* 1, 11 f. (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 556 f. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 84 c). Her connexion with the fruit comes out also in the story of Melos. According to the interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 8. 37, a certain Delian named Melos fled to Kypros in the reign of Kinyras. Kinyras

Fig. 623.

made him companion to his son Adonis and gave him to wife Pelia, a relative of his own who was likewise a devotee of Aphrodite. Pelia bore Melos a son, called Melos after his father; and the boy was brought up *inter aras*, *i.e.* in the precinct of Aphrodite. When Adonis was killed by the boar, Melos i in his grief hanged himself on the tree from which he got his name *Mêlos*: Pelia, his wife, hanged herself on the same tree. Aphrodite in pity for their fate made perpetual lament for Adonis, transformed Melos i into the fruit that bears his name, Pelia into a dove (πέλεια), and bade Melos ii return with followers to Delos. He did so, and becoming powerful there founded the state of Melos (cp. Arrianos of Nikomedeia *frag.* 71 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 Müller)=*frag.* 70 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 865 Jacoby) *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 530). It should be added that the μῆλον on coins of Melos is always a pomegranate, never an apple (see *e.g.* Babelon

Monn. gr. rom. ii. 1. 1319 ff. pl. 62, 10—14, ii. 3. 847 ff. pls. 241, 8—21, 242, 1—19, 243, 1—23, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Crete etc. p. 103 ff. pl. 23, 16 ff., *ib.* Lycia etc. p. lxxxi. *Supra* i. 305 n. 14). An archaic Greek bronze in the British Museum shows a goddess assumed to be Aphrodite holding a pomegranate in her right hand, her drapery in her left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 18 no. 198 pl. 3). An Etruscan mirror-stand in the same collection repeats the *motif* (*ib.* p. 77 no. 549). Terra-cotta statuettes from Kition (*Larnaka*) in Kypros, which represent a goddess holding a pomegranate to her breast (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 47 nos. A 270, A 271, p. 59 no. A 391) or on her knee (*ib.* p. 47 no. A 269), may be meant for Aphrodite (see *ib.* p. xxxvii, and cp. *supra* ii. 807 n. 5 (4)). One of the Horai on the magnificent red-figured *kýlix* by the potter Sosias (bibliography *supra* ii. 1167 n. 6: add J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 59) is holding a branch laden with pomegranates in either hand. An oval bronze tablet of Graeco-Roman date in the British Museum has

Fig. 624.

a high relief of three goddesses (Horai?), each of whom wears a triple-pointed crown with an inverted crescent in front of it and holds a pomegranate in her right hand: their left hands hold respectively a bird, a flower, and an indistinguishable object (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 156 no. 862. My fig. 624 is from a new photograph). How Rhoio (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 121 ff., Weicker in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 1004 ff.) and the Rhoiai (O. Höfer *loc. cit.* iv. 119), nymphs of the pomegranate-tree, were represented, we do not know.

Older than any of these is a clay idol (0·80^{m} high) found in a small circular hut of the latest 'Minoan' phase at *Gazi* between Tylissos and Herakleion. The half-length figure of a goddess with uplifted hands rises from a cylindrical base (cp. *supra* ii. 536 fig. 406, *c*): she wears, stuck upright in her hair, three pins topped by pomegranates. A similar, but smaller (0·53^{m} high), goddess from the same sanctuary has on her head 'horns of consecration' flanked by a pair of doves (Elizabeth P. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 371 f. figs. 1, 2 (=my fig. 625), 3).

A modern Greek folk-tale from Syros (*Syra*) makes a prince transform himself into a huge pomegranate growing on a tree in the king's garden (J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 38 no. 68).

appellative *Nîke* became fixed. The rock-goddess had sent forth her owls, omens of victory, and henceforward these emissaries—the Nikai of her famous balustrade—must needs be winged, though she their source and origin remained wingless[1].

However that may be, the winged Athena reappears in

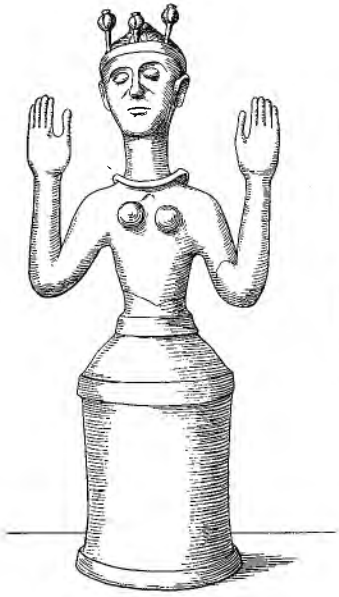


Fig. 625.

Fig. 626.

Hellenistic times. Comparable with the gold *statér* of Agathokles (fig. 580)[2] are the bronze coins of Boiotia, struck *c.* 288—244 B.C.

[1] A terra-cotta statuette in the Antiquarium at Munich, referred by Bulle to the middle of *s.* v. B.C., represents a winged Nike standing with her left arm supported on a tree-stem. She holds a pomegranate in her left hand, an *oinochóe* in her right, being apparently conceived as a handmaid (cp. E. Bernert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 293, 302) about to offer food and drink to some deity, perhaps to Athena *Nîke* (H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 340 with fig. 18 = my fig. 626).

[2] *Supra* p. 785 fig. 580.

(fig. 627)[1], on which a winged Athena advances towards the right, one arm outstretched and covered with the *aigis*, the other raised and brandishing the thunderbolt. Bronze coins of Prousias i (fig. 628)[2], who was king of Bithynia from *c.* 228 to *c.* 183 B.C., vary the type. A winged and helmeted Athena with lowered left hand holds a shield bearing in relief a Gorgon's head, while with uplifted right hand she crowns the king's name (in place of himself). Bronze coins of Demetrios ii Nikator (fig. 629)[3], king of Syria, to be dated

Fig. 627.

Fig. 628.

Fig. 629.

Fig. 630.

Fig. 631.

[1] F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Die Flügelgestalten der Athena und Nike auf Münzen' in the *Num. Zeitschr.* 1871 pp. 1 ff., 45 ff. pl. 5, 1 ('Geflügelte Pallas'), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 39 pl. 6, 3 and 4 ('Winged Pallas or Nike'), *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 37 no. 12 ('Winged Pallas (or Nike)'), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 327 no. 5626 pl. 203, 1 and no. 5627 ('Winged Nike'), Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 353 ('Winged Athena'). Fig. 627 is from a specimen in my collection. The goddess intended is presumably Athena *Itonia*: see G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1917 f. fig. 5050.

[2] F. Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* p. 7 pl. 5, 4, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 209 pl. 37, 4 and 5, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 259 nos. 3—6, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 222 f. no. 16 pl. 30, 10 London and 11 Berlin, *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 39 no. 7528 pl. 258, 2, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 519. Fig. 628 is from a specimen in my collection.

An example belonging to the French consul L. E. Cousinéry (1747—1833) showed wings on the helmet, not on the shoulders, of Athena (Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* ii. 508 f. no. 47). Athena has a winged helmet also on a terra-cotta mural relief in the Louvre (G. Fougères in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1925 fig. 5060: see further *infra* Append. P p. 1006), and on coins of Herakleia in Lucania, Metapontum, Arkesine in Amorgos, etc. (Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* p. 44). The earliest instance occurs on a unique electrum *statêr* of the Ionian revolt, 500—494 B.C., obtained by Jameson from the hoard at *Vurla* (Klazomenai) (R. Jameson in the *Rev. Num.* 1911 p. 60 no. 4 pl. 1, 4, H. Dressel—K. Regling *Die Münzen von Priene* Berlin 1927 p. 17 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, 1 (=my fig. 631), C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 83, 88 pl. 12, 3).

[3] F. Imhoof-Blumer *loc. cit.* pp. 6 f., 44 pl. 5, 3 (=my fig. 629), *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 62 pl. 18, 12, E. Babelon *Les rois de Syrie* Paris 1890 p. 159 nos. 1225 pl. 22, 15, 1226, 1227.

144, 143, etc. B.C., introduce a further variation. Athena, winged and helmeted as before, supports with her left hand shield and spear, but on her right hand carries a small Nike, who extends

Fig. 632.

a wreath towards her. *Denarii* of Domitian (fig. 630)[1] issued in 95 and 96 A.D. show the same goddess winged and flying towards the left with helmet, spear, and shield.

[1] Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 158 no. 220 *b*, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. ii pp. lxxxvii, 344 f. pl. 67, 1 and 3.

Graeco-Roman gems likewise represent Athena winged and armed, carrying a Nike[1], or holding a wreath and accompanied by her snake[2], or grouped with a diminutive warrior[3].

Among the finds made in a Scythian grave-mound at Alexandropol and now preserved in the Hermitage was the skeleton of a horse still wearing its *phálara* of gilded silver. The frontlet is embossed with a facing figure of the winged Athena—an excellent *apotrópaion*[4]. The goddess mounts guard with spear, shield(?), and *aigís*, her faithful owls beside her (fig. 632)[5]. L. Stephani[6] and

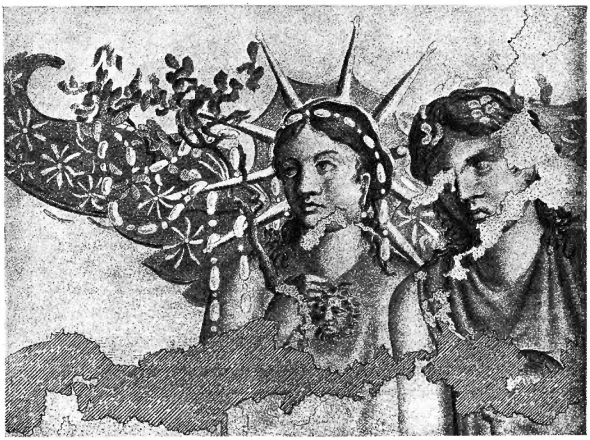


Fig. 633.

F. H. Marshall[7] referred these horse-trappings to the fourth century B.C., but E. H. Minns[8], on stylistic grounds, assigns them with greater probability to late Hellenistic times.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 360 no. 3850 a fragmentary cameo in paste imitating sard.

[2] Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 127 no. 2779 a violet paste, and no. 2780 a red paste, both from the Uhden collection.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 154 no. 1365 a garnet, in ancient gold setting, from the Blacas collection.

[4] *Supra* i. 336.

[5] *Recueil d'antiquités de la Scythie* St. Pétersbourg 1866 Atlas col. pl. 14, 5 (≐my fig. 632).

[6] L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 167 f.

[7] F. H. Marshall in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 159 f. But in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Jewellery* p. 239 no. 2108 pl. 40 he says 'Ca. 300 B.C.'

[8] E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 155.

An ingenious application, or misapplication, of the type occurs in a Pompeian fresco (fig. 633)[1], one of several which represent Auge the priestess of Athena pursued by Herakles[2] and were presumably based on some Pergamene original[3]. Auge was the daughter of Aleos, king of Tegea[4], and the scene is laid at the foot of Mount Parthenion. The artist personifies the mountain as Parthenos and, thinking of Athena *Parthénos*, equips her with the *Gorgóneion* and the filleted olive-branch of the goddess. Then, remembering that Parthenos was also the constellation Virgo[5], he adds dark blue wings spangled with yellow stars and a blue *nimbus*[6] with golden rays. Perhaps too he realised that Parthenos the constellation was by some identified with Dike[7], the daughter of Zeus by Themis[8], who might well be moved by this exhibition of lawless love.

Less learned, but more noble, is a fine Flavian goddess in white Italian marble, found at Ostia near the Porta Romana, of whose attic she once formed part (fig. 634)[9]. She has the three-crested helmet of Athena *Parthénos*, a circular shield with a central *Gorgóneion* at her right side, and a pair of splendid pinions on her back. Accordingly, G. Calza[10], on the analogy of Athena *Nike*, calls her 'Minerva Vittoria.' Minerva *Victrix* would perhaps be better Latin; but that appellative is known almost entirely from coins[11],

[1] C. Robert in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1884 lvi. 75—87 pls. I and K (=my fig. 633) after drawings by Sikkard revised by A. Mau, Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 83 no. 500 (*Reg.* ix. 5. 2).

[2] Four examples of the subject are conveniently grouped by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 188 nos. 2—5.

[3] C. Robert *loc. cit.* p. 81 notes that the small inner frieze of the Pergamene altar (*supra* i. 119) included both the story of Auge and that of Telephos, her son by a later union with Teuthras, king of Mysia. On the myth in its relation to Pergamon see C. Pilling *Quomodo Telephi fabulam et scriptores et artifices veteres tractaverint* Halae Saxonum 1886 pp. 1—104, E. Thraemer *Pergamos* Leipzig 1888 p. 369 ff. ('Auge und Telephos'), J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 296 ff., cp. *supra* ii. 1179.

[4] *Supra* ii. 1147.

[5] O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1655 ff. *Supra* i. 755 n. 10, ii. 734 n. 3.

[6] *Supra* i. 40.

[7] First in Arat. *phaen.* 96 ff., cp. pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 9=Arat. Lat. in E. Maass *Commentariorum in Aratum reliquiae* Berolini 1898 p. 201. Later authorities for the identification of Parthenos with Dike or Iustitia are collected by O. Höfer *loc. cit.* p. 1656. Their ultimate source was a mere misunderstanding of Hes. *o. d.* 256 ἡ δέ τε παρθένος ἐστὶ Δίκη, Διὸς ἐκγεγαυῖα.

[8] Hes. *theog.* 901 f.

[9] From a photograph by Alinari (no. 32721). Height 2·40m. See further L. Savignoni in *Ausonia* 1910 v. 69—108 pl. 4 and figs. 13, 13 *bis*.

[10] G. Calza *Ostia*[2] Milano—Roma s.a. (? 1929) p. 32 with fig. 8 (showing shield).

[11] C. W. Keyes 'Minerva Victrix?' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1912 xvi. 490—494 with figs. 1 (from left) and 2 (from right), after adducing the evidence of coins (p. 493 n. 2)

Fig. 634.

and the numismatic type is unfortunately wingless[1]. Mrs Strong[2] with greater caution speaks of 'the winged Minerva' as an 'adaptation of a Greek model of the fifth century' and in that respect compares the (wingless) Minerva of the Forum Transitorium[3]. C. Picard[4] too is content to recognise a 'Minerve ailée,' aptly citing the similar goddess from Bulla Regia in Numidia[5].

Finally, in the fifth stage of her evolution Athena becomes purely anthropomorphic. But even then the owl is retained as an attribute or adjunct. Goddess and bird, originally connected by a bond which amounted to identity, were never wholly separated. Their association might of course be expressed in a great variety of ways. In point of fact, however, it commonly took shape in certain art-types of long-standing sanctity and significance, the bird appearing on the pillar, on the head, on the hand of the goddess, or duplicated and attached to her chariot.

Of the owl on a pillar I have already spoken[6]. It conforms to the wide-spread type of bird-on-column[7], which can be traced back to 'Minoan' times[8] and, as M. P. Nilsson[9] justly claims, implies the epiphany or embodiment of the deity concerned.

The owl on the head of Athena is indeed attested by two

and inscriptions (p. 494 n. 1) (add one literary reference, in *Aetna* 581) concludes: 'Briefly, the winged goddess of Ostia represents a fusion of the Parthenos type and the Victory motif, whether this fusion he derived from a Greek Athena Nike or be due to the originality of the Roman artist. In all probability it stands for Minerva Victrix and not for Roma Victrix. For the only other known Roman example of a winged Athena type represents Minerva and not Roma, and the conception of Minerva Victrix appears to have been more popular under the Empire than that of Roma Victrix, particularly from the reign of Domitian on.'

[1] Unless it can be maintained that the winged but nameless figure on Domitian's *denarii* (*supra* p. 821 fig. 630) was also a Minerva *Victrix*.

[2] E. Strong *Art in Ancient Rome* London 1929 ii. 67.

[3] H. Blümner in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1877 xlix. 8, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 40, 1 and 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 370, E. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 145, *ead. La scultura romana da Augusto a Costantino* (trad. G. Giannelli) Firenze 1923 i. 132 pl. 22.

[4] C. Picard *La sculpture antique de Phidias à l'ère byzantine* Paris 1926 ii. 446, 451 with fig. 178.

[5] L. Poinssot in the *Catalogue du Musée Alaoui* (*Supplément*) Paris 1910 p. 57 no. 1017 pl. 33, 3 and no. 1018 pl. 33, 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 172 no. 8 ('Traces d'ailes'), L. Savignoni in *Ausonia* 1910 v. 89 ff. with figs. 16, 17, and 18 (two marble statues found in a temple of Apollon at Bulla Regia represent Minerva. One gave her marble wings, a mural crown, a shield on her right arm, and a *cornu copiae* in her left hand. The other had bronze wings, now lost).

[6] *Supra* p. 778 n. 1.

[7] *Supra* i. 34 f., 66, 83, ii. 1133 n. 1.

[8] Sir A. J. Evans in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1901—1902 viii. 28 ff. fig. 14, *id. The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 222 f. fig. 166, F.

[9] Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 285 ff.

Fig. 635.

passages of Aristophanes[1], but remains unexampled. It was, I think, modified into the owl on her helmet, of which sundry specimens are extant[2]. W. Deonna[3] illustrates the *motif* from a couple of Graeco-Egyptian terracottas at Geneva, a lamp at Berlin[4], and a fine bronze statuette of Roman date found in 1916 at Avenches[5] (fig. 635). He assumes an original emanating from the school of Pheidias in the second half of the fifth century and dedicated on the Athenian Akropolis. But again we may reasonably suspect that the type had a long history behind it, being a late but lineal descendant of such figures as the Cnossian goddess with a dove on her head[6].

Fig. 636.

Fig. 637.

Fig. 638.

Imperial coins of Athens presuppose other statues of Athena with an owl on her hand. She stands uplifting the owl in her left hand and holding out a *phiále* in her right (figs. 636, 637)[7]—clearly a cult-image[8]. Or, bearing the owl and leaning on a spear (fig. 638)[9].

[1] Aristoph. *eq.* 1092 f. *καί μοὐδόκει ἡ θεὸς αὐτὴ | ἐκ πόλεως ἐλθεῖν καὶ γλαῦξ αὐτῇ 'πικαθῆσθαι, av.* 515 ff. *ὁ Ζεὺς γὰρ ὁ νῦν βασιλεύων | ἀετὸν ὄρνιν ἔστηκεν ἔχων ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς, βασιλεὺς ὤν· | ἡ δ' αὖ θυγάτηρ γλαῦχ', ὁ δ' Ἀπόλλων ὥσπερ θεράπων ἱέρακα.*

[2] *Supra* p. 46 n. 4.

[3] W. Deonna in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 281—284 with fig. 1 (head of Athena in the Musée d'Art et d'Histoire, Genève, no. 10004), fig. 2 (do. do. no. 10005), fig. 3 (upper part of the Athena from Avenches), pl. 2 (the Athena from Avenches (=my fig. 635))—summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 205 f.

[4] W. Weber *Die ägyptisch-griechischen Terrakotten der ägyptischen Sammlung der kgl. Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1914 p. 114 no 155 pl. 16.

[5] W. Cart in the *Indicateur d'antiquités suisses* 1917 p. 87 f. pl. 11, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 121 no. 2.

[6] *Supra* ii. 536 fig. 406 *c*, H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*[2] Berlin 1923 p. 82 fig. 115, Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 340 fig. 193 *a* 1 and *a* 2.

[7] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 84 pl. 15, 3, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 133 pl. AA, 2 Loebbecke, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 25, 1—4, 5—10. Figs. 636, 637 are from specimens in my collection.

[8] E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 387 suggests Athena *Ἀρχήγετις* (O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 444) on the strength of schol. Aristoph. *av.* 515 *τῆς Ἀρχηγέτιδος Ἀθηνᾶς τὸ ἄγαλμα γλαῦκα εἶχεν ἐν τῇ χειρί.* B. V. Head in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 84 n. ‡ hesitates to accept the suggestion.

[9] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 93 pl. 16, 2, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* iii. 133 pl. AA, 3 London, J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 83, 35 London, 36 Munich

Fig. 639.

Fig. 640.

Or, holding the owl in her raised right hand and the spear in her lowered left (figs. 641, 642)[1]. This last pose occurs also in plastic art. An Attic bronze statuette of early fifth-century style, lent by the Earl of Elgin to the British Museum (fig. 639)[2], represents Athena in the act of letting the bird fly. And a relief in Pentelic marble, dating from *c.* 465 B.C. and now preserved in the Lanckoroński Palace at Vienna (fig. 640)[3], adds Gorgon-shield and boundary-herm

Fig. 641.

Fig. 642.

to indicate that the scene is her own precinct on the Akropolis. Once more it is obvious that the owl sent forth from the hand of the goddess is comparable with the small running figure on the arm of the Cauloniate Apollon[4] or with winged Eros on the arm of Aphrodite[5]—in short, embodies the very soul of Athena.

An engraved cornelian at Berlin—good work of the Graeco-Roman period—shows Athena with helmet, spear, and shield, standing in a chariot drawn by a pair of owls (fig. 643)[6]. Just so Zeus was drawn by eagles[7] and Apollon by swans[8]. These

(owl in left, spear in right); 39 and 41 Athens, 42 J. Anderson (=my fig. 638) (owl in right, spear in left); 38 and 40 Athens (with shield).

[1] *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 77 no. 229 pl. 35, 5 (with snake), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *op. cit.* iii. 133 pl. AA, 4 Rhousopoulos (with snake) (cp. my fig. 641), J. N. Svoronos *op. cit.* pl. 84, 1 J. Anderson, 2 Berlin (=my fig. 642), 3 Athens, 4 Hirsch, 5 London, 6 Berlin (3—6 with snake). B. Pick in the Index to Svoronos p. vi says '*Archégetis*?'.

[2] A. Conze 'Athena mit der Eule' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 p. 176 f. pl. 9, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 85 no. 3, E. J. Forsdyke in *The Illustrated London News* for March 24, 1934 p. 464 with three good photographs showing the statuette from front, back, and three-quarter position. My fig. 639 is from the official photograph.

[3] H. Schrader 'Athena mit dem Käuzchen' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 1—32 with a fine heliogravure (=my fig. 640).

[4] *Supra* ii. 1040 ff. figs. 888—890.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1043 f. fig. 892.

[6] Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 3. 176 pl. 22, 241, Imhoof-Blumer—O. Keller *Tier- und Pflanzenbilder auf Münzen und Gemmen des klassischen Altertums* Leipzig 1889 p. 129 pl. 20, 62, Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 247 no. 6729 pl. 48. My fig. 643 is drawn (scale $\frac{2}{3}$) from a cast in the collection of T. Cades.

[7] *Supra* ii. 462 n. 0 fig. 362.

[8] *Supra* ii. 460 n. 2 (*a*) fig. 358.

Hellenistic fancies are not without some warrant in Hellenic literature and art. Apollon's swans go back to Alkaios[1], Aphrodite's sparrows to Sappho[2], and Athena herself on a fifth-century vase has a team of snakes[3]. But the Hellenic grouping of divinity and divine animal more often figures the former as riding on the latter—Apollon on his swan[4], Artemis on her doe[5], Poseidon on a dolphin[6], Dionysos on a bull[7], Aphrodite on a goat[8], and so forth. At an earlier date Anatolian and Mesopotamian art made the god or goddess stand erect on the back of the sacred creature—Sandas on a lion[9], Adad[10] or Ramman[11] or Iupiter *Dolichenus*[12] on a bull, his consort on an ibex[13] or a hind[14]. In such cases the anthropomorphic and theriomorphic representations of the deity are simply juxtaposed.

Fig. 643.

And here a point of some interest emerges. In the foregoing sections I have contended that Athena was a pre-Greek mountain-mother of the Anatolian kind, whose life was manifested in the flora and fauna of the Akropolis-rock[15]. The olive[16], the snake[17], the owl[18] were all alike daemonic powers instinct with the vitality of Athena. The owl in particular was regarded as Athena herself in

[1] *Supra* ii. 459 f.

[2] Sapph. *frag.* 1. 5 ff. Bergk[4], 1. 5 ff. Diehl, 1. 5 ff. Edmonds. Edmonds translates *στροὐθω* 'thy two swans' (cp. Hor. *od.* 3. 28. 15 oloribus, 4. 1. 10 oloribus, Stat. *silv.* 1. 2. 142 olores, 146 cygni, 3. 4. 22 cygnos, Sil. It. 7. 441 olores, and a terracotta from Egnatia in the Museo Nazionale at Naples (no. 6688) which represents Aphrodite drawn across the sea in a shell by a pair of swans (T. Panofka in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1848 ii. 300, J. J. Bernoulli *Aphrodite* Leipzig 1873 p. 409, Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii, i. 2. 196 no. 6)). But see Aristoph. *Lys.* 723 and Athen. 391 E—F. Not improbably the swans were a later common-sense substitute for the sparrows.

[3] *Supra* p. 769 f. fig. 566. [4] *Supra* ii. 460 n. 2 (*b*) with pl. xxv and figs. 359—361.

[5] *Supra* ii. 854 with pl. xxxviii. [6] *Supra* p. 627 n. 0 (3) with pl. xlviii.

[7] *Supra* ii. 661 fig. 600.

[8] M. Böhm 'Aphrodite auf dem Bock' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv. 208—217, E. Bethe *ib.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. pp. 27, 29, M. Collignon 'Aphrodite Pandemos' in the *Mon. Piot* 1894 i. 143—150, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 222 f., R. Ganszyniec 'Aphrodite Epitragia et les chœurs tragiques' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 431—449.

[9] *Supra* i. 599 ff. figs. 462—468, ii. 560.

[10] *Supra* ii. 769 n. 0 with fig. 730, n. 2 with fig. 732.

[11] *Supra* i. 576 with fig. 446, 606, ii. 765 n. 1 with figs. 715 and 716, 766 n. 1.

[12] *Supra* i. 606 ff. with pl. xxxiv and figs. 478, 480, 481, 484, 487, 488, 494.

[13] *Supra* i. 617 with fig. 488. Cp. i. 610 f., ii. 99 n. 0.

[14] *Supra* i. 620 pl. xxxiv. [15] *Supra* pp. 224, 748 f., 764.

[16] *Supra* p. 763 f. [17] *Supra* p. 775 f. [18] *Supra* p. 781 ff.

visible form. Indeed, we have traced in some detail the stages through which the bird was developed into the goddess[1].

A curious confirmation of these claims may be found in a Sumerian tablet of baked clay referable to the time of the Larsa dynasty (*c.* 2300—2000 B C.), recently published by Mr Frank Davis[2], and now to be seen in the art-collection of Mr Sydney Burney (pl. lxi)[3]. This remarkable relief shows a nude goddess *en face*, standing erect on two lions and flanked by two owls. She herself has the wings and talons of an owl, and an additional spur on either leg. She wears a head-dress of bovine horns[4], bunches of hair that hang down over her shoulders, a broad necklace round her throat, and bracelets on her wrists. Lastly, in either hand she displays an emblem which Mr Sidney Smith interprets as a measuring rod and looped cord[5]. As to technique, the eyebrows

Fig. 644.

Fig. 645.

[1] *Supra* p. 794 ff.

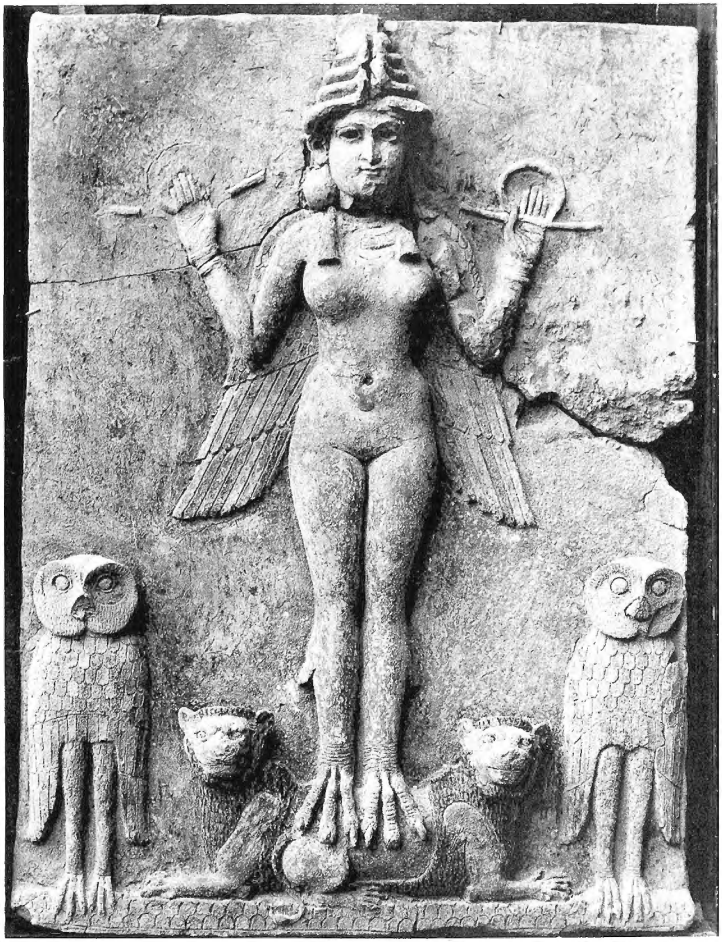
[2] In *The Illustrated London News* for June 13, 1936 p. 1047 with a full-page photographic reproduction. D. Opitz 'Die vogelfüssige Göttin auf den Löwen' in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1937 xi. 350—353 fig. 1 seeks to discredit the relief as exhibiting sundry rare or unexampled features. But E. Douglas Van Buren 'A further Note on the Terra-cotta Relief' *ib.* pp. 354—357 figs. 2—6 aptly cites several parallels, *e.g.* fig. 3 the Louvre plaque AO 6501 (*infra* p. 833 f.). An authoritative discussion by H. Frankfort is shortly to be published.

[3] Mr Burney, of 4 Bruton Street, Westminster, W. 1, kindly allowed me to examine the original at my leisure, while Mr Sidney Smith spared time to discuss its significance and furnished me with the fine photograph from which my pl. lxi is taken. The tablet itself measures 19½ inches in height, and is in a state of almost complete preservation.

[4] Certainly not a 'snake head-dress,' as Mr F. Davis *loc. cit.* states. Cp. *e.g. supra* i. 263 fig. 190 Šamaš (4 horns), i. 577 fig. 446 Ramman (1 horn) and Ištar (1 horn), i. 578 fig. 447 Ramman? (4 horns), ii. 546 fig. 424 Adad (1 horn) and Ištar (1 horn). Good examples in Ebert *Reallex.* vii pl. 143 Sun-god (4 pairs of horns) and pl. 145, b Sun-god (4 horns). Better still in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Paris 1935—1936 L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre pp. 218 A, B, 226 A, 247, 258 A, 259 C, 260 A, 263 C, D, 286 A, B.

[5] Sir E. A. Wallis Budge in his account of the Sippar relief (*supra* i. 263) spoke of this emblem, there held by the Sun-god, as 'a disk and bar, which may be symbolic of the sun's orbit, or eternity.'

Mr Sidney Smith would recognise rather a measuring rod with a coil of cord. He compares part of the *stéle* of Ur-Nammu, on which the coil is rendered as having separate strands and a dependent loop (C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1925 v. 398 pl. 48 ('I imagine that the staff and looped cord are the measuring-rod and line of the architect such as were held by the angel whom Ezekiel saw in a vision in Babylonia



A Sumerian relief in baked clay:
Lilith (?), a possible ancestress of the Owl-Athena.

See page 832 ff. and *page* 1193

are in relief, the lines on the palms incised[1]; the eyes were inlaid, the whole body painted red, except perhaps for a darkened *pubes*; the wing-feathers are picked out in red and dark colouring. The nearest analogue to the entire figure is furnished by a similar, but much smaller, plaque in the Louvre[2], which again shows a nude

Fig. 646.

Fig. 647.

(Ezek. xl. 3)'), L. Legrain in the *Revue d'Assyriologie et d'Archéologie Orientale* 1933 xxx. 111 ff. with pl. 1), and concludes (July 3, 1936): 'I suppose then, this Lilith holds the symbols of justice because she is executing the orders of some high god, carrying out fell designs only on those who have sinned.'

Mr C. T. Seltman has suggested to me (Nov. 11, 1936) that the emblem in question is akin to the Cypriote form of *ānkh* on coins of Salamis (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Cyprus p. 50 nos. 23 and 26 pl. 10, 1 and 4=my figs. 644 and 645), and that circle and bar may have symbolised the female and male organs. Such a combination would be suitable enough for Lilith, and there is much to be said for the view that the *ānkh* was a sign of procreation (Sir E. A. Wallis Budge *Amulets and Superstitions* Oxford 1930 pp. 128 ff., 134 f., 339 f.). Yet other interpretations are still rife (see *e.g.* Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 14 pl. 3 fig. 30, *a—g* man's girdle-tie, A. H. Gardiner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 20[b] f. sandal-straps), and it should be noted that the *ānkh* has almost invariably its oval or circle resting on a vertical as well as a horizontal bar.

An object of curiously similar shape is the navel-string or 'twin' (*mulongo*) of the king of Uganda, which was wrapped in bark-cloth, decorated with cowries and beads, and treated like a person in a special house built for it (Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: The Magic Art i. 196. Cp. *supra* ii. 193 n. 1). Fig. 646 is from an example in my possession. But the resemblance of the African relic to the Sumerian attribute is presumably quite fortuitous.

If guess-work were allowable, my own surmise would be that the bar-and-circle held by the goddess is a conventional snake, such as the *Imoka Kamui* or 'divine image' made out of sedge by the Ainu and used by them in their snake-worship especially at the time of childbirth (J. Batchelor in J. Hastings *op. cit.* i. 251[a] with fig.=my fig. 647). On this showing the Mesopotamian goddess would be a close counterpart of the 'Minoan' goddess, who brandished a snake in either hand (*supra* ii. 930 n. 0, cp. ii. 1221 fig. 1014) and has been already compared with Athena (*supra* p. 189 f.). However, from Larsa to the Kurile Islands is a far cry.

[1] So in early 'Ionic' sculpture, *e.g.* the left hand of the rejoicing woman or of the lyre-playing youth on the Boston relief (F. Studniczka in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1911 xxvi pl. 1 and fig. 61, L. D. Caskey *Museum of Fine Arts, Boston. Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture* Harvard Univ. Press 1925 p. 30 ff. no. 17, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with figs. 477 and 478).

[2] Picture-postcards of the plaque are procurable in Paris.

goddess *en face*, with bird's wings, claws, and spurs, but makes her stand on two goats and omits the two owls.

It is not easy to give a name to this singular personage. Her nudity suggests a goddess akin to Aphrodite or Astarte or Ištar. Her lions recall Kybele, the mountain-mother of Asia Minor; and we observe that the ground beneath the lions is marked with the regular conventional design for mountains. A nude goddess standing erect on a lion occurs in Hittite art[1] and—since she suckles an infant—must be regarded as maternal. I am therefore emboldened to surmise that in this unique, or all but unique, Mesopotamian type we have—incredible as it sounds—the remote ancestress of Athena, half-bird half-goddess, *theà glaukôpis* as Homer's forebears called her[2].

To this venturesome view Mr Sidney Smith demurs. In a recent letter to me (June 25, 1936) he puts forward a less precarious hypothesis:

'The plaque presents some very interesting problems in Sumerian religion. The goddesses are very difficult to place, and many of the names merely represent different aspects of one and the same conception—given at different points in a ritual, or at different times of the day, or on different occasions. The point is to decide the class of deity represented on the plaque; and this, I think, can be done with some certainty. The claw-feet and the spur on the leg (a new feature) place her in the demon class. Her obvious beauty consorts with that. She is the kind which ravishes young men, in lonely places, by night, leaving them unsexed[3]. Finally, her association with the lions points to a connection with the celestial Ishtar, the morning- and evening-star: and Ishtar was a ravisher of men, see the Gilgamesh epic. What then are the owls (an entirely new feature)? They are, as I guess, her night servants: they serve her fell purpose as watchers.

[1] E. Meyer *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter* Berlin 1914 p. 109 pl. 11, 2, H. Zimmern in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1925 v (Religion der Hethiter) p. 11 with fig. 7, a and b, O. Weber in P. Westheim *Orbis Pictus* ix (Die Kunst der Hethiter) p. 17 figs. 8 and 9 bronze statuette of *c.* 1750 B.C. at Berlin: height $0{\cdot}185^{m}$. [2] *Supra* p. 781.

[3] Analogous Greek and Roman beliefs are very fully investigated by O. Crusius 'Die Epiphanie der Sirene' in *Philologus* 1891 l. 93—107 with pl., W. H. Roscher *Ephialtes* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1900 xx. 2) Leipzig 1900 pp. 1—133, H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1818—1821, F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 544—546.

A relief in Greek marble, which passed from the collection of J. Gréau into that of W. Fröhner, shows a Nightmare of the sort, assaulting her victim, in the guise of a nude woman with a bird's wings and talons (T. Schreiber *Die hellenistischen Reliefbilder* Leipzig 1889—1894 pl. 61 (=my fig. 648), Harrison *Proleg. Gk. Rel.*[2] p. 202 f. fig. 38, G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* Leipzig 1902 pp. 74, 181, *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 609 with fig. 8).

For Germanic parallels see F. Ranke 'Alp' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 281—305 (especially p. 294 f.).

If this be right—it cannot be far wrong—the plaque is an apotropaic: the thing pictured drives away the thing immaterial, a well-established principle in Babylonian magic.

I turn back to your letter of the 18th with its very fascinating thesis....It seems to me that a difficulty immediately occurs. Athene was preeminently the virgin, and that is just the reverse of the character we may assume for the Babylonian goddess. You say that the *Parthenos* is later, that she was originally *Meter*, but recovered virginity yearly[1]. But *Meter* also is very far from our demon, whose name may have been *Lilitu* (Lilith) *Ardat Lili* (the slave-girl of the Night) whose characters you can discover in R. C. Thompson, *Devils and Evil Spirits*[2]. To establish a firm connection between Athene and the goddess of the plaque, will it not be necessary to show that the goddess was not originally, as later, representative of Law, Liberty, and Reason, but a local demon who fell upon the transgressor (witting or unwitting)?

Fig. 648.

[1] *Supra* pp. 224 ff., 748 f.

[2] R. Campbell Thompson *The Devils and Evil Spirits of Babylonia* London 1903 i pp. xxvi f., xxxii, xxxvi ff., cp. p. li f. (on the owl as a bird of ill-omen among the Assyrians, etc.). See further S. Bochart *Hierozoicon* rec. E. F. C. Rosenmüller Lipsiae 1796 iii. 829—831 ('*De Lilith, Lamiis et Strigibus*').

The strongest point in favour of your argument would be the association of snakes[1] and owls with the same deity. It might be possible to assume that the snakes who are associated with Ishtar are the snakes who carry out the commands of Shamash, the god of Law and Righteousness.'

In answer to the friendly criticisms of Mr Sidney Smith I would urge that the formidable and rapacious aspect of the goddess desiderated by him is to be sought in Athena's relation to the Gorgon[2], who sometimes at least was conceived as a ravening bird of prey (fig. 649)[3]. That this side of her nature made a strong appeal to the popular mind is sufficiently proved by the survival of her epithet *Gorgoepékoos*[4].

Fig. 649.

[1] *Supra* p. 833 n. 0 *sub fin.* [2] *Supra* ii. 502 n. 2, iii. 189 n. 1.

[3] A black-figured *hydria* of late, Etruscan, style, found by E. Gerhard at Vulci in 1834 and now at Berlin, shows a Gorgon-headed monster, with four wings and the talons of a bird, clutching two naked youths (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 477 no. 2157, R. Engelmann in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1886 i. 210 ff. fig. (=my fig. 649), *id.* in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1847 fig., G. Weicker *Der Seelenvogel in der alten Litteratur und Kunst* Leipzig 1902 p. 6 fig. 1, E. Sittig in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 2422 f.). The very similar figure, which appears twice as a decorative relief on a bronze Etruscan *situla*, found at Offida, Picenum, in 1877 and now in the British Museum, has a purely human face with dishevelled hair in place of the *Gorgóneion* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 107 f. no. 650 fig. 18). Weicker *loc. cit.* rightly assumes that the Etruscan *hydria* and the Etruscan *situla* presuppose a common source.

[4] *Supra* pp. 189 n. 1, 588 n. 1.

(4) The *aigis* and *Gorgóneion* of Athena.

If, then, Athena, originally the rock-goddess of the Akropolis at Athens, manifested herself sometimes as a Snake, more often as an Owl, we obtain at last a satisfactory explanation of that puzzling attribute, her *aigís*. For, when a sacred animal becomes anthropomorphic, the resultant deity tends to retain the old animal-skin as a relic charged with the virtues of his former estate[1]. One thinks of the Hittite lion-god fairly covered with lions or lion-skins[2], of the Egyptian Zeus *Thebaieús* masquerading in a ram-skin[3], of the Italian Iuno *Sospita* habitually garbed in a goat-skin[4], perhaps too of the Greek Dionysos *Melánaigis*[5] and of Argos wearing his black bull's-hide[6]. Now Athena's *aigís*, as represented by painters and sculptors[7], is a skin-cape either scaly (figs. 650, 651)[8] or feathered (figs. 652, 653)[9], and normally displaying the *Gorgóneion*, a fearsome head with staring eyes. My belief is that in both cases the humanised Athena is wearing the *exuviae* of the animal that once she was. As a Snake, she dons the scaly skin with its baleful head. As an Owl, the feathered skin with its round glittering eyes.

Further, since the skin most commonly worn was the rustic's everyday goat-skin (*aigís*[10]), people would be apt to speak of any

[1] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 173 f. ('Use of the skin of the sacrificed animal').

[2] *Supra* ii. 550 ff. fig. 428.

[3] *Supra* i. 347 f.

[4] W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 35, *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 595 f., 605—609, O. Höfer *ib.* iv. 1229, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 687 f. figs. 4185—4188, Thulin in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1120 f., and the monographs of E. M. Douglas 'Iuno Sospita of Lanuvium' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1913 iii. 60—72 figs. 1—5, A. Galieti 'Sul serpente genio di Giunone Sospita' in the *Bollettino dell' associazione archeologica Romana* 1913 iii. 232—236, *id.* 'Intorno al culto di "Iuno Sispita Mater Regina" in Lanuvium' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1916 xliv. 3—36.

[5] *Supra* i. 689 n. 5. See further H. W. Stoll and W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2574 f.

[6] *Supra* i. 458 f.

[7] F. Wagner *Die Aigis in der griechischen Kunst* München 1922 was never printed. There is, however, a typed copy of the Dissertation in the Library of the Munich University; and an abstract of its contents is given by P. Wolters in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 354—356.

[8] Fig. 650 is from the *aigís* of the Varvakeion statuette; fig. 651, from that of the Cassel statue.

[9] Fig. 652 is from the *aigís* of the archaistic Athena found at Herculaneum; fig. 653, from that of the Albani Athena.

[10] The evidence for this is slight, but sufficient. P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 971 cites Eur. *Cycl.* 360 (of the Kyklops) δασυμάλλῳ ἐν αἰγίδι κλινομένῳ, cp. Paus. 4. 11. 3 (of Aristodemos' Messenian and Arcadian levies in 726 B.C.) θώρακα γὰρ ἢ ἀσπίδα εἶχεν (H. Hitzig would insert οὐκ before εἶχεν, F. Spiro οὐχ after it) ἕκαστος, ὅσοι

skin-cloak as an *aigís*, regardless of its original species[1]. Thus Athena's snake-skin or owl-skin would equally come to be designated as her *aigís*. And, when origins were forgotten, the way would be clear for ingenious enquirers to explain Athena's sacred attire as a glorified goat-skin. Accordingly Herodotos[2] asserts that the *aigís*

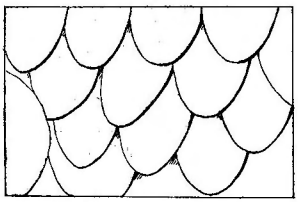


Fig. 650.

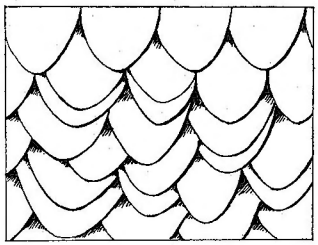


Fig. 651.

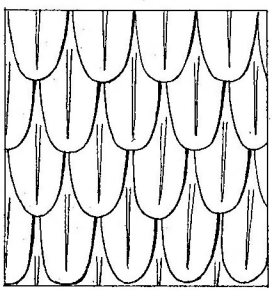


Fig. 652.

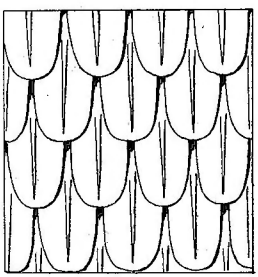


Fig. 653.

δὲ ἠπόρουν τούτων, περιεβέβλητο αἰγῶν νάκας καὶ προβάτων, οἱ δὲ καὶ θηρίων δέρματα καὶ μάλιστα οἱ ὀρεινοὶ τῶν Ἀρκάδων λύκων τε καὶ ἄρκτων, schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 324 *σύνηθες τοῖς ἥρωσι δέρματα φορεῖν*.

[1] Similarly, since the ordinary leather cap was made of dog-skin, we find the term *κυνέη* applied to caps made of bull's-hide (*Il.* 10. 257 f. *ἀμφὶ δέ οἱ κυνέην κεφαλῇφιν ἔθηκε | ταυρείην*) or weasel-skin (*Il.* 10. 335 *κρατὶ δ' ἐπὶ κτιδέην κυνέην*, cp. *galea* from *γαλέη*) or goat-skin (*Od.* 24. 230 f. *ὕπερθεν | αἰγείην κυνέην κεφαλῇ ἔχε*).

[2] Hdt. 4. 189 *τὴν δὲ ἄρα ἐσθῆτα καὶ τὰς αἰγίδας τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τῆς Ἀθηναίης ἐκ τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐποιήσαντο οἱ Ἕλληνες· πλὴν γὰρ ἢ ὅτι σκυτίνη ἡ ἐσθὴς τῶν Λιβυσσέων ἐστὶ καὶ οἱ θύσανοι οἱ ἐκ τῶν αἰγίδων αὐτῇσι οὐκ ὄφεις εἰσὶ ἀλλὰ ἱμάντινοι, τά γε ἄλλα πάντα κατὰ ταὐτὸ ἔσταλται. καὶ δὴ καὶ τὸ οὔνομα κατηγορέει ὅτι ἐκ Λιβύης ἥκει ἡ στολὴ τῶν Παλλαδίων· αἰγέας γὰρ περιβάλλονται ψιλὰς περὶ τὴν ἐσθῆτα θυσανωτὰς αἱ Λίβυσσαι κεχρημέναι ἐρευθεδάνῳ, ἐκ δὲ τῶν αἰγέων τουτέων αἰγίδας οἱ Ἕλληνες μετωνόμασαν*.

of Athena was derived from the fringed or tasselled goat-skins worn by Libyan women—a rationalistic view which A. W. Lawrence[1] wisely pronounces to be 'plausible but far from certain.' It would entail our accepting Herodotos' highly improbable contention that Athena herself came from Libye[2]. Nevertheless this Herodotean notion has met with some favour both in ancient and in modern times. An Etruscan mirror, of fourth-century style, found at Tarquinii and once owned by E. Gerhard[3], represents in mythological guise Prodikos' story of Herakles' choice between Virtue and Vice[4] (fig. 654). Within a flowery framework stands Herakles (*Hercle*) midway between Athena (*Menrfa*) and Aphrodite (*Turan*). The artist, wishing to stress the simple hardihood of the more manly goddess, has given her by way of *aigís* a mere goat-skin with pendent head and feet. He has, however, added the usual *Gorgóneion* on her breast, not to mention a griffin's head on her shield, while a single snake coiled on her shoulder hisses at Aphrodite's dove. Later mythologists, accepting the explanation of the *aigís* as a goat-skin, toyed with the theme. Athena slew the earth-born fire-breathing monster called Aigis and used its skin as her breastplate in subsequent encounters[5]. Or, Zeus at the advice of Themis flayed the goat Amaltheia, his foster-mother, and donned its skin as his protection in the war against the Titans[6]. Recent

[1] In his commentary *ad loc.* p. 420.

[2] Hdt. 4. 180 (cited *supra* p. 128 n. 1), on which see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 267 ff.

Wilkinson the Egyptologist went further in the same direction, and fared worse. He stoutly maintained that Athena was but the goddess NHΘ written, as in Egyptian, from right to left and eked out with an A added fore and aft! (Sir J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 i. 47 n. §, Second Series London 1841 i. 284, *ib.*[2] London 1878 iii. 41).

[3] Gerhard *Etr. Spiegel* iii. 144 f. pl. 156 (=my fig. 654). *Id. ib.* v. 46 ff. pl. 398 describes and figures another mirror, from Caere, on which the Palladion wears an *aigís* adorned with a *Gorgóneion* and 'zwei den Brustharnisch abschliessende Ziegenköpfe.' But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 96 f. no. 627 says: 'The ægis is bordered by two snakes with rearing heads, crested and bearded.'

[4] Xen. *mem.* 2. 1. 21 ff.

[5] Diod. 3. 70 (from the mythographical romance of Dionysios Skytobrachion: see E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 673).

[6] Schol. A. D. *Il.* 15. 229, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 8. 354. Mousaios *frag.* 7 Kinkel *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 13 (cp. Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 13, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 394, 24 ff. Eyssenhardt) makes the infant Zeus entrusted by Rhea to Themis, by Themis to Amaltheia, and by Amaltheia to her goat: *Μουσαῖος γάρ φησι Δία γεννώμενον ἐγχειρισθῆναι ὑπὸ Ῥέας Θέμιδι, Θέμιν δὲ Ἀμαλθείᾳ δοῦναι τὸ βρέφος, τὴν δὲ ἔχουσαν αἶγα ὑποθεῖναι, τὴν δ' ἐκθρέψαι Δία· τὴν δὲ Αἶγα εἶναι Ἡλίου θυγατέρα φοβερὰν οὕτως ὥστε τοὺς κατὰ Κρόνου θεούς, βδελυττομένους τὴν μορφὴν τῆς παιδός, ἀξιῶσαι <τὴν (ins.* C. Robert) *> Γῆν κρύψαι αὐτὴν ἔν τινι τῶν κατὰ Κρήτην ἄντρων· καὶ ἀποκρυψαμένην ἐπιμέλειαν αὐτῆς τῇ Ἀμαλθείᾳ*

Fig. 654.

ἐγχειρίσαι, τὴν δὲ τῷ ἐκείνης γάλακτι τὸν Δία ἐκθρέψαι· ἐλθόντος δὲ τοῦ παιδὸς εἰς ἡλικίαν καὶ μέλλοντος Τιτᾶσι (so C. Robert for *γιγασι* codd.) *πολεμεῖν, οὐκ ἔχοντος δὲ ὅπλα, θεσπισθῆναι αὐτῷ τῆς αἰγὸς τῇ δορᾷ ὅπλῳ χρήσασθαι διά τε τὸ ἄτρωτον αὐτῆς καὶ φοβερὸν καὶ διὰ τὸ εἰς μέσην τὴν ῥάχιν Γοργόνος πρόσωπον ἔχειν· ποιήσαντος δὲ ταῦτα τοῦ Διὸς καὶ τῇ τέχνῃ φανέντος διπλασίονος, τὰ ὀστᾶ δὲ τῆς αἰγὸς καλύψαντος ἄλλῃ δορᾷ καὶ ἐμψύχον αὐτὴν καὶ ἀθάνατον κατασκευάσαντος, αὐτὴν μέν φασιν ἄστρον οὐράνιον* [*κατασκευάσαι* (C. G. Heyne cj. *κατασ*τῆσαι)] * * *

This late recital includes some early traits. In particular, the monstrous Goat penned in a Cretan cave is analogous to the Minotaur in the Labyrinth and may rest on a bit of genuine 'Minoan' folk-belief. Cp. the goat-men on 'Minoan' gems (*supra* i. 703 f. figs. 513—516) and on the clay-sealings from Kato Zakro in eastern Crete (D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 80 f. no. 34 fig. 12, no. 35 fig. 13, nos. 36, 38, 39).

advocates of the view that the *aigís* was from the first a goat-skin have sometimes been content to follow the lead of Herodotos[1], but have more often pointed out that the goat, normally taboo on the Akropolis at Athens, was once a year driven up there for a solemn sacrifice[2] and have urged that the skin of the victim so slain, being possessed of magical potency, was wrapped round the effigy of the goddess[3]. It must, however, be objected that any derivation of the

[1] Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 314 f. (citing W. Reichel *Über homerische Waffen* Wien 1894 pp. 65—72) says of Athena's *aigís*: 'Probably, it and the lion skin of Heracles were the sole survivals of a time when the only thing available for protective armour was a skin, worn as a cloak in time of peace, and brought round over the left arm in battle *ἐν προβολῇ*.'

Sir W. Ridgeway, as reported in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1900 xx p. xliv, claimed 'that the primitive garb over a wide Aegean area at an early date was a goat-skin, worn in such a way that the head hung down in front of the wearer; the edges of this skin were either themselves frayed or adorned with a fringe of leather; and the scalp was decorated till it became *γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου*. A Dyak's skin-costume, trimmed with feathers and embellished with a plate of shell where the head should be, was exhibited in support of the argument.' *Id. The Origin of Tragedy with special reference to the Greek Tragedians* Cambridge 1910 p. 89 f.: 'Some years ago the present writer explained the *aegis* and *gorgoneion* of Athena as nothing more recondite than the primitive goat-skin covering used in ancient Athens as the ordinary dress. A slit was made in the back of the skin through which the wearer's head was put, and the grinning skin of the animal's face hung down on the breast of the wearer.' *Id. The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1931 ii. 482 repeats the same contention, but produces no proof that a goat-skin was ever 'the ordinary dress' at Athens.

[2] Varr. *rer. rust.* 1. 2. 19 f. contra ut Minervae caprini generis nihil inmolarent propter oleam, quod eam quam laeserit fieri dicunt sterilem: eius enim salivam esse fructuis venenum: hoc nomine etiam Athenis in arcem non inigi, praeterquam semel ad necessarium sacrificium, ne arbor olea, quae primum dicitur ibi nata, a capra tangi possit.

[3] W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 437 'Herodotus, when he speaks of the sacrifices and worship of the Libyans, is at once led on to observe that the ægis or goat-skin, worn by the statues of Athena, is nothing else than the goat-skin, fringed with thongs, which was worn by the Libyan women; the inference implies that it was a sacred dress.' *Id. ib.* n. 1 adds 'that the victims were goats is suggested by the context, but becomes certain by comparison of Hippocrates, ed. Littré, vi. 356' [Hippokr. *de morbis* 4 (ii. 375 Kühn) *καὶ τῶν μὲν Λιβύων χρέονται οἱ πλεῖστοι τῶν κτηνέων τοῖσι μὲν δέρμασιν ἀντὶ ἱματίων, τῇσι δὲ κοιλίῃσιν ἀντὶ θυλάκων*].

Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 100 'It would be quite in accord with the ideas of a primitive period, when the divinity and the worshipper and the victim were all closely akin, that Athena should be clothed in the skin of her sacred animal, and that in this, as in many other cases..., the sacrificial skin should possess a value as a magical charm. Being used in the ritual of the war-goddess, it was natural that it should come to be of special potency in battle; but the skin of the sacred animal of the tribe ought also to have a life-giving power as well, and it is interesting to find that the ægis in an Athenian ceremony possessed this character also, being solemnly carried round the city at certain times to protect it from plague or other evil, and being taken by the priestess to the houses of newly married women, probably to procure offspring.' In the concluding lines Farnell presumably had in mind Plout. *prov. Alex.* 2. 21 (E. L. von Leutsch—F. G. Schneidewin *Paroemiographi Graeci* Gottingae 1839 i. 339 *app. crit.*) [*Αἰγὶς*] *περὶ πόλιν·...[ἡ γοῦν] ἱέρεια τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα Ἀθήνῃσι φέρουσα ἀγείρει [ἀπὸ τῆς ἀκροπόλεως*]

aigís from an original goat-skin leaves quite unexplained the scaly or feathered character of its surface. This is so constant a feature that it cannot be lightly dismissed as mere decoration[1]. Rather it points back to the snake-skin sloughed off, or the owl-skin laid aside, by the emergent deity.

Mythology has a word to say about both types of *aigís*, the scaly and the feathered. Apollodoros, in his account of the Gigantomachy, after mentioning that the Giants had 'the scales of snakes for feet[2],' goes on to state that Athena flayed one of them named Pallas and used his skin to protect her own body in the fight[3]. A variant and perhaps older version made Pallas the father of Athena by Titanis, daughter of Okeanos. When Pallas attempted to violate Athena, she slew him without mercy, wrapped his skin about her as an *aigís*, and fitted his wings to her feet[4].

ἀρξαμένη πρὸς τὰ ἱερά· τάττεται ἡ παροιμία ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναίδην (*leg.* ἀνέδην) περιιόντων (so cod. B: words in square brackets are added from cod. A), Souid. *s.v.* αἰγίς (cp. Zonar. *lex. s.v.* αἰγίς)·...ἡ δὲ ἱέρεια Ἀθήνησι τὴν ἱερὰν αἰγίδα φέρουσα πρὸς τὰς νεογάμους εἰσήρχετο. ἐπὶ τῶν ἀναίδην (*leg.* ἀνέδην) οὖν ποιούντων τι τάττεται ἡ παροιμία.

[1] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 120 f. 'Als Thierfell erscheint denn auch die Aegis in der Regel auf den Bildwerken, während andererseits die schachbrett- oder schuppenartige Ornamentirung der Aussenseite an Metallverzierungen erinnert,' quoted by P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 971 f. Miss C. A. Hutton in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1897 xvii. 315 says: 'An unsuccessful attempt to represent the tufts of hair on the skin may be the basis of the scales,...but the main reason for them arises from the combination of the aegis and the gorgoneion,' when 'the Medusa legend with its snakes dominated the conception.'

[2] Apollod. i. 6. 1 εἶχον δὲ τὰς βάσεις φολίδας δρακόντων (an iambic tag?). On Typhoeus or Typhon as a 'Schlangenfüssler' see M. Mayer *Die Giganten und Titanen in der antiken Sage und Kunst* Berlin 1887 p. 274 ff.: we have already seen him represented as such on a 'Chalcidian' *hydría* of *c.* 550 B.C. (*supra* ii. 731 fig. 663). The earliest example of a Giant with serpent-legs occurs on an Attic *aryballos* at Berlin (inv. no. 3375), which dates from the beginning of *s.* iv rather than from the end of *s.* v: it shows Dionysos, in a chariot drawn by a pair of griffins (cp. *supra* i. 270 fig. 197 Nemeseis, ii. 523 pl. xxvii, *d* Rhea (?) and female companion), attacking two Giants, of whom one has human, the other serpentine, legs (H. Winnefeld 'Gigantenkampf auf einer Vase in Berlin' in the *Festschrift für Otto Benndorf* Wien 1898 pp. 72—74 pl. 1, O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 690 f. no. 132, 735 ('Nicht allzufrüh, wohl erst um die Wende des 5. and 4. Jhdts. kommt für die G. der schlangenbeinige Typus auf, wahrscheinlich auf sie übertragen von Typhon')).

[3] Apollod. i. 6. 2 Πάλλαντος δὲ τὴν δορὰν ἐκτεμοῦσα ταύτῃ κατὰ τὴν μάχην τὸ ἴδιον ἐπέσκεπε (ἐσκέπ[τ]ετο epit.) σῶμα.

[4] Cic. *de nat. deor.* 3. 59 (last in the list of Minervas) quinta Pallantis, quae patrem dicitur interemisse, virginitatem suam violare conantem, cui pinnarum talaria affigunt, Ampel. 9. 10 (last in the list of Minervas) quinta Pallantis et Titanidos filia; haec patrem occidit pro suae virginitatis observatione qui<a> eius cupidus fuit, Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 28. 2 p. 21, 3 f. (last in the list of five Athenas) ἐπὶ πᾶσι τὴν Πάλλαντος καὶ Τιτανίδος τῆς Ὠκεανοῦ, ἣ τὸν πατέρα δυσσεβῶς καταθύσασα τῷ πατρῴῳ κεκόσμηται δέρματι ὥσπερ κῳδίῳ, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 4. 14 (last in the list of Minervas) et quae Pallantem occidit patrem incestorum adpetitorem est quinta (cp. *ib.* 4. 16), Firm. Mat. 16. 1 f. (last in the

Kratér at Leipzig:
Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her *aigís*.

See page 843 *n.* 2.

Kratér at Gotha :
Perseus presents Athena with the Gorgon's head for her shield.

See page 843.

More familiar is Pherekydes'[1] story of Perseus, who, helped by Athena, slew the Gorgon and gave her head to the goddess to put on her *aigis*. An unpublished bell-*kratér* at Leipzig[2] (pl. lxii) shows the hero, *hárpe* in hand, peering down a well to glimpse the horror held aloft by Athena. The Silenos on the right turns away and hides his face. A *kályx-kratér* in Gotha[3] (pl. lxiii) gives Athena a blank shield and shows the head reflected upside down in the well. Such is the common tale[4]. But Euripides[5] in the *Ion* tells it

Fig. 655.

Fig. 656.

list of Minervas) quinta Pallante patre et Titanide matre orta est...haec parricidalis amentia furoris et vesanae temeritatis instinctu patrem Pallantem crudeli morte iugulavit nec simplici patris morte contenta, ut diutius malis suis frueretur et ut de morte patris crudelius triumpharet, exuviis corporis eius ornata est (so ed. princ. *ornatę sunt* cod. P. C. Halm cj. *ornatae sunt manus*), ut parricidii facinus ex crudeli ostentatione publicaret, Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 355 ἡ Πάλλαντα τὸν ἴδιον πατέρα πτερωτὸν ὑπάρχοντα καὶ βιάζοντα ταύτην ὡς θέλοντα συγγενέσθαι ἡ τὴν παρθενίαν τιμῶσα τοῦτον ἀνεῖλε καὶ τὸ δέρμα αὐτοῦ ὡς αἰγίδα περιεβάλλετο καὶ τὰ πτερὰ τούτου τοῖς ποσὶ ταύτης συνήρμοσεν (E. Scheer *ad loc.* suggests that this account is derived from the *Etymologicum genuinum*, on which see R. Reitzenstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 812 ff.). The Catalogue of the gods goes back to *s.* i, or possibly to *s.* ii, B.C. (*supra* ii. 1135 n. 4, iii. 224 n. 0).

The mention of 'wings to her feet' recalls such figures as the running goddess on early coins of Mallos in Kilikia (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 95 pl. 15, 11, cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 555 ff. pl. 25, 5—8, 11. Figs. 655 and 656 are from specimens in my collection), the winged Nike from Delos (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 28 (dated *c.* 570—550 B.C.) fig. 78, cp. fig. 80), or the yet older flying god on a gem probably from Melos (*supra* ii. 544 fig. 419).

[1] Pherekyd. *frag.* 26 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 75 f. Müller)=*frag.* 11 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 61 f. Jacoby) *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 4. 1515 a.

[2] T 83. Pl. lxii is taken from a photograph most kindly procured by Mr A. D. Trendall.

[3] F. Gargallo-Grimaldi 'Perseo' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 53—60 pl. A, G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 404 fig. 5583, cp. a bell-*kratér* formerly in the Durand collection published by O. Jahn 'Perseo' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 167—176 pl. N. Both in Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 284 and 288. I have once more to thank Mr Trendall for a fresh photograph (pl. lxiii) of the Gotha *kratér*.

The shield is tantamount to the *aigis* (cp. *supra* ii. 712 pl. xxx). The same variation occurs *e.g.* in imperial coin-types. An unpublished bronze piece issued by Valerian i for Laertes in Kilikia shows the one (fig. 657); a similar piece struck by Gordian iii at Seleukeia on the Kalykadnos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycaonia, etc. p. 136 no. 38, cp. fig. 658) shows the other. Figs. 657 and 658 are from specimens in my collection.

[4] E. Kuhnert in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1986 ff., G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 398 f., Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* ii. 226 ff., Sir J. G. Frazer on Apollod. 2. 4. 1—4, etc.

[5] Eur. *Ion* 991 ff.

in a simpler and presumably Attic[1] form. Athena herself, not Perseus, here slays the Gorgon and wears its skin as her *aigís*.

The evidence is incomplete, but it looks as though the feathered skin with its *Gorgóneion* went back to a Gorgon represented as a ravening bird of prey—precisely the representation that we have already seen on a black-figured vase at Berlin (fig. 649)[2]. It is noticeable too that the Gorgon of modern Greek folk-tales, who turns men into stone, is usually conceived as a bird, the Bird of Truth[3], the Speaking Bird[4], the Bird Dikjeretto[5], or the Tzitzinaina who knows the language of all birds[6]. Anyhow, in view of the Berlin vase, it may well be maintained that the feathery type of *aigís* with its Gorgon-face points back to an Owl Athena. Homer called her *glaukôpis*[7]: Sophokles, *gorgôpis*[8].

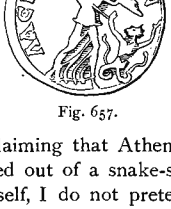


Fig. 657.

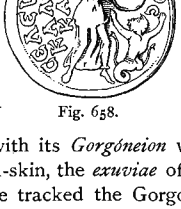


Fig. 658.

In claiming that Athena's *aigís* with its *Gorgóneion* was thus developed out of a snake-skin or owl-skin, the *exuviae* of her old animal self, I do not pretend to have tracked the Gorgon to its original lair. I maintain merely that the horrifying head of the snake or owl tended from the earliest Greek times[9] to acquire the characteristics of that essentially pre-Greek[10] horror, the *Gorgóneion*.

[1] Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 192, H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 30.

[2] *Supra* p. 836.

[3] *Supra* ii. 1010 f., 1016.

[4] *Supra* ii. 1009 f., 1012 n. 1, 1016.

[5] *Supra* ii. 1005, 1016.

[6] *Supra* ii. 1004, 1016.

[7] *Supra* p. 781 n. 2.

[8] Soph. *Ai.* 450 ἡ Διὸς γοργῶπις ἀδάματος (so P. Elmsley for ἀδάμαστος codd.) θεά, *frag.* 844. 2 Jebb *ap.* Plout. *de fort.* 4 τὴν Διὸς γοργῶπιν Ἐργάνην.

[9] *Il.* 5. 741 f. ἐν δέ τε Γοργείη κεφαλὴ δεινοῖο πελώρου, | δεινή τε σμερδνή τε, Διὸς τέρας αἰγιόχοιο, cp. *Od.* 11. 634 f. μή μοι Γοργείην κεφαλὴν δεινοῖο πελώρου | ἐξ Ἄϊδος πέμψειεν ἀγαυὴ Περσεφόνεια.

[10] It is notorious that in the western pediment of the second (*c.* 580—570 B.C.) temple of Artemis at Palaiopolis, Corfu, the huge pre-Greek group of the Gorgon and her lions completely dwarfs the small Hellenic flanking figures, *e.g.* Zeus attacking the Giant towards the southern angle (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 28 with figs. 76 Gorgon, 96 Zeus *v.* Giant, 109 reclining male, 141 head of Chrysaor, 374 whole pediment, H. Schrader *Archaische griechische Plastik* Breslau 1933 p. 80 f. with figs. 49 lion, 80 reconstruction of façade, 81 Zeus *v.* Giant,

The west pediment of the temple of Artemis at Palaiopolis, Corfu.

See page 844 *n.* 10.

The earliest Gorgon's head known to me occurs on a signet-seal of black steatite now in my collection (fig. 659: scale $\frac{2}{1}$). It is Cretan work of the 'Middle Minoan ii'[1] period (1900—1700 B.C.) and, though broken, shows clearly enough the broad full face with its emphasised eyes, gross ears, and bristling hair. The nearest contemporary parallels are afforded by the horned imp on a signet from Mochlos[2] and one or two of the 'demonic' types on the clay-sealings from Kato Zakro[3].

On the primary significance of the *Gorgóneion* there has been much rash speculation. Scholars ancient and modern have elaborated

a *b* *c*

Fig. 659.

not a few mutually destructive hypotheses. Plutarch dwells on the hideous face in the moon[4], and an Orphic fragment dubs it *Gorgónion*[5]. Hence E. Gerhard[6], G. R. Gaedechens[7], and many more[8] have identified the Gorgon's head with the moon, though on occasion it appears in a solar rather than a lunar context[9]. Others,

83 reconstruction of pediment, C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 475—478 with pl. 4 Chrysaor and figs. 89 whole pediment, 143 Gorgon, 144 lion, 145 Zeus *v.* Giant, 146 northern angle, R. Hampe 'Korfugiebel und frühe Perseusbilder' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1935/36 lx/lxi. 269—299 figs. 1—8 pls. 93—100). My pl. lxiv is from a drawing by Mrs D. K. Kennett of the cast in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge.

[1] See Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 274.

[2] R. B. Seager *Explorations in the island of Mochlos* Boston—New York 1912 p. 58 fig. 27 no. x, *b*, Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 703 fig. 526, 1936 Index p. 171 n. 1 ('M.M. II or III'), S. Marinatos in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1927—1928 p. 17 fig. 6, F. Matz *Die frühkretischen Siegel* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 p. 19 pl. 13, 4.

[3] D. G. Hogarth in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1902 xxii. 84 no. 76 fig. 20, no. 78 fig. 22.

[4] Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 29 ἐκφοβεῖ δὲ αὐτὰς (*sc.* τὰς τῶν κολαζομένων ψυχὰς) καὶ τὸ καλούμενον πρόσωπον, ὅταν ἐγγὺς γένωνται, βλοσυρόν τι καὶ φρικῶδες ὁρώμενον.

[5] *Supra* p. 805 n. 4.

[6] Gerhard *Gr. Myth.* i. 583.

[7] G. R. Gaedechens in J. S. Ersch—J. G. Gruber *Allgemeine Encyclopädie der Wissenschaften und Künste* Leipzig I. lxxiv. 400[b] ff.

[8] Listed by K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1645 f.

[9] *Supra* i. 292 f. fig. 212, 306 f. figs. 242—245, iii. 805. Cp. J. Six *De Gorgone* Amstelodami 1885 p. 91: 'Huius tamen (*sc.* ducis Luynensis) argumentis longe facilius demonstraveris Gorgonis caput solem esse quam lunam.' Kaiser Wilhelm II. *Studien zur Gorgo* Berlin 1936 p. 79 ff. treats her as 'Nachtsonne' or 'Unterweltssonne.'

including J. F. Lauer[1], F. L. W. Schwartz[2], C. Dilthey[3], and W. H. Roscher[4], have equated its scowling features with those of the storm-cloud, partly because the word *aigís* is found in the sense of 'a rushing storm[5],' partly because Quintus Smyrnaeus late in the fourth century A.D. compares the crash of Athena's *aigís* with the roll of thunder[6]. A. de Gubernatis[7] in milder mood makes Medousa 'the evening aurora.' Others again drop from heaven to earth and offer a zoological explanation. F. T. Elworthy[8] argues at length that the Gorgon must have been a cephalopod, the octopus, and L. Siret[9] assures us that the *aigís* worn by god or goddess was his ubiquitous cuttle-fish[10]. T. Zell[11] is equally insistent that the *Gorgóneion* was the face of a gorilla. K. Gerogiannes[12] derives it from a lion's head. O. Jahn[13], less daring but more discreet, stresses its use as an amulet potent to ward off the evil eye. Jane Harrison[14] suggests that it was a ritual mask worn for prophylactic purposes, and R. G. Collingwood[15] labels it 'an apotropaic mask.' Finally, H. J. Rose[16] is inclined to think it 'a nightmare, a face so horrible that the dreamer is reduced to helpless, stony terror.' I am myself

[1] J. F. Lauer *System der griechischen Mythologie* Berlin 1853 p. 324.

[2] F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 pp. 34, 63, 85.

[3] C. Dilthey in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1871 xliii. 214.

[4] W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 10 ff., *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 1698 ff.

[5] First in Aisch. *cho.* 591 f. πτανὰ δὲ καὶ πεδοβάμονα κάνεμοέντ' ἄν | αἰγίδων φράσαι κότον, then in Pherekr. *μυρμηκάνθρωποι frag.* 9 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 314 Meineke) *ap.* Souid. *s.v. αἰγίς· καταιγίς. Φερεκράτης Μυρμηκανθρώποις· οἱμοι κακοδαίμων, αἰγὶς ἔρχεται* (F. V. Fritzsche cj. *αἰγίς, αἰγὶς ἔρχεται*, which is possible, but uncertain). See further H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott *s.v. αἰγίς.*

[6] Quint. Smyrn. 14. 457 f. ἔβραχε δ' αἰγὶς ἅπασα περὶ στήθεσσιν ἀνάσσης, | οἷον ὅτε στεροπῇσιν ἐπιβρέμει ἀσπετος αἰθήρ. Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 17 (p. 17 f. Scheer) has a far-fetched attempt to interpret Perseus' decapitation of Medousa in terms of atmospheric phenomena (cp. *supra* p. 746).

[7] A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 i. 305.

[8] F. T. Elworthy 'A Solution of the Gorgon Myth' in *Folk-Lore* 1903 xiv. 212—242 with pls. 6 and 7 and figs. 1—27, *id. ib.* 1905 xvi. 350 f. with two figs.

[9] L. Siret *Questions de chronologie et d'ethnographie ibériques* Paris 1913 i. 443.

[10] *Supra* i. 87 n. 4.

[11] T. Zell *Wie ist die auf Korfu gefundene Gorgo zu vervollständigen?* Berlin 1912 pp. 50—125 ('Die Deutung des Gorgonen-Mythus').

[12] K. Gerogiannes in the 'Εφ.'Αρχ. 1927—1928 pp. 128—176 with 31 figs. (summarised in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 457).

[13] O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 p. 59.

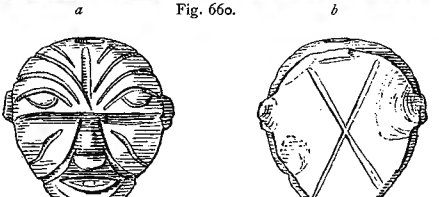
[14] J. E. Harrison in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 330[a]—332[a].

[15] R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 p. 255 f.

[16] H. J. Rose *A Handbook of Greek Mythology* London 1928 p. 29 f.

more impressed by the platyrrhine negroid aspect of early *Gorgóneia*, which prompts me to guess that their archetype came from north Africa. If so, Euripides[1] was not far wrong when he spoke of 'Libyan Gorgons.'

a Fig. 660. *b*



a Fig. 661. *b*

[1] Eur. *Bacch.* 990 f. λεαίνας δέ τινος δδ' ἢ Γοργόνων | Λιβυσσᾶν γένος. W. H. Roscher *Die Gorgonen und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1879 p. 27 n. 50 cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 477 Γοργόνες Τιθράσιαι with schol. R. *ad loc.* Τιθράσιαι· <Τίθρασος> τόπος τῆς Λιβύης <ἔνθα αἱ Γοργόνες διέτριβον>, Hdt. 2. 91 οἴσοντα (*sc.* τὸν Περσέα) ἐκ Λιβύης τὴν Γοργοῦς κεφαλήν, Diod. 3. 52 ff. κατὰ τὴν Λιβύην...τό τε γὰρ τῶν Γοργόνων ἔθνος, ἐφ' δ λέγεται τὸν Περσέα στρατεῦσαι, κ.τ.λ., Paus. 2. 21. 5 καὶ ἐς τὰς μάχας ἡγεῖσθαι (*sc.* τὴν Μέδουσαν) τοῖς Λίβυσι, 3. 17. 3 Περσεῖ δ' ἐς Λιβύην καὶ ἐπὶ Μέδουσαν ὡρμημένῳ, Iuv. 12. 4 pugnanti (*sc.* Minervae) Gorgone Maura, schol. vet. Pind. *Pyth.* 10. 72 b αἱ δὲ Γοργόνες κατὰ μέν τινας ἐν τοῖς Αἰθιοπικοῖς...κατὰ δέ τινας ἐπὶ τῶν περάτων τῆς Λιβύης..., etc.

J. Six *De Gorgone* Amstelodami 1885 pp. 94—97 discusses, but rejects, the suggestion that the Gorgon was derived from the Egyptian Bes (cp. *supra* ii. 457). It remains, however, highly probable that this godling with his pygmy stature and Sûdânî traits (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* pp. 202—221 pls. 73—81, Sir E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 ii. 284—288 with two figs. and col. pl., *id. From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt* Oxford 1934 pp. 253—255 with two figs.), his apotropaic powers (W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 40 f. nos. 188—190 pls. 33 and 34), and his curious attachment to the full-face view (*supra* ii. 674 figs. 611, 612) affords a real analogy to the Libyan Gorgon. His wrinkled forehead and nose, broad face, and hanging tongue are comparable features. And it must not be forgotten that Bes, like the Gorgon, was connected with snakes (Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 211 pl. 79, 2, K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 325 'als Abwehrer der schädlichen Tiere,' Sir E. A. Wallis Budge *From Fetish to God in ancient Egypt* p. 254 'a slayer of serpents and all kinds of noxious animals') and on occasion was represented in female form

Be that as it may, the Gorgon's head, thanks to the humanising tendency of Greek art, had an evolution of its own from lower to higher forms[1]. The archaic type (fig. 662)[2] was a round face with formal curls and a wrinkled forehead. The mouth was wide, showing teeth and formidable tusks. The tongue was protruded. The ears often had circular earrings. Snakes were sometimes added, or even a beard.

Fig. 662.

Fig. 663.

(Lanzone *op. cit.* p. 208 pl. 75, 5 limestone statue at Turin). I figure two amulets, in my collection, to illustrate the resemblance of Bes to a negro. Fig. 660, *a*, *b* is an Egyptian plaque of schist (?) with the head of Bes on one side, the name of Thothmes iii and two adorants on the other (cp. Sir W. M. Flinders Petrie *Amulets* London 1914 p. 41 no. 190 n pl. 34). Fig. 661, *a*, *b* is a cornelian bead of the 'Middle Minoan iii' period, from the Messara in southern Crete, with the head of a negro on one side and two crossed lines on the other. Both amulets have a markedly wrinkled forehead and eyes sunk in, or sketched over, a transverse slit.

[1] See the succession of types drawn up and discussed by A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1709—1718 ('Archaischer Typus'), 1718—1721 ('Der mittlere Typus'), 1921—1927 ('Der schöne Typus'), G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1622—1624 ('type archaïque'), 1624—1627 ('*Le type moyen*'), 1627—1629 ('*Le type beau*'), K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1652 f. ('Der archaische Typus'), 1653 f. ('Der mittlere Typus'), 1654 f. ('Der schöne Typus').

[2] An antefix of terracotta found on the Akropolis at Athens. Lips, tongue, gums, and earrings are painted dark-red; hair, snakes, and pupils of eyes, black; face, buff. Seven fragments from a single mould survive, and date from the second half of *s.* vi B.C. (L. Ross *Archäologische Aufsätze* Leipzig 1855 i. 109 pl. 8, 1 in colours (=my fig. 662), 2 side view, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1715 with fig., D. Brooke in the *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum* Cambridge 1921 ii. 289 f. nos. 78, 79 fig., 322 f., 426). The bronze *Gorgóneion* of Dreros, which anticipates the milder type, may be dated *c.* 600—575 B.C. (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 lx. 270 ff. pl. 29).

The middle type (fig. 663)[1] retained the round face, the furrowed forehead, the wide toothy mouth, and the lolling tongue, but made all these traits somewhat milder and less horrific. The snakes are apt to pass into snaky locks, and the beard vanishes. The whole effect is repellent rather than repulsive.

The beautiful type appears for the first time in the head grasped by Perseus on a red-figured vase dating from *c.* 475 B.C. (fig. 664)[2] and then, mostly in Satyric scenes, on later Attic or early South Italian vases[3]. It was perhaps inspired, as

Fig. 664.

[1] An antefix of terracotta found before the east front of the Bouleuterion at Olympia. The tongue is red; the teeth, white. To be dated 450—400 B.C. (R. Borrmann in *Olympia* ii. 195 f. fig. 13 restoration, pl. 120, 1 in colours (=my fig. 663) with side view, A. Furtwängler *loc. cit.* p. 172o f., E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 9 with fig. 69 opposite p. 226).

[2] A *hydría* from Kyrenaïke (De Ridder *Cat. Vases de la Bibl. Nat.* ii. 346 and 348 no. 456 fig. 79 (=my fig. 664)). Mr C. D. Bicknell notes the influence of Kritios' Tyrannicides, set up in the Athenian Agora in 477 B.C. Head in profile.

[3] (1) A bell-*kratér* from Bologna (H. Luckenbach in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1881 liii. 82—87 pl. F, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 344, 7), which Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 158, 201 assigns to the 'middle of the fifth century.' Head full-face.

(2) A volute-*kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto (figured *infra* Append. P p. 996), which gives the Satyric setting in completest form. Head full-face.

(3) A bell-*kratér* from Basilicata (Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 94 pl. Millingen 3, O. Jahn in *Philologus* 1868 xxvii. 16 f. pl. 1, 3), of which Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 201 n. 2 says: 'early Lower Italy vase'...'reproduces an Attic model.' Head full-face.

(4) A South Italian *kratér*(?), probably from Bari, in the Fontana collection at Trieste (E. Curtius *Herakles der Satyr und Dreifussräuber* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Berlin* xii) Berlin 1852 pp. 1 ff., 14 n. 1 with col. pl.=*id.* in his *Gesammelte Abhand-*

Wuilleumier[1] has suggested, by Pythagoras' bronze Perseus[2], or, as Furtwängler[3] and Glotz[4] have maintained, by Myron's masterpiece on the Akropolis representing 'Perseus fresh from the slaughter of Medousa[5],' though these sculptors themselves may have drawn their inspiration from the Pindaric Perseus 'bearing off the head of fair-cheeked Medousa[6].'

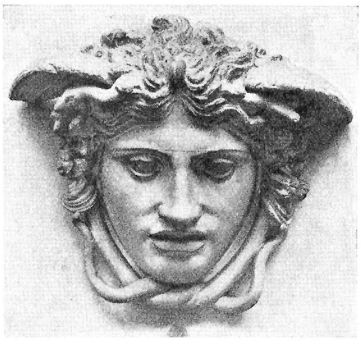


Fig. 665.

lungen Berlin 1894 ii. 215—230 pl. 6, O. Jahn in *Philologus* 1868 xxvii. 16 pl. 1, 2). Head in three-quarter position.

[1] P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 199.

[2] Pythagoras of Rhegion made a bronze statue of Perseus with wings (on his feet?) (Dion Chrys. *or.* 37 (ii. 296, 3 f. Dindorf)). We have no right to assume that this is a blundered reference to Myron's Perseus.

[3] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 201.

[4] G. Glotz in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1627.

[5] Paus. 1. 23. 7 καὶ ἄλλα ἐν τῇ Ἀθηναίων ἀκροπόλει θεασάμενος οἶδα...καὶ Μύρωνος Περσέα τὸ ἐς Μέδουσαν ἔργον εἰργασμένον, Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 57 fecit (*sc.* Myron)...et Perseum.

[6] Pind. *Pyth.* 12. 28 f. εὐπαράου κρᾶτα συλάσαις Μεδοίσας | υἱὸς Δανάας with schol. vet. on 24 b εὐπάραον δέ φησι τὴν Μέδουσαν, οὐχ ὅτι οὕτω φύσεως εἶχεν, ἀλλ' ὅτι περὶ ἑαυτῆς ἡ Μέδουσα ὡς εὐμόρφου διέκειτο· διὸ καὶ περὶ κάλλους τῇ Ἀθηνᾷ ἐφιλονείκησεν. This contest of beauty between Medousa and Athena was a commonplace of the later mythographers (Apollod. 2. 4. 3, schol. vet. Pind. *Nem.* 10. 6, interp. Serv. and Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 6. 289 (citing Serenus (Sammonicus?) the poet), Lact. Plac. *narr. fab.* 4. 20, Myth. Vat. 1. 131, 2. 112, *alibi*.). According to Ov. *met.* 4. 794 ff., clarissima forma | multorumque fuit spes invidiosa procorum | illa, nec in tota conspectior ulla capillis | pars fuit. Cic. *in Verr.* 2. 4. 124 tells how Verres carried off from the gold and ivory doors of Athena's temple on the island of Ortygia at Syracuse 'Gorgonis os pulcherrimum, crinitum anguibus.'

Medousa as a beauty is παρὰ προσδοκίαν and calls for explanation. The epithet εὐπάραος is clearly complimentary (Poll. 2. 87, 9. 162) and could hardly be taken as 'large-cheeked, broad-faced.' Nor would it be safe to see in it a mere euphemism as in Εὐειδής, Εὐχαίτης, and the like (*supra* ii. 1112 n. 7). We must fall back on the assumption

In any case, once introduced, the new type ran through a whole succession of phases, becoming in turn sinister (fig. 665)[1], pathetic (fig. 666)[2], and ultrapathetic (fig. 667)[3], but at the last tranquillised

Fig. 666.

Fig. 667.

Fig. 668.

that the Gorgon among her original (African?) folk was frankly regarded as a reigning beauty. Hence her name *Μέδουσα*, the 'Queen,' her diadem, and her earrings. A modern parallel from an Epeirote tale is 'the Beauty of the Land,' who can turn men into stone (*supra* ii. 1007, 1016).

[1] The Medusa Rondanini in the Glyptothek at Munich is a mask of Parian marble, copied in Roman times from a Greek original in bronze to be dated *c.* 400 B.C. or perhaps somewhat earlier (Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 239, A. Furtwängler—H. L. Urlichs *Denkmäler griechischer und römischer Skulptur* München 1898 p. 42 ff. pl. 13, Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 156—161 (attributed to Kresilas) fig. 63, *id. Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 54, *id. Glyptothek zu München*[2] p. 260 ff. no. 252, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Vale Univ. Press 1929 p. 177 (Kresilas?)). Apart from the cold and cruel beauty of this face, the sculptor has imported a fresh element of interest in the pair of small wings attached horizontally to the head. Buoyed on these, with her concentrated stare and half-open mouth, Medousa hovers before us like some keen-eyed maleficent night-bird.

Fig. 669.

[2] An onyx cameo of two layers, milk-white on bluish white, found on the Via Appia near Rome and formerly in the Tyszkiewicz collection (W. Froehner *Collection d'antiquités du comte Michel Tyszkiewicz* Paris 1898 p. 32 pl. 33, 7, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i. pl. 50, 47 (=my fig. 666), ii. 244). A smaller and less finely worked cameo in my possession (fig. 669: scale ½) ivory white on dark grey, has the same troubled forehead and painful expression. Traces of subsequent gilding on hair etc.

[3] An amethyst cameo of Hellenistic date, found on the Aventine at Rome and

a Fig. 670. *b*

Fig. 671.

Plate LXV

1

2

(1) Etruscan *kýlix* at Leipzig:
Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon.
(2) Etruscan *kylix* in the British Museum:
Pegasos born from the blood of the Gorgon.

See page 853 *n.* 4.

and dignified by death (fig. 668)[1]. It will be seen that this final type, under the influence of regal portraiture[2], discards the full-face for the profile view and thereby exchanges its old prophylactic quality for a new ideal value.

Where prophylaxis was still required, the older horrors survived, as on Greek relief-ware of the fourth century (fig. 670, *a*, *b*)[3], or might be made yet more horrible, as on Etruscan bronze-work of the same period (fig. 671)[4].

The entire range of these modifications could be illustrated by a sequence of Greek and Roman coin-types, of which a few samples are here given (figs. 672—693)[5]. And a similar series might equally well be made out for vases, or gems, or other products of minor art.

formerly in the Laurenti and Blacas collections, now in the British Museum (C. Lenormant *Nouvelle galerie mythologique* (Trésor de numismatique et de glyptique) Paris 1850 p. 117 no. 1 pl. 28, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 59, 2 (=my fig. 667), ii. 266 'von derb pathetischem Typus,' Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 77, 1 p. 179, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 333 no. 3542 pl. 36). Even the eyebrows are writhen and snaky. C. Davenport *Cameos* London 1900 pl. 6 gives a fine coloured illustration of this amethyst and adds the conjecture that it was one of a pair of *phalerae*.

[1] A clouded chalcedony of Graeco-Roman date, found on the Caelian at Rome, later in the Strozzi (hence known as the 'Strozzi Medusa') and Blacas collections, now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 148 f. no. 1256 pl. H, *ib.*[2] p. 195 no. 1829 pl. 23, Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 180 f. no. 63 pl. 137, Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 18 (=my fig. 668), ii. 191 f., Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 77, 4 p. 179). The inscription ΣΟΛΩΝΟΣ behind the head is, as Furtwängler *op. cit.* ii. 192 concluded, a genuine signature of that Julian engraver (J. Sieveking in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 978 f.). Medousa has twelve snakes in her hair.

[2] Cp. the head of Alexander the Great on tetradrachms of Makedonia issued under Aesillas and Sura (93—88 B.C.) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 19 f. no. 84 fig. and no. 87 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 355 pl. 24, 13, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 86 pl. 138, 10 and 11).

[3] From a buff (? traces of black) moulded *aryballos* (height 4½ ins.) in my collection. Both sides, apart from the border-pattern, are alike. Cp. a series of black *askoi* with the mask of Medousa in relief (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 246 nos. G 54—G 61).

[4] From a bronze *lébes*-handle in my possession. The plate at either end is protected by the relief of a *Gorgóneion* with flying hair (scale ½). Equally gruesome is the bearded and snake-fringed *Gorgóneion* on two Etruscan *kylikes* in Leipzig and London (pl. lxv).

[5] Fig. 672 a tetradrachm of Athens 510—507 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 347 no. 5791 pl. 204, 23). On the *Gorgóneion* as official Athenian badge see C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 50 ff. fig. 37 f. pl. 4, A 54—57, 60 f., *v*, *δδ* (*c.* 550—546 B.C.), p. 86 ff. fig. 52 pl. 14, A 208—213 (510—507 B.C.).

Fig. 673 a bronze coin of Olbia, probably cast in *s.* vi—v B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 153 no. 4274 pl. 155, 5) in imitation of the Gorgon-type at Athens (E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 484 pl. 2, 1, C. T. Seltman *op. cit.* p. 132 ff., *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 180, 303 pl. 40, 1). This was the earliest issue of Greek coinage in bronze.

Fig. 674 a bronze *hemilitron* of Kamarina *c.* 413—405 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 39 from a cast). Cp. the *hemilitra* of Himera before *c.* 413 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* i. 272 pl. 75, 6 and 7).

Archaic Type, without snakes.

Fig. 672.

Fig. 673.

Fig. 674.

Fig. 675.

Fig. 676.

Fig. 677.

Archaic Type, with snakes.

Fig. 678.

Fig. 679.

Transition to Middle Type.

Fig. 680.

Fig. 681.

Fig. 682.

Middle Type.

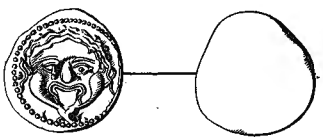


Fig. 683.

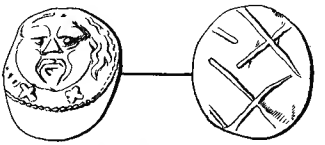


Fig. 684.

Fig. 685.

Fig. 686.

Beautiful Type.

Fig. 687.

Fig. 688.

Fig. 689.

Fig. 690.

Assimilation of Helios to the Gorgon.

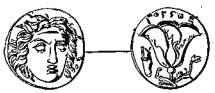


Fig. 691.

Fig. 692.

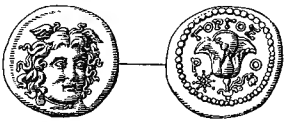


Fig. 693.

Fig. 675 a billon *statér* of Lesbos *c.* 550—440 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 103 no. 7955 pl. 275. 1).

Fig. 676 a silver *statér* of Neapolis in Makedonia *c.* 500—411 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 2 no. 3075 pl. 112, 8).

Fig. 677 a silver hemidrachm of Neapolis in Makedonia *c.* 411—350 B C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 3 no. 3078 pl. 112, 11).

Fig. 678 a silver drachm of Abydos *c.* 480—450 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Troas, etc. p. 1 pl. 1, 2).

Fig. 679 a silver drachm of Apollonia ad Rhyndacum in Mysia *c.* 450—*c.* 330 B.C. (cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 8 pl. 2, 2).

Fig. 680 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia *c.* 400—300 B.C. or later (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Mysia p. 95 pl. 21, 8).

Fig. 681 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia *c.* 400—300 B.C. or later (*McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 58 no. 7654 pl. 263, 8).

Fig. 682 a silver hemidrachm of Parion in Mysia *c.* 400—300 B.C. or later (from a specimen in the Fitzwilliam Museum).

Fig. 683 a silver piece of ten units from Populonia in Etruria *c.* 450—350 B.C. (*McClean Cat. Coins* i. 18 no. 123 pl. 8, 1). On the Etruscan *Gorgóneion* as inspired by the early coinage of Athens see the illuminating remarks of C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage* p. 130 ff.

Fig. 684 a silver piece of twenty units from Populonia in Etruria *c.* 350—280 B.C. (*ib.* i. 19 no. 128 pl. 8, 6).

Fig. 685 (from a specimen of mine) and fig. 686 (from another in the Fitzwilliam Museum) are Roman *denarii* struck by L. Plautius Plancus *c.* 47 B.C. (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* ii. 325 ff. nos. 14—16 figs. (no. 16 in gold is a forgery), M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde der römischen Republik* Wien 1897 p. 205 ff. pl. 9, 217 and 218, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 516 f. nos. 4005, 4006, 4009 pl. 50, 15, 16, 17). It appears that C. Plautius Venox, who was censor along with Appius Claudius Caecus in 312 B.C., had allowed the flute-players to wear masks at their festival the Quinquatrus Minusculae on the Ides of June, when they roamed about the city and assembled at the temple of Minerva (Ov. *fast.* 6. 651 ff. with Sir J. G. Frazer's commentary *ad loc.*). The mask on the coins of L. Plautius is treated as a *Gorgóneion* of the middle type and often shows a couple of snakes in the hair.

Fig. 687 a bronze coin of Seleukos i Nikator (312—280 B.C.) (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Seleucid Kings of Syria p. 6 f. pl. 2, 14, P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* p. 195 f. pl. 14, 6, cp. *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 325 no. 9246 pl. 335, 9).

Fig. 688 a bronze coin of Amphipolis issued in imperial times but without emperor's head (from a specimen of mine, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 48 nos. 44 and 45, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 29 no. 3227 pl. 117, 22).

Fig. 689 a bronze coin of Chabakta in Pontus issued in the time of Mithradates Eupator (120—63 B.C.) (*McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 8 no. 7382 pl. 251, 4, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Pontus, etc. p. 27 pl. 5, 4, Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 77 pl. 11, 23, *ib.*[2] i. 105 pls. 11, 23 and K, 3).

Fig. 690 a Roman *denarius* struck by L. Cossutius Sabula *c.* 54 B.C. (from a specimen of mine, cp. Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 437 f. no. 1 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 405 f. no. 3324 pl. 42, 22).

Fig. 691 a silver drachm of Rhodes *c.* 304—166 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 245 pl. 39, 2, cp. *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 205 no. 8598 f. pl. 300, 20 f.). Magistrate's name ΓΟΡΓΟΣ.

Fig. 692 a silver drachm of Rhodes *c.* 304—166 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 245 pl. 39, 1). Magistrate's name ΑΙΝΗΤΩΡ. On this coin the hair of Helios is markedly snaky and two snakes are tied under his chin.

Fig. 693 a silver drachm (?) of Rhodes *c.* 87—84 B.C. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. cxii pl. 45, 3). Magistrate's name ΓΟΡΓΟΣ. On this coin the assimilation of

We are, however, concerned primarily with the *aigis* of Athena. And here it is interesting to see how, through contact with that dominant and yet gracious personality, the *Gorgóneion* was gradually converted from demon to angel. On the Albani statue[1] (fig. 694),

Fig. 694.

Fig. 695.

Fig. 696.

Fig. 697.

Helios to the Gorgon—perhaps originally suggested by the name Gorgos—is completed by the addition of small wings in the hair.

[1] Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 242 f. no. 524, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 215 f. figs. 169, 170, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 695 fig., *id. Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 78—81 figs. 29 and 30 (head in profile) (attributed to Praxias pupil of Kalamis), Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 220, F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2013, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 428 f. no. 1878.

which presupposes a bronze original of *c.* 450 B.C., the negroid face with animal tusks and lolling tongue has already become less frightful. The tusks have gone; the tongue is going. On the Dresden 'Lemnia'[1] (fig. 695), one of two marble copies of a Pheidiac (?) Athena in bronze, *c.* 450—440 B.C., the cheeks are still too broad, but the tongue is pulled in, and the snakes are no longer knotted under the chin. On the Kassel statue[2] (fig. 696), a later version of the same original, the tongue is just visible, but the face is a better oval, and the snakes are replaced by a tangle of snaky tresses. Finally, on the Varvakeion statuette[3] (fig. 697), a Hadrianic reduction of the *Parthénos*, the head in the centre of the shield develops a pair of winglets and might be mistaken for a mediaeval cherub[4]!

One other *Gorgóneion* remains to be considered—the expiring effort of Graeco-Roman accommodation in the west. The British goddess presiding over the hot curative springs at Bath was *Sul* or more correctly *Sulis*[5], whose name—probably akin to the Old Irish *súil* 'eye'[6]—was the Celtic equivalent of the Latin *Sol*[7]. These hot springs at Aquae Sulis are unique in the British Isles, and the natives seem to have thought that the sun as it sank beneath the western waves warmed the waters below and sent them up hot and bubbling to the surface. Their healing properties would

[1] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* pp. 4—26 figs. 1—3 pls. 2, 3, and 4 (Bologna head), F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2014.

[2] Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 209 f. no. 477, A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 699 f., M. Bieber *Die Antiken Skulpturen und Bronzen des königl. Museum Fridericianum in Cassel* Marburg 1915 p. 5 ff. no. 2 pl. 9 and fig. 2 (restored with Bologna head).

[3] K. Lange 'Die Athena Parthenos' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1880 v. 370—379, *ib.* 1881 vi. 56—94 pls. 1 and 2, Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 203 ff. no. 467, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pls. 39 (facing) and 40 (profile).

[4] S. Marinatos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1927—1928 p. 17 f. fig. 7 (after Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 276 f. fig. 207, *c* 2) cp. one side of a four-sided cornelian seal ('Middle Minoan ii') from central Crete, on which appears a facing head with apparent side-wings. But Sir Arthur is careful to explain these as 'locks flowing out on either side and terminating in coils' like those of Ishtar.

[5] The only forms of the name at present known are the genitive *Sulis* and the dative *Suli*. But other inscriptions may yet be forthcoming, for much of the ground adjoining the Bath still awaits excavation. Prof. J. R. R. Tolkien in R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 p. 264 n. 1 points out that the Celtic nominative must have been *Sulis*.

[6] M. Ihm in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1592 and 1599. For the sun conceived as an eye see *supra* i Index p. 882, ii Index p. 1389.

[7] On *súil* as akin to *sól* see Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 720 f., F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 404, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 446 f., Ernout—Meillet *Dict. étym. de la Langue Lat.* p. 909 f.

then lead to the equation of Sulis the sun-goddess with Minerva, who at Rome and elsewhere bore the title *Medica*[1]. The equation is attested not only by three[2] out of the ten inscriptions so far discovered at Bath[3], but also by an interesting passage in Solinus[4] who says:

'The circumference of Britain is 4875 miles. Within this space are many great rivers, hot springs too equipped with luxurious arrangements for the

[1] G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2989, *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 254 f., F. Altheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 1778. Athena, too, bore the title Ὑγιεία on the Akropolis at Athens (*supra* i. 231 n. 8, 727).

[2] (1) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 43 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4660 (on a small altar figured by H. M. Scarth *Aquæ Solis* London 1864 p. 47 pl. 13) deae | Suli Mi|nervae | Sulinus | Matu|ri · fil | v · s · l · m. The name *Sulinus*, which recurs in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 37, is no doubt theophoric. Cp. the Welsh saints Sul (Tyssul), Suliau (Tyssilio), Sulien (F. G. Holweck *A Biographical Dictionary of the Saints* St Louis, Mo. 1924 pp. 939, 994).

(2) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 39 (deeply incised on fragments of an architrave in lettering of *s.* ii A.D.) C. Protaciu[s Libo Ti. C]laudius Ligur [sacer(dotes) restituto c]olegio longa seria [annorum abolito aedem] | deae Sulis M[inerv]ae nimia vetust[ate conlapsam sua pec]unia refici et repingi cur[arunt idemque probarunt].

(3) *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii no. 42 (on an altar figured by H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 48 pl. 14) deae Su|li Min(ervae) et nu|min(ibus) Aug(ustorum) C. | Curiatius | Saturninus | 7 (centurio) leg(ionis) II Aug(ustae) | pro se su|isque | v · s · l · m.

[3] The fullest collection, though marred by a few misprints, is that of F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 723 f.

[4] Solin. 22. 10 circuitus Brittaniae quadragies octies septuaginta quinque milia sunt (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 102). in quo spatio magna et multa flumina, fontes calidi opiparo exculti apparatu ad usus mortalium: quibus fontibus praesul est Minervae numen (E. Hübner in *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vii. 24 notes that cod. Sangallensis reads *praesule est* and proposes to restore *quibus fontibus praeest Sul(is) Minervae numen.* Ingenious and possibly right), in cuius aede perpetui ignes numquam canescunt in favillas, sed, ubi ignis tabuit, vertit (*vertitur* codd. G. B. P[2]., Westerm., anon. Leid. Voss.) in globos saxeos.

Galfridus Monmutensis (Geoffrey of Monmouth), writing between 1136 and 1139 A.D., works this passage of Solinus into his fabulous *Historia regum Britanniae* 2. 10 successit deinde Bladud filius, tractavitque regnum viginti annis: hic aedificavit urbem Kaerbadum quae nunc Badus nuncupatur, fecitque in illa calida balnea ad usus mortalium apta. quibus praefecit numen Minervae: in cujus aede inextinguibiles posuit ignes, qui nunquam deficiebant in favillas, sed ex quo tabescere incipiebant, in saxeos globos vertebantur.

H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 3 (after T. D. Whitaker(?) in *The Anti-Jacobin Review and Magazine* 1801 x. 232 f. 'loose coals fused into nodules') offers a simple explanation of the concluding sentence in Solinus and Galfridus. The fire was not built of wood, which turned to white ashes, but of coal, which burnt into cinders. He adds that coal 'is to the present day dug up at Newton St. Loe, three miles from BATH: a point which is the more noteworthy, since if the interpretation be correct, it is the first mention of the use of coal in Britain.' To the same effect San-Marte (A. Schulz) in his edition of Geoffrey (Halle 1854) p. 220 and R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 p. 232.

On the Celtic Minerva see also E. Windisch *Das keltische Brittannien bis zu Kaiser Arthur* (*Abh. d. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1912 xix. 6) Leipzig 1912 p. 96 f.

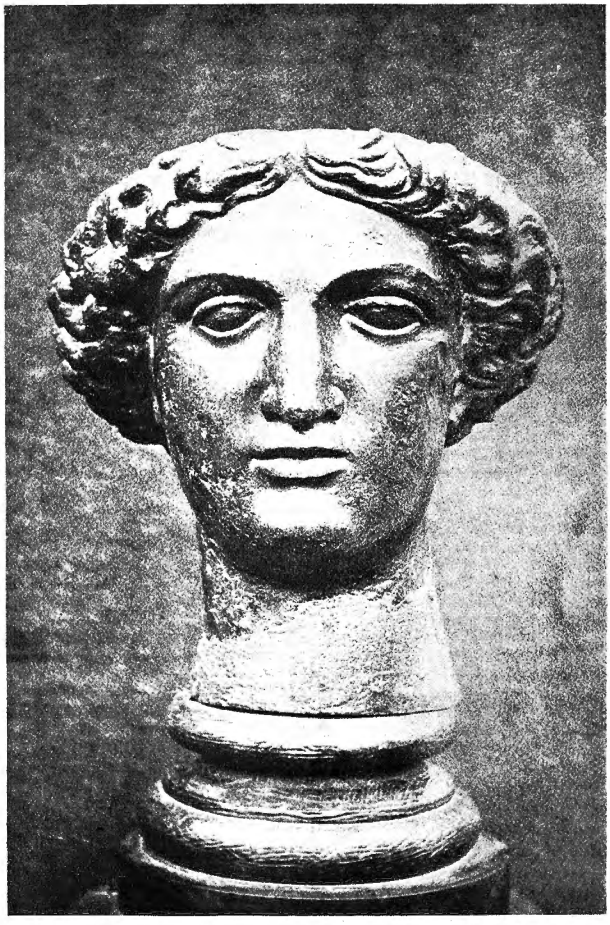


Fig. 698.

Fig. 699.

service of mankind. The power presiding over these springs is Minerva. In her temple are perpetual fires which never pass into white embers, for as soon as the fire has died down it turns into stony nodules.'

The local cult was, during the Roman occupation, thoroughly classicised, and a noble bronze head (figs. 698, 699)[1] 'found under Stall Street in 1727, close to the south-west corner of the Baths' may well be that of Sulis Minerva herself[2]. It was originally fitted with a helmet, beneath which the hair escaped about the brows. This, and the long neck clear of drapery, recall Niketas'[3] description of the great Bronze Athena on the Akropolis at Athens. Indeed, there are so many marks of Pheidiac style here present—the long narrow eyes, the emphasised lower lid, the absence of overlap, the strong broad nose, the short upper lip—that we need not hesitate to recognise a Roman copy of that famous original. The surface bears numerous traces of thick gilding, and when first set up the whole statue must have been a resplendent sight, the sun-goddess in a glory of gold[4].

Among the architectural remains of her temple[5], discovered under the Pump Room in 1790, are large portions of a triangular relief (pl. lxvi and fig. 700) thus described by Mr A. J. Taylor[6]:

'Fragments from the tympanum of a temple pediment. When complete, the sculpture represented a group of arms, viz., a shield bearing a head inside oakwreaths, upheld by two winged Victories; a helmet with large cheekpieces and a crest like an animal's head; something, possibly a standard, with an owl perched on it, and, to the extreme right what may be the traces of a floriated cuirass. The head on the shield is marked by an astonishing and almost barbaric vigour and both in style and in vehement character stands almost if not quite alone among the sculptures of the western Roman Empire. It has wings and snakes in the hair and, though bearded, may represent some

[1] H. M. Scarth *Aquæ Solis* London 1864 p. 25 ff. with Frontispiece, J. Hatton *The Book of Bath*[2] s.l., s.a. p. 17 fig., A. J. Taylor *The Roman Baths of Bath* Bath 1933 p. 40 no. 31 with 2 figs. (full-face and profile). I am indebted to Mr Taylor for the photographs from which my figs. 698, 699 were made.

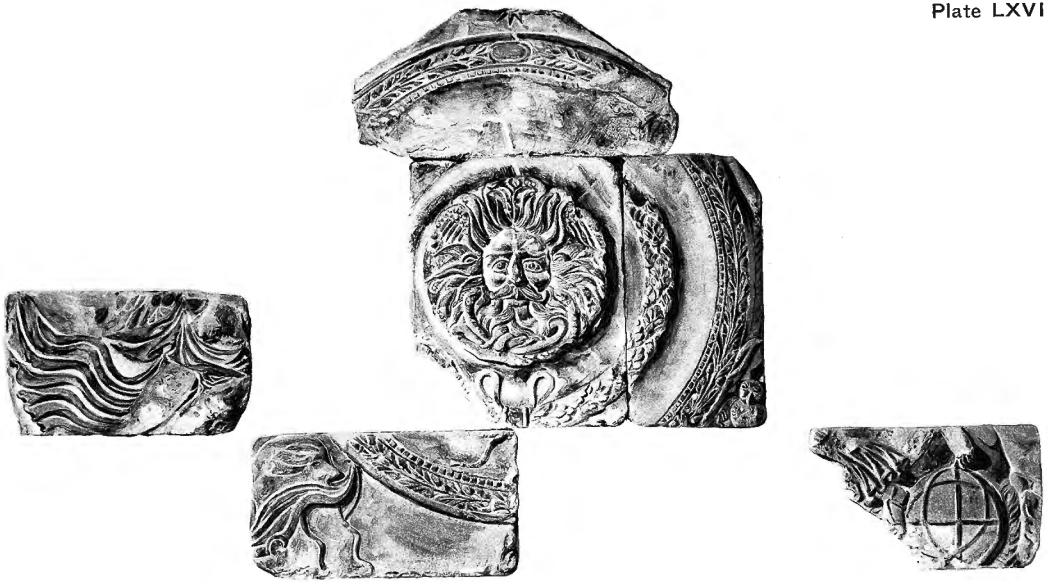
[2] This is the conclusion justly reached by Mr Taylor *op. cit.* p. 40. Mrs D. P. Dobson *The Archaeology of Somerset* London 1931 p. 150 is content to say 'the bronze female head, possibly that of Minerva.'

[3] Niket. Chon. 359 C p. 739 Bekker (cp. *supra* p. 225 n. 1) ὁ δέ γε αὐχὴν ἀχίτων ὢν καὶ πρὸς τὸ δολιχόδειρον ἀνατεινόμενος ἄμαχον εἰς ἡδονὴν θέαμα ἦν...ἡ δὲ κόμη ἐς πλέγμα διεστραμμένη καὶ δεσμουμένη ὄπισθεν, ὅση κέχυτο ἐκ μετώπων, τρυφή τις ἦν ὀφθαλμῶν, μὴ ἐπίπαν τῷ κράνει συνεχομένη, ἀλλά τι καὶ παρεμφαίνουσα τοῦ πλοχμοῦ.

[4] On the impression produced by golden statues see S. Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1936 xvi—xvii. 122 f.

[5] A restoration of its tetrastyle Corinthian *façade* is given by S. Lysons *Remains of two Temples and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath* London 1802 p. 2 ff. col. pl. 5.

[6] A. J. Taylor *op. cit.* p. 23 no. 1 with pl. (part of which = my fig. 700).



Pedimental relief from the temple of Sulis Minerva at Bath.

See page 862 ff. *with figs.* 700, 701.

variation on the common Medusa, whose head often appears on shields. This Medusa, if such it be, and the owl suggest that the temple was dedicated to Minerva, goddess of Bath.'

The *Gorgóneion* of Sulis Minerva (fig. 701)[1] has been diversely interpreted. G. Scharf[2] in 1855 declared that it is not a *Gorgóneion* at all, but just a personification of the Hot Spring itself. Most critics admit that it is indeed the head of Medousa, but a Medousa of a peculiar, provincial type. F. Haverfield and H. Stuart Jones[3], to account for the beard and moustaches, suggest the contamination of Medousa with Phobos. R. G. Collingwood[4] derives the type, 'glaring, ferocious, apotropaic,' from 'the human or demonic masks of early La Tène art,' and hints at the possibility that the Bath sculptor may have been no Briton, but 'Priscus of Chartres[5] or one of his Gaulish colleagues.' My own belief is that the *Gorgóneion* here as elsewhere[6] is treated as a representation of the sun. Sulis was a sun-goddess. The centre of a pediment is the right place for a solar disk[7]. The head itself has 'locks standing out flame-wise' and a 'fiery suffering expression[8].' If in Rhodes the head of Helios could be assimilated to the *Gorgóneion*[9], I conceive that at Aquae Sulis (Aquae Solis some called it[10]) the *Gorgóneion* could be assimilated to the head of Sol[11]. Thus, in a sense, the Gorgon ends

[1] From a photograph by Mr S. R. Lewin kindly procured for me by Mr A. J. Taylor.

[2] G. Scharf in *Archaeologia* 1855 xxxvi. 194 ff. The flowing locks are streams of water; the great hollow shield is the basin in which they collect; the two wreaths are oak-groves surrounding the spot. Etc. H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 22 f. is inclined to follow suit.

[3] F. Haverfield—H. Stuart Jones 'Some representative examples of Romano-British Sculpture' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1912 ii. 134 f. with pl. 4. On Phobos in relation to the Gorgon see P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2386—2395 figs. 1—9.

[4] R. G. Collingwood—J. N. L. Myres *Roman Britain and the English Settlements* Oxford 1936 pp. 255, 256.

[5] Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4661 (found at Bath) Priscus | Touti f. | lapidariu[s], | civis Car[nu]|tenus Su[li] | deae v.[s.].

[6] *Supra* p. 845 n. 9.

[7] *Supra* i. 293 ff. figs. 213—218.

[8] Mrs D. P. Dobson *The Archaeology of Somerset* London 1931 p. 148.

[9] *Supra* p. 855 figs. 691—693.

[10] In *itin. Anton. Aug.* p. 486, 3 Wesseling (p. 74 Cuntz) Aquis Sulis m. p. VI cod. B (Parisinus Regius 4807, *s.* ix A.D.) reads *solis*. So also the *tabula Peutingeriana* (on which see *supra* p. 142 f.) segmentum i. 5 *aquissolis*.

[11] This would be a concession to Roman sentiment. In any sun-cult the Romans would expect some indication of a masculine Sol. It is worth observing that fragments of two smaller pediments were found at Bath, one showing the bust of Luna in a concave panel (H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 24 pl. 6, A. J. Taylor *op. cit.* p. 29 no. 5 fig.), the other three rays of a radiate Sol in a similar medallion (J. Carter *The Ancient Architecture of England* London 1795 (*ib.*[2] London 1837) p. 9 pl. 9 fig. A, S. Lysons *Remains of two Temples and other Roman Antiquities discovered at Bath* London 1802 p. 8 col. pl. 9 fig. 6, G. Scharf in *Archaeologia* 1855 xxxvi. 198 f., H. M. Scarth *op. cit.* p. 24).

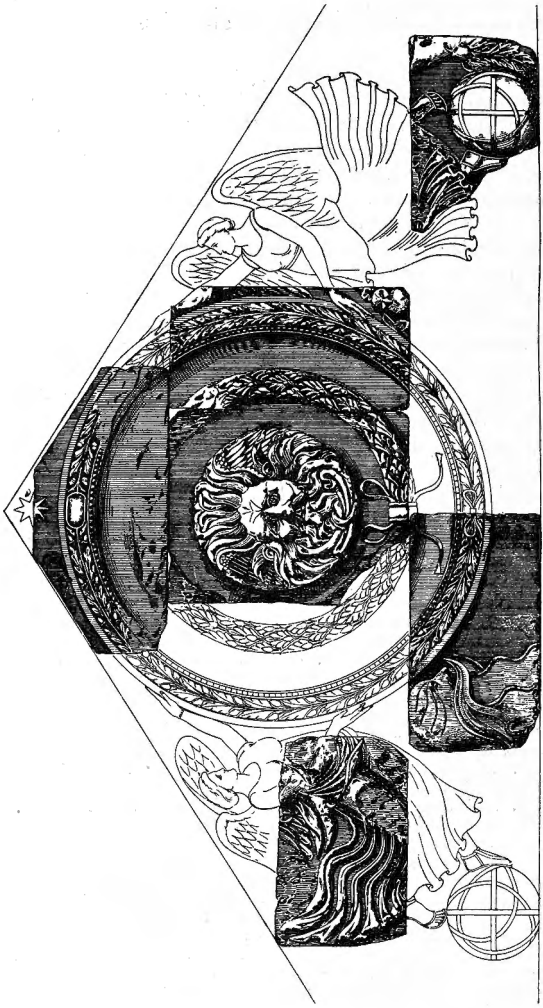


Fig. 700.

where she began. For early Greek *Gorgóneia*, by way of added horror, were apt to grow a beard[1]; and here we have a late

Fig. 701.

Roman *Gorgóneion* producing the same effect by the self-same means.

[1] A. Furtwängler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1707, 1715, 1718. *Supra* p. 848.

(5) The *aigís* of Athena transferred to Zeus.

It would seem, then, that the *aigís* was, and had been from time immemorial, an attribute of Athena. That pre-Greek mountain-mother was wont to manifest herself as Snake or Owl, and on attaining human form continued to wear the old snake-skin or owl-skin as a potent relic of her animal estate. Further, the snake's head or owl's head tended from the first to take on the apotropaic features of the Libyan Gorgon: as a *Gorgóneion* it had, we saw, quite a history of its own.

If such was the story of the *aigís*, one point is still obscure. Should we not expect to find that in the earliest extant literature of the Greeks the *aigís* would be treated as the exclusive property of Athena? And yet that is far from being the case. Athena wears it, of course[1]. But so also does Apollon[2], and even uses it to wrap round the dead body of Hektor[3]. More than that. Among the pre-Homeric appellatives embedded in Homeric verse[4] few are so frequent or so universally recognised as Zeus *aigíochos*, Zeus the '*aigís*-bearer[5],' which in *Iliad* and *Odyssey* together occurs just fifty times[6], but is never once applied to Athena[7]. How, we may well ask, did Zeus come thus to usurp the sacred prerogative of Athena? Fully to answer that question would demand a better knowledge than we possess of the momentous transition from Aegean to Achaean worship[8]. Homer at most drops a single significant hint:

> The copper-smith Hephaistos gave the same
> For Zeus to wear and rout mankind withal[9].

[1] *Il.* 2. 446 ff., 5. 738 ff., 18. 203 f., 21. 400 f.

[2] *Il.* 15. 307 ff., 318, 360 f.

[3] *Il.* 24. 20 f.

[4] *Supra* i. 444, ii. 384 n. 0, iii. 781.

[5] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1, iii. 13.

[6] A. Gehring *Index Homericus* Lipsiae 1891 p. 23 (almost always in the gen. αἰγιόχοιο, but *Od.* 9. 275 gen. αἰγιόχου, and *Il.* 2. 375 nom. αἰγίοχος Κρονίδης Ζεύς and *Il.* 8. 287, *Od.* 15. 245 nom. Ζεύς τ' αἰγίοχος).

[7] The nearest she gets to it is in such phrases as Ἀθηναίη κούρη Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (*Il.* 5. 733, 8. 384, *Od.* 13. 252, 371, 24. 529, 547 etc.), θύγατερ Διὸς αἰγιόχοιο (*Il.* 5. 815), Ζεύς τ' αἰγίοχος καὶ Ἀθήνη (*Il.* 8. 287). See H. Ebeling *Lexicon Homericum* Lipsiae 1885 i. 41.

[8] For what may be reasonably conjectured with regard to this transitional period see especially the works of M. P. Nilsson *The Minoan-Mycenaean Religion and its Survival in Greek Religion* Lund 1927, *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932, *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933. There is a helpful statement of its outstanding problems by A. W. Gomme in E. Eyre *European Civilization its Origin and Development* Oxford 1935 i. 507—538.

[9] *Il.* 15. 309 f. ἦν ἄρα χαλκεὺς | Ἥφαιστος Διὶ δῶκε φορήμεναι ἐς φόβον ἀνδρῶν.
Aristonikos of Alexandreia, a famous Homeric scholar who lived in the time of

So Zeus got his *aigis* from Hephaistos, the consort of Athena[1]. Our problem begins to solve itself. We shall not be far wrong if we maintain the following positions: (1) The *aigis* belonged by right to the pre-Hellenic Athena. (2) When the Achaeans arrived with their all-conquering Zeus, he must needs take over the magical garb of the goddess, and the minstrels coined for him that persuasive epithet *aigiochos*. (3) For all that, the common people were not persuaded, and—apart from one half-hearted attempt on the part of an Ionian vase-painter[2]—their artists never equipped Zeus with an *aigis* so long as Hellas was genuinely Hellenic. (4) But, when Hellenic art gave place to Hellenistic culture, Homer once more dominated the imagination of men and Zeus *aigiochos* regained his canonical supremacy[3].

(6) The thunderbolt of Zeus transferred to Athena.

If Athena in Hellenistic times ceded her *aigis* to Olympian Zeus, Olympian Zeus had not long before lent his thunderbolt to Athena. And indeed Athena was no unworthy recipient. The western part of her 'ancient temple' on the Athenian Akropolis[4] was devoted to the lightning-powers—Hephaistos of the double axe[5], Erechtheus the 'Cleaver[6],' Poseidon with his fork[7]. Was this perhaps the point of Athena's strange boast at the close of the *Eumenides*[8] 'I alone of the gods know the keys of the store-chamber in which the thunderbolt is sealed up'?

Euripides is more outspoken than Aischylos. In the *Troiades*[9] Athena, because Aias son of Oïleus has torn Kassandra from her sanctuary, is minded to take vengeance on the Greeks.

Augustus and Tiberius (L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 964—966), was impressed by the passage, as we gather from schol. A. *Il.* 15. 310 *ἡ διπλῆ* (*sc.* the marginal mark >, which was tantamount to our *N.B.*) *ὅτι σαφῶς Διὶ ἐσκεύασται ἡ αἰγίς, καὶ οὐκ ἔστιν Ἀθηνᾶς, καθὼς οἱ νεώτεροι ποιηταὶ λέγουσιν.*

[1] *Supra* pp. 189 ff., 224 ff., 236, 736.

[2] *Supra* ii. 712 f. pl. xxx.

[3] *Supra* p. 533 ff.

[4] Paus. 1. 26. 5, on which see *supra* p. 758.

[5] *Supra* pp. 200, 235, 736. For Athena herself holding the double axe see *supra* ii. 625 f. figs. 529, 530, 532, iii. 190 n. 6 fig. 100.

[6] *Supra* ii. 793 f., iii. 737.

[7] *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850, iii. 736.

[8] Aisch. *Eum.* 827 f. *καὶ κλῆδας οἶδα δώματος μόνη θεῶν | ἐν ᾧ κεραυνὸς ἔστιν ἐσφραγισμένος.*

[9] Eur. *Tro.* 77 ff.

She discloses her design to Poseidon and explains what will happen

> When homeward bound they sail from Ilion.
> On them will Zeus send rain and endless hail
> And darkling storm-winds from the upper sky—
> Saith he will give me too his fiery bolt
> To smite the Achaeans and to burn their ships.

Sundry later writers state that in the event Athena struck Aias with the lightning[1], and Heron of Alexandreia[2], taking his cue from the *Nauplios* by Philon of Byzantion[3], describes how the story was staged for his marionettes. In the fourth scene of their little play Nauplios the wrecker raised his torch, while Athena stood beside him. In the fifth and concluding scene Aias was shown swimming towards the shore, when, with a crash of mimic thunder, the fatal bolt fell[4] and the puppet hero disappeared in the waves.

It is not, however, till the third[5] century B.C. that Athena is actually represented with the thunderbolt in her hand. Antigonos Gonatas (277—239 B.C.)—or, less probably[6], his nephew Antigonos Doson (229—220 B.C.)—issued imposing tetradrachms with the reverse type (figs. 702, 703)[7] of an archaistic Athena, seen from behind, who bears a Gorgon-shield on her left arm and brandishes

[1] Verg. *Aen.* i. 39 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 116. See further J. Toepffer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 938 f.

[2] Heron *αὐτοματοποιϊκά* 22. 3 ff. (i. 412 ff. Schmidt).

[3] *Id. ib.* 20. 1 (i. 404 Schmidt), 20. 3 (i. 408 Schmidt).

K. Tittel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 996—1000 contends that Heron's life should probably be dated in the beginning of *s.* i B.C., *ib.* 997 f. that he was a younger contemporary of the mechanician Philon, and *ib.* 1051 that, with a few alterations, he simply took over Philon's representation of the Nauplios-myth.

[4] We are not told that Athena herself flung the bolt. But that is because the text at this crucial point is defective: 22. 6 (i. 414 Schmidt) *ἡ τῶν νεῶν ἔκπτωσις ἐφαίνετο καὶ ὁ Αἴας νηχόμενος < ἡ δὲ Ἀθηνᾶ ἐπὶ* (*suppl.* H. Diels) *> μηχανῆς τε καὶ ἄνωθεν τοῦ πίνακος ἐξήρθη, καὶ βροντῆς γενομένης ἐν αὐτῷ τῷ πίνακι κεραυνὸς ἔπεσεν ἐπὶ τὸν Αἴαντα, καὶ ἠφανίσθη αὐτοῦ τὸ ξῴδιον.*

[5] Browning was guilty of more than one slip when, confusing the third-century demagogue Lachares with the fourth-century sculptor Leochares, he made Aristophanes declare that 'Lachares the sculptor' had carved a naked Pallas and remark: 'Moreover, Pallas wields the thunderbolt | Yet has not struck the artist all this while' (*Aristophanes' Apology* ed. 1889 p. 232). The whole context has been convincingly cleared up by C. T. Seltman in a paper on 'The Dismantling of the Pheidian Parthenos' read to the Cambridge Philological Society on Nov. 3, 1932 (*Cambridge University Reporter* 1932—1933 p. 337 f. = *Proceedings of the Cambridge Philological Society* 1932 cli—cliii. 12 f.).

[6] Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 231 f.

[7] *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 340 pl. 23, 19, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 70 pl. 134, 2 and 3, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 75 pl. 41, 5, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 231 fig. 144, *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 62 pl. 35, 3, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 260 pl. 50, 8. Figs. 702 and 703 are from two specimens in my collection.

a thunderbolt with her right. An exceptional specimen at Florence (fig. 704)[1], believed by Svoronos to have been struck at Athens[2], shows the same goddess as seen from in front, advancing to the right, not the left. On tetradrachms of Philip v (220—178 B.C.) she reappears, a comparatively clumsy figure in the usual stance[3].

She is commonly called Athena *Alkís*[4] and identified with the Athena *Alkís* or, better, *Alkídemos* worshipped at Pella[5]. But the goddess of Pella, to judge from the coins of her town (figs. 705, 706)[6],

Fig. 702.

Fig. 703.

Fig. 704.

Fig. 705.

Fig. 706.

[1] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 21, 23 (=my fig. 704). A similar reverse, but not from the same die, is found on another *unicum* at Berlin (W. W. Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* Oxford 1913 Frontispiece and p. 174 n. 20). Two further specimens are noted by Imhoof-Blumer *Monn. gr.* p. 129 f. no. 69.

[2] On account of the small *kálathos* behind Athena (Imhoof-Blumer *op. cit.* p. 130 n. 21 a); but C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 260 expresses himself with caution. We await an authoritative statement from Mr E. T. Newell.

[3] *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 73 pl. 135, 1, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 76 pl. 41, 8, *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 232 fig. 145, *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 62 pl. 35, 6, Sir G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 pp. 108, 132 f. no. 79 pl. 10, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 224 f. pl. 51, 1.

[4] So by numismatic writers in general (B. V. Head, Sir G. Macdonald, Sir G. F. Hill, S. W. Grose, etc.). W. W. Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* Oxford 1913 pp. 177 n. 31, 200 says 'Athene Alkis or Alkidemos.'

[5] Liv. 42. 51 Pellae, in vetere regia Macedonum, hoc consilium erat....ipse (*sc.* Perseus, last king of Makedonia) centum hostiis sacrificio regaliter Minervae, quam vocant Alcidemon, facto cum purpuratorum et satellitum manu profectus Citium est. So W. Weissenborn (ed. 2 Lipsiae 1930). Older editors, *e.g.* A. Drakenborch (ed. Lugd. Batav.—Amstelaedami 1743), had printed *Alcidem.* The right reading was already divined by Turnebus (1512—1565).

[6] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, etc. p. 90 no. 5 fig. (=my fig. 705), *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 362 pl. 25, 2, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 90 f. pl. 140, 4 and 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 244. Fig. 706 is from a specimen of mine.

brandished a spear, not a thunderbolt, and in this guise appears already on tetradrachms issued by Ptolemy i Soter *c.* 314 B.C. in the name of the young prince Alexander iv (figs. 707, 708)[1] and copied by Demetrios Poliorketes[2], Agathokles[3], and Pyrrhos[4]. She was therefore a warlike goddess comparable with the Thessalian

Fig. 707.

Fig. 708.

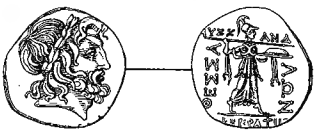


Fig. 709.

[1] *McClean Cat. Coins* iii. 419 f. pl. 363, 2—10 ('Athene Promachos'), Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 58 pl. 28, 21 ('Pallas Promachos...perhaps a representation of the statue of Athena Alkis at Pella'), *id. Hist. num.*[2] p. 848 f. fig. 374 (wrongly described as 'Athena Promachos, hurling fulmen'), *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 51 pl. 28, 19 ('Athena fighting...a representation of the statue of Athena Alkis at Pella'), Sir G. F. Hill *Historical Greek Coins* London 1906 p. 107 ff. no. 62 pl. 8 ('Athena...wielding spear in r.'), C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 240 pl. 58, 2 and 3 ('a fighting Athena...a thunder-weapon in her upraised right hand'). Figs. 707 and 708 are from specimens of mine which show clearly that the supposed thunderbolt is meant for a spear.

[2] J. N. Svoronos in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1899 ii. 301 pl. IΔ', 9 a gold *statêr* with *obv.* Nike on prow, *rev.* an archaistic Athena advancing to left in the *Prómachos*-attitude with Gorgon-shield on left arm and spear in raised right hand.

[3] *Supra* p. 784 n. 7 with fig. 580.

[4] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 112 pl. 20, 12, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 13 pl. 31, 18, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 271 pl. 188, 7—10, Head *Coins of the Ancients* p. 84 pl. 46, 29, *id. Coins of the Greeks* p. 67 pl. 37, 18, Sir G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 162 pl. 12, 4, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 pp. 223, 247 pl. 60, 12.

During the presence of Pyrrhos in Sicily the Syracusans, by way of compliment to their gallant ally, struck bronze coins which have for reverse type Athena advancing to the right with uplifted spear. But not unfrequently the compliment was intensified and the effect heightened by the substitution of a thunderbolt for the spear. See *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Sicily p. 206 f. with fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 243 f. nos. 216 f. and 218 ff., *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 344 pl. 104, 6, 7 and 8—10, Sir G. F. Hill *Coins of Ancient Sicily* London 1903 p. 163 f. fig. 46.

Athena *Itonía* (fig. 709)[1]. Perhaps we may claim that Antigonos sought to magnify the Athena of Pella by giving her the thunderbolt, just as his Boeotian contemporaries added a thunderbolt to their own winged form of *Itonía*[2].

Athena fulminant on the bronze coinage of Athens in pre-Roman times (fig. 710)[3] may reflect some temporary *rapprochement* between the Athenians and Antigonos[4].

In any case the type was attractive and travelled far afield. It is found, under Attic influence, on a drachm of Phaselis in Lykia struck *c.* 190—168 B.C. (fig. 711)[5]. It was very popular with the Graeco-Indian kings from Menandros to Gondopharnes[6] (figs. 712,

Fig. 710.

Fig. 711.

Fig. 712.

Fig. 713.

Fig. 714.

[1] The evidence, literary, epigraphic, and numismatic, for Athena 'Ιτωνία in Thessaly ('die Heimstätte der Göttin') is put together by Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2374 f. For attempts to locate her temple see A. J. B. Wace, J. P. Droop, and M. S. Thompson in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1907—1908 xiv. 197, 199, W. Vollgraff *ib.* p. 224, F. Stählin *Das hellenische Thessalien* Stuttgart 1924 p. 175 f. Silver coins (double *Victoriati*) of the Thessalian League from 196 to 146 B.C. have *obv.* the head of Zeus wreathed with oak, *rev.* Athena *Itonía*, with spear and shield, advancing to right (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Thessaly etc. p. 1 ff. pl. 1, 1 and 2, *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 456 f. pl. 30, 12 and 13, and especially the fine series in *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 225 ff. pl. 176, 13—180, 5, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 311 fig. 177. Fig. 709 is from a specimen of mine).

[2] *Supra* p. 820 n. 1 fig. 627.

[3] J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 22, 53—58. Cp. for similar types in imperial times *ib.* pl. 84, 29, 30, 36—42. Fig. 710 is from *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 84 pl. 15, 2 = Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 135 pl. AA, 14, cp. E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 386 figs. 2 and 3.

[4] See W. W. Tarn *Antigonos Gonatas* Oxford 1913 for the political situation in 282/1 (p. 127), in 276—273 (p. 218), in 270 (p. 290), and later (pp. 205, 223).

[5] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. pp. lxvii, 81 pl. 16, 13 (=my fig. 711).

[6] P. Gardner in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings Index p. 181 ('Pallas, thundering'), G. Macdonald in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 571, 588 f. ('*Athene Promachos*').

713)[1]. And it appealed of course to Domitian (fig. 714)[2], a notorious devotee of Minerva[3].

If Athena thus borrowed the thunderbolt of Zeus, while Zeus appropriated the *aigís* of Athena, small wonder that the populace came to regard the goddess as second self to the god[4], and associated the two in not a few Hellenistic cults[5]. A sample will serve. P. Aelius Aristeides, himself apparently a priest of Zeus[6] and not likely to minimise the honour due to his deity, in 164 A.D.[7] pronounced an encomium of Athena at Pergamon where Daughter and Sire were worshipped side by side[8]. I translate a few sentences from beginning and end of the oration just to show his drift:

'It seems to me that she was the deity actually foremost in honour, or assuredly one of the few who then stood first. That is why Zeus could not have ordered all things aright, had he not set Athena by his side as partner and counsellor. She alone wears the *aigís* perpetually. She alone arrays herself for

[1] Fig. 712 is from the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Greek and Scythic Kings p. 44 pl. 11, 7 Menandros; fig. 713, from *ib.* p. 78 pl. 18, 2 Azes.

See further J. P. Vogel 'Études de Sculpture Bouddhique iv, Le Vajrapāni Gréco-Bouddhique' in the *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême-Orient* 1909 ix. 15 ff., A. Grünwedel 'Athene-Vajrapāṇi' in the *Jahrbuch der königlich preuszischen Kunstsammlungen* 1916 xxxvii. 174—180 with 5 figs.

Mr C. T. Seltman first drew my attention to the seal-impression of Athena fulminant, found at Niya in Chinese Turkestan, which is figured on the title-page of several works by Sir Aurel Stein, *e.g.* M. A. Stein *Sand-buried Ruins of Khotan* London 1903 p. 396 f. title-vignette and fig. A on p. 395 a Kharoshthi document on a double oblong tablet (N. xv. 166) with clay impress of a Hellenistic gem, which shows an archaising Athena to right with uplifted thunderbolt and Gorgon-shield.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. ii. 447 Index. Fig. 714 is from an *aureus* of 83 A.D. published *ib.* ii. 306 no. 42 pl. 60, 10.

[3] Preller—Jordan *Röm. Myth.*[3] i. 297 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 558, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2990, *id. Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 255. Among the passages quoted in support are Mart. *ep.* 8. 1. 4 Pallas Caesariana, Suet. *Dom.* 15 Minervam, quam superstitiose colebat, somniavit excedere sacrario† negantemque (Stephanus *corr.* negantem F. van Oudendorp cj. negantèm quoque C. L. Roth assumes lacuna before negantemque) ultra se tueri eum posse, quod exarmata esset a Iove, Dion Cass. 67. 1 *θεῶν μὲν γὰρ τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν ἐς τὰ μάλιστα ἠγαλλε, κ.τ.λ.*, 67. 16 (Domitian dreamed) *τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν, ἣν ἐν τῷ κοιτῶνι ἱδρυμένην εἶχε, τὰ ὅπλα ἀποβεβληκέναι καὶ ἐπὶ ἅρματος ἵππων μελάνων ἐς χάσμα ἐσπίπτειν*, Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 7. 24 p. 142 Kayser *ἑτέρου δ' αὖ φήσαντος γραφὴν φεύγειν, ἐπειδὴ θύων ἐν Τάραντι, οὗ ἦρχε, μὴ προσέθηκε ταῖς δημοσίαις εὐχαῖς, ὅτι Δομετιανὸς Ἀθηνᾶς εἴη παῖς, "σὺ μὲν ᾠήθης," ἔφη, "μὴ ἂν τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν τεκεῖν, παρθένον οὖσαν τὸν ἀεὶ χρόνον, ἠγνόεις δ', οἶμαι, ὅτι ἡ θεὸς αὕτη Ἀθηναίοις ποτὲ δράκοντα ἔτεκε.*"

[4] Cp. *supra* p. 737.

[5] F. Dümmler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2001 f., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1217 ff.

[6] *Supra* ii. 127.

[7] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 702, 1494.

[8] *Supra* i. 118 f., ii. 955.

the Homeric warfare in her Father's armour. And as in a conjurer's hall Zeus and the goddess appear together in the same equipment[1].'

* * * *

'To sum up, Athena's portion is the *agorá* of the gods, where all business is transacted. Hence she is nearest to Zeus, and, whatever be the matter in hand, the same decision always commends itself to both. Here I suppose I ought to stop; for my speech has returned to its starting point, nay rather has reached its goal. If one claimed that she was the very Power of Zeus, one would not—I contend—be far wrong. Why then go into detail by expounding her particular activities? Enough to say that the works of Zeus are works common to Zeus and to Athena[2].'

(i) Zeus *Hýes*.

The whole topic of Athena and her relation to Zeus, which has occupied us for the last two hundred pages, has been (I am well aware) something of a digression. It arose naturally, indeed inevitably, from a consideration of the Parthenon pediment, the design of which we found[3] to be based, at least in part, on the curious ritual of the *Bouphónia*, an Attic equivalent for the rites of Zeus *Hyétios*.

If now we rejoin the high-road and pursue the main line of our investigation, we have next to ask whether there is any further evidence for the worship of Zeus *Hyétios*, 'the Rainy,' in the Greek area.

A gloss of the lexicographer Hesychios[4], echoed by the grammarian Theognostos[5], explains that *Hýes* (perhaps better

[1] Aristeid. *or.* 2. 10 (i. 14 Dindorf) δοκεῖ δέ μοι καὶ πρεσβυτάτη θεῶν φῦναι, ἡ κομιδῇ τινῶν εὐαριθμήτων καὶ τῶν πρώτων ὄντων ἐν τῷ τότε· οὐ γὰρ ἂν ἄλλως ἕκαστα ὁ Ζεὺς διεῖλεν, εἰ μὴ παρέδρον τε καὶ σύμβουλον τὴν Ἀθηνᾶν παρεκαθίσατο. καὶ γάρ τοι μόνη μὲν τὴν αἰγίδα δι' αἰῶνος φορεῖ, μόνη δὲ τοῖς τοῦ πατρὸς ὅπλοις εἰς τὸν Ὁμηρικὸν πόλεμον κοσμεῖται· οἷα δὲ ἐν αὐλῇ θαυματοποιῶν ἅμα τοῖς αὐτοῖς ὅ τε Ζεὺς καὶ ἡ θεὸς χρῆται.

[2] *Id. ib.* 16 (i. 27 Dindorf) ὡς δ' εἰπεῖν ἐν κεφαλαίῳ, τὸ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς μέρος ἡ θεῶν ἀγορὰ <οὖ (*ins.* Casaubon)> πάντ' ἐστὶ τὰ πράγματα. ταῦτ' ἄρα καὶ τοῦ Διός ἐστιν ἐγγυτάτω καὶ περὶ παντὸς ἀεὶ ταὐτὸν ἐν ἀμφοῖν δοκεῖ. κάμοὶ πεπαῦσθαι καλὸν ἐνταῦθά που. ἀνελήλυθε γὰρ εἰς τὴν ἀρχὴν ὁ λόγος, μᾶλλον δὲ ἐλήλυθε πρὸς αὐτὸ τὸ ἔσχατον. σχεδὸν γὰρ δύναμιν τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι λέγων τις αὐτὴν ἐκ τούτων οὐκ ἂν ἁμαρτάνοι. ὥστε τί δεῖ μικρολογεῖσθαι τὰς ἐν μέρει πράξεις αὐτῆς διηγούμενον, ὁπόσ' ἔξεστι τὰ τοῦ Διὸς ἔργα κοινὰ τοῦ Διὸς εἶναι φήσαι καὶ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς;

With the description of Athena as *δύναμιν τοῦ Διός* cp. the stone at Thyateira inscribed Διὸς | Κεραυνίου | δύναμις (*supra* ii. 808 n. 0 (o)).

On *δύναμις* as a Greek equivalent of *mana* see Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 108 ff. and the literature there cited. Later developments of the 'Mana-Begriff' are discussed by O. Schmitz 'Der Begriff ΔΥΝΑΜΙΣ bei Paulus' in the *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann* Tübingen 1927 pp. 139—167.

[3] *Supra* pp. 656 f., 661 f., 720, 733, 737.

[4] Hesych. "Τηης· Ζεὺς ὄμβριος. See M. Schmidt in ed.[1] *Id.* in ed.[2] prints Ἴτης for ἴηης cod.

[5] Theognost. *can.* 104 in Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 18, 30 "Τηης Ζεύς, ὄμβριος· υἱός (*leg.* "Τηης, Ζεὺς ὄμβριος· υἱός).

accentuated *Hyês*[1]) means Zeus *Ómbrios*, 'the Showery[2].' Hesychios, a trustworthy source, unfortunately omits to mention the locality where Zeus was called *Hýes*. But in the preceding gloss he states that *Hyé* was a name given to Semele 'from the rain[3].' And *Hýe* as a name for Semele is attested by Pherekydes as early as the fifth century B.C.[4] It is therefore tolerably certain that *Hýes* and *Hýe*[5] (perhaps *Hyês* and *Hyé*) were Thraco-Phrygian appellatives of the sky-god whom the Greeks named Zeus and of the earth-goddess whom they named Semele. The one rained, the other was rained upon.

But if this divine pair was really Thraco-Phrygian, we should expect them, in accordance with Thraco-Phrygian belief[6], to have had a son bearing the same name and evincing the same nature as his father. And that is precisely what happened. Dionysos—as we have already had occasion to note[7]—was called *Hýes*, a name variously explained by the ancients from Kleidemos[8] (*c.* 350 B.C.[9]) onwards, but always in allusion to rain[10]. When Aischines, grown to manhood, capered through the streets, with a posse of Sabazian revellers behind him, shouting

'*Hýes Áttes, Áttes Hýes*[11],'

he was, I take it[12], much like the mystics of Eleusis[13], raising the old-world cry

'Rain Father[14], Father Rain,'

not, as Sir James Frazer[15] conjectures, calling Attis a Pig!

[1] Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 3 (i. 59, 20 f. Lentz) *τὸ δὲ Τῆς περισπᾶται ἔχον τὸ ῡ ὥσπερ καὶ τὸ Θυῆς, Κυῆς ἰσοσυλλάβως κλινόμενα.*

[2] *Supra* p. 525 ff.

[3] Hesych. *Τή· ἡ Σεμέλη ἀπὸ τῆς (ὗ)σεως. καὶ ὑὲ δειλέ* (*an leg. ὑέ· ἀπειλή*? cp. Souid. *ὑέ· ἀπειλὴ βραδυνόντων καὶ ἀνοιγνύναι κελευόντων*. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* viii. 66 c doubts the connexion).

[4] Pherekyd. *frag.* 46 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 84 Müller)=*frag.* 90 a—e (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 84 f. Jacoby). *Supra* ii. 274 f.

[5] H. Usener in his discussion of *Sondergötter* was the first to distinguish this primitive pair of rain-deities as *Τῆς, Τῆ* (*Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 46 f.).

[6] *Supra* ii. 287 f. [7] *Supra* ii. 275.

[8] Kleidemos *frag.* 2 (Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 42 f.) quoted *supra* ii. 275 n. 11.

[9] F. Jacoby in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 591. [10] *Supra* ii. 275.

[11] Dem. *de cor.* 260. F. Blass ed.[4] (cited *supra* i. 392 n. 4, ii. 292 n. 3) reads *ὑῆς ἄττης ἄττης ὑῆς*. But J. G. Baiter and H. Sauppe print *ὗης ἄττης ἄττης ὗης* without recorded variant.

[12] My explanation was long since anticipated by Michael Psellos (*supra* ii. 292) *περὶ τῶν ὀνομάτων τῶν δικῶν* p. 109 Boissonade (quoted *supra* i. 399 n. 3, cp. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 88 *ὗις ὦ Ζεῦ Σαβάζιε, ὗις* 'du mögest regnen').

[13] *Supra* p. 299. [14] *Supra* ii. 292 f.

[15] Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Spirits of Corn and Wild ii. 22 'Perhaps the cry of "Hyes

(j) Zeus and the Hail.

At this point something must be said about one special form of rain, the frozen pellets that we term hail. For hailstones provide an obvious transition from the soft beneficent raindrops to the harder and more formidable aerolites.

Hail bulks big in modern folk-lore[1]. It could scarcely be otherwise: fruit-grower and farmer know what damage it may do and are quite ready to try any and every superstitious recipe that promises to avert the threatened mischief.

Similarly in ancient times the peasant had recourse to a singular variety of expedients, which have been admirably collected and discussed by E. Fehrle[2].

Pliny the elder (25—79 A.D.), a man of vast erudition, is shy about mentioning irrational or indecorous detail, but here and there drops a significant hint, while on occasion his love of the marvellous prompts him to include this or that item of folk-belief. He says, for example:

nat. hist. 17. 267 Most people hold that hailstones can be averted by a charm, the wording of which I should not seriously venture to quote.

28. 29 There are charms against hailstorms and against various diseases and against burns, some even attested by experience, but I am prevented from giving particulars by a feeling of extreme diffidence in view of the great variety of men's minds. So each must form his own opinions about them as he may feel inclined.

Attes! Hyes Attes!" which was raised by the worshippers of Attis, may be neither more nor less than "Pig Attis! Pig Attis!"—*hyes* being possibly a Phrygian form of the Greek *hȳs*, "a pig."' *Id. ib.* n. 4 says that this suggestion was made to him in conversation by R. A. Neil of Pembroke College, Cambridge.

I note one scrap of evidence which might be pressed in favour of Frazer's etymology. At the Weber Sale in 1919 the British Museum bought the bronze statuette (·075^{m} long by ·055^{m} high) of a boar standing on a thin base-plate. The figure is of poorish workmanship and is inscribed along the left side of the body in late lettering ΜΥΡΤΙΝΗΘΕ| ΩCABAZIΩ. May we infer that Myrtine thought of Sabazios himself as a Boar?

[1] Two monographs are deserving of special mention: (1) G. Bellucci *La grandine nell' Umbria*, con note esplicative e comparative e con illustrazioni (*Tradizioni popolari italiane* no. 1) Perugia 1903 pp. 1—136 (now out of print). (2) The rich collection of classified facts contributed by Stegemann to the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1304—1320 ('Hagel, Hagelzauber').

[2] E. Fehrle 'Antiker Hagelzauber. Ein Kapitel der Geoponiker' in *Alemannia* Freiburg i. B. 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 13—27, *id. Studien zu den griechischen Geoponikern* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii) Leipzig—Berlin 1920 pp. 7—26 (*Geoponika* 1. 14 'Schutz gegen Hagel').

28. 77 Hailstorms and whirlwinds, they say, are driven off if the monthly course be exposed to the actual lightning-flashes. Thus the violence of the sky is averted, and storms at sea even without the courses.

37. 124 It is said too that this stone (*sc.* the amethyst) averts hail, and locusts likewise if a prayer be added, which they show you.

More explicit are the directions given by the *Geoponika*[1], a farmer's handbook, which devotes two chapters to the subject:

1. 14 Concerning Hail. By Africanus[2].

1. Let a woman in her courses exhibit her person to hail, and she turns it aside. All wild animals too flee such a sight[3].
2. Or take a virgin's first cloth and bury it in the midst of the place, and neither vine nor seeds will be injured by hail[4].
3. And if a strap from the skin of a seal be hung from a single conspicuous vine, hail will do no damage, as Philostratos observes in his *Heroïkós*[5].
4. Some say that, if you show a mirror to the impending cloud, the hail will pass by[6].

[1] This collection of excerpts on agriculture, made at the bidding of the Byzantine emperor Constantinus vii Porphyrogennetos (912—959 A.D.), was based on an older compilation by Cassianus Bassus, a sixth-century scholar, who himself drew from two fourth-century sources, the comparatively rational and scientific *συναγωγὴ γεωργικῶν ἐπιτηδευμάτων* by Vindonius Anatolius of Berytos, and the more magical and mystical *περὶ γεωργίας ἐκλογαί* by the younger Didymos of Alexandreia (see K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 pp. 261—263, L. Cohn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1036, E. Oder *ib.* vii. 1221—1225, W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 291 f.).

[2] From the *κεστοί* of Sex. Iulius Africanus (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 119), to be dated *c.* 200 A.D. (*supra* ii. 695 n. 0).

[3] E. Fehrle in *Alemannia* 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 15 cites Plin. *nat. hist.* 28. 77 (*supra* p. 876).

[4] E. Fehrle *ib.* cites Plout. *symp.* 7. 2. 2 *οἷον ἐδόκει τὸ περὶ τὴν χάλαζαν εἶναι τὴν ὑπὸ χαλαζοφυλάκων αἵματι ἀσπάλακος ἢ ῥακίοις γυναικείοις ἀποτρεπομένην.*

Fehrle in ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii. 7 remarks that two manuscripts, a cod. Guelferbytanus and a cod. Palatinus in the Vatican, in place of the indecent recipes (1) and (2) substitute the following: (1) *εὑρὼν λίθον χαλαζίτην* (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 189), *ἔχε. καὶ ὅταν ἴδῃς τὴν χάλαζαν, κροῦσον αὐτὸν μετὰ σιδήρου ἀπέναντι, καὶ ἀποστραφήσεται.* (2) *καὶ ἀετοῦ πτερὸν τὸ δεξιὸν λαβὼν μέσον τοῦ χωρίου χῶσον, καὶ οὔτε ἡ ἄμπελος οὔτε τὰ σπέρματα ὑπὸ χαλάζης ἀδικηθήσεται.*

[5] E. Fehrle in *Alemannia* 1912 Dritte Folge iv. 16 f. was the first to point out that for *Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ ἱστορικῷ* codd. we must read *Φιλόστρατος ἐν τῷ ἡρωικῷ*, the allusion being to Philostr. *her.* 3. 25 (Palamedes to the peasant) '*σὺ δ' ἐπειδὴ φιλεῖς που τὰς ἀμπέλους, εἰπέ μοι, τί μάλιστα περὶ αὐταῖς δέδοικας.*' '*τί δ' ἄλλο γ',*' *εἶπεν,* '*ἢ τὰς χαλάζας, ὑφ' ὧν ἐκτυφλοῦνταί τε καὶ ῥήγνυνται;*' '*ἰμάντα τοίνυν,*' *εἶπεν ὁ Παλαμήδης,* '*περιάπτωμεν μᾶ τῶν ἀμπέλων κοὐ βεβλήσονται αἱ λοιπαί.*'

Pallad. 1. 35. 15 item vituli marini pellis in medio vinearum loco uni superiecta viticulae creditur contra imminens malum (*sc.* grandinis) totius vineae membra vestisse.

[6] Pallad. 1. 35. 15 nonnulli ubi instare malum (*sc.* grandinis) viderint, oblato speculo imaginem nubis accipiunt et hoc remedio nubem (seu ut sibi obiecta displiceat, seu tanquam geminata alteri cedat) avertunt.

5. Again, if you carry the skin of a hyaena or crocodile or seal round your place and then hang it up before the doors of your house, hail will not fall[1].
6. Or, if you hang many keys of different rooms on a string round your place, the hail will pass by.
7. And, if you set wooden bulls on your buildings, that will help greatly.
8. And, if you take a tortoise found in the marshes and place it on its back in your right hand, you should then carry it all over your vineyard. When you have gone the round of it, then proceed to the middle of your vineyard, set the creature still alive on its back, having heaped a little earth round it in order that it may not be able to turn itself about and get away (it will not be able to do so, if the ground under its feet is a bit hollow, for having nothing to push against it must needs stay where it is), and if you do this, no hail would fall on your field or whole estate[2].
9. Some folk say that you should carry round and deposit the tortoise at the sixth hour of the day or night.
10. Apuleius[3] of Rome asserts that, if you paint a bunch of grapes on a tablet and dedicate the same in the vineyard when Lyra is setting, the fruit remains free from injury[4]. Lyra begins to set on the 23rd of January and sets completely on the 4th of February[5].
11. This is what has been said by the ancients. But I hold that some of their sayings are too unseemly and should be rejected, and I advise all and sundry to ignore them altogether. I have included them simply that I may not seem to be omitting anything said by the ancients.
12. And strips cut from the hide of a hippopotamus, placed at each of the boundaries, stop the threatening hail.

I. 15 More concerning Hail. By Africanus[6].

[The text of this chapter is brief, but so corrupt that little can be made of it[7].]

[1] Pallad. i. 35. 14 grandini creditur obviare, si quis crocodili pellem vel hyaenae vel marini vituli per spatia possessionis circumferat et in villae aut cortis suspendat ingressu, cum malum viderit imminere.

[2] Pallad. i. 35. 14 item si palustrem testudinem dextra manu supinam ferens vineas perambulet, et reversus eodem modo sic illam ponat in terra, et glebas dorsi eius obiciat curvaturae, ne possit inverti sed supina permaneat. hoc facto fertur spatium sic defensum nubes inimica transcurrere.

[3] Apul. *de mundo* 3 and 8 mentions hail, but says nothing of this method of averting it. Is 'Απουλήϊος ὁ 'Ρωμαϊκός a blunder for Οὐάρρων (*infra* n. 4)? Confusion is worse confounded by the Armenian version 'Paulus der Römer' and the Syriac 'Theophilus Decimus,' on which see E. Fehrle in ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ iii. 13 n. 8.

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 18. 294 Varro auctor est, si fidiculae occasu, quod est initium autumni, uva picta consecretur inter vites, minus nocere tempestates.

[5] For *τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Δεκεμβρίων* codd. Fehrle restored *τῇ πρὸ δέκα καλανδῶν Φεβρουαρίων* (from *τῇ πρὸ ἕνδεκα καλανδῶν Φευρουαρίων* cod. Parisin. 2313).

[6] *Supra* p. 876 n. 2.

[7] H. Beckh in the Teubner ed. of 1895 prints without comment *Ξύλα δαφνήσας παρθένου κνήμας ἁλληωρῆσαι· τῆς δὲ ἕκαστον καθ' ἕκαστον κλῆμα χρὴ εἶναί τε καὶ χῶσαι.* He records but one variant—*ἁλλιωρίσαν* cod. H.

Peter Needham (Cantabrigiae 1704) gave up the passage as hopeless. J. N. Niclas

Palladius in the fourth century gives several of the foregoing recipes (nos. 3, 4, 5, 8) and prefixes others of his own:

1. 35. 1 For the prevention of hail numerous remedies are current.—
Meal is covered with a russet cloth[1].
Again, bloodstained axes are raised in a threatening manner against the sky[2].
Again, the whole garden is surrounded with white vines[3].
Or else an owl is nailed up with wide-spread wings[4].
Or the iron tools to be used are anointed with bears' suet.

1. 35. 2 Some keep by them bears' fat pounded with oil and anoint the hooks with it when they are going to prune. But this cure must be worked in secret so that no pruner may be aware of it. Its efficacy, they say, is so great that no harm can be done by a frost or cloud or any wild beast. It is well to add that the thing, if bruited abroad, is useless[5].

Magic of this sort might be worked by anyone. But for its proper performance some skill was needed, and the later Greeks had recourse to professional 'cloud-chasers' (*nephodiôktai*), who knew the right spells to use[6]. At Kleonai in the Argolid official 'hail-guards' (*chalazophýlakes*) were employed, as we gather from an interesting passage in Seneca[7]:

'I will not refrain from exposing all the follies of our Stoic friends. They say that certain men are specially skilled at observing the clouds and can tell

(Lipsiae 1781) at first suggested Ξύλα δάφνης καὶ παρθένου κνήμας (a maiden's shin-bones) κατόρυξον. Εἰς ἕκαστον δὲ κλῆμα χρὴ εἶναί τε καὶ χῶσαι, but concluded in favour of Ξύλα δάφνης, τοὺς παρθένου μῆνας (a virgin's *menses*), ἀλλιόριζαν (or better ἀλλιόριζον, for ἀλλίου ῥίζαν) εἰς ἕκαστον κλῆμα χρὴ θεῖναί τε καὶ χῶσαι. I should myself prefer ξύλα δάφνης, ἀσπαλάθου κνήμας (sprigs of thorn), ἀλλίου ῥίζαν· τῆς δὲ ἀλωῆς καθ' ἕκαστον κλῆμα χρὴ θεῖναί τε καὶ χῶσαι or the like (cp. Colum. *de re rust.* 8. 5 plurimi etiam infra cubilium stramenta graminis aliquid et ramulos lauri nec minus allii capita cum clavis ferreis subiciunt: quae cuncta remedia creduntur esse adversus tonitrua, etc.).

[1] *Supra* i. 58 n. 2, ii. 522 n. 2. See now the careful study by Eva Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 and an interesting review of her book by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102.

[2] *Supra* ii. 704.

[3] Colum. *de re rust.* 10. 346 f. utque Iovis magni prohiberet fulmina Tarchon | saepe suas sedes praecinxit vitibus albis.

[4] *Supra* p. 793.

[5] *Geopon.* 5. 30. 1 ἀρκείῳ στέατι τὸν φλοιὸν ἐπίχριε, καὶ οὐ ποιήσει φθεῖρας ἡ ἄμπελος, ἢ ἀρκείῳ στέατι τὰ δρέπανα χρίε μηδενὸς εἰδότος, ἐν οἷς τὰς ἀμπέλους τέμνεις· ἡ γὰρ τοῦ ἀλείμματος γνῶσις καταλύει τὴν ὠφέλειαν· καὶ οὔτε φθεῖρες οὔτε παγετὸς ἀδικήσει τὴν ἄμπελον.

[6] *Supra* p. 33 with n. 4.

[7] Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 4. 6. 1—4. 7. 2 Haase. Cp. Clem. Al. *strom.* 6. 3 p. 446, 11 ff. Stählin αὐτίκα φασὶ τοὺς ἐν Κλεωναῖς μάγους φυλάττοντας τὰ μετέωρα τῶν χαλαζοβολήσειν μελλόντων νεφῶν παράγειν ᾠδαῖς τε καὶ θύμασι τῆς ὀργῆς τὴν ἀπειλήν. ἀμέλει καί εἴ ποτε ἀπορία ζῴου καταλάβοι, τὸν σφέτερον αἱμάξαντες δάκτυλον ἀρκοῦνται τῷ θύματι.

See further Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 45 f.

when a hailstorm is likely to come. That they might have realised from experience pure and simple, having noted the colour of the clouds commonly followed by hail. But this is hard to believe, that at Kleonai were public officials called *chalazophýlakes*, posted to look out for the coming hail. When these persons had signified the hail's approach, what think you? That folk ran for their cloaks or leather capes? Not a bit of it. They offered sacrifice for themselves, one man a lamb, another a chicken. And forthwith the said clouds, having tasted blood, took themselves off! You laugh? This will make you laugh louder. If anyone had neither lamb nor chicken, he did what he could without serious damage—he laid hands on himself. Do not imagine that the clouds were greedy or cruel. No, he just pricked his finger with a sharp-pointed pen and made his offering with this drop of blood. And lo, the hail turned aside from his plot of ground quite as much as from that on which it had been begged off by greater sacrifices.

They want a rational explanation of this practice. Some, as befits truly wise men, declare that it is impossible to bargain with hail or buy off storms with trumpery gifts, though indeed gifts vanquish the very gods. Others affirm their suspicion that there is some virtue inherent in blood, which has the power to turn aside and rout the cloud. But how in a little drop of blood could a force reside potent enough to penetrate on high and influence the clouds? Far simpler to say, "This is a lie and utter nonsense." But, if you please, the men of Kleonai[1] passed judgment upon those who had been entrusted with the duty of foreseeing the storm, on the ground that through their negligence the vineyards had been beaten down and the crops laid low.'

One step more, and magic passes upward into religion. A stone built into a wall at Amaseia in Pontos bears an inscription in late lettering[2] (fig. 715), which H. Grégoire[3] was the first to interpret as a dedication to Aither *Alexichálazos*, 'Averter of Hail.' This is the only known case of an actual dedication to Aither, though the Orphic hymn to that deity[4] prescribes saffron as an offering appropriate to him[5]. However, since Aither is invoked by the Clouds of Aristophanes[6] as their father, he may well have been asked on occasion to ward off the cloud that threatened hail.

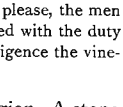


Fig. 715.

[1] F. Haase read *decuriones* with cod. E^2. But A. Gercke restored *Cleonaei* from *cleone* (or *deone*) of codd. Φ and *cleonis* of codd. δ.

[2] T. Reinach in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1895 viii. 84 no. 24 *bis* with facsimile on p. 78.

[3] In J. G. C. Anderson—F. Cumont—H. Grégoire *Recueil des inscriptions grecques et latines du Pont et de l'Arménie* (*Studia Pontica* iii) Bruxelles 1910 i. 138 f. no. 114 a with facsimile (=my fig. 715) Ἐθέρι ἀ|λεξιχα|λάζῳ. See further O. Kern in *Hermes* 1916 li. 566, *id. Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 95 n. 3. Cp. the title Ἀλεξίκακος applied to Zeus (*supra* i. 422 n. 7; Plout. *adv. Stoic. de commun. not.* 33, Orph. *lith.* 1, Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 7, *ib.* 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός no. 8) and other deities (see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1464 f.).

[4] *Supra* i. 33. [5] Orph. *h. Aith.* 5 *lemma*. [6] Aristoph. *nub.* 569 f.

Proklos[1] in his account of the Boeotian Daphnephoria states that the bay-bearing procession used to go to the sanctuary of Apollon *Ismḗnios* and *Chalázios*. If the text be sound—and there is no real reason to doubt it—the second appellative implies that the Theban Apollon too was a god 'of Hail.'

But, of course, normally it was Zeus the weather-god who sent both rain and hail[2]. It is not surprising, therefore, to find that in Phrygia he was worshipped as *Chalázios Sózon*, the god 'of Hail,

Fig. 716.

Fig. 717.

who gives Deliverance.' A *stéle* of white marble, found at *Mahmun Keui* (Thrakia Kome) near *Panderma* and now in the Museum at Constantinople, has an inscribed relief of perhaps the first century B.C. (fig. 716)[3]. A sunk panel between pilasters shows Zeus, in

[1] Proklos *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 321 b 30 ff. Bekker *παρέπεμπον δὲ τὴν δαφνηφορίαν εἰς Ἀπόλλωνος Ἰσμηνίου καὶ Χαλαζίου* (χαλαζίου *Ah*: γαλαξίου *S*). K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 72 says 'Vielleicht die v.l. Γαλάξιος...vorzuziehen' and Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 1899 xxxiv. 224 argues to the same effect. But in *Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 410 n. 220 I retained Χαλαξίου, and Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 164 n. 3 rightly protests against the adoption of Γαλαξίου from the inferior MSS. O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 571 sets the clock back.

[2] Eur. *Tro.* 78 f. (quoted *supra* ii. 1 n. 6), Loukian. *dial. deor.* 4. 2.

[3] F. W. Hasluck in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1904 xxiv. 21—23 no. 4 fig. 1, *id. ib.* 1906 xxvi. 29, *id. Cysicus* Cambridge 1910 pp. 223—225 fig. 21, 272 no. 23, Edhem Bey in

chitón and *himátion*, standing with a *phiále* in his right hand, a long sceptre in his left. Beside him is his eagle. Beyond it, a small altar decorated with a bull sinking on its knees and held by a young attendant. A draped worshipper approaches the altar from the left. The background is occupied by a sacred tree, presumably an oak. On the architrave above the pilasters is inscribed:

Zeus *Chalázios Sózon.*
In the time of Dionysios—

Then below the relief the inscription runs on:

the Thrakiokometai consecrated this *stéle* to the god
to secure good crops and the safety of their fruits
and the health and preservation of the land-lessees and
those who repair to the god and reside in
Thrakia Kome.
Meidias, son of Straton, as first mayor handed over the *stéle*
to the god and to the villagers at his own charges
as a free-will offering.

It will be noticed that, in the matter of hail, Greek religion like Greek magic was throughout concerned to avoid damage, not to cause it[1]. Things were otherwise with the vindictive witchcraft of the middle ages (fig. 717)[2].

§ 10. *Zeus and the Meteorites.*

(a) The cult of meteorites.

It remains to mention what is in some respects the most amazing and terrifying of all celestial phenomena—the fall of meteorites[3]. Scientifically speaking, we must of course group these

the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 524, Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 41 f. no. 837 fig. (=my fig. 716): Ζεὺς Χαλάζιος Σώζω[ν]. | Ἐπὶ Διον[υσί]ου || Θρακιοκωμῆται τῷ θεῷ τὴν στήλλην καθι|έρωσαν ὑπὲρ εὐκαρπίας καὶ ἀβλαβίας τῶν καρπῶν | καὶ ὑπὲρ ὑγείας καὶ σωτηρίας τῶν γεοκτειτῶν καὶ | τῶν συνερχομένων ἐπὶ τὸν θεὸν καὶ κατοικούντων | Θρακίαν Κώμην. | Μειδίας Στράτωνος τῷ θεῷ καὶ τοῖ[ς κω]μήταις | διοικήσας πρῶτος τὴν στήλλην ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ἐπαν|γειλάμενος ἀποκατέστησεν.

[1] In this respect the Rhodian Telchines (*supra* p. 296 n. 6) were exceptional.

[2] See V. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1305—1311. My fig. 717 is reduced (⅝) from Ulricus Molitor *De laniis et philonicis mulieribus* [Strassburg *c.* 1488—1493], where it is prefixed to cap. 3. Apparently the witch and two of her followers are travelling through the air, transformed into animals and mounted on a forked stick, while a hailstorm breaks from a dark cloud to injure the trees.

[3] The facts with regard to meteorites are well set out and illustrated by O. C. Farrington *Meteorites* Chicago 1915 pp. 1—233 with 65 figs. There is also a series of 10 cards in monochrome (set D 1) issued by the British Museum (Natural History) to illustrate its collection at South Kensington.

The folklore of the subject is touched upon by H. A. Miers 'The Fall of Meteorites

with the shooting-stars. But in popular belief they are very different, not soundless streaks of light moving across the nocturnal sky, but an explosive bombardment from above leaving the earth littered with visible débris. Hence shooting-stars are as a rule a good omen, meteorites a sign of downfall and ill-luck[1]. Accordingly these mysterious bodies, when they were not dissipated into impalpable powder, but reached the ground in some bulk, were always viewed with peculiar veneration, their sudden arrival being attributed directly or indirectly to divine agency, most often that of a sky-god.

Much material said to bear on their cult in ancient Egypt has been collected in a series of important papers by Mr G. A. Wainwright[2]. I shall therefore restrict myself in the main to evidence drawn from the Hellenic or Hellenistic area.

in Ancient and Modern Times' in *Science Progress* 1898 vii. 349—370, P. Saintyves 'Talismans et reliques tombées du ciel' in the *Revue des études ethnographiques et sociologiques* 1909 p. 176 ff. (offprint p. 1 ff. '**Les Aérolithes**'), *id. Corpus du Folklore Préhistorique en France et dans les Colonies Françaises* Paris 1934 ii. 488 Index *s.vv.* '**Aérolithes** ou **Météorites**,' W. Gundel *Sterne und Sternbilder im Glauben des Altertums und der Neuzeit* Bonn—Leipzig 1922 p. 352 Index *s.v.* 'Meteore,' *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 2446, and more systematically handled by V. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 217—228.

[1] V. Stegemann *loc. cit.* p. 218. Cp. *supra* p. 475 n. 1.

[2] G. A. Wainwright 'The aniconic Form of Amon in the New Kingdom' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Egypte* Le Caire 1928 xxviii. 175—189 argues that the aniconic form of Amon—evidenced by a *stèle* from Asyut (fig. 1: dynasty xviii—xix), a couple of bronze plaques from Memphis (figs. 2 and 3: 593—588 B.C.), three models from Karnak (fig. 5 after G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' *ib.* 1908 ix. 64—69 pl. 1, *a*, *b*, *c*, *d*, of which *a* front+*d* right side=my fig. 718: Persian or early Ptolemaic period), and a Roman sculpture at Medinet Habu (fig. 4 after Daressy *loc. cit.* pl. 2)—is normally associated with Min the thunderbolt-god and may well have been a 'meteorite, or a fragment of one, which was kept as a sacred thing, on a stand or throne, wrapped up, and decorated with a feather on top and mystic figures on the wrappings' (p. 183). Where an actual meteorite was not available, it might be represented by an *omphalós*—witness the one found by G. A. Reisner in the inner part of Amon's temple at Napata (*Gebel Barkal*) (fig. 7 after F. Ll. Griffith 'An Omphalos from Napata' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1916 iii. 255 with fig.=my fig. 719. Material: sandstone. Date: *c.* 1 A.D.) or the omphaloid fetish in the *Ammóneion* (*supra* i. 355 ff.).

Id. 'The Relationship of Amūn to Zeus and his connexion with Meteorites' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1930 xvi. 35—38 restates his view 'that Amūn of Thebes was a god of the air, a sky-god; that his sacred object at Thebes was a meteorite; that he was intimately connected with, if not actually derived from, his far older neighbour Min, the thunderbolt-god of Koptos; and that the omphalos of Zeus-Ammon at the Oasis of Ammonium (Sîwah) had of itself certain characteristics which associate it with the weather.' He makes three further points in support of the same thesis. (1) Zeus was identified with Amūn of Thebes as far back as 900 B.C., for D. G. Hogarth in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1899—1900 vi. 107 pl. x, 1 f. published a small bronze statuette of Àmen-Râ, good early work of the New Empire, found by him in the *Psychro* Cave (*supra* ii. 926 n. 0). (2) At Kassandreia on Pallene imperial coins show the head of Zeus Ammon (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, Etc. p. 65 nos. 3

a Fig. 718. *d*

Fig. 719.

and 4 Claudius, 5 Vespasian, 6 Domitian, [*Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 273 f. nos. 1—3 Claudius, 4 and 5 Nero, 6 Vespasian, 7 pl. 19, 22 Titus and Domitian, 8 Caracalla, 9 Caracalla or Elagabalus, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 24 nos. 3194 and 3195 pl. 116, 15 Nero, 3196 pl. 116, 16 Caracalla]) and a famous meteorite is known to have been worshipped (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 150, *infra* p. 886). (3) At Gythion again there was a cult of Zeus Ammon (*supra* i. 351) and the stone of Zeus *Kappítas* (*infra* p. 939ff.), 'clearly a meteorite.'

Id. ib. 1931 xvii. 151 f. in a trenchant *critique* of K. Sethe *Amun und die Acht Urgötter von Hermopolis* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1929* Phil.-hist. Classe no. 4) Berlin 1929 demurs to Sethe's view that Yahweh originated in Egypt from Amūn as a result of the Sojourn, and concludes: 'As a matter of fact there are other Egyptian gods who are as much, or more, like Yahweh than is Amūn. The probability is that they, and Amūn, and Yahweh himself, as well as many other gods of the Near East, were all local developments of the one primitive conception of the air-, storm-, or sky-god.'

Id. 'The emblem of Min' *ib.* 1931 xvii. 185—195 discusses the thunderbolt first recognised by P. E. Newberry as the symbol of Min (*supra* ii. 767 n. 2). Wainwright too traces its development chronologically from the middle prehistoric period, when it was an arrow-like weapon with triple or double or single barb at either end, through a time of transition (end of dynasty vi to beginning of dynasty xii), till from *c.* 2000 B.C. onwards it attained a final form identical with that of the normal Greek thunderbolt. 'Min thus comes into relationship with Zeus; and this is not unnatural, seeing he was the original of Amūn, who was Zeus' (p. 188). Since coins of Seleukeia in Syria exhibit both the thunderbolt of Zeus *Keraúnios* (*supra* ii. 809 figs. 771 and 772) and the omphaloid stone of Zeus *Kásios* (*supra* ii. 982 f. figs. 880—884), Wainwright is able to urge that the one is the Greek, the other the Semitic form of the same object. He recalls the contention of F. Lenormant 'Zeus Casios' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 142—144 (*id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1881 iii. 41, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 935) that the Aramaean god *Qaçiu* was Hellenized into Zeus *Kásios* or Zeus *Keraúnios*: '*Qaçiu*=Zeus Casios était donc positivement un dieu-foudre ou un dieu-aérolithe, ce qui nous induit à tirer son nom de la racine originairement bilitère qui donne à l'hébreu *qâçaç*, "tailler, rompre," et *qâçah*, "tailler, couper," au syriaque *qṣṣ*, "briser," en rapportant le sens primitif à l'explosion qui accompagne et précède de quelques secondes la chute de tout aérolithe.' On this showing, as Wainwright says (p. 189), 'meteorite, omphalos, and thunderbolt were all one and the same thing in religion.' He further dwells on the close association of 'the three partners, Amūn, Min, and Horus' (p. 190), and adopts Newberry's interesting suggestion (*Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1911 iv. 99 n. 2) that Min's worship was established at *Akhmîm* just because the rocks there are full of *Lithodomi*, a fossil much like belemnites (*supra* ii. 767 n. 2, 932 n. 1).

Id. 'Letopolis' *ib.* 1932 xviii. 159—172 argues for the existence of a similar thunderbolt-cult at Letopolis and claims that 'the way into heaven, which was offered there by a rope ladder, was derived from the flight of a meteorite' (p. 169). The cult was established at Letopolis because another *quasi*-thunderbolt, the fossil *Nerinea Requieniana*, abounds in the rocks there and seems to be characteristic of the locality.

Id. 'The Bull Standards of Egypt' *ib.* 1933 xix. 42—52 contends that the bull, which occurs on the standards belonging to four of the nomes in the Delta (the sixth, Xois; the tenth, Athribis; the eleventh, the Cabasite; the twelfth, Sebennytus), in each case has reference to the sky- or storm-god, and that the symbols in front of the said bulls, *viz.* mountain, shield (?), sickle-shaped meteorite (?), calf, are at least consistent with this interpretation.

Id. 'Jacob's Bethel' in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1934* pp. 32—44 applies the results gained from the foregoing investigation of Egyptian meteor-cults to a study of the Palestinian Bethel. Impressed by common features (the ladder set up from earth to heaven, the gate of heaven, the golden calf, etc.) and confirmed by the equation *bethel*=βαίτυλος, Wainwright concludes: 'Thus, there can be no reasonable doubt that Jacob's bethel was a sacred meteorite, or an omphalos its substitute.'

Classical literature, if we exclude the speculative explanations of philosophers[1], is seldom concerned with meteorites. But epic poetry has two possible allusions. The *Iliad* makes Athena dart from heaven to earth like a brilliant and scintillating star that Zeus sends as a sign to men[2]—in short, like a meteor. And the *Hymn to the Pythian Apollon* represents that god as having landed at Krisa in the same meteoric form[3].

The most famous of all Greek meteors, the aerolite that fell at Aigos Potamos in 405 B.C., was perhaps associated with the Dioskouroi[4]. A lurid account of it has been left by Daïmachos of Plataiai, an early Hellenistic historian[5], who says[6]:

'Before the stone fell, for seventy-five days in succession, there was seen in the sky a fiery body of vast size like a flame-coloured cloud, not resting in one place but borne along with intricate and irregular motions, so that fiery fragments broken from it by its plunging and erratic course were carried in all directions and flashed fire like so many shooting-stars. However, when it had sunk to earth at that point and the inhabitants, recovering from their fear and amazement, had come together, no effect or trace of fire was to be seen[7]—only a stone

Id. 'Some aspects of Amūn' in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1934 xx. 139—153 returns to the charge and considers further the relation of Amūn to Min. 'Amūn was derived from the much older Min, with whom he had much in common. Yet they differed somehow. Min had the thunderbolt, while Amūn had the meteorite. Min became a fertility-god, while Amūn became solarized. Min belonged to the bull-gods and was related to Horus, while Amūn belonged to the ram-gods and inclined towards Seth. Amūn also differed somewhat from the other ram-gods, for their ram was not his. They were Ḥeryshef, Khnum, and the Lord of Mendes. They primarily controlled the waters on earth, a function not foreign to Amūn, who came to do so as well. But from the beginning he had been an air-, sky-, and weather-god....He was the blue firmament, the heavenly counterpart of the earthly waters. His sacred object was clearly a meteorite which came to earth from his very self. Like other meteorites its representatives were omphaloi, of which one at least suggests a fallen star in its material.'

These articles, taken together, certainly present us with a consistent picture of meteorite-cult over a wide area of the ancient world. I feel bound, however, to enter two pleas for caution: (1) The equation of thunderbolt = meteorite = *omphalós* is not universally valid. Other things beside meteorites might be reckoned as thunderbolts, *e.g.* flint implements (*supra* ii. 505 ff., 643). And other things beside meteorites might be represented as *omphaloi*, *e.g.* a tomb (*supra* ii. 219 n. 4), a mound of earth (*supra* ii. 187), a mountain (*supra* ii. 983 n. 0). (2) Apart from this assumed equation, we have no adequate proof that Min or Amūn had any connexion with meteorites. That the aniconic form of Amūn was a meteoric fragment is an attractive hypothesis, but hardly more.

[1] On which see O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 pp. 638—642, 688 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 760. [3] *Supra* i. 760. [4] *Supra* i. 762.

[5] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2009.

[6] Daïm. *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 441 f. Müller) = *frag.* 8 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 16 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Plout. *v. Lys.* 12. 4 f.

[7] Cp. O. C. Farrington *Meteorites* Chicago 1915 p. 27 'Meteorites show little warmth when they arrive upon the earth....Neither are there any indications of any heating effect where meteorites have struck the earth. No bakin of the soil or charring of vegetation can be observed.'

lying there, a big one to be sure, yet little or nothing in comparison with the fiery mass observed in the sky.'

Plutarch[1] states that the great stone was still shown in his day by the dwellers in the Chersonese, who held it in reverence, and adds that Anaxagoras had predicted the possibility of a fixed star becoming loosened and falling to earth as a heavy stone. Pliny[2] improves on this: Anaxagoras in 467/6 B.C. had predicted the days within which a stone would fall from the sun, a prediction fulfilled when this burnt-looking stone, a waggon-load in size, fell in the daytime at Aigos Potamos. Both Aristotle[3] and Pliny[4] remark that there was also a comet shining in the night at that time. Pliny[5] goes on to mention that in the gymnasium at Abydos another aerolite was worshipped. It was a smallish stone, but Anaxagoras was said to have predicted that it would fall in the middle of the earth. Yet another was worshipped at Kassandreia, the ancient Potidaia, which had been founded on the spot where it fell. Pliny[6] concludes by informing us that he had himself seen such a stone which had recently fallen in the territory of the Vocontii, a tribe of Gallia Narbonensis. One other incident of the sort is on record. Kedrenos[7] the Byzantine annalist notes that in the year 460 A.D. three huge stones fell from the sky in Thrace and Eudokia wife of Theodosios ii died at Jerusalem.

Fig. 720.

[1] Plout. *v. Lys.* 12. 1 f.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 149. The *marm. Par. ep.* 57 p. 17 Jacoby notes the year 468/7 B.C. ἀφ' οὗ ἐν Αἰγὸς ποταμοῖς ὁ λίθος ἔπεσε. Cp. Silenos of Kaleakte (?) *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 100 Müller)=*frag.* 1 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 900 Jacoby) *ap.* Diog. Laert. 2. 11, Aët. 2. 13. 9 (Plout. *de plac. phil.* 2. 13, Stob. *ecl.* 1. 24. 1[d] p. 202, 14 ff. Wachsmuth, Theodoret. 4. 18) in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 342, Amm. Marc. 22. 8. 5, 22. 16. 22, Hieron. *in* Euseb. *ann. Abr.* 1551 (=466 B.C.), Lyd. *de ostent.* 7 p. 14, 15 ff. Wachsmuth.

Bronze coins of Aigos Potamos, struck in the fourth century B.C., occasionally show a star beneath the goat which forms their reverse type (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 187 no. 4. My fig. 720 is from a cast of this specimen kindly supplied by Mr H. Mattingly). The said star very possibly represents the famous meteorite.

[3] Aristot. *meteor.* 1. 7 344 b 31 ff.

[4] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 149.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 150. Cp. Lyd. *de ostent.* 7 p. 14, 20 ff. Wachsmuth ταὐτὸ δὲ τοῦτο κατά τε Ἄβυδον καὶ Κύζικον συμβῆναί φησιν Ἀπουλήιος· ὅθεν ἔτι καὶ νῦν λίθοι ἐστὶ παρ' αὐτοῖς πυρώδης μὲν τὸ χρῶμα, σιδήρῳ δὲ ἅπας κατασεσημασμένος· παραδεδόσθαι γὰρ λόγος Κυζικηνοῖς ὡς συναπολέσθαι τῷ λίθῳ τὴν πόλιν ἀνάγκη. This curious tradition is not, I think, mentioned in F. W. Hasluck's *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910.

[6] Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 150. Cp. Lyd. *de ostent.* 7 p. 15, 3 ff. Wachsmuth.

[7] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 346 B—C (i. 607 Bekker).

(b) *Baitylοi*, *Baitýlia*, and Zeus *Bétylos*.

Few terms in the nomenclature of Greek religion have been more loosely used than the word *baitylos*. It is so persistently misapplied to sacred stones in general[1] that in 1903 Professor G. F. Moore[2] of Harvard felt constrained to protest against its indiscriminate employment and quite rightly insisted that *baitylοi* or *baitýlia* formed a distinct class of holy stones endowed with the power of self-motion. Yet more than thirty years later Sir Arthur Evans still strews broadcast his allusions to 'baetylic' pillars and 'baetylic' altars.

Sotakos[3], a well-informed lapidarist of the early Hellenistic age[4], states that certain *ceraυniae*, black and round, were sacred. Towns and fleets could be captured by their means. And they were called *baetuli*.

Sanchouniathon of Berytos in his Phoenician history[5] had more to say. Ouranos married his sister Ge and had by her four sons—Elos called Kronos, Baitylos, Dagon that is Siton, and Atlas[6]. Later we read that Ouranos invented *baitýlia* or living stones[7].

The qualities of magic potency mentioned by Sotakos and animation recorded by Sanchouniathon both come out in Photios' extracts from Damaskios' *Life of Isidoros*[8]. The Isidoros in question

[1] On the litholatry of Greeks and Romans see *e.g.* De Visser *De Gr. diis non ref. spec. hum.* pp. 22—30, 36—85, 210—215, P. Gardner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 869b—871a, E. Maass 'Heilige Steine' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1929 lxxviii. 1—25, K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 2295—2305.

[2] G. F. Moore 'Baetylia' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 198—208.

[3] Sotakos *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 135.

[4] Kind in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 1211 ('lebte frühestens im Ausgang des 4. vorchristlichen Jhdts').

[5] *Supra* i. 191, ii. 553, 715, 886 n. 0 (30), 981 n. 1, 984 n. 4, 1021, 1023, 1037 f., 1109 n. 0. See now the excellent article by Grimme in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2232—2244.

[6] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 567 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 16 *παραλαβὼν δὲ ὁ Οὐρανὸς τὴν τοῦ πατρὸς* (on his father Ἔλιοῦν Ὕψιστος see *supra* ii. 886 n. 0 (30)) *ἀρχὴν ἄγεται πρὸς γάμον τὴν ἀδελφὴν Γῆν, καὶ ποιεῖται ἐξ αὐτῆς παῖδας τέσσαρας, Ἥλον τὸν καὶ Κρόνον, καὶ Βαίτυλον, καὶ Δαγὼν* (*leg.* Δαγών') *ὅς ἐστι Σίτων* (*supra* i. 238 n. 0), *καὶ Ἄτλαντα.*

[7] Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 568 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 23 *ἔτι δέ, φησίν, ἐπενόησε θεὸς Οὐρανὸς βαιτύλια, λίθους ἐμψύχους μηχανησάμενος.*

[8] Phot. *bibl.* p. 342 b 26 ff. and p. 348 a 28 ff. Bekker. The passages are discussed by G. F. Moore 'Baetylia' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 200 f. and form the subject of an interesting paper by F. C. Conybeare 'The Baetul in Damascius' in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 177—183. See also T. Hopfner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 757 f. and P. Saintyves *Corpus du Folklore Préhistorique en France et dans les Colonies Françaises* Paris 1934 ii. 22 f. no. 778.

was the neo-Platonic philosopher, who was in Athens at the time of Proklos' death (485 A.D.) and shortly afterwards for a while succeeded Marinos as chief of the Athenian school[1]. The scornful and at times indignant Photios gives the following *résumé* of Damaskios' narrative.

'He says that at Heliopolis in Syria Asklepiades[2] made the ascent of Mount Libanos and saw many of the so-called *baitýlia* or *baityloi*[3], concerning which he reports countless marvels worthy of an unhallowed tongue. He declares too that he himself and Isidoros subsequently witnessed these things with their own eyes....

I saw, he says, the *baitylos* moving through the air. It was sometimes concealed in its garments, sometimes again carried in the hands of its ministrant[4]. The ministrant of the *baitylos* was named Eusebios[5]. This man stated that there had once come upon him a sudden and unexpected desire to roam at midnight away from the town of Emesa as far as he could get towards the hill on which stands the ancient and magnificent temple of Athena[6]. So he went as quickly as possible to the foot of the hill, and there sat down to rest after his journey. Suddenly he saw a globe of fire leap down from above, and a great lion standing beside the globe. The lion indeed vanished immediately, but he himself ran up to the globe as the fire died down and found it to be the *baitylos*. He took it up and asked it to which of the gods it might belong. It replied that it belonged to *Gennaîos*, the "Noble One." (Now the men of Heliopolis worship this *Gennaîos* and have set up a lion-shaped[7] image of him in the temple of Zeus.) He took it home with him the self-same night, travelling, so he said, a distance not less than two hundred and ten furlongs. Eusebios, however, was not master of the movements of his *baitylos*[8], as others are of theirs; but he offered petitions and prayers, while it answered with oracular responses.

Having told us this trash and much more to the same effect, our author, who is veritably worthy of his own *baitýlia*, adds a description of the stone and its appearance. It was, he says, an exact globe, whitish in colour, three hand-breadths across. But at times it grew bigger, or smaller; and at other times it took on a purple hue. He showed us, too, letters that were written on the stone, painted in the pigment called *tingábari*, "cinnabar[9]." Also it knocked on

[1] W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2063.

[2] A neo-Platonist, expert in Egyptian theology (J. Freudenthal *ib.* ii. 1631 no. 35).

[3] Zonar. *lex. s.v.* βαίτυλος· λίθος γενόμενος κατὰ τὸν Λίβανον, τὸ ὄρος τῆς Ἡλιουπόλεως, cp. *et. mag.* p. 192, 56 (text imperfect).

[4] For such λιθοφόροι see J. Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 774 f. and E. Maass in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1929 lxxviii. 18.

[5] A well-omened name appropriate to a priest (*supra* ii. 921 n. 0).

[6] Athena stands next to Keraunos on the relief from Emesa (*supra* ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780).

[7] *Supra* i. 571, cp. 575 with fig. 443 *a*.

[8] Cp. *supra* i. 355, 357, 552.

[9] An odd parallel may be seen in G. Pansa *Miti, leggende e superstizioni dell' Abruzzo* Sulmona 1927 ii. 39 ff. G. Mascitti, an abbot who lived at Pentima at the end of the seventeenth century, in his MS. description of Corfinium states that about 1695 there was

a wall; for this was the means by which it gave the enquirer his desired response, uttering a low hissing sound, which Eusebios interpreted.

After detailing these marvels and many others even more remarkable concerning the *baítylos*, this empty-headed fellow continues: "I thought the whole business of the *baítylos* savoured of some god; but Isidoros ascribed it rather to a *daímon*. There was, he said, a *daímon* who moved it—not one of the harmful nor of the over-material kind, yet not of those either that have attained to the immaterial kind nor of those that are altogether pure." He adds in his blasphemous way that different *baityloi* are dedicated to different deities—Kronos, Zeus, Helios, etc.'

At this point codex *A*, the Venetian manuscript of Photios[1], appends a marginal note, which is worth translating.

'I too,' says the annotator, 'have heard of a *daimónion* of this sort in Greece. The people who live there told me that it appeared in the neighbourhood of Parnassos[2]. They recounted other things concerning it even more singular, which deserve to be passed over in silence and not set forth.'

From *Kefr-Nebo* near Aleppo came a dedication, dated 223 A.D., 'to Seimios and Symbetylos and Leon[3].' Since the Syrian god Seimios appears to have had a consort variously spelled Seimia, Semea, Sima[4], it is possible that she is here designated by a Greek appellative *Symbétylos* meaning 'Partner in his *Baítylos*[5].' But the papyri of Elephantine in the fifth century B.C. repeatedly unite two divine names in a compound of which the second element is *Bethel*, *e.g.* '*Anathbethel*, *Ishumbethel*, *Ḥerembethel*[6]. It may be, therefore, that we have here a late Syrian parallel to the older formation, and that—as O. Eissfeldt[7] suggests—Symbetylos actually represents the *Ishumbethel* of Elephantine. In which case the first element Sym- would stand for the Babylonian fire-god Ishum. But Professor

found near the valley of Virana a very ancient stone fallen miraculously from the sky. It was a '*ceraunio*' of planispherical shape, four ounces in weight, and milky white in colour. Sundry lines like little veins of cinnabar made raised letters on its surface and were read by the learned as D.DE.SVPER on one side of the stone and IPRIO on the other. To this apparent inscription some magical meaning was attached.

[1] 'Codex olim Bessarioneus, nunc inter Venetos S. Marci 450, membranaceus,' *s.* x.

[2] The mention of Parnassos suggests that this curious note may contain a Byzantine reminiscence of the stone of Kronos, which was set up γυάλοις ὕπο Παρνησσοῖο (Hes. *theog.* 499) and is often called *baítylos* (*infra* p. 936 n. 4). But the whole district was, and is, grossly superstitious. For the beliefs of the peasants at Arachova beneath Parnassos see *supra* ii. 505 n. 6, 993 n. 2.

[3] *Supra* i. 571 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* ii. 814 n. 3.

[5] So R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1904 ii. 257, O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 601, E. Meyer *Der Papyrusfund von Elephantine*[2] Leipzig 1912 p. 58 n. 2. Cp. M. Lidzbarski *Ephemeris für semitische Epigraphik* Giessen 1908 ii. 323 f., 1915 iii. 247 ('Der Name dieser Göttin ist nicht angegeben, aber da neben ihr noch ein λέων genannt ist, kann es die 'Anat sein, deren Tier der Löwe ist').

[6] A. Cowley *Aramaic Papyri of the Fifth Century* B.C. Oxford 1923 p. xviii f.

[7] O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott Bethel' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 20—22.

S. A. Cook[1] reminds us that *Ishumbethel* at Elephantine is strictly *'-s-m-bethel*, where vocalisation and meaning are alike uncertain. For, while some take *'-s-m* to be the Hebrew *shēm*, 'Name,' a reverential substitute for a divine name, he would prefer to write *Ashima-bethel*[2]. The choice between the Greek and the Semitic interpretation of *Symbétylos* is indeed far from simple.

More to our purpose, however, is a quadrangular altar (0·72m

Fig. 721.

high) found in the sanctuary of the Palmyrene gods at Dura-Europos (fig. 721)[3]. It is dedicated by a Syrian legionary, Aurelius

[1] S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the Light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 144 f., 150 f.

[2] *Id.* in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1925 iii. 429, 1927 vi. 143, 180.

[3] H. Seyrig in *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* (*Preliminary Report of Fourth Season of Work October 1930—March 1931* ed. by P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtzeff—A. R. Bellinger) Vale Univ. Press 1933 pp. 68—71 no. 168 with pl. 15, 1 (=my fig. 721) Θεῷ πατρῴῳ | Διὶ Βετύλῳ | τῶν πρὸς τῷ | Ὀρόντῃ Αὐρ(ήλιος) Δ | Διφιλιανὸς στρα(τιώτης) | λεγ(εῶνος) δ' Σκυ(θικῆς) Ἀντ(ωνειανῆς) | εὐξάμενος | ἀνέθηκεν, 'To [his] national god Zeus *Bétylos*, [god] of the dwellers along the Orontes, Aurelius Diphilianus, soldier of the 4th Legion Scythica Antoniniana, in fulfilment of a vow dedicated [this altar].'

Diphilianus, to his national god Zeus *Bétylos*. And the lettering of the inscription points to a date early in the third century A.D. But whether the appellative implies that the Greek Zeus was here worshipped under the form of a *baitylos*, or that he had succeeded to the position of some Semitic deity of the *-bethel*-type[1], is not clear[2]. Sanchouniathon's personified Baitylos[3] is hardly decisive.

It is commonly assumed as self-evident that the Greek word *baitylos* is an approximate transliteration of the Hebrew *Bēthēl*, 'House of God.' But the equation is not free from difficulties. My colleague Mr H. St J. Hart points out to me that in Scripture the name Bethel is attached to two quite distinct places. The better known one, twelve miles north of Jerusalem, is in Hebrew *Bēthēl*, in Greek *Baithḗl*[4]. The other, in the Negeb or 'Dry' plateau of Judah, is variously spelled—not only as Hebrew *Bēthēl* = Greek *Baithḗl*[5], but also as Hebrew *Bĕthūl* = Greek *Bathoúl*[6] and Hebrew *Bĕthūēl* = Greek *Bathouḗl*[7]. It may therefore be argued that the Hebrew *Bēthēl* had an alternative form *Bĕthūēl*, which gave rise to the Greek *baítylos*, *bḗtylos*[8]. Failing that, we are driven to posit some dialect (Phoenician?) in which the same connective *u*-sound occurred.

Whether Jacob's stone at Bethel was an ordinary *Maṣṣēbhah*, as I have supposed[9], or a meteoric block, as Mr G. A. Wainwright thinks possible[10], is a further problem. The name *Bēthēl* is intelligible on either hypothesis. But to cite[11] in support of the latter view certain neo-Babylonian cylinders on which appear shield-shaped objects marked with a ladder and set upright on divine seats (figs. 722—724)[12] is, I fear, to explain *ignotum per ignotius*.

[1] See *in primis* O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott Bethel' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 1—30.

[2] H. Seyrig *loc. cit.* p. 71.

[3] *Supra* p. 887.

[4] I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 363.

[5] 1 Sam. 30. 27.

[6] Jos. 19. 4.

[7] 1 Chron. 4. 30. Cp. also the man's name Hebrew *Bĕthūēl* = Greek *Bathouḗl* (Gen. 22. 22 f.).

[8] E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1224, followed by K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2780, cp. *'Ain-El* 'Eye of God' = Αἰνυλος or Ἔνυλος (Arrian. 2. 20. 1) king of Byblos.

[9] *Supra* ii. 127 n. 7.

[10] *Supra* p. 884 n. 0.

[11] As is done by G. A. Wainwright in *Palestine Exploration Fund: Quarterly Statement for 1934* p. 36 fig. 1. Cp. S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 24 pl. 5 figs. 1—3.

[12] W. H. Ward *The Seal Cylinders of Western Asia* Washington 1910 pp. 193—195 figs. 544, 546—549, 550 (=my fig. 724), 550[a] (=my fig. 722), 552 (=my fig. 723), 555, 556: 'The irregular oval object resting on the divine seats, and surmounted by a star or a crescent, is not easy to explain, but it is not itself important except as the support for

Yet, whatever be the case with the stone at Bethel, there can be little doubt that the Syrian *baitylοi* or *baitýlia* really were—as G. F. Moore[1] contended—either smallish meteorites or neolithic implements believed to have fallen from heaven[2].

Fig. 722.

Fig. 723.

Fig. 724.

The Syrian cult of meteorites is attested by one other record, which does not contain the actual word *baitylos*. Sanchouniathon[3] states that Astarte[4], 'as she travelled round the world, found a star fallen from the sky, picked it up, and consecrated it in the holy island of Tyre.' Sir G. F. Hill[5] would bring this statement into connexion with an omphaloid stone in a portable shrine represented on imperial coins of Tyre. But we have already ventured to explain that stone as the emerald-block of Herakles[6], who at Tyre bore

the star of Ishtar and the crescent of Sin. It may represent, in a corrupted form, the horned turban of the god as seen, two or three together, on kudurrus.'

[1] G. F. Moore in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 204.

Others, before and since, have identified *baitýlia* with meteorites: see F. Münter 'Vergleichung der vom Himmel gefallenen Steine mit den Bäthylien des Alterthums' in his *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 pp. 255—298 ('Aus den Schriften der Königl. Dänischen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften von Jahr 1804. Deutsch: Kopenhagen 1805; und in Gilberts Annalen der Physik, xxi. Band'), F. v. Dalberg *Ueber Meteor-Cultus der Alten, vorzüglich in Bezug auf Steine, die vom Himmel gefallen* Heidelberg 1811 pp. 1—202 with title-vignette and figs. 1—7, F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 642—647 *s.v.* 'BAETYLIA' with figs. 735—743, *id.* 'Les Bétyles' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1881 iii. 31—53, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 118 f., F. C. Conybeare in the *Transactions of the Third International Congress for the History of Religions* Oxford 1908 ii. 178, I. Benzinger *Hebräische Archäologie*[3] Leipzig 1927 p. 316, O. Eissfeldt in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 25, 28 n. 0, etc.

[2] *Supra* ii. 505 ff.

[3] Sanchouniathon (*supra* p. 887 n. 5) *ap.* Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 569 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 31 *ἡ δὲ Ἀστάρτη ἐπέθηκε τῇ ἰδίᾳ κεφαλῇ βασιλείας παράσημον κεφαλὴν ταύρου· περινοστοῦσα δὲ τὴν οἰκουμένην εὗρεν ἀεροπετῆ ἀστέρα, ὃν καὶ ἀνελομένη ἐν Τύρῳ τῇ ἁγίᾳ νήσῳ ἀφιέρωσε.*

[4] On the Tyrian Astarte, who was identified sometimes with the moon, sometimes with the planet Venus, see F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1777 f.

[5] Sir G. F. Hill in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 61 f. pl. 4, 25 (enlarged ⅔).

[6] *Supra* i. 356 fig. 273.

the remarkable epithet *Astrochiton*, 'He of the Starry Robe[1].' Since the Tyrians treated the celestial Herakles (Melqarth[2]) as consort of the celestial Astarte[3], the two explanations are not necessarily irreconcilable.

(c) Kybele and meteorites.

An odd tale, which associates Kybele with the fall of a meteorite, is told by Aristodemos[4] of Alexandreia, a pupil of Aristarchos[5]. It appears that a certain flute-player named Olympichos was being instructed by Pindar on the mountain where he used to practise. Suddenly there was a loud report, and a flame came flashing downwards. Pindar, perceiving it, discerned a stone image of the Mother of the gods falling at his feet. Whereupon he set up close to his house an image of the Mother of the gods and of Pan. Meantime the citizens sent to enquire of the god concerning the portent. He bade them build a sanctuary for the Mother of the gods. So, astonished at Pindar's anticipation of the oracle, they joined the poet in his cult of the goddess.

We have here, if I am not mistaken, an attempt to give historicity to a myth. Pindar teaching the flute-player Olympichos on a mountain-side is but Pan teaching the flute-player Olympos[6], eponym of the Mysian mountain[7]. If historical happenings may give rise to myths, it is also true that myths may give rise to would-be historical happenings.

The story is of interest, however, because it suggests a meteoric origin not only for the sacred stone of the Mother in her temple on the Mysian Ide[8], but also for her 'Zeus-fallen image[9]' at Pessinous in Phrygia. This celebrated image is expressly said to have dropped

[1] Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 367 ff. (Dionysos at Tyre) *εἰς δόμον Ἀστροχίτωνος ἐκώμασε, καὶ πρόμον ἄστρων | τοῖον ἔπος βοόων ἐκαλέσσατο μύστιδι φωνῇ·* | *"Ἀστροχίτων Ἡρακλες, ἄναξ πυρός, ὄρχαμε κόσμου,* | *Ἥλιε, κ.τ.λ. Ib.* 408, 413, 422, 423.

[2] *Supra* i. 356, ii. 762.

[3] Sir G. F. Hill in *The Church Quarterly Review* 1908 lxvi. 133, 139 f., *id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 61.

[4] Aristodem. *ap.* schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 3. 137 b.

[5] E. Schwartz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 925.

[6] P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 860 ff. is curiously blind to this rather obvious parallel.

[7] *Supra* i. 100, ii. 953 n. 2.

[8] Claud. *de rapt. Pros.* 1. 202 f. hic sedes augusta deae templique colendi | relligiosa silex (M. Platnauer mistranslates 'the sacred statue').

[9] Herodian. 1. 11. 1 *αὐτὸ μὲν τὸ ἄγαλμα διπερὲς εἶναι λέγουσιν, κ.τ.λ.* On the adjective see *supra* ii. 481, 963 n. 0.

from the sky[1], and is described as a stone of sooty colour and black substance, of small size, easily carried in the hand, and rough with projecting angles[2]. The Romans in obedience to an oracle sought and obtained possession of it (205—204 B.C.)[3]. Appian[4] serves up the traditional tale:

'Now at Rome certain direful signs sent by Zeus befell, and the Decemvirs on consulting the Sibylline books declared that at Pessinous in Phrygia, where

Fig. 725.

[1] Appian. *bell. Annib.* 56, Herodian. 1. 11. 1, Amm. Marc. 22. 9. 7.

[2] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 49 adlatum ex Phrygia nihil quidem aliud scribitur missum rege ab Attalo nisi lapis quidam non magnus, ferri manu hominis sine ulla impressione qui posset, coloris furvi atque atri, angellis prominentibus inaequalis, *ib.* 7. 50 et quis hominum credet terra sumptum lapidem, sensu agitabilem nullo, fuliginei coloris atque atri corporis, Deum fuisse Matrem? *Id. ib.* 6. 11, 7. 50 speaks of it as *silex*. The interp. Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 188 says *acus Matris Deum* (G. Thilo prints †*aius matris deum* with cod. *F*).

[3] Liv. 29. 10, 29. 11, 29. 14, Ov. *fast.* 4. 255 ff., Strab. 567, Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 120, Sil. It. 17. 1 ff., Tert. *apol.* 25, Lact. *div. inst.* 2. 8, Aur. Vict. *de vir. ill.* 46. 1 ff., Ioul. *or.* 5 p. 207 f. Hertlein, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 3. 12, Amm. Marc. 22. 9. 5 f.

[4] Appian. *bell. Annib.* 56.

the Phrygians worship the Mother of the gods, something would shortly fall from heaven and must be brought to Rome. Not long afterwards news came that the image had fallen, and to Rome it was brought. Indeed the day of its arrival is still kept as a festival for the Mother of the gods. The story goes that the ship bearing it stuck in the mud of the river Tiber and could by no means be floated off until the soothsayers predicted that it would follow only if drawn by a woman pure from intercourse with strangers. Claudia Quintia[1], who had been charged with adultery, but not yet tried, and on account of fast living was thought a most likely culprit, vehemently called the gods to witness her innocence and fastened her girdle to the hull. Thereupon the goddess followed, and Claudia passed from the depth of infamy to the height of fame. But before this affair of Claudia the Romans had been bidden by the Sibylline books to transport the image from Phrygia by the hands of their best man. So they had sent the man reckoned their best at the moment—Scipio Nasica, son of Cn. Scipio who had been general in Iberia and had fallen there. Nasica was cousin of the Scipio that had robbed the Carthaginians of their empire and first earned the title Africanus. In this way the goddess was brought to Rome by the best of their men and women.'

An altar of Luna marble dedicated to the Mother of the gods by one Claudia Syntyche was found more than two centuries since at the Marmorata on the Tiber-side and is now in the Capitoline Museum[2]. A relief on the front face (fig. 725) shows the Vestal

[1] Better Claudia Quinta, on whom see F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 2899 no. 435.

[2] L. Re—F. Mori *Sculture del Museo Capitolino* Roma 1806 i Atrio pl. 24, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 4. 11 f. pl. 63, 816 (=my fig. 726), Stuart-Jones *Cat.*

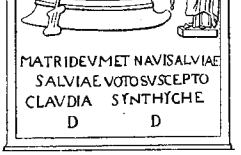


Fig. 726.

Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome p. 181 f. Sala delle Colombe no. 109 b pl. 43 (=my fig. 725), W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 442 f. no. 798, H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xix fig. 157, E. Strong *Art in Ancient Rome* London 1929 i. 43 with fig. 38. Height 0·87^{m}. On the right face, a *pedum* and cymbals; on the left face, a Phrygian cap with lappets; on the back, pipes. The inscription is given in Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1905, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 492=30777, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4096 Matri deum et Navi Salviae | Salviae voto suscepto | Claudia Synthyche | d. d. The second word *Salviae* is probably a mere case of dittography, though L. Bloch in

Claudia standing statue-like[1] on a plinth as she draws the ship by her girdle. The sacred stone is not to be seen, unless we can identify it with the small object on deck in front of the seated goddess[2].

Once received at Rome the black stone of Kybele was treated with exceptional honours. A. Audin[3] even contends that it was regarded as a second *Palládion* imported to replace the Trojan original, whose protective power would not last beyond the fated limit of a thousand years[4]. The stone was housed at first in the temple of Victory on the Palatine[5], and subsequently in a temple of its own dedicated to the Magna Mater at the top of the Scalae

Philologus 1893 lii. 581 f. thought that it was a Greek freedwoman's indifferent Latin for *pro salute Navis Salviae.*

A replica of this inscription, brought from Rome to Verona (no. 131), is given in F. S. Maffei *Museum Veronense* Veronae 1749 p. xc no. 1, Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 1906, *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 493, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4097 Navi Salviae | et Matri deu d. d. | Claudia Sinty[che]....

A third inscription, likewise found at Rome and relating to the same cult, is given in Orelli *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 2403 ('Velitris'), *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 494, Wilmanns *Ex. inscr. Lat.* no. 106, Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4098 Matri deum | et' Naví Salviæ Q. Nunnius | Telephús mag. | col. cultó. eius | d. s. d. d. (=mag(ister) col(legii) culto-(rum) eius d(e) s(uo) d(onum) d(edit)).

Maffei supposed that *Navisalviae* was a single word designating the divinised Claudia as 'Ship-saving' on account of her exploit. But Orelli with far greater probability took *Navi Salviae* to mean 'the Ship *Salvia*,' associated in cult with the goddess whom she carried. L. Bloch *loc. cit.* points out that a trireme in the praetorian fleet at Misenum was actually called *Salvia* (E. Ferrero *L'ordinamento delle armate romane* Torino 1878 p. 29), being presumably a namesake of Kybele's well-omened vessel. A ship built with timber from the pine-woods of Mt Ide (Ov. *fast.* 4. 273 f.) was a fitting vehicle for the Mater *Idaea* (*supra* ii. 950 n. 0).

[1] Ioul. *or.* 5 p. 209 Hertlein speaks of these miracles as *κοινῇ μὲν ὑπὸ πλείστων ἱστοριογράφων ἀναγραφόμενα, σωζόμενα δὲ καὶ ἐπὶ χαλκῶν εἰκόνων ἐν τῇ κρατίστῃ καὶ θεοφιλεῖ Ῥώμῃ.* A statue of Claudia in the vestibule of the temple of the Magna Mater on the Palatine survived two conflagrations of that edifice, in 111 B.C. and 3 A.D. (Val. Max. 1. 8. 11, Tac. *ann.* 4. 64).

[2] Not impossibly Claudia would be conceived as attaching her girdle to the sacred stone of the goddess, much as the Ephesians at the time of Kroisos' invasion bound their gates and walls by cords to the columns of Artemis' temple (Ail. *var. hist.* 3. 26), or as Kylon and his men fastened a braided thread to the statue of Athena on the Akropolis at Athens (Plout. *v. Sol.* 12). The object in each case was to maintain close contact with the goddess. Cp. *supra* ii. 408 and perhaps ii. 657 figs. 591—593.

[3] A. Audin 'Le Palladium de Rome' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 46—57 (a very venturesome article).

[4] Herakl. *frag.* 12 Bywater, 92 Diels *ap.* Plout. *de Pyth. or.* 6 *Σίβυλλα δὲ μαινομένῳ στόματι καθ' Ἡράκλειτον ἀγέλαστα καὶ ἀκαλλώπιστα καὶ ἀμύριστα φθεγγομένη χιλίων ἐτῶν ἐξικνεῖται τῇ φωνῇ διὰ τὸν θεόν.* Audin reckons that 1000 years from the fall of Troy (1184 B.C.), when Kassandra the Trojan Sibyl announced the migration of her countrymen to Rome, would expire in 184 B.C. The importation of the Mater *Idaea* in 205, at the advice of the Sibylline books, might secure a new lease of life for the state!

[5] Liv. 29. 14.

Caci[1]. Here it remained for a good six hundred years, set in silver[2] to serve as the face of a statue[3], the base of which is still to be seen[4]. This black, *quasi*-human face, with its silver setting and its rich jewellery, must indeed have presented a singular sight, comparable with that of some black mediaeval Madonna[5].

But its original form is imperfectly known. E. Beulé[6], followed

Fig. 727.

Fig. 728.

Fig. 729.

Fig. 730.

[1] H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 51 ff., H. Kiepert—C. Hülsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae*[2] Berolini 1912 p. 25, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 324 f.

[2] Prudent. *peristeph.* 10. 156 f. lapis nigellus evehendus essedo, | muliebris oris clausus argento sedet.

[3] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 7. 49 (after the passage cited *supra* p. 894 n. 2) et quem omnes hodie ipso illo videmus in signo oris loco positum, indolatum et asperum et simulacro faciem minus expressam simulatione praehentem.

M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1525 thinks that the stone from Pessinous was placed in the mouth of the statue; but he appears to be mistranslating the words of Arnobius.

The statue was still existing in the time of Theodosios the Great (378—395 A.D.), for Serena his niece robbed it of its necklace (Zosim. 5. 38).

[4] H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *op. cit.* i. 3. 53 with pl. 2, *k*, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *op. cit.* p. 325.

[5] J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 313 n. 1, F. Piper *Mythologie der christlichen Kunst* Weimar 1847 i. 157, P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1907 iv. 120.

[6] E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 317 ff. with fig. (=my fig. 730: Munich).

at first by B. V. Head[1], made the interesting conjecture that it is represented on new-style tetradrachms of Athens bearing the names Kleophanes and Epithetes (figs. 727—730)[2]. The magistrate's badge on these coins is an upright conical stone with projections suggestive of a face and seemingly with a *kteis* beneath it. Attached to its apex by a knot is a fillet or covering, which hangs down on either side and recalls Damaskios' description of the *baitylos* 'concealed in its garments[3].'

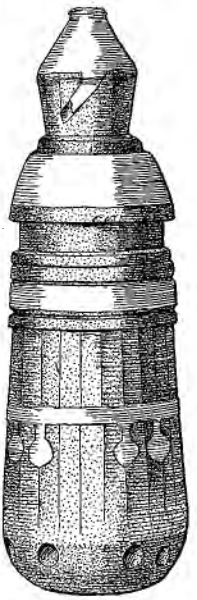


Fig. 731.

A possible parallel to the *baitylos* of Kybele, set in silver and decked with a necklace, may be found in a singular object here published for the first time (pl. lxvii and fig. 731). It is, essentially, a neolithic pounder ($6\frac{1}{4}$ inches high) of dull green stone, which has been subsequently facetted and inlaid with tin[4]. Since facetted axe-hammers occur sporadically throughout central Europe towards the end of the stone age[5], and since tin-inlay is frequent on the contemporaneous pottery of the Swiss pile-dwellings[6], it may be inferred on technical grounds that this pounder was decorated *c.* 2000 B.C. Several of its features—green

[1] Head *Hist. num.*[1] p. 324. But *id. ib.*[2] p. 386 says merely: '*Conical stone* (βαίτυλος) *with knotted taenia hanging over it.* Date, shortly after Sulla's conquest ([J.] Sundwall [*Untersuchungen über die attischen Münzen des neueren Stiles* Helsingfors 1908] p. 114).' And B. Pick in J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 Index p. xi is equally *non*-committal: 'BÉTYLE, entouré des deux côtés par une ténie.' Sir G. Macdonald in *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 68 had hazarded the curious idea that 'hanging down on either side, is a goatskin' [βαίτυλος from βαίτη].

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. pp. liii, 60 nos. 431 pl. 13. 2 (=my fig. 727), 432, 433, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 68 f. nos. 145 (cp. my fig. 728), 146, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 73, 3 Berlin (=my fig. 729), 4 A. Romanos, 5 Munich (cp. my fig. 730), 6 Glasgow, 7 Glasgow, 8 Athens. [3] *Supra* p. 888.

[4] On submitting this implement to the Department of Mineralogy and Petrology in the University of Cambridge, I received the following expert opinion from Dr F. C. Phillips (Feb. 24, 1937): 'The metal is tin, with a small amount of antimony. The rock is some kind of chloritic schist, much softer than nephrite, and easily worked and facetted.'

[5] Forrer *Reallex.* p. 332, J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 p. 139 f. figs. a—c., V. Gordon Childe *The Danube in Prehistory* Oxford 1929 pp. 146 fig. 90, 151 ff., 208, cp. O. Menghin *Weltgeschichte der Steinzeit* Wien 1931 p. 287 pl. 32, 4.

[6] R. Munro *The Lake-Dwellings of Europe* London 1890 pp. 42 with figs. 193, 6

A *baitylos*(?) from Ephesos,
now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

See page 898 ff. *with fig.* 731.

stone, surface facets, projecting bands and bosses—are seen again in an axe-hammer from the second city of Troy[1] and serve to confirm the suggested date. Even the tin-inlay, though not itself discovered at Troy, is at least postulated by the Homeric description of Achilles' shield[2] and Asteropaios' corselet[3]. However, the really remarkable thing about our pounder is the arrangement of its decoration, which transforms the neolithic tool into a *quasi*-human shape[4]. The head is surmounted by a conical tin cap, secured by three tags or tenons of tin, any one of which might suggest a nose. The shoulders are covered by a broad tin cape. The waist is represented by a deep groove. Below this is a double belt of tin. Lower down, the facetted surface looks like folds of drapery encircled by a tin band, from which hang four pairs of tin pendants symmetrically placed. Finally, at the foot, opposite each pendant is a hole for the insertion of a stud, perhaps of amber or vitreous paste. In short, we may venture to recognise a primitive idol comparable with the bottle-shaped goddesses figured on coins of Asia Minor (figs. 732—737)[5]. Now neolithic implements are

and 195, 13, 45 with fig. 193, 2, 58, 63, 68, 87, 96 with fig. 193, 4 and 5, 102, 529, A. de Mortillet 'La décoration des poteries au moyen de lamelles d'étain dans les temps préhistoriques et modernes' in the *Congrès préhistorique de France* 3e session Autun 1907 p. 796, G. Goury *L'Homme des Cités lacustres* Paris 1931 i. 297 n. 1.

[1] W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athens 1902 i. 374 f. fig. 323, *supra* ii. 635 f.

[2] *Il.* 18. 564 f., 574.

[3] *Il.* 23. 560 ff.

[4] On *θυέστης* the 'pestle' in relation to Θυέστης the storm-god (?) see *supra* ii. 1022.

[5] In ascending order of anthropomorphism we have *e.g.* Aphrodite *Paphia* on coins of Kypros, Sardeis, and Pergamon (*supra* ii. 424 with figs. 325 f., 327, 328), Artemis (?) on coins of Pogla in Pisidia (*supra* ii. 363 with figs. 259 f.), Artemis *Ephesia* on coins of Ephesos etc. (*supra* ii. 408 n. 0 figs. 309—313, 566 f. fig. 462), Hera on coins of Samos (*supra* i. 444 f. figs. 313 f., iii. 645 fig. 446).

The additional examples here given are: (1) A bronze coin of Aspendos in Pamphylia, struck by Gallienus, showing two images of Artemis (?) side by side under roofs (E. Babelon *Inventaire sommaire de la collection Waddington* Paris 1898 p. 180 no. 3263 pl. 7, 17 (=my fig. 732) ACΠ Є NΔ[I] ΩN). (2) A bronze coin of Myra in Lykia, struck by Gordianus iii Pius, showing Artemis *Eleuthéra* (*supra* ii. 681 n. 1) with her veil (E. Babelon *op. cit.* p. 172 no. 3124 pl. 7, 5 (=my fig. 733) ΜΥΡ ЄΩN). (3) A bronze coin of Hypaipa in Lydia, struck by Trajan Decius, showing Artemis *Anaitis* with long double *chitón* and veil (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 119 no. 62 pl. 12, 13 (=my fig. 734) ΥΠΑΙΠΗΝΩΝЄΠΙ CΤΡΦΛЄΡΜΟΛΟV and N ЄIK ΩN I).

Similar types seated, not standing, are: (4) Kore between corn-stalk and poppy on a bronze coin of Sardeis in Lydia, struck by Caracalla (fig. 735 from a specimen of mine ЄΠΙ·Γ·CAΛKΛ[A]VΔ IANO[VA]P[XAT̂B]·CAP and ΔIANΩNB·NЄΩ-KOPΩN). (5) Kore between poppy and corn-stalk, with a corn-ear in her right hand, on a bronze coin of Daldis in Lydia, struck by Tranquillina (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 72 no. 14 pl. 8, 6 (=my fig. 736) ЄΠΛΛVPHΦAI CTIΩNOCAPX and A·T·B·ΔA ΛΔIANΩN). (6) Kore, closely draped, between corn-stalk and poppy, on a bronze coin of Maionia in Lydia, issued in the time of Trajan Decius (fig. 737 from a specimen of mine ЄΠΙAVPATΠΦI ANOVAPXAMAI and ON ΩN).

often supposed to have fallen from the sky[1]. It is therefore tempting to compare this humanised pounder with the 'Zeus-fallen' image of Artemis *Ephesia*[2]. And all the more so, when we learn that, by an impressive coincidence, the pounder actually came from Ephesos[3].

Fig. 732.

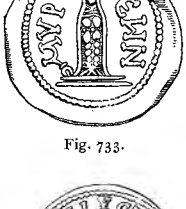


Fig. 733.

Fig. 734.

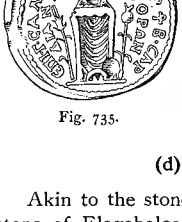


Fig. 735.

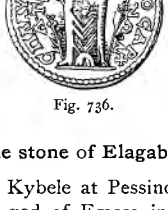


Fig. 736.

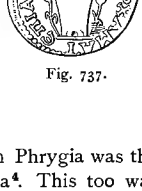


Fig. 737.

(d) The stone of Elagabalos.

Akin to the stone of Kybele at Pessinous in Phrygia was the stone of Elagabalos the god of Emesa in Syria[4]. This too was a 'Zeus-fallen' stone, of large size, conical shape, and black colour. It was marked with certain small projections and impressions;

[1] *Supra* ii. 505 ff.

[2] *Supra* ii. 963 n. o.

[3] It was obtained by Sir William Ridgeway, through Mr H. Lawson of the consular service at Smyrna, together with a miscellaneous lot of arrow-heads etc. from Ephesos. Sir William acutely detected its true character and had intended some day to publish it as a good example of an aniconic deity. On his death it was passed on to me by Dr J. A. Venn, President of Queens', and Mrs Venn, Sir William's daughter, to whom I am greatly indebted for this opportunity of publishing a relic of rare interest.

[4] On whom see F. Lenormant 'Sol Elagabalus' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1881 iii. 310—322, *id.* in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 529—531 with figs. 2617 f., E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1229—1231 with the same two figs. ('der erste Teil des Wortes ist jedenfalls das syrische *elâh* "Gott," der zweite wahrscheinlich *gabal* "Berg," also "Berggott"), F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2219—2222 ('Man hat auch an El-gebal *deus formans, deus creator* gedacht (Réville La relig. sous les Sév. 243 f.). Lenormant setzte den zweiten Teil vielmehr mit dem babylonischen Gibil in Zusammenhang und sah in E. einen Feuergott'), Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] pp. 89 f., 365 f.

and its worshippers regarded it as an unworked image of the Sun[1]. The eagle, which on imperial coins of Emesa appears either upon (fig. 738)[2] or in front of the stone (fig. 739)[3], seems to have been an

Fig. 738.

Fig. 739.

Fig. 740.

[1] Herodian. 5. 3. 4 f. *ἱερῶντο δὲ αὐτοὶ θεῷ ἡλίῳ· τοῦτον γὰρ οἱ ἐπιχώριοι σέβουσι, τῇ Φοινίκων φωνῇ* Ἐλαιαγάβαλον *καλοῦντες. νεὼς δὲ αὐτῷ μέγιστος κατεσκεύαστο αὐτοῦ, χρυσῷ πολλῷ καὶ ἀργύρῳ κεκοσμημένος λίθων τε πολυτελείᾳ. θρησκεύεται δὲ οὐ μόνον πρὸς τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, ἀλλὰ καὶ πάντες οἱ γειτνιῶντες σατράπαι τε καὶ βασιλεῖς βάρβαροι φιλοτίμως πέμπουσι τῷ θεῷ ἑκάστου τοῦ ἔτους πολιτελῆ ἀναθήματα. ἄγαλμα μὲν οὖν, ὥσπερ παρ' Ἕλλησιν ἢ Ῥωμαίοις, οὐδὲν ἔστηκε χειροποίητον, θεοῦ φέρον εἰκόνα· λίθος δέ τις ἔστι μέγιστος, κάτωθεν περιφερής, λήγων ἐς ὀξύτητα· κωνοειδὲς αὐτῷ σχῆμα, μέλαινά τε ἡ χροιά. Διαπετῆ τε αὐτὸν εἶναι σεμνολογοῦσιν, ἐξοχάς τέ τινας βραχείας καὶ τύπους δεικνύουσιν, εἰκόνα τε ἡλίου ἀνέργαστον εἶναι θέλουσιν, οὕτω βλέποντες.*

The solar character of the god is further attested by Dion Cass. 78. 31. 1 (ix. 410 Cary) *καί τι καὶ ὑπὸ τοῦ* Ἡλίου, *ὃν* Ἐλεγάβαλον *ἐπικαλοῦσι καὶ μεγάλως θρησκεύουσιν, ἄλλων τέ τινων μαντείων ἀναπεισθείς,* Iul. Capit. *v. Macrin.* 9. 2 quarum maiori filius erat Heliogabalus...nam Heliogabalum Foenices vocant solem, Avien. *descr. orb.* 1089 f. denique flammicomo devoti pectora Soli | vitam agitant (*sc.* Emeseni). Hence the spelling Ἡλιογάβαλος, *Heliogabalus*, *Eliogabalus* (F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2219), the official Roman title *invictus Sol Elagabalus* (Wissowa *Rel. Kult. Röm.*[2] p. 366 n. 2), and such inscriptions as Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 4329 (Rome) aquila | Soli | Alagabalo | Iulius Balbillus, 4330 (Rome) Ti. Iullo (*sic*) Balbillo | s. Sol. Elagabali, | Eudemon lib. | patrono optimo, 4331 (Rome) Ti. Iul. Balbillo sac. Solis, | Eutyches Augg. lib. oficinator a statuis, amico | optimo. dedic. kal. Ian. | P. Cornelio Anullino II | et M. Aufidio Frontone cos. (=199 A.D.), no. 4332 (Brigetio in Illyricum) deo Soli Alagabal. Ainmudati (on which see the speculations of K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1868 ff.), mil. leg. I Ad(iutricis) bis p(iae) f(idelis) cons[tantis].... See also the inscriptions listed by Ruggiero *Dizion. epigr.* ii. 2089. A bronze coin of Elagabalus commemorates ΗΛΙΑ and ΠΥΘΙΑ at Emesa (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxv, 240 no. 21).

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 237 no. 6 pl. 27, 9 (=my fig. 738) ϵΜ ΙϹ Η ΝΩΝ a bronze coin struck by Antoninus Pius. The star on the stone is probably one of the marks noted by Herodian. 5. 3. 5 (*supra* p. 901 n. 1). Gold and silver coins issued by Elagabalus again show the stone ornamented with stars (Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 325 no. 16 fig. (=my fig. 741) gold, Paris, no. 17 silver, Vienna, no. 18 gold, G. de Ponton d'Amécourt, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 357). Cp. the star that appears in the field of his coins (*e.g. infra* p. 902 fig. 743) and medallions (*e.g. infra* p. 904 fig. 745).

Fig. 741.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. pp. lxiv f., 239 no. 15 pl. 27, 12 (=my fig. 739) ϵΜΙϹΩΝ ΚΟΛΩΝ with ΖΚΦ (527 of Seleucid era=215 A.D.) a bronze coin struck by Caracalla, showing the stone of Elagabalos at Emesa in a hexastyle temple with an

attribute plastically rendered in gold[1], and in any case is to be viewed as the solar eagle of Syrian art[2]. It led the Romans to equate Elagabalos with their own supreme deity Iupiter[3].

This stone of the Emesenes, as F. Cumont[4] insists, was in all probability an actual aerolite. It rose into sudden notoriety when its youthful high priest, Varius Avitus Bassianus, through the intrigues of his grandmother Iulia Maesa was proclaimed emperor by the troops in Syria (218 A.D.). He was saluted as Marcus Aurelius Antoninus; but, since the Syrian priest identified himself with his god, he was commonly called Elagabalus. On quitting Emesa for Rome he took his stone with him. A temple, which Marcus Aurelius had built for Faustina at the foot of Mount Tauros, Elagabalus dedicated to his own godhead[5]. Wintering at Nikomedeia, he appeared in public as a priest[6] (figs. 742, 743)[7]; and before he reached Rome he sent a large picture of himself

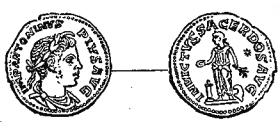


Fig. 742.

Fig. 743.

oblong (*quid?*) in its pediment. The stone is set on a base, protected by a balustrade, with a wreath-bearing eagle before it and a parasol on either side of it. Bronze coins of Iulia Domna give the great altar at Emesa decorated with niches and sculpture (*ib.* p. 238 no. 9 pl. 27, 11, nos. 10—12. Fig. 740 is from a specimen of mine).

[1] F. Studniczka in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1901 xvi. 275 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186, 431.

[3] Spart. *v. Caracall.* 11. 7 Heliogabalus Antoninus sibi vel Iovi Syrio vel Soli—incertum id est—templum fecit, Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 1. 5 fuit autem Heliogabali vel Iovis vel Solis sacerdos, 17. 8 praeter aedem Heliogabali dei, quem Solem alii, alii Iovem dicunt.

[4] F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2219.

[5] Iul. Capit. *v. M. Ant. philos.* 26. 4 ff., Spart. *v. Caracall.* 11. 7 (*supra* p. 902 n. 3).

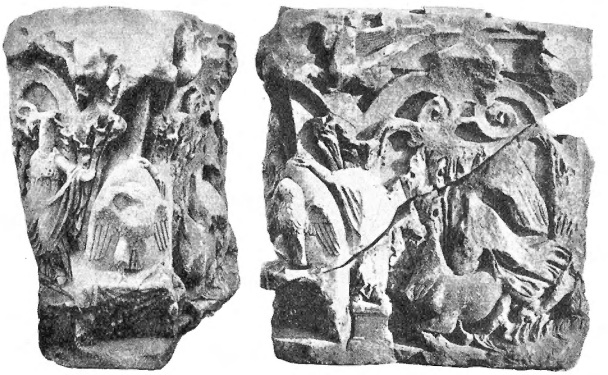
[6] Herodian. 5. 5. 3 f. *ὁ δὲ Ἀντωνῖνος ἀπάρας τῆς Συρίας ἐλθών τε ἐς τὴν Νικομήδειαν ἐχείμαζε, τῆς ὥρας τοῦ ἔτους οὕτως ἀπαιτούσης. εὐθέως τε ἐξεβακχεύετο, τήν τε ἱερωσύνην τοῦ ἐπιχωρίου θεοῦ, ᾗ ἐντέθραπτο, περιεργότερον ἐξωρχεῖτο, σχήμασί τε ἐσθῆτος πολυτελεστάτοις χρώμενος, διά τε πορφύρας χρυσοῦ ὑφάσμασι περιδεραίοις τε καὶ ψελίοις κοσμούμενος, ἐς εἶδος δὲ τιάρας στεφάνην ἐπικείμενος χρυσῷ καὶ λίθοις ποικίλην τιμίοις. ἣν τε αὐτῷ τὸ σχῆμα μεταξὺ Φοινίσσης ἱερᾶς στολῆς καὶ χλιδῆς Μηδικῆς. κ.τ.λ.*

[7] Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 329 no. 58 fig. (=my fig. 742) silver, Paris, 330 nos. 59—65, 350 no. 276 f., Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 356. Fig. 743 is from a specimen of mine. The horn set on the ground behind Elagabalus in fig. 742 suggests comparison with the horn set behind the Kabeiros on coins of Thessalonike (*supra* i. 108 f. figs. 79, 80). H. Cohen *loc. cit.* p. 329 n. 1 remarks that Elagabalus' head here and elsewhere is often surmounted by a horn-like projection, which he believes to be 'le symbole de la puissance.'

officiating in front of the stone to be set up in the Senate-house over the statue of Victory and duly worshipped by the Senators[1].

At Rome Elagabalus erected two temples for his god, one on the Palatine close to his own residence[2], the other in some suburb by way of summer quarters[3]. The exact position of both is disputed[4].

In the temple on the Palatine he surrounded the stone with the most venerated objects of Roman cult, including the stone from Pessinous[5] and others of the like sanctity[6]. He even imported the ancient image of Ourania from Carthage to be the consort of his



a Fig. 744. *b*

stone, and thus celebrated a sacred marriage between the Sun and the Moon[7]. A relic of this temple may be seen in a pilaster-cap of Carrara marble, part of which was found in the excavations of 1870—1872 on the east side of the temple of Castor[8], the rest in

[1] Herodian. 5. 5. 6 f. [2] Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 3. 4. [3] Herodian. 5. 6. 6.

[4] A concise summary of the evidence is given by S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 199.

[5] Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 3. 4 eique templum fecit, studens et Matris typum et Vestae ignem et Palladium et ancilia et omnia Romanis veneranda in illud transferre templum et id agens ne quis Romae deus nisi Heliogabalus coleretur, cp. *ib.* 6. 7 ff., 7. 1.

[6] *Id. ib.* 7. 5 lapides qui divi dicuntur ex proprio templo, <simulacrum (*add.* I. Oberdick. R. Unger *cf.* typum)> Dianae Laodiciae ex adyto suo, in quo id Orestes posuerat, adferre voluit.

[7] Dion Cass. 80. 12. 1 f. (ix. 460 Cary), Herodian. 5. 6. 3 ff.

[8] G. Wissowa in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1883 lv. 164—167 pl. M (with additions *id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 pp. 73—77 with figs. (*a*), (*b*), (*c*)).

1899 near the same spot[1]. The cap, a work of Septimian date, shows (fig. 744, *a*, *b*)[2] the conical stone set on a lion-footed stool, which is covered with a fringed cloth. On the left stands Minerva with *aigis* and helmet; on the right, Iuno (?). Both lay a hand caressingly on the stone. The third person of the Capitoline triad, Iupiter, is identified with the stone itself and attested by the eagle placed in front of it. The scene is completed by Victory sacrificing a bull, behind which is Tellus with *cornu copiae* and child.

Once a year, at midsummer, the stone was taken from the Palatine to the suburb temple. Elagabalus himself conducted it on a chariot resplendent with gold and jewels[3] (figs. 741[4], 745, 746[5]). But these vagaries were terminated by his death in 222 A.D. The

Fig. 745.

Fig. 746.

[1] C. Huelsen in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1902 xvii. 67 n. 1.

[2] F. Studniczka 'Ein Pfeilercapitell auf dem Forum' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1901 xvi. 273—282 pl. 12 (parts of which = my fig. 744 *a*, *b*), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 307 ff. pl. 94. The cap measures 0·56^{m} high and broad, 0·37^{m} deep.

Studniczka *loc. cit.* thought that the block might have come from the temple on the Palatine. Huelsen *loc. cit.* p. 67 would rather refer it to a small *sacellum* in the Forum. A. von Domaszewski in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1918 Abh. xiii. 150—153 held that the Palatine was full up and put the temple of Elagabalos in *Regio* xi on the site of the temple of Dis Pater (Lamprid. *v. Heliogab.* 1. 6 Heliogabalus a sacerdotio dei Heliogabali, cui templum Romae in eo loco constituit, in quo prius aedes Orci fuit, quem e Suria secum advexit). E. Strong *Art in Ancient Rome* London 1929 ii. 148 accepts the view that the capital came from the precinct of a large temple on the north-east side of the Palatine—a temple erected by Elagabalus to house the stone of Emesa and re-dedicated by his successor Severus Alexander to Iupiter *Ultor* (*supra* ii. 1102 n. 8 with figs. 940 and 941): but see the objections of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 307.

[3] Herodian. 5. 6. 6 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 901 n. 2.

[5] Cp. a *denarius* at Berlin (J. Leipoldt *Die Religionen in der Umwelt des Urchristentums* in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* ix—xi Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 p. xii fig. 92), a bronze medallion at Paris (Fröhner *Méd. emp. rom.* p. 167 fig., Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 325 f. no. 20 fig., Gnecchi *Medagl. Rom.* ii. 79 no. 1 pl. 98, 2 (= my fig. 745) 'ritoccato') and Vienna (Gnecchi *ib.*), and a billon coin struck by Elagabalus at Alexandreia in 221/2 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 194 no. 1520 pl. 25 (= my fig. 746)).

black stone was returned to Emesa[1], and its cult at Rome by degrees died out[2].

At Emesa, however, the cult continued to flourish. The usurper Uranius, whose full name was Lucius Iulius Aurelius Sulpicius Uranius Antoninus, issued not only bronze coins showing the temple (fig. 747)[3] or the stone in the temple with its two parasols and a lunar crescent in the gable (figs. 748, 749)[4], and billon coins showing the solar eagle with a wreath in its beak (fig. 750)[5], but

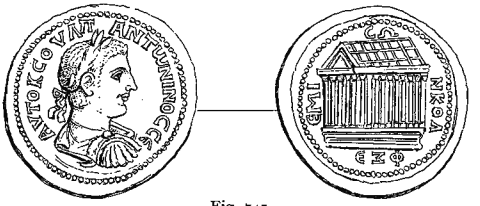


Fig. 747.

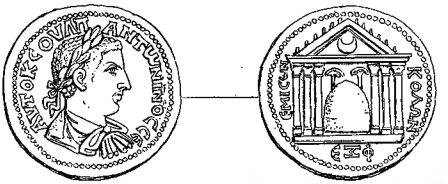


Fig. 748.

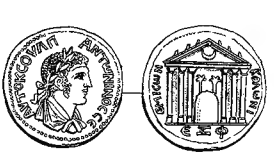


Fig. 749.

Fig. 750.

[1] Dion Cass. 80. 21. 2 (ix. 478 Cary).

[2] F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 531, F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2222.

[3] W. Fröhner 'Les monnaies d'Uranius Antoninus' in the *Annuaire de la société française de numismatique et d'archéologie* Mâcon 1886 p. 194 no. 12 pl. 7, 11 (=my fig. 747) Berlin. The date ϵΞΦ (565 of Seleucid era) = 253 A.D.

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 193 f. no. 11 pl. 7, 10 (=my fig. 748) Paris, no. 10 pl. 7, 9 (=my fig. 749) the bezel of an ancient ring formerly in the Charvet collection. The date ϵΞΦ = 253 A.D.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 192 f. no. 8 pl. 7, 7 (=my fig. 750) London (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Galatia, etc. p. 240 no. 22 pl. 28, 1).

also gold pieces giving us the processional type (fig. 751)[1] and—best of all—a detailed representation of the stone itself (figs. 752, 753)[2]. It stands between parasols, clad in drapery, with a three-pointed tiara above and a *kteís* below. The front is marked by

Fig. 751.

Fig. 752.

Fig. 753.

three horizontal bands and three rows of points, the whole effect being that of a *quasi*-face.

Uranius' domination was brief (248—253 A.D.). But a fresh fillip was given to the cult, when Aurelian in 272 routed the forces of Zenobia near Emesa and entered the town to pay his debt of gratitude to its guardian god. After founding temples on the spot and enriching them with vast donations[3] he returned to Rome in 273 and there built the famous temple of the Sun, whose porphyry columns are still to be seen at Constantinople in the church of

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 191 no. 4 pl. 7, 4 (=my fig. 751) G. de Ponton d'Amécourt.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 189 f. no. 1 pl. 7, 1 (=my fig. 752) London ('Rapporté d'Orient par un consul anglais, acheté par Prosper Dupré et plus tard (1854) par Edouard Wigan, qui l'offrit au Musée britannique'), Cohen *Monn. emp. rom.*[2] iv. 503 no. 1 fig., F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 644 fig. 738, ii. 529 fig. 2618, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 908 f. fig. My fig. 753 is from a fresh cast of the original, kindly supplied by Mr H. Mattingly (scale $\frac{2}{1}$).

[3] Vopisc. *v. Aurelian.* 25. 2—6.

Saint Sophia[1]. The Sun worshipped by Aurelian was in all probability a fusion of several oriental *Ba'alim*, among whom not the least in importance was Elagabalos[2].

(e) The stone of Dousares.

Dousares[3], the ancestral god of the Nabataean Arabs, was likewise represented by a black stone. Clement[4] of Alexandreia says simply: 'The Arabs used to worship their stone.' Our next witness, Maximus Tyrius[5], is more explicit: 'The Arabs worship I know not whom; but their image I have seen—it was a square stone.' A century later Arnobius[6], who cannot claim to be an eye-witness, calls it contemptuously 'a shapeless stone.' Finally Souidas[7], drawing from some unknown source, writes as follows:

'Theusares, that is the god Ares at Petra in Arabia. The god Ares is worshipped by them, for him they honour above all others. The image is a black stone, square and unshapen, four feet high by two feet broad. It is set on a base of wrought gold. To this they offer sacrifice and for it they pour forth the victims' blood, that being their form of libation. The whole building abounds in gold, and there are dedications galore.'

The evidence of the texts is borne out by that of the coins. At Adraa in the *Ḥaurân* imperial bronze pieces show a hemispherical stone set on a cubical base (Arabic *ka'bah*) or seat (Aramaean *môtab*), which is approached by a flight of steps (figs. 754—756)[8].

[1] H. Jordan—C. Hülsen *Topographie der Stadt Rom in Alterthum* Berlin 1907 i. 3. 453—456, S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 pp. 491—493.

[2] Fr. Richter in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1146—1149.

[3] A good account of Dousares is given by E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1206 f., and a yet better one by F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1865—1867. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 663, 665 is more sketchy.

[4] Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 46. 2 p. 35, 14 f. πάλαι μὲν οὖν οἱ Σκύθαι τὸν ἀκινάκην, οἱ Ἄραβες τὸν λίθον, οἱ Πέρσαι τὸν ποταμὸν προσεκύνουν, κ.τ.λ.

[5] Max. Tyr. 8. 8 Ἀράβιοι σέβουσι μέν, ὁντινα δὲ οὐκ οἶδα· τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα εἶδον, λίθος ἦν τετράγωνος.

[6] Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 11 ridetis temporibus priscis Persas fluvios coluisse, memoralia ut indicant scripta, informem Arabas lapidem, acinacem Scythiae nationes, etc.

[7] Souid. *s.v.* Θεὺς Ἄρης· τουτέστι θεὸς Ἄρης, ἐν Πέτρᾳ τῆς Ἀραβίας. σέβεται δὲ θεὸς Ἄρης παρ' αὐτοῖς· τόνδε γὰρ μάλιστα τιμῶσι. τὸ δὲ ἄγαλμα λίθος ἐστὶ μέλας, τετράγωνος, ἀτύπωτος, ὕψος ποδῶν τεσσάρων, εὖρος δύο· ἀνάκειται δὲ ἐπὶ βάσεως χρυσηλάτου. τούτῳ θύουσι καὶ τὸ αἷμα τῶν ἱερείων προχέουσι· καὶ τοῦτό ἐστιν αὐτοῖς ἡ σπονδή. ὁ δὲ οἶκος ἅπας ἐστὶ πολύχρυσος, καὶ ἀναθήματα πολλά.

[8] R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 168 with fig. 37 (=my fig. 754) M. Aurelius ΔΟΥCΑΡΗC ΘΕΟCΑΔΡΑΗ[ΝΩΝ] and the date ΞΘ (?) (69 of the era used in the Roman province of Arabia=174/5 A.D.), *ib.* p. 168 f. fig. 38 (=my fig. 755) Gallienus, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Arabia etc. pp. xxiii, 15 pl. 3, 5 (=my fig. 756) Gallienus with date ΡΝ (150 of the Arabian era=255/6 A.D.), S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 25 pl. 33, 3.

At Bostra other pieces represent a triad of stones, surmounted by flat disks (? shew-bread) and again put on a plinth or platform reached by steps (figs. 757—760)[1]. At Charachmoba a unique coin of Elagabalus has a figure seated before an erection, on which is

Fig. 754.

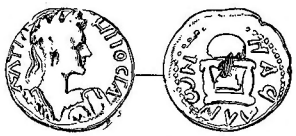


Fig. 755.

Fig. 756.

Fig. 757.

Fig. 758.

Fig. 759.

Fig. 760.

Fig. 761.

Fig. 762.

[1] F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 370 pl. 21, 12 (=my fig. 757) Herennius Etruscus and Valens Hostilianus [- - -]ADVCARIACOLMϵT[- - -], R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 169 f. fig. 39 (=my fig. 758) Trajan Decius ACTIADVSA[RIACOLME]TRBOSTRϵNORVM, C. R. Morey in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1911 xv. 73 f. pl. 3, 2 Elagabalus ΔOV... ΘϵΟ... (?) and pl. 3, 3 Herennius Etruscus and Valens Hostilianus, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Arabia etc. pp. xxvii f., 26 no. 48 pl. 4, 12 (=my fig. 759) Trajan Decius and Herennius Etruscus ACTIA DVSAR[IACOLMϵTRB]OSTRϵ NORVM and p. xxvii n. 3 pl. 49, 14 (=my

a pile or pillar between two smaller stones (fig. 761)[1]. All these are best interpreted as stones of Dousares[2], and it has been well suggested that on a coin of Petra struck by Severus the object held in the hand of the city-goddess is none other than Dousares' sacred pillar (fig. 762)[3].

Dussaud[4] remarks that the same triad of stones is to be seen on other Nabataean monuments. Thus at *el-Umta'iyyeh*, some hours

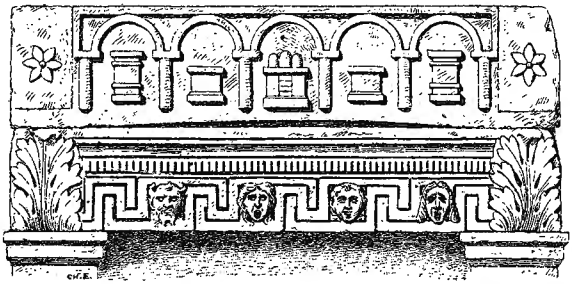


Fig. 763.

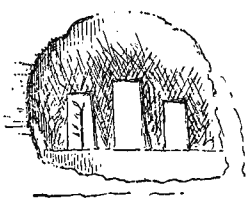


Fig. 764.

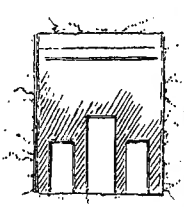


Fig. 765.

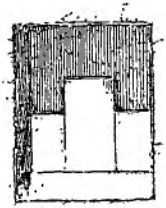


Fig. 766.

south-west of Bostra, the lintel spanning the main gate of an ancient pagan temple shows in relief the three stones on their stepped base with altars right and left, all visible between the pillars of a long arcade (fig. 763), while at *Medâin Sâlih* (*el-Héjr*)

fig. 760) Elagabalus ΔΟΥ with ΟC (probably for ΘЄ[ΟC]), S. A. Cook *op. cit.* p. 25 pl. 33, 4.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Arabia etc. pp. xxxi, 27 no. 3 (my fig. 761 is from a cast) ΧΑΡ ΑΚΜ[W ...].

[2] See Sir G. F. Hill *ib.* pp. xxiii, xxvii f., xxxi.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. xxxviii n. 2 pl. 49, 21 (=my fig. 762) ΑΔΡΙΑΝΗΠΕΤ ΡΑΜΗΤΡΟ-ΠΟΛΙC.

[4] R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 173 f. fig. 41 (=my fig. 763).

rock-cut niches adjoining the hewn chamber called *el-Diwán* offer similar groups of sacred stones (figs. 764—766)[1]. Such triads of stones, *maṣṣēbhôth*, are indeed wide-spread throughout the Semitic world[2] and presumably stand in some relation to the *'ăshērîm*[3]—tree-stems or sacred posts frequently figured in Cypriote art[4]. Possibly the plurality of the *'ăshērîm* led to the pluralisation of the *maṣṣēbhôth*. But the problem is a complex one and still awaits solution[5].

[1] C. M. Doughty *Travels in Arabia Deserta*[2] London 1921 i. 120 figs. 1—3 (=my figs. 764—766).

[2] See *e.g.* S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 24 pl. 6, 2.

[3] L. B. Paton in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 186^{a-b}, G. L. Robinson *ib.* 1913 vi. 678^{b}—679^{a}, D. M. Kay *ib.* 1915 viii. 487^{a-b}, T. Davidson *ib.* 1918 x. 51^{a-b}, G. A. Barton *ib.* 1918 x. 92^{b}—94^{b}, A. Alt in Ebert *Reallex.* i. 235 f., W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 p. 187 ff. with the comments of S. A. Cook *ib.* p. 560 ff.

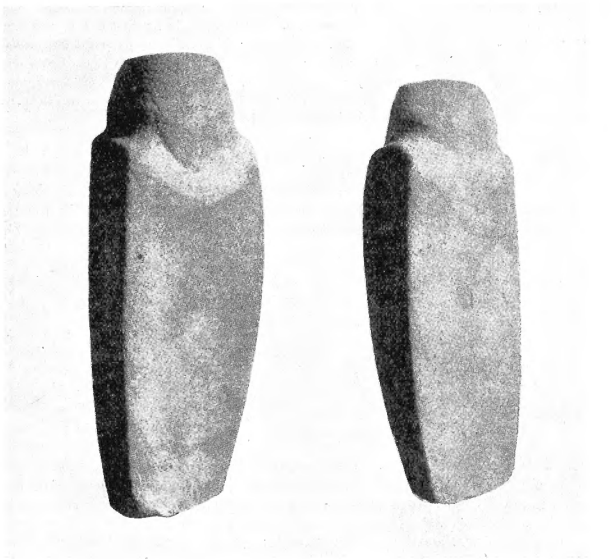
[4] Ohnefalsch-Richter *Kypros* pp. 172 ff., 410 pl. 69.

[5] The analogy of Woodhenge and Stonehenge in the west suggests that the sacred tree or trees were genetically prior to the standing stone or stones. It seems not unreasonable to suppose that a tree, which in time became a leafless tree or bare trunk (*e.g. supra* ii. 681 figs. 621—624), might be conventionalised into a post or pole (*supra* ii. 157 n. 1). And, since any object of timber ultimately decays, it might—like the wooden columns of the oldest Greek architecture—be replaced by the substitution of a permanent stone pillar (*supra* ii. 56 ff.). If so, the earlier forms would of course continue to subsist alongside of their later equivalents. Some such evolution has in fact already been indicated and exemplified (*supra* ii. 149).

Nevertheless this pedigree remains, in part at least, conjectural. Confining ourselves to verifiable facts, we might conclude with A. Lods *La croyance à la vie future et le culte des morts dans l'antiquité israélite* Paris 1906 p. 201 f.: 'nous avons la preuve que la *maṣṣēbâh* servait à un véritable culte des morts....Il serait pourtant possible aussi que, au temps de David, on regardât la *maṣṣēbâh* funéraire comme destinée simplement à *perpétuer le souvenir* du défunt....Mais, même dans ce cas, la stèle n'était pas un simple aide-mémoire pour les vivants; c'était une sorte d'incarnation du défunt lui-même, lui permettant de "faire figure parmi les vivants" [F. M. J. Lagrange *Études sur les religions sémitiques*[2] Paris 1905 p. 199]....La *maṣṣēbâh* a donc, au fond, le même sens lorsqu'elle est dressée sur une tombe et lorsqu'elle est érigée dans un sanctuaire; elle est le corps, la demeure d'un esprit.' *Id. Israel from its Beginnings to the Middle of the Eighth Century* trans. S. H. Hooke London 1932 pp. 87 f. with pl. 5, 1 and 2, 94 f., 116 n. 2, 227, 258—263 ('the most probable explanation seems to be that advanced by Robertson Smith: the purpose of the sacred stone was to provide the god who had manifested himself in a particular place, with an abode, a body, and to enable the worshippers to establish permanent relations with him. The reason why a stone was selected for this purpose was because it was the most suitable object to receive the sacrificial blood'). As such, the *maṣṣēbhôth* had a long history, not to say pre-history, behind them; for, whether they marked a sepulchre or a sanctuary, they cannot be separated from the megalithic erections of Palestine and Syria, and so take us back through the Bronze Age to Neolithic times (see now P. Thomsen in Ebert *Reallex.* viii. 106—115 pls. 34—37 and especially *id. ib.* pp. 139—143 pl. 44).

At a late stage in their evolution they began, like the standing stones of Sardinia or the *menhirs-sculptés* of France, Siebenbürgen, etc., to be shaped into *quasi*-human form—witness a curious block of grey, polished, stone (height 0·74^{m}) found in 1922 on

Souidas' attempt to explain Dousares as a form of Ares[1] is, of course, a piece of puerile etymology, though Cumont[2] may be right in thinking that the same whimsy gave rise to the genitive *Dousáreos* found earlier in inscriptions[3]. When viticulture was introduced into Arabia, Dousares as principal god of the country may have taken it under his protection: Isidoros of Charax on the Tigris, a geographer of *s.* i A.D.[4], made Dousares a Nabataean name



a Fig. 767. *b*

the 'niveau syro-phénicien' at Laodikeia ad Libanum (*Qadesh*) and regarded by the finder, not as an unfinished statue, but as the schematic figure of a bearded deity (M. Pézard *Qadesh, mission archéologique à Tell Nebi Mend 1921—1922* (Haut-commissariat de la République française en Syrie et au Liban. Service des antiquités et des beaux-arts. Bibliothèque archéologique et historique T. xv) Paris 1931 p. 40 f. pl. 29 fig. 1 (=my fig. 767, *a*, *b*)).

[1] *Supra* p. 907. [2] F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1867.

[3] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii nos. 2023 (*Mélah-es-Sarrar*) Νάγος Χαίρου | *ἱερεὺς θεοῦ* Δου|*σάρεος ἐπόησε* | *τὸν βωμὸν ἐκ τ*|*ῶν ἰδίων ἔτει νθ'* (59 of the Arabian era =164/5 A.D.), 2312 (*Soueida*, Soada) [·····]*αθος* M[··] | [···· *ἱερεὺς* Δο]*υσάρεος θε*[*οῦ*] | [·····]*ετ ἀνικήτου* | [*ἀνέστη*]*σεν*.

F. H. Weissbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2064 ff.

for Dionysos[1]. The same native god was perhaps Hellenized as Zeus *Epikárpios* at Bostra[2], for a Nabataean vizier is known to have erected a votive offering to Zeus *Dousáres Sotér*(?) at Miletos[3]. A solar aspect of the god has also been deduced from the occurrence of Helios' epithet *Aníketos* in connexion with him[4].

As regards the ritual of Dousares, apart from Souidas[5] our sole informant is Epiphanios[6], bishop of Constantia in Kypros. This

[1] Hesych. *s.v.* Δουσάρην· *τὸν Διόνυσον.* Ναβαταῖοι. *ὥς φησιν* Ἰσίδωρος.

[2] Lebas—Waddington *Asie Mineure* iii no. 1907 (Bostra, in the first half of *s.* ii A.D.) [*ἐκ προνοίας - - -*] | Φρό[*ντ*]*ωνος τοῦ κυρίου ἡγεμόνος,* | *ἡ πόλις* Ἐπικαρπίῳ *Διὶ τὸν βωμὸν* | *ἱδρύσατο, ἐπὶ* Σαβείνου Ἀμρειλίου | *προέδρου τὸ β' καὶ συναρχόντων.* On Zeus Ἐπικάρπιος see *supra* i. 236 n. 10, ii. 260 n. 0, 1065, 1177 n. 2, 1186 and Hesych. *s.v.* Ἐπικάρπιος· Ζεὺς ἐν Εὐβοίᾳ. Cumont *loc. cit.* p. 1867 says: 'Ob mit dem Zeus *ἐπικάρπιος* von Bostra... auch D[usares] gemeint ist, muss dahingestellt bleiben.'

[3] *Supra* ii. 317 n. 2.

[4] *Supra* p. 911 n. 3. See also *supra* i. 193 n. 1.

Another form of Zeus recognised at Bostra was Zeus *Ámmon*, who appears on the coins sometimes with a solar disk on his head (*e.g.* F. De Saulcy *Numismatique de la terre sainte* Paris 1874 p. 368 pl. 21, 9 (=my fig. 768) Iulia Mamaea COLONIA BOSTRA) as on a coin of Alexandreia (*supra* i. 360 fig. 276), sometimes with a *kálathos*

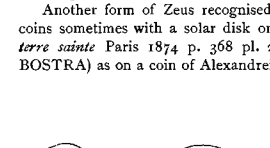


Fig. 768.

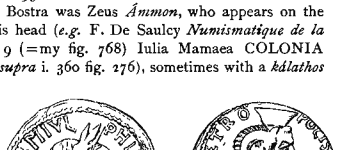


Fig. 769.

(R. Dussaud *Notes de mythologie syrienne* Paris 1905 p. 179 f. fig. 42 (=my fig. 769) Philippus Senior COLMETRO POLISBOSTRA) as in another Alexandrian type (*supra* i. 361 fig. 277). Dussaud asks: 'Ne serait-ce pas Dusarès ayant emprunté les traits de Jupiter Ammon?'

Sun-worship pure and simple is attested for the Nabataeans by Strab. 784 *ἥλιον τιμῶσιν ἐπὶ τοῦ δώματος ἱδρυσάμενοι βωμόν, σπένδοντες ἐν αὐτῷ καθ' ἡμέραν καὶ λιβανωτίζοντες.*

[5] *Supra* p. 907.

[6] Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 51. 22. 9—11 *πρῶτον μὲν ἐν* Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ *ἐν τῷ* Κορείῳ <*οὗ*>*τω καλουμένῳ· ναὸς δέ ἐστι μέγιστος τουτέστιν τὸ τέμενος τῆς* Κόρης. *ἅλην γὰρ τὴν νύκτα ἀγρυπνήσαντες ἐν ᾄσμασί τισι καὶ αὐλοῖς τῷ εἰδώλῳ ᾄδοντες καὶ πανυχίδα διατελέσαντες μετὰ τὴν τῶν ἀλεκτρυόνων κλαγγὴν κατέρχονται λαμπαδηφόροι εἰς σηκόν τινα ὑπόγαιον καὶ ἀναφέρουσι ξόανόν τι ξύλινον* <*ἐν*> *φορείῳ καθεζόμενον γυμνόν, ἔχον σφραγῖδά τινα σταυροῦ ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου διάχρυσον καὶ ἐπὶ ταῖς ἑκατέραις χερσὶν ἄλλας δύο τοιαύτας σφραγῖδας καὶ ἐπ' αὐτοῖς τοῖς δυσὶ γονάτοις ἄλλας δύο, ὁμοῦ δὲ* [*τὰς*] *πέντε σφραγῖδας ἀπὸ χρυσοῦ τετυπωμένας καὶ περιφέρουσιν αὐτὸ τὸ ξόανον ἑπτάκις κυκλώσαντες τὸν μεσαίτατον ναὸν μετὰ αὐλῶν καὶ τυμπάνων καὶ ὕμνων καὶ κωμάσαντες καταφέρουσιν αὐτὸ αὖθις εἰς τὸν ὑπόγαιον τόπον. ἐρωτώμενοι δὲ ὅτι τί ἐστι τοῦτο τὸ μυστήριον ἀποκρίνονται καὶ λέγουσιν ὅτι ταύτῃ τῇ ὥρᾳ σήμερον ἡ Κόρη (τουτέστιν ἡ παρθένος) ἐγέννησε τὸν Αἰῶνα.*

τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν Πέτρᾳ *τῇ πόλει* (*μητρόπολις δέ ἐστι τῆς* Ἀραβίας, *ἥτις ἐστὶν* Ἐδὼμ *ἡ*

prelate in a noteworthy passage of his *panárion*, 'A Medicine-chest to cure all Heresies' (374—378 A.D.[1]), is concerned to record pagan parallels to the Christian Epiphany[2] as celebrated on the night of January 5 to 6:

'First at Alexandreia in the *Kóreion* as they call it—a very large temple, the precinct of Kore[3]. All night long they keep vigil, chanting to their idol with songs and flutes. The nocturnal service over, at cock-crow torch-bearers go down into an underground chamber and bring up a wooden image, sitting naked on a litter, with the imprint of a golden cross on its forehead, two similar imprints on its hands, and other two on its knees, all told, five golden marks impressed upon it. They carry the image itself seven times round the central part of the temple with flutes, timbrels, and hymns. And after the procession they bring it down again to its underground quarters. If asked what they mean by this mystery, they make answer: "This day and hour Kore (that is, the Virgin) has given birth to Aion[4]."

ἐν ταῖς γραφαῖς γεγραμμένη) ἐν τῷ ἐκεῖσε εἰδωλείῳ οὕτως γίνεται, καὶ 'Αραβικῇ διαλέκτῳ ἐξυμνοῦσι τὴν παρθένον, καλοῦντες αὐτὴν 'Αραβιστὶ Χααμοῦ τουτέστιν Κόρην εἶτ' οὖν παρθένον καὶ τὸν ἐξ αὐτῆς γεγεννημένον Δουσάρην τουτέστιν μονογενῆ τοῦ δεσπότου.

τοῦτο δὲ καὶ ἐν 'Ελούσῃ γίνεται τῇ πόλει κατ' ἐκείνην τὴν νύκτα, ὡς ἐκεῖ ἐν τῇ Πέτρᾳ καὶ ἐν 'Αλεξανδρείᾳ.

[1] A. Jülicher in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 193 (374—377 A.D.), W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1448 (374—378 A.D.).

[2] K. Holl 'Der Ursprung des Epiphanienfestes' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1917 p. 402 ff. with the observations of F. Boll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 190 f.

[3] O. Puchstein in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1387.

[4] For Aion at Alexandreia K. Holl *ad loc.* cp. a billon coin of Antoninus Pius issued there in 138/9 A.D. (*Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 459 no. 404 pl. 87, 27) and in 144/5 A.D. (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria etc. p. 117 no. 1004 pl. 26. Fig. 770 is from a specimen of mine): other examples of both issues are listed by J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 40 nos. 1600—1604 and p. 42 nos. 1734—1737. Holl also quotes Hippol. *ref. haeres.* 5. 8 pp. 164, 166 Duncker—Schneidewin *καθάπερ αὐτὸς ὁ ἱεροφάντης, οὐκ ἀποκεκομμένος μέν, ὡς ὁ "Αττις, εὐνουχισμένος δὲ διὰ κωνείου καὶ πᾶσαν παρῃτημένος τὴν σαρκικὴν γένεσιν, νυκτὸς ἐν 'Ελευσῖνι ὑπὸ πολλῷ πυρὶ τελῶν τὰ μεγάλα καὶ ἄρρητα μυστήρια βοᾷ καὶ κέκραγε λέγων· 'ἱερὸν ἔτεκε πότνια κοῦρον Βριμὼ Βριμόν,' τουτέστιν ἰσχυρὰ ἰσχυρόν.... αὕτη γάρ ἐστιν ἡ παρθένος ἡ ἐν γαστρὶ ἔχουσα καὶ συλλαμβάνουσα καὶ τίκτουσα υἱόν, οὐ ψυχικόν, οὐ σωματικόν, ἀλλὰ μακάριον Αἰῶνα Αἰώνων*, Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 1 p. 64, 6 ff. Wünsch (cited *supra* ii. 337 nn. 1 and 2), Souid. *s.v.* 'Ηραΐσκος (of Egypt, a neo-Platonic connoisseur of deities, under Zenon emperor of the east (474—491 A.D.))·...*οὗτω διέγνω τὸ ἄρρητον ἄγαλμα τοῦ Αἰῶνος ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ κατεχόμενον, ὃν 'Αλεξανδρεῖς ἐτίμησαν, "Οσιριν ὄντα καὶ "Αδωνιν ὁμοῦ κατὰ μυστικὴν ὡς ἀληθῶς φάναι θεοκρασίαν*, and an inscription of the Augustan age from Eleusis (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1125 Κόϊντος Πομπήϊος Αὔλου υ[ἱὸς] | *ἐποίει καὶ ἀνέθηκε* | *σὺν ἀδελφοῖς Αὔλωι καὶ Σέξτωι* | *Αἰῶνα* | *εἰς κράτος 'Ρώμης καὶ διαμονὴν* | *μυστηρίων*. | *Αἰὼν ὁ αὐτὸς ἐν τοῖς αὐτοῖς αἰεὶ* | *φύσει θείαι μένων κόσμος τε εἷς* | *κατὰ τὰ αὐτά, ὁποῖος ἔστι καὶ ἦν* | *καὶ ἔσται, ἀρχὴν μεσότητα τέλος* | *οὐκ ἔχων, μεταβολῆς ἀμέτοχος*, | *θείας φύσεως ἐργάτης αἰωνίου πάντα*, on which remarkable outburst of philosophic praise see O. Weinreich 'Aion in Eleusis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 174—190). As to the five golden crosses imprinted on Aion, Weinreich *loc. cit.*

Fig. 770.

Again, at Petra (the metropolis of Arabia, that is the Edom mentioned in the Scriptures) in the idol-house there the same thing takes place. They hymn the Virgin in the speech of Arabia, calling her in Arabic *Chaamoû*[1], that is

p. 187 n. 2 approves a suggestion of F. Boll, that they represented the five 'Lebenssterne' of the Egyptians, *i.e.* the five planets, but also cites the oracle given by Ammon to Alexander (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 178 from pseudo-Kallisth. 1. 33. 2 ὦ βασιλεῦ <σοι> Φοῖβος ὁ μηλόκερως ἀγορεύει· | εἰ γε θέλεις αἰῶσιν ἀγηράτοισι νεάζειν, | κτίζε πόλιν περίφημον <ὑπὲρ Πρωτηίδα νῆσον,> | ἧς προκάθητ' <Αἰὼν> Πλουτώνιος <αὐτὸς> ἀνάσσων | πενταλόφοις κορυφαῖσιν ἀτέρμονα κόσμον ἑλίσσων).

See further C. Lackeit *Aion, Zeit und Ewigkeit in Sprache und Religion der Griechen* 1. Teil: Sprache Königsberg 1916, 11. Teil: Religion ('im Erscheinen'), *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. iii. 64—68, H. Junker 'Über iranische Quellen der hellenistischen Aionvorstellung' in the *Bibliothek Warburg. Vorträge 1921—1922* p. 125 ff., E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin 1924 p. 24 ff., L. Troje 'Die Geburt des Aion—ein altes Mysterium' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 87—116, O. Kern 'Plutos in Alexandreia' *ib.* p. 199 f., M. Zepf 'Der Gott Αἰών in der hellenistischen Theologie' *ib.* 1927 xxv. 225—244, F. Cumont in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1928 p. 274 ff., J. Scheftelowitz 'Die Zeit als Schicksalsgottheit in der indischen und iranischen Religion (Kāla und Zruvan)' in the *Beiträge zur indischen Sprachwissenschaft und Religionsgeschichte* 1929 iv. 1—58.

These lucubrations tend to show that the Hellenistic cult of Aion was a semi-philosophical synthesis of several elements, all derived from the near east—the Chaldaean connexion of eternity with astrology; the old Persian god Zervan, underlying the later Mithraic Kronos or Aion (*supra* ii. 1053); the Phoenician Oulomos 'Eternity' (*supra* ii. 1037), and Aion the human son of Baaut 'Night' and Kolpias 'Wind' (*supra* i. 191); the Egyptian Heh, god of Eternity, who as Aion came to be equated with Osiris and Adonis, and appears not only as a sun-god (Osiris) but even as a moon-goddess (Isis); and finally the Gnostic series of Aiones, whose supreme summation was the absolute Aion. In short, it would appear that the cult of Aion was the product of a comprehensive religious movement, which in some ways recalls the all-embracing ontology of Neo-Platonism.

[1] The text of Epiphanios, here dependent on a single manuscript (Marcianus 125) reads Χααμοῦ, which is kept by both K. W. Dindorf and K. Holl. The latter cites in support B. Moritz 'Der Sinaikult in heidnischer Zeit' in the *Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1916 Abh. ii. 18, who records numerous inscriptions with such names as Χααμου, Χααμμος, Χααμμέους, Χαμμω, Χαιαμος, etc.

But E. Meyer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1206 would read Χαaβοῦ, adding '...dagegen bedeutet Ka'abû allerdings eine blühende Jungfrau; dabei ist...der Nachdruck nicht auf die Jungfräulichkeit, sondern auf die strotzende Fülle zu legen. Ob diese Mutter des Dusares mit dem in Mekka verehrten Steinklotze, der Ka'aba, an die sich bekanntlich auch die Verehrung mehrerer Göttinnen, der Allât, der 'Uzza und der Manât, anschloss (*Qoran* 53, 19 f.), identisch oder nahe verwandt ist, muss bei dem gänzlichen Mangel genauer Nachrichten dahingestellt bleiben.'

F. Cumont, too, in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1866 writes: 'Dieses Baetylion, das als jungfräuliche Mutter des Gottes angesehen wurde, wie die *Petra genitrix* der Mithrasmysterien, war Χαάβου genannt, d. h. wohl כעבר "der Würfel."'

R. Eisler in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 630 prints Χαaβοῦ and notes: 'der hs. Lauthestand Χααμοῦ entspricht der bekannten, auch im Babylonischen nachweisbaren Aussprache von *m* wie *w*; ...das *-ov* ist die im Nahatäischen auch für Feminina übliche Endung auf ו; zum Namen selbst, dessen Identität mit der altmekkanischen "Ka'aba" bekannt ist, sowie über seine Doppelbedeutung "Würfel" und "Jungfrau," wörtlich "'Mädchen mit reifer, voller Brust,"' vgl. Blochet, *Le culte d'Aphrodite Anahita chez les Arabes du Paganisme, Revue de linguistique* xxxv 1902, p. 5 ff. und Eisler, Philol. LXVIII, p. 121 ff.'

"Kore" or "Virgin," and her offspring *Dousáres*, that is "Only-begotten of the Lord[1]."

In the town of Elousa[2] also the same thing takes place that night as happens there in Petra and at Alexandreia[3].'

[1] The derivation of Δουσάρης is disputed. The name is commonly interpreted as *Dhū*, 'Lord' (=north Semitic *Ba'al*), of *Sharā*, a place-name. This might be one of several localities (J. Wellhausen *Reste arabischen Heidentums*[2] Berlin 1897 p. 51), but was probably a mountain-range in Arabia (cp. Steph. Byz. Δουσαρή· σκόπελος καὶ κορυφὴ ὑψηλοτάτη 'Αραβίας. εἴρηται δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ Δουσάρου. θεὸς δὲ οὗτος παρὰ 'Αραψιν καὶ Δαχαρηνοῖς τιμώμενος. οἱ οἰκοῦντες Δουσαρηνοί, ὡς Δαχαρηνοί)—the scriptural 'mount Seir' (Smith *Dict. Geogr.* ii. 952). G. Dalman *Petra und seine Felsheiligtümer* Leipzig 1908 i. 49 hazards a Sumerian etymology *Dŭ-šar-ra*='Allbesieger.' In any case the notion that Δουσάρης meant μονογενὴς τοῦ δεσπότου is absurd.

[2] Elousa (*Halasa*) was a town in Idumaea, 71 miles from Jerusalem (I. Benzinger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2457). The local cult is mentioned incidentally by Hieron. *v. Hilarion.* 25 (xxiii. 42 B—C Migne) vadens (*sc.* St Hilarion) in desertum Cades ad unum de discipulis suis visendum, cum infinito agmine monachorum pervenit Elusam eo forte die, quo anniversaria solemnitas omnem oppidi populum in templum Veneris congregaverat. colunt autem illam ob Luciferum, cuius cultui Saracenorum natio dedita est....quos ille blande humiliterque suscipiens, obsecrabat ut Deum magis quam lapides colerent.' R. Eisler in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 630 n. 0 comments 'Σαρακηνοί von *śrk* "Morgenstern" wie 'Αγαρηνοί von *hāgar* "Stein."'

On the ancient Arabian worship of the Morning Star see also Io. Damask. *de haeres.* 101 (xciv. 764 A—B Migne) οὗτοι μὲν οὖν (*sc.* οἱ Σαρακηνοί) εἰδωλολατρήσαντες καὶ προσκυνήσαντες τῷ ἑωσφόρῳ ἄστρῳ καὶ τῇ 'Αφροδίτῃ, ἣν δὴ καὶ Χαβὰρ (*v.l.* Χαβέρ) τῇ ἑαυτῶν ἐπωνόμασαν γλώσσῃ, ὅπερ σημαίνει μεγάλη, Gutberlethus cap. 1 (e Catechesi Saracenorum: quoted by Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1227) ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῷ 'Εωσφόρῳ καὶ τῇ 'Αφροδίτῃ, ἣν κατὰ τὴν 'Αράβων γλῶσσαν Χάβαρ λέγουσιν, ὅπερ ἐστι μεγάλη (parallels *infra* p. 917 n. 7), Bartholomaeus Edess. (*s.* ix A.D.) *conjut. Agaren.* p. 307 Le Moyne (civ. 1385 C Migne) ὃν οἱ 'Αραβες δοκιμάζετε, <ὄν> τὸ ἑωσφόρον ἄστρον, Ζεβὼ 'Αφροδίτη (*sic*) Κρόνον καὶ Χαμὰρ λέγετε. The cult is further discussed by W. Robertson Smith *Lectures on the Religion of the Semites*[3] London 1927 pp. 56 n. 3, 281 ff., T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 665[b], cp. S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 218 n. 3.

[3] Cp. Kosmas of Jerusalem (*s.* viii A.D.) *commentarii in Sancti Gregorii Nazianzeni carmina* 52 (xxxviii. 464 Migne) ταύτην (*sc.* Christmas) ἦγον ἔκπαλαι δὲ τὴν ἡμέραν ἑορτὴν "Ελληνες, καθ' ἣν ἐτελοῦντο κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον, ἐν ἀδύτοις τισὶν ὑπεισερχόμενοι, ὅθεν ἐξιόντες ἔκραζον· ''Η παρθένος ἔτεκεν, αὔξει φῶς.' ταύτην 'Επιφάνιος ὁ μέγας τῆς Κυπρίων ἱερεύς φησι τὴν ἑορτὴν καὶ Σαρρακηνοὺς ἄγειν τῇ παρ' αὐτῶν σεβομένῃ 'Αφροδίτῃ, ἣν δὴ Χαμαρᾶ τῇ αὐτῶν προσαγορεύουσι γλώττῃ. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1227 n. [z] quotes a slightly different version from T. Gaisford *Catalogus sive notitia manuscriptorum qui a cel. E. D. Clarke comparati in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur* Oxonii 1812 i. 43 ταύτην <τὴν> ἑορτὴν "Ελληνες ἦγον ἐτησίαν ἔκπαλαι καθ' ἣν ἐτέχθη Χριστὸς ἡμέραν αὐξιφοτον καλοῦντες. ἐτελοῦντο δὲ κατὰ τὸ μεσονύκτιον ἀδύτοις ὑπεισερχόμενοι, ὅθεν ἐξιόντες ἔκραζον· ''Η παρθένος ἔτεκεν· αὔξει φῶς.' ταύτην, ὡς 'Επιφάνιος γράφει, τὴν ἑορτὴν ἦγον καὶ Σαρακηνοὶ πάλαι τὴν παρ' αὐτοῖς σεβομένην τιμῶντες 'Αφροδίτην, ἣν δὴ Χαβαρα (*sic* without accent) τῇ αὐτῶν προσαγορεύουσι γλώσσῃ. F. Boll in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1910 Abh. xvi. 16, 40 ff. publishes a calendar from Lower Egypt drawn up *c.* 200 A.D. by the astrologer Antiochos, in which Dec. 25 is marked as 'Ηλίου γενέθλιον· αὔξει φῶς. Nevertheless K. Holl in his note on Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 51. 22. 11 insists 'dass Epiphanius—ob mit Recht oder Unrecht—hier nicht den 25. Dez., sondern den 6. Januar meint.'

This curious passage, whatever else it implies, at least asserts that at Petra in the fourth century Dousares was viewed as the offspring of Chaamou, a goddess comparable with Kore, the Greek Queen of the Underworld, and further that his birth was the subject of an annual mystery-show. Of his sire we hear nothing except the improbable claim that *Dousáres* meant the 'Only-begotten of the Lord.' Beyond these obvious pronouncements it would not be safe to speculate[1].

We are not then, so far as I can see, in a position to state definitely that the black stone of Dousares was an actual meteorite. At the same time we must concede that it is found in suspiciously stellar company. Its analogues at Alexandreia and at Elousa were both of the starry order. For Aion at Alexandreia was marked

[1] R. Eisler in successive articles ('Kuba—Kybele' in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 118—151, 161—209, 'Kuba—Kybele' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1909 pp. 368—372, 'Das Fest des "Geburtstages der Zeit" in Nordarabien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 628—635) has maintained that throughout the near east the Semites worshipped a great matriarchal goddess under various connected or connectible names—Χααβοῦ, Χαμάρ, Χαβάρ, Χαβέρ, Χουβάρ, Κουβάρ, Καβήρ, Καβέρ. In Asia Minor she was the Mother of the gods, *Kybelê*, the *Matar Kubile* of Phrygian inscriptions (F. Schwenn in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2250), whose cult had spread to Greece by *s.* vi B.C. and reached Rome in 204 B.C.

These names, linked together 'durch das Band des Gleichklangs und der Buchstabengleichheit, die Basis aller morgenländischen Wortmystik und religiösen Begriffsbildung,' were associated with three distinct word-groups: (1) Arabic *ka'ab*, Greek *κύβος*, Latin *cubus*, English *cube*—the goddess being represented by a stone block (cp. Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 63 p. 114, 8 Wünsch Κυβέλη ἀπὸ τοῦ κυβικοῦ σχήματος). (2) Arabic *ka'aba* 'to have swelling, prominent, or protuberant breasts' (see E. W. Lane *An Arabic-English Lexicon* London and Edinburgh 1885 Book 1 Part vii p. 2615 f.), *ka'ab* 'maiden with full breast,' *ku'ub* 'bosom,' *ku'ba* 'virginity.' Cp. the Hittite Mother of the gods, whose sign is ◁ ▷ a pair of breasts (F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 52 n. 2), the Ephesian Artemis (*supra* ii. 405 n. 4 figs. 307—315), and the Persian Anahita from Arabic *nahada* 'to be full-breasted' [E. Blochet 'Le culte d'Aphrodite-Anahita chez les Arabes du Paganisme' in the *Revue de linguistique et de philologie comparée* 1902 xxxv. 8 n. 1 '*nâhida* désigne une "fille aux seins arrondis"; ce mot est très probablement une transcription du nom de la grande déesse perse Anâhita, l'aspect iranien de l'Astarté sémitique.' But my colleague Prof. H. W. Bailey tells me that this derivation is frankly impossible: *Anâhita* means 'Undefiled.' Again, Eisler blunders badly when in this connexion he speaks of 'der kleinasiatischen "Demeter" Μεγαλόμαζος und Δεκάμαζος': see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 84 n. 2, 1178 n. 7]. (3) Greek *κύββα, κύμβη, κύπελλον*, Latin *cupa*, and other words for '*cup*' or 'hollow.' The Meccan *Ka'aba*, a feminine substantive, was originally a goddess embodied as an aerolite and annually draped in accordance with an ancient marriage-rite. In her case the 'hollow' was of course the womb, cp. the *kteis* on the stone of Kybele (?) (*supra* p. 897 f. figs. 727—730) and on that of Elagabalos (*supra* p. 906 figs. 752, 753).

From *μήτρα* Eisler passes on to *ὀμφαλός*, contending that the Lydian Ompbale was a form of Kybele—witness her lion-skin etc.—and dealing with many other topics which do not immediately concern us. On the whole, his articles are brim-full of learning and abound in novel suggestions, some of which deserve to be followed up; but they are, to my thinking, largely vitiated by an admixture of doubtful or worse than doubtful etymologies.

with five golden crosses, a star-spangled child; and Venus at Elousa was worshipped 'on account of the Morning Star.' The phrase recalls Astarte's discovery of a star dropped from the sky[1]—Lucifer fallen from heaven[2]. If we were right in regarding the dropped star of Tyre as a meteorite, the black stone of Dousares may have been meteoric too.

That conclusion was reached more than a century since by F. Münter[3] and F. v. Dalberg[4], who went on to argue that the black stone still to be seen in the Ka'bah at Mecca was in pre-Islamic times the meteoric form of an Arab deity, either Dousares himself (Münter) or the Moon (V. Dalberg). They rightly drew attention to Arab beliefs concerning the origin of the stone[5] and its early history[6]. Of these the most important is contained in an extract from Niketas Choniates[7] written between 1204 and

[1] *Supra* p. 892. [2] Isa. 14. 12, cp. Luke 10. 18.

[3] F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 p. 281 f.

[4] F. v. Dalberg *Ueber Meteor-Cultus der Alten, vorzüglich in Bezug auf Steine, die vom Himmel gefallen* Heidelberg 1811 p. 93 ff.

[5] F. v. Dalberg *op. cit.* p. 95 f. 'Die Araber behaupten, der Engel Gabriel habe ihn vom Himmel zur Erbauung der Ka'abah gebracht... Der Sage nach soll er anfänglich *weiss* und *schimmernd* gewesen seyn (vielleicht weil er als ein glühender Stein herab fiel), nachher aber wäre er der Thränen willen, die er für die Sünden der Menschen vergoss, ganz *schwarz* geworden, und habe seinen ersten Glanz verlohren.' So R. F. Burton *Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah*[3] London—Belfast 1879 p. 493 n. 3 'Moslems agree that it was originally white, and became black by reason of men's sins. It appeared to me a common aërolite covered with a thick slaggy coating, glossy and pitch-like, worn and polished. Dr Wilson of Bombay showed me a specimen in his possession, which externally appeared to be a black slag, with the inside of a bright and sparkling greyish-white, the result of admixture of nickel with the iron. This might possibly, as the learned Orientalist then suggested, account for the mythic change of color, its appearance on earth after a thunderstorm, and its being originally a material part of the heavens. Kutb el-Din expressly declares that, when the Karamitah restored it after twenty-two years to the Meccans, men kissed it and rubbed it upon their brows; and remarked that the blackness was only superficial, the inside being white.'

[6] F. Münter *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 48 'Wenigstens sagt die Morgenländische Fabel: eum esse cum pretiosis Paradisi lapidibus cum Adamo in terram demissum; ac postea—fügt sie hinzu—diluvii tempore rursus in coelum sublatum. Sim. Assemanni Saggio sull origine, culto, litteratura e costumi degli Arabi avanti Maometto. Padoua 1788. p. 21.'

[7] F. Lenormant *Lettres assyriologiques et épigraphiques sur l'histoire & les Antiquités de l'Asie antérieure* Paris 1872 ii. 126 n. 1 cites an unpublished passage of Niket. Chon. *θησαυρὸς ὀρθοδοξίας* from cod. Gr. Flor. xxiv, plut. ix, fol. 259 r° *ἀναθεματίζω καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν εἰς τὸ Μέκε οἶκον τῆς προσευχῆς, ἐν ᾧ φασι κεῖσθαι μέσῳ λίθον μέγαν ἐκτύπωμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἔχοντα, τιμᾶσθαι δὲ τοῦτον ὡς ἐπάνωθεν αὐτοῦ τῇ Ἄγαρ ὁμιλήσαντος τοῦ Ἀβραάμ, ἢ ὡς αὐτῷ τὴν κάμηλον προσδήσαντος ὅτε τὸν Ἰσαὰκ ἔμελλε θύειν· τοὺς δὲ εἰς προσευχὴν ἐκεῖ ἀπιόντας μὲν μίαν (leg. μίαν μὲν) αὐτῶν χεῖρα πρὸς τὸν λίθον ἐκτείνειν, τῇ δὲ ἑτέρᾳ τὸ οὖς κατέχειν τὸ ἴδιον, καὶ οὕτω κυκλοτερῶς ἑαυτοὺς περιφέρειν ἕως ἂν πέσωσι σκοτοδινιάσαντες* and further *ἀναθεματίζω τοὺς προσκυνοῦντας τῷ πρωϊνῷ ἄστρῳ ἤγουν τῷ ἑωσφόρῳ καὶ τῇ Ἀφροδίτῃ ἣν κατὰ τὴν τῶν Ἀρράβων γλῶσσαν Χαβὰρ ὀνομάζουσι, τουτέστι μεγάλην.*

With this second anathema cp. *supra* p. 915 n. 2 and Const. Porphyrogen. *de*

1210 A.D.[1] but based on the earlier evidence of Euthymios Zigabenos (*c.* 1100 A.D.)[2]. From this it appears that the stone was marked with the shape of Aphrodite, presumably a *ktetis*[3], and associated traditionally with the union of Hagar and Abraham. It was long since surmised by Falconnet[4] that the allusion must be to a natural stone simulating the womb. Such stones were known to early naturalists as 'hystérolithes[5],' 'Hysterolithen[6].'

Sir Richard Burton, who made his famous pilgrimage to Mecca in 1853, has described and illustrated the Ka'bah as decked in its annual attire, a covering of brilliant black with a golden band

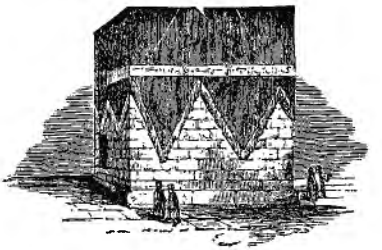


Fig. 771.

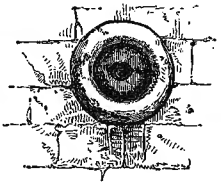


Fig. 772.

administr. imp. 14 (iii. 92 Bekker) προσεύχονται δὲ (*sc.* οἱ Σαρακηνοί) καὶ εἰς τὸ τῆς Ἀφροδίτης ἄστρον, ὃ καλοῦσι Κουβάρ, καὶ ἀναφωνοῦσιν ἐν τῇ προσευχῇ αὐτῶν οὕτως "Αλλᾶ οὐὰ Κουβάρ,' ὅ ἐστιν ὁ Θεὸς καὶ Ἀφροδίτη. τὸν γὰρ Θεὸν Ἀλλᾶ προσονομάζουσι, τὸ δὲ οὐὰ ἀντὶ τοῦ καὶ συνδέσμου τιθέασι, καὶ τὸ Κουβὰρ καλοῦσι τὸ ἄστρον, καὶ λέγουσιν οὕτως "Αλλᾶ οὐὰ Κουβάρ'—an exact statement variously distorted by Euthym. Zigaben. πανοπλία δογματική 28. 1 (cxxx. 1333 A Migne), Kedren. *hist. comp.* 425 B—C (i. 744 Bekker), Glykas *ann.* 4. 277 D (p. 515 Bekker).

[1] K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 92.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 82 ff. F. Münter *op. cit.* p. 282 n. 48 already quotes Zigabenos from F. Sylburg *Saracenica sive Mohamethica* Heidelbergae 1595 p. 85.

[3] The expression ἐκτύπωμα τῆς Ἀφροδίτης used by Zigabenos and Niketas is well illustrated by Lenormant *op. cit.* p. 127 f. from Plout. *de fluv.* 12. 2 (Sagaris) γενναῖαι δ' ἐν αὐτῷ λίθοι αὐτόγλυφοι καλούμενοι· εὑρίσκεται γὰρ τετυπωμένην ἔχων τὴν Μητέρα τῶν θεῶν. τοῦτον τὸν λίθον ἐὰν εὕρῃ τις, σπανίως εὑρισκόμενον, τῶν ὑποτεμνομένων οὐ ξενίζεται, ἀλλ' εὐψύχως φέρει τῆς παρὰ φύσιν πράξεως τὴν ὄψιν· καθὼς ἱστορεῖ Ἀρετάζης ἐν τοῖς Φρυγιακοῖς (Aretades of Knidos *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 316 Müller)). Anna Komn. *Alexias* 10. 284 D (ii. 30 f. Schopen) ἔνθεν τοι καὶ τὴν Ἀστάρτην αὐτοὶ καὶ τὴν Ἀσταρὼθ προσκυνοῦσι καὶ σέβονται καὶ τοῦ ἄστρου τὸν τύπον περὶ πλείονος τίθενται καὶ τὴν χρυσῆν παρ' ἐκείνοις Χοβάρ is more vague. But there can be little doubt that the τύπος in question was a *ktetis*.

[4] Falconnet 'Dissertation sur les Bætyles' in the *Mémoires de littérature tirez des registres de l'académie royale des inscriptions et belles lettres* Paris 1729 vi. 528 compares 'la Pierre de la Mere des Dieux' with 'ces Pierres figurées, que les Naturalistes appellent *Hysterolithes*.' *The Oxford English Dictionary* Oxford 1933 v. 516 *s.v.* '**Hysterolite**' says: 'internal casts of a fossil shell (*Orthis Striatula*) were so called by old authors.'

[5] F. Lenormant *op. cit.* ii. 128.

[6] R. Eisler in *Philologus* 1909 lxviii. 135.

bearing inscriptions (fig. 771)[1]. He adds a sketch of the Black Stone, which is now built into the south-east corner of the Ka'bah near the door and forms part of the sharp external angle at a height of four feet nine inches above the ground (fig. 772). He endorses the words of Burckhardt, who says[2]:

'It is an irregular oval, about seven inches in diameter, with an undulating surface, composed of about a dozen smaller stones of different sizes and shapes, well joined together with a small quantity of cement, and perfectly well smoothed: it looks as if the whole had been broken into many pieces by a violent blow, and then united again[3].... It appeared to me like a lava, containing several small particles of a whitish and of a yellowish substance. Its

a *b*

Fig. 773.

color is now a deep reddish-brown, approaching to black. It is surrounded on all sides by a border composed of a substance which I took to be a close cement of pitch and gravel of a similar, but not quite the same, brownish color. This border serves to support its detached pieces; it is two or three inches in breadth, and rises a little above the surface of the stone[4]. Both the border and

[1] R. F. Burton *Narrative of a Pilgrimage to Meccah and Medinah*[3] London—Belfast 1879 p. 436 ff. with p. 437 plan of Ka'ba, p. 439 view of Ka'ba (=my fig. 771).

[2] *Ib.*[3] p. 494 f. quoting J. L. Burckhardt, with sundry notes of his own by way of corrections or additions. My fig. 772 reproduces the sketch of the Black Stone given by Burton on p. 494.

[3] On the injuries suffered by the stone at various times see D. S. Margoliouth in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 513[a–b].

[4] Fig. 773, *a* and *b*, are reduced (scale ⅔) from the half-size section and elevation of the Black Stone and its border given by Sir William Muir *The Life of Mahomet from original sources*[3] London 1894 p. 27. Muir says: 'This stone, which is semi-circular, measures some six inches in height and eight in breadth; it is of a reddish-black colour, and notwithstanding the polish imparted by myriads of kisses, bears to the present day in its undulating surface marks of a volcanic origin.' But see L. Beck *Die Geschichte des Eisens in technischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Braunschweig 1884 i. 18:

the stone itself are encircled by a silver band, broader below than above, and on the two sides, with a considerable swelling below, as if a part of the stone were hidden under it[1]. The lower part of the border is studded with silver nails.'

The silver setting of the Black Stone is of interest, for it forms a point of comparison with the Black Stone of Kybele which was likewise set in silver[2].

(f) The stone *sideritēs* or *oreitēs*.

If the meteoric stone was sometimes regarded as a mother, marked with a *ktetis*[3], and draped in a veil[4], it was also on occasion viewed as a babe, carried in the arms, and wrapped in swaddling bands. An example of the latter treatment is afforded by the stone known indifferently as *sideritēs* the 'iron-stone' or *oreitēs* the 'mountain-stone.'

Of this Pliny[5], our earliest authority, has little to say. He is aware of its twofold name, but adds merely that the stone is globular in appearance and unaffected by fire.

Much more may be learnt from Damigeron[6] the Mage, who wrote a lapidary attributed to *s.* ii A.D. Some fragments of the original Greek have come down to us[7], but the whole text is available only in a Latin version[8] of *s.* v fathered upon an Arabian king Euax[9], who in a prefatory letter greets the emperor Tiberius. This prose work was rewritten in Latin hexameters by Marbode,

'Es ist dies das älteste aufbewahrte Meteorit, da sich das angebliche Meteoreisen von Pompeji durch die Untersuchung von Gustav Rose als künstliches Eisen erwiesen hat.'

[1] Burton *op. cit.*[3] p. 494 n. 3 observes: 'Ibn Jubayr declares the depth of the stone unknown, but that most people believe it to extend two cubits into the wall. In his day it was three "Shibr" (the large span from the thumb to the little finger tip) broad, and one span long, with knobs, and a joining of four pieces, which the Karamitah had broken. The stone was set in a silver band.'

[2] *Supra* p. 897.

[3] *Supra* pp. 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918.

[4] *Supra* pp. 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918.

[5] Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 176 oritis globosa specie a quibusdam et sideritis vocatur, ignes non sentiens.

[6] On Damigeron see M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2055 f., O. Rossbach *ib.* vii. 1113 f., Joan Evans *Magical Jewels of the Middle Ages and the Renaissance particularly in England* Oxford 1922 p. 20 ff., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 983, 1072.

[7] V. Rose in *Hermes* 1875 ix. 471—491, F. de Mély *Les Lapidaires de l'antiquité et du moyen âge* Paris 1898 ii. 1 pp. xiii, 125—133, Joan Evans *op. cit.* p. 20.

[8] Printed at the end of E. Abel *Orphei Lithica* Berolini 1881 p. 161 ff. and, from two earlier MSS., in Joan Evans *op. cit.* Append. A p. 195 ff. Where the texts differ I follow that of Miss Evans.

[9] M. Wellmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 849 f.

bishop of Rennes, between 1067 and 1081, and in that form became the most popular lapidary of the middle ages. More than a hundred manuscripts of it are extant, not to mention versions in six or seven languages[1].

The Latin Damigeron[2] distinguishes three varieties of *oretes* or *sideritis*. The first is deep black and round[3]. It is good for bites. If pounded and rubbed in with rose unguent, it quickly cures wounds made by wild animals. If tied on to the sufferer, it makes his sinews unite[4]. Whoever takes it with him will foil any attack by wild beasts. Hence it is worn by the Magi when they cross the desert. The second sort is green with whitish spots. If genuine, it will not be consumed by the fiercest fire[5]. It is invaluable as a protection against all dangers and alarms. The third kind looks like an iron plate smooth on one side but studded with sharp nails on the other[6]. Great are its virtues. Kings bind it upon their concubines to prevent them from losing their good looks, or from producing imperfect offspring, or from failing to conceive at all. Indeed, so powerful is its effect on childbirth that, placed on a pregnant woman, it will at once bring on her delivery[7].

The 'Orphic' *Lithiká*, a work assigned on stylistic and other grounds to the latter part of the fourth century[8], expatiates in a tasteless way on the virtues of the stone as recorded by Damigeron[9], but prefixes a passage[10] of much mythical and magical interest drawn from some unknown source—hardly Damigeron, certainly not Orpheus[11].

Helenos—we read—advised the Greeks to fetch Philoktetes from Lemnos to Troy, and the arrival of Philoktetes meant the

[1] For a detailed and documented account see Joan Evans *op. cit.* p. 33 ff.

[2] Damig. *de lapid.* 16 Abel, 39 Evans.

[3] Cp. Plin. *loc. cit.* (*supra* p. 920 n. 5).

[4] Cp. Orph. *lith.* 364 f. (*infra* p. 922 n. 1).

[5] Cp. Plin. *loc. cit.* (*supra* p. 920 n. 5).

[6] Cp. Orph. *lith.* 363 *ὑποτρηχύν* (*infra* p. 922 n. 1).

[7] The text of the last two sentences is defective and stands in need of emendation (see Abel *ad loc.*). But the general sense is clear from a passage in the prose epitome of Orph. *lith.* p. 147, 2 f. Abel *καὶ στείραις δὲ γυναιξὶ περιδεσμούμενον εὐτοκίαν φασὶ παρέχειν.*

[8] See E. Abel's 'praefatio' pp. 1—4.

[9] Orph. *lith.* 390—473.

[10] *Ib.* 357—389.

[11] In spite of Tzetz. *posthom.* 571 ff. *καὶ τότε μὲν "Ελενος, θεόφοιτος μάντις ἀμώμων,* | *...ἐκ σιδηρίταο, κατ' 'Ορφέα, μαντιπόλοιο,* | *λίθου ἀνδρολόγοιο, μαθὼν ὅσα τεύχετο Τροίῃ,* | *εἶπε Φιλοκτήταο βίην κομίσαι ἀπὸ Λήμνου, κ.τ.λ.* and *chil.* 6. 614 ff. *ἡ σιδηρῖτις λίθος τις τυγχάνει, κατ' 'Ορφέα,* | *ἣν ἀεννάοις ταῖς πηγαῖς εἰ λούοι τις, ὡς γράφει,* | *καὶ οἷς ἑτέροις δέ φησιν ἀνερωτήσας ταύτην,* | *ὥσπερ παιδὸς νεογιλοῦ ταύτης φωνὴν ἀκούσοι,* | *μαντευομένης ἀληθῶς περὶ πραγμάτων πάντων.* | *εἶτα δὲ ἀποψύχεται, καθάπερ τεθνηκυῖα.* | *ἐκ ταύτης καὶ ὁ "Ελενος πόρθησιν Τροίας ἔφη.*

death of Paris. But how came Helenos to give such fateful advice? It was because Phoibos Apollon had bestowed upon him—

> A voiceful stone, the unerring *siderites*,
> Which some the live *oreites* please to call,
> Round, somewhat rough, strong, black of hue, and dense,
> While over and about it every way
> Stretch sinews like to wrinkles drawn upon it[1].

For ten days Helenos observed rules of ceremonial purity touching bed and bath and food. Meantime he washed the wise stone[2] in flowing water, and tended it like a babe with clean garments. He offered sacrifices to it as if it were a god, and brought breath into it by the use of potent spells[3]. He lit lights in his hall, and dandled the godfearing stone[4] in his arms as a mother might dandle her infant. Anyone who does the same will at last hear the stone utter a cry like that of a new-born babe whimpering for milk. It will then and there answer truly any questions that you may choose to ask it. After which, if you lift it and look closely at it, you can see it die down in wondrous fashion[5]. It was through hearkening to this prophetic stone[6] that Helenos told the sons of Atreus how his fatherland might be taken.

Helenos the seer was, like his sister Helene, a genuine figure of Trojan mythology. And Troy was dominated by the mountain-range of Ide, where iron was first discovered by the Idaean Daktyloi[7]—Kelmis, Damnameneus, and Akmon—servants of the mountain-mother[8]. It was, therefore, natural that the 'iron-stone' or 'mountain-stone' described by Damigeron should sooner or later be connected with Helenos. Moreover, it is often maintained that the earliest iron to be worked was meteoric iron[9]. That is doubt-

[1] Orph. *lith.* 360 ff. τῷ γὰρ Ἀπόλλων Φοῖβος ἔχειν λίθον αὐδήεντα | δῶκε σιδηρίτην νημερτέα· τὸν ῥα βροτοῖσιν | ἥνδανεν ἄλλοισιν καλέειν ἔμψυχον ὀρείτην, | γυρόν, ὑποτρηχύν, στιβαρόν, μελανόχροα, πυκνόν· | ἀμφὶ δέ μιν κύκλῳ περί τ' ἀμφί τε πάντοθεν ἶνες | ἐμφερέες ῥυτίδεσσιν ἐπιγράβδην τανύονται.

[2] *Ib.* 369 πέτρον ἐχέφρονα.

[3] *Ib.* 371 f. καὶ θεὸν ὡς λιπαρῇσιν ἀρεσσάμενος θυσίῃσι, | λᾶαν ὑπερμενέεσσιν ἀοιδαῖς ἔμπνουν ἔρδεν.

[4] *Ib.* 374 θεουδέα πέτρον.

[5] *Ib.* 387 θεσπεσίως γὰρ ἀποψύχοντα νοήσεις.

[6] *Ib.* 389 φοιβήτορι λᾶι.

[7] *Supra* ii. 949 n. 5.

[8] *Phoronis frag.* 2 Kinkel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129 ἔνθα γόητες | Ἰδαῖοι Φρύγες ἄνδρες ὀρέστεροι οἰκί' ἔναιον, | Κέλμις Δαμναμενεύς τε μέγας καὶ ὑπέρβιος Ἄκμων, | εὐπάλαμοι θεράποντες ὀρείης Ἀδρηστείης, | οἳ πρῶτοι τέχνην πολυμήτιος Ἡφαίστοιο | εὗρον ἐν οὐρείῃσι νάπαις, ἰδέντα σίδηρον, | ἐκ πῦρ τ' ἤνεγκαν καὶ ἀριπρεπὲς ἔργον ἔδειξαν.

[9] F. X. M. Zippe *Geschichte der Metalle* Wien 1857 p. 110 f. ('Eine Masse dieser Art war es ohne Zweifel, an welcher der erste Schmied das Eisen kennen lernte'), H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste* Leipzig 1887 iv. 207 f. ('Man nimmt nun vielfach an, und es ist das ja auch sehr leicht möglich, dass die Schmiedearbeit ihre ersten Versuche—selbstverständlich nicht zu einem bestimmten

ful[1]: it would be safer to say that sundry simple or unsophisticated communities are known to have used meteoric iron for making their tools and weapons[2]. We cannot, then, decide offhand whether the stone called *siderites* or *oreites* came from a telluric outcrop brought to light by an accidental conflagration[3], or whether it was

Zeitpunkt oder an einem bestimmten Ort—an dem freilich nur in sehr geringer Menge, aber überall auf der Oberfläche der Erde zerstreut sich findenden Meteoreisen gemacht habe'), J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Univ. of California Press 1930 pp. 433 ('Much confusion might have been saved if it had been more clearly recognized that, as meteoric iron may fall from time to time on any part of our planet, occasional discovery and use of this "metal of heaven" (as the Egyptians believed it to be) cannot be excluded at any period and in any region'), 591 n. 118, *id.* in E. Eyre *European Civilization its Origin and Development* Oxford 1935 i. 135 ('In Egypt where iron is occasionally found worked, from Predynastic times to the Nineteenth Dynasty, it was always *ba-n-pet*, "the metal of heaven," even when eventually imported and well known. Probably most Sumerian iron was of similar origin; and it must be remembered that the actual rarity of meteorites does not represent their frequency before men learnt their value and picked them up'), 165, A. Neuburger *The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* trans. H. L. Brose London 1930 p. 20 ('the most ancient iron implements were probably meteorites...a meteoric stone manipulated by hand constitutes a good hammer. Moreover, it can be sharpened on a stone, and so forth').

[1] L. Beck *Die Geschichte des Eisens in technischer und kulturgeschichtlicher Beziehung* Braunschweig 1884 i. 18, 30 ('Da nun die Schmiedbarkeit des meteorischen Eisens erwiesen ist, könnte es nahe liegen, die kontroverse Frage, von der wir ausgingen, ob nämlich die Menschen der Urzeit zuerst das Meteoreisen aufgesucht und verarbeitet hätten, zu bejahen. Es hat auch diese Annahme bei oberflächlicher Betrachtung etwas Verführerisches. Je mehr man aber auf die Sache eingeht, je mehr muss man zu der Überzeugung kommen, dass diese Theorie falsch ist'), 33 ('Die Thatsache, dass aus dem unbekannten Himmelsraume zuweilen Massen metallischen Eisens auf die Erde herabfallen, war schon in sehr früher Zeit bekannt; doch bildete die Auffindung solcher Massen nicht den Ausgangspunkt der Eisenindustrie, vielmehr wurden sie erst als Eisen erkannt, nachdem die Ausschmelzung der Eisenerze bereits bekannt war'), L. de Launay in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 1076 ('En ce qui concerne précisément les métaux natifs, on a voulu faire jouer aux météorites un rôle, à notre avis, très exagéré, en supposant que le premier fer avait pu en être extrait. D'abord, les météorites sont fort rares: ce qu'on pourrait, à la rigueur, expliquer par le soin avec lequel les anciens les auraient recueillies; mais, surtout, celles d'une certaine taille seraient très difficiles à façonner; car le fer natif nickélifère qui constitue celles, dites holosidères, dont on aurait pu être tenté de faire des outils, ne fond qu'à une haute température et ne peut être découpé qu'avec de l'acier. Quant aux météorites plus ou moins pierreuses (syssidères et sporadosidères), il n'y avait pas plus de raison pour en extraire le fer que de toute autre roche à silicates ferrugineux'), W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1901 i. 598 ff.

[2] E. B. Tylor *Researches into the Early History of Mankind and the Development of Civilization*[3] London 1878 p. 205 (Indians of Rio de la Plata, Esquimaux), J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie préhistorique* Paris 1913 ii. 2. 543 n. 1 ('Plusieurs auteurs ont exprimé l'hypothèse que l'industrie sidérurgique aurait pu débuter par l'utilisation du fer météorique. On allègue que dans la langue des Egyptiens le mot *ba-en-pet* (fer du ciel) s'oppose au mot *ba-en-ta* (fer de la terre) et que les Mexicains de la vallée du Toluka utilisent le fer météorique pour la fabrication d'instruments'), Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 240[b] (Egyptian *bi-n-pet*, Coptic *benipe*, 'd. h. Himmelsmetall = Meteoreisen').

[3] *Supra* ii. 949 n. 5, cp. Lucr. 5. 1241 ff., Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 87.

indeed a meteorite like others already found in the service of Kybele. It may be that the varieties distinguished by Damigeron include both the telluric and the meteoric sort. Certainly the epithets chosen in the *Lithiká*—somewhat rough, black, dense, covered with sinews like wrinkles—would be easy to parallel from actual meteorites of the kind called siderites[1].

(g) *Ákmon.*

The name *Ákmon* in this Idaean context raises a point of interest. In a familiar passage of the *Iliad*[2] Zeus awakes on the summit of Ide and, angered at Hera's deception[3], threatens her with the lash. He goes on to taunt her with past punishment[4]:

> Dost thou not mind how thou wast hung aloft,
> While to thy feet I fastened anvils twain
> And bound thy hands too with a golden bond
> That none might break? In the *aithér* and the clouds
> Thou hangedst helpless, ay and all the gods
> In long Olympos were exceeding wroth,
> Yet could not take thy part or loose thy chain.

W. Leaf[5] observes that the word rendered 'anvils' (*ákmonas*) 'originally meant large stones, especially meteoric stones, commonly known as thunderbolts.' And Eustathios[6] informs us that some texts here added a couple of lines:

> Till I unfettered thee and cast the clogs
> Down on Troy-land—for future folk to see.

This sounds like a piece of local lore. Two conspicuous blocks in the Trojan plain were pointed out as being the very 'anvils' dropped by Zeus. Moreover, since the term used of them (*mýdros*) means properly 'a glowing mass of metal[7],' Leaf[8] is justified in concluding that 'such blocks can only have been meteoric masses.'

[1] See O. C. Farrington *Meteorites* Chicago 1915 pp. 78 ff. ('Crust of meteorites'), 85 ff. ('Veins of meteorites'). L. Beck *op. cit.* p. 19 states that the earliest exact description of meteoric iron is in Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 147 item ferro in Lucanis (*sc.* pluisse) anno ante quam M. Crassus a Parthis interemptus est (53 B.C.) omnesque cum eo Lucani milites, quorum magnus numerus in exercitu erat. effigies quo pluit ferri spongiarum similis fuit.

[2] *Il.* 15. 4 ff. [3] *Supra* i. 154, ii. 950 n. 0, 1020, iii. 35, 180.

[4] *Il.* 15. 18 ff. [5] W. Leaf *A Companion to the Iliad* London 1892 p. 256.

[6] Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1003, 13 ff. *εἰς δὲ τὸν τόπον τοῦτον προσγράφουσί τινες καὶ τούτους τοὺς στίχους· 'πρίν γ' ὅτε δή σ' ἀπέλυσα ποδῶν, μύδρους δ' ἐνὶ Τροίῃ | κάββαλον, ὄφρα πέλοιτο καὶ ἐσσομένοισι πυθέσθαι.' καὶ δείκνυνταί, φασιν, ὑπὸ τῶν περιηγητῶν οἱ τοιοῦτοι μύδροι, οὓς ἀνωτέρω ἄκμονας εἶπεν.*

[7] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 302, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 648. Cp. Hesych. *σμύδρος· διάπυρος σίδηρος.*

[8] W. Leaf *op. cit.* p. 256.

F. Münter[1] thought it not impossible that the meteorites in question might yet be identified.

But the philologists have more to tell us. R. Roth[2] of Tübingen in 1853 first drew attention to a group of related words, which may be amplified as follows[3]:

Greek *ákmon*		sky[4]	thunderbolt (?)[5]	pestle[6]	anvil
Sanskrit *áśman-*	stone	sky (?)[7]	stone missile, thunderbolt	hammer-stone	anvil
Avestan *asman-*	stone	sky	stone missile, thunderbolt		
Old Persian *asman-*		sky			
New Persian *āsmān*		sky			
Sogdian *'sm'n*		sky			

Roth rightly inferred that there must have been a time when men of Indo-Europaean speech thought the sky to be made of stone[8],

[1] F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 p. 275 n. o.

[2] R. Roth 'Akmon, der vater des Uranos' in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1853 ii. 44—46.

[3] In arranging this table I have been helped by my friend Professor H. W. Bailey, whose own researches in the subject will shortly be published.

[4] Hesych. *s.v.* ἄκμων· ...οὐρανός.

[5] Hes. *theog.* 722 ff. ἐννέα γὰρ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων | οὐρανόθεν κατιὼν δεκάτῃ κ' (so Thiersch for δ' codd.) ἐς γαῖαν ἵκοιτο· | ἐννέα δ' αὖ νύκτας τε καὶ ἤματα χάλκεος ἄκμων | ἐκ γαίης κατιὼν δεκάτῃ κ' (so Thiersch for δ' codd.) ἐς Τάρταρον ἵκοι. The passage belongs to the 'emblemata vetustissima,' which F. Jacoby in his ed. p. 87 attributes to rhapsodes of *s.* vii—vi[1]. Cp. F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 p. 17 n. 2. H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott p. 51 says 'ἄκμων...orig. prob. *meteoric stone, thunderbolt*,' and illustrates that meaning by quoting χάλκεος ἄκμων οὐρανόθεν κατιών from this Hesiodic passage. An Iapygian parallel has been considered *supra* ii. 30 f.

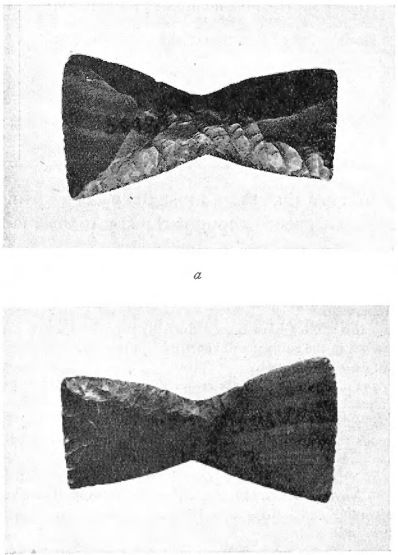
[6] Hesych. ἄκμονα· ἀλετρίβανον. Κύπριοι. Cp. the neolithic pounder discussed *supra* p. 898 ff.

[7] H. Grassmann *Wörterbuch zum Rig-Veda* Leipzig 1873 p. 139 recognises the following senses: '**áçman** (1) *Fels*...; (2) der *Stein als Werkzeug* zum Schlagen, Hammer, Hammer und Ambos und andere, ursprünglich aus Stein gemachte Werkzeuge des Schmiedes; (3) der *Donnerkeil*; (4) der bunte *Edelstein*...; (5) der *Himmel*, der als steinernes Gewölbe gedacht ist.' Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*[2] Oxford 1899 p. 114 says: '*Áśman* a stone, rock...any instrument made of stone (as a hammer &c.)...thunderbolt...the firmament.'

[8] Cp. the Chinese identification of the heavens with jade (A. E. Crawley in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 591[b]), the Mohammedan belief in seven heavens made of emerald, white silver, large white pearls, ruby, red gold, jacinth, and shining light (G. F. Kunz *The Curious Lore of Precious Stones* Philadelphia & London 1913 p. 349), the Jewish belief in 'a paved work of sapphire stone' (Ex. 24. 10, cp. Ezek. 1. 26), and the like. See also *supra* i. 357 n. 4.

an inference now accepted by all philologists[1]. Further it may be contended that the weapon of the sky-god—whether the thunderbolt of Zeus, the *vajra* of Indra, or the hammer of Thōr[2]—was at first just a fragment of the stony vault broken off and hurled downwards. As such it would be essentially akin to a meteorite.

When the Stone Age passed into the Bronze Age, and the Bronze Age into the Iron Age, the thunderbolt—originally a stone missile[3]—



a

b

Fig. 774.

[1] *E.g.* G. Curtius *Grundzüge der griechischen Etymologie*[4] Leipzig 1873 p. 131, H. Reichelt 'Der steinerne Himmel' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1913 xxxii. 23—57 (criticised by Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 39), Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 499[b] f.

[2] Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 433[a–b]. *Supra* ii. 64 n. 0 with fig. 26, 547 n. 0, 620.

[3] The double axe of bronze, so frequent in Cretan cult (*supra* ii. 513 ff.), was preceded by the double axe in stone. The Tyszkiewicz axe-head with a Sumerian inscription (*supra* ii. 510 with fig. 389, E. Unger in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 449 pl. 213, a—c) is strictly an axe-hammer rather than a double axe. But the British Museum possesses (no. 54429) a small votive double axe in brown flint, acquired at Luxor and certainly of pre-dynastic date (H. R. Hall in S. Casson *Essays in Aegean Archaeology Presented to Sir Arthur Evans in honour of his 75th birthday* Oxford 1927 p. 42 pl. 5 (=my fig. 774, *a* and *b*.

took on metallic forms[1]. But to the last a memory of the old thunderstone lingered in the by-ways of Greek mythology and odd corners of Greek folklore. The sky-dynasty comprised three successive sovereigns—Ouranos, Kronos, Zeus[2]. Of these, Ouranos was reckoned as the son of Akmon[3], if not as Akmon himself[4]. Kronos too was equated with Akmon[5]. And Zeus himself (as we shall see in the next two sections) exhibits certain features of both cult and myth strongly reminiscent of the same tradition.

(h) The stone of Kronos.

The stone *siderites* or *oreites*, wrapped in swaddling bands and treated as a babe[6], recalls the stone swallowed by Kronos as a substitute for the infant Zeus. If the one myth was connected with Kybele and Mount Ide in the Troad, the other concerned Rhea and the mountains of Crete.

Scale ½). See also J. Schlemm *Wörterbuch zur Vorgeschichte* Berlin 1908 p. 105 f. figs. a, b.

[1] *Supra* ii. 764 ff. [2] *Supra* p. 739 f.

[3] Hes. *frag. fals.* 6 Rzach *ap.* schol. Palat. *in* Simiae *alas Amor.* 1 p. 266 Diehl Ἀκμονίδαν δέ φησι τὸν οὐρανόν. Ἡσίοδος· Γαῖα μὲν Ἄκμονα ἔτικτεν, ἀπὸ δ' Ἄκμονος ὁ Οὐρανός. T. Bergk *Poetae lyrici Graeci*[4] Lipsiae 1882 iii. 68 f. acutely conjectured that this hexameter Γαῖα μὲν Ἄκμον' ἔτικτ', ἀπὸ δ' Ἄκμονος Οὐρανὸς <ἔσκεν (*add.* Natalis Comes?)> was taken from the *Titanomachia* (cp. Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* i. 75, 11 ff. οἱ δὲ ἄκμονα τὸν αἰθέρα· Αἰθέρος δ' υἱὸς Οὐρανός, ὡς ὁ Τιτανομαχίαν γράψας (*frag.* 1 Kinkel)), a Cyclic poem ascribed by some to Eumelos or Arktinos (Athen. 277 D) and by others very possibly to Hesiod.

Antim. *Theb. frag.* 44 Wyss *ap.* Plout. *quaestt. Rom.* 42 λέχρις δὲ δρεπάνῳ τέμνων ἄπο μήδεα πατρός | Οὐρανοῦ Ἀκμονίδεω λάσιος Κρόνος ἀντιτέτυκτο ('was represented as a pendant figure' on some work of art: see B. Wyss *ad loc.*).

Kallim. *frag.* 147 Schneider *ap. et mag.* p. 49, 47 ff. Ἄκμων σημαίνει τὸν τε σίδηρον ἐφ' οὗ οἱ χαλκεῖς τύπτουσι, καὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ τὸν πατέρα· οὕτως γὰρ αὐτὸν γενεαλογοῦσι. Καλλίμαχος· τῷ περὶ δινήεντ' Ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν (so Schneider for τῷ περὶ δινήεντι ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν. Bentley had proposed τῷ περιδίνησεν' ἀκμονίδην ἔβαλεν).

Cornut. *theol.* 1 p. 1, 1 ff. Lang ὁ οὐρανός...τινὲς δὲ τῶν ποιητῶν Ἄκμονος ἔφασαν αὐτὸν υἱὸν εἶναι, κ.τ.λ.

Hesych. *s.v.* Ἀκμονίδης· ὁ Χάρων. καὶ ὁ Οὐρανός. Ἄκμονος γὰρ παῖς = Bekker *anecd.* i. 367, 12 f. M. Schmidt *ad loc.* notes: 'Possis ὡς Χάρων sc. Lampsacenus; editum tamen tuetur Bekk. 367, 12.' Charon with his hammer (*supra* ii. 627 n. 3, 641 fig. 557) might be dubbed 'Son of Anvil' (cp. T. Bergk *op. cit.*[4] iii. 69).

[4] Alkm. *frag.* 111 Bergk[4], 103 Edmonds *ap.* Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1154, 24 ff. Ἄκμων δὲ ὅτι καὶ ὁ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, ὡς ἐρρέθη, λέγεται πατὴρ...καὶ ὅτι Ἀκμονίδαι οἱ Οὐρανίδαι, δηλοῦσιν οἱ παλαιοί. ὡς δὲ Ἄκμονος ὁ Οὐρανὸς ὁ Ἀλκμάν, φασιν, ἱστορεῖ. But in view of Eudok. *viol.* 29 ὡς δὲ Ἄκμων ὁ Οὐρανός, ὁ Ἀλκμὰν ἱστορεῖ and, indeed, of Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1150, 59 ὁ τοῦ Κρόνου πατὴρ Ἄκμων ἐκαλεῖτο κ.τ.λ. it seems certain that Alkman used Ἄκμων as the equivalent of Οὐρανός.

[5] Hesych. ἄκμων· ἀπαθής (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 146 with O. Schneider *ad loc.*). Κρόνος. οὐρανός. ἢ σίδηρον, ἐφ' ᾧ ὁ χαλκεὺς χαλκεύει. ἔστι δὲ καὶ γένος ἀετοῦ.

[6] *Supra* p. 920 ff.

Hesiod[1], our primary source, tells the tale in the following form:

'And Rhea, wedded to Kronos, bare splendid children—Hestia and Demeter and Hera of the golden sandals and strong Hades, who dwells beneath the ground with pitiless heart, and loud-sounding Ennosigaios[2] and Zeus the magician[3], father of gods and men, by whose thunder the wide ground itself is shaken.

And these great Kronos would swallow, as each came forth from the holy womb of his mother to her knees, with intent that none of Ouranos' proud children save himself should have kingly honour among the immortals. [For he learned from Gaia and starry[4] Ouranos that it was fated for him, mighty as he was, to be overcome by his own son, through the designs of great Zeus. Wherefore he kept no blind vigil, but ever on the watch would swallow his own children; and grief unforgettable had hold of Rhea.] But when she was about to bear Zeus, father of gods and men, then straightway she besought her dear parents (Gaia, to wit, and starry Ouranos) to devise some counsel with her, that she might in secret bear her dear child and might require the vengeance of her own father[5] (for the children[6], whom great Kronos of the crooked blade[7] was wont to swallow). And they verily heard and hearkened to their dear daughter, and told her all that was fated to happen touching Kronos the king and his stout-hearted son[8]—[So they sent her to Lyktos[9], to the fat land of Crete, when she was about to bear the youngest of her children, Zeus the great[10]. Him huge Gaia received from her to nourish and to rear in wide Crete.] [[Thither she[11] came, carrying him through the swift black night, to Lyktos first; and taking

[1] Hes. *theog.* 453—506 (cp. Apollod. 1. 1. 5—1. 2. 1). I have given a rendering of the text as it stands in the critical edition of F. Jacoby (Berolini 1930). Sentences enclosed in square brackets are his 'emblemata vetustissima' (*supra* p. 925 n. 5), double square brackets being used for patches upon patches. Sentences in curved brackets are 'serioris aevi emblemata, interpolationes.' The letters $^{a-a,\ b-b}$ indicate 'singulorum versuum duplex recensio,' $^{p-p}$ a line condemned by F. A. Paley. See further the shrewd observations of F. Schwenn *Die Theogonie des Hesiodos* Heidelberg 1934 pp. 127—130.

[2] *Supra* p. 7. [3] *Supra* p. 743. [4] *Supra* i. 8, ii. 1023.

[5] Literally 'might get paid the Erinyes of her own father' (*sc.* Ouranos), whom Kronos had mutilated (*supra* ii. 447 n. 8). Cp. *Il.* 21. 412 *οὔτω κεν τῆς μητρὸς Ἐρινύας ἐξαποτίνοις.*

[6] Reading *παίδων* with the manuscripts. But the reason assigned for Ouranos' vengeance is not the true reason, and the line is rightly regarded as an interpolation. A. Rzach adopts G. F. Schoemann's cj. *παίδων θ'* (*sc.* *Ἐρινῦς*).

[7] *Supra* ii. 549, 845. C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1926 xxxix. 194 n. 1 objects to my interpretation of *ἀγκυλομήτης* that the ending *-της* implies an agent, and cites in support of the orthodox view the epic word *ποικιλομήτης*. But nouns in *-της* are by no means always *nomina agentis* (see *e.g.* K. Brugmann *Griechische Grammatik*[4] München 1913 p. 236 f.), and *ποικιλομήτης*, which occurs once in the *Iliad* (11. 482, with variants *ποικιλομῆτιν*, *ποικιλόμητιν*), six times in the *Odyssey*, and always of Odysseus, may be a later formation based on a misunderstanding of *ἀγκυλομήτης*. I should say the same of all the post-Homeric compounds of *-μήτης* listed by E. Fraenkel *Geschichte der griechischen Nomina agentis auf -τήρ, -τωρ, -της (-τ-)* Strassburg 1910 i. 45.

[8] Jacoby says: 'post 476 lacunam indicavi, cum *ἐγγυάλιξεν* 485 ne retentis quidem interpolationibus habeat quo referatur.'

[9] *Supra* ii. 925 n. 1. Later, Lyttos (*supra* i. 652 ff., ii. 723 n. 0, 934 n. 0, 948 n. 0 (4)).

[10] Cp. *supra* ii. 344 f., 350.

[11] Rhea. The change of subject makes it clear that at this point we pass from a primary to a secondary patch.

him in her arms she hid him [a]in a sheer cave beneath the coverts of earth divine[a], [b]on Mount Aigaion[1] thickly clad with woods[b].]] But to him she handed a great stone wrapped in swaddling bands, [p]even to the son of Ouranos, ruling in might, the former king of the gods[p]. That he then took in his hands and bestowed in his own belly, poor wretch, nor marked in his mind how that in place of the stone his own son was left behind, unvanquished and unvexed, who was soon like to overcome him by might and main and drive him forth from honour, himself to rule over the immortals.

[And quickly[2] thereafter waxed the strength and splendid limbs of the prince; and as the year came round again, [a]beguiled by Gaia's prudent promptings[a], great Kronos of the crooked blade brought up again his offspring, [b]vanquished by the arts and might of his own son[b]. And he vomited first the stone that he swallowed last[3]. This Zeus set up in the wide-wayed earth at goodly Pytho beneath the glens of Parnassos, to be a sign thenceforward and a marvel to mortal men.

And he freed from their baleful bonds the brothers of his father, sons of Ouranos whom his father in the flightiness of his thoughts had bound. Grateful they were to him and mindful of his benefits, for they gave him thunder and the burning bolt and lightning, which ere that huge Gaia had hidden. Trusting in these he rules over mortals and immortals.]

The swallowing of the stone by Kronos was variously located. Some said that it happened on Mount Thaumasion in Arkadia[4]; others, on a rocky summit called Petrachos at Chaironeia in Boiotia[5].

Be that as it may, the myth was accepted on the authority of Hesiod and made a lasting impression on the writers and artists of the ancient world.

The fifth century minimised the horrors. A red-figured *kratér* with columnar handles, painted by one of the Attic 'Manieristen'[6] *c.* 460—450 B.C., found in Sicily and now in the Louvre[7], has for obverse design (fig. 775, *a*)[8] a noble figure of king Kronos[9], originally

[1] *Supra* ii. 925 n. 1.

[2] Praeternatural rapidity of growth is characteristic of gods (*supra* i. 647, 695) and heroes and even of divine trees (*supra* p. 760).

[3] Of his previous digestive feats we hear only that he swallowed a horse, or at least a foal, in place of Poseidon (*supra* i. 181 n. 0). But a different account is given in Myth. Vat. 3. 15. 10 (*infra* p. 936 n. 5).

[4] *Supra* i. 154 n. 10.

[5] *Supra* i. 154, ii. 901 n. 1.

[6] J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 118 ff., *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 250 no. 39.

[7] Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* iii. 1092 no. G 366, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 236 no. G 366, *id.* in the *Corp. vases ant.* Louvre iii 1. *d* pl. 28, 5 (obverse), 6 (reverse), 7 (detail) with text p. 18 nos. 5—7.

[8] J. de Witte 'Cronos et Rhéa' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1875 1. 30—33 pl. 9 (=my fig. 775, *a*), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1551 ff. fig. 3, M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2017.

[9] Cp. the fifth-century head of Kronos on a silver coin of Himera (*supra* ii. 558 fig. 436).

a

b

Fig. 775.

white-haired[1], who sceptre in hand and swathed in an ample *himátion* stands ready to receive from Rhea the well wrapped and carefully held substitute for the infant Zeus[2]. Rhea, like an epic queen, is accompanied by a couple of handmaids[3], who, to judge from the obvious alarm of the first and the simulated stance of the second, are both quite aware of the plot. The reverse (fig. 775, *b*)[4] shows the sequel. Kronos in the same pose as before, only with staff instead of sceptre, has received the stone. And Rhea, her mission accomplished, turns herself about, partly to conceal her satisfaction, partly to give a message to the sympathetic Nike, who hurries from the presence of Kronos. Zeus, as Hesiod said, 'was soon like to overcome him by might and main[5].'

Again, a red-figured *pelike* of *c.* 460—450 B.C., said to have come from Rhodes and now at New York, represents the famous ruse as conceived by 'the Nausikaa Painter'(?) (fig. 776)[6]. On the left stands Rhea, one foot supported[7] on a rock (was she not a mountain-mother?) while she holds out the stone, convincingly dressed and capped like a long-clothes baby, towards the expectant Kronos. He stands on the right, raising one hand in amazement and holding his sceptre in the other. Clearly this scene[8] is but

[1] See E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 236 no. G 366.

[2] A. Rapp in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 95 is over-sceptical when he says: 'Verfehlt ist auch der Versuch in den Vasenbildern *Gazette archéol.* 1 pl. 9 und 3 pl. 18 die Übergabe des Steins durch Rhea an Kronos zu erkennen; was *de Witte* für den Stein hält, ist eine eigentümliche Verhüllung der Arme (vgl. übrigens *Petersen, Arch. Ztg.* 37 S. 12).'

[3] οὐκ ἀπὸ ἅμα τῷ γε καὶ ἀμφίπολοι δύ' ἕποντο (*Il.* 3. 143, *Od.* 1. 331, 18. 207, and similar passages). J. de Witte *loc. cit.* suggested that the two attendants of Rhea were the nymphs Adrasteia and Ide, to whom along with the Kouretes she entrusted the infant Zeus (Apollod. 1. 1. 6).

[4] E. de Chanot 'Cronos, Rhéa et Nicé' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1877 iii. 116 pl. 18 (=my fig. 775, *b*). M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1552 f. attempts to cast doubt on the authenticity of this reverse design. But quite unjustifiably, as E. Pottier *op. cit.* p. 236 points out ('des doutes non justifiés et non vérifiés, car il n'avait pas examiné l'original').

[5] *Supra* p. 929.

[6] J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 122 (either by the Nausikaa Painter or by an associate), *id. Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 254 no. 3 ('Folgende Vasen sind den Werken des Oinanthemalers einerseits, andererseits denen des Nausikaamalers eng verwandt und weisen vielleicht auf die Identität der beiden Maler. Nausikaamaler=später Oinanthemaler?'), *id. Greek Vases in Poland* Oxford 1928 p. 44 n. 1 (such vases 'can hardly be kept apart from those of the Oinanthe Painter'), G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 100 f. no. 72 pls. 75 (=my fig. 776) and 173 (photograph of whole vase) ('by Nausikaa Painter(?)').

[7] An early example of 'the supported foot,' on which see *supra* p. 706 f. and P. Jacobsthal *Die Melischen Reliefs* Berlin—Wilmersdorf 1931 pp. 190—192 ('Das Motiv des hochauftretenden Fusses in frühklassischer Malerei').

[8] The scene on the reverse side of the New York *pelike* is not mythological at all, but

a slight elaboration of two figures on the contemporary Paris *kratér*.

Later Greek art was almost equally reticent. Pausanias[1] says:

'The Plataeans have a temple of Hera worth seeing for its size and its sculptural decoration. As you enter there is Rhea bringing to Kronos the stone wrapped in swaddling bands as if it were the child that she had borne. This Hera they call *Teleía*[2]. It is an upright figure of large size. Both are made in Pentelic marble, wrought by Praxiteles.'

Fig. 776.

The precise character and arrangement of these sculptures is matter for conjecture. To me it seems probable that the statue of

social. A woman talks with a youth, who leans on his staff and gesticulates. Between them stands a chair. On the wall hangs a bag.

[1] Paus. 9. 2. 7 Πλαταιεῦσι δὲ ναός ἐστιν Ἥρας, θέας ἄξιος μεγέθει τε καὶ ἐς τῶν ἀγαλμάτων τὸν κόσμον. ἐσελθοῦσι μὲν Ῥέα τὸν πέτρον κατειλημένον σπαργάνοις, οἷα δὴ τὸν παῖδα ὃν ἔτεκε, Κρόνῳ κομίζουσά ἐστι· τὴν δὲ Ἥραν Τελείαν καλοῦσι, πεποίηται δὲ ὀρθὸν μεγέθει ἄγαλμα μέγα· λίθου δὲ ἀμφότερα τοῦ Πεντελησίου, Πραξιτέλους δέ ἐστιν ἔργα.

[2] Cp. *supra* i. 20, ii. 893 n. 2, 1150.

Hera *Teleía*[1] stood on a square plinth decorated in relief with the figures of Kronos and Rhea, both statue and plinth being, rightly or wrongly, ascribed to Praxiteles[2]. Obvious parallels are afforded by Pheidias' statue of Athena *Parthénos* on its sculptured plinth[3], and Praxiteles' statues of Leto and her children on 'the Mantinean base[4].' If so, it is likely enough that a Romanised copy of the Praxitelean relief survives in a beautiful composition on the *ara Capitolina* (fig. 778)[5]. Kronos, a kingly figure[6], enthroned on the right, rests one hand on the veil that covers his head[7] and extends the other to receive the stone from Rhea, who, veiled likewise, advances with dignity from the left. H. Stuart Jones[8] observes:

[1] For numismatic evidence see Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 111, J. de Foville 'Les statues de Héra à Platées d'après les monnaies' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1906 x. 253—261 figs. 1—3.

[2] Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 102 argues that, since the temple of Hera at Plataiai was built in the year 427/426 B.C. (Thouk. 3. 68), its sculptures must be assigned to 'the elder Praxiteles,' whose *floruit* he would date *c.* 445—425. The same opinion is expressed by several modern critics, *e.g.* Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 179 n. 0, G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 241.

But the existence of this 'elder Praxiteles,' postulated by W. Klein in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1880 iv. 1—25, is still highly problematic: see *e.g.* U. Koehler 'Praxiteles der ältere' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1884 ix. 78—82, P. Perdrizet 'Note généalogique sur la famille de Praxitèle' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1898 xi. 82—95, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 77 ('le pseudo-Praxitèle l'Ancien').

[3] *Supra* ii pl. xlv.

[4] Paus. 8. 9. 1, with the remarks of G. M. A. Richter *op. cit.* p. 198 f. figs. 679—681. *Supra* p. 660 figs. 471, 472.

[5] In addition to the bibliography given *supra* i. 43 n. 1 see now Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 276 f. Salone no. 3 a (2) pl. 66 (=my fig. 778).

[6] Not uninfluenced by the type of Zeus as conceived by Alexander the Great (*supra* ii. 760 f. figs. 704—707).

[7] On the veiled Kronos see M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1558—1563 figs. 9—16, 18, M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2015—2017. To the examples cited by them may be added a malachite cameo (cp. *supra* p. 538 n. 0) of Graeco-Roman date in my possession (fig. 777: scale $\frac{3}{2}$). The engraver has, quaintly enough, tried to represent 'hunc maestum, senem, canum, caput glauco amictu coopertum habentem, filiorum suorum voratorem' (Myth. Vat. 3. 1. 1) by using the darkest part of the stone for the sinister face, a lighter green for the hair and beard, and a white streak for the top of the veil.

Fig. 777.

The significance of Kronos' veil is far from clear. A. Jeremias *Der Schleier von Sumer bis heute* (*Der Alte Orient* xxxi Heft 1/2) Leipzig 1931 pp. 1—70 omits Kronos altogether. M. Pohlenz *loc. cit.* p. 2017, after dismissing earlier views, suggests 'alte Kultelemente wie bei der Harpe.' A. H. Krappe in his *Balor With the Evil Eye* Columbia University 1927 p. 23 ff. and in his courageous survey *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 250 conjectures that the Greek Kronos and the Italian Saturn had, like the Irish Balor, a third eye in the back of the head, which being an evil eye 'had to be covered up lest it should strike innocent people with its destructive glance.'

[8] Stuart Jones *op. cit.* p. 277.

'The group is evidently composed for a relief. Its gentleness, and the absence alike of the barbarous and the ludicrous, may well indicate the Attic art of the fourth century as the source of the composition.'

Fig. 778.

Very different is the impression produced by a tomb-painting (fig. 779)[1] which came to light in 1865 on the road from Ostia to

[1] C. L. Visconti in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 312—319 (not earlier than *c.* 200 A.D., perhaps even later; but probably copied by an indifferent artist from a good exemplar), *Mon. d. Inst.* viii pl. 28, 3 (part of which = my fig. 779), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1569 ff. fig. 18 (but see A. Rapp *ib.* iv. 95), B. Nogara *Le nozze Aldobrandine i paesaggi con scene dell' Odissea e le altre pitture murali antiche conservate nella*

Laurentum. Kronos and Rhea, both veiled, are sitting side by side. Rhea, in blue *chitón* and red *himátion*, presses her hands nervously together. Kronos, completely draped in a large yellow *himátion*, bends forward to seize a naked boy, who flings up his arm in a gesture of frantic supplication. But the ogre, with grim face and horrible wide mouth, has him by hair and hand and leg. His fate is apparently sealed; for the old and terror-stricken *paidagogós*, who, clad in a yellowish *chitón* and a blue *himátion*, appears, stick in hand, from the background, will obviously arrive too late. But just in the nick of time a handmaid[1], in reddish *chitón* and yellow

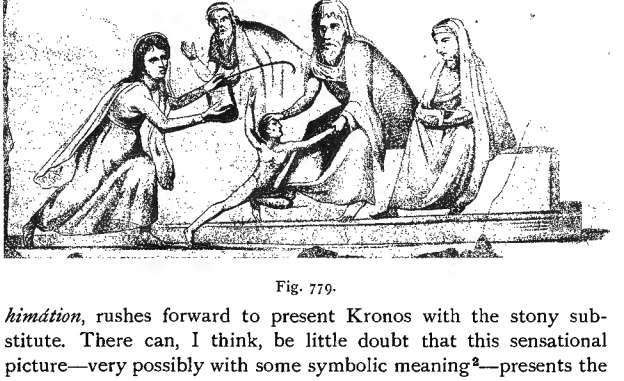


Fig. 779.

himátion, rushes forward to present Kronos with the stony substitute. There can, I think, be little doubt that this sensational picture—very possibly with some symbolic meaning[2]—presents the subject of Kronos' *teknophagía*, which we know to have been the theme of a late Greek pantomime[3].

biblioteca Vaticana e nei musei pontifici Milano 1907 p. 63 f. fig. 2, pl. 45, A, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 4.

[1] I cannot agree with Visconti, who *loc. cit.* took the *paidagogós* and the handmaid to be Ouranos and Gaia! Nor yet with M. Mayer, who *loc. cit.* thought that the artist had combined two moments in the myth—Kronos about to rend and devour one of his sons *in propria persona*, and Kronos about to receive another of his sons *in effigie*. Least of all can I accept the verdict of A. Rapp, who *loc. cit.* includes this wall-painting in a list of monuments 'Ohne Wahrscheinlichkeit...auf Rhea gedeutet.'

[2] The infant devoured to all seeming and yet escaping from death would make an appropriate decoration for a tomb. Cp. the subjects of *sarcophagi* noted *supra* ii. 417, 478, iii. 135.

[3] Loukian. *de salt.* 80 οἱ δὲ εὔρυθμα μέν, τὰ πράγματα δὲ μετάχρονα ἢ πρόχρονα, οἷον ἐγώ ποτε ἰδὼν μέμνημαι. τὰς γὰρ Διὸς γονὰς ὀρχούμενός τις καὶ τὴν τοῦ Κρόνου τεκνοφαγίαν παρωρχεῖτο καὶ τὰς Θυέστου συμφορὰς τῷ ὁμοίῳ παρηγμένος· κ.τ.λ.

The myth as a whole is a complex involving two originally distinct elements. On the one hand, there is the folk-tale *motif* of the Unnatural Parent who eats his Children[1]. On the other hand, the acceptance of a swathed stone as a substitute for Zeus suggests the ritual of litholatry and in particular recalls the draped meteorites worshipped in sundry Levantine cults[2]. The stone swallowed by Kronos is described by late writers as bearing more than one significant name. It was *dískos*, perhaps with a solar connotation[3]. It was *baítylos* because of its wrappings[4]. It was *abaddir*[5], a Semitic term meaning 'mighty father[6].'

[1] Stith Thompson *Motif-Index of Folk-Literature* (FF Communications No. 108) Helsinki 1934 iii. 207 G 72 '*Unnatural parents eat children.*' See also J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1910 iii. 208^{b}—209^{a}, Frazer *Golden Bough*^{3}: The Dying God p. 192.

Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1992 is reminded of *Rotkäppchen* (J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1913 i. 234 ff. No. 26), in which the little girl rescued from the belly of the wolf fetches great stones and fills him up with these. See also A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 281.

[2] *Supra* pp. 888, 898, 906, 916 n. 1, 918, 922. [3] *Supra* i. 299.

[4] Herodian. *περὶ καθολικῆς προσῳδίας* 6 (i. 163, 17 f. Lentz) *βαιτύλος ὁ λίθος ὃν ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν*, Theognost. *can.* 330 (Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* ii. 61, 21) *βετύλος ὁ λίθος ὃν ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν*, Hesych. *βαίτυλος· οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δοθεὶς λίθος τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀντὶ Διός*, Bekker *anecd.* i. 224, 10 f. *βαίτυλος· λίθος. οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο ὁ δοθεὶς τῷ Κρόνῳ ἀντὶ τοῦ Διός, παρὰ τὸ τύλον ὄντα κεκρύφθαι*, *et. Gud.* p. 102, 47 *βαίτυλος· ὁ ἐσπαργανωμένος λίθος*, *et. mag.* p. 192, 56 ff. *βαίτυλος δὲ ἐκλήθη καὶ ὁ λίθος ὃν ἀντὶ Διὸς ὁ Κρόνος κατέπιεν· εἴρηται δὲ ὅτι ἡ Ῥέα βαίτῃ αἰγὸς σπαργανώσασα τῷ Κρόνῳ δέδωκε* (*leg.* *ἔδωκε*)· *βαίτη δὲ σημαίνει τὴν διφθέραν*, Apostol. 9. 24 *καὶ βαίτυλον ἂν κατέπιες· ἐπὶ τῶν ἄγαν λιμβῶν. βαίτυλος δέ ἐστιν ὁ ἐσπαργανωμένος λίθος, ὃν Κρόνος κατέπιεν ἀντὶ τοῦ Διός.* G. F. Moore in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 202 says: 'A comparison of these passages plainly shows that they are all ultimately derived from one source.'

[5] Priscian. *inst.* 2. 6 (i. 47, 9 Hertz) 'abaddir' vel 'abaddier,' 5. 18 (i. 153, 19 Hertz) 'abaddir,' 6. 45 (i. 234, 16 f. Hertz) 'abaddir' quoque ('abaddier,' *ὁ βαίτυλος*), declinatum non legi, 7. 32 (i. 313, 24 ff. Hertz) quidam addunt 'hic abaddir,' *ὁ βαίτυλος*, 'huius abaddiris,' lapis, quem pro Iove devoravit Saturnus, sed in usu hoc non inveni, Myth. Vat. 1. 104 sed tunc quum natus esset Juppiter, ut partum ejus celaret mater, misit Saturno gemmam in similitudinem pueri celsam, quam ABIDIR vocant, cujus natura semper movetur. quam accipiens pater dentibus collisit et consumsit, 3. 15, 10 primo ergo tradidit ei Neptunum, quem in mare submersit, et factus est deus marinus. secundo dedit ei Plutonem, quem in foveam suffocavit, et factus est deus inferorum. tandem nato Jove mirae pulchritudinis, ipsius miserta misit Saturno lapidem nomine *abidir*, quem pulveratum devoravit. deinde egestus et formatus est in speciem humanam et vivificatus, cp. G. Goetz *Corpus glossariorum Latinorum* Lipsiae 1888—1901 iii. 8, 52 *βαιτυλος* abaldir, 83, 6 beutylos abaddir, 289, 53 *βετυλος* auiaddir (with *corr.* abbadir), v. 589, 4 Abadir lapis, 632, 1 Abaddir lapis, 615, 37 Abadir est lapis quem deuorauit saturnus pro ioue filio suo, vi. 1. 1 abderites id est Saturnus, 125 Baetulum (bellium *cod.*) lapis que<m> ferunt comedisse Saturnum pro filio suo Ioue (= v. 563, 3), *Orig. Pap.* cited in the *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 43, 27 ff. abaddir deus dicitur, quo nomine lapis vocatur, quem devoravit Saturnus pro Iove. dicitur quoque abaddir vel Abdira vel Abderites, quem Graeci badelion vocant.

We gather from Augustine that the term was used of certain deities by the Punic

These two elements, the folk-tale *motif* of the child-devourer and the ritual usage of a *baitylos*, were perhaps first fused in ancient Crete. For, on the one hand, the Kouretes had of old sacrificed children to Kronos[1] and saved the infant Zeus by deceiving his father[2], while, on the other hand, pillar-cults were admittedly rife[3] and even natural stones might on occasion be treated as divinities[4].

Further, in view of the relations between 'Minoan' Crete and Pytho[5], it is not surprising to find that what purported to be the actual stone swallowed by Kronos was still to be seen at Delphoi in the second century of our era.

population of north Africa (Aug. *epist.* 1. 17. 2 miror quod nominum absurditate commoto in mentem non venerit habere tuos et in sacerdotibus eucaddires (*v.l.* eucaddares) et in numinibus abaddires). This is confirmed by an actual inscription found in Mauretania at Manliana (*Miliana*) on the slopes of the Lesser Atlas (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii Suppl. 3 no. 21481 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4478 Abaddiri · sa|ncto · culto|res iuniores | suis sumtis · | aram constitu., | pro[v.] · · · · · · ·).

[6] S. Bochart *Geographia sacra, seu Phaleg et Canaan*[4] Lugduni Batavorum 1707 lib. ii cap. 2 p. 708 'Abaddir אב אדיר Hebraicè est pater magnificus....Sed fallor aut *Abdir* vel *Abaddir*, cum pro lapide sumitur, corruptum ex Phœnicio אבן דיר *eben dir* vel *aban dir* lapis sphæricus. Talis enim Bætyli forma,' F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 (*supra* p. 892 n. 1) p. 266 '*Abdir* oder *Abaddir*...eine Benennung, deren Ursprung ungewiss ist, da sie sich entweder von אבן אדיר, *der göttliche Stein*, herleiten lässt, oder nach einer andern, wenn gleich weniger wahrscheinlichen Meinung, von אב אדיר, *der göttliche Vater*; oder auch, dem Bochart zufolge, von אבן דיר, *der runde Stein*, um die oft rundliche Form der Steine zu bezeichnen, worauf die Alten aufmerksam waren,' F. v. Dalberg *Ueber Meteor-Cultus der Alten* (*supra* p. 892 n. 1) Heidelberg 1811 p. 73 'Abadir, der grosse mächtige Herrscher,—Pater magnus,' W. Gesenius *Scripturae linguaeque Phoeniciae monumenta quotquot supersunt* Lipsiae 1837 p. 384 'Vix dubitandum, quin sit אב אדיר *pater* (deus) *potens*, cf. אָב de diis gentilium Jer. 2. 27, et אֱלֹהִים אַדִּירִים 1 Sam. 4, 8..., non אבן דיר lapis sphaericus, quod magis placet Bocharto...: nihil enim frigidius, quam lapidem, eumque talem in quo numen latere credebatur, lapidem appellare,' G. F. Moore in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1903 vii. 204 'The natural interpretation of the name is "mighty or noble father"; the epithet *addir* is repeatedly applied in the Old Testament to God, and occurs in other Phoenician compound names; cf. *Baliddir* in a Numidian inscription (*Ephem. Epigraph.* VII, no. 792).' There can, then, be little doubt that R. Thurneysen was wrong when in the great German *Thes. Ling. Lat.* i. 16 f. he wrote: '*vocabulum peregrinum inc. orig. incipit fortasse a nomine semitico, quod hebraice sonat* אֶבֶן "lapis."'

[1] *Supra* ii. 548 f.

[2] *Supra* i. 647 n. 8.

[3] Sir A. J. Evans 'Mycenaean Tree and Pillar Cult and its Mediterranean Relations' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1901 xxi. 99—204, *supra* ii. 528 ff.

[4] Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1928 ii. 1. 342 'the late Shrine found in the Little Palace at Knossos with its grotesque fetishes consisting of natural concretions,' 346 fig. 198, *ib.* ii. 2. 520, J. D. S. Pendlebury *A Handbook to the Palace of Minos at Knossos* London 1935 p. 52 'on the stone balustrade were placed the "fetish" figures of natural stone, the objects of adoration of the period of reoccupation (L.M. III.).'

[5] *Supra* ii. 189 n. 8. See also L. Lerat 'Trouvailles mycéniennes à Delphes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1935 lix. 329—375 figs. 1—24, pls. 19—24.

'As you leave the tomb of Neoptolemos,' says Pausanias[1], 'and pass on up the hill you come to a stone of no great size. On this they pour olive oil every day, and as each festival comes round they put upon it wool of the unspun sort. There is also a belief with regard to it that this stone was given to Kronos instead of the child and that Kronos spewed it out again.'

The stone oiled and clad in wool was certainly a *baitylos* and possibly, as Sir James Frazer[2] and others[3] have conjectured, an aerolite. What it looked like we know from a silver *simpulum* with gilded details, found in 1633 at Wettingen near Basel[4], which is decorated with the seven deities presiding over the days of the week[5] (fig. 780). Kronos, the god of Saturday, stands beside a pillar topped by an oval stone: this can be none other than his Delphic monument.

Fig. 780.

[1] Paus. 10. 24. 6 ἐπαναβάντι δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ μνήματος (*sc.* Νεοπτολέμου τοῦ Ἀχιλλέως) λίθος ἐστὶν οὐ μέγας· τούτου καὶ ἔλαιον ὀσημέραι καταχέουσι καὶ κατὰ ἑορτὴν ἑκάστην ἔριa ἐπιτιθέασι τὰ ἀργά· ἔστι δὲ καὶ δόξα ἐς αὐτὸν, δοθῆναι Κρόνῳ τὸν λίθον ἀντὶ τοῦ παιδός, καὶ ὡς αὖθις ἤμεσεν αὐτὸν ὁ Κρόνος.

[2] Frazer *Pausanias* v. 355 ('Perhaps the sacred stone at Delphi may have been meteoric).'

[3] *E.g.* F. Münter *Antiquarische Abhandlungen* Kopenhagen 1816 p. 277, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 773, 775, K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 2781 ('die Aërolithennatur genügt zur Erklärung des griechischen Mythos').

[4] M. Merian *M[artini] Z[elleri] Topographia Helvetiæ, Rhætiæ, et Valesiæ* Franckfurt am Mayn 1654 p. 58 with fig. 6, F. Keller in the *Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* 1864 xv. 133 ff. pls. 13 and 14, 1, J. de Witte in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1879 v. 1 f. pl. 1 (part of which = my fig. 780), M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1522 and 1568 f. with fig. 17, W. H. Roscher *ib.* iii. 2539 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 525 no. 1.

[5] *Supra* i. 753, ii. 69 f. fig. 28, iii. 209 f. with figs. 128 and 129.

(i) Zeus *Kappótas*.

Pausanias[1] in his account of south-western Lakonike says:

'About three furlongs from Gythion is an unwrought stone. The story goes that Orestes sat upon it and was thereby stayed from his madness; wherefore the stone was named Zeus *Kappótas* in the Doric tongue.'

Attempts to determine the exact site of this famous stone have led to some divergence of opinion. On the one hand, E. S. Forster[2] in an article dealing with Laconian topography writes as follows:

'Near the modern Gymnasium, at the side of the Sparta road, is an abrupt face of reddish stone some ten metres high, cut into the side of the hill of Kumaro and now called Πελεκητό. At a point about four metres above the level of the neighbouring road is the rock-cut inscription Μοῖρα Διὸς Τερασττίω[3]. It was cut by hammering with a round-pointed instrument, which made dot-like incisions.

The distance from this spot to the centre of the ancient site agrees well with the "about three stades" of Pausanias, and it may, I think, be regarded as certain that this inscription marks the site of the sanctuary of Zeus Kappotas. Τεράστιος must then be regarded as the official title of the god, Καππώτας as a local popular epithet. The spot as figured by Le Bas—Waddington [(fig. 781)[4]] shows a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff, which perhaps was the "unwrought stone" mentioned by Pausanias.'

On the other hand, W. Kolbe[5], writing six years later in his *Inscriptiones Laconiae*, reverts to the view put forward by W. M. Leake[6], that the stone called Zeus *Kappótas* was to be seen in antiquity some two hundred yards further south at the point where the rock still shows an archaic inscription in small letters difficult to decipher and interpret, but possibly prescribing penalties for any who should shift or damage the sacred object[7].

[1] Paus. 3. 22. 1 Γυθίου δὲ τρεῖς μάλιστα ἀπέχει σταδίους ἀργὸς λίθος· Ὀρέστην λέγουσι καθεσθέντα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μανίας· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα.

[2] E. S. Forster in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1906—1907 xiii. 222 f.

[3] [*Supra* ii. 31 n. 7.]

[4] Lebas—Reinach *Voyage Arch.* p. 32 pl. Itin. 25 (=my fig. 781). R. Weil in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 151 ff. compares this 'Felsanlage' with that of Zeus *Hypsistos* at Athens (*supra* ii. 876 n. 1 no. (1)).

[5] W. Kolbe in *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i. 217.

[6] W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 i. 248.

[7] R. Weil in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 154 f., Roehl *Inscr. Gr. ant.* no. 72, Roberts *Gk. Epigr.* i. 261 no. 260, A. N. Skias in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892 pp. 185—191 no. 1, R. Meister in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 60 ff. no. 4564, Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 693, J. v. Prott and L. Ziehen *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii no. 55, *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* i no. 1155 μεδέν̣α̣ | ἀποστρυθῆσται· | αἰ δέ κα ἀποστρυ[θ]ῆται, ἀ̣ρ̣α̣τ̣ᾶ̣ι̣ | ἓ̣ λο δόλος· | ·ραι δὲ λύπε | νόμος, | ἀ̣ποστάτο. The interpretation depends on the meaning assigned to the unknown verb ἀποστρυθῆσται. H. Stuart Jones in the new Liddell and Scott has '**ἀποστρυθάομαι**, perh.=*disturb*, *move*, dub. in *IG* 5 (1). 1155. 2

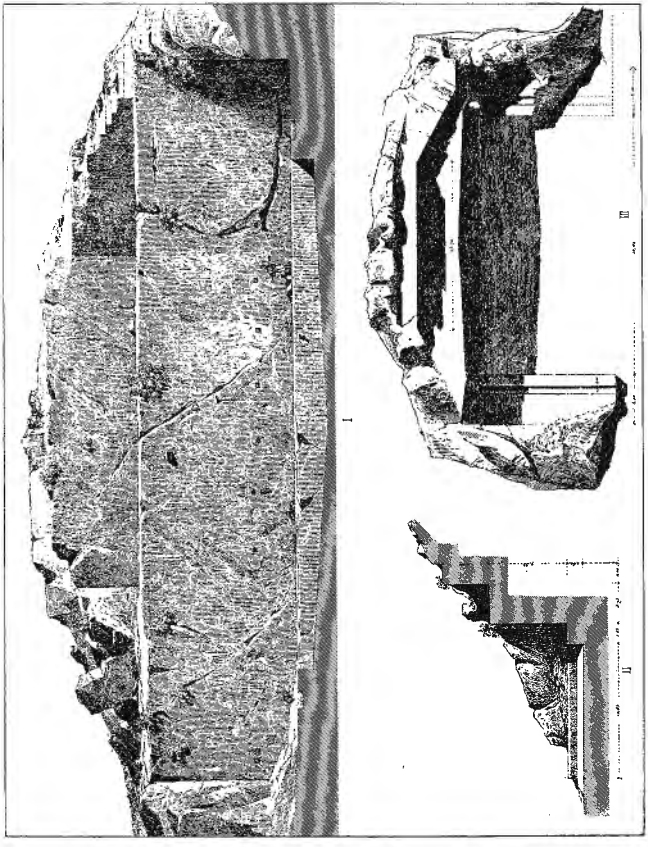


Fig. 781.

Neither of these explanations is quite satisfactory. The first assumes that Zeus *Kappótas* was the popular name of the god officially called Zeus *Terástios*. But it is not easy to find a strict parallel to such double nomenclature. Besides, Pausanias' phrase 'an unwrought stone' (*argòs líthos*) suggests something isolated and smaller than 'a rocky platform at the foot of the cliff.' The second explanation is even more precarious. We are invited to think that a verb of unknown meaning in an inscription which does not mention Zeus at all perhaps referred to misdemeanants guilty of knocking bits off his sacred rock. I should sooner conclude that the relic in question was a comparatively small stone long since buried or lost.

The belief that 'Orestes sat upon it and was thereby stayed from his madness' recalls other curative stones[1], and implies a possible[2], but not very probable[3], derivation of *Kappótas* from *katapaúein*, 'to stay.' Equally unconvincing is M. Mayer's[4] con-

(Gythium).' A. N. Skias *loc. cit.* suspected that ἀποστρυθῆσται meant λιθοτομεῖν or the like. L. Ziehen *loc. cit.* agrees that this gives the required notion. And W. Kolbe *loc. cit.* concludes: 'Neque vero de latomia cogitandum est, immo ne quis lapidem aërium laedat, interdicitur. Hunc ergo in modum titulum verterim: "ne quis decutiat; si quis decusserit, poenam dabit (sive ipse) sive servus."'

[1] See E. Maass 'Heilige Steine' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1929 lxxviii. 8 ff. and K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 2299. For the connexion of such stones with Orestes cp. Paus. 2. 31. 4 and 8. 34. 2.

Zeus himself, when enamoured of Hera, would repair to the Leucadian rock and sit there till he felt better (Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 153 a 19 ff. Bekker ζητούσης δὲ τὴν αἰτίαν εἰπεῖν λέγεται τὸν Ἀπόλλωνα, ὡς μάντις ὢν ἐγνώκει διότι ὁ Ζεὺς ἀεὶ ἐρῶν Ἥρας ἐρχόμενος ἐπὶ τῇ πέτρᾳ ἐκαθέζετο καὶ ἀνεπαύετο τοῦ ἔρωτος. καὶ πολλοὶ δὲ ἄλλοι καὶ πολλαὶ ἔρωτι κάμνουσαι ἀπηλλάγησαν τοῦ ἔρωτος, ἐπεὶ τῆς πέτρας καθήλαντο): on which consult Frazer *Lect. Hist. Kingship* p. 73.

Even portable stones might be possessed of great curative and preservative virtue, whether they were of natural origin like the *oreites* (*supra* p. 921), or artefacts such as neolithic celts (*supra* ii. 506 ff.). An interesting modern survival of the latter variety is recorded by T. F. G. Dexter *The Sacred Stone* New Knowledge Press, Treberran, Perranporth (1929) p. 37 § 76: 'Captain William Thomas, of Perranporth, tells me that he knew an old Cornish woman named Fanny Francis who had a remarkable cure for a bad leg—to rub it in "essence of thunder." This precious liquid was obtained by boiling a "thunderbolt" (apparently a neolithic implement) in a saucepan for twenty minutes. The owner of the "thunderbolt" was a miner at Pool who "lent it out" at 3d. a time! The Captain adds: "I knew the woman well and have heard her prescribe."'

[2] H. Hitzig and H. Blümner *ad loc.*: "wie Πωσινίκος für Πανσινίκος, A.M. II 442. III 162.' [U. Köhler in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1878 iii. 163 published a base from Gythion, which in a list of names includes (line 12 f.) Πωσινίκου τοῦ Ἀριστοκλέ|ους κ.τ.λ. The name should be accented Πωσίνικος.]

[3] The Dorians said *παύσασθαι*, not *πώσασθαι*, to judge from Theokr. 15. 87 *παύσασθ'*, *ὦ δύστανοι*, κ.τ.λ.

[4] M. Mayer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1540 f.: Καππώτας for Καππότας (*καταπίνω*). The same etymology is propounded by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 778 (wrongly numbered 787) n. 7, 1106 n. 0.

tention that *Kappótas* means 'the Swallower.' For though in the Hesiodic myth Zeus swallowed Metis[1] and in the Orphic theogony Zeus swallowed Phanes and all that in him was[2], yet where a stone is in question we should inevitably think of Rhea's ruse and desiderate either Kronos the Swallower or Zeus the Swallowed. There is more to be said for S. Wide's[3] suggestion that *Kappótas* involves the root *pet- pōt-*, which appears in the verb *pōt-á-omai*, 'I fly.' Only, we must not translate 'the Down-flier[4]' or imagine that the reference is to a winged thunderbolt. There is little or no evidence to show that Greek thunderbolts were winged before the fifth century[6], and this cult savours of a much hoarier antiquity. Rather, it should be borne in mind that the same root *pet- pōt-* had another meaning, 'to fall' as well as 'to fly[6].' H. Usener[7] and F. Solmsen[8]—a strong combination—between them went far towards proving that Zeus *Kappótas* really meant Zeus 'the Fallen,' and that his stone was in all likelihood a meteoric block.

If so, it must be conceded that among the peasants of Gythion we are face to face with extremely archaic beliefs. Zeus is the Sky[9]. The Sky is made of stone[10]. A bit of it breaks off and falls[11]. That is Zeus 'the Fallen.' On this showing, our third volume ends where our first volume began, with the primary and yet age-long conception of the animate Sky.

[1] *Supra* p. 743 f. [2] *Supra* ii. 1027, iii. 745.

[3] S. Wide *Lakonische Kulte* Leipzig 1893 p. 21: 'In der Weise erkläre ich den Zeus Kappotas: er ist der vom Himmel gefallene *ἀργὸς λίθος* (*καππώτας*=*κατα-πώτ-ας* aus der Wurzel *πετ- πωτ-*, vgl. *πωτ-ά-ομαι*). Man denkt dabei gewöhnlich an Meteorsteine; aber es liegt viel näher anzunehmen, dass nach den Volksvorstellungen diese Steine von dem Blitz herabgeschleudert wären, wie bei den Germanen die Donnerkeile.'

Cp. Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 46, H. Hitzig and H. Blümner *ad loc.*, Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1918, K. Latte *ib.* iii A. 2299.

[4] E. Maass in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1929 lxxviii. 7 f.: *Καππώτας*='Herniedergeflogen.'

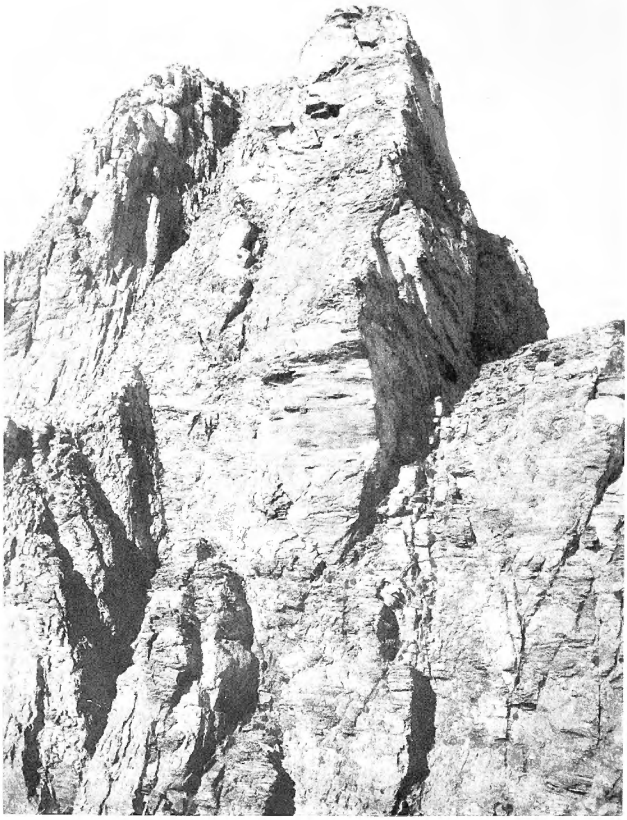
[5] *Supra* ii. 777, 780 f.

[6] Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] pp. 364 f., 370, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* pp. 776, 787, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 19 ff. ('**pet-**...'' auf etwas los- oder niederstürzen, fliegen, fallen'').

[7] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1905 lx. 12 'Vielmehr gehört *πωτ-* zu Wurzel *πετ-* (Aor. dor. *ἔπετον*=*ἔπεσον*) wie *πωτᾶσθαι* zu *πέτεσθαι*, vgl. *στρέφειν στροφή στρωφᾶσθαι*. Es ergibt sich also mit *Καππώτας* "dem herabgefallenen" ein Synonymon zu *Καταιβάτης*, und mit *Ζεὺς Καππώτας* eine neue Parallele zu *Ζεὺς Κεραυνός*. Der Stein, der diesen Namen trug, konnte nur ein Meteorstein sein, der als leibhaftiger Donnerkeil verehrt wurde.'

[8] F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1907 lxii. 337 'Morphologisch ist diese schöne... Deutung am leichtesten zu rechtfertigen, wenn man *Καππώτας* als Verkürzung von *Καππωτατάς* auffasst und mit att. *κυβιστητης* aus **κυβιστητήτης* zu *κυβιστᾶν* (vgl. hom. *κυβιστητήρ* und Kretschmer Vaseninschr. 88) und *προσαίτης ἐπαίτης* aus *προσαιτητής ἐπαιτητής* zu *αἰτεῖν*...zusammenstellt.'

[9] *Supra* i. 1 ff. and *passim*. [10] *Supra* p. 925 f. [11] *Ib.*



The highest peak of Mount Olympos (*Mitka*, the 'Needle').

See page 943 *n.* 3.

§ 11. *General Conclusions with regard to Zeus as god of the Dark Sky.*

We have now gone the round of our subject, surveyed its main lines, and explored in detail some at least of its ramifications. It remains in a few concluding paragraphs to gather up results and attempt some estimate of their significance.

Starting from the primitive belief in an animate Sky, we surmised that already in remote pre-Homeric times *Zeús*, 'the Bright One[1],' had developed from Sky to Sky-god and was conceived after the fashion of an earthly weather-making monarch[2]. He dwelt in isolated splendour where the summit of Mount Olympos (pl. lxviii)[3] towers up through the cloudy *aér* into the cloudless *aithér*[4]. Universally recognised as head of the Hellenic pantheon, he came in the Hellenistic[5] age to be connected more or less closely with sun[6], moon[7], and stars[8]—other manifestations of the same celestial brightness[9].

Even when the sky was dark with a lowering storm, 'the Bright One' might be seen to flash downwards in a dazzling streak[10]. This was regarded sometimes as his destructive glance[11], more often as his irresistible weapon[12]—a double axe[13], a spear[14], a sword[15], a lightning-fork or thunderbolt[16]. Zeus, who thus sent the lightning and the thunder, was naturally thought to send all kinds of weather, rain, snow, or hail[17]. Indeed, any phaenomenon of a meteorological sort was apt to be dubbed *Diosemía*, a 'Zeus-sign,' and viewed as an omen of serious import[18].

Prominent among such *Diosemíai* was the Earthquake[19], attributed either to Zeus or to Poseidon, a specialised form of Zeus[20], whose trident was originally the lightning-fork of a storm-god[21]. Clouds, again, played a certain *rôle* in the ritual and mythology of Zeus[22], as Aristophanes was aware when he wrote and rewrote his *Nephélai*[23] or elaborated that brilliant extravaganza his *Nephelo-*

[1] *Supra* i. 1 ff. [2] *Supra* i. 9 ff.
[3] *Mitka*, the highest peak of Mt Olympos, photographed from the Ridge by Mr C. M. Sleeman, Sept. 3, 1926. See further *supra* ii. 904 n. 6.
[4] *Supra* i. 101 with pl. ix, 1 and 2. [5] *Supra* i. 777 f.
[6] *Supra* i. 186—730. [7] *Supra* i. 730—740. [8] *Supra* i. 740—775.
[9] *Supra* i. 777. [10] *Supra* ii. 11. [11] *Supra* ii. 501 ff.
[12] *Supra* ii. 505 ff. [13] *Supra* ii. 513 ff. [14] *Supra* ii. 704 ff.
[15] *Supra* ii. 712 ff. [16] *Supra* ii. 722 ff. [17] *Supra* ii. 1 ff.
[18] *Supra* ii. 4 ff. [19] *Supra* iii. 1 ff.
[20] *Supra* i. 717 n. 2, ii. 31 n. 8, 582 ff., 786 f., 846, 850, 893 n. 0, iii. 20.
[21] *Supra* ii. 789 ff., 850, iii. 20. [22] *Supra* iii. 30 ff. [23] *Supra* iii. 69 f.

kokkygía[1]. The Winds too were not unconnected with Zeus[2]. Their guardian Aiolos was one with Aiolos forefather of the Aeolians, and perhaps began life as a tribal chieftain believed to embody the sky-god[3]. Zeus' titles *Oúrios*, *tkmenos*, *Euánemos*, *Bóreios* afford more definite proof of his power over the Winds[4]. A further group of his epithets—*Érrhos*, *Ersaîos*, *Ikmaîos*, and the like—associates him with the Dew[5]. The *Errhephóroi* were 'Dew-bearers' who carried dew, conceived as the very seed of the sky-father, down into the womb of the earth-mother[6], while the dew-sisters Aglauros, Pandrosos, and Herse are best explained as successive names of the earth-mother herself[7]. More obvious and constant is the relation of Zeus to Rain[8]. Rain-magic is found at several of his cult-centres, in Arkadia, in Thessaly, on the Akropolis at Athens[9]. Moreover, the belief was rife that Zeus descended in rain to fertilise the earth—witness the poets in general[10] and the myth of Danaë in particular[11]. His appellatives *Ómbrios*[12], *Hyétios*[13], *Hýes*[14], *Chalázios*[15] speak for themselves. Lastly, Zeus on occasion let fall a meteorite, a fragment of the solid sky, or even himself fell in meteoric form[16]. In which context we can cite, not only the Syrian Zeus *Bétylos*[17] and the Arabian Zeus *Dousáres*[18], but also the Laconian Zeus *Kappótas*[19] and the stone devoured by Kronos[20].

Such in rough outline were the physical foundations of the cult of Zeus. I have used them throughout as providing a convenient framework for a somewhat discursive investigation of his worship. But the more nearly we study these aspects of it, the more clearly we perceive that they were after all just the ground-plan or lower storey of a greater and grander whole. Resting upon them and rising all the time, here a little and there a little, was a structure of fresh religious concepts, whose height and breadth—pinnacles of individual aspiration and prospects of interracial understanding—were quite without parallel in the pagan world. The fact is that always and everywhere the cult of a Sky-god[21] has proved to be an

[1] *Supra* iii. 44 ff. [2] *Supra* iii. 103 ff. [3] *Supra* iii. 106 ff.
[4] *Supra* iii. 140 ff. [5] *Supra* iii. 261 ff. [6] *Supra* iii. 165 ff., 602.
[7] *Supra* iii. 237, 241 ff., 603. [8] *Supra* iii. 284 ff. [9] *Supra* iii. 314 ff.
[10] *Supra* iii. 451 ff. [11] *Supra* iii. 455 ff. [12] *Supra* iii. 525 ff.
[13] *Supra* iii. 561 ff. [14] *Supra* iii. 873 f. [15] *Supra* iii. 875 ff.
[16] *Supra* iii. 881 ff. [17] *Supra* iii. 890 f. [18] *Supra* iii. 912.
[19] *Supra* iii. 939 ff. [20] *Supra* iii. 927 ff.

[21] G. Foucart 'Sky and Sky-gods' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 580[b]—585[b], R. Pettazzoni *Dio: formazione e sviluppo del monoteismo nella storia delle religioni* i *L'Essere celeste nelle credenze dei popoli primitivi* Roma 1922 pp. 1—397 (to be followed by ii *Il Dio supremo nelle religioni politeistiche* and iii *Il Dio*

elevating and widening force. Inevitably so, for it tends to raise the thoughts of men from earth to heaven. And the quick-witted Greeks were prompt to seize the opportunity of such uplift and expansion.

Almost every section of this treatise serves to illustrate the process. Zeus *Hýpsistos*[1], for example, was 'the Highest,' not only literally, but metaphorically too. He may have started, like Zeus *Hýpatos*[2], as a Hellenic mountain-power. But he ended by becoming identified with the supreme deity of more than one non-Hellenic people, and not least of the Jews. This took place in the Hellenistic age, which also saw the rise of Zeus the Sun[3] and his fusion with a variety of solar gods all round the eastern end of the Mediterranean—Âmen-Râ[4] at Egyptian Thebes, Sarapis[5] at Alexandreia, *Ba'al-ḥammân*[6] in north Africa, *Ba'al-Šamin*[7] in Syria, not to mention the Mithras[8] of Chaldean magic. Moreover, it was as a pure sun-god that at Tripolis in Phoinike Zeus acquired the striking appellative *Hágios*[9], and on the coinage of Gaza was actually equated with the Hebrew Godhead and inscribed with the triliteral form of the name Jehovah[10]. These and other such lines converged and ultimately met in the solar monotheism of Aurelian[11].

Again, the ram[12] and the bull[13], whose procreative powers were connected by pastoral and cattle-breeding peoples with all the fertilising agencies of sun and storm, both alike served to facilitate the union of the Greek Zeus with similar gods in contiguous areas. The ram linked him to the Graeco-Libyan *Ammon*[14] and the Thraco-Phrygian *Sabázios*[15]; the bull, to the Amorite Adad[16], the Babylonian Ramman[17], and the Hittite god who in Roman times figures as Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*[18] or Iupiter *Dolichenus*[19].

Of all the attributes ascribed to Zeus the most formidable was

unico nelle religioni monoteistiche). The views of Foucart and Pettazzoni are summarised and criticised by W. Schmidt *The Origin and Growth of Religion* trans. H. J. Rose London 1931 pp. 209—217. See also Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 19—61 (The Worship of the Sky among the Aryan peoples of Antiquity), 62—73 (The Worship of the Sky among non-Aryan peoples of Antiquity), 74—88 (The Worship of the Sky among the civilized peoples of the Far East), 89—315 (The Worship of the Sky in Africa).

[1] *Supra* ii. 876 n. 1. [2] *Supra* ii. 875 n. 1. [3] *Supra* i. 186 ff.
[4] *Supra* i. 347 ff. [5] *Supra* i. 188 ff. [6] *Supra* i. 353 ff.
[7] *Supra* i. 8, 191 f. [8] *Supra* i. 190.
[9] *Supra* i. 192, 400 n. 6, cp. ii. 1122 n. 9.
[10] *Supra* i. 232 f. fig. 171, *b* and pl. xxi, iii. 558. [11] *Supra* i. 166.
[12] *Supra* i. 428 ff. [13] *Supra* i. 633 ff., iii. 606, 615 ff.
[14] *Supra* i. 348 ff. [15] *Supra* i. 390 ff., cp. ii. 275, 287 n. 2, 1184.
[16] *Supra* i. 549 ff., 581 f. [17] *Supra* i. 576 ff., 633 ff.
[18] *Supra* i. 550 ff., 576 ff. [19] *Supra* i. 604 ff.

the thunderbolt. Yet its terrors were not wholly terrific[1]. Zeus might fall as a lightning-flash, but the *Dióbletos* or 'Zeus-struck' man was deemed divine and even treated as a god. The spot where the fatal bolt fell was *elýsion* and its victim *enelýsios*, literally 'in Elysium[2].' He had entered upon the 'road of Zeus,' the Elysian track, which led up the steeps of heaven and was identified by Pythagorean sages with the Milky Way[3]. He, like Er son of Armenios[4], could stand at last on the axis of the world, the central column supporting the very sky, there to witness all that heaven could show[5]. The celestial ascent was sometimes conceived as a ladder[6]—a conception which begins with Egyptian amulets[7], continues with Thracian and Orphic beliefs[8], only to end with the mediaeval Ladder of Salvation[9]. Again, Zeus armed with a thunderbolt in either hand, a primitive storm-god, at Olympia was sublimated into Zeus *Hórkios*, 'God of Oaths,' a terror merely to perjurers[10], just as on Italian soil Dius *Fidius*, 'the Cleaver,' a lightning-god, became, thanks to popular etymology, a peaceful 'Protector of Pledges[11].' In general it may be said that from the sixth century onwards the thunderbolt of Zeus begins to be replaced by his sceptre[12], surviving mainly as a symbol of omnipotence[13] or continuous divine activity[14]. Indeed, under Constantine its old Anatolian form, the *lábrys*, was deliberately re-shaped into the *labarum* and adopted as the emblem of the all-conquering faith[15].

Omnipotence leads on towards omniscience and omnibenevolence. A Hellenistic type of Zeus enthroned and sceptred shows the god with serious deep-set eyes, brow furrowed by thought, and head propped on hand in an attitude of serene[16] meditation. We can hardly fail to recognise the insight and foresight of the divine ruler, who takes a kindly interest in the affairs of men. His mood, best described by the Greek term *prónoia* or the Latin *providentia*, comes close to our own conception of Providence[17]. Thus in imperial times Iupiter *Conservator* extends a strong protecting arm above the puppet emperor[18], while his Syrian counterpart Iupiter

[1] *Supra* ii. 852. [2] *Supra* ii. 22 f. [3] *Supra* ii. 36 ff.
[4] *Supra* ii. 54, 114. [5] *Supra* ii. 44, 108, *infra* iii. 974. [6] *Supra* ii. 125 ff.
[7] *Supra* ii. 125 ff. [8] *Supra* ii. 129 ff. [9] *Supra* ii. 136 ff.
[10] *Supra* ii. 722, 726 f. [11] *Supra* ii. 724 ff. n. 0. [12] *Supra* ii. 722, 731 ff.
[13] *Supra* ii. 852. [14] *Supra* ii. 854. [15] *Supra* ii. 601 ff.
[16] Mr H. Mattingly draws my attention to the fact that the same gesture of head propped on hand occurs also in the Roman numismatic type of a seated Securitas (Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 726, J. Ilberg in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 595 ff., Hartmann in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1000 ff.).
[17] *Supra* i. 24 ff., ii. 762 f. [18] *Supra* i. 276 n. 5 fig. 201.

Dolichenus 'Best and Greatest, the Eternal' is hailed as 'the Preserver of the Whole Sky, a Godhead Pre-eminent, a Provider Invincible[1].'

More and more, as time went on and men's sympathies widened, the cosmic character of such a god tended to find expression in poetry, philosophy, and art. Homer began his *Iliad* with the parenthetic hint that its plot was but the progressive fulfilment of the will of Zeus[2]. Sophokles[3] ended his *Women of Trachis* with the reflexion—

In all which happenings is nought but Zeus—

and we are left with that impressive monosyllable ringing in our ears. An Orphic fragment paraphrased by Platon said:

Zeus first, Zeus midmost, Zeus hath all things made[4].

And later Orphists under Stoic influence, or Stoics with a leaning towards Orphism[5], expanded the same theme into hymns of a definitely pantheistic sort[6]. Theokritos[7] and Aratos[8] have echoes of the opening line, which for Cicero[9], Virgil[10], Ovid[11], and Calpurnius Siculus[12] passes into a poetical commonplace. Aratos[13] in his great exordium dwells on the ubiquity and helpfulness of the god. The haunts of men are 'full of Zeus'—all the streets, all the markets, the sea and its harbours. Zeus distinguishes the seasons by his signs in the sky above and thereby determines the labours of the earth beneath. And all this with beneficent purpose. So men do well to worship him ever first and last; and the poet in a burst of gratitude cries—

Hail, Father, mighty marvel, mighty boon!

Even the dry-as-dust pedant with his faulty philology attempts to persuade us that Zeus gets his name *Zēna* as being the giver of

[1] *Supra* i. 608, 633.

[2] *Supra* i. 14 n. 1.

[3] Soph. *Trach.* 1278 *κοὐδὲν τούτων ὅ τι μὴ Ζεύς.*

[4] *Supra* ii. 1033 n. 1.

[5] R. Harder '*Prismata*' 1 in *Philologus* N.F. 1930 xxxix. 243—247 argues that Orph. *frag.* 21a Kern is not only not early (Kern), nor even merely Stoic in tone (Wilamowitz), but is actually a Stoic forgery (*Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 216).

[6] *Supra* ii. 1027 f.

[7] Theokr. 17. 1 f. *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα καὶ ἐς Δία λήγετε, Μοῖσαι, | ἀθανάτων τὸν ἄριστον ἐπὴν κλείωμεν ἀοιδαῖς.*

[8] Arat. *phaen.* 1 *ἐκ Διὸς ἀρχώμεσθα* (*supra* ii p. vi).

[9] Cic. *de legg.* 2. 7 'a Iove Musarum primordia'—sicut in Aratio carmine orsi sumus.

[10] Verg. *ecl.* 3. 60 ab Iove principium, Musae, *Aen.* 7. 219 ab Iove principium generis.

[11] Ov. *met.* 10. 148 f. 'ab Iove, Musa parens,—cedunt Iovis omnia regno— | carmina nostra move.'

[12] Calp. Sic. 4. 82 ab Iove principium, si quis canit aethera, sumat.

[13] Arat. *phaen.* 1 ff. (*supra* ii p. vi).

'life' to all things[1], and *Día* as being the cause 'through' which they came to be[2]. Zeus enthroned as cosmic lord is a frequent theme of imperial art. So he appears, surrounded by all the host of heaven, in a fine ceiling-fresco of Nero's Golden House[3]. And analogous designs were used to decorate minor works of art, an onyx *phalera*[4], a terra-cotta lamp[5], or what not? Anything circular would serve. Thus handsome bronze coins struck at Nikaia in Bithynia[6] and Perinthos in Thrace[7] show Zeus seated in the midst with smaller flanking figures of Sun and Moon, Earth and Sea, the whole enclosed by a broad band exhibiting all the signs of the zodiac—an irrefutable witness of his claim to world-dominion. Martianus Capella had indeed ample warrant for his hymn to Iupiter as ruler of the starry universe[8]. Small wonder that the type of the infant Zeus seated on a globe surrounded by stars[9] was adapted for figures of the Father and the Son in church-mosaics of the fourth and following centuries[10], or that the similar type of Zeus enthroned with the globe as his footstool[11] is found on a fourth-century gold-glass simply lettered CRISTVS[12].

Meantime morality was on the march, indeed was on the war-path. But reflexion shows that patristic satire on the *chronique scandaleuse* of Zeus[13], however excusable in the heat of controversy, is not to be taken too seriously. It consists mainly of misdirected attacks on the alleged amours of the god with this, that, or the other mortal maiden. But in reality such *liaisons* point to the legitimate union of the sky-god with the earth-goddess, who in divers places had divers names and on occasion faded from goddess to heroine[14]. It might even be urged that this notorious characteristic of Zeus was a virtue rather than a vice, proving his permanence and adaptability in the face of changing conditions. The earth-mother 'of many names[15]' took on a score of shapes: the sky-father remained constant to her in them all.

It was precisely this moral stability that made Zeus, not merely the wedding-god *par excellence* on account of his own *hieròs gámos*[16],

[1] *Supra* i. 29 n. 4, ii. 259 n. 0, 855 n. 2, 1102 n. 8.
[2] *Supra* i. 29 n. 4, ii. 855 n. 2.
[3] *Supra* iii. 39 pl. v.
[4] *Supra* iii. 39 ff. fig. 10.
[5] *Supra* iii. 41 with fig. 15.
[6] *Supra* i. 752 fig. 551.
[7] *Supra* i. 752 f. fig. 552.
[8] *Supra* i. 757.
[9] *Supra* i. 51 f. figs. 27 and 28.
[10] *Supra* i. 50 f. figs. 23 and 24.
[11] *Supra* i. 47 with fig. 20.
[12] *Supra* i. 49 fig. 22.
[13] *Supra* i. 167 n. 1.
[14] *Supra* i. 779 f.
[15] Aisch. *P.v.* 210 (cited *supra* ii. 176 n. 1).
[16] Souid. *s.v.* Τελεία· Ἥρα Τελεία καὶ Ζεὺς Τέλειος ἐτιμῶντο ἐν τοῖς γάμοις, ὡς πρυτάνεις ὄντες τῶν γάμων. τέλος δὲ ὁ γάμος. διὸ καὶ προτέλεια ἐκαλεῖτο ἡ θυσία ἡ πρὸ τῶν γάμων

but also the confessed patron of law and order. For as husband of Ge *Thémis*[1] he was the natural guardian of *thémistes* or 'precedents[2]' and the parent of *Díke*[3] 'the Right Way of Things,' that is 'Justice[4].' It was his to judge between the lawful and the lawless, whether human or otherwise. Archilochos of Paros as far back as the middle of the seventh century[5] could say:

> Zeus, Father Zeus, thou reign'st in heaven above
> Watching the works of mortal men,
> Knavish or just; yea, all the beasts that move
> Have rights and wrongs within thy ken[6].

There are grounds for suspecting that the laws inscribed on Solon's *kýrbeis* and *áxones* were held to be the very voice of Zeus[7]. Aischylos[8] makes Dike a close ally of her father. Sophokles[9] speaks of her as seated at his side[10]. Euripides in the *Melanippe*

γινομένη=schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 973. Cp. Dion. Hal. *ars rhet.* 2. 2 Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ Ἥρα, πρῶτοι ζευγνύντες τε καὶ συνδυάζοντες· οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζυγία, ἀπὸ τοῦ ζευγνύναι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι (Poll. 3. 38 mentions Hera Τελεία, but omits Zeus). U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1932 ii. 143 n. 2 cites *Inscr. Gr. sept.* i no. 3217 (a fragment of white marble from Orchomenos in Boiotia) [·····Διὶ Τελ]είῳ, Ἥρᾳ Τελείᾳ as an inscription relating to a marriage. See further A. Klinz ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ Halis Saxonum 1933 p. 109 ff.

[1] *Supra* ii. 37, 267, 841. Hence, presumably, Plutarch's Zeus Θεμίστιος (*infra* p. 964 n. 2).

[2] *Il.* 1. 237 ff. νῦν αὖτέ μιν νῖες Ἀχαιῶν | ἐν παλάμῃς φορέουσι δικασπόλοι, οἵ τε θέμιστας | πρὸς Διὸς εἰρύαται, *Od.* 16. 403 εἰ μέν κ' αἰνήσωσι Διὸς μεγάλοιο θέμιστες.

[3] *Supra* i. 755 n. 10. See Hes. *o.d.* 256 ff., Aisch. *s.c.Th.* 662, *cho.* 949 f., Eur. *frag.* 150 Dindorf=151 Nauck[2] *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 3. 23 p. 56, 19 ff. Wachsmuth.

[4] H. Usener *Götternamen* Bonn 1896 p. 180 f., O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 574, R. Hirzel *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1907 pp. 56—227 (the fullest treatment), Harrison *Themis*[2] p. 516 ff.

[5] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 184.

[6] Archil. *frag.* 88 Bergk[4], 88 Edmonds, 94 Diehl[2] *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* 1. 3. 34 p. 58, 11 ff. Wachsmuth (cp. Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 412, 3 ff. Stählin (Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 54)) 'ὦ Ζεῦ, πάτερ Ζεῦ, σὸν μὲν οὐρανοῦ κράτος, | σὺ δ' ἔργ' ἐπ' ἀνθρώπων ὁρᾷς | λεωργὰ καὶ θεμιστά, σοὶ δὲ θηρίων | ὕβρις τε καὶ δίκη μέλει' with R. Hirzel *op. cit.* p. 218 n. 5. P. Shorey in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1918 x. 801 'In a fable of **Archilochus** there is an appeal to Zeus who regards both the Hybris and the Dike of beasts. This may be little more than the literary tone of Kipling's "law of the pack" and Aristophanes' "laws of the birds" [*av.* 1343 ff.]. **Pindar** echoes Hesiod with the compound beasts "unwitting-of-justice" [*Nem.* 1. 63 θῆρας ἀϊδροδίκας]. Anaximandros even spoke of all individual things as paying the penalty for their injustice (*frag.* 9 Diels[3] *ap.* Simplic. *phys.* 24. 13 (Theophrast. *phys. opin. frag.* 2 in H. Diels *Doxographi Graeci* Berolini 1879 p. 476, 8 ff.) ἐξ ὧν δὲ ἡ γένεσίς ἐστι τοῖς οὖσι, καὶ τὴν φθορὰν εἰς ταῦτα γίνεσθαι κατὰ τὸ χρεών· διδόναι γὰρ αὐτὰ δίκην καὶ τίσιν ἀλλήλοις τῆς ἀδικίας κατὰ τὴν τοῦ χρόνου τάξιν).

[7] *Supra* ii. 1093 n. 1.

[8] Aisch. *cho.* 244 f.

[9] Soph. *Trach.* 279, *O.C.* 1381 f.

[10] O. Kern *Orphicorum fragmenta* Berolini 1922 p. 196 thinks that Sophokles was here following Orphic doctrine (*infra* p. 950 n. 4).

Bound[1] scoffs at the crude Hesiodic[2] idea of Dike acting as court-assessor to Zeus, but in the *Troiades*[3] still couples his name with hers:

> O Earth's Upbearer on the Earth enthroned,
> Whoe'er thou mayest be, hard to guess or know,
> Zeus, be thou Nature's Law or Mind of Man,
> To thee I pray; for stepping silently
> Thou lead'st all mortal things on the path of Justice.

Orphic teaching represented both Dike[4] and Nomos[5] as *paredroi* of Zeus. And the eclectic author of the pseudo-Aristotelian work *On the Universe* (*s.* i B.C.)[6], after quoting with approval an Orphic hymn to Zeus, concludes his treatise with the words[7]:

'God, then, as the old story has it, holding the beginning and the end and the middle of all things that exist, proceeding by a straight path in the course of

[1] Eur. *frag.* 506 Nauck[2] *ap.* Stob. *ecl.* i. 3. 14[a] p. 54, 12 ff. Wachsmuth δοκεῖτε πηδᾶν τἀδικήματ' εἰς θεοὺς | πτεροῖσι, κἄπειτ' ἐν Διὸς δέλτου πτυχαῖς | γράφειν τιν' αὐτά, Ζῆνα δ' εἰσρῳῶντά νιν | θνητοῖς δικάζειν; οὐδ' ὁ πᾶς ἂν οὐρανὸς | Διὸς γράφοντος τὰς βροτῶν ἁμαρτίας | ἐξαρκέσειεν οὐδ' ἐκεῖνος ἂν σκοπῶν | πέμπειν ἑκάστῳ ζημίαν· ἀλλ' ἡ Δίκη | ἐνταῦθά ποῦστιν ἐγγύς, εἰ βούλεσθ' ὁρᾶν. Cp. Deut. 30. 11 ff. 'For this commandment which I command thee this day....It is not in heaven, that thou shouldest say, Who shall go up for us to heaven, and bring it unto us, and make us to hear it, that we may do it?... But the word is very nigh unto thee, in thy mouth, and in thy heart, that thou mayest do it.'

[2] Hes. *o.d.* 258 ff.

[3] Eur. *Tro.* 884 ff. ΕΚ. ὦ γῆς ὄχημα κἀπὶ γῆς ἔχων ἕδραν, | ὅστις ποτ' εἶ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι, | Ζεύς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἴτε νοῦς βροτῶν, | προσηυξάμην σε· πάντα γὰρ δι' ἀψόφου | βαίνων κελεύθου κατὰ δίκην τὰ θνήτ' ἄγεις.

[4] Orph. *frag.* 23 Kern *ap.* pseudo-Dem. *c. Aristog.* i. 11 (on the spurious character of this speech see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 602 n. 1) καὶ τὴν ἀπαραίτητον καὶ σεμνὴν Δίκην, ἣν ὁ τὰς ἀγιωτάτας ἡμῖν τελετὰς καταδείξας Ὀρφεὺς παρὰ τὸν τοῦ Διὸς θρόνον φησὶ καθημένην πάντα τὰ τῶν ἀνθρώπων ἐφορᾶν, εἰς αὐτὸν ἕκαστον νομίσαντα βλέπειν οὕτω δεῖ ψηφίζεσθαι, φυλαττόμενον καὶ προορώμενον μὴ καταισχῦναι ταύτην, κ.τ.λ., cp. Orph. *h. Dik.* 62. 1 ff. ὄμμα Δίκης μέλπω πανδερκέος, ἀγλαομόρφου, | ἣ καὶ Ζηνὸς ἄνακτος ἐπὶ θρόνον ἱερὸν ἵζει | οὐρανόθεν καθορῶσα βίον θνητῶν πολυφύλων, | κ.τ.λ.

See further G. Caramia 'Chi è la dea ΒΑΣΙΛΕΙΑ negli Uccelli di Aristofane?' in the *Rivista Indo-Greco-Italica di filologia, lingua, antichità* 1925 ix. 203 ff., who concludes that Basileia (*supra* p. 60 n. 5) was Dike the *πάρεδρος Διός* (Soph. *O.C.* 1381 f., Arrian. 4. 9. 7), and F. Ribezzo 'La Δίκη πάρεδρος Διός degli Orfici' in the same *Rivista* 1925 ix. 209 f., who regards the three functions of Basileia—εὐβουλία, εὐνομία, σωφροσύνη (Aristoph. *av.* 1539 f.)—as those of an Orphic Dike.

[5] Orph. *frag.* 160 Kern *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Alcib.* 1 p. 499, 2 Cousin[2] πάλιν, ἐπειδήπερ ἡ πρὸ τοῦ κόσμου Δίκη συνέπεται τῷ Διί (πάρεδρος γὰρ ὁ Νόμος τοῦ Διός, ὡς φησιν ὁ Ὀρφεύς) and *ap.* Prokl. *in* Plat. *Tim.* i. 315, 8 ff. Diehl ἐν δὲ τῷ Γοργίᾳ (523 A) συντάττων τε αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν Δία) τοῖς Κρονίδαις καὶ ἐξαιρῶν ἀπ' αὐτῶν, ἵνα καὶ πρὸ τῶν τριῶν ᾖ καὶ μετέχηται ὑπ' αὐτῶν, καὶ τὸν Νόμον αὐτῷ συγκαθιδρύων, ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ Ὀρφεύς· κατὰ γὰρ τὰς ὑποθήκας τῆς Νυκτὸς καὶ παρ' ἐκείνῳ πάρεδρον ποιεῖται τὸν Νόμον· ἔτι δὲ τὴν Δίκην ὅλην ὁπαδὸν αὐτοῦ τιθέμενος ἐν Νόμοις (4. 716 A), ὥσπερ καὶ ὁ θεολόγος.

[6] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 736, München 1920 ii. 1. 376.

[7] [Aristot.] *de mundo* 7. 401 b 24 ff. trans. E. S. Forster.

nature brings them to accomplishment; and with him ever follows Justice, the avenger of all that falls short of the Divine Law—Justice, in whom may he that is to be happy be from the very first a blessed and happy partaker!'

Plutarch[1] in his address *To an uneducated Ruler* is dissatisfied with such conventional views and protests that Dike is no mere *páredros* of Zeus but must, like Themis and the highest Nomos[2], be frankly identified with Zeus himself:

'Now it is true that Anaxarchus, trying to console Alexander in his agony of mind over his killing of Cleitus, said that the reason why Justice and Right are seated by the side of Zeus is that men may consider every act of a king as righteous and just; but neither correct nor helpful were the means he took in endeavouring to heal the king's remorse for his sin, by encouraging him to further acts of the same sort. But if a guess about this matter is proper, I should say that Zeus does not have Justice to sit beside him, but is himself Justice and Right and the oldest and most perfect of laws; but the ancients state it in that way in their writings and teachings, to imply that without Justice not even Zeus can rule well.'

When Antiochos i of Kommagene called himself by the bombastic title *Theòs Díkaios Epiphanés*, 'the Just God Made Manifest,' he was perhaps posing as Zeus *Oromásdes* incarnate[3]. In late times Zeus acquired the appellation *Dikaiósynos* as Judge of the just and unjust[4], and at Karousa in Paphlagonia was worshipped as *Dikaiósynos Mégas*[5].

But, before perfection can be reached, Justice must be tempered with Clemency, Mercy, and Love. Of which kindlier qualities there are stray hints and previsions in the cults of Zeus *Meilíchios*[6], Zeus *Hikésios*[7], and Zeus *Phílios*[8]. Particularly impressive for its moral implicates is the attitude of Zeus towards the man-slayer. It would seem that the bloodguilty person, who fled from the vengeance of his victim's kin and appeared in some far off village as a suppliant stranger, was—according to ancient Greek usage—believed to be under the special protection of a divine escort[9], nay more, was

[1] Plout. *ad princ. inerudit.* 4 trans. H. N. Fowler.

[2] Pind. *frag.* 169 Bergk[4], 169 Schroeder *ap.* Plat. *Gorg.* 484 B Νόμος ὁ πάντων βασιλεὺς | θνατῶν τε καὶ ἀθανάτων | ἄγει δικαιῶν τὸ βιαιότατον ὑπερτάτᾳ χειρί, Eur. *Hec.* 798 ff. ἡμεῖς μὲν οὖν δοῦλοί τε κἀσθενεῖς ἴσως· | ἀλλ' οἱ θεοὶ σθένουσι χὠ κείνων κρατῶν | Νόμος· νόμῳ γὰρ τοὺς θεοὺς ἡγούμεθα | καὶ ζῶμεν ἄδικα καὶ δικαι' ὡρισμένοι, Plat. *epist.* 8. 354 E—355 A θεὸς δὲ ἀνθρώποις σώφροσι νόμος, ἄφροσι δὲ ἡδονή, Dion Chrys. *or.* 75 p. 267 Dindorf οὗτος ὁ τὴν θάλατταν καθαίρων, ὁ τὴν γῆν ἥμερον ποιῶν, ὁ τοῦ Διὸς ἐτεῶς υἱός, ὁ τὴν ἀήττητον καὶ ἀνυπέρβλητον ἰσχὺν ἔχων (*sc.* ὁ Νόμος). See further R. Hirzel *Themis, Dike und Verwandtes* Leipzig 1907 p. 386.

[3] *Supra* i. 742 n. 5. [4] *Supra* ii. 1092 n. 8. [5] *Ib.*

[6] *Supra* ii. 1091 ff. (Append. M). [7] *Supra* ii. 1093 n. 1, 1097 n. 2.

[8] *Supra* ii. 1160 ff. (Append. N). *Supra* ii. 1097 n. 0.

originally regarded as himself a potential god[1]. Hence we hear, not only of Zeus *Hikésios* 'the God of Suppliants,' but also of Zeus *Hikétas*, himself 'the Suppliant[2],' and even of Zeus *alástor*, Zeus 'the curse[3],'—a daring and desperate identification of the deity with the sinner. These things are strangely suggestive. Simple souls dwelling round the Mediterranean were prepared to believe that any day a god might appear in their midst in the likeness of a man[4]. Why not as 'the man Christ Jesus[5]'? Further, it would not stagger them to think that such an one might somehow condescend to identify himself with the sinner and even to 'become a curse for us[6].'

Other 'august anticipations[7]' may be detected, by those who have ears to hear, in all parts of the ancient world. If for cultural and religious purposes Greece as a whole be divided into three zones, northern, central, and southern, it will naturally be found that of these the first and third were to a large extent independent and pursued their own lines of development, while the second lay open to influences received from either side. But in all three the same upward trend is observable.

Thus in the north the Thraco-Phrygians[8] recognised a sky-god Dios, an earth-goddess Zemela, and their offspring Dios *Nŷsos*, Dios 'the Younger.' The son was held to be a rebirth of the father[9], whose name and nature he duplicated. Hence the ill-understood association of the Anatolian mother-goddess with a partner conceived at once as her husband and her child[10]—Kybele, for example, having a youthful consort invoked as *Áttis*, 'Daddy,' or *Pápas*, 'Papa[11].' And hence too the success with which Christianity was propagated in Phrygia and Thrace among a people who already believed in a Father manifesting himself anew in the person of his Son[12]. Even the rites and *formulae* of Attis might pass muster as *quasi*-Christian[13].

In central Greece Dios, Zemela, and Dios *Nŷsos* became naturalised as Zeus, Semele, and Dionysos[14]. But again there were

[1] *Supra* ii. 1096 n. 4. [2] *Supra* ii. 1096 n. 1.
[3] *Supra* ii. 1098 n. 5, cp. *ib.* nn. 4 and 6.
[4] *Supra* ii. 1096 n. 4. [5] 1 Tim. 2. 5. [6] Gal. 3. 13.
[7] R. Browning *Paracelsus* 5 *sub fin.* 'But in completed man begins anew | A tendency to God. Prognostics told | Man's near approach; so in man's self arise | August anticipations, symbols, types | Of a dim splendour ever on before | In that eternal circle life pursues.'
[8] *Supra* ii. 277 ff., 842. [9] *Supra* ii. 294 with n. 1, 842.
[10] *Supra* ii. 294, 842. [11] *Supra* ii. 292 ff., 842.
[12] *Supra* ii. 288 ff., 303, 842. [13] *Supra* ii. 303 ff. [14] *Supra* ii. 277 ff., 842.

obvious points of contact between Dionysiac and Christian practice. The former like the latter made much of collective emotion[1], treated the inspired devotee as one with his god[2], transcended the narrow limits of Hellenism[3], and taught the mystery of life through death[4]. It is notorious that the *Christus Patiens*, a play written in the middle ages on the supreme tragedy of Calvary[5], was composed largely of lines and half-lines culled from the *Bacchae*[6].

In the south we have a similar but older triad—the sky-god Kronos[7], the earth-goddess Rhea[8], and their youthful son Zagreus or the Cretan Zeus, whose death and resurrection were annually celebrated as a means of reviving the life of all that lives[9]. Zeus *Idaîos* in the fifth century had mystics, who by their sacraments assimilated themselves to their god and thereafter, clad in white raiment, led a life of ceremonial purity[10]. Zeus *Astérios* of Gortyna seems early to have taken on a solar character, but in the Hellenistic age is viewed as god of the starry sky[11]. Aratos, when about to describe the whole series of constellations, starts with the Bears and tells how once in Crete they hid the infant Zeus in a cave and nurtured him there for a year, while the Dictaean Kouretes were deceiving Kronos[12]. Now Aratos was a native of Soloi or, some

[1] *Supra* i. 667, 672, 688, etc.

[2] *Supra* i. 648 ff., 673, 675 ff., 705.

[3] The Dionysiac nomenclature was syncretistic. *Diónysos* came from Thrace (*supra* i. 695, 780, ii. 268, etc.). *Bákchos* perhaps came from Egypt, where at Hermonthis men worshipped the bull *Bakha* (*supra* i. 436 ff., ii. 268 n. 4). *Zagreús* probably came from Mt *Zágros* or *Zágron* in Assyria, passing first through Phoinike and then through Crete (*supra* i. 651, ii. 268 n. 4). Thus elements drawn from north, south, and east combined to form a religion of well-nigh universal appeal.

[4] Dionysos, the life-god of the Thracians (*supra* ii. 1024 f.), dies only to rise again. Those who took part in his *drómenon*, those who witnessed his *drâma*, thereby became partakers of his immortality (*supra* i. 663 f., 673).

[5] K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 746 ff., W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 353 n. 12, München 1924 ii. 2. 1420 n. 2.

[6] K. Krumbacher *op. cit.*[2] p. 746 'Ein volles Drittel der 2640 Verse (ausser den vereinzelten Anapästen V. 1461 ff. nur Trimeter), aus welchen das Drama besteht, ist fremdes Eigentum. Den grössten Teil dieses Lehngutes lieferten sieben Dramen des Euripides, nämlich Hekabe, Medea, Orestes, Hippolytos, Troades, Rhesos und Bacchen; dazu kommen einige Dutzend Verse aus dem Prometheus und Agamemnon des Aeschylos und aus der Kassandra des Lykophron.' As to the *Bacchae*, Sir J. E. Sandys in his edition of that play (ed. 3 Cambridge 1892 p. lxxxv) says: 'a large number of its lines were appropriated by the compiler of the dreary cento known as the *Christus Patiens*, once attributed to Gregory of Nazianzus.'

[7] *Supra* ii. 548 ff. [8] *Supra* i. 649 n. 3, ii. 515, 548.

[9] *Supra* i. 646. [10] *Supra* i. 648. [11] *Supra* i. 547.

[12] Arat. *phaen.* 30 ff. (cited *supra* ii. 928 n. 0).

said, of Tarsos[1]. It is therefore of interest to note that Paul of Tarsos in his speech before the Areiopagos actually quotes the words used by his fellow-countryman with regard to the Cretan Zeus—

'For we are also his offspring[2],'

and in the same context cites, perhaps from a lost poem by Epimenides[3], Minos' panegyric of the god—

'in him we live, and move, and have our being.'

Paul must have been struck, and struck forcibly, by the Cretan parallel—a divine child born to be king, hidden in a cave from his enemies, apparently weak and helpless, yet able to control the stars in their courses, one with whom his worshippers the world over could claim kinship, while dependent on him for life, and breath, and all things[4]. Truly the cult of Zeus *Astérios* has once more landed us on the very confines of Christendom.

Proofs might be multiplied, but I have said enough to show that the physical basis of the cult of Zeus involved mental, moral, and spiritual issues, which themselves rose to great heights and were prophetic of even greater things to come.

Many, if not most, of these sublimer aspects were caught and canonized when Pheidias at the very zenith of his fame made his statue of Zeus *Olýmpios* for the fifth-century temple in the *Áltis*[5]. For a detailed description of it we are in the main dependent on the dry paragraphs of Pausanias[6], eked out by allusions elsewhere[7]. It appears that the god, a colossal figure in gold and ivory, sat enthroned with a Victory likewise of ivory and gold, bearing a fillet and wearing a wreath, in his right hand and a sceptre, embellished with various metals[8] and topped by an eagle, in his left. He had an olive-wreath on his head and golden sandals on his feet, his *himátion*

[1] G. Knaack in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 391 f. ('Wahrscheinlich war die Familie...von Tarsos nach Soloi übergesiedelt; deshalb wohl nennt Asklepiades von Myrlea Tarsos als Geburtsort (Vit. 1 p. 52, 5 [p. 76, 4 ff. Maass Ἀσκληπιάδης δὲ ὁ Μυρλεανὸς ἐν τῷ ιά Περὶ γραμματικῶν Ταρσέα φησὶν αὐτὸν γεγονέναι ἀλλ' οὐ Σολέα = *Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 299 Müller]) '), B. A. Müller *De Asclepiade Myrleano* Leipzig 1903 p. 43.

[2] Acts 17. 28 (cited *supra* i. 664 n. 3).

[3] *Supra* i. 157 n. 3, 663 n. 2, 664 n. 1.

[4] *Supra* i. 664 f.

[5] *Supra* ii. 757 f.

[6] Paus. 5. 11. 1—11.

[7] Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 125 ff. nos. 692—695, 697—754. A shorter set of extracts, with English rendering and brief notes, will be found in H. Stuart Jones *Select Passages from Ancient Writers illustrative of the History of Greek Sculpture* London 1895 p. 84 ff. nos. 111—114.

[8] Paus. 5. 11. 1 τῇ δὲ ἀριστερᾷ τοῦ θεοῦ χειρὶ ἐνεστι (so Porson for χαρίεν ἐστι codd.) σκῆπτρον μετάλλοις τοῖς πᾶσιν ἠνθισμένον.

of gold being inwrought with living creatures and lily-flowers[1]. His throne, decked with gold and jewels, ebony and ivory, had upon it numerous figures painted and carved. It was surmounted by groups representing the daughters of Zeus—three Charites[2] and three Horai[3]. Each throne-leg showed four dancing Victories above, and two others below[4]. On the two front legs were Sphinxes grasping Theban children[5], and beneath them Apollon and Artemis shooting down the Niobids[6]. The throne-legs were connected by four bars. The front bar carried seven, originally eight, figures illustrative of ancient athletic contests[7]. The other three bars had, all told, twenty-nine figures—Herakles and his allies, Theseus among them, engaged in fighting the Amazons. The throne was supported not only by four legs, but by four pillars between them. The space beneath it, however, could not be entered, being pro-

[1] *Ib.* τῷ δὲ ἱματίῳ ζῴδιά τε καὶ τῶν ἀνθῶν τὰ κρίνα ἐστὶν ἐμπεποιημένα. The ζῴδια perhaps typified fertility in the animal world; the κρίνα (*supra* i. 622 ff.), in the vegetable world.

[2] *Supra* i. 155.

[3] *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2.

[4] H. Bulle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 328 and 338 ('Es ist das erste bezeugte Beispiel einer ausgedehnteren dekorativen Verwendung der Niken an einem monumentalen Kunstwerke, wofür die zahlreichen kleinen dekorativen Bronzefigürchen von der athenischen Akropolis und die Verdoppelung der Nike auf Vasenbildern kaum als Vorläufer angeführt werden dürfen.' Etc.).

[5] F. Eichler 'Thebanische Sphinx' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1937 xxx. 75—110 figs. 19—32 has made it probable that two fragmentary groups in a blackish stone ('Diabastaff ("Schalstein")') found by the Austrians at Ephesos and now in the Depot at Vienna were copied from one of the ebony (?) arm-supports of Pheidias' Zeus.

[6] *Supra* ii. 475 n. 7.

[7] Paus. 5. 11. 3 adds that the man binding his head with a fillet was said to resemble Pantarkes (cp. 6. 10. 6, 6. 15. 2), an Elean youth who won a victory in the wrestling-match of Ol. 86 (436—433 B.C.) and was the παιδικά of Pheidias.

Later writers affirm that Pheidias inscribed Παντάρκης καλός on the finger of Zeus (Clem. Al. *protr.* 4. 53. 4 p. 41, 18 ff. Stählin, Arnob. *adv. nat.* 6. 13, Phot. *lex.* and Souid. *s.v.* 'Ραμνουσία Νέμεσις). But Gregory of Nazianzos tells the same tale of Athena *Parthénos* (Greg. Naz. *poemata* 1. 2. 10. 863 f. (xxxvii. 742 A Migne)); and Libanios, of Aphrodite (Liban. *apʹ.* schol. Clem. Al. *protr.* p. 313, 7 f. Stählin)—perhaps meaning the Nemesis of Rhamnous (*supra* i. 275) ἐν Ἀφροδίτης σχήματι (Phot. and Souid. *locc. citt.*). Lastly, Eunapios, if his text be sound (*v. Acacii* 177 p. 101 Boissonade μήτε Φειδίᾳ τοῦ τὸν δάκτυλον παραλαβεῖν καὶ τὸν παῖδα πρὸς ἔπαινον τῆς θεᾶς), appears to connect the incident with a goddess; but D. Wyttenbach's cj. πόδα for παῖδα may well be right (so J. F. Boissonade ed. 2 Parisiis 1878 and W. C. Wright ed. London 1922). On the whole, this famous anecdote, if not absolutely incredible (it might conceivably be argued that an Olympic victor was an embodiment of the Olympic god (*Folk-Lore* 1904 xv. 399 ff.), that Zeus mindful of Ganymedes might make allowance for the sculptor, that Παντάρκης could be explained away as πανταρκής—an epithet worthy of Zeus himself (Aisch. *Pers.* 855 f. πανταρκὴς ἀκάκας ἄμαχος βασιλεύς, | ἰσόθεος Δαρεῖος (cp. *supra* ii. 853), Hesych. *s.vv.* πανταρκέα· πᾶσι βοηθόν, πανταρκής· ὁ πᾶσιν αὐταρκῶν), etc.), is at least highly improbable.

In any case Pheidias' statue of a boy binding a fillet on his head (Paus. 6. 4. 5) is not *ad rem* (see Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 40 n. 1, Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*).

tected by barriers like walls[1]. Of these, the one that faced the door was simply coloured blue; the rest were painted by Panainos the brother of Pheidias with pictures of Atlas and Herakles, Theseus and Peirithoös, Hellas and Salamis, Herakles and the Nemean lion, Aias and Kassandra, Hippodameia and Sterope, Prometheus and Herakles, Penthesileia and Achilles, and lastly two Hesperides. The footstool had golden lions[2] and a frieze showing Theseus'

[1] Paus. 5. 11. 4 f. *ἀνέχουσι δὲ οὐχ οἱ πόδες μόνοι τὸν θρόνον, ἀλλὰ καὶ κίονες ἴσοι τοῖς ποσὶ μεταξὺ ἑστηκότες τῶν ποδῶν. ὑπελθεῖν δὲ οὐχ οἷόν τέ ἐστιν ὑπὸ τὸν θρόνον, ὥσπερ γε καὶ ἐν 'Αμύκλαις ἐς τὰ ἐντὸς τοῦ θρόνου παρερχόμεθα· ἐν 'Ολυμπίᾳ δὲ ἑρύματα τρόπον τοίχων πεποιημένα τὰ [δὲ (del. Koraïs)] ἀπείργοντά ἐστι. τούτων τῶν ἑρυμάτων ὅσον μὲν ἀπαντικρὺ τῶν θυρῶν ἐστιν, ἀλήλιπται κυανῷ μόνον, τὰ δὲ λοιπὰ αὐτῶν παρέχεται Παναίνου γραφάς.*

The exact construction and decoration of the throne has long been a bone of contention among classical archaeologists: see *e.g.* H. Brunn 'La nascita di Venere sulla base del Giove fidiaco' in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1849 p. 74 f. = id. *Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1905 ii. 247 f., *id.* 'Sul Trono del Giove di Fidia in Olimpia' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1851 xxiii. 108—117 pls. C and D (restorations by Stackelberg and Brunn) = *id. Kleine Schriften* ii. 248—254 figs. 28 and 29, A. S. Murray 'The barrier of the throne of Zeus at Olympia' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1882 vii. 274—276, *id. A History of Greek Sculpture* London 1883 (*id.*[2] London 1890) ii. 125—127, R. Bohn in S. A. Ivanoff *Architektonische Studien* Berlin 1892 Heft 1, E. A. Gardner 'The Paintings by Panaenus on the Throne of the Olympian Zeus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 233—241, A. Trendelenburg in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1897 xii Arch. Anz. pp. 25—29, E. Petersen 'Die Geburt der Aphrodite' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1899 xiv. 154—162, H. Blümner 'Die Gemälde des Panainos am Throne des olympischen Zeus' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst* 1900 xv. 136—144, H. G. Evelyn-White 'The Throne of Zeus at Olympia' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 49—55, G. Pellegrini 'Il trono di Giove e le pitture di Paneno a Olimpia' in the *Atti del reale Istituto veneto di scienze, lettere ed arti* 1914—1915 lxxiv. 1555 ff., G. Q. Giglioli 'Il trono dello Zeus di Fidia in Olympia' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia Nazionale dei Lincei* Classe di scienze morali, storiche e filologiche Serie Quinta 1920 xvi. 219—374 with diagrams and 26 figs.

In my restoration (*supra* ii pl. xlvi) I have assumed (1) that the four bars (*κανόνες*), as the coins seem to show, carried small figures in the round (*ἀγάλματα*) representing athletes or combatants; (2) that the wall-like barriers (*ἑρύματα*), which prevented people from passing under the throne, were painted screens filling the four spaces between the legs (*πόδες*) and beneath the bars; (3) that the pillars (*κίονες*), equal in number to the legs (*ἴσοι τοῖς ποσί*), stood literally between the legs (*μεταξὺ ἑστηκότες τῶν ποδῶν*), connecting the bar as stylobate with the seat as architrave (for an earlier arrangement see *supra* p. 669 with fig. 480). This would not exclude the possibility that, as in the case of Athena *Parthénos* (G. Fougères *L'Acropole d'Athènes: Le Parthénon* Paris 1910 ii. 2 pl. 134, 1), there was a strong central pier or mast to ensure the stability of the whole colossal figure. Indeed, I suspect that a symbolic value was attached to this group of four pillars with a central stem. We have already seen (*supra* ii. 141 ff. fig. 83) a similar quincunx of columns apparently serving as a Sardinian model of the sky. The tomb of Porsenna at Clusium with its five *pyramides* and its superposed *petasus* (*supra* ii. 1219) is susceptible of the same interpretation. Recently L. Frobenius *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas* Zürich 1933 p. 173 ff. figs. 124—139 has cited interesting parallels from Yorubaland, Egypt, Crete (cp. *supra* ii. 193 n. 2 pl. xi), Etruria, etc., and in particular has shown that in Dahomey, Togoland, Yorubaland, and Assyria thrones for deities and kings often took this precise form. We may therefore justifiably conclude that, if Zeus sat on a seat supported by four pillars and a central stem, he did so in his character of sky-god.

[2] Lions were a traditional feature in the decoration of divine or royal thrones. The seat might be flanked by two lions (*supra* ii. 810 figs. 773 and 774, cp. i. 586 fig. 449) or

contest with the Amazons. The pedestal was adorned with an elaborate composition in gold. In the centre Aphrodite rose from

the foreparts of lions (i. 61 fig. 36), or it might have leonine legs (iii. 663 fig. 474, 664 fig. 475, 665 fig. 476, 668 fig. 480, 684 fig. 495, 716 fig. 530, 810 fig. 619) or leonine claws (i. 747 fig. 545, iii. 674 fig. 485, 680 fig. 491), or at least a footstool with leonine feet (i pl. i). And the usage could be traced further afield. Solomon's chryselephantine throne had lions standing beside the stays and on each of the six steps (1 Kings 10. 19 f.). Egyptian chairs of state often have leonine legs and arm-rests in the shape of lions (J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 ii. 196 with col. pl. 11). The finest example is the throne of Tut-ankh-Amen, which has leonine legs surmounted by lion-heads of chased gold (H. Carter—A. C. Mace *The Tomb of Tut-ankh-Amen* London 1923 i. 117 ff. with pls. 2, 62—64). In India too the lion is a symbol of royalty (A. de Gubernatis *Zoological Mythology* London 1872 ii. 153 ff.). Mr E. J. Thomas draws my attention to the Hindu *Simhāsana* or 'Lion-seat' (Sir M. Monier-Williams *A Sanskrit-English Dictionary*[2] Oxford 1899 p. 1213 **'Siṁhâsana**, n. "lion's-seat," "king's seat," "a throne," MBh.; Kāv. &c.'), the thirty-two statuettes of which related to king Bhoja thirty-two tales about their former owner king Vikrama (F. Edgerton 'A Hindu Book of Tales: the Vikramacarita' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1912 xxxiii. 249 ff., *id. Vikrama's Adventures or The Thirty-two Tales of the Throne* Cambridge, Mass. 1926 vols. i and ii (Text, Translation, and Notes)). A Hittite god at Carchemish was enthroned on a pedestal representing two lions controlled by a servitor (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 iii. 1136 fig. 747). The archaic goddess from *Prinia* in Crete was similarly enthroned on a base adorned with a frieze of lionesses (E. Löwy in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 246 fig. 123, V. Chapot in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 280 with fig. 6917). The huge gilded throne in the Magnaura at Constantinople was guarded by lions with movable tongues, which could roar and lash their tails (Liudprand of Cremona *antapodosis* 6. 5 p. 154 J. Becker[3] (cxxxvi. 895 A—B Migne)).

Such parallels are hardly fortuitous. Behind them all we can dimly discern that *Felidenkultur* of which L. Frobenius *Kulturgeschichte Afrikas* Zürich 1933 pp. 63—101 figs. 1—20 has much to say. Among the Baganda and allied tribes of Bantu speech the lion is a royal totem (J. Roscoe *The Baganda* London 1911 pp. 128, 187), and it is believed that kings after death are reborn as lions, their mortal remains breeding maggots which turn into lion-cubs (J. Roscoe *The Banyankole* Cambridge 1923 pp. 27, 54, F. H. Melland *In Witch-bound Africa* London 1923 p. 151 (chiefs of the Ba-Kaonde)). The king, then, as such was a lion. And I should conjecture that his throne with leonine legs originally emphasised his claim by transforming the human biped into the animal quadruped. Relics of these forgotten or half-forgotten beliefs may be found in prophecies (Aisch. *Ag.* 1223 ff., 1258 ff.), dreams (Hdt. 6. 131, Plout. *v. Per.* 3, Artemid. *oneirocr.* 2. 12, 3. 66, Achmes *oneirocr.* 267 (*ἐκ τῶν Περσῶν καὶ Αἰγυπτίων περὶ λέοντος* [*καὶ θηρῶν*]) p. 218 ff. Drexl), and popular locutions (Aristoph. *thesm.* 514 *λέων λέων σοι γέγονεν*, cp. Plout. *v. Lyc.* 3 *βασιλεὺς ἡμῖν γέγονεν*). Much ancient lore gathered about the birth of Alexander (Plout. *v. Alex.* 2 *ἡ μὲν οὖν νύμφη, πρὸ τῆς νυκτὸς ᾗ συνείρχθησαν εἰς τὸν θάλαμον, ἔδοξε βροντῆς γενομένης ἐμπεσεῖν αὐτῆς τῇ γαστρὶ κεραυνόν, ἐκ δὲ τῆς πληγῆς πολὺ πῦρ ἀναφθέν, εἶτα ῥηγνύμενον εἰς φλόγας πάντη φερομένας διαλυθῆναι. ὁ δὲ Φίλιππος ὑστέρῳ χρόνῳ μετὰ τὸν γάμον εἶδεν ὕναρ αὐτὸν ἐπιβάλλοντα σφραγῖδα τῇ γαστρὶ τῆς γυναικός· ἡ δὲ γλυφὴ τῆς σφραγῖδος, ὡς ᾤετο, λέοντος εἶχεν εἰκόνα. τῶν δὲ ἄλλων μάντεων ὑφορωμένων τὴν ὄψιν, ὡς ἀκριβεστέρας φυλακῆς δεομένων τῷ Φιλίππῳ τῶν περὶ τὸν γάμον, Ἀρίστανδρος ὁ Τελμησσεὺς κύειν ἔφη τὴν ἄνθρωπον, οὐθὲν γὰρ ἀποσφραγίζεσθαι τῶν κενῶν, καὶ κύειν παῖδα θυμοειδῆ καὶ λεοντώδη τὴν φύσιν*), whose leonine looks were successfully rendered by Lysippos (Plout. *de Alex. Mag. fort. aut virt.* 2. 2) and—it may be added—most unsuccessfully by the later numismatic die-sinkers (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Macedonia, Etc. p. 19 no. 84 fig., p. 20 no. 87 fig., *Hunter Cat. Coins* i. 355 no. 1 pl. 24, 13, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 86 nos. 3716 and 3717 pl. 138, 10 and 11).

the sea, received by Eros and crowned by Peitho. On either side of this group were a dozen deities arranged in pairs—on the left, Zeus and Hera, Hephaistos and Charis, Hermes and Hestia; on the right, Apollon and Artemis, Athena and Herakles, Amphitrite and Poseidon. The whole assemblage was flanked on the left by Helios in his chariot, on the right by Selene riding her horse or mule.

In front of all this splendour, with its wealth of mythological meaning, was a bare black pavement of Eleusinian stone, which—whatever its practical purpose[1]—aesthetically must have served, in the half-light of the temple, to isolate the statue from the spectator and to uplift the whole glittering vision towards the starry roof.

Pausanias' penultimate comment[2] is worth quoting:

'I am aware that the measurements of the Zeus at Olympia in point of height and breadth are on record[3], but I cannot commend those who measured it. For even the measurements they mention fall far short of the impression made by the image upon such as have seen it. Why, the god himself, they say, bore witness to the art of Pheidias. When the image was finished, Pheidias prayed the god to grant a token if the work was to his mind. And, straightway, they declare, he hurled a thunderbolt into the ground at the spot where down to my time stood a *hydria* of bronze.'

What this masterpiece really looked like in the full glory of its ancient setting, we cannot, of course, hope to know. Any attempt to reconstruct it on paper (*supra* ii pl. xlvi), partly from Pausanias' careful enumeration of details, partly from the small-scale copies of form and features on imperial coins of Elis[4]

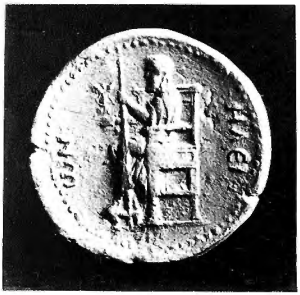
[1] *Infra* p. 967. [2] Paus. 5. 11. 9.

[3] See Sir J. G. Frazer and H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*, also G. Q. Giglioli *loc. cit.* pp. 299—303 ('Le misure').

[4] S. B. Smith 'Der Zeus des Phidias auf eleischen Münzen' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1862 xx. 339 f., J. Friedlaender 'Die unter Hadrian in Elis geprägte Münze mit der Darstellung der Bildsäule des olympischen Zeus von Phidias' in the *Berliner Blätter für Münz-, Siegel- und Wappenkunde* 1866 iii. 21—26 pl. 30, 1 and 2, J. Overbeck 'Über den Kopf des phidias'schen Zeus' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1866 pp. 173—190 pl. 1, 1—9, *id. Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 34—45 Münztaf. 1, 32—34, 2, 4, J. Friedlaender 'Der Zeus des Phidias auf den Münzen von Elis' in the *Monatsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1874 pp. 498—501 with figs. 1—5, *id.* 'Münze der Eleer mit dem Zeus des Phidias' in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiv. 34, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 pp. 169—198, *id.* 'Nachträge' *ib.* 1876 pp. 223—225 with a fine photographic pl., R. Weil 'Elische Münzen mit dem Zeus des Phidias' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1880 vii. 110—116 figs. 1—3, *id.* 'Der Zeus des Phidias auf elischen Münzen der Kaiserzeit' *ib.* 1912 xxix. 363—382 pl. 10, 1—10, C. T. Seltman *The Temple Coins of Olympia* Cambridge 1921 p. 2 ff. Groups A—L pls. 1—8.

These articles between them cover all the Zeus-types on the coinage of Olympia from the latter part of *s.* vi B.C. onwards.

Some at least of the earlier types (*e.g.* the seated Zeus *supra* ii. 757 figs. 700 and 701, 1224 fig. 1022) may well be reminiscent of a pre-Pheidiac cult-image. I agree with



2

1 *a*

1 *b*

3

4

Coins, struck by Hadrian, representing the Zeus *Olympios* of Pheidias:
(1 *a*, 1 *b*) Two differently lighted views of bronze coin now at Paris.
(2) Bronze coin now at Florence.
(3) and (4) Bronze coins now at Berlin.

See page 959 *n.* 1.

(pl. lxix)[1], must remain almost laughably inadequate. But, after all, as Pausanias implies, the important thing about the Pheidiac Zeus was not his dimensions but his dignity, not his physical greatness but his moral grandeur. And if we cannot recreate his vanished effigy with much assurance, we can at least recall the impression

Miss G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 169: 'For the long interval between the completion of the temple and Pheidias' statue we may be permitted to hazard an explanation. Can we not suppose that originally a marble cult statue was made for the temple and stood duly in its place when the building was completed in 456? The existence of such an earlier image is indeed suggested by recent investigations of the floor of the temple which have indicated the presence of a substructure with ex votos beneath the Pheidian construction [K. Lehmann-Hartleben 'Libon und Phidias' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix pp. 37—48]. Possibly the noble and severe head of Zeus (fig. 610) and the enthroned figure (fig. 611) which appear on the coins of Elis...were inspired by it. The expense of this statue—as well as of the temple—was defrayed from the spoils taken by the Eleans when they reduced Pisa and the other dependent cities which had revolted, just as Pausanias [5. 10. 2] tells us. Then thirty years later the same great earthquake which caused the mutilation of the crouching figures from the angles of the western pediment [cp. W. Dörpfeld in *Olympia* ii. 22]...also damaged this statue of Zeus. By this time the praise of the great gold and ivory statue of the Athena Parthenos was resounding throughout Greece; and Olympia determined to have a similar resplendent figure by the same master sculptor.'

But not till imperial times can we expect to find any accurate renderings of the Pheidiac figure (P. Gardner *Types of Gk. Coins* pp. 77 ff., 146, 176 ff., 197 with pl. 15). Under Hadrian, when art took an antiquarian turn (W. Weber in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1936 xi. 320 f. and G. Rodenwaldt *ib.* p. 800 f.) and the emperor himself posed as Zeus *Olympios* (*supra* ii. 956 n. 0, 959 n. 0, 962 n. 2, 1120 n. 0, 1121 n. 0), we get our first really relevant copies of the final cult-statue.

[1] Pl. lxix gives photographic reproductions, to the scale $\frac{3}{4}$, of the four most important coins:

(1 *a*) and (1 *b*) are two differently lighted views of a unique bronze coin, struck by Hadrian, now at Paris. It was first figured by J. Friedlaender in the *Berliner Blätter loc. cit.* pl. 30, 2. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 36 Münztaf. 1, 34.

(2) is another bronze coin struck by Hadrian, now at Florence, which has long been known. See Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 35 f. Münztaf. 2, 4. H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 49 fig. 1 illustrates it to the scale $\frac{2}{3}$. A second specimen, formerly owned by Queen Christina of Sweden (1626—1689), is lost. A third, from a slightly varied die, was found by H. Dressel, thickly oxidised, among the duplicates at Olympia and is published by R. Weil in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1912 xxix. 368 f. pl. 10, 3a. The *obv.* bust of Hadrian is inscribed AVTOKPATΩP || AΔPIANOC || ΔIC, a very exceptional formula perhaps denoting an honour conferred on the emperor by the Panhellenes, when he was present in person at the Olympic festival of 129 A.D. (so Weil *loc. cit.* p. 370 f.).

(3) is a third bronze coin struck by Hadrian and secured by J. Friedlaender for the Berlin cabinet. H. G. Evelyn-White *loc. cit.* p. 51 fig. 2 illustrates it to the scale $\frac{2}{3}$. Several replicas were found at Olympia, of which the best preserved, now at Athens, is published by R. Weil *loc. cit.* p. 370 pl. 10, 4 a.

(4) is a fourth bronze coin struck by Hadrian, also in the Berlin collection. H. G. Evelyn-White *loc. cit.* p. 51 fig. 3 illustrates it to the scale $\frac{2}{3}$. This coin, like no. (2), shows small projections on the stile of the throne representing the ἀγάλματα of the κανόνες (*supra* p. 956 n. 0), but the bared body of the god and his highly raised left arm (*supra* ii. 754) are concessions to the taste of a later age.

that it made on men of various tempers and types—the soldier, the man in the street, the scholarly thinker, the religious reformer, the eclectic moralist.

L. Aimilius Paullus after his brilliant Macedonian campaign travelled through Greece (167 B.C.), and having long been anxious to see Olympia made his way thither, only to find his expectations utterly eclipsed by the reality[1]. Livy[2] puts it with dry, unconscious humour:

'Passing through Megalopolis he went up to Olympia. Here he saw sundry things worth seeing, and on beholding Zeus as it were face to face was moved in his spirit. And so, just as if he had been about to offer victims on the Capitol, he ordered a bigger sacrifice than usual to be made ready[3].'

It took much to 'move' a Roman general of the old school[4].

The popular verdict is voiced by Quintilian[5]:

'As an artist Pheidias is held to have been better at making gods than at making men, but as a worker in ivory to have been quite without a rival—even had he made nothing beyond the Athena at Athens or the Olympian Zeus in Elis. The beauty of the latter is thought actually to have added something to the received religion; so far did the majesty of the work go towards equality with the godhead.'

Reflective minds would want to know the source of a beauty so striking that it could be described as a real contribution to Greek religion. Cicero[6] speculates along Platonic lines:

'I maintain that nothing is ever so beautiful as not to be beaten in beauty by that from which it is copied as a portrait is copied from a face, that original which cannot be perceived by eye or ear or any other sense but grasped only by

[1] Polyb. 30. 10.

[2] Liv. 45. 28 unde per Megalopolim Olympiam escendit. ubi et alia quidem spectanda visa, et Iovem velut praesentem intuens motus animo est. itaque haud secus quam si in Capitolio immolaturus esset, sacrificium amplius solito apparari iussit.

[3] Cp. Plout. *v. Aem. Paull.* 28.

[4] E. Klebs in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 578 f.

[5] Quint. *inst. or.* 12. 10. 9 Phidias tamen diis quam hominibus efficiendis melior artifex creditur, in ebore vero longe citra aemulum vel si nihil nisi Minervam Athenis aut Olympium in Elide Iovem fecisset, cuius pulchritudo adiecisse aliquid etiam receptae religioni videtur; adeo maiestas operis deum aequavit.

Lucian in cynical mood bears witness to the same effect on the mind of the populace: *ὅμως δ' οὖν οἱ παριόντες ἐς τὸν νεὼν οὔτε τὸν ἐξ Ἰνδῶν ἐλέφαντα ἔτι οἴονται ὁρᾶν οὔτε τὸ ἐκ τῆς Θράκης μεταλλευθὲν χρυσίον, ἀλλ' αὐτὸν τὸν Κρόνου καὶ Ῥέας ἐς τὴν γῆν ὑπὸ Φειδίου μετῳκισμένον καὶ τὴν Πισαίων ἐρημίαν ἐπισκοπεῖν κεκελευσμένον, ἀγαπῶντα εἰ διὰ πέντε ὅλων ἐτῶν θύσει τις αὐτῷ πάρεργον Ὀλυμπίων.*

[6] Cic. *orat.* 8 f. The passage ends: nec vero ille artifex, cum faceret Iovis formam aut Minervae, contemplabatur aliquem e quo similitudinem duceret, sed ipsius in mente insidebat species pulchritudinis eximia quaedam, quam intuens in eaque defixus ad illius similitudinem artem et manum dirigebat. Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.* quotes Plotin. 5. 8. 1 *ἐπεὶ καὶ ὁ Φειδίας τὸν Δία πρὸς οὐδὲν αἰσθητὸν ποιήσας, ἀλλὰ λαβὼν οἷος ἂν γένοιτο, εἰ ἡμῖν ὁ Ζεὺς δι' ὀμμάτων ἐθέλοι φανῆναι* and an interesting parallel in a letter from

thought or mind. Thus we can think of forms more beautiful even than the statues of Pheidias, the most perfect things of their kind that we can see, or than those paintings that I have mentioned. Yet that great artist, when he was fashioning the shape of his Zeus or Athena, did not fix his gaze on any individual whose likeness he drew. No, in his own mind dwelt an ideal of surpassing beauty. Beholding that and lost in the contemplation thereof he turned art and hand to the task of reproducing its likeness.'

Platonic too in its essence is the remark attributed by Philostratos to that eccentric genius Apollonios[1] of Tyana:

'When he saw the statue enthroned at Olympia he said "Hail, good Zeus, whose goodness consists in giving of thine own self to men."'

In the summer of the year 97 A.D. Dion of Prousa delivered a semi-Stoic discourse to the Greeks assembled at Olympia[2]. The greater part of it is concerned with the cult-effigy of Zeus, to which the orator returns again and yet again with an ever fresh ardour of devotion and an astonishing variety of encomiastic phrases. He describes it as being 'of all the images on earth the most beautiful and the most beloved of heaven[3].' And he calls upon Pheidias, 'this wise, inspired maker of a creation at once solemn and supremely beautiful[4],' to expound and justify his rendering of Zeus.

All would admit, says Dion, that it is 'a sweet and welcome vision, a spectacle of untold delight to Hellenes and barbarians alike[5].' Nay, even brute creatures, could they but observe it, would be impressed: bulls led to the altar would be content to suffer, if it pleasured the god; eagles, horses, lions would lose their wildness and be soothed at the sight[6]. 'While of men, whosoever is utterly

Raphael to Baldassare Castiglione: 'To paint a figure truly beautiful, it might be necessary that I should see many beautiful forms, with the further provision that you should yourself be near, to select the best; but seeing that good judges and beautiful women are scarce, I avail myself of a certain "idea" which comes into my mind (*io mi servo di certa idea che mi viene nella mente*).'

[1] Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 4. 28 p. 167 Kayser *ἰδὼν δὲ ἐς τὸ ἕδος τὸ ἐν* 'Ολυμπίᾳ *'χαῖρε,' εἶπεν, 'ἀγαθὲ Ζεῦ, σὺ γὰρ οὕτω τι ἀγαθός, ὡς καὶ σαυτοῦ κοινωνῆσαι τοῖς ἀνθρώποις.'* This is not the colloquial *ὦ 'γαθέ*, but a more serious use of the adjective as in Plat. *Tim.* 29 D—E *λέγωμεν δὴ δι' ἥντινα αἰτίαν γένεσιν καὶ τὸ πᾶν τόδε ὁ ξυνιστὰς ξυνέστησεν. ἀγαθὸς ἦν, ἀγαθῷ δὲ οὐδεὶς περὶ οὐδενὸς οὐδέποτε ἐγγίγνεται φθόνος· τούτου δ' ἐκτὸς ὢν πάντα ὅ τι μάλιστα γενέσθαι ἐβουλήθη παραπλήσια ἑαυτῷ.* Cp. Mark 10. 17 f., Luke 18. 18 f. (Matth. 19. 16 f.).

[2] W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 361.

[3] Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 220 Dindorf *πάντων, ὅσα ἐστὶν ἐπὶ γῆς ἀγάλματα, κάλλιστον καὶ θεοφιλέστατον.*

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 229 Dindorf *τὸν σοφὸν τοῦτον καὶ δαιμόνιον ἐργάτην τοῦ σεμνοῦ καὶ παγκάλου δημιουργήματος.*

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 229 Dindorf *ὡς μὲν ἡδὺ καὶ προσφιλὲς ὅραμα καὶ τέρψιν ἀμήχανον θέας εἰργάσω πᾶσιν Ἕλλησι καὶ βαρβάροις, ὅσοι ποτὲ δεῦρο ἀφίκοντο πολλοὶ πολλάκις, οὐδεὶς ἀντερεῖ.*

[6] *Id. ib.* p. 229 Dindorf.

weary in soul, having drained many sufferings and sorrows in his life without the solace of sweet sleep, even he, methinks, if he stood over against this statue, would forget all the terrors and hardships of humanity[1].' Aforetime, adds Dion, in lack of clear knowledge we dreamed our several dreams and fashioned our individual fancies, or at most combined the unconvincing likenesses produced by previous craftsmen[2]. 'But you,' he says turning to Pheidias, 'through the potency of your art have conquered and combined Hellas first and then the rest of the world by means of this marvel, a work so amazing and brilliant that no man who had once set eyes on it could afterwards readily form a different conception[3].'

Yet, granted all this, continues Dion, in making a human figure of more than human beauty and magnitude out of these pleasing materials, did you really select the right type and create a form worthy of the god[4]? To which penetrating question Pheidias in his own defence replies[5], that he was not the first exponent and teacher of truth heard by Helias in her infancy. He had to deal with a people already grown up and holding earnestly enough religious views already accepted and established. He would not stress the agreement of sculptors and painters in the past, but look rather to those other craftsmen, the poets, older and wiser than himself. They by virtue of their poems could lead men to form concepts, whereas his handiwork could at best raise a sufficient probability.... Mind and wisdom no modeller or painter can portray. Their task is to know the human body in which these qualities reside, and they attribute the same to God. In default of the original, they seek by means of that which is seen and imaginable to show forth that which is unimaginable and unseen, using a symbol superior to the animal types by which barbarians represent the divine.... Nor can we maintain that it would have been a better plan to have made no statue or semblance of the gods, but to have looked only upon the heavenly bodies. The wise man worships every one of these, deeming that he can see the blessed gods afar off. But all men are so disposed towards the divine that they feel a passionate

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 229 f. Dindorf *ἀνθρώπων δέ, ὃς ἂν ᾖ παντελῶς ἐπίπονος τὴν ψυχήν, πολλὰς ἀπαντλήσας συμφορὰς καὶ λύπας ἐν τῷ βίῳ μηδὲ ὕπνον ἡδὺν ἐπιβαλλόμενος, καὶ ὃς δοκεῖ μοι κατ' ἐναντίον στὰς τῆσδε τῆς εἰκόνος ἐκλαθέσθαι πάντων ὅσα ἐν ἀνθρωπίνῳ βίῳ δεινὰ καὶ χαλεπὰ γίγνεται παθεῖν.*

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 230 Dindorf.

[3] *Id. ib.* p. 230 Dindorf *σὺ δὲ ἰσχύϊ τέχνης ἐνίκησας καὶ συνέλεξας τὴν Ἑλλάδα πρῶτον, ἔπειτα τοὺς ἄλλους τῷδε τῷ φάσματι, θεσπέσιον καὶ λαμπρὸν ἀποδείξας, ὡς μηδένα τῶν ἰδόντων δόξαν ἑτέραν ἔτι λαβεῖν ῥᾳδίως.*

[4] *Id. ib.* p. 230 Dindorf.

[5] *Id. ib.* p. 231 ff. Dindorf.

desire to honour and tend it near at hand, approaching it and touching it with conviction, offering sacrifices to it and setting wreaths upon it. Just as little children, when torn away from father or mother, are stricken with sore longing and yearning, and often in dreams stretch out their arms to the absent ones, so men, justly loving the gods because of their kindliness and kinship, are eager to associate with them in every way and to share their company. Hence many barbarians through poverty and lack of art give the name of gods to mountains, rough tree-trunks, and shapeless stones, things that are assuredly no more suitable than this form of ours[1]. In choosing the human shape I have followed the lead of Homer...though handicapped by the limitations of my art. Poetry is opulent and can afford to lay down its own laws. It has such resources of language and phrase that it can express every wish of the heart and proclaim aloud any conceivable aspect or achievement, mood or magnitude.... Not so I, who am restricted to a special spot in Elis or Athens. You, Homer, wisest of poets, were admittedly the first to show the Greeks many fair portraits of all the gods, their greatest included, in shapes sometimes gentle, sometimes terrible and appalling. 'But ours is a god of peace and universal mildness, overseer of a Hellas free from faction and at harmony with itself. By the help of my art and the counsel of Elis, a state both wise and good, I have established him, gentle and solemn with untroubled mien, the giver of livelihood and life and all good things, the common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind, imitating so far as mortal thought can imitate the nature that is divine and beyond our ken[2].' See, then, whether you will not find this his effigy aptly reflecting all his titles. For Zeus alone of the gods is called both Father and King, *Polieús* and *Homógnios* and *Phílios* and *Hetaireíos*, aye and *Hikésios* and *Phýxios* and

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 232 f. Dindorf ἀτεχνῶς γὰρ ὥσπερ νήπιοι παῖδες πατρὸς ἢ μητρὸς ἀπεσπασμένοι δεινὸν ἵμερον ἔχοντες καὶ πόθον ὀρέγουσι χεῖρας οὐ παροῦσι πολλάκις ὀνειρώττοντες, οὕτω καὶ θεοὺς ἄνθρωποι ἀγαπῶντες δικαίως διά τε εὐεργεσίαν καὶ συγγένειαν, προθυμούμενοι πάντα τρόπον συνεῖναί τε καὶ ὁμιλεῖν· ὥστε καὶ πολλοὶ τῶν βαρβάρων πενίᾳ τε καὶ ἀπορίᾳ τέχνης ὄρη θεοὺς ἐπονομάζουσι καὶ δένδρα ἀργὰ καὶ ἀσήμους λίθους, οὐδαμῇ οὐδαμῶς οἰκειότερα <ταύτης (*ins.* J. Geel ed. Lugduni Batavorum 1840 p. 106)> τῆς μορφῆς. Surely the most pathetic, and sympathetic, plea for idolatry ever put forward.

[2] *Id. ib.* p. 236 f. Dindorf ὁ δὲ ἡμέτερος εἰρηνικὸς καὶ πανταχοῦ πρᾷος, οἷος ἀστασιάστου καὶ ὁμονοούσης τῆς Ἑλλάδος ἐπίσκοπος· ὃν ἐγὼ μετὰ τῆς ἐμαυτοῦ τέχνης καὶ τῆς Ἠλείων πόλεως σοφῆς καὶ ἀγαθῆς βουλευσάμενος ἱδρυσάμην, ἥμερον καὶ σεμνὸν ἐν ἀλύπῳ σχήματι, τὸν βίου καὶ ζωῆς καὶ συμπάντων δοτῆρα τῶν ἀγαθῶν, κοινὸν ἀνθρώπων καὶ πατέρα καὶ σωτῆρα καὶ φύλακα, ὡς δυνατὸν ἦν θνητῷ διανοηθέντι μιμήσασθαι τὴν θείαν καὶ ἀμήχανον φύσιν.

Xénios and *Ktésios* and *Epikárpios* and countless other appellations, all of them good[1]....

The speech, which had risen like a rocket, might have concluded with that burst of stars, lingering awhile in memory as a galaxy of glittering points. But the speaker, being Greek, prefers to end on a note of greater quietude and self-restraint. He does so very simply, very effectively, by contrasting the human workman, a Pheidias or a Polykleitos, who has made the most of his paltry materials and trumpery tools, with Zeus the creator of the universe, whom Pindar[2] addresses as—

'Mighty Lord of Dodona, Best of all Artificers, our Father.'

How comes it that this great statue, for centuries the acknowledged masterpiece of ancient religious art, has not, like many others of less merit, left behind it a trail of Greek and Roman copies? Apart from the wonderful Zeus of Mylasa (*supra* ii pl. xxviii), a fourth-century head of modified Pheidiac style[3], there is hardly an extant marble or bronze in which we can trace with certainty the influence of the original at Olympia[4].

[1] *Id. ib.* p. 237 Dindorf. L. François 'Dion Chrysostôme critique d'art: le Zeus de Phidias' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1917 xxx. 105—116 regards this list of epithets as a Stoic *cliché*, comparing Kleanthes' *Hymn to Zeus* [*supra* ii. 855 ff.], [Aristot.] *de mundo* 7. 401 a 12 ff., Dion Chrys. *or.* 1 p. 9 Dindorf, Aristeid. *or.* 1. 8 (i. 10 f. Dindorf). The theme is handled in greater detail by J. Amann *Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristeides* Stuttgart 1931 pp. 99—109 ('Die ἐπικλήσεις des Zeus').

[2] Pind. *frag.* 57 Schroeder *ap.* Dion Chrys. *or.* 12 p. 239 Dindorf ὃν πάνυ καλῶς ποιητὴς προσεῖπεν ἕτερος, 'Δωδωναῖε μεγάσθενες | ἀριστότεχνα πάτερ.' κ.τ.λ. (as *supra* ii. 693 n. 3). Bergk *ad loc.* conjectured that the next line in Pindar's *paián* was Δίκας δαμιοεργὲ καὶ εὐνομίας—a restoration based on Plout. *praec. ger. reip.* 13 ὁ δὲ πολιτικός, ἀριστοτέχνας τις ὤν, κατὰ Πίνδαρον, καὶ δημιουργὸς εὐνομίας καὶ δίκης, κ.τ.λ., *de ser. num. vind.* 4 καὶ Πίνδαρος ἐμαρτύρησεν, ἀριστοτέχναν ἀνακαλούμενος τὸν ἄρχοντα καὶ κύριον ἁπάντων θεόν, ὡς δὴ δίκης ὄντα δημιουργόν, *de fac. in orb. lun.* 13 ἢ τίνος γέγονε ποιητὴς καὶ πατὴρ δημιουργὸς ὁ Ζεὺς ὁ ἀριστοτέχνας. The passage evidently haunted the memory of Plutarch, who quotes it again in his *symp.* 1. 2. 5 καὶ τὸν θεὸν ὁρᾷς, ὃν ἀριστοτέχναν ἡμῶν ὁ Πίνδαρος προσεῖπεν, κ.τ.λ. and *adv. Stoic.* 14 ὁ δὲ Πατρῷος καὶ Ὕπατος καὶ Θεμίστιος Ζεύς, καὶ ἀριστοτέχνας κατὰ Πίνδαρον, οὐ δρᾶμα δήπου μέγα καὶ ποικίλον καὶ πολυμαθὲς δημιουργῶν τὸν κόσμον, ἀλλὰ θεῶν καὶ ἀνθρώπων ἅστυ κοινόν, συννομησομένων μετὰ δίκης καὶ ἀρετῆς ὁμολογουμένως καὶ μακαρίως, κ.τ.λ. See also Clem. Al. *strom.* 5. 14 p. 395, 2 f. Stählin καὶ ἕνα τὸν τούτων δημιουργόν, ὃν 'ἀριστοτέχναν πατέρα' λέγει (*sc.* ὁ Πίνδαρος) = Euseb. *praep. ev.* 13. 13. 27 and C. B. Hase in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* i. 2. 1972 A—B.

[3] *Supra* ii. 597 f.

[4] A marble head in the Hermitage (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1875 pp. 187—200 Atlas pls. 6 and 7, 1), the Otricoli head in the Vatican (Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 130, cp. pl. 605, G. Lippold in Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* iii. 1. 110—113 Sala Rotonda no. 539 pl. 36), the Jacobsen head at Ny Carlsberg (P. Arndt *La glyptothèque Ny-Carlsberg* Munich 1896 p. 17 f. Atlas pl. 13, *Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek: Billedtavler til Kataloget over Antike Kunstværker* Kjøbenhavn 1907 pl. 17, 241), and a bronze head at Vienna (H. Schrader in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1911

No doubt there were critics of its scale and proportions. Strabon[1] says:

'It was wrought of ivory, and so huge was its size that, although the temple is very large, the artist is thought to have missed the proper symmetry; for he represented the god as seated but almost touching the roof with the crown of his head, and thus produced the impression that, if he arose and stood upright, he would unroof the temple.'

Others, as we might infer from Pausanias[2], felt the force of the objection, and Caecilius the rhetorician, a contemporary of Strabon, even ventured—the blasphemer—to speak of 'the blundered colossus[3].' To which detractors Pheidias might well have retorted that the temple-roof was expressly designed to suggest the starry vault of heaven.

But the real reason for the comparative unpopularity of the statue was not a mere matter of measurements. The gravamen was this. Pheidias, seeking to express a beneficent supremacy, had deliberately omitted the thunderbolt[4], formerly the essential characteristic of the sky-god. The populace could not, or would not, understand the omission, and some writers who ought to have known better actually describe the figure as if it were equipped with the familiar attribute. Seneca[5], for example, in defiance of plain fact, can say:

'Pheidias never saw Zeus, yet made him as it were thundering'—

xiv. 81—88 with figs. 91 *a*, 91 *b*, 92 and pls. 1, 2, *id. Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 57 ff. figs. 38 and 39) have all found ardent advocates. Here it must suffice to say that their claims are mutually destructive.

[1] Strab. 353 (quoted by Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 15 f.).

[2] *Supra* p. 958.

[3] Longin. *de sublim.* 36. 3 *πρὸς μέντοι γε τὸν γράφοντα, ὡς ὁ Κολοσσὸς ὁ ἡμαρτημένος οὐ κρείττων ἢ ὁ Πολυκλείτου Δορυφόρος, παράκειται πρὸς πολλοῖς εἰπεῖν, ὅτι ἐπὶ μὲν τέχνης θαυμάζεται τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, ἐπὶ δὲ τῶν φυσικῶν ἔργων τὸ μέγεθος, φύσει δὲ λογικὸν ὁ ἄνθρωπος· κἀπὶ μὲν ἀνδριάντων ζητεῖται τὸ ὅμοιον ἀνθρώπῳ, ἐπὶ δὲ τοῦ λόγου τὸ ὑπεραῖρον, ὡς ἔφην, τὰ ἀνθρώπινα.* F. Granger in his recent translation (London 1935) p. 89 renders 'the Colossus which failed in the casting' and p. 113 notes 'The Colossus of Nero was a failure owing to the decline in the art of casting bronze, Plin. *N.H.*, xxxiv, 46.' But U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff 'Der verfehlte Koloss' in the *Strena Helbigiana* Lipsiae 1900 pp. 334—336 argues convincingly from the context: 'Caecilius also hat dem Doryphoros, dem Kanon, einen Koloss entgegengesetzt. Damit ist die auch sonst haltlose Beziehung auf den Koloss des Nero vorab beseitigt. Aber der Gedankenzusammenhang fordert auch, dass der verfehlte Koloss ein berühmtes, von anderen als musterhaft anerkanntes Werk ist. Er muss sich zu Platon verhalten wie der Kanon Polyklets zu Lysias. Da kann man auch den Koloss des Chares nicht brauchen, der nicht der Vertreter eines erhabenen, aber incorrecten Stiles sein könnte. Wer es ist, lehrt ein Zeitgenosse des Caecilius, Strabon, der bei Gelegenheit der Hera sagt, dass "die Werke des Polyklet an Kunst die schönsten wären, wenn sie auch an Kostbarkeit und Grösse denen des Pheidias nachstünden" [Strab. 372].'

[4] *Supra* ii. 760.

[5] Sen. *controv.* 10. 5. 8.

while Lucian[1] goes much further and in a passage of bitter sarcasm upbraids Zeus for failing to use the thunderbolt in his hand:

'O Zeus, where is now your resplendent lightning, where your deep-toned thunder, where the glowing, white-hot, direful bolt? we know now 'tis all fudge and poetic moonshine—barring what value may attach to the rattle of the names. That renowned projectile of yours, which ranged so far and was so ready to your hand, has gone dead and cold, it seems; never a spark left in it to scorch iniquity.

If men are meditating perjury, a smouldering lamp-wick is as likely to frighten them off as the omnipotent's levin-bolt; the brand you hold over them is one from which they see neither flame nor smoke can come; a little soot-grime is the worst that need be apprehended from a touch of it. No wonder if Salmoneus challenged you to a thundering-match; he was reasonable enough when he backed his artificial heat against so cool-tempered a Zeus. Of course he was; there are you in your opiate-trance, never hearing the perjurers nor casting a glance at criminals, your glazed eyes dull to all that happens, and your ears as deaf as a dotard's.

When you were young and keen, and your temper had some life in it, you used to bestir yourself against crime and violence; there were no armistices in those days; the thunderbolt was always hard at it, the aegis quivering, the thunder rattling, the lightning engaged in a perpetual skirmish. Earth was shaken like a sieve, buried in snow, bombarded with hail. It rained cats and dogs (if you will pardon my familiarity), and every shower was a waterspout. Why, in Deucalion's time, hey presto, everything was swamped, mankind went under, and just one little ark was saved, stranding on the top of Lycoreus and preserving a remnant of human seed for the generation of greater wickedness.

Mankind pays you the natural wages of your laziness; if any one offers you a victim or a garland nowadays, it is only at Olympia as a perfunctory accompaniment of the games; he does it not because he thinks it is any good, but because he may as well keep up an old custom. It will not be long, most glorious of deities, before they serve you as you served Cronus, and depose you. I will not rehearse all the robberies of your temple—those are trifles; but they have laid hands on your person at Olympia, my lord High-Thunderer, and you had not the energy to wake the dogs or call in the neighbours; surely they might have come to the rescue and caught the fellows before they had finished packing up the swag. But there sat the bold Giant-slayer and Titan-conqueror letting them cut his hair, with a fifteen-foot thunderbolt in his hand all the time!'

So Lucian, like Seneca, was labouring under the delusion that Zeus *Pheidiakós*[2], as he came to be called, was fulminant. Roman rhetoric and Greek satire had equally failed to grasp the sculptor's new conception.

In truth that new conception was too exalted for a public which preferred truculence to tranquillity and could appreciate

[1] Loukian. *Tim.* 1—4 trans. H. W. Fowler and F. G. Fowler.

[2] Schol. Greg. Naz. in *Catalogus sive notitia manuscriptorum qui a E. D. Clarke comparati in Bibliotheca Bodleiana adservantur* Oxonii 1812 i. 36 (Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 134 no. 739) Φειδίας...ἀγαλματοποιὸς ἄριστος· ὃς τῷ μὲν Διὶ ξόανον ἤγειρεν ὡς ἐπονομασθῆναι Διὸς Φειδιακοῦ...

a triumphant victor or even a threatening tyrant more readily than a peaceful, undemonstrative ruler. The god whose government was based upon right not might, love not fear, was an ideal for future ages, born five hundred years in advance of his time.

During those five centuries his statue experienced some surprising vicissitudes. The descendants of Pheidias, entrusted by the Eleans with the task of cleaning it, were called officially the *Phaidryntaí* or 'Burnishers,' and before setting about their duties used to sacrifice to Athena *Ergánē*[1]. Oil was poured out in front of Zeus to preserve the ivory from decay[2], a dark oil made from pitch being regarded as best for the purpose[3]. H. C. Schubart[4], however, with the approval of the technologist H. Blümner[5],

[1] Paus. 5. 14. 5 *ταύτῃ τῇ Ἐργάνῃ καὶ οἱ ἀπόγονοι Φειδίου, καλούμενοι δὲ Φαιδρυνταί, γέρας παρὰ Ἠλείων εἰληφότες τοῦ Διὸς τὸ ἄγαλμα ἀπὸ τῶν προσιζανόντων καθαίρειν, οὗτοι θύουσιν ἐνταῦθα πρὶν ἢ λαμπρύνειν τὸ ἄγαλμα ἄρξωνται.* A base found at Olympia records one of these Φαιδρυνταί (E. Loewy *Inschriften griechischer Bildhauer* Leipzig 1885 p. 367 f. no. 536, 3 f., W. Dittenberger—K. Purgold in *Olympia* v. 555 f. no. 466, 3 f. *Τίτον Φλάουιον | Ἡράκλειτον, τὸν | ἀπὸ Φειδίου, Φαιδυντὴν | τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὀλυμπίου*). Others are mentioned in inscriptions from Athens, where they had a special seat in the theatre (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 283 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. iii—iii. 3 no. 5064 of Hadrianic date *Φαιδυντοῦ | Διὸς ἐκ Πείσης*) and might hold office as *archon* (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 1058, 2 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 2 no. 1828, 2 ff. of *c.* 210 A.D. *[ἐπὶ] ἄρχοντος Φεδυν[το][ῦ] Διὸς ἐν Ὀλυπίᾳ Τ.Βε[ρίου] | Κλαυδίου Πατρόκλου [Λα][μ]πτρέως*). The corresponding official attached to the Athenian Olympieion had another reserved seat in the theatre (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 291 = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii. 3 no. 5072 of Hadrianic date *Φαιδυντοῦ | Διὸς Ὀλυμπίου ἐν ἄστει*) and dedicates a statue of his wife at Eleusis (*Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 1 no. 928, 2 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii. 3 no. 4075, 2 ff. after 150 A.D. *[ὁ δεῖνα - - ὁ] | ἀγωνοθέτης Ὀλυμ[πίων καὶ Ὀλυμπίου Διὸ]ς Ἀθήνησιν Φαιδυντή[ς - - -]*), where Demeter and Persephone had long had their own cleaner (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 42, *c* 129 f. in an Attic decree of *c.* 460 B.C. *καὶ τ[ὸν Φαιδυντὲν] | [τ]ὸν θεοῖν, ib.*[3] no. 885, 16 f. in an Attic decree of *c.* 220 A.D. *καὶ ὁ Φαιδυντὴς τοῖν θε|[οῖν]*). On the Elean spelling *Φαιδυντής*, as opposed to the Ionic-Attic *Φαιδρυντής*, see F. Solmsen in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1899 liv. 347 f. and 495 f. The duties of the office are discussed by E. Kuhnert 'De cura statuarum apud Graecos' in the *Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archaeologie* 1884 i. 336 ff.

[2] Paus. 5. 11. 10 *ὅσον δὲ τοῦ ἐδάφους ἐστὶν ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος, τοῦτο οὐ λευκῷ, μέλανι δὲ κατεσκεύασται τῷ λίθῳ. περιθεῖ δὲ ἐν κύκλῳ τὸν μέλανα λίθου Παρίου κρηπίς, ἔρυμα εἶναι τῷ ἐλαίῳ τῷ ἐκχεομένῳ. ἔλαιον γὰρ τῷ ἀγάλματί ἐστιν ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ συμφέρον καὶ ἐλαιόν ἐστι τὸ ἀπείρυτον μὴ γίνεσθαι τῷ ἐλέφαντι βλάβος διὰ τὸ ἑλῶδες τῆς Ἄλτεως. κ.τ.λ.* Similarly Methodios, bishop of Olympos in Lykia, who was martyrized under Maximinus Daza in 311 A.D. (W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 1355), *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 293 b 1 ff. Bekker *ὅτι φησὶ Φειδίαν τὸν ἀγαλματοποιὸν τὸ Πισαῖον εἴδωλον ποιήσαντα ἐξ ἐλέφαντος προστάξαι ἔλαιον ἔμπροσθεν τοῦ ἀγάλματος ἐκχέειν, ὥστε ἀθάνατον ἐς δύναμιν αὐτὸ φυλάσσεσθαι* (cited also by Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 64. 19 (ii. 619 Dindorf)).

[3] Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 31 f. e pice fit quod pissinum appellant, cum coquitur, velleribus supra halitum eius expansis atque ita expressis...existimaturque et ebori vindicando a carie utile esse. certe simulacrum Saturni Romae intus oleo repletum est.

[4] H. C. Schubart in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1849 *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1849 vii. 407—413.

[5] H. Blümner *Technologie und Terminologie der Gewerbe und Künste bei Griechen und Römern* Leipzig 1879 ii. 374 n. 1.

suggests that the wooden core of the great chryselephantine figure was pierced by tubes or channels, which conveyed the oil in all directions and prevented the wood from being affected by changes of temperature. A similar device was employed for Endoios' *xóanon* of Artemis at Ephesos[1] and for the cult-image of Saturn at Rome[2]. Such precautions notwithstanding, by the middle of the second century B.C.[3] the ivory of Zeus *Olýmpios* was cracked and had to be refurbished by the sculptor Damophon[4].

But graver dangers than slow disintegration were to follow. In the days of Iulius Caesar the statue is said to have been struck by lightning[5], we do not know with what effect. Worse than that, in 40 A.D. Caligula actually gave orders that it should be brought to Rome. P. Memmius Regulus, commissioned to carry out the sacrilege, was warned by the architects that the removal of the statue would entail its destruction, and was further deterred by the occurrence of incredible portents. Accordingly he abandoned the attempt and wrote to the emperor explaining his reasons. These scruples might have cost him his life[6], had it not been for the opportune assassination of the tyrant on January 24, 41 A.D.[7]

[1] Mucianus, the consul of 52, 70, and 75 A.D., *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 213 f. (*supra* ii. 410 n. 6) states that the ancient statue of Artemis at Ephesos was made by Endoios (but see C. Robert in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* v. 2554) of vine-wood (J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 102 'des Keuschlamms' would derive *vitigeneum* from *vitex*): adicit multis foraminibus nardo rigari, ut medicatus umor alat teneatque iuncturas.

[2] Plin. *nat. hist.* 15. 32 (quoted *supra* p. 967 n. 3).

[3] B. Ashmole in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1930 viii. 689 f.

[4] Paus. 4. 31. 6 Δαμοφῶντος δὲ ἔργον, ὃς καὶ τὸν Δία <τὸν (*ins.* H. Hitzig)> ἐν Ὀλυμπίᾳ διεστηκότος ἤδη τοῦ ἐλέφαντος συνήρμοσεν ἐς τὸ ἀκριβέστατον, καί οἱ δεδομέναι τιμαὶ παρὰ Ἠλείων εἰσί. A. Neuburger *The Technical Arts and Sciences of the Ancients* trans. H. L. Brose London 1930 p. 64 f. says: 'it is now a lost art to join ivory plates without leaving traces or [*leg.* of] the joins and without the differences of external temperature giving rise to cracks owing to the resultant change of dimensions.' On modern Museum methods of treating ancient ivory see A. Lucas *Antiques: their Restoration and Preservation* London 1924 pp. 55—58.

[5] Euseb. *praep. ev.* 4. 2. 8 ἀμφὶ δὲ Ἰούλιον Καίσαρα τὸ μέγα τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ Ὀλυμπικὸν ἄγαλμα, τὸ ἐν αὐταῖς Ὀλυμπιάσι, κεραυνῷ πρὸς τοῦ θεοῦ βληθὲν ἀναγράφουσι. Cp. Lucr. 6. 417 ff. with H. A. J. Munro *ad loc.*

[6] Yet see E. Groag in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 634.

[7] Ioseph. *ant. Iud.* 19. 1. 1 ἐπεὶ καὶ τὸν Ὀλυμπιάσι τιμώμενον Δία ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων καὶ οὕτως ὀνομασμένον Ὀλύμπιον, Φειδίου τοῦ Ἀθηναίου πεποιηκότος, ἐτόλμησε κελεῦσαι εἰς τὴν Ῥώμην μεταφέρειν. οὐ μὴν ἔπραξέ γε, τῶν ἀρχιτεκτόνων φαμένων πρὸς Μέμμιον Ῥήγουλον, ὃς ἐπετέτακτο τῇ κινήσει τοῦ Διός, ἀπολεῖσθαι τοῦργον κινήσεως αὐτοῦ γεγενημένης. λέγεται δὲ τὸν Μέμμιον διὰ ταῦτα, καὶ σημείων μειζόνων γεγενημένων ἢ ὡς ἄν τινα πιστὰ ἡγεῖσθαι, ὑπερβαλέσθαι τὴν ἀναίρεσιν. καὶ γράφει τάδε πρὸς τὸν Γάϊον ἐπ' ἀπολογίᾳ τοῦ ἐκλιπεῖν ἀδιακόνητον τὴν ἐπιστολήν. ἀπολέσθαι τε ἐκ τούτων αὐτῷ κινδύνου γενομένου, σώζεται φθάσαντος ἤδη Γαΐου τελευτῆσαι.

Caligula's intention had been to replace the head of Zeus by a portrait-head of himself. But whenever the workmen approached to lay hold of the pedestal, loud laughter burst from the lips of the statue and put them to instant flight. Also, the ship built to transport it was shattered by thunderbolts. So Caligula, after threatening Zeus, had perforce to substitute another effigy in his own temple on the Palatine[1]. About the middle of the second century Lucian[2] mentions that thieves, greatly daring, had recently cut off two of Zeus' golden tresses weighing six minas apiece. In 394 A.D. Theodosios i, pursuing his policy of suppressing all paganism[3], abolished the Olympic festival[4] despite its unbroken record of 1169 years. And in the reign of his grandson Theodosios ii (408—450 A.D.) the temple of Zeus *Olympios* perished in a conflagration[5].

Not so the great statue, which had hitherto contrived to escape the successive threats of decomposition and lightning, mutilation and robbery. At some uncertain date, after the overthrow of its worship and before the destruction of its temple, it was removed to Byzantion and set up in the House of Lausos[6] among such world-famous works as the Samian Hera of Athenis and Boupalos, the

[1] Suet. *Calig.* 22 datoque negotio ut simulacra numinum religione et arte praeclara, inter quae Olympi Iovis, apportarentur e Graecia, quibus capite dempto suum imponeret, partem Palatii ad forum usque promovit, etc., *ib.* 57 Olympiae simulacrum Iovis, quod dissolvi transferrique Romam placuerat, tantum cachinnum repente edidit ut machinis labefactis opifices diffugerint; supervenitque ilico quidam Cassius nomine, iussum se somnio affirmans immolare taurum Iovi, Dion Cass. 59. 28 οὕτω δὴ ἕτερόν τε νεὼν ἐν τῷ Παλατίῳ σπουδῇ ᾠκοδομήσατο, καὶ ἄγαλμα ἐς αὐτὸν ἠθέλησε τὸ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου ἐς τὸ ἑαυτοῦ εἶδος μεταρρυθμίσαι. μὴ δυνηθεὶς δέ (τό τε γὰρ πλοῖον τὸ πρὸς τὴν κομιδὴν αὐτοῦ ναυπηγηθὲν ἐκερανυώθη, καὶ γέλως, ὁσάκις τινὲς ὡς καὶ τοῦ ἕδους ἐφαψόμενοι προσῆλθον, πολὺς ἐξηκούετο) ἐκείνῳ μὲν ἐπιπείλει, αὐτὸς δὲ ἕτερον ἐνέστησε.

This was the laugh of divine derision (cp. *e.g.* Psa. 2. 4, 37. 13, 59. 8), very different rom the unsympathetic exultation of Zeus in the late Homeric *theomachia* (*Il.* 21. 388 ff. at the sight of the gods fighting, 508 at the plight of Artemis) or his rather undignified mirth over the post-Homeric pranks of Hermes (*h. Herm.* 389, Loukian. *dial. deor.* 7. 3).

[2] Loukian. *Tim.* 4 (quoted *supra* p. 966), *Iup. trag.* 25 εἴ γ' ἐπ' ἐμοὶ τὸ πρᾶγμ' ἦν, ἐᾶσαί μ' ἂν οἷει τοὺς ἱεροσύλους πρῴην ἀπελθεῖν ἀκεραυνώτους ἐκ Πίσης, δύο μου τῶν πλοκάμων ἀποκείραντας ἓξ μνᾶς ἑκάτερον ἕλκοντα;

[3] *Supra* i. 167.

[4] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 326 D—327 A (i. 573 Bekker) ἐν τούτοις ἥ τε τῶν 'Ολυμπιάδων ἀπέσβη πανήγυρις, ἥτις κατὰ τετραετῆ χρόνον ἐπετελεῖτο. ἤρξατο δὲ ἡ τοιαύτη πανήγυρις ὅτε Μανασσῆς τῶν 'Ιουδαίων ἐβασίλευσε, καὶ ἐφυλάττετο ἕως τῆς ἀρχῆς αὐτοῦ τοῦ μεγάλου Θεοδοσίου.

[5] Schol. Loukian. *rhet. praec.* 9 (p. 176, 3 ff. Rabe) καὶ διήρκεσεν ἀρξάμενος ἀπὸ τῶν καθ' 'Εβραίους κριτῶν μέχρι τοῦ μικροῦ Θεοδοσίου· ἐμπρησθέντος γὰρ τοῦ ἐν 'Ολυμπίᾳ ναοῦ ἐξέλιπε καὶ ἡ τῶν 'Ηλείων πανήγυρις, *ib.* (p. 178, 2 ff. Rabe) ἀρξάμενος δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς <ἐποχ->ῆς> καθ' 'Εβραίους ἐπ' 'Ιάειρον ἐνά< >διήρκεσε μέχρι τοῦ μικροῦ <Θεοδοσίου>, ὃς 'Αρκαδίου υἱὸς ἦν, τῶν χρό<νων. τοῦ δὲ> ναοῦ τοῦ 'Ολυμπίου Διὸς ἐμπρη<σθέντος ἐξ>έλιπε καὶ ἡ τῶν 'Ηλείων πανήγυρις <καὶ ὁ ἀγὼ>ν ὁ 'Ολυμπικός.

[6] *Supra* ii. 864 n. 1.

Cnidian Aphrodite of Praxiteles, and the Kairos of Lysippos[1]. But its exile was of no long duration. The Lauseion in turn was burnt in 462 A.D.[2], and with it disappeared for ever the masterpiece of Pheidias.

The statue had gone; its influence remained. Theodoros Anagnostes[3] (*c.* 530 A.D.) tells a strange tale of a certain painter who ventured to portray the Saviour in the guise of Zeus. The hand with which he painted thereupon withered away, but was restored again in answer to the prayers of Saint Gennadios. Later writers[4] repeat the incident, Theophanes[5] and Kedrenos[6] referring it to the year 463—just a twelvemonth after the destruction of the statue. Theodoros and most of the later authorities add the comment that the type with curly and short hair was the more authentic likeness.

We have here a clear recognition of two main types in the iconography of Christ—the one youthful and beardless, with comparatively short, curly hair, the other more mature and bearded, with moustache and flowing tresses. It used to be thought that the beardless type was considerably earlier than the bearded, the former alone being found till the end of the fourth century, the latter dating from the first half of the fifth[7]. But we now know that the two had existed side

[1] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 322 B—C (i. 564 Bekker) *ὅτι ἐν τοῖς Λαύσου ἦσαν... ἵστατο δὲ... καὶ ὁ Φειδίου ἐλεφάντινος Ζεύς, ὃν Περικλῆς ἀνέθηκεν εἰς νεὼν Ὀλυμπίων.*

[2] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 348 A—B (i. 609 f. Bekker) *τῷ ε' ἔτει γέγονεν ἐμπρησμὸς ἐν Κωνσταντινουπόλει...σφόδρα γὰρ ἐκράτει ὁ ἐμπρησμὸς οὗτος...ἐπὶ δὲ μεσημβρίας ἐν τῇ μέσῃ τῆς πόλεως ἀπὸ τῶν Λαύσου μέχρι τοῦ Ταύρου πάντα κατελυμήνατο,* Zonar. *ann.* 14 (ii. 62 B Ducange) *πνεύματος δὲ σφοδροῦ πνέοντος τηνικαῦτα, ἡ φλὸξ ἦρτο ταχέως ἀέριος, καὶ πολλὰς μεγίστας τε καὶ καλλίστας οἰκοδομὰς κατηθάλωσε, καὶ ἀγάλματα κατέφλεξεν ἀρχαίων ἀνδρῶν ἐπισήμων ἐπὶ σοφίᾳ καὶ ἐπ' ἀνδρείᾳ, κ.τ.λ.*

On this and other conflagrations at Constantinople see E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 1000.

[3] Theodor. Anagnost. *eccl. hist.* i. 15 (lxxxvi. i. 173 A Migne) *ἐπὶ Γενναδίου ἡ χεὶρ τοῦ ζωγράφου ἐξηράνθη τοῦ ἐν τάξει Διὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα γράψαι τολμήσαντος· ὃν δι' εὐχῆς ἰάσατο Γεννάδιος. φησὶ δὲ ὁ ἱστορῶν ὅτι τὸ ἄλλο σχῆμα τοῦ Σωτῆρος, τὸ οὖλον καὶ ὀλιγότριχον, ὑπάρχει τὸ ἀληθέστερον.*

[4] Collected by E. von Dobschütz *Christusbilder* Leipzig 1899 p. 107* f.

[5] Theophan. *chronogr.* 97 B (i. 174 Classen) on ann. mund. 5955=463 A.D. *τῷ δ' αὐτῷ ἔτει ζωγράφου τινὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα γράψαι τολμήσαντος καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Διός, ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ· ὃν ἐξαγορεύσαντα δι' εὐχῆς ἰάσατο Γεννάδιος. φασὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ὅτι τὸ οὖλον καὶ ὀλιγότριχον σχῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν.*

[6] Kedren. *hist. comp.* 348 D (i. 611 Bekker) *τῷ ϛ' ἔτει ζωγράφου τινὸς τὸν Σωτῆρα γράψαι τολμήσαντος καθ' ὁμοιότητα τοῦ Διός, ἐξηράνθη ἡ χεὶρ· ὃν ἐξαγορεύσαντα δι' εὐχῆς ἰάσατο Γεννάδιος. φασὶ δέ τινες τῶν ἱστορικῶν, ὅτι τὸ οὖλον καὶ ὀλιγότριχον σχῆμα ἐπὶ τοῦ Σωτῆρος οἰκειότερόν ἐστιν*—a verbal transcript from Theophanes.

[7] V. Schultze *Grundriss der christlichen Archäologie* München 1919 p. 132 contends that, in the absence of authentic portraiture, throughout the first four centuries of our era the prevalent conception of Christ, derived alike from the Old Testament (Psa. 45. 2) and

by side at least from the second half of the second century[1], though their relative frequency underwent continuous change. At first the

the New (John 1. 14, 2 Cor. 4. 4, Col. 1. 15, Hebr. 1. 3), necessitated an ideal rendering of him as the Son of God: 'Daraus ergaben sich für das Christusbild der Kunst zwei Folgerungen und Forderungen, Schönheit und Jugend. Sie bestimmen und erklären das Christusbild bis zum Ende des vierten Jahrhunderts, wo der erste Abschnitt seiner Geschichte schliesst.' *Id. ib.* p. 141 'Ich behaupte, dass in keinem einzigen Falle bisher ein bärtiger Christuskopf im 3. oder 4. Jahrhundert nachgewiesen ist. Die Reihe beginnt vielmehr erst mit dem 5. Jahrhundert.' To the same effect *id.* 'Ursprung und älteste Geschichte des Christusbildes' in the *Zeitschrift für kirchliche Wissenschaft und kirchliches Leben* 1883 iv. 301—315, *id. Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst* München 1895 pp. 341—345 ('Das Christusbild'), *id.* 'Christus in der frühchristlichen Kunst' in the *Strena Buliciana* Zagrebiae 1924 pp. 331—336 (p. 335 'Ich komme zu dem bärtigen Typus. Er tritt zuerst in der ersten Hälfte des fünften Jahrhunderts auf. Das vierte Jahrhundert kennt ihn nicht. Das ist eine Tatsache, die unumstösslich fest steht'), and elsewhere.

See further H. Holtzmann 'Ueber die Entstehung des Christusbildes der Kunst' in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 1877 iii. 189—192, *id.* 'Zur Entwickelung des Christusbildes der Kunst' *ib.* 1884 x. 71—136, L. Dietrichson *Christusbilledet* Kjøbenhavn 1880 pp. 1—444, L. von Sybel *Christliche Antike* Marburg 1906 i. 280—283, 1909 ii. 151—159, H. Dütschke *Ravennatische Studien* Leipzig 1909 pp. 99—121 ('Der jugendliche Christus von Ravenna'), O. M. Dalton *Byzantine Art and Archaeology* Oxford 1911 pp. 670—673 ('Types of Christ'), C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie*[2] Paderborn 1913 pp. 375—381, Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 pp. 100 ff., 280 f., H. Preuss *Das Bild Christi im Wandel der Zeiten*[2] Leipzig 1921, G. E. Meille *Christ's Likeness in History and Art* trans. E. M. Kirkman London 1924 pp. 1—178, R. Berger *Die Darstellung des thronenden Christus in der romanischen Kunst* Reutlingen 1926 pp. 1—232.

E. von Dobschütz *Christusbilder* Leipzig 1899 pp. 1—294 deals exhaustively with one special type of representation, the alleged ἀχειροποίητα (p. 263 'Der christliche Achiropoïiten-Glaube ist die Fortsetzung des griechischen Glaubens an Diipetē').

[1] See especially J. Sauer *Die ältesten Christusbilder* Berlin 1920 pp. 1—8 with 2 figs. and 13 pls., and the same scholar's enlarged study 'Das Aufkommen des bärtigen Christustypus in der frühchristlichen Kunst' in the *Strena Buliciana* Zagrebiae 1924 pp. 303—329.

The bronze group at Kaisareia Paneas is described by Euseb. *hist. eccl.* 7. 18 ἀλλ' ἐπειδὴ τῆσδε τῆς πόλεως εἰς μνήμην ἐλήλυθα, οὐκ ἄξιον ἡγοῦμαι παρελθεῖν διήγησιν καὶ τοῖς μεθ' ἡμᾶς μνημονεύεσθαι ἀξίαν. τὴν γὰρ αἱμορροοῦσαν, ἣν ἐκ τῶν ἱερῶν εὐαγγελίων πρὸς τοῦ σωτῆρος ἡμῶν τοῦ πάθους ἀπαλλαγὴν εὑρέσθαι μεμαθήκαμεν, ἐνθένδε ἔλεγον ὁρμᾶσθαι, τόν τε οἶκον αὐτῆς ἐπὶ τῆς πόλεως δείκνυσθαι, καὶ τῆς ὑπὸ τοῦ σωτῆρος εἰς αὐτὴν εὐεργεσίας θαυμαστὰ τρόπαια παραμένειν. ἑστάναι γὰρ ἐφ' ὑψηλοῦ λίθου πρὸς μὲν ταῖς πύλαις τοῦ αὐτῆς οἴκου γυναικὸς ἐκτύπωμα χάλκεον ἐπὶ γόνυ κεκλιμένον καὶ τεταμέναις ἐπὶ τὸ πρόσθεν ταῖς χερσίν, ἱκετευούσῃ ἐοικός, τούτου δὲ ἄντικρυς ἄλλο τῆς αὐτῆς ὕλης ἀνδρὸς ὄρθιον σχῆμα, διπλοΐδα κοσμίως περιβεβλημένον καὶ τὴν χεῖρα τῇ γυναικὶ προτεῖνον, οὗ παρὰ τοῖς ποσὶν ἐπὶ τῆς στήλης αὐτῆς ξένον τι βοτάνης εἶδος φύειν, ὃ μέχρι τοῦ κρασπέδου τῆς τοῦ χαλκοῦ διπλοΐδος ἀνιὸν ἀλεξιφάρμακόν τι παντοίων νοσημάτων τυγχάνειν. τοῦτον τὸν ἀνδριάντα τοῦ Ἰησοῦ εἰκόνα φέρειν ἔλεγον. ἔμεινε δὲ καὶ εἰς ἡμᾶς, ὡς καὶ ὄψει παραλαβεῖν ἐπιδημήσαντας αὐτοὺς τῇ πόλει. Cp. Nikephoros Kallistos Xanthopoulos *hist. eccl.* 6. 15 (cxlv. 1160 C—1161 A Migne). J. Wilpert 'Alte Kopie der Statue von Paneas' in the *Strena Buliciana* pp. 295—301 has shown that this much-discussed monument was certainly Christian not pagan in character, but represented the Syrophoenician woman (Mark 7. 26) rather than the woman with an issue of blood (Mark 5. 25). He accepts the suggestion of R. Garrucci *Storia della arte cristiana nei primi otto secoli della chiesa* Prato 1881 v. 44—47 pl. 323, 4—6 that a marble sarcophagus (no. 174) now in the Lateran Museum (O. Marucchi

beardless type was by far the more common, the bearded was rare and exceptional. But scenes of judgment, law-giving, and teaching, in which stress was laid on the majesty of the central figure, gradually popularised the maturer type[1] until it almost superseded the more youthful. It seems probable that both were to some extent influenced by pre-existing pagan types. I have already suggested that the boyish figure of Christ on the chalice of Antioch is reminiscent of the child Zeus or Dionysos[2]. And Furtwängler[3],

I monumenti del museo cristiano Pio-Lateranense Milano 1910 p. 22 pl. 29, 2, 2A, 2B) has preserved on its right-hand side a faithful copy of the Paneas bronze. If so, the figure of Christ was of the bearded type. Asterios, bishop of Amaseia, *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 505 b 5 ff. states that the bronze was destroyed by Maximinus, *i.e.* Galerius Valerius Maximinus (305—314 A.D.). But Philostorg. *hist. eccl.* 7. 3 (lxv. 537 C—539 C Migne) puts its demolition in the time of Julian (361—363 A.D.), as does Sozom. *hist. eccl.* 5. 21 (lxvii. 1280 B—C Migne) adding a story that, when Julian set up a statue of himself in its stead, this was struck by lightning: Philostorgios claims that the head of Christ was separately preserved by the Christians; Sozomenos, that the fragments of the whole figure were piously put together and bestowed in the church. See for details E. von Dobschütz *Christusbilder* Leipzig 1899 p. 250* ff.

The *hypogaeum* discovered at Rome in 1919 close to the Viale Manzoni was decorated with paintings which range from the second half of *s.* ii to the first half of *s.* iii A.D. (G. Bendinelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 pp. 123—141 with figs. 1—8 and pls. 1—4, *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1921 xxv. 304, R. Paribeni *Antichissime Pitture Cristiane a Roma* Milano 1921, R. Lanciani in *The Illustrated London News* for Jan. 14, 1922 p. 54 f. with 7 figs.). These include fine portrait-figures of the eleven Apostles, four representations of the Good Shepherd carrying a ram on his shoulders, and some more problematic landscape scenes. The most impressive of the second-century paintings shows a bearded man sitting on a wooded or bushy hillside with an open roll in his hand: below him sheep and kids are assembled (Bendinelli *loc. cit.* p. 131 f. pl. 3, M. H. Swindler *Ancient Painting* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 402 fig. 621, E. Strong *Art in Ancient Rome* London 1929 ii. 155 with fig. 492). We can hardly fail to recognise the Shepherd-Judge and Divine Ruler (*supra* ii. 1208 f.). And Bendinelli does well to recall the epitaph of Aberkios *μαθητὴς ποιμένος ἀγροῦ, | ὃς βόσκει προβάτων ἀγέλας ὄρεσιν πεδίοις τε, | ὀφθαλμοὺς ὃς ἔχει μεγάλους πάντη καθορῶντας. | οὗτος γάρ μ' ἐδίδαξε < > γράμματα πιστά* (text and commentary in C. M. Kaufmann *Handbuch der christlichen Archäologie* Paderborn 1913 pp. 717—725 and more fully in F. J. Dölger ΙΧΘΥC Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 454—507).

As to the bearded type in the Catacomb of Domitilla, J. Sauer in the *Strena Buliciana* p. 310 observes: 'Es findet sich in der Domitilla-Katakombe, Cubiculum III (Wilpert Taf. 40, 2; 54, 2 und S. 107) aus der 1. Hälfte des 3. Jahrhunderts: der Heiland ist hier als Richter oder Lehrer dargestellt mit langem Hauptbaar und kurzem aber vollem Barthaar. An der Identität dieser Figur ist trotz der Einwendungen von Victor Schultze [*Grundriss der christlichen Archäologie* p. 141] nicht zu zweifeln; die Nachweise Wilperts hiefür [Wilpert p. 406] sind unseres Erachtens völlig überzeugend.'

[1] J. Sauer in the *Strena Buliciana* p. 319 ff.

[2] *Supra* ii. 1209 f. For other possible influences see L. Dietrichson *Christusbilledet* Kjøbenhavn 1880 p. 146 ff. (Zeus, Apollon, Dionysos, with their 'Nebenfiguren' Sarapis, Asklepios, Orpheus), H. Holtzmann in the *Jahrbücher für protestantische Theologie* 1884 x. 93 ff. (Orpheus, Hermes), A. Furtwängler in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 p. 119 (Triptolemos or Eubouleus, Bonus Eventus).

[3] A. Furtwängler 'Vom Zeus des Phidias' in the *Mélanges Perrot* Paris 1902 pp. 109—120. Cp. V. Schultze *Archäologie der altchristlichen Kunst* München 1895

no mean critic of art-pedigrees, has contended that the Byzantine bearded type had for its actual 'Vorbild' the Pheidiac Zeus.

Be that as it may, Theodoros' tale of the fifth-century painter, who drew Christ in the likeness of Zeus, is one more reminder that Pheidias' ideal had gone far towards satisfying the aspirations of the

Fig. 782.

new faith. Even the lower classical conception of Zeus as a threatening storm-god appealed to the barbarians of the empire and finally made its way into the religious art of the Renaissance (fig. 782)[1].

* *
*

And what—it may be asked in conclusion—is the ultimate significance of all this coil—this cult of Zeus with its crude physical

p. 344 'Nur einmal ist auf einem Sarkophagrelief im Museo Kircheriano, wo ein ganz unfähiger Bildhauer Scenen aus dem Leben Jesu—Bergpredigt und Heilungen—zusammengefügt hat (Fig. 108), ein barbarisierter Zeustypus übernommen. Besonders tritt derselbe bei dem lehrenden Christus hervor. Für den Kopf, den Nackten Oberkörper, die Haltung lassen sich genaue antike Parallelen finden. Aber dieser Fall ist eine Ausnahme und will so beurteilt sein.' H. Holtzmann *loc. cit.* p. 87 ff. dwells on the influence of Asklepios (Zeus *Asklepiós supra* ii. 1076 ff.) and Sarapis (Zeus *Sárapis supra* i. 188 ff., ii. 1158, iii. 945). A. Alföldi *A Festival of Isis in Rome* Budapest 1937 p. 38 n. 54 pl. 7, 16 advocates Sarapis.

[1] I give as an example (or warning) a woodcut which appears in Alberto da Castello *Rosario della gloriosa Vergine Maria* Venetiis 1521 p. 190. See V. Masséna prince d'Essling *Les Livres à figures vénitiens* Florence—Paris 1909 ii. 2. 426. The illustration

beginnings, its slow mental and moral growth, its adolescent complexities, its later multifarious advances, approaches, contacts, overlappings, fusions, and identifications? That is a grave question, which I find hard to answer unless, like Browning's Ixion,

'Out of the wreck I rise—past Zeus to the Potency o'er him.'

Let us be bold to assert that throughout all ages and in every clime God has been making his mute appeal to men, drawing them, Jew and Gentile alike, with the cords of love nearer and nearer to Himself. Progressive illumination has been given them from above as they were able to bear it. The poets and thinkers of Hellas were receptive souls, and to them were vouchsafed glimpses and more than glimpses of eternal truth. If Pherekydes[1] taught that Zeus transformed himself into Love when he created the world, if Aischylos[2] found in Zeus the only possible solution for the problem of evil, if Aratos[3] said that 'always we all have need of Zeus,' if Dion[4] described Zeus as 'the common Father and Saviour and Keeper of mankind,' then Pherekydes and Aischylos and Aratos and Dion were not far from the Kingdom. And, unless I am greatly in error, the cult of Zeus took them one stage, one long stage, on the road thither. Platon[5] in the *Phaidros* speaks of those who follow Zeus and all the gods by an uphill path to the summit of the heavenly vault, the right view-point of the universe. What is the panorama that greets their purified eyes? A vista of ideal verities, says Platon[6], such as 'no earthly bard has ever yet sung or ever will sing in worthy strains.'

ΚΕΙΝΩΝ ΕΡΑΜΑΙ, ΚΕΙΘΙ ΓΕΝΟΙΜΑΝ[7].

is entitled 'Maria vergine sempre prega el figliolo per gli peccatori.' Christ, seated on the globe of heaven (*supra* i. 50 f.), is distinguished from Zeus or Iupiter only by the wounds in his hands and feet. The virgin, baring her breast in a last appeal (*supra* ii. 206 n. 2), is almost equally pagan.

[1] *Supra* ii. 316.
[2] *Supra* i p. v.
[3] *Supra* ii p. v.
[4] *Supra* p. 963.
[5] *Supra* ii. 43 f.

[6] Plat. *Phaedr.* 247 B—C ἔνθα δὴ πόνος τε καὶ ἀγὼν ἔσχατος ψυχῇ πρόκειται. αἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀθάνατοι καλούμεναι, ἡνίκ' ἂν πρὸς ἄκρῳ γένωνται, ἔξω πορευθεῖσαι ἔστησαν ἐπὶ τῷ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ νώτῳ, στάσας δὲ αὐτὰς περιάγει ἡ περιφορά, αἱ δὲ θεωροῦσι τὰ ἔξω τοῦ οὐρανοῦ. τὸν δὲ ὑπερουράνιον τόπον οὔ τέ τις ὕμνησέ πω τῶν τῇδε ποιητὴς οὔ τέ ποτ' ὑμνήσει κατ' ἀξίαν. ἔχει δὲ ὧδε. τολμητέον γὰρ οὖν τό γε ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν, ἄλλως τε καὶ περὶ ἀληθείας λέγοντα. The Christian equivalent will be found in 1 Cor. 2. 9 and 10.

[7] Eur. *ap.* Aristoph. *vesp.* 751. The schol. *ad loc.* says κείνων ἔραμαι· ἐξ Ἱππολύτου Εὐριπίδου. F. H. M. Blaydes, after L. C. Valckenaer, supposes a quotation from the earlier Ἱππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος. In any case the meaning of the original may be divined from Eur. *Alc.* 867 f. ζηλῶ φθιμένους, κείνων ἔραμαι, | κεῖν' ἐπιθυμῶ δώματα ναίειν.

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ZEUS

A STUDY IN ANCIENT RELIGION

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VOLUME III

ZEUS GOD OF THE DARK SKY
(EARTHQUAKES, CLOUDS, WIND,
DEW, RAIN, METEORITES)

χὠ Ζεὺς ἄλλοκα μὲν πέλει αἴθριος, ἄλλοκα δ' ὗει

THEOKRITOS 4. 43

PART II

APPENDIXES AND INDEX

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APPENDIX P.

FLOATING ISLANDS.

Floating islands have not yet been made the subject of any monograph[1]. But examples of them are given by Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 25. 7 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, and the anonymous author *de aquis mirabilibus* 37 ff. (formerly identified with Sotion (Phot. *bibl.* p. 145 b 28 ff. Bekker) and printed under that name by A. Westermann ΠΑΡΑΔΟΞΟΓΡΑΦΟΙ Brunsvigae 1839 p. 183 ff., but better edited as *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* by H. Oehler Tubingae 1913 and cited as such in W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 420 f.). Fact and fable are so blended in their accounts that individual cases call for separate consideration:

(1) Aiolos Hippotades lived on a floating island (*Od.* 10. 3 πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ as explained by Aristarchos *ap.* schol. H.M.Q.T.V. *Od.* 10. 3, Apollon. *lex. Hom.* p. 132, 18 f., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 51 ff., cp. Hesych. *s.v.* πλωτή, Phot. *lex. s.v.* πλωτόν, Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 18 f., Souid. *s.v.* πλωτὴ νῆσος, Zonar. *lex. s.v.* πλωτή, and W. W. Merry *ad loc.*), which was perhaps originally regarded as an island of souls (*supra* p. 109). On it see further K. Tümpel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 1032 ff.

(2) The Homeric Planktai were beetling rocks against which the waves broke. No birds could pass them in safety. Even the doves that brought ambrosia to Zeus always lost one of their number, and another had to be sent by him in its stead. Never yet had any ship escaped these rocks, for billows of salt water and blasts of destructive fire overwhelmed ships and crews alike. The Argo alone, on its voyage from Aietes, had passed them, being sent past in safety by Hera for Iason's sake (*Od.* 12. 59—72, 23. 327). There is no question here of clashing rocks, between which Odysseus must go (schol. Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 370). The poet, anxious to eliminate incredible marvels (*supra* ii. 989), has substituted παρά for διά (62 παρέρχεται, 69 παρέπλω, 72 παρέπεμψεν) and left us to suppose that the danger lay in being dashed against the rocks, not in being crushed between them. Nevertheless the name Πλαγκταί used of them by the blessed gods (61) implies that they were originally conceived as 'Wandering' rocks, and the sinister phrase ἀλλά τε καὶ τῶν αἰὲν ἀφαιρεῖται λὶς πέτρη (64) looks like a reminiscence of the clashing *motif.*

The Kyaneai (first in Soph. *Ant.* 966 or Hdt. 4. 85) or Symplegades (first in Eur. *Med.* 431) of the Argonauts' adventure were two living rocks which rushed together, rolling faster than the winds (Pind. *Pyth.* 4. 208 ff.). As early as *s.* v B.C., if not earlier, they were located on the Thracian Bosporos (Soph. *Ant.* 966 f. and Hdt. 4. 85) at the entrance to the Euxine (Eur. *I.T.* 124 f.), where they formed

[1] Unless we concede the name to such articles as those by Mary Johnston 'Floating islands, ancient and modern' in the *Classical Weekly* 1925—1926 xix. 58, L. R. Shero 'The Vadimonian Lake and floating islands of Equatorial Africa' *ib.* 1933—1934 xxvii. 51 f., J. W. Spaeth 'More floating islands' *ib.* p. 78, R. M. Geer 'Floating islands once more' *ib.* p. 152 or to such chapters as those of A. Breusing 'Nautisches zu Homeros. 6. ΠΛΩΤΗΙ ΕΝΙ ΝΗCΩΙ' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* 1886 xxxii. 85—92 and E. Hawks *The Book of Natural Wonders* London 1932 pp. 192—198 ('Disappearing Islands').

the mouth of the Pontos (Theokr. 22. 27 f., Nikeph. Greg. *hist. Byz.* 5. 4 (i. 134 Schopen)). Apollonios of Rhodes tells how the Argonauts on their outward voyage were warned by Phineus of the two Kyaneai, which were not firmly fixed with roots beneath but constantly clashed together amid boiling surf, and advised by him to send a dove in advance (Ap. Rhod. 2. 317 ff.); how they acted on his advice and saw the rocks shear off the tail-feathers of the bird; how they themselves making a desperate dash just got through, thanks to the helpful hands of Athena, with the loss of the tip of their stern-ornament; and how the rocks thenceforward were rooted fast and remained motionless (*ib.* 2. 549 ff.—a fine piece of writing). It should be observed that Apollonios is careful to distinguish the Kyaneai or Plegades, as he terms them (Ap. Rhod. 2. 596, 2. 645, and Καύνου κτίσις *frag.* 5. 4 Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 1 ff. and Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 1285), from the Homeric Planktai. For it is only on the return voyage that he works in an allusion to the Planktai, which are described as having surge at their bases and flame at their tops (Ap. Rhod. 4. 786 ff., 924 ff.) in obvious reference to the Lipari Islands (cp. Ap. Rhod. 3. 41 f. ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν (*sc.* Hephaistos) ἐς χαλκεῶνα καὶ ἄκμονας ἦρι βεβήκει, | νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς εὐρὺν μυχόν with schol. *ad loc.*).

Many of the Greeks, however, identified the Kyaneai or Symplegades of the Bosporos with the Planktai (so first, perhaps, Hdt. 4. 85, then Asklepiades (? of Myrleia: see G. Wentzel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1629) *ap.* schol. *Od.* 12. 69 and other νεώτεροι (schol. Eur. *Med.* 2) listed by O. Jessen in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2546). And sundry Roman poets, placing Scylla in Sicilian waters, associate her with clashing rocks (Ov. *met.* 7. 62 ff.) called Symplegades (Ov. *her.* 12. 121) or Cyaneae (Iuv. 15. 19 f.).

The right conclusion is drawn by O. Jessen *loc. cit.*, *viz.* that both the Planktai and the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose the ancient popular belief in a doorway to the Otherworld formed by clashing mountain-walls (T. Waitz *Anthropologie der Naturvölker* Leipzig 1864 iv. 166 the Mexican dead 'hatte aneinander schlagende Berge...zu passiren,' Jülg 'über die griechische Heldensage im Wiederscheine bei den Mongolen' in the *Verh. d.* 26. *Philologenversamml. in Würzburg* 1869 p. 64 in the Mongolian saga of Gesser Chan bk 4 'Von da weiterhin kommst du zu einer andern Verwandlung, nämlich zu zwei an einander schlagenden Felswänden; um zwischen denselben durchzukommen, musst du selbst ein Mittel ausfindig machen,' E. B. Tylor *Primitive Culture*[3] London 1891 i. 347 f. the Karens of Burma 'say that in the west there are two massive strata of rocks which are continually opening and shutting, and between these strata the sun descends at sunset,' *ib.* i. 348 f. in an Ottawa tale Iosco and his friends after travelling eastward for years reached the chasm that led to the land of the Sun and Moon; as the sky rose, Iosco and one friend leapt through, but the other two were caught by the sky as it struck the earth, A. Leskien—K. Brugman *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen* Strassburg 1882 p. 550 in a Slovenian tale the hero's mother 'stellt sich krank und will Wasser von zwei zusammenschlagenden Felsen, die aber keine Felsen, sondern Teufel sind, und nur um Mitternacht zwei Minuten schlafen,' *ib.* p. 551 in a similar Slovak tale the mother 'stellt sich krank und verlangt...das Wasser des Lebens und des Todes, das unter zwei Bergen ist, von denen der eine um Mittag, der andere um Mitternacht sich erhebt und gleich wieder zufällt,' *ib.* in a similar tale from Little Russia the mother 'stellt sich krank und schickt den Sohn...nach heilendem und belebendem Wasser zu den zusammenschlagenden Bergen,' W. R. S. Ralston *Russian Folk-tales* London 1873 p. 235 f. cites stories of the

same type. In one 'the hero is sent in search of "a healing and a vivifying water," preserved between two lofty mountains which cleave closely together, except during "two or three minutes" of each day...."Prince Ivan spurred his heroic steed, flew like a dart between the mountains, dipped two flasks in the waters, and instantly turned back." He himself escapes safe and sound, but the hind legs of his horse are caught between the closing cliffs, and smashed to pieces. The magic waters, of course, soon remedy this temporary inconvenience.... In a similar story from the Ukraine, mention is made of two springs of healing and life-giving water, which are guarded by iron-beaked ravens, and the way to which lies between grinding hills. The Fox and the Hare are sent in quest of the magic fluid. The Fox goes and returns in safety, but the Hare, on her way back, is not in time quite to clear the meeting cliffs, and her tail is jammed in between them. Since that time, hares have had no tails,' M. Gaster *Rumanian Bird and Beast Stories* London 1915 p. 263 ff. in a Rumanian tale Floria, sent to fetch the Water of Life and the Water of Death, was helped by a lame stork, which went straight to the mountains that knock against one another, waited—at the advice of a swallow—till noon when they rest for half an hour, then plunged into their depth and filled two bottles, but lost his tail as the mountains closed furiously upon him. And that is why storks have no tails, J. G. von Hahn *Griechische und albanesische Märchen* Leipzig 1864 ii. 46 in a Greek tale from Syra (*supra* ii. 1004 ff.) the girl Moon, helped by the bird Dikjeretto, fetched the Water of Life from a spring in a mountain which opened at midday, but had to cut off a piece of her dress that was caught by the closing cleft, *ib.* ii. 280 f. in another tale from Syra, akin to the group noted by Leskien and Brugman (=von Hahn's nineteenth *formula* 'Schwester- oder Mutter-Verrath oder Skyllaformel'), the hero's mother feigns illness and craves for the Water of Life (*ἀθάναρο νερό*): the young man is directed by an old dame, in reality his Fate (*ἦταν ἡ τύχη τοῦ παιδιοῦ*), to a mountain which opens every day at noon and contains many springs; he is guided to the right one by a bee, *ib.* ii. 283 f. in a variant from Vitza in Epeiros the prince's elder sister pretends to be ill and sends him for the Water of Life, which a lame crow obtains from a mountain that opens and shuts, *ib.* i. 238 in a tale from the Zagori district of Epeiros a prince, to win Goldylocks, must needs fetch the Water of Life from a mountain which opens only for a moment and then shuts to with a snap; he gets it from a helpful raven, who brings it to him in a gourd, *ib.* ii. 194 f. in another tale from Zagori the hero, to win the king's daughter, has to obtain the Water of Life from a mountain which opens and closes again with the speed of lightning; he borrows the wings of a helpful eagle and escapes with filled gourd, R. Köhler in the *Gott. Gel. Anz.* 1871 ii. 1403 f. no. (3)=*id. Kleinere Schriften* Weimar 1898 i. 367 f. in a modern Greek tale a king's son sets out to find for his sick father the Water of Immortality (*τ' ἀθάναρο νερό*) 'welches sich am Ende der Welt hinter zwei hohen Bergen befindet, die nach Art der Symplegaden immer auseinandergehen und wieder zusammenstossen' [...ebenso bei Sakellarios No. 8. Vgl. auch Wenzig Westslaw. Märchenschatz S. 148]. On the Water of Life see further A. Wünsche *Die Sagen vom Lebensbaum und Lebenswasser* Leipzig 1905 pp. 90—104 ('Das Wasser des Lebens als Zauberbrunnen in den Märchen der Völker'), J. Bolte—G. Polívka *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- u. Hausmärchen der Brüder Grimm* Leipzig 1915 iii. 394—401 ('Das Wasser des Lebens')). A seafaring people might naturally conceive of such a portal as a pair of floating rocks or islets. Thus in a Greenland tale the hero Giviok 'continued paddling until he came in sight of two icebergs, with a narrow passage between them;

and he observed that the passage alternately opened and closed again. He tried to pass the icebergs by paddling round outside them, but they always kept ahead of him; and at length he ventured to go right between them. With great speed and alacrity he pushed on, and had just passed when the bergs closed together, and the stern-point of his kayak got bruised between them' (H. Rink *Tales and Traditions of the Eskimo* Edinburgh—London 1875 p. 158 f.). It would, however, be unsafe to infer from this tale that the Planktai were 'an early attempt to reproduce some sailor's story of the floating icebergs' (W. W. Merry on *Od.* 12. 61) and that the Kyaneai or Symplegades presuppose a dim recollection of icebergs in the Black Sea (cp. for the facts E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 p. 6). Both alike are but mariners' versions of the gateway to the Otherworld.

See further F. Wieseler *commentatio de Cyaneis sive Symplegadibus* Gottingae 1879 pp. 1—20, O. Jessen 'Planktai' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 2540—2548, Sir J. G. Frazer in his ed. of Apollodoros London—New York 1921 ii. 355—358 (Append. v 'The Clashing Rocks'), Miss J. R. Bacon *The Voyage of the Argonauts* London 1925 p. 79 f.

(3) As knowledge of the Mediterranean increased there was a tendency to put the clashing rocks further and further afield. Close to the Ceraunian mountains were two rocks which clashed together as often as any trouble threatened the natives (Dionys. *per.* 394 ff. *ἔνθα σφιν τέρας ἄλλο θεοὶ θέσαν· ἀμφὶ γὰρ αἶαν | κείνην ἀμφοτέρωθεν ἐρηρέδαται δύο πέτραι, | αὖτ' ἄμφω ξυνίασι δονεύμεναι, εὖτέ τις ἀρχὴ | γίγνεται ἐνναέτησι κυλινδομένοιο κακοῖο* with Eustath. *ad loc.* Tzetz. *chil.* 4. 707 ff. confuses these rocks with the graves of Kadmos and Harmonia noted by Dionysios in the same context): this reads like a bit of genuine folklore and may even be older than the location of the Homeric Planktai in the Lipari Islands. Others, impressed apparently by the fact that Tartessos sounds like Tartaros (Strab. 149), transferred both the Planktai and the Symplegades to the neighbourhood of Gadeira and identified them with the pillars of Herakles (Strab. 170, quoted by Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 64). Others, again, declared that Homer etc. were speaking of rocks that lay between Kilikia (? Lykia A.B.C.) and Pamphylia (Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 815—apparently by confusion with the Chelidonides Nesoi: see Ap. Rhod. *Καύνου κτίσις frag.* 5. 3 f. Powell *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Par.* iv. 16, 4 f.).

(4) An oriental analogue to the Planktai may be found in the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre. Nonn. *Dion.* 40. 422 ff. relates that, when Dionysos was in Tyre, he enquired of Herakles *Ἀστροχίτων* how the city came to be. The god replied that he had roused the original earth-born natives from slumber, bidding them build the first ship and cross the sea till they should reach the Ambrosiai Petrai. These were two floating rocks, on which grew an olive in the very centre of the rock. On its topmost boughs they would see an eagle perched and a well-wrought bowl. Fiery sparks sprang from the flaming tree, which, for all that, was not consumed. A snake was coiled about it, but neither hurt nor was hurt by the eagle (467 ff. *εἰσόκε χῶρον ἵκοισθε μεμορμένον, ὁππόθι δισσαὶ | ἀσταθέες πλώουσιν ἀλήμονες εἰν ἁλὶ πέτραι, | ἃς Φύσις Ἀμβροσίας ἐπεφήμισεν, αἷς ἔνι θάλλει | ἥλικος αὐτόρριζον ὁμόζυγον ἔρνος ἐλαίης, | πέτρης ὑγροπόροιο μεσόμφαλον· ἀκροτάτοις δὲ | αἰετὸν ἀθρήσητε παρεδρήσοντα κορύμβοις | καὶ φιάλην εὔτυκτον· ἀπὸ φλογεροῖο δὲ δένδρου | θαμβαλέους σπινθῆρας ἐρεύγεται αὐτόματον πῦρ, | καὶ στέλας ἀφλεγέος περιβόσκεται ἔρνος ἐλαίης· | καὶ φυτὸν ὑψιπέτηλον ἕλιξ ὄφις ἀμφιχορεύει, | κ.τ.λ.*). They were to capture the bird and sacrifice it to *Kyanochaites*, pouring its blood as a libation to the sea-roaming hills and to

Zeus and to the blessed ones. The rock would then stay rooted to the spot, and on both its peaks they would be able to plant their town. This remarkable description is borne out on the one hand by a passage in the novel of Achilleus Tatios, on the other by a modern Palestinian folk-tale.

Ach. Tat. 2. 14 quotes an oracle current among the Byzantines—*νῆσός τις πόλις ἐστὶ φυτώννυμον αἷμα λαχοῦσα, | ἰσθμὸν ὁμοῦ καὶ πορθμὸν ἐπ' ἠπείροιο φέρουσα,| ἔνθ' Ἥφαιστος ἔχων χαίρει γλαυκῶπιν Ἀθήνην· | κεῖθι θυηπολίην σε φέρειν κέλομαι Ἡρακλεῖ* (cp. *Anth. Pal.* 14. 34)—and explains that the island-city with inhabitants named after trees is Tyre occupied by the Phoinikes. Its isthmus-strait is the narrow neck of land uniting it with the shore, since water flows beneath it. Here, too, Hephaistos in a sense enjoys Athena—witness the sacred precinct in which a flaming fire and an olive-tree are to be seen side by side, the soot of the former positively tending the branches of the latter.

A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 45 draws attention to a tale published by H. Schmidt—P. Kahle *Volkserzählungen aus Palästina* Göttingen 1918 p. 146 ff. no. 42, in which it is said of the hero: 'Er kam zu Schâms ed-Duhha und fragte sie nach dem Wasser des Lebens. Da sagte sie: "Hinter dem Garten der Jungfrauen eine Tagereise zwischen zwei Bergen! Wer hinuntersteigt, über dem schlagen die beiden Bergen zusammen. Sein Lebtag ist niemand, der hinunterstieg, wieder herausgekommen. Du aber schöpfe es (das Wasser) von oben aus." Er gelangte dorthin. Da war ein Baum, über dem schwebte ein Vogel, über seinem Wipfel. Er zog sein Schwert und ging auf den Baum zu. Da war dort eine Schlange, die wollte die Brut des Vogels fressen. Sie kam auf ihn zu. Er schlug auf sie ein und tötete sie. Dann band er dem Vogel eine Flasche an den Hals. Der flog hin, füllte die Flasche und flog auf. Und während er aufflog, schlugen die Berge hinter ihm zusammen und rupften ihm den Schwanz und die Flügel. Da nahm jener die Flasche und ging zurück zur Schâms ed-Duhha.' It will be observed that the two clashing mountains, behind which is the Water of Life, the tree, the snake, the helpful bird with the bottle attached to its neck, make up a picture curiously similar to that of the Ambrosiai Petrai as described by Nonnos.

Bronze coins of Tyre, struck by a succession of Roman imperial persons from Caracalla (211—217 A.D.) to Salonina (253—268 A.D.), have for reverse type the ΑΜΒΡΟCΙЄ ΠЄΤΡЄ or ΠΑΙΤΡЄ (*sic*). These are shown sometimes as two *omphaloí* on separate bases, with an olive-tree growing between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 430 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 15 = my fig. 783 from a cast, p. 284 no. 442 Trebonianus Gallus, p. 291 no. 473 Valerianus i, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* Paris 1893 p. 328 no. 2241 Elagabalos, p. 330 no. 2255 Aquilia Severa pl. 37, 9, p. 331 no. 2258 Iulia Maesa pl. 37, 11, p. 333 no. 2270 Gordianus iii, p. 340 no. 2302 Volusianus, p. 348 nos. 2349—2351 Gallienus pl. 38, 24 f., W. M. Leake *Numismata Hellenica* London 1854 Asiatic Greece p. 140 f. Elagabalos = my fig. 784 from a cast), sometimes as two *stêlai* on a single base, between crescent and star, with a flaming *thymiatérion* on one side and an olive-tree on the other (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 429 Gordianus iii pl. 33, 14 = my fig. 785 from a cast, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 270 no. 58 Gordianus iii pl. 77, 9 = my fig. 786, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 334 no. 2271 Gordianus iii pl. 37, 16). Or, again, they appear in the field as a local background. Thus Herakles, with club and lion-skin, pours a libation from a *phiále* over a burning altar, above which are seen the two *stêlai*, with streams issuing from their bases (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 281 no. 427

Gordianus iii pl. 33, 13 = my fig. 787 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achémenides* p. 321 f. no. 2198 Caracalla pl. 36, 16, p. 330 no. 2253 Aquilia Severa, p. 341 no. 2309 Valerianus i pl. 38, 8, p. 346 no. 2342 Gallienus: p. 341 no. 2308 Valerianus i pl. 38, 7 has trophy in place of altar). Okeanos, reclining, with head-dress of crab's claws, holds in his left hand an oar and extends his right towards the *stêlai*, from which streams flow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 289 no. 464 Valerianus i, p. 296 no. 497 Salonina pl. 35, 5 = my fig. 788 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2343 Gallienus pl. 38, 20).

Fig. 783.

Fig. 784.

Fig. 785.

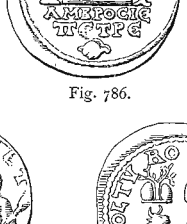

Fig. 786.

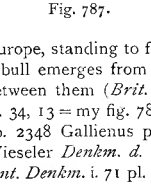

Fig. 787.

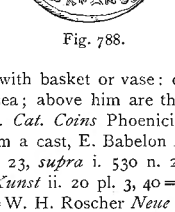

Fig. 788.

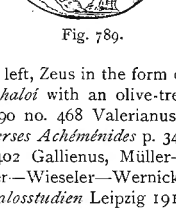

Fig. 789.

Europe, standing to front, with basket or vase: on the left, Zeus in the form of a bull emerges from the sea; above him are the *omphaloi* with an olive-tree between them (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. 290 no. 468 Valerianus i pl. 34, 13 = my fig. 789 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 347 no. 2348 Gallienus pl. 38, 23, *supra* i. 530 n. 2 fig. 402 Gallienus, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 20 pl. 3, 40 = Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 71 pl. 7, 6 = W. H. Roscher *Neue Omphalosstudien* Leipzig 1915 pp. 15 n. 34, 71 fig. Gallienus).

These coins enable us to trace the Ambrosiai Petrai back to a date nearly a century earlier than Achilleus Tatios, our earliest literary authority, and some two centuries earlier than Nonnos. As is so often the case, the earliest conception

is the simplest. Here are seen two *omphaloí* or *stêlai* with rounded tops, from the base of which streams are flowing. Streams of what? Presumably of *ambrosía*. The rocks, to deserve their name, must themselves be the very source of that elixir (for the Water of Life as honey see *e.g. Kalevala* 15. 377 ff. trans. W. F. Kirby, cp. W. H. Roscher *Nektar und Ambrosia* Leipzig 1883 p. 46 ff., W. Robert—Tornow *De apium mellisque apud veteres significatione et symbolica et mythologica* Berolini 1893 pp. 85—89, 122—126). I cannot, therefore, agree with Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 390 'profluente subtus aqua, nimirum quod

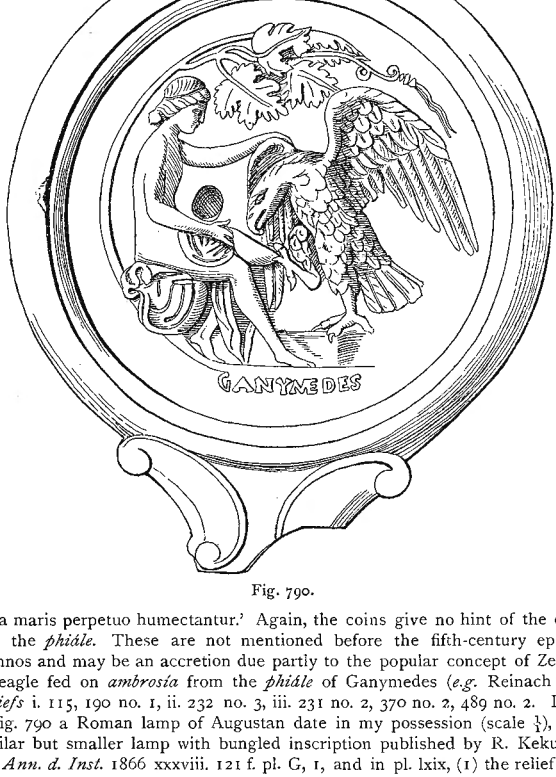

Fig. 790.

aqua maris perpetuo humectantur.' Again, the coins give no hint of the eagle and the *phiále*. These are not mentioned before the fifth-century epic of Nonnos and may be an accretion due partly to the popular concept of Zeus as an eagle fed on *ambrosía* from the *phiále* of Ganymedes (*e.g.* Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* i. 115, 190 no. 1, ii. 232 no. 3, iii. 231 no. 2, 370 no. 2, 489 no. 2. I add in fig. 790 a Roman lamp of Augustan date in my possession (scale $\frac{1}{1}$), cp. a similar but smaller lamp with bungled inscription published by R. Kekulé in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 121 f. pl. G, 1, and in pl. lxix, (1) the relief on a bronze mirror-case of early imperial date from Miletopolis (*Melde*) acquired in 1907 by the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge (diameter 6½ inches); (2) an exact

replica of it in the collection of the late Dr A. H. Lloyd, Cambridge. On comparison with the *sarcophagus* at Rome (Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 87 pl. 9, 19=Amelung *Sculpt. Vatic.* ii. 277 f. no. 97 a pl. 24=Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 370 no. 2) it becomes clear that the design is better suited to a circular than to an oblong space. The recumbent female figure, according to Amelung, is 'wohl eine Personification des Berges Ida.' I too should take her to be the Phrygian or Cretan nymph Ide (E. Neustadt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 880), or—less probably—the nymph Ambrosia (K. Wernicke *ib.* i. 1809), from whom Ganymedes has received the bowl. Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 546 f., W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1599, and P. Friedländer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 748, however, contend that the scene is laid in heaven, not on earth: cp. Val. Flacc. 2. 415 ff.), partly to the fact that in Levantine art of the Graeco-Roman age an eagle on a sacred stone had a solar significance (*supra* i. 603 f. fig. 475, ii. 186 figs. 129 f. See also F. Cumont in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119—164, 1911 lxiii. 208—214, republished with modifications and additions in his *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs'), S. Ronzevalle in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale de Beyrouth* 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' 1912 v. 2. 117—178, 221—231, L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20, Mrs A. Strong *Apotheosis and After Life* London 1915 pp. 181—187). The snake is a further accretion, elsewhere connected with the solar eagle of the Phoenician Ba'al-šamin (*supra* i. 191 f. fig. 138) and comparable with the snake twined round an ovoid stone or *omphalós* on other bronze coins of Tyre (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia pp. cxli, 278 no. 413 Elagabalos pl. 33, 8=my fig. 791 from a cast, E. Babelon *Les Perses Achéménides* p. 328 no. 2240 Elagabalos pl. 37, 5, p. 339 no. 2296 Trebonianus Gallus pl. 37, 29). This serpent-twined egg appears to have had a cosmic significance: cp. Epikouros *ap.* Epiphan. *panar. haeres.* 1. 8. 1 (i. 294 Dindorf)=H. Diels *Doxogr.* p. 589, 11 ff. *εἶναι δὲ ἐξ ὑπαρχῆς ᾠοῦ δίκην τὸ σύμπαν, τὸ δὲ πνεῦμα δρακοντοειδῶς περὶ τὸ ᾠὸν ὡς στέφανον ἢ ὡς ζώνην περισφίγγειν τότε τὴν φύσιν. θελῆσαν δὲ βιασμῷ τινι †καιρῷ* (Diels cj. *καὶ σῷ* cp. Aristot. *de caelo* 4. 6 313 b 5) *περισσοτέρῳ σφίγξαι τὴν πᾶσαν ὕλην εἴτ' οὖν φύσιν τῶν πάντων, οὕτω διχάσαι μὲν τὰ ὄντα εἰς τὰ δύο ἡμισφαίρια καὶ λοιπὸν ἐκ τούτου τὰ ἄτομα διακεκρίσθαι.*

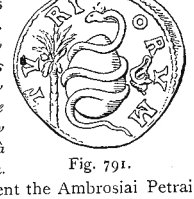

Fig. 791.

It does not appear with certainty on coins that represent the Ambrosiai Petrai (*pace* J. F. Vaillant *Numismata ærea Imperatorum, Augustorum, et Cæsarum, in coloniis, municipiis, et urbibus iure Latio donatis, ex omni modulo percussa* Parisiis 1695 ii. 101 fig., 151 fig., Eckhel *Doctr. num. vet.*[2] iii. 389, Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 828. Sir G. F. Hill wrote to me (April 8, 1926) with regard to the specimens in the British Museum: 'There is something twining (?) round the trunk of the tree between the stones, and I have no reason to suspect either Vaillant or Eckhel...'). Lastly, the fire, which Achilleus Tatios makes into a marvel and Nonnos into a miracle, figures on the coins only as a flaming *thymiatérion* or altar. The essential elements, present from the first, are the two rocks, the Water of Life or *ambrosía* that flows from them, and the olive-tree growing between or beside them.

Now the whole of this ambrosial business has a suspiciously Hellenistic look about it, and we may well surmise that it has been grafted on to older beliefs of indigenous growth. Sir G. F. Hill in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Phoenicia p. cxli

1

2

(1) A bronze mirror-case in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge: Ganymedes feeds the Eagle in the presence of a Nymph.

(2) A similar mirror-case in the Lloyd collection, Cambridge.

See page 981.

very pertinently asks: 'Have these two baetyls any connexion with the two stelae dedicated by "Ousoos" to fire and wind?' Ousoös, the eponym of Ušû or Palai-Tyros (F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 8, 166 f.), was the brother and rival of Samemroumos or Hypsouranios (*supra* ii. 981 n. 1). If Hypsouranios invented huts made of reeds, grasses, and papyrus, Ousoös invented clothing made of skins from beasts that he had captured. During a violent storm of rain and wind the trees at Tyre, rubbing against one another, kindled a fire and burnt the wood. Ousoös caught hold of a tree, stripped off the branches, and was the first who dared to put to sea. He dedicated two *stêlai* to Pyr and Pneuma, worshipped them, and poured as a libation to them the blood of the beasts that he had taken in the chase. When these persons died, the survivors dedicated rods to them and, celebrating a yearly festival for them, worshipped the *stêlai* (Philon Bybl. *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 566 Müller) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 1. 10. 10 f. *δένδρου δὲ λαβόμενον τὸν Οὐσώου καὶ ἀποκλαδεύσαντα πρῶτον τολμῆσαι εἰς θάλατταν ἐμβῆναι· ἀνιερῶσαι δὲ δύο στήλας Πυρὶ καὶ Πνεύματι, καὶ προσκυνῆσαι, αἷμά τε σπένδειν αὐταῖς ἐξ ὧν ἤγρευε θηρίων. τούτων δὲ τελευτησάντων, τοὺς ἀπολειφθέντας φησὶ ῥάβδους αὐτοῖς ἀφιερῶσαι, καὶ τὰς στήλας προσκυνεῖν, καὶ τούτοις ἑορτὰς ἄγειν κατ' ἔτος*). If, as seems probable, we have here a genuine echo of Phoenician cosmogony (*supra* ii. 1036 ff.), we may reasonably suppose at Tyre an actual cult of two cosmic *stêlai* (cp. *supra* ii. 425 f.) later equated with the Ambrosiai Petrai. Hence the abnormal representation of the Petrai on imperial coins as a couple of *stêlai*. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 576 n. 5 asserts with confidence: 'Es sind die zwei Masseben, die Usōos...dem Wind und dem Feuer geweiht haben soll; d. h. die beiden Gipfel des Weltenberges, durch die zwei Stelen dargestellt, versinnlichen den Feuer- und den Windpunkt des Jahreskreises (oben S. 451 f.), die winterliche Wassertiefe ist durch das Meer vertreten, auf dem die *διοσαὶ πέτραι* schwimmen. Hinter dem Namen "ambrosische" Felsen steckt hier in Palaityrus natürlich eine semitische Bezeichnung, etwa 'amm bērōth "Mutter der Quellen" oder dgl.'

On this showing there is a close parallelism between the Ambrosiai Petrai of Tyre, perhaps identified with the pillars of Pyr and Pneuma, and the Planktai or Symplegades of Gadeira, certainly identified with the pillars of Herakles (*supra* p. 978 n. 0 (3)). Even the olive-tree of Tyre reappears at Gadeira (Philostr. *v. Apoll.* 5. 5 p. 167 Kayser *ἡ Πυγμαλίωνος δὲ ἐλαία ἡ χρυσῆ, ἀνάκειται δὲ κἀκείνη ἐς τὸ Ἡράκλειον, ἀξία μέν, ὡς φασι, καὶ τοῦ θαλλοῦ θαυμάζειν, ᾧ εἴκασται, θαυμάζεσθαι δ' ἂν ἐπὶ τῷ καρπῷ μᾶλλον, βρύειν γὰρ αὐτὸν σμαράγδου λίθου*—noted by A. J. Wensinck *op. cit.* p. 19).

(5) Bouto (Boutos, Boutoi), an Egyptian town in the north-western part of the Delta (K. Sethe in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1087 f., H. R. Hall *The Ancient History of the Near East* London 1913 p. 97 f., F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 903 ff.), gave its name to a neighbouring lake the Boutike Limne (Strab. 802). The town was famous for its cult of Leto, the lake for a floating island called Chembis (E. A. Wallis Budge *The Gods of the Egyptians* London 1904 i. 442 'the Island of Khebit'), which was sacred to Apollon (Hekataios *frag.* 284 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 20 Müller) =*frag.* 305 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 40 Jacoby) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Χέμμις). According to Herodotos, the lake near the sanctuary at Bouto was deep and wide; the island carried a great temple of Apollon with three altars, besides many palms, fruit-trees, etc.; and the local myth was as follows. When Typhon was searching high and low for the son of Osiris, Leto, one of the eight earliest deities, having

an oracle at Bouto, received Apollon in charge from Isis and hid him for safety in this island (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 38), which up to that time had been fixed but was thenceforward said to be afloat. Apollon and Artemis were children of Dionysos by Isis, Leto being their nurse and preserver: in Egyptian Apollon was Horos, Demeter was Isis, Artemis was Boúbastis (Hdt. 2. 156, cp. Mela 1. 55 Chemmis, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 60 f. Ἔχεμις). The goddess thus identified by the Greeks with Leto was the Egyptian Bouto, earlier Udō, on whom see K. Sethe *loc. cit.* iii. 1086 f., H. R. Hall *op. cit.* p. 97. Hommel claims that she was originally the chief goddess of Punt and notes an Egyptian folk-tale, dating from the early part of the second millennium B.C., in which the serpent-king of Punt inhabits an Island of Ghosts that can suddenly sink in the waves (F. Hommel *op. cit.* p. 636, cp. *id. Die Insel der Seligen in Mythus und Sage der Vorzeit* München 1901 p. 18 ff.). Gruppe regards the Egyptian floating island Chemmis as, 'direkt oder mittelbar,' the source of the Greek floating island Delos (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2, cp. *ib.* p. 239). But definite evidence of Egyptian cult in Delos is late (P. Roussel *Les cultes égyptiens à Délos du iii*e *au i*er *siècle av. J.-C.* Nancy 1916 p. 239 ff., *id. Délos colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 249 ff. ('Divinités égyptiennes')).

(6) When Leto was in travail with Apollon, she went round the coasts and islands of the Aegean seeking a home for her future son. No place would accept him save Delos, and even Delos at first feared to do so, since he was like to be a froward and masterful child, who might on seeing the rocky nature of the island overturn it with his feet and sink it in the sea. Such fears were set at rest by Leto, who swore that her son should have his cult established in Delos and honour it for ever (*h. Ap.* 14—88). This passage suggests that Delos was unstable, if not actually afloat—a notion far more clearly expressed by Pindar, who definitely states that the island was driven about by winds and waves till Leto, as her time drew near, set foot upon it: then and there four pillars sprang from the abyss and bore up the rocky isle, where the goddess gave birth to the god (Pind. *frag.* 87+88 Bergk⁴, Schröder *ap.* Theophr. *ap.* Philon. *de incorrupt. mundi* 23 p. 511 Mangey+Strab. 485, schol. *Od.* 10. 3, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iii. 464, 6 ff., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 54 f., cp. Arrian. *frag.* 73 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 599 f. Müller) *ap.* Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 525, Plout. *de facie in orbe lunae* 6, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 6. 26. 3). L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2462 holds that Pindar in the same context represents Delos as 'vom Himmel gefallen.' That is hardly so. Pindar *loc. cit.* says ἄν τε βροτοί | Δᾶλον κικλήσκοισιν, μάκαρες δ' ἐν Ὀλύμ|πῳ τηλέφαντον κυανέας χθονὸς ἄστρον—hinting at the old name Ἀστερία (*supra* i. 543 n. 6) and working it into a metaphor of exceptional beauty (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Sappho und Simonides* Berlin 1913 p. 131 'Hier den Namen Asteria herauszuhören, ist etwas Rätselraten; aber wie grossartig ist die Vorstellung, dass die Erde für den Blick der Götter eine blaue Fläche ist, wie ihr Himmel für uns, auf dem ihnen dann Delos, so klein sie ist, als ein heller Stern lieblich aufleuchtet. Wer an sprachlicher Kunst als solcher Gefallen findet, wird hier ein Juwel, einen seltenen Edelstein in reichster Fassung anerkennen;' etc., quoted by Sir J. E. Sandys *ad loc.*). But the metaphor of the fifth century becomes the myth of the third: ἀλλ' ἄφετος πελάγεσσιν ἐπέπλεες, οὔνομα δ' ἦν σοι | Ἀστερίη τὸ παλαιόν, ἐπεὶ βαθὺν ἦλαο τάφρον | οὐρανόθεν φεύγουσα Διὸς γάμον ἀστέρι ἴση (Kallim. *h. Del.* 36 ff.).

The story of Delos, once afloat but now fixed for ever, was popularised by Virgil and became a commonplace in later literature (Varro *ap.* Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 29, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73 ff. with Serv. and interp. Serv. *ad loc.*, Prop. 4. 6. 27,

Ov. *her.* 21. 82 ff., *met.* 6. 186 ff., 333 ff., Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 6. 26. 3 f., *Ag.* 384 ff., *H.f.* 15, 457, Petron. *de Delo* 1 ff. (*Poet. Lat. min.* iv. 101 Baehrens), Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66, Stat. *Ach.* 1. 388, *Theb.* 7. 182 ff., 8. 197 f., Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 1. 701, 3. 439, 7. 182, Paneg. 3. 18 Jäger = 4 (9). 18. 2 Bährens, Claud. 1 *in Prob. et Olyb. cons.* 185, 35 *de rapt. Pros.* 2. 34 f., *carm. min. append.* 2 *laudes Herculis* (p. 1418 Weber). 62 = A. Riese *Anthologia Latina*[2] Lipsiae 1906 i. 2. 54 carm. 494[b]. 62, Dracont. 10. 594 f. (*Poet. Lat. min.* v. 214 Baehrens), Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1644, 52 ff., *in* Dionys. *per.* 561). The fullest form of the tale is that given by Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 3. 73 (= Lact. Plac. *in* Stat. *Theb.* 4. 795, 5. 533, and *Ach.* 1. 206, Myth. Vat. 1. 37, 2. 17, 3. 8. 3, cp. Hyg. *fab.* 53, 140, Isid. *orig.* 14. 6. 21 = *Antonini Augusti itinerarium maritimum* p. 527 Wesseling) post vitiatam Latonam Iuppiter cum etiam eius sororem Asterien vitiare vellet, illa optavit a diis ut in avem converteretur, versaque in coturnicem est. et cum vellet maria transfretare, quod coturnicum est, adflata a Iove et in lapidem conversa diu sub fluctibus latuit. postea supplicante Iovi Latona levata superferri aquis coepit. haec primo Neptuno et Doridi fuit consecrata. postea, cum Iuno gravidam Pythone inmisso Latonam persequeretur, terris omnibus expulsa, tandem aliquando adplicante se litoribus sorore suscepta est, et illic Dianam primo, post Apollinem peperit. qui statim occiso Pythone ultus est matris iniuriam. sane nata Diana parturienti Apollinem matri dicitur praebuisse obstetricis officium. unde, cum Diana sit virgo, tamen a parturientibus invocatur. haec namque est Diana, Iuno, Proserpina. nata igitur duo numina terram sibi natalem errare non passa sunt, sed eam duabus insulis religaverunt. etc.

Aristot. *frag.* 446 Rose *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 66 (Solin. 11. 18) thought that Delos was so called because it had appeared suddenly on the surface of the sea—a notion repeated in schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 308 and expanded in *et. mag.* p. 264, 23 ff. Δῆλος· ἡ ἱερὰ (so F. Sylburg for ἡ ἱέρεια codd. F. G. Sturz cj. νῆσος ἱερὰ after Favorin. *lex.* p. 475, 21) τοῦ Ἀπόλλωνος, εἴρηται ὅτι κρυπτομένην αὐτὴν ἐν τῇ θαλάσσῃ ὁ Ζεὺς δῆλην ἐποίησε καὶ ἀνέδωκεν ἵνα τέκῃ ἡ Λητώ (so, or with τέκοι, F. Sylburg for ἵνα ᾖ Λητὼ codd. A. Berkel cj. ἵνα ἀνέβῃ Λητώ). Ζεὺς γὰρ ἐρασθεὶς Λητοῦς, τῆς Κοίου θυγατρὸς ἑνὸς τῶν Τιτάνων καὶ Φοίβης, ἔγκυον αὐτὴν ἐποίησεν· ἥτις, δεκαμηνιαίου χρόνου διαγενομένου, παρεγένετο διὰ θαλάσσης εἰς Ἀστέριον (Ἀστερίαν A. B. C.) τὴν νῆσον, μίαν οὖσαν τῶν Κυκλάδων· ἐκεῖ τε ἐλθοῦσα καὶ ἁψαμένη δύο φυτῶν ἐλαίας καὶ φοίνικος, διδύμους ἀπεκύησε παῖδας Ἄρτεμιν καὶ Ἀπόλλωνα· καὶ τὴν νῆσον ἐκάλεσε Δῆλον ὅτι ἐξ ἀδήλου βάσεως ἐρριζώθη. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202 mentions Delos first in a list of islands that had so emerged, and Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13 supposes that such islands were thrown up by earthquakes of a particular type (*brasmatiae*, cp. *brastae* (Apul. *de mund.* 18)).

(7) Delos set the fashion, and Patmos followed it (F. G. Welcker in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1843 ii. 338, *ib.* 1845 iii. 270, K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1398, Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813 n. 2). An inscription found there and first edited by L. Ross (*Inscriptiones Graecae ineditae* Athenis 1842 ii. 72—74 no. 190) tells how Artemis appointed as her *hydrophóros* a girl named Vera, daughter of the physician Glaukias, who had crossed over from Argos (?), and adds that Patmos the island of Leto's daughter had remained hidden in the depths of the sea till Orestes came from Skythia (?) and established there the cult of the Scythian Artemis (Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 872. 1 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 1. 258. 1 ff. (after R. Bergmann Berolini 1860) ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ. αὐτῇ παρθενικὴ ἑλαφηβόλος ἀρήτειραν | θήκατο κυδ[αλίμ]ην Γ[λα]υκίεω θύγατρα, | ὑδροφόρον Βήραν Πατνίην παραβώμι' ἐφέξαι (Kaibel prints παραβώμια ῥέξαι) | σπαιρόντων αἰγῶν ἔμπρα καλλιθύτων. | [εἰν Ἄργει δ' ἐτράφη γε]ρ[α]ρὴ π[α]ίς, ἠδὲ τιθήνης (Kaibel prints ἡ δὲ

τιθήνη) | ἑ[κ γενεῆς Β]ή[ρου] ἔκτροφός ἐστι Πάτνος, | νῆσ(σ)ος ἁ[γα]υ[ο]τάτη Λητωίδος ἧς προβέ[βηκε] | [β]ένθεσιν [εἰν ἁλίης] ἔδρανα ῥυομένη· | [εἰς ὅτε μιν Σκυθ]έ[η]θεν ἀρήιος εἶσεν Ὀρέστης | [ῥυσαμένην στυγερ]ῆς μητροφόνου μανίης· | [κἀν] δεκάτῃ κούρη θυγ]άτηρ σοφοῦ ἰητῆρος | Γλαυκί[εω ’ν α]ὐλαῖς Ἀρτέμιδος Σκυθίης, | Αἰγαίου πλεύσασα ῥόου δυσχείμερον οἶδμα, | ὄργια κ[αὶ θαλίην, ὡ]ς θέμις, ἠγλάϊσεν. εὐτυχῶς. I give the passage with all, or almost all, faults; but a fresh inspection of the stone is much to be desired). Artemis in Patmos was worshipped as Παρθένος (I. Sakkelion in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1863 p. 260 f. no. 229, 6 ff. *τὸ ψήφισμα* | *τόδε ἀναγράψαι εἰς στήλην λιθίνην, καὶ* | *ἀναθεῖναι εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς Παρθένου· κ.τ.λ.*) and as Πατμία (I. Sakkelion *loc. cit.* p. 261 f. no. 230 = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[2] no. 785, *ib.*[3] no. 1152 [Ἀ]ρτέμιδι Πατμ[ίᾳ] | [ἀ]νέθηκε Ζω[ΐς] | *καθ’ ὕπνο*[*ν*]*ος*), cp. the month Ἀρτεμισιών (Dittenberger *op. cit.*[2] no. 681, 1, *ib.*[3] no. 1068, 1). St Christodoulos (Hagiographi Bollandiani *Bibliotheca Hagiographica Graeca* Bruxellis 1895 p. 23 f., U. Chevalier *Répertoire des sources historiques du moyen âge* Bio-bibliographie Paris 1905 i. 916), a native of Nikaia in Bithynia (born 1020 A.D.), is said to have founded the monastery of St John the Evangelist in Patmos (1088 A.D.) on the site of a temple of Artemis, whose statue he demolished (L. Ross *Reisen auf den griechischen Inseln des ägäischen Meeres* Stuttgart—Tübingen 1843 ii. 137 n. 12 ‘Die Legende des h. Chriſtodulos (in vulgärem Griechiſch) ſagt hierüber: Πρῶτον ἐσύντριψεν ἕνα εἴδωλον ὅπου εἶχασι ἐκεῖ μὲ τέχνην πολλὴν εἰς τὸ ὄνομα τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος’).

(8) Rhodes was another island that had risen from the sea-bottom. A tale already ancient in 464 B.C. said that, when Zeus and the immortals were dividing the earth among them, Rhodes lay hidden in the briny depths. Helios, who was absent from the division, complained that he was left without a portion. So Zeus was about to order a new casting of the lot. The sun-god, however, would not suffer it; for, as he declared, he could see a plot of land rising from the bottom of the sea and destined to prove fruitful for man and beast. He bade Lachesis and Zeus swear that it should be his. Thereupon from the sea sprang the island, where Helios wedded Rhodos and begat seven sons, one of whom became the father of Ialysos, Kameiros, and Lindos (Pind. *Ol.* 7. 54 ff. with scholl. *ad loc.*). Rhodes was thus included in the canonical list of islands that had emerged from the sea (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 202, Amm. Marc. 17. 7. 13), and C. Torr *Rhodes in Ancient Times* Cambridge 1885 p. 152 justifies its inclusion: ‘Rhodes certainly rose from the sea. The great limestone mass of Mount Atabyros and the lesser limestone hills, Akramytis, Elias, Archangelo and Lindos, must once have formed a group of islands: and as these were gradually elevated, the lower hills were being formed round them by volcanic action. These facts were no doubt beyond the Rhodians of the mythopœic age: but the elevated beds of sea shells at the base of the hills would readily have suggested the legend.’ Perhaps in the Hellenistic age Isis, whose temple stood near the city-wall beside the sea (Appian. *Mithr.* 27), was believed to have raised the island from the watery abyss. That at least would square with the claim made on behalf of the goddess in an Isiac hymn of *s.* i B.C. found in Andros (Lebas—Foucart *Péloponnèse* ii no. 1796. 4, 23 ff. = Kaibel *Epigr. Gr.* no. 1028, 70 ff. = E. Abel *Orphica* Lipsiae—Pragae 1885 p. 301 *h. in Isim* 158 ff. = Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 4. 32. 70 ff. = *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 1 no. 739, 160 ff. *νάσῳ δὲ βαθυνομένας ἀπὸ ῥιζῶν* | *ἐς φάος ἐκ βυθίας ποταναγαγον ἰλύος αὐτὰ* | *ὤρεα καὶ πε*[*δίω*]*ν σπορίμων βάσιν ὀργάδα τ’ ἄκραις* | *στηρικταῖ*[*ς ἐξαΐ*]*ρον ὑπερτείνουσα, βοαύλοις* | *μαλοκόμοι*[*ς θ’ ἁδεῖ*]*αν*). A. H. Krappe in *Anglia* Beiblatt 1932 xliii. 256 ff. draws an interesting comparison between Pindar’s description of Rhodes and James Thomson’s *Rule, Britannia* (1740). In the former the emergent island becomes the personified Rhodos. In the latter

the same thing happens: the opening lines run 'When Britain first at Heaven's command | Arose from out the azure main,' etc., yet the burden 'Rule, Britannia' and the succeeding stanzas bring the allegorical figure to the fore.

(9) The Strophades, two islets off the coast of Messene to the south of Zakynthos, were originally called the Plotai (Antimachos *frag.* 13 Bergk[4], 60 Wyss *ap.* schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 *ταύτας οὖν φησὶν τὰς νήσους Ἀπολλώνιος Στροφάδας μετὰ ταῦτα κληθῆναι διὰ τὸ ἐκεῖθεν ὑποστρέψαι τοὺς Βορεάδας καὶ μηκέτι διώκειν αὐτάς. παρὰ Ἀντιμάχου δὲ τοῦτο εἴληφεν ὁ Ἀπολλώνιος· οὕτω γὰρ ἐκεῖνος ἐν τῇ Λυδῇ περὶ αὐτῶν μέμνηται. ἄλλοι δὲ καὶ διὰ τοῦτο Στροφάδας φασὶν αὐτὰς κληθῆναι ὅτι ἐν αὐταῖς ὑποστραφέντες οἱ Βορεάδαι ηὔξαντο τῷ Διὶ λαβεῖν αὐτάς.* κ.τ.λ. (cp. *supra* ii. 907 n. 2), Ap. Rhod. 2. 285 *νήσοισιν ἔπι Πλωτῇσι κιχόντες* with schol. *ad loc.*= Favorin. *lex.* p. 1523, 25 ff., Ap. Rhod. 2. 296 f. *Στροφάδας δὲ μετακλείουσ' ἄνθρωποι | νήσους τοὺ γ' ἔκητι, πάρος Πλωτὰς καλέοντες*, Hyg. *fab.* 14 p. 47, 17 ff. quae inhabitabant insulas Strophadas in Aegaeo (*sic*) mari, quae Plotae appellantur, Mela 2. 110 olim Plotae nunc Strophades, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 55 ante Zacynthum XXXV in Eurum ventum Strophades duae, ab aliis Plotae dictae). The names are significant. The two Turning Isles or Floating Isles, haunted by the Harpies (Apollod. 1. 9. 21, Verg. *Aen.* 3. 210 ff., Hyg. *fab.* 19, *alib.*: see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 398, 813 n. 8, 846 n. 5), are in all probability an early variant of the Planktai or Symplegades (Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 556 n. 3)—a perilous gateway of the Otherworld.

(10) The same name Plotai was given by Dionysios the geographer to the seven islands of Aiolos in the Sicilian Sea (Dionys. *per.* 465 f. *ἑπτὰ δέ οἱ ταί γ' εἰσίν, ἐπώνυμοι ἀνδράσι Πλωταί, | οὕνεκα μέσσον ἔχουσι περίπλοον ἀμφιέλικτον* with Eustath. and paraphr. *ad loc.*, cp. schol. Ap. Rhod. 2. 297 *αἱ δὲ Πλωταὶ νῆσοι κεῖνται ἐν τῷ Σικελικῷ πελάγει*). Homer had made Aiolos live *πλωτῇ ἐνὶ νήσῳ* (*supra* (1)), and Apollonios had perhaps spoken of Hiera or Lipara as *νήσοιο πλωτῆς* (so schol. Flor. on Ap. Rhod. 3. 42 *νήσοιο πλαγκτῆς* (*supra* (2))).

(11) Theophrastos speaks of Ploades or 'Floating' Islands on the lake of Orchomenos, *i.e.* Lake Kopaïs in Boiotia, and compares them with others in the marshes of Egypt, Thesprotis, etc. (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 10. 2 *φύεται δὲ ὁ πλείστος* (*sc.* *ἐλαίαγνος*, 'goat-willow', *salix caprea*) *μὲν ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων νήσων· εἰσὶ γάρ τινες καὶ ἐνταῦθα πλοάδες, ὥσπερ ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ περὶ τὰ ἕλη καὶ ἐν Θεσπρωτίδι καὶ ἐν ἄλλαις λίμναις*, 4. 12. 4 *τῶν δὲ νήσων τῶν πλοάδων τῶν ἐν Ὀρχομενῷ τὰ μὲν μεγέθη παντοδαπὰ τυγχάνει, τὰ δὲ μέγιστα αὐτῶν ἐστιν ὅσον τριῶν σταδίων τὴν περίμετρον. ἐν Αἰγύπτῳ δὲ μάλιστα μεγάλα σφόδρα συνίσταται, ὥστε καὶ ὗς ἐν αὐταῖς ἐγγίνεσθαι πολλούς, οὓς καὶ κυνηγετοῦσι διαβαίνοντες*, Hesych. *Πλοάδες τῶν ἐν Ἐρχομενῷ· <νῆσοί> τινες* (so M. Schmidt[2] for *πλοάδες· τῶν ἐπερχομένων τινὲς* cod.) *οὕτω καλοῦνται*, Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 1 *καλοῦσι δὲ τὸν μὲν ἰσχυρὸν καὶ παχὺν* (*sc.* *κάλαμον*) *χαρακίαν τὸν δ' ἕτερον πλόκιμον· καὶ φύεσθαι τὸν μὲν πλόκιμον ἐπὶ τῶν πλοάδων τὸν δὲ χαρακίαν ἐπὶ τοῖς κώμυσι*=Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 168 de Orchomenii lacus harundinetis accuratius dici cogit admiratio antiqua. characian vocabant crassiorem firmioremque, plocian (K. L. von Urlichs cj. *plocimon*) vero subtiliorem, hanc in insulis fluvitantibus natam, illam in ripis exspatiantis lacus). O. Gruppe held that these Boiotian islands were connected with chthonian powers thought to issue from the Underworld in the form of winds (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 813). If so, note the belief that reeds used for pipes grew in the lake only at intervals of eight years (Theophr. *hist. pl.* 4. 11. 2 *δι' ἐννεατηρίδος*=Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 169 nono...anno). But Gruppe's assumption is gratuitous. We are here dealing with purely natural phenomena. H. N. Ulrichs *Reisen und Forschungen in Griechenland* Bremen 1840 i. 192 observes

that the river Melas (*Mauropotamos*), which crosses the site of Lake Kopaïs, is surrounded by black vegetable fens and quotes the peasants of Skripou as saying 'dass das Land am Mauropotamos schwimme.' He identifies these patches of unstable ground with the πλοάδες of Theophrastos and the *insulae fluitantes* of Pliny. A. Philippson 'Der Kopaïs-See in Griechenland und seine Umgebung' in the *Zeitschrift der Gesellschaft für Erdkunde zu Berlin* 1894 xxix. 39 and Geiger in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1348 follow suit. Frazer *Pausanias* v. 120 says: 'The fable was probably told of the islands in the bay of *Tzamali*, to the north of Orchomenus, whose banks overhung and quaked under the tread, as do the banks of the river Melas in some places.'

(12) Some five miles to the north of Sardeis lies the Gygaia Limne, later called the Koloë Limne, and now known as *Mermereh-Gheul*, the 'Marble Lake' (L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1956, xi. 1107). Its brackish waters are fringed with dense beds of reeds (W. J. Hamilton *Researches in Asia Minor, Pontus, and Armenia* London 1842 i. 145), which dry up and mixing with other detritus form floating islands (G. Radet *La Lydie et le monde grec au temps des Mermnades (687—546)* Paris 1893 p. 13). A. H. Sayce, after a visit to the spot in 1879, writes: 'The foundations of the old temple of Artemis (?) are very visible on the southern shore of the lake as well as of a causey thrown out into the lake....The fish caught in it are carp, which are usually of a wonderfully large size. According to the local superstition every carp has a bitter stone in its mouth. If this is not removed before the fish is eaten fever will be the inevitable result. If, however, the stone is removed the fish is considered innocuous' (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1880 i. 87).

It is to this lake that we must attach a whole series of ancient notices about floating islands, dancing islands, dancing reeds, and poisonous fish. Attempts to distinguish the floating islands of Koloë from the dancing islands, reeds, etc. of the Nymphs (H. Oehler *Paradoxographi Florentini anonymi opusculum de aquis mirabilibus* Tubingae 1913 p. 117 ff., cp. L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1532) are in my opinion unsuccessful.

The floating islands of Lydia are composed of light pumice-like stones (Theophrast. *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 25. 7 sunt enim multi pumicosi et leves, ex quibus quae constant insulae in Lydia, natant. Theophrastus est auctor). In Lydia the floating islands named Calaminae, which are shifted not only by the winds but by barge-poles in any direction you please, proved a refuge to many during the Mithridatic war (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 quaedam insulae semper fluctuantur, sicut...in Lydia quae vocantur Calaminae, non ventis solum, sed etiam contis quo libeat inpulsae, multorum civium Mithridatico bello salus). Lake Koloë near Sardeis breeds many fish and waterfowl: its floating islands have a deceptive appearance of stability, for they change their position with the winds (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 39 ἡ κατὰ Σάρδεις λίμνη καλουμένη δὲ Κολόη πλῆθος μὲν ὕψου πάμπολυ τρέφει· ἔχει δὲ καὶ αὐτὴ νήσους οἰκουμένας πρὸς ἀπάτην· ἐπινήχονται γάρ· καὶ τῇ τῶν ἀνέμων πνοῇ συμμετοικοῦσι· πτηνῶν δὲ τῶν ἐνύδρων τοσοῦτο τρέφει πλῆθος ὥστε καὶ ταριχεύεσθαι).

Varro claimed to have seen in Lydia the Islands of the Nymphs, which at the sound of flutes move out from the bank into the middle of the lake, go circling round, and return to the shore (Varr. *ap.* Mart. Cap. 928 in Lydia Nympharum insulas dici, quas etiam recentior asserentium Varro se vidisse testatur, quae in medium stagnum a continenti procedentes cantu tibiarum primo in circulum motae dehinc ad litora revertuntur). He further states that, when he sacrificed on the shore of the lake, fish came crowding towards the flute-player and the

altar, though nobody ventured to catch them (Varr. *rer. rust.* 3. 17. 4 loculatas habent piscinas, ubi dispares disclusos habent pisces, quos, proinde ut sacri sint ac sanctiores quam illi in Lydia, quos sacrificanti tibi, Varro, ad tibicinem [graecum] gregatim venisse dicebas ad extremum litus atque aram, quod eos capere auderet nemo, cum eodem tempore insulas Lydorum ibi *χορευούσας* vidisses, sic hos piscis nemo cocus in ius vocare audet). Pliny, after his account of the Lydian Calaminae, goes on to say that in the Nymphaeum too are small islands called Saliares because, when choruses are sung, they move in time with the beating feet (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209 sunt et in Nymphaeo parvae, Saliares dictae, quoniam in symphoniae cantu ad ictus modulantium pedum moventur). Elsewhere he asserts, on the authority of Ktesias (?), that the fish in the Lake of the Nymphs are poisonous (Ktesias *frag.* 83 Müller *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 31. 25 hoc idem et in Lydia in stagno Nympharum tradunt)—a belief still prevalent with regard to the carp of the Koloë Limne (*supra*).

Strabon mentions the sanctuary of Artemis Κολοηνή, on the Gygaia or Koloë Limne, where 'the baskets' are said to dance on festal days (Strab. 626 *ἐν δὲ σταδίοις τετταράκοντα ἀπὸ τῆς πόλεως* (*sc.* Sardeis) *ἐστὶν ἡ Γυγαία μὲν ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένη <λίμνη* (*ins.* A. Koraës)*>*, Κολόη δ' *ὕστερον μετονομασθεῖσα, ὅπου τὸ ἱερὸν τῆς* Κολοηνῆς *Ἀρτέμιδος, μεγάλην ἀγιστείαν ἔχον. φασὶ δ' ἐνταῦθα χορεύειν τοὺς καλάθους* (F. E. Ruhkopf, followed by G. Bernhardy and C. Müller, cj. *καλάμους*. E. Müller cj. *κοβάλους*. *πιθήκους*, a curious variant in codd. *m*, *z* and edd. Ald. Cas., was altered by C. A. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* Regimontii Prussorum 1829 p. 226 into *πιθάκνας*, but may imply some confusion with *καλλίας*, 'apes,' which A. Westermann would restore to the text) *κατὰ τὰς ἑορτάς, οὐκ οἶδ' ὅπως ποτὲ παραδοξολογοῦντες μᾶλλον ἢ ἀληθεύοντες*=Eustath. *in Il.* p. 365, 46 ff.).

Lastly, according to Isigonos the paradoxographer of Nikaia, whose *floruit* probably falls in *s.* i A.D. (W. Kroll in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 2082, cp. W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] ii. 1. 420 n. 5), in Lydia there is a lake called Tala (?) sacred to the Nymphs. It bears a multitude of reeds and in their midst one that the natives term king. A yearly festival is held, at which sacrifices are offered and a chorus sounds on the shore of the lake. Thereupon all the reeds dance, and the king dancing with them comes to the shore. The natives wreath him with fillets and send him off, praying that both he and they may come again another year; that is their sign of a fertile season (Isigonos *frag.* 8 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 436 Müller) *ap.* anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* 43 *ἐν Λυδίᾳ ἔστι λίμνη Τάλα μὲν* (C. Müller, followed by L. Bürchner, cj. *Καλαμίνη*. But cp. *Il.* 2. 865 *υἷε Ταλαιμένεος, τὸν Γυγαίη τέκε λίμνη*, where *Ταλαιμένης* may be a Greek adaptation of the Lydian name) *καλουμένη, ἱερὰ δὲ οὖσα νυμφῶν, ἣ φέρει καλάμων* (A. Westermann cj. *καλλιῶν* (?)) *πλῆθος ἄφθονον καὶ μέσον αὐτῶν ἕνα, ὃν βασιλέα προσαγορεύουσιν οἱ ἐπιχώριοι· θυσίας δὲ καὶ ἑορτὰς ἐπιτελοῦντες ἐνιαυσίους ἐξιλάσκονται· τούτων δὲ ἐπιτελουμένων, ἐπειδὰν ἐπὶ τῆς ἠϊόνος κτύπος συμφωνίας γένηται, πάντες οἱ κάλαμοι χορεύουσι καὶ ὁ βασιλεὺς σὺν αὐτοῖς χορεύων παραγίνεται ἐπὶ τὴν ἠϊόνα· οἱ δὲ ἐπιχώριοι ταινίαις αὐτὸν καταστέψαντες ἀποπέμπουσιν, εὐχόμενοι καὶ εἰς τὸ ἐπιὸν αὐτόν τε καὶ ἑαυτοὺς παραγενέσθαι, ὡς εὐετηρίας ὄντι σημείῳ* (F. Sylburg cj. *ὅν τι σημεῖον*)*· ὡς ἱστορεῖ Ἰσίγονος ἐν δευτέρῳ ἀπίστων*).

Isigonos' work was entitled *Ἄπιστα*, but his statements here are by no means incredible and may easily be reconciled with those of our other sources. Artemis Κολοηνή (on whom see Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 1108 f.) had a temple on a hill close to the southern shore of the lake: its ruins

are still to be seen, including walls of great basalt blocks, three Doric columns of weather-worn marble only 6 ft (?) high, and huge stone slabs with reliefs of an archer in a pointed cap, a lion's head, etc. (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1853 xi. 152, von Olfers 'Über die Lydischen Königsgräber bei Sardes und den Grabhügel des Alyattes' in the *Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1858* Phil.-hist. Classe p. 542 pl. 1 = Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* v. 267 fig. 157). Her cult involved a yearly festival, at which a dance known as *οἱ κάλαθοι*, 'the baskets,' took place. The beating feet of the dancers communicated their vibration to the floating reed-mats of the lake and set them in motion. The reeds eddying round appeared to share in the dance. The tallest reed, called *βασιλεύς* by the countryfolk, would in time be drifted inshore, decorated by the worshippers, and pushed off into the lake again. The successful performance of this little ceremony was deemed a happy omen. The crowd at the lake-side and the prospect of altar-scraps would be quite enough to attract the carp. Naturally the fish were sacred to Artemis of the lake (see *e.g.* the large Boeotian amphora, found near Thebes, which represents Artemis with a fish on her robe (Collignon—Couve *Cat. Vases d'Athènes* p. 108 f. no. 462, figured by P. Wolters in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1892 p. 219 ff. pl. 10, 1 = Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 517, 2, Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* x. 40 f. fig. 30, R. Eisler *Orpheus—the Fisher* London 1921 p. 260 f. pl. 64, 1 (wrongly described), F. J. Dölger ΙΧΘΥC Münster in Westf. 1922 ii. 179 f., iii pl. 12, 2), and the facts cited by Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 1295 n. 1, 1536 n. 2, 1585 n. 2) and the reed-islands would be connected with her attendant Nymphs. The whole story is consistent and credible. After all, Varro was no visionary and Strabon is a serious authority.

A point of interest remains. The dance *κάλαθος* is mentioned elsewhere in the diminutive form *καλαθίσκος*. Apollophanes, an early comedian, coupled it with the pirouette (Apolloph. *frag.* 1 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 879 Meineke) *ap.* Athen 467 F (*δεῖνος*) *ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεως, ὡς* Ἀπολλοφάνης *ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οὑτωσί·* '*δεινόν τι δεῖνος* (so J. Schweighäuser for *δεῖνος τι δεινος* cod. A. J. G. J. Hermann cj. *δῖνός γε δεινός*) *καὶ καλαθίσκος οὑτωσί*' (K. W. Dindorf would write *ἔστι καὶ γένος ὀρχήσεώς τι δεῖνος, ὡς* Ἀπολλοφάνης *ἐν Δαλίδι παρίστησιν οὑτωσὶ* '*δεῖνος καὶ καλαθίσκος*,' regarding *οὑτοσί* as a repetition of *οὑτωσί*), and various later writers mention it in a tragic (satyric?) connexion (Poll. 4. 105 *καὶ μὴν τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμὴ χείρ, καλαθίσκος, χεὶρ καταπρανής, ξύλου παράληψις, διπλῆ, θερμαυστρίς, κυβίστησις, παραβῆναι τέτταρα*, Athen. 629 F *σχήματα δ' ἐστὶν ὀρχήσεως ξιφισμός, καλαθισμός* (K. W. Dindorf in Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* iv. 859 D cj. *καλαθίσκος*), *καλλαβίδες, σκώψ, σκώπευμα*, 630 A *θερμαστρίς, ἑκατερίδες, σκοπός, χεὶρ καταπρηνής, χεὶρ σιμή, διποδισμός, ξύλου παράληψις, ἐπαγκωνισμός, καλαθίσκος* (so codd. A. B. *καλαθισμὸς* cod. P. edd. Ald. Casaub.), *στρόβιλος*).

It should be carefully distinguished from the *κάλαθος* or ritual basket used in the cult of Demeter at Eleusis (Clem. Al. *protr.* 2. 21. 2 p. 16, 18 ff. Stählin *κἄστι τὸ σύνθημα* Ἐλευσινίων *μυστηρίων·* '*ἐνήστευσα, ἔπιον τὸν κυκεῶνα, ἔλαβον ἐκ κίστης, ἐργασάμενος ἀπεθέμην εἰς κάλαθον καὶ ἐκ καλάθου εἰς κίστην*,' on which *formula* see A. Dieterich *Eine Mithrasliturgie*[2] Leipzig and Berlin 1910 p. 125 f. and S. Angus *The Mystery-Religions and Christianity* London 1925 p. 115), Athens, Alexandreia (Kallim. *h. Dem.* 1 ff. *τῶ καλάθω κατιόντος ἐπιφθέγξασθε, γυναῖκες,* | '*Δάματερ, μέγα χαῖρε, πολυτρύφε πουλυμέδιμνε.*' | *τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ θαεῖσθε, βέβαλοι,* | κ.τ.λ. with schol. *ad loc. ὁ Φιλάδελφος* Πτολεμαῖος *κατὰ μίμησιν τῶν* Ἀθηνῶν *ἔθη τινὰ ἵδρυσεν ἐν* Ἀλεξανδρείᾳ, *ἐν οἷς καὶ τὴν τοῦ καλάθου πρόοδον. ἔθος γὰρ ἦν ἐν* Ἀθήναις, *ἐν ὡρισμένῃ ἡμέρᾳ ἐπὶ ὀχήματος φέρεσθαι καλάθιον*

(*κάλαθον* cod. E) *εἰς τιμὴν τῆς Δήμητρος*. Variants in the text of Kallimachos are attested by Elias *in Aristotelis categorias* 27 a 24 ff. (*Commentaria in Aristotelem Graeca* xviii. 1. 125, 7 ff. Busse) *καὶ τὸ Καλλιμάχειον ἐκεῖνο 'τὸν κάλαθον κατιόντα χαμαὶ δέρκεσθε, γυναῖκες, | μηδ' ἀπὸ τοῦ τέγεος μηδ' ὑψόθεν αὐγάσασθε (αὐγάσησθε* Kallim.)' and by schol. Plat. *symp.* 218 B (960 b 47 f. ed. Turic.) *ἐντεῦθεν παρῴδησε Καλλίμαχος ἐν ὕμνῳ Δήμητρος καλάθου τὸ 'θύρας δ' ἐπίθεσθε, βέβηλοι.' Ib.* 121 ff. *χὡς αἱ τὸν κάλαθον λευκότριχες ἵπποι ἄγουντι | τέσσαρες, ὡς ἁμὶν μεγάλα θεὸς εὐρυάνασσα | λευκὸν ἔαρ λευκὸν δὲ θέρος καὶ χεῖμα φέρουσα | ἠξεῖ καὶ φθινόπωρον, ἔτος δ' εἰς ἄλλο φυλαξεῖ*. Bronze coins of Alexandreia show a *kálathos* containing corn-ears and poppy-heads (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 66 no. 551 pl. 30= Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 95 no. 931 pl. 16=my fig. 792 Trajan), sometimes bound with a wreath of flowers and flanked by two torches with snakes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 4 no. 29 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 939 pl. 17=my

Fig. 792.

Fig. 793.

Fig. 794.

Fig. 795.

Fig. 796.

Fig. 797.

fig. 793 Livia, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 405 no. 21 Livia) or fillets (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 42 no. 345 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 940 pl. 17=my fig. 794 Domitian, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 42 no. 346 Domitian, p. 144 no. 1212=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 942 Antoninus Pius) or ties of some sort (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 105 nos. 903, 904, 905 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 941 pl. 17=my fig. 795 Hadrian, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 457 nos. 392—394. Fig. 796 Hadrian is from a specimen of mine). Once the *kálathos* is adorned with the rape of Persephone (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 105 no. 906 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 932 pl. 16=my fig. 797 Hadrian). More often, on large billon pieces, it appears drawn in procession by a *quadriga* of horses (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 67 no. 552 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 935 pl. 16=my fig. 798 Trajan) or a *biga* of humped oxen (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 67 no. 553=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 934 pl. 16=my fig. 799 Trajan) or of winged snakes wearing the *skhent* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 67 no. 554 pl. 30=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 96 no. 933 pl. 16=my fig. 800 Trajan, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 67 no. 555 f. Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 434 no. 245 Trajan). Exceptionally it rests on the top of a column flanked by two winged snakes, one of which wears the *skhent*, the other a poppy-head as crown (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 67 no. 557 pl. 30=my fig. 801

Trajan, *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 456 no. 390 pl. 87, 24=Anson *Num. Gr.* i. 97 no. 937 pl. 16=my fig. 802 Hadrian)), and *Darmara* near Theira in the valley of the Kaystros (K. Buresch in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1895 xx. 241 f. and A. Fontrier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1894 xviii. 538 f. ΟΙΚΑ–– ..... | Πό(πλιον) Αἴλιον Μενεκράτην | τῇ ἱερατείᾳ τῆς Δήμητρος | ἀνενένκαντα καὶ καθιερώ|[σ]αντα κάλαθον περιάργυρον, | τὸν λείποντα τοῖς τῆς Δήμη|τρος μυστηρίοις καὶ τῷ προκα|θημένῳ τῆς κώμης Μηνὶ ση|μήαν ('effigy') περιάργυρον τὴν προ|πομπεύσασαν τῶν μυστηρί|ων αὐτοῦ. διά τε τοῦτο καθι|έρωσεν ὑπὲρ τῆς ἱερωσύνης | εἰς τὰς ἐπιθυσίας τῆς Δήμη|τρος τὰ πρὸ τῆς [οἰ]κίας ἐργα|στήρια εἰς τὸ [κα(τ')] ἐνιαυτὸν | ἕκαστον τῇ

Fig. 798.

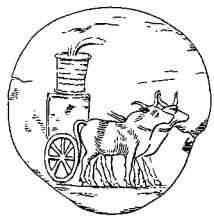

Fig. 799.

Fig. 800.

Fig. 801.

Fig. 802.

τοῦ καλάθου | ἀναφορᾷ τοὺς κληρωθέν|τας εἰς τὴν πομπὴν ἄνδρας | μετὰ τῶν ἀρχόντων προθύ|ονταις εὐωχεῖσθαι ἐν τῇ | οἰκίᾳ αὐτοῦ διὰ παντὸς τοῦ | βίου. | ἐπὶ ἄρχοντος τῆς κατοικίας | Λ(ουκίου) Βερίου Βάσσου φιλοσεβάστου καὶ | τῶν συναρχ-όντων αὐτοῦ, cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 352 n. 2). K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 82 cites also Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1627, 49 f. καλάθους, ὁποῖοι καὶ οἱ τῆς Δήμητρος, οὓς ὀρχεῖσθαι μῦθος ἔν τινι τελετῇ Δημητρειακῇ, but fails to perceive that Eustathios is merely confusing the Lydian dance with the rites of Demeter as described by Kallimachos (Eustath. *in Il.* p. 1208, 38 f., *in Od.* p. 1488, 60 f.). More to our purpose is Usener's discovery that in Bithynia a certain yearly festival was known as ὁ κάλαθος τῆς Ἀρτέμιδος (H. Usener 'Übersehenes' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1895 l. 145 f. (=*id. Kleine Schriften* Leipzig—Berlin 1913 iv. 195) quoting *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Iunius iii. 343 B—C Kallinikos *vita s. Hypatii* presb., monasterii Rufinianarum prope Chalcedonem in Bithynia hegumeni (died 30 June 446 A.D., commemorated June 17) 70=*de vita s. Hypatii* 129 f. p. 96 f. edd. seminarii philologorum Bonnensis sodales ποτὲ δὲ γέγονεν αὐτὸν ἀπελθεῖν εἰς ἐπίσκεψιν ἀδελφῶν εἰς τὴν ἔνδον χώραν τῶν Βιθυνῶν

ὅπου καὶ ὁ Ῥήβας ἐστὶ ποταμός. καὶ ἦν ἐν τῷ καιρῷ ἐκείνῳ, ὅπερ λέγουσιν, ὁ κάλαθος τῆς μυσερᾶς Ἀρτέμιδος· ὅπερ κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἡ χώρα φυλάττουσα, οὐκ ἐξήρχοντο εἰς μακρὰν ὁδὸν ἡμέρας πεντήκοντα. αὐτοῦ δὲ βουλομένου ὁδεύειν ἔλεγον αὐτῷ οἱ ἐντόπιοι· 'ποῦ ἀπέρχῃ, ἄνθρωπε; ὁ δαίμων σοι ἔχει ἀπαντῆσαι ἐν τῇ ὁδῷ. μὴ ὁδεύσῃς· πολλοὶ γὰρ ἐπηρεάσθησαν.' ὁ δὲ Ὑπάτιος ἀκούσας ταῦτα ἐμειδίασε λέγων· 'ὑμεῖς ταῦτα φοβεῖσθε, ἐγὼ δὲ ἔχω τὸν συνοδεύοντά μοι Χριστόν.' ἐν τῷ οὖν ὁδεύειν αὐτὸν θαρσαλέος (θαρσαλέως codd.*) ἦν· δίκαιος γὰρ ὡς λέων πέποιθεν* (Prov. 28. 1). *ἀπήντησε δὲ αὐτῷ γυνὴ μακρέα* (H. Usener cj. *μακραία*? The Bollandists print *μακρὰ*) *ὡς δέκα ἀνδρῶν τὸ μῆκος. νήθουσά τε περιεπάτει καὶ χοίρους ἔβοσκεν. ὡς οὖν εἶδεν αὐτήν, εὐθὺς ἑαυτὸν ἐσφράγισεν καὶ ἔστη εὐχόμενος τῷ θεῷ, καὶ εὐθὺς ἐκείνη ἀφανὴς ἐγένετο, καὶ οἱ χοῖροι μεγάλῳ ῥοίζῳ ἔφυγον, καὶ διῆλθεν ἀβλαβής*)—a fact which Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 255 justly connects with another Bithynian festival, the *κάλαθος*-procession of Kios (A. Körte in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1899 xxiv. 413 ff. no. 13 on a marble *stéle* near the sea at *Gemlik*, the ancient Kios or Prousias, in lettering hardly later than 100 A.D. and perhaps as early as *s.* i. B.C. [– – – *i*]|*λασσομέν*[*αις ἱερεὺς*] | *δαιτρ*(*ε*)*νέτω ἀνήρ· πᾶσαι ἀ*|*νιλίποδές* (W. Kroll, followed by A. Körte, cj. *ἀνειλίποδες* 'with no trailing feet, with active feet,' and M. P. Nilsson cj. *ἀνιπτόποδες* 'with unwashen feet,' cp. *supra* ii. 959 f.; but K. Latte rightly restores *ἀνηλίποδες* 'with unshod feet,' cp. Theokr. 4. 56 where all codd. give *ἀνήλιπος* or *ἀνάλιπος* except cod. k *νήλιπος*) *τε* [*κα*]*ὶ* (*ε*)*ἵμασι* | *φαιδρυνθ*(*ε*)*ῖσαι τῷ καλά*|*θῳ συνέπεσθε, τὰ δὲ* | *χρύσ*(*ε*)*ια θέτ' οἴκοις· δηρ*[*ό*]*θι γὰρ τὰ μὲν ἐχθραίνει το*[*ῖ*]||*σιν δὲ προσα*[*υ*]*δᾷ* ('of old she (?) hates trinkets and welcomes simple garb,' cp. *e.g.* Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 736, 15 f., 22 Andania, no. 999, 2 ff. Lykosoura). The contents of these ritual baskets were almost certainly sexual emblems (*phallós*? *ktels*?), cp. the Cabiric basket in Phrygia and Etruria (*supra* i. 107 f., ii. 299).

If the Lydian dancers represented the reeds of the Gygaia Limne, they might no doubt sway and curtsy with mimetic motions. A tomb at Beni Hasan shows the dances performed at the funeral feast of the nomarch Chnemhôtep in the twelfth dynasty (J. G. Wilkinson *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Egyptians* London 1837 ii. 416 no. 291 fig. 1, R. Lepsius *Denkmaeler aus Aegypten und Aethiopien* Berlin 1849—1859 iv. 2 pl. 126=my fig. 803, Text herausgegeben von E. Naville—L. Borchardt—K. Sethe Leipzig 1904 ii. 88, P. E. Newberry *Beni Hasan* London 1893 i. 68, 72 pl. 29 (tomb 3, west wall), P. Richer *Le nu dans l'Art* Égypte—Chaldée—Assyrie Paris 1925 p. 240 fig. 405 (after I. Rosellini *I monumenti dell' Egitto e della Nubia* Pisa 1834 ii pl. 101, 3)). 'One figure... parodies a royal group, one of the frequent victory reliefs, in which the monarch seizes the kneeling barbarian by the hair, and swings his sickle-shaped sword above his head. This group is called "Under the feet," the superscription over the relief being always, "all nations lie under thy feet." Another group in the same picture is called *the wind*: one woman bends backwards, till her hands rest on the ground, a second performs the same movement above her, a third stretches out her arms over them. Possibly the former represent the reeds and grasses bent by the wind' (A. Erman *Life in Ancient Egypt* trans. H. M. Tirard London 1894 p. 248 f., with fig., cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 24 fig. 24 (=my fig. 804), A. Weigall *Ancient Egyptian Works of Art* London 1924 p. 258 fig. from a limestone fragment at Turin referable to the reign of Seti i (1313—1292 B.C.), H. Ranke *The Art of Ancient Egypt* Vienna 1936 fig. 268 assigned to Dynasty xx (*c.* 1180 B.C.), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 507 f. fig. 452 *a*, *b*, *c* ('Female Egyptian Tumblers of Social and Ceremonial Occasions'). A surer method, however, of identifying the dancers

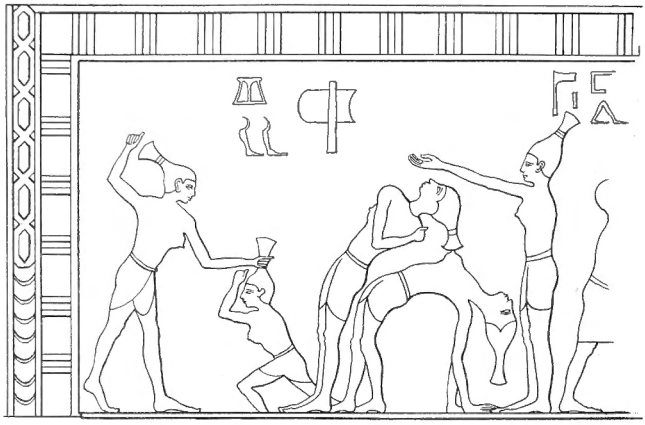

Fig. 803.

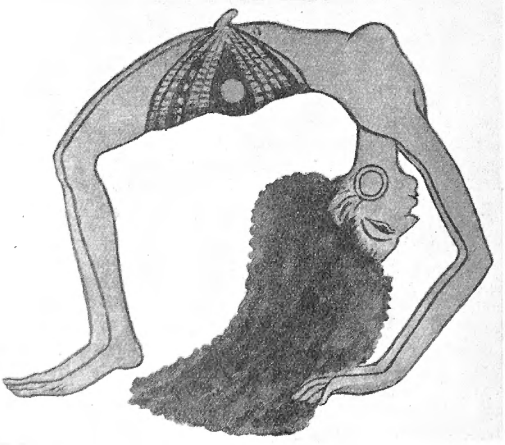

Fig. 804.

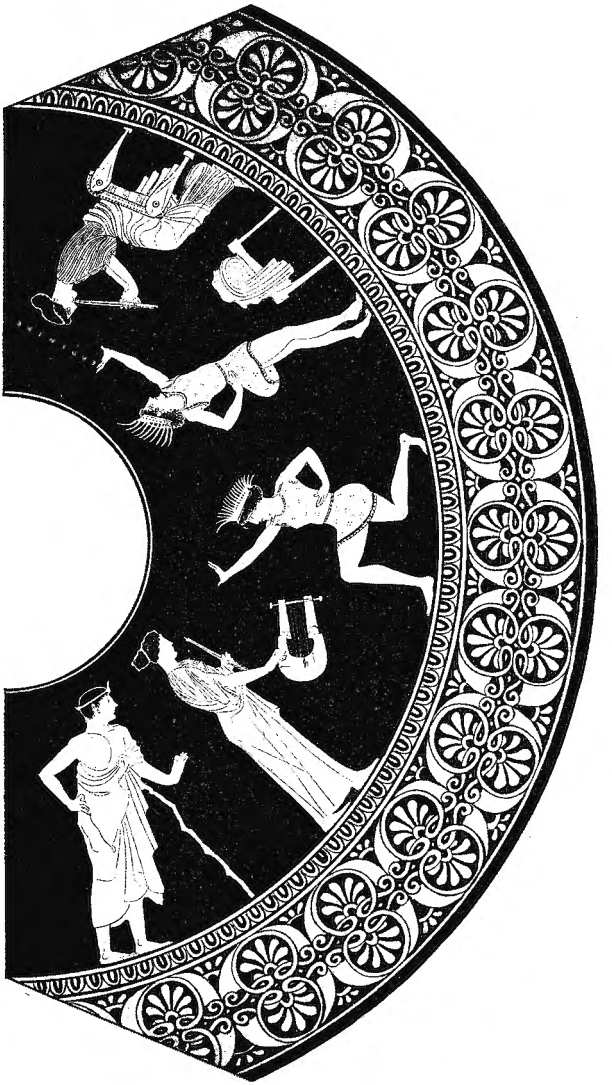

Fig. 805.

with the reeds was to give them a head-dress of rushes or basket-work such as Laconian women called *σαλία* and others *θολία* (Hesych. *σαλία· πλέγμα καλάθῳ ὅμοιον, ὃ ἐπὶ τῆς κεφαλῆς φοροῦσιν αἱ Λάκαιναι. οἱ δὲ θολία*). It figures not infrequently on works of art and has been the subject of much speculation (L. Stephani *Nimbus und Strahlenkranz* St Petersburg 1859 p. 111 ff. (extr. from the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Sciences de St.-Pétersbourg.* vi Série. Sciences politiques, histoire, philologie ix. 471 ff.), *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 pp. 27 ff., 57 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 2 and 3, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1897 xxi. 605, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv 1037 f. fig. 6063 f., V. K. Müller *Der Polos, die griechische Götterkrone* Berlin 1915 pp. 28, 82 ff., Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1549, F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 p. 263).

The earliest ceramic example of *kalathískos*-dancers occurs on a red-figured *hydría* from Nola, now at Naples (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 531 ff. no. 3232), which may be dated *c.* 450—440 B.C. (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 319 ff. figs. 151—154 pl. 171, 1 (=my fig. 805)). It is decorated with four groups of female dancers and acrobats. The section of the shoulder-frieze here reproduced shows, on the right, a seated flute-player (ΕΛΓΙΝΙΚΕ), before whom on tip-toe pirouettes a dancing-girl (...ΓΟΝΕ) with hand outstretched in the gesture known as *σιμὴ χείρ* (Poll. 4. 105 *τραγικῆς ὀρχήσεως σχήματα σιμὴ χείρ, καλαθίσκος, χεὶρ καταπρανής*, κ.τ.λ., Hesych. *σιμὴ χείρ· σχῆμα τραγικόν*). To the left of her, a second dancing-girl sinks on her knee, to show that her performance is finished. The musician who has accompanied her lays aside the double flutes and takes up a *kithára.* Behind her stands an interested youth leaning on his staff. Each dancer wears a short *chitón* and a high crown of leaves painted white. A volute-*kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto, of early south-Italian style (P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 197—202 and at greater length *ib.* 1933 ii. 3—30 with figs. 1—7, of which fig. 4=my fig. 806. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for the photographs of detail reproduced in my pl. lxxi, (1)—(3)), represents the following subjects: *A.* Dionysos (*nárthex, kántharos*) seated on a rock between a dancing Maenad (*thýrsos*) and a flute-girl (long *chitón*) on the left, a female torch-bearer (short *chitón* with sleeves, *nebrís, endromídes*) and a bearded Satyr (*thýrsos*) on the right. *B.* (1) Perseus dangling the Gorgon's head before five bearded Satyrs in dance-attitudes—apparently a scene from Satyric drama. (2) A square pillar inscribed ΚΑΡΝΕΙΟΣ (*i.e.* Apollon *Kárneios* in south-Italian aniconic form: cp. *supra* i. 36 ff. pl. iii, ii. 815 fig. 781), to the right of which is a group of *kalathískos*-dancers. One is about to put on his basket as ritual head-dress (cp. the figure in the lower left-hand corner of the *pelike* from Ruvo, wrongly interpreted by me *supra* i. 128 pl. xii). A second, crowned with palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller)=*frag.* 2 Tresp *ap.* Athen. 678 B *Θυρεατικοί· οὕτω καλοῦνταί τινες στέφανοι παρὰ Λακεδαιμονίοις, ὥς φησι Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς Περὶ θυσιῶν, ψιλίνους* (cp. Hesych. *s.vv.* *ψιλίον, ψιλὸς στέφανος*) *αὐτοὺς φάσκων νῦν ὀνομάζεσθαι, ὄντας ἐκ φοινίκων. φέρειν δ' αὐτοὺς ὑπόμνημα τῆς ἐν*

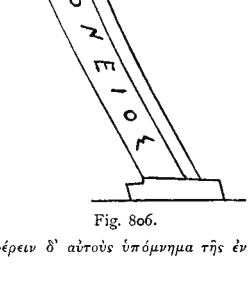

Fig. 806.

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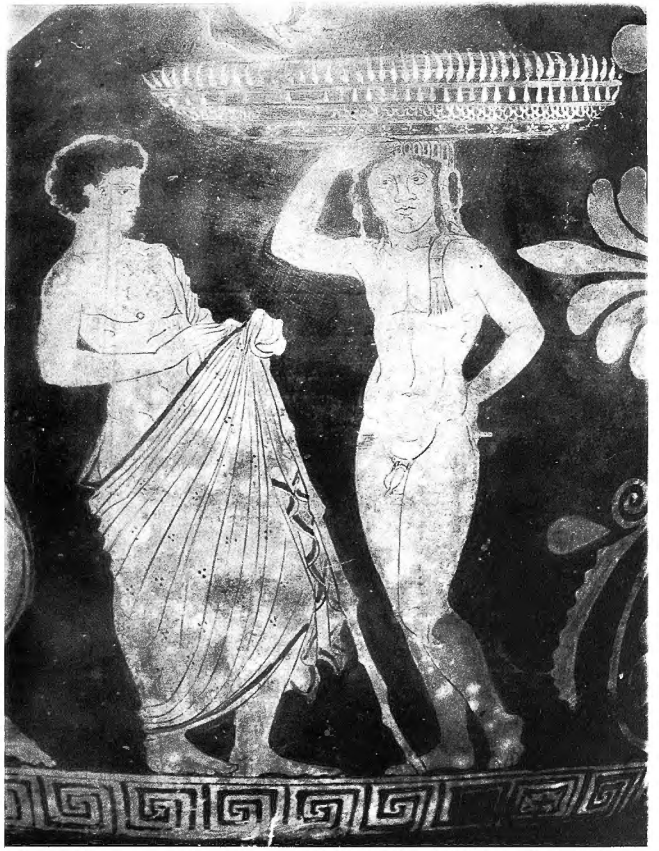
2



3

1—3) Details of *kratér* from Ceglie, now at Taranto: a group of *kalathískos*-dancers.

See page 996 f.

Θυρέᾳ γενομένης νίκης τοὺς προστάτας τῶν ἀγομένων χορῶν ἐν τῇ ἑορτῇ ταύτῃ, ὅτε καὶ τὰς Γυμνοπαιδίας ἐπιτελοῦσιν. κ.τ.λ.), holds an *aryballos* with straps, as he stands between a basin and a draped flute-player (flutes, *phorbeiá*). A third and fourth are dancing, the former decked with palm-leaf crown, the latter dressed as a girl with basket on head and ballooning *chitón*. A fifth, also wearing the basket, stands engaged in talk with a spectator. Mr Trendall compares an unpublished *kályx-kratér* from *Scoglitti* near Kamarina, now at Syracuse (no. 14626), which shows: *A*. A woman and a youth with basket

Fig. 807.

head-dress. *B*. Two draped youths. 'The main scene is framed between two Ionic columns. The woman is elaborately draped, and holds up her hands as if to catch something thrown to her by the boy. He is nude with the large basket (in applied yellow, which has worn off) on his head, as on the Taranto Karneia-krater.' Again, a bell-*kratér* of early south-Italian style, purchased in Rome and now at Leyden (A. E. J. Holwerda *Catalogus van het Rijksmuseum van Oudheden te Leiden.* Afdeeling Griekenland en Italie. 1 Deel: Vaatwerk. Leiden 1905 i. 104 no. 28), has for obverse design a girl in a short *chitón* dancing between two naked youths. All three wear spreading *kálathoi* formed of reeds (?) arranged like rays. Two wreaths are hung in the background, and the scene is enclosed by a pair of simple pillars (V. K. Müller *Der Polos*,

die griechische Götterkrone Berlin 1915 p. 83 n. 3 pls. 6 and 7. My fig. 807 is from a photograph supplied by Mr Trendall. This must be the vase from Gnathia (*Fasano*) formerly owned by R. Barone and partially published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 184 pl. 14 facing head

Fig. 808.

of dancer only). Another bell-*kratér* of the same style, from Ruvo(?), now in the South Kensington Museum, and attributed by Miss Moon (Mrs Oakeshott) to 'the Sisyphus painter,' represents a similar scene—two naked youths wearing spread *kálathoi* of reeds (?) and gesticulating as they dance on either side of a bearded flute-player in a long *chitón* (Noël Moon in *Papers of the British*

School at Rome 1929 xi. 30 ff. pl. 12 (=my fig. 808), C. Dugas in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xliv. 101 with fig. 6). Mrs Oakeshott *loc. cit.* notes another bell-*kratér* by the same hand and exhibiting the same subject in the collection of Dr A. Ruesch at Zürich (*Ruesch Sale Catalogue* 1936 no. 14 pl. 22. The vase is now in the Wolfensperger Collection, 23 Maienburgweg, Zürich. My fig. 809 is from a photograph kindly lent by Mrs Oakeshott): the man in the centre here pirouettes. Similarly on a red-figured bell-*kratér* at Berlin (inv. no. 3326), which A. Furtwängler in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1895 x Arch.

Fig. 809.

Anz. p. 39 f. fig. 16 (inadequate) describes as being 'in schöner Zeichnung der Zeit des peloponnesischen Krieges' and R. Zahn in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 193 n. 84 calls 'attischen,' but C. Watzinger *ib.* iii. 323 takes to be 'wohl eher böotischen als attischen...aus der ersten Hälfte des 4. Jahrhunderts,' a girl wearing a short *chitón* of foldless embroidered stuff suggestive of barbaric (? Lydian) attire and the reed-crown of a *kalathískos*-dancer capers before young Dionysos, who is sitting on a broad three-stepped base or platform. Eros, leaning against his shoulder, points to the lively dancer. Behind her, an Ionic column painted white implies a sanctuary; and beyond it stands a Maenad equipped with *nebrís*, *thýrsos*, and large *týmpanon* (K. Latte *De saltationibus Graecorum* Giessen 1913 p. 57, like Furtwängler, thought it a

shield). The best available illustration of this ritual scene is a photographic cut in H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 122. With it should be compared a bell-*kratér* of Paestum style in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 97 no. F 188, P. F. H. d'Hancarville *Antiquités étrusques, grecques et romaines, tirées du cabinet de M. Hamilton* Naples 1767 iv col. pl. 118, *Corp. vas. ant.* Brit. Mus. iv E. *a* pl. 2, 3 a and 3 b with text p. 4 by A. H. Smith and F. N. Pryce), on which the youthful Dionysos holds out fruit to a male *kalathískos*-dancer performing before him (my fig. 810 is from the official photograph), and an Apulian bell-*kratér* from Rugge at Berlin (B. Schröder in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1909 xxiv. 119 fig. 6), on which is a male dancer of like aspect.

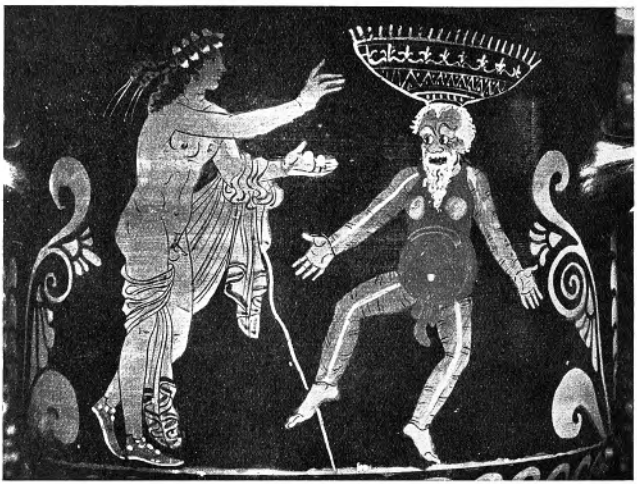


Fig. 810.

Once more, on a late red-figured bell-*kratér* at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 299 no. 1778, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1869 p. 236 Atlas pl. 6, 4 and 5 (=my fig. 811), Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 32, 5 and 7) a girl wearing the short *chitón* and *kalathískos* places the *pinakískion* on the *kóttabos*-stand for a recumbent feaster (hardly Dionysos, as F. Hauser in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 68 supposed).

Other early examples of the *motif* are to be found among the limestone reliefs of *c.* 420—410 B.C. that decorate the inner surface of the *herôion* at Trysa. The doorway on the southern side is here flanked by two female (?) dancers wearing a large *kálathos* perhaps originally painted with a design of reeds or rushes (cp. the dancing-girl with yellow *krótala* and a white *kálathos* marked with red rays in a tomb-painting of *s.* iv (?) B.C. found in 1854 at S. Maria in Fondo Vetta, south of the amphitheatre at Capua, and published by G. Minervini in the *Bull. Arch. Nap.* Nuova Serie 1854 ii. 183 f. pl. 14, P. W. Forchhammer in the *Mon.*

Ann. e Bull. d. Inst. 1854 p. 63, F. Weege 'Oskische Grabmalerei' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1909 xxiv. 111, 130, 135 no. 25. A Lydian dance might well reappear at Capua, where the Etruscans held sway till 445 or 424 B.C. (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1556)). The lintel above has a frieze of eight grotesque and Bes-like musicians wearing the same head-dress: they have

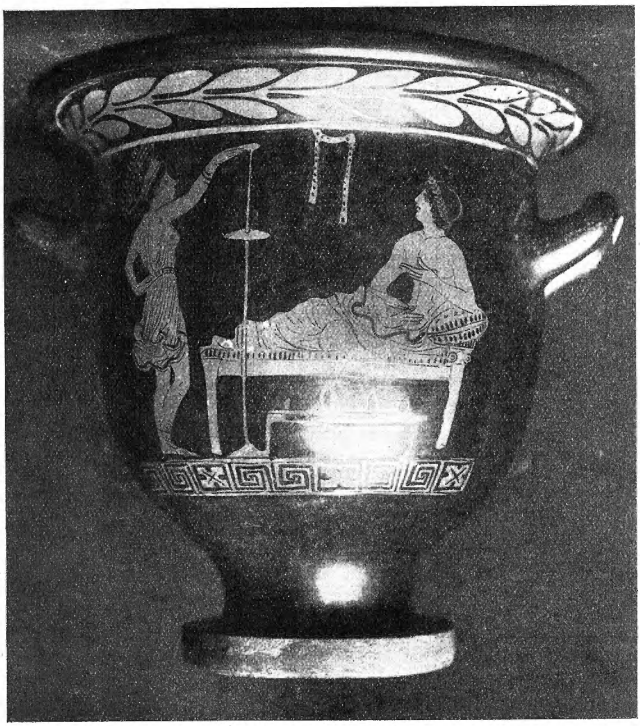


Fig. 811.

been taken to be the eight Phoenician Kabeiroi (on whom see F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 772 f. fig. 918 and R. Pettazzoni 'Le origini dei Kabiri nelle isole del mar tracio' in the *Memorie della R. Accademia dei Lincei.* Classe di Scienze Morali, Storiche e Filologiche. Serie Quinta. Roma 1909 xii. 672 ff.), and are commonly associated with the dancing figures below them (O. Benndorf—G. Niemann *Das Heroon von Gjölbaschi-Trysa* Wien 1889 pp. 58, 95 f. pl. 6 = my fig. 812, S. Reinach in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1892 viii. 306 ff.

with fig. on p. 295 = *id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 ii. 299 ff. with fig. 435, *id. Rép. Reliefs* i. 444 no. 1, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 204 with fig. 97, H. Thiersch in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch arch. Inst.* 1907 xxii. 238).

Between *c.* 425 and *c.* 400 B.C. may be placed certain silver *statêres* of Abdera, which have as reverse type the magistrate's date ΕΠΙ ΜΟΛΠΑΓΟΡΕΩ and the canting badge of a similar dancing girl turned left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins*

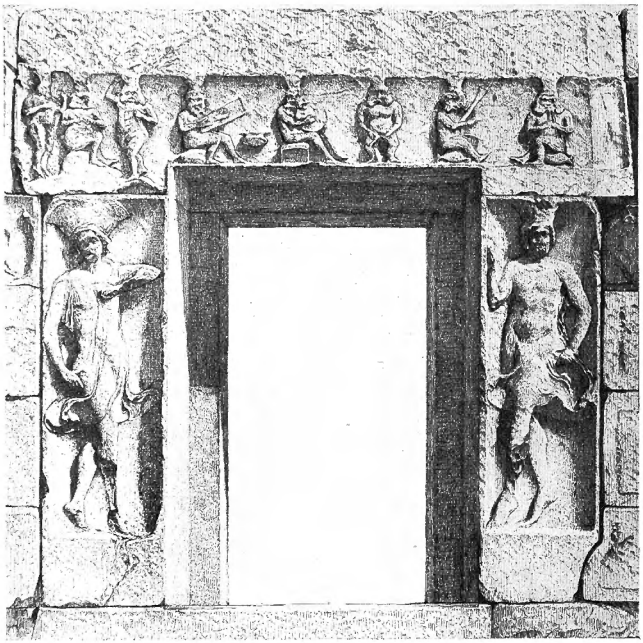


Fig. 812.

The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 70 no. 35 fig., p. 230 no. 35 *a* (my fig. 813 from a cast), *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 68 pl. 4, 38, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 99 pl. 3, 2, J. N. Svoronos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff. pl. 2, 22, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 21, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 492 pl. 22) or right (J. Millingen *Sylloge of ancient unedited coins of Greek cities and kings, from various collections* London 1837 pp. 30, 33 pl. 2, 13, *Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 106 no. 67, *Ant. Münz. Nord-Griechenlands* ii. 1. 1. 71 no. 100 pl. 3, 1 Berlin, J. N. Svoronos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1889 p. 99 ff.

pl. 2, 21 (=my fig. 814) Paris, H. von Fritze in *Nomisma* 1909 iii pl. 2, 20 Paris, K. Regling *Die antike Münze als Kunstwerk* Berlin 1924 pp. 71, 84 no. 493 pl. 22, Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 4. 897 f. pl. 335, 15 Paris, C. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 144 pl. 28, 13 Berlin).

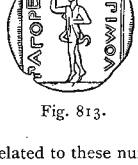


Fig. 813.

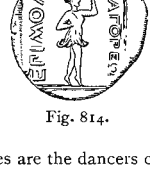


Fig. 814.

Closely related to these numismatic examples are the dancers carved on two slabs of Pentelic marble, which were brought from Italy to Berlin in 1892 (figs. 815, 816 are from C. Blümel *Staatliche Museen zu Berlin: Katalog der Sammlung antiker Skulpturen* Berlin 1931 iv. 45 f. nos. K 184 and 185 pl. 77, cp. F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 45 figs. 48 and 49). The more complete relief measures 0·95^{m} high by 0·54^{m} broad; the less complete, 0·80^{m} high by 0·56^{m} broad. It seems probable that, like three similar but fragmentary reliefs at Athens (H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 346 figs. 315, 316), they were intended for mural decoration. The reliefs at Berlin exhibit such delicious freshness and *abandon* that R. Kekulé, who first published them in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1893 viii Arch. Anz. p. 76 with two figs., did not hesitate to regard them as Attic work dating from the earlier half of *s.* v B.C. (cp. M. Sauerlandt *Griechische Bildwerke* Düsseldorf—Leipzig p. x 'aus dem Anfange des v. Jahrhunderts v. Chr.,' *Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*[2] Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 90 no. 1456 f. pl. 26 'Griechische Werke des 5. Jh. v. Chr.', F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 45 'aus demselben Künstleratelier der 5. Jahrh. v. Chr.'). But Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpture* p. 438 n. 3 with greater circumspection claims that they are only 'good specimens of the so-called later Attic school, by no means genuine archaic works' (cp. *id. Ueber Statuenkopieen im Alterthum* München 1896 i. 4 n. 3 (=*Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* 1896 Philos.-philol. Classe xx. 528 n. 3).

If so, they must be ranked with the *kalathiskos*-dancers of Arretine ware (*c.* 150 B.C.—50 A.D.) discussed by H. Dragendorff in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1895 xcvi—xcvii. 58 ff. A *skyphos* from Capua has four dancers grouped in pairs. Between the two pairs is a small Eros standing on a pillar, and between the dancers of the right-hand pair is a *thymiatérion* (H. Dragendorff *loc. cit.* figs. 14, 14 a after Riccio *Notizie degli scavamenti nel suolo dell' antica Capua* Napoli 1855 pl. 5). A fragmentary mould found at Arezzo in 1896 and now in the British Museum shows four girls likewise dancing in pairs and wearing a head-dress of open wicker-work. Above them runs a wreath to which festoons are looped up with large bows. Between the pairs of dancers a flower springs from the ground (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 34 no. L 108, H. B. Walters *History of Ancient Pottery* London 1905 ii. 493 f. pl. 66, 5). Another specimen, in the Loeb collection, has a very similar dancer standing between two bases (?) with a festoon fastened to *bucrania* behind her and a flower or flowering rush (?) at her feet (F. Weege *op. cit.* pp. 45, 48 with fig. 51 after G. H. Chase *Guide to Loeb Collection of Arretine Pottery* Harvard University no. 53 pl. 3). Another mould

Fig. 815.

Fig. 816.

in New York shows the dancer, once more between two bases (?) with a festoon of vine and ivy behind her (G. M. A. Richter in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 15 fig. 4). Again, fragments of a mould found near the church of S. Maria in Gradi at Arezzo and now in the museum of that town represent two such dancers facing left. In front of one is a Dionysiac herm, in front of the other a fighting Athena, each effigy set on the top of an Ionic column (G. F. Gamurrini reported by G. Fiorelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1884 p. 372 gruppo v nos. 1—3 pl. 7, 2). The moulds found with this bear the signature of that admirable craftsman M. Perennius, on whom see M. Ihm in the *Bonner Jahrbücher* 1898 cii. 114 ff., H. B. Walters *op. cit.* pp. 483, 492, 494 and in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* pp. xvii, xx, xxii.

Similarly the upper part of a Roman mural relief in terra cotta, made during the first half of Augustus' reign and now preserved in the Antiquarium at Berlin, figures a facing Palladion flanked by two *kalathiskos*-dancers, whose pink garments contrasted with a blue background (Von Rohden—Winnefeld *Ant. Terrakotten* iv. 1. 248 pl. 18, Furtwängler *op. cit.* p. 438 fig. 179, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1332 fig. 8. A fragment in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 412 no. D 646 fig. 76 gives the head and shoulder of the right-hand dancer). More complete but less delicate is the *replica* in G. P. Campana *Antiche opere in plastica* Roma 1842 p. 37 f. pl. 4, cp. *Le Musée d'Aix* Paris 1882—1921 p. 477 no. 1588. Another example in the Casino of Pius iv in the Vatican Garden is published by Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 151 pl. 20, 214 *a*.

Neo-Attic reliefs, which perhaps imply Attic originals of *s.* i B.C. (F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 53 f., Ada von Netoliczka *ib.* 1914 xvii. 132), make use of similar *motifs*. A three-sided base of Flavian date (69—96 A.D.) in the Museo Archeologico at Venice is adorned with two *kalathiskos*-dancers and an ecstatic Maenad. Each figure is framed by an over-elaborate and meaningless combination of ram's head, lion's leg, and bust of winged female Sphinx wearing a rayed *kálathos*, on which kneels Nike with spread wings (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 p. 60 no. 6, H. Heydemann *Mittheilungen aus den Antikensammlungen in Ober- und Mittelitalien* Halle 1879 p. 65 n. 154, F. Hauser *Die neu-attischen Reliefs* Stuttgart 1889 p. 100 f. no. 31, *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2469—2471 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 432 nos. 4—6, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 47). A second and exactly similar base in the same collection is due to a copyist of the Renaissance (*Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 2472—2474 with Text ix. 13 by P. Arndt and G. Lippold). Another three-sided base in the Louvre again couples the *kalathiskos*-dancers with a Maenad, whose head and right arm are a misleading restoration. The framework here with its rams' heads at the upper corners is of a simpler and more satisfactory sort (Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 343 f. pl. 167 fig. 77 and pl. 168 fig. 78=Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 61 no. 3 and i. 62 no. 1, Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 133 pl. 17, 188, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 100 no. 29. Height 1·011^{m}). Yet another three-sided base, in the Villa Albani, shows three such dancers, of whom one uplifts a dish of fruit before a rude stone altar with fruit laid out upon it and a fire burning, a second stands before a similar altar, and a third before a reed-plant springing from the ground (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 20=Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 152 nos. 1—3, Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 146—152 pl. 7, 12, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 2, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 19, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 67 f. no. 816. Height of

figures 0·30^{m}). A large *kratér* of Italian marble with grey stripes, formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has on one side a snake-entwined tripod, from which flames are rising, flanked by a pair of Nikai filling *phiálai* from their raised *oinochóai*, on the other side an exact repetition of the central and left-hand dancers on the Villa Albani base described above—a repetition which includes both the altar with fruit and the reed-plant springing from the ground.

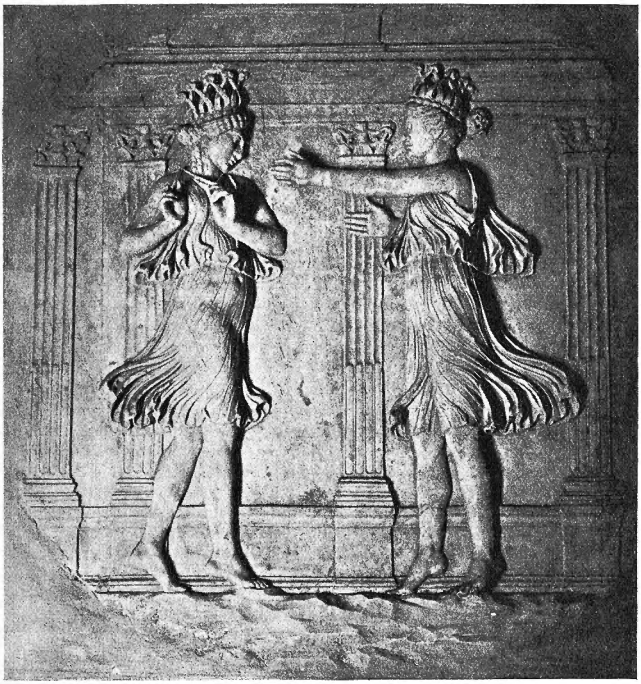


Fig. 817.

Under each handle are two *thýrsoi* laid crosswise. The handles themselves end in large ivy-leaves (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 638 no. 66, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 96 no. 18, Mrs S. A. Strong in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1908 xxviii. 24 f. no. 33 pl. 17 = Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 531 no. 3 f. Height 0·80^{m}; diameter *c.* 0·80^{m}. The surface has been worked over, but the authenticity of the vase is above suspicion). A marble relief in the Villa Albani figures a couple of *kalathískos*-dancers facing each other in front of an edifice with two ranges of pilasters (G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 i. 111—118 pl. 21 = Reinach

Rép. Reliefs iii. 151 no. 1, L. Stephani *loc. cit.* p. 60 no. 3, F. Hauser *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 21, Helbig *Guide Class. Ant. Rome* ii. 38 f. no. 769, W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1913 ii. 422 f. no. 1867, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 46 with fig. 52 from a photograph (my fig. 817, H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1925 i. 73 fig.), which shows that—as Hauser observed—the *kálathoi* are largely restored. The restoration affects the left hand of the dancer on the right, both hands, the right foot, and the lower part of the left leg of the other dancer, together with the rocky foreground and portions of the architectural background. Height 0·85[m]). A finely worked relief of Pentelic marble in the Lateran collection preserves the single headless figure of a similar dancer turned towards the right in front of a wall with pilasters (Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 19 no. 3499). A fragment now in the Sala Lapidaria of the Arcivescovado at Ravenna also gives a single *kalathískos*-dancer from the knees upwards with the remains of a flat pilaster and wall (H. Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 65 no. 5, C. Ricci in *Ausonia* iv. 258 with fig. 10). Another in the Palazzo Farnese shows a single dancer of the same sort (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 19 no. 3499[a]). Finally, a marble *puteal* in the Palazzo Doria represents two pairs of *kalathískos*-dancers fronting each other amid a fine growth of tendrils. They are here assimilated to Nikai by having large wings on their shoulders (Matz—Duhn *op. cit.* iii. 112 no. 3678, cp. Comm. Datti in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1860 p. 98).

Looking back over the evidence thus detailed we gather that the *kalathískos*-dancers of the Arretine sherds, the Roman mural terra cottas, and the neo-Attic reliefs are archaistic derivatives of similar types already existing in the second half of *s.* v B.C.—witness the Naples *hydría*, the door-jambs at Trysa, and the coins of Abdera. Furtwängler acutely conjectured that the original from which they are all descended was a famous masterpiece (in archaïsing bronze relief?) by Kallimachos, the *saltantes Lacaenae* described by Plin. *nat. hist.* 34. 92 as 'a work of faultless technique, but one which has lost all charm through over-elaboration' (Furtwängler *Masterpieces of Gk. Sculpt.* p. 438). This conjecture has been widely accepted and is indeed highly probable. But the further attempt to name the dancers Karyatides and to connect them with architectural 'Caryatids' in general (P. Wolters in the *Zeitschrift für bildende Kunst* Neue Folge 1895 vi. 36—44 after Visconti *Mus. Pie- Clém.* iii pl. *b*, ii, F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 44 ff.) is in my judgment a mistake (cp. *supra* ii. 535 n. 2). I incline to the following solution of the problem. Alkman, who came to Sparta Σαρδίων ἀπ' ἀκρᾶν (Alkm. *frag.* 24. 5 Bergk[4], 2. 5 Edmonds, 13. 5 Diehl *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἐρυσίχη, cp. *Anth. Pal.* 7. 709. 1 ff. (Alexandros (of Aitolia?)), 7. 18. 3 ff. (Antipatros of Thessalonike), Krates (of Mallos?) *ap.* Souid. *s.v.* Ἀλκμάν), is known to have composed *parthéneia* for Artemis and other deities. Moreover, he wrote for the Spartan Gymnopaidiai songs to be sung by boys and men wearing 'Thyreatic' crowns made of palm-leaves (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 5 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 678 E cited *supra* p. 996 f.). Such a poet can hardly have failed to import into Sparta the famous *kalathískos*-dance of his own Sardeis. It was perhaps formerly figured on an inscribed but mutilated *stéle* of *s.* iii B.C., found in the Amyklaion (B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 29, 31 with fig. 2). Identical with it, or at least akin to it, was a dance performed at the Spartan festival of Promacheia (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 470), when the Perioikoi as distinct from the Spartiatai wore a crown of reeds (Sosibios of Sparta *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 626 Müller)=*frag.* 1 Tresp *ap.* Athen. 674 A καὶ γὰρ καὶ Λακεδαιμόνιοι καλάμῳ στεφανοῦνται ἐν τῇ τῶν Προμαχείων ἑορτῇ, ὥς φησι

Σωσίβιος ἐν τοῖς περὶ τῶν ἐν Λακεδαίμονι θυσιῶν γράφων οὕτως· 'ἐν ταύτῃ συμβαίνει τοὺς μὲν ἀπὸ τῆς χώρας καλάμοις στεφανοῦσθαι ἢ στλεγγίδι (cp. Plout. *inst. Lac.* 32 *στλεγγίσιν οὐ σιδηραῖς ἀλλὰ καλαμίναις ἐχρῶντο*), *τοὺς δ' ἐκ τῆς ἀγωγῆς παῖδας ἀστεφανώτους ἀκολουθεῖν'*). Another ritual link between Lakonike and Lydia is noted by L. Stephani, who observes in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1865 pp. 31, 58 that the cult of Artemis *Ὀρθία* at Sparta involved a *Ἀνδῶν πομπή* (Plout. *v. Aristid.* 17. Cp. the case of Artemis *Κορδάκα* at Olympia (Paus. 6. 22. 1 with H. Hitzig—H. Blümner *ad loc.*)).

Three dancing-girls in like attire surmounted the very beautiful acanthus-column of Pentelic (not Parian) marble, which stood on the north side of the Sacred Way at Delphoi, close to the votive offerings of the Syracusan princes. Arranged back to back round a central stem, the girls supported the *lébes* of the bronze tripod whose legs rested upon the leafy capital. This group of dainty light-footed damsels in some ways anticipates the art of Praxiteles. Indeed, T. Homolle in the *Rev. Arch.* 1917 i. 31—67 figs. 1—6 was prepared to regard it as a contemporary replica of the Praxitelean 'figures called Thyiades and Karyatides' later to be seen in the gallery of Asinius Pollio (Plin. *nat. hist.* 36. 23). But C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brünn 1929 p. 48 f. has shown that the Dancers' Column was found in the same deposit as the Charioteer, *i.e.* in the *débris* caused by the earthquake of 373 B.C., and should therefore be accepted as pre-Praxitelean and referred to a date perhaps as early as the late fifth century (S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133). In any case we may admit that the Delphian dancers with their crowns of 'sharp-ribbed rushes' are a composition of infinite grace, which forms a later (*c.* 400 B.C.) variation on the *saltantes Lacaenae* designed by Kallimachos and owes its ultimate inspiration to the *kalathískos*-dancers of the Lydian lake-side. See further the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. 1 pl. 15 (the column restored by A. Tournaire, with tripod-legs supported by dancers), iv. 2 pls. 60 (the dancers = my fig. 818), 61 (the dancers, another view), 62 (head of one dancer in profile), É. Bourguet *Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 188—192 fig. 63 f., F. Poulsen *Delphi* trans. G. C. Richards London 1920 pp. 246—264 figs. 113—128, and especially H. Pomtow 'Die Tänzerinnen-Säule in Delphi' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1920 xxxv. 113—128 with figs. 1 (=my fig. 819), 2—6, who is followed by A. Rumpf in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv fig. 128.

A gold earring in the F. L. von Gans collection of the Berlin Antiquarium further attests the popularity of the *motif* in the fourth century B.C. It represents a dancing-girl with short *chitón* and high *kálathos*: her left arm is raised, her right is missing (*Amtliche Berichte aus den königl. Kunstsammlungen* (Beiblatt zum *Jahrbuch der königlichen preussischen Kunstsammlungen*) 1913 xxxv. 76 with fig. 37 c).

A bronze statuette, formerly in the Gréau collection, again shows a dancing-girl with short *chitón* and basket-like head-dress (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 242 no. 9) after W. Froehner *Collection Julien Gréau. Bronzes* Paris 1891 pl. 95), as does a Hellenistic terracotta in the Louvre (J. Charbonneaux *Les Terres cuites Grecques* London 1936 pp. 23, 50 fig. 54, *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Paris 1937 ii. 199 with text by Mme Massoul). But examples of the type 'in the round' are rare, for terra-cotta dolls from Myrina with elaborate head-dress (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 243 no. C 522 pl. 35, Mendel *Cat. Fig. gr. de Terre Cuite Constantinople* p. 378 f. no. 2640 pl. 8, 6) are hardly to be classed as *kalathískos*-dancers.

Fig. 818.

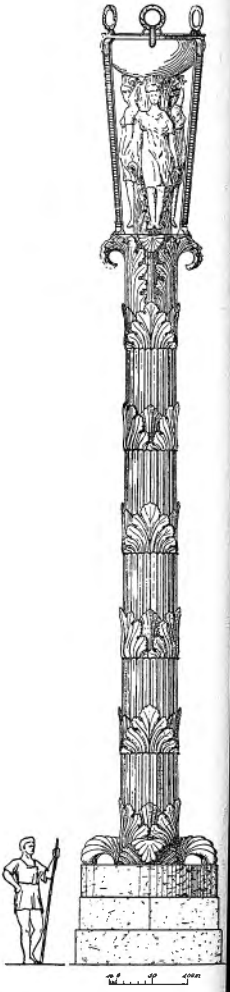


Fig. 819.

Similar figures are found on gems of imperial date, either alone as on a specimen in my collection (fig. 820: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), or else with a palm-branch (Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 284 no. 7668 pl. 57 cornelian, no. 7669 cornelian) or a *hydría* containing a palm-branch (*id. ib.* p. 284 no. 7670 pl. 57 sardonyx) before them. The palm-branch is here apparently a later substitute for the original reed-plant.

Fig. 820.

Important confirmation of this hypothesis is afforded by terra-cotta plaques of Hellenistic date found at Praisos in eastern Crete. They show a girl with short *chitón* and spread *kálathos*, who is dancing in front of 'a tall, bending plant, apparently a reed' (E. S. Forster in

Fig. 821.

the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 255 with fig. 17 = my fig. 821 (height ·23^{m}), cp. F. Halbherr in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1901 v. 390 pl. 12, 5).

In this connexion it may be noted that some would see a phallic significance

in the reed. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣáṇā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1917 p. 33 quotes Dion Cass. 72. 12 ὅτι Ἀστιγγοι, ὧν Ῥάός τε καὶ Ῥάπτος ἡγοῦντο, ἦλθον μὲν ἐς τὴν Δακίαν κ.τ.λ. and explains that Ῥάος and Ῥάπτος, 'Rush' and 'Rafter,' imply the phallic god of fertility conceived as a Reed (cp. Finnish *Sämpsä*, 'scirpus') and a horizontal Roof-beam. But his etymologies and his symbolism seem equally precarious. He would do better to cite the myth of Pan and Syrinx (H. Ostern in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 1642 ff.) as illustrated on imperial bronze coins of Thelpousa in Arkadia (K. Wernicke *ib.* iii. 1356, 1467 fig. 25 after *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 204 no. 3 Septimius Severus pl. 37, 23, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 102 Geta, Vienna pl. T, 24, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 456: see further F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1874 i. 134).

With the extension of the *kalathiskos*-type to runners in the Lampadedromia as represented on a series of vases *c.* 400 B.C. (Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 910 f. figs. 4328—4330) we are not here concerned. One such vase, that signed by the potter Nikias (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 218 f. no. 1 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 466 no. 1), is reproduced on the five-drachma postage-stamp designed by J. N. Svoronos for the Greek government and issued at Athens in 1906 to commemorate the 'Olympic Games.'

(13) Floating islands are reported from various districts of Italy. Thus one or more of them existed *in agro Caecubo* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). The allusion is probably to the Lacus Fundanus (*Lago di Fondi*) in the marshy plain between Fundi and the sea (C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1244).

(14) In the country of the Sabines a lake known as Aquae Cutiliae, between Reate (*Rieti*) and Interocrium (*Antrodoco*), was reckoned 'the navel of Italy' (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 109, Solin. 2. 23). It could boast a floating island (Varr. *ap.* Plin. *loc. cit.* and in *de ling. Lat.* 5. 71) covered with trees and grasses and so easily moved by the wind that it was never to be seen in the same place for a day and night together (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 25. 8 f., cp. anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37). If the Greeks dubbed it Κοτύλη (oracle of Zeus at Dodona *ap.* Dion. Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 19, Macrob. *Sat.* 1. 7. 28, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Ἀβοριγῖνες (=Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 177), Paul. ex Fest. p. 51, 8 Müller, p. 44, 22 f. Lindsay), that was a well-meant etymology of the Aquae *Cutiliae* (Ὕδατα Κωτίλια). Of greater interest is the account given by Dion Hal. *ant. Rom.* 1. 15 (after Varro): 'At a distance of seventy furlongs from Reate is Kotylia, a famous town, situated at the base of a mountain. Not far from it is a lake, four hundred feet across, full of spring water which is always flowing and —so they say—has no bottom to it. This lake, having a touch of divinity about it, the natives deem sacred to Victory (*sc.* Vacuna). They enclose it round about with fillets, that nobody should approach the water, and preserve it as a spot unprofaned by human tread except on certain yearly occasions (for καιροῖς τισι διετησίοις cod. Vat. has καιροῖς τισὶν ἐτησίοις), when they offer customary sacrifices and particular persons charged with the office land on the small island in it. The island is some fifty feet in diameter and rises not more than one foot above the level of the water. It has no fixed position and floats round here there and everywhere, the wind turning it now hither now thither. A plant resembling sedge grows upon it and sundry bushes of no great size—a thing inexplicable to those who have not seen the handywork of nature and a marvel second to none.' On which E. H. Bunbury in Smith *Dict. Geogr.* i. 721 comments: 'It is evident that this marvel arose from the incrustations of carbonate of lime formed by the

waters of the lake, fragments of which might from time to time be detached from the overhanging crust thus formed on the banks: the same phenomenon occurs, though on a smaller scale, at the Aquae Albulae near Tibur. ([Sir W.] Gell [*The*] *Top*[*ography*] *of Rome* [*and its Vicinity* London 1834 i. 74, *ib.*² London 1846 i.] 41.)...The Cutilian Lake still exists under the name of *Pozzo di Ratignano* or *Latignano*, though apparently reduced in size by the continual incrustation of its banks; but the floating island has disappeared.'

(15) Two islands in the Lacus Tarquiniensis (more often called the Lacus Volsiniensis, nowadays the *Lago di Bolsena*, a *quondam* crater near Volsinii) are described as floating groves blown by the winds now into triangular, now into circular forms, but never into squares (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209). It is not clear how these two islands (the *Isola Martana* and the *Isola Bisentina* (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 3. 52 Vesentini and *Corp. inscr. Lat.* xi nos. 2910 Honori Visentium, 2911 Virtuti Visenti = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* nos. 3796, 3796ª)) could suggest either a triangle or a circle, let alone a square. G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 ii. 29 shakes his head: 'Shall we not rather refer this unsteady, changeful character to the eyes of the beholders, and conclude that the propagators of the miracle had been making too deep potations in the rich wine of [the lake-side]? Now, at least, the islands have lost their erratic and Protean propensities, and, though still capt with wood, have taken determinate and beautiful forms, no longer plastic beneath the breath of Æolus.' Possibly Santa Cristina, the virgin-martyr of *Bolsena* (July 24), who was cast into the lake and touched bottom—witness her footprints on the rocks—but, despite the millstone round her neck, would not drown and, after gruesome sufferings, had to be bound to a tree and shot with arrows, should be regarded as the Christian successor of a pagan lake-goddess (Diana?). On her see the *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Antverpiæ 1727 Julius v. 495 ff. 'De S. Christina virg. et martyri apud Lacum Vulsinium, ut volunt, in Tuscia' (*Passio* 2. 11 p. 526 F Urbanus...jussit eam ligari ad saxum, & medio mari dare præcepit: cumque hoc fieret, saxum disruptum est, & ipsa ab angelis suscepta est, & ita pedibus super aquas maris ferebatur, 2. 17 p. 528 A Julianus irâ commotus jussit mammillas ejus abscindere. Christina dixit: Lapideum cor & abominabile, mammillas meas abscidere jussisti; respice & vide, quia pro sanguine lac in terram defluxit, 2, 18 p. 528 B Tunc iratus Julianus duas sagittas [misit] in eam, unam ad cor ejus, & aliam contra latus ejus, & cum percuteretur, cum gaudio reddidit spiritum), S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 viii. 527—531 (p. 530 'on this day [July 24], as we are solemnly assured, her head is seen to swim about the lake'), M. and W. Drake *Saints and their Emblems* London 1916 pp. 26, 143, 193, *alib.*, K. Künstle *Ikonographie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 153 f. The tradition that she walked the water and the belief that her head still swims recall the floating islands mentioned by Pliny. Such wonders die hard.

(16) The Lacus Statoniensis, identified by P. Cluverius *Italia antiqua* Lugduni Batavorum 1624 p. 517 with the *Lago di Mezzano*, a tiny sheet of water about five miles west of the *Lago di Bolsena*, had once a floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614), but now has none, 'so that we must either reject Cluver's conclusion, or suppose that the island has since disappeared. As there is no other lake in central Etruria which can answer to the Statonian, we must take the alternative, and consider the island to have floated, as it is described, and to have become eventually attached to the shores of the lake' (G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*³ London 1883 i. 494 f.).

(17) The Vadimonis Lacus, another lakelet of Etruria, lying on the right bank of the Tiber about four miles above Horta (*Orte*) and in modern times variously termed the *Laghetto* or *Laghetello* or even *Lago di Bassano* or *Basanello* from a village in the neighbourhood, could boast in antiquity not only one floating island (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 25. 8, and perhaps Strab. 614) but several (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 38 *ἔστι δὲ καὶ λάκκος Οὐαδίμωνος καλουμένη λίμνη οὐ μεγάλη ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ ὁμοίως ἔχουσα νησία πλείονα πάσῃ πνοῇ μετακινούμενα*). An interesting account of them is given by Plin. *epist.* 8. 20 (trans. W. Melmoth rev. W. M. L. Hutchinson): 'I went close up to this lake. It is formed exactly circular (in similitudinem iacentis rotae circumscriptus et undique aequalis); there is not the least obliquity or winding, but all is regular and even as if it had been hollowed and cut out by the hand of art. The colour of its water is a whitish-blue, verging upon green, and somewhat cloudy; it has the odour of sulphur and a strong medicinal taste, and possesses the property of cementing fractures. Though it is but of moderate extent, yet the winds have a great effect upon it, throwing it into violent commotions. No vessels are suffered to sail here, as its waters are held sacred; but several grassy islands swim about it, covered with reeds and rushes, and whatever other plants the more prolific neighbouring marsh and the borders of the lake produce. No two are alike in size or shape; but the edges of all of them are worn away by their frequent collision against the shore and one another. They have all the same depth, and the same buoyancy; for their shallow bases are formed like the hull of a boat. This formation is distinctly visible from every point of view; the hull lies half above and half below the water. Sometimes the islands cluster together and seem to form one entire little continent; sometimes they are dispersed by veering winds; at times, when it is calm, they desert their station and float up and down separately [at times the wind falls dead and they are left floating in isolation A.B.C.]. You may frequently see one of the larger islands sailing along with a lesser joined to it, like a ship with its long boat; or perhaps, seeming to strive which shall outswim the other; then again all are driven to one spot of the shore, which they thus advance, and now here, now there, diminish or restore the area of the lake; only ceasing to contract it anywhere, when they occupy the centre. Cattle have often been known, while grazing, to advance upon those islands as upon the border of the lake, without perceiving that they are on moving ground, till, being carried away from shore they are alarmed by finding themselves surrounded with water, as if they had been put on board ship; and when they presently land wherever the wind drives them ashore, they are no more sensible of disembarking than they had been of embarking. This lake empties itself into a river, which after running a little way above ground, sinks into a cavern and pursues a subterraneous course and if anything is thrown in brings it up again where the stream emerges.' 'But,' says G. Dennis *The Cities and Cemeteries of Etruria*[3] London 1883 i. 144, 'he who would expect Pliny's description to be verified, might search for ever in vain. It is, indeed, no easy matter to find the lake; for it has so shrunk in dimensions, that what must have been a spacious tract of water in the olden time, is now but a small stagnant pond, almost lost in the tall reeds and bulrushes that wave over it. These we may conclude represent the islets, which either never had an existence, or have now clubbed together to stop up the lake.'

(18) A floating island *in agro...Mutinensi* (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 209) is mentioned but once and has not been further identified.

(19) Yet another, on the Lacus Benacus (*Lago di Garda*), the largest of all

the lakes in Italy, is said to have been inhabited and to have been planted with trees (anon. *de aquis mirabilibus* (*supra* p. 975) 37 *ἐπὶ τῆς ἐν Ἰταλίᾳ λίμνης καλουμένης μὲν Βηνάκου, οὔσης δὲ τὸ περίμετρον σταδίων φ'* (on its real size see E. H. Bunbury in Smith's *Dict. Geogr.* i. 389 or C. Hülsen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 268), *νῆσός ἐστιν οἰκουμένη κατάφυτος δένδρεσιν ἡμέροις ἐπινηχομένη καὶ μεταβαίνουσα πρὸς τὰς τῶν πνευμάτων φοράς*).

(20) Lastly, at (Aquae) Salsulae in Gallia Narbonensis, the modern *Salces* or *Salses* on the western bank of the *Étang de Leucate*, was a whole plain, green with fine slender reeds and afloat on underlying water. The centre of it, detached from its surroundings, formed an island which could be pushed away from you or pulled towards you. Holes made in the surface of this plain showed the sea beneath; whence ignorant or lying authors had stated that fish were here dug out of the ground (Mela 2. 82 f., cp. Aristot. *mir. ausc.* 89, Polyb. 34. 10. 2—4, and perhaps Liv. 42. 2, also Theophr. *frag.* 171. 7, 11 f. Wimmer, Plin. *nat. hist.* 9. 176, 178, Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 3. 16. 5, 3. 17. 3, Iuv. 13. 65 f.). See further E. Desjardins *Géographie historique et administrative de la Gaule romaine* Paris 1876 i. 251 f., 256 f. and Keune in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2012.

It will be obvious from a survey of the foregoing passages that floating islands as such made a deep impression on Greeks and Romans alike and were almost always regarded with naive feelings of awe and veneration. Such phenomena attached themselves readily to the cult of the local deity, often a lake-goddess, and at least in one case gave rise to a popular ritual and an art-type of remarkable beauty. We must not, however, lend an ear to the persuasions of a latter-day mythologist, who would have us believe that the floating islands of Greek story were originally nothing but drifting clouds (F. L. W. Schwartz *Der Ursprung der Mythologie* Berlin 1860 p. 69 n. 1 'es sind immer ursprünglich die Wolkeninseln der Sage'). Earthly fact *plus* heavenly fancy will amply suffice to explain the whole flotilla (see *e.g.* the Celtic parallels in Sir J. Rhŷs *Celtic Folklore*: *Welsh and Manx* Oxford 1901 i. 171 f., W. C. Borlase *The Dolmens of Ireland* London 1897 ii. 591, H. Güntert *Kalypso* Halle a. S. 1919 p. 145 f.). Doubters should visit Derwentwater and enquire for the Floating Island near Lodore which 'appears periodically about the middle of October at intervals of four years' (M. J. B. Baddeley *The English Lake District*[10] London 1906 p. 130 with Append. by E. D. Jordan p. 11). It has been studied with scrupulous exactitude by G. J. Symons *The Floating Island in Derwentwater, its History & Mystery, with notes of other dissimilar islands* London 1888 pp. 1—64 (Frontisp. map of the south-east portion of Derwentwater showing the position of three floating islands on Aug. 27, 1884, p. 19 ff. list of recorded appearances from 1753 to 1888 A.D., p. 23 ff. notice of other floating islands, etc.). Another interesting case is examined by Marietta Pallis 'The Structure and History of Plav: the Floating Fen of the Delta of the Danube' in the Linnean Society's Journal *Botany* 1916 xliii. 233—290 pls. 11—25.

APPENDIX Q.

THE PROMPTING EROS.

The evolution of this artistic type deserves fuller treatment than it has yet received. Its successive stages may be exemplified as follows:

(1) A small plaque of reddish gold, found in the third shaft-grave at Mykenai, shows a nude Aphrodite (Astarte?) pressing her breasts, with a dove flying over her head. A second plaque of yellow gold, from the same grave, repeats the *motif* but adds two other doves flying from her shoulders (H. Schliemann *Mycenæ* London 1878 p. 180 f. fig. 267 f., C. Schuchhardt *Schliemann's Excavations* trans. E. Sellers London 1891 p. 197 f. fig. 180 f., Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 652 fig. 293 f., Ch. Tsountas—J. I. Manatt *The Mycenaean Age* London 1897 p. 101 f. fig. 38 f., Staïs *Coll. Mycénienne: Athènes* p. 13 ff. no. 27 fig., Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 223 with fig. 169, H. T. Bossert *Altkreta*[2] Berlin 1923 pp. 32, 220 fig. 311 e, G. Karo *Die Schachtgräber von Mykenai* München 1930/33 p. 48 pl. 27, 28 and 27 (=my figs. 822, 823).

Fig. 822.

Fig. 823.

(2) A bronze mirror-stand from Hermione, Greek work of *c.* 600—550 B.C., now in the Museum antiker Kleinkunst at Munich, represents a nude Aphrodite with two human-headed birds (Sirens) perched on lotos-flowers to left and right of her shoulders (J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 19 front (=my fig. 824) and back).

(3) Towards the close of *s.* vi B.C. other variations were attempted. A bronze mirror-stand from Corinth, now at Athens, figures Aphrodite, draped in Ionic *chitón* and *himátion*, holding a dove in her right hand, while two winged Sphinxes rest a forepaw on either shoulder of the goddess (Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 337 no. 11691 fig., C. D. Mylonas in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1875 xxxiii. 161 no. 1 pl. 14, 1, E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *Les céramiques de la Grèce propre* Paris 1890 ii. 249 no. 2 pl. 33). Another bronze mirror-stand, Greek (Corinthian? Argive?) work of *c.* 500 B.C., formerly in the Cook collection at Richmond, has Aphrodite in Ionic *chitón* and Doric *péplos*, but replaces the soul-

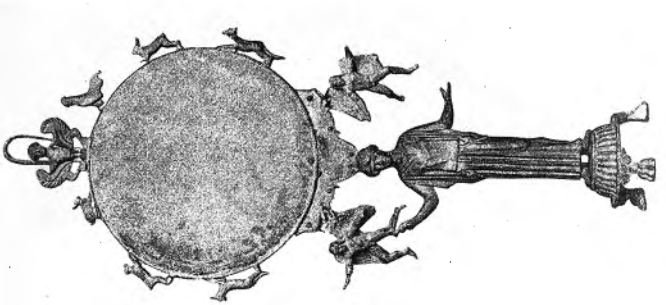


Fig. 826.

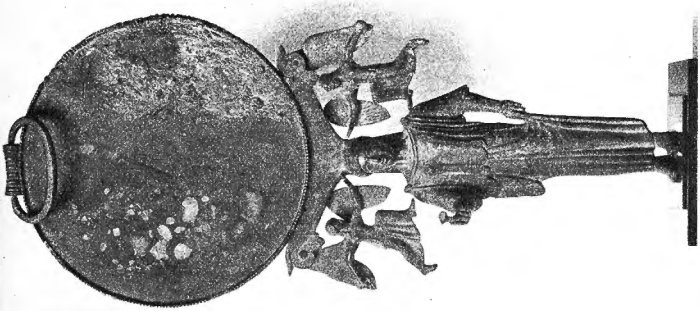


Fig. 825.

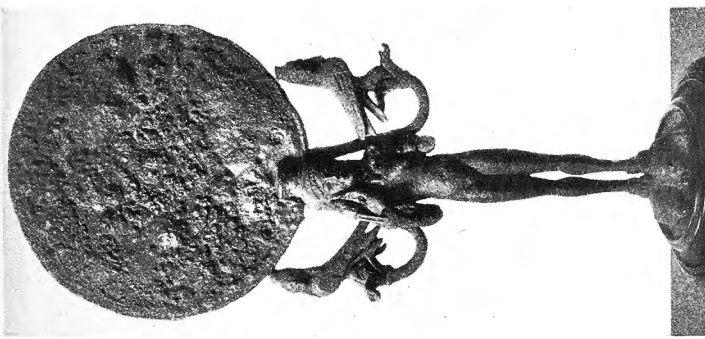


Fig. 824.

birds by two winged female figures (Nikai?), who fly towards the shoulders of the goddess with one hand outstretched and a small object (perfume-vase??) in the other (A. Michaelis *Ancient Marbles in Great Britain* trans. C. A. M. Fennell Cambridge 1882 p. 631 Richmond no. 39, Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 38 no A 8 pl. 45, *a* front, *b* back (wrongly described as 'two hovering Erotes'), Sir C. H. Smith in *Catalogue of the Antiquities (Greek, Etruscan and Roman) in the Collection of the late Wyndham Francis Cook, Esqre* London 1908 ii. 114 Bronze no. 46 pl. 35 (=my fig. 825: 'two hovering Victories'), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronzestatuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 45 fig. 25 ('zwei ... Siegesgöttinnen')).

(4) Numerous bronze mirror-stands of *s.* vi—v (listed by E. Pottier in A. Dumont—J. Chaplain *op. cit.* ii. 249—253: see also Mrs A. Strong *loc. cit.* p. 38) figure an archaic or at least severe Aphrodite flanked by a pair of Erotes hovering above her shoulders (*e.g. Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 24 no. 241 pl. 4 Athens, p. 24 no. 242 Sounion, p. 24 f. no. 243 pl. 4 Corinth, De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 43 no. 1687 pl. 77 Hermione, ii. 43 f. no. 1689 pl. 77 Corinth, ii. 44 no. 1691 pl. 77 (=my fig. 826) Greece, ii. 44 no. 1692 pl. 77 Corinth, Staïs *Marbres et Bronzes: Athènes*[2] p. 335 no. 7576 (6576 is apparently a misprint) with fig. on p. 336, J. Sieveking *Antike Metallgeräte* München s.a. pp. 9, 12 pl. 20 Boston).

(5) About the decade 450—440 B.C. Eros was represented on reliefs in terra cotta or marble as standing on the arm or stepping down from behind the shoulder of Aphrodite (*supra* ii. 1043 fig. 892, 1044). From this it is not a far cry to—

(6) a *kratér* from Falerii, now in the Villa Giulia at Rome, which dates from the period of the Peloponnesian War and shows Eros whispering in the ear of Hebe (*supra* ii. 737 fig. 668), or again to a *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples, which likewise belongs to the latter part of *s.* v B.C. and makes the small kindred figure of Himeros, kneeling beside the right shoulder of a goddess (Aphrodite? a Muse??), stretch out his arms to crown a tragic mask held in her left hand (Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 546 ff. no. 3240 ('Muse'), J. de Witte in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1841 xiii. 303 ff. ('*Aphrodite*'), *Mon. d. Inst.* iii pl. 31, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 114, 1 ('Muse'), B. Arnold in Baumeister *Denkm.* i. 388 ff. pl. 5 fig. 422, G. Nicole *Meidias et le style fleuri dans la céramique attique* Genève 1908 p. 120 f. fig. 29, M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 91 ff. fig. 97 pl. 48 ('Muse'), P. Ducati *Storia della ceramica greca* Firenze 1922 ii. 415 ff. fig. 298).

(7) This conception of Eros or Himeros as a small figure haunting the shoulder to proffer his amatory advice becomes a commonplace on vases produced during the earlier part of *s.* iv B.C. in the style of the Meidias-painter (G. Nicole *op. cit.* pl. 10, 6—8, pl. 11, 18), *e.g.* on a *hydría* from Ruvo at Karlsruhe (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 63 ff. no. 259, F. G. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1845 xvii. 172 ff. no. 59, *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 403 ff. no. 59, E. Gerhard *Apulische Vasenbilder des königlichen Museums zu Berlin* Berlin 1845 p. 32 f. pl. D, 2, Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 233 ff. no. 67 Atlas pl. 11, 1, Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 141 ff. pl. 30, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 65 ff. pl. 2, 2, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 185 f. no. 20, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 595 f. iii. 241 fig. 595, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 459 no. 3, *supra* i. 125 f. pl. xi: Aphrodite and Alexandros), on a *hydría* from Populonia at Florence (L. A. Milani *Monumenti scelti del R. Museo Archeologico di Firenze* Firenze 1905 i pls. 4 and 5, 3, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 69 ff. pl. 3, 2, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 185 no. 17, P. Ducati

op. cit. ii. 399 ff. fig. 290, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 593 ff. iii. 240 fig. 594, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 4: Eros with Chrysothemis, Himeros with Adonis), on an *aryballos* from Athens in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 345 f. no. E 697, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 99 f. pl. 78, 2, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 97 no. 1 pl. 7, 1, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 196 no. 60, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 401, 403 fig. 291, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 14: Eros seated on the left shoulder of Aphrodite), on an *aryballos* from Ruvo in the Jatta collection (A. Michaelis *Thamyris und Sappho auf einem Vasenbilde* Leipzig 1865 pp. 1—18 with pl., D. Comparetti in the *Museo italiano di antichità classica* Firenze 1888 ii. 59—64 no. 4 pl. 5=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 526, 1, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 1727 f. fig. 1809, G. Jatta 'La gara di Tamiri con le Muse' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1888 iii. 239—253 pl. 9, G. Nicole *op. cit.* p. 96 f. pl. 7, 4, Hoppin *op. cit.* ii. 192 no. 47 *bis*, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 460 no. 12: Eros seated on the right shoulder of Sappho (ΣΑΟ), two Erotes to right and left of Aphrodite, of whom one lets fly a bird, the other points). Cp. a *hydria* from Nola in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 55 f. no. F 90 pl. 2: Eros stoops to touch the right shoulder of a seated female).

(8) The same conception persists throughout *s.* iv B.C. on Attic vases of the 'Kertch' variety such as a *hydria* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 383 ff. no. 1924, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 pp. 124—127 Atlas pl. 5, 1 and 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 9, 4 and 3, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 102 f. pl. 79, 1: Eros leans on the right shoulder of Paris, a second Eros seated above the right shoulder of Helene looks towards him ἀποσκοπεύων), a *kratér* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 339 ff. no. 1807, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 33 ff. Atlas pl. 3, 1 and 2=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 7, 5 and 6, L. Weniger in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1866 xxiv. 185 ff. pl. 211, *supra* ii. 262 pl. xvii: Eros, standing by Aphrodite's right shoulder, touches her breast), an *aryballos* from Jüz Oba at Petrograd (Stephani *Vasensamml. St. Petersburg* ii. 389 f. no. 1929, *id.* in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 127 ff. Atlas pl. 5, 3 and 4=Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 9, 2 and 1: Eros hovers behind the shoulders of Paris, another Eros with torches hovers beside Helene), a *pelike* from Kameiros in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 261 f. no. E 424, A. Salzmann *Nécropole de Camiros* Paris 1875 col. pl. 59, A. Conze in the *Wien. Vorlegebl.* ii pl. 6, 2, 2^a, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 427 f. fig. 306: Eros hovers above Peleus as he seizes Thetis), a *hydria* from Kyrenaïke in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 179 f. no. E 227, G. Dennis in the *Transactions of the Royal Society of Literature of the United Kingdom* Second Series 1870 ix. 181 f. pls. 3 and 4, Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* ii. 103 f. no. 2 pl. 79, 2: Eros standing on the right upper arm of Herakles offers him apples from the tree of the Hesperides), and finally a *hydria* from Alexandreia at Munich (Furtwängler—Reichhold *op. cit.* i. 204—208 pl. 40, P. Ducati *op. cit.* ii. 432 f. fig. 310, Pfuhl *op. cit.* ii. 712, iii. 244 fig. 598: Eros, reclining above the head of Paris, leans on the left shoulder of Aphrodite).

(9) B. Schröder in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. pp. 364—367 figs. 1—6 and, at greater length, in the *Zeitschrift für deutsche Volkskunde* 1925 xxxv. 85 ff. contends that the type of Lysippos' statue in bronze representing Herakles deprived of his weapons by Eros (*Anth. Plan.* 103. 1—6 (Geminos), 104. 1—6 (Philippos): see Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 279 no. 1474, Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 425) can be recovered from a vase in the Louvre, a mirror at Athens, a bronze statuette in the British Museum, and sundry gems, which show the hero with a youthful Eros on his shoulder. Schröder

further supports a suggestion first made by A. von Le Coq *Bilderatlas zur Kunst und Kulturgeschichte Mittel-Asiens* Berlin 1925 pp. 26, 83 fig. 159 (Pāñcika and child) *viz.* that Herakles with Eros on his shoulder ultimately gave rise to the legend of St Christopher bearing the Christ-child (for bibliography etc. see K. Künstle *Ikonographie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 pp. 154—160 figs. 66—68). It is, however, far from certain that such was the *motif* of Lysippos' bronze; and another possible prototype for St Christopher and the Child is the Pompeian Polyphemos driven by the infant Eros (*infra* p. 1023).

(10) Eros at-the-shoulder was a *motif* obviously better suited to painting or to bas-relief than to sculpture in the round. Nevertheless Hellenistic art produced, not only such types as that of a marble statuette from Pella in Makedonia, now at Christ Church, Oxford, which shows Eros standing on a tree-trunk and leaning against the right shoulder of Aphrodite (Mrs A. Strong in *Burlington Fine Arts Club: Exhibition of Ancient Greek Art* London 1904 p. 21 no. 28 pl. 27 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 231 no. 5), or that of a terra cotta from Myrina, now in the Albertinum at Dresden, which makes him stand on a pillar and rest his hand on her left shoulder (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii. 2. 84 fig. 9), but also the type of the little fellow leaning forward all agog over his mother's left shoulder (*e.g.* the bronzes in Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* pl. 632 D figs. 1295 A Turin (A. Fabretti in the *Atti della Società di archeologia e belle arti per la provincia di Torino* 1880 iii. 99 f. pl. 15, 2) and 1295 B Paris = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 342 nos. 4 and 5. Cp. the terracottas given by Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 46 fig. 3 (= Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Terres cuites pl. 133, 2), 195 fig. 7, 200 fig. 9, 202 fig. 4) or perched precariously on either shoulder (*e.g.* the terracottas in Winter *op. cit.* iii. 2. 85 fig. 8 Asia Minor (= C. Lecuyer *Terres cuites antiques trouvées en Grèce et en Asie mineure* Paris 1882 pl. H[3] (modern?)), 101 fig. 1 Rudiae, cp. 82 fig. 7 Greece but not Tanagra (= Furtwängler *Samml. Sabouroff* Terres cuites pl. 133, 1), 88 fig. 4 Myrina (?)), if not duplicated on both (*e.g.* a stone statuette from Beaune, now at Moulins (*Catalogue du Musée de Moulins* 1885 iii. 125, E. Tudot *Collection de figurines en argile* Paris 1860 pl. 75 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 376 no. 7), and a gold pendant from south Russia, now at Petrograd (L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1867 p. 47 Atlas pl. 1, 6 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 377 no. 6)), and even ambitious statuary groups in marble like that from Delos, now in the National Museum at Athens, which represents a naked Aphrodite defending herself with uplifted sandal against the advances of Pan and a helpful Eros hovering over her left shoulder (M. Bulard 'Aphrodite, Pan et Éros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1906 xxx. 610—631 pls. 13—16 (of which pl. 14 = my fig. 827) (fig. 2 is a second Eros belonging to some similar group) = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 230 nos. 2 and 3, C. Picard *La sculpture antique* Paris 1926 ii. 263 fig. 103).

(11) Venus with a tiny Cupid on her shoulder appears on *denarii* struck by M'. Cordius Rufus (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 383 no. 1 f. *rev.* fig. (*c.* 49 B.C.), M. Bahrfeldt *Nachträge und Berichtigungen zur Münzkunde* Wien 1897 p. 88 no. 1 pl. 4, 92, H. A. Grueber in *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. i. 523 f. nos. 4037—4039 pl. 51, 11 and 12 (*c.* 46 B.C.), *supra* ii. 99 n. 1) and by C. Egnatius Maxsumus (Babelon *op. cit.* i. 473 f. nos. 1 *obv.* fig., 2 *rev.* fig. (*c.* 69 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* i. 399 nos. 3274, 3275 pl. 42, 15, i. 401 nos. 3285—3292 pl. 42, 17 (*c.* 75 B.C.): see further F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 1997 no. (27)), and on others issued by Iulius Caesar (Babelon *op. cit.* ii. 11 f. nos. 11 *obv.* fig., 12 *obv.* fig. (*c.* 50 B.C.), H. A. Grueber *op. cit.* ii. 368 f. nos. 86—88 pl. 101, 9, nos. 89—92 pl. 101, 10 (*c.* 45 B.C.)).

The same type recurs on a fine fragment of relief in the church of San Vitale at Ravenna (Friederichs—Wolters *Gipsabgüsse* p. 762 no. 1923 f., J. J. Bernoulli *Römische Ikonographie* Berlin und Stuttgart 1886 ii. 1. 254 ff. pl. 6 ('Venus genetrix...eine Umkleidung der LIVIA'), Mrs A. Strong *Roman Sculpture from Augustus to Constantine* London 1907 p. 96 ('*Venus Genetrix* (or Livia?)'), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 128 no. 1, C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 390 ('Vénus genitrix')), on a relief

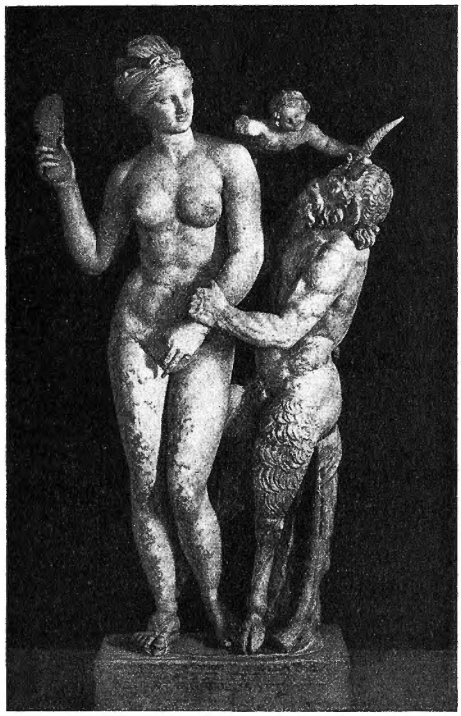


Fig. 827.

in the Villa Medici at Rome (E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1852 xxiv. 338—345, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 40, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 29 ff. no. 3511. Mrs A. Strong *op. cit.* p. 143 f. pl. 43, *b*, Reinach *op. cit.* iii. 313 no. 1) which represents the pediment of the temple of Mars *Ultor* (E. Petersen *Ara Pacis Augustae* (*Sonderschriften des österreichischen archäologischen Institutes in Wien* Band ii) Wien 1902 p. 58 ff. pl. 3, vii and figs. 26, 27) in the Forum Augustum

(H. Jordan *Topographie der Stadt Rom im Alterthum* Berlin 1885 i. 2. 443 ff., O. Richter *Topographie der Stadt Rom*[2] München 1901 pp. 110—112, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *Formae urbis Romae antiquae* Berolini 1912 pp. 25, 91), on a relief decorating the arm of a marble seat found at Solous in Sicily (Domenico lo Faso Pietrasanta Duca di Serradifalco *Le Antichità della Sicilia* Palermo 1842 v. 63 f. pl. 39, A. Conze *Die Familie des Augustus* Halis Saxonum 1867 p. 10, F. Hauser 'Marmorthron aus Solunt' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1889 iv, 255—260 with figs.), on another decorating an altar found at Tarentum (L. Viola in the *Not. Scav.* 1881 p. 388 f.), and on yet another decorating an altar formerly at Cività Castellana (A. Reifferscheid in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 367 f.). Cp. a relief found at Carthage (S. Gsell in the *Rev. Arch.* 1899 i. 37—43 pl. 2, A. Schulten in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1899 xiv Arch. Anz. pp. 73—75 fig. 3, E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 184), the 'basis Surrentina' (W. Amelung 'Bemerkungen zur sorrentiner Basis' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1900 xv. 198—210, especially p. 205 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* pp. 69 ff., 184 f.), and a gem at Petrograd (A. Conze *op. cit.* p. 10).

The contention that the type represented by these coins and reliefs was that of the famous Venus *Genetrix* made by Arkesilaos for her temple in the Forum Iulium (Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 156: see further H. Jordan *op. cit.* i. 2. 439 f., O. Richter *op. cit.*[2] p. 110, H. Kiepert et C. Huelsen *op. cit.* p. 35), though put forward by many scholars (*e.g.* A. Reifferscheid 'De ara Veneris Genetricis' in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1863 xxxv. 361 ff., G. Wissowa *De Veneris simulacris Romanis* Breslau 1882 p. 22 ff. (=*id. Gesammelte Abhandlungen zur römischen Religions- und Stadtgeschichte* München 1904 p. 25 ff.), L. von Urlichs *Arkesilaos* Würzburg 1887 p. 10 ff., Collignon *Hist. de la Sculpt. gr.* ii. 686 f., E. Petersen *op. cit.* p. 187 f., C. Picard *op. cit.* ii. 308), is beset with uncertainties and far from proven (R. Kekulé von Stradonitz in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1879 iii. 8—24, S. Reinach in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1887 xii. 250 ff., *id.* in the *Gazette des Beaux-Arts* 1896 ii. 329 ff. =*id. Monuments nouveaux de l'art antique* Paris 1924 i. 256 ff., H. Bulle *Der schoene Mensch im Altertum*[2] Muenchen—Leipzig 1912 pp. 263 ff., 682 f. pl. 124, Sir C. Walston (Waldstein) *Alcamenes* Cambridge 1926 p. 202 ff.).

(12) Pompeian painters went further afield and exploited to the full the possibilities of the type. We find Eros at the shoulder, not only of Aphrodite (*e.g.* R. Liberatore in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1835 xi pl. 6 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 76 no. 276, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 7), but also of a human beauty (R. Liberatore *loc. cit.*, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1428, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 no. 8). He occupies the same position in regard to the better-known lovers of mythology (*e.g.* Paris (W. Zahn *Die schönsten Ornamente und merkwürdigsten Gemälde aus Pompeji, Herkulanum und Stabiae* Berlin 1844 ii pl. 31, L. Stephani in the *Compte-rendu St. Pét.* 1861 p. 123, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 278 no. 1287, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 165 no. 1), Narkissos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 302 no. 1363, *id. XXIII Tafeln zu dem Werke Wandgemälde der vom Vesuv verschütteten Städte Campaniens* Leipzig 1868 pl. 17, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 4; G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 4 with text pp. 1—5, Helbig *Wandg. Camp.* p. 302 no. 1364, P. Decharme in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 451 fig. 2596, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 196 no. 8), and even Hippolytos (?) (A. Sogliano in the *Not. Scavi* 1897 p. 32 with fig. 4, A. Mau in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1898 xiii. 26 f., E. Petersen 'Artemis und Hippolytos' *ib.* 1899 xiv. 96 with fig. on p. 93, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 55 no. 4)). See also the medallions grouped together by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 62 nos. 10 (*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 19—22

pl. 4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 337 no. 1427[b]), 11 and 12 (W. Zahn *op. cit.* ii pl. 43); to which add *Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 25 f. pl. 5, 1.

More often, however, Eros is promoted from being a mere prompter to playing some subordinate part in the action represented. If Aphrodite arrives from the sea, a tiny but helpful Eros hands her ashore (Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 33 no. 132, P. Gusman *Pompéi* Paris 1899 p. 72 col. pl. 1, 1, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 60 no. 3). If Ares makes love to her, a hovering Eros spins the magic *iynx* (H. Hinck in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1866 xxxviii. 82, 93 ff. pl. EF, 2, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 84 no. 325, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 2 Text p. 7, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 3) or removes the god's helmet (G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 18 with text pp. 1—3, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 81 f. no. 316, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 2). And, briefly, wherever Aphrodite's power is manifested, Eros at-the-shoulder has his work to do. If Zeus woos Danae, Eros pours the golden rain from *amphora* or *cornu copiae* (?) (*supra* p. 465 f. with figs. 300 and 301. To the references there given add Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 27 f. pl. 3, 48 *b*, Welcker *Ant. Denkm.* v. 281, W. Helbig in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1867 xxxix. 349, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 11 no. 1; H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 47 ('urna'), but cp. Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 21 no. 75 ('corno': the 'urna' of previous publications must be due to the unintelligent repetition of a mere misprint), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 10 no. 7). If he seeks Ganymedes, Eros leads the divine bird by the neck towards the dreamy youth (C. Bonucci in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1829 p. 147, G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1831 vii Relazione degli scavi di Pompei p. 5, G. Finati *ib.* 1834 x pl. 56 with text pp. 1—4, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 45 no. 154, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 538 no. 28 Atlas pl. 8, 14, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 8). If he carries off Europe, Eros flits behind them bearing a thunderbolt (P. Gauckler 'Le domaine des Laberii à Uthina' in the *Mon. Piot* 1896 iii. 190 f. fig. 2, *id.* —A. Merlin *Inventaire des mosaïques de la Gaule et de l'Afrique: Tunisie* Paris 1910—1915 no. 350, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 5) or a *tainia* (J. V Millingen *Peintures antiques et inédites de vases grecs* Rome 1813 p. 44 f. pl. 25=Reinach *Vases Ant.* p. 105 f. pl. 25, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 60 ff. pl. 27, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 438 f. no. 19 Atlas pl. 6, 11, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* ii. 863 fig. 2847, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 95 no. F 184) or an *alábastron* (?) (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 no. 124, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 452 no. 34 Atlas pl. 7, 6, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 3), or before them leading the bull by a flowery chain and waving the bridal torch (in a magnificent mosaic from Aquileia *supra* p. 627 n. 0 (3) with pl. xlviii: cp. the painting, in Astarte's temple at Sidon, described by Ach. Tat. 1. 1 *Ἔρως εἵλκε τὸν βοῦν· Ἔρως, μικρὸν παιδίον, ἡπλώκει τὸ πτερόν, ἥρτητο <τὴν* (*ins.* R. Hercher)> *φαρέτραν, ἐκράτει τὸ πῦρ*), or beside them driving the bull with reins and a whip (C. Lugebil in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1861 p. 234, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 37 f. no. 128, Overbeck *op. cit.* p. 451 no. 32 Atlas pl. 7, 5, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 14 no. 4: cp. Eros standing as a diminutive figure on the left shoulder of the love-sick Polyphemos and driving him with reins in pursuit of Galateia (G. Perrot in the *Rev. Arch.* 1870—1871 N.S. xxii. 47—53 pl. 18 (reduced $\frac{2}{3}$ in my fig. 828) = *id. Mémoires d'archéologie d'épigraphie et d'histoire* Paris 1875 pp. 100—111 pl. 6, A. Mau in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1880 lii. 136 ff., *Mon. d. Inst.* xi col. pl. 23, P. Weizsäcker in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 1588 with fig., Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 172 no. 7, *supra* p. 1020 (9))).

Attendant Erotes multiply apace. We find two (*e.g.* with Aphrodite and Ares

(*Antichità di Ercolano* Napoli 1779 vii (Pitture v) 29—31 pl. 6, G. Finati in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1834 x pl. 40 with text p. 1 f., Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 328, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 10. Cp. G. Bechi in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1827 iii pl. 36 with text p. 1 f., W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1828

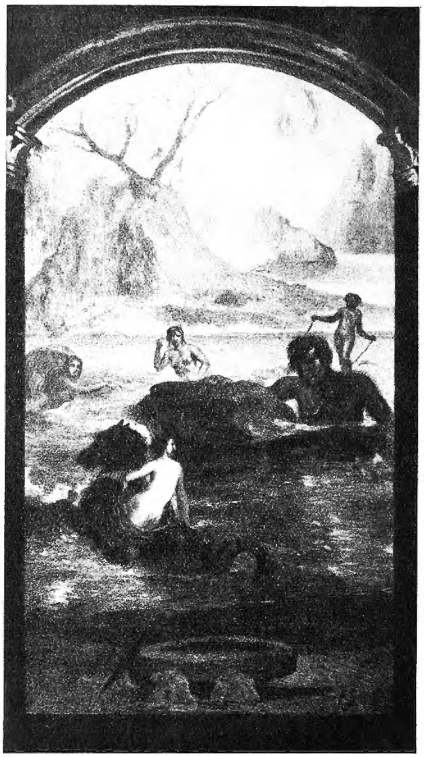


Fig. 828.

i pl. 44, F. G. Welcker in W. Ternite *Wandgemälde aus Pompeji una Herculanum* Berlin (1844) 3. Abth. iv. 13 f. pl. 29 (Helene and Achilles), Overbeck *Gall. her. Bildw.* i. 334—337 Atlas pl. 15, 8 (Helene and Achilles), Helbig *op. cit.* p. 85 no. 327 (Aphrodite and Ares), J. Six in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 190 f. fig. 5 (Briseis and Achilles), Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 66 no. 4), with Europe and the bull (R. Engelmann in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1881 xxxix. 130—132

pl. 6, 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 13 no. 2 mosaic from Sparta; *supra* i. 506 with fig. 369 vase at Petrograd)) or three (*e.g.* with Herakles, Omphale, and Priapos (Helbig *op. cit.* p. 231 f. no. 1140, J. Sieveking in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 889 with fig. 1, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* col. pl. 3, pls. 59, 60 Text pp. 75—77, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 5, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 826 f. iii. 284 col. fig. 664)) or four (*e.g.* with Aphrodite and Adonis (Sir W. Gell *Pompeiana* London 1832 ii. 66 pl. 12, Roux—Barré *Herc. et Pomp.* iii. 89 f. pl. 139, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 no. 339, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 3), with Aphrodite and Ares (A. Sogliano *Monumenta Pompeiana* Naples 1905 ii pl. 85, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 65 no. 7)) or six (*e.g.* with Aphrodite (J. P. Bellorius et M. A. Causseus *Picturae antiquae cryptarum Romanarum, et sepulcri Nasonum* Romae 1750 p. 89 f. Appendix pl. 7, O. Benndorf in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1876 i. 63 ff. pl. 2, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 59 no. 6), with Aphrodite and Adonis (E. G[erhard] in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1843 i. 88 f. pl. 5, 2, W. Zahn *op. cit.* 1844 ii pl. 30, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 88 f. no. 340, Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* pl. 52 Text pp. 65—67, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 64 no. 2)) or eight (with Omphale and Herakles (R. Rochette *Choix de peintures de Pompéi* Paris 1853 p. 239 ff. pl. 19, Helbig *op. cit.* p. 230 f. no. 1138, A. Ruesch in the *Guida del Mus. Napoli* p. 322 no. 1354, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 191 no. 6)) or even nine (in Aëtion's picture of Roxane and Alexander the Great as described by Loukian. *Herod. s. Aët.* 4—6 = Overbeck *Schriftquellen* p. 363 no. 1938, A. Reinach *Textes Peint. Anc.* i. 376 ff. no. 507, cp. W. Helbig *Untersuchungen über die kampanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 242, B. Nogara *Le Nozze Aldobrandine* Milano 1907 p. 23, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* ii. 771 f., 806). The way is thus prepared for the numerous Erotes of early Christian art, the *putti* of the Renaissance, and the Cupids of modern sentimentalism (O. Waser in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi. 515 f., *supra* ii. 1050).

APPENDIX R.

THE *HIERὸS GÁMOS.*

Greek literature from Homeric poetry to Byzantine prose links the name of Zeus with that of Hera. But this tradition, though practically universal, involves certain peculiar and even abnormal features, which, if carefully considered, make it difficult to believe that Hera was from the outset the wife of Zeus. The relations subsisting between them are deserving of detailed study[1].

Zeus, according to Kallimachos[2] and Nonnos[3], was courting Hera for a period of three hundred years. Homer[4] states that they met 'without the

[1] Years ago I dealt with the topic, somewhat light-heartedly, in two papers contributed to the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 365—378 and 416—419 (*supra* p. 744 n. 1).

[2] Kallim. *aitia* 2 frag. 20 Schneider *ap.* schol. A.D. *Il.* 1. 609 and Tzetz. *in eund. loc.* (P. Matranga *anecdota Graeca* Romae 1850 ii. 450, 11 ff.) *ὥς τε Ζεὺς ἐράτιζε τριηκοσίους ἐνιαυτούς.*

[3] Nonn. *Dion.* 41. 322 ff. *ὅττι πολυχρονίοιο πόθου δεδονημένον οἴστρῳ* (cp. *supra* p. 941 n. 1) | *Ἥρης κέντρον ἔχοντα κασιγνήτων ὑμεναίων* | *εἰς χρόνον ἰμείροντα τριηκοσίων ἐνιαυτῶν* | *Ζῆνα γάμοις ἕξευξα.*

[4] *Il.* 14. 295 f. *οἷον ὅτε πρῶτόν περ ἐμισγέσθην φιλότητι,* | *εἰς εὐνὴν φοιτῶντε, φίλους λήθοντε τοκῆας.*

knowledge of their dear parents'; and later authors[1] lay stress on their secrecy, which indeed passed into a proverb. But it must be remembered that such clandestine intercourse was in Samos[2] and at Sparta[3], if not elsewhere in the Greek world[4], the recognised beginning of married life. Zeus and Hera were conforming to a custom, which savours of extreme antiquity[5], though it is not extinct even in modern Europe[6].

The union of Zeus with Hera, commonly known as the *hierὸs gámos* or 'sacred marriage,' involved at once a myth and a ritual, though evidence of the one or the other is often lacking[7].

[1] Theokr. 15. 64 *πάντα γυναῖκες ἴσαντι, καὶ ὡς Ζεὺς ἠγάγεθ' Ἥρην* with schol. *ad loc.*, cp. Plaut. *trin.* 208 sciunt quod Iuno fabulatast cum Iove.

[2] In Samos the practice was referred to the example of Zeus (schol. B.L.T.V. *Il.* 14. 296, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 987, 9 ff.).

[3] Plout. *v. Lycurg.* 15, Xen. *de rep. Lac.* 1. 5, Hermippos *frag.* 6 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 37 Müller) *ap.* Athen. 555 c.

[4] The Lydian practice of prenuptial free love (Ail. *var. hist.* 4. 1 *Λυδοῖς ἦν ἔθος πρὸ τοῦ συνοικεῖν τὰς γυναῖκας ἀνδράσιν ἑταιρεῖν, ἅπαξ δὲ καταξευχθεἰσας σωφρονεῖν· τὴν δὲ ἁμαρτάνουσαν ἐς ἕτερον συγγνώμης τυχεῖν ἀδύνατον ἦν*) is hardly analogous. And the Naxian custom of placing a baby boy in the bride's bed on the eve of her wedding (Kallim. *aitia* 3. 1. 1 ff. Mair=B. P. Grenfell and A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1910 vii. 15 ff. no. 1011 *ἤδη καὶ κούρῳ παρθένος εὐνάσατο | τέθμιον ὡς ἐκέλευε προνύμφιον ὕπνον ἰαῦσαι | ἄρσενι τὴν τἀλιν παιδὶ σὺν ἀμφιθαλεῖ.* | *Ἥρην γάρ κοτέ φασι—*), though adduced as a parallel by Kallim. *loc. cit.* and schol. B.L.T.V. *Il.* 14. 296, is better explained as a piece of mimetic magic by A. E. Housman in the *Class. Quart.* 1910 iv. 114 f., D. R. Stuart in *Class. Philol.* 1911 vi. 302 ff., E. Samter 'Ein naxischer Hochzeitsbrauch' in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1915 xxxv. 90—98. Cp. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*[5] London 1921 ii. 468 'in some parts of Sweden she should have a boy-baby to sleep with her on the night preceding the wedding day in order that her first-born shall be a son.'

[5] P. Wilutzky *Vorgeschichte des Rechts* Breslau 1903 i. 201 argues that monogamy, since it involved the infringement of earlier communal rights, was at first viewed as an offence to society and its practice carefully concealed.

[6] F. G. Welcker in K. Schwenck *Etymologisch-mythologische Andeutungen* Elberfeld 1823 p. 271 cp. 'die Sitte des Kiltgangs, die auch bey den Slawen häufig gefunden werde.' On the *Kiltgang* of tbe Bernese Oberland see J. Grimm—W. Grimm *Deutsches Wörterbuch* Leipzig 1873 v. 704 *s.v.* KILT (3) '*schweiz. der nächtliche besuch des burschen bei seinem mädchen, das* kilten' and in much greater detail F. Staub—L. Tobler—R. Schoch—A. Bachmann—H. Bruppacher in the *Schweizerisches Idiotikon* Frauenfeld 1895 iii. 242 ff. *s.v.* **Chilt.**

[7] For the subject in general see P. H. Larcher 'Mémoire sur la noce sacrée' (read in 1790) in the *Mémoires de l'Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres* 1808 xlviii. 323 ff., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 pp. 1—38, W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 pp. 69—85, *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2098—2103, H. Graillot in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 177—181 ('Hiéros Gamos').

The valuable monograph of A. Klinz ΙΕΡΟΣ ΓΑΜΟΣ Halis Saxonum 1933 pp. 1—134 is of wider scope (p. 118 'Gravissimas res breviter complectens affirmaverim me demonstravisse notionem sacrarum nuptiarum in religione Minoiorum vi et notione iuris materni originem atque principium habere, inde in sacra Graecorum sollemnia translata esse, antiquissimis quidem religionis Graecae temporibus numina cthonia fertilitatis et inferorum coniugiis inter se coniungi, sed postea pro iure paterno Indogermanorum tempore religionis Olympiae Iovem ut caeli lucidi deum, qui sacris matrimoniis cum veteribus terrae deabus conectitur, auctoritate plurimum posse'), but in pp. 89—111 deals systematically with '*Διὸς γάμοι.*'

(1) The *Hierὸs Gâmos* at Samos.

In the case of Samos both are to hand. Parthenia, an old name of the island[1], was connected with the maidenhood of Hera, who here grew up and was married to Zeus[2]. This myth corresponded with a definite ritual. A statue of Hera in the Samian Heraion—presumably the wooden image made by Smilis of Aigina[3]—was dressed as a bride[4]; and at an annual festival the goddess was married to Zeus[5]. Terra-cotta groups found in Samos show Zeus and Hera

[1] The island was formerly (Strab. 637 *πρότερον οἰκούντων Καρῶν*) named Παρθενία (Aristot. *frag.* 570 Rose[2] *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135, Herakleid. *resp. Sam. frag.* 10. 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 215 Müller), Kallim. *h. Del.* 48 f., Ap. Rhod. 1. 187 f. with schol. *ad loc.*, Strab. 457, 637, Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Σάμος, Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* 533) after Parthenia the wife of Samos (Loukillos of Tarrha *frag.* 10 Linnenkugel *ap.* schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187), or after the river Parthenios (Strab. 457, Eustath. *loc. cit.*), which was so called because Hera had been brought up there as a virgin (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187). Probably it was believed that Hera renewed her virginity by bathing in the river, just as the Argives declared that she annually became a virgin by washing in the spring Kanathos at Nauplia (*supra* p. 224 n. 3). W. M. Leake *Travels in the Morea* London 1830 ii. 360 detected a trace of this notion in the saying still current at Nauplia, that the women of the place are handsome, while those of Argos are ugly, thanks to the different water of the two towns. Similarly, after her marriage with Zeus Hera was said to have bathed in the spring of the Mesopotamian river Aborras: hence the surrounding air was filled with fragrance, and shoals of tame fish disported themselves in the water (Ail. *de nat. an.* 12. 30). Alleged names of Samos include Παρθένιον (Eutekn. *metaphr. in* Nik. *alex.* 148 f.) and even †*Parthenoarrhusa*† (Plin. *nat. hist.* 5. 135—a bungled blend of Παρθενία and Δρυοῦσα, as J. Hardouin saw, cp. Herakleid. *loc. cit.* *ἡ δὲ νῆσος* Παρθενία, *ὕστερον δὲ* Δρυοῦσα). A certain soil found in Samos was known as *παρθενία* (Nik. *alex.* 149 with schol. *ad loc.*). Hera herself was entitled Παρθενία both in Samos (Kallim. *ap.* schol. Paris. Ap. Rhod. 1. 187, cp. schol. Pind. *Ol.* 6. 149) and elsewhere (see O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1649).

[2] Varr. *frag.* 399 Funaioli *ap.* Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 insulam Samum scribit Varro prius Partheniam nominatam, quod ibi Iuno adoleverit ibique etiam Iovi nupserit.

[3] *Supra* i. 444 f. figs. 313, 314, iii. 645 n. 0 fig. 446. See further Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 12—16 Münztaf. 1, 1—12.

[4] Perhaps in the robe called *πάτος* (Kallim. *frag.* 495 Schneider *ap.* Cramer *anecd. Oxon.* iii. 93, 19 ff., Hesych. *s.v.* *πάτος*).

[5] Lact. *div. inst.* 1. 17. 8 itaque nobilissimum et antiquissimum templum eius est Sami et simulacrum in habitu nubentis figuratum et sacra eius anniversaria nuptiarum ritu celebrantur, Aug. *de civ. Dei* 6. 7 sacra sunt Iunonis, et haec in eius dilecta insula Samo celebrabantur, ubi nuptum data est Iovi.

On the cult of Hera in Samos see now the results of the important excavations (1910—1914 and 1925—1929) described by E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 1—99 and summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 175 f.

Chrysippos *frag.* 1074 von Arnim *ap.* Orig. *c. Cels.* 4. 48 (xi. 1105 C—1108 A Migne) commented at length on a Samian picture *ἐν ᾗ ἀρρητοποιοῦσα ἡ* "Ηρα *τὸν Δία ἐγέγραπτο* (cp. *frag.* 1071 von Arnim *ap.* Diog. Laert. 7. 187 f.), and *frag.* 1072 von Arnim *ap.* Clem. Rom. *hom.* 5. 18 (ii. 188 B Migne) on another of the same sort at Argos *πρὸς τῷ τοῦ Διὸς ἀἰδοίῳ φέρων* (Wilamowitz cj. *φύρων*) *τῆς* "Ηρας *τὸ πρόσωπον*. Such works aroused the indignation of Christian (Theophil. *ad Autol.* 3. 3 and 8) and pagan (Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5, 7. 187 f.) alike. But, when it is recollected that Orpheus, possibly in his lines *περὶ Διὸς καὶ* "Ηρας (*frag.* 220 Abel=*frag.* 115 Kern), ascribed such conduct to the gods (Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5), it becomes probable that these pictures were not mere *libidines* but had some religious significance. Cp. *e.g.* the figure of Geb the

seated side by side (figs. 829 and 830)[1]. Both deities wear the bridal veil[2] and thereby justify R. Foerster's[3] identification of the subject as the *hierὸs gámos*.

It is highly probable that a Samian festival called the Tonea stood in some relation to this *hierὸs gámos*. The facts regarding it are as follows. A certain willow, which grew in the sanctuary of Hera at Samos, was said to be the oldest

Fig. 829.

Fig. 830.

Egyptian earth-god on a papyrus in the British Museum (Lanzone *Dizion. di Mitol. Egiz.* p. 409 f. pl. 159, 6).

[1] (1) From a child's grave in the Samian necropolis, now at Vienna (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* Leipzig 1898 p. 45, *id.* in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1900 iii. 210 with fig. 84 (=my fig. 829: scale $\frac{2}{3}$)).

(2) and (3) Two similar groups, now at Cassel, said to have come from a single Samian grave. One gives the head of Zeus an opening like a vase-mouth on the top. But both are holed at the bottom (J. Böhlau *Aus ionischen und italischen Nekropolen* pp. 48, 159 pl. 14, 6 and 8).

(4) A similar group, found at Kameiros, now in the Cabinet des Médailles, Paris (Winter *Ant. Terrakotten* iii, i. 43 fig. 3=i. 190 fig. 1).

(5) A similar but somewhat more advanced group, formerly in the possession of Sir William Gell (Gerhard *Ant. Bildw.* pl. 1 (=my fig. 830: scale $\frac{2}{3}$), Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 20, 251, 558, *ib.* Hera p. 24 f. fig. 4 *a*, Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* i. 115 pl. 5, *b*).

(6) and (7) Winter *locc. citt.* notes two similar but smaller groups, the one from Tanagra (?) in the Louvre (L. Heuzey *Les figurines antiques de terre cuite du Musée du Louvre* Paris 1883 p. 9 pl. 11, 6), the other from Kameiros in the British Museum (uncatalogued?).

[2] *Infra* p. 1033.

[3] R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 24 f., followed *e.g.* by J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 674 fig. 4167.

of all existing trees: it belonged to the species known as *lýgos* or *ágnos* by the Greeks (the *vitex agnus castus* of Linné), and was still thriving in the time of Pausanias[1]. It is shown or at least symbolized on coins struck by Gordianus Pius[2]. Some maintained that the Heraion, where the tree stood, had been founded by the Argonauts, who brought the image of Hera with them from Argos; but the Samians themselves supposed that the goddess had been born in their island beside the river Imbrasos and beneath this very willow[3]. According to Menodotos[4], a Samian historian, Admete the daughter of Eurystheus[5] once fled from Argos to Samos, where she had a vision of Hera and, wishing to give the goddess a thankoffering for her safe journey, undertook the care of the temple built by the Leleges and the Nymphs. The Argives, indignant at this, bribed Tyrrhenian pirates to carry off the image, in order that the Samians might punish Admete. The Tyrrhenians came to the port of Hera, found the temple without a door to it, carried off the image, and put it on board their ship. But, though they loosed their cables, weighed anchor, and rowed their hardest, they could not get away from the land. So they set the image ashore and, after offering it sundry cakes, took their departure in fear and trembling. Next morning Admete raised the alarm, and the searchers discovered the image on the shore. Being but barbarous Carians[6], they believed that it had run away of its own accord, placed it against a willow fence[7], drew towards it the longest branches on either side of it and wrapped it round about with them. Admete released the image from these bonds, purified it, and erected it on the pedestal which it had occupied before. Hence every year the image is carried off to the shore, disappears from view, and has cakes set beside it[8]. The festival in question is named *Tónea*[9] because the image was so tightly (*syntónōs*) bound by those that first sought it. Further it is said that, when the Carians consulted Apollon of Hybla about these occurrences, the god bade them escape serious disaster by paying the goddess a voluntary penalty. Prometheus after his release from bonds had been willing to pay a light penalty, and Zeus had bidden him wear a willow wreath[10]. The Carians must do the same and, when feasting, bind their heads with willow branches just as they had bound the goddess. They were to abandon the use of every other kind of wreath, with the exception of

[1] Paus. 8. 23. 5.

[2] *Supra* p. 645 n. 0 fig. 446.

[3] Paus. 7. 4. 4. Cp. *supra* p. 1027 n. 1 f. On the probable site of the *lýgos* towards the south-east corner of the precinct see E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 51 with fig. 7 and pl. 13.

[4] Menodotos *frag.* 1 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 103 ff. Müller) *ap.* Athen. 671 E ff.

[5] So Syncell. *chron.* 172 A (i. 324 Dindorf) *Ἀδμάτα θυγάτηρ Εὐρυσθέως ἐν Ἄργει ἱεράτευσεν ἔτη λη'. αἱ δ' ἀπὸ ταύτης τὴν ἱερωσύνην διαδεξάμεναι Φαλίδες ἐκαλοῦντο.*

[6] Strab. 637 cited *supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

[7] *πρός τι λύγου θωράκιον.*

[8] E. Buschor in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 33 would associate these rites with a large quadrangular flooring in the south-east corner.

[9] The form *Τόνεα* is supported by all the MSS. of Athen. 672 D—E and was accepted by Dindorf. For the termination cp. the *Ποσίδεα* of Mytilene and the *Ποσείδεα* of Megara (Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 83 f.). A. Meineke, however, cj. *Τόνεια*, and G. Kaibel cj. *Τόναια*. The name is connectible with *τείνω* 'stretch,' *τόνος* 'tension, force, vigour,' cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel *λύγος δὲ διὰ τὸ περὶ τὰς ῥάβδους αὐτῆς εὔτονον.*

[10] It is not definitely stated, but it is probably implied that Prometheus' wreath was of *λύγος*: cp. Aisch. *Προμηθεὺς λυόμενος frag.* 202 Nauck[2] and *Σφίγξ frag.* 235 Nauck[2], Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 15. Apollod. 2. 5. 11 has *δεσμὸν ἑλόμενος τὸν τῆς ἐλαίας.* Prometheus' ring (*supra* i. 329 n. 0) may be a later variant of his wreath.

bay-leaves which might be worn by those that actually served the goddess. This Samian custom of wearing willow is mentioned elsewhere[1]. Anakreon[2] says of a young friend from Samos:

Megistes whose heart answers mine
Ten months ago
Would wreath him so
With willow and drink deep the honeyed wine.

More important is an epigram by Nikainetos[3] of Samos, which throws some further light upon the usage:

Ah, Philotheros, fain would I
Fanned by the western breezes lie
Feasting with Hera—not in town.
Enough for me a mere shake-down.
See, nigh at hand there is a spread
Of native willow for my bed
And osiers, the old Carian wear.
Bring wine, and list the lyre's sweet air,
That we may drink and praise beside
Our island-queen, Zeus' glorious bride.

From this it appears that at the feast of Hera the guests not only wreathed their heads with willow, but also reclined upon willow boughs and sang of Hera as the bride of Zeus.

Such rites can be paralleled, at least in part, from other cult-centres. Thus at Sparta the image of Artemis was called *Lygodésma* the 'Willow-bound' as well as *Orthía* the 'Upright' ostensibly because it had been found in a thicket of willows, which twining round it kept it upright[4]. And at Athens it was customary for women celebrating the Thesmophoria to lie on a bed of willows[5]. Indeed, priests in general used to strew willow leaves under their couches[6], and as late as the eighteenth century Christian monks wore girdles made of willow osiers[7].

[1] Tenaros *ap.* Athen. 672 A states that willow was ἀγροίκων...στεφάνωμα. But we do not know who Tenaros was, nor whether his ἀγροῖκοι were Samians. Still less information is given by the jejune note of Aristarchos *ap.* Athen. 671 F f. ὅτι καὶ λύγοις ἐστεφανοῦντο οἱ ἀρχαῖοι.

[2] Anakreon *frag.* 41 Bergk[4], 21 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 671 E f., 673 D, cp. Poll. 6. 107. Hephaistion (the metrician?) published a pamphlet περὶ τοῦ παρ' Ἀνακρέοντι λυγίνου στεφάνου (Athen. 673 E).

[3] Nikainetos *ap.* Athen. 673 B ff.

Both Anakreon and Nikainetos speak of the feasters as drinking wine. E. Maass in *Hermes* 1891 xxvi. 187 n. 3 holds that Hesych. Ἐλυγεύς· Διόνυσος ἐν Σάμῳ implies the existence of a Dionysos 'in the Willow' (ἐν λύγῳ) at Samos. But the order of the words in Hesychios demands the reading Ἐλιγεύς: see M. Schmidt *ad loc.*, O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2367.

[4] Paus. 3. 16. 11 (quoted *supra* ii. 421 n. 5). Asklepios at Sparta was called Ἀγνίτας because his wooden image was made of ἄγνος (Paus. 3. 14. 7).

[5] Ail. *de nat. an.* 9. 26, Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 130 Sprengel, Galen. *de simpl. medicament. temp. ac fac.* 6. 2 (xi. 808 Kühn), schol. Nik. *ther.* 71, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1639, 2 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 59.

[6] Schol. A *Il.* 11. 105, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 834, 37 ff.

[7] N. Venette *La Génération de l'homme* Londres 1779 i. 231 f. 'quelques moines chrétiens se font aujourd'hui des ceintures avec des branches de cet arbre (*sc. agnus*

The reason commonly given for these practices is that the willow possesses antiaphrodisiac qualities[1]. If so, the binding of the Samian Hera and her votaries with willow may have been part of a purificatory ceremony, whereby the goddess after her annual marriage with Zeus was believed to recover her virginity[2]. Artemis *Lygodésma* too was presumably a virgin[3]. And ceremonial purity was incumbent upon women at the Thesmophoria and priests at all times. This explanation might be supported by the fact that the Tonea included a visit of Hera to the sea-shore: salt-water cleansed all[4].

Nevertheless there are not wanting some indications that the willow was credited with powers of a precisely opposite character and regarded as a strong aphrodisiac[5]. Confusion may have arisen owing to the popular but erroneous assumption that the name *ágnos* was derived from *hagnós*, 'pure,' or from *ágonos*, 'unfruitful[6].' On this showing the ritual above described must have aimed at increasing the fertility of the goddess[7]. But in either case it was

castus), qui se plie comme de l'osier, et ils prétendent par là s'arracher du cœur tous les désirs que l'amour y pourroit faire naître.' Etc.—cited by A. de Gubernatis *La Mythologie des Plantes* Paris 1882 ii. 5. See also P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1906 iii. 388.

[1] In addition to the authorities given in p. 1030 n. 5 f. see Paul. Aeg. 7. ἡ ἄγνος ἡ λύγος... καὶ πρὸς ἀγνείαν πεπίστευται δρᾶν, οὐ μόνον ἐσθιόμενος καὶ πινόμενος ἀλλὰ καὶ ὑποστρωννύμενος with the note *ad loc.* of F. Adams *Paulus Ægineta* London 1847 iii. 20. Cp. also what is said of the *ἰτέα* or *salix* by Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 23, schol. *Od.* 10. 510, Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1667, 20 ff., Plin. *nat. hist.* 16. 110, Serv. *in* Verg. *georg.* 2. 48.

[2] *Supra* p. 1027 n. 1.

[3] Wide *Lakon. Kulte* p. 130 n. 2, cp. O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1662.

[4] On the purificatory virtue of salt-water see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 889 n. 1.

Gruppe *op. cit.* p. 858 n. 3 finds traces of a similar ritual in the Homeric hymn to Dionysos, who appeared by the sea-shore, was captured by Tyrrhenian pirates and bound with withies of willow, but burst his bonds and took vengeance on his captors (*h. Dion.* 1 ff.).

[5] J. Jonston *Thaumatographia naturalis* Amstelodami 1665 p. 191 cites from Scalig. *Exerc.* 175 *sect.* 1 [J. C. Scaliger *Exot. exerc.* Lutetiae 1557 p. 226] the following account: '*Agnacath* est arbor pyri facie & magnitudine perpetuo folio viridissima, nitidissimaque superficie. Adeo validos ad coitum efficit, ut miraculo sit omnibus ejus efficacia.' See further A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* p. 6 f.

Plin. *nat. hist.* 24. 60 urinam cient et menses...lactis ubertatem faciunt, 62 volvam etiam suffitu vel adpositu purgat. Cp. Dioskor. 1. 134 (135) p. 129 f. Sprengel.

A. Thomsen 'Orthia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1906 ix. 407 ff. showed that Artemis Λυγοδέσμα or Orthia was a tree-goddess (*supra* ii. 421 n. 8) and that the flogging of Spartan youths, presumably with rods of λύγος (cp. Plout. *symp.* 6. 8. 1 *τύπτοντες ἀγίναις ῥάβδοις* at the Βουλίμου ἐξέλασις), transferred her virtue to the sufferers. *Supra* ii. 635 n. 9.

[6] Most of the writers referred to *supra* p. 1030 n. 5 f. and p. 1031 n. 1 connect ἄγνος with ἀγνός or ἄγονος—both very dubious etymologies (L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* i. 121, Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 8).

[7] R. Wünsch *Das Frühlingsfest der Insel Malta* Leipzig 1902 drew attention to a Maltese custom recorded by an Arab writer of the sixteenth century. Every year a large golden idol set with precious stones was thrown into a field of bean-flowers hy a monk, who told the people that their lord had departed. Hereupon there was mourning and fasting for some three days, till the monk announced that the lord's anger was appeased. The idol was then brought back to the town in procession with great rejoicings. Wünsch holds that the idol represented John the Baptist, who here as elsewhere succeeded to the position of Adonis. His hypothesis has been called in question or controverted by

appropriate to a divine marriage, and we must bear in mind the fact that those who took part in the Tonea sang of Hera as 'Zeus' glorious bride[1].'

(2) The *Hierὸs Gámos* at Knossos.

Another locality in which the *hierὸs gámos* was represented by both myth and ritual is Knossos at the base of Mount Ide in Crete. The wedding of Zeus and Hera was said to have taken place near the river Theren (the modern *Platyperama*[2]). Here in later times a sanctuary was built and yearly sacrifices offered with traditional wedding-rites[3]. I have suggested that the earlier ceremony involved the ritual pairing of solar bull with lunar cow[4].

(3) The *Hierὸs Gámos* on Mount Ide.

More frequently the *hierὸs gámos* is attested by a localised myth without direct evidence of a ritual performance.

Thus the famous passage of the *Iliad* that describes how Zeus consorted with Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad[5] expressly alludes to the tale of their early amours[6]; and we are probably justified in inferring that the tale was told of the mountain in question.

However that may be, it is the myth itself, not the Homeric adaptation of it[7]—and the myth as localised on the Trojan rather than the Cretan

W. H. D. Rouse in the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 232 f., K. Lübeck *Adoniskult und Christentum auf Malta* Fulda 1904 p. 7 ff., Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1908 p. 317 f., A. Mayr *Die Insel Malta im Altertum* München 1909 p. 129. In any case it seems probable that contact with the beans was believed to supply the idol with a fresh stock of virility or power to bless: beans=*testes*.

[1] A. de Gubernatis *op. cit.* ii. 4 'Dans les noces helléniques, les jeunes mariés portaient des couronnes d'*agnus-castus* employées aussi comme un moyen d'éloigner tout empoisonnement.' I do not know the source of this statement about young married couples, which is copied by R. Folkard *Plant Lore, Legends, and Lyrics* London 1884 p. 208 and reappears in J. Murr *Die Pflanzenwelt in der griechischen Mythologie* Innsbruck 1890 p. 103 f. On the plant and its uses see further P. Wagler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 832—834.

[2] R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 2367.

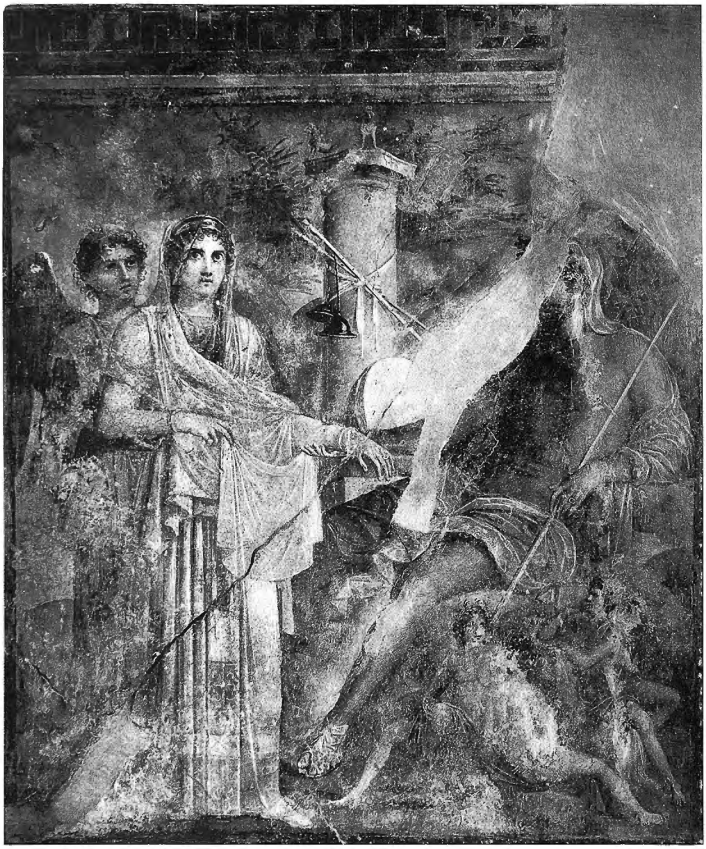
[3] Diod. 5. 72 *λέγουσι δὲ καὶ τοὺς γάμους τούς τε Διὸς καὶ τῆς Ἥρας ἐν τῇ Κνωσίων χώρᾳ γενέσθαι κατά τινα τόπον πλησίον τοῦ Θήρηνος ποταμοῦ, καθ' ὃν νῦν ἱερόν ἐστιν, ἐν ᾧ θυσίας κατ' ἐνιαυτὸν ἁγίους ὑπὸ τῶν ἐγχωρίων συντελεῖσθαι, καὶ τοὺς γάμους ἀπομιμεῖσθαι, καθάπερ ἐξ ἀρχῆς γενέσθαι παραδόθησαν. Id.* 5. 80 mentions as his authorities for things Cretan Epimenides, Dosiades, Sosikrates, and Laosthenidas. The river Theren in Crete may have had the same peculiar properties as the spring Kanathos at Nauplia and perhaps the river Parthenios in Samos (*supra* p. 1027 n. 1). It was apparently an arm of the Amnisos (K. Hoeck *Kreta* Göttingen 1829 iii. 315), at the mouth of which was the cave of Eileithyia (*Od.* 19. 188, cp. Strab. 476), a daughter of Hera born here (Paus. 1. 18. 5): hence Nonn. *Dion.* 8. 115 *Ἀμνισοῖο λεχώιον...ὕδωρ*. It is noteworthy that Artemis the virgin bathes in the Parthenios (a river of Paphlagonia, according to the schol. *ad loc.*) or in the Amnisos, and is escorted by the nymphs of the latter stream (Ap. Rhod. 3. 875 ff., Kallim *h. Artem.* 15).

[4] *Supra* i. 523. The myth of the Cretan bull was attached to the same locality (Paus. 1. 27. 9 *ἐπὶ ποταμῷ Τεθρίνι*).

[5] *Supra* i. 154, iii. 35, 180.

[6] *Il.* 14. 295. Cp. Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 164.

[7] Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 38 f.



Fresco from Pompeii, now at Naples:
the *Hierὸs Gámos* of Zeus and Hera on Mount Ide in the Troad.

See page 1032 ff.

Ide[1]—that is represented by the wall-painting found at Pompeii in the 'House of the Tragic Poet' (pl. lxxii)[2]. Here we see Zeus, a kingly figure seated on a rocky throne[3]. A *himátion* wrapped about his legs is drawn up so as to cover his hair like a veil[4], and falls again over his shoulder and left arm. The wreath on his head is possibly, but not certainly[5], composed of oak leaves. He rests his left hand, the fourth finger of which wears a wedding-ring, on a long sceptre. With an affectionate[6] and at the same time symbolic[7] gesture of his right hand he draws towards him his bride. She is robed in a white *péplos* and an ample veil. Her hair is confined by a richly decorated *stephánе*; and her jewels include earrings, a necklace, bracelets, and a wedding-ring worn like that of Zeus. Her large and brilliant eyes, which recall the epithet *boôpis*[8], are averted from the face of her bridegroom and with a subtle blend of outward dignity and inward alarm look straight into the distance. The same mixture of feelings is betrayed by her stately yet hesitating advance, and again by the studied nervous way in which she is holding the end of her veil between herself and Zeus. Hera is followed and supported by Iris, a youthful winged figure whose anxious questioning expression is the natural accompaniment of her mistress' mood. But the difference between bride and bridesmaid is finely brought out by the artist. Hera with head erect and full of virginal pride emerges into the light—a queen indeed. Iris watching her with upturned face obscured by a semi-darkness is plainly subordinate and serves as her foil. On the rocks beside Zeus sit three male figures of diminutive size, scantily clad and wreathed with flowers[9]: they have been interpreted with much probability as the Idaean

[1] In the *Class. Rev.* 1903 xvii. 413 f. I accepted the conclusions of Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus pp. 239—243 and maintained that the scenery of the fresco is that of the Cretan mountain. Certainly the woods (*supra* ii. 932 n. 1), the cult of Rhea (Diod. 5. 65 f.), and the Idaean Daktyloi ([Hes.] *frag.* 14 Flach *ap.* Plin. *nat. hist.* 7. 197, Ap. Rhod. 1. 1129 with schol. *ad loc.*, Diod. 5. 64, Paus. 5. 7. 6 with schol. *ad loc.*, Porph. *v. Pyth.* 17, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι, *et. mag.* p. 465, 25 ff., cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 37. 170) all suit the neighbourhood of Knossos. But they suit the Trojan Ide equally well: here too were woods (*supra* ii. 949 n. 5), a cult of Rhea (Strab. 469: see further Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1523 n. 1), and the Idaean Daktyloi (schol. Ap. Rhod. 1. 1126 and 1131, Strab. 473, Diod. 5. 64, 17. 7, Plout. *de music.* 5, Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 15 p. 46, 24 ff. Stählin, Hesych. *s.v.* Ἰδαῖοι Δάκτυλοι). Moreover, the other frescoes found in the same *atrium* depict scenes from Homeric *epos* (Herrmann *Denkm. d. Malerei* i. 16), and the flowers worn by the Daktyloi may be due to a reminiscence of *Il.* 14. 347 ff.

[2] Pl. lxxii is from Herrmann *op. cit.* pl. 11, a photographic reproduction which supersedes all previous publications.

[3] *Supra* i. 124 ff.

[4] *Supra* p. 1028.

[5] Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 1.

[6] Cp. the Homeric ἐπὶ καρπῷ χεῖρα κ.τ.λ. (*Il.* 24. 671, *Od.* 18. 258, 24. 398).

[7] C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 p. 131 f., R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 15 (who cites *inter alia* Eur. *Ion* 891 ff. λευκοῖς δ' ἐμφὺς καρποῖς χειρῶν | εἰς ἄντρου κοίτας | κραυγάν, ὦ μᾶτερ, μ' αὐδῶσαν | θεὸς ὁμευνέτας ἄγες κ.τ.λ.).

[8] *Supra* i. 444. A drawing of Hera's head, almost full-size, is given by A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* i. 649 fig. 719.

[9] Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 17 n. 3 (cp. *ib.* i. 15 fig. 3) states that their wreaths consist of sprays entwined with flowers, but thinks it impossible to decide whether these flowers are, as Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 33 f. no. 114 supposed, primroses.

Daktyloi[1], who haunted the woods of Mount Ide and were associated with Rhea, the Idaean Mother[2]. The locality is further indicated by wooded hills in the background and a pillar adorned with Rhea's attributes—three bronze lions standing on its capital, a timbrel lying against its base, flutes and cymbals bound by a fillet to its shaft. The whole fresco must be regarded as a good Pompeian copy of a splendid Hellenistic original[3].

The presence of Iris as bridesmaid recalls the similar, though not identical, scenes portrayed by a couple of the later Greek poets. Theokritos in the Hellenistic age writes:

> So came about the wedlock of the gods,
> Whom puissant Rhea bare to rule Olympos.
> One couch she strewed for the sleep of Zeus and Hera—
> Iris, a maid with hands all perfume-pure[4].

Nonnos in the age of decadence spoils the picture by far-fetched bombast:

> He spake, and rolling cloud on golden cloud
> Tower-wise inglobed a circumambient veil,
> So shaped and fashioned forth a bridal-bower,
> Which then the dazzling diverse-tinted form
> Of Iris the ethereal crowned—a covert
> Of Nature's make for Zeus and his bright-armed bride,
> What time they lay on the mountain, and withal
> A perfect copy of their destined union[5].

Iris and the Daktyloi, like the landscape-background, were additions to the accepted type. A Hellenistic relief in island marble, unfortunately much corroded, was found in Rhodes and is now in the Rhodian Museum (fig. 831)[6]. It shows Zeus seated on a throne, the side of which is decorated with a large Sphinx. He raises his right hand in admiration of Hera, who stands before him, one hand resting on the god's knee, the other on her own hip. Between them is seen a pillar, on which is perched an eagle with spread wings. A. Maiuri well compares another Hellenistic relief, in Parian marble, likewise found in

[1] Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* iv. 96 f. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1865 xxiii. 58 was the first to propound this view. R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 36 n. o suggested that they might be the Σελλοὶ χαμαιεῦναι of Dodona—a suggestion refuted by Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 241 f. L. Stephani in the *Bulletin histor.-phil. de l'Académie de St. Pétersbourg* 1855 xii. 301 n. 80 and Helbig *loc. cit.*, *Ann. d. Inst.* 1864 xxxvi. 277 ff., *Rhein. Mus.* 1869 xxiv. 508 ff., *Untersuchungen über die campanische Wandmalerei* Leipzig 1873 p. 117 argued that they are Λειμῶνες, personified 'Meadows': cp. Philostr. mai. *imagg.* 2. 4. 3 λειμῶνες δ' ἐν ὥρᾳ μειρακίων, οὓς ἀκηράτους ὠνόμαζες, μαραίνουσιν ἐπὶ σοὶ (*sc.* Hippolytos) τὰ ἄνθη and *supra* ii. 164 n. 6 (Leimon). N. Terzaghi in *Atene e Roma* 1902 v. 434 ff. regards them as Κούρητες.

[2] L. v. Sybel in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* i. 940 f., O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv. 2018 ff. *Supra* p. 922.

[3] Herrmann *op. cit.* i. 15—17, G. Rodenwaldt *Die Komposition der pompejanischen Wandgemälde* Berlin 1909 pp. 203—206.

[4] Theokr. 17. 131 ff.

[5] Nonn. *Dion.* 32. 76 ff. The text of line 78 f. is disputed. I have translated the passage as it stands in the editions of D. F. Graefe (1826) and A. Ludwich (1911), *viz.* καὶ θαλάμου ποιητὸς ἔην τύπος, ὃν τότε κύκλῳ | Ἶριδος αἰθερίης ἑτερόχροος ἔστεφε μορφὴ κ.τ.λ. The Count de Marcellus (ed. Paris 1856) prints the conjectural readings ὅν ποτε for ὃν τότε and ἔτρεφε for ἔστεφε.

[6] A. Maiuri in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 ii. 44—46 fig. 22 (=my fig. 831).

Rhodes and now in London (fig. 832)[1]. Zeus sitting on a very similar throne, with a winged and lion-headed Sphinx, leans his right hand on a long sceptre. Before him stands Hera, also holding a long sceptre—for she plays queen to

Fig. 831.

his king. Between them appears a pillar, on which are the feet of a small statue. In front of it is an ox (for sacrifice?). Behind Zeus was a standing figure, on a

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpture* iii. 223 f. no. 2150, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 493 no. 2. My fig. 832 is from the official photograph.

smaller scale, with a palm-branch in its right hand—possibly Nike, but possibly a victor in some local contest who had dedicated a statue to Zeus and Hera[1].

The pillar present in these Graeco-Roman compositions was itself no part of the older Hellenic type—witness a metope from Selinous now at Palermo

[1] This relief has been variously interpreted. P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1899 xxiii. 559 f. pl. 3, 1 thinks that it represents Zeus and Hera, or else Asklepios and Hygieia. W. Amelung in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1901 xvi. 258—263 fig. 1 reverts to an older view that the deities are Sarapis and Isis. Reinach *loc. cit.* is non-committal.

Fig. 832.

A. Maiuri, moved by the new Rhodian discovery, inclines to Zeus and Hera. I agree with him: Sarapis, as Amelung admits, ought to have had a *chitón* and a much more prominent *kálathos*.

For similar thrones see *e.g.* that of Epiktesis (*supra* i. 536 fig. 407) and that of Dionysos (*supra* i. 710 with pl. xl, 4). A relief in Pentelic marble, now at Munich (A. Furtwängler *Ein Hundert Tafeln nach den Bildwerken der kgl. Glyptothek zu München* München 1903 pl. 28, *id. Glyptothek zu München*[2] p. 183 ff. no. 206, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 75 no. 1. My fig. 833 is from a photograph), again shows Zeus on his throne with Hera (?) standing before him, a group of worshippers at their altar, and a pillar surmounted by two archaistic figures, male and female, beneath the boughs of a huge plane-tree. Furtwängler comments (p. 185): 'Leider fehlt eine Dedikations-Inschrift, so dass wir das göttliche Paar nicht benennen können. Es kann ebensogut irgend ein lokaler Heros und seine Gattin wie etwa Zeus Philios mit Agathe Tyche sein.'

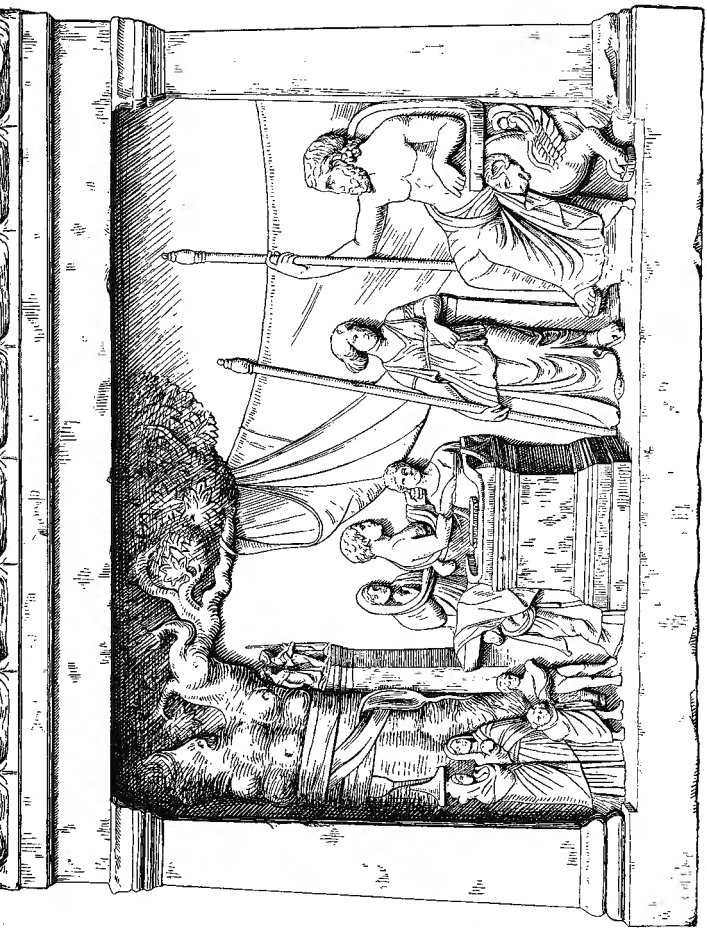


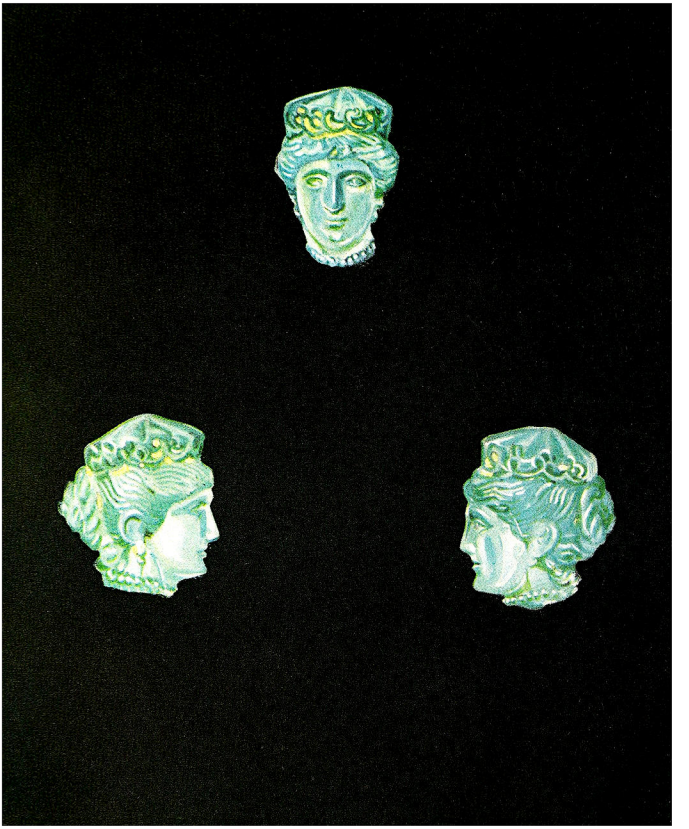
Fig. 833.

(fig. 834)[1]. This metope, which may be referred to the first half of the fifth century B.C., represents Zeus seated on a rock[2]. He has a diadem in his hair and sandals on his feet. A *himátion*, which has slipped from his left shoulder,

Fig. 834.

[1] O. Benndorf *Die Metopen von Selinunt* Berlin 1873 p. 54 ff. pl. 8, Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 290, 1 (=my fig. 834), Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 399 no. 1. The metope belongs to the temple commonly known as E or R and regarded as that of Hera (?). It is carved in local limestone, the face, hands, and feet of the goddess being added in white marble—a peculiar technique, which together with other traces of archaism (hair of Zeus, full-front torso, costume of Hera, etc.) points to a date *c.* 475—460 B.C. (G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of th Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 p. 31 with fig. 410).

[2] It would be rash to identify this rock with Mt. Ide or any other definite locality.



A head cast in blue glass (Greek work of *c.* 400 B.C.), from Girgenti, now at Queens' College, Cambridge: Hera *Lakinía* (?).

is wrapped about his legs; but otherwise his broad and powerful figure is undraped. Leaning back on his left hand, he raises his right and clasps Hera by the wrist. She is bare-footed and clad, like the archaic maidens on the akropolis at Athens, in a long sleeved *chitón* with a *himátion* slung over her right shoulder and under her left breast. But the *stephánе* above her brow and the large veil that falls over her head and forms a framework for her whole figure betoken that she is Hera as a bride[1]. With her left hand she is unveiling herself to her bridegroom. In her right she probably held a sceptre.

Variations of the same type may be detected in late Greek vase-paintings, which introduce Zeus and Hera among other deities as accessory figures. Thus a fragmentary Apulian vase in Sir William Hamilton's collection represented a battle of Greeks and Persians below with a council of the gods in the upper

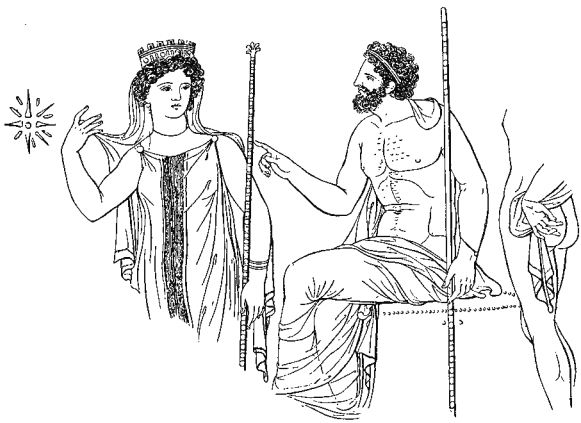


Fig. 835.

register (fig. 835)[2]. Here we see Zeus seated on a rock with Ganymedes (?) standing behind him and Hera in front. Zeus is half-draped in a *himátion* and has a fillet in his hair. His left hand, decorated with a bracelet, holds a long sceptre; his right he raises in conversation with Hera. She wears an Ionic *chitón*, ornamented with a broad stripe down the middle, and a bridal veil, which she is lifting with her right hand. In her left she supports a long sceptre topped by a palmette; and on her head is a handsome *stephánе*.

A large *kratér* from Ruvo, now at Naples, shows the rape of Persephone,

[1] Other interpretations are considered and dismissed by R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 34 n. 6.

[2] W. Tischbein *Collection of Engrævings from Ancient Vases...now in the possession of Sir W^m Hamilton* 1795 ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, F. Köpp in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1892 vii Arch. Anz. p. 125 f. fig., Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 293, 2—3.

again with an upper tier of divine spectators (fig. 836)[1]. The design is much damaged, and the greater part of Zeus is a modern restoration. But enough remains to prove that the god sat on a richly embellished throne, which has a couple of swans by way of arm-rests. A *himátion* is wrapped about his legs; and his feet, which are shod, are placed on a footstool. The sceptre in the right hand of Zeus is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings. Before her lord with downcast eyes stands Hera. She is clad in a Doric *péplos* with a long overfold, and has sandals on her feet. She has also a *stephánē* on her head and a veil. This she raises with her left hand, while in her right she holds a long sceptre. Behind the throne of Zeus stands Ganymedes. And, between them, a winged thunderbolt points downwards to the scene of tumult in progress below.

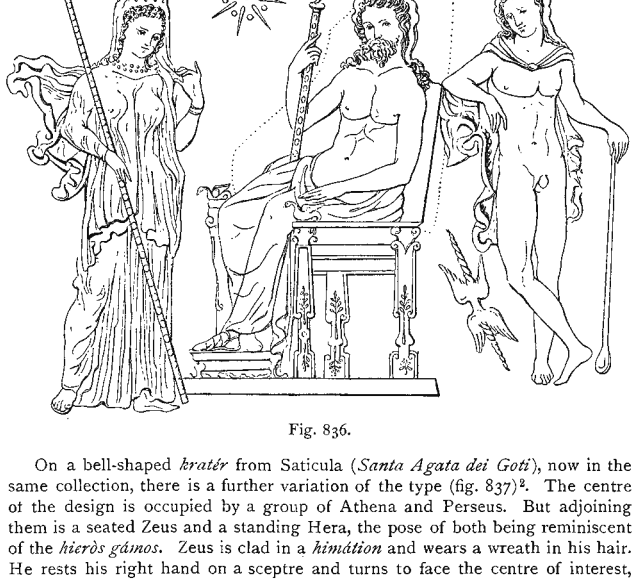


Fig. 836.

On a bell-shaped *kratér* from Saticula (*Santa Agata dei Goti*), now in the same collection, there is a further variation of the type (fig. 837)[2]. The centre of the design is occupied by a group of Athena and Perseus. But adjoining them is a seated Zeus and a standing Hera, the pose of both being reminiscent of the *hieròs gámos*. Zeus is clad in a *himátion* and wears a wreath in his hair. He rests his right hand on a sceptre and turns to face the centre of interest, regardless of a small hovering Nike, who somewhat needlessly presents him with a second wreath. Before him at a lower level stands Hera, draped in Doric *péplos* and star-spangled veil. In her right hand is a long sceptre, and

[1] Heydemann *Die Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 591 ff. no. 3256, figured in the *Mon. d. Inst.* ii pl. 31, E. Gerhard *Über die Lichtgottheiten auf Kunstdenkmälern* Berlin 1840 pl. 2, 3, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 99.

[2] Heydemann *op. cit.* p. 224 ff. no. 2202, C. A. de Jorio in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1829 v pl. 51 with text pp. 1—7.

on her head a rayed *stephάne*. She too faces the central group, but is obviously conceived as the bride of Zeus.

(4) The *Hierὸs Gámos* on Mount Oche.

Euboia, a great centre of Hera-worship, was another place associated with the *hierὸs gámos*. It was believed that Zeus had met Hera on Mount Oche, the highest point in the south of the island. In this belief, no doubt, folk-etymology played a part[1]. But it is to be observed that bronze coins of Karystos at the foot of Mount Oche, struck in *s.* ii B.C., show sometimes a laureate head of Zeus[2], sometimes a veiled head of Hera[3]—a suggestive choice of deities[4].

(5) The *Hierὸs Gámos* at Elymnion.

Elymnion or Elymnia, an island-town off the coast of Euboia[5], has been identified with the largest of the Petalian Isles near Karystos[6], but is better placed on the north coast near Oreos[7]. Sophokles[8] in his *Naúplios* spoke of 'bridal Elymnion,' because this too was reputed to have been the spot where

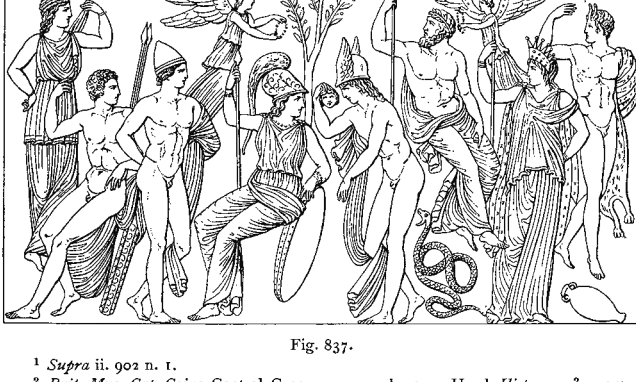


Fig. 837.

[1] *Supra* ii. 902 n. 1.

[2] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 103 pl. 19, 4, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 357. Cp. *supra* p. 127 fig. 48.

[3] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Central Greece p. 104 pl. 19, 5 and 8, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 332 pl. 203, 23, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 357.

[4] There is, however, no reason to connect with either of them the early corbelled building on Mt Oche (for which see T. Wiegand 'Der angebliche Urtempel auf der Ocha' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1896 xxi. 11—17 pls. 2 and 3).

[5] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* 'Ελύμνιον.

[6] C. Bursian *Geographie von Griechenland* Leipzig 1868—1872 ii. 434 n. 1, H. Kiepert *Formae orbis antiqui* Berlin 1894 Map 15 (with a query), Text p. 3 ('very doubtfully').

[7] A. Wilhelm in the *Arch.-ep. Mitth.* 1892 xv. 115, A. Philippson in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468.

[8] Soph. *Naúplios frag.* 404 Nauck[2], 437 Jebb *ap.* schol. Aristoph. *pax* 1126 Καλλίστρατος φησὶ τόπον Εὐβοίας τὸ 'Ελύμνιον. 'Απολλώνιος δὲ ναὸν (*an leg.* νῆσον? A.B.C.) φησὶν εἶναι πλησίον Εὐβοίας. νυμφικὸν δέ τινες αὐτὸ φασίν, ὅτι ὁ Ζεὺς τῇ "Ηρᾳ ἐκεῖ συνεγένετο. μέμνηται καὶ Σοφοκλῆς 'πρὸς πέτραις 'Ελυμνίαις,' καὶ ἐν Ναυπλίῳ 'νυμφικὸν 'Ελύμνιον.'

Zeus consorted with Hera. But that Zeus in Euboia, like Poseidon in Lesbos[1], bore the cult-title *Elýmnios* is an unsupported conjecture[2].

(6) The *Hierὸs Gámos* on Mount Kithairon.

Plutarch, who as a native of Chaironeia knew the mythology of Boiotia well, gives us a more detailed account[3]. Hera was brought up as a virgin in Euboia, but was stolen away by Zeus and carried across the strait to Boiotia. Kithairon, the mountain-god, provided the run-aways with a shady nook and a bridal chamber of nature's making[4]. And, when Makris the nurse of Hera came in search of her and was minded to pry too far, Kithairon prevented her by saying that Zeus was there resting with Leto. So Hera escaped detection and later showed her gratitude by admitting Leto *Mychía*, 'of the Nook,' or *Nychía*, 'of the Night,' to share her altar and her temple. Others declared that Hera herself, since she companied there in secret with Zeus, was called *Letὸ Nychía*, 'the Secret One of the Night[5],' but when their union was made public—and this happened first in the neighbourhood of Kithairon and Plataiai[6]—came to be known as Hera *Teleía*, 'of the Wedding Rites,' and *Gamélios*, 'the goddess of Marriage[7].'

Plutarch's narrative proves that the cult of Zeus and Hera on Mount Kithairon, its ancient ritual[8] notwithstanding, had been influenced by the Euboean worship of Hera, and must in fact be treated as the remodelled form of an earlier cult, in which Zeus had been paired, not with Hera at all, but with Leto *Mychía* or *Nychía*[9].

[1] Hesych. 'Ελύμιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ. καὶ νῆσος τῆς Εὐβοίας. But also Hesych. 'Ελύτιος· Ποσειδῶν ἐν Λέσβῳ.

[2] O. Jessen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v. 2468, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 623.

[3] Plout. *περὶ τῶν ἐν Πλαταιαῖς Δαιδάλων* 3 *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 1. 3.

[4] Plout. *loc. cit.* *ἐπίσκιόν τινα μυχὸν καὶ θάλαμον αὐτοφυῆ.* Cp. *supra* ii. 898 n. 6. Kithairon is described as *Ἐρωτύων μυχός* by Hermesianax of Kypros *frag.* 2 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 428 Müller) *ap.* [Plout.] *de fluv.* 2. 3: see further K. Dilthey in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1874 xxxi. 93 f. and S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 994 f.

[5] Λητώ from *λήθω*, *λανθάνω*, and Νυχία from *νύξ*, *νύχιος*. On these derivations see A. Enmann in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 1969 f., to whose references for Λητώ add L. Meyer *Handb. d. gr. Etym.* iv. 537, Prellwitz *Etym. Wörterb. d. Gr. Spr.*[2] p. 267 f., Walde *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* p. 327 *s.v.* 'lateo,' Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 377 *s.v.* 'lā- "verborgen, versteckt sein."' But F. Wehrli in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* Suppl. v. 571 ff. supports the connexion of Λητώ, Λατώ, *Letun*, *Latona* with Lycian *lada* (*supra* ii. 455) and adds: 'Darum hat auch die ursprüngliche Identität von Leto-Lato und Leda [*supra* i. 763 n. 4] einige Wahrscheinlichkeit.'

[6] At Plataiai Hera bore the titles Τελεία and Νυμφευομένη (Paus. 9. 2. 7).

[7] For these epithets see Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1134 nn. 5 and 3 f.

[8] *Supra* ii. 898 n. 6.

[9] Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 269 'Επίθετα Ἥρας...15 *νυχίας* with the note: '*μυχίας potius quam νυχίας videtur in L exstare; nisi potius νυχίας ex μυχίας correctum est.*' See further O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3298.

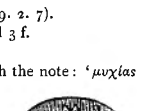


Fig. 838.

An interesting relic of this goddess is a paste in the Vienna collection (fig. 838 is enlarged (⅔) from T. Panofka *Gemmen mit Inschriften* Berlin 1852 pp. 122, 135 pl. 4, 40), which shows a cock surrounded by the inscription ΛΕΤΟΜΥΧΙ (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* iv no. 7361 *d*') = Λητο(ῖ) Μυχί(ᾳ). The cock was dear to Leto, as to all women in childbirth, because he stood by her to lighten her labour (Ail. *de nat. an.* 4. 29). Possibly Leto Φυτίη of Phaistos (Ant. Lib. 17 (after

(7) The *Hierὸs Gámos* in the Cave of Achilleus.

A parallel to the 'nook' of Kithairon in the Boeotian myth is furnished by the cave of Achilleus. Ptolemaios *Chénnos* ('the Quail'), who flourished in the reigns of Trajan and Hadrian, in his *New* or *Surprising History* told the tale as follows[1]. When Hera was fleeing from the embraces of Zeus, Achilleus the earth-born received her in his cave and persuaded her to yield to the importunity of the god. This was their first union, and Zeus rewarded Achilleus by a promise that all who bore his name thereafter should become famous. Hence the fame of Achilleus son of Thetis. The teacher of Cheiron, too, was called Achilleus; indeed Peleus' son was named after him by Cheiron. Now we are not definitely told by Ptolemaios where his cave of Achilleus was situated. But it may fairly be surmised that Achilleus the earth-born was one with Achilleus the teacher of Cheiron; and, if so, the cave of Achilleus the earth-born must have been the famous cave of Cheiron on Mount Pelion[2]. The whole story is meant to sound like a genuine Magnesian myth.

(8) The *Hierὸs Gámos* at Argos.

(α) *Zeus and Hera at Hermione.*

Another locality specially connected with the *hierὸs gámos* is the Argolid. At Hermione there was a sanctuary of Hera *Parthénos*; and pious but ignorant folk derived the name of the town from the notion that Zeus and Hera had come to an 'anchorage' here after their voyage from Crete[3]. Aristotle, or perhaps rather Aristokles[4], in a lost treatise on the cults of Hermione had included the local myth, which told how Zeus had transformed himself into a cuckoo in order to consort with Hera[5]. But we have no proof that the union of these two deities was celebrated at Hermione by actual marriage rites.

(β) *Zeus and Hera at Argos.*

The same conception of the manner in which Zeus gained his desires was current at Argos also, thirty miles away, in the fifth century B.C. The cult-statue of Hera at the Argive Heraion[6] had in one hand a pomegranate

Nikandros *ἑτεροιούμενα* book 2)) stood in some relation to Zeus *ϝελχάνος* of Phaistos, whose sacred bird was the cock (*supra* ii. 946 f. n. 0 figs. 838–841).

[1] Ptol. *nov. hist.* 6 (p. 196, 11 ff. ed. Westermann) = Phot. *bibl.* p. 152 a 29 ff. Bekker. The *bona fides* of Ptolemaios Chennos, impugned by R. Hercher in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1856 i. 269—293, was vainly defended by C. Müller *Geographi Graeci minores* Parisiis 1882 ii p. lvii. See W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1920 ii. 1. 421 f.

[2] On the cave of Cheiron see *supra* ii. 869 n. 2. Zeus was worshipped on Mt Pelion as *Ἀκταῖος* (*ib.*) and *Ἀκραῖος* (*supra* ii. 871 n. 3 (1)).

[3] Steph. Byz. *s.v.* *Ἑρμιὼν καὶ Ἑρμιόνη·...Ἑρμιον δὲ ἀπὸ τοῦ τὸν Δία καὶ τὴν Ἥραν ἐνταῦθα ἀπὸ Κρήτης ἀφικομένους ὁρμισθῆναι, καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ο εἰς ε, ὅθεν καὶ ἱερὸν Ἥρας παρθένου ἦν ἐν αὐτῇ* (cp. Eustath. *in Il.* p. 286, 39 ff.).

[4] Aristot. *frag.* 287 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 190 Müller) = Aristokl. *frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 258 Jacoby) *ap.* schol. vet. Theokr. 15. 64 (Eudok. *viol.* 414[11]) cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2. For attempts to alter *Ἀριστοτέλης* into *Ἀριστοφάνης*, *Ἀριστείδης*, *Ἀριστοκλῆς*, etc. see C. Müller *ad loc.* The most plausible emendation is *Ἀριστοκλῆς*, on whom see Tresp *Frag. gr. Kultschr.* p. 126 ff. (*frag.* 1).

[5] *Supra* p. 65 from Paus. 2. 36. 2 (cited *supra* ii. 893 n. 2).

[6] *Supra* p. 65 f.

(fig. 839)[1] about which strange things were said, and in the other a cuckoo-sceptre which Pausanias[2] explains by the story of Zeus' metamorphosis.

But was the *hieròs gámos* at Argos represented by definite rites? W. H. Roscher[3] has collected various facts which point towards that conclusion. On the right hand side of the *prónaos* or vestibule of the Heraion stood a couch known as Hera's couch[4]. A sacrifice offered to the goddess was called by the Argives *Lechérna*[5], a name presumably related to the word *léchos* 'a bed.' In the story of Kleobis and Biton the priestess of Hera had to visit her temple on a car drawn by white oxen[6]—a circumstance suggestive of a bridal procession[7].

Fig. 839.

Fig. 840.

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 149 nos. 155 and 156 pl. 28, 16 (my fig. 839 is from a cast) Antoninus Pius, p. 150 no. 159 L. Verus, p. 151 no. 164 Septimius Severus, cp. p. 152 no. 172 pl. 28, 24 Caracalla, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 154 no. 23 Antoninus Pius, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 44 ff. Münztaf. 3, 2 Iulia Domna, Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* i. 34 pl. 1, 12 Antoninus Pius, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* ii. 1. 130 pl. 12, 5 Iulia Domna.

[2] Paus. 2. 17. 4 (cited *supra* p. 65 n. 2).

[3] W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 79 f., *id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2101 f.

[4] Paus. 2. 17. 3 *κλίνη τῆς Ηρας*, cp. Poll. 3. 43 *κλίνη τις ὠνομάζετο γαμική*.

S. Casson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 137—142 developed the curious view that the central figure of the 'Ludovisi Throne' is Hera, who annually recovers her virginity by bathing in the spring Kanathos (Paus. 2. 38. 2: *supra* p. 224 n. 3). She is successively *Τελεία* and *Παρθένος* (cp. Paus. 8. 22. 2). As *Τελεία* she is immersed with breasts covered by a cloth symbolic of matronhood. As *Παρθένος* she emerges with cloth lowered and virginal breasts fully displayed. The figures on the side-arms are typical of *Τελεία* and *Παρθένος*.

J. N. Svoronos 'Le lit de la Héra d'Argos œuvre de Polyclète ou le "trône Ludovisi" avec son "pendant' à Boston' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1920—21 xx. 108—159 pl. 3 f. goes further and fares worse. He contends that the 'Ludovisi Throne' and its Boston pendant were the actual couch of Hera seen by Pausanias in the Heraion, and that every detail of their relief-decoration has reference to the *hieròs gámos* of the goddess. He cites as relevant Philarg. *expl. in* Verg. *ecl.* 4. 63 (H. Hagen *Appendix Serviana* Lipsiae 1902 p. 88, 6 ff.) pueris nobilibus editis in atrio Iunoni Lucinae lectus ponitur, Herculi mensa, Myth. Vat. 1. 177 templum Iunonis fuit, in quo mensam Hercules et Diana lectum habuit; ubi portabantur pueri ut de ipsa mensa ederent et inde acciperent fortitudinem, et in lecto Dianae dormirent ut omnibus amabiles fierent et illorum generatio succresceret. But Philargyrius is obviously alluding to a Roman custom (*Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 374), and the Vatican mythographer is copying him with a blunder or two thrown in. Neither writer says a word about the Argive Heraion.

[5] Hesych. *Λεχέρνα· ὑπὸ Ἀργείων ἡ θυσία ἐπιτελουμένη τῇ Ἥρᾳ.*

[6] *Supra* i. 447 f.

[7] Phot. *lex. s.v. ζεῦγος ἡμιονικὸν ἢ βοεικόν· ζεύξαντες τὴν λεγομένην κλινίδα, ἥ ἐστιν ὁμοία διέδρᾳ, τὴν τῆς νύμφης μέθοδον ποιοῦνται· κ.τ.λ.* M. Collignon in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1651.

And on billon coins of Alexandreia struck by Nero (fig. 840)[1] Hera *Argeta* is conspicuously veiled.

These considerations, despite the doubts of M. P. Nilsson[2], do raise a certain presumption that the marriage of Hera was duly celebrated at Argos, though they do not of course prove that the original consort of the goddess was Zeus[3]. But that as early as the fifth century B.C. Zeus had come to be regarded as the rightful partner of the Argive Hera, and that their union was commemorated by the ritual of a *hierὸs gámos*, seems to me a reasonable inference from the final scene of Aristophanes' *Birds*[4].

At this point the argument can be strengthened by taking into account Roman as well as Greek evidence. Apuleius in his *Metamorphoses* makes Psyche pray to Hera as follows: 'O sister and wife of mighty Zeus, whether thou abidest in the ancient temple of Samos, which alone can boast thy birth, thine infant cries, and thy nursing, or hauntest thy blissful seat in lofty Carthage, which worships thee as a virgin carried up to heaven on a lion[5], or presidest over the famous walls of the Argives near the banks of the Inachos, which tells of thee as already the bride of the Thunderer and the queen of the gods[6],' etc. etc. Argos is here chosen as a typical centre for the cult of Hera conceived as the bride of Zeus. The same conception underlies the *Agamemnon* of Seneca, in which a chorus of Mycenaean women invokes Hera thus:

> Come, consort of the mighty sceptre, come,
> Hera the Queen,—
> All we that in Mykenai have our home
> On thee must lean[7].

Later in the play Agamemnon on reaching his palace exclaims:

> O father, hurler of the cruel bolt,
> Driver of clouds, sovereign of stars and lands,
> To whom the conqueror brings his triumph-spoils,
> And thou too, sister of an almighty lord,
> Argolic Hera, gladly will I serve you
> With gifts of Araby and suppliant entrails[8].

[1] *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Alexandria p. 17 nos. 132, 133 pl. 1 (=my fig. 840), 134 f., *Hunter Cat. Coins* iii. 416 nos. 114 pl. 85, 23, 115 f., J. G. Milne *Catalogue of Alexandrian Coins* Oxford 1933 p. 8 nos. 266 f., 281—284, 291, 297.

[2] Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44. He notes, however, that the marriage of Hebe and Herakles, a relief on a silver altar in the Heraion (Paus. 2. 17. 6), was perhaps viewed as a parallel to the marriage of Hera and Zeus. And he accepts as probable the suggestion of W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 33 that the wedding of Demetrios Poliorketes, when *agonothétes* at the Heraia, with Deïdameia, daughter of the Molottian king Aiakides and sister of Pyrrhos (Plout. *v. Demetr.* 25), was designed in imitation of the *hierὸs gámos*.

[3] I am hinting at Herakles, on whose relations to Hera I have said my say in the *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 371 ff.

[4] See *supra* p. 58 ff.

[5] W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* ii. 612 ff., F. Cumont in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1247—1250, H. Frère 'Sur le culte de Caelestis' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1907 ii. 21—35, A. von Domaszewski *Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig—Berlin 1909 pp. 148—150 ('Virgo Caelestis'). Cp. *supra* ii. 68 n. 2, 869 n. 0, iii. 834.

[6] Apul. *met.* 6. 4 sive prope ripas Inachi, qui te iam nuptam Tonantis et reginam deorum memorat, inclitis Argivorum praesides moenibus.

[7] Sen. *Ag.* 348 ff. [8] Sen. *Ag.* 839 ff.

But more explicit and detailed is a passage in the *Thebaid* of Statius[1]. The poet is describing how the wives and children of the Argive warriors implored Hera to protect their absent ones in the perilous expedition against Thebes:

> The day of prayer was done, but all night long
> They kept their vigil round the altars' flame.
> Ay, and they brought a robe by way of gift,
> Whose wondrous woof no barren hand had woven
> Nor such as lacked a husband—this they brought
> In a basket as a veil acceptable
> To their chaste goddess. Rich the purple shone
> With broidered work and threads of glittering gold—
> On it the bride of the great Thunderer
> Within her bridal bower: nought she knows
> Of wedlock and is fearful to lay by
> Her sisterhood; with down-dropped eye she kisses
> The lips of youthful Zeus, a simple maid
> As yet untroubled by his stolen loves.
> With this same veil the Argolic matrons clothed
> The ivory goddess, and with tears and prayers
> Besought her:—'Look now on the sinful towers
> Of Kadmos' daughter, who seduced thy lord,
> Queen of the starry sky. Oh, bring to nought
> The foemen's rebel hill, and on their Thebes
> Fling—for thou canst—another thunderbolt.'

We are surely justified in maintaining that this veil, woven for Hera by fruitful wives and embroidered to represent her wedlock with Zeus, implies the existence of an actual marriage-rite.

One other indication of such a rite is forthcoming, and that from a late and unexpected source. Cyprian, bishop of Antioch, *à propos* of the numerous pagan ceremonies through which he passed in his youth[2], says: 'I went and at Argos, in Hera's rite, was there initiated into the purposes of union—the union, I mean, of lower with upper and of upper with lower air, and likewise of earth with water and of water with lower air[3].' It can hardly be doubted that this, as L. Preller[4] long since conjectured, refers to the old *hieròs gámos* of Zeus and Hera, still kept up in the third century A.D., though then encumbered with a symbolic and *quasi*-philosophical significance[5].

[1] Stat. *Theb.* 10. 54 ff.

[2] Cp. *supra* i. 110 f., iii. 775.

[3] *Confessio S. Cypriani* (in *Acta Sanctorum* edd. Bolland. Septembris vii. 222 ff.) *ἦλθον καὶ ἐν "Αργει, ἐν τῇ τῆς "Ηρας τελετῇ, ἐμυήθην ἐκεῖ βουλὰς ἑνότητος, ἀέρος πρὸς αἰθέρα καὶ αἰθέρος πρὸς ἀέρα, ἅμα δὲ καὶ γῆς πρὸς ὕδωρ καὶ ὕδατος πρὸς ἀέρα.* Hence Eudok. *de s. Cyprian.* 2. 52 ff. *ἔνθεν ἐς ἱππόβοτον θαλερὸν γενόμην κατὰ "Αργος· | ἦν δὲ Τιθωνιάδος ἔροτις λευχείμονος 'Ηοῦς. | μύστης δ' αὖ γενόμην, καὶ αὐτόθι ἠέρος ἄμμα* (so A. Ludwich for *ἀμφω* cod. *L*) *| ἠδὲ πολυπτύχοιο πόλου καὶ εἶδον ἄεημα, | συγγενίην δ' ὑδάτων καὶ εὐφόρβοιο ἀρούρης | ἠδ' αὖτις δροσερῶν ναμάτων εἰς ἠέρα δῖαν.*

[4] L. Preller in *Philologus* 1846 i. 351. Cp. Nilsson *Gr. Feste* p. 44 n. 4.

[5] For Zeus as *αἰθήρ* and Hera as *ἀήρ* see *supra* i. 31. Such teaching as that to which Cyprian listened would easily be grafted upon the Heraclitean doctrine of flux or a Stoic adaptation of the same (*supra* i. 28 ff.).

(9) The *Hierὸs Gámos* at Athens.

At Athens, and at Athens alone, we have evidence of the rite without the myth. The Athenians had a definite festival called the *Hierὸs Gámos*, at which they commemorated the marriage of Zeus and Hera[1]. A. Mommsen[2] rightly identified this festival with the Theogamia, which took place towards the end[3] of Gamelion, the month of Hera[4] (our January to February). H. Usener[5] drew attention to a passage of Menandros[6], which enables us to fix the date more exactly as the twenty-fourth or the twenty-seventh of that month[7]. H. von Prott[8] and L. Deubner[9] further connect with the same festival the sacrifice of a pig for Zeus *Heraῖos* recorded in a ritual calendar of the early fifth century found on the Akropolis at Athens[10]. The unique epithet by which the husband is named after the wife[11] recalls the fact that at Samos[12] and perhaps elsewhere[13] Zeus in deference to Hera wore the bridal veil[14].

[1] Hesych. *ἱερὸς γάμος· ἑορτὴ Διὸς καὶ Ἥρας*, Phot. *lex. s.v. ἱερὸν γάμον· Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὴν Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἥρας, ἱερὸν γάμον καλοῦντες, et. mag.* p. 468, 56 f. *ἱερὸν γάμον· Ἀθηναῖοι ἑορτὴν Διὸς ἄγουσι καὶ Ἥρας, οὕτω καλοῦντες* (text reconstituted by T. Gaisford).

[2] Mommsen *Feste d. Stadt Athen* p. 382 f. But his subsequent contention that Hephaistos and Athena, conceived at the Theogamia, were born nine months later at the Chalkeia and Athenaia respectively is neither proved nor probable.

[3] Prokl. *in* Hes. *o.d.* 780 *διὸ καὶ Ἀθηναῖοι τὰς πρὸς σύνοδον ἡμέρας ἐξελέγοντο πρὸς γάμους καὶ τὰ Θεογάμια ἐτέλουν, τότε φυσικῶς εἶναι πρῶτον οἰόμενοι γάμον, τῆς σελήνης οὔσης* (H. Usener cj. *λούσης*) *πρὸς ἡλίου σύνοδον*. T. Bergk *Beiträge zur griechischen Monatskunde* Giessen 1845 p. 36 f. and W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 and in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100 held that Proklos was referring to the first day of the month. But A. Mommsen *Heortologie* Leipzig 1864 p. 343 and A. Schmidt *Handbuch der griechischen Chronologie* Jena 1888 p. 524 showed that the reference must be to the last third of the month, when the conjunction of sun and moon was approaching.

[4] Hesych. *Γαμηλιών· ὁ (ζ') τῶν μηνῶν, τῆς Ἥρας ἱερός.*

[5] H. Usener in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1879 xxxiv. 428.

[6] Menand. *Mέthe frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iv. 162 Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 243 A—B *ἐμὲ γὰρ διέτριψεν ὁ | κομψότατος ἀνδρῶν Χαιρεφῶν ἱερὸν γάμον | φάσκων ποήσειν δευτέρᾳ μετ' εἰκάδας* (so Usener for *δευτέραν μετ' εἰκάδα*) *| καθ' αὐτόν, ἵνα τῇ τετράδι δειπνῇ παρ' ἑτέροις· | τὸ τῆς θεοῦ γὰρ πανταχῶς ἔχειν καλῶς*. J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 4 expounds: 'gloriatur Chaerepho calliditate sua dicens matrimonium Iovis ac Iunonis, quod Gamelionis diei ultimo adtribuisse usum sacrum sumendum est, domi sese die nefasto [cp. *et. mag.* p. 131, 13 ff.] antecedente celebraturum esse, ne hospites accedant; at Antheste rionis sollemni Veneris apud alios esse cenaturum.'

[7] F. G. Allinson *ad loc.*: 'here the "Fourth" may mean the 24th, *i.e.* the fourth day after the twentieth, or, more probably, the 27th, *i.e.* the fourth (the third) day before the "New and the Old."'

[8] J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4.

[9] L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 177 f.

[10] J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 1 ff. no. 1, 20 f., *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 840, *A* 20 f. [– – Δ]ιὶ *hεραῖοι* : χ[ῖρος – – –]. *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 416 n. 6.

[11] J. de Prott *op. cit.* p. 4 'Plane singularem esse *Δία Ἡραῖον* ipse fateor. Non est quod miremur *Ἀθηνᾶν Ἡφαιστίαν* [*supra* p. 216 n. 2], *Ἀμφιτρίτην Ποσειδωνίαν* (schol. Hom. γ 91) 'aut *Ἀπόλλωνα Λατῷον, Διόνυσον Θυωνέα*. At deum ab uxore denominari aliud est.' He adds *ib.* n. 4 'Non habeo exemplum simile nisi Hesychii glossam *Ἥραιον· Ἡρακλέα* [*supra* p. 216 n. 1].'

[12] *Supra* p. 1028 figs. 829 and 830.

[13] *Supra* p. 1033 pl. lxxii.

[14] *Class. Rev.* 1906 xx. 378.

Greek art normally recognises Hera as the lawful bride of Zeus. Accordingly they are grouped together in a succession of hieratic types, which perhaps postulate a ritual origin[1].

(α) *Zeus with Hera behind him.*

Vases of the mid sixth century, whether Attic[2] or otherwise[3], represent Olympos by the king and queen of the gods sitting in state. Zeus is enthroned to the right. Hera is enthroned to the right behind him.

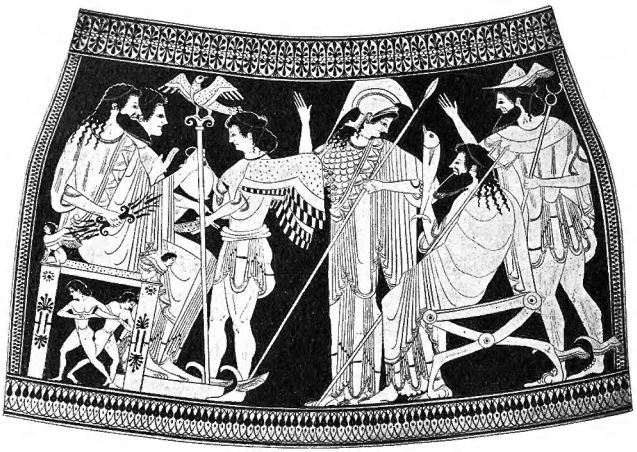


Fig. 841.

(β) *Zeus with Hera beside him.*

By the end of the sixth century painters had learnt to economize their design. They now represented Olympos by Zeus enthroned to the right with Hera sitting at his side[4]. Zeus as the more important deity is nearer to the eye

[1] Cp. *supra* pp. 668, 669 f., 688.

[2] So on the *kratér* of Klitias and Ergotimos (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12, Hoppin *Black-fig. Vases* p. 150 ff. no. 2, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 255 ff.).

[3] So on a 'Chalcidian' *kýlix* in the British Museum (*supra* ii. 771 n. 1 with fig. 734).

[4] The red-figured *kýlix* by the potter Sosias, at Berlin (*supra* ii. 1167 n. 6, iii. 818 n. o), shows Zeus seated with Hera by his side. The upper part of both figures is missing, but enough remains to prove that Zeus in *chitón* and *himátion* was holding out a *phiále*, while his eagle-tipped sceptre leant against his stool (lion-footed and covered with a spotted lion-skin), and that Hera in like costume held sceptre and *phiále*. Before her stands Hebe ("H[βη], not [Νίκ]η, nor "H[ρα]), with spread wings, filling Hera's *phiále* from an *oinochóe*.

A red-figured *amphora* at Munich, attributed to 'the Nikoxenos painter' (Gerhard

of the spectator[1] (fig. 841). Hebe or Iris or other attendants may stand before them.

(γ) *Zeus with Hera facing him.*

Meantime other painters had hit upon a more effective arrangement. They represent Olympos as an assemblage of deities seated *vis-à-vis*[2]. The partner of Zeus, who still looks towards the right, is almost always Hera, though once

Fig. 842.

Auserl. Vasenb. i. 31 ff. pl. 7, Jahn *Vasensamml. München* p. 137 f. no. 405, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera pp. 31 (*i*), 32 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 233 no. 6, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 91 no. 1, E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 250 f. pl. 158 (=my fig. 841)), again has Zeus and Hera seated side by side and served by a winged attendant—Hebe (Gerhard, Jahn, Hoppin) or Iris (Beazley) or possibly Nike (Buschor). Buschor notes that the throne of Zeus is shown as if seen from the front, the two Sphinxes being arm-rests and the two wrestlers decorative supports for the seat (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492 and 493). He draws up a list of such thrones, which he regards as characteristic of Zeus.

[1] A black-figured *hydrla* from Vulci, at Berlin (Furtwängler *Vasensamml. Berlin* i. 387 f. no. 1899, Lenormant—de Witte *Él. mon. cér.* i. 39 ff. pl. 22 (=my fig. 842)), promotes Athena to the place of honour—a novelty pardonable on the part of an Athenian painter. With a spear that length she can hardly be Hera, *pace* R. Foerster *Die Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera* Breslau 1867 p. 31 f.

[2] (1) A black-figured *kýlix* at Berlin (*supra* ii. 776 n. 3 with fig. 740).

(2) A red-figured *kýlix* at Corneto, by the potter Euxitheos and the painter Oltos (H. Heydemann in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1875 xlvii. 254—267, *Mon. d. Inst.* x pl. 23—24 (=my fig. 843), *Wien. Vorlegebl.* D pl. 1—2, A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 pl. 93, P. Hartwig *Die griechischen Meisterschalen der Blüthezeit des strengen rothfigurigen Stiles* Stuttgart—Berlin 1893 p. 71 ff., Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 203, 4—8, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 250 f. no. 2 fig., Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 431 f., iii. 103 figs. 359 f.,

J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 15 no. 49), has Zeus served by Ganymedes and Hestia seated in place of Hera. The figures from left to right are *A*: Hebe (pomegranate, flower), Hermes (flower), Athena (spear, helmet), Zeus (*phiálē*, thunderbolt), Ganymedes (*oinochóē*), Hestia (branch, flower), Aphrodite (flower, dove), Ares (spear, helmet), and *B*: Thero (*thýrsos*, doe, snake), Terpes

Fig. 843.

Fig. 844.

(*plēktron*, *phórminx*), Dionysos (vine, *kántharos*), Kalis (lion, *thýrsos*), Terpon (double flute). On the foot is an Etruscan *graffito*: *Itun Turuce Venela Telinas Tinas Cliniiaras.*

(3) A red-figured *stámnos* in the Louvre, by the 'Providence painter' (*supra* ii. 735 n. 4, E. Pottier *Vases antiques du Louvre* 3me Série Paris 1922 p. 237 f. no. G 370 pl. 138, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 134 no. 31). My fig. 844 is from the *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 2. The figures from left to right are: Zeus, Nike, Apollon, Hera, Hermes, Poseidon, Athena, Plouton, Persephone (?).

(4) A red-figured *kýlix* in the British Museum, attributed to the school of Brygos (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 90 f. no. E 67, E. Gerhard *Trinkschalen und Gefässe des Königlichen Museums zu Berlin und anderer Sammlungen* Berlin 1848 i. 25 f. pl. D

(=my fig. 845), P. Hartwig *op. cit.* p. 361 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* i. 131 no. 61, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 184 no. 1), shows Zeus seated over against Hera. Ganymedes serves the one; Iris, the other. Ares as a sample god stands between them.

(5) A red-figured *hydría* at Leyden, by the 'Oinanthe painter' (Roulez *Vases de Leide*

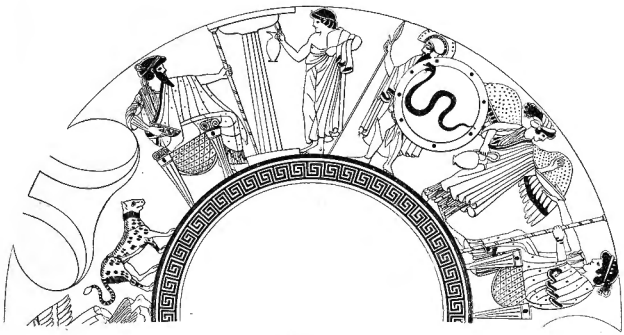


Fig. 845.

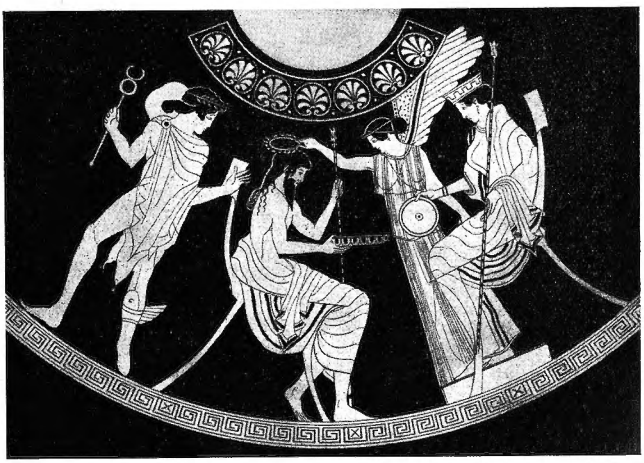


Fig. 846.

p. 1 ff. pl. 1 (=my fig. 846), Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 16 f. pl. 1, 7, Reinach *Rép. Vases* ii. 266, 1, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 252 no. 3). Zeus is seated opposite to Hera. Nike (rather than Iris) crowns his head. Hermes starts away, prepared to do his bidding. J. Roulez, followed with some hesitation by S. Reinach, took this vase to

by way of exception, Hestia takes her place[1]. Iris or Ganymedes or both may be there, and sometimes a Doric column marks the scene as the celestial palace.

Others again varied the scheme by making Zeus and Hera change sides, so

Fig. 847.

represent the *hierὸs gámos*. But K. Wernicke concludes: 'Einen tiefen Sinn in dem Bilde zu suchen wäre verfehlt; es ist gewissermassen eine Genrescene im Olymp.'

(6) The fragment of a red-figured *skýphos* from Tarentum, now at New York (G. M. A. R[ichter] in the *Bulletin of the Metropolitan Museum of Art* 1912 vi. 97 fig. 5 (=my fig. 847), K. Schefold in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 60 with

Fig. 848.

fig. 19). Zeus seated on an elaborate throne (arm-rest, supported on a lion, ends in a Gorgon-head) has his *himátion* drawn up like a veil over the back of his head and holds a sceptre tipped with a dove (Richter) or, more probably, a small eagle (Schefold). Opposite to him is a seated goddess, presumably Hera. And Eros, flying from her to him, presents him with a wreath. Again the scene is suggestive of the *hierὸs gámos*.

[1] *Supra* p. 1050 n. 0 (2) fig. On the association of Zeus with Hestia see *supra* i. 17 n. 1, 149 n. 2, 330 n. 4, ii. 259 n. 0, 317 n. 2, 960 n. 0, 1228 f. More in Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 1405 n. 2 and Süss in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 1300 f.

that he looks to the left and she to the right[1]. But such transposition is due to mere love of variety[2].

(δ) *Zeus with Hera on the frieze of the Parthenon.*

The 'Kodros painter,' as Professor Beazley[3] put it, was 'Parthenonian' in his effects. But the Parthenon itself on its eastern frieze[4] combined in one triumphant synthesis all three traditional types—the tandem, the side-by-side, and the face-to-face arrangement. The deities are mostly seen *en échelon*. Hera is thus behind Zeus, and yet beside him, while with a gesture characteristic of the bride[5] she turns herself to face her bridegroom. Zeus, alone of the gods, sits on a throne with back and arms: its top-bar terminates in a circular disk and its side-rail is supported on a winged Sphinx. His attitude is one of dignified ease[6]. The right arm, sceptre in hand, rests on his lap; the left leans on the back of his throne. He wears a wreath or fillet in his hair, a *himátion* about his legs, and sandals on his feet. Hera sits on a stool, wearing sandals, a Doric *péplos*, and a large outspread veil. She too has a wreath, which is composed of pointed and serrated leaves—probably those of her sacred tree, the willow[7]. At her side in a Doric *péplos* stands Iris[8], who raises her left hand to adjust a mass of hair and in her right probably held a fillet or garland. In this complex Pheidias—for the design was surely his—has given faultless expression to the current Athenian belief about the wedlock of Zeus and Hera. Moreover, as in the vase-paintings, so on the frieze the group of Zeus and Hera is extended to include a series of other seated deities.

[1] (1) A red-figured *stámnos*, formerly with Depoletti at Rome, latterly with Kalebdjian in Paris, and now attributed to the painter Hermonax (F. T. Welcker in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1861 xxxiii. 293—298, *Mon. d. Inst.* vi—vii pl. 58, 1 (=my fig. 848), *id. Alt. Denkm.* v. 360, 362 ff. pl. 24 *b*, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 157, 1, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 476 no. 12 bis) arranges from left to right: a goddess (*quis?*), Dionysos (*kántharos*, vine-staff), Aphrodite (swan, apple), Poseidon? (restored as Dionysos), Plouton (*cornu copiae*), Hera (sceptre), Iris rather than Nike (*oinochóe, caduceus*), Zeus (*phiále*, sceptre).

(2) A red-figured *kýlix* in the British Museum, assigned to the 'Kodros painter' (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iii. 108 ff. no. E 82, E. Braun in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1853 xxv. 103—113, *Mon. d. Inst.* v pl. 49 (=my fig. 849), A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2141 f. pl. 92 fig. 2401, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 143, 1 f., Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 154 no. 3, J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 no. 5), depicts a symposium of the gods. Outside, *A* Amphitrite (dipper, *alábastron*), Poseidon (trident, *phiále*), Hera (sceptre), Zeus (sceptre, *phiále*), Ganymedes (strainer seen edgewise): *B* Aphrodite (*smematothéke*?), Ares (spear, *phiále* on table), Ariadne (love-gesture of fingers, cp. C. Sittl *Die Gebärden der Griechen und Römer* Leipzig 1890 pp. 256, 287 n. 2), Dionysos (*phiále, thýrsos*), Komos. Inside, Pherrephatta (love-gesture of fingers?), Plouton (*phiále, cornu copiae*).

[2] Cp. *supra* p. 694 fig. 502.

[3] J. D. Beazley *op. cit.* p. 425 'Sehr feine Schalen mit Anklängen an Parthenonisches.'

[4] *Supra* ii. 1135 n. 5 with pl. xliv.

[5] Cp. *supra* p. 1038 fig. 834.

[6] *Supra* i. 91 f. fig. 64.

[7] *Supra* p. 1028 ff. So already A. H. Smith *A Guide to the Sculptures of the Parthenon* London 1908 p. 76.

[8] The choice lies between Nike (Overbeck *Gr. Plastik*[4] i. 444, F. Studniczka *Die Siegesgoettin* Leipzig 1898 p. 20 pl. 9, 39—40) and Iris (J. Stuart and N. Revett *The Antiquities of Athens* London 1787 ii. 13 pl. 24, followed by most modern critics). Somewhat in favour of the former is her long clothing; but decisive for the latter is her position next Hera, not Zeus.

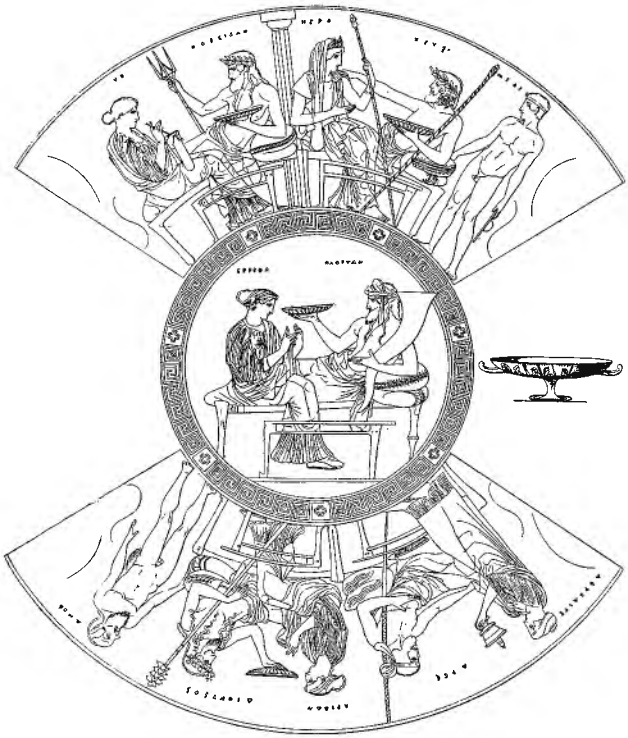


Fig. 849.

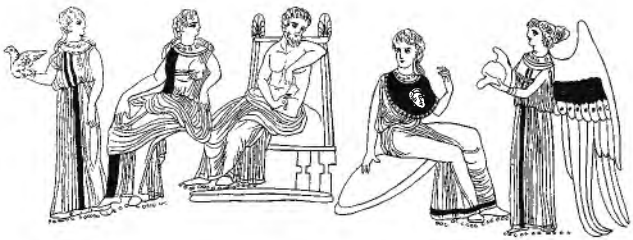


Fig. 850.

Not altogether uninfluenced by the Parthenon frieze is the upper[1] row of figures on an 'Apulian' *amphora* in the Santangelo collection at Naples (fig. 850)[2]. The painter of this vase has represented in crude and clumsy juxtaposition a sequence of Aphrodite, Hera, Zeus, Athena, and Nike. The arrangement of Hera, Zeus, and perhaps Athena[3] owes something to the Pheidiac scheme, modified of course to suit the subject in hand.

(ε) *Zeus with Hera in archaistic reliefs.*

Zeus and Hera, conceived as a wedded pair, had long since taken their place among the traditional gods of Greece. They figure therefore as two of the canonical twelve, who from the fifth century onwards tend to be represented in an affected archaistic style suggestive of long-standing cults. O. Weinreich[4] in a recent article has traced with masterly skill the whole rise and development of these 'Zwölfgötter.' He shows convincingly that they were *ab origine* the Olympian counterpart of an earthly 'Zwölfstaat'—a divine 'Synoikismos' which shaped itself on Ionian soil at least as far back as the seventh century B.C.[5], that in the fourth century owing to Iranian influence on the Platonic school they came to be viewed as 'Monats- oder Zodiakusgötter[6],' and that in Graeco-Roman times they played a noteworthy part in the formation of political and social ideals[7], in theological speculation[8], and in magic[9]. Here I am concerned merely to illustrate the various positions assigned to Zeus and Hera in the archaistic renderings of the canon.

A votive relief, said to have been found at Tarentum and offered for sale in Paris, was well published by E. Schmidt (fig. 851)[10], who now dates it as early as *c.* 460 B.C.[11] It represents, on Pentelic(?) marble and in curiously flat technique, the twelve gods standing, not walking, with left foot advanced, as if they were lined up for the start of a procession. Their order from right to left is Apollon

[1] Cp. *supra* i. 200 n. 6.

[2] Heydemann *Vasensamml. Neapel* p. 636 ff. Santangelo no. 24, Raoul-Rochette *Monumens inédits d'antiquité figurée* Paris 1833 p. 201 ff. pl. 41 (part of which = my fig. 850).

[3] Her relative position may be reminiscent of the Parthenon frieze, but her type is obviously taken from the balustrade of Nike *Ápteros* (R. Kekulé *Die Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike* Stuttgart 1881 p. 7 pl. 2, E, R. Heberdey 'Die Komposition der Reliefs an der Balustrade der Athena Nike' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1922 xxi—xxii. 14 f. fig. 10), as is that of the helmet-bearing Nike who stands beside her (Kekulé *op. cit.* p. 8 pl. 4, M, Heberdey *loc. cit.* p. 22 f. fig. 18).

[4] O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 764—848. See also the same scholar's earlier works: 'Lykische Zwölfgötter-Reliefs' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1913 Abh. v. 1—42 fig. 1 and pls. 1—3, *Triskaidekadische Studien* Giessen 1916 pp. 1—124, 'Zwölfgötter, Zwölfzahl und Zwölfstaat' in *Aus Unterricht und Forschung* 1935 vii. 319—331.

[5] O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 768 f., 771 f., 829 f.

[6] *Id. ib.* vi. 770, 823 ff. Cp. a weighty passage in F. Boll *Sphaera* Leipzig 1903 pp. 476—478.

[7] O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 830 ff.

[8] *Id. ib.* vi. 835 ff.

[9] *Id. ib.* vi. 837.

[10] Brunn—Bruckmann *Denkm. der gr. und röm. Sculpt.* pl. 660 (= my fig. 851) with text by E. Schmidt pp. 1—11, O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 790 ff. fig. 2. Width: 1·195^{m}.

[11] E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 57.

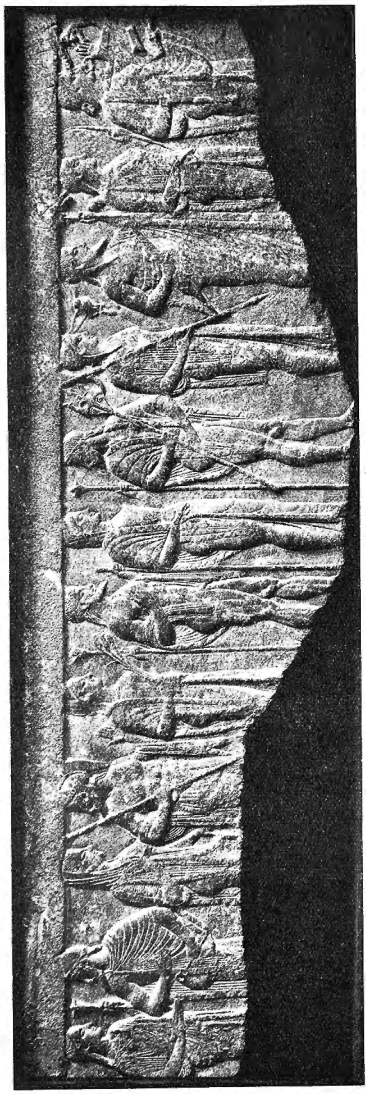


Fig. 851.

(*plêktron, kithára*, bay-wreath), Artemis (bow, quiver), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Athena (spear, owl, helmet, *aigís*); Poseidon (trident), Hera (sceptre), Hephaistos (shorter staff), Demeter (corn-ears, sceptre); Ares (spear, helmet, breastplate), Aphrodite (small oval fruit between fingers of right hand), Hermes (*caduceus, pîlos*), Hestia (*phiále*, sceptre). The twelve form three fours, the divisions between them being marked by the fact that the leader of the second and third group turns to address his immediate follower—an action repeated by the final pair. Throughout the line god alternates with goddess. But it is to be observed that Hera's place next Zeus is usurped by Athena—a variation which, as in the case of a black-figured vase already mentioned[1], points to the patriotic design of an Athenian craftsman.

The same arrangement in three fours appears five centuries later on the so-called *ara Borghese* in the Louvre (fig. 852, *a—c*)[2]. This triangular base of Pentelic marble, meant to support a *candelabrum* or a tripod, is embellished with two ranges of divine figures. Above we see the twelve gods grouped as follows from left to right: Zeus (thunderbolt) with Hera (sceptre, bridal veil) and Poseidon (trident) with Demeter (corn-ears?); Apollon (*plêktron, kithára*? —wrongly restored as a goddess[3]!) with Artemis (arrow?, quiver?, bow) and Hephaistos (pincers—again wrongly restored as a goddess!) with Athena (spear, *aigís*, helmet?, shield?); Ares (spear, shield, helmet?, breastplate?) with Aphrodite (dove) and Hermes (*caduceus, talaria*) with Hestia (veil, sceptre). Below on a larger scale are the three Charites (joining hands for the dance); the three Horai (flower, grapes, corn); the three Moirai (sceptres). The general effect is that of an archaizing *santa conversazione*. But it is clear that Zeus and Hera head the assembly, and that the Charites[4], the Horai[5], the Moirai[6] are all introduced in relation to Zeus.

The arrangement in fours underlies also the grouping of the twelve on the *puteal Albani*, a well-mouth of Roman date formerly in the Albani collection but now in the Capitoline Museum (fig. 853)[7]. This relief, of Greek marble but Roman design[8], divides the gods into two unequal companies, eight moving towards the right, four towards the left. On the one hand we have Zeus (thunderbolt, sceptre), Hera (*stephánе*, bridal veil), Athena (*aigís*, helmet, spear),

[1] *Supra* p. 1049 n. 1.

[2] Clarac *Mus. de Sculpt.* ii. 1. 170—181 pls. 172—174 figs. 11—17 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* i. 65 f., Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* i. 8 pl. 12, 43 and 44, pl. 13, 45 (=my fig. 852, *a, c, b*), Fröhner *Sculpt. du Louvre* i. 3 ff. no. 1. Height: 2·089^{m}.

[3] O. Jahn in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1868 p. 193 pl. 5, 1—3 published sketches of the base, made by Pighius *c.* 1500 A.D., which show the figures without the misleading alterations. A. Baumeister in his *Denkm.* iii. 2137 with figs. 2394—2396 inserts the sketches of Pighius into the drawings of Müller—Wieseler.

[4] *Supra* i. 155, ii. 232 n. 0 fig. 160, iii. 955.

[5] *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1, 94 n. 2, 232 n. 0, 372 f., 1138 n. 5, iii. 955.

[6] *Supra* ii. 231 n. 8, 1138 n. 5.

[7] Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Mus. Capit. Rome* p. 106 ff. Galleria no. 31 b pl. 29 (six photographs, each showing two deities), Müller—Wieseler *Denkm. d. alt. Kunst* ii. 137 ff. pl. 18, 197 (=my fig. 853), W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 431 ff. no. 783 (who notes that, according to old drawings, the present restored head of Aphrodite should have been looking backwards to link up with the other company), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 798 f. with fig. 4. Height: 0·493^{m}.

[8] E. Schmidt *Archaistische Kunst in Griechenland und Rom* München 1922 p. 25 f. ('flavische Zeit ist mir das wahrscheinlichste, hadrianische das späteste mögliche Datum').

a *b* *c*

Fig. 852.

Fig. 853.

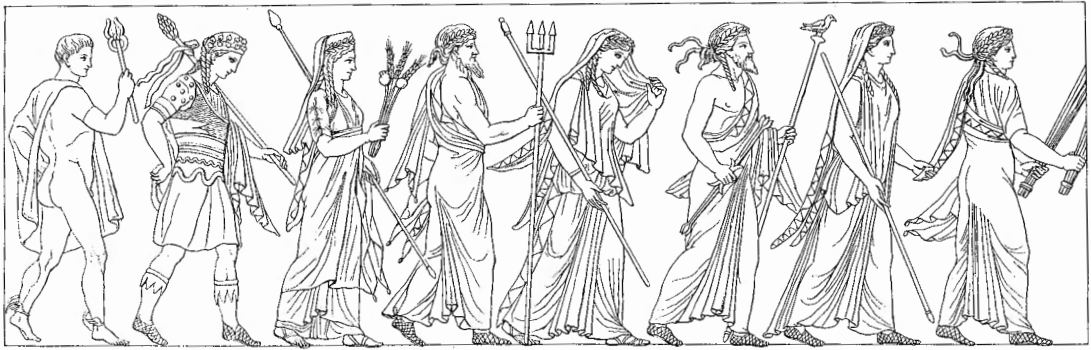


Fig. 854.

Herakles (lion-skin, club, bow), Apollon (*phêktron*, lyre), Artemis (bow), Ares (breastplate, helmet, shield, greaves), Aphrodite (bud, flower); on the other hand, Hephaistos (double axe), Poseidon (trident, dolphin), Hermes (*pétasos*, winged *caduceus*, goat), Hestia? (sceptre).

Not three fours, but four threes, was the distribution of the twelve on the so-called *ara Albani*, a quadrangular base of marble still in the Villa Albani (fig. 855)[1]. Three slabs only of this relief are extant. They represent a procession of deities passing from left to right—Artemis (torches), Leto?[2] (sceptre), Zeus (thunderbolt, eagle-sceptre), Hera (*stephánе*, sceptre, bridal veil), Poseidon (trident), Demeter (poppies and corn-ears, sceptre), Dionysos (*nebrís* restored as breastplate, *thýrsos*), Hermes (*caduceus*, *talaria*). But these figures were not all. A fragment of drapery to be seen in front of Artemis' right knee (fig. 855, *c*) makes it probable that Apollon, chanting, originally led the way. And a forearm visible behind Hermes (fig. 855, *a*) proves that he was followed by another deity, possibly Hestia. It seems likely that the canonical number was completed by the presence of two more gods on the missing slab.

J. G. Zoega[3] was the first to suggest that this monument showed the wedding of Zeus and Hera. His opinion was adopted by F. G. Welcker[4], who noted the wreaths worn by all the extant figures, and met P. A. Visconti's objection that Zeus and Hera appear on separate slabs by the conjecture that the procession was designed for a circular, not a quadrangular, base. K. Wernicke[5] too endorses Zoega's view, though with some hesitation. But W. Amelung[6] finds this explanation far from convincing. No doubt a well-mouth so decorated would be suitable enough in a private house: the wedding of Zeus and Hera was the prototype of all weddings[7]. Nevertheless it would be safer to conclude

[1] Welcker *Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14—26 pl. 1, 1, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Hera p. 174 ff. Atlas pl. 10, 29 *a—c*, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 129 no. 1, W. Helbig *op. cit.*[3] ii. 458 f. no. 1930, O. Weinreich *loc. cit.* vi. 800. My fig. 855, *a—c* is from photographs of the cast at Cambridge. Height: 0·65^{m}.

The face of Hera has been retouched, that of Demeter more seriously altered. The head and right arm of Hermes, the face and right arm of Dionysos, perhaps also the legs of the latter, are modern. Hermes was originally bearded; and Dionysos wore, not a breastplate, but a *nebrís* over his short *chitôn*. The bird on the sceptre of Zeus is not a cuckoo, as G. Zoega thought, but an eagle.

[2] See, however, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 19 'Hier, unmittelbar vor dem Brautpaar, ist die Stelle der Brautmutter; man hat daher entweder auf Rhea oder Tethys (als Pflegemutter) gedeutet; der Gedanke an Leto (weil sie den Mantelzipfel der Artemis fasst) ist entschieden zu verwerfen, solche in dieser Klasse von Reliefs typischen Züge sind inhaltlich ohne Bedeutung.'

[3] G. Zoega *Li bassirilievi antichi di Roma* Roma 1808 ii. 251—257 pl. 101.

[4] F. G. Welcker 'Hochzeit des Zeus und der Hera' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1842 i. 420 ff. = *id. Alt. Denkm.* ii. 14 ff. pl. 1, 1.

[5] Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *op. cit.* i. 18 ff. pl. 1, 9.

[6] W. Amelung in W. Helbig *op. cit.*[3] ii. 459: 'Doch ist die Deutung auf den Hochzeitzug des Zeus und der Hera keineswegs zwingend.'

[7] Diod. 5. 73 *προθύουσι δὲ πρότερον ἅπαντες τῷ Διὶ τῷ* Τελείῳ *καὶ* Ἥρᾳ Τελείᾳ *διὰ τὸ τούτους ἀρχηγοὺς γεγονέναι καὶ πάντων εὑρετάς*, Dion. Hal. *ars rhet.* 2. 2 *καὶ ὅτι οὗτοι* (*sc. οἱ θεοί*) *οἱ εὑρόντες καὶ δείξαντες τοὺς γάμους τοῖς ἀνθρώποις· Ζεὺς γὰρ καὶ* Ἥρα, *πρῶτοι ζευγνύντες τε καὶ συνδυάζοντες· οὕτω τοι ὁ μὲν καὶ Πατὴρ καλεῖται πάντων, ἡ δὲ Ζυγία ἀπὸ τοῦ ζευγνύναι τὸ θῆλυ τῷ ἄρρενι.* Cp. Aisch. *Ἐπίγονοι frag.* 55 Nauck[2] *ap.* schol. Pind. *Isthm.* 6. 10 and see also schol. Aristoph. *thesm.* 973.

a *b* *c*

Fig. 855.

that the twelve gods are here portrayed simply as a divine team arriving[1] to bless the home of their worshippers. They are the plastic counterpart of the painted twelve found more than once at Pompeii[2] (figs. 856, 857). It may be doubted whether their religious significance was much greater than that of our own Apostle-spoons.

(10) The *Hierὸs Gámos* in the Far West.

There is no reason to think that the myth of the *hierὸs gámos* was ever located at Athens[3]. Athenian poets do indeed occasionally refer to such a myth. Sophokles speaks of the Gardens of Zeus and their proverbial felicity[4], Aristophanes of the Plain of Zeus and the bridal bed towards which at the triumphant close of his great comedy the birds wing their way[5]. But the home

W. H. Roscher *Juno und Hera* Leipzig 1875 p. 75 n. 0 (=*id.* in his *Lex. Myth.* i. 2100) 'Nach den Worten des Lex. rhet. p. 670, 28 Pors. [on which source consult W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1924 ii. 2. 876 f.] *οἱ γαμοῦντες ποιοῦσι τῷ Διὶ καὶ τῇ Ἥρᾳ ἱεροὺς γάμους* scheint man jede Hochzeit als eine Art Hierosgamos aufgefasst zu haben.' But?

[1] Cp. *e.g.* Plaut. *Epid.* 610 f. si undecim deos praeter sese secum adducat Iuppiter,| ita non omnes ex cruciatu poterunt eximere Epidicum.

[2] (1) On the outer wall of a corner-house, where the *Vicolo dei dodici iddii* runs into the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (*Reg.* viii. 3) (E. Gerhard in the *Ann. d. Inst.* 1850 xxii. 206—214 pl. K, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 5 f. no. 7, J. Overbeck *Pompeji* Leipzig 1884 p. 244, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 62 ff. pl. 6, 2 (=my fig. 856), A. Mau *Pompeii its Life and Art*[2] trans. F. W. Kelsey New York 1902 p. 236, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 5 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*[6] Leipzig 1928 p. 120). The gods, standing between two bay-trees, are—from left to right—Vesta (cup (not apple), sceptre, ass), Diana (spear, bow and arrows, fawn), Apollo (*cithara*), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Minerva (helmet, spear, shield), Iupiter apparently of youthful beardless type (sceptre), Iuno (sceptre), Volcanus of beardless type (*pileus*, hammer, tongs), Venus *Pompeiana* (*modius*, small branch?, sceptre, rudder?), Mars (helmet, breastplate, greaves, shield), Neptunus (trident), Mercurius (winged *pétasos*, *talaria*, purse, winged *caduceus*). Beneath the twelve and under their protection was the painting of an altar set out with various fruits and approached by two snakes (beards, crests, forked tongues) with a background of bay-bushes.

(2) On the outer wall of a house in the *Strada dell' Abbondanza* (*Reg.* ix. 11) (M. Della Corte in the *Not. Scavi* 1911 p. 417 ff. figs. 1, 2, 2*a*, R. Delbrueck in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1913 xxxviii Arch. Anz. p. 162 with fig. 17, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 6 no. 2, A. Mau *Führer durch Pompeji*[6] Leipzig 1928 p. 133 fig. 62, F. Saxl *Mithras* Berlin 1931 p. 75 n. 4 with pl. 30 fig. 165 (=my fig. 857), O. Weinreich in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 808 with fig. 5). The gods, standing *en face* between two (?) Corinthian pillars, are—from left to right—Iupiter (sceptre, thunderbolt), Iuno (*stephánе*, veil, *patera*, sceptre), Mars (Oscan helmet, breastplate, spear, round shield, *balteus*, sword?), Minerva (crested Corinthian helmet, *Gorgóneion*, *patera*, spear, round shield), Hercules (lion-skin, *balteus*, *skýphos*, club), Venus (veil, winged Cupid), Mercurius (purse, *caduceus*), Proserpina (*modius*, sceptre), Volcanus of juvenile type (*pileus*, hammer), Ceres (corn-wreath, torch), Apollo (bow, quiver, *plectrum*, lyre), Diana (crown, bow, quiver, *patera*, sceptre). Adjoining this group is an altar on which were found charcoal and cinders, remains of the last offering, and above it the painting of a sacrifice by the *vicomagistri*.

[3] *Supra* p. 1047.

[4] Soph. *Ion frag.* 297 Nauck[2], 320 Jebb (cited *supra* ii. 1021).

[5] Aristoph. *av.* 1758 (cited *supra* ii. 1021, iii. 59).

Fig. 856.

Fig. 857.

of Zeus is placed in the far west—a sunset fancy, for which mortals sigh in vain. Thus Euripides in his *Hippólytos* makes a chorus of Troezenian women, fain to escape from the troubles of this life, exclaim:

O to win to the strand where the apples are growing
Of the Hesperid chanters kept in ward,
Where the path over Ocean purple-glowing
By the Sea's Lord is to the seafarer barred!
O to light where Atlas hath aye in his keeping
The bourn twixt earth and the heavens bestarred,
Where the fountains ambrosial sunward are leaping
By the couches where Zeus in his halls lieth sleeping,
Where the bounty of Earth the life-bestowing
The bliss of the Gods ever higher is heaping![1]

The myth here touched upon is set out more fully by Pherekydes, the logographer of Leros, who is called an Athenian[2] also, probably because he spent most of his life at Athens. When Zeus married Hera,—he says[3]—the gods brought wedding-gifts to the bride. Among them came Ge, bearing boughs of golden apples. Hera, astonished at the sight, bade plant the boughs in her garden[4] hard by Mount Atlas. But Atlas' virgin daughters, the Hesperides, kept taking of the apples; so Hera set a monstrous snake to guard the tree. This snake was slain by Herakles and translated to the stars by Hera[5].

Pherekydes' tale gives prominence to Ge; and it is to be observed that a Pindaric fragment[6], our oldest source for a marriage of Zeus in the remote west, mentions as his consort, not Hera at all, but Themis—a goddess expressly identified with Ge both in the poetry of Aischylos and in the official nomenclature of Athens[7].

(11) Inferences concerning the *Hierὸs Gámos*.

We have now passed in review the evidence, both literary and monumental, for the *hierὸs gámos* of Zeus and Hera. Two points emerge and must be emphasised.

[1] Eur. *Hipp.* 742—751 trans. A. S. Way.

[2] Souid. *s.v.* Φερεκύδης, on which see W. Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur*[6] München 1912 i. 454 f. and W. Schmid—O. Stählin *Geschichte der griechischen Literatur* München 1929 i. 1. 710 ff. *Supra* p. 455.

[3] Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 *a* (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 79 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 c (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 Jacoby) *ap.* pseudo-Eratosth. *catast.* 3, Hyg. *poet. astr.* 2. 3, Myth. Vat. 1. 106, 2. 161, schol. Caes. Germ. *Aratea* p. 382, 21 ff. Eyssenhardt. Cp. the longer account in Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* i. 78 f. Müller)=*frag.* 16 a and *frag.* 17 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 65 f. Jacoby). See also Athen. 83 c (*supra* ii. 1021).

[4] This garden is called "Ηρης λειμών (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 164) or θεῶν κῆπος (Pherekyd. *frag.* 33 *a* (*supra* n. 3)). It is identical with the Ὠκεανοῦ κῆπος, where the Clouds array their dance (Aristoph. *nub.* 271). Cp. τοὺς Σελήνης καὶ Ἀφροδίτης λειμῶνας (Plout. *amat.* 20).

Here grew the trefoil ὠκύθοον (Hesych. *s.v.*), used as fodder by the fawns of Artemis and the horses of Zeus (Kallim. *h. Artem.* 163 ff.).

[5] *Supra* p. 489 figs. 318 and 319.

[6] *Supra* ii. 37 n. 1.

[7] *Supra* ii. 176 n. 1.

On Themis as 'an emanation from Ge' see Farnell *Cults of Gk. States* iii. 12 ff. Cp. also Preller—Robert *Gr. Myth.* i. 475 ff., Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* pp. 101 n. 5 ff., 148 n. 5 f., 1066, 1080 n. 6, 1094, 1166 n. 13.

In the first place, the great bulk of the evidence is comparatively late. If we except one passage in the *Iliad*, neither ritual nor myth is attested before the fifth century B.C. Moreover, the single exception is itself certainly an addition, probably a late addition, to the *Iliad*. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield assigned it to the third and latest stratum of the poem, a stratum which they date between 1000 and 800 B.C.[1] Professor G. Murray, who lays stress on the 'Milesian' tone of the episode, speaks of it as 'that late Homeric story of the *Outwitting of Zeus*' and refers it to a period when 'the Epos as a form of living and growing poetry was doomed[2].' However that may be, not a single allusion to the sacred marriage of Zeus with Hera is forthcoming from the Homeric hymns or Hesiod, from Pindar or the other lyrical poets, one indirect reference only from Aischylos[3], none from Sophokles, none from Herodotos, Thoukydides, Demosthenes, Xenophon, Platon, none even from Pausanias. Nor is the scene represented by monuments of any kind belonging to the genuinely archaic period of Greek civilisation. This almost complete absence of early evidence raises a suspicion that the *hierὸs gámos* was of comparatively recent introduction.

In the second place, this suspicion is deepened by the fact that here and there, even where the *hierὸs gámos* is attested, Zeus seems to have had an older partner, who was not Hera, or Hera an older partner, who was not Zeus. For example, we have seen reason to think that on Mount Kithairon Leto *Mychía* or *Nychía* was paired with Zeus before the arrival of Hera[4], and that in the myth of Zeus' western marriage Themis, not Hera, was the original bride[5]. A *kýlix* by the painter Oltos strangely ignored Hera in favour of Hestia in a scene perhaps reminiscent of the *hierὸs gámos*[6]. At Argos the evidence pointed to a marriage of Hera, but did not prove that her original consort was Zeus[7]; while at Knossos it was practically certain that the ritual marriage of Zeus and Hera had been preceded by a ritual marriage of a sun-god and a moon-goddess in bovine form[8].

In short, the case for Hera as essentially and *ab origine* the bride of Zeus is neither proven nor probable.

[1] *The Iliad of Homer* ed. W. Leaf and M. A. Bayfield London 1898 ii pp. xx, xxiii, 329 ff.

[2] G. Murray *The Rise of the Greek Epic* Oxford 1907 p. 242 ff. *Id. ib.*[3] Oxford 1924 p. 275 still speaks of 'that late Homeric story of the *Tricking of Zeus*.'

[3] *Supra* p. 1060 n. 7.

[4] *Supra* p. 1042.

[5] *Supra* p. 1064.

[6] *Supra* p. 1049 n. 2 (2), fig. 843.

[7] *Supra* p. 1045.

[8] *Supra* i. 523, iii. 1032.

ADDENDA

i. 2 n. 2. For the blue-black eyebrows of Zeus cp. Apul. *met.* 6. 7 nec renuit Iovis caerulum supercilium. See also S. Marinatos in the 'Αρχ. Ἐφ. 1927—1928 p. 198 f. (Mesopotamian technique with inlay of *lapis lazuli* or blue paste), J. L. Myres *Who were the Greeks?* Berkeley, California 1930 p. 192 f. (normal colouring of Mediterranean physique).

i. 7 n. 2. Add *Anth. Plan.* 121. 3 ἦν ἐφορῶσιν ἀπ' αἰθέρος αἱ Διὸς αὐγαί.

i. 15 n. 6. A parallel to the line of Ennius is the fine passage in Pacuvius *Chryses frag.* 6 (*Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 99 f. Ribbeck) *ap.* Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 5. 17, Cic. *de nat. deor.* 2. 91, *de div.* 1. 131, Non. Marc. p. 209, 8 f. Lindsay.

i. 18 n. 3. See now the dissertation of H. Oppermann *De Jove Panamaro* Bonn 1919—1920, revised and partly rewritten in his *Zeus Panamaros* Giessen 1924 pp. 1—94, J. Hatzfeld 'Inscriptions de Panamara' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 57—122 (text of 139 inscriptions), P. Roussel 'Les mystères de Panamara' *ib.* pp. 123—137 (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 517 f.). P. Roussel 'Le miracle de Zeus Panamaros' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 70—116 with pls. 5 and 6 restores a long inscription, from the wall of the temple, recording how Zeus with sudden flame and fog repulsed troops (perhaps those of Q. Labienus in 41—40 B.C. (Dion Cass. 48. 26)) attacking his sanctuary (summarised by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 223 and by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 539). When the enemy attempted a night-surprise, 7 [---ὁ θεὸς μετὰ φω]τὸς φλόγα πολλὴν [α]ὐτοῖς ἐνεί̣νεγκεν ὥσ[τε---]. When they resumed operations the next day, 10 [---συνέβη αὐτοῖς περιχυθῆναι ὁμίχλην β]αθεῖαν ὥστε τοὺς μὲν μετὰ τοῦ θεοῦ μ[αχομένους λαθεῖν αὐτοὺς] | [---κύ]κλῳ δὲ περὶ τὸ μέρο]ς τοῦ χωρίου καθ' ὃ προ[σβάλλειν ἐπεχείρησαν] | [ἐπιγένεσθαι χειμῶνα μέγαν καὶ καταρραγῆναι βροντὰς συνεχεῖς κ]αὶ διαΐσσειν [ἀστρα]πάς· διὰ τ[αῦτα δὴ δεινῶς κατεπλάγησαν] | [οἱ πολέμιοι· καὶ κραυγὴ πολλὴ ἦν τῶν βοηθ]ούντων τῶν μὲν ΙΧΩΡΗΝ (so G. Cousin) φωνούντω[ν], ἔτι δὲ ἀναβοών[των] μεγάλῃ τῇ φωνῇ μέγαν εἶναι Δία Πανάμαρον, | κ.τ.λ. A third and final assault was defeated by the shouting of unseen helpers and the baying of supernatural hounds: 24 [---κ]ύκλῳ δὲ αὐτῶν τὸ χωρίον πολιορκούντων, ἀλαλαγμός τε ἀντήχησεν ὡς βοηθείας | [ἐκ τῆς πόλεως ἐπιγεινομένης, καίπερ οὐδε]νὸς φαινομένου, καὶ κυνῶν ὑλαγμὸς ἐγείνετο πολὺς ὡς προσπλ[ε]κομένων τοῖς προσβάλλουσιν | κ.τ.λ. A. Laumonier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 lviii. 336 f. no. 20 with fig. (Stratonikeia) Δομέστεχος | Διεὶ Παναμάρῳ | καὶ Ἑκάτῃ on a marble slab above a lion-head (fountain-jet?) in relief.

i. 23 n. 6. On hair-offering see further L. Sommer *Das Haar in Religion und Aberglauben der Griechen* Münster i. W. 1912 pp. 1—86, G. Wilke 'Ein altgermanisches Haaropfer' in *Mannus* 1924 xvi. 64 ff., G. Kossinna 'Zum Haaropfer' 112, R. Moschkau 'Nachtrag zum germanischen Haaropfer' *ib.* 1925 xvii. 121, H. Lewy 'Haarscheren als "*rite de passage*"' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 203 f., H. Bächtold-Stäubli in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1239—1288 ('Haar'), Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 475 ff.

S. Aurigemma *Il R. Museo di Spina* Ferrara 1935 p. 116 pl. 62 publishes a fine Etruscan statuette, of bronze washed in silver, which represents a boy, clad in a *chlamys*, severing a long tress of his hair with his sword.

i. 26 n. 10. Eustath. *in* Dionys. *per.* epist. p. 209, 14 ff. Müller καὶ Ζεὺς μὲν ὁ παρ' Ὁμήρῳ, τοὺς περὶ Ὄλυμπον θώκους ἐμπρέπων αἰθέριος, αὐτῇ γαίῃ αὐτῇ τε θαλάσσῃ τὰ κάτω μεταστοιχεῖσαι βρενθύεται, αὐτὸς δὲ μὴ ἂν ἐκνυσθῆναι κάτω ἀλαζονεύεται· κ.τ.λ., *id. in Il.* p. 1057, 49 Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, τουτέστιν αἰθέριε καὶ περίγειε.

i. 27. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 408 no. 22 records a dedication from Thespiai [Κα]λλίμαχος [Διὸς?] | Αἰθρίου | [ἱ]αρεὺς Ἀθάν[αι].

i. 34 n. 3. On the pediment of the temple of Iupiter *Capitolinus* see now A. M. Colini in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1925 liii. 160—200 figs. 1—8 and pl.

i. 38. The heads hanging on the palace-wall appear also on a sarcophagus-lid found in Rome and published by R. Paribeni in the *Not. Scav.* 1926 p. 295 f. pl. 8, *a*.

i. 41 ff. See further the careful dissertation of A. Schlachter *Der Globus: seine Entstehung und Verwendung in der Antike* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ viii) Leipzig—Berlin 1927 pp. 1—118.

i. 46. Cp. R. Browning *The Bishop orders his Tomb at Saint Praxed's Church* 47 ff. 'So, let the blue lump poise between my knees, | Like God the Father's globe on both his hands | Ye worship in the Jesu Church so gay.'

i. 47. A gilded bronze statuette with eyes of silver inlay, formerly in the Somzée Collection, represented Zeus enthroned with his left foot resting on a high footstool, restored as a large globe (A. Furtwängler *Sammlung Somzée* Müncben 1897 p. 58 f. no. 87 pl. 34, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 780 no. 1).

i. 52 n. 7. R. M. Dawkins in *Folk-Lore* 1924 xxxv. 223 n. 29 f. deals with this apple as the 'orb of dominion.'

i. 53 with fig. 31. E. Lattes *Le iscrizioni paleolatine dei fittili e dei bronzi di provenienza etrusca* Milano 1892 pp. 104 f., 111, *id. Saggi e appunti intorno alla iscrizione etrusca della mummia* Milano 1894 p. 24 f. regards the Orvieto cone as an altar for libation to the dead, and reads *Tinia. tinscvil* | *s. asi. sacni* = Iovis diovila (haec est) super ara sancta.

i. 53 f. On the stone of Terminus see also E. Samter 'Die Entwickelung des Terminuskultes' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1913 xvi. 137—144 (with which I do not wholly agree: *supra* p. 441), Louise A. Holland in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 553 n. 1, and Agnes Kirsopp Lake 'Lapis Capitolinus' in *Class. Philol.* 1936 xxxi. 72 f. (summarised in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 219).

i. 53 n. 1 *Grabphalli*. Add F. Schachermeyr in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1916 xli. 377 (Lydia, Karia, Phrygia?), E. S. Hartland in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1917 ix. 825[b] (Scandinavia), G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 396 (Lydia, raising a series of interesting philological possibilities), H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 247 f. (Scandinavia), A. T. Curle in *Antiquity* 1937 xi. 352 ff. pls. 5—8 (British Somaliland, cp. Galla provinces of southern Ethiopia).

i. 60 with fig. 36. A complete publication of this important sarcophagus is now available, F. Gerke *Der Sarkophag des Iunius Bassus* Berlin 1936 pp. 1—37 with 32 plates.

i. 65. S. Luria 'Asteropos' in the *Berl. Philol. Woch.* Juni 19, 1926 p. 701 f. makes Asteropos the ephor (Plout. *v. Kleom.* 10) no proper name but an old religious epithet of the ephor as such (cp. Plout. *v. Agid.* 11 ἔφοροι...πρὸς οὐρανὸν ἀποβλέποντες). V. Ehrenberg 'Asteropos' *ib.* Jan. 1, 1927 p. 27 ff. rightly demurs.

i. 66 n. 5. See further J. van der Vliet 'Quo discrimine dei et homines inter se dignoscantur' in *Mnemosyne* 1901 xxix. 207 f. and S. A. Naber 'Deorum coronae' *ib.* 1901 xxix. 304—306.

i. 67 n. 3. W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 172 doubts my explanation of Plutarch's human δλαφοι. But such usages are very ancient and wide-spread. Engraved and painted on the rock-wall of a cave at Les Trois-Frères near S. Girons (Ariège) is a male figure of the middle Magdalenian period. He has human hands and feet, and a full beard, but hairy animal ears, stag's antlers, and an equine tail (H. Obermaier *Fossil Man in Spain* Yale Univ. Press 1924 p. 233 fig. 103, M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte des bildenden Kunst in Europa*[3] Wien 1925 p. 668 ff. fig. 1, R. de Saint-Périer *L'Art préhistorique* (*Époque paléolithique*) Paris 1932 p. 57 pl. 49, 6).

Stag-mummers in south Gaul *c.* 500 A.D. are attested by Caesarius of Arles and Eligius of Noyon. Caesarius *serm.* 130. 1 says: 'Quid enim est tam demens, quam virilem sexum in formam mulieris turpi habitu commutare? quid tam demens, quam deformare faciem et vultus induere, quos ipsi etiam daemones expavescunt? quid tam demens, quam incompositis motibus et inpudicis carminibus vitiorum laudes inverecunda delectatione cantare, indui ferino habitu et capreae aut cervo similem fieri, ut homo ad imaginem Dei et similitudinem factus sacrificium daemonum fiat?' (xxxix. 2003 Migne), *id. ib.* 130. 2: 'Quicumque ergo in Calendis Januariis quibuscumque miseris hominibus sacrilego ritu insanientibus potius quam ludentibus aliquam humanitatem dederint, non hominibus sed daemonibus se dedisse cognoscant. Et ideo si in peccatis eorum participes esse non vultis, cervulum sive caniculam (so E. Maass for *anniculam*, *anulas*, *agniculam* codd.) aut aliqua quaelibet portenta ante domos vestras venire non permittatis...' (xxxix. 2004 Migne). Eligius *de rectitudine catholicae conversationis* 5 follows suit: 'Nullus in Calendis Januarii nefanda et ridiculosa, vetulas aut cervulos aut <canes vena>ticos (so I would read for *jocticos*, *jotticos*, *jotricos* codd.), faciat,...' (xl. 1172 Migne). E. Maass in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1907 x. 108 ff. infers that at Arelate on the first of January three mummers represented an old woman, a stag, and a hound—in short, the masque of Aktaion, whose story as portrayed by Polygnotos at Delphoi involved precisely these three figures (Paus. 10. 30. 5). J. A. MacCulloch *The Religion of the ancient Celts* Edinburgh 1911 p. 260 f.

more wisely postulates a native origin for the custom. And R. D. Barnett in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 393 f. does good service by collecting allusions to it and by noting that a last trace of it is 'the running of the deer' in the carol *The Holly and the Ivy*. A. Nicoll *Masks Mimes and Miracles* London 1931 p. 165 fig. 115 shows a performance of such masked dancers (stag, hare, fox, old woman, etc.) from a fourteenth-century miniature in the Bodleian MS. 264 of *Li Romans d'Alixandre*.

J. G. McKay 'The Deer-Cult and the Deer-Goddess Cult of the Ancient Caledonians' in *Folk-Lore* 1932 xliii. 144—174 breaks fresh ground and raises a whole crop of important contentions (succinctly stated on pp. 167—169).

My own interpretation of the 'island stones' as representing masked dancers (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 133 ff. 'The Cult of the Stag') was accepted by Sir W. Ridgeway *The Early Age of Greece* Cambridge 1931 ii. 484—487 and has of late been vigorously defended by E. Herkenrath 'Mykenische Kultszenen. ii. Masken' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 420—422. J. L. Myres *The Metropolitan Museum of Art: Handbook of the Cesnola Collection of Antiquities from Cyprus* New York 1914 p. 150 f. publishes two statuettes of votaries in Assyrian style, to be dated *c.* 700—650 B.C.: no. 1029 wears a bull's head as a mask; no. 1030 wears a stag's head, which he is on the point of removing. Cp. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* ii. 487 f. no. 688 a limestone slab with the barbaric relief of a [κυνο]κέφαλος or [λυκο]κέφαλος on one side, that of a bear-headed man on the other.

i. 68 n. 1. The Hesychasts of Mt Athos in the fourteenth century held that divine light shone about the summit of Mt Tabor (S. V. Troitsky in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 427[b]).

i. 70. C. T. Seltman *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 165 pl. 35, 8 shows that *Chari-* and *Olym-* must be the names of magistrates, not engravers.

i. 70 ff. On the human sacrifice to Zeus *Lýkaios* see now F. Schwenn *Die Menschenopfer bei den Griechen und Römern* Giessen 1915 pp. 20—25 ('Der "Wolfsgott" hatte anfangs mit dem bellenischen Zeus nichts zu tun; später erst wurde Lykaios ein Beiname des Zeus; es war der—allerdings wohl noch spätere—Ausdruck dieser Vermischung, wenn der "wölfische Zeus" das Symbol des Adlers mit übernahm. Der Priester, der sich im Kindesopfer mit dem Gott selbst vereinigt hatte, war selbst wie der Gott ein "Wolf"?), O. Kern *Die Religion der Griechen* Berlin 1926 i. 15, 187 (follows Schwenn), Lily Weiser-Aall in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 224 ('Lykaios bedeutet: der Wölfische; die Ähnlichkeit mit der Erzählung der Völsungasaga [Kap. 8] fällt auf').

i. 81 n. 0. Add J. A. MacCulloch 'Lycanthropy' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 206[a]—220[a], M. Schuster 'Der Werwolf und die Hexen. Zwei Schauermärchen bei Petronius' [Petron. *sat.* 61. 5—62. 14 and 63. 1—64. 1] in *Wiener Studien* 1930 xlviii. 149—178, W. Kroll 'Etwas vom Werwolf' *ib.* 1937 lv. 168—172.

i. 87 n. 6. The origin of the sceptre is discussed by C. F. Hermann *Disputatio de sceptri regii antiquitate et origine* Gottingae 1851 pp. 1—17, and more recently by A. Hug in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 368 ff., C. Borchling in F. Saxl *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg: Vorträge 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 235 ff., F. J. M. de Waele *The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity* The Hague 1927 p. 117 ff.

i. 100. *Ólympos*, a pre-Greek word for 'mountain' (C. Theander in *Eranos* 1915 xv. 127—136, M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 269). R. J. H. Jenkins in a valuable, but unpublished, dissertation on *The Religions and Cults of Olympia during the Bronze Age* Cambridge 1932 p. 71 n. 4 (MS.) conjectures that Ὄλυμπος was 'the Early Anatolian for "Mountain,"' and that at Olympia it was Early Helladic or Early Macedonian (two branches, south and north, of the same race).

i. 102 n. 4. D. M. Robinson in *Transactions and Proceedings of the American Philological Association* 1934 lxv. 103 ff. publishes an inscription, of 356 B.C., recording a treaty between Philip of Makedonia and the Chalcidians. This was to be set up by Philip (line 9) [ἐ]ν Διοι ἐς [τὸ] ἱερὸν τοῦ Διὸς τ[οῦ] Ὀλυμπίου, κ.τ.λ. *Id. ib.* p. 117 n. 26 speaks of the excavations at Dion.

i. 102 n. 5. Mt Carmel affords a good parallel to Mt Argaios (Tac. *hist.* 2. 78 est Iudaeam inter Syriamque Carmelus: ita vocant montem deumque. nec simulacrum deo aut templum—sic tradidere maiores—: ara tantum et reverentia). In Mexico and Peru the most prominent peaks were likewise objects of direct worship (E. J. Payne *History of the New World called America* Oxford 1892 i. 404).

i. 107. Professor G. Murray kindly pointed out to me that *Anaktoteléstai* should be rendered 'initiators,' not 'initiates.' Cp. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 202 on the analogous *Orpheoteléstai*.

Fig. 858.

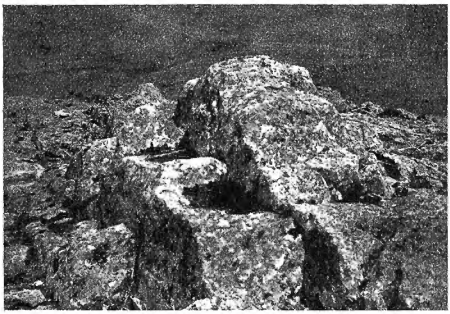


Fig. 859.

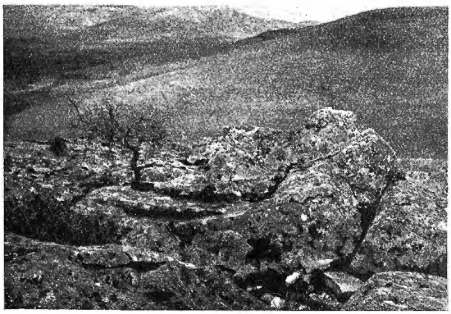


Fig. 860.

i. 107 n. 2. On the Korybantes see further J. Poerner 'De Curetibus et Corybantibus' in the *Dissertationes philologicae Halenses* 1913 xxii. 245—428.

i. 109. On Axieros, Axiokersa, Axiokersos consult also Margaret C. Waites 'The Deities of the Sacred Axe' in the *Journ. Am. Arch.* 1923 xxvii. 25—56, E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 225 f., F. W. Schelling *Samothrake und Kabirische Mysterien* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 1—45 ('Über die Gottheiten von Samothrake').

i. 129 n. 2. On the relief signed by Archelaos see further J. Sieveking 'Das Relief des Archelaos von Priene' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1917 xxxii. 74—89, G. Lippold 'Musengruppen' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 77—80, M. Schede 'Zu Philiskos, Archelaos und den Musen' *ib.* 1920 xxxv. 65—82 pl. 1, G. W. Elderkin 'The Deification of Homer by Archelaos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 496—500 fig. 1.

i. 131. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 403 f. no. 19 a base from Thespiai formerly supporting three statuettes and inscribed Ζεὺς Μνημοσύνη Ἀπόλλων.

i. 132. W. H. Roscher *Omphalos* Leipzig 1913 p. 48 f. argues that Archelaos was representing the *omphalós* of Branchidai and the Thessalian or the Mysian Olympos.

i. 134 ff. A rock-cut throne on a mountain near Temenothyrai in Lydia was taken to be that of Geryon son of Chrysaor (Paus. 1. 35. 7).

W. K. C. Guthrie in 1932 discovered, just outside a village called *Selki*, on *Findos Tepe* at the western edge of the Konieh plain, a double rock-cut throne with footstools (figs. 858, 859). Close by were two narrow rock-cut troughs, 'like couches in shape' (fig. 860). I am indebted to Mr Guthrie for the photographs here given of the thrones as seen from below and above, and of the 'couches.'

H. Lattermann and F. Hiller von Gaertringen in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1915 xl. 75 ff. fig. 3 and pl. 13, 2 record a rock-throne near the village of *Kionia* (Stymphalos). They suggest that this throne, which is cut in conglomerate over an empty grave (?)-chamber, is to be connected with the local cult of Hera Χήρα (Paus. 8. 22. 2), implying a dead Zeus as in Crete.

i. 150. The sword-dance of the Kouretes and Korybantes round the infant Zeus is discussed by L. von Schröder *Mysterium und Mimus im Rigveda* Leipzig 1908 p. 118, F. Kidson—M. Neal *English Folk-song and Dance* Cambridge 1915 p. 146 f. See, however, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 38: 'Es ist doch...ungleich wahrscheinlicher, dass die göttlichen Kureten und Korybanten mythische Gegenbilder zu irdischen Tänzern sind, als dass diese den Göttertanz nachahmten, wie Schröder (131 ff.) glaubt.'

i. 152. On the cult of Zeus at Synnada see also W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 14 no. 49 pl. 19=my fig. 861 (white marble *stêle* of local style, *c.* 200 B.C., showing Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in right hand and round object in left, votary with round object in right hand, bag or basket on left arm, and two eagles in pediment).

i. 152 fig. 125. A coin of Akmoneia with similar type is published by E. Babelon in the *Rev. Num.* iii Série 1891 ix. 38 f. pl. 4, 4.

i. 153 fig. 129. An interesting variant of this coin is given by C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 452 with fig. 11.

i. 155 n. 8. Add B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 105 no. 1793 col. ix, 1 f. οὐκέτι γυμνὰς | παῖδας ἐν Ἡραίῳ στήσομεν Εὐρυνόμης (*sc.* the Charites, cp. Paus. 2. 17. 4).

i. 157 n. 3. My friend and former pupil Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury writes to me: 'The following is the story I heard in June 1935 from an old friend Kosta Kounales of Anogeia, who really does know his mountains πατουχιὰ πατουχιά as they say. It was à-propos of a small heap of stones by the Church of Holy Cross on the Nidha Plain, called locally στοῦ Σταυροῦ τὸν Τροχάλον. "They say that in Venetian times there was a prince Erotokritos who was out hunting wild boar, and one day his foot slipped as he was about to spear the boar, and his friends shot quickly with their bows to help him, but they shot him instead and they buried him here."' In view of what A. Papadakes reports concerning the tomb of Zeus at Anogeia (*supra* i. 163), it seems fairly certain that we have here a local modification of the belief that Zeus was a Cretan prince killed by a wild boar and buried.

i. 162 n. 1. Cp. Sir A. J. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1921 i. 154 with fig. 113 *b*, 1928 ii. 1. 81 f. figs. 37 and 38.

i. 169. See further Olga Rojdestvensky *Le culte de saint Michel et le moyen âge latin* Paris 1922 pp. 1—72 (summarised by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1922 ii. 357).

i. 181 n. 9. On horse-sacrifice in antiquity see H. M. Hubbell in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 181—192.

A bust of Zeus Sarapis (*supra* i. 188 ff.) in *lapis lazuli*, presented by Sir H. Howorth in 1912 to the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 368 no. 3939 fig. 94). Height 0·131[m]. A socket worked in the top of the head implies the insertion of a *kálathos*. The technique points to a date *c.* 300 A.D.

i. 187. Cp. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—W. K. C. Guthrie *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1933 iv. 36 no. 113 (*a*) an altar at Kara Adili, adorned with reliefs of eagle (front), ox-head (left side), etc. and inscribed in lettering of *s.* ii or iii A.D. [Καρπ]ο[φ]|[όρ]ος μ[ισ]|θωτὴς Ἡ[λι]|ω καὶ Διὶ εὐ|χήν.

i. 187 n. 4. See now E. Peterson ΕΙΣ ΘΕΟΣ Göttingen 1926 pp. 139, 241, 306.

i. 192. In Bekker *anecd.* i. 338, 26 Ἄγος· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Κυζικηνοῖς the *ordo verborum* demands Ἀγνός. F. W. Hasluck *Cyzicus* Cambridge 1910 p. 223 held that the epithet 'referred to an Avenger of Blood.'

Fig. 861.

i. 193 n. 3. W. M. Calder in the *Class. Rev.* 1910 xxiv. 77 ff. no. 2 (*id. ib.* 1924 xxxviii. 29 n. 1) published the inscription, of *c.* 260—270 A.D. (*not* of *s.* i), on an oblong pillar built into a house-wall at *Balük-Laou* and derived from a temple of Zeus at or near Sedasa (*Ak-Kilisse*), where Zeus was identified with the sun-god and presented with a sun-dial: Τοὺης Μ[α]|κρεῖνος ὁ | καὶ Ἀβάσκαν|τος καὶ Βάτα|σις Βρετασί|δος Ἑρμῆν | Μέγιστον | κατὰ εὐχὴν | ἐπισκευάσαν|τες σὺν ὡρο|λογήῳι ἐκ τῶ[ν] | ἰδίων (ἀν)αλωμ|άτων ἀνέστ[η]|σαν Διὶ Ἡλ[ίῳ]. Since Sedasa lay some twenty-five miles south-west of Lystra, this association of Zeus and Hermes is rightly held to illustrate Acts 14. 12. Moreover, in 1926, at *Kavak* near Lystra, W. H. Buckler and W. M. Calder found an altar dedicated 'to the Epēkoos and to...and to Hermes' (*Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 114) and saw a bronze statuette of Hermes with a *caduceus* resting on his left shoulder and an eagle beside his right foot (*The Manchester Guardian* for Jan. 19, 1926, S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 281)—further proof of the same association.

i. 195. Another cult-epithet of Zeus that may be of solar significance is Hesych. Φύτιος· ἥλιος. ἢ Ζεύς.

i. 196 n. 9. Mr A. S. F. Gow in a letter dated 1 July, 1917, drew my attention to Cornut. *theol.* 11 p. 11, 20 Lang πάντ' ἐφορᾷ Διὸς ὀφθαλμὸς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούει.

i. 198 on the sun conceived as a wheel. Aetios *plac.* 2. 20. 1 (p. 348, 3 ff. Diels) Ἀναξίμανδρος κύκλον εἶναι (*sc.* τὸν ἥλιον) ὀκτωκαιεικοσαπλασίονα τῆς γῆς, ἁρματείῳ τροχῷ παραπλήσιον, τὴν ἀψῖδα ἔχοντα κοίλην, πλήρη πυρός, κ.τ.λ., Achilleus Tatios *isag.* 19 (p. 46, 20 ff. Maass) τινὲς δέ, ὧν ἐστι καὶ Ἀναξίμανδρος, φασὶ πέμπειν αὐτὸν (*sc.* τὸν ἥλιον) τὸ φῶς σχῆμα ἔχοντα τροχοῦ· ὥσπερ γὰρ ἐν τῷ τροχῷ κοίλη ἐστὶν ἡ πλήμνη, ἔχει δὲ ἀπ' αὐτῆς ἀνατεταμένας τὰς κνημῖδας πρὸς τὴν ἔξωθεν τῆς ἀψῖδος περιφοράν, οὕτω καὶ αὐτὸν ἀπὸ κοίλου τὸ φῶς ἐκπέμποντα τὴν ἀνάτασιν τῶν ἀκτίνων ποιεῖσθαι καὶ ἔξωθεν αὐτὰς κύκλῳ φωτίζειν, κ.τ.λ., Ennius *frag.* 335 Bährens *ap.* Isid. *orig.* 18. 36. 3 inde patefecit radiis rota candida caelum, Apul. *met.* 9. 28 cum primum rota solis lucida diem peperit.

i. 198. E. H. Sturtevant 'Centaurs and Macedonian Kings' in *Class. Philol.* 1926 xxi. 235—249 takes Κένταυρος (κεντ- αυρο-) to be a Thracian term for Φίλιππος.

i. 199 ff. on representations of Ixion. I am indebted to Mr A. D. Trendall for photographs of an unpublished *amphora* in the Museo Campano di Capua (pl. lxxv), which shows the hero on his fiery wheel.

Dimiter P. Dimitrov in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii Arch. Anz. pp. 69—75 compares the British Museum mirror (*supra* i. 204 pl. xvii) with a Roman relief of Ixion and Tantalos in the Museum of Stara-Zagora, Bulgaria, and with an Attic red-figured sherd from the Forum Romanum (*ib.* figs. 1—3).

R. von Schneider in the *Serta Harteliana* Wien 1896 p. 281 f. with fig. (after the *Bullettino di arti e curiosità veneziane* 1895 iv. 39 f. fig.) notes a relief of *c.* 1100 A.D., found between the Duomo and the Baptistery at Torcello near Venice, in which Ixion appears stretched, face outwards, round the external circumference of a wheel. To right and left of him stand two women, in long girded attire, one with her torch raised, the other with her torch lowered.

i. 211 on the religious origin of punishments. Cp. F. Kunze 'Der Birkenbesen ein Symbol des Donar' in the *Internationales Archiv für Ethnographie* 1900 xiii. 130 f. ('to kiss the rod' implies its sanctity).

i. 225 n. 4 Dryas. Another parallel is the myth of *Idas* ('Woodman'?) as told by schol. B.D. *Il.* 9. 557.

Sphairos occurs as a magistrate's name on a bronze coin of Rhodes (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Caria, etc. p. 261 pl. 41, 4). F. Bechtel *Die historischen Personennamen des Griechischen bis zur Kaiserzeit* Halle a. d. S. 1917 p. 605 notes Σφαῖρος Λάκων as an Olympic victor of 640 B.C. (Euseb. *chron.* 1 (i. 198, 30 Schoene)).

i. 231 n. 8. P. Couissin deals with 'casques à rouelle' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1923 ii. 77 ff.

i. 232. Professor S. A. Cook informs me (Oct. 1, 1929) that he regards the lettering of the Gaza coin as Aramaic rather than Phoenician, on account of the *H. Id. The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 p. 147 n. 1 'The lettering resembles that on the papyri of Elephantine and is rather more archaic than the jar-handles of Jericho; it is Aramaic rather than Phoenician (note the form of the *h*),' cp. *ib.* p. 186.

E. L. Sukenik in *The Journal of the Palestine Oriental Society* 1934 xiv. 178 ff. pl. 2 and fig. 1 cites a fourth-century silver coin, of the same Philisto-Arabian or Egypto-Arabian series, now at Jerusalem in the collection of M. Salzberger, which reads, not *Yhw*, but *Yhd*—that is *Yehūd* 'Judah.' He and others following his lead (*e.g.* W. F. Albright in the *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* 1934 liii. 20—22, R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1935 xvi. 211 f., D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 451) conclude that *Yhd* must be the true reading of the coin in the British Museum. But Professor S. A. Cook in a further letter to me (Oct. 23, 1935) asks very pertinently 'Is it natural to put a mere place-name on a coin, like "Judah"?' Any Greek numismatist would answer 'No.'

In this connexion note also the seal of 'Elishama son of Gedaliah' published by G. Dalman in the *Palaestina-Jahrbuch des deutschen evangelischen Instituts für Altertumswissenschaft des Heiligen Landes zu Jerusalem* 1906 ii. 44 ff. (S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine* p. 34 f. pl. 9, 1, A. T. Olmstead *History of Palestine and Syria* New York—London 1931 p. 528 with fig. 177). The seal shows Jehovah as a bearded god in long robe and high crown, apparently brandishing a thunderbolt in his uplifted right hand. He is seated on a throne, with a footstool, between two stands supporting seven-branched palmettes—the whole on a boat, which at stem and stern ends in a bird's head.

i. 238 ff. On Kirke's gloriole see S. Eitrem in the *Class. Rev.* 1921 xxxv. 22 f. The alleged Persian *lab* is perhaps derived from the ἐτυμολογία τοῦ ἀλφαβήτου in the *et. Gud.* p. 598 λάμβδα...παρὰ τὸ λάβ· λὰβ δὲ τὸ διὰ μέσου τοῦ οὐρανοῦ καὶ τῆς γῆς χάσμα λέγεται,

a

b

Amphora in the Museo ano di Capua:
Ixion on his heel.

See page 1072.

cp. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1341 Ἀάβ τὸ οὐράνιον πῦρ, and see further F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 30 f.

P. Wolters 'Kirke' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 209—236 pls. 14 and 15 discusses a Boeotian *skýphos* at Nauplia, which represents Kirke as magician, Odysseus, and three of his sailors transformed into swine.

E. Schwyzer in *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1920 xxxviii. 158 f. takes Αἰαίη (*νῆσος*) to be for ἀαλη=αὐαλη, 'die Insel der Morgenröte.' But R. B. Onians in the *Cambridge University Reporter* for Nov. 30, 1926 p. 454 derives Αἰαίη and Αἰήτης from Αἶα=*Αἰ'α*, the Hebrew or Phoenician word for 'sparrow-hawk, falcon.' See further V. Bérard *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssée* Paris 1902 i. 214, 1903 ii. 261 ff. An altar at Ptolemaïs (*Menshîjeh*) dedicated to Ἀρβάκτει καὶ Ἱέρακι θε[ῶι] | κ.τ.λ. (Dittenherger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 52) implies that Horos was conceived as a sparrow-hawk (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 636 f.). The hawk is also an attribute of Apollon (*supra* i. 626 n. 0: add J. D. Beazley *The Lewes House Collection of Ancient Gems* Oxford 1920 p. 41 f. no. 47 pl. 3).

E. Reiss 'Studies in Superstition and Folklore vii. Homer' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1925 xlvi. 222 ff. discusses the magic circle (pp. 222—224) and Kirke as a witch (p. 227 f.).

i. 247 n. 2. See now A. de Ridder *Les bronzes antiques du Louvre* Paris 1915 ii. 45 f. no. 1699 pl. 81, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 179 fig. 1.

i. 255 f. Cp. A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΥΓΞ, ΡΟΜΒΟΣ, *rhombus, turbo*' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with 11 figs.

i. 259 n. 0. The fragment of Pindar has now turned up on a papyrus of *s.* i A.D. (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 84 ff. no. 1791 pl. 3). It confirms the conjecture of Schneidewin. See also D. S. Robertson in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 218.

i. 262 *ἴυγγες* of gold. G. Karo 'Schatz von Tiryns' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1930 lv. 127 f., 138 f., pls. 30 A and 31, publishes a pair of wheels made in gold wire with four spokes of bronze covered with amber beads, and portions of a second similar pair of wheels, dating apparently from late Mycenaean times. Karo *ib.* p. 128 compares the 'ear-phones' of the Lady of Elche, and *ib.* p. 139 conjectures a northern origin for the head-gear. Is it possible, however, that the wheels were solar *ἴυγγες*?

i. 269 ff. on the wheel of Nemesis. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 296—321 with figs. 1—4 has an important collection of texts and monuments: *id. ib.* p. 310 n. 2 discusses the association of Nemesis with Helios and the solar symbolism of her wheel. B. Schweitzer 'Dea Nemesis Regina' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi. 175—246 pl. 1 f. and figs. 1—21 publishes an interesting relief at Brindisi, in which Nemesis confronts us standing on a naked human figure (summary by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1932 xxxvi. 533). H. Herter in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2338—2380 devotes a long and painstaking article to the goddess, accepting many of my results, but demurring to some.

i. 270 n. 5. But H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 183 no. 1696 points out that the supposed car is merely a wheel at her feet *plus* a fracture of the stone!

i. 271 on the wheel of Fortuna. D. M. Robinson 'The Villa of Good Fortune at Olynthos' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 501 ff. describes and illustrates Hellenic pebble-mosaics from the two rooms in the north-east corner (fig. 1) showing a four-spoked wheel with quadruple rim and a smaller four-spoked wheel with double rim—the whole accompanied by the inscription ΑΓΑΘΗΤΥΧΗ (fig. 2, *b*), also a double axe, *swastika*, hand (?), etc. disposed round a Macedonian square, which is lettered ΑΦΡ|ΟΔΙ|ΤΗΚ|ΑΛΗ and accompanied by a second inscription ΕΥΤΥΧΙΑΚΑΛΗ (fig. 2, *a*). *Id. ib.* p. 505 n. 1 collects literary allusions from Pind. *Ol.* 2. 23 f. and Soph. *frag.* 787 Nauck[2]=871 Jebb *ap.* Plout. *v. Demetr.* 45 (cp. *frag.* 575 Jebb) onwards, adding that the wheel of Fortune appears here for the first time in art.

i. 273. For A. C. Orlandos' investigation of the site at Rhamnous see his 'Note sur le sanctuaire de Némésis à Rhamnonte' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 305—320 with figs. 1—11 and pls. 8—12 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 109 f.). Further study of the site by W. Zschietzschmann in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xliv Arch. Anz. pp. 441—451 figs. 1—4.

i. 273 on the relation of *Némesis* to *Nemetona* etc. J. Coman *L'idée de la Némésis chez Eschyle* Paris 1931 p. 21 f. states and criticises the theory here advanced. He accepts the first part of it, but objects to my suggestion (i. 285) of a confusion between *Νέμεσις* goddess 'of the Greenwood' and *νέμεσις* 'righteous wrath.' On p. 22 n. 2

Coman, following Boisacq, tries to find a possible link. F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2385 f. inclines to my view of *Nemetona* as akin to *Némesis*.

i. 276 n. 5. On *ὑπερέχειν χεῖρα* or *χεῖρας*, Hyperdexios, Hypercheirios, etc. see J. G. Leroux in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 260 f.

i. 283 n. 0. See further H. Mager *Water Diviners and their Methods* trans. A. H. Bell London 1931.

i. 285. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 81 ff. no. 286 fig. 125 publishes a plaquette (antefix?) of black terra cotta dug up at *Plovdiv* (Philippopolis). On it is a relief representing a horned head (Tyche? Nemesis? Men??) surmounted by a wheel with eight projecting spokes.

i. 288 f. the Celtic god with a wheel. M. Prou in the *Bulletin de la Société nationale des Antiquaires de France* 1915 pp. 100—104 with 2 figs. publishes a terra-cotta statuette of this god (Taranis?) found at Néris (Allier). His head and the lower parts of his legs are missing. His right hand, which is slightly flexed, holds a wheel against his side. His left hand rests on the head of a small figure with uplifted arms.

i. 292 n. 2. The second disk from Corinth is now included in De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* ii. 44 no. 1694 pl. 76 ('Oracle d'amour(?)'). A third from Corinth is in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Bronzes* p. 161 no. 878 ('Child's Toy'). Another, of somewhat simpler type, from a tomb at Vulci, is figured by E. Saglio in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1561 fig. 2064 ('Crepitaculum, Crepitacillum').

i. 292 n. 8. Strictly comparable with the great terra-cotta disk from Olympia are the fragments of two *akrotéria*, in terra cotta, from the older temple at Phigaleia (K. A. Rhomaios in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1933 p. 1 ff. col. pl. 2 and pl. 3). See further C. Praschniker *Zur Geschichte des Akroters* Brünn, Prag, Leipzig, Wien 1929 pp. 1—56 with 4 pls. and 12 figs. (reviewed by E. Douglas Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 520 f., by C. Picard in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1930 pp. 177—179, by S. C[asson] in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 133).

i. 297 n. 2. See now L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean Plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 173—205 with 11 figs. Examples could be multiplied—an ivory seal from *Perachora* (H. G. G. Payne in *The Illustrated London News* for July 8, 1933 p. 66 fig. 10), a Thasian *pithos* of *s.* vii B.C. (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 253 with fig. 14), etc.

i. 299 *Seirios* used of the sun. Cp. S. Ronzevalle 'Hélioseiros' in *Aréthuse* 1930 pp. 1—12 with 4 pls. and 5 figs. (an important article).

i. 299 ff. the Lycian Symbol. Cp. Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 29 ff. figs. 21—23.

i. 303 the Kyklopes as builders. So B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 33 no. 1604 Pind. *dith.* 1. 6 f. [Κυ]κλώπων *πτόλις ἀρ[ά οἱ] | [ ]ν ἐν* Ἄργει *μεγάλῳ*. . See further S. Eitrem in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xi. 2329 f., 2342.

i. 305 n. 9 G. F. Hill on the Sicilian *triskelés*. But C. T. Seltman in his *Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 190 shows that the *triskelés* as symbol of Sicily occurs first on coins of Dionysios I struck shortly before 383 B.C., then on those of Timoleon, and thirdly on those of Agathokles.

i. 307. H. Mattingly in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 9 publishes as 'probably unique' an *as* with *rev.* SICILIA S.C. and a large Gorgon's head in a *triskelés*.

See also J. Newton 'The armorial bearings of the Isle of Man; their origin, history and meaning' in the *Proceedings of the Literary and Philosophical Society of Liverpool* xxxix. 205—226.

i. 309 figs. 247 and 248. N. E. Henry 'Classic Sicily' in *Art and Archaeology* 1916 iii. 147 figures an 'Ancient Mosaic Symbol representing Three-Cornered Sicily'—much like the coins of Ebora Cerialis.

i. 309 on solar legs. P. Sébillot *Le Folk-lore de France* Paris 1904 i. 35 n. 5: 'En Haute-Bretagne, on dit que le soleil a des jambes [ou des *tirants*] quand il y a en dessous des rayons qui semblent toucher la terre' (*id.* in his *Traditions et superstitions de la Haute-Bretagne* Paris 1882 ii. 363).

i. 312 fig. 249. A photograph of this wall-painting is given by F. Weege *Etruskische Malerei* Halle (Saale) 1921 p. 28 pl. 65.

C. C. van Essen 'De Cyclope et Cuclu' in *Mnemosyne* 1930 lviii. 302—308 advances some venturesome views. Basing on Eva Fiesel *Namen des griechischen Mythos im Etruskischen* (*Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* Ergänzungsheft v) Göttingen 1928 pp. 35 and 48—56, he argues that pre-Indo-Europaean peoples of the period

Helladic i knew a god of death, **Cuclup* (Etruscan *Cuclu*), dwelling in a cave. Into this cave a sea-faring hero **Uthisse* descends with followers, some of whom he is forced to leave behind. Early in the second millennium B.C. Indo-Europaeans arrive with a story involving the 'No-man' stratagem (*supra* ii. 989). Hence in the Mycenaean age **Uthisse* develops into both Οὖτις and 'Οδυσσεύς (ὀδύσσεσθαι), while **Cuclup* becomes Κύκλωψ, and in the *Odyssey* the original κατάβασις is attached to other adventures of Odysseus. Summary in the *Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 213.

i. 326. On the fire-boards of the Chuckchees see also Miss W. S. Blackman in *Folk-Lore* 1916 xxvii. 361 f.

i. 327. L. Siret 'Prométhée' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 132—135 with 2 figs. attempts to show that the myth of Prometheus' offence and punishment is but an animistic interpretation of the fire-drill, the wood anthropomorphized into the hero, the bow zoomorphized into his eagle.

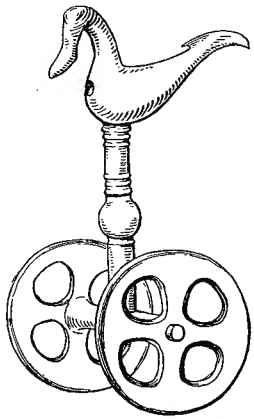


Fig. 862.

Cp. G. Vigfusson—F. York Powell *Corpus Poeticum Boreale* Oxford 1883 i. 64 *Vafðrudnis-mál* 22 'Mundilfori (Fire-auger) was the father of the Moon and also of the Sun' with note *ib.* ii. 468 'the Fire-Auger, the holy Drill by which some Teutonic Prometheus first woke the elemental flame.'

i. 328 Odysseus akin to Prometheus the fire-god(?). J. A. Scott 'Odysseus as a Sun-God' in *Class. Philol.* 1917 xii. 244—252 justly ridicules the contentions of J. Menrad *Der Urmythos der Odyssee und seine dichterische Erneuerung, Des Sonnengottes Erdenfahrt* München—Lindau 1910.

i. 330 n. 1. Eumath. 6. 14 τοῦτο φῆς τὸν ἀετὸν (*supra* ii. 1141) ὑπαινίττεσθαι τῆς τοῦ Διὸς προμηθείας plays on the connexion of Zeus with Prometheus, cp. 6. 15 τῷ γάρ τοι Ἐπιμηθεῖ τὸ μεταμέλειν ἀνωφελῶς ἀφωσίωται. κ.τ.λ., but lends no support to the assumption of a Zeus Προμηθεύς.

i. 333. In the *Rigveda* 10. 89. 4 heaven and earth are compared with the wheels at the two ends of an axle (A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 9).

A bronze amulet of the Geometric Period (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 36 ff. pl. 13), said to have come from 'Pharsalos,' but more probably from Pherai (*Velestino*), and now in my possession, shows a duck on a shaft which rises from the axle connecting two wheels (fig. 862: scale ½). Since the duck is pierced for suspension, it is perhaps to be regarded as perched on a celestial chariot.

i. 333 ff. the solar chariot. L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 162 ff. deals with the cult of the horse among the Greeks and discusses the solar chariot.

Anna Roes *Greek Geometric Art, its Symbolism and its Origin* Oxford 1933 p. 22 f. fig. 13 (after A. Minto *Marsiliana d'Albegna* Firenze 1921 p. 291 fig. 30 pl. 52=F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* viii. 53 pl. 11, b) cites a horse with a four-spoked wheel apparently resting on its back—a *motif* impressed on a *bucchero*-jar from Marsiliana.

Cp. the combination of horse with wheel below it, which occurs frequently on Gaulish imitations of the gold coins issued by Philip of Macedon.

i. 334 fig. 265. With this *pointillé* design of horse+disk+bird-like man (?) cp. the *pointillé* design of horse+wheel+bird+man on the bronze double axe mentioned *supra* p. 605 n. 3 and figured *infra* Addenda on ii. 635 ff.

i. 334 n. 2 the Trundholm chariot. See now J. Brøndsted 'Pferd und Sonnenscheibe auf dänischen jungbronzezeitlichen Rasiermessern' in *Acta Archaeologica* 1931 ii. 199 ff., J. Bing *Der Sonnenwagen von Trundholm* Leipzig 1934 pp. 1—46 with 47 figs. and 7 pls.

i. 336 n. 0. See further W. Deonna 'À propos d'une pendeloque archaïque de Tégée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 229—239 figs. 1—5.

i. 338 n. 1 Zeus conceived as driving a chariot. Mr C. T. Seltman notes *Il.* 8. 41—50.

i. 339. Cp. R. U. Sayce 'A May Day Garland from St Neots' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1932 xxxii. 57 f. with pl. 1.

i. 341. D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 594 reports that at Tanis (Auaris) in 1934 P. Montet and P. Bucher unearthed a granite group of a falcon with a child Pharaoh crouched at its feet. The base was inscribed: '*The good god, son of the sun, beloved of Hurun of Ramses*' (*i.e.* of Pi-Ramses, the Deltaic capital of Ramses ii). It is argued that *Hurun* was the falcon-god of the Horites of Mt Seïr, who had gained a place for himself in Egypt by the end of the eighteenth dynasty.

i. 345 the Leucadian 'leap.' See further S. Eitrem 'Der Leukas-Sprung und andere rituelle Sprünge' in ΛΑΟΓΡΑΦΙΑ 1923 vii. 127—136, E. Strong—N. Jolliffe in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 103—111 ('Apotheosis by Water'), K. Kerényi 'Der Sprung vom Leukasfelsen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiv. 61—72. *Supra* p. 136 n. 3.

i. 348 Zeus *Ámmon*. O. Eissfeldt 'Zeus Ammon' in *Forschungen und Fortschritte* 1936 xii. 407 f. ('Der Gott der Oase ist also—von einer vielleicht noch älteren heimischen Vorgeschichte abgesehen—von Haus aus der phönizische Baal Hammon, der erst sekundär, vom 7. Jahrhundert v. Chr. ab, mit dem ägyptischen Amon verschmolzen worden ist').

i. 349 fig. 271. The Naples bust of Zeus *Ámmon* is now well published by O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 51 ff. no. 37 pl. 20.

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 337—341 with figs. 4—6 describes a seated cult-statue of Zeus *Ámmon* found at *el Qês* near *Behnessa* (Oxyrynchos). The statue, of which head and torso are extant (1·20^{m} high), was made in several pieces of marble and showed the god, in *chitón* and *himátion*, enthroned with right arm raised and left lowered—Roman work much influenced by the type of Sarapis.

A terra-cotta antefix (6 inches high), formerly in the Blacas collection and now in the British Museum (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Terracottas* p. 420 no. D 697), has the horns coloured red (my pl. lxxvi is from an unpublished photograph).

i. 350 f. Our earliest reference to the *Ammóneion* occurs in a fragment of Hes. γυναικῶν κατάλογος (B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1915 xi. 44 ff. no. 1358 *frag.* 2 col. i, H. G. Evelyn-White in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 69, *id.* in an Appendix to his Hesiod in the Loeb Classical Library p. 632 ff. *frag.* 40 A, 10 ff. [φῦλα τ' ἀπε]ιρεσίων Μελανο[χρώτων Λιβύων τε][τοὺς Ἐπάφῳ] τέκε Γαῖα πελώ[ρη χρησμολόγους τε]·[μαντοσύν]ας τε πανομφαίο[υ Διὸς εἰδότας αἶσ]η,][ψεύστας δ', ὅ]φρα θεοῖσιν ὑφε[ιμ]ένοι ἀτας[θῶσ]ιν | [ἀνθρωποι,] τῶν μέν τε νόος [γλ]ωσσῆς καὶ[ύπ]ερθεν.

i. 352 n. 0. A. H. Krappe 'The Karneia' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 380—384 treats Karnos as a ram-shaped deity of the grape-vine akin to Dionysos.

i. 352 Lysandros and *Ámmon*. Cp. Iambl. *de myst.* 3. 3 p. 108, 13 ff. Parthey.

i. 353 Alexander the Great and Zeus *Ámmon*. Recent discussions of this topic include E. Vassel 'Le bélier de Baal-Hammon' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 i. 79—107, G. Radet in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1925 pp. 201—208, D. Cohen '*De Alexandro Magno Ammonis oraculum consultante*' in *Mnemosyne* 1926 liv. 83—86, V. Ehrenberg *Alexander in Ägypten* (*Der Alte Orient* Beiheft vii) Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—58, H. Berve *Das Alexanderreich auf prosopographischer Grundlage* München 1926 i. 1—357, ii. 1—446 ('Kultus und Religion'), U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug in die Oase Siwa' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1928 pp. 576—603, H. Berve in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 370 ff.,

Antefixal ornament from Italy, now in the British Museum : Head of Zeus *Ámmon*.

See page 1076.

G. Pasquali 'Alessandro all' oasi di Ammone e Callistene' in the *Rivista di filologia e di istruzione classica* 1929 lvii. 513—521, U. Wilcken 'Alexanders Zug zum Ammon. Ein Epilog' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1930 pp. 159—176, R. Vallois 'L'oracle libyen et Alexandre' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1931 xliv. 121—152, J. A. O. Larsen 'Alexander at the Oracle of Ammon' in *Class. Philol.* 1932 xxvii. 70—75, cp. *id. ib.* p. 274 f., G. Radet 'La consultation de l'oracle d'Ammon par Alexandre' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 779—792 (summary by H. I. B[ell] in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1935 lv. 110).

i. 355. G. Daressy 'Une nouvelle forme d'Amon' in the *Annales du service des antiquités de l'Égypte* Le Caire 1908 ix. 64—69, followed by Oria Bates *The Eastern Libyans* London 1914 pp. 189—195 (J. E. Harrison in *The Spectator* Feb. 27, 1915

Fig. 863.

p. 304), identifies the image of the Libyan god with an enthroned bundle representing a dead man in the sitting posture. They appeal to two bronze plaques from Memphis, three faïence models from Karnak, and a relief of Roman date at Medinet Habu—of which evidence a different and, I think, less probable interpretation has been given by G. A. Wainwright (*supra* p. 882 n. 2).

For the sandstone *omphalós* from Napata see *supra* p. 882 n. 2 with fig. 719.

i. 360 n. 6. E. Bevan *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* London 1927 p. 10 explains the alleged guidance of the two snakes on rationalistic lines.

i. 361. On the identification of the Nile with Zeus see H. T. Deas in the *Cambridge University Reporter* Feb. 15, 1927 p. 758 (reading Pind. *Isthm.* 2. 42 Νείλου *πρὸς αὐγάς*, cp. schol. vet. *ad loc.*) and in the *Class. Rev.* 1927 xli. 213 ('Thus the Alexandrians may have argued that the Nile is the same as Zeus, and that if Homer can say Διὸς *αὐγάς*, Pindar can say Νείλου *αὐγάς*'). *Supra* p. 348 f.

i. 362 f. P. Giles in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1916* p. 48 summarises A. Fick's identifications of the Mediterranean tribes invading Egypt. H. R. Hall in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1924 ii. 275—283 devotes a section to them ('The Keftians and the Peoples of the Sea'). F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des Alten Orients* München 1926 pp. 28 f., 986 is more concise. L. B. Holland 'The Danaoi' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1928 xxxix. 59—92 includes a general survey of Aegaean

pre-history. Further literature in A. Götze *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 pp. 186—188 ('Die ägäische Wanderung').

i. 365 f. the grove of *Ámmon*. M. Schede in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 212—215 fig. 10 publishes a votive relief of island marble (height 1·17^{m}), found in 1910 at *Tigani* in Samos. This represents, in the style of *s.* i B.C. (?), a half-length herm of Zeus *Ámmon* with a long sceptre in his raised right hand, a palm-tree at his left side, a shield (?) slung above his head, and an altar before him, on which stands a ram, presumably the gift of the woman suppliant. She holds a sprig of olive in her left hand and raises her right in prayer to the god. My fig. 863 is after A. de Ridder in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1913 xxvi. 414 fig.

i. 369 K. A. Neugebauer in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 268 regards the Berlin bronze statuette of 'Poseidon from Dodona' (W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 172 pl. 63, *c*) as probably a Zeus *Náios* of late Hellenistic, eclectic, style.

i. 370 n. 4. The inscription may perhaps be read as ΑΙVΙΑ for *Livia*, who by a play on *Λιβύα* is linked with *Ámmon*.

i. 373 Apollon *Karneîos*. So F. Imhoof-Blumer 'Apollon Karneios auf kyrenäischen und anderen griechischen Münzen' in the *Revue Suisse de Numismatique* 1917 xxi. 1—17 pl. 1, followed by Sir G. Macdonald in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1918—1919* p. 18 f. ('convincing').

i. 376. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 141 pl. 78 (=my fig. 864) publishes a *phlýax*-vase at Bari, which shows a visit to the oracle of Zeus *Ámmon*. On a wooden platform supported by Ionic pillars sits Zeus, a dismal white-haired figure, characterized as *Ámmon* by his ape-like features and the palm-tree at his side. He grips his eagle by the throttle, and turns to face his visitor—an old man with pointed *pîlos* and knotted staff, who is mounting the steps to the platform. Meantime the traveller's servant, with a stick in one hand, a basket and a pail in the other, and a bundle on his back, looks longingly at the provender.

i. 379 n. 7. To the bibliography of Siwah add the well-illustrated monograph by C. D. Belgrave *Siwa: the Oasis of Jupiter Ammon* London 1923 pp. 1—310 and the remarks of S. R[einach] in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 334 f. on the Libyan rock-cut inscriptions and the Greek inscription found there by M. de Prorok.

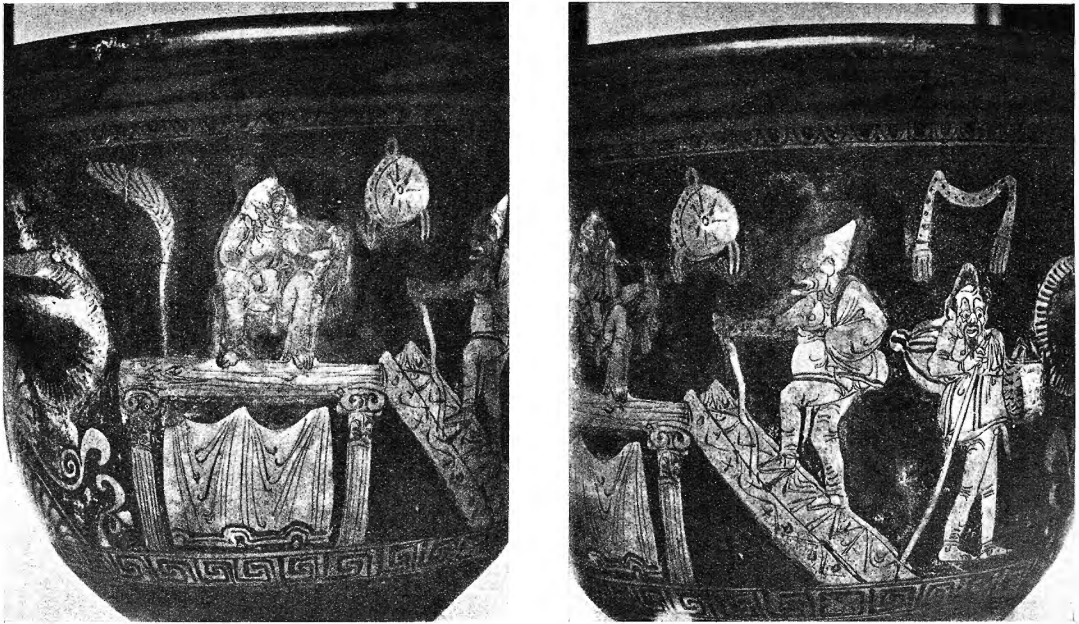
i. 390. E. D. J. Dutilh in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 437—440 describes a small bronze coin. found in the oasis, with *obv.* a ram walking to the right, *rev.* ΠΤΟΛΕΜΑΙΟΥ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΩΣ an eagle on a thunderbolt to the left and a six-rayed star before it ('Nous concluons ainsi qu'il s'agit, probablement, d'une pièce frappée sous un des premiers Ptolémées à l'Oasis').

i. 395 *verveceus Iuppiter*. Cp. Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4477 (at *Aziz ben Tellis* in Numidia) d. b. s. (*dis bonis sacrum*?) | C. Aponius | Secundus sa|cerdos agnu do|mino, tauru domi|no, ovicula Nutri|ci, berbece Iovi, ovicu|la Teluri, agnu Herc|uli, agna Veneri, edu | Mercurio, | verbe. Testi|monio .... m.. LXV (date?) (*instrumenta ad sacrificandum*), no. 4477^{a} (in the same place) d. b. s. | C. C. Primus, | sac. Saturni, ag|nu tauro dom|ino, ovicla Tel|uri, berbece | Iovo, ovicla | [Nu]trici, capone | [H]erculi, edu Merc[ur.], aedua Veneri, ber[bec]e Testimonio | (*duo animalia*) [p]ecora | ....

i. 395 n. 2. A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 45, accepting the etymology of *Indra* propounded by H. Güntert *Der arische Weltkönig und Heiland* Halle (Saale) 1923 p. 13 f., views the name as 'dérivé d'une forme **indro*, apparentée au slave *jedro*, "testicule," tchèque *jadro*, "moelle," au pluriel "testicules," et dont la base commune est **oid*=tumescere. Comparer aussi *οἰδέω* et le v. nor. *eista*, "testicule." Indra est donc l'homme fort, viril, comme en Scandinavie Thorr, qui était souvent appelé *Thorrkarl*.' The sequel in Krappe is also *ad rem*. But other derivations of *Indra* are noted by Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* ii. 332, and a timely warning is sounded by Schrader *Reallex.*^{2} ii. 247^{b}.

i. 395 n. 3 Ἴπταν. Better Ἴπταν, as J. Keil 'Meter Hipta' showed in the *Wiener Eranos zur fünfzigsten Versammlung deutscher Philologen und Schulmänner in Graz 1909* Wien 1909 p. 102 f. (O. Kern on Orph. *frag.* 199).

i. 396 n. 1 on the snake as phallic. Cp. P. de Lancre *Tableau de l'inconstance des mauvais Anges et Demons* Paris 1612 p. 224 'Que le membre du Diable s'il estoit estendu est long enuiron d'vne aulne, mais il le tient entortillé & sinüeux en forme de serpent.' See further E. Küster *Die Schlange in der griechischen Kunst und Religion* Giessen 1913 p. 149 ff. and M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) p. 126 ff. ('The Serpent as a Phallic Emblem').



a Fig. 864. *b*

i. 401 n. 7. Cp. Prob. *in* Verg. *ecl.* 1 prooem. (iii. 2. 329, 1 Hagen) hircus Libyca lingua *tityrus* appellatur.

i. 404 purple-fleeced sheep. A. D. Nock in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1925—1926* p. 16 n. 3 cites G. Rohde's remarks in F. Jacoby *Klassisch-Philologische Studien* Berlin 1925 v. 60 f.

i. 404 golden-fleeced sheep. E. L. Mijatovich *Serbian Fairy Tales* London 1917 pp. 141—149 ('The golden-haired Twins') tells how the Twins became successively two trees with golden leaves and golden blossoms, two boards of a bed made from these trees, two sparks from the fire that burnt the bed, 'two beautiful lambs with golden fleeces and golden horns,' two golden-haired boys. See also S. Thompson *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (*FF Communications No. 106*) Helsinki 1932 i. 296 B 105. 1 '*Ram with golden fleece.*'

i. 405 ff. the golden lamb of Atreus. C. A. J. Hoffmann 'Ueber den goldenen Widder des Atreus' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alterthumswissenschaft* 1838 v. 1122—1137, O. Immisch 'Das goldne lamm des Atreus' in the *Jahrb. f. class. Philol.* Suppl. 1890 xvii. 202—208, A. H. Krappe 'Atreus' Lamm' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 182—184 (citing remarkable Iranian parallels for a great ram as 'ein Symbol der Königswürde, ein Regalium' [*sic!*] from the 'Geschichte des Artachšir i Pâpakân,' founder of the Sassanid dynasty (T. Nöldeke in the *Beiträge zur Kunde der indogermanischen Sprachen* 1879 iv. 44 f., also in Firdusi *Le Livre des Rois* trad. J. Mohl Paris 1877 v. 230 ff.)).

Ach. Tat. *isagog.* 20 in schol. Arat. ed. Maass p. 48, 14 f. *Ἀτρεὺς γὰρ εὖρε τῶν πλανήτων τὴν ἐναντίαν φοράν, ὥσπερ καὶ ἡλίου ἀπὸ ἀνατολῶν κυλιομένου καὶ φερομένου εἰς δυσμάς.*

i. 406 the golden lamb identified with the sceptre. Cp. Sen. *Thyest.* 228 f. tergore ex huius novi | aurata reges sceptra Tantalei gerunt.

i. 414 ff. the golden ram of Phrixos. G. Goerres *Studien zur griechischen Mythologie* (*Berliner Studien für classische Philologie und Archaeologie* x 2) Berlin 1889 i. 72—120 ('Zeus Laphystios und die Athamassage'), A. H. Krappe 'The Story of Phrixos and Modern Folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1923 xxxiv. 141—147, *id.* 'La légende d'Athamas et de Phrixos' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 381—389 (contends that the myth arises from the fusion of two elements—the ancient custom of sacrificing the king or the king's eldest son in time of famine, and a familiar type of *Märchen.* Krappe attempts to reconstitute the original form of the story), J. A. Scott 'The origin of the myth of the golden fleece' in *The Classical Journal* 1926—1927 xxii. 541.

i. 416 a sanctuary of Leukothea. A. S. Arvanitopoullos in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1910 pp. 378—382 no. 25 fig. 9 publishes a broken *stêle* of white marble, found at Larissa in Thessaly, which shows Danae daughter of Aphthonetos on her knees before Leukathea. The goddess, seated on two blocks of stone, raises her left hand to adjust her *himátion.* In the background is seen the doorway of her circular temple. The inscription, in lettering of the early third century B.C., runs: *Λευκαθέα[ι] | Δανάα | Ἀθον[ει]τεία* (*sc. ἀνέθεικεν* or the like). See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44 (a Minyan myth under Creto-Carian influence) and J. Wackernagel '*Λευκαθέα*' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 44—46 (cj. *λευκαθεύντων* in Hes. *sc. Her.* 146 *ὀδόντων...λευκὰ θεόντων*, cp. *λευκαθίζειν* 'weiss glänzen').

i. 419 n. 5. But, according to O. Rossbach, the text of the cod. Vaticanus gives *in qua iovis in celum ascendit* (L. Deubner in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 51[b]). It is tempting to conjecture *in qua ovis in caelum ascendit*, 'wearing which the sheep (golden ram) went up to heaven.'

i. 420 n. 0. R. Dussaud 'Une épreuve subie dans un chaudron' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lviii. 309, Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 185.

P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 228 cites R. Mouterde in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1931 pp. 141—147 an inscription from *'Ahiré* in *El Leja* recording a thunderstorm and a death by lightning *Ἀ(γ)αθῇ Τύχῃ. | ὅτε ἡ κερα(υ)ν|οβολία ἐγέν|ετο κα[ὶ] (ἀ)π|εθεώθη* (F. Cumont would read *καταπεθεώθη*) | *Αὔσος Ἀμ|ελάθου ἔ|τους κ΄..* (120 in the era of Bosra = 225/226 A.D.).

i. 422 human 'bears.' Cp. G. C. Moore Smith 'Straw-bear Tuesday' in *Folk-Lore* 1909 xx. 202 f. with two pls., V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' *ib.* 1930 xli. 266—279 with pls. 9 and 10, *ead. Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 pp. 16—25, 62 f., 108—111, 144, 225 f., 236 with fig. opposite p. 18 ('The Bear Hunt in French Catalonia'), Will-Erich Peuckert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 893—896 ('Der B[är] als Vegetationsdämon').

i. 423 the 'fleece of Zeus.' W. Kroll in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1905 viii Beiheft p. 39 discusses the Scythian custom recorded by Loukian. *Toxar.* 48 [with which cp. Aristot. *hist. an.* 9. 45. 630 a 22 f.]: 'So wird auch das Sitzen des Mysten auf dem Fell zu erklären sein: er schliesst einen Bund mit dem Gotte, indem er die Haut des diesem geweihten Tieres betritt.' T. Zachariae 'Auf einem Fell niedersitzen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 635—638 adds Indian parallels.

Fig. 865.

i. 423 ff. figs. 305 and 306. H. Lewy in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 198 ff. deals with the Jewish rite of Μονοποδαρία. A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii—xiv p. xi with fig. 173 dates the Lambert *hydria c.* 470 B.C., notes that it is now in the Czartoryski collection at Goluchow near Posen, and interprets the central figure as 'der nackte bekränzte Bräutigam, neben ihm Schwamm und Waschbecken.' But W. Kroll in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 154 observes that the vase is better figured by K. Bulas in the *Corp. vas. ant.* Pologne, Gołuchów p. 23 f. pl. 32, 3 a, 3 b, and that the queer object under the man's left foot is in reality non-existent! As Bulas remarks: 'La prétendue peau de mouton sous le genou droit de Thésée n'est que son pied gauche mal dessiné.'

i. 424. On the mouse in religion and folklore see J. V. Grohmann *Apollo Smintheus und die Bedeutung der Mäuse in der Mythologie der Indogermanen* Prag 1862 pp. 1—87,

W. R. Dawson in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1924 x. 83—86 (the mouse as folk-medicine), *id.* 'The mouse in fable and folklore' in *Folk-Lore* 1925 xxxvi. 227—248, J. U. Powell 'Rodent-Gods in Ancient and Modern Times' *ib.* 1929 xl. 173—179, J. U. Powell and A. R. Wright *ib.* 1929 xl. 392 f., H. Mørland in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 96 f. (*sorex* 'mouse'), Riegler 'Maus' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1934 vi. 31—60, Ohrt 'Mäusesegen' *ib.* pp. 60—62.

i. 429 n. 4. A marble purse-bearing Hermes found in a Delian shop has his *phallós* tipped with a ram's head (M. Bulard *La Religion Domestique dans la Colonie Italienne de Délos* Paris 1926 p. 261, cp. *ib.* p. 483).

i. 431 Mnevis. H. Bonnet in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1924 ii—iv p. ii with fig. 48 illustrates a *stéle* of New Kingdom date at Copenhagen (Valdemar Schmidt *Choix de monuments égyptiens* pl. 16) showing the worship of Mnevis, who appears a bull-headed man with solar disk and plumes.

i. 432 Apis with tokens of sun and moon. Late Egyptian terracottas represent Apis as a bovine bust with a solar disk and *uraeus* set between his horns and a lunar crescent slung round his neck. So *e.g.* on a specimen in the Whitway Collection now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology, Cambridge (fig. 865).

i. 436 f. Bouchis. After a series of newspaper notices (*e.g.* in *The Daily Telegraph* for Dec. 11, 1928, *ib.* Jan. 3, 1929, *ib.* Jan. 4, 1929 (six figs.), *ib.* Feb. 27, 1929 (six figs.), *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 12, 1931) and at least one official report (R. Mond and W. B. Emery 'A Preliminary Report on the Excavations at Armant' in the *Ann. Arch. Anthr.* 1929 xvi. 3—12 with figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—20) a full account of the excavations at Hermonthis (*Armant*) has been put together by Sir R. Mond, O. H. Myers, and H. W. Fairman *The Bucheum* (Forty-first Memoir of The Egypt Exploration Society) London 1934 i The History and Archaeology of the Site (pp. 1—203), ii The Inscriptions (pp. 1—92), iii The Plates (pls. 1—173)—a work reviewed by G. Brunton in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 250 f. and by A. H. M. Jones in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 117. See also W. W. Tarn 'The Bucheum Stelae: a Note' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1936 xxvi. 187—189.

i. 436 n. 4. In Alkaios *frag.* 35. 3 Bergk[4], 158. 3 Edmonds, 91. 3 Diehl *ap.* Athen. 430 B—C ὦ Βύκχι and in Alkaios *frag.* 46 B. 10 Diehl *ap. pap. Oxyrh.* 1234 *frag.* 3 *καὶ πεδὰ Βύκχιδος* the ancients took Βύκχις to be an Aeolic form of Βάκχις (*et. mag.* p. 216, 47 ff. = Herodian. *περὶ παθῶν frag.* 553 (ii. 351, 9 ff. Lentz) Βύκχις *ὄνομα Αἰολικόν. παρὰ τὸ Βάκχος Βάκχις καὶ Βύκχις ὡς ἵππος ἵππις καὶ οἶκος Οἶκις καὶ τροπῇ τοῦ ᾰ εἰς ῠ ὡς βάθος βύθος*), cp. H. L. Ahrens *De Graecae linguae dialectis* Gottingae 1839 i. 78, R. Meister *Die griechischen Dialekte* Göttingen 1882 i. 58 (sceptical).

i. 437 ff. Recent literature on Io includes J. C. Hoppin 'Argos, Io, and the Prometheus of Aeschylus' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1901 xii. 335—345 with pl. (*supra* p. 633 f. n. 0), G. Mellén *De Ius fabula capita selecta* Upsaliae 1901 pp. 1 ff., R. Engelmann 'Die Iosage' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1903 xviii. 37—58 pl. 2 (*supra* p. 634 n. 1), L. Deubner 'Zur Iosage' in *Philologus* 1905 lxiv. 481—492 with pl., F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374, J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 49—53 ('Io').

C. Sourdille 'Une théorie récente sur la formation du mythe d'Épaphos' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1912 pp. 267—276, J. Vürtheim *op. cit.* pp. 30—41 ('Epaphos').

i. 438 *Bákchos* in Asia Minor. A. Götze in the *Kulturgeschichte des Alten Orients* München 1933 iii. 1. 195 notes the existence of a Lydian deity *Baki* (W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 40 ff. no. 22 (pl. 9), 9 [=J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 117 no. 22, 9] *kavek bakillis*, 'priest of Bakis' (?), on a marble *stéle* of *s.* iv B.C. found in 1911 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis), whom the Lydians themselves identified with Dionysos (see the bilingual inscription given by W. H. Buckler in *Sardis* vi. 2. 38 no. 20 (pl. 8) [=J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 20] *nannaś bakivalis artimuλ* | Νάννας Διονυσικλέος Ἀρτέμιδι on a marble statue-base found in 1913 near the temple of Artemis at Sardeis and referred to the second half of *s.* iv B.C.). Cp. also *Sardis* vi. 2. 39 no. 21 (pl. 9) an Ionic column from the same site inscribed [*?m*]*a*[*ne*]*ś bakivalis man*[*elis*] *r*[*a*.*a*.*?*]=J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 116 no. 21.

i. 441 ff. priests and priestesses with animal names. O. Gruppe in the *Neue Jahrb. f. klass. Altertum* 1918 xli. 298 thinks that Peleiades (women dressed as doves) and Hyades (women dressed as sows) were 'alte Bezeichnungen für Zeus' Ammen.' Their *καταστερισμοί* came later. W. M. Ramsay 'Pisidian Wolf-priests, Phrygian Goat-priests, and the Old-Ionian Tribes' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1920 xl. 197—202 would interpret the Pisidian name *Gagdabos Edagdabos* with the help of Hesych. δάος·...*καὶ ὑπὸ Φρυγῶν λύκος* as 'Wolf-wolf the chief Wolf' implying 'an order of priests called Wolves,' the Phrygian

Attabokaoi with the help of *ἀτηγός* (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 589, 50 f., Eustath. *in Od.* p. 1625, 37 f.), *attagus* (Arnob. *adv. nat.* 5. 6), and Hipponax *frag.* 2 Bergk[4], 46 Knox *ap.* Tzetz. *in* Lyk. *Al.* 425 and 741 *καύης* (W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1913 xvii. 362 ff.), Hesych. *κοίης· ἱερεὺς Καβείρων...οἱ δὲ κόης* as 'goat-priests,' and the Old-Ionian *Αἰγικορεῖς* as priests wearing Athena's *aigis*. B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1922 xv. 155 ff. no. 1802 (a glossary of late second or early third century) *frag.* 3 col. ii, 29 ff. [*μ*]*ἑ*[λισσαι :]*αἱ τῆ*ς *Δ*ή*μητ*[ρος *ἱέρει*]*αι. ἡ αὐτὴ Ἀπολλ*[*ωνία ?*] *ἐν τῇ α̅ "ἐπ*[*άγου*]*σαν δὲ τὸν κάλαθον ταῖς Νύ*(*ν*)*φαις σὺν τῷ ἱστῷ καὶ τοῖς ἔργοις τῆς Περ*|*σεφόνης, ἃ μὲν παραγενέσθαι εἰς Πάρον καὶ ξενισ*(*τ*)*εῖσαν παρὰ* | *τῷ βασιλεῖ Μελίσσῳ χαρίσασθαι ταῖς τούτου θυγατράσι οὔσαις ἐξ*|*κοντα τὸν τῆς Φερσεφόνης ἱστόν, καὶ πρώταις αὐταῖς ἀναδοῦναι* | *τὰ περὶ αὐτὴν πάθη τε καὶ μυστήρια· ὅθεν καὶ μελίσσας ἔκτοτε* | *κληθῆναι τὰς θεσμοφοριαζούσας (κληθῆναι) γυναῖκας.*" P. Clement 'New evidence for the origin of the Iphigeneia legend' in *L'Antiquité Classique* 1934 iii. 393—409 cites two Thessalian dedications to Artemis by devotees called *νεβροί* (*Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 1123 *Δυναρὶς Μελανθίου Ἀρτέμιδι Παγασίτιδι νεβευσ*[*α...*], where F. Hiller von Gaertringen notes: 'An *νεβ*(*ρ*)*εύσ*[*ασα*] ut *ἀρκτεύσασα*, i.e. postquam deae *νέβρου* [*sic*] nomine inservivit?' and N. I. Giannopoulos in the *Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1931 p. 178 f. no. 18 fig. 1 the white marble cap-stone of a statue-base from Larisa inscribed *Ἀρτέμιδι Θροσίᾳ Ἱππόλοχος Ἱπολόχειος ὑπ*[*ὲρ*] | *Εὐβιοτείας Ἀλεξιπτείας νεβευσανσ*[*ας*] | *λύτρα*). Clement interprets *Θροσία* as 'goddess of fertility' (*θορ- θρω- θρο-* [*supra* i. 681 n. 4]), derives *νεβεύω* from **νεβ-os* a parallel of *νεβ-ρός*, and claims that the legend of Iphigeneia's sacrifice arose from the ritual of the *νέβρεια* in the cult of Artemis at Aulis—a most attractive hypothesis. F. R. Walton in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1935 xlvi. 167—189, discussing the *Ichneutae* of Sophokles, contends that the chorus of Satyrs were conceived as a pack of hunting dogs, cp. Poll. 5. 10 *ἰχνευτὴς ἀνὴρ καὶ κύων* and *Corp. inscr. Att.* iii. 3 no. 1651 an inscription from the Asklepieion in the Peiraieus which ordains 3 ff. *Μαλεάτηι πόπανα τρ*|*ία· Ἀπόλλωνι πόπανα τ*|*ρία· Ἑρμῆι πόπανα τρ*|*ία· Ἰασοῖ πόπανα τρία· Ἀ*|*κεσοῖ πόπανα τρία· Πα*|*κείαι πόπανα τρία· Κυσὶν πόπανα τρία· Κυ*|*νηγέταις πόπανα τρί*(*α*). But it is far from certain that the *Kύνες* and *Κυνηγέται* of this inscription were human beings. G. Kaibel in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1901 p. 506 points out that in Plat. *Phaon frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* ii. 674 ff. Meineke) *ap.* Athen. 441 E—442 A Orthanes, Konisalos, Lordon, Kybdasos, Keles are grouped with *Κυσί τε καὶ Κυνηγέταις* and infers that the latter, like the former, were Priapic deities. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 70 ff. no. 18 after further examination concludes: 'Itaque inferos daemonas *Κύνας* et *Κυνηγέτας* dici persuasum habeo' etc. C. M. Bowra *Greek Lyric Poetry* Oxford 1936 p. 43 ff. holds that Alkman's famous *parthénion* was sung at a joint festival of Dionysos and Helene. 'The *Λευκιππίδες*, led by their two leaders or *πῶλοι*, sing the song in competition with the *Πελειάδες* before the presentation of some gift to the appropriate gods and a race at the dawn' (*ib.* p. 54). F. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 906—910 has compiled the latest and most serviceable list of these usages. But it would be possible, and profitable, to go yet further in the same direction. Many examples of mythical metamorphosis might be explained along these lines. To give but one instance—the *Κορωνίδες* of the Boeotian tale told by Ant. Lib. 25 (*ἱστορεῖ Νίκανδρος ἑτεροιουμένων δ' καὶ Κόρωνα γερο*(*ί*)*ων α'*) and retold with variations by Ov. *met.* 13. 685 ff.

i. 447 ff. Kleobis and Biton. See also S. Eitrem 'Kleobis und Biton' in the *Christiania Videnskabs-Selskabs Forhandlinger* 1905 No. 1 pp. 1—14 (criticised by L. Deubner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Nov. 4, 1905 pp. 1402—1405), L. Weber 'Tellos, Kleobis und Biton' in *Philologus* 1926 lxxxii. 154—166.

i. 448 Zeus at Nemea. On the American excavations of 1924—1927 see C. W. Blegen 'The American excavations at Nemea, season of 1924' in *Art and Archaeology* 1925 xix. 175—184, *ib.* 1927 xxiii. 189, *id.* 'Excavations at Nemea 1926' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 421—440 figs. 1—14 (of which fig. 3=my fig. 867), cp. M. Clemmensen 'Le temple de Zeus à Némée' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 1—12 figs. 1—9 and pls. 1—2 (=my fig. 866) plan and 3—4 details of order, R. Vallois 'Remarques sur le temple de Némée' *ib.* pp. 13—20 figs. 10—14, Ernst Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 2318—2322. The scanty remains of an archaic temple on the same site include blocks of *póros*, some with U-shaped lifting-holes, recut for use in the later building and a fragmentary antefix of terra cotta adorned with a polychrome palmette. A deposit of votive offerings found under the plaster of the later *témenos* yielded proto-Corinthian and Corinthian sherds, terracottas, and small bronzes. The new temple, built *c.* 330 B.C., was a Doric peripteral structure with 6 × 12 columns, 2 columns in the *prónaos*, but no *opisthódomos*. Inside were two rows of 6 Corinthian columns. At the western end of the *naós* 2 other columns marked off an *áadyton*, which took the form of a sunken but unroofed

Fig. 866.

crypt with a flooring of white stucco (possibly of Roman date) laid some 1·98^{m} below the level of the *naós* and reached by a roughish flight of five steps (fig. 867); but the precise purpose of this semi-subterranean *sanctum* is unknown. The temple had a marble *sima* carved in relief with *ákanthos*-work and lion-heads. Three of its lanky Doric columns are still standing. And parallel to the temple-*façade* are the foundations of a great sacrificial altar, prolonged at some period towards the north so that it now measures 40·58^{m} long by 2·42^{m} wide.

One or two individual finds deserve mention. A *pôros* base embedded in a wall at the west end of the Gymnasium was inscribed with a *boustrophedón* dedication in lettering of *s.* vi B.C.: 'Αρίστις με ἀνέθ|εκε Διὶ Φρονίοι Γά|βακτι πανκράτιο|ν νιφὸν τετράκις | ἐν Νεμέαι Φείδο|νος Γhιὸς τô Κλεο|νaίο (C. W. Blegen in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 432 f. fig. 10, W. Peek in the Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1931 p. 103 f. no. 1). The inscription, which appears to be our oldest example of an agonistic epigram, was conceived as an elegiac couplet eked out by an iambic pentapody. H. N. Couch 'An Inscribed Votive Bronze Bull' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 44—47 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a solid-cast

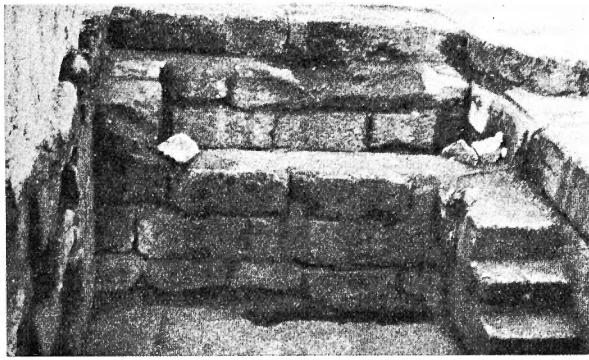


Fig. 867.

bull (0·083^{m} in length, 0·070^{m} in height) found in 1927 near the sanctuary of Zeus at Nemea and now in the Museum of Classical Archaeology and Art at the University of Illinois. The bull bears on its left side the *pointillée* inscription ΑΛΕΑΤΙΣ | ΑΝΕΘΕΚΕ. On artistic and epigraphical grounds it is assigned to the first half of the fourth century B.C.

i. 450 n. 1 'Other Authors.' See *Anth. Pal.* 3. 18 *lemma*.

i. 453 Io *Kallithýessa*. F. Jacoby 'ΙΩ ΚΑΛΛΙΘΥΕΣΣΑ' in *Hermes* 1922 lvii. 366—374 supports the main contention of A. Frickenhaus in *Tiryns* i. 19 ff. that there was an ancient cult of Hera at Tiryns (*supra* i. 454 n. 0) against the criticisms of C. Robert in *Hermes* 1920 lv. 373 ff., but argues that the Tirynthian Io *Kallithýessa* (a Hesiodic, not Callimachean, tag) was split by Hellanikos Ἱέρειαι τῆς Ἥρας αἱ ἐν Ἄργει into two Argive figures—Kallithyia the first priestess and Io (cp. *Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 455 Jacoby).

i. 453 n. 8. On the pillar of Hera *Argeía* see now P. Kastriotes 'Ἥρας Ἀργείας ξόανον' in the Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1920 pp. 53—56 with figs. 1—3.

i. 456 Epimenides and the Nemean lion. G. W. Dyson in the *Class. Quart.* 1929 xxiii. 195 thinks that Epimenides perhaps claimed to be a reincarnation of the soul of the Nemean lion.

i. 457 Hera *Argeía* and the Moon. A late Graeco-Roman relief in reddish marble (height 2 ft 1½ ins), found at Argos and now in London, shows a facing bust of Selene in an arched niche bearing the signs of the zodiac. The goddess has a horned moon on her head and seven stars grouped round her. Below has been added the 'Gnostic'

inscription Ιαια · φραινφιρι · κανωθρα · λυκυσυντα · δωδεκακιστη · Σαβαωθ · αβωθερσας (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Sculpt.* iii. 231 f. no. 2162 fig. 26 = my fig. 868, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 489, 1).

i. 461 n. 1 Zeus *Panŏptes*. Anonym. *enarrat. brev. chronogr.* (dated *c.* 750 A.D. by K. Krumbacher *Geschichte der byzantinischen Litteratur*[2] München 1897 p. 424) 48 (in *Scriptores originum Constantinopolitanarum* i. 53 Preger) *à propos* of Julian and the bronze group at Kaisareia Paneas (*supra* p. 971 n. 1) says: καὶ τὸ φυτὸν δὲ κατέκαυσε, καὶ Διὸς εἴδωλον καὶ Ἀφροδίτης ἐν τῷ τόπῳ ἀνατεθεικὼς καὶ ἑαυτόν· ἐν οἷς καὶ ναὸν οἰκοδομήσας ἐπέγραψε τάδε· "θεῷ Διὶ Παντεπόπτῃ · Ἰουλιανὸς Πανεάδι εἰς δῶρον ἄγει."

i. 464 Theos Tauros. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 393 f. nos. 9, 10, 11, 12 (my fig. 321 is his no. 11 or 12) and *ib.* p. 393 n. 4 is able to cite four fresh examples of the inscription Θεοῦ | Ταύρου, making a total of six, all found at Thespiai. A gold coin of the city Pushkalāvatī, with *rev.* Indian bull inscribed TAYPOC above and *Usabhe* below (E. J. Rapson in *The Cambridge History of India* Cambridge 1922 i. 557, 587 pl. 6, 10) represents Nandi the bull of Çiva (*supra* i. 637, ii. 791 n. 2). Mosch. 2. 135 πῇ με φέρεις, θεόταυρε (*v.l.* ὦ ταῦρε); uses the compound of Zeus.

Fig. 868.

i. 469 n. 7. A. Fick 'Asklepios und die heilschlange' in the *Beiträge zur kunde der indogermanischen sprachen* 1900 xxvi. 313 ff. cj. μύϊαν < χαλκῆν > διώκων, 'playing at blindman's buff.'

Fig. 325 is better published and discussed by Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 22, 16, ii. 108. Cp. J. H. Middleton *The Lewis Collection of Gems and Rings* London 1892 p. 50 no. 23. See also Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 59 f. no. 43, 2 pl. 58 '*Polyeidos, Glaucos et Minos*' with n. 5.

i. 472 ff. The Labyrinth continues to provoke discussion—witness the following monographs: R. de Launay 'Les fallacieux détours du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1915 ii. 114—125, 348—363, *ib.* 1916 i. 295—300, 387—398, ii. 119—128, 295—300, 413—421 (takes as his starting-point the Round Building of Early Helladic date (third millennium B.C.), some 28^{m} in diameter, at Tiryns (K. Müller in *Tiryns* iii. 80 ff. pls. 5, 29, 30), which appears to have been the earliest palace (Müller *loc. cit.* p. 87, G. Karo in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1455)). E. Hommel 'Zur Geschichte des Labyrinths' in the *Orientalistische Literatur-Zeitung* 1919 xxii. 63—68 (holds that the maze-form in Crete and on Babylonian tablets represents the internal organs of man's body. On which showing the Labyrinth is 'a microcosm of the earth and a macrocosm of the human anatomy' (W. F. J. Knight in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 105)). H. Diels 'Das Labyrinth' in the *Festgabe A. v. Harnack* Tübingen 1921 pp. 61—72. W. H. Matthews *Mazes and Labyrinths* London 1922 pp. 1—254 (well illustrated). A. Piganiol *Recherches sur les jeux romains* Strasbourg 1923 p. 103 (le *ludus Troiae*). Humborg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 312—321, G. Karo *ib.* 321—323, H. Kees *ib.* 323—326. R. Winter 'Das Labyrinth in Tanz und Spiel' in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft*

und Jugendbildung 1929 v. 707—720 figs. 1—6 ('Es ist hier versucht worden, Verbindungslinien zwischen dem Süden und dem Norden Europas im Altertum nachzuweisen'). W. F. J. Knight 'Vergil and the Maze' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 212 f., *id.* 'Maze Symbolism and the Trojan Game' in *Antiquity* 1932 vi. 445—458, *id.* 'Myth and Legend at Troy' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 98—121. R. Eilmann *Labyrinthos* Athen 1931 pp. 1—106 with figs. 1—25 (p. 12 criticises my contention (*supra* i. 476 f.) that the Cnossian coin-types originated in a *swastika*). C. N. Deedes *The Labyrinth* ed. by S. H. Hooke London 1935 pp. 1—42 (thinks that in Egypt the Labyrinth originated in the baffling defences of the royal tomb or, later, of the royal palace). J. Layard 'Maze-Dances and the Ritual of the Labyrinth in Malekula' [an island of the New Hebrides] in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvii. 123—170 (the Labyrinth provides a clue to the journey of the soul after death), *id. ib.* p. 170 'the horned dancers of Abbots Bromley are thus seen to be not far removed from the bull-headed Minotaur,' *id. ib.* 1937 xlviii. 115—182 'Labyrinth Ritual in South India: Threshold and Tattoo Designs.'

i. 481 the Labyrinth at Taormina. By a curious coincidence a square mosaic representing the Labyrinth, with battlements all round, angle-towers, and a gateway, has actually come to light at Taormina (P. Orsi in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 p. 340 ff. figs. 26—29).

i. 481 the Labyrinth-dance at Delos. The Delian dance had ropes (*δυμοί*) to guide the dancers (I. R. Arnold in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 455 [F. Dürrbach *Inscriptions de Délos* Paris 1926 ii. 77 ff. no. 316, 75 ff.].

i. 482 n. 1 the altar of horns at Delos. See further É. Cahen 'L'autel de cornes et l'hymne à Dèlos de Callimaque' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1923 xxxvi. 14—25 ('il est peut-être difficile de voir dans le *Kératôn* l'autel principale du culte apollinien à Dèlos. Ce sera plutôt, à côté du *βωμός* centre de la liturgie officielle, comme un autel très antique, où s'attachaient les souvenirs les plus vénérables de la religion délienne, avec les rites primitifs de la *γέρανος*, de la *διαμαστίγωσις*, d'autres encore' [Kallim. *h. Del.* 300—324, Hesych. *s.v. Δηλιακὸς βωμός*]), R. Vallois 'Topographie délienne. i. L'Artémision, le Monument des Hyperboréennes, l'Olivier sacré et le Kératôn' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 411—445.

The archaic temple of Dreros, built for Apollon *Delphínios* (*supra* i. 729 n. 2) early in *s.* viii B.C., was perhaps half a century later furnished with an altar of unusual form. A hollow structure of vertical slabs set against the back wall was covered by a wooden (?) lid with a circular hole in it (0·15^{m} across), which itself was closed by a carefully rounded potsherd. On this box-altar stood three statuettes of hammered bronze (one male, two smaller female) together with two small iron knives: within it were numerous horns (mostly left horns) of young goats—clearly a *keratón* comparable with that of Delos (*supra* i. 482) (S. Marinatos in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1936 lx. 224 f., 241—244 figs. 17, 18, pls. 26, 27, *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1936 li Arch. Anz. pp. 215—222 and 227 with figs. 1—4).

i. 483 *swastika* and maeander. A. S. Georgiades in the Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1914 p. 195 pl. 5 figs. 1, 2, *ib.* 1915 p. 94 fig. 1 publishes a fine *swastika*-pattern, which he calls the 'Ερετρικὸς μαίανδρος,' from the monastery of S. George at Eretria.

i. 485 Theseus and the Minotaur as central panel of the Labyrinth. C. Bursian *Aventicum Helvetiorum* Fünftes Heft Zürich 1870 (=*Mittheilungen der antiquarischen Gesellschaft in Zürich* xvi. Abth. 1. Heft 5) p. 58 pl. 29 publishes a handsome mosaic, found in 1830 at Cormerod in the canton of Freiburg and now in the Freiburg Museum: the design shows a Labyrinth with towers at the angles and Theseus with the Minotaur in the centre.

i. 490 ff. the Minotaur. Materials bearing on this vexed problem may be here assembled. Sir J. Marshall *Annual Report of the Archæological Survey of India* Part I, 1913—14 Calcutta 1915 p. 25 f. pl. 23 fig. *c* publishes an enamelled terra-cotta relief, found by M. Duroiselle in the ruins of the Shwegugyi pagoda in Burma (*s.* v A.D.), showing among the subjects that relate to Buddha's fight with Mara two bull-headed beings with human bodies and limbs, nude except for a loin-cloth. The type is suggestive of the Greek Minotaur.

F. Quilling *Minotauros. Der Veredarierstein im Saalburgmuseum* Leipzig 1919 pp. 1—40 (severely criticised by E. Anthes in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* April 3, 1920 pp. 322—326).

Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter to me dated Dec. 14, 1926, maintains that there is no convincing representation of the Minotaur in 'Minoan' or Mycenaean art, and that the seal-impression always cited as such would never have been so understood had not the wish been father to the thought. He holds that the mixed creatures of human +animal type, which occur first in the 'Late Minoan' age, are due to the impact of

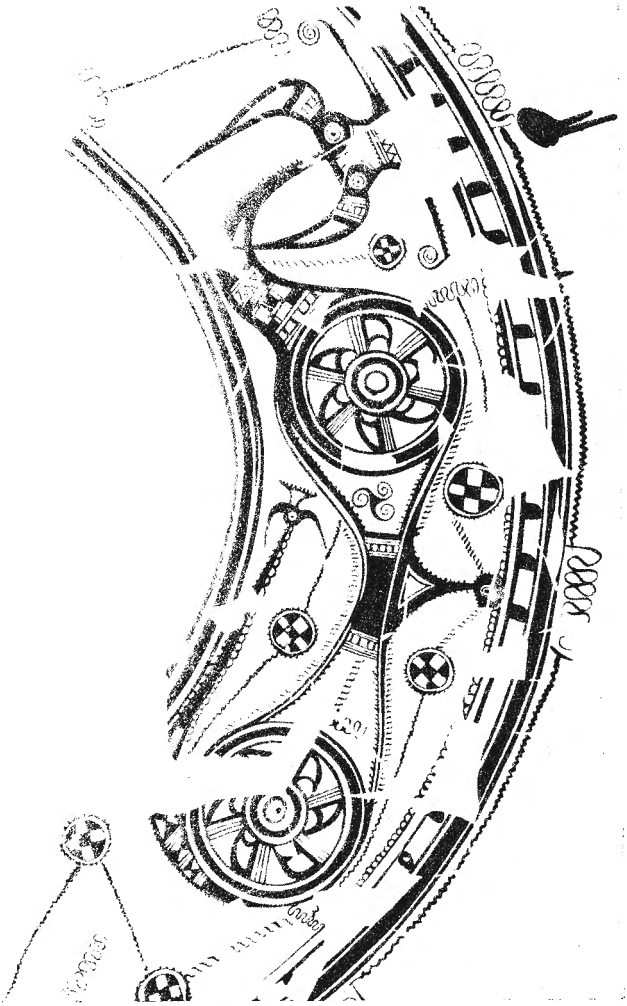


Fig. 869.

Fig. 870.

Fig. 871.

Caucasian immigration and a change in the ruling race. Such *Mischwesen* had long been known to the peoples of the eastern Pontos and may well have been introduced as a novel *motif* into 'Minoan' art by the victors. Semper surmises that the Minotaur was first discovered by the Hellenes, probably to represent some traditional 'Minoan' word, whose true sound and sense remain obscure. He notes that the legend of the Minotaur is known from Greek sources only and involves an element of sex (*ἱερὸς γάμος*), which points to the presence of a non-'Minoan' factor in the population of Crete. This factor he regards as 'uräg äischen' and believes to have been racially connected with Asia Minor, whereas the genuine founders of the 'Minoan' civilisation were a Mediterranean folk racially akin to the Libyans.

Eva Fiesel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 270 f. comments on a bronze Etruscan mirror (F. Borie 'La mort du Minotaure' in the *École française de Rome. Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* 1898 xviii. 51—63 pl. 1—2), which shows not only Minos, Athena, Ariadne, and Herakles (*mine, menrva, ariaθa, hercle*), but also the bull-headed Minotaur (*θevrumineś*). P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1931 xix. 216 had pointed out that this Etruscan compound was the equivalent of [Τα]ῦρος *Μινώϊος* on a 'Chalcidian' *hydría* from Caere (*Cervetri*) [Louvre F 18, best published by A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 13 no. 12, 175 fig. 3 pl. 26].

A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 notes the prevalence of the bull-cult throughout Iberia. *Id. ib.* ii. 262 f. pls. 24 and 25 (=my fig. 869) gives the black painted decoration of a red pottery *dolium*, which in a highly stylized geometric manner (A. del Castillo in Ebert *Reallex.* ix. 138) renders a couple of bulls. *Id. ib.* ii. 257 pl. 16 (=my figs. 870 and 871) shows the designs on a polychrome jug, which represents two male dancers wearing bulls' horns on their arms and bulls' hoofs (?) on their feet. The dance may be that mentioned by Strab. 164 as celebrated by night *ἀνωνύμῳ τινὶ θεῷ*. In any case the previous existence of such a bull-cult in Spain explains in part the age-long popularity of the Spanish bull-fights. See further V. Alford *Pyrenean Festivals* London 1937 p. 193 f. on the Basque *Toro de Fuego* or 'Fire Bull' ('probably...a form of bull devotion, separate from, though existing side by side, with the *corrida* or bullfight').

T. L. Shear in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 540 fig. 1 (J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1935 xlviii. 83 fig. 2) publishes a gold ring from a Mycenaean tomb found near the 'Theseion' at Athens: 'The scene represented on the ring is of unusual interest. On the right a man is striding to the right. He has the head of an animal with long ears or short horns. In one hand he carries a branch or spear, and with the other holds the end of a double cord, which is attached to the waist of the foremost of two women behind him. The women have veiled heads, high ruffs around their necks, and pleated skirts. On the extreme left is a sacred pillar, and a small object resembling a bird or butterfly appears in the background above the figures. A group consisting of a bull-headed man who is leading two captive women recalls the legend of the Minotaur and the Athenian maidens. The new discovery in Athens may illustrate an early version of the later familiar myth.' But Shear's interpretation of the scene is far from certain.

E. Sjöqvist in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 344—347 fig. 11 gives the upper part of a terra-cotta statuette from *Aija Irini* in Kypros, which portrays a priest wearing a bull's mask drawn over his head. Sjöqvist cites analogous figures and concludes: 'Es scheint daher, als ob die Tiermaskenverkleidung eine rituelle Tracht wäre, besonders mit zeremoniellen Prozessionen und Tänzen verknüpft. Es ist sicher kein Zufall, dass die mit Sicherheit bestimmbaren Priestermasken Stierköpfe sind. Die Reminiszenzen in Aija Irini von einem ursprünglichen Stiergott sind sicher noch lebendig gewesen, und der Stier war sein heiliges Tier und sein Symbol, auf gleiche Art, wie es mit Hadad in Syrien und seinem Gegenstück in Anatolien der Fall war. Indem der Priester sein Bild anlegte, ging er eine greifbare Vereinigung mit der Gottheit ein, auf gleiche Art wie Demeters Priester in Pheneos bei gewissen Kultakten die Maske der Göttin anlegte [*supra* ii. 1136 n. 4]. Der Brauch hat bereits während der Bronzezeit eine grosse Verbreitung auf Cypern und innerhalb des syro-hettitischen Kulturgebietes gehabt und scheint sporadisch auch in dem minoisch-mykenischen Kreise spürbar zu sein.'

With this conclusion I have long been in substantial agreement (*Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1894 xiv. 120—132 ('The Cult of the Bull')). It would, I conceive, be true to say that all round the shores of the Mediterranean in early times the thunder-god was envisaged as a bellowing bull, whose human representative, the king or priest, identified himself with the deity by donning a bull-mask or at least by wearing bull-horns. Even Zedekiah the son of Chenaanah, when he claimed to speak in the name of the Lord, 'made him horns of iron' (1 Kings 22. 11).

i. 497 ff. 'Minoan' Bull-fights. Sir A. J. Evans in *Archaeologia* 1914 lxv. 90 f. fig. 96 illustrates a couple of *rhytá* from 'Early Minoan' ossuaries in the Messará, Crete, showing bulls with acrobatic performers ('the earliest record of these sports'). W. Crooke 'Bull-

baiting, Bull-racing, Bull-fights' in *Folk-Lore* 1917 xxviii. 141—163 discusses the subject with many parallels from India, Nigeria, etc. Ella Bourne 'Ancient Bull-fights' in *Art and Archaeology* 1917 v. 142—153 cites *inter alia* fig. 9 a marble relief from Smyrna, now at Oxford, inscribed ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΨΙΩΝ ΗΜΕΡΑ ϕ Β (R. Chandler *Marmora Oxoniensia* Oxonii 1763 ii. 105 no. 58 pl. 8, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* ii. 526 no. 1, Sir A. J. Evans in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 257 f. fig. 9, *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3212) and a similar marble relief from Sardeis inscribed [ΤΑΥΡΟΚΑΘΑΨΙΩΝ ΚΑΙ ΚΥΝΗΓΙΩΝ?] ΗΜΕΡΑΣ Γ (H. C. Butler in *Sardis* i. 1. 95 fig. 96, W. H. Buckler—D. M. Robinson *ib.* vii. 1. 88 f. no. 82 fig. 69), with which cp. a relief found west of the theatre at Ephesos (R. Heberdey in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1899 ii Beiblatt p. 46 fig. 12) and an inscription from the Ephesian stage Μ[η]νόφιλος Μηνοφίλου τὸ κλισίον | *καὶ τὸ π*ε[ρ]ὶ *αὐτὸ τοῖς Ταυρεασταῖς τοῖς Κρεοντείοις* (*id.* in *Forschungen in Ephesos* Wien 1912 ii. 182 no. 75). Sir A. J. Evans 'On a Minoan Bronze Group of a Galloping Bull and Acrobatic Figure from Crete' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1921 xli. 247—259 figs. 1—12. *Id. The Palace of Minos* London 1936 Index p. 21 *s.v.* 'Bull-sports.' Ziehen in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 24—27 (concluding with some friendly criticism of my own views).

i. 500. On the horn-bearing woman of Laussel see now M. Hoernes *Urgeschichte der bildenden Kunst in Europa*[3] Wien 1925 p. 166 fig. 2, p. 167 fig. 1, p. 601 ff., R. de Saint-Périer *L'art préhistorique* (*Époque paléolithique*) Paris 1932 p. 29 pl. 8, 4.

i. 500. On the significance of the drinking-horn see H. Thiersch 'Kretische Hornbecher' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1913 xvi. 78—85 figs. 30—45 (p. 83 f. 'Die Vorstellung, dass das Trinken aus solchem Horne überirdische Kräfte verleihe, ist ja nur die weitere Konsequenz des ganz allgemein verbreiteten Gedankens, dass die Kraft des Tieres auch noch in dem von ihm abgetrennten Horne weiterlebe, dass dieses darum auch zur Abwehr allerlei dämonischer Angriffe in hohem Masse geeignet sei').

i. 503 f. bull-carrying. Cp. L. Ziehen in *Leges Graecorum sacrae* ii. 49 ff. no. 12, 30 ff. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 84, 30 ff. (an Athenian decree of 421/0 B.C.) *τὸς δ[ὲ β]οῦ[ς ἐχσέναι αὐτοῖς σ]|φίνγοσ[ιν αἰρεσθαι πρὸς τ]ὸν βομόν· hοίτω[ι]ς δὲ ἀρῦνται [τὸς βοῦς ἐφέβος hοι]* | *hιεροποιο[ὶ hαιρέσθον]* *διακοσίος ἐχς Ἀθε[ν]αίον* and *Corp. inscr. Att.* ii. 1 no. 467, 10 f. = *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. ii—iii. 1 no. 1028, 10 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 610, 10 f. = Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 717, 10 f. (an Athenian decree of 100/99 B.C.) *ἤρατο δὲ καὶ τοῖς μυστηριοις τοὺς βοῦς | ἐν Ἐλευσῖνι τῆι θυσίαι καὶ αὐτοὶ ἐβουθύτησαν ἐν τῶι περιβόλωι τοῦ Ἰεροῦ* with the notes of Ziehen and Dittenberger *ad locc.* See also E. Maass *s.v. βοάρσαι* in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 222 f., L. Ziehen 'Zum Opferritus' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 227—234, and F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 67 n. 20.

R. C. Bosanquet drew my attention (7 June 1915) to Hesych. Γάνδαρος· *ὁ ταυροκράτης, παρ' Ἰνδοῖς*. The reference is apparently to the Graeco-Buddhist art of ancient Gandhara in north-western India.

i. 506 ff. Ritual Horns. In addition to the important articles of I. Scheftelowitz 'Das Hörnermotiv in den Religionen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1912 xv. 451—487 (*ib.* p. 473 f. 'Hörner am Altar als Symbol der Heiligkeit') and J. A. MacCulloch 'Horns' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1913 vi. 791[b]—796[a] (p. 794[b] 'conventional representations of an earlier *βουκράνιον*') consult W. Gaerte 'Die Bedeutung der kretisch-minoischen Horns of Consecration' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1922 xxi. 72—98 (starting from P. E. Newberry's Egyptian hieroglyph of a desert mountain (*supra* ii. 555 n. 0, cp. 545 n. 0), Gaerte p. 82 takes the Cretan horns to be 'die Kultsymbole der in Kreta zu jener Zeit verehrten grossen Erdgöttin, einer der kleinasiatischen *Magna Mater* und der griechischen Rhea verwandten Gestalt') and H. Sjövall 'Zur Bedeutung der altkretischen Horns of Consecration' *ib.* 1925 xxiii. 185—192 pls. 1 and 2 (Sjövall connects the Cretan horns with the 'Mondbilder' of north-European art (*supra* i. 507), which he regards as andirons). See also G. Karo in Ehert *Reallex.* v. 392 ('eine reine Schmuckform'), A. E. Napp *Bukranion und Guirlande. Beiträge zur Entwicklungsgeschichte der hellenistischen und römischen Dekorationskunst* Wertheim a. M. 1933 pp. 1—49, W. Deonna 'Mobilier délien ii ΒΩΜΟΙ ΚΕΡΑΟΪΧΟΙ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1934 pp. 381—447 figs. 1—53.

i. 514 bees from bulls. A. E. Shipley 'The "Bugonia" myth' in the *Journal of Philology* 1915 xxxiv. 97—105 endorses the view of C. R. Osten Sacken *On the Oxen-born bees of the Ancients* Heidelberg 1894 pp. 1—80 that the honey-bee (*apis mellifica*) was confused with the drone-fly (*eristalis tenax*), which superficially resembles the honey-bee and is often found in a stray carcase or in rotting vegetation.

i. 518 ff. the altar as object of cult. See further E. Maass 'Bomos und Verwandtes'

in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 227 n. 4, and cp. the mediaeval use of *Deus* 'pro ipso altari ubi Dominicum Corpus asservatur' (Ducange *Gloss. med. et inf. Lat.* ii. 829 *s.v.* 'DEVS').

R. Kittel in the *Journal of Biblical Literature* 1925 xliv. 123—153 deals at large with the transformation of sacred places or objects into deities (*Qadesh* 'sanctuary,' *Ashera* 'sacred post,' *Hamman* 'pillar')—summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 487.

i. 521 ff. The Marriage of the Sun and the Moon in Crete. S. Eitrem 'Zur Apotheose iv. Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 11—21 deals with 'Die Theogamie des Herrscherkultus,' points out that Caligula as *ὁ νέος* Ἥλιος (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 798, 3 Kyzikos) married the Moon (Suet. *Calig.* 22, Dion Cass. 59. 27), and does not scout the hypothesis of 'eine althellenische Theogamie, zwischen Sonne und Mond vollzogen' (p. 18 n. 1).

i. 522 f. the wooden cow. Suet. *Ner.* 12 inter pyrricharum argumenta taurus Pasiphaam ligneo iuvencae simulacro abditam iniit, ut multi spectantium crediderunt.

Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Taboo p. 113 (Hindus born again by being enclosed in the golden image of a cow and dragged through the usual channel or, failing that, through an image of the sacred *Yoni*).

Lady Sterry, wife of Sir Wasey Sterry, kindly sent me the following note (Aug. 21, 1931): 'According to the Christians of the Lebanon, the Druses have a sacred calf used in their worship. The calf is said to be made of wood hollowed out inside, and at one of their feasts cakes and sweetmeats are passed through the calf, which are considered blessed and are distributed to their friends, not necessarily only to Druses. The calf is said to be kept in their place of worship, which is open only to the initiated, and women are not allowed to be initiated.'

i. 525 the cult of *Hellotis*. C. W. Vollgraff in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1919 xlvii. 162 no. 7 publishes a squared block of limestone, found at Argos, which is inscribed in lettering of *s.* V B.C. *oρος* : *hε*|λλοτιο, that is *ὅρος* Ἑλλωτίου, and infers that the Cretan goddess Ἑλλωτίς must have had a shrine Ἑλλώτιον near the road to Mantineia.

A. Lesky 'Hellos—Hellotis' in the *Wiener Studien* 1926/27 xlv. 152—173, *ib.* 1928 xlvi. 48—67 and 107—129 would recognise a *ἱερὸς γάμος* between the earth-goddess Europa, who in Crete was originally named Hellotis, and the sky-god Zeus, who in pre-Greek times had the form of a bull. Lesky finds traces of the same beliefs at Dodona in the Helloi and their eponym Hellos (cp. Hellas, Hellenes, etc.), also at Corinth and Marathon in Athena *Hellotis*, and less certainly in Helle of the Hellespont.

i. 530 n. 2. O. Könnecke in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxix. 547—551 discusses the golden basket of Europe (Moscb. 2. 37 ff.) viewing it as Moschos' attempt to outshine the wooden bowl of Thyrsis (Theokr. 1. 27 ff.).

i. 531 n. 3. On the name Εὐρώπη see also W. Aly in *Glotta* 1913 v. 63—74, who connects it with *εὐρώς, εὐρώεις, εὐρώδης, εὐρωπός* (*e.g.* Eur. *I. T.* 626, Opp. *de pisc.* 3. 20) in the sense of 'dark' (Hesych. *s.vv. εὐρώεντα, εὐρωπόν*, Souid. *s.v. εὐρώεις*, schol. *Od.* 23. 322, schol. Soph. *Ai.* 1190), and concludes: 'so stammt der Name, wie seine Bildung zeigt, aus jener Schicht, die zutage tritt, wenn wir Thessalien mit Arkadien vergleichen, ein Resultat, das für die Einordnung der Göttin zeitlich und räumlich bedeutsam sein dürfte. Neben Europe in Böotien und Europe in Sekyon finden wir nun erstere auch in Kreta und zwar genau in dem Teil der Insel, wo in Gortyn neben peloponnesischem Einfluss auch unmittelbar thessalischer bereits anderweitig nachgewiesen ist.'

i. 534 n. 2. A. von Sallet 'Die Umschrift der Europa auf Silbermünzen von Gortyna' in the *Zeitschr. f. Num.* 1879 vi. 263 ff. (Mt Tityron), J. N. Svoronos 'The inscription *Τίσυροι* on coins of Gortyna' in the *Num. Chron.* Third Series 1887 vii. 126 ff. (an ethnic =Γορτύνιοι, cp. Καρτεμπίδες (*supra* i. 471) and Κορύστιοι (Hesych. Κορύστιοι· *οἱ* Γορτύνιοι)), A. Skias 'Τίσυρος, Κρητικὴ πόλις' in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1891 p. 191 f. (citing schol. Theokr. 3. 2 (*supra* i. 534 n. 2)).

i. 536 fig. 407. With the type of Epiktesis in the relief from Loukou cp. that of Salus on a *sestertius* struck by Commodus in 184 A.D. (H. Mattingly—E. A. Sydenham *The Roman Imperial Coinage* London 1930 iii. 416 no. 439 pl. 16, 328: Stevenson—Smith—Madden *Dict. Rom. Coins* p. 713, Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iv. 300 fig. 3).

i. 542 n. 5. See now Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 3. 921 ff. no. 1478 pl. 246, 22 London and no. 1479 pl. 246, 23. The reverse of the latter is inscribed ΧΕΡΣΟΝΑΣΙ[ΟΝ]. Babelon comments: 'La belle tête de Zeus Κρηταγενής...est inspirée de celle du Zeus 'Olympie sur les statères d'Elis....'

i. 549 ff. Ba'albek and its cults. The official record of the German excavations has now been published in three stately volumes—T. Wiegand *Baalbek*. Ergebnisse der Ausgrabungen und Untersuchungen in den Jahren 1878 bis 1905. Vol. i by B. Schulz and H. Winnefeld with the assistance of O. Puchstein, D. Krencker, H. Kohl, G. Schumacher. Berlin—Leipzig 1921. Vol. ii by D. Krencker, T. von Lüpke, and H. Winnefeld with the assistance of O. Puchstein, B. Schulz. Berlin—Leipzig 1923. Vol. iii by H. Kohl, D. Krencker, O. Reuther, F. Sarre, and M. Sobernheim. Berlin—Leipzig 1925.

See also Gruppe *Myth. Lit.* 1921 p. 396 f., F. Cumont 'Le Jupiter héliopolitain et les divinités des planètes' in *Syria* 1921 ii. 40—46, *id.* 'À quels dieux étaient consacrés les temples de Baalbek?' *ib.* 1925 vi. 202, H. Thiersch 'Zu den Tempeln und zur Basilika von Baalbek' in the *Nachr. d. kön. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1925 p. 1 ff. (assigns the smaller temple to the Syrian *Magna Mater*), U. Wilcken 'Zu den

Fig. 872.

Fig. 873.

"Syrischen Göttern"' in the *Festgabe für Adolf Deissmann zum 60. Geburtstag 7. November 1926* Tübingen 1927 pp. 1—19, H. Seyrig in *Litteris* 1928 pp. 165—179 (assigns the smaller temple to Hermes assimilated to the Semitic Gennaios), *id.* 'La Triade Héliopolitaine et les Temples de Baalbek' in *Syria* 1929 x. 314—356 with pls. 82—86 (p. 346 n. 6 denies the solarity of Iupiter *Heliopolitanus*), D. Krencker in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xliv Arch. Anz. pp. 169—181 figs. 1—7 (discusses the successive phases in the construction of the temple of Zeus), and cp. M. Rostovtzeff 'Hadad and Atargatis at Palmyra' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 58—63 with pl. 9, 1—10 (clay *tesserae* etc.).

i. 551 n. 2. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36803.

i. 567 ff. Iupiter *Heliopolitanus* and the Bull. R. Dussaud 'Heliopolitanus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 50—57. Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 31 ff. no. 829 fig. (=my fig. 872) publishes a small altar (height 0·65^{m}), of local limestone, from *Niha* a village of Lebanon at the foot of *Djebel Sannin*, which shows the god holding whip and corn-ears, with a *pólos* on his head, a necklace with central medallion on his chest, and stiff drapery with six four-leaved rosettes arranged in panels. He stands on a pedestal, the front of which has a goddess in a niche. And he is flanked by two bulls. Mendel *ib.* iii. 613 ff. no. 1404 fig. (=my fig. 873) adds a statuette (height 0·76^{m}), of local limestone, from *Soukhné* to the north-east of Palmyra, which shows a similar type with even richer decoration. On the breast is engraved the god himself, flanked by Helios and Men: on the abdomen, Hera or Demeter, flanked by Athena and Hermes(?). On the base is inscribed in lettering of *s.* ii—iii A.D. *I(ovi)* · *O(ptimo)* · *M(aximo)* · *H(eliopolitano)* | *Sex(tus)* · *Rasius* · *Proculus* · *praef(ectus)* · *coh(ortis)* · *II* · *Thrac(um)* · *v(otum)* *p(osuit)*. But

Fig. 874.

Fig. 875.

the most important monument of the cult yet found is the idol of gilded bronze (height 0·384m) from Ba'albek itself, slashed and broken by some fanatic but skilfully repaired by M. André for the Charles Sursock collection and admirably published by R. Dussaud in *Syria* 1920 i. 3—15 pls. 1—4 (of which 1 and 2=my figs. 874 and 875), S. N. Deane in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1921 xxv. 94 fig. 2, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* v. 10 no. 5, *The Illustrated London News* for May 2, 1931 p. 743. The bronze, which may be dated *c.* 150 A.D., represents the god as he stood with his usual attributes, wearing a *kálathos* (of interlaced reeds(?) decked with four corn-ears and a disk between globules perhaps meant for schematized *uraei*), a long *chitón* with short sleeves, and a cuirass-like sheath with numerous reliefs (on the chest, a winged disk; below, seven busts—Helios and Selene, Athena and Hermes, Zeus and Hera, Kronos; and above the feet a lion-head for Gennaios (*supra* p. 888): behind, another winged disk, an eagle, two rams'-heads to suggest Zeus *Ammon*, six four-leaved rosettes or stars of diminishing size: at the sides, two elongated thunderbolts). The whole figure is erect on a cubical plinth adorned with a relief of Tyche (turreted crown, rudder, *cornu copiae*). And the plinth, flanked by a pair of young bulls, rests on a larger base, which is pierced with a circular opening (*c.* 0·073m across)—possibly a letter-box for the *codicilli* of persons consulting the god (Macrob. *Sat.* i. 23. 14 ff. (*supra* i. 552 f.)). See further R. Cagnat in *Syria* 1924 v. 108 ff. and S. A. Cook *The Religion of Ancient Palestine in the light of Archaeology* London 1930 pp. 15, 141 n. 4, 187, 218—222 pl. 39, 1.

The biggest harvest of fresh facts bearing on the Ba'albek cults is, however, that garnered in the posthumous work of Sébastien Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain, Nova et Vetera* (Notes et Études d'Archéologie Orientale. Troisième Série, ii) in the *Mélanges de l'Université Saint-Joseph* xxi, i Beyrouth 1937 pp. 1—181 with 17 figs. and 51 pls. (reviewed by F. R. Walton in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1938 xlii. 435 f.). This monograph publishes a mass of new or little known material, including altars, *stêlai*, engraved gems, lead seals, bronze rings, etc. In particular it furnishes a full account of the rock-cut relief in the quarry at Ferzol (pp. 29—71) and of the carved octagonal altar at Fîkî or Fâkyé on the west slope of Antilibanos (pp. 87—129). Incidentally it discusses many, if not most, of the associated deities of Koile Syria. And it ends (p. 138 f.) by laying stress on the symbolic corn-ears of Ba'albek (*supra* i. 558, 569, 572, iii. 1093): 'C'est dans cet épi que se concentre finalement toute l'essence de la religion héliopolitaine sous l'empire romain. Issue de la triade familiale [*supra* i. 553 f. Hadad, Atargatis, Seimios] groupée autour du grand dieu syrien du tonnerre et de la pluie, Hadad, cette religion devint progressivement celle du *dieu du Ciel*, B'el-Šamîn, embrassant dans ses flancs les traits qui, dès l'époque hellénistique, méritèrent à Ba'albek la dénomination d'Héliopolis, et firent d'elle avec le temps le centre cœlésyrien de tous les cultes solaires de l'époque romaine. Tout se résolvait pratiquement dans l'adoration de l'astre brillant du jour, dans ses fonctions de dispensateur de vie et de prospérité agraire, telles qu'elles nous sont résumées dans l'image récemment découverte à Doura du B'el-Šamîn—*Zeὺs θεός*, image par laquelle je mets fin à toute cette étude (pl. XLII)' [M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 63 f. pl. 11, 1 'Bas-relief of Zeus Kyrios,' p. 68 ff. pl. 13 'Painted decoration of the *cella* of the temple of Zeus Theos. (Restoration by F. Brown);' *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Prelim. Report vii—viii. Yale Univ. Press 1939, pp. 180 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Theos), 284 ff. (The Temple of Zeus Kyrios)].

i. 571 n. 2 leonine gods. At *Bir-Derbal* near *Ghardimaou* in Tunisia a Punico-Roman sanctuary containing a dedicatory inscription to Saturn was found; also other rustic sanctuaries of *s.* ii A.D., which could boast life-size statues of terracotta and many statuettes. One life-size head had the face of a lioness wearing fillets and is thought to have represented the *Genius Terrae Africae* (L. Carton 'Note sur des édicules renfermant des statues en terre cuite, découverts dans la région de Ghardimaou (Tunisie)' in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1918 pp. 338—347, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 320), because a *denarius* issued by Q. Caecilius Metellus Pius Scipio in 47—46 B.C. shows Sekhet with leonine head, disk, and *ankh* accompanied by the legend Γ·Τ·Α (Babelon *Monn. rép. rom.* i. 280 no. 51 fig., *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Rep. ii. 572 no. 8 pl. 121, 4 and no. 9 (*Genius Tutelaris Africae* or *Genius Totius Africae?*).

i. 581 the golden thunderbolt of Adad. Cp. Liv. 22. 1 (when prodigies occurred in 217 B.C.) decemvirorum monitu decretum est, Iovi primum donum fulmen aureum pondo quinquaginta fieret, etc. Aristoph. *av.* 1750 (*supra* p. 59).

A magnificent relief in basalt from *Arslan-Tash*, dating from the reign of Tiglath-pileser iii (746—727 B.C.), shows Adad, with a double three-pronged thunderbolt in either hand, standing on the back and head of a bull as he advances rapidly from left to right (*L'art de la Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre* Paris 1936 v. 300 fig. A).

i. 586 Atargatis with her lions. R. Dussaud 'Patère de bronze de Tafas' in *Syria* 1924 v. 212—215 with pl. 54, 1 and 2 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 342) describes a bronze *patera* of Roman date, found at *Tafas* in the *Hauran* but later stolen from the Mohammedan Museum at Damaskos. The central relief shows a

Fig. 876.

lion standing in front of a column on which is an image of Priapos. The lion rests his forepaw on a *scabellum* (?). At the left is a musician playing the double flutes; at the right, a woman with a timbrel, towards whom the lion turns his head. Dussaud thinks that the lion of Atargatis prefers the native timbrel to the foreign flutes!

i. 586 figs. 448 and 449. See further A. L. Frothingham in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1916 xx. 204—211 fig. 40.

i. 590 fig. 450. See now *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Arabia etc. pp. xxxii, 28 pl. 4, 15 and 16.

N. Glueck in *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 21, 1937 p. 298 ff. publishes finds from a Nabataean temple known as *Khirbet et-Tannur* and situated on a hill in southern Transjordania, directly south of the *Wadi el-Hesa* (the 'brook Zered' of Deut. 2. 13, cp. Num. 21. 12). Excavations in March 1937 yielded bearded heads probably representing Zeus (Adad) (p. 298 fig. 3, p. 299 fig. 11); a relief of Zeus (Adad) enthroned between two young bulls, his neck encircled by a lion-headed torque, his right hand raised perhaps to hold a double axe, his left hand grasping the bull's ear and partly concealed by a conspicuous thunderbolt (p. 299 fig. 15 = my fig. 876 from a photograph kindly supplied by Mr Glueck); an incense-altar with reliefs of Zeus (Adad) and Tyche (p. 298 figs. 7—9); the bust of Atargatis in relief with leaf-like decoration (fish-scales? A. B. C.) on forehead, cheeks, and chest (p. 299 fig. 6); the bust of Atargatis in relief with head-dress formed of two fishes (p. 299 fig. 5); a snake-entwined eagle standing on a wreath with a plaster basin below (p. 300 fig. 18); etc. For a fuller account of these important finds see N. Glueck 'The Nabataean Temple of Khirbet et-Tannûr' in the *Bulletin of the American School of Oriental Research* for October 1937 No. 67 pp. 6—16 figs. 2—8, *id.* 'A newly discovered Nabataean temple of Atargatis and Hadad at Khirbet et-Tannûr, Transjordania' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 361—376 figs. 1—15, C. Picard 'Les sculptures nabatéennes de Khirbet-et-Tannour et l'Hadad de Pouzzoles' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 244—249 figs. 1—4.

i. 592 n. 0 the sacred 'cock.' H. Gressmann 'Der heilige Hahn zu Hieropolis in Syrien' in the *Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* Giessen 1925 Beiheft xli. 88—95 (cp. *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4000, 5 (Ikonion) as read by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 157 *φαιὸλευκον ἀλέκτορ[α]*, and modern Palestinian customs (J. A. Jaussen 'Le coq et la pluie dans la tradition palestinienne' in the *Revue biblique internationale* 1924 xxxiii. 574—582)).

i. 598 n. 1 Zeus at the Italian Lokroi. S. Mirone 'Copies de statues sur les monnaies de la Grande Grèce' in the *Rev. Num.* iv Série 1926 xxix. 134—138 deals with Zeus Ἐλευθέριος at Tarentum, Metapontum, and Lokroi Epizephyrioi.

i. 602 eagle on pyramidal structures at Tarsos and Seleukeia Pieria. F. Cumont 'L'aigle funéraire des Syriens et l'apothéose des empereurs' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1910 lxii. 119—164 with figs. 1—22 and pl. 1, *id.* (citing A. H. Gardiner) 'A propos de l'aigle funéraire des Syriens' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 208—214, S. Ronzevalle 'L'aigle funéraire en Syrie' in the *Mélanges de la Faculté orientale: Université Saint-Joseph, Beyrouth* 1912 v. 2. 1*—62* with 9 figs., 105*—115* with 4 figs., L. Deubner 'Die Apotheose des Antoninus Pius' in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1912 xxvii. 1—20 figs. 1—4, F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 35—118 ('L'aigle funéraire d'Hiérapolis et l'apothéose des empereurs') with figs. 9—43.

i. 602. For ∇ as the womb of a mother-goddess see the evidence collected by F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 21 f., M. Mayer 'Delta praehistoricum' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Jan. 19, 1929 pp. 91—94, E. Wüst in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1932 lviii. 1. 142.

i. 603 n. 5 Di-Sandas. R. Rochette in the *Mémoires de l'Institut National de France* (*Académie des Inscriptions et Belles-Lettres*) Paris 1848 xvii. 161 insists 'qu'il faut certainement lire de cette manière: Δι-Σανδάν.'

604 the rock-carvings near Boghaz-keui. These are now well published by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya* Bamberg 1934 with bibliography, map, plan, 28 photographic pls., and panoramic drawing. *id. Die Ruinen von Boğazköy* Berlin—Leipzig 1937 pp. 1—107 with 63 figs., chronological table, and 3 plans. It appears that the great procession of Iasily Kaya may be dated between 1350 and 1330 B.C. (C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 256).

i. 604 ff. Zeus *Dolichaîos* and Iupiter *Dolichenus*. To the bibliography given on p. 604 n. 8 should be added F. Cumont *Études Syriennes* Paris 1917 pp. 173—202 ('Dolichè et le Zeus Dolichènos') with figs. 55—70, *id.* 'Groupe de marbre du Zeus Dolichénos' in *Syria* 1920 i. 183—189 pl. 17 (found 'entre Marash et Biredjik': Zeus stands on bull supported by altar with base inscribed Κρίσπος καὶ Σιλβα[ν]ὸς), K. A. Neugebauer *Antike Bronzestatuetten* Berlin 1921 p. 118 f. fig. 65 (Genius of Iupiter *Dolichenus* from Mar'ash, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), p. 120 fig. 63 (Iupiter *Dolichenus* from Berlin—Lichtenberg, now in the Antiquarium at Berlin), *id.* in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 269, J. Leipoldt in H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—

xi. 15 f. figs. 116—122, W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 p. 227 f., S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 292 (temple at the western corner of the Aventine, shrine on the Esquiline, shrine in *Reg.* xiv), *The Illustrated London News* for Aug. 17, 1935 p. 290 (recent finds on the Aventine, including a photograph of the sanctuary, a marble statue of the god holding a double axe in his right hand and a thunderbolt in his left, an inscription mentioning Commodus, etc.), G. I. Kazarow 'Denkmäler des Dolichenus-Kultes' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1932 xxvii. 168—173 figs. 105—108 (finds made in 1930 at *Jassen* near *Widin* (Bononia) in Bulgaria, including a triangular bronze plate with well-preserved reliefs of the god on his bull and his partner on her hind, a bronze tablet inscribed *I. O. M. Dol.* | *Aur. Bas*|*sus sac.* | *servus eius*, and the left half of another bronze tablet with the *pointillé* inscription *I. O.* [*M. Dol.*] | *Fl. Sabin*[*us...*] | *Valeria V*[...] | *Tin-sadno...* | *suo ex iusso* [*dei*]).

i. 611 f. eagle between horns of bull and on short column beneath hull. Perhaps cp. the terra-cotta group published in pl. lxxvii, *a* and *b*.

i. 619 n. 4. A rosette on the forehead of a bull is a commonplace in ancient art: see J. Déchelette *Manuel d'archéologie* Paris 1910 ii. 1. 480, 1914 ii. 3. 1310. A couple of examples will suffice. A gold earring of Greek work (*s.* iv—iii B.C.), found in Palestine and now in my possession, shows a bull's head with a spiral rosette on the forehead. A gold strap-buckle of the La Tène period, found in the tomb of Chilperich I at Tournai in 1653 and stolen from the Cabinet des Médailles in 1831, had also a spiral rosette on the forehead (F. Dahn *Urgeschichte der germanischen und romanischen Völker* Berlin 1883 iii. 480 fig. 18 f., J. Déchelette *op. cit.* ii. 3. 1308 fig. 570, 2). Both are possibly symbolic.

S. Ronzevalle *Jupiter Héliopolitain* Beyrouth 1937 p. 51 ff. publishes a pair of monuments from the Ḥaurân. A basalt *stèle* (0·875^{m} high) from Tell Aš'ari near Tafas, now in the Museum at Damaskos, shows a bull-headed god *en face*. His horns make a large crescent enclosing a rosette. Under his left arm is a smaller rosette. And across his body is a sword (pl. 14 *bis*, 51 and 52). An almost exact replica of this relief (0·80^{m} high) is to be seen in a niche at 'Âwas south of Salḫad (fig. 12). Ronzevalle cp. a square altar of basalt (0·88^{m} high) from Salḫad, on which a bull's head appears in relief between the two parts of a Greek dedication to Ζεὺς μέγας ὁ κύριος (M. Dunand *Le Musée de Soueïda: Inscriptions et monuments figurés* Paris 1934 p. 99 no. 200 Διὶ μεγά|λῳ τῷ κυρίῳ | ὑπὲρ σωτηρίας | Μονίμου Βα|σιλίσκου Κ[ύρ]|ου ‖ Ἄνος οἰκοδό|μος εὐσεβῶν ἐπό|ησε).

i. 624 the Milky Way and Hera. So in Siberian mythology a Buriat tale explains the Milky Way as the overflow from the breasts of the Heaven-goddess Manzan Görmö (U. Holmberg *Finno-Ugric, Siberian Mythology* Boston 1927 pp. 414, 434).

i. 625 n. 1 the stars as flowers. Cp. Basil. *hom. in hexaem.* 6. 1 (xxix. 117 C Migne) τίς ὁ τοῖς ἄνθεσι τούτοις διαποικίλας τὸν οὐρανόν and the remarks of A. von Humboldt *Cosmos* trans. E. C. Otté London 1849 ii. 395.

i. 626 the Byzantine list of planets, metals, plants, and animals. S. Langdon in the *Museum Journal: University of Pennsylvania* 1918 ix. 151—156 with fig. describes a Babylonian tablet of *c.* 1600 B.C. dealing with symbolism in the Cassite period. W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1919 xxiii. 179 summarises: 'The text explains the divine powers which are controlled or symbolized by various substances and utensils employed in the rituals. Thus the jar of holy water signifies Ninhabursildu, queen of incantations; the tamerisk signifies the god of the heavens; the head of the date palm, Tammuz; the cypress, the aid of Adad; the censer invokes the god of the spring sun, Urasha, etc. It also gives the only information yet recovered about the mystic meanings of metals. Silver is the god of the heavens, gold the earth god, copper the god of the sea, lead the great mother goddess.' Prof. Langdon adds in a letter of Oct. 31, 1919: 'the sky god is symbolized by silver...because for astronomical reasons the Moon (or the silver god) was identified with the sky god at the summer solstice.' See further C. O. Zuretti *Alchemistica signa* (*Catalogue des manuscrits alchimiques grecs* viii) Bruxelles 1932 p. 1 ff.

i. 626 ff. Akin to the silvered or gilded plates of Iupiter *Dolichenus* is one of *repoussé* bronze, found by E. Cunnington in 1882 at the Romano-Celtic temple in Maiden Castle and now in the Museum at Dorchester (fig. 877, *a* front, *b* back, from the official photographs). It represents Minerva standing *en face* with helmet, spear, Gorgon's head, and shield, the whole on a raised oblong surrounded by the usual spear-head and lily-work (R. E. M. Wheeler in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1935 xv. 272). At the bottom edge are the remains of one or two letters, part of a lost inscription (Lt.-Col. C. D. Drew in a communication dated March 20, 1938). Minerva is known elsewhere on the plates of *Dolichenus* (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487, 619 with fig. 490), and it is conceivable that the cult of this maiden goddess, domiciled in the fourth-century temple (for which see R. E. M.

a

b

Terra-cotta group in the British Museum, p[r]obably connected with the cult of Iupiter *Dolichenus* (?).

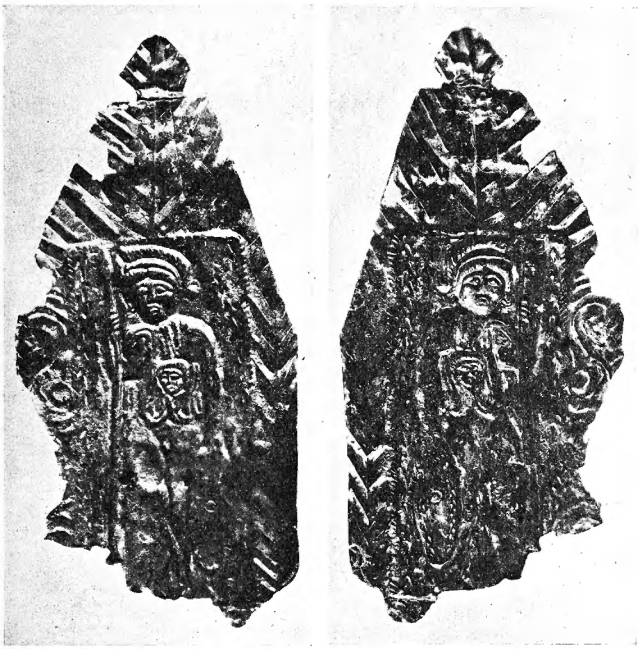
See page 1098.

I am indebted to Mr C. M. Robertson for the following official d[e]scription: '1907. 5—20. 69 Terracotta eagle with wreath in beak standing on bull's head, all on a flat square base. This now stands on a t[e]rra-cotta column, but it is not certain that they originally belonged together, though both are no doubt antique. They were acquired among a collection formed at Odessa from excavations of tombs at Olbia.'

A bronze mace from Willingham Fen,
now in the Museum of Archaeology and of Ethnology, Cambridge.

See page 1099 f.

Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 270 ff. pls. 33, 34, 2, 37, 38, 2, Miss M. V. Taylor in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1935 xxv. 220 f. pls. 40 and 41, 1, *ead. ib.* 1937 xxvii. 242 f.), contributed something to the popular etymology of *Maiden* (properly *Mai-Dun*) Castle. The temple itself may have been that of *Dolichenus*, a Celtic form of whom is suggested by a votive offering found in 1934 just outside the south-east corner of the building, *viz.* a three-horned bull (*supra* i. 639) made of tinned bronze and bearing a triad of busts, one *minus* its head (R. E. M. Wheeler *loc. cit.* p. 272 pl. 39 (=my fig. 878), Miss M. V. Taylor *loc. cit.* p. 220 pl. 41, 2).



a *b*

Fig. 877.

Another power associated with *Dolichenus* in the Celtic area as a pendant to Minerva with her spear was Hercules with his club (*supra* i. 616 fig. 487). And here we must take into account the interesting bronze mace found in 1857 by a ploughman on Willingham Fen, ten miles north-west of Cambridge (M. Rostovtseff—M. V. Taylor 'Commodus-Hercules in Britain' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1923 xiii. 91 ff. pl. 3 (inadequate), L. C. G. Clarke in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1926 vi. 178 f. pl. 31, F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 925 f., *id.* in *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* 1935—1936 xxxvii. 56 ff. pl. 4, *b*). The mace had been deliberately broken, perhaps by way of *damnatio memoriae* after Commodus' assassination in 192 A.D., and enclosed in a wooden chest along with a number of votive bronzes—soldiers on horseback, a bull's head, an eagle, an owl, etc. The three fragments of the mace, which together measure *c.* 0·345^{m} in height and had once a

wooden core, are decorated as follows (pl. lxxviii): (1) A bust of Commodus, wearing the *paludamentum*, forms the handle. (2) On the shaft is a nude beardless god with right hand uplifted (as if to brandish a bolt) and left hand raised (as if to hold a sceptre or spear). He sets his left foot on the bearded (?) head of a giant emerging from the ground. To the left an eagle, now headless, is perched on a globe, which rests on a six-spoked wheel marked with rays. To the right projects the head of a bull with three horns, one of which is now broken off. At the back plunges a dolphin. (3) The mace terminates as a knotted club. It is clear that the artist was primarily concerned to identify Commodus with Hercules (*supra* ii. 255 n. 0, 903 n. 2). But, since Commodus also posed as a youthful Iupiter holding thunderbolt and sceptre (*supra* i. 276 n. 5

Fig. 878.

fig. 202, ii. 1185 figs. 987, 988), a corresponding figure appears on the shaft. Further syncretism equates this Iupiter with the Germanic Ziu, the victorious rider of the Iupiter-columns, who tramples his giant under foot (*supra* ii. 74 ff.). It equips him also with the eagle-on-globe and the radiate wheel as a sky-god, with the three-horned bull perhaps as an earth-god (?*Dis pater*. But F. M. Heichelheim in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2281 f., 2453 ff. stresses 'Beziehungen zur Wassertiefe' and suspects connexion with Tarvos *Trigaranus* (*supra* i. 482 n. 0)), and even with the dolphin as a sea-god—thereby completing his claim to universal dominion.

i. 630 ff. 'where iron is born.' M. P. Charlesworth in a note to me (Oct. 29, 1934) cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 33. 118 Iuba minium nasci et in Carmania tradit, Timagenes et in Aethiopia, etc. But a closer parallel is furnished by the *Kalevala* runo 9. 25 ff. Kirby, where Väinämöinen says 'Well I know the birth of Iron, | And how steel was first created.' He goes on to tell how—

Ukko, God of realms supernal,
Rubbed his mighty hands together.
Both his hands he rubbed together,
On his left knee then he pressed them,
And three maidens were created,
Three fair Daughters of Creation,
Mothers of the rust of Iron,
And of blue-mouthed steel the fosterers.
Strolled the maids with faltering footsteps
On the borders of the cloudlets,
And their full breasts were o'erflowing,
And their nipples pained them sorely.
Down on earth their milk ran over,
From their breasts' o'erflowing fulness,
Milk on land, and milk on marshes,
Milk upon the peaceful waters.
Black milk from the first was flowing,
From the eldest of the maidens,
White milk issued from another,
From the second of the maidens,
Red milk by the third was yielded,
By the youngest of the maidens.
Where the black milk had been dropping,
There was found the softest Iron,
Where the white milk had been flowing,
There the hardest steel was fashioned,
Where the red milk had been trickling,
There was undeveloped Iron.

i. 631 n. 8. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 315 notes: "Αλύβη, or rather 'Αλύβη, corresponds with a Hittite Khaly-wa, "the land of the Halys," just as 'Αρζύβ[η] corresponds with Arzawa. The Halizonians are the Khalitu of a (cuneiform) inscription of the proto-Armenian king Rusas II. (B.C. 680),...who says that he had made a campaign against "the Moschians, the Hittites, and the Khalitu." The silver-mines of the Taurus, which were worked by the Hittites, were the chief source of the silver supplied to the early oriental world: hence the metal was a special favourite with the Hittites, from whom the rest of the world obtained it.' Cp. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 1. 169 n. 2. More hazardous conjectures in J. Karst *Die vorgeschichtlichen Mittelmeervölker* Heidelberg 1931 pp. 71 f., 254, 348.

i. 632 n. 5. Add Iul. Obs. 39 (Lycosthenes) mures in aede Iovis aurum roserunt.

i. 633 ff. The monograph of L. Malten 'Der Stier in Kult und mythischem Bild' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii. 90—139 has a useful collection of evidence from Egypt (pp. 92—98 figs. 1—11), Mesopotamia (pp. 98—107 figs. 12—27), Asia Minor (pp. 107—114 figs. 28—41), Syria (pp. 114—117 figs. 42—51), Palestine (pp. 117—119 figs. 52—54), Phoinike (p. 120 fig. 55), Crete (pp. 121—137 figs. 56—89), a brief notice of survivals in classical cults and myths (p. 137 f.), and some consideration of the Bull's significance from first to last (p. 138 f.).

i. 636 bull with body-marks. The best example is one from Ur published by C. L. Woolley in *The Antiquaries Journal* 1923 iii. 331 pl. 34 fig. 1, *a*: 'U 239 is a part of a shallow bowl of steatite originally surrounded by four bulls, of which one is preserved intact. The carving is remarkably good; the ground is inlaid in ivory with designs of sun, moon and stars; on the bull's body are trefoil marks resembling those on the Hathor cows of Egypt, on its shoulder and leg round spots arranged in the order of the stars of the Great Wain; it is the "great Bull of Heaven." A fragmentary inscription assigns it to the Third Dynasty.' Mr Sidney Smith kindly informs me (March 24, 1938) that the original is in the Baghdad Museum and should be dated *c.* 2200 B.C. or a little earlier: he adds that there is a poor cast of it in the British Museum. P. S. Bartoli *Museum Odescalchum* Romæ 1752 ii. 99 ff. pl. 42 shows a marble base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a crescent moon ☽, and above him the inscription BVE API. *Id. ib.* ii. 122 pl. 53 shows a similar (?other surface of same) base with relief of a bull walking to the right. On his side is a six-rayed star.

i. 638 bull in bowl surrounded by millet. Cp. perhaps the seated goddesses (of fertility?) and other discoid figures in clay found along with grains of barley, beans, and peas in urns of the Bronze Age at Tarxien, Malta (Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta*

Oxford 1930 p. 48 ff. pls. 15, 1, 16 and figs. 3—10, G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 366).

i. 638 f. H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 14, 1935 p. 430 fig. 6 publishes the ornament from a Sumerian harp of *c.* 3000 B.C., which was found at Khafaje, Iraq. It is a bull's head in copper with inlaid eyes and forehead. The white of the eyes is shell, the iris lapis lazuli, and the triangle on the forehead mother-of-pearl.

i. 639 n. 2 the Celtic cult of bulls. See now an important paper by A. D. Lacaille 'The Bull in Scottish Folklore, Place-names, and Archaeology' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 221—248 pls. 3—8, F. M. Heichelheim *s.v.* 'Tarvos Trigaranus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2453—2457, Wirth *s.v.* 'Stier' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 viii. 482—486.

i. 639 n. 4. Cp. A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1911 xliv. 4.

i. 642 n. 4. On Zeus as 'tyrant' in Aisch. *P. v.* see G. Thomson '*Ζεὺς Τύραννος*' in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 3—5.

i. 643 Mount *Tâbôr*. See further J. Boehmer 'Der Name Tabor' in the *Zeitschrift für Semitistik und verwandte Gebiete* 1929 vii. 161—169, O. Eissfeldt in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 25 n. 3.

i. 643. Soph. *frag.* 348 Dindorf (assigned to the *Αημνίαι*), 708 Nauck², 776 Jebb *ap.* schol. vet. Theokr. 7. 76/77 d. and *ap. et. mag.* p. 26, 16 ff. *Ἄθως σκιάζει νῶτα Αημνίας βοός* (so, without Sophokles' name, Cramer *anecd. Paris.* iv. 96, 17 ff., Zonar. *lex. s.v. Ἄθως*, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 980, 45 f. Schol. B. L. V. *Il.* 14. 229 *ὦτα* for *νῶτα*!) already implies the proverb which later writers commonly quote as *Ἄθως καλύπτει πλευρὰ Αημνίας βοός* (Greg. Kypr. 1. 73, *alii*. A Latin form of it perhaps in Varr. *de ling. Lat.* 7. 25 'cornu<t>a taurum umbram iaci', which O. Ribbeck *Trag. Rom. frag.* p. 311 would restore as '<Atós> in cornuátam taurum umbrám iacit'). Paroemiographers etc. explain that the allusion is to the shadow of Mt Athos which touched a white marble cow on Lemnos (Makar. 1. 46, Apostol. 1. 57, Arsen. *viol.* p. 25 Walz, Souid. *s.v. Ἄθως*). Plout. *de fac. in orb. lun.* 22 and *et. mag.* p. 26, 17 f. state, with greater probability, that the cow was of bronze. Others add that the shadow at the solstice reached the marketplace of Myrina (Ap. Rhod. 1. 601 ff. with schol. *ad loc.*, Plin. *nat. hist.* 4. 73, Solin. 11. 33, cp. Stat. *Theb.* 5. 49 ff.). The fullest discussion of the facts is that of A. C. Pearson in his edition of *The Fragments of Sophocles* Cambridge 1917 iii. 26 f. It is tempting to conjecture that the bronze cow of Lemnos, thus associated with sun and shadow, was akin to the bronze cattle of Mt Atabyron. If so, it had a Hittite ancestry.

i. 643 the bull of Perillos. On the bull-headed furnace at Byzantion, known as *ὁ Βοῦς* and used for the burning of criminals, see E. Oberhummer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1072. The principal text is Kodinos *de signis Constantinopolitanis* 25 D—26 A (p. 46 Bekker) = Anonymos *πάτρια* 2. 53 (p. 180, 8 ff. Preger) *περὶ τοῦ Βοός. εἰς δὲ τὸν καλούμενον Βοῦν κάμνος ἦν ἐκεῖσε παμμεγέθης ἐκτισμένη βοὸς ἔχουσα κεφαλήν· ἔνθα καὶ οἱ κακοῦργοι ἐτιμωροῦντο· ὅθεν καὶ ὁ Ἰουλιανὸς προφάσει τῶν καταδίκων πολλοὺς ἐν αὐτῷ κατέκαυσεν Χριστιανούς. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος βοὸς τύπος παμμεγεθεστάτου θεάματος· οὗ κατὰ μίμησιν καὶ ἐν τῷ Νεωρίῳ βοῦς ἀπετυπώθη. ἦν δὲ ἡ κάμινος ἕως Φωκᾶ (602—610 A.D.), ἀλλ' ὑπὸ Ἡρακλείου (610—641 A.D.) ἐχωνεύθη λόγῳ φόλλεων.* This bronze Bull is said to have been brought from Pergamon, where it had been used for the martyrdom of Antipas (Kedren. *hist. comp.* 323 B (i. 566 Bekker) *ὅτι ὁ χαλκοῦς βοῦς ἐκ Περγάμου ἦλθε, κάμινος δὲ ἦν ἐν ᾗ πέφληκται ὁ ἅγιος μάρτυς Ἀντίπας*, Zonar. 14. 14 (iii. 304, 11 ff. Dindorf) *τὸ δὲ δύστηνον σῶμα* (*sc.* of Phokas) *καυθῆναι κατὰ τὸν Βοῦν, ἔνθα κάμινος ἦν, ὡς λέγεται, ἐκ χαλκοῦ κατεσκευασμένη, σχῆμα βοὸς ἔχουσα, ἥπερ ἐκ Περγάμου κεκόμιστο, ἐξ ἧς καὶ ὁ τόπος ὠνόμαστο*). A. G. Sofiano *Pergame Moderne et Antique* Athènes 1930 p. 111 figures St Antipas being burnt in the copper bull, and *ib.* p. 112 observes: 'Ce bœuf avait été élevé par Attale I^er^ en mémoire de sa victoire sur les Galates; plus tard, il fut transporté à Constantinople où on le fit servir à diverses éxécutions: y furent brûlés, entre autres, Théodore et Stéphane, ministres de Justinien.' See further S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 iv. 136 S. Antipas (April 11), 304 S. George of Cappadocia (April 23), v. 66 S. Pelagia (May 4), x. 319 SS. Eustathius, Theopista, Agapius, Theopistus (Sept. 20). The last-mentioned holocaust is figured in the *Ecclesiae militantis triumphi* Paris s.a. pl. 9.

A final trace of the Hittite bull-cult, drawn from some classical source and modified by mediaeval imagination, may be detected in *Perceval le Gallois ou le conte du Graal* trans. S. Evans London 1903 p. 214 ff. Branch 18 Title 9 '...he came to the Castle of Copper. Within the castle were a number of folk that worshipped the bull of copper and believed not in any other God. The bull of copper was in the midst of the castle

upon four columns of copper, and bellowed so loud at all hours of the day that it was heard for a league round about, and there was an evil spirit within that gave answers...' with the sequel.

i. 645 n. 4 on the 'shields' of the Idaean Cave see also F. W. von Bissing in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 211 ff.

i. 648 Orphism in Crete. Cp. O. Kern 'Orphiker auf Kreta' in *Hermes* 1916 li. 554—567 and the satisfactory handling of the whole matter by W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 pp. 108 ff., 146 f.

i. 650 n. 1 the *ῥόμβος* or 'bull-roarer.' See further R. Battaglia 'Sopravvivenze del rombo nelle Provincie Venete' in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1925 i. 3. 190—217 with 7 figs., A. S. F. Gow 'ΙΥΓΞ, ΡΟΜΒΟΣ, *RHOMBUS, TURBO*' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 1—13 with figs. 1—11.

i. 651 n. 1 *Zagreús* as the god 'of Mt *Zágros*.' The same derivation is propounded independently by F. Hommel *Ethnologie und Geographie des alten Orients* München 1926 p. 721 n. 3.

i. 653 the Praisians sacrifice to a pig. Cp. Loukian. *Iup. trag.* 42 'Ασσύριοι περιστερᾷ (*sc. θύοντες*).

i. 655 on the etymology of *Τῑτάν*. A. Nehring 'Griechisch *τῑταξ, τῑτήνη* und ein vorgriechisches *k*-Suffix' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 153—192 discussing *inter alia* the word *Τῑτάν, Τῑτήν* (p. 167 ff.) postulates an original *Τῑτάν* as a 'Lallwort' meaning 'Vater' 'Väterchen,' cp. *τῑταξ, τῑταξ* (Hesych. *s.v. τῑταξ* cited *supra* i. 655 n. 2) and relates the whole group to Etruscan and the languages of Asia Minor.

i. 657 n. 2 Minos *ὀλοόφρων*. K. Marót '"Ατλας *ὀλοόφρων*' in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 22, 1926 pp. 585—590 concludes 'dass sich das Epitheton des Atlas *ὀλοόφρων* nicht auf eine moralische Schuld, sondern bloss auf die Boshaftigkeit eines "Täters," d. h. auf ein mythisch-vorethisches "Verderbensinnen" beziehen kann.'

i. 662. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 109 would amend my rendering of Firm. Mat. 6. 4 and 5 *pro tumulo extruit templum* and *deus factus est qui habere non potuit sepulturam* by translating 'he built a temple in place of a tomb' and 'has made a god out of one who was not able to find burial.'

i. 664 n. 1 on Epimenides *περὶ Μίνω καὶ Ῥαδαμάνθυος*. Further discussion by H. Gressmann in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Juli 26, 1913 pp. 935—938, J. Rendel Harris in the *Expositor* 1915 pp. 29—35, T. Nicklin in the *Class. Rev.* 1916 xxx. 33—37, Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 32—39.

i. 665 ff. on the origin of tragedy. My hypothesis is dismissed with little argument but much contumely by K. Ziegler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1952 f. Greater weight attaches to the courteous and clear-headed *critique* of A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 208—220—in a context neatly summarised by Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 229: 'Bei der Behandlung der Tragödie schätzt er (m. E. mit Recht) gegen v. Wilamowitz und Kranz das Zeugnis des Aristoteles sehr gering ein und verwirft die Hypothesen von der Entstehung der Tragödie, die Ridgeway (aus dem Heroenkult), Murray (aus *δρώμενα* zu Ehren des Dionysos) und Cook (aus dem kretischen Ritual der Dionysos-Zagreus) aufgestellt haben, und ist selbst der Ansicht, dass die Tragödie nicht aus dem Satyrspiel stammt, dass *τραγῳδός* "singer at the goat-sacrifice" oder "singer for the goat-prize" bedeutet. Bei Behandlung der Komödie wird der *κῶμος*, aus dem sie entstand, ausführlich besprochen und Cornfords Hypothese (Entstehung aus einem Ritual, das dem Jahresdämon galt) widerlegt.'

i. 671 pillar with Dionysiac mask or masks. See now W. Wrede 'Der Maskengott' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1928 liii. 66—95 with pls. 1—4, supplementary pls. 21—28, and figs. 1—4 (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 554 f.).

An oracle (Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 6. 243) *ap.* Clem. Al. *strom.* 1. 24 p. 102, 11 f. Stählin has *στῦλος Θηβαίοισι Διώνυσος πολυγηθής*, cp. Eur. *Antiope frag.* 203 Nauck[2] *ap.* Clem. Al. *loc. cit.* p. 102, 13 ff. Stählin *ἔνδον δὲ θαλάμοις βουκόλων | κομῶντα κισσῷ στῦλον Εὐίου θεοῦ*.

i. 674. Apollodoros of Athens no doubt lived in 'The second century B.C.' and wrote his great work *περὶ θεῶν* in 24 books (R. Münzel *De Apollodori περὶ θεῶν libris* Bonnae 1883 pp. 1—35, W. von Christ *Geschichte der griechischen Litteratur* München 1920 ii. 1. 395 f.). But the extant *βιβλιοθήκη*, long attributed to him, is now believed to be a work of Hadrianic date based on a handbook of mythology compiled between 100 and 55 B.C. (C. Robert *De Apollodori Bibliotheca* Berolini 1873 pp. 1—91, E. Schwartz in

Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2875 ff., Sir J. E. Sandys *A History of Classical Scholarship*[2] Cambridge 1906 i. 137, Sir J. G. Frazer *Apollodorus* New York i p. ix ff.).

i. 675 the caldron of divinisation in the cult of Leukothea. See further L. R. Farnell 'Ino-Leukothea' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1916 xxxvi. 36—44, especially p. 42 f.

i. 675 Dionysos done to death as a kid by worshippers who took the name of 'kids'? An interesting Scandinavian parallel is the *Bukkevise* described by B. S. Phillpotts *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama* Cambridge 1920 p. 125 f.: 'The performers are three boys, two of whom personate "father and son," while the third is dressed up as a goat. The doggerel recited by the "father and son" is corrupt, but it recounts the slaughter of the goat and its resurrection, and this is accompanied by appropriate action on the part of the third performer. The Norwegian verses appear to retain a memory of the partition of the goat-skin: "how much wilt thou give for the goat its skin?—wool?" We have here another case of the actual performances of a slaying and resurrection, with the additional primitive feature of a beast-skin disguise shed by the victim and at one time apparently allotted to one of the persons present.' Cp. E. K. Chambers *The English Folk-play* Oxford 1933 p. 211: 'Perhaps, therefore, we may go a step further, and guess at the existence...of some original European *ludus*, with just this Mock Death and Revival as its central point and with men dressed as animals for its performers.'

i. 677 n. o. K. Buresch *Aus Lydien* Leipzig 1898 p. 160 found at *Kaleh* near Temenothyrai 'ein marmornes, dem Ζεὺς Γαλάκτιος geweihtes Altärchen' and inferred that the site bore the name Galaktion—an inference accepted by L. Bürchner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 514. See also J. Keil in *Anatolian Studies presented to Sir W. M. Ramsay* Manchester 1923 p. 260 no. 8, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 615.

i. 677 n. 4 the Lupercalia. See further G. F. Unger 'Die Lupercalien' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1881 xxxvi. 50—86, W. Mannhardt *Mythologische Forschungen* Strasshurg 1884 pp. 72—155 ('Die Lupercalien'), J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1398—1402 *s.vv.* 'Lupercalia, Lupercal, Luperci,' E. Lefébure 'Le bouc des Lupercales' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1909 lix. 73—81, W. F. Otto 'Die Luperci und die Feier der Lupercalien' in *Philologus* 1913 N.F. xxvi. 161—195, Alberta Mildred Franklin *The Lupercalia* New York: Columbia University 1921 pp. 1—106, A. Marbach in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiii. 1815 f. *s.v.* 'Lupercal,' 1816—1830 *s.v.* 'Lupercalia,' 1830—1834 *s.v.* 'Luperci,' 1834—1839 *s.v.* 'Lupercus,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 206—217.

No ancient representation of the Lupercalia is known. Reinach *Pierres Gravées* p. 77 no. 77 pl. 77 *'Sacrifice des Lupercales,'* a stone published at Paris in 1732 by Lévesque de Gravelle, is an obvious forgery.

i. 679. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* London 1935 p. 132 adds 'the *Bassarids* of Aeschylus which told of the dismemberment of Orpheus.'

A doublet of the myth of Pelias may perhaps be seen in that of Minos done to death in a hot bath at Kamikos by Kokalos or his daughters (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 360, Poland in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 1918 f.).

i. 681 n. 4 Διθύραμβος. The suffix is discussed by H. Petersson 'Die altindischen Wörter auf -amba' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1924 xxxiv. 222—249.

Zacher 'Die Ursprünge und der Name des Iambus' in the *Jahres-Bericht der Schlesischen Gesellschaft für vaterländische Cultur* 1904 lxxxii Abteilung iv. 3 f. hit upon a derivation of Διθύραμβος near akin to mine: 'Endlich müsste διθύραμβος sein = ὁ διθυράζων, d. h. wohl den Δίθυρος besingend. Δίθυρος könnte eine Nebenform von Διόνυσος sein, und wie dieses bedeuten "Sohn des Zeus" (θυρος von θορεῖν? θύρσος die Zeugungsrute?).' This acute conjecture is too summarily dismissed by Boisacq *Dict. étym. de la Langue Gr.* p. 188.

W. M. Calder 'The Dithyramb—an Anatolian Dirge' in the *Class. Rev.* 1922 xxxvi. 11—14, dissatisfied with all previous views, mine included, proposed to connect διθύραμβος with two Phrygian words or loan-words διθρερα and διθρεψα. The first of these occurs in an inscription from Tyriaion (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 121 f. no. 67 = J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 132 f. no. 31), the second in another from Ikonion (W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1911 xxxi. 188 ff. no. 49 = J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 135 no. 49). It is claimed that 'διθρερα must be a noun, and διθρεψα must be either a noun or an adjective...meaning "monument" or some sepulchral attribute or characteristic,' possibly the "double door" (δι + θρερα = *dhvara, θύρα, fores*) of the Phrygian family-tomb 'symbolically leading in two directions—outwards to the world of life, inwards to the world of death.' On this showing διθύραμβος means "grave-song" or "dirge," and we must regard the θρήνων ἐξάρχους of *Il.* 24. 721 as the counterpart of τῶν ἐξαρχόντων τὸν διθύραμβον in Aristot. *poet.* 4 1449 a 11.

Calder's explanation, though ingenious and attractive, is however—as he frankly admits—beset by difficulties and uncertainties. Moreover it seems hard to reconcile with the Platonic equation *διθύραμβος=Διονύσου γένεσις* (*supra* i. 682 n. 1). Are we to assume that the 'dirge' dealt with Dionysos' birth, and compare the funereal character of the Attic Γενέσια (P. Stengel in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1131, *id. Die griechischen Kultusaltertümer*[3] München 1920 p. 227 f.)? Or to argue with J. A. K. Thomson (in a letter to Jane Harrison dated March 31, 1921) 'that the Dithyramb celebrated the *γενέσια* of Dionysos, his grave-ritual.... The Early Christians celebrated the *γενέσια* or *γενέθλια*, "birth-day," of a martyr on the day of his martyrdom, because he was then truly born—"born again"'?

Calder returns to the charge in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 214 with a shrewd emendation of Glaukos Rheg. *frag.* 4 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* ii. 24 Müller) *ap.* [Plout.] *de musica* 10 *ἠρωικῶν γὰρ ὑποθέσεων σπαράγματα* (for *πράγματα* codd.) *ἐχουσῶν κ.τ.λ.* 'For such was the theme of the dithyramb (*διασπασμόν τινα καὶ διαμελισμόν*) according to Plutarch *de Ei apud Delphos* 389 A.'

W. Brandenstein in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1936 liv. 34—38 would interpret *ἴαμβος, θρίαμβος, διθύραμβος* as 'Zweischritt, Dreischritt, Vierschritt.'

i. 682 n. 1. Of the three Pindaric dithyrambs published by B. P. Grenfell—A. S. Hunt *The Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1919 xiii. 27 ff. no. 1604 one (O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 5 f. *frag.* 70[a]) describes a festival of Dionysos held by the gods in heaven, another (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 *frag.* 70[b]) speaks of a Dionysiac banquet, and the third (Schroeder *op. cit.* p. 7 f. *frag.* 70[c]) must also be concerned with the same deity since it mentions wreaths of ivy. See further J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 pp. 48—51.

Cp. *Anth. Pal.* 9. 524. 5 *Διογενῆ, δίγονον, διθυραμβογενῆ, Διόνυσον, ib.* 19 *Σεμελη-γενέτην, Σεμελῆα.*

i. 684 n. 11. L. Deubner *Attische Feste* Berlin 1932 p. 65 f. pl. 3, 1 and 3, thinks that this vase represents the Haloia and cites modern usage in Herzegovina ('hier stellt man, wenn die Wintersaat aufgeht, auf dem Felde durch eine tiefe Furche den Umriss eines erigierten Phallos mit Hoden her. Diese Form des Fruchtbarkeitszaubers wurde früher auf dem Balkan allgemein angewandt[4] ([4]Vgl. R. N. Salaman, Man 30, 1930, 48)').

i. 684 date of the ritual marriage unknown. L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 177 ff. argues that the marriage of Dionysos and the *Basilinna* is both represented (figs. 4, 5, 7, 8, 9, 16) and parodied (fig. 6, cp. fig. 19) on the 'Choenkännchen' and must therefore have taken place 'am Choentage' (Anthesterion 12). But the argument is insecure, for—as Deubner himself admits (*Attische Feste* p. 97)—'Nicht alle Bilder, mit denen die grossen oder kleinen Kannen der typischen Choenform geschmückt sind (es sind jetzt 300—400 bekannt), brauchen sich auf das Choenfest zu beziehen.' And it remains possible to urge that these little vases are simply children's toys, often decorated with Dionysiac scenes, but not necessarily illustrative of the *Chóes*.

i. 687 n. 3 trees planted on graves as a vehicle for the soul. Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 790 n. 1 gives further references for this folk-belief. See also H. Marzell in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 955 'Der B[aum], der aus der Erde hervorspriesst, und besonders der aus den Gräbern Verstorbener hervorwachsende B[aum] soll die Seele beherbergen.'

i. 689 n. 5 the Boeotian Xanthos or Xanthios slain by the Neleid Melanthos with the aid of Dionysos *Melánaigis*. A doublet in Plout. *quaestt. Gr.* 13 *ἐκ δὲ τούτου μονομαχοῦσιν οἱ βασιλεῖς, καὶ τὸν τῶν Ἰναχιέων Ὑπέροχον ὁ τῶν Αἰνιάνων Φήμιος ὀρῶν μετὰ κυνὸς αὐτῷ προσφερόμενον οὐκ ἔφη δίκαια ποιεῖν, δεύτερον ἐπάγοντα μαχόμενον· ἀπελαύνοντος δὲ τοῦ Ὑπερόχου τὸν κύνα καὶ μεταστρεφομένου, λίθῳ βαλὼν ὁ Φήμιος αὐτὸν ἀναιρεῖ. κτησάμενοι δὲ τὴν χώραν, τοὺς Ἰναχιεῖς μετὰ τῶν Ἀχαιῶν ἐκβαλόντες, τὸν μὲν λίθον ἐκεῖνον ὡς ἱερὸν σέβονται καὶ θύουσιν αὐτῷ καὶ τοῦ ἱερείου τῷ δημῷ περικαλύπτουσιν.* W. R. Halliday 'Xanthos—Melanthos and the Origin of Tragedy' in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 179—181 and in his note on Plout. *loc. cit.* thinks that both the Attic and the Boeotian tale were 'a purely secular traditional legend to which no esoteric meaning need be attached.'

i. 694. A. J. B. Wace 'More Mumming Plays' in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1912—1913 xix. 248—265 figs. 1—6 concludes 'That the festival is really a winter festival and has in different places been transferred to a different season. Secondly, that it is by no means a typically Greek festival, for it occurs only in North Greece where there is much mixed blood, and is known to almost all the other South Balkan races.'

i. 695 Athenian substitute for dramatic omophagy. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 108 cites a newly discovered note of Fest. *in* Isid. *orig.* 8. 7. 6 Hos

Hyginus (*eginus* cod.) primum frusta[m] hircinae carnis praemium accepisse dicit et inde nomen traxisse, scilicet a trago quem Latini hircum vocant.

i. 697 n. 4. P. Kretschmer comments on Σιληνός again in *Glotta* 1915 vi. 308. But F. Solmsen 'Σιληνὸς Σάτυρος Τίτυρος' in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1912 xxx. 1—47 connects the word with *σιλός, *silus*, a by-form of σιμός, 'snub-nosed.'

i. 698 n. 1. No. (10) is now in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston: see Miss M. H. Swindler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1915 xix. 412 ff. figs. 8 and 9, L. D. Caskey *ib.* 1918 xxii. 110 f. fig. 3, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 130 f. fig. 81 (the 'Penthesilea Painter'), Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 339 no. 10, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 276 no. 52. Add no. (16) Red-figured *kýlix* in the Museo Villa Giulia at Rome (E. Boehringer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 166 with fig. 29)=nude human figure with goatish head, horns, and tail dancing before Persephone, whose head emerges from the ground.

In the fourth century these goatish dancers were assimilated to the south-Italian Pan, *e.g.* on an 'Apulian' vase published by T. Panofka *Musée Blacas* Paris 1829 pl. 23 (F. Weege *Der Tanz in der Antike* Halle/Saale 1926 p. 3 fig. 2) or on an Italiote bell-*krátēr* at Lecce published by Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* ii. 106 pl. 80, 3 (F. Weege *op. cit.* p. 106 fig. 144, L. Séchan in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iv. 1044 fig. 6069). Yet A. Hartmann certainly goes too far when he says at the end of his article on 'Silenos und Satyros' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 53: 'So bleibt es dabei, dass die bocksartige Bildung von Satyrn erst ein Erzeugnis der in der hellenistischen Zeit aufkommenden Einmischung des Pantypus in den Satyr- und Silentypus ist.'

i. 700 n. 4. E. M. W. Tillyard has since discovered the faint inscription ΚΑΛΟΣ ΗΦΑΡΣΤΟΣ (*sic*), which makes it probable that the central figure is Hephaistos carrying his axe. If so, the scene shows Dionysos persuading Hephaistos to accompany him to Olympos—a scene perhaps drawn from Achaios' satyr-play "Ηφαιστος (*Trag. Gr. frag.* p. 750 f. Nauck²) (E. M. W. Tillyard *The Hope Vases* Cambridge 1923 p. 79 ff. no. 136 pl. 23).

i. 704 early seal-stones portraying human goats etc. Any serious attempt to discuss these much-disputed figures must nowadays take into account analogous types found over a wide area of the ancient world. A sample or two will suffice to show the sort of data required. A whorl of green steatite from Hagios Onuphrios near Phaistos shows a horned figure with human legs (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 118 fig. 52, *a*, *id. The Palace of Minos at Knossos* Oxford 1921 i. 69 fig. 38 A). A prism-seal in black steatite from Karnak shows a human figure with bovine head running (*id. Scripta Minoa* i. 123 fig. 58, *c*, *Palace of Minos* i. 69 fig. 38 B, *c*). Both these are assigned to the 'Early Minoan i' period (3400—2800 B.C.). Sir J. Marshall *Mohenjo-daro and the Indus Civilization* London 1931 ii. 389 fig. 356 on pl. 111 notes two human figures (from seals no. 227 and no. 230) with the hoofs, horns, and tail of a bison. *Id. ib.* ii. 389 fig. 357 on pl. 111 gives a seal on which a similar figure is seen struggling with a fabulous horned tiger. Sir John compares the type with that of Enkidu the companion of Gilgameš. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge on Oct. 31, 1928, quoted an 'ibex-headed man on a proto-Elamite tablet' and an 'animal-headed man on a seal from South Caucasus' as evidence of Mesopotamian priority to the fantastic sealings from Zakro (*supra* p. 845 n. 3). See also Addenda to i. 67 n. 3.

i. 705. R. C. Flickinger 'Tragedy and the Satyric Drama' in *Class. Philol.* 1913 viii. 261—283 (especially pp. 269—272) discusses the derivation of *τραγῳδία*, defending the goat-prize tradition and rejecting the goat-men conjectures. *Id. The Greek Theater and its Drama* Chicago 1918 pp. 13—15, *ib.*⁴ 1936 pp. 13—15, maintains the same standpoint. E. Rostrup *Attic Tragedy in the light of Theatrical History* trans. I. Andersen Kjøbenhavn—Kristiania—London—Berlin 1923 p. 64 ff. denies the dancers 'costumed as he-goats' and holds, on anthropological grounds, that the *τράγοι* were young men who had undergone puberty-rites and were known by an animal name—the *χοροὶ παιδῶν*, *χοροὶ τραγῳδῶν*, and *χοροὶ ἀνδρῶν* representing successive age-groups. A. W. Pickard-Cambridge *Dithyramb Tragedy and Comedy* Oxford 1927 pp. 149—166, after a careful discussion of all the possibilities, reverts to the view that *τραγῳδός* may well mean 'singer at the goat-sacrifice' or 'singer for the goat-prize.' 'The two may even be reconciled, if the goat was first won and then sacrificed' (p. 165).

i. 706 Zeus *Aseès*. W. M. Calder in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1913 xxxiii. 103 compares this appellative with an Old Phrygian text from *Euyuk* in Kappadokia (J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 p. 127 no. 15 *a*, 3 *τερκοσασιεκμορ*), of which

he says: 'it can hardly be doubted that *terkos* is the "Hittite" *tarku* meaning "god" or a particular god, and it is very tempting to read the name of the god in the following letters. Whether we read *Asie kmor*... or *Asi ekmor*..., we appear to be dealing with the dative of the divine name Asis, which is attested elsewhere, and may be not unconnected with the name which the Greeks gave to the lands east of the Aegean.... Ramsay is probably right in taking ACEIC [*supra* i. 706 fig. 521] as a non-Phrygian name; if our interpretation of the Euyuk inscription is correct, Asis is the name of a god who belonged to the religion which the Phrygians found in the country when they entered it, and who was worshipped at the old Hittite centre of Euyuk at the date to which this inscription belongs.... The name Ἀσιοκώμη expresses the proprietorship of the god Asis in a village on his estate, just as the village-name Ἀτυοχωρίον in Phrygia indicates that the village belongs to Atys. In the Lydian genealogies Asies figures as the nephew or as the brother of Atys [E. Meyer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1579 f., 2262]. The name Atios occurs on an Old-Phrygian inscription (if Phrygian it be) found by Garstang at Tyana [J. Friedrich *op. cit.* p. 127 no. 19 *a*, 3 αtιονι, 5 αtιος].... The name is written with the symbol ϯ, which suggests that the names Attis and Asis were originally identical.' Not impossibly, then (cp. *supra* ii. 293), Zeus ACEIC meant *ab origine* 'Father' Zeus, while Ἀσία was the 'Fatherland.'

i. 707 n. 2 with fig. 524. This red-figured *hydría* from Girgenti is attributed to 'the Syleus Painter' (*c.* 480 B.C.) and perhaps shows Zeus bringing the infant Dionysos to the Nymphs. To the bibliography add J. de Witte in the *Nouv. Ann.* 1836—1837 i. 357—372 pl. 9, Reinach *Rép. Vases* i. 237, 1 and ii. 260, 1, H. Heydemann *Dionysos' Geburt und Kindheit* (*Winckelmannsfest-Progr. Halle* 1885) p. 18 f., *id.* in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1891 vi. 47, J. D. Beazley *Attic red-figured Vases in American Museums* Cambridge Mass. 1918 p. 66 no. 1, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 438 no. 9, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 162 no. 23.

i. 708 ff. E. Fiechter—R. Herbig *Das Dionysos-Theater in Athen* Stuttgart 1935 ii (Die Skulpturen vom Bühnenhaus). 36 pls. 9—16 accept my interpretation of the reliefs from the stage of Phaidros, but regard my restorations as 'keineswegs immer glücklich.'

i. 709 n. 1 no distinctive art-type for Hestia. Yet see Porph. *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 3. 11. 7 = Lyd. *de mens.* 4. 94 p. 139, 2 ff. Wünsch *καὶ τὸ μὲν ἡγεμονικὸν τῆς θείας δυνάμεως Ἑστία κέκληται, ἧς ἄγαλμα παρθενικὸν ἐφ' ἑστίας ἵδρυται· καθ' ὃ δὲ γόνιμος ἡ δύναμις, σημαίνουσιν αὐτὴν γυναικὸς εἴδει προμάστου.*

i. 710 Aigeira. This town possessed a notable sanctuary of Zeus with a seated image of the god wrought in Pentelic marble by Eukleides of Athens (Paus. 7. 26. 4). Local coins issued by Septimius Severus and Plautilla show Zeus seated on a high-backed throne in the attitude of Zeus *Olympios* with Nike on his right hand and a long sceptre in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 17 no. 5 pl. 4, 10 Plautilla (my fig. 879 is from a cast), Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* ii. 90 pl. S, 6 Plautilla, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 412). Portions of this cult-statue are still extant. O. Walter 'Ein Kolossalkopf des Zeus aus Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx. 1—14 figs. 1—9 pls. 1 (=my fig. 880) and 2 published the large head (height 0·87[m]) which he had found on Aug. 31, 1916, inside the temple. The marble is hollowed at the back and, as the dowel-holes prove, was eked out before and behind with adjusted pieces. The eyes were inlaid. *Id.* 'Der Arm der Zeusstatue von Eukleides' *ib.* 1932 xxvii. 146—152 figs. 94—97 was able to add the left arm, found by the villagers of *Vlowoka* in 1920 close to the same building, and one finger of the right hand, found in 1925 inside it. The fragments (now in the National Museum at Athens, nos. 3377 and 3481) are all of Pentelic marble, imply a figure about thrice life-size, and suit the pose of the god as shown on the coins. See further D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 480. O. Walter 'Eine archäologische Voruntersuchung in Aigeira' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1919 xix—xx Beiblatt pp. 5—42 figs. 1—26 and 'Versuchsgrabung in Aigeira' *ib.* 1932 xxvii Beiblatt pp. 223—234 figs. 109—115 gives a good account of the town and temple, from which it appears that a large *podium* at the west end of the *cella* bore a base designed for a much smaller statue. It seems likely that, at some date later than Pausanias' visit, the big Zeus was damaged and

Fig. 879.

replaced by a life-sized figure, perhaps that of a Roman emperor. Otherwise we should have to conclude that the temple to which the big Zeus belonged is still to seek. Eukleides, to judge from the style and technique of this statue, may be regarded as a contemporary of Damophon and dated *c.* 200 B.C. (A. Hekler 'Eukleides' *ib.* 1922 xxi—xxii. 120—122), though O. Walter and G. Lippold would place him in the middle of the fourth century B.C. or a little later (Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* Suppl. v. 220).

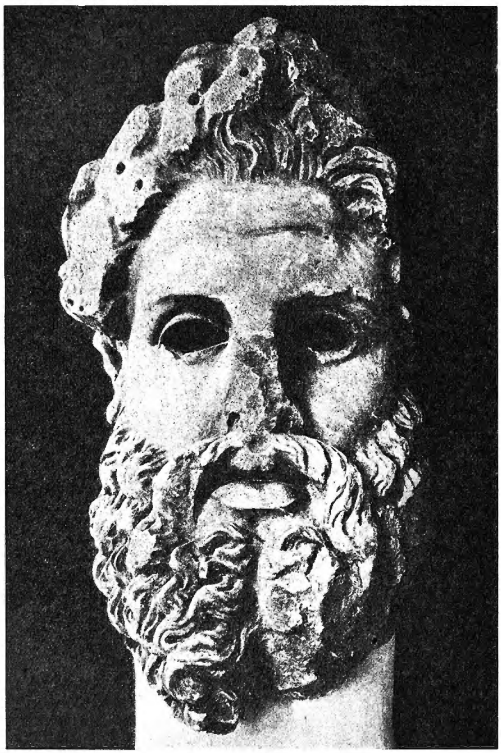


Fig. 880.

i. 710 Eros with crossed legs. On this attitude see W. Deonna 'Croiser les jambes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 344—352, W. N. Bates in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1914 xviii. 502 f.

i. 710 Theseus. M. Bieber *Die Denkmäler zum Theaterwesen im Altertum* Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 18 f. pl. 7, 2 takes this figure to be Nero (cp. E. Strong in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 327 n. 2). In any case see Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* no. 3078 pl. 200.

i. 711 Vediovis. See further L. Preller 'Studien zur römischen Mythologie. 2. Vejovis und Dijovis' in the *Ber. sächs. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1855 pp. 202—215, J. A. Hild in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* v. 669 f. *s.v.* 'Veiovis,' A. L. Frothingham 'Vediovis, the Volcanic God: a Reconstruction' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1917 xxxviii. 370—391, G. Wissowa in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 174—176 *s.v.* 'Veiovis,' F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 262 f., 352.

Fig. 881.

i. 713. A figure-*oinochóe* (Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 408 f.) in my collection shows the infant Dionysos, with a *kántharos* in his right hand, mounted on a vigorous goat (fig. 881). The vase, which was polychrome, has traces of pink (flesh), red (cloak), yellow (hair, *kántharos*), and blue (wreath) on a white ground. Height, exclusive of the handle which is in part restored, 5¼ ins.

i. 713 n. 0. On the cult-statue of Apollon see a mutilated relief from the Amyklaion published by B. Schröder in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1904 xxix. 24—31 fig. 2, also E. R. Fiechter 'der Amykläische Thron, Bericht über die Untersuchungen im Amyklaion 1907' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. pp. 66—70, *id.* 'Amyklae.

Der Thron des Apollon' *ib.* 1918 xxxiii. 107—245 figs. 1—90 pls. 4—20, P. Bersakes '*Ὁ θρόνος τοῦ Ἀμυκλαίου Ἀπόλλωνος*' in the '*Ἀρχ. Ἐφ.* 1912 pp. 183—192 figs. 1—26, W. Klein 'Zum Thron des Apollo von Amyklae' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. pp. 6—13, E. Buschor—W. von Massow 'Vom Amyklaion' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1927 lii. 1—85 (especially p. 19) figs. 1—40 pls. 1—23 supplementary pls. 1—12.

i. 717 n. 2 bulls sacrificed to Zeus. Add Xen. *Cyrop.* 8. 3. 11 *πρῶτον μὲν ἤγοντο τῷ Διὶ ταῦροι πάγκαλοι εἰς τέτταρας καὶ οἷς τῶν ἄλλων θεῶν οἱ μάγοι ἐξηγοῦντο.* Also the *Ταυροφόνια* at Mylasa (*supra* ii. 582 n. 5, iii. 570). See, however, Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 12. 120 sic in Thracia civitatem condens Aeneas, quam mox fuerat relicturus, contra morem Iovi de tauro sacrificavit (*Aen.* 3. 20 f.), Isid. *orig.* 12. 1. 28 iuvencus dictus eo quod iuvare incipiat hominum usus in terra colenda (*supra* p. 591 n. 1), vel quia apud gentiles Iovi semper ubique iuvencus immolabatur et nunquam taurus. nam in victimis etiam aetas considerabatur.

i. 717 n. 3 goats sacrificed to Zeus. W. M. Lindsay in the *Class. Quart.* 1916 x. 109 cites Fest. *in* Isid. *orig.* 8. 11. 84 Ioui Cretenses capram immolabant.

i. 720 the golden hound of Crete. An Attic black-figured *skýphos* found at Kameiros and now in the Louvre (A 478) (Pottier *Cat. Vases du Louvre* i. 171, *id. Vases antiques du Louvre* Paris 1897 p. 20 pl. 17) is interpreted by L. D. Barnett in *Hermes* 1898 xxxiii. 638 ff. as illustrating the discovery by Iris and Hermes of the golden hound in the house of Pandareos—an interpretation now commonly accepted (H. N. Fowler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1899 iii. 304, W. H. Roscher in his *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1502 n. **, Pfuhl *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* i. 328).

i. 723 the *cire perdue* method of hollow-casting in bronze. Miss van der Kolf in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 2084 is disposed to adopt my explanation of the Talos-myth ('eine ansprechende Vermutung'), but regards both myth and method as 'ziemlich jung.' S. Casson *The Technique of Early Greek Sculpture* Oxford 1933 is more precise: 'One thing is certain—that the Minoans had no knowledge at all of hollow casting by the *cire-perdue* process' (cp. L. R. Farnell *supra* ii. 644 n. 1). But is that so certain? K. Kluge, our greatest authority on Greek bronzes, in his *Die antiken Grossbronzen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 91—102 ('Der antike Wachserzguss') cites the pottery mould for an axe to be cast by the *cire perdue* process, which was found in the seventh stratum at Troy and is now in the Berlin Museum (W. Dörpfeld *Troja und Ilion* Athen 1902 i. 405 fig. 404, 408 f. supplementary pl. 46, VIII a, VIII b). Again, Kluge 'Die Gestaltung des Erzes in der archaisch-griechischen Kunst' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xliv. 1—30 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.) says (p. 6): 'Bereits in primitiven Kulturlagen—es sei an die Güsse von Benin erinnert—wird diese Methode des Wachserzgusses beherrscht, und in der ägyptischen Kunst können wir den steilen Anstieg dieses Könnens verfolgen....' Indeed, Mr H. Frankfort in *The Illustrated London News* Oct. 8, 1932 p. 528 figs. 7—9 shows a statuette from Khafaje in Iraq representing a bearded priest cast in bronze by the *cire perdue* process *c.* 3000 B.C. Mr Sidney Smith (Jan. 1, 1926) refers me further to F. Thureau-Dangin in the *Revue d'assyriologie et d'archéologie orientale* 1924 xxi. 26 n. 3 and 155, who cites A. Ungnad in the *Vorderasiatische Schriftdenkmäler der königlichen Museen zu Berlin* Leipzig 1909 Heft viii. 51 no. 103 ('un qurqurru reçoit 2/3 de mine de cire pour la fabrication d'une clé en métal; c'est le procédé de la cire perdue'). For modern *cire perdue* casting see A. Toft *Modelling and Sculpture* London 1911 pp. 187—191.

i. 723 n. 3. For proof that the Sardinians of the Bronze Age worshipped a bull-god in their subterranean temples see R. Pettazzoni 'Le antichità protosarde di Santa Vittoria' in the *Bullettino di paletnologia italiana* 1910 xxxv. 159—177, A. Taramelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1915 xxiii. 313—436 (especially p. 352 ff.), T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for Jan. 22, 1920 p. 50, H. Philipp in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i A. 2488, J. Whatmough *The Foundations of Roman Italy* London 1937 p. 373 ('Of especial interest are the temples discovered in recent years by Taramelli. These are circular in construction and were regularly built over a sacred spring or well. With them is associated the cult of the sacred pillar and also of a deity who took the form of a bull, as the large stone bulls' heads from the front of the temples show. It is difficult not to admit in these the evidence of oriental influence, as also in the indications of ordeal by water, and of "incubation"...').

i. 725 Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the saw. G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 189—194 figs. 1—5 pl. 25, A, B publishes a magnificent gold *bulla* of Etruscan workmanship, found near Ferrara (?) and now in the Walters Art

Gallery, Baltimore. Two archaic winged figures in relief, with incised retrograde inscriptions, show Daidalos (ƎИTIAT) and Ikaros (ƎƆAƆIIƆ), the former holding a saw in his left hand and an adze in his right, the latter a double axe and a square. E. Fiesel *loc. cit.* pp. 195—197 thinks that the inscription originated in Central Etruria, probably in the fifth century B.C. *Taitle* and *Vikare* are correct Etruscan forms of *Δαίδαλος* and *Ἴκαρος*, the one being Greek, the other—to judge from the suffix *-αρ-*—pre-Greek or Aegean. A cornelian scarab, from the Hamilton collection, now in London, again represents Daidalos, *Taitle* (?), as a beardless winged figure, flying above waves, with an adze in his right hand, a saw in his left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 67 no. 329 pl. E, *ib.*[2] p. 82 no. 663 pl. 11). A second cornelian scarab, from the Blacas collection, also in London, has a somewhat similar, but uninscribed, Daidalos flying with saw in right hand and adze (?) in left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems* p. 68 no. 330 pl. E, *ib.*[2] p. 89 f. no. 727 pl. 12, cp. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 19, 28, ii. 93 ('Geflügelter Dämon'), Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 25, 7 p. 171 ('Eros')). Lastly, a *stèle* from Bologna, assigned to the date 390—360 B.C., includes among its reliefs the same beardless Daidalos flying through the air with square and double axe in his right hand and saw in his left (E. Brizio in the *Not. Scavi* 1890 pp. 139—142 pl. 1, 3).

The art-type of the winged male figure posting through the sky with a double axe may be traced back to a very early date (sub-'Minoan'?) in the Archipelago: see the Melian (?) gem *supra* ii. 544 fig. 419. From Melos to Ikaros (Ikaria) is a bare hundred miles. Talos, Daidalos, and Ikaros were perhaps all originally independent but analogous figures (Gruppe *Gr. Myth. Rel.* p. 250 n. 2; Heeg in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 986, G. M. A. Hanfmann *loc. cit.* p. 194), various forms taken by the winged sun-god.

i. 726 ff. Talos, nephew of Daidalos, and the partridge. L. Mercklin *Die Talos-Sage und das sardonische Lachen* in the *Mémoires présentés à l'Académie impériale des sciences de St-Pétersbourg par divers savants* Saint-Pétersbourg 1854 vii. 110 (74) n. 203 cp. the romantic tale of Meles and Timagoras (Paus. 1. 30. 1) or Timagoras and Meletos (Souid. *s.v.* **Μέλητος** *ter*), on which see W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2626 and Scherling in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 491 f. But this has been adequately explained on other lines by C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1925 xxvi. 101—104.

J. D. Beazley 'Icarus' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 222—233 illustrates *inter alia* (p. 231 fig. 6) a small red-figured *lékythos* of *c.* 470 B.C., in New York, on which a winged youth sinking into the sea (?) has above his head a bird 'flying almost straight down'....'The bird acts as the directional arrow in cartography.' H. J. Rose 'Ikaros and Perdix on a Fifth-century Vase?' *ib.* 1928 xlviii. 9 f. acutely conjectures that the painter 'had in his mind the mythical Perdix.'

On *περδίκιον* see R. M. Dawkins *ib.* 1936 lvi. 8 (botanical identifications).

i. 732 Zeus paired with Selene. Cp. S. Eitrem 'Die heilige Ehe' in *Symbolae Osloenses* 1932 xi. 18 n. 1.

i. 733 n. 6. On Zeus **Νόσιος** of Miletos see now gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 1053, who, after mentioning the late sixth-century offering **Διὶ Νοσίῳ** (in inscription no. 31, 9 a sacrificial calendar on the wall of the old hall in the Delphinion), adds: '**Νόσιε** findet sich dann noch in einer Inschrift nr. 186, einer "Schreibübung eines Steinmetzen," aus der Zeit vor der Perserkatastrophe.... Auch v. Wilamowitz G G A 1914, 100 hält **Διὶ Νοσίῳ** für gesichert, fügt aber mit Recht hinzu: "es kann wohl nur ein *νούσιος* sein, so sehr es befremdet."'

i. 735 f. Zeus as a Satyr. Titian's 'Jupiter and Antiope' in the Louvre shows the lustful god, with the ears and legs of a goat, just twitching the last garment off a recumbent and sleeping Antiope (Sir J. A. Crowe—G. B. Cavalcaselle *The Life and Times of Titian*[2] London 1881 ii. 317 with pl., J. Addison *Classic Myths in Art* London 1904 p. 57 f. with pl.).

H. W. Stoll in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 3309 takes Sil. It. 3. 103 ff. (lascivo genitus Satyro nymphaque Myrice | Milichus indigenis late regnarat in oris | cornigeram attollens genitoris imagine frontem) to mean that Meilichos the horned king of Spain was the son of the nymph Myrike by Zeus in the form of a Satyr.

Zeus **Πειώλης** is attested by Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 264 f. **Ἐπίθετα Διός**... 86 *πειώλους*, 266 **Ἐπίθετα Διός**... 74 *πειώλους*. The epithet, a derivative of *πέος* (Stephanus *Thes. Gr. Ling.* vi. 743 D—744 A), would suit a god of Satyr-like propensities, 'soll also wohl den Zeus als Gott der Fruchtbarkeit bezeichnen, wenn es nicht christlich-apologetischen Ursprunges ist' (O. Höfer in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* iii. 1752).

i. 735 n. 3 Lykourgos. Bronze coins of Alexandreia struck by Antoninus Pius represent Lykourgos with his double axe attacking Ambrosia, who according to Nonn. *Dion.*

21. 17 ff. was transformed by Gaia into a vine (K. D. Mylonas in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 233 ff. (wrongly numbered 153 ff.) and J. N. Svoronos *ib.* p. 466 ff.).

i. 737 Epopeus as an embodiment of Zeus. To the same effect A. W. Pickard-Cambridge in J. U. Powell *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Third Series Oxford 1933 p. 106 n. 1.

i. 741 Aphrodite and her dove in Kypros. W. N. Bates 'Aphrodite's Doves at Paphos in 1932' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1932 liii. 260 f. notes that the church of St George at New Paphos, built over a temple of Aphrodite (?), has in front of its iconostasis five white doves, which hold in their beaks cords supporting lamps. A larger church recently erected in the neighbourhood again has the same arrangement of five white doves holding lamp-cords. Finally the twelfth-century monastery of St Neophytus, some seven miles from Ktima, can boast the bones of the saint kept in a wooden box made by himself. 'Above them is a sort of canopy surmounted by two rude wooden doves gilded.' Bates rightly concludes that 'Aphrodite's doves still have a place in their ancient home.'

i. 741 n. 4 Zeus Μαζεύς. Cp. F. Solmsen in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1897 xxxiv. 49 n. 2: 'Auch in Μαζεύς· ὁ Ζεὺς παρὰ Φρυξί Hes. wird wohl nur der pers. *Aura-mazdā* zu erkennen sein, wie schon de Lagarde annahm.'

i. 744 n. 3. On the inscription here cited see further A. Brinkmann in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1914 lxix. 585 f., M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1915 xxxv. 269.

i. 750. For the star on the shoulder of a lion cp. a basalt relief from the level of Thutmose iii (B.C. 1501—1447 Breasted) at Beïsan, which shows two scenes of a lion attacked by a Molossian mastiff (G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 1047 with fig. 727: 'Nous noterons sur ce bas-relief une particularité de facture: à l'épaule du lion, les poils forment une sorte de rosace en étoile à raies courbes; on la retrouvera plus tard sur un lion d'Arslan-Tash; à Zendjirli la plupart des lions portent au même endroit du corps deux traits croisés en X').

i. 751 Zeus conceived as dwelling in the starry sky. Cp. Soph. *Trach.* 1106 ὁ τοῦ κατ' ἄστρα Ζηνὸς αὐδηθεὶς γόνος.

i. 753 Tios or Tion in Bithynia. L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1934 i. 93 f. figs. 1—5 gives an account of his visit to the place with views of its *akrópolis* etc.

i. 754 Zeus ringed with the zodiac. R. Wood *The Ruins of Palmyra, otherwise Tedmor of the Desart* London (1753) p. 45 pl. 19, A publishes the circular medallion of a ceiling, which shows Zeus surrounded by six deities and a zodiacal ring. The spandrils are occupied by four eagles. The whole decorates the soffit of the temple of Sol at its southern end—a temple restored by Aurelian (see his letter to Cerronius Bassus in Vopisc. *v. Aurelian.* 31. 7 ff.).

i. 754 traces of astrology in early Greece. See A. Engelbrecht 'Vermeintliche Spuren altgriechischer Astrologie' in the *Eranos Vindobonensis* Wien 1893 pp. 125—130, who argues that there are 'von einer eigentlichen Astrologie mindestens bis zum vierten vorchristlichen Jahrhundert keine positiven, wohl aber negative Spuren in den Schriftwerken,' and W. Capelle 'Älteste Spuren der Astrologie bei den Griechen' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 373—395, who claims to find such traces in the Hippocratic περὶ διαίτης 4. 89 Littré (iv. 426 ff. Jones) at the end of *s.* v B.C. and probably also in Demokrit. *ap.* Aët. 2. 15. 3 (H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 32).

i. 754 ff. Zeus as lord of the constellations. G. Thiele *Antike Himmelsbilder* Berlin 1898 p. 90 fig. 17 (=my fig. 882) reproduces the fine illustration of Arat. *phaen.* 1 given in cod. Bonon. 188 fol. 20^{v}. An eagle with spread wings carries a thunderbolt in his claws and Zeus recumbent, with globe, sceptre, and rayed *nimbus*, on his back. Background blue, framework vermilion, eagle brownish yellow, flesh dark brown, *nimbus* and globe silver, diadem yellow, *himátion* rose.

i. 756 n. 6 Zeus Βῆλος. J. Cantineau 'Textes palmyréniens provenant de la fouille du temple de Bêl' in *Syria* 1931 xii. 119 f. no. 3 publishes a bilingual inscription of the year 504=193 A.D., which (Greek 4 ff.) mentions an ἀρχιερεὺς κ[αὶ] | [σ]υμποσιάρχ[ης ἱερέων] μεγίστου θεοῦ | Διὸς Βήλ[ου]. See further P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1932 xlv. 227.

i. 766 the Dioskouroi on Etruscan mirrors. C. Brakman 'De Iuturna et Dioscuris' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1931 lix. 427—430, following up the trail blazed by F. Altheim *Griechische Götter im alten Rom* Giessen 1930 pp. 4—39 ('Juturna und die Dioskuren') [cp. F. Altheim *A History of Roman Religion* trans. H. Mattingly London 1938 pp. 243—245], claims that the Etruscans when in Asia had taken over from Greeks or pre-Greeks the cult of the Dioskouroi. These they would have called **Diutures*, 'sons of Zeus,' cp. *Diuturna* [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 3856]>*Iuturna*, 'daughter of Zeus,' hybrid formations. 'A stirpe **Diu* (Iove) per suffixum patronymicum *-ður* vel *-tur* derivatum

est *Diutur*, unde per Etruscum formans *-na* formatur *Diuturna*....*Diutures* responderet igitur *Τινδαρσις, quod per prae-Graecum suffixum *-δαρ-* eandem vim habens atque Etruscum *-θur* vel *-tur* derivatum est a Τυ, quod idem est in lingua Etrusca valens Δία. Itaque Τινδαρσι vel amplior forma Laconica Τινδαρίδαι synonymum est Dioscurorum.'

But, if Brakman is indebted to Altheim, Altheim in turn owes much to others. G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. had already suggested that Τινδαρίδαι or Τινδαρίδαι was simply the Etruscan name for Zeus—*tin*, *tins*, *tinia*—with an Asia-Minor patronymic suffix *-δαρ-* and a Greek patronymic suffix *-ιδ-* ('so hätten wir denn das spätere Διόσκουροι für eine griechische Übersetzung des vorhellenischen Namens Τινδαρίδαι anzusehen'). And P. Kretschmer in an article of cardinal importance

Fig. 882.

had proposed *ib.* p. 303 ff. Τινδαρίδαι = Etruscan *Tin-* (Zeus) + Etruscan patronymic *-θur* or *-tur* (cp. *tinθur* as a personal name in a tomb-inscription at Naples). He supposes that the *θ* or *t* of the Etruscan suffix became *δ* under the influence of a personal name *Τίνδαρος related to the place-name Τίνδη as Πίνδαρος to Πίνδος or Μίνδαρος to Μίνδη. These northern names carry with them the northern suffix *-αρ-* [cp. Addenda to i. 725]. Kretschmer concludes *ib.* p. 308: 'Die vorgriechische Bevölkerung, in der die unidg. Urbevölkerung und die protidg. Zuwanderer verschmolzen waren, nannte also die mit Zeus gepaarte Göttin einfach mit dem Appellativum für Frau. Der Gott hiess *Tin-*, woneben vermutlich unter dem Einfluss einer jüngeren Schicht **Taus*, **Teus* trat; ihm stand eine Göttin als seine Frau, *lada* [*supra* i. 763 n. 4], zur Seite. Ihre Zwillingssöhne hiessen **Tintor-* oder ähnl. Wenn wir zu dem Ergebnis kommen, dass diese Tyrrheno-Pelasger bereits den idg. Zeus-Kult nach Hellas gebracht hatten, so wird damit zugleich das Rätsel der berühmten Iliasstelle *Π* 233 gelöst: Ζεῦ ἄνα Δωδωναῖε, Πελασγικέ, ...'

i. 768 n. o. See now O. Huth 'Die Kulttore der Indogermanen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1937 xxxiv. 371—377 (in continuation of *id.* 'Der Durchzug des Wilden Heeres' *ib.* 1935 xxxii. 193—210).

i. 776 Zeus *Amários*. A. Aymard 'Le Zeus fédéral achaïen Hamarios—Homarios' in the *Mélanges offerts à M. Octave Navarre par ses élèves et ses amis* Toulouse 1935 pp. 453—470 (defends the form Ἁμάριος, cp. the summary in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1936 xlix. 349). *Id.* 'Le rôle politique du sanctuaire fédéral achaïen' in the *Mélanges Franz Cumont (Annuaire de l'Institut de philologie et d'histoire orientales et slaves* iv) Bruxelles 1936 i. 1—26.

i. 781. A. D. Knox in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1915 xlv. 695 (Cambridge Philological Society, Feb. 25, 1915) suggested that in Phoinix of Kolophon *frag.* 2. 4 *ὃς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ Δίϝαν ἐδίζητο* the word 'Δίϝαν or the like is Persian for heaven, taken with *vv.* 5, 6 from (Ktesias) *ap.* Strab. p. 733, following or correcting Hdt. i. 132.' But the text as given in cod. A of Athen. 530 E *ὃς οὐκί δ' ἀστερ' ὀνδιζωνεδιζητο* is very corrupt. Emendations are numerous (see the note of J. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 232), Knox himself in the Loeb edition (London 1929) *frag.* 1. 4 now prints *ὃς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐ [δίζ]ων ἐδίζητο*, and E. Diehl *Anthologia Lyrica Graeca*[2] Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 10*frag.* 3. 4 is still content with Naeke's *ὃς οὐκ ἴδ' ἀστέρ' οὐδ' ἰ<δ>ὼν ἐδίζητο.*

i. 782 on Saint George as dragon-slayer. Add S. A. Matson *St. George and the Dragon*[2] London 1893 pp. 1—222 (popular), M. Oldfield Howey *The Encircled Serpent* London (1926) pp. 174 ff. ('St. Michael and the Dragon'), 177 ff. ('St. George and the Dragon').

i. 784 bull-carrying on a coin of Nysa. Brüder Egger *Auktions-Katalog xlvi* Griechische Münzen (Sammlung des Herrn Theodor Prowe, Moskau, u. a.) Wien 1914 p. 70 no. 1511 pl. 24 ('Stier auf den Schultern von sechs nackten Epheben getragen, davor schreitender Flötenspieler') Maximus. See also K. Kourouniotes in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1921—1922 vii. 4 fig. 2 (enlarged).

i. 784 Syro-Hittite bulls enclosing human victims. We may perhaps compare the hollow bronze horse containing the body of a man, found by Gyges in Lydia (Plat. *rep.* 359 D, Apostol. 15. 85).

i. 785 statuette of gilded bronze from the Syrian sanctuary on the Ianiculum. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iv. 293 no. 2 'Atergatis?', H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 5, 10 'Atargatis.' But the statuette, which is now in the Museo delle Terme, has been cleaned and proves to be a male figure, possibly that of Adad (T. Ashby in *The Year's Work in Class. Stud. 1914* p. 14) or Chronos (R. Paribeni *Le Terme di Diocleziano e il Museo Nazionale Romano*[4] Roma 1922 p. 120 f. no. 188). J. Leipoldt in D. Hans Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. xiv f. fig. 109 is content to say 'Syrischer Gott vom Janiculus.'

ii. 3 n. o pot-Zeuses. Cp. Aristoph. *ran.* 22 Διόνυσος, *υἱὸς Σταμνίου* with schol. *δέον εἰπεῖν υἱὸς Διός, κ.τ.λ.* H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 58 aptly explains Hesych. Ἐγχώ· *ἡ Σεμέλη οὕτως ἐκαλεῖτο* as a comic formation from *ἐγχεῖν.*

ii. 6 n. 3. So Plout. *v. C. Gracch.* 14 *καὶ τότε μὲν ὄμβρου γενομένου διελύθησαν· κ.τ.λ.*

ii. 7 n. 1. See also O. Casel 'Vom heiligen Schweigen' in the *Benedictiner Monatsschrift* 1921 p. 417 ff., and G. Mensching *Das heilige Schweigen* Giessen 1926 pp. 1—162 (reviewed by O. Casel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 142—149).

ii. 8 n. 7. G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. treats Ἕκτωρ as a short form of Ἐχέλαος (Attic Ἔχελος).

ii. 9 apotheosis by lightning. See now H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1924 xviii. 15 f.

ii. 12 Keraunos. R. Güntert *Über Reimwortbildungen im arischen und altgriechischen* Heidelberg 1914 p. 215 f. regards the god Κεραυνός as a rime-word to the Slavonic **Peraunos.*

R. Ganszyniec 'Zeus Keraunos' in *Eos* 1930/1931 xxxiii. 66 cp. 'Schiblé, der Gott des Donners, des Krieges und der Gerechtigkeit' worshipped by the Adighe or Circassians, who treat as sacrosanct any tree or man struck by lightning (F. Bodenstedt *Die Völker des Kaukasus und ihre Freiheitskämpfe gegen die Russen* Frankfurt 1848 p. 201).

ii. 13 ff. Zeus *Kataibátes.* See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 108—114 ('Zeus Kataibates'). A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the Ἐφ. Ἀρχ. 1924 p. 146 f. no. 389 fig. 3 publishes a *stéle* of blackish marble found in the wall of the church of Ilagia Kyriake at *Selos* near Pythion in Thessaly. The *stéle* has an *aétoma* with *akrotéria* above, below which is a smooth space originally occupied by a painting, and below that an inscription in letters of *c.* the beginning of *s.* iii B.C. Διὶ Καταιβάτηι· *ἥρως*

Ἐπ[ι]κράτει. This Epikrates was either a chthonian hero or, more probably, a man killed by lightning and worshipped as a hero. On the Thessalian festival Καταιβάσια see Adler in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 2461 f. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 71 n. 4 adds the base of a bronze statue found in Thasos, which bears a dedication of Roman date to Zeus *Kataibátes* (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537). And G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 245 f. no. 25 records an inscription from Thasos (on a block of local marble, once a statue-base, to be dated *c.* the beginning of our era) Διὸς Καταιβάτου.

ii. 19 n. o ἀλευρομάντεις, ἀλφιτομάντεις, κριθομάντεις. See now Boehm 'Aleuromantie' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 258—260, 'Alphitomantie' *ib.* i. 310 f., 'Krithomantie' *ib.* 1933 v. 594—596, and Eckstein 'Mehl' *ib.* 1934 vi. 89—110.

ii. 21 n. 5. G. W. Elderkin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 32 conjectures that this *ábaton* of Zeus *Kataibátes* marks the spot on which Demetrios Poliorketes [*supra* i. 58, cp. K. Scott 'The Deification of Demetrius Poliorcetes' in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1928 xlix. 217—239 summarised by P. Cloché in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 228] 'descended in a blaze of glory' from his chariot—a descent parodied by Plaut. *Curc.* 413 ff. where Curculio announces himself as Summanus, the god who sends nocturnal lightnings, and explains that at night he sometimes 'descends in a shower' (*summano*)!

ii. 23 n. 2 Numa's law about the man struck by lightning. E. Bickel in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1931 lxxx. 279—298 cj. *hominem fulmine* (or *fulmini*) *Iovos occisit*, and examines in detail relevant religious and linguistic usage.

ii. 24 Orpheus slain by a thunderbolt. Paus. 9. 30. 5 εἰσὶ δὲ οἱ φασι κεραυνωθέντι ὑπὸ τοῦ θεοῦ συμβῆναι τὴν τελευτὴν Ὀρφεῖ· κεραυνωθῆναι δὲ αὐτὸν τῶν λόγων ἕνεκα ὧν ἐδίδασκεν ἐν τοῖς μυστηρίοις οὐ πρότερον ἀκηκοόσας ἀνθρώπους, Diog. Laert. *prooem.* 5 τὸ δ' ἐν Δίῳ τῆς Μακεδονίας ἐπίγραμμα, κεραυνωθῆναι αὐτόν, λέγων οὕτως· Ὀρφῆϊκα χρυσολύρην τῆδ' Ὀρφέα Μοῦσαι ἔθαψαν, | ὃν κτάνεν ὑψιμέδων Ζεὺς ψολόεντι βέλει' = *Anth. Pal.* 7. 617. 1 f., cp. Cougny *Anth. Pal. Append.* 2. 99. 1 f.

ii. 30 n. 3 etymology of *Brundisium*. P. Skok 'Brendisium und Verwandtes' in the *Zeitschrift für Ortsnamenforschung* 1925/26 i. 81—90.

ii. 31 *téras*. See further P. Stein ΤΕΡΑΣ Marpurgi Cattorum 1909 pp. 1—66. He classifies the uses of the word and connects Τειρεσίας with it, but does not elucidate its etymology. Schrader *Reallex.*[2] ii. 143[b], 481[a–b] and H. Lewy in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1930 lviii. 30 f. connect *téras*, *teírea*, Τειρεσίας and suppose that the word, which originally meant 'star,' was widened to include omens in general.

ii. 32 the *Tarentum* at Rome. P. Boyancé in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire de l'École Française de Rome* 1925 xlii. 135—146 discusses the site of the *ara Ditis in Tarento* and concludes that it was in low ground near the Tiber, probably in the *Ghetto* (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 221). But see the criticisms of S. B. Platner—T. Ashby *A Topographical Dictionary of Ancient Rome* Oxford 1929 p. 508 f.

ii. 33 ff. Zoroastres. A masterly exposition of Zoroaster's life, teaching, and works will be found in J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 1—297 ('Introduction'), ii. 1—241 ('Les Textes').

ii. 36 ff. the Elysian Way. See now P. Capelle 'Elysium und Inseln der Seligen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 244—264, *ib.* 1928 xxvi. 17—40 (the etymology is dealt with on p. 32 f.), J. Charpentier 'Νυκτὸς ἀμολγῷ' in *Symbolae philologicae O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatae* Upsaliae 1932 p. 27 ff., Stegemann 'Milchstrasse' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 367—374.

ii. 44 the 'straight light like a pillar' (Plat. *rep.* 616 B) without a counterpart in astronomical fact or fancy. But what of the zodiacal light (J. F. Julius Schmidt *Das Zodiacallicht* Braunschweig 1856 pp. 1—110)? J. Helmbold *Der Allasmythus und Verwandtes* Mülhausen i. E. 1906 (Beilage zum Jahresbericht des Gymnasiums zu Mülhausen i. E.) p. 5 fig. shows the zodiacal light looking much like an obelisk with rounded top. He thinks that the pillars of Atlas (*Od.* 1. 52 ff.), the pillar of Prometheus, the Elysian Way, the tower of Kronos, etc. were all zodiacal myths. Prof. R. A. S. Macalister subsequently, but independently, hit upon the same explanation. In a letter to me, dated Jan. 19, 1929, he says: 'Apropos of the Sky-pillar...I have been wondering if you considered the possibility that it might have been suggested by the *Zodiacal Light*. This soft beam of light, which rises vertically from the evening horizon in Spring and the morning horizon in Summer, is not often to be seen in our latitudes: I have often looked for it, in vain. But I have seen it in Palestine, where it looked just like a faintly

luminous pillar with tapering point.... I never saw it as a complete belt across the sky, as some have seen it in high tropic latitudes.'

ii. 45 the 'spindle of Ananke.' P. M. Schuhl in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 58—64 pls. 6 and 7 and fig. 1 holds that the spindle of Ananke may be derived from the ancient oriental theme of a spindle-holding goddess, 'la Dame au fuseau' [for which see U. Holmberg 'Der Baum des Lebens' in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* ser. B 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 106 ff.].

ii. 52 n. 2 *Iringes wec.* Add Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1934 vi. 373 n. 36.

ii. 52 ff. (cp. iii. 418 n. 0) the *Irminsúl* as a sky-prop. G. Dottin in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1911 iv. 138: 'This belief in the fall of the sky is seen frequently in the oaths of Irish epic poetry.' Frazer *Worship of Nature* i. 148 notes that, according to the Upotos of the Upper Congo, 'The day will come when the sky will collapse and flatten us all out, blacks and whites alike' (a reference that I owe to my friend Dr J. Rendel Harris). H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 381 n. 1 cp. our own proverb 'If the sky should fall, we should all catch larks' [W. G. Smith *The Oxford Dictionary of English Proverbs* Oxford 1935 p. 210 f.], but refuses to believe that this ever expressed a real fear. Weiser-Aall in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* 1930 ii. 1527: 'Das Weltgebäude ist nach der Vorstellung vieler Völker wie das Wohnhaus aufgebaut. So muss der Himmel wie das Dach durch eine Säule bzw. durch den Weltbaum gestützt werden' etc. (Scandinavians, Lapps, Celts, Germans). A. H. Krappe *Mythologie universelle* Paris 1930 p. 130 f. defends my view against criticism and supplies a parallel from the *Veda* (H. Oldenberg *La religion du Véda* Paris 1903 p. 60 n. 2 "Pourquoi le ciel ne tombe-t-il pas sur la terre?—Parce qu'un grand bouc à une seule patte lui sert de pilier" [cp. A. A. Macdonell *Vedic Mythology* Strassburg 1897 p. 73 f.]). J. Erdödi in the *Indogermanische Forschungen* 1932 l. 214—219 discusses the Sanskrit *Skambha*, 'himmelstützender Baum' (*Atharva-Veda* 10. 8. 2 'Vom Skambha wird der Himmel und die Erde | Ewig gehalten auseinander, | Auf Skambha (ruht) dies beseelte All, | Was atmet, was die Augen schliesst'), as source of the Finnish *Sampo*, which in the *Kalevala* denotes 'eine wunderbare Mühle, Glücksmühle,' but is akin to the Wotyak *sammas*, 'Säule, Wetterhahn,' and Esthonian *sammas*, 'Säule, Pfosten.'

Further evidence for the sky-prop in belief and practice is collected by U. Holmberg in the *Annales Academiæ Scientiarum Fennicæ* ser. B. 1922—1923 xvi. 3. 9—33 figs. 2—15 ('Die Weltsäule'). *Id.* in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 221 f. says: 'the Samoyeds (Turuhansk District) call the North Star the "nail of the sky," "round which the heavens revolve." The ancient Finns had also a corresponding but now forgotten term, as proved by the name of the North Star, borrowed by the Lapps from the Finns, Bohi-navlle ("the nail of the north"); its counterpart among the Esthonians being the Põhjanael.... This nail is, at the same time, regarded as supporting the sky.... Missionaries relate that the Lapps sacrificed to their highest god Veralden rade ("Ruler of the world") so that "he should not let fall the sky," erecting at the altars a tree either split in two or forked naturally, or also, at times, a high pillar, called the "pillar of the world" (Veralden tshuold) for the god to "support the world with, and keep it in its present form and condition, that it might not grow old and fall from its former nature." The tree was besmeared with blood from the sacrifice. A "pillar of the world" of this description was seen by Leem in the vicinity of the Porsanger Fjord [*supra* ii. 423 n. 3 with fig. 329].... That these pillars of the Lapps had a heavenly counterpart is shown by the fact that, in some places, the name of the North Star is "pillar of the world" (Veralden tshuold). It is probable that the Lapps obtained both their ideas and their sacrificial customs from the Scandinavians...; the "nail" may be compared with the Scandinavian Veraldar nagli, the "world-nail."' *Id. ib.* p. 333 ff.: 'From this belief spring the curious names given by the Altaic stocks to the North Star. The Mongols, Buriats, Kalmucks, and the Altai Tatars and Uigurs call the star in question "The golden pillar"; the Kirghis, Bashkirs and certain other Siberian Tatar tribes call it "The iron pillar"; the Teleuts "The lone post," and the Tungus-Orotshons "The golden post." From the similarity of the names given it by these widely separated peoples we may conclude that the conception of a sky-supporting pillar reaches back among the Altaic race to a comparatively early period.... Although none of the available sources mention directly that the peoples of the Altaic race made images of this great world-pillar, we can still be reasonably certain that they did so from the fact that several of the more northern peoples have kept up this custom even to our days.... The Ostiaks call these wooden images of the pillar, "town-pillars" or "the strong pillars of the town's centre." Those more simple in construction are erected by being slightly sunk

a

b

Marble head of Iuno *Lucina* (?), now at Queens' College, Cambridge.

into the earth, and are hardly ever observed to be shaped at all in any way. The pillar of the village of Tsingala is about two fathoms in height, a squared, slender log, not very old.... This pillar of Tsingala, which the Ostiaks of that place regard as a deity, is called by them "The iron pillar man," a similar name being given to the post of another village of Irtysh, resembling greatly the afore-mentioned "Iron pillar" of the Tatars.... Some peoples in North-West Siberia, who have a similar custom, place on the world-pillar a wooden figure of a bird, which sometimes has two heads.... The pillars, on which these birds are placed and which have sometimes cross-pieces like branches, are, according to the Dolgans, a symbol of the "never falling props" before the dwelling of the Supreme God. On the cross-pieces, so it is said, dwell the sons of God.'

E. Jung 'Irminsul und Rolandsäule' in *Mannus* 1925 xvii. 1—34 figs. 1—14, taking a hint from J. Grimm *Teutonic Mythology* trans. J. S. Stallybrass London 1882 i. 119 and 394, claims that the *Rolandsäule* of Niedersachsen, Westfalen, Obersachsen, and Thüringen has a Christianised survival of the pre-Christian *Irminsûl* (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 502). See further P. J. Hamilton-Grierson in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 420[a] ('Irminsäulen, Rolandsäulen, *perrons*, and many of the market-crosses of Scotland').

ii. 57 ff. Iupiter-Columns. These are now published and illustrated in detail by Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* (Index in x. 253 'Chapiteau,' 266 'Restes de colonnes,' 275 f. 'Quatre divinités') and *Bas-reliefs de la Germanie Rom.* (Index p. 480 'Cavalier et anguipède,' 'Colonne votive,' p. 484 'Quatre divinités'). Add R. L[antier] in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 276—278 fig. 1 (group from Neschers).

ii. 61 n. 0 Iuno *Lucina*. In 1934 on the dispersal of the Harland-Peck collection I acquired a fine marble head (Sotheby's *Sale Catalogue* 1934 p. 11 no. 48: height 22 inches), which represents Iuno wearing a *stephánē* adorned with nine crescents (pl. lxxix). I take her to be Iuno *Lucina* as goddess of childbirth—the Roman copy of a Greek type resembling Hera Ludovisi.

ii. 62 f. the Wild Hunt or Furious Host. See further F. Liebrecht *Des Gervasius von Tilbury Otia Imperialia* Hannover 1856 pp. 173—211 ('La Mesnie furieuse, ou la Chasse sauvage'), K. Meisen *Die Sagen vom Wütenden Heer und Wilden Jäger* Münster 1935 pp. 1—144.

ii. 63 *Wodan*. Cp. G. Neckel 'Regnator omnium deus' [Tac. *Germ.* 39] in the *Neue Jahrbücher für Wissenschaft und Jugendbildung* 1926 ii. 139—150.

ii. 69 ff. the octagonal *Wochengötterstein*. F. Cumont in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 88 suggests that the influence of Syrian religious art may account for these eight-sided blocks, mounted on a square plinth and supporting a cylindrical column with its crowning group of cavalier and anguiped.

ii. 86 n. 3. L. Barbedette 'Le symbolisme des tombeaux gallo-romains' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 273—277 deals with Lussoius and Bricia, deities of the hot springs at Luxovium. Numerous local reliefs show persons holding a bottle or box in the left hand, a glass or cup in the right. Several such *cippi* bear the sepulchral dedication D·M.

ii. 88 the world-pillar in Rhenic Germany. Miss J. R. Bacon in 1929 kindly drew my attention to Skymn. Chi. *per.* 188 ff. *τούτων δὲ* (*sc.* *τῶν Κελτῶν*) *κεῖται λεγομένη τις ἐσχάτη | στήλη βόρειος· ἔστι δ' ὑψηλὴ πάνυ | εἰς κυματῶδες πέλαγος ἀνατείνουσ' ἄκραν. | οἰκοῦσι τῆς στήλης δὲ τοὺς ἐγγὺς τόπους | Κελτῶν ὅσοι λήγουσιν ὄντες ἔσχατοι | Ἕνετοί τε καὶ τῶν ἐντὸς εἰς τὸν Ἀδρίαν | Ἴστρων καθηκόντων· λέγουσι δ' αὐτόθεν | τὸν Ἴστρον ἀρχὴν λαμβάνειν τοῦ ῥεύματος.*

ii. 88 n. 3 Jack and the Beanstalk. On which see L. Mackensen 'Bohnenranke zum Himmel' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Märchens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1933 i. 299—301.

ii. 97 n. 0 Nero as Zeus. A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1926 xl. 18 notes *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lydia p. 75 no. 7 (Dioshieron) *obv.* ΣΕΥΣ | ΝΕΡΩΝ ΚΑΙΣΑΡ heads of Zeus to left and Nero to right, face to face. Nock cites Calp. Sic. 4. 142 f. tu quoque mutata seu Iuppiter ipse figura, | Caesar, ades etc.

ii. 107 n. 4. For the spiral column see also the materials collected by M. Avi-Yonah in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 l. 303—309.

ii. 111 n. 0 Zeus *Tropaiophóros*. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1926—1927 xxviii. 117 no. 1 publishes an inscription from Klazomenai [*Διὰ τροπ*]*αιοφόρον* | [------]ς *ἀνέθηκεν* | [*ἐπιμελη*]*θέντος* Τιβερίου | [Κλαυδίου] Θεοδώρου.

ii. 111 n. 1 La Turbie. See now A. Blanchet *Forma orbis Romani: carte archéologique de la Gaule romaine* Fasc. 1 *Alpes-Maritimes* by P. Couissin sections 4—6 pls. 1—3 Paris 1931 (noticed by W. W. Hyde in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 520),

P. Casimir *Le trophée d'Auguste à la Turbie* Marseille 1932 pp. 1—168, S. F. Gimenez 'Ce que j'ai vu à la Turbie' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 165—168 (built round a pre-existing monument, perhaps several centuries older).

ii. 114 ff. the Pillar of Light. Kallisthenes of Olynthos *frag.* 8 (*Script. hist. Alex. Mag.* p. 13 f. Müller)=*frag.* 20 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* ii. 646 f. Jacoby) *ap.* Sen. *nat. quaestt.* 6. 26. 4 (cp. *ib.* 7. 5. 3—5) inter multa...prodigia, quibus denuntiata est duarum urbium Helices et Buris eversio, fuere maxime notabilia columna ignis immensi et Delos agitata. But this fiery pillar was presumably a species of comet (O. Gilbert *Die meteorologischen Theorien des griechischen Altertums* Leipzig 1907 p. 656 n. 1). The Jewish tragedian Ezekiel (*s.* ii. B.C. : see A. Jacoby in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 278 n. 1) *ap.* Euseb. *praep. ev.* 9. 29. 16 locates Moses' rock at Elim and says *τόθεν δὲ φέγγος ἐξέλαμψέ νιν, | κατ' εὐφρόνην σημεῖον ὡς στῦλος πυρός*—apparently combining the 'pillar of fire' (Ex. 13. 21 f., *alib.*) with the 'rock in Horeb' (Ex. 17. 6, cp. Num. 20. 8), if not with the 'rock that followed them' (1 Cor. 10. 4).

R. Vallois in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1931 lv. 327 f. regards the blaze in Krastonia as a ritual epiphany of Dionysos, citing Suet. *Aug.* 94 Octavio postea, cum per secreta Thraciae exercitum duceret, in Liberi patris luco barbara caerimonia de filio consulenti, idem affirmatum est a sacerdotibus, quod infuso super altaria mero tantum flammae emicuisset, ut supergressa fastigium templi ad caelum usque ferretur, unique omnino Magno Alexandro apud easdem aras sacrificanti simile provenisset ostentum. Vallois compares the Theban myth of Dionysos *πυριγενής* [Eustath. *in Il.* p. 346, 32] and the nativity of the Cretan Zeus (Ant. Lib. 19 : *supra* ii. 928 n. 0).

ii. 117 n. 7 Quint. Smyrn. 14. 223 ff. H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 remarks that Quint. Smyrn. is here imitating Ap. Rhod. 3. 160 f.

ii. 119 'star-flung Thunderbolt.' K. Kerényi ''Αστεροβλῆτα κεραυνός' in the *Egyetemes Philologiai Közlöny* Budapest 1927 li. 81—87=*id.* 'ΑΣΤΕΡΟΒΛΗΤΑ ΚΕΡΑΥΝΟΣ' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 322—330, cp. *id. ib.* 1933 xxx. 288 n. 1.

ii. 121 'I have fallen as a kid into milk.' C. W. Vollgraff ΕΡΙΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΛ' ΕΠΕΤΟΝ (*Mededeelingen der Koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, N°. 2) Amsterdam 1924 pp. 1—35 (in Dutch, with summary in French) holds that the formula means 'I, become a kid, flung myself upon the milk,' *i.e.* upon the breast of the deity. Cp. the Villa Item fresco, where a Satyress suckles a kid [A. Maiuri *La Villa dei Misteri* Roma 1931 p. 140 ff. fig. 53 and col. pl. 5 f.].

ii. 121 n. 3 vases showing Thracian women tattooed. To the six examples listed add : (7) A *kotýle* from Caere, now at Schwerin, signed by the potter Pistoxenos (Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 372 f. no. 3 fig., J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 259 no. 1) shows young Herakles followed by an old crone Geropso, who is tattooed in the Thracian manner with parallel strokes on neck, forearms, and feet (the best publication is that of J. Maybaum in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1912 xxvii. 24—37 fig. 1 pls. 5—8). (8) A fragmentary *kályx-kratér* from Tarentum, now at the Hague (C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 355—361 pl. 178), represents the assailants of Orpheus with numerous tattoo-marks on arms, legs, and necks. 'Dieser Körperschmuck besteht nicht nur aus geometrischen Mustern, senkrechten und wagrechten Strichen, Zickzack- und Mäanderbändern und puntierten Sternen [on which solar symbol see *supra* i. 296 fig. 219, C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 55 ff., *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 51 pl. 4, 1, and S. Casson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1935 xxxix. 514 ff.], sondern an Armen und Beinen sehen wir auch sich emporringelnde Schlangen und hochbeinige Vierfüssler, Rehe und Hirsche und einmal am Arm wohl eher ein springendes Reh als einen Hasen' (p. 359).

ii. 123 n. 0 ritual tattooing. See further F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1930 ii. 100 ff. ('Die Gottesweihe durch Brandmarkung oder Tätowierung in ägyptischen Dionysoskult der Ptolemäerzeit'), 107 ff. ('Zur Frage der religiösen Tätowierung im thrakischen Dionysoskult...'), 297 ff. ('Religiöse Tätowierung im Atargatiskult von Hierapolis in Syrien'), 1932 iii. 257 ff. ('Der Sinn der sakralen Tätowierung und Brandmarkung in der antiken Kultur').

ii. 124 ladder as soul-path. Hence perhaps that favourite *motif* in Pompeian art—Eros on a ladder (*e.g.* Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 85, 3—5, p. 91, 4).

ii. 124 n. 2 pl. vi. J. D. Beazley in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 230 n. 29 justly objects that I have ignored the explanation of the scene offered by F. Hauser in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1909 xii. 96 fig. 56 ('Αδωνιάζουσαι : the woman on the ladder personates Aphrodite).

ii. 128 Jacob's ladder. C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933

p. 988 (in Little Russia the staircase seen by Jacob is formed of seven heavens—blue, green, violet, yellow, white, pink, and fiery red).

ii. 128 n. 2. See now T. Dombart *Der babylonische Turm* Leipzig 1930 pp. 1—36 with 9 figs. in text and 4 pls.

ii. 129 n. 2. Prof. Max Semper of Aachen, in a letter dated Dec. 14, 1926, kindly points out to me that in Chwolsohn's translation from Makrisi 'Leiter' means, not 'ladder,' but 'leader' ('etwa die Bedeutung von "spiritus rector"').

ii. 130 votive ladders. W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 410—420 ('L'échelle aux serpents') observes that, from the year 364 B.C. onwards, the official inventories of the Artemision at Delos mention a small ladder in gilded wood round which a couple of silver snakes were twined (T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1886 x. 461 ff. line 102 ff. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 815, 102 ff. (364 B.C.) κ]λιμάκιον ξύλινον περικεχρυσωμένον ὄφεσιν ἀργυροῖς διεζωμένον | ἄστατον, T. Homolle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1890 xiv. 389 ff. (*B*) 35 f. = Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 833, 35 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 161 *B* 35 f. (279 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξύλινομ περίχρυσον ὄφεσιν ἀργυροῖς δ[ιεζ]ω|μένον, ἄστατον, *ib.* ii no. 162 *B* 28 f. (278 B.C.) κλιμάκιον ξύλινον περ[ί]|[χρυσον ὄφεσιν ἀργυροῖς διεζωσμένον, ἄστατον], *ib.* ii no. 203 *b* 86 (269 B.C.) κλιμάκιον [ξ]ύλινον ἐπίχρυσον ὄφεις δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῦς, E. Schulhof in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1908 xxxii. 64 ff. no. 12, 23 f. = *Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 208, 23 f. κλιμάκιον ξ[ύ]|[λινον ἐπίχρυσον ὄφεις δύο ἔχον ἀργυροῦς]). For the snakes of the ladder Deonna cp. the vision of St Perpetua (*supra* ii. 133), a fresco of *c.* 300—350 A.D. from the crypt of St Marcus and St Marcellianus in the Cemetery of St Balbina (H. Leclercq in F. Cabrol *Dictionnaire d'archéologie chrétienne et de liturgie* Paris 1910 ii. 149 f. with fig. 1229, cp. *id. ib.* 1921 iv. 1718 fig. 3900), and the twelfth-century *Hortus Deliciarum* by Herrade de Landsberg (*supra* ii. 136 n. 3). Does the same symbolism survive in the modern game of 'Snakes and Ladders'?

ii. 131 the terra-cotta disks from Tarentum. See now P. Wuilleumier 'Les disques de Tarente' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 26—64 with 4 pls. and 2 figs. K. Kerényi in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 271—307 with fig. on p. 270 adds an interesting example in the Museum at Brindisi ("Ἀνοδος-Darstellung...mit einem Zodiakus von 11 Zeichen").

ii. 131 f. with fig. 79 Baubo. This terra cotta is now in the Antiquarium at Berlin: a photograph of it is given by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 16, also by O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xliv Arch. Anz. p. 199 with fig. 2 ('Die Frau ist ganz nackt...und berührt mit der rechten Hand die Scham. In Ägypten kennen wir die Gestalt dieser Frau in derselben Haltung und mit derselben Geste in zahlreichen Wiederholungen, nur mit dem Unterschied, dass sie nicht auf dem Schwein sitzt. Es sind kleine Figürchen, die gewöhnlich unter dem Namen Baubo gehen, ohne dass sie irgendwelches Recht auf diesen Namen haben. Sie tragen meist reichen Schmuck an Armen und Beinen, Kränze auf dem Kopf, und als Attribut kommt neben Sistren und Flaschen einmal auch eine Leier vor, nie die Scala').

See further S. Reinach 'Un mime byzantin' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 433—442 (= *id.* 'Un mime byzantin ou Baubo à Byzance' in *Cultes, Mythes et Religions* Paris 1923 v. 103—113), C. Picard 'L'épisode de Baubô dans les mystères d'Éleusis' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1927 xcv. 220—254, G. Pansa *Miti, leggende e superstizioni dell' Abruzzo* Sulmona 1927 ii. 91 ff. ('Il mito Eleusimio (*sic*) di Baubo ed il simbolo talismanico della ranocchia') with 11 figs., S. Reinach 'Baubô japonaise' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 ii. 337, U. Pestalozza in the *Studi e Materiali di Storia delle Religioni* 1931 vii. 64 ff. (Baubo etc.), P. Demargne 'Deux représentations de la déesse minoenne dans la nécropole de Mallia (Crète)' in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 305—314 with pls. 1—3 and fig. 1 (a painted anthropomorphic *rhytón* of 'Early Minoan iii' date and an incised *oinochóe* of 'Middle Minoan i'—both showing a goddess comparable with Baubo), H. Vorwahl 'Ein apotropäischer Kriegsbrauch' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 395—397 ('so wird eindeutig, dass es sich hier um dynamistische Vorstellungen handelt, die Ausstrahlung von Kraft im apotropäischen Sinne'). An external corbel on the apse of the Norman church at Kilpeck, Monmouthshire, is sufficient proof that Baubo is with us yet.

ii. 142 n. 1. Cp. also A. Taramelli 'Chiaramonti.—Navicella votiva protosarda rinvenuta a Nuraghe Spiena' in the *Not. Scavi* 1925 pp. 322—327 fig. 1 (bronze boat with stag-head prow), F. Behn in Ebert *Reallex.* xi. 248 with pl. 64, a.

ii. 143 Sardus Pater. C. Alhizzati 'Sardus Pater' in *Historia* 1927 i. 56—65 with 14 figs., L. B. Holland 'Mycenaean plumes' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 198.

ii. 146 Diana-Pillars. Cp. a fresco from Pompeii which shows Mercury facing Venus and, between them, a Diana-pillar with crown-shaped top, a pair of ox-horns (?) attached

to the shaft, and a small ithyphallic ex-voto at the base—the whole erected on a rock (B. Quaranta in the *Real Museo Borbonico* Napoli 1824 i pl. 32 with pp. 1—9, Helbig *Wandgem. Camp.* p. 8 no. 20, Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 97 no. 3).

ii. 150 n. 2. On the Jains see J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1926 xiii (Index). 288, also A. Guérinot *La religion Djaïna* Paris 1926 pp. 1—350 with 25 pls. (pt 2. 11 'Cosmologie,' pt 3. 1 'Les sanctuaires et les temples').

ii. 157 n. 0. E. Babelon *Guide illustré au Cabinet des Médailles* Paris 1900 p. 211 f. fig. 83 'Vase de Bérénice,' H. B. Walters in the *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Pottery* p. 11 no. K 76 pl. 5 (*βασιλέως Πτολεμαίου | Φιλοπάτορος*.....), p. 12 no. K 77 pl. 5 (*ἀγαθῆς τύχης | Ἀρσινόης Φιλαδέλφου*).

ii. 160 ff. *Agyieús*-Pillars. With figs. 104—106 cp. a square bronze weight in the British Museum (1930. 4—17. 2) with an *Agyieús*-pillar in relief surrounded by the letters A M B P.

C. A. Rhomaios in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 211 ff. fig. 1 publishes as an "Ἀγυιεύς d'Apollon' a limestone pillar (1·44^{m} high) of cylindrical shape and tapering towards the top, which was found in Korkyra and bears the inscription [·] ΡΣΟΞΓΥΧΒΑΙΟΣ, that is [*ὅ*]*ρος Πυθαῖος* = *τοῦ Πυθίου* or *τοῦ Πυθαέος*, cp. *ib.* fig. 6 a tapering limestone cylinder (0·90^{m} high) hollowed at the upper end to serve as an altar, likewise found in Korkyra and inscribed ΟΡΣΟΞΗΙΑΡΟΣ | ΤΑΞΑΚΡΙΑΣ, that is *ὅρ̣ος ἱαρὸς | τᾶς Ἀκρίας* = of Hera *Ἀκρία*. Rhomaios is followed by C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 82 fig. 1. W. Dittenberger in *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 699 (misread) and 698 had included both pillars in his list of local boundary-stones. *Id. ib.* iii. 1 no. 704 accepted as 'Apollinis Agyiei simulacrum' the stone of Mys (*supra* ii. 161 n. 3). So does A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig 1928 xiii/xiv p. iii fig. 11.

At Hephaistia in Lemnos the Italians have found a village of the Geometric Age with a sanctuary comprising three large chambers. That to the south has in the centre a small octagonal pointed column, and yielded sherds of Ionic and black-figured Attic wares together with a rich deposit of terra-cotta figurines and local pots (E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 196 f., D. Levi in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 28, 1931 p. 328 with a view of the sanctuary).

C. Bonner has suggested to me in conversation (July 10, 1931) that even in Homer there may be traces of sacred stones comparable with the *Agyieús*. Thus in *Il.* 12. 445 ff. Hektor caught up *λᾶαν..., ὅς ῥα πυλάων | ἑστήκει πρόσθε, πρυμνὸς παχύς, αὐτὰρ ὕπερθεν | ὀξὺς ἦεν.* Also in *Od.* 3. 406 ff. Nestor sat *ἐπί* ('at' rather than 'on') *ξεστοῖσι λίθοισιν, | οἳ οἱ ἔσαν προπάροιθε θυράων ὑψηλάων | λευκοί, ἀποστίλβοντες ἁλείφατος* (libations of fat, not polish)· *οἳς ἔπι μὲν πρῶν | Νηλεὺς ἵζεσκεν, κ.τ.λ.* Again, elders in the market-place sat *ἐπὶ ξεστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ* (*Il.* 18. 504, cp. *Od.* 8. 6). I suggested to Bonner that perhaps to sit on the sacred stone was to be filled with the wisdom of the immanent deity. Hence the *Agyieús*-block might serve as a seat (cp. Priamos on his ΦΑΚΟΣ at the gate of Troy as shown on the François-vase (Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* i. 58 pl. 11—12)), and the elders in council might actually sit on a sepulchral stone-circle to acquire the wisdom of the buried chieftain. Much relevant evidence will be found in a book of intense interest by A. H. Allcroft *The Circle and the Cross* London 1927 i. 80 ff. ('The Achean Moot' and successive chapters).

ii. 167 fig. 111. Cp. a copper *drachmá* of Byzantion cited by F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* i. 1094 fig. 1355: *obv.* ΒΥΖ head of Apollon, laureate, to right; *rev.* ΔΡΑ||ΧΜΑ pillar with finial, set on a broad base (?).

ii. 169 ff. the Delphic *omphalós*. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 839 ff. with fig. 555 publishes a plaster-fragment from Knossos, found near the 'Cow-boy Fresco' on the east slope of the palace, which shows a pale blue *omphalós* (?) with a deep red band twined about it in an irregular net-like fashion.

L. B. Holland 'The Mantic Mechanism at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 201—214 argues that the *omphalós* shown in my pl. ix, *a—c* with fig. 119 stood on a low square plinth beside a circular base supporting the tripod. *Omphalós* and plinth were alike pierced by a square hole. There was probably a tube of bronze in the hole. The knife was inserted to extract this metal lining, but got stuck in the hole. The nails were used in a vain attempt to pry it out. The purpose of the pipe was to convey the inspiring fumes from the crypt below to the feet of the Pythoness, who sat on the tripod. This ingenious view, though largely hypothetical, is deserving of careful consideration.

H. Lacoste in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii I.a Terrasse du Temple 1 pl. 4 gives a

restored ground-plan of the fourth-century temple of Apollon, on which is marked the exact position of the side-chapel. *Id. ib.* 'Addenda et Corrigenda' p. (2) amends the facsimile of the inscription on the *omphalós* (my fig. 120) by prolonging the first stroke of the *alpha* so that it crosses the second. But there is no doubt that the letter intended was Λ.

F. Chapouthier in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 336 draws attention to the curious resemblance of the inscription engraved on an *amphora* from Mykenai (A. J. Evans *Scripta Minoa* Oxford 1909 i. 58 fig. 33).

P. de la Coste-Messelière—R. Flacelière 'Une statue de la Terre à Delphes' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1930 liv. 283—295 figs. 1, 2 and pl. 14 publish a limestone base inscribed retrograde ΑΛ=Γᾶ on its upper surface and ΓΑ in later lettering on its front. The base shows four holes for the two feet of a bronze statue. It was found near Kastalia just opposite the big plane-tree, which local tradition identifies with that of Agamemnon. With this base were found five other blocks which may have come from the same monument (?), one inscribed retrograde ϟΙΜΞΘ=Θέμις on its upper surface and ΘΕΜΙΣ in fourth-century letters on its front, another with nothing above but ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΩ in fourth-century style in front, a third with the artist's signature \. ΑΘΩΝ followed by ΕΡΓΟΝ (F. Courby in the *Fouilles de Delphes* ii La Terrasse du Temple 2. 163—165). On the whole it seems clear that the bases of Ge and Themis must be connected and prove a joint cult at Kastalia. A deep cavity between the two statues was meant for a large bronze tree-trunk, perhaps a bay (cp. Paus. 10. 5. 9).

ii. 176 n. 2 the Delphic **E**. This famous symbol continues to provoke lively discussion. H. Diels *Die Fragmente der Vorsokratiker*[3] Berlin 1912 ii. 214 n. regards it as 'vermuthlich eine *κλεὶς κρυπτή*, die zunächst als eine Erfindung geweiht, dann symbolisch gefasst und endlich als **E** gedeutet wurde. Denn das Balanosschlüssel sieht einem archaischen **E** sehr ähnlich.' F. Dornseiff *Das Alphabet in Mystik und Magie* (ΣΤΟΙΧΕΙΑ vii) Leipzig—Berlin 1922 p. 23 cites with approval Diels' explanation, but notes as an alternative possibility R. Eisler's suggestion that we have here to do with 'kleine Tempelmodellchen: im Sohar wird der Buchstabe ה hejkal=babyl. **E-GAL**=ēkallu Tempel genannt,' etc. W. H. Roscher in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Dez. 23, 1922 pp. 1209—1211 still insists that **E** is *εἶ=ἴσθι* 'komm, tritt ein!' (*id.* 'Neue Beiträge zur Deutung des delphischen **E**' in *Hermes* 1901 xxxvi. 470—489). W. N. Bates 'The **E** of the Temple at Delphi' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 239—246 takes it to be a Cretan character, which on a gem in New York is associated with two bulls and two double axes and hence is probably to be read as a symbol of the Cretan Zeus or of the Cretan goddess, at Delphi called Gaia. Sir T. Zammit *Prehistoric Malta* Oxford 1930 p. 92 f. with pl. 23, 7 publishes an oval stone pebble, bored as a pendant and incised with ΠΠ, from a neolithic site in Malta: significance unknown. C. Fries 'De **E** Delphico' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 343 f. claims that the symbol derives from Sumer: 'Jeremias...interroganti mihi scribit, **E** in Sumerorum lingua idem esse quod aedem vel cameram vel domum id quod sescenties in Sumerorum inscriptionibus inveniatur.' Finally, R. Demangel 'Triglyphes bas' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 421—438 with 17 figs. (especially pp. 426—428 fig. 9 f.) reverts to my explanation, and extends it in some directions beyond my purview.

ii. 183 n. 3 Rhapso. See U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 281 (cp. *ῥαψωιδοί*).

ii. 187 the *omphalós* as a mound (?). S. H. Hooke in *Folk-Lore* 1936 xlvii. 24 f. derives the *omphalós* and its *agrenón* from 'early Sumerian seals of the "mountain" in which the dead god is imprisoned.'

ii. 187 n. 8 Zeus and Aigina. Zeus in pursuit of a young woman, a not infrequent scene on red-figured Attic vases, is often by a process of elimination labelled 'Zeus pursuing Aegina' (*e.g.* L. D. Caskey—J. D. Beazley *Attic Vase Paintings in the Museum of Fine Arts, Boston* Oxford 1931 i. 13 ff. no. 17 pl. 6, 43 no. 48 pls. 22 and 26, 45 no. 50 pl. 23). That is very possibly right, but the interpretation is secure only when accompanied by names, or at least by one name—that of the heroine. Thus a *stámnos* from Vulci, now in the Vatican (H 504), attributed to the painter Hermonax (*c.* 470—455 B.C.), shows ΞΕVS with sceptre held horizontally just overtaking ΑΙΑΙΝΑ, whose sisters hasten to tell their father ΑSΟΠΟS (*Mus. Etr. Gregor.* ii. 5 pl. 20, 1 and 1 a, Overbeck *Gr. Kunstmyth.* Zeus p. 400 f. no. 4. Atlas pl. 6, 1, Müller—Wieseler—Wernicke *Ant. Denkm.* i. 65 f. pl. 6, 4, Hoppin *Red-fig. Vases* ii. 36 no. 37, J. D. Beazley *Attische Vasenmaler des rotfigurigen Stils* Tübingen 1925 p. 300 no. 8), while a column-

kratér in New York, attributed to the 'Boreas Painter' (*c.* 460 B.C.), shows Zeus with uplifted bolt catching ΑΙΛιφα. She turns to touch his chin in supplication. Her sisters flee in alarm. The reverse perhaps depicts Asopos, at home, receiving the news from his other daughters (Hoppin *op. cit.* i. 81 no. 8 *bis*, Beazley *op. cit.* p. 305 no. 3 'Semele verfolgend' (?), G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 116 f. no. 86 pls. 94 (=my fig. 883) and 170). On the ethnic implications of the myth see J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 59—63.

ii. 189 antithetic grouping. H. R. Hall, lecturing at Cambridge (Oct. 31, 1928) on recent finds at Ur, showed that 'the antithetic arrangement of animal figures' long before its appearance on Cretan seals etc. occurs in Mesopotamian art, and in Babylonia can be traced back to a period *c.* 3000 B.C. See further F. A. v. Scheltema, G. Roeder, and E. Unger 'Wappen (und Wappenstil)' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 250—254, W. Deonna 'Animaux à deux corps et une tête' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 i. 47—73 figs. 6—12, A. Roes *Greek Geometric Art its Symbolism and its Origin* Haarlem—Oxford 1933 pp. 16 ff., 93 ff., 99 ff., 115 ff., J. Baltrušaitis *Art sumérien art roman* Paris 1934 pp. 17 ff., 31 ff., 56 f., 64 ff., 83 ff.

ii. 189 n. 0. Dr A. H. Lloyd pointed out to me (Dec. 24, 1926) that on certain tetradrachms of Gela (*c.* 466—415 B.C.) a flying eagle is attached by two reins to Nike's *quadriga*. He suggested that this implied Zeus in eagle form. But E. S. G. Robinson in *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 34, 986 says: 'The lines which run down on the obverse from eagle to chariot rail and goad and at first sight seem to be intended to connect the bird to the car appear to be in fact die-flaws.' It must, however, be admitted that on a duplicate given to me by Dr Lloyd the alleged 'die-flaws' are in exactly the same condition (cp. *supra* ii. 657 n. 3).

ii. 191 original character of the Delphic *omphalós*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 2 is more disposed to accept the view that the *omphalós* was the tomb of Dionysos as advocated by T. Homolle 'Ressemblance de l'omphalos delphique avec quelques représentations égyptiennes' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1919 xxxii. 338—358. Picard thinks the analogies with modern Greek custom 'fort superficielles.' K. Schwendemann 'Omphalos, Pythongrab und Drachenkampf' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1920—1921 xx. 481—484 rejects the '*τύμβος*-Theorie' and reverts to the older 'Erdnabeltheorie.'

V. Nordström *Poseidon och hans σκηπάνιον* Helsingfors 1931 pp. 1—40 and *Om Hermes χρυσόῤῥαπις* Helsingfors 1932 pp. 1—30 contends that Poseidon's staff (*Il.* 13. 59), Poseidon's trident, and Hermes' rod were all modifications of the umbilical cord! H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 182 deals faithfully with such vagaries.

ii. 193 ff. the Delphic tripod. C. Clemen *Religionsgeschichte* Heidelberg 1926 i. 247 fig. 100 (after Springer *Kunst des Altertums*[10] fig. 433) restores the Plataean tripod much as I do, but with legs contracted at the base.

K. Kluge in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1929 xliv. 23 ff. discusses the technique of the serpent-column (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 456 f.).

ii. 199 n. 2 with pl. xii the Chigi base. A marble replica of (*a*) and (*c*), dredged up in the harbour at the Peiraieus and referred to a date *c.* 100 B.C., is figured in *The Illustrated London News* for Jan. 31, 1931 p. 164 f. A full account of the find is given by E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 91.

ii. 201 n. 1. J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me (March 2, 1927) that at Delphoi the plane-tree of Agamemnon is still shown, below Kastalia, at the outlet of the gorge.

ii. 205 n. 1 dolphins. See Biedermann *Der Delphin in der dichtenden und bildenden Phantasie der Griechen und Römer* Halle a. S. 1881 pp. 1—26, E. B. Stebbins *The Dolphin in the Literature and Art of Greece and Rome* Benasha, Wisconsin 1929 pp. 1—136 (reviewed by A. M. Duff in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xliv. 185 f.).

ii. 206 n. 1 divining-glass. A. Delatte *La catoptromancie grecque et ses dérivés* (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liége xlviii) Liège 1932 pp. 1—221 pls. 1—12, T. Hopfner 'Mittel- und neugriechische Lekano-, Lychno-, Katoptro- und Onychomantien' in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 218—232.

ii. 209. On the *Pythía* as a case of artificial and voluntary possession see T. K. Oesterreich *Possession demoniacal and other among primitive races, in antiquity, the middle ages, and modern times* London 1930 pp. 311—331.

ii. 212 n. 0 the Peliades. Cp. also Sogliano *Pitt. mur. Camp.* p. 103 f. nos. 553, 554.

ii. 212 n. 3. An almost exact replica of the black-figured *lékythos* at Leyden is

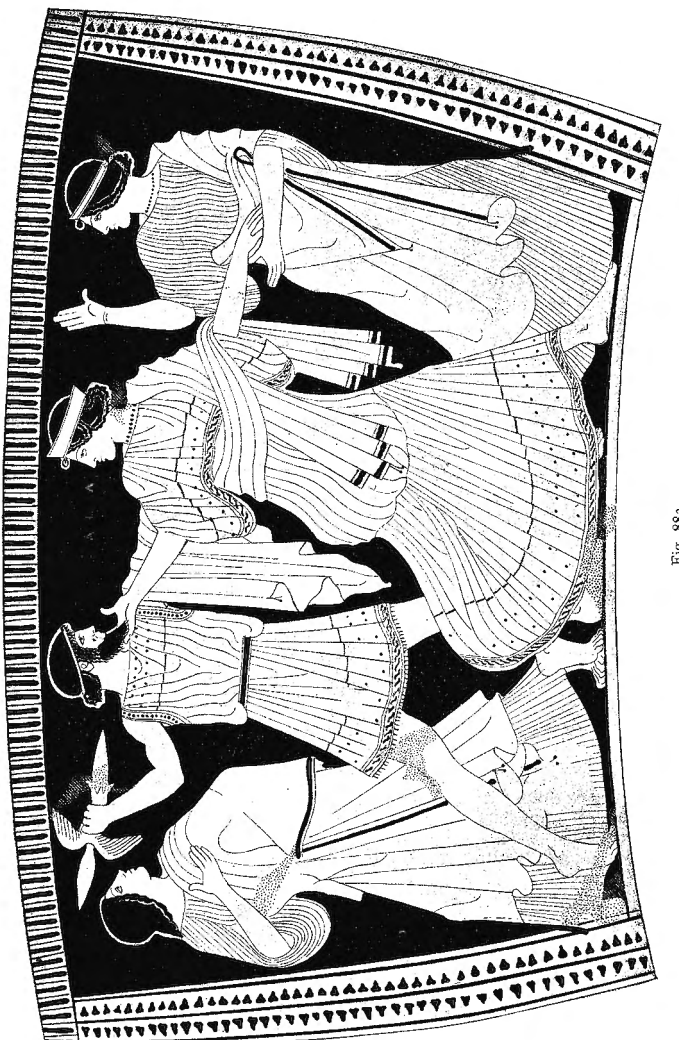


Fig. 883.

published by R. B. Bandinelli in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1925 xxx. 534 f. no. 201 fig. 5. Another black-figured *lēkythos* of similar style and period, found at Gela, was discussed by P. Orsi *ib.* 1906 xvii. 120 ff. fig. 88. It shows the youthful figure emerging from the cauldron, which is surrounded by roaring flames and flanked by two scared women (Peliades?).

ii. 222 n. 4. Iambl. *v. Pyth.* 4 ff. possibly 'geht...durch Apollonios auf Timaios zurück, vgl. G. Bertermann, De Iamblichi vit. Pyth. fontibus, Diss. Königsberg 1913, S. 37' (O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1924/25 Abh. vii. 11 Nachtrag).

ii. 224 the ivory shoulder of Pelops. H. W. Parke 'The Bones of Pelops and the Siege of Troy' in *Hermathena* 1933 xxiii. 153—162 discussing Paus. 5. 13. 4 ff. holds that the shoulder-blade of Pelops there mentioned as brought from Pisa to Troy and later lost off Euboia in a storm, but recovered from the sea by the fisherman Damarmenos and at the bidding of the Delphic oracle restored by him to the Eleans, was identified in *s.* vi B.C. with Pelops' ivory shoulder—a highly primitive feature of sacrificial or cannibalistic origin, being in reality the *scapula* of some cetacean!

I suspect that Eur. *Bacch.* 1300 (Agaue asks of her son's scattered limbs) *ἦ πᾶν ἐν ἄρθροις συγκεκλημένον καλῶς;* points to an original form of the myth in which Pentheus was recalled to life. This may have been detailed in the lacuna immediately following line 1300.

Cp. the shepherds' treatment of the boy killed by a bear in Apul. *met.* 7. 26 nec uspiam ruris aperitur ille sed plane corpus eius membratim laceratum multisque dispersum locis conspicitur...et cadaver quidem disiectis partibus <collectis> tandem totum repertum aegreque concinnatum ibidem terrae dedere. Note also the queer story of Domitia Longina, who collected the flesh of her butchered husband Domitian, put the pieces accurately together, sewed up the whole body, and had a bronze statue of it made and set up at Rome (Prokop. *anecdota* 8. 15—21).

ii. 224 n. 1 the golden breast. J. A. MacCulloch in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1920 xi. 410[b]: 'The story of Caradoc, which forms part of the French Perceval cycle [ed. Potvin ii. 191 ff.], relates how a serpent fastened on his arm and sucked away his life. He was saved by a young maiden presenting her breast to the serpent, which took the nipple in its mouth. Cador then cut off its head, but with that also the nipple, which was magically replaced by one of gold. A close parallel exists in a Gaelic folk-tale ['Sheen Billy' in Campbell i. xcv f.], and less close in a Scots ballad ['The Queen of Scotland' in Child no. 301], but it is probable that the source is Celtic, as the name of the wife of the Welsh Karadawe is Tegau Eurfron, Tegau "with the golden breast".' For a full discussion of the tale and its variants see C. A. Harper 'Caradoc and the Serpent' in *Modern Language Notes* 1898 xiii. 417—431, G. Paris 'Caradoc et le serpent' in *Romania* 1899 xxviii. 214—231.

ii. 228 n. 4. On the sanctuary of Artemis *Kallíste* see now A. Philadelpheus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 155—163 with pl 8 and 4 figs., P. Roussel *ib.* 1927 li. 164—169 (summaries by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 230 ability to stare at the sun. On this *Sonnenmotiv* see E. Norden *Die Geburt des Kindes* Leipzig—Berlin p. 160 n. 2.

ii. 232 n. 0. A convex sardonyx (owner unknown) shows the Delian Apollon, a nude standing figure with the three Charites on his outstretched right hand and a bow in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 40, 7, ii. 191, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 7, 8 (enlarged)). C. Picard *La sculpture* Paris 1935 i. 573 fig. 199 illustrates a relief at Munich on which the upper part of the Delian Charites is shown—profile to left, full-face, profile to right—perhaps after the cult-statue.

ii. 243 n. 3. On the *paián* of Philodamos see now W. Vollgraff 'Le péan delphique à Dionysos' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 97—208, 1925 xlix. 104—142, 1926 l. 263—304, 1927 li. 423—468 (text reconstituted on p. 465 ff.).

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleús.* O. Broneer in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 564 with fig. 8 publishes a white marble slab—part of a gaming board—found in the well of a shop at Corinth, which is inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΒΟΥΛΕΟΣ and ΔΑΜ[---]ΙΗ(?Ν)Ν again associating Zeus *Bouleús* with Demeter.

ii. 258 n. 3 Zeus *Bouleús* or *Eubouleús* grouped with Demeter and Kore. With this chthonian triad M. P. Nilsson in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1935 xxxii. 87 justly cp. the Damateres and Zeus *Damátrios* of two Rhodian dedications ((1) found by the Danish excavators on the *akrópolis* of Lindos [Ἀ]λιαδᾶν. *Δαματέρων καὶ Διὸς Δαματρίου.* (2) found at *Siana* in Rhodes Ζωινθίων τετράδι ἱσταμένου *Δαμάτερσι ὃν κνεῦσαν.* Both

inscriptions are of late Hellenistic date). Nilsson comments: 'Die Bezeichnung der beiden Göttinnen als *Δαμάτερες*, die m. W. sonst nicht in Griechenland vorkommt und an das Lateinische Cereres [*Thes. Ling. Lat.* Suppl. i. 341, 57 ff.] erinnert, lässt sich nur durch ihre Wesensidentität erklären; sie sind sozusagen die ältere und die jüngere Auflage derselben Gottheit' [*supra* i. 396 f.].

ii. 259 n. o Zeus *Boulaîos*. His cult at Thasos (noted in the *Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1914 p. 288, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1923 xlvii. 537 n. 3) is attested by a couple of dedications (G. Daux in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 lii. 57 f. no. 9 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *prytaneîon*, with oval sinking, inscribed *c.* 250 B.C. *ἀπόλογοι* 'Εστίηι | Βουλαίηι καὶ Διὶ | Βουλαίωι, no. 10 fig. 4 a rectangular base of Thasian marble, from the *theórion*, with rectangular sinking, inscribed *c.* 250 B.C. *ἀπόλογοι* 'Ιστίηι Βουλαίηι [καὶ Διὶ Βουλαίωι] | Στράτων Νεομάν[δρου] | Πολύτιμος 'Ορθομέ[νους] | 'Αριστείδης 'Αλκ[- - -]).

ii. 260 n. o. On the identification of Augustus with Zeus *Patrôios* as evidenced by Pergamene inscriptions see W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 ix. 177—188.

ii. 260 n. o Zeus in connexion with mills. W. Schultz *Rätsel aus dem hellenischen Kulturkreise* Leipzig 1912 ii. 109 with n. 2, Keyssner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvi. 1044 f., gr. Kruse *ib.* xvi. 1073, E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 643.

ii. 264 Dionysos displaced by Apollon. C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 340 ff. pl. 174, 1 discusses the fragment of a *kályx-kratér* from Tarentum, now at the Hague, which shows a Doric temple (at Delphoi?) containing a cult-statue of Apollon with bow and *phiále*. Before the temple are seated Apollon (lyre) and Artemis (spears), while beyond the tripod the reverse scene comprises Dionysos (ivy-wreath, *nárthex*), a Maenad (timbrel), and a Silenos (*kántharos*).

ii. 268 n. o the earth-goddess riding on a bull. See W. Technau 'Die Göttin auf dem Stier' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 76—103 figs. 1—14 (especially p. 95 f.).

ii. 268 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 91 n. 1 notes that C. W. Vollgraff ΕΡΙΦΟΣ ΕΣ ΓΑΙ' ΕΠΕΤΟΝ [*Supra* Addenda to ii. 121] p. 19 ff. 'suggère un rapport entre Dionysos et le sumérien Domouzi, plus tard appelé Tamouz.'

ii. 270 n. 3. L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 174 cites two reliefs published by G. I. Kazarow ('Zum Kultus des thrakischen Reiters in Bulgarien' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 6 ff. fig. 3 and 'Ein neues Relief des dreiköpfigen Reiters' *ib.* 1929 xliv Arch. Anz. p. 232 ff. fig. 1) in which the rider-god is three-headed and followed by a male figure grasping his horse's tail. The first, from the district of Plovdiv, is inscribed *κυρίω θεῶ* || *Αὐλουζένις Δονγίνου,* | *Αὐλουζένις Διουζήνου* (O. Weinreich *ib.* 1927 xlii Arch. Anz. p. 20 n. 4). The second, from *Komatevo* a village near Philippopolis, is inscribed [*θε*]*ῶ Πανθο*[*πιο*]*ῶ* || ['Α]*λέξανδρος ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ* | [*κα*]*ὶ τῆς γ*[*υναικ*]*ὸς εὐχαριστήριον* (Kazarow *loc. cit.* p. 234), or possibly [*θε*]*ῶ Πανθό*[*πτ*]*ω* (Weber *loc. cit.*), with Thracian *θ* for *τ*.

ii. 270 n. 5. G. Kazarow in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 490 records the proper name *Βαζό-βαλις* (*Bulletin de la Société Archéologique de Bordeaux* iv. 93).

ii. 278 n. 2 the Phrygian *formula* of execration. W. M. Calder 'Corpus inscriptionum Neo-Phrygiarum iii' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 22—28 adds fresh examples, and contends 'that they all belong to the latter half of the third century [A.D.], and represent an artificial revival of the epigraphical use of the Phrygian language by the Tekmoreian Association' [on which see now the useful article of W. Ruge 'Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* v A. 158—169, also Canon E. C. Hudson 'Pisidian Antioch and the Xenoi Tekmoreioi' in *Theology* 1938 xxxvi. 230—236]. A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 29 ff. appends a few notes. He objects to Calder's acceptance of Kretschmer's rendering *δεως κε ζεμελως* 'heavenly and chthonian gods': 'This...does not take account of the very definite statement in Hesychius: *ζεμελεν· βάρβαρον ἀνδράποδον· φρύγες.* The Boghaz Keui texts clear up the difficulty. The Phrygian phrase corresponds with the Hittite "the gods and the dead" (*akandus*). The dead were deified, and *ζεμελεν* must have literally signified "ghost" or "devil"[2a] ([2a]Cp. "printer's devil" in English).' J. Friedrich *Kleinasiatische Sprachdenkmäler* Berlin 1932 pp. 128—140 has a handy collection of all the texts. On the Phrygian language in general and its grave-*formula* in particular see N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 141—153.

ii. 281 Zeus *Dtos* with grape-bunches and a plough. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 453 cites W. M. Calder *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antigua* Manchester Univ. Press 1928 i p. xiii for 'le Zeus aux épis et Dionysis (=Dionysos) gardien de la tombe.'

The reference is to Calder *op. cit.* i. 4 no. 5 an altar of bluish limestone at *Shahr Ören* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed Μεῖρος Ναν|α ἀνέστη|σεν κατὰ ‖ κέλευ|σιν τοῦ Διός. On the shaft are three reliefs: (*a*) in front, a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and an ear of wheat; (*b*) to the left, two wheat-ears planted in round bowls (?); (*c*) to the right, a pedestal supporting a bust of Helios, radiate. *Ib.* i. 5 no. 7 an altar of bluish limestone at *Kadyn Khan* in Eastern Phrygia inscribed Εὐ[.....] | οἰκονόμος Διὶ | Φατνίω κατὰ | κέλευσιν. On the shaft in relief is a pedestal supporting a bust of Zeus, who holds a bunch of grapes and corn-ears. W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1918 xxxviii. 135 no. 2 restored Εὐ[δαίμων?] and added: 'Eu[daimon?] was the steward in charge of this department on the imperial estates at Zizyma....About this time another oikonomos, Ca[ndidus?] the younger, made a dedication to Jove Dionysos[20] ([20]The dedication is to ΙΥΩ ΔΙΟΝΥCΩ... which halts between Jove and Jehovah...) at Zizyma.' Calder *op. cit.* i. 216 f. no. 413, 5 a sculptured *stèle* from *Baghlija* in Eastern Phrygia, which names Διουνσω as guardian of the grave.

ii. 282 Zeus *Diónysos*. D. Detschew in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1934 xxix Beiblatt p. 165 f. fig. 60 (=my fig. 884) publishes a square altar of grey marble, still

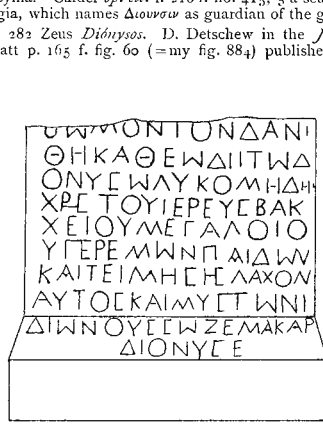


Fig. 884.

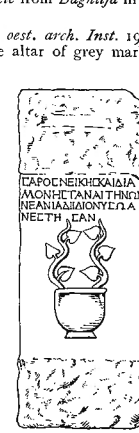


Fig. 885.

used to support the table-top in the church of the village *Sarmadžik* (Bezirk *Malko-Tirnovo*, Regierungskreis *Burgas*) in Bulgaria. On the altar is inscribed in would-be hexameters: Βῶμὸν τόνδ' ἀνέ|θηκα θεῷ Διὶ τῷ Δ[ι]|ονύσω Λυκομήδης | Χρήστου ἱερεὺς Βακ|χείου μεγάλοιο | ὑπὲρ ἐμῶν παίδων | καὶ τειμῆς, ἣς λάχον | αὐτός, καὶ μυστῶν ἰδίων, οὓς σῶζε μάκαρ | Διόνυσε. Detschew *ib.* p. 166 collects evidence for the identification of Zeus with Dionysos (for Orph. *frag.* 235 Abel, 236 Kern ἀγλαὲ Ζεῦ Διόνυσε κ.τ.λ. see *supra* i. 187 n. 10). W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1939 vi. 123 no. 360 pl. 62 (=my fig. 885) publish an altar of bluish limestone from *Haci Beili* in the Upper Tembris Valley (front relief, *krατήr* with ivy-sprays; back, snake biting grape-vine) inscribed [ὑπὲρ τῆς τοῦ κυρίου (?) Καί]σαρος νείκης καὶ δια|μονῆς Ταναιτηνῶν | νεανία(ι) Διὶ Διονύσω ἀνέστησαν.

ii. 285 n. o (2). Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 p. 212 ff. fig. 4 gives a drawing (inexact) of this relief and its inscription made in 1884.

ii. 285 n. o (4). M. V. Taylor and R. G. Collingwood in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1929 xix. 199 pl. 9 publish a similar *plaque* of base silver, with figures of the three Mother Goddesses in *repoussé* work, found in London, and note other examples from Barkway in Hertfordshire. See also *supra* p. 1100 fig. 878.

ii. 290 n. o the tombstone of Abirkios and Theuprepia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *op. cit.* p. 240 ff. fig. 5.

ii. 290 n. o the head as the seat of the soul. See further G. A. Grierson 'The Headless Horseman' (an Indian ballad) in *Folk-Lore* 1914 xxv. 382, H. A. Rose

'Sacrifices of the Head to the Hindu Goddess' (Devi) *ib.* 1926 xxxvii. 90—92, Bargheer *s.v.* 'Kopf' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 203 ff. Cp. A. Delatte 'ΑΚΕΦΑΛΟΣ ΘΕΟΣ' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 189—249, *id.* in the *Musée Belge* 1922 xxvi. 255—259, K. Preisendanz *Akephalos der kopflose Gott* Leipzig 1926 pp. 1—80, Pfister *Rel. Gr. Röm.* 1930 p. 325 f.

ii. 291 n. 2 *συκοφάντης*. K. Latte in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 1028—1031 demurs to my explanation ('wobei nicht zu sehen ist, wie aus der Abwehr drohenden Unheils der verleumderische Angriff geworden sein soll') and falls back on that of A. Boeckh *Die Staatshaushaltung der Athener*[3] Berlin 1886 i. 56 ('*σ.* bezeichne jemand,

Fig. 886.

der um einer Sache von geringem Wert willen eine Anzeige erstattet (vgl. etwa ital. ammazzar qualcuno per uno fico "jemand um nichts ermorden")...Andererseits ist die Beziehung auf die Phasis in dem zweiten Teil des Wortes offenkundig und gibt ihm erst seinen Inhalt, denn bei der Phasis erhielt der obsiegende Kläger die Hälfte der Strafsumme oder des eingezogenen Vermögens').

ii. 295 n. 2. A. Carnoy 'Les noms de Déméter et de Coré' in the *Annuaire de l'Institut de Philologie et d'Histoire Orientales* 1934 ii (Mélanges Bidez) pp. 71—77 would connect Δημήτηρ with *γῆ* and derive Περσεφόνη from **φερσι-φόνη*, 'qui apporte l'abondance.'

ii. 296 Attis and the Kouretes. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 l Arch. Anz. pp. 521—524 fig. 1 (=my fig. 886) gives a preliminary publication of a

silver *patera* rescued from oblivion by Miss A. Levi and now in the Brera at Milan. When found at Parabiago in Lombardy it was serving as the lid of a grave-*amphora*. It shows in fine relief of *c.* 150—200 A.D. the triumph of Attis. He is seated with Kybele in a car drawn by four lions and accompanied by three dancing Kouretes. Above are the rising Sun and setting Moon with Morning and Evening Stars. Below, Okeanos and a Nereid, with fish showing their heads above water. On the left, two Fresh Water Nymphs with reeds. On the right, Earth with *cornu copiae*, various animals, and a pair of infants. Between, the four Seasons as children. Higher up, Atlas carrying Aion in a zodiacal ring, and an Obelisk twined about with a snake. This cosmic design on a concave circular field is a magnificent specimen of symbolic art, and is to be published with full commentary by Miss Levi in *Opere d' Arte del R. Istituto di Archeologia e Storia dell' Arte* (Roma).

ii. 297 fig. 189. See now J. Leipoldt 'Eine römische Attisfigur' in *Ἄγγελος* 1926 ii. 51 f. with a good photographic pl., and cp. Attis as a recumbent figure on coins of Kyzikos (C. Bosch in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 443 f. fig. 10).

ii. 298 fig. 190. F. J. Dölger ΙΧΘΥC Münster in Westf. 1927 iv pl. 168 gives a photograph of this singular *modius*.

ii. 300. W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. pp. 655—657 with figs. 10—14 publishes the sarcophagus of a priest of Kybele and Attis, found in a large *columbarium* at Porto. The lid shows the priest recumbent, his left hand with five thick rings supporting his head, his right with *δκκαβος* or 'arm-band' holding pine-sprig and rosary. The arm-band is decorated with reliefs of Kybele seated between two standing figures, Attis and Hermes. And at the priest's feet is the usual *kiste*. Two oblong reliefs from the same find-spot represent the same priest with his *insignia* offering fruit before a seated Kybele and holding torches before a standing Attis.

ii. 300 n. 3. Photographs in Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 254 ff. Scala v no. 2 pl. 100, F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1933 iv. 1 pl. 4 (Moscioni no. 20 947).

ii. 305 n. 0 the Gosforth Cross. See now R. Reitzenstein *Weltuntergangs-vorstellungen* (Sonderabdruck aus *Kyrko-historisk Årsskrift* 1924) Uppsala 1924 p. 41 ff. figs. 2—7, *id.* 'Die nordischen, persischen und christlichen Vorstellungen vom Weltuntergang' in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 160 ff. pls. 2—4 figs. 3—10.

ii. 307 n. 1 the epitaph of Aberkios. See further A. Abel 'Étude sur l'inscription d'Abercius' in *Byzantion* 1926 iii. 321—411.

ii. 312 n. 5 *παρὰ δὲ Λυδοῖς ὁ Ζεὺς Ζεῦσις*. A. Nehring in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 588 supports *Ζεῦ-σ-ις* as a Lydianised form of *Ζεύς* by quoting *ibšim-s-is* and the like from Lydian inscriptions.

ii. 313 ff. the *Kábeiroi*. The fullest survey of the facts is that given by O. Kern 'Kabeiros...und Kabeiroi' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* x. 1399—1450, with supplementary notes by the same author '*Καβιριακά*' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1916—1919 xix. 551—553 and 'Noch einmal Karkinos' *ib.* 1920—1921 xx. 236.

G. Pansa 'La leggenda di traslazione di S. Tommaso apostolo ad Ortona a mare e la tradizione del culto cabirico' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École française de Rome) 1920 xxxviii. 29—62, carrying further the contention of J. Rendel Harris' *The Dioscuri in the Christian Legends* London 1903 pp. 20—41 that S. Thomas as 'twin' brother of Jesus was essentially Dioscuric.

A. H. Sayce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 163 would identify *Kábeiroi* with *Khabiriyas* the body-guard of the Hittite kings, and so derive them ultimately from the *Khabiri* or 'Comrades' of Babylonia. He notes an early deified Hittite king *Khasamilis* as = Κασμείλος.

ii. 314 f. Axiokersa, Axiokersos, Axieros. O. Montelius *La Grèce préclassique* Stockholm 1924 i. 121 with figs. 349 and 351 regarded as sacred axes the tapering stone heads (in two cases painted) stuck into terra-cotta bodies, which Wace found at *Rakhmani* in Thessaly [A. J. B. Wace—M. S. Thompson *Prehistoric Thessaly* Cambridge 1912 p. 41 with fig. 25, *a*, *b*, *c*].

E. Maass in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 225 is content to explain 'Αξιόκερσος and 'Αξιοκέρσα as deities (Hades and Kore) 'who slay valuable beasts (*ἄξια*) with the sickle-knife' and 'Ἄξιερος as the goddess (Demeter) 'who receives valuable victims.'

A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 162 connects 'Αξιό-κερσος, 'Αξιο-κέρσα with Hesych. *κέρνα· ἄξινη* and in the other Hesychian glosses (quoted *supra* ii. 315 n. 1) cj. *ἀμῆσαι* or *ϝαμῆσαι* for *γαμῆσαι* cod. and *γάλλος* for *γάμος* cod.

G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1929 i. 60 n. 0 discusses coins of Odessos with legend θεοῦ μεγάλου ΚΥΡΣΑ (*supra* ii. 1126 figs. 952, 953) and the possibility that Κύρσα = Κέρσα was the name of an indigenous deity akin to 'Αξιοκέρσης (*sic*). *Id.* in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 249 is even more venturesome (κύρ(ιος) Σά(ρατις) or Σα(βάσιος)!). But A. Salač 'Le grand dieu d'Odessos-Varna et les mystères de Samothrace' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1928 liii. 395—398 had already argued that the Theos Megas at Odessos was *Δαρζάλας or Δερξέλας, one form of the chief male divinity of the ancient Thracians.

For 'Αξί-*eros* as the 'Axe-Eros' cp. Anakr. *frag.* 47 Bergk[4], 48 Edmonds, 45 Diehl *ap.* Hephaist. 12. 4 p. 39, 5 f. Consbruch μεγάλῳ δηὖτέ μ' Ἔρως ἔκοψεν ὥστε χαλκεύς | πελέκει with the comments of E. Schwyzer 'Axt und Hammer' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 314—318 (πέλεκυς = σφυροπέλεκυς, a smith's axe serving also as a hammer).

Fig. 887.

Fig. 888.

ii. 316 Zeus transformed into Eros. Such a concept provides a partial justification for the late syncretistic figures of Zeus *Pántheos* (L. Robert in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 141 no. 176 cites a dedication from Carthage, now in the Louvre, Διὶ Ἡλίῳ Μεγάλῳ Πανθέῳ Σαράπιδι = *Corp. inscr. Lat.* viii no 12493) or Iupiter *Pantheus* (Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5423 (Nescania Baeticae) Iovem Pantheum Aug. | cum aede et tetrastylo solo [p]ub. | etc.). A bronze from the Gréau collection, obtained from Greece in 1885 and now in Paris (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 17 no. 4 'Zeus panthée?,' De Ridder *Cat. Bronzes du Louvre* i. 71 no. 482 pl. 36 (= my fig. 887): height 0·192[m]), shows a nude Zeus with the wings of Eros, the greaves of Ares, and a *stephánē* surmounted by three 'fleurons.' Another, from Cahon (Somme), now at Abbeville (C. Louandre in the *Revue des Sociétés Savantes des Départements* Cinquième Série 1873 v. 322—327, Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 8 no. 2 'Zeus Panthée') shows a nude Iupiter holding thunderbolt and eagle, with the wings

of Victory, the rayed crown of Apollo (Sun), the disk and horns of Isis (Moon), the cock of Mercury, the fawn-skin of Bacchus, the *cornu copiae* of Ceres or Fortuna or Abundantia, and a Gaulish *armilla* on his right arm (my fig. 888 is from a photograph kindly supplied by M. Richard, Conservateur des Musées, Abbeville).

ii. 321 n. 1. A votive inscription to Zeus Ἐπιδώτας in Messenia is noted by M. N. Tod in the *Class. Rev.* 1930 xliv. 89 and by P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 196 after N. S. Valmin in the *Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1928—1929 iv. 1 ff. no. 22 (at *Grizokampos*) Διὶ Ἐπιδώται.

ii. 322 ff. Janiform deities. C. N. Deedes 'The Double-headed God' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 194—243 with 30 figs. attempts a conspectus of the evidence (Sumerian, Syro-Hittite, Greek, Etruscan, Italian, Celtic, mediaeval).

ii. 326, 374 f., 377 f. Janiform masks. V. Alford 'The Springtime Bear in the Pyrenees' in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 275 reports that two-faced masks are worn by men on Feb. 2 at Arles-sur-Tech in the French Catalan Pyrenees. *Ead.* 'The Candlemas Bear' in *The National Review* 1931 xcvi. 235—244 gives further details. The same observer and R. Gallop in their joint article in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 352 f. state that at Arles-sur-Tech the Candlemas Bear is escorted by from four to twelve two-faced attendants, who wear women's cotton dresses, leathern belts with eight or ten cow-bells attached, and small barrels painted with a face fore and aft by way of head-dress.

ii. 328 ff. the Salian Hymn. On Italian and Dutch reconstructions of the *carmen Saliare* by E. Cocchia (1917), F. Ribezzo (1917—1918), and P. J. Enk (1921) see M. Bacherler in the *Jahresbericht über die Fortschritte der klassischen Altertumswissenschaft* 1925 ccv. 84.

ii. 335 Ianus. O. Huth *Janus* Bonn 1932 pp. 1—96 is adversely criticised by H. J. Rose in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 329—331. Huth finds the essence of Ianus to consist in a certain 'polarity,' the contrast of birth-death, summer-winter, fire-water, entry-exit symbolised in Italy by a god with double face, in Germany by the runic sign ᛜ. But the early Italians were no philosophers, and the sign ᛜ was not runic (? cp. H. Arntz *Die Runenschrift Ihre Geschichte und ihre Denkmäler* Halle/Saale 1938 p. 98).

ii. 337 n. 4 *divom deo.* Cp. Tertull. *ad Scap.* 4 (i. 782 A Migne) tunc et populus adclamans deo deorum, qui solus potens, in Iovis nomine deo nostro testimonium reddidit. *Supra* p. 327.

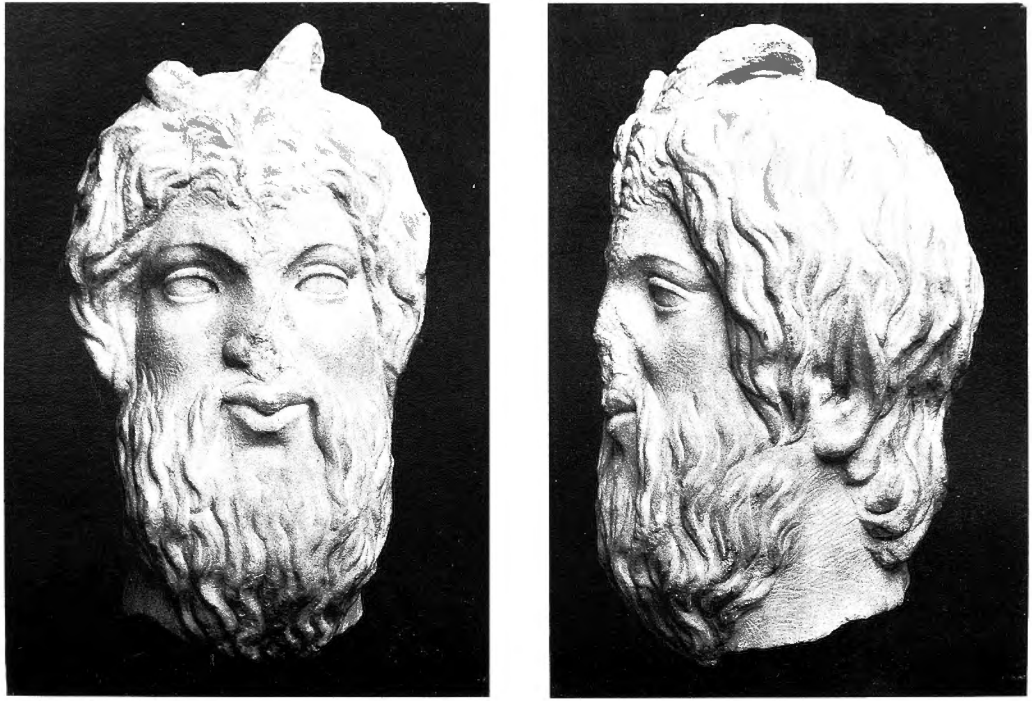
ii. 339 n. 0 *tivs* = 'lunae.' See further C. Pauli in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 1056 f.

ii. 340 n. 0 Dæmonium, quod rustici Dianam appellant. Lobeck *Aglaophamus* ii. 1092 f. 'Acta Symphoriani Ruinart. Act. Mart. p. 70 [*ib.*² Amstelaedami 1713 p. 82]. *Dianam quoque daemonium esse meridianum sanctorum industria investigavit, quae per compita currens et silvarum secreta perlustrans incredulis hominum mentibus vizaniae tribulos sceleris sui arte disseminat, Triviae sibi cognomen dum triviis insidiatur obtinuit.*' Cp. S. Eitrem in the *Symbolae Osloenses* 1929 viii. 32 n. 1 'das *daemonium meridianum,* das die Christen *Diana* nannten.' It is tempting to suppose a mere confusion between meri*dianum* and *Diana.* But see V. Alford—R. Gallop 'Traces of a Dianic Cult from Catalonia to Portugal' in *Folk-Lore* 1935 xlvi. 350—361 (p. 358 f. 'Immediately to the west of the Basque lands we find the word *Jana* in all its purity... In Sardinia *Jana* means witch. In the old Neapolitan dialect *Janara* means nymph... The old Spanish form was *Jana.* In the Montaña de Santander we find *Janassana*... In Asturias...*Dianu* means Devil, and the *Diano Burlón* is a kind of faun. In Galicia...the Devil is again *o Diano*... In Portugal...Diânho. In the Algarve...women called *Jas* or *Jans* for whom it used to be customary to leave a skein of flax and a cake of bread on the hearth.' Etc.).

ii. 343 Ζανὶ Ἐλευθερίοι = Antoninus Pius. W. Peck in the Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1931 p. 114 quotes O. Puchstein *Epigrammata Graeca in Aegypto reperta* Strassburg 1881 no. 56 = F. Hiller von Gaertringen *Historische griechische Epigramme* Bonn 1926 no. 118 Καίσαρι παντομέδοντι καὶ ἀπείρων κρατέοντι | Ζανὶ τῶι ἐκ Ζανὸς πατρὸς Ἐλευθερίωι..

ii. 343 Ζᾶνες. Cp. Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) Ζῆνες δέ οὐχ εἷς ἢ δύο, ἀλλὰ καὶ τρεῖς καὶ τέσσαρες γεγόνασι τὸν ἀριθμόν. κ.τ.λ.

ii. 344 n. 0 Δεύς. This form of the name occurs also on a two-handled Rhodian jar of *c.* 400 B.C., now in the Metropolitan Museum of Art, New York (T. L. Spear in the *Am. Journ. Phil.* 1908 xxix. 461—466 with pl., C. D. Buck *Introduction to the Study of the Greek Dialects* Boston 1910 pp. 67, 293), which bears the painted inscriptions ΚΑΛΛΙΣΤΑ ΓΑΣ ΗΑ ΒΡΑΣΙΑ | ΗΩΣ ΕΜΙΝ ΔΟΚΕΙ (would-be iambic) and ΔΕΥΣ ΗΕΡΜΑΣ | ΑΡΤΑΜΙΣ ΑΘΑΝΑΙΑ.



a *b*

Marble head of Pan from Greece, now in the British Museum.

ii. 347 ff. Πὰν ὁ μέγας τέθνηκεν. The literature of this famous episode (*supra* ii. 349 n. 20) should include I. Nyman *De magno Pane Plutarchi* Upsaliae 1734, W. H. Roscher 'Die Legende vom Tode des groszen Pan' in the *Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Pädag.* 1892 cxlv. 465—477, E. Nestle 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 156—158, O. Weinreich 'Zum Tod des grossen Pan' *ib.* 1910 xiii. 467—473, A. Taylor 'Northern Parallels to the Death of Pan' in *Washington University Studies* Series iv 1922 (Humanistic Series x. 1) pp. 3—102 (discusses 246 variants and concludes that 'the voice of loud lament is an hallucination, an auditory illusion, and not a myth relating to the spirits of vegetation'), A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1923 xxxvii. 164 (cp. Hdt. 6. 105), O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 328—330, G. Méautis 'Le grand Pan est mort' in the *Musée Belge* 1927 xxxi. 51—53 (cp. Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 12 ἑνίοι δὲ Παμύλην τινὰ λέγουσιν ἐν Θήβαις ὑδρευόμενον ἐκ τοῦ ἱεροῦ τοῦ Διὸς φωνὴν ἀκοῦσαι διακελευομένην ἀνειπεῖν μετὰ βοῆς ὅτι ΜΕΓΑΣ ΒΑΣΙΛΕΥΣ ΕΤΕΡΓΕΤΗΣ ΟΣΙΡΙΣ ΓΕΓΟΝΕ).

Fresh light has been thrown upon the whole business by a simple but convincing discovery of A. Fick *Vorgriechische Ortsnamen* Göttingen 1905 p. 147 'Πάν ist nicht "der Hirte," sondern der "Papa," gehört zu den "Lallnamen" Kretschmers 334 f. [P. Kretschmer *Einleitung in die Geschichte der Griechischen Sprache* Göttingen 1896 p. 334 ff.] Das weibliche Gegenstück zu Πα ist Μα, in Arkadien als Μαῖα, Mutter des Hermes Μαιαδεύς erhalten.' If so, Pan was in effect another Zan, and I had no need to postulate that the former had stepped into the shoes of the latter. Pan the Great was all along a parallel figure to Zan the Great. Pan the goatherds' god took the form of a goat just as Zan the oxherds' god took that of an ox (*supra* ii. 345). And the ritual of the dead Pan, implied by Plutarch's narrative, may well have resembled the ritual of the dead Zan.

On this showing Pan was a more dignified deity than advancing civilisation was prepared to admit. He had some reason to complain of his neglect by the Athenians on the eve of Marathon (Hdt. 6. 105). But before the close of that century, or very soon afterwards, Attic sculptors had made the *amende honorable* by devising a type which gave the god an almost Zeus-like majesty and yet by retaining curved horns and prick ears, a shag of hair and a twist of lip, contrived to remind men that after all he was but a glorified goat. H. B. W[alters] in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1931—1932 vi. 33 f. pl. 16 was able to publish a head in Pentelic marble (beight $8\frac{3}{4}$ inches) recently acquired in Greece. Relying presumably on the proportions of the eye, the absence of overlapping lids, etc. he ventures to say: 'the style recalls some of the heads on the Parthenon metopes. It certainly cannot be dated later than the latter part of the fifth century.' My pl. lxxx is from the official photographs.

ii. 347 n. 0 Hipta. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1926 xv. 76 ff. takes Hipta to be an Asiatic mother-goddess = the Hittite *Hepit*.

ii. 350 Dodona. For the recent excavations at Dodona see G. Sotiriadis 'Fouilles de Dodone' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1921 xxxiv. 384—387 and D. Euangelides in the Πρακτ. ἀρχ. ἑτ. 1930 pp. 52—68, *ib.* 1931 pp. 83—91, *ib.* 1932 pp. 47—52 and as reported by E. P. B[legen] in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 220 f., by D. M. Robinson *ib.* 1933 xxxvii. 128, by H. G. G. Payne in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1930 l. 242, *ib.* 1931 li. 194 f., *ib.* 1932 lii. 245, *ib.* 1933 liii. 182, by H. Megaw *ib.* 1936 lvi. 147.

ii. 359 ff. the Triumphal Arch. On distyle bases at Delphoi see É. Bourguet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1911 xxxv. 472—481, *id. Les ruines de Delphes* Paris 1914 pp. 148 f., 164—168, 202—205, F. Courby in *Fouilles de Delphes* ii. i. 44, M. P. Nilsson 'Les bases votives à double colonne et l'arc de triomphe' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1925 xlix. 143—157. The origin of the Triumphal Arch is still a bone of contention, not to say a body of Euphorbos: *e.g.* G. Patroni 'L'origine degli archi trionfali' in *Historia* 1927 i. 3. 3—30 with 3 figs. (criticises G. Spano, E. Löwy, etc. and stresses Etruscan influence), E. Löwy *Die Anfänge des Triumphbogens* Wien 1928 pp. 1—40 with 3 pls. and 89 figs. (summarised in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 ii. 170 and in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1927 xvii. 249), M. P. Nilsson 'The Origin of the Triumphal Arch' in *Skrifter utgivna av Svenska Institutet i Rom* 1932 ii. 132—139, I. A. Richmond 'Commemorative Arches and City Gates in the Augustan Age' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 149—174 with pls. 15—19 and 11 figs. (follows Nilsson and urges that the main purpose of the Arch was to serve as a base for statues), H. Petrikovits 'Die Porta triumphalis' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii. 187—196 (insists on the religious significance of the victors returning under this Arch, compares the passage of the vanquished *sub iugum*, and the sale of prisoners *sub hasta*, ending with a bibliography of 45 items). Much that is relevant had already been said by A. von Domaszewski 'Die Triumphstrasse auf dem Marsfelde' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1909 xii. 67—82 (=*id. Abhandlungen zur römischen Religion* Leipzig und Berlin 1909 pp. 217—233 with additional n. by B. Kahle).

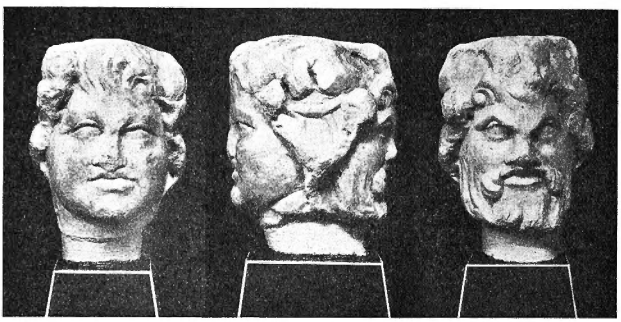
ii. 361 with fig. 254. H. Mattingly in the *Brit. Mus. Quart.* 1934 ix. 51 pl. 16, 7, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Rom. Coins* Emp. iii. pp. ci, 177 f. pl. 31, 6—9.

ii. 364 the 'yoke' of spears. M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic Spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 122—127 (*sub iugum*, *sub hasta*, etc.).

ii. 373 Ianus *Quadrifrons*. A late Etruscan scarab of cornelian, mounted on a gold swivel, shows a bearded head of Ianus *Quadrifrons* wearing a *pétasos* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Finger Rings* p. 59 no. 327 pl. 9, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 88 no. 714 pl. 12: from the Castellani collection).

ii. 381 ff. double herms. R. Lullies *Die Typen der griechischen Herme* Königsberg Pr. 1931 pp. 66—69 ('Doppelhermen mit nach entgegengesetzten Seiten blickenden Köpfen') argues that this type was originally intended to represent 'Hermes als Totengott' (*ib.* p. 86)—a view questioned by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 330.

ii. 382 n. 1 double bust of Dionysos. Cp. a fine archaistic double bust at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* Billedtavler no. 151 Dionysos pl. 11).



a *b* *c*

Fig. 889.

ii. 385 n. 0 Ἀργειφόντης. Earlier interpretations in O. Neckel Ἀργειφόντης Progr. des Gymn. Friedland 1886 pp. 10—12, Sven Linde 'Über Ἀργειφόντης, dessen Form und Bedeutung' in *Skandinavisches Archiv* 1892 i. 394—414.

ii. 386 Odhin's broad hat. H. Naumann 'Breithut' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1550—1552 (cp. *id. ib.* i. 1386 f. 'Blauhütel').

ii. 388 double busts of Hermes and Herakles. P. E. Visconti 'Ermeracle' in the *Bull. Comm. Arch. Comun. di Roma* 1872—1873 pp. 97—102 pl. 1. Another of Hermes (*pétasos*) and Herakles (lion-skin) at Ny Carlsberg (*Ny Carlsberg Glyptotek* Billedtavler no. 267 pl. 19).

ii. 390 with pl. xxi Janiform *aryballos* of male and female Dionysiac heads. See now J. D. Beazley 'Charinos' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 61 (Group N, no. 1 'head of Herakles and woman's head' [?]).

ii. 392 with fig. 300 double bust of Apis and Isis. H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Berlin—Leipzig 1926 p. 183 pl. 3 fig. 6 assigns this bust to the time of Hadrian and regards it as combining the human and animal forms of Hathor. J. Leipoldt in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte* Leipzig—Erlangen 1926 ix—xi p. vi with fig. 25 ('Die Büste 25 ist insofern altägyptisch empfunden, als Isis auch mit einem Kuhkopfe ausgestattet ist (allerdings handelt sichs um eine künstliche Ägyptisierung; es fehlen altägyptische Analogien einer derartigen Isis).' Etc.).

ii. 392 ff. double herms at Nemi. On Feb. 10, 1930, during the excavation of Caligula's second galley, a double herm of bronze was found, representing the conjoined heads of a bearded and a beardless Satyr. The former is wreathed with vine-leaves and

grapes, the latter with pine and cones: both wear a *nebrís* (W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv Arch. Anz. p. 351 with fig. 13). In the summer of 1931 further work on the second galley brought to light another double herm of bronze, the exact counterpart of the first, and a third combining two youthful female heads wreathed with ivy and draped. There can be no doubt that all these herms served as decorative posts of the ship's rail (*id. ib.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 648 with figs. 4 and 5). In the spring of 1932 yet another bronze double herm from the rail was found (*id. ib.* 1932 xlvii Arch. Anz. p. 479). See also *The Daily Telegraph* for June 18, 1931 p. 9 and *The Illustrated London News* for July 4, 1931 p. 19.

I take this opportunity of publishing (fig. 889, *a—c*) a small double bust of white marble in my collection (height $3\frac{3}{4}$ inches), which represents *adossés* a bearded and a beardless Satyr, wreathed with ivy. It probably topped a slender pillar in somebody's peristyle in *s.* i A.D.

a Fig. 890. *b*

ii. 394 foliate faces. T. Tindall Wildridge *The Grotesque in Church Art*[2] London s.a. p. 112 ff. ('Masks and Faces') gives examples of foliate masks at Beverley Minster (Yorkshire), Dorchester (Oxfordshire), St Mary's Minster (Isle of Thanet), Westminster Abbey, Ewelme (Oxfordshire), Lincoln Cathedral, etc. C. J. P. Cave 'The Roof Bosses in Ely Cathedral' in the *Proceedings of the Cambridge Antiquarian Society* Cambridge 1932 xxxii. 35 f. with pl. 2 shows bosses representing heads with oak-leaves coming out of mouth and nostril. Cave acutely conjectures 'some survival from pre-Christian times.' Finally Lady Raglan 'The "Green Man" in Church Architecture' in *Folk-Lore* 1939 l. 45—57 figs. 1—17 concludes that classical and *quasi*-classical types (figs. 10—13) were from *s.* xiii. onwards influenced by 'the figure variously known as the Green Man, Jack-in-the-Green, Robin Hood, the King of May, and the Garland.' In 1934 I acquired from Mr J. Sinclair of Swanage a limestone corbel (height $7\frac{1}{4}$ inches) said to have come from a fourteenth-century continental church. It represents (fig. 890, *a*, *b*) a male head with oak-leaves springing from eyes, nose, and ears, and bears traces of yellow priming and red paint.

ii. 405 ff. Artemis *Ephesia*. On all the types of this goddess see now the excellent monograph by H. Thiersch *Artemis Ephesia* (*Abh. d. gött. Gesellsch. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1935 Folge iii Nr. 12) Teil i Katalog der erhaltenen Denkmäler. Mit 76 Tafeln u. 4 Textabbildungen.

ii. 407 n. 0. On stags in relation to Artemis (Ma, Anaïtis, etc.) see S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 151 f., who cites F. Cumont 'L'archevêché de Pédachtoé et le sacrifice du Faon' in *Byzantion* 1931 vi. 521—533 ('Voilà bien un banquet rituel, tradition païenne christianisée').

ii. 410 n. 0 'Εφέσια γράμματα. See further A. Deissmann 'Ephesia Grammata' in the *Abhandlungen zur semitischen Religionskunde und Sprachwissenschaft* (Baudissin-Festschrift) ed. W. Frankenberg—F. Küchler (*Beihefte zur Zeitschrift für die Alttestamentliche Wissenschaft* 1918 xxxiii. 121—124).

ii. 410 n. 0. On the occurrence of Zeus-emblems (thunderbolt and bay-wreath) in relation to Artemis *Ephesia* see H. Tbiersch *op. cit.* i. 46 ff., 65 ff., who notes a statue of *s.* ii A.D. in the Museum at Tripolis (no. 29 pl. 27, 1, 3, 4) and a mosaic from Poggio Mirteto in the Vatican (no. 56 pl. 46).

ii. 411 Bendis. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 87 n. 3 draws attention to the numerous representations of Bendis on the rocks of Philippoi (*ib.* 1922 lxxxvi. 117 ff.).

ii. 411 n. 6. C. Picard—C. Avezou 'Le testament de la prêtresse thessalonicienne' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1914 xxxviii. 38 ff. correct P. Perdrizet's reading *ἱέρεια θύσα* | *εὐεία* Πριν|*φόρου* to *ἱέρεια οὖσα* | Εὐεία Πριν|*φόρου*, 'Eueia daughter of Prinophoros,' and show that the remainder of this much-misunderstood inscription refers to the *ἀπόκαυσις* or ritual burning of roses on the tomb—a very different story.

ii. 419 n. 2. A writer in the *Times Literary Supplement* for June 17, 1926 p. 413 justly objects that *scomparse* means 'vanished,' not 'scattered.'

ii. 421 Artemis *Orthia*. H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsband p. 110: 'In Wirklichkeit ist Orthia, was freilich noch niemand gesehen hat, von *ὀρθός*, "aufrechtstehend," abzuleiten, und der Beiname der Göttin erklärt sich aus den Erektionen der an ihrem Altar gepeitschten nackten Jünglinge und der Zuschauer.' But such ultra-Aristophanic grossness is quite gratuitous.

ii. 422 the divine Sky as a double-faced god. K. F. Johansson *Über die altindische Göttin Dhiṣáṇā und Verwandtes* Uppsala 1919 p. 136 ff. argues for a proethnic Indogermanic 'zwei-aspektig gedachten herrn gott' with dark and light sides, viz. Varuṇa (also Vṛtra) and Dyāuṣ (also Mitra). So in Scandinavia we have Ullr and Týr (also Frøyr), cp. the Van pair of gods Ullin and Fillin (*ib.* pp. 33, 139).

ii. 424 the temple of Aphrodite *Paphia*. See further R. Dussaud—P. Alphandéry 'Le sanctuaire primitif d'Aphrodite paphienne' in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1911 lxiii. 114, 'Fouilles de Rantidi (Chypre)' *ib.* 1911 lxiii. 376 f., 'Les divinités de Rantidi (Chypre)' *ib.* 1911 lxiv. 133, C. Blinkenberg *Le temple de Paphos* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.* Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser ix, 2) København 1924 pp. 1—40 figs. 1—9, S. Casson *Ancient Cyprus Its Art and Archaeology* London 1937 pp. 163 n. 1, 178.

ii. 427 fig. 331. A somewhat clearer illustration of this gilded glass is given by I. Benzinger *Hebräische Archäologie*[3] Leipzig 1927 p. 218 with fig. 224.

ii. 434 ff. the Twins. In addition to the monographs of S. Eitrem (*supra* ii. 451 n. 1) and J. Rendel Harris (*supra* i. 760 n. 7) see the contributions of E. S. Hartland 'Twins' in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* 1921 xii. 491[a]—500[b], Schrader *Reallex.*[2] i. 588[b], A. H. Krappe *Les dieux jumeaux dans la religion germanique* (extr. from the *Acta philologica Scandinavica*) København 1930 pp. 1—25, Frazer *Golden Bough*[3]: Aftermath pp. 82, 154.

ii. 436 ff. Kastor and Polydeukes. A. Döhring 'Kastors und Balders Tod' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1902 v. 38—63, 97—104, A. H. Krappe 'Herakles and Greek Dioskouroi Legends' in *The Classical Journal* 1923 xviii. 502—504, G. Maresch 'Der Name der Tyndariden' in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 298 f. (*supra* on i. 766), A. Puech 'La mort de Castor dans la x[e] Néméenne' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 398—403.

H. J. M. Milne in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii. 62 edits a fresh fragment of Bakchylides (?) which tells how one of the Dioskouroi (or possibly Kabeiroi) lives on earth, the other in Hades (A. Vogliano in *Papiri greci e latini* (Pubblicazioni della Società Italiana) Firenze 1932 x. 169 ff. no. 1181 Oxyrhynchos *s.* ii—iii A.D.): 21 ff. *μάλ' ἐγγ[υᾶτο]* | *το[α]ὐτα φάτις* | *ἐπεὶ δόκ[ιμο]ς κἰα[θε]ν* | *ἐπ{ε}ὶ πολυ[δεν]δρέων ἀκτῶν* | *κῦμα πε[ρῶν]* | *ἀπ' Ἰλίου* | *θεῶν τι[ς, ἀ]μ[φανδὸν* [*δ' ἀπέδειξεν*] | *αὖθι μένε[ιν τὸν μὲν π]αρ' Ἄιδι* | *τὸν δ' οὐλόμε[νον κατὰ κ]όσμον* | *πρυφυγεῖν θά[νατον*].

ii. 440 ff. Romulus and Remus. A. H. Krappe 'Notes sur la légende de la fondation de Rome' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1933 pp. 146—152.

K. Scott 'Drusus, nicknamed "Castor"' in *Class. Philol.* 1930 xxv. 155—161 thinks

that Germanicus and the younger Drusus, like Tiberius and the elder Drusus, may have been associated ὸr even identified with Castor and Pollux—a view confirmed by a recently found inscription from Ephesos (*Class. Quart.* 1931 xxv. 58).

E. Kornemann *Doppelprinzipat und Reichsteilung im Imperium Romanum* Leipzig—Berlin 1930 pp. 1—210 is reviewed by M. P. Charlesworth in the *Class. Rev.* 1933 xlvii. 143—146.

J. Carcopino 'La louve du Capitole' in the *Bulletin de l'Association Guillaume Budé* Juillet 1924 pp. 3—19 and Octobre 1924 pp. 16—49.

R. P. Eckels *Greek Wolf-lore* Philadelphia 1937 pp. 1—88 concludes with a discussion of wolf-nurses.

ii. 445 Zethos and Amphion. J. Rendel Harris in the *Bulletin of the John Rylands Library* 1926 x. 345 observes that the Egyptian twins Set and Horos were the architects of Thebes in Egypt just as Zethos and Amphion were the architects of Thebes in Greece. He suggests that the name Ζῆθος may be simply *Set*, whom Plutarch actually transcribes as Σῆθ [Where? Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 41, 49, 62 says Σήθ without variants. A.B.C.]. A. H. Krappe in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 240 f. repeats and reinforces the conclusions of Rendel Harris.

ii. 445 ff. double-headed deities in Asia Minor etc. G. Contenau 'Idoles en pierre provenant de l'Asie Mineure' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 193 ff. pls. 44—48 publishes six idols in the Louvre, probably found at *Kül-Tépé* ('La colline des cendres') near Kaisareia in Kappadokia, close to Mt Argaios, where a Semitic colony had long been established—witness numerous tablets in cuneiform from the same site. All the six idols are in alabaster, with a reddish patina. They represent deities with one (pl. 44, a), two (pls. 44, b, 45), and three heads (pls. 46, 47, 4), but only a single rounded body. *Id. ib.* p. 200 compares Syrian bronzes in the Louvre, which represent a god embracing a goddess attached to his right leg at the knee, or again four deities arranged fan-wise. *Id. Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 824 f. figs. 593 and 594 dates the Cappadocian idols *c.* 2000 B.C. and the Syrian bronzes *c.* 1000 B.C. A better illustration of a two-headed Cappadocian goddess is given in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* L'Art de Mésopotamie ancienne au Musée du Louvre Paris 1936 i. 284 f. fig. A, and of a Syrian group *ib.* Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 109 fig. G. On the significance of polycephalic gods in general see L. Weber in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 172—175.

ii. 448 n. 0 the sickle of Kronos. See now *Oxyrhynchus Papyri* London 1927 xvii. 65 no. 2080, 71—73 (=Kallim. *frags.* 502+172 Schneider) with A. S. Hunt *ad loc.*

ii. 448 n. 2 the sickle of Zeus. See F. Dornseiff 'Die Sichel des Zeus und Typhon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 754—757 fig. 1. *Id. Die archaische Mythenerzählung* Berlin—Leipzig 1933 p. 24 ff. cites *inter alia* a Hittite parallel noted by W. Porzig—'Illujankas und Typhon.' Cp. G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 pp. 87—91 ('Il Mito del dio della tempesta e del serpente Illuyankaš').

ii. 453 ff. the original home of Apollon. Wilamowitz' view that Apollon came from Lykia is energetically attacked also by E. Bethe 'Apollon der Hellene' in ΑΝΤΙΔΩΡΟΝ *Festschrift Jacob Wackernagel...gewidmet* Göttingen 1923 pp. 14—21.

F. Poulsen *Delphische Studien* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.* Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser viii, 5) København 1924 pp. 3—40 ('Apollon und Asien') suggests that the name *Apóllon* is to be explained by the Babylonian terms *aplu* 'the Firstborn' and *aplu ašaridu* 'the Firstborn Son,' a fixed epithet of kings in honorific inscriptions. Poulsen sees in Apollon a blend of Šamaš, god of the sun, of wisdom, of law, with Marduk, who as symbolising sunlight fought Tiâmat the dragon of darkness. Hence the lunisolar calendar, the ritual number seven, the *omphalós* (cp. the Babylonian *kudurru*), etc.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 90 f. thinks it possible that the Hellenic Apollon was a blend of (*a*) a Creto-Anatolian god and (*b*) a Hyperborean god—each called *Apóllon*.

L. Weber 'Apollon' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1933 lxxxii. 165—191, 193—229 contends that Apollon, originating in Crete as an archer-god (cp. Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 296 f. fig. 85, where note eye and ear), passed thence *viâ* Delos and Lykia to the Troad, was carried across the Bosporos by the Mysians and Teucrians some time before the Trojan War, and made his way southward through Thrace, Makedonia, and Thessaly to Delphoi. Homeric *epos* represents him as a foe of the Greeks because it was a product of the Aeolians in Thessaly, who were naturally hostile to the god of their northern neighbours. Delos as his cult-centre was prior to Delphoi.

ii. 460 n. 2 (*b*) Apollon riding on a swan. A rock-crystal scarab of early archaic style shows him thus crossing the sea (waves below, dolphin behind). He guides the swan by the beak with his right hand and holds a leafy branch in his left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* iii. 96 f. fig. 66, *Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*[2] p. 55 no. 460 pl. 8).

ii. 462 n. 0 fig. 362 Zeus drawn by eagles on a disk from Tarentum. Other examples at Trieste and Berlin (P. Wuilleumier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1932 i. 43 no. 78).

ii. 464. C. Picard 'La Crète et les légendes Hyperboréennes' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 349—360 holds that the sacrifice of asses and other 'Hyperborean' tales belonged originally to Crete, and were transferred to the north only when Crete had been captured by northern invaders. Unconvincing.

ii. 469 n. 1 huius folia noctis et lucis inaginem declarant. Miss G. R. Levy 'The Oriental Origin of Herakles' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1934 liv. 44 well compares Orph. *h. Herakl.* 12. 11 ὃς περὶ κραὶ φορεῖς ἠῶ καὶ νύκτα μέλαιναν.

ii. 475 Zeus seated, yet hurling a thunderbolt. A silver *statêr* of Corinth, struck *c.* 338—300 B.C., has for symbol Zeus enthroned with thunderbolt in raised right hand and eagle on outstretched left (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Corinth, etc. p. 33 no. 308 pl. 12, 19. There is a second specimen of the type in *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 96 no. 72. I have a third).

ii. 477 n. 0. G. A. Snyder 'De symbolica Phaethontis fabulae interpretatione apud Romanos' in *Mnemosyne* N.S. 1927 lv. 401—409 claims that in Roman times the myth was interpreted as a Mithraic expression for the ascent of the soul to heaven (*Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 210, cp. S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 218). A. Lesky 'Zum Phaethon des Euripides' in *Wiener Studien* 1932 l. 1—25 puts the play late in Euripides' career and attempts to reconstruct the plot. M. F. Scalvizzari *Il Mito nel* ΦΑΕΘΩΝ *di Euripide* Napoli 1937 pp. 1—80 includes a pl. of the Ostia *sarcophagus*.

ii. 483 the *kiškanû*-tree. F. P. Dhorme 'L'arbre de vérité et l'arbre de vie' in the *Revue biblique internationale* Nouvelle série 1907 iv. 272 ff. shows that in the time of Gudea (*c.* 2600 B.C.) the Babylonians believed in two trees planted at the entry of heaven, *giš-ti* the 'tree of life' and *giš-kâ-an-na* the 'tree of the gate of heaven.' He says: 'Le *giš-ti* ou "arbre de vie" ne sera autre que le *kiškanû*, connu sous le nom de *giš-gan-abzu*.' Dhorme is followed by A. J. Wensinck *Tree and Bird as cosmological symbols in Western Asia* Amsterdam 1921 p. 4. See now S. Langdon 'The Legend of the kiškanu' in *The Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain and Ireland* 1928 pp. 843—848. Miss N. Perrot *Les représentations de l'arbre sacré sur les monuments de Mésopotamie et d'Élam* Paris 1937 pp. 1—143 with 32 pls., G. Lechler in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 352 f.

ii. 484 n. 6. The etymology of ἀπελλόν is discussed by F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 348.

ii. 487 n. 3 Apollon as an 'apple'-god. Rendel Harris' view is adversely criticised by J. Toutain in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1921 lxxxiii. 196—200. But there is far more to be said for it than the critics will allow. *Rira bien qui rira le dernier.*

On Demeter Μαλοφόρος at Megara see K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund (1934) p. 174 ff. Terracottas from her sanctuary at Selinous were published by E. Gàbrici in the *Not. Scavi* 1920 pp. 67—91 figs. 1—33, and we have now the same author's sumptuous monograph 'Il Santuario della Malophoros a Selinunte' in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 1—419 with 97 pls. and 192 figs. (reviewed by F. von Duhn in *Gnomon* 1929 v. 529—539).

The Times for Oct. 8, 1926 p. 11 in a report by J. Borozdin on 'Excavations in South Russia' notes the discovery by Prof. Farmakovsky in 1924 of Apollon's temple at Olbia. Its ruins stand in the centre of the old town at the outlet of the river Bug. See further E. Diehl in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2417, 2421.

ii. 493 n. 2 amber routes. The most thorough and authoritative investigation of the subject is that of J. M. de Navarro 'Prehistoric Routes between Northern Europe and Italy defined by the Amber Trade' in *The Geographical Journal* 1925 lxvi. 481—507 with distribution-maps of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Central Europe and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Central Europe, also a map of Trans-continental Amber Routes distinguishing Central Routes (opened Early Bronze Age), Western Routes (opened Middle Bronze Age), and Eastern Routes (opened Early Iron Age), and two plans of Bronze Age Amber Finds in Italy and Early Iron Age Amber Finds in Italy. Mr de Navarro does not deal with the amber trade to Greece and the East Mediterranean area, remarking only 'The Baltic-Black Sea route is, in my opinion, a late development.'

ii. 493 ff. the Hyperboreans. Rendel Harris 'Apollo at the back of the North Wind' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 229—242 includes chapters on 'The prehistoric

amber routes,' 'Apollo and the Hyperboreans,' 'The Apollo stations,' and 'a possible third amber route from the land of the Hyperboreans into Greece.' G. H. Macurdy *Troy and Paeonia* New York 1925 pp. 196—210 returns to the subject with a further section on 'The Hyperboreans.' C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1928 lviii. 685 argues thus: 'It seems improbable that barbarians devoid of all Hellenic connections would have troubled to keep in touch with Delian Apollo. The chief Istrian cult was Apolline. Istrus, like other Milesian Pontic Colonies, was populated by Mix-hellenes and monopolized Danubian trade, having factories far up the river....Perhaps these barbarized descendants of Istrian, i.e. Milesian, stock sent the offerings. If so, the Herodotean Adriatic route employed about 450 B.C. would have been closed by the Celtic invasions of the early fourth century B.C. and the later Istrus, Sinope, Prasiae-route, of (?) Phanodemus, would have been used subsequently. The fourth century B.C. coins of Istrus and Sinope with identical reverse types point to close connections between these States....Accordingly, if the people who sent offerings to Delos were geographically "Hyperborean," but not racial or mythical Hyperboreans; if they are less likely to have been the barbarian Proto-Hellenic parent-stock left behind in Central Europe than the semi-barbarized descendants of Ionian traders located in the south of Central Europe, then there is no longer any need to seek for a partially northern origin for Apollo merely on the grounds of his supposed Hyperborean connections.' This acute hypothesis is welcomed by A. D. Nock in the *Class. Rev.* 1929 xliii. 126 and by M. Cary *ib.* 1929 xliii. 214. The latter, quoting Kallim. *h. Del.* 283 f. *οἱ μέν τοι καλάμην τε καὶ ἱερὰ δράγματα πρῶτοι | ἀσταχύων φορέουσιν*, adds: 'Surely, then, they were the ears of wheat whose haulms served as packing.' Yet the actual custom of packing an egg (*Osterei*) in the first or last sheaf, cited by Mannhardt (*supra* ii. 498 n. 2), tempts us to conjecture that the offerings in question were swans' eggs similarly packed: this would at least suit both their Hyperborean starting-point and their Delian destination, and might further be supported by the ritual preservation of Leda's egg (*supra* ii. 1015 n. 7). A more remote parallel may be found in a former (*c.* 1860 A.D.) usage of the Easter Islanders: the man that brought in the first tern's egg of the year, which his servant had procured from a neighbouring islet, swimming across with it in a small basket tied on his head, was saluted as *Tangata-Manu*, 'Man-Bird,' and chosen as chief for the year (S. Chauvet *L'île de Pâques et ses mystères* Paris 1935 pp. 35—37).

ii. 496 n. 0 *fin.* C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 i. 285 n. 1: 'Pour le nom des Perphérées d'Hérodote (IV, 32), compagnons des Vierges hyperboréennes, on comparera maintenant l'Hermès Perphéræos d'Ainos, sculpté par le Dédalide Épeios, constructeur du Cheval de Troie: un papyrus récent l'a révélé.' Mr H. J. M. Milne kindly refers me to M. Norsa—G. Vitelli ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ *di poemi di Callimaco in un papiro di Tebtynis* Firenze 1934 p. 45 f. col. vii, 32 ff. *Ἑρμᾶς ὁ Περφεραῖος Αἰνείων θεός Περφεραῖος Ἑρμῆς ἐν Αἴνωι τῆι πόλει τῆς Θράικης τιμᾶται. ἐντεῦθεν Ἐπειὸς πρὸ τοῦ δουρείου ὑπ̣ου ἐδημιούργησεν Ἑρμῆν, ὃν ὁ Σκάμανδρος πολὺς ἐνεχθεὶς κατέσυρεν· ὁ δ' ἐντεῦθεν προσηνέχθη εἰς τὴν πρὸς Αἶνωι θάλασσαν, ἀφ' ἧς ἀλιευόμενοί τινες ἀνείλκυσαν αὐτὸν τῆι σαγήνηι. ὅτε <δὲ> ἐθεάσαντο αὐτόν, καταμεμψάμενοι τὸν βόλον πρῶτον μὲν σχίζειν τε αὐτὸν <—> καὶ παρακαίειν αὐτοῖς ἐπεχείρουν, οὐδὲν δὲ ἧττον ἐφθασαν ἢ τὸν ὦμον παίσαντες τραύματος τύπον ἐργάσασθαι, διαμπερὲς δὲ ἠσθένησαν· καὶ ὅλον αὐτὸν καίειν ἐπεχείρουν, τὸ δὲ πῦρ αὐτῶι περιέρρει. ἀπειπόντες <οὖν> κατέρριψαν αὐτὸν εἰς τὴν θάλασσαν. ἐπεὶ δ' αὖθις ἐδικτυούλκησαν, θεὸν νομίσαντες εἶναι ἢ θεῶι προσήκοντα καθιδρύσαντο ἐπὶ τοῦ αἰγιαλοῦ ἱερὸν αὐτοῦ, ἀπήρξαντό τε τῆς ἄγρας ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου αὐτῶι π*[* * * * * *]* (π[οσελθών?). τοῦ δὲ Ἀπόλλωνος χρήσαντος εἱ[σεδέξαν]ρο τῆι πόλει καὶ παραπλησίως τ[οῖς θεοῖς] ἐτίμων.* Cp. R. Pfeiffer 'Die neuen ΔΙΗΓΗΣΕΙΣ zu Kallimachosgedichten' in the *Sitzungsber. d. bayer. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1934 x. 29 f.

ii. 500 Phoibos. W. Schmid *Φοῖβος Ἀπόλλων* in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1923—1924 xxii. 217—223 tries to persuade us that *Φοῖβος* is a metrical substitute for *Φόβος*!

ii. 505 ff. lightning as a weapon. H. Balfour 'Concerning Thunderbolts' in *Folk-Lore* 1929 xl. 37—49, 168—172 with 23 figs. on 2 pls. surveys and illustrates popular beliefs about 'thunderbolts,' prophylactic or otherwise.

ii. 510 ff. inscribed neolithic celts. The best parallel to figs. 390 and 391 is the implement published by my friend and former pupil J. H. Iliffe 'A neolithic celt with Gnostic inscriptions at Toronto' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 304—309 with 2 figs. It is a polished celt of hard brown stone, acquired in Smyrna but said to have been found at Ephesos, and bears on one side a well-cut design with lettering of *s.* iv—v A.D. Enclosed by a snake biting its own tail, stands a nude winged and tailed figure holding a whip with double lash in his right hand, a short rod in his left. A bunch of leaves springs from his head, which bears some resemblance to a winged *Gorgóneion* (?). He is flanked by

two tall sceptres with animal-headed (?) tops, and surrounded by words of power: AIAOYAHA TTAI ZHΘ | ΦΘΛΘШZA | IAѠOYHE ΣABAѠΘ | AΔѠNAIE || AkPAMMA | XAMAPEI || ΣΕΣΕNΓΕN | ΦAPANΓHΣ || ABΛANAΘANAΛBA | ΔAMNAMENEY.

ii. 512 sliced neolithic celts with added inscriptions. A large oblong axe (?) of brownish green jade, formerly in the collection of J. Martinek, Shanghai, and now in my possession, has been sawn lengthwise and bears on the exposed surface an inscription in archaistic Chinese characters, which—Mr A. Waley kindly informs me—are an extract from the *Analects* of Confucius reading: 'Gentlemen use *tê* (inner power, "virtue" in the sense "potency"). Small men use force.' The *Martinek Sale Catalogue* (Messrs. Puttick and Simpson Dec. 13, 1929) p. 8 no. 67 refers this piece to the Han period.

ii. 513 ff. The double axe in 'Minoan' cult. M. E. L. Mallowan in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 16, 1933 p. 436 f. fig. 7 publishes beads or amulets in the shape of the double axe, which were found in Iraq at *Arpachiyah*, a prehistoric mound four miles east of Nineveh, and are attributed to a period earlier than 4000 B.C. These he claims as prototypes of the 'Minoan' symbol.

B. Schweitzer *Herakles* Tübingen 1922 pp. 21—58 ('Die Doppelaxt in nachkretischer Zeit') adduces a mass of miscellaneous evidence, not always judiciously handled.

ii. 516 n. 6 the *sarcophagus* of *Hagia Triada*. To the bibliography add R. Vallois 'Autels et culte de l'arbre sacré en Crète' in the *Revue des études anciennes* 1926 pp. 121—132. *Id.* in the *Mélanges Gustave Glotz* Paris 1932 ii. 839—847 cp. a similar arrangement of altar and base in the earliest Artemision at Ephesos.

ii. 518 n. 3 the magpie. R. Riegler 'Die Elster im Mythus' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1926 xxiii. 349—353, Taylor 'Elster' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 796—802.

ii. 519 n. 0 the crow. Euphorion *frag.* 65 Meineke, *ap.* schol. Nik. *ther.* 406, Peuckert 'Krähe' in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1932 v. 352—370.

ii. 522 n. 2 the colour red. See now the careful compilation of Eva Wunderlich *Die Bedeutung des roten Farbe im Kultus der Griechen und Römer* Giessen 1925 pp. 1—116 (reviewed by S. Eitrem in *Gnomon* 1926 ii. 95—102 and by E. Fehrle in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 15, 1926 pp. 520—525).

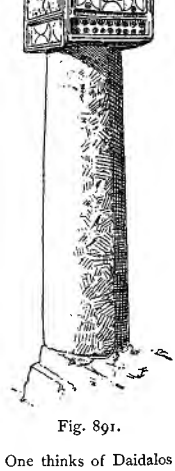


Fig. 891.

ii. 528 ff. double axes imbedded in columns. H. Sandars in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 i. 259 f. fig. 2 (=my fig. 891) publishes an Iberian column from the Mina de la Plata between Baeza and Jaen. Its square stone capital is decorated with double axes on all four faces.

ii. 536 hands raised, one palm outwards, the other in profile. The same peculiar and at present unexplained gesture may be seen in a seated terra-cotta goddess of the 'Geometric' period (height: 4¾ inches), from northern Greece, now in my collection (fig. 892 *a*, *b*).

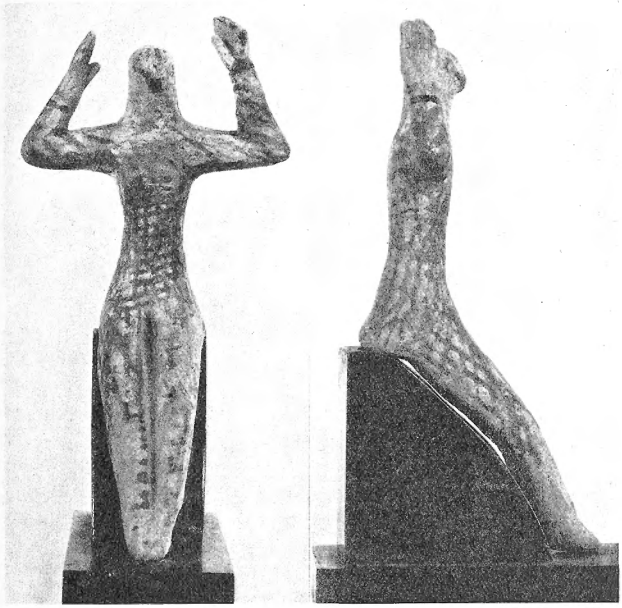
ii. 543 the 'hour-glass' ornament on the indigenous pottery of Apulia perhaps derived from the double axe. This is doubtful. Paintings from the rock-shelters of southern Spain, belonging to the Copper Age, show ⧖ or the like as the stylised form of a woman (H. Breuil—M. C. Burkitt *Rock Paintings of Southern Andalusia* Oxford 1929 p. 84 'Spanish Art Group III').

ii. 544 fig. 419 gem from Melos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 objects that 'Minoan' deities are wingless and cj. 'plutôt un génie ptérophore.' Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* p. 187 n. 1 adds: 'upward curved wings do not occur in this age' (cp. V. Müller 'Minoisches Nachleben oder orientalischer Einfluss in der frühkretischen Kunst?' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 54 f. with fig. 1). Lastly, the attitude of *Knielauf* (*supra* i. 296 n. 6) also points to a *post*-'Minoan' though still archaic period. Probably the term '*sub*-"Minoan"' or '*sub*-Mycenaean' would best fit the case. One thinks of Daidalos (*supra* on i. 725).

ii. 544 n. 3 the Egyptian *neter*. Miss M. A. Murray 'The sign ⌐ in *Studies presented to F. Ll. Griffith* London 1932 pp. 312—315 pl. 49 argues that this sign represents a pole with votive streamers and is descended from an early cult of the poplar or willow.

ii. 547 n. 2 the sacrificial table. H. Mischkowski *Die heiligen Tische im Götterkultus der Griechen und Römer* Königsberg i. Pr. 1917 p. 32 f.

ii. 548 n. 0 sword-worship. Among the Quadi (Amm. Marc. 17. 12. 21 quorum regalis Vitrodorus, Viduari filius regis, et Agilimundus subregulus, aliique optimates et



a *b*

Fig. 892.

iudices, variis populis praesidentes,...eductis...mucronibus, quos pro numinibus colunt, iuravere se permansuros in fide). In the south-east of Sweden (A. Nordén *Östergötlands Bronsålder* Linköping 1925 pp. 1—407 is summarised by A. J. Uppvall in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1927 xxxi. 394—397, who notes among the rock-carvings in the region of Bråviken 'gigantic swords...now carried by one man, now by two, and found in processions where one being—a giant—towers above the rest.' Cp. O. Almgren in Ebert *Reallex.* iii. 216 with pl. 51, i, H. Shetelig—H. Falk *Scandinavian Archaeology* trans. E. V. Gordon Oxford 1937 p. 167 ff.).

ii. 549 Kronos swallowing his own children. See now M. Pohlenz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real. Enc.* xi. 1991 ff.

ii. 549 *Krónos* as 'Chopper.' R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 385 n. 0 attempts to combine two incompatibles: 'Kronos als *Κόρ-νος = Κείρων*

="Schnitter" und *κρουνός* "Brunnen".' G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 51 quotes parallels *e.g.* Κάσιος, which 'probably originated in the Semitic root *ḳāṣaṣ*, *ḳāṣah*, ... "The Cutter, Breaker",' and *Mḳôlnir* the 'Crusher.'

ii. 550 fig. 426. F. Imhoof-Blumer in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1898 xviii. 178 f. no. 51 pl. 13, 18 observes that on this coin there is drapery over the back of Kronos' head and a small crown with three peaks, also some object in his left hand.

ii. 550 ff. fig. 428 the dagger-god of Iasily Kaya. See further P. Couissin 'Le dieu-épée de Iasili-Kaïa et le culte de l'épée dans l'antiquité' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 107—135 with 21 figs.—an important article on hoplolatry summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 509, G. Contenau *Manuel d'archéologie orientale* Paris 1931 ii. 970 f. fig. 672, G. Furlani *La religione degli Hittiti* Bologna 1936 p. 59 f. Good photographs taken in two different lights are supplied by K. Bittel *Die Felsbilder von Yazilikaya* Bamberg 1934 p. 11 no. 82 pl. 30.

ii. 561 Tyrimnos. A. H. Sayce 'The Phrygian hero Tyris' in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 11.

ii. 569 Zeus *Asbamaïos*. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 61 no. 8 figures a marble altar at Amasra in Bithynia inscribed Θεῷ | ἀνεικ-ήτῳ | Ἀσβαμεῖ κα[ὶ] | Γῇ (?) *κυρίᾳ κ.τ.λ.* E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 605 treats Ἀσβαμαῖος as the equivalent of *ὅρκιος*.

ii. 570 n. o. *À propos* of Celtic divinities Prof. F. E. Adcock draws my attention to Zeus Βουσσουρίγιος, who is mentioned in two inscriptions of *s.* iii A.D. from Galatia (J. G. C. Anderson in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1910 xxx. 163 ff. no. 1 at *Aktche Tash* on a block rectangular in section Αὐρήλιος Ἥλιος | Δόμνου | *κώμης* Κλωσ|σαμηρῶν | *νεωκόρος* | *τοῦ* Διὸς Βουσ|σουριγ(*ι*)*ου* | *ζῶν ἑαυτῷ* | *κατεσκεύασεν τὸ* | *μνημεῖον* = *Corp. inscr. Gr.* iii no. 4102. No. 2 at *Karayuk* on a *stèle* surmounted by a fragmentary wreath Αὐρ. Φιλώτας | Σπατειλίου | *κώμης* Ἰκο|ταρίου *ἱκέτης* | *καὶ ὑπηρετῶν* | Διὶ Βουσσου|ριγίῳ *ζῶν*| *φρονῶν ἑαυτῷ τὸ μνημεῖον κατεσκεύασεν*. Anderson *loc. cit.* p. 165 adds: 'The epithet Bussurigios is undoubtedly Celtic, as is clear from a comparison with Bussumarus or Bussumarius, a Celtic god identified with Jupiter Optimus Maximus in two inscriptions of the Dacian Apulum and probably in an inscription of Moesia Inferior [Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4621 with n.]. The termination *-mārus*, 'great,' is common in Celtic personal names.... As Bussumarus is Bussu magnus, so Bussurigios is Bussu regius. The Celtic equivalent of *rex* (O. Irish *rí*, gen. *rígi*) is one of the commonest terminations of Gallic personal names...').

ii. 578 n. 4. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 399 ff. adds two more inscriptions from Mylasa: no. 4, 15 f. [*ἀναγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ*] | [*ψήφισ*]*μα ἐν τῶι ἱερῶι τοῦ* [Διὸς Ὀ]*σογῶ κατὰ τ*[*ὸν νόμον*] and no. 5, *C* 3 f. [*ἀν*]*αγράψαι δὲ τόδε τὸ ψήφ*[*ισμα ἐν τῶι*] | [*ἱερῶι τοῦ Διὸς Ὀσογῶ κατὰ τὸν νόμ*]*ον*. See further an important paper by A. Laumonier 'Notes sur un voyage en Carie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1933 ii. 31—55 figs. 1—20.

ii. 582 Poseidon originally a specialised form of Zeus. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 72 n. 2 pronounces this view to be 'fort vraisemblable.'

ii. 583 ff. the name *Poseidôn*. A. Mommsen *Delphika* Leipzig 1878 p. 3 ff. regards Poseidon as 'ostgriechischer Obergott' and *id.* p. 7 f. already advances the true derivation of his name: 'Das Wort Poseidon bedeutet vielleicht *Ζεὺς δεσπότης*. Man kann von der äolischen Form Ποτειδάν oder Ποτιδάν (vgl. Ποτιδανία, lokr. Stadtname) ausgehn. Dan ist Zeus. Die beiden ersten Silben gehen auf skt. *patis* Herr zurück, welchem Stamme auch griech. *πότνια δεσπότης δέσποινα* angehören. Danach ist Poseidon ursprünglich ein modificierter Zeus, der Wortsinn: Gott der Herr, Herrgott.'

A. Carnoy 'Étymologie du nom du dieu de la mer Poseidon' in the *Revue belge de Philologie et d'Histoire* 1924 iii. 390 f.: 'Ποτίς signifiant "maître" (mis au vocatif donne ποτεῖ) et un mot δᾶϝον signifiant "eau" et qu'on retrouve dans diverses langues indo-européennes avec le sens de corps liquide.'

G. H. Macurdy 'The Name Ποσειδάων and Other Names Ending in *-αων* in the Iliad' in the *Am. Journ. Philol.* 1930 li. 286—288 argues that all such names are either Trojan or Northern and postulates a Northern origin for Poseidon.

ii. 587 Zeus *Pálaxos* or *Spálaxos*. W. H. Buckler—W. M. Calder—C. W. M. Cox in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1924 xiv. 71 f. no. 105 pl. 16, 105 a, b publish the back of a limestone seat found at *Ak Kilisse* in Isauria bearing a dedicatory inscription Ποδαδίβιον Πολωξου ἔδραν | *καὶ ἡ κώμη αὐτοῦ κα*[*τ' ὄναρ*· (?)] | *ἐκάθισεν αὐτὸς καὶ* Τ[.....] | Ἄττου, which probably means 'Podadbiou (an indeclinable personal name) dedicated this seat of *Póloxos* and so did the god's village in accordance with a dream: Podadbiou himself and T..... son of Attes set it up.' See further T. Klauser *Die Cathedra im Totenkult der heidnischen und christlichen Antike* Münster in Westf. 1927 p. 49 n. 21.

ii. 587 n. 7. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 2 doubts the equation *πέλεκυς=balag*, citing C. Autran 'La Grèce et l'Orient ancien' in *Babyloniaca* 1924 viii. 185 n. 1 ('*balag* dont le sens probable est bien plutôt de *lyre*, ou *harpe*'), *id. Sumérien et Indo-européen* Paris 1925 p. iv n. 1. Further literature on this disputed question is noted by A. Nehring 'Studien zur indogermanischen Kultur und Urheimat' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 31 n. 11.

ii. 594 pectoral ornament (?). In favour of such a *προστηθίδιον* see also W. Müller in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1919 xxxiv. 93 ff., C. Picard *Éphèse et Claros* Paris 1922 p. 529 ff., *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 73 n. 1, and especially G. Furlani 'Ornamenti astrali e corazze di dei dell' Asia anteriore antica' in *Studi e materiali di storia delle religioni* 1931 vii. 43 ff.

ii. 594 the temple of Athena *Aléa*. C. Dugas--J. Berchmans—M. Clemmensen *Le sanctuaire d'Aléa Athéna à Tégée au iv^e siècle* Paris 1924 i. 1—144 with 41 figs. and ii Atlas of 116 pls.

ii. 600 f. The double axe and the Labyrinth. R. Ganszyniec 'Labrys' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xii. 286—307 gives a well-arranged and interesting survey of the facts. Humborg *ib.* xii. 314 f. and G. Karo *ib.* xii. 321 deal with λάβρυς and Λαβύρινθος. G. Dumézil 'ΛΑΒΡΤΣ' in the *Journal asiatique* 1929 ccxv. 237—252 derives λάβρυς and its congeners ('l'asianique et égéen λαβρυ-, λάβυρ-, λαβρ-') from a pre-Greek word which he connects with the classical and modern Georgian *labvari*, 'lance.' Early Georgian lances, preserved in churches and museums, have a bifurcated blade. In Mingrelia they are regularly taken to be the arms of St George, who mounted on horseback attacks evil spirits issuing from the sea with his double lance ('il leur porte des coups avec sa lance; chacun de ces coups s'accompagne du tonnerre que nous entendons, et fait jaillir des étincelles, qui sont l'éclair'). Dumézil views the double lance *labvari* as the lineal successor of the double axe λάβρυς, the essential point being its twofold blade ('force redoublée? perfection? union des sexes?')—a convincing conclusion. H. Güntert 'Labyrinth. Eine sprachwissenschaftliche Untersuchung' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1932/3 Abh. i. 1—49 would relate Λαβύρινθος to λᾶας 'stone,' and takes λάβρυς as 'Steinbeil.' But his contentions are traversed by P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1934 xxii. 252 f. ('Diese Etymologie scheitert daran, dass Λαβύρινθος, λάβρυς, Λάβρανδος immer nur mit *β*, λᾶας dagegen nur mit *v* bezeugt ist, die Bed. "Stein" an die Form mit *v* geknüpft ist'). See further C. Picard 'Les origines du Labyrinthe' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 264 f.

ii. 601. H. J. Rose in *The Hibbert Journal* 1927 xxv. 380 thinks that I am here confusing the Quinquennalia of Maxentius, *i.e.* the celebration of the fifth year of his reign, with the quinquennial *agon Capitolinus* of Domitian, which had ceased to exist centuries before Maxentius was born. But the Quinquennalia of Maxentius would have fallen in 311, not 312. Also, Lactantius states that the Quinquennalia in question were ending and that Maxentius' day had not yet come. He is probably alluding to the *ludi Capitolini*, which were still being held (G. Wissowa in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 1528, L. C. Purser in Smith—Wayte—Marindin *Dict. Ant.* ii. 86). I adhere therefore to my view as expressed in the text.

ii. 607 E. Conybeare's suggestion that the *labarum* was derived from the *lábrys*. The same solution of the problem was reached independently by E. Harrison, who however—so far as I know—did not publish it.

H. Grégoire 'L'étymologie de "Labarum"' in *Byzantion* 1927—1928 iv. 477—482 comes to the following conclusion: 'La *laurea* en or qui enferme le Chrisme est l'élément caractéristique du sublime étendard décoré en outre des images *laurées* des pieux empereurs. De même qu'on disait le *dragon* ou *l'aigle*, *draco*, *aquila*, pour l'étendard surmonté du dragon ou de l'aigle, on a dû qualifier le nouveau *vexillum* à la couronne d'un nom dérivé de *laurea*. Et, de même que le *labarum* n'est qu'une variante du *lauratum*, *laureum* n'est qu'une variante de *laureatum*.'

ii. 613 the hidden meaning of knife or double axe. R. Eisler drew my attention (Oct. 14, 1908) to the small axe received by the Essenes when admitted to the order (Ioseph. *de bell. Iud.* 2. 8. 9 *ταῖς δ' ἄλλαις ἡμέραις βόθρον ὀρύσσοντες βάθος ποδιαῖον τῇ σκαλίδι, τοιοῦτον γάρ ἐστι τὸ διδόμενον ὑπ' αὐτῶν ἀξινίδιον τοῖς νεοσυστάτοις, καὶ περικαλύψαντες θοιμάτιον, ὡς μὴ τὰς αὐγὰς ὑβρίζοιεν τοῦ θεοῦ, θακεύουσιν εἰς αὐτόν.* κ.τ.λ.).

ii. 613 Simias' poem on the axe of Epeios. W. Deonna 'Les "poèmes figurés"' in the *Revue de philologie de littérature et d'histoire anciennes* 1926 l. 187—193 ('Il s'agit d'un procédé instinctif et universel, ancien et moderne, européen ou oriental, qui n'a qu'une intention: résumer en quelque sorte par une image le sens du texte écrit, donner de

celui-ci une transposition figurée. On constate de plus que certains de ces arrangements ont un sens religieux ou magique').

ii. 614 ff. Zeus (?) and the Centaur. J. C. Hoppin in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1900 iv. 443 ff. pl. 6 (part of which=my fig. 893) published a proto-Corinthian *lêkythos* of the early seventh century at Boston (inv. no. 6508), interpreting the main scene as a Centaur attacked by Herakles (sheathed sword, branch, tree-root). K. F. Johansen *Les vases sicyoniens* Paris—Copenhague 1923 p. 146 f. fig. 109 pl. 22, 2 d thinks that we have here an early version of the Lapith *v.* Centaur myth. E. Buschor 'Kentauren' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1934 xxxviii. 128 f. fig. 1 rightly recognises Zeus with a sword at his side, a sceptre in his right hand, and a thunderbolt in his left, but would have us believe that the horse-monster is Typhon. To my thinking, this thunderbolt-bearing figure strongly supports our explanation of the axe-bearing figure as Zeus.

ii. 620 Sucaelus the mallet-god. For a Cornish counterpart of Sucaelus see 'Jack of the Hammer,' whose exploits are told by W. Bottrell *Traditions and Hearthside Stories of West Cornwall* Penzance 1870 p. 10 ff. He passed as 'a travelling tinkard... hammer in hand,' but proved more than a match for Tom the eight-foot giant-killer. 'The tinkard, taking his black-thorn stick in the middle, made it spin so fast that it looked like a wheel flying round Tom's head and ears.... Tom didn't know the play;—though the few downright blows he gave came down with the force of a sledge hammer,

Fig. 893.

they had no effect on the tinkard, because he wore a leather coat, the like of which was never seen in the west country before. This coat, made of a black bull's hide, left almost whole, was without a seam, and dressed with the curly hair on it. On the breast, back, and shoulders it was as hard as iron, and roared like thunder whenever Tom struck it, which made him think he had to deal with the devil.' Etc. See further Keune 'Sucellus' in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iv A. 515—540.

ii. 620. Thor's hammer used as a pendant or amulet is well illustrated by J. J. A. Worsaae *Nordiske Oldsager i Det Kongelige Museum i Kjöbenhavn* Kjöbenhavn 1859 p. 113 fig. 469 and P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 65 ff. figs. 24—26 pls. 17, 2 and 23, (3).

ii. 630. Mrs A. Strong 'Sepulchral Relief of a Priest of Bellona' in *Papers of the British School at Rome* 1920 ix. 205—213 pl. 26 discusses an inscribed tombstone from the Via Triumphalis, now in the Biblioteca Vallicelliana at Rome (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi no. 2233=Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4182, Matz—Duhn *Ant. Bildw. in Rom* iii. 173 f. no. 3876). The relief shows L. Lartius Anthus, a *cistophorus* and priest of Bellona *Pulvinensis* wearing a bay-wreath with three medallions (Mars, Bellona, Minerva?) and carrying in his right hand a bay-branch, in his left two small double axes.

ii. 632 n. 6 axes with animal heads. Other examples are collected by P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 ff. figs. 6, 7, 8, 9, 15.

ii. 633 fig. 542 f. axes backed by a bull. Cp. G. A. Wainwright in *The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1933 xix. 43 (*supra* p. 884 n. 0).

ii. 635 f. Trojan axe-hammers of blue or green stone. H. Schmidt 'Zu den trojanischen

Prachtbeilen' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix Arch. Anz. pp. 123—125 (summarised by R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1925 xxxviii. 214 f.), A. M. Tallgren in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 121 pl. 62, a, b, S. Casson 'Battle-axes from Troy' in *Antiquity* 1933 vii. 337—339 pls. 1 ('nephrite, almost indigo in colour') and 2 ('rich blue lapis lazuli flecked with brown spots and striated').

ii. 637 amber axes. An amber axe from Birka in Sweden is published by P. Paulsen *Der Goldschatz von Hiddensee* Leipzig 1936 p. 73 fig. 30, a.

ii. 637 Cretan double axes. S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix Arch. Anz. pp. 251—254 records important finds made at the cave of *Arkalochori* in a hill 1⅛ hours from Lyktos. First children and then adults of the neighbourhood discovered in one corner of the cave a mass of bronzes and a pair of small double axes in gold. The authorities hearing of it intervened and appropriated some twenty gold double axes, leaving perhaps another ten in the hands of the rustics. Bronze double axes, knives, and swords were found in considerable numbers, all heaped together in a space of two or three square metres. The small double axes of gold (*ib.* fig. 3 shows four) are decorated with a leaf-pattern which points to the beginning of the 'Late Minoan ii' period (1450—1400 B.C.) or else with engraved lines of a more usual type. A few axes are of silver. The whole treasure had been sealed up by a fall of rock, probably occasioned by an earthquake. But votive offerings continued to be made at the mouth of the cave down to the end of the 'Minoan' age and even later (a few proto-geometric finds?). Marinatos concludes: 'Es erhebt sich die Frage nach der Gottheit dieser an Funden bisher reichsten Kulthöhle Kretas. Sollte sie nicht die berühmte Höhle des Zeus und der Rhea sein [*supra* ii. 925 n. 1], die manche in Psychrò zu finden glaubten?' Reports in *The Times* of June 29, 1935 p. 13 and in *Antiquity* 1935 ix. 354 mention that the recent excavations in the *Arkalochori* district have found hundreds of copper 'Minoan' axes (one with three lines of hieroglyphic inscription (*c.* 1600 B.C.)), a number of silver axes, and twenty-seven gold double axes with golden shafts. These finds have been taken to the Candia Museum for cleaning. See further Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 1. 346 f. fig. 290 (three gold axes, enlarged) and 378 fig. 315 *bis* (four miniature bronze axes). S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 l Arch. Anz. pp. 248—254 figs. 3 (gold model of mountain?), 4 (bronze double axe), 6 (the ten hieroglyphic characters of the inscribed double axe) now concludes: 'Da sich aber nach Abschluss der Grabung ergab, dass die Höhle nichts Jüngeres als SM.I enthielt, gehören m.E. auch die goldenen Beile in diese Zeit,' etc. J. D. S. Pendlebury *The Archaeology of Crete* London 1939 pp. 212, 232, 236 pl. 36, 3 (three gold axes).

ii. 641 n. 2. Recent writers on Charon are B. Schmidt 'Charon' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1927 xxv. 79—82, F. de Ruyt *Charun démon étrusque de la mort* Bruxelles 1934 pp. 1—305 with 58 pls. (reviewed by A. Grenier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1935 ii. 128—131, by F. Pfister in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 28, 1935 p. 1092 f., by H. J. Rose in the *Class. Rev.* 1935 xlix. 24 f. and in *Gnomon* 1935 xi. 278 f.). Schmidt holds that the Etruscans, originally dwellers in Asia Minor, owe their conception of Charon to the influence of Assyrian demons. Rose makes the further helpful suggestion that Charon's mallet or hammer on Asiatic soil was the double axe of a thunder-god, which might well be used by an underground power to produce the subterranean thunders that portended death (cp. Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 138)—a view anticipated by me *supra* ii. 641.

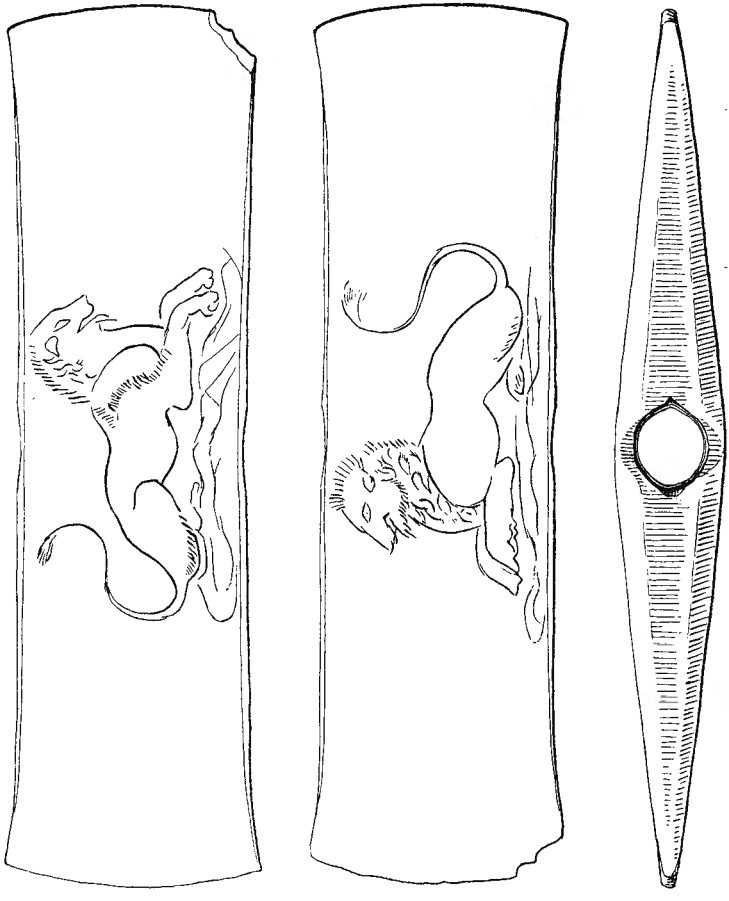
ii. 642 n. 2 fig. 559. With the upper end cp. the votive terra-cotta *ktels* in the Berlin Antiquarium (H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Dresden—Zürich 1926 ii. 76 fig., also the votive marbles in Svoronos *Ath. Nationalmus.* pl. 164 nos. 1594 ff., 1821, 2730.

ii. 643 n. 7 designs incised on neolithic celts. O. Tafrali in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 i. 26—28 figures a flat celt of smooth stone bearing an incised quadruped and inscription. This suspicious-looking object is said to have been found at Rădăşani, near Folticeni, in Moldavia. Prof. Tafrali deems it to be of neolithic date and comparable with finds at Glozel!

ii. 643 ff. designs incised on double axes of bronze. In a small collection of 'Minoan' double axes I have two which, on account of their decoration, are deserving of special notice.

One is an almost oblong axe of bronze (fig. 894 *a*, *b*, *c*. Length 7⅞ inches) with dark green patina. On either side of it is incised a lion recumbent on rough or rocky ground with whisking tail. I obtained this axe from a Cretan vendor with no indication of its *provenance*. But Mr J. D. S. Pendlebury tells me that he had already seen it at Mokhos, 1½ hours south of Mallia. He adds: 'It comes from a place called *Μουρί* (the "meeting place"), where are MM and LM sherds, close by a small lake ¼ hour east of the village. There is an EM site on a hill 25 minutes to the north-east called 'Εβίχτης or 'Ανεμοσκιά, and from somewhere not far off come Neolithic sherds. Classical-Roman, near *Μουρί*.'

The rocky ground is characteristic. Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1928 ii. 2. 450—454 dilates on the 'Minoan passion for rock scenery': cp. *e.g.* Perrot—Chipiez *Hist. de l'Art* vi. 848 pl. 16, 12 and 840 fig. 424 = Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 3, 2 and 46, ii. 14 and 16 = H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete*[2] London 1937 p. 36 pl. 231

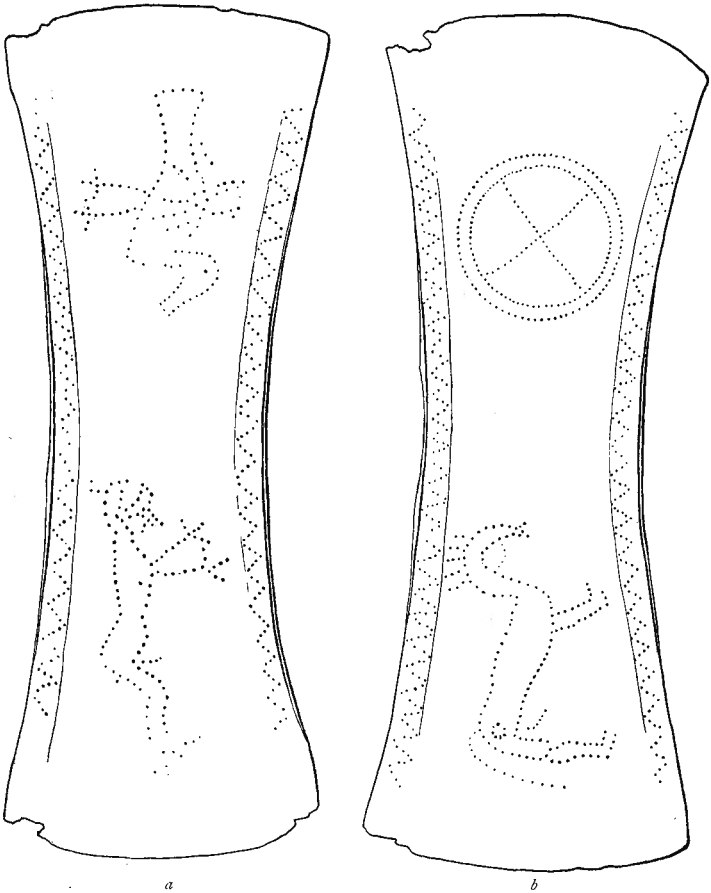


a *b* *c*

Fig. 894.

fig. 394, *a* and p. 37 pl. 235 fig. 398, *g*. The same feature recurs on occasion in later Cretan art (*supra* i. 528 fig. 394).

The second axe (fig. 895 *a*, *b*. Length $7\frac{3}{4}$ inches) was found near Athens. It is of yellow bronze with blackish patination, in part scrubbed off by sand-paper. Its outline is of a later type with more pronounced curves, and it is decorated on both sides with *pointillé* patterning. Within a border of chevrons are a man, a waterfowl, a horse, and a wheel. I have suggested (*supra* p. 605 n. 3) that these are the constituents of a solar



a *b*

Fig. 895.

equipage as rendered in the Hallstatt period. If so, the axe was presumably in some sense a sacred object.

ii. 645 n. 4 the soul as a butterfly. The Copenhagen gem (fig. 563) is now included in P. Fossing *The Thorvaldsen Museum: Catalogue of the antique engraved gems and cameos* Copenhagen 1929 p. 91 no. 504 pl. 7. The Berlin *amphora* (no. 1684) is figured by H. Licht *Sittengeschichte Griechenlands* Zürich 1928 Ergänzungsband p. 73.

ii. 648 n. 1 axe-pendants from Benin. P. Amaury Talbot *Some Nigerian Fertility Cults* Oxford 1927 p. 8 'A considerable number of examples of the old Minoan double-headed axe cult were found in other parts of West and Central Africa' (criticised by A. R. Wright in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 215 f.).

ii. 656 n. 0 ingots. C. T. Seltman *Athens its History and Coinage before the Persian Invasion* Cambridge 1924 p. 1 ff. figs. 1—4 points out that these ingots were cast in the shape of an ox-hide dried and stretched, one side rough and hairy, the other raw with inward curling edges, just because they were an ox-unit, the price of an ox in base metal. Cp. *id. Greek Coins* London 1933 p. 7 f. with figs. 1 and 2. K. Regling in Ebert *Reallex.* iv. 1. 223 with pl. 100, a—d still (1926) speaks of them as 'die doppelbeilförmigen Kupferbarren des Mittelmeergebietes.' H. T. Bossert *The Art of Ancient Crete*[3] London 1937 p. 43 pl. 277 fig. 525, *a—c* is non-committal. But Seltman is clearly right.

ii. 663. W. R. Halliday 'Tenes' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 36—44 insists on 'the absolute unanimity of tradition which associates Tenes with Apollo,' not with Zeus or Dionysos. *Id. ib.* p. 39 quotes Aristeides of Miletos *frag.* 32 (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iv. 327 Müller) *ap.* Steph. Byz. *s.v.* Τένεδος·...τὸν ἐν Τενέδῳ Ἀπόλλωνα πέλεκυν κρατεῖν, but questions its reliability.

ii. 664 fig. 603. This bronze plaque is now at Berlin (photograph in F. J. Dölger ΙΧΘΥC Münster in Westf. 1922 iii pl. 33). A marble altar of *s.* iii(?) A.D. from *Ineunu*, Phrygia (Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 52 ff. no. 846 with 4 figs.), has reliefs on its front, back, left, and right sides. (*a*) On the front, a rider-god on horse-back, brandishing a double axe, gallops uphill: above him is inscribed ἀγαθῇ τύχῃ· Θεοῖς Ὁσίοις καὶ Δ[ι]|καίοις Ἡρόφιλ[ος] | Παπᾶ εὐχήν. (*b*) On the back, a draped goddess holding grape-bunch and *cornu copiae* stands on a small plinth beside a fruitful vine-branch and a large *krater*. (*c*) On the left side, Asklepios with oval object (fruit? egg?) and serpent-staff stands on a small plinth: above him is inscribed Ἀσκλᾶς καὶ Ἀσκληπᾶς,| οἱ Ἀσκληπᾶ, λατύποι | Κουρναιτηνοί. (*d*) On the right side, Nemesis draped and veiled holding scales(?) and cubit-rule stands on a small plinth between two thick garlands terminated at either end by three ivy-leaves.

ii. 665 n. 1. See further K. Tümpel 'Der Karabos des Perseus' in *Philologus* 1894 liii. 544—553.

ii. 666 n. 1 *Cancer*, 'the Crab.' D'Arcy W. Thompson 'The Emblem of the Crab in relation to the sign Cancer' in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh* 1899 xxxix. 603—611 maintains that the crab as divine attribute or emblem regularly presupposes the constellation Cancer, which was *domus Lunae, exaltatio Jovis, sedes Mercurii*, etc.

ii. 667 n. 3 fig. 606. Cp. Babelon *Monn. gr. rom.* ii. 1. 1547 f. no. 2328 pl. 78, 12, *McClean Cat. Coins* i. 238 no. 2032 pl. 65, 3, *Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 26, 794 f. Lloyd. Since on a later tetradrachm of Kamarina ∃ + ∃ is the beginning of an artist's name (*Syll. num. Gr.* ii pl. 29, 868 Lloyd), presumably that of Exakestidas (*ib.* pl. 29, 871 Lloyd), *Ionice* Exekestides, it is probable that A + ∃ on the Agrigentine coin stands for the name of a magistrate or artist Exakestidas, grandfather of the later engraver. For + instead of ⧺ see W. Larfeld *Handbuch der griechischen Epigraphik* Leipzig 1907 i pl. 3 ('Westliche Alphabete').

ii. 673. A bronze coin of Chersonesos Taurike, struck *c.* 300—200 B.C., copies the Tenedian combination of god and goddess (*Ant. Münz. Berlin* Taurische Chersonesus, etc. i. 3 pl. 1, 7 Artemis and Herakles, Head *Hist. num.*[2] p. 279 young Dionysos(?) and Zeus(?), E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pl. 4, 7 Artemis and bearded Dionysus(?). I have another specimen of this scarce coin, and I incline to agree with Head that the type represents Dionysos and Zeus).

ii. 675 androgynous deities. See now the important study of J. Halley des Fontaines *La notion d'androgynie dans quelques mythes et quelques rites* Paris 1938 with 16 figs. pp. 1—231 (pp. 216—219 'Résumé et conclusions').

ii. 681 figs. 621—624. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 75

observes that in the tree-cutting scene on the coins of Aphrodisias the second man averts his face owing to a sort of visual taboo, for which parallels are cited.

ii. 687 rock-carvings of the hafted axe. At the base of Ben Voirlich, not far from the shore of Loch Lomond, a great rock called in Gaelic *Clach nan Tairbh*, 'The Rock of the Bulls,' bears the rough outline of a hafted axe (A. D. Lacaille in *Folk-Lore* 1930 xli. 233 ff. pls. 4 and 5).

ii. 688 ff. n. 0. M. C. Burkitt 'Rock Carvings in the Italian Alps' in *Antiquity* 1929 iii. 155—164 with map and pls. 1—7 discusses the designs pock-marked on the red rock-surfaces of Monte Bego and attributes them to seasonal pilgrimages of a neighbouring agricultural population made during the Bronze Age at different dates but in all cases prior to *c.* 300 A.D. (absence of Christian symbols). P. Reinecke in *Germania* 1934 xviii. 46—48 reports on two sandstone blocks in the Val Camonica and would date their drawings to the pre-Roman Iron Age or more probably to the Bronze Age. P. Jacobsthal 'Celtic Rock-Carvings in Northern Italy and Yorkshire' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1938 xxviii. 65—69 accepts the contention of F. Altheim and E. Trautmann 'Nordische und italische Felsbildkunst' in *Die Welt als Geschichte* 1937 iii. 83—113 that the largest of all rock-carvings in the Val Camonica (fig. 3 = Jacobsthal pl. 9, 1) represents the Celtic stag-god Cernunnos with a small-scale worshipper. See further *eid.* 'Neue Felsbilder aus der Val Camonica: Die Sonne in Kult und Mythos' in *Wörter und Sachen* N.F. 1938 i. 12—45 pls. 1—32.

ii. 690 Penelope's marriage-test. E. Westermarck *The History of Human Marriage*[6] London 1921 ii. 490 notes that among the Mundas of Chota Nagpur the bridegroom shoots an arrow through the loophole formed by the bride's uplifted arm, and suggests that this was a magical means of securing the bride's safe delivery. I suspect that we have here the ultimate explanation of the marriage-test proposed by Penelope.

ii. 692 ff. Tereus. M. Bieber 'Tereus' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 11—18 pl. 2 publishes a sherd from Paestum, now at Dresden, which shows Tereus pursuing Prokne and Philomela with a double axe in his hand (A. D. Trendall *Paestan Pottery* London 1936 p. 127 no. 290 'Tereus (?)'). O. Schroeder 'ΠΡΟΚΝΗ' in *Hermes* 1926 lxi. 423—436 discusses the development of the myth.

ii. 699 "wine-skin" and "hatchet." 'V.' in *The Cambridge Review* 1926 xlvii. 268 draws attention to a better solution of this long-standing problem propounded by S. Koujeas 'ΑΣΚΟΣ-ΠΕΛΕΚΥΣ' in *Hermes* 1906 xli. 478—480, who remarks that at Abia in Lakonike words meaning 'wine-skin' and 'hatchet' are used in popular speech to denote the contrast of light and heavy: thus πλέχει *'σὰν ἀσκί* 'he swims like a wine-skin,' *πλέχει 'σὰν τσηκούρι* 'he swims like an axe.' The visitor bouncing the baby says the tactful thing.

ii. 699 small bronze axes. F. Haverfield in *The Victoria History of the Counties of England: Norfolk* London s.a. i. 292 fig. 9 illustrates a tiny bronze axe found at *Caister-by-Norwich* (Venta Icenorum).

ii. 699 n. 7. On Osthanes see now J. Bidez—F. Cumont *Les Mages hellénisés: Zoroastre Ostanès et Hystaspe d'après la tradition grecque* Paris 1938 i. 165—212, ii. 265—356.

ii. 703 n. 2 a hammer thrown to ratify the acquisition of property. K. Künstle *Ikonographie der Heiligen* Freiburg im Breisgau 1926 p. 597 f. says of St Wolfgang (Oct. 31): 'Auf den Wolfgangsbildern, die vom Kloster Mondsee ausgehen, trägt der Heilige fast regelmässig ein Beil oder eine Axt als Attribut. Dies ist aus dem langen Kampfe herausgewachsen, den das Kloster um den Besitz der Gegend am Abersee, die man das "Wolfgangsland" nannte, gegen Salzburg und das Hochstift Regensburg führte. Die spätere Legende erzählt nämlich, Wolfgang habe, als er im Aberseeforst ein Einsiedlerleben führte, mittelst des Werfens eines Beiles, das in dem später nach ihm benannten Orte niederfiel, den Platz gesucht, wo er eine Zelle und eine Kirche mit eigenen Händen erbauen wollte. Durch diese Handlung hat er für sein Eigenkloster Mondsee von dieser Gegend Besitz genommen. Der Beilwurf ist nämlich ein altgermanischer Rechtsbrauch; er diente zur Ermittlung des Verlaufs einer Grenze und bestimmte die jeweilige Erstreckung des Rechtes auf Grund und Boden. Das Beil wurde so Sinnbild der Besitzergreifung.' Etc.

ii. 704 the spear of Zeus. L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 cp. Pind. *Pyth.* 1. 5 *τὸν αἰχματὰν κεραυνόν.*

ii. 707 n. 1. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt p. 69 f. no. 17 gives a facsimile of this inscription, and dates it in 68 A.D.

ii. 722 Zeus *Hórkios* at Olympia. On the exact site of this statue see E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History & Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 274.

ii. 723 n. 0 Zeus *Skýlios*. An inscription of 120 A.D., found at *Rhotàsi* (Rhytion) and now in the Museum at Candia, speaks of a letter restored by a priest of Zeus *Skýlios* and of an imperial rescript, relating to Gortynian trespassers on his sacred domains, which had been engraved on a *stéle* kept in his sanctuary (*Inscr. Cret.* i. 303 ff. Rhytion no. 1, 6 ff. Ἄμβρος ὁ [κατασ]ταθεὶς | ἱερεὺς Διὸς [Σκυλίο]υ τῆς | Ῥυτιασίων κώ[μης καὶ Πό]ργου | κ.τ.λ., *ib.* 16 ff. [ἰσχ]υροποίαν | προήγεγ[καν - - - - -] καθ' ἣν | φαίνεται [- - - - - -]ι Διὸς Σκυ|λίου κ.τ.λ. with the remarks of M. N. Tod in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1931 li. 243 and A. M. W[oodward] *ib.* 1936 lvi. 97). B. Kock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii A. 647 *s.v.* 'Skylios' and 660 *s.v.* 'Skyllios.' Further literature cited by E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 659 f., including the view of W. Aly in *Klio* 1911 xi. 15 and *Philologus* 1912 lxxi. 473 that Zeus Σκύλλιος was a sea-god akin to Skylla the sea-monster and Skyllies the diver (*supra* p. 414).

ii. 724 n. 0. On oaths that must be taken in the open, not under a roof, see P. Sartori 'Das Dach im Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 234 f., Weiser in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 124.

ii. 725 fig. 660 f. A. Della Seta *Italia Antica* Bergamo 1922 p. 252 fig. 281 has a photograph of this statue with the arms restored as holding a bow in the right hand, a hawk (?) in the left.

Fig. 896.

ii. 727 Zeus and the boar. The *stéle* of Zeus *Karaiós* at Thespiai (*infra* on ii. 874 n. 2) has three reliefs—a filleted *bucranium*, a boar's skull, and a boar's jaw (?) (P. Jamot in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 262 with fig. 37).

ii. 727 n. 3 Zeus in relation to oaths. An engraved gem of pink jasper (?), found in Makedonia and now in my collection (fig. 896: scale $\frac{2}{1}$), shows Sarapis (*kálathos*, wreath) standing before Zeus (sceptre, thunderbolt) and between them the word ΩΜΟ|CA. Fairly good Hellenistic work. Possibly the seal of some public functionary.

ii. 731 fig. 663 Zeus wielding thunderbolt. A. Rumpf *Chalkidische Vasen* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 12 f. no. 10 pls. 23—25.

ii. 731 Zeus wielding thunderbolt and sceptre. Among the scenes represented on the great *kályx-kratér* in New York by 'the Nekyia Painter' *c.* 450—440 B.C. (P. Jacobsthal 'The Nekyia Krater in New York' in the *Metropolitan Museum Studies* 1934—1936 v. 117—145 with 21 figs., P. Friedländer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1935 l Arch. Anz. pp. 20—33 figs. 1—4, G. M. A. Richter *Red-figured Athenian Vases in the Metropolitan Museum of Art* Yale Univ. Press 1936 i. 168—171 no. 135 pls. 135—137 and 170 (of which pl. 137 = my fig. 897)) is one—lower frieze B—in which Zeus, supported by Hermes, blasts a Giant, presumably Porphyrion (*supra* p. 55 ff. n. 5).

ii. 733 ff. fig. 665 *psychostasía*. The Paris fragment is re-published by J. D. Beazley *Der Kleophrades-Maler* Berlin 1933 p. 26 no. 37 pl. 2 and pl. 30, 6. The subject in general is handled by E. Wüst 'Psychostasie' in the *Blätter für das Bayerische Gymnasial-Schulwesen* 1929 lxv. 201—211. See also W. Deonna 'Ex-voto déliens' in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1932 lvi. 478 ff. with figs. 15 and 16, M. P. Perry 'On the psychostasis in Christian art' in *The Burlington Magazine for Connoisseurs* 1912/13 xxii. 94—105 and 208—218 with 4 pls., W. L. Nash 'The origin of the mediaeval representations

Fig. 897.

of the weighing of the soul after death' in *Proceedings of the Society of Biblical Archæology* 1918 xl. 19—29 pl. 1.

ii. 734 n. 3 the scales of Zeus. Add Kerkidas *meliamb.* 4. 24 ff. Powell = 2. 24 ff. Knox = 1. 16 ff. Diehl *καὶ μὰν τὸ τάλαντον ὁ σεμνὸς | ἀστεροπαγερέτας | μέσσον τὸν Ὄλυμπον . . . . . | ὀρθὸν [τιταίνει] | [κ]αὶ νένευκεν οὐδαμᾷ. | καὶ τοῦθ' Ὅμηρος | εἶπεν ἐν Ἰλιάδι· | 'ῥέπει δ', ὅταν αἰσιμον ἄμαρ, | ἀνδράσι κυδαλίμοις [[ην]].' | πῶς οὖν ἐμὶν οὔποτ' ἔρεψεν | ὀρθὸς ὢν ζυγοστάτας; | τὰ δ' ἔσχατα Βρύγια Μυσῶν, | ἃξομαι δέ θην λέγειν, | ὅσον [πατα]γεῖ τὸ παρ' αὐτοῖς | τῶ Διὸς πλα[στ]ίγγιον* with the notes of the three successive editors (I. U. Powell *Collectanea Alexandrina* Oxonii 1925 p. 204 ff., A. D. Knox in the Loeb ed. London 1929 p. 196 ff., E. Diehl *Anthologia lyrica Graeca*[2] Lipsiae 1936 i. 3. 123. Cp. E. A. Barber in *New Chapters in the History of Greek Literature* Oxford 1921 p. 6).

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 267 with fig. 56 claims that a Cypro-Mycenaean vase of *c.* 1300 B.C., found during the Swedish excavations in the upper burial stratum of chamber tomb no. 17 at Enkomi, represents 'Zeus taking the scales of destiny in order to determine the fate of the combatants, a famous scene of the Iliad,' etc. But Sir A. Evans *The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 659 n. 2 fig. 646 justly demurs. The scene is merely commercial, or at most a matter of ransom.

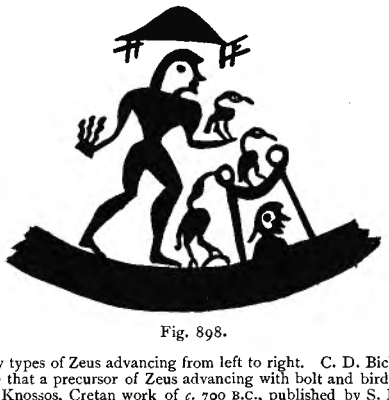


Fig. 898.

ii. 739 ff. early types of Zeus advancing from left to right. C. D. Bicknell suggests to me (Jan. 3, 1934) that a precursor of Zeus advancing with bolt and bird may be seen on a *pithos*-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of *c.* 700 B.C., published by S. Marinatos in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. p. 311 figs. 20 and 21 (=my fig. 898), cp. T. B. L. Webster in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1939 lix. 103 fig. 1. Pl. lxxxi is from a photograph procured for me from H. G. G. Payne through the kind offices of my old pupil Mr E. J. P. Raven. The lid shows a nude male figure advancing to the right with a triple lightning-fork in his right hand, a bird on his left. Before him is a tripod, on which is another bird with a third on a stone beside it. Beneath the tripod a human head rises from the ground (? as central support of the tripod: *supra* ii. 193). Marinatos comments: 'Es handelt sich wohl um eine mythologische Szene.' But it is possible that the 'tripod' was meant for an altar, and that the head seen on the face of it marks it as the altar of the advancing god. The interpretation is very uncertain.

A bronze statuette (height 0·165[m]: bright green patina), found near Epidauros (?), later in the Tyskiewicz and Dutuit collections, and now in the Petit Palais at Paris, represents a nude bearded male figure advancing to the right with his right arm raised and his left thrown forward—the whole on a bronze base inscribed HVBRI[S]STAS | EПOIESE. Peloponnesian work of 600—550 B.C. K. Wernicke in the *Röm. Mitth.* 1889 iv. 167 f., cp. p. 339 took the subject to be a young warrior with spear and shield. But most critics have assumed Zeus fulminant (W. Fröhner *La collection Tyskiewicz* Munich 1892 p. 18 pl. 21 (=my fig. 899) ('Un aigle perchait sur le revers de la main gauche du dieu; cette main est d'ailleurs perforée'), Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 1 no. 2, A. Furtwängler *Kleine Schriften* München 1913 ii. 467 fig. 9, G. Lippold in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ix. 33, A. Rumpf in D. H. Haas *Bilderatlas zur Religionsgeschichte*

Pithos-lid from Knossos, Cretan work of *c.* 700 B.C.:
Zeus advancing with triple lightning-fork and bird.

See page 1148 and *page* 1150 *fig.* 898.

Leipzig 1928 xiii./xiv. p. ix fig. 116 ('um 460 v. Chr.'), W. Lamb *Greek and Roman Bronzes* London 1929 pp. 95 (*c.* 550 B.C.), 148 f., 153 pl. 32, *a*. Fröhner's facsimile of the inscription is repeated in *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i no. 1476).

Between April 1926 and September 1928 a magnificent bronze god was fished up piecemeal from a depth of more than 25 fathoms in the sea off Artemision. It seems to have formed part of the cargo on board a ship, which was carrying barrels of late

Fig. 899.

Hellenistic style from northern Greece towards Rome, but foundered in a gale off the upper end of Euboia. If so, the statue had probably been pillaged from some temple in Thessaly or Chalkidike or even Thrace. After careful cleaning from accretions and corrosions, the whole figure (*c.* 2·10^{m} high) proved to be a nude bearded god striding forwards with right arm drawn back and left arm outstretched—one of the most impressive of all Greek statues (Ch. Karouzos 'The Find from the Sea off Artemision' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 141—144 figs. 1 and 2 pls. 7 and 8, *id.* ''Ο Ποσειδῶν τοῦ 'Αρτεμισίου' in the 'Αρχ. Δελτ. 1930—31 xiii. 41—104 figs. 1—42 pls. 1 (=my fig. 900)—5, H. G. Beyen *La statue d'Artémision* La Haye 1930 pp. 1—55 pls. 1—13 with further bibliography p. 1 n. 1). Several problems arise: (1) To what period, school, and sculptor

should it be assigned? It belongs clearly to the later part of the transitional period when fighting-man developed into fighting-god (*supra* ii. 739 ff., 1222 f.) and may be dated *c.* 460 B.C. Beyen attributes it, on rather insufficient grounds, to the Sicyonian school; Karouzos, more explicitly, to the Sicyonian-Boeotian school of Kalamis. (2) Votive figure or cult-image? Hardly the latter. A cult-image should be strictly frontal: the worshipper expects to find a propitious and friendly presence, not to be met by a

Fig. 900.

tremendous antagonist in the act of hurling a missile! (3) Zeus or Poseidon? The attitude would suit either, according as we assume thunderbolt or trident in the right hand. Karouzos and Beyen think that the fingers imply a cylindrical trident loosely held rather than a tightly grasped thunderbolt: yet we must remember that the Greek thunderbolt often had a rounded handle in the middle, to prevent the god burning himself. They note further that there is no trace of an eagle on the extended left hand, and that there is a marked resemblance to the head of Poseidon (certified as such by the trident over his shoulder) in a terra-cotta relief at Munich (Furtwängler *Glyptothek zu München*[2] p. 74 f. no. 62). On the other hand it must be admitted that the striding-warrior type points primarily to Zeus fulminant and only secondarily to Poseidon.

Indeed, Poseidon leaning on a trident, or striking with a trident, may be fairly frequent. But Poseidon hurling a trident is quite exceptional; and where he is so represented, as on the early silver coins of Poseidonia, he regularly wears a *chlamýs* over his arms. Also the head, with its neat plait twisted round trim locks, its long silky moustache, and its full beard with undulating strands, seems too refined and dignified for any deity beneath the rank of Zeus. I conclude that the originator of this remarkable type was deliberately portraying Poseidon in the guise of Zeus (cp. *supra* ii. 795 n. 3 figs. 762—764). After all, Poseidon was but a by-form of the greater god (*supra* p. 736). J. Jüthner,

Fig. 901.

however, in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1937 lxii. 136—148 decides for an athlete hurling his *akóntion*!

ii. 741 Zeus *Ithomátas.* C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1932 lxii. 799 claims that the Brussels tetradrachm of Zankle-Messana (*supra* ii. 794 f. fig. 757), 'which should be dated *ca.* 461 B.C., the year of liberation from the tyranny, has on the obverse a figure, not of Poseidon, but of Zeus fulminating (*Num. Chron.* 1883, p. 168) which closely resembles the Zeus Ithomatas on coins of Messenia from 369 B.C. onwards (*B.M.C. Peloponnesus*, Pl. xxii, 1, 6, 7, 10). Thus the Messanians of Zankle showed their sympathy with the Messenians, who in 461 were being besieged on Ithome. Apparently, therefore, Hagelaidas made the statue before 461, therefore at

Ithome, and not at Naupactus after 455 B.C. This agrees with other dated works by the sculptor and does away with the need either for inventing a younger sculptor of the same name, or for assuming his unnatural longevity.'

ii. 745 n. 4. F. Matz 'Ein Zeuskopf in Villa Borghese' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi. 1—31 with figs. 1—21 and pls. 1 and 2 reaches the following

Fig. 902.

conclusions (p. 31): 'der Zeuskopf Borghese ist der nächste Verwandte des Kasseler Apoll. Kopiert ist er nach einer Bronzestatue des stehenden Gottes, der mit der Linken das Zepter aufstützte und in der gesenkten Rechten den Blitz hielt. In demselben Verwandschaftsverhältnis wie zum Kasseler Apoll steht der borghesische Kopf zu dem des olympischen Zeus. Auch der Kasseler Apoll und der Zeus Borghese sind also Schöpfungen des Phidias. Jener ist in den fünfziger Jahren, dieser in dem Jahrzehnt zwischen 455 und 445 entstanden. Die engen Beziehungen, die zwischen dem olympischen Zeus und dem Zeus Borghese bestehen, sind entscheidend für die Frühdatierung des olympischen Zeus und für seinen Ansatz vor der Parthenos.'

ii. 746 n. 2 pl. xxxii, 1 silver statuette of Zeus. A. W. Van Buren in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 489 ff. fig. 6 (=my fig. 901) illustrates a silver bust of 'Jupiter,' which was found in 1924, in a crushed state, at a Roman station on the Little St Bernard ('Mons Minoris Jovis') together with a patterned silver ribbon and a figure of Hercules within the front of a small shrine, likewise of silver (P. Barocelli in the *Not. Scavi* 1924 p. 391). The bust has now been restored and installed in the Museum at Aosta. The thunderbolt in relief on the right side of the chest implies that the silversmith was copying some statue of the god with that attribute in his right hand.

ii. 748 f. beardless type of Zeus. T. Birt '*Anxius* und *Anxur*' in *Glotta* 1927 xv. 118 discusses the epithet of the Volscian Iupiter *Anxurus* (on whom see E. Aust in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 640 fig., *id.* in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 2653) and supports the derivation from *ξέω, ἄξοος* already given by Serv. *in* Verg. *Aen.* 7. 799 circa hunc tractum Campaniae colebatur puer Iuppiter, qui Anxyrus dicebatur, quasi *ἄνευ ξυροῦ*, id est sine novacula, quia barbam numquam rasisset, et Iuno virgo, quae Feronia dicebatur, cp. Akron *in* Hor. *sat.* 1. 5. 26 Anxur [autem] dictum, quod ibi *inberbis Iuppiter* colitur.

ii. 752 the eagle of Zeus. R. J. H. Jenkins (June 3, 1930) notes: 'With regard to eagles and Zeus, it is interesting to recall that some 3000—4000 B.C. A-anni-padda built a temple to the Earth Mother Nin-khursag at al 'Ubaid, and over the door flew the eagle of the sky-god, Im-dugud.' See C. L. Woolley *The Sumerians* Oxford (1929) p. 40 f. fig. 10.

ii. 754 n. 1 Tavium. P. Kretschmer in *Glotta* 1925 xiv. 304 derives the name of the town *Tavium* 'von einer vorphrygischen Stammform *Tav-*=Zeus, wie die bithynische Stadt *Τλεῖον* (Strabo [542 f., 565]), kontrahiert *Tium* (*Τῖος* Aelian [*de nat. an.* 15. 5], *Τῖον* Ptol. [5. 1. 7]) von der phrygischen Namensform *Tiv-*, armen. *tiv* "Tag"=gr. *Δι̃ϝ-*.'

ii. 757 n. 8 the chronology of Pheidias' career. Recent discussion by G. Lippold 'Das Ende des Phidias' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1923/24 xxxviii/ix. 152—155 (Pheidias was already at work on his Zeus *c.* 448, but may well have been simultaneously engaged upon his Athena), H. Schrader *Phidias* Frankfurt am Main 1924 p. 27 (his Zeus must be dated between *c.* 460 and 448, *i.e.* before his Athena), W. Judeich 'Zum "Pheidias-Papyrus"' in *Hermes* 1925 lx. 50—58 (rejects H. Schrader's view: holds that Pheidias finished his Athena in 438/7, retired to Elis in 433/2, and was at Olympia making his Zeus from 432 onwards), E. N. Gardiner *Olympia Its History and Remains* Oxford 1925 p. 240 f. (his Zeus should be dated 438—432, *i.e.* after his Athena), C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 80 n. 3 (accepts the finding of H. Schrader), G. M. A. Richter *The Sculpture and Sculptors of the Greeks* Yale Univ. Press 1929 pp. 166—170 (the later dating of Zeus 'would seem to be the more likely,' but 'We must leave it an open question whether Pheidias left Athens in 438 or in 432'). The contest continues.

ii. 759 the marble statuette of Zeus at Lyons. Espérandieu *Bas-reliefs de la Gaule Rom.* iii. 46 f. no. 1810 with three views.

ii. 760 n. 2 throne-legs of white marble. Cp. the statue of Zeus (?) enthroned found in Delos (J. Chamonard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 155 ff. fig. 16) and the statuette of Kybele enthroned from a neighbouring site (*id.* in *Délos* viii. 1. 220 with fig. 97).

ii. 760 f. Alexander's reversion to a pre-Pheidiac type of seated Zeus. One of the town-gates of Thasos, which can be dated 412—411 B.C., is adorned with an archaïsing relief (G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 560—569 pls. 14 and 15 wrongly dated *c.* 470 and interpreted as Demeter with Iris, Nike, or Hebe. J. ff. Baker-Penoyre in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1909 xxix. 223 says more correctly 'the fine relief of Zeus and Nike.' C. Picard 'La porte de Zeus à Thasos' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1912 ii. 43—76, *id.* 'Encore la porte de Zeus à Thasos' *ib.* 1912 ii. 385—398, *id.* in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 1 recognises Zeus and Iris). Within a *naïskos*, the pediment of which is surmounted by an eagle with spread wings, sits Zeus on a throne with back, arm-rest, support in form of dancer (cp. *supra* p. 682 figs. 492, 493, p. 700 fig. 517), and footstool. He wears an Ionic *chitón* and *himátion* with formal pleats, holds a long sceptre

in his left hand, and fingers a tress of hair with his right. Before him stands Nike, winged and wearing *chitôn* and *himation*.

ii. 764 *ff.* Modifications in the shape of the thunderbolt. E. Unger 'Dreizack' in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 462 deals with the near East (Babylonia, Assyria, Syria, Asia Minor). G. Furlani 'Fulmini mesopotamici, hittiti, greci ed etruschi' in *Studi Etruschi* 1931 v. 203—231 is a careful and well-documented survey, but without illustrations.

At *Râs eš-Shamrâ*, 'Fennel Head,' the capital of ancient Ugarit,'some ten miles north of Laodikeia on the Syrian coast, Prof. Claude F. A. Schaeffer, Director of the French Archaeological Mission, in 1932 recovered from a small sanctuary 'in the western periphery of the great temple' a splendidly preserved *stêle* (1·45= high), which shows in *champlevé* relief Baal and, under his protection, a small man—probably a local king. Baal brandishes a club in his right hand and holds in his left a stylised thunderbolt of unique design. Above, it seems to be an elaboration of the bipartite fork with zig-zags. Below, it ends in a straight shaft and fine spear-head. The date appears to be *s.* xiv B.C. (C. F. A. Schaeffer in *The Illustrated London News* for Feb. 11, 1933 p. 212 with figs. 5 and 15 on pp. 178 and 181. Mlle M. Rutten in the *Encyclopédie photographique de l'Art* Le Musée du Louvre: Canaan, Phénicie Paris 1937 ii. 102 with fig. =my fig. 902

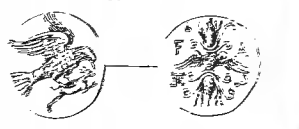


Fig. 903.

As to the thunderbolt on coins of Olympia, another specimen of the very rare 'fly'-type (*supra* ii. 781 pl. xxxvi, 5) is now in my collection. Mr C. T. Seltman informed me (April 26, 1934) that one or two examples of a late *drachmê* had come to light, on which the handle of the bolt took the shape of a small human head, perhaps Keraunos. I am indebted to Mr E. S. G. Robinson for the casts from which my fig. 903 was made. But I should prefer to describe the little facing head as a *Gorgóneion*, with obvious allusion to the *aigis* of Zeus *aigiochos*, and Mr Robinson (Sept. 7, 1938) agrees 'that the head is probably that of a gorgon.'

ii. 782 sacrifice to living animals on Greek soil. The goddess Boubrostis, to whom a black bull was sacrificed at Smyrna (Metrodoros of Chios (*Frag. hist. Gr.* iii. 205 Müller =*frag.* 3 (*Frag. gr. Hist.* i. 265 Jacoby) *ap.* Plout. *symp.* 6. 8. 1 *ἐδόκει δ' ἡ βούβροστις ἕτεσον εἶναι (sc. τοῦ βοὸς) μόριον· τὸ δὲ τεκμήριον ἐλαμβάνομεν ἐκ τῶν Μητροδώρου Ἰασικέων. ἱστορεῖ γὰρ ὅτι Σμυρναῖοι τὸ παλαιὸν Αἰολεῖς ὄντες θύουσι βουβρόστει ταῦρον μέλανα καὶ κατακόψαντες αὐτὸν ὁλοκαυτοῦσιν*) may well have been a personified Gaddîy (see W. Leaf on *Il.* 24. 532, but also O. Kern in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* iii. 933). An Athenian inscription of the early fourth century B.C. prescribes *Κυσὶν πόσαια τρία* (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 672, 9 . on which see U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Isyllos von Epidauros* Berlin 1886 and *supra* p. 1083.

ii. 784 Keraunos. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 81 n. 3 suggests that the small figure beneath the throne of Zeus on the gateway at Thasos (*supra* on ii. 760 *f.*) may be 'une personnification de la foudre.' Improbable.

ii. 788 n. 0. Two five-pronged forks, aptly illustrating the *πεμπώβολα* of *Il.* 1. 463= *Od.* 3. 460, were found in a 'Depotfund' of *c.* 1000 B.C. at Tecchiarello di Pariana in the province of Massa-Carrara and are now at Florence (F. von Duhn in Ebert *Reallex.* ii. 378 no. 118. *id.* 'Pempobolon' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. pp. 331—334 fig. 1).

ii. 789 ff. the trident as a lightning-fork. See now G. Furlani 'Sulla preistoria del tridente di Posidone' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 42—47 with figs.

E. F. Coote Lake 'Shrove Tuesday in South Dalmatia' in *Folk-Lore* 1927 xxxviii. 371—375 describes the Carnival at Cattaro in 1922, when a young man wearing a black mask with sheep's horns and carrying a small black trident, about two feet long, leapt high in the air throughout the procession. Lake suggests (p. 374) that this was magic to make the crops grow high, and that the magician bore 'his old trident-thunderbolt as part of the fertility rites.' Possible, but precarious.

Sir John Marshall's discovery of a chalko-lithic civilisation on the Indus has enabled us now to trace the figure of Çiva back to a period *c.* 3000 B.C., when he appears as an ithyphallic god with bull's horns and a raised point between them. Sir John suggested to me in conversation that this arrangement of two curved horns and a central spike may have developed at a later date into Çiva's attribute the trident.

ii. 802. On Jan. 10, 1927 I saw two other specimens of the M. Herennius terra cotta belonging to Messrs W. S. Lincoln & Son. One of these corresponded closely with that

described by Mr E. J. Seltman (*supra* ii. 1225) and was obviously modern. The other, of heavier make and devoid of the signature **T. AF**, represented three herms in juxtaposition—Poseidon, Zeus, Hades—all wearing *kálathoi* and each marked in front by his attribute. Was this M. Herennius the *decurio* of Pompeii who was struck by lightning on a cloudless day (Plin. *nat. hist.* 2. 137: F. Münzer in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* viii. 664)?

ii. 805 the Etruscan *bidental*. See further G. Furlani 'Il *bidental* etrusco e un' iscrizione di Tiglatpileser I d' Assiria' in *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1930 vi. 9—49 (reviewed by G. B. Pighi in *Aevum* 1930 iv. 415—417 and by L. Banti in *Studi etruschi* 1931 v. 624).

ii. 807 n. 5 (5) *astragalomanteía*. E. Riess in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii. 1793 and T. Hopfner *ib.* Suppl. iv. 51—56. An article on 'Wurforakel' is promised for the 'Nachtrag' of vol. ix of the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin 1938— .

ii. 808 n. 0 (9) Zeus *Keraúnios* in Moesia Inferior. C. M. Danoff 'Eine neue Weihung an Zeus Keraunios aus Niedermoesien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 166—169 with

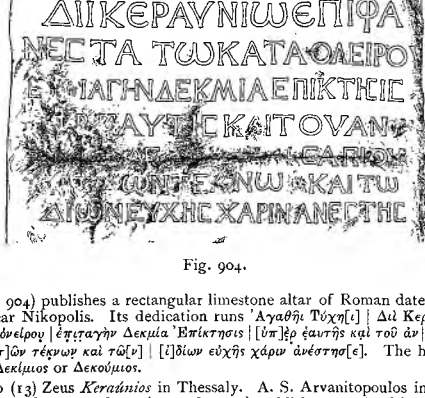


Fig. 904.

fig. (=my fig. 904) publishes a rectangular limestone altar of Roman date found in 1925 at *Tirnovo* near Nikopolis. Its dedication runs *'Αγαθῆι Τύχη[ι] | Διὶ Κεραυνίῳ 'Επιφα]νεστάτῳ κατὰ ὄνείρου | ἐπ̣ι̣τ̣αγὴν Δεκμία 'Επίκτησις | [ὑπ]ὲρ ἑαυτῆς καὶ τοῦ ἀν̣|[δρὸς] Δε.....υ Σαπίου | κα[ὶ τ]ῶν τέκνων καὶ τῶ[ν] | [ἐ]δίων εὐχῆς χάριν ἀνέστησ[ε]*. The husband's name was perhaps *Δεκίμιος* or *Δεκούμιος*.

ii. 808 n. 0 (13) Zeus *Keraúnios* in Thessaly. A. S. Arvanitopoulos in the *'Αρχ. 'Εφ.* 1924 pp. 143—146 no. 388 fig. 2 (=my fig. 905) publishes a *stêle* of local grey marble, found in the ruins of a temple of Zeus at Pythion (*Topóliane*) in Thessaly. This is inscribed in lettering of *c.* 200 B.C. or a little earlier *[Δη* or *Τι]μοκράτης 'Αν[τι]π[άτ]ρο[υ] | [κα]τὰ ['Ε]π̣[ι]ν̣[ί]κη Παυσαν[ίου] | [Δ]ιὶ | Κε|ραυ|νίω* and bears a relief representing Zeus as a bearded god, in a *himátion*, striding from left to right. His raised right hand brandishes a bolt; his outstretched left has an eagle on the forearm and appears to touch the apex of a tombstone, round which is bound a fillet painted purple. To the right of the tombstone stands Epinike, fully draped and perhaps carrying a *phiále*. Kern thought her a priestess, but Arvanitopoulos with more probability supposes that she was the wife of De(?)mokrates, that her husband had been killed by lightning, and that she put up this votive relief to avoid sharing in his fate.

ii. 808 n. 0 (17) Zeus *Keraúnios* at Rome. This inscription is included in the latest (1933) fascicule of the *Corp. inscr. Lat.* vi. 4 no. 36802.

ii. 811 n. 5 fig. 777. Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 48, 4, ii. 4 comments: 'früher Sammlung Blacas...wohl Titus oder Domitian.'

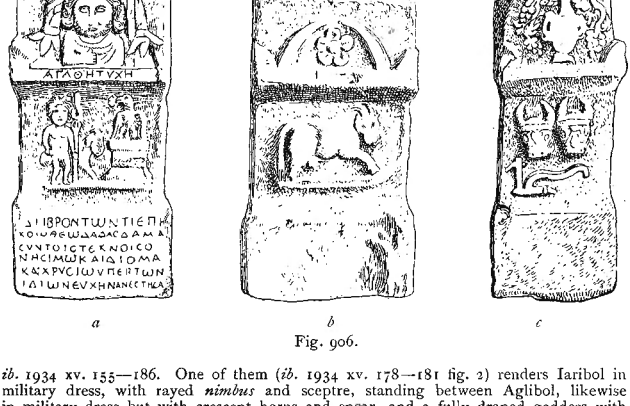
ii. 812 fig. 778. C. T. Seltman in *The Cambridge Ancient History* Cambridge 1934 Plates iv. 144 fig. *b* speaks of 'a small Cupid (wing and lower part only preserved) helping to support the huge thunderbolt.' I see rather a Giant with snaky legs and curled wing. The Pergamene frieze had set the fashion.

ii. 814 n. 3 with fig. 780 the relief from Emesa. Similar reliefs have been found at Palmyra (*Tadmor*). H. A. Seyrig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 715—742 figs. 1—9 presents a preliminary report on the excavations carried out there by the French Department of Antiquities in 1930—1933 and supplements on many points the handsome work of T. Wiegand and his colleagues (*Palmyra* Berlin 1932 i. 1—171 with plan of town, ii pls. 1—100). It appears that the Palmyrene temple was dedicated on April 6, 32 A.D. to the triad Bel, Iaribol, and Aglibol. Somewhat later it

Fig. 905.

was surrounded by four colonnades, on the north, east, and south by a double row of lower columns, on the west, where the main *Propýlaion* lay, by a single row of higher columns, all of the Corinthian order, but unfluted. Work began at the north-west angle in early Flavian times, and continued along the north, east, south, and west sides, reaching completion *c.* 150 A.D. Within this great quadrangle, some 200^{m} square, still stands on its broad *podium* a Corinthian pseudodipteral temple (8 × 15 columns, fluted) with the foundations of its altar on the north and its lustral basin on the south. It had originally two pediments and was *quasi*-Greek in plan, a north-to-south oblong with a door at the southern end. The plan, however, underwent sundry modifications. The southern door was built up. A fresh door was opened in the western side, south of its centre. A couple of *ádyta* was constructed at either end of the *naós*. The northern *ádyton*, with much mythological decoration, seems to have housed the *páredroi* of Bel—the sun-god Iaribol and the moon-god Aglibol. These names suggest that the principal

Palmyrene god was properly called Bol, not Bel, the latter spelling being due to Babylonian influence. The southern *ádyton*, with simple geometric and plant designs, was possibly used for the *lectisternium* of the god. The roof of the northern *ádyton* is a square monolith hollowed out to form a dome, which is decorated with hexagonal compartments containing busts of the seven gods of the week—in the middle Iupiter, round him Sol, Mars, Luna, Venus, Saturnus, Mercurius—and ringed by the signs of the zodiac with four eagles in the spandrels. Bel was clearly conceived as a cosmic power. The lintel of the *ádyton*-door (cp. *supra* ii. 431) showed a great eagle with spread wings seen against a background of stars and flanked by Iaribol on the right and probably Aglibol on the left. On a level with the eagle's claws is a long snake, symbol of the sun's course, between six balls representing the other planets. Lastly, the space between the columns and the *nadś*-wall was spanned by a series of vertical slabs supporting the roof of the *ptéron* and carved with reliefs illustrative of the cult. The reliefs have been studied by H. A. Seyrig 'Bas-reliefs de la cella du temple de Bêl' in *Syria* 1933 xiv. 253—260 fig. 2 lintel, fig. 5 dome, *id.* 'Bas-reliefs monumentaux du temple de Bêl à Palmyre'



a *b* *c*

Fig. 906.

ib. 1934 xv. 155—186. One of them (*ib.* 1934 xv. 178—181 fig. 2) renders Iaribol in military dress, with rayed *nimbus* and sceptre, standing between Aglibol, likewise in military dress but with crescent horns and spear, and a fully draped goddess with sceptre (Beltis?)—a fairly close parallel to the relief from Emesa. Another (*ib.* 1934 xv. 173—178 pl. 22) shows Aglibol joining hands with a second and ill-preserved god over an altar set out with pine-cones, a pomegranate, and an apple, above which hovers an eagle bearing a snake (?) in its beak and a palm-branch in its talons. The scene takes place in a sanctuary marked by a cypress-tree etc. Fortunately a Palmyrene relief at Rome with a bilingual inscription enables us to name the second god Malachbelos (W. Helbig *Führer durch die öffentlichen Sammlungen klassischer Altertümer in Rom*[3] Leipzig 1912 i. 566 f. no. 988, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 177 no. 5, Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 257 f. Scala v no. 3 pl. 100. *Inscr. Gr. Sic. It.* no. 971 Ἀγλιβώλῳ καὶ Μαλαχβήλῳ πατρῴοις θεοῖς | καὶ τὸ σίγνον ἀργυροῦν σὺν παντὶ κόζμῳ ἀνέθηκ(ε) | Τ. Αὐρ(ήλιος) Ἡλιόδωρος Ἀντιόχου Ἀδριανὸς Παλμυρηνὸς ἐκ τῶν ἰδίων ὑπὲρ | σωτηρίας αὐτοῦ καὶ τ(ῆς) συμβίου καὶ τ(ῶν) τέκνων, ἔτους ζμφ (547 Seleucid era = 235 A.D.) μηνὸς Περιτίου) —another solar power (W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2293—2301, K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 824—828).

ii. 818 f. Zeus *Zbelsoûrdos* with snake. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 77 n. 3 cp. a small unpublished bronze in the Musée Saint-Pierre at Lyons, which portrays the god with a snake rolled round the arm that holds the thunderbolt. But does this betoken his *aigís*?

G. I. Katsarov in the *Bulletin de l'Institut archéologique bulgare* 1934 viii. 44—68 lists new dedications to deities, *e.g.* 'rough statues of...Zeus Zbelthiurdos, Kybele, Mithras, Dionysus, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 140).

ii. 823 n. 1 Dionysos as ἥρως? W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 29 prints my emendation ἐλθεῖν ἥρ', ὦ Διόνυσε and p. 157 f. is 'inclined to welcome' it.

G. Seure 'ΝΕΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ, ΚΟΤΡΟΣ ΗΡΩΣ' in the *Rev. Et. Gr.* 1929 xlii. 241—254 discusses two sepulchral *stêlai* from Odessos (*Varna*), one inscribed 'Αγαθήνωρ 'Απατουρίου νέος ἥρως (fig. 1), the other 'Αρτεμίδωρος Νουμηνίου, | κοῦρος ἥρως [ὑμ]νωδός, χαῖρε (fig. 2).

ii. 824 ff. The whip of Zeus. L. Laistner *Nebelsagen* Stuttgart 1879 pp. 45, 160 f. already cites from German folk-lore proof that lightning was regarded as a long whip held by a fiery female form amid thunder-clouds, as a blue whip held by the storm-god, etc. Stegemann in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1927 i. 1400 'Auch als Peitsche, Rute und Kugel in der Hand mythischer Gestalten dient der B[litz].'

ii. 833 n. 8 with fig. 793. See now Mendel *Cat. Sculpt. Constantinople* iii. 47 f. no. 842 fig. *Id. ib.* p. 48 ff. describes and illustrates a series of small altars dedicated to Zeus *Brontôn*: (1) p. 48 ff. no. 843 with three figs. (=my fig. 906) (*Ineunu*, early *s.* iii A.D.) 'Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ· ‖ Διὶ Βροντῶντι Ἐπη|κόῳ θεῷ Δαδᾶς Δαμᾶ | σὺν τοῖς τέκνοις Ὀ|νησίμῳ καὶ Διομᾶ | καὶ Χρυσίῳ ὑπὲρ τῶν | ἰδίων εὐχὴν ἀνέστησαν. Front: bust of Zeus facing, with large garland round head; below, Hermes with *caduceus*, purse, and ram before a wreathed altar, on which is perched an eagle with a leafy sprig in its beak. Back: rosette between horns; bull running to right uphill. Left side: two-handled vase with grape-bunches; two *bucrania* with frontlets above plough. Right side: traces of bust with radiate *nimbus*. (2) p. 50 f. no. 844 fig. (*Ineunu*, early *s.* iii A.D.). Front: rosette and the inscription 'Αγαθῇ Τύχῃ· | Διὶ Βροντῶν|τι Μέννης Θ|άλλου σὺν τέ|κνοις κατὰ ἐ|παιταγὴν ἀν|έστησαν. Back: bust of god, bearded (?); eagle on wreath, below which is inscribed Διὸς Μεγίστου. Sides: rosette above *bucranium*. (3) p. 51 f. no. 845 fig. (*Gumbet*, *s.* iii A.D.) 'Αγαθ[ῇ Τύχῃ· | Δ[ιὶ Βρο]ντῶντι Μέν[ης] | [ἔ]στησεν κατὰ κέλευ|[σιν] τοῦ θεοῦ. Front: crescent; half-length bust of Zeus with short beard and long hair, eagle on right shoulder. Back: two *bucrania* above plough. Left side: rounded vase above thunderbolt. Right side: rounded vase with two handles, vine-branch. *Supra* ii. 836.

S. Ferri 'Nuovi monumenti plastici dello Zeus di Bitinia' in *Historia* 1932 vi. 238—273 starts from a bust of coarse-grained Asiatic marble (figs. 1—3) and a similar head (fig. 4) in the Museum at *Brussa* (Prousa). Both are third-century effigies of Zeus, comparable with a head at Berlin (fig. 5) and with the inscribed bust of Zeus *Brontôn* in the British Museum (fig. 6=*supra* ii. 837 fig. 794). Ferri goes on to consider analogous heads in later art, *e.g.* the silver bust of Zeus from Little St Bernard (fig. 7 unrestored, *supra* p. 1153 fig. 901 restored), which he regards as descended from the original type of the Bithynian Zeus.

But by far the most important contribution to our knowledge of Zeus *Brontôn* is the painstaking study by C. W. M. Cox and A. Cameron in *Monumenta Asiae Minoris antiqua* Manchester Univ. Press 1937 v pp. xxxiv—xliv. These two scholars in the course of a four-weeks vacation (March 26—April 21, 1931) traversed the districts of Dorylaeion and Nakoleia, and catalogued there no fewer than 323 monuments, 282 for the first time. Among the new finds are 56 dedications to Zeus *Brontôn*: and a useful conspectus of previously published inscriptions is added by way of appendix (pp. 172—176). *À propos* of 'sepulchral-dedicatory inscriptions' the authors comment (p. xxxvii): 'It is curious that nowhere else in Asia Minor should epitaphs explicitly combined with dedications have been found or epitaphs concealed beneatb dedications have been reasonably suspected; that the area should be virtually identical with that of the Zeus Bronton cult; and that Zeus Bronton, though by no means monopolising the dedications of the region and very far from dominating the coin-types, should virtually monopolise the dedicatory epitaphs....It may well be that the explicit dedication of the grave to the god was here thought to be the most effective means of rendering it inviolable, and that Zeus Bronton receives the dedications, not only as the most prominent local deity, but as the god who made his presence felt most potently and whose wrath might most drastically strike down the impious or, by drought or storm, devastate their means of livelihood.' But Cox and Cameron 'regard it as still open to question whether Zeus Bronton was a chthonic deity' (p. xliii) and urge that inscription no. 225 (*Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia)) Θεοῖς Κα|<κα>ταχθο|νίοις καὶ | Διὶ Βρον Ὄ|τῶντι Ὄ 'need not imply any intimate connection' between him and the Θεοὶ Καταχθόνιοι, though they hasten to add: 'None the less, if only from his constant association with the tomb, Zeus Bronton no doubt came to be conceived as having a chthonic aspect' (p. xliii). They demur (*ib.*), perhaps rightly, to my contention that he was served with mystic rites in a cave (*supra* ii. 836 ff. ἐξ αὐλῆς, *speleum*), and note (p. xli) that he and Apollon 'may

have been *σύνναοι θεοί*' (nos. 173 *Ayvacik*, 181 *Kuyucak*). Lastly, they dissent from Sir W. M. Ramsay's view that Zeus *Brontôn* was called 'the Father god' and 'the Victorious Father' (*supra* ii. 836). In inscription no. 232 from *Seyit Gazi* (Nakoleia) - - - - | Δὶ Βροντῶν|τι εὐχὴν | καὶ πατρὶ θε|ῶ 'it seems probable that, as Körte thought (*A.M.* xxx, 1900, p. 442), ll. 3—4 link to the dedication to Bronton an epitaph to the dedicator's father, now dead and deified, and not a further dedication to a deity known to the citizens of Nacolea as Πατὴρ Θεός' (p. 111). 'Even in the Nacolean village dedication Νεικάνωρ καὶ Τα[τ]εις Διὶ Βροντῶντι καὶ Νεικήτορι πατρὶ (*Ann. dell' Inst.* xxxiii, 1861, p. 188, no. 38, at Ayvali)... we incline (partly owing to the resemblance of the names) to see in Νεικήτορι πατρί the deceased father of Neikanor... and not a god Νεικήτωρ Πατήρ' (p. 112).

ii. 836. On Zeus as 'Hearer of Prayer' see the valuable article by O. Weinreich 'ΘΕΟΙ ΕΠΗΚΟΟΙ' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1912 xxxvii. 1—68 (especially pp. 23—25) and an interesting supplement to it by the same author in his *Gebet und Wunder* Stuttgart 1929 pp. 200—204 ('Die *θυρίδες* am Himmel, beim Ort der Gebetsaudienzen. Eine Interpretation von Lukian, Ikaromenippos 23 ff.').

ii. 838 Dionysos *Brómios*. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 83 n. 2 would explain the appellative by a reference to R. Pettazzoni *I misteri* Bologna (1925) pp. 1—40 ('Il rombo').

ii. 838 ritual enthronement. See now A. D. Nock in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1926 xlvi. 47 f. ('Thronosis').

ii. 854 n. 9. To the bibliography of Kleanthes' *Hymn* add E. Neustadt 'Der Zeushymnos des Kleanthes' in *Hermes* 1931 lxvi. 387—401 (in line 4 is content with T. Bergk's cj. *ὅλου*), A. S. Way *Hymns of Callimachus with the Hymn of Kleanthes in English verse* London 1934 p. 35 f., M. Meunier *Hymnes philosophiques d'Aristote, Cléanthe et Proclus* Paris 1935 pp. 1—116.

ii. 859 ff. Kairos. A. A. Papadopoulos 'Καιρός' in the Ἐπετηρὶς Ἑταιρείας Βυζαντινῶν Σπουδῶν 1927 iv. 251—256 is summarised by G. Soyter in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Sept. 22, 1928 pp. 1168 (Papadopoulos explains Καιρός 'als den Boten des Patriarchen, der dem Kaiser meldete, dass es "Zeit" sei, in die Hagia Sophia zu gehen. Später habe *καιρός* in der kirchlichen Sprache die Bedeutung "Erlaubnis (zum Messelesen)" angenommen').

ii. 861 fig. 799. The fragmentary *replica* at Athens is included in O. Walter *Beschreibung der Reliefs im Kleinen Akropolismuseum in Athen* Wien 1923 p. 74 no. 125 fig. Another, better preserved, was found at Tragurium (*Trogir*) in Dalmatia in 1928 and is published by M. Abramić 'Ein neues Kairos-Relief' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1930 xxvi. 1—8 pl. 1 with figs. 2 and 4. A relief at Petrograd is similar, but has the bearded type of Kairos (E. Curtius in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1876 xxxiii. 8 pl. 2, 1 condemns it as a forgery, Reinach *Rép. Reliefs* iii. 490 no. 3).

ii. 863 n. 1 fig. 801. H. Volkmann 'Studien zum Nemesiskult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1928 xxvi. 298 no. 4 with fig. 2.

ii. 869 n. 2 Zeus *Aktaios* on Mt Pelion. The alleged discoveries of A. S. Arvanitopoulos stand in much need of verification. On June 27, 1934 Dr N. Bachtin wrote to me from Athens to say that early in May he had visited *Pliassídi* and found the place indicated by Arvanitopoulos 'still covered with deep snow.' Dr Bachtin continues: 'The *peribolos* was nowhere visible (though I cannot absolutely assert that it does not exist, since it might have been under the snow). Moreover, there is not a single sherd anywhere round to suggest the idea of a site that has ever been built on. Three weeks later I returned there with Mr Wade-Gery of Wadham. There was still too much snow to allow a thorough examination, but all that could be seen fully confirmed my suspicions, and Mr Wade-Gery agreed with me entirely. After that, I had the opportunity of meeting in Volo Giannopoulos...and mentioned my fears to him. He too expressed the gravest doubts as to the reliability of the results claimed by Arvanitopoulos.' With praiseworthy persistence Dr Bachtin visited *Pliassídi* yet again in the summer, when the snow had melted, and camped there for some time. He reports (Dec. 11, 1938): 'I found that the site I had examined with Wade-Gery in the spring was not the one which Arvanitopoulos meant: the supposed temple site is just above it—on the very summit marked 1548 on the Greek staff map. The shallow cave, or rather hole, is just below the trig. point and there seem to be some traces of a wall running from summit 1548 towards the lower summit marked 1529. There are also bits of tile... That is all, so that my conclusion remains substantially the same: Arvanitopoulos' sketch of his "excavation" is pure invention.'

ii. 874 n. 2 Zeus *Karaïos*. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 399 ff. no. 17 gives the text of the dedication from Thespiai (*supra* on ii. 727) τοὶ σύσ[αστ]αι Διὶ | Καραιῶι ἀνέθεαν | Πούθων | Σόλων | Ἡνεσίδαμος | Δαμοτέλες | Διονύσιος | Μένες | Ἀντιφάων | Ἀρίστανδρος. He cp. a *stèle* from Akraiphia, now at Thebes (inv. no. 957), inscribed ἰαρὸν | Διὸς | Κεραιῶ and perhaps another from the same town inscribed Κεραιῶ (P. Perdrizet in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1898 xxii. 253 no. 7 had transcribed it as Κεραιώ).

ii. 875 n. 1 (1). E. Sittig should have said Erythrai, not Smyrna (L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472 n. 5).

ii. 876 n. 1 Zeus *Hýpsistos*. Further evidence includes the following items: (5 *a*) Sparta. A. M. Woodward in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 222—224 publishes three dedications on small marble altars, perhaps used as building material, in the theatre at Sparta: no. 16 Διὶ | Ὑψίστῳ | Νεικέρως | εὐχ[ήν], no. 17 Διοκλῆ[ς] | Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ | εὐχήν, no. 18 Ἀφροδεισί[ος δοῦλος] | Κλαυ. Πρατο[λάου τοῦ Βρα[σί]δου Διὶ Ὑ[ψ]|-[ίστῳ εὐχήν] with an epigram restored by A. Wilhelm θρησκεί[αισιν ὑ]περμε[γά]λα[ισιν τόνδ' ἀνέθηκα,]‖ ὄφρα τις | εἰς ἐμὸν | ἦθος ἐσ[αθρήσας | [ἀγορεύοι· (or ἀγορεύῃ·)]‖ "τοίων | γὰρ μερ[όπων καὶ | [γε]νεὴ [θαλέθει (or θαλερή)]."

(9) Makedonia. C. Avezou—C. Picard in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1913 xxxvii. 100 no. 8 (a broken slab of white marble at Thessalonike) Θεῶι Ὑψίστωι κατ' ἐπιταγὴν ΙΟΥΕ⊏ ('L'existence d'une colonie juive à Thessalonique dans l'antiquité [Acts 17. 1] fait supposer que le Θεὸς Ὕψιστος est ici, comme en d'autres cas, le Jahvé des Hébreux'). This grafting of Jewish henotheism on to a Greek stem is comparable with St Paul's treatment of the dedication Ἀγνώστῳ Θεῷ (Acts 17. 23). C. F. Edson in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 62 n. 53 reports that Ch. I. Makatonas has found more Zeus *Hýpsistos* inscriptions at *Kozani* in Makedonia.

(10) Thrace. G. Bakalakis in Θρακικά 1935 vi. 302 ff. = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 385 no. 168 (Tsari near Cavalla) Διὶ Ὑψίστοι εὐχαρισ[τή]|ριον κ.τ.λ. on behalf of Rhoimetalkas iii.

(11 *a*) Dacia. C. Daicoviciu 'Contributions au syncrétisme religieux à Sarmizegetusa' in the *Anuarul Universitatea Cluj*, Publ. Instit. Studii clasice 1928—1932 i. 81—88 publishes seven inscriptions on altars found at Sarmizegetusa illustrating syncretism. 'Thus we have an altar to Invicto Deo Serapidi, another where Sol Invictus (Mithras) is included in a list of Roman deities, Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ ἐπηκόῳ [p. 85 no. 3 Θεῷ Ὑψίστῳ Ἐπηκόῳ εὐχαριστοῦσα ἀνέθηκ(εν) Αἰλία Κασσία], Fortunae Daciarum, etc.' (D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 135).

(17) Karia. Iasos (B. Haussoullier in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1884 viii. 456 no. 4 a white marble boundary stone Διὸς | Ὑψίστου). Mylasa (A. W. Persson *ib.* 1922 xlvi. 414 no. 18 L Δ | Διὶ | Ὑψίστω[ι]). Stratonikeia (A. Laumonier *ib.* 1934 lviii. 337 no. 21 fig. 21 [Δ]ιεὶ Ὑψί[σ]τω καὶ Θ[ε]|ῶ Ἀγαθῶ | Σοκράτη[ς]—a striking combination of appellatives).

(19) Delos. For the uplifted hands of my fig. 817 C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. 0 cites F. Cumont in the *Atti della Pontificia Accademia romana di archeologia* Serie iii Memorie 1923 i. 1 'Il sole vindice dei delitti ed il simbolo delle mani alzate' pp. 65—80.

A. Plassart in *Délos* xi. 289—293 ('Le sanctuaire de Zeus Hypsistos') includes fig. 234 ground-plan, figs. 235 and 236 views, fig. 237 four leaden 'figurines d'envoûtement' found in the precinct, and one inscription on a white marble block Ποσ[ῆς] Ποσι[δ]ωρ[ί]ου | [δς ἐποίει?] τὸν περίβολον | [καὶ τὰ ἐν] αὐτῶι χρησ[τήρια Διὶ Ὑψίστῳ καὶ | θεοῖς οἷς τοὺς βωμοὺς | ἱδρύσατο ἀνέθηκεν.

(23) Phrygia. Sir W. M. Ramsay *Asianic Elements in Greek Civilisation* London 1927 pp. 182—189 devotes a chapter to 'The Waggon (Benna)' and again concludes (p. 188): 'The god on the car, Benneus or Zeus Bennios, was the peasant-god, the trainer of men in the art of agriculture. He lives in legend as Gordius, whose ox-drawn car was preserved as a holy relic at the Phrygian Gordion' [Swoboda in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vii. 1590 f. A. Körte *Gordion* (*Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* Ergänzungsheft v) Berlin 1904 p. 16 already claims that the famous waggon was first meant for Zeus [cp. *supra* i. 338 n. 2] and later transferred to the 'Bauernkönig' Gordios].

(23 *a*) Pisidia. *Suppl. epigr. Gr.* vi no. 550 *Saghir* ὁ αὐτὸς Σκύμνος καὶ ἔτι | ἐπικαταλεί|πω τῇ κώμῃ | (δηνάρια) ρ' ἐκ τόκου ‖ γείνεσθαι βέ<ν>|νος Διὶ Καλα|καγαθίῳ ὑ|πὲρ καρπῶν. This bequest was first published by Sir W. M. Ramsay *Studies in the History and Art of the Eastern Provinces of the Roman Empire* London 1906 p. 345 no. 25 (*id.* in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1912 xxxii. 162 no. 25), then discussed by J. Zingerle in the *Akademie der Wissenschaften in Wien* Phil.-hist. Klasse Anzeiger 1923 pp. 61—63 no. 2 (proposing βέ|(κ)ος for ΒЄ|ΝΟC), and lastly defended by Sir W. M. Ramsay in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1933 liii. 317 no. 550.

(25) Paphlagonia. E. Kalinka in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1933 xxviii Beiblatt pp. 64—66 no. 13 with fig. 31 publishes the 'Vogelfels' at *Kushkaja* near Amastris. An

artificially smoothed rock-wall is here decorated with ambitious carvings worked in very high relief. From the top of rock-cut steps rise two rock-cut bases side by side. That on the left supports a column *c.* 2^{m} high, on which an eagle *c.* 2^{m} high but now headless sits with spread wings. That on the right supports an arched distyle niche, within which stands a male figure clad in a *toga* but *minus* his head. The base below the eagle-column is inscribed Θεῶι Ὑψίστωι | Ἐπηκό[ω]ι Ἡλ[ίω]ι | εὐ[ερκῆ? ἑδ]ραν | [κ]αὶ [τὸν ἀε?]τ[ὸν...] | τ[α]ῖο[ν - - -] | [- - - -]. Above the arched niche is a *tabula ansata* with a longer inscription beginning *ὑπὲρ τῆ[s] Σε[βα]σ[τ]ῆς εἰ[ρήνης καὶ] εἰs | τὴν τειμὴ[ν]* Χ [Τ]ι[β]ε[ρί]ου Κ[λα]υ[δ]ίου Γε[ρμα]ν[ικοῦ] | Καίσ[α]ρο[s] Σε[β]α[σ]τοῦ ὁ τοῦ ἐ[π]ου[ρα]ν[ίου θε]ο[ῦ] | Σε[βασ]τοῦ [ἀρχιε-ρε]ὼ[s] κ.τ.λ. A neighbouring inscription in both Latin and Greek (*Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii Suppl. no. 6983 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 5883) shows that the dedicator was G. Iulius Aquila (*nomen omen*) 'divi Augusti perpetuus sacerdos,' and dates his dedication to the year 45 A.D.

(29) Syria. Doura on the Euphrates. C. Hopkins in P. V. C. Baur—M. I. Rostovtzeff *The Excavations at Dura-Europos* Second Season 1928—1929 Yale Univ. Press 1931 pp. 86—90 fig. 2 publishes an inscribed stone slab found within the tower of the temple of the Palmyrene gods on what appears to have been the site of an older sanctuary *ἔτους βοὺ* | *μηνὸs Δίου* | *περὶ δ' ὥραν ἠμε|ρινὴν σεισμοῦ* | *κατὰ τὴν χώραν* | *γενομένου ἡ* | *πόλις τὸν βωμὸν ἀνήγειρεν* | Μεγίστωι Διί. The exact date of the earthquake would thus be about 10 o'clock in the morning of Oct. 26/7, 160 A.D. Hopkins cp. the votive inscription of Byblos for escape from an earthquake (R. Dussaud in the *Rev. Arch.* 1896 i. 299 on a stone altar [Διὶ Σω]τηρὶ | Ἀπολλόδω|ρος Νίκωνο(s) | ἀπὸ σεισμοῦ | διασωθεὶs *ἀν|έ|θηκεν*), and adds: 'from the north wall of the pronaos come two graffiti to greatest Zeus scratched near the person to the right in the scene of the Roman tribune sacrificing' (F. Cumont *Fouilles de Doura-Europos* (*1922—1923*) Paris 1926 p. 387 f. no. 25 Διὸs Μεγίστου, | [Ἠ]στία? and below Διὸs Με[γί]στ[ου] with col. pl. 50). See further R. Cagnat —M. Besnier in the *Rev. Arch.* 1931 ii. 369 no. 114, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 93. M. Rostovtzeff *Dura-Europos and its Art* Oxford 1938 p. 65 (cp. pp. 36 and 44 with pl. 6 plans and restoration by H. Pearson) sums up: 'Zeus Megistos was probably the *interpretatio graeca* of one of the local Semitic names of the great sky god. He succeeded in all probability in this temple to the great Greco-Macedonian god Zeus Olympius. His *synnaos theos* in this temple and his acolyte was the Arabian light and caravan god Arsu.'

Damaskos. R. Mouterde in *Syria* 1925 vi. 246—252 no. 33 pl. 33, 2^{a} and 2^{b} publishes an altar of Zeus *Mánaphos* found somewhere in the *Haurān* and now at Damaskos. The basalt block bears in high relief of *c. s.* iv A.D. a half-length bust of the deity, who is beardless and has curling locks like a sun-god, a Syrian collar, and Greek drapery. Front: Ζεῦ Μά|ναφε, *μ[ί]|ξον[α τὴ]|[ν τύχην]*. Left side: Ζεῦ Μ[άνα]φ[ε], | *μίξονα τὴν* | *τύχην*. | Β(?)ούμνο|s Ἰνάθης | *εὐσεβῶs* | *βιώσας* | [ἀ]νέθηκε. Cp. *Corp. inscr. Lat.* iii. 1 no. 3668 = Dessau *Inscr. Lat. sel.* no. 4349 (Aquincum or, more probably, Carnuntum) dis patris Ma|lalpho et Thean|drio pro sal. | dd. nn., | Cl. Victorinus | eq. coh. Ð Canprag. | et Cl. Maximus fil., | dom. Can., v. s. l. l., where J. H. Mordtmann in the *Zeitschrift der Deutschen Morgenländischen Gesellschaft* 1875 p. 106 n. 1 rightly cj. *Manapho*. T. Nöldeke in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1908 i. 662ᵇ says: 'The name **Manāt**, "height," "high place," is also a kind of abstract noun. That Manāt was worshipped as a god [among the ancient Arabs] is proved by the testimony of a verse, and is confirmed by the occurrence of the name *'Abd Manāt*, which was especially common at Mecca and among the neighbouring tribe of Hudhail.' See further W. Drexler in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* ii. 2309 f., K. Preisendanz in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xiv. 971.

(30) Phoinike. M. Pillet 'Le Temple de Byblos' in *Syria* 1927 viii. 105—112 gives a ground-plan (pl. 28) and views (pls. 29 and 30) of the famous temple, excavated in June 1926. R. Dussaud *ib.* pp. 113—125 discusses its restoration (fig. 2 after a coin of Macrinus).

(33) Aigyptos. C. Roberts—T. C. Skeat—A. D. Nock 'The gild of Zeus Hypsistos' in the *Harvard Theological Review* 1936 xxix. 39—89 publish with elaborate and valuable commentary a papyrus sheet of the late Ptolemaic period (*c.* 69—58 B.C.) containing regulations for the gild with its election of an annual president, its monthly banquet in the sanctuary of Zeus, its standing orders, etc.: 3 ff. *ἀγαθῆι τύχηι.* | *νόμοs δν ἔθεντο* [κα]*τὰ κοινὸν οἱ ἐκ τῆs τοῦ Διὸs Ὑψίστου συνόδου τοῦτον εἶναι κύριον,* | *καὶ ποιοῦντεs καθὶ* διαγ[ρ]*έγει πρῶτον μὲν προχειρισάμενοι ἐπ' ἐαυτῶν* | *ἡγούμενον* Πετεσοῦ[χον] Τεφθέννιος, *ἄνδρα λόγιον, τοῦ τόπου καὶ τῶν ἀνδρῶν* | *ἄξιον, εἰs ἑ[ν]|αυτὸν* [ἀπὸ τοῦ] *προ[γ]εγ[ρ]αμένου μηνὸs καὶ ἡμέρας συνειφ[ό]ρ[όι]ρ[οι]s δὲ πᾶσι π[υείσθ]ε κατὰ μῆνα πόσι[ν] μίαν ἃ ἐν τῶι τοῦ* Διὸs | *ἱερῶι ἐν αἷs ἐν ἀνδ[ρῶνι] κοινῶι σ[π]ένδοντεs εὐχεσθωισαν καὶ τἄλλα τὰ νο|μιζό[μεν]α ὑπέρ τε τ[ο]ῦ θεο(ῦ) καὶ κυρίο(υ) βασιλέωs· ὑπακούσειν δὲ πάντας τοῦ τε ἡγουμ[έ]νου καὶ τ[οῦ]

τούτου ὑπηρέτου ἐν τε ταῖς ἀγήκουσι τῶι κοινῶι καὶ παρέσονται ἐπὶ τὰ[ς] | δοθει[σομ]έναις αὐτοῖς παραγγελίας καὶ [σ]υνλόγους καὶ συναγωγὰς καὶ ἀποδημί[ας] | καὶ μ[η]δ[δ]ενὶ αὐτῶν ἐξέστω συντεγματαρχήσειν μηδὲ σχίματα συνίστασ[θαι] | μηδ' ἀπ[ο]χωρήσε[ιν ἐκ] τῆς τοῦ ἡγ[ου]μένου φράτρας εἰς ἑτέραν φράτραν | καὶ μὴι γ[ε]γεαλογ[ήσειν ἕ]τερος τὸν ἕτερον ἐν τῶι συμποσίωι μηδὲ κακο]λογ[ήσειν] ἕτερος [τὸν] ἕτερον ἐν τῶι συμποσίωι μηδὲ λαλήσειν μη|δὲ ἐπ[ικα]λήσειν καὶ μὲ κατηιγορή[σ]ειν [[α]] τοῦ ἑτέρου μηδὲ ἀπόρρησιν | διδ[όναι] ἐπὶ τὸν ἐνι[αυτ]ὸν καὶ μηδ' ἀ[φα]γιεῖν τὰς συμποσίας μηδὲ ἐπέργεσ|θ·[·]· γ[.][.]πον εκτολ( ) [μη]ι̣δ' ἀποκλέψειν τ ἑτεραν καὶ μὴι κωλύσειν τὸν | κ.τ.λ.

ii. 890 n. 2 Mt Taygeton. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 124—128 describes his ascent of this mountain (7874 ft.): 'The highest top of Taygetus lies some twelve miles south-south-west of Sparta. The peasants who make a pilgrimage annually to the chapel on the summit in the month of August follow a path which climbs to the village of Anavryti, on the middle shelf of the mountain, and then slants upwards to a gap in one of the spurs and across the upper slopes to the saddle north of the culminating crest....The top of Taygetus has been curiously treated. When I reached what had from a distance looked like a dilapidated stone man it proved to be the ridge of the roof of a small chapel. The rest was buried under snow-drifts, which choked up a little stone enclosure and several cells built round it....I envied the pilgrims who watch sunsets and moonrises here in August. It was just mid-day when I arrived, and local mists were playing round the mountain, which promised, and before long produced, a brief thunder shower. The distant panorama was imperfect; but I saw a great deal under beautiful shifting lights. To the north the eyes overlooked all Peloponnesus to the vapours that rested on its northern heights. To the west the green hills of Messenia glowed in sunshine; its great bay swept round in a wonderful curve, and beyond lay Pylos and the distant islands. At our very feet a little town hung over its haven, a tiny bay of the Gulf of Kalamata. To the south the long promontory of Cape Matapan stretched out, peak beyond peak, all far below me. A transparent opalescent mist hid Crete, but only veiled Cythera.'

ii. 894 n. 3 Zeus *Hellánios*. J. P. Harland *Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 pp. 27—29. 40 f., 53, 55 f., 67, 82 ff. attributes the cult of Zeus *Hellánios* to Achaeans of the period Helladic iii (1400—1100 B.C.). Summary by S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1927 i. 252.

J. P. Harland 'An Inscribed Hydria in Aegina' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 76—78 fig. 1 f. publishes a bronze *hydría* found by L. Curtius (1906) in an ancient cistern high up on Mt *Oros*. Round the rim of this beautiful vessel runs a dedication in lettering of *c.* 470 B.C. ΠΛΑΘΟΝ : ΕΚΕΣΘΕΝΕΣ : ΑΝΕΘΕΝ : ΗΥΙΟΙ : ΠΡΟΚΛΕΟΣ : ΗΕΛΛΑΝΙΟΙ : ΔΙΙ 'Plathon (and) Echesthenes, sons of Prokles, dedicated (this) to *Hellánios* Zeus.' *Id. Prehistoric Aigina* Paris 1925 p. 83 adds: 'Professor Ludwig Curtius wrote me that a roof tile with several letters of the god's name had been found on this site.'

G. Welter 'Der Heilige Berg des Zeus Hellanios' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1938 liii Arch. Anz. pp. 8—16 republishes this *hydría* (fig. 3 f.) and goes on to describe his own excavations of August 1933. He laid bare a terrace, approached by steps and partly cut out of the rocks, on the northern slope of the *Oros* (fig. 5 f.). On the terrace are the foundations of a hostel for pilgrims, which could be dated by sherds of 'Megarian' bowls, to the Pergamene period of Aigina (210—133 B.C.). The actual altar of Zeus *Hellánios* occupied the highest point of the *Oros*, where there had been a Late Mycenaean settlement (fig. 7 plan). The summit on its west and south sides was partially encircled by a retaining wall and built up to form a round platform comparable with the *γῆς χῶμα* (Paus. 8. 38. 7) on the top of Mt Lykaion (*supra* i. 81 ff.). It was further equipped in Hellenistic times with hostels and *stoaí*, suggestive of games perhaps held below on the level at the foot of the terrace. Bronze coins of Pergamene date, struck either at Pergamon or more probably in Aigina, have *obv.* the head of Aiakos, *rev.* A I | Γ I | N H nude archaic Apollon advancing to right with filleted bay-branch and strung bow (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica etc. p. 145 pl. 26, 4 f., H. Thiersch 'Äginetische Studien' in the *Nachr. d. Gesellsch. d. Wiss. Göttingen* Phil.-hist. Classe 1928 pp. 141—147 pls. 1—3). Aiakos was appropriate as the forefather both of the Aeginetans and, through Pergamos, of the Pergamenes. G. Welter *Aigina* Berlin 1938 includes p. 91 f. a brief chapter on 'Die Kultstätte des Zeus Hellanios auf dem Oros' and p. 122 the 'Fasti' of the site. The Late Mycenaean settlement on the summit was vacated *c.* 1225 B.C. 'Geometric' sherds found there imply the arrival of the cult, which thenceforward was kept up throughout the whole classical period. The lay-out of the terrace and the building of its hostel may be dated *c.* 170 B.C. From the ruins of this

building, in Byzantine times, was constructed the monastery of St Nikolaos. That in turn was left derelict in the middle ages, and is now succeeded by the church of the Taxiarchs.

ii. 895 n. 1 Zeus *Aphésios*. On the cults of Zeus at Megara—Zeus *Olýmpios* (Paus. 1. 40. 4), *Aphésios* (1. 44. 9), *Kónios* (1. 40. 6), with the Muses (1. 43. 6)—see now E. L. Highbarger *The History and Civilization of ancient Megara* Pt i (The Johns Hopkins University Studies in Archaeology No. 2) Baltimore 1927 pp. 41—43. K. Hanell *Megarische Studien* Lund 1934 pp. 79—82 deals with Zeus *Aphésios* and his relations to Zeus *Apesántios* ('Zeus Aphesios ist der alte Gott des argivischen Apesasberges, dessen Kultus die Argiver nach Megara mitgebracht haben, wo der Kultus, wie die Funde zeigen, in der geometrischen Zeit gegründet wurde.... An den Kultus des Zeus Aphesios knüpft sich wie in Argos die Flutsage. Stifter des Kultes ist ein aus der Flut geretteter Heros [*supra* ii. 897 n. 1], in diesem Falle ein Sohn des Gottes selbst und Eponyme des Landes. Sein Rettung geschieht übrigens in einer sehr eigenartigen Weise, indem er dem Geschrei fliegender Kraniche nachschwimmt. Hierdurch wird noch eine schöne Etymologie gewonnen [Paus.

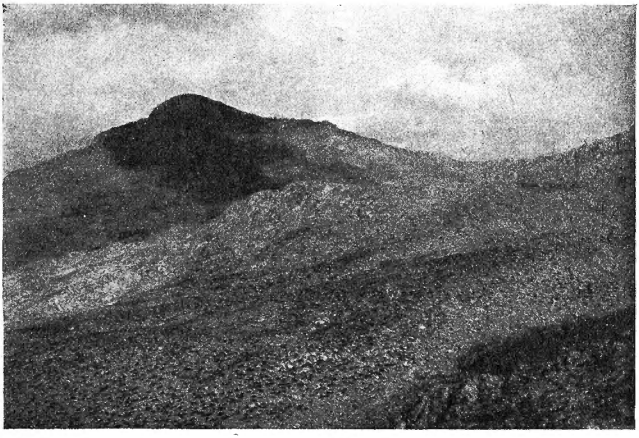


Fig. 907.

1. 40. 1 ἀλλὰ—*νήχεσθαι γὰρ πετομένων γεράνων πρὸς τὴν βοὴν τῶν ὀρνίθων αὐτόν—διὰ τοῦτο Γερανίαν τὸ ὄρος ὀνομασθῆναι*], und eigentlich ist dieser Zug hinreichend, um die ganze Geschichte als späte dichterische Erfindung zu charakterisieren').

ii. 898. To the mountain-cults of Zeus in Boiotia add that of Zeus *Keraiós* at Akraiphia and that of Zeus *Karaiós* at Thespiai (*supra* on ii. 874 n. 2).

ii. 899 n. 1 Herakles *Chárops*. N. G. Pappadakis 'Περὶ τὸ Χαρόπειον τῆς Κορωνείας' in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1916 ii. 217—272.

ii. 901 n. 2 Mt Parnassos. D. W. Freshfield *Below the Snow Line* London 1923 pp. 128—130 gives the height of Parnassos as 8064 ft. and says of his ascent: 'When I got to the top a faint gleam was already visible in the eastern sky. It quickly deepened and broadened until, without warning, a spot of light shone on the dark sea horizon, grew to an arch, and in a few moments the sun's orb was floating on the sky. To the sailors on the Aegean it had not yet risen, and it was some minutes before a path of light flashed across the waters to Euboea. Then the long backbone of the great island stood out with all its heights and hollows blue against the golden east, throwing a clear-cut shadow on the strait that divides it from the mainland. The plains of Boeotia next took the day; the mist rose from its lakes, and the rivers flashed out as silver threads across its broad fields. On the northern horizon, beyond the Gulf of Volo, Pelion, Olympus, and

even distant Athos took shape as grey phantoms. Still the shores of the Gulf of Corinth were slow to awaken. Night hung reluctantly over the Adriatic long after Attica was in broad day. But at last the veil of twilight was lifted everywhere; hills and valleys, cities and harbours stood out clear and distinct in local detail and colour. I shall not attempt a catalogue of the famous sights in view. I had had that rare enjoyment, a most successful sunrise, worth a night in the open, and worthy of the Poets' Mountain.' Fig. 907, which shows the summit of Parnassos as seen from the south-west, is from a photograph taken by Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 9, 1926.

ii. 902 n. 2 Mt Kenaion. N. Pappadakis in 1924 attempted to locate the sanctuary of Zeus *Kénaios*. He found a massive precinct-wall, 2·5^{m} thick, extending for a stretch of *c.* 50^{m}. The side towards the sea was missing, but three angle-towers were preserved. Neither temple nor altar came to light (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 480, A. M. Wood-

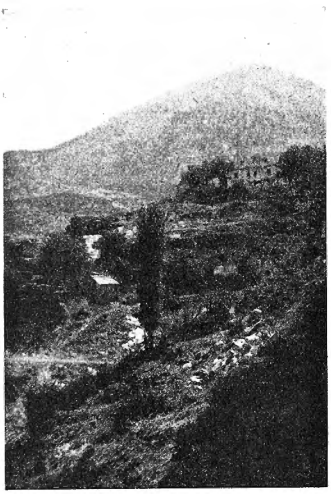


Fig. 908.

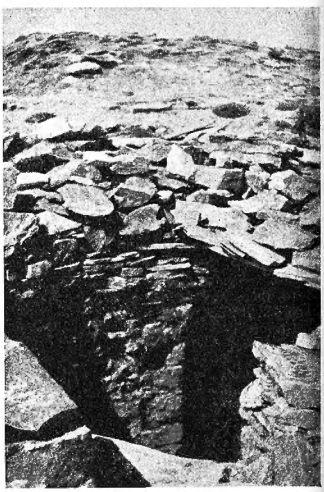


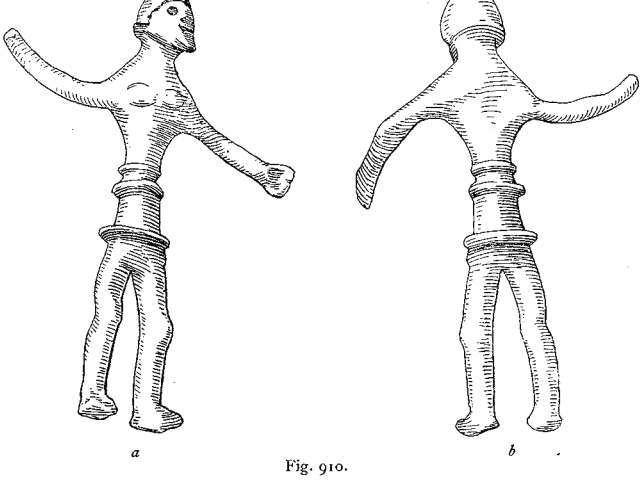
Fig. 909.

ward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1925 xlv. 224, E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1925 xxix. 112). Resuming his search, Pappadakis discovered that the precinct was pentagonal. On the south and south-east the wall had been largely destroyed. The angle-towers also had suffered. They were well built with regular courses of *póros*-blocks. The walls, 3^{m} thick, had two faces of proïsodomous masonry with internal filling, the stones being taken from the Lichades. Minor finds were disappointing—a large marble *phiále* near the north tower, sherds of Graeco-Roman date (none older than *c.* 300 B.C.), etc. Within the precinct stands the Church of St Constantine (*Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 554 f.).

ii. 903 Akarnania. At Stratos the temple of Zeus occupied a commanding hill-top. A. K. Orlandos "Ὁ *ἐν Στράτῳ τῆς Ἀκαρνανίας ναὸς τοῦ Διός*" in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1923 viii. 1—51 with 43 figs. and 2 pls. purports to give the first full account of the building. But it is not free from inexactitudes, and the author seems to have poached unduly upon the preserves of the French School at Athens, which had been at work on the site intermittently ever since 1892. We must therefore rely on the definitive publication by F. Courby—C. Picard *Recherches archéologiques à Stratos d'Acarnanie* Paris 1924 pp. 1—124 with 78 figs. and 19 pls. The temple—possibly not the first on the spot—

was built *c.* 330 B.C. It is a Doric peripteral structure of fine grey limestone with 6 × 11 columns as yet unfluted. *Prónaos* and *opisthódomos* had each two columns *in antis*. Within the *naós* were Ionic columns, ranged round three sides of it, and these may have carried a carved (?) frieze and dentils. The roof was perhaps, but not certainly, hypaethral. A. Joubin in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1893 xvii. 451 f. no. 4 = *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 1 nos. 447 f. published an inscription which proves that at Stratos in *s.* ii B.C. slaves were manumitted by a deed of sale to Zeus: lines 3—5 read (Courby—Picard p. 13) [ἀ]πέδοτο Διονύσιος [Δ]ιορυγίου | Στράτιος τῶι Διὶ ἐπ' [ἐλευθερίαι σῶ]μ[α] | [ἀγ]ορεῖον κ.τ.λ.

ii. 904 Mount Ossa. I am indebted to Dr N. Bachtin for photographs of the mountain and of the chapel on its summit taken by Mrs Bachtin in 1934. Fig. 908 shows Ossa as seen from *Spelia* on the north-west. Fig. 909 gives the entrance into the little chapel of



a *b*

Fig. 910.

Hagios Elias. Steps down lead to a doorway, within which is a round-headed arch. The roof of the chapel forms the actual summit of the mountain. 'People nowadays prefer to worship St Elias lower down in the valley.'

ii. 904 n. 1 Zeus *Laphýstios*. N. I. Giannopoulos in the Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1925—1926 pp. 183—185 figs. 1 *α*, 1 *β* (=my fig. 910 *a*, *b*) publishes a bronze statuette ploughed up in a field among the ruins of Halos, where once stood the sanctuary of Zeus *Laphýstios*. It shows a bearded male figure advancing with right hand raised and left held forward. If, as seems likely, this was meant for Zeus, his right hand must have brandished a thunderbolt, his left may have carried eagle or sceptre (?). Hair projecting like a cap, wedge-shaped beard, mere holes for eyes, incised lines for mouth, triangular chest with two small projections for nipples, double belt above, single belt below—the whole suggesting a date *c.* 700 B.C. Reinach *Rép. Stat.* vi. 164 no. 1.

ii. 905 n. 0. My friend and colleague Mr C. M. Sleeman on Sept. 3, 1926 and again on July 14, 1929 made the ascent of Mt Olympos and secured a series of excellent photographs. These include my pl. lxviii *Mítka*, the highest peak, as seen from the Ridge, fig. 911 the 'Throne of Zeus' from *Mítka* Ridge, fig. 912 *Skolion* from the Brèche, fig. 913 the chapel of St Elias (*supra* i. 103) from the south-west.

ii. 906 Mount Tomaros. E. Polaschek in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* vi A. 1697 f. draws attention to a group of mountain-names found mainly, if not entirely, in the Illyrian area: (1) *Tmor* on the Dalmatian coast, north-west of Ragusa; (2) *Tomori* in northern Epeiros, east of Berat; (3) *Tómaros* or *Tmáros*, the modern Olicika, south-west

of Dodona; (4) *Tmárion* in Arkadia (Hesych. Τμάριον· ὄρος Ἀρκαδίας). Whether these names are of Greek or Illyrian formation is uncertain (H. Krahe *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 58). N. Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* vi. 34 decides for the latter. In either case they would be connectible with the root *tem-* of τέμνω, τομή, etc. and so signify 'sheer-cut' or the like (cp. Τέμπη, Τέμπυρα, Τομεύς, Τόμις). In Greek times such mountains would be the natural habitat of Zeus. That is certain for Mt *Tómaros* or *Tmáros* near Dodona (Claud. *de bello Getico* 16 ff. iactent...Minervam...caeso Tomari Iovis augure luco | arbore praesaga tabulas animasse oquaces, Hesych. Τμάριος· Ζεὺς ἐν Δωδώνῃ), where the priests of the god were called

Fig. 911.

tomoúroi (Strab. 328 ἀπὸ δὲ τοῦ Τομάρου τοὺς ὑπὸ τοῦ ποιητοῦ λεγομένους ὑποφήτας τοῦ Διός, οὓς καὶ ἀνιπτόποδας, χαμαιεύνας καλεῖ, τομούρους φασὶ λεχθῆναι· κ.τ.λ.) or *tómouroi* (*supra* ii. 693 n. 3). It is probable also that Zeus was worshipped on Mt *Tomori* near Berat, to judge from the sacred character of that mountain and from certain cult-usages reported by recent travellers. To attest these curious and little-known facts, I cite three eye-witnesses:

J. Swire *King Zog's Albania* London 1937 p. 250 ff. describes in graphic terms his ascent of 'Tomori's holy summit' and *ib.* p. 253 gives the local legend: 'One August 25 long ago...Abas Ali came from Arabia to Berat; and mounting a great white horse (which has left hoof-marks upon the mountain) he fought the barbarians of the neighbourhood. When he had overcome them he rested for five days on Tomori, then went to dwell on Mount Olympus; but every year he returns on August 25 for five days, when

there come Bektashis—and Christians too—sometimes eight or nine thousand people, to pay him homage. They bring their sheep for food, slaughter them on the summit, then take them down to their bivouacs by the *tekké*. So Tomori is a holy mountain and *për Baba Tomorit* a sacred oath. The shrine was built, so *Baba* Tyrabiu told me, on the site of an antique pagan shrine, so Abas Ali probably inherited his supernatural powers from the pagan god he displaced.' *Id. ib.* p. 280 mentions a sacred cave made by Mahomet with 'passages which may not be defiled by man; and they lead underground...to the top of Tomori and to the *tekké* on the crag above Kruja.'

R. Matthews *Sons of the Eagle* London 1937 p. 273 ff. ('A mountain of Zeus') has

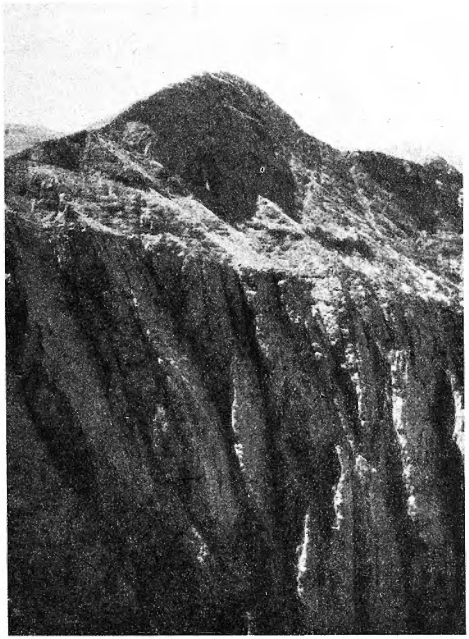


Fig. 912.

much the same tale to tell. He too climbed the mountain under the guidance of a kirijee, who had been up it often before and said: "Last year there had been twelve hundred sheep sacrificed on top, or it might be fifteen hundred. And it didn't do to be disrespectful about these matters either." When asked why the mountain was so holy, he replied: "Many hundreds of years ago...there were two brothers, very holy men, who lived in Arabia. One day they arrived in Albania: no one knows how, some say through the air. The younger of the two set up his house in Berat, where he was highly venerated for his sanctity and became the patron saint of the town. But the elder brother, Ali, was a great warrior. Through all the countryside he rode on his wonderful horse, challenging and conquering the barbarians who lived around. His horse could cover miles at a single bound. You may still see the marks of its hooves on the rocks of Tomori....At last a day came when Ali had overcome all his enemies. So he retired to the summit of Tomori, to

the spot where the shrine stands to-day. For three days he meditated alone there on the fate of his foes and the future of his country, Albania. Then one last time he vaulted into the saddle of his great horse. Through the air it bore him to the top of Mount Olympus, in Greece, and there he lives for ever. But every year, on August 15, the day when he and his brother first arrived in the country, he returns to Tomori's summit. For three days he remains there to receive the homage of his people. And it is because of that and because of his guardianship that Christians and Moslems alike make their pilgrimage every year and for three days offer sacrifices at the shrine." 'Living for ever on Olympus.... Then it was indeed to Zeus, under this so thin disguise, that the people of southern Albania still paid their homage.' *Id. ib.* p. 283 'All I could feel as I halted finally beneath the shadow of the shrine was a sentiment of immense pathos. For hundreds of years, thousands probably, pilgrims had been making their way up the great mountain to sacrifice to Something on the spot where we stood now....Round these few square

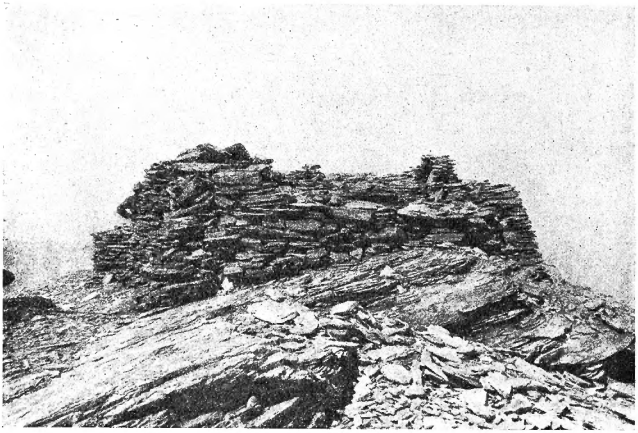


Fig. 913.

yards had centred the reverence of tens of thousands of men peopling a score of centuries. Yet they had left nothing behind to see. Just a sacrificial stone. And four bare walls. Unroofed. Partially breached on one side. The home of Zeus: the Zeus who had never died for the people of this country round. His last home on earth, probably, and he had not wherewith to cover his head. But it was easy to understand, lifting one's face to the strong clean wind that blew out of nowhere, that a god or a saint should have chosen the summit for his residence Beneath, and to the west, the whole land lay stretched out and visible, to the distant silver of the Adriatic, eight thousand feet below; only in the south did the chain of the Acroceraunian mountains cut off the view. To the east, wave beyond wave of peaks, tumbling black in the sunset, conducted the eye to the imagined Serbian frontier. The evening haze had hidden from sight all trace of human habitation but one: a square white monastery, folded in a lonely pineclad valley at our feet on the further side, whose head was the guardian of the sacrifice. We stumbled down another stony path in the failing light.' At the monastery the *baba*, a young and scholarly man, had more to tell (*ib.* p. 284 f.): "You must know...that the shrine isn't Tomori's only claim to veneration. Somewhere on this northern side, they say, is a crag from whose topmost pinnacle there springs an apple tree. I've never been near there myself, I only speak of what I hear, but every one talks about it. For this apple tree's fruits are of more than natural size. But so steep are the precipices that tumble beneath it that not the hardiest climber has yet been able to scale them to pluck one. Now and then, in

the autumn, a windfall will roll down the rocks to the turf below. Peasants who pass at that time of year always look to see if there is one there, for those great apples, they say, have the power of healing all diseases. Even the dying, I have heard men say, can be brought back to life if such a fruit is given them." Mr Matthews ends his narrative by noting the resemblance between Tomori in the north and Tomaros in the south: *ib.* p. 286 'if you go one way up Tomori to-day, you will eventually reach a village, itself called Tomori. Above it is a collection of ruins, so far unexplored, and known locally as Qyteti (the city). And the biggest among them is named by the villagers Dodona.'

Mr Hugh Hunt of the Abbey Theatre, Dublin, made the ascent of Tomori in the spring of 1929 and has kindly furnished me with an account of his experiences: 'In a *tekke* (small monastery) at the foot of Mt Tomori I spent the night. I was on my way from Koritza to Berat...accompanied by an English police officer and an interpreter. We were welcomed by the monks, who were of the Bektashite branch of Mohammedans.... The monks professed great interest in the Christian religion and asked me many questions about the Anglican church, particularly about Saint George, whom they held in great reverence and whose feast day they celebrated. We learnt that on the following day a pilgrimage was to be made to the summit of Mt Tomori, where a sacrifice of a white bull was to take place, and accepted the invitation to join in this festival. On the following day we rose at daybreak and commenced the climb. The full complement of monks were in attendance—some forty in all—and a few servants. The climb was an arduous one and the day was hot. The summit was veiled in clouds—a good omen, the monks told me, for this indicated the presence of ZEFS, to whom this sacrifice was to be dedicated. I became interested, for although my knowledge of Greek mythology is remarkably small I began to see that there must be some connection between this cloud-loving deity and Zeus. But questions proved of little use; the monks appeared as little informed as myself; the ceremony was an annual rite—or perhaps of more frequent occurrence, for I am of the opinion that they informed me that they celebrated St George's day in like fashion, but I cannot be sure of this. We reached the summit—it was late in the day—and there we found a bull, brought up earlier by the villagers, and a fire was already kindled. The killing of this beast was an unpleasant spectacle, and I did not attend very closely, interesting myself in the glimpses of the valley below, which appeared every now and again like pools of water through the cloud rifts. Prayers were offered by the chief monk; and the bull, now happily released from pain, was hoisted on a stout wooden construction and roasted. So far as I remember, it had a garland of bright flowers round its neck; but these were, I believe, put on after its decease. I left earlier than the rest, accompanied by the interpreter and my companion, and regained the village after nightfall. What was the ultimate fate of the bull, I never discovered.'

The foregoing statements appear to involve a threefold blend of Bektashite usage, common folk-belief, and classical reminiscence. On the Bektashi order and its syncretism of Islam with Christianity see G. Jacob *Die Bektaschijje* (*Abh. d. bayer. Akad.* Philos.-philol. Classe xxiv. 3. 2) Munich 1909 pp. 1—53 figs. 1—3, also F. W. Hasluck *Christianity and Islam under the Sultans* Oxford 1929 ii. 869 Index *s.v.* Tomor, Mount (Bektashi *tekke* on, 163^2, 548: Abbas Ali haunts, 93^2, 548, 548^2: gold plant on, 645^2: oath by, 548^2). Folk-belief has provided the magic horse, the underground passages, the apples of immortality, the gold plant. Classical reminiscence will explain the hoof-marks on the mountain, the departure to Olympos, above all the survival of the name *Zeús*. Nevertheless, when due allowance has been made for all these factors, the abiding sanctity of the mountain, the annual pilgrimage to its summit, and the solemn sacrifice of a white bull by the assembled villagers are ample proof that the ancient cult of the sky-god on his holy hill goes on from generation to generation almost untouched by the passing changes of politics and religion.

ii. 906 n. 3 the stone ship of Agamemnon. W. Dörpfeld *Alt-Olympia* Berlin 1935 i. 265 cites as a possible parallel a ship-like foundation of river-worn stones in the *Áltis* at Olympia.

ii. 907 n. 2 Zeus *Ainésios*. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1934 xlix. 163 would see Zeus *Ainésios* on a bronze coin of Kranioi in Kephallenia (*ib.* p. 162 fig. 1, cp. *Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Peloponnesus p. 80 pl. 17, 1 (Poseidon?), *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 439 no. 6683 pl. 228, 12 (Kephalos)).

ii. 910 n. 1. The great temple of Zeus at Akragas is still a battle-ground for the architects. R. Vallois in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1924 xxxvii. 198 criticises the results reached by B. Pace (*supra* ii. 1227). S. R. Pierce 'Il tempio di Giove Olimpico a Girgenti Sicilia' in *Architettura e arti decorative* 1923/1924 iii. 385—391 returns to the charge. P. Marconi

Agrigento. Topografia ed arte Firenze 1929 pp. 1—238 with 162 figs. (especially pp. 57—66 figs. 29—36)—an important work, of which T. Ashby in *The Times Literary Supplement* for May 15, 1930 p. 413 says: 'the excavations conducted some years ago in the vast temple of the Olympian Zeus..., which proved that the *telamones* faced outwards (and not inwards, as Pace and Pierce had believed), are for the first time adequately described.' P. Marconi 'Novità nell' Olimpieion di Agrigento' in *Dedalo* 1932 pp. 165—173 gives 5 figs. of these *telamônes* and a reconstruction. Lastly, W. B. Dinsmoor read a paper, as yet unpublished, on 'The Giants of Agrigento' at the General Meeting of the Archaeological Institute of America, New York 1935 (*Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 126).

ii. 918 n. 1 Zeus *Mêlios*. See the succinct article by gr. Kruse in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xv. 524. C. Bosch of Halle a. S. in the *Numismatisches Literatur-Blatt* 1932 xlix. 257§ f. reviews Kruse's article and tries to discredit this appellative: 'Vaillant und Piovene sind Mionnets Gewährsmänner!...Das Zeugnis aber ist ganz wertlos, denn die Münzen sind bis heute nicht belegt.' Bosch wants to jettison all the early coin-men, Cohen included. That strikes me as hypersceptical.

ii. 918 Mount Kynthos. Three years after the publication of my note the final and authoritative report of A. Plassart *Les sanctuaires et les cultes du Mont Cynthe* Paris 1928 pp. 1—319 with 260 figs. and 6 pls. was issued in *Délos* xi. The sections that chiefly concern me are pp. 51—69 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le culte de Zeus et d'Athèna aux temps archaïques'), 71—92 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna au temps de l'indépendance Délienne (314—166)'), 93—144 ('Sommet du Cynthe. Le sanctuaire de Zeus et d'Athèna sous la seconde domination Athénienne'), 228—255 ('Sanctuaire de l'antre'). Plassart has here and there corrected my statements: *e.g.* on p. 66 n. 2 he regards as arbitrary my assumption that in 'Minoan' times the top of Mt Kynthos was tenanted by the earth-mother (Rhea) as well as by the sky-father (Kronos), and on p. 252 n. 4 he refutes my attempt to find traces in Delos of Rhea's lions. Again, he has succeeded in proving what—in spite of having visited the spot—I had never suspected, *viz.* that the supposed prehistoric cave-temple was in reality only a pseudo-antiquity, an artificial grotto put together in Ptolemaic times for Herakles as ancestor of the Ptolemies!

O. Rubensohn in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 360 ff. adds some points of interest. In pp. 361—367 ('Zur Vorgeschichte des Delischen Kultes') he notes the small prehistoric settlement underneath the sanctuary of Zeus and Athena on the mountain-top as being of early Cycladic date and as probably postulating a cult akin to that of the Cretan Zeus; he connects with the same settlement two large Cycladic graves in the *témenos* of Apollon—the *θήκη* of Opis and Arge (*Délos* v. 63—74 ('Le "Tombeau mycénien"')) and the *σῆμα* of Hyperoche and Laodike (C. Picard—J. Replat in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1924 xlviii. 247 ff.); and he finds a survival of early Helladic worship in the altar of horns and its archaic ritual (*supra* i. 482 n. 1, iii. 1087). In pp. 367—370 ('Zeus Kynthios und Athena Kynthia') he distinguishes an archaic period when the square precinct had only a rock-cut altar in the midst; a third-century reconstruction with stairways, *própylon*, *peribolos*, and two Ionic *oîkoi*; and a later lay-out of three small terraces on the east side, of which the most southerly had an oblong building and a mosaic inscription (*supra* ii. 919 with fig. 829) of doubtful significance, possibly the banquet-hall and lustral centre of some mystic society. In pp. 375—379 ('Das Höhlenheiligtum am Kynthos') he accepts Plassart's dating of the bogus cave, but questions his interpretation of it as a Herakleion. Herakles in Delos was associated with the Kabeiroi (P. Roussel *Délos Colonie athénienne* Paris 1916 p. 232 f.), who had there two distinct sanctuaries, one on the left bank of the Inopos, the other described as *τὸ Καβείρ[ε]ιον τὸ ε[ἰ]ς Κύνθον* (*Inscr. Gr. Deli* ii no. 144, *A* 90) and probably to be identified with the famous cave-temple.

Plassart in *Délos* xi. 265 records two inscriptions to Zeus *Mégistos* (*e.g.* Ἡλιόδωρος Διὶ | Μεγίστῳ | *κατὰ πρόσταγμα* on a block of white marble found with some Roman lamps in the south-west portion of sanctuary C on the northern slope of Mt Kynthos) and justly treats him as a Semitic god.

ii. 922 Mount Atabyrion. R. Herbig in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1928 xliii Arch. Anz. p. 633 f. mentions as a new undertaking the excavation of the sanctuary of Zeus *Atabýrios*. No remains of a temple were found, but a massive *peribolos*-wall (fig. 26) and a building of uncertain use ('Halle für Votive? Monumentaleingang?'). Many dedications of Graeco-Roman date, all to Zeus *Atabýrios*, made monotonous reading. Votive objects included numerous small bulls and zebus in bronze and two fine fragments of bronze statuettes representing the god (fig. 27).

O. Eissfeldt 'Der Gott des Tabor und seine Verbreitung' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 14—41 claims that the name and cult of the Palestinian Tabor spread *viâ* Crete to

Rhodes in the second millennium B.C., and thence in 580 B.C. to Agrigentum and later to the Crimea (*Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 2103 *b* ('Prope Sympheropolin (Akmedschet), haud procul a montibus *Taurorum*') a base inscribed Διὶ Ἀταβυρίωι Ποσίδεος Ποσιδέου χαριστήριον. E. H. Minns *Scythians and Greeks* Cambridge 1913 pp. 463, 476). Eissfeldt further discusses the character of the god, who dwelt on a mountain and had the bull for his symbol, concluding that he was a mountain- and storm-god comparable with Hadad, Rimmon-Ramman, and Tešub, but also capable of taking an interest in human affairs.

ii. 939 n. 1 Mt Juktas as a recumbent face. My friend Mr N. G. L. Hammond supplies me with a good Greek parallel. He writes (Feb. 25, 1931): 'The mountain identified locally with Dione in repose is called Emértsa (Gk. Ἐμέρτσα). The Austrian Staff map 1/200,000 (Korfu sheet 38° 40°) wrongly calls it Nemerčika. The mountain lies on the Albanian frontier north of the headwaters of the Kalamas (in antiquity Thyamis).'

ii. 941 f. n. 0. To the references for the tomb of Zeus add Ptol. Hephaist. *ap.* Phot. *bibl.* p. 147 b 37 ff. Bekker ὡς ὁ ἐν Κρήτῃ τάφος λεγόμενος τοῦ Διὸς Ὀλύμπου τοῦ Κρητός ἐστιν, ὃς παρὰ τοῦ Κρόνου λαβὼν τὸν Δία ἔτρεφέ τε καὶ ἐπαίδευε τὰ θεῖα. ἀλλὰ γὰρ βάλλει (φησίν) ὁ Ζεὺς τὸν τροφέα καὶ διδάσκαλον κεραυνῷ, ὅτι δὴ τοὺς Γίγαντας αὐτοῦ τῇ βασιλείᾳ

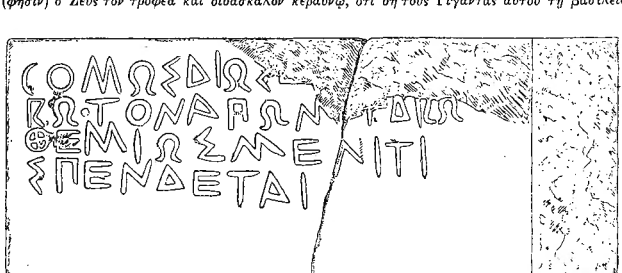


Fig. 914.

ἐπιθέσθαι ὑπετίθετο. ἀλλὰ βαλὼν καὶ νεκρὸν ἔχων μετεμελεῖτο· μὴ ἔχων δ' ἄλλως τὸ πάθος ἐκκλῖναι, δίδωσι τὸ ἴδιον ὄνομα τῷ τάφῳ τοῦ ἀνῃρημένου. Epiphan. *ancor.* 106 (i. 208 Dindorf) καὶ τί μοι τὰ πλήθη λέγειν τοῦ γενναίου τούτου φθορέως καὶ φθορέων διδασκάλου; οὗ τὸ μνῆμα οὐκ ὀλίγοις ἐστὶ δῆλον. ἐν Κρήτῃ γὰρ τῇ νήσῳ ἐν τῷ ὄρει τῷ λεγομένῳ Λασίῳ (? cp. *Lasithi*) ἕως δεῦρο δακτυλοδεικτεῖται.

ii. 946 n. 0 Zeus *Endendros*. F. Hiller von Gaertringen in *Gnomon* 1930 vi. 428 cites *Inscr. Gr. ins.* v. 2 no. 1027 fig. (=my fig. 914) a white marble slab inscribed *βωμὸς Διὸς* Ἐ[νδένδ]ρο, τῶν ἀπὸ Μ[αν]δρο[θέμιος· *μέλιτι σπένδεται.* See further *id.* 'Zeusaltar aus Paros' in the *Sitzungsber. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Berlin* Phil.-hist. Classe 1906 pp. 786—788.

ii. 946 ff. n. 0 Zeus *Velchános*. Attempts to connect *Fελχάνος* with *Volcanus* are still rife: see *e.g.* A. Nehring in Schrader *Reallex.* ii. 239 n. 1, F. Muller Jzn *Altitalisches Wörterbuch* Göttingen 1926 p. 560, Walde—Pokorny *Vergl. Wörterb. d. indogerm. Spr.* i. 321, Margherita Guarducci 'Velchanos—Volcanus' in *Scritti in onore di Bartolomeo Nogara* Città del Vaticano 1937 pp. 184—203 pl. 20, 1—4. But such proposals, however specious, are of very doubtful value.

Prof. J. Vürtheim of Leiden informed me (Feb. 13, 1926) that in a paper communicated to the Royal Academy of Amsterdam and published in December 1924 he had independently reached the same conclusion as Dr Atkinson and myself, *viz.* that *Fελχάνος* means 'god of the Willow-tree.' See J. Vürtheim *Europa* (*Mededeelingen der koninklijke Akademie van Wetenschappen*, Afdeeling Letterkunde Deel 57, Serie A, N° 6) Amsterdam 1924 p. 6 ff.

C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. 0 suggests that a large vase (?) or *rhytón* (?) of enamelled gold, shaped like a cock's head, which is figured among the presents of the Keftiu (Cretans?) in the second register of the tomb-paintings of Rekhmaré (G. A. Hoskins *Travels in Ethiopia* 1835 col. pl. between pp. 330 and 331),

bore to the cult of Zeus *Velchános* the same relation as the lioness-heads of Knossos, Delphoi, and Mykenai (in gold) to that of Rhea. He also cp. a sherd of 1425—1123 B.C. found in the Valley of the Kings by Lord Carnarvon in 1920—21 (*The Journal of Egyptian Archaeology* 1923 ix. 1 ff. pl. 20, 1 wrongly described as the earliest known drawing of the domestic cock in Egypt) and a *genius* (?) with a cock's head on a Cretan intaglio from Mt Ide now in the Museum at Candia.

More about cocks in magic and religion *supra* p. 45 n. 2. Add J. Praetorius *Alectryomantia, Seu Divinatio Magica cum Gallis Gallinaceis peracta*... Francofurti & Lipsiæ 1680 pp. 1—185, C. T. Seltman in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1923—1924; 1924—1925 xxvi. 93 ff. ('Eros and Cocks'), Güntert in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1930/1931 iii. 1325—1346 *s.vv.* 'Hahn,' 'Hahnenbalken,' 'Hahnenei,' 'Hahnenkampf,' 'Hahnenkrähen,' 'Hahnenschlagen,' 'Hahnentanz,' D'Arcy W. Thompson *A Glossary of Greek Birds*[2] Oxford 1936 pp. 33—44.

ii. 951 n. 0 with fig. 844 the Stroganoff bust of Zeus. O. Waldhauer in *Archäologische Mitteilungen aus russischen Sammlungen* Berlin—Leipzig 1928 i. 1. 58 f. no. 41 pl. 23 cp. a fine bronze head from the Uvárov collection, now in the Historical Museum at Moscow (*ib.* fig. 14, S. Reinach *Recueil de têtes antiques idéales ou idéalisées* Paris 1903 p. 194 pl. 239).

ii. 960 n. 0 contact with Mother Earth. W. Kroll 'Unum exuta pedem—ein volkskundlicher Seitensprung' in *Glotta* 1936 xxv. 152—158 questions my view of the Dodonaean rule and discusses alternatives. His list of relevant usages is interesting, but—so far as I can judge—what he calls the 'Antaiosmotiv' remains the most probable explanation.

ii. 961 n. 0. The cult of Hektor at Thebes in Boiotia (Paus. 9. 18. 5) is handled by Miss G. H. Macurdy in the *Class. Quart.* 1926 xx. 179 f. But her contentions (*Héktor* a shortened form of *Echélaos* (cp. *Il.* 5. 473) = *Echelos*, a god of death) are *risquées*.

ii. 962 n. 2 Zeus at Ephesos. Excavations carried on from September to November 1926 under the direction of J. Keil, M. Theuer, and A. Deissmann discovered on the northern slopes of the *Panaghir Dagh* (Mt Peion) a number of rock-cut votive niches and near them a *témenos* of Zeus, *Oreía* (Kybele), and other deities. An altar-shaped rock is inscribed in lettering of *s.* v B.C. Ζανὸς | Πατροίο | ἱερόν, and a relief-inscription of *c.* 300 B.C. reads Ζανὸς ἱερὸν Πατρ|ωίο καὶ Ἀπόλλωνος | Ἀριστώνακτος | τοῦ Κυνιδεω. The site yielded no temple, but many inscriptions together with eight complete and three fragmentary Hellenistic reliefs showing the triad Kybele, Attis, and Zeus, or the pair Kybele and Attis, all bearing the lions symbolic of the goddess (J. Keil in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1926 xxiii. Beiblatt pp. 256—261 with figs. 48 rock-altar, 49—51 reliefs, *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 580, A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1927 xlvii. 260). Keil infers from the repeated absence of Zeus on these reliefs 'dass die Kulttrias, Vater, Mutter und Sohn, nicht ursprünglich ist, dass vielmehr die grosse Mutter zunächst nur den jugendlichen Gott zum Begleiter hatte. Wie die griechischen Ephesier diesen jugendlichen Gott benannten bzw. welchem ihrer Götter sie den altanatolischen Paredros der Bergmutter gleichsetzten [Hermes? Apollon?], bleibt noch zu ermitteln.'

ii. 963 n. 0 Διοπετής. The word is used in a secondary sense 'struck by lightning' in Aristophon *Ἰατρὸς frag.* 2 (*Frag. com. Gr.* iii. 358 Meineke) *ap.* Stob. *flor.* 6. 27 (ed. Gaisford i. 162) *αἱ τῶν ἑταιρῶν γὰρ διοπετεῖς οἰκίαι | γεγόνασιν ἄβατοι τοῖς ἔχουσι μηδὲ ἕν.*

ii. 969 n. 4. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 92 n. 0 doubts the religious intervention of the Eumolpid Timotheos at Alexandreia and at Pessinous.

ii. 970 n. 0 Attis and Gallos. A. H. Sayce in the *Class. Rev.* 1928 xlii. 161 f. quotes *Iskallis* as the Hittite name of Attis, and connects it with the Hittite verb *isgall-*, *iskall-* 'to cut.' Hence *isgallas* and *iskallis* 'eunuch,' which appears in Greek as γάλλος.

ii. 970 n. 0 the finger of Attis. This curious belief may belong to the group of primitive notions studied by R. D. Scott *The Thumb of Knowledge* New York 1930 pp. 1—296 (Finn mac Cumaill, Sigurd, Taliesin, etc.). S. Reinach in the *Rev. Arch.* 1930 ii. 203 comments shrewdly: 'Est-ce le caractère sacré attaché, depuis l'époque quaternaire, à la main de l'homme?... A-t-on déjà songé aux statuettes alexandrines d'Harpocrate, l'enfant divin qui se met les doigts dans la bouche?'

ii. 970 n. 0 Agdistis. T. Zielinski *La Sibylle* Paris 1924 pp. 76—81 distinguishes the Phrygian myth of Agdistis, leading up to the rite of 'autocastration' and subsequent recovery, from its doublet the Greek myth of Attis, leading up to the doctrine of death followed by new life.

ii. 971 n. 2 *Theoì Ágrioi*. O. Weinreich in the *Sitzungsber. d. Heidelb. Akad. d. Wiss.* Phil.-hist. Classe 1913 Abh. v. 15—19 collects all essential references to Θεοὶ Ἄγριοι, Θεοὶ

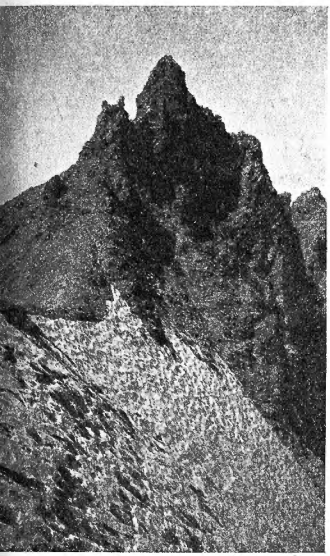
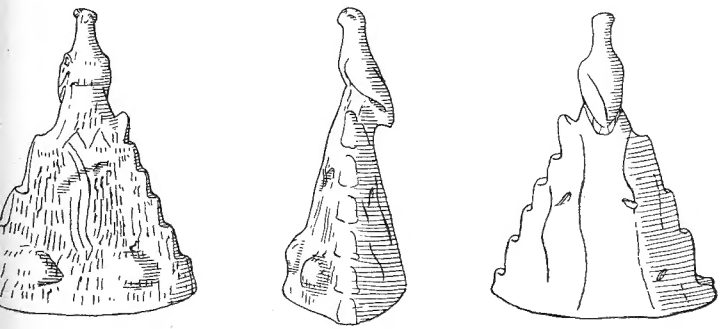


Fig. 915.

Fig. 916.

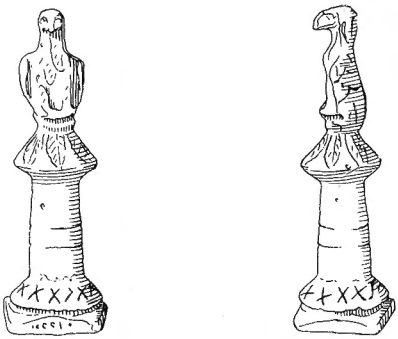


a *b* *c*

Fig. 917.

Ἀγρότεροι, Θεοὶ Ἄγρεῖς and considers their significance. He argues that they were primarily 'Hunters'—*Sondergötter* in Usener's sense (*supra* ii. 13 n. 1)—who were secondarily identified with a variety of greater gods. A similar conclusion, as Weinreich observes, had been reached by L. Malten *Kyrene* (*Philologische Untersuchungen* xx) Berlin 1911 p. 10.

ii. 973 n. 1 life-priests of Zeus *Solymeús*. F. Schehl in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1929 xxiv Beiblatt pp. 95—106 adds another [τὸν] γενόμενον διὰ βίου Διὸς Σολυμέως | [ἱερέα] Τιβέριον Κλαύδιον Ἀρίππαν from an inscription of 140—145 A.D. found at Termessos.



a *b*

Fig. 918.

Fig. 919.

ii. 974 n. 0 festival of Zeus *Eleuthérios*. Other views in J. N. Svoronos 'ΤΕΡΜΗΣΣΟΣ Η ΤΟ ΚΑΠΟΤΣ ΕΧΟΤΣΑ' in the *Journ. Intern. d'Arch. Num.* 1898 i. 181—184.

ii. 977 ff. Mount Argaios. The engineer E. J. Ritter 'Erdjias Dag' in the *Zeitschrift des Deutschen und Österreichischen Alpenvereins* Innsbruck 1931 lxii. 124—148 gives a full account of Mt Argaios (pp. 124—127 (i) 'Vorgeschichte,' 127—133 (ii) 'Der Berg (Lage, Aufbau und Gestalt),' 133—137 (iii) 'Ersteigungsgeschichte,' 137—148 (iv) 'Erlebnisse') with p. 129 'Kartenskizze vom Erdjias Dag,' opposite p. 134 a fine photographic plate of 'Erdjias Dag gesehen von der Seldschukenburg in Kaisserie,' etc., and p. 146 'Zeichnung des Gipfelturmes.' Mr C. M. Sleeman, to whom I am indebted for my knowledge of this article, himself climbed the mountain on Aug. 30, 1936 and took a series of excellent photographs, of which I reproduce two—fig. 915 the rocky summit with the upper part of a snow slope on the northern side, and fig. 916 a rock-pinnacle a little beneath and south-east of the summit with the plain of Everek in the distance.

I take this opportunity of publishing two small bronzes illustrative of the cult on Mt Argaios. They were obtained from a Greek refugee formerly resident in *Kaisereih* and are now in my collection. The one is a tiny model of the mountain with a disproportionately large eagle perched on the top of it (fig. 917: height 2 inches). There is some indication of the *aiguilles* near the summit, also of streams descending from the snows, of a cavern high up in front, of two foothills (? breasts of the mountain-mother), etc. In brief, the coin-type shown *supra* ii. 979 fig. 862 is here rendered in the round. The other little bronze (fig. 918: height 2¼ inches) represents an eagle on a pillar, the top of which is shaped like a cone and decorated with six leaves. The waist has a band round it. The base is patterned with crisscross lines and rests on a square plinth. Akin to these diminutive exvotos is a bronze (height 0·15^{m}) in the Louvre, assigned to the latter half of the second millennium B.C., which figures an eagle perched proudly on the antlers of a stag (*Encyclopédie photographique de l'art* v. 292 fig. C with text by Mlle Rutten).

The coin-type of Tranquillina as Tyche of Kaisareia wearing Mt Argaios as a headdress (*supra* ii. 979 fig. 877) can be paralleled by an engraved serpentine of Roman work *c.* 250 A.D., which has on one side a solar charioteer in his *quadriga*, on the other the veiled head of Kaisareia in profile to the right with Mt Argaios as a crown and the inscription EVTVXI BOKONTI *εὐτύχ(ε)ι Βοκόντι(ε)* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Gems*^{2} p. 179 no. 1663 pl. 22). Another rare coin-type of Kaisareia shows Zeus standing with a *kálathos* on his head and Mt Argaios in his left hand (F. Lenormant in Daremberg—Saglio *Dict. Ant.* iii. 1996 fig. 5140 after Mionnet *Descr. de méd. ant.* iv. 432 no. 178 Alexander Severus ('Sérapis'), *ib.* Suppl. vii. 742 pl. 13, 4 (=my fig. 919)).

ii. 981 n. 1 Mt Kasion in Syria. O. Eissfeldt *Baal Zaphon, Zeus Kasios und der Durchzug der Israeliten durchs Meer* Halle (Saale) 1932 pp. 1—72 with sketch at beginning and map at end, especially p. 30 ff. ('Zeus Kasios')—reviewed by G. Bertram in *Gnomon* 1933 ix. 554 f., by F. Nötscher in the *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* 1933 xl. 140 f., and by A. Wendel in the *Orientalistische Literaturzeitung* 1934 xxxvii. 105 f.—holds that the Semitic Baal Zaphon became by *interpretatio Graeca* Zeus Kasios both in Syria and in Egypt, where his rescue of the Israelites was attributed to Jahwe.

ii. 984 n. 4 Mt Kasion in Egypt. A papyrus at Berlin mentions Zeus *Kásios* in *s.* ii A.D. (*Ägyptische Urkunden aus den Museen zu Berlin* Berlin 1903 iii. 142 no. 827, 2 f. (P. 7150) *τὸ προσκύνημά σου παρὰ τῷ Δι τῷ Κασίῳ*, F. Preisigke *Wörterbuch der griechischen Papyrusurkunden* Berlin 1931 iii. 388).

ii. 987 n. 0 anchor inscribed *Ζεὺς Κάσι(ο)ς Σώζ[ων]*. A 'Campanian' *hydría* from S. Maria di Capua, now at Karlsruhe, represents a scene of departure, in which a young man bids farewell to a woman and is about to step on board his ship. The stern of the vessel has, not only an *ἄφλαστον* adorned with light and dark fillets, but also a *στυλίσκος* set on the steersman's seat and labelled Ⅰ[Ε]ΥΣ ΣΩΤΗΡ (Winnefeld *Vasensamml. Karlsruhe* p. 83 f. no. 350, dated by F. von Duhn in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1888 iii. 229 ff. *c.* 300 B.C., H. Diels 'Das Aphlaston der antiken Schiffe' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 69 fig. 4, L. Deubner in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1927 xlii. 180 ff. fig. 12).

ii. 987 n. 1 Zeus *Hynnareús*. U. von Wilamowitz-Möllendorff *Der Glaube der Hellenen* Berlin 1931 i. 127 n. 3: 'Wer Hesiod mit *Αἰγεῖον* das kretische *Τυνάριον* wiedergeben lässt, traut ihm eine verwunderliche Sprachkenntnis zu.'

ii. 1012 n. 1. Similar tales in C. F. Coxwell *Siberian and other Folk-Tales* London 1933 p. 414 ('Three Sisters') and pp. 540—552 ('The Story of a Wise Maiden').

ii. 1015 n. 8. The Moliones as figured by a Boeotian *fibula* from the Idaean Cave and by a geometric sherd from the Argive Heraion have one body, but two heads, four arms, and four legs (C. Blinkenberg *Fibules grecques et orientales* (*Det Kgl. Danske Videnskabernes Selskab.* Historisk-filologiske Meddelelser xiii. 1) Køpenhavn 1926 p. 163 ff. figs. 197, 198). See also O. Weinreich in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 63 f.

ii. 1017 n. 4 Pegasos as lightning-bearer (?). L. Malten in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl. 155 fig. 63 adduces bronze coins of Termessos with *obv.* head of Zeus, *rev.* forepart of bridled horse galloping with winged thunderbolt behind (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Lycia, etc. p. 269 f. pl. 41, 10, *Hunter Cat. Coins* ii. 523 no. 1).

ii. 1021 Nyx in the Orphic theogony. W. K. C. Guthrie *Orpheus and Greek Religion* Cambridge 1935 p. 103 notes Aristot. *met.* 1071 b 26 f. *οἱ θεολόγοι οἱ ἐκ Νυκτὸς γεννῶντες* and *ib.* 1091 b 4 ff. *οἱ δὲ ποιηταὶ οἱ ἀρχαῖοι ταύτῃ ὁμοίως, ᾗ βασιλεύειν καὶ ἄρχειν φασὶν οὐ τοὺς πρώτους, οἷον Νύκτα καὶ Οὐρανὸν ἢ Χάος ἢ Ὠκεανόν, ἀλλὰ τὸν Δία* with Alex. Aphrod. *ad loc.* (p. 821, 10 ff. Hayduck) *αἰνίττεται δὲ τὸν Ὀρφέα· καὶ οὗτος γάρ φησιν ὅτι τὸ*

ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον ὕστερόν ἐστι τῶν ἄλλων. ἐπεὶ γὰρ τὸ βασιλεῦον καὶ κρατοῦν τῆς τῶν ἁπάντων φύσεώς ἐστι τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ὁ δὲ Ζεὺς βασιλεύει καὶ κρατεῖ, ὁ Ζεὺς ἄρ' ἐστὶ τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον. καὶ ἐπεὶ πρῶτον μὲν κατ' Ὀρφέα τὸ Χάος γέγονεν, εἶθ' ὁ Ὠκεανός, τρίτον Νύξ, τέταρτον ὁ Οὐρανός, εἶτ' ἀθανάτων βασιλεὺς θεῶν ὁ Ζεύς, δῆλον ὅτι καὶ οὗτος

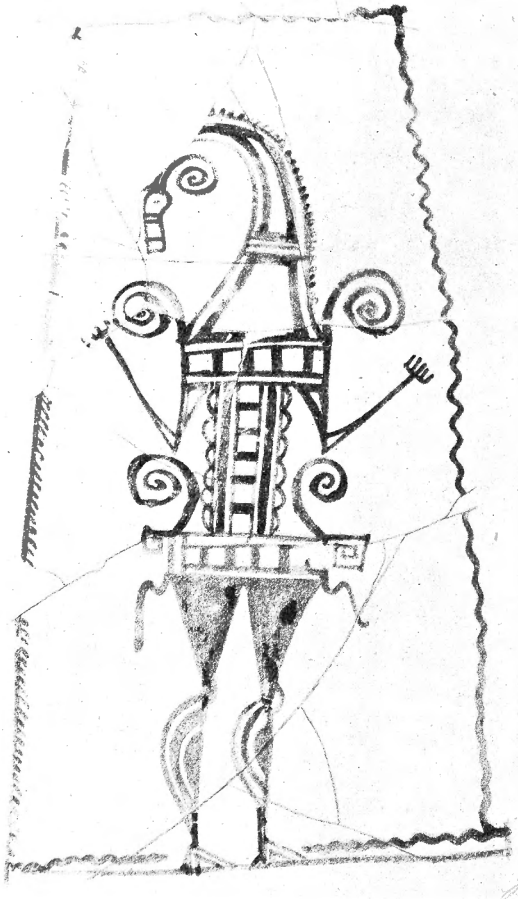


Fig. 920.

τὸν Δία, ταὐτὸν δ' εἰπεῖν τὸ ἀγαθὸν καὶ ἄριστον, ὕστερον νομίζει καὶ τοῦ Χάους καὶ τοῦ Ὠκεανοῦ καὶ τῆς Νυκτὸς καὶ τοῦ Οὐρανοῦ, ἤτοι τοῦ κόσμου.

ii. 1024. On the Mandaeans in general see W. Brandt in J. Hastings *Encyclopædia of Religion and Ethics* Edinburgh 1915 viii. 380ª—393ª. C. H. Kraeling 'The Origin and Antiquity of the Mandeans' in the *Journal of the American Oriental Society* 1929 xlix. 195—218 shows (p. 209) that Mandaean cosmogony 'harks back to the traditions of the Orphic hymns, of Mochos and Sanchuniathon' (summary by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1930 xxxiv. 200).

ii. 1025 *Erikepaîos.* A papyrus of *s.* iii B.C. found at Gurob addresses Ἰρεκεπαῖγε in an Orphic context (J. G. Smyly *Greek Papyri from Gurob* Dublin 1921 (Royal Irish Academy. Cunninghan Memoirs xii) p. 1 ff. no. 1 pl. 1, Orph. *frag. vet.* 31 col. i, 22 Kern [– –]λεῦ (Smyly cj. *βασιλεῦ* or *Εὐβουλεῦ*) Ἰρεκεπαῖγε *σῶισόμ με* | *κ.τ.λ.*, W. K. C. Guthrie *op. cit.* p. 98).

ii. 1027. On 'Zeus Schöpfer' see J. Amann *Die Zeusrede des Ailios Aristeides* Stuttgart 1931 p. 47 ff.

ii. 1033 ff. The Cosmic Egg. R. Eisler *Weltenmantel und Himmelszelt* München 1910 ii. 410 n. 3 (Letts, Finns, Peruvians, etc.), E. Mogk 'Das Ei im Volksbrauch und Volksglauben' in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1915 xxv. 215—223, A. Olivieri 'L' uovo cosmogonico degli Orfici' in the *Atti della Reale Accademia di Archeologia, Lettere e Belle arti* Napoli 1920 vii. 295—334 (reviewed by F. Kiesow in the *Bollettino di Filologia Classica* 1921 xxvii. 169—173), Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1929/1930 ii. 595—644 ('Ei'), especially p. 596 with nn. 11, 12, 13 ('Weltei' etc.), H. C. Baldry 'Embryological Analogies in Pre-Socratic Cosmogony' in the *Class. Quart.* 1932 xxvi. 27 ff.

ii. 1039 *χάος* connected with *χάσκω*. F. Börtzler 'Zu den antiken Chaoskosmogonien' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1930 xxviii. 253—268 discusses the history of the rival ancient etymology from *χύσις, σύγχυσις*, etc.

ii. 1040 the horse-cult in Hispania Tarraconensis. A. Schulten *Numantia* München 1931 ii. 213 pl. 21 (=my fig. 920) publishes a red Iberian vase (*supra* p. 1090) bearing the black-figured design of a horse-headed god with human hands and feet—possibly the actor in some mumming play—and notes (*op. cit.* i. 248) that the Celtiberians worshipped the Celtic horse-goddess Epona.

Recent studies of the horse-cult include P. Maylam *The Hooden Horse, an East Kent Christmas Custom* Canterbury 1909 pp. 1—124 with pls. A—G, G. Ancey 'Le Cheval de Troie' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 i. 378—381, L. Malten 'Das Pferd im Totenglauben' in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1914 xxix. 179—256 with 42 figs., M. Oldfield Howey *The Horse in Magic and Myth* London 1923 pp. 1—238 with 6 pls. and other figs. (popular), Schrader *Reallex.*² ii. 172ᵇ—175ª, L. Curtius in *Die Antike* 1927 iii. 166—170, 184—186, H. M. Hubbell 'Horse Sacrifice in Antiquity' in *Yale Classical Studies* 1928 i. 179—192, Steller in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1935 vi. 1598—1652 ('Pferd'), 1652—1655 ('Pferdefleisch'), 1655 f. ('Pferdefuss'), 1656—1660 ('Pferdeheilige'), 1660 f. ('Pferdehuf'), 1661—1664 ('Pferdejunge'), 1664—1670 ('Pferdekopf'), 1670 f. ('Pferdemahr'), 1671—1675 ('Pferdeopfer'), 1675 f. ('Pferdeschwanz'), 1679 f. ('Pferdestall'), 1680 f. ('Pferdetag'), 1681—1683 ('Pferdeumritte'), 1683 f. ('Pferdeweihe'), Ohrt *ib.* 1676—1679 ('Pferdesegen'), W. Koppers 'Pferdeopfer und Pferdekult der Indogermanen' in the *Wiener Beiträge zur Kulturgeschichte und Linguistik* 1936 iv. 279—411, R. Bleichsteiner 'Rossweihe und Pferderennen im Totenkult der kaukasischen Völker' *ib.* 413—495, A. Slawik 'Kultische Geheimbünde der Japaner und Germanen. Pferd' *ib.* 692—699, R. Lantier 'Chevaux-enseignes celtiques' in the *Rev. Arch.* 1939 i. 236—247 figs. 1—3.

ii. 1044 fig. 893 Helene and Menelaos. See now E. Buschor in Furtwängler—Reichhold *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 307—311 fig. 147 pl. 170, 1. But E. Löwy 'Archäologisch-Philologisches' in *Wiener Studien* 1929 xlvii. 59 f. still (cp. *id.* 'Entstehung einer Sagenversion' *ib.* 1912 xxxiv. 282—287) argues with much force that Aristoph. *Lys.* 155 f. *ὁ γὼν Μενέλαος τὰς Ἑλένας τὰ μᾶλά πα | γυμνὰς παραυδὼν ἐξέβαλ'*, *οἰῶ, τὸ ξίφος* must have had in mind some famous painting by a contemporary Attic artist.

ii. 1046 fig. 896 Eros with thunderbolt and sceptre. Another Roman gem has Eros leaning on a pillar with thunderbolt in right hand and sceptre in left (Furtwängler *Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 43, 55, ii. 209, Lippold *Gemmen* pl. 28, 6 p. 171).

ii. 1048 fig. 906 Eros whipped. Cp. the *genre* scenes in Furtwängler *Geschnitt. Steine Berlin* p. 257 no. 6918 pl. 51=*id. Ant. Gemmen* i pl. 42, 50, ii. 203 and in the Wilson gems (*supra* p. 39 n. 6) no. 5218, where three schoolboys, not Erotes, form a similar group.

ii. 1050 Erotes on early Christian *sarcophagi*. See now G. Rodenwaldt 'Der Klinensarkophag von S. Lorenzo' in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1930 xlv. 116—189 with 59 figs. and pls. 5—7.

ii. 1053 fig. 910 Aion. Other effigies of Aion are given by H. Gressmann in the *Vorträge der Bibliothek Warburg 1923—1924* Leipzig—Berlin 1926 p. 186 pl. 4, 8 and 9. O. Brendel in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1933 xlviii Arch. Anz. pp. 595—599 fig. 8 adds an interesting statue at Castel-Gandolfo, which shows him as a four-winged and four-armed god with leonine head, an eye on his chest, small lion-heads on his belly and on either knee. He is flanked by two snakes, which are not twined round him. At his right foot is a hydra and a horned lion; at his left foot is Kerberos. Altogether, an aggregate of symbols worthy of this syncretistic deity (*supra* p. 914 n. o).

Fig. 921

ii. 1054 ff. Zeus *Ktêsios*. H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 53—74 deals at length with this curious cult. After stating my conclusions (pp. 64—66), he proceeds to develop a rival hypothesis, which is roughly as follows. He starts with a primary piece of magic: the jar containing *παγκαρπία* is charged with *orenda* and serves as a praedeistic means of ensuring perpetual supplies in the storeroom. In course of time come secondary modifications: water and oil are added, and so the whole becomes *ἀμβροσία* and is taken to imply a 'Sondergott' Ktesios ('Der ursprünglich magische Zwangsritus ist zum Opferritus geworden'). Ktesios under the influence of the 'Hausschlange' is conceived as a snake, and is finally identified with an Olympian deity as Zeus *Ktêsios*. Reviews by H. J. Rose in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1932 lii. 149 and in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 181, by A. Momigliano in the *Studi e Materiali di storia delle religioni* 1932 viii. 119, by K. Keyssner in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 6, 1933 pp. 493—497, by C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1934 xlvii. 377 f. and in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1934 cx. 247—249.

W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1934 lix. 43 f. no. 6 (Aigina: archaic) Διὸς Πασίο | [κ]αὶ Σοτῆρο[ς], cp. *Inscr. Gr. Arc. Lac. Mess.* ii no. 62 (*supra* i. 520 n. 2) and W. R. Paton—E. L. Hicks *The Inscriptions of Cos* Oxford 1891 no. 36, *d* 37 and 40 τῶι Πασίωι.

ii. 1059 Donatus as interp. Serv. On this much-debated point see P. Wessner in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* ii A. 1837—1842, H. J. Thomson 'Servius auctus and Donatus' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 205 f., G. B. Waldrop 'Donatus, the Interpreter of Vergil and Terence' in *Harvard Studies in Classical Philology* 1927 xxxviii. 75—142.

ii. 1059 ff. burial in the house. H. J. Rose in the *Class. Quart.* 1930 xxiv. 130 quotes F. von Duhn *Italische Gräberkunde* Heidelberg 1924 i. 36 (Saepinum, *Sepino*) for the only example of an Italian buried in and with his house. In 1930 G. Mylonas found 'Middle Helladic' houses, both rectangular and apsidal, on the southern slope of the *akrópolis* at Eleusis. 'Under the floors of these houses and between the walls were found burials of small children' (E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1931 xxxv. 197. Further details by G. Karo in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1931 xlvi Arch. Anz. p. 231 ff.). But the evidence of such practices is abundant and quite conclusive, as will be admitted by anyone who reads the important articles of G. Wilke 'Wohnungsbestattung' in Ebert *Reallex.* xiv. 443—445 and 'Hausgrab' *ib.* v. 215 f.

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktésios* in Thasos. P. Guillon in the *Rev. Arch.* 1937 i. 195—200 figs. 1 and 2 publishes a boundary-stone from Thasos inscribed *c.* 400 B.C. Διὸς | Κτησί|ο Πα|τρωίο and cp. another from the same locality and of similar date published by G. Mendel in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1900 xxiv. 270 no. 10 [Δι]ὸς | ['Α]γοραίο | Θασίο (summarised by D. M. Robinson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1937 xli. 617).

ii. 1066 Zeus *Ktésios* at Mylasa. A. W. Persson in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1922 xlvi. 398 f. no. 3 a fragmentary inscription mentioning 8 f. [τὸν δεῖνα τοῦ δεῖνος, ἐ][ρέα] Διὸς Κτησίου.

ii. 1068 the jars of Zeus. A Pompeian painting from a house in the *Strada della Fortuna* published by H. Heydemann in the *Bull. d. Inst.* 1868 p. 19 ff. and in the *Arch. Zeit.* 1868 xxvi. 33—35 pl. 4 (=my fig. 921) and reproduced by Reinach *Rép. Peint. Gr. Rom.* p. 9 no. 4 ('Jupiter consulte le sort') shows the god seated with one of the Fates holding lots (?) and Nike bearing a palm-branch behind him. He has a long sceptre in his left hand and extends the right, with the lot that he has drawn or is about to draw, over a jar set on the ground at his feet. This painting deteriorated so fast on exposure to the air that a month after its discovery a thunderbolt, originally painted beside the jar in front of the god's right foot, had completely vanished. Heydemann would connect the whole scene with a picture of Herakles and the snakes painted vertically beneath it on the same wall.

A relief dating from *s.* iii B.C. and found at Athens in the sanctuary of Artemis *Kallíste* represents a man and his wife invoking the goddess, who with a large torch held in both hands stands behind her altar and in front of two big jars set on the ground (A. Philadelpheus in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1927 li. 158 no. 1 pl. 8. P. Roussel *ib.* pp. 164—169 'Remarques sur le bas-relief de Kallistè' traces the significance of the jars and cites the Homeric parallel. E. H. Heffner summarises both papers in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1928 xxxii. 360).

ii. 1069 f. Zeus *Agamémnon.* I. Harrie 'Zeus Agamemnon in Sparta' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 359—369 explains this cult as a case of Hellenistic divinisation ('die Apotheose wird nicht als der Kult einer wirklichen Gottheit betrachtet, es haftet ihr ein Beigeschmack von serviler Schmeichelei an; diese Spartiaten, die den Agamemnon zum Götterkönig ausrufen, atmen alexandrinische Hofluft') and seeks to account for its attribution to Sparta by assuming a learned revival of the early lyrical version which connected Agamemnon with Lakedaimon and Amyklai (K. Wernicke in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* i. 724).

ii. 1070 ff. Zeus *Amphiáraos.* B. Leonardos ''Αμφιαρείου' in the 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1917 pp. 239—242, ''Αμφιάρειον' *ib.* 1918 pp. 110—113, 1919 pp. 99—102, 1922 pp. 101—111, 1923 pp. 166—169 reports on his excavations at the Amphiareion near Oropos over a series of seven successive years. *Id.* ''Αμφιαρείου ἐπιγραφαί' in the 'Εφ. 'Αρχ. 1885 pp. 93 ff., 153 ff., 1886 p. 53 ff., 1889 p. 1 ff., 1891 p. 71 ff., 1892 p. 33 ff., in the 'Αρχ. 'Εφ. 1917 pp. 39 ff., 231 ff., 1918 p. 73 ff., 1919 p. 54 ff., 1923 p. 36 ff., 1925—1926 p. 9 ff. collects 160 inscriptions from the site.

ii. 1072 Zeus *amphithalés.* A. Oepke ''Αμφιθαλεῖς im griechischen und hellenistischen Kult' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1934 xxxi. 42—56 deals *in primis* with the young acolytes in the Bacchic inscription found near Torre Nova (A. Vogliano in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 215 ff., F. Cumont *ib.* p. 232 ff., with abstract by C. Alexander *ib.* p. 264 ff.)

and stresses the importance of *pueri ingenui patrimi et matrimi* in a variety of ancient cults, mystic and otherwise.

ii. 1073 ff. Zeus *Trophónios*. F. Peeters 'À propos de l'oracle de Trophonios. i. Les onctions d'huile et le bain dans l'Hercyna' in *Le Musée Belge* 1929 xxxiii. 27—32 (the anointing with oil before the bath (Paus. 9. 39. 5—7) was not a religious rite, but a practical precaution against cold).

ii. 1075 Demeter *Erinýs*. A. H. Krappe ''ΕΡΙΝΤΣ' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1932 lxxxi. 305—320 ('die Erinyen sind die rossgestaltigen Zwillingstöchter des Herrn der Erdentiefe und einer alten Fruchtbarkeitsgottheit, einer frühgriechischen "Mutter Erde," beide gleichfalls rossgestaltig.... Nach einer gleichfalls alten Parallelüberlieferung ist nur eines der Zwillingskinder weiblichen Geschlechts; das andere ist ein Hengst...').

ii. 1077 f. Zeus *Asklepiós*. Cp. Galen. *περὶ ἀνατομικῶν ἐγχειρήσεων* 1. 2 (ii. 224 f. Kühn) *ἐγὼ δὲ ἐν τῇ πατρίδι κατ' ἐκεῖνον ἔτι διέτριβον τὸν χρόνον, ὑπὸ Σατύρῳ παιδευόμενος, ἔτος ἤδη τέταρτον ἐπιδημοῦντι τῇ Περγάμῳ μετὰ Κουστουνίου Ῥουφίνου, κατασκευάζοντος ἡμῖν τὸν νεὼν τοῦ Διὸς Ἀσκληπιοῦ* (where Kühn prints the erroneous translation 'divi Aesculapii templum').

Fig. 922.

ii. 1082 metopes from the temple of Asklepios. But K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli. 83 f. infers from their lack of an upper border, from their exact height, and from other indications that these are votive reliefs, not metopes at all.

ii. 1082 ff. *Asklepiós* and the Snake. An echo of Asklepios' snake at Epidauros may be heard in the legend of St Hilarion (Oct. 21), who at Epidaurum or Epidaurus (*Ragusa vecchia*) in southern Dalmatia burnt a huge snake, of the sort called *boa* because they can swallow an ox (S. Baring-Gould *The Lives of the Saints* Edinburgh 1914 xii. 516 f.). The story is told by Hieron. *v. S. Hilar. eremit.* 39 (xxiii. 50 B—C Migne).

On *Alexandros or the Sham Seer* see also A. D. Nock 'Alexander of Abonuteichos' in the *Class. Quart.* 1928 xxii. 160—162.

Comparable with the coin-types of Glykon is the snake that appears on bronze pieces issued by Caracalla at Pautalia in Thrace. This monster rises erect on quadruple coils with the tail of a fish and a radiate *nimbus* (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 144 f. nos. 30—32, *McClean Cat. Coins* ii. 195 no. 4525 pl. 170, 2) or wreath (*ib.* ii. 196 no. 4526) round his head. A specimen issued by Geta gives him a lion's head (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* The Tauric Chersonese, etc. p. 146 no. 46). Other bronze coins of Pautalia struck by Caracalla show Asklepios with his serpent-staff borne through the air by a winged and bearded snake (*ib.* p. 145 no. 34 fig.). And the same type occurs, under Severus Alexander, at Nikaia in Bithynia (Waddington—Babelon—Reinach *Monn. gr. d'As. Min.* i. 474 no. 597 (wrongly described as holding a mask in his right hand) pl. 82, 24. Fig. 922 is from a coin of mine).

ii. 1087. One more effort to find a satisfactory etymology for *Asklepiós* is that of D. Detscev, who in the *Bulletin de l'Institut Archéologique Bulgare* 1925 iii. 131—164 derives the name from a Thracian stem **áσι-* 'snake' and *-κλαπιός, καλαπιός* cognate with the Thracian place-name *κλητι-δάνα* (connected with **glapi* and **apio* 'to bend'). On which showing *Asklepiós* might mean 'he who moves with serpent coils.' Further summary of these very rash speculations is supplied by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1926 xxx. 207 f.

ii. 1089 ff. Telesphoros. G. Seure in the *Rev. Arch.* 1926 ii. 161 ff. no. 276 fig. 117, A publishes a Thracian statuette of Asklepios, with Telesphoros beside him, now in the Museum at Plovdiv. Other examples of the hooded type are fairly numerous: they occur *e.g.* in bronze at Amiens (Reinach *Rép. Stat.* iii. 13 no. 2), Avignon (ii. 470 no. 5), Djemila (ii. 470 no. 6), Florence (v. 223 no. 6), Nona in Dalmatia (iii. 22 no. 4 f.), Paris

(ii. 470 no. 4), Trèves (iv. 293 no. 3), Troyes (ii. 470 no. 2), in marble at Mantineia (ii. 469 no. 11), Munich (vi. 110 no. 1), in stone at Nîmes (vi. 110 no. 2), and even in amber at Oedenburg (iv. 293 no. 6). The type is further discussed by J. Schmidt in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* v. 315 ff., H. Herter *De Priapo* Giessen 1932 p. 193 ('Priapus agricolarum potius exemplo hoc vestimenti genere uti videtur'), R. Egger 'Genius Cucullatus' in the *Wiener prähistorische Zeitschrift* 1932 xix. 311—323 (two altars inscribed *Genio Cucullato* in a small Celtic temple at Wabelsdorf in Carinthia: this deity, worshipped throughout the Romano-Celtic area, was introduced into Greece by the Galatians from Asia Minor, and under the Greek name Telesphoros travelled far and wide during the early centuries of our era), K. Kerényi 'Telesphoros' in *Egyetemes Philologiai Koezloeny* Budapest 1933 lvii. 7—11 (the cult of Telesphoros was essentially Graeco-Roman), F. J. de Waele in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1933 xxxvii. 446 n. 2 (two figurines from Corinth 'may represent a similar small divinity, a predecessor of Telesphoros, as Euamerion...in Titane (Paus. II, 11, 7)'), F. M. Heichelheim 'Genii Cucullati' in *Archaeologia Aeliana* Fourth Series xii. 187—194 ('among the Celts of the Danube region, Gaul, and Britain, native deities who wore the *cucullus* were assimilated not only to the Roman *genius* and the eastern Telesphorus...but also to the Cabiri....A survival of the *genii cucullati* in the similar representations of dwarfs, hobgoblins, and the like, in the post-Roman period...does not seem unlikely').

ii. 1089 *Grabphalli*. Paus. 8. 34. 2 (near Megalopolis) *γῆς χῶμα...ἐπίθημα ἔχον λίθου πεποιημένον δάκτυλον, καὶ δὴ καὶ ὄνομα τῷ χώματί ἐστι Δακτύλου μνῆμα* is interpreted by C. Belger in the *Berl. philol. Woch.* Mai 14, 1892 p. 640 as a *phallós*. But see the facts collected by Frazer *Pausanias* iv. 354—357.

ii. 1090 Zeus *Hórios*. On Zeus Ὅριος see also H. J. W. Tillyard in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1904—1905 xi. 65, S. Eitrem *Beiträge zur griechischen Religionsgeschichte* Kristiania 1920 iii. 33, and E. Fehrle in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 648. It must be borne in mind that Zeus Ὅριος was not merely the Greek rendering of Iupiter *Terminus* or *Terminalis*, but also a genuine Hellenic deity, the natural protector of boundaries. Plat. *legg.* 842 E *Διὸς ὁρίου μὲν πρῶτος νόμος ὅδε εἰρήσθω· μὴ κινείτω γῆς ὅρια μηδεὶς κ.τ.λ.* implies the sanction of long-standing usage. The calendar of the Attic *tetrápolis* found at *Koukounari*, which dates from the earlier part of *s.* iv B.C., prescribes for Skirophorion the sacrifice of a sheep to Zeus Ὅριος (R. B. Richardson in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1895 x. 209 ff. col. I, II = J. de Prott *Leges Graecorum Sacrae* Lipsiae 1896 Fasti sacri p. 46 ff. no. 26, A II [*τάδε ὁ ἄρχων θύ*?]*ει· Διὶ Ὁρίωι οἷς Δ*++). And the northern boundary of the Thracian Chersonesos was marked by an inscribed altar of the same god ([Dem.] *de Halonnes*. 39 f. *καίτοι Χερρονήσου οἱ ὅροι εἰσίν, οὐκ Ἀγορά, ἀλλὰ βωμὸς τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὁρίου, ὃς ἐστι μεταξὺ Πτελεοῦ καὶ Λευκῆς Ἀκτῆς, ᾗ ἡ διορυχὴ ἔμελλε Χερρονήσου ἔσεσθαι, ὡς γε τὸ ἐπίγραμμα τὸ ἐπὶ τοῦ βωμοῦ τοῦ Διὸς τοῦ Ὁρίου δηλοῖ. ἔστι δὲ τουτί· τόνδε καθιδρύσαντο θεῷ περικαλλέα βωμὸν | Λευκῆς καὶ Πτελεοῦ μέσσον ὅρον θέμενοι | ἐναέται, χώρης σημήϊον· ἀμμορίης δὲ | αὐτὸς ἄναξ μακάρων ἐστὶ μέσος Κρονίδης* (J. H. Vince translates 'Zeus is Warden of our No Man's Land.' F. Blass had cj. *μοίρης σημήϊον ἀμμορίης τε* on the strength of *Od.* 20. 75 f.)). Hence Schöll—Studemund *anecd.* i. 265 Ἐπίθετα Διός... 71 *ὁρίου, ib.* i. 266 Ἐπίθετα Διός... 66 *ὁρίου*. Cp. a dedication of the Abderites to Hadrian as Τραιανῷ Ἀδριανῷ | Σεβαστῷ Ζηνὶ Ἐφορίω (G. Bakalakis in Θρακικά 1937 viii. 29 = *Rev. Arch.* 1937 ii. 386 no. 170).

ii. 1091 ff. Zeus *Meilichios*. Short studies of this cult in H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Meilichios') and M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (E Symbolis Philologicis O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) Upsaliae 1932 pp. 224—227. G. Blum 'Μειλίχιος' in *Le Musée Belge* 1913 xvii. 313—320 held that the appellative meant '"maître des abeilles," c'est-à-dire des âmes' (A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 423 n. 4): cp. *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1895 xv. 19.

ii. 1095 *κύρβεις*. M. Guarducci '"Axones" e "kyrbeis"' in the *Rendiconti della Pontificia Accademia romana di Archeologia* 1929—1931 vii. 101—107 distinguishes *ἄξονες*, three or, more probably, four tables of wood set at an angle to each other and revolving on a common axle, from *κύρβεις*, prismatic or pyramidal blocks of stone tapering towards the top but not made to move: both forms of monument were inscribed *boustrophedón*. She publishes the limestone fragment of a law-*κύρβις* from *Prinias* (Rhizenia?) and compares with it the inscribed tapering stone from Dreros (Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 23, F. Blass in Collitz—Bechtel *Gr. Dial.-Inschr.* iii. 2. 239 ff. no. 4952, Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 527) and a similar inscription on a block of red trachyte from Chios (U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff *Nordionische Steine* (*Abh. d. berl. Akad. 1909* Phil.-hist. Classe ii. 64 ff. pl. 2 no. 25), E. Schwyzer *Dialectorum Graecarum exempla epigraphica potiora* Lipsiae 1923 p. 337 f. no. 687, M. N. Tod *A selection of Greek*

historical inscriptions to the end of the fifth century B.C. Oxford 1933 p. 1 ff. no. 1). See now M. Guarducci in *Inscr. Cret.* i. 84 ff. Dreros no. 1, 297 f. Rhizenia? no. 7. Note also the pillar of Poseidon, made of brass and inscribed with the laws, in the island of Atlantis (Plat. *Kritias* 119 c ff.). L. B. Holland 'Axones' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 302 (unpublished).

ii. 1099 n. 2 the altar of Zeus *Litaîos* on coins of Nikaia. On these coins see now C. T. Seltman in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1926 lvii. 556 (report of a paper read to the Cambridge Philological Society, Nov. 25, 1926).

ii. 1101 Zeus *Xénios*. J. Vürtheim *Aischylos' Schutzflehende* Amsterdam 1928 pp. 6—8 ('Zeus Xenios'), O. Weinreich *s.v.* 'Xenios' in Roscher *Lex. Myth.* vi. 522—525 (a careful and comprehensive collection of *data*).

ii. 1102 n. 4 *Arántides*. H. Krahe 'Zu makedonisch ΑΡΑΝΤΙΣΙΝ · ΕΡΙΝΤΣΙ' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1933 xxx. 393—395 regards the name as Illyrian.

ii. 1103. F. N. Pryce in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1936 lvi. 77 f. pl. 5 publishes a small Attic bell-*krater*, said to have been found at Corinth and now in the collection of Mr E. Armytage, which appears to show Theseus waiting at the altar of Zeus *Meilíchios* to be purified of blood-guiltiness, cp. Bakchyl. 17. 46 ff.

ii. 1103 n. 7 Zeus *Sykásios*. H. Vorwahl 'Zum Ursprung des "Feigenblatts"' in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1930 lxxix. 319 f. rightly concludes: 'So ergibt die philologische Untersuchung eine Bestätigung der psychoanalytischen Bemerkung, dass das Feigenblatt nicht das Symbol der Keuschheit, sondern der bewusst gewordenen Sexualität sei.'

ii. 1105 Zeus *Meilíchios* enthroned. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 3 cites a votive relief in the Museum at Corfu (inv. no. 352), which represents Zeus seated to the right on a rock with a sceptre in his left hand, a *phiale* in his right. On either side of him two snakes advance, raising their heads. Before him are traces of a small female votary with uplifted arm. The relief is inscribed in letters of *s.* iii or earlier Ἠγησὼ Διὶ Μειλιχίωι.

ii. 1114 Zeus *Meilíchios* associated with Helios. S. G. Paraskeuaïdes in the Ἀρχ. Ἐφ. 1932 ἀρχ. χρον. p. 12 f. no. 1 fig. 1 publishes a grey marble slab from Mytilene bearing a manumission of *c.* 200 B.C. Τεῖμις Εὐκτιμένηα | ἀφείει ἐλευθέραν | Πέλεαν ὑπὸ Δία καὶ | Ἄλιον, ἀνένκλητόν | μοι γενομέναν, | ἐπεί κε τὸν βίον ἐγλίπη. ‖ Τεῖμις Εὐκτιμένηα | ἀφείει ἐλευθέραν | ἐλευθέραν | ὑπὸ Δία καὶ Ἄλιον. He quotes other manumissions ὑπὸ Δία Γᾶν Ἥλιον (Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 1212 with n. 2, *supra* ii. 729 n. 0) and ὑπὸ Δία Ἥλιον (K. A. Rhomaios in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1924—1925 ix *παράρτ.* 5 Thermos).

ii. 1115 Zeus *Meilíchios* at Sounion. In the fortress outside the temple at Sounion G. P. Oikonomos in 1924 found 'a votive stele to Zeus Meilichios, with two snakes displayed symmetrically' (A. M. Woodward in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1924 xliv. 274, cp. G. Welter in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1925 xl Arch. Anz. p. 314).

ii. 1124 n. 0 a goblet inscribed ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ. Such *γραμματικὰ ἐκπώματα* have been listed and discussed by C. Picard 'À propos de deux coupes du Vatican et d'un fragment du Musée Kircher' in the *Mélanges d'archéologie et d'histoire* (École Française de Rome) 1910 xxx. 99—116 pls. 2 and 3 and *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1913 ii. 174—178 ('ΓΡΑΜΜΑΤΙΚΑ ΕΚΠΩΜΑΤΑ'). He enumerates sixteen specimens, of which no. 7 is a *stámnos* from Fasano with a painted inscription ΔΙΟΣ ΣΩΤΗΡΟΣ (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Vases* iv. 226 no. F 548), no. 15 a *kýlix* of black Attic ware from Pantikapaion incised [*ἄμ*]*φωτις Διὸς Σωτῆρ*[*os*] (B. Pharmakowsky in the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1910 xxv Arch. Anz. p. 209 f.), no. 16 fig. 5 a fragment of a black-glazed *kántharos* from the Peiraieus lettered in orange-red paint [ΔΙΟΣ] ΣΩΤΗ[ΡΟΣ]. See further C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 105—107.

ii. 1132 the soul of the divine king escaped as a bird. A. H. Krappe in the *Rhein. Mus.* 1928 lxxvii. 184 cites an Iranian tale from F. Spiegel *Erânische Alterthumskunde* Leipzig 1873 ii. 43: 'So hören wir (Yt. 19, 34) dass sich die königliche Majestät in Gestalt eines Vogels von Yima entfernte, als derselbe anfing lügnerische Worte zu sprechen; immerhin wird man gedacht haben dass die Majestät auf ein anderes Glied der königlichen Familie überging.'

ii. 1132 n. 4 the sceptre of Zeus. Cp. Hes. *cat. frag.* 123 Kinkel, 103 Rzach, *ap.* Plat. *Min.* 320 D (Minos) *ὃς βασιλεύτατος ἔσκε καταθνητῶν βασιλήων | καὶ πλείστων ἤνασσε περικτιόνων ἀνθρώπων | Ζηνὸς ἔχων σκῆπτρον· τῷ καὶ πολέων βασίλευεν.*

ii. 1132 n. 6. On sceptre-worship see also M. Cary—A. D. Nock 'Magic spears' in the *Class. Quart.* 1927 xxi. 123 n. 5.

ii. 1135 the central slab from the eastern frieze of the Parthenon (pl. xliv). One or two fresh facts and fancies must be recorded. W. R. Lethaby 'The Central Part of the

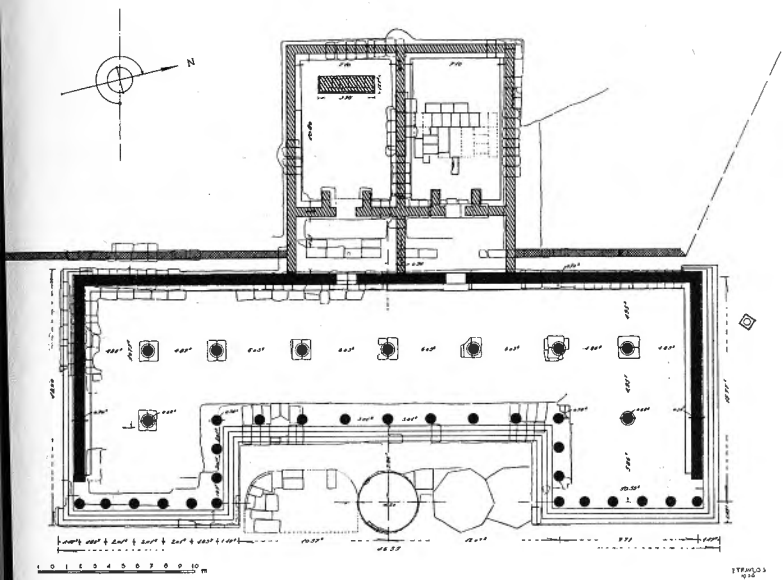


Fig. 923.

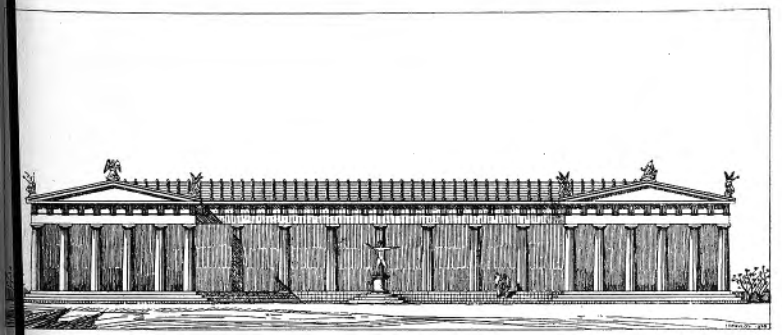


Fig. 924.

Eastern Frieze of the Parthenon' in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1929 xlix. 7—13 figs. 1—6 (summarised by E. H. Heffner in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1929 xxxiii. 555 f.) observes that exquisite sepia-drawings made in all probability by William Pars in 1765—6 and now in the Elgin Collection at the British Museum bring out sundry details no longer distinct (heads of Athena and Hephaistos, etc.). 'The central group is divided off from the rest of the frieze right and left by intervals of space down through which, on either hand, a slightly scored line may be traced. It is probable, I think, that these lines defined a difference of colour in the background which showed that the central action was on a different plane from the rest, that is, in the interior of the Temple.'

Lily Ross Taylor 'Seats and Peplos on the Parthenon Frieze' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1936 xl. 121 and *ead.* 'A *Sellisternium* on the Parthenon Frieze' in *Quantulacumque: Studies Presented to Kirsopp Lake* London 1937 pp. 253—264 figs. 1—7 suggests that the *péplos* was intended, not as clothing for the *xóanon* of Athena, but as drapery to be placed over the chair of one of the gods.

ii. 1135 n. 4. N. Valmin 'Die Zeus-Stoa in der Agora von Athen' in the *K. Humanistika Vetenskapssamfundets i Lund Årsberättelse* 1933—1934 i (*Bulletin de la Société Royale des Lettres de Lund* 1933—1934 i) Lund 1934 pp. 1—7 with fig. 1 ('Skizzenplan') rightly located the *Stoà Basíleios* and identified it with the *Stoá* of 'Zeus Soter-Eleutherios.' O. Walter 'Zeus- und Königshalle der Athener Agora' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst.* 1936 xxx Beiblatt pp. 95—100 maintains that the *Stoà Basíleios* (*c.* 500 B.C.) was distinct from the *Stoá* of Zeus *Eleuthérios* (shortly before 400 B.C.). But that is not the view taken by the American excavators of the *Agorá* (*Hesperia* 1937 vi. 225 f.). Thanks to their highly successful researches it is now possible to assert with some confidence that the *Stoà Basíleios* was identical with the *Stoá* of Zeus *Eleuthérios*, and to get some idea of its history and appearance. See the definitive account of the building contributed by H. A. Thompson to *Hesperia* 1937 vi. 5—77 ('Stoa of Zeus Eleutherios') with pl. 1 groundplan, actual state, pl. 2 groundplan, restored, and 39 figs. By the courtesy of Mr Thompson I am able to reproduce both the restored plan (pl. 2 = my fig. 923) and the restored elevation (fig. 34 = my fig. 924) of this important structure. It seems probable that certain earlier remains found beneath the *Stoá* (rectangular base of *pýtos* with neighbouring altar) belonged to a sanctuary of Zeus *Sotér* or *Eleuthérios* (schol. Aristoph. *Plout.* 1175 *ἐν ἄστει Διὰ Σωτῆρα τιμῶσιν, ἔνθα καὶ Σωτῆρος Διός ἐστιν ἱερόν· τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ ἔνιοι καὶ Ἐλευθέριόν φασι*), who owed his second title to the deliverance from Persia that he had wrought (Harpokr. *s.v.* Ἐλευθέριος Ζεύς· Ὑπερείδης (*frag.* 25 p. 279 a 32 ff. Sauppe) "*τῷ μὲν τοίνυν Διί, ὦ ἄνδρες δικασταί, ἡ ἐπωνυμία γέγονε τοῦ Ἐλευθέριον προσαγορεύεσθαι διὰ τὸ τοὺς ἐξελευθέρους τὴν στοὰν οἰκοδομῆσαι τὴν πλησίον αὐτοῦ.*" *ὁ δὲ Διόδυμός φησιν ἁμαρτάνειν τὸν ῥήτορα· ἐκλήθη γὰρ Ἐλευθέριος διὰ τὸ τῶν Μηδικῶν ἀπαλλαγῆναι τοὺς Ἀθηναίους. ὅτι δὲ ἐπιγέγραπται μὲν Σωτήρ, ὀνομάζεται δὲ καὶ Ἐλευθέριος, δηλοῖ καὶ Μέναν*δρος, cp. *et. mag.* p. 329, 44 ff.). The pre-Persic statue of the god presumably perished in the sack of 480/479 B.C. and was later replaced by another statue bearing the appellation *Eleuthérios*. When the *Stoá* was designed, *c.* 430 B.C., room was left in front of it for the famous figure on a large circular base. The building, which was virtually completed by 409/8 B.C. (*Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 115, 7 f. [*πρόσθεν τ*]*ε*[*ς*] *Στο*[*ᾶς τῆς Βασιλείας*), was a Doric colonnade with a *façade* of seven columns and two wings of six by four columns—an arrangement perhaps suggested by that of Mnesikles' Propylaia. On the back-wall were paintings of the Twelve Gods (Paus. 1. 3. 3); on 'the wall beyond,' probably the south wall, paintings of Theseus and Demokratia and Demos (Paus. *ib.*); also, presumably on the north wall, a painting of the battle fought at Mantineia by the Athenians sent to help the Lacedaemonians (Paus. 1. 3. 4). The paintings were by Euphranor (Val. Max. 8. 11. ext. 5, Plin. *nat. hist.* 35. 129, Plout. *de glor. Ath.* 2, Loukian. *imagg.* 7, Paus. 1. 3. 4, Eustath. *in Il.* p. 145, 10 ff.). The tiled roof had two *akrotéria* in terra cotta, which represented Theseus hurling Skiron into the sea and Hemera carrying Kephalos (Paus. 1. 3. 1), perhaps a relic of the official quarters assigned to the *basileús* before the Persian invasion (see, however, the suggestions of C. Picard in the *Rev. Arch.* 1938 ii. 95 f.). An annex of two large rooms was built behind the *Stoá* in *s.* i A.D. to secure greater privacy for the court of the *basileús* and for occasional meetings of the council of the Areopagites (cp. Dem. *in Aristog.* 1. 23).

ii. 1137 n. 0 the *basileús* about to wear Athena's *péplos* (?). Cp. Diod. 1. 14 (each of the gods honoured Herakles with special gifts) *Ἀθηνᾶ μὲν πέπλῳ, Ἥφαιστος δὲ ῥοπάλῳ καὶ θώρακι.* For interchange of clothing see further W. R. Halliday *The Greek Questions of Plutarch* Oxford 1928 p. 216 ff.

ii. 1143. K. A. Neugebauer in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1922 xxxvii Arch. Anz. p. 76 no. 25 records the acquisition by the Berlin Antiquarium (inv. no. 30021,

photo 3440) of a small bronze snake (0·187^{m} long) with raised head and inlaid pupils. Its back is inscribed in archaic lettering ΙΑΡΟΣΕΜΙΤΟΜΕΛΛΙΨΙΟΤΟ-ΤΤΕΛΑΝΑΙ (*ἱαρὸς ἐμὶ τῶ Μελλιχίο τῶ Πελάναι*). This was purchased at Paris in 1911 as coming from the Peloponnese, and A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 424 n. 4 states that in 1916 he saw near the find-spot (Pellana in Achaia) a second small bronze snake, but uninscribed, which was said to have been found at the same time.

ii. 1146 n. 0 pyramidal tombs for horses at Agrigentum. C. M. Firth and J. E. Quibell found at Saqqara two mummies of horses, dating from the reign of Ramses ii (*Comptes rendus de l'Acad. des inscr. et belles-lettres* 1926 p. 205 f.). But on Greek pyramidal structures see now the important paper of L. E. Lord in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 78—84.

ii. 1150 tomb-ceiling as mimic sky. Sir A. J. Evans in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 26, 1931 p. 485 ff. publishes a temple-tomb close to the palace at Knossos. The rock-cut sepulchral chamber had a central pillar, and 'the rock ceiling—squares of which were visible between the beams—had been tinted with the brilliant Egyptian blue, or *kyanos*, so that the dead beneath the vault might not be without the illusion of the sky above.' See further *id. The Palace of Minos* London 1935 iv. 2. 975 and context.

ii. 1151 Zeus *Meilichios* at Thespiai, etc. A. Plassart in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1926 l. 422 f. no. 43 cites a fragmentary inscription from Thespiai Δεξιάδας | Πτέρωνος | ἱαρεὺς | Δι[ὶ Μ]ειλιχίοι | κὴ Μιλιχίη. | κ.τ.λ. and no. 44 another from the same place Θρασύμαχος | Θέωνος ἱαρεὺς | Διὶ Μιλιχίω. *Id. ib.* p. 423 n. 2 refers to A. D. Keramopoullos in the Ἀρχ. Δελτ. 1917 iii. 422 n. 0 no. 2 (Lebadeia) a marble *stelídion* (height 0·23^{m}) bearing an *omphalós* (height *c.* 0·05^{m}) and beneath it the inscription [Σ]ωσίας | Δαίμονι | Μιλιχίῳ with a snake creeping up towards it: Keramopoullos observes that Δαίμων Μιλίχιος may well be the Ἀγαθὸς Δαίμων. Plassart p. 423 n. 3 adds A. Jardé—M. Laurent in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1902 xxvi. 324 ff. no. 15 (Anthedon) a marble *stéle* (height 0·40^{m}) with a snake [Ἀ]πολλόνιο[ς] | [Κ]αφισοδό[του] | [Δι]εῖ (or [Ζην]εῖ?) Μιλ[ι]χί[φ] found above the door of the church of Hagios Athanasios, which appears to stand on the site of the sanctuary of Zeus *Milichios*.

ii. 1153 n. 1. See further P. Kretschmer 'Oidipus und Melampus' in *Glotta* 1923 xii. 59—61, E. Fränkel in *Gnomon* 1928 iv. 447, H. Petersson in M. P. Nilsson *The Mycenaean Origin of Greek Mythology* Cambridge 1932 p. 105 n. 11, L. W. Daly in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2104 f.

ii. 1155 Zeus *Meilichios* in Thessaly. *Inscr. Gr. sept.* iii. 2 no. 145 (Thebae Phthiotides) a white stone inscribed Διὶ Μειλιχίωι | Κριτὼ | Ἀρσί[α]? | *ἀνέθ[η]*[*κ*]*εν*.

ii. 1156 Akrisios. A. H. Krappe in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 157 treats Akrisios as 'le vieux dieu Cronos lui-même' and compares Akrisios' expulsion of the infant Perseus (influencing the legend of Astyages and Kyros the Persian) with Kronos' expulsion of the infant Zeus, concluding that a folk-tale *motif* may be traced in both myths and even in the *quasi*-historical legend. L. Bieler in *Wiener Studien* 1931 xlix. 120—123 ('Der Tod des Akrisios') regards Ἀκρίσιος as Illyrian, Τευταμίδας as 'vorgriechisch-pelasgisch.' H. Krahe 'Sprachwissenschaftliches zur Sage von der Flucht des Akrisios' *id.* 1933 li. 141—143 argues that both Ἀκρίσιος and Τευταμίδας are names of Illyrian origin.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Milichios* in Samos. E. Preuner in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1924 xlix. 42 no. 9 a votive inscription from *Tigani* Κλέας Μεγάκλου | Διὶ Μιλιχίωι.

ii. 1156 Zeus *Meilichios* in Nisyros. W. Peek in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1932 lvii. 57 f. no. 8 an inscription of Roman date from Rhodes (G. Jacopi in *Clara Rhodos* 1932 ii. 213 f. no. 52) Καλλικράτην ἱερῆα πατρὸς γεγαῶτα Θέωνος | Ζηνὸς Μειλιχίοιο κλυτὴ Νείσυρος ἀείδει and Ζεῦ μ[εδέ]ων Νείσυρον, ἀπήμονα σῶιξε Θέωνα | Καλλικράτους, ὃν στέψας, ἐπεὶ τεὸς εἰρὸς ἐτύχθη. The two distichs are engraved within two wreaths on a *tabula ansata* of white marble. R. Herbst in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 765 adds *Inscr. Gr. ins.* iii nos. 95 and 96.

ii. 1157 Zeus *Meilichios* in Kypros. T. B. Mitford in the *Journ. Hell. Stud.* 1937 lvii. 29 no. 2 a boundary-stone at Amathous ΔΙΟΣ | ΜΕΙΛΙΧΙΟΥ in large lettering with ΩΝ (*quid?*) in smaller lettering to the left of the second line.

ii. 1157 n. 0 Zeus *Apotrópaios*. E. A. Gardner—F. Ll. Griffith *Naukratis* London 1888 ii. 13, 61, 68 no. 14 pl. 22 *ἱερὸν* Δι[ὸς Ἀπ]*οτροπ*[*αίου*] on a stone found in the *témenos* of Hera.

For the sale of priesthoods at Erythrai see L. Robert in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1933 lvii. 472.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilíchios* at Kyrene. U. von Wilamowitz-Moellendorff in *Hermes* 1930 lxv. 257 f. ('Lesefrüchte' no. 280) cites rock-cut inscriptions at and near Kyrene to show that the dead were associated in cult with the Eumenides and with Zeus *Meilíchios* (after S. Ferri *Contributi di Cirene alla storia della religione greca* (Collezione Γραφή. 2) Roma 1923) pl. 10).

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilíchios* at Selinous. K. Lehmann-Hartleben in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1926 xli Arch. Anz. p. 179 fig. 36 briefly reports the discovery by E. Gàbrici of a sanctuary of Zeus *Meilíchios* at Selinous. This small *témenos* occupied the north-east angle of the large site sacred to Demeter *Malophóros*, just as the *témenos* of Hekate *Propylaía* occupied the south-east angle. For a full account of it see E. Gàbrici's official publication in the *Mon. d. Linc.* 1928 xxxii. 91—107 figs. 53—64

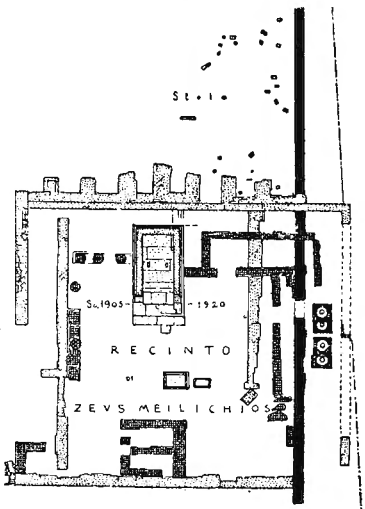


Fig. 925.

('Edicola ed altari di Meilichios e della Pasikrateia (?)'), 174—181 ('Stele figurate del recinto di Meilichios'), 381—383 (inscriptions), 403—405 (cult). The precinct (pl. 2, part of which = my fig. 925) included a little temple, the base of which measured only 5·20^{m} by 2·97^{m}—a mere casket for the statue or statues within. Two Doric columns stood opposite the *antae*; but their entablature was of a simplified Ionic order (fig. 58 = my fig. 926). In front of the temple were two oblong altars, one large, one small; and it was originally flanked by a pair of porticoes, each with five columns. Behind the west wall of the precinct were found numerous *stêlai*, mostly small piers square in section, or pyramidal, or cylindrical, and nearly all without inscription. The few inscribed blocks were archaic in character: p. 381 f. no. 3 pl. 97, 4 *τὸ Διὸς τὸ Μ|ειλιχίο ἐμὶ | πρῶτα Εὐμε|νίδο τὸ Πε|διάρχο* ('I, the first-fruits of Eumenides son of Pediarchos, belong to Zeus *Meilíchios*.' Wilamowitz in *Hermes* 1930 lxv. 258 cj. *πρὸ τᾶ(ν) Εὐμενίδο(ν)*), p. 382 no. 4 pl. 97, 1 = my fig. 927 *Λυκίσφο* (perhaps *Γ|λυκίσφο| ἐμὶ̣ Μειλίχιος*, p. 382 f. no. 5 pl. 97, 2 *Μελίχιος | τὸν Κλευλιδᾶν*, p. 384 no. 9 pl. 97, 3 *τὸ Μ̣ι̣λ̣[ιχίο – –]σαφο[–]s*. Other finds on the site were a double altar of simpler type (fig. 62), and several small wells (figs. 63—66) for the storage of lustral water, etc. Offerings made to the god were vases and objects of minor worth, which were burnt along with the animal sacrifice and buried in the ashes: over them was erected a *stéle*, often surmounted by a pair of busts, male and female (pls. 27, 1—4, 28, 1—6, 29, 1—8, of which 27, 3 f. = my figs. 928 f.). Gàbrici concludes

that the whole cult had a chthonian character, Zeus *Meilichios* and Pasikrateia (?) being the Selinuntine equivalents of Hades and Persephone.

ii. 1158 Zeus *Meilichios* at Pompeii. For a description of his temple in *Reg.* viii. 7 (8). 25 see A. Mau—A. Ippel *Führer durch Pompeji* Leipzig 1928 p. 162 f. R. C. Carrington in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1933 xxiii. 132 pl. 10 figures the wall of it and dates it early in *s.* I B.C.

ii. 1159 n. 1. On the names Δάζιμος, Δάζος, and the like see H. Krahe *Die alten balkanillyrischen geographischen Namen* Heidelberg 1925 p. 86 and R. Vulpe 'Gli Illiri dell' Italia imperiale romana' in the *Ephemeris Dacoromana* (Annuario della Scuola Romena di Roma) 1925 iii. 131, 145 n. 1, 217. And on the Lares, E. Tabeling *Mater Larum* Zum Wesen der Larenreligion Frankfurt am Main 1932 pp. 1—104.

ii. 1160 ff. Zeus *Philios*. See H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 pp. 75—84 ('Zeus Philios und Zeus Meilichios'), M. P. Nilsson 'Die Götter des Symposions' (E Symbolis Philologicis O. A. Danielsson octogenario dicatis seorsum expressum) Upsaliae 1932 pp. 218—224.

ii. 1161 ff. Zeus *Philios* at Athens. Gabriel Welter 'Eine Weihung an Zeus Philios' in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1925 l. 165 f. publishes an inscription of the early fourth century B.C., found in a Byzantine wall above the *odeîon* of Herodes Attikos at Athens and probably

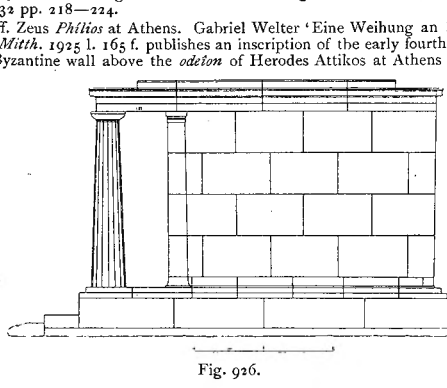


Fig. 926.

derived from the adjoining Asklepieion: Λυσικράτης [Λ]υσικλέος | ἐκ Κο[λ]ωνῶ Δ[ι]ὶ Φιλίωι | [ἀ]νέ[θ]η[κεν].

ii. 1163 n. 6. H. J. Rose 'The Bride of Hades' in *Classical Philology* 1925 xx. 238—243 (the idea underlying Soph. *Ant.* 815 and other Greek passages is that the earth receives increased fertility from the potential, unused fertility of the chaste).

ii. 1167 love in relation to Zeus. Dion Chrys. *or.* 4 p. 71 Dindorf ὁμοίως δὲ καὶ φιλίαν οὐκ ἄλλην ἢ τὸ ταὐτὰ βούλεσθαι καὶ διανοεῖσθαι, ὁμόνοιάν τινα οὖσαν...ὃς ἂν οὖν τῷ Διὶ φίλος ᾖ καὶ ὁμονοῇ πρὸς ἐκεῖνον, ἔσθ' ὅπως ἀδίκου τινὸς ἐπιθυμήσει πράγματος ἢ πονηρόν τι καὶ αἰσχρὸν διανοηθήσεται; On this subject of personal intimacy with Zeus see further the able articles of F. Dirlmeier on 'ΘΕΟΦΙΛΙΑ—ΦΙΛΟΘΕΙΑ' in *Philologus* 1935 xc. 57—77 and 176—193.

ii. 1167 f. Diotima's τέλεα καὶ ἐποπτικά. A. M. Desrousseaux 'Plutarque, Mor. 382^{cd}' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlvi. 210—213 (Plout. *de Is. et Os.* 78 διὸ καὶ Πλάτων καὶ Ἀριστοτέλης ἐποπτικὸν τοῦτο τὸ μέρος τῆς φιλοσοφίας καλοῦσιν, ὡς (Desrousseaux *corr.* ᾧ *vel, quod praestat,* ἐν ᾧ) οἱ τὰ δοξαστὰ καὶ μικτὰ καὶ παντοδαπὰ ταῦτα παραμειψάμενοι τῷ λόγῳ πρὸς τὸ πρῶτον ἐκεῖνο καὶ ἁπλοῦν καὶ ἄυλον ἐξάλλονται καί, θιγόντες ἁπλῶς (so Reiske for ἅλως) τῆς περὶ αὐτὸ καθαρᾶς ἀληθείας, οἷον ἐν τελέτῃ (so Reiske for ἐντελῆ) τέλος, ἔχειν φιλοσοφίαν νομίζουσι—from which it is clear that Aristotle was following the very words of his master in *symp.* 210 A).

ii. 1176 n. 4 Zeus *Ephéstios*. See now H. Sjövall *Zeus im altgriechischen Hauskult* Lund 1931 p. 115 f.

ii. 1177 n. 2. Cp. Aristot. εἰς Ἑρμείαν 16 ff. Edmonds, 14 f. Diehl *ap.* Athen. 696 D, Diog. Laert. 5. 8, Stob. *flor.* 1. 12 (ed. Gaisford i. 5) τοίγαρ ἀοίδιμον ἔργοις | ἀθάνατόν τέ μιν αὐδήσουσι (so Wilamowitz for αὐξήσουσι) Μοῦσαι, | Μναμοσύναις θύγατρες, | Διὸς Ξενίου σέβας αὔξου|σαι φιλίας τε γέρας βεβαίου.

Fig. 927.

Fig. 928.

Fig. 929.

ii. 1179 ff. Trajan and Zeus *Philios* at Pergamon. W. H. Buckler 'Auguste, Zeus Patroos' in the *Rev. Philol.* Troisième Série 1935 lxi. 177—188 adduces a series of official Pergamene inscriptions (nine decrees and two letters) to show that the complete deification of Augustus was reached through three successive phases: (1) from 27 B.C. to 3 B.C. he was *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ*; (2) from 2 B.C. to 14 A.D. Augustus was *αὐτοκράτωρ Καῖσαρ θεοῦ υἱὸς Σεβαστός, ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος καὶ πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ αὐτοκράτορος Καίσαρος θεοῦ υἱοῦ Σεβαστοῦ ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου καὶ πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*; (3) from 15 A.D. onwards (after his death on Aug. 19, 14 A.D. and his consecration by the Senate on Sept. 17, 14 A.D.) Augustus became *θεὸς Σεβαστὸς Καῖσαρ Ζεὺς Πατρῷος αὐτοκράτωρ καὶ ἀρχιερεὺς μέγιστος, πατὴρ τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*, and his highpriest *ὁ ἀρχιερεὺς θεᾶς Ῥώμης καὶ θεοῦ Σεβαστοῦ Καίσαρος Διὸς Πατρῴου αὐτοκράτορος καὶ ἀρχιερέως μεγίστου, πατρὸς τῆς πατρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαντος τῶν ἀνθρώπων γένους*. Thus Augustus while alive was treated as (1) a hero and (2) a demi-god, when dead was raised to the rank of (3) a god and identified with Zeus Πατρῷος. The documents relevant to this third stage are (*a*) Sir C. T. Newton *A History of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidæ* London 1862—1863 ii. 2. 695—698 no. 6 pl. 87, G. Hirschfeld in *The Collection of Ancient Greek Inscriptions in the British Museum* London 1893 iv. 1. 63—65 no. 894; (*b*) J. Keil 'Zur Geschichte der Hymnoden in der Provinz Asia' in the *Jahresh. d. oest. arch. Inst* 1908 xi. 101—107 (*Ödemish* near Hypaipa); (*c*) *Corp. inscr. Gr.* ii no. 3187 (Smyrna). Cp. also (*d*) a marble pedestal from Aphrodisias, which must have carried a statue of Zeus with the features of Augustus, inscribed *Δία Πατρῷον | [Σεβ]αστὸν Καίσαρα* (W. Kubitschek—W. Reichel in the *Anz. d. Akad. d. Wiss. Wien* Phil.-hist. Classe 1893 p. 103 no. 13); and (*e*) a dedication from Dorylaeion *[θεῶι Σεβαστῶι Καίσαρι θ](ε)οῦ υἱῶι Διὶ Πατρῴ[ωι, πατρὶ τῆς πα][τρίδος καὶ τοῦ σύμπαν]τος ἀνθρώπων γέ[νους,] κ.τ.λ.* (I. Meliopoulos in the *Ath. Mitth.* 1897 xxii. 480 f., Dittenberger *Orient. Gr. inscr. sel.* no. 479). Mr Buckler concludes his very noteworthy article on Augustus at Pergamon by a further suggestion: 'En y acceptant l'épithète divine, Trajan imitait le plus illustre de ses prédécesseurs; n'aurait-il pas choisi celle de Zeus Philios, symbole de sa bienveillance, afin de marquer le contraste avec les antiques splendeurs du Zeus Patrôos?'

ii. 1187 n. 0 fig. 900 Zeus *Némeios* at Alexandreia. His wreath is probably of oak-leaves, not *sélinon*. Oak-wreath and *aigís* are characteristic of Zeus on Alexandrine cameos (*supra* p. 537 *f.*).

P. Kabbadias in the *Ἐφ. Ἀρχ.* 1918 p. 192 f. fig. 39 publishes a dedication (no. 11) from Epidauros: *Ἥρᾳ Ἀργείᾳ | Διὶ Νεμείῳ | πατρίο[ι] θε|οῖς ὁ ἱεροφάντης | Διογένης ἱερα|πολήσας τοῦ | Σωτῆρος τὸ | ΡΟΔ΄ ἔτος* (=297 A.D., cp. *Inscr. Gr. Pelop.* i nos. 1001 and 1002).

ii. 1187 n. 4. D. M. Robinson at Olynthos found Bottiaean pottery of *quasi*-Aegean character (A. W. Lawrence on Hdt. 8. 127. See G. E. Mylonas in D. M. Robinson *Excavations at Olynthus* Baltimore 1933 v. 60—63 (Group iii, second half of *s.* vi to beginning of *s.* v B.C.)).

ii. 1191 Olympic contests at Daphne. A bronze statuette (height 6 inches) now in the British Museum shows a naked youth carrying a board (?) inscribed in relief ΑΝΤΙΟΧ-ΕΩΝ | ΤΩΝ ΕΠΙ | ΔΑΦΝΗΙ (Sir E. J. Forsdyke in *The British Museum Quarterly* 1929—1930 iv. 70 f. pl. 44, *d*)—presumably a record of success in these sports.

ii. 1194 emperors wearing the *aigís*. J. Arneth *Monumente des K. K. Münz- und Antiken-Cabinettes in Wien* Wien 1849 p. 31 f. pl. 18, 2 an onyx engraved with Julian(?) as a beardless Zeus. He wears an *aigís* and holds a sceptre in his raised right hand, a thunderbolt in his lowered left. At his left side is a trophy with seated prisoner; at his right side, an eagle. The legs of Zeus, the field, and the back of the whole gem are covered with 'Gnostic' inscriptions.

ii. 1197 n. 3. To the bibliography of Antiocheia add E. S. Bouchier *A short History of Antioch 300 B.C.—A.D. 1268* Oxford 1921 pp. 1—324.

ii. 1213 'Jupiter-columns.' M. P. Nilsson 'Zur Deutung der Juppitergigantensäulen' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 182—184 argues from the wheel etc. that the god in question was a Celtic deity (Taranis?).

ii. 1213 the Column of Mayence. On Quilling's views see also L. Deubner in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1925 xxiii. 310 f.

ii. 1216 the *omphalós* found by F. Courby at Delphoi. C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 85 n. 1 states that in the *Rev. Arch.* 1921 (not 1920) i. 172 he did not regard Courby's *omphalós* as 'faux,' but holds that the inscription on it

('archaïque?') raises many doubts—see P. Roussel in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1915 xxviii. 457, *id.* in the *Rev. Arch.* 1925 ii. 49 n. 1. C. Picard in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1930 xliii. 136 still hesitates ('L'omphalos n° 19 n'a pas encore ses lettres de créance bien établies').

ii. 1218 the witch-cult in western Europe. Cp. Miss M. A. Murray *The God of the Witches* London (1933) pp. 1—214 (reviewed by H. Coote Lake in *Folk-Lore* 1934 xlv. 277 f.) and *e contra* C. L'Estrange Ewen *Some Witchcraft Criticisms* (London) 1938 (printed for the author) pp. 1—6.

ii. 1219 the Milky Way conceived as a tree. U. Holmberg in J. A. MacCulloch *The Mythology of all Races* Boston 1927 iv (Finno-Ugric, Siberian). 82 cites the 'song of the Great Oak'—a Finnish account of the Milky Way 'regarded by some Arctic tribes as being the trunk of a great tree, along which those killed in battle wander.'

ii. 1221 the axe from Mallia. J. Charbonneaux in the *Mon. Piot* 1925—1926 xxviii. 6 ff. pl. 2 and figs. 3, 4, 6 publishes this axe as ending in the forepart of a panther, not a lioness. So also C. Picard in the *Revue de l'histoire des religions* 1926 xciii. 70 n. 1, 78 n. 3, and P. Couissin in the *Rev. Arch.* 1928 i. 261 fig. 6.

ii. 1221 fig. 1015 relief of lictors' axes. For similar reliefs see Stuart Jones *Cat. Sculpt. Pal. d. Conserv. Rome* p. 19 f. Scala i nos. 1 and 2 pl. 9, *ib.* p. 157 Sala degli Orti Mecenaziani no. 6 b pl. 59.

ii. 1221 the 'Tomb of the Lictor' at Vetulonia. See now H. Mühlestein *Die Kunst der Etrusker* Berlin 1929 p. 85 n. 0 and p. 228 f., who in fig. 149 publishes a good photograph (Alinari 45 853) of the 'Eisernes Rutenbeil < Labrys > aus Vetulonia < Tomba del Littore > Mus. archeologico Florenz' and refers it to *s.* vii B.C.

ii. 1221 carvings in amber. Other examples (human and simian figures from Vetulonia) in D. R. MacIver *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* Oxford 1924 p. 107 fig. 25.

ii. 1222 fig. 1017 the earliest representation of Zeus (?). S. Benton in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1934—1935 xxxv. 85, 98 pl. 21, 1—3 provides three excellent photographs of this little bronze, but calls it cautiously 'the Dodona thrower,' 'the Dodona figure.'

M. P. Nilsson *Homer and Mycenae* London 1933 p. 80 suggests that a terra-cotta head and a stone axe found in the Mycenaean sanctuary at Asine 'are the earliest representations of Zeus, the Greek god of thunder.' See further O. Frödin in *The Illustrated London News* for Sept. 25, 1926 p. 548 fig. (2) and Nilsson *Min.-Myc. Rel.* pp. xx—xxii pl. 4. The head (0·105^{m} high) showed traces of white on the face, but had eyes, lips, and hair painted red. With it were found five smaller female figures in terra cotta and sundry vases, including a two-handled bowl of the 'Granary Class' (A. J. B. Wace in the *Ann. Brit. Sch. Ath.* 1921—1922, 1922—1923 xxv. 40 f. ('The Granary Class of L. H. III. Pottery')) and a composite vessel of three cups conjoined.

ii. 1228 Zeus *Telesiourgós* at Miletos. K. Latte '*Ζεὺς Τελεσιουργός*' in *Philologus* 1930 lxxxv. 225—227 notes that in both inscriptions this is the god to whom sacrifice is made by a new priest at his ordination. Hence, he thinks, we obtain light on Hesych. *τελεσίεργον παιᾶνα· τὸν ἐπιτελεστικὸν τῶν τοῖς θεοῖς ἐπιτελουμένων ἱερῶν*, where the manuscript reading *τελεσιγέρων* was wrongly altered by T. Hemsterhuys into *τελεσίεργον*—a blunder perpetuated by M. Schmidt in both his editions. Sir H. Stuart Jones, however, in the new Liddell and Scott p. 1770 (following E. Diehl *Supplementum Lyricum*^{2} Bonn 1917 p. 66) says 'prob. a gloss on **τελεσσίε[ρον** *παιᾶνα* in Pi. *Pae.* 7. 2.' Unfortunately the text in Pindar is very insecure. O. Schroeder *Supplementum Pindaricum* Berolini 1923 p. 3 records Wilamowitz' cj. *τελεσσιε[πῆ] θεοῦ* cp. schol. *ἕπεσι.*

ii. 1229 relief of Agdistis and Attis. A Hellenistic relief (height 0·61^{m}), found in the Peiraieus and now in the Berlin Antiquarium, shows Agdistis as a draped goddess, with a *týmpanon* in her left hand, presenting a flower to a youthful Attis, who sits before her clad in the costume of Asia Minor (*Kurze Beschreibung der antiken Skulpturen im Alten Museum*^{2} Berlin—Leipzig 1920 p. 106 no. 1612).

iii. 35 n. 10. Cp. Nikephoros Basilakes *progymn.* 7. 10 (i. 489, 5 f. Walz) *ἄνωθεν συνῆγε τὰς νεφέλας ὁ Ζεύς.*

iii. 57 n. 2. J. D. Beazley *Der berliner Maler* Berlin-Wilmersdorf 1930 p. 21 no. 202 pl. 13, 3 fragments of a red-figured *hydría* at Athens (G 251) 'Triballos?' a barbarian in panther-skin (?) with *phallós* on staff, forehead, and nose! Perhaps cp. E. de Chanot 'Géryon' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1880 vi. 136—138 pl. 22 = Reinach *Rép. Stat.* ii. 26 no. 7, if not also Babelon–Blanchet *Cat. Bronzes de la Bibl. Nat.* p. 482 f. no. 1175. To the literary allusions add Iuv. 6. O 26, and see W. B. McDaniel in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1918 xxii. 35 n. 1.

iii. 63 n. 3. See now E. Kapp '*Πισθέταιρος*' in *Philologus* 1929 N.F. xxxviii. 259—261 (defends *Πισθ-* against *Πειθ-*).

iii. 85 n. 0 (2) fig. 28. This sarcophagus, now at Zagreb, is better published by G. M. A. Hanfmann in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 229 ff. fig. 2.

iii. 165 the sanctity of dew. J. Roscoe *The Northern Bantu* Cambridge 1915 p. 28: Among the Banyoro is a clan called 'The *Basita*, whose principal totem is the Milch Cow which has been with a bull, and their second Dew upon the Grass. The members of this clan avoid for several days drinking milk from a cow which has been with a bull, and also refrain from walking in grass while dew rests on it.'

iii. 245 f. The *epiboion*, as its name implies, was a sacrifice subsequent to, or additional to, that of a cow for Athena, and must not be viewed as a preliminary rite.

iii. 292 sea-bathing as a rain-charm. Miss M. A. Murray has kindly sent me a note (July 17, 1938) 'about ceremonial bathing (by the whole population), on a set day in the spring, in the sea. It is done at Gaza by Bedu and fellahin alike, men, women, children & animals. I think it may be connected with the cult of Atargatis.' May we not rather suppose that this is only another case of communal rain-charm?

iii. 298 the formula *kónx, ómpax*. I would venture to compare a spell to stop nose-bleeding by a whispered *nóx, pág, rípx* (G. F. Abbott *Macedonian Folklore* Cambridge 1903 p. 233 no. 40 and p. 360 *μ'*. Περὶ μύτην ὅπου τρέχει, λέγε εἰς τὸ μέρος ἐκεῖνο ὅπου τρέχει, κρυφίως εἰς τὸ αὐτί· μόξ, πάξ, ρίπξ, καὶ θέλει παύσῃ—an extract from a medical treatise contained in an eighteenth-century MS. possibly written by a physician named Constantine Rizioti).

iii. 322 n. 0 *Ζήνιον ὕδωρ*. Cp. the sacred and curative character of Ascension Day rain-water. A. R. Wright—T. E. Lones *British Calendar Customs* (England i) London 1936 p. 141 f. cite examples from five counties, of which one will serve: 'A Warwickshire cook of a relative of mine was seen last Ascension Day, May 1, standing out of doors, basin in hand, to catch the rain that was falling. In explanation she said that Holy Thursday rain was holy water, and came straight from heaven. The reason that she preserved it was that it was good for weak or sore eyes' (Cuthbert Bede in *Notes and Queries* Sixth Series 1883 vii. 367).

iii. 336 n. 5. Sieve-superstitions are collected with a wealth of detail by Eckstein in the *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens* Berlin—Leipzig 1936 vii. 1662—1686 ('Sieb'), 1686—1701 ('Siebdrehen, Sieblaufen, Siebtreiben').

iii. 341 n. 3. On the pentagram see further Col. Allotte de La Fuye 'Le Pentagramme pythagoricien, sa diffusion, son emploi dans le syllabaire cunéiforme' in *Babyloniaca* 1934 xiv. 1—56 figs. 1—10.

iii. 345 n. 1. With regard to Egyptian receptacles for *viscera* Mr Sidney Smith informs me (Nov. 17, 1934) (1) that limestone pots with plain lids go back to the late Old Kingdom (Dyns. v—vi), (2) that jars with lids in the shape of the deceased's head are typical of the Middle Kingdom and occur down to Dyn. xviii, and (3) that 'the four children of Horus' belong to the New Kingdom from the late xviiith Dyn. onwards.

iii. 348 the 'Canopi' of Osiris. See now F. W. Freiherr von Bissing *Ägyptische Kultbilder der Ptolemaier- und Römerzeit* (*Der Alte Orient* xxxiv. 1/2) Leipzig 1936 pp. 28—34 'Das Kultbild von Kanopos' pl. 4, 10 a and 10 b (an Osiris of Kanopos in marble, from Egypt), pl. 4, 11 a (an Osiris of Kanopos in bronze, from Egypt, resting on an 'Opfertafel'), pl. 5, 11 b (an Osiris of Kanopos, owned by the Queen of the Netherlands), pl. 8, 18 (a Kanopos with spiral fluting, in the Vatican).

iii. 348 Nile-water. The sanctity of Nile-water is discussed by F. J. Dölger *Antike und Christentum* Münster in Westfalen 1936 v. 3. 153—187 ('Nilwasser und Taufwasser').

iii. 349. Theonoe was not the wife, but the unsuccessful lover, of Kanobos (n. 8).

iii. 358 n. 6. G. A. Megas in *Hermes* 1933 lxviii. 415 ff. argues that the story of the Danaïdes was a folktale later localised at Argos. He cites (after B. Chalatianz in the *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde* 1909 xix. 362) an Armenian parallel, heard at Etschmiatsin in 1899, which however so closely resembles the Greek myth that I should rather assume classical influence, direct or indirect.

iii. 426 the Danaïdes and the fertility-charm. C. F. A. Schaeffer in his Schweich Lecture of Jan. 27, 1937 ('Fertility cult and cult of the dead at Ugarit. Devices for libations in the Mycenaean tombs. The jar of the Danaids') compared the *πίθοι τετρημένοι* of the Danaïdes with the libation-funnels at Ras Shamra. *Id.* 'Les fouilles de Ras Shamra-Ugarit. Septième campagne (printemps 1935)' in *Syria* 1936 xvii. 105—148 refers to the period 'Minoen ou Helladic récent III' (*s.* xiv—xiii B.C.) several sepulchral deposits (p. 112 f. with fig. 4) 'caractérisés par la présence d'un grand entonnoir à libation percé d'ouvertures enfoui verticalement dans la terre avec, à sa base, une accumulation de vases. Parmi eux des rhytons attestent bien le caractère votif de ces dispositifs (fig.

et 4). Comme nous l'avions déjà dit[2] ([2]Cf. Rapport de la troisième campagne, *Syria*, 1932, p. 12), ils ont dû servir au rite magique, ayant probablement pour but de favoriser la fécondité de la terre et dont l'une des tablettes de Ras Shamra semble donner la formule[1] ([1]L.c., *Syria*, 1932, p. 12).'

iii. 429 the *manalis lapis*. F. Bömer 'Der sogenannte lapis manalis' in the *Archiv f. Rel.* 1936 xxxiii. 270—281 discusses previous interpretations of this 'Regenstein,' rejecting both the derivation from *manare* and that from *Manes*. He starts afresh from the authoritative statements of Varro (*supra* p. 435 n. 2) and contends that *aquae mănale* meant a 'Handkrug für Wasser,' being derived from *mănus* (cp. *id.* 'Lat. *aquae manale*' in *Glotta* 1937 xxvi. 1—7); that *mānalis lapis*—originally termed *mānale sacrum*—was a sacred water-pot, probably a hollow stone of pot-like formation used for ritual purposes (so O. Gilbert *Geschichte und Topographie der Stadt Rom im Altertum* Leipzig 1885 ii. 154 n. 1); and that later this *mānalis lapis* was confused with the *lapis Mānalis* or 'stone of the *Manes*,' Festus' *ostium Orci* (*supra* p. 432 n. 4). Bömer sums up: 'Das Instrument des römischen Regenzaubers war ein *manale sacrum*, ein heiliges Wassergefäss; der wirkliche *lapis manalis*, der Stein der Manen, steht mit dem Regen in keiner Verbindung. Einen *lapis manalis* als Regenstein, an den man bisher glaubte, hat es nie gegeben. Er ist eine etymologische Konstruktion der Antiquare.'

iii. 434 f. the *manales petrae*. T. F. G. Dexter *The Sacred Stone* Perranporth (1929) p. 27 no. 51 cites from Morris *Celtic Researches* a '*Maen Glaw*' or "Rain Stone," "which they rolled about when they wanted rain," and compares the *Lapis Manalis* at Rome.

iii. 475 f. the birth of Montezuma. Cp. E. S. Hartland *Primitive Paternity* London 1909 i. 11 'A pearl fell into the bosom of a girl and she swallowed it, as the Chinese tell, with the result that a boy was born (according to one version, from her breast) who afterwards became the great emperor Yu.'

iii. 538 n. 0 pl. xliv. F. Lenormant 'Jupiter Ægiochus, camée sur chrysoprase' in the *Gaz. Arch.* 1875 i. 95—99 pl. 13 published a very large cameo from the Northwick collection (then owned by Feuardent), a chrysoprase in the Asia Minor style of Marcus Aurelius and Commodus. Its subject is a facing Zeus, almost exactly like that of my malachite relief, but coarser in effect and without acorns on the oak-wreath.

iii. 564 ff. 'ox-driving.' F. Cumont 'St. George and Mithra "The Cattle-Thief"' in the *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1937 xxvii. 63—71 notes that at the monastery of Ilori in Mingrelia, as late as *c.* 1850 A.D., 'every year on the Festival of St. George, to whom the church of the monastery was dedicated, an ox mysteriously entered the building ready for sacrifice.' Cumont argues that St George has here replaced Mithras the *βουκλόπος θεός* (Porph. *de antr. nymph.* 18).

iii. 573 Zeus *Polieús* and altar. (Mrs) J. P. Shear in *Hesperia* 1936 v. 316 with fig. 22, 6—8 says: 'Is it not possible to connect this type [my figs. 399—402] with the greatest of the Athenian festivals of Zeus, the Diasia, which was of a propitiatory character?' *Ead. ib.* p. 301 with fig. 11, 1—2 [my fig. 548] would recognise the altar of Zeus Polias [*sic!*] and associate it with the Dipoleia. She gives the same explanation of the *bucranium*-type (her pl. 5, 1—29).

iii. 580 n. 0 with fig. 404. See now C. Watzinger in Furtwängler—Reichhold—Hauser *Gr. Vasenmalerei* iii. 343 ff. fig. 163 and pl. 175.

iii. 593 Diomos, priest of Zeus *Polieús*, first to slay an ox. But Synkell. *chron.* 153 B (i. 289 Dindorf) says of Kekrops *οὗτος πρῶτος βοῦν ἐθυσίασε καὶ Ζῆνα προσηγόρευσεν, ὥς τινες*.

iii. 612 n. 0. On the *Βαλλητύς* see also S. Weinstock in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 856.

iii. 623 n. 1 with fig. 423. The design on these glass plaques is drawn (rather unsuccessfully) to a larger scale by W. Technau in the *Jahrb. d. Deutsch. Arch. Inst.* 1937 lii. 98 f. fig. 12.

iii. 634 n. 2. E. C. Yorke in the *Class. Quart.* 1936 xxx. 153 f. maintains that the *Prometheus Bound*, 'if Aeschylus was its author,' must have been the latest of his extant plays, to be dated between 458 and 456 B.C. Prof. D. S. Robertson in the *Cambridge University Reporter* 1938 lxix. 387 reviews recent opinions and argues from the 'Sophoclean features' of the play for 'the latest possible date.' He even suggests that 'Aeschylus left the *Prometheus* trilogy incomplete' and that some of the odes may have been 'supplied by one of his sons, Euphorion and Euaion, or by his nephew Philocles, all tragic poets.'

iii. 655 n. 0 with figs. 464—469. My conjecture that the head on these coins represents Zeus *Ólbios* can, I find, claim the support of A. Reinach, who in the *Revue*

Bronze statuette of Zeus *Olýmpios* from Bulgaria,
now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society at Stara Zagora.

See page 1196.

b

a

Fig. 930.

épigraphique 1913 i. 172 no. 461 anent an inscription from Lampsakos dedicated Θεῷ Ὀλβίῳ observed: 'À la lumière de cette inscription il y aurait lieu de se demander si ce n'est pas Zeus Olbios à cornes de taureau qu'il faut voir sur les monnaies à tête cornue qu'on qualifie de Zeus Ammon, Pan ou Priape corniger.' Johanna Schmidt in Pauly—Wissowa *Real-Enc.* xvii. 2430.

iii. 767 ff. guardian snakes in pediment. Cp. J. Johnson 'Apotropaic serpents in Minturnae temple decoration' in the *Am. Journ. Arch.* 1939 xliii. 306.

iii. 813 n. 3 the cult of Athena on the Nike-bastion. P. Lemerle in the *Bull. Corr. Hell.* 1937 lxi. 443 with figs. 4—7 reports that N. Balanos now recognises at least two successive sanctuaries below the level of the classical temple. One, the less ancient, is connected with the altar found by G. Welter (fig. 6). The other, the more ancient, included a hollowed block on which idols were lying (fig. 7) and an altar of Athena *Nike* mentioned in an archaic inscription [Michel *Recueil d'Inscr. gr.* no. 671, *A* 11 f., Dittenberger *Syll. inscr. Gr.*[3] no. 63, *a* 11 f. καὶ βο]μὸν λίθινον ('Adiectivum indicat fuisse quidem iam antea aram, sed non lapideam'), *Inscr. Gr.* ed. min. i no. 24, 14 f.].

iii. 832 n. 2. Dr H. Frankfort's paper on 'The Burney Relief' has now appeared in the *Archiv für Orientforschung* 1938 xii. 128—135 accompanied by three fresh photographic illustrations. This paper, of which he most kindly sent me an offprint, conclusively vindicates the genuineness of the relief, refers it on stylistic grounds to the Larsa period, and inclines to identify the female figure as Lilith or some other 'inhabitant of the Land of Death.' Her domed crown with four horns marks her as divine. Her so-called "ring and staff" are either 'a measuring rod and line,' as on the *stêle* of Ur-Nammu, or 'on our relief they might well be a continuous coiled piece of rope,' such measuring instruments serving as symbols of justice.

iii. 845 the earliest *Gorgóneion*. F. Chapouthier 'A travers trois gemmes prismatiques (époque Minoenne ['M. M. I']) in the *Mélanges G. Glotz* Paris 1932 i. 183—201 publishes a three-sided seal-stone in greyish steatite from Mallia, of which one side represents a facing *Gorgóneion* with bristling hair, large ears and eyes, wide cheeks but small mouth, and pointed chin (photographic pl. and fig. 2 = J. Charbonneaux in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1933 xlvi. 76 fig. 3). The face is flanked by two small branches.

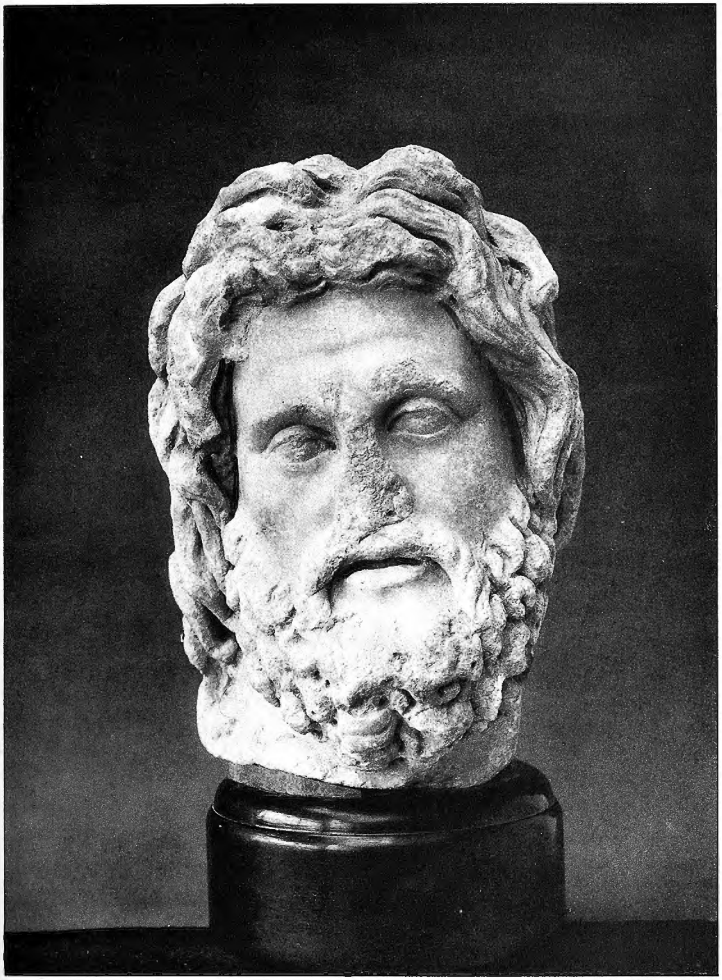
iii. 927 Akmon. On Doias the 'Twin'-brother of Akmon see Norbert Jokl in Ebert *Reallex.* x. 144 and 147 (after A. Fick in the *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung* 1907 xli. 347).

iii. 958 the temple of Zeus at Olympia struck by lightning (Paus. 5. 11. 9). C. Picard 'Zeus, Aristophane et Socrate' in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1938 li. 60—63 finds an allusion to this incident in Aristoph. *nub.* 401 f. 'Prodige favorable et pieuse intention du ciel, disaient les bons esprits! Τί μαθών; eût répliqué le Socrate d'Aristophane, introducteur de dieux nouveaux et destructeur de la tradition religieuse.' This is much better than, with V. Coulon in the *Rev. Ét. Gr.* 1937 l. 453 f., to assume a like happening in the sanctuary of Zeus *Sotêr* and Athena *Sôteira* at the Peiraieus (Lykourg. *in Leocr.* 17, *alib.*—see Severin Solders *Die ausserstädtischen Kulte und die Einigung Attikas* Lund 1931 p. 2). Picard takes the opportunity of listing all the Zeus-cults in or near Athens—a useful record.

iii. 964 copies of the Pheidiac Zeus (?). Mr R. M. Cook in a letter from Athens dated Aug. 16, 1935 drew my attention to a small bronze figure of Zeus *Olympios* recently discovered in Bulgaria, and very kindly enclosed the photograph reproduced in my pl. lxxxii. He comments: 'It is a bronze statuette, found last March casually at Smero, a village a little north-east of Stara Zagora. The overall height is about 25 cm.; the height of the figure alone, 18 cm. All of the base is, I believe, original. It is not yet published, though photos of it (from the same negative as this) have appeared in a local paper & in one of the Sofia dailies. It is now in the Museum of the Augusta Trajana Society, at Stara Zagora: the director is Mr. C. Raikov.'

iii. 973 Christ in the likeness of Zeus. In the Christian appropriation of pagan statuary two methods were followed, which it might be convenient to distinguish as the outward and the inward. The one imposed some external sign of the new religion. The other sought to appreciate the internal qualities of the old. The first adapted. The second adopted. And naturally the former, as the easier process, was more frequent than the latter. The facts are fairly obvious, and I shall content myself with a single example of each.

H. Bulle in the *Einzelaufnahmen* nos. 1436 and 1437 (= my fig. 930, *a* and *b*) Text v. 93 publishes a bearded head of Pentelic marble (height 0·23[m]), which came from the neighbourhood of Athens and is now at Karlsruhe, and comments: 'Gehörte ohne Zweifel zu einer Herme.... Wohl originale Arbeit aus der zweiten Hälfte des 5. Jahrh.



Marble head from Jerash :
a third century Zeus (?), which perhaps served as a fifth-century Christ.

See page 1197.

v. Chr.' Bulle ignores the incised cross, which is simply omitted also in the small sketch given by the *Jahrb. d. kais. deutsch. arch. Inst.* 1890 v Arch. Anz. p. 5 no. 11. But A. J. B. Wace in the *Class. Rev.* 1932 xlvi. 65 says with more circumspection: 'Cases are known...where a cross was scratched on a work of art in early Christian times to sanctify what would otherwise have been ungodly.'

J. Garstang in *The Illustrated London News* for July 31, 1926 pp. 193—197 devotes a whole article to the interesting head found by H. Horsfield on the east side of the 'Street of Columns' at *Jerash* (Gerasa). For a detailed study of the site see the reports of J. W. Crowfoot 'The Church of S. Theodore at Jerash' in the *Palestine Exploration Fund. Quarterly Statement for 1929* London pp. 17—36, *id.* 'The Churches of Gerasa, 1928, 1929' *ib. Quarterly Statement for 1930* London pp. 32—42, *id.* 'Recent Work round the Fountain Court at Jerash' *ib. Quarterly Statement for 1931* London pp. 143—154, *id. Churches at Jerash* A Preliminary Report of the Joint Yale-British School Expeditions to Jerash, 1928—1930 (*British School of Archaeology in Jerusalem. Supplementary Papers.* iii) London 1931 pp. 1—48 with 13 pls. and a plan. Garstang *loc. cit.* says: 'Between the doorway of the Basilica and that of the circular church, nearer to the former, and in the cloister into which both doors open, the head was found lying upon débris about a foot from the floor, and covered with more débris mixed with architectural remains....Such, briefly, is the evidence which attests that the head was in use contemporaneously with the Christian buildings of the area in which it was found.' Garstang well suggests 'that the head was originally chosen from among the earlier pagan sculptures of the place, or imported specially, as responding to a Christian conception.' He agrees 'that it belongs to the latter half of the second century A.D.' but adds somewhat inconsistently: 'One thing seems clear—that it was fashioned by a great artist who, working upon the established and familiar models of pagan Zeus or Asklepios, glorified them in the realisation of an ideal. Did such a genius exist in the fourth or fifth century at Jerash? And was that ideal the Suffering of Christ?' Accordingly the fine full-face view prefixed to his article is labelled: 'The earliest representation of Christ?...a remarkable sculptured Christ-like head (probably of the latter half of the 2nd century A.D.) found in a 5th-century Christian church at Jerash.' I confess that Garstang's enthusiasm leaves me a little breathless. I had the opportunity of examining the original head soon after its arrival in London (pl. lxxxiii is from the official photographs) and judged it, on stylistic grounds, to be a third-century head of Zeus. I did not think that its pathos was so pronounced as to justify us in calling it an ideal of Suffering. Indeed, the vertical furrows between the eyes, as distinct from the horizontal furrow across the forehead, were suggestive of concentrated thought rather than intense pain. I held, therefore, and still hold, that the Jerash head came from a third-century statue portraying Zeus, perhaps in his character of Providence (*supra* p. 946), a statue which may conceivably have served the fifth-century Gerasenes as an embodiment of Christ.

CORRIGENDA

i. 13. For 'bliss' read 'bless.'
i. 117 n. 0. For 'p. 444' read 'p. 517.'
i. 134 n. 4. For 'Lydia' read 'Ionia.'
i. 175 n. 2. For 'Maas' read 'Maass.'
i. 216 n. 3. For 'Athen. 84 c ff.' read 'Athen. 456 c ff.'
i. 220. For '*bácchos*' read '*bákchos*,' and so elsewhere (i. 221, 425, 442, 648, 649, 673).
i. 236 n. 10. For 'Liban. *or.* ii' read 'Liban. *or.* 11.'
i. 245. For 'daughter of Helios' read 'granddaughter of Helios.'
i. 272. For 'man' read 'men.'
i. 302 n. 5. Delete comma after 'Μυκήνην.'
i. 330. For 'Saltzmann' read 'Salzmann.'
i. 335 n. 7. For '104' and '105' read '267' and '268.'
i. 375. For 'Libye[7]' read 'Libye[2].'
i. 398 n. 4. For 'p. 92' read 'p. 311.'
i. 474. After '*swastika*-patterns' insert 'and.'
i. 513 n. 5. For 'fig. 113' read 'fig. 387.'
i. 546 n. 4. For '471 n. 4.' read '471 f.'
i. 571 n. 2. For '§ 10 (a)' read '§ 10 (b).'
i. 591 n. 3. For 'In this' read 'In the.'
i. 604 n. 10. For 'mother-god' read 'mother-goddess.'
i. 646 n. 3. For 'Ζᾶν' read 'Ζάν.'
i. 660 n. 2. For 'Strab. 476' read 'Strab. 475.'
i. 675. For 'Kuster' read 'Küster.'
i. 717 n. 2. For 'E. Cumont' read 'F. Cumont.'
i. 732 n. 1. For 'n. 2' read 'n. 1.'
i. 768 n. 0. For '*in Alterthum*' read '*im Alterthum*.'
i. 776. For 'millenium' read 'millennium.'
i. 800. For 'Zeus Πελιναῖος' read 'Zeus Πελινναῖος.'
i. 824. For 'Kynados' read 'Kounados.'
i. 827 *s.v.* Makedonia. For 'Zeus 126 ff.' read 'Zeus 100 ff.'
i. 837 *s.v.* Phrygia. For 'Zeus Παπίας 393_3' read 'Zeus Παπίας 399_3.'
i. 842 *s.v.* Seimios. For '533 f.' read '553 f.'
i. 855 *s.v.* Zeus *nursed by*. For 'by goat 112_2 112_3' and '720_4' read 'by goat 112_3' and '720_3.'
i. 856 *s.v.* Zeus *Attributes*. For 'blue mantle 33_1' read 'blue mantle 33.'
i. 867 *s.v.* Fick, A. For '690_4' read '690_5.'
i. 867 *s.v.* Fire. For 'Zeus 702_6' read 'Zeus 702_1.'
i. 870 *s.v.* Heydemann, H. For '698_1' read '698_4.'
i. 870 *s.v.* Hill, G. F. For '356_2' read '356_4' and for '602_4' read '602_5.'
i. 875 *s.v.* Nilsson, M. P. For '669_3' read '669_8.'
i. 879 *s.v.* Rolland, E. For '357_2' read '257_2.'
i. 882. For 'Svoronos, J. H. (*cont.*)' read 'Svoronos, J. N. (*cont.*).'
ii. 864. For 'nforms' read 'informs.'
ii. 1093 n. 1. For '*recques*' read '*grecques*.'
ii. 1096 n. 4. For '*μοιούμενον*' read '*ὁμοιούμενον*.'
ii. 1113 n. 0. For '*ὀνομάζοντες*' read '*ὀνομάζοντας*.'

ii. 1323 *s.v.* Syria. The last entry 'Sun, Moon, and Morning-Star in folk-tale from 1004 ff.' should have been *s.v.* Syra.
ii. 1361 *s.v.* Eitrem, S. For '1042_{11}' read '1142_{11}.'
iii. 57 n. 2. For '*ὀρνιθογονίας β*' read '*ὀρνιθογονίας β΄*.'
iii. 79. For 'Man said' read 'Men said.'
iii. 104 n. 1. For 'n. 3' read 'n. 4.'
iii. 360 n. 4. For 'vi. 2089' read 'iv. 2089.'
iii. 400 n. 2. For 'Gábrici' read 'Gàbrici,' and so on p. xxi of vol. ii.
iii. 416 n. 0. For 'Tetz.' read 'Tzetz.'
iii. 518 n. 3. For 'être à' read 'être là.'
iii. 775. For '(fig.)' read '(fig. 569).'
iii. 976. For 'Brugman' read 'Brugmann,' and so on p. 977.
iii. 981. For 'pl. lxix' read 'pl. lxx.'

Fig. 931.

Zeus *Tríos*
on a bronze coin of Hierapolis in Phrygia
(Imhoof-Blumer *Gr. Münzen* p. 214 f. no. 693 pl. 12, 22).
Supra ii. 571 n. 6.

INDEX I

PERSONS PLACES FESTIVALS

The contents of each item are arranged, as far as possible, under the following heads: *Cults Epithets Festivals Oracles Rites Priests Worshippers Personations Myths Metamorphoses Genealogy Functions Etymology Attributes Types Identifications Assimilations Associations Comparisons Relations Supersedure.*

In the Genealogies f. = father, m. = mother, s. = son, d. = daughter, b. = brother, st. = sister, gf. = grandfather, gm. = grandmother, gs. = grandson, gd. = granddaughter, h. = husband, w. = wife.

The larger numerals refer to pages, the smaller numerals to foot-notes.

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Fig. 932.

Zeus *Olýmpios*
on a bronze coin of Athens (*Brit. Mus. Cat. Coins* Attica p. 104 no. 754 pl. 18, 4, E. Beulé *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Paris 1858 p. 396 fig., Imhoof-Blumer and P. Gardner *Num. Comm. Paus.* iii. 137 f. pl. BB, 4, J. N. Svoronos *Les monnaies d'Athènes* Munich 1923—1926 pl. 92, 1 Athens, 2 London) representing the chryselephantine copy of Pheidias' statue set up by Hadrian in the Olympieion (Paus. 1. 18. 6).

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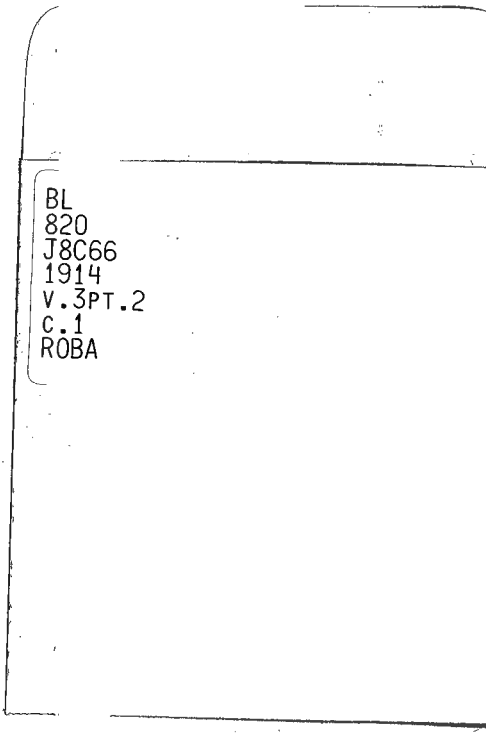
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